GUIDE TO THE NM7 DELAWARE FILE

[The NM7 Delaware file is concerned with the Delaware tribe of Amerindians who lived in eastern Pennsylvania and New Jersey during the Colonial period of American history. Groups of Delaware Indians are now also found in Canada and principally in Oklahoma. The file has considerable time depth, the earliest source (8: Lindeström) dating from 1655 with the latest materials dating to the 1950's. The sources in the file also relate to different locations, with sources 2, 4, 6-7, and 9-11 dealing with the Oklahoma Delaware, sources 4, 6 and 7 also containing information on the Canadian Delaware, and sources 1-3, 5, 8-10, and 12-14 dealing with the Delaware in general and the Eastern Delaware in particular.

There are 15 sources in the NM7 Delaware file, all of them in English. The major sources are 1: Heckewelder, a missionary ethnography published in 1819 based on thirty years' of work with the Delaware; 2: Newcomb, by a professional anthropologist, which examines the acculturation of the Delaware over a span of three centuries; 3: Zeisberger, a missionary ethnography based on work during the years 1767-1780; 4: Tantaquidgeon, by a Mohegan anthropologist who analyzes Delaware medical practices; 6: Harrington, a study of Oklahoma Delaware religion and ceremonial by an anthropologist; 7: Speck, a description of Delaware feasts, ceremonies and dances by an anthropologist who worked in Oklahoma; and 10: Speck, a study of the Big House Ceremony. The closest thing to an introductory source is 5: Herman, a reconstruction of Delaware culture from historical sources.

The researcher be aware of the problems of time and cultural focus as noted above and select his materials accordingly. The Delaware file contains a good deal of information on most aspects of culture and is suitable for cross-cultural research purposes. The file was processed between 1961 and 1963.]

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

177 by their intercourse with the white people, have lost much of the honourable and virtuous qualities which they once possessed, and added to their vices and immorality. Of this, no one can be a better judge than a missionary residing among them. And if, what these people told us more than half a century ago; that lying, stealing, and other vicious acts, before the white men came among them, were considered as crimes, we may safely conclude —and we know it to be fact—that from that time to this, and especially within the last forty years, they have so much degenerated, that a delineation of their present character would bear no resemblance to what it was before.—It is therefore the history of early times, not of the present, that I have written; and to those times my delineations of their character must be considered to apply; yet, to shew the contrast, I have also delineated some of their present features.

128 It may be proper to mention in this place, that I have
[101] made use of the proper national name of the people whom we call *Delawares*, which is: "*Lenni Lenape.*" Yet, as they, in the common way of speaking, merely pronounce the word "*Lenape*," I have, in most instances, when speaking of them, used this word singly. I have also made use of the word "*Mengwe*," or *Mingoes*, the name by which the *Lenape* commonly designate the people known to us by the name of the *Iroquois*, and *Five* or *Six Nations*. I shall give at the end a general list of all the names I have made use of in this communication, to which I refer the reader for instruction.

[195] As the Indians, in all their public speeches and addresses, speak in the singular number, I have sometimes been led to follow their example, when reporting what they have said; I have also frequently, by attending particularly to the identical words spoken by them, copied their peculiar phrases, when I might have given their meaning in other words.

On the origin of the Indians, I have been silent, leav-

9 [erratum. See cat. 116, p. 348. - Analyst]

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

hospitality. I have witnessed their virtues and experienced their goodness. I owe them a debt of gratitude, which I cannot acquit better than by presenting to the world this plain unadorned picture, which I have drawn in the spirit of candour and truth. Alas! in a few years, perhaps, they will have entirely disappeared from the face of the earth, and all that will be remembered of them will be that they existed and were numbered among the barbarous tribes that once inhabited this vast Continent. At least, let it not be said, that among the whole race of white Christian men, not one single individual could be found, who, rising above the cloud of prejudice with which the pride of civilisation has surrounded the original inhabitants of this land, would undertake the task of doing justice to their many excellent qualities, and raise a small frail monument to their memory.

I shall conclude with a few necessary remarks for the information of the reader.

Lenni Lenape being the national and proper name of the people we call "Delawares," I have retained this name, or for brevity's sake, called them simply *Lenape*, as they do themselves in most instances. Their name signifies "*original people*," a race of human beings who are the same that they were in the beginning, *unchanged* and *unmixed*.

These people (the Lenni Lenape) are known and called by all the western, northern, and some of the southern nations, by the name of *Wapanachki*, which the Europeans have corrupted into *Apenaki*, *Openagi*, *Abenaquis*,* and *Abenakis*.† All these names, however differently written, and improperly understood by authors, point to one and the same people, the Lenape, who are by this compound word, called, "people at the rising of

* Colden. † La Hontan.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

the Sun," or, as we would say, *Eastlanders*; and are acknowledged by near forty Indian tribes, whom we call nations, as being their grandfathers. All these nations, derived from the same stock, recognise each other as Wapanachki, which among them is a generic name.

The name "*Delawares*," which we give to these people, is unknown in their language, and I well remember the time when they thought the whites had given it to them in derision; but they were reconciled to it, on being told that it was the name of a great white chief, Lord de la War, which had been given to them and their river. As they are fond of being named after distinguished men, they were rather pleased, considering it as a compliment.

The *Mahicanni* have been called by so many different names,* that I was at a loss which to adopt, so that the reader might know what people were meant. Loskiel calls them "Mohicans," which is nearest to their real name Mahicanni, which, of course, I have adopted.

The name "*Nanticokes*" I have left as generally used, though properly it should be *Nentico*, or after the English pronunciation *Nantico*.

The "*Canai*," I call by their *proper* name. I allude here to those people we call *Canais, Conois, Conoys, Canaways, Kanhawas, Canawese.*

With regard to the Five, or Six Nations, I have called them by different names, such as are most common, and well understood. The Lenape (Delawares) are never heard to say "*Six Nations*," and it is a rare thing to hear these people named by them otherwise than *Mengwe*; the Mahicanni call them *Maqua*, and even most white people call them *Mingoes*. When I therefore have said the *Five* or *Six Nations*, I have only used our own

* The Dutch called them Mahikanders; the French, Mourigans, and Mahingans; the English, Mohiccons, Mohuccans, Mohegans, Muhheckanew, Schatikooks, River Indians.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

concluding this to be the country destined for them by the Great Spirit, they began to emigrate thither, as yet but in small bodies, so as not to be straitened for want of provisions by the way, some even laying by for a whole year; at last they settled on the four great rivers (which we call Delaware, Hudson, Susquehannah, and Potomack) making the Delaware, to which they gave the name of "*Lenapewihittuck*,"* (the river or stream of the Lenape) the centre of their possessions.

They say, however, that the whole of their nation did not reach this country; that many remained behind in order to aid and assist that great body of their people, which had not crossed the Namæsi Sipu, but had retreated into the interior of the country on the other side, on being informed of the reception which those who had crossed had met with, and probably thinking that they had all been killed by the enemy.

Their nation finally became divided into three separate bodies; the larger body, which they suppose to have been one half of the whole, were settled on the Atlantic, and the other half was again divided into two parts, one of which, the strongest as they suppose, remained beyond the Mississippi, and the remainder where they left them, on this side of that river.

Those of the Delawares who fixed their abode on the shores of the Atlantic divided themselves into three tribes. Two of them, distinguished by the names of the *Turtle* and the *Turkey*, the former calling themselves *Unámis* and the other *Unalachtgo*, chose those grounds to settle on, which lay nearest to the sea, between the coast and the high mountains. As they multiplied, their settlements extended from the *Mohicannittuck* (river of the Mohicans, which we call the North or Hudson river) to

* The word "Hittuck," in the language of the Delawares, means a rapid stream; "Sipo," or "Sipu," is the proper name for a river.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

173 beyond the Potomack. Many families with their con-
131 nexions choosing to live by themselves, were scattered
101 not only on the larger but also on the small streams, throughout the country, having towns and villages, where they lived together in separate bodies, in each of which a chief resided; those chiefs, however, were subordinate (by their own free will, the only kind of subordination which the Indians know) to the head chiefs or great council of the nation, whom they officially informed of all events or occurrences affecting the general interest which came to their knowledge. The third tribe, the *Wolf*, commonly called the *Minsi*, which we have corrupted into *Monseys*, had chosen to live back of the two other tribes, and formed a kind of bulwark for their protection, watching the motions of the Mengwe, and being at hand to afford their aid in case of a rupture with them. The Minsi were considered the most warlike and active branch of the Lenape. They extended
[103] their settlements, from the *Minisink*, a place named after them, where they had their council seat and fire, quite up to the Hudson on the east; and to the west or south west far beyond the Susquehannah: their northern boundaries were supposed originally to be the heads of the great rivers Susquehannah and Delaware, and their southern boundaries that ridge of hills known in New Jersey by the name of *Muskanecun*, and in Pennsylvania, by those of *Lehigh*, *Coghnewago*, &c. Within this boundary were their principal settlements; and even as late as the year 1742, they had a town, with a large peach orchard, on the tract of land where *Nazareth*, in Pennsylvania, has since been built; another on *Lehigh*, (the west branch of the Delaware,) and others beyond the blue ridge, besides small family settlements here and there scattered.

173 From the above *three* tribes, the *Unamis*, *Unalachtgo*,

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7
Mahican NM10
Iroquois NM9

a once large and flourishing settlement. It is probable that by this time they are nearly if not entirely extinct.

It is believed that the Mahicanni are the same nation who are so celebrated in the History of New England, under the name of *Pequods* or *Pequots*.* The Rev. Jonathan Edwards, late President of Union College at Schenectady, in the State of New York, published in the year 1788 in a pamphlet form, some observations on their language, which were republished at New York in 1804. This small tract, as well as the translation of the Bible into the Natick, by the venerable Eliott, and his grammar of that language, put it beyond a doubt that the idiom of the Mohicans and those of the other New England Indians proceeded from the same source with that of the Leni Lenape.

CHAPTER V.

THE IROQUOIS.

THE most intelligent and credible Indians of the Lenape stock, including the Mohicans, have ever asserted, that in the whole country bounded on the north by the river St. Lawrence and the Great Lakes, (including what is now Nova Scotia and New Brunswick,) on the west by the Mississippi, on the east by the Great Salt-water Lake,† and on the south by the country of the Creeks, Cherokees, and other Florida Indians, there

* Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc. vol. IX. p. 77. Trumbull's History of Connecticut, vol. I. p. 28.

† The Atlantic ocean.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7
IROQUOISNM 9

were but two nations, the Mengwe, and themselves. Theirs was by far the most numerous and the most extensively settled, for their tribes extended even beyond the Mississippi. On the other side of the St. Lawrence, the Algonquins, the Killistenos or Knisteneaux, and others, speaking dialects of their language, prove their origin from the same stock. The Mengwe, on the contrary, were comparatively few, and occupied a much less portion of territory, being almost confined to the vicinity of the great lakes. But few tribes are known to be connected with them by descent and language; the principal ones are the Wyandots, otherwise called Hurons and the Naudowessies. Almost every other nation within the boundaries described, is of the Lenape family.

Each of these two great nations, say the Delawares, had an ancient national name, and a tradition of their respective origin, handed down to them by their ancestors, and diffused among all the kindred tribes. By whatsoever names those tribes might be called, and whatever their numbers were, still they considered themselves, and were considered by others, as the offspring of the same original stock. All the tribes who had sprung from the Lenape called the mother nation *grandfather*, and received, in return, the appellation of *grandchildren*. They were all united by the strongest ties of friendship and alliance; in their own expressive language, they made but *one house, one fire, and one canoe*, that is to say, that they constituted together one people, one family. The same thing took place between the Mengwe and the tribes descended from them. They and the Lenape had no relationship with each other, though they came over the Mississippi together at the same time. They considered each other as nations entirely distinct.

The Mengwe or Iroquois were always considered by the Lenape as only one nation, consisting of several confederated tribes. The name of Five and afterwards Six Nations, was given to them by the English, whose allies

2; Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7

PREFACE

Any group of people who have been able to preserve even some of the beliefs and customs of their ancestors of three and a half centuries ago in the face of intense, largely continuous pressure to abandon them merits the interest and attention of the social scientist. The Delaware Indians of Oklahoma are such a people — a people who only today are finally relinquishing a cultural tradition old in the time of John Smith and Henry Hudson.

Despite the wealth of documentary material dealing with Delaware culture, no comprehensive description of its early form has been written. Herman has recently reconstructed the early historic culture from documentary sources; her study, however, is not comprehensive.[1] Kinietz has attempted "to assemble and analyze data on the culture. . . from the earliest white contact to the present, with a view to determining what changes have taken place in their culture, when, and why."[2] Unfortunately, this analysis was only partly successful.[3] Several aspects of Delaware culture have received adequate treatment. The religious beliefs and practices, particularly of later times, have been described at length.[4] Delaware language has been described and analyzed,[5] and the Walam Olum or Red Score has been discussed extensively.[6] Apart from Kinietz' preliminary effort, there has been no attempt to describe or analyze Delaware acculturation. Likewise, no consideration has ever been given to the final phases of Delaware acculturation, or assimilation, particularly the part which the Delawares are playing in what has been termed the Pan-Indian society. The aims of this study are, then, to reconstruct the early historic culture of the Delawares, to describe how it changed under the impact of Euro-American civilization, and to explain, at least in broad terms, why the changes took place.

This study was originally prepared under the direction of the Department of Anthropology, University of Michigan, in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the Doctor of Philosophy degree. New data have altered the original dissertation to some extent, although the organization and conclusions remain essentially the same. Two chapters were deleted and included in others, and a map has been added.

During the summer months of 1951 and 1952 an ethnographic study was made of the Delaware Indians in Oklahoma. The cost of this field work was borne in part by funds provided by the Ford Foundation and administered by the Department of Anthropology, University of Michigan. I gratefully acknowledge this assistance. I particularly want to thank

[1] Herman, 1950, pp. 45-77.
[2] Kinietz, 1946, p. 15.
[3] Speck, 1948, pp. 723-24.
[4] Speck, 1931; Harrington, 1921.
[5] C. F. Voegelin, 1946; C. F. and E. W. Voegelin, 1946.
[6] Brinton, 1885; Lilly, 1944, pp. 33-40; E. W. Voegelin, 1940, pp. 28-31; Lilly, *et al.*, 1954. See Griffin, 1955, for a review of the preceding volume; Newcomb, 1955, pp. 57-63.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7

PART I. EARLY HISTORIC DELAWARE CULTURE

I. DELAWARE ORIGINS AND AFFILIATIONS

At the opening of the seventeenth century all of the Atlantic coastal peoples north of North Carolina and extending to the Maritime Provinces and the St. Lawrence were culturally similar to one another. Kroeber, however, distinguished two cultural provinces within the Algonkian area, a North Atlantic Slope and a Middle Atlantic Slope.[1] On the basis of an analysis of cultural traits Flannery divided this coastal area into three divisions, or subareas: Northern New England, Central, and Virginia-Maryland.[2] Kroeber's Middle Atlantic Slope is roughly equivalent to Flannery's Central area. The aborigines who were to become known as Delawares in the eighteenth century inhabited this Central or Middle Atlantic Slope area. They did not comprise, as the name Delaware implies, a single social, political, or linguistic entity. They did, however, inhabit a continuous area extending from Delaware Bay on the south, through Manhattan Island, and up the west side of the Hudson River to the Catskills on the north. Inland, they occupied the banks of the Delaware River and its tributaries northeast to the Hudson. This territory included part of the present state of Delaware, all of New Jersey, eastern Pennsylvania, and part of southern New York (Map 1).

The Delawaran peoples were centrally located within the Middle Atlantic Slope area. To the north were the Mahican, on the east bank of the Hudson lived the Wappinger division of the Mahican, and on Long Island were the Montauk, another Mahican group. To the south, in Maryland and part of Delaware, lived the Conoy, Nanticoke, Choptank, and associated peoples.[3] The other peoples of this area are little known apart from the notes in Captain John Smith's memoirs.[4] All of these peoples were similar to one another in culture and language, and remnants from most, if not all, of these tribes in later times became incorporated with the Delaware tribe. To the west, in eastern Pennsylvania, lived the Conestoga (or Susquehannock), an Iroquoian people.[5] To the northwest and north, in what is now New York State, were their Iroquoian relatives, the Five and later Six Nations.

Delaware Prehistory: a Summary

It is a difficult task to identify archaeological sites in the Middle Atlantic Slope area with historic tribes. This difficulty stems from two factors. First, soon after contact the coastal peoples emigrated, were dispersed, or died, with the result that it is impossible to find many coastal sites which contain contact materials. Second, since much

[1] Kroeber, 1947, p. 93.
[2] Flannery, 1939, p. 192.
[3] Kroeber, 1947, Map 1a, p. 93; Weslager, 1943, pp. 42-43.
[4] Smith, 1884, pp. 55, 351.
[5] Kroeber, 1947, Map 1a, p. 93.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7

Unalachtigo and Nanticoke were closely related in culture and had a common origin.[55] For convenience the term Unalachtigo is used for the natives of southern New Jersey who in later times became part of the Delaware tribe.

The southern tip of Cape May was inhabited by a people known as the Kechemeche, and in the same area Swanton located a group he termed the Tirans.[56] In the valleys of the rivers and creeks emptying into Delaware Bay were many small groups of Delawares. On Maurice Creek were the Sewaposee (or Sewapois), and above them on Cohansey Creek the Siconesse (or Sikonesses). The Mantese (or Manta, Mante) inhabited the vicinity of Salem Creek, and north of them on Raccoon Creek were the Narraticon (or Naraticon). A group termed Asomoche has also been mentioned for this vicinity. To the north of the Narraticon in New Jersey, in the neighborhood of Pensaukin Creek, were found the Eromiex (or Ermonex, Eriwonec, Eriwoneck, Armewaxes). Near Camden was a group called the Yacomanshaghking, and extending up the east bank of the Delaware River to Burlington were several poorly known bands. Opposite the Narraticon in the vicinity of Wilmington, Delaware, were the Chikelacki (Chikohoki?), as well as the Amimenipaty, Hopokohacking, Memankitonna, and Passayank.

In sum, the people who were to comprise the Delaware tribe of the eighteenth century were drawn from a large number of small, dispersed, and essentially autonomous groups. At the dawn of historic times they were not a tribe in the political sense, and since they differed somewhat from one another in other aspects of culture, it is perhaps unwise to think of them as a tribe. It was not until these groups had become consolidated in the early decades of the eighteenth century that the term Delaware is properly applicable to them. The English name Delaware was given to these people because they were concentrated near the Delaware River in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Modern Delawares sometimes say that the term is derived from a Delaware expression meaning "I said" or "I meant." There is a phonetic similarity between this Delaware expression and the English name, but it is probably a rationalization.[57] The Delawares' term for themselves is "Lenape" which means "people."[58] They also occasionally refer to themselves as the "lenni Lenape" which means the "real" or the "original people,"[59] or something similar to "we, the people."[60]

Linguistic Affiliations

The term Delaware has been used to refer to a language of the Central type of Eastern-Central Algonkin.[61] Eastern-Central Algonkin

[55] Philhower, 1931, p. 4. Weslager, 1950, pp. 48-54, 57-58, presents strong evidence against this identification, however.

[56] Swanton, 1952, p. 50.

[57] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 114, agrees on this point.

[58] Brinton, 1885, p. 34.

[59] Wallace, 1949, p. 7.

[60] Wissler, 1941, pp. 70-71.

[61] Michelson, 1912, pp. 221-90; Bloomfield, 1946, p. 85.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7
Eastern Woodland Indians NM4

built in front of the opening before they go in and hot stones placed in the middle of the inclosed area. Not long after they have entered, they are covered with perspiration, then they crawl out and cool off, returning to repeat the same thing three or four times. Women have their own sweating ovens though they do not use them as commonly as do the men.[34]

Blood-letting and cupping are also in vogue among them. For blood-letting they use flint or glass. Of either they break off little fragments until a piece is secured that suits the purpose. This is fixed to a short stick, placed upon the artery and struck. In case of cupping, they open the skin with a knife, put a little calabash over the opening, burning birch-bast instead of a lamp.

The Delaware Nation, consisting of three tribes, the Unamis,[35] Wunalachticos[36] and Monsys,[37] formerly lived in the region about Philadelphia, also in Jersey about Trenton, Brunswick and Amboy. The Unamis are the chief people of the nation; their language, differing but little from that of the Wunalachtico, is the most melodious. The Monsy tongue is quite different, even though the three grew out of one parent language. The last named tribe lived in Minnissing[38] along the Delaware, behind the Blue Mountains.

Among Indians belonging to the Moravian Congregation on the Muskingum River there are some old people, who were in Philadelphia when the first houses were built there. They are able to relate how peaceably and agreeably the whites and Indians dwelt together, as if they had been one people, being ever ready each to serve the other. Even among the savages there are old people, who tell the following, as I have heard it from various individuals.

Before the whites had come into the land, there had been Indians who foretold that someone would come to them across the great sea. This they had repeated on various occasions in the hearing of other Indians, at the last even indicating the day when this should come to pass, the event making good their words. How these Indians could have foretold it, no one professes to know, the only explanation offered being that there

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

622 reprimand, and must promise to fulfill his duty better in the future.

The name Delawares undoubtedly has its origin with the Europeans, for neither they themselves nor other nations use this name. They call themselves the Lenni-Lenape Indians or *W'oapanachke*, that is people living towards the rising of the sun, having formerly inhabited the eastern coast of North America. It is possible that the word Delawares should have been applied to the nation; because the Unami Tribe, which lived nearest the sea, uses the word *'udellowen* very much. This word, meaning "I say," being a verb, appears frequently and in many forms in the conversation of the people. The first Europeans, not understanding the language and hearing this word very often may have made Delaware out of it and called the people thus. The Indians themselves believe this to be the explanation, though it is possible that the Europeans have another, of which I am not aware.[201]

211 If a party of Indians have spent a night in the woods, it may be easily known, not only by the structure of their sleeping huts but also by their marks on the trees, to what tribe they belong. For they always leave a mark behind made either with red pigment or charcoal. Such marks are understood by the Indians who know how to read their meaning. Some markings point out the places where a company of Indians have been hunting, showing the number of nights they spent there, the [532] number of deer, bears and other game killed during the hunt. The warriors sometimes paint their own deeds and adventures, the number of prisoners or scalps taken, the number of troops they commanded and how many fell in battle.

726 If two nations are engaged in war and the warriors of one commit some murderous act, it is not uncommon that they leave the hatchet in the head of the victim who has been scalped or lay a war-club, painted red, upon the body of the victim. This is a formal challenge, in consequence of which, a captain of the insulted party takes up the weapon of the murderers and hastens into their country to be avenged. He will do much the same thing, leaving his weapon upon the murdered, and

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

various branches of their own nation. The Monsys and Unamis call one another Nitgochk, "my companion [feminine] in play," for the reason that the whole nation has become the women. The several tribes, also, have special names and titles, which the speaker must know. These titles are not generally used but only in their councils when something of importance is to be communicated, which is done with great solemnity. They are able to express themselves with great clearness and precision, and so concisely that much circumlocution is required to convey the full meaning of their expressions in an European language. In spiritual things, of which they are totally ignorant, there was utter lack of expressions. But since the gospel has been preached among them, their language has gained much in this respect. If they intend to speak in an obscure manner, they can speak so cleverly and with so much circumstance that even Indians must puzzle out the true sense of their allusions. They are able to convey an account of a bad action so skillfully that it appears not to be a bad but a virtuous deed. The chiefs are not particularly well versed in this art of dissembling, and, therefore, very strict attention must be paid to every word of their discourse, especially, if an answer is required, and great caution is necessary in order that one may not be caught.

A speaker in council must be able to deliver his speech without hesitation. Often he has no time to prepare his subject, the different heads are only briefly named or left for him to collect from the conversation of the chiefs. He must, then, be able to comprise the whole in a speech, well arranged and uninterrupted, which requires a clear and open understanding, a faithful memory and experience in matters of state. Young men are being constantly trained for such duty. They are admitted as hearers to the council, to familiar intercourse with the chiefs, who instruct them faithfully, and are employed as ambassadors to give them an opportunity to exercise themselves in public speaking.

The pronunciation of their language is easy, only the Ch is a very deep gutteral. The greatest difficulty is presented by the compounding of words with verbs, substantives and adjectives, which is very difficult for a European to learn. They have few

Delaware culture contained in his study of Teedyskung proved particularly stimulating. His analysis of the Walking Purchase controversy is also the best I have found.

In using these documents it was found that when the statements made represented actual observations of the author, they were usually correct and could be checked with other sources. At times the authors specifically mentioned which statements were based on their own experience, and when they did not, this could sometimes be determined by the nature of the fact being related. A lot of the material, on the other hand, probably represents second-hand information. Except for statements which patently represented preconceptions of the author, however, the material gathered from the various sources proved consistent and, in most cases, capable of being checked. In addition to the precautions observed in using the earlier material, special care was taken in the use of these later writers not to assume as aboriginal customs for which there was no evidence in earlier writers.

The entire bibliography has been utilized in the present paper and represents as complete a list of the seventeenth and eighteenth century writings on Delaware ethnography as I have been able to find, but important papers based on the memories of nineteenth and twentieth century reservation Indians have been omitted. The only other work which contains anything like a thorough survey of historical sources on Delaware culture is Regina Flannery's check list of certain traits of coastal Algonkian culture (Flannery, 1939).

The Delaware of Lenape were a large, east coast tribe composed of numerous bands, the names of about twenty-five of which have been preserved. They spoke an Algonkian language related to those of tribes extending north to New England and south to Georgia. Their numbers, which have been estimated at about 8000, spread over a territory bounded on the east coast by Delaware Bay and Manhattan Island, in western Pennsylvania by the Schuylkill River, and in New York by the west bank of the Hudson River north to Kingston. In terms of the present states, this territory comprises eastern Pennsylvania, the northern coast of Delaware, all of New Jersey and a small portion of southeastern New York including Staten Island. On their west were the Susquehannock and the Iroquois. Throughout the seventeenth century the Delaware were frequently at war with the Mohawk, Susquehannock and Cherokee. By the beginning of the eighteenth century the Delaware had been pushed from their coastal position to the Susquehanna River, and in the subsequent century were driven farther to the west in Pennsylvani, Ohio and Indiana by the expanding white frontier. During this time they continued to support themselves and maintain a society socially and politically separate from that of the European colonies in America. At the end of the eighteenth century, however, they became split into small bands which affiliated with many different tribes in subsequent migrations to the south and west. A large part of the

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

PREFACE

THE following paper is intended to be the first of a series concerning different phases of the culture of the Lenape or Delaware Indians, once a numerous people forming a confederacy of three closely related tribes, the Unami, the Minsi or Muncey, and the Unala'tko or Unalachtigo, first encountered by the whites in what is now New Jersey, Delaware, eastern Pennsylvania, and southeastern New York, but at last accounts[1] reduced to some 1900 souls scattered in Oklahoma and the Province of Ontario, Canada, with a few in Wisconsin and Kansas. Of these the Lenape of Oklahoma seem to be mainly of Unami extraction, the rest largely Minsi, while the Unala'tko appear to have merged with the others and to have lost their identity.

128
101
[161]

INDIAN NOTES

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7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape
Nanticoke NM11

NANTICOKE RITES

Texts Relating to the Nanticoke

N D 101 171

It is not surprising that through early association with the Nanticoke of extreme southeastern Pennsylvania and Delaware before the Indian emigration from these regions, the Delawares should have assimilated, or had in common with this interesting tribe, certain practices and beliefs which have survived in tradition. Indeed we learn that as late as the period when the Delawares had settled down in Kansas there were among them a small number of Nanticoke families who at the time retained their peculiar language and some of their distinct customs and ceremonies. Wi'tapano'xwe was, fortunately for us, versed in some of these elements of lore and dictated his knowledge in the following text versions.

N 101

Owing to the early disruption of the Nanticoke after the abandonment of the original territory on both sides of upper Chesapeake Bay, the tribe became gradually widely dispersed among the Iroquois in Canada and the West.[1] Some of them clung to their early affiliates the Delawares, whence the memories and traditions of the tribe among the Delawares of today. A short account of Nanticoke history in connection with the Delaware Nation has been presented in the author's study of the Big House Ceremony (*op. cit.*, p. 16) and a series of references to articles on the language and ethnology of the Nanticoke has been included in it.

Nanticoke Origin of Witchcraft and Poison

N D 754

An interesting phase in the traditional history of Delaware customs comes out in a tale that attributes the origin of Delaware witchcraft and the administration of poisons to the Nanticoke. The tale in question is an accusation against the Nanticoke implying a degree of innocence on the part of the

[1] F. G. Speck, "The Nanticoke and Conoy Indians, with a Review of Linguistic Material from Manuscript and Living Sources," Historical Society of Delaware, Wilmington, 1927, pp. 1–77.

8:Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
NM7 Delaware NM7

CHAPTER IX.

Concerning the Natural Disposition, Life, Temper and Stature of the American Savage People.[1]

These wild people in New Sweden, they are not 101
called wild because we believe them to be mad and insane, but on account of their idolatry and error in religion. [They] are a kind of people 102
of brownish color,[2] quick, skillful in working with their hands, willing, clever and ready to learn and grasp a thing. In stature and form [they] are tall, some of them, medium and some, short; a well proportioned people, slender and straight as a candle. Why there are no hunchbacks among them the following chapter, concerning the rearing of their children will show, how they are treated while they are young.[3]

It is a brave people, daring, revengeful; are 131
eager for war, fearless, heroic, strong in their arms, but very weak across their back, very agile, and limber,[4] running like horses and have the

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[1] *Om dee Americaniske wilde Menniskiors naturlige skickelisse, lefnat, humeur ooh Gestalt.* Cf. Holm, *Kort Beskrifning,* 110 ff.

[2] *Af bruun achtigh colour.* Hence Lindeström does not call them red, but describes them correctly.

[3] See below, Chapt. XII.

[4] *Mycket wijge och lätte.* "They are generally quick on foot, brought up from the breasts to running; their legs being also from the wombe stretcht and bound up in a strange way on their Cradle backward, as also anointed; yet have they some that excell: So that I have knowne many of them run betweene foure-scoure or an hundred miles in a Summers day, and back in two dayes: they doe also practice running of *Races;* and commonly in the Summer, they delight to goe without shoes, although they

[pp. 1–190 not processed]

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

II. THE DELAWARE TRIBE

HISTORICAL SKETCH

The Delaware call themselves Lenape or Lenni Lenape. Their common name is derived from the fact that their first known residence was on the river so named by the English. Lindeström gives their location in 1656 as in the vicinity of Philadelphia on the west side of the Delaware River, and their kindred, the Munsee, were located on the east side. The territory that they occupied was probably much more extensive than Lindeström indicated, but little beyond the water courses had been explored in those days. The Delaware were still in possession of the river when William Penn entered into his first treaty with them in 1682.

The British administration after Penn's time was aligned with the Iroquois who assumed domination over the Delaware. It is practically impossible to determine the exact time or circumstances of the Iroquois "making women" of the Delaware, but about 1720 they denied the Delaware the right to make war or to dispose of land. Very soon the Delaware were being crowded out of their old locations by the Iroquois and the whites. They moved to various sites farther west in Pennsylvania, and by 1751 began to settle in eastern Ohio. Within a few years the majority of them were in Ohio and Indiana. The Moravian missionaries who followed them from the East established themselves in Ohio and worked with great success until the Revolution.

Distrusted by both the British and the colonists, the Delaware and particularly the Moravian converts, were harried from both sides. The Gnadenhütten Massacre in 1782 was the greatest blow dealt by the colonists, but while demoralizing, it was not as devastating as were the moves forced upon the Indians by the British the year before. The famine and other hardships resulting from these forced emigrations scattered and decimated the Christian Delaware and also created the opportunity for the

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

crease or decrease in population, although the Delaware had increased some three hunderd in number.[1]

Most of the Delaware are living on their allotments scattered through the territory originally reserved for the Cherokee. Few of their allotments are contiguous, due to the exigencies of the allotting and to the fact that many of the farms have been sold when restrictions were removed. Very few of them were fortunate enough to have oil on their lands. They either farm their fields or cash rent them. Judging from the state of repair of the houses, those that farm their own fields are more prosperous than those who rent them out. This distinction is also recognized by the Indians. The majority probably rent their fields and subsist on the small cash return, aided by the produce from their gardens, old age pensions, and other occasional sources of income. There is very little in the appearance of their houses to distinguish them from their white neighbors. Clothes and automobiles also reflect their economic status in the same way that these items do for their white neighbors.

After their incorporation with the Cherokee, the Delaware maintained their own chieftainships for a time. As the functions of these clan heads ceased, so did the rules for the filling of the offices and the need for keeping them filled. The last of the clan chiefs died about 1900. Since that time only chiefs for the entire Delaware group in northeastern Oklahoma have been elected. These were elected mostly for business purposes—to have an official representative to treat with the Federal Government on annuities and other money matters. In the election each of the three tribal divisions, Turtle, Wolf, and Turkey nominated a candidate. The man getting the most votes was elected chief and the one getting the next highest number became assistant chief. The last election was held about 1917. The chief who was elected then died about 1935, and since that time there has been no recognized chief.

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[1] Pratt, John G., to J. R. Doolittle, September 15, 1865, in *Condition of the Indian Tribes. Report of the Joint Special Committee . . .* (*Senate Reports*, 39 Congress, 2 session, No. 156, Washington, D. C., 1867), Appendix, p. 483.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

memoirs, our knowledge of the organized religious institutions of the tribe would at the present time be a blank. His contributions, accurate and trustworthy, should be consulted in connection with my study.[1]

Mr. Harrington who, between 1907 and 1910 made collections of ethnological specimens for the American Museum of Natural History, New York, and the Museum of the American Indian (Heye Foundation), incidentally devoted attention to a wide range of topics in the culture of both the Delaware and the Munsee. Aside from the publications mentioned he has manuscript material which has not yet appeared in print. On the whole our studies, as independent sources, coincide in content upon the points which are dealt with in common. I have, however, deviated from his precedent in several details. His use of the term Lenapé, which is the term the Delawares employ in referring to themselves,[2] I have discarded as a proper name for the people, preferring the term Delaware. Another matter which I have regarded in a different light is Harrington's use of the designation Unami for the Delaware proper throughout his publications for reasons of "convenience."[3] This name is not generally recognized in the tribe, there being many, including Wi·tapano'xwe, who had not heard of it until the question of its bearing had been raised. Upon the occasion of his return to his tribe in 1929, however, he inquired for particulars and learned from some older people of Munsee extraction that the eponym Unami was a Munsee term applied to the Delawares before the removal

[1] The titles of Harrington's reports on the tribe, which have come to my notice, are as follows in the order of their importance. In referring to them I shall use the Roman numbers affixed to them.

I. Religion and Ceremonies of the Lenape, Indian Notes and Monographs, Museum of the American Indian (Heye Foundation) 1921.

II. A Preliminary Sketch of Lenape Culture. American Anthropologist, Vol. XV, No. 2, 1913.

III. Vestiges of Material Culture among the Canadian Delawares, Ibid. Vol. X, No. 2, 1908.

IV. Some Customs of the Delaware Indians, Journal of the Museum, Univ. of Pa., Vol. 1, No. 2.

[2] Lon·a'pe denotes "common, human, ordinary man," in short "bourgeois." Heckewelder adds the meaning of "pure, unmixed" to the element, and also conceives it to have the sense of "original," in support of which he gives some satisfactory evidence (Heckewelder, pp. 401-2). Its use as a proper tribal name has a long antecedent. Heckewelder (op. cit., p. xii) remembered when the Delawares thought that the whites had given them the name Delaware in derision, though he says, they became reconciled to it on being told that it was the name of a great man, Lord de la War, which had been given to them and their river. As they were fond of being named after distinguished men they were pleased, considering it as a compliment. (cp. also Zeisberger, p. 145). The same author in discussing the appellation Lenape, which he says signifies "original people" from Lenni Lenape, adheres to the proper name Delaware in his work. Passing mention seems called for of a far-fetched attempt on the part of Zeisberger to extort an origin for the name Delaware from a native verb (Zeisberger p. 114) to which he himself, however, gave little weight. From lon·a'pe has developed an interesting abstraction: lon·a'pe·wi·t-an "Delaware, or human, soul," in the sense of meaning the principles of Delaware cultural life, as does also the synonym endalax'u·ega·, "our manner of life," a commonly recognized term.

[3] Harrington I, p. 124.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

of the combined tribes from Kansas about 1867. While the Delawares in Oklahoma are undoubtedly of the Unami division, as it was called by the Munsee, I have decided against the use of an alien term as a name for them. It is worth noting, at this point, as a possible aid to a future student of Delaware ethnography that Zeisberger employed the term "Unami Tribe" to designate that division of the people "which lived nearest to the sea."[1]

The Delawares of Colonial times were described as including three affiliated nations; besides the "Unami," just alluded to, the Munsee, and the so-called Unalachtigo. Whereas the Munsee had from the early period continued to exist as a group under their own name, separately from the Delawares both in Canada and the United States, and the "Unami" have been identified with the main body of the Delawares, we are not so fortunate with respect to the fate and identity of the Unalachtigo. While I am not urged to discuss the probability in full, it seems to me that evidence stands in favor of the conclusion that the people called Unalachtigo, whose identity has puzzled most of the writers applying themselves to Delaware ethnographical problems, are none other than the "Naraticons" of southern New Jersey under the guise of a dialectic name.

The Naraticons, to begin with, are given a prominent position as occupying an extensive territory in southern New Jersey. There is, in addition, a village called Naraticonk given a location on the Jersey side of the Delaware River opposite "Fort Cristina" near the mouth of a creek of the same name, now transformed into Raccoon Creek. These locations are given in a map of the region referring to a period about 1655.[2]

Acrelius (1759) also mentions "Narraticon's or Racoon's Kihl."[3] Lindeström (1656) and DeLaet (1633) mention the same name and place.[4] Brinton[5] produces further evidence on the name and says that the Unalachtigo (properly W'nalachtko for which he offers the meaning, "people who live near the ocean," from wunalawat,[6] "to go towards," and t'kow or t'kŏu, "wave"). He believed that this geographical division had its seat on the affluents of the Delaware, near Wilmington. Brinton moreover, refers to Lindstrom and Vander

[1] Zeisberger, op. cit., p. 114.
[2] Map of N. J. Visscher, in New York Public Library, reproduced in Narratives of Early Pennsylvania, West New Jersey and Delaware (1630-1707) Edited by Albert Cook Myers, N. Y. (1912). For a series of local native place names of this district see also the record of the Court at Upland, Pa., 1676-81, Pub. Hist. Soc. of Pa. 1860, and Peter Lindeström (1654-6), Geographia Americae, with an account of the Delaware Indians. Ed. by Amandus Johnson, Swedish Colonial Society, Phila., 1925; and Amandus Johnson, The Swedish Settlements in Delaware, 1638-64, N. Y. 1911.
[3] Rev. I. Acrelius' account of Swedish churches in New Sweden. Albert Cook Myers, op. cit. p. 68.
[4] De Laet (1633) N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll. 2nd, S. I., p. 303 (1843).
[5] Brinton, I., pp. 36-7.
[6] Delaware, na'wolast', "to follow."

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

619 Donck locating the Naraticons as the southernmost tribe in New Jersey
101 on Raccoon Creek, and adds the supposition that Naraticon, "is simply a translation of the Delaware nachenum,[1] raccoon." Evidence seems sufficiently strong to assign a location in southern New Jersey for a branch of the Delawares called Naraticons. We may, however disregard Brinton's attempt to explain the term, in favor of an attempt based upon this interesting term coming from native sources. The prominence of the name Naraticon on the map referred to and the extent of territory would seem to accord with its position as one of the three tribal constituents of the old Delaware nation. The term itself has interesting possibilties under analysis. In Delaware its correspondent nala'tkang, "up stream where they live," (abbreviation of nalaha'tokang, compare also nahi'tokang, "down stream where they live."

Harrington thought that the "Unala'tko" had lost their identity and merged with the Delawares in Oklahoma, since he was unable to locate survivors there under the name.[2] Heckewelder[3] refers to the Unami and Unalachtigo as the divisions of the Delawares that settled nearest to the sea. This author is responsible for recording the information that created the discussion arising since his time over "totemic affiliations" of the three geographical subdivisions of the Delawares with the Tortoise (Unami) Turkey (Unalachtigo) and Wolf (Munsee).

To the Delawares the Nanticoke are known as Wone'tko (plural wone'tkowak).[4] Some families of them migrated westward with the Delawares and kept up a distinctive form of burial as well as their language until about 1875. No information through living sources or printed records discloses testimony to indicate that this tribe performed the Big House ceremony. The informant had, however, heard the older Delawares in Oklahoma discuss the question of Nanticoke participation in the Big House. It is known that the Nanticoke performed in company with them, but it was not thought that the Nanticoke themselves had ever had the full ceremony.

796 Zeisberger has treated the ceremonies of the Delawares of his day
114 in a section covering some five pages of his book.[5] It would seem, however, if his narration is an accurate one and if his descriptions of the six or seven separate ceremonies were correctly observed and so separated in the religious practices of the tribe, that composition has taken place since his time. For the independent "feasts" which he describes are recognizable parts of the Big House ceremony and ritual of subsequent times. This nevertheless is an inference which further

[1] Brinton I, op. cit. p. 42.
[2] Harrington I, pp. 13, 134-5, and II, pp. 208-9.
[3] Heckewelder op. cit. pp. 51-3 and 250.
[4] The meaning of the term in Delaware is obscure.
[5] Zeisberger, pp. 136-141.

12:Tantaquidgeon E-5 (no date)1950
NM7 Delaware NM7

Delaware Indian Art Designs

GLADYS TANTAQUIDGEON

Introduction

101 The Delawares belong to the Algonkian linguistic stock. When referring to themselves they use the term Lenape or Lenni Lenape, which denotes "real" or "native men." The original
131 habitat of the Delawares was in southeastern New York, eastern Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Delaware. In this territory they were first visited by the Dutch,
648 Swedish and English voyagers in the 16th
175 and 17th centuries. About 1720, trouble began owing in part to pressure brought upon the Delawares by the Iroquois. This marked the beginning of a series of
167 migrations in which bands of Delawares
175 left their ancestral homes in the east and moved westward. Their first move took them to the valley of the Susquehanna, where they settled at Wyoming about 1742. By 1751 they had reached eastern Ohio and formed settlements. Another move brought numbers of them into Indiana. In 1789 they were granted permission by the Spanish government to settle in Missouri and Arkansas. Later most of the tribe was brought together on a reservation

[P.24, A]

14:Leslie A-4.5 (no date) 1951
NM7 Delaware NM7

[P.9, A]

A Tentative Catalogue of Minsi Material Culture

by VERNON LESLIE

READERS of the "Archaeologist" will recall that one of the major problems of the archaeology of northeastern Pennsylvania has been the identification of the culture of the Minsi Indians with one of the several archaeological manifestations which occur in this area.

The Minsi, it will be remembered, were the northern clan of the Delaware inhabiting the upper Delaware Valley above the Water Gap as well as adjacent areas in New York. Although mention of them is to be found in written history, the Minsi make such a brief appearance there that at present very little can be learned from early writings concerning their material culture or ethnic peculiarities.

In my treatment of certain problems of the archaeology of the upper Delaware Valley published serially in the four issues of the "Pennsylvania Archaeologist" ending with that of Vol. XVII, No. 1, 1947, because of the paucity of evidence then available, I made no attempt definitely to describe Minsi culture by implement type or otherwise. Two possibilities were mentioned ("Archaeologist", Vol. XVI, No. 2, p. 73; idem, Vol. XVII, No. 1, p. 108): that the Minsi culture could possibly be the mysterious "Coastal" culture which I had identified in the upper Delaware Valley (which will be referred to again briefly in the conclusion of the present paper) or that it could possibly be identified with an Owasco-like manisfestation occurring on several sites in the area, particularly in

15:Morgan E-5 (1859)1869
NM7 Delaware NM7
Shawnee NN17
[428(A)]
[pp 1-27 not processed]

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Along the Kansas River are the Indian Reservations. First we have at the mouth on the north side the Wyandottes, a branch of the Iroquois family. Next west of them are the Delawares, and above them are the Pottawatamies; on the south side are the Shawnees, whose lands extend from Kansas City to near Lawrence. There are short breaks between the reservations between which the white settlers have got in, but the settlers are excluded from nearly the whole of the splendid land along this river. They have continued to lease some of it and to marry Indian wives and get adopted into the tribes and thus some few have gained farms, or the possession at least of valuable land. The whites of course are anxious for the further removal of these Indians, and their wiser men will see the necessity of their removal if they would save them from extermination by the usual process.

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I understand the Shawnees have by treaty with the government[11] divided up their lands as to give to each man, woman and child 200 acres of land, to be owned in fee by each but without the power of sale for eight years, after which each may sell. The

15:Morgan E-5 (1859)1959
NM7 Delaware NM7
Munsee

[p 59]
[p 58 not processed]

Munsees

101 The Munsees are closely allied to the Dela-
614 wares. They have the three tribes, Wolf,
[582] Turtle and Turkey, with the prohibition of
[611] intermarriage in the tribe, and with descent
in the female line. This Toucey told me who
101 has lived among them. They are old Con-
162 necticut Indians. There are about 50 near
131 Fort Leavenworth, and some I think near
Green Bay.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7
Cherokee NM8

guages, is of opinion that they were not called *Talligewi*, but *Alligewi*, and it would seem that he is right, from the traces of their name which still remain in the country, the Allegheny river and mountains having indubitably been named after them. The Delawares still call the former *Alligéwi Sipu*, the River of the Alligewi. We have adopted, I know not for what reason, its Iroquois name, Ohio, which the French had literally translated into *La Belle Riviere*, The Beautiful River.* A branch of it, however, still retains the ancient name Allegheny.

Many wonderful things are told of this famous people. They are said to have been remarkably tall and stout, and there is a tradition that there were giants among them, people of a much larger size than the tallest of the Lenape. It is related that they had built to themselves regular fortifications or entrenchments, from whence they would sally out, but were generally repulsed. I have seen many of the fortifications said to have been built by them, two of which, in particular, were remarkable. One of them was near the mouth of the river Huron, which empties itself into the Lake St. Clair, on the north side of that Lake, at the distance of about 20 miles N. E. of Detroit. This spot of ground was, in the year 1786, owned and occupied by a Mr. Tucker. The other works, properly entrenchments, being walls or banks of earth regularly thrown up, with a deep ditch on the outside, were on the Huron river, east of the Sandusky, about six or eight miles from Lake Erie. Outside of the gateways of each of these two entrenchments, which lay within a mile of each other, were a number of large flat mounds, in which, the Indian pilot said, were buried hundreds of the slain Talligewi, whom I shall hereafter with Col. Gibson call *Alligewi*. Of these entrenchments, Mr. Abraham Steiner, who was with me at the time when I saw them, gave a very accurate description, which was

* Loskiel's History of the Mission of the United Brethren, Part I. Chap. 1.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7
Cherokee NM8
Iroquois NM9

C D I 173 No quarters were given, so that the Alligewi, at last, finding that their destruction was inevitable if they persisted in their obstinacy, abandoned the country to the conquerors, and fled down the Mississippi river, from whence they never returned. The war which was carried on with this nation, lasted many years, during which the Lenape lost a great number of their warriors, while the Mengwe would always hang back in the rear, leaving them to face the enemy. In the end, the conquerors divided the country between themselves; the Mengwe made choice of the lands in the vicinity of the great Lakes, and on their tributary streams, and the Lenape took possession of the country to the south. For a long D 173 period of time, some say many hundred years, the two nations resided peaceably in this country, and increased very fast; some of their most enterprising huntsmen and warriors, crossed the great swamps,* and falling on streams running to the eastward, followed them down to the great Bay River,† thence into the Bay itself, which we call Chesapeak. As they pursued their travels, partly by land, and partly by water, sometimes near and at other times on the great Saltwater Lake, as they call the Sea, they discovered the great River, which we call the D Delaware; and thence exploring still eastward, the *Scheyichbi* country, now named New Jersey, they arrived at [103] another great stream, that which we call the Hudson or North River. Satisfied with what they had seen, they, (or some of them) after a long absence, returned to their nation and reported the discoveries they had made; they described the country they had discovered, as abounding in game and various kinds of fruits; and the rivers and bays, with fish, tortoises, &c. together with abundance of water-fowl, and no enemy to be dreaded. They considered the event as a fortunate one for them, and

* The *Glades*, that is to say that they crossed the mountains.

† Meaning the river Susquehannah, which they call "the great Bay River," from where the west branch falls into the main stream.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

concluding this to be the country destined for them by the Great Spirit, they began to emigrate thither, as yet but in small bodies, so as not to be straitened for want of provisions by the way, some even laying by for a whole year; at last they settled on the four great rivers (which we call Delaware, Hudson, Susquehannah, and Potomack) making the Delaware, to which they gave the name of "*Lenapewihittuck*,"* (the river or stream of the Lenape) the centre of their possessions.

They say, however, that the whole of their nation did not reach this country; that many remained behind in order to aid and assist that great body of their people, which had not crossed the Namæsi Sipu, but had retreated into the interior of the country on the other side, on being informed of the reception which those who had crossed had met with, and probably thinking that they had all been killed by the enemy.

Their nation finally became divided into three separate bodies; the larger body, which they suppose to have been one half of the whole, were settled on the Atlantic, and the other half was again divided into two parts, one of which, the strongest as they suppose, remained beyond the Mississippi, and the remainder where they left them, on this side of that river.

Those of the Delawares who fixed their abode on the shores of the Atlantic divided themselves into three tribes. Two of them, distinguished by the names of the *Turtle* and the *Turkey*, the former calling themselves *Unámis* and the other *Unalachtgo*, chose those grounds to settle on, which lay nearest to the sea, between the coast and the high mountains. As they multiplied, their settlements extended from the *Mohicannittuck* (river of the Mohicans, which we call the North or Hudson river) to

* The word "Hittuck," in the language of the Delawares, means a rapid stream; "Sipo," or "Sipu," is the proper name for a river.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

173 beyond the Potomack. Many families with their con-
131 nexions choosing to live by themselves, were scattered
101 not only on the larger but also on the small streams, throughout the country, having towns and villages, where they lived together in separate bodies, in each of which a chief resided; those chiefs, however, were subordinate (by their own free will, the only kind of subordination which the Indians know) to the head chiefs or great council of the nation, whom they officially informed of all events or occurrences affecting the general interest which came to their knowledge. The third tribe, the *Wolf*, commonly called the *Minsi*, which we have corrupted into *Monseys*, had chosen to live back of the two other tribes, and formed a kind of bulwark for their protection, watching the motions of the Mengwe, and being at hand to afford their aid in case of a rupture with them. The Minsi were considered the most warlike and active branch of the Lenape. They extended
[103] their settlements, from the *Minisink*, a place named after them, where they had their council seat and fire, quite up to the Hudson on the east; and to the west or south west far beyond the Susquehannah: their northern boundaries were supposed originally to be the heads of the great rivers Susquehannah and Delaware, and their southern boundaries that ridge of hills known in New Jersey by the name of *Muskanecun*, and in Pennsylvania, by those of *Lehigh*, *Coghnewago*, &c. Within this boundary were their principal settlements; and even as late as the year 1742, they had a town, with a large peach orchard, on the tract of land where *Nazareth*, in Pennsylvania, has since been built; another on *Lehigh*, (the west branch of the Delaware,) and others beyond the blue ridge, besides small family settlements here and there scattered.

173 From the above *three* tribes, the *Unamis*, *Unalachtgo*,

l:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

173 648 "ed that too. They penetrated into the woods, in quest "of game, they discovered spots of land which pleased "them; that land they also wanted, and because we "were loth to part with it, as we saw they had already "more than they had need of, they took it from us by "force and drove us to a great distance from our ancient "homes."

[103] "By and by the *Dutchemaan** arrived at *Manahach-* "*tánienk*,"† (here they relate with all its details what has been said in the preceding chapter.) "The great man "wanted only a little, little land, on which to raise "greens for his soup, just as much as a bullock's "hide would cover. Here we first might have observed "their deceitful spirit. The bullock's hide was cut "up into little strips, and did not cover, indeed, but en- "circled a very large piece of land, which we foolishly "granted to them. They were to raise *greens* on it, in- "stead of which they planted *great guns*; afterwards they "built strong houses, made themselves masters of the "Island, then went up the river to our enemies, the "Mengwe, made a league with them, persuaded us by "their wicked arts to lay down our arms, and at last "drove us entirely out of the country." Here, of course, is related at full length, the story which we have told in the first chapter. Then the Delawares proceed.

[103] "When the *Fengeese*‡ arrived at *Machtitschwanne*,§ "they looked about every where for good spots of land, "and when they found one, they immediately and with- "out ceremony possessed themselves of it; we were as-

* The Hollanders.

† Manhattan, or New York Island.

‡ An Indian corruption of the word *English*, whence probably the nickname *Yankees*.

§ This word means "a cluster of Islands with channels every way, "so that it is in no place shut up or impassable for craft." The Indians think that the white people have corrupted this word into *Massachusetts*. It deserves to be remarked as an example of the comprehensiveness of the Indian languages.

a [orrata. See cat. 116, p. 348. - Andrist]

l:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

"tonished, but still we let them go on, not thinking it 173
"worth while to contend for a little land. But when at 648
"last they came to our favourite spots, those which lay
"most convenient to our fisheries, then bloody wars en-
"sued: we would have been contented that the white
"people and we should have lived quietly beside each
"other; but these white men encroached so fast upon us,
"that we saw at once we should lose all, if we did not
"resist them. The wars that we carried on against
"each other, were long and cruel. We were enraged
"when we saw the white people put our friends and
"relatives whom they had taken prisoners on board of
"their ships, and carry them off to sea, whether to drown
"or sell them as slaves, in the country from which they
"came, we knew not, but certain it is that none of them
"have ever returned or even been heard of. At last
"they got possession of the whole of the country which
"the Great Spirit had given us. One of our tribes was
"forced to wander far beyond Quebec; others dispersed
"in small bodies, and sought places of refuge where they
"could; some came to Pennsylvania; others went far to
"the westward and mingled with other tribes.

"To many of those, Pennsylvania was a last, de-
"lightful asylum. But here, again, the Europeans dis-
"turbed them, and forced them to emigrate, although
"they had been most kindly and hospitably received.
"On which ever side of the *Lenapewihittuck*,* the white [103]
"people landed, they were welcomed as brothers by our
"ancestors, who gave them lands to live on, and even
"hunted for them, and furnished them with meat out of
"the woods. Such was our conduct to the white men,†
"who inhabited this country, until our elder brother, the

* The Delaware river. I have said above, p. 33. that *Hittuck* means a rapid stream. I should have added that it means so only when placed at the end of another word, and used as a compound. Singly, it signifies a *tree*. [192]

† The Swedes and Dutch

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"great and good MIQUON,* came and brought us words
"of peace and good will. We believed his words, and
"his memory is still held in veneration among us. But
"it was not long before our joy was turned into sor-
"row: our brother Miquon died, and those of his good
"counsellors who were of his mind, and knew what
"had passed between him and our ancestors, were no
"longer listened to; the strangers† who had taken their
"places, no longer spoke to us of sitting down by the
"side of each other as brothers of one family, they for-
"got that friendship which their great man had esta-
"blished with us, and was to last to the end of time;
"they now only strove to get all our land from us by
"fraud or by force, and when we attempted to remind them
"of what our good brother had said, they became angry,
"and sent word to our enemies the Mengwe, to meet
[103] "them at a great concil which they were to hold with us
"at *Læhauwake*,‡ where they should take us by the hair
"of our heads, and shake us well. The Mengwe came,
"the council was held, and in the presence of the white
"men, who did not contradict them, they told us that we
"were women, and that they had made us such; that we
"had no right to any land, because it was all theirs; that
"we must be gone; and that as a great favour they permit-
"ted us to go and settle further into the country, at the
"place which they themselves pointed out at Wyoming."§

Thus these good Indians, with a kind of melancholy pleasure, recite the long history of their sufferings. After having gone through these painful details, they seldom fail to indulge in bitter, but too just reflections upon the men of Europe. "We and our kindred tribes," say they, "lived in peace and harmony with each other,

* William Penn.

† Land traders and speculators.

‡ Easton.

§ This actually took place at a treaty held at Easton, in July and November, 1756.

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pulation was gradually reduced, but they lost the desire of becoming a civilised people; for the Americans, at last, become exasperated against them, and considering all Indians as their enemies, they sent parties out from time to time to destroy them. The murder of the Christian Indians on the Muskingum in 1782, completed their alienation. Those who yet remained were driven to despair, and finally dispersed.

It is not in my power to ascertain the whole number of the Lenni Lenape, or Delaware Indians, still existing at the present time. As far as I am informed, they are very much scattered, a number of them, chiefly of the Monsey tribe, living in Upper Canada, others are in the state of Ohio, and some on the waters of the Wabash in the Indiana territory. A considerable number of them has crossed the Mississippi. Their first emigrations to that country had already begun between the years 1780 and 1790. What the numbers of this nation were when the Europeans first came into this country is difficult to tell; all I can say is, that so early as 1760, their oldest men would say that they were not then as many hundreds as they had been thousands. They have considerably decreased since that period. I saw them myself between the years 1754 and 1760, by hundreds at a time, and Loskiel in his history gives an account of upwards of 800 having been fed at Bethlehem in one year. In the year 1762, while I lived at Tuscorawas on the Muskingum, they were settled on that river and its branches, and also on the Cayahoga river, which empties into Lake Erie, in the neighbourhood of which they had since a small Christian settlement called *Pilgerruh*, (Pilgrim's rest.)*

* Loskiel, part III. ch. 12.

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553 rally torn or patched, was called *Bad Shoes*. All those names are generally expressed in one single word, in compounding which the Indians are very ingenious. Thus, the name they had for the place where Philadelphia now [103] stands, and which they have preserved notwithstanding the great change which has taken place, is *Kúequenáku*,* which means, *The grove of the long pine trees*.

103 They have proper names, not only for all towns, villages, mountains, valleys, rivers, and streams, but for all remarkable spots, as for instance, those which are particularly infested with gnats or musquitoes, where snakes have their dens, &c. Those names always contain an allusion to such particular circumstance, so that foreigners, even though acquainted with their language, will often be at a loss to understand their discourse.

829 To strangers, white men for instance, they will give
648 names derived from some remarkable quality which they
551 have observed in them, or from some circumstance which remarkably strikes them. When they were told the meaning of the name of William Penn, they translated it into their own language by *Miquon*, which means a feather or quill. The Iroquois called him *Onas*, which in their idiom means the same thing.

The first name given by the Indians to the Europeans who landed in Virginia was *Wapsid Lenape* (white people;) when, however, afterwards they began to commit murders on the red men, whom they pierced with swords, they gave to the Virginians the name *Mechanschicau*, (long knives,) to distinguish them from others of the same colour.

In New England, they at first endeavoured to imitate the sound of the national name of the *English*, which they pronounced *Yengees*. They also called them *Chauquaquock*, (men of knives) for having imported those instruments into the country, which they gave in presents

* According to the powers of the English alphabet, it should be written Koo-ek-wen-aw-koo

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in which numbers of them were actually starved to death. The case I allude to was so singular a circumstance, that it seems the cruel act to which it gave rise was almost unavoidable. I shall relate it here as I have received it from the most unquestionable authority.

In the winter of 1739—40, ever since remembered as the hard winter, when the ground was covered with a very deep snow, a woman with three children, was coming from beyond the Allegheny mountains on a visit to her friends or relations residing at the great island on the west branch of the Susquehannah. After she had reached that river somewhere about *Achtschingi Clammui*, which the whites have corrupted into *Chingleclamoose*, the snow fell in earlier than had been before known, to such a depth, that she could not proceed any farther. She began with putting herself and her children on short allowance, in hopes that the weather might become more moderate, or the snow so hard that they could walk over it. She strove to make her little store of provisions last as long as she could, by using the grass which grew on the river's edge, and certain barks as substitutes, which she boiled to make them digestible; but more snow falling, until at last it rose to the height of a fathom or six feet, she was deprived even of that wretched food, and the wolves hovering about day and night, often attempting to rush into her little encampment, her whole time was taken up with procuring wood and making fires to prevent herself and her children from being frozen to death, and keeping those voracious animals at a distance by throwing out fire-brands to them. Her situation, at last, became intolerable. Having no alternative but that of sacrificing one of her children, she resolved on destroying the youngest, in order to preserve the others and herself from the most dreadful death. After much hesitation, she turned away her eyes and with a trembling hand gave the fatal stroke, filling at the same time the air with her loud lamentations.—She now thought she had obtain-

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266 ed a temporary relief, and that she might be able to support herself and her surviving children until a change in the weather should take place, so that they could be able to proceed on their journey; but the wolves getting the scent of the slaughtered child, became more furious than before, her danger every moment became more imminent. She now filled the air with her cries and supplications to the Great Spirit that he would look down with compassion on their awful condition, and save them by his almighty power.—But still the danger increased, the horrid food was almost exhausted, and no relief came. Already she contemplated sacrificing another child; she looked at each of them again and again with a mother's eye, now resolving on killing the one, then changing her mind, and endeavouring to determine on the destruction of the other; she hesitated, wept, despaired, and the children, well understanding what she meant, prayed that they might all die together. While in this situation, her hand already lifted to strike the fatal stroke, the yell of two approaching Indians strikes her ear, and the murderous weapon falls from her hand. The men with rackets to their feet now appear and the dreadful scene is at once closed. They had provisions with them. They made a pair of rackets for the woman to walk on, and brought her and her children along in safety to the Big Island, where my informants resided at the time. I cannot remember whether they told me that they had gone to that spot in consequence of a dream, or of some strong presentiment that they should find human creatures in distress; certain I am, however, that it was owing to one or other of these causes.

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[103] The place where this awful event took place was since called *Enda Mohátink*, which means "where human flesh was eaten." This name has been very familiar to the Indians who resided in that part of the country.

156
184 There is a spot of land at the edge of the great Pine or Beech Swamp, precisely where it is crossed by the

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them all through. "No matter, Father!" answered they in a jocular manner, "give us only rain and we will cheerfully bear the soaking." They then passed on, and I proceeded to *Goschachking*, the village to which I was going. I mentioned the circumstance to the chief of the place, and told him that I thought it impossible that we should have rain while the sky was so clear as it then was and had been for near five weeks together, without its being previously announced by some signs or change in the atmosphere. But the chief answered: "*Chenos* "knows very well what he is about; he can at any time "predict what the weather will be; he takes his observa- "tions morning and evening from the river or something "in it." On my return from this place after three o'clock in the afternoon, the sky still continued the same until about four o'clock, when all at once the horizon became overcast, and without any thunder or wind it began to rain, and continued so for several hours together, until the ground became thoroughly soaked.

I am of opinion that this man, like others whom I have known, was a strict observer of the weather, and that his prediction that day was made in consequence of his having observed some signs in the sky or in the water, which his experience had taught him to be the forerunners of rain; yet the credulous multitude did not fail to ascribe it to his supernatural power.

The ingredients for a bad hunter, to make him have good luck, are tied up in a bit of cloth, and must be worn near his skin while he is hunting. The preparations intended to create love between man and wife, are to be slily conveyed to the frigid party by means of his victuals or drink.

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792 668 "among us; you are to return to that former happy "state, in which we lived in peace and plenty, before "these strangers came to disturb us, and above all, you "must abstain from drinking their deadly *beson*, which "they have forced upon us, for the sake of increasing "their gains and diminishing our numbers. Then will "the great Spirit give success to our arms; then he will "give us strength to conquer our enemies, to drive them "from hence, and recover the passage to the heavenly "regions which they have taken from us."

Such was in general the substance of his discourses. After having dilated more or less on the various topics which I have mentioned, he commonly concluded in this manner: "And now, my friends, in order that what I "have told you may remain firmly impressed on your "minds, and to refresh your memories from time to time, "I advise you to preserve, in every family, at least, "such a book or writing as this, which I will finish off "for you, provided you bring me the price, which is only [435] "one buck-skin or two doe-skins a piece."* The price was of course bought, and the book purchased. In some of those maps, the figure of a deer or turkey, or both, was placed in the heavenly regions, and also in the dreary region of the evil spirit; the former, however, appeared fat and plump, while the latter seemed to have nothing but skin and bones.

I was also well acquainted with another noted preacher, named *Wangomend*, who was of the Monsey tribe. He began to preach in the year 1766, much in the same manner as the one I have just mentioned. When Mr. [103] Zeisberger first came to *Goschgoschink* town, on the Allegheny river, this Indian prophet became one of his hearers, but finding that the Missionary's doctrine did not agree with his own, he became his enemy. This man also pretended that his call as a preacher was not of his own choice, but that he had been moved to it by

* Of the value of one dollar.

[erratum. See cat. 116, p. 348. - Ed.]

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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the great and good Spirit, in order to teach his countrymen, who were on the way to perdition, how they could become reconciled to their God. He would make his followers believe that he had once been taken so near to heaven, that he could distinctly hear the crowing of the cocks, and that at another time he had been borne by unseen hands to where he had been permitted to take a peep into the heavens, of which there were three, one for the Indians, one for the negroes and another for the white people. That of the Indians he observed to be the happiest of the three, and that of the whites the unhappiest; for they were under chastisement for their ill treatment of the Indians and for possessing themselves of the land which God had given to them: They were also punished for making beasts of the negroes, by selling them as the Indians do their horses and dogs, and beating them unmercifully, although God had created them as well as the rest of mankind.

The novelty of these visions procured him hearers for a time; he found, however, at last, that the Indians became indifferent to his doctrines, particularly as he frequently warned them not to drink the *poison* brought to them by the white people, of which his congregations were very fond. Then he bethought himself of a more popular and interesting subject, and began to preach against witchcraft and those who dealt in the black art. Here he had all the passions and prejudices of the poor Indians on his side, and he did not fail to meet with the general approbation, when he declared to them that wizzards were getting the upper hand, and would destroy the nation, if they were not checked in their career. He travelled in 1775, to *Goschachking*, at the forks of Muskingum, to lay this business before the great council of the Delawares, and take their opinion upon it. The first report which the Missionaries on the Muskingum heard on this subject, was that the chiefs had at first united in having every conjurer and witch in

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca.1800) 1819
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mode of speaking, not that of the Indians, who never look upon them as having been so many *nations*; but *divisions* and *tribes*, who, as united, have become a nation. Thus, when the Lenape (Delawares) happen to name them as one body, the word they make use of implies "the five divisions together, or united," as will be seen in another place of this work. I call them also *Iroquois*, after the French and some English writers. 128

The *Wyandots*, or *Wyondots*, are the same whom the French call *Hurons*, and sometimes *Guyandots*. Father Sagard, a French Missionary, who lived among them in the 17th century, and has written an account of his mission, and a kind of dictionary of their language, says their proper name is *Ahouandáte*, from whence it is evident that the English appellation Wyandots has been derived.

There being so many words in the language of the Lenape and their kindred tribes, the sound of which cannot well be represented according to the English pronunciation, I have in general adopted for them the German mode of spelling. The *ch*, particularly before a consonant, is a strong guttural, and unless an Englishman has the use of the Greek χ, he will not be able to pronounce it, as in the words *Chasquem* (Indian corn,) *Cheltol* (many,) *Ches* (a skin,) *Chauchschisis* (an old woman,) and a great many more. Sometimes, indeed, in the middle of a word substitutes may be found which may do, as in the word *Nimachtak* (brethren,) which might be written, *Nemaughtok*, but this will seldom answer. This is probably the reason that most of the English authors have written Indian words so incorrectly, far more so than French authors. 104 194 [192] [114]

The Delawares have neither of the letters R, F, nor V, in their language, though they easily learn to pronounce them. They have a consonant peculiar to them and other Indians, which is a sibilant, and which we

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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represent by W. It is produced by a soft whistling, and is not unpleasant to the ear, although it comes before a consonant. It is not much unlike the English sound *wh* in *what*, but not so round or full, and rather more whistled. *W* before a vowel is pronounced as in English.

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"shew it by your firmness and not cry and whimper
"like an old woman. You know, bear, that our tribes
"are at war with each other, and that yours was the ag-
"gressor.* You have found the Indians too powerful
"for you, and you have gone sneaking about in the
"woods, stealing their hogs; perhaps at this time you
"have hog's flesh in your belly. Had you conquered
"me, I would have borne it with courage and died like
"a brave warrior; but you, bear, sit here and cry,
"and disgrace your tribe by your cowardly conduct."
I was present at the delivery of this curious invective; when the hunter had despatched the bear, I asked him how he thought that poor animal could understand what he said to it? "Oh!" said he in answer, "the bear un-
"derstood me very well; did you not observe how *ashamed*
"he looked while I was upbraiding him?"

Another time I witnessed a similar scene between the falls of the Ohio and the river Wabash. A young white man, named *William Wells*,† who had been when a boy taken prisoner by a tribe of the Wabash Indians, by whom he was brought up, and had imbibed all their notions, had so wounded a large bear that he could not move from the spot, and the animal cried piteously like the one I have just mentioned. The young man went up to him, and with seemingly great earnestness, addressed him in the Wabash language, now and then giving him a slight stroke on the nose with his ram-rod. I asked him, when he had done, what he had been saying to this bear? "I have," said he, "upbraided him for acting

* Probably alluding to a tradition which the Indians have of a very ferocious kind of bear, called the *naked bear*, which they say once existed, but was totally destroyed by their ancestors. The last was killed in the New York state, at a place they called *Hoosink*, which means the *Basin*, or more properly the *Kettle*.

† The same whom Mr. de Volney speaks of in his excellent "View of the Soil and Climate of United States." Supplement, No. VI. page 356. Philadelphia Edition, 1804.

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
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Lenape, not so much, of course, with regard to the subject matter of the present paper, as of others in preparation.

Most of the information was gathered while the writer was collecting ethnological specimens for the Heye Museum of New York, now the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, during the years 1907 to 1910; but some of the Canadian data were procured earlier while in the field for Mr E. T. Tefft of New York, whose collection is now in the American Museum of Natural History.

Without knowledgeof the Delaware language in its divergent dialects, and without any pretension of being a philologist, the writer has endeavored to record the Lenape words as he heard them, depending for translation on his interpreter *pro tem.* Hence some inaccuracies at least are inevitable. The alphabet used is as follows:

VOWELS	CONSONANTS
a as in arch.	*c* like English sh.
ă as in cat.	' a slight aspirate.
å as in fall.	ⁿ gives the preceding vowel a nasal sound.
aĭ as in aisle.	

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e like a in fate.
ĕ as in met.
i as in machine.
ĭ as in hit.
o as in note.
u as in flute.
ŭ as in but.
ŭ as in full.
ᵊ faintly whispered.
ʟ a surd l.
x like German ch.
Other consonants approximately as in English.

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It was intended at first to publish the mass of material thus obtained in the form of a monograph on the ethnology of the Lenape; but later it was seen that while some phases of their culture could be described in considerable detail, there were others not so well represented in our notes. It was therefore finally decided to publish at once such parts as were ready, in the form of separate papers, and to leave the others until more detailed information could be obtained.

No extended comparisons of the religion and ceremonies of the Lenape with those of other tribes will be attempted in this paper, these being reserved for a projected article to embody the results of a comparative study of Lenape culture.

M. R. HARRINGTON

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string around their neck or in a bag. They often bring offerings to it. In their houses of sacrifice they have a head of this idol as large as life put upon a pole in the middle of the room." 776 778

In his Dictionary, Zeisberger gives the word for "idol" as *mĕsink'*, so it seems probable that the *W* in "Wsinkhoalikan" is a misprint for *M*. [114] [104]

MOTHER CORN

One of the important *manï'towik* of the old days was the Corn Goddess, known as "Mother Corn" of whom one of the Unami legends collected by the writer relates that "It was God's will that the Corn Spirit abide in the far heavenly region in the image of an aged woman, with dominion over all vegetation." Although little remembrance of the details of her worship can now be found among the Oklahoma Lenape, she is mentioned as a Guardian Spirit; while at the Minsi ceremonies at Grand River Reserve in Ontario, she was one of the twelve benefactors of mankind to whom the thanks of the people were offered, 776

7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

EXPLANATION OF CHARACTERS USED IN THE TEXTS

The following key explains the symbols for sounds as written in the accompanying texts. 104 194

p, b bilabials, occasionally intermediate when preceding the dark vowels, a, o, u.

p' a true, slightly aspirated, surd.

m bilabial similar to English m.

t surd, as t in English *ten*.

d intermediate alveolar sonant between surd and sonant quality.

t' a pure slightly aspirated surd.

s surd, sibilant, corresponding to English s when followed or preceded by i, otherwise postdental, bringing it closer to the interdental θ, (th) with which it corresponds in Munsee.

n alveolar, not differing from English n.

ŋ post-palatal, corresponding to English ng in *king*.

k somewhat intermediate surd stop, medial palatal similar to English k in *lock*.

k^{w} the preceding sound followed by aspiration followed by closure of lips as in position for w.

g sonant stop, corresponds to English g in *go*.

l not differing from English l.

l̥ voiceless lateral. Not a frequent sound.

' aspirated, rough breathing following vowel.

h more forcible breathing than preceding, posterior lingual position but no contact with palate (h may be juxtaposed to s, c, t, not equivalent to English sh, ch, th).

x surd, aspirant, palatal-lingual in position, similar to ch in German *bach*.

c medial palatal surd, as sh in English *wish*.

tc surd affricative, as ch in English *church*.

w, y semivowels.

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Lenape

· denotes lengthening, or as in English doubling, of vowel or consonant.

ʷ whispered with position of lips for w, after g or k.

Vowels.

a, e, o, u, i open, medium length.

a^a, e^a, o^a, u^a, i^i open, long, with prolongation.

ą, nasalized.

a as in German *Mann*.

e as in English *yes*.

o as in English *Moses*, but more open, often difficult to distinguish from u.

u rounded as in English *put*.

i as in English *pin*.

i· as ee in English *queen*, or as in French *si*.

ai, ao, au } full glides, not diphthongs.

ə mid-mixed vowel, shorter than *ɑ*.

ɑ open, obscure, as English u in *but*. Sometimes with nasal quality.

ɔ· closed long.

ɔ closed, medium long a like English aw in *law*.

ˈ stress accent without regard for the possibility that voice pitch may prove later to have a more formal status than that of rhetorical sentence cadence.

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9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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Table of Elements

\+ = element present
— = element denied
(+) or (—) = source ambiguous
* = informant could not or would not say
§ = some, sometimes, or several
† or * = see Ethnographic Notes, pp. 79-137 for additional information

	Williams	Van der Donck	Lindestrøm	Zeisberger	Heckewelder	Johnston	Pipe	Chipps	J. W.	W. T.	E. R.	W. L.
Astronomy, Mathematics, etc.												
1. Any opinion respecting the planetary system				+		—	•—	—	+	+	+	+
2. Origin myth		+			+		•+	•+	+	+	+	+
3. Earth is round				—	—			—	+	•+	•+	•+
4. immovable, shakes but does not revolve				+		+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+
5. Divide year into 4 seasons	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
6. Names	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
7. Divide year in ___ moons or months †	13			12	12	12	12	12	12	12	•	12
8. Sun is deity †	+	+		+		+	+	•	+	+	+	+
9. Moon is deity †	+	+		+		+	+	•	+	+	+	•
10. Opinion respecting eclipses †				+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•	+
11. Names for any star	+	+		+	+	—	•	—	+	+	+	+
12. Count by tens	+			+		+			+	•	+	+
13. Arithmetic in abstract				—		—	—	—	+	+	+	+
14. Four cardinal points †	+					+	+	—	•+	•+	+	+
15. Prognostics respecting weather						+	•	+	+	+	s	+
16. Meteors are indication of evil †						+	•	•	+	+	+	—
17. are misbehaving stars moving							+	•	—		—	+
18. Ceremonies on appearance of new moon						•—	—	•—	—	—	•	—
19. Calculate time of reappearance †						+	—	+	+	+		+
20. Regulate course in unknown country												
by the sun						+		+		+	+	+
by stars							+			+	+	
Religion												
21. Concept of Supreme Being †	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
22. Subordinate deities †	+		(+)	+	+	+	+	—	+	—	+	+
23. Evil Spirits †			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
24. Supreme Being superior to subordinate and evil spirits				+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
25. Subordinate spirits dominant over evil spirits					+	+	+	•	+	•	+	+

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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614 621 We may dismiss for the present, the problem of their origin after giving the opinion of our informant, with which Harrington coincides, that they were local groups, district populations in an older habitat, which had accumulated the characteristic of sib groupings with maternal descent and exogamy. Heckewelder,[1] over a century ago, who knew the Delawares so well, had sound reasons for his opinion on the character of the triple "totemic" groupings as being geographical divisions, originally tribal subdivisions. These, he continues to say in his discussion, again developed local sub-groupings that took name from localities, the eighteen so-called "clans" of Morgan and Harrington. The Delaware designation for these groups is wihil-a'l-n, "name or title."

128 EXPLANATION OF CHARACTERS USED IN THE TEXT

In general conformity with the suggestions of the committee on the transcription of Indian languages, I have employed the following characters in the transcription of the text. Occasional variation in the spelling of native terms will be found in the narrative, due to variability of pronunciation by the informant. This it has been thought wiser to retain until a more detailed study of sounds and phonetic laws can be made.

194 104 The Oklahoma dialect does not abound in the voiceless final vowels and syllables which, according to Sapir,[2] characterise the dialect spoken by the Delawares of the Grand River reserve in Ontario.

There is no indication whatever in Delaware of an *r*, or *th* (*θ*) recorded by Brinton for instance, (in Lenape Dictionary), as in Munsee and Mahikan, and by Campanius (1645-96).[3]

p, *b* bilabials, occasionally intermediate when preceding the dark vowels, *a*, *o*, *u*.

p, a true, slightly aspirated, surd

m bilabial similar to English *m*.

t surd, as *t* in English ten.

d intermediate alveolar sonant between surd and sonant quality.

t' a pure slightly aspirated surd.

s surd, sibilant, corresponding to English *s* when followed or preceded by *i*, otherwise with slightly deflected tongue tip bringing it closer to *θ*, *(th)* with which it corresponds in Munsee.

n alveolar, not differing from English *n*.

ŋ post-palatal, corresponding to English *ng* in king.

k somewhat intermediate surd stop, medial palatal similar to English *k* in lock. Often not distinguishable from *g*.

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[1] Heckewelder, op. cit., pp. 51-52, 250.

[2] E. Sapir, Geol. Survey of Canada, Summary Report, 1912, p. 6.

[3] The supposed change from *r* to *l* in later Delaware is discussed by Heckewelder, Trans. Amer. Philos. Soc. IV, 1834, pp. 351-96.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

k^w the preceding sound followed by aspiration followed by closure of lips as in position for *w*. 194 104

g sonant stop, corresponds to English *g* in go.

l not differing from English *l*.

l surd lateral *l* with moderate aspiration. Not a frequent sound.

ʰ aspirated, rough breathing following vowel.

h̀ more forcible breathing than preceding, posterior lingual position but no contact with palate. (not equivalent to English sh, ch, th). h̀ may be juxtaposed to s, c, t.

x surd, spirant, palatal-lingual in position, similar to *ch* in German bach (This was written *ch* by the German missionaries (Zeisberger and Heckewelder) in Pennsylvania and Ohio, who wrote Delaware. Occasionally it becomes a spirant uvular, with medium stress force. It varies in quality from a strong h̀ to a completely closed spirant, but is always voiceless. (Roman x in English text).

c medial palatal surd, as *sh* in English wish.

tc surd affricative, as *ch* in English church.

w, *y* semi-vowels

· denotes lengthening, or as in English doubling, of vowel or consonant.

ʷ whispered with position of lips for *w*, after *g* or *k*.

Vowels

a, e, o, u, i open, medium length.

$a^·$, $e^·$, $o^·$, $u^·$, $i^·$ open, long, with prolongation

æ as in German mann.

e as in English yes.[1]

o as in English Moses, but more open, often difficult to distinguish from *u*.

ʉ labialized as in English put.

i as in English pin.

ɨ as *es* in English queen, or as in French *si*.

ˈ, ˢ indicate whispered vowel following preceding sound.

æi, *ao*, *au* } full glides, not dipthongs.

ə open obscure, shorter than *ə*.

ə open, obscure, as English u in but. Sometimes with nasal quality.

ɔ· closed long .

ɔ closed, medium long a like English *aw* in law.

The texts in Delaware and English are divided off to form corresponding paragraphs and sentences on opposite pages.

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[1] This sound Doctor Michelson represents by *ĕ* in his Delaware texts and notes. To my ear, however, as heard from the dictation Wi.tapano'xwa, it inclines to the *e* series.

2;Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7

A SUMMARY OF DELAWARE CULTURE

105

The means of subsistence of the Delawaran peoples at the opening of the historic period were fairly simple but richly diversified, so that it is difficult to conceive of any of them ever suffering a famine. If the crops of the women failed, they had but to rely more heavily upon the fish and game supplied by the men. There were, moreover, well-developed techniques for preserving and storing agricultural products and wild foods. In short, the techniques of subsistence in this rich habitat provided an abundant supply of foodstuffs for the relatively small population.

Small, semipermanent settlements dotted the coast and river valleys. These virtually autonomous settlements were probably composed of lineages and clans, which possessed fairly definite hunting territories adjacent to their settlements. Even smaller kin units, families, were ordinarily the largest social aggregate in the winter hunting season. The life of an individual centered around his mother's community; his hopes, fears, and aspirations were bound up and identified with this kinship group. The system by which food and goods were produced, distributed, and consumed was also identified with, and was an integral part of, the kinship system. Goods and food were produced by kin groups for their own use. The lineage and clan dealt effectively with most social problems, both economic and governmental, so that above the clan level there were few and but poorly developed institutions. Sachems were only the voice of the kinship units with no special prerogatives and no autocratic power. The clans were probably grouped into three phratries in early historic times, but their function seems to have been wholly ceremonial and not governmental. If a tribe is a grouping of peoples with a single language and dialect, a common culture, and a feeling of unity, then the early historic Delawaran peoples were not even a tribe.

There has been considerable dispute about why the population density for the Eastern Area as a whole was low when the subsistence potential was relatively high. Insofar as there has been an attempt to explain this anomaly, it has generally been in terms of chronic warfare. I have rejected this explanation and suggest that for the Delaware economy to support a larger population would have required male participation in agriculture, stronger governmental mechanisms to control larger cooperative groups of workers, various sorts of specialists, more effective political groupings for offense and defense, and perhaps other alterations in the social system. The small, individually oriented, kin group socioeconomic institutions were sufficient to operate the basically simple technology, but nothing more. There is no doubt that the same techniques of subsistence geared to a different sort of social system could have been more productive. In sum, the nature of the socioeconomic system was such that the productivity of the technological system had reached its peak. Why the population density was relatively

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7

105 low is no mystery; it would be a mystery instead, if a social structure such as this one could have supported a large population.

As White has suggested, "ideological, or philosophical systems are organizations of beliefs in which human experience finds its interpretation."[1] This was true of early Delaware ideology; most religious and magical rites, for instance, were performed by small groups, often families. The Big House Ceremony may possibly have been a partial exception, but even here I have suggested that the modern ceremony was a late synthesis of early clan, or even family, rites. The individualistic nature of the vision quest and shamanism, to mention two other examples, also reflects the loosely organized, individually oriented nature of Delaware society. Religious and magical rites held to promote gardening were no more stressed, or so it appears, than those dealing with hunting or fishing. It has been seen that gardening was for most Delawares the subsistence activity of greatest importance, but the people themselves, particularly the men, probably did not view it in this light. In general, Delaware supernaturalism was directed at influencing the forces that controlled subsistence activities, health, and welfare. Religious systems deal with uncontrollable and critical spheres of life; this the Delaware religion did, and in a fashion consonant with the life which has been described.

From this reconstruction there comes to view a people who had solved the most pressing problems of life, but not to the extent that they had created a paradise on Earth. Much of a person's life was employed in satisfying basic needs; the hunter's life was arduous, gardening and household duties were onerous, and sudden death was not uncommon. Real knowledge of the world was limited and was blinded to a degree by the common store of misinformation and mythology. In sum, when Europeans saw these people for the first time, they encountered the bearers of a culture well adjusted to a mechanically simple and a socially undifferentiated and individualized way of life, completely unprepared for dealing with the aggressive, technologically complex, well-organized, exploitative culture of Europe.

[1] White, 1949, p. 365.

7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

OKLAHOMA DELAWARE CEREMONIES, DANCES AND FEASTS

By Frank G. Speck

ABSTRACT

Since the appearance of the works of the educated Moravian missionaries, David Zeisberger and John Heckewelder, in the latter part of the eighteenth century, the religious systems, philosophies and rituals of the Delaware Nation have been allowed to rest in oblivion by students of native American culture. The backgrounds of colonial history in the east lie deeply imbedded in the cultural problems of the natives. Literary activity of Jesuit author-priests had laid, a century before, an illustrious documentary foundation for American aboriginal and colonial history dealing with the Huron, the Iroquois and the French of Canada and New York, upon which has since been built an extensive series of dignified studies. Availing himself of the opportunities of these early Pennsylvania missionary accounts for an insight into the past, the author has extended his contacts with living native American cultures of Algonkian persuasion to the Delaware Nation now residing in Oklahoma for the purpose of recording and analyzing the indigenous eroyances and rituals still preserved in tradition and in practice. Although separated in space and time by two thousand miles from their homeland in Pennsylvania and New Jersey of two hundred years ago, the research covering some eight years of investigation among the Delawares of Oklahoma and the Delaware-Munsee of Ontario (supported partly by grants from the Faculty Research Fund of the University of Pennsylvania and the Historical Commission of Pennsylvania) has yielded material covering twenty ceremonies and rites which form the contents of this volume. It is a continuation of the field investigated in the author's "A Study of the Delaware Indian Big House Ceremony," Vol. 2, Historical Commission of Pennsylvania, 1931.

The presentation covers Family Feasts, the Bear and the Otter Rites of the Grease Drinking Ceremony, the Mask Dance Rite, the Buffalo Dance Ceremony, Rain Making Ritual, the Spring Prayer and Football Ceremony to Advance Vegetation, the Corn Harvest Ceremony, Rite to Avert Thunder, Mortuary Rites and Procedures, the Ceremonial Training of Men, the Ritualistic Games and Social Dances and an account of the Bone-Burial Ceremony which is attributed in origin to the tribes of the Southeast.

A dominant note is in the family cult rites which have been acquired in Delaware religious history through associations with animals, as related in mythology, which imposed certain ceremonial obligations upon them to avoid infliction of sickness. A tabular arrangement presents the analysis of traits of the ceremonies.

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

105 The factual material permits the definition of the ceremonial pattern of the Delawares and an evaluation of the functions of appeal, wrought in humility so unassociated with North American Indian attitudes, to the high god or Creator and the lesser spirit forces, of satisfaction to plant and animal forces, of thanksgiving and subtle magical symbolism. Some of the rites, the addresses and poetically conceived prayers like great music and great poems flow from the heart not from the head, even burning with a fire nearly inspired for their devotion in the manner of religions of the Old World. Many are given in Delaware text recorded phonemically with interlinear and free translations. Notes are inserted where required to explain allusions to Delaware general belief and practice.

Several traditional accounts are included concerning traits (witchcraft and the removal of the flesh from the bones of the deceased before burial) in the now extinct culture of the Nanticoke of the upper Chesapeake Bay area.

11:Newcomb E-5 (1952)1956 NM7 Delaware NM7

other people. Yet the individual Delaware is not an ordinary American; he is thought of by the public as an Indian, and he thinks of himself as an Indian. One way in which he can express this Indianness and feel that he is a part of a larger group is to be a peyotist. The peyote cult gives him an opportunity to participate in ceremonies with others who occupy a similar position in American life, and it provides him with an opportunity to express his Indian cultural heritage, however slight it may be. In the meeting just described there were Winnebagos, Sioux, and Shawnees, in addition to the Delawares. This is normal for a Delaware peyote meeting; in fact, their meetings always include members of other tribes. They also frequently attend meetings with the Osage, Quapaw, and others. In short, in earlier times the Delaware Big Moon peyote cult was a religious expression of assimilation and an attempt to preserve something from the shattered cultural past. Today it functions more as a religious symbol of the Indian minority and a rallying point for what has been termed a Pan-Indian society (Newcomb, 1955).

SUMMARY

The arrangement of the tepee and the conduct of Delaware Big Moon peyote meetings has remained essentially constant since 1930. Over this span of time the Big Moon cult has not succeeded in completely replacing the traditional religion, nor has it apparently become any more popular. Probably the greatest changes have occurred in the reasons for the cults' appeal to the Delawares. The modern attractions of the peyote cult are particularly strong in its aspects as an *Indian* ceremony and as a rallying point for Pan-Indianism, rather than in the solace it offers to "a subjugated people."

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Petrullo, Vincenzo, 1934—*The diabolic root*. University of Pennsylvania Press. The University Museum. Philadelphia.

1. Heckewelder, John. An Account of the History, Manners, and Customs of the Indian Nations, Who Once Inhabited Pennsylvania and the Neighboring States. Transactions of the Historical & Literary Committee of the American Philosophical Society, Vol. 1, pp. 1-348. Philadelphia: Abraham Small, 1819.

Yale: A53p 382 1,

[The basic source on the Delaware, this paper was written by a missionary on the basis of thirty years of contact with the Indians. A considerable amount of the work is devoted to a consideration of relations between the Indians and the whites, the author attempting to show that the Indians were often not understood, and unfairly treated. Social and political structure, the life cycle, clothing, medicine, warfare, magic, cookery, and other aspects of Delaware life are described, the author omitting only religious ceremonies which he felt had been adequately covered by a previous work. Information is given on several other groups of Eastern Indians, particularly the Iroquois. [There is a list of errata

1: Heckewelder, John.

on p. 348] --Analyst]

Field date: ca. 1800
Analyst: James R. Leary

Evaluation: Missionary-5
Processed in 1961

2: Newcomb, William W., Jr. The Culture and Acculturation of the Delaware Indians. Anthropological Papers, Museum of Anthropology, University of Michigan, No. 10. Ann Arbor: 1956.

Pp. vi; 141.

Yale: Nk37 M52D 10

[This source, by a professional anthropologist, is the most thorough survey of Delaware literature available. While the author spent two summers among the modern Delaware, and uses some of the material gathered to show how the culture has changed, most of the material in the book has been gathered from the literature from contact time onward. The author describes the development of Delaware culture from a number of autonomous groups, and reconstructs the culture under the following headings: technology, economics, material culture, life cycle, kin groups, social control, war, religion and magic, and folklore. In addition to this balanced description, the last third of the work deals with the historical changes which occurred in Delaware culture as a result of contact with the whites, and the extent

2: Newcomb, William W., Jr.

to which acculturation occurred at various time periods up to the present. --Analyst]

Field date: 1951-1952
Analyst: James R. Leary

Evaluation: Anthropologist-4, 5
Processed in 1961

3: Zeisberger, David. David Zeisberger's History of the Northern American Indians. Edited by Archer Butler Hulbert and William Nathaniel Schwarze. Ohio Archaeological and Historical Publications, Vol. 19, pp. i-ii, 1-189. Columbus: Fred J. Heer, 1910.

Yale: Cnl 60 19

[This paper by a Moravian missionary deals generally with the North American Indians, although most of the specific references are to the Delaware. The author describes the country of the Delaware and its flora and fauna, and gives accounts of their religion, economic life, social organization, etc., based upon observations extending over a period of years. The source is often not specific as to which tribe or tribes the author is referring. --Analyst]

Field date: 1767-1780
Analyst: James R. Leary

Evaluation: Missionary-5
Processed in 1961

4: Tantaquidgeon, Gladys. A Study of Delaware Indian Medicine Practice and Folk Beliefs. Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical Commission, 1942.

Pp, xii, 91; foreword; introduction; 3 appendices; index.

Yale: C58 10

[On the basis both of material gathered in the field and extracted from the literature, the author, a professional ethnologist, gives a detailed description of Delaware medical practices. In addition to covering the various aspects of this, information is included on witchcraft, dreams, and plant and animal foods. Appendices contain a listing of medicinal plants, three myths, and material gathered on the Nanticoke (OWC file NM11). --Analyst]

Field date: 1930
Analyst: James R. Leary

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1961

NM7 Delaware

5: Herman, Mary W. A Reconstruction of Aboriginal Delaware Culture from Contemporary Sources. Kroeber Anthropological Society Papers, No. 1, pp. 45-77. Berkeley: 1950.

HRAF copy

[On the basis of the available literature, Herman, an anthropologist, reconstructs Delaware culture in this source. Information is included on food getting, material culture, social organization, political organization, war, religion, and medicine. Although brief, the source summarizes much information. --Analyst]

Field date: no date
Analyst: James R. Leary

Evaluation: Anthropologist-4
Processed in 1961

6: Harrington, M. R. Religion and Ceremonies of the Lenape. Indian Notes and Monographs, Volume 19. New York: Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, 1921.

Pp. 249; 10 plates (3 in color); 19 figures

Yale: C52.4 H.19

[This source is an analysis and description of Delaware ceremonial based on information collected by the author mainly in Oklahoma between 1907 and 1910, with some additional data coming from the Canadian Delaware. Material is presented on the pantheon, minor deities, survival of the soul, visions and guardian spirits, the Unami annual ceremony, the Minsi big house ceremonies, the Miši´ng^{wt} or mask, and various minor ceremonies. The study concludes with a summary of the religion and ceremonies. Harrington was a well-known American ethnologist. --Analyst]

Field date: 1907-1910 Evaluation: Ethnologist-5

Analyst: Timothy J. O'Leary Processed in 1961

7: Speck, Frank Gouldsmith. Oklahoma Delaware Ceremonies, Feasts and Dances. Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society, Volume 7. Philadelphia, 1937.

Pp. viii, 161; 5 plates, 5 text figures

Yale: A53p. 372 7

[This study is the result of some eight years' work among the Oklahoma Delaware and the Munsee residing in Ontario. Using the many historical documents relating to Delaware ceremonies in the past, the author tries to relate the ceremonies of today to those of the past, and tries to see how much the ceremonies have changed in the intervening two centuries. Speck covers family feasts, the Bear and Otter Rites of the Grease Drinking Ceremony, the Mask Dance Rite, the Buffalo Dance Ceremony, Rain Making Ritual, the Spring Prayer and Football Ceremony, the Corn Harvest Ceremony, Rite to Avert Thunder, Mortuary Rites and Procedures, and several other ceremonies. Some material pertaining to the culture of the Nanticoke

7: Speck, Frank Gouldsmith.

Indians, mainly relating to witchcraft, is also included.

At the time of publication, Speck was Professor of Anthropology at the University of Pennsylvania and a noted authority on the Algonquian Indians of the Northeastern United States. --Analyst]

Field date: 1928-1932
Analyst: Timothy J. O'Leary

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1961

8: Lindeström, Peter Martensson. Geographia Americae with An Account of the Delaware Indians Based on Surveys and Notes Made in 1654-1656. Translated from the Original Manuscript with Notes, Introduction and an Appendix of Indian Geographical Names with their meanings by Amandus Johnson. Philadelphia: The Swedish Colonial Society, 1925.

Pp. xliv, 418; 43 plates; 4 maps; figures

Yale: Ck44 48g

[Only pp. 191-258 have been processed for the NM7 Delaware file.]

[This source contains brief descriptions of various aspects of Delaware culture during the middle of the 17th century. None of the material is given in any great detail since it was not the author's purpose to do so. Much of this is bad ethnography, written from an extremely ethnocentric viewpoint, but is valuable since it is one of the earliest descriptions of the Delaware. Lindeström was a traveller and an official in the colony of New Sweden. -- Analyst]

Field date: 1654-1655 Evaluation: Traveller-5
Analyst: Timothy J. O'Leary Processed in 1961

9: Kinietz, Vernon. Delaware Culture Chronology. Indiana Historical Society, Prehistory Research Series, Vol. 3, no. 1. Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society. 1946.

Yale C52 241 3

[This volume is a study of Delaware acculturation over the past three centuries. The author tests the hypothesis that when an ethnic group comes into contact with or is invaded by a superior or more complex culture its technology is the first part of its culture to change. Social concepts and behavior are more resistant to change. Religion is the most resistant to change. His extensive use of documentary materials is supplemented by his field data gathered among the survivors of the Delaware in Oklahoma--Analyst]

Field date: 1938
Analyst: Robert J. Theodoratus

Evaluation: Ethnologist-4, 5
Processed in 1962

10: Speck, Frank G. A Study of the Delaware Indian Big House Ceremony. Publications of the Pennsylvania Historical Commission, Vol. 2. Harrisburg, 1931.

Pp. 192; frontispiece; 4 plates; 26 text figures; appendix; bibliography; index

Yale: CK1. 14. 2.

[This source presents an intensive study of the Big House Ceremony, one of the paramount ceremonies of the Delaware Indians for the fulfillment of obligations to the host of spiritual beings comprising their cosmography. The author, a noted ethnologist, gives a historical resumé of the Big House Ceremony as it existed in the 17th and 18th centuries, and its distribution among neighboring tribes, where it appeared in various attenuated forms. A good part of this source consists of the original native text supplied by the author's primary informant Wi-tapano'xwe (War Eagle), which is then given a free translation by the author with the thought in mind of preserving the order, emphasis, terms of thought, and wording characteristic of native speech.

10: Speck

Abundant explanatory foot-notes augment the English translation. --Analyst]

Field date: Ca 1925
Analyst: John Beierle

Evaluation: Ethnologist-4, 5
Processed in 1962

11: Newcomb, William W. Jr., The Peyote Cult of the Delaware Indians. The Texas Journal of Science, Vol. 8, pp. 202-211. Austin, Texas: Texas Academy of Science, 1956.

Yale: A53t 366 8

/In this study the author describes in detail a typical peyote ceremony of the Delaware (the Big Moon ceremony), which he and his wife attended in the summer of 1952, and discusses some of the changes which have occurred in the cult since 1930 when Petrullo made his study of Delaware peyotism. These differences are summarized in Table 1, p.209, Category 116, of the text. From his analysis, the author finds that in the physical arrangement of the ceremonial tepee and the conduct of the Big Moon ceremony itself, there have been few changes since 1930. In addition he notes that this Big Moon peyote cult has not completely replaced the traditional forms of religion in the society, nor has it become popular in this twenty-two year period, but instead has functioned as an "Indian" ceremony and what he calls a "...rallying point for Pan-Indianism"--Analyst/

Field Date: 1952
Analyst: John Beierle

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1964

12: Tantaquidgeon, Gladys. Delaware Indian Art Designs. Pennsylvania Archaeologist, Vol. 20, nos. 1-2, pp. 24-30. Philadephia: University of Pennsylvania, 1950.

4 plates

Yale: C52 106b 20

/This brief source, after an introductory page on Delaware culture history, migrational movements and population estimates, deals in almost its entirety with native artistic motifs as used by Indian artists primarily in their beadwork and silk ribbon work. A short paragraph also discusses the introduction of peyote to the Delaware and how it introduced new elements into the native art motifs. Four plates at the end of the text illustrate various designs and symbols --Analyst/

Field Date: no date
Analyst: John Beierle

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1963

13: Wallace, Anthony F.C. Some Psychological Characteristics of the Delaware Indians during the 17th and 18th Centuries. Pennsylvania Archaeologist, Vol. 20, Nos. 1-2, pp. 33-39. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1950.

Yale: C52 106b 20

/The author, a well known professional anthropologist, has attempted in this source to reconstruct from fragmentary historical accounts a psychological picture of the Delaware Indians. In his analysis of Delaware personality, parent-child relationships are discussed to some length as are the various emotional attachments attained in maturity (i.e., romantic affiliations, guardian spirit relationships, and the institution of friendship among men), and the concept of oral fixation as an element in personality development. In addition to socially approved ways and means of aggression control and expression, general information may also be found on child care and development--Analyst/

Field Date: no date
Analyst: John Beierle

Evaluation: Ethnologist-4
Processed in 1963

14: Leslie, Vernon. A Tentative Catalogue of Minsi Material Culture. Pennsylvania Archaeologist, Vol. 21, Nos. 1-2, pp. 9-20. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1951.

11 plates

Yale: C52 106b 21

/This source is basically a descriptive listing of the various elements comprising Minsi material culture, which the author feels will be of value and interest to the amateur as well as a professional archaeologist digging in the Minsi area. The author believes that by using these listings the archaeologist could get a tentative idea of which artifacts could be assigned to the Minsi horizon and which to an earlier time period.

Prior to the above artifact description, the author discusses the concept of the Minsi culture horizon, as derived from his own field work and the works of other authors.--Analyst/

Field Date: no date
Analyst: John Beierle

Evaluation: Archaeologist-4, 5
Processed in 1963

15:Morgan, Lewis Henry. The Indian Journals 1859-62, pp. 28, 49-57, 59, 204, 209, 210. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1959.

Yale: CE78 W5 +M6.

/The material in this source was collected by the author in 1859 from the results of his own observations as well as from data supplied him by native informants. A picture of the "acculturated" Delaware is presented in the first few pages of this source, particularly in regard to the "payment day" holidays, in which they received their annual annuities from the U.S. Government. In addition to the above, information may also be found in this source on: clans, marriage regulations, chieftainship, origin myths, religious beliefs, naming procedure, the modern educational system, spirits and gods, eschatology, and a brief description of some of their ceremonials. Footnotes appearing at the end of the book may be found in category 116, pp. 204-310. --Analyst/

Field date: 1859
Analyst: John Beierle

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1963

1;Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7
Iroquois NM9

D/1/174

committed; I have been myself a witness to those scenes, and to the distresses of hundreds of poor people, only in this one quarter.

[113]

A work, entitled: "An Enquiry into the Causes of the "Alienation of the Delaware and Shawanese Indians "from the British Interest," written by Charles Thompson, Esq. and printed in London, in 1759, which some time since fell into my hands, well merits to be read with attention, on account of the correctness of the information that it contains.

By this time, the Delawares were sensible of the imposition which had been practised upon them. They saw that a plan had been organised for their destruction, and that not only their independence, but their very existence, was at stake; they therefore took measures to defend themselves, by abandoning the system of neutrality into which they had been insidiously drawn.

It was not without difficulty that I obtained from them these interesting details, for they felt ashamed of their own conduct; they were afraid of being charged with cowardice, or at least with want of forethought, in having acted as they did, and not having discovered their error until it was too late.

And yet, in my opinion, those fears were entirely groundless, and there appears nothing in their whole conduct disparaging to the courage and high sense of honour of that brave nation. Let us for a moment place ourselves in the situation of the Delawares, Mohicans, and the other tribes connected with them, at the time when the Europeans first landed on New-York Island. They were then in the height of their glory, pursuing their successes against the Iroquois, with whom they had long been at war. They were in possession of the whole country, from the sea coast to the Mississippi, from the River St. Lawrence to the frontier of Carolina, while the habitations of their enemies did not extend far beyond the great Lakes. In this situation, they are on

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

an essential service to point out the means of avoiding those deceptions, which if not sufficiently guarded against, will at last destroy all belief in the accounts given by travellers of distant nations and of manners and customs different from our own.

The first and most important thing for a traveller is a competent knowledge of the language of the people among whom he is. Without this knowledge it is impossible that he can acquire a correct notion of their manners and customs and of the opinions which prevail among them. There is little faith to be placed in those numerous vocabularies of the languages of distant nations which are to be found in almost every book of voyages or travels; they are generally full of the most ridiculous mistakes; at least (for I must speak only of what I know) those which relate to the Indian languages of North America. I was some years ago shewn a vocabulary* of the idiom of the Indians who inhabited the banks of the Delaware, while Pennsylvania was under the dominion of the Swedes, which idiom was no other than the pure Unami dialect of the Lenape, and I could hardly refrain from laughing at the numerous errors that I observed in it; for instance, the Indian word given for *hand*, in fact means *finger*. This is enough to shew how carelessly those vocabularies are made, and how little their authors are acquainted with the languages that they pretend to teach.

The cause of these mistakes may be easily accounted for. When pointing to a particular object you ask an Indian how it is called, he never will give you the name of the *genus*, but always that of the *species*. Thus if you point to a tree, and ask for its name, the answer will be oak, beech, chesnut, maple, &c. as the case may be. Thus the Swedish author of the vocabulary that I have mentioned, probably happened to point to a *finger*, when he

* Vocabularium Barbaro-Virgineorum, bound with an Indian translation from the Swedish of Luther's Catechism. Stockholm, 1696, duod.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7

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114 man's account of natural things about him. Written by a man not a biologist the manuscript could not be other than an honest and in the main conservative account or it would show inconsistencies which could not have been appreciated by its author. No such inconsistencies appear. The chief scientific interest in the manuscript arises from the fact that it depicts conditions before the white settlers came into the Middle West, and before the ax, the rifle and the steel trap had seriously interfered with primitive, natural conditions such as had existed from time immemorial. The changes in the animal and plant life since the author wrote are, of course, most sweeping. The account has its great interest and value because it is the only reliable record of the fauna and flora of the region before such marked changes occurred.

For the opinions expressed and views taken in the footnotes
●113 of this volume, as well as errors therein, the writer is personally responsible.

Zeisberger's published works include the *Diary* above mentioned; *Essay of a Delaware Indian and English Spelling Book for the use of the Schools of the Christian Indians on Muskingum River* (Philadelphia, 1776); *A Collection of Hymns for the use of the Christian Indians, of the Missions of the United Brethren in North America* (Philadelphia, 1803); *Sermons to Children* (Philadelphia, 1803); *Arg. Gottl Spangenberg. Something of Bodily Care for Children* (Philadelphia, 1803); *The History of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ*, by the Rev. Samuel Lieberkühn, M. A. (Tr. by Zeisberger). The above are in the Delaware language. Zeisberger's *Verbal Biegungen der Chippewayer* [Delawaren] was published in Vater's *Analekten der Sprachkunde* (Leipzig, 1821).

Zeisberger's manuscripts are numerous and include *Deutsch und Onondagaisches Worterbuch, Essay toward an Onondaga Grammar, Onondagaische* Grammatica (translated into English by Peter S. Duponcear, LL. D., still in Mss.), *A Grammar of the Lenni-Lenape, or Delaware Indians* (also translated by Dr. Duponcear, in Mss.), *A Dictionary in German and Delaware, Delaware Glossary, Delaware Vocabulary, Phrases and Vocabularies in Delaware, Delaware Grammar, Harmony of the Gos-*

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pels in Delaware, Hymns for the Christian Indians in Delaware, Litany and Liturgies in Delaware, Zeisberger's own Mss. Hymn Book in Delaware, Sermons by Zeisberger in Delaware, Seventeen Sermons to Children, Church Litany in Delaware, Short Biblical Narratives in Delaware, Vocabulary in Maqua and Delaware. The last fourteen *Mss.* were collected by Edward Everett and are preserved in the Harvard University Library; the remaining Zeisberger material is in the Moravian archives at Bethlehem. Here, too, are preserved Zeisberger's diaries and letters covering his long career on the frontier and possessing very great historical value. These include the narration of his arrest in New York, of his journeys with Cammerhoff, Mack and Spangenberg, of his stay at Onondaga, 1755, his journals of 1762-67, including his journal of the trip to the Cayuga town in 1766 and to Goschgoschüng in 1767, the journal of his trip to the Allegheny, 1767-8, and the diaries and letters covering his whole Ohio, Michigan and Canadian experiences, 1771-1808. It is expected to issue a collection of Zeisberger's unpublished diaries, journals and letters as Volume Two of *The Moravian Records.*

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bridge was there. After the Delaware study Trowbridge collected several other sets of answers: two on the Shawnee,[8] one each on the Miami,[9] Kickapoo, and Wyandot, and another on the Delaware with Cass.

This extended notice of Trowbridge's activities is given because it is principally his manuscripts and others that fell into his hands that have been preserved. After Trowbridge resigned in 1825 Cass obtained funds and permission to hire three or four persons to carry on his work. Who these persons were or what they accomplished we do not know.

Previous to Trowbridge's visit to William Conner, John Johnston, Indian agent at Piqua, Ohio, sent Cass an answer on the Shawnee in his own handwriting and one on the Delaware, not in his own hand.[10] A series of answers on the Delaware found among the Trowbridge Papers in the Burton Historical Collection has been tentatively identified as the one submitted by Johnston.[11] Identification of the author will probably never be determined as Johnston did not name the person who compiled the answers he transmitted.

While at Detroit in 1824 Trowbridge and Cass alternated in recording the answers of a Canadian Delaware or Munsee named Captain Chipps. This manuscript of seventy-two pages in the handwriting of Cass and Trowbridge is also among the Trowbridge Papers in the Burton Historical Collection and, in addition, a partial copy in Trowbridge's hand is bound together with a third copy of Pipe's relation.

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[8] See Kinietz, Vernon, and Voegelin, Erminie W. (eds.), *Shawnese Traditions. C. C. Trowbridge's Account* (Museum of Anthropology, University of Michigan, *Occasional Contributions*, No. 9, Ann Arbor, 1939).

[9] See Kinietz, Vernon (ed.), *Mosšärmoaw Traditions by C. C. Trowbridge* (Museum of Anthropology, University of Michigan, *Occasional Contributions*, No. 7, Ann Arbor, 1938).

[10] Johnston to Cass, May 10, 1822, The National Archives, Indian Office, Michigan Superintendency, Letterbook, No. 1, 1822, pp. 208-13.

[11] This bears the title, "Answers to the questions proposed in the Pamphlet, By the Delawares and Monsies." On the back of the manuscript in Trowbridge's handwriting is the following endorsement, "Lenĕĕ Lenăŭpaa Traditions &c."

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11:Newcomb E-5 (1952)1956 NM7 Delaware NM7

other people. Yet the individual Delaware is not an ordinary American; he is thought of by the public as an Indian, and he thinks of himself as an Indian. One way in which he can express this Indianness and feel that he is a part of a larger group is to be a peyotist. The peyote cult gives him an opportunity to participate in ceremonies with others who occupy a similar position in American life, and it provides him with an opportunity to express his Indian cultural heritage, however slight it may be. In the meeting just described there were Winnebagos, Sioux, and Shawnees, in addition to the Delawares. This is normal for a Delaware peyote meeting; in fact, their meetings always include members of other tribes. They also frequently attend meetings with the Osage, Quapaw, and others. In short, in earlier times the Delaware Big Moon peyote cult was a religious expression of assimilation and an attempt to preserve something from the shattered cultural past. Today it functions more as a religious symbol of the Indian minority and a rallying point for what has been termed a Pan-Indian society (Newcomb, 1955).

SUMMARY

The arrangement of the tepee and the conduct of Delaware Big Moon peyote meetings has remain d essentially constant since 1930. Over this span of time the Big Mc.n cult has not succeeded in completely replacing the traditional religion, nor has it apparently become any more popular. Probably the greatest changes have occurred in the reasons for the cults' appeal to the Delawares. The modern attractions of the peyote cult are particularly strong in its aspects as an *Indian* ceremony and as a rallying point for Pan-Indianism, rather than in the solace it offers to "a subjugated people."

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[P.39, B]

155 pulses, particularly aggressive ones, to break out into the open, often with socially catastrophic results.

It should be observed that in many respects this personality portrait of the 171 Delawares is similar to that drawn, from 155 different sources, by A. I. Hallowell for the Indians of the Northeast in general, and more particularly for the Ojibwa.[56] Thus Delaware personality is not markedly distinct from that of other Indians in the area, and a closer analysis than is possible here would probably be required to distinguish it from Ojibwa or other Algonkian peoples of the Northeast.

56. Hallowell, 1946.

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15:Morgan E-5 (1859)1959
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[#209 (B)]

most noted Baptist preacher" among the Delawares. Charles' brother, Isaac Journeycake, was quite prominent, also. One of Charles Journeycake's daughters, Nannie, married the eldest son of Mr. Pratt, Lucius, in the spring of 1860: "the bride was dressed in white muslin, with veil and orange blossoms, and looked very pretty" (Clara Gowing, "Life Among the Delaware Indians," *Collections of the Kansas State Historical Society, 1911–12*, XII, 186–87; *Home Mission Monthly*, Vol. 14, 1892).

In *Report on Indians Taxed and Indians Not Taxed in the United States* (Washington, D. C., 1894) there are three pictures dealing with Journeycake: (1) a portrait of him alone, 1890 and (2) a photograph of his residence, 1890 (both following p. 296), and (3) photograph of Journeycake with a delegation of Indians in Washington in 1867 (following p. 298).

84. There were many Ketchums among the Indians, not only among the Delawares, from 1830 to 1880 or later. "Captain" Ketchum is listed as a signatory of agreements with white organizations in 1832, 1843, and 1844 (*Transactions of the Kansas State Historical Society*, IX, 204; *Collections of the Kansas State Historical Society*, Vol. 16, pp. 735, 761). John Ketchum, Que-sha-to-wha, along with Charles Journeycake and other Delawares signed an agreement with Commissioner George W. Mannypenney in 1854, ceding lands. A James Ketchum was a member of the delegation of Delawares—which included Charles Journeycake and Agent Pratt, also—that went to Washington in 1867; he appears in the group picture mentioned in the previous footnote. In April, 1860, Mr. Pratt and a teacher at the mission drove out "to see chief Ketchum, who was sick." The teacher has left us a vivid picture of Ketchum's residence (Clara Gowing, *op. cit.*, p. 138).

85. From Algonquian Mingwe, "stealthy, treacherous." Used also by whites during the late

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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DEDICATION.

TO

CASPAR WISTAR, M. D.

PRESIDENT OF THE AMERICAN PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY,

&c. &c.

DEAR SIR,

Having, at your particular request, undertaken the arduous task, of giving to the Historical Committee of our Society, an Account of those Indian Nations and Tribes which once inhabited Pennsylvania and the adjoining States, including those who are known by the name of the "Six Nations;" I have now, as far as has been in my power, complied with your wishes, or at least I have endeavoured so to do. 121

Foreseeing the difficulties I should labour under, in writing the history of a people, of whom so many had already written, I could not but consider the undertaking both as unpleasant and hazardous; being aware, that it would be impossible for me in all respects to coincide with those who have written before me; among whom there are not a few, who, although their good intentions cannot be doubted, yet from their too short residence in the country of the Indians, have not had sufficient opportunities to acquire the knowledge which they undertake to communicate. Ignorant of the language, or being but superficially acquainted with it, they have relied on ignorant or careless interpreters, by whom they have been 114

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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most frequently led astray; in what manner, this little work will abundantly shew.

The sure way to obtain correct ideas, and a true knowledge of the characters, customs, manners, &c. of the Indians, and to learn their history, is to dwell among them for some time, and having acquired their language, the information wished for will be obtained in the common way; that is, by paying attention to their discourses with each other on different subjects, and occasionally asking them questions; always watching for the proper opportunity, when they do not suspect your motives, and are disposed to be free and open with you.

The political state and connexions of the two, once great and rival nations, the Mengwe, (or Six Nations) and the Lenape (or Delawares, as we call them), being little, or but imperfectly known to many of us, I have been at some pains in unfolding the origin and true cause of their rivalship; and the means resorted to by the one nation, to bring themselves into consequence with the white people, for the purpose of subduing the other.

How far the Six Nations have succeeded in this, we know; at least, we know so much, that they sold the country of the Lenape, Mohicans, and other tribes connected with them, by piece-meals to the English, so that they were finally obliged to wander to the West: while their enemies, during all this time, remained in full and quiet possession of their country.

If we ought, or wish to know the history of those nations from whom we have obtained the country we now live in, we must also wish to be informed of the means by which that country fell into our hands, and what has become of its original inhabitants. To meet this object,

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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I have given their traditions respecting their first coming into our country, and their own history of the causes of their emigrating from it. 114

On all the subjects which I have treated respecting the different tribes, I have endeavoured to be impartial. Yet, if I should still be thought to have shewn some partiality for the Delawares and their connexions, with respect to the affairs between them and the Six Nations, I have only to reply, that we have been attentive to all the Six Nations told us of these people, until we got possession of their whole country; and now, having what we wanted, we ought not to turn them off with this story on their backs, but rather out of gratitude and compassion, give them also a hearing, and acquit them honourably, if we find them deserving of it.

What I have written, concerning their character, their customs, manners, and usages, is from personal knowledge, and from such other information as may be relied on; and in order to be the better understood, I have frequently added anecdotes, remarks, and relations of particular events. In some instances I have had reference to authors, and manuscript notes taken down upwards of 70 years since, by individuals well deserving of credit.

To you, Sir, I need not apologise for my deficiency in point of style and language, which has been known to you long since. I have endeavoured to make amends for this defect, by being the more careful and correct in my narrations, so as at least to make up in matter, what in manner may be deficient.

I am, Sir,

With great respect,

Your obedient humble servant,

JOHN HECKEWELDER.

Nov. 1817.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca.1800) 1819
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mode of speaking, not that of the Indians, who never look upon them as having been so many *nations*; but *divisions* and *tribes*, who, as united, have become a nation. Thus, when the Lenape (Delawares) happen to name them as one body, the word they make use of implies "the five divisions together, or united," as will be seen in another place of this work. I call them also *Iroquois*, after the French and some English writers. 128

The *Wyandots*, or *Wyondots*, are the same whom the French call *Hurons*, and sometimes *Guyandots*. Father Sagard, a French Missionary, who lived among them in the 17th century, and has written an account of his mission, and a kind of dictionary of their language, says their proper name is *Ahouandàte*, from whence it is evident that the English appellation Wyandots has been derived.

There being so many words in the language of the Lenape and their kindred tribes, the sound of which cannot well be represented according to the English pronunciation, I have in general adopted for them the German mode of spelling. The *ch*, particularly before a consonant, is a strong guttural, and unless an Englishman has the use of the Greek χ, he will not be able to pronounce it, as in the words *Chasquem* (Indian corn,) *Cheltol* (many,) *Ches* (a skin,) *Chauchschisis* (an old woman,) and a great many more. Sometimes, indeed, in the middle of a word substitutes may be found which may do, as in the word *Nimachtak* (brethren,) which might be written, *Nemaughtok*, but this will seldom answer. This is probably the reason that most of the English authors have written Indian words so incorrectly, far more so than French authors. 104 194 [192] [114]

The Delawares have neither of the letters R, F, nor V, in their language, though they easily learn to pronounce them. They have a consonant peculiar to them and other Indians, which is a sibilant, and which we

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca.1800) 1819
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A D 197 try on this side of the Mississippi and the great Lakes, are unquestionably, from their dialects, of Lenape origin. The Shawanos, it is said, formerly dwelt upon the river Savannah, in Georgia, and a part of them remaining in that country, associated with the Creeks, still retain their language.* As far as we are able to judge from the little knowledge that has been transmitted to us of the languages of the Indians who once inhabited Maryland, Virginia and North Carolina, they all appear to have belonged to the same stock, the Nanticokes have been shewn to have been intimately connected with the Lenape, and among those who called them *grandfather*: Two pretty copious vocabularies of their language, in the possession of the Historical Committee of the American Philosophical Society, one of them communicated by Mr. Jefferson and the other by myself, prove it beyond a doubt to have been a dialect of the Lenape.† The Canai or Kanhawas, who have given their name to a river in Virginia which empties itself into the Ohio, are known to have been of the same stock. The Indian names of rivers, mountains and towns, through that vast extent of country, appear generally derived from the Lenape language.

A D 114 197 The Baron de La Hontan, is one of the first writers, I believe, who have spoken of the universality of this idiom; but it is extraordinary that he has not said a word of the Lenni Lenape, that great and powerful nation. He calls this language the *Algonquin* tongue, although he describes that people as "an erratic sort of savages, who, like the

* Barton's New Views, Ed. 1798. Prelim. Disc. p. 32.

† The late Dr. Barton, in the work above quoted, append. p. 3. a/A seems to doubt this fact, and relies on a series of numerals which I once communicated to him, and was found among the papers of the late Rev. Mr. Pyrlæus. But it is by no means certain that those numerals were taken from the language of the Nanticokes, and the vocabularies above mentioned leave no doubt as to the origin of that dialect.

a/A [Erratum. Should be p. 5--Analyst]

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A D

"Arabs, had no settled abode,"* and admits, that at the time when he wrote, their number did not exceed 200. What he says on this subject, however, is so much to my purpose, that I hope I shall be permitted to make a small extract from it.

[97] 114

"There are," says the Baron, "but two mother "tongues in the whole extent of Canada, which I confine "within the limits of the Mississippi; they are the *Huron* "and the *Algonquin*. The first is understood by the Iro- "quois, for the difference between these two languages "is no greater than that between the Norman and the "French. The second, namely the *Algonquin*, is as "much esteemed among the savages as the Greek and "Latin are in Europe; though it would seem that the "aborigines, to whom it owes its original, disgrace it by "the thinness of their nation, *for their whole number does "not amount to two hundred.*"†

What the Baron says here of this language is very correct; but why does he call it the Algonquin, and ascribe its origin to that miserable wandering tribe? He had the Abenakis at hand, whom in another place he puts at the head of the tribes inhabiting Nova Scotia, and who still preserved the generic name of the whole nation, *Wapanachké*, which the French have softened to suit the analogy of their own tongue, by which name the different nations and tribes of the Lenape stock still recognise each other to this day. It is probable that he did not sufficiently understand their language,‡ to have much conversation with them, otherwise, they would have informed him that they derived their origin from a great

* Letter v. † Letter xxv.

‡ He says that it is not copious, and is only adapted to the necessities and conveniences of life. These are the ideas which strangers and philosophers, reasoning *à priori*, entertain of Indian languages; but those who are well acquainted with them think very differently. And yet the Baron says that the Algonquin is "the finest and the "most universal language on the Continent."

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and powerful nation residing in the interior of the country, whom they revered as their *grandfather*, at whose door the great national council fire was kept constantly burning, whose badge was the *Turtle*, and whose supremacy was acknowledged by all the kindred tribes.

Father Charlevoix, who also speaks of the universality of this language, commits the same error in ascribing its origin to the Algonquins. "In the southern part "of Hudson's Bay," says he, "the trade is carried on "with the Matassins, the Monsonics, the Christinaux, "(Knisteneaux) and the Assinipoils, the three first of "which speak the *Algonquin* language."* In a later publication, (I think by a Mr. Winterbotham,) of which, during my travels, some years ago, I had merely a glance, I found by some words he had put down in the language of those people, that they were *Minsi* or *Monseys*, a branch of the wolf tribe of the Lenape. So indeed, one of their names, *Monsonies*, seems of itself to indicate. The name of the Matassins, means in their language a tobacco pipe, and so it does in the Monsey to this day. And they all speak the Algonquin, a language, say both Charlevoix and La Hontan, universally known for a thousand leagues round. The last mentioned author subjoins a vocabulary of what he calls the Algonquin tongue, which bears a greater affinity to the language of the Unamis or Turtle† tribe of the Lenape, than that does to the idiom of the Monsey or Wolf tribe of the same nation. I find many words in the Algonquin (as given by La Hontan,) which are exactly the same as in the Unami, while others bear more resemblance to the Chippeway, also a dialect of the Lenape, spoken by a tribe in connexion with the Delawares, and who call them *grandfather*.

* Letter xi. p. 276.

† It should be properly *Tortoise*; but this word seems in a fair way to be entirely superseded by *Turtle*, as well in England as in this country.

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There can be no doubt, therefore, that this universal language, so much admired and so generally spoken by the Indian nations, is that of the Lenni Lenape, and is improperly named the Chippeway by Carver, and the Algonquin by La Hontan. The celebrated Professor Vater, in his excellent continuation of Adelung's Mithridates, calls the class of languages derived from this source, "the Chippewayo-Delawarian, or Algonkino-Mohican stock."* It is, perhaps, indifferent for philological purposes, whether a language be called the Delaware or the Chippeway, the Algonquin or the Mohican; but every body must be sensible of the inconvenience of those long compound names, which leave no fixed or determinate idea upon the mind. For the purpose of general description it seems better to designate the languages of those connected tribes by the name of their common grandfather, the Lenni Lenape, or by the generic denomination universally adopted among them, Wapanachki, or Abenaki. I have preferred the former as a mark of respect to an ancient and once powerful nation, and in the hope that her name may be preserved, at least, in the records of philological science.

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This beautiful language, and those which are derived from it, though more has been written upon them than on any of the other languages of these parts of the North American continent, are as yet but little known. The grammar of the Natick dialect published by Eliott, at Cambridge in Massachusetts, in the year 1666, has long been out of print, and is to be found only in very few libraries in the United States; Dr. Edwards's little tract on the Mohican language, although printed twice, does not appear to have had much circulation, and is not alone sufficient to give an idea of the forms and construction of these Indian dialects. Zeisberger's Delaware spelling

* *Chippewaisch-Delawarischer, oder Algonkisch-Moheganischer, Stamm.* Mithrid. part III. vol. iii. p. 337.

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book is but a collection of words, and does not contain any grammatical explanations. The learned Vater has taken immense pains, from the scanty helps within his reach, to discover the grounds and principles of these idioms, and what he has written on the subject is a proof of what talents and industry can effect with little means. But still the matter is not sufficiently understood. There is in the library of the society of the United Brethren in this town, an excellent MS. grammar of the Lenni Lenape, written in German by Zeisberger. I understand that the Historical Committee of the American Philosophical Society are going to publish an English translation of this valuable work. I rejoice in the prospect of this publication, which will give a clear and satisfactory view of the true genius and character of the languages of the Indian nations. At the request of the same Committee, I have endeavoured to give some further developement of the principles which that grammar contains, in a series of letters to their Secretary, which, I am informed, are also to be printed. This supersedes the necessity of my entering here into more details on this interesting subject. I hope the result of these publications will be to satisfy the world that the languages of the Indians are not so poor, so devoid of variety of expression, so inadequate to the communication even of abstract ideas, or in a word so *barbarous*, as has been generally imagined.

IV. The Floridian.

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I call by this generic name, the languages spoken by those Indian nations who inhabit the southern frontier of the United States and the Spanish Province of Florida. They are the Creeks or Muskohgees, Chickesaws, Choctaws, Pascagoulas, Cherokees or Cheerakees, and several others. It is said that there once existed among them a powerful nation called the Natchez, whose lan-

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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their solemn sacrifices. These religious ceremonies are not always performed in the same manner. I had intended to have given some details upon this subject, but I find that it has been almost exhausted by other writers,* although I will not pretend to say that they are correct on every point. But I do not wish to repeat things which have already been told to the world over and over. Therefore, if on some subjects, relating to the manners and customs of the Indians, I should be thought to have passed over too quickly, and not to have sufficiently entered into particulars, let it be understood that I have done so to avoid the repetition of what others have said, although I am afraid I have been inadvertently guilty of it in more than one instance. I would not presume to communicate my little stock of knowledge, if I did not think that it will add something to what is already known.

I do not recollect that it has already been mentioned, that previous to entering upon the solemnity of their sacrifices, the Indians prepare themselves by vomiting, fasting, and drinking decoctions from certain prescribed plants. This they do to expel the evil which is within them, and that they may with a pure conscience attend to the *sacred performance*, for such they consider it. Nor is the object of those sacrifices always the same; there are sacrifices of prayer and sacrifices of thanksgiving, some for all the favours received by them and their ancestors from the great Being, others for special or particular benefits. After a successful war they never fail to offer up a sacrifice to the great Being, to return him thanks for having given them courage and strength to destroy or conquer their enemies.

* See Loskiel, part 1, ch. 3.

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733 "drink heartily, drink! It will not hurt you.' All this "is done for the purpose of cheating me. When you "have obtained from me all you want, you call me a "drunken dog, and kick me out of the room.—See! this "is the manner in which you cheat the Indians when they "come to trade with you. So now you know when you "see me coming to your town again, you may say to "one another: 'Ah! there is Thomas coming again! "he is no longer a Moravian, for he is coming to us to "be made drunk—to be cheated—to be kicked out of the "house, and be called a *drunken dog*!'"

CHAPTER XXXVII.

FUNERALS.

114 764 I BELIEVE that no sufficiently detailed account has yet been given of the manner in which the North American Indians conduct the funerals of their dead. Captain Carver tells us that the Naudowessies, among whom he was, kept those ceremonies a secret, and would not give him an opportunity of witnessing them. Loskiel, although he drew his information from the journals of our Missionaries, has treated this subject rather superficially. I therefore run little risk of repetition in describing what I have myself seen, and I hope that the particulars which I am going to relate will not be thought uninteresting.

764 766 It is well known that the Indians pay great respect to the memory of the dead, and commit their remains to the

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CHAPTER XLII.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS AND ANECDOTES.

I HOPE I shall be excused for bringing here together into one view a few observations and anecdotes which either could not well find their places under any of the preceding divisions of my subject, or escaped my recollection at the proper time. These additional traits will contribute something to forming a correct idea of the Indian character and manners.

I have observed a great similarity in the customs, usages, and opinions of the different nations that I have seen, however distant from each other, and even though their languages differ so much that no traces of a common origin can be found in their etymology. The uniformity which exists in the manners of the Christian nations of Europe is attributed to their common religion and to their having once been connected together as parts of the Roman Empire. But no such bond of union appears to have subsisted between the Iroquois, for instance, and the Delawares, and yet, the language excepted, they resemble each other considerably more than the inhabitants of some European countries. I shall not endeavour to account for this remarkable fact, but I think it my duty to state it.

I have shewn in a former chapter* that the mythological notions of the Delaware Indians prevailed in the same manner among the Wabash; it is not in that alone that those nations resemble each other, though living at a great distance. It is the custom among the Delawares that if a hunter shoots down a deer when another per-

* Ch. 34. pp. 248. 249.

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"to the top of the highest mountains and descend at plea- 461
"sure into the vallies. And is it possible, said I, that
"a being so formed as I am, was created to live in idle-
"ness, while the birds who have no hands, and nothing
"but their little bills to help them, work with cheerful-
"ness and without being told to do so? Has then the
"great Creator of man and of all living creatures given
"me all these limbs for no purpose? It cannot be; I
"will try to go to work. I did so and went away from the
"village to a spot of good land, built a cabin, enclosed
"ground, planted corn, and raised cattle. Ever since that
"time I have enjoyed a good appetite and sound sleep;
"while the others spend their nights in dancing and are
"suffering with hunger, I live in plenty; I keep horses,
"cows, hogs and fowls; I am happy. See! my friend;
"the birds and fishes have brought me to reflection and
"taught me to work!"

CHAPTER XLIII.

ADVICE TO TRAVELLERS.

NOTHING is so common as the indiscriminate 514
charge laid upon travellers of relating strange and wonderful things for the mere purpose of exciting admiration and raising themselves into consequence. I believe for my part that this accusation is in general unjust as well as unfair, and that travellers seldom impose upon others except when they have been imposed upon themselves. The discredit which they have fallen into is more owing to their errors and mistakes than to wilful imposition and falsehood. It is therefore rendering them and the world

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an essential service to point out the means of avoiding those deceptions, which if not sufficiently guarded against, will at last destroy all belief in the accounts given by travellers of distant nations and of manners and customs different from our own.

The first and most important thing for a traveller is a competent knowledge of the language of the people among whom he is. Without this knowledge it is impossible that he can acquire a correct notion of their manners and customs and of the opinions which prevail among them. There is little faith to be placed in those numerous vocabularies of the languages of distant nations which are to be found in almost every book of voyages or travels; they are generally full of the most ridiculous mistakes; at least (for I must speak only of what I know) those which relate to the Indian languages of North America. I was some years ago shewn a vocabulary* of the idiom of the Indians who inhabited the banks of the Delaware, while Pennsylvania was under the dominion of the Swedes, which idiom was no other than the pure Unami dialect of the Lenape, and I could hardly refrain from laughing at the numerous errors that I observed in it; for instance, the Indian word given for *hand*, in fact means *finger*. This is enough to shew how carelessly those vocabularies are made, and how little their authors are acquainted with the languages that they pretend to teach.

The cause of these mistakes may be easily accounted for. When pointing to a particular object you ask an Indian how it is called, he never will give you the name of the *genus*, but always that of the *species*. Thus if you point to a tree, and ask for its name, the answer will be oak, beech, chesnut, maple, &c. as the case may be. Thus the Swedish author of the vocabulary that I have mentioned, probably happened to point to a *finger*, when he

* Vocabularium Barbaro-Virgineorum, bound with an Indian translation from the Swedish of Luther's Catechism. Stockholm, 1696, duod.

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asked what was the Indian word for *hand*, and on receiving the answer, without further enquiry enriched his work with this notable specimen of Indian learning. [114]

When I first went to reside among the Indians, I took great care to learn by heart the words *Kuccu k'delloundamen yun?* which mean *What do you call this?* Whenever I found the Indians disposed to attend to my enquiries, I would point to particular objects and repeat my formulary, and the answers that they gave I immediately wrote down in a book which I kept for the purpose; at last when I had written about half a dozen sheets, I found that I had more than a dozen names for "*tree*," as many for "*fish*," and so on with other things and yet I had not a single generic name. What was still worse, when I pointed to something, repeating the name or one of the names by which I had been taught to call it, I was sure to excite a laugh; and when in order to be set right I put the question *Kuccu*, &c. I would receive for answer a new word or name which I had never heard before. This began to make me believe that every thing was not as it should be, and that I was not in the right way to learn the Indian language.

It was not only in substantives or the proper names of things that I found myself almost always mistaken. Those who are not acquainted with the copiousness of the Indian languages, can hardly form an idea of the various shades and combinations of ideas that they can express. For instance, the infinitive *Mitxin*, signifies *to eat*, and so does *Mohoan*. Now although the first of these words is sufficiently expressive of the act of eating something, be it what it may, yet the Indians are very attentive to expressing in one word what and how they have eaten, that is to say whether they have been eating something which needed no chewing, as pottage, mush or the like, or something that required the use of the teeth. In the latter case the proper word is *mohoan*, and in the former *guntammen*. If an Indian is asked *k'dapi mitxi?* have

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124 when they find a white man inclined to listen to their tales of wonder, or credulous enough to believe their superstitious notions, there are always some among them ready to entertain him with tales of that description, as it gives them an opportunity of diverting themselves in their leisure hours, by relating such fabulous stories, while they laugh at the same time at their being able to deceive a people who think themselves so superior to them in wisdom and knowledge. They are fond of trying white men who come among them, in order to see whether they can act upon them in this way with success. Travellers who cannot speak their language, and are not acquainted with their character, manners and usages, should be more particularly careful not to ask them questions that touch in any manner upon their superstitious notions, or, as they are often considered even by themselves "fabulous amusements." Nor should a stranger ever display an anxiety to witness scenes of this kind, but rather appear indifferent about them. In this manner he cannot be misled by interested persons or those who have formed a malicious design to deceive him. Whenever such a disposition appears (and it is not difficult to be discovered) questions of this kind should be reserved for another time, and asked in a proper manner before other persons, or of those who would be candid and perhaps let the enquirer into the secret.

114 484 I have been led to consider Carver, who otherwise is deserving of credit for the greatest part of what he has written on the character of the Indians, to have been imposed upon in the story which he relates of having learned by means of a conjurer (the chief priest of the Killistenoes, as he calls him) who pretended to have had a conversation with the great Spirit, the precise time when a canoe should come, and certain traders who had been long expected should arrive.* Had Carver resided a longer time among the Indians, so as to have acquired a

* Carver's Travels, Introduction, p. 72. Boston Edit, 1797.

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more intimate acquaintance with their customs,* he would have known that they have one in particular (which I understand is universal among all the tribes), which would have easily explained to him what he thought so mysterious. Whenever they go out on a journey, whether far or near, and even sometimes when they go out on hunting parties, they always fix a day, on which they either will return, or their friends at home shall hear from them. They are so particular and punctual in "making their word true," as they call it, that when they find that at the rate they are travelling, they would probably be at home a day or so sooner than the time appointed, they will rather lay by for that time than that their word should not be precisely made good. I have known instances when they might have arrived in very good time the day preceding that which they had appointed, but they rather chose to encamp for the night, though but a few miles distant from their home. They urge a variety of reasons for this conduct. In the first place, they are anxious not to occasion disappointment in any case when they can avoid it. They consider punctuality as an essential virtue, because, say they, much often depends upon it, particularly when they are engaged in wars. Besides, when the day of their return is certainly known, every thing is prepared for their reception, and the family are ready with the best that they can provide to set before them on their arrival. If, however, unforeseen circumstances should prevent them from coming all on the same day, one, at least, or more of them, will be sure to arrive, from whom those at home will learn all that they wish to know.

On all important occasions, in which a tribe or body of Indians are concerned or interested, whether they are looking out for the return of an embassy sent to a dis-

* Carver was only 14 months in the Indian country, during which time he says he travelled near 4000 miles and visited twelve different nations of Indians.

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tant nation, for messengers with an answer on some matter of consequence, for runners despatched by their spies who are watching an enemy's motions, or for traders who at stated periods every year are sure to meet them at certain places, they always take proper and efficacious measures to prevent being surprised.

The case which appears to have excited so much astonishment in Captain Carver, I believe to have been simply this. The Indians had at the season that he speaks of failed to arrive at the trading place at the time appointed. The Indians who had assembled there for the purpose of meeting them could not be ignorant of the cause of their delay, as they had, no doubt, learned it by the return of some of their runners sent out for that purpose, who, as is their custom, probably informed them that another set of runners would be in the next day with further advices. The priest must have known all this, and the precise spot where those fresh runners were to encamp the night preceding their arrival, which is always well known and understood by means of the regular chain of communication that is kept up. These runners say to each other, pointing to the heavens: "When the sun stands there, I will be here or at such "a particular spot," which they clearly designate. The information thus given is sure to reach in time the chiefs of the nation.

The manner in which this priest spoke to Captain Carver of his pretended intercourse with the great Spirit, clearly shews the deception that he was practising upon him. "The great Spirit," said he, "has not indeed "told me when the persons we expect will be here, but "to-morrow, soon after the sun has reached his highest "point in the heavens, a canoe will arrive, and the peo-"ple in that will inform us when the traders will come." The question, then, which he had put to the great Spirit, "when the traders would come?" was not answered, and there was no need of asking the Mannitto when the ca-

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noes should come, for that must have been known already, and that the people in it would tell them where the traders were, and when they might be expected to arrive.

As in or about the year 1774, I was travelling with some Christian Indians, two Indians of the same nation, but strangers to us, fell in with us just as we were going to encamp, and joined us for the night. One of them was an aged grave looking man, whom I was pleased to see in our company, and I flattered myself with obtaining some information from him, as, according to the Indian custom, age always takes the lead in conversation. I soon, however, perceived, to my great mortification, that he dwelt on subjects which I had neither a taste for nor an ear to hear; for his topic was the supernatural performances of Indians through the agency of an unseen Mannitto. I did not pay any attention to what he said, nor did any of our Christian Indians shew marks of admiration or astonishment at the stories he was telling, but sat in silence smoking their pipes. The speaker having, after an hour's time, finished his relations, the oldest Indian in my company addressed himself to me and said: "Now you have heard what some Indians can "perform. Have you ever heard the like before, and do "you believe all you have heard?" "There are," I answered, "many things that I have heard of the Indians, "and which I believe to be true, and such things I like to "hear; but there are also things which they relate "which I do not believe, and therefore do not wish to "know them. While our friend here was just now tel- "ling us stories of this kind, which I cannot believe, I "was wishing all the time that he might soon have fi- "nished and tell us something better." The Indian, taking the hint in good part, asked me then what things I should like to hear? On which I made him this reply: "As you are a man already in years, and much older "than myself, you must have seen many things that I

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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PREFACE

Any group of people who have been able to preserve even some of the beliefs and customs of their ancestors of three and a half centuries ago in the face of intense, largely continuous pressure to abandon them merits the interest and attention of the social scientist. The Delaware Indians of Oklahoma are such a people — a people who only today are finally relinquishing a cultural tradition old in the time of John Smith and Henry Hudson.

Despite the wealth of documentary material dealing with Delaware culture, no comprehensive description of its early form has been written. Herman has recently reconstructed the early historic culture from documentary sources; her study, however, is not comprehensive.[1] Kinietz has attempted "to assemble and analyze data on the culture. . . from the earliest white contact to the present, with a view to determining what changes have taken place in their culture, when, and why."[2] Unfortunately, this analysis was only partly successful.[3] Several aspects of Delaware culture have received adequate treatment. The religious beliefs and practices, particularly of later times, have been described at length.[4] Delaware language has been described and analyzed,[5] and the Walam Olum or Red Score has been discussed extensively.[6] Apart from Kinietz' preliminary effort, there has been no attempt to describe or analyze Delaware acculturation. Likewise, no consideration has ever been given to the final phases of Delaware acculturation, or assimilation, particularly the part which the Delawares are playing in what has been termed the Pan-Indian society. The aims of this study are, then, to reconstruct the early historic culture of the Delawares, to describe how it changed under the impact of Euro-American civilization, and to explain, at least in broad terms, why the changes took place.

This study was originally prepared under the direction of the Department of Anthropology, University of Michigan, in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the Doctor of Philosophy degree. New data have altered the original dissertation to some extent, although the organization and conclusions remain essentially the same. Two chapters were deleted and included in others, and a map has been added.

During the summer months of 1951 and 1952 an ethnographic study was made of the Delaware Indians in Oklahoma. The cost of this field work was borne in part by funds provided by the Ford Foundation and administered by the Department of Anthropology, University of Michigan. I gratefully acknowledge this assistance. I particularly want to thank

[1] Herman, 1950, pp. 45-77.
[2] Kinietz, 1946, p. 15.
[3] Speck, 1948, pp. 723-24.
[4] Speck, 1931; Harrington, 1921.
[5] C. F. Voegelin, 1946; C. F. and E. W. Voegelin, 1946.
[6] Brinton, 1885; Lilly, 1944, pp. 33-40; E. W. Voegelin, 1940, pp. 28-31; Lilly, *et al.*, 1954. See Griffin, 1955, for a review of the preceding volume; Newcomb, 1955, pp. 57-63.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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of their kin who had moved there directly from northern New York. They, therefore, united with the Hurons (Talamatans) to drive out the Talega (Tsalaki, Cherokees) from the upper Ohio. This they only succeeded in accomplishing finally in the historic period. But they did clear the road and reached the Delaware valley, though neither forgetting nor giving up their claims to their western territories.[30]

It is not my purpose to go into the authenticity of the Walam Olum or the accuracy of its migration account. Suffice it to say that the Walam Olum was probably a product of the Delawares during their phase of revivalistic nativism and that it seems "to be an account, by a despairing person unable to gain his customary satisfactions from a life that no longer existed, of a Golden Age which never was. . . . Indeed the Walam Olum plainly appears to be the mirror image of a nativistically oriented people, rather than an authentic account of their history."[31]

The Location and Divisions of the Early Historic Delawares

It is impossible, for the following reasons, to know precisely the name, location, and affiliations of all the peoples who at the end of the seventeenth century joined forces and became known as the Delawares. First, the Delawaran peoples were aboriginally and during most of the seventeenth century unorganized politically and composed of a large number of subdivisions. Second, three different European nations were in contact with Delawaran peoples during this century. Their names for various groups often differed, and their interest in the relationships and locations of the various divisions was often slight. Third, these natives were soon displaced geographically and much reduced in numbers. Lastly, an unknown number of non-Delawaran peoples were incorporated into the Delaware tribe at the end of the seventeenth century. I have not undertaken the prodigious task of locating the Delawaran peoples by investigating all of the primary sources, although such a study is sorely needed; instead, a synthesis of previous investigations and two seventeenth-century maps is presented. This discussion is, therefore, liable to inaccuracies of various kinds.

For convenience the Delawares at the opening of historic times may be described as being composed of three geographical groups, traditionally called the Munsi, Unami, and Unalachtigo. The people who were to become the core of the tribe composed the division which became known in the mid-eighteenth century as the Unami. According to Brinton, the term Unami means "people down the river."[33] Zeisberger used the term

[30] Brinton, 1885, pp. 165-66.

[31] Newcomb, 1955, p. 63.

[32] The following discussion and Map 1 are based on Ruttenber, 1872, pp. 89-93; Hrdlicka, 1902, pp. 33-37; Skinner, 1909, pp. 30-32; Bolton, 1920, pp. 226-66; Swanton, 1952, pp. 48-55; Van der Donck's map of New Netherland, 1656, opposite p. 294 in Jameson, 1909; and N. J. Visscher's Map of New Netherland, New England . . . about 1655, opposite p. 170 in Myers, 1912.

[33] Brinton, 1885, p. 36.

[text continues on p. 7]

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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II. THE RECONSTRUCTION OF DELAWARE CULTURE

Introduction

The most recent reconstruction of early historic Delaware culture by Herman[1] failed to use the data made available by Kinietz[2] from the Trowbridge and Cass papers and minimized contemporary ethnographic data. Herman largely ignored modern ethnographic information because it "had combined material gained from different periods of time."[3] Kinietz used the previously unavailable Trowbridge and Cass data, but took little advantage of the other sources. His work also omitted a discussion of religion and some aspects of social organization. This study has utilized most of the source material of both of these investigators, as well as their results, and has in addition used other documentary materials. I have also used modern ethnographic data more extensively than have others. By using proper controls the ethnography of the Delawares can be made to cast valuable light on some of the less well-illuminated aspects of the early historic culture. The presence of a culture trait, whose existence could not be traced to white culture, to other Indian cultures, or to some sort of synthesis of these, was assumed to be of Delaware origin. It should be noted that some traits found in the field were considered Delaware on the basis of their absence among other groups; documentary materials later confirmed a Delaware provenance for many of these traits. Evidence from the field indicated, for example, that the Delawares possessed the trait of making a hole at the head of a coffin through which the soul could find its exit. Exit and reentrance were eased by the application of red ocher to this aperture. No evidence could be found which would indicate that this trait had been borrowed from other Indian cultures, nor was it derived from white culture, except that wooden coffins were used in place of bark receptacles. Later research substantiated the conclusion that this trait was of Delaware origin. In brief, by using a cautious and judicious approach it is possible to project ethnographic data back to early historic times with a fair degree of probability. Wherever this approach has been utilized, it is so noted in the text. I have also made a more serious effort to reconstruct the kinship terminology and general kinship structure of the early historic Delawares than has been attempted previously. This reconstruction is based mainly upon the recent suggestions of Murdock.[4]

The authorities for the data are given in chronological order, the seventeenth-century sources are given first, then the eighteenth-century, and so on down to the data recorded by myself in the field. When data secured from informants is used, the initials of the informant appear in the text or in a footnote with other references.[5] A discussion of the documentary sources is given in the Appendix.

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[1] Herman, 1950, pp. 45-77.
[2] Kinietz, 1948.
[3] Herman, *op. cit.*, p. 48.
[4] Murdock, 1949, pp. 184-259, 323-52.
[5] Initials of informants are: O. A., Ollie Beaver Anderson; M. B., Mary Bob; N. D., Lenora Dean; J. T., Jim Thompson; F. W., Fred Washington; R. W., Reuben Wilson; L. F., Lillian Frenchman.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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Subsistence

At the beginning of historic times all of the Middle Atlantic Slope cultures subsisted by means of hoe-gardening, fishing, and hunting. The relative importance of each of these subsistence methods has long been disputed for the area as a whole. Kroeber has maintained that agriculture was not basic to life in the Eastern Area, that "there is little to argue that the culture was leaning very fundamentally on agriculture."[6] He is almost certainly in error in minimizing agriculture and in the reasons he gives for its unimportance, at least so far as the Delawares were concerned. Among the more inland groups agriculture definitely was of paramount importance. In 1654 Lindestrom described a group on the Schuylkill who had ". . . . their dwellings side by side one another, wherefore this land is thereby being cleared and cultivated with great power."[7] Juet before 1610 described a group in the neighborhood of Sandy Hook as having a "great store of Maiz,"[8] and De Vries, De Laet, and William Penn all said that the principal food was maize.[9] Krieger in 1663, in an expedition against some New Jersey Delawares, cut down two hundred and fifteen acres of maize and burned over one hundred pits of corn and beans.[10] Wallace recently contended that agriculture was basic in the economy and added that the high status of women was a function of their basically important agricultural activities.[11] Hunting, gathering, and fishing were also important activities, and seasonally they may well have rivaled agricultural activity.

Gardening.—The principal crop plant was corn or maize (*Zea mays*), raised by the women.[12] They had several varieties ". . . . white, red, blue, flesh-colored, brown, yellow and spotted ears."[13] Holm in the early decades of the seventeenth century said the Delawares grew ". . . black maize of the colour of tar. . ."[14] Harrington in his field work among the Oklahoma Delawares noted six varieties that had been handed down from the early days and were still grown. There were "three soft and three hard" varieties.[15] The Delawares today remember or possess a white-flour corn used principally in bread;[16] red corn, a flint variety; Osage corn, a soft variety; blue corn; and Deer corn, a striped variety (J.T.). There is no assurance that these varieties have not been borrowed by the Delawares in recent times. The cultivated fields seem to have been rather small in extent. Kalm stated that an Indian's garden took up no more ground "than a farmer in our country takes to plant cabbage for his family. At least, a farmer's cabbage and turnip ground,

[6] Kroeber, 1947, p. 148.
[7] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 170.
[8] Juet, 1909, p. 18.
[9] De Vries, 1909, p. 218; De Laet, 1909, p. 57; Penn, 1912, p. 232.
[10] O'Callaghan, 1851, IV: 39.
[11] Wallace, 1947, pp. 9-10.
[12] De Laet, 1909, p. 49; Denton, 1845, p. 6; Van der Donck, 1909, p. 202; Thomas, 1912, p. 341; Penn, 1912, p. 232.
[13] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 179; see also De Rasieres, 1909, p. 107; Kalm, 1937, I: 74.
[14] Holm, 1834, p. 49.
[15] Harrington, 1913, p. 221.
[16] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 180, said bread was baked from white and yellow corn.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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221 the Indians congregated in their small villages, gardening and, if near the sea or a river, fishing. After they had planted the gardens they regularly visited the Europeans.[102] Following the harvest, and at least in later times after the socioreligious ceremonies climaxed by the Big House Ceremony, the villages were deserted as individual families scattered to their hunting territories. The first fall hunt was for deer and seems to have been communal, perhaps prior to the dispersal to individual hunting grounds. After the deer hunt bears and other game were sought by individual hunters.[103] The men hunted until February or March, depending upon the season. In later times the individual families then went to their sugaring grounds; there the women collected and boiled down the maple sap while the men continued to hunt.[103] In spring they again moved to their villages and planted their crops. Wallace has pointed out, however, that there were some exceptions to the hunting-gardening cycle;[104] different sorts of adjustment by different groups were necessary in the relatively diverse habitat of the Delawares.

Property Concept and Hunting Territories

422 The concept of private ownership of personal equipment, tools, and the like was well developed among the Delawares. Heckewelder, who had a good grasp of this subject, said:

> There is nothing in an Indian's house or family without its particular owner. Every individual knows what belongs to him, from the horse or cow down to the dog, cat, kitten and little chicken. Parents make presents to their children, and they in return to their parents. A father will sometimes ask his wife or one of his children for the loan of his horse to go out a hunting. For a litter of kittens or brood of chickens, there are often as many different owners as there are individual animals. In purchasing a hen with her brood, one frequently has to deal for it with several children. Thus, while the principle of community of goods prevails in the state, the rights of property are acknowledged among the members of a family. This is attended with a very good effect; for by this means every living creature is properly taken care of. It also promotes liberality among the children, which becomes a habit with them by the time they are grown up.[105]

Although most of Heckewelder's examples were items introduced by Europeans, there seems to be no reason why this sort of property concept was not an early one. This type of ownership is akin to our own concept of property; the "ownership" of other kinds of property was quite distinct from our own.

[421] W. C. MacLeod,[106] utilizing Speck's[107] investigation, has presented a well-documented case for the family ownership of hunting grounds. 423 The purpose of his paper was obviously to support the contentions of

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[102] Denton, 1845, p. 7; Holm, 1834, p. 123; De Rasieres, 1909, pp. 107-8.
[103] De Vries, 1909, p. 222; Zeisberger, 1910, pp. 12-13; Loskiel, 1794, p. 78.
[104] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 13.
[105] Wallace, 1947, p. 17.
[106] Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 158-59.
[107] MacLeod, 1922, pp. 448-63.
[108] Speck, 1915, pp. 289-308.

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R. H. Lowie[108] and others who at this time (ca. 1920) were attempting to demonstrate that private ownership was the rule and not the exception in primitive society. I do not deny that the Delawares shared in the Eastern Algonkian trait of family-held hunting grounds. I do deny, however, that the early historic concept of land ownership was analogous to the European one. Wallace, who has made the most penetrating study of early Delaware land tenure, summed up their concept by saying:

> To the Delaware Indian, land was an element, a medium of existence, like the air and the sunlight and the rivers. To him, "ownership" of land meant, not exclusive personal title to the soil itself, but occupation of a certain position of responsibility in the social unit which exploited the soil. The "sale" of land (to use the white man's term) might, to the Delaware, be almost any mutually satisfactory change in the relationship of two groups of persons subsisting on the land. In the earliest sales, the Indians seem to have intended only to give the whites freedom to use the land in conjunction with the native population.[109]

MacLeod in a footnote tacitly agreed with this point of view, saying: "The selling of land of course was a notion foreign, so far as we know, to native ideas or practice."[110]

There are no seventeenth-century sources which, to my knowledge, described directly and in straightforward fashion the hunting territories. On the basis of the records of early land transactions, however, both MacLeod and Wallace have reconstructed the system which must have existed. The smallest unit of land was a named "hunting territory covering up to two hundred square miles of land."[111] Their boundaries were often vague, and territories overlapped, although natural landmarks were used as boundaries. "Such territories are often associated in European documents with the names of individual Indians, who are called 'owners.'"[112] Most of these territories were, however, sold by groups of Indians. In short, the so-called "owners" were simply representatives of the social units who used this land.[113] It also appears that disposition of these territories did not rest solely in the hands of these individuals, but was the privilege of the community.[114] Wallace has demonstrated that a number of individual hunting territories made up a larger unit which he terms "communal territories" of "up to 1500 square miles."[115]

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Inheritance of hunting territory right is but vaguely understood. MacLeod has suggested that the inheritance of hunting territory was through the paternal line, since it was used primarily by males. If this was true it would suggest either that matrilineal reckoning of kinship was a historic accretion to Delaware culture, or that the two systems existed side by side.[116] Wallace has concluded, as have I, that the maternal lineage was the social unit that "owned" or perhaps more aptly

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[108] Lowie, 1920, pp. 210 ff.

[109] Wallace, 1947, p. 3; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 102, agreed with this concept of land possession.

[110] MacLeod, 1922, p. 483.

[111] Wallace, 1947, p. 3.

[112] *Ibid.*, p. 3; MacLeod, 1922, p. 483.

[113] Wallace, 1947, p. 4.

[114] *Ibid.*, p. 5.

[115] *Ibid.*, p. 6.

[116] MacLeod, 1922, p. 482.

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not uncommon: "Mr. Conner knows of many instances of it having been committed, sometimes by shooting, but generally by eating the root of the may apple. It proceeds most frequently from excess of gref (sic) or from disappointment in love."[117] There are indications, then, of a pattern of sex-oriented suicide in Delaware culture at least as early as the eighteenth century.

Kin Groups

There is no way of knowing exactly how much Delaware kinship structure and terminology changed in the two and a half centuries following European invasion. That it did change during this period is virtually certain, since factors which induce change were present, such as altered rules of residence, decreased polygyny, and increased economic and political importance of men. The literature of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries gives no description of the kinship structure. L. H. Morgan was the first investigator to furnish information on the subject, obtaining his data in 1859 on the Kansas reservation of the Delawares. Even at this time Morgan termed the system "deteriorated."[118] I shall first describe the system found by Morgan, then compare it with the modern one, and finally turn to a reconstruction of the early historic system. Kinship terms given by Zeisberger and other earlier authors are too scant to yield any information; these nuclear terms agree with Morgan's lists.

Nineteenth-Century Kinship Terms and Principles

The kinship system of both the Munsi and Unami has been called the "Mackenzie Basin" type by Spier, and would be termed Hawaiian by Murdock.[119] According to Morgan, the essential features of the Delaware (Unami) system (Fig. 1, p. 45: Fig. 2, p. 46) were:

1. A brother's son and daughter, whether Ego was male or female, were termed son and daughter.
2. A sister's son and daughter, Ego a male, were nephew and niece. Ego a female, they were son and daughter.
3. Parallel and cross-cousins were termed stepbrother and stepsister, "the males and females using different terms."[120]
4. A father's brother was termed little father.
5. A mother's brother was termed uncle.
6. Mother's sister, father's sister, and father's brother's wife were termed little mother.
7. All grandparents and all kin of the second ascending generation were called grandmother or grandfather.

[117] Trowbridge MS.
[118] Morgan, 1871, p. 221.
[119] Spier, 1925, p. 78; Murdock, 1949, pp. 223, 228.
[120] Morgan, 1871, pp. 221-22.

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powers, serving primarily in the capacity of adviser.[139] This position was gained through inheritance.[140] Morgan agreed with him, saying: 615

> A Delaware woman, after stating to the author that she, with her children, belonged to the Wolf gens, and her husband to the Turtle, remarked that when Captain Ketchum ... late head chief or sachem of the Turtle gens, died, he was succeeded by his nephew, John Conner ... a son of one of the sisters of the deceased sachem, who was also of the Turtle gens. The decedent left a son, but he was of another gens and consequently incapable of succeeding. With the Delawares, as with the Iroquois, the office passed from brother to brother, or from uncle to nephew, because descent was in the female line.[141]

The three phratries have frequently been confused with the three geographical divisions of the Delawares. Heckewelder was the first to make this association, and his copyists have continued his correlation.[142] The association was Turtle with Unami, Turkey with Unalachtigo, and Wolf with Munsi.[143] Harrington dissented from this viewpoint on the basis that phratry members could be found among any of the geographical divisions.[144] As early as 1824 Trowbridge specifically denied this association and said that members of all three phratries were found in the Munsi group.[145] There can be little doubt that Heckewelder was mistaken in associating the geographical divisions with the phratries.

Social Control

Government

Relatively more information exists dealing with political organization and government of the early historic Delawares than concerning the kinship system. Europeans had an opportunity to observe the governmental machinery, participating in councils and the like, but their contact with the kinship system was so slight that they could not understand it. 114 ● 622

Each social unit, or clan, had a leader, usually termed "sachem" in the literature, who had inherited his position through the maternal line. "When a king dies it is not his children who succeed him, but his brother by the same mother, or his sister's, or her daughter's male children."[146] Penn, who has given the clearest description of government, said:

> Their government is by kings, which they call sachama, and those by succession; but always of the mother's side. For instance, the children of him who is now king will not succeed, but his brother by the mother, or the children of his sister, whose sons (and after them the children of her daughters) will reign, for no woman inherits. The reason they render for this way of descent is, that their issue may not be spurious.[147]

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[139] Harrington, 1913, p. 211.
[140] *Ibid.*
[141] Morgan, 1877, p. 173.
[142] Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 61-63; Brinton, 1885, p. 39.
[143] Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 61-63.
[144] Harrington, 1913, p. 209.
[145] Trowbridge MS.
[146] Holm, 1834, p. 133.
[147] Penn, 1882, p. 244; Thomas, 1913, p. 335, and Zeisberger, 1910, p. 98, agreed on the matriarchal succession of sachems.

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IV. DELAWARE IDEOLOGY

Religion and Magic

Of all the aspects of Delaware culture, religious ceremonies and beliefs have received the most extended treatment by anthropologists because this segment of culture has been better preserved than any other. F. G. Speck's *A Study of the Delaware Big House Ceremony* described the central religious ceremony of the Delawares, and his *Oklahoma Delaware Ceremonies, Dances, and Feasts* added to this account and described the minor ceremonies.[1] M. R. Harrington's *Religion and Ceremonies of the Lenape*, and his "Preliminary Sketch of Lenape Culture" dealt with the Big House Ceremony and a number of minor beliefs and practices.[2] It is hardly necessary, then, to present an extended treatment of Delaware religion; instead, particular attention will be paid to the early historic religious beliefs and practices.

Supernatural Beings

The Delawares believed in a single, all powerful, originally creative, supernatural power. He was called Gicelamu'kaong, which means "Great Spirit," "Great Power," or "Creator."[3] This supernatural figure was a remote one, somewhat removed from the affairs of men. He had appointed a number of agents who created the world and all upon it. He was capable of endowing any matter, either animate or inanimate, with supernatural attributes or power.[4] Lesser anthropomorphic deities, enjoying their authority through this primal power, were the Sun, the Moon, the Seven Thunders, the Four Directions, the Earth Mother, and the Mask Being, or Living Solid Face. The Sun and the Moon were addressed as Elder Brother, the former having the duty of providing light, and the latter that of protecting and guarding people at night.[5] Our Mother, the Earth, was Sun's sister, but not Moon's sister, and was charged with caring for and feeding the people.[6] The Seven Thunders, who combined features of men and birds, provided rain for crops, protected men from various water monsters, and were responsible for lightning.[7] The deities of the cardinal directions were associated with the wind and the

[1] Speck, 1931, 1937.

[2] Harrington, 1921; 1913, pp. 208-35.

[3] Penn, 1882, p. 244; Brainerd, 1884, pp. 244-45; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 128; Speck, 1931, p. 26; Harrington, 1921, pp. 18-24; Trowbridge MS. gives a literal translation, "Keshaallemoonkunk, he who created us by his thought" (Kinietz, 1946, p. 88). The Christian Delaware religious texts use Kitannowit, "great spirit," rather than this term.

[4] De Laet, 1909, pp. 49-50; Brainerd, 1884, pp. 244-45.

[5] Brainerd, 1884, p. 345; Trowbridge MS; Harrington, 1913, p. 226; Speck, 1931, pp. 29-33; M.B.

[6] Harrington, 1913, pp. 226-27; O.A., J.T., M.B.

[7] Harrington, 1913, pp. 226-27; 1921, pp. 29-30; M.B.

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lameness.[33] For fear of this soul nobody ever eats in the dark or allows a sick person to be in a dark room (J.T., N.D.).

The Delawares believed in an after life, but what this existence was like is only vaguely described in the early literature and probably was only vaguely envisaged by them. De Vries said that "when they die they sing like the ravens; but this singing is entirely different from the singing of angels."[34] One source stated that "some" believed that after a soul had been in the other world for a time it might be reborn on earth in another individual.[35] Harrington said that on the twelfth day after death the spirit made its way to the twelfth or highest home, a beautiful place, without pain or sorrow, where there were magnificent dwellings, beautiful streams, and fertile lands. This paradise was only for the good; where bad or evil spirits went is unknown.[36] This concept was in all likelihood a diffusion from Christianity.

The Big House Ceremony

The Big House or Annual Ceremony has been the principal ceremony and the focal point of Delaware religious observances at least since the second half of the eighteenth century. Prior to the tribal consolidation of the Delawares (in the early decades of the eighteenth century), this Ceremony could not have existed as it is now known, since in its modern form it is a tribal or national religious event. I do not agree with Kinietz that the Big House Ceremony came into existence as an adjunct of the revivalistic nativism of the Delawares after 1762.[37] It seems much more likely that it was synthesized during the early decades of the century at the time when other parts of the culture were being unified and the tribal society was emerging. As far as I have been able to determine, the import and the meaning of this ceremony have not been nativistic as would be required by Kinietz's hypothesis. Its general purpose was to give thanks for past blessings and to ensure good fortune for the coming year.[38] Morgan said: "They believe unless they observe it once a year their crops will fail, and they will loose (sic) the favor of the Great Spirit."[39] I agree with Kinietz that "European civilization in contact with that of the Delawares was unconsciously responsible for the integration of the Big House Ceremony, the dropping and addition of many features . . . ,"[40] but I set the date for this integration half a century earlier than he does. The addition of the symbolic number twelve (from the twelve Apostles of Christianity?), the sacred number of the sweat lodge, and the appearance of the Mask Being during the ceremony are but two examples of historic additions to the ceremony.[41]

Unfortunately, the seventeenth-century documents contain little more than hints concerning the nature of the religious rites from which the the Big House Ceremony was synthesized. Denton, however, said:

[33] Speck, 1931, p. 25; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 131; J.T.
[34] De Vries, 1909, p. 224.
[35] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 131.
[36] Harrington, 1921, pp. 52-54.
[37] Kinietz, 1940, pp. 117-21.
[38] Speck, 1931, p. 21; R.W., O.A.
[39] Morgan, 1859, MS.
[40] Kinietz, 1940, p. 121.
[41] *Ibid.*, p. 118.

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APPENDIX: THE SOURCE MATERIALS

The accuracy of the reconstruction of Delaware culture and the description of its change depend largely upon the trustworthiness of the source materials. The quantity and quality of the documents relating to the Delawares are relatively satisfactory. In the seventeenth century alone eleven individuals of four nationalities were eyewitness reporters of various aspects of native life. The extent to which these accounts agree with one another is reassuring. Most disagreements may be reconciled either as real differences present among the diverse Delawaran peoples, or as honest differences of opinion about customs observed.

Peter Lindestrom, Daniel Denton, and William Penn were the most important of the seventeenth-century sources in the quantity of ethnographic data their accounts contained. Lindestrom, a Swedish engineer and mathematician, came to New Sweden in 1653 and remained in the New World for two years. As an engineer and clerk of the court, he traveled extensively and had ample opportunity to observe and learn about native life, as is shown by his *Geographia Americae*, which was not published until 1691. He had, however, made notes or kept a journal while in the New World. His description of native life is, so far as I can judge, completely trustworthy.

Daniel Denton was among the first settlers in the township of Jamaica in 1656. His observations about the natives seem to be confined to inhabitants of western Long Island. It is possible that these Indians may have been Montauk rather than a Unami division, but if this is so they were culturally indistinguishable from the natives described by Lindestrom, Penn, and others. I have utilized Denton's *A Brief Description of New York* fully; it is not as complete an ethnography as Lindestrom's, but its quality is high, and Denton seems to have abided by his statement: "I. . . have writ nothing but what I have been an eyewitness to. . . ."[1]

William Penn's relatively complete description of Delawaran peoples dates from 1682 or 1683. His letter to the "Committee of the Free Society of Traders" was written after an extensive tour of his lands during which time he had many discussions with the natives about land matters. Some of Penn's statements were probably not derived from firsthand information, but his account agrees tolerably well with others of the late seventeenth century.

The descriptions of Delawaran peoples by Robert Juet and Isaack de Rasieres are the earliest of which I have knowledge. Juet was an officer aboard Henry Hudson's "Half-Moon." Juet's "The Third Voyage of Master Henry Hudson" was written before he sailed on Hudson's fourth voyage in 1610. His knowledge of the natives was superficial, but the very early date of his observations provides useful knowledge of early contacts with Europeans. Isaack de Rasieres' letter was written before the third

[1]Denton, 1845, Preface.

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decade of the century; unfortunately for Delaware ethnography, sixteen crucial pages are missing. Despite this lack, De Rasieres shows surprising familiarity with marriage customs and government. When he depended upon secondhand information, however, his account is far less creditable. Johan de Laet's material dealing with the Delawares also dated from the first quarter of the seventeenth century. De Laet never visited America, but I used his data because he explicitly attempted to accurately describe native life and because he quoted extracts from the lost journal of Henry Hudson. He was also the first European to set down a vocabulary of the Delaware and Munsi languages. The fourth native of the Netherlands to write of the Delawares was David Pietersz De Vries. His observations were made in 1632 and 1633, and upon his return to Europe he published a book written from his journal. Myers has said that "he writes in a plain but vivid style and his book both internally and externally has well stood the tests of trustworthiness."[2] He was sympathetic towards the natives and has provided much valuable information. Adriaen Van der Donck, another native of Holland, wrote of the natives of New Netherland about the middle of the century. His description of the people is good, but the usable material is brief. Jaspar Dankers (or Danckaerts) and Peter Sluyter, in their journal kept between 1679 and 1680, contributed a small amount of information, chiefly about the religion and folklore of the natives.

The only German among the seventeenth-century writers was Francis Daniel Pastorius, a lawyer and scholar. His knowledge of the natives was limited, but what he did say about them I have found to be of value. His observations dated from 1683 to the close of the century. Gabriel Thomas, a Quaker by birth, was with the first group of Penn's emigrants. His account of Pennsylvania and "West New-Jersey" was published in 1698, but records events of almost two decades earlier. Myers said that Thomas had "a tendency to exaggerate in some of the passages; these lapses, however, are easily discernible. Where he writes what he himself knows he is in general reliable. . . ."[3] His observations upon native life fit in fairly well with other accounts, although he had the unfortunate habit of lumping all Indians together as far as their customs were concerned. Other information about the early seventeenth-century Delawares was obtained from the reliable data found in Thomas Campanius Holm's *A Short Description of the Province of New Sweden*, and also in Amandus Johnson's summary of the information given by other Swedish writers about the Delawares.

In the first part of the eighteenth century David Brainerd, a religious zealot, provided some insights into religious customs, but little more. Peter Kalm, the great Swedish scientist, was in North America between 1748 and 1751 and has given a little information about the Delawares, chiefly ethnobotanical. By far the most important sources of information about them in the eighteenth century were David Zeisberger and

[2] Myers, 1912, p. 5.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 311.

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John Heckewelder, both Moravian missionaries to the Delawares. They lived with the Delawares many years (in Zeisberger's case for more than fifty) and learned their language. Zeisberger was perhaps more ethnocentric and biased in his attitudes about the Delawares, although he viewed them more realistically than did Heckewelder. Heckewelder was more sympathetic towards them, but had a somewhat more romanticized conception of them than did Zeisberger. Neither man gave much information on religion, but in other respects they seem to have understood and written about the Delawares in a relatively thorough manner, considering the time and their occupations. Since they lived among the Delawares at a time when the culture was changing rapidly, their journals are valuable both for their ethnographic content and for the information they provide on culture change. A number of other sources of information concerning the eighteenth-century Delawares were used, but they were mostly minor, and are not discussed here.

Three nineteenth-century sources of information which I have used extensively deserve some comment: the diary of Abraham Luckenbach, another Moravian missionary, the journal of Lewis Henry Morgan, and the manuscript by Charles C. Trowbridge. Luckenbach maintained a mission to the Delawares on the White River in Indiana between 1801 and 1806. He was the best ethnographer of all the Moravians in terms of his interest in the native culture. He was also, as far as I can determine, the only white person ever to view and describe the Big House Ceremony.

Dr. Leslie A. White very kindly loaned me a copy of the unpublished "Journal of a Visit to Kansas and Nebraska in May and June, 1859, Number IV," by Lewis Henry Morgan. This journal contains many interesting insights into the condition of Delaware culture in 1859. Comments are unnecessary on the utility and validity of this journal and upon the other information supplied by the father of American ethnography.

Charles C. Trowbridge was employed by Lewis Cass, Governor of Michigan Territory, to obtain answers to a pamphlet he had prepared entitled "Inquiries respecting the History, Traditions, Languages, Manners, Customs, Religion, Etc. of the Indians, Living within the United States." Trowbridge wrote a thirty-seven page manuscript, two copies of which with different titles are in the Michigan Historical Collections. Trowbridge gained the information for this work in 1824 on the White River. I have used this account fully, and have utilized Kinietz's passages relating to other manuscripts fostered by Cass.[4]

[4] Kinietz, 1948, pp. 15-18.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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DAVID ZEISBERGER'S HISTORY OF THE NORTHERN AMERICAN INDIANS.

EDITED BY ARCHER BUTLER HULBERT AND WILLIAM NATHANIEL SCHWARZE.

INTRODUCTION.

The present volume reproduces the manuscript written in German by the Moravian hero-missionary, The Reverend David Zeisberger, at his mission home beside the Muskingum River, in Ohio, in the years 1779 and 1780. 114

Though there is extant a most excellent biography of this noble man, *The Life and Times of David Zeisberger*, by Bishop Edmund De Schweinitz (Philadelphia, 1870), very little is popularly known of him.

In the center of the old Black Forest of America, near New Philadelphia, Ohio, a half-forgotten Indian graveyard lies beside the dusty country road. You may count here several score of graves by the slight mounds of earth that were raised above them a century or so ago. At one extremity of this plot of ground an iron railing incloses another grave marked by a plain marble slab. The grave is David Zeisberger's,— Moravian Missionary to Indians in New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, and Canada for fifty active years, who was buried at this spot at his dying request, that he might await the Resurrection among his faithful Indians. His record is perhaps unequalled in point of length of service by the record of any missionary in any land.

On a July night in 1726 a man and his wife fled from their home in Austrian Moravia toward the mountains on the border of Saxony, for conscience' sake. They took with them nothing save their five-year-old boy, who ran stumbling between them, holding to their hands. The family of three remained in Saxony ten years. Then the parents emigrated to America, leaving the

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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● 114 son of fifteen years in Saxony to continue his education. But within a year he, too, took passage for America, and joined his parents in Georgia, just previous to their removal to Bethlehem, Pennsylvania.

The lad soon became interested in the study of the Delaware Indian language among the natives of that tribe living along the Susquehanna, and at once showed proficiency. Appreciating his talent, the fathers of the Moravian Church determined to send the young man to Europe, that in the best universities he might secure his training. He went as far as New York. There, just as his ship was to sail, he pleaded with tears and on his knees to be allowed to return to the woods of Pennsylvania and the school of the red men there. The words of the wise were overcome by those of the youth, and an earnest soul, as brave as it was earnest, was saved to a life of unparalleled service and devotion.

On returning to Bethlehem, Zeisberger joined a class that was studying the Iroquois tongue, the language of that powerful nation which practically controlled, by tomahawk and threat, all the territory between the colonies and the Mississippi. Soon the looked-for opportunity of visiting the Iroquois' land came, and the young student (who had been enrolled in the class of candidates as *David Zeisburger, destinirter Heidenbote*) was told off to accompany the heroic Frederick Christian Post. This was in the dark year 1745, only a few months previous to the outbreak of the old French war. The youth was now in his twenty-fourth year.

In February of the next year after these two men entered the shadow of old New York, the report was circulated in New York City that two spies had been captured among the Iroquois, who were guilty of attempting to win that nation over to the French. Such a charge at this time was the most serious imaginable, for the contest for the friendship of the Iroquois between the French on the St. Lawrence and the English on the Atlantic had become of great importance. Upon that friendship, and the support it guaranteed, seemed to hang the destiny of the Continent. The rumor created endless consternation, and the

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spies were hurried on to Governor Clinton. Their trial resulted in imprisonment for six weeks, until the two were freed by an ordinance passed by Parliament exempting the missionaries of the Moravian Church from taking oath to the British Crown. Such was Zeisberger's first experience.

Back to the Iroquois land journeyed the liberated prisoner, and for ten doubtful years, until 1755, Zeisberger was engaged in learning the languages of the various tribes of the Six Nations, and in active missionary service. His success was great. Perhaps in all the history of this famous Indian Nation there was no other man, with the exception of Sir William Johnson, whom they trusted as much as they trusted David Zeisberger. Cheated on the one hand by the Dutch of New York and robbed on the other by the agents of the Dutch and the English, the Iroquois became suspicious of all men; and it is vastly more than a friendly compliment to record that in his mission-house at Onondaga, they placed the entire archives of their nation, comprising possibly the most valuable collection of treaties and letters from colonial governors ever made by an Indian nation on this continent. But war now drove the missionary away, as throughout his life war was ever to dash his fondest dreams and ever to drive him back.

Between 1745 and 1750 Zeisberger labored in New York, at Shamokin in Pennsylvania and in the valley of Wyoming; in 1750 he went to the Iroquois land with Cammerhoff; he then visited Europe but returned immediately and was a resident at Onondaga until the old French war opened in 1755; he was at Friedenshütten in 1765 and 1766; in the year following he crossed the mountains for the first time and met the Delawares on the Allegheny River; in 1768 and 1769 he was stationed in western Pennsylvania at Goschgoschünk, and at Lawanakhannek in 1769 and 1770; in the latter year his work carried him to the Beaver River; a year later he advanced to the Muskingum River in Ohio where the three well-known Moravian mission stations were built, Gnadenhütten, Lichtenau and Schoenbrünn; from now until 1781 he lived among the Delawares, though visiting the savage Shawanese in the Scioto

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● 114 on at least one occasion; in 1781 his mission was broken up by the British renegades and the missionary was driven with his flock to Sandusky. Now, in 1781, begins the *Diary of David Zeisberger*, edited by Eugene F. Bliss (Cincinnati, 1885) which has been the only work published in English of Zeisberger's.

The record of Zeisberger's resolute faithfulness to the remnant of his church from this time onward is almost incredible. Like a Moses he led them always, and first to a temporary home Macomb County, Michigan. From there they were in four years removed by the Chippewas. The forlorn pilgrims now set sail in two sloops on Lake Erie; they took refuge from a terrible storm in the mouth of the Cuyahoga River. For a time they rested at a temporary home in Independence Township, Cuyahoga County, Ohio. Famine drove them in turn from here. Setting out on foot, Zeisberger led them next along the shore of Lake Erie westward to the present site of Milan, Erie County, Ohio. Here they resided until the outbreak of the savage Indian War of 1791. To escape from this Zeisberger secured from the British Government a tract of land twelve miles long and six miles wide for the Moravian Indians beside the Grand River in Canada. Here the pilgrims remained six years. But with the close of the Indian War, it was possible for them to return to their beloved home in the Tuscarawas Valley. The United States had given to the Moravian Church two tracts of land here, embracing the sites of the three towns formerly built, containing in all twelve thousand acres.

Back to the old home the patriarch Zeisberger brought his little company in the year 1798. His first duty amid the scene of the terrible Gnadenhütten Massacre was not forgotten. With a bowed head and heavy heart the old man and one assistant gathered from beneath the dense mass of bush and vine, whither the wild beasts had carried them, the bones of the ninety and more sacrificed Christians, and over their present resting-place one of the proudest of monuments now rises. For full ten years more this hero labored in the shadow of the forests where his happiest days had been spent, and only as the winter of 1808

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came down upon the valley from the lakes did his great heart cease beating and his spirit pass through the heavenly gates. 114

Zeisberger's eminent comrades, John Heckewelder and Benjamin Mortimer, thus speak of his character:*

"He was endowed with a good understanding and a sound judgment; a friend and benefactor to mankind, and justly beloved by all who knew him, with perhaps the exception of those who are enemies of the Gospel which he preached. His reticence was the result of the peculiar circumstances of his life. He undertook many solitary journeys, and, in the first half of his life, lived at places where there either was no society, or such as was not congenial. Hence he withdrew within himself, and lived in a close communion with his unseen but ever present heavenly Friend. In all his views he was very thorough, not impulsive, not suffering himself to be carried away by extraneous influences, not giving an opinion until he had come to a positive and settled conclusion in his own mind. Experience invariably proved the correctness of his judgment. To this the missionaries who served with him all bear witness. Receiving, as it were, a glimpse of the future, through the deep thoughts and silent prayers in which he engaged, he stood up, on most occasions, full of confidence, and knew no fear. Amid distressing and perilous circumstances, not only his fellow-missionaries, but the Indian converts, invariably looked to him; and his courage, his undaunted readiness to act, his comforting words cheered them all. He would never consent to have his name put down on a salary-list, or become a 'hireling', as he termed it; saying, that although a salary might be both agreeable and proper for some missionaries, yet in his case it would be the contrary. He had devoted himself to the service of the Lord among the heathen without any view of a reward, other than such as his Lord and Master might deign to bestow upon him".

"Zeisberger was fully convinced that his vocation to preach the Gospel to the Indians and spread the kingdom of God was of divine origin, and therefore he sacrificed all vanities of the world, all convenience, and whatever is highly esteemed among men, and took up the mission of his life in strong faith, relying upon the blessing and aid of that Lord whom he served, and with joyous courage, in the midst of scorn and reproach, persecutions and menaces, hunger and perils, triumphing at last, in spite of every foe. His work was distinguished by perseverance, faithfulness, zeal, and courage. Nothing afforded him more satisfaction than the genuine conversion of those to whom he preached. This was the highest goal of his ambition. If he could gain one soul, and bring it to a saving knowledge of Christ, it was for him a more precious gift than if he had come into possession of the whole world.

* De Schweinitz *Life of Zeisberger.*

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To describe the joy he experienced when an erring sheep returned to the fold is impossible. In his ministry he neither forgot that he had to contend with 'the prince of the power of the air, the spirit that worketh in the children of disobedience', nor that God was on his side. And, truly, he did overcome Satan, in an illustrious way, by the blood of the Lamb, and by the word of his testimony; and loved not his life unto the death. He was not only bold in God, fearless and full of courage, but also lowly of heart, meek of spirit, never thinking highly of himself. Selfishness was unknown to him. His heart poured out a stream of love to his fellowmen. In spite of his constant journeys and exposure, he never needlessly sacrificed his health. His whole bearing was extremely venerable. He was an affectionate husband; a faithful and ever-reliable friend. In a word, his character was upright, honest, loving, and noble, as free from faults as can be expected of any man this side of the grave".

The original manuscript comprising the present volume is preserved in the Moravian Archives at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania; it has been followed literally by Professor Schwarze in making the excellent translation. Though lacking many features of careful composition, the original bears everywhere the evidences of calm, straight-forward, well-founded narrative. Being a man of singularly unselfish devotion and with great ability to focus his energies upon efforts that made up his life-work, Zeisberger applied himself to the study of Indian languages to such purpose that he mastered the Delaware language and the Onondaga dialect of the Iroquois, the two most important languages of the North American Indians, and was able to do much for their development. He learned to know the Indians. He was not troubled with any misleading or romantic notions about the character and traits of these men of the woods. His knowledge of the manners, customs, character, and country of the Indians was perfected by his travels, study, observation, and uninterrupted labors.

All this argues the credibility of his narrative. Indeed, careful consideration will lead to the conclusion that as the story is given simply without aspiration to rhetorical embellishment, it is also clear and well-founded in its testimony. Zeisberger always uses calm and deliberate language, whether treating of the degradation and moral deformity of the savages, or of their redeeming traits. He really loved the Indians, spent his life in

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the effort to do them good, and he gives dispassionately and honestly what he had abundant opportunity to learn of their character, customs and country.

The name of this volume, "History of the Indians," was not given to the manuscript by its author, but, by the Bishop De Schweinitz. Zeisberger, had he named it, would probably have called it, "Notes on the History, Life, Manners, and Customs of the Indians," and the most casual reader will recognize from the mode of presentation and the occasional repetitions that the manuscript is in the form of notes. It has seemed best, however, to reproduce it verbatim as written. The complete analytical index will fully make up for irregularity in arrangement and the lack of proper ordering of the material.

This manuscript, of upwards of eighty thousand words, was evidently written for the Rev. Henry Loskiel to aid him in the preparation of his most valuable *History of the Mission of the United Brethren among the Indians of North America.* Deriving his material from various sources, and writing inclusively of all the American Indians, Loskiel made less use of Zeisberger's manuscript than one would suppose, possibly incorporating, in one form or another, one-third of this manuscript and giving very slight recognition of the source of information. Moreover, writing as one who had little first-hand knowledge of his subject, many facts told by the venerable missionary of a certain Indian tribe lost, under Loskiel's treatment, much of their value, especially, when represented as though true of the typical American Indian. The result is that these pages from Zeisberger's pen, in the opinion of the editors, give the most reliable and accurate description in existence of the Indians of New York, Pennsylvania, and Ohio, written by one intimately acquainted with them. Lacking the polish and general literary excellence of his comrade John Heckewelder's *History,* the student perusing the two will surely agree that for solid information given in simple straight-forward style, the Zeisberger notes take first rank as a work of value. For instance, Zeisberger was practically uninfluenced by the appalling superstitions of the savages; the shams and frauds of their impotent sorcerers made but little impression on the rugged sense of the faithful missionary; so much so that one cannot

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read the few sentences which imply a deviation from this steady attitude without grewsome sensations.

The antiquarian and archaeologist will find in this volume interesting additional proof of the relationship of the so-called "Moundbuilders" and the earlier Indians, the implication being exceedingly strong that they were one and the same race; the reference to mounds, arrow-heads, stone hatchets, etc., etc., being illuminating.

Mention should be made of Zeisberger's attitude toward the Indian legends, especially that of Iroquois' conquest of the Delawares. It was only proper that this historian should include in his narrative the legends which were told to him; that he did not examine them critically and pass upon their accuracy dogmatically is not, in the opinion of the editors, a discredit to him. Banished as he voluntarily was from every access to reliable historical information, and overwhelmed with the great tasks he patiently set himself to perform, it is impossible to conceive of his even attempting to examine the myths that were told him by the lips of his red skinned brethren. It would be only fair, then, to the writer of this admirable work, for the reader mentally to insert, as these legends are recounted, the words "It is said," "they say," or "they believe," etc., for the spirit of the author never warrants our believing that he received them without question. Zeisberger did not express himself in such a manner as to warrant the unqualified statement, as we elsewhere note, made by the careful Parkman, that he (Zeisberger) put faith in the story of a deceptive conquest of the Delawares by the Iroquois.

For a considerable mass of new facts concerning the life and character of the Indians in Pennsylvania, New York and Ohio, of their treatment of each other, of the married relationship, of the treatment of children, of home life and of political affairs, the student will look in vain outside of this Zeisberger manuscript. Its author wrote from an experience covering almost uninterruptedly the period from 1745 to 1778. The story of his life during those years should be read in De Schweinitz's excellent volume; no clear understanding of Ohio's history, especially in the Revolutionary period, is possible without knowing this volume. It is proper to note here a significant fact:

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Zeisberger's mature acquaintance with the redmen came in those years just preceding and succeeding Pontiac's Rebellion; these were the years of dissolution, the years when the influences of civilization and the coming of the European completed the overthrow of the Indian, his family life, his state, his ancient code of laws and social customs. In effect Pontiac said, "After me the deluge;" when the Revolutionary War came on, the redman of the Middle West was as different, compared with his grandfather as we of the Twentieth Century differ from what our great-grandfathers were. One of the most valuable features of Zeisberger's *History* lies just here. Having intimately known the Indian in transformation — the Indian that, though taking the musket and the axe and the blanket, was looking back wonderingly at the bow and stone ax and the feather-and-hemp covering — he is continually giving us precious glimpses, as accurate as they are rare, of the primeval redman. This series of facts concerning these first Americans makes Zeisberger's manuscript of more than ordinary value for his attitude is very largely that of a man looking backward; no other writer of his time maintains such an attitude or has left us a record of equal minuteness relating to the region covered.

On reading his manuscript one is inclined to believe thoroughly in Zeisberger's proposition that no one could get at the real facts concerning the inner life of the redmen unless engaged in the work of converting them.

Lastly, yet of great importance, is the scientific information contained in the manuscript. Through the able assistance of Dr. Arthur Magnum Banta, of the Carnegie Station for Experimental Evolution, the full scientific value of Zeisberger's comment and description may be appreciated by the reader. From the standpoint of the biologist, for instance, the manuscript seems to be reliable and is extremely interesting. It shows intrinsic evidence of being a reliable and careful account of the various animals and plants which the author observed with interest and about which he learned various facts as well as fancies from the Indians. Zeisberger has stated nothing which he did not suppose to be true, and the few fanciful statements are easily recognized since they are such as would today be found in any lay-

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114 man's account of natural things about him. Written by a man not a biologist the manuscript could not be other than an honest and in the main conservative account or it would show inconsistencies which could not have been appreciated by its author. No such inconsistencies appear. The chief scientific interest in the manuscript arises from the fact that it depicts conditions before the white settlers came into the Middle West, and before the ax, the rifle and the steel trap had seriously interfered with primitive natural conditions such as had existed from time immemorial. The changes in the animal and plant life since the author wrote are, of course, most sweeping. The account has its great interest and value because it is the only reliable record of the fauna and flora of the region before such marked changes occurred.

113 For the opinions expressed and views taken in the footnotes of this volume, as well as errors therein, the writer is personally responsible.

Zeisberger's published works include the *Diary* above mentioned; *Essay of a Delaware Indian and English Spelling Book for the use of the Schools of the Christian Indians on Muskingum River* (Philadelphia, 1776); *A Collection of Hymns for the use of the Christian Indians, of the Missions of the United Brethren in North America* (Philadelphia, 1803); *Sermons to Children* (Philadelphia, 1803); *Arg. Gottl Spangenberg. Something of Bodily Care for Children* (Philadelphia, 1803); *The History of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ*, by the Rev. Samuel Lieberkühn, M. A. (Tr. by Zeisberger). The above are in the Delaware language. Zeisberger's *Verbal Biegungen der Chippewayer* [Delawaren] was published in Vater's *Analekten der Sprachkunde* (Leipzig, 1821).

Zeisberger's manuscripts are numerous and include *Deutsch und Onondagaisches Worterbuch, Essay toward an Onondaga Grammar, Onondagaische* Grammatica (translated into English by Peter S. Duponcear, LL. D., still in Mss.), *A Grammar of the Lenni-Lenape, or Delaware Indians* (also translated by Dr. Duponcear, in Mss.), *A Dictionary in German and Delaware, Delaware Glossary, Delaware Vocabulary, Phrases and Vocabularies in Delaware, Delaware Grammar, Harmony of the Gos-*

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work of the women is not hard or difficult. They are both able and willing to do it, and always perform it with cheerfulness. I have never known an Indian woman to complain of the hardship of carrying this burden (a pack on making a journey) which serves for their own comfort and support as well as their husbands . . . . the fatigue of the women is by no means to be compared to that of the men. Their hard and difficult employments are periodical and of short duration, while their husbands' labours are constant in the extreme. Were a man to take upon himself a part of his wife's duty, in addition to his own, he must necessarily sink under the load, and of course his family must suffer with him"—*An account of the History, Manners and Customs of the Indian nations* (1817) 146-7. As to the universal cheerfulness of Indian women Zeisberger is at variance with his compatriot. "The Indian women," writes Loskiel, "are more given to stealing, lying, quarreling, backbiting and slandering than the men"—*History of the Mission of the United Brethren*, (1794), 16. In our numerous references to the above mentioned writers, in footnotes, we shall use the following terminology, Heckewelder's *History*, Heckewelder's *Narrative*, and Loskiel's *History*.

8. Zeisberger, it must always be remembered, is writing in Ohio; his references to the country to the northward are the result of his acquaintance with the Six Nations in New York State.

9. The Onondaga tribe of Six Nations, located near Syracuse, New York.

9½. Zeisberger seems here to imply that the country of the Shawanese was Kentucky; elsewhere he clearly speaks of the Scioto Valley as but one hundred miles distant.

10. Contrary to the taste of other Indians, as the Dakotas, Schoolcraft, *History*, Pt. IV, 67.

11. Breech cloth.

12. Singularly enough, everything in an Indian's cabin had its specific owner. "Every individual knows what belongs to him, from the horse or cow down to the dog, cat, kitten and little chicken. For a litter of kittens or brood of chickens there are often as many different owners as there are individual animals. Thus while the principle of community of goods prevails in the State, the rights of property are acknowledged among the members of a family"—Heckewelder, *History*, 147-8.

13. Indian Hemp; *Apocynum cannabium*. L.

14. Monsey, one of the Three Tribes of the Delawares living chiefly on the Beaver River.

15. Bunks made of boards.

16. The expression here is singular and shows that the western, migratory Iroquois were clearly distinguished from those who remained in the "Long House" in New York State.

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17. The Rev. David McClure states that such was the desire for dancing among the Delaware Indians that "they are building a dancing house in this small village, [the capital of the Delawares near the present site of Newcomerstown, O.] which will cost them more labour than one-half of the houses in it" — *Diary*, 77. This is one of the most valuable volumes of early travel (1770-1790) in the Middle West and will often be quoted.

18. It is interesting to compare the accounts of Zeisberger and Heckewelder, the former a jotter down of facts, the latter a formal historian. "The Indians are proud but not vain," write Heckewelder; "They consider vanity as degrading and unworthy the character of a man. This passion of the Indians which I have called *pride*, but which might perhaps, be better denominated *highmindedness*, is generally combined with a great sense of honour, and not seldom produces actions of the most heroic kind" — *History*, 159, 161. The plain, unpretentious words of Zeisberger, often derogatory of the Indians, have a ring of accuracy that is found in almost no other record.

19. The length of space to which a man can extend his arms.

20. "Courage, art and circumspection, are the essential and indispensable qualifications of an Indian warrior" — Heckewelder, *History*, 166. According to Zeisberger's notion, how appropriate the first lines of the Delaware's chant on going to war: "O poor me!" *Id.* 204.

21. Pontiac's Rebellion.

22. Ottawas.

23. Revolutionary war.

24. Heckewelder's descriptions of Indian abhorrence of marital infidelity are not borne out by Zeisberger or Loskiel. David McClure, writing at Coshocton, in 1772, records: "Several of the aged Councillors had lived with one wife from their youth; but a great part of husbands and wives at Kekalemahpehoong [Delaware capital], had separated and taken others. I was astonished at the profligate description which young Killbuck (whose father had directed him to lodge in my house, and to wait on me), gave me of himself. He slept in a loft, which was ascended by a ladder at the farther end of the house. He conducted a squaw up the ladder every night. I asked him one day, if it was his wife? He said no. I admonished him for his conduct. He said he was nineteen years old, and had had several wives, and that he wanted one more, and he should be happy. It is natural to expect that but few children can be the fruit of such unbounded licentiousness. On an average there are about two or three to a family" — *Diary*, 91.

24½. The distinction here between "Indians" and "savages" implies that the former are Christian and the latter non-christian.

25. Goschgoschünk, in Venango County, Pennsylvania, a Delaware (Monsey) town on the Allegheny River — Edmund De Schweinitz, *Life and Times of David Zeisberger*, 324, *seq.* Few volumes relating to the

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women officiated under such circumstances, Schoolcraft *History*, Pt. IV, 515. Loskiel refers to the efficiency of female doctors in child-birth. *History*, 110.

34. These primitive Turkish baths were, unquestionably, a great means of health to this race which suffered so largely from colds. Dr. McClure, who gives an interesting description of a sweating oven on the Muskingum, asserts, however, that to pulmonary disorders and small pox, the treatment was quite fatal. *Diary*, 67.

35. The Unamis, the chief tribe of the Delawares, lived on the Tuscarawas River.

36. The Unalochtgos, the tribe of second importance, lived beside the Tuscarawas.

37. The Monseys lived mostly on the Big Beaver River.

38. Orange Co., N. Y.

39. It is refreshing, in the face of so many idealistic accounts of primitive Indian life to read these blunt, plain statements of facts from Zeisberger's pen. We probably know more accurately concerning the Six Nations than of any other Indians. One of the earliest reports claims that De Nonville's soldiers in 1687 destroyed a million and a quarter bushels of corn in four Seneca villages. And yet we know that the eating of children in time of utter famine was known among the Senecas — Cadwallader Colden, *History of the Five Indian Nations* (1755) II, 8. If such destitution could exist in a region exceedingly well watered and fertile, what of Indians not so fortunately placed?

40. Bracket fungus.

41. Remains of the Mound-building Indians. These were found on the site of at least one of the Moravian Mission towns, Lichtenau. De Schweinitz, *Life of Zeisberger*, 433, 436 *Note*.

42. Unquestionably a European idea; no mounds in the Middle West were high enough to serve the purpose of rolling blocks or stones. The greater part of the mounds so far opened prove to have been raised over charnel houses after the latter had been filled with bodies.

43. These facts concerning the wooden wampum and the substitute for wampum are of utmost interest.

44. Allegheny River.

45. Neville's Island? This is clearly, the Delaware tradition.

46. Tennessee River, commonly known in early days as the Cherokee River. See A. B. Hulbert's, "Washington's Tour to the Ohio," *Ohio State Arch. and Hist. Quart.* XVII, (Oct. 1908), 484.

46½. At the Treaty of Fort Stanwix?

47. Here begins Zeisberger's version of the legend of the conquest of the Iroquois over the Delawares, one of the famous Indian legends. It is possible that this Zeisberger account is the original English (German) version upon which so many versions have been based. Heckewelder (*History* 11) referring to the source of his information.

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● 114 cites Loskiel, who had only Zeisberger's manuscript to follow. It is peculiar that Heckewelder should refer his readers to an authority who had no first-hand knowledge. Turning to Loskiel's version of the events which led up to the Delawares being made "women" we find (*History*, 124, *seq.*) that Zeisberger's plain account has been improved upon by being fashioned into formal speeches. These begin as follows:

"It is not profitable, that all the nations should be at war with each other, for this will at length be the ruin of the whole Indian race. We have therefore considered of a remedy, by which this evil may be prevented. One nation shall be the woman. We will place her in the midst, and the other nations who make war shall be the man, and live around the woman. No one shall touch or hurt the woman, and if anyone does it, we will immediately say to him, 'Why do you beat the woman?'"

By comparison it will be seen that Loskiel has put Zeisberger's words into the mouth of speakers, whereas Zeisberger did not include his account in quotation-marks, giving merely the story as it was told to him. Loskiel, by putting the same words into the mouths of the speakers and phrasing it all in the first instead of the third person, as Zeisberger wrote it, turned a legend into a seemingly accurate historical document. Parkman takes both Loskiel and Heckewelder to task for taking the story in "good faith," (*Conspiracy of Pontiac*, I, 31) but Loskiel had no reason to take Zeisberger's account as actual history; and De Schweinitz (*Life of Zeisberger*, 47) states that neither Zeisberger or Loskiel argue in favor of the story, while Heckewelder does. This forms an interesting example of the evolution of a legend into history: Zeisberger tells the Delaware legend, plainly and simply, in the third person; Loskiel forms it into speeches in the first person; Heckewelder takes these formal speeches and argues in their favor as true history.

680 48. Gourd or pumpkin.

48½. See William L. Stone, *The Life and Times of Sir William Johnson*, 214-215.

49. Woapanochky, "a people living toward the rising of the sun," was another name of the Delawares. Loskiel, *History* I, 2.

50. Albany, N. Y.

51. Bethlehem, Pa.

52. *Roccus lineatus* (Bloch) an important source of food to the early Virginians as attested by Captain John Smith and others.

53. *Alosa sapidissima* (Wilson).

134 54. Vernacular names of fishes are so numerous and so variable, the same common name being applied to very different fishes in different localities, that it is hard to identify some of these references with certainty. This however refers to *Perca flavescens* (Mitchill), commonly known as the yellow perch.

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FOREWORD

THE PRESENT PAPER represents an addition to the series of studies projected by the Pennsylvania Historical Commission on the life of the Indian peoples once resident within the State. This phase of the research program was planned some years ago by the Department of Anthropology, University of Pennsylvania, and carried out, in part, with the aid of funds supplied by the Commission.

The author of the study deserves a special recognition through qualities she possesses by nature and birth for the task undertaken. Born and reared in the environment of a Mohegan Indian home in Connecticut, she had the advantage of association in childhood with her grandmother and other old women versed in tribal traditions of plant and herbal medicines. Without having had the privilege of a technical training in botanic taxonomy, Miss Tantaquidgeon thus acquired a knowledge of identification of growing plants and their curative qualities and folklore. Her contribution is one that presents the latter rather than the former aspect. With this background of information on the plant lore and medicines of the Mohegan of southern New England, the author was well fitted for the work of studying the Pennsylvania-New Jersey area, and the curing practices of the Delaware. The flora and folklore of both areas and groups are not those of distinct types.

Accordingly, when in 1928 Wi·tapanóxwe (James C. Webber), whose medicine practice is the basis of this study, appeared in Philadelphia and became the object of investigation at the Department of Anthropology, University of Pennsylvania, the project was conceived and developed, leading to the collection of the present material. Miss Tantaquidgeon's training in comparative ethnology and lifelong interest in Algonkian nature-curing, placed her in a position to seize the opportunity. In the ensuing three years she worked at the recording of Wi·tapanóxwe's knowledge and theories as occasion offered.

The essay presented has limits in scope, some of which will appear more obvious to ethnologists than to others. It is not a study of a national stereotype medicine practice of the people we choose to designate as the Delaware Nation, but rather a sounding and analysis of information possessed by one typical practitioner in the healing profession. Individualism is indeed a trait of Pennsylvania Algonkian native culture in science as well as in character, even though the Delaware Indians are appreciably more institutionalized than the Algonkians formerly lying north of them. It may be expected that any Delaware phase of native "science" will show affinities with Iroquoian phases

when more material is at hand from both groups to merit conclusion. The accompanying study is therefore little more than a beginning in the line of investigation which presents prospects of promise.

It would not be judicious to avoid mention of pharmacological values which may lurk beneath the surface of the material recorded. The findings of native American herbalists through the processes of trial and error may still reveal evidences of understanding of the nature of ills and their cures which are old to mankind but new to laboratory science. Of such possibilities we are coming to know more and more as exploration proceeds and data accumulates. Psychotherapy plays its part. Plant chemistry plays its role, even though in many cases, the agencies may be in their effects negative or neutral to a considerable degree and positive in only a few. While no comprehensive study has as yet been produced in the general field of curative science in North America, it is appropriate that the Commission provides in the accompanying paper a step in the building up of material to this end from the Indians of Pennsylvania whose cultural properties must be sought out and published before the opportunity is lost forever.

The task of final preparation of the manuscript for publication was carried on by C. E. Schaeffer, Assistant State Anthropologist.

DONALD A. CADZOW,
State Anthropologist,
Pennsylvania Historical Commission.

4:Tantaquidgeon E-5 (1930) 1942
NM7 Delaware NM7

APPENDIX II

USES OF MEDICINAL PLANTS AMONG THE CANADIAN DELAWARE

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THE following notes on the medicine practices of the Six Nations Delaware, Grand River Reserve, located near Hagersville, in Brant County, Ontario, Canada, were recorded during a visit to the reserve in November, 1931. The group consists of about 150 individuals of mixed Indian and white blood. Only a few, however, have any knowledge of the language and traditions of the Delaware who once inhabited the section of the country now known as Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and New York. To find the identity and location of the predecessors of the band now in question, who migrated to Canada, will be impossible until a comparative study has been made of the various vocabularies.

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I am indebted to Mrs. Martha Peters Hill, Nicholas Powless, his sister, Mrs. Maracle, Joseph Montour, John Lickers, and Walter Moses for aid in securing the Delaware information herein presented.

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In contrast to the ceremonies connected with the various processes of healing as employed by the Oklahoma Delaware, we find only a few traces of such rites among the Delaware of Canada. Plant parts to be used for medicinal purposes should be gathered when the vital properties are in that part of the plant (the flower, root, etc.), to be used. One informant added that plants should be gathered before the fireflies appear. When seeking herbal plants, the first of the desired species should not be plucked. It is customary to pass on to another of the same variety and there dig a small hole beside the plant and in it place an offering of tobacco. If a large quantity of herbs were gathered, they were tied in bundles and allowed to dry in the sun, to prevent mould. Some dried their plants in a warm room.

When bark is used it is taken from the east side of a tree; only the inner bark, which is usually peeled downward, is used. Roots may be scraped or cut into small portions.

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Medicinal plants are regarded as being sensitive to handling, and when brewing medicine, care must be taken to refrain from stirring the mixture while it is steeping. After being thoroughly steeped, the medicine is removed from the fire, and if necessary, stirred only toward the

A RECONSTRUCTION OF ABORIGINAL DELAWARE CULTURE FROM CONTEMPORARY SOURCES

Mary W. Herman

INTRODUCTION

Because of the early date at which the east coast tribes came into contact with Europeans and the scarcity of records which in most cases remain from that period, little is known about the culture of those tribes. It is therefore particularly fortunate that several early accounts of Delaware culture have been preserved, making possible a fairly complete and reliable reconstruction of at least one culture from this general area.

Information regarding the culture of the Delaware Indians at the time of contact with European civilizations is limited to records written by Europeans during the seventeenth century, and to a limited extent, those written during the eighteenth century when recollections of earlier days were still reasonably fresh and reliable. The reconstruction of a culture from such sources requires more than a mere compilation of material as there is much of a contradictory and obscure nature contained in the records. The following paper represents a systematization and critical analysis of the material in an effort to present as full and accurate a picture of the culture as the facts allow.

The two most important sources of Delaware ethnography in the early contact period are William Penn and Peter Lindstrom. Lindstrom was born in Stockholm in 1632. He studied at the University of Upsala where he specialized in mathematics and the arts of fortification. He came to the Swedish colony in the New World in 1653 under the unofficial sponsorship of the Swedish government, with the rank of an officer but with no salary. Later he became Engineer and Clerk of Court, and his duties in that position consisted in traveling throughout New Sweden making maps and sketches. In this way, he had excellent opportunities for observing the natives, who were still within close range of the Swedish settlements. Lindstrom left New Sweden in 1655. Although he did not write the Geographia until 1691, its close similarity to the report which he gave to the Swedish Crown shortly after his return has led Amandus Johnson to the opinion that he had made substantial notes at the time he was in this country. His work where it represents the actual observations of the author appears to be completely trustworthy, in spite of the fact that many of his premises and interpretations would be unacceptable today (Lindstrom, introd. by Johnson).

William Penn first arrived in America in 1682. Shortly after his arrival, he made an extensive tour of his dominions and dealt

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with the natives, primarily in matters concerned with land sales. It was shortly after his return from this trip that he wrote his "Letter to the Free Society of Traders" (contained in Penn, 1937), which is his most complete sketch of native life. It is probably based on secondhand knowledge as well as that gained directly from the natives, but the information found in it agrees well with that in Lindstrom and other shorter statements of the same period. The book which I have cited contains not only this main source of information but several letters from him which add a few details.

Other sources of seventeenth century Delaware life worthy of mention are Danckaerts, Kalm, Pastorius, and the Swedish writers whose observations have been summarized in Johnson. Danckaerts was in the New World for two years in 1679-80 and left a journal of his travels through Pennsylvania and New York which contains scattered references to Lenape culture. By far the most important observations he made were those concerning Delaware religion and beliefs on cosmology. These observations were based on single interviews with two Indians.

Kalm was sent to America by the Swedish Academy of Sciences in 1747 to discover what plants grown in the New World could be usefully grown in Sweden. He had been a pupil of Carl von Linné and had made scientific trips in Sweden, Finland and Russia prior to this trip (Kalm, 1937, introd. by Benson). His journal, which covers the years 1748-51, is of value primarily for its indications of changes which had already taken place in Lenape culture since contact and for additions to our knowledge of the material culture and foods of the Delaware of an earlier time.

Daniel Pastorius was a lawyer and a Pietist, one of the sects to which Penn had particularly directed his appeal for colonists. In 1683 Pastorius purchased 15,000 acres of land in the present area of Philadelphia as agent for a Frankfort group of Pietists. He arrived in Pennsylvania where he founded and became justice of the peace, schoolmaster and scrivener of Germantown (Myers, 1912, introd. to Pastorius, p. 355). Although he does not appear to have traveled much outside of this area, the Indians made frequent visits to Philadelphia and it appears that he had some first-hand contact with them. Much of his material on the other hand is probably second-hand.

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Eighteenth century sources are much more complete than those we have just mentioned and show greater understanding of the inner workings of Delaware culture. This is possible because the Moravian missionaries actually lived among the Indians-in the case of our two best sources, David Zeisberger and John Heckewelder for many years.

David Zeisberger was born in Moravia in 1721 of parents associated with the Church of the Bohemian Brethren. His parents fled to Saxony and then America to escape the persecution which this sect was then experiencing. Zeisberger was left in Saxony to complete his education

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but joined his parents in the New World at seventeen. He learned the Mohawk language at a missionary school in Bethelehem and shortly after that began his life with the Indians which, with only short trips to the civilized world, lasted sixty-two years. It should be noted here that Heckewelder, Zeisberger and many of the other Moravian missionaries learned the languages of the Indians with whom they were working. Zeisberger, unlike his fellow missionary John Heckewelder, was not what I would call sympathetic to Indian culture, but by reason of his sincerity and devotion to his religion was very successful among the Delaware and made many staunch friends in the course of his work (Zeisberger, 1910, introd.). His understanding of Delaware religion was perhaps the greatest weakness in his whole work, but even in this aspect of life he could not help but obtain some facts about the outward forms. De Schweinitz's work makes some useful additions to Zeisberger's History of the Northern American Indians, as he has utilized in addition to that work Zeisberger's correspondence with the mission board, journals and reports of special occurrences.

John Heckewelder was born in 1743 at Bedford, England of a family associated with the Brethren. He was taken to Bethlehem, Pennsylvania at the age of eleven when his father became director of the Moravian colony there. Before he became a missionary in 1771, he had had some experience as a messenger for the society, but had supported himself as a cedar cooper. He was a missionary to the Delaware for fifteen years during the period of the Revolutionary War and the Indian War which followed it (Heckewelder, 1881, introd.). Heckewelder was very partisan to the Delaware and idealized their institutions and history. His statements of fact based on actual observation, however, agree with those of Zeisberger and other observers of the same period.

Loskiel's account of the Delaware and Iroquois is based on the journals kept by all the Moravian missionaries. Since most of these journals are unavailable it has a use in spite of being a secondary source. Its value is lessened by the fact, however, that the great bulk of the material appears to have been taken from Zeisberger's History which is available. One other source of the Moravian missionaries' accounts is that edited by Gipson. This volume contains not only the account of the Moravian mission on White River, but selections from the autobiography of Abraham Luckenbach. The latter is particularly valuable as the writer appears to have been a more objective observer and more concerned with the Indians' culture than most of the other missionaries. His account of the Delaware is limited to the years 1800-1806.

Two missionaries of the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge (a Scotch organization) have also left some written observations on Delaware life. David Brainerd became a missionary for the society in 1744, working among the heterogeneous Indians of the Forks of the Delaware River and with a congregation of Delaware at Crossweeking, New Jersey (Edwards, 1798). His work is so introspective that it

114 contains few observations on Indian culture, but there are some very
297 good comments on Delaware religion. Since both Zeisberger and Heckewelder neglected this aspect of Delaware culture, Brainerd's really keen insights on this subject are of great value.

Charles Beatty was in contact with the Delaware for only a few weeks when he visited them in Ohio to see whether they would be interested in having a mission established there. This visit to a Delaware town on the Muskingum was made in 1766 and from it we have a good description of the town and the manner in which the council operated (Beatty, 1798).

114 George Brickell and Christian Fast were captives of the Delaware who were made members of families of the tribe. Brickell's account is by far more valuable, giving insight into the division of labor and the manner of rearing children in the late eighteenth century.

Another source of early material culture are the archaeological reports such as those of Abbot, Butler, Heye, and Skinner. Skinner and Harrington have also used the results of archaeology in other of their reports.

For purposes of my reconstruction, the descriptions of Delaware culture by ethnographers were not useable because they had combined material gained from different periods of time. Brinton, the earliest anthropologist to write at length about the Delaware, had other grave faults. In the first place, his conceptions of the universality of certain traits, particularly in the field of religion, led him to ascribe these traits to the Delaware without sufficient evidence. One example of this is his treatment of the Delaware culture hero. Secondly, I have differed with him on several points where the main problem was one of evaluation of the sources. In spite of his unreliability, however, Brinton was of use because he had utilized many old writers whom subsequent students had overlooked or known only through Brinton's writings.

Skinner's work is of value as a consolidation of the most important sources available, but presents a somewhat too generalized picture because he has assumed both that seventeenth and eighteenth Delaware culture and that Delaware and neighboring cultures were essentially the same. Harrington has presented the most complete picture of Delaware culture, but has included many details gained from later writers and his own field research in Oklahoma and Ontario, which cannot be demonstrated to have been part of aboriginal Delaware culture. Speck's published work on the Delaware is almost wholly restricted to the fields of religion and ceremony. His observations on the functioning of Delaware religion, although based largely on later periods, threw much light on the earlier material to which I had restricted myself. The views on the aboriginal social structure in Anthony Wallace's short sketch of

Delaware culture contained in his study of Teedyskung proved particularly stimulating. His analysis of the Walking Purchase controversy is also the best I have found.

In using these documents it was found that when the statements made represented actual observations of the author, they were usually correct and could be checked with other sources. At times the authors specifically mentioned which statements were based on their own experience, and when they did not, this could sometimes be determined by the nature of the fact being related. A lot of the material, on the other hand, probably represents second-hand information. Except for statements which patently represented preconceptions of the author, however, the material gathered from the various sources proved consistent and, in most cases, capable of being checked. In addition to the precautions observed in using the earlier material, special care was taken in the use of these later writers not to assume as aboriginal customs for which there was no evidence in earlier writers.

The entire bibliography has been utilized in the present paper and represents as complete a list of the seventeenth and eighteenth century writings on Delaware ethnography as I have been able to find, but important papers based on the memories of nineteenth and twentieth century reservation Indians have been omitted. The only other work which contains anything like a thorough survey of historical sources on Delaware culture is Regina Flannery's check list of certain traits of coastal Algonkian culture (Flannery, 1939).

The Delaware or Lenape were a large, east coast tribe composed of numerous bands, the names of about twenty-five of which have been preserved. They spoke an Algonkian language related to those of tribes extending north to New England and south to Georgia. Their numbers, which have been estimated at about 8000, spread over a territory bounded on the east coast by Delaware Bay and Manhattan Island, in western Pennsylvania by the Schuykill River, and in New York by the west bank of the Hudson River north to Kingston. In terms of the present states, this territory comprises eastern Pennsylvania, the northern coast of Delaware, all of New Jersey and a small portion of southeastern New York including Staten Island. On their west were the Susquehannock and the Iroquois. Throughout the seventeenth century the Delaware were frequently at war with the Mohawk, Susquehannock and Cherokee. By the beginning of the eighteenth century the Delaware had been pushed from their coastal position to the Susquehanna River, and in the subsequent century were driven farther to the west in Pennsylvani, Ohio and Indiana by the expanding white frontier. During this time they continued to support themselves and maintain a society socially and politically separate from that of the European colonies in America. At the end of the eighteenth century, however, they became split into small bands which affiliated with many different tribes in subsequent migrations to the south and west. A large part of the

was possessing the sick person (Danckaerts, p. 180; Lindstrom, p. 247). Possession by an evil spirit was believed to occur either though an accidental encounter with a human spirit or sorcery. The practice of the latter among the Delaware was largely confined to the curing shamans themselves (Zeisberger, 1910, pp. 125, 128, 131; Speck, 1931, p. 109; Brainerd, p. 347).

Sweating was done regularly, but was also considered beneficial in illness. The sweathouse was made of stone and clay with a hole at the top large enough to crawl through. A large number of stones were heated red hot and then put in the center. The bathers lay around them, water was poured on the stones and the hole stopped up. The sweating was followed by a plunge in the nearest stream (Lindstrom pp. 257-258). Penn witnessed a chief using this cure in the midst of winter, when a path had to be cut through the ice between the sweathouse and the river. (Penn, p. 55).

CONCLUSIONS

From the foregoing, it appears that quite a complete picture of Delaware life at the time of white contact can be reconstructed, based on observations made shortly after contact and supplemented by more complete descriptions of these customs by later observers. The method used in this paper brings out clearly, on the other hand, the fact that there was insufficient recording of the social and political organization of the tribe to permit a reconstruction of those aspects of life with any high degree of probability. By the time the Moravian missionaries came in contact with the Delaware culture, one hundred years had elapsed since initial contact and there is little basis on which to determine whether any trait mentioned by the missionaries represents an old, modified or new situation. This conclusion is in contrast with that of other writers on Delaware culture who have ignored the fact that their material was gathered at widely different times and places.

10. The evidence available on this subject in printed form plus what can be found in deeds has been admirably summarized by Ruttenber (p.89ff.).

11. A pre-contact "history" of the Delaware, which is supposed to have been painted originally on sticks was acquired by Rafinesque in 1820. This man was a natural scientist and antiquarian of questionable repute, but the symbols in the document which he brought to light and their translation were pronounced authentic by several modern Delaware to whom it was shown by Brinton. The document, "The Walam Olum", with a translation of the Delaware text into English is reproduced by Brinton (1885).

12. One instance of the operation of this custom took place during the Dutch-Indian wars. The Dutch put a price on the heads of the Raritans, a Delaware band, for supposed offenses against them, but the only immediate result was a revenge murder by a neighboring band for an old injury (O'Callaghan, Vol. I, 1846, p. 240).

The following discussion of capturing two Indians who had murdered a white man also indicates the existence of this custom: "...only the Difficulty was, that there were seven of these Indyans, Men of the same Stock, that if two should be seised, the other five would seek to bee Revenged; soe it was unsafe." (Documents Relating to the Colonial History of New Jersey, Vol. I, p. 73).

13. Frank Speck (1931, p. 17): "The Big House capitulates the elements of certain minor feast ceremonies held on special occasions by families. The great annual ceremony seems to stand as an entity, one that does not submit to any assumption of recent origin in its present form of organization." This he feels is verified by its part-for-part resemblance to the Munsee ceremony in Canada, which would indicate that it must have been a national ceremony before 1700 when the groups began to separate.

In my opinion, however, there is not sufficient evidence that the "Annual Ceremony" of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries existed in all its complexity in the seventeenth century although most of its parts were probably contained in various different ceremonies which were performed. One important difference between the ceremonies mentioned by Penn and Lindstrom and the "Annual Ceremony" is that in the former the sacrificial meat consisted of the first of the season's kill and in the latter it consisted of game taken on a special communal hunt.

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

Lenape, not so much, of course, with regard to the subject matter of the present paper, as of others in preparation. 127

Most of the information was gathered while the writer was collecting ethnological specimens for the Heye Museum of New York, now the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, during the years 1907 to 1910; but some of the Canadian data were procured earlier while in the field for Mr E. T. Tefft of New York, whose collection is now in the American Museum of Natural History. 114

Without knowledgeof the Delaware language in its divergent dialects, and without any pretension of being a philologist, the writer has endeavored to record the Lenape words as he heard them, depending for translation on his interpreter *pro tem.* Hence some inaccuracies at least are inevitable. The alphabet used is as follows: 104

VOWELS	CONSONANTS
a as in arch.	*c* like English sh.
ă as in cat.	' a slight aspirate.
â as in fall.	ⁿ gives the preceding vowel a nasal sound.
aĭ as in aisle.	

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

776 goodness necessarily follows as an attribute of such a deity.

EVIL SPIRIT

The case is different with the Evil Spirit. The modern Lenape in Oklahoma make little mention of an Evil One, and James Wolf, my principal Minsi informant, did not speak of such a being at all, but there is some evidence, however, to show this belief to exist among the Lenape in more recent years.

114 177 776 Some writers do indeed make frequent mention of "the Devil" as figuring in early Lenape belief, but they translate the word "manĭ'to" as having that meaning, whereas it really signifies a supernatural being, good or bad. These writers evidently regarded as "the Devil" any deity not fitting into Christian doctrine.

But the real truth seems to be that, while in ancient times certain *manĭ'towŭk*, or spirits, were supposed to work evil, the Devil (along with whiskey and other blessings) was introduced by the whites.

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

The whole matter is well summed up by Loskiel[11] where he says: "Besides the Supreme Being, they believe in good and evil spirits, considering them as subordinate deities. . . . They seem to have had no idea of the *Devil*, as the Prince of Darkness, before the Europeans came into the country." This idea is also supported by Zeisberger[12] and Brainerd,[13] although Holm[14] seems to give contrary evidence.

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MANĬ'TOWŬK OF THE FOUR DIRECTIONS

The Lenape now in Oklahoma believe that when the earth was created, and everything finished, the Creator gave the four quarters of the earth to four powerful beings, or *manĭ'towŭk*, whose duty it was to take care of these regions. These personages are the cause of the winds which blow from the different directions, with the exception of the tornado, which is thought to have a different origin. In the winter, it is said that the *manĭ'towŭk* of the north and the south are playing the game of bowl and

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[173]

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
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string around their neck or in a bag. They often bring offerings to it. In their houses of sacrifice they have a head of this idol as large as life put upon a pole in the middle of the room." 776 778

In his Dictionary, Zeisberger gives the word for "idol" as *mĕsink'*, so it seems probable that the *W* in "Wsinkhoalikan" is a misprint for *M*. [114] [104]

MOTHER CORN

One of the important *manĭtowĭk* of the old days was the Corn Goddess, known as "Mother Corn" of whom one of the Unami legends collected by the writer relates that "It was God's will that the Corn Spirit abide in the far heavenly region in the image of an aged woman, with dominion over all vegetation." Although little remembrance of the details of her worship can now be found among the Oklahoma Lenape, she is mentioned as a Guardian Spirit; while at the Minsi ceremonies at Grand River Reserve in Ontario, she was one of the twelve benefactors of mankind to whom the thanks of the people were offered, 776

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

796x "When the dance is over all the people go out and stand in a single line from east to west with their faces to the south. Then they kneel down and pray, and then go home. We do not know the origin of the worship dance, but the old Indians claim that the Great Spirit came many years ago and instructed it and also gave them the wampum."

•114 796x In spite of several inaccuracies, such as the statement that the people face *south* (instead of east) while praying after the ceremony, this account is valuable on account of the additional data it furnishes on several points of interest, especially the tradition concerning the prophecy of the coming of the whites.

Another Form of the Annual Ceremony

796x It appears that in former years there was, in addition to the rite just described, another form of the Annual Ceremony practised by the Lenape, before their removal to what is now Oklahoma from Kansas, where the last man to "bring in" such a meeting was John Sarcoxie, now dead.

7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

INTRODUCTION

The consummation of religious fervor of the Delaware Indians, as among many preliterate peoples, is reached in the periodic communal ceremony of the Big House which continued in performance through twelve consecutive nights. The Big House Ceremony was made a subject of study in 1928 and published as a separate volume in a series of monographs by the Historical Commission of Pennsylvania.[1] In the annual religious cycle of the Delawares, however, other rites and ceremonies of no less importance, though of shorter duration and with less formal preparation, had their place. A series of these minor performances and rites are to claim attention in the present study. The material was gathered between 1928 and 1932 under an appropriation for publication, as a second volume of Delaware ethnological research, granted by the Historical Commission of Pennsylvania. Aeknowledgment is accordingly made to the Historical Commission for sponsorship in financing the project and releasing the manuscript in 1935.[2]

Among the existing members of the Delaware or Lenape Nation, now dwelling within the confines of the old Cherokee Nation in Oklahoma, many of these ancient rituals have continued in practice down to the present day, having been transported with the tribe from its original seats in Pennsylvania and New Jersey. Some of them are, indeed, mentioned, even described, by early missionary authors who strove so long to abolish them. The opportunity to study the concepts of these age-old ceremonials of a venerable tribe comes as a welcome augment to the all too meagre documentary records of such human achievements in the development of religion at

[1] Frank G. Speck, "A Study of the Delaware Indian Big House Ceremony, in Native Text Dictated by Wi-tapano'xwe." Vol. 2, Historical Commission of Pennsylvania, Harrisburg, 1931. Frequent reference will be made to this study under the abbreviation *Big House Ceremony*.

[2] Correspondence, Miss Frances Dorrance, Director, and Miss Myrtle Keeny, Acting Executive Secretary, Jan. 10-12, 1935.

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

121 An explanation is also needed to account for omission in the present study of treatment of the Peyote cult which has invaded the religious complex of the Delawares in Oklahoma. Within the past fifty years a considerable number of families have been converted to this much-discussed, I may say, much-maligned, doctrine of psychophysical therapeutics. The Peyote creed has therefore become an element in the religious life of the tribe. Its history may be simple as an acculturation, but its elements under modification in the minds of its Delaware converts with their old spiritual system in the background remains a subject for research. This has been undertaken by Dr. V. M. Petrullo and the results have become available in his dissertation.[4]

000 In carrying out the purpose of studies projected among the various bands of the Delaware Nation in Oklahoma and Ontario, several sources of coöperation deserve mention, namely that afforded me by Dr. George G. Heye, Director of the Museum of the American Indian, New York, in securing specimens to illustrate the performances; by Mr. H. H. F. Jayne, University Museum, University of Pennsylvania, and several private collectors, Mr. S. W. Pennypacker II, Mr. Robert Riggs and Mr. Earl Horter of Philadelphia. A collection of articles illustrating Delaware religion in ethnology is also on loan exhibition by the writer in the rooms of the Delaware County Institute of Science, Media, Pennsylvania. To Miss D. M. Spencer, Dr. H. Wieschhoff and Mr. L. C. Eiseley I am indebted for cooperative aid.

[122] The Committee of the Faculty Research Fund, University of Pennsylvania, has awarded several grants, gratefully acknowledged, for field work in Delaware-Munsee religion among the bands resident in Ontario.

To Mr. Frank T. Siebert, Jr., University of Pennsylvania, I am also indebted for valued assistance in checking over the texts and translations, and my discussions of rites and tales, with his field notes.

● 114 Before proceeding to the subject matter of my study, one more comment upon the character of ancient documentary

[4] V. M. Petrullo, "The Diabolic Root, A Study of Peyotism, the New Indian Religion Among the Delawares." University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 1934, pp. 1-185.

7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

sources dealing with native life and customs as compared in value with living sources available today among the Indians themselves. There is in the minds of many students of history and ethnology a deep-seated feeling that in all cases of discrepancy of statement and interpretation modern sources are universally less reliable, through the assumption that the old writers were not only explicit and that they saw things correctly but that they observed native behavior at a time when foreign elements had not been incorporated into their ceremonies. The inference is, of course, often true, but the following case speaks for itself much to the contrary, and since it pertains intimately to Delaware religious festivals is worthy of notice here. Historians, indeed, treating the colonial period, with the Indians still in their natural background, seldom fail to applaud those efforts of contemporary writers as being the best fruits of observation, often the only ones to be relied upon when a conflict of authority on some phase of native belief arises between early published testimony and that of the present-day natives. The example in question, quoted below from a seventeenth century source answers for itself. The account, consisting of one page of matter is clearly a reference to the twelve-night Big House celebration recorded in the volume devoted to this ceremony.[1] In the passage there are nine correct observations and nine erroneous statements and misconceptions as we check them off against the full account. Thus, it seems one early documentary source of control over the facts involved in historical ethnology dealing with the Big House Ceremony fails in the test to stand as valid testimony in the face of modern investigation. This will serve to vindicate in the eyes of the sceptic the character of Indian informants on the subject of their rites and beliefs.

"For their worship which is diabolical, it is performed usually but once or twice a year, unless upon some extraordinary occasion, as upon making of War or the like; their usual time is about Michaelmass, when their corn is first ripe, the day being appointed by their chief Priest or pawaw; most of them go hunting for venison; When they are all congregated, their priest tells them, if he wants money, their God will accept no other offering, which the people believing, every one gives money ac-

[1] See footnote 1, page 3.

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
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114 cording to their ability. The priest takes the money, and putting it into some dishes, sets them upon the top of their low flat-roofed houses, and falls to invocating their God to come and receive it, which with many loud hallows, and outeries, knocking the ground with sticks, and beating themselves, is performed by the priest, and seconded by the people.

"After they have thus a while wearied themselves, the priest by his Conjuration brings in a devil amongst them, in the shape sometimes of a fowl, sometimes of a beast, and sometimes of a man, at which the people being amazed, not daring to stir, he improves the opportunity, steps out and makes sure of the money, and then returns to lay the spirit, who in the meantime is sometimes gone, and takes some of the Company along with him; but if any English at such times do come amongst them, it puts a period to their proceedings, and they will desire their absence, telling them their God will not come whilst they are there."[6]

Something may be deduced from the preceding since the purpose of an introduction is, among other aims, to anticipate some questions of history and interpretation of the material offered. I had previously expressed some conviction, after pondering on the various possibilities of how to classify the individual family feasts of the Delawares in relation to the Big House Ceremony, that integration had probably taken place.[7] In short, that the family religious observances were fundamental in respect to age and pattern and that, in the course of sacred history, perhaps indeed upon the event of some catastrophe of nature as Delaware tradition makes out, the Big House Ceremony came into conception and was established as an outcome of the crisis. The foregoing quotations and discussions should therefore be considered as evidence on the point.

Zeisberger over a century ago likewise wrote in general terms of Delaware ceremonies. His description is worth quoting. The wording, however, does not permit of specific classification of the particular ceremony he had in mind in his description. Part of it may cover the procedure of the Big House Ceremony while much of it could also apply to other rites, such as the Grease Drinking feasts, the patterns of which appear in his description. It either means that the ceremonial elements have undergone change in the evolution of Delaware

[6] "Denton's Description of New York formerly New Netherlands," 1670.
[7] "The Big House Ceremony," pp. 16–17.

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ceremony since his time, or that his version of ceremonial conduct, in which the elements of several festivals seem comprised, was due to indifference to the value of detail which we now require in such fields of investigation.

"Preparations for such a sacrificial feast extend through several days. The requisite number of deer and bears is calculated and the young people are sent into the woods to procure them together with the leader whose care it is to see that everything needful is provided. These hunters do not return until they have secured the amount of booty counted upon. On their return they fire a volley when near the town, march in in solemn procession and deposit the flesh in the house of sacrifice. Meantime the house has been cleared and prepared. The women have prepared fire-wood and brought in long dry reed grass, which has been strewn the entire length of the house, on both sides, for the guests to sit upon. Such a feast may continue for three or four nights, the separate sessions beginning in the afternoon and lasting until the next morning. Great kettles full of meat are boiled and bread is baked. These are served to the guests by four servants especially appointed for this service. The rule is that whatever is thus brought as a sacrifice must be eaten altogether and nothing left. A small quantity of melted fat only is poured into the fire.[8] The bones are burnt, so that the dogs may not get any of them. After the meal the men and women dance, every rule of decency being observed. It is not a dance for pleasure or exercise, as is the ordinary dance engaged in by the Indians. One singer only performs during the dance, walking up and down, rattling a small tortoise shell filled with pebbles. He sings of the dreams the Indians have had, naming all the animals, elements and plants they hold to be spirits. None of the spirits of things that are useful to the Indians may be omitted. By worshipping all the spirits named they consider themselves to be worshipping God, who has revealed his will to them in dreams. When the first singer has finished he is followed by another. Between dances the guests may stop to eat again. There are four or five kinds of feasts, the ceremonies of which differ much from one another."[9]

We may now consider the outlines of a pattern representing the Delaware ritual system. Enough material is at our disposal to suggest marking out the dominant traits of ceremonial form in the Oklahoma division of the Nation in the following sketch.

[8] This is remembered but no longer practiced.

[9] David Zeisberger, "History of the Northern American Indians." Ed. by A. B. Hulbert and W. N. Schwarze, Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, n.d., p. 137.

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This motive would be insufficient, even a sacrilege. The spiritual preparation of its participants was made a matter of prime importance and the purity of those concerned in it was to be insisted upon. Joe Washington has since felt that these serious injunctions were of so drastic a character that until the present time they could not be complied with. It seems, therefore, that there is little prospect for anything more than a dictated version to be obtained, which will have to await necessary support for its accomplishment.

Upon the occasion of my expedition to the Delawares in Oklahoma some time was spent in interviews with Tom Half Moon [1] who had had experience as an attendant, or *a'ckas*, of the Big House Ceremony as performed in recent years by his group, the Turkey group. The notes offered are, therefore, advantageous in respect to the details furnished by one who had the teachings directly from those who were responsible for its proper conduct. These notes should accordingly serve as a supplement to that section of the ceremony published in the Big House Ceremony volume dealing with the duties of the attendants. They are in effect as follows:

The attendants who sweep the White Path, or the path around which the dancers proceed when performing in the Big House after each dance, do so with turkey wings, using only the left hand in holding the fans, since the left hand is the holy hand, the right the unholy. The male attendants start sweeping at opposite ends from the women. When they have swept the dancing path twelve times they have cleared away the obstacles of an unfavorable spiritual nature lying between the worshippers and the Great Spirit. As was noted in the published account, the attendants each receive a yard of wampum at the end of the ceremony. He also noted that those who attended the ceremony received two wampum beads each to be kept by them as tokens of good fortune until the next performance. These beads were, he added, held in the mouth as sacred objects when the members went outside

[1] His Delaware title-name is *Axkwe'lpəɔŋgo'sxe*, "Overturns Mountains when Walking," a member of the Turkey group.

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796 times they failed trying with all their might to make fire with the fire drill one after another and had to resort to making it with flint and steel. He attributed such failure to the attendants having violated the rules of continence during the [331] Big House period. He himself felt that it was becoming more and more difficult for the Delawares to perform the ceremony on account of increasing moral laxity among the people.

Anderson corroborated the tradition of the earthquake and associated physical disturbances as accounting for the cause of the Delawares instituting the Big House Ceremony. He added that there was a tradition of falling stars occurring during the disturbance and also a tornado.[4] Anderson expressed the feeling of the Delawares that the performance of the Big House Ceremony was intended to avert physical catastrophes, saying that upon several occasions in the past the ceremony had been performed after a tornado in the country to preserve the people from another such visitation of anger on the part of the Creator.

It might be expected that the performance of the Big House Ceremony when sponsored by the Tortoise ceremonial group would differ in some of its particulars from what we have previously recorded. This investigation will undoubtedly have to be considered and it will be possible to do so should the Big House Ceremony ever be repeated by Frank Wilson who is a member of the Tortoise group.

Among the notes of information which Anderson made to extend our knowledge of details of the Big House Ceremony, [114] he called attention to an error in the color plate illustrating the interior of the Big House while one of the dances of vision recitation was in progress, in Harrington's monograph on Delaware ceremonies (*op. cit.* Pl. 6). The color plate shows the people in the Big House seated while the dance and recitation are going on. Anderson pointed out that the audience should be shown standing during the dance-recitation.

[4] *Gau'zas*, "whirlwind, tornado." Smaller gusts of whirling wind without the character of the preceding are called *ewi'alaz'o·u* in Delaware.

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III. ANALYSIS OF DELAWARE CULTURE

THE PROJECT

The purpose of this study of the Delaware was to assemble and analyze data on the culture of the tribe from the earliest white contact to the present, with a view to determining what changes have taken place in their culture, when, and why.

The method used to assemble these data in comparable form was determined by the nature and scope of that portion of the material that pointed the way for such a study. For an understanding of the boundaries of this study an explanation of the provenience of this material is in order.

From 1813 to 1831 Lewis Cass was governor of Michigan Territory and *ex officio* superintendent of Indian affairs for the region. His interest in the Indians as individuals and as bearers of a dying culture led him to circulate in 1821 a pamphlet entitled *Inquiries respecting the History, Traditions, Languages, Manners, Customs, Religion, &c. of the Indians, Living within the United States*,[1] containing approximately four hundred questions with word lists in addition. A short time later another pamphlet entitled *Additional Inquiries respecting the Indian Languages*[2] was issued which emphasized the interest Cass had in language. In 1823, both pamphlets were reprinted and bound together with continuous paging.[3]

The queries were widely distributed among Indian agents, traders, and others who might be able to furnish information on specific tribes. Some of the recipients were dismayed by the number of questions, and, feeling that they did not have the fund of knowledge necessary to answer them, returned the pamphlets. Nevertheless, numerous answers were received by Cass, but they were, Cass reported to Schoolcraft in 1823, "more valuable for quantity than quality."[4] Cass planned on using the material so

[1] Detroit: Sheldon & Reed, 1821. 30 pp.
[2] 32 pp. No date or place of publication is given.
[3] Detroit: Sheldon & Reed, 1823. 64 pp.
[4] See letter of Henry Rowe Schoolcraft to Cass, November 22, 1823, The National Archives, Office of Indian Affairs, Michigan Superintendency Letterbook, No. 2, 1823, p. 265.

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collected in making an extensive report to the War Department, at that time in charge of Indian affairs. Disappointed in many of the answers returned but determined to pursue his inquiries, Cass requested permission of John C. Calhoun, the secretary of war, to employ an extra person at an interpreter's compensation to be sent to different Indian villages for the purpose of investigating their life and to carry out other useful duties.[1] On May 31, 1823, Calhoun granted permission and on June 20, 1823, Cass informed Calhoun that he had appointed Charles C. Trowbridge to fill the office.[2]

Trowbridge had already worked with the list of queries among the Chippewa. The summer and fall of 1823 were devoted to work among the Menomini and Winnebago. About the first of December he was sent to see William Conner on the White River, in Indiana, to collect information on the language of the Delaware. William Conner was apparently the principal informant and a very able one in compiling the 284-page Delaware grammar.[3] He had been brought up among the Delaware, married a daughter of Chief Anderson, and, besides trading with members of the tribe for many years, had served as interpreter in many treaty negotiations. His services to Trowbridge were supplemented by those of Captain Pipe, a Delaware who was sent from Sandusky for the purpose. The extent of Pipe's participation in compiling the grammar is unknown, but he was principally responsible for the ethnographic information Trowbridge recorded in a thirty-seven-page manuscript.[4] Pipe was at Conner's farm only ten days of the three months that Trow-

[1] Carter, Clarence E. (ed.), *The Territorial Papers of the United States*. Volume XI. *The Territory of Michigan, 1820-1829* (Washington, D. C., 1943), p. 363.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 363n.

[3] Two copies of the Delaware grammar were lent to the University of Michigan by Sydney T. Miller and his daughter Mrs. Thomas B. Byrd.

[4] Two copies of this manuscript were lent to the University of Michigan by Mr. Miller and Mrs. Byrd, one bearing the title, "Traditions of the Lenĕĕ Lənâpee or Delawares," and the other, "Account of some of the Traditions, Manners and Customs of the Lenĕĕ Lənâpəa or Delaware Indians." These are deposited in the Michigan Historical Collections, Rackham Building, University of Michigan.

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bridge was there. After the Delaware study Trowbridge collected several other sets of answers: two on the Shawnee,[1] one each on the Miami,[2] Kickapoo, and Wyandot, and another on the Delaware with Cass. 114

This extended notice of Trowbridge's activities is given because it is principally his manuscripts and others that fell into his hands that have been preserved. After Trowbridge resigned in 1825 Cass obtained funds and permission to hire three or four persons to carry on his work. Who these persons were or what they accomplished we do not know.

Previous to Trowbridge's visit to William Conner, John Johnston, Indian agent at Piqua, Ohio, sent Cass an answer on the Shawnee in his own handwriting and one on the Delaware, not in his own hand.[3] A series of answers on the Delaware found among the Trowbridge Papers in the Burton Historical Collection has been tentatively identified as the one submitted by Johnston.[4] Identification of the author will probably never be determined as Johnston did not name the person who compiled the answers he transmitted.

While at Detroit in 1824 Trowbridge and Cass alternated in recording the answers of a Canadian Delaware or Munsee named Captain Chipps. This manuscript of seventy-two pages in the handwriting of Cass and Trowbridge is also among the Trowbridge Papers in the Burton Historical Collection and, in addition, a partial copy in Trowbridge's hand is bound together with a third copy of Pipe's relation.

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[1] See Kinietz, Vernon, and Voegelin, Erminie W. (eds.), *Shawnese Traditions. C. C. Trowbridge's Account* (Museum of Anthropology, University of Michigan, *Occasional Contributions*, No. 9, Ann Arbor, 1939).

[2] See Kinietz, Vernon (ed.), *Meearmeaar Traditions by C. C. Trowbridge* (Museum of Anthropology, University of Michigan, *Occasional Contributions*, No. 7, Ann Arbor, 1938).

[3] Johnston to Cass, May 10, 1822, The National Archives, Indian Office, Michigan Superintendency, Letterbook, No. 1, 1822, pp. 208-13.

[4] This bears the title, "Answers to the questions proposed in the Pamphlet, By the Delawares and Munsies." On the back of the manuscript in Trowbridge's handwriting is the following endorsement, "Lenêê Lenâpaa Traditions &c." 115

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114 128 These three relations on the Delaware, hereafter denoted by the names John Johnston, Captain Pipe and Captain Chippa, were analyzed according to the questions they answered and transcribed into an element list in terms of the information they contained. The list was designed so that the information of each account could be tabulated and the presence or absence of a trait be indicated by a symbol such as a plus or a minus in columns headed by the name of the source.

This table was then expanded to include information derived from five sources which preceded these three in point of time. In the first three columns the information from Roger Williams, Adriaen Van der Donck, and Peter Lindeström appears, in that order.[11] Only the last one of these accounts definitely relates to the Delaware. The other two are given as early accounts of tribes neighbor to the Delaware which may reflect the contemporary conditions among them as well, particularly the account of Van der Donck who included the Delaware River within the boundaries of New Netherlands. Williams' account was published in 1643, Van der Donck's was republished in 1656, and probably written about 1653, and Lindeström's account was written by him from notes made from 1654 to 1656.

In the fourth and fifth columns the information of Zeisberger and Heckewelder as contained in their published accounts is presented.[12]

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[11] Williams, Roger, "A Key into the Language of America . . . Together with Brief Observations of the Customes, Manners, and Worships, &c. of the Aforesaid Natives, in Peace and Warre, in Life and Death . . . ," in Rhode Island Historical Society, *Collections*, I(1827), 17-163; Van der Donck, Adriaen, "A Description of the New Netherlands . . . ," in New York Historical Society, *Collections*, 2 series, I(1841), 129-242; Johnson, Amandus (ed. and trans.), *Geographia Americae with an Account of the Delaware Indians Based on Surveys and Notes Made in 1654-1656 by Peter Lindeström* . . . (The Swedish Colonial Society, Philadelphia, 1925).

[12] Hulbert, Archer B., and Schwarze, William N. (eds.), "David Zeisberger's History of the Northern American Indians," in *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Publications*, XIX(1910), 1-189; Heckewelder, John, *History, Manners, and Customs of the Indian Nations who Once Inhabited Pennsylvania and the Neighbouring States* . . . (Historical Society of Pennsylvania, *Memoirs*, XII, Philadelphia, 1876).

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After these historical accounts information on the same points obtained from four informants among the Oklahoma Delaware was recorded. It had been the original plan to conclude the tabulation of accounts of different periods with a survey of present customs among the Delaware. In the field work, however, it soon became apparent that such a survey would be meaningless if it did not include work with practically every person with Delaware blood. Furth -more, it was difficult for the informants to give coherent accounts of both past and present customs. In the end, the relations of several older people were taken for past customs and four of them constitute the accounts of the last period in the tabulation. Even though they never participated in some of the elements covered, their relations undoubtedly are representative of the period when there was a more unified and distinct Delaware culture; whereas, no handful of informants could possibly be responsible for all the aspects of the diversified practices and beliefs of the present. There was no selection of informants' accounts and rejection of others except on the basis of completeness.

This table is given on pages 22 to 37.

The exact phrasing of the Cass questions could not be used in working with the informants, as they were designed to be answered by persons familiar with the Indians rather than by the Indians themselves. The four informants whose accounts were used were:

J. W.: Joe Washington, Wann, Okla. Age 65. Wolf Clan.

W. T.: Willie Thomas, Anadarko, Okla., Age 65. Turtle Clan.

E. R.: Eli H. Reynolds, Anadarko, Oklahoma. Age 43. Only his mother was Delaware. She was Turkey and Wolf.

W. L.: Willie Longbone, Dewey, Okla. Age 70. Turtle Clan.

The information derived from these twelve accounts, beginning with that of Roger Williams, was analyzed in the sequence in which the various elements are entered in the table. Following the table there is a discussion of those elements showing any change over the entire period covered by the various accounts. Finally, there is a section of ethnographic notes on some of the elements.

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114 126 128 The twelve accounts may be divided into two groups on the basis of their origin. The first eight were obtained from written sources, five published and three unpublished. The last four were obtained from field work among the modern Delaware. For convenience, the first group will hereafter be called sources and the last group informants. Considering the time of inscribing or of obtaining the information on which they are based, the eight sources are found to form three groups and to represent three periods: the first composed of the accounts of Williams, Van der Donck, and Lindeström, dated 1643, 1653, 1656, respectively; the second, of the accounts of Zeisberger, 1780, and Heckewelder, whose account, although not published until 1819, is considered contemporaneous, as he left active mission work in 1786; and the third group, of the three Cass manuscripts dated 1823 and 1824. The accounts of the modern informants constitute the fourth group and period.

In the discussion of the different elements, comparison is usually between the accounts as grouped in these four periods. As page references to citations from the accounts of the three manuscripts and the four informants are impossible, they have been omitted for the published accounts also, in the interests of uniformity. When neither the tabulation of the material from the different accounts nor the section of ethnographic notes amplifying or qualifying the tabulated element list indicates the existence of any problem on any element, that element is omitted in the discussion. Numbers in parentheses refer to the numbers given to the elements on the table.

DISCUSSION OF THE ELEMENTS

Astronomy, Mathematics, etc.

821 The Delaware of the present indicate a knowledge of astronomy and mathematics that was not reported in historical accounts (3, 13). Whereas lack of knowledge or understanding on the part of some of the early reporters may be responsible for some of the apparent change, it is more reasonable to assign the [177] cause of several of these changes to white contact. Belief in the

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The only other apparent change in the tabulation of the accounts of the different periods is the possession of the drum (466). Roger Williams stated that the Indians had no drums but that he had known one to make a good drum in imitation of the English. This may have been true, but it is most improbable that the spread of the drum over the entire continent can be attributed to its introduction by Europeans, especially in view of its known prehistoric use by certain tribes of Indians. The aboriginal possession of the flute is more questionable than that of the drum (470). This wind instrument was not reported before the third period.

Summary

Before summarizing the analysis of the culture chronology of the Delaware it may be well to state that no one is more keenly aware than I am of the unsatisfactory nature of some of the source material. This material must be utilized, however, in a study of cultural change extending over the number of years that this one does. I have endeavored to avoid the many pitfalls engendered by the use of this material. Items that had to be watched particularly were the subjective nature of some of the elements and the diverse use of terms by different authors. Four hundred and thirty-eight elements were considered cultural and comparable. This total eliminates elements on which there is information from only one period, elements on constitution, and elements giving ages within limits.

One of the first things to be observed in a perusal of the tabulation of accounts is the relatively small number of elements on which there is a complete disagreement between sources and informants. There are only twenty-three cases out of 438 elements in which the statements of one of the informants is not in agreement with at least one of the sources. Fifteen of the twenty-three elements represent changes. The remaining eight cases, or approximately two per cent of the total, are the only elements on which the informants' accounts as a whole deviate from those of the sources. This correspondence validates the use of data remembered by informants even though they may have

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121 learned of the discontinued customs through the relations of their
128 ancestors rather than through actual participation.

[114] Another noteworthy aspect is the frequency of contradictions in each period. Doubtless fuller information for each period would result in more conflicting reports. As it is, the list of contradictions is headed by eleven elements which show nothing but contradiction in every period. These eleven elements at least indicate that there was no one practice for these cases and illustrates the fallacy of relying on a single source or supposing the existence of a single practice.

121 Two hundred and forty-one elements were reported upon by
128 sources and informants without any disagreement. To get an
177 understanding of the stability of the culture, to these 241 elements should be added the eleven elements just mentioned, for they all show continuity, making a total of 252, or 57.3 per cent, of the 438 elements analyzed. All of these do not carry through from the first period to the last, for of the 438 elements, answers were returned on 210 in the first period, on 276 in the second, on 416 in the third, and on 436 in the fourth. Some of these elements appearing only in the later periods may represent additions to the culture, as in the case of the blowgun, but, in view of the lack of information on the earlier periods, they cannot be so considered.

177 There are 65 changes very definitely indicated. The changes are divided among the technological, sociological, and spiritual aspects of the culture thus: 16, 38, and 11, respectively. For the 77 technological, 262 sociological, and the 99 spiritual aspects so classified, these represent percentages of 20.77, 14.5, and 11.11, respectively. The series are too small for these small differences to be of great significance. Nevertheless, these figures are the nearest thing to proof that we have for the hypothesis that it is the spiritual life of a people in contact with a superior culture that is the least susceptible to change, that sociological concepts and practices are next, and that technological concepts and practices are the most susceptible.

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These changes are distributed in the various periods as follows: 15 in the second, 14 in the third, and 36 in the fourth. When these are broken down according to the type of change, that is, technological, sociological, and spiritual, the results are indecisive. This is largely due to the small number of elements and their selective nature. Another factor that distorts the picture is the length of time necessary for the completion of some of the changes. Several elements show that two or three periods were required for the complete acceptance of a change.

It has already been mentioned that this element list is the result of the questionnaire written by Cass in 1821. I repeat it because inherent in the questions is the realization that the culture of the Indians had then changed considerably. Consequently many of the changes that had taken place prior to 1821 are not represented. The most important or at least the most numerous items ignored are the tools, utensils, and other articles of everyday use. Articles of this nature of native manufacture were the first things to be superseded by those of European manufacture. The material culture of the Indians was drastically changed by the first of our periods. This fact should be borne in mind when one considers the changes that occurred in the later periods. Another important factor is the larger number of elements covered by the reports of the later periods. The third and fourth periods deal with over twice as many elements as the first. Proper allowance for this condition for the purpose of comparison would be to halve the fourth-period changes. If this is done, the changes for each period are remarkably uniform: 15, 14, and 18.

Now if we recall the different types of contact outlined earlier for the history of the Delaware, we find little variation in the amount of change for each type. In the period before 1750 when contact was between communities of whites and Delaware, there was presumably a great change in material culture. Between 1750 and 1850 the whites with whom the Delaware had contact were mostly traders and missionaries. Increasing emigrant trains and white settlers in the neighborhood of their Kansas reservation created so much trouble that in 1867 the Delaware sold their

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796 comprising the Delaware Nation is evident from all sources. That it
174 ruled the spiritual destinies of the Munsee, the Nantieoke, the Mahikan,
171 we know through collateral evidence, and analogous rites are inferred to have existed among the Mohegan on the east, the Powhatan peoples of Virginia and the Algonkian of the Carolina coast. Testimony from modern sources also points to a related performance of equal prominence in the religious behavior of the Shawnee. It would be an oversight besides, not to make reference to certain indications in the recorded discussions of Iroquois and Central Algonkian religion, of periodic ceremonies whose fundamental concepts form more or less a unit with those of the nation we are considering. Such a widely spread doctrine with associated rites of a unitary character assure us of the existence in aboriginal times of a culture-center, as regards creed, among the peoples of the Allegheny forest area, not only among the widely scattered Algonkian-speaking peoples but among others whose early history has been linked by some vague channels with them,
796 for instance the Muskogi and the Yuchi. If it is not going too far, I
174 would venture to repeat the assertion, often made by students of human culture, that the religious concepts of preliterate people express the keynote of their cultural status, that the same are to be regarded as forming their most conservative culture properties, reflecting the entire system of their culture in ramifications leading off to other topics of ethnology, the food-quest, social organization, warfare, art-symbolism, as well as rulings of simple custom and ethical character; indeed where not? This assumption, as we shall see, holds true with amazing consistency in the native civilization of the Delawares. While the pre-
● 114 viously recorded accounts of Delaware ceremonies, some of them explicit in detail and accuracy, have supplied occasional material for comparative and analytical studies in the ethnology of the eastern Indians, a feeling of dissatisfaction exists in regard to their content. This has been sufficient to cause hesitation on the part of ethnologists in using the records for the purpose of drawing culture conclusions since the accounts have all been fragmentary and recorded in the words of European observers instead of being based upon the expressions of the natives.[1] To have such records made in the words, and with the order and detail of thought of the people themselves is the highest ideal of the student of human institutions, an ideal now set up as the goal of endeavor in research. Accordingly when fate was moved
124 to provide me with a native Delaware informant in the person of
115 Wi·tapano'xwe, a Delaware whose early training, at the knees of his mother, was of the native, non-Christian type, I need hardly say that I laid aside every postponable obligation to devote attention to the

[1] More recently we have been bequeathed the excellent studies of eastern Indian ceremonies in native text by students who have recorded them from the dictation of the Indians, such as Hewitt, Jones, Michelson and Bloomfield.

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deep religious feeling. And such expressions as "pitifulness," "spiritual yearning," "conviction of unworthiness," "earnestness of mind" are met with to found a still deeper impression of the term-formality in what would constitute a true religious vocabulary. We should also bear in mind that these are the familiar expressions of the professors of paganism, who have carried over their spiritual terminology from the ancient paganism of their ancestors. These terms are not borrowings from the tongues of Delaware converts to Christianity; for the terms adopted by the latter have been refused admission into the Pagan religious glossary.[1]

There is, indeed, much to attest an almost classical form of diction in the sacred phraseology; clear evidence of the organized position which Delaware holds in the scheme of Algonkian thought and semantics.[2] While the earlier sources found in the writings of missionaries deal sketchily with the phenomena of Delaware religion it is evident that their authors were incapable of gaining an insight into the spirit of native Delaware worship through two obstacles of considerable importance. First, their religious conviction would be sufficient to prevent them from inquiring sympathetically into the pagan doctrines involved, while the second consideration, namely, the esoterism of the pagan worshippers themselves, would in those days have been a barrier to the admission of outsiders into the Big House. We can catch glimpses however in the descriptions of the missionary authors dealing with what were to their eyes hideous practices of superstition or deviltry, of performances which coincide with some fundamental elements of the greater ceremonies.[3]

Were it not for the study of Delaware institutions made by Harrington over a period of some years, and published in several papers and

[1] The discrimination between religious denotations used by the pagans and the Christians is illustrated in the term denoting the soul, lən-apeɔ'k-an approximately "human substance" among the pagans, tel-'tcaŋg among the Christian Delawares. While the latter term has wide analogies in cognates among practically all the Algonkian-speaking tribes its use has been expunged among the pagan element of the tribe, or at any rate avoided, because of its adoption into the phraseology of the missionaries and converts.

[2] A striking example of Delaware synthetic verbal construction in dignified discourse is the following which seems worthy of consideration, ewil. pl. "pəndawənaniŋga ki·kayo'yəmənani'gga ə'n·da we·'l·taxkənotəmixti·t[e] . . . . "for so we have heard the deceased, our ancient deceased people of the past, when they were explaining the many things . . . ." (See page 115).

[3] Zeisberger op. cit., pp. 127-140; Heckewelder, op. cit., pp. 206-214, 230-248.

The short description of the Annual Ceremony written over the signature of R. C. Adams (Notes on the Delaware Indians. Report on Indians Taxed and Not Taxed. U. S. Census, 1800, p. 299) should also be considered, as well as the volumes by Dr. Brinton, largely secondary sources, which will be referred to by Roman numerals in my study when occasion requires quotation from them.

I. D. G. Brinton. The Lenape and Their Legends, Phila. 1885.

II. D. G. Brinton and A. S. Anthony. A Lenape'-English Dictionary, Historical Society of Pa. 1888.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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114 memoirs, our knowledge of the organized religious institutions of the tribe would at the present time be a blank. His contributions, accurate and trustworthy, should be consulted in connection with my study.[1]

Mr. Harrington who, between 1907 and 1910 made collections of ethnological specimens for the American Museum of Natural History, New York, and the Museum of the American Indian (Heye Foundation), incidentally devoted attention to a wide range of topics in the culture of both the Delaware and the Munsee. Aside from the publications mentioned he has manuscript material which has not yet appeared in print. On the whole our studies, as independent sources, coincide in content upon the points which are dealt with in common. I 114 have, however, deviated from his precedent in several details. His use 101 of the term Lenapé, which is the term the Delawares employ in referring to themselves,[2] I have discarded as a proper name for the people, preferring the term Delaware. Another matter which I have regarded in a different light is Harrington's use of the designation Unami for the Delaware proper throughout his publications for reasons of "convenience."[3] This name is not generally recognized in the tribe, there being many, including Wi·tapano'xwe, who had not heard of it until the question of its bearing had been raised. Upon the occasion of his return to his tribe in 1929, however, he inquired for particulars and learned from some older people of Munsee extraction that the eponym Unami was a Munsee term applied to the Delawares before the removal

[1] The titles of Harrington's reports on the tribe, which have come to my notice, are as follows in the order of their importance. In referring to them I shall use the Roman numbers affixed to them.

I. Religion and Ceremonies of the Lenape, Indian Notes and Monographs, Museum of the American Indian (Heye Foundation) 1921.

II. A Preliminary Sketch of Lenape Culture. American Anthropologist, Vol. XV, No. 2, 1913.

III. Vestiges of Material Culture among the Canadian Delawares, Ibid. Vol. X, No. 3, 1908.

IV. Some Customs of the Delaware Indians, Journal of the Museum, Univ. of Pa., Vol. 1, No. 3.

[2] Lən·a'pe denotes "common, human, ordinary man," in short "bourgeois." Heckewelder adds the meaning of "pure, unmixed" to the element, and also conceives it to have the sense of "original," in support of which he gives some satisfactory evidence (Heckewelder, pp. 401-2). Its use as a proper tribal name has a long antecedent. Heckewelder (op. cit., p. xii) remembered when the Delawares thought that the whites had given them the name Delaware in derision, though he says, they became reconciled to it on being told that it was the name of a great man, Lord de la War, which had been given to them and their river. As they were fond of being named after distinguished men they were pleased, considering it as a compliment. (cp. also Zeisberger, p. 145). The same author in discussing the appellation Lenape, which he says signifies "original people" from Lenni Lenape, adheres to the proper name Delaware in his work. Passing mention seems called for of a far-fetched attempt on the part of Zeisberger to extort an origin for the name Delaware from a native verb (Zeisberger p. 114) to which he himself, however, gave little weight. From lən·a'pe has developed an interesting abstraction; lən·a'pe·ɔ'k·an "Delaware, or human, soul," in the sense of meaning the principles of Delaware cultural life, as does also the synonym endalau'si·engw, "our manner of life," a commonly recognized term.

[3] Harrington I, p. 124.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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of the combined tribes from Kansas about 1867. While the Delawares in Oklahoma are undoubtedly of the Unami division, as it was called by the Munsee, I have decided against the use of an alien term as a name for them. It is worth noting, at this point, as a possible aid to a future student of Delaware ethnography that Zeisberger employed the term "Unami Tribe" to designate that division of the people "which lived nearest to the sea."[1]

The Delawares of Colonial times were described as including three affiliated nations; besides the "Unami," just alluded to, the Munsee, and the so-called Unalachtigo. Whereas the Munsee had from the early period continued to exist as a group under their own name, separately from the Delawares both in Canada and the United States, and the "Unami" have been identified with the main body of the Delawares, we are not so fortunate with respect to the fate and identity of the Unalachtigo. While I am not urged to discuss the probability in full, it seems to me that evidence stands in favor of the conclusion that the people called Unalachtigo, whose identity has puzzled most of the writers applying themselves to Delaware ethnographical problems, are none other than the "Naraticons" of southern New Jersey under the guise of a dialectic name.

The Naraticons, to begin with, are given a prominent position as occupying an extensive territory in southern New Jersey. There is, in addition, a village called Naraticonk given a location on the Jersey side of the Delaware River opposite "Fort Cristina" near the mouth of a creek of the same name, now transformed into Raccoon Creek. These locations are given in a map of the region referring to a period about 1655.[2]

Acrelius (1759) also mentions "Narraticon's or Raccon's Kihl."[3] Lindeström (1656) and DeLaet (1633) mention the same name and place.[4] Brinton[5] produces further evidence on the name and says that the Unalachtigo (properly W'nalachtko for which he offers the meaning, "people who live near the ocean," from wunalawat,[6] "to go towards," and t'kow or t'kŏu, "wave"). He believed that this geographical division had its seat on the affluents of the Delaware, near Wilmington. Brinton moreover, refers to Lindstrom and Vander

[1] Zeisberger, op. cit., p. 114.
[2] Map of N. J. Visscher, in New York Public Library, reproduced in Narratives of Early Pennsylvania, West New Jersey and Delaware (1630-1707) Edited by Albert Cook Myers, N. Y. (1912). For a series of local native place names of this district see also the record of the Court at Upland, Pa., 1676-81, Pub. Hist. Soc. of Pa. 1860, and Peter Lindeström (1654-6), Geographia Americae, with an account of the Delaware Indians. Ed. by Amandus Johnson, Swedish Colonial Society, Phila., 1925; and Amandus Johnson, The Swedish Settlements in Delaware, 1638-64, N. Y. 1911.
[3] Rev. I. Acrelius' account of Swedish churches in New Sweden. Albert Cook Myers, op. cit. p. 66.
[4] De Laet (1633) N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll. 2nd, S. I., p. 303 (1843).
[5] Brinton, L., pp. 36-7.
[6] Delaware, na'wolast', "to follow."

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

619 Donck locating the Naraticons as the southermost tribe in New Jersey
101 on Raccoon Creek, and adds the supposition that Naraticon, "is simply a translation of the Delaware nachenum,[1] raccoon." Evidence seems sufficiently strong to assign a location in southern New Jersey for a branch of the Delawares called Naraticons. We may, however disregard Brinton's attempt to explain the term, in favor of an attempt based upon this interesting term coming from native sources. The prominence of the name Naraticon on the map referred to and the extent of territory would seem to accord with its position as one of the three tribal constituents of the old Delaware nation. The term itself has interesting possibilties under analysis. In Delaware its correspondent nala'tᵉkaŋg, "up stream where they live," (abbreviation of nalaha'təkaŋg, compare also nahi'təkaŋg, "down stream where they live."

Harrington thought that the "Unala'tko" had lost their identity and merged with the Delawares in Oklahoma, since he was unable to locate survivors there under the name.[2] Heckewelder[3] refers to the Unami and Unalachtigo as the divisions of the Delawares that settled nearest to the sea. This author is responsible for recording the information that created the discussion arising since his time over "totemic affiliations" of the three geographical subdivisions of the Delawares with the Tortoise (Unami) Turkey (Unalachtigo) and Wolf (Munsee).

To the Delawares the Nanticoke are known as Wone'tᵉko (plural wone'tᵉkowak).[4] Some families of them migrated westward with the Delawares and kept up a distinctive form of burial as well as their language until about 1875. No information through living sources or printed records discloses testimony to indicate that this tribe performed the Big House ceremony. The informant had, however, heard the older Delawares in Oklahoma discuss the question of Nanticoke participation in the Big House. It is known that the Nanticoke performed in company with them, but it was not thought that the Nanticoke themselves had ever had the full ceremony.

796 Zeisberger has treated the ceremonies of the Delawares of his day
114 in a section covering some five pages of his book.[5] It would seem, however, if his narration is an accurate one and if his descriptions of the six or seven separate ceremonies were correctly observed and so separated in the religious practices of the tribe, that composition has taken place since his time. For the independent "feasts" which he describes are recognizable parts of the Big House ceremony and ritual of subsequent times. This nevertheless is an inference which further

[1] Brinton I, op. cit. p. 42.
[2] Harrington I, pp. 13, 124-5, and II, pp. 208-9.
[3] Heckewelder op. cit. pp. 51-3 and 250.
[4] The meaning of the term in Delaware is obscure.
[5] Zeisberger, pp. 136-141.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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information may alter. We can not be certain whether his integration of the rites was an actual condition holding true for the ceremony of the period, or one resulting from his style of writing down what he remembered of native customs after some years of retirement from the Indian country. The procedures followed by the Delawares in the four or five "feasts" he describes for us are all embraced within the Big House performance as we know it later. And, rather than discredit the force of living evidence based on the rites as performed by the Nation now, I would prefer to correct the information recorded by the observant but unsympathetic missionary. For, indeed, the ceremony shows itself to have a complex capitalization, its ritual extending through every form of worship, including individual, family or "clan rites," that we have mention of in any of the Delaware accounts. The Big House capitulates the elements of certain minor feast ceremonies held on special occasions by families.[1] The great annual ceremony seems to stand as an entity, one that does not submit to any assumption of recent origin in its present form of organization. Through the close resemblance it shows, element by element, with the Munsee corresponding ceremony, the two tribes were apparently performing it as a national religious institution before 1700, when they separated in the east, one division to go westward, the other to Canada. So it also seemed to Harrington.[2]

Unfortunately Heckewelder, who knew the Delawares so intimately, declined in his book to treat the topic of ceremonies, referring the matter to the previous narratives of Loskiel, whose knowledge we know was not gained from intimate contact with the tribe.

Reverting to consideration of the fate of the Big House in the succession of moves which the Delawares made in their two-century traverse from New Jersey to Oklahoma, we can only trace definite memory of the "temple" and ceremony to the final period of the tribe's residence in Kansas from about 1867 on. While in Kansas the Big House was located some five or six miles east of Lawrence.

The informant gave the following facts concerning the reconstruction of the building and the rehabilitation of the ceremony after the tribe had settled down to residence in its present seat in northern Oklahoma.

"In the Cherokee country the Big House of Little Caney River was reorganized by men of the Yellow Tree or poplar band. Three men were pa"'man·axgu'xwe, ne'ni'pai, and chalu'xolo'nd, whose names in order mean "Man Moving Around," "The One Who Stands," "Man

[1] Throughout the year there is a series of local feasts, some esoteric family ceremonies apart from the communal Big House worship. These are being studied in text and prepared for presentation in a separate memoir.

[2] I am drawing this inference of basic unity in fundamentals of the Munsee and Delaware forms of worship upon the conclusion reached by Harrington, pp. 196-197), after he had studied the Munsee rite.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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end pierces the sky extending to the throne of the Great Spirit, whose right hand is resting on top of it as a staff to hold a great power given to the red man. All other Indian worship is a branch of this belief. When the rules are faithfully carried out in accordance with the ways of the primitive Delawares, it governs even the religion of our white brothers, perpetuating happiness, health, and prosperity among all nations the world over. In regard to the center post which is said to link the Creator with his chosen people; it is considered a very important feature of the religion. There should be a special authority to explain the significance of the center post in order that its real value in the Indian world be brought out. This being done the other Indian nations would be able to understand this great worship which now only the Delawares know."

A word or two of comment on my own estimate of the character of Delaware religion may not be amiss. If the student of the religious systems of pre-literate peoples feels inclined to disparage the quality of thought and the symbolism of the rituals of other North American forms of worship, I imagine that his objections, on the basis perhaps of their fetishistic traits and their lack of spiritual refinement, would be removed in weighing the qualities of Delaware concepts and acts of reverence toward the powers beyond. Close attention during the two years of study to the intricacies of the Delaware doctrines has impressed me with the conviction that we have here a real religion in a simple form. Inculcated in its followers are virtues (we'lhik) that no one would question as being of an ennobling nature, for instance humility of spirit and conduct,[1] dependence[2] upon the benevolence of the spirit forces, gratitude[3] for the blessings they bestow, supplication[4] for the continuation of blessings, the exemplariness of "clean" sincere behavior toward man and spirit,[5] altruism,[6] consideration of the afflicted and the aged,[7] the apostrophe against violence and war,[8] the value of concentrated spiritual unity in worship, the assumed dignity and barbaric grandeur[9] of the rites, and in particular the endeavor to insure and promote human health and welfare[10] irrespective of tribe or race. All are well worthy it would seem of respectful consideration, to which should be added that the procedures of the paramount

[1] tamak-e'lendamowa'k-an, "pitifulness in attitude."
[2] ligo'ndowak-an.
[3] owe'lendamowa'k-an, "thankful satisfaction of mind."
[4] mas'mendowa'k-an, "earnest pleading."
[5] pi'tsowa'k-an.
[6] lape'mkwus-l-n "act of making oneself useful."
[7] wi'mbendowa'k-an, "sympathy."
[8] wolangosowa'k-an, "peacefulness." (aspalo'tamowak-an)
[9] woli'nak'sowa'k-an, "fine appearance."
[10] kwe'namowa'k-an, "universal blessedness."

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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771 ceremony are framed in richly symbolical acts, impressive to the civ-
114 ilized as well as the uncivilized observer, participated in equally by the congregation of worshipers, young and old, great and humble. That the Delawares produced a religion in the real, almost classical sense, will not, I believe, be strenuously denied even by the proponents of other creeds, at least those of the more liberal type of mind. It might indeed have become a great one of the mediaeval type had it been linked with the destinies of a militant aggressive race, with its native humanitarian ideals, its precepts of altruism and humility, its lyrics, its litanies and mysticism.

But after all, whatever the civilized reader, no doubt himself an adherent to some creed accused of being equally as superstitious if not as picturesque, may call these religions, there they stand as they evolved—lasting symbols of the strange systems of thought that have appeared and almost vanished in the changing pageant of human history.

772 THE DELAWARE COSMOS, THE BEAUTIFUL WHITE PATH.—It is rather
346 difficult to grasp the Delaware scheme of things. The cosmos in terms
778 of the Big House is a dual symbolism; one realm being that of the celestial universe embraced in terms of time and space; the other, the tangible realm of the human in the midst of the concrete. The two are fused in the symbol of the Big House. The term Big House has to the Delaware a symbolical value much deeper than its descriptive one, for we discover that the Big House stands for the universe; its floor, the earth; its four walls, the four quarters; its vault, the sky dome, atop which resides the Creator in his indefinable supremacy. To use Delaware expressions, the Big House being the universe, the center post is the staff of the Great Spirit with its foot upon the earth, its pinnacle reaching to the hand of the Supreme Deity. The floor of the Big House is the flatness of the earth[1] upon which sit the three grouped divisions of mankind, the human social groupings (Pəle", Pukowa'ŋgo, Tu'k"si·t) in their appropriate places; the eastern door is the point of sunrise where day begins and at the same time the symbol of the beginning of things; the western door the point of sunset and symbol of termination; the north and south walls assume the meaning of respective horizons; the roof of the temple is the visible sky vault. The ground beneath the Big House is the realm of the underworld while above the roof lie the extended planes or levels, twelve in number, stretched upward to the abode of the "Great Spirit, even the Creator" as Delaware form puts it. Here we might speak of the carved face images, the revereneed məsi'ŋgok, the representations on the center pole being the visible symbols of the Supreme Power,

[1] Lamha'k·i·ye "earth here below," so the inhabited world is referred to. The Delawares also know this as ketchak·i·ye, "great earth" meaning the main body of the earth.

[P.34, A]

155 Zeisberger.[5] Infants were described by
854 Lindestrom as never crying.[4] Whether this was because they were nursed whenever restless (which is most likely), or because the crying was consistently ignored in early infancy, is not clear from the available accounts. From Zeisberger's description of the frequency of the mother's absence, it would seem that, even if the child were nursed on demand when she was available, her frequent absences must have meant to the child that she was an
862 undependable provider. Children were weaned at the age of two or three; the techniques are not described.[6] Anal and
863 urethral training do not seem to have been strenuous: boys wore no clothes at all until
[291] the age of five or six, although girls wore aprons as soon as they could walk.[6]

861 Zeisberger noted that children were
155 sometimes harshly treated, although such behavior generally produced in them "bitterness, hatred and contempt." He went on to say, "The women are frequently guilty of thus raising their children to anger, for the women are often ill-tempered. By way of punishment, they will pour water on the children or thrust them into the water."[7] Zeisberger did not like the
[157 Indian women, whom he described also
181] as being "much given to lying and gossiping. They carry evil report from house to house. As long as they are observed they appear modest and without guile. All the wrongs of which they are guilty are done
● 114 in secret."[8] While one may be inclined to
797 discount Zeisberger's accusations on the grounds of the natural prejudice of a male missionary among somewhat more aggressive women than he was probably accustomed to at home, the general accuracy of his observations and the fact that he was really fond of his charges, with whom he spent much of his active life, suggest that he had imbibed the prevalent native male attitude toward the women of the tribe.

5. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 80.
6. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 17.
7. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 81.
8. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 124.

[P. 37, A]

562 fulness, in comparison with the men, may
157 have been owing to the fact that they were much more restricted in childhood than their brothers. Nowhere in Delaware society was there the model of anyone
592 with coercive authority; neither mother nor
622 father ruled the roost at home in an
625 authoritarian sense, the sachems had no power to enforce their wishes, and there was no conception of a state with police
586 powers. Divorce was easy and frequent and could be initiated by either party simply leaving the other.[36] Supernatural
776 beings were not Jehovah-like Gods who regularly punished the wicked and rewarded the good; the Delaware reckoned rather with a supernatural guardian spirit who acted as a comrade and friend who would assist his mortal protege in critical passes. Shame and pride are more frequent themes than guilt and self-righteousness;
577 Speck (referring to twentieth-century Oklahoma Delawares) says, "Spiritual purity . . . is not conditioned by ethical conduct, but rather . . . through the observance of taboo regulations prescribed by ancient rulings.[37]

155 It would seem to be a fair inference that
597 the Delaware often did not develop a strong authoritarian, coercive conscience; moral values (which certainly were recognized) did not possess an awesome, mosaic character; "good" and "bad" had a light affective tone.

● 114 Zeisberger, who as a Moravian believed
626 in less discipline and autocracy than was fashionable in eighteenth century Europe, was still puzzled as to how a society without authority could hold together. "Judged by the mere appearance of the Indians," he wrote, "one is surprised how modest and careful they are in relation to each other and imagines that the whites, if they were as free a people and had neither government nor punishment to fear, would not
626 be as united and peaceable as the Indians appear to be."[38] This superficial smooth-

36. Heckewelder, 1819, p. 154; Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 20-21.
37. Speck, 1931, p. 51.
38. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 122.

[P.10,A]

114
174 The possibilities of this 'acculturation theory' seemed so appealing that I sent a letter to Dr. Claude Schaeffer, then of the Pennsylvania State Museum in Harrisburg, who was handling the publication of my manuscript, asking him to append my new view of the Minsi problem as a concluding footnote. For some reason which was never explained to me, however, this was not done.

Meanwhile in Rochester, Dr. William A. Ritchie, and in Philadelphia, Dr. Edmund S. Carpenter, were laying plans for a 1947 summer expedition in the upper Delaware area under an Indiana Historical Society grant for the purpose of attacking the Minsi problem as a phase of the wider question of determining the validity of the Walum Olum. The results of this expedition, with which the writer was for a time associated, have been ably and fully set forth by Dr. Ritchie in "The Bell-Philhower Site, Sussex County, New Jersey", Volume III, Number 2, Prehistory Research Series, The Indiana Historical Society, 1949.

The most important part of Ritchie's report bearing upon the present problem is the material contained on pages 194, 195, and 196. Briefly, Ritchie, while including the caution that the "evidence leaves something to be desired", concludes that the original Minsi Culture began as the Castle Creek Focus of the Owasco Aspect and was later modified by Unami and later still by Iroquoian elements.

121 In the light of the developments outlined in the foregoing, it is now possible to approach a description of the elements of Minsi material culture. It is obviously of value and interest to the numerous amateur and occasional professional archaeologists who do field work in the Minsi area to have at least a tentative idea of which artifacts can be assigned to the Minsi hori-

[P. 11, A]

An excellent description

172 of Owasco ceramics is contained in Ritchie's
323 "Pre-Iroquoian Occupations of New York
415 State". A reading of this should precede
[114] any serious approach to the study of what we presently believe to be Minsi pottery.

The bodies of Minsi vessels ordinarily are corded in some fashion. Ritchie assigns the greatest frequency to a finely corded body treatment with smoothed-over cord second, smooth third, and coarsely corded fourth. It is to be noted that other body techniques occur on occasion such as corded stick imprinted and brushed-over cord.

Miniature vessels occur in this culture. The writer has never seen any from the Milford area which were not crude, including one, partially complete, excavated by him from the Bell-Philhower Site late in 1947. (Plate 3).

It may be remarked in connection with this all too brief description of 'Minsi' pottery vessels that one of the stumbling blocks in the path of a final and conclusive acceptance of the Owasco-cum-Iroquois explanation of the ultimate Minsi Culture is the fact that to the best of my knowledge no sherd or vessel has yet been found on a presumed Minsi site embodying an undeniable combination of pronounced Owasco and Iroquoian decorative techniques. This statement is made with full awareness, however, that the so-called Castle Creek Epigonus pottery may represent a combination of decorative motifs.

Pottery Effigies

172 In the light of the finding by the writer
323 of the pottery effigy of an animal head on
532 the Bell site in 1949, there can be little doubt that objects of this type must be included in the material culture of the Minsi.

The object in question (Plate 4, Nos. 1 and 2) is complete with the exception of the ears and a small part of the lower por-

15:Morgan I-5 (1859)1959
NM7 Delaware NM7

[p 49]
[pp 29-48 not processed]

PART IV

• 114

Baptist Delaware Mission,
Kansas T. June 9, 1859

I left the Shawnee Mission (Friends) yesterday morning and reached here the same evening. I crossed Kansas River at the Delaware Crossing, about twelve miles above its mouth; and was so fortunate in point of time as to be there on Payment Day, which is the annual gala day of the nation. As I had never seen a government payment of Indian annuities I was, of course, very glad that it happened as it did. After spending about four hours as a spectator of this curious scene, I went on to the Mission. Today Mr. Pratt and myself went down again, and spent a few hours, the payment still going on, but so near completed that they expected to finish tonight. We have just returned somewhat fatigued by the ride, as the day is warm. Some account of the payment must be given, although it is one of those scenes which should be seen to be appreciated. The amount paid was universally large, it being no less a sum than $78,000 to something less than 1000 people all told, men, women and children, and was paid in gold and silver. In January 1858 the Delawares numbered by census 988. At the present June census their number is but 941. These figures were given me by Mr. Ford, a merchant of Lawrence, who stops here and is looking after the accounts with the Delawares. I supposed the nation was not diminishing, but rather on the increase.

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[527]
[114]
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[648]

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

the nature of their crimes, if not publicly, still privately, for they are considered as a nuisance, and a disgrace to the nation, and so much so were persons of this description considered and despised in former times among the Delawares, before the white people came, that it was a rare thing to hear of any such being among them. This I have repeatedly been told, between the years 1770 and 1780, by Indians of that nation; one of whom, when a boy, resided on the spot where Philadelphia now stands, when the first house was building there, and assisted in furnishing the workmen with fish, and caught rabbits for them; the other, who was still older, lived with his parents on the spot where afterwards was built Perth Amboy in New Jersey: both were respectable men, highly esteemed by all who knew them.

I do not believe that there exists a people, more attentive to paying common civilities to each other, than the Indians are; but this, from a want of understanding their language, as well as their customs and manners, generally escapes the notice of travellers, although some of them, better observers than the rest, have touched upon this subject. In more than one hundred instances, I have with astonishment and delight witnessed the attention paid to a person entering the house of another, where, in the first instance, he is desired to seat himself, with the words, "sit down my friend!" if he is a stranger, or no relation; but if a relation, the proper title is added. A person is never left standing, there are seats for all; and if a dozen should follow each other in succession, all are provided with seats, and the stranger, if a white person, with the best. The tobacco pouch next is handed round; it is the first treat, as with us a glass of wine or brandy. Without a single word passing between the man and his wife, she will go about preparing some victuals for the company, and having served the visiters, will retire to a neighbour's house, to inform the family of the visit

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca.1800) 1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

726 Indians were seen encamped, some having already laid down to sleep, while others were drawing off their *leggings** for the same purpose, and the scalps they had taken were hanging up to dry. "See!" said Duke Holland to his astonished companions, "there is the enemy! not "of my nation, but Mingoes, as I truly told you. They "are in our power; in less than half an hour they will "all be fast asleep. We need not fire a gun, but go up "and tomohawk them. We are nearly two to one and "need apprehend no danger. Come on, and you will "now have your full revenge!" But the whites, overcome with fear, did not choose to follow the Indian's advice, and urged him to take them back by the nearest and best way, which he did, and when they arrived at home late at night, they reported the number of the Iroquois to have been so great, that they durst not venture to attack them.

726
115 This account is faithfully given as I received it from *Duke Holland* himself, and took it down in writing at the time. I had been acquainted with this Indian for upwards of twenty years, and knew him to be honest, intelligent and a lover of truth. Therefore I gave full credit to what he told me, and as yet have had no reason to disbelieve or even to doubt it. I once employed him to save the life of a respectable gentleman, now residing at Pittsburg, who was in imminent danger of being killed by a war party. Duke Holland conducted him safely through the woods, from the Muskingum to the Ohio settlement. He once found a watch of mine, which had been sent to me from Pittsburg by a man who had got drunk, and lost it in the woods about fifty miles from the place where I lived. Duke Holland went in search of it, and having discovered the tracks of the man to whom it had been entrusted, he pursued them until he found the lost article, which he delivered to me.

* Indian stockings.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7

000 Dr. Leslie A. White for making this grant possible and for his guidance throughout the study. I also want to express my appreciation for the assistance given by the other members of my doctoral committee, Professors David F. Aberle, Richard K. Beardsley, James B. Griffin, and Volney H. Jones. John Witthoft has also read the manuscript and it has benefited from his many corrections and additions. For any shortcomings or errors which this study may contain I assume full responsibility.

● 115 The greater part of the field work was done in Washington County, Oklahoma. I am indebted to many Delawares in this county for valuable information and for their patience and co-operation. I particularly wish to thank Ollie Beaver Anderson, Lenora Dean, Jim Thompson, Reuben Wilson, and Fred Washington. Approximately one month was spent in Anadarko, in southwestern Oklahoma, where Mary Bob was a perceptive and kindly informant. I also wish to thank her granddaughter, Mrs. Charley Caddo, for her excellent interpretation of the Delaware language. Lastly, I wish to thank my wife, Gleny, for her invaluable assistance and constant encouragement both in the field and with the manuscript.

Texas Memorial Museum

[p. iv]

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7

II. THE RECONSTRUCTION OF DELAWARE CULTURE

Introduction

The most recent reconstruction of early historic Delaware culture by Herman[1] failed to use the data made available by Kinietz[2] from the Trowbridge and Cass papers and minimized contemporary ethnographic data. Herman largely ignored modern ethnographic information because it "had combined material gained from different periods of time."[3] Kinietz used the previously unavailable Trowbridge and Cass data, but took little advantage of the other sources. His work also omitted a discussion of religion and some aspects of social organization. This study has utilized most of the source material of both of these investigators, as well as their results, and has in addition used other documentary materials. I have also used modern ethnographic data more extensively than have others. By using proper controls the ethnography of the Delawares can be made to cast valuable light on some of the less well-illuminated aspects of the early historic culture. The presence of a culture trait, whose existence could not be traced to white culture, to other Indian cultures, or to some sort of synthesis of these, was assumed to be of Delaware origin. It should be noted that some traits found in the field were considered Delaware on the basis of their absence among other groups; documentary materials later confirmed a Delaware provenance for many of these traits. Evidence from the field indicated, for example, that the Delawares possessed the trait of making a hole at the head of a coffin through which the soul could find its exit. Exit and reentrance were eased by the application of red ocher to this aperture. No evidence could be found which would indicate that this trait had been borrowed from other Indian cultures, nor was it derived from white culture, except that wooden coffins were used in place of bark receptacles. Later research substantiated the conclusion that this trait was of Delaware origin. In brief, by using a cautious and judicious approach it is possible to project ethnographic data back to early historic times with a fair degree of probability. Wherever this approach has been utilized, it is so noted in the text. I have also made a more serious effort to reconstruct the kinship terminology and general kinship structure of the early historic Delawares than has been attempted previously. This reconstruction is based mainly upon the recent suggestions of Murdock.[4]

The authorities for the data are given in chronological order, the seventeenth-century sources are given first, then the eighteenth-century, and so on down to the data recorded by myself in the field. When data secured from informants is used, the initials of the informant appear in the text or in a footnote with other references.[5] A discussion of the documentary sources is given in the Appendix.

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[1] Herman, 1950, pp. 45-77.
[2] Kinietz, 1946.
[3] Herman, *op. cit.*, p. 48.
[4] Murdock, 1949, pp. 194-250, 323-32.
[5] Initials of informants are: O. A., Ollie Beaver Anderson; M. B., Mary Bob; N. D., Lenora Dean; J. T., Jim Thompson; F. W., Fred Washington; R. W., Reuben Wilson; L. F., Lillian Frenchman.

4: Tantaquidgeon E-5 (1930) 1942
NM7 Delaware NM7

FOREWORD

THE PRESENT PAPER represents an addition to the series of studies projected by the Pennsylvania Historical Commission on the life of the Indian peoples once resident within the State. This phase of the research program was planned some years ago by the Department of Anthropology, University of Pennsylvania, and carried out, in part, with the aid of funds supplied by the Commission.

The author of the study deserves a special recognition through qualities she possesses by nature and birth for the task undertaken. Born and reared in the environment of a Mohegan Indian home in Connecticut, she had the advantage of association in childhood with her grandmother and other old women versed in tribal traditions of plant and herbal medicines. Without having had the privilege of a technical training in botanic taxonomy, Miss Tantaquidgeon thus acquired a knowledge of identification of growing plants and their curative qualities and folklore. Her contribution is one that presents the latter rather than the former aspect. With this background of information on the plant lore and medicines of the Mohegan of southern New England, the author was well fitted for the work of studying the Pennsylvania-New Jersey area, and the curing practices of the Delaware. The flora and folklore of both areas and groups are not those of distinct types.

Accordingly, when in 1928 Wi·tapanóxwe (James C. Webber), whose medicine practice is the basis of this study, appeared in Philadelphia and became the object of investigation at the Department of Anthropology, University of Pennsylvania, the project was conceived and developed, leading to the collection of the present material. Miss Tantaquidgeon's training in comparative ethnology and lifelong interest in Algonkian nature-curing, placed her in a position to seize the opportunity. In the ensuing three years she worked at the recording of Wi·tapanóxwe's knowledge and theories as occasion offered.

The essay presented has limits in scope, some of which will appear more obvious to ethnologists than to others. It is not a study of a national stereotype medicine practice of the people we choose to designate as the Delaware Nation, but rather a sounding and analysis of information possessed by one typical practitioner in the healing profession. Individualism is indeed a trait of Pennsylvania Algonkian native culture in science as well as in character, even though the Delaware Indians are appreciably more institutionalized than the Algonkians formerly lying north of them. It may be expected that any Delaware phase of native "science" will show affinities with Iroquoian phases

4: Tantaquidgeon E-5 (1930) 1942
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INTRODUCTION

IT WAS my privilege and pleasure in the spring of 1930 to record the following data on native medical practices and folk beliefs as dictated by Wi·tapanóxwe, "Walks With Daylight," a Delaware Indian of Dewey, Oklahoma. Wi·tapanóxwe was retained as an informant for some months in Philadelphia with the aid of funds provided, in part, by the Pennsylvania Historical Commission. Some interesting facts concerning his life, as well as historical data pertaining to the location, migrations, and present status of the Delaware Indians were presented in a preceding volume (Speck, 1931) of this series. It seems unnecessary, therefore, for me to duplicate such information in the present monograph.

The material presented herein is offered not as a complete and exhaustive study of the curing practices and plant lore of the Delaware Indians but as the theories, practices, and beliefs of one practitioner—information for the most part to be regarded as personal property bequeathed to the informant by certain members of his family or revealed to him in dreams. There are, however, incorporated in these notes descriptions of certain observances of a more general nature which represent the common property of the tribe.

To much that has been written giving actual data on the pharmacology of various tribes in North America, the collection of Delaware material presented here will prove a helpful addition. Among the leading studies in this field, mention should be given to that of Robbins, Harrington, and Freire-Marreco (1916) on the Tewa, and various others by Mooney (1892), Swanton (1928a, 1928c), Speck (1937b) and Olbrechts (Cherokee MS., 1929) for the Southeast. For the Algonkian-speaking peoples of various tribal and cultural types the quantity of published material is also considerable, permitting ere long some attempt at a comparative summary. In this connection similar data contained in the Menomini studies of Smith (1923), and Bloomfield (1928); the Ojibwa researches of Hoffman (1893), and Densmore (1928); Gilmore's material (1919) from the Misouri River region, not to mention information published by Speck (1907, 1909, 1911, 1915, 1917), all offer much that is suggestive of the historical background from which such practices and beliefs may be supposed to have developed.

In connection with such studies I have in mind also the collections of unpublished herbal and charm cures obtained from various remnants of Algonkian peoples on the Atlantic seaboard by Dr. Speck (Powhatan MS.), Dr. Hallowell (St. Francis Abenaki MS.), and myself (1928; Gayhead and Mashpee Indian MS.). The material from these various

4:Tantaquidgeon E-5 (1930) 1942
NM7 Delaware NM7

APPENDIX II

USES OF MEDICINAL PLANTS AMONG THE CANADIAN DELAWARE

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THE following notes on the medicine practices of the Six Nations Delaware, Grand River Reserve, located near Hagersville, in Brant County, Ontario, Canada, were recorded during a visit to the reserve in November, 1931. The group consists of about 150 individuals of mixed Indian and white blood. Only a few, however, have any knowledge of the language and traditions of the Delaware who once inhabited the section of the country now known as Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and New York. To find the identity and location of the predecessors of the band now in question, who migrated to Canada, will be impossible until a comparative study has been made of the various vocabularies.

● 115 I am indebted to Mrs. Martha Peters Hill, Nicholas Powless, his sister, Mrs. Maracle, Joseph Montour, John Lickers, and Walter Moses for aid in securing the Delaware information herein presented.

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[184] In contrast to the ceremonies connected with the various processes of healing as employed by the Oklahoma Delaware, we find only a few traces of such rites among the Delaware of Canada. Plant parts to be used for medicinal purposes should be gathered when the vital properties are in that part of the plant (the flower, root, etc.), to be used. One informant added that plants should be gathered before the fireflies appear. When seeking herbal plants, the first of the desired species should not be plucked. It is customary to pass on to another of the same variety and there dig a small hole beside the plant and in it place an offering of tobacco. If a large quantity of herbs were gathered, they were tied in bundles and allowed to dry in the sun, to prevent mould. Some dried their plants in a warm room.

When bark is used it is taken from the east side of a tree; only the inner bark, which is usually peeled downward, is used. Roots may be scraped or cut into small portions.

278 Medicinal plants are regarded as being sensitive to handling, and when brewing medicine, care must be taken to refrain from stirring the mixture while it is steeping. After being thoroughly steeped, the medicine is removed from the fire, and if necessary, stirred only toward the

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
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115 The writer has gathered most of his data for the whole series from the Oklahoma bands, with such informants as Chief Charley Elkhair (Kokŭlŭpo'w''e), Julius Fox, or Fouts (Peta'nlhink), Minnie Fox (Wemĕĕle'xkwĕ) his wife, and William Brown; but much valuable information came from Canada where his principal informants were Chief James Wolf ('Tayeno'xwan), Chief Nellis F. Timothy, (Tomapemihi'lat), Isaac Monture (Ka'pyŭ'hŭm), Chief Nellis Monture, Michael Anthony (Na'nkŭma'oxa), and Monroe Pheasant. Of these especial credit is due to Julius Fox and Chief Timothy, both of whom manifested great interest in the work and exerted every effort to make it complete, and to Ernest Spybuck, a Shawnee, whose paintings, carefully made of Delaware ceremonies at the writer's request, form a valuable adjunct to the text.

127 The works of previous writers have been utilized where available, and much has been learned from archeological discoveries in the ancient territory of the

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
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Lenape

The attendants have a table near the tent of one of the woman *a'ckas*, and here they eat. 796x [264]

VALUATION OF WAMPUM

For ceremonial purposes the wampum (white) is held at one cent a bead, one hundred to the dollar. Before the meeting the people give a yard or so apiece, if they are able, to show their appreciation and to be prayed for, or subscribe money for its purchase and for the other things needed at the meeting. The wampum is afterward redeemed at the same rate and is kept to use again. 436 796x

INDIAN COMMENTS ON THE CEREMONY

Some explanations and remarks concerning the annual ceremony, as furnished by the Indians themselves, may prove of interest here. 796x

Julius Fouts (or Fox), the interpreter, remarks: [115]

"When the Delawares complete this meeting, then they claim they have worshiped everything on this earth. God gave the Powers Above authority to

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

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OKLAHOMA DELAWARE EX-CHIEF AND NARRATOR OF TEXTS. Wi'tapono'xwe, "Walks by Daylight," in Dance Costume.

[frontispiece]
[facing p. i]

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

large. It is, then, to one of the religious men of the tribe, *Wi·tapano'xwe*, "Walks by Daylight" (C. J. Webber), the joint author of the text study of the Big House, supplemented with the cooperation of *Ni·'ka'ni·paxoxwe*, "Walking in Advance, Leader" (Joe Washington), and *Kwulc'pagi·'kamen*, "Rustling Leaves (when walking)" (George T. Anderson), that we owe the narration of this series of texts explaining the procedures themselves and the traditions of their origin (Plate 1).

Some of them, for instance the Grease Drinking Ceremonies and the Doll Dance, are family properties handed down as obligations within the family group from some past period when the responsibility for their enactment was incurred through the event of some long-forgotten individual undergoing experience with a spirit in human or animal form. These have developed among the Delawares into septs inheriting the obligation to perform them corresponding to the motives actuating rites of similar derivation in several other parts of North America.

In the history of Delaware institutions of the kind there is reason to suppose that the minor ceremonies, perhaps those passed on through generations within the family groups, may indeed be older than the Big House Ceremony. The fact that in the Big House certain rites appear to have been added and others to have been dropped off as time went on would show that the great celebration has integrated through the coalition of originally separate elements. Its comprehensiveness and its thoroughly worked-out cosmological philosophy seem to denote this. The formative elements themselves, then, may be those which we have here, the minor rites performed by smaller social groups, the families, perhaps the villages under the old social system when the tribe resided undisturbed by an European invasion in the east, and those conceived by certain individuals as an outcome of their personal revelations. These bear indication of being prior developments entering into the composition of the dominating and communal Big House Ceremony. Keeping pace with the dwindling devotion of the Delawares to the rites of the Big House, the individual and

7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

ADDITIONAL NOTES TO THE BIG HOUSE CEREMONY

The great recurrent and communal ceremony, the Big House or Gamwing, has been covered in a preceding study.[1] At the time it was recorded, most of the topics prepared and discussed were treated with the understanding that a continuation of inquiry into Delaware religion would contribute supplementary material to our knowledge of the spiritual functionings of this festival. Accordingly the way was left open for an extension of its treatment as occasion arose. It is true in particular, and was so recognized in the version of the ceremony published, that variations in performance and in the obligations enforced upon its participants were understood to exist in accordance with the procedure as conducted under sponsorship of the three different social-ceremonial groups, Turkey, Tortoise and Wolf. It has previously been shown that the ceremonial if not the social structure of the Delaware Nation is, in certain respects, founded upon these groupings. I may repeat the important comment that the version of the Big House Ceremony recorded in the volume referred to, was a type-performance of the Turkey group, of which the narrator, Wi·tapano'xwe, was a council member.

An opportunity has since arisen for me to interview, in [115] Oklahoma, Joe Washington, Ni·'ka'ni·paxoxwe, "Walking in Advance, Leader," the hereditary master of ceremonies of this rite when its celebration falls into the hands of the Wolf group. The occasion of questioning him resulted in substantiation of the details previously recorded and printed concerning the general aspects of the ceremony. But it became clear that in the history of Delaware institutions something has been going on either, *a*, to integrate the religious observances of what were formerly separate local bands of the tribe, having more or less distinct customs, into a national ceremony which through time has retained some

[1] See footnote 1, p. 3.

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

This motive would be insufficient, even a sacrilege. The spiritual preparation of its participants was made a matter of prime importance and the purity of those concerned in it was to be insisted upon. Joe Washington has since felt that these serious injunctions were of so drastic a character that until the present time they could not be complied with. It seems, therefore, that there is little prospect for anything more than a dictated version to be obtained, which will have to await necessary support for its accomplishment.

Upon the occasion of my expedition to the Delawares in Oklahoma some time was spent in interviews with Tom Half Moon [2] who had had experience as an attendant, or *a'ckas*, of the Big House Ceremony as performed in recent years by his group, the Turkey group. The notes offered are, therefore, advantageous in respect to the details furnished by one who had the teachings directly from those who were responsible for its proper conduct. These notes should accordingly serve as a supplement to that section of the ceremony published in the Big House Ceremony volume dealing with the duties of the attendants. They are in effect as follows:

The attendants who sweep the White Path, or the path around which the dancers proceed when performing in the Big House after each dance, do so with turkey wings, using only the left hand in holding the fans, since the left hand is the holy hand, the right the unholy. The male attendants start sweeping at opposite ends from the women. When they have swept the dancing path twelve times they have cleared away the obstacles of an unfavorable spiritual nature lying between the worshippers and the Great Spirit. As was noted in the published account, the attendants each receive a yard of wampum at the end of the ceremony. He also noted that those who attended the ceremony received two wampum beads each to be kept by them as tokens of good fortune until the next performance. These beads were, he added, held in the mouth as sacred objects when the members went outside

[2] His Delaware title-name is *Axkwe'lpaxpgo'xwe*, "Overturns Mountains when Walking," a member of the Turkey group.

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

tives, and the founders of these rites, whoever they were, seem to have made suitable provision against public indifference. In the words of the informant, no one is apt to disregard the call to obey religious custom in view of the consequences. And there may have been some idea of making an offering to mother Corn as well in this rite. Its origin dates from the first conception of the corn ceremony as the text relates.[1] The individuals whose duty it is to enact this part are hence called "excrement daubers," and their identity is, as might naturally be expected, kept in the dark. The rite itself is called *we'mui·ha'lowe·s* "excrement daubing."

Of the masks used in this rite we have mention of several specimens obtained from *Ni·ka'ni·paxoxwe*, "Leading walker" (Joe Washington) of the same band in Oklahoma (Fig. 1, *A* and *B*).[2] They represent the features of masks requisitioned in the rites of the Corn Harvest Ceremony as celebrated by the Wolf division. According to the memory of Joe Washington, from whom they were obtained, the mask (*A*) with black on the forehead and chin part and the middle face-portion of red, was employed by the mask messenger and dancer of the Wolf division in his *midday* appearances. The dark upper and lower bands of color represent darkness before dawn and after sunset; the lighter center, the middle of the day. The other (*B*) with the upper face area black and the lower red was worn in the rites of the *early morning and evening*.

The corn ceremony itself seems to be known only through general description on the part of our informant who had the account of it from his mother. She had seen the rite when she was young. As will be seen its characteristics are those of the usual Delaware feasting festivals. There are the addresses by the speaker chosen for the occasion, the women having prepared beforehand the amount of hominy

[1] One of the Delaware authorities, J. A. Parks, states in recent correspondence that he thinks the "excrement dauber" rite belonged originally to the Shawnee. Joe Washington, who had witnessed the rite when a young man, attributes the custom to the Seneca "introduced a long time ago to the Delawares."

[2] Specimen *A* (model, 4½ x 5½ inches) is of oak with cap portion, over top and back, of trimmed deer skin, with shredded corn stalk "hair," *B* is similar in construction, 6 x 8 inches. Unlike Iroquois masks there are no little bags of tobacco offering attached to Delaware images.

7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
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Nanticoke NM11

tied a cross piece of wood and dressed up the figure of the man or woman like a doll, upon it (beneath the skull). And they put the bones of the deceased right opposite each of the posts. Now, when it has become dark, they begin their dance. Everybody who is to take part in the dance is named, also those who do the singing. And each performer is ceremonially presented with wampum, also the leader of the dance. They dance (in a circle in front of the posts, bearing the skulls and effigies moving counter-clockwise) all night. And when it is beginning to be daylight, they sing the last song, these drummers and singers. This is what they say in the song, according to tradition, "You said before you died, 'I will come when you call me!' Now here I am calling you."

Some additional notes on the procedure of the Skeleton Dance were recorded in Oklahoma from Mrs. Minnie Fouts, an aged Delaware, whose mother had taken part in the ceremony and who had mentioned some of the details to her when a young girl. We learn that the ceremony was performed near a fire, but far enough away so that there was no light. They had to dance around the effigies in the dark. The men who attended each of the skeletons lay down near them and shook the bones when the dancers went by. The dancers each had a gourd rattle. A kettle-drum was also used by the singers at one side. At midnight a feast of beans, bread, pumpkins, and meat was partaken of by the dancers and all smoked the pipe. Then in the morning all the food left over was gathered up and divided among the guests.

[p. 150 is blank]

7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

native tribes and peoples in America are no longer distinct or 600
treading in the traditional culture-paths of their forebears—
the lost but venerated *ager antiquus*. We are dealing here
with customs decadent within the last two generations, that
is all. Echoes of rites last performed by the Delawares have
died down but the voices are still living voices. As such they
have been made to repeat the phrases and, as ex-players,
enact the movements of age-old ceremonies. From this cir-
cumstance we all share the feeling that much is lacking, too
much indeed to encourage a hope for light on their origins.
There seems, however, to be no way to make up for the loss.

The dominating personality in this exposition of Delaware 115
religious plays, their Director indeed, has been Wi·tapano'xwe
—I prefer to designate him by his ceremonial name, as
ordained by Algonkian custom in matters of this nature,
rather than by his vulgar name C. J. Webber. So quite
inevitably out of this circumstance has resulted material for
a modest case-study of the mental attitudes of an *individual;*
a Delaware of social prominence stirred by interest in the
sophistries of his inherited traditions and creed. This is
fortunate, for studies of personality in culture are constantly
being emphasized. Wi·tapano'xwe unconsciously sits for his
psychological tintype, adding another Indian character self-
delineation to the series now assembled for analysis by in-
vestigators in this field, the later generations of students
stimulated by the pioneering school of anthropological
thought founded by Franz Boas.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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After these historical accounts information on the same points obtained from four informants among the Oklahoma Delaware was recorded. It had been the original plan to conclude the tabulation of accounts of different periods with a survey of present customs among the Delaware. In the field work, however, it soon became apparent that such a survey would be meaningless if it did not include work with practically every person with Delaware blood. Furthermore, it was difficult for the informants to give coherent accounts of both past and present customs. In the end, the relations of several older people were taken for past customs and four of them constitute the accounts of the last period in the tabulation. Even though they never participated in some of the elements covered, their relations undoubtedly are representative of the period when there was a more unified and distinct Delaware culture; whereas, no handful of informants could possibly be responsible for all the aspects of the diversified practices and beliefs of the present. There was no selection of informants' accounts and rejection of others except on the basis of completeness.

This table is given on pages 22 to 37.

The exact phrasing of the Cass questions could not be used in working with the informants, as they were designed to be answered by persons familiar with the Indians rather than by the Indians themselves. The four informants whose accounts were used were:

J. W.: Joe Washington, Wann, Okla. Age 65. Wolf Clan.

W. T.: Willie Thomas, Anadarko, Okla., Age 65. Turtle Clan.

E. R.: Eli H. Reynolds, Anadarko, Oklahoma. Age 43. Only his mother was Delaware. She was Turkey and Wolf.

W. L.: Willie Longbone, Dewey, Okla. Age 70. Turtle Clan.

The information derived from these twelve accounts, beginning with that of Roger Williams, was analyzed in the sequence in which the various elements are entered in the table. Following the table there is a discussion of those elements showing any change over the entire period covered by the various accounts. Finally, there is a section of ethnographic notes on some of the elements.

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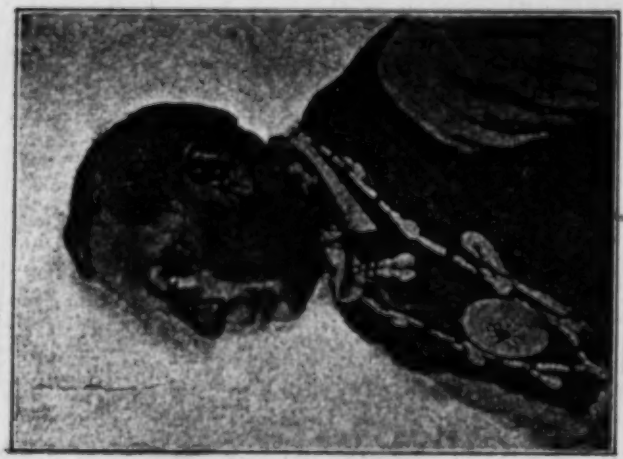

Wilapeto'xwe, "Walking with Daylight." (Photo by W. H. Holden, U. of Pa.)
Narrator of the text, and informant on the Big House Ceremony of the Delawares.

[facing p. 5]

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

796 174 171 comprising the Delaware Nation is evident from all sources. That it ruled the spiritual destinies of the Munsee, the Nanticoke, the Mahikan, we know through collateral evidence, and analogous rites are inferred to have existed among the Mohegan on the east, the Powhatan peoples of Virginia and the Algonkian of the Carolina coast. Testimony from modern sources also points to a related performance of equal prominence in the religious behavior of the Shawnee. It would be an oversight besides, not to make reference to certain indications in the recorded discussions of Iroquois and Central Algonkian religion, of periodic ceremonies whose fundamental concepts form more or less a unit with those of the nation we are considering. Such a widely spread doctrine with associated rites of a unitary character assure us of the existence in aboriginal times of a culture-center, as regards creed, among the peoples of the Allegheny forest area, not only among the widely scattered Algonkian-speaking peoples but among others whose early history has been linked by some vague channels with them, 796 for instance the Muskogi and the Yuchi. If it is not going too far, I 174 would venture to repeat the assertion, often made by students of human culture, that the religious concepts of preliterate people express the keynote of their cultural status, that the same are to be regarded as forming their most conservative culture properties, reflecting the entire system of their culture in ramifications leading off to other topics of ethnology, the food-quest, social organization, warfare, art-symbolism, as well as rulings of simple custom and ethical character; indeed where not? This assumption, as we shall see, holds true with amazing consistency in the native civilization of the Delawares. While the pre- 114 viously recorded accounts of Delaware ceremonies, some of them explicit in detail and accuracy, have supplied occasional material for comparative and analytical studies in the ethnology of the eastern Indians, a feeling of dissatisfaction exists in regard to their content. This has been sufficient to cause hesitation on the part of ethnologists in using the records for the purpose of drawing culture conclusions since the accounts have all been fragmentary and recorded in the words of European observers instead of being based upon the expressions of the natives.[1] To have such records made in the words, and with the order and detail of thought of the people themselves is the highest ideal of the student of human institutions, an ideal now set up as the goal of endeavor in research. Accordingly when fate was moved 124 to provide me with a native Delaware informant in the person of 115 Wi·tapano'xwe, a Delaware whose early training, at the knees of his mother, was of the native, non-Christian type, I need hardly say that I laid aside every postponable obligation to devote attention to the

[1] More recently we have been bequeathed the excellent studies of eastern Indian ceremonies in native text by students who have recorded them from the dictation of the Indians, such as Hewitt, Jones, Michelson and Bloomfield.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

task of taking down from his lips his version of the entire doctrine and the ceremony of his tribe at which he had upon so many occasions been present. The results of our combined effort during four months of writing are accordingly laid forth. The entire body of information, the arrangement of thought and wording are his; the concepts extracted from the teachings of his early life, the ritual procedures reproduced from memory of participation in them, and the monologues, are from his memory of repeated hearings by their narrators. The mechanical task, the notations, are mine.

Few undertakings in my experience have proved so pleasant. Wi·tapano'xwe, or War Eagle, (frontispiece) as he is known in his profession of herbalist, displayed the patience, the courtesy, and character of a gentleman. Representing the type once referred to by Doctor Dorsey as a natural gentleman and sport, the Indian was still unspoiled by a mercenary and material civilization; the simple-mannered, sympathetic, beautifully poised, contented, nature-loving, thoughtful and mystic Algonkian. He deserves more extensive personal notice since he typifies Emerson's definition of a great man as one "who in the crowd keeps the independence of solitude."

Wi·tapano'xwe, "Walking with Daylight," of the Fowl, or so-called Turkey group (pele')[1] of the Delawares, was born in the Cooweescoowee district of the Cherokee Nation, Indian Territory, about 1880, according to his information, and as such he is listed in the records of the Dawes Commission.[2] His father was a member of the Cherokee Nation of the West. Being of Munsee descent on his mother's side he was elected to the Council of the Fowl or Turkey division of this tribe in 1902, and re-elected secretary of the Delaware executive council by the combined Delaware and Munsee tribes in 1921.

The history of the Delawares shows that they have passed through a series of momentous culture transitions before and since the coming of the whites. We assume that before being disturbed by the northward advance of the Iroquois they, together with the closely related Munsee, presented a type of culture differing from the after-period, during which assimilation with the Iroquois had progressed. Subsequently came the Dutch and Quaker contacts, ushering in a period which ended at the time of the withdrawal of the tribe from the east. Then came the period of migration westward, opening closer association with the trans-Alleghenean peoples (Wyandot, Mingo, Shawnee, Piankashaw, Miami). Their next move brought them into the central plains area producing acculturation in externalities with phases of Prairie culture as they met such exponents of

[1] One of the three major social subdivisions of the tribe, for definition of which see page 75.

[2] His enrollment name is James C. Webber, under Dawes' Commission Cherokee Roll No. 21516.

S 648 Shawnees into their alliance, or perhaps what is nearer the truth, recognized an ancient connection still preserved by tradition, and acknowledged the Shawnees their uncles, by which they admit them to be the older stock.

Tribes [Clans] of the Delawares and Descent in the Female Line

D 115 Was introduced by Mr. Pratt to William Adams,[81] Wa-le-oak-se, (White man), a very intelligent young man and an Indian. We went out under a tree and talked an D 681 hour. I found that the children of two tribes are brothers and sisters to each other, and the children of his sisters the same, and that the children of a brother and of a sister are nephew, and something else to each D 614 other, but he thought not uncle. He says the Delawares are now and were anciently divided into three tribes: 1. the Wolf, "round paw"; 2. the Turtle, "unfeathered animal"; 3. the Turkey or fowl, "feathered animal."

That this was a sort of generalization; that the Wolf separated the animals having hair, the Turtle animals without hair, including fish, and Turkey or Fowl, as this means any fowl, the animals with feathers, and these he says are subdivided into a number of others, but he could not give me the names. He said his tribe was that of the Mud Turtle, the turtle that muds himself and then lies in the sun. This was as far as he could go on this head. He says that in D [582] old times no man was allowed to marry a [183] woman of his own tribe, and it was the law until within the last generation, but that now is broken over constantly. That he was of the turtle tribe, and so were both his father and mother. He also said that he was D [611] entirely certain that in old times *the children followed the tribe of the mother*, and that it is

[752(B)]

776 Mr. Pratt on the arm, and hence the boil.
753 In the meantime, the evil spirit, seeing the little spirit about to deal with him, passed on, and was thus diverted from his purpose. After doing this friendly act the little spirit at once passed on upon the track of the evil one to arrest and avert as many of his evil deeds as he could by persuasion, cunning or artifice. Thus the Indian said Mr. Pratt had a friend, and this boil was the result of his friendly interposition to save him from a greater evil.

[*Delaware Clans*]

● 115 Conversation with [Morgan's blank], the mother of Charles Johnny Cake.[83] She is sub. 1 Wolf Tribe. Her husband was Turtle. Her children are Wolf.

614 She confirms the division into Wolf, Turtle and Turkey Tribes, and says these are subdivided. The Wolf has the Bear, the Turtle the Big and Little Turtle, and the Turkey has the Crow. Those belonging to
[582] each subdivision to this day refuse to intermarry; but Little Turtle intermarries with Big Turtle, Bear with Wolf, Crow with Turkey. The children of ancient times and
[611] now are of the tribe of the mother in all cases. The terms Wolf, Turtle and Turkey are general ones, the word Took-seat, the name of the Wolf Tribe means "a round foot." There is another name for Wolf, Tam-me. The word for Turtle, Poke-koo-rin-go, does not mean any particular kind of Turtle, and so the name of the Turkey, Pal-la-ooh, means any kind of fowl. It appears to be a generalization for haired, non-haired and feathered animals. The subdivisions I must learn from her son.

She mentioned the We-loon-see Tribe as that of the Little Turtle, and also the Crow and the Bear, but could not remember their names. She gave We-saw-hut-ko, meaning

15:Morgan 2-5 (1859)1959
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[452(c)]

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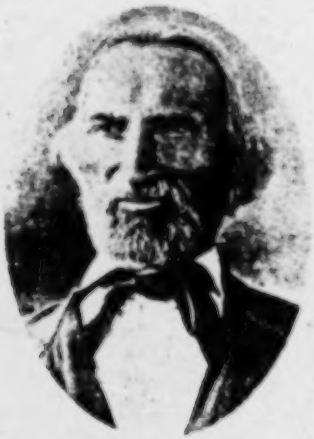

Charles Journeycake (Johnny Cake) was a chief, and a prominent leader of the Delawares in Kansas, as well as being a widely known Baptist minister. His mother gave Morgan information about the Delawares.

614 "Yellow Tree," as the name of one of the
[115] Bands. She appeared to be about 70 years
555 old. She was of the Wolf tribe and her husband Turtle. She said the son did not necessarily succeed the father in the office of chief, but could not explain the succession
622 fully. A brother or a sister's son often succeeded. Captain Ketchum[84] at the time of
[614] his death was head chief, a principal chief of the Turtle Tribe of the Delawares. This title or office is hereditary as she thought in the tribe, for she said the Turtles could not have a man of the Wolf or Turkey Tribe for their chief. Ketchum's name was Ta-whe-la-na (Catch Me). He died leaving a son; but was succeeded by John Konner, the
[611] present principal or hereditary chief who was the son of the youngest sister of Cap-

[453(B)]

773 and lonely in her absence, started to make
821 her a visit. As he travelled southward he carried the cold with him and wherever he went it became winter, or rather winter followed his footsteps. After he had concluded his visit he returned and carried back the winter with him as he advanced to the north. From the most ancient times this visit has been annually renewed.

Indian Persistency

157 Mr. Pratt mentioned as a recent occurrence
224 among the Delawares, that while a party
521 were out on a Buffalo hunt a few years since, one of them said one day that before he returned he would take a three year old bull buffalo alive. His companions rather laughed at his suggestion as an impossibility, and thought no more about it. This is the age when they are the most ferocious and unmanageable. A few days afterwards this hunter rode up to a herd of buffalo and having singled out a two or three year old bull, he managed to detach him from the

797
115

John Gill Pratt was a dedicated Baptist missionary, working in turn with the Shawnees, the Stockbridge, and finally the Delawares. Morgan regarded him highly.

[¶ 52(C)]

775 of the souls of those who were punished by
825 the evil spirit, the wreck, or fragments into which they were cut up were turned into mosquitoes and such evil creatures.

776 Bad spirits are believed to pass by about
787 day break and good spirits are believed to pass along about dark. For this reason boys are often sent to bed without supper, that they may commune with or be visited by
[785] good spirits, the fasting state being thought to be favorable to such communion, and for the same reason are often compelled to get up before day break that the evil spirits may not obtain or exercise any wicked influence upon them.

776 I am told that the Shawnee Female Great
821 Spirit is in reality the moon, and is worshipped as our Grand Mother or something of that sort; and Isaac Johnny Cake who mentioned this [to] me also said that the Great Spirit of the Delawares was represented and believed to be a brother of the Sun, and that the Moon was the Grand Mother of the Great Spirit; and young Toucey, the Stockbridge, says that there is
[171] some evidence of a [?] in of the sun in the worship of several of the Indian races, including his own. The Iroquois return thanks to the sun for heating the earth and to the moon for cooling it, but this does not show a sun worship or anything like it.
● [115] William Adams is to correspond with me on the religious system of the Delawares, and I hope to find out something definite about it.

Gum-mween

796 This festival or annual worship of the Delawares as explained by William Adams and of which he is to write to me more fully, is quite interesting. They believe unless they
[241] observe it once a year their crops will fail, and they will lose the favor of the Great Spirit.

15:Morgan E-5 (1859)1959
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colonial period to designate a detached band of Iroquois who settled in Pennsylvania (James Mooney, "Mingo," in *Handbook of the American Indians*, F. W. Hodge, ed.).

86. The school was begun in 1833; the first baptism occurred four years later. The school was moved out of low bottom lands in 1848 to its 1859 location (Rev. S. F. Smith, "Brief History of Missions in Kansas and Missouri," in *Home Mission Monthly*, Aug. 1879; Clara Gowing, *op. cit.*, p. 185, n. 3).

87. John Gill Pratt was born in Hingham, Mass., in 1814. He graduated from Andover Seminary in 1836 and was licensed to preach. In 1837 he married and immediately set out for Kansas. He served at the Shawnee Baptist Mission, where he printed religious material for Indians, and helped to publish a newspaper, the *Shawanoe Sun*. He worked with the Stockbridge Indians from 1844 to 1848, when he took charge of the Delaware Baptist Mission. Mr. and Mrs. Pratt had seven children. Mr. Pratt died in 1900; Mrs. Pratt, a short time later (Gowing, *op. cit.*, pp. 183–84, n. 4).

88. Elizabeth S. Morse, born 1814, was "sent out from Boston in 1842 by the American Baptist Mission Union" to teach school among the Cherokees. She went to the Delaware Mission School about 1848, where she taught until the Delawares were removed to Indian Territory in 1867, when she went to live with friends. She died in 1899 (Gowing, *op. cit.*, p. 183, n. 2).

89. In October, 1859, Miss Clara Gowing arrived at the Delaware Mission School. She was born in Massachusetts, had been president of the W.C.T.U. in Reading, Massachusetts, had taught in colored schools in Virginia, etc. She has left us a very interesting account of her five years at the Delaware Mission, in her article, previously cited, pp. 183–93.

90. In *Systems* (p. 289) Morgan acknowledges the aid of "Lemuel R. Ketchum (Wool-le-

[p210]

115 kun-num, 'Light of the Sun'), a Delaware."

000 91. The following data on the religion of the Delaware are taken from Part Five of the Journal.

[pp211 - 233 not processed]

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TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

HISTORICAL & LITERARY COMMITTEE

OF THE

AMERICAN PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY,

HELD AT PHILADELPHIA, FOR PROMOTING

USEFUL KNOWLEDGE.

VOL. I.

Invenies ille et facta domestica vobis;
Sæpè tibi pater est, sæpè legendus avus.—OVID.

PHILADELPHIA:
Printed and Published by Abraham Small,
No. 112, Chesnut Street,
1819.

[Title Page]

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DEDICATION.

TO

CASPAR WISTAR, M. D.

PRESIDENT OF THE AMERICAN PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY,

&c. &c.

DEAR SIR,

Having, at your particular request, undertaken the arduous task, of giving to the Historical Committee of our Society, an Account of those Indian Nations and Tribes which once inhabited Pennsylvania and the adjoining States, including those who are known by the name of the "Six Nations;" I have now, as far as has been in my power, complied with your wishes, or at least I have endeavoured so to do. 121

Foreseeing the difficulties I should labour under, in writing the history of a people, of whom so many had already written, I could not but consider the undertaking both as unpleasant and hazardous; being aware, that it would be impossible for me in all respects to coincide with those who have written before me; among whom there are not a few, who, although their good intentions cannot be doubted, yet from their too short residence in the country of the Indians, have not had sufficient opportunities to acquire the knowledge which they undertake to communicate. Ignorant of the language, or being but superficially acquainted with it, they have relied on ignorant or careless interpreters, by whom they have been 114

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114 most frequently led astray; in what manner, this little work will abundantly shew.

The sure way to obtain correct ideas, and a true knowledge of the characters, customs, manners, &c. of the Indians, and to learn their history, is to dwell among them for some time, and having acquired their language, the information wished for will be obtained in the common way; that is, by paying attention to their discourses with each other on different subjects, and occasionally asking them questions; always watching for the proper opportunity, when they do not suspect your motives, and are disposed to be free and open with you.

The political state and connexions of the two, once great and rival nations, the Mengwe, (or Six Nations) and the Lenape (or Delawares, as we call them), being little, or but imperfectly known to many of us, I have been at some pains in unfolding the origin and true cause of their rivalship; and the means resorted to by the one nation, to bring themselves into consequence with the white people, for the purpose of subduing the other.

How far the Six Nations have succeeded in this, we know; at least, we know so much, that they sold the country of the Lenape, Mohicans, and other tribes connected with them, by piece-meals to the English, so that they were finally obliged to wander to the West: while their enemies, during all this time, remained in full and quiet possession of their country.

If we ought, or wish to know the history of those nations from whom we have obtained the country we now live in, we must also wish to be informed of the means by which that country fell into our hands, and what has become of its original inhabitants. To meet this object,

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I have given their traditions respecting their first coming into our country, and their own history of the causes of their emigrating from it. 114

On all the subjects which I have treated respecting the different tribes, I have endeavoured to be impartial. Yet, if I should still be thought to have shewn some partiality for the Delawares and their connexions, with respect to the affairs between them and the Six Nations, I have only to reply, that we have been attentive to all the Six Nations told us of these people, until we got possession of their whole country; and now, having what we wanted, we ought not to turn them off with this story on their backs, but rather out of gratitude and compassion, give them also a hearing, and acquit them honourably, if we find them deserving of it.

What I have written, concerning their character, their customs, manners, and usages, is from personal knowledge, and from such other information as may be relied on; and in order to be the better understood, I have frequently added anecdotes, remarks, and relations of particular events. In some instances I have had reference to authors, and manuscript notes taken down upwards of 70 years since, by individuals well deserving of credit.

To you, Sir, I need not apologise for my deficiency in point of style and language, which has been known to you long since. I have endeavoured to make amends for this defect, by being the more careful and correct in my narrations, so as at least to make up in matter, what in manner may be deficient.

I am, Sir,

With great respect,

Your obedient humble servant,

JOHN HECKEWELDER.

Nov. 1817.

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SINCE the above was written, my excellent friend DR. WISTAR has departed this life, lamented by the whole Country, of which he was an ornament. To me he was more than I can express; he directed and encouraged my humble labours, and to his approbation I looked up as my best reward. He is gone, but his name and his virtues will long be held in remembrance. By me at least, they shall never be forgotten. This Dedication, therefore, will remain, as a testimony of the high respect I bore to this great and good man while living, and as a tribute justly due to his memory.

J. H.

Bethlehem, March, 1818.

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INTRODUCTION.

THE reader of the following pages, having already seen what has induced me to come forward with an historical account of the Indians, after so many have written on the same subject, will perhaps look for something more extraordinary in this, than in other works of the kind which he has seen. Not wishing any one to raise his expectations too high, I shall briefly state, that I have not written to excite astonishment, but for the information of those who are desirous of knowing the true history of those people, who, for centuries, have been in full possession of the country we now inhabit; but who have since emigrated to a great distance. I can only assure them, that I have not taken the information here communicated from the writings of others, but from the mouths of the very people I am going to speak of, and from my own observation of what I have witnessed while living among them. I have, however, occasionally quoted other authors, and in some instances copied short passages from their works, especially where I have thought it necessary to illustrate or corroborate my own statements of facts.

In what I have written concerning the character, customs, manners, and usages of these people, I cannot have been deceived, since it is the result of personal knowledge, of what I myself have seen, heard, and witnessed, while residing among and near them, for more than thirty years. I have however to remark, that this history, like other histories of former times, will not in every respect comport with the character of the Indians at the present time, since all these nations and tribes,

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177 by their intercourse with the white people, have lost much of the honourable and virtuous qualities which they once possessed, and added to their vices and immorality. Of this, no one can be a better judge than a missionary residing among them. And if, what these people told us more than half a century ago; that lying, stealing, and other vicious acts, before the white men came among them, were considered as crimes, we may safely conclude —and we know it to be fact—that from that time to this, and especially within the last forty years, they have so much degenerated, that a delineation of their present character would bear no resemblance to what it was before.—It is therefore the history of early times, not of the present, that I have written; and to those times my delineations of their character must be considered to apply; yet, to shew the contrast, I have also delineated some of their present features.

128 [101] It may be proper to mention in this place, that I have made use of the proper national name of the people whom we call *Delawares*, which is: "*Lenni Lenape.*" Yet, as they, in the common way of speaking, merely pronounce the word "*Lenape*," I have, in most instances, when speaking of them, used this word singly. I have also made use of the word "*Mengwe*," or *Mingoes*, the name by which the *Lenape* commonly designate the people known to us by the name of the *Iroquois*, and *Five* or *Six Nations*. I shall give at the end a general list of all the names I have made use of in this communication, to which I refer the reader for instruction.

[195] As the Indians, in all their public speeches and addresses, speak in the singular number, I have sometimes been led to follow their example, when reporting what they have said; I have also frequently, by attending particularly to the identical words spoken by them, copied their peculiar phrases, when I might have given their meaning in other words.

On the origin of the Indians, I have been silent, leav-

9 [Erratum. See cat. 116, p. 348. - Analyst]

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ing this speculation to abler historians than myself. To their history, and notions with regard to their creation, I have given a place; and have also briefly related the traditions of the Lenape on the subject of their arrival at, and crossing the river Mississippi, their coming to the Atlantic coast, what occurred to them while in this country, and their retreat back again.

As the relation of the Delawares and Mohicans, concerning the policy adopted and pursued by the Six Nations towards them, may perhaps appear strange to many, and it may excite some astonishment, that a matter of such importance was not earlier set forth in the same light, I shall here, by way of introduction, and for the better understanding of the account which they give of this matter, examine into some facts, partly known to us already, and partly now told us in their relation; so that we may see how far these agree together, and know what we may rely upon.

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It is conceded on all sides that the Lenape and Iroquois carried on long and bloody wars with each other; but while the one party assert, that they completely conquered the other, and reduced them by force to the condition of women, this assertion is as strongly and pointedly denied by the other side; I have therefore thought that the real truth of this fact was well deserving of investigation.

The story told by the Mingoes to the white people, of their having conquered the Lenape and made women of them, was much too implicitly believed; for the whites always acted towards the Delawares under the impression that it was true, refused even to hear their own account of the matter, and "shut their ears" against them, when they attempted to inform them of the real fact. This denial of common justice, is one of the principal complaints of the Lenape against the English, and makes a part of the tradition or history which they preserve for posterity.

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This complaint indeed, bears hard upon us, and should, at least, operate as a solemn call to rectify the error, if such it is found to be; that we, in our history, may not record and transmit erroneous statements of those Aborigines, from whom we have received the country we now so happily inhabit. We are bound in honour to acquit ourselves of all charges of the kind which those people may have against us, who, in the beginning welcomed us to their shores, in hopes that "they and we would sit beside each other as brothers;" and it should not be said, that now, when they have surrendered their whole country to us, and retired to the wilds of a distant country, we turn our backs upon them with contempt.

We know that all Indians have the custom of transmitting to posterity, by a regular chain of tradition, the remarkable events which have taken place with them at any time, even often events of a trivial nature, of which I could mention a number. Ought we then, when such a source of information is at hand, to believe the story told by the Six Nations, of their having conquered the Lenape, (a powerful nation with a very large train of connexions and allies) and forcibly made them women? Ought we not, before we believe this, to look for a tradition of the circumstances of so important an event; for some account, at least, of the time, place, or places, where those battles were fought, which decided the fate of the Lenape, the Mohicans, and of a number of tribes connected with them? Are we to be left altogether ignorant of the numbers that were slain at the time, and the country in which this memorable event took place; whether on the St. Lawrence, on the Lakes, in the country of the conquerors, or of the conquered? All these I am inclined to call *first* considerations, while a *second* would be: How does this story accord with the situation the first Europeans found these people in on their arrival in this country? Were not those who are said to be

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a conquered people, thickly settled on the whole length of the sea coast, and far inland, in and from Virginia to and beyond the Province of Maine, and had they not yet, at that very time, a great National Council Fire burning on the banks of the Delaware? Does not the joint tradition of the Delawares, Mohicans and Nanticokes, inform us, that their great National Council House* then extended from the head of the tide on the (now) Hudson river, to the head of the tide on the Potomack? All this we shall find faithfully copied, or written down from their verbal tradition, and that this Council House "was pulled down by the white people!"† and of course was yet standing when they came into the country; which alone is sufficient to prove that the Lenape, at that time, were not a conquered people; and if they had been conquered since, we might expect to find the fact, with its particulars, somewhere on record.

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It is admitted, however, by the Lenape themselves, that they and their allies were *made women* by the Iroquois. But how did this happen? Not surely by conquest, or the fate of battle. Strange as it may appear, it was not produced by the effects of superior force, but by successful intrigue. Here, if my informants were correct, and I trust they were, rests the great mystery, for the particulars of which, I refer the reader to the history of the Lenape and Mohicans themselves, as related in part by Loskiel in his "History of the Mission of the United Brethren among the North-American Indians," and in this work. In the first, he will find three material points ascertained, viz. 1st, "that the Delawares were too strong for the Iroquois, and could not be conquered by them by force of arms, but were subdued by

* A figurative expression, denoting the territory claimed by them, and occupied at the time.

† Alluding to the white people settling those countries.

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insidious means. 2d, that the making women of the Delawares was not an act of compulsion, but the result of their own free will and consent; and 3d, that the whites were already in the country at the time this ceremony took place, since they were to hold one end of the great Peace Belt in their hands.* In the following History, which I have taken from the relation of the most intelligent and creditable old Indians, both Delawares and Mohicans, not only the same facts will be found, but also a more minute account of this transaction; in which it will be shewn, that the Dutch not only were present at, but were parties to it, that it was in this manner that the Six Nations were relieved from the critical situation they were in, at that very time, with regard to their enemies, the Delawares, Mohicans, and their connexions, and that the white people present coaxed and persuaded them to cause the hatchet to be buried, declaring at the same time, that they "would fall on those who should dig it up again;" which was, on the part of the Hollanders, a declaration of war against the Delawares and their allies, if they, or any of them, should attempt again to act hostilely against the Six Nations. All this, according to the tradition of the Lenape, was transacted at a place, since called "Nordman's Kill," a few miles from the spot where afterwards Albany was built, and but a short time after the Dutch had arrived at New York Island, probably between the years 1609 and 1620.

The Rev. Mr. Pyrlæus, who had learned the Mohawk language of Conrad Weiser, and was stationed on the river of that name, for some time between the years 1742 and 1748, has noted down in a large manuscript book, that his friend there, the Mohawk chief, had told him, that at a place about four miles from Albany,

* Figurative expression. See Loskiel's History, Part I. c. 10.

[erratum. See cat. 116, p. 343. -Archivist]

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now called Nordman's Kill, the first covenant had been made between the Six Nations and the white people; which is in confirmation of the correctness of the above tradition of the Mohicans.[a]

This was then, according to the best accounts we have, the time when this pretended "conquest," took place; and the Delawares, (as the Six Nations have since said) were by them *made women*. It was, however, a conquest of a singular nature, effected through duplicity and intrigue, at *a council fire*, not in *battle*. "And, (say the Delawares and Mohicans, in their tradition,) when the English took the country from the *Dutchemaan*, (Hollanders) they stepped into the same alliance with the Six Nations, which their predecessors had established with them."

Colden, in his "History of the Five Nations," informs us, page 34, that this took place in the year 1664; and in page 36, gives us full proof of this alliance, by the following account—He says: "The Five Nations being "now amply supplied by the English with fire-arms and "ammunition, gave full swing to their warlike genius, "and soon resolved to revenge the affronts they had at "any time received from the Indian nations that lived "at a greater distance from them. The nearest na- "tions, as they were attacked, commonly fled to those "that were further off, and the Five Nations pursued "them. This, together with the desire they had of con- "quering, or ambition of making all the nations around "them their tributaries, or to make them acknowledge "the Five Nations to be so far their masters, as to be "absolutely directed by them in all affairs of peace and "war with their neighbours, made them overrun great "part of North America. They carried their arms as "far south as Carolina; to the northward of New-Eng- "land; and as far west as the river Mississippi; over "a vast country, which extends twelve hundred miles "in length, from north to south, and about six hun-

[a Erroneous. Should read keeper. -Analyst]

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"dred miles in breadth; where they entirely destroy-
"ed many nations, of whom there are now no accounts
"remaining among the English," &c.

To what a number of important questions would not the above statement give rise? But I will confine myself to a few, and enquire first, for what purpose the Five Nations were armed, and so "amply supplied with ammunition?" and secondly, what use did they make of those arms? The Delawares and Mohicans believed that the white people, first the Dutch and then the English, did all that was in their power to make the Mengwe a great people, so that they might rule over them and all other nations, and "that they had done what they wanted them to do," &c. For an answer to the second question, we have only to believe what Colden himself tells us, of what the same Mengwe or Iroquois did, after having received arms and ammunition from the English, which it clearly appears they could not have done before. Now, if we even were willing to admit that they had only gone off, "to revenge the affronts they had at any time received from the Indian Nations," yet, we would be willing to know, of what nature those affronts had been; otherwise we might conclude, that they were no other than that those nations had refused "to become tributary to them; "would not submit to their mandates, nor have them "for their masters;" and therefore had beaten them off, when they came into their country for the purpose of bringing them under subjection, and perhaps also paid them a visit in return, after they had murdered some of their people.

If we were permitted to omit the words, "revenge the affronts they had received from other nations," &c. we need not one moment be at a loss to know precisely what they went out for, as the historian himself tells us, that they, soon after receiving fire arms and ammunition, "gave full swing to their warlike genius, "and went off with a desire of conquering nations—of

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"making all those around them their tributaries, and com-
"pelling them all to acknowledge the Five Nations to be
"their masters, and to be absolutely directed by them,
"in all affairs of peace and war." We then know with certainty, what the object was for which they took the field.

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We are here also told, of the vast tract of country over which the Six Nations had carried their arms, subduing, and even "so destroying many nations, that no account of them was now remaining with the English!"

In reply to this I might bring forward some sayings and assertions of the Delawares and Mohicans, which would not comport with the above story, nor apply to the great name the Six Nations have given themselves, which, as Colden tells us, is *Ongwe-honwe*, and signifies "men surpassing all others, superior to the rest of mankind:" but my object here is merely to discuss the fact, whether, previous to the white people's coming into the country, and while unsupplied with fire arms, hatchets, &c. those Iroquois had done such wonders among nations as they report; or, whether all this was done since that time, and in consequence of their being put into possession of those destructive weapons which they had not before; for how are we to judge, and decide on the comparative bravery of two different nations, without knowing whether or not the combatants were placed on an equal footing with regard to the weapons they used against each other?

I might ask the simple question, whether the Dutch, and afterwards the English, have favoured their "brethren," the Delawares, Mohicans, and other tribes connected with them, who lived between them and the Six Nations, and on the land which they wanted to have, in the same manner that they have favoured their enemies?

Colden, in his Introduction to the History of the Five Nations, page 3, says: "I have been told by old men

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"in New England, who remembered the time when the "Mohawks made war on *their* Indians," (meaning here the Mohicans, or River Indians, as they often were called,) "that as soon as a single Mohawk was disco- "vered in the country, *their* Indians raised a cry, from "hill to hill, *a Mohawk! a Mohawk!* upon which they "all fled, like sheep before wolves, without attempting "to make the least resistance, whatever odds were on "their side," and that, "the poor New England Indians "immediately ran to the Christian houses, and the Mo- "hawks often pursued them so closely, that they enter- "ed along with them, and knocked their brains out in "the presence of the people of the house," &c.

This is indeed a lamentable story! It might be asked, How could the white people, whom those very Mohicans had hospitably welcomed, and permitted to live with them on their land, suffer an enemy to come into the country to destroy their benefactors, without making any opposition? Why did these Indians suffer this? Why did they not with spirit meet this enemy?

The answer to this last question will be found in their traditional history of the great meeting at Nordman's Kill, where they were expressly told, after they had consented to bury the hatchet, wherewith they warred against the Six Nations, "That whatsoever nation, (meaning the Mohicans and Delawarrs) should dig up the hatchet again, on them would the white people fall and take revenge!"

Thus, then, arms were put into the hands of the Six Nations, and with them the Dutch, and afterwards the English, sided; but the Delawares and Mohicans were compelled to remain unarmed, for fear of being cut up by the white people, who had taken part with their enemies. May we not conclude, that these poor New England Indians were placed between two fires?

We do not, I believe, find that in the then middle colonies, the Mohawks, or any of the Five Nations, had

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ventured so far in their hostile conduct against the Delawares, as they had done to the Mohicans of New England, though the alliance between the Dutch and the Five Nations, and afterwards between the English and the latter, was much against both, and indeed more against the Delawares than the Mohicans: yet, by turning to treaties and councils, held with these nations between the years 1740 and 1760, in Pennsylvania, we find much insolent language, which the Iroquois were, I will say, permitted, but which, the people concerned say, they were "bid or hired to make against the Delawares, for the purpose of stopping their mouths, preventing them from stating their complaints and grievances, and asking redress from the colonial government."

The result of such high toned language, as that which was made use of to the Delawares, by the Six Nations, at a council held at the proprietors, in July, 1742, and at other times afterwards :* might easily have been foretold. For although now, these defenceless people had to submit to such gross insults, instead of seeing their grievances redressed, yet they were not ignorant of the manner in which they one day might take revenge, the door to the French, who were enemies to the English, being always open to them; they had but to go "on one side" (as they expressed themselves) to be out of the way of the Iroquois, and they could obtain from the possessors of Canada, and Louisiana, all that they wanted fire arms, hatchets, scalping knives, ammunition, &c. They did so, and withdrew to the Ohio country, whither they were followed by others from time to time, and by the time the French war broke out, they were in perfect readiness, and joining the enemies of Britain, they murdered great numbers of the defenceless inhabitants of Pennsylvania, laid the whole frontier waste, and spread terror and misery far and wide by the outrages they

* At a Treaty at Easton, in July and November 1756.

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committed; I have been myself a witness to those scenes, and to the distresses of hundreds of poor people, only in this one quarter.

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A work, entitled: "An Enquiry into the Causes of the "Alienation of the Delaware and Shawanese Indians "from the British Interest," written by Charles Thompson, Esq. and printed in London, in 1759, which some time since fell into my hands, well merits to be read with attention, on account of the correctness of the information that it contains.

By this time, the Delawares were sensible of the imposition which had been practised upon them. They saw that a plan had been organised for their destruction, and that not only their independence, but their very existence, was at stake; they therefore took measures to defend themselves, by abandoning the system of neutrality into which they had been insidiously drawn.

It was not without difficulty that I obtained from them these interesting details, for they felt ashamed of their own conduct; they were afraid of being charged with cowardice, or at least with want of forethought, in having acted as they did, and not having discovered their error until it was too late.

And yet, in my opinion, those fears were entirely groundless, and there appears nothing in their whole conduct disparaging to the courage and high sense of honour of that brave nation. Let us for a moment place ourselves in the situation of the Delawares, Mohicans, and the other tribes connected with them, at the time when the Europeans first landed on New-York Island. They were then in the height of their glory, pursuing their successes against the Iroquois, with whom they had long been at war. They were in possession of the whole country, from the sea coast to the Mississippi, from the River St. Lawrence to the frontier of Carolina, while the habitations of their enemies did not extend far beyond the great Lakes. In this situation, they are on

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a sudden checked in their career, by a phenomenon they had till then never beheld; immense canoes arriving at their shores, filled with people of a different colour, language, dress and manners, from themselves! In their astonishment they call out to one another: "Behold! the Gods are come to visit us!* They at first considered these astonishing beings, as messengers of peace, sent from the abode of the Great Spirit, and therefore, employed their time in preparing and making sacrifices to that Great Being who had so highly honoured them. Lost in amazement, fond of the enjoyment of this new spectacle, and anxious to know the result, they were unmindful of those matters which hitherto had taken up their minds and had been the object of their pursuits; they thought of nothing else but the wonders which now struck their eyes, and their sharpest wits were constantly employed in endeavouring to divine this great mystery! Such is the manner, in which they relate that event, the strong impression of which is not yet obliterated from their minds.

It was the *Delawares* who first received and welcomed these new guests on New York Island; the Mohicans, who inhabited the whole of the North River above, on its eastern side, were sent for to participate in the joy which was felt on being honoured by such visitants. Their tradition of this event is clear and explicit. None of the enemy, say they, (meaning the Five Nations†) were present.

It may possibly be asked, how the Dutch could favour the Five Nations so much, when none of them were present at the meetings which took place on their arrival in America? how they came to abandon their first

* Loskiel's History Part I. ch. 10.

† The Iroquois were at that time a confederacy of only Five Nations; they became Six afterwards when they were joined by the Tuscaroras.

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friends, and take part against them with strangers? and how the Dutch became acquainted with those strangers? I shall simply, in answer, give the traditional accounts of the Mohicans in their own words: "The "Dutch Traders (say they) penetrating into our country, "high up the Mohicanichtuck, (the Hudson River) fell "in with some of the Mingo warriors, who told them "that they were warring against the very people, (the "Delawares and Mohicans) who had so kindly received "them; they easily foresaw, that they could not carry "on their trade with their old friends, while this was "the case; neither would the Mingoes suffer them to "trade with their enemies, unless they (the Dutch) as- "sisted them in bringing about a peace between them. "They also made these traders sensible, that they at "that time, were at war with a people of the same "colour with their's (meaning the French,) who had, by "means of a very large river which lay to the North, "come into the country; that they (the Mengwe) were "the greatest and most powerful of all the Indian na- "tions; that if the people they belonged to, were friends "to their enemies, and sided with them in their wars, "they would turn their whole force against them; but if, "on the other hand, the Dutch would join them in ef- "fecting a peace with them, so that their hatchet should "be buried forever, they would support and protect "them in all their undertakings;* that these traders be- "ing frightened, had returned home, and having stated "the matter to their chief (the Dutch Governor,) a ves- "sel soon after went high up the river to an appointed "place, where meeting with the Maqua (Five Nations,) "a conference was held, at which the Dutch promised "them, that they would use their best endeavours to

* Meaning, that the Five Nations would assist the white people in getting the country of their enemies, the Delawares &c. to themselves.

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"persuade their enemies to give up the hatchet to be "buried, which, some time afterwards, actually took "place."

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These are (as they say) the circumstances which led to the league which was afterwards established between the white people and the Five Nations, which was the cause of much dissatisfaction, injustice, and bloodshed, and which would not have taken place, if the rights and privileges of the different nations and tribes had been respected, and each left to act for itself, especially in selling their lands to the Europeans.

Having seen how the Five, afterwards Six Nations, rose to power, we have next to state by what means they lost the ascendancy which they had thus acquired.

The withdrawing of the principal part of the Delawares, and the Shawanos, from the Atlantic coast, between the years 1740 and 1760, afforded them an opportunity of consulting with the western tribes, on the manner of taking revenge on the Iroquois for the many provocations, wrongs and insults they had received from them; when *ten* nations immediately entered into an alliance for that purpose, the French having promised to assist them.* In the year 1756, they agreed to move on in detached bodies, as though they meant to attack the English, with whom they and the French were then at war, and then turn suddenly on the Six Nations and make a bold stroke. Though, for various reasons, their designs could not at that time be carried into effect, yet they did not lose sight of the object, waiting only for a proper opportunity.

It would, however, have been next to impossible, under existing circumstances, and while the Six Nations were supported by such a powerful ally as the English, for the Delawares and their allies, to subdue, or even effectually to chastise them. These Nations, however,

* Loskiel, part I. ch. 10.

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at the commencement of a war between the English nation, and the Colonies, were become so far independent, that such of them as lived remote from the British stations or garrisons, or were not immediately under their eye, were at full liberty to side with whom they pleased; and though the Six Nations attempted to dictate to the Western Delawares, what side they should take, their spirited chief, Captain White Eyes, did not hesitate to reply, in the name of his nation: "that he "should do as he pleased; that he wore no petticoats, as "they falsely pretended; he was no woman, but a "man; and they should find him to act as such." That this brave chief was in earnest, was soon after verified, by a party of Delawares joining the American army.

In 1781, when almost all the Indian nations were in the British interest, except a part of the Delawares, among whom were the Christian Indians between 2 and 300 souls in number, the British Indian agent at Detroit applied to the great council of the Six Nations at Niagara, to remove those Christian Indians out of the country: the Iroquois upon this sent a war message to the Chippeways and Ottawas,* to this effect: "We here-"with make you a present of the Christian Indians, to "make soup of;†" which, in the war language of the Indians, is saying: "We deliver these people to you to be murdered!" These brave Indians sent the message immediately back again with the reply: "We have no cause for doing this!"

The same message being next sent to the Wyandots, they likewise disobeyed their orders, and did not make the least attempt to murder those innocent people. The Iroquois, therefore, were completely at a loss how to think and act, seeing that their orders were every where disregarded.

* Loskiel, Part III. ch. 9.

† The proper name is *Wiáwa*, the *W* is whistled.

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At the conclusion of the revolutionary war, they had the mortification to see, that the trade which they had hitherto carried on, and to them was so agreeable and profitable, that of selling to the English the land of other nations, to which they had no possible claim, was at once and forever put an end to by the liberal line of conduct which the American Government adopted with the Indian Nations, leaving each at liberty to sell its own lands, reserving, only to themselves the right of purchase, to the exclusion of foreigners of every description.

In addition to this, the bond of connexion which subsisted between these Six Nations, if it was not entirely broken, yet was much obstructed, by a separation which took place at the close of that war, when a part, and the most active body of them, retired into Canada. No nation then any more regarded their commands, nor even their advice, when it did not accord with their will and inclination; all which became evident during the whole time the Western Nations were at war with the United States, and until the peace made with them in 1795.

At last, being sensible of their humbled situation, and probably dreading the consequence of their former insolent conduct to the other Indian Nations, and principally the Delawares, whom they had so long and so much insulted, were they not to make some amends for all this contumely? They came forward, at the critical moment just previous to the Treaty concluded by General Wayne, and formally declared the Delaware nation to be no longer *Women*, but MEN.

I hope to be believed in the solemn assertion which I now make: That in all that I have written on the subject of the history and politics of the Indian nations, I have neither been influenced by partiality for the one, or undue prejudice against the other, but having had the best opportunities of obtaining from authentic sources, such information in matters of fact, as has enabled me to make up my mind on the subject, I have taken the

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liberty of expressing my opinion as I have honestly formed it, leaving the reader, however, at liberty to judge and decide for himself as he may deem most proper.

I wish once more to observe, that in this history it is principally meant to show, rather what the Indians of this country were previous to the white people's arrival, than what they now are; for now, the two great nations, the Iroquois and the Delawares, are no longer the same people that they formerly were. The former, who, as their rivals would assert, were more like beasts than human beings, and made intrigue their only study, have, by their intercourse with the whites, become an industrious and somewhat civilised people; at least many of them are so, which is probably owing to their having been permitted to live so long, (indeed, for more than a century) in the same district of country, and while the British possessed it, under the protection of the superintendant of Indian affairs; while the latter have always been oppressed and persecuted, disturbed and driven from place to place, scarcely enjoying themselves at any place for a dozen years at a time; having constantly the lowest class of whites for their neighbours, and having no opportunity of displaying their true character and the talents that nature had bestowed upon them.

My long residence among those nations in the constant habit of unrestrained familiarity, has enabled me to know them well, and made me intimately acquainted with the manners, customs, character and disposition of those men of nature, when uncorrupted by European vices. Of these, I think I could draw a highly interesting picture, if I only possessed adequate powers of description: but the talent of writing is not to be acquired in the wilderness, among savages. I have felt it, however, to be a duty incumbent upon me to make the attempt, and I have done it in the following pages, with a rude but faithful pencil. I have spent a great part of my life among those people, and have been treated by them with uniform kindness and

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hospitality. I have witnessed their virtues and experienced their goodness. I owe them a debt of gratitude, which I cannot acquit better than by presenting to the world this plain unadorned picture, which I have drawn in the spirit of candour and truth. Alas! in a few years, perhaps, they will have entirely disappeared from the face of the earth, and all that will be remembered of them will be that they existed and were numbered among the barbarous tribes that once inhabited this vast Continent. At least, let it not be said, that among the whole race of white Christian men, not one single individual could be found, who, rising above the cloud of prejudice with which the pride of civilisation has surrounded the original inhabitants of this land, would undertake the task of doing justice to their many excellent qualities, and raise a small frail monument to their memory.

I shall conclude with a few necessary remarks for the information of the reader.

Lenni Lenape being the national and proper name of the people we call "Delawares," I have retained this name, or for brevity's sake, called them simply *Lenape*, as they do themselves in most instances. Their name signifies "*original people*," a race of human beings who are the same that they were in the beginning, *unchanged* and *unmixed*.

These people (the Lenni Lenape) are known and called by all the western, northern, and some of the southern nations, by the name of *Wapanachki*, which the Europeans have corrupted into *Apenaki*, *Openagi*, *Abenaquis*,* and *Abenakis*.† All these names, however differently written, and improperly understood by authors, point to one and the same people, the Lenape, who are by this compound word, called, "people at the rising of

* Colden. † La Hontan.

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the Sun," or, as we would say, *Eastlanders*; and are acknowledged by near forty Indian tribes, whom we call nations, as being their grandfathers. All these nations, derived from the same stock, recognise each other as Wapanachki, which among them is a generic name.

The name "*Delawares*," which we give to these people, is unknown in their language, and I well remember the time when they thought the whites had given it to them in derision; but they were reconciled to it, on being told that it was the name of a great white chief, Lord de la War, which had been given to them and their river. As they are fond of being named after distinguished men, they were rather pleased, considering it as a compliment.

The *Mahicanni* have been called by so many different names,* that I was at a loss which to adopt, so that the reader might know what people were meant. Loskiel calls them "Mohicans," which is nearest to their real name Mahicanni, which, of course, I have adopted.

The name "*Munsees*" I have left as generally used, though properly it should be *Munsi*, or after the English pronunciation *Munsee*.

The "*Canai*," I call by their *proper* name. I allude here to those people we call *Canais*, *Conois*, *Conoys*, *Canaways*, *Kanhawas*, *Canawese*.

With regard to the Five, or Six Nations, I have called them by different names, such as are most common, and well understood. The Lenape (Delawares) are never heard to say "*Six Nations*," and it is a rare thing to hear these people named by them otherwise than *Mengwe*; the Mahicanni call them *Maqua*, and even most white people call them *Mingoes*. When I therefore have said the *Five* or *Six Nations*, I have only used our own

* The Dutch called them Mahikanders; the French, Mouriganx, and Mahingans; the English, Mohiccons, Mohuccans, Mohegans, Muhheckanew, Schatikooks, River Indians.

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mode of speaking, not that of the Indians, who never look upon them as having been so many *nations*; but *divisions* and *tribes*, who, as united, have become a nation. Thus, when the Lenape (Delawares) happen to name them as one body, the word they make use of implies "the five divisions together, or united," as will be seen in another place of this work. I call them also *Iroquois*, after the French and some English writers. 128

The *Wyandots*, or *Wyondots*, are the same whom the French call *Hurons*, and sometimes *Guyandots*. Father Sagard, a French Missionary, who lived among them in the 17th century, and has written an account of his mission, and a kind of dictionary of their language, says their proper name is *Ahouandâte*, from whence it is evident that the English appellation Wyandots has been derived.

There being so many words in the language of the Lenape and their kindred tribes, the sound of which cannot well be represented according to the English pronunciation, I have in general adopted for them the German mode of spelling. The *ch*, particularly before a consonant, is a strong guttural, and unless an Englishman has the use of the Greek χ, he will not be able to pronounce it, as in the words *Chasquem* (Indian corn,) *Cheltol* (many,) *Ches* (a skin,) *Chauchschisis* (an old woman,) and a great many more. Sometimes, indeed, in the middle of a word substitutes may be found which may do, as in the word *Nimachtak* (brethren,) which might be written, *Nemaughtok*, but this will seldom answer. This is probably the reason that most of the English authors have written Indian words so incorrectly, far more so than French authors. 104 194 [192] [114]

The Delawares have neither of the letters R, F, nor V, in their language, though they easily learn to pronounce them. They have a consonant peculiar to them and other Indians, which is a sibilant, and which we

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represent by W. It is produced by a soft whistling, and is not unpleasant to the ear, although it comes before a consonant. It is not much unlike the English sound *wh* in *what*, but not so round or full, and rather more whistled. *W* before a vowel is pronounced as in English.

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AN

HISTORICAL ACCOUNT, &c.

CHAPTER I.

HISTORICAL TRADITIONS OF THE INDIANS.

THE Lenni Lenape (according to the traditions handed down to them by their ancestors) resided many hundred years ago, in a very distant country in the western part of the American continent. For some reason, which I do not find accounted for, they determined on migrating to the eastward, and accordingly set out together in a body. After a very long journey, and many night's encampments* by the way, they at length arrived on the *Namæsi Sipu*,† where they fell in with the Mengwe,‡ who had likewise emigrated from a distant country, and had struck upon this river somewhat higher up. Their object was the same with that of the Delawares; they were proceeding on to the eastward, until they should find a country that pleased them. The spies which the Lenape had sent forward for the purpose of reconnoitring, had long before their arrival discovered that the country east of the Mississippi was inhabited by a very powerful nation who had many large towns built on the great rivers flowing through their land. Those people (as I was told) called themselves *Tulligeu* or *Talligewi*. Colonel John Gibson, however, a gentleman who has a thorough knowledge of the Indians, and speaks several of their lan-

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* "Night's encampment," is a halt of one year at a place.

† The Mississippi, or *River* of *Fish*; *Namæs*, a *Fish*; *Sipu*, a *River*.

‡ The Iroquois, or Five Nations.

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guages, is of opinion that they were not called *Tulligewi*, but *Alligewi*, and it would seem that he is right, from the traces of their name which still remain in the country, the Allegheny river and mountains having indubitably been named after them. The Delawares still call the former *Alligéwi Sipu*, the River of the Alligewi. We have adopted, I know not for what reason, its Iroquois name, Ohio, which the French had literally translated into *La Belle Riviere*, The Beautiful River.* A branch of it, however, still retains the ancient name Allegheny.

Many wonderful things are told of this famous people. They are said to have been remarkably tall and stout, and there is a tradition that there were giants among them, people of a much larger size than the tallest of the Lenape. It is related that they had built to themselves regular fortifications or entrenchments, from whence they would sally out, but were generally repulsed. I have seen many of the fortifications said to have been built by them, two of which, in particular, were remarkable. One of them was near the mouth of the river Huron, which empties itself into the Lake St. Clair, on the north side of that Lake, at the distance of about 20 miles N. E. of Detroit. This spot of ground was, in the year 1786, owned and occupied by a Mr. Tucker. The other works, properly entrenchments, being walls or banks of earth regularly thrown up, with a deep ditch on the outside, were on the Huron river, east of the Sandusky, about six or eight miles from Lake Erie. Outside of the gateways of each of these two entrenchments, which lay within a mile of each other, were a number of large flat mounds, in which, the Indian pilot said, were buried hundreds of the slain Talligewi, whom I shall hereafter with Col. Gibson call *Alligewi*. Of these entrenchments, Mr. Abraham Steiner, who was with me at the time when I saw them, gave a very accurate description, which was

* Loskiel's History of the Mission of the United Brethren, Part I. Chap. 1.

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published at Philadelphia, in 1789 or 1790, in some periodical work the name of which I cannot at present remember.

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When the Lenape arrived on the banks of the Mississippi, they sent a message to the Alligewi to request permission to settle themselves in their neighbourhood. This was refused them, but they obtained leave to pass through the country and seek a settlement farther to the eastward. They accordingly began to cross the Namæsi Sipu, when the Alligewi, seeing that their numbers were so very great, and in fact they consisted of many thousands, made a furious attack on those who had crossed, threatening them all with destruction, if they dared to persist in coming over to their side of the river. Fired at the treachery of these people, and the great loss of men they had sustained, and besides, not being prepared for a conflict, the Lenape consulted on what was to be done; whether to retreat in the best manner they could, or try their strength, and let the enemy see that they were not cowards, but men, and too high minded to suffer themselves to be driven off before they had made a trial of their strength, and were convinced that the enemy was too powerful for them. The Mengwe, who had hitherto been satisfied with being spectators from a distance, offered to join them, on condition that, after conquering the country, they should be entitled to share it with them; their proposal was accepted, and the resolution was taken by the two nations, to conquer or die.

Having thus united their forces, the Lenape and Mengwe declared war against the Alligewi, and great battles were fought, in which many warriors fell on both sides. The enemy fortified their large towns and erected fortifications, especially on large rivers, and near lakes, where they were successively attacked and sometimes stormed by the allies. An engagement took place in which hundreds fell, who were afterwards buried in holes or laid together in heaps and covered over with earth.

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No quarters were given, so that the Alligewi, at last, finding that their destruction was inevitable if they persisted in their obstinacy, abandoned the country to the conquerors, and fled down the Mississippi river, from whence they never returned. The war which was carried on with this nation, lasted many years, during which the Lenape lost a great number of their warriors, while the Mengwe would always hang back in the rear, leaving them to face the enemy. In the end, the conquerors divided the country between themselves; the Mengwe made choice of the lands in the vicinity of the great Lakes, and on their tributary streams, and the Lenape took possession of the country to the south. For a long period of time, some say many hundred years, the two nations resided peaceably in this country, and increased very fast; some of their most enterprising huntsmen and warriors, crossed the great swamps,* and falling on streams running to the eastward, followed them down to the great Bay River,† thence into the Bay itself, which we call Chesapeak. As they pursued their travels, partly by land, and partly by water, sometimes near and at other times on the great Saltwater Lake, as they call the Sea, they discovered the great River, which we call the Delaware; and thence exploring still eastward, the *Scheyichbi* country, now named New Jersey, they arrived at another great stream, that which we call the Hudson or North River. Satisfied with what they had seen, they, (or some of them) after a long absence, returned to their nation and reported the discoveries they had made; they described the country they had discovered, as abounding in game and various kinds of fruits; and the rivers and bays, with fish, tortoises, &c. together with abundance of water-fowl, and no enemy to be dreaded. They considered the event as a fortunate one for them, and

* The *Glades*, that is to say that they crossed the mountains.

† Meaning the river Susquehannah, which they call "the great Bay River," from where the west branch falls into the main stream.

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concluding this to be the country destined for them by the Great Spirit, they began to emigrate thither, as yet but in small bodies, so as not to be straitened for want of provisions by the way, some even laying by for a whole year; at last they settled on the four great rivers (which we call Delaware, Hudson, Susquehannah, and Potomack) making the Delaware, to which they gave the name of "*Lenapewihittuck*,"* (the river or stream of the Lenape) the centre of their possessions.

They say, however, that the whole of their nation did not reach this country; that many remained behind in order to aid and assist that great body of their people, which had not crossed the Namæsi Sipu, but had retreated into the interior of the country on the other side, on being informed of the reception which those who had crossed had met with, and probably thinking that they had all been killed by the enemy.

Their nation finally became divided into three separate bodies; the larger body, which they suppose to have been one half of the whole, were settled on the Atlantic, and the other half was again divided into two parts, one of which, the strongest as they suppose, remained beyond the Mississippi, and the remainder where they left them, on this side of that river.

Those of the Delawares who fixed their abode on the shores of the Atlantic divided themselves into three tribes. Two of them, distinguished by the names of the *Turtle* and the *Turkey*, the former calling themselves *Unámis* and the other *Unalachtgo*, chose those grounds to settle on, which lay nearest to the sea, between the coast and the high mountains. As they multiplied, their settlements extended from the *Mohicannittuck* (river of the Mohicans, which we call the North or Hudson river) to

* The word "Hittuck," in the language of the Delawares, means a rapid stream; "Sipo," or "Sipu," is the proper name for a river.

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173 beyond the Potomack. Many families with their con-
131 nexions choosing to live by themselves, were scattered
101 not only on the larger but also on the small streams, throughout the country, having towns and villages, where they lived together in separate bodies, in each of which a chief resided; those chiefs, however, were subordinate (by their own free will, the only kind of subordination which the Indians know) to the head chiefs or great council of the nation, whom they officially informed of all events or occurrences affecting the general interest which came to their knowledge. The third tribe, the *Wolf*, commonly called the *Minsi*, which we have corrupted into *Monseys*, had chosen to live back of the two other tribes, and formed a kind of bulwark for their protection, watching the motions of the Mengwe, and being at hand to afford their aid in case of a rupture with them. The Minsi were considered the most warlike and active branch of the Lenape. They extended
[103] their settlements, from the *Minisink*, a place named after them, where they had their council seat and fire, quite up to the Hudson on the east; and to the west or south west far beyond the Susquehannah: their northern boundaries were supposed originally to be the heads of the great rivers Susquehannah and Delaware, and their southern boundaries that ridge of hills known in New Jersey by the name of *Muskanecun*, and in Pennsylvania, by those of *Lehigh, Coghnewago*, &c. Within this boundary were their principal settlements; and even as late as the year 1742, they had a town, with a large peach orchard, on the tract of land where *Nazareth*, in Pennsylvania, has since been built; another on *Lehigh*, (the west branch of the Delaware,) and others beyond the blue ridge, besides small family settlements here and there scattered.

173 From the above *three* tribes, the *Unamis, Unalachtgo*,

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and the *Minsi*, comprising together the body of those people we call *Delawares*, had in the course of time, sprung many others, who, having for their own convenience, chosen distant spots to settle on, and increasing in numbers, gave themselves names or received them from others. These names, generally given after some simple natural objects, or after something striking or extraordinary, they continued to bear even after they ceased to be applicable, when they removed to other places, where the object after which they were named was not to be found; thus they formed separate and distinct tribes, yet did not deny their origin, but retained their affection for the parent tribe, of which they were even proud to be called the grandchildren.

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This was the case with the *Mahicanni* or Mohicans, in the east, a people who by intermarriages had become a detached body, mixing two languages together, and forming out of the two a dialect of their own: choosing to live by themselves, they had crossed the Hudson River, naming it Mahicannituck River after their assumed name, and spread themselves over all that country which now composes the eastern states. New tribes again sprung from them, who assumed distinct names; still however not breaking off from the parent stock, but acknowledging the Lenni Lenape to be their grandfather: the Delawares, at last, thought proper to enlarge their council house for their Mahicanni grandchildren, that they might come to their fire, that is to say, be benefited by their advice, and also in order to keep alive their family connexions and remain in league with each other.

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Much the same thing happened with a body of the Lenape, called *Nanticokes*, who had, together with their offspring, proceeded far to the south, in Maryland and Virginia; the council house was by their grandfather, (the Delawares,) extended to the Potomack, in the same manner and for the same motives as had been done with the *Mahicanni*.

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Meanwhile the Mengwe, who had first settled on the great Lakes between them, had always kept a number of canoes in readiness to save themselves, in case the Alligewi should return, and their number also increasing, they had in time proceeded farther, and settled below the Lakes along the river St. Lawrence, so that they were now become, on the north side, neighbours of the Lenape tribes.

These Mengwe now began to look upon their southern neighbours with a jealous eye, became afraid of their growing power, and of being dispossessed by them of the lands they occupied. To meet this evil in time, they first sought to raise quarrels and disturbances, which in the end might lead to wars between distant tribes and the Lenape, for which purpose, they clandestinely murdered people on one or the other side, seeking to induce the injured party to believe, that some particular nation or tribe had been the aggressor; and having actually succeeded to their wishes, they now stole into the country of the Lenape and their associates, frequently surprising them at their hunting camps, occasionally committing murders, and making off with the plunder. Foreseeing, however, that they could not go on in this way without being detected, they had recourse to other artful means, by which they actually succeeded in setting tribe against tribe, and nation against nation. As each nation or tribe has a particular mark on their war clubs, different from that of the others; and as on seeing one of these near the dead body of a murdered person, it is immediately known what nation or tribe has been the aggressor; so the Mengwe having left a war club, such as the Lenape made use of, in the Cherokee country, where they had purposely committed a murder, of course the Cherokees naturally concluding that it had been committed by the Lenape, fell suddenly upon them, which produced a most bloody war between the two nations. The treachery of the Mengwe, however, having been at

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length discovered, the Lenape determined on taking an exemplary revenge, and, indeed, nothing short of a total extirpation* of that deceitful race was resolved on; they were, besides, known to eat human flesh,† to kill men for the purpose of devouring them; and therefore were not considered by the Lenape as a pure race, or as rational beings; but as a mixture of the human and brutal kinds.

War being now openly declared against the Mengwe, it was carried on with vigour; until, at last, finding that they were no match for so powerful an enemy as the Lenape, who had such a train of connexions, ready to join them if necessity required, they fell upon the plan of entering into a confederacy with each other, by which they would be bound to make a common cause,

* Loskiel, part I. ch 10.

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† The Reverend C. Pyrlæus, a pupil of Conrad Weiser, of whom he learned the Mohawk language, and who was afterwards stationed on the Mohawk river, as a Missionary, has, in a manuscript book, written between the years 1742 and 1748, page 235, the following note, which he received from a principal chief of that nation. viz. "The Five Nations formerly did eat human flesh, they at one time "ate up a whole body of the French King's soldiers, they say, *Ets* "*niechi achquari*; which is: Human flesh tastes like bear's meat. "They also say, that the hands are not good eating, they are *yes-* "*gurat*, bitter."

Aged French Canadians have told me, many years since, while I was at Detroit, that they had frequently seen the Iroquois eat the flesh of those who had been slain in battle, and that this was the case in the war between the French and English, commonly called the war of 1756.

At a treaty held at the Proprietor's house in Philadelphia, July 8th 1742, with the Six Nations, none of the Senecas attended; the reason of their absence being asked, it was given for answer, "that there was a famine in their country, and that a father had been obliged to kill two of his children, to preserve the lives of the remainder of the family." See Colden's History of the Five Nations, part II. page 32. See also the minutes of that treaty, printed at Philadelphia, by B. Franklin, in 1743, p. 7, in the Collection of Indian Treaties in the library of the American Philosophical Society.

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and meet the common enemy with their united force, and not, as the present prospect was, be destroyed by tribes, which threatened in the end the destruction of the whole. Until this time, each tribe of the Mengwe had acted independent of the others, and they were not inclined to come under any supreme authority, which might counteract their base designs; for now, a single tribe, or even individuals of a tribe, by the commission of wanton hostilities, would draw the more peaceable among them into wars and bloodshed, as particularly had been the case with the Senecas, who were the most restless of the whole; and though the Lenape had directed their force principally against the aggressors, yet the body of the nation became thereby weaker; so that they saw the necessity of coming under some better regulations and government.*

This confederation took place some time between the 15th and 16th century;† the most bloody wars were afterwards carried on for a great length of time, between the confederated Iroquois, and the Delawares and their connexions, in which the Lenape say that they generally came off victorious. While these wars were carrying on with vigour, the French landed in Canada, and it was not long before they and the now combined Five Nations,

* Loskiel, part I. ch. 1.

† The Rev. C. Pyrlæus, in his manuscript book, page 234, says: "The alliance or confederacy of the Five Nations was established, as near as can be conjectured, one age (or the length of a man's life) before the white people (the Dutch) came into the country. *Thannawage* was the name of the aged Indian, a Mohawk, who first proposed such an alliance." He then gives the names of the chiefs of the Five Nations, which at that time met and formed the alliance. viz. "*Teganawita*, of the Mohawks; *Otatschéchta*, of the Oneidas; *Tatotarho*, of the Onondagos, *Togaháyon*, of the Cayugas; *Ganiatarió* and *Satagaréyes*, from two towns of the Senecas &c." and concludes with saying: "All these names are forever to be kept in remembrance, by naming a person in each nation after them," &c. &c.

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or tribes, were at war with each other, the latter not being willing to permit that the French should establish themselves in that country. At last the Iroquois, finding themselves between two fires, and without any prospect of conquering the Lenape by arms, and seeing the necessity of withdrawing with their families, from the shores of the St. Lawrence, to the interior of the country, where the French could not easily reach them, fell upon a stratagem, which they flattered themselves would, if successful, secure to them not only a peace with the Lenape, but also with all the other tribes connected with them; so that they would then have but one enemy (the French) to contend with.

This plan was very deeply laid, and was calculated to deprive the Lenape and their allies, not only of their power but of their military fame, which had exalted them above all the other Indian nations. They were to be persuaded to abstain from the use of arms, and assume the station of mediators and umpires among their warlike neighbours. In the language of the Indians, they were to be made *women*.* It must be understood that among these nations wars are never brought to an end but by the interference of the weaker sex. The men, however tired of fighting, are afraid of being considered as cowards if they should intimate a desire for peace. It is not becoming, say they, for a warrior, with the bloody weapon in his hand, to hold pacific language to his enemy. He must shew to the end a determined courage, and appear as ready and willing to fight as at the beginning of the contest. Neither, say they, is it proper, to threaten and to sue in the same breath, to hold the peace belt in one hand, and the tomahawk in the other; men's words, as well as their actions, should be of a piece, all good or all bad; for it is a fixed maxim of theirs, which they apply on all occasions, that good can

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* Loskiel, part I. ch. 10.

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never dwell with evil. They also think that a treaty produced by threats or by force, cannot be binding. With these dispositions, war would never have ceased among Indians, until the extermination of one or the other party, if the tender and compassionate sex had not come forward, and by their moving speeches persuaded the enraged combatants to bury their hatchets, and make peace with each other. On these occasions they were very eloquent, they would lament with great feeling the losses suffered on both sides, when there was not a warrior, perhaps, who had not lost a son, a brother or a friend. They would describe the sorrows of widowed wives, and, above all, of bereaved mothers. The pains of child-birth, the anxieties attending the progress of their sons from infancy to manhood, they had willingly and even cheerfully suffered; but after all these trials, how cruel was it for them to see those promising youths whom they had reared with so much care, fall victims to the rage of war, and a prey to a relentless enemy; to see them slaughtered on the field of battle, or put to death, as prisoners, by a protracted torture, in the midst of the most exquisite torments. The thought of such scenes made them curse their own existence, and shudder at the idea of bearing children. Then they would conjure the warriors by every thing that was dear to them, to take pity on the sufferings of their wives and helpless infants, to turn their faces once more towards their homes, families and friends, to forgive the wrongs suffered from each other, to lay aside their deadly weapons, and smoke together the pipe of amity and peace. They had given on both sides sufficient proofs of their courage; the contending nations were alike high minded and brave, and they must now embrace as friends those whom they had learned to respect as enemies. Speeches like these seldom failed of their intended effect, and the women, by this honourable function of peace-makers, were placed in a situation by no means undignified. It would

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not be a disgrace, therefore; on the contrary, it would be an honour to a powerful nation, who could not be suspected of wanting either strength or courage, to assume that station by which they would be the means, and the only means, of preserving the general peace and saving the Indian race from utter extirpation.

Such were the arguments which the artful Mengwe urged to the Lenape to make them fall into the snare which they had prepared for them. They had reflected, they said, deeply reflected on their critical situation; there remained no resource for them, but that some magnanimous nation should assume the part and situation of the *woman*. It could not be given to a weak or contemptible tribe, such would not be listened to; but the Lenape and their allies would at once possess influence and command respect. As men they had been dreaded; as women they would be respected and honoured, none would be so daring or so base as to attack or insult them; as women they would have a right to interfere in all the quarrels of other nations, and to stop or prevent the effusion of Indian blood. They entreated them, therefore, to become *the woman* in name and in fact, to lay down their arms and all the insignia of warriors, to devote themselves to agriculture and other pacific employments, and thus become the means of preserving peace and harmony among the nations.

The Lenape, unfortunately for themselves, listened to the voice of their enemies. They knew it was too true, that the Indian nations, excited by their own unbridled passions, and not a little by their European neighbours, were in the way of total extirpation by each other's hands. They believed that the Mengwe were sincere, and that their proposal had no object in view but the preservation of the Indian race. In a luckless hour they gave their consent, and agreed to become *women*. This consent was received with great joy. A feast was prepared for the purpose of confirming and proclaiming the

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new order of things. With appropriate ceremonies, of which Loskiel has given a particular description,* the Delawares were installed in their new functions, eloquent speeches were delivered, accompanied, as usual, with belts of wampum. The great peace belt and the chain of friendship (in the figurative language of the Indians) was laid across the shoulders of the new mediator, one end of which, it was said, was to be taken hold of by all the Indian nations, and the other by the Europeans.† The Lenape say that the Dutch were present at that ceremony, and had no inconsiderable share in the intrigue.

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The old and intelligent Mahicani, whose forefathers inhabited the country on the east side of the North river, gave many years since the following account of the above transaction. They said that their grandfather, (the Lenni Lenape) and the nations or tribes connected with them, were so united, that whatsoever nation attacked the one, it was the same as attacking the whole; all in such cases would unite and make a common cause. That the long house (council house) of all those who were of the same blood, and united under this kind of tacit alliance, reached from the head of the tide, at some distance above where Gaaschtinick (Albany) now stands, to the head of the tide water on the Potomack. That at each end of this house there was a door for the tribes to enter at. That the Mengwe were in no way connected with those who had access to this house; but were looked upon as strangers. That the Lenape, with the Mohicans and all the other tribes in their connexion, were on the point of extirpating the Five Nations, when they applied to the *Dutchemaan*, who were now making a settlement at or near Gaaschtinick, to assist them in bringing about a peace with the Lenape. That accordingly these new comers invited the Lenape and the Mohicans to a grand

* Loskiel, part 1. ch. 10. † Ibid.

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council, at a place situated at some distance from where Albany now stands, which the white people have since called by the name of *Nordman's Kill*. That when at length, by their united supplications and fair speeches, they had got the hatchet out of the hands of the Lenape, they buried that weapon at Gaaschtinick, and said that they would build a church over the spot, so that the weapon could never any more be got at, otherwise than by lifting up the whole church, and whatever nation should dare to do this, on them the Dutchemaan would take revenge. That now, having succeeded in getting the weapon out of the hands of the Lenape, the ceremony of placing them in the situation of "the woman," for the purpose of being mediators, took place, when the Mengwe declared them henceforth to be their cousins, and the Mahicani, they said, they would call their nephews.

The Mahicani further say, that it was fear which induced the Dutchemaan to aid the Five Nations in bringing about this peace, because at the place where they were at that time making their settlement, great bodies of warriors would pass and repass, so that they could not avoid being interrupted in their undertakings, and probably molested, if not destroyed, by one or the other of the war parties, as their wars, at that time, were carried on with great rage, and no quarters were given. That in producing this peace, the white people had effected for the Mengwe, what no other nation could have done, and had laid the foundation of the future greatness of their Iroquois friends, as the same policy was pursued by the English, after they came into possession of this country.—So far the tradition of the Mahicani.

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The Rev. Mr. Pyrlæus, in his notes, after fixing as near as he could the time when the Five Nations confederated with each other, proceeds in these words: "According to "my informant, Sganarady, a creditable aged Indian, his "grandfather had been one of the deputies sent for the "purpose of entering into a covenant with the white Eu-

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"ropeans; they met at a place since called Nordman's "Kill, about four miles below where afterwards Albany "was built, where this covenant of friendship was first "established, and the Mohawks were the active body in "effecting this work."

From these three separate accounts of the Lenape, of the Mahicani, and of the Mohawks, as related by Mr. Pyrlæus, it appears to be conclusively proved, that the Europeans were already in this country, when the Lenape were persuaded to assume the station of *the woman*, and that the Dutch were assisting in the plot, and were at least the instigators, if not the authors of it. It was the *Dutch* who summoned the great council near Albany; the tomahawk was buried deep in the ground, and the vengeance of the *Dutch* was threatened if it should ever be taken up again; the peace belt was laid across the shoulders of the unfortunate Delawares, supported at one end by the Five Nations, and at the other by the *Europeans:* all these circumstances point so clearly to European intrigue, that it is impossible to resist the conclusion that the whites adopted this means to neutralise the power of the Delawares and their friends, whom they dreaded, and strengthen the hands of the Iroquois, who were in their alliance.

The Iroquois have denied that these machinations ever took place, and say that they conquered the Delawares in fair battle, and compelled them by force to become women, or in other words that they obliged them to submit to the greatest humiliation to which a warlike spirited people can ever be reduced; not a momentary humiliation, as when the Romans were compelled by the Samnites to pass under the Caudine forks, but a permanent disgrace, which was to last as long as their national existence. If this were true, the Lenape and their allies, who, like all other Indian nations, never considered a treaty binding when entered into under any kind of compulsion, would not have submitted to this any longer than

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until they could again have rallied their forces and fallen upon their enemy; they would have done long before the year 1755, what they did at last at that time, joined the French in their wars against the Iroquois and English, and would not have patiently waited more than a century before they took their revenge for so flagrant an outrage. Their numbers, acknowledged to have been far superior to that of their Indian enemies, and the vast extent of territory which they possessed, furnished them with ample means to have acted hostilely, if they had thought proper. On the contrary, they lived at peace with the Iroquois, and their European allies, until that decisive war, by which the French lost at once all their extensive possessions on the continent of America.

In addition to these positive proofs, negative evidence of the strongest kind may be adduced. The Iroquois say, indeed, that they conquered the Delawares and their allies, and compelled them to become women. But there is no tradition among them of the particulars of this important event. Neither Mr. Pyrlæus, nor Mr. Zeisberger, who both lived long among the Five Nations, and spoke and understood their language well, could obtain from them any details relative to this supposed conquest; they ought, certainly, to have been able to say how it was effected; whether by one decisive fight or by successive engagements; when, and at what place or places these engagements, or at least, the last battle took place; who were the nations or tribes engaged in it; who the chiefs or commanders; what numbers fell on each side; and a variety of other facts, by which the truth of their assertion might have been proved: the total absence of such details appears to me to militate against them in the strongest manner, and to corroborate the statement of their adversaries.

The Delawares are of opinion, that this scheme of the Five Nations, however deeply laid, and meant essentially to injure them, would not, however, have operated against

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them, but on the contrary have greatly subserved their national interest, if the Europeans had not afterwards come into the country in such great numbers, and multiplied so rapidly as they did. For their neutral position would greatly have favoured their increase, while the numbers of the other Indian nations would have been reduced by the wars in which they were continually engaged. But unfortunately for them, it happened, that the Europeans successively invaded the country which they occupied and now forms what are called the middle states, and as they advanced from the Atlantic into the interior, drove before them the Lenape and their allies, and obtained possession of their lands; while the Iroquois, who happened to be placed in the neighbourhood of Canada, between the French and English, who were frequently at war with each other, had an enemy, it is true, in the French nation, but had strong protectors in the English, who considered them as a check upon their enemies, and, being the most numerous people, were best able to afford them protection; thus they were suffered to increase and become powerful, while the Lenape, having no friend near them, the French being then at too great a distance, were entirely at the mercy of their English neighbours, who, advancing fast on their lands, gradually dispersed them, and other causes concurring, produced at last their almost entire destruction. Among those causes the treacherous conduct of the Five Nations may be considered as the principal one.

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Before that strange metamorphosis took place, of a great and powerful nation being transformed into a band of defenceless women, the Iroquois had never been permitted to visit the Lenape, even when they were at peace with each other. Whenever a Mengwe appeared in their country, he was hunted down as a beast of prey, and it was lawful for every one to destroy him. But now, *the woman* could not, consistently with her new station and her engagements, make use of destructive

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weapons, and she was bound to abstain from all violence against the human species. Her late enemies, therefore, found no difficulty in travelling, under various pretences, through her country, and those of her allies, and leaving here and there a few of their people to remain among them as long as they pleased, for the purpose, as they said, of keeping up a good understanding, and assisting them in the preservation of the general peace. But while they were amusing the Lenape with flattering language, they were concerting measures to disturb their quiet by involving them in difficulties with the neighbouring nations. I shall relate one among many instances of a similar conduct. They once sent their men into the Cherokee country, who were instructed secretly to kill one of that nation, and to leave a war club near the person murdered, which had been purposely made after the manner and in the shape of those of the Delawares. Now leaving a war club in an Indian country, is considered by those nations as a formal challenge or declaration of war. The Cherokees, deceived by appearances, and believing that their grandfather the Lenape had committed the murder, collected a large party to go into their country and take their revenge. Meanwhile, the Iroquois sent a messenger to the Lenape, to inform them of the approach of an enemy, who, they had learned from their hunters, was coming towards their settlement, and to advise them to send a number of their men immediately to a certain place, where they would be met by a large body of the Five Nations, who would take the lead, march in front, and fight their battles, so that they would have little else to do than to look on, and see how well their friends fought for them. The Lenape, being in no wise prepared to meet a powerful foe, assembled in haste a few of their men, and repaired to the place of rendezvous, where they were disappointed by not meeting any of their pretended protectors. The enemy, however, was close upon them; the Lenape fought with great

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courage, but were overpowered by an immense superiority of numbers, and defeated with considerable loss. Now the Iroquois made their appearance, and instead of attacking or pursuing the Cherokees, loaded the Delawares with reproaches, for their temerity, as they called it, in having dared, being *women*, to take the lead in attacking *men*. They told them that the Five Nations being their superiors, they ought to have waited for them before they attacked the Cherokees, that then their protectors would have fought and defeated them, but that as they had thought proper to act by themselves, they had received the punishment justly due to their presumption.

It was thus that the Five Nations rewarded the confidence that the Delawares had placed in them. Their treachery was not, however, suspected for a long time; but it was at last discovered; it was even found out that in this last engagement, a number of the Iroquois had joined in fight against them with their enemies. The Lenape then determined to unite their forces, and by one great effort to destroy entirely that perfidious nation. This, they say, they might easily have done, as they were then yet as numerous as the grasshoppers at particular seasons, and as destructive to their enemies as these insects are to the fruits of the earth; while they described the Mengwe as a number of croaking frogs in a pond, which make a great noise when all is quiet, but at the first approach of danger, nay, at the very rustling of a leaf, immediately plunge into the water and are silent.

But their attention was now diverted by other scenes. The whites were again landing in great numbers on their coast, in the east and south, and this spectacle once more engaged all the capacity of their minds. They were lost in admiration at what they saw, and were consulting and deliberating together on what they should do. The Five Nations, who lived out of the reach of all danger, never-

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theless also came; but bent on their own interest, while they were instigating the other nations to fall upon the new comers, or drive them off from their shores, by which they caused useless hostilities, in which they did not appear to participate, they were insinuating themselves into the favour of the powerful strangers, professing great friendship for them, persuading them that they were superior to the other Indian nations, that they had controul over them all, and would chastise those who should disturb their peace.

William Penn came, with his train of pacific followers. Never will the Delawares forget their elder brother *Miquon*, as they affectionately and respectfully call him. From his first arrival in their country, a friendship was formed between them which was to last as long as the sun should shine, and the rivers flow with water. That friendship would undoubtedly have continued to the end of time, had their good brother always remained among them, but in his absence, mischievous people, say they, got into power, who, not content with the land which had been given to them, contrived to get all that they wanted; and when the Lenape looked round for the friends of their brother Miquon, to hear their just complaints, and redress their wrongs, they could not discover them, and had the misfortune to see their greatest enemies the Mengwe, brought on for the purpose of shutting their mouths, and compelling them to submit to the injustice done them.

They cannot conceive how the English could turn from the people by whom they had been so kindly received and welcomed with open arms; from those who had permitted them to sit down upon their lands in peace, and without fear of being molested by them; who had taken delight in supplying all their wants,* and who were hap-

* Mr. Proud, in his History of Pennsylvania, relates that some time after the establishment of William Penn's government, the In-

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py in smoking the pipe of friendship with them at one and the same fire; how they could not only see them degraded and injured by a base and perfidious nation, but join with that nation in sinking them still lower. For to the countenance of the English, they say, is entirely owing the great preponderance which the Iroquois at last attained: they complain that the English did support that enemy against them, that they even sanctioned their insolence, by telling them to make use of their authority as men, and bring these women (the Lenape) to their senses. That they were even insulted and treated in a degrading manner, in treaties to which the English were parties, and particularly in that which took place at Easton in Pennsylvania, in July 1748, when the Six Nations were publicly called on to compel the Delawares to give up the land taken from them by the long day's walk. But for these repeated outrages, they would not have taken part with the French in the memorable war of 1755. Nor, perhaps, would they have done so, had not they been seduced into the measure by the perfidious Iroquois. At the commencement of that war, they brought the war belt with a piece of tobacco to the Delawares, and told them: "Remember that the English have unjustly de- "prived you of much of your land, which they took from

[Erratum. See cat. 116, p. 348. - Aug'ust]

dians used to supply the family of one John Chapman, whose descendants still reside in Bucks County, with all kinds of provisions, and mentions an affecting instance of their kindness to that family. Abraham and John Chapman, twin children about nine or ten years old, going out one evening to seek their cattle, met an Indian in the woods, who told them to go back, else they would be lost. They took his advice and went back, but it was night before they got home, where they found the Indian, who had repaired thither out of anxiety for them. And their parents, about that time, going to the yearly meeting at Philadelphia, and leaving a young family at home, the Indians came every day to see whether any thing was amiss among them. Such (says Proud) in many instances was the kind treatment of the Aborigines of this country to the English, in their first and early settlement. Proud's Hist. vol. I. p. 223, 224.

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"you by force. Your cause is just; therefore smoke of "this tobacco, and arise; join with us our fathers the "French, and take your revenge. You are women, it "is true, but we will shorten your petticoats, and though "you may appear by your dress to be women, yet by "your conduct and language you will convince your "enemies that you are determined not tamely to suffer "the wrongs and injuries inflicted upon you."

Yielding to these solicitations, the Delawares and their connexions took up arms against the English in favour of the French, and committed many hostilities, in which the Iroquois appeared to take no part. Sir William Johnson requested them to use their ascendancy and to persuade the hostile Indians to lay down the hatchet, instead of which, instead of conforming to the ancient custom of Indian nations, which was simply to take the war hatchet back from those to whom they had given it, they fell on a sudden on the unsuspecting Lenape, killed their cattle, and destroyed their town on the Susquehannah, and having taken a number of them prisoners, carried them to Sir William Johnson, who confined and put them in irons. This cruel act of treachery, the Delawares say, they will never forget nor forgive.

Thus the Lenape, whose principal settlements were then on the frontier of Pennsylvania, took part with the French, and acted hostilely against the English during the whole of the war of 1755. The animosity which mutual hostilities produced between them and the white settlers concurred, no doubt, with other causes, in producing the murder of the Conestogo Indians, which took place at the close of that war, in December 1763, and is feelingly related by Loskiel, Part I. ch. 14 and 15.

The revolutionary war put an end to the exorbitant power of the Iroquois. They were, indeed, still supported by the British government, but the Americans were now the strongest party, and of course against them. They endeavoured to persuade the other Indian nations

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to join them, but their expectations were deceived. At a meeting which took place at Pittsburg in 1775, for the express purpose of deliberating on the part which it became Indians to take in the disturbances which had arisen between the King of Great Britain and his subjects, Capt. White Eyes, a sensible and very spirited warrior of the Lenape, boldly declared to a select body of the Senecas, that his Indians would never join any nation or power, for the purpose of destroying a people who were born on the same soil with them. That the Americans were his friends and brothers, and that no nation should dictate to him what part he should take in the existing war. Anticipating the measure which the American Congress took in the succeeding year, he declared *himself*,* in behalf of his nation, free and independent of the Iroquois; they had pretended that they had conquered him, they had made a woman of him and dressed him in woman's apparel, but now he was again a man, he stood before them as a man, and with the weapons of a man he would assert his claim to all yonder country, pointing to the land on the west side of the Allegheny river; for to him it belonged, and not to the Six Nations, who falsely asserted that they had acquired it by conquest. In the year 1778 or 1779, the Lenape bravely asserted their national independence by joining Col. Brodhead's troops in an expedition against the Senecas. If they did not do as much in that war as might have been expected of them, and took only a partial revenge, it was owing to the death of their brave chief White Eyes, who died of the small pox at Pittsburg, I think, in the year 1780. He was a christian in his heart, but did not live to make a public profession of our

* Indian chiefs in their public speeches, always speak on behalf of their nation in the singular number and in the first person, considering themselves, in a manner, as its representatives.

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religion, though it is well known that he persuaded many Indians to embrace it.*

Although the Lenape acted independently in the war of 1755, and made a formal declaration of their independence at the beginning of the revolutionary war, yet the Six Nations persevered in their pretensions, and still affected to consider them as women. Finding, however, that this obsolete claim was no longer acknowledged, and that it was useless to insist upon it any longer, they came forward of their own accord, about the time of Wayne's treaty, and formally declared that the Lenape and their allies were no longer women, but MEN.

The Delawares and Mohicans agree in saying, that from the time of the fatal treaty in which they were persuaded to assimilate themselves to women, and, indeed, ever since the Europeans first came into the country, the conduct of the Iroquois was treacherous and perfidious in the extreme. That it was their constant practice to sally out secretly and commit depredations on the neighbouring nations, with intent to involve them in wars with each other. That they would also commit murders on the frontier settlers, from Virginia to New England, and charge the tribes who were settled in the neighbourhood with the commission of those crimes. That they would then turn negotiators, and effect a peace, always at the expense of the nation whom they had injured. They would sell the lands of other nations to the English and receive the money, pretending to a paramount right to the whole territory, and this, say the Lenape, was their manner of CONQUERING NATIONS!

* Loskiel, part II. ch. 8.

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CHAPTER II.

INDIAN ACCOUNT OF THE FIRST ARRIVAL OF THE DUTCH AT NEW YORK ISLAND.

173 THE Lenni Lenape claim the honour of having received and welcomed the Europeans on their first arrival in the country, situated between New England and Virginia. It is probable, however, that the Mahicani or Mohicans, who then inhabited the banks of the Hudson, concurred in the hospitable act. The relation I am going to make was taken down many years since from the mouth of an intelligent Delaware Indian, and may be considered as a correct account of the tradition existing among them of this momentous event. I give it as much as possible in their own language.

A great many years ago, when men with a white skin had never yet been seen in this land, some Indians who were out a fishing at a place where the sea widens, espied at a great distance something remarkably large floating on the water, and such as they had never seen before. These Indians immediately returning to the shore, apprised their countrymen of what they had observed, and pressed them to go out with them and discover what it might be. They hurried out together, and saw with astonishment the phenomenon which now appeared to their sight, but could not agree upon what it was; some believed it to be an uncommonly large fish or animal, while others were of opinion it must be a very big house floating on the sea. At length the spectators concluded that this wonderful object was moving towards the land, and that it must be an animal or something else that had life in it; it would therefore be proper to inform all the Indians on the inhabited isl-

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ands of what they had seen, and put them on their guard. 173
Accordingly they sent off a number of runners and watermen to carry the news to their scattered chiefs, that they might send off in every direction for the warriors, with a message that they should come on immediately. These arriving in numbers, and having themselves viewed the strange appearance, and observing that it was actually moving towards the entrance of the river or bay; concluded it to be a remarkably large house in which the Mannitto (the Great or Supreme Being) himself was present, and that he probably was coming to visit them. By this time the chiefs were assembled at York island and deliberating in what manner in which[a] they should receive their Mannitto on his arrival. Every measure was taken to be well provided with plenty of meat for a sacrifice. The women were desired to prepare the best victuals. All the idols or images were examined and put in order, and a grand dance was supposed not only to be an agreeable entertainment for the Great Being, but it was believed that it might, with the addition of a sacrifice, contribute to appease him if he was angry with them. The conjurers were also set to work, to determine what this phenomenon portended, and what the possible result of it might be. To these and to the chiefs and wise men of the nations, men, women and children were looking up for advice and protection. Distracted between hope and fear, they were at a loss what to do; a dance, however, commenced in great confusion. While in this situation, fresh runners arrive declaring it to be a large house of various colours, and crowded with living creatures. It appears now to be certain, that it is the great Mannitto, bringing them some kind of game, such as he had not given them before, but other runners soon after arriving declare that it is positively a house full of human beings, of quite a different colour from that of the Indians, and dressed differently from them; that in particular one of them was

[a] [erratum. See vol. 116, p. 348. -Analyst]

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173 dressed entirely in red, who must be the Mannitto himself. They are hailed from the vessel in a language they do not understand, yet they shout or yell in return by way of answer, according to the custom of their country; many are for running off to the woods, but are pressed by others to stay, in order not to give offence to their visitor, who might find them out and destroy them. The house, some say, large canoe, at last stops, and a canoe of a smaller size comes on shore with the red man and some others in it; some stay with his canoe to guard it. The chiefs and wise men, assembled in council, form themselves into a large circle, towards which the man in red clothes approaches with two others. He salutes them with a friendly countenance, and they return the salute after their manner. They are lost in admiration; the dress, the manners, the whole appearance of the unknown strangers is to them a subject of wonder; but they are particularly struck with him who wore the red coat all glittering with gold lace, which they could in no manner account for. He, surely, must be the great Mannitto, but why should he have a white skin? Meanwhile, a large *Hackhack** is brought by one of his servants, from which an unknown substance is poured out into a small cup or glass, and handed to the supposed Mannitto. He drinks—has the glass filled again, and hands it to the chief standing next to him. The chief receives it, but only smells the contents and passes it on to the next chief, who does the same. The glass or cup thus passes through the circle, without the liquor being tasted by any one, and is upon the point of being returned to the red clothed Mannitto, when one of the Indians, a brave man and a great warrior, suddenly jumps up and harangues the assembly on the impropriety of returning the cup with its contents. It was handed to them, says

* Hackhack is properly a gourd, but since they have seen glass bottles and decanters, they call them by the same name.

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he, by the Mannitto, that they should drink out of it, as he himself had done. To follow his example would be pleasing to him; but to return what he had given them might provoke his wrath, and bring destruction on them. And since the orator believed it for the good of the nation that the contents offered them should be drunk, and as no one else would do it, he would drink it himself, let the consequence be what it might; it was better for one man to die, than that a whole nation should be destroyed. He then took the glass, and bidding the assembly a solemn farewel, at once drank up its whole contents. Every eye was fixed on the resolute chief, to see what effect the unknown liquor would produce. He soon began to stagger, and at last fell prostrate on the ground. His companions now bemoan his fate, he falls into a sound sleep, and they think he has expired. He wakes again, jumps up and declares, that he has enjoyed the most delicious sensations, and that he never before felt himself so happy as after he had drunk the cup. He asks for more, his wish is granted; the whole assembly then imitate him, and all become intoxicated.

After this general intoxication had ceased, for they say that while it lasted the whites had confined themselves to their vessel, the man with the red clothes returned again, and distributed presents among them, consisting of beads, axes, hoes, and stockings such as the white people wear. They soon became familiar with each other, and began to converse by signs. The Dutch made them understand that they would not stay here, that they would return home again, but would pay them another visit the next year, when they would bring them more presents, and stay with them a while; but as they could not live without eating, they should want a little land of them to sow seeds, in order to raise herbs and vegetables to put into their broth. They went away as they had said, and returned in the following season, when both parties were much rejoiced to see each other;

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1778 but the whites laughed at the Indians, seeing that they knew not the use of the axes and hoes they had given them the year before; for they had these hanging to their breasts as ornaments, and the stockings were made use of as tobacco pouches. The whites now put handles to the former for them, and cut trees down before their eyes, hoed up the ground, and put the stockings on their legs. Here, they say, a general laughter ensued among the Indians, that they had remained ignorant of the use of such valuable implements, and had borne the weight of such heavy metal hanging to their necks, for such a length of time. They took every white man they saw for an inferior Mannitto attendant on the supreme Deity who shone superior in the red and laced clothes. As the whites became daily more familiar with the Indians, they at last proposed to stay with them, and asked only for so much ground for a garden spot as, they said, the hide of a bullock would cover or encompass, which hide was spread before them. The Indians readily granted this apparently reasonable request; but the whites then took a knife and beginning at one end of the hide, cut it up to a long rope, not thicker than a child's finger, so that by the time the whole was cut up, it made a great heap; they then took the rope at one end, and drew it gently along, carefully avoiding its breaking. It was drawn out into a circular form, and being closed at its ends, encompassed a large piece of ground. The Indians were surprised at the superior wit of the whites,* but did not wish to contend with them about a little land, as they had still enough themselves. The white and red men lived contentedly together for a long time, though the former from time to time asked for more land, which was readily obtained, and thus they gradually proceeded

* These Dutchmen were probably acquainted with what is related of Queen Dido in ancient history, and thus turned their classical knowledge to a good account.

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higher up the Mahicanittuck, until the Indians began to believe that they would soon want all their country, which in the end proved true.

CHAPTER III.

INDIAN RELATIONS OF THE CONDUCT OF THE EUROPEANS TOWARDS THEM.

LONG and dismal are the complaints which the Indians make of European ingratitude and injustice. They love to repeat them, and always do it with the eloquence of nature, aided by an energetic and comprehensive language, which our polished idioms cannot imitate. Often I have listened to these descriptions of their hard sufferings, until I felt ashamed of being a *white man*.

They are, in general, very minute in these recitals, and proceed with a great degree of order and regularity. They begin with the Virginians, whom they call the *long knives*, and who were the first European settlers in this part of the American continent. "It was we," say the Lenape, Mohicans, and their kindred tribes, "who "so kindly received them on their first arrival into our "country. We took them by the hand, and bid them "welcome to sit down by our side, and live with us as "brothers, but how did they requite our kindness? "They at first asked only for a little land on which to "raise bread for themselves and their families, and pas- "ture for their cattle, which we freely gave them. They "soon wanted more, which we also gave them. They "saw the game in the woods, which the Great Spi- "rit had given us for our subsistence, and they want-

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193 648 "ed that too. They penetrated into the woods, in quest "of game, they discovered spots of land which pleased "them; that land they also wanted, and because we "were loth to part with it, as we saw they had already "more than they had need of, they took it from us by "force and drove us to a great distance from our ancient "homes."

[103] "By and by the *Dutchmann** arrived at *Manahach-* "*tánienk*,"† (here they relate with all its details what has been said in the preceding chapter.) "The great man "wanted only a little, little land, on which to raise "greens for his soup, just as much as a bullock's "hide would cover. Here we first might have observed "their deceitful spirit. The bullock's hide was cut "up into little strips, and did not cover, indeed, but en- "circled a very large piece of land, which we foolishly "granted to them. They were to raise *greens* on it, in- "stead of which they planted *great guns*; afterwards they "built strong houses, made themselves masters of the "Island, then went up the river to our enemies, the "Mengwe, made a league with them, persuaded us by "their wicked arts to lay down our arms, and at last "drove us entirely out of the country." Here, of course, is related at full length, the story which we have told in the first chapter. Then the Delawares proceed.

[103] "When the *Fengeese*‡ arrived at *Machtitschwanne*,§ "they looked about every where for good spots of land, "and when they found one, they immediately and with- "out ceremony possessed themselves of it; we were as-

* The Hollanders.

† Manhattan, or New York Island.

‡ An Indian corruption of the word *English*, whence probably the nickname *Yankees*.

§ This word means "a cluster of Islands with channels every way, "so that it is in no place shut up or impassable for craft." The Indians think that the white people have corrupted this word into *Massachusetts*. It deserves to be remarked as an example of the comprehensiveness of the Indian languages.

1 [Lorraine. See cat. 116, p. 348. - Andrist]

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"tonished, but still we let them go on, not thinking it 173
"worth while to contend for a little land. But when at 648
"last they came to our favourite spots, those which lay
"most convenient to our fisheries, then bloody wars en-
"sued: we would have been contented that the white
"people and we should have lived quietly beside each
"other; but these white men encroached so fast upon us,
"that we saw at once we should lose all, if we did not
"resist them. The wars that we carried on against
"each other, were long and cruel. We were enraged
"when we saw the white people put our friends and
"relatives whom they had taken prisoners on board of
"their ships, and carry them off to sea, whether to drown
"or sell them as slaves, in the country from which they
"came, we knew not, but certain it is that none of them
"have ever returned or even been heard of. At last
"they got possession of the whole of the country which
"the Great Spirit had given us. One of our tribes was
"forced to wander far beyond Quebec; others dispersed
"in small bodies, and sought places of refuge where they
"could; some came to Pennsylvania; others went far to
"the westward and mingled with other tribes.

"To many of those, Pennsylvania was a last, de-
"lightful asylum. But here, again, the Europeans dis-
"turbed them, and forced them to emigrate, although
"they had been most kindly and hospitably received.
"On which ever side of the *Lenapewihittuck*,* the white [103]
"people landed, they were welcomed as brothers by our
"ancestors, who gave them lands to live on, and even
"hunted for them, and furnished them with meat out of
"the woods. Such was our conduct to the white men,†
"who inhabited this country, until our elder brother, the

* The Delaware river. I have said above, p. 33. that *Hittuck* means a rapid stream. I should have added that it means so only when placed at the end of another word, and used as a compound. Singly, it signifies a *tree*. [192]

† The Swedes and Dutch

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"great and good MIQUON,* came and brought us words "of peace and good will. We believed his words, and "his memory is still held in veneration among us. But "it was not long before our joy was turned into sor- "row: our brother Miquon died, and those of his good "counsellors who were of his mind, and knew what "had passed between him and our ancestors, were no "longer listened to; the strangers† who had taken their "places, no longer spoke to us of sitting down by the "side of each other as brothers of one family, they for- "got that friendship which their great man had esta- "blished with us, and was to last to the end of time; "they now only strove to get all our land from us by "fraud or by force, and when we attempted to remind them "of what our good brother had said, they became angry, "and sent word to our enemies the Mengwe, to meet [103] "them at a great concil which they were to hold with us "at *Læhauwake*,‡ where they should take us by the hair "of our heads, and shake us well. The Mengwe came, "the council was held, and in the presence of the white "men, who did not contradict them, they told us that we "were women, and that they had made us such; that we "had no right to any land, because it was all theirs; that "we must be gone; and that as a great favour they permit- "ted us to go and settle further into the country, at the "place which they themselves pointed out at Wyoming."§

Thus these good Indians, with a kind of melancholy pleasure, recite the long history of their sufferings. After having gone through these painful details, they seldom fail to indulge in bitter, but too just reflections upon the men of Europe. "We and our kindred tribes," say they, "lived in peace and harmony with each other,

* William Penn.

† Land traders and speculators.

‡ Easton.

§ This actually took place at a treaty held at Easton, in July and November, 1756.

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"before the white people came into this country; our "council house* extended far to the north and far to the "south. In the middle of it we would meet from all parts "to smoke the pipe of peace together. When the white "men arrived in the south, we received them as friends; "we did the same when they arrived in the east. It was "we, it was our forefathers, who made them welcome, and "let them sit down by our side. The land they settled on "was ours. We knew not but the Great Spirit had sent "them to us for some good purpose, and therefore we "thought they must be a good people. We were mista- "ken; for no sooner had they obtained a footing on our "lands, than they began to pull our council house down† "first at one end and then at the other, and at last meeting "each other at the centre, where the council fire was yet "burning bright, they put it out,‡ and extinguished it with "our own blood!§ with the blood of those‖ who with us "had received them! who had welcomed them in our land! "Their blood ran in streams into our fire, and extinguished "it so entirely, that not one spark was left us whereby to

*. *Council house* here means, "Connexion District."

† *Pulling the council house down.* Destroying, dispersing the community, preventing their further intercourse with each other, by settling between them on their land.

‡ *Putting the fire out.* Murdering them or their people, where they assemble for pacific purposes, where treaties are held &c.

§ *Our own blood.* The blood flowing from the veins of some of our community.

‖ Alluding to the murder of the Conestogo Indians, who though of another tribe, yet had joined them in welcoming the white people to their shores.

In a narrative of this lamentable event, supposed to have been written by the late Dr. Franklin, it is said: "On the first arrival of "the English in Pennsylvania, messengers from this tribe came to "welcome them with presents of venison, corn and skins, and the "whole tribe entered into a treaty of friendship with the first propri- "etor, William Penn, which was to last as long as the sun should "shine, or the waters run in the rivers."

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1773 648 "kindle a new fire;* we were compelled to withdraw our-
"selves beyond the great swamp,† and to fly to our good
"uncle the *Delamattenos*,‡ who kindly gave us a tract of
"land to live on. How long we shall be permitted to re-
"main in this asylum, the Great Spirit only knows. The
"whites will not rest contented until they shall have de-
"stroyed the last of us, and made us disappear entirely
"from the face of the earth."

I have given here only a brief specimen of the charges which they exhibit against the white people. There are men among them, who have by heart the whole history of what took place between the whites and the Indians, since the former first came into their country; and relate the whole with ease and with an eloquence not to be imitated. On the tablets of their memories they preserve this record for posterity. I, at one time, in April 1787,[a] was astonished when I heard one of their orators, a great chief of the Delaware nation, go over this ground, recapitulating the most extraordinary events which had before happened, and concluding in these words: "I
"admit there are good white men, but they bear no pro-
"portion to the bad; the bad must be the strongest, for
"they rule. They do what they please. They enslave
"those who are not of their colour, although created by
"the same Great Spirit who created us.[b] They would
"make slaves of us if they could, but as they cannot do

[a] [erratum. Should read 1781. - Analyst]

* *The fire was entirely extinguished by the blood of the murdered running into it; not a spark was left to kindle a new fire.* This alludes to the last fire that was kindled by the Pennsylvania government and themselves at Lancaster, where the last treaty was held with them in 1762, the year preceding this murder, which put an end to all business of the kind in the province of Pennsylvania.

† *The great Swamp.* The Glades on the Allegheny mountains.

‡ *Delamattenos.* The Hurons or Wyandots, whom they call their uncle. These, though speaking a dialect of the Iroquois language, are in connexion with the Lenape.

[b] [erratum. Should Read "them." - Analyst]

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NM7 Delaware NM7

"it, they kill us! There is no faith to be placed in their
"words. They are not like the Indians, who are only
"enemies, while at war, and are friends in peace. They
"will say to an Indian, "my friend! my brother!"
"They will take him by the hand, and at the same mo-
"ment destroy him. And so you (addressing himself to
"the Christian Indians) will also be treated by them be-
"fore long. Remember! that this day I have warned
"you to beware of such friends as these. I know the *long*
"*knives*; they are not to be trusted."

Eleven months after this speech was delivered by this prophetic chief, ninety six of the same Christian Indians, about sixty of them women and children, were murdered at the place where these very words had been spoken, by the same men he had alluded to, and in the same manner that he had described. See Loskiel's History, Part III. ch. 10.

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CHAPTER IV.

SUBSEQUENT FATE OF THE LENAPE AND THEIR KINDRED TRIBES.

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AFTER the murder of the Conestogo Indians, the Lenni Lenape thought proper, for their safety, to withdraw altogether from the interior of the white settlements, into the wilds of the Susquehannah country; and Government, conscious that they could no longer protect any Indians, or body of Indians, whether Christians or not, in the settled parts of the province, advised the Christian Indians, whom, during the last troubles, they had with difficulty prevented from sharing the fate of the Conestogos, to retire into the back country. They did so, and settled at Wyalusing, which then became the nearest settlement of Indians to the white inhabitants, being upwards of 150 miles north of Philadelphia, and about 100 miles from the frontier settlers beyond the blue mountains; all the other Indians of that nation, together with the Nanticokes, lived then higher up the Susquehannah. For about five years, the Indians on this river enjoyed peace, and the Christian Indians lived quietly here and at another settlement they had made thirty miles higher, built good houses for themselves, together with a spacious church, planted fruit trees, and put large bodies of land under cultivation. But, while they were flattering themselves with the most favourable prospect, they were informed that the Six Nations had sold the whole country, including the land they lived on, to the English. They soon saw through the object of this clandestine proceeding, of which they had not received the least notice, and foreseeing what kind of neighbours they should have, if they should stay where

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they were, they determined to move off in a body to the Ohio, where they had received an invitation to settle from the grand council of their nation. Accordingly, two hundred and forty one souls set off directly for the Muskingum river, where a large tract of land was given them, out of that which the Wyandots had formerly granted and confirmed to their people; the other Indians of the same nation residing on the Susquehannah soon followed, some settling at one place, some at another; the Mouseys,[a] however, joined their own tribe, who long since had emigrated and were settled on the head waters of the Allegheny river; and so the whole country east of the Allegheny mountains was cleared of its original inhabitants.

The Delawares thus became at once released from their troublesome neighbours the Iroquois, who had calculated on their settling near them, at a place they had already fixed upon; but they were mistaken, for with all their fair speeches they could not persuade the Lenape, who gave them plainly to understand that they were no longer inclined to listen to a people who had so long and so often deceived them.

This happened in the year 1768, about six[a] years before the beginning of the revolutionary war. During which short period of tranquillity, the numbers of the Christian Indians on the Ohio rapidly increased, and never was there such a fair prospect of their being fixed in a state of prosperous civilisation. But the revolution put an end to these hopes, and this opportunity was lost, perhaps, never to return again. It was not the fault of the American government, who were truly desirous of seeing the Indians adopt a neutral line of conduct, and repeatedly advised them not to interfere in the quarrel between the colonies and the mother country; happy would it have been if the British government had acted in the same manner; but they pursued a different plan. These poor deluded people were dragged into a war in which they had no concern, by which not only their po-

[a] [Errata. See cat. 116, p. 348. -Analyst]

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175 pulation was gradually reduced, but they lost the desire of becoming a civilised people; for the Americans, at last, become exasperated against them, and considering all Indians as their enemies, they sent parties out from time to time to destroy them. The murder of the Christian Indians on the Muskingum in 1782, completed their alienation. Those who yet remained were driven to despair, and finally dispersed.

131 It is not in my power to ascertain the whole number of the Lenni Lenape, or Delaware Indians, still existing 167 at the present time. As far as I am informed, they are very much scattered, a number of them, chiefly of the 161 Monsey tribe, living in Upper Canada, others are in the state of Ohio, and some on the waters of the Wabash in the Indiana territory. A considerable number of them has crossed the Mississippi. Their first emigrations to that country had already begun between the years 1780 and 1790. What the numbers of this nation were when the Europeans first came into this country is difficult to tell; all I can say is, that so early as 1760, their oldest men would say that they were not then as many hundreds as they had been thousands. They have considerably decreased since that period. I saw them myself between the years 1754 and 1760, by hundreds at a time, and Loskiel in his history gives an account of upwards of 800 having been fed at Bethlehem in one year. In the year 1762, while I lived at Tuscorawas on the Muskingum, they were settled on that river and its branches, and also on the Cayahoga river, which empties [103] into Lake Erie, in the neighbourhood of which they had since a small Christian settlement called *Pilgerruh*, (Pilgrim's rest.)*

* Loskiel, part III. ch. 12.

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THE SHAWANOS OR SAWANOS.*

THE history of these people is here given, principally from the relations of old Indians of the Mohican† tribe, who say that they formerly inhabited the southern country, Savannah in Georgia, and the Floridas. They were a restless people, delighting in wars, in which they were constantly engaged with some of the neighbouring nations. At last their neigbours, tired of being continually harassed by them, formed a league for their destruction. The Shawanos finding themselves thus dangerously situated, asked to be permitted to leave the country, which was granted to them, and they fled immediately to the Ohio. Here their main body settled, and sent messengers to their elder brother‡ the Mohicans, requesting them to intercede for them with their grandfather the Lenni Lenape, that he might take them under his protection. This the Mohicans willingly did, and even sent a body of their own people to conduct their *younger brother* into the country of the Delawares. The Shawanos finding themselves safe under the protection of their grandfather, did not all choose to proceed farther to the eastward, but many of them remained on the Ohio, some of whom settled even as high up that river as the long island, above which the French afterwards built Fort Duquesne, now Pittsburg. Those who proceeded farther, were accompanied by their chief, named Gachgawatschiqua, and settled principally at and about the forks of Delaware, some few between that and the confluence of Delaware and Schuylkill, and some even on

* General John Gibson thinks that *Sawano* is their proper name; they are so called by the other Indian nations, from their being a southern people. *Shawanew*, in the Lenape language, means the south; *Shawanachau*, the uth wind, &c. We commonly call them the *Shawanese*.

† The Shawanos call the Mohicans their *elder brother*.

‡ Loskiel, part II. ch 10.

[101]

a Cerratum. See cat. 116, p. 348. - Analyst

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the spot where Philadelphia now stands; others were conducted by the Mohicans into their own country, where they intermarried with them and became one people. When those settled near the Delaware had multiplied, they returned to Wyoming on the Susquehannah, where they resided for a great number of years.

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In the mean while, those who had remained on the Ohio increased in numbers, and in process of time began again to be troublesome to their neigbours. At last, they crossed the Allegheny mountains, and falling upon the camps of the Lenape on Juniata river, they committed several murders and went off with their plunder. It was soon discovered who were the aggressors; but the Lenape had now assumed the station of "the woman," and could not engage in wars. They could only apply for protection to the Five Nations, which they did, expecting that they would immediately pursue the offenders and inflict an exemplary punishment upon them, but the Five Nations found means to evade their demand for the present. They told the Delawares that the season was too far advanced to commence a war; that it was better to put off their intended expedition until the ensuing spring; that in the mean time, both nations should put themselves in readiness, and keep their preparations secret, and that as soon as the season should open, they would march off separately and meet together at an appointed time and place on the Allegheny, then push on together for the Shawano towns below the confluence of that river and the Monongahela, where they could fall together unawares on the aggressors and punish them. The Iroquois promised, as usual, that they would place themselves in the front of the battle, so that the Delawares would have nothing to do but to look on and see how bravely their protectors would fight for them, and if they were not satisfied with that, they might take their revenge themselves.

Agreeably to this plan, the Lenape remained quiet till

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the spring, when, with a body of their most valiant men, they marched to the appointed spot; but how great was their surprise when their pretended champions did not make their appearance? They suspected treachery, and were not mistaken; for having immediately marched forward to the Shawano towns, bent on taking an exemplary revenge, they had the disappointment to see on their arrival their enemies pushing off as fast as they could down the Ohio river in their canoes. Some of them were flying by land, as probably they had not a sufficient number of canoes to convey their whole number; these they pursued and attacked, beat them severely, and took several prisoners. Here they had a striking instance of the treachery of the Mengwe, who had warned the Shawanos of their approach. Some time after this, the Shawanos who resided on the north branch of the Susquehannah, began to draw off by degrees, first to the west branch of that river and the Juniata, and then to the Ohio; so that at the commencement of the French war in 1755, they had all, except a few families, with whom was their chief Paxnos, retired to the Ohio, where they joined their countrymen in the war against the English.*

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[1797]

* While these people lived at Wyoming and in its vicinity, they were frequently visited by missionaries of the Society of the United Brethren, who knowing them to be the most depraved and ferocious tribe of all the Indian nations they had heard of, sought to establish a friendship with them, so as not to be interrupted in their journies from one Indian Mission to another. Count Zinzendorff being at that time in the country, went in 1742 with some other Missionaries to visit them at Wyoming, stayed with them 20 days, and endeavoured to impress the gospel truths upon their minds; but these hardened people, suspecting his views, and believing that he wanted to purchase their land, on which it was reported there were mines of silver, conspired to murder him, and would have effected their purpose, but that Conrad Weiser, the Indian interpreter, arrived fortunately in time to prevent it. (Loskiel part II. ch. 1.) Notwithstanding this, the brethren frequently visited them, and Shehellemus, a

l:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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173 648 Peace was made in 1763, between Great Britain and France; but the restless spirit of the Shawanos did not permit them to remain quiet; they commenced war* against their southern neighbours, the Cherokees, who, while in pursuit of the aggressors, would sometimes through mistake fall upon the Lenape, who resided in the same country with the Shawanos, through whom they also became involved in a war with that nation, which lasted some time. The Mengwe being then also at war with the Cherokees, and frequently returning with their prisoners and scalps through their country, the warlike spirit was kept alive among all, until at length in 1768, the Cherokees sought a renewal of the friendship formerly existing between them and their grandfather the Lenape, which being effected, they, by their mediation, also brought about a peace between them and the Five Nations.

The Shawanos not being disposed to continue the war with the Cherokees by themselves, and having been reprimanded by their grandfather, for being the instigators of all those troubles, willingly submitted to the dictates of the Lenape, and from that time remained at peace with all the nations until the year 1774, when they were involved in a war with the people of Virginia, occasioned by some murders which were committed on Logan's family connexions and others by white people. In this instance it cannot, I think, be said that they were the aggressors, yet their thirst for revenge was so great, and the injured Mengwe at their side called out so loudly for

1797 chief of great influence, having become their friend, (Loskiel, ibid, ch. 8.) they could now travel with greater safety. He died at Shamokin in 1749; the Brethren were, however, fortunate enough to obtain the friendship of Paxnos or Paxanos, another chief of the Shawanos, who gave them full proof of it by sending his sons to escort one of them to Bethlehem from Shamokin, where he was in the most perilous situation, the war having just broke out. (Loskiel, ibid. ch. 12.)

* Loskiel, part, I. ch. 10.

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revenge, that they with great spirit engaged into a war with the Virginians, which, however, was of but short duration, as they were opposed with an equal degree of courage, and after a severe battle between the two rivals, at or near the mouth of the great Kanhawa, and the destruction of many of their towns by the Virginians, the Shawanos were brought to make peace once more; which did not last long, as they joined the British against the American people, some time after the commencement of the revolution, and remained our enemies after that time, never establishing a firm peace with us, until the memorable treaty which took place in 1795, after the decisive defeat of the nations by the late General Wayne.

The Shawanos lost many of their men during these contests; but they were in a manner replaced by individuals of other nations joining them. Thus, during the revolutionary war, about one hundred turbulent Cherokees, who could not be brought by their own nation to be at peace with the American people, and were on that account driven out of their country, came over to the Shawanos, while others from the Five Nations joined them, or became their neighbours.

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The Shawanos are considered to be good warriors and hunters. They are courageous, high spirited and manly, and more careful in providing a supply of ammunition to keep in reserve for an emergency, than any other nation that I have heard of. Their language is more easily learned than that of the Lenape, and has a great affinity to the Mohican, Chippeway and, other kindred languages. They generally place the accent on the last syllable.

The Nanticokes.

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The Delawares say that this nation has sprung from the same stock with them, and the fact was acknow-

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173 ledged by White,* one of their chiefs, whom I have personally known. They call the Delawares their grandfathers. I shall relate the history of the Shawanos, as I had it from the mouth of White himself.

173 131 168 Every Indian being at liberty to pursue what occupation he pleases, White's ancestors, after the Lenape came into their country, preferred seeking a livelihood by fishing and trapping along the rivers and bays, to pursuing wild game in the forest; they therefore detached themselves, and sought the most convenient places for their purpose. In process of time, they became very numerous, partly by natural increase, and partly in consequence of being joined by a number of the Lenape, and spread themselves over a large tract of country. Thus they became divided into separate bodies, distinguished by different names; the Canai, they say, sprung from them, and settled at a distance on the shores of the Potomack and Susquehannah, where they lived when the white people first arrived in Virginia; but they removed farther on their account, and settled higher up the Susquehannah, not far from where John Harris afterwards established a ferry. The main branch, or the Nanticokes proper, were then living in what is now called the Eastern shore of Maryland. At length, the white people crowded so much upon them, that they were also obliged to seek another abode, and as their grandfather was himself retreating back in consequence of the great influx of the whites, they took the advice of the Mengwe, and bent their course at once to the large flats at Wyoming, where they settled by themselves, in sight of the Shawanos town, while others settled higher up the river, even as [103] high as Chemenk† (Shenango) and Shummunk, to which places they all emigrated at the beginning of the French war. White's tribe resided there until the revolutionary

* See, in Loskiel's History, part II. ch. 10. his account of the visit of this chief to the Christian Indian Congregation at Bethlehem.

† *Zeningi*, according to Loskiel.

A [probably Nanticokes.—Ajello]

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war, when they went off to a place nearer to the British, whose part they had taken, and whose standard they joined; White himself had joined the Christian Indians at Schachrquon, several years previous to the war, and remained with them. 173 131 168

Nothing, said White, had equalled the decline of his tribe since the white people had come into the country. They were destroyed in part by disorders which they brought with them, by the small pox, the venereal disease, and by the free use of spirituous liquors, to which great numbers fell victims.

The emigration of the Nanticokes from Maryland was well known to the Society of the United Brethren. At the time when these people were beginning their settlement in the forks of Delaware, the Rev. Christian Pyrlæus noted down in his memorandum book, "that on the 21st day "of May 1748, a number of the Nanticokes from Mary-"land, passed by Shamokin in ten canoes, on their way "to Wyoming." Others, travelling by land, would frequently pass through Bethlehem, and from thence through the Water Gap to Nescopeck or Susquehannah, and while they resided at Wyoming, they, together with the Shawanese, became the emissaries of the Five Nations, and in conjunction with them afterwards, endeavoured to remove the Christian Indians from Gnadenhutten, in Northampton county, to Wyoming; their private object being to have a full opportunity to murder the white inhabitants, in the war which they already knew would soon break out between the French and English.

These Nanticokes had the singular custom of removing the bones of their deceased friends from the burial place to a place of deposit in the country they dwell in. In earlier times, they were known to go from Wyoming and Chemenk, to fetch the bones of their dead from the Eastern shore of Maryland, even when the bodies were in a putrid state, so that they had to take off the flesh and scrape the bones clean, before they could carry 764

? [erratum. See cat. 116, p. 348. - Analyst]

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764 them along. I well remember having seen them between the years 1750 and 1760, loaded with such bones, which, being fresh, caused a disagreeable stench, as they passed through the town of Bethlehem.

754 They are also said to have been the inventors of a poisonous substance, by which they could destroy a whole settlement of people, and they are accused of being skilled in the arts of witchcraft; it is certain that they are very much dreaded on this account. I have known Indians who firmly believed that they had people among them who could, if they pleased, destroy a whole army, by merely blowing their breath towards them. Those of the Lenape* and other tribes, who pretend to witchcraft, say that they learned the science from the Nanticokes; they are not unwilling to be taxed with being wizzards, as it makes them feared by their neighbours.

101 Their national name, according to the report of their chief, White, is *Nentégo*. The Delawares call them *Unéchtgo*, and the Iroquois *Sganiateratieh-rohne*. These three names have the same meaning, and signify *tide-water people*, or the *sea shore settlers*. They have besides other names, by-names, as it were, given them with reference to their occupation. The Mohicans, for instance, call them *Otayáchgo*, and the Delawares *Tawachguáno*, both which words in their respective languages, signify a "bridge," a "dry passage over a stream;" which alludes to their being noted for felling great numbers of trees across streams, to set their traps on. They are also often called the *Trappers*.

161 167 648 In the year 1785, this tribe had so dwindled away, that their whole body, who came together to see their old chief White, then residing with the Christian Indians on the Huron river, north of Detroit, did not amount to 50 men. They were then going through Canada, to the Miami country, to settle beside the Shawanos, in consequence of an invitation they had received from them.

* Loskiel, part I. ch. 9.

a [correction. See p. 348, col. 1 lb. - Ed.]

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The Mahicanni, or Mohicans.

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This once great and renowned nation has also almost entirely disappeared, as well as the numerous tribes who had descended from them; they have been destroyed by wars, and carried off by the small pox and other disorders, and great numbers have died in consequence of the introduction of spirituous liquors among them. The remainder have fled and removed in separate bodies to different parts, where they now are dispersed or mingled with other nations. So early as the year 1762, a number of them had emigrated to the Ohio, where I became acquainted with their chief who was called by the whites "Mohican John." Others have fled to the shores of the St. Lawrence, where numbers of them incorporated themselves with the Iroquois, and where their descendants live at the present time, a mixed race, known by the name of the *Cochnewago* Indians. Upwards of one hundred of them, who lived in the colonies of Connecticut and New York, having through the labours of the United Brethren embraced Christianity, emigrated to Pennsylvania, some time between 1742 and 1760, where they afterwards became incorporated with the Delawares. A considerable number migrated from Hudson's river about the year 1734, and settled at Stockbridge, in Massachusetts; between the year 1785 and 1787, they removed to Oneida, in the country of the Six Nations, and gave to their settlement the name of New Stockbridge. Before their removal their numbers had gradually diminished. In 1791, they were reduced to 191 persons.* They were once very numerous in Connecticut, and in the year 1799, there still were 84 individuals of them, in the county of New London,† the remains of

* Collections Massach. Histor. Soc. vol. I. p. 195. vol. IV. p. 67. vol. IX. p. 92.

† Ibid. vol. IX. p. 76.

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Mahican NM10
Iroquois NM9

a once large and flourishing settlement. It is probable that by this time they are nearly if not entirely extinct.

It is believed that the Mahicanni are the same nation who are so celebrated in the History of New England, under the name of *Pequods* or *Pequots*.* The Rev. Jonathan Edwards, late President of Union College at Schenectady, in the State of New York, published in the year 1788 in a pamphlet form, some observations on their language, which were republished at New York in 1804. This small tract, as well as the translation of the Bible into the Natick, by the venerable Eliott, and his grammar of that language, put it beyond a doubt that the idiom of the Mohicans and those of the other New England Indians proceeded from the same source with that of the Lenni Lenape.

CHAPTER V.

THE IROQUOIS.

THE most intelligent and credible Indians of the Lenape stock, including the Mohicans, have ever asserted, that in the whole country bounded on the north by the river St. Lawrence and the Great Lakes, (including what is now Nova Scotia and New Brunswick,) on the west by the Mississippi, on the east by the Great Salt-water Lake,† and on the south by the country of the Creeks, Cherokees, and other Florida Indians, there

* Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc. vol. IX. p. 77. Trumbull's History of Connecticut, vol. I. p. 22.

† The Atlantic ocean.

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were but two nations, the Mengwe, and themselves. Theirs was by far the most numerous and the most extensively settled, for their tribes extended even beyond the Mississippi. On the other side of the St. Lawrence, the Algonquins, the Kilistenos or Knistenaux, and others, speaking dialects of their language, prove their origin from the same stock. The Mengwe, on the contrary, were comparatively few, and occupied a much less portion of territory, being almost confined to the vicinity of the great lakes. But few tribes are known to be connected with them by descent and language; the principal ones are the Wyandots, otherwise called Hurons and the Naudowessies. Almost every other nation within the boundaries described, is of the Lenape family.

Each of these two great nations, say the Delawares, had an ancient national name, and a tradition of their respective origin, handed down to them by their ancestors, and diffused among all the kindred tribes. By whatsoever names those tribes might be called, and whatever their numbers were, still they considered themselves, and were considered by others, as the offspring of the same original stock. All the tribes who had sprung from the Lenape called the mother nation *grandfather*, and received, in return, the appellation of *grandchildren*. They were all united by the strongest ties of friendship and alliance; in their own expressive language, they made but *one house, one fire, and one canoe*, that is to say, that they constituted together one people, one family. The same thing took place between the Mengwe and the tribes descended from them. They and the Lenape had no relationship with each other, though they came over the Mississippi together at the same time. They considered each other as nations entirely distinct.

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The Mengwe or Iroquois were always considered by the Lenape as only one nation, consisting of several confederated tribes. The name of Five and afterwards Six Nations, was given to them by the English, whose allies

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619 they were, probably to raise their consequence, and magnify the idea of their strength; but the Indian nations never did flatter them with that high sounding appellation, and considered them merely as confederated *tribes*.

101 619 The late Rev. Mr. Pyrlæus, in a large volume of MS. notes which he wrote between the years 1740 and 1750, (upwards of 70 years ago) has taken down on this subject the account given by the Iroquois themselves, as he had it from the mouth of an intelligent Mohawk chief,* whose veracity might be depended upon. After giving some details respecting the origin of their confederation, the time about which it took place, the names of the delegates from each of the confederated tribes &c, he proceeds thus: "They then gave themselves the name *Aquanoshioni*, which means *one house, one family*, and consisted of the Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagoes, Cayugas, and Senecas. This alliance having been first proposed by a Mohawk chief, the Mohawks rank in the *family* as the *eldest brother*, the Oneidas, as the *eldest son*; the Senecas, who were the last who at that time had consented to the alliance, were called the *youngest son*; but the Tuscaroras, who joined the confederacy probably one hundred years afterwards, assumed that name, and the Senecas ranked in precedence before them, as being the *next youngest son*, or as we would say, the youngest son but one.

The Rev. David Zeisberger also says: "That the "Iroquois call themselves *Aquanoshioni*, which means "*united people*, having united for the purpose of always "reminding each other that their safety and power consist "in a mutual and strict adherence to their alliance."† He adds, that Onondago is the chief town of the Iroquois.

Thus, in the different translations of the name which these people gave themselves, we find nothing that con-

* P. 235.—This MS is in the library of the Society of the United Brethren at Bethlehem.

† Loskiel, part II. ch. 9.

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veys the ideas of *nations*, it implies no more than a *family*, an *united people*, a *family compact*. The different sections take ranks in this family, of which the *Onondagoes* are the head, while the others are brothers and sons; all which tends clearly to prove, that they were originally but tribes, detached bodies of the same people, who, when brought together in close union, formed a complete family and became entitled to the name of a NATION. 101 619

We also see that self-preservation was the cause of their uniting, and that they were compelled by necessity to this measure, on which their existence depended. And though we have a right to suppose that that tribe which always takes the lead in the government of an Indian nation, (the *Turtle* tribe,) existed among them, yet it is evident that its authority at that time was either wholly disregarded, or at least, was too weak to give complete efficacy to its measures. 619

If, then, we believe the information given us by both Pyrlæus and Zeisberger to be correct, we must be fully convinced that the Iroquois confederacy did not consist of Five or Six Nations, but of as many tribes or sections of the same people, forming together one nation. These two Missionaries are known to have been men of the strictest veracity; they were both, I may say, critically acquainted* with the Mengwe idiom, and they had their information from the most respectable and intelligent men among that nation, the former from the Mohawk, the latter from the Onondagá tribe. There is no reason, therefore, why the truth of their statements should be doubted. 114 619

* Mr. Zeisberger wrote a complete dictionary of the Iroquois language, in three quarto volumes, the first of which, from A, to the middle of H, is unfortunately lost. The remainder, which is preserved, contains upwards of 800 pages, which shews that, at least, the Indian languages are not so *poor* as is generally imagined. It is German and Indian, beginning with the German.

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The Lenape and their kindred tribes never have called the Iroquois "the Five or Six Nations." In conversation, they call them the Mengwe, and never make use of any other but this generic name when speaking of them. In their councils, however, they occasionally distinguished them by the name *Palenach endchieaktajeet*.* These two words, literally translated mean "the five divisions, "sections or parts together," and does not in any manner imply the idea of *nations*. Had they meant to say "the Five Nations," they would have expressed it by the words *Palenach ekhokewit*; those which they used, on the contrary, expressly imply *sectional divisions*, and leave no doubt about their meaning.

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The Iroquois themselves, as we have already seen, had adopted a name, *Aquanoschioni*, merely indicative of their close union. After, however, they came to be informed of the meaning of the name which the English had given them, they were willing to let it pass as correct. The Indians are very fond of high sounding names; I have known myself chiefs who delighted to be called *Kings*, after they had learned from us that the great rulers of the English and French nations were distinguished by that title.

Thus the proper name of those six united tribes is in their own language *Aquanoschioni*. By other nations they are called *Mengwe*, *Maquas*, *Mingoes* and *Iroquois*. The Lenape call them by the first, the Mohicans and Dutch by the second, the English and Americans by the third, and the French by the fourth. I employ these different names indiscriminately in the course of this work.

As detached bodies or tribes, their names with the Lenape are the following:

1. *Sankhicani*, the Mohawks, from *Sankhican*, a gunlock, this people being the first who were furnished with

* This word should be pronounced according to the powers of the German Alphabet.

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muskets by the Europeans, the locks of which, with their effect in striking fire, was a subject of great astonishment to them; and thus they were named, as it were, *the fire-striking people.*

2. *W'Tassone*, the Oneidas. This name means the *stone-pipe makers*, and was given to them on account of their ingenuity in making tobacco pipes of stone.

3. *Onondágoes*, the Onondagoes. This name signifies in their own language *on the top of the hill*, their town being so situated.

4. *Quelágue*, Cayugas, thus called after a lake of the same name.

5. *Mxchachtfuni*, the Senecas. This name means *Mountaineers*, and was given them because they inhabited the hilly parts of the country.

6. The *Tuscaroras*, the sixth and last tribe in the league, they call by the same name, yet I have never heard the Lenape speak of the *six divisions or tribes*; when they describe them in that manner, it is always by the number *Five*.

CHAPTER VI.

GENERAL CHARACTER OF THE INDIANS.

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THE Indian considers himself as a being created by an all-powerful, wise and benevolent Mannitto;* all that he possesses, all that he enjoys, he looks upon as given to him or allotted for his use by the Great Spirit who gave him life: he therefore believes it to be his duty

* Being, or Spirit.

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to adore and worship his Creator and benefactor; to acknowledge with gratitude his past favours, thank him for present blessings, and solicit the continuation of his good will.*

As beings who have controul over all beasts and living creatures, they feel their importance; before they saw white people or men of a different colour from their own, they considered themselves as God's favourites, and believed that if the Great Mannitto could reside on earth he would associate with them and be their great chief.

The Indian also believes, that he is highly favoured by his Maker, not only in having been created different in shape and in mental and bodily powers from other animals, but in being enabled to controul and master them all, even those of an enormous size and of the most ferocious kinds; and therefore, when he worships his Creator in his way, he does not omit in his supplications to pray that he may be endowed with courage to fight and conquer his enemies, among whom he includes all savage beasts; and when he has performed some heroic act, he will not forget to acknowledge it as a mark of divine favour, by making a sacrifice to the great and good Mannitto, or by publicly announcing that his success was entirely owing to the courage given him by the all-powerful Spirit. Thus, habitual devotion to the great First Cause, and a strong feeling of gratitude for the benefits which he confers, is one of the prominent traits which characterise the mind of the untutored Indian.

* And old Indian told me about fifty years ago, that when he was young, he still followed the custom of his father and ancestors, in climbing upon a high mountain or pinnacle, to thank the Great Spirit for all the benefits before bestowed, and to pray for a continuance of his favour; that they were sure their prayers were heard, and acceptable to the Great Spirit, although he did not himself appear to them.

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Not satisfied with paying this first of duties to the Lord of all, in the best manner they are able, the Indians also endeavour to fulfil the views which they suppose he had in creating the world. They think that he made the earth and all that it contains for the common good of mankind; when he stocked the country that he gave them with plenty of game, it was not for the benefit of a few, but of all. Every thing was given in common to the sons of men. Whatever liveth on the land, whatsoever groweth out of the earth, and all that is in the rivers and waters flowing through the same, was given jointly to all, and every one is entitled to his share. From this principle, hospitality flows as from its source. With them it is not a virtue but a strict duty. Hence they are never in search of excuses to avoid giving, but freely supply their neighbour's wants from the stock prepared for their own use. They give and are hospitable to all, without exception, and will always share with each other and often with the stranger, even to their last morsel. They rather would lie down themselves on an empty stomach, than have it laid to their charge that they had neglected their duty, by not satisfying the wants of the stranger, the sick or the needy. The stranger has a claim to their hospitality, partly on account of his being at a distance from his family and friends, and partly because he has honoured them by his visit, and ought to leave them with a good impression upon his mind; the sick and the poor because they have a right to be helped out of the common stock: for if the meat they have been served with, was taken from the woods, it was common to all before the hunter took it; if corn or vegetables, it had grown out of the common ground, yet not by the power of man, but by that of the Great Spirit. Besides, on the principle, that all are descended from one parent, they look upon themselves as but one great family, who therefore ought at all times and on all occasions, to be serviceable and kind to each other, and by that means

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574 make themselves acceptable to the head of the universal family, the great and good Mannitto. Let me be permitted to illustrate this by an example.

Some travelling Indians having in the year 1777, put their horses over night to pasture in my little meadow, at Gnadenhutten on the Muskingum, I called on them in the morning to learn why they had done so. I endeavoured to make them sensible of the injury they had done me, especially as I intended to mow the meadow in a day or two. Having finished my complaint, one of them replied: "My friend, it seems you lay claim to the grass "my horses have eaten, because you had enclosed it with "a fence: now tell me, who caused the grass to grow? "Can *you* make the grass grow? I think not, and no "body can except the great Mannitto. He it is "who causes it to grow both for my horses and for "yours! See, friend! the grass which grows out of the "earth is common to all; the game in the woods is com- "mon to all. Say, did you never eat venison and bear's "meat?—"Yes, very often."—Well, and did you ever "hear me or any other Indian complain about that? "No; then be not disturbed at my horses having eaten "only once, of what you call *your* grass, though the "grass my horses did eat, in like manner as the meat "you did eat, was given to the Indians by the Great "Spirit. Besides, if you will but consider, you will find "that my horses did not eat *all* your grass. For friend- "ship's sake, however, I shall never put my horses in "your meadow again."

735 The Indians are not only just, they are also in many respects a generous people, and cannot see the sick and the aged suffer for want of clothing. To such they will give a blanket, a shirt, a pair of leggings, mocksens, &c. 431 Otherwise, when they make presents, it is done with a view to receive an equivalent in return, and the receiver is given to understand what that ought to be. In making presents to strangers, they are content with some trifle

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in token of remembrance; but when they give any thing to a trader, they at least expect double the value in return, saying that he can afford to do it, since he had cheated them so often. 431

They treat each other with civility, and shew much affection on meeting after an absence. When they meet in the forenoon, they will compliment one another with saying, "a good morning to you!" and in the afternoon "a good evening." In the act of shaking hands with each other, they strictly attend to the distinguishing names of relations, which they utter at the time; as for instance, "a good morning, father, grandfather, uncle, aunt, cousin," and so down to a small grandchild. They are also in the habit of saluting old people no ways related to them, by the names of grandfather and grandmother, not in a tone of condescending superiority or disguised contempt, but as a genuine mark of the respect which they feel for age. The common way of saluting where no relationship exists, is that of "friend;" when, however, the young people meet, they make use of words suitable to their years or stage in life; they will say "a good morning, comrade, favourite, beloved, &c." Even the children salute each other affectionately. "I am glad to see you," is the common way in which the Indians express themselves to one another after a short absence; but on meeting after a long absence, on the return of a messenger or a warrior from a critical or dangerous expedition, they have more to say; the former is saluted in the most cordial manner with some such expression: "I thank the Great Spirit, that he has pre-"served our lives to this time of our happily meeting "again. I am, indeed, very glad to see you." To which the other will reply: "you speak the truth; it is through "the favour of the great and good Spirit that we are "permitted to meet. I am equally glad to see you." To the latter will be said: "I am glad that the Great "Spirit has preserved your life and granted you a safe "return to your family." 576 [888]

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578 They are not quarrelsome, and are always on their guard, so as not to offend each other. When one supposes himself hurt or aggrieved by a word which has inadvertently fallen from the mouth of another, he will say to him: "Friend, you have caused me to become jealous of you," (meaning that he begins to doubt the sincerity of his friendship,) when the other explaining and saying that he had no bad intention, all is done away again.

They do not fight with each other; they say that fighting is only for dogs and beasts. They are, however,
522 fond of play, and passing a joke, yet very careful that they do not offend.

They are ingenious in making satirical observations, which though they create laughter, do not, or but seldom give offence. For instance, seeing a bad hunter going out into the woods with his gun, they will ask him if he is going out for meat? or say to one another: "now we shall have meat, for such a one is gone a hunt-"ing," (not believing any such thing.) If they see a coward joining a war party, they will ask him ironically at what time he intends to come back again? (knowing that he will return before he has met the enemy,) or they will say to one another: "will he return this way with his scalps?"

Genuine wit, which one would hardly expect to find in a savage people, is not unfrequent among them. I have heard them, for instance, compare the English and
522 American nations to a pair of scissors, an instrument
648 composed of two sharp edged knives exactly alike, working against each other for the same purpose, that of *cutting*. By the construction of this instrument, they said, it would appear as if in shutting, these two sharp knives would strike together and destroy each other's edges; but no such thing: they only cut *what comes between them*. And thus the English and Americans do when they go to war against one another. It is not each

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other that they want to *destroy*, but us, poor Indians, that are between them. By this means they get our lan and, when that is obtained, the scissors are closed again, and laid by for further use.

They are remarkable for the particular respect which they pay to old age. In all their meetings, whether public or private, they pay the greatest attention to the observations and advice of the aged; no one will attempt to contradict them, nor to interfere in any manner or even to speak, unless he is specially called upon. "The aged," they say, "have lived through the whole period of our "lives, and long before we were born; they have not "only all the knowledge we possess, but a great deal "more. We, therefore, must submit our limited views "to their experience."

'In travelling, one of the oldest will always take the lead, unless another is specially appointed for that purpose.' If such a one stops to hunt, or in order to stay and encamp at the place for some time, all halt together, all are pleased with the spot and declare it to be judiciously chosen.

I shall expatiate further on this interesting part of the Indian character, in the sequel of this work.

They have a strong innate sense of justice, which will lead them sometimes to acts which some men will call heroic, others romantic; and not a few, perhaps, will designate by the epithet *barbarous*; a vague indefinite word, which if it means any thing, might, perhaps, be best explained by *something not like ourselves*. However that may be, this feeling certainly exists among the Indians, and as I cannot describe it better than by its effects, I shall content myself with relating on this subject a characteristic anecdote which happened in the year 1793, at an Indian village called *La Chine*, situated nine miles above Montreal, and was told me in the same year by Mr. La Ramée, a French Canadian inhabitant of that place, whom I believe to be a person of strict veracity.

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I was then on my return from Detroit, in company with General Lincoln and several other gentlemen, who were present at the relation, and gave it their full belief. I thought it then so interesting, that I inserted it in my journal, from which I now extract it.

There were in the said village of La Chine, two remarkable Indians, the one for his stature, being six feet four inches in height, and the other for his strength and activity. These two meeting together one day in the street (a third being present,) the former in a high tone made use of some insulting language to the other, which he could not well put up with: he called him a coward, said he was his inferior in every respect, and so provoked his anger, that unable any longer to contain himself, the latter instantly replied: "You have grossly insulted "me; but I will prevent you from doing the like again!" and at the same moment stabbed him through the body with his knife, so that he dropped down dead by his side. The alarm being immediately spread through the village, a crowd of Indians assembled, and the murderer having seated himself on the ground by the side of the dead body, coolly awaited his fate, which he could not expect to be any other than immediate death, particularly as the cry of the people was "Kill him! Kill him!" But although he placed his body and head in a proper posture to receive the stroke of the tomahawk, no one attempted to lay hands on him; but after removing the dead body from where it lay, they left him alone. Not meeting here with his expected fate, he rose from this place for a more public part of the village, and there lay down on the ground in the hope of being the sooner despatched; but the spectators, after viewing him, all retired again. Sensible that his life was justly forfeited, and anxious to be relieved from a state of suspence, he took the resolution to go to the mother of the deceased, an aged widow, whom he addressed in these words: "Woman, I have killed thy son; he had insulted me,

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"it is true; but still he was thine, and his life was "valuable to thee. I, therefore, now surrender my- "self up to thy will. Direct as thou wilt have it, "and relieve me speedily from misery." To which the woman answered: "Thou hast, indeed, killed my son "who was dear to me, and the only supporter I had in "my old age. One life is already lost, and to take "thine on that account, cannot be of any service to "me, nor better my situation. Thou hast, however, "a son, whom if thou wilt give me in the place of my "son whom thou hast slain, all shall be wiped away." The murderer then replied: "Mother, my son is yet but "a child, ten years old, and can be of no service to thee, "but rather a trouble and charge; but here am I, truly "capable of supporting and maintaining thee: if thou "wilt receive me as thy son, nothing shall be wanting "on my part to make thee comfortable while thou "livest." The woman approving of the proposal, forth- with adopted him as her son, and took the whole family to her house.

But we must now look to the other side of the picture. It cannot but be acknowledged that the Indians are in general revengeful and cruel to their enemies. That even after the battle is over, they wreak their deliberate revenge on their defenceless prisoners; that in their wars, they are indifferent about the means which they pursue for the annoyance and destruction of their adversaries, and that surprise and stratagem are as often employed by them as open force. This is all true. Deprived of the light of the only true Christian Religion, unchecked by the precepts and unswayed by the example of the God of peace, they indulge too much, sometimes, the violence of their passions, and commit actions which force the tear from the eye of humanity. But upon the whole, are we better than they are? I reserve this question for a sepa- rate chapter.

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CHAPTER VII.

GOVERNMENT.

622 623 624 **ALTHOUGH** the Indians have no code of laws for their government, their chiefs find little or no difficulty in governing them. They are supported by able experienced counsellors; men who study the welfare of the nation, and are equally interested with themselves in its prosperity. On them the people rely entirely, believing that what they do, or determine upon, must be right and for the public good.

623 Proud of seeing such able men conduct the affairs of their nation, the Indians are little troubled about what they are doing, knowing that the result of their deliberations will be made public in due time, and sure that it will receive their approbation. This result is made known to them by the chief through the orator, for which purpose they are called together and assemble at the council house; and if it be found necessary, to require a contribution of *wampum*, for carrying the decision of the chiefs into effect, it is cheerfully complied with by the whole assembly.

622 217 The chiefs are very careful in preserving for their own information, and that of future generations, all important deliberations and treaties made at any time between them and other nations. Thus, between the years 1770 and 1780, they could relate very minutely, what had passed between William Penn and their forefathers, at their first meeting and afterwards, and also the transactions which took place with the governors who succeeded him. For the purpose of refreshing their own memories, and of instructing one or more of their most capable and promi-

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sing young men in these matters, they assemble once or twice a year. On these occasions they always meet at a chosen spot in the woods, at a small distance from the town, where a fire is kindled, and at the proper time provisions are brought out to them: there, on a large piece of bark or on a blanket, all the documents are laid out in such order, that they can at once distinguish each particular speech, the same as we know the principal contents of an instrument of writing by the endorsement on it. If any paper or parchment writings are connected with the belts, or strings of wampum, they apply to some trusty white man (if such can be had,) to read the contents to them. Their speaker then, who is always chosen from among those who are endowed with superior talents, and has already been trained up to the business, rises, and in an audible voice delivers, with the gravity that the subject requires, the contents, sentence after sentence, until he has finished the whole on one subject. On the manner in which the belts or strings of wampum are handled by the speaker, much depends; the *turning** of the belt which takes place when he has finished one half of his speech, is a material point, though this is not common in *all* speeches with belts; but when it is the case, and is done properly, it may be as well known by it how far the speaker has advanced in his speech, as with us on taking a glance at the pages of a book or pamphlet while reading; and a good speaker will be able to point out the exact place on a belt which is to answer

* When, between the years 1760 and 1768, the noted war-chief Pontiac had concerted a plan of surprising and cutting off the garrison and town of Detroit, while in the act of delivering an impressive peace oration, to the then commandant Major Gladwyn, the *turning of the belt* was to have been the signal of the attack by his forces, who all had their guns, which previously had been cut off to large pistol length, hidden under their blankets. So I have been informed by some of the most respectable inhabitants of Detroit, and by the Indians themselves.

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622 217 to each particular sentence, the same as we can point out a passage in a book. Belts and strings, when done with by the speaker, are again handed to the chief, who puts them up carefully in the speech bag or pouch.

202 A message of importance is generally sent on to the place of its destination, by an inferior chief, by a counsellor, or by the speaker, especially when an immediate answer is expected. In other cases, where for instance only an answer to a speech is to be sent, two capable young men are selected for the purpose, the one to deliver the message or answer, and the other to pay attention while his companion is delivering it, that no part be forgotten or omitted. If the message be of a private nature, they are charged to draw or take it *under ground*, that is, not to make it known to any person whatsoever, except to him to whom it is directed. If they are told to enter *into the earth* with the message or speech, and rise again at the place where they are to deliver it, it is to desire them to be careful not to be seen by the way by any person, and for that purpose to avoid all paths, and travel through the woods.

622 202 No chief pays any attention to *reports*, though they may carry with them the marks of truth. Until he is *officially* and in due form apprised of the matter, he will, if questioned on the subject, reply that he had *not heard it*. It will, until then, be considered by him as the *song of a bird which had flown by*; but as soon as he is officially informed, through a string of wampum from some distant chief or leading man of the nation, whose situation entitles him to receive credit, he then will say: "I *have* heard it;" and acts accordingly.

202 195 The Indians generally, but their chiefs more particularly, have many figurative expressions in use, to understand which requires instruction. When a nation, by message or otherwise, speaks to another nation in this way, it is well understood; but when they speak to white people after this manner, who have not been accustomed to such language, explanations are necessary.

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Their belts of wampum are of different dimensions, both as to the length and breadth. White and black wampum are the kinds they use; the former denoting that which is *good*, as peace, friendship, good will &c., the latter the reverse; yet occasionally the black also is made use of on peace errands, when the white cannot be procured; but previous to its being produced for such purpose, it must be daubed all over with chalk, white clay, or any thing which changes the colour from black to white. The pipe of peace, being either made of a black or red stone, must also be whitened before it is produced and smoked out of on such occasions.

Roads from one friendly nation to another, are generally marked on the belt, by one or two rows of white wampum interwoven in the black, and running through the middle, and from end to end. It means that they are on good terms, and keep up a friendly intercourse with each other.

A black belt with the mark of a hatchet made on it with red paint, is a war belt, which when sent to a nation together with a twist or roll of tobacco, is an invitation to join in a war. If the nation so invited smoke of this tobacco and say it smokes well, they have given their consent, and are from that moment allies. If however they decline smoking, all further persuasion would be of no effect; yet it once happened, that war messengers endeavoured to persuade and compel a nation to accept the belt, by laying it on the shoulders or thigh of the chief, who, however, after shaking it off without touching it with his hands, afterwards, with a stick, threw it after them, as if he threw a snake or toad out of his way.

Although at their councils they do not seat themselves after the manner of the white people, yet the attitude they place themselves in is not chargeable to them as a want of respect. Faithful to the trust committed to them, they are careless of ceremonies, from which the

[erratum. See cat. 116, p. 378. Analyst]

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623 nation cannot derive any benefit. They seat themselves promiscuously around a council fire, some leaning one way, some another, so that a stranger on viewing them, might be led to conclude they were inattentive to what was said, or had become tired of attending. Not so! even sitting in this posture gives them the opportunity of being intent on what is said, and attentive to the subject under their consideration. They have no object to look at, which might draw off their attention. They are all ears, though they do not stare at the speaker! The fact is, that nothing can draw their attention from the subject they are deliberating on, unless the house they are sitting in should take fire, or be attacked by an enemy.

623 To prove the correctness of the above assertion, I shall relate the following fact, which happened at Detroit in the winter of 1785 and 1786.

When two most audacious murderers of the Chippeway nation, who, for many months, had put the town and whole country in fear, by their threats and the daring murders they had committed in the settlement, were taken, and brought before the commandant, (their chiefs having been previously sent for, and being now assembled in the council house,) heard him pronounce the words; "that according to the laws of their Father (the "English) they should be punished with death," the younger of the two, who was the son of the other, sprang from his seat, and having forced his way to the door, endeavoured with a knife or dagger he had hidden under his blanket, to work his way through the strong guard placed outside of the door and in the street to prevent their escape; in this attempt, however, he was stabbed and fell; all which occasioned much noise and commotion without, and not a little fear and uneasiness within, among the spectators and officers of government; yet, not one of the chiefs, who were many in number, either moved from his

[recede. See cal. 116, p. 348. - Analyst]

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seat, nor looked around, or even at one another; but they all remained sitting in the same posture as before, smoking their pipes as if nothing had happened.

Though there are sometimes individuals in a nation, who disregard the counsel and good advice given by the chiefs, yet they do not meet with support so as to be able to oppose the measures of government. They are generally looked upon as depraved beings, who not daring to associate with the others, lurk about by themselves, generally bent on mischief of a minor kind, such as pilfering small articles of goods and provisions. As soon, however, as they go a step further, and become known thieves and murderers, they are considered a disgrace to the nation, and being in a manner disowned by it, they are no longer entitled to their protection.

In the year 1785, an Indian of this description, murdered a Mr. Evans at Pittsburg; when, after a confinement of several months, his trial was to be brought on, the chiefs of his (the Delaware nation,) were invited to come to be present at the proceedings and see how the trial would be conducted, and also, if they chose, to speak in behalf of the accused. These chiefs, however, instead of coming, as wished for, sent to the civil officers of that place the following laconic answer: "Brethren! You "inform us that N. N. who murdered one of your men "at Pittsburg, is shortly to be tried by the laws of your "country, at which trial you request that some of us "may be present! Brethren! knowing N. N. to have "been always a very bad man, we do not wish to see "him! We, therefore, advise you to try him by your "laws, and to hang him, so that he may never return to "us again."

I shall conclude this subject with another anecdote. When in the winter of 1788 and 1789, the Indian nations were assembling at Fort Harmer, at the mouth of the Muskingum, where a treaty was to be held, an Indian of the Seneca nation was one morning found dead on the

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bank of the river. The Cornplanter, chief of this nation, observing some uneasiness among the officers and people of the place, and fearing the murder at this time and place, might perhaps create much disturbance, waited in the morning on the Governor, whom he desired "not to be uneasy about what had happened the preceding night, for the man who had been killed was of no "consequence." This meant in other words, that he was disowned for his bad conduct by his countrymen, and that his death would not be a loss to his nation.

CHAPTER VIII.

EDUCATION.

IT may justly be a subject of wonder, how a nation without a written code of laws or system of jurisprudence, without any form or constitution of government, and without even a single elective or hereditary magistrate, can subsist together in peace and harmony, and in the exercise of the moral virtues; how a people can be well and effectually governed without any external authority; by the mere force of the ascendancy which men of superior minds have over those of a more ordinary stamp; by a tacit, yet universal submission to the aristocracy of experience, talents and virtue! Such, nevertheless, is the spectacle which an Indian nation exhibits to the eye of a stranger. I have been a witness to it for a long series of years, and after much observation and reflection to discover the cause of this phenomenon, I think I have reason to be satisfied that it is in

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a great degree to be ascribed to the pains which the Indians take to instil at an early age honest and virtuous principles upon the minds of their children, and to the method which they pursue in educating them. This method I will not call a system; for systems are unknown to these sons of nature, who, by following alone her simple dictates, have at once discovered and follow without effort that plain obvious path which the philosophers of Europe have been so long in search of.

The first step that parents take towards the education of their children, is to prepare them for future happiness, by impressing upon their tender minds, that they are indebted for their existence to a great, good and benevolent Spirit, who not only has given them life, but has ordained them for certain great purposes. That he has given them a fertile extensive country well stocked with game of every kind for their subsistence, and that by one of his inferior spirits he has also sent down to them from above corn, pumpkins, squashes, beans and other vegetables for their nourishment; all which blessings their ancestors have enjoyed for a great number of ages. That this great Spirit looks down upon the Indians, to see whether they are grateful to him and make him a due return for the many benefits he has bestowed, and therefore that it is their duty to show their thankfulness by worshipping him, and doing that which is pleasing in his sight.

This is in substance the first lesson taught, and from time to time repeated to the Indian children, which naturally leads them to reflect and gradually to understand that a being which hath done such great things for them, and all to make them happy, must be good indeed, and that it is surely their duty to do something that will please him. They are then told that their ancestors, who received all this from the hands of the great Spirit, and lived in the enjoyment of it, must have been informed of what would be most pleasing to this good being, and of

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869 the manner in which his favour could be most surely obtained, and they are directed to look up for instruction to those who know all this, to learn from them, and revere them for their wisdom and the knowledge which they possess; this creates in the children a strong sentiment of respect for their elders, and a desire to follow their advice and example. Their young ambition is then excited by telling them that they were made the superiors of all other creatures, and are to have power over them; great pains are taken to make this feeling take an early root, and it becomes in fact their ruling passion through life; for no pains are spared to instil into them that by following the advice of the most admired and extolled hunter, trapper or warrior, they will at a future day acquire a degree of fame and reputation, equal to that which he possesses; that by submitting to the counsels of [554] the aged, the chiefs, the men superior in wisdom, they may also rise to glory, and be called *Wisemen*, an honourable title, to which no Indian is indifferent. They are finally told that if they respect the aged and infirm, and are kind and obliging to them, they will be treated in the same manner when their turn comes to feel the infirmities of old age.

867 When this first and most important lesson is thought to be sufficiently impressed upon children's minds, the parents next proceed to make them sensible of the distinction between good and evil; they tell them that there are good actions and bad actions, both equally open to them to do or commit; that good acts are pleasing to the good Spirit which gave them their existence, and that on the contrary, all that is bad proceeds from the bad spirit who has given them nothing, and who cannot give them any thing that is good, because he has it not, and therefore he envies them that which they have received from the good Spirit, who is far superior to the bad one.

This introductory lesson, if it may be so called, natu-

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rally makes them wish to know what is good and what is bad. This the parent teaches him in his own way, that is to say, in the way in which he was himself taught by his own parents. It is not the lesson of an hour nor of a day, it is rather a long course more of practical than of theoretical instruction, a lesson, which is not repeated at stated seasons or times, but which is shewn, pointed out, and demonstrated to the child, not only by those under whose immediate guardianship he is, but by the whole community, who consider themselves alike interested in the direction to be given to the rising generation.

When this instruction is given in the form of precepts, it must not be supposed that it is done in an authoritative or forbidding tone, but, on the contrary, in the gentlest and most persuasive manner: nor is the parent's authority ever supported by harsh or compulsive means; no whips, no punisments, no threats are even used to enforce commands or compel obedience. The child's *pride* is the feeling to which an appeal is made, which proves successful in almost every instance. A father needs only to say in the presence of his children: "I want such a "thing done; I want one of my children to go upon such "an errand; let me see who is the *good* child that will do "it!" This word *good* operates, as it were, by magic, and the children immediately vie with each other to comply with the wishes of their parent. If a father sees an old decrepid man or woman pass by, led along by a child, he will draw the attention of his own children to the object by saying: "What a *good* child that must be, "which pays such attention to the aged! That child, "indeed, looks forward to the time when it will likewise "be old!" or he will say, "May the great Spirit, who "looks upon him, grant this *good* child a long life!"

In this manner of bringing up children, the parents, as I have already said, are seconded by the whole community. If a child is sent from his father's dwelling to

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867 carry a dish of victuals to an aged person, all in the
888 house will join in calling him a *good* child. They will ask whose child he is, and on being told, will exclaim: what! has the *Tortoise*, or the *little Bear* (as the father's name may be) got such a *good* child? If a child is seen passing through the streets leading an old decrepid person, the villagers will in his hearing, and to encourage all the other children who may be present to take example from him, call on one another to look on and see what a *good* child that must be. And so, in most in-
867 stances, this method is resorted to, for the purpose of instructing children in things that are good, proper, or honourable in themselves; while, on the other hand, when a child has committed a *bad* act, the parent will say to him: "O! how grieved I am that my child has done
[861] "this *bad* act! I hope he will never do so again." This is generally effectual, particularly if said in the presence of others. The whole of the Indian plan of education tends to elevate rather than depress the mind, and by that means to make determined hunters and fearless warriors.

868 Thus, when a lad has killed his first game, such as a deer or a bear, parents who have boys growing up will not fail to say to some person in the presence of their own children: "That boy must have listened attentively "to the aged hunters, for, though young, he has alrea-"dy given a proof that he will become a good hunter "himself." If, on the other hand, a young man should fail of giving such a proof, it will be said of him "that "he did not pay attention to the discourses of the aged."

In this indirect manner is instruction on all subjects given to the young people. They are to learn the arts of hunting, trapping, and making war, by listening to the aged when conversing together on those subjects, each, in his turn, relating how he acted, and opportunities are afforded to them for that purpose. By this mode of instructing youth, their respect for the aged is kept alive,

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and it is increased by the reflection that the same respect will be paid to them at a future day, when young persons will be attentive to what they shall relate. 868

This method of conveying instruction is, I believe, common to most Indian nations; it is so, at least, amongst all those that I have become acquainted with, and lays the foundation for that voluntary submission to their chiefs, for which they are so remarkable. Thus has been maintained for ages, without convulsions and without civil discords, this traditional government, of which the world, perhaps, does not offer another example; a government in which there are no positive laws, but only long established habits and customs, no code of jurisprudence, but the experience of former times, no magistrates, but advisers, to whom the people, nevertheless, pay a willing and implicit obedience, in which age confers rank, wisdom gives power, and moral goodness secures a title to universal respect. All this seems to be effected by the simple means of an excellent mode of education, by which a strong attachment to ancient customs, respect for age, and the love of virtue are indelibly impressed upon the minds of youth, so that these impressions acquire strength as time pursues its course, and as they pass through successive generations. 867 671

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CHAPTER IX.

LANGUAGES.

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IN all the North American territories bounded to the north and east by the Atlantic ocean, and to the south and west by the river Mississippi, and the possessions of the English Hudson's Bay Company, there appears to be but four principal languages, branching out, it is true, into various dialects, but all derived from one or the other of the four mother tongues, some of which extend even beyond the Mississippi, and perhaps, as far as the Rocky mountains. These four languages are:

I. The Karalit.

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This language is spoken by the inhabitants of Greenland and on the Continent by the Eskimaux Indians of the coast of Labrador. Its forms and principles are sufficiently known by means of the Grammar and Dictionary of the venerable Egede,* and the works of Bartholinus, Wœldike, Thornhallesen, Cranz and others. It is much cultivated by the Missionaries of the Society of the United Brethren, by whom we may expect to see its principles still further elucidated. It is in Greenland that begin those comprehensive grammatical forms which are said to characterise the languages of the vast American continent, as far they are known, and are the more remarkable when contrasted with the simplicity of con-

9 [errata. see cat. 116 p. 348. - Analyst]

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* Grammatica Grœnlandico-Danico-Latina, edita à P. Egede. Hafniæ, 1760, 8vo.

Dictionarium Grœnlandico-Danico-Latinum, adornatum à P. Egede. Hafniæ, 1750, 8vo.

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struction of the idioms spoken on the opposite European shores, in Iceland, Denmark, Sweden and other countries. It appears evident from this single circumstance, that America did not receive its original population from Europe.

II. The Iroquois.

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This language in various dialects is spoken by the Mengwe or Six Nations, the Wyandots or Hurons, the Naudowessies, the Assinipoetuk, called by the French Assiniboils, Assinipoils, or Sioux, and by other tribes, particularly beyond the St. Lawrence. Father La Hontan distinguishes this class of languages by the name of the *Huron*, probably because that nation was better known to the French, whose allies they were, than the Iroquois, who were in alliance with the English.* All these languages, however they may be called in a general sense, are dialects of the same mother tongue, and have considerable affinity with each other. Mr. Carver is mistaken when he describes the *Naudowessie* as belonging to a class different from the Iroquois.† It is sufficient to compare the vocabularies that we have of these two idioms, to see the great similitude that subsists between them. We do not, unfortunately, possess a single grammar of any of these dialects; we have nothing in fact, besides the fragment of Zeisberger's Dictionary,

* The Hurons, a great while, perhaps centuries ago, became disunited from the Iroquois; many wars took place between them, and the former withdrew at last to remote places, where they settled, and were discovered by French Missionaries and traders: of this last I was repeatedly assured during my residence at Detroit, beween 1781 and 1786.

† Carver says that there are in North America, four different languages, the Iroquois to the east, the Chippeway or Algonkin to the north west, the Naudowessie to the west, and the Cherokee, &c. to the south. Travels, ch. 17, Capt. Carver, though he appears to have been in general an accurate observer, resided too short a time among the Indians to have a correct knowledge of their languages.

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which I have already mentioned, but a large vocabulary of the Huron,* composed by Father Sagard, a good and pious French Missionary, but of very limited abilities, and who also resided too short a time among that nation to be able to give a correct account of their language. He represents it in his preface, as poor, imperfect, anomalous, and inadequate to the clear expression of ideas, in which he is contradicted by others whom we have reason to believe better informed. Zeisberger considered the Iroquois (of which the Huron is a dialect,) as a rich and comprehensive idiom. It is to be regretted that a grammar which he had composed of it, and the best part of his Dictionary, are irretrievably lost. Sir William Johnson speaks highly of the powers of this language;† Colden,‡ though he did not know it himself, speaks in the same manner from the information of others. Indeed, Father Sagard's Dictionary itself, when attentively read by a person acquainted with the forms of Indian languages, affords sufficient intrinsic evidence of the mistakes of the good father who composed it.

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III. The Lenape.

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This is the most widely extended language of any of those that are spoken on this side of the Mississippi. It prevails in the extensive regions of Canada, from the coast of Labrador to the mouth of Albany river which falls into the southernmost part of Hudson's bay, and from thence to the Lake of the Woods, which forms the north-western boundary of the United States. It appears to be the language of all the Indians of that extensive

* Le grand Voyage du pays des Hurons, par Samuel Sagard, Paris, 1632. To which is added, a Dictionary of the Huron language, with a preface.

† Philos. Trans. Abr. vol. lxiii. p. 142.

‡ Hist. of the Five Nations, p. 14.

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country, except those of the Iroquois stock, which are by far the least numerous. Farther to the northwest, in the territories of the Hudson's Bay Company, other Indian nations have been discovered, such as the Blackfoot Indians, Sussee Indians, Snake Indians, and others, whose languages are said to be different from the Iroquois and the Lenape, but we are not able to form a very correct judgment respecting those idioms from the scanty vocabularies which have been given us by Mackenzie, Umfreville and other travellers. We must wait for further light before we decide.

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Out of the limits of Canada few Iroquois are found, except the remnants of those who were once settled in the vicinity of the great Lakes, in the northern parts of the now State of New York. There are yet some Wyandots in the vicinity of Detroit. All the rest of the Indians who now inhabit this country to the Mississippi, are of the Lenape stock, and speak dialects of that language. It it certain that at the time of the arrival of the Europeans, they were in possesssion of all the coast from the northernmost point of Nova Scotia to the Roanoke. Hence they were called *Wapanachki*, or *Abenakis*, men of the East. La Hontan gives us a list of the Indian nations of ancient Acadia, all speaking dialects of the Abenaki, or, as he calls it, of the Algonquin. They were the Abenakis, Micmacs, Canibas, Mahingans (Mohicans,) Openangos, Soccokis, and Etchemins, from whom all Nova Scotia, (excepting the peninsula,) and a part of the now district of Maine, were once called by the French the *country of the Etchemins*. He does not speak of the Souriquois, who are also known to have inhabited Acadia, and likewise spoke a dialect of the Lenape.

In the interior of the country we find every where the Lenape and their kindred tribes. The Miamis, or Twightwees, the Potowatomies, the Messissaugees, the Kickapoos, all those Indian nations who once inhabited, and parts of whom still inhabit the interior of our coun-

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A D 197 try on this side of the Mississippi and the great Lakes, are unquestionably, from their dialects, of Lenape origin. The Shawanos, it is said, formerly dwelt upon the river Savannah, in Georgia, and a part of them remaining in that country, associated with the Creeks, still retain their language.* As far as we are able to judge from the little knowledge that has been transmitted to us of the languages of the Indians who once inhabited Maryland, Virginia and North Carolina, they all appear to have belonged to the same stock, the Nanticokes have been shewn to have been intimately connected with the Lenape, and among those who called them *grandfather*. Two pretty copious vocabularies of their language, in the possession of the Historical Committee of the American Philosophical Society, one of them communicated by Mr. Jefferson and the other by myself, prove it beyond a doubt to have been a dialect of the Lenape.† The Canai or Kanhawas, who have given their name to a river in Virginia which empties itself into the Ohio, are known to have been of the same stock. The Indian names of rivers, mountains and towns, through that vast extent of country, appear generally derived from the Lenape language.

A D 114 197 The Baron de La Hontan, is one of the first writers, I believe, who have spoken of the universality of this idiom; but it is extraordinary that he has not said a word of the Lenni Lenape, that great and powerful nation. He calls this language the *Algonquin* tongue, although he describes that people as "an erratic sort of savages, who, like the

* Barton's New Views, Ed. 1798. Prelim. Disc. p. 32.

† The late Dr. Barton, in the work above quoted, append. p. 3. Q/A seems to doubt this fact, and relies on a series of numerals which I once communicated to him, and was found among the papers of the late Rev. Mr. Pyrlæus. But it is by no means certain that those numerals were taken from the language of the Nanticokes, and the vocabularies above mentioned leave no doubt as to the origin of that dialect.

Q/A [Erratum. Should be p. 5 -- Analyst]

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"Arabs, had no settled abode,"* and admits, that at the time when he wrote, their number did not exceed 200. What he says on this subject, however, is so much to my purpose, that I hope I shall be permitted to make a small extract from it.

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"There are," says the Baron, "but two mother "tongues in the whole extent of Canada, which I confine "within the limits of the Mississippi; they are the *Huron* "and the *Algonquin*. The first is understood by the Iro- "quois, for the difference between these two languages "is no greater than that between the Norman and the "French. The second, namely the *Algonquin*, is as "much esteemed among the savages as the Greek and "Latin are in Europe; though it would seem that the "aborigines, to whom it owes its original, disgrace it by "the thinness of their nation, *for their whole number does "not amount to two hundred.*"†

What the Baron says here of this language is very correct; but why does he call it the Algonquin, and ascribe its origin to that miserable wandering tribe? He had the Abenakis at hand, whom in another place he puts at the head of the tribes inhabiting Nova Scotia, and who still preserved the generic name of the whole nation, *Wapanachke*, which the French have softened to suit the analogy of their own tongue, by which name the different nations and tribes of the Lenape stock still recognise each other to this day. It is probable that he did not sufficiently understand their language,‡ to have much conversation with them, otherwise, they would have informed him that they derived their origin from a great

* Letter v. † Letter xxv.

‡ He says that it is not copious, and is only adapted to the necessities and conveniences of life. These are the ideas which strangers and philosophers, reasoning *à priori*, entertain of Indian languages; but those who are well acquainted with them think very differently. And yet the Baron says that the Algonquin is "the finest and the "most universal language on the Continent."

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and powerful nation residing in the interior of the country, whom they revered as their *grandfather*, at whose door the great national council fire was kept constantly burning, whose badge was the *Turtle*, and whose supremacy was acknowledged by all the kindred tribes.

Father Charlevoix, who also speaks of the universality of this language, commits the same error in ascribing its origin to the Algonquins. "In the southern part "of Hudson's Bay," says he, "the trade is carried on "with the Matassins, the Monsonics, the Christinaux, "(Knisteneaux) and the Assinipoils, the three first of "which speak the *Algonquin* language."* In a later publication, (I think by a Mr. Winterbotham,) of which, during my travels, some years ago, I had merely a glance, I found by some words he had put down in the language of those people, that they were *Minsi* or *Monseys*, a branch of the wolf tribe of the Lenape. So indeed, one of their names, *Monsonies*, seems of itself to indicate. The name of the Matassins, means in their language a tobacco pipe, and so it does in the Monsey to this day. And they all speak the Algonquin, a language, say both Charlevoix and La Hontan, universally known for a thousand leagues round. The last mentioned author subjoins a vocabulary of what he calls the Algonquin tongue, which bears a greater affinity to the language of the Unamis or Turtle† tribe of the Lenape, than that does to the idiom of the Monsey or Wolf tribe of the same nation. I find many words in the Algonquin (as given by La Hontan,) which are exactly the same as in the Unami, while others bear more resemblance to the Chippeway, also a dialect of the Lenape, spoken by a tribe in connexion with the Delawares, and who call them *grandfather*.

* Letter xi. p. 276.

† It should be properly *Tortoise*; but this word seems in a fair way to be entirely superseded by *Turtle*, as well in England as in this country.

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There can be no doubt, therefore, that this universal language, so much admired and so generally spoken by the Indian nations, is that of the Lenni Lenape, and is improperly named the Chippeway by Carver, and the Algonquin by La Hontan. The celebrated Professor Vater, in his excellent continuation of Adelung's Mithridates, calls the class of languages derived from this source, "the Chippewayo-Delawarian, or Algonkino-Mohican stock."* It is, perhaps, indifferent for philological purposes, whether a language be called the Delaware or the Chippeway, the Algonquin or the Mohican; but every body must be sensible of the inconvenience of those long compound names, which leave no fixed or determinate idea upon the mind. For the purpose of general description it seems better to designate the languages of those connected tribes by the name of their common grandfather, the Lenni Lenape, or by the generic denomination universally adopted among them, Wapanachki, or Abenaki. I have preferred the former as a mark of respect to an ancient and once powerful nation, and in the hope that her name may be preserved, at least, in the records of philological science.

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This beautiful language, and those which are derived from it, though more has been written upon them than on any of the other languages of these parts of the North American continent, are as yet but little known. The grammar of the Natick dialect published by Eliott, at Cambridge in Massachusetts, in the year 1666, has long been out of print, and is to be found only in very few libraries in the United States; Dr. Edwards's little tract on the Mohican language, although printed twice, does not appear to have had much circulation, and is not alone sufficient to give an idea of the forms and construction of these Indian dialects. Zeisberger's Delaware spelling

* *Chippewisch-Delawarischer, oder Algonkisch-Moheganischer, Stamm.* Mithrid. part III. vol. iii. p. 337.

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book is but a collection of words, and does not contain any grammatical explanations. The learned Vater has taken immense pains, from the scanty helps within his reach, to discover the grounds and principles of these idioms, and what he has written on the subject is a proof of what talents and industry can effect with little means. But still the matter is not sufficiently understood. There is in the library of the society of the United Brethren in this town, an excellent MS. grammar of the Lenni Lenape, written in German by Zeisberger. I understand that the Historical Committee of the American Philosophical Society are going to publish an English translation of this valuable work. I rejoice in the prospect of this publication, which will give a clear and satisfactory view of the true genius and character of the languages of the Indian nations. At the request of the same Committee, I have endeavoured to give some further developement of the principles which that grammar contains, in a series of letters to their Secretary, which, I am informed, are also to be printed. This supersedes the necessity of my entering here into more details on this interesting subject. I hope the result of these publications will be to satisfy the world that the languages of the Indians are not so poor, so devoid of variety of expression, so inadequate to the communication even of abstract ideas, or in a word so *barbarous*, as has been generally imagined.

IV. The Floridian.

I CALL by this generic name, the languages spoken by those Indian nations who inhabit the southern frontier of the United States and the Spanish Province of Florida. They are the Creeks or Muskohgees, Chickesaws, Choctaws, Pascagoulas, Cherokees or Cheerakees, and several others. It is said that there once existed among them a powerful nation called the Natchez, whose lan-

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guage was the mother tongue of all those southern dialects. We are told also of an Apalachian nation, who it is said lived in the western parts of Louisiana, and were a part of the great nation of the Apalachians, who resided in the mountains which bear their name, and whose branches were settled under different denominations, in the vast extent of country situated between Louisiana, Canada, and New England.* In this great *Apalachian* nation we cannot help recognising our friends the Lenape, or *Wapanachki*, whose name the French in the south have as easily corrupted into *Apalaches*, as those in the north into *Abenakis*. It was they who gave their name to the Apalachian mountains, once so called, but which of late have resumed their former appellation of Alligewi, or Allegheny. Mr. Vater thinks that the remains of those Apalachians are still to be found in the Catawbas,† who are sometimes named Chaktawas‡ and probably are the same who by contraction are now called Choktaws.

Other writers speak to us of the Mobilians,§ as the nation from which the neighbouring tribes derived their origin, and whose language was their mother tongue. The fact is, that we know very little about these southern Indians, and on the subject of their languages we have nothing to guide our enquiries, but a few words given us by Adair, and some that have been collected from various sources by the late Dr. Barton. We are not, however, without the means of obtaining full and accurate information on this interesting subject, and I hope the historical committee will be successful in the

* Vater in Mithrid. part. III. vol. 3. p. 283. quotes De Laet, Novus Orbis, pp. 98, 103, Du Pratz, vol. 2. pp. 208, 9, Rochefort, Histoire Natur. des Antilles, pp. 351, 394, and Hervas, *Catalogo delle Lingue*, p. 90; none of which works I have it in my power to consult.

† Mithrid. ibid.

‡ Loskiel, part I. ch. 1.

§ Duvallon, Vuë de la Colonie Espagnole du Mississippi, quoted by Vater, in Mithrid. ibid. p. 297.

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measures which they are about to take to procure it. Mr. Meigs, the United States agent with the Cherokees, Mr. Mitchell, agent to the Creeks, and the Rev. John Gambold, who has long lived as a Missionary of the Society of the United Brethren with the former of these nations, are well able to satisfy their enquiries, and I have no doubt will be happy to give their aid to the advancement of the literature of their country.

It is a fact worthy of remark, and much to be regretted, that the French and English, who have been so long in possession of the immense country extending from Labrador to the Mississippi, have written so little respecting the Indian languages of this part of the American continent. Among the English, Eliott alone, and among the French, Father Sagard, can be said to have published any thing on this subject that is worth notice. Zeisberger was a German, and Mr. Edwards an American. On the contrary, the Spaniards* have published a great number of grammars and dictionaries of the Indian languages spoken within the limits of their American possessions, and deserve much credit for these exertions. It is not yet too late for the independent Americans to retrieve the neglect of their forefathers; but no time should be lost, as the Indian nations are fast disappearing from the face of our country, and our posterity may have to regret hereafter that greater pains were not taken to preserve the memory of their traditions, customs, manners, and LANGUAGES.

* The Bibliotheca Americana records 45 grammars and 25 dictionaries of the languages spoken in Mexico only, and 85 works of different authors on religious and moral subjects written or translated into some of those languages.

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CHAPTER X.

SIGNS AND HIEROGLYPHICS.

IT has been asserted by many persons that the languages of the Indians are deficient in words, and that, in order to make themselves understood, they are obliged to resort to motions and signs with their hands. This is entirely a mistake. I do not know a nation of whom foreigners do not say the same thing. The fact is, that in every country, signs and motions with the hands more or less accompany discourse, particularly when delivered with a certain degree of earnestness and warmth. Foreigners, who are not very conversant with a language, pay in general as much and sometimes more attention to these motions than to the words of the speaker, in order the better to be able to understand what falls from him. Hence, almost every nation charges the others with too much gesticulation in speaking. For a similar reason, a foreign language is generally thought to be spoken quicker than our own, while the truth is, that it is our ear which is slow in distinguishing the words, not the voice which speaks that is too quick in uttering them.

The Indians do not gesticulate more when they speak than other nations do. In their public speeches they will, like our preachers and lawyers, enforce what they say by gestures and motions of the body and hands, in order to give greater weight to their observations, or to represent the subject they speak of in a more lively manner than can be done by words alone; but in common conversation they make few of those motions, and not more, I believe, than we do ourselves; even the wo-

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201 men, who every where speak more than the men, never
537 want words to express themselves, but rather seem to have too many, and they do not oftener employ gestures in aid of their conversation than the vivacity of their sex induces them to do every where else.

201 It is true that the Indians have a language of signs, by which they communicate with each other on occasions when speaking is not prudent or proper, as, for instance, when they are about to meet an enemy, and by speaking they would run the risk of being discovered. By this means they also make themselves understood to those nations of Indians whose languages they are not acquainted with, for all the Indian nations understand each other in this way. It is also, in many cases,
[658] a saving of words which the Indians are much intent on, believing that too much talking disgraces a man. When, therefore, they will relate something extraordinary in a few words, they make use of corresponding signs, which is very entertaining to those who listen and attend to them, and who are acquainted both with the language and the signs, being very much as if somebody were to explain a picture set before them. But they never make use of signs to supply any deficiency of language, as they have words and phrases sufficient to express every thing.

192 I have frequently questioned Indians who had been educated at our schools, and could understand, read, write, and speak both English and German, whether they could express their ideas better in either of those languages than in their own, and they have always and uniformly answered that they could express themselves with far the greatest ease in their own Indian, and that they never were at a loss for words or phrases in which to clothe every idea that occurred to them, without being in any case obliged to gesticulate or make motions with their hands or otherwise. From the knowledge which I have acquired of their language, I have

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reason to be satisfied that it is so. Indeed, how can it 192
be doubted, when we have the whole of the Bible and New Testament translated into one of their dialects, and when we see our ministers, when once familiar with the language of the nation with which they reside, preach to them without the least difficulty on the most abstruse subjects of the Christian faith? It is true, that ideas are not always expressed in those languages in the same words, or under the same grammatical forms as in our own; where we would use one part of speech, we are obliged to employ another, and one single word with them will not seldom serve a purpose for which we would have to employ several; but still, the ideas are communicated, and pass with clearness and precision from mind to mind. Thus, the end of oral language is completely obtained, and more, I think, cannot be required.

The Indians do not possess our art of writing, they 211
have no alphabets, or any mode of representing to the (212)
eye the sounds of words spoken, yet they have certain hieroglyphics, by which they describe facts in so plain a manner, that those who are conversant with those marks can understand them with the greatest ease, as easily, indeed, as we can understand a piece of writing. For instance, on a piece of bark, or on a large tree with the bark taken off for the purpose, by the side of a path, they can and do give every necessary information to those who come by the same way; they will in that manner let them know, that they were a war party of so many men, from such a place, of such a nation and of such a tribe; how many of each tribe were in the party; to which tribe the chief or captain belonged; in what direction they proceeded to meet the enemy; how many days they were out and how many returning; what number of the enemy they had killed, how many prisoners they had brought; how many scalps they had taken; whether they had lost any of their party, and how many; what enemies they had met with, and how many

[Erratum. Should be "Not."--Analyst]

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they consisted of; of what nation or tribe their captain was, &c.; all which, at a single glance, is perfectly well understood by them. In the same manner they describe a chase: all Indian nations can do this, although they have not all the same marks; yet I have seen the Delawares read with ease the drawings of the Chippeways, Mingoes, Shawanos, and Wyandots, on similar subjects.

While Indians are travelling to the place of their destination, whether it be on a journey to their distant hunting grounds or on a war excursion, some of the young men are sent out to hunt by the way, who, when they have killed a deer, bear, or other animal, bring it to the path, ready to be taken away by those who are coming along, (often with horses) to the place of encampment, when they all meet at night. Having hung up the meat by the side of the path, these young men make a kind of sun-dial, in order to inform those who are coming of the time of day it was at the time of their arrival and departure. A clear place in the path is sought for, and if not readily found, one is made by the side of it, and a circle or ring being drawn on the sand or earth, a stick of about two or three feet in length is fixed in the centre, with its upper end bent towards that spot in the horizon where the sun stood at the time of their arrival or departure. If both are to be noted down, two separate sticks are set; but generally one is sufficient, namely, for the time of departure.

Hunters have particular marks, which they make on the trees, where they strike off from the path to their hunting grounds or place of encampment, which is often at the distance of many miles; yet the women, who come from their towns to fetch meat from these camps, will as readily find them as if they were conducted to the spot.

I shall conclude this chapter with an anecdote, which will at once shew how expressive and energetic is this hieroglyphic writing of the Indians. A white man in the

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Indian country, met a Shawanos riding a horse which he recognised for his own, and claimed it from him as his property. The Indian calmly answered "Friend! "after a little while, I will call on you at your house, "when we shall talk of this matter." A few days afterwards, the Indian came to the white man's house, who insisting on having his horse restored, the other then told him: "Friend! the horse which you claim belonged to "my uncle who lately died; according to the Indian cus- "tom, I have become heir to all his property." The white man not being satisfied, and renewing his demand, the Indian immediately took a coal from the fire-place, and made two striking figures on the door of the house, the one representing the white man taking the horse, and the other, himself, in the act of scalping him; then he coolly asked the trembling claimant "whether he could read this Indian writing?" The matter thus was settled at once, and the Indian rode off.

[Penata. See cat. No. p. 348. Analyst]

CHAPTER XI.

ORATORY.

THE eloquence of the Indians is natural and simple; they speak what their feelings dictate without art and without rule; their speeches are forcible and impressive, their arguments few and pointed, and when they mean to persuade as well as convince, they take the shortest way to reach the heart. I know that their oratorical powers have been strongly controverted, and this is not astonishing, when we consider the prejudice that ex-

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537 ists against their languages, which are in general believed to be poor, and inadequate to the expression of any but the most common ideas. Hence all the specimens that have been given to the world of their oratory have been viewed with a suspicious eye; the celebrated speech of Logan, authenticated as it is by the respectable authority of Col. John Gibson, has been denied to be genuine even in this country. For my part, I am convinced that it was delivered precisely as it is related to us, with this only difference, that it possessed a force and expression in the Indian language which it is impossible to transmit into our own.

I hope the exertions and researches of the Historical Committee will make the character and genius of the Indian languages better known than they have hitherto been. The world will then be better able to judge of their extent and powers, and to decide whether or not they are adequate to the purposes of oratory. In the mean time, I shall content myself with presenting another specimen of Indian eloquence; one which I did not receive at second hand, but at the delivery of which I was present in person. The translation which I offer will give but a faint idea of the strength and spirit of the original; I vouch, however, for its being as correct as it has been in my power to make it.

537 This speech was spoken at Detroit,* on the frontier of
648 Canada, on the 9th of December, 1801, by captain Pipe, a chief of the Delaware nation, and was addressed to the commanding officer of that post, then in possession of the British. The Delawares, it will be recollected, had been the stedfast friends of the French, in the war of 1756. The peace which was concluded in 1763, between the two great nations who then contended for the supremacy of this continent, was not for several years regarded by the Indians, and they continued their hostilities

3 Jefferson Sec. cat. 116, p. 348. - Audyst7

* Loskiel, part III. ch 9.

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against the subjects and government of Great Britain. They were obliged, however, to submit to superior force; not without hopes that their father, the king of France, would soon send over a powerful army to retake Canada. They were in this situation when the war of the revolution broke out. It is well known that it was a part of the system of the British administration to employ the savages to subdue those whom they called their revolted subjects. The Delawares, in general, as I have before related, having in vain endeavoured to remain neutral, took part with the Americans. Captain Pipe, however, with a party of the Wolf tribe, joined the English in the beginning of the war, and soon after repented it. But it was too late. He was now reluctantly compelled to go out against the Americans with the men under his command. On his return from one of those expeditions, he went to make his report to the British commandant at Detroit,* by whom he was received in state at the council house, in the presence of a great number of Indians, British officers and others. There were several Missionaries present, among which I was. The chief was seated in front of his Indians, facing the commandant. He held in his left hand an human scalp tied to a short stick. After a pause of some minutes, he rose, and addressing the governor, delivered the following speech:

"FATHER!" (Here the orator stopped, and turning round to the audience, with a face full of meaning, and a sarcastic look, which I should in vain attempt to describe, he went on in a lower tone of voice, as addressing himself to them:)—"I have said *father*, although, indeed, I "do not know why I am to call *him* so, having never "known any other father than the French, and consi- "dering the English only as *brothers*. But as this "name is also *imposed* upon us, I shall make use of it

* See Loskiel, P. III. ch. 9. p. 704, German text, and p. 165, Eng. Trans.

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537 "and say: (Here he fixed his eyes on the command-
ant.)

"FATHER! Some time ago you put a war hatchet into
"my hands, saying: Take this weapon and try it on the
"heads of my enemies the *long knives*, and let me after-
"wards know if it was sharp and good.

"FATHER! At the time when you gave me this wea-
"pon, I had neither cause nor inclination to go to war
"against a people who had done me no injury; yet in
"obedience to you, who say you are my father and call
"me your child, I received the hatchet; well knowing
"that if I did not obey, you would withhold from me*
"the necessaries of life, without which I could not sub-
"sist, and which are not elsewhere to be procured but at
"the house of my father.

"FATHER! You may, perhaps, think me a fool, for
"risking my life at your bidding, in a cause too, by
"which I have no prospect of gaining any thing; for it
"is *your* cause and not mine. It is *your* concern to
"fight the *long knives*; *you* have raised a quarrel amongst
"yourselves, and *you* ought yourselves to fight it out.
"You should not compel your children, the Indians, to
"expose themselves to danger for *your sakes*.

"FATHER! Many lives have already been lost on *your*
"account!—Nations have suffered and been weakened!
"—Children have lost parents, brothers and relatives!
"—Wives have lost husbands!—It is not known how
"many more may perish before *your* war will be at an
"end!

"FATHER! I have said that you may, perhaps, think
"me a fool, for thus thoughtlessly rushing on *your* ene-
"my!—Do not believe this, Father! Think not that I
"want sense to convince me, that although you *now* pre-

[195] * It will be understood that he speaks here throughout for himself and his nation or tribe, though always in the first person of the singular, according to the Indian mode.

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"tend to keep up a perpetual enmity to the long knives, "you may, before long, conclude a peace with them. 537

"FATHER! You say you love your children, the In- "dians.—This you have often told them; and indeed it "is your interest to say so to them, that you may have "them at your service.

"But, FATHER! who of us can believe that you can "love a people of a different colour from your own, "better than those who have a *white* skin, like your- "selves?

"FATHER! Pay attention to what I am going to say. "While you, Father, are setting me* on your enemy, "much in the same manner as a hunter sets his dog on "the game; while I am in the act of rushing on that "enemy of yours, with the bloody destructive weapon "you gave me, I may, perchance, happen to look back "to the place from whence you started me, and what "shall I see? Perhaps, I may see my father shaking "hands with the *long knives*; yes, with those very peo- "ple he now calls his enemies. I may, then, see him "laugh at my folly for having obeyed his orders; and "yet I am now risking my life at his command! Fa- "ther! keep what I have said in remembrance.

"Now, FATHER! here is what has been done with "the hatchet you gave me." (Handing the stick with the scalp on it.) "I have done with the hatchet what "you ordered me to do, and found it sharp. Never- "theless, I did not do *all* that I *might* have done. No, "I did not. My heart failed within me. I felt compas- "sion for your enemy. *Innocence*† had no part in your "quarrels; therefore I distinguished—I spared. I took "some *live flesh*,‡ which, while I was bringing to you, "I spied one of your large canoes, on which I put it for

* Meaning his nation, and speaking, as usual, in the first person.
† Meaning women and children. ‡ Prisoners.

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537 "you. In a few days you will receive this *flesh*, and "*find that the skin is of the same colour with your own.*

"FATHER! I hope you will not destroy *what** I have "saved. You, father! have the means of preserving "that which with me would perish for want. The war- "rior is poor and his cabin is always empty; but your "house, father! is always full."

Here we see boldness, frankness, dignity and humanity happily blended together and most eloquently displayed. I am much mistaken if the component parts of this discourse are not put together much according to the rules of oratory which are taught in the schools, and which were certainly unknown to this savage. The peroration at the end is short, but truly pathetic, and I would even say, sublime; and then the admirable way in which it is prepared! I wish I could convey to the reader's mind only a small part of the impression which this speech made on me and on all present when it was delivered.

537 648 It is but justice here to say, that Capt. Pipe was well acquainted with the noble and generous character of the British officer to whom this speech was addressed. He is still living in his own country, an honour to the British name. He obeyed the orders of his superiors in employing the Indians to fight against us, but he did it with reluctance and softened as much as was in his power the horrors of that abominable warfare. He esteemed Captain Pipe, and I have no doubt, was well pleased with the humane conduct of this Indian chief, whose sagacity in this instance is no less deserving of praise than his eloquence. It is thus that great minds understand each other, and even in the most difficult and trying situations, find the means of making the cause of humanity triumph.

* To make his language agree with the expression *live flesh*.

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CHAPTER XII.

METAPHORICAL EXPRESSIONS.

THE Indians are fond of metaphors. They are to their discourse what feathers and beads are to their persons, a gawdy but tasteless ornament. Yet we must not judge them too severely on that account. There are other nations besides the American Indians who admire this mode of expression. Even in enlightened Europe, many centuries have not elapsed since the best and most celebrated writers employed this figure in a profuse manner, and thought it a great embellishment to their poetical and prose compositions; the immortal Shakspeare, himself, did not disdain it. 195

The following examples will be sufficient to give an idea of the metaphorical language of the Indians.

1. "*The sky is overcast with dark blustering clouds.*"—We shall have troublesome times; we shall have war.

2. "*A black cloud has arisen yonder.*"—War is threatened from that quarter, or from that nation.

3. "*Two black clouds are drawing towards each other.*"—Two powerful enemies are in march against each other!

4. "*The path is already shut up!*"—Hostilities have commenced. The war is begun.

5. "*The rivers run with blood!*"—War rages in the country.

6. "*To bury the hatchet.*"—To make, or conclude a peace.

7. "*To lay down the hatchet, or to slip the hatchet under the bedstead.*"—To cease fighting for a while, during a

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195 truce; or, to place the hatchet at hand, so that it may be taken up again at a moment's warning.

8. "*The hatchet you gave me to strike your enemies, proved to be very dull, or not to be sharp; my arm was wearied to little purpose!*"—You supplied me so scantily with the articles I stood in need of, that I wanted strength to execute your orders. The presents you gave me were not sufficient for the task you imposed upon me, therefore I did little!

9. "*The hatchet you gave me was very sharp!*"—As you have satisfied me, I have done the same for you; I have killed many of your enemies.

10. "*You did not make me strong.*"—You gave me nothing, or but little.

11. "*Make me very strong!*"—Give me much, pay me well!

12. "*The stronger you make me, the more you will see!*"—The more you give me, the more I will do for you!

13. "*I did as you bid me, but* SEE *nothing!*"—I have performed my part, but you have not rewarded me; or, I did my part for you, but you have not kept your word!

14. "*You have spoken with your lips only, not from the heart.*"—You endeavour to deceive me; you do not intend to do as you say!

15. "*You now speak from the heart!*"—Now you mean what you say.

16. "*You keep me in the dark!*"—You wish to deceive me; you conceal your intentions from me; you keep me in ignorance!

17. "*You stopped my ears!*"—You kept the thing a secret from me; you did not wish me to know it!

18. "*Now I believe you!*"—Done! agreed! It shall be so!

19. "*Your words have penetrated into my heart!*"—I consent! am pleased with what you say!

20. "*You have spoken good words!*"—I am pleased, delighted with what you have said!

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21. "*You have spoken the truth!*"—I am satisfied with what you have said! 195

22. "*Singing birds!*"—Tale bearers—story tellers—liars.

23. "*Don't listen to the singing of the birds which fly by!*"—Don't believe what stragglers tell you!

24. "*What bird was it that sung that song?*"—Who was it that told that story, that lie?

25. (To a chief,) "*Have you heard the news?*"—Have you been *officially* informed?

26. "*I have not heard any thing!*"—I have no *official* information.

27. "*To kindle a council fire at such a place.*"—To appoint a place where the national business is to be transacted; to establish the seat of government there.

28. "*To remove the council fire to another place.*"—To establish another place for the seat of government.

29. "*The council fire has been extinguished.*"—Blood has been shed by an enemy at the seat of government, which has put the fire out; the place has been *polluted*.

30. "*Don't look the other way!*"—Don't lean to *that* side; don't join with those!

31. "*Look this way!*"—Join us, join our party.

32. "*I have not room to spread my blanket!*"—I am too much crowded on.

33. "*Not to have room enough for an encampment.*"—To be too much confined to a small district; not to have sufficient range for the cattle to feed on, or sufficient hunting ground.

34. "*I will place you under my wings!*"—(meaning under my arm pits) I will protect you at all hazards! You shall be perfectly safe, nobody shall molest you!

35. "*Suffer no grass to grow on the war path!*"—Carry on the war with vigour!

36. "*Never suffer grass to grow on this war path!*"—Be at perpetual war with the nation this path leads to; never conclude a peace with them.

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195 37. "*To open a path from one nation to another, by removing the logs, brush and briers out of the way.*—To invite the nation to which the path leads, to a friendly intercourse; to prepare the way to live on friendly terms with them.

38. "*The path to that nation is again open!*"—We are again on friendly terms; the path may again be travelled with safety.

39. "*I hear sighing and sobbing in yonder direction!*"—I think that a chief of a neighbouring nation has died.

40. "*I draw the thorns out of your feet and legs, grease your stiffened joints with oil, and wipe the sweat off your body!*"—I make you feel comfortable after your fatiguing journey, that you may enjoy yourself while with us.

41. "*I wipe the tears from your eyes, cleanse your ears, and place your aching heart, which bears you down to one side, in its proper position!*"—I condole with you; dispel all sorrow! prepare yourself for business! (N. B. This is said when condoling with a nation on the death of a chief.)

42. "*I have discovered the cause of your grief!*"—I have seen the grave (where the chief was buried.)

43. "*I have covered you spot with fresh earth; I have raked leaves, and planted trees thereon!*"—means literally, I have hidden the grave from your eyes; and figuratively, "you must now be cheerful again!"

44. "*I lift you up from this place, and set you down again at my dwelling place!*"—I invite you to arise from hence, and come and live where I live.

45. "*I am much too heavy to rise at this present time!*"—I have too much property! (corn, vegetables &c.)

46. "*I will pass one night yet at this place.*"—I will stay one year yet at this place.

47. "*We have concluded a peace, which is to last as long as the sun shall shine, and the rivers flow with water!*"—The peace we have made is to continue as long as the world stands, or to the end of time.

2 [Correction. See cat. 116 p. 348. - Analyst]

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48. "*To bury the hatchet beneath the root of a tree.*"—To put it quite out of sight.

49. "*To bury deep in the earth,*" (an injury done)—To consign it to oblivion.

CHAPTER XIII.

INDIAN NAMES.

THE proper names of Indians are in general given to them after animals of various kinds, and even fishes and reptiles. Thus they are called the *Beaver, Otter, Sun-fish, Black-fish, Rattle-snake, Black-snake,* &c. They have also other descriptive names, from their personal qualities or appearances, and sometimes from fancy or caprice; but many of those are given them by the whites, such as *Pipe, White-eyes, Kill-buck,* &c. which are not real Indian names. They do not always preserve the names first given to them, but often assume a new one after they have come to man's estate.

Indians, who have particularly distinguished themselves by their conduct, or by some meritorious act, or who have been the subjects of some remarkable occurrence, have names given to them in allusion to those circumstances. Thus, I have known a man whose name would signify in our language *the beloved lover,* and one who was named *Met by love.* Another, a great warrior, who had been impatiently waiting for day-light to engage the enemy, was afterwards called *Cause day-light,* or *Make day-light appear.* So, one who had come in with a heavy load of turkies on his back, was called *The Carrier of Turkies,* and another whose shoes were gene-

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553 rally torn or patched, was called *Bad Shoes*. All those names are generally expressed in one single word, in compounding which the Indians are very ingenious. Thus, the name they had for the place where Philadelphia now [103] stands, and which they have preserved notwithstanding the great change which has taken place, is *Kuequenaku*,* which means, *The grove of the long pine trees.*

103 They have proper names, not only for all towns, villages, mountains, valleys, rivers, and streams, but for all remarkable spots, as for instance, those which are particularly infested with gnats or musquitoes, where snakes have their dens, &c. Those names always contain an allusion to such particular circumstance, so that foreigners, even though acquainted with their language, will often be at a loss to understand their discourse.

829 To strangers, white men for instance, they will give
648 names derived from some remarkable quality which they
551 have observed in them, or from some circumstance which remarkably strikes them. When they were told the meaning of the name of William Penn, they translated it into their own language by *Miquon*, which means a feather or quill. The Iroquois called him *Onas*, which in their idiom means the same thing.

The first name given by the Indians to the Europeans who landed in Virginia was *Wapsid Lenape* (white people;) when, however, afterwards they began to commit murders on the red men, whom they pierced with swords, they gave to the Virginians the name *Mechanschicau*, (long knives,) to distinguish them from others of the same colour.

In New England, they at first endeavoured to imitate the sound of the national name of the *English*, which they pronounced *Yengees*. They also called them *Chauquaquock*, (men of knives) for having imported those instruments into the country, which they gave in presents

* According to the powers of the English alphabet, it should Be written Koo-ek-wen-aw-koo

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829 to the natives.* They thought them better men than the
648 Virginians; but when they were afterwards cruelly treat-
551 ed by them, and their men shipped off to sea, the Mohicans of that country called them *Tschachgoos*; and when next the people of the middle colonies began to murder them, and called on the Iroquois to insult them and assist in depriving them of their lands, they then dropped that name, and called the whites by way of derision, *Schwannack*, which signifies *salt beings*, or *bitter beings*; for in their language the word *Schwan*, is in general applied to things that have a salt, sharp, bitter, or sour taste. The object of this name, as well as of that which the Mohicans gave to the eastern people, was to express contempt as well as hatred or dislike, and to hold out the white inhabitants of the country as hateful and despicable beings. I have, however, in many instances observed that the Indians are careful not to apply this opprobrious name to any white person whom they know to be amicably disposed towards them, and whom they are sure to be a good, honest, well-meaning man. I have heard them charge their children not to call a particular white man *Schwannack*, but *Friend*. This name was first introduced about the year 1730. They never apply it to the *Quakers*, whom they greatly love and respect since the first arrival of William Penn into the
[194] country. They call them *Quækels*, not having in their language the sound expressed by our letter R. They say they have always found them good, honest, affable and peaceable men, and never have had reason to complain of them.

648 These were the names which the Indians gave to the
551 whites, until the middle of the revolutionary war, when they were reduced to the following three:

1. *Mechanschican* or *Chanschican*, (long knives.) This

* Rogers's Key into the Language of the Indians of New England, ch. vi.

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they no longer applied to the Virginians exclusively, but also to those of the people of the middle states, whom they considered as hostilely inclined towards them, particularly those who wore swords, dirks, or knives at their sides.

2. *Yengees.* This name they now exclusively applied to the people of New England, who, indeed, appeared to have adopted it, and were, as they still are, generally through the country called *Yankees*, which is evidently the same name with a trifling alteration. They say they know the *Yengees*, and can distinguish them by their dress and personal appearance, and that they were considered as less cruel than the Virginians or *long knives*. The proper English they call *Saggenash*.

3. *Quækels.* They do not now apply this name exclusively to the members of the Society of Friends, but to all the white people whom they love or respect, and whom they believe to have good intentions towards them.

Not only the Delawares, but all the nations round them, make use of these names, and with the same relative application. I have myself, in 1782, while at Detroit, witnessed the Chippeways, who on meeting an American prisoner, who was walking about, called out *Messamochkemaan*, (long knife) though he had no knife, sword, or dirk at his side. I was one day about the same time hailed in that manner as I was walking up the river, and apprehending that I might be seized as a runaway prisoner, I immediately answered: *Kiu! Saggenash;* No! an Englishman; and they passed on. I might with great propriety make this answer, as I was born in England.

In the year 1808, while I was riding with a number of gentlemen through Greentown (an Indian town in the state of Ohio), I heard an Indian in his house, who through a crevice saw us passing, say in his language to his family: "See! what a number of people are coming "along!—What! and among all these not one *long knife!*

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"All *Yengees!*"—Then, probably observing me, he said correcting himself, "No! one *Quækel.*"

Such are the observations which the Indians make on the white people, and the names which they give to them. They may sometimes be in the wrong; but, as they make it their particular study to become acquainted with the actions, motions, deportment and dress of the different nations, they seldom commit mistakes, and in general, they apply their different names precisely to those whom they are meant to designate or describe.

CHAPTER XIV.

INTERCOURSE WITH EACH OTHER.

IT is a striking fact, that the Indians, in their uncivilised state, should so behave towards each other as though they were a civilised people! I have in numerous instances witnessed their meeting together, their doing business and conversing with each other for hours, their labouring together, and their hunting and fishing in bodies or parties; I have seen them divide their game, venison, bear's meat, fish, &c. among themselves, when they sometimes had many shares to make, and cannot recollect a single instance of their falling into a dispute or finding fault with the distribution, as being unequal, or otherwise objectionable. On the contrary, on such occasions they even receive what is allotted to them with thanks; they say "*anischi,*" I am thankful! as if it was a present given to them.

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181 They certainly (I am here speaking of the men) show
577 a reverence for each other, which is visible on all occasions; they often meet for the purpose of conversation, and their sociability appears to be a recreation to them, a renewal of good fellowship. Their general principle, that good and bad cannot mingle or dwell together in one heart, and therefore must not come into contact, seems to be their guide on all occasions. So, likewise, when travelling, whether they are few, or many, they are cheerful, and resigned to the accidents which may befal them; never impatient, quarrelsome, or charging any one, or one another, with being in fault, or the occasion of what had happened; even though one should lose his all by the neglect or carelessness of the other, yet they will not fly into a passion, but patiently bear with the loss, thinking within themselves that such a one feels sorry enough already, and therefore it would be unreasonable to add to his pain. They judge with calmness
672 on all occasions, and decide with precision, or endeavour so to do, between an accident and a wilful act;—the *first* (they say) they are all liable to commit, and therefore it ought not to be noticed, or punished;—the *second* being a wilful or premeditated act, committed with a bad design, ought on the contrary to receive due punishment.

672 To illustrate this subject, I shall relate a few of the
682 cases of this description which have come within my knowledge. One morning early, an Indian came into the house of another who was yet abed, asking for the loan of his gun for a morning hunt, his own being out of repair; the owner readily consented, and said: "as my "gun is not loaded, you will have to take a few balls out "of your pouch!" In taking the gun down, it, however, by some accident went off, and lodged the contents in the owner's head, who was still lying on the bed, and now expired. The gun, it appeared, was loaded, though unknown to him, and the lock left in such a condition that by a touch it went off. A cry was heard from all sides

[erratum. see ca1.116/p.348. -Aug'95]

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In the house: O! the *accident!* for such it was always considered to have been, and was treated as such.

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A hunter went out to kill a bear, some of those animals having been seen in the neighbourhood. In an obscure part of a wood, he saw at a distance something black moving, which he took for a bear, the whole of the animal not being visible to him; he fired, and found he had shot a black horse. Having discovered the mistake, he informed the owner of what had happened, expressing at the same time his regret that he was not possessed of a single horse, with which he could replace the one he had shot. What! replied the Indian whose horse had been killed, do you think I would accept a horse from you, though you had one to give, after you have satisfied me that you killed mine *by accident?* No, indeed! for the same misfortune might also happen to me.

An aged Indian who had gone out to shoot a turkey, mistook a black hog in the bushes for one of those birds, and shot him; finding out by enquiry to whom the hog belonged, he informed the owner of the mistake he had made, offering to pay for the hog; which the other, however, not only would not accept of, but having brought the meat in, gave him a leg of the animal, because he thought that the unfortunate man, as well on account of his disappointment, in not feasting on turkey as he expected soon to do when he shot the hog, as for his honesty in informing of what he had done, was *entitled* to a share of what he had killed.

Two Indians with a large canoe, going down the Muskingum river to a certain distance, were accosted by others going by land to the same place, who requested them to take their heavy articles, as kettles, axes, hoes, &c. into their canoe, which they freely did, but unfortunately were shipwrecked at the rocks of White Eyes's falls (as the place is called,) where the whole cargo was lost, and the men saved themselves by swimming to the

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shore. The question being put and fully discussed, whether those men with the canoe, who had taken charge of the property of the others, and by this neglect lost the whole, were not liable to pay for the loss? it was decided in the negative, on the following grounds:

1. That the canoe men had taken the articles on board, with the pleasing hope that they thereby would oblige their fellow men, and did not expect any recompense for that service.

2. That although they might have avoided the danger and the loss, by unloading the canoe at the head of the fall, and carrying the cargo by land below it, (which was but a short distance,) as was customary, when the river was not in a proper state to run through, yet that, had those who travelled by land been in the place of those in the canoe, they might, like them, have attempted to have run through, as is sometimes done with success, and been equally unfortunate.

3. That the canoe men having had all their own property on board, which was all lost at the same time, and was equally valuable to them, it was clear that they had expected to run safely through, and could not have intentionally or designedly brought on themselves and others the misfortune which had happened, and therefore the circumstance must be ascribed entirely to *accident*.

Such is the disposition of the Indians with regard to those who inadvertently meet with a disaster, whereby others are injured. They are ready to overlook a fault, and more disposed in such cases to commiserate, than to punish; but with those who wilfully and intentionally commit aggressions and injure others, they think and act quite differently; a malicious person is generally despised, and if he intrudes himself into good company, they will, without saying a word, steal off one by one, and leave him alone to suffer the mortification which it is intended he should feel. For murderers and thieves they have no compassion, and punish them according to

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the nature of their crimes, if not publicly, still privately, for they are considered as a nuisance, and a disgrace to the nation, and so much so were persons of this description considered and despised in former times among the Delawares, before the white people came, that it was a rare thing to hear of any such being among them. This I have repeatedly been told, between the years 1770 and 1780, by Indians of that nation; one of whom, when a boy, resided on the spot where Philadelphia now stands, when the first house was building there, and assisted in furnishing the workmen with fish, and caught rabbits for them; the other, who was still older, lived with his parents on the spot where afterwards was built Perth Amboy in New Jersey: both were respectable men, highly esteemed by all who knew them.

I do not believe that there exists a people, more attentive to paying common civilities to each other, than the Indians are; but this, from a want of understanding their language, as well as their customs and manners, generally escapes the notice of travellers, although some of them, better observers than the rest, have touched upon this subject. In more than one hundred instances, I have with astonishment and delight witnessed the attention paid to a person entering the house of another, where, in the first instance, he is desired to seat himself, with the words, "sit down my friend!" if he is a stranger, or no relation; but if a relation, the proper title is added. A person is never left standing, there are seats for all; and if a dozen should follow each other in succession, all are provided with seats, and the stranger, if a white person, with the best. The tobacco pouch next is handed round; it is the first treat, as with us a glass of wine or brandy. Without a single word passing between the man and his wife, she will go about preparing some victuals for the company, and having served the visiters, will retire to a neighbour's house, to inform the family of the visit

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with which her husband is honoured, never grumbling on account of their eating up the provisions, even if it were what she had cooked for her own family, considering the friendly visit well worth this small trouble and expense.

It is true, that among themselves, they expect the same attention and hopitality paid to them in return; yet that is not their main object, for I have seen a number of instances in which a return was out of the question, where poverty would not admit of it, or distance of abode put it out of the power of the visiter to return the same civilities to his host: when white people are treated in this way, with the best entertainment the house affords, they may be sure it is nothing else than a mark of respect paid to them, and that the attentions they receive do not proceed from any interested view.

CHAPTER XV.

POLITICAL MANŒUVRES.

IN the management of their national affairs, the Indians display as much skill and dexterity, perhaps, as any people upon earth. When a political message is sent to them from a neighbouring nation, they generally contrive to send an answer so ambiguously worded, that it is difficult to come at their real meaning; they conceive this to be the best way of getting rid of a proposal which they do not like, because those who sent them the message are for some time, at least, at a loss

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to comprehend the meaning, and not knowing whether the answer is favourable or unfavourable, their proceedings are necessarily suspended until they can discover its true sense; in this manner have operations been sometimes entirely prevented, and matters have remained in the same situation that they were in before. 648

It may be supposed, perhaps, that such an artful manner of treating each other might be thought provoking, and cause jealousies and disputes among the different parties; such is not, however, the case, as nothing insulting is ever contained in those messages; and as offence is not meant, it is not taken. The Indians consider it on all sides as a kind of diplomatic proceeding, an exercise which tends to invigorate the mind, of which they are very fond. It gives them opportunities to reflect and think deeply on matters of importance, and of displaying their genius, when they have found or discovered the secret of an answer sent to them, or hit upon the true meaning of an ambiguous message.

At the time of the Revolutionary war I witnessed a curious scene of diplomatic manœuvres between two great men of the Delaware nation, both of whom had in their time signalised themselves as brave and courageous men, and had acquired the character of two great war chiefs. The war that I speak of, which had but lately begun, had made it necessary for the Indians to consult their present and future safety. Captain White Eyes, of the Turtle tribe, who was placed at the head of his nation, had its welfare much at heart. He was in favour of their following the advice given them by the American Congress, which was to remain neutral, and not to meddle in the quarrel between the Americans and the parent country. He advised his people, therefore, to remain in friendship with both sides, and not to take up arms against either, as it might bring them into trouble, and perhaps, in the end, effect their ruin. 662 648 [643]

On the other hand, Captain Pipe, of the Wolf tribe,

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who resided at the distance of fifteen miles, where he had his council fire, was of a different opinion, and leaned on the side of the British. He was an artful, ambitious man, yet not deficient in greatness of mind, as I have shewn in a preceding chapter. But his head at that time was full of the wrongs which the Indians had suffered from the Americans, from their first coming into the country; his soul panted for revenge, and he was glad to seize the opportunity that now offered. He professed his readiness to join in proper measures to save the nation, but not such measures as his antagonist proposed; what his real object was he did not openly declare, but privately endeavoured to counteract all that was done and proposed by the other. White Eyes, however, was a sensible upright man, and never was deficient in means to support his own measures, and extricate himself from the snares with which he was on all sides surrounded by Captain Pipe. Thus they went on for upwards of two years, Pipe working clandestinely, and keeping his spies continually on the watch upon the other, while White Eyes acted openly and publicly, as though he knew nothing of what was machinating against him.

At last, a circumstance took place which apparently justified Captain Pipe in the measures he wished to pursue. In March 1778, a number of white people, of those whom we called *Tories*, among whom were M'Kee, Eliott, Girty, and several others, having escaped from Pittsburg, told the Indians wherever they came, "that they must arm "and be off immediately, and kill all the Americans where- "ever they found them, for they had determined to de- "stroy all the Indians, and possess themselves of their "country." White Eyes, not believing what these men said, advised his people to remain quiet, for this report could not be true. Pipe, on the contrary, called his men together, and in a speech which he addressed to them, pronounced every man an enemy to his country who endeavoured to dissuade them from going out against the Ame-

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ricans, and said that all such ought to be put to death. Captain White Eyes was not disconcerted; he immediately assembled his warriors, and told them "that if they "meant in earnest to go out, as he observed some of them "were preparing to do, they should not go without him. "He had taken peace measures in order to save the "nation from utter destruction. But if they believed "that he was in the wrong, and gave more credit to va-"gabond fugitives, whom he knew to be such, than to "himself, who was best acquainted with the real state of "things; if they had determined to follow their advice, "and go out against the Americans, he would go out "with them; he would lead them on, place himself in the "front, and be the first who should fall. They only "had to determine on what they meant to do; for his "own mind was fully made up not to survive his nation, "and he would not spend the remainder of a misera-"ble life, in bewailing the total destruction of a brave "people, who deserved a better fate."

This spirited, and at the same time pathetic, speech of Captain White Eyes, made such an impression on the minds of the audience, that they unanimously declared that they would obey his orders, and listen to no person but himself, either white or of their own colour. Indeed, there was too much force, too much majesty in this address to be resisted; when this was reported to Pipe by his emissaries, he was absolutely confounded, and knew not what to do. A few days afterwards, the council of the Delaware nation received the most friendly and flattering messages from the commandant and Indian agent at Pittsburg, cautioning them, "not to listen to "those worthless men who had ran off from them in the "night, and to be assured of the steady friendship of the "Government of the United States." Pipe was so put to the blush, and took this matter so much to heart, that he soon after threw off the mask, permitted his men to go out and murder the Americans, and afterwards went

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off with them to Sandusky, under the protection of the British Government. We have seen in a former chapter that he afterwards saw how impolitic his conduct had been, and probably wished to retrace his steps, but it was too late. He had suffered himself to be misled by his passions, excited by the remembrance of former wrongs, and thus was betrayed into his injudicious conduct. Perhaps also his jealousy of Captain White Eyes, whose superiority his proud mind could not bear, did not in a small degree contribute to it. Pipe was certainly a great man, but White Eyes was, in my opinion, the greatest of the two. I was present when he made the speech which I have related, and never shall forget the impression it made upon me.

Thus Indian politicians work and manage matters against each other without newspaper wrangles, abuse of character, personal quarrels, or open insults. Their ingenuity, when joined to a good cause, generally makes them come off victorious. In a bad cause, on the contrary, they are sure to meet with detection and defeat, as Captain Pipe, for his misfortune, sadly experienced.

CHAPTER XVI.

MARRIAGE AND TREATMENT OF THEIR WIVES.

THERE are many persons who believe, from the labour that they see the Indian women perform, that they are in a manner treated as slaves. These labours, indeed, are hard, compared with the tasks that are imposed upon females in civilised society; but they are no more than their fair share, under every consideration

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and due allowance, of the hardships attendant on savage life. Therefore they are not only voluntarily, but cheerfully submitted to; and as women are not obliged to live with their husbands any longer than suits their pleasure or convenience, it cannot be supposed that they would submit to be loaded with unjust or unequal burdens. 562 593 461

Marriages among the Indians are not, as with us, contracted for life; it is understood on both sides that the parties are not to live together any longer than they shall be pleased with each other. The husband may put away his wife whenever he pleases, and the woman may in like manner abandon her husband. Therefore the connexion is not attended with any vows, promises or ceremonies of any kind. An Indian takes a wife as it were on trial, determined, however, in his own mind not to forsake her if she behaves well, and particularly if he has children by her. The woman, sensible of this, does on her part every thing in her power to please her husband, particularly if he is a good hunter or trapper, capable of maintaining her by his skill and industry, and protecting her by his strength and courage. 581 586 583 585

When a marriage takes place, the duties and labours incumbent on each party are well known to both. It is understood that the husband is to build a house for them to dwell in, to find the necessary implements of husbandry, as axes, hoes, &c. to provide a canoe, and also dishes, bowls, and other necessary vessels for house-keeping. The woman generally has a kettle or two, and some other articles of kitchen furniture, which she brings with her. The husband, as master of the family, considers himself bound to support it by his bodily exertions, as hunting, trapping, &c.; the woman, as his *help-mate*, takes upon herself the labours of the field, and is far from considering them as more important than those to which her husband is subjected, being well satisfied that with his gun and traps he can maintain a family in any place where game is to be found: nor do they think it any hardship imposed upon them; for they themselves say, that 593 462

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462 while their field labour employs them at most six weeks in the year, that of the men continues the whole year round.

When a couple is newly married, the husband (without saying a single word upon the subject) takes considerable pains to please his wife, and by repeated proofs of his skill and abilities in the art of hunting, to make her sensible that she can be happy with him, and that she will never want while they live together. At break of day he will be off with his gun, and often by breakfast time return home with a deer, turkey, or some other game. He endeavours to make it appear that it is in his power to bring provisions home whenever he pleases, and his wife, proud of having such a good hunter for her husband, does her utmost to serve and make herself agreeable to him.

462 The work of the women is not hard or difficult. They
356 are both able and willing to do it, and always perform it with cheerfulness. Mothers teach their daughters those duties which common sense would otherwise point out to them when grown up. Within doors, their labour is very trifling; there is seldom more than one pot or kettle to attend to. There is no scrubbing of the house,
462 and but little to wash, and that not often. Their principal occupations are to cut and fetch in the fire wood, till the ground, sow and reap the grain, and pound the corn in mortars for their pottage, and to make bread which they bake in the ashes. When going on a journey, or to
[482] hunting camps with their husbands, if they have no horses, they carry a pack on their backs which often appears heavier than it really is; it generally consists of a blanket, a dressed deer skin for mocksons, a few articles of kitchen furniture, as a kettle, bowl or dish, with spoons and some bread, corn, salt, &c. for their nourishment. I have never known an Indian woman complain of the hardship of carrying this burden, which serves for their own comfort and support as well as of their husbands.

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The tilling of the ground at home, getting of the fire wood, and pounding of corn in mortars, is frequently done by female parties, much in the manner of those husking, quilting and other *frolics* (as they are called,) which are so common in some parts of the United States, particularly to the eastward. The labour is thus quickly and easily performed; when it is over, and sometimes in intervals, they sit down to enjoy themselves by feasting on some good victuals, prepared for them by the person or family for whom they work, and which the man has taken care to provide before hand from the woods; for this is considered a principal part of the business, as there are generally more or less of the females assembled who have not, perhaps for a long time, tasted a morsel of meat, being either widows, or orphans, or otherwise in straitened circumstances. Even the chat which passes during their joint labours is highly diverting to them, and so they seek to be employed in this way as long as they can, by going round to all those in the village who have ground to till.

When the harvest is in, which generally happens by the end of September, the women have little else to do than to prepare the daily victuals, and get fire wood, until the latter end of February or beginning of March, as the season is more or less backward, when they go to their sugar camps, where they extract sugar from the maple tree. The men having built or repaired their temporary cabin, and made all the troughs of various sizes, the women commence making sugar, while the men are looking out for meat, at this time generally fat bears, which are still in their winter quarters. When at home, they will occasionally assist their wives in gathering the sap, and watch the kettles in their absence, that the syrup may not boil over.

A man who wishes his wife to be with him while he is out hunting in the woods, needs only tell her, that on such a day they will go to such a place, where he will

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462 224 hunt for a length of time, and she will be sure to have provisions and every thing else that is necessary in complete readiness, and well packed up to carry to the spot; for the man, as soon as he enters the woods, has to be looking out and about for game, and therefore cannot be encumbered with any burden; after wounding a deer, he may have to pursue it for several miles, often running it fairly down. The woman, therefore, takes charge 462 251 of the baggage, brings it to the place of encampment, and there, immediately enters on the duties of housekeeping, as if they were at home; she moreover takes pains to dry as much meat as she can, that none may be lost; she carefully puts the tallow up, assists in drying the skins, gathers as much wild hemp as possible for the 222 283 purpose of making strings, carrying bands, bags and other necessary articles, collects roots for dyeing; in short does every thing in her power to leave no care to her husband but the important one of providing meat for the family.

461 462 After all, the fatigue of the women is by no means to be compared to that of the men. Their hard and difficult employments are periodical and of short duration, while their husband's labours are constant and severe in the extreme. Were a man to take upon himself a part of his wife's duty, in addition to his own, he must necessarily sink under the load, and of course his family must suffer with him. On his exertions as a hunter, their existence depends; in order to be able to follow that rough employment with success, he must keep his limbs as supple as he can, he must avoid hard labour as much as possible, that his joints may not become stiffened, and that he may preserve the necessary strength and agility of body to enable him to pursue the chase, and bear the unavoidable hardships attendant on it; for the fatigues of hunting wear out the body and constitution far more than manual labour. Neither creeks nor rivers, whether shallow or deep, frozen or free

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from ice, must be an obstacle to the hunter, when in pursuit of a wounded deer, bear, or other animal, as is often the case. Nor has he then leisure to think on the state of his body, and to consider whether his blood is not too much heated to plunge without danger into the cold stream, since the game he is in pursuit of is running off from him with full speed. Many dangerous accidents often befal him, both as a hunter and a warrior, (for he is both) and are seldom unattended with painful consequences, such as rheumatism or consumption of the lungs, for which the sweat-house, on which they so much depend, and to which they often resort for relief, especially after a fatiguing hunt or warlike excursion, is not always a sure preservative or an effectual remedy.

The husband generally leaves the skins and peltry which he has procured by hunting to the care of his wife, who sells or barters them away to the best advantage for such necessaries as are wanted in the family; not forgetting to supply her husband with what he stands in need of, who, when he receives it from her hands never fails to return her thanks in the kindest manner. If debts had been previously contracted, either by the woman, or by her and her husband jointly, or if a horse should be wanted, as much is laid aside as will be sufficient to pay the debts or purchase the horse.

When a woman has got in her harvest of corn, it is considered as belonging to her husband, who, if he has suffering friends, may give them as much of it as he pleases, without consulting his wife, or being afraid of her being displeased; for she is in the firm belief that he is able to procure that article whenever it is wanted. The sugar which she makes out of the maple tree is also considered as belonging to her husband.

There is nothing in an Indian's house or family without its particular owner. Every individual knows what belongs to him, from the horse or cow down to the dog, cat, kitten and little chicken.

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422 [431] cat, kitten and little chicken. Parents make presents to their children, and they in return to their parents. A father will sometimes ask his wife or one of his children for the loan of his horse to go out a hunting. For a litter of kittens or brood of chickens, there are often as many different owners as there are individual animals. In purchasing a hen with her brood, one frequently has to deal for it with several children. Thus, while [421] the principle of community of goods prevails in the state, the rights of property are acknowledged among the members of a family. This is attended with a very good effect; for by this means every living creature is properly taken care of. It also promotes liberality among the children, which becomes a habit with them by the time they are grown up.

593 An Indian loves to see his wife well clothed, which is a proof that he is fond of her; at least, it is so considered. While his wife is bartering the skins and peltry he has taken in his hunt, he will seat himself at some distance, to observe her choice, and how she and the traders agree together. When she finds an article which she thinks will suit or please her husband, she never fails to purchase it for him; she tells him that it is *her* choice, and he is never dissatisfied.

The more a man does for his wife, the more he is esteemed, particularly by the women, who will say: "This [517 322] man surely loves his wife." Some men at their leisure hours make bowls and ladles, which, when finished, are at their wives' disposal.

593 843 If a sick or pregnant woman longs for any article of food, be it what it may, and however difficult to be procured, the husband immediately sets out to endeavour to get it. I have known a man to go forty or fifty miles for a mess of cranberries to satisfy his wife's longing. In the year 1762, I was witness to a remarkable instance of the disposition of Indians to indulge their wives. There was a famine in the land, and a sick Indian woman ex-

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pressed a great desire for a mess of Indian corn. Her husband having heard that a trader at Lower Sandusky had a little, set off on horseback for that place, one hundred miles distant, and returned with as much corn as filled the crown of his hat, for which he gave his horse in exchange, and came home on foot, bringing his saddle back with him. Squirrels, ducks, and other like delicacies, when most difficult to be obtained, are what women in the first stage of their pregnancy generally long for. The husband in every such case will go out and spare no pains nor trouble until he has procured what is wanted. 593 843

In other cases, the men and their wives do not in general trouble themselves with each other's business; but the wife, knowing that the father is very fond of his children, is always prepared to tell him some diverting anecdote of one or the other of them, especially if he has been absent for some time. 593

It very seldom happens that a man condescends to quarrel with his wife, or abuse her, though she has given him just cause. In such a case the man, without replying, or saying a single word, will take his gun and go into the woods, and remain there a week or perhaps a fortnight, living on the meat he has killed, before he returns home again; well knowing that he cannot inflict a greater punishment on his wife for her conduct to him than by absenting himself for a while; for she is not only kept in suspense, uncertain whether he will return again, but is soon reported as a bad and quarrelsome woman; for, as on those occasions, the man does not tell his wife on what day or at what time he will be back again, which he otherwise, when they are on good terms, never neglects to do, she is at once put to shame by her neighbours, who soon suspecting something, do not fail to put such questions to her, as she either cannot, or is ashamed to answer. When he at length does return, she endeavours to let him see by her attentions, that she has 578 593

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593 578 repented, though neither speak to each other a single word on the subject of what has passed. And as his children, if he has any, will on his return hang about him and soothe him with their caresses, he is, on their account, ready to forgive, or at least to say nothing unpleasant to their mother. She has, however, received by this a solemn warning, and must take care how she behaves in future, lest the next time her husband should stay away altogether and take another wife. It is very probable, that if at this time they had had no children, he would have left her, but then he would have taken his property with him at the same time.

593 576 484 On the return of an Indian from a journey, or long absence, he will on entering the house, say, "I am returned!" to which his wife will reply, "I rejoice!" and having cast his eyes around, he will enquire, whether all the children are well, when being answered in the affirmative, he replies, "I am glad!" which for the present is all the conversation that passes between them; nor does he relate any thing at this present time that occurred on his journey, but holds himself in readiness to partake of the nourishment which his wife is preparing for him. After a while, when the men of the village have assembled at his house, his wife, with the rest, hears his story at full length.

584 *Marriages* are proposed and concluded in different ways. The parents on both sides, having observed an attachment between two young persons, negotiate for them. This generally commences from the house where the bridegroom lives, whose mother is the negotiatrix for him, and begins her duties by taking a good leg of venison, or bear's meat, or something else of the same kind, to the house where the bride dwells, not forgetting to mention, that her son has killed it: in return for this the mother of the bride, if she otherwise approves of the match, which she well understands by the presents to be intended, will prepare a good dish of victuals, the pro-

9 [Lenaplan. See cat. 116, p. 318, —Analyst]

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duce of the labour of woman, such as beans, Indian corn, 584
or the like, and then taking it to the house where the bride-
groom lives, will say, "This is the produce of my daugh-
"ter's field;" and she also prepared it. If afterwards
the mothers of the parties are enabled to tell the good
news to each other, that the young people have pronoun-
ced that which was sent them *very good*, the bargain is
struck. It is as much as if the young man had said to the
girl, "I am able to provide you at all times with meat
"to eat!" and she had replied, "and such good victuals
"from the field, you shall have from me!" From this
time not only presents of this kind are continued on both
sides, but articles of clothing are presented to the parents
by each party, by way of return for what they have re-
ceived, of which the young people always have a share. [572]
The friendship between the two families daily increasing,
they do their domestic and field work jointly, and when
the young people have agreed to live together, the pa-
rents supply them with necessaries, such as a kettle, dishes
or bowls, and also what is required for the kitchen, and
with axes, hoes, &c. to work in the field.

The men who have no parents to negotiate for them,
or otherwise choose to manage the matter for themselves,
have two simple ways of attaining their object. The
first is: by stepping up to the woman whom they wish
to marry, saying: "If you are willing I will take you as [583]
"wife!" when if she answer in the affirmative, she
either goes with him immediately, or meets him at an
appointed time and place.

The other mode of celebrating marriage will appear 584
from the following anecdote. 586

An aged Indian, who for many years had spent much
of his time among the white people both in Pennsylva-
nia and New Jersey, one day about the year 1770 ob-
served, that the Indians had not only a much easier
way of getting a wife than the whites, but were also more
certain of getting a *good* one; "For," (said he in his bro-

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584 586 ken English,) "White man court,—court,—may be one "whole year!—may be two year before he marry!—well! "—may be then got *very* good wife—but may be not!— "may be *very* cross!—Well now, suppose cross! scold "as soon as get awake in the morning! scold all day! "scold until sleep!—all one; he must keep *him*!* White "people have law forbidding throwing away wife, be "*he* ever so cross! must keep *him* always! Well! "how does Indian do?—Indian when he see industrious "Squaw, which he like, he go to *him*, place his two fore- "fingers close aside each other, make two look like one "—look Squaw in the face—see *him* smile—which is all "one *he* say, *Yes!* so he take *him* home—no danger *he* "be cross! no! no! Squaw know too well what Indian "do if *he* cross!—throw *him* away and take another! "Squaw love to eat meat! no husband! no meat! Squaw "do every thing to please husband! he do the same to "please Squaw! live happy!"

CHAPTER XVII.

RESPECT FOR THE AGED.

889 **THERE** is no nation in the world who pay greater respect to old age than the American Indians. From their infancy they are taught to be kind and attentive to aged persons, and never to let them suffer for want of necessaries or comforts. The parents spare no pains to impress upon the minds of their children the conviction

* The pronouns in the Indian language have no feminine gender.

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that they would draw down upon themselves the anger of the Great Spirit, were they to neglect those whom, in his goodness, he had permitted to attain such an advanced age, whom he had protected with his almighty power through all the perils and dangers of life, while so many had perished by wars, accidents and sickness in various forms, by the incantations of the wizzard or the stroke of the murderer, and not a few by the consequences of their own imprudent conduct. 888

It is a sacred principle among the Indians, and one of those moral and religious truths which they have always before their eyes, that the Great Spirit who created them, and provided them so abundantly with the means of subsistence, made it the duty of parents to maintain and take care of their children until they should be able to provide for themselves, and that having while weak and helpless received the benefits of maintenance, education and protection, they are bound to repay them by a similar care of those who are labouring under the infirmities of old age, and are no longer able to supply their own wants. [593] [183]

Thus, a strong feeling of gratitude towards their elders, inculcated and cherished from their earliest infancy, is the solid foundation on which rests that respect for old age for which Indians are so remarkable, and it is further supported by the well-founded hope of receiving the like succours and attentions in their turn, when the heavy hand of time shall have reduced them to the same helpless situation which they now commiserate in others, and seek by every means in their power to render more tolerable. Hence, they do not confine themselves to acts of absolute necessity; it is not enough for them that the old are not suffered to starve with hunger or perish with cold, but they must be made as much as possible to share in the pleasures and comforts of life. It is, indeed, a moving spectacle to see the tender and delicate attentions which, on every occasion, they lavish upon

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888 aged and decrepid persons. When going out a hunting they will put them on a horse or in a canoe, and take them into the woods to their hunting ground, in order to revive their spirits by making them enjoy the sight of a sport in which they can no longer participate. They 888 place them in particular situations, where they are sure 224 that the game they are in pursuit of will pass by, taking proper measures at the same time to prevent its escape, so that their aged parents and friends may, at least, as our sportsmen call it, *be in at the death*. Nor is this all; the hoary veterans must also enjoy the honours of the chase; when the animal, thus surrounded, is come within reach of their guns, when every possibility of escape is precluded, by the woods all around being set on fire, they all, young and old, fire together, so that it is difficult to decide whose ball it was that brought the animal to the ground. But they never are at a loss to decide, and always give it in favour of the oldest man in the party. So, when the young people have discovered a place where the bears have their haunts, or have resorted to for the winter, they frequently take with them to the spot, such of the old men as are yet able to walk or ride, where they not only have an opportunity of witnessing the sport, but receive their full share of the meat and oil.

888 At home the old are as well treated and taken care of as if they were favourite children. They are cherished and even caressed; indulged in health and nursed in sickness; and all their wishes and wants are anticipated. Their company is sought by the young, to whom their conversation is considered an honour. Their advice is asked on all occasions, their words are listened to as oracles, and their occasional garrulity, nay, even the the second childhood often attendant on extreme old age, is never with Indians a subject of ridicule, or laughter. Respect, gratitude and love are too predominant in their minds to permit any degrading idea to mix itself with these truly honourable and generous feelings.

[Errata. See cat. 116, p. 348. - Ed.]

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On every occasion, and in every situation through life, age takes the lead among the Indians. Even little boys, when going on parties of pleasure, were it only to catch butterflies, strictly adhere to this rule, and submit to the direction of the oldest in their company, who is their chief, leader and spokesman; if they are accosted on the way by any person, and asked whither they are going, or any other question, no one will presume to answer but their *speaker*. The same rule is observed when they are grown up, and in no case whatever will one of a party, club or meeting, attempt to assume authority over the leader, or even to set him right if he should mistake the road or take a wrong course; much less will any one contradict what he says, unless his opinion should be particularly asked, in which case, and no other, he will give his advice, but with great modesty and diffidence.

And yet there have been travellers who have ventured to assert that old people among the Indians are not only neglected and suffered to perish for want, but that they are even, when no longer able to take care of themselves, *put out of the way of all trouble*. I am free to declare, that among all the Indian nations that I have become acquainted with, if any one should kill an old man or woman for no other cause than that of having become useless or burdensome to society, it would be considered as an unpardonable crime, the general indignation would be excited, and the murderer instantly put to death. I cannot conceive any act that would produce such an universal horror and detestation, such is the veneration which is every where felt for old age.

Indeed, I have had sufficient reason to be convinced that this principle, excellent as it is in itself, is even carried too far by the Indians, and that not a little inconvenience is occasioned by it. A few instances will make this better understood than any explanations that I could give.

In the year 1765, the great body of Christian Indians,

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after having remained sixteen months at and near Philadelphia, were permitted to return to their own country, peace having been concluded with the Indian nations, who still continued at war notwithstanding the pacification between the European powers. They resolved to open a path through the wilderness from the frontier settlements beyond the Blue mountains, directly to Wyoming on the Susquehannah. This path they laid off and cut as they proceeded, two, three or four miles at a time, according to the nature of the ground and the convenience of water, bringing up their baggage by making two or more trips, as they had no horses to carry it. Having arrived at the great Pine Swamp, then supposed to be about fourteen miles wide, it was found very difficult to cut a passage on account of the thickets and of the great number of fallen trees which incumbered it; they were, besides, unacquainted with that part of the country. An old Indian, however, took the lead, and undertook to be their guide. After a tedious march of near two weeks, attended with much labour, he brought them across the Swamp, to the large creek which borders upon it on the opposite side. There they found a very steep mountain, through which no passage could be found either above or below. Discouraged at the prospect before them, they now saw no alternative but to return the same way they had come, and take the route by Fort Allen to Nescopeck, and so up the Susquehannah to Wyoming, a distance of nearly one hundred miles round. In this difficulty, it fortunately struck their Missionary, Mr. Zeisberger, that a certain Indian named David, who was one of their party and had followed them all the way, was acquainted with that part of the country, and might, perhaps, be able to point out to them some better and shorter road. He soon found that he was not mistaken. David was perfectly acquainted with the country, and knew a good road, through which the party might easily pass, but not having been questioned on the subject,

[erratum. See cat. 116, p. 348. Analyst]

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had hitherto kept silence, and followed with the rest, though he knew all the while they were going wrong. A dialogue then took place between him and the Missionary. 886

ZEISB.—David! You are, I believe, acquainted with this country; perhaps you know a better road, and a shorter one than that which we are going to take.

DAVID.—Yes, I do; there is such a road, which we may easily get through, and have a much shorter distance to travel than by that which is proposed; I am sure of it.

ZEISB.—What; David! we were all going wrong, and yet you are with us?

DAVID.—Yes, 'tis so.

ZEISB.—And yet you said nothing, and followed with the rest as if all had been right!

DAVID.—Yes; the guides are somewhat older than myself; they took the lead, and never asked me whether I had any knowledge of the country. If they had enquired, I would have told them.

ZEISB.—Will you *now* tell them?

DAVID.—No, indeed; unless they ask me. It does not become an Indian to instruct his elders.

The question was then asked him at the instigation of Mr. Zeisberger, when he immediately told them that they must all return to a certain spot, six miles back, and then direct their course more to the north east, which would bring them to a gap in the mountain, where they could pass through with great ease. They did so, and he followed them, and being now desired to take the lead, he did it, and brought them to the very spot he had described, and from thence led them all the way to Wyoming. This difficult part of the road, in the swamp, has been since called *David's path*, and the state road now passes through it.

This anecdote was told me by Mr. Zeisberger himself, whom I have never known to say any thing that

[Errata. See cal. 116, p. 348. - Analyst]

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was not strictly true. I therefore give it full credit; the more so, as I have myself witnessed two similar instances, with the relation of which I shall conclude this chapter.

The first happened in the year 1791. I had parted by accident from the company I was with, and lost my way in the woods. I had with me an Indian lad about twelve or thirteen years of age, and wished him to take the lead, to which, however, he would not consent. We were at at last found by our party, who had gone in search of us. I complained to them of the boy, for not doing what I had bidden him; but they answered, "that he had "done right, and that it did not become a *boy* to walk "before a *man* and be his leader."

The second occurrence of the like kind, took place in the year 1798. I was on a journey with two young Indians, from Upper Canada to the Muskingum, round the head of Lake Erie. Neither of these Indians having ever been in the country we were going to, they received their instructions from others before their departure. The leader, however, whose name was Leonhard, having once mistaken a path, we travelled several miles in a wrong direction, until, at last, I discovered the mistake, by our having the Owl creek to our left, when we ought to have had it to our right. I observed this to Christian, the young Indian in the rear, who coinciding with me in opinion, I desired him to run forward to Leonhard, who was far ahead of us, and to bring him back; but the lad answered that he *could not do it*. I asked him the reason. "It is," said he, "because I am younger "than he is."—"Will you then," replied I, "take my "message to him, and tell him that *I* desire him to return "to this place, where I will wait for him?"—The young man immediately consented, went forward to Leonhard, and brought him back, on which we took an eastward course through the wood to the Owl creek, and, after crossing it, fell into our right path.

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CHAPTER XVIII.

PRIDE AND GREATNESS OF MIND.

THE Indians are proud but not vain; they consider vanity as degrading and unworthy the character of a man. The hunter never boasts of his skill or strength, nor the warrior of his prowess. It is not right, they say, that one should value himself too much for an action which another may perform as well as himself, and when a man extols his own deeds, it seems as if he doubted his own capability to do the like again when he pleased. Therefore, they prefer in all cases to let their actions speak for themselves. The skins and peltry which the hunter brings home, the deer's horns on the roof of his cabin, the horses, furniture and other property that he possesses, his apparel and that of his family, the visits with which he is honoured by the first and best men among his nation; all these things shew what he is and what he has done, and with this he rests satisfied.

So with the warrior; it is enough for him that he is known to be a man of spirit and courage by the scalps and prisoners that he brings home; he never is seen going about boasting of his warlike exploits, and when questioned on the subject, he makes his answer as short as possible. Even when he is entering a town with his prisoners and scalps, he does not stare about to see whether the people are looking at him, but walks his usual steady pace and marches straight forward without appearing to see any body. When at some of their particular festivals, every warrior is called upon to relate his feats of arms, they make it a point to be as brief as pos-

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sible, leaving it to those who have done but little, to swell their actions into importance, and give themselves credit for what they have done. I cannot illustrate this subject better than by a few anecdotes.

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In the year 1779, two war chiefs, the one a young man of the Shawano tribe, and the other an old warrior of the Wyandots, living near Detroit, much celebrated for his great actions, but who during the whole of the revolutionary war, could not be persuaded to take the field against the Americans, met accidentally at my house on Muskingum, where they had separately come to pay me a friendly visit. The Shawano (whose nation, by the bye, are noted for much talk,) entered upon the subject of war, and with much earnestness in words and gestures, related the actions he had been engaged in, shewing at the same time on his arm the mark of a bullet wound. During all this time, the Wyandot, smoking his pipe, listened with great attention and apparent surprise; and having afterwards to answer, according to custom, by relating what he had done, he laid down his pipe, and deliberately drawing off his clothes, except the breech-cloth, rose up and said: "I have been in upwards "of twenty engagements with the enemy and fought with "the French against the English; I have warred against "the southern nations, and my body shews that I have "been struck and wounded by nine balls. These two "wounds I received at the same moment, from two Che-"rokees, who, seeing me fall, rested their guns against "a tree, and ran up with their tomohawks to dispatch "me, and take off my scalp. With the aid of the Great "Spirit, I jumped up, just at the moment when they "were about to give me the stroke. I struck them and "they both fell at my feet. I took their scalps, and re-"turned home." Thus this grave and respectable veteran gave a lesson to the young Shawano, which, if he well understood, he, no doubt, ever after remembered;

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for in a few words, and in less than five minutes, he shewed him at once the contrast between great actions briefly and modestly told, and every day occurrences related and dwelt on with pompous minuteness. This contrast, indeed, was particularly striking, the more so as the modest warrior did not seem to enjoy his triumph, nor to be even conscious of the accession to his fame which must result from the publicity of the account which he had given. As both parties spoke the Shawano language, I well understood every thing they said, and I paid the most particular attention to their discourse, which was of itself sufficiently interesting.

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This passion of the Indians, which I have called *pride*, but which might, perhaps, be better denominated *high-mindedness*, is generally combined with a great sense of honour, and not seldom produces actions of the most heroic kind. I am now going to relate an instance of this honourable pride, which I have also witnessed. An Indian of the Lenape nation, who was considered as a very dangerous person, and was much dreaded on that account, had publicly declared that as soon as another Indian, who was then gone to Sandusky, should return from thence, he would certainly kill him. This dangerous Indian called in one day at my house on the Muskingum to ask me for some tobacco. While this unwelcome guest was smoking his pipe by my fire, behold! the other Indian whom he had threatened to kill, and who at that moment had just arrived, also entered the house. I was much frightened, as I feared the bad Indian would take that opportunity to carry his threat into execution, and that my house would be made the scene of a horrid murder. I walked to the door, in order not to witness a crime that I could not prevent, when to my great astonishment I heard the Indian whom I thought in danger, address the other in these words: "Uncle, you have "threatened to kill me—you have declared that you

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"would do it the first time we should meet. Now I am "here, and we are together. Am I to take it for granted that you are in earnest, and that you are really determined to take my life as you have declared? Am "I now to consider you as my avowed enemy, and in "order to secure my own life against your murderous "designs, to be the first to strike you and embrue "my hands in your blood?—I will not, I cannot do it. "Your heart is bad, it is true, but still you appear to be "a generous foe, for you gave me notice of what you "intended to do; you have put me on my guard, and did "not attempt to assassinate me by surprise; I, therefore, will spare you until you lift up your arm to strike, "and then, uncle, it will be seen which of us shall fall!" The murderer was thunderstruck, and without replying a word, slunk off and left the house.

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The anecdote with which I am going to conclude this chapter, will display an act of heroism produced by this elevation of mind which I have called *pride*, which, perhaps, may have been equalled, but, I dare say, was hardly ever surpassed. In the spring of the year 1782, the war chief of the Wyandots of Lower Sandusky sent a white prisoner (a young man whom he had taken at Fort M'Intosh) as a present to another chief, who was called the *Half-king* of Upper Sandusky, for the purpose of being adopted into his family, in the place of one of his sons, who had been killed the preceding year, while at war with the people on the Ohio. The prisoner arrived, and was presented to the Half-king's wife, but she refused to receive him, which, according to the Indian rule, was, in fact, a sentence of death. The young man was, therefore, taken away, for the purpose of being tortured and burnt on the pile. While the dreadful preparations were making near the village, the unhappy victim being already tied to the stake, and the Indians arriving from all quarters to join in the cruel act or to witness it, two

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English traders, Messrs. *Arundel* and *Robbins* (I delight in making this honourable mention of their names), shocked at the idea of the cruelties which were about to be perpetrated, and moved by feelings of pity and humanity, resolved to unite their exertions to endeavour to save the prisoner's life by offering a ransom to the war chief, which he, however refused, because, said he, it was an established rule among them, that when a prisoner who had been given as a present, was refused adoption, he was irrevocably doomed to the stake, and it was not in the power of any one to save his life. Besides, added he, the numerous war captains who were on the spot, had it in charge to see the sentence carried into execution. The two generous Englishmen, however, were not discouraged, and determined to try a last effort. They well know what effects the high-minded pride of an Indian was capable of producing, and to this strong and noble passion they directed their attacks: "But," said they, in reply to the answer which the chief had made them, "among all those chiefs whom you have mentioned, there is none who equals you in greatness; you are "considered not only as the greatest and bravest, but "as the best man in the nation." "Do you really "believe what you say?" said at once the Indian, looking them full in the face. "Indeed, we do." Then, without saying another word, he blackened himself, and taking his knife and tomahawk in his hand, made his way through the crowd to the unhappy victim, crying out with a loud voice: "What have you to do with my "prisoner?" and at once cutting the cords with which he was tied, took him to his house which was near Mr. Arundel's, whence he was forthwith secured and carried off by safe hands to Detroit, where the commandant, being informed of the transaction, sent him by water to Niagara, where he was soon afterwards liberated. The Indians who witnessed this act, said that it was truly heroic; they were so confounded by the unexpected con-

2[Errata. Should read "where." Analyst]

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duct of this chief, and by his manly and resolute appearance, that they had not time to reflect upon what they should do, and before their astonishment was well over, the prisoner was out of their reach.

CHAPTER XIX.

WARS AND THE CAUSES WHICH LEAD TO THEM.

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IT is a fixed principle with the Indians, that evil cannot come out of good, that no friend will injure a friend, and, therefore, that whoever wrongs or does harm to another, is his ENEMY. As it is with individuals, so it is with nations, tribes and other independent associations of men. If they commit murder on another people, encroach on their lands, by making it a practice to come within their bounds and take the game from them, if they rob or steal from their hunting camps, or, in short, are guilty of any act of unjust aggression, they cannot be considered otherwise than as ENEMIES; they are declared to be such, and the aggrieved nation think themselves justifiable in punishing them. If murder has been perpetrated, revenge is taken in the same way. If a lesser injury has been done, a message is sent to the chief of the nation to which the wrong-doers belong, to enquire whether the act complained of was authorised, if not to give them warning not to permit the like thing to be done again. If theft or some other like offence has been committed, restitution is at the same time demanded, or such reparation as the case admits of, and the chiefs are de-

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aired to forbid their "young people" to do so any more, or that they will have to abide by the consequence.

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There are tribes among the Indians, who claim the exclusive right of hunting within certain bounds, and will not suffer others to intrude and take *their* game from them, as they call it; and there have been instances, when such intruders, being found trespassing after a fair warning, have had their ears and noses cut off, and have been sent home to tell their chiefs that the next time they came again, they should be sent home *without their scalps*. While the Christian Indians of the Lenape nation were settled for a few years on the land of the Chippeways beyond Detroit, where they had taken refuge and were permitted to remain for their safety; though the Chippeways professed reverence for them, and called them *Grandfather*, yet they were continually complaining of their killing their game. They had no objection to their tilling the ground, but every deer, racoon, or other animal which they killed or took, was a cause of displeasure to their hosts; and in consequence of that, they pressed them so often to remove from their lands, that they at last went off.

When the Indians have determined to take revenge for a murder committed by another nation, they generally endeavour to make at once a bold stroke, so as to strike their enemies with terror; for which purpose, they penetrate into the hostile country as far as they can without being discovered, and when they have made their stroke, they leave a war club near the body of the person murdered, and make off as quick as possible. This war club is purposely left that the enemy may know to what nation the act is to be ascribed, and that they may not wreak their vengeance on an innocent tribe. It is meant also to let them know that unless they take measures to discover and punish the author of the original aggression, this instrument will be the means of revenging the injury, or, in other words, war will be forthwith declared against them.

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728 If the supposed enemy is peaceably inclined, he will in such case send a deputation to the aggrieved nation, with a suitable apology. In general the chief sends word, that the act complained of was committed without his knowledge, by some of "his foolish young men;" that it was altogether unauthorised and unwarranted; that it was highly reprobated by himself and his council, and that he would be sorry that on that account a breach should be made between the two nations, but, on the contrary, wishes for peace; that he is willing to make reparation for the offence by condoling with the relations of the person slain and otherwise satisfying them. Such an offer is generally accepted, and in this manner all differences are adjusted between the parties, and they are friends again as they were before. But should the offending nation refuse to apologise and sue for peace, war is then immediately declared and is carried on with the greatest vigour.

CHAPTER XX.

MANNER OF SURPRISING THEIR ENEMIES.

726 COURAGE, art, and circumspection, are the essential and indispensable qualifications of an Indian warrior. When war is once begun, each one strives to excel in displaying them, by stealing upon his enemy unawares, and deceiving and surprising him in various ways. On drawing near to an enemy's country, they [48] endeavour as much as possible to conceal their tracks;

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sometimes they scatter themselves, marching at proper distances from each other for a whole day and more, meeting, however, again at night, when they keep a watch; at other times they march in what is called *Indian file*, one man behind the other, treading carefully in each other's steps, so that their number may not be ascertained by the prints of their feet. The nearer they suppose themselves to be to the enemy, the more attentive they are to choosing hard, stony and rocky ground, on which human footsteps leave no impression; soft, marshy and grassy soils are particularly avoided, as in the former the prints of the feet would be easily discovered, and in the latter the appearance of the grass having been trodden upon might lead to detection; for if the grass or weeds are only bent, and have the least mark of having been walked upon, it will be almost certainly perceived, in which the sharpness and quickness of the Indians' sight is truly astonishing.

In some instances they deceive their enemies by imitating the cries or calls of some animal, such as the fawn, or turkey. They do this so admirably well, that they even draw the dam of the one and the mate of the other to the spot to which they want them to come. In this manner they often succeed in decoying the enemies to the place where they are lying in ambush, or get an opportunity of surrounding them. Such stratagems, however, cannot be resorted to in all seasons; with the turkey, it only answers in the spring, and with the fawn's dam until about midsummer. In the same manner, when scattered about in the woods, they easily find each other by imitating the song of some birds, such as the quail and the rook, and at evening and morning, and particularly in the night, the cry of the owl. By this means they all join each other, though not at the same time, as they are not, perhaps, all within hearing; but the cry of the owl is repeated from time to time until they are all assembled.

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726 It is certain that the Indians, by the prints of the feet and by other marks and signs perceivable only to themselves, can readily discover, not only that men have passed through a particular path or line of march, but they can discriminate to what particular nation those men belong, and whether they are their friends or their enemies. They also sometimes make discoveries by examining obscure places, and by that means get informed of an enemy's design. Nay, there are those among them who pretend to be able to discriminate among various marks of human footsteps the different nations of those to whom they respectively belong. I shall not undertake to assert thus far, but I shall relate an anecdote, the truth of which I firmly believe, in proof of their extraordinary sagacity in this respect.

In the beginning of the summer of the year 1755, a most atrocious and shocking murder was unexpectedly committed by a party of Indians, on fourteen white settlers within five miles of Shamokin. The surviving whites, in their rage, determined to take their revenge by murdering a Delaware Indian who happened to be in those parts and was far from thinking himself in any danger. He was a great friend to the whites, was loved and esteemed by them, and in testimony of their regard, had received from them the name of *Duke of Holland*, by which he was generally known. This Indian, satisfied that his nation was incapable of committing such a foul murder in a time of profound peace, told the enraged settlers, that he was sure that the Delawares were not in any manner concerned in it, and that it was the act of some wicked Mingoes or Iroquois, whose custom it was to involve other nations in wars with each other, by clandestinely committing murders, so that they might be laid to the charge of others than themselves. But all his representations were vain; he could not convince exasperated men whose minds were fully bent upon revenge. At last, he offered that if they would give him a

[Errata. See cat. 116, p. 348. – Ed.]

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party to accompany him, he would go with them in quest of the murderers, and was sure he could discover them by the prints of their feet and other marks well known to him, by which he would convince them that the real perpetrators of the crime belonged to the Six Nations. His proposal was accepted, he marched at the head of a party of whites and led them into the tracks. They soon found themselves in the most rocky parts of a mountain, where not one of those who accompanied him was able to discover a single track, nor would they believe that man had ever trodden upon this ground, as they had to jump over a number of crevices between the rocks, and in some instances to crawl over them. Now they began to believe that the Indian had led them across those rugged mountains in order to give the enemy time to escape, and threatened him with instant death the moment they should be fully convinced of the fraud. The Indian, true to his promise, would take pains to make them perceive that an enemy had passed along the places through which he was leading them; here he would shew them that the moss on the rock had been trodden down by the weight of an human foot, there that it had been torn and dragged forward from its place; further he would point out to them that pebbles or small stones on the rocks had been removed from their beds by the foot hitting against them, that dry sticks by being trodden upon were broken, and even that in a particular place, an Indian's blanket had dragged over the rocks, and removed or loosened the leaves lying there, so that they lay no more flat, as in other places; all which the Indian could perceive as he walked along, without even stopping. At last arriving at the foot of the mountain on soft ground, where the tracks were deep, he found out that the enemy were eight in number, and from the freshness of the foot prints, he concluded that they must be encamped at no great distance. This proved to be the exact truth, for, after gaining the eminence on the other side of the valley, the

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726 Indians were seen encamped, some having already laid down to sleep, while others were drawing off their *leggings** for the same purpose, and the scalps they had taken were hanging up to dry. "See!" said Duke Holland to his astonished companions, "there is the enemy! not "of my nation, but Mingoes, as I truly told you. They "are in our power; in less than half an hour they will "all be fast asleep. We need not fire a gun, but go up "and tomohawk them. We are nearly two to one and "need apprehend no danger. Come on, and you will "now have your full revenge!" But the whites, overcome with fear, did not choose to follow the Indian's advice, and urged him to take them back by the nearest and best way, which he did, and when they arrived at home late at night, they reported the number of the Iroquois to have been so great, that they durst not venture to attack them.

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115 This account is faithfully given as I received it from *Duke Holland* himself, and took it down in writing at the time. I had been acquainted with this Indian for upwards of twenty years, and knew him to be honest, intelligent and a lover of truth. Therefore I gave full credit to what he told me, and as yet have had no reason to disbelieve or even to doubt it. I once employed him to save the life of a respectable gentleman, now residing at Pittsburg, who was in imminent danger of being killed by a war party. Duke Holland conducted him safely through the woods, from the Muskingum to the Ohio settlement. He once found a watch of mine, which had been sent to me from Pittsburg by a man who had got drunk, and lost it in the woods about fifty miles from the place where I lived. Duke Holland went in search of it, and having discovered the tracks of the man to whom it had been entrusted, he pursued them until he found the lost article, which he delivered to me.

* Indian stockings.

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CHAPTER XXI.

PEACE MESSENGERS.

WHILE the American Indians remained in the free and undisturbed possession of the land which God gave to them, and even for a long time after the Europeans had settled themselves in their territory, there was no people upon earth who paid a more religious respect than they did to the sacred character of ambassadors, or (as they call them) *Messengers of peace*. It is too well known that since about the middle of the last century a great change has taken place, the cause of which, I am sorry to say, the Indians lay entirely to our charge. 648 726

The inviolability of the person of an ambassador is one of those sacred fundamental principles of the law of nature which the Almighty Creator has imprinted upon the heart of every living man. History teaches us that the most barbarous and savage nations have at all times admitted and carried it into practice. It is a lamentable truth that all the violations of it that stand upon record, are to be ascribed to civilised man or to his contagious example.

It is certain that among our Indians the person of an ambassador was formerly held most sacred and inviolable. All the nations and tribes were agreed upon this point, that a messenger, though sent by the most hostile people, was entitled not only to respect but to protection. To have, I will not say murdered, but knowingly ill treated a person of this description, was with them an unpardonable crime. War parties were always instructed, if they should find a messenger on his way from one

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nation to another, not only to give him protection but hospitality, and see him safely conducted to the people to whom he was sent.

In the same manner, when a messenger was sent to them by a nation with whom they were at war or at variance, though they might be ever so much exasperated against them, and even though they had firmly determined *not to listen*, that is to say, not to consent to their propositions, whatever they might be, still they would grant their protection to the man of peace, and tell him in their expressive language "that they had taken him "under their wings, or placed him under their arm pits, "where he was perfectly safe." It was with them a point of religious belief, that pacific messengers were under the special protection of the Great Spirit, that it was unlawful to molest them, and that the nation which should be guilty of so enormous a crime would surely be punished by being unsuccessful in war, and perhaps, by suffering a total defeat. Therefore, frequent instances happened of such messengers being sent back with the most threatening messages, such as, that it was determined to wage a war of blood and destruction, and that no quarters would be given, yet the ambassadors themselves did not meet with the least insult or disrespect; they were protected during all the time that they remained in the hostile country, and were safely conducted to their own nation, or at least, so far on their way as to be out of danger from the enemy's warriors, leaving them a sufficient time to reach their houses, before a fresh stroke was made, to give notice that the truce was at an end or that the war was begun. I have heard of messengers being sent back with a message to this effect: "I return "to your bosom, safe and unmolested, the messengers "you sent me. The answer to the speech they brought "me from you, you will learn from my young warriors, "who are gone to *see* you." The nature of the *visit* thus announced may be easily guessed at. The message

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was in fact a declaration of war, with a fair notice that an invasion of the enemy's country was immediately to take place.

Such were the principles, such was the manly conduct of the Indians in former times. How different it is at present I need not say. We yet remember the unhappy fate of Messrs. *Trueman*, *Freeman*, and *Hardin*. These three respectable American gentlemen, were in the year 1792, sent to the Indians with flags of truce and peace proposals, and were all wantonly murdered. To whom is this horrid state of things to be attributed? I will not pretend to judge, but let us hear what the Indians say.

The principal reasons which they assign as having brought about this great change, are comprised under the following general heads.

I. That the white people have intermeddled with their national concerns, by dictating to one nation how they should treat another, and even how they should speak and what they should say to them, and by this means have entirely destroyed their national independence. That they have even encouraged and supported one Indian nation in not only affecting but actually exercising dominion and supremacy over all the others.

II. That the whites have treated the Indians as a contemptible race and paid no regard themselves to the sacred character of messengers, but murdered them as well as their chiefs in numerous instances without distinction. That they even polluted what among them is esteemed most holy and inviolable, their *council fires*, extinguishing them (as they express themselves) with streams of the best blood of their nation, in violation of their professions and most solemn promises! That their whole conduct in short has appeared as if they would say to them: "we "do not care for you; we despise you—all we want is "your lands, and those we will have."

Nor are they at a loss when called upon to specify the particular injuries of which they complain. Amidst a

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178 a long list of similar grievances, I shall select a few of
648 the most prominent.
726 1. The protection given against them to the Iroquois, encouraging that nation to insult them, to treat them as women made such by conquest, and to exercise a tyrannical superiority over them.

2. The murder of the Conestogo Indians, at the very place where a *council fire* was burning at the time; where treaties had been held with them in early times, and where even a treaty had been concluded in 1762, the year preceding the murder; and that too, in the country of their brother *Miquon*, in the *Quaker* country, in Pennsylvania.

3. The horrid murder committed between the years 1776 and 1779, on the great and much valued Shawano chief *Cornstalk*, at Kanhawa, where it was known that he was on a friendly and interesting errand.

4. The firing upon and severely wounding a noted Shawano in the year 1774, while on his return from Pittsburg, to which place he had, out of friendship and humanity, conducted several white traders and protected them against an enraged body of Indians, on whose relations the white people had committed most horrid murders.

5. The attacking the peaceable encampment of the Delaware chiefs on the island at Pittsburgh, where one *Messenger* and several others were murdered.

6. The murder of the Christian Indians on Muskingum, by Williamson's party, together with the chief from *Achsinning* (the standing stone,) although the persons thus murdered were known to be friends to the whites.

The Indians relate many more outrages committed on *messengers*, *visiters*, and other *friendly* Indians, of which I shall spare the painful recital to my readers. From this series of unjust and cruel acts, the Indian nations have at last come to the conclusion, that the Americans are in their hearts inimical to them, and that when they

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send them messengers of peace, they only mean to lull them into a fancied security, that they may the easier fall upon and destroy them. It was in consequence of this conviction that the three respectable gentlemen whom I have already mentioned, met with their unhappy fate.

CHAPTER XXII.

TREATIES.

IN early times, when Indian nations, after long and bloody wars, met together for the purpose of adjusting their differences, or concluding a peace with each other, it was their laudable custom, as a token of their sincerity, to remove out of the place where the peace-makers were sitting, all warlike weapons and instruments of destruction, of whatever form or shape. "For," said they, "when we are engaged in a good work, nothing that is "bad must be visible. We are met together to forgive "and forget, to *bury* the destructive weapon, and put it "quite out of sight; we cast away from us the fatal in-"strument that has caused so much grief to our wives "and children, and has been the source of so many tears. "It is our earnest hope and wish that it may never be "dug up again." So particular were they on this point, that if a single weapon had been in sight, while a treaty was negotiating, it would have disturbed their minds by recalling the memory of past events, and instead, (as they say) of gladdening their hearts, by the prospect of

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728 a speedy peace, would, on the contrary, have filled them with sorrow.

648 Nor would they even permit any warlike weapons to remain within the limits of their *council fire*, when assembled together about the ordinary business of government. It might, they said, have a bad effect, and defeat the object for which they had met. It might be a check on some of the persons assembled, and perhaps, prevent those who had a just complaint or representation to make, from speaking their minds freely. William Penn, said they, when he treated with them, adopted this ancient mode of their ancestors, and convened them under a grove of shady trees, where the little birds on their boughs were warbling their sweet notes. In commemoration of these conferences (which are always to Indians a subject of pleasing remembrance) they frequently assembled together in the woods, in some shady spot as nearly as possible similar to those where they used to meet their brother *Miquon*, and there lay all his "*words*" or speeches, with those of his descendants, on a blanket or clean piece of bark, and with great satisfaction go successively over the whole. This practice (which I have repeatedly witnessed) continued until the year 1780, when the disturbances which then took place put an end to it, probably for ever.

These pleasing remembrances, these sacred usages are no more. "When we treat with the white people," do the Indians now say, "we have not the choice of the spot "where the messengers are to meet. When we are "called upon to conclude a peace, (and what a peace?) "the meeting no longer takes place in the shady "grove, where the innocent little birds with their cheer-"ful songs, seem as if they wished to soothe and en-"liven our minds, tune them to amity and concord "and take a part in the good work for which we "are met. Neither is it at the sacred council house, "that we are invited to assemble. No!—It is at

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"some of those horrid places, surrounded with mounds
"and ditches, where the most destructive of all weapons,
"where *great guns*, are gaping at us with their wide
"mouths, as if ready to devour us; and thus we are
"prevented from speaking our minds freely, as brothers
"ought to do!"

How then, say they, can there be any sincerity in such councils? how can a treaty of this kind be binding on men thus forced to agree to what is dictated to them in a strong prison and at the cannon's mouth; where all the stipulations are on one side, where all is concession on the one part and no friendship appears on the other? From these considerations, which they urge and constantly dwell upon, the treaties which they make with the white men have lost all their force, and they think themselves no longer bound by them than they are compelled by superior power. Are they right in this or are they wrong? The impartial reader must decide.

CHAPTER XXIII.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS OF THE INDIANS ON THE WHITE PEOPLE.

THE Indians believe that the Whites were made by the same Great Spirit who created them, and that he assigned to each different race of men a particular employment in this world, but not the same to all. To the whites the great Mannitto gave it in charge to till the ground and raise by cultivation the fruits of the earth;

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829 to the Indians he assigned the nobler employment of hunting, and the supreme dominion over all the rest of the animal creation.

829 They will not admit that the whites are superior be-
186 ings. They say that the hair of their heads, their features, the various colours of their eyes, evince that they are not like themselves *Lenni Lenape*, an ORIGINAL PEOPLE, a race of men that has existed unchanged from the beginning of time; but they are a *mixed* race, and therefore a *troublesome* one; wherever they may be, the Great Spirit, knowing the wickedness of their disposition, found it necessary to give them a great Book,* and taught them how to read it, that they might know and observe what he wished them to do and to abstain from. But they, the Indians, have no need of any such book to let them know the will of their Maker; they find it engraved on their own hearts; they have had sufficient discernment given to them to distinguish good from evil, and by following that guide, they are sure not to err.

829 It is true, they confess, that when they first saw the whites, they took them for beings of a superior kind. They did not know but that they had been sent to them from the abode of the Great Spirit for some great and important purpose. They therefore, welcomed them, hoping to be made happier by their company. It was not long, however, before they discovered their mistake, having found them an ungrateful, insatiable people, who, though the Indians had given them as much land as was necessary to raise provisions for themselves and their families, and pasture for their cattle, wanted still to have more, and at last would not be contented with less than the *whole country*. "And yet," say those injured people, "these white men would always be telling us of their "great Book which God had given to them, they would "persuade us that every man was good who believed in "what the Book said, and every man was bad who did

* The Bible.

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"not believe in it. They told us a great many things, 829
"which they said were written in the good Book, and
"wanted us to believe it all. We would probably have
"done so, if we had seen them practise what they pre-
"tended to believe, and act according to the *good words*
"which they told us. But no! while they held their big
"Book in one hand, in the other they had murderous
"weapons, guns and swords, wherewith to kill us, poor
"Indians! Ah! and they did so too, they killed those
"who believed in their Book, as well as those who did
"not. They made no distinction!"

They, nevertheless, are sensible that they have many 829
friends among the white people, and only regret that from 609
their being scattered and at a distance, they cannot be
useful to them and to each other. Of those whom they
know to be their friends, they always speak with warmth
and affection. They also speak of the *Gentellemaan*(gentle-
man) as a particular class among the whites which de-
serves to be distinguished; but they never apply that
descriptive title to a person whom they know to be their
enemy, or believe to be ill disposed towards them.

The Indians have a keen eye; by looking at a person,
they think that they can judge of his friendly or un-
friendly disposition to their race; and, indeed, it has
been allowed by many whites who have lived among
them, that they are, in general, pretty good physiogno-
mists. They are very quick among themselves in giving
a name to a stranger or person of note that comes to
them, and that name is always significant or descriptive
of something remarkable which they have observed about
his person, which serves them to remember him as a
friend or otherwise, as the case may be; when they be-
lieve a person to be their friend, they will do every thing
in their power to oblige him, it being their principle that
"good ought always to be rewarded with good." They
prefer a plain man, simple in his manners and who treats
them with frankness and familiarity. Such a man, they

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say, loves them. From a proud haughty man they do not expect friendship, whatever may be his professions, they think him incapable of loving any body but himself, or perhaps, at most, his equal, and that, they think, an Indian can, in his opinion, never be.

They sometimes amuse themselves by passing in review those customs of the white people which appear to them most striking. They observe, amongst other things, that when the whites meet together, many of them, and sometimes all, speak at the same time, and they wonder how they can thus hear and understand each other. "Among us," they say, "only one person speaks at a "time, and the others listen to him until he has done, "after which, and not before, another begins to speak." They say also that the whites speak too much, and that much talk disgraces a man and is fit only for women. On this subject they shrewdly observe, that it is well for the whites that they have the art of writing, and can write down their words and speeches; for had they, like themselves, to transmit them to posterity by means of strings and belts of wampum, they would want for their own use all the wampum that could be made, and none would be left for the Indians.

They wonder that the white people are striving so much to get rich, and to heap up treasures in this world which they cannot carry with them to the next. They ascribe this to pride and to the desire of being called rich and great. They say that there is enough in this world to live upon, without laying any thing by, and as to the next world, it contains plenty of every thing, and they will find all their wants satisfied when they arrive there. They, therefore, do not lay up any stores, but merely take with them when they die as much as is necessary for their journey to the world of spirits.

They believe, or, at least, pretend to believe, that the white people have weak eyes, or are near-sighted. "For," say they, "when we Indians come among them,

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"they crowd quite close up to us, stare at us, and almost "tread upon our heels to get nearer. We, on the con- "trary, though, perhaps, not less curious than they are, "to see a new people or a new object, keep at a reason- "able distance, and yet see what we wish to see." They also remark, that when the white people meet together, they speak very loud, although near to each other, from whence they conclude that they must be hard of hearing. "As to us," they say, "we never speak loud "when we come together, and yet we understand each "other distinctly; we only speak in a high tone of voice "before a public audience, in council, at the head of our "warriors, or when we are met together for some im- "portant purpose."

The Indians also observe, that the white people must have a great many thieves among them, since they put locks to their doors, which shews great apprehension that their property otherwise would not be safe: "As to us," say they, "we entertain no such fears; thieves are very "rare among us, and we have no instance of any person "breaking into a house. Our Indian lock is, when we "go out, to set the corn pounder or a billet of wood "against the door, so that it may be seen that no body "is within, and there is no danger that any Indian would "presume to enter a house thus secured." Let me be permitted to illustrate this by an anecdote.

In the year 1771, while I was residing on the Big Beaver, I passed by the door of an Indian, who was a trader, and had consequently a quantity of goods in his house. He was going with his wife to Pitts- burg, and they were shutting up the house, as no per- son remained in it during their absence. This shut- ting up was nothing else than putting a large hominy pounding-block with a few sticks of wood outside against the door, so as to keep it closed. As I was looking at this man with attention while he was so employed, he ad- dressed me in these words: "See my friend, this is an

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685 "Indian lock that I am putting to my door." I an-
829 swered, "Well enough; but I see you leave much pro-
609 "perty in the house, are you not afraid that those arti-
"cles will be stolen while you are gone?"—"Stolen! by
"whom?—"Why, by Indians, to be sure." "No, no,"
replied he, "no Indian would do such a thing, and unless
"a white man or white people should happen to come
"this way, I shall find all safe on my return."

829 The Indians say, that when the white people en-
609 camp in the woods they are sure to lose something; that
when they are gone, something or another is always
found which they have lost, such as a knife, flints, bul-
lets, and sometimes even money. They also observe that
the whites are not so attentive as they are to choosing
an open dry spot for their encampment; that they will
at once set themselves down in any dirty and wet place,
provided they are under large trees: that they never
look about to see which way the wind blows, so as to be
able to lay the wood for their fires in such a position
that the smoke may not blow on them; neither do they
look up the trees to see whether there are not dead limbs
that may fall on them while they are asleep; that any
wood will do for them to lay on their fires, whether it be
dry or wet, and half rotten, so that they are involved du-
ring the whole night in a cloud of smoke; or they take
such wood as young green oak, walnut, cherry, chesnut,
&c. which throws sparks out to a great distance, so that
their blankets and clothes get holes burned in them, and
sometimes their whole camp takes fire. They also re-
mark that the whites hang their kettles and pots over a
fire just kindled, and before the great body of smoke has
passed away.

829 They, however, acknowledge that the whites are inge-
609 nious, that they make axes, guns, knives, hoes, shovels,
177 pots and kettles, blankets, shirts, and other very conve-
nient articles, to which they have now became accustom-
ed, and which they can no longer do without. "Yet,"

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say they, "our forefathers did without all these things, 829
"and we have never heard, nor has any tradition in- 609
"formed us that they were at a loss for the want of them; 609
"therefore we must conclude that they also were inge- (177
"nious; and, indeed, we know that they were; for they
"made axes of stone to cut with, and bows and arrows
"to kill the game; they made knives and arrows' points
"with sharp flint stones and bones, hoes and shovels
"from the shoulder blade of the elk and buffaloe; they
"made pots of clay, garments of skin, and ornaments
"with the feathers of the turkey, goose and other birds.
"They were not in want of any thing, the game was
"plenty and tame, the dart shot from our arrows did not
"frighten them as the report of the gun now does; we
"had therefore every thing that we could reasonably re-
"quire; we lived happy!"

Finally, they think, that the white people have learned 829
much of them in the art of war; for when they first be- 609
gan to fight the Indians, they stood all together in a
cluster and suffered themselves to be shot down like tur-
kies. They also make a distinction between a *warrior*
and a *murderer*, which, as they explain it, is not much
to our advantage. "It is not," say they, "the number
"of scalps alone which a man brings with him that prove
"him to be a brave warrior. Cowards have been
"known to return, and bring scalps home, which they
"had taken where they knew there was no danger,
"where no attack was expected and no opposition made.
"Such was the case with those who killed the Conesto-
"goes at and near Lancaster, the Christian Indians on
"the Muskingum, the friendly Indians near Pittsburg,
"and a great number of scattered, peaceable men of our
"nation, who were all murdered by *cowards*. It was
"not thus that the *Black Snake*,* the great General

* The Indians gave this name to General Wayne, because they say that he had all the cunning of this animal, who is superior to all other snakes in the manner of procuring his food. He hides himself in [825]

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829 "Wayne acted; he was a true warrior and a brave man;
609 "he was equal to any of the chiefs that we have, equal
"to any that we ever had."

Thus, the Indians, while they deeply resent the wrongs and injuries which they have suffered, yet pay due homage to worth, bravery and military skill, even in an enemy. Strong as their feelings are, they do not extinguish their sense of justice, and they are still generously disposed to allow that there are great and good individuals among a race of men, who, they believe, have doomed them to utter destruction.

CHAPTER XXIV.

FOOD AND COOKERY.

262 THE principal food of the Indians consists of the game which they take or kill in the woods, the fish out of the waters, and the maize, potatoes, beans, pumpkins, [241] squashes, cucumbers, melons, and occasionally cabbages and turnips, which they raise in their fields; they make [222] use also of various roots of plants, fruits, nuts and berries out of the woods, by way of relish or as a seasoning to their victuals, sometimes also from necessity.

264 They commonly make two meals every day, which, they say, is enough. If any one should feel hungry between meal-times, there is generally something in the house ready for him.

[825] the grass with his head only above it, watching all around to see where the birds are building their nests, that he may know where to find the young ones when they are hatched.

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The hunter prefers going out with his gun on an empty stomach; he says, that hunger stimulates him to exertion by reminding him continually of his wants, whereas a full stomach makes a hunter easy, careless and lazy, ever thinking of his home and losing his time to no purpose. With all their industry, nevertheless, and notwithstanding this strong stimulant, many a day passes over their heads that they have not met with any kind of game, nor consequently tasted a morse. of victuals; still they go on with their chase, in hopes of being able to carry some provisions home, and do not give up the pursuit until it is so dark that they can see no longer.

The morning and evening, they say, are the precious hours for the hunter. They lose nothing by sleeping in the middle of the day, that is to say, between ten o'clock in the morning and four in the afternoon, except in dark, cloudy and rainy weather, when the whole day is nearly equally good for hunting. Therefore the hunter, who happens to have no meat in the house, will be off and in the woods before day-light, and strive to be in again for breakfast with a deer, turkey, goose, bear, or racoon, or some other game then in season. Meanwhile, his wife has pounded her corn, now boiling on the fire, and baked her bread, which gives them a good breakfast. If, however, the husband is not returned by ten o'clock in the forenoon, the family take their meal by themselves, and his share is put aside for him when he comes home.

The Indians have a number of manners of preparing their corn. They make an excellent pottage of it, by boiling it with fresh or dried meat (the latter pounded), dried pumpkins, dry beans, and chesnuts. They sometimes sweeten it with sugar or molasses from the sugar-maple tree. Another very good dish is prepared by boiling with their corn or maize, the washed kernels of the shell-bark or hickory-nut. They pound the nuts in a block or mortar, pouring a little warm water on them, and gradually a little more as they become dry,

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252 until, at last, there is a sufficient quantity of water, so that by stirring up the pounded nuts the broken shells separate from the liquor, which from the pounded kernels assumes the appearance of milk. This being put into the kettle and mixed with the pottage gives it a rich and agreeable flavour. If the broken shells do not all freely separate by swimming on the top or sinking to the bottom, the liquor is strained through a clean cloth, before it is put into the kettle.

They also prepare a variety of dishes from the pumpkin, the squash, and the green French or kidney beans; they are very particular in their choice of pumpkins and squashes, and in their manner of cooking them. The women say that the less water is put to them, the better dish they make, and that it would be still better if they were stewed without any water, merely in the steam of the sap which they contain. They cover up the pots in which they cook them with large leaves of the pumpkin vine, cabbages, or other leaves of the larger kind. They make an excellent preserve from the cranberry and crab-apple, to which, after it has been well stewed, they add a proper quantity of sugar or molasses.

Their bread is of two kinds; one made up of green corn while in the milk, and another of the same grain when fully ripe and quite dry. This last is pounded as fine as possible, then sifted and kneaded into dough, and afterwards made up into cakes of six inches diameter and about an inch in thickness, rounded off on the edge. In baking these cakes, they are extremely particular; the ashes must be clean and hot, and if possible come out of good dry oak barks, which they say gives a brisk and durable heat. In the dough of this kind of bread, they frequently mix boiled pumpkins, green or dried, dry beans, or well pared chesnuts, boiled in the same manner, dried venison well pounded, whortle berries green or dry, but not boiled, sugar and other palatable ingredients. For the other kind of bread, the green corn is

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either pounded or mashed, is put in broad green corn blades, generally filled in with a ladle, well wrapped up, and baked in the ashes, like the other. They consider this as a very delicate morsel, but to me it is too sweet. 252

Their *Psindamócan* or *Tassmanáne*, as they call it, is the most nourishing and durable food made out of the Indian corn. The blue sweetish kind is the grain which they prefer for that purpose. They parch it in clean hot ashes, until it bursts, it is then sifted and cleaned, and pounded in a mortar into a kind of flour, and when they wish to make it very good, they mix some sugar with it. When wanted for use, they take about a table spoonful of this flour in their mouths, then stooping to the river or brook, drink water to it. If, however, they have a cup or other small vessel at hand, they put the flour in it and mix it with water, in the proportion of one table spoonful to a pint. At their camps they will put a small quantity in a kettle with water and let it boil down, and they will have a thick pottage. With this food, the traveller and warrior will set out on long journeys and expeditions, and as a little of it will serve them for a day, they have not a heavy load of provisions to carry. Persons who are unacquainted with this diet ought to be careful not to take too much at a time, and not to suffer themselves to be tempted too far by its flavour; more than one or two spoonfuls at most at any one time or at one meal is dangerous; for it is apt to swell in the stomach or bowels, as when heated over a fire. 251 252 [484]

Their meat they either boil, roast, or broil. Their roasting is done by running a wooden spit through the meat, sharpened at each end, which they place near the fire, and occasionally turn. They broil on clean coals, drawn off from the fire for that purpose. They often laugh at the white hunters, for baking their bread in dirty ashes, and being alike careless of cleanliness when they broil their meat. They are fond of dried venison, pounded in a mortar and dipped in bear's oil. The Delawares, Mohicans, and Shawanos are very particular in their 252 [251] 262

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choice of meats, and nothing short of the most pressing hunger can induce them to eat of certain animals, such as the horse, dog, wild cat, panther, fox, muskrat, wolf, &c. all which I have several times seen the Chippeways feast upon with a seemingly good appetite. The Iroquois are said to have been formerly very dirty in their eating. They dried the entrails of animals without cleaning, or even emptying them of their contents; then cut them into pieces and put them into their pottage, by way of seasoning.* The late Mr. Zeisberger has often related to me how he once mistook for black pepper or some other kind of spice, a certain unpleasant ingredient which he found floating in small grains on the surface of their broth.

Far different in this respect are the Lenape and their kindred tribes, particularly the three which I have named above. They are not only cleanly in their eating, but even delicate, and they will sometimes resist the pressing calls of hunger rather than eat the flesh of those animals which they consider as not being proper food for man. Of this I shall give an instance in the following anecdote.

I was travelling in the spring of 1773, from Muskingum to the Big Beaver, with more than twenty Indians, five of whom were old men and the rest women and children, all (except our guide) strangers to the country, having come but the year before from Wyalusing on the Susquehannah. Having been at one time confined two days by the overflowing of two large creeks, between which we were, we found our provisions at an end Every man who had a gun was called upon to turn out into the woods, and try to kill something. Their endeavours, however, were to no purpose; the day passed away, and they all, except the well-known *Popunhank*, who had lost himself, returned to camp at night without bringing any thing of the meat kind but a wild cat, which our guide had

* This is not applicable to the Iroquois of the present time.

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262 shot. The Indians never despair, not even in the worst
157 of times and under the severest trials; when placed
252 in difficult situations they never use discouraging language, but always endeavour to raise their spirits and prevent them from sinking, under the hardships or dangers to which they are exposed. True to this national character, one of our old Indians immediately pronounced this wild cat to be "good, very good eating," and it was immediately ordered to be put on the spit and roasted for our supper. While this was performing, the old Indian endeavoured to divert the company by extolling in a jocular manner the country they had now got into, and where such good things were to be had; to which some one or other of the old men would reply; "all very true." At length, about nine o'clock at night, the call was given by the old cook (for so I now call him) that the meat was done and we might come in to eat. I, who had heard so much in praise of this repast, being greatly pinched with hunger, had kept myself in readiness for this expected call; but seeing nobody rise, and observing much merriment through the camp, I began to suspect that something was the matter, and therefore kept my seat. The night was spent without any body attempting to eat of the wild cat, and in the morning a different call was given by one of the old men, signifying that a large kettle of tea had been made by some of the good women, who invited all to come and take their share of it. Every one obeyed, this call and I went with the rest, the jovial old cook taking the roasted wild cat with him to the mess. The scene was not only very diverting, but brought on an interesting discussion between the men on the propriety or impropriety of eating the flesh of all animals without restriction, some contending that they were all by the will of the great Creator ordained for some use, and therefore put in the power of man; and how were we to know which were intended for our nourishment and which not? The old cook had himself taken that posi-

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262 tion, adding that the hog and the bear fed on dirty things,
157 and yet we ate their meat with a good appetite. The cat, however, notwithstanding all the arguments in its favour, remained untouched, and was taken back by the old hunter and cook to its former place at his fire.

But now, Popunhank, whom we believed to be lost, and our guide, who once more had gone out, and exerted himself in vain to kill a deer, came in together. The guide had been desired as he pursued his hunt to look for our lost companion, and had the good luck to find him at the distance of five or six miles, with a fine deer that he had killed. He lost no time in bringing him back to our camp.

The sight of these two men dragging a large deer along was truly joyful to us, as well on account of the recovery of our lost friend, as of the meat that he brought. All felt the cravings of hunger, all were delighted with the certain prospect of immediate relief, yet no boisterous or extraordinary rejoicing took place, but all called out with one voice: *Anischi! Anischi!* we are thankful. The wild cat, which yet remained untouched, was thrown out of the camp, and dismissed by the old cook with these
261 words: "Go, cat, we do not want you this time!"
266 The woods and waters, at certain times and seasons,
[251] furnish to the Indians an abundant supply of wholesome nourishing food, which, if carefully gathered, cured and stored up, would serve them for the whole year, so that none need perish or even suffer from hunger; but they are not accustomed to laying in stores of provisions, except some Indian corn, dry beans and a few other articles. Hence they are sometimes reduced to great straits, and not seldom in absolute want of the necessaries of life, especially in the time of war. Yet, notwithstanding the numerous famines they have been visited with, they have among their traditions but one instance on record in which an human life was taken for the support of others, although they relate many cases

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in which numbers of them were actually starved to death. 266
The case I allude to was so singular a circumstance, that it seems the cruel act to which it gave rise was almost unavoidable. I shall relate it here as I have received it from the most unquestionable authority.

In the winter of 1739—40, ever since remembered as the hard winter, when the ground was covered with a very deep snow, a woman with three children, was coming from beyond the Allegheny mountains on a visit to her friends or relations residing at the great island on the west branch of the Susquehannah. After she had reached that river somewhere about *Achtschingi Clammui*, which [103] the whites have corrupted into *Chingleclamoose*, the snow fell in earlier than had been before known, to such a depth, that she could not proceed any farther. She began with putting herself and her children on short allowance, in hopes that the weather might become more moderate, or the snow so hard that they could walk over it. She strove to make her little store of provisions last as long as she could, by using the grass which grew on the river's edge, and certain barks as substitutes, which she boiled to make them digestible; but more snow falling, until at last it rose to the height of a fathom or six feet, she was deprived even of that wretched food, and the wolves hovering about day and night, often attempting to rush into her little encampment, her whole time was taken up with procuring wood and making fires to prevent herself and her children from being frozen to death, and keeping those voracious animals at a distance by throwing out fire-brands to them. Her situation, at last, became intolerable. Having no alternative but that of sacrificing one of her children, she resolved on destroying the youngest, in order to preserve the others and herself from the most dreadful death. After much hesitation, she turned away her eyes and with a trembling hand gave the fatal stroke, filling at the same time the air with her loud lamentations.—She now thought she had obtain-

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261
266 ed a temporary relief, and that she might be able to support herself and her surviving children until a change in the weather should take place, so that they could be able to proceed on their journey; but the wolves getting the scent of the slaughtered child, became more furious than before, her danger every moment became more imminent. She now filled the air with her cries and supplications to the Great Spirit that he would look down with compassion on their awful condition, and save them by his almighty power.—But still the danger increased, the horrid food was almost exhausted, and no relief came. Already she contemplated sacrificing another child; she looked at each of them again and again with a mother's eye, now resolving on killing the one, then changing her mind, and endeavouring to determine on the destruction of the other; she hesitated, wept, despaired, and the children, well understanding what she meant, prayed that they might all die together. While in this situation, her hand already lifted to strike the fatal stroke, the yell of two approaching Indians strikes her ear, and the murderous weapon falls from her hand. The men with rackets to their feet now appear and the dreadful scene is at once closed. They had provisions with them. They made a pair of rackets for the woman to walk on, and brought her and her children along in safety to the Big Island, where my informants resided at the time. I cannot remember whether they told me that they had gone to that spot in consequence of a dream, or of some strong presentiment that they should find human creatures in distress; certain I am, however, that it was owing to one or other of these causes.

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[103] The place where this awful event took place was since called *Enda Mohátink*, which means "where human flesh was eaten." This name has been very familiar to the Indians who resided in that part of the country.

156
184 There is a spot of land at the edge of the great Pine or Beech Swamp, precisely where it is crossed by the

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road leading to Wyoming, which is called *the Hermit's Field*, and of which the following account is given. A short time before the white people came into Pennsylvania, a woman from some cause or other had separated herself from society, and with her young son, had taken her abode in this swamp, where she remained undiscovered until the boy grew up to manhood, procuring a livelihood by the use of the bow and arrow, in killing deer, turkeys and other animals, planting corn and vegetables, and gathering and curing nuts and berries of various kinds. When after her long seclusion she again saw Indians, she was much astonished to find them dressed in European apparel. She had become so attached to her place of abode, that she again returned thither and remained there for several years. I was shewn by the Indians in the year 1765, and often afterwards, the corn hills that she had made; the ground, being a stiff clay, was not wasted or worn down, but was covered with bushes, and the traces of the labour of the female hermit were plainly discoverable.

Thus the Indians will support themselves in the midst of the greatest difficulties, never despairing of their fate, but trusting to their exertions, and to the protection of the Almighty Being who created them.

[erratum. See cat. 116, p. 348. -Awa'ysT]

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CHAPTER XXV.

DRESS, AND ORNAMENTING OF THEIR PERSONS.

IN ancient times, the dress of the Indians was made of the skins of animals and feathers. This clothing, they say, was not only warmer, but lasted much longer than any woollen goods they have since purchased of the white people. They can dress any skin, even that of the buffaloe, so that it becomes quite soft and supple, and a good buffaloe or bear skin blanket will serve them many years without wearing out. Beaver and raccoon skin blankets are also pliant, warm and durable; they sew together as many of those skins as is necessary, carefully setting the hair or fur all the same way, so that the blanket or covering be smooth, and the rain do not penetrate, but run off. In wearing these fur blankets they are regulated by the weather; if it is cold and dry the fur is placed next the body, but in warm and wet weather, they have it outside. Some made themselves long frocks of fine fur, and the women's petticoats in the winter season were also made of them, otherwise of dressed deer skins, the same as their shirts, leggings and shoes. They say that shoes made of dressed bear skins, with the hair on and turned inside, are very warm, and in dry weather, durable. With the large rib bones of the elk and buffaloe they shaved the hair off the skins they dressed, and even now, they say that they can clean a skin as well with a well prepared rib-bone as with a knife.

The blankets made from feathers were also warm and durable. They were the work of the women, particu-

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larly of the old, who delight in such work, and indeed, in any work which shews that they are able to do their parts and be useful to society. It requires great patience, being the most tedious kind of work I have ever seen them perform, yet they do it in a most ingenious manner. The feathers, generally those of the turkey and goose, are so curiously arranged and interwoven together with thread or twine, which they prepare from the rind or bark of the wild hemp and nettle, that ingenuity and skill cannot be denied them. They shew the same talent and much forethought in making their *Happis*, the bands with which they carry their bags and other burdens; they make these very strong and lasting.

The present dress of the Indians is well known to consist in blankets, plain or ruffled shirts and leggings for the men, and petticoats for the women, made of cloth, generally red, blue, or black. The wealthy adorn themselves besides with ribands or gartering of various colours, beads, and silver broaches. These ornaments are arranged by the women, who, as well as the men, know how to dress themselves in style. Those of the men principally consist in the painting of themselves, their head and face principally, shaving or good clean garments, silver arm spangles and breast plates, and a belt or two of wampum hanging to their necks. The women, at the expense of their husbands or lovers, line their petticoat and blue or scarlet cloth blanket or covering with choice ribands of various colours, or with gartering, on which they fix a number of silver broaches or small round buckles. They adorn their leggings in the same manner; their mocksens, (properly *Maxen*, or according to the English pronunciation *Moxen*), are embroidered in the neatest manner, with coloured porcupine quills, and are besides, almost entirely covered with various trinkets; they have, moreover, a number of little bells and brass thimbles fixed round their ancles, which, when they walk, make a tinkling noise, which is heard

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at some distance; this is intended to draw the attention of those who pass by, that they may look at and admire them.

The women make use of vermilion in painting themselves for dances, but they are very careful and circumspect in applying the paint, so that it does not offend or create suspicion in their husbands; there is a mode of painting which is left entirely to loose women and prostitutes.

As I was once resting in my travels at the house of a trader who lived at some distance from an Indian town, I went in the morning to visit an Indian acquaintance and friend of mine. I found him engaged in plucking out his beard, preparatory to painting himself for a dance which was to take place the ensuing evening. Having finished his head dress, about an hour before sun-set, he came up, as he said, to see me, but I and my companions judged that he came *to be seen*. To my utter astonishment, I saw three different paintings or figures on one and the same face. He had, by his great ingenuity and judgment in laying on and shading the different colours, made his nose appear, when we stood directly in front of him, as if it were very long and narrow, with a round knob at the end, much like the upper part of a pair of tongs. On one cheek there was a red round spot, about the size of an apple, and the other was done in the same manner with black. The eye-lids, both the upper and lower ones, were reversed in the colouring. When we viewed him in profile on one side, his nose represented the beak of an eagle, with the bill rounded and brought to a point, precisely as those birds have it, though the mouth was somewhat open. The eye was astonishingly well done, and the head, upon the whole, appeared tolerably well, shewing a great deal of fierceness. When we turned round to the other side, the same nose now resembled the snout of a pike, with the mouth so open, that the teeth could be seen. He seemed much pleased

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with his execution, and having his looking-glass with him, he contemplated his work, seemingly with great pride and exultation. He asked me how I liked it? I answered that if he had done the work on a piece of board, bark, or any thing else, I should like it very well and often look at it. But, asked he, why not so as it is? Because I cannot see the face that is hidden under these colours, so as to know who it is. Well, he replied, I must go now, and as you cannot know me to-day, I will call to-morrow morning before you leave this place. He did so, and when he came back, he was washed clean again.

Thus, for a single night's *frolic*, a whole day is spent in what they call dressing, in which each strives to outdo the other.

When the men paint their thighs, legs and breast, they, generally, after laying on a thin shading coat of a darkish colour, and sometimes of a whitish clay, dip their fingers' ends in black or red paint, and drawing it on with their outspread fingers, bring the streaks to a serpentine form. The garments of some of their principal actors are singular, and decorated with such a number of gewgaws and trinkets, that it is impossible to give a precise description of them. Neither are they all alike in taste, every one dressing himself according to his fancy, or the custom of the tribe to which he belongs. While the women, as I have already said, have thimbles and little bells rattling at their ancles, the men have deers' claws fixed to their braced garters or knee bands, and also to their shoes, for the same purpose; for they consider jingling and rattling as indispensably necessary to their performances in the way of dancing.

The notion formerly entertained that the Indians are beardless by nature and have no hair on their bodies, appears now to be exploded and entirely laid aside. I cannot conceive how it is possible for any person to pass three weeks only among those people, without seeing

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them pluck out their beards, with tweezers made expressly for that purpose. Before the Europeans came into the country, their apparatus for performing this work, consisted of a pair of muscle shells, sharpened on a gritty stone, which answered very well, being somewhat like pincers; but since they can obtain wire, of which that of brass is preferred, they make themselves tweezers, which they always carry with them in their tobacco-pouch, wherever they go, and when at leisure, they pluck out their beards or the hair above their foreheads. This they do in a very quick manner, much like the plucking of a fowl, and the oftener they pluck out their hair, the finer it grows afterwards, so that at last there appears hardly any, the whole having been rooted out. The principal reasons which they give for thus plucking out their beards and the hair next to their foreheads, are that they may have a clean skin to lay the paint on, when they dress for their festivals or dances, and to facilitate the *tattooing* themselves, a custom formerly much in use among them, especially with those who had distinguished themselves by their valour, and acquired celebrity. They say that either painting or tattooing on a hairy face or body would have a disgusting appearance.

As late as the year 1762, when I resided at Tuscarawas on the Muskingum, tattooing was still practised by some Indians: a valiant chief of that village, named *Wawundochwalend*, desirous of having another name given him, had the figure of a water-lizard engraved or tattooed on his face, above the chin, when he received the name *Twakachshawsu*, the water-lizard. The process of tattooing, which I once saw performed, is quickly done, and does not seem to give much pain. They have poplar bark in readiness burnt and reduced to a powder, the figures that are to be tattooed are marked or designed on the skin; the operator with a small stick, rather larger than a common match, to the end of which some sharp

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needles are fastened, quickly pricks over the whole so that blood is drawn, then a coat of this powder is laid and left on to dry. Before the whites came into this country, they scarified themselves for this purpose with sharp flint stones, or pricked themselves with the sharp teeth of a fish.

In the year 1742, a veteran warrior of the Lenape nation and Monsey tribe, renowned among his own people for his bravery and prowess, and equally dreaded by their enemies, joined the Christian Indians who then resided at this place.* This man, who was then at an advanced age, had a most striking appearance, and could not be viewed without astonishment. Besides that his body was full of scars, where he had been struck and pierced by the arrows of the enemy, there was not a spot to be seen, on that part of it which was exposed to view, but what was tattooed over with some drawing relative to his achievements, so that the whole together struck the beholder with amazement and terror. On his whole face, neck, shoulders, arms, thighs and legs, as well as on his breast and back, were represented scenes of the various actions and engagements he had been in; in short, the whole of his history was there deposited, which was well known to those of his nation, and was such that all who heard it thought it could never be surpassed by man. Far from murdering those who were defenceless or unarmed, his generosity, as well as his courage and skill in the art of war, was acknowledged by all. When, after his conversion, he was questioned about his warlike feats, he frankly and modestly answered, "That being now "taken captive by *Jesus Christ*, it did not become him to "relate the deeds he had done while in the service of the "evil spirit; but that he was willing to give an account "in the manner in which he had been *conquered*." At his baptism, on the 23d of December 1742, he received the name of *Michael*, which he preserved until his death,

* Bethlehem.

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797 which happened on the 24th of July 1786. He led the life of a true Christian, and was always ready and willing to relate the history of his conversion, which I heard myself from his own mouth. His age, when he died, was supposed to be about eighty years.

304 The cutting of the ears, which formerly was practised among the Indians, is now no longer so common with them. Their reasons for laying this custom aside, are that the operation is painful, not only when performed, but until the ears are perfectly healed, which takes a long time, and that they often lose that part of their ears which is separated from the solid part, by its being torn off by the the bushes, or falling off when frost-bitten. I once heard of a gay Indian setting off on a severe cold morning for a neighbouring village not more than three miles distant, whose ears had been touched by the frost, and dropped off before he arrived at the place to which he was going. He had not even felt that he had lost them, and when told of it, he was so chagrined that he was going to destroy himself. I have seen a great many Indians with torn ears; but now the custom of cutting them is nearly if not entirely disused.

CHAPTER XXVI.

DANCES, SONGS, AND SACRIFICES.

535 THE dances of the Indians vary according to the
782 purposes for which they are intended. We have seen, in the second chapter of this work, that when the Dutch first landed on New York island, the inhabitants who be-

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lieved them to be celestial beings, began a solemn dance, in order to propitiate them. It is not uncommon for men who are deprived of the light of revealed religion, to believe that the divinity will be pleased with the same things from which they themselves receive pleasure.

It is a pleasing spectacle to see the Indian dances, when intended merely for social diversion and innocent amusement. I acknowledge I would prefer being present at them for a full hour, than a few minutes only at such dances as I have witnessed in our country taverns among the white people. Their songs are by no means unharmonious. They sing in chorus; first the men and then the women. At times the women join in the general song, or repeat the strain which the men have just finished. It seems like two parties singing in questions and answers, and is upon the whole very agreeable and enlivening. After thus singing for about a quarter of an hour, they conclude each song with a loud yell, which I must confess is not in concord with the rest of the music; it is not unlike the cat-bird which closes its pretty song with mewing like a cat. I do not admire this *finale*. The singing always begins by one person only, but others soon fall in successively until the general chorus begins, the drum beating all the while to mark the time. The voices of the women are clear and full, and their intonations generally correct.

Their war dances have nothing engaging; their object, on the contrary, is to strike terror in the beholders. They are dressed and painted, or rather bedaubed with paint, in a manner suitable to the occasion. They hold the murderous weapon in their hand, and imitate in their dance all the warlike attitudes, motions and actions which are usual in an engagement with the enemy, and strive to excel each other by their terrific looks and gestures. They generally perform round a painted post set up for that purpose, in a large room or place

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enclosed or surrounded with posts, and roofed with the bark of trees; sometimes also this dance is executed in the open air. There every man presents himself in warrior's array, contemptuously looking upon the painted post, as if it was the enemy whom he is about to engage; as he passes by it he strikes, stabs, grasps, pretends to scalp, to cut, to run through; in short, endeavours to shew what he would do to a real enemy, if he had him in his power.

It was an ancient custom among the Indians to perform this dance round a prisoner, and as they danced, to make him undergo every kind of torture, previous to putting him to death. The prisoner appeared to partake in the merriment, contemptuously scoffing at his executioner, as being unskilled in the art of inflicting torments: strange as this conduct may appear, it was not without a sufficient motive. The object of the unfortunate sufferer was to rouse his relentless tormenters to such a pitch of fury, that some of them might, at an unguarded moment, give him the finishing stroke and put him out of his pain.

Previous to going out on a warlike campaign, the war-dance is always performed round the painted post. It is the Indian mode of recruiting. Whoever joins in the dance is considered as having enlisted for the campaign, and is obliged to go out with the party.

After returning from a successful expedition, a dance of *thanksgiving* is always performed, which partakes of the character of a religious ceremony. It is accompanied with singing and chorusses, in which the women join. But they take no part in the rest of the performance. At the end of every song, the *scalp-yell* is shouted as many times as there have been scalps taken from the enemy.

The Indians also meet occasionally for the purpose of recounting their warlike exploits, which is done in a kind of half-singing or *recitative*. The oldest warrior recites

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first, then they go on in rotation and in order of seniority, the drum beating all the time, as it were to give to the relation the greater appearance of reality. After each has made a short recital in his turn, they begin again in the same order, and so continue going the rounds, in a kind of alternate chaunting, until every one has concluded. On these occasions, great care must be taken not to give offence by affecting superiority over the others, for every warrior feels his own consequence, and is ready, if insulted, to shew by his actions, what he has performed in war and is still able to do. I well remember an instance of the kind, when an insulted warrior stepped out of the circle in which he was dancing, and struck dead the impudent boaster who had offended him.

Their songs are in general of the warlike or of the tender and pathetic kind. They are sung in short sentences, not without some kind of measure, harmonious to an Indian ear. The music is well adapted to the words, and to me is not unpleasing. I would not attempt to give an idea of it by means of our musical notes, as has been done by other writers, lest I should be as unsuccessful as those who have tried in the same manner to describe the melodies of the ancient Greeks. It would be well if I could describe at one and the same time the whole combination of effects which acted upon my ear, but it is vain to endeavour to do it partially. It is, indeed, much the same with their poetry; yet I cannot resist the temptation of translating as well as I can, the words of the Lenape's song, when they go out to war. They sing it, as I give it here, in short lines or sentences, not always the whole at one time, but most generally in detached parts, as time permits and as the occasion or their feelings prompt them. Their accent is very pathetic, and the whole, in their language, produces considerable effect.

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The Song of the Lenape Warriors going against the Enemy.

O poor me!
Whom am going out to fight the enemy,
And know not whether I shall return again,
To enjoy the embraces of my children
And my wife.
O poor creature!
Whose life is not in his own hands,
Who has no power over his own body,
But tries to do his duty
For the welfare of his nation.
O! thou Great Spirit above!
Take pity on my children
And on my wife!
Prevent their mourning on my account!
Grant that I may be successful in this attempt—
That I may slay my enemy,
And bring home the trophies of war
To my dear family and friends,
That we may rejoice together.
O! take pity on me!
Give me strength and courage to meet my enemy,
Suffer me to return again to my children,
To my wife
And to my relations!
Take pity on me and preserve my life
And I will make to thee a sacrifice.

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The song of the Wyandot warriors, as translated to me by an Indian trader, would read thus: "Now I am going "on an errand of pleasure—O! God, take pity on me, "and throw good fortune in my way—grant that I may "be successful."

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Thus their Almighty Creator is always before their eyes on all important occasions. They feel and acknowledge his supreme power. They also endeavour to propitiate him by outward worship, or *sacrifices*.

These are religious solemnities, intended to make themselves acceptable to the Great Spirit, to find favour in his sight, and obtain his forgiveness for past errors or offences. It is not, as some white persons would lead us to believe, that knowing the Great Spirit to be good, they are under no apprehensions from his wrath, and that they make sacrifices to the evil spirit, believing him alone to be capable of doing them hurt. This cannot be true of a people, who, as I have already said in another part, hold it as a fixed principle "that good and evil cannot and must not be united," who declare and acknowledge the great and good Spirit to be "all powerful," and the evil one to be "weak and limited in power;" who rely alone on the goodness of the author of their existence, and who, before every thing, seek by all the means in their power to obtain his favour and protection. For, they are convinced, that the evil spirit has no power over them, as long as they are in favour with the good one, and to him alone, acknowledging his continued goodness to them and their forefathers, they look for protection against the *Devil*, and his inferior spirits.

It is a part of their religious belief, that there are inferior *Manittos*, to whom the great and good Being has given the rule and command over the elements; that being so great, he, like their chiefs, must have his attendants to execute his supreme behests; these subordinate spirits (something in their nature between God and man) see and report to him what is doing upon earth; they look down particularly upon the Indians, to see whether they are in need of assistance, and are ready at their call to assist and protect them against danger.

Thus I have frequently witnessed Indians, on the approach of a storm or thunder-gust, address the Manitto

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of the air, to avert all danger from them; I have also seen the Chippeways, on the Lakes of Canada, pray to the Mannitto of the waters, that he might prevent the swells from rising too high, while they were passing over them. In both these instances, they expressed their acknowledgment, or shewed their willingness to be grateful, by throwing tobacco in the air, or strewing it on the waters.

There are even some animals, which though they are not considered as invested with power over them, yet are believed to be placed as guardians over their lives; and of course entitled to some notice and to some tokens of gratitude. Thus, when in the night, an owl is heard sounding its note, or calling to its mate, some person in the camp will rise, and taking some *Oticanican*, or Indian tobacco, will strew it on the fire, thinking that the ascending smoke will reach the bird, and that he will see that they are not unmindful of his services, and of his kindness to them and their ancestors. This custom originated from the following incident, which tradition has handed down to them.

It happened at one time, when they were engaged in a war with a distant and powerful nation, that a body of their warriors was in the camp, fast asleep, no kind of danger at that moment being apprehended. Suddenly, the great "Sentinel," over mankind, the *owl*, sounded the alarm; all the birds of the species were alert at their posts, all at once calling out, as if saying: "Up! up! Danger! Danger!" Obedient to their call, every man jumped up in an instant; when, to their surprise, they found that their enemy was in the very act of surrounding them, and they would all have been killed in their sleep, if the owl had not given them this timely warning.

But, amidst all these superstitious notions, the supreme Mannitto, the creator and preserver of heaven and earth, is the great object of their adoration. On him they rest their hopes, to him they address their prayers and make

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their solemn sacrifices. These religious ceremonies are not always performed in the same manner. I had intended to have given some details upon this subject, but I find that it has been almost exhausted by other writers,* although I will not pretend to say that they are correct on every point. But I do not wish to repeat things which have already been told to the world over and over. Therefore, if on some subjects, relating to the manners and customs of the Indians, I should be thought to have passed over too quickly, and not to have sufficiently entered into particulars, let it be understood that I have done so to avoid the repetition of what others have said, although I am afraid I have been inadvertently guilty of it in more than one instance. I would not presume to communicate my little stock of knowledge, if I did not think that it will add something to what is already known.

I do not recollect that it has already been mentioned, that previous to entering upon the solemnity of their sacrifices, the Indians prepare themselves by vomiting, fasting, and drinking decoctions from certain prescribed plants. This they do to expel the evil which is within them, and that they may with a pure conscience attend to the *sacred performance*, for such they consider it. Nor is the object of those sacrifices always the same; there are sacrifices of prayer and sacrifices of thanksgiving, some for all the favours received by them and their ancestors from the great Being, others for special or particular benefits. After a successful war they never fail to offer up a sacrifice to the great Being, to return him thanks for having given them courage and strength to destroy or conquer their enemies.

* See Loskiel, part 1. ch. 3.

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CHAPTER XXVII.

SCALPING—WHOOPS OR YELLS—PRISONERS.

726 727 SCALPING is a practice which the Indians say has obtained with their nations for ages. I need not describe the manner in which the operation is performed, it has been sufficiently done by others.* Indian warriors think it necessary to bring home the scalps of those they have killed or disabled, as visible proofs of their valour; otherwise they are afraid that their relations of the combat and the account they give of their individual prowess might be doubted or disbelieved. Those scalps are dried [554] up, painted and preserved as trophies, and a warrior is esteemed in proportion to the number of them that he can shew.

726 [302] It is well known fact that the Indians pluck out all their hair except one tuft on the crown of their heads, but the reason of this exception is not, perhaps, so well understood, which is no other than to enable themselves to take off each others' scalps in war with greater facility. "When we go to fight an enemy," say they, "we "meet on equal ground; and we take off each other's "scalps, if we can. The conqueror, whoever he may be, "is entitled to have something to shew to prove his bra- "very and his triumph, and it would be *ungenerous* in a "warrior to deprive an enemy of the means of acqui- "ring that glory of which he himself is in pursuit. A "warrior's conduct ought to be *manly*, else he is *no man*." As this custom prevails among all the Indian nations, it

* See Loskiel, p. 1. ch. 11.

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would seem, as far as I have known, to be the result of a tacit agreement among them, to leave the usual trophies of victory accessible to the contending warriors on all sides; fearing, perhaps, that if a different custom should be adopted by one nation from motives of personal safety, or to destroy the warlike reputation of their rivals or enemies, it might be easily imitated on the other side, and there would be an end to Indian valour and heroism. Indeed, it is certain, that all the weapons which the Indians make use of in war are intended for *offence*; they have no breast-plates, helmets, nor any arms or accoutrements of the defensive kind, and it is not the least remarkable trait in their warlike character, that they make it even a point of honour to offer a hold of their persons to their enemy, by which if he should be possessed of greater skill or courage than themselves, he may not only the more easily destroy them, but is enabled to carry home their bloody spoils as trophies of his victory.

I once remarked to an Indian that if such was their reason for letting a tuft of hair grow on the top of their heads, they might as well suffer the whole to remain, and I could not perceive why they were so careful in plucking it out. To this observation he answered: "My friend! a human being has but one head, "and one scalp from that head is sufficient to shew that "it has been in my power. Were we to preserve a "whole head of hair as the white people do, *several* scalps "might be made out of it, which would be *unfair*. Be- "sides, the coward might thus without danger share in "the trophies of the brave warrior, and dispute with him "the honour of victory."

When the Indians relate their victories they do not say that they have taken so many "*scalps*," but so many "*heads*," in which they include as well those whom they have scalped, but left alive, (which is very often the case) and their prisoners, as those whom they have killed.

[erratum. See cat. 116, p. 348. - Archivist]

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727 Nor does it follow, when they reckon or number the heads of their prisoners, that they have been or are to be put to death.

201 727 It is an awful spectacle to see the Indian warriors return home from a successful expedition with their prisoners and the scalps taken in battle. It is not unlike the return of a victorious army from the field, with the prisoners and *colours*, taken from the enemy, but the appearance is far more frightful and terrific. The scalps [293] are carried in front, fixed on the end of a thin pole, about five or six inches in length; the prisoners follow, and the warriors advance shouting the dreadful *scalp-yell*, which has been called by some the *death-halloo*, but improperly, for the reasons which I have already mentioned. For every *head* taken, dead or alive, a separate shout is given. In this yell or whoop, there is a mixture of triumph and terror; its elements, if I may so speak, seem to be *glory* and *fear*, so as to express at once the feelings of the shouting warriors, and those with which they have inspired to their enemies.

Different from this yell is the *alarm-whoop*, which is never sounded but when danger is at hand. It is performed in quick succession, much as with us the repeated cry of *Fire! Fire!* when the alarm is very great and lives are known or believed to be in danger. Both this and the scalp-yell consist of the sounds *aw* and *oh*, successively uttered, the last more accented, and sounded higher than the first; but in the *scalp-yell*, this last sound is drawn out at great length, as long indeed, as the breath will hold, and is raised about an octave higher than the former; while in the *alarm-whoop*, it is rapidly struck on as it were, and only a few notes above the other. These yells or whoops are dreadful indeed, and well calculated to strike with terror, those whom long habit has not accustomed to them. It is difficult to describe the impression which the *scalp-yell*, particularly, makes on a person who hears it for the first time.

a [Recedes. Should read "feet." Analyst]

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I am now come to a painful part of my subject; the manner in which the Indians treat the prisoners whom they take in war. It must not be expected that I shall describe here the long protracted tortures which are inflicted on those who are doomed to the fatal pile, nor the constancy and firmness which the sufferers display, singing their death songs and scoffing all the while at their tormentors. Enough of other writers have painted these scenes with all their disgusting horrors; nor shall I, a Christian, endeavour to excuse or palliate them. But I may be permitted to say, that those dreadful executions are by no means so frequent as is commonly imagined. The prisoners are generally adopted by the families of their conquerors in the place of lost or deceased relations or friends, where they soon become domesticated and are so kindly treated that they never wish themselves away again. I have seen even white men, who, after such adoption, were given up by the Indians in compliance with the stipulations of treaties, take the first opportunity to escape from their own countrymen and return with all possible speed to their Indian homes; I have seen the Indians, while about delivering them up, put them at night in the stocks, to prevent their escaping and running back to them.

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It is but seldom that prisoners are put to death by burning and torturing. It hardly ever takes place except when a nation has suffered great losses in war, and it is thought necessary to revenge the death of their warriors slain in battle, or when wilful and deliberate murders have been committed by an enemy of their innocent women and children, in which case the first prisoners taken are almost sure of being sacrificed by way of retaliation. But when a war has been successful, or unattended with remarkable acts of treachery or cruelty on the part of the enemy, the prisoners receive a milder treatment, and are incorporated with the nation of their conquerors.

1 [Erratum. Should read "00." - Analyst]

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727 Much has been said on the subject of the preliminary cruelties inflicted on prisoners when they enter an Indian village with the conquering warriors. It is certain that this treatment is very severe when a particular revenge is to be exercised, but otherwise, I can say with truth, that in many instances, it is rather a scene of amusement, than a punishment. Much depends on the courage and presence of mind of the prisoner. On entering the village, he is shewn a painted post at the distance of from twenty to forty yards, and told to run to it and catch hold of it as quickly as he can. On each side of him stand men, women and children, with axes, sticks, and other offensive weapons, ready to strike him as he runs, in the same manner as is done in the European armies when soldiers, as it is called, run the gauntlet. If he should be so unlucky as to fall in the way, he will probably be immediately despatched by some person, longing to avenge the death of some relation or friend slain in battle; but the moment he reaches the goal, he is safe and protected from further insult until his fate is determined.

If a prisoner in such a situation shews a determined courage, and when bid to run for the painted post, starts at once with all his might and exerts all his strength and agility until he reaches it, he will most commonly escape without much harm, and sometimes without any injury whatever, and on reaching the desired point, he will have the satisfaction to hear his courage and bravery applauded. But wo to the coward who hesitates, or shews any symptoms of fear! He is treated without much mercy, and is happy, at last, if he escapes with his life.

In the month of April 1782, when I was myself a prisoner at Lower Sandusky, waiting for an opportunity to proceed with a trader to Detroit, I witnessed a scene of this description which fully exemplified what I have above stated. Three American prisoners were one day brought in by fourteen warriors from the garrison of Fort M'In-

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tosh. As soon as they had crossed the Sandusky river to which the village lay adjacent, they were told by the Captain of the party to run as hard as they could to a painted post which was shown to them. The youngest of the three, without a moment's hesitation, immediately started for it, and reached it fortunately without receiving a single blow; the second hesitated for a moment, but recollecting himself, he also ran as fast as he could and likewise reached the post unhurt; but the third, frightened at seeing so many men, women and children with weapons in their hands, ready to strike him, kept begging the Captain to spare his life, saying he was a mason, and he would build him a fine large stone house, or do any work for him that he should please. "Run for your life," cried the chief to him, "and don't talk now of building houses!" But the poor fellow still insisted, begging and praying to the Captain, who at last finding his exhortations vain, and fearing the consequences, turned his back upon him, and would not hear him any longer. Our mason now began to run, but received many a hard blow, one of which nearly brought him to the ground, which, if he had fallen, would at once have decided his fate. He, however, reached the goal, not without being sadly bruised, and he was besides, bitterly reproached and scoffed at all round as a vile coward, while the others were hailed as brave men, and received tokens of universal approbation.

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CHAPTER XXVIII.

BODILY CONSTITUTION AND DISEASES.

147 482 THE Indians are in general a strong race of men. It is very common to see a hunter come in with a whole deer on his back, fastened with a *Happis*, a kind of band with which they carry loads; it rests against the breast, that which the women use rests against the forehead. In this manner they will carry a load which many a white man would not have strength enough to raise from the ground. An Indian, named Samuel, once took the flour which was ground out of a bushel of wheat upon his back at sun-rise within two miles from Nazareth, and arrived with it in the evening of the same day at his camp at Wyoming. When the Indians build houses, they carry large logs on their shoulders from the place where the tree is cut down to where they are building.

147 Nevertheless, when put to agricultural or other manual labour, the Indians do not appear so strong as the whites; at least, they cannot endure it so long. Many reasons may be given for this, besides their not being accustomed to that kind of work. It is probably in part [261] to be ascribed to their want of substantial food, and their intemperate manner of living; eating, when they have it, to excess, and at other times being days and weeks in a state of want. Those who have been brought up to regular labour, like ourselves, become robust and strong and enjoy good health. Such was the case with the Christian Indians in the Moravian settlements.

So late as about the middle of the last century, the Indians were yet a hardy and healthy people, and many

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very aged men and women were seen among them, some of whom thought they had lived about one hundred years. They frequently told me and others that when they were young men, their people did not marry so early as they did since, that even at twenty they were called boys and durst not wear a breech-cloth, as the men did at that time, but had only a small bit of a skin hanging before them. Neither, did they say, were they subject to so many disorders as in later times, and many of them calculated on dying of old age. But since that time a great change has taken place in the constitution of those Indians who live nearest to the whites. By the introduction of ardent spirits among them, they have been led into vices which have brought on disorders which they say were unknown befdre; their blood became corrupted by a shameful complaint, which the Europeans pretend to have received from the original inhabitants of America, while these say they had never known or heard of it until the Europeans came among them. Now the Indians are infected with it to a great degree; children frequently inherit it from their parents, and after lingering for a few years at last die victims to this poison.

Those Indians who have not adopted the vices of the white people live to a good age, from 70 to 90. Few arrive at the age of one hundred years. The women, in general, live longer than the men.

The Indians do not appear to be more or less exempt than the whites from the common infirmities of old age. I have known old men among them who had lost their memory, their sight, and their teeth. I have also seen them at eighty in their second childhood and not able to help themselves.

The Indian women are not in general so prolific as those of the white race. I imagine this defect is owing to the vicious and dissolute life they lead since the introduction of spirituous liquors. Among our Christian Indians, we have had a couple who had been

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163 converted for thirty years and had always led a regular life, and who had thirteen children. Others had from six to nine. In general, however, the Indians seldom have more than four or five children.

853 The Indian children, generally, continue two years at the breast, and there are instances of their sucking during four years. Mothers are very apt to indulge their last child, children in this respect enjoy the same privilege alike.

847 I have never heard of any nation or tribe of Indians who destroyed their children, when distorted or deformed, whether they were so born or came to be so afterwards. I have on the contrary seen very particular care taken of such children. Nor have I ever been acquaint-
304 ed with any Indians that made use of artificial means to compress or alter the natural shape of the heads of their children, as some travellers have, I believe, pretended.

164 The disorders to which the Indians are most commonly subjected are pulmonary consumptions, fluxes, fevers and severe rheumatisms, all proceeding probably from the kind of life they lead, the hardships they undergo, and the nature of the food that they take. Intermitting and bilious fevers set in among them regularly in the autumn, when their towns are situated near marshy grounds or ponds of stagnant water, and many die in consequence of them. I have observed that these fevers
[261] generally make their first appearance in the season of the wild plum, a fruit that the Indians are particularly fond of. Sometimes also after a famine or long suffering for want of food, when they generally make too free an use of green maize, squashes and other watery vegetables. They are also subject to a disease which they call the *yellow vomit*, which, at times, carries off many of them. They generally die of this disease on the second or third day after the first attack.

Their old men are very subject to rheumatisms in the back and knees; I have known them at the age of 50 or

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60 to be laid up for weeks and months at a time on this account, and I have seen boys 10 and 12 years of age, who through colds or fits of sickness had become so contracted that they never afterwards recovered the use of their limbs. 164

Worms are a very common disorder among Indian children, and great numbers of them die from that cause. They eat a great deal of green corn when in the milk, with beans, squashes, melons and the like; their bellies become remarkably large, and it is probably in that manner that the worms are generated. I rather think that Indian children suffer less in teething than the whites.

The gout, gravel, and scrophula or king's evil, are not known among the Indians. Nor have I ever known any one that had the disorder called the *Rickets*. Consumptions are very frequent among them since they have become fond of spirituous liquors, and their young men in great numbers fall victims to that complaint. A person who resides among them may easily observe the frightful decrease of their numbers from one period of ten years to another. Our vices have destroyed them more than our swords.

CHAPTER XXIX.

REMEDIES.

THE *Materia Medica* of the Indians consists of various roots and plants known to themselves, the properties of which they are not fond of disclosing to strangers. They make considerable use of the barks of trees, such 757 278

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as the white and black oak, the white walnut, of which they make pills, the cherry, dogwood, maple, birch, and several others. They prepare and compound these medicines in different ways, which they keep a profound secret. Those preparations are frequently mixed with superstitious practices, calculated to guard against the powers of witchcraft, in which, unfortunately they have a strong fixed belief. Indeed, they are too apt to attribute the most natural deaths to the arts and incantations of sorcerers, and their medicine is, in most cases, as much directed against those as against the disease itself. There are, however, practitioners among them who are free from these prejudices, or at least do not introduce them into their practice of the medical art. Still there is a superstitious notion, in which all their physicians participate, which is, that when an emetic is to be administered, the water in which the potion is mixed must be drawn up a stream, and if for a cathartic downwards. This is, at least, innocent, and not more whimsical perhaps, nor more calculated to excite a smile, than some theories of grave and learned men in civilised countries.

In fevers the Indians usually administer emetics which are made up and compounded in various ways. I saw an emetic once given to a man who had poisoned himself with the root of the May Apple.* It consisted of a piece of racoon skin burned with the hair on and finely powdered, pounded dry beans and gunpowder. These three ingredients were mixed with water and poured down the patient's throat. This brought on a severe vomiting, the poisonous root was entirely discharged and the man cured.

In other complaints, particularly in those which proceed from rheumatic affections, bleeding and sweating are always the first remedies applied. The sweat oven is the first thing that an Indian has recourse to when he

* Podophyllum peltatum.

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feels the least indisposed; it is the place to which the wearied traveller, hunter, or warrior looks for relief from the fatigues he has endured, the cold he has caught, or the restoration of his lost appetite. 757 515

This oven is made of different sizes, so as to accommodate from two to six persons at a time, or according to the number of men in the village, so that they may be all successively served. It is generally built on a bank or slope, one half of it within and the other above ground. It is well covered on the top with split plank and earth, and has a door in front, where the ground is level to go or rather to creep in. Here, on the outside, stones, generally of about the size of a large turnip, are heated by one or more men appointed each day for that purpose. While the oven is heating, decoctions from roots or plants are prepared either by the person himself who intends to sweat, or by one of the men of the village, who boils a large kettleful for the general use, so that when the public cryer going his rounds calls out *Pimook!* "go to sweat!" every one brings his small kettle, which is filled for him with the potion, which at the same time serves him as a medicine, promotes a profuse perspiration, and quenches his thirst. As soon as a sufficient number have come to the oven, a number of the hot stones are rolled into the middle of it, and the sweaters go in, seating themselves or rather squatting round those stones, and there they remain until the sweat ceases to flow; then they come out, throwing a blanket or two about them that they may not catch cold; in the mean while, fresh heated stones are thrown in for those who follow them. While they are in the oven, water is now and then poured on the hot stones to produce a steam, which they say, increases the heat, and gives suppleness to their limbs and joints. In rheumatic complaints, the steam is produced by a decoction of boiled roots, and the patient during the operation is well wrapped up in blankets, to keep the cold air from him, and promote perspiration at the same time. 757 515 343

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Those sweat ovens are generally at some distance from an Indian village, where wood and water is always at hand. The best order is preserved at those places. The women have their separate oven in a different direction from that of the men, and subjected to the same rules. The men generally sweat themselves once and sometimes twice a week; the women have no fixed day for this exercise, nor do they use it as often as the men.

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In the year 1784, a gentleman whom I had been acquainted with at Detroit, and who had been for a long time in an infirm state of health, came from thence to the village of the Christian Indians on the Huron river, in order to have the benefit of the sweat oven. It being in the middle of winter, when there was a deep snow on the ground, and the weather was excessively cold, I advised him to postpone his sweating to a warmer season; but he persisting in his resolution, I advised him by no means to remain in the oven longer than fifteen or at most twenty minutes. But when he once was in it, feeling himself comfortable, he remained a full hour, at the end of which he fainted, and was brought by two strong Indians to my house, in very great pain and not able to walk. He remained with me until the next day, when we took him down in his sleigh to his family at Detroit. His situation was truly deplorable; his physicians at that place gave up all hopes of his recovery, and he frequently expressed his regret that he had not followed my advice. Suddenly, however, a change took place for the better, and he not only recovered his perfect health, but became a stout corpulent man, so that he would often say, that his going into the sweat oven was the best thing he had ever done in his life for the benefit of his health. He said so to me fifteen years afterwards when I saw him in the year 1798. He had not had the least indisposition since that time. He died about the year 1814, at an advanced age.

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CHAPTER XXX.

PHYSICIANS AND SURGEONS.

BY these names I mean to distinguish the good and honest practitioners who are in the habit of curing and healing diseases and wounds, by the simple application of natural remedies, without any mixture of superstition in the manner of preparing or administering them. They are very different from the doctors or jugglers, of whom I shall speak in the next chapter. In one point, only, they seem to participate in their ridiculous notions, that is, in the different manner, which I have already noticed, of drawing water up or down the current of a stream, as it is to be respectively employed as a vehicle for an emetic or a cathartic. This singular idea prevails generally among the Indians of all classes. They think that as the one remedy is to work upwards and the other downwards, care should be taken in the preparation to follow the course of nature, so that no confusion should take place in the stomach or bowels of the patient.

With this only exception the Indian physicians are perhaps more free from fanciful theories than those of any other nation upon earth. Their science is entirely founded on observation, experience and the well tried efficacy of remedies. There are physicians of both sexes, who take considerable pains to acquire a correct knowledge of the properties and medical virtues of plants, roots and barks, for the benefit of their fellow men. They are very careful to have at all times a full assortment of their medicines on hand, which they gather and collect at the proper seasons, sometimes fetching them from

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the distance of several days' journey from their homes, then they cure or dry them properly, tie them up in small bundles, and preserve them for use. It were to be wished that they were better skilled in the quantity of the medicines which they administer. But they are too apt, in general, to give excessive doses, on the mistaken principle that "much of a good thing must necessarily do much good."

Nevertheless, I must say, that their practice in general succeeds pretty well. I have myself been benefited and cured by taking their emetics and their medicines in fevers, and by being sweated after their manner while labouring under a stubborn rheumatism. I have also known many, both whites and Indians, who have with the same success resorted to Indian physicians while labouring under diseases. The wives of Missionaries, in every instance in which they had to apply to the female physicians, for the cure of complaints peculiar to their sex, experienced good results from their abilities. They are also well skilled in curing wounds and bruises. I once for two days and two nights, suffered the most excruciating pain from a felon or whitlow on one of my fingers, which deprived me entirely of sleep. I had recourse to an Indian woman, who in less than half an hour relieved me entirely by the simple application of a poultice made of the root of the common blue violet.

Indeed, it is in the cure of external wounds that they particularly excel. Not only their professional men and women, but every warrior is more or less acquainted with the healing properties of roots and plants, which is, in a manner, indispensable to them, as they are so often in danger of being wounded in their engagements with the enemy. Hence this branch of knowledge is carried to a great degree of perfection among them. I firmly believe that there is no wound, unless it should be absolutely mortal, or beyond the skill of our own good practitioners, which an Indian surgeon (I mean the best of

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them) will not succeed in healing. I once knew a noted Shawano, who having, out of friendship, conducted several white traders in safety to Pittsburg, while they were sought for by other Indians who wanted to revenge on them the murders committed by white men of some of their people, was on his return fired at by some white vilains, who had waylaid him for that purpose, and shot in the breast. This man, when I saw him, had already travelled eighty miles, with a wound from which blood and a kind of watery froth issued every time he breathed. Yet he told me he was sure of being cured, if he could only reach *Waketemeki*, a place fifty miles distant, where there were several eminent Indian surgeons. To me and others who examined the wound, it appeared incurable; nevertheless, he reached the place and was perfectly cured. I saw him at Detroit ten years afterwards; he was in sound health and grown to be a corpulent man. Nine years after this I dined with him at the same place.

CHAPTER XXXI.

DOCTORS OR JUGGLERS.

I CALL these men *Doctors*, because it is the name given them by their countrymen who have borrowed it from our language,* and they are themselves very fond of this pompous title.

* They call them *Dectels*; because the Indians cannot pronounce the letter R. The Minsi or Monseys call them "Mĕdéu," which signifies "conjuror."

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of this pompous title. They are a set of professional impostors, who, availing themselves of the superstitious prejudices of the people, acquire the name and reputation of men of superior knowledge, and possessed of supernatural powers. As the Indians in general believe in witchcraft, and ascribe, as I have already said, to the arts of sorcerers many of the disorders with which they are afflicted in the regular course of nature, this class of men has arisen among them, who pretend to be skilled in a certain occult science, by means of which they are able not only to cure natural diseases, but to counteract or destroy the enchantments of wizzards or witches, and expel evil spirits.

These men are physicians, like the others of whom I have spoken, and like them are acquainted with the properties and virtues of plants, barks, roots, and other remedies. They differ from them only by their pretensions to a superior knowledge, and by the impudence with which they impose upon the credulous. I am sorry that truth obliges me to confess, that in their profession they rank above the honest practitioners. They pretend that there are disorders which cannot be cured by the ordinary remedies, and to the treatment of which the talents of common physicians are inadequate. They say that when a complaint has been brought on by witchcraft, more powerful remedies must be applied, and measures must be taken to defeat the designs of the person who bewitched the unfortunate patient. This can only be done by removing or destroying the deleterious or deadening substance which has been conveyed into them, or, if it is an evil spirit, to confine or expel him, or banish him to a distant region from whence he may never return.

When the juggler has succeeded in persuading his patient that his disorder is such that no common physician has it in his power to relieve, he will next endeavour to convince him of the necessity of making him very *strong*,

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which means, giving him *a large fee*, which he will say, is justly due to a man who, like himself, is able to perform such difficult things. If the patient who applies, is rich, the *Doctor* will never fail, whatever the complaint may be, to ascribe it to the powers of witchcraft, and recommend himself as the only person capable of giving relief in such a hard and complicated case. The poor patient, therefore, if he will have the benefit of the great man's advice and assistance, must immediately give him his *honorarium*, which is commonly either a fine horse, a good rifle-gun, a considerable quantity of wampum, or goods to a handsome amount. When this fee is well secured, and not before, the Doctor prepares for the hard task that he has undertaken, with as much apparent labour as if he was about to remove a mountain. He casts his eyes all round him to attract notice, puts on grave and important looks, appears wrapt in thought and meditation and enjoys for a while the admiration of the spectators. At last he begins his operation. Attired in a frightful dress, he approaches his patient, with a variety of contortions and gestures, and performs by his side and over him all the antic tricks that his imagination can suggest. He breathes on him, blows in his mouth, and squirts some medicines which he has prepared in his face, mouth and nose; he rattles his gourd filled with dry beans or pebbles, pulls out and handles about a variety of sticks and bundles in which he appears to be seeking for the proper remedy, all which is accompanied with the most horrid gesticulations, by which he endeavours, as he says, to frighten the spirit or the disorder away, and continues in this manner until he is quite exhausted and out of breath, when he retires to wait the issue.

The visits of the juggler are, if the patient requires it, repeated from time to time; not, however, without his giving a fresh fee previous to each visit. This continues until the property of the patient is entirely exhaust-

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755 ed, or until he resolves upon calling in another doctor, with whom feeing must begin anew in the same manner that it did with his predecessor.

When at length the art of the juggling tribe has after repeated trials proved ineffectual, the patient is declared *incurable*. The doctors will say, that he applied to them too late, that he did not exactly follow their prescriptions, or sometimes, that he was bewitched by one of the greatest masters of the science, and that unless a professor can be found possessed of superior knowledge, he is doomed to die or linger in pain beyond the power of relief.

Thus these jugglers carry on their deceit, and enrich themselves at the expense of the credulous and foolish. I have known instances in which they declared a patient perfectly cured and out of all danger, who nevertheless died of his disorder a very few days afterwards, although his doctors affirmed that the evil spirit or the effects of witchcraft were entirely removed from him; on the other hand, I have seen cases in which the patient recovered after being pronounced incurable and condemned to die. In those cases, however, he had had the good sense to apply to some of the honest physicians of one or the other sex, who had relieved him by a successful application of their medicines.

756 The jugglers' dress, when in the exercise of their functions, exhibits a most frightful sight. I had no idea of the importance of these men, until by accident I met with one, habited in his full costume. As I was once walking through the street of a large Indian village on the Muskingum, with the chief *Gelelemend*, whom we called *Killbuck*, one of those monsters suddenly came out of the house next to me, at whose sight I was so frightened, that I flew immediately to the other side of the chief, who observing my agitation and the quick strides I made, asked me what was the matter, and what I thought it was that I saw before me. "By its outward appearance,"

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answered I, "I would think it a bear, or some such fe- 756
"rocious animal, what is *inside* I do not know, but ra-
"ther judge it to be the *evil Spirit.*" My friend Kill-
buck smiled, and replied "O! no, no; don't believe
that! it is a man you well know, it is our *Doctor.*" "A
"Doctor! said I, what! a human being to transform
"himself so as to be taken for a bear walking on his
"hind legs, and with horns on his head? You will not,
"surely, deceive me; if it is not a bear, it must be some
"other ferocious animal that I have never seen before."
The juggler within the dress hearing what passed be-
tween us, began to act over some of his curious pranks,
probably intending to divert me, as he saw I was looking [825]
at him with great amazement, not unmixed with fear; but
the more he went on with his performance, the more I
was at a loss to decide, whether he was a human be-
ing or a bear; for he imitated that animal in the greatest
perfection, walking upright on his hind legs as I had
often seen it do. At last I renewed my questions to the
chief, and begged him seriously to tell me what that fi-
gure was, and he assured me that although outside it had
the appearance of a bear, yet inside there was a man,
and that it was our doctor going to visit one of his pa-
tients who was bewitched. A dialogue then ensued be-
tween us, which I shall relate, as well as I can recollect
it, in its very words:

HECKEW. But why does he go dressed in that man-
ner? Won't his patient be frightened to death on seeing
him enter the house?

KILLB. No! indeed, no; it is the disorder, the evil spi-
rit, that will be frightened away; as to the sick man, he
well knows that unless the doctor has recourse to the
most powerful means, he cannot be relieved, but must
fall a sacrifice to the wicked will of some evil person.
And, pray, don't your doctors in obstinate and dubious
cases, also recur to powerful means in order to relieve
their patients?

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756 HECKEW. To my knowledge, there are no cases where witchcraft is assigned as the cause of a disorder, of course our doctors have nothing to do with that; and though they may sometimes have occasion to apply powerful remedies in obstinate diseases, yet it is not done by dressing themselves like wild beasts, to frighten, as you say, the disorder away. Were our doctors to adopt this mode, they would soon be left without patients and without bread; they would starve.

KILLB. Our doctors are the richest people among us, they have every thing they want; fine horses to ride, fine clothes to wear, plenty of strings and belts of wampum, and silver arm and breast plates in abundance.

HECKEW. And our doctors have very fine horses and carriages, fine houses, fine clothes, plenty of good provisions and wines, and plenty of money besides! They are looked upon as gentlemen, and would not suffer your doctor, dressed as he is, to come into their company.

KILLB. You must, my friend! consider that the cases are very different. Had the white people sorcerers among them as the Indians have, they would find it necessary to adopt our practice and apply our remedies in the same manner that our doctors do. They would find it necessary to take strong measures to counteract and destroy the dreadful effects of witchcraft.

HECKEW. The sorcerers that you speak of exist only in your imagination; rid yourselves of this, and you will hear no more of them.

756 292 The dress this juggler had on, consisted of an entire garment or outside covering, made of one or more bear skins, as black as jet, so well fitted and sewed together, that the man was not in any place to be perceived. The whole head of the bear, including the mouth, nose, teeth, ears, &c. appeared the same as when the animal was living; so did the legs with long claws; to this were added a huge pair of horns on the head, and behind a large

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bushy tail, moving as he walked, as though it were on springs; but for these accompaniments, the man, walking on all fours, might have been taken for a bear of an extraordinary size. Underneath, where his hands were, holes had been cut, though not visible to the eye, being covered with the long hair, through which he held and managed his implements, and he saw through two holes set with glass. The whole was a great curiosity, but not to be looked at by every body.

There are jugglers of another kind, in general old men and women, who although not classed among doctors or physicians, yet get their living by pretending to supernatural knowledge. Some pretend that they can bring down rain in dry weather when wanted, others prepare ingredients, which they sell to bad hunters, that they may have good luck, and others make philters or love potions for such married persons as either do not, or think they cannot love each other.

When one of these jugglers is applied to to bring down rain in a dry season, he must in the first instance receive a fee. This fee is made up by the women, who, as cultivators of the land are supposed to be most interested, but the men will slily slip something into their hands in aid of their collection, which consists of wampum beads, tobacco, silver broaches, and a dressed deer skin to make shoes of. If the juggler does not succeed in his experiment, he never is in want of an excuse; either the winds are in opposition to one another, the dry wind or air is too powerful for the moist or south wind, or he has not been made *strong enough*, (that is sufficiently paid) to compel the north to give way to the south from whence the rain is to come, or lastly, he wants time to invoke the great Spirit to aid him on the important occasion.

In the summer of the year 1799, a most uncommon drouth happened in the Muskingum country, so that every thing growing, even the grass and the leaves of the trees, appeared perishing; an old man named *Chenos*, who

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was born on the river Delaware, was applied to by the women to bring down rain, and was well feed for the purpose. Having failed in his first attempt, he was feed a second time, and it happened that one morning, when my business obliged me to pass by the place where he was at work, as I knew him very well, I asked him at once what he was doing? "I am hired," said he, "to do a very "hard day's work."

Q. And, pray, what work?

A. Why, to bring down rain from the sky.

Q. Who hired you to do that?

A. The women of the village; don't you see how much rain is wanted, and that the corn and every thing else is perishing?

Q. But can you make it rain?

A. I can, and you shall be convinced of it this very day.

He had, by this time, encompassed a square of about five feet each way, with stakes and barks so that it might resemble a pig pen of about three feet in height, and now, with his face uplifted and turned towards the north, he muttered something, then closely shutting up with bark the opening which had been left on the north side, he turned in the same manner, still muttering some words, towards the south, as if invoking some superior being, and having cut through the bark on the south west corner, so as to make an opening of two feet, he said; "now "we shall have rain enough!" Hearing down the river the sound of setting poles striking against a canoe, he enquired of me what it was? I told him it was our Indians going up the river to make a bush net for fishing. "Send them home again!" said he, "tell them that this "will not be a fit day for fishing!" I told him to let them come on and speak to them himself, if he pleased. He did so, and as soon as they came near him, he told them that they must by no means think of fishing that day, for there should come a heavy rain which would wet

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them all through. "No matter, Father!" answered they in a jocular manner, "give us only rain and we will cheerfully bear the soaking." They then passed on, and I proceeded to *Goschachking*, the village to which I was going. I mentioned the circumstance to the chief of the place, and told him that I thought it impossible that we should have rain while the sky was so clear as it then was and had been for near five weeks together, without its being previously announced by some signs or change in the atmosphere. But the chief answered: "*Chenos* "knows very well what he is about; he can at any time "predict what the weather will be; he takes his observa- "tions morning and evening from the river or something "in it." On my return from this place after three o'clock in the afternoon, the sky still continued the same until about four o'clock, when all at once the horizon became overcast, and without any thunder or wind it began to rain, and continued so for several hours together, until the ground became thoroughly soaked.

I am of opinion that this man, like others whom I have known, was a strict observer of the weather, and that his prediction that day was made in consequence of his having observed some signs in the sky or in the water, which his experience had taught him to be the forerunners of rain; yet the credulous multitude did not fail to ascribe it to his supernatural power.

The ingredients for a bad hunter, to make him have good luck, are tied up in a bit of cloth, and must be worn near his skin while he is hunting. The preparations intended to create love between man and wife, are to be slily conveyed to the frigid party by means of his victuals or drink.

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CHAPTER XXXII.

SUPERSTITION.

954 [81] GREAT and powerful as the Indian conceives himself to be, firm and undaunted as he really is, braving all seasons and weathers, careless of dangers, patient of hunger, thirst and cold, and fond of displaying the native energy of his character even in the midst of tortures, at the very thought of which our owa puny nature revolts and shudders; this Lord of the Creation, whose life is spent in a state of constant warfare against the wild beasts of the forest and the savages of the wilderness, who proud of his independent existence, strikes his breast with exultation and exclaims "*I am a man!*"—the American Indian has one weak side, which sinks him down to the level of the most fearful and timid being, a childish apprehension of an occult and unknown power, which, unless he can summon sufficient fortitude to conquer it, changes at once the hero into a coward. It is incredible to what a degree the Indian's superstitious belief in witchcraft operates upon their minds; the moment that their imagination is struck with the idea that they are bewitched, they are no longer themselves; their fancy is constantly at work in creating the most horrid and distressing images. They see themselves falling a sacrifice to the wicked arts of a vile unknown hand, of one who would not have dared to face them in fair combat; dying a miserable ignominious death; a death, to which they would a thousand times prefer the stake with all its horrors. No tale, no tradition, no memorial of their cou-

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rage or heroic fortitude will go down with it to posterity; it will be thought that they were not deserving of a better fate. And, (O! dreadful thought to an Indian mind!) that death is to remain for ever unavenged;—their friends, their relations, the men of their own tribe, will seek the murderer in vain; they will seek him, while, perhaps, he is in the midst of them, unnoticed and unknown, smiling at their impotent rage, and calmly selecting some new victim to his infernal art.

Of this extraordinary power of their conjurers, of the causes which produce it, and the manner in which it is acquired, the Indians, as may well be supposed, have not a very definite idea. All they can say is that the sorcerer makes use of a "deadening substance," which he discharges and conveys to the person that he means to "*strike*," through the air, by means of the wind or of his own breath, or throws at him in a manner which they can neither understand nor describe. The person thus "*stricken*," is immediately seized with an unaccountable terror, his spirits sink, his appetite fails, he is disturbed in his sleep, he pines and wastes away, or a fit of sickness seizes him, and he dies at last a miserable victim to the workings of his own imagination.

Such are their ideas and the melancholy effects of the dread they feel of that supernatural power which they vainly fancy to exist among them. That they can destroy one another by means of poisonous roots and plants, is certainly true, but in this there is no witchcraft. This prejudice that they labour under can be ascribed to no other cause than their excessive ignorance and credulity. I was once acquainted with a white man, a shrewd and correct observer, who had lived long among the Indians, and being himself related to an Indian family, had the best opportunities of obtaining accurate information on this subject. He told me that he had found the means of getting into the confidence of one of their most noted sorcerers, who had frankly confessed to him, that his secret consisted in ex-

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764 citing fear and suspicion, and creating in the multitude a strong belief in his magical powers, "For," said he, "such is the credulity of many, that if I only pick a little "wool from my blanket, and roll it between my fingers "into a small round ball, not larger than a bean, I am "by that alone believed to be deeply skilled in the magic "art, and it is immediately supposed that I am prepar- "ing the deadly substance with which I mean to strike "some person or other, although I hardly know myself "at the time what my fingers are doing; and if, at that "moment, I happen to cast my eyes on a particular man, "or even throw a side glance at him, it is enough to "make him consider himself as the intended victim; he "is from that instant effectually *struck*, and if he is not "possessed of great fortitude, so as to be able to repel "the thought, and divert his mind from it, or to persuade "himself that it is nothing but the work of a disturbed "imagination, he will sink under the terror thus created, "and at last perish a victim, not indeed, to witchcraft, "but to his own credulity and folly."

But men of such strong minds are not often to be found; so deeply rooted is the belief of the Indians in those fancied supernatural powers. It is vain to endeavour to convince them by argument that they are entirely founded in delusion and have no real existence. The attempt has been frequently made by sensible white men, but always without success. The following anecdote will shew how little hope there is of ever bringing them to a more rational way of thinking.

Sometime about the year 1776, a Quaker trader of the name of John Anderson, who among the Indians was called *the honest Quaker trader*, after vainly endeavouring to convince those people by argument that there was no such thing as witchcraft, took the bold, and I might say the rash, resolution to put their sorcerers to the test, and defy the utmost exertions of their pretended supernatural powers. He desired that two of those magicians

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might be brought successively before him on different days, who should be at liberty to try their art on his person, and do him all the harm that they could by magical means, in the presence of the chiefs and principal men of the village. The Indians tried at first to dissuade him from so dangerous an experiment; but he persisted, and at last they acceded to his demand; a conjurer was brought to him, who professed himself fully competent to the task for which he was called, but he could not be persuaded to make the attempt. He declared that Anderson was so good and so honest a man, so much his friend and the friend of all the Indians, that he could not think of doing him an injury. He never practised his art but on bad men and on those who had injured him, the great Mannitto forbid that he should use it for such a wicked purpose as that for which he was now called upon.

The Indians found this excuse perfectly good, and retired more convinced than ever of the abilities of their conjurer, whom they now revered for his conscientious scruples.

The one who was brought on the next day was of a different stamp. He was an arch sorcerer, whose fame was extended far and wide, and was much dreaded by the Indians, not only on account of his great powers, but of the wicked disposition of his mind. Every effort was made to dissuade Mr. Anderson from exposing himself to what was considered as certain destruction; but he stood firm to his purpose, and only stipulated that the magician should sit at the distance of about twelve feet from him, that he should not be armed with any weapon, nor carry any poison or any thing else of a known destructive nature, and that he should not even rise from his seat, nor advance towards him during the operation. All this was agreed to, the conjurer boasting that he could effect his purpose even at the distance of one hundred miles. The promised reward was brought and

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754 placed in full view, and both parties now prepared for the experiment.

The spectators being all assembled, the sorcerer took his seat, arrayed in the most frightful manner that he could devise. Anderson stood firm and composed before him at the stipulated distance. All were silent and attentive while the wizzard began his terrible operation. He began with working with his fingers on his blanket, plucking now and then a little wool and breathing on it, then rolling it together in small rolls of the size of a bean, and went through all the antic tricks to which the the power of bewitching is generally ascribed. But all this had no effect. Anderson remained cool and composed, now and then calling to his antagonist not to be sparing of his exertions. The conjurer now began to make the most horrid gesticulations, and used all the means in his power to frighten the honest quaker, who, aware of his purpose, still remained unmoved. At last, while the eyes of all the spectators were fixed on this brave man, to observe the effects of the sorcerer's craft upon him, this terrible conjurer, finding that all his efforts were vain, found himself obliged to give up the point, and alleged for his excuse "that the Americans "eat too much salt provisions; that salt had a repulsive "effect, which made the powerful invisible substance that "he employed recoil upon him; that the Indians, who "eat but little salt, had often felt the effects of this sub-"stance, but that the great quantity of it which the "white men used effectually protected them against it."

The imposition in this instance was perfectly clear and visible, and nothing was so easy as to see through this sorcerer's miserable pretence, and be convinced that his boasted art was entirely a deception; but it was not so with the Indians, who firmly believed that the salt which the Americans used was the only cause of his failure in this instance, and that if it had not been for the salted meat which Mr. Anderson fed upon, he would have

2 [errata. See vol. 116, p. 348. Ann(ymf)]

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fallen a victim as well as others to the incantations of this imposter.

I have received this story from the mouth of Mr. Anderson himself, who was a most respectable gentleman, and also from several credible Indians who were present at the time. After this bold and unsuccessful experiment, it is impossible to expect that the superstitious notions of the Indians on the subject of witchcraft can ever by any means be rooted out of their minds.*

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* The following extract from the Detroit Gazette, shews that this superstitious belief of the Indians in the powers of witchcraft, still continues in full force, even among those who live in the vicinity of the whites, and are in the habit of constant intercourse with them.

From the Detroit Gazette of the 17th of August, 1818.

On the evening of the 22d ult. an Indian of the Wyandot tribe was murdered by some of his relatives, near the mouth of the river Huron on lake Erie. The circumstances, in brief, are as follows:

"It appears that two Wyandots, residing at Malden, and relatives to the deceased, had been informed by Captain Johnny, an Indian living at the Huron river, and also a relative, that a Shawanee Indian had come to his death by the witchcraft of an old Indian woman and her son Mike, and that in order to avert the vengeance of the Shawanee tribe, it would be necessary to kill them—and furthermore, that the death of Walk-in-the-water, who died last June, was caused by the same old woman's witchcraft. It was determined to kill the old woman and her son—and for that purpose they crossed over on the 22d ult. and succeeded in the course of the evening in killing the latter in his cabin. The old woman was not at home. The next day, while endeavouring to persuade her to accompany them into the woods, as they said, to drink whiskey, they were discovered by Dr. William Brown and Mr. Oliver Williams, who had received that morning intimations of their intentions, and owing to the exertions of these gentlemen, the old woman's life was preserved and one of the Indians taken, who is now confined in the jail of this city—the others escaped by swiftness of foot.

"On the examination of the Indian taken, it appeared that the old woman, shortly after the death of the Shawanee, had entered his cabin, and in a voice of exultation, called upon him, saying—"Shawanee man! where are you!—You that mocked me; you thought you would live forever—you are gone and I am here—come—Why do you not come!" &c—She is said to have made use of nearly the same words in the cabin of Walk-in-the-water, shortly after his death."

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CHAPTER XXXIII.

INITIATION OF BOYS.

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I DO not know how to give a better name to a superstitious practice which is very common among the Indians, and, indeed, is universal among those nations that I have become acquainted with. By certain methods which I shall presently describe, they put the mind of a boy in a state of perturbation, so as to excite dreams and visions; by means of which they pretend that the boy receives instructions from certain spirits or unknown agents as to his conduct in life, that he is informed of his future destination and of the wonders he is to perform in his future career through the world.

When a boy is to be thus *initiated*, he is put under an alternate course of physic and fasting, either taking no food whatever, or swallowing the most powerful and nauseous medicines, and occasionally he is made to drink decoctions of an intoxicating nature, until his mind becomes sufficiently bewildered, so that he sees or fancies that he sees visions, and has extraordinary dreams, for which, of course, he has been prepared before hand. He will fancy himself flying through the air, walking under ground, stepping from one ridge or hill to the other across the valley beneath, fighting and conquering giants and monsters, and defeating whole hosts by his single arm. Then he has interviews with the Mannitto or with spirits, who inform him of what he was before he was born and what he will be after his death. His fate in this life is laid entirely open before him, the spirit tells him what is to be his future employment,

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whether he will be a valiant warrior, a mighty hunter, a doctor, a conjurer, or a prophet. There are even those who learn or pretend to learn in this way the time and manner of their death.

When a boy has been thus initiated, a name is given to him analogous to the visions that he has seen, and to the destiny that is supposed to be prepared for him. The boy, imagining all that happened to him while under preturbation, to have been real, sets out in the world with lofty notions of himself, and animated with courage for the most desperate undertakings.

The belief in the truth of those visions is universal among the Indians. I have spoken with several of their old men, who had been highly distinguished for their valour, and asked them whether they ascribed their achievements to natural or supernatural causes, and they uniformly answered, that as they knew beforehand what they could do, they did it of course. When I carried my questions farther, and asked them how they know what they could do? they never failed to refer to the dreams and visions which they had while under perturbation, in the manner I have above mentioned.

I always found it vain to attempt to undeceive them on this subject. They never were at a loss for examples to shew that the dreams they had had were not the work of a heated imagination, but that they came to them through the agency of a mannitto. They could always cite numerous instances of valiant men, who, in former times, in consequence of such dreams, had boldly attacked their enemy with nothing but the *Tamahican** in their hand, had not looked about to survey the number of their opponents, but had gone straight forward, striking all down before them; some, they said, in the French wars, had entered houses of the English filled with people, who, before they had time to look about, were all killed and laid in a heap. Such was the strength, the power and

* War-hatchet; from which we have made *tomahawk*.

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787 the courage conveyed to them in their supernatural dreams, and which nothing could resist.

787 If they stopped here in their relations, I might, per-
881 haps, consider this practice of putting boys under perturbation, as a kind of military school or exercise, intended to create in them a more than ordinary courage, and make them undaunted warriors. It certainly has this effect on some, who fancying themselves under the immediate protection of the celestial powers, despise all dangers, and really perform acts of astonishing bravery. But it must be observed, that all that are thus initiated are not designed for a military life, and that several learn by their dreams that they are to be physicians, sorcerers, or that their lives are to be devoted to some other *civil* employment. And it is astonishing what a number of superstitious notions are infused into the minds of the unsuspecting youth, by means of those dreams, which are useless, at least, for making good warriors or hunters. There are even some who by that means are taught to believe in the transmigration of souls.

787 I once took great pains to dissuade from these notions a very sensible Indian, much esteemed by all who knew him, even among the whites. All that I could say or urge was not able to convince him that at the time of his *initiation* (as I call it) his mind was in a state of temporary derangement. He declared that he had a clear recollection of the dreams and visions that had occurred to him at the time, and was sure that they came from the agency of celestial spirits. He asserted very strange things, of his own supernatural knowledge, which he had obtained not only at the time of his initiation, but at other times, even before he was born. He said he knew he had lived through two generations; that he had died twice and was born a third time, to live out the then present race, after which he was to die and never more to come to this country again. He well remembered what the women had predicted while he was yet in his

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mother's womb; some had foretold that he would be a boy, and others a girl; he had distinctly overheard their discourses, and could repeat correctly every thing that they had said. It would be too long to relate all the wild stories of the same kind which this otherwise intelligent Indian said of himself, with a tone and manner which indicated the most intimate conviction, and left no doubt in my mind that he did not mean to deceive others, but was himself deceived. 787

I have known several other Indians who firmly believed that they knew, by means of these visions, what was to become of them when they should die, how their souls were to retire from their bodies and take their abodes into those of infants yet unborn; in short, there is nothing so wild and so extraordinary that they will not imagine and to which, when once it has taken hold of their imagination, they will not give full credit. In this they are not a little aided by certain general superstitious notions which form a part of their traditionary belief, and of which I shall take notice in the next chapter. [775]

CHAPTER XXXIV.

INDIAN MYTHOLOGY.

THE Indians consider the earth as their universal mother. They believe that they were created within its bosom, where for a long time they had their abode, before they came to live on its surface. They say that the 773

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great, good, and all powerful Spirit, when he created them, undoubtedly meant at a proper time to put them in the enjoyment of all the good things which he had prepared for them upon the earth, but he wisely ordained that their first stage of existence should be within it, as the infant is formed and takes its first growth in the womb of its natural mother. This fabulous account of the creation of man needs only to be ascribed to the ancient Egyptians or to the Bramins of India, to be admired and extolled for the curious analogy which it observes between the general and individual creation; but as it comes from the American savage, I doubt whether it will even receive the humble praise of ingenuity, to which, however, it appears to me to be justly entitled.

The Indian Mythologists are not agreed as to the form under which they existed while in the bowels of the earth. Some assert that they lived there in the human shape, while others, with greater consistency, contend that their existence was in the form of certain terrestrial animals, such as the ground-hog, the rabbit, and the tortoise. This was their state of preparation, until they were permitted to come out and take their station on this island* as the Lords of the rest of the Creation.

Among the Delawares, those of the *Minsi*, or Wolf tribe, say that in the beginning, they dwelt in the earth under a lake, and were fortunately extricated from this unpleasant abode by the discovery which one of their men made of a hole, through which he ascended to the surface; on which, as he was walking, he found a deer, which he carried back with him into his subterraneous habitation; that there the deer was killed, and he and his companions found the meat so good, that they unanimously determined to leave their dark abode, and remove

[Redrum. See cat. 116, p. 348. - Analyst]

* The Indians call the American continent an island; believing it to be (as in fact, probably, it is) entirely surrounded with water.

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to a place where they could enjoy the light of heaven and have such excellent game in abundance.

The other two tribes, the *Unamis* or Tortoise, and the *Unalachtigos* or Turkey, have much similar notions, but reject the story of the lake, which, seems peculiar to the Minsi tribe.

These notions must be very far extended among the Indians of North America generally, since we find that they prevail also among the Iroquois, a nation so opposed to the Delawares, as has been shewn in the former parts of this work, and whose language is so different from theirs, that not two words, perhaps, similar or even analogous of signification may be found alike in both. On this subject I beg leave to present an extract from the manuscript notes of the late Reverend Christopher Pyrlæus, whom I am always fond of quoting with respect, as he was a man of great truth, and besides well acquainted with the Six Nations and their idioms.* The account that he here gives of the traditions of that people concerning their original existence, was taken down by him in January 1743, from the mouth of a respectable Mohawk chief named *Sganarady*, who resided on the Mohawk river.

The Extract.

"*Traditio.*—That they had dwelt in the earth where "it was dark and where no sun did shine. That though "they followed hunting, they ate mice, which they caught "with their hands. That *Ganawagahha* (one of them) "having accidentally found a hole to get out of the earth

* Mr. Pyrlæus lived long among the Iroquois and was well acquainted with their language. He was instructed in the Mohawk dialect by the celebrated interpreter Conrad Weiser. He has left behind him some manuscript grammatical works on that idiom, one of them is entitled: *Affixa nominum et verborum Linguæ Macquaicæ*, and another: *Adjectiva, nomina et pronomina Linguæ Macquaicæ*. These MSS. are in the library of the Society of the United Brethren at Bethlehem.

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"at, he went out, and that in walking about on the earth "he found a deer, which he took back with him, and "that both on account of the meat tasting so very good, "and the favourable description he had given them of the "country above and on the earth, their mother, conclu- "ded it best for them all to come out; that accordingly "they did so, and immediately set about planting corn, "&c. That, however, the *Nocharaorsul*, that is, the "*ground-hog*, would not come out, but had remained in "the ground as before."

So far Mr. Pyrlæus. From these traditions of the Iroquois, and those of the Delawares and Mohicans, it seems to follow, that they must have considered their numbers very small, when they dwelt in the earth; perhaps, no more than one family of each tribe, and that the custom of giving to their tribes the names of particular animals, must have been very ancient. The *ground-hog*, say the Mohawks, would not come out. But who was this hog? Might it not formerly have been the name of one of their tribes, who was made the subject of this fable?

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However ridiculous these stories are, the belief of the Indians in them is not to be shaken. When I was a boy between twelve and fifteen years of age, I had often heard of white people conversant with the Indians, who at that time would continually come to this place, (Bethlehem) in great numbers, even by hundreds, that the Indians did not eat rabbits, because they thought them infected with the venereal disease, and that whoever ate of their flesh, was sure to take that disorder. Being then myself fond of catching those animals in traps, I asked questions on this subject of several Mohican Indians, who spoke the German language; but though they said nothing about the disease that rabbits were said to be infected with, yet they advised me by no means to eat of their flesh. They gave me no reason whatever to induce me to abstain from

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this food; but, afterwards, in the year 1762, when I resided at Tuscorawas on the Muskingum, I was told by some of them, that there were some animals which Indians did not eat, and among them were the *rabbit* and the *ground-hog*; for, said they, they did not know but that they might be *related* to them!

I found also that the Indians, for a similar reason, paid great respect to the rattle snake, whom they called their *grandfather*, and would on no account destroy him. One day, as I was walking with an elderly Indian on the banks of the Muskingum, I saw a large rattle-snake lying across the path, which I was going to kill. The Indian immediately forbade my doing so; for, said he, the rattle snake is grandfather to the Indians, and is placed here on purpose to guard us, and to give us notice of impending danger by his rattle, which is the same as if he were to tell us "look about!" Now, added he, if we were to kill one of those, the others would soon know it, and the whole race would rise upon us and bite us. I observed to him that the white people were not afraid of this; for they killed all the rattle snakes that they met with. On this he enquired whether any white man had been bitten by those animals, and of course I answered in the affirmative. "No wonder, then;" replied he, "you have to blame yourselves for that! you did as much "as declaring war against them, and you will find them "in your country, where they will not fail to make fre-"quent incursions. They are a very dangerous enemy; "take care you do not irritate them in *our* country; they "and their grandchildren are on good terms, and neither "will hurt the other."

These ancient notions have, however, in a great measure died away with the last generation, and the Indians at present kill their grandfather the rattle snake without ceremony, whenever they meet with him.

That the Indians, from the earliest times, considered themselves in a manner connected with certain ani-

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mals, is evident from various customs still preserved among them, and from the names of those animals which they have collectively, as well as individually, assumed. It might, indeed, be supposed that those animals' names which they have given to their several tribes were mere badges of distinction, or "coats of arms" as Pyrlæus calls them; but if we pay attention to the reasons which they give for those denominations, the idea of a supposed family connexion is easily discernible. The Tortoise, or as it is commonly called, the *Turtle* tribe, among the Lenape, claims a superiority and ascendency over the others, because their *relation*, the great Tortoise, a fabled monster, the Atlas of their mythology, bears according to their traditions this great *island* on his back, and also because he is amphibious, and can live both on land and in the water, which neither of the heads of the other tribe can do. The merits of the *Turkey*, which gives its name to the second tribe, are that he is stationary, and always remains with or about them. As to the *Wolf*, after whom the third tribe is named, he is a rambler by nature, running from one place to another in quest of his prey; yet they consider him as their benefactor, as it was by his means that the Indians got out of the interior of the earth. It was he, they believe, who by the appointment of the Great Spirit, killed the deer whom the Monsey found who first discovered the way to the surface of the earth, and which allured them to come out of their damp and dark residence. For that reason, the wolf is to be honoured, and his name preserved for ever among them. Such are their traditions, as they were related to me by an old man of this tribe, more than fifty years ago.

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These animals' names, it is true, they all use as national badges, in order to distinguish their tribes from each other at home and abroad. In this point of view Mr. Pyrlæus was right in considering them as "coats of arms." The Turtle warrior draws either with a coal or

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paint here and there on the trees along the war path, the whole animals carrying a gun with the muzzle projecting forward, and if he leaves a mark at the place where he has made a stroke on his enemy, it will be the picture of a tortoise. Those of the Turkey tribe paint only one foot of a turkey, and the Wolf tribe, sometimes a wolf at large with one leg and foot raised up to serve as a hand, in which the animal also carries a gun with the muzzle forward. They, however, do not generally use the word "wolf," when speaking of their tribe, but call themselves *Pauk-sit*,[9] which means *round-foot*, that animal having a round foot like a dog.

The Indians, in their hours of leisure, paint their different marks or badges on the doors of their respective houses, that those who pass by may know to which tribe the inhabitants belong. Those marks also serve them for signatures to treaties and other documents. They are as proud of their origin from the tortoise, the turkey, and the wolf, as the nobles of Europe are of their descent from the feudal barons of ancient times, and when children spring from intermarriages between different tribes, their genealogy is carefully preserved by tradition in the family, that they may know to which tribe they belong.

I have often reflected on the curious connexion which appears to subsist in the mind of an Indian between man and the brute creation, and found much matter in it for curious observation. Although they consider themselves superior to all other animals and are very proud of that superiority; although they believe that the beasts of the forest, the birds of the air, and the fishes of the waters, were created by the Almighty Being for the use of man; yet it seems as if they ascribe the difference between themselves and the brute kind, and the dominion which they have over them, more to their superior bodily strength and dexterity than to their immortal souls. All beings endowed by the Creator with the power of volition and self-motion, they view in a manner as a great society of

9 [Erratum. See cat. 116, p. 348. - Analyst]

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825 which they are the head, whom they are appointed, indeed, to govern, but between whom and themselves intimate ties of connexion and relationship may exist, or at least, did exist in the beginning of time. They are, in fact, according to their opinions, only the first among equals, the legitimate hereditary sovereigns of the whole animated race, of which they are themselves a constituent part. Hence, in their languages, those inflections of their nouns which we call *genders*, are not, as with us, [193] descriptive of the *masculine* and *feminine* species, but of the *animate* and *inanimate* kinds. Indeed, they go so far as to include trees and plants within the first of these descriptions. All animated nature, in whatever degree, is in their eyes a great whole, from which they have not yet ventured to separate themselves. They do not exclude other animals from their world of spirits, the place to which they expect to go after death.

I find it difficult to express myself clearly on this abstruse subject, which, perhaps, the Indians themselves do not very well understand, as they have no metaphysicians among them to analyse their vague notions, and perhaps confuse them still more. But I can illustrate what I have said by some characteristic anecdotes, with which I shall conclude this chapter.

I have already observed* that the Indian includes all savage beasts within the number of his *enemies*. This is by no means a metaphorical or figurative expression, but is used in a literal sense, as will appear from what I am going to relate.

825 224 A Delaware hunter once shot a huge bear and broke its back bone. The animal fell and set up a most plaintive cry, something like that of the panther when he is hungry. The hunter, instead of giving him another shot, stood up close to him, and addressed him in these words: "Hark ye! bear; you are a coward, and no warrior as "you pretend to be. Were you a warrior, you would

* See Page 84.

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"shew it by your firmness and not cry and whimper "like an old woman. You know, bear, that our tribes "are at war with each other, and that yours was the ag- "gressor.* You have found the Indians too powerful "for you, and you have gone sneaking about in the "woods, stealing their hogs; perhaps at this time you "have hog's flesh in your belly. Had you conquered "me, I would have borne it with courage and died like "a brave warrior; but you, bear, sit here and cry, "and disgrace your tribe by your cowardly conduct." I was present at the delivery of this curious invective; when the hunter had despatched the bear, I asked him how he thought that poor animal could understand what he said to it? "Oh!" said he in answer, "the bear un- "derstood me very well; did you not observe how *ashamed* "he looked while I was upbraiding him?"

Another time I witnessed a similar scene between the falls of the Ohio and the river Wabash. A young white man, named *William Wells*,† who had been when a boy taken prisoner by a tribe of the Wabash Indians, by whom he was brought up, and had imbibed all their notions, had so wounded a large bear that he could not move from the spot, and the animal cried piteously like the one I have just mentioned. The young man went up to him, and with seemingly great earnestness, addressed him in the Wabash language, now and then giving him a slight stroke on the nose with his ram-rod. I asked him, when he had done, what he had been saying to this bear? "I have," said he, "upbraided him for acting

* Probably alluding to a tradition which the Indians have of a very ferocious kind of bear, called the *naked bear*, which they say once existed, but was totally destroyed by their ancestors. The last was killed in the New York state, at a place they called *Hoosink*, which means the *Basin*, or more properly the *Kettle*.

† The same whom Mr. de Volney speaks of in his excellent "View of the Soil and Climate of United States." Supplement, No. VI. page 356. Philadelphia Edition, 1804.

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"the part of a coward; I told him that he knew the for-
"tune of war, that one or the other of us must have fallen;
"that it was his fate to be conquered, and he ought to die
"like a man, like a hero, and not like an old woman;
"that if the case had been reversed, and I had fallen into
"the power of my *enemy*, I would not have disgraced my
"nation as he did, but would have died with firmness and
"courage, as becomes a true warrior."

I leave the reader to reflect upon these anecdotes, which, I think, convey more real information than any further attempts that I could make to explain the strange notions which gave them rise.

CHAPTER XXXV.

INSANITY—SUICIDE.

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INSANITY is not common among the Indians; yet I have known several who were afflicted with mental derangement. Men in this situation are always considered as objects of pity. Every one, young and old, feels compassion for their misfortune; to laugh or scoff at them would be considered as a crime, much more so to insult or molest them. The nation or colour of the unfortunate object makes no difference; the charity of the Indians extends to all, and no discrimination is made in such a lamentable case.

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About the commencement of the Indian war in 1763, a trading Jew, named Chapman, who was going up the Detroit river with a batteau load of goods which he had

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brought from Albany, was taken by some Indians of the Chippeway nation, and destined to be put to death. A Frenchman, impelled by motives of friendship and humanity, found means to steal the prisoner, and kept him so concealed for some time, that although the most diligent search was made, the place of his confinement could not be discovered. At last, however, the unfortunate man was betrayed by some false friend, and again fell into the power of the Indians, who took him across the river to be burned and tortured. Tied to the stake, and the fire burning by his side, his thirst, from the great heat, became intolerable, and he begged that some drink might be given to him. It is a custom with the Indians, previous to a prisoner being put to death, to give him what they call his last meal; a bowl of pottage or broth was therefore brought to him for that purpose. Eager to quench his thirst, he put the bowl immediately to his lips, and the liquor being very hot, he was dreadfully scalded. Being a man of a very quick temper, the moment he felt his mouth burned, he threw the bowl with its contents full in the face of the man who had handed it to him. "He is mad! He is mad!" resounded from all quarters. The bystanders considered his conduct as an act of insanity, and immediately untied the cords with which he was bound, and let him go where he pleased.

This fact was well known to all the inhabitants of Detroit, from whom I first heard it, and it was afterwards confirmed to me by Mr. Chapman himself, who was established as a merchant at that place.

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SUICIDE is not considered by the Indians either as an act of heroism or of cowardice, nor is it with them a subject of praise or blame. They view this desperate act as the consequence of mental derangement, and the person who destroys himself is to them an object of pity. Such cases do not frequently occur. Between the years 1771 and 1780, four Indians of my acquaintance took

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Between the years 1771 and 1780, four Indians of my acquaintance took
762 the root of the may-apple, which is commonly used on
[278] such occasions, in order to poison themselves, in which they all succeeded, except one. Two of them were young men, who had been disappointed in love, the girls on whom they had fixed their choice, and to whom they were engaged, having changed their minds and married other lovers. They both put an end to their existence. The two others were married men. Their stories, as pictures of Indian manners, will not, perhaps, be thought uninteresting.

One of those unfortunate men was a person of an excellent character, respected and esteemed by all who knew him. He had a wife whom he was very fond of and two children, and they lived very happily together at the distance of about half a mile from the place where I resided. He often came to visit me, and as he was of a most amiable disposition, I was pleased with his visits, and always gave him a hearty welcome. When I thought he was too long without coming, I went myself to the delightful spot which he had judiciously selected for his dwelling. Here I always found the family cheerful, sociable and happy, until some time before the fatal catastrophe happened, when I observed that my friend's countenance bore the marks of deep melancholy, of which I afterwards learned the cause. His wife had received the visits of another man; he foresaw that he would soon be obliged to separate from her, and he shuddered when he thought that he must also part from his two lovely children; for it is the
[586] custom of the Indians, that when a divorce takes place between husband and wife, the children remain with their mother, until they are of a proper age to choose for themselves. One hope, however, still remained. The sugar-making season was at hand, and they were shortly to remove to their sugar camp, where he flattered himself his wife would not be followed by the disturber of his peace, whose residence was about ten miles from thence. But this hope was of short duration. They had hardly been

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a fortnight in their new habitation, when, as he returned one day from a morning's hunt, he found the unwelcome visitor at his home, in close conversation with his faithless wife. This last stroke was more than he could bear; without saying a single word, he took off a large cake of his sugar, and with it came to my house, which was at the distance of eight miles from his temporary residence. It was on a Sunday, at about ten o'clock in the forenoon, that he entered my door, with sorrow strongly depicted on his manly countenance. As he came in he presented me with his cake of sugar, saying, "My friend! you have "many a time served me with a good pipe of tobacco, "and I have not yet done any thing to please you. Take "this as a reward for your goodness, and as an acknow-"ledgment from me as your friend." He said no more, but giving me with both his hands a warm farewel squeeze, he departed and returned to the camp. At about two o'clock in the afternoon a runner from thence passing through the town to notify his death at the village two miles farther, informed us of the shocking event. He had immediately on his return, remained a short time in his house, indulging in the last caresses to his dear innocent children; then retiring to some distance, had eaten the fatal root, and before relief could be administered by some persons who had observed him staggering from the other side of the river, he was on the point of expiring, and all succours were vain.

The last whom I have to mention, was also a married man, but had no children. He had lived happy with his wife, until one day that she fell into a passion and made use to him of such abusive language as he could not endure. Too highminded to quarrel with a woman, he resolved to punish her by putting an end to his existence. Fortunately he was seen in the first stage of his fits, and was brought into a house, where a strong emetic diluted in lukewarm water, the composition of which I have al-

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ready described,* was forcibly poured down his throat. He recovered after some time, but never was again the strong healthy man he had been before; his wife however took warning from this desperate act, and behaved better ever after.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

DRUNKENNESS.

IN treating of this subject, I cannot resist the impression of a melancholy feeling, arising from the comparison which forces itself upon my mind of what the Indians were before the Europeans came into this country, and what they have become since, by a participation in our vices. By their intercourse with us, they have lost much of that original character by which they were once distinguished, and which it is the object of this work to delineate, and the change which has taken place is by no means for the better. I am not one of those wild enthusiasts who would endeavour to persuade mankind that savage life is preferable to a state of civilisation; but I leave it to every impartial person to decide, whether the condition of the healthy sober Indian, pursuing his game through forests and plains, is not far superior to that of the gangrened drunken white man, rioting in debauchery and vice?

I have already before taken notice† of the assertion

* See ch. 29. p. 218.

† See ch. 28. p. 215.

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which our aborigines do not hesitate to make, that before the Europeans landed in those parts of the American continent, they were unacquainted with that shameful disorder which attacks generation in its sources. I am well aware that this complaint is generally believed to have been communicated by the new world to the old. I do not know upon what proofs this opinion rests, but I am disposed to give credit to the uniform assertion of our northern Indians, that this contagion was first introduced among them by emigrants from Europe. However it may be, it is a lamentable fact that they are now very generally infected with it, and that their population can not long resist its destructive operation upon their once strong and healthy constitutions, particularly as it is associated with the abuse of strong liquors, now so prevalent among them.

Of the manner in which they have acquired this latter vice, I presume there can be no doubt. They charge us in the most positive manner with being the first who made them acquainted with ardent spirits, and what is worse, with having exerted all the means in our power to induce them to drink to excess. It is very certain that the processes of distillation and fermentation are entirely unknown to the Indians, and that they have among them no intoxicating liquors but such as they receive from us. The Mexicans have their *Pulque*, and other indigenous beverages of an inebriating nature, but the North American Indians, before their intercourse with us commenced, had absolutely nothing of the kind. The smoke of the American weed, tobacco, was the only means that they at that time had in use to produce a temporary exhilaration of their spirits.

I have related in a former chapter,* the curious account given by the Delawares and Mohicans of the scene which took place when they were first made to taste spirituous liquors by the Dutch who landed on New York

* See ch. 2.

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733 Island. I have no doubt that this tradition is substantially founded on fact. Indeed, it is strongly corroborated by the name which, in consequence of this adventure, those people gave at the time to that island, and which it has retained to this day. They called it *Manahachtanienk*, which in the Delaware language, means "*the island where we all became intoxicated.*" We have corrupted this name into *Manhattan*, but not so as to destroy its meaning, or conceal its origin. The last syllable which we have left out is only a termination, implying locality, and in this word signifies as much as *where we*. There are few Indian traditions so well supported as this.

How far from that time the dreadful vice of intoxication has increased among those poor Indians, is well known to many Christian people among us. We may safely calculate on thousands who have perished by the baneful effect of spirituous liquors. The dreadful war which took place in 1774 between the Shawanese, some of the Mingoes, and the people of Virginia, in which so many lives were lost, was brought on by the consequences of drunkenness. It produced murders, which were followed by private revenge, and ended in a most cruel and destructive war.

The general prevalence of this vice among the Indians is in a great degree owing to unprincipled white traders, who persuade them to become intoxicated that they may cheat them the more easily, and obtain their lands or peltries for a mere trifle. Within the last fifty years, some instances have even come to my knowledge of white men having enticed Indians to drink, and when drunk, murdered them. The effects which intoxication produces upon the Indians are dreadful. It has been the cause of an infinite number of murders among them, besides biting off noses and otherwise disfiguring each other, which are the least consequences of the quarrels which inebriation produces between them. I cannot say how many have died of colds and other disorders,

§[Lacuna. See ref. 116, p. 348. -Analyst]

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which they have caught by lying upon the cold ground, and remaining exposed to the elements when drunk; others have lingered out their lives, in excruciating rheumatic pains and in wasting consumptions, until death came to relieve them from their sufferings. 133

Reflecting Indians have keenly remarked, "that it was "strange that a people who professed themselves believ- "ers in a religion revealed to them by the great Spirit "himself; who say that they have in their houses the "WORD of God, and his laws and commandments "textually written, could think of making a *beson*,* cal- "culated to bewitch people and make them destroy one "another." I once asked an Indian at Pittsburg, whom I had not before seen, who he was? He answered in broken English: "My name is *Black-fish*; when at home "with my nation, I am a clever fellow, and when here, "a *hog*." He meant that by means of the liquor which the white people gave him, he was sunk down to the level of that beast.

An Indian who had been born and brought up at Minisink, near the Delaware Water Gap, and to whom the German inhabitants of that neighbourhood had given the name of *Cornelius Rosenbaum*, told me near fifty years ago, that he had once, when under the influence of strong liquor, killed the best Indian friend he had, fancying him to be his worst avowed enemy. He said that the deception was complete, and that while intoxicated, the face of his friend presented to his eyes all the features of the man with whom he was in a state of hostility. It is impossible to express the horror with which he was struck when he awoke from that delusion; he was so shocked, that he from that moment resolved never more to taste of the maddening poison, of which he was convinced that the devil was the inventor; for it could only be the evil spirit who made him see his enemy when his friend was

* This word means *liquor*, and is also used in the sense of a medicinal draught, or other compound potion.

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733 before him, and produced so strong a delusion on hi bewildered senses, that he actually killed him. From that time until his death, which happened thirty years afterwards, he never drank a drop of ardent spirits, which he always called "the Devil's blood," and was firmly persuaded that the Devil, or some of his inferior spirits, had a hand in preparing it.

Once in my travels, I fell in with an Indian and his son; the former, though not addicted to drinking, had this time drank some liquor with one of his acquaintances, of which he now felt the effects. As he was walking before me, along the path, he at once flew back and aside, calling out "O! what a monstrous snake!" On my asking him where the snake lay, he pointed to something and said "Why, there, across the path!" "A snake!" said I, "it is nothing but a black-burnt sapling, which "has fallen on the ground." He, however, would not be persuaded; he insisted that it was a snake, and could be nothing else; therefore, to avoid it, he went round the path, and entered it again at some distance further. After we had travelled together for about two hours, during which time he spoke but little, we encamped for the night. Awaking about midnight, I saw him sitting up smoking his pipe, and appearing to be in deep thought. I asked him why he did not lay down and sleep? To which he replied, "O my friend! many things have crowded on my mind; I am quite lost in thought!"

HECKEW. "And what are you thinking about?"

INDIAN. "Did you say it was not a snake of which I was afraid, and which lay across the path?"

HECKEW. "I did say so; and, indeed, it was nothing else but a sapling burnt black by the firing of the woods."

INDIAN. "Are you sure it was that?"

HECKEW. "Yes; and I called to you at the time to "look, how I was standing on it; and if you have yet a "doubt, ask your son, and the two Indians with me, and "they will tell you the same."

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INDIAN. "O strange! and I took it for an uncom- 733
"monly large snake, moving as if it intended to bite
"me!—I cannot get over my surprise, that the liquor I
"drank, and, indeed, that was not much, should have so
"deceived me! but I think I have now discovered how it
"happens that Indians so often kill one another when
"drunk, almost without knowing what they are do-
"ing; and when afterwards they are told of what they
"have done, they ascribe it to the liquor which was in
"them at the time, and say the liquor did it. I have
"thought that as I saw this time a living snake in a dead
"piece of wood, so I might, at another time, take a hu-
"man being, perhaps one of my own family, for a bear
"or some other ferocious beast and kill him. Can you,
"my friend, tell me what is in the *beson* that confuses
"one so, and transforms things in that manner? Is it
"an invisible spirit? It must be something alive; or
"have the white people sorcerers among them, who put
"something in the liquor to deceive those who drink it?
"Do the white people drink of the same liquor that they
"give to the Indians? Do they also, when drunk, kill
"people, and bite noses off, as the Indians do? Who
"taught the white people to make so pernicious a *beson*?"

I answered all these questions, and several others that he put to me, in the best manner that I could, to which he replied, and our conversation continued as follows:

INDIAN. "Well, if, as you say, the bad spirit cannot
"be the inventor of this liquor; if, in some cases it is
"moderately used among you as a medicine, and if your
"doctors can prepare from it, or with the help of a little
"of it, some salutary *besons*, still, I must believe that
"when it operates as you have seen, the bad spirit must
"have some hand in it, either by putting some bad thing
"into it, unknown to those who prepare it, or you have
"conjurers who understand how to bewitch it.—Perhaps
"they only do so to that which is for the Indians; for
"the devil is not the Indians' friend, because they will

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733 "not worship him, as they do the good spirit, and there-
"fore I believe he puts something into the *beson*, for the
"purpose of destroying them."

HECKEW. "What the devil may do with the li-
"quor, I cannot tell; but I believe that he has a hand in
"every thing that is bad. When the Indians kill one
"another, bite off each other's noses, or commit such
"wicked acts, he is undoubtedly well satisfied; for, as
"God himself has said, he is a destroyer and a mur-
"derer."

INDIAN. "Well, now, we think alike, and henceforth
"he shall never again deceive me, or entice me to drink
"his *beson*."

It is a common saying with those white traders who find it their interest to make the Indians drunk, in order to obtain their peltry at a cheaper rate, that they *will* have strong liquors, and will not enter upon a bargain unless they are sure of getting it. I acknowledge that I have seen some such cases; but I could also state many from my own knowledge, where the Indians not only refused liquor, but resisted during several days all the attempts that were made to induce them even to taste it, being well aware, as well as those who offered it to them, that if they once should put it to their lips, such was their weakness on that score, that intoxication would inevitably follow.

I can, perhaps, offer a plausible reason why the Indians are so fond of spirituous drinks. The cause is, I believe, to be found in their living almost entirely upon fresh meats and green vegetables, such as corns, pumpkins, squashes, potatoes, cucumbers, melons, beans, &c. which causes a longing in their stomachs for some seasoning, particularly (as is often the case) when they have been
263 a long time without salt. They are, on those occasions,
222 equally eager for any acid substances; vinegar, if they can get it, they will drink in considerable quantities, and think nothing of going thirty or forty miles in search of

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cranberries, whether in season or not. They also gather crab-apples, wild-grapes, and other acid and even bitter-tasted fruits, as substitutes for salt, and in the spring they will peel such trees as have a sourish sap, which they lick with great avidity. When for a long time they have been without salt, and are fortunate enough to get some, they will swallow at a time a table-spoonful of that mineral substance, for which they say that they and their horses are equally hungry.

The Indians are very sensible of the state of degradation to which they have been brought by the abuse of strong liquors, and whenever they speak of it, never fail to reproach the whites for having enticed them into that vicious habit. I could easily prove how guilty the whites are in this respect, if I were to relate a number of anecdotes, which I rather wish to consign to oblivion. The following will be sufficient to confute those disingenuous traders, who would endeavour to shift the blame from themselves, in order to fix it upon the poor deluded Indians.

In the year 1769, an Indian from Susquehannah having came to Bethlehem with his sons to dispose of his peltry, was accosted by a trader from a neighbouring town, who addressed him thus: "Well! Thomas, I real-"ly believe you have turned Moravian." "Moravian!" answered the Indian, "what makes you think so?"— "Because," replied the other, "you used to come to us "to sell your skins and peltry, and now you trade them "away to the Moravians." "So!" rejoined the Indian, "now I understand you well, and I know what you mean "to say. Now hear me.—See, my friend! when I come "to this place with my skins and peltry to trade, the "people are kind, they give me plenty of good victuals "to eat, and pay me in money or whatever I want, and "no one says a word to me about drinking rum—neither "do I ask for it! When I come to your place with my "peltry, all call to me: 'Come, Thomas! here's rum,

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733 "drink heartily, drink! it will not hurt you.' All this "is done for the purpose of cheating me. When you "have obtained from me all you want, you call me a "drunken dog, and kick me out of the room.—See! this "is the manner in which you cheat the Indians when they "come to trade with you. So now you know when you "see me coming to your town again, you may say to "one another: 'Ah! there is Thomas coming again! "he is no longer a Moravian, for he is coming to us to "be made drunk—to be cheated—to be kicked out of the "house, and be called a *drunken dog!*'"

CHAPTER XXXVII.

FUNERALS.

114 I BELIEVE that no sufficiently detailed account
764 has yet been given of the manner in which the North American Indians conduct the funerals of their dead. Captain Carver tells us that the Naudowessies, among whom he was, kept those ceremonies a secret, and would not give him an opportunity of witnessing them. Loskiel, although he drew his information from the journals of our Missionaries, has treated this subject rather superficially. I therefore run little risk of repetition in describing what I have myself seen, and I hope that the particulars which I am going to relate will not be thought uninteresting.

764 It is well known that the Indians pay great respect to
766 the memory of the dead, and commit their remains to the

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ground with becoming ceremonies. Those ceremonies, however, are not the same in all cases, but vary according to circumstances, and the condition of the deceased; for rank and wealth receive distinctions even after death, as well among savages as among civilised nations. This, perhaps, may be easily accounted for. When a great chief dies, his death is considered as a national loss; of course all must join in a public demonstration of their sorrow. The rich man, on the other hand, had many friends during his life, who cannot decently abandon him the moment the breath is out of his body; besides, his fortune supplies the means of a rich entertainment at the funeral, of which many, as may well be supposed, are anxious to partake. Thus social distinctions are found even in the state of nature, where perfect equality, if it exists any where, might with the greatest probability be supposed to be found. Though the earth and its fruits are common to all the Indians, yet every man is permitted to enjoy the earnings of his industry, and that produces riches; and though there is no hereditary or even elective rank in their social organization, yet as power follows courage and talents, those who are generally acknowledged to be possessed of those qualities, assume their station above the rest, and the distinction of rank is thus established. Politicians and philosophers may reason on these facts as they please; the descriptions that I give are from nature, and I leave it to abler men than myself to draw the proper inferences from them.

On the death of a principal chief, the village resounds from one end to the other with the loud lamentations of the women, among whom those who sit by the corpse distinguish themselves by the shrillness of their cries and the frantic expression of their sorrow. This scene of mourning over the dead body continues by day and by night until it is interred, the mourners being relieved from time to time by other women.

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These honours of "mourning over the corpse" are paid to all; the poor and humble, as well as the rich, great, and powerful; the difference consists only in the number of mourners, the undistinguished Indian having few besides his immediate relations and friends, and sometimes only those. Women, (notwithstanding all that has been said of their supposed inferior station and of their being reduced to the rank of slaves) are not treated after their death with less respect than the men, and the greatest honours are paid to the remains of the wives of renowned warriors or veteran chiefs, particularly if they were descended themselves of a high family, which, however strange it may appear, is not an indifferent thing among the Indians, who love to honour the merit of their great men in their relatives. I was present in the year 1762, at the funeral of a woman of the highest rank and respectability, the wife of the valiant Delaware chief *Shingask*; as all the honours were paid to her at her interment that are usual on such occasions, I trust a particular description of the ceremony will not be unacceptable.

At the moment that she died, her death was announced through the village by women specially appointed for that purpose, who went through the streets crying, "*She is no more! she is no more!*" The place on a sudden exhibited a scene of universal mourning; cries and lamentations were heard from all quarters; it was truly the expression of the general feeling for a general loss.

The day passed in this manner amidst sorrow and desolation. The next morning, between nine and ten o'clock, two counsellors came to announce to Mr. Thomas Calhoon, the Indian trader, and myself, that we were desired to attend and assist at the funeral which was soon to take place. We, in consequence, proceeded to the house of the deceased, where we found her corpse lying in a coffin, (which had been made by Mr. Calhoon's carpenter) dressed and painted in the most superb Indian style. Her gar-

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ments, all new, were set off with rows of silver broaches,* one row joining the other. Over the sleeves of her new ruffled shirt were broad silver arm spangles from her shoulder down to her wrist, on which were bands, forming a kind of mittens, worked together of wampum, in the same manner as the belts which they use when they deliver speeches. Her long plaited hair was confined by broad bands of silver, one band joining the other, yet not of the same size, but tapering from the head downwards and running at the lower end to a point. On the neck were hanging five broad belts of wampum tied together at the ends, each of a size smaller than the other, the largest of which reached below her breast, the next largest reaching to a few inches of it, and so on, the uppermost one being the smallest. Her scarlet leggings were decorated with different coloured ribands sewed on, the outer edges being finished off with small beads also of various colours. Her mocksens were ornamented with the most striking figures, wrought on the leather with coloured porcupine quills, on the borders of which, round the ancles, were fastened a number of small round silver bells, of about the size of a musket ball. All these things, together with the vermilion paint, judiciously laid on, so as to set her off in the highest style, decorated her person in such a manner, that perhaps nothing of the kind could exceed it.

The spectators having retired, a number of articles were brought out of the house and placed in the coffin, wherever there was room to put them in, among which were a new shirt, a dressed deer skin for shoes, a pair of scissors, needles, thread, a knife, pewter basin and spoon, pint cup, and other similar things, with a number of trinkets and other small articles which she was fond of while

* A kind of round buckle with a tongue, which the Indians fasten to their shirts. The traders call them *broaches*. They are placed in rows, at the distance of about the breadth of a finger one from the other.

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764 766 living. The lid was then fastened on the coffin with three straps, and three handsome round poles, five or six feet long, were laid across it, near each other, and one in the middle, which were also fastened with straps cut up from a tanned elk hide; and a small bag of vermilion paint, with some flannel to lay it on, was then thrust into the coffin through the hole cut out at the head of it. This hole, the Indians say, is for the spirit of the deceased to go in and out at pleasure, until it has found the place of its future residence.

Every thing being in order, the bearers of the corpse were desired to take their places. Mr. Calhoon and myself were placed at the foremost pole, two women at the middle and two men at the pole in the rear. Several women from a house about thirty yards off, now started off, carrying large kettles, dishes, spoons, and dried elk meat in baskets, for the burial place, and the signal being given for us to move with the body, the women who acted as chief mourners made the air resound with their shrill cries. The order of the procession was as follows: first a leader or guide, from the spot where we were to the place of interment. Next followed the corpse, and close to it *Shingask*, the husband of the deceased. He was followed by the principal war chiefs and counsellors of the nation, after whom came men of all ranks and descriptions. Then followed the women and children, and lastly two stout men carrying loads of European manufactured goods upon their backs. The chief mourners on the women's side, not having joined in the ranks, took their own course to the right, at the distance of about fifteen or twenty yards from us, but always opposite to the corpse. As the corpse had to be carried by the strength of our arms to the distance of about two hundred yards, [482] and hung low between the bearers, we had to rest several times by the way, and whenever we stopped, every body halted until we moved on again.

Being arrived at the grave, we were told to halt, then

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the lid of the coffin was again taken off, and the body exposed to view. Now the whole train formed themselves into a kind of semi-lunar circle on the south side of the grave, and seated themselves on the ground. Within this circle, at the distance of about fifteen yards from the grave, a common seat was made for Mr. Calhoon and myself to sit on, while the disconsolate *Shingask* retired by himself to a spot at some distance, where he was seen weeping, with his head bowed to the ground. The female mourners seated themselves promiscuously near to each other, among some low bushes that were at the distance of from twelve to fifteen yards east of the grave.

In this situation we remained for the space of more than two hours; not a sound was heard from any quarter, though the numbers that attended were very great; nor did any person move from his seat to view the body, which had been lightly covered over with a clean white sheet. All appeared to be in profound reflection and solemn mourning. Sighs and sobs were now and then heard from the female mourners, so uttered as not to disturb the assembly; it seemed rather as if intended to keep the feeling of sorrow alive in a manner becoming the occasion. Such was the impression made on us by this long silence.

At length, at about one o'clock in the afternoon, six men stepped forward to put the lid upon the coffin, and let down the body into the grave, when suddenly three of the women mourners rushed from their seats, and forcing themselves between these men and the corpse, loudly called out to the deceased to "arise and go with them and not to forsake them." They even took hold of her arms and legs; at first it seemed as if they were caressing her, afterwards they appeared to pull with more violence, as if they intended to run away with the body, crying out all the while, "Arise, arise! Come with us! Don't leave us! Don't abandon us!" At last they retired, plucking at their garments, pulling their hair, and ut-

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764 766 tering loud cries and lamentations, with all the appearance of frantic despair. After they were seated on the ground, they continued in the same manner crying and sobbing and pulling at the grass and shrubs, as if their minds were totally bewildered and they did not know what they were doing.

As soon as these women had gone through their part of the ceremony, which took up about fifteen minutes, the six men whom they had interrupted and who had remained at the distance of about five feet from the corpse, again stepped forward and did their duty. They let down the coffin into the earth, and laid two thin poles of about four inches diameter, from which the bark had been taken off, lengthways and close together over the grave, after which they retired. Then the husband of the deceased advanced with a very slow pace, and when he came to the grave, walked over it on these poles, and proceeded forward in the same manner into an extensive adjoining prairie, which commenced at this spot.

When the widowed chief had advanced so far that he could not hear what was doing at the grave, a painted post, on which were drawn various figures, emblematic of the deceased's situation in life and of her having been the wife of a valiant warrior, was brought by two men and delivered to a third, a man of note, who placed it in such a manner that it rested on the coffin at the head of the grave, and took great care that a certain part of the drawings should be exposed to the East, or rising of the sun; then, while he held the post erect and properly situated, some women filled up the grave with hoes, and having placed dry leaves and pieces of bark over it, so that none of the fresh ground was visible, they retired, and some men, with timbers fitted before hand for the purpose, enclosed the grave about breast-high, so as to secure it from the approach of the wild beasts.

[343] The whole work being finished, which took up about an hour's time, Mr. Calhoon and myself expected that

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we might be permitted to go home, as we wished to do, particularly as we saw a thundergust from the west fast approaching; but the Indians, suspecting our design, soon came forward with poles and blankets, and in a few minutes erected a shelter for us.

The storm, though of short duration, was tremendous; the water, produced by the rain, flowing in streams; yet all had found means to secure themselves during its continuance, and being on prairie ground, we were out of all danger of trees being torn up or blown down upon us. Our encampment now appeared like a village, or rather like a military camp, such was the number of places of shelter that had been erected.

Fortunately, the husband of the deceased had reached the camp in good time, and now the gust being over, every one was served with victuals that had been cooked at some distance from the spot. After the repast was over, the articles of merchandise which had been brought by the two men in the rear, having been made up in parcels, were distributed among all present. No one from the oldest to the youngest, was excepted, and every one partook of the liberal donation. This difference only was made, that those who had rendered the greatest services received the most valuable presents, and we were much pleased to see the female mourners well rewarded, as they had, indeed, a very hard task to perform. Articles of little value, such as gartering, tape, needles, beads, and the like, were given to the smaller girls; the older ones received a pair of scissars, needles and thread, and a yard or two of riband. The boys had a knife, jews-harp, awl-blades, or something of similar value. Some of the grown persons received a new suit of clothes, consisting of a blanket, shirt, breech-cloth and leggings, of the value in the whole of about eight dollars; and the women, (I mean those who had rendered essential services) a blanket, ruffled shirts, stroud and leggings, the whole worth from ten to twelve dollars. Mr. Calhoun

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and myself were each presented with a silk cravat and a pair of leggings. The goods distributed on this occasion, were estimated by Mr. Calhoon at two hundred dollars; the greatest part of them had, the same morning, been taken out of his store.

After we had thus remained, in a manner, under confinement, for more than six hours, the procession ended, and Mr. Calhoon and myself retired with the rest to our homes. At dusk a kettle of victuals was carried to the grave and placed upon it, and the same was done every evening for the space of three weeks, at the end of which it was supposed that the traveller had found her place of residence. During that time the lamentations of the women-mourners were heard on the evenings of each day, though not so loud nor so violent as before.

I have thus described, from minutes which I took at the time, the ceremonies which take place among the Delaware Indians on the death of a person of high rank and consideration among them. The funerals of persons of an inferior station are conducted with less pomp and with less expense. When the heirs of the deceased cannot afford to hire female mourners, the duty is performed by their own immediate relations and friends. But "mourning over the corpse," is a ceremony that cannot be dispensed with.

It is always customary, when an Indian dies, of whatever rank or condition he may be, to put a number of the articles which belonged to the deceased in the coffin or grave, that he may have them when wanted. I have seen a bottle of rum or whiskey placed at the coffin head, and the reason given for it was, that the deceased was fond of liquor while living, and he would be glad of a dram when he should feel fatigued on his journey to the world of spirits.

When an Indian dies at a distance from his home, great care is taken that the grave be well fortified with posts and logs laid upon it, that the wolves may be

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prevented from getting at the corpse; when time and circumstances do not permit this, as, for instance, when the Indians are travelling, the body is enclosed in the bark of trees and thus laid in the grave. When a death takes place at their hunting camps, they make a kind of coffin as well as they can, or put a cover over the body, so that the earth may not sink on it, and then enclose the grave with a fence of poles.

Warriors that are slain in battle, are, if possible, drawn aside and buried, so that the enemy may not get their scalps, and also that he may not know the number of the slain. In such cases, they will turn an old log out of its bed, and dig a grave so deep, that the log, when replaced, may not press too hard upon the body. If any of the fresh earth be seen, they cover it with rotten wood, brush or leaves, that its place may not be found. If they have not sufficient time for this, or the number of their dead is too great, they throw the bodies on the top of each other between large logs, and place any kind of rotten wood or other rubbish upon them. They never, when they can help it, leave their dead to be devoured by wild beasts.

When the Indians have to speak of a deceased person, they never mention him or her by name, lest they should renew the grief of the family or friends. They say, "He who was our counsellor or chief," "She who was "the wife of our friend;" or they will allude to some particular circumstance, as that of the deceased having been with them at a particular time or place, or having done some particular act or spoken particular words which they all remember, so that every body knows who is meant. I have often observed with emotion this remarkable delicacy, which certainly does honour to their hearts, and shews that they are naturally accessible to the tenderest feelings of humanity.

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CHAPTER XXXVIII.

FRIENDSHIP.

572 152 THOSE who believe that no faith is to be placed in the friendship of an Indian are egregiously mistaken, and know very little of the true character of those men of nature. They are, it is true, revengeful to their enemies, to those who wilfully do them an injury, who insult, abuse, or treat them with contempt. It may be said, indeed, that the passion of revenge is so strong in them that it knows no bounds. This does not, however, proceed from a bad or malicious disposition, but from the violence of natural feelings, unchecked by social institutions, and unsubdued by the force of revealed religion. The tender and generous passions operate no less powerfully on them than those of an opposite character, and they are as warm and sincere in their friendship, as vindictive in their enmities. Nay, I will venture to assert that there 572 are those among them who on an emergency would lay 648 down their lives for a friend: I could fill many pages with examples of Indian friendship and fidelity, not only to each other, but to men of other nations and of a different colour than themselves. How often, when wars were impending between them and the whites, have they not forewarned those among our frontier settlers whom they thought well disposed towards them, that dangerous times were at hand, and advised them to provide for their own safety, regardless of the jealousy which such conduct might excite among their own people? How often did they not even guard and escort them through the most dangerous places until they had reached a secure spot?

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How often did they not find means to keep an enemy from striking a stroke, as they call it, that is to say from proceeding to the sudden indiscriminate murder of the frontier whites, until their friends or those whom they considered as such were out of all danger? 572 648

These facts are familiar to every one who has lived among Indians or in their neighbourhood, and I believe it will be difficult to find a single case in which they betrayed a real friend or abandoned him in the hour of danger, when it was in their power to extricate or relieve him. The word "Friend" to the ear of an Indian does not convey the same vague and almost indefinite meaning that it does with us; it is not a mere complimentary or social expression, but implies a resolute determination to stand by the person so distinguished on all occasions, and a threat to those who might attempt to molest him; the mere looking at two persons who are known or declared friends, is sufficient to deter any one from offering insult to either. When an Indian believes that he has reason to suspect a man of evil designs against his friend, he has only to say emphatically: "This is "*my friend*, and if any one tries to hurt him, I will do "to him *what is in my mind*." It is as much as to say that he will stand in his defence at the hazard of his own life. This language is well understood by the Indians, who know that they would have to combat with a spirited warrior, were they to attempt any thing against his friend. By this means much bloodshed is prevented; for it is sufficiently known that an Indian never proffers his friendship in vain. Many white men and myself among others have experienced the benefit of their powerful as well as generous protection.

When in the spring of the year 1774, a war broke out between the Virginians and the Shawanese and Mingoes, on account of murders committed by the former on the the latter people, and the exasperated friends of those

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who had suffered had determined to kill every white man in their country, the Shawano chief *Silver-heels*,* taking another Indian with him, undertook out of friendship to escort several white traders from thence to Albany, a distance of near two hundred miles; well knowing at the time that he was running the risk of his own life, from exasperated Indians and vagabond whites, if he should meet with such on the road, as in fact he did on his return. I have already said how he was rewarded for this noble act of friendship and self devotion.

In the year 1779, the noted Girty with his murdering party of Mingoes, nine in number, fell in with the Missionary Zeisberger, on the path leading from Goschacking to Gnadenhütten; their design was to take that worthy man prisoner, and if they could not seize him alive, to murder him and take his scalp to Detroit. They were on the point of laying hold of him, when two young spirited Delawares providentially entered the path at that critical moment and in an instant presented themselves to defend the good Missionary at the risk of their lives. Their determined conduct had the desired success, and his life was saved. His deliverers afterwards declared that they had no other motive for thus exposing themselves for his sake than that he was a friend to their nation and was considered by them as a good man.

But why should I speak of others when I have myself so often experienced the benefits of Indian protection and friendship. Let me be permitted to corroborate my assertions on this subject by my own personal testimony.

In the year 1777, while the revolutionary war was raging, and several Indian tribes had enlisted on the British side, and were spreading murder and devastation along our unprotected frontier, I rather rashly determined to take a journey into the country on a visit to my friends. Captain White Eyes, the Indian hero, whose

* The same whom I have spoken of above, page 174, No. 4.

[Erratum. See art. 116, p. 348. Analyst]

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character I have already described,* resided at that time at the distance of seventeen miles from the place where I lived. Hearing of my determination, he immediately hurried up to me, with his friend Captain Wingenund, (whom I shall presently have occasion further to mention) and some of his young men, for the purpose of escorting me to Pittsburg, saying, "that he would not "suffer me, to go, while the Sandusky warriors were out "on war excursions, without a proper escort and *himself* "at my side." He insisted on accompanying me and we set out together. One day, as we were proceeding along, our spies discovered a suspicious track. White Eyes, who was riding before me, enquired whether I felt afraid? I answered that while he was with me, I entertained no fear. On this he immediately replied, "You "are right; for until I am laid prostrate at your feet, no "one shall hurt you." "And even not then," added Wingenund, who was riding behind me; "before this "happens, I must be also overcome, and lay by the side "of our friend *Koguethagechton*."† I believed them, and I believe at this day that these great men were sincere, and that if they had been put to the test, they would have shewn it, as did another Indian friend by whom my life was saved in the spring of the year 1781. From behind a log in the bushes where he was concealed, he espied a hostile Indian at the very moment he was levelling his piece at me. Quick as lightning he jumped between us, and exposed his person to the musket shot just about to be fired, when fortunately the aggressor desisted, from fear of hitting the Indian whose body thus effectually protected me, at the imminent risk of his own life. Captain White Eyes, in the year 1774, saved in the same manner the life of David Duncan, the peace-messenger, whom he was escorting. He rushed, regardless of his own life, up to an inimical Shawanese, who was aiming

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* See ch. xv. p. 139 † The Indian name of Capt. White Eyes.

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at our ambassador from behind a bush, and forced him to desist.

I could enumerate many other similar acts, but I think I have shewn enough for my purpose. Mr. Zeisberger fully agreed with me in the opinion, that it is impossible to deny to the Indians the praise of firm attachment and sincere friendship. It is not meant to say, that all will carry that feeling to the same pitch of heroism; but it is certain that there are many among them, whose strong attachments and a manly pride will induce to risk their lives in the defence of their friends. And, indeed, there is no Indian, who would not blush at being reproached that after boasting that a particular person was his friend, he had acted the coward when his friendship was put to the test, and had shrunk from venturing his own life, when there was even a chance of saving that of the man whom he professed to love.

It is not true, as some have supposed, that an Indian's friendship must be purchased by presents, and that it lasts only so long as gifts continue to be lavished upon them. Their attachments, on the contrary, are perfectly disinterested. I admit that they receive with pleasure a present from a friend's hand. They consider presents as marks of the giver's good disposition towards them. They cannot, in their opinion, proceed from an enemy, and he who befriends them, they think must love them. Obligations to them are not burdensome, they love to acknowledge them, and whatever may be their faults, ingratitude is not among the number.

Indeed, the friendship of an Indian is easily acquired, provided it is sought in good faith. But whoever chooses to obtain it must be sure to treat them on a footing of perfect equality. They are very jealous of the whites, who, they think affect to consider themselves as beings of a superior nature and too often treat them with rude undeserved contempt. This they seldom forgive, while on the

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other hand, they feel flattered when a white man does not disdain to treat them as children of the same Creator. Both reason and humanity concur in teaching us this conduct, but I am sorry to say that reason and humanity are in such cases too little attended to. I hope I may be permitted to expatiate a little on this subject; perhaps it may be beneficial to some white persons hereafter.

The Indians are, as I have already observed before,* excellent physiognomists. If they are accosted by or engaged in business with a number of whites, though they may not understand the language that is spoken, they will pretty accurately distinguish by the countenance, those who despise their colour from those who are under the influence of a more generous feeling, and in this they are seldom mistaken. They fix their eyes on the whole party round, and read as it were in the souls of the individuals who compose it. They mark those whom they consider as their friends, and those whom they think to be their enemies, and are sure to remember them ever after. But what must those expect, if a war or some other circumstance should put them into the power of the Indians, who, relying on their supposed ignorance of our idiom, do not scruple even in their presence to apply to them the epithets of *dogs*, *black d—ls*, and the like? Will not these poor people be in some degree justifiable in considering those persons as decidedly hostile to their race? such cases have unfortunately too frequently happened, and the savages have been blamed for treating as enemies those who had so cruelly wounded their most delicate feelings! many white men have been thus put to death, who had brought their fate on themselves by their own imprudence. On the other hand the Indians have not failed to mark those who at the time reprobated such indecent behaviour and reproached their companions for using such improper language. In the midst of war these

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benevolent Christians have been treated as friends, when perhaps, they had forgotten the humane conduct to which they were indebted for this kind usage.

Their reasoning in such cases is simple, but to them always conclusive. They merely apply their constant maxim, which I believe I have already noticed, that "good can never proceed from evil or evil from good, "and that good and evil, like heterogeneous substances, "can never combine or coalesce together." How far this maxim is founded in a profound knowledge of human nature, it is not my business to determine; what is certain is that they adhere to it in almost every occasion. If a person treats them ill, they ascribe it invariably to his bad heart; it is the bad spirit within him that operates; he is, therefore, a bad man. If on the contrary one shews them kindness, they say he is prompted so to act by "the good spirit within him," and that he has a *good heart*; for if he had not, he would not do good. It is impossible to draw them out of this circle of reasoning, and to persuade them that the friendship shewn to them may be dissembled and proceed from motions of interest; so convinced are they of the truth of their general principle "that good cannot proceed from an evil source."

The conduct of the Europeans towards them, particularly within the last fifty or sixty years, has, however, sufficiently convinced them that men may dissemble, and that kind speeches and even acts of apparent friendship do not always proceed from friendly motives, but that the bad spirit will sometimes lurk under the appearance of the good. Hence, when they speak of the whites in general, they do not scruple to designate them as a false, deceitful race; but it is nevertheless true that with individuals, they frequently forget this general impression, and revert to their own honest principle; and if a white man only behaves to them with common humanity, it is still easy to get access to their simple hearts. Such are those brutes, those savages, from whom, according to

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some men, no faith is to be expected, and with whom no faith is to be kept; such are those *barbarous* nations, as they are called, whom God, nevertheless, made the lawful owners and masters of this beautiful country; but who, at no very remote time, will probably live, partially live, only in its history.

My object in this chapter is to prove that those men are susceptible of the noblest and finest feelings of genuine friendship. It is not enough that by a long residence among them, I have acquired the most complete conviction of this truth; facts and not opinions, I know, are expected from me. Perhaps I might rest satisfied with the proofs that I have already given, but I have only shewn the strength and have yet to display the *constancy* of their attachments; and although in the story which I am going to relate, a friend was forced to see his friend perish miserably without having it in his power to save him from the most terrible death that vengeance and cruelty could inflict, we shall not be the less astonished to see him persevere in his friendly sentiments, under circumstances of all others the most calculated, (particularly to an Indian) not only to have entirely extinguished, but converted those sentiments into feelings of hatred and revenge.

I am sorry to be so often obliged to revert to the circumstance of the cruel murder of the Christian Indians on the Sandusky river* in the year 1782, by a gang of banditti, under the command of one Williamson. Not satisfied with this horrid outrage, the same band, not long afterwards marched to Sandusky, where it seems they had been informed that the remainder of that unfortunate congregation had fled, in order to perpetrate upon them the same indiscriminate murder. But Providence had so ordered it that they had before left that place, where they had found that they could not remain in safety, their ministers having been taken from them and carried to

[erratum. See ref. 116, p. 348, - Analyst]

* See above, pages 65. 174.

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Detroit by order of the British government, so that they had been left entirely unprotected. The murderers, on their arrival, were much disappointed in finding nothing but empty huts. They then shaped their course towards the hostile Indian villages, where being, contrary to their expectations, furiously attacked, Williamson and his band took the advantage of a dark night and ran off, and the whole party escaped, except one Colonel Crawford and another, who being taken by the Indians, were carried in triumph to their village, where the former was condemned to death by torture, and the punishment was inflicted with all the cruelty that rage could invent. The latter was demanded by the Shawanese and sent to them for punishment.

While preparations were making for the execution of this dreadful sentence, the unfortunate Crawford recollected that the Delaware chief Wingenund,* of whom I have spoken in the beginning of this chapter, had been his friend in happier times; he had several times entertained him at his house, and shewed him those marks of attention which are so grateful to the poor despised Indians. A ray of hope darted through his soul, and he requested that Wingenund, who lived at some distance from the village, might be sent for. His request was granted, and a messenger was despatched for the chief, who, reluctantly, indeed, but without hesitation, obeyed the summons, and immediately came to the fatal spot.

This great and good man was not only one of the bravest and most celebrated warriors, but one of the most amiable men of the Delaware nation. To a firm undaunted mind, he joined humanity, kindness and universal benevolence; the excellent qualities of his heart had obtained for him the name of *Wingenund*, which in the Lenape language signifies *the well beloved*. He had kept away

* This name, according to the English orthography, should be written *Wingenend* or *Wingoyneend*, the second syllable accented and long, and the last syllable short.

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from the tragical scene about to be acted, to mourn in silence and solitude over the fate of his guilty friend, which he well knew it was not in his power to prevent. He was now called upon to act a painful as well as difficult part: the eyes of his enraged countrymen were fixed upon him; he was an Indian and a Delaware; he was a leader of that nation, whose defenceless members had been so cruelly murdered without distinction of age or sex, and whose innocent blood called aloud for the most signal revenge. Could he take the part of a chief of the base murderers? Could he forget altogether the feelings of ancient fellowship and give way exclusively to those of the Indian and the patriot? Fully sensible that in the situation in which he was placed the latter must, in appearance, at least, predominate, he summoned to his aid the firmness and dignity of an Indian warrior, approached Colonel Crawford and waited in silence for the communications he had to make. The following dialogue now took place between them.

CRAWF. Do you recollect me, Wingenund?

WINGEN. I believe I do; are you not Colonel Crawford?

CRAWF. I am. How do you do? I am glad to see you, Captain.

WINGEN. (embarrassed) So! yes, indeed.

CRAWF. Do you recollect the friendship that always existed between us, and that we were always glad to see each other?

WINGEN. I recollect all this. I remember that we have drunk many a bowl of punch together. I remember also other acts of kindness that you have done me.

CRAWF. Then I hope the same friendship still subsists between us.

WINGEN. It would, of course, be the same, were you in your proper place and not here.

CRAWF. And why not here, Captain? I hope you would not desert a friend in time of need. Now is the

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time for you to exert yourself in my behalf, as I should do for you, were you in my place.

WINGEN. Colonel Crawford! you have placed yourself in a situation which puts it out of my power and that of others of your friends to do any thing for you.

CRAWF. How so, Captain Wingenund?

WINGEN. By joining yourself to that execrable man, Williamson and his party; the man, who, but the other day murdered such a number of the Moravian Indians, knowing them to be friends; knowing that he ran no risk in murdering a people who would not fight, and whose only business was praying.

CRAWF. Wingenund, I assure you, that had I been with him at the time, this would not have happened; not I alone but all your friends and all good men, wherever they are, reprobate acts of this kind.

WINGEN. That may be; yet these friends, these good men did not prevent him from going out again, to kill the remainder of those inoffensive, yet *foolish* Moravian Indians! I say *foolish*, because they believed the whites in preference to us. We had often told them that they would be one day so treated by those people who called themselves their friends! We told them that there was no faith to be placed in what the white men said; that their fair promises were only intended to allure us, that they might the more easily kill us, as they have done many Indians before they killed these Moravians.

CRAWF. I am sorry to hear you speak thus; as to Williamson's going out again, when it was known that he was determined on it, I went out with him to prevent him from committing fresh murders.

WINGEN. This, Colonel, the Indians would not believe, were even I to tell them so.

CRAWF. And why would they not believe it?

WINGEN. Because it would have been out of your power to prevent his doing what he pleased.

CRAWF. Out of my power! Have any Moravian Indians been killed or hurt since we came out?

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WINGEN. None; but you went first to their town, and finding it empty and deserted you turned on the path towards us? If you had been in search of warriors only, you would not have gone thither. Our spies watched you closely. They saw you while you were embodying yourselves on the other side of the Ohio; they saw you cross that river; they saw where you encamped at night; they saw you turn off from the path to the deserted Moravian town; they knew you were going out of your way; your steps were constantly watched, and you were suffered quietly to proceed until you reached the spot where you were attacked.

CRAWF. What do they intend to do with me? Can you tell me?

WINGEN. I tell you with grief, Colonel. As Williamson and his whole cowardly host, ran off in the night at the whistling of our warrior's balls, being satisfied that now he had no Moravians to deal with, but men who could fight, and with such he did not wish to have any thing to do; I say, as he escaped, and they have taken you, they will take revenge on you in his stead.

CRAWF. And is there no possibility of preventing this? Can you devise no way to get me off? You shall, my friend, be well rewarded if you are instrumental in saving my life.

WINGEN. Had Williamson been taken with you, I and some friends, by making use of what you have told me, might perhaps, have succeeded to save you, but as the matter now stands, no man would dare to interfere in your behalf. The king of England himself, were he to come to this spot, with all his wealth and treasures could not effect this purpose. The blood of the innocent Moravians, more than half of them women and children, cruelly and wantonly murdered calls aloud for *revenge*. The relatives of the slain, who are among us, cry out and stand ready for *revenge*. The nation to which they belonged will have *revenge*. The Shawanese, our grand-

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children, have asked for your fellow prisoner; on him they will take *revenge*. All the nations connected with us cry out *Revenge! revenge!* The Moravians whom you went to destroy having fled, instead of avenging their brethren, the offence is become national, and the nation itself is bound to take REVENGE!

CRAWF. Then it seems my fate is decided, and I must prepare to meet death in its worst form?

WINGEN. Yes, Colonel!—I am sorry for it; but cannot do any thing for you. Had you attended to the Indian principle, that as good and evil cannot dwell together in the same heart, so a good man ought not to go into evil company; you would not be in this lamentable situation. You see, now, when it is too late, after Williamson has deserted you, what a bad man he must be! Nothing now remians for you but to meet your fate like a brave man. Farewel, Colonel Crawford! they are coming;* I will retire to a solitary spot.

I have been assured by respectable Indians that at the close of this conversation, which was related to me by Wingenund himself as well as by others, both he and Crawford burst into a flood of tears; they then took an affectionate leave of each other, and the chief immediately *hid himself in the bushes*, as the Indians express it, or in his own language, retired to a solitary spot. He never, afterwards, spoke of the fate of his unfortunate friend without strong emotions of grief, which I have several times witnessed. Once, it was the first time that he came into Detroit after Crawford's sufferings, I heard him censured in his own presence by some gentlemen who were standing together for not having saved the life of so valuable a man, who was also his particular friend, as he had often told them. He listened calmly to their censure, and first turning to me, said in his own language: "These men talk like fools," then turning to

* The people were at that moment advancing, with shouts and yells, to torture and put him to death.

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them, he replied in English: "If king George himself, "if your king had been on the spot with all his ships "laden with goods and treasures, he could not have ran- "somed my friend, nor saved his life from the rage of a "*justly* exasperated multitude." He made no further allusion to the act that had been the cause of Crawford's death, and it was easy to perceive that on this melancholy subject, grief was the feeling that predominated in his mind. He felt much hurt, however, at this unjust accusation, from men who, perhaps, he might think, would have acted very differently in his place. For, let us consider in what a situation he found himself, at that trying and critical moment. He was a Delaware Indian and a highly distinguished character among his nation. The offence was national, and of the most atrocious kind, as it was wanton and altogether unprovoked. He might have been expected to partake with all the rest of his countrymen in the strong desire which they felt for *revenge*. He had been Crawford's friend, it is true, and various acts of sociability and friendship had been interchanged between them. But, no doubt, at that time, he believed him, at least, not to be an enemy, to his nation and colour, and if he was an enemy, he might have expected him to be, like himself, a fair, open generous foe. But when he finds him enlisted with those who are waging a war of extermination against the Indian race, murdering in cold blood, and without distinction of age or sex, even those who had united their fate to that of the whites, and had said to the Christians: "Your people shall be *our* people, and your God *our* "God,"* was there not enough here to make him disbelieve all the former professions of such a man, and to turn his abused friendship into the most violent enmity and the bitterest rage. Instead of this we see him persevering to the last in his attachment to a person, who, to say the least, had ceased to be deserving of it; we see him in the face of his enraged countrymen avow that

* Ruth, i. 16.

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572 648 friendship, careless of the jealousy that he might excite; we see him not only abstain from participating in the national revenge, but deserting his post, as it were, seek a solitary spot to bewail the death of him, whom, in spite of all, he still loved, and felt not ashamed to call his *friend*.

It is impossible for friendship to be put to a severer test, and the example of Wingenund proves how deep a root this sentiment can take in the mind of an Indian, when even such circumstances as those under which the chief found himself, fail to extinguish it.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

PREACHERS AND PROPHETS.

648 THERE was a time when the preachers and prophets of the Indians, by properly exerting the unbounded influence which the popular superstitions gave them, might have excited among those nations such a spirit of general resistance against the encroachments of the Europeans, as would have enabled them, at least, to make a noble stand against their invaders, and perhaps to recover the undisturbed possession of their country. Instead of following the obvious course which reason and nature pointed out; instead of uniting as one nation in defence of their natural rights, they gave ear to the artful insinuations of their enemies, who too well understood the art of sowing unnatural divisions among them. It was not until Canada, after repeated struggles, was finally conquered from the French by the united arms of Great Bri-

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tain and her colonies, that they began to be sensible of their desperate situation—this whole northern continent being now in the possession of one great and powerful nation, against whom it was vain to attempt resistance. Yet it was at this moment that their prophets, impelled by ambitious motives, began to endeavour by their eloquence to bring them back to independent feelings, and create among them a genuine national spirit; but it was too late. The only rational resource that remained for them to prevent their total annihilation was to adopt the religion and manners of their conquerors, and abandon savage life for the comforts of civilised society; but of this but a few of them were sensible; in vain Missionaries were sent among them, who, through the greatest hardships and dangers exerted themselves to soften their misfortunes by the consolations of the Christian faith, and to point out to them the way of salvation in this world and the next; the banner of Christ was comparatively followed but by small numbers, and these were persecuted by their friends, or, at least, those who ought to have been such, as well as by their enemies. Among the obstacles which the Missionaries encountered, the strong opposition which was made to them by the prophets of the Indian nations was by no means the least.

I have known several of these preachers and prophets during my residence in the Indian country, and have had sufficient opportunities to observe the means which they took to operate on the minds of their hearers. I shall content myself with taking notice here of a few of the most remarkable among them.

In the year 1762, there was a famous preacher of the Delaware nation, who resided at *Cayahaga*, near Lake Erie, and travelled about the country, among the Indians, endeavouring to persuade them that he had been appointed by the great Spirit to instruct them in those things that were agreeable to him, and point out to them the offences by which they had drawn his displeasure on

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themselves, and the means by which they might recover his favour for the future. He had drawn, as he pretended, by the direction of the great Spirit, a kind of map on a piece of deer skin, somewhat dressed like parchment, which he called "the great Book or Writing." This, he said, he had been ordered to shew to the Indians, that they might see the situation in which the Mannitto had originally placed them, the misery which they had brought upon themselves by neglecting their duty, and the only way that was now left them to regain what they had lost. This map he held before him while preaching, frequently pointing to particular marks and spots upon it, and giving explanations as he went along.

The size of this map was about fifteen inches square, or, perhaps, something more. An inside square was formed by lines drawn within it, of about eight inches each way, two of those lines, however, were not closed by about half an inch at the corners. Across these inside lines, others of about an inch in length were drawn with sundry other lines and marks, all which was intended to represent a strong inaccessible barrier, to prevent those without from entering the space within, otherwise than at the place appointed for that purpose. When the map was held as he directed, the corners which were not closed lay at the left hand side, directly opposite to each other, the one being at the south-east by south, and the nearest at the north-east by north. In explaining or describing the particular points on this map, with his fingers always pointing to the place he was describing, he called the space within the inside lines "the heavenly regions," or the place destined by the great Spirit for the habitation of the Indians in future life; the space left open at the south east corner, he called the "avenue," which had been intended for the Indians to enter into this heaven, but which was now in the possession of the white people; wherefore the great Spirit had since caused another "avenue" to be made on the opposite side, at

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which, however, it was both difficult and dangerous for them to enter, there being many impediments in their way, besides a large ditch leading to a gulf below, over which they had to leap; but the evil spirit kept at this very spot a continual watch for Indians, and whoever he laid hold of, never could get away from him again, but was carried to his regions, where there was nothing but extreme poverty; where the ground was parched up by the heat for want of rain, no fruit came to perfection, the game was almost starved for want of pasture, and where the evil spirit, at his pleasure, transformed men into horses and dogs, to be ridden by him and follow him in his hunts and wherever he went.

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The space on the outside of this interior square, was intended to represent the country given to the Indians to hunt, fish and dwell in while in this world; the east side of it was called the ocean or "great salt water Lake." Then the preacher, drawing the attention of his hearers particularly to the south east avenue, would say to them. "Look here! See what we have lost by neglect and dis-"obedience; by being remiss in the expression of our "gratitude to the great Spirit, for what he has bestowed "upon us; by neglecting to make to him sufficient sacri-"fices; by looking upon a people of a different colour "from our own, who had come across a great lake, as if "they were a part of ourselves; by suffering them to sit "down by our side, and looking at them with indiffer-"ence, while they were not only taking our country from "us, but this, (pointing to the spot) this, our own "avenue, leading into those beautiful regions which were "destined for us. Such is the sad condition to which "we are reduced. What is now to be done, and what "remedy is to be applied? I will tell you, my friends. "Hear what the great Spirit has ordered me to tell you! "You are to make sacrifices, in the manner that I shall "direct; to put off entirely from yourselves the customs "which you have adopted since the white people came

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792 668 "among us; you are to return to that former happy "state, in which we lived in peace and plenty, before "these strangers came to disturb us, and above all, you "must abstain from drinking their deadly *beson*, which "they have forced upon us, for the sake of increasing "their gains and diminishing our numbers. Then will "the great Spirit give success to our arms; then he will "give us strength to conquer our enemies, to drive them "from hence, and recover the passage to the heavenly "regions which they have taken from us."

Such was in general the substance of his discourses. After having dilated more or less on the various topics which I have mentioned, he commonly concluded in this manner: "And now, my friends, in order that what I "have told you may remain firmly impressed on your "minds, and to refresh your memories from time to time, "I advise you to preserve, in every family, at least, "such a book or writing as this, which I will finish off "for you, provided you bring me the price, which is only [435] "one buck-skin or two doe-skins a piece."* The price was of course bought, and the book purchased. In some of those maps, the figure of a deer or turkey, or both, was placed in the heavenly regions, and also in the dreary region of the evil spirit; the former, however, appeared fat and plump, while the latter seemed to have nothing but skin and bones.

I was also well acquainted with another noted preacher, named *Wangomend*, who was of the Monsey tribe. He began to preach in the year 1766, much in the same manner as the one I have just mentioned. When Mr. [103] Zeisberger first came to *Goschgoschink* town, on the Allegheny river, this Indian prophet became one of his hearers, but finding that the Missionary's doctrine did not agree with his own, he became his enemy. This man also pretended that his call as a preacher was not of his own choice, but that he had been moved to it by

* Of the value of one dollar.

9 [Leeadum. See cat. 116, p. 348, - Anal yst]

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the great and good Spirit, in order to teach his countrymen, who were on the way to perdition, how they could become reconciled to their God. He would make his followers believe that he had once been taken so near to heaven, that he could distinctly hear the crowing of the cocks, and that at another time he had been borne by unseen hands to where he had been permitted to take a peep into the heavens, of which there were three, one for the Indians, one for the negroes and another for the white people. That of the Indians he observed to be the happiest of the three, and that of the whites the unhappiest; for they were under chastisement for their ill treatment of the Indians and for possessing themselves of the land which God had given to them. They were also punished for making beasts of the negroes, by selling them as the Indians do their horses and dogs, and beating them unmercifully, although God had created them as well as the rest of mankind.

The novelty of these visions procured him hearers for a time; he found, however, at last, that the Indians became indifferent to his doctrines, particularly as he frequently warned them not to drink the *poison* brought to them by the white people, of which his congregations were very fond. Then he bethought himself of a more popular and interesting subject, and began to preach against witchcraft and those who dealt in the black art. Here he had all the passions and prejudices of the poor Indians on his side, and he did not fail to meet with the general approbation, when he declared to them that wizzards were getting the upper hand, and would destroy the nation, if they were not checked in their career. He travelled in 1775, to *Goschachking*, at the forks of Muskingum, to lay this business before the great council of the Delawares, and take their opinion upon it. The first report which the Missionaries on the Muskingum heard on this subject, was that the chiefs had at first united in having every conjurer and witch in

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the nation brought to an account and punished with death, that, however, on a more mature consideration, they had thought proper in the first place to ascertain the number and names not only of those who were known, but even of those who were suspected of dealing in sorcery, and Wangomend was appointed to cause the enumeration to be made. He accordingly hastily set off for his home, and on his arrival immediately entered on the duties of his mission; when behold! it was discovered that the number of offenders was much greater than had been at first imagined, and he found himself in danger of having his own name inserted in the black list. His zeal, in consequence, became considerably cooled, and by the time when he returned the chiefs were no longer disposed to meddle with this dangerous subject, justly fearing that it could not but terminate in the ruin of their nation. Wangomend, therefore, returned to his former mode of preaching, recommending to his hearers to purge themselves from sin by taking certain prescribed medicines, and making frequent sacrifices to the great Spirit.

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The last whom I shall take notice of is the Prophet-warrior *Tecumseh*, lately so celebrated among us, and who lost his life in the last war at the battle of the Thames, on the 30th of September, 1813, at the age, it is said, of 43 years. The details of his military life have been made sufficiently known through the medium of journals and newspapers, and his famous speech to the British general Proctor delivered at Amherstburg a short time before the battle which decided his fate, is in every body's hands.* But his character as a prophet and the means that he took to raise himself to power and fame are not so well nor so particularly understood, although it is, in general, admitted that he was admirably skilled in the art of governing Indians through the medium of

* See Niles's Weekly Register, vol. i. p. 141. vol. v. p. 174. and vol. vi. p. 111.

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their passions. The sketch which I am going to draw will sufficiently prove how well this opinion is founded.

From the best information that I was able to obtain of this man, he was by nation, a Shawanese, and began his career as a preacher much in the manner that others had done before him. He endeavoured to impress upon the minds of his Indian hearers, that they were a distinct people from the whites, that they had been created and placed on this soil for peculiar purposes, and that it had been ordered by the supreme being that they should live unconnected with people of a different colour from their own. He painted in vivid colours, the misery that they had brought upon themselves by permitting the whites to reside among them, and urged them to unite and expel those lawless intruders from their country. But he soon discovered that these once popular topics no longer produced any effect on the minds of the dispirited Indians, and that it was impossible to persuade them to resort to strong measures, to oppose the progress of the whites, much less to endeavour to drive them beyond the great lake. He had long observed that whenever he touched on the subject of witchcraft, his discourses were always acceptable to his hearers, whose belief in those supernatural powers, instead of diminishing, seemed constantly to gain ground. He knew that his predecessor, Wangomend, had failed in his endeavour to gain influence and power by availing himself of these popular opinions. But his ill success did not deter him from making the same attempts. He did not, however, like him, seek the assistance of the national councils, but boldly determined to try what his talents and courage could do without any other aid. There is a saying among the Indians, "That God ordained man to live, until all his "teeth are worn out, his eye sight dim and his hair "grey." Of this he artfully availed himself to persuade those ignorant people, that the early deaths which constantly took place could not be attributed to any natural

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cause, since it was the will of God that every man should live to an advanced old age. When he found that he had thus obtained a fast hold on the minds of his hearers, by raising their fears of the powers of witchcraft to the highest pitch, he though it was time to work on their hopes, and after gradually feeling the pulses of those he had to deal with, after successively throwing out a great number of hints and insinuations, the effects of which he carefully observed, he at last did what no preacher before him had ventured to do, by declaring that the great Mannitto had endowed him with supernatural powers, to foretel future events, and to discover present secrets, and that he could point out with certainty, not only those, whether men or women, who were in the full possession of the art of witchcraft, but those who had even a tincture of it, however small. His bold assertions met with implicit belief, and he obtained by that means such an unlimited command over a credulous multitude, that at last, he had only to speak the word, or even to nod, and the pile was quickly prepared by willing executioners to put to death whomsoever he thought proper to devote. Here was a wide field opened for the gratification of the worst passions. Whoever thought himself injured, denounced his enemy as a wizzard; the least real or pretended cause of resentment, nay, even a paltry bribe, would bring the most innocent man to the pile or tomahawk, and no one availed himself more of this frantic delusion of the populace, than the great prophet himself. Having his spies out in every direction, he well knew who were his friends and who his enemies, and wo to all who were reported to him or even suspected by him to be of the latter class! The tyrant had only to will their deaths, and his commands no one durst contradict, but all were ready to execute.

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Among the number of his victims was the venerable Wyandot Chief Sha-tay-ya-ron-yah, called by the whites *Leather-lips*. He was one of those who in August 1795

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signed the treaty of Greenville on behalf of the Huron tribe. His only crime was honesty, and the honourable character which he had acquired. In a fit of jealousy Tecumseh ordered him to be put to death, and his commands were but too readily obeyed. I cannot conclude this chapter better than by an account of his death, which was transmitted to me at the time (in August, 1810) by a respectable and philanthropic gentleman in the state of Ohio. The relation which I here transcribe was accompanied with the following letter:

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"Dear Sir—I here enclose an imperfect sketch of the "execution of an unfortunate Indian. From your benevolent exertions, for many years, to ameliorate their "condition, and the confidence reposed in you by them, "I trust you may have it in your power successfully to "oppose the wasteful influence of this prophet over these "too credulous people. It is the office of humanity and "worthy of the attention of the society of the United "Brethren. I may be incorrect in the recital of some "of the circumstances; it was given to me from respectable sources; sources, in my opinion, entitled to credit.

"I am, &c."

Account of the Death of Leather-Lips.

"This unfortunate Chief of the Seneca* tribe, who had "attained the sixty-third year of his age, had pitched his "camp a few miles west of the town of Worthington in "the county of Franklinton. From his constant attachment to the principles of honesty and integrity, he had "obtained a certificate from an officer of the government

* This appears to be a mistake; Leather-lips, as has been stated above, was a chief of the Wyandots or Hurons, and is so styled in the treaty of Greenville, otherwise called Wayne's Treaty, where he was one of the representatives of that nation.

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"as a testimonial of the propriety of his deportment.
"This aged Chief was suspected by the *Prophet*, a man
"of a restless turbulent spirit, who by his exceeding ad-
"dress, has obtained an unbounded influence over many
"of the northern and western tribes of Indians, by im-
"pressing upon their minds a belief that he is endowed
"with supernatural knowledge, and can foretel events
"yet to come. This is the same prophet who gathered
"the Indians at Greenville a few years ago, from which
"meeting so much was apprehended. In order that he
"should no longer have any thing to apprehend from
"him (this Indian) he issued orders for his immediate
"death. These orders were given to *Crane*,* a chief of
"the Sandusky tribes, who immediately sat out with four
"other Indians, in quest of the old chief. About three
"weeks ago, they found out his camp, and immediately
"sent his brother to him (who was one of their party)
"with a piece of bark, on which they had painted a to-
"mahawk, as a token of his death! On the same day,
"Crane and his party spoke publicly in the settlements
"of the whites of their intention to kill him. When they
"sat out for his camp they were accompanied by five
"white men, amongst whom was a *justice of the peace*, no
"doubt to gratify their curiosity. Upon their arrival at
"the camp, they informed him of the object of their mis-
"sion, and that he must prepare to meet his fate! In
"vain did he remonstrate against the cruelty of the sen-
"tence; he told them that he was an old man, and must
"soon die; that if they would spare him they might have
"his camp, and that he would go far beyond the Missis-
"sippi, where he would never again be heard of. He
"also alleged, that he was a man of honesty, and had

* The Indian name of this chief was Tar-hé; he was also a Wyandot or Huron, and one of the signers of the Greenville treaty. How great must have been the power of Tecumseh, who trusted the execution of Leather-lips to a chief of the same nation!

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"done nothing to incur so hard a fate! One of the white 792
"men also made an offer of his horse, to save the old
"man from the impending storm. Those offers all prov- 668
"ed ineffectual. All hopes of a reconciliation now gone, 648
"he prepared to meet his fate with becoming dignity.
"While the Indians were digging his grave, he dressed
"himself with his best clothes in the war style, and then
"got his venison and refreshed himself. As soon as the
"grave was finished, he went to it and knelt down and
"prayed most fervently! He then took an affectionate
"leave of the Indians, and of the white men present, and
"when he came to the one who had offered his horse to
"redeem him, penetrated with gratitude, he burst into a
"flood of tears, and told him that *his God would reward*
"*him*. This was the only instance in which the least
"change could be perceived in his countenance. He was
"then attended to the grave by Crane—they knelt down,
"while Crane offered up to the Great Spirit his prayers
"in his behalf.—The fatal period had now arrived; they
"arose from their knees, and proceeded a few paces, and
"seated themselves on the ground. The old chief inclin-
"ed forward, resting his face upon his hand, his hand
"upon his knees; while thus seated, one of the young
"Indians came up and struck him twice with the to-
"mohawk. For some time he lay senseless on the
"ground. The only evidence of life that yet remained,
"was a faint respiration. The Indians all stood around
"in solemn silence: finding him to respire longer than
"they expected, they called upon the whites to take no-
"tice how hard he died, and pronounced him a witch—
"no good—they struck him again and terminated his
"existence. He was then borne to the grave, where the
"last sad office was soon performed."

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CHAPTER XL.

SHORT NOTICE OF THE INDIAN CHIEFS TAMANEND AND TADEUSKUND.

622 THE name of TAMANEND is held in the highest veneration among the Indians. Of all the chiefs and great men which the Lenape nation ever had, he stands foremost on the list. But although many fabulous stories are circulated about him among the whites, but little of his real history is known. The misfortunes which have befallen some of the most beloved and esteemed personages among the Indians since the Europeans came among them, prevent the survivors from indulging in the pleasure of recalling to mind the memory of their virtues. No white man who regards their feelings, will introduce such subjects in conversation with them.

All we know, therefore, of Tamanend is, that he was an ancient Delaware chief, who never had his equal. He was in the highest degree endowed with wisdom, virtue, prudence, charity, affability, meekness, hospitality, in short with every good and noble qualification that a human being may possess. He was supposed to have had an intercourse with the great and good Spirit; for he was a stranger to every thing that is bad.

When Colonel George Morgan, of Princeton in New Jersey, was, about the year 1776, sent by Congress as an agent to the western Indians, the Delawares conferred on him the name of Tamanend in honour and remembrance of their ancient chief, and as the greatest

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mark of respect which they could shew to that gentleman, who, they said, had the same address, affability and meekness as their honoured chief, and therefore, ought to be named after him. 622

The fame of this great man extended even among the whites, who fabricated numerous legends respecting him, which I never heard, however, from the mouth of an Indian, and therefore believe to be fabulous. In the revolutionary war, his enthusiastic admirers dubbed him a saint, and he was established under the name of *St. Tammany*, the Patron Saint of America. His name was inserted in some calendars, and his festival celebrated on the first day of May in every year. On that day a numerous society of his votaries walked together in procession through the streets of Philadelphia, their hats decorated with buck's tails, and proceeded to a handsome rural place out of town which they called the *Wigwam*, where after a *long talk* or Indian speech had been delivered, and the *Calumet* of peace and friendship had been duly smoked, they spent the day in festivity and mirth. After dinner, Indian dances were performed on the green in front of the wigwam, the calumet was again smoked, and the company separated. This association lasted until some years after the peace, when the public spirited owner of the wigwam, who generously had lent it every year for the honour of his favourite saint, having fallen under misfortune, his property was sold to satisfy his creditors, and this truly American festival ceased to be observed. Since that time, other societies have been formed in Philadelphia, New York, and I believe in other towns in the union, under the name of Tammany; but the principal object of these associations being party-politics, they have lost much of the charm which was attached to the original society of St. Tammany, which appeared to be established only for pleasure and innocent diversion. These political societies, however, affect to preserve Indian forms in their organisation and meetings. They

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622 are are presided over by a Grand Sachem, and their other officers are designated by Indian titles. They meet at their "wigwam," at the "going down of the sun," in the months of snows, plants, flowers, &c. Their distinguishing appellation is always "The *Tammany* Society."

TADEUSKUND, or *Tedeuskung*, was the last Delaware chief in these parts east of the Allegheny mountains. His name makes a conspicuous figure in the history of Pennsylvania previous to the revolution, and particularly towards the commencement of the war of 1756. Before he was raised to the station of a chief, he had signalised himself as an able counsellor in his nation. In the year 1749, he joined the Christian Indian congregation, and the following year, at his earnest desire, was christened by the name of *Gideon*. He had been known before under that of *Honest John*. It was not until the year 1754, that his nation called upon him to assume a military command. The French were then stirring up the Indians, particularly the Delawares, to aid them in fighting the English, telling them that if they suffered them to go on as they before had done, they would very soon not have a foot of land to live on. The Susquehannah and Fork Indians (Delawares) were then in want of a leading character to advise and govern them, their great, good, beloved and peaceable chief *Tudeme*, (commonly called *Tuttemi*) having some time before been murdered in the Forks settlement by a foolish young white man. They, therefore, called upon Tadeuskund to take upon himself the station of a chief, which, having accepted, he repaired to Wyoming, whither many of the Forks Indians followed him.

Whatever might have been Tadeuskund's disposition towards the English at that time, it is certain that it was a difficult task for him, and would have been such for any other chief, to govern an exasperated people, entirely devoted to the opposite interest. This may account for

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his not having always succeeded in gratifying our government to the extent of their wishes. Yet he did much towards lessening the cruelties of the enemy, by keeping up an intercourse with the governor of Pennsylvania, and occasionally drawing many from the theatre of war and murder, to meet the colonial authorities at Easton or Philadelphia for the negotiation of treaties, by which means fewer cruelties were committed than would otherwise have been. 622

His frequent visits to the governor, and to the people called Quakers (to whom he was much attached, because they were known to be friendly to the Indians) excited much jealousy among some of his nation, especially the Monseys, who believed that he was carrying on some underhand work at Philadelphia detrimental to the nation at large; on which account, and as they wished the continuation of the war, they became his enemies.

From the precarious situation Tadeuskund was placed in, it was easy to foresee that he would come to an untimely end. Perhaps no Indian chief before him ever found himself so delicately situated; mistrusted and blamed by our government and the English people generally, because he did not use his whole endeavours to keep his nation at peace, or compel them to lay down the hatchet; and accused by his own people of having taken a bribe from the English, or entered into some secret agreement with them that would be of benefit to himself alone, as he would not suffer them to inflict just punishment on that nation for the wrongs they had done them, but was constantly calling upon them to make peace. The Five Nations, on the other hand, (the enemies of the Delawares and in alliance with England,) blamed him for doing too much for the cause which they themselves supported, for making himself too busy, and assuming an authority, which did not belong to him the leader of a band of *women*, but to them, the Five Nations alone.

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622 To do justice to this injured chief, the true secret of his apparently contradictory conduct must be here disclosed. It is said by those Indians who knew him best, and who at that time had the welfare of their own nation much at heart, that his great and sole object was to recover for the *Lenni Lenape* that dignity which the Iroquois had treacherously wrested from them; thence flowed the bitterness of the latter against him, though he seemed to be promoting the same interest which they themselves supported. He had long hoped that by shewing friendship and attachment to the English, he would be able to convince them of the justice of his nation's cause, who were yet powerful enough to make their alliance an object to the British government, but here he was greatly mistaken. No one would examine into the grounds of the controversy between the Delawares and the Five Nations; the latter, on the contrary, were supported in their unjust pretensions as theretofore, and even called upon to aid in compelling the Lenape to make peace. This unjust and at the same time impolitic conduct, of which I have before taken sufficient notice,* irritated to the utmost the spirited nation of the Delawares, they felt themselves insulted and degraded, and were less disposed than ever from complying with the wishes of a government which sported in this manner with their national feelings, and called in question even their right to exist as an independent people.

Surrounded as he was with enemies, Tadeuskund could not escape the fate that had long been intended for him. In the spring of 1763, when the European nations had made peace, but the Indians were still at war, he was burnt up, together with his house, as he was lying in his bed asleep. It was supposed and believed by many who were present, that this dreadful event was not accidental,

* See above page 30. and see the Errata with reference to that page.

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but had been maturely resolved on by his enemies, whoever they were, and that the liquor which was brought to Wyoming at the time, was intended by them for the purpose of enticing him to drink, that they might the more easily effect their purpose. A number of Indians were witnesses to the fact that the house was set on fire from the outside. Suspicion fell principally upon the Mingoes, who were known to be jealous of him, and fearful of his resentment, if he should succeed in insinuating himself into the favour of the English and making good terms with them for his nation. It is said that those Indians were concerned in bringing the fatal liquor which is believed to have been instrumental to the execution of the design. 622

While Tadeuskund was at the head of his nation, he was frequently distinguished by the title of "King of the Delawares." While passing and repassing to and from the enemy with messages, many people called him the "War Trumpet." In his person he was a portly well-looking man, endowed with good natural sense, quick of comprehension, and very ready in answering the questions put to him. He was rather ambitious, thought much of his rank and abilities, liked to be considered as the king of his country, and was fond of having a retinue with him when he went to Philadelphia on business with the government. His greatest weakness was a fondness for strong drinks, the temptation of which he could not easily resist, and would sometimes drink to excess. This unfortunate propensity is supposed to have been the cause of his cruel and untimely death.

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CHAPTER XLI.

COMPUTATION OF TIME—ASTRONOMICAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL KNOWLEDGE.

405 THE Indians do not reckon as we do, by days, but by nights. They say: "It is so many nights' travelling to such a place;" "I shall return home in so many nights," &c. Sometimes pointing to the Heavens they say: "You will see me again when the sun stands there."

Their year is, like ours, divided into four parts: spring, summer, autumn and winter. It begins with the spring, which, they say, is the youth of the year, the time when the spirits of man begin to revive, and the plants and flowers again put forth. These seasons are again subdivided into months or moons, each of which has a particular name, yet not the same among all the Indian tribes or nations; these denominations being generally suited to the climate under which they respectively live, and the advantages or benefits which they enjoy at the time. Thus the Lenape, while they inhabited the country bordering on the Atlantic, called the month which we call March "the *shad* moon," because this fish at that time begins to pass from the sea into the fresh water rivers, where they lay their spawn; but as there is no such fish in the country into which they afterwards removed, they changed the name of that month, and called it "the running of the *sap*" or "the *sugar*-making month," because it is at that time that the sap of the maple tree, from which sugar is made, begins to run; April, they

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call "the *spring* month," May, the *planting* month, June, the *fawn* month, or the month in which the deer bring forth their young, or, again, the month in which the hair of the deer changes to a reddish colour. They call July the *summer* month; August, the month of *roasting ears*, that is to say, in which the ears of corn are fit to be roasted and eaten. September, they call the *autumnal* month, October, the gathering or *harvest* month; December, the *hunting* month, it being the time when the stags have all dropped their antlers or horns. January is called the *mouse* or *squirrel* month, for now those animals come out of their holes, and lastly, they call February the *frog* month, because on a warm day the frogs then begin to croak.

Some nations call the month of January by a name which denotes "the sun's return to them," probably because in that month the days begin to lengthen again. As I have said before, they do not all call the months by the same name; even the Monseys, a tribe of the Delawares, differ among themselves in the denominations which they give to them.

The Indians say that when the leaf of the white oak, which puts forth in the spring, is of the size of the ear of a mouse, it is time to plant corn; they observe that now the whipperwill has arrived, and is continually hovering over them calling out his Indian name "*Wekolis*," in order to remind them of the planting time, as if he said to them "*Hackiheck!* go to planting corn!"

They calculate their ages by some remarkable event which has taken place within their remembrance, as, for instance, an uncommonly severe winter, a very deep snow, an extraordinary freshet, a general war, the building of a new town or city by the white people, &c. Thus I have heard old Indians say more than fifty years ago, that when their brother Miquon spoke to their forefathers, they were of such an age or size, they could catch butterflies, or hit a bird with the bow and arrow. I have

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heard others say (alluding to the hard winter of 1739—40) that they were born at that time, or that they were then so tall, could do certain particular things, or had already some grey hair on their heads. When they could not refer precisely to some of those remarkable epochs, they would say "so many winters after."

The geographical knowledge of the Indians is really astonishing. I do not mean the knowledge of maps, for they have nothing of the kind to aid them; but their practical acquaintance with the country that they inhabit. They can steer directly through the woods in cloudy weather as well as in sunshine to the place they wish to go to, at the distance of two hundred miles and more. When the white people express their astonishment or enquire how they can hit a distant point with so much ease and exactness, they smile and answer: "How can "we go wrong when we know where we are to go to?" There are many who conjecture that they regulate their course by certain signs or marks on the trees, as for instance, that those that have the thickest bark are exposed to the north, and other similar observations, but those who think so are mistaken. The fact is, that the Indians have an accurate knowledge of all the streams of consequence and the courses which they run; they can tell directly while travelling along a stream, whether large or small, into what larger stream it empties itself. They know how to take the advantage of dividing ridges, where the smaller streams have their heads or from whence they take their source, and in travelling on the mountains, they have a full view of the country round, and can perceive the point to which their march is directed.

Their knowledge of astronomy is very limited. They have names for a few of the stars and take notice of their movements. The polar star points out to them by night the course which they are to take in the morning. They distinguish the phases of the moon by particular names;

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they say the "new moon," the "round moon," (when it is full), and when in its decline, they say it is "half round." 821

They ascribe earthquakes to the moving of the great tortoise, which bears the *Island* (Continent) on its back, They say he shakes himself or changes his position. They are at a loss how to account for a solar or lunar eclipse; some say the sun or moon is in a swoon, others that it is involved in a very thick cloud. 823 [821]

A constant application of the mind to observing the scenes and accidents which occur in the woods, together with an ardent desire to acquire an intimate knowledge of the various objects which surround them, gives them, in many respects, an advantage over the white people, which will appear from the following anecdote.

A white man had, at his camp in a dark night, shot an Indian dog, mistaking it for a wolf which had the night before entered the encampment and eaten up all the meat. The dog mortally wounded, having returned to the Indian camp at the distance of a mile, caused much grief and uneasiness to the owner, the more so as he suspected the act had been committed from malice towards the Indians. He was ordered to enquire into the matter, and the white man being brought before him, candidly confessed that he had killed the dog, believing it to be a wolf. The Indian asked him whether he could not discern the difference between the "steps" or trampling of a wolf and that of a dog, let the night be ever so dark? The white man answered in the negative, and said he believed no man alive could do that; on which the whole company burst out into laughter at the ignorance of the whites and their want of skill in so plain and common a matter, and the delinquent was freely forgiven. 825

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CHAPTER XLII.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS AND ANECDOTES.

I HOPE I shall be excused for bringing here together into one view a few observations and anecdotes which either could not well find their places under any of the preceding divisions of my subject, or escaped my recollection at the proper time. These additional traits will contribute something to forming a correct idea of the Indian character and manners.

I have observed a great similarity in the customs, usages, and opinions of the different nations that I have seen, however distant from each other, and even though their languages differ so much that no traces of a common origin can be found in their etymology. The uniformity which exists in the manners of the Christian nations of Europe is attributed to their common religion and to their having once been connected together as parts of the Roman Empire. But no such bond of union appears to have subsisted between the Iroquois, for instance, and the Delawares, and yet, the language excepted, they resemble each other considerably more than the inhabitants of some European countries. I shall not endeavour to account for this remarkable fact, but I think it my duty to state it.

I have shown in a former chapter* that the mythological notions of the Delaware Indians prevailed in the same manner among the Wabash; it is not in that alone that those nations resemble each other, though living at a great distance. It is the custom among the Delawares that if a hunter shoots down a deer when another per-

* Ch. 34. pp. 248. 249.

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son is present, or even accidentally comes by before the skin is taken off, he presents it to him, saying, "Friend, "skin your deer," and immediately walks off. William Wells, whom I have before spoken of, once paid me this compliment, and when I asked him the reason, he answered that it was the custom among the Indians on the Wabash.

In the year 1792, I travelled with a number of Indian chiefs of various tribes from Post Vincennes to Marietta, and I found in most instances that their usages and customs were the same that I had observed among the Delawares.

The Indians in general, although they understand and speak our language, yet prefer speaking to a white man through an interpreter. For this they give various reasons. With some it is a matter of pride; as their chiefs deliver their public speeches through interpreters, they think that they appear with more dignity when they do the same. Others imagine that their words will have greater weight and effect when expressed in proper grammatical language, while some are afraid of committing mistakes when speaking in an idiom not their own. Particularly when they have a joke to pass, a hint to give, or a shrewd remark to make, they wish it to have all the advantages of a good translation, and that their wit may not be spoiled by a foreign accent, improper expression, or awkward delivery.

Though the Indian is naturally serious, he does not dislike a jest on proper occasions, and will, sometimes even descend to a pun. Once at a dinner given at Marietta by the late colonel Sproat, to a number of gentlemen and Indian chiefs of various tribes, a Delaware chief, named George Washington, asked me what the name of our good friend, the Colonel, meant in the Lenape language? It should be observed that Colonel Sproat was remarkably tall. I told him that *Sprout* (for so the name is pronounced) meant in English a shoot, or twig of a

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522 tree. "No, no," replied the Indian, "no shoot or twig, "but the *tree* itself."

648 609 I have spoken before* of the wit of the Indians, and the shrewd and pointed remarks which they occasionally make, but passed rather lightly on the subject. A few characteristic anecdotes will best supply this deficiency.

An Indian who spoke good English, came one day to a house where I was on business, and desired me to ask a man who was there and who owed him some money, to give an order in writing for him to get a little salt at the store, which he would take in part payment of his debt. The man, after reproving the Indian for speaking through an interpreter when he could speak such good English, told him that he must call again in an hour's time, for he was then too much engaged. The Indian went out and returned at the appointed time, when he was put off again for another hour, and when he came the third time, the other told him he was still engaged and he must come again in half an hour. My Indian friend's patience was now exhausted, he turned to me and addressed me thus in his own language: "Tell this man," said he, "that while I have been waiting for his conve- "nience to give me an order for a little salt, I have had "time to think a great deal. I *thought* that when we "Indians want any thing of one another, we serve each "other on the spot, or if we cannot, we say so at once, "but we never say to any one 'call again! call again! "call again! three times call again!' Therefore when "this man put me off in this manner, I *thought* that, to "be sure, the white people were very ingenious, and "probably he was able to do what no body else could. "I *thought* that as it was afternoon when I first came, "and he knew I had seven miles to walk to reach my "camp, he had it in his power to stop the sun in "its course, until it suited him to give me the order that I "wanted for a little salt. So *thought* I, I shall still have "day light enough, I shall reach my camp before night,

* Ch. 6. p. 88.

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"and shall not be obliged to walk in the dark, at the "risk of falling and hurting myself by the way. But "when I saw that the sun did not wait for him, and I "had at least to walk seven miles in an obscure night, I "*thought* then, that it would be better if the white people "were to learn something of the Indians."

I once asked an old Indian acquaintance of mine, who had come with his wife to pay me a visit, where he had been, that I had not seen him for a great while? "Don't "you know," he answered, "that the white people some "time ago summoned us to a treaty, to buy land of "them?"—"That is true," replied I, "I had indeed for- "gotten it; I thought you was just returned from your "fall hunt."—"No, no," replied the Indian, "my fall "hunt has been lost to me this season; I had to go and "get my share of the purchase money for the land we "sold."—"Well then," said I, "I suppose you got "enough to satisfy you?"

INDIAN. "I can shew you all that I got. I have recei- "ved such and such articles, (naming them and the "quantity of each), do you think that is enough?"

HECKEW. "That I cannot know, unless you tell me "how much of the land which was sold came to your "share."

INDIAN. (after considering a little) "Well, you, my "friend! know who I am, you know I am a kind of chief. "I am, indeed, one, though none of the greatest. Nei- "ther am I one of the lowest grade, but I stand about in "the middle rank. Now, as such, I think I was enti- "tled to as much land in the tract we sold as would lie "within a day's walk from this spot to a point due "north, then a day's walk from that point to another "due west, from thence another day's walk due south, "then a day's walk to where we now are. Now you "can tell me if what I have shewn you is enough for all "the land lying between these four marks?"

HECKEW. "If you have made your bargain so with

[ERRATUM. See cat. 116, p. 348. Analyst]

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648 "the white people, it is all right, and you probably have "received your share."

INDIAN. "Ah! but the white people made the bar- "gain by themselves, without consulting us. They told "us that they would give us so much, and no more."

HECKEW. "Well, and you consented thereto?"

INDIAN. "What could we do, when they told us that "they must have the land, and for such a price? Was "it not better to take something than nothing? for they "would have the land, and so we took what they gave "us."

HECKEW. "Perhaps the goods they gave you came "high in price. The goods which come over the great "salt water lake sometimes vary in their prices."

INDIAN. "The traders sell their goods for just the "same prices that they did before, so that I rather think "it is the *land* that has fallen in value. We, Indians, "do not understand selling lands to the white people; "for, when we sell, the price of land is always low; land "is then cheap, but when the white people sell it out "among themselves, it is always dear, and they are sure "to get a high price for it. I had done much better if "I had staid at home and minded my fall hunt. You "know I am a pretty good hunter and might have killed "a great many deer, sixty, eighty, perhaps a hundred, "and besides caught many racoons, beavers, otters, "wild cats, and other animals, while I was at this treaty. "I have often killed five, six, and seven deer in one day. "Now I have lost nine of the best hunting weeks in the "season by going to get what you see! We were told "the precise time when we must meet. We came at the "very day, but the great white men did not do so, and "without them nothing could be done. When after some "weeks they at last came, we traded, we sold our lands "and received goods in payment, and when that was over, "I went to my hunting grounds, but the best time, the "rutting time, being over, I killed but a few. Now, help

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"me to count up what I have lost by going to the treaty. 648
"Put down eighty deer; say twenty of them were bucks,
"each buckskin one dollar; then sixty does and young
"bucks at two skins for a dollar; thirty dollars, and
"twenty for the old bucks, make fifty dollars lost to me
"in deer skins. Add, then, twenty dollars more to this
"for racoon, beaver, wild cat, black fox, and otter
"skins, and what does the whole amount to?"

HECKEW. "Seventy dollars."

INDIAN. "Well, let it be only seventy dollars, but
"how much might I have bought of the traders for this
"money! How well we might have lived, I and my fa-
"mily in the woods during that time! How much meat
"would my wife have dried! how much tallow saved
"and sold or exchanged for salt, flour, tea and choco- [593]
"late! All this is now lost to us; and had I not such a
"good wife (stroking her under the chin) who planted
"so much corn, and so many beans, pumpkins, squashes,
"and potatoes last summer, my family would now live
"most wretchedly. I have learned to be wise by going
"to treaties, I shall never go there again to sell my land
"and lose my time."

I shall conclude this desultory chapter with another 461
anecdote which is strongly characteristic of the good sense of the Indians, and shews how much their minds are capable of thought and reflection.

Seating myself once upon a log, by the side of an Indian, who was resting himself there, being at that time actively employed in fencing in his corn field, I observed to him that he must be very fond of working, as I never saw him idling away his time, as is so common with the Indians. The answer which he returned made considerable impression on my mind; I have remembered it ever since, and I shall try to relate it as nearly in his own words as possible.

"My friend!" said he, "the fishes in the water and the
"birds in the air and on the earth have taught me to

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461 "work; by their examples I have been convinced of the "necessity of labour and industry. When I was a young "man I loitered a great deal about, doing nothing, just "like the other Indians, who say that working is only "for the whites and the negroes, and that the Indians "have been ordained for other purposes, to hunt the "deer, and catch the beaver, otter, racoon and such other "animals. But it one day so happened, that while a "hunting, I came to the bank of the Susquehannah, where "I sat down near the water's edge to rest a little, and "casting my eyes on the water, I was forcibly struck "when I observed with what industry the *Meechgalingus** "heaped small stones together, to make secure places "for their spawn, and all this labour they did with their "mouths and bodies without hands! Astonished as well "as diverted, I lighted my pipe, sat a while smoking "and looking on, when presently a little bird not far "from me raised a song which enticed me to look "that way; while I was trying to distinguish who the "songster was, and catch it with my eyes, its mate, with "as much grass as with its bill it could hold, passed "close by me and flew into a bush, where I perceived "them together busy building their nest and singing as "they went along. I entirely forgot that I was a hunt-"ing, in order to contemplate the objects I had before "me. I saw the birds of the air and the fishes in the "water working diligently and cheerfully, and all this "without hands! I thought it was strange, and became "lost in contemplation! I looked at myself, I saw two "long arms, provided with hands and fingers besides, "with joints that might be opened and shut at pleasure. "I could, when I pleased take up any thing with these "hands, hold it fast or let it loose, and carry it "along with me as I walked. I observed moreover that "I had a strong body capable of bearing fatigue, and "supported by two stout legs, with which I could climb

* Sun-fish.

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"to the top of the highest mountains and descend at plea-
"sure into the vallies. And is it possible, said I, that
"a being so formed as I am, was created to live in idle-
"ness, while the birds who have no hands, and nothing
"but their little bills to help them, work with cheerful-
"ness and without being told to do so? Has then the
"great Creator of man and of all living creatures given
"me all these limbs for no purpose? It cannot be; I
"will try to go to work. I did so and went away from the
"village to a spot of good land, built a cabin, enclosed
"ground, planted corn, and raised cattle. Ever since that
"time I have enjoyed a good appetite and sound sleep;
"while the others spend their nights in dancing and are
"suffering with hunger, I live in plenty; I keep horses,
"cows, hogs and fowls; I am happy. See! my friend;
"the birds and fishes have brought me to reflection and
"taught me to work!"

CHAPTER XLIII.

ADVICE TO TRAVELLERS.

NOTHING is so common as the indiscriminate charge laid upon travellers of relating strange and wonderful things for the mere purpose of exciting admiration and raising themselves into consequence. I believe for my part that this accusation is in general unjust as well as unfair, and that travellers seldom impose upon others except when they have been imposed upon themselves. The discredit which they have fallen into is more owing to their errors and mistakes than to wilful imposition and falsehood. It is therefore rendering them and the world

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an essential service to point out the means of avoiding those deceptions, which if not sufficiently guarded against, will at last destroy all belief in the accounts given by travellers of distant nations and of manners and customs different from our own.

The first and most important thing for a traveller is a competent knowledge of the language of the people among whom he is. Without this knowledge it is impossible that he can acquire a correct notion of their manners and customs and of the opinions which prevail among them. There is little faith to be placed in those numerous vocabularies of the languages of distant nations which are to be found in almost every book of voyages or travels; they are generally full of the most ridiculous mistakes; at least (for I must speak only of what I know) those which relate to the Indian languages of North America. I was some years ago shewn a vocabulary* of the idiom of the Indians who inhabited the banks of the Delaware, while Pennsylvania was under the dominion of the Swedes, which idiom was no other than the pure Unami dialect of the Lenape, and I could hardly refrain from laughing at the numerous errors that I observed in it; for instance, the Indian word given for *hand*, in fact means *finger*. This is enough to shew how carelessly those vocabularies are made, and how little their authors are acquainted with the languages that they pretend to teach.

The cause of these mistakes may be easily accounted for. When pointing to a particular object you ask an Indian how it is called, he never will give you the name of the *genus*, but always that of the *species*. Thus if you point to a tree, and ask for its name, the answer will be oak, beech, chesnut, maple, &c. as the case may be. Thus the Swedish author of the vocabulary that I have mentioned, probably happened to point to a *finger*, when he

* Vocabularium Barbaro-Virgineorum, bound with an Indian translation from the Swedish of Luther's Catechism. Stockholm, 1696, duod.

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asked what was the Indian word for *hand*, and on receiving the answer, without further enquiry enriched his work with this notable specimen of Indian learning. 124 [114]

When I first went to reside among the Indians, I took great care to learn by heart the words *Kuccu k'dellounda-men yun?* which mean *What do you call this?* Whenever I found the Indians disposed to attend to my enquiries, I would point to particular objects and repeat my formulary, and the answers that they gave I immediately wrote down in a book which I kept for the purpose; at last when I had written about half a dozen sheets, I found that I had more than a dozen names for "*tree*," as many for "*fish*," and so on with other things and yet I had not a single generic name. What was still worse, when I pointed to something, repeating the name or one of the names by which I had been taught to call it, I was sure to excite a laugh; and when in order to be set right I put the question *Kuccu*, &c. I would receive for answer a new word or name which I had never heard before. This began to make me believe that every thing was not as it should be, and that I was not in the right way to learn the Indian language.

It was not only in substantives or the proper names of things that I found myself almost always mistaken. Those who are not acquainted with the copiousness of the Indian languages, can hardly form an idea of the various shades and combinations of ideas that they can express. For instance, the infinitive *Mitzin*, signifies *to eat*, and so does *Mohoan*. Now although the first of these words is sufficiently expressive of the act of eating something, be it what it may, yet the Indians are very attentive to expressing in one word what and how they have eaten, that is to say whether they have been eating something which needed no chewing, as pottage, mush or the like, or something that required the use of the teeth. In the latter case the proper word is *mohoan*, and in the former *gunlammen*. If an Indian is asked *k'dapi mitzi?* have

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124 you eaten? he will answer *n'dapi guntammen*, or *n'dapi mohoa*, according as what he has eaten did or did not require the aid of chewing. If he has eaten of both kinds of provisions at his meal, he will then use the generic word, and say, *n'dapi mitxi*, which means generally, *I have eaten.*

124 126 These niceties of course escaped me, and what was worse, few of the words I had taken down were correctly written. Essential letters or syllables, which in the rapidity of pronunciation had escaped my ear, were almost every where omitted. When I tried to make use of the words which I had so carefully collected, I found I was not understood, and I was at a loss to discover the cause to which I might attribute my want of success in the earnest endeavours that I was making to acquire the Indian tongue.

At last there came an Indian, who was conversant with the English and German, and was much my friend. I hastened to lay before him my learned collection of Indian words, and was very much astonished when he advised me immediately to burn the whole, and write no more. "The first thing" said he, "that you are to do "to learn our language is to get an Indian *ear*; when "that is obtained, no sound, no syllable will ever escape "your hearing it, and you will at the same time learn "the true pronunciation and how to accent your words "properly; the rest will come of itself." I found he was right. By listening to the natives, and repeating the words to myself as they spoke them, it was not many months before I ventured to converse with them and finally understood every word they said. The Indians are very proud of a white man's endeavouring to learn their language; they help him in every thing that they can, and it is not their fault if he does not succeed.

124 The language, then, is the first thing that a traveller ought to endeavour to acquire, at least, so as to be able to make himself understood and to understand others.

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Without this indispensible requisite he may write about the soil, earth and stones, describe trees and plants that grow on the surface of the land, the birds that fly in the air and the fishes that swim in the waters, but he should by no means attempt to speak of the disposition and characters of the human beings who inhabit the country, and even of their customs and manners, which it is impossible for him to be sufficiently acquainted with. And indeed, even with the advantage of the language, this knowledge is not to be acquired in a short time, so different is the impression which new objects make upon us at first sight, and that which they produce on a nearer view. I could speak the Delaware language very fluently but I was yet far from being well acquainted with the character and manners of the Lenape. 124

The Indians are very ready to answer the enquiries that are made respecting the usages of their country. But they are very much disgusted with the manner which they say some white people have of asking them questions on questions, without allowing them time to give a proper answer to any one of them. They, on the contrary, never ask a second question until they have received a full answer to the first. They say of those who do otherwise, that they seem as if they wished to know a thing, yet cared not whether they knew it correctly or properly. There are some men who before the Indians have well understood the question put to them, begin to write down their answers; of these they have no good opinion, thinking that they are writing something unfavourable of them.

There are men who will relate incredible stories of the Indians, and think themselves sufficiently warranted because they have Indian authority for it. But these men ought to know that all that an Indian says is not to be relied upon as truth. I do no mean to say that they are addicted to telling falsehoods, for nothing is farther from their character; but they are fond of the marvellous, and

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124 when they find a white man inclined to listen to their tales of wonder, or credulous enough to believe their superstitious notions, there are always some among them ready to entertain him with tales of that description, as it gives them an opportunity of diverting themselves in their leisure hours, by relating such fabulous stories, while they laugh at the same time at their being able to deceive a people who think themselves so superior to them in wisdom and knowledge. They are fond of trying white men who come among them, in order to see whether they can act upon them in this way with success. Travellers who cannot speak their language, and are not acquainted with their character, manners and usages, should be more particularly careful not to ask them questions that touch in any manner upon their superstitious notions, or, as they are often considered even by themselves "fabulous amusements." Nor should a stranger ever display an anxiety to witness scenes of this kind, but rather appear indifferent about them. In this manner he cannot be misled by interested persons or those who have formed a malicious design to deceive him. Whenever such a disposition appears (and it is not difficult to be discovered) questions of this kind should be reserved for another time, and asked in a proper manner before other persons, or of those who would be candid and perhaps let the enquirer into the secret.

114 I have been led to consider Carver, who otherwise is
484 deserving of credit for the greatest part of what he has written on the character of the Indians, to have been imposed upon in the story which he relates of having learned by means of a conjurer (the chief priest of the Killistenoes, as he calls him) who pretended to have had a conversation with the great Spirit, the precise time when a canoe should come, and certain traders who had been long expected should arrive.* Had Carver resided a longer time among the Indians, so as to have acquired a

* Carver's Travels, Introduction, p. 72. Boston Edit, 1797.

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more intimate acquaintance with their customs,* he would have known that they have one in particular (which I understand is universal among all the tribes), which would have easily explained to him what he thought so mysterious. Whenever they go out on a journey, whether far or near, and even sometimes when they go out on hunting parties, they always fix a day, on which they either will return, or their friends at home shall hear from them. They are so particular and punctual in "making their word true," as they call it, that when they find that at the rate they are travelling, they would probably be at home a day or so sooner than the time appointed, they will rather lay by for that time than that their word should not be precisely made good. I have known instances when they might have arrived in very good time the day preceding that which they had appointed, but they rather chose to encamp for the night, though but a few miles distant from their home. They urge a variety of reasons for this conduct. In the first place, they are anxious not to occasion disappointment in any case when they can avoid it. They consider punctuality as an essential virtue, because, say they, much often depends upon it, particularly when they are engaged in wars. Besides, when the day of their return is certainly known, every thing is prepared for their reception, and the family are ready with the best that they can provide to set before them on their arrival. If, however, unforeseen circumstances should prevent them from coming all on the same day, one, at least, or more of them, will be sure to arrive, from whom those at home will learn all that they wish to know.

On all important occasions, in which a tribe or body of Indians are concerned or interested, whether they are looking out for the return of an embassy sent to a dis-

* Carver was only 14 months in the Indian country, during which time he says he travelled near 4000 miles and visited twelve different nations of Indians.

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tant nation, for messengers with an answer on some matter of consequence, for runners despatched by their spies who are watching an enemy's motions, or for traders who at stated periods every year are sure to meet them at certain places, they always take proper and efficacious measures to prevent being surprised.

The case which appears to have excited so much astonishment in Captain Carver, I believe to have been simply this. The Indians had at the season that he speaks of failed to arrive at the trading place at the time appointed. The Indians who had assembled there for the purpose of meeting them could not be ignorant of the cause of their delay, as they had, no doubt, learned it by the return of some of their runners sent out for that purpose, who, as is their custom, probably informed them that another set of runners would be in the next day with further advices. The priest must have known all this, and the precise spot where those fresh runners were to encamp the night preceding their arrival, which is always well known and understood by means of the regular chain of communication that is kept up. These runners say to each other, pointing to the heavens: "When the sun stands there, I will be here or at such "a particular spot," which they clearly designate. The information thus given is sure to reach in time the chiefs of the nation.

The manner in which this priest spoke to Captain Carver of his pretended intercourse with the great Spirit, clearly shews the deception that he was practising upon him. "The great Spirit," said he, "has not indeed "told me when the persons we expect will be here, but "to-morrow, soon after the sun has reached his highest "point in the heavens, a canoe will arrive, and the peo- "ple in that will inform us when the traders will come." The question, then, which he had put to the great Spirit, "when the traders would come?" was not answered, and there was no need of asking the Mannitto when the ca-

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ness should come, for that must have been known already, and that the people in it would tell them where the traders were, and when they might be expected to arrive. 114 484

As in or about the year 1774, I was travelling with some Christian Indians, two Indians of the same nation, but strangers to us, fell in with us just as we were going to encamp, and joined us for the night. One of them was an aged grave looking man, whom I was pleased to see in our company, and I flattered myself with obtaining some information from him, as, according to the Indian custom, age always takes the lead in conversation. I soon, however, perceived, to my great mortification, that he dwelt on subjects which I had neither a taste for nor an ear to hear; for his topic was the supernatural performances of Indians through the agency of an unseen Mannitto. I did not pay any attention to what he said, nor did any of our Christian Indians shew marks of admiration or astonishment at the stories he was telling, but sat in silence smoking their pipes. The speaker having, after an hour's time, finished his relations, the oldest Indian in my company addressed himself to me and said: "Now you have heard what some Indians can "perform. Have you ever heard the like before, and do "you believe all you have heard?" "There are," I answered, "many things that I have heard of the Indians, "and which I believe to be true, and such things I like to "hear; but there are also things which they relate "which I do not believe, and therefore do not wish to "know them. While our friend here was just now telling us stories of this kind, which I cannot believe, I "was wishing all the time that he might soon have finished and tell us something better." The Indian, taking the hint in good part, asked me then what things I should like to hear? On which I made him this reply: "As you are a man already in years, and much older "than myself, you must have seen many things that I 124

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124 "have not seen, and heard much that I have not heard. "Now I should like to hear the history of your life; "where you was born, at what age you shot your first "deer, what things you heard of your father and your "grandfather relative to old times; where they supposed "the Indians to have come from, and what traditions they "had respecting them. I should like also to know how "many children you have had; how far you have tra- "velled in your lifetime, and what you have seen and "heard in your travels. See!" added I, "these are the "things that I should like to hear of the Indians; any "thing of the kind from you will give me pleasure." The Indian then, highly pleased with my candour, readily complied, and having related every thing remarkable that had come within his observation and knowledge, I thanked him, saying that I should never forget him, nor what he had now related to me, but that I would try to forget what he had related in the beginning. The Indians who were with me, following the thread of the conversation, continued to entertain us with rational stories, and the evening was spent very agreeably. In the morning, when we parted, the strange Indian whom I had thus rebuked, shook me cordially by the hand, saying: "Friend! you shall never be forgotten by me. Indeed I "call you my *friend*."

I would take the liberty to recommend to those who may hereafter travel among the Indians, in any part of America, to be particular in their enquiries respecting the connexion of the different nations or tribes with each other, especially when the analogy of their respective languages leads to infer such *relationship*, as the Indians call it. I beg leave to suggest a few questions, which, I think, ought always to be asked. They may lead to much useful information respecting the various migrations and the original places of residence of the Indian nations, and perhaps produce more important discoveries.

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1. What is the name of your tribe? Is it its original name; if not, how was it formerly called? 124

2. Have you a tradition of your lineal descent as a nation or tribe?

3. To what tribes are you related by blood, and where do they reside?

4. What is your character or rank in the national family?

5. Which among the tribes connected with you is that which you call *grandfather*?

6. Where is the great council fire of all the nations or tribes connected with yours?

7. How do you address the chiefs and council of such a nation or tribe?

8. What is the badge of your tribe?

From these and other similar questions, much valuable information will probably result. The nation whom another tribe calls *grandfather*, is certainly the head of the family to which they both belong. At his door burns the "great national council fire," or, in other words, at the place where he resides with his counsellors, as the great or supreme chief of the national family, the heads of the tribes in the connexion occasionally assemble to deliberate on their common interests; any tribe may have a council fire of its own, but cannot dictate to the other tribes, nor compel any of them to take up the hatchet against an enemy; neither can they conclude a peace for the whole; this power entirely rests with the great national chief, who presides at the council fire of their *grandfather*. 648

Indian nations or tribes connected with each other are not always connected by blood or descended from the same original stock. Some are admitted into the connexion by adoption. Such are the Tuscaroras among the Six Nations; such the Cherokees among the Lenni Lenape. Thus, in the year 1779, a deputation of fourteen men came from the Cherokee nation to the council

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fire of the Delawares, to condole with their *grandfather* on the loss of their head chief. There are tribes, on the other hand, who have wandered far from the habitations of those connected with them by blood or relationship. It is certain that they can no longer be benefited by the general council fire. They, therefore, become a people by themselves, and pass with us for a separate nation, if they only have a name; nevertheless, (if I am rightly informed) they well know to what stock or nation they originally belonged, and if questioned on that subject, will give correct answers. It is therefore very important to make these enquiries of any tribe or nation that a traveller may find himself among. The analogy of languages is the best and most unequivocal sign of connexion between Indian tribes; yet the absence of that indication should not always be relied upon.

It may not be improper also to mention in this place that the purity or correctness with which a language is spoken, will greatly help to discover who is the head of the national family. For no where is the language so much cultivated as in the vicinity of the great national council fire, where the orators have the best opportunity of displaying their talents. Thus the purest and most elegant dialect of the Lenape language, is that of the Unami or Turtle tribe.

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CHAPTER XLIV.

THE INDIANS AND THE WHITES COMPARED.

IF lions had painters! This proverbial saying applies with equal force to the American Indians. They have no historians among them, no books, no newspapers, no convenient means of making their grievances known to a sympathising world. Why, then, should not a white man, a Christian, who has spent among them the greatest part of his life, and was treated by them at all times with hospitality and kindness, plead their honest cause, and defend them as they would defend themselves, if they had but the means of bringing their facts and their arguments before an impartial public?

Those who have never taken the pains to enquire into the real character and disposition of the American Indians, naturally suppose, that a people who have no code of laws for their government, but where every man is at liberty to do what he pleases, where men never forget or forgive injuries, and take revenge in their own way, often in the most cruel manner, and are never satisfied until they have been revenged, must of course be *barbarians* and *savages*; by which undefined words is understood whatever is bad, wicked, and disgraceful to human nature. Imagination is immediately at work to paint them as a species of monsters, to whom cruelty is an appetite; a sort of human-shaped tygers and panthers, strangers to the finer feelings, and who commit acts of barbarity without any excitement but that of their depraved inclination, and without even suspecting that there are

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such things in nature as virtue on the one hand and crime on the other.

But nothing is so false as this picture of the Indians. The worst that can be said of them is, that the passion of revenge is so strong in their minds that it carries them beyond all bounds. But set this aside, and their character is noble and great. They have no written laws, but they have usages founded on the most strict principles of equity and justice. Murder with them is punished with death. It is true, that as was the case not many centuries ago among the most civilised nations of Europe, the death of a man may be compounded for with his surviving relations; if, however, they do not choose to accept of the terms offered, any one of them may become the executioner of the murderer.

Thieves are compelled to restore what they have stolen, or to make satisfactory amends to the injured party; in their default, their nearest relations are obliged to make up the loss. If the thief, after sufficient warning, continues his bad practices, he is disowned by his nation, and any one may put him to death the next time that he is caught in the act of stealing, or that it can be clearly proved to have been committed by him. I have given two instances of the kind in a former chapter,* and I recollect another which will put what I have said in the strongest light. I once knew an Indian chief, who had a son of a vicious disposition, addicted to stealing, and who would take no advice. His father tired and unable to satisfy all the demands which were made upon him for the restitution of articles stolen by his son, at last issued his orders for shooting him the next time he should be guilty of a similar act.

As to crimes and offences of an inferior nature to murder and theft, they are left to the injured party to punish in such manner as he thinks proper. Such are personal insults and threats, which, among those people are not

* Ch. 7. p. 97.

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considered as slight matters. If the will and intention of the aggressor appears to be *bad;* if the insult offered is considered as the forerunner of something worse; or, as the Indians express themselves, if the "*murdering spirit*" is "*alive*" within him who offers or threatens violence to another, they think themselves justified in preventing the act meditated against them; in such a case, they consider killing the aggressor as an act of necessity and self defence. Yet it is very rarely, indeed, that such punishments are inflicted.* The Indians, in general, avoid giving offence as much as possible. They firmly believe that bad thoughts and actions proceed from the evil spirit, and carefully avoid every thing that is *bad.*

Every person who is well acquainted with the true character of the Indians will admit that they are peaceable, sociable, obliging, charitable and hospitable among themselves, and that those virtues are, as it were, a part of their nature. In their ordinary intercourse, they are studious to oblige each other. They neither wrangle nor fight; they live, I believe, as peaceably together as any people on earth, and treat one another with the greatest respect. That they are not devoid of tender feelings has been sufficiently shewn in the course of this work. I do not mean to speak of those whose manners have been corrupted by a long intercourse with the worst class of white men; they are a degenerate race, very different from the true genuine Indians whom I have attempted to describe.

If any one should be disposed to think that I have exaggerated in the picture which I have drawn of these *original people*, as they call themselves, I appeal to the numerous impartial writers who have given the same testimony respecting them. What says Christopher Columbus himself of the American Indians in his letters to

* See above, ch. 18. p. 161.

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(8) his sovereign? "There are not," says he, "a better peo-
"ple in the world than these; more affectionate, affable
"or mild. *They love their neighbours as themselves.*"

Similar encomiums were passed on them by some of the first Englishmen who came to settle in this country. The Reverend Mr. Cushman, in a sermon preached at Plymouth in 1620, says: "The Indians are said to be "the most cruel and treacherous people in all those parts, "even like lions; but to us they have been like lambs, "so kind, so submissive and trusty, as a man may "truly say, many Christians are not so kind and sin-"cere."

The learned Dr. Elias Boudinot, of Burlington in New Jersey (a man well remembered as one of the most eminent leaders of the American revolution)* in a work† which, whatever opinion may be entertained of the hypothesis that he contends for, well deserves to be read, for the spirit which it breathes and the facts that it contains, has brought together in one view, the above and many other authorities of eminent men in favour of the American Indians, and in proof that their character is such as I have described. I shall not repeat after him what Las Casas, William Penn, Bryan Edwards, the Abbé Clavigero, Father Charlevoix, and others, have said on the same subject; those numerous and weighty testimonies may be found in the work to which I have referred ‡ But I cannot refrain from transcribing the opinion of the venerable author himself, to which his high character, his learning, and his independence, affix a more than common degree of authority.

* Dr. Boudinot was long a member and once President of the Continental Congress, and his talents were very useful to the cause which he had embraced. At a very advanced age, he now enjoys literary ease in a dignified retirement.

† A Star in the West, or a humble attempt to discover the long lost ten tribes of Israel, preparatory to their return to their beloved city, Jerusalem. Trenton (New Jersey) 1816.

‡ See page 140, and following.

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"It is a matter of fact," says Dr. Boudinot, "proved "by most historical accounts, that the Indians, at our "first acquaintance with them, generally manifested "themselves kind, hospitable and generous to the Euro- "peans, so long as they were treated with justice and "humanity. But when they were, from a thirst of gain, "over-reached on many occasions, their friends and re- "lations treacherously entrapped and carried away to be "sold for slaves, themselves injuriously oppressed, deceiv- "ed and driven from their lawful and native possessions; "what ought to have been expected, but inveterate en- "mity, hereditary animosity, and a spirit of perpetual "revenge? To whom should be attributed the evil "passions, cruel practices and vicious habits to which "they are now changed, but to those who first set them "the example, laid the foundation and then furnished "the continual means for propagating and supporting the "evil?"*

Such was the original character of the Indians, stamped, as it were, upon them by nature; but fifty or sixty years back, whole communities of them bore the stamp of this character, difficult now to be found within the precincts of any part of their territory bordering on the settlements of the white people!

What! will it be asked, can this be a true picture of the character of the Indians; of those brutes, barbarians, savages, men without religion or laws, who commit indiscriminate murders, without distinction of age or sex? Have they not in numberless instances desolated our frontiers, and butchered our people? Have they not violated treaties and deceived the confidence that we placed in them? No, no; they are beasts of prey in the human form; they are men with whom no faith is to be kept, and who ought to be cut off from the face of the earth!

Stop, my friends! hard names and broad assertions

* Star in the West, p. 138.

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000 are neither reasons nor positive facts. I am not prepared to enter into a discussion with you on the comparative merits or demerits of the Indians and whites; for I am unskilled in argument, and profess only to be a plain *matter of fact* man. To facts, therefore, I will appeal. I admit that the Indians have sometimes revenged, cruelly revenged, the accumulated wrongs which they have suffered from unprincipled white men; the love of revenge is a strong passion which their imperfect religious notions have not taught them to subdue. But how often have they been the aggressors in the unequal contests which they have had to sustain with the invaders of their country? In how many various shapes have they not been excited and their passions roused to the utmost fury by acts of cruelty and injustice on the part of the whites, who have made afterwards the country ring with their complaints against the lawless savages, who had not the means of being heard in their defence? I shall not pursue these questions any farther, but let the facts that I am going to relate speak for themselves.

648 In the summer of the year 1763, some friendly Indians from a distant place, came to Bethlehem to dispose of their peltry for manufactured goods and necessary implements of husbandry. Returning home well satisfied, they put up the first night at a tavern, eight miles distant from this place.* The landlord not being at home, his wife took the liberty of encouraging the people who frequented her house for the sake of drinking to abuse those Indians, adding, "That she would freely give a gal-"lon of rum to any one of them that should kill one of "these black d——ls." Other white people from the neighbourhood came in during the night, who also drank freely, made a great deal of noise, and increased

* This relation is authentic; I have received it from the mouth of the chief of the injured party, and his statement was confirmed by communications made at the time by two respectable magistrates of the county.

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the fears of those poor Indians, who, for the greatest part, understanding English, could not but suspect that something bad was intended against their persons. They were not, however, otherwise disturbed: but in the morning, when, after a restless night they were preparing to set off, they found themselves robbed of some of the most valuable articles they had purchased, and on mentioning this to a man who appeared to be the bar-keeper, they were ordered to leave the house. Not being willing to lose so much property, they retired to some distance into the woods, where, some of them remaining with what was left them, the others returned to Bethlehem and lodged their complaint with a justice of the peace. The magistrate gave them a letter to the landlord, pressing him without delay to restore to the Indians the goods that had been taken from them. But behold! when they delivered that letter to the people at the inn, they were told in answer: "that if they set any value on their "lives, they must make off with themselves immediate-"ly." They well understood that they had no other alternative, and prudently departed without having received back any of their goods. Arrived at Nescopeck on the Susquehannah, they fell in with some other Delawares, who had been treated much in the same manner, one of them having had his rifle stolen from him. Here the two parties agreed to take revenge in their own way, for those insults and robberies for which they could obtain no redress; and that they determined to do as soon as war should be again declared by their nation against the English. 648

Scarcely had these Indians retired, when in another place, about fourteen miles distant from the former, one man, two women and a child, all quiet Indians, were murdered in a most wicked and barbarous manner, by drunken militia officers and their men, for the purpose of getting their horse and the goods they had just purchas-

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ed.* One of the women, falling on her knees, begged in vain for the life of herself and her child, while the other woman, seeing what was doing, made her escape to the barn, where she endeavoured to hide herself on the top of the grain. She however was discovered, and inhumanly thrown down on the threshing floor with such force that her brains flew out.

Here, then, were insults, robberies and murders, all committed within the short space of three months, unatoned for and unrevenged. There was no prospect of obtaining redress; the survivors were therefore obliged to seek some other means to obtain revenge. They did so; the Indians, already exasperated against the English in consequence of repeated outrages, and considering the nation as responsible for the injuries which it did neither prevent nor punish, and for which it did not even offer to make any kind of reparation, at last declared war, and then the injured parties were at liberty to redress themselves for the wrongs they had suffered. They immediately started against the objects of their hatred, and finding their way, unseen and undiscovered, to the inn which had been the scene of the first outrage, they attacked it at day break, fired into it on the people within, who were lying in their beds. Strange to relate! the murderers of the man, two women, and child, were among them. They were mortally wounded, and died of their wounds shortly afterwards. The Indians, after leaving this house, murdered by accident an innocent family, having mistaken the house that they meant to attack, after which they returned to their homes.

Now a violent hue and cry was raised against the Indians—no language was too bad, no crimes too black to brand them with. No faith was to be placed in those savages; treaties with them were of no effect; they ought to be cut off from the face of the earth! Such was the

* Justice Geiger's letter to Justice Horsefield proves this fact.

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language at that time in every body's mouth; the newspapers were filled with accounts of the cruelties of the Indians, a variety of false reports were circulated in order to rouse the people against them, while they, the really injured party, having no printing presses among them, could not make known the story of their grievances. 648

"No faith can be placed in what the Indians promise "at treaties; for scarcely is a treaty concluded than they "are again murdering us." Such is our complaint against these unfortunate people; but they will tell you that it is the white men in whom no faith is to be placed. They will tell you, that there is not a single instance in which the whites have not violated the engagements that they had made at treaties. They say that when they had ceded lands to the white people, and boundary lines had been established—"firmly established!" beyond which no whites were to settle; scarcely was the treaty signed, when white intruders again were settling and hunting on their lands! It is true that when they prefered their complaints to the government, the government gave them many fair promises and assured them that men would be sent to remove the intruders by force from the usurped lands. The men, indeed, came, but with chain and compass in their hands, taking surveys of the tracts of good land, which the intruders, from their knowledge of the country, had pointed out to them!

What was then to be done, when those intruders would not go off from the land, but, on the contrary, increased in numbers? "Oh!" said those people, (and I have myself frequently heard this language in the Western country,) "a new treaty will soon give us all this land; no-"thing is now wanting but a pretence to pick a quarrel "with them!" Well, but in what manner is this quarrel to be brought about? A *David Owen*, a *Walker*, and many others, might, if they were alive, easily answer this question. A precedent, however, may be found, on perusing Mr. Jefferson's Appendix to his Notes on Vir-

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ginia. On all occasions, when the object is to murder Indians, strong liquor is the main article required; for when you have them dead drunk, you may do to them as you please, without running the risk of losing your life. And should you find that the laws of your country may reach you where you are, you have only to escape or conceal yourself for a while, until the storm has blown over! I well recollect the time when thieves and murderers of Indians fled from impending punishment across the Susquehannah, where they considered themselves safe; on which account this river had the name given to it of "*the rogue's river.*" I have heard other rivers called by similar names.

In the year 1742, the Reverend Mr. Whitefield offered the Nazareth Manor (as it was then called) for sale to the United Brethren. He had already begun to build upon it a spacious stone house, intended as a school house for the education of negro children. The Indians, in the meanwhile, loudly exclaimed against the white people for settling in this part of the country, which had not yet been legally purchased of them, but, as they said, had been obtained by fraud.* The Brethren declined purchasing any lands on which the Indian title had not been properly extinguished, wishing to live in peace with all the Indians around them. Count Zinzendorff happened at that time to arrive in the country; he found that the agents of the proprietors would not pay to the Indians the price which they asked for that tract of land; he paid them out of his private purse the whole of the demand which they made in the height of their ill temper, and moreover gave them permission to abide on the land, at their village, (where, by the bye, they had a fine large peach orchard) as long as they should think proper. But among those white men, who afterwards came and settled in the neighbourhood of their tract, there

* Alluding to what was at that time known by the name of the *long day's walk*.

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were some who were enemies to the Indians, and a young Irishman, without cause or provocation, murdered their good and highly respected chief *Tudemi*,* a man of such an easy and friendly address, that he could not but be loved by all who knew him. This, together with the threats of other persons, ill disposed towards them, was the cause of their leaving their settlement on this manor, and removing to places of greater safety. 648

It is true, that when flagrant cases of this description occurred, the government, before the revolution, issued proclamations offering rewards for apprehending the offenders, and in later times, since the country has become more thickly settled, those who had been guilty of such offences were brought before the tribunals to take their trials. But these formalities have proved of little avail. In the first case, the criminals were seldom, if ever, apprehended; in the second, no jury could be found to convict them; for it was no uncommon saying among many of the men of whom juries in the frontier countries were commonly composed, that no man should be put to death for killing an Indian; for it was the same thing as killing a wild beast!

But what shall I say of the conduct of the British agents, or deputy agents, or by whatsoever other name they may be called, who, at the commencement of the American revolution, openly excited the Indians to kill and destroy all the rebels without distinction? "Kill "all the rebels," they would say, "put them all to death, "and spare none." A veteran chief of the Wyandot nation, who resided near Detroit, observed to one of them that surely it was meant that they should kill men only, and not women and children. "No, no," was the answer, "kill all, destroy all; "*nits breed lice!*" The brave veteran† was so disgusted with this reply, that he refused to go out at all; wishing however to see and 648 727

* See above, p. 300.

† The same of whom I have spoken above, p. 160.

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converse with his old brother soldiers of the Delaware nation, with whom he had fought against the English in the French war, he took the command of a body of ninety chosen men, and being arrived at the seat of the government of the Delawares, on the Muskingam, he freely communicated to his old comrades (among whom was Glikhican, whom I shall presently have occasion further to mention) what had taken place, and what he had resolved on; saying that he never would be guilty of killing women and children; that this was the first and would be the last of his going out this war; that in ten days they should see him come back with one prisoner only, no scalp to a pole, and no life lost. He kept his word. The sixteen chiefs under him, from respect and principle, agreed to all his proposals and wishes.

How different the conduct of the Indians from that of their inhuman employers! I have already related the noble speech of Captain Pipe to the British Commandant at Detroit, and I have done justice to the character of that brave officer, who surely ought not to be confounded with those Indian agents that I have spoken of. But what said Pipe to him? "Innocence had no part "in your quarrels; and therefore I distinguished—I spa- "red. Father!' I hope you will not destroy what I "have saved!"* I have also told the conduct of the two young spirited Delawares† who saved the life of the venerable Missionary Zeisberger, at the risk of their own. But it is not only against their own people that Indians have afforded their protection to white men, but against the whites themselves.

In the course of the revolutionary war, in which (as in all civil commotions) brother was seen fighting against brother, and friend against friend, a party of Indian warriors, with whom one of those white men, who, under colour of attachment to their king, indulged in every sort of crimes, was going out against the settlers on the Ohio,

* See above, pp. 123, 124. † Above, p. 274.

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to kill and destroy as they had been ordered. The chief of the expedition had given strict orders not to molest any of the white men who lived with their friends the Christian Indians; yet, as they passed near a settlement of these converts, the white man, unmindful of the orders he had received, attempted to shoot two of the Missionaries who were planting potatoes in their field, and though the Captain warned him to desist, he still obstinately persisted in his attempt. The chief, in anger, immediately took his gun from him, and kept him under guard until they had reached a considerable distance from the place. I have received this account from the chief himself, who on his return sent word to the Missionaries that they would do well not to go far from home, as they were in too great danger from the *white people*.

Another white man of the same description, whom I well knew, related with a kind of barbarous exultation, on his return to Detroit from a war excursion with the Indians in which he had been engaged, that the party with which he was, having taken a woman prisoner who had a sucking babe at her breast, he tried to persuade the Indians to kill the child, lest its cries should discover the place where they were; the Indians were unwilling to commit the deed, on which the white man at once jumped up, tore the child from its mother's arms, and taking it by the legs dashed its head against a tree, so that the brains flew out all around. The monster in relating this story said "The little dog "all the time was making *wee!*" He added, that if he were sure that his old father, who some time before had died in Old Virginia, would, if he had lived longer, have turned rebel, he would go all the way into Virginia, raise the body, and take off his scalp!

Let us now contrast with this the conduct of the Indians. Carver tells us in his travels with what moderation, humanity and delicacy they treat female prisoners,

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and particularly pregnant women.* I refer the reader to the following fact, as an instance of their conduct in such cases. If his admiration is excited by the behaviour of the Indians, I doubt not that his indignation will be raised in an equal degree by that of a white man who unfortunately acts a part in the story.

A party of Delawares, in one of their excursions during the revolutionary war, took a white female prisoner. The Indian chief, after a march of several days, observed that she was ailing, and was soon convinced (for she was far advanced in her pregnancy) that the time of her delivery was near. He immediately made a halt on the bank of a stream, where at a proper distance from the encampment, he built for her a close hut of peeled barks, gathered dry grass and fern to make her a bed, and placed a blanket at the opening of the dwelling as a substitute for a door. He then kindled a fire, placed a pile of wood near it to feed it occasionally, and placed a kettle of water at hand where she might easily use it. He then took her into her little infirmary, gave her Indian medicines, with directions how to use them, and told her to rest easy and she might be sure that nothing should disturb her. Having done this, he returned to his men, forbade them from making any noise, or disturbing the sick woman in any manner, and told them that he himself should guard her during the night. He did so, and the whole night kept watch before her door, walking backward and forward, to be ready at her call at any moment, in case of extreme necessity. The night passed quietly, but in the morning, as he was walking by on the bank of the stream, seeing him through the crevices, she called to him and presented her babe. The good chief, with tears in his eyes, rejoiced at her safe delivery; he told her not to be uneasy, that he should lay by for a few days and would soon bring her some nourishing food, and some medicines to take. Then going to his encamp-

* Carver's Travels, ch. 9. p. 196. Edit. above cited.

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ment, he ordered all his men to go out a hunting, and remained himself to guard the camp. 698 727

Now for the reverse of the picture. Among the men whom this chief had under his command, was one of those white vagabonds whom I have before described. The captain was much afraid of him, knowing him to be a bad man; and as he had expressed a great desire to go a hunting with the rest, he believed him gone, and entertained no fears for the woman's safety. But it was not long before he was undeceived. While he was gone to a small distance to dig roots for his poor patient, he heard her cries, and running with speed to her hut, he was informed by her that the white man had threatened to take her life if she did not immediately throw her child into the river. The captain, enraged at the cruelty of this man, and the liberty he had taken with his prisoner, hailed him as he was running off, and told him "That the moment he should miss the child, the tomo-"hawk should be in his head." After a few days this humane chief placed the woman carefully on a horse, and they went together to the place of their destination, the mother and child doing well. I have heard him relate this story, to which he added, that whenever he should go out on an excursion, he never would suffer a white man to be of his party.

Yet I must acknowledge that I have known an Indian chief who had been guilty of the crime of killing the child of a female prisoner. It was Glikhican, of whom I have before spoken, as one of the friends of the brave Wyandot who expressed so much horror at the order given to him by the Indian agents to murder women and children.* In the year 1770, he joined the congregation of the Christian Indians; the details of his conversion are related at large by Loskiel in his History of the Missions.† Before that time he had been conspicuous as a warrior and a counsellor, and in oratory it is said he

* See above, p. 338. † Loskiel, p. 3. ch. 3.

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never was surpassed. This man, having joined the French, in the year 1754, or 1755, in their war against the English, and being at that time out with a party of Frenchmen, took, among other prisoners, a young woman, named *Rachel Abbott*, from the Conegocheague settlement, who had at her breast a sucking babe. The incessant cries of the child, the hurry to get off, but above all, the persuasions of his *white* companions, induced him, much against his inclination, to kill the innocent creature; while the mother, in an agony of grief, and her face suffused with tears, begged that its life might be spared. The woman, however, was brought safe to the Ohio, where she was kindly treated and adopted, and some years afterwards was married to a Delaware chief of respectability, by whom she had several children, who are now living with the Christian Indians in Upper Canada.

Gilkhican never forgave himself for having committed this crime, although many times, and long before his becoming a Christian, he had begged the woman's pardon with tears in his eyes, and received her free and full forgiveness. In vain she pointed out to him all the circumstances that he could have alleged to excuse the deed; in vain she reminded him of his unwillingness at the time, and his having been in a manner compelled to it by his French associates; nothing that she did say could assuage his sorrow or quiet the perturbation of his mind; he called himself a wretch, a monster, a *coward* (the proud feelings of an Indian must be well understood to judge of the force of this self-accusation), and to the moment of his death the remembrance of this fatal act preyed like a canker worm upon his spirits. I ought to add, that from the time of his conversion he lived the life of a Christian, and died as such.

The Indians are cruel to their enemies!—In some cases they are, but perhaps not more so than white men have sometimes shewn themselves. There have been in-

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stances of white men flaying or taking off the skin of Indians who had fallen into their hands, then tanning those skins or cutting them in pieces, making them up into razor-straps, and exposing those for sale, as was done at or near Pittsburg sometime during the revolutionary war. Those things are abominations in the eyes of the Indians, who, indeed, when strongly excited, inflict torments on their prisoners and put them to death by cruel tortures, but never are guilty of acts of barbarity in cold blood. Neither do the Delawares and some other Indian nations, ever on any account disturb the ashes of the dead.

The custom of torturing prisoners is of ancient date, and was first introduced as a trial of courage. I have been told, however, that among some tribes it has never been in use; but it must be added that those tribes gave no quarter. The Delawares accuse the Iroquois, of having been the inventors of this piece of cruelty, and charge them further with eating the flesh of their prisoners after the torture was over. Be this as it may, there are now but few instances of prisoners being put to death in this manner.

Rare as these barbarous executions now are, I have reason to believe that they would be still less frequent, if proper pains were taken to turn the Indians away from this heathenish custom. Instead of this, it is but too true that they have been excited to cruelty by unprincipled white men, who have joined in their war-feasts and even added to the barbarity of the scene. Can there be a more brutal act than, after furnishing those savages, as they are called, with implements of war and destruction, to give them an ox to kill and to roast whole, to dance the war dance with them round the slaughtered animal, strike at him, stab him, telling the Indians at the same time: "Strike, stab! Thus you must do to your "enemy!" Then taking a piece of the meat and tearing it with their teeth: "So you must eat his flesh!" and

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sucking up the juices: "Thus you must drink his "blood!" and at last devour the whole as wolves do a carcass. This is what is known to have been done by some of those Indian agents that I have mentioned.

Is this possible? the reader will naturally exclaim. Yes, it is possible, and every Indian warrior will tell you that it is true. It has come to me from so many credible sources that I am forced to believe it. How can the Indians now be reproached with acts of cruelty to which they have been excited by those who pretended to be Christians and civilised men, but who were worse savages than those whom, no doubt, they were ready to brand with that name.

When hostile governments give directions to employ the Indians against their enemies, they surely do not know that such is the manner in which their orders are to be executed; but let me tell them and every government who will descend to employing these auxiliaries, that this is the only way in which their subaltern agents will and can proceed to make their aid effectual. The Indians are not fond of interfering in quarrels not their own, and will not fight with spirit for the mere sake of a livelihood which they can obtain in a more agreeable manner by hunting and their other ordinary occupations. Their passions must be excited, and that is not easily done when they themselves have not received any injury from those against whom they are desired to fight. Behold, then, the abominable course which must unavoidably be resorted to—to induce them to do what?—to lay waste the dwelling of the peaceable cultivator of the land, and to murder his innocent wife and his helpless children! I cannot pursue this subject farther, although I am far from having exhausted it. I have said enough to enable the impartial reader to decide which of the two classes of men, the Indians and the whites, are most justly entitled to the epithets of brutes, barbarians and savages. It is not for me to anticipate his decision.

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But if the Indians, after all, are really those horrid monsters which they are alleged to be, two solemn serious questions have often occurred to my mind, to which I wish the partisans of that doctrine would give equally serious answers. 648

1. Can civilised nations, can nations which profess Christianity, be justified in employing people of that description to aid them in fighting their battles against their enemies, Christians like themselves?

2. When such nations offer up their prayers to the throne of the most High, supplicating the divine Majesty to grant success to their arms, can they, ought they to expect that those prayers will be heard?

I have done. Let me only be permitted, in conclusion, to express my firm belief, the result of much attentive observation and long experience while living among the Indians, that if we would only observe towards them the first and most important precept of our holy religion, "to do to others as we would be done to;" if instead of employing them to fight our battles, we encouraged them to remain at peace with us and with each other, they might easily be brought to a state of civilisation, and become CHRISTIANS.

I still indulge the hope that this work will be accomplished by a wise and benevolent government. Thus we shall demonstrate the falsity of the prediction of the Indian prophets, who say: "That when the whites shall have "ceased killing the red men, and got all their lands from "them, the great tortoise which bears this island upon "his back, shall dive down into the deep and drown "them all, as he once did before, a great many years "ago; and that when he again rises, the Indians shall "once more be put in possession of the whole country."

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CONCLUSION.

I HAVE thus finished the work which was required of me by the Historical Committee of the American Philosophical Society. On reading over the printed sheets which have been kindly sent to me from Philadelphia, as they issued from the press, I have noticed several errors, some of which may be ascribed to me, others to the transcriber of the manuscript, and very few to the printer. I regret that there are among them some mistakes in dates and names of places; they are all rectified in the errata.

I am very sensible of the many defects of this little work in point of method, arrangement, composition and style. I am not an author by profession; the greatest part of my life was spent among savage nations, and I have now reached the age of seventy five, at which period of life little improvement can be expected. It is not, therefore, as an author that I wish to be judged, but as a sincere relator of facts that have fallen within my observation and knowledge. I declare that I have said nothing but what I certainly know or verily believe. In matters of mere opinion, I may be contradicted; but in points of fact I have been even scrupulous, and purposely omitted several anecdotes for which I could not sufficiently vouch. In my descriptions of character, I may have been an unskilful painter, and ill chosen expressions may imperfectly have sketched out the images that are imprinted on my mind; but the fault is in the writer, not in the man.

It is with pleasure that I inform the reader that the parts of Mr. Zeisberger's Iroquois Dictionary which I have mentioned above, (pages 81. 104.) as being irre-

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trievably lost, have most fortunately been found since this work is in the press. The book has been neatly bound in seven quarto volumes, and will remain a monument of the richness and comprehensivenes of the languages of the Indian nations. Several valuable grammatical works on the same language, by the same author and Mr. Pyrlæus, have been recovered at the same time, by means of which, the idiom of the Six Nations may now be scientifically studied.

When I spoke (p. 124) of the impression made by Captain Pipe's speech "on all present," I meant only on those who understood the language; for there were many who did not, and M. Baby, the Canadian interpreter, did not explain to the bystanders the most striking passages, but went now and then to the Commandant and whispered in his ear. Captain Pipe, while he spoke, was exceedingly animated, and twice advanced so near to the Commandant, that M. Baby ordered him to fall back to his place. All who were present must have at least suspected that his speech was not one of the ordinary kind, and that every thing was not as they might suppose it ought to be.

I promised in my introduction (p. 8.) to subjoin an explanatory list of the Indian nations which I have mentioned in the course of this work, but I find that I have been so full on the subject that such a list is unnecessary.

I have classed the Florida Indians together in respect of language, on the supposition that they all speak dialects of the same mother tongue; the fact, however, may be otherwise, though it will be extraordinary that there should be several languages entirely different from each other in the narrow strip of land between the Carolinas and the Mississippi, when there are but two principal ones in the rest of the United States. It is to be expect- that there searches of the Historical Committee will throw light upon this subject.

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ERRATA.

Page 8, Line 5—Between the words "*if*" and "*what*" insert "*we can recollect.*"
12, 18—For "*declaring at the same time,*" read "*and declared afterwards.*"
13, 4—For "*Mohicans*" read "*Lenape.*"
30, 14—For "1748" read "*and November* 1754."
55, 13—Dele "*in which.*"
60, 25—For "*Delawares*" read "*Mohicans.*"
64, 16—For "1787" read "1781."
25—Last but one of the text, for "*us*" read "*them.*"
67, 9—For "*Mouseys*" read *Monseys.*"
22—Beginning a paragraph, for "1763, *about six*" read "1772, *a few.*"
69, 4—Of first note, for "*Shawanacha*" read "*Shawanáchan.*"
74, 3—For "*Shawanos*" read "*Nanticokes.*"
75, 4—For "*schschequon*" read "*shechechequon.*"
76, 24 and 25—For "*Tawachgudne*" read "*Tayachgudne.*"
95, 26—For "*once*" read "*sometimes.*"
96, 26—For "*should*" read "*deserved to.*"
23—For "*to*" read "*out at.*"
31—Dele "*outside of the door and.*"
104, 18—For "*Thornhalleen*" read "*Thorhalleen.*
108, 1—Of the second note, for "*p. 3.*" read "*p. 5.*"
117, 19—For "*or*" read "*nor.*"
119, 1—For "*met*" read "*saw.*"
5—For "*days*" read "*hours.*"
120, 27—For "*December*" read "*November.*"
123, 1—Of No. 43. for "*with*" read "*of.*"
139, 14—For "*they*" read "*the Chippeways and some other nations.*"
134, 39—For "*your*" read "*you.*"
138, 6—From the bottom; after the word "*nation*" insert "*which they do not approve of.*"
142, 20—For "*they sure*" read "*they are sure.*"
150, 15—For "*reply*" read "*answer.*"
154, 16—For "*decide*" read "*say.*"
18—For "*man*" read "*men.*"
155, 6—From the bottom, between "*is*" and "*even*" insert "*sometimes.*"
156, 18—For "*an old Indian*" read "*several old men.*"
157, 6 and 8—For "*road*" read "*course.*"
163, 5—From the bottom; for "*where*" read "*whence.*"
168, 25—For "*Duke Holland*" read "*Luke Holland;*" the same where the name again occurs.
193, 14—Dele "*again.*"
209, 2—From the bottom; for "*very often*" read "*sometimes.*"
210, 13—For "*inches*" read "*feet.*"
211, 6—From the bottom, for "*of*" read "*on.*"
236, 23 and 35—For "*Americans*" read "*white men.*"
242, 3—Of the text from the bottom, for "*killed*" read "*eaten.*"
247, 11—For "*Punk-ait*" read "*P'duk-ait.*"
256, 27 and 28—Dele "*lands or.*"
274, 4—For "*Albany*" read "*Pittsburgh.*"
279, 26—For "*Sandusky*" read "*Muskingum.*"
290, 21—For "*bought*" read "*brought.*"
311, 12—For "*them*" read "*us.*"

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ANTHROPOLOGICAL PAPERS

MUSEUM OF ANTHROPOLOGY, UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

No. 10

The Culture and Acculturation Of The Delaware Indians

by
WILLIAM W. NEWCOMB, JR.

[p. i]
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ANN ARBOR
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN, 1956

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PREFACE

Any group of people who have been able to preserve even some of the beliefs and customs of their ancestors of three and a half centuries ago in the face of intense, largely continuous pressure to abandon them merits the interest and attention of the social scientist. The Delaware Indians of Oklahoma are such a people — a people who only today are finally relinquishing a cultural tradition old in the time of John Smith and Henry Hudson.

Despite the wealth of documentary material dealing with Delaware culture, no comprehensive description of its early form has been written. Herman has recently reconstructed the early historic culture from documentary sources; her study, however, is not comprehensive.[1] Kinietz has attempted "to assemble and analyze data on the culture. . . from the earliest white contact to the present, with a view to determining what changes have taken place in their culture, when, and why."[2] Unfortunately, this analysis was only partly successful.[3] Several aspects of Delaware culture have received adequate treatment. The religious beliefs and practices, particularly of later times, have been described at length.[4] Delaware language has been described and analyzed,[5] and the Walam Olum or Red Score has been discussed extensively.[6] Apart from Kinietz' preliminary effort, there has been no attempt to describe or analyze Delaware acculturation. Likewise, no consideration has ever been given to the final phases of Delaware acculturation, or assimilation, particularly the part which the Delawares are playing in what has been termed the Pan-Indian society. The aims of this study are, then, to reconstruct the early historic culture of the Delawares, to describe how it changed under the impact of Euro-American civilization, and to explain, at least in broad terms, why the changes took place.

This study was originally prepared under the direction of the Department of Anthropology, University of Michigan, in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the Doctor of Philosophy degree. New data have altered the original dissertation to some extent, although the organization and conclusions remain essentially the same. Two chapters were deleted and included in others, and a map has been added.

During the summer months of 1951 and 1952 an ethnographic study was made of the Delaware Indians in Oklahoma. The cost of this field work was borne in part by funds provided by the Ford Foundation and administered by the Department of Anthropology, University of Michigan. I gratefully acknowledge this assistance. I particularly want to thank

[1] Herman, 1950, pp. 45-77.
[2] Kinietz, 1948, p. 15.
[3] Speck, 1948, pp. 723-24.
[4] Speck, 1931; Harrington, 1921.
[5] C. F. Voegelin, 1946; C. F. and E. W. Voegelin, 1946.
[6] Brinton, 1885; Lilly, 1944, pp. 33-40; E. W. Voegelin, 1940, pp. 28-31; Lilly, *et al.*, 1954. See Griffin, 1955, for a review of the preceding volume; Newcomb, 1955, pp. 57-63.

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000 Dr. Leslie A. White for making this grant possible and for his guidance throughout the study. I also want to express my appreciation for the assistance given by the other members of my doctoral committee, Professors David F. Aberle, Richard K. Beardsley, James B. Griffin, and Volney H. Jones. John Witthoft has also read the manuscript and it has benefited from his many corrections and additions. For any shortcomings or errors which this study may contain I assume full responsibility.

115 The greater part of the field work was done in Washington County, Oklahoma. I am indebted to many Delawares in this county for valuable information and for their patience and co-operation. I particularly wish to thank Ollie Beaver Anderson, Lenora Dean, Jim Thompson, Reuben Wilson, and Fred Washington. Approximately one month was spent in Anadarko, in southwestern Oklahoma, where Mary Bob was a perceptive and kindly informant. I also wish to thank her granddaughter, Mrs. Charley Caddo, for her excellent interpretation of the Delaware language. Lastly, I wish to thank my wife, Gleny, for her invaluable assistance and constant encouragement both in the field and with the manuscript.

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PART I. EARLY HISTORIC DELAWARE CULTURE

I. DELAWARE ORIGINS AND AFFILIATIONS

At the opening of the seventeenth century all of the Atlantic coastal peoples north of North Carolina and extending to the Maritime Provinces and the St. Lawrence were culturally similar to one another. Kroeber, however, distinguished two cultural provinces within the Algonkian area, a North Atlantic Slope and a Middle Atlantic Slope.[1] On the basis of an analysis of cultural traits Flannery divided this coastal area into three divisions, or subareas: Northern New England, Central, and Virginia-Maryland.[2] Kroeber's Middle Atlantic Slope is roughly equivalent to Flannery's Central area. The aborigines who were to become known as Delawares in the eighteenth century inhabited this Central or Middle Atlantic Slope area. They did not comprise, as the name Delaware implies, a single social, political, or linguistic entity. They did, however, inhabit a continuous area extending from Delaware Bay on the south, through Manhattan Island, and up the west side of the Hudson River to the Catskills on the north. Inland, they occupied the banks of the Delaware River and its tributaries northeast to the Hudson. This territory included part of the present state of Delaware, all of New Jersey, eastern Pennsylvania, and part of southern New York (Map 1).

The Delawaran peoples were centrally located within the Middle Atlantic Slope area. To the north were the Mahican, on the east bank of the Hudson lived the Wappinger division of the Mahican, and on Long Island were the Montauk, another Mahican group. To the south, in Maryland and part of Delaware, lived the Conoy, Nanticoke, Choptank, and associated peoples.[3] The other peoples of this area are little known apart from the notes in Captain John Smith's memoirs.[4] All of these peoples were similar to one another in culture and language, and remnants from most, if not all, of these tribes in later times became incorporated with the Delaware tribe. To the west, in eastern Pennsylvania, lived the Conestoga (or Susquehannock), an Iroquoian people.[5] To the northwest and north, in what is now New York State, were their Iroquoian relatives, the Five and later Six Nations.

Delaware Prehistory: a Summary

It is a difficult task to identify archaeological sites in the Middle Atlantic Slope area with historic tribes. This difficulty stems from two factors. First, soon after contact the coastal peoples emigrated, were dispersed, or died, with the result that it is impossible to find many coastal sites which contain contact materials. Second, since much

[1] Kroeber, 1947, p. 93.
[2] Flannery, 1939, p. 182.
[3] Kroeber, 1947, Map 1a, p. 93; Weslager, 1943, pp. 42-43.
[4] Smith, 1884, pp. 55, 351.
[5] Kroeber, 1947, Map 1a, p. 93.

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172 of the area has been heavily urbanized, many sites have been destroyed.[6] Despite these difficulties the early historic Delawaran peoples have been partly identified with archaeological complexes of the area. The East River Aspect is a case in point. Smith said:

> The East River aspect represents the culture of the Algonkian-speaking peoples who inhabited the area in historic times. Specifically, the Wappinger, western Metoac, and some groups of Delaware appear to have carried the culture designated as the East River aspect.[7]

This Aspect takes in the area around the mouth of the Hudson River including western Long Island. At present it encompasses four foci: Massapeag, Clasons Point, Rosenkrans Ferry, and Bowmans Brook.[8] Smith, estimating that this culture made its appearance about A.D. 1000, said:

> Its advent represents a cultural discontinuity, for the underlying culture is the Clearview focus, an early stage in the development of Windsor. The different character of the artifacts in the East River culture and the survival of the Windsor culture elsewhere militate against attributing the change to diffusion. It seems to represent an invasion by new groups of people with a different cultural tradition.[9]

The East River Aspect apparently came into the area from New Jersey. Witthoft has said that the East River ceramic tradition developed from the poorly known ceramic style found on Abbott's Farm at Trenton, New Jersey. The upper levels of the Overpeck and Diehl sites, both located near Easton, Pennsylvania, and dug by MacNeish and Witthoft, also are connected with the early historic natives of the area.[10] The Overpeck ceramic series was also derived from Abbott's Farm, specifically from a ceramic type which Witthoft has termed Abbott Zoned pottery.[11]

The East River Aspect should probably be enlarged to include the Red Valley Focus of New Jersey. Cross used this term in preference to the "Early" Focus which was previously used by Ritchie for the Coastal Aspect.[12] Cross used Red Valley because ". . . in light of the homogeneity of the New Jersey culture, the temporal implications of 'Early' and 'Late' as applied to foci do not seem justifiable."[13] Sites in northern New Jersey are "more closely affiliated with the Rosenkrans Ferry or 'Late' Focus."[14] The conjectures which have derived the New York foci of the East River Aspect from New Jersey by migration, and by implication from the Red Valley Focus, would seem to indicate a closer affiliation with Delawaran peoples than was given by Smith. In short, about A.D. 1000 people who were probably Delawares extended their range to coastal New York.

Smith stated that the East River Aspect "may be connected with the

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[6] Ritchie, 1938, p. 94.
[7] Smith, 1950, p. 116.
[8] *Ibid.*, p. 116.
[9] *Ibid.*, p. 108.
[10] MacNeish, 1952, p. 52.
[11] Personal communication from John Witthoft; Cross, 1953.
[12] Cross, 1941, p. 210; Ritchie, 1938, pp. 103-8.
[13] Cross, 1941, p. 211.
[14] *Ibid.*

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Northeastern phase"[15] of the Woodland pattern. The pottery "suggests" Owasco and Iroquois "in many of its traits."[16] Although the East River Aspect is intrusive at the mouth of the Hudson and cannot be derived from the Clearview Focus of the Windsor Aspect, it evidently is closely related to, and possibly derived from, the Owasco Aspect of the Northeastern Phase.[17] The suggestion made by Smith received support from Ritchie's thesis that the Castle Creek Focus (probably the latest stage of Owasco) is partly Delaware "on the grounds of territorial overlapping"[18] The masklike faces which are frequent on Castle Creek pipe bowls and the "conventionalized human effigies" which are present on one Castle Creek pot also are said to suggest the magico-religious mask cult of the historic Delawares.[19]

Another group of Delawares, the Munsi, has been definitely associated with an archaeological complex. The principal village of the peoples who were to become the historic Munsi was on Minisink Island. Heye and Pepper excavated this site, and in 1947 Ritchie conducted further excavations.[20] Ritchie summed up this work by saying:

> Basically, then, the Munsee culture as it first appeared on the Bell-Philhower Site, is identifiable with . . . the Castle Creek Focus of the Owasco Aspect, and there can be little doubt that it represents an importation from upriver in New York state. In its New Jersey milieu it underwent progressive changes as the result of acculturation through contacts with neighboring groups, chief of which was probably the Unami with whom the Munsee confederated and for whom they served as a buffer stage against the Iroquois.[21]

The historic Delaware culture may then be derived from "Late Prehistoric period"[22] cultures of the New York-New Jersey area. These cultures were in turn partial outgrowths of earlier cultures of the Intermediate period. Agriculture and shellfish collection, at least along the coast, were important during this interval. Pottery was common, bone and antler artifacts were present, and there was a preoccupation with burial in some places.[23] According to Ritchie, the Intermediate period in New York "represents successive diffusions over several centuries from the Great Lakes area, mainly Ohio, via the Alleghany Valley and south shore of Lake Erie. . . ."[24] The Archaic period, which underlies the Intermediate, is said to have lasted to about 1000 B.C. and was characterized as a wild food economy, including shellfish collection. Chipped stone projectile points were more abundant than in the subsequent period, but bone and antler artifacts were rare or absent. Ceramics, horticulture, and smoking pipes were also absent.[25]

The course of Delaware prehistory, then, was not that of a pure, internally developing system. Ritchie has expressed this point of view, stating that a knowledge of this area "recognizes the probability of

[15] Smith, 1950, p. 108.
[16] *Ibid.*, p. 117.
[17] Ritchie, 1944, p. 5, Pl. 1.
[18] *Ibid.*, p. 56.
[19] *Ibid.*, p. 57.
[20] Heye and Pepper, 1915; Ritchie, 1949; Philhower, 1953.
[21] Ritchie, 1949, p. 195.
[22] Ritchie, 1944, p. 7, Pl. 2.
[23] Smith, 1950, p. 106; Ritchie, 1944, p. 334.
[24] Ritchie, 1944, p. 334.
[25] Smith, 1950, p. 106; Ritchie, 1944, p. 321; Ritchie, 1951; Smith, 1955.

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172 infusions of new complexes, probably in many cases associated with population movements which have acted to alter decidedly the tones and values of the cultural picture."[36] This does not mean, however, that there were extensive migrations into the area in recent times; the peoples of Delaware culture, on the contrary, had deep roots in the immediate vicinity. Migrations and the diffusion of cultural traits were important, but were not on the scale suggested by the Walam Olum or the oral traditions.

Traditional Origins

173 Some investigators, on the basis of the Walam Olum or other Delaware traditions, have suggested that the Delawares were recent immigrants from other areas.[37] The archaeological and the linguistic evidence does not seem to warrant, however, the postulation of any extensive recent eastward or southward migration of Delawaran peoples. It appears that the traditional western origin cited by many investigators is based upon the accounts found in Heckewelder and Zeisberger.[38] To summarize these accounts, the Delawares hundreds of years ago lived on the western side of the Mississippi and for unknown reasons they slowly migrated east. The "Mengwe" (Iroquois) also took part in this eastward migration and united with the Delawares to fight the "Talligewi" or "Alligewi," who held the land east of the river. The invaders ultimately triumphed, but after living for some time in the east these two allies fell out and warred upon each other. The Iroquoian tribes, on the losing side in these battles, were forced to confederate during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. A military stalemate followed until European contact was established, when the Dutch aided the Iroquois in making "women" of the Delawares.

The migration legend found in the Walam Olum (pictographic bark record of the Delawares) is similar to the one obtained by Zeisberger and Heckewelder. I have suggested elsewhere that the migration account of the Walam Olum was derived from the traditional legends, but that it was altered to suit the political circumstances of nineteenth-century Delaware life.[39] According to Brinton's translation of the Walam Olum, the origin of the Delawares was in the far northeast, "probably at Labrador." This legend recounts:

> [They] journeyed south and west, till they reached a broad water, full of islands and abounding in fish, perhaps the St. Lawrence about the Thousand Isles. They crossed and dwelt for some generations in the pine and hemlock regions of New York, fighting more or less with the Snake people, and the Talega, agricultural nations, living in stationary villages to the southeast of them, in the area of Ohio and Indiana. They drove out the former, but the latter remained on the upper Ohio and its branches. The Lenape, now settled on the streams in Indiana, wished to remove to the East to join the Mohegans and other

[36] Ritchie, 1944, p. 320.
[37] Kroeber, 1947, p. 93; Lilly, 1944, pp. 33-40; Lilly, *et al.*, 1954, pp. 273-85.
[38] Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 47-70; Zeisberger, 1871, pp. 33-36.
[39] Newcomb, 1955, pp. 57-63.

of their kin who had moved there directly from northern New York. They, therefore, united with the Hurons (Talamatans) to drive out the Talegs (Tsalaki, Cherokees) from the upper Ohio. This they only succeeded in accomplishing finally in the historic period. But they did clear the road and reached the Delaware valley, though neither forgetting nor giving up their claims to their western territories.[30]

It is not my purpose to go into the authenticity of the Walam Olum or the accuracy of its migration account. Suffice it to say that the Walam Olum was probably a product of the Delawares during their phase of revivalistic nativism and that it seems "to be an account, by a despairing person unable to gain his customary satisfactions from a life that no longer existed, of a Golden Age which never was. . . . Indeed the Walam Olum plainly appears to be the mirror image of a nativistically oriented people, rather than an authentic account of their history."[31]

The Location and Divisions of the Early Historic Delawares

It is impossible, for the following reasons, to know precisely the name, location, and affiliations of all the peoples who at the end of the seventeenth century joined forces and became known as the Delawares. First, the Delawaran peoples were aboriginally and during most of the seventeenth century unorganized politically and composed of a large number of subdivisions. Second, three different European nations were in contact with Delawaran peoples during this century. Their names for various groups often differed, and their interest in the relationships and locations of the various divisions was often slight. Third, these natives were soon displaced geographically and much reduced in numbers. Lastly, an unknown number of non-Delawaran peoples were incorporated into the Delaware tribe at the end of the seventeenth century. I have not undertaken the prodigious task of locating the Delawaran peoples by investigating all of the primary sources, although such a study is sorely needed; instead, a synthesis of previous investigations and two seventeenth-century maps is presented. This discussion is, therefore, liable to inaccuracies of various kinds.

For convenience the Delawares at the opening of historic times may be described as being composed of three geographical groups, traditionally called the Munsi, Unami, and Unalachtigo. The people who were to become the core of the tribe composed the division which became known in the mid-eighteenth century as the Unami. According to Brinton, the term Unami means "people down the river."[32] Zeisberger used the term

[30] Brinton, 1885, pp. 165-66.

[31] Newcomb, 1956, p. 63.

[32] The following discussion and Map 1 are based on Ruttenber, 1872, pp. 89-93; Hrdlicka, 1902, pp. 33-37; Skinner, 1909, pp. 30-33; Bolton, 1930, pp. 226-96; Swanton, 1952, pp. 48-55; Van der Donck's map of New Netherland, 1656, opposite p. 294 in Jameson, 1909; and N. J. Visscher's Map of New Netherland, New England . . . about 1655, opposite p. 170 in Myers, 1912.

[33] Brinton, 1885, p. 38.

[text continues on p. 7]

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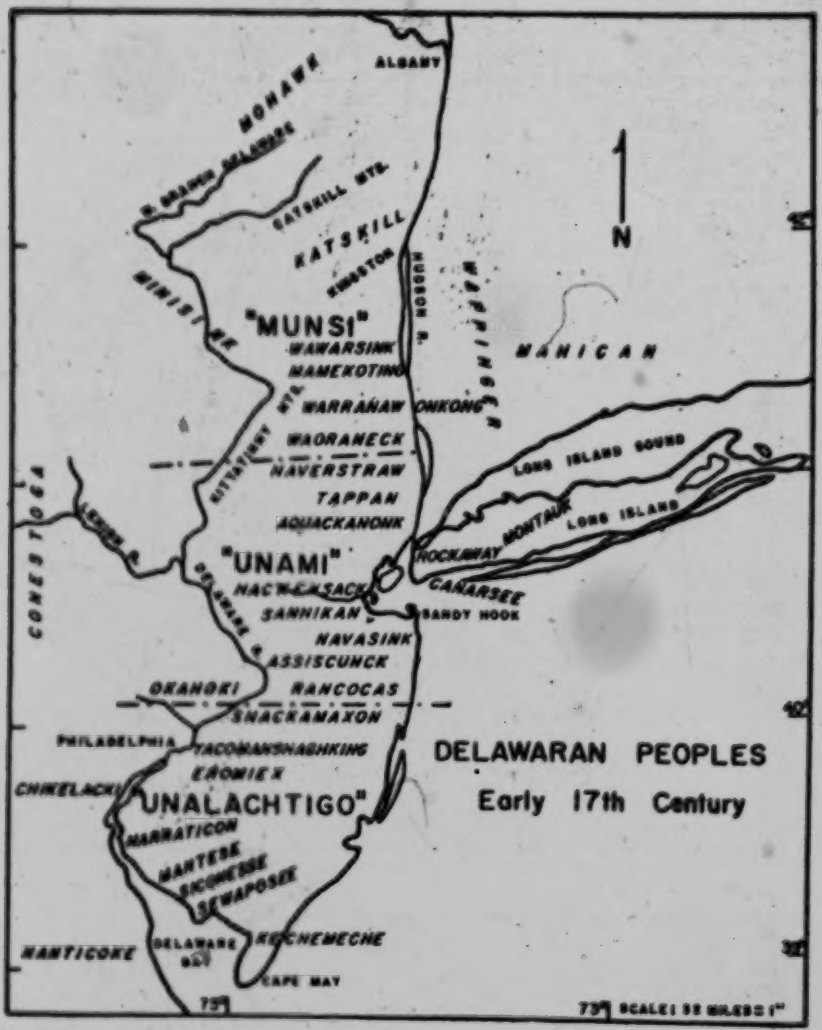

Map 1

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to refer to that group of Delawares who "lived nearest to the sea."[34] The term seems to be of Munsi origin and was applied by them to the main body. The name first appeared in 1757 and was in use until the final removal to Oklahoma, but it is not remembered today.[35] The Unami occupied the middle reaches of the Delaware River including much of the Schuylkill River Valley. Besides territory in what is now Pennsylvania, they occupied a large part of New Jersey, as well as some territory on the lower Hudson.[36] The Unami were composed of the following subdivisions. The Navisink (or Neversinck, Navasink) "inhabited the Highlands south of Sandy Hook," the Sanhikan (also called Raritan) "were divided, it is said, in two sachemdoms and about twenty chieftaincies."[37] They occupied the Raritan Valley in northeast-central New Jersey, and probably the southern end of Staten Island. The third division was known as the Hackinsack (or Hackensack), and their territory included the valleys of the Hackinsack and Passaic rivers in northeastern New Jersey. The fourth division was the Aquackanonk; their territory included what is now Paterson, New Jersey, and they were "also described as occupying a considerable portion of the centre of New Jersey."[38] The fifth division, the Tappan (or Tapant), extended from the Hackinsack River to the highlands. They also seem to have had some land on the Hudson.[39] Wassenaer in 1624 associated a group called the Mechkentowoon with the Tappan; they may have been a separate group or a subdivision of the Tappan.[40] Swanton has termed them a Mahican subdivision.[41] The sixth division of the Unami was known as the Haverstraw; they lived north of the Tappan with undefined western boundaries and with Stony Point as their northern limit, according to Ruttenber. The Assiscunck and the Rancocas lived in the vicinity of Burlington, New Jersey, and Rancocas Creek to the south. Skinner gave the Okahoki as another division dwelling opposite the Rancocas on the west side of the Delaware. He also said that the Shackamaxon lived near and to the north of Philadelphia. These last two subdivisions Swanton assigned to the Unalachtigo. Some authorities list a number of other subdivisions in central New Jersey; these include Assunpink, Axion, Calcefar, Gashwechnagechga, Meletecunk, Mosilian, and Pompton. They may or may not have been independent Unami subdivisions. There is no assurance that the Unami groups were equal to one another in size or importance; they seem to have shared a common culture, but they were not unified politically.

On western Long Island two Montauk subdivisions, the Canarsee and the Rockaway, had close ties with the Unami and in part merged with the Delaware tribe in later times.[42] It is perhaps significant to recall that the East River Aspect also includes western Long Island. The Sanhikan, Hackensack, and Canarsee jointly occupied Staten Island, a

[34] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 114.
[35] Speck, 1931, p. 14; Hunter, 1951, p. 2; Hayes, 1954, p. 85.
[36] Mooney, 1911, p. 330.
[37] Ruttenber, 1872, p. 89.
[38] *Ibid.*, p. 91.
[39] Bolton, 1930, p. 381.
[40] Wassenaer, 1909, p. 67.
[41] Swanton, 1952, p. 41.
[42] Bolton, 1930, p. 371.

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fact which is probably indicative of their close cultural affiliations. On the southern end of Manhattan Island were a people known as the Reckgawawanc. Bolton said they had close relationships with the Tappan, and in 1669 "they were driven away to a refuge among the Tappan by the warparties of the Mohawk."[42] To the north of the Reckgawawanc was a group known as the Weckquaesgeek, a Wappinger subdivision. They also seem to have been closely related to the peoples on the west side of the Hudson.

The second traditional division of the Delawares is known as the Munsi (or Munsee, Monsey, Minsi, Monthey, Minisink). This word means "people of the stony country" or perhaps "mountaineers."[44] The label is apt, for the Munsi inhabited the more mountainous area along the headwaters and tributaries of the Delaware River. The Munsi were a distinct group culturally and until the last century were often considered a separate tribe. Cherokee-Delawares are still able to point out members of this group, and the Munsi have persisted as a distinct group in Canada. The term Munsi does not appear in the literature until the eighteenth century, and Wallace contends that they were a coalescence of peoples around the Minisink community.[45]

The Waoraneck, who originally lived on the Hudson in Orange County, near Stony Point, were one of the peoples who probably became Munsi. They seem to have been one of the five or six "tribes" of the Esopus country. The Warranawonkong formed the second division, and their territory "embraced the waters of the Shawangunk, the Wallkill and the Esopus rivers."[46] The Mamekoting, the third division of the Munsi, lived in the Makating Valley. "Their history is so intimately blended with that of the Esopus Indians that identification is impossible further than by title."[47] The little-known Wawarsink were the fourth group of Esopus Indians. The Katskill, another group, lived north of the Saugerties and formed the eastern watershed of the Catskill Mountains.[48] The principal group of Munsi, inhabiting the headwaters of the Delaware River, was termed the Minisink.

The third and southernmost group of Delawares is not well known, since they seem to have merged with the Unami at an early date. Their name is usually given as Unalachtigo[49] (sometimes Unalachto) and signifies "people who live near the ocean."[50] Speck has suggested that they were really Naraticon of southern New Jersey "under the guise of a dialectic name."[51] Brinton, on the other hand, felt that they might be Nanticoke (Unechtigo).[52] Wallace said that since the term is found only "in the pages of Zeisberger, Heckewelder, and their copyists" there was no group so named.[53] He proposed, however, that the word Unalachtigo might refer "to any Indians — Delawares or otherwise — who lived in southern New Jersey along the shore."[54] Philhower said that the

[42] Bolton, 1920, p. 344.
[43] Brinton, 1885, p. 36.
[44] Wallace, 1949, p. 11.
[45] Ruttenber, 1872, p. 92.
[46] *Ibid.*, p. 95.
[47] *Ibid.*
[48] Harrington, 1913, p. 208.
[49] Brinton, 1885, p. 36.
[50] Speck, 1931, p. 15.
[51] Brinton, 1885, p. 36.
[52] Wallace, 1949, p. 12.
[53] *Ibid.*

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Unalachtigo and Nanticoke were closely related in culture and had a common origin.[58] For convenience the term Unalachtigo is used for the natives of southern New Jersey who in later times became part of the Delaware tribe.

The southern tip of Cape May was inhabited by a people known as the Kechemeche, and in the same area Swanton located a group he termed the Tirans.[59] In the valleys of the rivers and creeks emptying into Delaware Bay were many small groups of Delawares. On Maurice Creek were the Sewaposee (or Sewapois), and above them on Cohansey Creek the Siconesse (or Sikonesses). The Mantese (or Manta, Mante) inhabited the vicinity of Salem Creek, and north of them on Raccoon Creek were the Narraticon (or Naraticon). A group termed Asomoche has also been mentioned for this vicinity. To the north of the Narraticon in New Jersey, in the neighborhood of Pensaukin Creek, were found the Eromiex (or Ermonex, Eriwonec, Eriwoneck, Armewaxes). Near Camden was a group called the Yacomanshaghking, and extending up the east bank of the Delaware River to Burlington were several poorly known bands. Opposite the Narraticon in the vicinity of Wilmington, Delaware, were the Chikelacki (Chikohoki?), as well as the Amimenipaty, Hopokohacking, Memankitonna, and Passayank.

In sum, the people who were to comprise the Delaware tribe of the eighteenth century were drawn from a large number of small, dispersed, and essentially autonomous groups. At the dawn of historic times they were not a tribe in the political sense, and since they differed somewhat from one another in other aspects of culture, it is perhaps unwise to think of them as a tribe. It was not until these groups had become consolidated in the early decades of the eighteenth century that the term Delaware is properly applicable to them. The English name Delaware was given to these people because they were concentrated near the Delaware River in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Modern Delawares sometimes say that the term is derived from a Delaware expression meaning "I said" or "I meant." There is a phonetic similarity between this Delaware expression and the English name, but it is probably a rationalization.[87] The Delawares' term for themselves is "Lenape" which means "people."[88] They also occasionally refer to themselves as the "lenni lenape" which means the "real" or the "original people,"[89] or something similar to "we, the people."[90]

Linguistic Affiliations

The term Delaware has been used to refer to a language of the Central type of Eastern-Central Algonkin.[91] Eastern-Central Algonkin

[58] Philhower, 1931, p. 4. Weslager, 1950, pp. 48-54, 87-58, presents strong evidence against this identification, however.

[59] Swanton, 1952, p. 50.

[87] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 114, agrees on this point.

[88] Brinton, 1885, p. 34.

[89] Wallace, 1949, p. 7.

[90] Wissler, 1941, pp. 70-71.

[91] Michelson, 1913, pp. 221-90; Bloomfield, 1946, p. 85.

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197 includes, among others, Mahican, Wappinger, and Pequot. Delawaran peoples spoke at least two mutually intelligible dialects termed Munsi and Lenape.[60] There are indications, however, that Munsi was more like Mahican than Lenape. Zeisberger said:

> The Unami and the Wunalachtico (Unalachtigo)... languages differ very little. That of the Monsys... is very different from these, so that had they not dwelt nearer together and been in constant contact in recent times they would hardly understand each other. Yet the speech of each of these peoples is but a dialect of one and the same language. The language of the Mahikanders (Mahican) bears much resemblance to that of the Monsys.[61]

Zeisberger and Heckewelder[62] have also pointed out that the Nanticoke language was very similar to Delaware. Unfortunately, both Mahican and Nanticoke are extinct languages and cannot be examined by modern linguistic techniques. Suffice it to say that there was considerable dialectic diversity among the people who became the historic Delawares. Michelson has ventured the opinion that Delaware "as Zeisberger has presented it is not a single dialect but a composite," and Trowbridge concurred in this conclusion.[63] In sum, the linguistic evidence suggests a lack of unity among the people who became the Delawares, which reinforces my conclusion that at the dawn of historic times Delawaran peoples were not a cohesive or homogeneous cultural unit.

Population in the Seventeenth Century

161 Ignorance of the composition and location of all the subdivisions which were to make up the Delaware tribe, and lack of information concerning introduced diseases, which at an early date may have decimated their ranks, are enough to make population estimates of the early seventeenth-century Delawaran peoples hazardous. Mooney in 1911 estimated the Delawares and Munsis as numbering "close to 12,000 souls" in 1600, but he reduced this figure to 8,000 by 1928.[64] Kroeber has followed Mooney in using the latter figure.[65]

The number of Delawaran peoples, whatever it may have been in 1600, was greatly reduced in the first century of contact with Europeans. In the literature of the seventeenth century the many allusions to this depopulation are unanimous in attributing it to disease, war, and demoralization. Alcoholism was a factor, but it was a greater contributor to depopulation in later times, although by the end of the seventeenth century the Delawares were described as loving drunkenness.[66] In the early part of the century the Munsis and Unamis suffered heavily in the Esopus wars with the Dutch,[67] and the Susquehannocks inflicted heavy casualties on the Unamis and Unalachtigos. In 1633, for example, the

[60] C. F. and E. W. Voegelin, 1946, pp. 188-89; C. F. Voegelin, 1946, pp. 130-57.
[61] Zeisberger, 1910, pp. 141-42.
[62] Heckewelder, 1881, p. 122; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 141.
[63] Michelson, 1912, p. 280; Trowbridge MS.
[64] Mooney, 1911, p. 333; 1928, p. 4.
[65] Kroeber, 1947, Table 7, p. 146.
[66] Pastorius, 1912, p. 422.
[67] Mooney, 1928, pp. 3-4.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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Susquehannock burned a Delaware town and killed "ninety men" as well as women and children.[90] Lindestrom in 1654 mentioned that both the Delawares and the Swedes were suffering from illness and that the natives were blaming the Swedes for sickness and death.[91] Mooney said:

> As early as 1677 the Delawares accused the whites of having brought the smallpox among them, and in a council at Burlington, New Jersey, their speaker stated that it had already ravaged the tribe three times — in his grandfather's time, in his father's time, and in his own time. One of these visitations was probably that of 1637-1638, which swept all the region from the Chesapeake Bay to Lake Huron. Another was probably the same noted as ravaging the Conestoga in 1661-1663.[92]

Pastorius in a letter written in 1694 said:

> A great many of these savages have died, even since I came here, so that there are hardly more than a fourth part of the number now existing that were to be seen when I came to the country ten years ago.[93]

Denton as early as 1670 was able to say of the results of Indian contact with Europeans:

> ... it is to be admired how strangely they [i.e., Indians] have decreast by the Hand of God since the English first settling of these parts; for since my time, when there were six towns, they are reduced to two small villages, & it has been generally observed that where the English come to settle, a Divine Hand makes way for them, by removing or cutting off the *Indians*, either by wars one with the other, or by some raging mortal disease.[94]

Kalm seems to have summed it up accurately when he remarked in the eighteenth century:

> ... as the Europeans proceeded to cultivate the land, the Indians sold their land, and went further into the country. But in reality few of the Indians really left the country in this manner; most of them ended their days before, either by wars among themselves, or by the small-pox ... it has killed incredible numbers of them .... But brandy is said to have killed most of the Indians.[95]

These scattered statements leave no room to doubt that the population decline of the Delawares in the seventeenth century was tremendous. There are two important factors to keep in mind concerning the early population and the subsequent depopulation. First, even if the estimates of the population in 1600 are grossly low, the population density in pre-Columbian times was surprisingly low considering the nature of the habitat and the capacity of the natives' technological system. The reasons for the low population density are discussed later. Second, the depopulation during the seventeenth century was a contributory factor in the ultimate appearance of the Delaware tribe. The emergence of the tribe is treated more fully under Acculturation.

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[90] De Vries, 1857, p. 30.
[91] Lindestrom, 1925, pp. 127-28.
[92] Mooney, 1911, p. 333.
[93] Pastorius, 1912, p. 426.
[94] Denton, 1845, p. 6.
[95] Kalm, 1937, I: 258-59.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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II. THE RECONSTRUCTION OF DELAWARE CULTURE

Introduction

The most recent reconstruction of early historic Delaware culture by Herman[1] failed to use the data made available by Kinietz[2] from the Trowbridge and Cass papers and minimized contemporary ethnographic data. Herman largely ignored modern ethnographic information because it "had combined material gained from different periods of time."[3] Kinietz used the previously unavailable Trowbridge and Cass data, but took little advantage of the other sources. His work also omitted a discussion of religion and some aspects of social organization. This study has utilized most of the source material of both of these investigators, as well as their results, and has in addition used other documentary materials. I have also used modern ethnographic data more extensively than have others. By using proper controls the ethnography of the Delawares can be made to cast valuable light on some of the less well-illuminated aspects of the early historic culture. The presence of a culture trait, whose existence could not be traced to white culture, to other Indian cultures, or to some sort of synthesis of these, was assumed to be of Delaware origin. It should be noted that some traits found in the field were considered Delaware on the basis of their absence among other groups; documentary materials later confirmed a Delaware provenance for many of these traits. Evidence from the field indicated, for example, that the Delawares possessed the trait of making a hole at the head of a coffin through which the soul could find its exit. Exit and reentrance were eased by the application of red ocher to this aperture. No evidence could be found which would indicate that this trait had been borrowed from other Indian cultures, nor was it derived from white culture, except that wooden coffins were used in place of bark receptacles. Later research substantiated the conclusion that this trait was of Delaware origin. In brief, by using a cautious and judicious approach it is possible to project ethnographic data back to early historic times with a fair degree of probability. Wherever this approach has been utilized, it is so noted in the text. I have also made a more serious effort to reconstruct the kinship terminology and general kinship structure of the early historic Delawares than has been attempted previously. This reconstruction is based mainly upon the recent suggestions of Murdock.[4]

The authorities for the data are given in chronological order, the seventeenth-century sources are given first, then the eighteenth-century, and so on down to the data recorded by myself in the field. When data secured from informants is used, the initials of the informant appear in the text or in a footnote with other references.[5] A discussion of the documentary sources is given in the Appendix.

[1] Herman, 1950, pp. 45-77.
[2] Kinietz, 1948.
[3] Herman, *op. cit.*, p. 48.
[4] Murdock, 1949, pp. 184-210, 213-33.
[5] Initials of informants are: O. A., Ollie Beaver Anderson; M. B., Mary Bob; N. D., Lenora Dean; J. T., Jim Thompson; F. W., Fred Washington; R. W., Reuben Wilson; L. F., Lillian Frenchman.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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Delaware Technology

Subsistence

At the beginning of historic times all of the Middle Atlantic Slope cultures subsisted by means of hoe-gardening, fishing, and hunting. The relative importance of each of these subsistence methods has long been disputed for the area as a whole. Kroeber has maintained that agriculture was not basic to life in the Eastern Area, that "there is little to argue that the culture was leaning very fundamentally on agriculture."[6] He is almost certainly in error in minimizing agriculture and in the reasons he gives for its unimportance, at least so far as the Delawares were concerned. Among the more inland groups agriculture definitely was of paramount importance. In 1654 Lindestrom described a group on the Schuylkill who had ". . . . their dwellings side by side one another, wherefore this land is thereby being cleared and cultivated with great power."[7] Just before 1610 described a group in the neighborhood of Sandy Hook as having a "great store of Maiz,"[8] and De Vries, De Laet, and William Penn all said that the principal food was maize.[9] Krieger in 1663, in an expedition against some New Jersey Delawares, cut down two hundred and fifteen acres of maize and burned over one hundred pits of corn and beans.[10] Wallace recently contended that agriculture was basic in the economy and added that the high status of women was a function of their basically important agricultural activities.[11] Hunting, gathering, and fishing were also important activities, and seasonally they may well have rivaled agricultural activity.

Gardening.—The principal crop plant was corn or maize (*Zea mays*), raised by the women.[12] They had several varieties ". . . .white, red, blue, flesh-colored, brown, yellow and spotted ears."[13] Holm in the early decades of the seventeenth century said the Delawares grew ". . . black maize of the colour of tar. . ."[14] Harrington in his field work among the Oklahoma Delawares noted six varieties that had been handed down from the early days and were still grown. There were "three soft and three hard" varieties.[15] The Delawares today remember or possess a white-flour corn used principally in bread;[16] red corn, a flint variety; Osage corn, a soft variety; blue corn; and Deer corn, a striped variety (J.T.). There is no assurance that these varieties have not been borrowed by the Delawares in recent times. The cultivated fields seem to have been rather small in extent. Kalm stated that an Indian's garden took up no more ground "than a farmer in our country takes to plant cabbage for his family. At least, a farmer's cabbage and turnip ground,

[6]Kroeber, 1947, p. 148.
[7]Lindestrom, 1925, p. 176.
[8]Juet, 1909, p. 18.
[9]De Vries, 1909, p. 218; De Laet, 1909, p. 57; Penn, 1912, p. 233.
[10]O'Callaghan, 1851, IV: 39.
[11]Wallace, 1947, pp. 9-10.
[12]De Laet, 1909, p. 49; Denton, 1845, p. 8; Van der Donck, 1909, p. 201; Thomas, 1912, p. 341; Penn, 1912, p. 232.
[13]Lindestrom, 1925, p. 179; see also De Rasieres, 1909, p. 107; Kalm, 1937, I: 74.
[14]Holm, 1834, p. 49.
[15]Harrington, 1913, p. 221.
[16]Lindestrom, 1925, p. 180, said bread was baked from white and yellow corn.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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taken together, is always as extensive, if not more so, than all the corn fields and kitchen gardens of an Indian family."[17] Luckenbach, a Moravian missionary of the early nineteenth century, said that the fields were "limited to two or three acres of corn for each family."[18] The Delawares today term the gardens "squaw patches" and claim that they never exceeded five acres in size (M.B., O.A.).

Most Delaware archaeological sites are in creek or valley bottoms;[19] in the eighteenth century such bottom land was chosen for gardens, since it was easily worked and was generally fertile.[20] Zeisberger, in the eighteenth century, took pains to point out that land away from rivers, although suitable for tillage by Europeans, was not utilized at all for this purpose by Indians.[21] Garden plots were cleared by bruising or removing the bark of the trees, then burning the trees after they were dry.[22] The seventeenth-century Swedish writers stated that garden plots were moved after the soil was exhausted.[23] Van der Donck in the middle of the century and Loskiel in the next century denied the use of fertilizer.[24] New England Indians, however, fertilized the land with fish, and Wallace has suggested that this trait may have been present among the Delawares.[25]

Corn was planted in ". . . square hills (so far apart) that one can conveniently walk between the hills. . . . And in each hill 6 or 7 grains are set."[26] According to De Rasieres:

> They make heaps like molehills, each about two and a half feet from the others, which they sow or plant in April with maize, in each heap five or six grains; in the middle of May, when the maize is the height of a finger or more, they plant in each heap three or four Turkish beans . . . . It [corn] is a grain to which much labor must be given, with weeding and earthing-up, or it does not thrive; and to this the women must attend very closely.[27]

Squash, pumpkins, several varieties of beans, and tobacco were also grown.[28] According to M.B. tobacco was grown only by women past the menopause. The Delawares blended their tobacco with sumac, one third sumac to two thirds tobacco.[29]

Hunting.—Hunting was important to the Delaware economy, not only because it provided food, but also because pelts and hides provided most of the material for clothing. The main objects of the hunt were deer and bear, but virtually all of the other mammals of their habitat were hunted and utilized for clothing or for food. This list included fox, raccoon, skunk, porcupine, opossum, and squirrel.[30] The Delawares

[17] Kalm, 1937, 1: 307.
[18] Luckenbach, 1938, pp. 898-99.
[19] Personal communication from John Witthoft.
[20] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 44.
[21] Ibid., p. 38.
[22] Johnson, 1917, p. 279; Kalm, 1937, 1: 230; Harrington, 1913, p. 221.
[23] Johnson, 1917, p. 279.
[24] Loskiel, 1794, p. 68.
[25] Flannery, 1939, p. 10; Wallace, 1947, p. 18.
[26] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 179.
[27] De Rasieres, 1909, p. 107; Johnson, 1917, p. 279; and Harrington, 1913, p. 221, contain similar accounts of their horticulture.
[28] Just, 1909, p. 21; Johnson, 1917, p. 279; Kalm, 1937, 1: 74; Lindestrom, 1925, pp. 180-81; Holm, 1834, p. 122.
[29] Speck, 1942, p. 234.
[30] Denton, 1845, p. 7; Van der Donck, 1909, p. 303; Zeisberger, 1910, pp. 37, 62-63.

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The Delawares

traded to the Europeans and presumably they themselves utilized "otters, lynxes, fishes, minks, wild-cats, elk-hides. . .wolf skins, lion-hides, martins, and musk rat."[31] Neither the elk nor the bison formed an important part in Delaware subsistence in the eighteenth century, because their hides were "thick and heavy and of no value."[32] Neither animal was abundant in their habitat. Various birds formed a welcome addition to the diet and included "wild swans" (geese?), wild turkeys, wild pigeons, and partridges.[33] One seventeenth-century source described a method of pigeon hunting; trees which were favorite roosts for these birds were chopped nearly through, so that when a flock of pigeons settled down in the tree it would topple, killing a number of the birds.[34]

Individual hunting seems to have been confined primarily to the winter months; communal hunts, however, took place in the spring, summer, and fall.[35] One method of collective hunting, the "fire surround," was described by Lindestrom:

> When now the sachem wants to arrange his hunt, then he commands his people (to take a position) close together in a circle of 1/2, 1 or 2 miles, according to the number of people at his command . . . each one roots up the grass about 3 or 4 ells, so that the fire will not be able to run back, each one then beginning to set fire to the grass, which is mightily ignited, so that the fire travels away, in towards the center of the circle, which the Indians follow with great noise, and all the animals which are found within the circle, flee from the fire and the cries of the Indians . . . . When now the Indians have surrounded the center with a small circle, so that they mutually cannot do each other any harm, then they break loose with guns and bows on the animals.[36]

De Vries described a "surround" in which the game was driven into an enclosure and shot with a bow and arrow, and also a variant type in which the game was driven into a river and lassoed.[37] An informant told Kinietz that "four hunters were as many as ever hunted together," but this is contrary to what informants told me and surely did not hold true in early times.[38] Communal hunts were led by "the oldest or most expert, particularly if he be a member of the council."[39] Zeisberger related that there was a strictly formalized hunting etiquette:

> It is not considered good form for one to leave the party before the end of the hunt. If one has wounded a deer and another followed and killed it, the skin belongs to the first and either the half or the whole of the meat to the latter. If several take aim at once and they cannot determine which of them made the best shot, the skin is given to the oldest of the party, or, if he happened to be one of those taking aim, he is said to have killed the animal. Old men, therefore, no longer able to shoot well, generally get their share of the skins, if they only aim now and then with the others though they do not hit the mark.

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[31] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 223.
[32] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 89; Loskiel, 1794, p. 79.
[33] Zeisberger, 1910, pp. 65-66.
[34] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 216.
[35] *Ibid.*, p. 213; De Vries, 1909, p. 220; Zeisberger, 1910, pp. 88, 91, 126; Loskiel, 1794, p. 79.
[36] Lindestrom, 1925, pp. 213-14.
[37] De Vries, 1909, p. 220; Brinton, 1890, p. 184.
[38] Kinietz, 1940, p. 64; J. T., M. B.
[39] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 91; Kinietz, 1940, p. 64.

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224 Such old men, accompanying a hunting party, get both meat and skins, for the good hunters will not let them return empty-handed. They have, in general, and the Unami in particular, the custom that when a huntsman has shot a deer, and another Indian joins him or only looks on at a distance, he immediately gives him the whole animal and goes in pursuit of another.[39]

[411] The blowgun was in use among the Munsi by 1824, but was apparently present earlier; it was never of any great economic importance.[41] "Calls" were made to attract deer and turkeys. The deer call or "bleat" was made of cedar and was used primarily during the spring and early summer before the fawns had been weaned.[42] Harrington mentioned that "the deadfall and the 'twitchup' snare seem to have been the most popular varieties of traps."[43] The Delawares were also reported to be excellent stalkers of game and pursued wounded animals until their prey dropped from exhaustion.[44] If a hunter could not at first get within range of a deer he would chase it until he could, this procedure perhaps consuming an entire day.[45] One eighteenth-century author mentioned that deer were hunted by torchlight at night.[46]

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226 Fishing.—Van der Donck said that Delawaran peoples "use all kinds of fish, which they commonly cook without removing the entrails, and [252] snakes, frogs and the like."[47] Specifically, they caught and ate rock [262] fish, shad, yellow perch, trout, eels, catfish, sunfish, sturgeon, and undoubtedly others, from both fresh and salt water. In 1756 two harbor [225] seals were shot and eaten, but this was an unusual incident.[48] Tortoises were caught, and shellfish in large quantities must have been taken, if Skinner was correct in attributing shell mounds of the area to the Delawares.[49] Juet stated that the natives brought out quantities of oysters to trade to the crew of Hudson's Half Moon.[50]

Methods of fishing varied somewhat; Lindestrom described a method in which a stream was dammed when the water was high, so that fish were stranded behind the dam when the water was low. The fish were caught with bare hands or shot with the bow and arrow.[51] De Rasieres [283] said that the Indians around Manhattan caught fish with "a drag-net they themselves knit very neatly, of the wild hemp, from which the women and men spin the thread."[52] Brinton mentioned fishhooks of bone and dried claws of birds, and Pastorius reported the use of hooks.[53] Harrington mentioned several methods of fishing. These may not be ab- [278] original since they do not appear elsewhere. He stated that fish were stupefied by large quantities of crushed green walnuts thrown into ponds. He also noted spearing and shooting of fish at night by torchlight.[54] Fish

[39] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 91.
[41] Harrington, 1913, p. 221; Kinietz, 1946, p. 63; Ketchum, 1865, II: 190 (1794).
[42] Foreman, 1937, p. 107; J. T., F. W.
[43] Harrington, 1913, p. 222.
[44] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 23.
[45] Ibid., p. 23.
[46] Brickell, 1842, p. 47.
[47] Van der Donck, 1909, p. 303.
[48] Holm, 1834, p. 48; De Rasieres, 1909, p. 105; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 37.
[49] Holm, 1834, p. 48; Denton, 1845, p. 7; Skinner, 1909, pp. 5-17, 45-48; J. T.
[50] Juet, 1909, p. 20.
[51] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 219; Berlin, 1887, pp. 167-68.
[52] De Rasieres, 1909, p. 105.
[53] Brinton, 1885, p. 52; Pastorius, 1912, p. 434.
[54] Harrington, 1913, p. 222.

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were sometimes impounded by driving them with a brush roll, a technique widespread in the Southeast and among the Iroquois.[55]

Wild plant food.—The beans of the groundnut or wild bean, (*Apios americana*), were eaten, and its roots were boiled and eaten "instead of bread."[56] Kalm also said the Indians boiled, or roasted in ashes, a root which he called Katniss, apparently *Sagittaria latifolia* (Wapato, Water Nut, Swamp Potato). The roots of "Tawho," probably *Arisaema triphyllum* or jack-in-the-pulpit, were utilized "when bread and grain gave out."[57] They were placed in a pit, covered with earth, and baked by building a fire over the pit.[58] The dried and boiled seeds of the golden club (*Orontium aquaticum*) were eaten.[59]

From the eighteenth century on wild potatoes (*Ipomoea pandurata*) were frequently mentioned in the documents. They were baked into bread and were especially used in time of famine.[60] One informant (O.A.) also said that the wild potato, if boiled and mashed, was particularly useful as food for young children. Ginseng was gathered in the Ohio Valley during the eighteenth century and seems to have been sold to traders.[61] Other wild roots and tubers, utilized at least in later times, were wild onions, wild cabbage, "greens" (otherwise unidentified by O.A., M.B.), and water lily roots.[62] Zeisberger wrote of a time when his Christian Indians "industriously brought roots here from down the creek, of which they got many loads to town, which they cut thin, dry in the sun, pound and bake bread from, and this is now their principal food."[63] The Delawares utilized many varieties of wild fruits, including wild grapes, strawberries, gooseberries, blackberries, raspberries, wild plums, huckleberries, and cranberries.[64] The "Indians," probably including Delawares, ate the fruit of the May apple (*Podophyllum peltatum*).[65] They also made use of many nuts, chief among them being hickory (Skinner found them in archaeological deposits), hazelnut, and chestnut.[66] In Oklahoma the post-oak acorn (*Quercus stellata*) was eaten with hominy (J.T., O.A.).

The most important wild plant food of the eighteenth century was the sap of the sugar maple. Sugaring was not just an occasional pastime, for even in a bad year an individual made as much as one hundred pounds.[67] If a man owned several kettles, it was possible in good years to make several hundred pounds of sugar and some syrup.[68] This trait, however, was not mentioned by any of the seventeenth-century sources and was undoubtedly of less importance in pre-European times. As

[55] Zeisberger, 1778, p. 36; Fenton, 1942.

[56] Kalm, 1937, I: 259; De Vries, 1909, p. 219.

[57] Lindestrom, 1925, pp. 158-59.

[58] Kalm, 1937, I: 261; Zeisberger, 1827, p. 161, calls the Jack Maksaweek, "it causes purging," however.

[59] Kalm, 1937, I: 261.

[60] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 47; M. B., O. A.

[61] Zeisberger, 1885, II: 47.

[62] *Ibid.*, p. 109.

[63] *Ibid.*, pp. 109-10.

[64] Juet, 1909, p. 18; Kalm, 1937, I: 261; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 46; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 266; Loskiel, 1794, pp. 68-69; Skinner, 1909, p. 43; O. A., M. B., J. T.

[65] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 47.

[66] De Vries, 1909, p. 219; Brinton, 1890, p. 185; Skinner, 1909, p. 46.

[67] Zeisberger, 1885, II: 349.

[68] Zeisberger, 1910, pp. 50-51.

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222 soon as European utensils became available (early in the seventeenth century), maple sugar rapidly became a more important food. Honey [177 was considered a delicacy when it could be obtained, but it was not an 415] early food source since honey bees were not indigenous to the Delaware habitat.[69]

252 Preparation of food.— Dried and green corn was prepared in a wide variety of ways. Most corn seems to have been dried, ground, and baked. Typically, "they make flat cakes of the meal mixed with water, as large again as a farthing cake in this country, and bake them in the ashes, first wrapping a vine-leaf or maize-leaf around them. When they are sufficiently baked in the ashes, they make good palatable bread." William Penn said: "Their diet is Maze, or Indian Corn, divers ways prepared; sometimes Roasted in the Ashes, sometimes beaten and Boyled with Water, which they call *Homine*; they also make cakes, not unpleasant to eat."[71] Dried corn was placed in a wooden mortar made from a fire-hollowed log and ground with a wooden or stone pestle.[72] The meal was sifted through "a small basket, which they understand [415] how to weave. . . ."[73] Harrington also mentioned the sifting of flour, saying that it was sifted "through sieve baskets of varying degrees of fineness."[74] The finest meal was used in the above-mentioned bread, and the coarser corn meal was used in porridge, or gruel.[75] The white-flour corn was usually utilized in the bread, but other varieties were used in hominy and gruel (M.B., O.A., J.T.). Berries were often added to the bread, and meat, berries, beans, nuts, and pumpkins were sometimes added to the gruel.[76] In later times "dumplings" were made by frying corn meal dough in grease, usually with added berries (O.A.). Hominy was prepared by boiling dried corn with ashes, which removed the husk. The hominy was washed repeatedly in a stream after it was cooked.[77]

"Those stalks [of corn] which are low and bear no ears, they pluck up in August, and suck out the sap, which is as sweet as if it were sugar-cane."[78] Green ears were roasted whole in ashes, grated and baked in the ashes, or boiled. The roots of water lily plants were peeled, cut into small chunks, and boiled (O.A.). Wild potatoes were prepared by boiling, skinning, and then mashing and were eaten with various kinds of "greens." The Delawares that live in the rural areas still gather and eat wild potatoes. An account of the preparation of maple sugar gives an ample description of this eighteenth-century trait:

A number of small troughs are made for receiving the sap. Usually, the Indians make them of wood, cutting them out roughly with a hatchet. Some Indians are able to make twenty or thirty of them in a day. Some do not go to so

[69] Zeisberger, 1885, I: 310.
[70] De Vries, 1909, pp. 218-19; also see Pastorius, 1912, p. 426; Van der Donck, 1909, p. 303.
[71] Penn, 1912, p. 232.
[72] De Rasieres, 1909, p. 107; Lindestrom, 1925, p. 253.
[73] De Rasieres, 1909, p. 107; De Vries, 1909, p. 218.
[74] Harrington, 1913, p. 231.
[75] Luckenbach, 1938, p. 599.
[76] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 254; Luckenbach, 1938, p. 599.
[77] Penn, 1912, p. 232; O. A., M. B.
[78] De Rasieres, 1909, p. 107.

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much trouble, but make dishes of the bark or bast of a tree, which serve quite as well.... Besides the smaller troughs and dishes, there must be several of larger size in which the sap is collected.... The sap, which is of a brownish color and becomes darker the longer it boils, is boiled until it gets to be of the consistency of molasses, is then poured off and kept. When a sufficient quantity of this consistency has been secured, it is boiled over a slow fire until it becomes sugar.... As the Indians lack the dishes and do not care to take the time to prepare it in this way, they usually form it into cakes, put it in a kettle or dish, or in default of these, on a stone and let it cool, when it becomes hard and may be easily preserved in baskets.[79] 252

Preservation of food.—Corn, beans, and other agricultural produce were stored in mat-lined pits.[80] De Rasieres said that the dried grain was placed in "baskets woven of rushes or wild hemp" and then buried.[81] The grain was buried after the harvest or stored in the house for use after the return from the winter hunt.[82] Pit storage seems to have disappeared after the seventeenth century, at least there is no mention of it in the later documents. Modern information casts more specific light on methods of food preservation, which are probably similar to those of early historic times. Informants (O.A., M.B., J.T.) claimed that virtually every type of food was preserved by drying; ears of corn were braided in strings and stored in a specially made crude shelter or in the house. Green corn was boiled, cut off the cob, dried, and stored away. Corn was not ordinarily ground until ready for use, but sometimes dry corn was grated, the meal cooked in ovens, then crumbled and further dried in the sun, and stored. Pumpkins were sliced in rings as thick as a finger, sticks were run through these rings, and they were then dried in the sun. After drying they were stored away in sacks for winter use. Beans were boiled for a few minutes and then dried. Fruits and berries were sun dried, the smaller berries being mashed before drying. 251

Meat was preserved by jerking, that is, the flesh was cut into thin strips and dried. Venison, which formed the bulk of jerked meat, was dried by placing it over poles in the hot sun or over a fire. When ready to eat, the jerked meat was boiled with corn or vegetables or was simply pounded and eaten raw. Bear lard was preserved by rendering the lard and pouring it into the stomach or intestine of a bear. This lard was used in cooking, as was the oil from hickory nuts. The latter was produced by roasting the nuts, pounding the kernels to a fine consistency, boiling them in water, then skimming off the oil which came to the surface.[83] [237] [252]

Holm was the only one who mentioned a type of ration for journeys in the seventeenth century. He said: ". . .they take with them a kind of bread, made of Indian corn and tobacco juice, which is very good to allay hunger and quench thirst...."[84] Zeisberger mentioned a ration for 251 484

[79] Zeisberger, 1910, pp. 48-50.
[80] De Vries, 1909, pp. 219-20; Lindestrom, 1925, p. 253; Jemison, 1918, p. 52.
[81] De Rasieres, 1909, p. 108.
[82] Johnson, 1917, p. 279; Harrington, 1913, p. 218.
[83] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 46.
[84] Holm, 1834, p. 121.

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251 journeys in which corn was crushed into a meal, "or roasted in hot
484 ashes, then crushed." To this maple sugar was added. This mixture could be stirred in water and boiled or could be eaten dry without cooking.[25] Adams, a Delaware and historian of his people, added that "they carried very simple food," parched corn pounded into a brown meal, sweetened with maple sugar, and mixed together with bear's lard.[26]

271 Water was the principal drink although various fruits and nuts were
272 sometimes added. They "prepared a kind of liquor like milk by gathering a great number of hickory and black walnuts, dried and crushed them. Then they took out the kernels, pounded them as fine as flour, and mixed this with water so that it looked like milk and was almost as sweet."[27] Both Kinietz' and my informants (O.A., M.B.) held that their
264 ancestors had regular meal times. Penn said that "they eat twice a day, Morning and Evening."[28] Men and women apparently ate together but children ate separately (O.A.). All of my informants stressed the fact that in the past an individual could eat anywhere in the village, and that everybody shared what food was available.

262 Food taboos. — It is unlikely that there were any general, culture-wide food taboos in early historic times. Certain foods may have been denied to an individual by his guardian spirit, but this is merely a supposition. Not even the animals symbolic of the phratries were taboo. Heckewelder, however, noted a taboo on the rabbit, identified with a culture-hero. He said that the Delawares, among other tribes, avoided the horse, dog, wildcat, ground hog, panther, fox, muskrat, and wolf;[29] De Laet, however, quoting Henry Hudson, described a "fat dog" which was butchered for a feast.[30] Rather than emphasize the few things that were not eaten by the Delawares, it would be more in keeping with the facts to state that the Delawares made relatively complete use of the edibles available to them, except rabbit and ground hog. Their tastes were catholic and were only slightly blunted by socioreligious proscriptions.

Delaware Economics

128 Although the methods by which and the persons by whom the need-serving goods were processed, distributed, and consumed are properly an aspect of social organization, it probably contributes more to an understanding of Delaware technology to discuss them under the heading of economics.

Division of Labor

462 The division of labor among the Delawares, as is true of cultures with analogous means of production, was predominantly sexual in

[25] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 22.
[26] Adams, 1906, p. 8.
[27] Kalm, 1937, I: 269.
[28] Penn, 1912, p. 233; Luckenbach, 1938, p. 800, agreed on this point.
[29] Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 251-52, 196; Zeisberger, 1910, pp. 132, 140.
[30] De Laet, 1909, p. 49.

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character. Hunting was the primary occupation of men and gardening that of women. Although game did not form a preponderant part of the diet, it was extremely important in that wild animals provided clothing and other nonedible essentials.[91] The game which a man brought home was the property of his wife to do with as she saw fit; conversely, the woman's harvest of corn was "considered as belonging to the husband, who, if he has suffering friends, may give them as much of it as he pleases. . . ."[92] Men also built the dwellings, obtained or made the necessary axes, hoes, canoes, dishes, bowls, and other artifacts.[93] They were also supposed to keep in a constant state of readiness in case of attack, and they appear to have helped clear the land for gardens.[94] The women, in addition to planting, cultivating, harvesting, and storing the garden produce, bore the burden of all the household tasks. They cut and carried the firewood and made the carrying straps and bags, as well as the family clothing, and tanned the skins.[95] The women also carried the household goods when a family was on the trail.[96] De Vries said: ". . .the women are compelled to work like asses, and when they travel, to carry the baggage on their backs, together with their infants. . . ."[97] Mary Jemison said, however:

> Our labor was not severe; and that of one year was exactly similar, in almost every respect, to that of all others, without that endless variety [of white people]. Notwithstanding the Indian women have all the fuel and bread to procure, and the cooking to perform, their task is probably not harder than that of white women. . . .[98]

It should also be added that many of the tasks of the women were accomplished by a co-operative group of relatives, who lightened their labors with feasts and gaiety; the men, on the other hand, were frequently alone when hunting.[99] There were a few individuals who were part-time specialists; these were the wampum makers, other artisans, shamans, and sachems. All of these individuals took part in the basic subsistence activities of their sex.

Annual Round

Important to the understanding of the subsistence activities and the general economy of the Delawares is a discussion of the subsistence cycle or annual round. A. F. C. Wallace has recently investigated this phase of their culture and his conclusions correspond closely to mine, though based on slightly different evidence.[100] In the spring and summer

[91] Pastorius, 1912, p. 385; Van der Donck, 1909, p. 303; Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 155-57.

[92] Heckewelder, 1881, p. 156; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 16, agrees on this point.

[93] Van der Donck, 1909, p. 303; Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 155-57.

[94] Denton, 1845, p. 6; O. A., M. B.

[95] Van der Donck, 1909, p. 302; Brickell, 1842, p. 47; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 16; M. B.

[96] Heckewelder, 1881, p. 156; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 24.

[97] De Vries, 1909, p. 218.

[98] Jemison, 1918, pp. 46-47; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 156, echoed this point of view.

[99] Heckewelder, 1881, p. 156; M. B., J. T., O. A.

[100] Wallace, 1947, pp. 16-18.

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the Indians congregated in their small villages, gardening and, if near the sea or a river, fishing. After they had planted the gardens they regularly visited the Europeans.[107] Following the harvest, and at least in later times after the socioreligious ceremonies climaxed by the Big House Ceremony, the villages were deserted as individual families scattered to their hunting territories. The first fall hunt was for deer and seems to have been communal, perhaps prior to the dispersal to individual hunting grounds. After the deer hunt bears and other game were sought by individual hunters.[108] The men hunted until February or March, depending upon the season. In later times the individual families then went to their sugaring grounds; there the women collected and boiled down the maple sap while the men continued to hunt.[109] In spring they again moved to their villages and planted their crops. Wallace has pointed out, however, that there were some exceptions to the hunting-gardening cycle;[110] different sorts of adjustment by different groups were necessary in the relatively diverse habitat of the Delawares.

Property Concept and Hunting Territories

The concept of private ownership of personal equipment, tools, and the like was well developed among the Delawares. Heckewelder, who had a good grasp of this subject, said:

> There is nothing in an Indian's house or family without its particular owner. Every individual knows what belongs to him, from the horse or cow down to the dog, cat, kitten and little chicken. Parents make presents to their children, and they in return to their parents. A father will sometimes ask his wife or one of his children for the loan of his horse to go out a hunting. For a litter of kittens or brood of chickens, there are often as many different owners as there are individual animals. In purchasing a hen with her brood, one frequently has to deal for it with several children. Thus, while the principle of community of goods prevails in the state, the rights of property are acknowledged among the members of a family. This is attended with a very good effect; for by this means every living creature is properly taken care of. It also promotes liberality among the children, which becomes a habit with them by the time they are grown up.[111]

Although most of Heckewelder's examples were items introduced by Europeans, there seems to be no reason why this sort of property concept was not an early one. This type of ownership is akin to our own concept of property; the "ownership" of other kinds of property was quite distinct from our own.

W. C. MacLeod,[112] utilizing Speck's[113] investigation, has presented a well-documented case for the family ownership of hunting grounds. The purpose of his paper was obviously to support the contentions of

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[107] Denton, 1845, p. 7; Heim, 1834, p. 122; De Rasieres, 1909, pp. 107-8.
[108] De Vries, 1909, p. 222; Zeisberger, 1910, pp. 12-13; Lenkiel, 1794, p. 78.
[109] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 13.
[110] Wallace, 1947, p. 17.
[111] Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 132-33.
[112] MacLeod, 1932, pp. 448-63.
[113] Speck, 1915, pp. 289-305.

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R. H. Lowie[109] and others who at this time (*ca.* 1920) were attempting to demonstrate that private ownership was the rule and not the exception in primitive society. I do not deny that the Delawares shared in the Eastern Algonkian trait of family-held hunting grounds. I do deny, however, that the early historic concept of land ownership was analogous to the European one. Wallace, who has made the most penetrating study of early Delaware land tenure, summed up their concept by saying:

> To the Delaware Indian, land was an element, a medium of existence, like the air and the sunlight and the rivers. To him, "ownership" of land meant, not exclusive personal title to the soil itself, but occupation of a certain position of responsibility in the social unit which exploited the soil. The "sale" of land (to use the white man's term) might, to the Delaware, be almost any mutually satisfactory change in the relationship of two groups of persons subsisting on the land. In the earliest sales, the Indians seem to have intended only to give the whites freedom to use the land in conjunction with the native population.[110]

MacLeod in a footnote tacitly agreed with this point of view, saying: "The selling of land of course was a notion foreign, so far as we know, to native ideas or practice."[110]

There are no seventeenth-century sources which, to my knowledge, described directly and in straightforward fashion the hunting territories. On the basis of the records of early land transactions, however, both MacLeod and Wallace have reconstructed the system which must have existed. The smallest unit of land was a named "hunting territory covering up to two hundred square miles of land."[111] Their boundaries were often vague, and territories overlapped, although natural landmarks were used as boundaries. "Such territories are often associated in European documents with the names of individual Indians, who are called 'owners.'"[112] Most of these territories were, however, sold by groups of Indians. In short, the so-called "owners" were simply representatives of the social units who used this land.[113] It also appears that disposition of these territories did not rest solely in the hands of these individuals, but was the privilege of the community.[114] Wallace has demonstrated that a number of individual hunting territories made up a larger unit which he terms "communal territories" of "up to 1500 square miles."[115]

Inheritance of hunting territory right is but vaguely understood. MacLeod has suggested that the inheritance of hunting territory was through the paternal line, since it was used primarily by males. If this was true it would suggest either that matrilineal reckoning of kinship was a historic accretion to Delaware culture, or that the two systems existed side by side.[116] Wallace has concluded, as have I, that the maternal lineage was the social unit that "owned" or perhaps more aptly

[109] Lowie, 1920, pp. 210 ff.
[110] Wallace, 1947, p. 2; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 102, agreed with this concept of land possession.
[111] MacLeod, 1923, p. 463.
[112] Wallace, 1947, p. 3.
[113] *Ibid.*, p. 3; MacLeod, 1923, p. 463.
[114] Wallace, 1947, p. 4.
[115] *Ibid.*, p. 5.
[116] *Ibid.*, p. 6.
[117] MacLeod, 1923, p. 463.

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428 "belonged to" the "individual" hunting territory.[117] The lineage, clan,
423 and phratry are discussed in the next chapter. There is nothing incompatible in the existence of maternal lineages (or clans) and male-used hunting territories.

Material Culture

361 Villages.—There is little information concerning the villages and
621 general settlement pattern of the early historic Delawares. Villages, or perhaps they might better be termed hamlets, were situated in bottom lands near the gardens or along the shores of bays.[118] These dispersed settlements were not palisaded.[119] Eighteenth-century and later information seems to reflect the original condition in that these settlements had no regular plan or arrangement, and that houses were not built close together.[120] There is no information concerning the length of time these villages were inhabited. If their garden plots were fertilized, residence in the villages may have been relatively permanent, but the fertilizer issue is in doubt. By the eighteenth century, after extensive migrations, villages were occupied until it became "troublesome to se-
[364] cure wood for fuel" and, implicitly, until they became overburdened with filth.[121] The Evelin paper of 1648 described twenty-three communities in New Jersey, ranging in population from fourteen to six hundred persons.[122] Lindestrom noted community size as "several hundred men strong, under each chief, counting women and children, some being stronger, some weaker."[123]

342 Dwellings.—There seems to have been some diversity in the type of
171 dwellings of the early seventeenth-century Delawares. A circular wigwam and a long house identical with the Iroquoian type have been described, although the latter seems to represent a late prehistoric diffusion. De Laet and Van der Donck depicted Delawares using a circular bark dwelling with vaulted ceiling.[124] In another place De Laet stated that the dwelling was oven-shaped, but large enough for several related families.[125] Penn and Pastorius also alluded to this style of dwelling, whereas Holm and Lindestrom mentioned what seems to be the Iroquoian long house.[126] Zeisberger in the eighteenth century distinguished between house types of the Iroquois and the Delawares, describing a "rounded, arched roof" for the Iroquois and a "high-pitched, peaked roof" for the Delawares.[127] Harrington in 1913 characterized the house type current a few years previously as being similar to the Iroquois type.[128] The evidence, then, is not conclusive, but it seems probable

[117] Wallace, 1947, p. 18.
[118] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 87; Wallace, 1947, p. 18.
[119] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 241.
[120] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 87; O. A., J. T.
[121] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 87.
[122] Smith, 1877, p. 11.
[123] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 170.
[124] De Laet, 1909, p. 57; Van der Donck, 1909, p. 302.
[125] De Laet, 1909, p. 57.
[126] Penn, 1912, p. 232; Pastorius, 1912, p. 425; Holm, 1834, p. 123; Lindestrom, 1925, p. 211.
[127] Zeisberger, 1910, pp. 17-18.
[128] Harrington, 1913, pp. 217-18.

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that the Delaware groups nearest to the Iroquois had been influenced by them. The Munsi were nearest to the Iroquois, and Harrington's informants were predominantly of this group. The various house styles, on the other hand, are possibly related to the seasonal movements of the Delawares, who, like the central Algonkians, may have utilized the rectangular, bark-covered long house in summer and the dome-shaped lodge in winter.[129]

The dome-shaped lodges were simple structures built by placing pieces of bark, preferably of linden or elm, over a sapling framework. The bark was stripped from the trees in summer in as large sheets as possible and dried. It then provided a watertight house.[130] House furnishings were rather meager. "They. . .make very fine, strong and artistic mats of finely painted spruce roots and strong straw, with all kinds of figures, to decorate and cover the walls with, and to place below their bed clothes."[131] Rush mats were painted and fastened to the walls in winter to keep out the cold. Some houses had "portraits and pictures somewhat rudely carved."[132] By the eighteenth century platforms made of poles, which encircled the walls and served as tables, benches, and beds, were mentioned.[133] The platform was covered by an untanned skin of bear or deer, or else with a mat.

Near each village was one or more sweat houses:

> When they wish to cleanse themselves of their foulness, they go in the autumn, when it begins to grow cold, and make, away off, near a running brook, a small oven, large enough for three or four men to lie in it. In making it they first take twigs of trees, and then cover them tight with clay, so that smoke cannot escape. This being done, they take a parcel of stones, which they heat in a fire, and then put in the oven, and when they think that it is sufficiently hot, they take the stones out again, and go and lie in it, men and women, boys and girls.[134]

Informants (O.A., J.T.) recalled small sweat lodges of this type. Skinner found "small beds of cracked stones and pebbles, without relics, often at some distance from other remains. . ."[135] Thus, archaeological remains tend to confirm the existence of this trait for the prehistoric people of Staten Island.

Clothing.—The amount of clothing worn by the Delawares varied with the season. In summer men wore only a leather breech cloth and women only a short skirt, and they frequently did without moccasins.[136] In colder seasons the principal garment was a skin of beaver, fox, deer, bear, elk, or raccoon.[137] The hair side was worn next to the body in

[129] Wissler, 1917, p. 231; Denton, 1845, p. 7.

[130] Thomas, 1913, p. 341; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 401; Mahr, 1954, pp. 381-83; O. A.

[131] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 233.

[132] O'Callaghan, 1850, I: 282; Hayes, 1954, p. 77.

[133] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 17.

[134] De Vries, 1909, pp. 217-18; Lindestrom, 1925, p. 257, described the sweat lodge in similar terms.

[135] Skinner, 1909, p. 48.

[136] Pastorius, 1912, p. 384; Lindestrom, 1925, pp. 191-92.

[137] De Laet, 1909, p. 87; De Rasieres, 1909, p. 106; Thomas, 1912, p. 341; Juet, 1909, p. 18; Van der Donck, 1909, p. 301.

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cold weather and outside in warmer weather.[139] Perhaps the most exotic garments in the eyes of Europeans were the feather mantles which were used both as robes and as bedding.[139] Lindestrom said: "They also make very fine and beautiful quilts of painted bird feathers. In the first place they tie them with meshes like nets, yet very fine, then fasten the feathers in the meshes, so neat and strong that not one feather can come loose from it; it would sooner go clear off."[140] Besides robes, leggings that extended almost to the hips and moccasins were worn.[141] For winter wear "they say that shoes made of dressed bears skins, with the hair on and turned inside, are very warm, and in dry weather, durable."[142] One source mentioned cornhusk moccasins.[143] Women's dress differed from male attire in that a short skin skirt of a square wrap-around style was worn.[144] Clothing was highly decorated with colored designs of dyed porcupine quills, or it was painted.[145] Hats were not used, although one source mentioned "helmets of hard sticks and strong wood" used for defensive purposes in war.[146] Denton said: "They wear no Hats, but commonly wear about their Heads a Snake's skin, or a belt of their money, or a kind of a Ruff made with Deer's hair & died of a scarlet colour, which they esteem very rich."[147] Children wore little or no clothing in warm weather, but by the eighteenth century girls donned, as soon as they could walk, "a little frock" resembling their mother's costume. Boys at about the age of six began wearing the breech cloth.[148]

Adornment and ornamentation.— Men wore a scalp lock, that is, one tuft of hair was allowed to grow long. Other body and facial hair, if any, was plucked out.[149] "They root out the hair from the forehead backward so that the head is bald up to the crown, and only a hand-breadth of it in circular form is suffered to remain. . . ."[150] Women wore their hair in a bun at the back of the head; it was not cut and sometimes hung to the knees.[151] Face and hair of both sexes were smeared with grease.[152] There was no mention of tattooing during the seventeenth century, but since in the next century it was well established, it probably was an ancient custom:

> The process of tattooing, which I once saw performed, is quickly done, and does not seem to give much pain. They have poplar bark in readiness burnt and reduced to a powder, the figures that are to be tattooed are marked or designed

[139] De Vries, 1909, p. 217; Holm, 1834, p. 119; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 202.
[139] De Vries, 1909, p. 217; Juet, 1909, p. 18; Van der Donck, 1909, p. 301; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 203.
[140] Lindestrom, 1925, pp. 221-23.
[141] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 15; Lindestrom, 1925, p. 199.
[142] Heckewelder, 1881, p. 202.
[143] Van der Donck, 1909, p. 301.
[144] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 15; Skinner, 1947, p. 5.
[145] Heckewelder, 1881, p. 203; Skinner, 1947, pp. 3-4.
[146] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 222.
[147] Denton, 1845, p. 10; Holm, 1834, p. 120, noted the same customs.
[148] Johnson, 1917, p. 280; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 17.
[149] Thomas, 1911, p. 340; Lindestrom, 1925, pp. 195-96; Van der Donck, 1909, p. 300.
[150] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 13.
[151] Smith, 1877, p. 137; Lindestrom, 1925, p. 195.
[152] Van der Donck, 1909, p. 301; De Rasieres, 1909, p. 106; Pastorius, 1912, p. 433.

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on the skin; the operator with a small stick, rather larger than a common match, to the end of which some sharp needles are fastened, quickly pricks over the whole so that blood is drawn, then a coat of this powder is laid and left on to dry. Before the whites came into this country, they scarified themselves for this purpose with flint stones, or pricked themselves with the sharp teeth of a fish.[150]

The men tatooed their arms, legs, and faces with figures of snakes, birds, and other animals. These were marks of distinction and commemorated some worthy deed or heroic action. Occasionally the women tattooed themselves.[154]

Both sexes painted their thighs, legs, breast, and face with streaks, lines, or circles. The usual colors were red, black, blue, and yellow.[155] Painting was mostly for festive occasions or for warfare. Women were more circumspect than men in the amount of paint used, since excessive or immodest painting was regarded as indicative of a wanton woman.[156] Both men and women wore numerous ornaments. Wampum in particular was a favorite; it was used as necklaces and wristlets and was hung from the ears. Sometimes it was woven in bands and worn on the head or clothing.[157] The helixes of men's ears were often pierced for wampum, metal, and other ornaments:

> They frequently cut the helix of the ear,[158] leaving the upper and lower ends intact and then hang bits of lead to it so that it is stretched. Then this curved border of the auricle is bound with brass wire, distending it considerably, and decorated with silver ornaments.[159]

Besides wampum, necklaces of dyed deer hair, stone, native copper, and shell gorgets were worn.[160] One source depicted men wearing "the thumbs of enemies they have killed."[161] Men carried tobacco pouches, often made from the whole skin of a loon, large enough to hold a pipe, tobacco, knife, a pair of depilatory shells, and other objects.[162]

Manufactures.— The bow and arrow, the war club or tomahawk, and the spear were the principal implements of the men.[163] The type of bow used is unknown, except for one vague reference to wooden bows and arrows.[164] The triangular stone projectile points were fastened to the shaft by means of resin.[165] Projectile points were usually made of quartz, but chert, slate, shale, granite, sandstone, and argillite points have been found. Some may even have been made of fish bones.[166] Stone, pottery, and copper pipes were noted, both from early documents and

[150] Heckewelder, 1881, p. 206.
[154] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 12.
[155] De Vries, 1909, p. 217; Holm, 1834, p. 119; Van der Donck, 1909, p. 301; Denton, 1845, p. 10.
[156] Heckewelder, 1881, p. 203.
[157] Van der Donck, 1909, p. 301; Pastorius, 1912, p. 434; Lindestrom, 1925, pp. 196-97.
[158] Heckewelder, 1881, p. 207; Luckenbach, 1938, p. 107.
[159] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 12.
[160] Abbott, 1875, p. 327; Heye and Pepper, 1915, pp. 32-42; Holm, 1834, p. 119.
[161] Holm, 1834, p. 119; Van der Donck, 1909, p. 301.
[162] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 68; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 204.
[163] Brinton, 1885, p. 53.
[164] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 29.
[165] De Laet, 1909, p. 48; Holm, 1834, p. 129; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 29.
[166] Smith, 1950, p. 119; De Laet, 1909, p. 57.

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from archaeological sites attributed to the Delawares. Copper tobacco pipes were recorded early in the seventeenth century by Juet who said: "They had red Copper Tabacco pipes, and other things of Copper they did weare about their neckes."[167] Lindestrom described the pipes as painted and said that there were some "an ell in length, which are screwed together with leather, to lean on. . .and in these pipe-heads will go a handful of tobacco."[168] In another place he indicated that pipe heads were decorated with birds and animals "very beautifully painted and glazed."[169] Holm said that the pipes were "a fathom long, which they lean upon as a stick."[170] The pottery pipes found in archaeological sites were plainer, being "straight conical tubes, plain or stamped, to elbow-shaped forms decorated with incised or stamped lines."[171] De Laet said they had ". . .tubes for smoking tobacco formed. . .of flint stone ingeniously perforated."[172] Stone pipes, however, are relatively rare in archaeological sites.[173]

Agricultural implements of the women were simple; short-handled hoes were fashioned with a blade of dogwood, stone, tortoise shell, or the scapula of a deer (later bison).[174] The scapula hoe is remembered by living Delawares. The Delawares had pottery vessels, and according to archaeological information the paste varied from fine to medium coarse, grit temper was more common than shell temper, and sherds are usually gray or brown. Vessels had "conical and rounded bottoms" and were "straight walled or rounded." Shoulders were often absent, although some had pronounced shoulders when associated with a collared rim. Decoration, if present, was by roughening with a cord-wrapped paddle. Incised decorative designs were frequent.[175] Containers and other utensils were fashioned of wood, shell, bark, gourds, and tortoise shell.[176] Stone tools are common in archaeological deposits and include "plain or pitted hammerstones, anvil stones, abrading stones, sinew stones, pestles, shallow mortars, choppers (or hoes), picks, netsinkers, paint stones and amorphous pieces of mica."[177] They possessed "stone hatchets" that were hafted to a handle, and another type which was neither grooved nor hafted.[178] The women and old men manufactured the mats, ropes, tump lines, and baskets, which were made from wild hemp, nettle, silkweed, spruce roots, cornhusks, ash splints, papaw bark, elm bast, and rushes. Wooden bowls, dishes, and mortars were made of maple, buckeye, and elm wood.[179] Speck has described fully the block

[167] Juet, 1909, pp. 18-19; De Laet, 1909, p. 49.
[168] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 197.
[169] *Ibid.*, p. 221.
[170] Holm, 1834, p. 120.
[171] Smith, 1950, p. 119.
[172] De Laet, 1909, p. 57.
[173] Butler, 1947, p. 253.
[174] Johnson, 1917, p. 279; Jemison, 1918, p. 47; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 28; Mahr, 1954, pp. 385-86.
[175] Smith, 1950, pp. 117-18.
[176] Pastorius, 1912, p. 384; Lindestrom, 1925, p. 235; Johnson, 1917, p. 281; Speck, 1941, pp. 47, 78-79; Smith, 1950, p. 119.
[177] Smith, 1950, p. 119.
[178] Kalm, 1937, I: 229.
[179] Thomas, 1912, p. 341; Lindestrom, 1925, p. 221; De Laet, 1909, p. 57; Harrington, 1913, p. 234.

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stamp ornamentation of basketry in historic times, possibly a diffusion from the Europeans.[180]

Boats.—Canoes were of two types, a solid dugout canoe and one of birch or other bark. The dugouts were made of tulip poplar, cedar, sycamore, and probably other suitable woods, which were hollowed out by fire.[181] When they wished to venture out to sea or into rough water, two canoes were lashed together. Sails on these vessels were reported, but seem to be post-European.[182] Zeisberger described the manufacture of the eighteenth-century bark canoe, which probably represented the earlier technique:

> These canows are fashioned of one piece of bast, the outer side of which is turned inward, both ends sharply pointed and securely sewn with bast, the inside being stretched out by a ribbing of bent wooden rods, which keeps the canow in its proper form. These canows are so light upon the water that they easily glide away from under the feet of one unaccustomed to them when attempting to stand. ... To make one they choose a tree according to the size of canow desired and peel the bark off carefully so that there may be no rent. If a canow gets out of repair or is punctured... the latter know how to repair it by securing a patch of bast over any opening. Besides, there is a kind of elm-wood bast which they crush or pound fine and which is of a sticky consistency, serving them in place of tar, to keep their canows water-tight so that they do not leak.[183]

These canoes were made of elm, black oak, and hickory bark.[184] Harrington said that for temporary use "six or more logs lashed together in the form of a raft with bark withes carried people and baggage across waters or down streams as required."[185]

Wampum.—The subject of wampum comes up in several different contexts, since its uses ranged all the way from individual ornamentation to negotiatory belts in peace and war. I shall merely examine its form and manufacture since its sociopolitical implications have been discussed fully by Speck and Snyderman.[186] Virtually all the early documents mentioned the possession and use of wampum (often called seewan or sewan) by the Delawares. Lindestrom, for example, said they had "oblong stones, with holes drilled through them, and threaded on strings. . .one kind [is] black-blue, the other kind white.... In size they are about the length of a wheat kernel and somewhat thicker."[187] He added that it was made by specialists, but says no more on the subject.[188] Fortunately, however, Burggraf has reconstructed the manufacture of wampum from knowledge gained through the material found in Indian workshops on Long Island. The white wampum was made solely from "the central stock of both *F. carica* and *F. canaliculatas*".[189]

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[180]Speck, 1947, pp. 17-19.
[181]Holm, 1834, p. 130; De Laet, 1909, pp. 38, 57; Van der Donck, 1909, p. 301; Mahr, 1954, pp. 382-83.
[182]Lindestrom, 1925, p. 237.
[183]Zeisberger, 1910, p. 33.
[184]Zeisberger, 1776, p. 33; Brinton, 1890, p. 186; Harrington, 1913, p. 223; Mahr, 1954, p. 383.
[185]Harrington, 1913, p. 223.
[186]Speck, 1919; Snyderman, 1955.
[187]Lindestrom, 1925, p. 229.
[188]*Ibid.*, p. 230.
[189]Burggraf, 1938, p. 54.

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321 The first stage in the course of manufacture was to break away all the outer whorls, leaving only the spiral center-stock. Next, with a chip of stone or a knife, the spire was cut off by sawing or notching around its circumference at the point where the first bead would be started. After this grooving had been carried far enough, the waste portion was broken off and discarded. In some cases this cutting seems to have been accomplished wholly with some abrasive implement, usually a bit of sharp-grained red sandstone. The fresh shiny surface of the interior of a periwinkel, as the shells are called locally, is of surprising hardness, and for this first step the quickest method would be employed. In severing finished beads, great care was shown and the narrow groove was carried deep enough to prevent any breakage in detaching the completed specimen....[180]

Black wampum was made from the Quahog (*Mercenaria mercenaria*), and its manufacture was more difficult:

The first step was to break off the anterior end of suitable dark-colored valves. Many fragments were never worked beyond this stage, most generally due to an insufficient thickness of the purple shell. Then, with some light hammer and perhaps a sort of percussion flaker, the thin edges of this bit of shell were chipped away leaving a slightly curving "stick" of purple.... The next step was to grind away the chipped edges, which could be easily accomplished with the sandstone "abradors" recovered.[181]

This tubular type was of late origin, replacing a disc type after 1620.[182]

[180] Berggren, 1888, p. 56.
[181] *Ibid.*, p. 57.
[182] Speck, 1919, p. 4; Berggren, 1938, p. 53.

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III. DELAWARE SOCIOLOGY

As is true of all people on a comparable technological level, Delaware social organization was based upon ties of kinship. Or to put it another way, the organization by which the technology was operated and the ways in which individuals behaved toward one another were regulated and determined by ties of relationship. But "the records of departed civilizations, archeological and documentary, are relatively rich in evidences as to technology, economics, religion, and government but poor in information as to rules of descent, kinship terminology, and other aspects of social organization."[1] This general condition is true of early Delaware culture, but if reliance is placed upon Murdock's suggestions, it is possible to move from the documentarily known to the deductive probable and to reconstruct with some success the early kinship structure.

Life Cycle

Pregnancy and Birth

Marital abstinence was practiced during pregnancy.[2] Heckewelder stated that husbands were solicitous of the whims of their wives during pregnancy, citing a case in which a man traveled at least forty miles to obtain cranberries with which "to satisfy his wife's longings."[3] During pregnancy meat was not touched with the hands, but was eaten with a stick.[4] One of my informants (J.T.) said that bird and animal livers could not be eaten during pregnancy. This may well be a vestige of the early taboo on meat. According to Harrington's Munsi informants:

> The husband of an expectant mother was often accompanied on his hunting trips by the spirit of the unborn child, whose romping and playing about the bushes, invisible to mortal eye, would nevertheless frighten away the deer and send the hunter home empty-handed. To prevent this a little bow and arrow were made and attached to the prospective father's garments, in the hope that the little spirit would play with them and stay quietly with his parent. Should this precaution fail, the child was thought to be a girl, and a little corn mortar and pestle were substituted. ...[5]

Birth, which was reported to be easy,[6] seems to have taken place away from the village, either in a menstrual hut or simply out of doors. Mary Jemison (a white captive of the eighteenth century, married at one time

[1] Murdock, 1949, p. 323.
[2] Thomas, 1912, p. 335; Penn, 1913, p. 232; Holm, 1834, p. 136.
[3] Heckewelder, 1881, p. 159.
[4] Holm, 1834, p. 136.
[5] Harrington, 1913, p. 213.
[6] Holm, 1834, p. 136.

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844 to a Delaware) gave birth in a small "shed" on a riverbank, attended by two women.[7] Informants said that old experienced women who had gone through childbirth themselves assisted in delivering a woman. Immediately after birth the infant was washed by its mother.[8] Lindestrom alone among the early sources said:

[825] When the savage females bear their children, they tie around their waists a snake skin of the most poisonous kind of snakes, which are found in New Sweden and are called rattlesnakes, which has such an effect that they do not know of the least pain in their child birth, and are as healthy in an hour, as if they had never been through it.[9]

Immediately after the child was washed it was placed upon a cradleboard. Lindestrom said:

[The mother] binds it . . . with three long and broad braids, and does not place the smallest particle of clothing under or above the child. The first braid she wraps over the forehead and around the board; the second braid, right over the arms and the board; the third braid, right over the knees and the board, tying it right strongly to the board.[10]

854 The child was kept bound to the cradleboard most of the time, including nursing periods, until it could walk.[11] Moss was used as an agent to absorb the child's excreta.[12] If it was necessary to carry the child after the cradleboard had been discarded, he was borne on the mother's back wrapped in a blanket.[13]

Harrington was told that a newborn child was not felt to be securely in the world, and that to ensure life it was disguised from the supernatural beings by being attired in adult clothing. According to Harrington:

. . . deerskin strings or strips of corn-husk were tied on the wrists of children so that the ghosts would think they were tied fast to the earth; and holes were cut in their little moccasins so that they could not follow the spirit trail. If the child's mother died shortly after its birth, these precautions were redoubled.[14]

844 The umbilical cord was specially treated; it was buried in the woods if a boy's, and near the lodge if a girl's. It was considered to be closely connected with a child's disposition, and hence if buried in the woods would ensure a boy's liking for the woods and the hunt; if buried near a lodge it would ensure the girl's attachment to womanly occupations.[15]

553 Naming.— Personal names were bestowed upon children or announced to the public during religious ceremonials, particularly the Big House Ceremony.[16] The meager information derived from the seventeenth-century sources indicates that these names were not given the children

[7] Jemison, 1918, p. 45.
[8] Penn, 1812, p. 231; Penn, 1883, p. 343; Holm, 1834, p. 136; O.A., M.B.
[9] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 194.
[10] *Ibid.*, p. 201.
[11] Penn, 1912, p. 231; Pastorius, 1912, p. 434; Lindestrom, 1925, p. 201; Trowbridge MS.
[12] Loskiel, 1794, p. 61.
[13] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 201.
[14] Harrington, 1913, p. 212; J.T. mentioned defacing moccasins for this purpose.
[15] Harrington, 1913, pp. 212-13.
[16] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 80; Loskiel, 1794, p. 62; Harrington, 1913, p. 213; Kinietz, 1946, p. 44; O.A., M.B.

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until they were "pretty well grown,"[17] or until they were old enough to hunt.[18] Trowbridge in the nineteenth century said: 553

> Children are named at one of the grand worshipping councils, and as opportunities do not occur regularly, there is no particular age at which they are formally named. The child when about to be named is taken to the assembly . . . and there presented to one of the old men of the same tribe [phratry?] together with a fathom of wampum for his services.[19]

Information from the eighteenth century suggests that temporary childhood names were also given. These names were often derived from dreams: [187]

> If it is left to the mother to give the child a name, she used little ceremony and calls it after some peculiar mark or character in it, for instance the Beautiful, the Good Child, the Great-Eye, sometimes giving it a name of unsavory meaning. If the father gives the child a name he pretends that it has been suggested to him in a dream.[20]

Van der Donck in the seventeenth century specified the mother as name-giver, but Loskiel in 1794 indicated the father in that capacity.[21] Kinietz has suggested that "part of the diversity may be accounted for by the fact that often two or more old people including the child's grandparents, dreamed a name, and on being presented with these the parents made a selection."[22] The shift away from a matrilineal, matrilocal emphasis in society may also have led to the naming of children by the father. According to informants, a friend of the parents, usually an aged person, was asked to give the child a name. This person was given a present; in the last century the present was dress goods or the like (M.B., O.A., J.T.). The name-giver did not name the child immediately, but waited until an auspicious dream had occurred.[23] Names for girls were "feminine sounding" and those for boys were "masculine sounding." "Coming into Full Bloom" was given as an example of a girl's name, and "Stands Before the Wind" was given as a boy's name (N.D.). One of Kinietz's informants said that animal names were used, and another said that children were named for the month in which they were born.[24] Masculine names could be feminized by adding an appropriate suffix.[25]

The use of an adult's name was restricted to the Big House Ceremony and analogous rites; childhood names did not have this restriction.[26] It was not uncommon for a person to select a new name upon becoming an adult. This might be because the old name no longer fitted, or the individual might merit a new name because of some worthy deed which he had performed. Denton said that "every one invents a name to himself, which he likes best. Some calling themselves *Rattlesnake*, *Skunk*, 551

[17] Holm, 1834, p. 127.
[18] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 202.
[19] Trowbridge MS.
[20] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 80
[21] Loskiel, 1794, p. 62.
[22] Kinietz, 1946, p. 45.
[23] Harrington, 1913, p. 213; Kinietz, 1946, p. 101; M.B., O.A., J.T.
[24] Kinietz, 1946, p. 101.
[25] Harrington, 1913, p. 213.
[26] Trowbridge MS; J.T., O.A.

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Bucks-horn, or the like."[27] In everyday life kinship terms were used rather than personal names.[28] Denton also said:

> Any Indian being dead, his name dies with him, no person daring ever after to mention his name, it being not only a breach of their Law, but an abuse to his friends & relations present, as if it were done on purpose to renew their grief: And any other person whatsoever that is named after that name doth incontinently change his name & takes a new one.[29]

Education and Training of Children

Children were nursed until they were three or four years old, but were increasingly fed meat and other specially prepared foods. Holm said they were taught to walk when they were nine months old.[30] When boys were four or five years old, they were given their first instruction in hunting, warfare, and woodcraft, as well as in other phases of a man's life.[31] Girls at the same age were initiated into the duties of housekeeping and the planting and cultivating of gardens. Old people, particularly grandparents, played an important rôle in instructing the children in tradition, religion, and correct behavior (O.A., N.D.). According to Trowbridge, men took upon themselves the duty of instructing the young of their phratry.[32] The earlier documents are silent on these points, but there seems to be no reason why these more modern data do not represent the customs of a former period.

In earlier times physical punishment was seldom if ever used on the children; explanation, ridicule, exhortation, and threats took its place.[33] Obedience was sometimes enforced by threats of punishment by the Mask Being. If a child was slow to rise in the morning, for instance, the recalcitrant one was told that this supernatural creature would visit him and poke him with a stick (N.D.). It was also believed that the supernatural powers punished disobedient children by causing them to become weak and sickly (N.D.). The myth of a great, naked bear was frequently used, since disobedient children were said to be its particular victims.[34] Children were described as being well behaved; a captive brought up by the Delawares said that "honesty, bravery and hospitality are cardinal virtues with them... Their young, in a remarkable degree, reverence and honor the aged, especially their parents."[35] Not only were the old respected, but game and various other presents were often given to them.[36]

As children grew older, the boys in particular were more and more exposed to a toughening program. Training was one of increasing hardship, up to and including the puberty rituals. Children were forced to

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[27] Denton, 1845, p. 8.
[28] Trowbridge MS.
[29] Denton, 1845, p. 8.
[30] Holm, 1834, p. 127.
[31] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 303; Harrington, 1913, p. 213; Trowbridge MS.
[32] Trowbridge MS.
[33] Brickell, 1842, p. 47; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 81.
[34] Heckewelder, 1789, pp. 260-62.
[35] Brickell, 1842, p. 48.
[36] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 78.

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take baths in streams, even if the water was covered with ice.[37] Trowbridge said "they believe it of the utmost consequence to their children to subject them to hardship in their infancy and youth."[38] If children were orphaned "the maternal grandfather or mother is bound by custom to take the children under protection; but if they also be dead the children are adopted by such relatives or friends as may be inclined to take charge of them."[39] Children born out of wedlock were normally cared for by the mother, but the father might contribute to their support. No stigma attached to illegitimacy.[40]

Puberty: boys.— The vision quest of the young boy was the climax of the more formal aspects of the educational system and served to usher the boy over the threshold into adult life. When a boy was about ten years old,[41] or when his voice began to change (N.D.), he began what can best be called a series of ordeals:

> [A boy] is put under an alternate course of physic and fasting, either taking no food whatever, or swallowing the most powerful and nauseous medicines, and occasionally he is made to drink decoctions of an intoxicating nature, until his mind becomes sufficiently bewildered, so that he sees or fancies that he sees visions, and has extraordinary dreams, for which, of course, he has been prepared beforehand.[42]

Parents insulted their sons, N.D. added, telling them that they were no good and that they should go out and "die." Boys were shamed, ridiculed, insulted, and all but physically driven from the village. It was felt that a humbled, miserable boy had a better opportunity to induce the supernatural spirits to feel sorry for him, and so reveal themselves to him and provide him with a supernatural guardian. Boys inevitably went into a lonely exile filled with despair at their own inadequacy and in the desperate hope of obtaining a supernatural being's assistance in a hostile world. If the vision quest produced a guardian spirit, a boy was restored to the good graces of the community, acquired a good deal of self-confidence, and the course of his life was known. Future occupations, for instance, were decided by these visions, whether a boy was to be a warrior, shaman, or something else.[43] Not all boys, however, were successful in the vision quest. Women frequently had visions, although they were not consciously solicited.[44]

Puberty: girls.— When a girl menstruated for the first time she was secluded in a hut.[45] Zeisberger said of the Munsis:

> ... being the more strict and having more ceremonies in the observance of the custom than the Miamis. They build for such a girl, a separate hut, apart from the rest, where her mother or some old female acquaintance cares for her

[37] Penn, 1912, p. 231; Pastorius, 1912, p. 434; Trowbridge MS; J.T., N.D., O.A.
[38] Trowbridge MS.
[39] *Ibid.*
[40] *Ibid.*
[41] Harrington, 1913, p. 214.
[42] Heckewelder, 1881, p. 245.
[43] *Ibid.*, pp. 245-47. See Chap. IV for a discussion of the supernatural beings encountered in visions.
[44] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 132; N.D.
[45] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 77; Beatty, 1798, pp. 84-85; Loskiel, 1794, p. 56; N.D., O.A.

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881 and guards her so that none may see her... she is also kept within the hut the whole of the menstrual period, with the blanket over her head...."[46]

De Vries also noted that these girls hid behind a garment "which they throw over their body drawing it over the head so that one can barely [783] see their eyes."[47] The emphasis during menstruation was on uncleanliness and the necessity of isolation from society.[48] A girl could not touch her hair during her first isolation, food was eaten with a stick, and no meat was eaten.[49] In the last century, and perhaps earlier, a girl could not look in a mirror or talk to people (N.D.). At the end of the seclusion the girl's mother washed her hair, bathed her, and gave her new clothes. The idea was impressed upon the girl that she was now a woman and was henceforth to give up the toys and activities of childhood.[50] The same general restrictions applied to menstruating women.[51]

836 Little is known about premarital chastity in early historic times.
548 Denton said, however: "Any maid before she is married doth lie with whom she please for money without any scandal, or the least aspersion to be cast upon her it being so customary, & their laws tolerating it."[52]

Marriage

582 After the boys had proved themselves to be adequate hunters and the girls had passed through their first seclusion, they were considered
884 ready for marriage. This took place at about the age of seventeen or eighteen for boys and thirteen or fourteen for girls.[53] A girl showed her marriageability by wearing some sort of headpiece and by modestly covering the face with a portion of clothing when in public.[54] De Vries [301] said further that girls "deck themselves with a quantity of zeewan [wampum] upon the body, head and neck; they then go and sit in some place, in company with some squaws, showing that they are up for a bargain."[55]

584 Several different ways of arranging marriages and several types of marriage ceremony have been recorded for the Delawares. Some of this variety was probably due to diffusion from other Indian cultures or from Euro-American civilization, but it was also possible that there were variations among the diverse Delawaran peoples. Four seventeenth-century sources stated that girls were courted with wampum.[56] In later times, at least, relatives or go-betweens arranged the marriage. According to Heckewelder the prospective bridegroom's mother usually initiated the negotiations; according to Trowbridge the father of the

[46] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 77.
[47] De Vries, 1909, p. 218; also Loskiel, 1794, p. 58.
[48] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 77; N.D., O.A.
[49] Penn, 1912, p. 232.
[50] N.D. See section on Mythology in Chap. IV for an account of a girl who refused to part with her dolls.
[51] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 77.
[52] Denton, 1845, p. 9.
[53] Penn, 1912, p. 231; Holm, 1834, pp. 127-28; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 75; Loskiel, 1794, p. 63.
[54] De Vries, 1909, p. 218; Pastorius, 1912, p. 434; Penn, 1912, p. 231.
[55] De Vries, 1909, p. 218.
[56] *Ibid.*; De Razieres, 1909, p. 106; Denton, 1845, p. 9; Van der Donck, 1909, p. 302.

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bridegroom carried out negotiations with the father of the bride.[57] My informants said that either parent of the prospective bridegroom could make wedding arrangements (N.D., O.A., M.B.). The prospective bridegroom, or the go-between seems to have taken some produce of the hunt, usually a choice cut of deer or bear, to the dwelling of the prospective bride and presented it to the girl's mother. If the match was favored, the girl's mother reciprocated with a gift of beans or corn. Both go-betweens, whether relatives or friends, emphasized in their negotiations that their respective children, or clients, had themselves procured the gifts. If, after this exchange, the couple signified that the gifts were acceptable, the bargain was considered concluded, although subsequent exchanges of food and clothing were made. The period of time between the betrothal and the marriage was fairly lengthy in the seventeenth century: "If she be a young virgin, he must wait six weeks more before he can sleep with her...all this time she sits with a blanket over her head, without wishing to look at any one, or any one being permitted to look at her...."[58] Heckewelder added:

> The friendship between the two families daily increasing, they do their domestic and field work jointly, and when the young people have agreed to live together, the parents supply them with necessaries, such as a kettle, dishes or bowls, and also what is required for the kitchen, and with axes, hoes, etc. to work in the field.[59]

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De Rasieres rather cryptically said that in the marriage ceremony they "...eat together with friends, and sing and dance together...."[60] An even more informal ceremony was mentioned in this and subsequent centuries, in which a man simply asked a woman if she wanted to live with him. If she assented, they lived together and were considered to be married.[61] Trowbridge described the marriage ceremony of the nineteenth century by saying:

> The female was conducted by her relatives to the lodge of her intended husband and there delivered to him. The day succeeding was taken up by the relatives of the bride in carrying to those of the groom large presents of corn, squashes, etc., together with pouches and other ornaments, the products of female labor, and they also gave her a kettle for cooking. This was the conclusion of the ceremony.[62]

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Other data from this century add that the couple, dressed in their finest and most elaborate clothing, appeared before a shaman, who made an offering of tobacco to the supernatural powers and sacrificed a beaver skin. He then addressed the bridal couple telling them to be good and not to mistreat each other. This was followed by a feast and dance sponsored by the friends and relatives of the bridal pair.[63] He might

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[57] Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 161-62; De Smet, 1859, p. 238; Trowbridge MS.
[58] De Rasieres, 1909, p. 107.
[59] Heckewelder, 1881, p. 161.
[60] De Rasieres, 1909, p. 107.
[61] Van der Donck, 1909, p. 382; J.T., O.A.
[62] Trowbridge MS.
[63] De Smet, 1859, p. 239; Adams, 1905, pp. 17-19; M.B.

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585 also speak to the couple on subsequent occasions, perhaps on the birth of a child (M.B.).

591 The place of residence of a newly married couple is something of a puzzle. In the nineteenth century it was temporarily patrilocal or matrilocal (bilocal), with friends, or by themselves (neolocal).[64] This was probably not true in early historic times; the evidence favors matrilocality. All sources are agreed that the Delawares were polygynous.[65]

595 Polygyny seems to have been more frequent in the early days. "An *Indian* may have two wives or more if he please, but it is not much in use as it was since the English came amongst them they being ready in some measure to imitate the *English* in things both good & bad."[66] Van der Donck said that "ordinarily they have but one wife, sometimes two or three, but this is generally among the chiefs."[67] The sororate was sometimes practiced, and informants added that the levirate was known.[68] Trowbridge said that "many instances have been known where a man having married a widow also married her daughter, and this has sometimes been at the suggestion of the mother herself."[69]

586 Divorce.— Divorce was easy among the Delawares; either member of a marriage partnership could break the union.[70] Reasons for divorce were sterility, adultery, and any other type of incompatibility.[71] Divorce was not frequent when there were children, and in this event small children remained with the mother.[72] Heckewelder quoted a Delaware on marriage and divorce, and the account is both enlightening and entertaining:

> The Indians had not only a much easier way of getting a wife than the whites, but were also more certain of getting a good one; "For" (said he in his broken English), "White man court, — court, — may be one whole year! O may be two year before he marry! — well! — may be then got very good wife — but may be not! — may be very cross! — Well now, suppose cross! scold so soon as get awake in morning! scold all day! scold until sleep! — all one; he must keep him! White people have law forbidding throwing away wife, be he ever so cross! no! no! Squaw know too well what Indian do if he cross! — throw him away and take another! Squaw love to eat meat! no husband! no meat! Squaw do every thing to please husband! he do the same to please Squaw! live happy!"[73]

684 637 Marital fidelity on the part of men does not seem to have been a major social goal, particularly during a woman's pregnancy, menstruation, and lactation, when marital relations were forbidden.[74] During this 534 period many husbands apparently had concubines. There is one report of the social sanction of a woman's divorce from an adulterous husband. In this isolated case the husband was accused before the chief; he was

[64] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 78; O.A., N.D.
[65] Holm, 1834, p. 126; Loskiel, 1794, p. 58; Trowbridge MS., O.A., M.B., N.D.
[66] Denton, 1845, p. 9.
[67] Van der Donck, 1909, p. 202.
[68] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 88; O.A., M.B.
[69] Trowbridge MS.
[70] De Vries, 1909, p. 218; Holm, 1834, p. 126; Brainerd, 1884, pp. 171-72; Trowbridge MS.
[71] Denton, 1845, p. 9; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 85; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 154; Trowbridge MS.
[72] De Rasieres, 1909, p. 108; Trowbridge MS; O.A.
[73] Heckewelder, 1881, p. 161.
[74] Penn, 1912, p. 232; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 80.

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found guilty and the wife was "permitted to draw off his right shoe and left stocking...she then tears off the lappet that covers his private parts, gives him a kick behind, and so drives him out of the house...."[75] Husbands could punish adulterous wives by thrashing them, or could obtain a divorce by bringing them before the chief or sachem. The woman's hair was cut off, she was deprived of her property, and perhaps even of her life, if found guilty by the sachem.[76] But Denton remarked: "It is no offense for their married women to lie with another man provided she acquaint her husband, or some of her nearest Relations with it, but if not it is accounted such a fault that they sometimes punish it with death."[77] One of the culturally sanctioned mechanisms for obtaining revenge upon an adulterous spouse was suicide.[78] A man's retaliation for adultery could also be seduction of the adulterer's wife. If and when the injured husband was successful in this venture, he made the fact public so that the original adulterer would be held up for public scorn.[79]

A widow, prior to remarriage, whether his wife had died of natural or other causes, had to recompense her relatives for her loss.[80] The duration of mourning was about a year.[81] A widow during this time had to support herself; she could not be given meat since a hunter's weapons were supposed to fail if he had given meat to a widow.[82] When the year had passed, the deceased one's soul left the earth and remarriage could follow.

Death

As soon as a person died the fact of death was spread throughout the community by a crier. The crier was a woman especially appointed and paid for her services.[83] This announcement evoked loud outcrys and lamentations from the general populace. These lamentations were continued intermittently in the house where the deceased lay until burial.[84] In recent times and perhaps earlier the moccasin game was played in the dwelling where the corpse lay.[85] The body was not buried at once because it was necessary to give the supernatural forces an opportunity to restore life to the corpse.[86] The length of time the body was kept varied with the season; it was three days in summer and seven in winter.[87] During this interval the corpse was dressed in new clothes and richly adorned and painted. Before noon on the day of burial a number

[75] De Rasieres, 1909, p. 108.
[76] *Ibid.*; see also Pastorius, 1912, p. 434.
[77] Denton, 1845, p. 9.
[78] Penn, 1912, p. 232; Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 258-59; Loskiel, 1794, p. 58.
[79] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 77.
[80] Penn, 1912, p. 232.
[81] Pastorius, 1912, p. 435; Holm, 1834, p. 143; Brickell, 1842, p. 49; Trowbridge MS.
[82] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 88; Loskiel, 1794, p. 64.
[83] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 249; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 269.
[84] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 89; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 269.
[85] Harrington, 1913, p. 215; Kinietz, 1946, p. 72.
[86] Trowbridge MS; Kinietz, 1946, p. 51; J.T.
[87] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 249; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 269; Trowbridge MS; Kinietz, 1946, p. 51; M.B.

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764 of tools and ornaments were placed in the grave (or coffin in later times).[86] "They put into the Ground with them some House-Utensils, and some Money (as Tokens of their Love and Affection) with other Things, expecting they shall have Occasion for them again in the other World."[87] Denton and Lindestrom described burials in which deep circular pits were dug, the corpse being placed "...upright, sitting upon a seat, with his Gun, money, & such goods as he hath with him, that he may be furnished in the other world."[88] As far as can be determined there is no archaeological confirmation for this trait. Voegelin said, however, that this custom was "pan-eastern North American, with the center of distribution in the north."[89] In later centuries the corpse was buried in an extended, or partly flexed, prone position. One source said that the body's hands were tied "one on each side of his head."[90] Heckewelder, who observed the burial of the wife of an important man, gave the clearest discussion of the eighteenth-century mortuary practices. Just prior to burial "a small bag of vermilion paint, with some flannel to lay it on, was then thrust into the coffin through the hole cut out at the head of it. This hole, the Indians say, is for the spirit of the deceased to go in and out at pleasure, until it has found the place of its future residence."[91] J.T. said that the hole is painted with a red paint made from a root.

In the ceremony in which Heckewelder participated, a procession carried the coffin to the cemetery, which was a little way from the village, the female mourners making "the air resound with their shrill cries."[92] The procession consisted of a leader, followed by men carrying the coffin, then the husband of the deceased, war chiefs, counselors, women, and children. Finally came two men bearing loads of European goods, and women with eating utensils and dried elk meat. The chief mourners took their separate way to the grave, on the right side of the procession, about fifteen or twenty yards off. At the grave the corpse was exposed, the multitude arranging themselves in a half circle on the south side of the grave. The bereaved widower retired "to a spot at some distance, where he was seen weeping, with his head bowed to the ground."[93] The female mourners sat down twelve to fifteen yards east of the grave. Two hours were spent without further activity. At about one o'clock six men stepped forward to place the lid on the coffin and lower it into the grave; they were prevented from doing so by the female mourners. These mourners called upon the deceased to return, even trying to pull the corpse from the casket. When these women had returned to their places, continuing their lament, the six men again stepped forward and lowered the coffin into the grave. The head of the

[86] Heckewelder, 1881, p. 271; Trowbridge MS; O.A., M.B.

[87] Thomas, 1912, p. 340; Penn, 1882, p. 244, and Holm, 1834, p. 143, recorded the same custom.

[88] Denton, 1845, p. 8; also Lindestrom, 1925, p. 249.

[89] Voegelin, 1944, pp. 344-45.

[90] Holm, 1834, p. 143.

[91] Heckewelder, 1881, p. 271. J.T., N.D., and O.A. mentioned this trait.

[92] Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 271-72; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 88.

[93] Heckewelder, 1881, p. 272.

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deceased was oriented towards the east.[96] At this time they laid "two thin poles of about four inches (in) diameter, from which the bark had been taken off, lengthways and close together over the grave, after which they retired."[97] The widower then came up to the grave slowly and "walked over it on these poles, and proceeded forward in the same manner into an extensive adjoining prairie."[98] When he was gone, a painted post which signified the position and station of the deceased and her husband was "brought by two men and delivered to a third, a man of note,"[99] who placed it at the head of the coffin in the grave with its symbolism facing east.[100] Holm said, "If he was a good hunter, they put the figure in wood, of some wild animal, and if he was a good fisherman, that of a fish."[101] After the grave was filled with earth, palisades were set up "about breast-high, so as to secure it from...wild beasts."[102] Denton noted that "....they fence their graves with a hedge, & cover the tops with mats, to shelter them from the rain."[103]

A meal, which had been prepared some distance from the grave, and a distribution of presents concluded the funeral rites. Everybody received a gift, although those who had performed various duties received the most valuable presents. Food was placed on the grave at dusk, and this was repeated every evening for three weeks. After this span of time "it was supposed that the traveller had found her place of residence."[104] For three weeks the mourning of the women continued, although it gradually decreased in intensity.

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People of less social importance were given less elaborate funerals.[105] No matter how simple the funerary rites, however, the customs of mourning had to be observed. Blackening of the face is one of the few such customs with which we are familiar.[106] Denton's description is the most complete one available for the seventeenth century. He said:

> At his Burial his nearest relations attend the Hearse with their faces painted black, and do visit the grave once or twice a day, where they send forth sad lamentations so long till time hath wore the blackness off their faces, & afterwards every year once they view the grave, make a new mourning for him, trimming up of the Grave, not suffering of a Grass to grow by it....[107]

A number of other sources from all periods confirm the care which was given the grave.[108] Food was occasionally left there, and annual feasts at the grave were common.[109] Trowbridge said that "it is customary among them to offer the first fine products of the hunting season and the first fruits of the earth at the grave of the deceased."[110] My informants said that Munsi feasts were more elaborate and that one was held twelve

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[96]Zeisberger, 1910, p. 88; O.A., N.D., J.T., M.B.
[97]Heckewelder, 1881, p. 273.
[98]*Ibid.*
[99]*Ibid.*
[100]McClure, 1899, p. 90; Trowbridge MS.
[101]Holm, 1834, p. 143.
[102]Heckewelder, 1881, p. 274.
[103]Denton, 1845, p. 8.
[104]Heckewelder, 1881, p. 275.
[105]*Ibid.*; Trowbridge MS.
[106]Pastorius, 1912, p. 435; Penn, 1912, p. 234; Holm, 1834, p. 143.
[107]Denton, 1845, p. 8.
[108]Thomas, 1912, p. 340; Penn, 1912, p. 234; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 90; J.T., O.A.
[109]Penn, 1912, p. 234; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 90; J.T., O.A.
[110]Trowbridge MS.

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765 days after burial (J.T.). The modern funerary feast may not be entirely representative of the aboriginal custom but it probably is a fairly accurate reflection of it.[111] These annual feasts are held at the home of the mourning relative and not at the cemetery. Friends and relatives eat, pray, and talk about the departed. Some person, unrelated to the deceased, is especially invited. (Trowbridge also noted this custom.) This guest, who has to be younger than the deceased at the time of death, but of the same sex, must sample all the foods which were favorites of the deceased. The feast, it is said, benefits the dead since the food the stand-in eats satisfies the spiritual appetite of the dead. The stand-in is not paid for his services (J.T., O.A.).

765 Another adjunct to funeral customs of the modern period, and perhaps one which existed in an earlier period, consists of rites of purification.
783 Following a funeral, the immediate family burns a handful of sweet grass on the grave (O.A.). The members of the family also purify themselves by washing the arms, hands, and face with water and then symbolically rubbing the smoke from burned cedar leaves over these same parts. With cedar smoke they also purify the rooms of the dwelling where the person died. This is said to repel the soul of the departed if it should attempt to return (O.A., J.T., N.D.).

764 It seems reasonable to assume that prior to European contact the Delawares varied somewhat in their funerary rites. De Vries, for example, alluded to a form of secondary burial, but this cannot be specifically associated with the Delawares.[112] This account mentioned a funeral feast and the erection of four poles and shelves upon the grave. Lindestrom also described a grave upon which four poles were raised:[113]

> The dead man's money is placed upon him and he is set down in the pit upon the stool with a tobacco pipe, a fathom long, in his mouth, screwed together with leather, the head of green or black stone, which is lighted through by the fire in the pipe, so that we can see how the tobacco is consumed, and this pipe-head is so large that a handful of tobacco will go into it, which is to be his food on the journey. This pipe they dig down into the ground from the mouth of the man.[114]

Thomas mentioned that the bones of celebrated persons were carried considerable distances to be reinterred near their homes. Perhaps this is a reference to the well-known secondary burial of the Nanticokes.[115]

762 Suicide.—It has already been noted that suicide was a means of punishing an adulterous spouse. Heckewelder knew of four persons who committed suicide between 1771 and 1780; all were men and all ate the root of the May apple. Three were successful, and the other was given an emetic and survived. Two of the men committed suicide because of thwarted love lives; the other two were married to adulterous women.[116] Trowbridge early in the nineteenth century mentioned that suicide was

[111] Speck, 1937, p. 59, has discussed "Sacrifice Feasts" of which funeral feasts are an example and noted that their "ancient character is exhibited by the fact of [their] wide distribution in similar form over the entire territory inhabited by Algonkin-speaking peoples."

[112] De Vries, 1909, pp. 223-24.

[113] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 250.

[114] *Ibid.*, p. 249.

[115] Thomas, 1912, p. 340.

[116] Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 258-60.

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not uncommon: "Mr. Conner knows of many instances of it having been committed, sometimes by shooting, but generally by eating the root of the may apple. It proceeds most frequently from excess of grief (sic) or from disappointment in love."[117] There are indications, then, of a pattern of sex-oriented suicide in Delaware culture at least as early as the eighteenth century.

Kin Groups

There is no way of knowing exactly how much Delaware kinship structure and terminology changed in the two and a half centuries following European invasion. That it did change during this period is virtually certain, since factors which induce change were present, such as altered rules of residence, decreased polygyny, and increased economic and political importance of men. The literature of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries gives no description of the kinship structure. L. H. Morgan was the first investigator to furnish information on the subject, obtaining his data in 1859 on the Kansas reservation of the Delawares. Even at this time Morgan termed the system "deteriorated."[118] I shall first describe the system found by Morgan, then compare it with the modern one, and finally turn to a reconstruction of the early historic system. Kinship terms given by Zeisberger and other earlier authors are too scant to yield any information; these nuclear terms agree with Morgan's lists.

Nineteenth-Century Kinship Terms and Principles

The kinship system of both the Munsi and Unami has been called the "Mackenzie Basin" type by Spier, and would be termed Hawaiian by Murdock.[119] According to Morgan, the essential features of the Delaware (Unami) system (Fig. 1, p. 45: Fig. 2, p. 46) were:

1. A brother's son and daughter, whether Ego was male or female, were termed son and daughter.
2. A sister's son and daughter, Ego a male, were nephew and niece. Ego a female, they were son and daughter.
3. Parallel and cross-cousins were termed stepbrother and stepsister, "the males and females using different terms."[120]
4. A father's brother was termed little father.
5. A mother's brother was termed uncle.
6. Mother's sister, father's sister, and father's brother's wife were termed little mother.
7. All grandparents and all kin of the second ascending generation were called grandmother or grandfather.

[117] Trowbridge MS.
[118] Morgan, 1871, p. 221.
[119] Spier, 1925, p. 76; Murdock, 1949, pp. 233, 238.
[120] Morgan, 1871, pp. 221-22.

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8. All grandchildren and kin of the second descending generation, irrespective of sex, were called by one term, grandchild.
9. If Ego was male, the children of male cousins were son and daughter, whereas children of female cousins were nephew and niece. If Ego was female, the children of siblings and cousins, irrespective of sex, were son and daughter.

Modern Kinship Terms

My data agree in the main with Morgan's, although there are some curious differences. (For comparative purposes the modern kinship terms are discussed here rather than under Acculturation.) The changes may be due to Munsi influence, since the modern system is like that of the Munsi, although the Unami dialect is employed. The changes may also be regarded as a further deterioration, particularly as the kinship society is no longer functional.

In terminology the major alteration has been in the classification of cousins. All cousins are now put in the sibling category, being termed older brother, older sister, or younger sibling. (Fig. 3, p. 47.) The children of those individuals whom Ego terms sibling are son and daughter, with the exception that male Ego calls a sister's son nephew. Male Ego does not call sister's daughter niece, as was true in Morgan's time, but calls her daughter. When cousins became brothers and sisters, it was only logical to extend the son and daughter term to their offspring. It might be noted that women in Morgan's time used the son and daughter terminology for all offspring of cousins. All of my informants were vague about the proper term for father's sister's husband and mother's sister's husband. It was given as "my little stepfather," but also as "my little father."

A Reconstruction of the Early Historic Kinship Terminology

Despite the lack of any early historic description of the Delaware kinship terminology, an attempt to reconstruct it is profitable. There is fairly extensive information concerning the other facts of social existence in early historic times, and, given these facts, only certain conditions were possible for the kinship structure. The kinds of forces that affected Delaware society between the time of first contact and 1859 are also known, as are the results that these forces generally have upon kinship systems. Moreover, Morgan's description of the kinship system in 1859 provides a point of departure.

There are strong indications that most if not all of the seventeenth-century peoples who were to become the Delaware tribe reckoned descent in the maternal line and practiced matrilocal residence.[121] It has been seen that horticulture was in the hands of women, a fact which emphasizes

[121] Wallace, 1947, pp. 1-35.

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Delaware Kinship Terminology
Consanguineal

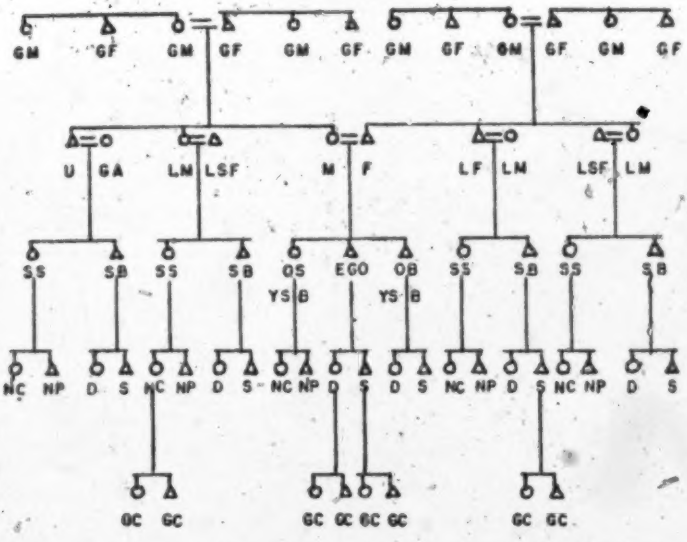

Fig. 1. Delaware terminological structure, consanguineal terms, male speaking (1859). The abbreviations are GF, grandfather; GM, grandmother; U, uncle; GA, great aunt, LM, little mother, LSF, little stepfather; M, mother; F, father; LF, little father; SS, stepsister; SB, stepbrother; OS, older sister; OB, older brother; YSB, younger sibling; NC, niece; NP, nephew; D, daughter; S, son, GC, grandchild. Δ = male; O = female. With Ego female, the only difference in terms is found for nephew and niece. They are called son and daughter, so that all kin of the first descending generation are son and daughter.

the maternal line.[122] There were other cultural traits which point to a maternal emphasis: avuncular succession of sachemship is one, as are the facts that orphaned children were cared for by maternal grandparents, that a widower had to reimburse the wife's family before remarriage, and possibly that childhood names were given by mothers rather than by fathers. The occasional polygyny of the early period did not favor either matrilocality or matrilineal descent, although if it was of a sororal type it was then compatible with matrilocality.

As has been noted, by the nineteenth century residence of a newly married couple was neolocal or bilocal, although probably it was matrilocal in early historic times. If a pre-European matrilocal society is assumed, what would cause an alteration to a neo- or bilocal rule? Murdock has said: "Rules of residence reflect general economic, social and cultural conditions. When underlying conditions change, rules of

[122] Murdock, 1949, pp. 204-5.

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Delaware Kinship Terminology
Affinal

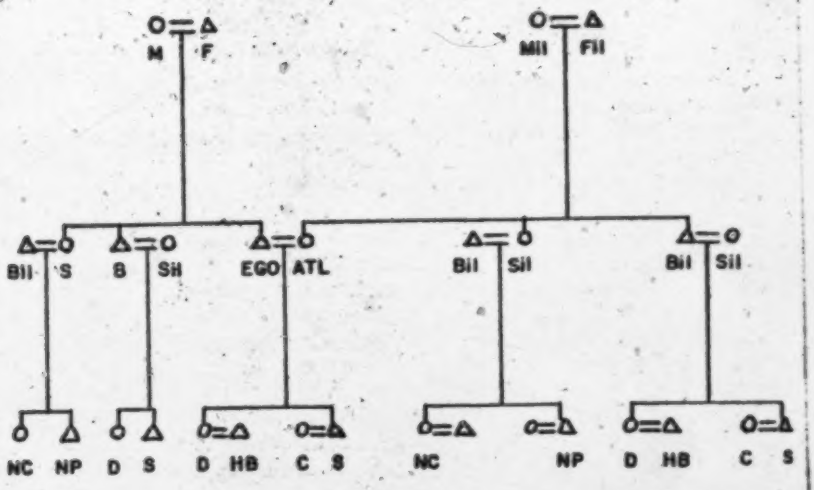

Fig. 2. Delaware terminological structure, affinal terms (1859). The abbreviations are Mil, mother-in-law; Fil, father-in-law; Bil, brother-in-law; Sil, sister-in-law; ATL, aid through life (spouse); HB, hunter for my benefit (son-in-law); C, cook (daughter-in-law). With Ego female, terms are the same. Other abbreviations as in Figure 1.

residence tend to be modified accordingly."[133] As he has pointed out further, the isolation and emphasis placed upon nuclear families, the decrease in polygyny, the scattering of kinsmen, and the individualistic emphasis placed upon economic activity, all favor the development of neolocal residence.[134] Bilocal residence is favored by "the adoption of a migratory life in unstable bands," and by the "approximate equality in status of the two sexes, especially with regard to the ownership and inheritance of property and privileges."[135] Almost all of the conditions which Murdock mentioned were prominent factors in Delaware life between 1600 and 1859. These forces are discussed at length under Acculturation; suffice it to say here that contact with Euro-American civilization caused extensive migrations, a new economic system emphasizing individual initiative, a decline in polygyny, breakup and decimation of geographically associated kinsmen, a decline in the importance of female-dominated horticulture, and increasing importance of men in subsistence. In short, residence rules of the Delawares in all probability altered from matrilocal to neolocal or bilocal.

The kinship terminology which Morgan described was in most of its

[133] Murdock, 1949, p. 17.
[134] *Ibid.*, p. 204.
[135] *Ibid.*

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Modern Delaware Kinship Terminology

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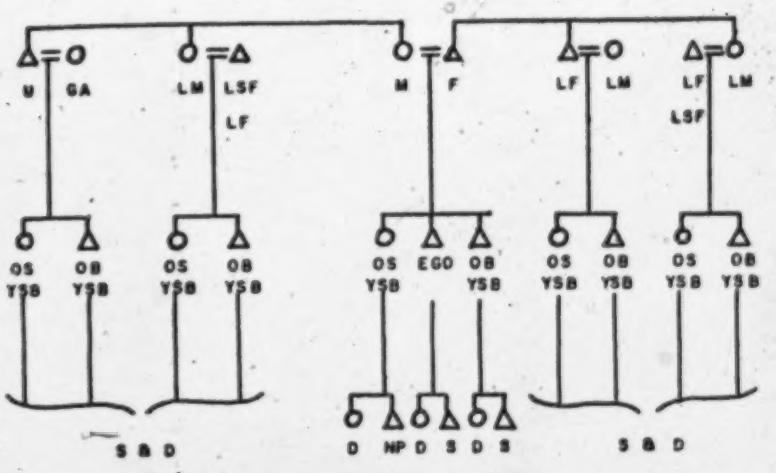

Fig. 3. Abbreviations are the same as for Figures 1 and 2. All cousins are called older brother or sister, or younger sibling. Sister's son is nephew, Ego male. Ego female, all kin of first descending generation are son or daughter. Mother's sister's husband and father's sister's husband may be called either little father, or little stepfather. A complete diagram is not given since there has been no change in other terms. Informants: O.A., M.B., J.T., F.W.

features in accord with the type which Murdock terms "Matri-Hawaiian."[136] It is apparent, however, that the early historic terminology was not Hawaiian, since descent must have been matrilineal instead of bilateral, as is required by a Hawaiian system. If an early historic system is now considered, with matrilineal descent and a matrilocal rule of residence, which by Morgan's time had evolved to a bilateral, Matri-Hawaiian type, is it possible to suggest the form of the early historic terminology? The most likely form would seem to be one of the 'Iroquois' type, since the generation principle is not violated in either, and the other differences are relatively minor.[137] In an Iroquoian system cross-cousins are called by the same terms, which differ from those used for parallel cousins. Parallel cousins may or may not be called by the same terms which are used for siblings. The term applied to mother and mother's sister is different from the one applied to father's sister. If it is assumed that the Delawares had this system, with matrilocal residence and matrilineal descent, how would this alteration to the Hawaiian type take place? It may be postulated, for example, that Ego's

[136] Murdock, 1949, p. 229.
[137] White, 1939, pp. 568-70.

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174 591 611 mother's brother upon marriage violates the traditional rule of matrilocal residence and brings his wife back to the group in which Ego is growing up. If this becomes a common occurrence, it is readily seen that a mother's brother's children might soon be confused, or aligned in Ego's mind with his parallel cousins, leading eventually to an alteration in cousin terminology. Or, if the rule of residence becomes neolocal, the same sort of alteration might take place. In this instance the reason for distinguishing between various kinds of cousins disappears, as with our own system. Neither paternal or maternal cross- or parallel cousins would in this case consistently be more familiar with Ego because of residence; they would be equals, receiving an equal emphasis in the kinship terminology. A logical accompaniment to this sort of alteration would be a change in Ego's terms for the first ascending generation. It is plain that a father's sister, who under an Iroquoian system had a special term, would now be the mother of children whom in a Hawaiian system Ego calls siblings, and hence she is called mother. It should be noted that the terminology employed in Morgan's time retained at least one feature of a previously unilateral system. This was the term for mother's brother, who was called uncle, instead of little father, as the logic of a bilateral system would lead one to expect. It may also be noted that the offspring of this uncle were placed in the sibling category by Ego. It may well be that the special, asymmetrical term for a mother's brother is a vestige of the once important avuncular relationship. It is difficult to arrive at a reasonable hypothesis for the similarly nonbilateral terminology applied to nepotic relatives in Morgan's time. First, there may have been no change in the terms employed for the children of siblings, for this is still a common Iroquoian type of terminology. I have not been able, however, to state the most probable terminology for the offspring of cousins; that the terms were different from the ones used in Morgan's time seems likely.

Clan and Phratry

613 614 The early historic Delawares seem to have had a rather weakly developed clan system. These named units probably consisted of a woman, her descendants, and collateral kin unilaterally reckoned in the maternal line. It cannot be determined whether these units should more properly be termed lineages, that is, unilateral descent groups tracing descent to a known ancestress, or clans, which may be defined as named, unilateral, exogamous descent groups, tracing ancestry to a mythically, or at least genetically, remote ancestor. Morgan termed these groups subgentes, since they were not totemic.[138] Wallace termed them lineages, and Harrington has called them clans.[139] Because of the diverse nature of the peoples who were to become the Delaware tribe any single characterization may be inaccurate.

[138]Morgan, 1877, p. 171.
[139]Wallace, 1947, p. 6; Harrington, 1913, p. 210.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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The clans seem to have been territorial units of a loose sort. The family hunting territories were grouped together (See Chap. II) into larger "communal territories." These larger geographical units should probably be equated with the clans. The numerous small settlements were probably inhabited by subdivisions of the clans, either maternal lineages or extended families. It is possible that several different clan units, or subunits, inhabited these settlements, but it seems more likely, on the basis of their size, that this was not so. Men probably sought wives in nearby villages. If this was true, or if there was village endogamy because several clans occupied one village, then men could continue to hunt in their maternally inherited hunting territories. Even if this was not so, it seems entirely possible that in a relatively short space of time men could become well enough acquainted with a wife's hunting territory to be able to hunt there effectively.

Matrilineally related women communally tilled their outlying garden plots. In addition to co-operation in subsistence activities and mutual aid in general, clan members "were theoretically supposed to avenge the death of one of their number, or, in case of a kinsman's forfeiting his right to live through the murder of a member of another lineage, to buy back his life by the payment of blood money."[130] The leading matron of the clan was termed "chiefmaker,"[131] since it was she who could remove and appoint, within the rules of inheritance, the clan chief or sachem. Clans were not totemic, but were named for some "peculiarity of their ancestors or from some locality once frequented by them."[132] L.H. Morgan, the first investigator to list them, said that each clan was "composed of twelve subgentes, each having some of the attributes of a gens."[133] Morgan's "subgentes" are herein reproduced:[134]

1. Wolf. Took'-seat

1. Mā-an'-greet, Big Feet
2. Wee-sow-het'-ko, Yellow Tree
3. Pā-za-kun-ā'-mon, Pulling Corn
4. We-yar-alh'-kā-to, Care Enterer
5. Toosh-war-ka'-ma, Across the River
6. O-lum'-a-ne, Vermilion
7. Pun-ar'-you, Dog standing by Fireside
8. Kwin-eek'cha, Long Body
9. Moon-har-tar'ne, Digging
10. Non-har'-mis, Pulling up Stream
11. Long-ash-har-kar'-to, Brush Log
12. Maw-soo-toh', Bringing Along

2. Turtle. Poks-koc-un'go

1. O-ka-ho'-ki, Ruler
2. Ta-ko-ong'-o-to, High Bank Shore
3. See-har-ong'-o-to, Drawing down Hill
4. Ole-har-kar-me'kar-to, Elector
5. Mā-har-o-luk'-ti, Brave
6. Toosh-ki-pa-kwis-i, Green Leaves
7. Tung-al-ung'-si, Smallest Turtle
8. We-lun-ling-sil, Little Turtle
9. Lee-kwis-ā-i', Snapping Turtle
10. Kwis-sese-kees'-to, Deer

The two remaining subgentes are extinct.

3. Turkey. Pul-la'-cok

1. Mo-har-ā'-lā, Big Bird
7. Tong-o-ā'-o-to, Drift Log

[130] Wallace, 1949, p. 8
[131] Ibid.
[132] Harrington, 1913, p. 310.
[133] Morgan, 1877, p. 171.
[134] Ibid., p. 172.

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614 2. Le-le-wa'-you, Bird's Cry
3. Moo-kwung-wa-ho'-ki, Eye Pain
4. Moo-har-mo-wi-kar'-an, Scratch the Path
5. O-ping-ho'-ki, Opossum Ground
6. Muh-ho-we-ki'-kse, Old Skin
8. Nool-i-mar-lar'-mo, Living in Water
9. Muh-krent-har'-ne, Root Digger
10. Mar-karm-luk-se, Red Face
11. Koo-wi-ho'ke, Pine Region
12. Ge-chuk'-kam, Ground Scratcher

Harrington in 1913 found some of these clans still in existence in Canada. He added two that could not be associated with any of Morgan's. They were Mun'hat ko wi of the Turkey phratry and Ali 'ke, of the Wolf phratry.[130] There is no knowledge or memory of the clans today in Oklahoma.

614 615 Each clan was a member of one of the three phratries (Morgan's gentes), and phratry membership was a consequence of clan membership. Many of the clan names were obviously associated in meaning with their phratry: "Ground Scratcher" with Turkey phratry, "Snapping Turtle" with Turtle phratry, to give but two examples. No mention was made of the three phratries in the literature of the seventeenth century. Since the phratries had no political functions in the early period, Europeans probably did not come in contact with them. It seems unlikely that the association of every clan with a phratry in historic times represented the early pattern, when the social diversity and the spatial dispersion of the pretribal Delawares is considered. What it was like is unknown, although a looser, more informal association, probably with fewer clans in a phratry, might be postulated. As remnant peoples joined the tribe, they probably were considered kinship units, thus swelling the number of clans. In some fashion they became associated with one or another of the phratries.

615 [622] [582] In the eighteenth century phratry heads became political leaders of the Delaware tribe. This development is discussed further under Acculturation. The phratries were exogamous, at least in later historic times, since Morgan said that "in old times no man was allowed to marry a woman of his own tribe [phratry] and it was the law until within the last generation...."[131] The three phratries were totemic units named for qualities of animals rather than for the animals themselves. The Tuksit were named for a quality of the wolf, "round foot," the Pilea for a quality or attribute of the turkey, "don't chew," and the Pokuwango for the slow characteristics of the turtle, "crawling" or "dragging along."[132] For the sake of brevity, however, I shall continue the usage initiated by Morgan and refer to these groups as Wolf, Turkey, and Turtle.

The primary function of the phratries was ceremonial: "In ceremonial rites they each enjoy special privileges, have allotted duties to perform, segregated places of seating, the animal emblem as a name signature is common, and their own chiefs and council of three."[133] According to Harrington each phratry had a paramount leader, who had rather limited

[130] Harrington, 1913, p. 210.
[131] Morgan, 1859, MS.
[132] Harrington, 1913, p. 210; O.A., J.T.
[133] Speck, 1931, p. 78.

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powers, serving primarily in the capacity of adviser.[139] This position was gained through inheritance.[140] Morgan agreed with him, saying:

> A Delaware woman, after stating to the author that she, with her children, belonged to the Wolf gens, and her husband to the Turtle, remarked that when Captain Ketchum... late head chief or sachem of the Turtle gens, died, he was succeeded by his nephew, John Conner... a son of one of the sisters of the deceased sachem, who was also of the Turtle gens. The decedent left a son, but he was of another gens and consequently incapable of succeeding. With the Delawares, as with the Iroquois, the office passed from brother to brother, or from uncle to nephew, because descent was in the female line.[141]

The three phratries have frequently been confused with the three geographical divisions of the Delawares. Heckewelder was the first to make this association, and his copyists have continued his correlation.[142] The association was Turtle with Unami, Turkey with Unalachtigo, and Wolf with Munsi.[143] Harrington dissented from this viewpoint on the basis that phratry members could be found among any of the geographical divisions.[144] As early as 1834 Trowbridge specifically denied this association and said that members of all three phratries were found in the Munsi group.[145] There can be little doubt that Heckewelder was mistaken in associating the geographical divisions with the phratries.

Social Control

Government

114

Relatively more information exists dealing with political organization and government of the early historic Delawares than concerning the kinship system. Europeans had an opportunity to observe the governmental machinery, participating in councils and the like, but their contact with the kinship system was so slight that they could not understand it.

622

Each social unit, or clan, had a leader, usually termed "sachem" in the literature, who had inherited his position through the maternal line. "When a king dies it is not his children who succeed him, but his brother by the same mother, or his sister's, or her daughter's male children."[146] Penn, who has given the clearest description of government, said:

> Their government is by kings, which they call sachems, and those by succession; but always of the mother's side. For instance, the children of him who is now king will not succeed, but his brother by the mother, or the children of his sister, whose sons (and after them the children of her daughters) will reign, for no woman inherits. The reason they render for this way of descent is, that their issue may not be spurious.[147]

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[139] Harrington, 1913, p. 311.
[140] *Ibid.*
[141] Morgan, 1877, p. 172.
[142] Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 61-62; Brinton, 1885, p. 39.
[143] Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 61-62.
[144] Harrington, 1913, p. 309.
[145] Trowbridge MS.
[146] Holm, 1834, p. 133.
[147] Penn, 1683, p. 244; Thomas, 1913, p. 338, and Zeisberger, 1910, p. 98, agreed on the matriarchal succession of sachems.

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622 In the seventeenth century sachems had limited power and authority and, incredibly in the eyes of Europeans, had no special servants, prerogatives, or the like.[138] Pastorius, for instance, in a letter written in 1694 said:

> These very kings go forth with the others to hunt, shoot the wild animals, and support themselves by the work of their own hands. They have neither servants nor lacqueys, neither housemaids nor court-ladies, and what use has one for a master of horse who keeps no horse, but always goes on foot? In like manner, no court-steward is needed, where there is no one to be cared for besides one's self and one's wife and children.[139]

In the seventeenth century these clan leaders owed allegiance to no higher authority; there were no tribal chiefs.[140] By the eighteenth century leaders had appeared who wielded much more power over larger groups. [619]

623 Despite the little real authority which sachems had, their councils were solemn, ceremonial occasions. Penn and Denton provide early and clear descriptions of how these men governed; their accounts are confirmed by a number of other investigators:[141]

> Every king hath his council; and that consists of all the old and wise men of his nation, which perhaps is two hundred people. Nothing of moment is undertaken, be it war, peace, selling of land, or traffic, without advising with them, and, which is more, with the young men too. It is admirable to consider how powerful the kings are, and yet how they move by the breath of their people. I have had occasion to be in council with them upon treaties for land, and to adjust the terms of trade. Their order is thus: The king sits in the middle of an half-moon, and has his council, the old and wise, on each hand. Behind them, or at a little distance, sit the younger fry in the same figure.[142]

Denton said:

> When their King or Sachem sits in Council he hath a company of armed men to guard his person, great respect being shown him by the People, which is principally manifested by their silence: After he hath declared the cause of their convention he demands their opinion, ordering who shall begin: The person ordered to speak, after he hath declared his minde tells them he hath done: no man ever interrupting any person in his speech, nor offering to speak though he make never so many or long stops, till he says he hath no more to say: the Council 623 having all declared their opinion, the King after some pause gives the definitive sentence, which is commonly seconded with a shout from the people, every one 681 seeming to applaud & manifest their assent to what is determined: If any person be condemned to die, which is seldom, unless for Murder or Incest, the King himself goes in person (for you must understand they have no prisons, and the guilty person flies into the Woods) when they go in quest of him, & having found him, the King shoots first, though at never such a distance, & then happy is the man can shoot him down, & cut off his —[1] which they commonly wear, who for his pains is made some Captain or other military officer.[143]

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[138] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 205; Thomas, 1912, p. 335; De Laet, 1909, pp. 57-58; Van der Donck, 1909, p. 302.

[139] Pastorius, 1912, pp. 425-26.

[140] Lindestrom, 1925, pp. 128-30.

[141] Holm, 1834, p. 133; Thomas, 1912, p. 335; Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 107-11; Zeisberger, 1910, pp. 92-93; Harrington, 1913, p. 211.

[142] Penn, 1882, pp. 244-45.

[143] Denton, 1845, p. 18.

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It should be noted, then, that a sachem's duties were administrative, legislative, and judicial. The duties of these chiefs were on the whole fairly simple; their power was in no sense autocratic. They carried out the wishes of the people directly through the council and indirectly through informal pressure. To retain their position they had to be "...gracious, hospitable, communicative, affable, and their house is open to every Indian."[154] It appears that incompetent chiefs could be deposed.[155]

624

Morgan stated that there were two war chiefs, subordinate to the principal chiefs in peacetime. War chiefs gained their rank through leading a number of successful war parties, and were often those individuals who had had visions indicating that war was their vocation.[156] By this time (1859) the phratry heads were the political leaders, and one of these men was the principal chief.[157] If the war chiefs unanimously favored war, the civil chief had to give his consent.[158] Political as well as military power was then in the hands of the war chiefs.

627

Informal Controls

Individual behavior was controlled primarily by family and kinship groups, rather than by special institutions. Europeans were surprised to learn that Indian behavior was so well regulated:

> Judged by the mere appearance of the Indians one is surprised how modest and careful they are in relation to each other and imagines that the whites, if they were as free a people and had neither government nor punishment to fear, would not be as united and peaceable as the Indians appear to be.[159]

Penn said:

> The justice they have is pecuniary. In case of any wrong or evil fact, be it murder itself, they atone by feasts and presents of their wampum, which is proportioned to the quality of the offence or person injured, or of the sex they are of. For, in case they kill a woman, they pay double; and the reason they render is, "that she breedeth children, which men cannot do." It is rare that they fall out if sober; and if drunk they forgive, saying, "It was the drink, and not the man, that abused them."[160]

A number of other sources have noted that the laws of the wergild were enforced.[161] Denton said:

> The friends of the murdered person do revenge upon the murderer unless he purchase his life with money, which they sometimes do: This money is made of a Periwinkle shell of which there is black & white, made much like unto beads & put upon strings.[162]

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[154] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 93.
[155] Rattenbur, 1872, pp. 47-48; Zeisberger, 1910, pp. 93-95; Hechewelder, 1881, pp. 197-11; Harrington, 1913, p. 211.
[156] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 181; Loskiel, 1794, p. 142.
[157] Morgan, 1859, 188.
[158] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 98; Rattenbur, 1872, p. 48.
[159] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 122.
[160] Penn, 1882, p. 245.
[161] Pastorius, 1912, p. 434; De Rasieres, 1909, p. 109; Lindestrom, 1925, p. 205; Wallace, 1947, pp. 10-11.
[162] Denton, 1845, p. 7.

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627 If peace could not be restored through the payment of "blood money," the interested kin, in case of murder, resolved the case by the murder of the guilty party or one of his kin.[165] From the scanty evidence available it would appear that only in the case of unresolved murders which were upsetting internal peace would society step in to halt the conflict.

576 Little is known about etiquette and the customary ways in which peo-
431 ple behaved towards one another. Penn, however, said:

> In liberality they excel. Nothing is too good for their friend. Give them a fine gun, coat, or other thing, it may pass twenty hands before it sticks: light of heart, strong affections, but soon spent: the most merry creatures that live: they feast and dance perpetually; they never have much, nor want much. Wealth circulateth like the blood. All parts partake; and though none shall want what another hath, yet exact observers of property.[166]

Denton in the same vein said:

> They are extraordinary charitable one to another, one having nothing to spare, but he freely imparts it to his friends & whatsoever they get by gaming or any other way, they share one to another leaving themselves commonly the least share.[167]

571 This sort of behavior is, of course, to be expected in a society organized upon a kinship basis. Society was predicated, not on the competition between individuals, but upon mutual assistance and the unity of action of the kin group. Respect for, and solicitous care of, the aged has also been noted.[168]

War

726 Small-scale, probably infrequent raiding by a few warriors was the
134 typical form of warfare in early historic times and undoubtedly in the pre-European period. This type of conflict was a personal, usually non-economic feuding. An apt designation for it might be primitive war, since it seems to be characteristic of many cultures at this and lower technological levels of development. A special term for it is necessary since it generally differs in its causation, purpose, and form from total, modern warfare. There is little evidence that chronic, full-scale, economically caused warfare existed aboriginally in what is now northeastern United States. Hunt shared this point of view in writing of the Iroquois, generally considered to have been the most warlike of peoples in this area! He said:

> In the beginning intertribal rivalries were not keen, and intertribal war was purely private and social interprise. But before long the European trade was to create new rivalries, and whet old ones to the point where the issue became one of survival.[169]

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[165] Van der Donck, 1909, p. 203.
[166] Penn, 1683, p. 243.
[167] Denton, 1845, p. 9. Also see Zeisberger, 1910, pp. 115-18.
[168] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 123; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 103.
[169] Hunt, 1939, p. 22.

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Kroeber, on the other hand, has characterized warfare for the northeast as a whole as being of the modern, total kind:

> It was warfare that was insane, unending, continuously attritional, from our point of view; yet it was so integrated into the whole fabric of Eastern culture, so dominantly emphasized within it, that escape from it was well-nigh impossible.... This warfare, with its attendant unsettlement, confusion, destruction, and famines, was probably the most potent reason why population remained low in the East.[169]

There is no evidence which would support Kroeber's allegations, at least with respect to the prehistoric and early historic Delawares. Whether population density was low or not is conjectural, but even on the assumption that it was low, there is a much more realistic hypothesis available to explain it than the one offered by Kroeber. (See the summary for this discussion.)

In the face of lack of evidence substantiating chronic and total warfare among the early Delawares, it is necessary to utilize indirect evidence to demonstrate that this type of conflict was minimal. The archaeology of the area offers little of a positive nature. Village sites of the East River Aspect, so far as can be determined, were not fortified or palisaded. They were "situated on or near tidal streams and bays."[170] A few sources mention palisades, but the evidence is not conclusive.[171] In Chapter I it was noted that Delaware villages were small, scattered, and on poorly defensible ground. During part of the year even village units did not exist, since family groups were away hunting. These facts do not suggest a martial atmosphere. If population densities were low, it seems unlikely that competition for agricultural land or for choice fishing locations existed. Disputes over hunting territories might have occurred, but these would have been primarily a family matter rather than of general concern. For chronic, vicious, and total war to exist there has to be a fairly strong motivation. As has been demonstrated elsewhere, cultures do not indulge in full-scale war, in the modern sense of the word, simply as an outlet for "psychological urges" or as a game.[172] As has been shown in the first chapter, Delaware culture in precontact times was in a political sense almost wholly unorganized. There was no tribe and there were apparently no institutions which in the event of invasion or attack could organize the people into an effective unit. It is difficult to believe that a people perilously and unendingly at war (for no apparent reason) would have as rudimentary a political and military organization as had the Delawares. Even in this cursory examination of the problem, it is clear that the precontact Delawares could have had only a small-scale, primitive war complex. This condition rapidly changed with the invasion of Europeans; chronic warfare of the most bitter kind soon came to be the daily pill of the Delawares. (This subject is taken up more fully in Chapter V.)

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[169] Kroeber, 1947, p. 148.

[170] C. S. Smith, 1950, p. 116.

[171] Brinton, 1885, p. 51; Skinner, 1947, p. 7.

[172] Newcomb, 1950, pp. 317-30.

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726 Daniel Denton's description of the Delawares' primitive war complex is the earliest one I have found. Most of the material is derived from later sources. It may be assumed that the customs of war in these later periods were largely derived from, or were elaborations upon, the earlier primitive war complex. Denton said of their warfare:

> In their wars they fight no pitcht fields; but when they have notice of an enemies approach, they endeavour to secure their wives and children upon some Island, or in some thick swamp, & then with their guns & hatchet they waylay their enemies, some lying behind one, some another & it is a great fight where seven or eight is slain.[173]

721 Warriors were recruited at a dance, those wishing to join the war party taking part in the dance:

> When those invited have assembled at the appointed place, one of the war chiefs holding the great belt in his hands, which is now covered with vermilion, rises and dances the war dance around the circle formed by the warriors. The council thus opened he explains to them the circumstances which occasion the meeting and with all his eloquence enforces the necessity of resorting to war for a redress of their injuries. He then repeats the dance and seats himself, when each one who chooses to declare his intention to join the party takes the belt and dances around the circle as his chief had done.[174]

This dance was repeated at the war party's first camp, the women having followed the expedition.[175] Trowbridge stated that cooks were taken along and added:

> Formerly no man joined a war party until he was twenty four winters old, as they were thought to be too imprudent at an earlier age; but of late years this custom has not obtained among them. The aged often continue to bear arms so long as their strength permits, and some have been known to join warparties when from their advanced age they were obligated to ride on horseback; but in these cases they did not approach the field of battle.[176]

[713] The bow and arrow constituted the principal weapon; shields of elkhide or bark and helmets constructed of sticks were used.[178] War parties may have worn special regalia; Holm said that they wore red turkey feathers when going to war.[177]

725 War parties even when directed at Europeans were small in size. With perhaps a few exceptions, their size never exceeded two dozen men. This was in keeping with their military tactics in that a successful war party consisted of a rapid raid without loss and the capture of 727 prisoners or plunder. A big battle was considered to have occurred if ten or eleven warriors were killed.[178] The taking of scalps was mentioned in the seventeenth century,[179] and prisoners were taken:

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[173]Denton, 1845, p. 9; Van der Donck, 1909, pp. 300-301.
[174]Trowbridge MS.
[175]Heckewelder, 1881, p. 210.
[176]Trowbridge MS.
[177]Johnson, 1917, pp. 201-82; Holm, 1834, p. 138; Lindestrom, 1925, p. 197; Lenkiel, 1794, p. 141.
[178]Holm, 1834, p. 137.
[179]*Ibid.*, pp. 137-38; Van der Donck, 1909, pp. 300-301.
[180]Holm, p. 138.

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They cut and slash them alive, cutting off their ears, their noses, their tongues, and their lips, and also their fingers and toes: they also cut off pieces of flesh from different parts of their bodies, and then they strew ashes over the wounds in order to prevent the blood from flowing.[189]

Charles Stuart, captured in the mid-eighteenth century, recounted the torture, motivated by revenge, through which he was to go. It bears a striking resemblance to Holm's account:

The Deaths we were to Suffer were as Follows, First our Fingers were To be Cut off and we were To Be Forced to eat them, then our Eyes pull'd out wch we were also to Eat, after wch we were To Be Put on a Scaffold and Burnt, the Manner of Scaffolding is first To Tie Them To a Post or Tree with so much Length of Rope as will allow them ab^t 3 Foot to move about the Tree, then they raise them a little from the Ground on a Logg or what Else happens to be Most Convenient to Set them on then Puts Wood about them and burns them up-After the Council in Genl had agreed To Put us to this Death.[190]

Colonel William Crawford, who was tortured to death by the Delawares, underwent more or less the same rigors.[191] In general, torture was prolonged as long as was possible and was motivated entirely by revenge, particularly so in a case like Crawford's, since he had with him on his expedition men responsible for the Gnadenhutten massacre. Captives who escaped and were recaptured probably suffered the most ingenious tortures.[192]

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Prisoners were adopted if they were not killed. One late source stated that a family might request a leader of a war party to bring back "a prisoner who shall fill the place of some deceased relative." Trowbridge went on to say that "in the adoption of prisoners no particular distinction is made on account of age, save that the person adopted must be youthful to supply the place of a son or daughter, and aged for a father or uncle."[193] According to Zeisberger, if white prisoners were intended for adoption, their hair was cut Indian fashion immediately after capture and their faces were painted red. These adopted individuals were well treated, but if they ran away they were liable to be tortured and killed.[194]

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Prisoners were forced to run the gauntlet, whether they were to be killed or adopted. When the returning warriors approached a village, Indian prisoners were forced to dance while the warriors paraded booty and red painted scalps on poles. For white prisoners the dance was apparently not held.[195] The prisoners were made to pass through two lines of the general multitude to a hut or a painted post.[197] The men, women, and children were equipped with axes, sticks, clubs, and whatever else came to hand and would attempt to strike the prisoner as he passed by. Charles Stuart, who "ran the gauntlet," went through what is probably a typical experience:

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[189]Holm, p. 138.
[190]Stuart, 1836, pp. 61-62.
[191]Butterfield, 1882, p. 293.
[192]Schweinitz, 1908, p. 410.
[193]Trowbridge MS.
[194]Zeisberger, 1910, p. 106.
[195]*Ibid.*, p. 105; Trowbridge MS.
[197]Zeisberger, 1910, p. 106.

727 It was my Lott to Be Carried to Kittanning with other Prisoners, and on Entring into the Town we were obliged to Pass Between Two Rows of Indians Containing ab^{t} 100 on Each Side who were arm^{d} with various kind of Weapons such as Axes Tomhawks Cutlasses Hoop Poles, Pieces of Wood etc. But they did not strike wth Axes, and only Used the Heads and Handles of their Tomhawks, But used the Blades of the Cutlasses tho' not with so much Severity as To Kill, I had however the Misfortune to receive a Blow on the Side of my Forehead wth one of them wch Cut me To the Bone & a Billet of Wood Stikeing on the head ab^{t} the Same time Between Both I was Knock^{d} down to the Ground – It was only the more elderly People both Male and Female wch rece^{d} this Useage – the young prisoners of Both Sexes Escaped without it. . . .[188]

One girl captive (Marie Le Roy), intended for adoption, said:

[We] received our welcome, according to Indian custom. It consisted of three blows each, on the back. They were, however, administered with great mercy. Indeed, we concluded that we were beaten merely in order to keep up an ancient usage, and not with the intention of injuring us.[189]

Whether running the gauntlet was a precontact trait is undetermined.

728 Peace was secured by a defeated group through the agency of an ambassador. This individual bore no arms, traveled openly, and had no distinguishing marks of office other than a white belt of wampum, "containing the speech with which he was entrusted."[190] When he reached the enemy's camp a council was called, and the wishes of the ambassador were made known. If agreement was reached the victors invited the vanquished to a council:

At this council a grand feast was prepared and was accompanied with dancing. The weaker party made the necessary acknowledgements, the peace belt was delivered to the conquerors as a token of their superiority and the parties returned to their respective homes. They never have used the pipe as is customary among northern nations, nor had they anything like flags or ceremonial bearings before their knowledge of the whites.[191]

[188] Stuart, 1926, p. 66.
[189] Schweinitz, 1905, p. 409.
[190] Trowbridge MS.
[191] *Ibid.*

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IV. DELAWARE IDEOLOGY

Religion and Magic

Of all the aspects of Delaware culture, religious ceremonies and beliefs have received the most extended treatment by anthropologists because this segment of culture has been better preserved than any other. F. G. Speck's *A Study of the Delaware Big House Ceremony* described the central religious ceremony of the Delawares, and his *Oklahoma Delaware Ceremonies, Dances, and Feasts* added to this account and described the minor ceremonies.[1] M. R. Harrington's *Religion and Ceremonies of the Lenape*, and his "Preliminary Sketch of Lenape Culture" dealt with the Big House Ceremony and a number of minor beliefs and practices.[2] It is hardly necessary, then, to present an extended treatment of Delaware religion; instead, particular attention will be paid to the early historic religious beliefs and practices.

Supernatural Beings

The Delawares believed in a single, all powerful, originally creative, supernatural power. He was called Gicelamu'kaong, which means "Great Spirit," "Great Power," or "Creator."[3] This supernatural figure was a remote one, somewhat removed from the affairs of men. He had appointed a number of agents who created the world and all upon it. He was capable of endowing any matter, either animate or inanimate, with supernatural attributes or power.[4] Lesser anthropomorphic deities, enjoying their authority through this primal power, were the Sun, the Moon, the Seven Thunders, the Four Directions, the Earth Mother, and the Mask Being, or Living Solid Face. The Sun and the Moon were addressed as Elder Brother, the former having the duty of providing light, and the latter that of protecting and guarding people at night.[5] Our Mother, the Earth, was Sun's sister, but not Moon's sister, and was charged with caring for and feeding the people.[6] The Seven Thunders, who combined features of men and birds, provided rain for crops, protected men from various water monsters, and were responsible for lightning.[7] The deities of the cardinal directions were associated with the wind and the

[1]Speck, 1931, 1937.

[2]Harrington, 1921; 1913, pp. 208-35.

[3]Penn, 1882, p. 244; Brainerd, 1884, pp. 244-45; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 128; Speck, 1931, p. 26; Harrington, 1921, pp. 18-24; Trowbridge MS. gives a literal translation, "Keshaallemoonkunk, he who created us by his thought" (Kinietz, 1946, p. 88). The Christian Delaware religious texts use Kitannowit, "great spirit," rather than this term.

[4]De Laet, 1909, pp. 49-50; Brainerd, 1884, pp. 244-45.

[5]Brainerd, 1884, p. 345; Trowbridge MS; Harrington, 1913, p. 226; Speck, 1931, pp. 29-33; M.B.

[6]Harrington, 1913, pp. 226-27; O.A., J.T., M.B.

[7]Harrington, 1913, pp. 226-27; 1921, pp. 29-30; M.B.

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776 weather.[8] The Mask Being was the only deity who was made concrete by human impersonation. Brainerd saw this deity impersonated and gave a vivid description:

776 532 He made his appearance in his pontifical garb, which was a coat of boar [bear] skins, dressed with the hair on, and hanging down to his toes; a pair of bearskin stockings; and a great wooden face painted, the one half black, and other half tawny, about the color of an Indian's skin, with an extravagant mouth, cut very much awry; the face fastened to a bearskin cap, which was drawn over his head. He advanced towards me with the instrument in his hand, which he used for music in his idolatrous worship; which was a dry tortoise-shell with some corn in it, and the neck of it drawn on to a piece of wood, which made a very convenient handle. As he came forward, he beat his tune with the rattle, and danced with all his might, but did not suffer any part of his body, not so much as his fingers, to be seen. No one would have imagined from his oppearance (sic) or actions, that he could have been a human creature, if they had not had some intimation of it otherwise. When he came near me, I could not but shrink away from him although it was then noonday, and I knew who it was: his appearance and gestures were so prodigiously frightful.[9]

The Mask Being was the guardian of animals and in recent times took part in the Big House Ceremony. It was this masked figure with which children were threatened.[10] The stone faces found in archaeological sites attributed to the Delawares bear a striking resemblance to it.[11] Speck said that they "may be thought of as prototypes of the small wooden and corn-husk masks still serving the Iroquois as 'guardians of health' and the Delawares as personal charms."[12] A multitude of lesser deities included Doll Beings, Tornado, Mother Corn, Snow Boy, Comet, animal spirits, plant spirits, and local genii.[13]

787 Approaches to the Supernatural

776 The principal means by which an individual got in contact with supernatural powers was in a dream or vision:

Such dream no doubt has great effect during the life of its subject, and in his private worship all his songs are descriptive of some of the events which he saw in his dream. He often repeats them and does not fail to attribute his success to the deity whose wonderful appearance had foretold his good fortune, or any mishap to his own bad conduct which incensed his guardian.[14]

Not only was the guardian spirit the guiding force in an individual's life, the secret of whatever success he had, and aid in time of trouble, but the public recitation of visions was the basis for the major religious

[8] Harrington, 1921, p. 25.
[9] Brainerd, 1884, pp. 184-85. Luckenbach, 1938, p. 451, also described this masked figure.
[10] Harrington, 1921, pp. 31-34; Speck, 1931, pp. 61-62; 1950, pp. 32-34; L.F., O.A.
[11] Skinner, 1920, p. 5; Harrington, 1921, p. 36.
[12] Speck, 1950, p. 45.
[13] Harrington, 1921, pp. 43-51.
[14] Trowbridge MS.

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ceremonials.[16] Subsequent to their initial vision men might have repeated contacts with their spiritual guardians. An informant's grandfather had multiple visions, and the account is reproduced here to demonstrate the type of vision and vision quest current in the nineteenth century; it probably is similar to earlier ones:

> My grandfather was hunting one time as a boy. He wounded a deer, but it got away. He was sad and felt very bad. He cried and cried. He happened to be standing near a grove of young pine trees. The pines sang a beautiful song to him. He stopped crying and listened to their singing and the things they were telling him. The song was so beautiful that he no longer cared that the deer had escaped. Later he had a second vision of a large bone in the sky. In a third vision he saw a serpent with twelve eyes. This serpent could see everything. His fourth vision was of tiny babies and of unborn babies. All the babies were glad to see him. When he was mature he became a shaman and excelled at curing the diseases of childhood. (M.B.)

Young men obtained guardian spirits by sacrifice, fasting, and isolation, as has been noted. The supplicant tried to cajole and flatter some supernatural being into pitying him and hence safeguarding him. Zeisberger, who understood the young man's attitude, said:

> Most extraordinary experiences have been met with by boys from twelve to fourteen years of age, when they have been alone in the forest in apprehension and in need. An old man in a gray beard may have appeared and said in soothing tone, "Do not fear, I am a rock and thou shalt call me by this name. I am the Lord of the whole earth and of every living creature therein, of the air and of the wind and weather. No one dare oppose me and I will give thee the same power. No one shall do thee harm and thou needest not to fear any man." Such and similar prophecies he makes. Such a boy ruminates upon what he has heard and is confirmed in the opinion as he grows up that a peculiar power has been imparted to him to perform extraordinary exploits, and he imagines that no one can do him injury.[16]

Guardian spirits were usually animals or birds, but could be plants, any of the deities, inanimate objects, or ghosts. Trowbridge mentioned as guardian spirits bear, wolf, dog, tree, cornstalk, "or anything else which the imagination can conceive"; Zeisberger, the moon, owls and other birds, fish, and "ridiculously insignificant creatures such as ants."[17] As Benedict has shown for the Central Algonkians, the Delawares felt that animal guardian spirits were ancestral prototypes rather than the animals themselves. Thus, guardian spirit animals were not necessarily taboo as food.[18]

The apparition that appeared in visions and in other hallucinations not only indicated what sort of supernatural being he was, but foretold the future of the one to whom he appeared—whether or not he was to

[16] Zeisberger, 1910, pp. 132-33; Trowbridge MS; Harrington, 1913, p. 227; Speck, 1931, pp. 51-54.

[17] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 127; Harrington, 1921, pp. 67-77, gave examples of a number of visions.

[18] Trowbridge MS; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 132.

[19] Benedict, 1923, p. 49.

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become a shaman, chief, warrior, a person of riches, one with many relatives, or a failure.[19] The most unfortunate persons were those who had no guardian spirit. After one was granted a guardian spirit he commonly made an amulet or fetish. Frequently this was either a representation of the human figure or a stone or clay effigy of the human head. It also might be claws or teeth of an animal or bird.[20] Lindestrom said:

> They consider this their god, so sacred that no one is allowed to touch it.... In this their god they have such a strong faith, that the night he dreams about him, he will at once the following day be able to shoot as much game and catch as much fish as ever he wants to....[21]

Although most of our information about the vision quest is relatively recent, there seems to be no reason why it should not be valid for prehistoric and early historic times.

Apart from the influence that individuals wielded over supernatural powers as a consequence of obtaining a guardian spirit, favor could be curried and influence exerted through sacrifice, primarily by burning flesh and tobacco, but also by dances and songs. Sacrifices of first fruits were commonly mentioned in seventeenth-century sources. Penn said of these:

> Their sacrifice is their first fruits. The first and fattest buck they kill goes to the fire, where he is all burnt, with a mournful ditty of him who performeth the ceremony, but with such marvellous fervency and labour of body, that he will even sweat to a foam. The other part [of their worship] is their cantico, performed by round dances, sometimes words, sometimes songs, then shouts; two being in the middle who begin, and by singing and drumming on a board, direct the chorus. Their postures in the dance are very antic and differing, but all keep measure. This is done with equal earnestness and labour, but great appearance of joy. In the fall, when the corn cometh in, they begin to feast one another.[22]

Trowbridge said:

> When the ice is about to leave the rivers they make an offering of Tobacco with a wooden bowl of parched corn, by placing it on the surface and telling their grandfather, as they call it, that they leave him a pipe to smoke and something to eat on his journey. They sometimes make this offering of tobacco to obtain a safe voyage across the ice and for the same reason they throw it into the water when danger is apprehended. When they go to hunt, at the first encampment an offering of tobacco is made by burning, to the seven masters of the game.[24]

There were also many magical methods by which supernatural powers were influenced, but they are not well recorded in the literature. There are some indications from modern ethnographic data which

[19] Luckenbach, 1938, p. 612.
[20] Zeisberger, 1910, pp. 132-33.
[21] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 207; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 141, stated the same thing.
[22] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 208; Pastorius, 1912, p. 434; Brickell, 1842, p. 49; M.B.
[23] Penn, 1882, p. 244.
[24] Trowbridge MS.

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suggest, and may reproduce, early magical practices. The best-known remaining magical practice is a rain-making device. It is said that a scale from the mythical horned serpent when put in water would make it rain (F.W., J.T.). The scale has disappeared today, but there are a number of tales about its efficacy.[35] Speck noted a rain-making ritual in which a weasel skin was employed.[36]

It was possible to divine future events by magical methods. Whether a wounded warrior was going to die or get well, for example, was foretold by putting a piece of dried liver in a cup of water. If the resulting bloody solution circled the cup before sinking to the bottom, the wounded person would recover (J.T.). A magical procedure similar to this was used for extremely sick persons after all other curing methods had failed. Shavings from a tooth of an animal were dropped into a shell filled with water. If the shavings circled the shell before sinking, it was a good omen. This process was repeated four times; if the shavings circled the shell each time before sinking, the patient would get well. The water of the fourth trial was given to the patient to drink. Love medicines were regarded by one of our informants as being purely magical devices. In the one instance in which data were secured, some type of animal foot was used with herbs. An incantation was spoken and within three days an erring husband or wife returned to a prior love (N.D.). Zeisberger mentioned "love charms" similar to this one and also hunting charms.[37]

Soul Concept

The Delawares believed that every individual possessed two souls. The heart was the locus of one soul which after death remained near the body for eleven days. On the twelfth day it left the earth for a spirit world.[38] It is this soul which was offered food in a "Feast of the Dead" twelve days after death and again twelve months after death.[39] The symbolic number twelve is in all probability a historic diffusion; otherwise these concepts appear to be of Delaware origin.[40] The second soul, a resident of the blood, remained on the earth after death. It was this soul which was apt to become a malevolent ghost especially active at night. "They have an idea that the ghosts of their deceased friends appear to them in the night, particularly after a failure to offer the customary feast at the grave, and they immediately prepare to do what from neglect or disrespect had been left undone, when the ghost ceases the visits."[41] Harrington said that "the blood in the dead body draws up into globular form and floats about in the air as a luminous ball."[42] One informant said: "You see a dark something rolling around at night" (N.D.). This soul was also associated with paralysis, strokes, and

[35] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 83; J.T.
[36] Speck, 1950, pp. 70-72.
[37] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 83; J.T.
[38] Speck, 1931, p. 25; Harrington, 1921, p. 52; J.T., N.D.
[39] Speck, 1931, p. 25; O.A.
[40] Kinietz, 1940, p. 118.
[41] Trowbridge MS.
[42] Harrington, 1913, p. 228.

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774 lameness.[33] For fear of this soul nobody ever eats in the dark or allows a sick person to be in a dark room (J.T., N.D.).

775 The Delawares believed in an after life, but what this existence was like is only vaguely described in the early literature and probably was only vaguely envisaged by them. De Vries said that "when they die they sing like the ravens; but this singing is entirely different from the singing of angels."[34] One source stated that "some" believed that after a soul had been in the other world for a time it might be reborn on earth in another individual.[35] Harrington said that on the twelfth day after death the spirit made its way to the twelfth or highest home, a beautiful place, without pain or sorrow, where there were magnificent dwellings, beautiful streams, and fertile lands. This paradise was only for the good; where bad or evil spirits went is unknown.[36] This concept was in all likelihood a diffusion from Christianity.

The Big House Ceremony

114 668 796 The Big House or Annual Ceremony has been the principal ceremony and the focal point of Delaware religious observances at least since the second half of the eighteenth century. Prior to the tribal consolidation of the Delawares (in the early decades of the eighteenth century), this Ceremony could not have existed as it is now known, since in its modern form it is a tribal or national religious event. I do not agree with Kinietz that the Big House Ceremony came into existence as an adjunct of the revivalistic nativism of the Delawares after 1762.[37] It seems much more likely that it was synthesized during the early decades of the century at the time when other parts of the culture were being unified and the tribal society was emerging. As far as I have been able to determine, the import and the meaning of this ceremony have not been nativistic as would be required by Kinietz's hypothesis. Its general purpose was to give thanks for past blessings and to ensure good fortune for the coming year.[38] Morgan said: "They believe unless they observe it once a year their crops will fail, and they will loose (sic) the favor of the Great Spirit."[39] I agree with Kinietz that "European civilization in contact with that of the Delawares was unconsciously responsible for the integration of the Big House Ceremony, the dropping and addition of many features . . . ,"[40] but I set the date for this integration half a century earlier than he does. The addition of the symbolic number twelve (from the twelve Apostles of Christianity?), the sacred number of the sweat lodge, and the appearance of the Mask Being during the ceremony are but two examples of historic additions to the ceremony.[41]

796 177 796 Unfortunately, the seventeenth-century documents contain little more than hints concerning the nature of the religious rites from which the the Big House Ceremony was synthesized. Denton, however, said:

[33] Speck, 1931, p. 25; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 131; J.T.
[34] De Vries, 1909, p. 224.
[35] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 131.
[36] Harrington, 1921, pp. 52-54.
[37] Kinietz, 1940, pp. 117-21.
[38] Speck, 1931, p. 31; R.W., O.A.
[39] Morgan, 1859, MS.
[40] Kinietz, 1940, p. 121.
[41] *Ibid.*, p. 118.

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For their worship which is diabolical, it is performed usually but once or twice a year, unless upon some extraordinary occasion, as upon making of war or the like; their usual time is about *Michaelmass*, when their corn is first ripe, the day being appointed by their chief Priest or pawaw, most of them go a hunting for venison: When they are all congregated, their priest tells them if he want money, their God will accept of no other offering, which the people believing, every one gives money according to their ability.[42]

This is the sort of description of a pretribal ceremony which one would expect from a seventeenth-century writer. The hunt for venison and the use of wampum were, for example, integral features of the later Big House Ceremony. Speck has suggested that the historic form of the ceremony developed from "rites managed by the ceremonial group (Turkey, Tortoise, Wolf)" which, in turn, developed from family or individual rites.[43] In historic times each phratry varied somewhat from the others in the performance of the ceremony; that of the Wolf phratry, for instance, lasted only eight days, whereas the ceremony of the Turkey phratry lasted twelve days.[44] In a sense, then, the ceremony never attained complete tribal integration. Since Speck's studies of the Big House Ceremony are relatively complete and are complemented by those of Zeisberger, Trowbridge, and Harrington, and by the eyewitness account by Luckenbach, it is not necessary here to give a detailed description of the historic ceremony; a brief synopsis taken from the accounts of these writers and from the descriptions given by my own informants should suffice.

After the Big House Ceremony became a tribal affair, it was held but once a year. It took place in a "big house," a building which also served as a council house and was similar in structure to the Iroquoian Long House. In the center of this structure was a pole, on the north and south sides of which were carved faces;[45] ten other identical faces were placed around the walls. Apparently this was the practice before 1763.[46] The participants camped near the Big House for the duration of the ceremony, the women to the north and the men to the south (M.B.). Throughout this period celibacy was practiced, participants were supposed to be in a pure and clean frame of mind, and menstruating women were not allowed inside the Big House. Offenders were removed from the building by the Mask Being or other officials.[47] One individual, known as the "bringer-in," sponsored and led the ceremony, and the phratry to which he belonged determined the exact form the ceremony was to take. One source stated that in each phratry there was a family which inherited the right to sponsor the annual ceremony;[48] possibly this was a vestige of the individual or family rites from which it evolved.

[42] Denton, 1845, p. 7.
[43] Speck, 1950, p. 27.
[44] *Ibid.*, p. 16; Harrington, 1913, p. 230.
[45] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 141.
[46] Kinietz, 1940, p. 118, dates this feature after 1824, but Bartram and Kenny apparently saw such a ceremonial structure in August, 1761 (Kenny, 1913, p. 22).
[47] Trowbridge MS; M.B.
[48] Trowbridge MS.

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The ceremonies commenced, at least in historic times, when the caretakers lighted the fires in the Big House with a fire drill. Kinietz has suggested that this act became sacred in post-European times.[49] Sometime after dark the chief of the sponsoring phratry delivered a sermon in which the Great Spirit was thanked for success during the preceding year, and he also explained the rules of the meeting.[50] The meeting was then turned over to the "bringer-in":

> [Standing] by the great central post with its weird carved faces, [he] begins to shake a little rattle of box-turtle shell and chant, in a high monotone, the story of his vision. Meanwhile two drummers have taken their places before a peculiar drum made by rolling up a dry deer-hide and stuffing it with grass. As the chanter utters each word the drummers repeat it in the same tone, producing a very peculiar effect. Finally the recital is finished, and he starts his dance-song, which the drummers take up, beating time with flat drumsticks and dancer about the fires, still shaking his rattle, followed by as many of the people as care to join.[51]

The dance was in a counterclockwise direction, and the dancer stopped at twelve spots in this circuit, each time reciting a verse of the song he had composed from his vision. The path that was followed by all those who recited their visions represented allegorically the White Path or the Great Spirit's road, the road of human existence, and the stages the soul took to the abode of the Great Spirit.[52] As was noted previously, the number twelve and perhaps the inferred idea of heaven may have represented diffusions from Christianity.

After the leader had finished his recitation, two caretakers symbolically swept the chamber with turkey feathers and built up the fire. There was then a brief recess in which people could go outside (R.W.). Following the recess, the rattle was passed from hand to hand in a counterclockwise direction until it reached another man who desired to recite his vision.[53] Toward morning, when the rattle had made a complete circuit of the Big House, twelve cries or calls were uttered. The twelfth cry was thought to be heard by the Great Spirit.[54] A feast was then held, and afterwards the throng dispersed until the following evening. (Trowbridge alone among the sources said that the worshippers remained throughout the day in the Big House, preserving silence.) On each of the succeeding nights the ritual was the same, although there may have been some variation in the persons who recited their visions, and on the fourth day deer were hunted to supply venison for a feast to be held on the seventh day.[55] At noon on the final day of the ceremony the participants filed out and formed a line facing the east. They raised their hands and twelve times called out the prayer word to the Great Spirit. The caretakers then swept the ashes from the fires out the west

[49] Kinietz, 1940, p. 121; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 30.
[50] Speck, 1931, p. 23.
[51] Harrington, 1913, pp. 228-29.
[52] Speck, 1931, p. 23.
[53] Harrington, 1921, p. 95; R. W.
[54] Harrington, 1913, p. 229.
[55] Harrington, 1921, pp. 97-100; O.A., R.W.

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door of the Big House, the leader paid them in wampum for their services, and thus the ceremony was concluded.[58]

Minor Ceremonies

There must have been a host of minor family and other kin-group religious ceremonies in early times, but unfortunately the seventeenth-century sources are for the most part silent about them. Denton, however, said:

> At their *Canticas* or dancing matches, where all persons that come are freely entertained, it being a Festival time: Their custom is when they dance, every one but the Dancers to have a short stick in their hands & to knock the ground & sing altogether, whilst they that dance sometimes act war-like postures, & then they come in painted for War with their faces black & red, with some streaks of white under their eyes, & so jump & leap up & down without any order, uttering many expressions of their intended valour. For other dances they only shew what Antick tricks their ignorance will lead them to, swinging of their bodies & faces after a strange manner, sometimes jumping into the fire, sometimes catching up a Firebrand, & biting off a live coal, with many such tricks, that will affright....[59]

Zeisberger described a number of minor religious ceremonies which probably are similar to those of the earlier period. Of the five ceremonials he mentioned, the first was a description of the Big House Ceremony; in the second, men danced in a breech clout and were "daubed all over with white clay."[60] In the third, tanned deerskins were given to ten or more old men and women, who wrapped themselves in these skins, stood in front of the Big House, faced east, and prayed. In this ceremony wampum was thrown on the ground, and the children scrambled for it.[61] The fourth was a feast of bear's flesh and melted fat, in which the large quantities consumed brought on vomiting and indigestion. Speck mentioned this ceremony "as a definite rite intended for the placation of the bear," and recounted the mythological tale responsible for its origin.[62] The fifth ceremony was a sweat bath held in the Big House. A sweat house, framed with twelve poles of diverse woods, was set up inside the Big House and was covered with blankets. "These twelve poles represent twelve Manittos, some of these being creatures, others plants."[63] After a meal a fire was built in the entrance of the sweat lodge, and twelve stones were heated and placed inside. Twelve pipes full of tobacco were thrown on the hot stones; twelve people then entered and remained as long as they were able. During this ceremony

[58] Harrington, 1913, pp. 228-30; 1921, p. 85; Trowbridge MS.

[59] Denton, 1845, p. 9.

[60] Zeisberger, 1910, pp. 137-38.

[61] *Ibid.*, p. 138; Harrington, 1921, p. 109, and the Trowbridge MS. stated that this ceremony concluded the Big House Ceremony; Post and Hayes noted these details in the observance of an annual ceremony on May 24-27, 1760 (Hayes, 1954, pp. 74-76).

[62] Speck, 1937, pp. 30-43.

[63] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 138.

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796 "a whole buck-skin with the head and antlers is raised upon a pole, head and antlers resting on the pole, before which the Indians sing and pray."[65] Speck noted that the sweat lodge was erected in the Big House in the Wolf phratry ceremony and that "the sweating rite was held as a test of endurance for the men who had spiritual guidance."[66] Zeisberger also stated that there was a number of less important ceremonies arranged by individuals.[67]

A minor ceremony, continued until the twentieth century but unrecorded in the earlier literature except for a casual reference by Zeisberger, was the "Otter-Hog Dance."[68] This rite had to be given every [777] few years by a certain family or else bad luck ensued (O.A.). The leader of this dance wore an otter hide which stretched from his head down his back to the ground. Special songs were sung, and the meat of the largest procurable hog was consumed during the dance. The hog's head was carried around in a pan by the leader during the dance and at the conclusion of the ceremony was consigned to the flames (O.A.). Harrington mentioned this ceremony and gave an origin myth for it, but his informants did not remember the dance itself.[69] Speck has also described this "Grease Drinking, or Otter Ceremony."[70]

[532] Another series of minor ceremonies consisted of the Doll Dances. These dances probably originated in prehistoric times, but were not recorded in the early documents. The dolls seem to have had their origin in the visions of women and were passed down through the maternal line.[71] Doll owners had to give their dolls annual dances, usually in the spring. The doll was tied to a stick and the dancers carried it during the all-night ceremony. Both sexes participated; men danced in an inner circle, the women in an outer. They danced around a fire on either side of which two poles had been raised. The drum used in this ceremony was the "package" drum used in the Big House Ceremony (O.A., M.B., J.T., J.W.). Twelve songs were sung in the course of the ceremony, followed by a pause for a feast in which various corn dishes prepared by the owner of the doll were eaten. After this meal the songs were repeated, and just before dawn cornbread was scattered on the ground and was picked up and eaten by the dancers. Speck said that a Doll Dance "embodies the idea of appeasing the latent ill-will of the Spirit of Corn, aroused through innocent familiarity incurred in the past between the children of certain families and this sensitive Manitto."[72] Harrington described the Doll dances, but his description varies somewhat from mine.[73]

There were undoubtedly other dances and feasts, including first fruits rites,[74] given at different seasons by various family or other kin

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[65] *Ibid.*, pp. 138-39; Kenny, 1913, pp. 196-97.
[66] Speck, 1937, p. 21.
[67] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 140.
[68] Zeisberger, 1871, p. 344.
[69] Harrington, 1921, pp. 176-82.
[70] Speck, 1937, pp. 44-48.
[71] The section on Mythology describes several origin tales for the Doll Dances.
[72] Speck, 1937, p. 61.
[73] Harrington, 1921, pp. 184-71.
[74] Hayes, 1954, p. 70 (first deer killed after an annual ceremony, on June 9, 1760); Loskiel, 1794, p. 40; Brickell, 1842, p. 49.

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groups. The Mask Being was "feasted" annually (J.T.). Speck described a number of other feasts and dances including "The Mask Dance Ceremony," an "Opossum Dance Ceremony," the "Buffalo Dance Ceremony" (apparently a recent diffusion to the Delawares), a "Corn Harvest Ceremony," and "The Spring Prayer and Football Ceremony to Advance Vegetation."[70]

Shamans

There were two kinds of shamans, one devoted to curing and the other to divination.[73] Heckewelder distinguished the Medeu, or the individual associated with curing, from the Powwow or Juggler, who was higher in rank and was skilled in divination and magic.[74] The members of the latter group, according to Harrington, were organized into societies, but Trowbridge denied this, and there is no other confirmation to be found for the existence of societies. They probably represent a diffusion from the Iroquois to the Canadian Delawares.[75] Shamans might be of either sex and were generally old. Among their activities were weather forecasting, rain making, the preparation of "medicine" for hunters who were down on their luck, and curing. They also make "philters or love potions for such married persons as either do not, or think they cannot, love each other."[76] Before they performed their services, shamans had to be paid in wampum, tobacco, dressed deerskins, or the like. They wore costumes when treating the sick, and a tortoise shell rattle, dancing, singing, and "mumbling" were always a part of their performance.[77]

Lindestrom in the seventeenth century said that the "curing" shaman "runs back and forth, cries so that he is heard a long way off, rolls himself naked into the burning fire, takes fire brands with which he builds a wall all around the sick one, the sick one enduring such with patience."[78] Denton said of shamans:

> When any person is sick, after the means used by his friend, every one pretending skill in Physick, that proving ineffectual they send for a Pawaw or Priest, who sitting down by the sick person without the least enquiring after the distemper, waits for a gift which he proportions his work accordingly to: that being received, he first begins with a low voice to call upon his God, calling sometimes upon one sometimes on another, raising his voice higher & higher, beating of his naked breasts & sides, till the sweat runneth down, & his breath is almost gone, then that little which is remaining, he evaporates upon the face of the sick person three or four times together & so takes his leave.[79]

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[70] Speck, 1937, pp. 49–87.

[73] Brainerd, 1884, p. 131; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 236; Brinton, 1885, pp. 70–71.

[74] Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 228 ff.

[75] Harrington, 1913, p. 217; Trowbridge MS.

[76] Harrington, 1913, p. 232; H.D.

[77] Harrington, 1913, pp. 232–34; M.B.

[78] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 248.

[79] Denton, 1845, pp. 8–9; Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 232–33, described the performance in similar terms.

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789 Heckewelder described an occasion during a drought in 1799 in which the women of a village paid a shaman to produce a rain. The shaman constructed an enclosure about five feet square of sticks and bark and left an opening on the north side. He then murmured an incantation while facing the north, shutting the opening of the enclosure at the conclusion of the incantation. He "turned in the same manner, still muttering some words, towards the south, as if invoking some superior being, and having cut through the bark on the southwest corner, so as to make an opening of two feet, he said: 'Now we shall have rain enough!'"[80] Zeisberger described the malevolent conjurers and stated that they had 754 learned their black arts from the Nanticokes, and Speck noted that this tradition is still current among the Delawares.[81] These shamans were able to injure and destroy either individuals or entire villages. Zeisberger said:

> [They use] a little piece of an old blanket or something else. This they rub in their hands until formed into a little ball. Naming the one who is marked for death, they throw this ball at him, saying that he shall die. They call this shooting the witchball. Any person wishing to get another whom he hates out of the way will hire a sorcerer or several of them to do it, paying them in wampum.[82]

In another place Zeisberger described an individual who had fallen into the hands of a "wizard" and become paralyzed. The shaman who was responsible had offered to cure the victim, but refrained from doing so since the patient could not afford the treatment.[83] Heckewelder said of these conjurers:

> All they can say is that the sorcerer makes use of a "deadening substance," which he discharges and conveys to the person that he means to "*strike*," through the air, by means of the wind or of his own breath, or throws at him in a manner which they can neither understand nor describe. The person thus "*stricken*," is immediately seized with an unaccountable terror, his spirits sink, his appetite fails, he is disturbed in his sleep, he pines and wastes away, or a fit of sickness seizes him, and he dies at last a miserable victim to the workings of his own imagination.[84]

This bit of belief has survived more or less in its original form, since at a "stomp dance" an informant (R.W.) blew or threw something at another man (J.W.) and stole his drum. J.W. suffered a stroke that evening from which he never fully recovered. His family attempted to recover the drum, thinking this would effect a cure, but they were never successful. An informant from the Anadarko band (M.B.) said that malevolent sorcerers had killed most of the children and that this was the reason for the decline of the Delawares. She also said that many of the Cherokee-Delawares were "witches" and for this reason the two groups did not maintain closer relations.

[80] Heckewelder, 1881, p. 237.
[81] Speck, 1937, pp. 135-42.
[82] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 126.
[83] Zeisberger, 1885, II: 94.
[84] Heckewelder, 1881, p. 240.

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Curing

Although most serious ailments were treated magically by shamans, there was a considerable body of knowledge concerning various herbs, roots, and decoctions of one sort or another that did have a beneficial medicinal value. It should also be noted that wounds and external injuries were successfully treated.[85] This practical medicinal knowledge was the property of both ordinary individuals and shamans. Many of the curative practices, both magical and otherwise, were directed at the spirits, rather than derived from a real knowledge of physiology and pathology. This, of course, did not decrease the beneficial (or harmful) effects of the various remedies.[86]

Roots, herbs, and bark, particularly oak, walnut, cherry, dogwood, maple, and birch, were used as medicines.[87] These materials were prepared and compounded in a number of ways, and the knowledge of them was a closely guarded secret, passed on to one's children only when the owner was at death's door.[88] This secrecy remains, and my informants refused to do more than hint at the nature of their medicines. Emetics, blood letting, and perhaps cupping were common remedies in the eighteenth century.[89] The most common medicinal practice was sweat bathing. Men used the village sweat bath more frequently than did the women, who had their own.[90] A sweat bath was taken by an individual when he was tired or had contracted a cold or did not feel well. Men usually took one or two a week; women took them less frequently. Occasionally, a shaman would take a sweat bath while his patient lay outside, and frequently various medicines were taken during or immediately after a sweat bath.[91]

Folklore

Knowledge of Delaware folklore is imperfect and incomplete. The purely secular tales are little known; however, I obtained a few in the field. The mythology dealing with supernatural beings is only slightly better known. R. C. Adams published a number of tales current in the late nineteenth century; none of the stories he related was told to me.[92] The earliest origin story was obtained by Dankers in the seventeenth century, who had directed some questions at an old man of the Hackinsack division of the Unami:

[85] Van der Donck, 1909, p. 301; Thomas, 1912, p. 340; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 15. Tantaquidgeon, 1942, described medical practices and materia medica of the Delawares. Mahr, 1951, has summarized the early data on Delaware herbalism and healing; Mahr, 1955, has studied nonesoteric herb lore.

[86] Heckewelder, 1881, p. 224.

[87] Penn, 1882, p. 244; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 25; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 224; Luckenbach, 1938, p. 376; Tantaquidgeon, 1942, pp. 24-37.

[88] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 24; N.D.

[89] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 26; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 225.

[90] De Vries, 1909, pp. 217-18; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 26; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 226.

[91] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 26; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 225; O.A.

[92] Adams, 1905.

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773 He [the old man] took a piece of coal out of the fire where he sat, and began to write upon the floor. He first drew a circle, a little oval, to which he made four paws or feet, a head and a tail. "This," said he, "is a tortoise, lying in the water around it," and he moved his hand round the figure, continuing, "this was or is all water, and so at first was the world or the earth, when the tortoise gradually raised its round back up high, and the water ran off of it, and thus the earth became dry." He then took a little straw and placed it on end in the middle of the figure, and proceeded, "the earth was now dry, and there grew a tree in the middle of the earth, and the root of this tree sent forth a sprout beside it and there grew upon it a man, who was the first male. This man was then alone, and would have remained alone; but the tree bent over until its top touched the earth, and there shot therein another root, from which came forth another sprout, and there grew upon it the woman, and from these two are all men produced."[94]

A number of other writers have said that the turtle was responsible for the creation.[95] The Munsi, however, may have had a slightly different origin myth, as Heckewelder said:

The *Minsi* ... say that in the beginning, they dwelt in the earth under a lake, and were fortunately extricated from this unpleasant abode by the discovery which one of their men made of a hole, through which he ascended to the surface; on which, as he was walking, he found a deer, which he carried back with him into his subterraneous habitation; that there the deer was killed, and he and his companions found the meat so good, that they unanimously determined to leave their dark abode, and remove to a place where they could enjoy the light of heaven and have such excellent game in abundance.... The other two tribes ... have much similar notions, but reject the story of the lake, which seems peculiar to the Minsi tribe.[96]

Harrington related a divergent tale which included a flood:

Some time after Gicelamukaong [Great Spirit] had created the world it became flooded with water, and it seemed to be a difficult matter to find earth with which to commence a new one. The Great Spirit ... began to send down the various water animals which still survived to try to bring earth up from the bottom, but one by one they failed, and floated up to the surface dead. At last the muskrat was sent, and he succeeded in bringing up a little dirt in his paws. This was placed on the back of a turtle, which, with the mud upon it, immediately began to increase in size, until the "great island upon which we live" was formed, round and flat, floating upon the waters.[97]

Several myths and tales were gathered from informants. These show many similarities to those of the Eastern and Central Algonkians,[97] but they may be late historic diffusions. Myths which were intended to be informative about supernatural subjects and also purely secular stories were told by the Delawares only during the winter and hence were called "winter tales" (J.T.). If myths were told out of season "the bugs

[94] Dankers, 1867, pp. 150–51.
[95] Zeisberger, 1910, pp. 131–33; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 250; Trowbridge MS; Brinton, 1885, p. 133.
[96] Heckewelder, 1881, p. 250.
[97] Harrington, 1913, pp. 232–37; M.B. related essentially the same myth.
[97] Fisher, 1946, pp. 226–42.

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would chase you" (M.B.) or "all the worms would take after you" (J.T.). Tales were told by old men and women, and talented story tellers were much in demand. They were paid for their services by the audience who promised before the tales began to perform some service or donate a gift. One person would say, "I'll kill a rabbit for her tomorrow, another would say, "I'll fetch wood for her tomorrow" (O.A.). The stories began about nine in the evening and lasted five or six hours. Trowbridge said in this connection: "And it is said that they will entertain each other a whole night with the ingenious story of a wolf, a raccoon, or of some great hunter, whose deeds have been handed down by their traditions."[98] The audience lay around the fire in the house during the story telling, but the little children could not fall asleep unnoticed, for during the course of many of the stories the audience had to reply to the storyteller in chorus (O.A., M.B.).

Thunder Myths

Stories about thunder deities are common, and several were obtained. M.B. and F.W. both told the following tale, but F.W.'s is used since M.B.'s suffered in translation.[99]

An old woman and her six-year-old grandson lived together. The boy just played around camp with his bows and arrows. He wasn't anything but a little boy. At this time there was a drought, it was hot and dry, the creeks were dry and the crops had burned up. His grandmother was beginning to get after him for being such a worthless little boy.

One day as his grandma was berating him he looked up and said, "I can make it rain." His grandmother replied, "You can't do nothin'." And the other people just laughed at the little boy too. The boy said he was going off and "hope" four times for rain. The boy went off and soon a cloud came up. Soon it was thundering, the lightning flashed, and it started to rain.

The grandmother was in her wigwam bailing out the water when the little boy returned. He said, "I told you it was going to rain." Lightning was still striking every minute.

Then the boy told his grandmother, "I'm going with my friends, but someday I'll come back, although I won't be able to stay. When you hear the lightning cracking around you think of me 'cause it's me."

The old people say that the sharp cracking of thunder is the little boy playing, and that the heavy, rumbling thunder is the old thunder birds.

All the thunder birds live by making soup out of old bones, bones so old "they have holes in them" (J.T.). When the clouds were low or when it was misty, the birds could jump down out of them to earth. The informant J. T. told the following story:

There once was a man who said he could go and live with the thunders. The people asked him how he could go 'cause he didn't have no wings. He said he knew a way and named a day when the people could watch him.

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[98] Trowbridge MS.

[99] All myths and tales are given as nearly as possible in the informants' words.

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773 The day came, he had a big round rock, "as big as this table" (ordinary enameled kitchen table), and he built a fire on top of this rock on a bluff overlooking a creek. He heated the rock until it was almost red hot, then he pushed it over the bluff into the water. The water was heated and began to steam. The man stepped into the steam and disappeared. He later returned from the sky. (J.T.)

Great Horned Serpent Myths

Water monsters and snakes have their place in Delaware mythology. People are usually protected from these monsters, or are allowed to destroy them, through the agency of the Sun or the Thunder Gods:

While out hunting a man heard the call of a turkey near a large lake. People had been accustomed to get water from this lake, but nevertheless a monster snake lived there. The unwary hunter was attracted to the lake by what he thought was the call of the turkey, but it was the water monster. The monster killed him by drowning, and then ate him. Two or three other people were caught in the same way by this snake.

Several men got together who had power. One of the men had two "clean" (i.e., ritually clean) sons. (In another version by J.T. several little boys tell their elders that they will kill the snake.) The boys go to the Sun. When they approached the Sun, he told them not to come too close because of the heat. Sun told them to stand off to one side.

He then instructed them to take some sweepings (dirt swept to the west end of the Big House) and to sprinkle it around the lake inhabited by the great snake, and that this procedure would kill the snake.

When they returned, this was done. Immediately the water began to boil, the snake could be seen writhing in the water. Soon he floated on his back dead, and so they were rid of the monster. (J.T.)

The Horned Serpent was not always an enemy of the Delawares, although he seems to have been an adversary of the Thunders and some other deities, as the following story related by M.B. shows:

There was a little boy who was different from other little boys. He wouldn't go out to hunt like they did. People told his grandfather that the boy wasn't any good. The grandfather decided that he would take care of the boy. He built a boat of sticks, put the boy on the boat and took him to an island. The old man built a fire on the island and told the boy to go off and kill some birds. This was just a ruse to get rid of the boy. While the boy was gone the grandfather used Indian tobacco and prayed for the little boy in order to make the boy wise.

When the old man was finished he hollered for the little boy to tell him that he was going. The old man left the little boy all alone on the island. The boy was frantic, he cried and he cried. Day after day he cried, but on the fifth day he heard someone talking to him. It was a skunk who said he wanted to take the boy home. But another voice told skunk that he was too small to do this.

The boy began to cry again. The next day, however, another voice said he would take the boy home. This voice came from a large snake with horns. The snake told him to hold tight to his horns and to warn him immediately if he saw a cloud. The boy held on to the horns and they sped toward the shore. They got about halfway and a large black cloud appeared. The boy warned the snake as he

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had been told to do. The snake turned around so violently that the boy almost fell off. They returned to the island and the little boy was again very sad.

The boy decided that next day he would not tell the snake about any clouds. The next day the snake told him to hold tight to his horns and to warn him of any clouds. This time they reached the shore, although the boy neglected to tell the snake about a cloud he had seen. The snake had been going through the water so fast that he ran right up onto the beach. At that moment lightning struck the snake and killed him. The Thunder Gods had been wanting to eat the snake and the seven of them did so. One took the horns, the "least" thunder bird took the tail.

The boy got home, the people met him and doctored him as the lightning had hurt him a little bit. The grandfather told the boy to go to a burned tree and build a fire, then to shoot at a blackened log and he would kill a bear. Then he would have company and they would eat the bear.

The boy did all this, the company came and ate the bear and then the boy was like all other boys.

Another myth about the Horned Serpent, which was not related to me in its entirety, was a tale in which the malevolence of this being was circumvented by marrying an attractive girl to the monster. All the boys of the village were enamored of a beautiful girl, but none of the adults would let any of them marry her. In time the girl was married to the Horned Serpent and he no longer menaced the Delawares (M.B.).

Mythological Giants

Only one story concerned giants; in this the supernatural beings involved were not identified:

A party of women was out gathering firewood when an eagle flew down to them. They abused him by capturing him. He escaped, however, and told the powers of his treatment at the hands of the women.

Within ten days it snowed so much that the houses were covered up. The people soon had nothing to eat or to burn. They finally began to eat one another. The cannibals began to grow until they became vicious giants. It is these giants who are buried in the Indian mounds. Fortunately the giants finally died out.

Once a family was crossing a creek when one of them saw the reflection of one of the giants in the water. The giant was standing on a mountain looking down at them. He had a long walking cane and started coming for them. The family crossed back over the creek because they knew that these giants were afraid of water. The giant came down to the creek and instead of putting his cane vertically in the water to measure its depth he measured it horizontally. After doing this he mistakenly assumed that it was over his head. Actually a normal sized person could wade this creek. The family moved away from where this giant lived. (F.W.)

Certain constellations of stars had myths connected with them. Only one story, however, was given:

During the Big House Ceremony, as the participants were taking a recess, seven boys began to rise in the air. The people began to shout to them and managed to knock two of them back down, by throwing unclean clothing at them. The others rose into the heavens and became those stars (an unidentified group). (J.T.)

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Origin of Dolls of the Doll Dances

The informant J.T. told the following stories:

In early times there was a girl who liked to play with dolls. She would pick up all sorts of things and pretend that they were dolls. Even after she was grown she continued to play with dolls. Then she became very ill. During her illness a voice spoke to her. The voice told her that in order to get well she would have to make a doll such as she would see in the dream. She opened her eyes and saw the doll she was to make, and the voice told her how to take care of the doll, to give it feasts. The voice went on to tell her that dolls were not things to play with when you are grown. You don't play with them because dolls take care of the crops. When the girl awoke she went to the woods and carved a doll like the one she saw in her vision. She got well.

Once when the old folks had gone to a doll dance and left their kids at home, the kids got together and decided to make their own doll and have a dance. A girl made a doll and they had their dance, even though they didn't know the proper songs. It was wrong to make a doll, this was dangerous. One spring these children didn't dance this doll and the next spring a child got "bad sick." The phratry chief, who was also a medicine man, came to treat her. He knew that it was the doll that was causing this child to be sick. So the child's parents had the children give the doll a dance. They did and the sick child recovered.[100]

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The purely secular tales, which have nothing to do with supernatural forces, are not well remembered today, and perhaps always formed only a small part of the folklore. The following tale was considered extremely hilarious by informants.

There once was a woman who intensely disliked her son-in-law. This worried the son-in-law and finally he decided to do something about it. He went down to the pond from which his mother-in-law was accustomed to draw water. He tied all the lily pads together so that he could make them vibrate by pulling on a string. Then he hid himself in some bushes that were near by. Soon his mother-in-law came down to draw water. He vibrated the lily pads and disguised his voice saying: "Your son-in-law is going to die, your son-in-law is going to die." She, of course, thought the lily pads were speaking to her. She started back to the wigwam, but her son-in-law took a short cut and beat her back. He was sitting within when the tearful woman arrived. She started being very nice to him, she combed and brushed his clothes and softened his buckskin clothes, and was nice to him afterwards because she thought he was going to die. (J.T., M.B.)

[100] Harrington, 1921, pp. 162-63, described a myth which was very similar to this one.

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A SUMMARY OF DELAWARE CULTURE

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The means of subsistence of the Delawaran peoples at the opening of the historic period were fairly simple but richly diversified, so that it is difficult to conceive of any of them ever suffering a famine. If the crops of the women failed, they had but to rely more heavily upon the fish and game supplied by the men. There were, moreover, well-developed techniques for preserving and storing agricultural products and wild foods. In short, the techniques of subsistence in this rich habitat provided an abundant supply of foodstuffs for the relatively small population.

Small, semipermanent settlements dotted the coast and river valleys. These virtually autonomous settlements were probably composed of lineages and clans, which possessed fairly definite hunting territories adjacent to their settlements. Even smaller kin units, families, were ordinarily the largest social aggregate in the winter hunting season. The life of an individual centered around his mother's community; his hopes, fears, and aspirations were bound up and identified with this kinship group. The system by which food and goods were produced, distributed, and consumed was also identified with, and was an integral part of, the kinship system. Goods and food were produced by kin groups for their own use. The lineage and clan dealt effectively with most social problems, both economic and governmental, so that above the clan level there were few and but poorly developed institutions. Sachems were only the voice of the kinship units with no special prerogatives and no autocratic power. The clans were probably grouped into three phratries in early historic times, but their function seems to have been wholly ceremonial and not governmental. If a tribe is a grouping of peoples with a single language and dialect, a common culture, and a feeling of unity, then the early historic Delawaran peoples were not even a tribe.

There has been considerable dispute about why the population density for the Eastern Area as a whole was low when the subsistence potential was relatively high. Insofar as there has been an attempt to explain this anomaly, it has generally been in terms of chronic warfare. I have rejected this explanation and suggest that for the Delaware economy to support a larger population would have required male participation in agriculture, stronger governmental mechanisms to control larger cooperative groups of workers, various sorts of specialists, more effective political groupings for offense and defense, and perhaps other alterations in the social system. The small, individually oriented, kin group socioeconomic institutions were sufficient to operate the basically simple technology, but nothing more. There is no doubt that the same techniques of subsistence geared to a different sort of social system could have been more productive. In sum, the nature of the socioeconomic system was such that the productivity of the technological system had reached its peak. Why the population density was relatively

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105 low is no mystery; it would be a mystery instead, if a social structure such as this one could have supported a large population.

As White has suggested, "ideological, or philosophical systems are organizations of beliefs in which human experience finds its interpretation."[1] This was true of early Delaware ideology; most religious and magical rites, for instance, were performed by small groups, often families. The Big House Ceremony may possibly have been a partial exception, but even here I have suggested that the modern ceremony was a late synthesis of early clan, or even family, rites. The individualistic nature of the vision quest and shamanism, to mention two other examples, also reflects the loosely organized, individually oriented nature of Delaware society. Religious and magical rites held to promote gardening were no more stressed, or so it appears, than those dealing with hunting or fishing. It has been seen that gardening was for most Delawares the subsistence activity of greatest importance, but the people themselves, particularly the men, probably did not view it in this light. In general, Delaware supernaturalism was directed at influencing the forces that controlled subsistence activities, health, and welfare. Religious systems deal with uncontrollable and critical spheres of life; this the Delaware religion did, and in a fashion consonant with the life which has been described.

From this reconstruction there comes to view a people who had solved the most pressing problems of life, but not to the extent that they had created a paradise on Earth. Much of a person's life was employed in satisfying basic needs; the hunter's life was arduous, gardening and household duties were onerous, and sudden death was not uncommon. Real knowledge of the world was limited and was blinded to a degree by the common store of misinformation and mythology. In sum, when Europeans saw these people for the first time, they encountered the bearers of a culture well adjusted to a mechanically simple and a socially undifferentiated and individualized way of life, completely unprepared for dealing with the aggressive, technologically complex, well-organized, exploitative culture of Europe.

[1] White, 1949, p. 385.

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PART II. DELAWARE CULTURE CHANGE

V. DELAWARE ACCULTURATION

The alteration of Delaware culture by contact with European and American civilization has been treated thus far simply as an obstacle to be overcome in the reconstruction of the early historic form of that culture. It is now my purpose to reverse the approach and examine cultural changes which occurred when this relatively small and technologically simple culture collided with the complex, behemoth, invading civilization from Europe. The impact of European civilization on Delaware culture had immediate and far-reaching effects upon the latter, and the subsequent prolonged and intimate contact with European civilization continued to affect every facet of it in numerous ways.

I shall attempt to deal with Delaware culture change only on a cultural level since the theoretic approach has consistently been culturological. My aim is to examine the collision, conflict, and competition of culture traits and complexes and the results of this culture contact within Delaware culture. The approach to acculturation, then, is from an extrasomatic, nonbiological, nonpsychological, culturological point of view.[1] This does not imply that other aspects of acculturation are unimportant; certainly there is much to learn, for example, about psychological maladjustments of individuals in all sorts of acculturative situations. My purpose also goes beyond the confines of a simple description of acculturation. I am interested not only in the cultural changes, but in the order in which they occurred and the reasons for their occurrence; therefore a brief analysis concludes this section.

The most useful definition and concept of acculturation is that held by A. L. Kroeber. He said: "Acculturation comprises those changes produced in a culture by the influence of another culture which result in an increased similarity of the two."[2] In the present context the term acculturation means the process of Delaware culture change which took place in response to continued contact with European-American culture. One should note at the outset several particular features of the situation in which culture change occurred. An advanced, superior European civilization invaded the home land of a relatively backward, inferior culture, as measured in terms of technological productivity and effectiveness. All Delaware culture was at first exposed to influences from only a small segment of European civilization, represented by the traders and colonists from several different countries. This meant that at least in the early decades of contact the native cultures were not exposed to the entire range of European culture. In the first century following European invasion, the Delawares came in contact with Dutch, Swedish, English, and French nationals, so that the acculturative process

[1] White, 1949, pp. 121-45.
[2] Kroeber, 1948, p. 425.

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was not a simple one brought about by one relationship. By the end of the seventeenth century the Delaware tribe was coming under the domination of the United States alone, but this did not simplify the situation since the new nation was changing almost as rapidly as were its policies towards the Indians. Another important condition, perhaps the most important insofar as survival of Delaware culture was concerned, was the opportunity which the Delawares had to retreat beyond the frontier when they were too hard pressed by the whites. These successive migrations brought them into new environmental situations and into contact with a number of different tribes. These also had an effect upon Delaware culture change. In this study I can only hope to point out the major trends of the complex process of acculturation and some of the principal reasons for various kinds of alterations in Delaware culture.

The Contact Period (1524-1690)

Delaware acculturation naturally falls into four or five phases or periods. The existence of these periods is clear, although their duration in years may be but hazily defined. The first period, extending from 1524 to about 1690, I have termed the Contact Period. It was characterized by primary acculturation, that is, direct borrowing by the Delawares of a whole host of European traits, overwhelmingly of a technological nature. During this period forces which were partly or wholly extracultural were responsible for the appearance of a new sort of warfare, an altered economy, and extensive depopulation.

History

The first contact the Delawares had with Europeans seems to have been with Verrazzano in 1524. This explorer sailed into what may have been the Bay of New York and explored Bayonne Bay, but this brief encounter seems to have been culturally inconsequential.[3] The next contact was with Dutch traders in 1598, but Henry Hudson's visit in 1609 is often described as the beginning of regular intercourse between the Europeans and Delawares.[4] Hudson entered the Bay of New York, and one of his boats went as far up the Hudson River as Albany.[5] It has also been said that Hudson entered Delaware Bay in the same year. These early contacts cannot be described as particularly friendly; Hudson's mate was killed during an Indian attack on the East River in 1609, and strife between the Dutch and the Tappan and Raritan has been recorded in 1639-40.[6] Mey's fort near Philadelphia, built in 1631, was razed by the natives, and De Vries' colony on Cape Henlopen in the present state of Delaware was destroyed in 1632.[7] Despite the hostility which the natives occasionally showed towards the Europeans, relations were for

[3] Murphy, 1875, p. 178.
[4] Mooney, 1911, p. 331; Acrelius, 1876, xii.
[5] Acrelius, 1876, xii.
[6] Ruttenber, 1872, pp. 102-3.
[7] Acrelius, 1876, xiii.

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the most part peaceful during the early decades of the seventeenth century because both peoples were fascinated with, and drawn irresistibly to, each other by their respective goods and possessions. The contact was not limited to a few Delawares casually trading with Europeans; rather, every Indian avidly desired to barter his plentiful furs, food, or whatever else he might have that the Europeans desired, for the strange, efficient, and rare European goods. As Hunt has demonstrated, every Indian could at this time easily acquire the wherewithal to procure these desired items.[8]

During the early decades of the seventeenth century the Delawares found themselves in an admirable trading position. The Swedes, Dutch, and English had purchased land, established colonies, and were competing vigorously with one another for the Indian trade. On the Hudson River in 1609 there was "a great traffick in the skins of beavers, otters, foxes, bears, minks, wild cats, and the like."[9] In 1638 the Swedes, in their first year in the New World, exported 30,000 skins, chiefly from the Delaware area.[10] The Delawares did not long remain favored trading partners of the Europeans, however, since they did not have easy access to the rich fur-bearing lands of the interior. By 1627 the Iroquois were supplying the Dutch with a large quantity of furs in the Albany area, and until 1655 the Swedes carried on an extensive fur trade with the Susquehannock (Conestoga) Indians.[11] These Iroquoian peoples acted as a barrier to the coastal peoples in quest of the furs of the interior. The Europeans were quick to recognize the value of close trade connections with these inland Iroquoian peoples, for the Swedes backed the Susquehannock with arms and the Dutch, the Iroquois.[12]

The Delawares could not placidly watch the coveted European merchandise, particularly arms and ammunition, go to their rivals in the interior. In the 1660's "a terrific contest was then raging between the Senecas and the Minsis, and the former came to Ft. Orange and demanded, by virtue of the treaty of Esopus (1660) a higher price for their furs."[13] By 1680 the Minisink and the Tappan were under "obligations of subjugation" to the Iroquois,[14] and other Delaware groups were probably experiencing similar pressures about this time. This marks the beginning of the ascendancy of the Iroquois over the Delawares. The political and military superiority of the Iroquois was then a function of "their fortunate but accidental position as a buffer group and a trading front for the Dutch and English, [it] enabled them to maintain their solidarity while other aboriginal tribes were being broken and having their society destroyed by settlers, soldiers, and epidemics."[15]

The competition among the European nations was also intense, and by 1655 the Dutch were able to attack and conquer the Swedes on the Delaware River. Nine years later, in 1664, the English were able to

[8] Hunt, 1939, p. 4.
[9] De Laet, 1909, p. 48.
[10] Sipe, 1931, p. 61; Acrelius, 1876, pp. 19-20.
[11] Hunt, 1939, p. 33; Sipe, 1931, p. 61.
[12] Sipe, 1931, p. 61.
[13] Ruttenber, 1872, p. 68.
[14] *Ibid.*, p. 69.
[15] Griffin, 1944, p. 361; see also Ruttenber, 1872, p. 66.

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oust the Dutch from New Netherland.[16] When the English supplanted the Dutch on the Hudson, the condition of the Indians improved temporarily; treaties were concluded and peace restored.[17] The English, however, were acutely interested in expanding their colonial possessions, and from this time on the position of the Delawares became less and less enviable in their relationships both with the British and with other Indian tribes.[18] The last half of this century found the Delawares in a violent struggle with the British-supported Iroquois on the one hand and the land-hungry Europeans on the other.

Acculturation

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From the time of their first contacts with the Europeans, the Indians had wanted to acquire guns, powder, cloth, lead, copper, kettles, axes, hoes, picks, spades, shovels, glass beads, awls, bodkins, scissors, knives, mirrors, and needles. William Penn, for example, purchased land in 1683 from Tamanend and other Delawares by the payment of:

> . . . 5 pairs of stockings, 20 bars of lead, 10 tobacco boxes, 6 coats, 2 guns, 8 shirts, 2 kettles, 12 awls, 5 hats, 25 pounds of powder, 1 pack of pipes, 36 yards of "duffields," 16 knives, 100 needles, 10 glasses, 5 caps, 15 combs, 5 hoes, 9 gimlets, 20 fish hooks, 10 tobacco tongs, 10 pairs of scissors, 7 half-gills, 6 axes, 2 blankets, 4 handfuls of bells, 4 yards of "stroudswaters" and 20 handfuls of wampum.[19]

Bolton, speaking of articles traded for land in the seventeenth century, said:

> The articles in greatest demand seem to have been more than three hundred knives of various kinds, followed by one hundred and eighty-five hatchets, axes, and adzes, and, to a much less extent, by one hundred and forty-one hoes. Doubtless the guns and fowling-pieces were the most coveted weapons, but of these they secured only sixty-seven in all, with two hundred and twenty-seven pounds of gunpowder and one hundred and thirty bars of lead, three melting ladles, and five bullet molds. . . . Of clothing, one hundred and eighty-two coats were in the majority, these being already made up, with more than three hundred yards of the trade cloths known as duffels, duzzons, and stroudwater, and one hundred and thirteen shirts, ninety-two pairs of stockings, and eighty-seven blankets, with ten corals or beads.
>
> There were one hundred and seventeen kettles of iron or brass, seventy-six earthenware and stoneware jugs, twelve "steels to strike fire," and twenty spoons. Among sundry small objects were one thousand fish-hooks, two hundred and twenty needles, one hundred and twenty awls or "muxes," used to drill holes in wampum (as one of the deeds states), one hundred and thirty clay pipes, ten bells, and ten jewsharps.
>
> A few rolls of tobacco were thrown in, with thirty-two tobacco boxes; and with this went another kind of solace in the form of twenty-five half-vats of strong beer, and sixteen ankers of the Indians' deadliest enemy, rum.[20]

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[16] Myers, 1912, p. 54; Ruttenber, 1872, p. 158.
[17] Ruttenber, 1872, p. 158.
[18] *Ibid.*, p. 158.
[19] Sipe, 1931, p. 70.
[20] Bolton, 1920, pp. 299-300.

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It is apparent from this list that the natives desired those material items which at first glance were superior to their own. The case for firearms was slightly different, since the Indian had no similar weapon and could have had but slight knowledge of the mechanical and physical principles involved. But the circumstances were such that this artifact came to be the most desired and treasured of European articles.[21] Both militarily and in the now vital quest for fur-bearing animals the tribes that obtained firearms were superior to those that were not so equipped. The have-nots, to preserve their existence and to maintain their new trading contacts, were forced to secure firearms.

There was a series of associated technological traits which did not diffuse to the seventeenth-century Delawares. These were the small grains (such as wheat, barley, oats, and buckwheat) and the plow-harrow, horse-oxen complex used in European agriculture. This complex was not adopted by the Delawares until late in the nineteenth century. Introduced domestic animals, as will be seen presently, were not harnessed for the utilization of their energy in horticulture. There is little evidence which would indicate that these animals were used for food during the Contact Period. Horses, cattle, and sheep were scarce; only swine may have been an exception.

The demands of European trade caused a rapid change in the native economic system. To obtain European artifacts the Indians had to supply the Europeans with furs, and to a much lesser extent with garden produce. Once the desire for European goods was established, and it should be noted that before the Contact Period was over these goods were considered necessities, the native men spent much more time in the hunt and sought animals which had previously been relatively unimportant. Of even more importance was the fact that new hunting territories had to be opened up in order to maintain the supply of furs. The production of food and the manufacture of all sorts of artifacts for kin group consumption rapidly became less important and were replaced by a more individualistic barter economy based upon the fur trade. The simple gardening-hunting, subsistence-for-use pattern was changed to a dependent, competitive, predominantly hunting-for-barter economy. Hunt has summed up the results of the early trade conditions, saying:

> The great desirability of the trade goods to the Indian who had once known them became shortly a necessity, a very urgent necessity that permitted no renunciation of the trade. As new desires wakened and old skills vanished, the Indian who had fur, or could get it, survived; he who could not get it died or moved away. But whatever he did, life for him could never again be what it had been: old institutions and economies had profoundly altered or disappeared completely at the electrifying touch of the white man's trade....[22]

A new and much more serious form of warfare developed early in the Contact Period. This was war caused by economic competition between the Delawares and Iroquois and also by conflicts engendered over

[21] Van der Donck, 1909, p. 303.
[22] Hunt, 1939, pp. 4–5.

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land matters. The latter conflicts were with both Europeans and other Indian groups. In short, the pre-European primitive war complex, which had been indulged in as a pastime more than anything else, soon gave way to a bitter, long-lasting, and desperate struggle for survival.[33] In the Contact Period the conflicts were primarily with the Iroquois and Susquehannock; in subsequent periods the Delawares fought the land-hungry Euro-American forces almost exclusively. War continued to be carried on in the same way (i.e., by small groups of skulking Indians) and in fact proved highly successful in temporarily terrorizing the frontiers, but it was ultimately disastrous to the numerically and technologically inferior Delawares. In sum, a new form of warfare made its appearance in the Contact Period as a result of the conditions of culture contact rather than as a diffusion of traits. For this early period there is little positive documentation concerning the diffusion of social institutions or religious beliefs and practices. It is clear, nevertheless, that little if any diffusion from European civilization occurred in these areas of culture.

The Period of Consolidation (1690-1750)

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In the sixty years following the close of the Contact Period there was an amazing reorganization and consolidation of the Delawaran peoples. The political entity known as the Delaware tribe emerged early in the eighteenth century, and there are indications of consolidation and synthesis in other parts of culture. The Big House Ceremony, for example, was probably synthesized during this epoch. Consolidation and reorganization were the results of the catastrophic depopulation which had occurred in the seventeenth century, the migration of Delawares and their subsequent concentration, their subjugation by the Iroquois, and the necessity for mutual protection and unified action in dealing with other Indians and with the Europeans.[34]

Migration

It was not until late in the seventeenth century that Delaware migrations became of major importance, although there had been a movement and reshuffling of the natives ever since the Europeans had established colonies. In 1682, when William Penn made his first treaty with the Delawares, they were still in possession of much of the lower Delaware Valley. Small groups or bands were moving westward as early as 1690; in this year, for instance, "a band of the Minsi left for the far West, to unite with the Ottawas."[35] Even before the opening of the new century, there seems to have been an increasing concentration of population

[33] Snyderman, 1948.

[34] Hunter, 1954, pp. 341-44, has contributed much to an understanding of this period by his study of the growth of the Delaware nation from 1701 to 1757.

[35] Ruttenber, 1872, p. 177; Brinton, 1885, p. 122.

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around the present Sunbury, in the Susquehanna Valley. By 1724 the Unami and Unalachtigo of this region had begun their migration to western Pennsylvania and the Allegheny River, below the mouth of the Mahoning, centering around the town of Kittaning.[26] In 1742 the Iroquois moved some of the remaining coastal Delawares to the Susquehanna Valley, and two years later by the treaty of Lancaster all of the Delawares remaining in the Delaware Valley were ordered by the Iroquois to "leave the waters of their river, and remove to Shamokin (now Sunbury) and Wyoming, and the Susquehanna, and most of them obeyed. The former was their chief town, and the residence of their 'king' Allemoebi."[27] After the Walking Purchase of 1737 the Munsi began their migration to the west.[28]

The geographical displacement, then, did not affect all the Delawares at once; small groups sold their land or were forced from it at various times. The scattered, decimated, demoralized, and unorganized bands, perhaps even families, of Delawares soon gathered, or were gathered, as they had never been in pre-European times. The "towns" that grew up in the river valleys of western Pennsylvania in the early decades of the eighteenth century were not formed from homogeneous cultural units. As early as 1694 part of the Shawnee became allied with the Munsi.[29] It is not known whether this association was only an alliance or whether it was something more. Mahican remnants became incorporated into the Delaware tribe; Hodge, for instance, said that "about 1730 a large body of them emigrated to Susquehanna r. and settled near Wyoming Pa., in the vicinity of the Delaware and Munsee, with whom they afterward removed to the Ohio region finally losing their identity."[30] The Conoy also about this time, and undoubtedly remnants from other tribes, were incorporated into the Delaware tribe.[31]

The westward migration of the Delawares set the stage for their more complete subjugation by the Iroquois. During the Period of Consolidation they were forced by the Iroquois to become "women." Weslager, who has made the most extensive study of this phenomenon, said that it occurred by conquest before 1712.[32] Whatever the date and method of subjugation, the Iroquois between this date and 1756 barred the Delawares from making treaties or going to war. It is impossible to determine the exact time when these subjugated people became the Delaware tribe. There are scattered references to "Delaware Indians" in the later decades of the seventeenth century, but it is not clear whether these indicate a political and cultural unit or their geographical location.[33] By 1736 the term Delaware was being used in treaties for at least some of these subjugated, but relatively unified peoples.[34] Before 1750 "chiefs" appeared who seem to have had considerable authority.

[26] Sipe, 1931, p. 42.
[27] Brinton, 1885, p. 123.
[28] Sipe, 1931, p. 43.
[29] Ruttenber, 1872, pp. 180-81.
[30] Hodge, 1907, Pt. 1, p. 786; see also Harrington, 1913, p. 209.
[31] Hodge, 1907, Pt. 2, p. 25.
[32] Weslager, 1944, pp. 381-88.
[33] See, for example, Browne, 1896, XV: 174-75, XVII: 14, 210-11, 221.
[34] Franklin, 1939, p. 7.

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Teedyuscung by 1756 claimed authority over the entire tribe, including the Munsi.[36]

Apart from this secondary, political acculturation there are indications of other cultural changes. It is apparent, for example, that a number of technological items had completely replaced their native counterparts and had become necessities. This foreshadowed the dependence upon the dominant culture which has constantly increased since that time. Kalm in the first half of the eighteenth century said:

> Before the Europeans settled in North America the Indians had no other vessels to boil their meat in than these earthen pots of their own making; but since their arrival the savages have always bought pots, kettles and other necessary vessels of the Europeans, and no longer take the pains of making any, so that this art is entirely lost among them.[36]

Although the kinship structure of society survived this period, it was probably undergoing some alteration away from its early matrilineal, matrilocal emphasis. The number of clans probably increased as the Delaware tribe made its appearance. The tribal and village leaders developed considerable authority in external affairs, but they had no more power or control over internal affairs or over individual persons than they had traditionally possessed. In this period of turmoil it is apparent that stronger internal controls and a more highly developed apparatus of government were needed. Stronger external relations were formed by the emergence of chiefs and the tribe, but there is no indication of a similar strengthening of internal governmental institutions.

In the ideological sphere of culture there seems to have been no direct diffusion from European to Delaware culture. There was acculturation of a derived or secondary type, however, as is noted in Chapter IV. The Big House Ceremony as a tribal affair was probably synthesized during the early part of this period. It was also at this time that missionary activity was initiated among the Delawares. The first brief and futile attempt was made by David Brainerd, a missionary of the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge, a Scotch organization. The attitude of the Delawares was expressed in a conversation Brainerd had with a Munsi chief in 1744. Brainerd said:

> ...he inquired why I desired the Indians to become Christians, seeing the Christians were so much worse than the Indians are in their present state. The Christians, he said, would lie, steal, and drink, worse than the Indians. It was they first taught the Indians to be drunk: and they stole from one another, to that degree, that their rulers were obliged to hang them for it...he said, they would live as their fathers had lived, and go where their fathers were when they died."

Later on Brainerd said:

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[35] Wallace, 1949, pp. 103-15; Sipe, 1931, p. 262.

[36] Kalm, 1937, I: 173.

[37] Brainerd, 1884, p. 127.

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...the manner of their living is likewise a great disadvantage to the design of their being Christianized. They are almost continually roving from place to place; and it is but rare that an opportunity can be had with some of them for their instruction. There is scarcely any time of the year, wherein the men can be found generally at home, except about six weeks before, and in the season of planting corn, and about two months in the latter part of summer, from the time they begin to roast their corn, until it is fit to gather in.[38]

By the closing decades of this period the Moravians had entered the missionary field and were to become important, although on the whole unsuccessful, agents of religious diffusion.

Nativistic Period (1750-1814)

The Nativistic Period is one of the most interesting epochs in Delaware history because the Delawares by the opening of this period had risen, Phoenix-like, from the ashes of their subjugation and removal and had forged themselves into a tribe which was able to defy the Six Nations and the Europeans. This was the period of Delaware militarism, and although they were on the losing end of every war in which they took part, the prowess of the Delaware warrior became know from the Atlantic seaboard to the Mississippi. In a more general way this period was characterized by secondary acculturation, or culture change and modification caused by, and a result of, earlier acculturation. In this period the stresses and strains of acculturation culminated in a nativistic movement.

History

The English had disposed of their European rivals on the Atlantic seaboard in the seventeenth century, but by the middle of the next century they were confronted with the much more serious competition of the French in the interior. War began between these two powers in 1754 with the surrender of Washington at Fort Necessity. The Five Nations continued their alliance with the English and promised the aid of their subjugated tribes, including the Delawares. Since the Delawares were now mainly in the Ohio Valley, they were not as amenable to Iroquoian pressure and were more easily influenced by the French. Their most immediate reason for finally taking the French side was probably the Albany purchase of 1754. Settlers from Connecticut had explored the Susquehanna River and decided to locate at Wyoming, land which had been assigned to the Delawares by the Iroquois. The purchase was made from a few drunken chiefs and "included the whole valley of Wyoming and the country westward to the sources of the Allegheny."[39] After Braddock's defeat in July, 1755, the Delawares with many other Ohio Valley Indians joined the French cause.[40] By this

[38] Brainerd, 1884, p. 131.
[39] Ruttenber, 1872, p. 216.
[40] Sipe, 1931, pp. 203 ff.

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action they literally and figuratively threw off the title of "women" and henceforth could not be regarded as docile subjects of the Iroquois. During this struggle the Delawares were split in two divisions, an eastern wing under Teedyuscung and a western one under Shingas. The western division was the more formidable in numbers and in proximity to the French and made the first raid against the frontier in the fall of 1755. The eastern division soon followed with raids into the Lehigh and Delaware valleys.[41] By 1756 the "Indians had cleared the Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia frontiers of settlers."[42] The French estimated that from July, 1755, until March, 1756, more than seven hundred people in Pennsylvania, Virginia, and North Carolina were captured or killed by the Delawares and Shawnees.[43] By 1758 the French could no longer support the marauding Indians, and a few days after the fall of Fort Duquesne in the autumn of 1758 the eastern Delawares and Shawnees made peace with the English in a council at Easton.[44] These Delawares accepted peace on the basis of English withdrawal east of the Alleghenies following the expulsion of the French.[45]

This peace was uneasy and of short duration for the English had no real intention of abandoning the rich Ohio and Allegheny valleys, and the western Delawares remained hostile.[46] Additional reasons for the renewal of hostilities were that the English were less friendly and sociable towards the Indians than had been the French, they gave less for skins and furs, they wanted to settle on the land instead of merely establishing trading posts, and they did not wish to part with guns and ammunition.[47] In 1763 the Indian allies were militarily successful, but by 1764 the Delawares had been subdued by Boquet.[48] In the spring of 1765 the Delawares "submitted to a treaty that represented a complete surrender." The principal features of the treaty were "cession of land in reparation for the losses caused by Indian attacks in 1763" and the stipulation that the Delawares should abide by "any cession of their lands made by the Iroquois."[49] This treaty deprived the Delawares of the use and ownership of all lands south and east of the Ohio River. Some Delawares lived on the upper reaches of the Susquehanna at this time with Nanticoke, Conoy, and Mahican, but the great body of the tribe lived in scattered settlements on Beaver Creek and the Muskingum in what is now Ohio.[50]

From the end of Pontiac's War until 1774 the Delawares were relatively peaceful; they had been soundly beaten by Boquet at Bushy Run, French influence was decreasing, and both Indians and the English needed to resume trading. The English, nevertheless, were unwilling to keep the Indians peaceful with expensive gifts, and the relentless

[41] Sipe, 1931, pp. 304-14; Ruttenber, 1872, pp. 219-20; Downes, 1940, p. 75; Acrelius, 1876, pp. 137-38.
[42] Downes, 1940, p. 80.
[43] Sipe, 1931, p. 275.
[44] *Ibid.*, pp. 408-9; Parkman, 1893, I: 143.
[45] Sipe, 1931, pp. 407-12.
[46] Ruttenber, 1872, pp. 242-43.
[47] Sipe, 1931, p. 407; Parkman, 1893, I: 172-90.
[48] Ruttenber, 1872, pp. 246-47; Downes, 1940, pp. 120-21; Thompson, 1937, pp. 4-8.
[49] Downes, 1940, pp. 121-22.
[50] *Ibid.*, p. 134; Parkman, 1893, I: 150.

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westward tide of immigration was increasing, particularly after 1770.[51]

During the Revolutionary War the Delawares were the only Indian tribe in the Ohio Valley which, for a time, supported the Americans.[52] The Delawares eventually joined the British for the following reasons. The Americans were unable to aid them either with goods or with protection from pro-British Indians, some Delawares had been killed by Americans, including White Eyes, a pro-American leader, and squatters had invaded Delaware hunting grounds west of the Ohio. The Munsi consistently seem to have been pro-British, raiding the Kentucky border as early as 1777.[53] In February of 1781 Captain Pipe, the leader of the war faction among the Munsi, persuaded the rest of the Delawares in a council held at Coshocton to formally go over to the British.[54] Heckewelder, the Moravian missionary, informed the Americans of this defection, and the Americans decided to forestall the Delawares by destroying their central town, Coshocton, on the Tuscarawas. This was done and some captives and much plunder were taken. In the meantime Delawares had successfully raided Wheeling and the frontier.[55] As a result of these hostilities, the main body of Delawares from the Coshocton community migrated to the Sandusky, Scioto, and the Mad rivers to the northwest, taking with them the Moravian missionaries and their disciples.[56] From this region the Delawares sent raiding parties to the Pennsylvania and Virginia frontiers. The infamous Gnadenhutten massacre seems to have been a retaliation for these raids. On the Tuscarawas River near Coshocton, ninety-six friendly and for the most part Christian Delawares of both sexes and all ages were clubbed to death by militia or "border outlaws."[57] The English capitulated in the fall of 1782, and the jurisdiction of the territory northwest of the Ohio fell to the newly created United States.[58] Delaware hostility was brought to a close in August, 1794, by the defeat of the allied Indians in the battle of Fallen Timbers. With this victory General Wayne was able to conclude the Treaty of Greenville (August, 1795), which marked the end of the conflict for the upper Ohio.[59] Although this area was ceded, the Indians were regarded as the "recognized owners of most of the present Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois."[60]

After the Treaty of Greenville white immigrants poured into the upper Ohio Valley, and the Delawares moved westward. As far back as 1770 the Delawares, in what is now Ohio, had received permission from the Piankashaw to migrate to lands between the Ohio and White rivers in the modern state of Indiana.[61] In 1781 Buckongahelas, a war chief,

[51] Zeisberger, 1871, p. 257.
[52] Thompson, 1937, p. 19; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 151.
[53] Downes, 1940, pp. 211-17, 241, 263; Butterfield, 1882, pp. 25-26.
[54] Sipe, 1931, p. 627; Butterfield, 1882, pp. 50-51.
[55] Downes, 1940, pp. 265, 271; Sipe, 1931, pp. 628-29; Butterfield, 1882, pp. 51-52.
[56] Butterfield, 1882, p. 52; Downes, 1940, p. 271; Sipe, 1931, p. 629.
[57] Mooney, 1911, p. 335.
[58] Zeisberger, 1871, pp. 566-72; Downes, 1940, pp. 273-75.
[59] Downes, 1940, p. 337; G. Foreman, 1946, p. 18.
[60] G. Foreman, 1946, pp. 18-19.
[61] *Ibid.*, p. 42.

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*177 175 had urged this westward movement, and soon after the Treaty of Greenville many of the Delawares moved to the West Fork of the White River. Other Delawares, with associated Shawnees, moved to Missouri in 1789 with the permission of the Spanish government.[60] In 1792 Zeisberger had moved his colony of Christian Indians to Canada and founded the town of Fairfield on the Thames River.[61] Zeisberger's group settled near some pagan Munsi who had migrated to this region somewhat earlier. Today there is a threefold division of Delawares in Canada; the Moravians of the Thames, the Munsi, and a few Delawares settled on the Six Nations Reserve.[62] The subsequent history and acculturation of these groups has not been pursued further in the present study.

General W. H. Harrison, as early as 1803, undertook negotiations with the Indian tribes in the Northwest Territory with a view to gaining their land. From that date until the War of 1812 Harrison entered into numerous treaties with the Indians of this area, and the Delawares were forced to cede land, but were able to retain enough so that another westward migration was not necessary.[63] Of all the tribes in the territory of Indiana, the Delawares were the only one which Harrison was able to keep neutral during the War of 1812.[64] The Shawnees and other hostile Indians attempted to induce the Delawares to enter this war, but they were unsuccessful.[65] Chief Anderson, a principal chief, seems to have been persuasive in the cause for peace, as were the Moravians, but past military defeats and cultural decay in general were probably the basic reasons for the peaceful inclination of the Delawares.

Acculturation

*177 During this period there was a continuous flow of European technological articles, yet there was no diffusion of new kinds of technological traits. Zeisberger's list of items which the Indians acquired from traders was similar to that given for the Contact Period:

> For their skins the Indians get from the traders powder, lead, rifle-barrelled guns — for other weapons they do not value — blankets, strouds, linen, shirts, cotton, callemanco, knives, needles, thread, woolen and silken ribbon, wire and kettles of brass, silver buckles . . . bracelets, thimbles, rings, combs, mirrors, axes, hatchets and other tools.[66]

The plow complex had not diffused to the Delawares even by the end of the period.[67] They acquired the domestic animals of the Europeans, although not all the skills of caring for them.[68] During the wars of this period they plundered the frontier settlements and acquired horses, cattle, and other animals. Charles Stuart, captive of the Delawares between 1755 and 1757, said in this connection:

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[60] Hodge, 1907, Pt. 1, p. 385.
[61] Zeisberger, 1871, p. 631.
[62] Harrington, 1908, p. 408.
[63] G. Foreman, 1946, p. 23 ff.
[64] Thompson, 1937, p. 64.
[65] Luckenbach, 1938, pp. 16-17.
[66] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 118.
[67] Luckenbach, 1938, pp. 598-99.
[68] *Ibid.*, pp. 60, 598.

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...this Morning the Delawares, Shawnese & Mingos Divided their Prisoners & Plunder, At the Time of Dividing they had ab[t] 110 Horses & Mares Including those they Brot with them from their Towns w[ch] might in the whole am[t] to ab[t] 10 or 12 - So that those Plundred from the Inhabitants was ab[t] 100.[71]

Other livestock taken in this raid were eaten or otherwise destroyed.[72] Horses were considered more desirable than other animals and were ridden, but were not used in farming. Their chief use was in hunting, enabling the hunter to cover considerably greater distances.[73] They were poorly fed and when not in use were turned loose to forage as best they could.[74] Some Indians kept cattle for their milk and butter, "but most Indians are satisfied with dogs, pigs and horses."[75] Cattle were difficult to keep since "as they [the Delawares] move about almost the whole year hunting, it is hard for them, they cannot take care of them."[76] Although these animals must be counted as an increment to Delaware subsistence, other factors tended to offset the gains. First, the use of sea food had long since been abandoned because of migration away from the coastal habitat. Second, less produce was grown because war and migration upset gardening activities. Third, in order to obtain the necessary European manufactures, men had to hunt fur bearers, such as beaver, relatively more and food producers, such as deer, relatively less. The Moravians in their journals record the want and starvation that occurred sporadically during this period.

The Delawares also gained a more complete understanding of European artifacts. Zeisberger, for example, said:

> The Delaware Indians use no other than rifle-barrelled guns, having satisfied themselves that these are the best for shooting at long range, in which they are very skillful and shooting accurately. They have acquired considerable skill in making minor repairs when their weapons get out of order. Some have even learned to furnish them with stocks, neatly and well made.[77]

Native weapons did not disappear, however, since the use of such weapons as the bow and arrow on smaller animals conserved powder.[78] The technological dependence of the Delawares upon the Europeans was shown, however, in a speech made to Charles Stuart and a number of other captives:

> Shingas Proceeded to Say that they did not want to Carry on the War against the English and were now willing again To make Peace with them and restore all their Captives and Everything Else they had from them Provided the English wou'd Comply with the Following Proposals Viz[t] 1st the English shou'd send 5 Men among the Indians who shou[d] live well at the Indians expence with them, But [should] work for them without any other Pay from the Indians than Supporting Said Workmen and their Familys with Provisn[s] and all other necessaries

[71] Stuart, 1938, p. 62; also see Schweinitz, 1905, p. 408.
[72] Stuart, 1938, pp. 59-60.
[73] Zeisberger, 1885, I: 310.
[74] Loskiel, 1794, p. 74.
[75] *Ibid.*; Brickell, 1842, p. 47.
[76] Zeisberger, 1885, II: 85.
[77] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 85.
[78] *Ibid.*, p. 29.

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*177 that they stood in need of — the Business said men were to Be Employ[d] in were — Making of Powder, Smelting of Lead from the Ore, and Indians wou[d] Engage not only to find them Lead Mines But Mines of Every other Metal that was necessary — Weaveing of Blanketts — Making and Mending Guns for them — and Mr. Stuart thinks the Other Man was to Be Employ[d] in Making of Iron — the 2[d] Condition was that the English shou[d] Come and Settle among them with their Families and Promote Spinning for Shirts and In Gen[l] shou[d] Bring all Kinds of Trades among them that they might be Supplied with what they want near home, and that they and the English shou'd Live Together in Love and Friendship and Become one people But the Indians did not Insist nor Desire that the English sho[d] Be obliged to Intermarry with them — That on these Terms they wou'd be glad to Be at Peace with the English, and desired the Prisoners to write to the Gov[or] of Pennsylv[a] about it. . . .[79]

The technology of the Delawares was, then, dependent upon that of the Europeans, so much so that an assured flow of European goods was a primary objective of war. When the desires of the Delawares were not granted, an interesting alteration in feeling took place. Heckewelder said:

> They, however, acknowledge that the whites are ingenious, that they make axes, guns, knives, hoes, shovels, pots and kettles, blankets, shirts, and other very convenient articles, to which they have now become accustomed, and which they can no longer do without. "Yet," say they, "our forefathers did without all these things, and we have never heard, nor has any tradition informed us that they were at a loss for the want of them; therefore we must conclude that they also were ingenious; and, indeed, we know that they were; for they made axes of stone to cut with, and bows and arrows to kill the game; they made knives and arrows' points with sharp flint stones and bones, hoes and shovels from the shoulder blade of the elk and buffaloe; they made pots of clay, garments of skins, and ornaments with the feathers of the turkey, goose and other birds. They were not in want of anything, the game was plenty and tame, the dart shot from our arrows did not frighten them as the report of the gun now does; we had therefore everything that we could reasonably require; we lived happy![80]

There are some references in the literature of this period which indicate that there was acculturation in housing. Zeisberger noted that the Delawares "have learned to build block houses or have hired whites to build them."[81] It has been noted, however, that the aboriginal dwelling was used in the nineteenth century, and that it was even built during the twentieth century. The extensive migrations during and following the Nativistic Period probably prevented frequent use of European style dwellings. At least one attempt was made to lay out a village "in orderly fashion" as white settlers and Christian Indians did, but this attempt was unsuccessful.[82]

Piercing and cutting the ears went out of style, as did the scalp lock.

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[79] Stuart, 1936, pp. 84-85.
[80] Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 191-92.
[81] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 18; Brickell, 1842, p. 47.
[82] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 87.

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Tattooing was practiced until 1762.[83] "Dress up" clothing was resplendent with all kinds of ornamentation:

> The garments of some of their principal actors are singular, and decorated with such a number of gewgaws and trinkets, that it is impossible to give a precise description of them. Neither are they all alike in taste, every one dressing himself according to his fancy, or the custom of the tribe to which he belongs. While the women, as I have already said, have thimbles and little bells rattling at their ancles, the men have deers' claws fixed to their braced garters or knee bands, and also to their shoes, for the same purpose; for they consider jingling and rattling as indispensably necessary to their performances in the way of dancing.[84]

Silver broaches, spangles, bracelets, and clasps for the hair were obtained from traders. European hats could also be obtained from traders, although headgear was not generally worn.[85] European ornaments had undoubtedly been obtained much earlier than this period, but the first descriptions of how these were worn come from the Moravians. The cradleboard had been abandoned by Zeisberger's time.[86]

It is apparent that there was a continuing decline in the effectiveness of the control of society over its members during the Nativistic Period. At various times during this period the Delawares were without a strong leader or leaders.[87] This lack, combined with military disasters and unfavorable treaties, caused control over external political relationships to disintegrate. Tribal solidarity and unity of action, insofar as they had ever existed, disappeared during this period of war, dispersion, and upheaval. The chiefs who traditionally had little authority over individual behavior — or misbehavior — seem to have been incapable of restoring order. Drunkenness had become a serious problem, and the weak chiefs were unable to deal with it. Zeisberger said:

> Frequently, the chiefs have prohibited the sale of strong drink in their towns; but it is always brought in in some manner, against which the chiefs are powerless to protest. For instance, they may appoint a sacrifice of rum, in which nothing but rum is used. This the chiefs cannot hinder owing to established custom. When once the Indians, who gather in large number for such a sacrifice, have tasted the strong drink but have not satisfied themselves, they will go to the old women who deal in liquor. The latter will often obtain everything that an Indian owns except his Breechclout.[88]

Divorce was more frequent than in earlier times, thievery was common, and respect for the aged was no longer an honored custom.[89] In brief, all sorts of institutions had seriously deteriorated; the Delawares themselves were acutely aware of this disintegration, a fact which is important in the context of nativistic reaction. As Zeisberger said, "Impurity

[83] *Ibid.*, p. 12; Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 205-7.
[84] Heckewelder, 1881, p. 205.
[85] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 15.
[86] *Ibid.*, p. 85.
[87] Zeisberger, 1885, II: 29.
[88] Zeisberger, 1910, pp. 117-18.
[89] *Ibid.*; Zeisberger, 1885, I: 129.

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and immorality, even gross sensuality and unnatural vice flourish among them, according to the testimony of the Indians themselves, more than was the case formerly.[89]

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About 1750 prophets began to appear among the Delawares, and these individuals continued to appear sporadically until 1812.[90] The Shawnee prophet of the early nineteenth century, although of another tribe, may be regarded as representing the end of this phase of acculturation. No prophets appeared before 1750 and none after 1812, if exception is made of the initiators of peyotism in the late nineteenth century. This anti-acculturative movement and the wars of this period were closely associated: some of the messages of the prophets fostered war, and, conversely, military defeats probably furthered their appearance. During this phase of acculturation the Delawares were desperately trying to save what was left of their cultural and social integrity and to turn back the clock to a mythical age when war, personal demoralization, and cultural chaos were unknown. One way of attaining this end was to follow the dictates of the supernatural powers as revealed by prophets. This the Delawares did in nativistic movements of a type which has been described as "revivalistic nativism."[91] This form of nativism is defined as "an attempt to revive extinct or at least moribund elements of culture . . . ."[92] All of these prophets taught that by following supernatural injunctions as revealed to them, acculturation could be halted and even reversed. The most successful was known as the Delaware Prophet or the Imposter, whose career reached its zenith about 1762.[93] In a vision this man received instructions from the Great Spirit on how to restore his people to their former state. His message was made concrete by a number of symbolic devices painted on a tanned deer hide or on a wooden stick. Copies of the deer-hide map were made, some on paper, and were sold by the Delaware Prophet. Some of the purchasers, in turn, seem to have become minor prophets. Heckewelder's description of this symbolic device is the most detailed:

> The size of this map was about fifteen inches square, or, perhaps, something more. An inside square was formed by lines drawn within it, of about eight inches each way, two of those lines, however, were not closed by about half an inch at the corners. Across these inside lines, others of about an inch in length were drawn with sundry other lines and marks, all which was intended to represent a strong inaccessible barrier, to prevent those without from entering the space within, otherwise than at the place appointed for that purpose. When the map was held as he directed, the corners which were not closed lay at the left hand side, directly opposite to each other, the one being at the south-east by south, and the nearest at the north-east by north. In explaining or describing the particular points on this map, with his fingers always pointing to "the heavenly re-

[89] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 20.

[90] Zeisberger, 1871, p. 365, gives this date, but the Delaware prophet did not appear until a decade later, in 1760. (Hayes, 1954, pp. 76-77, said, however, that Papunhang, the christianized Delaware preacher, had established his religious group before 1752).

[91] Linton, 1943, pp. 230-40.

[92] *Ibid.*, p. 231.

[93] Peckham, 1947, p. 98; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 291.

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gions," or the place destined by the great Spirit for the habitation of the Indians in future life; the space left open at the south-east corner, he called the "avenue," which had been intended for the Indians to enter into this heaven, but which was now in the possession of the white people, wherefore the great Spirit had since caused another "avenue" to be made on the opposite side, at which, however, it was both difficult and dangerous for them to enter, there being many impediments in their way.... The space on the outside of this interior square was intended to represent the country given to the Indians to hunt, fish and dwell in while in this world; the east side of it was called the ocean or "great salt water Lake."[95]

The prophet discussed before his public this representation of the supernatural world and pointed out that through neglect and disobedience the Great Spirit had turned his benevolent attention to the whites. He had allowed the whites to usurp Indian land and to bar passage of the Indian to the spirit world.[96] To correct this state of affairs the prophet advocated several courses of action:

> Hear what the great Spirit has ordered me to tell you! You are to make sacrifices, in the manner that I shall direct; to put off entirely from yourselves the customs which you have adopted since the white people came among us; you are to return to that former happy state, in which we lived in peace and plenty, before these strangers came to disturb us, and above all, you must abstain from drinking their deadly *beson* [poison, alcohol], which they have forced upon us, for the sake of increasing their gains and diminishing our numbers. Then will the great Spirit give success to our arms; then he will give us strength to conquer our enemies, to drive them from hence, and recover the passage to the heavenly regions which they have taken from us.[97]

James Kenny, a Pittsburgh trader, emphasized that the prophet advocated the cessation of trade with whites, and said:

> ...its agree'd to by their Whole Nation, to follow their new Plan of Religion, & all their Boys are to be Train'd to yeuse of the Bow & Arrow for Seven Years Then to Live entirely on dry'd Meat & a Sort of Bitter Drink made of Roots & Plants & Water ye Women & Antient Men may Raise & Eat Corn at ye Expiration of ye Seven Years, to quit all Commerce with ye White People & Clothe themselves with Skins.[98]

Another prophet, a Munsi called Wangomend, appeared in 1766 and met Zeisberger in 1767. Relatively little is known about this man, although Heckewelder mentioned him:

> This man also pretended that his call as a preacher was not of his own choice, but that he had been moved to it by the great and good Spirit, in order to teach

[95] Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 291-92; Loudon published a purported reproduction of the prophet's book along with McCullough's description of the prophet and his works (Loudon, 1808, pp. 324-25, and tipped-in engraving). Hayes, 1954, pp. 76-77, saw the "old priest's" book in 1760. Zeisberger, 1910, p. 133, and Kenny, 1913, p. 171, also described the prophet's symbolic world portrait.

[96] Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 292-93.

[97] *Ibid.*, p. 293.

[98] Kenny, 1913, p. 188; also see pp. 171-72.

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his countrymen, who were on the way to perdition, how they could become reconciled to their God. He would make his followers believe that he had once been taken so near to heaven, that he could distinctly hear the crowing of the cocks, and that at another time he had been borne by unseen hands to where he had been permitted to take a peep into the heavens, of which there were three, one for the Indians, one for the negroes, and another for the white people.[98]

The last of the prophets associated with the Delawares was Tenskawatawa, a Shawnee and brother of Tecumseh. These two Shawnees had established their headquarters and lived for several years, beginning in 1798, at one of the Delaware villages on White River in present-day Indiana.[100] The prophet preached against drunkenness, racial intermarriage, "release of Indian lands to the whites by sale, and the sin of witchcraft."[101] Luckenbach in 1805 said of him:

> We heard that a Schawano Indian had arisen among the heathen as teacher, and that a large number of Delawares and Schawanos had come together in Woapicamikunk to hear what this heathen teacher had to say. As usual his teaching consists of all sorts of ancient heathenism. In addition he forbids all sins, and insists that parents should not strike their children. He also urges most strongly that the Indians should sacrifice; that they should do away with their cattle and keep horses only; that the heathen should shave their heads and live as did the Indians in olden days. He assured the Indians that God had shown him the deer were half a tree's length under the ground and that these would soon appear again on earth if the Indians did what he told them to do, and then there would be an abundance of deer once more. He also related in an address that God had shown him a crab whose claws were quite full of seaweeds; that the spirit had told him, "Look! this crab is from Boston and has brought with it something of the land there. If you Indians will do everything I tell you I will turn over the land so that the white people are covered and you alone shall possess the land."[102]

Some diffusion from Christianity had occurred, although the prophets vehemently rejected Christianity and most of Euro-American civilization. The idea of a heaven and a hell, common in the messages of the prophets, is a case in point, as is the symbolic number twelve, which has been mentioned. Other traits of this sort may have diffused about this time. It seems certain that the revivalistic nativism did much to strengthen the Big House Ceremony, and, as Kinietz has shown, many minor elements seem to have been added to it by the prophets. Shaking hands with the left hand and the addition of ten carved heads in the Big House, bringing the total to twelve, are examples which he mentioned.[103] These changes in religion do not mean that any of the native ceremonies lost their force or vitality. According to Zeisberger:

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[98] Heckewelder, 1881, p. 294.
[100] Thompson, 1937, p. 45.
[101] *Ibid.*
[102] Luckenbach, 1938, p. 392; also see p. 262.
[103] Kinietz, 1940, pp. 118-19.

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Though in the detail of the ceremony there has been change, as the Indians are more divided now than at that time [i.e., prehistorically] worship and sacrifice have continued as practiced in the early days, for the Indians believe that they would draw all manner of disease and misfortune upon themselves if they omitted to observe the ancestral rites.[104]

By the time the Shawnee prophet appeared the Delawares seem to have passed somewhat beyond the nativistic phase of acculturation.

Decadent Period (1814-1867)

The military defeats of the Delawares during the Nativistic Period and the disillusionment following the unsuccessful religious revivals set the stage for a phase of acculturation which is best described as one of decadence. By the second decade of the nineteenth century the Delawares were no longer an independent tribe, but were politically and militarily dominated by, and at the mercy of, the United States. In a social sense the tendencies towards dispersal first noted in the preceding period persisted, as small groups continued to desert the main body of the tribe. In other respects cultural decay and disintegration continued, although further acculturation is best described as halting. From this time on the Delawares underwent continuous, overt pressure to become "civilized" Americans.

History

In 1814 the British and Americans concluded a treaty of peace, one article of which stipulated that the Indian allies of the British would have their rights, privileges, and property restored.[105] In compliance with this treaty, in 1816 "A Treaty of Peace and Friendship" was entered into with the Delawares, as well as with other tribes.[106] This treaty did not long prevent the alienation of Indian lands, however, for during the administration of Monroe (1817-25) "a policy was inaugurated looking to increased westward emigration of Indians from east of the Mississippi."[107] Before the War of 1812 the Delawares had bitterly opposed the cession of land, but after the war they did not have the strength to resist the demands of the United States.[108]

In the Treaty of St. Mary's of 1818 the Delawares, including remnants of the Mahicans and Nanticokes, sold their land in Indiana to the government "without reserve." The government agreed to remove them to the west side of the Mississippi and give them land there, although no location or emigration date was set.[109] In 1820 Delawares from the

[104]Zeisberger, 1910, p. 136. Mahr, 1952, has documented the community responsibility of ritual leaders, as demonstrated in the experience of a Moravian convert of 1772.

[105]Thompson, 1937, p. 81; G. Foreman, 1946, pp. 27-23.

[106]G. Foreman, 1946, p. 29.

[107]*Ibid.*, pp. 32-47.

[108]Thompson, 1937, p. 81.

[109]Brinton, 1885, pp. 124-25; Mooney, 1911, p. 337; G. Foreman, 1946, p. 37.

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Whitewater River region in southeastern Indiana and some Shawnees arrived at Kaskaskia. In November the Indian agent at Kaskaskia "paid for ferrying 1,346 Delawares and their 1,499 horses across the Mississippi."[110] Sickness hampered this migration as did also thievery of horses by whites.[111] They spent the winter of 1820 on the Current River in Carter and Shannon counties, Missouri, and they remained in this vicinity a second winter, despite the failure of their corn crop. During the early summer of 1821 the remaining White River Delawares began their trek to Missouri, but because of sickness and other difficulties they did not reach the Mississippi until winter.

In 1821 the Delawares were assigned land in western Missouri, but unfortunately this land possessed a lead mine which was coveted by whites.[112] Their Osage neighbors to the west also resented their presence, and hostilities resulted. During the second decade of this century the remaining Delawares in Ohio experienced increased pressure for emigration. The Delawares in Missouri urged them to migrate in a "correspondence by means of wampum."[113] The Indians of Missouri apparently were planning an alliance with these eastern Indians in order to strengthen themselves and dispossess the Osage. While negotiations were going on for removal of the eastern Indians, Senator Benton of Missouri proposed that land be provided west of Missouri for all Indians. By 1829 the Missouri Delawares and Ohio emigrants had consented to move to Kansas. The land reserved for them was in "the fork of the Kansas and Missouri rivers, extending up the Kansas to the Kansas line and up the Missouri to "Camp Leavenworth"; and thence by a line drawn westwardly, leaving a space of ten miles wide north of the Kansas boundary for an outlet."[114] This treaty provided that the Indians would be assisted in their removal with "ox teams, farming utensils, and provisions . . . ."[115] but some were so anxious that they moved on their own initiative. In 1829 the remaining Delawares in Ohio, chiefly Munsi, in a council with Cass at Detroit agreed to emigrate to Kansas.[116] In 1831 small bands were still moving west, including the band of the venerable Captain Pipe.[117]

As was noted earlier, some Delawares as early as 1789 had moved to Missouri under a Spanish grant. It appears to have been this band which was located on the Red River in the present-day McCurtain County, Oklahoma, in the early part of the nineteenth century. White settlers in 1828 petitioned the authorities for the removal of the Shawnees and Delawares in this area, the Shawnees having joined the Delawares subsequent to the War of 1812.[118] Under threat of armed might the Indians were driven from this locality to Texas. Samuel Houston attempted to supply the immigrant Cherokees, Shawnees, Delawares, Kickapoos, and others with land embracing present-day Cherokee and

[110] G. Foreman, 1946, p. 41.
[111] *Ibid.*, p. 43.
[112] *Ibid.*
[113] *Ibid.*, p. 48.
[114] *Ibid.*, p. 54.
[115] *Ibid.*, p. 55.
[116] *Ibid.*, pp. 55-56.
[117] *Ibid.*, p. 69.
[118] *Ibid.*, pp. 159-60.

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Smith counties along the Neches and Angelina rivers in eastern Texas. The Texas senate refused to ratify Houston's treaty, however, and Mirabeau B. Lamar, Houston's successor, attacked and defeated these Indians.[119] They fled across the Red River to the vicinity of the Washita and Blue rivers in the lands of the Choctaw and Chickasaw. In the 1840's most of them settled in Creek territory on the north side of the Canadian River.[120] Colonel Ethan Allen Hitchcock reported in 1841 and 1842 that there were 700 Delawares "living sixty miles above the mouth of Little River."[121] They were at this time carrying on extensive intercourse with the Comanches and other western Indians. Foreman, quoting from the *Arkansas Intelligencer*, said that these Delawares "are in a semi-barbarous state, and entirely uneducated, but show great shrewdness and intelligence in their intercourse with the whites. As hunters and warriors they have a higher reputation than any other Indians on the frontier."[122]

Another small group of Texas Delawares had allied with the Caddos and they had intermarried. These, along with Tawakonis, Wacos, Shawnees, and Comanches, had been granted a reservation in Texas by the government. Texans resented their presence, however, and in 1859 the government moved them to the Washita River near the present town of Anadarko.[123] During the Civil War the agency responsible for the move was broken up, and the Indians fled to Butler County, Kansas. After the war they returned to the Washita much reduced in numbers; only 471 of the 1,492 who had emigrated from Texas were left. In 1874 the Delawares, Caddos, and Iowas near Anadarko joined forces under the Caddos, with a Caddo chief.[124] By 1886 the agency report listed only forty-one Delawares.[125] There appear to be no more than this number of Delawares in the Anadarko area today; they are culturally and biologically mixed with allied Indians.

Another group which was partly Delaware deserves mention here. This group, known as the Stockbridge, was originally the Mahican Housatonic of Massachusetts. After the American Revolution they joined the Oneida in New York, and in 1832, with a band of Oneida, confederated with a Christianized Munsi band on a reservation near Lake Winnebago in Wisconsin.[126] In 1839 the combined tribe of about 400 moved to Kansas, settling on Delaware lands. They were later reported as part of the Delaware tribe.[127] In 1853 the agent stated that there were only eighteen or twenty left. In 1859 the Stockbridge, variously known as Munsi or Christian Indians, confederated with two bands of Chippewa Indians in Kansas. After the Civil War the Cherokees took them into the Cherokee Nation. I found only one person who claimed to be a Stockbridge Indian living among the "Cherokee-Delawares."

Some Delawares served with the United States in the Seminole wars,

[119] G. Foreman, 1946, p. 161.
[120] *Ibid.*, p. 162.
[121] *Ibid.*, p. 162.
[122] *Ibid.*, p. 164, as quoted in the *Arkansas Intelligencer*, Feb. 7, 1846, p. 1, col. 4.
[123] G. Foreman, 1946, p. 282.
[124] *Ibid.*, pp. 282-84
[125] *Ann. Rep.*, 1886, p. 128.
[126] Wright, 1951, p. 246.
[127] G. Foreman, 1946, pp. 337-38.

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and according to Adams some were employed by the Hudson Bay Company and not only entered the far northwest, but settled there. He said that their descendants lived in Idaho, Montana, and Oregon in affiliation with the Crow and Nez Percé and "other northwestern tribes." He estimated their number at thirty-five.[128]

In 1838 there were 1,050 Delawares on their reservation at the mouth of the Kansas River.[129] There were also several hundred living along the Red River, as has been noted. These seem to have forsaken agriculture and were dependent upon the chase for most of their livelihood. The main body of Delawares, at the confluence of the Kansas and Missouri rivers, found no more tranquility or isolation from white contacts than they had found in Missouri, Indiana, or Ohio. Until 1833, when Indian agents concluded a treaty of peace, the Pawnees and Delawares were hostile to each other.[130] During the Gold Rush, and until the Delawares were forced from Kansas, white immigrants continually harassed them. Their horses were stolen, their timber cut, and their property violated. By 1854, in one of the Manypenny treaties, the Delawares were coerced into ceding much of their reservation. Adams said of this cession:

> They were encompassed on every side by settlers, and the history of their difficulties and discouragements was again repeated, their lands coveted and trespassed upon, their timber cut and destroyed. They were denied the protection of the law to either their property or persons, and in the hope of satisfying the demands of their neighbors and of the Government were persuaded, in 1854, to enter into a treaty with the United States by which they ceded 558,555.46 acres of the choicest of their lands in trust, which brought them $1,054,943.37, and at the same time to cede to the United States what was known as the "Outlet," a tract containing more than 1,000,000 acres, for the paltry sum of $10,000.[131]

In subsequent years the plight of the Delawares in Kansas became even more exasperating, for the railroads and the white settlers continued to covet their land.[132] In 1860 more Delaware lands were alienated by allotting to each Delaware eighty acres. The surplus land was to be purchased by the Pawnee and Western Railroad Company for $1.25 per acre.[133] In 1864 another treaty was made for the benefit of a railroad, resulting in the alienation of more land. By 1863 the harassed Delawares petitioned the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for money to send a delegation to the Rocky Mountains in search of a new home.[134] This request was refused, and a location in Indian Territory was suggested by the Commissioner, William P. Dole. Nothing could be done to further this movement until after the Civil War. Adams said that nearly all the able-bodied men enlisted in the Northern Army.[135]

On July 4, 1866, the Delaware tribe and the United States entered into another treaty providing for the removal of the Delawares to Indian

[128] Adams, 1906, p. 35.
[129] G. Foreman, 1946, p. 182; *Ann. Rep.*, 1838, p. 447.
[130] G. Foreman, 1946, p. 182.
[131] Adams, 1906, pp. 40-41.
[132] *Ibid.*, pp. 42 ff.
[133] G. Foreman, 1946, p. 185.
[134] Adams, 1906, p. 42; *Ann. Rep.*, 1863, p. 235.
[135] Adams, 1906, p. 42.

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Territory. Every person carried upon a roll to be made up by February 18, 1867, was to be given one hundred and sixty acres of land purchased from the Cherokee Nation.[136] The Senate was slow in acting upon this treaty, and the Delawares in April, 1867, took the matter into their own hands and entered into the contract with the Cherokee Nation.[137] A Delaware delegation examined land in the Cherokee Nation and selected a strip of land lying along the Little Verdigris, or Caney, River. This tract comprises the northern four-fifths of present-day Washington County in northeastern Oklahoma.[138] The Delawares from tribal funds paid one dollar per acre for this land. When the roll was compiled there were nine hundred and eighty-five Delawares, who henceforth became part of the Cherokee tribe.[139]

During the fall and winter of 1867 the migration to Indian Territory was begun. The more prosperous individuals were the first to leave; some of the poorer Delawares did not arrive until the next summer.[140] This last migration is remembered by aged informants and is recalled as a journey of extreme hardship. It typifies the condition of the Delawares at this time, for it was the migration of a dispersed, erratically led, destitute remnant.

Acculturation

Acculturation during the Decadent Period is in one sense more complicated than at any other time. As has been seen, during this period the Delawares were more widely scattered and dispersed than they had been previously, and they were never able to regroup or reunite. The forces which affected these various remnants varied; the group which finally settled in the Anadarko vicinity, for example, had close contacts with the "wild" tribes (Comanche, Cheyenne, Arapaho), whereas the main body had more intimate relationships with the whites. For this and other reasons the subsequent culture change of these groups differed. Since my field work was principally with the descendants of the main body (the "Cherokee-Delaware"), my discussion principally concerns this group. It might be remarked in passing, however, that today all Delawares, whatever their antecedents, seem to have reached approximately the same stage of social and cultural assimilation.

It was during the Decadent Period that the aboriginal gardening techniques were finally abandoned. With the settlement of the main body of Delawares on reservations, and with closer association of Indians and whites, the opportunity to become acquainted with the horse-plow complex and the small grains increased immensely. The government agents and missionaries did everything within their power to transform the Delawares into sedentary, farming people. The men were reluctant, however, to alter their traditional role as hunters and warriors and

[136] *Ibid.*, p. 43; G. Foreman, 1946, pp. 186–87.
[137] G. Foreman, 1946, p. 188.
[138] Adams, 1906, p. 43.
[139] G. Foreman, 1946, p. 188.
[140] Adams, 1906, p. 43; G. Foreman, 1946, pp. 188–89; *Ann. Rep.*, 1868, p. 283.

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become farmers. They preferred "with a few exceptions, a nomadic, wandering life to that of tranquility and peace."[141] There was a special attraction in hunting since magnificent herds of bison still roamed west of the Mississippi. As late as 1866 the Delawares were having successful hunts on the plains.[142] The vast majority of men, both of the main body and of the "absentee" bands, at least during the early years of this period, concentrated their activities upon hunting bison, scouting for the Army, and trading with the Indians of the plains. One agent said in this connection: "The Delawares are brave, chivalrous, enterprising Indians. They hunt and roam throughout the length and breadth of the great western plains, some as far as California."[143] They became famous as trappers and scouts, both for the fur companies and for the government. They learned the skills of the Plains Indians and became fearless fighters and exploiters of the West and its native peoples.[144] The Delaware men were ideally suited for a successful life on the plains; acculturation had not yet proceeded far enough to impair their skill in hunting, scouting, and tracking. By this time the Delawares also shared the motives of the white trader. Speck has said in this connection:

> Having suffered expulsions, burnings, broken agreements, deceptions and massacres provoked by the vicious but nobly interpreted land-lust settlers in the East, they had learned the lessons involved in such transactions . . . they knew and practiced commerce, had acquired the economy of European colonists. . . . This means that the Delawares had acquired a peculiar status by the middle of the nineteenth century. . . . They appeared on the frontiers of the Indian nations . . . equipped and motivated much as the whites had been on their own frontiers a century before in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and New York.[145]

Not only did the men prefer the hunt and a roving-trading life to agricultural pursuits, but there seems to have been difficulty in getting the Delawares to raise anything but corn.[146] It was not until 1863 that a reportable amount of wheat was grown, and then only one hundred and forty acres were planted, compared to 2,522 acres of corn.[147] Increasing numbers of livestock were kept, cattle in particular becoming more common.[148] In 1865 the agent reported that they had 554 horses, 989 cattle, 1,807 swine, and 92 sheep.[149]

Although the Delawares were able to resist complete assimilation in subsistence habits, technological assimilation was otherwise almost complete. Frame and log houses had replaced the bark wigwam before 1859. Morgan in this year said:

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[141] *Ann. Rep.*, 1864, p. 357.
[142] *Ann. Rep.*, 1866, p. 247.
[143] *Ann. Rep.*, 1852, p. 75.
[144] DeVoto, 1947, p. 56, has briefly characterized the Delawares at this time. C. T. Foreman, 1946, also contains an interesting biography of the most famous of the Delaware guides and scouts of this period, Black Beaver.
[145] Speck, 1943, p. 322.
[146] *Ann. Rep.*, 1857, p. 454.
[147] *Ann. Rep.*, 1863, p. 233.
[148] *Ann. Rep.*, 1852, p. 77.
[149] *Ann. Rep.*, 1865, p. 366.

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When Mr. Pratt came among them 12 years ago, as he informs me, they were living in bark houses. Now many of them are living in frame houses two stories and 2½ stories high, some with a veranda in front the whole length, and they have good barns and outbuildings.[150]

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Morgan described the attire of the Delawares on a gala "Payment Day" as resembling dress of the whites in cut, but varying in other respects. He said:

The Delaware women have usually dropped the Indian skirt, and put on the long dress of the white female.... Their dresses are of all colors, and some of them are of rich materials. A few were dressed in colored muslin with silk shawls, and looked quite becomingly, but the most of them were, strange to say, dressed in silk gowns, some of which were brocade patterns of rich brocade silk, some were black, these looked the best. Some were crimson and black, some fiery plaid; the most of them were in bright colors. Over these they wore silk shawls of every color and shade, most of them fringed.... They appeared to have put on all they had, to show it, the quantity of dress being of more importance in their sight than its style, or quality.[151]

Morgan also described male attire:

The men were more fantastically dressed than the women, and did not appear half as well. Their fancy dresses were cheap and absurd, rendering their general appearance ridiculous.... Some of the old men and some of the young men had on colored calico frock coats of the most gaudy colors. Many had vermilion on their faces, thus giving them a low appearance, and I saw a few girls with spots of it in their cheeks. One man I saw with a silver ornament in his nose, which covered part of his mouth. Many of the men wore leggins with a wide side projection, ornamented, and the breech cloth, over which they wore a vest or shirt, and perhaps one of the frock coats of calico above named, with head bands of bead work over the shoulder and meeting in a large bead work pocket on the right hand side.[152]

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Social and political institutions continued their decline during the Decadent Period. In Chapter III the deteriorated kinship system of the mid-nineteenth century and the changes it subsequently underwent were examined in detail. The most noteworthy change politically was the surrender of political independence for the security, or anticipated security, of the reservation. There was no mention during the nineteenth century or subsequently of strong native leaders; they had ceased to exist. Many other features of Delaware social organization must have been seriously altered, or were completely replaced during this period. Unfortunately, information is limited. As early as 1824 Trowbridge observed:

In days of yore children were considered as bound to obey their parents, and were not suffered to marry until the age of thirty if males or twenty four if females; but to use their own language, a boy begins to grow hoarse he assumes the practices of a man, declares himself independent and marries.[153]

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[150] Morgan, 1859, MS.
[151] *Ibid.*
[152] *Ibid.*
[153] Trowbridge MS.

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Trowbridge also added that "there is no ceremony of courtship and marriage in these degenerate days."[154] Morgan noted that there were only two cases of polygamy and that other Delawares were "inclined to make a fuss about it." He also said that Indian women were "quick to marry white husbands."[155] He noted in another place, however, that "the Delawares are quite vigorous against intermarriage with the whites, and also against unlawful intercourse."[156] It is apparent that in 1859 society was still based on kinship ties, but dispersal, the efforts of whites, and other causes were bringing about its collapse. This state of affairs is apparent in such statements as: "...the Delawares thought a good deal more of their relationships than we did, and if there was the least particle of relationship they were glad to find it. He says that in old times near relatives could not marry, but now they married as near as our cousins."[157] It is also apparent from the following statement of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, who realized that to some the bonds of communal possession of lands were still strong: "There are, however, amongst the tribe many who are unwilling to give up their old habits, and who insist upon continuing their tribal relations, refusing to select for themselves the lands to which they are entitled, and claiming that they will be happier with their lands in common."[158]

In July, 1866, just prior to the final removal to Indian Territory the chiefs and council adopted a code of laws. It consisted of ten articles, each with a number of subheadings. This code provided for the punishment of criminals and established a law code which included the regulation of marriage, divorce, domestic relations, and the like.[159] There is no indication that this code was forced upon the Delawares from above, rather it seems to have been a desperate attempt on the part of the members of a moribund society to re-establish order and regularity. It reflects better than anything else the chaotic, decadent state of Delaware culture at the close of this period.

This period also seems to mark the beginning of a social phenomenon which was not particularly apparent in earlier times. It was the unequal, disharmonious character of acculturation; some Delawares had adopted many more white customs than had others. This led to a lack of harmony between individuals and differences in interests which have persisted, resulting in the social atomization of the Delawares today. As early as 1856 the Delawares were living as widely scattered as the reserve permitted, probably a result of this disunity.[160] Time and again the agents reported that "some" individuals had become "civilized," whereas others were but "savages."[161]

All of the specific changes in social organization cannot be described. It is known, however, that the school established in 1835 overtly tried to discourage the continuance of old customs. This school was initiated

[154] Trowbridge MS.
[155] Morgan, 1859, MS.
[156] *Ibid.*
[157] *Ibid.*
[158] *Ann. Rep.*, 1861, p. 11.
[159] *Ann. Rep.*, 1866, pp. 248-49.
[160] *Ann. Rep.*, 1856, p. 870.
[161] *Ann. Rep.*, 1862, p. 100; 1861, p. 11.

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and supported until 1856 by the American Baptist Missionary Union.[162] The school was not particularly successful while in missionary hands, the enrollment being limited to about twenty-five students who were "mostly orphans."[163] After the government took over the school, the Delawares showed more interest in educating their children.[164] In 1858 there were fifty-two boys and thirty girls in the school, but their parents withdrew them as soon as they were old enough to be useful at home.[165] The school taught the three R's and little else. There was no formal instruction in mechanical or agricultural subjects, although a two-hundred-acre farm was operated in conjunction with the school.[166] Before 1856 the emphasis seems to have been on conversion to Christianity. Agent Robinson in 1858 noted:

> I am of the opinion schools disconnected from the missionary management would likely prove of greater utility than the present system. The eradication of their own national religion before the mind is sufficiently enlightened to receive and comprehend the sublime principles of the Christian religion, has a demoralizing effect. It leaves the poor, ignorant Indian frequently without any religion whatever, and consequently without any moral restraint.[167]

There are no figures available which indicate how many Delawares were converted to Christianity during the Decadent Period. The number must have been considerable, although enough Delawares clung to the traditional religion for it to survive well into the twentieth century.

The individual demoralization resulting from cultural decay is probably reflected in the extensiveness of drunkenness. This problem is mentioned in virtually every *Annual Report*. An agent in 1854 summed up as well as anybody the condition of the Delawares during this phase of acculturation:

> The progress in agriculture and mechanic industry is but slow. Indolence and drunkenness cling to them with a tenacity which baffles the perseverance and benevolent zeal of the missionary. Civilization, it is true, has decorated their persons with more comely garments than the breech-clout and blanket, and banished many of the customs of savage life, but nevertheless much remains to be done. They are still the children of nature, easily led astray and seduced into vicious habits, difficult to be taught and slow to embrace the Christian code of morals.[168]

[162] *Ann. Rep.*, 1862, p. 101.
[163] *Ann. Rep.*, 1852, p. 77.
[164] *Ann. Rep.*, 1858, p. 110.
[165] *Ann. Rep.*, 1862, p. 101.
[166] Morgan, 1859, MS.
[167] *Ann. Rep.*, 1858, pp. 110-11.
[168] *Ann. Rep.*, 1854, p. 106.

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VI. DELAWARE ASSIMILATION

*197 The final flight to the Caney River Valley in Indian Territory in 1867 was the last movement of the Delawares as a tribe, and it also marked a stage of culture change which is more aptly termed assimilation than acculturation. Contact with the white man became even more intensive and extensive because the Delawares could no longer flee from his presence. Delaware technology had long since disappeared, and the old social organization was in an advanced state of decay. The religion had been attacked, and an increasing number of Delawares were becoming Christians. War, plunder by whites, disease, and poverty had reduced their numbers to less than a thousand persons. The last chapter of this saga does not, however, lack interest. Although the tribal society has disintegrated, the culture has not become extinct; the Delawares retain or remember a number of ancient cultural traits. They are also active participants in what has been termed a Pan-Indian society.

Settlement Pattern

*197 361 According to the treaty which the Delawares made with the Cherokee Nation, each enrolled Delaware was to receive one hundred and sixty acres of land in the specified area of Indian Territory. The crucial fact is that the Delawares did not settle upon this land as a unit; some even settled on Osage land and some on land already claimed by Cherokee settlers.[1] There were several reasons for this scattered settlement pattern; the Delawares did not come to Oklahoma as a unit, they lacked leadership and straggled to it as individuals over more than a year's time. The shape of the purchased land, which was long and narrow, may have been a deterrent to settlement as a community. This settlement pattern was an important factor in the subsequent degeneration of Delaware society and culture.

Technological Assimilation

*197 241 By the time the tribal remnant had settled in Indian Territory the old technology was hardly a memory. The Delawares had become by 1867, and were to remain for several decades of the twentieth century, essentially subsistence farmers. Old informants recalled that as soon as they were settled in Oklahoma, "squaw patches" were cultivated. These vegetable gardens, as was true in earlier times, ranged up to five acres in extent. Indian corn was the staple crop and is, in fact, still grown, although it is now of slight economic importance. Besides corn, informants related, sweet potatoes, beans, onions, peas, and Irish potatoes were raised. In time, however, subsistence farming was abandoned by most of the Delawares. Kinietz said of their subsistence:

[1]G. Foreman, 1946, pp. 188-89.

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Very few of them were fortunate enough to have oil on their lands. They either farm their fields or cash rent them. Judging from the state of repair of the houses, those that farm their own fields are more prosperous than those who rent them out.... The majority probably rent their fields and subsist on the small cash return, aided by the produce from their gardens, old age pensions, and other occasional sources of income.[1]

I have never seen a farming enterprise among the Cherokee-Delawares which could be considered a successful commercial venture. Some subsistence farming continues, but a large proportion of the adult males work in the various industries of the county, such as the Dewey Portland Cement Company, or the Phillips Petroleum Company. The older Delawares, who have remained in the area, appear to have done so mainly because they possessed no special training which would allow them to rise on the economic ladder or to leave for higher paid employment elsewhere. The older generation also seems to have had no culturally inspired incentives to acquire special skills.

There was considerable hunting in the early days in Oklahoma. Game was still fairly plentiful, and until about 1870 the Delawares had to hunt because their gardens yielded only a precarious livelihood. The chief object of the hunt was traditionally deer, and informants (J.T., O.A.) said that this was true in Oklahoma. They also ventured out onto the plains in quest of the bison. The Anadarko band, because of their location and probably because of their proximity to Plains tribes, made considerably more use of the bison. Besides these animals, prairie chickens, of which there were immense quantities in the early days, wild turkeys, quail, fish, beaver, and raccoon were utilized. In the Caney Valley the hunting was done on horseback, by individuals or at most by small groups. Communal bison hunts occasionally took place on the plains. These included women to do the butchering. Autumn was preferred for communal hunts since the cooler weather allowed the hunters to bring back fresh instead of jerked meat. Preparation, preservation, and storage of food followed the traditional patterns well into this century. Little or no food is dried or jerked by the Cherokee-Delawares at present; most food comes out of the can and is prepared in the Anglo-American tradition.

By the time the Delawares had migrated to Oklahoma the log house (about thirteen by twenty feet) had become the ordinary dwelling. A smaller log house was erected nearby and served as a cookhouse. The bark and sapling wigwam persisted as an auxiliary dwelling until this century, as old informants remember the details of these structures (O.A., M.B.). Small cookstoves were in general use by the time the Delawares appeared in Oklahoma, and the other furnishings were primarily of American origin and design. Gradually the early log buildings were replaced by small clapboard dwellings. Houses today are usually in poor repair and are overcrowded and small; they are comparable to those of the poorer whites of the area. No pottery was manufactured in

[1] Kinietz, 1948, p. 13.

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No pottery was manufactured in
177 Oklahoma by the Delawares, although some of the aged Delawares re-
28 member that their grandmothers made undecorated utility pottery.
32 Dress and adornment had approximated that of the neighboring whites by the turn of the century. Men of the Cherokee-Delaware band, however, continued to wear their hair long until about 1920. Today, the only distinctive dress of the Delawares is worn at social and religious gatherings, and on these occasions it is of a miscellaneous Indian type rather than being specifically Delaware.

In sum, Delaware technology and material culture since 1867 have increasingly approximated the American pattern, particularly that of the poorer, rural, white groups. There are virtually no outward signs in subsistence, housing, or dress, which distinguish the Delawares from other Oklahomans.

Sociological Assimilation

177 It has already been noted that the social organization of the Dela-
571 wares had undergone considerable alteration before the final flight to
619 Indian Territory. Perhaps the most important change to take place after 1867 was the complete surrender of political authority. It should be recalled that the contract between the Cherokees and the Delawares provided for the admittance of the Delawares into the Cherokee tribe. Delaware chieftainship continued for a time, the last principal chief being Charles Journeycake, who served in this capacity from 1861 until he died in 1895.[3] After 1900 tribal chiefs were elected. Each of the three phratries nominated one candidate; the one who received the most votes became the chief. The principal duty of the chief was to act as a representative of the tribe in business dealings with the government. The last chief, Charles Elkhair, died in 1935 and has not been officially replaced. A business committee is the only formal governmental organization that continues in existence. It serves in an advisory capacity when there are claims against the government.[4]

The Delawares no longer have a society which is based upon ties of kinship. Outside of the immediate family there are no economic activities which depend upon the mutual aid of the clan, phratry, or other kinship groups. They have been completely assimilated into the American economic system. There is no feeling that care or assistance should be extended to other Delawares; in fact, in both Delaware communities there is a good deal of friction, jealousy, and antagonism between different individuals and family groups. This friction extends to all levels of organization, even to the business committee, with which there is always dissatisfaction. "They can't agree on a chief, they pull in different ways: if one person suggests something, somebody knocks him down" (O.A.). Probably this constant friction is a result of the heterogeneous degree of acculturation; some individuals are old, nearly illiterate, very

[3] Mitchell, 1895, pp. 7, 45. (This is a biography of the chief.)
[4] Wright, 1951, p. 153; J.T., O.A.

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conservative, distrustful of whites, and, in general, less acculturated than others who are young, literate, moderately educated, progressive, and well assimilated. There is an antipeyote faction, and even within the peyote faction there is a schism between the Big Moon and Little Moon adherents. These various factions promote discord, so much so that any unified tribal activity is virtually impossible. The Delawares are, then, no longer a distinct social group. Delaware society has disappeared, although allegiance to a number of the ancient culture traits lingers.

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The most notable remnant of socioreligious organization still perpetuated by both Oklahoma Delaware communities is the phratry. Adults still acknowledge membership in one or more of the phratries. Membership was originally determined by descent in the female line, but this is no longer true; a person inherits membership in both his mother's and father's phratry, so that many individuals consider themselves to be "half and half." An individual can belong to no more than two of the three phratries. Consequently, it is apparent that if this method of reckoning membership is carried on for many generations most people will belong to two of the three phratries. There is no memory of any other system of reckoning membership. Obviously, the shift in the method of determining phratry membership has been caused by the emphasis on the paternal line in American society. At least among the Cherokee-Delawares the pressure has not been strong enough to shift the system from simple matrilineal reckoning all the way to patrilineal, as in our patronymics; it has gone but an illogical part way. Phratry membership originally depended upon clan ties, but there is no knowledge of them today in either Delaware community. The conclusion is inescapable that the clan organization disappeared before the Delawares left Kansas.

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An interesting factor contributing to the eventual extinction of Delaware culture and also to social heterogeneity is found in present marriage restrictions. It is considered incestuous for a person to marry anyone to whom he is related, however remotely. This means that in both Oklahoma communities the young Delaware boys and girls cannot marry other Delawares, since everybody is considered to be related to everyone else. Some of the feelings about this point were: "The young people are disgusted, can't find anybody they're not kin to" (O.A.). "We're disappearing as fast as we can 'cause we got nobody to marry" (O.A.). "It's awful when you marry kinfolks" (M.B.). Briefly, one generation hence there will be no person who is more than half Delaware biologically, and probably none more than half sociologically. (This subject is taken up more fully under Pan-Indianism.) Within the last several decades the Delawares have taken to marrying legally and are completely assimilated in this respect.

Religious Assimilation

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Big House Ceremony.—Without a doubt the most tenacious and unchanging elements in Delaware culture, aside from language, have been

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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in religion. According to Speck's exhaustive monograph composed from one informant's data on the Big House Ceremony in the early 1930's, the last full or "real" ceremony was held during the fall of 1924.[5] Since the Delawares knew that this ceremony was in danger of dying out, they attempted to put young people in "important positions" and in positions of leadership (R.W.). An abbreviated Big House Ceremony was, in fact, performed during the second World War.[6]

The wartime Big House Ceremonies were held three times: in the spring of 1944, the following fall, and just before the conclusion of the European War in the spring of 1945. The traditional season for the ceremony was the fall, but two of these meetings were held in the spring. R.W. said that the first one was held in the spring because of the seriousness of the war. No explanation was given for the final spring meeting. The meetings were held in order to induce the supernatural powers to provide a quick victory for the United States and to ensure the return of the Delaware soldiers unharmed. The purpose of the meetings, then, was within the traditional pattern. Many people remain convinced of the efficacy of these meetings; after all, the War was over shortly after the last meeting, and no Delaware servicemen were killed on the fields of battle.

The wartime ceremonies were held on a farm a few miles north of Dewey. The Big House itself was built of bark and canvas and was an arbor rather than a house (O.A.). The old log "church" or "meeting house" fell into disrepair sometime after the ceremony of 1924, and no trace of it exists today. The carved heads (Mesingkwa) and other paraphernalia had been removed and sold to museums by J.F.[7] Joe Washington was the leader, at least during the last two meetings; other men who played important parts were Ben Hill, Jim Thompson, and Reuben Wilson. Joe Washington tried to arouse interest and continuance of the ceremony by explaining in the Delaware language what they were doing and why they were doing it. This attempt was rewarded with little success.

The Delawares did not camp at the Big House, as was customary, but came to the ceremonies every evening. It was said that "lots of the younger people didn't go." They failed to attend either because they thought it "silly" or because they did not understand the Delaware language very well (O.A.). Vision recital, as was customary, played the principal role in the wartime ceremonies. Reuben Wilson, Joe Washington, Ben Hill, and perhaps others recited either their own or traditional visions. The vision recital of these men was ridiculed; it was said that although they might have had visions, they did not have the "power" that the traditional visions gave. In short, "they just went through the motions." "Although they knowed the songs they didn't have the right (spiritual) power" (J.T.). Women traditionally were seldom blessed with visions, but the few who had had them were allowed to recite them on the

[5] Speck, 1931, p. 10; F. W., O.A., R.W.

[6] The Anadarko Delawares never performed the Big House Ceremony. The following account refers only to the Cherokee-Delawares.

[7] I have seen ceremonial equipment in the Philbrook Art Center in Tulsa which supposedly came from the Big House. Other material has found its way into the collections of the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania.

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final day of the ceremony. At the time of the wartime meetings there were no women left who had had visions. Perhaps this is why they were called upon to offer prayers instead.

There was friction in at least one of the meetings since the leader, J.W., sold the scarce, virtually sacred wampum donated by other Delawares. The people who purchased the wampum were frequently strangers or curiosity seekers; they were seldom donors. Friction also occurred when some peyotists prayed in their fashion. One individual said of this friction:

> Ben Hill asked people to get up and pray—to pray to the fire. Nobody did for awhile so I got up. I prayed like a white preacher does, but in Indian. I prayed to the fire, and asked that all the boys be returned safely. I prayed that my boy would come back safe. I went on praying and I got to crying. Then I sat down. Then E. J. got up and prayed the same way, then a man. After that T.M. got up and said he didn't believe you could pray that way in this meeting. I felt so funny, I was crushed. I didn't go back after that. (O.A.)

The form of prayer that O.A. described is common in the local version of the Big Moon peyote cult, with the exception that in the peyote ceremony the prayer is accompanied by the smoking of a Bull Durham cornhusk cigarette.

Even with what little is known about the wartime Big House ceremonies it is plain that they were more a reflection of the old rites than a faithful duplication of them. They lasted twelve days, visions were recited, some venison was eaten, but in almost every other respect they were changed. The few young people who attended did not know where to sit; even if they knew their phratry membership they probably did not know where that phratry belonged in the meeting house. The arbor was a poor substitute for the log Big House; there was room for only one fire, and the carved heads were missing. There could be no hunt for deer, because there were no deer. In one meeting O.A. persuaded a rancher to contribute a deer, but it was impossible to feed the participants for twelve days with one deer.

After 1924 the Big House Ceremony withered away. It was briefly revived because of the stimulus of the second world war, but this revival was only a dim reflection of the original ceremony. Joe Washington and Ben Hill, the spark plugs of the wartime meetings, are dead. The few remaining participants who are familiar with the ritual are old and are not imparting their knowledge to others; and many Delawares who formerly participated have focused their attentions on the peyote cult. Informants gave two reasons why they preferred peyotism to the traditional religious forms: first, peyotism is cheap, but in the Big House Ceremony the "Bringer-in" is primarily responsible for the cost which in 1930 was one hundred and fifty dollars.[3] In a peyote meeting the cost is negligible in comparison and is often shared by the participants. Second, only Delawares can participate in the Big House Ceremony, and individual Delawares often have only a few Delaware friends,

[3] Speck, 1931, p. 24.

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*177 795 although they have many Indian friends of other tribes. Any Indian can participate in peyote meetings, and a few people can hold one, whereas the Big House Ceremony requires a large co-operative group of people. Associated with the advantages of peyotism is the fact that the Delawares are even more scattered than they were during the war and would have a difficult time getting together for a twelve-day Big House Ceremony. The disintegration of the Big House Ceremony is regretted by many Delawares, but nothing is being done, or can be done, to revive it.

It is not entirely clear when most other elements of Delaware religion disappeared or were replaced. The reason for this is that no other ceremonies were as universal or as well known as the Big House Ceremony. Nevertheless, it is possible to make estimates which probably are reliable.

*177 787 Vision quest.—The Delawares no longer seek visions, and apparently few people have unsolicited visions. Informants frequently claim that "no one can have visions because the earth is no longer clean" (M.B.), or that one has to be "morally clean" to obtain a vision (N.D.). Few people living in a white man's world can claim these virtues, informants add. No young people were encountered who had had visions, solicited or otherwise. Several middle-aged and old people claimed to have had visions, but their visions had not been solicited. The guardian spirit of one informant (R.W.), for instance, was the Mask Being. This deity had appeared when the man was in delirium following an automobile accident. The vision quest was probably declining in popularity before the Cherokee-Delawares reached Oklahoma and shortly thereafter disappeared entirely. Supernatural beings encountered in a peyote trance are not regarded as guardian spirits.

*177 515 Sweat bathing, Shamanism.—Sweat bathing disappeared among the Cherokee-Delawares during the early decades of this century. O.A. was given a sweat bath as a child, as a cure for some childhood illness. Shamans often presided over sweat bathing, and the last Cherokee-Delaware shaman (Chief Elkhair) died almost two decades ago. M.B. of the Anadarko Delawares claimed that sweat baths were in vogue there until "a few years ago."

*177 757 Curing.—Although shamans and sweat bathing have passed into oblivion there is still secular knowledge and perhaps use of native medicines and cures. These are useful in love, for fevers, hiccoughs, colic in children, and the like. One informant (N.D.), for example, had inherited, from her mother some sort of animal foot plus rules and ritual which were used as "love medicine." N.D. used this magical device once successfully, but is reluctant to use it again. It is doubtful if she will pass these secrets along to her daughter. Peyote, government doctors, and hospitals seem to have supplemented native therapy — medicinal and supernatural — for more important illnesses.

*177 796 Doll Dance.—According to Kinietz, "The Doll Dance which was a family responsibility has not been held since 1929."[6] This agrees with my information, although the last remaining doll owner had vowed to

[6] Kinietz, 1948, p. 14.

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give a dance in the summer of 1951. The vow was probably brought on by the woman's illness but she died before the dance could take place At the present time the Cherokee-Delawares are in possession of only this one doll. All other dolls have been lost, given to missionaries, buried with their owners, or sold to museums.

Otter-Tail Dance.—This dance was unknown to the Anadarko Delawares, and it has been long defunct among the Cherokee-Delawares. O.A. saw it for the last time in 1902. According to her, the house in which the otter tail was kept burned down and the otter hide was destroyed, thus ending the dance.

Delaware Peyotism.—Petrullo has provided a description and analysis of the history and content of peyotism among the Delawares.[10] My concern, therefore is to indicate the importance and role of peyote in the religious assimilation of the Delawares, and also to describe what changes, if any, have taken place in Delaware peyotism since the time of Petrullo's investigation in 1929-30.

Peyote *(Lophophora williamsii)* is a spineless, carrot-shaped, grayish-green cactus, which in this country grows primarily in the lower Rio Grande Valley. When eaten, either green or dried, or drunk as tea, peyote has the property of heightening or sharpening the perception of color, form, and sound, or inducing visual and/or auditory hallucinations. A knowledge of the properties of peyote and its utilization in religious ceremonies antedates recorded history in Mexico. It was not until late in the nineteenth century, however, that knowledge of peyote and a new ceremonial use of it developed and spread widely among the demoralized reservation Indians of the United States. The modern peyote ceremony is essentially "a collective all-night vigil in which, through prayer, contemplation, and eating peyote, the peyotist receives a divine revelation."[11]

Peyotism was brought to the Cherokee-Delawares about 1885 by John Wilson, a part-Delaware from Anadarko. This man became a peyotist about 1880, and in subsequent years he converted many Delawares in the Anadarko and Dewey areas.[12] His influence spread far beyond tribal borders, however, and he has been called "the most significant figure in the diffusion of the religion in Oklahoma since 1885."[13] The John Wilson version of peyotism, variously termed Big Moon or Moonhead, is today the most important form of peyotism in number of adherents among the Cherokee-Delawares. The Anadarko Delawares also seem to favor a Big Moon variant. The more conservative, Little Moon version was introduced to the Cherokee-Delawares somewhat later than the Big Moon, and it still finds some adherents.[14] As far as being a causative agent in the decline and disappearance of traditional religion is concerned, peyote has played a negligible role. Many individuals practiced and believed in both religious creeds; Chief Elkhair,

[10] Petrullo, 1934.
[11] LaBarre, *et al.*, 1951, pp. 582-83.
[12] Petrullo, 1934, p. 83.
[13] *Ibid.*, pp. 78-79.
[14] *Ibid.*, p. 32; F.W.

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for instance, the man who brought the Little Moon version to the Cherokee-Delawares, was a prominent participant in the Big House Ceremony. Peyote did not diffuse to the Delawares at the expense of traditional religious forms; instead, the gap left in Delaware existence following the decline of the traditional ceremonies was filled by peyotism. Peyotism was a creed born and tailored to fit into the ideological life of much acculturated societies. It was, as Petrullo said, "the natural but final recourse of a subjugated people who fully realize the inadequacy of their material means to restore their former world-state."[15] Peyotism was, after all, spawned in its modern form by the Kiowas and Comanches, who were facing the same sort of adjustment as were the Delawares. Small wonder, then, that it replaced the dissipated ceremonies and rites of the Delawares. Petrullo listed twenty-three elements which were common to both peyotism and the old Delaware religion. He found fifteen important elements of the traditional religion lacking in peyotism and eight important elements in peyotism lacking in the traditional forms.[16] In short, the majority of important traits of peyotism were already elements of Delaware cosmology. None of the important elements of peyotism, lacking in Delaware belief, can be said to be antagonistic to traditional Delaware customs. There has never been a rejection of the old forms of religion. "Their faith in the old doctrines and religious rites has remained unshaken, and they would revive the entire structure if they could."[17] One of Petrullo's informants, James C. Webber, put it rather succinctly when he said: "The old Delaware religion is too heavy for us who are becoming few and weak. It is too difficult; Peyote is easy in comparison. Therefore we who are weak take up this new Indian religion."[18]

It is not suggested, however, that peyotism has ever entirely replaced the defunct religion of the Delawares. The performance of the Big House Ceremony during World War II and the observance of this ceremonial and others earlier in this century suggest this point of view. When the national and world situation was felt to be desperate, the Delawares turned to the old rites; peyotism was not sufficient. Peyotism was originally and is now considered to be more efficacious at an individual level in curing both mental and physical ailments than in curing or ameliorating broad social and economic ills. In sum, because of the dissipation of the Delawares, both numerically and as a social unit, the old religious ceremonials could no longer be held; the belief in them has not died. Peyotism gradually took the place of the old ceremonials because it was understood and fitted in with the old religious concepts.

It was expected that during the twenty-two years since Petrullo's study there would be some sort of alteration in Delaware peyotism. By and large this did not occur. It is thought that fewer Delawares are participants in peyotism today, but no comparative data are available. I have a first-hand acquaintance only with the Big Moon version of

[15] Petrullo, 1934, p. 1.
[16] *Ibid.*, pp. 168-70.
[17] *Ibid.*, p. 26.
[18] *Ibid.*, p. 78.

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peyotism, and in this there are no essential differences from those that Petrullo described. The Big Moon version is the more liberal and contains more Christian elements than does the Little Moon. Thus, if diffusion of Christian traits has continued, it more likely has occurred in the Big Moon version. In the Big Moon meeting which I attended, some features were present which were lacking in Petrullo's accounts, and some features were lacking which were present in Big Moon meetings attended by him. There were, however, no essential differences in these meetings separated by more than two decades. The meeting I attended might very well have taken place in 1930 instead of 1952. Since peyotism is essentially individualistic, and since there is no institutionalized priesthood or specific creed, minor differences in form and procedure are to be expected.[19] Petrullo found substantial, but inconsequential differences in the Big Moon meetings which he attended. He gave, for instance, eight variations of the Big Moon altar;[20] the altar I saw was not identical with any of these, yet the basic features of all the altars were similar.

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Linguistic Assimilation

It has been said that of all culture traits language is the most persistent; this has been true for Delaware acculturation. During the earlier periods of acculturation there was virtually no replacement of language, although a few individuals learned English as a second language. In the Decadent Period there probably was an increase in the number of Delawares familiar with English. With permanent settlement in Oklahoma and the increased enrollment of Delaware children in government schools, this situation gradually altered. At the present time no Cherokee-Delaware, whatever his age or acculturative status, habitually speaks Delaware; all speak English. It is within the last generation that this change has taken place. I queried thirty-two persons and found that the native language of only three was English, and these three were thirty-five years old or younger. The youngest native speaker of Delaware was twenty-six. The native language of every person over thirty-five in the Cherokee-Delaware group was Delaware (or Munsi). Most of these people learned English when they were sent away to school. Present proficiency in Delaware varies tremendously, but there seems to be a correlation between age and proficiency (see Fig. 4). The people who speak Delaware well are usually older, but some of the younger people, because of individual inclination or association, speak it fluently. With the exception of three young persons, all people queried at least understood Delaware. Nine said they spoke Delaware well, five said their ability to speak Delaware was average, seven said it was poor, and eight understood but did not speak Delaware. These categories are admittedly imprecise, and the Delawares placed themselves on this linguistic scale, so that one person who said he spoke Delaware well may have been actually less fluent than another who said his ability was

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[19] Petrullo, 1934, p. 149.
[20] *Ibid.*, Pls. 3–6.

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The Relationship Between Language and Age Among the Cherokee-Delawares

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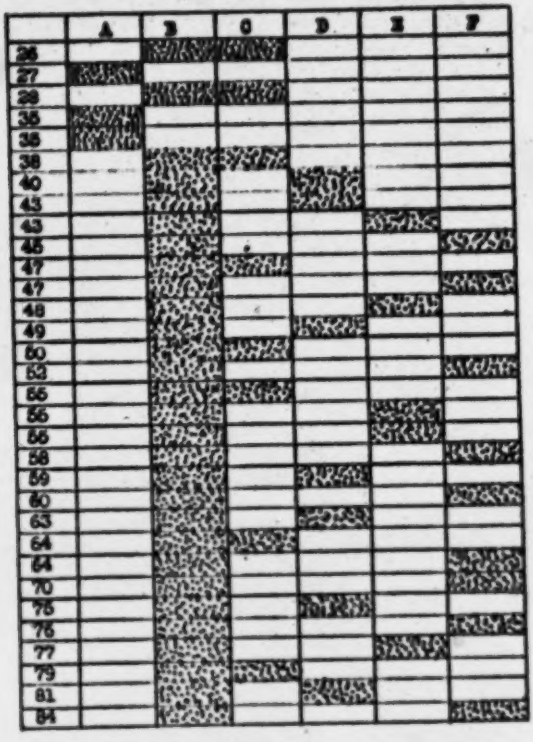

Fig. 4. A. Native speaker of English. B. Native speaker of Delaware (or Munsi). C. Native speaker of Delaware, but only understands, does not speak Delaware. D. Native speaker of Delaware, speaks it poorly. E. Native speaker of Delaware, average ability. F. Native speaker of Delaware, speaks it fluently, or well.

average. No children were found who spoke Delaware, although a few possibly understood it simply because their parents used the native language when they were discussing topics not meant for juvenile ears. One parent said that this ruse no longer worked with her offspring (L.F.). At the same time the children of this woman absolutely refused to speak Delaware and as far as is known they have never done so. It is not known whether the Delawares of Anadarko are losing their language as rapidly as the Cherokee-Delawares. One informant (M.B.) habitually

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spoke Delaware, and several other elderly Delawares spoke only very halting English. Considering the small numbers of Delawares in this area and their close association with the Caddo, it seems probable that there, too, the Delaware language will rapidly disappear.

Pan-Indianism

As the preceding sections of this chapter indicate, the Delawares have arrived at what would seem to be a final stage of assimilation to American civilization; for all intents and purposes the Delaware culture and tribal society are things of the past. During the field work of 1951 with the Cherokee-Delawares it became increasingly clear, however, that they were not completely assimilated, nor did it seem likely that they would be in the near future. It was apparent that in the following summer's field work a survey of the phenomenon which was responsible for nonassimilation should be made. Since this survey was undertaken as peripheral to the major study, the reconstruction of Delaware culture, my conclusions should be regarded as tentative.

The Cherokee-Delawares have been participating in a number of customs and institutions which are describable only as Indian. Much time and a great deal of energy is consumed in activities which can be described as neither Delaware nor Anglo-American. There is, in short, wholehearted participation in and allegiance to what may be called a Pan-Indian society. This is a loosely knit, informally organized grouping of Indians, who, having partly lost their old cultural orientation, but not being fully assimilated into white society, have joined forces and are participating in and sharing a number of intertribal customs and institutions. These institutions were and are being synthesized from elements derived from Indian cultures, but also drawn from white civilization.

When I first wrote this section no published study had been specifically devoted to Pan-Indianism, although it had been mentioned explicitly or implied in a number of works.[31] Since that time a brief paper on the "Pan-Indian Culture of Oklahoma"[32] has appeared, and I have published an abbreviated account of Cherokee-Delaware Pan-Indianism.[33] Karl Schmitt read a paper entitled "A Possible Development of a Pan-Indian Culture in Oklahoma" at the Central States branch of the American Anthropological Association several years ago. He intended to publish the paper, but his untimely death temporarily halted this project. George Devereux in his book *Reality and Dream* approached the subject from a slightly different point of view, a psychoanalytical one. He suggested that "areal basic personalities" were being substituted for tribal ones, at least among Plains Indians.[34] Petrullo touched upon Pan-Indianism among the Delawares, saying:

[31] Brant, 1950, pp. 212-22; Devereux, 1951, p. 40; Mead, 1932, pp. 66-68.
[32] Howard, 1955.
[33] Newcomb, 1955b.
[34] Devereux, 1951, p. 40.

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...there has arisen a sympathetic attitude of the various tribal units towards each other, with the result that intercourse between them has become common, and each other's rites are observed and studied with the avowed purpose of comparison. This constant interchanging of ideas is giving rise to a novel feeling for Indian nationality.... The Delawares are actively participating in this, and as a result not only have they assimilated many of the ideas emanating from other tribes, but have disseminated their own widely.[35]

Cherokee-Delaware Pan-Indianism

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The peyote cult has always been essentially an intertribal phenomenon and this is true of Cherokee-Delaware peyotism today. It is probably the most important influence leading to Cherokee-Delaware participation in Pan-Indian society. Meetings are always held with Indians of other tribes, and in one which I attended, for example, besides the Delaware who sponsored it, a Winnebago (Roadman), Shawnees, and a Siouan couple from the Pine Ridge Reservation were present. Cherokee-Delaware peyotists frequently attend meetings with the Osages and Shawnees and also participate in meetings with Indians of many other tribes. Cherokee-Delaware peyotists feel closer and are more friendly to non-Delaware peyotists than they are to Delawares who are not members of the cult. Most Delaware peyotists belong to the more liberal and Christianized sect which has been termed Big Moon; a few are adherents of the Little Moon sect. Members of one sect ordinarily do not attend meetings of the other. The peyotists are ardent participants in, and often highly vocal advocates of, their cult, whereas the Protestants (who seem to be slightly more numerous) can be described as minimal or nominal members of their churches. The attractiveness of peyotism was especially apparent among the young men; none were encountered who were not peyotists. This may be partly explained by a feeling that peyotism is somewhat daring, and that it serves to announce to others that here is a person proud to be an Indian. The singing of peyote songs and the manufacture of peyote regalia are also pastimes of the young men. Membership in Protestant churches is not considered daring, it does not single out a member from his fellows, and it does not provide him with a pastime.

Brant has said that the peyote cult in southwestern Oklahoma "constitutes the religious symbol of what might be called a Pan-Indian movement."[36] LaBarre has summed up the Pan-Indian aspect of peyotism, and his remarks are also applicable to the Cherokee-Delawares: "The Indians feel, perhaps rightly, that peyotism is their last strong link with the aboriginal past, which others are trying to destroy. Hence it has contributed greatly to the sense of community and morale of the Indian groups in Oklahoma."[37]

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Many social activities of the Cherokee-Delawares are expressions of

[35] Petrullo, 1934, p. 38.
[36] Brant, 1950, p. 222.
[37] LaBarre, 1938, p. 186.

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Pan-Indianism and promote continued participation in the Pan-Indian society. Included here are the various powwows,[28] stomp dances,[29] and Indian associations of different sorts, from national organizations to the more or less informal Indian clubs, including women's clubs, sewing circles, and the like.

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Powwows illustrate vividly the extent of Cherokee-Delaware Pan-Indianism. They are Indian fairs and in many respects are similar to the traditional county fair. Ordinarily, they are sponsored by inter-tribal Indian clubs. A powwow generally lasts from several days to a week, the participants camping on the premises. Social dancing is the principal activity, and many of the dances are modern syntheses of tribal and American elements. Dance costumes can seldom be identified with a specific tribe, as they have rapidly evolved during this century, with free borrowing going on between tribes.[30] Even the music of the powwow and of other similar gatherings has taken on a Pan-Indian flavor. Rhodes, commenting on Plains music, has said that "through the Dakotas and westward to Oregon, where social and ceremonial life function rather weakly in an acculturated pattern, there is to be observed a trend toward uniformization of musical style."[31] A list of the various tribes that attend these Indian fairs is impressive evidence of the extent of Indianism. The "Devils Promenade," a fair held annually over the fourth of July near Quapaw, attracts Indians from virtually every tribe in Oklahoma and sizable contingents of Indians from other states as well. A number of Sac and Fox from Tama, Iowa, for example, were present during the 1952 dance. The Oklahoma powwows are climaxed by the annual American Indian Exposition held at Anadarko in August; it attracts Indians from every quarter of the United States.

A number of powwows were attended in the second summer's field work and the presence of two families at these affairs was recorded. Both families in one month attended five powwows, for periods of time ranging from one to three days. Included were powwows in Tulsa, Pawhuska, Sperry, Quapaw, and Pawnee, some as far as eighty miles, from the Dewey area. In no instance was a Cherokee-Delaware found who was not an avid fan of powwows, despite the fact that neither the dances, the music, nor the costumes were Delaware, or were derived from Delaware culture. The Delawares do not hold any powwow of their own, or any in conjunction with other Indians. Moreover, their last stomp dance, which was held early in the summer of 1951, was unsuccessful. They are not even very active as dancers in the powwows which they attend, being interested spectators rather than active participants. The magnetism which these powwows have for the Cherokee-Delawares lies in the opportunity afforded them to be with others whom they consider to be like themselves, and the chance it gives them to act as "Indians," or at least to act as they think Indians should act. These Indian fairs, then,

[28] This term is used in Oklahoma for social gatherings; I use it in this sense.

[29] I am using this term for the smaller, more informal, less commercialized dances.

[30] See Gunther, 1950, pp. 174-79, for a detailed description of this diffusion.

[31] Rhodes, 1952, p. 132.

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are of considerable importance to Cherokee-Delaware Pan-Indianism. They not only serve as a common meeting ground for Indians, but their effect reinforces membership and consciousness of membership in Indian society.

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Contrary to what I had supposed, social clubs of various types were not an important factor in the development of Pan-Indianism among the Cherokee-Delawares. Not one person was ever found who belonged to any national Indian organization, such as the National Congress of American Indians. In fact, many people professed complete ignorance of such organizations. For this reason these formal Indian groups, which in a sense may be said to be lobbying for Indianism, have been disregarded here. In passing, it might be noted that these organizations are possibly some sort of concrete expression of this acculturative trend among other Indian groups. Informal social clubs have some bearing upon Cherokee-Delaware Pan-Indianism. A number of women at one time belonged to the Indian Women's Club, an intertribal extension club of Washington County, which holds monthly meetings, has rummage sales, luncheons, and the like. Significantly, proceeds of one rummage sale were sent to the Navaho. Membership in this organization has declined since the war and none of the women interviewed belonged to it. It should be emphasized that this organization was Indian in character and not tribal. There has never been a men's club.

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Extratribal marriage is an important factor in Cherokee-Delaware Pan-Indianism and assimilation. The Cherokee-Delawares are at the present time tribally exogamous. The youngest all-Delaware marriage I could find was between a man of thirty-eight and a woman of thirty-five, and this seems to have been somewhat exceptional. Only three living couples were found in which both partners claimed to be entirely Delaware, although a number of old widows and widowers had had Delaware spouses. Marriage to Indians of other tribes is the usual custom, but marriage to whites is not uncommon. Cherokee-Delawares have married Comanches, Senecas, Shawnees, Cherokees, Creeks, Yuchis, Peorias, and undoubtedly Indians of other tribes. How the Indian parents in these mixed marriages classify their children is indicative of the feelings about Pan-Indianism. If parents are questioned about tribal affiliation of their children, they may simply reply without much thought, "Indian," or with a little thought they may say, "Yuchi-Creek-Delaware," or something similarly artificial. Occasionally, they will skirt the question by giving the tribe in which the children are enrolled by the government. The wholesale marriage of the younger generation of Delawares to Indians of other tribes must be considered an important influence in the growth of Pan-Indianism. On the other hand, the marriage of Delawares to whites naturally, perhaps inevitably, results in further culture loss and completed assimilation. This would be particularly true of the individual who marries a white person and moves to an all-white community. Those individuals who marry whites but remain in an Indian community have, of course, a much better opportunity to retain Indian ways, and white marriage partners may become participants in Indian

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society. In one instance a Delaware woman's white husband has become a peyotist; he sings peyote songs and has served as fire chief in meetings.

The minority role and the consciousness of this standing on the part of the Cherokee-Delawares has also promoted Pan-Indianism. Discrimination against the Indians would presumably lead to feelings of isolation, persecution, and difference, perhaps greater than actually existed, and hence strengthen Pan-Indian society.[32] It is difficult, however, to assess the extent of discrimination against the Cherokee-Delawares. It is becoming increasingly difficult to recognize an Indian, whether on a racial or social basis. With the high incidence of past miscegenation, the high frequency of present-day mixed marriages, and the assimilation in dress, speech, and manners, a race bigot must have a high degree of perception to recognize and act against this minority. A number of tales of alleged discrimination were current in the community, but only one of these incidents (in rental housing) could be substantiated. Actual discrimination of any sort is probably rare, but there is a fairly widespread knowledge or belief that it exists. A universal awareness of past discrimination and exploitation and a knowledge of discrimination against Indians elsewhere are factors which encourage Pan-Indianism.

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There are several other conditions which set the Cherokee-Delawares and other Indians apart as a minority group, and so contribute to Pan-Indianism. The Cherokee-Delawares have access to free services of government hospitals and schools, which in itself sets them apart from the whites. It also provides an opportunity for the Cherokee-Delawares to become well acquainted with Indians of other tribes. This is particularly true in schools where the association may be continued over a number of years. Government schools, however, are attended by the Cherokee-Delawares less frequently than formerly. Some of the attitudes of whites toward the Indian minority also serve to foster Pan-Indianism. To many an Oklahoman an Indian is an Indian, not a Cherokee, Kickapoo, or Delaware. The movies, the magazines, and other outlets of public information are constantly impressing upon him that he is an American Indian; no public agency impresses upon him the fact that he is a Delaware.[33] Many whites in Washington County were totally unaware that such a tribe as the Delaware existed. They were well aware, however, that there were many Indians in the county.

There are forces which hinder and oppose the development of Pan-Indianism, but it is difficult to assess many of them because they are of a negative and subjective nature. It is difficult to estimate, for instance, the pressure exerted by the dominant society for complete conformity. Whatever the extent of pressure for "100 per cent Americanism," it is not at present particularly noticeable; it seems instead that the Delawares are sufficiently assimilated linguistically, economically, and in

[32] Wirth, 1945, pp. 348-49, contains a pertinent discussion of this subject.

[33] Mead, 1932, pp. 67-68, noted these factors more than two decades ago.

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177 178 general behavior that no strong, overt pressure is brought to bear upon them to conform to all white customs. Perhaps the greatest deterrent to a more flourishing Pan-Indianism is found in the correlated facts of dispersion and assimilation. The majority of Cherokee-Delawares upon reaching maturity leave the area. They do so because there are no strong, culturally forceful ties which would hold them back, and there are many economic advantages to be gained elsewhere. They are far enough along the road of assimilation that they can go elsewhere and become nondistinctive participants in the majority society.

Even in a brief examination such as this, it is clear that a number of different circumstances and conditions have made participation in a Pan-Indian society a highly important part of Cherokee-Delaware life. As the old culture declined, as Delaware society disintegrated and its members became scattered, the void was partly bridged by participation in a Pan-Indian society. This amorphous and as yet unorganized grouping of Indians shares a mélange of traits which are Indian, as opposed to being tribal in their nature. The peyote cult was perhaps the first influence and is still one of the strongest elements furthering and cementing the bonds of Cherokee-Delaware Pan-Indianism. Intertribal gatherings such as powwows and Indian clubs and associations, tribal exogamy, the status of the Cherokee-Delawares as Indians rather than Delawares are all important, particularly in combination with one another, in contributing to Pan-Indianism. In sum, two sociocultural groups are rapidly obliterating the old culture and society of the Cherokee-Delawares; one is Pan-Indianism, the other is the Anglo-American culture. In general terms, more and more Cherokee-Delawares are becoming less and less Delaware and more and more white or Indian.

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A SUMMARY AND ANALYSIS OF DELAWARE ACCULTURATION

A comparison of Delaware acculturation with that which other peoples have undergone at various times and places is beyond the scope of this study, but it is perhaps justifiable to attempt to analyze Delaware acculturation and to indulge in a few speculations concerning this general cultural process. The principal problem to be dealt with here is the reason for the occurrence of acculturation in some parts of Delaware culture before it appeared in others.

It has been seen that the technological part of Delaware culture changed radically and early. A new type of economic organization and economically motivated war also appeared in the early period, but they were not culture complexes that had been borrowed as such from the Europeans. The second stage of acculturation witnessed a reorganization and integration in Delaware society, particularly in political organization. The third stage was characterized by a revolt against the European interlopers and against prior acculturation. The defeats and disappointments of this period set the stage for the more rapid cultural disintegration which occurred in subsequent periods. The present phase of acculturation has been termed assimilation, since the Delawares have become, at least in external appearance, similar to their white neighbors. An important feature of this phase of acculturation is participation in a Pan-Indian society. In general, the technological and economic systems were destroyed and replaced at an early date. Deterioration of the kinship structure came later, but preceded the collapse of the ideological system.

The reasons for the rapid adoption by the early historic Delawares of numerous European technological traits are quite clear. The Delawares immediately appreciated the utility and general superiority of most of the tangible equipment of the Europeans. It was at once apparent to the Indians, for instance, that a steel axe or a cloth coat was immensely superior to its native counterpart. Direct comparison and rapid selection of artifacts of this sort could be made. The diffusion was, then, primarily of artifacts which had obviously inferior parallels in native culture and that could be readily understood in terms of native culture. Linton has noted this general condition. He said: "It seems that, other things being equal, certain sorts of culture elements are more readily transferable than others. Tangible objects such as tools, utensils or ornaments are taken over with great ease, in fact they are usually the first things transferred in contact situations."[1] Other technological items, particularly guns and gunpowder had no similar counterpart in Delaware culture, although, of course, they had functions analogous to native weapons. It has already been shown why this complex was rapidly adopted; suffice it to say here that if the Delawares

[1]Linton, 1940, p. 485.

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were to survive in the new conditions imposed by contact they had to acquire European weapons.

Some technological items did not diffuse to the Delawares in the early period. The most important of these was the plow complex. First, this complex was an intricate, mechanical one, completely foreign to anything with which these simple gardeners were familiar. Second, the idea of using the energy of an ox or horse for utilitarian purposes was completely novel to them. Feeding, harnessing, and compelling obedience from these animals was in itself a complicated and difficult trait to acquire. Third, the Delaware women were not likely to associate the raising of wheat and other small grains with their own simple corn-horticulture, even if they had observed the entire round of European farming. Other traits, such as houses and house furnishings, did not diffuse in the early period. It is apparent that permanent dwellings of European style were of little use to a people who were becoming more nomadic than they had been in precontact times.

The reasons why there was little diffusion sociologically or ideologically in the Contact Period are abundantly clear; either the traits were not present to be diffused, or if they were present they were not understood. If they had been present and understood, there would have been no stimulus to borrow them. The Delawares had little opportunity to observe such groups as the European family since their contacts were mostly with traders. It is hardly likely that the form and function of the family would be readily comprehended; even if it were, it is not probable that it would be considered worth imitating. The only hint of change in the native family was a possible lessening of polygyny. This alteration, if it took place, may not have been a direct diffusion, but a response to changed conditions. The natives in the early period had little opportunity to understand the structure and function of European political organization, since only the feeble arm of that organization was operating in America.

In some respects the diffusion of socioideological traits is different from the diffusion of technological items. An axe, whether steel or stone, is quickly recognizable as such by a person acquainted with axes, and he can readily choose the superior one. This type of reasoning cannot be carried over to the nonmaterial parts of culture. The family grouping or an economic organization can scarcely be seen, certainly not in the same way that one sees a concrete object. An axe can be readily understood and used apart from its original cultural context, but it is much more difficult for a kinship system to be understood and appreciated, much less voluntarily adopted, apart from its sociocultural context. It should also be noted that for a massive transfer of sociological or religious traits a shared language is a necessity; few Delawares spoke English or other European languages until well into the nineteenth century, and even fewer Europeans or Americans bothered to learn Delaware.

The same general comments can be made concerning ideological nonacculturation during the Contact Period. The native had little opportunity to observe or to embrace Christianity, the traders and settlers

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were of a social group which was neither interested in, nor particularly concerned with, the spread of Christianity to the Indian. These Europeans, although professing one or another brand of Christianity, were in the main poor examples to set before the heathen. One Dutchman in a letter written in 1657 said:

> We can say but little of the conversion of the heathens or Indians here, and see no way to accomplish it, until they are subdued by the numbers and power of our people, and reduced to some sort of civilization; and also unless our people set them a better example, than they have done heretofore.[1]

As the writer of this letter realized, until Indian culture had been extensively altered, voluntary conversion of the Indian was impossible. To be more precise, since a religion may be viewed as a reflection and interpretation of a way of life, ordinarily this way of life has to be altered before there will be a willing and wholesale change to some religious system which is an expression of a completely different sort of existence. Even if Christianity (church services, and so forth) were observed by the Indian, it is difficult to see how the Indian would judge it to be superior to native religious forms. Some few elements may have been borrowed from Christianity in the Contact Period, but there is no proof that any were.

The most important changes in the Contact Period, in terms of their far-reaching effects, were changes which occurred because of the conditions of the contact situation. Depopulation and migration were important in this connection, as were the economic relationships which developed between the Europeans and Indians and the rise of chronic warfare.

By the second half of the eighteenth century acculturation had forged the Delawares into a militant tribe, but one which was split by contradictions within and endangered by enemies without. Insofar as a culture must be integrated, it is plain that when revolutionary changes occur technologically and economically, other segments of the culture must in time change and become adapted to the new conditions. The Period of Consolidation was a time when Delaware culture was becoming adjusted, if only partly, to these drastic alterations. The most noticeable expression of consolidation was the appearance of the Delaware tribe as a political entity. At first glance it seems surprising that a people of such heterogeneous origins, whose ranks had been decimated and who had been forced from their homes, should in slightly more than a century become a relatively unified tribe. But when it is realized that the Delawaran peoples were concentrated in "towns" as they had never been in pre-European times, that the Iroquois and Europeans were treating them as a single entity, and that there was an acute necessity for some agency to deal with and combat the menacing forces arrayed against them, the political consolidation becomes understandable. That other parts of culture should become more standardized, and that such things as the Big

[1] Jameson, 1909, p. 399.

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House Ceremony should be synthesized at this time is also more readily comprehensible from this viewpoint. This is not intended to imply that by the end of the period Delaware culture was well integrated or was well adjusted to the external world. On the contrary, external events were to prove too much for the crude political mechanisms the Delawares had evolved, and since the culture continued to change rapidly internal integration was never attained.

It was in the following Nativistic Period that the unresolved conflicts had their most convulsive expression; the revolutionary changes were causing repercussions in the kinship structure, chronic warfare was having effects upon every aspect of society, and the traditionally weak political institutions were unable to cope with the host of new internal problems. The Delawares, ever hard pressed by missionaries, militant whites, and the advancing frontier, were becoming increasingly aware of their inability to control or even to stabilize, by their own unaided efforts, the rapid changes and conflicts in their life. As the realization grew that there was nothing more they could do, that there was no practical way out of their difficulties, they turned as a final resort to the supernatural world and a revivalistic nativism. These nativistic movements were essentially attempts to obtain cultural reintegration and stability by rejecting much that had been accepted from the whites and most of the changes that had come about because of the conditions of contact. This sort of reaction was an almost inevitable consequence of the rapid and extensive acculturation of the earlier periods.

The failure of the revivalistic nativism set the stage for a more rapid disintegration and collapse of the Delaware culture. Acculturation in the subsequent Decadent Period was mostly within the realm of social organization; there seems to have been little breakdown or replacement religiously or in other areas of ideology. There have been several not entirely successful attempts to explain why Delaware ideology was so resistant to change.[3] It may be suggested that the Delaware social system altered more rapidly than the ideological system since the social system was more directly dependent upon the technological system than was the ideological system. When the technology altered, the social organization, or some parts of it, was sooner affected than were the religious ceremonies or myths. This is easily seen if it is noted, for instance, that with European weapons a native could kill many more game and fur-bearing animals than had previously been possible. This diffusion must rapidly have influenced such social institutions as hunting territories, clan organization, and the economic importance of women. With the gun a Delaware could quickly reduce the number of animals in his hunting territory. The necessity of trade and the disappearance of game would force him farther away from home, upsetting whatever common geographical base his clan had, perhaps irreparably damaging this institution. Since men were of the sex that obtained the fur-bearing animals, their importance grew at the expense of women.

[3]Kinietz, 1946, pp. 77-78; Speck,

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Although a man could supply relatively more game for the same expenditure of energy, his wife was raising no more, and probably less, garden produce if they had moved from their original location. Hence, the economic position of the male was enhanced, that of the female was decreased. The result was probably a change from a matrilocal-matrilineal system to a bilateral or neolocal-bilateral system of kinship reckoning. In short, the effects upon social organization of this altered technology were relatively soon felt. The immediate effect upon the ideological system is much less clear. It is difficult to see, for example, how the diffusion of guns or other technological equipment would soon affect such traits as the vision quest, the soul concept, or other supernatural or ideological beliefs or practices. Perhaps eventually there would be major repercussions, but it is clear that they would be long delayed.

Another obvious reason why the religious system was retained long after other segments of culture were replaced is that since religion deals with powerful, dangerous, feared, uncontrollable or partly uncontrollable forces, the Delawares simply did not dare to give up their beliefs. Should they do so, they felt that they would be punished by the tremendous wrath that supernatural beings could unleash. It is true, of course, that insofar as material items are endowed or sanctioned by supernatural forces, they too are that much more resistant to replacement by superior, competitive analogues. The same reasoning applies to nonmaterial institutions. A case in point is the retention of the phratry system by the Delawares; since it functioned primarily in a religious context, it was retained long after such institutions as the clan had disappeared.

I do not intend to imply that religious customs or ceremonies were completely static while other parts of the culture were undergoing revolutionary change. First, there was a synthesis of rites which produced the tribal Big House Ceremony, which is associated with the appearance and consolidation of the tribe. Secondly, a number of elements from Christianity were adopted and integrated into Delaware belief at various times. In general, however, religious beliefs and customs from the Period of Consolidation to the twentieth century were remarkably impervious to serious alteration.

With the collapse of most parts of Delaware culture in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, a stage of acculturation was reached which I have termed assimilation. Technologically, economically, socially, and to some extent religiously, the Delawares had approximated the dominant culture. Replacement of many Delaware traits, however, was by institutions that are properly referred to as Indian rather than as American. The old religious system, for example, was replaced in part by peyotism. The principal reason for the replacement of culture traits by Indian rather than by Anglo-American traits is probably to be found in the fact that traits which are familiar and which easily fit in with the old culture have a competitive advantage over foreign traits. Other things being equal, when two culture traits, or complexes of traits,

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177 178 are in competition with each other, the one or ones which are more easily integrated and more easily understood and appreciated in terms of the cultural background will be chosen.

From my point of view Pan-Indianism may be regarded as one of the final stages of acculturation, just prior to completed assimilation. Pan-Indianism has been made possible by the fact that through acculturation Indians of very diverse backgrounds have come to share a common language and to participate in the same economy. This means that they have been able to share, or perhaps to find out that they shared, a common core of tradition and a commonality of situation and purpose. Pan-Indianism may also be explained as an attempt, perhaps largely unconscious, by a minority group composed of many different tribal remnants to find unity and strength in common customs. In a sense, it is a final attempt to preserve a distinctiveness of being which a dominant civilization has tried to destroy. But in another sense it may be regarded as an effort to glorify or enhance a minority group status which the dominant majority has insisted be preserved.

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APPENDIX: THE SOURCE MATERIALS

The accuracy of the reconstruction of Delaware culture and the description of its change depend largely upon the trustworthiness of the source materials. The quantity and quality of the documents relating to the Delawares are relatively satisfactory. In the seventeenth century alone eleven individuals of four nationalities were eyewitness reporters of various aspects of native life. The extent to which these accounts agree with one another is reassuring. Most disagreements may be reconciled either as real differences present among the diverse Delawaran peoples, or as honest differences of opinion about customs observed.

Peter Lindestrom, Daniel Denton, and William Penn were the most important of the seventeenth-century sources in the quantity of ethnographic data their accounts contained. Lindestrom, a Swedish engineer and mathematician, came to New Sweden in 1653 and remained in the New World for two years. As an engineer and clerk of the court, he traveled extensively and had ample opportunity to observe and learn about native life, as is shown by his *Geographia Americae*, which was not published until 1691. He had, however, made notes or kept a journal while in the New World. His description of native life is, so far as I can judge, completely trustworthy.

Daniel Denton was among the first settlers in the township of Jamaica in 1656. His observations about the natives seem to be confined to inhabitants of western Long Island. It is possible that these Indians may have been Montauk rather than a Unami division, but if this is so they were culturally indistinguishable from the natives described by Lindestrom, Penn, and others. I have utilized Denton's *A Brief Description of New York* fully; it is not as complete an ethnography as Lindestrom's, but its quality is high, and Denton seems to have abided by his statement: "I...have writ nothing but what I have been an eyewitness to...."[1]

William Penn's relatively complete description of Delawaran peoples dates from 1682 or 1683. His letter to the "Committee of the Free Society of Traders" was written after an extensive tour of his lands during which time he had many discussions with the natives about land matters. Some of Penn's statements were probably not derived from firsthand information, but his account agrees tolerably well with others of the late seventeenth century.

The descriptions of Delawaran peoples by Robert Juet and Isaack de Rasieres are the earliest of which I have knowledge. Juet was an officer aboard Henry Hudson's "Half-Moon." Juet's "The Third Voyage of Master Henry Hudson" was written before he sailed on Hudson's fourth voyage in 1610. His knowledge of the natives was superficial, but the very early date of his observations provides useful knowledge of early contacts with Europeans. Isaack de Rasieres' letter was written before the third

[1]Denton, 1845, Preface.

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decade of the century; unfortunately for Delaware ethnography, sixteen crucial pages are missing. Despite this lack, De Rasieres shows surprising familiarity with marriage customs and government. When he depended upon secondhand information, however, his account is far less creditable. Johan de Laet's material dealing with the Delawares also dated from the first quarter of the seventeenth century. De Laet never visited America, but I used his data because he explicitly attempted to accurately describe native life and because he quoted extracts from the lost journal of Henry Hudson. He was also the first European to set down a vocabulary of the Delaware and Munsi languages. The fourth native of the Netherlands to write of the Delawares was David Pietersz De Vries. His observations were made in 1632 and 1633, and upon his return to Europe he published a book written from his journal. Myers has said that "he writes in a plain but vivid style and his book both internally and externally has well stood the tests of trustworthiness."[2] He was sympathetic towards the natives and has provided much valuable information. Adriaen Van der Donck, another native of Holland, wrote of the natives of New Netherland about the middle of the century. His description of the people is good, but the usable material is brief. Jaspar Dankers (or Danckaerts) and Peter Sluyter, in their journal kept between 1679 and 1680, contributed a small amount of information, chiefly about the religion and folklore of the natives.

The only German among the seventeenth-century writers was Francis Daniel Pastorius, a lawyer and scholar. His knowledge of the natives was limited, but what he did say about them I have found to be of value. His observations dated from 1683 to the close of the century. Gabriel Thomas, a Quaker by birth, was with the first group of Penn's emigrants. His account of Pennsylvania and "West New-Jersey" was published in 1698, but records events of almost two decades earlier. Myers said that Thomas had "a tendency to exaggerate in some of the passages; these lapses, however, are easily discernible. Where he writes what he himself knows he is in general reliable...."[3] His observations upon native life fit in fairly well with other accounts, although he had the unfortunate habit of lumping all Indians together as far as their customs were concerned. Other information about the early seventeenth-century Delawares was obtained from the reliable data found in Thomas Campanius Holm's *A Short Description of the Province of New Sweden*, and also in Amandus Johnson's summary of the information given by other Swedish writers about the Delawares.

In the first part of the eighteenth century David Brainerd, a religious zealot, provided some insights into religious customs, but little more. Peter Kalm, the great Swedish scientist, was in North America between 1748 and 1751 and has given a little information about the Delawares, chiefly ethnobotanical. By far the most important sources of information about them in the eighteenth century were David Zeisberger and

[2] Myers, 1912, p. 5.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 311.

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John Heckewelder, both Moravian missionaries to the Delawares. They lived with the Delawares many years (in Zeisberger's case for more than fifty) and learned their language. Zeisberger was perhaps more ethnocentric and biased in his attitudes about the Delawares, although he viewed them more realistically than did Heckewelder. Heckewelder was more sympathetic towards them, but had a somewhat more romanticized conception of them than did Zeisberger. Neither man gave much information on religion, but in other respects they seem to have understood and written about the Delawares in a relatively thorough manner, considering the time and their occupations. Since they lived among the Delawares at a time when the culture was changing rapidly, their journals are valuable both for their ethnographic content and for the information they provide on culture change. A number of other sources of information concerning the eighteenth-century Delawares were used, but they were mostly minor, and are not discussed here.

Three nineteenth-century sources of information which I have used extensively deserve some comment: the diary of Abraham Luckenbach, another Moravian missionary, the journal of Lewis Henry Morgan, and the manuscript by Charles C. Trowbridge. Luckenbach maintained a mission to the Delawares on the White River in Indiana between 1801 and 1806. He was the best ethnographer of all the Moravians in terms of his interest in the native culture. He was also, as far as I can determine, the only white person ever to view and describe the Big House Ceremony.

Dr. Leslie A. White very kindly loaned me a copy of the unpublished "Journal of a Visit to Kansas and Nebraska in May and June, 1859, Number IV," by Lewis Henry Morgan. This journal contains many interesting insights into the condition of Delaware culture in 1859. Comments are unnecessary on the utility and validity of this journal and upon the other information supplied by the father of American ethnography.

Charles C. Trowbridge was employed by Lewis Cass, Governor of Michigan Territory, to obtain answers to a pamphlet he had prepared entitled "Inquiries respecting the History, Traditions, Languages, Manners, Customs, Religion, Etc. of the Indians, Living within the United States." Trowbridge wrote a thirty-seven page manuscript, two copies of which with different titles are in the Michigan Historical Collections. Trowbridge gained the information for this work in 1824 on the White River. I have used this account fully, and have utilized Kinietz's passages relating to other manuscripts fostered by Cass.[4]

[4]Kinietz, 1946, pp. 15-18.

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OHIO

Archæological and Historical

PUBLICATIONS.

Volume XIX.

COLUMBUS:
PUBLISHED FOR THE SOCIETY
BY
FRED. J. HEER.
1910

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PREFACE.

The History of the Northern American Indians herewith made public is issued by The Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society in lieu of the regular Quarterly publications of the Society for January and April, 1910. The unique interest and value presented in this manuscript of David Zeisberger is such that the members of the Publication Committee of the Society felt they could in no way better subserve the purpose of the Society than by producing this historical material for its patrons and the general public. Some two years ago the Society learned of the vast and rich storehouse of original manuscripts preserved by the Moravian Church at its national headquarters in Bethlehem, Pa. Visits by members of the Ohio Society to Bethlehem revealed the extent of the historical lore there on deposit. Concerning the records preserved in the Moravian Library at Bethlehem, an article by Prof. Hulbert appeared in the QUARTERLY of The Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society for April, 1909, Volume XVIII, page 199. Much of the material in this library consists of the journals, diaries and records of the Moravian missionaries to the American Indians, recounting their indefatigible and self-sacrificing labor among the copper-colored savages of Pennsylvania, New York, Ohio, Michigan, and even Canada. These recitals for thrilling romance, religious devotion and incomparable privation are second only to the Relations of the Jesuit Fathers.

Perhaps the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society never rendered a more valuable service, in its purpose to secure

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and preserve original historical data, than it has rendered in the present publication. The Zeisberger Indian History is more than a contribution at first hand to early Ohio chronicles; it not only throws new light upon the character and customs of the aborigines, but it imparts such an additional fund of knowledge to the period in question that it gives in no slight degree a new coloring to some phases of previously accepted history.

The Library authorities of the Moravian Church, at Bethlehem, generously granted permission to the Ohio Society to translate and publish, under agreed conditions, such portions of the Moravian Archives as might be selected. For this inestimable privilege the officials of the Ohio Society hereby express their appreciation and gratitude. For the work of editing and annotating the translations the services of Prof. Archer B. Hulbert were secured. How successfully he has accomplished his task the notes following the text of the manuscript amply testify. The Society is also most fortunate in securing the services of the Rev. William Nathaniel Schwarze, Librarian of the Moravian Archives and Professor in the Moravian Theological Seminary, as the translator of the manuscripts selected for publication.

E. O. Randall,
Secretary and Editor Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society.

April 1, 1910.

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DAVID ZEISBERGER'S HISTORY OF THE NORTHERN AMERICAN INDIANS.

EDITED BY ARCHER BUTLER HULBERT AND WILLIAM NATHANIEL SCHWARZE.

INTRODUCTION.

The present volume reproduces the manuscript written in German by the Moravian hero-missionary, The Reverend David Zeisberger, at his mission home beside the Muskingum River, in Ohio, in the years 1779 and 1780. 114

Though there is extant a most excellent biography of this noble man, *The Life and Times of David Zeisberger*, by Bishop Edmund De Schweinitz (Philadelphia, 1870), very little is popularly known of him.

In the center of the old Black Forest of America, near New Philadelphia, Ohio, a half-forgotten Indian graveyard lies beside the dusty country road. You may count here several score of graves by the slight mounds of earth that were raised above them a century or so ago. At one extremity of this plot of ground an iron railing incloses another grave marked by a plain marble slab. The grave is David Zeisberger's,— Moravian Missionary to Indians in New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, and Canada for fifty active years, who was buried at this spot at his dying request, that he might await the Resurrection among his faithful Indians. His record is perhaps unequalled in point of length of service by the record of any missionary in any land.

On a July night in 1726 a man and his wife fled from their home in Austrian Moravia toward the mountains on the border of Saxony, for conscience' sake. They took with them nothing save their five-year-old boy, who ran stumbling between them, holding to their hands. The family of three remained in Saxony ten years. Then the parents emigrated to America, leaving the

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114 son of fifteen years in Saxony to continue his education. But within a year he, too, took passage for America, and joined his parents in Georgia, just previous to their removal to Bethlehem, Pennsylvania.

The lad soon became interested in the study of the Delaware Indian language among the natives of that tribe living along the Susquehanna, and at once showed proficiency. Appreciating his talent, the fathers of the Moravian Church determined to send the young man to Europe, that in the best universities he might secure his training. He went as far as New York. There, just as his ship was to sail, he pleaded with tears and on his knees to be allowed to return to the woods of Pennsylvania and the school of the red men there. The words of the wise were overcome by those of the youth, and an earnest soul, as brave as it was earnest, was saved to a life of unparalleled service and devotion.

On returning to Bethlehem, Zeisberger joined a class that was studying the Iroquois tongue, the language of that powerful nation which practically controlled, by tomahawk and threat, all the territory between the colonies and the Mississippi. Soon the looked-for opportunity of visiting the Iroquois' land came, and the young student (who had been enrolled in the class of candidates as *David Zeisburger, destinirter Heidenbote*) was told off to accompany the heroic Frederick Christian Post. This was in the dark year 1745, only a few months previous to the outbreak of the old French war. The youth was now in his twenty-fourth year.

In February of the next year after these two men entered the shadow of old New York, the report was circulated in New York City that two spies had been captured among the Iroquois, who were guilty of attempting to win that nation over to the French. Such a charge at this time was the most serious imaginable, for the contest for the friendship of the Iroquois between the French on the St. Lawrence and the English on the Atlantic had become of great importance. Upon that friendship, and the support it guaranteed, seemed to hang the destiny of the Continent. The rumor created endless consternation, and the

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spies were hurried on to Governor Clinton. Their trial resulted in imprisonment for six weeks, until the two were freed by an ordinance passed by Parliament exempting the missionaries of the Moravian Church from taking oath to the British Crown. Such was Zeisberger's first experience. 114

Back to the Iroquois land journeyed the liberated prisoner, and for ten doubtful years, until 1755, Zeisberger was engaged in learning the languages of the various tribes of the Six Nations, and in active missionary service. His success was great. Perhaps in all the history of this famous Indian Nation there was no other man, with the exception of Sir William Johnson, whom they trusted as much as they trusted David Zeisberger. Cheated on the one hand by the Dutch of New York and robbed on the other by the agents of the Dutch and the English, the Iroquois became suspicious of all men; and it is vastly more than a friendly compliment to record that in his mission-house at Onondaga, they placed the entire archives of their nation, comprising possibly the most valuable collection of treaties and letters from colonial governors ever made by an Indian nation on this continent. But war now drove the missionary away, as throughout his life war was ever to dash his fondest dreams and ever to drive him back.

Between 1745 and 1750 Zeisberger labored in New York, at Shamokin in Pennsylvania and in the valley of Wyoming; in 1750 he went to the Iroquois land with Cammerhoff; he then visited Europe but returned immediately and was a resident at Onondaga until the old French war opened in 1755; he was at Friedenshütten in 1765 and 1766; in the year following he crossed the mountains for the first time and met the Delawares on the Allegheny River; in 1768 and 1769 he was stationed in western Pennsylvania at Goschgoschünk, and at Lawanakhannek in 1769 and 1770; in the latter year his work carried him to the Beaver River; a year later he advanced to the Muskingum River in Ohio where the three well-known Moravian mission stations were built, Gnadenhütten, Lichtenau and Schoenbrünn; from now until 1781 he lived among the Delawares, though visiting the savage Shawanese in the Scioto

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114 on at least one occasion; in 1781 his mission was broken up by the British renegades and the missionary was driven with his flock to Sandusky. Now, in [illegible], begins the *Diary of David Zeisberger*, edited by Eugene F. Bliss (Cincinnati, 1885) which has been the only work published in English of Zeisberger's.

The record of Zeisberger's resolute faithfulness to the remnant of his church from this time onward is almost incredible. Like a Moses he led them always, and first to a temporary home Macomb County, Michigan. From there they were in four years removed by the Chippewas. The forlorn pilgrims now set sail in two sloops on Lake Erie; they took refuge from a terrible storm in the mouth of the Cuyahoga River. For a time they rested at a temporary home in Independence Township, Cuyahoga County, Ohio. Famine drove them in turn from here. Setting out on foot, Zeisberger led them next along the shore of Lake Erie westward to the present site of Milan, Erie County, Ohio. Here they resided until the outbreak of the savage Indian War of 1791. To escape from this Zeisberger secured from the British Government a tract of land twelve miles long and six miles wide for the Moravian Indians beside the Grand River in Canada. Here the pilgrims remained six years. But with the close of the Indian War, it was possible for them to return to their beloved home in the Tuscarawas Valley. The United States had given to the Moravian Church two tracts of land here, embracing the sites of the three towns formerly built, containing in all twelve thousand acres.

Back to the old home the patriarch Zeisberger brought his little company in the year 1798. His first duty amid the scene of the terrible Gnadenhütten Massacre was not forgotten. With a bowed head and heavy heart the old man and one assistant gathered from beneath the dense mass of bush and vine, whither the wild beasts had carried them, the bones of the ninety and more sacrificed Christians, and over their present resting-place one of the proudest of monuments now rises. For full ten years more this hero labored in the shadow of the forests where his happiest days had been spent, and only as the winter of 1808

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came down upon the valley from the lakes did his great heart cease beating and his spirit pass through the heavenly gates. 114

Zeisberger's eminent comrades, John Heckewelder and Benjamin Mortimer, thus speak of his character:*

"He was endowed with a good understanding and a sound judgment; a friend and benefactor to mankind, and justly beloved by all who knew him, with perhaps the exception of those who are enemies of the Gospel which he preached. His reticence was the result of the peculiar circumstances of his life. He undertook many solitary journeys, and, in the first half of his life, lived at places where there either was no society, or such as was not congenial. Hence he withdrew within himself, and lived in a close communion with his unseen but ever present heavenly Friend. In all his views he was very thorough, not impulsive, not suffering himself to be carried away by extraneous influences, not giving an opinion until he had come to a positive and settled conclusion in his own mind. Experience invariably proved the correctness of his judgment. To this the missionaries who served with him all bear witness. Receiving, as it were, a glimpse of the future, through the deep thoughts and silent prayers in which he engaged, he stood up, on most occasions, full of confidence, and knew no fear. Amid distressing and perilous circumstances, not only his fellow-missionaries, but the Indian converts, invariably looked to him; and his courage, his undaunted readiness to act, his comforting words cheered them all. He would never consent to have his name put down on a salary-list, or become a 'hireling', as he termed it; saying, that although a salary might be both agreeable and proper for some missionaries, yet in his case it would be the contrary. He had devoted himself to the service of the Lord among the heathen without any view of a reward, other than such as his Lord and Master might deign to bestow upon him".

"Zeisberger was fully convinced that his vocation to preach the Gospel to the Indians and spread the kingdom of God was of divine origin, and therefore he sacrificed all vanities of the world, all convenience, and whatever is highly esteemed among men, and took up the mission of his life in strong faith, relying upon the blessing and aid of that Lord whom he served, and with joyous courage, in the midst of scorn and reproach, persecutions and menaces, hunger and perils, triumphing at last, in spite of every foe. His work was distinguished by perseverance, faithfulness, zeal, and courage. Nothing afforded him more satisfaction than the genuine conversion of those to whom he preached. This was the highest goal of his ambition. If he could gain one soul, and bring it to a saving knowledge of Christ, it was for him a more precious gift than if he had come into possession of the whole world.

* De Schweinitz *Life of Zeisberger.*

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114 To describe the joy he experienced when an erring sheep returned to the fold is impossible. In his ministry he neither forgot that he had to contend with 'the prince of the power of the air, the spirit that worketh in the children of disobedience', nor that God was on his side. And, truly, he did overcome Satan, in an illustrious way, by the blood of the Lamb, and by the word of his testimony; and loved not his life unto the death. He was not only bold in God, fearless and full of courage, but also lowly of heart, meek of spirit, never thinking highly of himself. Selfishness was unknown to him. His heart poured out a stream of love to his fellowmen. In spite of his constant journeys and exposure, he never needlessly sacrified his health. His whole bearing was extremely venerable. He was an affectionate husband; a faithful and ever-reliable friend. In a word, his character was upright, honest, loving, and noble, as free from faults as can be expected of any man this side of the grave".

The original manuscript comprising the present volume is preserved in the Moravian Archives at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania; it has been followed literally by Professor Schwarze in making the excellent translation. Though lacking many features of careful composition, the original bears everywhere the evidences of calm, straight-forward, well-founded narrative. Being a man of singularly unselfish devotion and with great ability to focus his energies upon efforts that made up his life-work, Zeisberger applied himself to the study of Indian languages to such purpose that he mastered the Delaware language and the Onondaga dialect of the Iroquois, the two most important languages of the North American Indians, and was able to do much for their development. He learned to know the Indians. He was not troubled with any misleading or romantic notions about the character and traits of these men of the woods. His knowledge of the manners, customs, character, and country of the Indians was perfected by his travels, study, observation, and uninterrupted labors.

All this argues the credibility of his narrative. Indeed, careful consideration will lead to the conclusion that as the story is given simply without aspiration to rhetorical embellishment, it is also clear and well-founded in its testimony. Zeisberger always uses calm and deliberate language, whether treating of the degradation and moral deformity of the savages, or of their redeeming traits. He really loved the Indians, spent his life in

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the effort to do them good, and he gives dispassionately and honestly what he had abundant opportunity to learn of their character, customs and country.

The name of this volume, "History of the Indians," was not given to the manuscript by its author, but, by the Bishop De Schweinitz. Zeisberger, had he named it, would probably have called it, "Notes on the History, Life, Manners, and Customs of the Indians," and the most casual reader will recognize from the mode of presentation and the occasional repetitions that the manuscript is in the form of notes. It has seemed best, however, to reproduce it verbatim as written. The complete analytical index will fully make up for irregularity in arrangement and the lack of proper ordering of the material.

This manuscript, of upwards of eighty thousand words, was evidently written for the Rev. Henry Loskiel to aid him in the preparation of his most valuable *History of the Mission of the United Brethren among the Indians of North America.* Deriving his material from various sources, and writing inclusively of all the American Indians, Loskiel made less use of Zeisberger's manuscript than one would suppose, possibly incorporating, in one form or another, one-third of this manuscript and giving very slight recognition of the source of information. Moreover, writing as one who had little first-hand knowledge of his subject, many facts told by the venerable missionary of a certain Indian tribe lost, under Loskiel's treatment, much of their value, especially, when represented as though true of the typical American Indian. The result is that these pages from Zeisberger's pen, in the opinion of the editors, give the most reliable and accurate description in existence of the Indians of New York, Pennsylvania, and Ohio, written by one intimately acquainted with them. Lacking the polish and general literary excellence of his comrade John Heckewelder's *History*, the student perusing the two will surely agree that for solid information given in simple straight-forward style, the Zeisberger notes take first rank as a work of value. For instance, Zeisberger was practically uninfluenced by the appalling superstitions of the savages; the shams and frauds of their impotent sorcerers made but little impression on the rugged sense of the faithful missionary; so much so that one cannot

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read the few sentences which imply a deviation from this steady attitude without grewsome sensations.

The antiquarian and archaeologist will find in this volume interesting additional proof of the relationship of the so-called "Moundbuilders" and the earlier Indians, the implication being exceedingly strong that they were one and the same race; the reference to mounds, arrow-heads, stone hatchets, etc., etc., being illuminating.

Mention should be made of Zeisberger's attitude toward the Indian legends, especially that of Iroquois' conquest of the Delawares. It was only proper that this historian should include in his narrative the legends which were told to him; that he did not examine them critically and pass upon their accuracy dogmatically is not, in the opinion of the editors, a discredit to him. Banished as he voluntarily was from every access to reliable historical information, and overwhelmed with the great tasks he patiently set himself to perform, it is impossible to conceive of his even attempting to examine the myths that were told him by the lips of his red skinned brethren. It would be only fair, then, to the writer of this admirable work, for the reader mentally to insert, as these legends are recounted, the words "It is said," "they say," or "they believe," etc., for the spirit of the author never warrants our believing that he received them without question. Zeisberger did not express himself in such a manner as to warrant the unqualified statement, as we elsewhere note, made by the careful Parkman, that he (Zeisberger) put faith in the story of a deceptive conquest of the Delawares by the Iroquois.

For a considerable mass of new facts concerning the life and character of the Indians in Pennsylvania, New York and Ohio, of their treatment of each other, of the married relationship, of the treatment of children, of home life and of political affairs, the student will look in vain outside of this Zeisberger manuscript. Its author wrote from an experience covering almost uninterruptedly the period from 1745 to 1778. The story of his life during those years should be read in De Schweinitz's excellent volume; no clear understanding of Ohio's history, especially in the Revolutionary period, is possible without knowing this volume. It is proper to note here a significant fact:

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Zeisberger's mature acquaintance with the redmen came in those years just preceding and succeeding Pontiac's Rebellion; these were the years of dissolution, the years when the influences of civilization and the coming of the European completed the overthrow of the Indian, his family life, his state, his ancient code of laws and social customs. In effect Pontiac said, "After me the deluge;" when the Revolutionary War came on, the redman of the Middle West was as different, compared with his grandfather as we of the Twentieth Century differ from what our great-grandfathers were. One of the most valuable features of Zeisberger's *History* lies just here. Having intimately known the Indian in transformation — the Indian that, though taking the musket and the axe and the blanket, was looking back wonderingly at the bow and stone ax and the feather-and-hemp covering — he is continually giving us previous glimpses, as accurate as they are rare, of the primeval redman. This series of facts concerning these first Americans makes Zeisberger's manuscript of more than ordinary value for his attitude is very largely that of a man looking backward; no other writer of his time maintains such an attitude or has left us a record of equal minuteness relating to the region covered. 114

On reading his manuscript one is inclined to believe thoroughly in Zeisberger's proposition that no one could get at the real facts concerning the inner life of the redmen unless engaged in the work of converting them.

Lastly, yet of great importance, is the scientific information contained in the manuscript. Through the able assistance of Dr. Arthur Magnum Banta, of the Carnegie Station for Experimental Evolution, the full scientific value of Zeisberger's comment and description may be appreciated by the reader. From the standpoint of the biologist, for instance, the manuscript seems to be reliable and is extremely interesting. It shows intrinsic evidence of being a reliable and careful account of the various animals and plants which the author observed with interest and about which he learned various facts as well as fancies from the Indians. Zeisberger has stated nothing which he did not suppose to be true, and the few fanciful statements are easily recognized since they are such as would today be found in any lay-

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114 man's account of natural things about him. Written by a man not a biologist the manuscript could not be other than an honest and in the main conservative account or it would show inconsistencies which could not have been appreciated by its author. No such inconsistencies appear. The chief scientific interest in the manuscript arises from the fact that it depicts conditions before the white settlers came into the Middle West, and before the ax, the rifle and the steel trap had seriously interfered with primitive natural conditions such as had existed from time immemorial. The changes in the animal and plant life since the author wrote are, of course, most sweeping. The account has its great interest and value because it is the only reliable record of the fauna and flora of the region before such marked changes occurred.

For the opinions expressed and views taken in the footnotes
113 of this volume, as well as errors therein, the writer is personally responsible.

Zeisberger's published works include the *Diary* above mentioned; *Essay of a Delaware Indian and English Spelling Book for the use of the Schools of the Christian Indians on Muskingum River* (Philadelphia, 1776); *A Collection of Hymns for the use of the Christian Indians, of the Missions of the United Brethren in North America* (Philadelphia, 1803); *Sermons to Children* (Philadelphia, 1803); *Arg. Gottl Spangenberg. Something of Bodily Care for Children* (Philadelphia, 1803); *The History of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ*, by the Rev. Samuel Lieberkühn, M. A. (Tr. by Zeisberger). The above are in the Delaware language. Zeisberger's *Verbal Biegungen der Chippewayer* [Delawaren] was published in Vater's *Analekten der Sprachkunde* (Leipzig, 1821).

Zeisberger's manuscripts are numerous and include *Deutsch und Onondagaisches Worterbuch, Essay toward an Onondaga Grammar, Onondagaische* Grammatica (translated into English by Peter S. Duponcear, LL. D., still in Mss.), *A Grammar of the Lenni-Lenape, or Delaware Indians* (also translated by Dr. Duponcear, in Mss.), *A Dictionary in German and Delaware, Delaware Glossary, Delaware Vocabulary, Phrases and Vocabularies in Delaware, Delaware Grammar, Harmony of the Gos-*

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pels in Delaware, Hymns for the Christian Indians in Delaware, Litany and Liturgies in Delaware, Zeisberger's own Mss. Hymn Book in Delaware, Sermons by Zeisberger in Delaware, Seventeen Sermons to Children, Church Litany in Delaware, Short Biblical Narratives in Delaware, Vocabulary in Maqua and Delaware. The last fourteen *Mss.* were collected by Edward Everett and are preserved in the Harvard University Library; the remaining Zeisberger material is in the Mornvian archives at Bethlehem. Here, too, are preserved Zeisberger's diaries and letters covering his long career on the frontier and possessing very great historical value. These include the narration of his arrest in New York, of his journeys with Cammerhoff, Mack and Spangenberg, of his stay at Onondaga, 1755, his journals of 1762-67, including his journal of the trip to the Cayuga town in 1766 and to Goschgoschüng in 1767, the journal of his trip to the Allegheny, 1767-8, and the diaries and letters covering his whole Ohio, Michigan and Canadian experiences, 1771-1808. It is expected to issue a collection of Zeisberger's unpublished diaries, journals and letters as Volume Two of *The Moravian Records.*

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ARCHER BUTLER HULBERT.

Marietta College, Marietta, Ohio,
December 10, 1909.

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A HISTORY OF THE INDIANS.

E 142 The North American Indians are of middle size, well built, straight, light-footed, well adapted for travel through the forest, much of which is due to the fact that they do no heavy work, but support themselves by the chase.[1] Their color is brown, but of different shades. Some are light brown, hardly to be distinguished from a brown European, did not their eyes and hair betray them. Again, others are so dark that they differ little from mulattoes.[2] Their hair is jet-black and coarse, almost like the hair of a horse's mane.[3] Their heads become gray or even white in old age, otherwise they are without exception, black. The men rarely let the hair grow long, and it is common practice among them, though the custom is obsolescent, that they root out the hair from the forehead backward so that the head is bald up to the crown and only a hand-breadth of it in circular form is suffered to remain, whence in the case of savages generally depend long braids, one on either side, closely plaited and bound by bracelets of coral, some, also, hanging silver upon them. It is a very common that they wear a plume of feathers on the middle of the head, rising straight up or hanging downward. They frequently cut the helix of the ear, leaving the upper and lower ends intact and then hang bits of lead to it so that it is stretched. Then this curved border of the auricle is bound with brass wire, distending it considerably, and decorated with silver ornaments. Among Indians who have come in contact with whites this is less often done. They, also, pierce the nose and adorn it with silver. The beard is rooted out as soon as it begins to grow. The men tattoo their bodies in arm, leg or face with all manner of figures, serpents, birds or other animals, which are marked out by pricking the skin with a needle, powder or soot being afterward rubbed into the punctures. Occasionally, the women mark their bodies thus. The women let the hair grow long, so that it sometimes reaches to the knees; they do not braid it but tie a cloth around it. The Mingoes,[4] Shawano[5] and Wiondatos[6] women have a long braid reaching the hips, bound in cloth

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and red ribbon, in the case of the rich, being further adorned with silver clasps of considerable weight from top to bottom. The Delawares, also, do this, though not so generally. The women wear carrings of wampum, coral or silver.

The men hunt, secure meat for the household, clothing for their wives and children, getting it in exchange for hides, build houses or huts, and also help their wives clear the land for cultivation and build fences around it. The duties of the women are cooking, finding fire-wood, planting and reaping. They plant corn, principally, making of this their bread, which is baked in the ashes, and preparing with it various dishes. Besides, they raise pumpkins of various kinds, potatoes, beans and other vegetables, which they have learned to know through the whites, such as cabbage, turnips, etc.[1]

The best time for the chase is in the fall, when the game is fat and the hides are good. Hence, they commonly in September and October go hunting with their families, remaining afield until the New Year or longer, though after that the skins cannot be used. Elk and buffalo they shoot little and rarely, as the hides are too heavy and of little value, and if they shoot one of these animals now and again, most of the meat is left lying in the woods, where it is consumed by wolves, or other wild animals or birds. The deer, which are most sought and are larger than the European roe, have the best skins and are most valued by the Europeans. After the New Year they devote themselves to the catching of the beaver, the raccoon, the fox and other fur-yielding animals; they also hunt the bear, at that time very fat, as a rule, and hibernating in dens, hollow trees or rocks or thickets and eating nothing for two or three months except that they suck their paws and are nourished by the fat they have acquired in the fall from consuming acorns, chestnuts, various other nuts, etc. Hunting of this nature lasts until spring, when in May their time for planting begins. In February sugar-boiling begins, farther north in March.[2] This is the work of the women, the men continuing the chase. When planting time is past, the summer chase begins at the end of June or the beginning of July, when the deer take on a reddish hue and the pelts are again good and fit for trade. The deer change their color twice in the

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221 year. After spring-time they become red and the hair is thin. In
224 September they turn gray or fallow, when their color is like that of the trees in the woods. The fur becomes very thick, being the winter coat. Farther north the game is larger; farther south it is smaller. In the region of Onondago[9] and at the lakes the deer are considerably larger than here along the Muskingum, and in the country of the Shawanose, about two hundred miles from here,[9½] markedly smaller, which makes a difference in trade. The Indians who really devote themselves to the chase, and this is the principal occupation and business of the savages, are at home but a small part of the year, spending most of the time in the forest. Those, on the other hand, who come to Christ and join the church, turn to agriculture and raising stock, keeping cattle, hogs and fowls. They, also, go on the chase for three or four weeks in the fall, though never far from home, in order that they may be able to use the meat; they secure their clothing in exchange for the skins.

231 Because the savages are accustomed to go about in the forest, which is their greatest delight, they do not care to keep cattle, for in that case they must remain at home to look after it and are prevented from going into the forest. Some have secured cattle, for they are very fond of milk[10] and butter.

252 Food which they prepare must be well cooked and well done; they do not like anything rare or raw. Meat and even fish must be so thoroughly cooked that they fall apart.

224 Concerning the chase in general, as engaged in by the Indians, it should yet be noticed that, because there is considerable trade in skins, deer are killed mainly for their hides and only so much of the flesh is used as the Indians can consume while on the chase, wherefore, most of the meat is left in the woods for the wild animals, which the wolves, especially, seem to know, for these animals take advantage of the hunting season and move in the direction of much shooting; they follow the report of the guns and, when the huntsman has skinned the deer, consume the carcass. The Indians rarely shoot a wolf, the skin of this animal being of little value. As an Indian shoots from fifty to a hundred and fifty deer each fall, it can easily be appreciated that game must decrease.

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Their dress is light; they do not hang much clothing upon themselves. If an Indian has a Match-coat, that is a blanket of the smaller sort, a shirt and brich clout[11] and a pair of leggins, he thinks himself well dressed. In place of a blanket, those who are in comfortable circumstances and wish to be well dressed, wear a strowd, i. e., two yards of blue, red or black cloth which they throw lightly over themselves and arrange much as they would a Match-coat. Trousers they do not wear; but their hose, reaching considerably above the knee and held together by a piece of strowd and extending only to the feet, to some extent supply the place of trousers. If they desire to go in state, they wear such hose with a silken stripe extending from top to bottom and bordered with white coral. Their shoes are made of deer skin, which they prepare themselves, the women being particularly skilled in doing this and in working all manner of designs; Mingoe women excel all others in this particular. Some wear hats or caps secured in trading with the whites; others do not cover themselves but go bare-headed. 291

Women are distinguished in dress only in this respect, that instead of a coat, they wear a strowd over the hips bound about the body next the skin, removed neither day nor night and extending but little beyond the knees. They anoint the hair liberally with bear's fat, so that it shines. Their adornment consists in hanging much wampum, coral and silver about their necks and it is not unusual for them to have great belts of wampum depending from the neck. Their shirts and strowds they adorn with many silver buckles. It is also customary for them to sew red, yellow or black ribbon on their coats from top to bottom, being very fond of bright things. [302] 301

Men as well as women wear silver bracelets, and the latter also arrange silver clasps in their hair or wear a band about the head with as many silver ornaments on it as it will hold. All these things they secure from the whites, principally from traders who in times of peace bring their wares to the Indian towns to exchange for skins and pelts. In course of such occupation many traders have, in the event of Indian wars, lost all their goods and even their lives. [439]

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422 In the matter of House-keeping and Domestic Arrangements, it seems to be established that what a man secures in the chase belongs to his wife; as soon as he brings skins and flesh home he no longer regards them as his own, but as property of his wives. On the other hand what the woman has gained in planting and harvesting is for the husband and she must provide for him everything that he needs in the chase. Yet I have observed that this is not invariably the case, for some men keep the skins, and buy for the women and children such clothes with them as they need and do not permit them to suffer want. Cattle belong to women, horses to men, though a man may give his wife a pony for her own.[12] Children, especially boys, are not held to work; the latter are to become hunters. They are 857 allowed their own way, their elders saying: "We did not work 868 ourselves in the days of our youth." They follow their own inclinations, do what they like and no one prevents them, except [861] it be that they do harm to others; but even in that case they are not punished, being only reproved with gentle words. Parents had rather make good the damage than punish the children, for the reason that they think the children might remember it against them and avenge themselves when they have attained to maturity. Girls are rather more accustomed to work by their mothers, for as the women must pound all the corn in a stamping trough or mortar, they train their daughters in this and also in such other work as will be expected of them, as cooking, bread-making, planting, making of carrying-girdles and bags, the former used to carry provisions and utensils on their backs [283] while journeying and the latter to hold the provisions. Both are made of wild hemp[13] which they gather in the fall and use for various purposes, for mending of shoes and making the thread with which they sew amongst the rest. Wild hemp is much tougher than that cultivated by the whites. In the matter of cleanliness, too much must not be expected among the Indians. 264 The brass kettles in which they cook, the dishes which they make 515 of the growths and knots of trees, and also their spoons, which are usually very large, are rarely washed, so that it is not very tempting for a European, unaccustomed to this, to eat with them. Yet in this respect, also, one finds differences, for some are as cleanly as one could expect it.

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are as cleanly as one could expect it. The Monsys[14] and the Mingoes, however, far excel the Delawares in uncleanliness, and, since the dogs are constantly in the houses or lying about the fires, there are generally many fleas and other insects.

Their britchen,[15] made of boards and arranged about the fire, serve as table, bench and bedstead. The underbedding upon which they lie, is either an untanned deer or bear skin or a mat of rushes, which grow in ponds or stagnant water; these the women are clever enough to decorate in red, black or other colors, finding the materials for the latter in the forest. These mats they also fasten about the walls of their lodges, keeping out the cold of winter as well as for ornamentation. Blankets worn during the day as part of the clothing serve at night as covering.

Boys and girls sleep apart. As soon as girls walk a little frock is fastened about them in order that they may accustom themselves to wear their clothing in a modest manner, the garments of the women being short, for the reason that long gowns would seriously inconvenience them in their movements through the forests. In this particular the boys are neglected, wearing little or nothing until at the age of five or six years, when a flap of cloth is fastened to a leathern band or girdle that has been worn from early in infancy in order that they might become accustomed to it.

Houses of the Indians were formerly only huts and for the most part remain such humble structures, particularly in regions far removed from the habitation of whites. These huts are built either of bast (tree-bark peeled off in the summer) or the walls are made of boards covered with bast. They are low structures. Fire is made in the middle of the hut under an opening whence the smoke escapes. Among the Mingoes and the Six Nations[16] one rarely sees houses other than such huts built entirely of bast, which, however, are frequently very long, having at least from two to four fire-places; as many families inhabiting such a house as there are fire-places, the families being related. Among the Delawares each family prefers to have its own house, hence they are small. The Mingoes make a rounded,

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arched roof, the Delawares on the contrary, a high pitched, peaked roof. The latter, coming much in contact with the whites, as they do not live more than a hundred miles from Pittsburg, have learned to build block houses or have hired whites to build them. Christian Indians generally build proper and comfortable houses and the savages who seek to follow their example in work and household arrangement learn much from them.

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The North American Indians, whom I wish now to describe as well as I have learned to know them, are by nature (I speak of savages) lazy as far as work is concerned. If they are at home and not engaged in the chase they lie all day on their britchen and sleep; when night comes they go to the dance or wander about in disorderly fashion. The old men work a little, chopping wood or doing other things about the house, but the younger do nothing unless driven by dire necessity to build a hut or house or the like. Whatever time is not devoted to sleep is given to amusements, such as ball playing, which they have learned from the whites, as also cards. A game with dice they have themselves invented. The dice are made of the pits of wild plums, not cubical but oval shaped and smooth, black on one side and yellow on the other. These they each in turn raise in a wooden vessel and throw forcibly to the ground, occupying whole days in this way and accompanying their plays with much noisy ejaculation. Dances take place every night, all young people, men and women, attending. The dancing takes place either in a large house or in the open about the fire.[17] The men lead in the dance, the women closing the circle. Such is the exultant shouting on these occasions that it can be heard two or three miles away. The dance usually lasts until midnight, though there are intervals of rest. The drum which keeps the time is a thin deer-skin stretched across a barrel, or, in lieu of this, a kettle.

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They are proud and haughty, even a miserable Indian, capable in no respect, imagines himself to be a great lord.[18] They hold themselves in high regard as if they were capable of great and wonderful things, in which respect they are much encouraged by dreams, held among them to be very significant and,

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indeed, it would appear that through dreams Satan holds the heathen bound and fettered and in close connection with himself, subjecting them in this fashion to delusion. All this the missionaries discover in those who come to the church and who need be thoroughly humbled before they give up the vain imaginations concerning themselves.

They are masters in the art of deceit and at the same time are very credulous; they are given over to cheating and stealing, and are not put to shame when caught. Stealing is very common among them. They will steal and sell each other's horses; and, though a thief be caught, little is done to him beyond taking his rifle. This he hardly refuses to give up, since another can be secured for some other horse that he may steal.

They are capable of hiding their anger readily, but await an opportunity to avenge themselves on the person by whom they think themselves to have been injured, and this generally occurs secretly and quietly. If, however, one of them expresses himself in harsh threats towards anyone who has injured him, go-betweens are chosen who seek to establish peace between the two, the same being usually effected by means of a belt of several fathoms[30] of wampum, furnished by the one who has been threatened.

They are courageous where no danger is to be found, but in the face of danger or resistance they are fearful and the worst cowards.[31] Hence, in wartime they prefer to attack defenceless whites on plantations, women and children, when they least expect it. Against them they show their heroic courage. They can be very friendly to a white man, give him to eat and act as if they had nothing evil in mind against him and then drive the hatchet into his head, of which I will give you a few examples. In the last Indian war, about the year 1763,[32] when it seemed as if the war were at an end and peace ruled once more in the Indian country but broke out anew so suddenly that the whites knew nothing of it, a large party of traders, with much merchandise, went to the Wiandots. These met them and, seeing that the traders were too strong for them, sought by deception to get them into their power, telling them, therefore, that a strong detachment of Tawas[33] was on the move to destroy them.

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H 648 They, the Wiandots, would give them good counsel to the end that they might save their lives. They should submit as prisoners, suffer themselves to be bound, in order that when the Tawas should arrive they might see them already prisoners, in which case they would do them no injury. They themselves would harm them in no manner and surely accompany them to their towns with their merchandise. Their advice must be acted upon at once for the enemies were not far distant. The traders believed them, allowed themselves to be bound, even aiding their captors by binding each other. No sooner were they fettered than the Wiandots forthwith murdered them and secured rich booty.

I 648 Some years ago, before the present war[23] began, the Shawanose causing disturbance, some whites who had been living among them were obliged to save their lives by flight. One of the latter, hungry and weak, had separated himself from his companions and, in view of a Delaware town, fell into the hands of several Mingoes, who perceived at once that he was very weary and weak. They bade him sit down, gave him something to eat and after they had fed and refreshed him, killed him, all of which was witnessed by a Delaware woman, who afterward related the circumstance.

F 181 In studying the Indians, their mode of life and deportment toward each other, particularly the relations between the sexes, it is safe to say that one does not learn to know them well until they become concerned about the well-being of their souls and confess the evils that weigh on their consciences. One may be among them for several years and, not knowing them intimately, as stated, regard them as a virtuous people. Far from it. Impurity and immorality, even gross sensuality and unnatural vice flourish among them, according to the testimony of the Indians themselves, more than was the case formerly.[24] As they

F 161 593 marry early in life, the men in the eighteenth or nineteenth year, the women in the fifteenth or sixteenth or even earlier, one would imagine that the Indians should increase rapidly and have many children. Yet an Indian may become old and have but few or no children, for family ties are only too frequently and easily broken on slight provocation, even when there are chil-

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dren. Only as the parties advance in age and cannot so readily form other connections, are matrimonial relations apt to be permanent. Owing to instability of family relationship, children are often neglected. This does not argue that the Indians do not love their children. As every creature loves its young, so the Indians do love their children, are indeed, very fond of them, especially as they mature and return the affection. But sin and lust bring about unnatural conditions. It seems as if a curse rested upon them and that they were destined to become extinct. There is another clan of Indians who live with their wives because they love their children, and at the same time have concubines, who do not live in the house, because the rightful wife will not suffer this. The latter will generally be content to remain with her husband. I have known cases where an Indian would have two wives in his house, but this is rare.

Yet there are Indians, even among the savages,[20½] who maintain peaceable and orderly family life. Among them larger families are the rule, there being often from eight to twelve children. The difference between these Indians and their fellows may be easily appreciated.

The Indians have both capacity and skill for work, if they only had the inclination. Such is their mental constitution that they readily grasp and understand. Some who have been much with whites have begun to work in iron, have fashioned hatchets, axes, etc., right well, have given up the chase because they have found regular work much more profitable and less hard on clothing and shoes than wandering through the forest in pursuit of game. It is, however, true that in the forest they are a wonderful people. They can go on a journey of many days in the forest where there is neither path nor trail, without getting lost. It is as if Nature had fixed the compass in their heads. No European is equal to them in this respect. If they would go anywhere and have determined on the journey, nothing prevents the carrying out of their purpose. Though creeks and rivers are often swollen and progress is difficult, they know what to do when white men would be at their wit's end. In company of Indians one may be sure not to be lost nor to suffer starvation.

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E 484 On their journeys they are never in haste, for they are everywhere at home and whithersoever they wander they find sustenance in the forest. Therefore, if a white man travels with them it is wisest that he be content not to hasten but accommodate himself to their movements. In the morning they do not break camp early, not until they have eaten heartily, by which time the sun has usually been above the horizon two or three hours. Thereafter, they proceed very steadily until near sundown, when they go into camp. In rainy weather they peel E [393] bast from the trees and speedily build a hut, that is, a roof supported by four posts, under which they remain comfortably dry. This they do not only in summer but also in winter, at which time they know what trees to peel. In more northerly regions, as near Goschgoschingⁿ and the Mingoe country, where the snow is apt to be deep in winter, they go on snowshoes over the deepest snow. Here along the Muskingum, however, where the snow D 481 is never deep, this is not necessary; hence, in this means of locomotion the Delawares are not as skilled as the Mingoes. These snowshoes are like a heavy barrel-hoop, curved and very narrow in front, pointed behind and broad in the middle. This hoop is mostly interlaced with deerskin, something like a coarse sieve, so that the snow may not gather on it, but fall through. A little to the front of the middle there is a wooden crosspiece and a small opening upon which the foot is placed and bound with leathern thongs in such a fashion that the snowshoes seem to be dragged along behind on the snow. As to D 484 provisions for the journey, they take corn crushed to a meal or 251 roasted in hot ashes, then crushed, with which they mix a little sugar; of this, in the heat of summer, a refreshing and at the same time, nourishing drink may be prepared, if a little is stirred in water. This mixture may also be boiled in water or eaten dry. These two kinds of meal are the usual provisions. Cornbread does not keep long, in the summertime, particularly, becoming unwholesome in three or four days. Meat they can procure anywhere in the forest, as game is always to be found. In the securing of it they lose little time, for when they contemplate pitching a camp, the Indians plunge into the woods and shoot a deer, a turkey-cock or something else.

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If they wish to proceed by water, or having been hunting, are anxious to return home heavily laden with meat and skins, they speedily make a canow [canoe] of bast, load it with their things and go whither they will. These canows are fashioned of one piece of bast, the outer side of which is turned inward, both ends sharply pointed and securely sewn with bast, the inside being stretched out by a ribbing of bent wooden rods, which keeps the canow in its proper form. These canows are so light upon the water that they easily glide away from under the feet of one unaccustomed to them when attempting to stand. Capsize they cannot, because they are very broad and carry heavy burdens. To make one they choose a tree according to the size of canow desired and peel the bark off carefully so that there may be no rent. If a canow gets out of repair or is punctured by wood that floats in the water, or stones, the latter frequently the case because they are thin, the Indians know how to repair it by securing a patch of bast over any opening. Besides, there is a kind of elm-wood bast which they crush or pound fine and which is of a sticky consistency, serving them in place of tar, to keep their canows water-tight so that they do not leak. Even so, a canow barely lasts more than a year.[28] At one time they were more used than is the case now, when they use them only occasionally, as necessity may dictate; for since they have hatchet, axe and other tools they make canows hewn out of trees, using fire also to burn out the trunks. 396

Indians are not less, rather more, subject to disease than Europeans, their rough manner of life and the hardships of travel and the chase being contributing causes. On journeys they mind neither water nor snow nor ice, even though creeks and rivers be ever so full of running ice they go through and nothing holds them up. On the chase they not only steal through the woods to get, unnoticed, near the game, but also pursue it should it run before them, until they get within range, thus often tiring the deer they may have chased from morn till eve and then at the end of the day shooting one after another, sometimes eight or ten miles away from their hunting lodge, no food having been tasted the entire day. So long as they are young and strong, 147

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they suffer no ill effects, but with advancing years, the inevitable results are felt. Rheumatism is common among them," often leading to lameness, deafness or blindness. The women who carry everything by means of a carrying girth fixed to the forehead, whence the whole burden — and a hundred weight is not considered heavy — is suspended down the back, suffer in back and neck as they grow older. The men carry everything hung to a carrying girth fixed across the chest. A deer weighing from a hundred to a hundred and thirty pounds they will carry the entire way home before allowing themselves to rest."

These carrying girths are made by the women of wild hemp which is first spun. That part of these girths which passes across the breast and over the shoulders is three fingers [inches] broad and decorated with various figures; from it depend long, plaited, durable bands, to which the burden is bound.

They are subject to festering sores. Cured in one place, they break out in another." Chills and fever, dysentery, hemorrhage, and bloody flux in women are very common among them. Venereal diseases have during the last years spread more and more, due, doubtless, to their disorderly life.

Care and attention for the sick amount to but little, the Indians being poor nurses. So long as they can go out they lie on the hard bed of boards; no longer able to do this they are laid on the ground near the fire, possibly upon grass or hay, a small hole in the ground under the patient serving as a bedpan. In time of sickness their diet consists of thin soup of pounded corn, without either butter, fat or salt. Not until a patient is convalescent is he allowed any meat.

There are Indians who have considerable knowledge of the virtue of roots and herbs," learned from the fathers, and who bring about relief. They are well paid for their services. Whoever is in possession of knowledge of this nature keeps it to himself, communicating it to no one. Only in old age or when death is near is the knowledge imparted to a child or friend, though even this does not always happen. If they give a dose, which, as, indeed, all roots and herbs used for medicinal purposes, they call *Beson*, i. e., medicine, and which consists commonly of quite a kettle full — for with them quantity signifies

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much and the decoction usually being weak is rarely an overdose—none can see nor know of what roots and herbs it has been prepared, for they are pounded very fine. If one should know enough to help himself, being able to prepare *Beson*, and became ill, he will rarely treat himself, having the superstitious belief that what is prepared by himself will be of no benefit. Using what has been prepared by another, he believes, will bring relief. 757

Wounds and external injuries the Indians treat very successfully, knowing what applications to make. In the curing of those suffering from snake-bite, they are particularly capable. For the bite of every variety of snake they have a special *Beson*.[21] For the treatment of internal affections, however, they lack both knowledge and skill. 752

The doctors among the Indians are nothing other than charlatans.[22] Fancied skill and imagined ability to heal the sick are traced to dreams which these individuals may have had in their youth. To the dreams they appeal, for in them they have much faith. Thus one may in a dream see a fierce animal. Upon this he will ponder much, believing that it was not by chance but rather that it signifies a gift of special power, marking him out a favored man; or an Indian will seem to converse with him in a vision, saying: "I am lord over all and can do whatsoever I will; if you will offer sacrifice to me I will give you power to do great things and none shall be able to do you any injury." Older Indians, no longer fit for the chase, are particularly anxious to become medicine men, being able as such not only to maintain themselves but even to acquire wealth. Should one wish to be treated, payment must be ready, in value from £20 to £30, as soon as the doctor enters the home. If the payment is insufficient it may be expected that there will be but little circumstance and ceremony, in which case treatment will hardly avail. The doctor has the patient laid before him on the ground in the house or in the open, breathes upon him; or, taking a potion prepared from herbs and roots, blows it into the face and over the body of the sick — for they fancy themselves capable of curing the sick by breathing upon them and persuade the Indians that they have this power; or he makes 756 755

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755 horrible grimaces, tries to appear hideous and terrible and make such a noise with his howling that he can be heard in the whole town. Treatment of this kind takes many forms. Sometimes the doctor crawls into a sweating-oven, expressly built for the purpose, taking a sweat-bath while the patient lies without at the opening. Temperature within is kept up by continually adding hot stones. Continuing his awful howling, the doctor occasionally looks out at the patient, with horrid grimaces; he may also feel his pulse. All this done, he will declare either that the patient will soon be better or that he has been bewitched or that he must bring sacrifice to appease spirits who have been offended or make some other requirement. What the doctor says, must be done. If the sick recover, it is believed to be due to the treatment. In case there is no improvement another doctor is summoned. Not infrequently this is kept up until all the possessions of a family have been devoted to useless doctoring. The poor are treated by these doctors only when their friends contribute to make certain the payment for services. In all manner of cases, whether it be external injury or paralysis or internal disease, child-birth[33] or child complaint, these doctors are summoned. They rarely give any medicine but always go through their deceptive performances. There are Indians who think [754] little of such treatment and do not willingly summon a doctor, but they have the superstitious fear that a doctor might bring about their death if he were not consulted. An Indian, now a Christian, told me that once, while still a heathen, he had come to an Indian who was ill and who required of him that he should give him a doctor's treatment, promising a horse in payment. This Indian had never done such a thing, for he was no doctor, yet as the invalid insisted, he consented to do it and got the horse. This seems to indicate that any one may become a doctor who can conduct himself in a sufficiently mad fashion.

515 It is a custom of the Indians, even when they are tired or have caught cold, to go into a sweating oven several times a 757 week. For this purpose every town has on its outskirts a sweating oven. It is built of timber and boards, covered completely with earth. They crawl in through a small opening, the latter being closed as soon as they have gone in. A fire is usually

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built in front of the opening before they go in and hot stones placed in the middle of the inclosed area. Not long after they have entered, they are covered with perspiration, then they crawl out and cool off, returning to repeat the same thing three or four times. Women have their own sweating ovens though they do not use them as commonly as do the men.[34]

Blood-letting and cupping are also in vogue among them. For blood-letting they use flint or glass. Of either they break off little fragments until a piece is secured that suits the purpose. This is fixed to a short stick, placed upon the artery and struck. In case of cupping, they open the skin with a knife, put a little calabash over the opening, burning birch-bast instead of a lamp.

The Delaware Nation, consisting of three tribes, the Unamis,[35] Wunalachticos[36] and Monsys,[37] formerly lived in the region about Philadelphia, also in Jersey about Trenton, Brunswick and Amboy. The Unamis are the chief people of the nation; their language, differing but little from that of the Wunalachtico, is the most melodious. The Monsy tongue is quite different, even though the three grew out of one parent language. The last named tribe lived in Minnissing[38] along the Delaware, behind the Blue Mountains.

Among Indians belonging to the Moravian Congregation on the Muskingum River there are some old people, who were in Philadelphia when the first houses were built there. They are able to relate how peaceably and agreeably the whites and Indians dwelt together, as if they had been one people, being ever ready each to serve the other. Even among the savages there are old people, who tell the following, as I have heard it from various individuals.

Before the whites had come into the land, there had been Indians who foretold that someone would come to them across the great sea. This they had repeated on various occasions in the hearing of other Indians, at the last even indicating the day when this should come to pass, the event making good their words. How these Indians could have foretold it, no one professes to know, the only explanation offered being that there

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must have been vision or revelation. They had repeatedly looked out over the sea, until at last a vessel was sighted, when they had immediately summoned the Indians and said: "See, here comes some one to us, concerning whose coming we have long ago told you; the gods are coming to visit us." They worshipped them, regarding them as deities. When the whites landed, they gave the Indians knives, hatchets, muskets and various other things they knew not how to use and, consequently, carefully put away. On occasion of feasts or sacrifices they suspended the knives and hatchets from their necks as ornaments and worshipped the various articles, bringing sacrifices to them. The muskets they did not use except on special days, when to satisfy curiosity a few shots were fired and then sacrifices offered them. When the whites, after lapse of considerable time came again and saw that the things they had given were worn about the neck, they gave the Indians instructions in the use of the knife, hatchet and musket.

In those early days the manner of living of the Indians was very different from that of the present time, yet, though they were wretchedly equipped and could barely supply their wants, they succeeded in supporting life.[39] They planted corn, beans, pumpkins, which they had at that time. Their hoe was a bone from the shoulder blade of the deer, which is broad at one end and very narrow at the other. With this bound to a stick they worked the soil. A turtle-shell sharpened by means of a stone and similarly attached to a stick, served much the same purpose. A kind of tobacco known as Brazilian tobacco, they also had; to the present day this tobacco, which has but small leaves, is called Indian tobacco.

Their knives were made of flint, not in the form of our knives but shaped like arrow-heads, i. e., triangular, quite thin and with the two larger sides sharp. With such knives they stripped off the skin of deer and other game.

Their hatchets, also made of stone and about the length of a hand, smoothed and sharpened, were secured to a wooden handle. These were not used for splitting wood but only to kill trees, as no more is necessary than to chop through the bark, if this is done at the right time, or to peel off bast for covering

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their huts. Trees were killed wherever they wished to have space for planting.

For the chase they used bow and arrow, both made of wood, the point of the arrow alone being of flint in the shape of a lengthened triangle, sharp and pointed, securely tied to the shaft.

Kettles and pots for cooking they made of clay mixed with sea shells, pounded very fine. After the pot had been shaped it was burned hard in fire. All these things, knives, hatchets, arrows and large pieces of the pottery they used at one time, are frequently found in places where Indians have lived. Potsherds have become black through and through so that the shell pieces may be seen.

They could shoot game as well in those days as at the present time with their rifled guns. They declare that game was not as shy then as now by reason of the report of the guns. In those days they killed only as much of game as was needed for sustenance, skins being used for clothing both men and women; hence, game was more abundant at that time. The women made blankets of turkey-feathers which were bound together with twine made of wild hemp. Of such many are to be found even at the present day among the Indians, and these in winter are a better protection against the cold than the best European blanket. The women also made themselves petticoats of wild hemp.

Bow and arrow have fallen into disuse among those Indians that trade with whites; are, indeed, only used for small game, such as the pigeon, fox and raccoon, in order to save powder. There are, however, whole tribes to the west and northwest that use nothing but bow and arrow in the chase and that have no European weapons, that are not even anxious to obtain them; for, say they, if we discard bow and arrow, who will then make for us enough of powder and shot. They prefer, therefore, to hold to their old custom and usage.

The fire materials of those days consisted of a dry piece of wood or board and a round dry stick. The latter was placed upon the board and turned or twirled with great swiftness, both hands being used, until there was smoke and fire. This, however, was done only in case their fire had gone out, which they

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372 were generally careful to keep burning. On journeys they were accustomed to carry fire with them from one lodging-place [484] to another, for which purpose they used a certain kind of fungus,[40] that grows upon trees. With such a glowing piece of fungus they could travel from morning to evening. This custom has to the present day not ceased among the Indians, nor has the method of making fire described above, some still employing it on special occasions and in connection with their sacrifices, in order to remind themselves of former customs and usages. Fire-
313 wood they did not split in former days nor could they have done so with their hatchets of stone. They burned it into pieces of such length that could be carried home. They built a fire against the trunks of standing trees and kept it burning until they fell, which method still obtains among them, especially the older ones, for whom it is difficult to fell trees and split wood and who, perhaps, do not even own a hatchet. These may not burn a piece of split wood during a whole winter, but provide fuel for themselves in the manner described, which is quite easy and convenient for them.

396 Canows made of wood as well as bast, they also had in earlier days, fashioning the former out of a whole tree trunk, which they burned out and only used their hatchets to chop off glowing coals, lest they should burn in deeper in one place than another or even burn a hole through.

342 Their dwellings were huts of bark, which they lined with rushes in order to keep out the cold, roofed they were with bark, even as is the case now, though sometimes rushes or long, dry reed-grass served the purpose.

Underground dwellings there were, also, of which here and there traces may be found, particularly along the Muskingum, in which region one may yet see many places, where embankments, still to be seen, were thrown up around a whole town.[41]
361 Here and there, furthermore, near the sites of such towns there
726 are mounds, not natural, but made by the hand of man, for in those days the natives carried on great wars with one another, Indians being formerly, according to their own testimony, far more numerous than at the present time. At the top of these mounds there was a hollow place, to which the Indians brought

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their wives and children when the enemies approached and attacked them, the men ranging themselves round the mound for defensive action. Their weapons were the bow and arrow and a wooden club, this last a piece of wood of not quite arm's length, having at the end a round knob about the size of a small child's head and made of very hard wood. Shields they bore made of hardened buffalo leather and presenting a convex surface without, while being hollow within. The curved outer surface they held toward the enemy and before their own breasts and faces in order that arrows discharged at them, striking the curved surface, would glance off and go to the side. With the left hand they held both shield and bow and with the right they drew the bow and held the arrow. On the above named hills they always had great blocks lying all about, in order that should the enemies attempt to storm the heights these might be rolled upon and among them so as to keep them off. In such attacks both sides usually lost many men, which were often buried in one pit and a great mound of earth raised above them, such as may even now be seen bearing in these days great and mighty trees.[19]

Dogs they likewise possessed in former days, of a kind still to be found in considerable numbers among them. These may be readily distinguished from European dogs, which are now most commonly found among the Indians, especially the Delawares. The ears of Indian dogs rise rigidly from the head and the animals have something of a wolfish nature, for they show their teeth immediately when roused. They will never attack a wolf in the forest, though set on to do so, in this respect, also differing from European dogs. Of their origin their masters can give as little information as of that of the Indians themselves.

The wampum strings of the Indians were formerly made of bits of wood, some white, some black, which were used in connection with embassies and speeches. Belts of wampum were also made. Some few were made of mussel-shells, which were held in the same value among them as gold among the Europeans, for much time was consumed in making even one such string of wampum. When whites came into the country these contrived to make wampum strings which they bartered to the Indians, who used them in place of their woolen wampum, as

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436 is even now the case, though they are not accounted as valuable as at one time. Formerly they sometimes used in the place of the belts the wing of some large bird, which is still done among the nations living in remoter regions, where wampum is rare or not to be had at all, where there is no trade with Europeans and some have not even seen wampum. Occasionally, though not often, embassies from such distant people come to the Delawares.[43]

211 212 648 A belt is given in confirmation of a message or speech, as they know nothing of writing; an answer given is similarly ratified by a belt of the same size. An alliance or league is hardly arranged by two peoples with less than twenty belts of wampum. Often thirty or more are required.

175 As I have digressed from the main matter, viz., the character and nature of the land, I must yet in passing notice how it came about that the Delawares, who had lived near the sea and along the Delaware River, came to Alleghene,[44] where they were strangers and had no claim to the land. Some eighty years ago, more or less, the whites being already in the country and many of the Delawares having moved far up the Delaware River, a party of these Indians, with the cousin of a chief as captain, went on a hunt. They were attacked by Cherokees, at that time dwelling along the Allegheny and its branches, and some of them were killed, the captain, a cousin of the chief, among the rest. The survivors fled to their homes, related to the chief what had happened and suggested that he give them more men in order that they might avenge themselves on their enemies. The chief, however, put them off and did not let them go, even though he sorrowed over the loss they had suffered. After the lapse of a year the chief sent out several hundred men to avenge themselves on the Cherokees (the Delawares at that time already having European arms). When they arrived at the enemies' first towns along the Allegheny, they found no one, for all had fled at the news of the Delawares' approach. The latter pursued, the Cherokees constantly retreating until they were overtaken at the great island[45] at the fork where Pittsburg is now situated. Perceiving that the Delawares were strong in num-

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bers, they had no heart to fight, though they stood ready with bow and arrow in hand; instead, their chiefs called to the Delawares to rest their arms and not fight. Afterwards they had an interview with the Delawares and surrendered themselves as prisoners. About half of them, however, dissatisfied with the capitulation, refused to surrender and escaped during the night, going down the river to the mouth of another river, now named the Cherokee River,[49] where they landed and afterward settled along this stream, in the region in which they still live. After the Delawares had finished with the Cherokees, the Six Nations arrived, having heard of the expedition of the Delawares. When they realized that the Delawares were masters of the situation, they professed satisfaction and said that they had come to assist them, but recognized that their aid was not now needed. Thereupon the Delawares gave them some of their prisoners as a present for their trouble and suffered them to go to their homes. Then the Delawares remained a long time at the Beaver Creek, to which they gave its name, in view of the animals that there abounded. After that the Delawares turned their faces homeward but soon returned, and since that time this region has been inhabited by Delawares and year by year more have come. Later the Wiondats, in connection with a solemn council, recognized the claim they made to the territory, inasmuch as they had conquered it. All this land and region, stretching as far as the creeks and waters that flow into the Alleghene the Delawares call Alligewinenk, which means, "a land into which they came from distant parts." The river itself, however, is called Alligewi Sipo. The whites have made Alleghene out of this, the Six Nations calling the river the Ohio.

The Cherokees were very powerful but had no friends among the nations; on the contrary, the Six Nations and the Wiondats waged war against them, though the Delawares made no further expeditions against them. Once it occurred that the Cherokees, pursuing the Six Nations who had done them some injury, came up to some Delaware towns and killed several of that people. This provoked a war between the Delawares and Cherokees that lasted until 1766 or 1767, when the Cherokees

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175 sought the friendship of the Delawares, who had done them much harm, even to the extent of going into their towns and killing a number of people. Hence, they made peace and the Cherokees recognized the Delawares as their grandfathers. Through intervention of the Delawares the Cherokees secured peace also with the Six Nations and others, which was established in 1768,[46] when the mission of the Brethren was begun at Goschgosching.

With the Delawares the Six Nations carried on long wars before the coming of the white man, and even after the advent of the pale-face, but the former were always too powerful for the Six Nations. The latter were convinced that if they continued the wars, their total extirpation would be inevitable. The Six Nations indeed boast that they had overcome the Delawares but these will not grant it, stating that as the Six Nations recognized the superior strength of the Delawares they thought of a means of saving their honor and making peace so that it might not seem that they had been conquered by the Delawares.

Soon after Pennsylvania had been settled by the whites, the Six Nations sent an embassy to the Delawares, opened negotiations and said:[47] It is not profitable that all the nations should be at war with each other, for this would at length ruin the whole Indian race. They had, therefore, contrived a remedy by which this evil might be prevented while there was yet opportunity to do so. One nation should be the woman. She should be placed in the midst, while the other nations, who make war, should be the man and live around the woman. No one should touch or hurt the woman, and if any one did so, they would immediately say to him, "Why do you beat the woman?" Then all the men should fall upon him who has beaten her. The woman should not go to war but endeavor to keep the peace with all. Therefore, if the men that surround her should beat each other and the war be carried on with violence, the woman should have the right of addressing them; "Ye men, what are ye about; why do ye beat each other? We are almost afraid. Consider that your wives and children must perish unless you desist. Do you mean to destroy yourselves from the face of the earth?" The men should then hear and obey the woman. Ever since then the Six Nations have called the Delawares their cousins, i. e.,

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sister's children, and declared them to be the woman, dressed them in a woman's long habit, reaching down to the feet, though Indian women wear only short garments that reach but little below the knee, and fastened this about their bodies with a great, large belt of wampum. They adorned them with ear-rings, such as their women were accustomed to wear. Further, they hung a calabash filled with oil and beson [medicine] on their arms, therewith to anoint themselves and other nations. They also gave them a corn-pestle and a hoe. Each of these points was confirmed by delivering a belt of wampum and the whole ceremony observed with the greatest solemnity. One must not, however, think they actually dressed them in women's garments and placed corn-pestle and hoe in their hands. It is to be understood in the same way as when the chiefs among the Indians lay out a trail several hundred miles through the woods, they cut away thorn and thicket, clear trees, rocks and stones out of the way, cut through the hills, level up the track and strew it with white sand, so that they may easily go from one nation to another; but when one goes the way that has thus been cleared it is found to be full of wood and rocks and stones and all overgrown with thorns and thicket. The woman's garment signified that they should not engage in war, for the Delawares were great and brave warriors, feared by the other nations; the corn-pestle and hoe that they should engage in agriculture. The calabash[48] with oil was to be used to cleanse the ears of the other nations, that they might attend to good and not to evil counsel. With the medicine or beson they were to heal those who were walking in foolish ways that they might come to their senses and incline their hearts to peace.

The Delaware nation is thus looked to for the preservation of peace and entrusted with the charge of the great belt of peace and the chain of friendship which they must take care to preserve inviolate and which they bear on their shoulders at its middle, the other nations and the Europeans holding the ends.

Thus it was brought about that the Delawares should be the cousins of the Six Nations and were made by them to be the women. Such a state of things was preserved until 1755, when a war broke out between the Indians and the white people into

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which the Delawares were enticed by the Six Nations. The woman's dress of the Delaware nation was shortened so as to reach only to the knees and a hatchet was given into their hands for defense. More than this, on the occasion of a council held during the same war, near Pittsburg, the Six Nations proposed to take the woman's dress away altogether and clothe them with the breech-clout, saying they could well see that the dress was a hindrance, inasmuch as the Delawares did not enter heartily into the war, being well aware that the Six Nations only sought their ruin. This, therefore, was not approved of by the Delawares, one of their chiefs rising to say to the Six Nations, "Why do you wish to rob the woman of her dress? I tell you that if you do, you will find creatures in it that are ready to bite you."

The Six Nations who had betrayed the Delawares into a war with the white people, at the last fell upon them themselves at the instigation of Sir William Johnson, taking many captives, especially of the Monsy [Monsey] tribe, whom they delivered over to Johnson, destroying and ravaging their towns on the Susquehanna and killing their cattle.[48½] The Delawares will not easily forget this piece of treachery and there is and remains a national hostility between these nations. In this present war the Delawares have done much to avenge themselves.

With the Mohicanders and Woapanose[49] the Six Nations also carried on wars for a long time; through the instrumentality of white people peace was eventually declared between them at Albanien.[50]

Concerning the country in which the Delawares formerly lived, viz., in Pennsylvania and Jersey, it is unnecessary to add anything, as these regions are well known. Along the Susquehanna, where our Indians lived, that is, at Friedenshütten,[51] the country is beautiful and the soil good along the river, but away from the river in the heart of the country it is very mountainous and of no use to the Indians except for the chase. Where the Indians would prepare land and plant, the soil must be of the best. In many cases where the Europeans would think it possible to have fine farms, the Indians would not look at the soil.

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In this region they found deer, elk and bear hunting good, as also beaver, fox and raccoon in plenty. The Susquehanna is well stocked with fish. The chief fish are the Rock fish,[55] regarded as one of the best fish, having large scales and often weighing from ten to forty pounds; the Shad[56] or May-fish which in the spring of the year come up the rivers in great numbers, at which time they are caught by the hundreds and thousands with nets made of wild vines; the Yellow Perch,[57] as its name suggests of yellowish color, having sharp prickles along the back, a narrow head and sharp teeth like the pike,[58] which also abounds; the Horn-fish[59] with a long bill like that of a duck, only narrower, having very sharp teeth. This fish is not eaten by the Indians. Further, there are trout[60] in the creeks in great numbers in winter and spring, as also in the Susquehanna. There are large eels[61] and various smaller fish, such as Catfish, Sunfish and others.

In the spring of the year 1765 two seals[62] were shot by the Indians at Wajomick. As the like had never been seen there before, these caused much astonishment among the Indians of that region. Many were summoned to witness the marvel. After they had sufficiently expressed their astonishment, a council was called to consider whether it would be proper to eat them or not. An old Indian arose and observed as God had sent them they could not but be good to eat, even though they had not seen such animals before. They, accordingly, prepared for a feast and all who were assembled partook of the seals and found them a palatable dish. These seals had unquestionably come from the sea and had come up the river several hundred miles.

The region under consideration has this peculiarity above the country to the south that it has great swamps. A swamp is the name given to such a place where the sun never shines because of the dense thicket and which even in the middle of summer is always wet and cool. In such places the beech, white pine and spruce grow well. The Six Nations, to the north, are surrounded with such swamps. Hence, one must go a journey of many days through the wilderness before their

[i.e. along the Susquehanna. - Analyst]

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133 habitations can be reached and is obliged to climb over many fallen trees. Near the home of the Six Nations there are also many cedar swamps — not the red cedar but the white[62] — and swamps of this sort are the wildest and darkest regions, home [136 of the black bears, which the Mingoes — Indians belonging to 224] the Six Nations — catch in wooden traps. Otherwise, there is in that region little or no game, save the beaver and fur-skinned animals. A few moose are found, though those that are shot have generally come from Canada.[63] Hence, the Mingoes, besides cul-226 tivating the soil, mainly for growing corn — this being the work of the women — subsist largely on fish, for fish may be caught the year round.[64] Salmon are deemed the best and most valuable fish in these parts. They have red spots like the trout. In the autumn they go up the little creeks where they are easily caught. I have found carrying two of them a good load. Salmon fishing is carried on by the Indians through the whole summer.

Besides this they catch eels[65] in the fall, which are a different variety from those found in this region, the head being small and sharply pointed. In the fall, when they go out of the rivers into the lakes, they are caught in baskets by the thousand in a single night. Dried, they may be kept a long time. They [251 are so fat that when fried it is as though bacon were being fried. In the matter of salt, Indians of that country do not suf-[317 fer want, for there are in various places salt-springs which supply them more abundantly than I have seen elsewhere.

133 All rivers and waters of that region empty into either Lake Ontario, of which the St. Lawrence is the outlet, or into Lake Erie, which pours into Lake Ontario after the waters have leaped over the falls of Niagara. Upon both bodies of water the English have large vessels bearing cannon which are deemed a necessity for the defense of trade with the Indians.

As I have not seen the cataract,[66] though I have more than once heard it described by Indians who have seen it, yet could give no very accurate account of it not being able to measure its height, I will enter upon no description of the phenomenon, particularly, as correct description may be found in various books. As Indians who have been there relate, the waters

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shoot out over a precipice so perpendicular that Indians find it possible to go hither and thither on the rocks under the water. Fish that plunge over the falls are killed. Wild geese, ducks and other birds that come too near the cataract in their flight are, through air currents started by the stream, drawn into the waters to their destruction. Hence, the Indians may always find good food there. Some Mingoes fishing above the falls on one occasion were dragged into the current. All their exertions to reach the shore were in vain. As they drew helplessly near the cataract they threw everything away, seated themselves, drew their blankets over their heads and plunged into the abyss. Others on shore watched them, but were unable to render any aid. Two others narrowly escaped the same fate. Seized by the swift current, they succeeded in working their way toward the island,[86] which is a mass of rocks bearing bushes and a few trees on the verge line of the falls, a considerable distance from either shore; nearing the island they both sprang out of the canoe into the water, one of them managing to catch hold of a little tree that hung down into the water, the other seizing the legs of the first. Having safely drawn themselves up on the rock, they spent four days and nights there, unable to make those whom they could see on shore hear their cries because of the roar of the waters. At last they were seen. The French, at that time in possession of Canada and, therefore, also of Niagara, did their utmost to save them, letting themselves float down in a canoe to the island for this purpose. Working back from the island they kept the canoe pointed toward it, in order that should they be unable to make headway against the stream it might have been possible to reach the island again. The shore was reached in safety.

Their canoes are made of birch bark, many small pieces being sewed together with exceeding neatness. Being very light they are often carried many miles across the country. In them they cross the Lakes, and as they are so light, less water is dashed into them by the waves than would be the case with a European boat.

There are various smaller lakes in this country. Oneider[88] Lake is thirty-two miles long and eight miles broad. Cayuger[89] Lake is about the same size. In the Sennecker country I saw

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133 several that are larger than either of the two named.[68] Inasmuch as the Mingoes do not change their place of residence as
[361] the Delawares are accustomed to do, who never remain many years in one place, one sees orchards of large, old apple trees
131 near all their towns.[69] The Six Nations lived in these parts long before the advent of the whites. About the year 1600 the French waged many wars with them, at the last making peace. They live in about a straight line from east to west. The easternmost are the Mohoks,[70] few in number, who live for the most part among white people. Next to these live the Oneider and Tuscarores. The Onondager occupy the middle, where the great council is held, to which representatives come from all places. Further to the west is the dwelling place of the Cayugers and beyond them are the Senneckers, the westernmost. Wiondats or Hurons, who live partly in Sandusky, at the western end of Lake Erie, and partly in Detroit, are not counted in with the Six Nations, though they are allied with them. Their language bears greatest resemblance to that of the Mingoes.

648 Last year, 1779, the Six Nations were driven out of their land by the Americans and all their towns and settlements were destroyed, a fate they had never before experienced.[71] Winter
[132] in that region is usually very severe and the snow very deep, as a rule. The soil is rich and fertile. Indians there plant a dif-
241 ferent variety of corn from that used here. It ripens earlier. The kind planted here along the Muskingum would not mature in those parts.[72]

721 The Six Nations have ever been a war-like people, unable to preserve peace. There are few nations with whom they have not at some time had war. It is not too much for them to travel in parties five or six hundred miles into an enemy's country, to hide then in the woods for many days, even weeks, that they may catch hostile braves, though they must, in so doing, suffer hunger, not being able to shoot any game lest they be betrayed. When a deed planned has been accomplished they hurry away.
[127] If they can bring back a captive or a scalp they regard themselves as amply rewarded for all weariness and need they have suffered and danger to which they have been exposed. Had they not, with the captives taken, replaced those of their own

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numbers who had perished in the endless wars, they had, long ere this, died out. As it is they have degenerated and are a very different people from what they once were. As all the Indian nations treat their captives in much the same manner, I will refer to this matter elsewhere.

I 133

Concerning the region in question, I merely wish to add that it is well watered by rivers and lakes so that it is possible to get almost anywhere by water. In the matter of trade, this is of great importance, though trade among the Six Nations amounts to little, as they do not secure much by the chase. The nations dwelling beyond them engage much more in trade. Each of the Six Nations has its language, the Cayuger and Sennecker and particularly the Tuscarores, who came from Maryland[13] when they lived by the sea, speaking tongues very different from the rest. In the main, however, all these dialects form one speech and the Indians of the Six Nations are all able to understand one another. The language of the Delawares, on the other hand, differs so much from that of the Six Nations, that they cannot understand each other. It is much easier to acquire the language of the Mingoes than that of the Delawares.

I 439

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The country of the Six Nations is not mountainous but very level, so-called hills being of but little account. Indeed, the hills and elevations partake of the swampy nature of the lowland, even on the heights one is in the same kind of dense thicket as in the valleys, in which the sun rarely reaches the ground.

I 133

Concerning the St. Lawrence River, it is yet to be noted that its navigation is considerable, even though there are many rapids, which render the unloading of boats necessary. From Quebeck light boats are used as far as Fontenac[14] at the eastern end of Lake Ontario, a distance of three hundred and eighty miles. Thence, cargo is taken in sloops across the lake to Niagara at the western end, a distance of two hundred and twenty miles. From this point it is taken nine miles across country to navigable water and thus it is carried through Lake Erie to Detroit, a further distance of two hundred miles.

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From this digression I return again to the Alleghene or
133 Ohio Region. This is separated from Pennsylvania and the other colonies by the Alleghene mountains. The most considerable mountains to be passed on the road (from the land of the Delawares) to Pittsburg are the Sidling Hill, the Alleghene Mountain and Laurel Hill.[75] In other directions there are more, since the mountain chains at times divide and receive different names in the different regions in which they lie, though they belong to the same system. In Pennsylvania they are called the Blue Ridge, viz., the Little and the Great Blue Ridge, the latter being also called the Wolf's Mountain, on account of the number of wolves which infest it; and in the country about Tulpehocken and Thürnstein[76] as is to be seen on the chart, and another name is Jacob's Height.[77] The Thürnstein belongs, therefore, to the Alleghene Mountains, as appears not only from its position but also from similarity in mass, breadth and height to the other parts of that range.

This mountain chain forms a boundary between this region
132 and that to the east even in the matter of weather conditions.
133 In Pennsylvania the east wind generally brings rain. This is not the case in Ohio, where the east wind rarely blows and then hardly above twelve hours at a time. The south and west winds bring rain, and it even rains sometimes with a northwest wind. In Pennsylvania northwest wind brings clear and fine weather. All thunder storms rise either with the south, west or northwest winds and a land rain from the west sometimes continues for a week.

133 The Alleghene River rises in a swamp lying between it and the Susquehanna, about a hundred and fifty miles to the north of Pittsburg. About one hundred miles to the north of that place the Venango (in the Indian tongue *Ouenge*) empties into it. This river is the passage to Presquisle,[78] Lake Erie and Niagara.[79] On the journey to these places there is a portage of fifteen miles. Formerly the French carried on considerable trade along this route and all their provisions were in this way brought to Fort du Quesne, now called Pittsburg, when this place was in their possession.

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At Pittsburg the Monongehella, which takes its rise in Virginia, enters into the river. In the Indian tongue the name of this river was Mechmenawungihilla, which signifies a high bank, which is ever washed out and therefore collapses. Ten miles up this river on Turtoise[80] Creek General Braddock was defeated by the French and Indians in 1755 and at Fort Sigonier,[81] fifty-four miles to the east of Pittsburg, at various times during those wars many people were killed by the Indians.

The Alleghene is a navigable river and as one says in English, "of gentle current." Large vessels may pass from Pittsburg down the Ohio to Illinoise and into the Mississippi, which is fifteen hundred miles, and to a French island, New Orleans, in the last named river. The Ohio empties into the Mississippi fourteen hundred miles below Pittsburg. Previous to this war, the east side of this river was already thickly settled, but since the Indians have massacred so many, most settlers have retreated. Further down, about six hundred miles from Pittsburg, also on the east bank of the river there is a large settlement of the whites on the Kentuke[82] River. These also suffered much from the Indians in the late war.

Up to six or seven years ago the Delawares lived along the Alleghene, but after the Six Nations had sold a considerable portion on the eastern side of the river to the whites, they retreated to the Muskingum, where they now live. This stream rises near Cajahages[83] in a small lake, and the Cajahage River empties into Lake Erie only a short distance from its source. [134]

When one thinks of the number of rivers and creeks that flow into the lakes, one ceases to wonder at the existence of the Great Lakes. Lake Huron, Michillimakinac, Michigan and Superior, which lie to the north of Detroit, all find an outlet in Lake Erie and this in turn in Lake Ontario, whence the St. Lawrence River rises. In all these lakes no current is observable, but their waters are clear and transparent, abounding in fish.

Traders have journeyed northward from Detroit through Lake Superior and beyond to the neighborhood of Hudson Bay in the interest of trade with the Indians. Such a journey usually takes a year.

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133 The Muskingum (meaning Elk's Eye, so called because of the numbers of elk that formerly fed on its banks, these animals being found there even at the present time) empties into the Ohio two hundred miles below Pittsburg. It is navigable for canoes or light boats, which the Indians use upon it, from its source to its mouth.

The country is diversified with hillocks and gentle risings, but no great mountains are to be seen to the west of the Alleghene Mountains. The Indians are, therefore, yet in the possession of the best land. Along the creeks and rivers the soil is very rich and commonly called "The Bottoms." This sort of [311] land is chosen by the Indians for agricultural purposes not only because it is easily worked, but also because it yields aboundant crops for many years. When, however, their fields begin to [241] grow grass they leave them and break new land, for they regard it as too troublesome to root out the grass. For winter crops such soil would be too rich and would yield little or nothing. But corn and all else raised by the Indians thrives in rich soil.

The higher lying land, generally of medium richness, though some of this also is extraordinarily fertile, is the best for winter grains, and as but little of it is stony soil it would be difficult to find a spot that could not be cultivated to advantage.

132 Concerning the climate, I can only speak from a twelve years' acquaintance with the country. In the summer it is quite warm, especially in July and August, which are the two hottest months; woolen garments can hardly be worn at this season of the year. The winter is generally very mild. The snow is never deep, nor does it remain long on the ground. Last winter, 1779-80, which was very severe in Pensilvania, snow fell once to a depth of two feet. In eight days this was gone, though the ground was covered with snow most of the time between New Year and February. As I have neither chart nor instrument, I am unable to say in what degree of latitude it lies, though I reckon it to be about the same as that of Philadelphia. A distance of a hundred English miles north or south makes a very perceptible difference in temperature; for in Sandusky on Lake Erie, it is much colder and the snow is much deeper than here in the Muskingum Valley and along the Scioto,[84] which empties into

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the Ohio three hundred miles below Pittsburg, one hundred miles from here, snow hardly ever remains on the ground, and the ground is bare for most of the winter. In autumn and even up to Christmas and New Year or beyond that time, there is little frost, and even if in a clear night the ground should freeze, it thaws soon after sunrise. There are very few clear, beautiful days in the winter-time; much of the time it rains, occasionally it snows. After a few clear days a change may be looked for. If there has been quite a snow, rain may follow. Yet the Muskingum, not having a strong current, is frozen over when there are several cold nights in succession. Usually this happens once during the winter, rarely oftener. 132

The Indians make little provision to feed their cattle in winter, for as there is no deep snow and the weather is generally mild, cattle and particularly horses can forage for themselves, finding feed in the woods. In the bottoms grass never quite dies away but remains green toward the end of March and beginning of April grows again. [231]

Of wild fruits the strawberries,[86] much like those in Europe, are the first to ripen in spring. Blackberries,[87] raspberries,[87] bilberries,[88] are also found, though not native to these parts, for these varieties grow best on hills and in not too rich soil. Further, there are wild gooseberries[89] and currants,[90] the latter black in color and with a somewhat different taste from that of the red which are cultivated in gardens, though having the same sort of leaves. There are two varieties of cranberries;[91] one grows in swamps on low bushes not as high as the bilberry bushes, the other on small trees. For both the Indians have one name (Rakilun). Of the wild cherry, there are three kinds, not found in Europe at all, and having a very good taste. The one sort[92] grows on high thick trees, which are found in large numbers and yield a very fine red wood that is well suited for cabinet work. The other kinds[93] grow on bushes. On the islands in the Susquehánna, cherries[94] are found, very like the cultivated fruit, having about the same form and taste. The only difference is that they grow neither on trees nor bushes, but on vines, which lie on the ground and when lifted up appear laden with fruit. 137

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[137] These grow on very stony ground near the water, where the sunshine is particularly hot. In these parts I have not come across this variety.

Besides, there are mulberries,[95] plums,[96] and wild grapes of three sorts, those growing on high ground[97] or hills being the best; those[98] found in the bottoms are very sour. Crabapples[99] grow in great plenty and the Indians, being very fond of [232 26] sharp and sour fruit, eat them in abundance.

Of nuts there are found: (1) The well known hazel nut,[100] (2) the hickory nut,[101] found in great plenty in some years and which the Indians gather in large quantities and use not only as they find them — they have a very sweet taste — but [252] also extract from them a milky juice used in different foods and very nourishing. Sometimes they extract an oil by first roasting the nut in the shell under hot ashes and pounding them to a fine mash, which they boil in water. The oil swimming on the surface is skimmed off and preserved for cooking and other purposes. (3) The walnut of two varieties, the white walnut[102] deriving its name from the color of the wood which, strictly speaking, is gray, and the black walnut,[103] of which the wood is dark-brown, sometimes even shading into violet. The latter is very much used by cabinet makers for tables, chests and other things. The nuts, the one variety having a very hard shell, are eaten, but are very oily.

The papa[104] tree, which I have seen nowhere else than along the Ohio, bears a very beautiful fruit, in form and size resembling a middle sized cucumber, of an agreeable smell and taste.

Wild laurel[105] is found in the bottoms in great abundance; the berries are smaller than those found elsewhere, but have about the same taste. Of these, even the whites make use. [278 824] They grow on bushes, the wood of which has a strong spicy color and taste, used by the Indians for medicine and called by the English, spicewood.[106]

Chestnuts[107] are very plentiful in some years. The Indians gather them and prepare various dishes with them. A larger [222 262] variety of chestnuts[108] is native to these parts, but these are not fit to eat.

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Of roots, wild potatoes[108] and wild parsnips are found. Bread is baked of both, which one may be driven to eat by pangs of hunger. The Indians look for both roots when famine threatens and the supply of corn runs low, sometimes sustaining life with them for a considerable period.

A kind of bean, called by the Indians earth-bean, because it grows close to the ground, is also found and tastes when boiled, like the chestnut.

Wild citrons[109] or May apples, grow on a stalk not over a foot high. The Indians enjoy eating the fruit, which has a sour but pleasant taste. The roots are a powerful poison which, who eats, dies in a few hours' time unless promptly given an emetic.

Watermelons and muskmelons, which grow by culture only, are very refreshing in summer. Of some watermelons the meat is yellow and the seeds black; of others the meat and seeds red.

The forests contain mainly oak trees; other kinds of trees are, however, also found. They are not dense, but generally sufficiently open to allow comfortable passage on foot or horseback. There are five varieties of oak, white-oak,[110a] black-oak,[110b] red-oak,[110c] Spanish-oak,[110d] and swamp-oak.[110e] The red-oak has very narrow, small leaves and bears little colored acorns, such as I have seen nowhere else. Besides these, hickory trees of three sorts,[111] ash,[112] white and red beech,[113] sassafras,[114] in some places very thick, poplar[115] and chestnut[116] are the kinds generally found on high lying land. In the bottoms there are walnut, linden,[117] maple,[118] water-beech,[119] that grow near to the water and often attain great height and girth, hawthorne[120] and crab-apple.[121]

The Hoop-ash,[122] a little known tree and found only in this region, has this name because barral-hoops are made of the wood. It grows in the bottoms and is of little use otherwise, as the wood easily rots.

The Honey-locust[123] is likewise found in the bottoms. This tree but little resembles the locust of Pensilvanien, except that there is some similarity in foliage, though the leaves are smaller and finer. The trunks of the thickest trees are two feet in diameter on the average. The trunk is covered with thorns that stand straight out, are about six inches long and very sharp.

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137 The wood is red, very hard and heavy and does not rot very quickly in the ground. It bears pods that fall off in the autumn. Besides the seeds, the pods contain a kind of molasses or honey, thus accounting for the name Europeans have given the tree. The Indians call it the thorn-tree on account of its many thorns.

Sugar trees are usually found in low, rich soil, sometimes, also, on higher land and in more northerly regions even on hills, where, however, the soil is very moist. The Delawares call this tree the *Achsunnamunschi*, that is, the stone-tree, on account of the hardness of the wood. The Mingoes give it a name signifying the sugar tree, as do the Europeans. From 222 the sap of the tree sugar is boiled. This is done by the Indians 252 in the early part of the year, beginning in February and continuing to the end of March or beginning of April, according as spring is early or late. In this region it is possible to boil sugar even in fall after there has been frost and in winter, if the season is mild. For as soon as the trees thaw a little the sap begins to run and then the trees are tapped. As, however, at that time of the year the weather is very uncertain and it is possible that there should be a cold wave at any time, it is hardly worth the effort to make the necessary arrangements and is hardly ever done, unless some one be driven of necessity to provide sugar for the household. This, we ourselves have been obliged to do and the sisters of our congregation have already boiled a quantity of sugar for congregational love-feasts, shortly before Christmas.

Spring is the proper season for boiling sugar. The following preparations are made. A number of small troughs [415] are made for receiving the sap. Usually, the Indians make them of wood, cutting them out roughly with a hatchet. Some Indians are able to make twenty or thirty of them in a day. Some do not go to so much trouble, but make dishes of the bark or bast of a tree, which serve quite as well, but are good for no more than one season. According as they have large or numerous kettles and troughs they can make much sugar, for there is no lack of trees. Besides the smaller troughs and dishes,

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there must be several of larger size in which the sap is collected. If one is well supplied with utensils, there is this advantage, that on days when the sap flows freely much may be collected, which will enable one to keep on boiling when the sap does not flow plentifully. The sap flows most plentifully when it freezes at night and the sun shines during the day. At night it commonly ceases to run. The same is true in case of warm or rainy weather. As soon as there has been frost the sap runs again. There is a time in the boiling season when sap once or twice begins to flow in considerable quantities, both day and night. When this occurs the height of the sugar season is on. The sap which flows after this is not so good and yields less sugar. The last sugar secured in the spring is always of inferior quality. Hence, toward the end of the season no sugar, but only molasses is in most cases boiled.

The length of the season is determined by the weather conditions. If spring is late and night frosts continue for a considerable time, the flowing season is the longer. With the early advent of warm weather the season terminates very quickly. The shortest season lasts about a month, the longest nearly two months.

The thickest of the trees are two feet, sometimes more, in diameter. Those of middle size, which are still young, have many branches and are growing, yield the most sap. Experience has shown that such a tree will yield about sixty gallons of sap while sugar is being boiled, and thereafter another sixty for molasses. Seven to eight gallons of sap are regarded as necessary for a pound of sugar. Such a tree may, therefore, yield more than seven pounds of sugar and seven quarts of molasses. It has also been found that a tree which one year has yielded very freely, gives but little the next, and on the other hand, a tree that has yielded but little one season, gives largely the next. The sap, which is of a brownish color and becomes darker the longer it boils, is boiled until it gets to be of the consistency of molasses, is then poured off and kept. When a sufficient quantity of this consistency has been secured, it is boiled over a slow fire until it becomes sugar. It is important to boil

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252 this over a slow fire, for the sap readily boils over and is easily burned. If the boiled sap is stirred until cold, the sugar becomes granulated and is as fine as the West Indian sugar. As the Indians lack the dishes and do not care to take the time to prepare it in this way, they usually form it into cakes, put it in a kettle or dish, or in default of these, on a stone and let it cool, when it becomes hard and may be easily preserved in baskets. If the troughs and kettles used for collecting the sap are made of wood that does not give color, the sugar becomes the finer, but if it gives color, as does the white walnut, the sugar becomes black the first year; thereafter, this is not the case.

When everything is prepared, an oblique incision is made 222 in the tree and at the lower end of the same a thin wedge, three 252 or four inches broad, is forced in, whence the sap runs down into the vessel placed below. According as the sap runs freely or contrarywise, the dishes must be emptied at given intervals, day and night. According to the manner of making the incision one may determine whether a tree shall be good for many or few years. If large openings are made the tree is soon spoiled and nothing is gained, for the sap runs no faster. In this matter, however, the Indians are very careless, for trees are numerous and after they have used one place for three or four years, they seek out another. There is, strange to say, no tree among all the rest so hardy as the sugar-tree, for even if the stem is cut all around, so that it can no longer be used, it does not die. Hence, the Indians very reluctantly make their fields where there are sugar-trees, as these are not to be exterminated, except they be cut down. This, however, is true that when trees have been used for eight or nine years they give less sap than formerly, as they are full of incisions and scars. An incision having been made in a tree in the spring of the year and the sap having flowed for some time, the incision needs to be enlarged, though only a little. This may be done two or three times in a season.

As the Indians have trees in abundance, their labors are 252 richly rewarded. For if a man owns a kettle of ten or twelve gallons and has a few smaller ones with which to keep the large one filled, it will be possible for him to make several

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hundred pounds of sugar in a season and a quantity of molasses, besides.

Sugar boiling is chiefly the employment of women. Even widows are able to earn enough by it to secure clothing and whatever else they may need. While the women are thus engaged, the men hunt and supply meat. As the deer skins are of little value at that season of the year, they generally hunt bear, which they seek in the rocks, hollow trees or thickets in their winter quarters. Bears are at this time generally fat.

Dog-wood[124] is also found in these parts. The rind of the root is used in the apothecary shops in place of Jesuit-Bark.[125] This tree grows to be neither large nor high.

Red Cedars[126] are found along the Muskingum finer and larger than I have seen elsewhere in North America. They do not grow on the mountains as in Pensilvanien, where they are stunted and scrubby, but in the bottoms.

The spruce tree[127] is neither a fir nor a pine, according to my view, but something between the two. In this region the tree is found only occasionally along the creeks and rivers. In more northerly districts, however, there are great spruce forests and swamps.

Pitch-pine[128] is rarely found here and white pine[129] not at all; a hundred miles to the south one may see many specimens of either variety. Fir-trees[130] I have seen near the source of the Ohio and pines[131] not far from Bethlehem, across the Blue Mountains in the great swamp.

Vines are very numerous, especially in the bottoms. They climb up the trees and look like anchor strands, often being thicker than these. The grapes they bear have a sour taste. Those which grow on the highlands and only have short, tender shoots, being frequently disturbed in their growth by brush-fires, have the best grapes. These have a good taste. Experience has taught that good wine may be made of both kinds.

The elm tree,[132] already noticed above, is of no particular use, for the wood rots quickly, except that the Mingoes make bast canoes and kettles for sugar boiling of the bark, which is very tough.

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137 [278] The bark of stone birch[183] trees, as of many others, the Indians pound fine, mix with water and use as a medicine. This is the only variety of birch trees here. In Pensilvanien there are birch trees like those of Europe, though they do not grow to any size.

Aspen trees[184] are also found, though not in great numbers nor everywhere. One kind of tree is found here that I have seen nowhere else. The wood is soft and yellowish. The leaves are smooth and oval-shaped. The Indians call it *Wiseweminscki*, the yellow tree.[185]

317 Of oil wells I have seen three kinds, (1) wells that have an outlet; (2) wells that have no outlet, but are stagnant pools; (3) wells in creeks and even in the Ohio at two different points, one hundred and fifty miles from one another.

In the wells which have an outlet, oil and water together exude from the earth and where these flow grass and soil become oily. When there is no means of discharge one sees nothing more than oil welling up, which, if none has been taken off for some time, floats an inch or more in depth on the water. In the creeks it is possible to see some of the places where the oil flows, others not, for often the current carries the oil with it at such rate that you see the oil over all the surface of the water. In the Ohio there are, also, such places in the region of the oil wells. Here the current is very gentle and the Indians skim off the oil, though it is not easy to do this as the current, even though not swift, keeps carrying it along. Such places are usually revealed by the strong odor. Even though the water of a river keeps carrying away the oil, one may smell it at a distance of a quarter of a mile from the well. The soil near an oil well is poor, either a cold, clayey ground, or if it is near a creek, a poor quality of sand at the top. Neither good grass or wood will grow nearby, hardly anything more than a few stunted oak trees.

If the Indians wish to collect oil, which they prefer to do where the well has no discharge, as it is there most easily secured, they first throw away the old oil floating on top, as it has a stronger odor than that which wells up fresh from the earth.[186]

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The odor is somewhat like that of tar, though not very much so. 317
They stir the water violently then let it settle and become clear. The more the pool is stirred the more abundantly does the oil flow. When it is clear they scoop it into kettles, and, as it is impossible to avoid getting some water, boil it and preserve it for use. They use it as a medicine in all sorts of cases for external application, thus for tooth-ache, head-ache, swelling, rheumatism, strained joints. Some also take it internally and it appears to have hurt no one in this way. Some, indeed, declare that the oil flows from the coal deposits, but this is not likely, for in the first place, there is no sign of pit coal to be seen in this region — one sees nothing more than poor sandstone and, in the second place, in other parts where there is much pit coal, as for example, along the Muskingum, no sign of oil is to be seen. Were the oil to be found there, the Indians would know of it, for they value it highly and have looked for it, but found none. Most probably it comes out of the earth. It is brownish in color and may be used in lamps, for it burns well. [278]

Salt springs are to be found both along the Muskingum and along the Ohio. Of this salt the Indians make little use; they prefer to buy it from the whites, even though they have to pay a high price for it owing to the fact that it has to be brought a considerable distance from the seaports. Moreover, they use very little salt and seem not to require it. They often eat their food unsalted, even though they may have the salt, until they feel a longing for it. 317 263

These salt springs are usually to be found on the bank of a creek or even in the middle of the creek on a sand-bank, the fresh water flowing on both sides. The Indians have on occasion boiled a considerable quantity of salt in a short time at such a well, so that it would appear worth the labor to get it, especially as it is so expensive. 317

There are, also, many salt licks to which cattle, horses and game go in large numbers. These are generally springs that have salt or saltpetre[137] in them.

The common sort of stones in this region along the Ohio are the sandstones. Some are very hard, others soft. They 135

[137] [i.e., crude oil. — Aug 4st]

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135 are, for the most part, of a gray, fine sand and make as good whetstones as one might wish. Rocks you meet occasionally along the Ohio, but away from the river and here along the Muskingum very few, even most of, the mountains and hills are not rocky.

Pit-coal is found in abundance, but as there is no lack of wood it is little used and hardly thought of by the Indians. In Pittsburg the coal is used in fire-places and by blacksmiths.

[324] [276] A kind of stone, black in color, is found here, that is easily worked and cut. It has no sand in its composition and the Indians make tobacco pipes of it, some doing very neat work.

There is also a kind of stone, blue in color, which is very hard. It somewhat resembles the limestone of Pensilvanien, but examination has shown it to be different. Limestone has not yet been found in this region.

A mineralogist would find many more varieties to describe, to which I am unable to give even the names, especially along the shores of the river, where all kinds may be seen, green, yellow, blue, red and black. About ore I know little or nothing concerning this region. The Indians believed themselves to have found gold and silver, but what they produced as precious ore, because it resembled this somewhat, on the test and examination of whites was found to be sulphurous substance.[138] Whatever glitters, the Indians are apt to look upon at once as being gold or silver.

317 276 [439] The Cherokees, who through the years have had much intercourse with the Delawares, brought with them many tobacco pipes for trade. These they made of quite white stone, probably white marble.[139] When completed they blackened the pipes and in such a way that they retained their color. These pipes are made so neatly that they are no heavier than the European pipes.

From the Mississippi the Indians bring red marble, whenever they come from that direction. Of this pipes are also made. [213] Such pipes, however, are as a rule to be seen only in the possession of chiefs or captains, for not many of them are to be had. A pipe of this sort is generally used in council or on solemn occasions. This is carried about by the chief counsellor, each

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one present draws a few whiffs of smoke and this is called smoking the peace-pipe. 276

There are four kinds of clay. There is the white, which is almost like chalk and with which, when dry, one can write as with chalk.[140] Another variety is quite black. This, however, becomes quite white when burned. Besides these, gray and yellow clays are found. A sort of yellow earth, rather of an orange tinge is found, of which the Indians, especially the warriors, make a fine color by burning.[141] With this they paint themselves and they are particularly careful that the head shall be always red. It is not too much for the Wiondats to come here to Tuscarawi, a distance of at least a hundred miles, to supply themselves with this red coloring matter. 135 [386] [301]

Concerning plants and roots of medicinal virtue, it would be possible, if one were to devote himself to inquiry, to secure a great deal of information from the Indians, for what one of these does not know another does, each man and woman having some knowledge in this direction, some more, some less. Hence, the custom that a patient who has consulted an Indian and secured a medicine from him without, however, being benefited, will go immediately to another; if no relief is obtained through his advice, the patient goes to a third, a fourth until he finds one whose medicine helps. For many ailments they have very good remedies, e. g., for rheumatism. In respect to this affliction I have witnessed instances where they have effected a thorough cure and not only once or twice. At times they can secure desired results with only two or three kinds of roots, at other times more are required. If a simple remedy does not afford relief, they may use twenty or more kinds of roots. Even in such cases I know of cures having been effected. In treating rheumatism, bathing and sweating play a great part. 757 278

They have remedies even for fevers. When a patient has been given a dose, they are generally able to tell from its workings whether he will recover or die. If he does not retain the medicine, this is regarded as a sign that he will hardly recover. I have paid some attention to this and like cases of treatment and found that the Indians have generally been correct in their

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predictions. In one important respect, according to my opinion, they make mistakes, namely, in not properly measuring doses and often needlessly torturing patients. Hence, it is that in connection with the external hurts, where over-treatment is less likely to occur, they have the better results, as is the case with rheumatism, for which they use only external applications. One Indian knows of good remedies for one disease or kind of injury, another another. Owing to the fact that they rarely reveal their knowledge to each other, much of the practical knowledge is lost.

In the matter of diseases peculiar to women, the women know a number of remedies, which usually act quickly and well, as in the case of hard labor, which sometimes occurs, though not frequently, and in other troubles. If mothers cannot suckle children for want of milk, they are able, by use of a drink, to increase the supply.[142]

In the use of poisonous roots the Indians are well versed, and there are many melancholy examples where they have by their use destroyed themselves or others. If a case of poisoning is taken in time, the effect of the poisonous root may be prevented by inducing vomiting. In case assistance is rendered too late, death follows, as a rule, in a few hours. There are poisonous roots that operate by slow degrees, in some cases illness may last a year or longer.

The so-called Poison Vine[143] grows plentifully in the bottoms. It climbs up the trees, much as a grape vine will, the main stem becoming as thick as an arm. Some are affected with swelling in the face and body if they touch it, others, even when the wind blows over it upon them. This is very painful until cured. Others do not suffer from the vine at all. This holds good of Indians as of others.

There are some poisonous trees.[144] These do not attain great height. They have a milky juice under the bark which is very poisonous.

The bark of many different kinds of trees is used by the Indians for preparing medicine. Occasionally, you will meet an Indian who has knowledge in this kind of remedies, but knows nothing of roots or herbs. With the white walnut bark,[145]

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with the white walnut bark,[145] used externally and internally, they effect many cures. Laid upon flesh wounds this relieves pain at once, prevents swelling and accelerates healing. Applied externally in case of tooth-ache, head-ache or pain in the limbs, this brings speedy relief.

Beyond question there are many roots and herbs not found in Europe; perhaps it would be safe to say that this is true of most here found, but as I am no authority in this subject and know no names, except perhaps the Indian designations, I will add nothing further about roots and herbs. Doubtless, there are books from which one might get more information than it is in my power to give.

The following quadrupeds are to be found along the Ohio: In the first place, there are the deer,[146] whose skins are much used in barter and trade by the Indians. Their horns are not straight, but bent toward each other and have prongs. From May until September they are red, after that they lose the red hair and their hide is covered with long, gray hair, which is their winter coat. At about the beginning of the year they shed their horns; new ones grow in spring. These are at first and until they attain their full size, covered with a thin skin, which peels off when the horns harden. The tail is about a foot long and stands up straight when they run. As the under side of the tail is white it is possible to see them running at a great distance. The young are born in June or about that time, are red, spotted with white, until in the fall when they become gray. Deer have young each spring, sometimes two. As, however, they are hunted so persistently at the call of trade, their numbers diminish with each year, even though the forests are of vast extent, for the hunters are many. A large buckskin is valued at a Spanish dollar; two doeskins are regarded as equal in value to one buckskin.[147]

The bear is quite black, has short ears, a thick head and quite a sharp snout.[148] It has but a very short tail and great strong claws on his feet. It can easily climb the trees and bring down chestnuts and acorns. This is done, however, only when these are not ripe and do not, therefore, fall down. They generally break off the branches, throw them down and then climb

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136 down to consume the nuts. Where there is food and mast they are found. It is as if they knew that in this or that region it would be good for them to live. In the fall, when the Indians hunt the deer, they take no notice of the bears; otherwise they would spoil their fall hunting. They do, however, notice their tracks and whither they lead. At the end of December the bears, having fattened, seek their winter quarters, which they prepare in the trunks of hollow trees or in caves or the thickest part of the forest, where many old trees lie piled up. They leave their winter quarters in early spring, if they have young, of which there are generally two, not until May. During this period they are said to eat nothing, but to live on their own fat. When the deer hunt of the fall, at which season skins are
136 best, is over, the Indians immediately prepare for the bear hunt.
224 They are remarkably expert in finding out the haunts of these animals. If the bears are in hollow trees, it is frequently necessary to cut down the tree, as the bear will not leave his retreat otherwise. In case the bear comes out when they hammer on the tree and make a noise, they stand prepared with their guns to kill him as soon as most of his bulk is emerged. Their skins
[513] are no great object for trade, hence the Indians prefer to use them for their sleeping places, for which the long hair makes them peculiarly useful. There is likewise a kind of bear, much larger than the common bear, with much hair on the legs, but little on the bodies, which appear quite smooth.[149] The Indians call it the king of bears, for they have found by experience that many bears will willingly follow it. While all the bears are carnivorous, and, therefore, flesh of game kept by the Indians hanging on trees forms for them a welcome repast, or they are fond of feeding on swine they catch in the forest, this kind of bear is particularly voracious. Many instances are known where they have seized upon even defenseless Indian women and children. In more northerly regions, as, e. g., in the country of the Mingoes, these are more frequently found and they have killed many Indians.

136 Elk are in my estimation most like the European stag,[150] and I have often thought that they must be the same species and that what is here called the stag is the European fallow deer,

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but as I have seen neither stag nor fallow deer in Europe I cannot speak authoritatively. I recognize that the English distinguish between the elk and the stag in Europe. They, also, shed their coat in spring and are reddish in color during the summer like the deer. In fall they are light gray and in winter dark gray. The bucks have long, heavy antlers with many prongs. These they shed each year as do the deer. The tail is quite short. As the skins are very thick and heavy and of no particular value, elk do not tempt the Indians to the chase. Occasionally, one is shot that happens near an Indian, but most of the flesh is left in the forest for beasts of prey, even though the animals are always fat, in summer as in winter and do not become lean, like the deer.

The buffaloes[151] are dark brown in color, covered with long hair, or rather soft down mixed with hair. Their legs are short, the body is very heavy. They have a hunch upon their backs, just above the shoulders. This diminishes toward the rear, hence, they appear much shorter from the back than from the front. They have a thick head and a long beard depends from the chin. Altogether, they present a terrible appearance. Their horns are short, but thick and quite black. The buffaloes are a good deal heavier and larger than cattle. One that I have seen was a yearling, raised by the Indians and quite tame; even this was the size of a small cow, that has already had calf. At one time these animals appeared in great numbers along the Muskingum, but as soon as the country begins to be inhabited by the Indians, they retire and are now only to be found near the mouth of the above named river. Along the banks of the Scioto and further south, both Indians and whites say that they may be seen in herds numbering hundreds. That is two or three hundred miles from here. If a buffalo cow is shot, its calf, if such it has, will stand quietly by until the huntsman has skinned its dam and then follow him into his hut, stay at his fire and not leave him. That this is true, I have living witnesses enough about me to testify.

The panther[152] has a head and face like a cat, its legs are short and the paws are armed with sharp claws. It is a beast of prey of uncommon strength. Its tail is long, compared with

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136 that of the cat. Deer it is able to catch at will. If it spies one and is desirous of capturing it, the panther crawls along the ground behind fallen trees or through the thicket until it is sure of capturing the deer in one leap. Then it springs upon its prey, seizes it with its claws and does not release its hold until the victim is dead. If it misses its aim at the first spring, it never attempts a second. When the deer has been killed, the panther devours but a small part, leaving the rest. When again pressed by hunger it seeks new game. At a distance of ten yards from a tree, the panther can leap ten yards up the tree and leap the same distance from the tree. It is not known that a panther has ever done the Indians injury without provocation. Should an Indian get near the place where the young are kept, then he is in great danger and if he does not know what to do under such circumstances, is almost sure to lose his life. He must never turn his back upon the panther, thinking that he can escape. He must not take his eyes off the animal, and if he has not the courage to shoot, gently walk backward, until he is a good distance away. If he shoots and misses, then he is in imminent danger and must keep his eyes fixed on the panther. It has happened that in this way Indians have saved their lives. It has occurred that a bear has fought so long with a panther, near to where the latter had its young, that both fell dead. The skin of the panther is gray in color, mixed with reddish hair.

136 Wild cats, gray in color, are distinguished from the domestic cats in that they have hardly any tail.[153] They are beasts of prey, even invade the hunting lodges of the Indians, when the latter are out and if they find meat devour it.

There are three varieties of fox, red,[154] gray[155] and black.[156]

The raccoon[157] is somewhat larger than a common cat and has a pointed snout. Its forefeet bear some resemblance to hands and are used as such, for it digs up small mussels out of the sand, which form its food when there are no acorns or chestnuts to be had. Its hind legs resemble those of the bear. It is fattest in autumn and winter, when it lives in hollow logs like a bear, without seeking food. They do not hibernate as long as do the bears. In a severe winter it retires for two whole months,

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otherwise, only four weeks. The flesh is wholesome and tastes like bears' meat and its skin is useful to hatters. 136

The otter[158] can live on land or in water. It often travels a considerable distance across the country from one creek or river to another.

The beaver[159] was formerly found in great numbers in this region, but since the Indians have learned from the whites to catch them in steel-traps,[160] they are more rarely found. A necessary thing in connection with the beaver-catch is a certain oil or spirit which the Indians prepare of various kinds of bark of trees and other aromatic things, which they place in the traps to decoy the beavers into them. The skins are always of considerable value. They are very industrious animals and for their size, of uncommon strength. Beaver dams of such dimensions are found in creeks, that it might be imagined that they had been built by human hands. Such dams they build when there are many together, for they work harmoniously, at night, in order to dam up the water and often put a considerable piece of land under water in course of their operations. In the middle of the dam they build their dwelling places that are raised above the water, wood and earth being the materials used. As their dens are in the middle of the lakes they cannot be easily reached. In the front part of the mouth they have four quite broad and very sharp teeth, two above and two below. With these they are able to gnaw through trees that are nearly a foot in diameter. When the tree is down they divide it into pieces of such size that they are able to manage them. These pieces carried into the water, they join together in such fashion that the water cannot tear them apart. I have myself seen in quite a large creek a beaver dam, in which the beavers were still undisturbed at home, so that I could observe their habits and work. The dam, extending straight across the creek, reached three feet above the water, so that it was possible to cross the creek dry shod, and put several acres of land under water. In another place, where the water had threatened to take another course, they had been obliged to build another dam, made of earth and branches of trees. Had this dam not been so far from human habitation, one might have thought that it had been constructed

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136 by men. The animals are of a dark brown color, have short legs and broad feet, adapted to swimming and armed with short claws. The tail is broad and flat. At the end it is broadest, smooth, without any hair, and looks as though covered with fish scales. The tail furnishes the best flesh and is much liked by the Indians. It has an appearance different from the rest [439] of the animal's flesh, being more like fish meat. As the skins always bring a good price, the Indians hunt these animals constantly.

The opossum is about as large as a small dog, of grayish white color and carnivorous.[161] If it finds a dead deer, it strikes into the carcass, lives there and devours it gradually. It climbs the trees and sleeps hanging to a branch by its tail,[162] which is bare of hair and quite round. Should one approach it unawares, it never attempts to escape but lies down as dead and makes no motion, though handled and turned. If one leaves it, the animal watches and creeps off slyly as soon as the enemy has retired some distance. It is not able to run swiftly. The female has a bag under her belly, in which she carries her young until they are too large for this receptacle, when they follow the mother. If she meets with a fallen tree in her passage, she either walks around or lifts her young, one by one, over the trunk and then proceeds on her journey. The flesh of the crea- [262] ture tastes like pork and is eaten by the English, rarely by the Indians.

The pole-cat[163] has white and black markings, a gentle and mild countenance. It goes out of the way for no one, and whoever approaches too near is ill rewarded for his curiosity. It has a special gland containing a fluid intolerably foetid. If one approaches too closely, the fluid is discharged and thrown in all directions with the tail. The offensive odor no one can bear and one is ready enough to get away. If one's person or clothes has been infected by the moisture, it is necessary to bathe and change before returning into company. Even dogs, when they kill the animal, find the stench unbearable. Yet the flesh [262] of the creature is eaten by the Indians. It is said to be very good and not to have any offensive odor.

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The porcupine[164] is not found along the Muskingum, seldom seen along the Ohio to the north, but frequently in the country of the Mingoes. The Indians eat its flesh, which tastes like pork, with great relish. It climbs the trees nimbly and has its home in hollow trees. The body is heavier than that of the fox. On the back the animal has whitish-brown quills, the length of a finger. These the squaws, particularly among the Mingoes, color red and use as needles to ornament their moccasins, pouches, in which tobacco and pipes are carried, and other things. As it cannot run swiftly, when anyone approaches, the animal turns its back, which is full of quills, toward the enemy, unless it is possible to get up a tree. Hence, they are easily killed. Dogs that attack the creature, suffer terribly and usually die, unless all the quills they have gotten into their bodies are removed, which is not easily accomplished, as many of them break off.

There is a small animal in the Mingoe country, called the marten,[165] concerning which I have been told that it probably belongs to the sable tribe. Though but small animals, their skins are of great value. The Indians catch them in wooden traps, using meat as a bait. The skins are sold to the whites.

I have already referred to the moose[166] that are to be found further north, of which I have seen nothing but the horns. The latter differ from those of the elk in that the prongs are broad and round. The Indians declare that these are equal in size to a horse. They have cloven hoofs and nostrils large enough to put a hand in. As I have no certain knowledge of these animals and have never even in Europe seen any nor have ever had a satisfactory description, I will not definitely declare that these are the animals they speak of, though I should be at a loss to know what other animals they refer to.

The muskrat,[167] able to live in or out of the water, is in many respects most like the beaver. Its tail is not broad as that of the beaver, but oval-shaped. Their dwellings are in the water, but so arranged that they can, according to inclination, be in the water or in a dry place. A great quantity of odorous matter is found in the body of this animal. The odor is unpleasant when too strong, but a little of it is agreeable. In the

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136 settlements of the white people the muskrat does much damage to mill-dams by its burrowing.

There are three kinds of squirrels, the black,[169] the grey,[169] and the red. The black are most commonly found, the grey are the largest and the red the smallest in size. Their flesh is [262] tender, and eaten by the Indians in case of sickness or when they are very hungry for meat.

The ground squirrel[170] lives under the ground and is somewhat smaller than a common rat. They do great damage in the fields of the Indians, not only digging out the corn when it has been planted, but also pumpkin and melon seed. When the Indian corn is ripe, they lay in good stores of it for the winter. They stuff their cheeks full of it and then carry it to their storehouses.

The groundhog[171] also has its dwelling under ground. It is about the size of a large domestic cat, though heavier. It lives on grass and is, also, very fond of melons and pumpkins. It chews the cud.[172] Its feet are armed with claws. When [262] pursued and unable to reach its hole, the animal will climb a tree. The flesh is toothsome and eaten by the Indians.

There is, also, a very large variety of wild cat,[173] other than the kind already mentioned. This is as large as a dog. It is very savage, even attacking a deer and killing it.

The hare[174] in these parts is small and not found in large numbers, being pursued by birds and beasts of prey. Towards the north I have seen them of the same size as those in Europe. In that region some are found with a snow white fur.[175] They dwell in hollow trees.

White deer are seldom seen in these parts.[176] These have generally in summer some red and in winter some gray spots. [825] The Indians call a white deer the king of the deer and believe that the rest flock about and follow him.[177]

Wolves are very numerous, most are gray, some are almost black. As their skins serve no useful purpose and are not much [224] valued, the Indians do not pursue them, unless they catch them tearing skins or devouring meat they have carefully laid away. Sometimes the wolves break into their hunting huts and do much damage. They rarely attack men, never when there are deer

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to pursue. The latter they attack in summer or winter, never stopping pursuit until a victim has been captured. Occasionally the deer save themselves in creeks and rivers, swimming a great distance down stream, so that it is impossible for the wolves to trace them. When a wolf has caught a deer and killed it, it will not at once consume the flesh, but go to the highest hill nearby and call its comrades, by howling. When these have assembled they devour the deer together. 136

Wild geese[178] appear here in spring and autumn. Some remain during the winter, others during the summer, the latter hatching their young in this region. Most of them remain long in this country, passing toward winter into a warmer latitude, toward summer to the north, where they build in the neighborhood of the Great Lakes and return in autumn with their young.

Wild ducks are birds of passage like the geese, but there are some varieties that stay during the summer season. One kind, called the tree duck, builds its nest in hollow trees, either hanging over the water or near to it.[179] When the young are hatched, they are thrown into the water and taken elsewhere. The male bird is the most beautiful of the water-fowls and very good to eat.

Another variety, that also has its nest here, is the sheldrake.[180] This has a narrow bill, armed with teeth. They live on fish, their flesh having the taste of fish. Indians rarely use them for food, though the flesh of some is very palatable.[181] [262]

The crane is the largest of the birds of these parts.[182] Standing on its long legs and stretching its neck upwards, it is as tall as a man. Its body is proportionately heavy. When hit by a shot and only wounded, it attacks its pursuer and has great power in striking with its wings. It is gray in color, has a sharply pointed bill and its feet are formed like those of the turkey. This bird is commonly found upon large plains or near to rivers. Their flesh is dark, rather tough and seldom eaten by the Indians. Their trumpeting may be heard a considerable distance.

Wild swans[183] are quite like the domestic birds, I have seen in Holland, quite white and of the same size. The Indians [262a]

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136 declare that their flesh tastes like that of the bear, of which [262] they are particularly fond, and is often so fat that pieces may be cut from the flesh.

Wild turkeys[184] may be seen in the fall in flocks numbering hundreds. In the summer they disperse in the woods, this being the time for hatching the young. In winter their plumage is of a shining black, with white spots on the wings; in summer it changes to a light brown. When the time comes for laying [222] the eggs, the Indians seek them, as they are very fond of them.

Pheasants are not valued by the Indians, though their flesh [262] is palatable.[185] They fall victims, however, to birds of prey. Were it not for the birds of prey the woods would swarm with them, for the hen lays above twenty eggs at one time.

Heath-grouse, found here also, are a little larger than the pheasants.[186] They are not valued by the Indians any more than the pheasants. In the winter the latter shelter themselves from the birds by plunging, when pursued, into the snow, often running a considerable distance from one place to another under the snow, thus escaping their foes.

The wild pigeon[187] is of an ash-gray color, the male being distinguished by a red breast. In some years in fall, or even in spring, they flock together in such numbers that the air is darkened by their flight. Three years ago they appeared in such great numbers that the ground under their roosting-place was covered with their dung above a foot high, during one night. [223] The Indians went out, killed them with sticks and came home loaded. At such a time the noise the pigeons make is such that it is difficult for people near them to hear or understand each other. They do not always gather in such numbers in one place, often scattering over the great forests.

The turtle-doves are smaller than the pigeons and are always found in pairs.[188]

Partridges are small, neatly formed birds.[189] In the fall and winter they fly in broods. In the settlements they like to remain near the plantations, as they find the food they like in the fields. The flesh is tender and of a fine flavor. They are favorites with all people, being innocent and harmless birds.

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The eagle has a white head and tail.[190] The wings are black and the body partly black and partly ash-colored. It builds its nest usually in the fork of some lofty and thick tree. It lays the foundation with a great quantity of branches and repairs the nest built there every spring. Usually, they hatch but one, at most two, in a year. It is unquestionably the strongest among the birds of prey. I have seen it fight with another bird of prey,[191] much larger than itself and that wished to occupy its nest. Lifting the other bird into the air, the eagle hurled it down, after having severely injured it. Every morning the eagle goes out in search of prey and brings to its young, birds, squirrels, snakes and fish. Fish now and then prove destructive to them, for in attacking large fish, the bird sometimes cannot disengage its talons soon enough, but is drawn down into the water and drowned. 136

There is another species of eagle that I have seen nowhere but in this region. The Indians call it Chauwalanne, forked eagle,[192] from the fact that its tail is forked. It often soars to such a height that the eye cannot reach it. If it approaches the dwellings of the Indians, they always look upon it as a sign of change of weather or rain. Often the change follows such approach. It feeds upon snakes and other creatures, as does the white-headed eagle, but it is as a rule, continually on the wing during its repast. It builds its nest in high trees, but in as concealed a place as can be found. [825] [821]

Of other birds of prey, there are to be found here the hawk,[193] the stone-falcon,[194] that remains near the rocks, the pigeon-hawk,[195] that pursues not only the pigeon but all other birds it can conquer, though it is a small bird and not as large as the pigeon.

The wood-pecker has a light red head with a red plume and is otherwise black with white spots.[196] It finds its food in old trees, this consisting of worms that are to be found in the wood.

One variety is called the Red-headed Wood-pecker,[197] because of the red head, is a nuisance in orchards, because it attacks the apples.

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136 Another variety of wood-pecker is very small, is spotted and is much pursued by birds of prey, especially the hawk. Occasionally, the wood-pecker is able to defend himself against his enemies, it having happened that this bird when attacked, has thrust its bill into the head of the pursuer so that the latter fell dead.

The yellow wood-pecker,[198] so called because of its yellow wings, also climbs up and down the trees in search of food, with its head turned upward or downward.

A few green parrots[199] are seen in the woods here in summer. Further south they may be found in great numbers.

The loon[200] is a water bird about the size of a goose and is heavily feathered. It is spotted black and white, lives on fish and has a pointed bill. It cannot walk on land, as its feet are too far back, but is a strong swimmer. It can swim a considerable distance under the water, before rising to the surface, [223] especially if it is being fired upon. Often the Indians are obliged to shoot a number of times before they hit the bird, for it is noted for its swiftness in diving, as well as for its swimming. It is not eatable, but the Indians make pouches of its [262 415] skin, which is taken off whole, large enough to hold pipe, tobacco, flint, steel and knife.

There are two other birds of prey among those that fish, the one larger than the eagle[201] the other a small bird[202] that makes its nest on the ground along steep banks of creeks or rivers, where it makes a hole just large enough to slip into.

The heron[203] has long legs, great wings and a lean body.

There are two kinds of owls. The larger[204] is heard very much in the woods at night.

Crows[205] do much damage on the plantations, especially in the cornfields, both when the corn is planted and when it is ripe.

The Turkey Posser[206] has a head like a turkey, without feathers. It lives on carrion. The raven[207] is also a scavenger and at the same time a bird of prey, often attacking chickens. The raven makes good use of the meat that Indians leave in the woods.

The hoopoe[208] is fawn colored on the back and has a brown-

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ish breast. It has a plume of feathers on its head and is to be found along creeks and rivers where it finds its food. 136

The black-bird[209] has a reddish breast and its wings and back are ash-colored. Its song may be heard in wild regions and deserts.

The blue-bird[210] has a reddish breast also, otherwise its color is a beautiful azure. It makes its appearance in spring before any other bird.

The mocking-bird[211] mimics what it hears and imitates other birds.

A certain yellow[212] bird with black wings is to be found everywhere in great numbers. Its song is very agreeable.

There is another kind,[213] orange in color with black spots. This bird hangs its nest, made of wild hemp or flax, on the branches of trees. At one side of the nest there is a little opening at which the bird goes in and out.

Another kind of birds,[214] light-red in color, is particularly beautiful, as is another red bird[215] with black wings. Both kinds I have seen in Georgia and South Carolina.

Starlings[216] are quite black and found here in great numbers. They do much damage on the plantations.

The cat-bird[217] is so called because its note is like the mewing of a cat.

Finches,[218] tom-tits,[219] wrens,[220] are found in great numbers.

The smallest of the birds of this region is the honey-bird,[221] Without perching on the flowers, it sucks the honey out of them. In its swift flight it makes the air buzz and hum with its wings.

Serpents are so numerous that it is remarkable that Indians who spend much of their time in the forests are not bitten oftener. In stony places or mountains they are found most frequently. The winter they spend underground or in crevices of the rocks. In places where they are numerous, they gather in the fall and lie upon one another and twisted together until spring. Should they be discovered in winter they have to all appearances but little life, being able to move, but not having strength enough to crawl away.

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136 (1) Among the most dangerous reptiles are the rattlesnakes.[223] They are yellow in color, marked with black spots. The largest are about four feet long, sometimes more, and about as thick as an arm. The rattles are at the end of their tails, and often betray the snakes when they are not seen. These rattles appear to be a thin, transparent horny substance, arranged in links. From the number of links it is possible to tell the age of the serpent, one being added every year. It is a rare thing to find one with twenty rattles. When the rattling sound is heard, it is a sign that the serpent is angry, the trembling of the tail causing the rattling. Even when they glide along the rattles make a slight sound which can, however, be detected only by those well acquainted with the ways of the snake. They do not rattle unless something approaches them. Head and mouth are rather broad in proportion to the size. On either side of the mouth they have two very sharp teeth, which lie concealed in a skin sack until they want to bite, when they are able to move these forward with great swiftness. Hence, it is that when anyone has been bitten four little openings close together may be seen in the skin. If a rattlesnake has been killed, which often happens, as they do not seek to escape nor go out of the way for any one, and one draws forward the teeth with a little stick, a clear liquid spurts out of the bag lying at the root of the teeth. This is the poisonous juice. Undoubtedly, the teeth in themselves are also poisonous. Indians [752] who have been bitten, even if they happen to be quite alone in the forest, know what to do. They seek certain herbs and roots that may be found anywhere and cure themselves of the bite, so that one rarely hears of death occasioned by the bite of this serpent. Horses or cattle bitten in the woods, where it is not possible to render immediate assistance, die in a short time. With proper management these animals may recover in twenty-four hours. With human beings a cure is not effected so quickly, and a curious thing is that the part where a human being has been bitten, becomes spotted like the rattlesnake. The fat of the rattlesnake is used by apothecaries. Here along the Muskingum rattlesnakes are not as numerous as in some regions that are stony or mountainous. Along the Susquehanna there

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are very many, especially along the West Branch up in the mountains. In that country in the spring of the year when the snakes come out of their holes they have been seen in such numbers in certain places that it would have been possible to load up several wagons with them, the air being infected with an intolerable stench. This was seen to be the case by Indians who were coming down the West Branch. At the time many of the reptiles had already crawled up the mountains, which were very steep. As there were many fallen leaves about, they set fire to them and the trees with the result that many of the snakes rolled down the mountains and were burned. When I passed through that region the first time, which was in June, I did, indeed, see unusually many rattlesnakes, but I could hardly have believed that there would be as many as the above incident would indicate. The second time, however, when my travels took me through that country, which happened in July, my companion and I had quite a different experience. Not only did we see them singly and in smaller numbers along the wayside, but in stony places so many around that when we began to kill them there was rattling all about to such a degree that we held it advisable to get out of that region as soon as possible. After this I could believe what I had heard, for in the fall, when they gather at different places, there must be immense number of them.

2) Copperheads,[223] named from the color of the reptiles. Their bite is as venomous as that of rattlesnakes.

3) Vipers[224] have a flat head, are short and thick, black on the back and gray on the belly. When approached, they distend the head and hiss so that it is possible to hear them at quite a distance. Their bite also is venomous.

4) One variety[225] of snake found here I have met with in no other region. The belly is quite red. These serpents may be found in the water and on land. They get to be from five to six feet in length and their bite is poisonous. To cure the bite of this reptile the Indians use a plant that grows in the water. These snakes have teeth all around the mouth, above and below, but no fangs.

5) Hornsnakes[226] are in color and size like the copperheads, except that they have a sharply pointed horn on the tail. They

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136 are as venomous as the copperheads and like them, only of middle size.

6) There is another kind[227] of blacksnake which gets to be about six feet long, but it is slender and able to move more swiftly. These climb trees and despoil nests of the young birds. The bite of the reptile causes a slight swelling, but has no other evil effects.

7) Water snakes[228] spend much of their time in the water, live on fish and are not poisonous.

8) A kind of striped, brightly marked snakes,[229] which are small and harmless.

9) There are green snakes,[230] white-bellied, not more than a foot in length and harmless.

I have myself seen a hawk descend on a blacksnake, of the kind described under number 6, and attack it, but the snake quickly coiled itself round the bird and killed it.

Concerning none of the reptiles described above, beyond the rattlesnake, is it known that they gather in great numbers at any time. None are so numerously represented as the rattlesnakes. All of them swallow their prey whole. Frogs, turtles, birds, groundhogs, squirrels, they swallow thus, but by slow degrees. They usually begin with the hind leg of an animal and gradually draw it in. All serpents cast their coat in spring. Often the whole skin of a snake, complete from the head downward, may be seen lying on the ground. This is very thin. The new skin of a black serpent is a shining jet. It is said that a rattlesnake, if irritated, and unable to avenge itself, will sink its fangs into its own body, with the result that it swells considerably and dies in a few hours. This snake is said to possess another peculiar property, as witnessed both by Indians and whites, viz., that of gazing with fixed eyes upon bird or squirrel and by a kind of fascination, stupefying them in such a manner that the poor creatures drop from the boughs and fall easy prey to their enemy.

[825] Lizards are but rarely found here. One variety, not above five or six inches in length, is said to be poisonous. Indians make much ado when they see them and try to frighten them away. They dwell in hollow trees, where they also keep their

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young. Other varieties, some very small, come into the huts that are reared in the forests and are very harmless. 136

Of fishes, there are doubtless many more varieties than those I have seen in the Ohio. I will, however, confine notice to those I have seen and know.

1) Pike[231] are of uncommon size and generally known.

2) The black-fish,[232] as the Indians call it, has large, brown scales, a small head and a small, round, soft mouth, not armed with teeth. Its shape is not broad, but round. It is reckoned one of the best flavored.

3) The buffalo-fish[233] is thus called by Indians and Europeans because of its being heard sometimes to bellow in the water. Its length is about a foot and a half or even two feet, and its breadth five or six inches. It has a curved back, prickly fins, a narrow mouth, and a small head, in which two white stones[234] are found, flat on one side and a little convex on the other. These are not ordinary stones, but have a stony appearance. The fish has no teeth, but at the entrance of its throat there are two strong flat bones, with grooves exactly fitting each other. With these it can crack the hardest mussels, which are its chief food, and serve to bait the hook in angling for it. The Indians, however, rarely using a hook and line, commonly pierce this fish with an iron prong of their own making. If any one should venture to put his finger into its mouth, even when to appearance it is half dead, he is in danger of losing one or more of his fingers, for the mussel shells which the fish constantly cracks, are very hard. [226]

4) The catfish[235] is without scales and a good fish to eat. In the Muskingum there are no very large specimens of this fish. In the Ohio, on the other hand, they grow to an unusual size. In Pittsburg, a man who had gone fishing at night, having bound the line to his arm and gone to sleep in his canoe, was dragged into the water by the catfish and lost his life. Man and fish were found close together several days later.

5) The sturgeon[236] is the largest of the fish in the Muskingum. The largest caught here were from three to three and a half feet in length.

6) There is a kind of fish[237] with a narrowly formed mouth,

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armed with sharp teeth, almost like the bill of a duck. It has scales. The Indians do not use it for food.

7) Another kind[238] resembles the catfish very much. It has no scales. This also has a broad, plain beak like the bill of a goose, almost the length of a hand. This it uses to dig in sand or slime in search of food. The mouth opens below.

8) The white perch[239] is short and broad. It has scales and is good to eat.

9) The yellow perch[240] is not broad, but longer than the last named, has prickly fins and sharp teeth like those of a pike. It has a yellowish appearance and is one of the most palatable of fishes.

10) Eels are rarely found.[241]

11) There is an other variety of fish,[242] or whatever one may call it, resembling a small catfish, but having four short legs. It has a wide mouth and is about a foot and a half in length. The fins are short.

The river tortoise[243] of these parts is a species different from that found in Pensilvanien, which has a hard shell. The shell of this is quite soft and its head small and pointed, like that of a sea tortoise. The Indians shoot them, for they are not easily caught in any other way, as they seldom venture out of the water upon the banks of the river. The Indians are very fond of the flesh and of the eggs, which the animals lay in the sand on islands.

There is another variety of land tortoise[244] in these parts which has a hard shell, is small and very prettily marked. Flesh is also eaten.

Two varieties of shellfish[245] are found as well. One resembles the clams found along the seacoast, the inside of the shell being violet, shading to red; the other has a larger shell, which is white inside. Some speciments of smaller varieties[246] are also found.

Snails are likewise found. From one variety spring, it is believed, the many large gad-flies, which in the summer, in the months of July and August, worry the cattle to such an extent that during the day they cannot graze in the forest. During these two months both cattle and horses make for shelter every

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morning as soon as the sun begins to shine and return to the forest only at sundown. This species of snail deposits a colorless liquid of the consistency of saliva on the stems of various plants in the forest (presumably containing the eggs of the animal, which are hatched out by the sun). From this, it is supposed that the pestiferous gad-flies are hatched out.[247] Where there are large herds of cattle that destroy the weeds and root them up, not many of these insects are found.[248]

The common frogs are found in swamps near puddles and ponds. They are of a brownish color, do not croak, but have a note like a short whistle.[249] In springtime they may be heard all night. The Mingoes catch them at night by the light of a torch and eat them either fresh or dried. Green frogs are but rarely met with and only in rivers and brooks.[250] The largest American frog is the bull frog.[251] It inhabits rivers and large brooks. Their croaking resembles the bellowing of a bull, but is far more penetrating.

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Of rats, nothing is known in these parts, but mice[252] are very common.

Mosquitoes and sandflies are found in woods in summertime in great numbers. Both sting and a night in the forest would be intolerable without the smoke of a fire. They are particularly annoying in changeable weather. Even horses will make for the fire and stand in smoke to be free of the pests. Great and small gadflies come in July and August and trouble cattle so much that only at night the latter will graze, the gadflies disappearing until dawn of day.

Ticks are to be found in the woods. These will attack one, pierce the skin and suck the blood until they have so swelled that they drop off. Bed-bugs are to be found in the Indian huts at any time and fleas in the summer, not a few.

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The first deer a boy shoots proves the occasion of a great solemnity. If it happens to be a buck it is given to some old man; if a doe, to some old woman. These bring in the whole animal, skinned, if it is possible to do so. If the animal is too heavy, they bring the skin and as much of the flesh as they can carry, fetching the rest later. When they reach the village, they

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224 852 turn to the east, having the whole or part of the animal on the back, always with the skin, before entering the house and give vent to a prolonged call, which is the old man's or old woman's prayer to the Deity in behalf of the boy, that he may always be a fortunate hunter. During the repast they repeat their petitions and give counsel to the boy (who, with his companions, is a mere spectator) regarding the chase and all the circumstances of his future life, exhorting him above all things to revere old age and gray hairs and to be obedient to their words, because 688 178 experience has given them wisdom. Such counsel was heeded in time past, and though the ceremonies are still kept up, the young no longer revere the aged as was the case at one time.

Formerly, the young revered the old, especially if they had gray or white heads.[253] They believed that these must be very wise and prudent, because they were of such an age and seemed to be favored of the gods. Therefore, they treated the aged well, brought them, it may be, a deer, in the hope that they might be instructed of them how to attain to equal age. They presented the old, also, with wampum or belts, with the same hope. While nothing was said, the aged understood and gave the desired instruction on another occasion.

584 276 No young Indian in those days would have dared to take the tobacco pouch, (made usually of the skin of the otter, beaver, raccoon, fox, pole-cat, or some other animal, stripped off whole, with a little slit at the neck), of an old person and take a pipeful of tobacco, thinking such an act a great sin and believing that it would be the cause of shortening his life. When, therefore, in those days, a young brave asked an aged man permission to fill his pipe from the latter's pouch, the old man understood that this was not the young man's intention at all, but he wished to place something in the pouch. Usually, wampum was put in and no tobacco taken out. This, also, was done with the hope that the aged man might instruct the young brave how to be wise and to attain to great age. Indeed, good counsel is given, to bring offerings regularly on behalf of themselves and their friends, to be chaste, to abstain from drinking and stealing, which were common even in those days. These customs, however, have ceased. The old have lost respect and the young

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regard them but little. They do not seem to be ashamed of their vices. For this reason, Indians themselves declare that their condition grows worse from year to year. As there is neither law nor legal penalty among them, they have nothing to fear, except that an injured one may avenge himself in the manner in which he has been injured. If one has seduced the wife of another, the offended party will seek to seduce the wife of the offender. He will keep his purpose a secret and not rest until he has obtained satisfaction, when he makes known to others what he has done, so that the original offender may hear of it.

When, in a young female, the first menstrual discharge occurs, generally between the twelfth and sixteenth year, the Delawares generally separate such daughters from all companionship, the Monsies [Monseys] being more strict and having more ceremonies in the observance of the custom than the Miamis. They build for such a girl, separate hut, apart from the rest, where her mother or some old female acquaintance cares for her and guards her so that none may see her. Wherefore, she is also kept within the hut the whole of the menstrual period, with the blanket over her head. She is given little to eat, but regularly dosed with emetics. She is not allowed to do any work during the whole time, which generally lasts twelve days. At the end of the time, they bring her into her home, looking black, grimy and dishevelled, because she has been lying about in dust and ashes the whole time. Washed and dressed in new garments, she is allowed to be in the home, but required to wear a cap with a long shield, so that she can neither see any one readily, nor be seen. Such a covering she must wear for two months, at the end of which time she is informed that she may marry.

The Shavanose [Shawanese] and Mingoes, however, who observe much the same custom, follow a different course in this matter. The young woman in question is allowed to remain in the house. She prepares food for those in the house, of the corn and fruits she has raised. Of such food she does not, however, herself partake, but goes to her hut, apart from the others, and there prepares and eats her food.

Every month, during her menstrual period, a Delaware woman lives by herself in a separate hut, which is usually very

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D 841 poorly built, and remains there two or three days, food being taken to her. When the time is over they bathe and wash their clothes and are allowed to return to their husbands. During the menstrual period, they are not permitted to do any cooking or D 784 domestic work. None will eat what a woman in this condition 262 prepares, for food prepared under such circumstances is said to 841 be unwholesome and to cause pain in the abdomen. The women do not go into company, but keep to their huts until their time is over. Hence, it occasionally happens that a woman engaged in baking will leave everything and go to her hut. This custom I [841] does not obtain among the Mingoes; their women continue their usual work and remain in the house.

D 584 In the wooing of a bride, custom demands that if an Indian would proceed honorably and at the same time have assurance that his wife when married will remain with him, he first sends a present of blankets, strouds, linen and whatever else the Indians commonly use for clothing and perhaps a few belts or fathoms of wampum. If he has no cloth, wampum alone will do. These things he gives to an Indian to whom he has declared his purpose and who hands them to a friend of the person fixed upon, speaks for him and presses his suit. Thereupon, the friends assemble, examine the present, propose the matter to the girl, who generally decides agreeably to the wish of her parents and relations. The suitor is then informed that his proposal has been accepted. If it is decided to decline the proposal, the present is simply returned and understood to be a friendly negative. In case the match is agreeable, the girl is led to the dwelling of the groom, without further ceremony. After the bride has joined her husband, the things constituting the present are divided among the friends and the belts of wampum cut and a piece given to each. The friends return the civility by a present of Indian corn, beans, kettles, dishes, spoons, sieves, baskets, hatchets, brought in solemn procession into the hut of the newly D married couple. Commonly, the latter lodge in a friend's house [591] until they can erect a dwelling of their own.

This custom still obtains among the Indians. Within the last years, however, disorderly living and evil have become so common that faith is not kept and many of the usages, that were

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D 584

good and preserved a certain decency, have fallen into disuse. At the present time, even if the Indian would take a wife in honorable fashion and proceed in accordance with the above described custom, the parties concerned will not deny his suit in view of the presents, even though the friends and the girl are not willing to accept him. The friends will urge the girl to live with the man a short time, and tell her that if she is not pleased, to leave him again. Thus it happens that women will go from one to another for the sake of the gifts. Yet there are many cases where husband and wife are faithful to one another throughout life.

Occasionally, parents who have a son will agree with parents who have a daughter that in due time their children shall marry. As, however, they can neither persuade nor compel their children against their wishes, it in the end depends upon the children whether the match shall be consummated.[254]

I 584

Among the Mingoes it is not unusual to fix upon children of four or five years of age, with a view to future marriage. In this case the mother of the girl is obliged to bring a basket of bread every week into the house of the boy and to furnish him with firewood. The parents of the boy must supply the girl with meat and clothes, till they are both of a proper age. Their marriage, however, solely depends upon their own free will, for there is never any compulsion. If either man or woman is unwilling to follow up the engagement entered into by parents, no marriage results.

D 586 837

Although there are many Indians who live peaceably with their wives, especially if they have children for whom they care (for if a man has several children he will try to get along with his wife) the younger Indians at the present time generally live together only a very short time after a marriage. Hence, fornication is very common among them, Satan's influence in this respect being very strong.

D 177

If it is asked why the Indians at the present time are more given to vice and disorderly living than formerly, when they were as ignorant heathen as they are now, two reasons may be given. First, much evil unquestionably has been taught them by white people, especially the traders, who were content to live

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177 among the Indians as long as there were no Indian wars. Through the examples of the traders, also the Indians acquired the habit of drinking to excess. Secondly, the Indians had formerly great respect for the aged and the chiefs, from whom they learned that unfaithfulness in the marriage relationship was a great crime and that whoever was guilty of such evil would live neither long nor happily. At the present time they show little reverence to the aged and each one thinks himself to be wise in his own conceits.

M7 The Indian women are in general of a very strong bodily
844 constitution. There are generally clever and experienced women enough who are able to give assistance and advice in time of labor; generally, women will remain in the house at this time. Some go into the woods by themselves and bring their children to the house when they have seen the light of day. Most mothers nurse their children until they are two or more years
[595] old. During this time many husbands have concubines, though not in the house.

If it is left to the mother to give the child a name, she uses
553 little ceremony and calls it after some peculiar mark or character
857 in it, for instance the Beautiful, the Good Child, the Great-Eye, sometimes giving it a name of unsavory meaning. If the father gives the child a name he pretends that it has been suggested to him in a dream. The name is given at a sacrifice, on which occasion the Indian brings to some aged person, who performs the offering, a string of wampum, and tells him that he wishes his child's name to be named thus and so. During the sacrifice some other person sings a song in Indian fashion at a public gathering and makes known the child's name. This is called praying over the child. The same ceremony is performed when an adult person receives a name, even although he may already have been named. It is not common to call an adult by his name, for they are ashamed of their own names. If the attention of any one is to be attracted it is done in some other fashion than by the use of the name. In case of children, the names are used. In assemblies and in discourses they do not use the name of any one who is present, though absent persons are referred to by their names.

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The children have entirely their own will and never do anything by compulsion. Told to do something they do not care about, the children let it go by default and are not reprimanded for it. Yet many wellbred children are found among them who pay great attention and respect to parents and do things to please them. They are courteous, even to strangers. They respond to mild treatment. The contrary generally produces bitterness, hatred and contempt. The women are frequently guilty of thus raising their children to anger, for the women are often ill-tempered. By way of punishment, they will pour water on the children or thrust them into the water. The parents are careful not to beat their children, lest the children might remember it and revenge themselves on some future occasion. Instances are not wanting where children when grown have reproached their parents for corporal punishment received in youth and have threatened to return the indignity.

Rarely does an Indian have two or more wives, being fearful of strife in the house. Blood relations do not marry; in this particular they are even more strict than the whites. They claim that division of the race into tribes came about in order to make it more readily certain that a man in taking a wife was not marrying a near relative. Concerning the tribes, however, more will be said in another connection. An instance of an Indian having married a mother and her daughter at the same time was a most extraordinary thing.

Families have from four to six children. More than this number is unusual. Birth of twins is rarely heard of. In many cases children who have become motherless after birth have been reared by careful old women. Sometimes children are given to such women. Then they spare no pains in rearing them. Soup made of Indian corn, pounded very fine, is given by them to infants of tender age, that may have come into their possession. Ordinarily, orphans, even if they have lost but the mother, meet with hard experience and often suffer want. Children who have been given or bequeathed, on the contrary, are almost without exception well cared for.

In the management of household affairs the husband leaves

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593 everything to his wife and never interferes in things committed to her. She cooks victuals regularly twice a day. If she neglects to do it in proper time, or even altogether, the husband never says a word but goes to a friend, being assured that he [574] will find something to eat, for when a stranger comes into the house the first attention shown is to put food before him, if there is anything in the house. The husband never offers to put wood on the fire, except it be that he has guests or some other extraordinary call to do it, for the woman cuts the wood and brings it to the house and is, therefore, the proper person to take care of the fire.

If his wife longs for meat, and gives him a hint of it, the husband goes out early in the morning without victuals and seldom returns without some game, should he even be obliged to stay out till late in the evening. When he returns with a deer, he throws it down before the door of the hut and walks in, saying nothing. But his wife, who has heard him lay down his burden, gives him something to eat, dries his clothes and then goes out to bring in the game. She may then do what she pleases with it. He says nothing, if she even gives the greatest [224] part of it to her friends, which is a very common custom. A woman generally remembers her friends when meat has been secured, or when her husband has brought flour from the whites.

If the husband intends to take a journey or go hunting, he gives his wife notice, and then she knows that it is her business to furnish him with proper provisions. If any dissatisfaction arises between them, the husband commonly takes his gun and walks off into the woods, without telling his wife whither he is going. Sometimes he does not return for some days, when both parties have generally forgotten their quarrels and live again in peace.

586 Young people who marry rarely remain faithful to each other, but join themselves to others and again separate, continu-
837 ing such disorderly living until they are older and more sensible. Then it not infrequently happens that they find one another again, or the husband may join himself permanently to some other woman and settle down to housekeeping. Marriages are
582 contracted early in life, when men are from eighteen to twenty years of age and women fourteen or fifteen.

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years of age and women fourteen or fifteen. There is in general no very strong tie between married people, not even between the older. A mere trifle furnishes ground for separation. Not every Indian, however, is indifferent to the light behavior of his wife. Many a one takes her unfaithfulness so to heart that in the height of his despair he swallows a poisonous root, which generally causes death in two hours, unless an antidote be administered in good time; this is often done, the Indians knowing that the properties of certain herbs counteract each other and being able to judge from the effects, what poison has been taken. Women, also, have been known to destroy themselves on account of a husband's unfaithfulness. To prevent such a calamity, they make use of a Beson, a love-charm, prepared by the old people and sold at a good price. This is constantly carried about by one or the other of the parties and is believed to keep man or woman faithful. Such a charm is even declared to have had the effect of making a woman run always and everywhere after her husband, until weary of life she has destroyed herself, or of similarly affecting a man. For this Beson, also, the Indians have their antidote. All this converted Indians have related to me.

Older men and women, particularly, have another Beson, supposed to have the magic power of bringing many presents to them. This charm they guard jealously among their most precious belongings, and is said to have the effect of bringing them food, clothing and whatever else they may need. It is prepared of roots pounded very fine, incantations being murmured meanwhile. A little of this preparation, about the size of a pea, is sold with a white and black wampum shell for a considerable price, often for a belt of wampum with several pounds in money. The love charm and others are similarly prepared. Usually, this is done by old women, who thus support themselves and promote superstition among the young.

The men have a Beson for the chase. This beson is a preparation made by old men, who are no more able to hunt, consisting of roots and herbs or made of the seeds of a certain plant. This is sold by them at a high price. They may earn much in this way, for every huntsman carries such a charm about in his

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224 1789 [887] pocket. Thus the old men support themselves when they can no longer engage in the chase. As there are several sorts of charm of this character, every one is desirous to get the best, even if he has already at the price of half the catch of a season bought one charm and if it should cost him the greater part of his property to get the new one of which he has heard. Some Indians chew a certain root when on the deer-hunt, so the deer may not notice their approach when the wind blowing over the Indian to the game would otherwise give the alarm.

Another kind of Beson, considered to be a more powerful charm, is taken inwardly and occasions violent vomiting, but this is not in common use. According to the opinion of the Indians this beson will prove mischievous and have a contrary effect unless every ceremony connected with its use is attended to with the most scrupulous exactness. If a huntsman shoots nothing for several days, he swallows a small dose, observing all the rules prescribed by magic art. Not having taken any food he then starts on the chase and does not return before evening unless he has secured some game. It is claimed that the use of this charm enables them to shoot deer in considerable numbers. I have observed, however, that Indians have repeatedly taken such doses [777] during a period of three weeks and not been successful. In such cases ill-luck is ascribed to some other cause, frequently to the presence of a missionary. In cases where Indians, unable to secure anything in spite of the use of this beson while I was present have been successful in my absence, it has appeared that my presence has in some way interfered with their incantations. [788] In connection with the chase they lay much stress on dreams. If the dreamer fancies he sees an Indian and hears him say, "If thou will sacrifice to me, thou shalt shoot deer at pleasure," he will immediately prepare a sacrifice and burn the whole or part of a deer in honor of the apparition.

Occasionally, when an Indian would go hunting for a season, he will by way of preparation shoot a deer or two, bring home the flesh and prepare a feast, which is at the same time a sacrifice, to which the aged are invited. The latter pray for him that he may be fortunate and then he departs to stay away some time.

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D 411

The Delaware Indians use no other than rifle-barrelled guns, having satisfied themselves that these are the best for shooting at long range, in which they are very skillful and shooting accurately. They have acquired considerable skill in making minor repairs when their weapons get out of order. Some have even learned to furnish them with stocks, neatly and well made. An Indian really intent on making something will not spare pains or time in accomplishing his purpose even when he has not seen the thing made and takes great pride in the work of his hands. Among nations living farther inland the rifle-barrelled guns are rare and muskets are more commonly found, often in very poor condition, except among the Shawanose [Shawanese] who know and value the rifle-barrelled gun. S [411]

D 586

It occurs to me to add that when a man and his wife have no children, they generally separate before long, each believing the other to be the guilty cause, and attributing it to the other. There are also women who never have children. Such a one goes from one man to another until some man who has children already takes her. There are men also who never have children. In both sexes, however, these cases are rare.

D 578

Cursing and swearing are never heard among the Indians; they have no words of this character in their language. If women or men would berate one another — rarely the case among men, except in case of the younger, more frequent among women — they direct words and speeches at one another which would not be considered terrible by other people but are very seriously taken by the Indians. If they would revile one another in extremest fashion, they use some obscene expressions.

D 854 [482]

Mothers carry the children on their backs under the blanket. They do this even when the children are five years old and over, for they love their children. In former days it was the custom to bind the child upon a board which was carried by means of a band fastened round the head in such a way that the child was suspended on the back in an upright position. This practice gets more and more out of fashion, for the reason that it has been the cause of miserable death of the children. It was customary that children thus fastened were placed against a bench or elsewhere,

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854 the mother going to fetch water or on some other errand. The children by pushing and kicking not infrequently tumbled themselves into the fire or other danger and thus miserably perished, or were severely burned. For this reason the custom is in disfavor.

342 Their houses are fairly clean, some being superior in this respect and affording a comfortable night's lodging for a [574] European. In case a guest is expected, especially if it be a white [356] person, they prepare as comfortable a bed as possible. They sweep the bunk, that serves as seat and table in the daytime and as bed at night, and spread a mat with one or more deer or bear [362] skins upon it. Though usually a comfortable couch in summer time it may be made very uncomfortable by the fleas brought in by dogs. Their kettles, dishes and spoons are not kept in good order; sometimes they are only licked by the dogs in lieu of [415 washing. Dishes and spoons they make themselves of wood, 322] sometimes of tree knots or growths, often very neatly. The spoons are generally large and round shaped. Occasionally, a spoon will be used by several people, turn about, at a meal. Brass kettles, to be found in most houses because very necessary for sugar boiling, are bought from the whites.

291 The Indians are lovers of finery and dress, the women more than the men; the latter take care that the women adorn themselves in proper manner. The men clothe themselves rather meanly, regarding it as a disgrace to be better appareled than their wives. The dress which particularly distinguishes the women is a petticoat or strowd, blue, red or black, made of a piece of cloth about two yards long, adorned with red, blue or yellow bands laid double and bound about the body. Many women wear a white shirt over the strowd, decorated with silver buckles, the more the better. Red or blue leggings are worn, made of fine cloth joined by a broad band of silk bordered with coral. These leggings reach only to the feet. Shoes are made very neatly. Over the first strowd they may wear another, not decorated with ribbons, which if it inconveniences them in their movements may be easily laid aside. Thus clad a woman is well dressed. In [296] place of the white shirts, blue linen or cotton may be worn. When [386] they wear a white shirt, which is preferably of fine linen, it is often dieded with cinnabar about the neck.

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often dyed red with cinnabar about the neck. Such a shirt may be worn unwashed until it is torn. More careful women, however wash their clothing. Men and women paint their faces almost daily, especially if they go out to a dance in the evening. Men, particularly, think it is proper to paint and often their whole head is colored vermillion.[255] Here and there black spots may be introduced, or they paint one-half of their head and face black, the other red. Figures are added according to taste.[256] Indian women never paint their faces with a variety of figures, but rather make a round red spot upon each cheek and redden the eyelids, the tops of their heads and, in some cases, the rims of the ears and the temples.[257] Older women adorn themselves but rarely, usually appearing in old cast-off garments. Even if the husband of such a woman provides new clothing, she will rarely put it on, especially if she has a daughter to whom she gives the new clothing in exchange for old garments.

Their towns are generally laid out near a lake, river or brook, yet sufficiently elevated to escape the danger of inundations, which are very common in spring. In building towns no regular plan is observed but every one builds according to his fancy. The houses are not built close together. Some years ago, when the Delawares planned Gochachgünk, they wished to imitate the Christian Indians and build their town in orderly fashion but they did not succeed, even though they had laid it out. When they have lived long in one place, it at last becomes troublesome to secure wood for fuel because all the wood in the neighborhood has been used. This causes them to leave the place and plan a new village for the sake of the wood and other conveniences. Although they have horses that roam about and are rarely used except when they wish to ride, it is too troublesome for them to break these to work and, furthermore, since fetching wood is the work of the women, the men do not concern themselves about it.

Of inheritances they know nothing. Every Indian knows that whatever he leaves at his death is divided among his friends. If a woman becomes a widow, no matter how long she may have lived with her husband, friends come, take everything that be-

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428 longed to the man, and bring it to one place. The friends do not keep a single article, for they wish to forget the dead and are afraid lest the smallest part of the property of the deceased should remind them of him. They give what the deceased has left to their friends and no one of his friends receives anything; even though he should wish to take something he will not do it through fear of the others. If a dying Indian leaves his gun or any other trifle to a particular friend the legatee is immediately put in possession and no one disputes his right. The widow gets nothing, yet whatever the husband has given to his wife during his life-time remains her property. Therefore we need not wonder that a married Indian pair should not have their goods in common, for otherwise the wife would be left wholly destitute after her husband's death. In like manner the husband inherits nothing when his wife dies.

768 587 According to ancient custom a widow should not marry again within a year after the death of her husband, for the Indians say that he does not forsake her before that time. At the end of this period, however, they believe that his soul goes to its place. A widow must endeavor to live by her own industry. She is not permitted to purchase any meat, for the Indians are superstitiously persuaded that their guns fail if a widow should eat of the game they have killed. Now and then a kind friend will venture to transgress the rule and give her some meat secretly. As soon as the first year of her widowhood is passed, the friends of the deceased husband clothe and provide for her and her children. They also propose another husband if they know of a desirable party, or, at least, tell her that she is now at liberty to choose for herself. If, however, she has not attended to the prescribed rule but married within the year, they never trouble themselves about her again except, perhaps, to speak evil of her.

626

If a man's wife die, her relatives pretend to have some claim upon him until a year has passed. If he has remained a widower during that time they generally secure him a wife, preferring a sister of the departed, if one be living.

764 The burying places are at some distance from the towns. Before they had hatchets and other tools they used to line the

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inside of a grave with the bark of trees and when the corpse was let down they placed some pieces of wood across, which were again covered with bark and then the earth thrown in. When they were able to split boards they placed them, not, however, joined in any way, in the grave in such a manner that the corpse might be between them. A fourth board was laid over it as a cover. Now they have learned to make proper coffins. The graves are generally dug by old women as the young people abhor this kind of work. The coffin is made by men and placed in the grave. Then the corpse is brought, dressed in new clothing and a white shirt, with the face and shirt painted red, laid upon a new mat and let down into the grave. They cover the body with the strowd and nail up the coffin. Formerly it was the custom to place the pouch, tobacco, pipe, knife, fire material, kettle and hatchet in the grave but this is no longer done. They also fill up the grave with earth, which was not done in former times. The graves are all arranged in such a manner that the head was turned to the east and the feet to the west. At the head of the corpse a tall post is erected, pointing out who is buried. If the deceased was a chief this post is neatly carved but not otherwise decorated. If it was a Captain the post is painted red and his head and glorious deeds are portrayed upon it. The burial post of a physician is hung with a small tortoise shell which he used in his juggling practice. In honor of a great warrior his warlike deeds are exhibited in red color on the burial post.

In the evening soon after sunset and in the morning before daybreak the female relations and friends assemble in the house of the deceased and mourn over the body. This is done until he is buried. All the effects of the deceased are piled up near the body. These are taken to the place of burial and the greater part is distributed among those who assisted in burying the dead. The rest is given to the friends present, each receiving a share. During the letting down of the corpse into the grave the women set up a deafening howl. Men deem it a shame to weep, yet in silence and unobserved they often cannot refrain from tears. After the ceremony is over the mother, grandmother or other near female relative of the deceased goes evening and

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D 1765 morning to the grave and weeps over it. This is repeated daily for some time but gradually less and less till the mourning period is over. Sometimes they place victuals on the grave that the deceased may not suffer hunger. The food thus left is generally consumed by dogs.

N 1764 The Nantikoks [Nantikokes] of whom more in another place, have this singular custom that about three or four months after the funeral they open the grave, take out the bones, clean them of the flesh and dry them, wrap them up in new linen and inter them again. A feast is usually provided for the occasion, consisting of the best they can afford. Only the bones of the arms and legs of the corpse are thus treated. All the rest is buried or burned.

D 626 181 The Indians are a free people, knowing neither law nor restraint. They may not be prevailed on in any matter that does not please them, much less forced. If they cannot be persuaded with gentle words, further effort is in vain.

D 361 Each of them may settle where he pleases. Not satisfied with one place, an Indian may move to a town with which he is better pleased and no one offers any objection; or he may retire to a solitary place. Rarely will a family move far away from all society, though they frequently live apart from the towns to avoid being annoyed by drunkards; or they live thus alone in order to carry on the profitable traffic in rum more to their advantage. Many engage in rum traffic, especially women, who fetch it from the white people and sell at a considerable profit to the Indians, often taking from the latter everything they have, sometimes even their rifles on which they depend for subsistence. Chiefs and counsellors have often considered what might be done to stop this ruinous trade, and have often determined that no one should ever bring spirituous liquors into their towns again; for a time such a resolution would be kept, and then be broken, perhaps by the very ones who had counselled the prohibition. Since the Indians have taken so much to drinking rum, murders are more frequent. Murder committed in drunkenness is not severely punished. Hence, it is that one harboring hatred for another will, on the occasion of a drinking

D 439

D 682 672

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orgy, put him out of the way, pretending to be very drunk and not capable of judging of the nature of his deed. Under such circumstances, according to ancient usage, the murderer must pay a hundred fathoms of wampum for the murder of a man and two hundred for that of a woman. If he is too poor to raise the amount, which is commonly the case, his friends help to raise it and turn it over to the relatives of the slain, at the same time delivering a speech. If any one has murdered his own relative, he usually escapes without difficulty, for the family can easily find reason for the deed, not wishing to lose two of their friends at once. Should a murderer not feel himself safe, he goes to another region or town where he is a stranger.

In case of theft, which is held as a disgrace among them, nothing further is required than that the thief must restore what he has stolen, pay for it or give something in exchange. If justice cannot be satisfied in one of these ways, because the thief has nothing, loss falls on the party robbed, or the friends of the thief, if such he has, must make good the loss.

When a whole party goes out to hunt, they govern themselves according to the wishes of the oldest or the most expert, particularly if he be a member of the council. It is not considered good form for one to leave the party before the end of the hunt. If one has wounded a deer and another followed and killed it, the skin belongs to the first and either the half or the whole of the meat to the latter. If several take aim at once and they cannot determine which of them made the best shot, the skin is given to the oldest of the party, or, if he happened to be one of those taking aim, he is said to have killed the animal. Old men, therefore, no longer able to shoot well, generally get their share of the skins, if they only aim now and then with the others though they do not hit the mark.

Such old men, accompanying a hunting party, get both meat and skins, for the good hunters will not let them return empty-handed. They have, in general, and the Unami in particular, the custom that when a huntsman has shot a deer, and another Indian joins him or only looks on at a distance, he immediately gives him the whole animal and goes in pursuit of another.

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426 672 If a debtor is unable to pay, the creditor duns his friends, who must pay and rarely refuse to do so. Occasionally, the debts of friends must be paid years after they were contracted, even after the death of the debtor, if only the debt can be proven.

685 A purchaser, dissatisfied with what he has bought or the price paid, is allowed to return what he has purchased and recover what was paid. One who has done an injury, killed a hog or chicken or occasioned loss in some other way, and obstinately refuses to make good the injury, cannot be touched. His friends may make good the loss. Should the offender, in the long run, not heed the admonitions of his friends, they will drive him away.

721 Hence, it is that in wars with whites practically all the tribes have been involved more or less. If the nation, as such, has taken no part in the war, these unmanageable offenders have gone with the fighting peoples, despite the warnings and threats of the chiefs. The same is true of the present conflict.[228] The Delaware chiefs had determined at its beginning to remain neutral, daily admonishing their people not to allow themselves to be persuaded to go into the war. The nation as such remained true to the determination of the chiefs, being constantly and earnestly watched, but obstinate offenders took part against all order and command.

619 Though the Indians are a free people and not subject to the rule of any one, each nation, considering itself a unit, has a kind of government of its own choosing, imperfect as it may be. This holds good of all the North American nations. A nation is constituted of three principal Tribes, the first or leading tribe is called *Packoango*, i. e., the tribe of the great Tortoise, the second, *Blem*, the Turkey Tribe, the third, *Ptucksit*, the Wolf
622 Tribe. Each of the tribes has its chief and each chief his coun-
623 sellors. The chief of the Tortoise Tribe is the first in rank and, together with the other two chiefs, deals with all matters of national interest, particularly, such as have reference to nations with whom, according to treaty, friendly relations are to be cultivated. A chief may not presume to rule over the people, as in that case he would immediately be forsaken by the whole tribe, and his counsellors would refuse to assist him. He must

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ingratiate himself with the people and stand by his counsellors. 622
Hence, it is that the chiefs are generally friendly, gracious, hos- 623
pitable, communicative, affable and their house is open to every Indian. Even strangers who come on business put up in the chief's house and are accommodated with the best it affords. The ambassadors of other nations generally lodge with the chief 648
and they are well cared for. If their number is too great, and it 622
has happened in connection with weighty affairs concerning 623
several nations that ten or twenty men of other nations have arrived at the principal chief's house, they are put into a separate house and provided with every thing at the public expense, the counsellors taking care that they are entertained most hospitably in order that the nation may be in good repute amongst other nations.

In externals a chief has no advantages above others. He 622
must provide for his own maintenance, for no one is under any obligation to supply his wants. His wife, whose duty it is to provide sufficient corn for the year, is usually assisted by other women in her plantations, for much corn is required in such a house. If the chief is young and able to hunt he will, his official duties permitting, occasionally join the chase. He will even secure his own firewood as far as possible. In case he is old his friends, of whom there are usually many, and other Indians will furnish him with game, especially if he be popular.

The council house is either the house of the chief, which is 623
commonly large and roomy, or a building erected for that pur- 344
pose. Here public councils are held, that is, such where messages which have arrived from whites or other Indians are published. Every one may listen and the messages are also discussed. In case there is something of particular importance to consider, only the chief and the counsellors assemble and determine upon the matter. The old chief Netawatwes[219] used to lay all affairs of state before his council for consideration. When they gave him their opinion, he either approved of it or indicated what was missing or not correct in the speech, upon which they would make the necessary amendments. Thus he kept them active and was held in great esteem. 211

The chief has the council bag in his possession, as also the 217
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211 217 622 treaties that have been made with the governors of the provinces and other documents, although they are not able to read. These constitute the archives, where all messages and reports are kept. With each message or speech there are one or more strings or belts of wampum. These, with the message or speech after the latter have been properly considered and answered, are deposited in the archives.[200] In connection with such a message there may be a string or belt to each point, for as soon as the deliverer of a message has finished with a point he gives over a string or belt to the chief, gets out another and continues to speak until his message has been fully delivered when he announces that he has done. If the strings and belts are handed about from one to another in the council this is an indication that the message is being favorably received. It may happen, however, that the chief does not take the belt into his hands but pushes it to one side with a stick, in which case no one will touch it. The messenger who has brought it must in this case take it back. This signifies that his message does not find approbation and it is accounted a disgrace. Such a rejected belt may be a war belt summoning the people to war, or it may be a belt admonishing them to maintain peace, or something else that is not agreeable may be required.

202 211 623

211 [434] The wampum which Europeans make and barter to the Indians is made of sea-mussel shells. One variety is quite white, the other dark violet, a quarter of an inch in length, an eighth of an inch in thickness and round. A hole is bored lengthwise through each shell, large enough to admit a heavy cord. They are strung like beads. Wampum constitutes the money of the Indians. Two hundred shells cost a buck hide, [435] or a Spanish dollar.[201] Before the white people came they had no such wampum for want of proper instruments to make it.[202] The white are a little less in value than the dark.

Strings are made of the beads that have been strung as described. Two, four or six placed side by side and properly fastened form a string. A string is usually half a yard long, sometimes longer. Upon delivery of a string a long speech may be made and much said upon the subject under consideration.

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But when a belt is given few words are spoken, and they must be words of great importance, frequently requiring an explanation. Belts are of pure wampum worked in all manner of clever forms by the Indian women, they being informed in each case what the figures must be, inasmuch as the figures must correspond with the message. A belt is three or four inches broad and about a yard long.[263] Neither color nor the other quantities of wampum are matters of indifference, but have an immediate reference to those things which they are meant to confirm. A white string of belt signifies a good message and such a belt may have figures in dark wampum. If a treaty is [648] to be made or renewed with another nation the message is commonly accompanied by a Road Belt. This is a white belt with two rows of black wampum running the entire length with a white row between the two black rows also running the entire length of the belt. This signifies that the way from one nation to another has been cleared of all brush, trees and stones. At the ends of the belt the two nations are likewise represented by two small dark spots. If a string or belt of wampum is intended to confirm a warning against evil or an earnest reproof the belt delivered is in black. When a nation is called upon to go to war or war declared against it the belt is black or marked with red, having in the middle the figure of an hatchet in white wampum. A peace belt is quite white, a fathom long and a hand broad and of not inconsiderable value.

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A chief has more use for the white wampum than the black. In particular cases and upon extraordinary occasions a voluntary contribution of wampum is made by the whole tribe or nation. The rich are considered as principal supporters of the chiefs and furnish them with wampum in an emergency, which rarely occurs more than once in three years. The usual expenses are defrayed from the treasury chest of the council, which is never empty, because when wampum is paid out usually an equal amount comes in. In general the chief does not speak in council, but has his speaker to whom he communicates his sentiments briefly and leaves him to expatiate on them. The latter must be able to put the whole matter in a speech well arranged, which requires a clear and open understanding, a faithful mem-

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624 ory, experience in the affairs of the state and a knowledge of the formal language employed in council, which differs as much from the common language as does the language used by the whites in legal procedure, from the language of ordinary intercourse.

202 When a message is to be sent, this is entrusted to two or more messengers. One of these is to be the speaker, the others being ready to remind him of anything he might forget. A message is formally entrusted to ambassadors at a meeting of the Council. It is repeated a number of times and the one appointed speaker of the messengers must in turn repeat it several times, until he is able to deliver the message with facility and in proper form. The messengers are then fitted out with necessaries for the journey and dispatched. As the whole of a message is to be delivered verbally, a speaker must be a sensible and reliable man. Young men, destined for such service, are admitted as hearers to the council, where they may learn much. Any one employed as messenger is held in high regard. They must be young men, of great endurance on the march, who will not be stopped by bad weather or high waters. On occasions of extreme importance, as in time of war, messengers may have to be on the march night and day, finding their way in the darkest night on paths that a white man could scarce follow in daytime.

623 The council meetings are as quiet and orderly as if they were acts of devotion. Noises, talking and laughing are not heard, even though the young may be present. All pay strict attention to the speaker. The counsellors are called together by a servant and when they appear, they welcome one another, [276] shake hands and express their joy at meeting. Each brings pouch, pipe and they smoke a considerable amount of tobacco that has been mixed with dried and crushed sumac leaves. [562] Women are never admitted to the council; in matters of public interest they may stand about the house and listen, and they account it an honor when they are admitted, to hand victuals and keep up the fire. Provisions must always be in plenty in the council-house, for eating and deliberating alternate.

The principal chief, either himself or through a speaker, sets forth the subjects that shall engage the attention of the

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council in a solemn speech. If the subjects are of great importance all who take part in the discussion stand as they speak. Each counsellor has the liberty to utter his sentiments and having made his speech, sits down. No one interrupts the speaker but all sit silent and attentive as if engaged in an act of devotion. The speeches are delivered in a pleasing manner and the words of the speakers flow as readily as if they were read from a manuscript. Whoever visits such an assembly, whether white man or savage Indian, cannot but be profoundly impressed. 623

A subject is often very thoroughly and extendedly discussed. The chiefs and counsellors in turn give their opinions and suggestions. When all have spoken, one of them is called upon to sum up the principal parts of all the speeches in a concise manner. This is done extempore and the necessary amendments proposed, every subject being brought into as short and comprehensive statement as possible. Before deliberations begin, the strings and belts of wampum must be placed in due order, for whatever is said without being confirmed by them is considered vain and without effect. They are so accustomed to this that when they communicate the contents of a message, merely in private conversation, they cannot do so without something in their hands, a strap, a ribbon or a blade of grass. Holding some such thing in his hand the speaker will recount the points in proper order as with the strings or belts of wampum thereto belonging. 623 211 [521]

When chiefs are compelled to give answer to a proposition of which they do not approve, but which they have consented to consider because they did not wish openly to offer an affront, they are able to frame their reply in so figurative and equivocal a style as to allow of almost any desired interpretation or application. Those who receive such an answer, know as little after the reply has been given as before, but are ashamed to ask further, lest they should be regarded as stupid and because chiefs are supposed to understand everything. 623 195

When treaty of peace is made with another nation it is determined that it shall last as long as sun and moon shine or rise and set, as long as the stars are in the heavens and the rivers 648

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and waters flow. In this connection, nations who make the treaty, or are allies, exchange a pipe between them which is called the pipe of peace. Such a pipe is carefully preserved and generally lighted in council by a captain or chief, whenever anything occurs relating to the ally and each member smokes a little out of it. The one who carries about the pipe reminds the members of the council of the covenant and the time of its establishment. The head of the pipe is commonly of stone, the stem of wood wound with a fine ribbon neatly decorated with white corals, the latter the work of the women.

It is the duty of the chief to maintain peace, to advise peace as long as possible. It is not in his power to begin war as long as the captains are averse to this. Without their consent he may not accept a war belt. If it is received this is on condition that he will turn it over to the captains for consideration. The chief must endeavor to preserve peace to the utmost of his power. If the captains are unanimous in declaring war he is obliged, as it were, to deliver the care of his people for the time being into their hands, for they are the warriors.

In the matter of choice of a chief various things are to be observed. The principal captain may choose a chief and inaugurate him, and it is also in his power to take him out of office if the chief proves a poor regent, acts contrary to the customs, does according to his own wishes and refuses to accept counsel. The captains, who always have the people on their side may thus forsake a chief, not only refusing to support him but even publicly announcing that they do not agree with him, and thus his power is at an end. The chief must always be a member of that tribe in which he presides. The sons of a chief cannot inherit their father's dignity, for the reason that they are not and cannot be, according to established usages, members of the tribe, inasmuch as children do not inherit tribal rights from the father but from the mother.[265] No Indian will marry a person in his own tribe, as he is too closely related to all in it. Herein, the Indians allege, is to be found the reason for the existence of the tribes. Were it not for these, they could not be quite sure whether persons to be married are near relatives or not. Hence, it is, also, that children are considered the property of the wife.

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If a divorce takes place they follow the mother. Those that 586
are grown up may stay with the father if they please. Herein again is to be found reason for the conduct of parents towards their children. They never oppose their inclinations in order not to lose their affection. Parents never know how soon they may be separated, and both parties, in that event, fearing desertion by their children, are very desirous of gaining and retaining their love and affection. The Indians, therefore, regard their wives as strangers. It is a common saying among them, "My wife is not my friend," that is, she is not related to me and I am not concerned about her, she is only my wife. This satanic notion it is very difficult to uproot.

To return again to the matter of selection of a chief; as 622
his sons cannot, for the reasons named, succeed him, a great grandchild or nephew may become chief, that is, either his daughter's daughter's son or his sister's son, so that the privilege of becoming Chief cannot be confined to too intimate relationship.

The principal duty of the first chief is to maintain the peace and covenants made between his people and the other Indian nations and the Europeans as also to carry on a kind of correspondence with them, all of which is generally done with the advice and consent of the chiefs of the Turkey and Wolf tribes, unless they are absent. It is further the particular duty of the principal chief to see to it that nothing is neglected and when necessary to send embassies. Finding that it is necessary to take action in some matter he summons the council, submits the subject and lets them deliberate which often demands of them much thought and attention. Another of his duties is that of keeping the people together and preventing any unnecessary dispersion. Much depends, therefore, on whether a chief is beloved of his people. Where this is lacking the Indians are like a swarm of bees without a queen bee. A chief must prevent all disorders in his town, have an eye to justice, and seek to do away with strife with the aid of his counsellors. But he may not seek to do this by force or severity but only by calm reasoning and friendly exhortation. Usually, the Indians are amenable to good words. In a general way the Indians pay due honor and respect to their chiefs, though there are some who

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622 are moved neither by fear of men nor of God; fortunately there are few such.

[273] Strong drink occasions much disorder in the Indian towns.[266] If a chief is himself an abstainer, he may accomplish much against this evil, but he must be ever watchful and not tire in his efforts.

[428] At the death of a chief neither his children, wife, nor relatives inherit his possessions. Everything is distributed among the people except the wampum and belts, which belong to the chief in his official capacity, and the Council Bag. These are preserved and turned over to his successor in office. In general, some person who lived in intimacy with the deceased chief, and is well acquainted with the affairs of state is chosen to be his successor. It is generally agreed that such and such an one is the right person to assume the dignity of chief. If he is discreet and wins the favor of the captains and the people, the former in particular, will support him in every possible 624 way. A captain, such as White Eye[267] was, is the Chief's right hand. He must undertake everything ordered of him by the chief, even at the hazard of his life. To show fear would not be in harmony with his dignity and a disgrace. If he is wounded or killed by the enemy, the whole nation joins in avenging his death, taking injury done him as seriously as if it concerned the person of the chief. This the captains are aware of and it gives them courage.

728 A captain has no more right to conclude peace than a chief to begin war.[268] If peace is offered to a captain, when he is in the enemy's country, he can give no other answer than that he will bring the proposal to the notice of the chief, for as a warrior he cannot make peace, and that in due time reply will be given. If the chief inclines to peace, he, as it were, assumes his office again, exerts his power, takes the matter out of the hands of the captain and desires him to sit down, which signifies declaring a truce. The hatchet is taken out of the captain's hand and he is obliged to cease from hostilities and keep his men quiet. The chief knowing that inactivity is not agreeable to the captain, asks his assistance in the negotiations and generally chooses him to be the messenger of peace to the

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nations. By such a commission an accession of honor and respect is acquired by the captain. So soon as he gives up the tomahawk, his men must cease from hostile acts and demonstrations.

The rank of captain is neither elective nor hereditary. First intimation of this honor comes usually in a dream, early in life, one or another having seen a buffalo, a bear or other ferocious animal, or he has seen in a vision an Indian who spoke with him and gave him the necessary gifts. Such a dream is pondered over and related to friends and usually interpreted as destiny for the office of Captain. The dreamer's imagination leads him to believe that nothing may injure him and that no bullet can harm him. He, therefore, endeavors to attain to the necessary qualifications for this dignity and prove his powers for he must be tested, as will appear presently. Occasionally, boys are prepared and instructed for this position. These are given little to eat, are made to fast often and long, so that their bodies become emaciated, their minds deranged and their dreams wild and extravagant. Frequent questions are put to them when in this condition as to the dreams they have had. So long as they have not dreamt or not dreamt the right thing, the process is continued until they have been reduced to skin and bones, when they usually have or pretend to have a fantastic dream, declared to be ominous. The subject being minutely considered and interpreted by their teachers, they are solemnly informed what will be their future destination. By virtue of these extraordinary revelations they become physicians, great hunters, rich men, *Mantewits*, that is, sorcerers, or captains. The impression thus made on their minds is lasting, and as they grow older they earnestly strive to fulfill their destination, believing themselves to be men of peculiar gifts, far in advance of the others. It is not enough to profess to be destined for the dignity of a captain. The claim must be made good. The candidate must be resolute, brave, fearless, even in greatest danger. If a leader, who has not the rank of captain, has the good fortune not to lose a man of his troop in six or seven engagements and to bring scalps and prisoners to the camp, he is recognized and honored as a captain forthwith. If he loses

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a man he must secure a prisoner in his place. Should he lose more than one, responsibility weighs the more heavily upon him, and in default of showing an equal number of prisoners, his authority is at an end and he dare not think of continuing in the office. If an Indian loses his son, or one of his near relatives in war, whom he has highly valued, he gives a belt of wampum to a captain and desires him to go and take a prisoner to supply the place of the deceased. He takes his company into the enemy's country, and if he is fortunate in his exploit, immediately hangs the belt around the prisoner's neck to denote that he shall be received into a family and that his life is safe. Upon delivering the prisoner to his employer, the captain receives the belt as a reward, and the prisoner is adopted by the family as a son or near relative. But if he is unsuccessful or has been so unfortunate as to lose a man, the captain's standing is destroyed and he is disgraced. It depends, therefore, in large degree upon good fortune whether a man becomes or remains captain. There are never very many captains in one tribe, but always some.

Although a chief is not supposed to have much to do with war, his influence tends greatly either to prevent or encourage the commencement of a war, for the Indians believe that a war cannot be successful without the consent of the chief, and the captains endeavor on that account to live in harmony with him. It is not a light matter for the Indians to begin a war, as it might be among the Europeans, for a war having been begun it is not easy to bring it to an end nor to be reconciled to the enemies. The chief reason for this is that a certain number are killed on both sides and these, according to ancient custom, must be replaced by prisoners. War with the whites is a different matter, for the Indians usually secure more than enough of scalps and prisoners to make up their losses, and they may sue for peace at any time even while continuing hostilities. But with the nations of their own color they cannot do this, for they know that they will be punished by enemies who will avenge themselves in the cruelest manner.

The warriors consist of the young men, among whom, however, are those of fifty years and over. The warriors are under

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the command of the captains, especially in times of war, and do nothing without their consent. They neither leave the troop nor go hunting, as they know that their life and honor in a great measure depends upon the prudent conduct of their captains, and they obey them with pleasure. The night previous to the march of the army is spent in feasting, at which the chiefs are present, a hog, if procurable, being killed for the occasion. After the feast the captain and his people begin the war dance and continue till daybreak when they are quite hoarse and weary. Sometimes they dance in turn, each taking the head of the hog in his hand; again all dance together. Spectators are admitted, and may even join in the dance. Sometimes instead of a hog a couple of dogs are killed, not because dog's flesh is a delicacy, for the Indian dogs are very lean, but because it is said to inspire them with the true spirit of war and murder. I have even seen women partake of this feast, eating the dog's flesh with great greediness. I have steadily and courteously refused to partake when invited. The war dance having been completed they march out on the following day. The captain leads and his men follow in single file. When they reach the end of the street, they fire their pieces one after another and the captain begins the war song. As both their friends and the women generally accompany them to the first night's encampment, they halt about two or three miles from the town, dance the war dance once more, and the day following begin the march proper.

As they commonly have a long and tedious journey into the enemies' land, their provisions are soon exhausted. They are then obliged to spend some days in hunting. No one enjoys any precedence during the march, not even the captain. They divide their provisions in equal shares, even if each man should get only a mouthful of bread or spoonful of meat. When they reach Indian towns with which they are at peace provisions are given them. They never go out in large parties but usually in small companies of ten or twenty, in order that they may not suffer so much for want of provisions. The captain is very attentive to the condition of his troop being answerable for all his men. If but a few are weary he orders all to halt till they

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have recovered. As soon as they enter the enemies' country they can hunt no longer for fear of being betrayed. They provide themselves, therefore, with provisions for several days and watch their opportunity. Occasionally they must lie in hiding many days until their purpose is attained. As soon as the deed has been accomplished, they hurry away, exercising the greatest caution inasmuch as they know that they will be pursued and may themselves suffer injury. Those whom they kill are scalped and the scalps taken home. Prisoners secured are bound and led away and kept bound until they are no more in fear of pursuers. Thereafter the prisoners' fetters are loosed during the day. During the night they are fastened by their feet to a stake so split as to admit one leg, this stake being fastened to another that is driven into the ground. If one of them is wounded the warriors apply remedies which they carry with them on their expeditions and generally succeed in restoring them. Often the wounded must be carried, and if it is at all possible to get them away they are not left to perish. They even carry off their dead, or at least their scalps, or bury the dead lest they should fall into the hands of their enemies. In a skirmish with the whites they generally remove their dead, which makes it hard to determine how many have been killed in action.[260] They generally return from a war in a half-starved state, which is not to be wondered at because of the hard experiences they have gone through, especially on the return. On the return march they are constantly in fear, not knowing which night their enemies may fall upon them, hence they proceed by forced marches until they know themselves to be out of danger. Occasionally, they are attacked at night or at break of day, when they sometimes succeed in saving life by flight, leaving their weapons and everything else behind. Thus deprived, they may be able to travel several hundred miles until they arrive in the territory of peaceful nations where they again find sustenance. They generally suffer excessive hunger and fatigue by the way, living upon the bark of trees, wild herbs and roots. Much of this they do not have to fear when engaged in war with whites, for these will not pursue them for any great distance. Cases have been known where the Indians have attacked

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and stormed a small fort and taken forty or fifty men, women and children prisoners and not lost a man. The prisoners they led into the woods a short distance, divided into two parties preserving the more ablebodied and tomahawking the rest before their eyes. The little children that cried and wailed were dashed against the trees, so that the brains stuck to the bark. They are thus barbarous when victorious, and similar examples have been multiplied in times of war.

Prisoners are not ill-treated as long as they are in the hands of the warriors but fare with them alike. They have so much the more to suffer in the towns of the victorious people. The warriors, upon their approach to the town, repeat the death whoop according to the number of scalps, trophies or prisoners in their possession. Upon this signal, men, women and children run out to meet them, placing themselves in two rows. The warriors with their prisoners, whom they lead bound by their arms, march between the two rows and halt. The scalps they carry on poles held aloft and painted red, and the prisoners are forced to dance for the amusement of the spectators. The dance over they are ordered to go to a house which they see before them in the village. As soon as they set out the people begin to strike at them with switches, clubs, hatchets or their fists. If they gain the house, though ever so bruised and bloody, they are perfectly safe. Indians acquainted with this barbarous custom, if they are not old men, escape a great part of these cruelties by running towards the mark with all their might. Female prisoners are frequently rescued by the women who take them between their ranks and carry them to the town. I have witnessed both practices. As soon as the prisoners have reached the house the warriors take good care of them, wash and dress their wounds and when their meals are ready serve the prisoners first. I cannot think that this is done from compassion but rather that the prisoners may look well and do honor to the triumph they celebrate in passing through all the towns of their nation till they arrive at their own homes. After they have refreshed themselves and rested, the prisoners are led out for the amusement of the inhabitants. They fasten strings of bells or deer-claws to the feet of one of them, to make a

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rattle for the dance, and present him with a parcel of small sticks. What is meant by the latter, the prisoner knows. He takes as many as he pleases and returns the rest. These determine the number of short dances he has to perform, which he does with great alacrity to the rattling of a calabash,[210] filled with small stones and marking the time. After each round he relates one of his heroic deeds or experiences in war, and delivers a stick to the captain who sits in the circle. Though the spectators may not understand his language, they guess his meaning by his looks and gestures. This ceremony is repeated in every town through which they must pass. With white prisoners the procedure is in some respects different. Commonly these particularly must suffer much beating, because they are not conversant with Indian manners and customs.

When the parties at length arrive at their own homes with their prisoners a council is held to determine what disposition shall be made of them. Many of the prisoners are received into families to supply the places of the slain, tho lately deceased or those who may have perished as a result of a drinking orgy, and are immediately considered as members of the family. Such prisoners are well treated, according to Indian custom, and their lot is bearable if they content themselves with their new surroundings. They are not put to much labor, which in general is little regarded by the Indians. If they run away and are retaken their lives are in danger. If the prisoners are white men their heads are shorn in Indian fashion, only a little hair remaining on the crown, and the face is painted red. This is done as soon as they are taken, so that when the villages are reached it is hardly possible to distinguish whites from Indians. In general they are well treated by the Indians and allowed considerable liberty, provided they conduct themselves properly and do not act in unseemly fashion toward the Indians.

Those unhappy prisoners who are condemned to die must suffer the most excruciating torture, execution of the sentence often being delayed until the prisoners feel themselves safe. The Indians flock to these executions as to some great solemnity, with a view to reeking on the unfortunate captive their cruel and revengeful disposition. A fire is made in the open, irons

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are heated, and the unfortunate captive is bound to a stake placed at some distance from the fire. He is burned with the irons. Long strips of flesh are cut from his body with knives and salt is rubbed into the raw wounds. He may be half roasted at the fire, then released for a time, with a view to prolonging his tortures, which sometimes last three or four days. At length rendered insensible by pain, death may bring release, or his tormentors put an end to his sufferings and throw the mangled body into the flames. Captives often endure the torture with the greatest fortitude, sing of their heroic deeds accomplished in war, and do not let their captors notice fear or terror of death.

Now and then a condemned prisoner is released by ransom; sometimes release is refused no matter how much is offered. In the year 1779 among the Wiandots a white captive was tortured to death. Several English traders who were there offered goods to the amount of several hundred buckskins, that is so many Spanish dollars but without success. Among the Mingoes and Shawanose this inhuman method of treating captives is particularly in use. In course of the present war[21] they have given several horrid proofs of their cruel disposition.

Some years ago when a party of Shawanose went to war against the Cherokees, a young Shawanose was taken captive by the Cherokees and condemned to die. On the following day the fire was started, he was tied to the stake, and every preparation made for his execution, when a Cherokee woman arrived with a parcel of goods, and throwing them down at the feet of the warrior to whom the prisoner belonged begged for his release, alleging that she was a widow and wished to adopt him as her son. Her request was granted, the captive released and delivered over to her, and on the same day he walked up and down the village well dressed. He was so grateful to his protectress that he remained faithful to her, even returning in due time from a visit he paid to his own people.

The statement that the Indians are cannibals is unfounded in fact. It has happened in some cases that prisoners were devoured, and it may happen now on rare occasions to satisfy vengeful hate. Formerly Indians have been known in the height of their fury to tear an enemy's heart out of his body and devour

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266 it raw. When an Indian nation wishes to excite another to war, it sometimes happens that they send one or more prisoners to such a nation with the words, "We send you this prisoner 266 to make some broth," and frequently gain their aim in this 721 fashion. The prisoner, however, is not devoured but executed 727 without mercy. There is no rescuing him from horrible death.

Captains, when about to go to war, send to the captains of 721 nations or towns who are in league with them a piece of to- bacco to smoke, thus notifying them that they themselves will 574 soon follow. By this they intend that the captains shall smoke 276 their pipes and consider seriously whether they will take part in the war or not. One chief about to visit another will, similarly, send him a piece of tobacco with the message that he shall smoke, look in a certain direction and in due time he will see the sender coming. This is done to make sure that the visitor will find the chief whom he wishes to visit at home.

728 The last war of the nations was between the Six Nations, the Delawares and Shawanose and the Cherokees, the latter pitted against the rest. This war continued many years until peace was concluded in 1768,[272] as, a few years before, peace had been made between the Six Nations and the Catabe-Nation[273] through the mediation of Sir William Johnson at Albany. Concerning earlier Indian wars nothing is known and since that time war with the whites has engaged the attention of all the Indian nations.

648 With the Delawares the following nations are in league: The Mahikander,[274] the Shawanose, the Cherokees, the Twichtwes,[275] the Wawiachtanos,[276] the Kikapus,[277] the Wiondats, the Tuckachschas,[278] the Chipuways, Ottawas, the Putewoataimen[279] and the Kaskaski.[280] The two last named dwell along the Wabash.[281]

The Shawanose, who formerly lived in Florida and have ever been a warlike people, had a war with the Moshkos.[282] The latter were the stronger and the Shawanose were reduced to a few remnants. The survivors left their country, came as fugitives up the Ohio to the Susquehanna. [Susquehannah]. They moved from place to place until they fell in with a strong party of Delawares. With these they entered into negotiations, stat-

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ing that they were fugitives and wished to settle in the country of the Delawares and under their protection. The Delawares adopted them as grandchildren, even as had been done with the Mahikanders. The Shawanose now call the Delawares grandfather.[283] They lived for some time in the Forks of the Delaware and then moved to Wajomick[284] on the Susquehanna. Having increased considerably in numbers they moved to the western branch of that river and, later, as they deemed themselves secure in the alliance with the Delawares and sufficiently strong to venture it, to the Ohio above Great Island.[285] Here they commenced hostilities against the Cherokees. The latter pursued often following the Shawanose into the country of the Delawares. Unwittingly they killed some of the latter. This brought on a new war between the Delawares and the Cherokees, beginning, as indicated, by the Shawanose and not ended until the year 1768. The Shawanose lived for several years on the Ohio near Kittannünk,[286] whence they moved to Logstown,[287] twenty miles below Pittsburg, and from there to the Sioto, whence the Americans drove them and entirely destroyed their settlements, for the reason that they were guilty of constant attack on the settlements of the whites and of many murderous acts.[288] After this the Shawanose turned westward.

The Delawares have not engaged in war with any of the nations named except the Cherokees. Because these nations were in league with the Delawares, and called each other brothers (the Shawanose excepted), the Cherokees made peace with the Delawares, calling them grandfather, all these nations followed them and entered into alliance with them, and the Shawanose, having been adopted by the Delawares are so secure that no nation will venture to attack them, even though they are a cruel, warlike people.

It appears from what has been stated that the Delawares have powerful connections, being in league with most nations. Had the Delawares allowed themselves to be enticed in the present war, America's experiences would have been different. As these remained neutral, the nations in league with them did the same, except the Shawanose, who have nearly cut off their relations with "the grandfather." The Delawares are grand-

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father to all these nations and they are the grandchildren. The Cherokees live on the east side of the Ohio, in the mountains opposite North Carolina. The Chipuways[200] are a numerous people on the north coast of Lake Erie. The Ottawas and the Putewoatainen live to the west of Lake Erie, but a great way beyond it. The Twichttwees and the Wawiachtanos dwell between the Sioto and the Wabash and the Kikapus, the Moshkos and Tuckachschas on both sides of the Wobash, yet a considerable distance from one another.

The country through which the Wobash [Wabash] flows is very level. Here are great plains producing nothing but grass as in the flats of Wajomik.[200] In a journey of some days you meet with neither hill, tree nor thicket. Upon these plains herds of buffalo are seen grazing, comprising sometimes of hundreds of head. The banks of the Ohio are subject to frequent inundation, especially in the spring when the snow melts in the north. For several miles on either side of the river the country will at such a time be under water. Should Indians be hunting at this time, they find it necessary to be careful of their canoes, lest they should suffer want or death, for once the water overflows the banks, it runs out many miles and there is no escape without a canoe. Buffalo and other game perish in large numbers in such floods. Where there is a slight elevation animals gather by the hundreds, until the waters recede. In that region there is a great salt-lick, much visited by buffalo and other game.[201] There bones and teeth of elephants of considerable size have been found, both by whites and Indians. In earlier times there must have been elephants in this region. Whether they were exterminated by the Indians or perished in some other way, it is not easy to determine.

The (Wiondats), or Hurons, have been given the latter name because formerly they lived near Lake Huron, (the Delawares call them Delamattenos),[202] they call the Delaware nation their cousin, and the latter in turn call them uncle. With these the Delawares have never had a war but have always been good friends. Between the Delawares and the Six Nations there has never been real friendship, because the latter secured peace in no straight-forward manner. Recognizing that the Delawares

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were too powerful for them, they pretended that it would not be good for the nations to wage war continually and that one nation ought to be the woman and that nation must be the Delawares, as they were the greatest warriors. Afterward they alleged that they had conquered the Delawares. In the war which began in 1755 and lasted until the sixties the Delawares challenged the Six Nations on the occasion of a Treaty in Pittsburg, but the latter returned no answer.[222]

Of late years the Delawares have amazingly increased in reputation through the wise management of the Chief Netawatwes. This man spared no pains to gain the friendship of all the nations. He sent frequent embassies to the grandchildren, and showed himself a true grandfather. When the Delawares sent a message to the allied nations, the speech began with each string or belt of wampum, "Grand-children;" the nations address the Delawares, "Grandfather." The Wyondats and Six Nations are addressed "Uncle," and the Europeans, "Brother." The speech is generally addressed directly to the chief, though meant for the whole nation.

The nations generally addressed the French as "Father," when the latter were in possession of Canada and had intercourse with them. The same appellation was transferred to the English when they conquered Canada. In the other colonies Europeans and Indians called one another "Brothers." This practice was followed by Sir William Johnson.

Indians explain the origin of Nations and their names by saying, and this not unlikely, that the inhabitants of towns or districts named themselves according to the places where they dwelt. Thus even at the present time Delawares who live in Goschachgünk are commonly called Goschachgiwak, that is Goschachgühlser — "people of Goschachgünk."

A message sent or a speech in council goes or is delivered in the name of the three tribes, signifying the three chiefs. The Turtle tribe is named first, next the Wolf Tribe and the Turkey Tribe last.

When a message is returned, not having been accepted, the belt or string of wampum that has been rejected is thrown on the floor of the council house, after it has been announced why

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202 623 648 the message was not welcome. The refusal is considered a great affront and no one of the chiefs or counsellors will touch the rejected wampum belt or string. This lies on the floor, the men of the Council leaving the place, until some old woman removes it.

622 Concerning usages and ceremonies connected with the election of a chief the following should have been added. If a chief of the Turtle Tribe is to be elected his own tribe does not choose him but the chiefs of the other two tribes do this. Similarly, if a chief of the Wolf or Turkey Tribe were to be elected, the tribe concerned would have no part in the election. The election is conducted in the following manner. As each tribe lives in a town of its own, the two chiefs, upon whom the election devolves, meet with their counsellors and people at an appointed place, and after all necessary preparations have been made — some thirty belts of wampum are required and a number of speeches arranged for — they move in a procession toward the town where the election is to take place. The two chiefs head the procession and one of them sings along the whole way the speeches that are to be made to the chief about to be elected, singing in a tone used on this and no other occasion. Thus they, still singing, enter the town where the chief is to be elected. They find everything prepared for the occasion, enter the council house at the east end, pass on one side the two or three fires that have been made and sit down on the other side. Next the inhabitants of the town enter, welcome the guests by shaking their hands and sit down on the other side of the fire. One of the two chiefs, in a singing tone, opens the proceedings by explaining the object of the meeting, condoling with the chief elect, wipes the tears from his eyes, clears his ears and throat, removes all sorrow on account of the departed chief from his heart and comforts him. Next he declares him to be chief and formally fills the office made vacant by the death of the former chief. He then exhorts the young people to be obedient to their new chief, whenever he shall require their assistance, and explains to them how they are to conduct themselves toward the chief. The speech is confirmed by means of two belts of

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wampum and the speaker receives an answer, a solemn promise, from the young people that they will fulfill their obligation. He likewise addresses the wife of the new chief, who is present attended by several women, and admonishes her to be obedient to the chief. This is confirmed by means of a belt and the woman, in the name of all the women, promises obedience. Finally, he lays before the chief the duties of his office, regarding the preservation or re-establishment of peace, admonishing him not to meddle in the affairs of war and to keep his people from it, to continually attend to the welfare of his nation and to hear willingly the remonstrances of the people in case he should commit a fault. All this is intoned and the belts given in confirmation are laid before the chief. He promises to act in strict conformity to these injunctions.

The new chief thus enters upon his office by consent of the tribe and whole nation. He is placed, therefore, in a position of influence. He is loved and honored of his people and aided by them in his undertakings. Whoever obtains the office of chief in any other way is not respected. This is the case with the successor of Netawatwes, who was chosen by Europeans prominent in Pittsburg.[203] Such a one amounts to nothing and is held in no greater esteem than any other Indian. He can accomplish nothing, for neither the other chiefs nor the counsellors nor the people are with him. Thus the Delawares at present have no real ruler, to whom they are devoted and from whom they are willing to take counsel. This state of affairs will continue until they elect a chief in accordance with their own usages.

If a chief has made mistakes, he may be admonished by the whole people and is obliged to give attention to them. For any grave fault, which may prove injurious to the commonwealth — for instance if he suffers the young people to commit outrages or murders, which may be laid to the charge of the whole nation and involve it in war, or if he should not do anything to prevent such misdemeanors in the first instance — he is reprimanded by the two other chiefs, with the same ceremonious solemnity used at his installation, must be willing to take the

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reprimand, and must promise to fulfill his duty better in the future.

The name Delawares undoubtedly has its origin with the Europeans, for neither they themselves nor other nations use this name. They call themselves the Lenni-Lenape Indians or *W'oapanachke*, that is people living towards the rising of the sun, having formerly inhabited the eastern coast of North America. It is possible that the word Delawares should have been applied to the nation; because the Unami Tribe, which lived nearest the sea, uses the word *'ndellowen* very much. This word, meaning "I say," being a verb, appears frequently and in many forms in the conversation of the people. The first Europeans, not understanding the language and hearing this word very often may have made Delaware out of it and called the people thus. The Indians themselves believe this to be the explanation, though it is possible that the Europeans have another, of which I am not aware.[391]

If a party of Indians have spent a night in the woods, it may be easily known, not only by the structure of their sleeping huts but also by their marks on the trees, to what tribe they belong. For they always leave a mark behind made either with red pigment or charcoal. Such marks are understood by the Indians who know how to read their meaning. Some markings point out the places where a company of Indians have been hunting, showing the number of nights they spent there, the number of deer, bears and other game killed during the hunt. The warriors sometimes paint their own deeds and adventures, the number of prisoners or scalps taken, the number of troops they commanded and how many fell in battle.

If two nations are engaged in war and the warriors of one commit some murderous act, it is not uncommon that they leave the hatchet in the head of the victim who has been scalped or lay a war-club, painted red, upon the body of the victim. This is a formal challenge, in consequence of which, a captain of the insulted party takes up the weapon of the murderers and hastens into their country to be avenged. He will do much the same thing, leaving his weapon upon the murdered, and

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endeavor to bring back a scalp or several scalps to show that he has avenged the rights of his nation.

Across the Mississippi there lives a nation called the Su.[205] They live along the river Su far beyond the Illinois, where there are vast plains without trees and on which wild goats, buffalo and other game graze. As there is no wood, the Indians burn dried buffalo manure. For the winter they provide themselves with peat, which they dry with grass. Their utensils they make of clay and burn them, wherever they may be, for they travel from place to place following game. Their weapons are the bow and arrow. Water being scarce on the plains, they catch the dew for cooking and drinking purposes. For this purpose they use large sponges that grow on the rocks in the rivers. This I have been told by an Englishman who lived sometime in that country. These Indians trade with the Spaniards. I have heard from various sources that the further west one goes the more extensive are the plains.

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Indians usually treat one another with kindness and civility and in their bearing toward one another are modest. They are communicative but thoughtful. Of empty compliments they know nothing. In meeting it is customary to shake hands, greet one another with the friendly title of Father, Older or Younger Brother, Uncle, Cousin, Grand Son, Grandfather and say "I am glad to see you." Sometimes all this is repeated when the guests have been sometime in the house. Expression of greeting through others is hardly customary, occasionally a gift is sent by way of greeting. Greetings are expressed in all sincerity. If sentiments do not correspond to words and forms, the latter are dispensed with. If warriors, going to war or coming from war, when the murderous spirit is on them greet one (I will not say an Indian, for that were nothing unusual, but a white person) one may certainly believe to possess their favor and good grace and need fear no harm, for if they have the least feeling against anyone, they will use no form of greeting. This I know from frequent experience. An Indian carries pouch and pipe with him wherever he goes, for they are indispensable. For state occasions they may have an otter 'skin

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pouch or a beaver-pouch or one decorated with coral, made by the women. Sometimes they have a buffalo horn, from which a pouch, made possibly of tanned deer-skin, depends. In the pouches they carry tobacco, fire materials, knife and pipe. Sumac is generally mixed with tobacco or sumac smoked without tobacco, for but few can stand smoking pure tobacco. Their common conversation turns upon hunting or the news of the day. Matter that has no foundation in fact may be drawn into conversation, and even though all may be aware of this, the narration continues uninterrupted. They may laugh now and again but they will listen attentively. No one interrupts another. When one has finished another begins. They never put any one publicly to blush; they are polite to each other and enjoy being politely treated. They like to be regarded as worthy people even though they may be the opposite. They are pleased to know that they are liked. When a guest comes into a house, food is placed before him; that comes before anything else. If the guests are from a distance and very good friends, the whole kettle of food is set before them, they are given dishes and spoons and allowed to help themselves first to as much as they wish. The guests having partaken of the food, pass the kettle back to the people of the house. They live very simply. Meat, corn, gruel, corn-bread, are the principal articles of diet.[295] In lieu of meat, various dishes are prepared with corn, or Sopan, milk and butter are used. They like to discuss affairs of state and communicate their opinions. In fact they are more ready to discuss such matters in course of visits than in the Council House, for there they prefer to let the older people speak. Occasionally visits are made with the purpose of discovering the opinions of others; in a chief's home all manner of reports, true and false, furnish material for discussion. The women speak of their work, their plantations, the pouches, bags, baskets, carrying bands they have made, many of them though not all smoking tobacco. Stories are carried by women from house to house; they are so often manufactured that if men, having listened attentively to some tale, hear that it originated with a woman they will give it no credit until confirmed by some more reliable authority.

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Trade with Europeans is carried on usually on the basis of fixed price, both as concerns goods and pelts. The Indians trade their deer, beaver, otter, raccoon, fox-skins, wild-cat-skins and others for goods which the traders often take a considerable distance into the Indian country. If they can deceive the whites, they do so with pleasure, for it is not easily done. They are delighted, also, if they succeed in purloining something. They are fond of buying on credit, promising to pay when they return from the chase. The traders may be willing to take the risk, hoping to control all that they catch. But if the Indians, on their return, find other traders in the country, they barter with them and trouble themselves no longer over their creditors. If the latter remind them of their debts, they are offended, for to pay old debts seems to them to be giving goods away for nothing. Usually traders learn from their losses to give nothing or but little on credit. This is the safest course and there is no danger in arousing the enmity of the Indians. When war breaks out the traders are the first in danger, not only of losing their property but also for their lives. When the Indians suspect a war approaching, they keep it secret and take as many goods upon credit as they can get; as soon as the war breaks out all debts are cancelled.

The Indians trade much among themselves, especially the women, who deal in rum, which they sell at exorbitant prices, which occasions much disorder. Indian traders usually demand high prices, knowing well that unless the buyer were in great distress, or fully intent upon closing the bargain, he would rather not deal with them. Indians when really anxious to obtain anything will pay almost any price. If they are in need of corn they will give goods or pelts in exchange for it. Frequently, the chiefs have prohibited the sale of strong drink in their towns, but it is always brought in in some manner, against which the chiefs are powerless to protest. For instance, they may appoint a sacrifice of rum, in which nothing but rum is used. This the chiefs cannot hinder owing to established custom. When once the Indians, who gather in large numbers for such a sacrifice, have tasted the strong drink but have not satisfied themselves, they will go to the old women who deal in liquor.

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273 438 The latter will often obtain everything that an Indian owns except his Breech-clout. For their skins the Indians get from the traders powder, lead, rifle-barrelled guns—for other weapons they do not value — blankets, strouds, linen, shirts, cotton, 439 callemanco,[297] knives, needles, thread, woolen and silken ribbon, wire and kettles of brass, silver buckles, — these are considered as valuable as gold and with them they can purchase almost anything — bracelets, thimbles, rings, combs, mirrors, axes, hatchets and other tools.

535 If the young are at home and not on the chase hardly a night passes without a dance. The women, who always follow the men, dancing in a circle, act with decency and becoming modesty, as if they were engaged in the most serious business. Neither laughing nor levity are to be noticed and they never speak a word to a man, for this would injure their character. They neither jump nor skip, but move one foot after the other slightly forwards then backwards, yet so as to advance gradually. The men shout and leap and stamp with such violence that the ground trembles under their feet. Whatever man acts in the oddest and most ridiculous manner is the most regarded. They dance in a circle around the fire. Often in the midst of the dance they will all hold their heads forward over the fire, stand bowed or leap and stamp, singing all the time; suddenly they stand erect again and move forward. They make all manner of unusual movements to show their agility and skill. They have no other music than the drum. When one dance has been finished the one who beats the drum sings and beats until another begins. There is always a leader whom all watch carefully and follow. They have various kinds of dances, some acquired from the other nations.

526 The young men often wrestle to test their strength. The one thrown is not angered but admits the other to be his master. Another mode of testing strength is in trying to lift some large stone, or throwing a stone of considerable size the greatest distance possible.

525 Nine-pins, ball-playing and cards they have learned from the whites. The Indian game of dice is the most popular of

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amusements. They may devote days in succession to it, always gambling on the throwing. Among the Mingoes I have observed that two towns brought together goods, blankets, strowds, shirts, linen and played for them. In this case the game lasted eight days. The dice are placed in a dish, lifted up and thrown forcibly on the ground. The people of the two towns met daily during the period named and every inhabitant of each town threw the dice once. This done they parted for the day and each party separately offered a sacrifice in the evening. In connection with the sacrifice they had their special ceremonies, consisting in a man going several times 'round a fire, throwing tobacco into it and singing a song. Afterwards the whole company danced. This continued for eight days. When the winners bore away the spoil in triumph.

The boys exercise by shooting at a mark with bow and arrow. They may throw something into the air and shoot at it, the one hitting the object being regarded as a good marksman. As soon as they are able to run about they learn to use the bow and arrow. When they grow older they shoot pigeons, squirrels, birds and even raccoon with their bows and arrows.

Two comrades who have been reared together or have become attached to one another will be very close and constant companions. If one goes on a journey or to hunt the other will, if possible, accompany him. It seems almost impossible for either of them to live without the other, and for one to give up his companion, as may be necessary when one becomes a Christian, is very hard. Often such friends will make a covenant with one another to remain together and share alike possessions and knowledge.[208] If they go to war together and one perishes the other will fight desperately to avenge him, accounting his own life as nothing.

In traveling in companies they are very companionable and follow some recognized leader. The younger element, on such journeys, engages in the hunt and if deer or bear is shot, the carcass is brought to camp and laid at the fire of the one who is held to be leader. He divides the meat among all, share and share alike. No complaint is ever heard that one has received more than another. If the chiefs have a journey to make, they

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484 usually take some of the younger men along, who supply the larder during the journey by engaging in the chase. A journey is rarely hurried for usually it makes little difference whether they arrive at their destination a day late or not, and they are everywhere at home in the woods. They rarely leave camp early in the morning, wishing always to have a good meal before starting and sometimes they delay to mend their shoes. This inconveniences Europeans, who may be obliged to use the Indians as guides very much, especially when they are anxious to reach a certain place at a certain time. It is best policy, however, to accommodate oneself to the Indians, for admonition or remonstrance easily offends them and makes them act in a very contrary manner.

577 Indians dislike having their evil conduct or acts uncovered and held up to them. They are able, however, in subtle fashion so to touch upon such subjects that the parties concerned will understand. This method they prefer, not wishing to offer an open affront. It has happened that one openly accused of an evil deed, murder or the like, has, in desperation, ended his life. They sometimes reveal secret things by means of dreams they pretend to have had when they do not wish to show from what source they have their information. Their desires and inclinations, likewise, they will reveal through pretended dreams, when they are ashamed to make these known directly; often they achieve their purposes in this manner. Chiefs occasionally receive a secret message which must be made known. They will say that at night, while sitting by the fire, some one rose out of the earth, handed over a string or belt of wampum and, whispering the message in their ears, disappeared again in the earth. In this fashion a message may go a hundred miles or more under the earth, coming to the surface where it was intended that it should, often at the fire of a chief of another nation. This happens when war is to be made but kept secret for the time being, the message, therefore, being very difficult to understand for any but the chief.

574 They are desirous of retaining the favor and friendship of other nations. When they receive visitors, therefore, the latter are shown all honor and entertained in the best possible way, in

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order that at home they may have nothing but good to report. As hospitality is generally practiced, strangers are everywhere well received and suffer no want, even though they may remain for days, or weeks or months. It is recognized as a duty to care for the wants of a guest as long as he may choose to remain and even to give him provisions for the journey when he does make up his mind to go.

On the occasion of making or renewing a treaty with another nation a dance very different from the ordinary dance is engaged in. The dancers join hands and leap in a circle for some time. Suddenly the leader lets the hand of one of his partners go, springs forward and turns around several times, by which he draws the whole company round so as to be enclosed by them, when they stand close together. They disengage themselves as suddenly, yet keeping hold of hands during all the different evolutions and changes in the dance; this, as they explain it, represents the chain of friendship; a song, used only at such a solemnity, is sung by all.

The War Dance is very wild and dreadful to behold. One dancer carries his hatchet, another a long knife, another a large club, a fourth a cudgel. These they brandish in the air, to signify how they intend to treat or have treated their enemies, affecting all the while an air of anger and fury. The Mingoes use the war dance even in times of peace with a view to celebrate their heroic deeds.

They regard the Europeans as a peaceable people, created of God to live according to their own manners and customs, even as the Indians have been created to live in their fashion, especially to sustain themselves by means of the chase. They think it contrary to the will of the deity to adopt, themselves, the manner of living peculiar to Europeans, pointing to fish, animals and birds as each having their characteristic habits. Each creature, bear, deer or other animal, continues to live in its own way, and it has never yet been observed that an animal had adopted the habits of another. The same principle, they hold, applies to Indians and Europeans. They recognize that the Europeans are industrious and clever, that without oppor-

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tunity to trade with them their position would be without many of the advantages they now enjoy. They admit that the whites are very ingenious, because of their ability to manufacture a great variety of things, but regard their manner of living as wearisome and slavish as compared with their own. Their own skill as hunters and woodsmen, they hold, excels that of the whites. Towards these they harbor a secret enmity which they disguise in their presence, for they suspect that they will deprive them of their land and drive them within narrower confines. This suspicion is not without foundation. Among the Delawares this dislike has been moderated through long intercourse with the whites, yet they show that they have no particular love towards them, in that they will sell their lands to them and after these have become inhabited will seek to drive them off by starting war.

The French seem to possess a greater share of the goodwill of the Indians than the English, being regarded by the Indians as being more akin to themselves, probably because they enter more easily into the Indian manner of living and appear always good-humored. Indians have more faith in the French than in other Europeans. Since the late war with England all the Americans except the English in Canada, otherwise called by the Indians Virginians, are known as Big Knives by the nations because, from the beginning, the Indians saw them and the Governor of Virginia on all occasions of negotiations with the Indians wearing long swords. Hence, they called them Choanschican and the Six Nations named them Assarigoa that is Big Knives, which name has been applied to all Virginians and has been extended from it to all Americans because the Virginians in this war negotiated most of the treaties with the Indians.[299]

Judged by the mere appearance of the Indians one is surprised how modest and careful they are in relation to each other and imagines that the whites, if they were as free a people and had neither government nor punishment to fear, would not be as united and peaceable as the Indians appear to be. The towns and villages of the latter are not indeed governed by force or law. Each individual is at liberty to live where he pleases,

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moving from one place to another according to inclination, yet they generally dwell together for the sake of the help they can render each other in building and in fencing up the great field where all may plant and be sure that their pieces of ground will not be molested by cattle. If they have a good chief he may be very useful to the people, for under him they believe themselves to dwell in safety as it is his business to keep the peace with other nations and order among his own people in so far as this may be secured among the Indians who are a free people recognizing neither compulsion nor authority to punish. By means of discretion and diplomacy a chief may accomplish much. At times he may not tell his counsellors, much less the people, what his ultimate purposes are, for fear of not attaining them. Moving forward step by step he may gain his end. Of violence, murder (except in drunkenness), robbery, theft, one rarely hears among the Indians. They may leave all they have caught in the chase and their utensils in the forest, secured indeed against wild animals such as wolves and bear, but not hidden from the Indians. They often hang their things to trees in the woods where everyone passing by may see them and leave them there for days and weeks, yet they are never molested. Stolen goods may not be easily concealed among them, and whoever has been guilty of theft must restore or repay lest a horse or two or even his gun, which is an Indian's means of sustenance, be taken from him or his friends summoned to make good the injury, even years after the theft has been committed. The latter will rather pay than be much and often called upon to do so.

Few houses are locked when the people go out. A stick is placed against the door on the outside and the passerby sees that no one is at home and does not enter. Each one is free to do as he pleases without let or hindrance, yet he will rarely do another injury.

Their old people, even though they are only able to crawl about and are a source of trouble and have nothing to bequeath to anyone, are faithfully cared for by their friends who seem to wish that their lives should be prolonged. That they are unmerciful and insensible towards the poor and needy may not be said of them. Even strangers who have no friends are

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736 given assistance. A poor widow, even though she have children, finds it possible to make a living if she is willing to work. They pay her above the worth of her services in food and clothing; if it is summer she may work on the plantations; in winter she may prepare wood for fire. They are willing to help the poor but always expect them to render some service in return. It has been known that good has been done to prisoners condemned to death, even to whites, though this had to be done secretly.

829 144 A few negroes are found among the Indians having been either bought from the whites or secured as prisoners. These are looked upon as of their own kind and allowed full liberty. Indians and negroes intermarry and their mulatto children are as much loved as children of pure Indian blood.

431 They are fond of giving when they can expect something in return and of doing good which they have reason to hope may be returned. They easily forget the good that has been done, but if they have been cheated they never forget it. If a white has done them ever so many favors, helped them in need, or given them presents, and omits an opportunity to do the like only once, then all he may have done is forgotten. If an Indian takes a wife and dresses her generously from head to foot in new garments she will indeed be glad and proud; but she will more readily leave him than if he had given her little or nothing, for in that case she would still be in expectation of receiving something.

One may even make enemies of Indians through presents if these make them proud and one does not continue giving. Occasionally when a respectable present has been given the donor is slandered in order that he may not expect something in return from the recipient.

152 They are able to control their desires and passions, but once given free rein these are the more violent. Overcome with wrath, they at once think upon murder, and may, in the heat of passion, do something for which they will later feel remorse.

521 The women are much given to lying and gossiping. They carry evil report from house to house. As long as they are observed they appear modest and without guile. All the wrongs

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of which they are guilty are done in secret. That adultery, theft, lying, cheating are terrible vices they know, having learned it from their ancestors as well as from whites. Fear of disgrace keeps them from open wrong-doing for they do not wish to have a bad name. Secretly, however, they are given to all manner of vice. Some are no longer sensitive to shame. There are traces of unnatural sins among them, hardly known to any except to those such as missionaries who have learned to understand the people well. Virtue one must not seek among the savages, but the grace of God is able to accomplish wonders among them. Not all are equally bad. Some among them are sensible people and considerate, who act reasonably and have an eye to right and justice.

I had no faith concerning sorcery attributed to them, though I have lived many years among them, thinking it all to be boasting and lying on their part. I believed the Indians were too stupid for such satanic practices, but I have been persuaded otherwise. I know for a certainty that witchcraft is common among them. Those who make great pretention to skill in the dark arts know the least about them. The adepts do not boast of their knowledge for fear of their lives. They are very careful, even under the influence of strong drink, not to draw suspicion upon themselves. There seem to be Indians who have the ability to bring about the death of any one by other than ordinary means, even in the short space of twenty-four hours. This they do without the use of poison, which, if used, might be discovered and for which an antidote might be administered. Usually two or three or more agree that a certain person shall die. While he is asleep or in the presence of others they somehow exert their evil influence upon him. The effects are various. Sometimes the victim falls to the ground immediately in convulsions, lies for a time as dead, then recovers consciousness but soon dies. Sometimes the effects are not noticeable for several days. Occasionally the unfortunate individuals are afflicted with diseases, from which there is no recovery for years. Hence, it is that when illness cannot be accounted for on natural grounds, the Indians are apt to believe themselves to have been bewitched.

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Accounts of illness attributed to this cause are, however, not all to be credited.

By the Nantikoks[200] the Indians have been instructed in the use of a peculiar kind of poison called *Mattapassigan*, meaning poison. The Nantikoks dwelt formerly in Maryland, along the sea, some of them still living there, and later moved to Wajomick along the Susquehannah, finally proceeding further northward. In the late war they were driven out with the Six Nations. They brought knowledge of this poison, which carries many evils with it, to the nations and also to the Delawares. What it is and whereof it is made I am unable to say, as I have never seen it, and the descriptions vary. Possibly it is prepared in different ways. It is said not to be baneful in itself and to receive its power for working injury through witchcraft. It is declared to be capable of infecting whole townships and tribes with disorders as pernicious as the plague. With its use the sorcerers are said to be able to remove a person though he may be several hundred miles away. The Delawares have endeavored to extirpate the shocking evil. Their efforts extending over two years were in vain, for those possessed of the knowledge of its uses kept the knowledge secret. The Nantikoks who were the wretched inventors of this poison and its arts, have nearly destroyed their own nation by it. Its use is rendered efficacious by a company of murderous sorcerers uniting in the same design. Its effects are the more terrible, because it is used not only in connection with individuals but whole communities. In their practices the sorcerers, except in case of the poison described, seem to use no Beson but a little piece of an old blanket or something else. This they rub in their hands until formed into a little ball. Naming the one who is marked for death, they throw this ball at him, saying that he shall die. They call this shooting the witchball.[201] Any person wishing to get another whom he hates out of the way will hire a sorcerer or several of them to do it, paying them in wampum. The Indians say that their poison and witchcraft have no effect upon the white people because they use so much salt in their victuals. But this is merely a pretense as there are instances of Europeans having fallen victims to their skill in poisoning.

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Warriors, and especially Captains, procure a beson thought to be capable of preserving them from arrow and ball. In the year 1774 when a war had broken out between the Shawanose and the whites, the latter had their war-beson carried about among the ranks upon a pole, in a battle they fought with the whites on the Canhawa.[201½] But the Beson bearer himself was shot, the whole Indian army routed and the Beson fell a pray to the conqueror.

Another sort of deceivers are called by them Kimochne, "night walkers." These people get into the houses at night and steal whatever they can get. The Indians say that they bewitch the family into a profound sleep so as not to be discovered. They are said to be able to go a hundred miles or more and back during a single night, proceeding through the air over hill and dale and river. This seemed to me incredible, but I have been told by various individuals that it is true. We have several converted sorcerers in the congregation.[201½]

Most extraordinary experiences have been met with by boys from twelve to fourteen years of age, when they have been alone in the forest in apprehension and in need. An old man in a gray beard may have appeared and said in soothing tone, "Do not fear, I am a rock and thou shalt call me by this name. I am the Lord of the whole earth and of every living creature therein, of the air and of wind and weather. No one dare oppose me and I will give thee the same power. No one shall do thee harm and thou needest not to fear any man." Such and similar prophecies he makes. Such a boy ruminates upon what he has heard and is confirmed in the opinion as he grows up that a peculiar power has been imparted to him to perform extraordinary exploits, and he imagines that no one can do him injury. As he can receive no further instruction from any one, he must learn from experience how far he can go, his imagination inspiring him to make every effort. Such boys give themselves to the practice of the dark arts, having abundance of time for investigation and practice, because in their youth they are not required to work unless they choose to do so. Such a boy is feared above others, but of these there are very few. Others have been led by dreams to study theory and

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754 practice of the black art. Most are deceivers who pretend to be able to leap over a river or from one mountain to another. Old women are sometimes accused of being witches. If a child dies suddenly some one will pretend to have seen an old woman with the child at night, who is then believed to have bewitched the little one. Some old woman or another Indian may thus, though quite innocent, be thought guilty of witchcraft and be thus considered to the end of life. Again there are witches supposed to go through the towns at night in the form of an owl or a fox. It is nothing strange that an owl or a fox should get into the town, as many of the towns are surrounded by the forest. Such witches are supposed to kill Indians, bring disease and plague into the town. The worst is said to be that when such animals are shot at they do not die, being able to close up the wound caused by the bullet.

It is remarkable that Indians of such character have been led to lead a new life and turn from all deceitful practices. From them it has been learned that most of their dark practices grow out of imagination and superstition. Of those, however, who seem versed in the use of *Mattapassigan* none have to the present time been converted, though some with whom I came into contact were inclined to better themselves but were unable to refrain from their evil practices, being afraid, apparently, that their lives would be endangered.

755 That the Indians have some sort of religion and mode of worship whereby they endeavor to please the Deity, cannot be denied. Their worship, however, is unreasoning devotion. It is remarkable that savages who have been cut off from association with other nations for no one knows how many centuries should have so much knowledge of Deity that is handed down from generation to generation.

They believe and have from time immemorial believed that there is an Almighty Being who has created heaven and earth and man and all things else. This they have learned from their ancestors, but where the dwelling place of the Deity is they know not. They have always heard that whoever lives a virtuous life, refrains from stealing, murder and immorality,

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would at death go to some good place where conditions would be better than here, where there would be a superfluity of everything and a happy life of joy and dancing. On the contrary, whoever lived an evil life would arrive at no good place but have to wander about sad and unhappy. Hence nothing is so terrible and awful to them as death, because they do not know how it will be after this life nor whither they shall go. Whenever they think of death they are filled with anxiety, but rather than consider how they ought to live they seek to rid themselves of thoughts of death. They fear the thunderbolt, because it occasionally strikes and shatters the trees, but they seek to disguise their fear. Yet they believe that the Deity is graciously and mercifully disposed towards men, because he imparts power to the plants to grow, causes the rain to fall and the sun to shine and gives game to man for his support. Indeed, as to fish and deer they imagine them given particularly to the Indians and not so much to the whites for the Indians were created to sustain themselves by the chase and the whites by the work of their hands. There are indeed some among them who pretend to be able to bring rain when there has been drought, and such a person knowing that the women, whose business it is to care for the plantations, are anxious for rain shows his cleverness in deceiving the people. Noticing from cloudy appearances early in the morning that it is likely to rain during the day, he will tell some one, that if tobacco or something else that he wishes is given him he will bring rain. The party so informed will tell the women, who in their joy contribute each a little and bring the fellow what he desires. The latter goes to some lonely place, draws a circle on the ground, makes a cross within it and puts tobacco, a pumpkin and some red coloring into it as well, seats himself, sings and shouts so that he may be heard, continuing if possible until it begins to rain. Even sensible Indians believe that he has brought the rain because under the circumstances it generally rains. In case the rain fails to come he makes promises for another day.

They believe God to be almighty and able to do as he pleases. Hence in times past they brought sacrifices and still do this

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776 making their offerings not directly to the Deity but to things of his creation, as will later appear. No one has ever heard that they have sacrificed to the devil, whom together with all evil spirits they abhor, believing that all evil comes from them, even as all good comes from God.

[177] They seem to have had no idea of the devil until in modern times preachers arose among them who proclaimed that there was such a being, having secured their knowledge from the whites. They have no very definite conception of him but consider him to be a very powerful spirit, able to work much harm and unable to do any good. Many say also that Indians would never be claimed by the devil, however wicked they might be in the world, because he existed only for the whites who wrought evil. They declare that he is not to be found among the Indians but only among the white people, for if he were among the Indians they would long since have discovered him, and their ancestors would have told them about him. They did know, however, about good and evil spirits which appears from this: when crimes had been committed, the guilty ones laid the blame on an evil spirit who had seduced them. They have also been accustomed to admonish one another in time of war not to give ear to the evil spirit but to the good spirit who counseled peace. They also knew nothing of Hell, believing only that 771 wicked men would go to no good place after this life. They have no proper term for such a place other than *Machtandonwinck* which means, with the devil, *Machtando* meaning the Evil One. They have never had regularly appointed priests, the oldest men having usually performed the sacrifices, admonished the people to good life and conduct, warned them against immorality, murder and violence, if they would be happy, attain to great age and after death get to the good place. How much this meant among blind savages who were dead in sins and had not the ability to withstand evil and vice may be readily imagined. It is possible that the admonitions of the aged availed to the extent of restraining wickedness, so that it did not break forth as it does at the present time. It is undoubtedly true that there were formerly fewer vices than now. Of some forms of indulgence they know nothing, for example of strong drink,

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through which unquestionably many evils have crept in. They lived in earlier days more simply, perhaps one ought to say more stupidly, and now that they have gained in knowledge and understanding they have become practiced in wickedness. 771

They consider the soul to be an invisible being and a spirit. Formerly, they used the word *Il'tellenapewoagan* to describe it, meaning the "Substance of a Human Being." Savages use this word to the present day. Now they have accepted the word *Il'tschitschank*, that is, "Spirit." They believe also in the immortality of the soul. Some likened themselves to corn which when thrown out and buried in the soil comes up and grows. Some believe their souls to be in the sun and only their bodies here. Others say that when they die their souls will go to God and suppose that when they have been some time with God they will be at liberty to return to the world and be born again. Hence, many believe that their souls have come from God and that they have been in the world before. 774

They believe also in the transmigration of the soul. Wandering spirits and ghosts, they claim, sometimes throw something into a public path and whoever goes over it is bewitched and becomes lame or ill. They even pretend to know where such a thing happened, learning it from the doctors who are thought to be able to effect a cure. 775

Concerning the deluge there are some fairly clear traditions among the Indians. According to these, the world was at one time entirely flooded and all men perished. The turtle, however, able to live both on land and sea, had survived and again peopled the world. Hence, the Turtle Tribe is the most important among the Indians. Another tradition is that when the earth was flooded some men and women had seated themselves on the back of a turtle of such great age that moss had already grown on its back. These people commissioned a diver that flew nearby to search for land. After searching in many regions this bird had at last returned with a bit of earth in its mouth. They, then, proceed on the back of the turtle to where this earth had been procured and found a little spot of dry land, where they settled. Gradually more land appeared, and this was, eventually, peopled by the descendants of those 773

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who had on the back of the turtle escaped the general destruction.

Concerning their origin no trace of tradition is to be found among the Indians. From some old Mingoes I heard that they believed themselves to have come from under the earth, where they had lived before. A badger had worked his way to the surface, seen the beautiful land and returned at once to announce to them what he had seen. They had been so pleased with his account that they left their subterranean abode forthwith and settled in this beautiful land. From their habit of speaking in figure or parable, it may be concluded that by this account they mean to convey the idea that they originally came from the other side of the earth. Others say that they came from under the water, which may mean much the same thing. The tradition of the Nantikoks is that seven Indians had suddenly seen themselves seated at the sea-side. Whether they had come over the sea or been there created they did not know. Descendants of these Indians peopled the land. Others, again, claim that the first human being fell from heaven. This was a woman, cast out from the upper regions by her husband. Shortly after her fall from heaven she was delivered of twins, from whom the inhabitants of this land are descended. They believe that in the realm above them is a world of men much like this, whence the Indians originally came.

They believe in numerous spirits or subordinate deities. Almost all animals and the elements are looked upon as spirits, one exceeding the other in dignity and power. There is scarcely an Indian who does not believe that one or more of these spirits has not been particularly given him to assist him and make him prosper. This, they claim, has been made known to them in a dream, even as their religious belief and witchcraft is alleged to have been made known to them in a dream. One has, in a dream, received a serpent or a buffalo, another the sun or the moon, another an owl or some other bird, another a fish, some even ridiculously insignificant creatures such as ants. These are considered their spirits or *Manittos*. If an Indian has no *Manitto* to be his friend he considers himself forsaken, has nothing upon which he may lean, has no hope of any assistance

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and is small in his own eyes. On the other hand those who have been thus favored possess a high and proud spirit.

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About thirty years ago[102] preachers appeared among the Indians. They pretended to have received revelations from above, to have traveled into heaven and conversed with God. They gave different accounts of their journey, but all agreed in this: that no one could enter heaven without great danger, for the road, say they, runs close by the gates of hell. Here the devil lies in ambush and snatches at every one who is going to God. They came first to the Son of God and through him to God himself, with whom they pretend to have conversed concerning the Indians and by whom they were commanded to instruct their people. Thus the Indians were for the first time informed that there was a heaven where was the dwelling of God and a hell that of the devil. Presumably they got this knowledge from the whites. Some of the preachers confessed that they had not reached the dwelling of God but had approached near enough to hear the cocks crow and see the smoke of the chimneys in heaven. Others that they had approached the Son of God and then returned.

These teachers marked off on a piece of parchment made of deerskin two roads, both leading to heaven, one designated by God for the Indians, the other for the white people. They claim that the latter had to go a great way round about and the road for the Indians was at that time the shortest, but now, since the white people had blocked up the road for the Indians, they were obliged to make a long circuit to come to God. Further, there were paintings of heaven and hell upon the parchment as also the figure of a balance to represent the deceitful traffic carried on by the white people with the Indians. This rude parchment is, as it were, their Bible, and lies spread before them when they preach for the Indians. They then explain every mark and figure to their hearers and it is very evident that their chief aim is to influence the minds of the Indians against the white people. It is certain that their preaching has had this effect, for about this time war broke out between Indians and whites there having been no such war before.

They declared to the Indians that God had commanded their

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cleansing from sin and to this end they gave them twelve different kinds of Beson to drink, supposed by causing vomiting to free them of sinful taint. Some Indians, following these injunctions, vomited so often that their lives were endangered by it.*** They were, further, strictly ordered to fast, and to take nothing but Beson. Few persevered in this absurd practice the required length of time.

Other teachers pretended that stripes were the most effectual means to purge away sin. They advised their hearers to suffer themselves to be beaten with twelve different sticks from the soles of their feet to their necks, that their sins might pass from them through their throats. They preached a system of morals, very severe for the savages, insisting that the Indians abstain from fornication, adultery, murder, theft and practice virtuous living as the condition to their attaining after death the place of the good spirits, which they call *Tschipeghacki*, the "land of spirits," where the life is happy and deer, bear and all manner of game are abundant and the water is like crystal. There nought was to be heard save singing, dancing and merry making. Formerly the Indians only knew of a good place promised to the virtuous, but they did not know where the place was. The preachers pretend to have found the place, which lies to the south. The passage thither is the milky way which may be seen in the heavens on a clear night. They venture also to describe the appearance of the place for there are Indians who have been dead for several days and returned to life who have been there and have told of the things seen. Whoever reaches that place will find a city of beautiful houses and clean streets. Entering a house he will see no one but have good things to eat placed before him, a fire made and a bed prepared—all of which is done by spirits invisible to him. Others assert that such an one will see the women coming with baskets on their backs full of strawberries and bilberries, large as apples, and will observe that the inhabitants daily appear in fine raiment and live a life of rejoicing.

In this they all agree that the bad Indians, who have not lived as these preachers exhorted them, will not reach the place, *Tschipeghacki*, but must remain some distance away, able to see

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those within dwelling happily but not able to enter. They would receive nothing but poisonous wood and poisonous roots to eat, holding them ever near the brink of a bitter death but not suffering them to die.

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While these preachers admonished the Indians to lead a good and virtuous life their own walk and conduct altogether disagreed with their exhortation. They introduced polygamy, and during their sermons had several of their wives sitting 'round about them. They even pretended that it was a charitable and meritorious act in them, as men living upon terms of intimacy with God, to take these poor ignorant women and lead them in the way to God and to the enjoyment of eternal felicity.

This part of their doctrine was greatly relished by the Indians, and it is a lamentable truth that since that period adultery, fornication and other such abominations have been more frequent among the Indians. The young began to despise the counsel of the aged and endeavored to get into favor with these preachers whose followers multiplied very fast. Some of the preachers went even so far as to make themselves equal with God. They affirmed that the weal and woe of the Indians depended upon their will and pleasure. Their deluded followers, possessing the highest veneration for them, brought them many presents. Even some of the most sensible and respected Indians assented to their doctrines, punctually following their prescriptions even at the hazard of health and life. Some of the latter we now have in the congregation, who have learned that nothing avails to deliver from the servitude of sin save the blood of Jesus Christ.

One of these preachers often proclaimed openly to the Indians that he was quite at home at the side of God, went in and out of his presence where neither sin nor Satan could do him harm; he stated, however, that he had never heard of the God on the cross preached by the Moravians, and did not believe him to be the real God for his God had no wounds and gave him whenever he appeared a little piece of bread, white as snow. On another occasion, having prepared a drink of bilberries he announced that this was the blood of the Son of

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668 God. Thus it appeared that through him Satan endeavored to
794 rob the gospel of its power over the Indians.

As long as the preachers did not proclaim things evidently untrue they were held in great regard and had a considerable following withersoever they went, for they never remained long in one place, else their deception would have been revealed the sooner. They still preached in Gekelemukpechünk [304] when the Moravians came to the Muskingum. Soon thereafter they began to be too coarse, seeking to establish their teaching in opposition to the gospel. This brought about the end of their influence. One has since heard little of them and the most have died. For at the last they preached that whoever would believe in them and follow their direction would be happy in the chase and in all other undertakings, would be able to cross sea and land, would reap plenteous harvests even though little had been planted. The Indians who trusted in them soon saw that they had been deceived and that they had been brought to starvation by the treacherous preachers. Then the power of the latter was at an end.

782 Worship and sacrifices have obtained among them from the
796 earliest times, being usages handed down from their ancestors. Though in the detail of ceremony there has been change, as the Indians are more divided now than at that time, worship and sacrifice have continued as practiced in the early days, for the Indians believe that they would draw all manner of disease and misfortune upon themselves if they omitted to observe the ancestral rites.

[848 In the matter of sacrifice, relationship, even though distant,
602] is of significance, legitimate or illegitimate relationship being regarded without distinction. A sacrifice is offered by a family, with its entire relationship, once in two years. Others, even the inhabitants of other towns, are invited. Such sacrifices are commonly held in autumn, rarely in winter. As their connections are large, each Indian will have opportunity to attend more than one family sacrifice a year. The head of the family knows the time and he must provide for everything. When the head of such a family is converted, he gets into difficulty because his

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friends will not give him peace until he has designated some one to take his place in the arrangement for sacrificial feasts. 782 TA6

Preparations for such a sacrificial feast extend through several days. The requisite number of deer and bears is calculated and the young people are sent into the woods to procure them together with the leader whose care it is to see that everything needful is provided. These hunters do not return until they have secured the amount of booty counted upon. On their return they fire a volley when near the town, march in in solemn procession and deposit the flesh in the house of sacrifice. Meantime the house has been cleared and prepared. The women have prepared fire-wood and brought in long dry reed grass, which has been strewn the entire length of the house, on both sides, for the guests to sit upon. Such a feast may continue for three or four nights, the separate sessions beginning in the afternoon and lasting until the next morning. Great kettles full of meat are boiled and bread is baked. These are served to the guests by four servants especially appointed for this service. The rule is that whatever is thus brought as a sacrifice must be eaten altogether and nothing left.[303] A small quantity of melted fat only is poured into the fire. The bones are burnt, so that the dogs may not get any of them. After the meal the men and women dance, every rule of decency being observed. It is not a dance for pleasure or exercise, as is the ordinary dance engaged in by the Indians. One singer only performs during the dance, walking up and down, rattling a small tortoise shell filled with pebbles. He sings of the dreams the Indians have had, naming all the animals, elements and plants they hold to be spirits. None of the spirits of things that are useful to the Indians may be omitted. By worshipping all the spirits named they consider themselves to be worshipping God, who has revealed his will to them in dreams. When the first singer has finished he is followed by another. Between dances the guests may stop to eat again. There are four or five kinds of feasts, the ceremonies of which differ much from one another. [261]

In another kind of feast the men dance clad only in their Breech-clout, their bodies being daubed all over with white clay. 796 [302]

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796 At a third kind of feast ten or more tanned deer-skins are given to as many old men or women, who wrap themselves in them and stand before the house with their faces turned toward the east, praying God with a loud voice to reward their benefactors. They turn toward the east because they believe that God dwells beyond the rising of the sun. At the same time much wampum is given away. This is thrown on the ground and the young people scramble for it. Afterward it is ascertained who secured the most. This feast is called *'ngammuin*, the meaning of which they themselves are unable to give.

[776] A fourth kind of feast is held in honor of a certain voracious spirit, who, according to their opinions, is never satisfied. The guests are, therefore, obliged to eat all the bear's flesh and drink the melted fat. Though indigestion and vomiting may result they must continue and not leave anything.

[776] A fifth kind of festival is held in honor of fire which the Indians regard as being their grandfather and call *Machtuzin*, meaning "to perspire." A sweating-oven is built in the midst 796 of the house of sacrifice, consisting of twelve poles each of a different species of wood. These twelve poles represent twelve 343 *Manittos*, some of these being creatures, others plants. These [776] they run into the ground, tie together at the top, bending them toward each other; these are covered entirely with blankets, joined closely together, each person being very ready to lend his blanket, so that the whole appears like a baker's oven, high enough nearly to admit a man standing upright. After the meal or sacrifice, fire is made at the entrance of the oven and twelve large stones, about the size of human heads, are heated and placed in the oven. Then twelve Indians creep into it and [276] remain there as long as they can bear the heat. While they are inside twelve pipes full of tobacco are thrown, one after another, upon the hot stones which occasions a smoke almost powerful enough to suffocate those confined inside. Some one may also walk around the stones singing and offering tobacco, for tobacco is offered to fire. Usually, when the twelve men emerge from the oven, they fall down in a swoon. During this feast a whole buck-skin with the head and antlers is raised upon a pole, head and antlers resting on the pole, before which the

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Indians sing and pray. They deny that they pay any adoration to the buck, declaring that God alone is worshipped through this medium and is so worshipped at his will.

At these feasts there are never less than four servants, to each of whom a fathom of wampum is given that they may care for all necessary things. During the three or four days they have enough to do by day and by night. They have leave, also, to secure the best of provisions, such as sugar, bilberries, molasses, eggs, butter and to sell these things at a profit to guests and spectators. Festivals are usually closed with a general drinking bout. There are always rum-sellers present on such occasions who make large profits. As a result of the drinking there are generally several fatalities, for, among the Indians that gather from various places, such as wish to work off an old score are ready to make use of the opportunity afforded by these occasions.

Besides these solemn feasts of sacrifice there are many of less importance, for individuals arrange them on their own account. They invite guests and prepare a feast of deer or bear's flesh. The guests consume the whole meal, the host and his family being mere spectators. At the great feasts all who are present partake of the food. Each individual may offer sacrifice for himself when engaged in the chase, in order that he may be successful. Having cut up a deer and divided it into many small pieces he scatters them about for the birds and crows that sit about on the trees waiting. Retiring to some distance the Indian will then amuse himself by observing in what manner they devour the prey. Another may offer to his *Manitto* for some other reason. Corn is said to be the wife of the Indian and to it they sacrifice bear's flesh. To the deer and bear they offer corn. To the fishes they bring an offering of small pieces of bread shaped in the form of fishes. If an Indian hunter hears an owl screech in the night he immediately throws some tobacco into the fire, muttering a few words at the same time. Then they promise themselves success for the next day for the owl is said to be a powerful spirit. In dreams, they claim, it has been made known to them what creatures to regard as their *manittos* and what offerings to bring to them. Such

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offerings are then regarded by God as rendered to him. It is clear enough that the Indians, professing to worship God and bringing sacrifices to him, serve Satan, who influences their dreams, and keeps them in slavery in this wise, for the Indians consider dreams to be of great importance and nothing less than revelations from God. It is indeed true as the Apostle says, 1 Cor. 10:20, "the things which the Gentiles sacrifice, they sacrifice to the devils and not to God." Those among the Indians who have been converted recognize this and henceforth hold the Indian sacrifices and offerings to be vain and do not care to say much about them.

To the spirits of the dead they offer both meat and drink-offerings. If it is to be a meat offering, which the doctors must decide in case of illness or accident, either a hog or a bear is killed for a feast and guests are invited. The latter assemble in the house where the sacrifice is to be offered. An old man gives part of the meal to the enraged spirits, speaks with them, and begs them to be pacified. All this is done in the dark; there must be neither fire nor light. After the old man has communed with the spirits he tells the guests that they have been appeased.

If it is to be a drink offering rum is required. Guests are invited also. They drink together and some one speaks with the spirits and pacifies them. The guests walk to the grave and pour some rum upon it. Such sacrifices are very common among them, and are arranged even upon very trivial occasions. In case of a tooth-ache or head-ache, they imagine that the spirits are displeased and must be pacified by an offering.

Every woman whose child dies in a foreign land travels, if possible, once a year to the place of its burial, taking another woman with her, and offers a drink-offering upon its grave.

The hare is regarded as a great God and they bring offerings to it. The name of one of the twins born to the woman that was thrown from heaven was *Tschimammus*, that is, hare. He made the land upon which the Indians dwell and was their ancestor. Now he is said to dwell in heaven, for many Indians who have been there have seen him and spoken to him and to them he has declared that he would come again.

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The only idol which the Indians have, and which may properly be called an idol, is their *W'sinkhoolican*, that is image. It is an image cut in wood, representing a human head, in miniature, which they always carry about them either on a string around their neck or in a bag. They often bring offerings to it. In their houses of sacrifice they have a head of this idol as large as life put upon a pole in the middle of the room.

Their ornaments are partly round shields and half moons of silver, partly the same forms made in wampum. These are usually worn upon the breast for adornment. They also have great belts of wampum made of the violet, not the white, wampum. Men as well as women wear silver crosses upon the breast and in the ears which custom comes from the French. The *W'sinkhoolican* they like also to hang about their children to preserve them from illness and insure them success.

They are very fond of white children. Hence Indian women run after white men and, when they have white children, make much of them, although they do not like the white people. Twins are regarded as particularly fortunate, being looked upon as favored people who have a great spirit.

Their language resembles various other languages, some more, some less. When one remembers how near or how far they have lived from one another it will appear that the differences in the languages have come about through the separation of the peoples and the little contact they have had with one another.

The Unami and the Wunalachtico both lived along the sea in Pennsylvania and in Jersey, a short distance from one another. Their languages differ very little. That of the Monsys[306] who lived on the other side of the Blue Mountains in Minnissink is very different from these, so that had they not dwelt nearer together and been in constant contact in recent times they would hardly understand each other. Yet the speech of each of these peoples is but a dialect of one and the same language. The language of the Mahikanders[307] bears much resemblance to that of the Monsys, the former having lived in New York and the Woapeno not far from them in New England. The language of the Nantikoks, formerly residing on the seacoast in Maryland, very much resembles the Delaware, differing only in pronunciation

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and accent. The language of the Shawanose is also related to the Monsy and Delaware but, more particularly, to the Mahikander, only the former generally place the accent upon the last syllable of a word. The reason for this is that they originally lived in Florida and whether their language changed very much since they were driven out and lived first in the Forks of the Delaware, then along the Susquehannah, then along the Ohio and finally here among the Delawares, I am not able to determine, except it be, that in Florida the language of some other nations bore a resemblance to this. The language of the Twichtwees and Wawiachtanos resembles the Shawanose and consequently, also, the Delaware. The dialects of the Kikapus, Tuckachschas, Moshkos, Kaskaski the further away they lived resembles the Delawares less and less. Yet the Delawares have much intercourse with them, for many of them live along the Wabash where the Kikapus have given them hunting grounds. Every year Delaware hunters go thither for the chase and return. The language of the Ottawas is related somewhat to that of the Shawanose, Chipuways and the Delawares. The language of the Cherokees is a mixture of other languages. It has a little of the Shawanose, the Mingoes and a great deal of the Wiondats. The speech of the last named people and that of the Six Nations are again dialects of one and the same language, differing from one another yet easily understood by either of the nations named. It appears, therefore, safe to affirm that there are two principal languages spoken by the Indians of North America, namely the Mingoes and the Delaware.[208] Concerning the nations who live along the Mississippi I have no certain knowledge. They are not usually counted among the northern nations. Their language has an agreeable sound both in common conversation and in public delivery. The Monsy is much rougher. In their public delivery they speak with a very pompous and boastful tone, in which the Iroquois excel all the other Indians. There are, indeed, no rules of oratory laid down in the Indian language, yet the speakers must be well versed in matters relating to their own nation as well as those of others, and they must know what title to apply to each of the other nations, whether brother or nephew or uncle. The same holds good of the

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various branches of their own nation. The Monsys and Unamis call one another Nitgochk, "my companion [feminine] in play," for the reason that the whole nation has become the women. The several tribes, also, have special names and titles, which the speaker must know. These titles are not generally used but only in their councils when something of importance is to be communicated, which is done with great solemnity. They are able to express themselves with great clearness and precision, and so concisely that much circumlocution is required to convey the full meaning of their expressions in an European language. In spiritual things, of which they are totally ignorant, there was utter lack of expressions. But since the gospel has been preached among them, their language has gained much in this respect. If they intend to speak in an obscure manner, they can speak so cleverly and with so much circumstance that even Indians must puzzle out the true sense of their allusions. They are able to convey an account of a bad action so skillfully that it appears not to be a bad but a virtuous deed. The chiefs are not particularly well versed in this art of dissembling, and, therefore, very strict attention must be paid to every word of their discourse, especially, if an answer is required, and great caution is necessary in order that one may not be caught.

A speaker in council must be able to deliver his speech without hesitation. Often he has no time to prepare his subject, the different heads are only briefly named or left for him to collect from the conversation of the chiefs. He must, then, be able to comprise the whole in a speech, well arranged and uninterrupted, which requires a clear and open understanding, a faithful memory and experience in matters of state. Young men are being constantly trained for such duty. They are admitted as hearers to the council, to familiar intercourse with the chiefs, who instruct them faithfully, and are employed as ambassadors to give them an opportunity to exercise themselves in public speaking.

The pronunciation of their language is easy, only the Ch is a very deep gutteral. The greatest difficulty is presented by the compounding of words with verbs, substantives and adjectives, which is very difficult for a European to learn. They have few

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monosyllables. In things relating to common life the language of the Indians is remarkably rich. They, in many cases, have several names for one and the same thing under different circumstances. They have ten different names for a bear, according to its age or sex. Similarly, they have a number of names for a deer. They have one word for fishing with a rod, another for fishing with a net, another for fishing with a spear or harpoon. Such words do not in the least resemble one another. The speech of the Unami has the most agreeable sound and is much easier for a European to acquire than that of the Monsys. The Monsy dialect, however, is a key to many of the expressions in the Unami. The latter have a way of dropping some syllables, so that without a knowledge of the former, it would be impossible either to spell their words or guess their meaning. The Unami have adopted many words of the Monsy dialect and the Monsys of the Unami dialect. They have no "f" nor "r" in their language, hence they pronounce foreign words containing these letters differently, for example, Pilip for Philip, Petelus for Petrus, adding a syllable, and Priscilla they pronounce Plicilla. In polysyllables the accent is generally placed on the middle syllable or on the last but one. This must be very minutely attended to because the sense of many words depends upon the accent. They can count up to thousands and hundreds of thousands, though they are unable to grasp the significance of large numbers. The women generally count upon their fingers, for this is their custom and their memory is poor.

In arithmetic they have made but little progress. They count up to ten, make a mark, proceed to the next ten and so on to the end of the account. By adding the tens they come to hundreds, and so on. In counting money the penny is the smallest coin they reckon. The Monsys call the stiver, of which they learned from the Dutch in Minissink,[300] stipel. Sixpence they call Gull, corruption of the Dutch Gulden. They usually count money according to Gulls, twenty Gulls being equal to ten shillings. If they want to calculate carefully, they take Indian corn, calling every grain a penny or a gull, adding as many as are necessary to make shillings and pounds.

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Of writing they know nothing, except the painting of hieroglyphics, already referred to, which they know very well how to interpret. These drawings in red by the warriors may be legible for fifty years. After a hero has died, his deeds may, therefore, be kept in mind for many years by these markings. A letter, especially, if it is sealed, is considered a very important thing. If any treaties, contracts or deeds are required to be delivered to the Europeans, signed by their chiefs, captains or counsellors, they make their mark and get others to subscribe their names. The mark may be a hook, or the foot of a turkey or a turtle or represent something else. They are very generally [551] ashamed of their Indian names and prefer the names given them by the whites. Some have learned to write the initial letters of their new names.

In reckoning time they do not count the days but the nights. An Indian says, "I have travelled so many nights." Only if the entire journey has been accomplished in one day, will he speak of a day's journey. Most of them determine a number of years by so many winters, springs, summers or autumns. They say, "In spring when we boil sugar," that is March, or "when we plant," that is May, so and so will be of such an age. Few know their age when they get to be over thirty. Some reckon from the time of a hard frost or a deep fall of snow in such a year, from an Indian war, or from the founding of Pittsburg or Philadelphia, when they were so or so old. They divide the year into winter, spring, summer, autumn, and these periods are divided according to the moons, though, it must be said, that their reckoning is not very accurate. They cannot agree just when to begin the new year. Most of them begin the year with the spring, that is with March, which they call Chwoame Gischuch, that is the Shad month, because at this season this fish goes up the rivers and creeks in great numbers. True, these fish are not found here, but the name was brought from the Susquehanna region. April they call Hackihewi Gischuch, that is Planting month, though they rarely begin to plant before May or the end of April. May has a name signifying the month in which the hoe is used for Indian corn, though this is usually not

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done until June. The name given to June signifies the month in which the deer become red. That of July, the time of raising the earth about the corn, and of August, Winu Gischuch, the time when the corn is in the milk and ready to eat and roast. September is called the first autumn month, October the harvest month, November the hunting month, most of the Indians going out to shoot bucks. The name December shows the time when the bucks cast their antlers. January is the month in which the ground squirrels come out of their holes, and February they call Squalle Gischuch, the month of frogs, the month when the frogs begin to croak, though this again does not usually occur until later. At the present time the most of them begin the year with the Europeans, if they have come into frequent contact with them.

They are well versed in their genealogies and are able to describe every branch of the family with the greatest precision. They also add concerning the character of their forefathers, such an one was a wise and intelligent man, a great chief or captain or an Achewilens, that is a rich man and seems to signify as much as the word, gentleman, for the rich among them are highly respected. These make themselves prominent by giving the chiefs great quantities of wampum, when the chiefs are in need, and they are regarded as the main supports of the chiefs.

Concerning remoter ancestors they know nothing more than that they were great warriors and accomplished many heroic deeds, that in the war with the Six Nations, when they still lived along the sea-coast, the former were unable to do them much harm and after attacks on Delaware towns had fled in such haste that the Delawares had not been able to catch them, though they had got to the mountains as swiftly as turkeys, that, however, in spite of the ability of the Six Nations to get away the Delawares had caught and killed many of their enemies. They, also, relate concerning their ancestors that the Six Nations regarded them as mighty magicians, feared them and at last concluded a peace with them in the manner already described. Further, they relate how in times past the Delawares made attacks on towns of the Cherokees and killed many of the inhabitants; how, on occasion, they visited them at night during the dance, mingled

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with the dancers, and when the amusement was at its height killed many of them with short weapons they had concealed under their blankets, escaping, after the deed was done, before their treachery had been discovered.

The land was never formally divided among the nations, whatever region was settled by a nation was recognized as property of that nation, and no one disputed its title, until, in course of war, one nation overpowered another and drove it out of its territory. In such cases, however, the conquering nation did not always settle on the conquered territory; for example, the Moshkos drove the Shawanose from their land in Florida but did not themselves settle there, still living on the west side of the Ohio in the region of the Wabash. The Delawares conquered the territory in which they live, having been driven out of the region they once inhabited by the white people. The Wiondats adjudged this region as belonging to them; and the Kikapus have given them a district along the Wabash and bordering on the country they inhabit for the chase. A part of the Delaware nation has lived in the Wabash region these many years, and of those living here many go thither every year. The boundaries of Indian countries are fixed along rivers and creeks or in a straight line from one river to another or along the mountain ranges, where there are mountains.

Of the spherical form of the earth they have no conception. Some declare that the earth floats upon the sea and that an enormous tortoise bears it on its back. The sky, they say, rests upon the water probably because it appears so to do when they look out upon the sea. Others declare that there is a place where the sky strikes the earth, rises again and continues moving up and down, smiting a rock, which causes such a report that it may be heard many days' journey. Two great captains once visited that place, and one of them risked going through the opening when the sky rose. He succeeded in getting into heaven and coming back. Yet where this place is they know as little as they do the location of Tschipey Hacki, the land of the spirits. The sun, they think, sinks into the water when it sets. Thunder is a mighty spirit dwelling in the mountains and sometimes issuing from their fastnesses suffers himself to be heard. Others imag-

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821 ine the thunder to proceed from the crowing of a monstrous turkey-cock in the heavens. For certain stars they have names. The north star is called Lowanen, that is, north, or it is called the star that does not move. The wagon which revolves around the North Star they call the Bear, whom, they say, the Indians pursued with a little dog, that is the star Wilis; the three stars in the form of a triangle, represent the head of a bear, which they cut from the trunk and threw down. Certain stars forming an ellipse they call the beaver-hide, because they describe the form of a beaver hide stretched out. The milky way is the road to Tschipey Hacki. The seven stars[344] they have named Anschisk-tauwewak, that is fire-brands gathered or laid together. The Monsys (Monseys) call these stars Menhangik, the travelling companions. Other nations have yet other names for them. In case of an eclipse of sun or moon, they say that these bodies have fallen into a swoon.

755 In time of illness, they try all manner of remedies, for they have a great fear of death. They not only consult the doctors, but take, also, the medicine that others may prescribe. The doctors must be called in, for if they were slighted, the patient might die. The doctors blow upon the patients, sprinkle a drink of roots and herbs they have taken into the mouth upon them, and murmur incantations over them. They diagnose the disease, tell whence it came and inform them whether recovery is possible or not. They give directions, also, as to what must be done and what kind of sacrifice must be brought. They prescribe some sort of Beson prepared from herbs and roots, of which they know the properties very well. It has happened that many doctors have been consulted in a single case, have perhaps given up all hope of recovery, and yet the patient became well.

757 For headache they lay a piece of white walnut bark on the temples, toothache is treated by placing the same kind of bark [824] on the cheek over the tooth that gives the trouble. The bark is very heating and burns the skin in a short time, often affording relief. The same bark is applied to any of the limbs that may be afflicted, having the effect at times of driving the pain from one part of the body to another, until there is an eruption 752 somewhere. This bark pounded fine and boiled to the con-

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sistency of a strong lye stops the flow of blood when applied to a fresh wound, even though an artery may have been ruptured, prevents swelling and heals the wound rapidly. After this solution has been used for one or two days other roots must be applied, such as the great sassaparilla and others that have healing powers.

Epilepsy is not very common among the Indians. It does not often happen that an Indian becomes mad, and madness among these people is not as violent as among the whites, probably, for the reason that they are not possessed of equal power with the whites, and even their bodies are weaker because they have not the abundance and variety of nourishing food. Blood letting is supposed to help the epileptics.

Of small-pox they knew nothing until some of them caught the contagion from the Europeans. Most of them died before the small-pox properly appeared. They are much inclined to boils and sores. Upon these they lay a warm poultice made of the flour of Indian corn; when the boils are ripe they are lanced. Broken arms and legs they are able to set very well, though limbs are not broken often, dislocated joints they are also able to correct. If an Indian has dislocated his foot or knee, when hunting alone, he creeps to the next tree and tying one end of his strap to it, fastens the other to the dislocated limb, and, lying on his back, continues to pull until it is reduced. For tooth-ache the Indians use roots also, placing a little piece in the hollow tooth, which sometimes affords relief though not always. Sometimes teeth are extracted if a pair of pincers can be secured. It is not for lack of skill but for lack of proper instruments that they do not treat external injuries more successfully. Such instruments as they have are not used in the most careful manner. If one who is being operated on cries out, those present laugh. Misfortunes of almost any kind trouble them little; if house and goods have been burned, the unfortunate owners may even relate the experience in a humorous manner.

Many of them suffer from diarrhoea, particularly, in the fall of the year. The evil is aggravated because they know nothing of dieting and continue to eat whatever they wish. For

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1757 this and for other troubles they have roots and herbs, which generally prove efficient remedies. Knowledge of these remedies may be confined to a very few, who demand payment for any prescription they make and keep their secrets to themselves. One common mistake made by all Indian practitioners is overdosing the patients. Fortunately, the Indians have strong constitutions, and usually do not suffer permanent injury from the unwise treatment of their doctors.

765 Concerning mourning for the dead it might be added that a widow is expected to observe in externals the following rules during the period of mourning which lasts a year. She must lay aside all ornaments, wash but little, for as soon as she makes pretensions at cleanliness, combs and dresses her hair, it is reported that she is anxious to marry. Men who are in mourning have no such regulations to observe.

Should a chief have lost a child or near relative, no complaint may be brought before him, nor may his advice be asked on any affairs of state. Even important embassies from other nations cannot be attended to by him until comfort has been formally offered. This is commonly done by delivering a string or fathom of wampum and addressing to him a speech, in which figuratively the remains of the deceased are buried, the grave covered with bark that neither dew of heaven nor rain may fall upon it, the tears are wiped from the chief's eyes, the sorrow of burial taken from his heart and his heart made cheerful. This done, it is possible to confer with him on the matters of state that need consideration.

When Europeans, who are in more comfortable circumstances than the Indians, wish to comfort a chief, they not only give a string of wampum but wrap the corpse of the deceased in a large piece of fine linen, laying another piece on the grave and wipe the tears from his eyes with silk handkerchiefs. Both the linen and the silks are given him as a present.

766 When a chief dies sympathy is expressed with the whole
648 nation. I will give a brief description of the ceremonies observed when the Cherokees sent a formal and numerous embassy to the Delawares in Goschachgünk to renew their alliance with

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them after their Chief Netawatwes had died. The ambassadors halted several miles below the town and sent word that they had arrived. The day after some Delaware Captains went down to welcome them and delivered a speech, in which they expressed joy on their arrival, extracted the thorns they had gotten on the journey from their feet, took the sand and gravel from between their toes, and anointed the wounds and bruises made by the briars and brushwod with oil, wiped the perspiration from their faces and the dust from their eyes, cleansed their ears, throats and hearts of all evil they had seen, heard or which had entered their hearts. A string of wampum was delivered in confirmation of this speech and then the Captains, accompanied by a large number of Indians, conducted the embassadors to the town. On entering the Cherokees saluted the inhabitants by firing their pieces, which was answered in the same manner by the Delawares. Next, the Captain of the Cherokees began a song, during which they proceeded to the Council-house, where everything had been prepared for the reception of the visitors. All having been seated, the Cherokee Captain comforted the grandfather, the Delaware nation, over the loss of the Chief. Continuing he wrapped the remains in a cloth, buried them, covered the grave with bark, wiped the tears from the eyes of the weeping nation, cleansed their ears and throats and took away all the sorrow from their hearts. He confirmed his speech by delivering a string of wampum. Then the peace-pipe was stuffed, lighted and in turn smoked by several Captains of the Delawares and Cherokees.

The peace-pipe is held in high regard among the Indians. It is brought out at certain solemn occasions, as when peace is concluded or renewed. The head is six or eight inches long and three inches high. It is made of stone or marble. A pipe made of red marble, as was the one used on the occasion described above, is particularly valued. The pipe-stem is made of wood and blackened, it is strong and durable and may be four feet long. It is wound around with fine ribbon and decorated with ornaments made of porcupine quills of various colors. It may be further ornamented with green, yellow and white feathers. If the pipe is made of red marble it is whitened with white clay

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or chalk, for red is the color of war, even though the red marble pipe is most highly valued. For the same reason nothing red may appear on a string of wampum. A war-belt is smeared with red paint or cinnabar. If for want of a white wampum belt, one made of the violet colored shells has to be used, this is whitened with clay and then has the same signficance as a white belt. The dark wampum belts are used, whenever they wish to give some one a severe lesson or a reproof. After the ceremonies described above had been completed, and all had partaken of a feast, the exercises for that day were at an end. On the next day they approached the chief matters of interest and exchanged belts of friendship, this part of the negotiations lasting several days, as each belt was presented in connection with a formal speech.

A few words should be added concerning animals.

1) Swallows[210] are found, generally near some body of water. Snipe[211] are gray in color and have a bill almost as long as the body of the bird. The gull[212] is frequently seen near rivers and lakes. Two kinds of plover[213] may be seen in these parts, both found near water. The one variety is about the size of a blackbird,[214] which is sometimes found away from water, the other much smaller.

The whippoorwill[215] is a night bird, of gray color, somewhat smaller than a turtledove.[216] It has a thick head, a short bill and a wide mouth. It has received its name from its note, which may be heard all night long.

The Mosquito-hawk[217] gets its name from catching mosquitoes and flies while on the wing. It is about the size of turtledove, has a round white spot on each of its wings, which seem, when the animal flies, like holes in the wings. It will dart up and down very swiftly in its efforts to catch insects.

Of bees[218] nothing was known when we came here in '72, now they are to be found in large numbers in hollow trees in the woods.

Wasps[219] are found in large numbers.

2) Among the quadrupeds the flying squirrel[220] should be noted. This animal is about the size of a rat, has a thin mem-

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braneous continuation of the skin of the sides and belly by which its hind and forelegs are connected. This supports the animal in leaping from one tree to another. In other respects it resembles the common squirrel. 136

3) There is found here a variety of rattlesnake[322] I have seen nowhere else. It is hardly a foot long and very slender, it has rattles as have the other varieties and its bite is quite as venomous. The color is, also, like that of the other rattlers, yellow with black markings.

4) Plants. Laurel,[322] also called the wild box, grows along river banks, or in the swamps in cool places or on the north side of mountains. It grows so thickly that it is impossible to get through. In swamps of laurel, bears like to make their winter quarters. The wood is fine and hard. The Indians make spoons of it. The main stem does not become thicker than a leg. The leaves are green summer and winter. 137 [322]

THE END.

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NOTES.

1. It is of the Iroquois and Delawares that the author is speaking. Six footers among them were the exception; Red Jacket measured five feet eight; Logan, six feet; Shenandoah, six feet three. Schoolcraft (*History . . . of the Indian Tribes*, Pt. IV, 349) states that he found about one-half of the men of the Chippewa nation in 1822, six feet high; yet the Dakotas averaged five feet nine. Keokuk was six feet two. The Ottawas were of smaller stature than the average lake tribes. Schoolcraft did not find muscular development large save among tribes located near white settlements where the means of sustenance was more constantly supplied.

2. The color of the American Indian ranged from the "brown yellow" of the mulatto to the paled faced "White Indians" of the Red River, whose seeming likeness to the Welsh has been discussed (Samuel Gardner Drake, *The Aboriginal Races of North America*, 1, 52-55). *The Blanc Barbus* of Canada and Menomonies of Wisconsin were of lighter complexion, while the darkest of aborigines were found in the Caribbean Islands, in Guinea and California. The Cherokees and Chippewas have been classed with the darker Indians of southern California, the West Indies, etc., as of possible Malay origin. By all accounts the skin of the red man is as thin and soft as that of the white man; poison ivy affected some Indians if they only came in contact with wind blowing over it upon them.

3. Peter A. Brown, Esq., in 1852, found the fibre or shaft of the average Indian's hair to be cylindrical, while in the case of the Anglo-Saxon it is oval and in the African race, elliptical; thus the first would be straight, the second curly and the third fetted or wooly.

4. The Seneca Tribe of the Six Nations were generally known west of New York by the name of Mingo, especially in the Ohio Valley. The name was also used as an equivalent for the more general term of Iroquois, but oftentimes meaning those who migrated from their New York homeland.

5. Shawanese or Shawnees of the Scioto Valley.

6. Wyandots of the region between the Sandusky Valley and the Detroit River.

7. The general impression that is current concerning the hardship of the life of Indian squaws could not have been gained from a careful reading of men who wrote of the Indians in their original environment. Writes Heckewelder: "There are many persons who believe, from the labour that they see Indian women perform, that they are in a manner treated as slaves . . . but they have no more than their fair share . . . of the hardships attendant on savage life. The

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work of the women is not hard or difficult. They are both able and willing to do it, and always perform it with cheerfulness. I have never known an Indian woman to complain of the hardship of carrying this burden (a pack on making a journey) which serves for their own comfort and support as well as their husbands . . . . the fatigue of the women is by no means to be compared to that of the men. Their hard and difficult employments are periodical and of short duration, while their husbands' labours are constant in the extreme. Were a man to take upon himself a part of his wife's duty, in addition to his own, he must necessarily sink under the load, and of course his family must suffer with him"—*An account of the History, Manners and Customs of the Indian nations* (1817) 146-7. As to the universal cheerfulness of Indian women Zeisberger is at variance with his compatriot. "The Indian women," writes Loskiel, "are more given to stealing, lying, quarreling, backbiting and slandering than the men"—*History of the Mission of the United Brethren*, (1794), 16. In our numerous references to the above mentioned writers, in footnotes, we shall use the following terminology, Heckewelder's *History*, Heckewelder's *Narrative*, and Loskiel's *History*.

8. Zeisberger, it must always be remembered, is writing in Ohio; his references to the country to the northward are the result of his acquaintance with the Six Nations in New York State.

9. The Onondaga tribe of Six Nations, located near Syracuse, New York.

9½. Zeisberger seems here to imply that the country of the Shawanese was Kentucky; elsewhere he clearly speaks of the Scioto Valley as but one hundred miles distant.

10. Contrary to the taste of other Indians, as the Dakotas, Schoolcraft, *History*, Pt. IV, 67.

11. Breech cloth.

12. Singularly enough, everything in an Indian's cabin had its specific owner. "Every individual knows what belongs to him, from the horse or cow down to the dog, cat, kitten and little chicken. For a litter of kittens or brood of chickens there are often as many different owners as there are individual animals. Thus while the principle of community of goods prevails in the State, the rights of property are acknowledged among the members of a family"—Heckewelder, *History*, 147-8.

13. Indian Hemp; *Apocynum cannabinum*. L.

14. Monsey, one of the Three Tribes of the Delawares living chiefly on the Beaver River.

15. Bunks made of boards.

16. The expression here is singular and shows that the western, migratory Iroquois were clearly distinguished from those who remained in the "Long House" in New York State.

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17. The Rev. David McClure states that such was the desire for dancing among the Delaware Indians that "they are building a dancing house in this small village, [the capital of the Delawares near the present site of Newcomerstown, O.] which will cost them more labour than one-half of the houses in it" — *Diary*, 77. This is one of the most valuable volumes of early travel (1770-1790) in the Middle West and will often be quoted.

18. It is interesting to compare the accounts of Zeisberger and Heckewelder, the former a jotter down of facts, the latter a formal historian. "The Indians are proud but not vain," write Heckewelder; "They consider vanity as degrading and unworthy the character of a man. This passion of the Indians which I have called *pride*, but which might perhaps, be better denominated *highmindedness*, is generally combined with a great sense of honour, and not seldom produces actions of the most heroic kind" — *History*, 159, 161. The plain, unpretentious words of Zeisberger, often derogatory of the Indians, have a ring of accuracy that is found in almost no other record.

19. The length of space to which a man can extend his arms.

20. "Courage, art and circumspection, are the essential and indispensable qualifications of an Indian warrior" — Heckewelder, *History*, 160. According to Zeisberger's notion, how appropriate the first lines of the Delaware's chant on going to war: "O poor me!" *Id.* 204.

21. Pontiac's Rebellion.

22. Ottawas.

23. Revolutionary war.

24. Heckewelder's descriptions of Indian abhorrence of marital infidelity are not borne out by Zeisberger or Loskiel. David McClure, writing at Coshocton, in 1772, records: "Several of the aged Councillors had lived with one wife from their youth; but a great part of husbands and wives at Kekalemahpehoong [Delaware capital], had separated and taken others. I was astonished at the profligate description which young Killbuck (whose father had directed him to lodge in my house, and to wait on me), gave me of himself. He slept in a loft, which was ascended by a ladder at the farther end of the house. He conducted a squaw up the ladder every night. I asked him one day, if it was his wife? He said no. I admonished him for his conduct. He said he was nineteen years old, and had had several wives, and that he wanted one more, and he should be happy. It is natural to expect that but few children can be the fruit of such unbounded licentiousness. On an average there are about two or three to a family" — *Diary*, 91.

24½. The distinction here between "Indians" and "savages" implies that the former are Christian and the latter non-christian.

25. Goschgoschünk, in Venango County, Pennsylvania, a Delaware (Monsey) town on the Allegheny River — Edmund De Schweinitz, *Life and Times of David Zeisberger*, 324, *seq.* Few volumes relating to the

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Middle West of pre-Revolutionary and Revolutionary days are written with the care and scholarly accuracy of this *Life of Zeisberger*, as we shall call it in our numerous references. It is a book of very great merit.

26. Canoes were often buried in the sand to preserve them through the winter.

27. Heckewelder records that he has seen boys of ten and twelve whose limbs were so contracted by colds or "fits of sickness" that they were useless. *History*, 217. By all accounts pneumonia and consumption were exceedingly common among the Indians; cf. McClure, *Diary*, 67.

28. Heckewelder calls these bands *Happis;* by them, he asserts, Indians will carry a load "which many a white man would not have strength enough to raise from the ground" — *History*, 214.

29. Probably boils; possibly syphilitic sores.

30. It is of passing interest to note some of the remedies used by the Indians as given by the late Dr. Zina Pitcher, U. S. A., in Schoolcraft *History*, Pt. IV, pp. 502, *seq.*:

Disease.	Herb.	Remarks.
Fever	Eupatorium, cambium of horse chestnut, butternut, etc.	Carthartics.
Pleurisy	*Asclepias decumbens, Alethemis cotula and Polygonum pressicoris.*	
Consumption	Poltices of mucilage of the *Ulmus americanus, etc.*	Consumption was treated as an ulcer and little understood.
Asthma	Saururus, benzoin, sassafras and *Istodes foetida.*	Palliative remedies.
Dyspepsia	Cambium of the *Desculus glabra, inglans,* etc.	Little known save among tribes somewhat civilized.
Liver complaint and gravel	*Arbutus-uva-ursi,* spicewood, gooseberry root, etc.	
Dysentery and Diarrhea	Blackberry, *Geranium maculatum, Spirea tomentosa, Quercus alba,* etc.	
Dropsy	Prickly ash (*Zanthoxylum americanum*) wild gooseberry (*Ribes trifolium*).	
Amenorrhoea	Sassafras, spice-wood, worm-wood.	

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Disease.	Herb.	Remarks.
Hemorrhage	Powder of puff-ball (*Lycoperdon bovista*) pulverized charcoal.	
Wounds	Washed with decoction of lichen, bass-wood or slippery elm.	Great care was given to keeping up the suppurating process and keeping wounds open.
Ulcers	*Acorus calamus* and cautery.	
Salt Rheum	*Rumex crispus* or yellow dock.	
Phlegmon	Onion poltices.	
Gonorrhœa	Various species of genus Pinus.	The balsam used in modern remedies.
Syphilis	Local applications as for ulcers.	
Paralysis	None.	
Obstetrics:	*Sanguinaria canadensis* (blood-root) used to facilitate parturition.	

31. Stings of poisonous reptiles were treated variously by the different tribes. The Senecas used a plant called *Polygala senega;* others used *Liatris spicata, Asclepias tuberosa, Prenanthus alba, Fraxinus juglandifolia,* and many applied locally *Alisma plantago.* Scientists are today studying, for perhaps the first time, the action of various forms of venom and the appropriate remedies for each. The poison of the rattler destroys the tissues and blood-cells; that of the cobra paralyzes the nervous system. See Dr. J. T. Case, *Good Health,* June, 1909.

32. Heckewelder distinguishes between "good" and "bad" medicinemen, terming the former "physicians and surgeons" and the latter "doctors or jugglers," but states of these latter, "I am sorry that truth obliges me to confess, that in their profession they rank above the honest practitioners." One whimsical conceit of the Indian doctor which well illustrates their superstition and "science" was that the water used to concoct an emetic must be dipped from a stream *against* the current, while for a cathartic it must be dipped *with* the current. Heckewelder, suffering from a painful felon, was put at ease within half an hour by an Indian woman who applied a poultice made from the root of the common blue violet. Heckewelder, *History,* 217-225.

33. It would seem here that male practitioners were called to attend labor cases. Dr. Pitcher has asserted that, to his knowledge, only

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women officiated under such circumstances, Schoolcraft *History*, Pt. IV, 515. Loskiel refers to the efficiency of female doctors in child-birth. *History*, 110.

34. These primitive Turkish baths were, unquestionably, a great means of health to this race which suffered so largely from colds. Dr. McClure, who gives an interesting description of a sweating oven on the Muskingum, asserts, however, that to pulmonary disorders and small pox, the treatment was quite fatal. *Diary*, 67.

35. The Unamis, the chief tribe of the Delawares, lived on the Tuscarawas River. [131]

36. The Unalochtgos, the tribe of second importance, lived beside the Tuscarawas.

37. The Monseys lived mostly on the Big Beaver River.

38. Orange Co., N. Y.

39. It is refreshing, in the face of so many idealistic accounts of primitive Indian life to read these blunt, plain statements of facts from Zeisberger's pen. We probably know more accurately concerning the Six Nations than of any other Indians. One of the earliest reports claims that De Nonville's soldiers in 1687 destroyed a million and a quarter bushels of corn in four Seneca villages. And yet we know that the eating of children in time of utter famine was known among the Senecas—Cadwallader Colden, *History of the Five Indian Nations* (1755) II, 8. If such destitution could exist in a region exceedingly well watered and fertile, what of Indians not so fortunately placed?

40. Bracket fungus.

41. Remains of the Mound-building Indians. These were found on the site of at least one of the Moravian Mission towns, Lichtenau. De Schweinitz, *Life of Zeisberger*, 433, 436 *Note*.

42. Unquestionably a European idea; no mounds in the Middle West were high enough to serve the purpose of rolling blocks or stones. The greater part of the mounds so far opened prove to have been raised over charnel houses after the latter had been filled with bodies.

43. These facts concerning the wooden wampum and the substitute for wampum are of utmost interest.

44. Allegheny River.

45. Neville's Island? This is clearly, the Delaware tradition.

46. Tennessee River, commonly known in early days as the Cherokee River. See A. B. Hulbert's, "Washington's Tour to the Ohio," *Ohio State Arch. and Hist. Quart.* XVII, (Oct. 1908), 484.

46½. At the Treaty of Fort Stanwix?

47. Here begins Zeisberger's version of the legend of the conquest of the Iroquois over the Delawares, one of the famous Indian legends. It is possible that this Zeisberger account is the original English (German) version upon which so many versions have been based. Heckewelder (*History* 11) referring to the source of his information. 114

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cites Loskiel, who had only Zeisberger's manuscript to follow. It is peculiar that Heckewelder should refer his readers to an authority who had no first-hand knowledge. Turning to Loskiel's version of the events which led up to the Delawares being made "women" we find (*History*, 124, *seq.*) that Zeisberger's plain account has been improved upon by being fashioned into formal speeches. These begin as follows:

"It is not profitable, that all the nations should be at war with each other, for this will at length be the ruin of the whole Indian race. We have therefore considered of a remedy, by which this evil may be prevented. One nation shall be the woman. We will place her in the midst, and the other nations who make war shall be the man, and live around the woman. No one shall touch or hurt the woman, and if anyone does it, we will immediately say to him, 'Why do you beat the woman?'"

By comparison it will be seen that Loskiel has put Zeisberger's words into the mouth of speakers, whereas Zeisberger did not include his account in quotation-marks, giving merely the story as it was told to him. Loskiel, by putting the same words into the mouths of the speakers and phrasing it all in the first instead of the third person, as Zeisberger wrote it, turned a legend into a seemingly accurate historical document. Parkman takes both Loskiel and Heckewelder to task for taking the story in "good faith," (*Conspiracy of Pontiac*, I, 31) but Loskiel had no reason to take Zeisberger's account as actual history; and De Schweinitz (*Life of Zeisberger*, 47) states that neither Zeisberger or Loskiel argue in favor of the story, while Heckewelder does. This forms an interesting example of the evolution of a legend into history: Zeisberger tells the Delaware legend, plainly and simply, in the third person; Loskiel forms it into speeches in the first person; Heckewelder takes these formal speeches and argues in their favor as true history.

48. Gourd or pumpkin.

48½. See William L. Stone, *The Life and Times of Sir William Johnson*, 214-215.

49. Woapanochky, "a people living toward the rising of the sun," was another name of the Delawares. Loskiel, *History* I, 2.

50. Albany, N. Y.

51. Bethlehem, Pa.

52. *Roccus lineatus* (Bloch) an important source of food to the early Virginians as attested by Captain John Smith and others.

53. *Alosa sapidissima* (Wilson).

54. Vernacular names of fishes are so numerous and so variable, the same common name being applied to very different fishes in different localities, that it is hard to identify some of these references with certainty. This however refers to *Perca flavescens* (Mitchill), commonly known as the yellow perch.

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55. *Stizostedion vitreum* (Mitchill) the pike or sauger. [136

56. *Lepisosteus osseus* (L.)

57. *Salvelinus fontinalis* (Mitchill), the speckled or brook trout.

58. *Anguilla chrysypa* Rafinesque.

59. *Phoca vitulina* L., the harbour seal, common farther north, though rare in this latitude even in salt water. Their occurrence at Wyoming nearly 200 miles up the Susquehanna River is quite remarkable, though other similar occurrences have been recorded.

60. *Chamaecyparis thyoides* (L.), the white cedar. [137]

61. *Alces americanus* (Clinton). The animals migrated south in the winter crossing the Niagara, or the Lakes on the ice.

62. *Salmo salar* Linnaeus, the Atlantic salmon, formerly very abundant in the Hudson River though now nearly or quite exterminated there.

63. *Anguilla chrysypa* Rafinesque. Possibly the author was more familiar with the lamprey eel, *Ichthyomyzon concolor* (Kirtland) in the Muskingum region, hence his reference to the more slender head of *Anguilla chrysypa*. However, inasmuch as there is but the one true eel in our fresh waters and the lamprey is small and seldom seen, it seems probable that the eels which the author knew in New York and along the Muskingum were of the same sort. In autumn there is a universal migration of the adult eels to the sea to spawn. The Indians, true to their insight into nature, made the best of this opportunity for securing them in great quantities. [200

64. Niagara Falls.

65. Probably one of the Three Sister Islands.

66. Oneida Lake.

67. Cayuga Lake.

68. Seneca and Ithaca Lakes.

69. *Pyrus coronaria* L., the American crab apple or wild apple. [137]

70. Mohawks.

71. Reference here is to Sullivan's expedition of 1779. The date of the writing of this history is here shown to be 1780.

72. Indicating that even with the unskilled cultivation of the Indians, the corn in different regions developed varieties each suited to its particular locality.

73. North Carolina.

74. Fort Frontenac, now Kingston, Canada.

75. One of the most elaborate descriptions of this route through Central Pennsylvania is given in Francis Baily's *Journal* of a *Tour in Unsettled parts of North America*. Sideling Hill is near the Juniata; Laurel Hill is a continuance of Chestnut Ridge, the latter being the local name of the range in Pennsylvania. Zeisberger's mention of it as the important western route at this period (pointing, as it does well back in the eighteenth century) is significant.

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76. The parallel chains of the Blue Ridge now known as Second and Third and Peters Mountains, being at that time without a name, Conrad Weiser called them, on the occasion of Zinzendorf's second journey into the Indian country, "The Thurnstein" in honor of this distinguished personage, one of whose titles was Lord of Thurnstein.

77. Jack's Mountain.

78. The present Erie, Pa.

79. By way of French Creek. Perhaps no other authority gives the name of Venango or *Onenge* as the name of this stream.

80. Turtle Creek.

81. Ligonier, Pa.

82. Kentucky River.

83. Cuyahoga River.

84. Scioto River.

137 85. *Fragaria virginiana* Duchesne.

86. *Rubus nigrobaccus* Bail, the common blackberry and *Rubus villosus* L., the dewberry.

87. *Rubus occidentalis* L.

88. *Vaccinium pennsylvanicum* Lam., the dwarf blueberry.

89. *Ribes cynosbati* L., the prickly gooseberry.

90. *Ribes floridum* L'Her., the wild black current.

91. *Vaccinium macrocarpon* Ait, the common cranberry and *Viburnum opulus* L., the tree cranberry.

92. *Prunus serotina* Ehrh., the common wild cherry.

93. *Prunus pennsylvanica* L., and probably *Prunus cuneata* Raf.

94. *Prunus pumila* L., the sand cherry.

95. *Morus rubra* L., the common red mulberry.

96. *Prunus americana* Marsh.

97. *Vitis aestivalis* Michx.

98. *Vitis cordifolia* Michx. and *Vitis vulpina* L.

99. *Pyrus coronaria* L. and *Pyrus angustifolia* Ait., both occur along the Muskingum and probably both were used by the Indians.

100. *Corylus americana* Walt.

101. *Carya* species (?) Doubtless the Indians made use of most of the half dozen edible species of the region.

102. *Juglans cinerea* L.

103. *Juglans nigra* L.

104. *Assimina triloba* Dunal.

105. *Benzoin aestivale* (L.) the common spice-bush, apparently.

106. Spicebush.

107. *Castanea dentata* (Marsh).

108. An interesting reference to the Ohio Buckeye, *Aesculus glabra* Willd.

109. *Ipomoea pandurata* (L.) a relative of the morning glory with tuberous roots.

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110. *Podophyllum peltatum* L., the root of which is still a staple medicinal herb.

110a. *Quercus alba* L., the white oak.

110b. *Quercus velutina* Lam., the black or quercitron oak.

110c. *Quercus rubra* L., red oak.

110d. *Quercus falcata* Michx., Spanish oak.

110e. *Quercus palustris* Muench., the swamp Spanish or pinoak.

111. Doubtless more than three!

112. *Fraxinus americana* L., is the most common one, though other species occur in the region.

113. *Fagus grandifolia* Ehrh. There is but one beech though the wood in some is quite different in color from that of others.

114. *Sassafras variifolium* (Salisb.)

115. *Liriodendron tulipifera* L., the tulip tree, commonly called poplar.

116. *Castanea dentata* (Marsh).

117. *Tilia americana* L., basswood or linden.

118. *Acer saccharinum* L., the silver maple is most abundant near the water, though *Acer saccharum* Marsh, the sugar maple, and var. *nigrum* (Mx) also occur in the bottom lands.

119. *Carpinus caroliniana* Walt., the American hornbeam, is usually known as water beech but this description evidently refers to the sycamore, *Platanus occidentalis* L., sometimes called water beech. There is no other reference which could apply to the sycamore and it was then as now, a conspicuous tree of the river banks.

120. *Crataegus* species (?) Several of the 65(!) species accepted by the seventh edition of Gray's *Manual* occur here.

121. *Pyrus coronaria* L., and *Pyrus angustifolia* Ait.

122. *Fraxinus nigra* Marsh., the black ash.

123. *Gleditsia triacanthos* L.

124. *Cornus florida* L.

125. The bark of *Cinchona succirubra* and other species of *Cinchona* from which quinine is prepared. The Cinchonas grow wild in the Andes Mountains.

126. *Juniperus virginiana* L.

127. *Picea mariana* (Mill.) Black or log spruce.

128. *Pinus rigida* Mill. Pitch pine.

129. *Pinus strobus* L. White pine.

130. *Abies balsamea* (L.)

131. *Pinus pungens* Lamb, the table mountain pine, presumably.

132. *Ulmus americana* L., and V. *racemosa* Thomas.

133. *Betula nigra* L., the river birch.

134. *Populus tremuloides* Michx., the American aspen.

135. *Cladrastis lutea* (Michx.).

136. Loskiel records that Indians sold oil to the whites "at four guineas a quart." *History*, 118.

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137. A very questionable statement.

138. It is doubtful what Zeisberger means here by "marble;" possible it was gritty sandstone.

139. Iron Pyrites or "Fool's Gold."

140. Kaolin or China clay; colors in clays are due to impurities. The black clay which burns white evidently contained carbonaceous matter.

141. Yellow ochre.

142. Possibly a decoction made from polk-berries which would stimulate the secretion of the glands of the breasts, etc.

143. *Rhus toxicodendron* L., the poison vine or poison ivy.

144. *Rhus vernix* L., the poison sumac, our most poisonous plant.

145. Not used by the medical profession today.

146. *Odocoileus virginianus* (Boddaert).

147. The introduction of the rifle was the first step in destroying Nature's balance as applied to man and the native wild animals. Doubtless the deer and buffalo easily held their own in spite of the onslaughts of the Indians until the rifle gave the Indians a tremendous advantage as compared with their former weapons.

148. *Ursus americanus* Pallas.

149. In many cases the Indians multiplied the species of our larger mammals, basing their ideas on one or two unusually large individuals they happened to meet, or on some peculiar condition of the pelage. There is only one species of bear known from eastern United States.

150. *Cervus canadensis* (Erxleben) the wapiti, or "American Elk." The author is correct. The wapiti is nearly related to the stag, *Cervus elaphus* L., of Europe and is not an elk at all.

151. *Bison bison* (L.)

152. *Felis concuar* Kerr.

153. *Lynx ruffus* (Guldenstaedt).

154. *Vulpes fulvus* (Dasmarest).

155. *Urocyon cinereoargenteus* (Schreber).

156. A black phase of the red fox *Vulpes fulvus.*

157. *Procyon lotor* (L.)

158. *Lutra canadensis* (Schreber).

159. *Castor canadensis* Kuhl.

160. The steel trap was another white man's invention which, placed in the hands of the Indians, proved most destructive to some of the animals which formerly held their own against the less effective methods of the Indians. The price paid for the pelts by the whites, was of course an additional factor in the destruction of many of the native animals.

161. *Didelphis virginiana* Kerr.

162. Certainly open to question and probably merely an Indian belief.

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163. *Mephitis mephitis* Schreber.

164. *Erethizon dorsatum* (L.)

165. *Mustela americana* Turton, the pine marten or American sable, and the larger *Mustela pennantii* Exleben, the fisher, or fisher marten, both range into New York.

166. *Alces americanus* Clinton.

167. *Fiber zibethicus* (L).

168. A melanistic form of the next. At times in some localities it is very abundant.

169. *Sciurus carolinensis* Gmelin, the common grey squirrel.

170. *Sciurus hudsonicus loquax* Bangs.

171. *Tamias striatus lysteri* (Rich.)

172. *Marmota monax* (L.)

173. *Lynx canadensis* Kerr, the Canada lynx.

174. *Lepus floridanus mearnsi* Allen.

175. *Lepus americanus virginianus* Harlan, the varying hare.

176. Doubtless partial albinos of the common deer, *Odocoileus virginianus.*

177. An instance of the erroneous belief that an animal in any way conspicuously different from its fellows becomes a leader. On the contrary, the unfortunate variant is often mistreated by his fellows and sometimes even ostracised. "Sentiment" plays no part in the selection of leaders. It is simply a question of superior strength and endurance.

178. *Branta canadensis* (L.), the common wild goose, or Canada goose. Other species occur but are rare and probably never reared their young hereabouts.

179. *Aix sponsa* (L.) the beautiful wood duck. The young are said to be carried to the water in the bill of the parent.

180. Both *Mergus americanus* Cassin the American merganser or sheldrake, and *Lophodytes cucullatus* (L.,) the hooded merganser were formerly abundant in this region.

181. Probably the hooded merganser, which is said to be quite palatable, the flesh of the other mergansers being rank and fishy.

182. This is evidently *Grus mexicana* (Müll), the sandbill crane, a bird now very rare in Ohio.

183. *Olor columbianus* (Ord.), the whistling swan, and *Olor buccinator* (Rich.), the trumpeter swan, have been uncommon birds in this locality, the latter formerly breeding here. Both fit the description given. The former is now much less rare than the other.

184. *Meleagris galopavo silvestris* Vieill.

185. *Bonasa umbellus* (L.), the ruffed grouse or pheasant, a beautiful, harmless and valuable bird now in danger of extermination if not rigidly protected.

186. This apparently refers to *Tympanuchus americanus* (Reich.), the prairie hen, now exterminated in Ohio and not generally supposed

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136 to have lived as far southeast as the Muskingum region, though it may possibly refer to the heath hen *Tympanuchus cupido* (L.), once distributed from Massachusetts to Virginia, though doubtfully along the Muskingum, now extinct except on Martha's Vineyard Island, Mass. The heath hen is smaller than the ruffed grouse however.

187. *Ectopistes migratonus* (L.), the passenger pigeon, perhaps extinct, or if not already, it is most certain to become so.

188. *Zenaidura macroura carolinensis* (L.)

189. *Colinus virginianus* (L.), the bobwhite. The quail was formerly, while the dense forests were still undisturbed, much less abundant and generally distributed than in more recent years. One Ohio ornithologist, J. M. Wheaton, goes so far as to say that "—it was probably absent or at least confined to but few localities in the State at the time of its first settlement and has steadily increased in numbers as the forest has been cleared away." Report on the birds of Ohio, *Rep. Geol. Surv. Ohio*, (1882) IV, Pt. I, 449.

190. *Haliaeetus leucocephalus* (L.), the bald eagle.

191. Probably a young bald eagle. The young are three years in attaining the adult plumage, and often contend viciously with the parents for the possession of the nest to which the parents return year after year. Possibly this may have been a golden eagle, *Aquila chrysaetos* (L.), though it has apparently always been rare in the region and is not very pugnacious.

192. *Elanoides forficatus* (L.), the swallow-tailed kite, another beautiful, beneficial and entirely harmless great bird which is almost extinct and will probably never be seen in Ohio again, thanks to the skill of the brainless hunter!

193. The author did not distinguish between the red-tailed hawk, *Buteo borealis* (Gmel.) and the red-shouldered hawk *Buteo lineatus* (Gmel.), the two commoner species of large hawk.

194. Meaning probably *Falco peregrinus anatum* (Bonap.) the peregrine falcon or duck hawk, a near relative of the European "falcon gentil of song and story."

195. *Falco columbarius* L.

196. *Melanerpes erythrocephalus* (L.)

197. *Dryobates pubescens medianus* (Swains.), the downy woodpecker, and *Dryobates villosus* (L.), the hairy woodpecker, are almost alike except in size. Doubtless they were not distinguished. The former, the smaller one, is much the more abundant.

198. *Colaptes auratus luteus* Bangs, the flicker or yellow hammer.

199. *Conurus carolinensis* (L.), the Carolina paroquet, now almost extinct and long since disappeared from Ohio, another victim of the sportsman's gun and the milliner's art.

200. *Gavia immer* (Brünn.)

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201. It seems hard to determine what this refers to but it is most likely the second year bald eagle. The young requires three years to acquire the adult plumage.

202. *Ceryle alcyon* (L.), the kingfisher, which nests in a hole in the bank.

203. *Ardea herodias* L., the great blue heron.

204. *Strix varia* (Barton), the barred owl and *Bubo virginianus* (Gmel.), the great horned owl, were both abundant in early days. The small owl referred to is doubtless the ubiquitous screech owl, *Otus asio* (L.) though several other owls occur in the region.

205. *Corvus brachyrhynchos* Brehm.

206. *Cathartes aura septentrionalis* Wied.

207. *Corvus corax principalis* Ridgw. Ornithologists have believed that in Ohio the raven occurred only in the northern part. This record for southern Ohio is as interesting as authentic.

208. *Butorides virescens* (L.), the green heron or fly-up-the-creek, is meant.

209. The author, without doubt here refers to *Planesticus migratorius* L., the common American robin. A European bird, *Merula merula*, a near relative of our robin, is black, has habits like our robin, and is commonly known as the blackbird. Before the white settlers came the robin doubtless lived in open places in the forest, so that in the author's experience it was met with only in breaks in the forest, usually remote from the Indian villages. With the opening up of clearings the robin made acquaintance with the white man and came to live in open groves and orchards. This the robin did in common with many of our other native birds which formerly lived only in the open places in the forest. With the coming of the white settlers these birds found congenial homes in the clearings and orchards where they were also less subject to the attacks of predaceous birds and mammals.

210. *Sialis sialis* (L.)

211. *Mimus polyglottos* (L.) Very rare in the locality now.

212. *Astragalinus tristis* (L.), the American goldfinch or yellow bird.

213. *Icterus galbula* (L.), the Baltimore oriole.

214. *Piranga rubra* (L.), the summer tanager or summer red-bird.

215. *Piranga erythromelas* Vieill., the scarlet tanager.

216. The European starling is a member of the black-bird family (Icteridae) hence this reference is to our black-birds, of which the common species are *Quiscalus quiscula aeneus* (Ridgw.) the bronzed grackle or crow black-bird, *Molothrus ater* (Bodd.), the cow-bird, and *Agelaius phoeniceus* (L.), the red-winged black-bird.

217. *Dumetella carolinensis* (L.)

218. The many dull-colored sparrows (Fringillidae), most of the thrushes (Turdidae), probably some of the warblers, (Muiotiltidae),

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136 and doubtless other of the smaller birds are all here referred to as finches.

219. *Baeolophus bicolor* (L.), the tufted titmouse, and probably also *Parus atricapillus* (L.), the chickadee.

220. Though other species occur, *Thryothorus ludovicianus* (Lath.), the Carolina wren is the most abundant and most conspicuous species in this region.

221. *Archilochus colubris* (L.), the ruby-throated humming-bird.

222. *Crotalus horridus*. L.

223. *Ancistrodon contortrix* (L.)

224. *Heterodon platyrhinus* Latr. (probably var. *niger*) the spreading viper or hissing adder, an entirely harmless snake generally thought poisonous.

225. Apparently refers to *Natrix fasciata erythrogaster* Shaw, the red-bellied water-snake. The aquatic habits would seem to indicate this species. It is a harmless snake though generally thought poisonous.

226. Copperheads, *Ancistrodon contortrix* (L.), with the tail, as described, somewhat horny in appearance.

227. *Zamenis constrictor* (L.,) black snake or blue racer.

228. *Natrix fasciata sipedon* (L.)

229. *Eutaenia sirtalis* (L.), the garter snake.

230. *Liopeltis vernalis* (Dekay), the green or grass snake.

231. *Stizostedion vitreum* (Mitchill), the pike perch or jack salmon. The former large size of this fish is attested by the following: "The pike is the king of fish in the western rivers. Judge Gilbert Devoll took a pike in the Muskingum which weighed nearly one hundred pounds, on the 2nd day of July, 1788. He was a tall man but when the fish was suspended on the pole of the spear from his shoulder, its tail dragged on the ground, so that is was about six feet in length. This enormous fish was served up on the 4th of July at a public dinner." S. P. Hildreth, *Pioneer History*, 498.

232. Refers to one or more than one species of sucker. Probably *Moxostoma aureolum* (Le Seur), the common red-horse, was most taken, though *Catostomus commersonii* (Lacepede), the white sucker, *Cycleptus elongatus* (Le Seur), the black-horse, and other species are not uncommon.

233. *Ictiobus cyprinella* (Cuvier & Valenciennes), the large mouthed buffalo, *Ictiobus bubalus* (Rafinesque), the small-mouthed buffalo, and *Ictiobus urus* (Agassiz), the black buffalo, are species resembling each other closely. All occur in the region.

234. The calcareous earstones or otoliths.

235. Several species of catfish occur in the Muskingum. Among the valuable food species are *Ictalurus punctatus* (Rafinesque), the blue cat, *Ameiurus lacustris* (Walbaum), the Mississippi cat, *Ameiurus nebulosus* (Le Sueur), the bull head, and *Leptops olivaris* (Rafinesque), the mud cat. The Ohio catfish sometimes weigh sixty or seventy pounds.

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236. *Acipenser rubicundus* Le Sueur.

237. *Lepisosteus osseus* (L.), the gar pike.

238. *Polydon spathula* (Walbaum), the spoon-bill cat.

239. *Aplodinotus grunniens* Rafinesque, the white perch, called also fresh water drum in allusion to its producing a grunting or drumming noise.

240. *Perca flavescens* (Mitchill).

241. *Anguilla chrysypa* Rafinesque. Possibly the author was more familiar with the so-called lamprey eel, *Ichthyomyzon concolor* (Kirtland) (cf. note 63), in the region of the Muskingum.

242. This is a very peculiar reference to the water dogs, *Necturus maculatus* Rafinesque, the water dog with external gills, and *Cryptobranchus alleganiensis* (Daudin), the hell-bender or water dog without external gills.

243. *Trionyx spinifer* (Le Sueur), the common soft shelled turtle.

244. *Cistudo carolina* (L.), the common box or wood tortoise.

245. There are many species of mussels belonging to the genera, *Unio, Anodonta, Lampsilis,* etc., occurring in the region and the shells of several of these have a colored nacrous layer.

246. Other *Unio* species (?).

247. The snails, most likely referring to the larger species of *Helix* and related forms, were innocent of any connection with the gad flies.

248. In places where cattle destroy the weeds and other dense vegetation, conditions are not agreeable either to the snails or the gad flies, hence both are less abundant. These gad flies (family Tabanidae), *Tabanus, Chrysops,* etc., more commonly known as the horse fly, deposit their eggs on aquatic plants near the surface of the water and the larvae live in the mud and water feeding upon various soft bodied aquatic animals, snails among the rest, but of course not upon the land snails which the author apparently had in mind.

249. The frog with the call described is one of the tree frogs, *Hyla pickeringii* Stoger, which lives near the water in spring and early summer. The Hylas go to the water very early in spring to deposit their eggs. The most common Hyla is *Hyla versicolor* Le Conte. The frogs the Mingoes caught were doubtless not the little hylas but more likely the leopard frog, *Rana virescens* Kalm, and the green frog, *Rana clamata* Daudin.

250. *Rana clamata* Daudin.

251. *Rana catesbiana* Shaw.

252. It would be interesting to know if the pestiferous house mouse, *Mus musculus* L., had even then reached this locality. The reference is most likely to the white footed mouse, *Peromyscus leucopus* (Rafinesque.)

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253. The reader will not fail to note that Zeisberger, writing at the beginning of the last quarter of the eighteenth century continually pictures the Indian as he once was; his tenses are largely past tenses and he shows the contemporary Indian as a degenerate. It will be remembered that Pontiac's appeal to the red race in 1763 was for regeneration, for the abandonment of the practices learned of the white man and readoption of the lost arts of forest life which were rapidly being forgotten. Lack of respect for old age was one of the important signs of racial degeneration. Does this apply to the red race only? Heckewelder's chapter on "Respect for the Aged," pictures the red man in the primitive state but his tenses are present tenses, though writing at the beginning of the nineteenth century. *History*, 152-158.

254. Heckewelder states that when parents negotiate a marriage the bridegroom's mother acts as negotiatrix. The latter "begins her duties by taking a good leg of venison, or bear's meat . . to the house where the bride dwells, not forgetting to mention, that her son has killed it." The bride's mother soon brings in return some fruit or handiwork produced by her daughter. If both the children expressed themselves favorably towards the respective gifts, the matter was quickly arranged; if not, the affair was at an end.

255. A Yellow ochre, found near the Muskingum, when burnt, made a rich red paint, which Indians came many miles to obtain. Vermillion River in Ohio derived its name from the clay there obtained for painting; the same was true of Paint Creek.

256. Figures of animals being most commonly used, especially the turtle, deer, bear and wolf.

257. Heckewelder records: "The women make use of vermillion in painting themselves for dances, but they are very careful and circumspect in applying the paint, so that it does not offend or create suspicion in their husbands; there is a mode of painting which is left entirely to loose women and prostitutes." *History*, 190.

258. The Revolutionary war.

259. The Delaware leader often called King Newcomer, from his capital Newcomerstown or Gekelemukpechunk, Ohio, who refused to attend Bouquet's treaty in 1764 at Coshocton. A generous friend of the Moravians. See De Schweinitz, *Life and Times of Zeisberger*, 366, *seq.*"

260. The writer speaks from notable experience, the archives of the Six Nations, than which no Indian archives were of equal moment, were deposited in Zeisberger's house at Onondaga during his residence at that mission. See *Bethlehem Diary*, Aug. 2, 1755.

261. 4 s. 4 d.

262. The primitive wampum was made of pieces of wood variously stained with different colors.

263. Containing four, eight or twelve fathoms of wampum.

264. A most interesting fact perhaps noted by no other authority.

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265. Little Turtle, the famous Miami Chief, was such by choice and not by birth; for, though his father was a Miami chief, his mother was of common stock.

266. A terrible scene of drunkenness in the capital of the Delawares on the Muskingum is described by Dr. McClure, *Diary* 73-76.

267. The famous Delaware leader who assisted Netawatwees and befriended and favored the Colonies in the Revolution; Loskiel describes him as the man who "kept the chiefs and council in awe"—*History* III, 101.

268. It happens to be a matter of record that both Netawatwees and White Eyes transgressed each their authority during the Revolution, the former taking the initiative for war (De Schweinitz, *Life of Zeisberger*, 415) and White Eyes overstepping the bounds on the occasion of his visit to the American Congress (*Id.* 438.)

269. The battle at Point Pleasant in Dunmore's War between General Lewis and Cornstalk's Shawanese was the notable example of Indian preservation of the bodies of their dead from capture. During the night after the engagement all the killed and wounded were removed across the Ohio River unknown to the white army.

270. A gourd or pumpkin.

271. The Revolution.

272. Treaty of Fort Stanwix?

273. Catawbas.

274. Mohicans, a New England tribe.

275. Twightwees, called "Flatheads" in Pennsylvania, the Miamis.

276. Wawiachtenos, located in Indiana.

277. Kickapoos, settled west of Lake Michigan.

278. Tukashas? a western tribe.

279. Potawatomies of Indiana.

280. Kaskaskias, located on the river of the same name.

281. Wabash.

282. Creeks.

283. Zeisberger here follows Delaware traditions. The Shawanees were permitted to settle in Pennsylvania by the Six Nations. According to the legend given by Heckewelder, (*History*, 70-71) there was bitter warfare between the Shawanese and the Delawares.

284. Wyoming.

285. Neville's Island, below Pittsburg?

286. Kittaning, Armstrong County, Pennsylvania, at the end of the Kittaning Trail or "Ohio Path," as called on Scull's map.

287. Economy, Pa.

288. Reference here is to Dunmore's War, 1774, and the depot of Cornstalk at Point Pleasant, West Virginia.

289. Chippewas.

290. Wyoming, Pennsylvania.

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000 291. Big Bone Lick, Kentucky.

291½. This information is of great value. It makes sure the fact that the Hurons were identical with the *Talamatans* mentioned by Cyrus Thomas, "Indian Tribes in Prehistoric Times," *Mag. Amer. History*, XX, 8. (Sept. 1888.)

292. White Eyes declared the Delawares independent at Pittsburg in 1775, but the Iroquois refused to admit this until the treaty of Greenville in 1795. Cf. Heckenwelder, *History*, 52-53; also De Schweinitz, *Life of Zeisberger*, 253.

293. Gelelemend. The weakness of this chief is fully described by De Schweinitz, *Life of Zeisberger*, 473, *seq.* The Europeans mentioned may have included General Morgan, Matthew Elliott, Simon Girty, etc.

294. The Delawares are said to have been so called because they were found on the river named from Lord De La Ware.

295. Sioux.

296. Soup.

297. Calico.

298. Such a compact seems to have existed between White Eyes and the noted warrior Glikkikan. De Schweinitz, *Life of Zeisberger*, 404.

299. An extremely interesting explanation of the origin of the name "Big Knives", the story here has truer ring, to our minds, than that which states that the tale came from Colonel Gibson and his sword. Cf. C. H. Mitchner, *Historic Events in the Muskingum and Tuscarawas Valleys*, 143.

300. Nantocoke, corrupted from *Nechticok*. The tribe, descendants of the Delawares, lived on the Maryland river of the same name.

301. Heckewelder states in his chapter on "Superstition" that a white man once informed him that a noted sorcerer once confessed that the source of their power was mental, the stronger mind acting on the weaker. "Such is the credulity of many," the sorcerer stated, "that if I only pick a little wool from my blanket and roll it between my fingers into a small round ball . . it is immediately supposed that I am preparing the deadly substance with which I mean to strike some person or other." — *History*, 233-4.

301½. Great Kanawha. The reference is to Dunmore's War.

301¾. Concerning this remark we can only say with De Schweinitz, "We neither adopt these views of Zeisberger, nor pronounce them absurd. In the present aspect of demonology, opinions of this kind remain an open question." *Life of Zeisberger*, 341. Zeisberger's chief experience with sorcerers seems to have been in the Seneca country at the Monseytown of Goschgoschunk on the Allegheny. Here the sorcerers banded together in a conspiracy to undo the missionaries work and drive them off. *Id.* 341.

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303. Waketameki, the Indian town near Dresden, O., was called "Vomit Town" by Indian traders because some of its inhabitants attempted to achieve salvation by emetics. The reference here may be to these poor dupes. Cf. De Schweinitz, *Life of Zeisberger*, 383.

304. Big Stillwater Creek, was *Gegelemukpechunk Sipo.* The town was the first Delaware Capital at its junction with the Muskingum near Newcomerstown, Ohio; spelled Gekelemukpechuenk by Loskiel and Kekalemahpehoong by Dr. David McClure.

305. Like the famous eat-all feasts of the northern nations.

306. Monseys.

307. Mohicans.

308. Or Iroquois and Algonquin.

309. Minisink, Orange County, N. Y.

309½. Probably Cassiopeia.

310. *Hirundinidae.*

311. *Macrorhamphus griseus* (Probably).

312. *Larus* (sp.?)

313. *Aegialitis vocifera*, larger variety.

314. *Agelaius phoeniceus.*

315. *Antrostoma vociferus.*

316. *Zenaidura macroura.*

317. *Chordeiles virginianus.*

318. *Apina.*

319. *Vespina.*

320. *Sciuroptems volans.*

321. *Crotalus horidus.* Probably a young specimen.

322. *Laurus* (sp.?).

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[For information on Delaware acculturation, and its extent at different historic time periods, see category 116, pp. 79-128.]

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A Study of Delaware Indian Medicine Practice and Folk Beliefs

GLADYS TANTAQUIDGEON

COMMONWEALTH OF PENNSYLVANIA
DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION
PENNSYLVANIA HISTORICAL COMMISSION
HARRISBURG, 1942

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FOREWORD

THE PRESENT PAPER represents an addition to the series of studies projected by the Pennsylvania Historical Commission on the life of the Indian peoples once resident within the State. This phase of the research program was planned some years ago by the Department of Anthropology, University of Pennsylvania, and carried out, in part, with the aid of funds supplied by the Commission.

The author of the study deserves a special recognition through qualities she possesses by nature and birth for the task undertaken. Born and reared in the environment of a Mohegan Indian home in Connecticut, she had the advantage of association in childhood with her grandmother and other old women versed in tribal traditions of plant and herbal medicines. Without having had the privilege of a technical training in botanic taxonomy, Miss Tantaquidgeon thus acquired a knowledge of identification of growing plants and their curative qualities and folklore. Her contribution is one that presents the latter rather than the former aspect. With this background of information on the plant lore and medicines of the Mohegan of southern New England, the author was well fitted for the work of studying the Pennsylvania-New Jersey area, and the curing practices of the Delaware. The flora and folklore of both areas and groups are not those of distinct types.

Accordingly, when in 1928 Wi·tapanóxwe (James C. Webber), whose medicine practice is the basis of this study, appeared in Philadelphia and became the object of investigation at the Department of Anthropology, University of Pennsylvania, the project was conceived and developed, leading to the collection of the present material. Miss Tantaquidgeon's training in comparative ethnology and lifelong interest in Algonkian nature-curing, placed her in a position to seize the opportunity. In the ensuing three years she worked at the recording of Wi·tapanóxwe's knowledge and theories as occasion offered.

The essay presented has limits in scope, some of which will appear more obvious to ethnologists than to others. It is not a study of a national stereotype medicine practice of the people we choose to designate as the Delaware Nation, but rather a sounding and analysis of information possessed by one typical practitioner in the healing profession. Individualism is indeed a trait of Pennsylvania Algonkian native culture in science as well as in character, even though the Delaware Indians are appreciably more institutionalized than the Algonkians formerly lying north of them. It may be expected that any Delaware phase of native "science" will show affinities with Iroquoian phases

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when more material is at hand from both groups to merit conclusion. The accompanying study is therefore little more than a beginning in the line of investigation which presents prospects of promise.

It would not be judicious to avoid mention of pharmacological values which may lurk beneath the surface of the material recorded. The findings of native American herbalists through the processes of trial and error may still reveal evidences of understanding of the nature of ills and their cures which are old to mankind but new to laboratory science. Of such possibilities we are coming to know more and more as exploration proceeds and data accumulates. Psychotherapy plays its part. Plant chemistry plays its role, even though in many cases, the agencies may be in their effects negative or neutral to a considerable degree and positive in only a few. While no comprehensive study has as yet been produced in the general field of curative science in North America, it is appropriate that the Commission provides in the accompanying paper a step in the building up of material to this end from the Indians of Pennsylvania whose cultural properties must be sought out and published before the opportunity is lost forever.

The task of final preparation of the manuscript for publication was carried on by C. E. Schaeffer, Assistant State Anthropologist.

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INTRODUCTION

IT WAS my privilege and pleasure in the spring of 1930 to record the following data on native medical practices and folk beliefs as dictated by Wi·tapanóxwe, "Walks With Daylight," a Delaware Indian of Dewey, Oklahoma. Wi·tapanóxwe was retained as an informant for some months in Philadelphia with the aid of funds provided, in part, by the Pennsylvania Historical Commission. Some interesting facts concerning his life, as well as historical data pertaining to the location, migrations, and present status of the Delaware Indians were presented in a preceding volume (Speck, 1931) of this series. It seems unnecessary, therefore, for me to duplicate such information in the present monograph.

The material presented herein is offered not as a complete and exhaustive study of the curing practices and plant lore of the Delaware Indians but as the theories, practices, and beliefs of one practitioner—information for the most part to be regarded as personal property bequeathed to the informant by certain members of his family or revealed to him in dreams. There are, however, incorporated in these notes descriptions of certain observances of a more general nature which represent the common property of the tribe.

To much that has been written giving actual data on the pharmacology of various tribes in North America, the collection of Delaware material presented here will prove a helpful addition. Among the leading studies in this field, mention should be given to that of Robbins, Harrington, and Freire-Marreco (1916) on the Tewa, and various others by Mooney (1892), Swanton (1928a, 1928c), Speck (1937b) and Olbrechts (Cherokee MS., 1929) for the Southeast. For the Algonkian-speaking peoples of various tribal and cultural types the quantity of published material is also considerable, permitting ere long some attempt at a comparative summary. In this connection similar data contained in the Menomini studies of Smith (1923), and Bloomfield (1928); the Ojibwa researches of Hoffman (1893), and Densmore (1928); Gilmore's material (1919) from the Misouri River region, not to mention information published by Speck (1907, 1909, 1911, 1915, 1917), all offer much that is suggestive of the historical background from which such practices and beliefs may be supposed to have developed.

In connection with such studies I have in mind also the collections of unpublished herbal and charm cures obtained from various remnants of Algonkian peoples on the Atlantic seaboard by Dr. Speck (Powhatan MS.), Dr. Hallowell (St. Francis Abenaki MS.), and myself (1928; Gayhead and Mashpee Indian MS.). The material from these various

groups although possessing its own ethnic individuality, still overlaps in certain respects. And where the practices and beliefs of many tribes reveal similarity to the folk remedies of Europeans in the New World, the problem of interpretation of properties is made extremely complicated. Realizing that many of the plants and weeds are migrants from Europe to the New World, we shall have to proceed with caution in view of the fact that the Indians had an ample native pharmacology of their own before the period of conquest, and that an experimental spirit was always and everywhere active in revealing new cures among the invading plant hosts. It will, therefore, not be an easy task to distinguish between what is Indian and what is European, until we can assign the concepts and practices to one or the other.

No one, I believe, would deny that there has been much borrowing, as it is called, on the part of the Colonial whites from the Indians as a glance at the voluminous contents of the United States Dispensary (1926) will reveal. In the north this process was initiated by the French who accompanied Cartier (1906, pp. 73, 77) and who would have perished from scurvy, had it not been for the therapeutic knowledge of those Algonquin or Montagnais who supplied them with an effective medicine concocted of white cedar bark. Subsequent to this reference in the early documents many others are encountered indicating a deep-rooted system of primitive medicine which was, as it should be, partly pharmacological and partly psychological.

The Delaware system of health protection and disease curing seems to be a blend of what students of comparative medicine have agreed in calling primitive religion and science. In Delaware the sophistry and the performances of healing are religious while the knowledge applied in these processes is scientific. And yet where the action of the herbs, if not other substances, is mechanical or chemical, there is always the dependence upon the spiritual power of the healer with the deep emotional attributes from which the Delaware mind is never free when operating in these channels of thought. There has been, however, a certain element of hard-headed and non-magical experimentation blended together in the development of the herbal cures, at least from the point of view of native method. For the observation of repeated success with some remedies and failure with others has not escaped the attention of the native doctor. Conversations with Wi·tapanóxwe and the herbalists of other tribes have made me aware frequently that selective judgment was combined with past experience in the profession. To deny this would be to discount the mental stature of these men of thought and study to a degree that would bring a smile to the person who has had intimate associations with the native doctors among any of the eastern tribes. Like students of other professions they comprehend the unlimited bounds of knowledge and are ever seeking for additions to both pharmacopeia and technical or magical theory. And the test of efficacy is present in their disciplines even though the test is

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judged by the results of treatment rather than by the science of composition. I might compare it, in some respects, to the tenets of Christian Science without, I hope, doing too much injustice to the basis of this much favored school of reasoning. The Delaware would offer an instance of the powerful influence of religious beliefs upon professional technique, cited by Kirkpatrick (1929, p. 249) and elaborated by Boas (1929), Goldenweiser (1922) and Lowie (1924b) among American students of the subject. Here, however, lies an extended field for investigation which in no manner depends for its development upon Delaware data but in which, I hope, this material will find a place as illustrative of the status of magical science and religion among one of the eastern Algonkian tribes.

That the Delaware of today are not so different from their forebears of two centuries ago as regards ability to treat cases that baffle their rivals of the European profession, is shown by a statement in 1698 of Gabriel Thomas (1912, pp. 323, 340) who said, "The Indians are able doctors and surgeons as any in Europe, performing celebrated cures therewith." From the account written by Heckewelder (1876, p. 229) we have the following testimony. "I, myself, have been benefited and cured by taking their emetics and medicines in fevers, and by being sweated after their manner while laboring under a stubborn rheumatism. I have also known many, both whites and Indians, who have with the same success resorted to the Indian physicians, while laboring under diseases .. . I firmly believe that there is no wound, unless it should be absolutely mortal, or beyond the skill of our own good practitioners, which an Indian surgeon (I mean the best of them) will not succeed in healing." Zeisberger also refers to their ability to treat successfully different maladies, especially diseases peculiar to women. As for the present my informant lays claim to the curing of thirty-two persons during his sojourn in Philadelphia, for which he received no more regular compensation than voluntary gifts from persons of the underprivileged classes.

In assembling the botanic material presented here, specimens of plants were gathered in the wider Philadelphia area in company with my informant who explained at length their medicinal properties and uses. This collection was later supplemented by a few plants sent me by Witapanóxwe from his home in Oklahoma. From time to time such specimens were submitted to Dr. John M. Fogg, Department of Botany, University of Pennsylvania, who very kindly checked their scientific identity. At the conclusion of the investigation a complete list of plant specimens was sent to M. R. Gilmore, University of Michigan, for comment of an ethno-botanical nature.

In the text, bibliographic citations are indicated by the author's name and the date of publication, to permit ready reference to the bibliography.

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DELAWARE MEDICAL BELIEFS AND PRACTICES

Theories on the Causes of Disease.

THE DELAWARE, like so many preliterate peoples, share concepts of a similar character concerning the causes of disease (Clements, 1932). Certain maladies are attributed to the presence of some evil spirit in the body, which in turn is believed to be the work of a sorcerer; others are thought due to the patients' iniquities while a few result from an encounter with an apparition. Failure to obey the laws of nature is the reason most frequently cited by Wi·tapanóxwe for the increase of disease among the Delaware. He said, in part, "In ancient times there was but little sickness among the Indians. The Delaware were greatly blessed because we always kept up our ceremonies and observed the rules of right living.[1] The Indian was healthy because he ate only clean, pure food and lived close to nature. Then came the new people with their strange ways and food, and dreadful diseases."

Paraphrasing the statements of the informant, it is implied that with the onset and steady progress of Europeanization, the Indian was obliged to relinquish many of the ways of his accustomed mode of life. He was forced to seek new territories in order to escape the alien influences that were being forced upon him. Like the wild game, the Delaware fled to more remote regions because their former environment had become so thoroughly contaminated. At this time, it is said, the dwarfs and other non-human folk had safety and seclusion in the rocky cliffs. Certain plants no longer reproduced and grew. Those Indians who clung tenaciously to the teachings of their elders were greatly blessed by the Creator who guided them in visions as of old. From the conservative viewpoint of Wi·tapanóxwe, individuals of a weaker "intellect," were unable to cope with such adverse conditions and were swept away by the devastating effects of acculturation.

[1] Reference may be made to a recent paper of A. I. Hallowell (1939) in which he has shown that "sin" is considered a potent causation of disease among the Saulteaux Indians of the Lake Winnipeg region—Editor.

753 The following examples are typical of the ideas which the present-day Oklahoma Delaware express in their rationalization of the causes of various maladies and physical deformities. Rheumatism, which the Delaware call by a term meaning "old people's disease," is attributed to unclean habits of living during youth. Scrofula is described by the Delaware phrase meaning "matter around the neck." If a person indulges in profanity, he may develop this condition.

It is said that congenital malformation rarely occurs among the Indians. Such physical abnormalities are attributed to the power of malevolent spirits which afflicted the child because of his parents' failure to fulfill tribal obligations by keeping up certain ceremonies bequeathed to them. Such a physical handicap, however, did not keep an individual [826] from leading a useful life, for he was otherwise blessed. The informant added, "Sometimes the weakest person is chosen by the Creator to be powerful in mind. He does that as a matter of pity."[1]

763 776 Paralysis is said to be the result of an encounter with an apparition.[2] If a person sees a ghost-like form approaching, he should step aside to avoid being stricken with paralysis. According to Witapanóxwe, "an apparition in passing by is felt as a slight wind. Sometimes what appears to be a cloud is seen floating along the road and if allowed to touch a person, will cause a stroke." Occasionally a fire is observed to start at the bottom of a tree, blaze up to the top, and then disappear. The informant warned against attempting to strike at such a flame inasmuch as it would result in fatal sickness to the person or to a member of his family.

Witapanóxwe relates the following incident of a personal encounter with an apparition. "We were just young boys then, my brother and I, and we were riding home one afternoon just before sundown. As we rode along I noticed something in the middle of the road, and it seemed to be coming toward us. It had the appearance of a large animal but I could not see its form distinctly. Naturally, I was a little bewild-

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[1] Delaware mythology reiterates the theme of the weakling child vanquishing his powerful opponents through the weapon of shrewd wits over brute strength

[2] Zeisberger (no date, p. 131) says in regard to apparitions: "Wandering spirits and ghosts they claim sometimes throw something into a public path and whoever goes over it is bewitched and becomes lame or ill. They even pretend to know where such a thing happened, learning it from the doctors who are thought to be able to effect a cure."

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ered but I did not tell my brother what I saw. It seemed to come nearer and nearer to us but as we drew close, the thing disappeared suddenly into the woods. I asked my brother if he had seen the strange object but he replied that he had not. When we reached home I told my mother what I had seen and she warned us never to follow a ghost like that as it would lead us astray and finally to a pile of bones."

It may be of interest to note here that at times several people might see the same ghost and "feel" it pass by. Such an experience is always regarded as a warning, foretelling illness, death, or some sudden event. Children are cautioned against answering the call of an unseen person as it might prove to be a "ghost-whoop." Should a child answer such a call, his jaw would become dislocated or even his entire body paralyzed. Once a hunter answered such a "ghost-whoop" and upon trying to locate it, ran into a stack of bones.*

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The cause of insanity is attributed to the failure of a family to perform certain inherited ceremonials. Failure to continue such prescribed rites is punished by misfortune of some kind. Certain individuals are capable of exorcising people afflicted with this malady, the Indian name for which is translated as "lacking good sense." In one incident a young man believed that he saw a "mask" everywhere he went. His relatives finally resorted to a sweat doctor who entered the sweat lodge to ascertain the cause of the illness. After the ritual the doctor announced that it was due to their failure to perform regularly a ceremony which had come down in the family. In order to avert further trouble and to rid the young man of the disease, the doctor advised that the neglected feast and ceremony be performed, after which the patient became normal once more. Could anything be more in conformity with modern psycopathic practice than the preceding case! Other native terms which apply to people similarly affected are translated as "silly" or "half-witted."

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I might also note that having in mind the prevalence of the theory that animals are the main causes of disease among the Cherokee (Mooney, 1892, p. 322), and Muskhogean peoples of the Southeast, I failed to find any evidence whatever in the mind of my informant of a similar belief among the Delaware.

* Archaeologists, take note!—Editor.

Importance of the Dream Vision in Delaware Curing

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The dream vision[1] is of paramount importance in the life of the Delaware. This supernatural visitation is experienced during childhood, or less frequently, at the age of maturity. More commonly it occurs during the fast-vigil of a youth at puberty, alone in the forests searching for a spirit guardian (Benedict, 1923). It is usually to such individuals, considered by the Spirit-forces to be spiritually and morally pure, that this great blessing is bestowed. The gift is not restricted to the male but supernatural power granted to a girl is usually of lesser force. It is said, however, that women, through spiritual guidance, are more adept as a rule in the art of preparing and administering herb medicines than men. Occasionally a man has been blessed with a vision that gives him power to become an herb doctor. Wi·tapənóxwe became proficient in that field as will become evident in a subsequent narrative.

Not always is the revelation experienced in a dream. The neophyte may be walking alone in the woods, or even in a situation of apparent danger when the presence of the spiritual agent is made known to him. A voice from a rock, a bird, an animal or even the sky is recognized, as the medium through which the coveted power is conveyed to the fortunate one. Occasionally a song is granted to the novice during the visitation. This bequest is regarded as personal property to be used exclusively by the owner during participation in the ceremonies of the Big House or in practicing healing with herbs or in the sweat-lodge.

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To receive such a revelation from the Creator means much to a Delaware. It affords the assurance of spiritual guidance in all things, thus giving him confidence to go afield and to face whatever adversities may come into his life without fear.

To those whom the Creator has entrusted with this great gift comes the full realization of the necessity of fulfilling certain obligations. The dream-vision is not divulged until a man reaches maturity and comes to feel that he is capable of appearing before his tribesmen as one who has had sufficient experience in life to avoid incurring criticism

[1] Zeisberger "To the dreams they appeal for in them they have much faith." See also: *Ibid*, p. 25, Harrington (1921, p. 61). "The most vital and intimate phase of Lenape religion is the belief in dreams and visions, and in the existence of personal guardian spirits or supernatural helpers—concepts of wide distribution among the North American tribes, but rarely so vivid or well-developed as we find them here."

in carrying out his ceremonial duties. The process of preparation is long and arduous, a period during which the novice must observe carefully the ways of his elders. The youth is instructed to be prayerful and humble in spirit since it is believed that only through prayer and faith are great things accomplished. Humility is the keynote of Delaware behavior even among those men and women who have attained the experience of advanced age. If one has lived a clean, pure life and has been faithful to the doctrines of his tribal religion, he shall indeed be called great. Not of the pompous, boastful, type but a truly righteous man with full realization of the joys and blessings which come to those who are ever mindful of the Creator.

Some of the more spiritually inclined are known to have had more than one vision, as in the case of Wi·tapanóxwe whose first revelation came in his youth, the second later in life. If one has had several visions he usually is guided by the first but in any event he is free to choose according to his spiritual needs. After such a decision is made, however, the individual continues to adhere to the guardian selected throughout the remainder of his life.

Having lived according to the precepts of his native faith and achieved the age of mature experience, the informant was not averse to making known the spiritual power revealed to him during two dream visions. His recitation and song have been fully given in text in a preceding number of this series (Speck, 1931, pp. 128, 168). Now he is ready to take his place in the Big House Ceremonies and in the sweat lodge but prior to the recording of his vision, he still felt inexperienced and unworthy of appearing before his kinsmen in a ceremonial role.

The following is presented in the words of Wi·tapanóxwe and is self explanatory:

> It was while attending school at Chilocco, Oklahoma, I was taken sick with the black measles. The authorities were alarmed, thinking that it might be scarlet fever and more than a hundred of the pupils were removed to the local hospital and placed under quarantine. It was during that time that I had my trials and tribulations. The summer before, Mr. Wright, a noted evangelist of part Choctaw descent, had visited the school and held revivals. So many were converted that I too thought that I was fully converted and was persuaded to say that I had accepted Jesus Christ for my personal Savior. But now came the real test. I was one of thirty patients in a first floor ward and read the Scriptures constantly.

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159 The attending nurse had an aged father who often told us that he had served in the Civil War. During that time he had the measles but he did not even go to bed. He was assigned to look after the personal needs of the patients in my ward and he soon tired of his duties. He would try to force us out of bed and called us all kinds of ugly names. He was more profane than any white man I had ever seen. We were not allowed to drink cold water to cool the high fever of the dreadful disease but were compelled to drink a weak solution of cayenne-pepper tea to quench our thirst. Of course that alone was bad enough but the disagreeable old veteran made matters worse.

His actions so disgusted me that I decided since I was feeling on the mend, to get up and put on my clothes. Unbeknown to either the doctor or the nurse, I got up and attended to the patients, giving them medicine as I had done many times before. It was in the month of February, the sun came out warm, but there was still a little scattering of snow on the prairie. Having finished my tasks I went out on the south side of the building and stood in the sunshine for a few minutes. Although I was wearing an overcoat, cap, and overshoes, the exposure, which I thought was harmless, nearly caused my death, leaving me weak for many years. Fortunately I pulled through—weak but determined to live.

This is the first time I have related my experience with the so-called white man's religion. That evening before five o'clock I was taken sick and went back to bed again. The doctor and nurse did not know that I had been up but the sudden rise in my temperature alarmed them greatly. I was delirious the greater part of the time for more than seven days. So they decided to notify my parents who lived some eighty miles away. It was at this time a vision came to me and accompanied me around the world. At times it seemed as though we were not on earth. This man spoke the Delaware language and he showed me many of the Indian ceremonies, some of which I had never seen or heard before. He showed me men and women who had departed this life many years before, and told me their names.

When at times I would awake from what seemed only a short nap, I would find myself talking to my mother who was at my bedside constantly. To my sorrow I found out that many of my comrades were worse off than I. It was here that I fully realized that the teachings of my mother had been so deeply impressed on my mind. This experience turned me back to the Delaware Big House.

So it happened that years later, after worrying about my careless life at home in Muskogee, these same strange visions came and spoke to me from mid-sky and gave me a song. They seemed to be four in number and were not earthly persons, but belonged to the sky.

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It was then they came to tell me what my mission on earth was to be. Since everyone has a purpose in life, mine was to heal the sick. Whenever I dreamed a secret I told my mother and she told me to keep this to myself until I became older. Now as I get older, I feel that I shall be better known in years to come. I am confident that my dream-vision power will bring me success throughout life since the Creator does not abandon his children to whom he had entrusted such gifts. By this I have learned to work out my own salvation, knowing that the Indian wholly depends upon the talent allotted to him by the Creator. These experiences fully qualify me to lead in the Big House if I choose to do so. My brothers do not know this but they suspect that I have a vision to relate. Some day they may have the pleasure of hearing it when the opportunity offers.

Delaware Practitioners

Delaware herbalists are of two classes:[6] (1) "one who knows [medicine] well" and (2) "one who uses medicine for magic purposes."[7] It is believed that to the former is entrusted the knowledge of the healing properties of plants as well as the methods of preparing and administering them as medicine. These practitioners are usually women

[6] Heckewelder (1876, p. 228) refers to the herbalists as "physicians and surgeons" and says in part: "By these names I wish to distinguish the good and honest practitioners who are in the habit of curing and healing diseases and wounds, by the simple application of natural remedies, without any mixture of superstition in the manner of preparing them." Zeisberger (*op. cit.* p. 24) does not classify the Indian doctors but writes, "There are Indians who have considerable knowledge of the virtue of roots and herbs, learned from their fathers, and who bring about relief."

[7] *Ibid*, p. 231. Heckewelder, in discussing this type has chosen to call them "doctors or juggler," for which he gives the following reasons: "These men are physicians, like the others of whom I have spoken, and like them are acquainted with the properties and virtues of plants, barks, roots and other remedies. They differ from them only by their pretensions of a superior knowledge. As the Indians in general believe in witchcraft, and ascribe to the arts of sorcerers many of the disorders with which they are afflicted in the regular course of nature, this class of men has risen up among them who pretend to be skilled in a certain occult science, by means of which they are able not only to cure natural diseases, but to counteract or destroy the enchantments of wizards or witches, and expel evil spirits."

759 but occasionally a man is blessed with a vision [8] in which the Creator bestows upon him this great gift, and like Wi·tapanóxwe, he becomes an herbalist. In addition to the knowledge of healing acquired through his guardian Spirit,[9] the informant has also followed carefully the teachings of his mother who was recognized by Delaware of the older generation as one adept in the art of compounding and administering herbal remedies.

[791] The second class is composed of individuals whose supernatural power enables them to perform acts such as reuniting an estranged couple or dispelling a supposedly evil charm. Certain rare plants are employed by them in practices resorted to only in emergencies.

It must be emphasized here that, according to Delaware belief, the practitioners are the medium through whom the Creator sends his healing power to alleviate distress caused by the physical and mental ills which attack the frail bodies of mankind.

Absolute faith in the unfailing power and benevolence of the Creator is the force which inspires the Delaware who has been blessed with a medicine vision and he is ever appealing in prayer to that higher Spiritual Force for aid in his professional undertakings.

[824 825] Believing that plants and animals in general are closely related to mankind [10] and that the Creator has endowed them individually with spiritual natures equally as sensitive as our own, the Delaware herbalist is always careful to perform the formal propitiatory rites before gathering a plant or removing part of an animal for use in making medicine.

759 824 782 278 If a practitioner is called upon to treat a person during the growing season in spring or summer, his first move, after the formal acceptance of the case and receipt of a gift of tobacco, is to go out and seek a plant of the desired species to be used in making medicine for the treatment of the particular ailment. After coming upon the first plant

[8] Zeisberger *(op. cit.* p. 25) "Fancied skill and imagined ability to heal the sick are traced to dreams which these individuals may have had in their youth. To the dreams they appeal, for in them they have much faith." See also Speck, 1931, p. 51; Harrington, 1921, p. 61; and Benedict, 1923.

[9] Harrington (1921, p. 80) quoting from the notes of R. C. Adams, "It is believed by the Delaware that every one has a guardian spirit which comes in the form of some bird, animal, or other thing, at times in dreams and tells them what to do and what will happen. The guardian spirit is sent from the Great spirit."

[10] Speck (1931, pp. 28, 29) discusses the principle of consanguinity as applied to deities and nature-forces.

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of the variety required, he does not gather it[11] but performs a ritual to appease the Spirit of the plant. A small hole is dug towards the east near its base and a small quantity of native tobacco[12] placed within. The herbalist then lights his pipe and smokes, meanwhile making the following appeal to the Creator and to the Spiritual forces which govern vegetation. The songs and properties are regarded as personal property and the accompanying medicine-gathering prayer of Witapanoxwe is regarded as typical.

MEDICINE GATHERING PRAYER (free translation)

"Grandfather, I come now for medical treatment. Your grandson (name of suppliant) needs your aid. He is giving you a smoke-offering here of tobacco. He implores you that he will get well because he, your child, is pitiful. And I myself earnestly pray that you take pity on him the sick one, I wish for him to get well forever of that which is causing pain in his body. For with you alone rests the spiritual power sufficient to bless anyone with, and hear now him our Grandfather tobacco, I beg of him that he will help me when we plead with earnest heart that you will take pity on your grandchild and that you will accept this appeal. I am thankful, Grandfather, also Creator, that you grant our appeal this day for all that we ask.[13] I am thankful, Grandfather. That is enough for this time."

Upon the conclusion of this propitiatory rite the medicine person searches out another plant of the same species, which if clean and healthy-looking, is then gathered. It is now ready to be treated in accordance with the rules governing the preparation of roots and herbs in the accompanying pharmacopeia. If the root of a plant is to be used in making medicine, it is gathered at the season when the vital properties are present; similarly the stalk or leaves each are gathered at the proper seasons.

[11] Harrington (1921, p. 26) in reference to the manitowuck to whom the Indians pray, says, "These are mentioned in the ritual of the Annual Ceremony and the people often pray to them when gathering herbs or preparing medicines, at the same time offering tobacco." He also says (p. 51) that, ". . . Some seem to have prayed to the four directions, other to the presiding genius of the species of the plants they sought or to the spirit of the individual plant itself."

[12] "Real tobacco" (Nicotiana rustica), to which a Delaware term meaning, "our grandfather," is also given.

[13] The proper phrase in full is, "give us what we ask for." It is abbreviated here to suit the formula.

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The herbalist, before using herbs previously gathered and dried, performs the same rite of smoking and prayer. If the plants are being gathered for future rather than for immediate use, an appeal is made to the Creator to bless the plants and render the remedies effective in curing the future ills of his grandchildren.

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The custom of offering prayers before the gathering and preparation of medicinal plants is not observed exclusively by the medicine men but is known to every Delaware. However, it was remarked that many fail to adhere to the ancient rite.

In observing Witapanóxwe I was charmed by the delicate and reverential manner in which he handled the plants secured and arranged for this study. At this time he emphasized the idea of conservation, stating that one should gather only what was needed, and that vegetation in general should not be subjected to ruthless treatment.

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Purity means much to the conservative Delaware and so the pure plants, as taken from Mother Earth, must not be defiled. It is therefore important that in order to avoid contamination no metal should come in contact with plants that are to be used in the treatment of disease. Roots and plants are allowed to dry in the sun, its rays lending them added potency. In this connection it is considered highly beneficial for a convalescing person to lie directly in the sun, so that its strengthenings qualities may be transferred to him. After the process of curing, roots and leaves are prepared by crushing them in a non-metallic receptacle, a stone basin or a wooden mortar being used for the purpose.

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The herbalist smokes and offers a prayer while the medicine is being prepared and is always careful to stir it in the same direction—from left to right. One should never blow upon the concoction to cool it; to do so would represent an affront to the spirit of the plant.

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The most able practioner will not treat himself when ill, nor a sick member of his family, but always calls upon the service of another.[14]

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If an herbalist or sweat doctor, after diagnosing a case, feels that it is beyond his power to effect a cure, he will send the patient to another more capable of treating him successfully. Sometimes a sick person

[14] Zeisberger (*op. cit.* p. 25) "If one should know enough to help himself, being able to prepare *Beson*, and became ill, he will rarely treat himself, having the superstitious belief that what is prepared by himself will be of no benefit. Using what has been prepared by another, he believes, will bring relief."

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will visit several doctors in succession before finding one who has knowledge of preparing a remedy for his particular illness.[11]

The person, either male or female, known by the term meaning "one who uses medicine for magic purposes," apparently had a larger number of patients in early times than the type of practitioner previously described. Zeisberger (*op. cit.*, p. 25), and Heckewelder (*op. cit.*, p. 231), from whom this impression is obtained, give rather detailed accounts of their seemingly weird practices. Both writers attribute the popularity of this group of healers to their feigned ability of dispelling the charms of evil sorcerers whom the Indians constantly feared. Witapanóxwe clarifies the distorted impressions implicit in these accounts by his interpretation of the procedure employed in treatment. The herbalist was called upon to aid individuals who have experienced difficulty in their marital relations or who have tried unsuccessfully to win the favor of a lover. Others came to him to be freed from malevolent influences. His power was not, however, limited to the control of human beings but extended to animals as well. Such a person was truly a "powerful man." This great power was entrusted with the admonition that it must never be used for malevolent purposes. Like the group of practitioners previously mentioned, the code of such people was based upon profound faith in the Creator, strict observance of the laws of nature and a deep regard for the traditions of their tribe.

The plants employed by such an herbalist were of the rarest and most powerful kind. Their habitat and medicinal properties were not known to ordinary individuals. Such plants were unable to withstand the progress of civilization because, as my informant put it, "they could not live in unclean surroundings." The preparation made from these rare flora was known to the Delaware as "medicine for magic use," or "love medicine" (Zeisberger, *op. cit.*, p. 83). It was regarded as a gift, not to be used upon ordinary occasions but only in cases of emergency.

[11] Zeisberger (*ibid.*, p. 55) states that "Concerning plants and roots of medicinal value, it would be possible, if one were to devote himself to inquiry, to secure a great deal of information from the Indians for what one does not know another does, each man and woman having some knowledge in this direction, some more, some less. Hence, the custom that a patient who has consulted an Indian and secures a medicine from him without, however, being benefited, will go immediately to another; if no relief is obtained through his advice, the patient goes to a third, a fourth, until he finds one whose medicine helps."

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Love Charms

332 Certain peoples, however, learned long ago to employ medicine of this nature for evil purposes, frequently to gain influence over women. In such instances it was called "love medicine for gaining influence," [16] or "witchcraft." [17] The following test and prayer were given by Wi·tapanóxwe as characteristic examples of the correct procedure to bring about the reconciliation of an estranged marital couple.

At the present time the "love-doctor," usually a woman, employs two varieties of roots for the magical rite. One is known by the term "flower hangs down";[18] the other merely as "pull-up." A portion of the first variety is broken into three small pieces which are laid upon the outstretched palm of the practitioner's hand. These represent the three individuals involved in the ordinary triangular affair, the petitioner in the center, the spouse or sweetheart to the right, and the third party to the left. The other palm of the practitioner is then rubbed lightly over the roots and their movements closely observed. The side towards which the middle piece is seen to move, indicates the person with whom the petitioner is in love. The test may not be made more than once a day, "one test a day," but successive attempts over three or four days are permissible. The "love-doctor," after offering some of the tobacco given by the petitioner, attempts through her supernatural power, aided by prayer, to bring about the reconciliation of husband and wife, or true lovers. She can however be employed to separate a married couple, or two lovers, a practice designed by the informant as "bad." The practice is only employed in the case of serious misunderstanding between husband and wife, one of whom strives in this way to effect a reconciliation. The other is not informed of the trial.

Prayer Used in Preparing the Love Charm (free translation)

933 539 "Grandmother, I beg of you that you will help your grandchildren to reconsider each other. They are in trouble so I sacrifice to you this tobacco, our Grandfather, in order that you will help that man, Big

[16] Zeisberger (p. 126) refers to the introduction of a poison (witchcraft) called "*mattaparrigan*" by the Nanticoke. See witchcraft, p. 38ff.

[17] According to Wi·tapanóxwe this term applies to the act of attempting to gain influence for legal or illegal purposes by means of the medicine which is said to have magic qualities. The shaman who practices his profession for evil is also referred to as o·: "who practices for evil."

[18] *Podophyllum peltatum*, May apple

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Bear and that woman, Small Person, to forget their troubles.[19] Because, Grandmother, it has been many years that they have been together. Again, Grandmother, I implore you because it is right that they should love each other henceforth. If you accept my plea, in two days from this time the woman will go back."

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The second variety of magical root, termed "pull up," is employed in the following manner. The informant's maternal grandfather transferred to him the secret of such a medicine gift in order to control human beings or animals. Although the root is intended primarily for use in hunting, it could also be employed to coerce or in general, influence people favorably. I was unable to secure a specimen of this "rare" plant for scientific identification.[20] Wi·tapanóxwe describes the plant root as having "five prongs." After securing several of the plants, the roots are prepared by cleansing them thoroughly in running water, to the accompaniment of songs and prayers. Three branches of the plant root are then broken off and another, taken from the root of a plant of the same species, attached to the remaining two, to make three. In this connection it may be noted that the emphasis upon the number three in this and the previously decribed love charm represents a symbolism for which the informant could offer no explanation.

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In use, a small quantity of the prepared root is chewed three times a day. The juice resulting from the first mastication is rubbed on the hair, that from the second and third is swallowed. Such a procedure will bring about the desired result in a short time. To lure game animals some of the root is chewed while hunting. Wi·tapanóxwe related an incident of holding some of these roots in his hand while singing his medicine song, and thus luring a squirrel very close to him. The root is so powerful that if an excessive amount of juice is swallowed, the person's mind will become affected.

Food Taboos

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After he has diagnosed the case, the practitioner prescribes a curative diet[21] for the patient, the food restrictions being determined by the

[19] "Being in trouble."

[20] This is probably due to the supposed magical properties attributed to this plant, making it dangerous, according to Delaware belief, for persons other than practitioners to handle it. This applies to all other plants used for magical purposes.

[21] Barber (1856, p. 538) quotes the following from William Penn's letters: ". . . if they eat flesh it must be from the female of any creature." Also see Zeisberger, *op. cit.* p. 24.

nature of the disease. The flesh of animals and fowl is excluded from the diet and in the case of fever, red or fox squirrel flesh is not eaten. This food taboo is known to the Delaware by a native word meaning "makes you sick." Corn hominy, however, is administered in most cases, as it is considered to be a nourishing food.

In the case of childbirth, salt is not eaten for ten days. Onions are given the mother to produce milk, but care must be taken not to use a quantity such as to cause nausea for the child and mother.

During the catamenial period a woman is not allowed to prepared food nor taken an active part in domestic affairs.[1] The separate dishes assigned to her at that time, may only be used by her husband. Food cooked by such a woman would produce tuberculosis in others in a short time. A term translated as "gives dirty food," is applied to such a practice and refers to the resultant poisonous effects. During her periodic isolation a woman herbalist must refrain from preparing remedies or participating in any of the ceremonies.

Divinatory Curing Practices

Certain acts of a divinatory nature are performed upon selection and preparation of plants, roots, and bark employed in making medicine. Only plants that are clean and well developed, with the roots free from knotty growths, are taken. When seeking bark, the medicine gatherer selects a sturdy, well-formed tree for the purpose. The bark growing on the east side of a tree is preferred for its greater strength-giving properties received from the morning sun.

In gathering medicinal supplies, the materials are inspected for a clue as to the course of the treatment. Thus, if roots appear rough and knotty, the patient will be difficult to cure; if clean and well-formed, it will be an easy task to restore his health. Another practice is to place some crushed leaves or roots in running water. If the substance sinks to the bottom of the stream, the patient for whom it is prepared, will die; if it floats, a speedy recovery is assured.

When all other remedies have failed, an emergency medicine is sometimes made from scrapings of deer antler. During its preparation a prayer is offered to the animal from which the antler was obtained. Wittapanixwe related an incident in which a trial was made by means

[1] The puberty ceremony for young girls and the periodic isolation of women is described by Zeisberger, *Ibid.* pp. 75-77.

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of this substance. His niece was preparing it for a small child who was dangerously ill. She dropped a small quantity in a cup of hot water and observing it settle to the bottom, knew that the small patient would not recover. The medicine was administered as a tea, but the child died in a short time."

In the making of an emetic, the necessary water should be dipped from the stream *with* the current;[44] for a cathartic, *against* the current. A similar regulation applies to the gathering of bark; for use as an emetic, the bark is peeled upward; for a cathartic, downward.

Formerly there were among the Delaware, as among other tribes, certain men and women whose supernatural power enabled them to communicate with the dead, to locate lost persons and objects and to foretell coming events. This practice was known as "locating or foretelling," and one who possessed such power was known as a "man who tells of the future." The source of this extraordinary power was attributed to one's guardian spirit or in some instances to the spirits of the dead. Those who were able to communicate with the dead usually performed at night. Such a person was also thought able to cure paralysis.

Some individuals who possessed the power to stay under water for a period of several hours at one time, were frequently called upon to locate a drowned person or a submerged object. One man was known to have found the body of a drowned person after months of futile searching by others. Some years later, the son of this shaman, after becoming converted to Christianity and studying for the ministry, finally persuaded his father to abandon the native faith and join the Christian church. In doing so the old seer, forsaken by his supernatural guardian, forfeited his magical power. Later the old man returned to the Delaware religion, but the power which enabled him to be of service to his tribesmen, was gone forever.

Wi-tapanóxwe's grandfather was one of the last of the Delaware to possess such extraordinary mental and physical powers. He was able to perform the submersion feat and several times located the bodies of persons who had drowned in the rivers of Kansas. On one occasion a

[44] In reference to remedies for fever, Zeisberger observes (*op. cit.*, p. 55) that "when a patient has been given a dose, they are generally able to tell by its workings whether he will recover or die. If he does not retain the medicine it is regarded as a sign that he will hardly recover."

[45] This practice was noted by Heckewelder, *op. cit.*, p. 224.

team of horses which had broken through the ice, were rescued through this same ability, to remain beneath the surface of the water for a considerable period. Power for this ability was given him by a teal duck which appeared to him in a dream. In the informant's words:

> When a boy, my grandfather always went swimming every morning before sun-up, even when there was a thin coating of ice on the river. One time he dreamed of going down to the ice-covered stream very early to bathe as usual. When he jumped into the water the echo could be heard down the river. Then suddenly he heard a voice saying to him, "I am going to make you a strong man. You will be able to go under the water as I do." He did not see anyone around but there close by was a teal. And he could go down under the water and get fish, too.

So close was the connection of divination with the spiritual realm that the Delaware noted carefully the last words of a person near to death. At such a time the dying one is believed to be in close communication with the souls of the departed, who may impart messages of great importance through this medium to the living. One aged woman while on her death-bed spoke as follows:

> My kindred, we have been wonderfully blessed. We have enjoyed the gifts which the Creator bestowed upon us. That is because we have kept our own religion and observed the teachings of our elders in all things. If you continue to do this in the future, you will not be subjected to the evils which increase as civilization increases. Do not give up your own religion.

Another old woman foretold the coming of the railroad twelve years prior to its appearance, while a third foresaw the granting of citizenship to the Indians twenty years before its occurrence.

The Sweating Rite

The importance of the sweat lodge ritual, as carried out by the Delaware for the purpose of spiritual and physical purification, is attested both by early observers,[25] and by more recent students.[26] According to Zeisberger, in his discussion of Delaware customs, the practice was attended by rather elaborate rites and was evidently regarded as one of the major ceremonies. It was performed in honor of fire, being called *machtuzin*, a term meaning "to perspire," according to the same writer's translation. A similar rite is described by Harrington, whose informants named it *muxhat'olzing*. This is recorded as a variant of the Annual Ceremony.

[25] Zeisberger, *op. cit.*, p. 138; Heckewelder, *op. cit.*, p. 225; Loskiel, 1794, pt. 1, pp. 108-9.

[26] Harrington, 1921, 122-126; Speck, 1931, pp. 72-74.

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In examining the various accounts of this rite, both in published and manuscript form and through correspondence and verbal statements, it is evident that what was originally a highly developed ceremony performed in honor of the Creator, to whom appeals were sent through various media (such as fire, tobacco, water, etc.), has been modified to a great degree by the introduction of alien features and the abandonment of certain elements to meet the requirements of individuals. The latter would apply both to the practitioners and to those who sought treatment for physical and mental ills. 757 796

The benefits, according to one early writer (Heckewelder, *op. cit.*, p. 225) which were derived from the sweat lodge ritual, were numerous and varied. He writes: "The sweat oven is the first thing that an Indian has recourse to when he feels indisposed: it is the place to which the wearied traveller, hunter, or warrior looks for relief from the fatigue he has endured, the cold he has caught or the restoration of his lost appetite." Reference to the works of Zeisberger [27] and Loskiel [28] indicate that it was customary for individuals to resort frequently to the public sweat lodges.

Wi·tapanóxwe states that formerly the sweating rite, as a part of the annual Big House Ceremony (Speck, 1931, p. 74), was performed to test the spiritual and physical strength of certain men, usually warriors. A lodge was built within the Big House and the men went in to pray and to recite their visions. Those who could withstand the heat for the longest period, were regarded as possessing the greatest power for war, and for curing. Information (correspondence, November, 1930) of a negative character as to the ceremonial aspects of the rite was obtained from J. A. Parks, of Copan, Oklahoma, who writes, "The sweat lodge was not a ceremony. It was a method of treating the sick with sweat baths and hot breaths of air by the Indian doctors."

This brings us to a consideration of the rite as it is performed by the Delaware sweat doctor today. In the account dictated by Wi·tapanóxwe, there is evidence of the survival of many elements, originally attached to the earlier form but subsequently incorporated into the formal pro- 757

[27] "It is the custom of the Indians when they are tired or caught cold to go into a sweating oven several times a week. For this purpose every town has on its outskirts a sweating oven." (*op. cit.*, p. 26.)

[28] Similarly, this writer (*op. cit.*, p. 661) states in reference to the Delaware that "In every town an oven situated at some distance from the dwelling is built either of sticks or boards covered with sods, or dug in the side of a hill, and heated with some redhot stones."

757 cedure within the lodge for the purpose of diagnosing and treating sickness.

756 The term applied to the sweat house healer is one meaning a "sweat
757 doctor." He always performs within the lodge when asked to examine or treat a patient. It is interesting to note that my informant, Witapanóxwe, and Charley Elkhair, the present head chief of the Oklahoma Delaware, claim the distinction of being the only men among the Oklahoma Delaware who have supernatural sanction to perform in this capacity. The former believes that he is privileged to assume the role which his people consider appropriate only for men whose mind and character have been strengthened by years of experience but that up to the present time (1930) he has not attempted it. The powerful shamans[29] of an earlier period were said to have been able to perform miraculous feats and effect marvelous cures without the aid of the sweat lodge although it was frequently employed in their practices.

787 Both of the above types of medicinemen receive their power from
756 the Creator through dream-visions, the spiritual visitation occurring
759 usually just before sunrise or sunset. The vision is accompanied by a medicine song which becomes the personal property of the healer, to be sung during performances in the sweat lodge. It is said that women rarely became sweat doctors. Witapanóxwe, since his vision and medicine song were received just before sunrise, considers that as the time of day during which he would be most successful in curing activities within the sweat lodge. Those who received their power at sunset accordingly regarded that as the most suitable time for performances.

Contrary to the herbalist's custom of not accepting gifts or payment for his services, the sweat doctor expects payment from those who approach him for consultation and treatment. In former times trader's trinkets, etc., and somewhat later, horses, blankets, and money were given by those requiring his services.

343 The construction and equipment of the sweat lodge are matters of considerable importance in this particular type of curing. It is built of twelve poles which represent the twelve levels of heaven (Speck, 1931, p. 74) and according to native belief, lead to the abode of the [772] Creator. For this purpose saplings chosen for their flexibility, are cut

[29] In Delaware the term used means "powerful man," "man who can heal," and refers to a type of shaman, called *medeu* by the Delaware of an earlier period, especially concerned with curing. Among the Chippewa (Densmore, 1929, pp. 86-97) the *mide* were the leaders of the *mide'wiwin* or Grand Medicine Society. See also Hodge, 1912, p. 523.

into lengths averaging from six to eight feet. The end of each of these poles is pushed into the ground to form a circular outline, five or six feet in diameter, with a somewhat wider space marking the entrance towards the north or south. The opposite ends are then bent over and lashed down to form a dome-shaped structure, over which skins, mats or blankets are laid. The fire, located in the lodge center, is built of twelve logs of hard wood. Neither driftwood nor wood obtained from a tree struck by lightning are suitable for this purpose. The use of the former, known as "gathered together by water," would tend to cause a flood. Fuel taken from a tree struck by lightning, is termed "thunder burned wood"; its use in the sweat lodge, thus angering the Lightning Spirit, would cause a severe storm.

The native doctor may employ any person to assist in building the fire, carrying rocks and water, or arranging mats of Indian hemp and bark for the pallet upon which the patient is laid. The latter is covered with skin robes or blankets so that only his head is exposed. After the fire has burned down sufficiently to form a bed of coals, more logs are added and the rocks, usually limestone, brought in. Twelve stones of medium size are placed in the fire. For handling them, a branch of hickory or any hard wood, about five feet long, is split at one end for use as a fork. After the rocks have become thoroughly heated, water is poured over them to produce steam. The doctor prays and sings for a period of time determined by the nature of the sickness and the strength of the patient. His song at this time is the narration of his dream-vision experience made as an appeal to the Creator and his supernatural guardian. Although the emphasis in this type of treatment is upon mental suggestion, in some instances tea made of herbs is administered by the doctor.

In addition to the lodge, poles, fire logs, and steam rocks[80] grouped in units of twelve to conform with the twelve levels of heaven, symbolical significance is also attached to fire, water, and stone. These are regarded as minor deities, often referred to in terms of human consanguinity (Speck, 1931, p. 32), possessed of great healing

[80] Brinton (1888, p. 37) in writing of the survival of curing rites among the Ontario Delaware, states: "I enquired in particular if there are any remnants of the curious adoration of the twelve sacred stones described by Zeisberger. I found that the custom of the sweat lodge still prevails. The steam is generated by pouring water on hot stones. This is done by the medicine man who is known as *Quechksapiet*. He brings in one stone after another and pours water on it until it ceases "to sing" and invariable he uses precisely twelve stones."

776 power. Besides its specific name, the term, "our Grandfather," is ap-
778 plied ceremonially to fire. Rocks are also known as "our Grandfathers." Water is regarded as a powerful spiritual force and is known as "our Mother."

757 Some cases of illness can be cured in one treatment while in others it is necessary to hold several meetings in the sweat lodge. The latter is known by a term meaning "temporary sweating." New stones are secured for each treatment. It is considered advisable to let one or more days elapse between treatments, as determined by the physical condition of the patient. The latter is occasionally massaged by the doctor, who first warms his hands upon a hot stone before rubbing the affected area. Often it is necessary also for the healer to [755] blow hot or cold air upon the patient. For the first the shaman's breath is warmed by means of a hot drink. In Delaware terminology this is known as "warm breath." In case of fever or exhaustion the "cooling breath" is used. One doctor had so much supernatural power in this respect that his breath would cause a swelling wherever it struck the body. It was therefore necessary for him to exercise great care in this type of treatment to avoid bringing undue discomfort to the patient.

795 Following the ritual performance in one of the Delaware peyote cults, it is customary at the present time for the participants, both men
515 and women, to go into the sweat house (Petrullo, 1934, p. 95). This usually occurs before sunrise. The sweat house for this assemblage accommodates about twenty persons. The equipment is precisely the same as for the performance previously described, but there is no ritual connected with this performance. Men and women enter together and drink hot water to induce perspiration. In case of nausea, they chew "Osage tobacco" (wild sage) and swallow the juice. This plant, according to my informant, has a very strong taste together with astringent qualities. The sweating period is followed by a plunge.[51]

[51] This is comparable to the semi-social aspect of the rite as described by Heckewelder, *op. cit.*, pp. 225-226. "These sweat ovens are generally at some distance from an Indian village where wood and water are always at hand. The best order is preserved at those places. The women have their separate oven in a different direction from that of the men, and are subjected to the same rules. The men generally sweat themselves once and sometimes twice a week; the women have no fixed day for this exercise, nor do they use it as often as the men." He also states: ". . . A crier goes his rounds calling *pimook*, 'go to sweat.' Everyone brings his small kettle which is filled for him with the potion which at the same time serves him as a medicine, promotes profuse perspiration, quenches his thirst."

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The Medicine Bundle

The existence of the medicine bundle complex [33] among the Delaware has apparently escaped the notice of recent investigators in the field of Delaware ethnology. Both Harrington (1921, pp. 36, 42, 49, 65-66) and Speck (1931, p. 42) mention the use of personal and tribal fetishes but omit any reference to the bundle concept, as such. This is doubtless due to the deeply religious convictions of the informants who regard such objects as too sacred to be displayed or discussed in the unclean environment in which they must perforce live. It was not until the conclusion of the work that I learned of my informant's ownership of a medicine bundle. He was reticent about speaking in detail of its contents, but inferred that it was made up of personal charms and medicines.

While the use of the medicine bundle among the Delaware is not accompanied by the highly developed ritualism observed by the Medicine Bundle societies [34] of the central Algonkian tribes and others in adjacent areas, there is a simple code, characteristic of the trend of Delaware religious thought, to which the owners of the bundles adhere.

The Delaware bundle is said to contain sacred articles which are assembled in accordance with injunctions laid down by one's spiritual guardian in a dream vision. In addition to pieces of roots for use in concocting secret formulæ, a bundle usually contains personal tokens such as a bird claw, a feather, a piece of bone or horn, an animal tooth, a magic stone, or emergency gift.[34] One man may have several or all of the articles enumerated while others possess only one. Each case is of course determined by the supernatural experience of the individual. For example, men of the warrior class carry, besides their individual charms, some particular medicine prepared for the exclusive use of warriors.[35] Hunters carry an animal lure also prepared from a formula handed down from older generations, and carefully preserved. The bundles of the herbal practitioners and sweat doctors contain portions of rare roots and plants used in their healing practices. These different

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[33] A term meaning "gathered together," used in speaking of the Medicine Bundle, refers to objects forming a collection intended for magical practices.

[34] This engrossing subject has been dealt with in detail by Skinner, 1913, p. 91; 1920, pp. 168, 266; Hoffman, 1893, p. 75; Kroeber, 1907, p. 418; Densmore, 1929, p. 93; Wissler, 1912, and 1916; Lowie, 1924 a, p. 335 ff.

[35] See medicine stone, p. 23.

[36] See warrior medicine, pp. 34-35.

778 sacred objects are wrapped in buckskin or cloth to protect them against exposure to unclean surroundings that might tend to defile such objects of sacred authorship.

778 787 The way in which such supernatural tokens are obtained by their owners is illustrated by the following. Once a man dreamed of seeing a plant, called by the Delaware, "frost" or "ice weed." He heard a voice which said to him, "I am strong and great. Stronger than any other plant because I stay green longer in the fall. Use me and I will make you strong." The man then went out and obtained a specimen of the plant for his medicine bundle. In another case a boy saw a horned toad in his vision and knew that it was to be his guiding spirit. He went out in search of a horned toad and finding one, picked it up, saying, "Give me your horn." At the command the toad gave the youth his horn which the latter kept until an old man.

778 The medicine bundle is the most highly cherished material possession of a chief, warrior or medicine man. He may possess one or more bundles which he has the privilege later of bestowing upon another. This seldom occurs until a man has reached an advanced age, the period at which he feels inclined to transfer his power and supernatural tokens to a younger man. The person chosen to be the recipient of this sacred gift must be spiritually and physically clean. He is called into conference with the older man several times before the actual transfer is made. Then it is given to him with the admonition that he must use the power wisely and keep the bundle from defilement to avoid forfeiture of the sacred gifts. At times medicine bundles are not transferred through the lack of a youth competent to deal with matters of spiritual import. In such a case the bundle is buried with the owner. Or, at the request of the owner, a bundle is given to a relative or to one of his own class, *i. e.*, a doctor or a warrior. Among the Delaware, medicine bundles are never sold.

778 787 Medicine charms are believed to be extremely potent in the hands of their owners. A man may commune with his guardian by means of these material agents and thus secure spiritual guidance and aid in regard to problems of a worldly character. Thus the medicine man seeks knowledge during his diagnosis of the often perplexing cases brought to his attention; the hunter, his mind filled with a keen desire for success in the quest of game, concentrates on the token of his supernatural helper during his appeal to the Giver of Game through prayer. Similarly, the

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warrior desires information as to the location of the enemy; the chief seeks for a clearer insight into tribal affairs in general.

So powerful are these agents of the spirit forces that if one speaks to them against his enemies, he will have the power to attack the latter by means of practices of a malevolent character. Such power is considered as basically evil and to be used only as a last resort. Supernatural power, in general, is believed to be given to the Delaware to accomplish good and not for matters of minor importance.

The Medicine Stone

A concretion secreted in the alimentary organs of certain ruminants is known to have been highly prized by the peoples of Europe and the Orient [86] for its alleged magical and medicinal properties. This unusual object is also known to and valued by the natives of the New World.[87] From the present-day Delaware, we have the following information on the medicine stone, one of their most sacred and invaluable possessions. It is comparable to the bezoar stone of Oriental fame and usually has a similar function—as an antidote for poison. Although such objects are known to be present in the digestive organs of different animals, that obtained from the blacktail deer (Odocoileus hemionus) is considered as the most potent variety. The Delaware call such a stone by the term meaning "emergency gift." From its use in rubbing a wound made by a snake or mad dog, it is sometimes known as "mad stone." They are of varying shapes and sizes and serve as protective agents for their owners. One may use such a charm to make medicine for another who is seriously ill or injured. In the case of illness pronounced fatal by others, scrapings from the medicine stone are infused in hot water and administered as a tea. Complete recovery of the patient is expected as a result. Witapanóxwe relates how warriors of the earlier period employed such a stone to heal fatal wounds. If it is not possible to administer it as a tea, the stone is simply rubbed over the body of the wounded person.

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[86] See article *Bezoar* in New International Encyclopedia, Vol. 3. Second Edition, 1924.

[87] I am indebted to Dr. John M. Cooper, Catholic University of Washington, Washington, D. C., for access to his manuscript on *The Bezoar in Aboriginal American Culture.*

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CURATIVE PRACTICES AND HERBAL REMEDIES

757 HERBAL REMEDIES recorded here may be divided arbitrarily into two groups—the simple and the compound. In the former group, one, two, or three different plant parts are mixed together as contrasted with those remedies of the second group which includes from seven to twenty vegetal substances, according to the specific sickness encountered. My informant stated that "man needs medicine made from many different plants to act upon his bodily organs, afflicted by the ills from which he suffers." Frequently Wi·tapanôxwe uses as many as fourteen different plant substances in making up certain medicines, while other herbalists are said to compound theirs from seven or more elements.[1] Thus we may cite the predominant occurrence of compound remedies among the Delaware in contrast to the simple remedies of the eastern and northeastern Algonkians (Speck, 1917).

757 278 The bark preparations noted immediately below are called "single" (simple) remedies by my informant, and are employed as a cathartic. In preparing and administering these medicines, the correct procedure should be carefully followed in each case. To avoid nausea, bark is customarily removed from smaller twigs and branches rather than from those of larger size. In the preparation of 1 b, c, d, and e, the branches are not roasted as in 1 a.

1. (a) BLACK WALNUT *(Juglans nigra)*, "round nut tree." Three slender branches are roasted in the open fire. The bark from each is then removed, by peeling from the tip end[2] and tied in separate bundles. A strong tea is made by boiling these three bundles of bark together and large draughts taken occasionally. To remove bile from the intestines, the treatment is continued for two days. The leaves are scattered about the house to dispel fleas while the sap is a good application for any inflammation. Juice from the green hull of the fruit is rubbed over the infected area to cure ringworm, "contagious skin disease."

[1] The native use of twelve different medicines which cause one to vomit and "thus remove his sins" is mentioned by Zeisberger, *op. cit.*, p. 134. Elsewhere (p. 55) he states that occasionally the Indians are able to effect a cure with only two or three kinds of roots. If a simple remedy does not bring relief, twenty or more are used.

[2] To cause vomiting, the bark is peeled upward on the branch.

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(b) MULBERRY *(Morus nigra)*, "surrounding berries tree."
(c) YELLOW BIRCH *(Betula lutea)*, "yellow willow."
(d) WHITE ASH *(Fraxinus americana)*, "brittle tree."
(e) BUCKTHORN *(Rhamnus caroliniana)*, "buckthorn."

2. HONEY LOCUST *(Gleditsia triacanthos)*, "accidentally thorned." The bark of the following species, honey locust, prickly ash, wild cherry, and sassafras are combined for a general tonic. This medicine is used for a severe cough and to purify the blood.

3. SYCAMORE *(Plantanus occidentalis)*, "shedding bark." The bark of the sycamore and honey locust are steeped for a gargle to relieve hoarseness and sore throat. Three chips taken from the east side of the honey locust and sycamore trees are steeped together with red oak bark and sweet flag root to make a hot drink for colds.

4. CHESTNUT *(Aesculus glabra)*, "big acorn tree." Nuts ground up and mixed with sweet oil or mutton tallow to make poultice for earache. A nut carried in the pocket will relieve rheumatism. Nuts ground up for use as fish poison in streams. This is known as "fish peyote," as it makes them "dizzy" and they can be caught easily.

5. SASSAFRAS *(Sassafras albidum)*. Bark of the root, together with other bark, used as a blood purifier. In spring employed as a beverage.

6. WHITE OAK *(Quercus alba)*, "gray tree." Bark is a valuable substance in Delaware medicine and is used in compounding many remedies. For a severe cough, a tea is steeped from the bark. For sore throat a stronger liquid is used as a gargle. Also makes an excellent douche; liquid used to cleanse bruises and ulcers.

7. PIN OAK *(Q. palustris)*, "black acorn tree." Infusion of inner bark given for intestinal pains. The acorns are edible.

8. RED OAK *(Q. rubra)*, "red oak." Bark is steeped to make a tea for severe cough. Will also relieve hoarseness.

9. BLACK OAK *(Q. velutina)* "bitter tree." Inner bark used for colds and hoarseness. Infused for tea and gargle.

10. REDBUD *(Cercis canadensis)*, "red bud." Bark steeped in cold water for a drink to reduce fever and stop vomiting.

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11. Cottonwood *(Populus deltoides,* or *Sargentii),* "tree with moving leaves." Bark from the black haw, wild plum, and cottonwood are combined to make tea for weakness and debility in women.

12. Black Haw *(Viburnum prunifolium),* "berries-in-sight tree." Bark taken from the root is combined with leaves of bloodroot, wild plum, pearly everlasting, "stone root" and bayberry to make a tonic to strengthen the female generative organs.

13. Elm *(Ulmus americana).* Inner bark steeped and liquid drunk for colds and severe coughs.

14. Dogwood *(Cornus florida).* The root is combined with others to make a tonic. In another variety *(C. canadensis),* "arrow wood," the bark is combined with that of other species to relieve body pains.

15. Peach *(Prunus persica)* leaves are infused to expel pin worms and to stop vomiting in children. A small quantity is sweetened and is drunk occasionally until relief is felt.

16. Holly *(Ilex opaca)* is designated as the "red berry tree." It is believed that holly grows up near the place where a person was frightened. If one became suddenly frightened, he remarks, "I guess holly will grow here because I was scared so badly."

17. Grape *(Vitis rupestris).* Vine is combined with bloodroot, pearly everlasting, "star root" *(sp.?),* false spikenard, peppermint, and sarsaparilla to make a tonic for frail women. It is also said to increase fertility.

18. Fox Grape *(V. vulpina),* "sour berry tree." Sap of the vine valuable in treating leucorrhea and when removed in spring, beneficial for the hair.

19. Elder *(Sambucus canadensis),* "hollow tree." The leaves and stems act as a blood purifier, also used in the treatment of jaundice. From the elder flower, a tea is made for colic in infants. The bark scrapings are used in making a poultice for sores, swellings, and wounds.

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20. Hops *(Humulus lupulus).* The blossoms are employed in medicine for nervousness. A small bag filled with hops and heated is useful as an application to relieve earache or toothache. A tea made from the plant acts as a tonic-stimulant.

[752] 21. Dwarf Sumac *(Rhus copallina),* "kinnikinnick tree." Roots pounded and applied as poultice for sores and skin eruptions. An

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infusion of the leaves is used to cleanse and purify skin eruptions. To treat venereal disease an infusion of the roots is taken. The berries are useful in making a mouth wash.

22. Wild Cherry *(Prunus serotina)*, "excrement tree." Bark used as remedy for diarrhea. Also combined with other roots and bark as a tonic. The fruit is sometimes used to make cough syrup.

23. Ginseng *(Panax quinquefolium)* is named "man and woman," a term descriptive of the human-like form of the root. The terms "Grandmother" and "Grandfather" are also given the plants, because they are usually found growing in pairs. The root is regarded as being very potent by the Delaware and may be used in treating either sex. In treating males, the "male root" is used, and vice versa. Plant is believed to have retreated, like others, before the advance of civilization and hence, is rarely found. It possesses medicinal properties which will, in many cases, effect cures where all others have failed. The root is diced in small particles, a tablespoon of which is added to a cup of hot water to make tea. The root is used with other plant parts as a general tonic.

24. "Frost" or "Ice" Weed *(Helianthemium canadense)*, was revealed to a Delaware in a dream in which the plant said, "I am strong and great. Stronger than any other plant because I remain green later in fall. Use me and you will become strong." Root used in making poultice for sore throat. Tea infused from plant taken at same time.

25. Poke *(Phytolacca decandra)*, "purple berry." The root of this plant is combined with the bark of sarsaparilla and mountain grape to make a remedy for rheumatism. It acts as a stimulant and blood purifier. In preparing the medicine, the root of the poke is first thoroughly roasted and then crushed. To avoid nausea, a small dose is customary.

26. Poison Ivy *(Rhus toxicondrendon)*, "irritating" or "blistering" vine. Not poisonous to everyone. The root contains valuable medicinal properties. A poultice is made from the roasted, crushed root. A salve effective for chronic sores and glandular swellings is made from the roots of poke (roasted), bittersweet, yellow parilla, and the bark of elder. These ingredients are placed in boiling tallow or lard, to which is added a medium-sized piece of beeswax. A more modern formula calls for the addition of one-fourth ounce of carbolic acid and two ounces of menthol crystals.

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27. Angelica *(Angelica atropurpurea)*, "to mix with smoking (tobacco)." Root used for stomach disorders; seeds sometimes mixed with smoking tobacco.
28. Anise *(Pimpinella anisum)*. Root used as a cathartic and stomach tonic.
29. Yellow Jasmine *(Gelsemium sempervirens)*, "yellow root." Root used as blood purifier.
30. The root of Staghorn Sumac *(Rhus typhina)*, "Cherokee sumac" is combined with that of "horse-hobble weed" or purple cone-flower *(Brauneria purpurea)* as a remedy for venereal disease. The patient should refrain from eating sour fruit and greasy foods. Water should be taken freely and often. [262]
31. Boneset *(Eupatorium perfoliatum)*. The root and occasionally the leaves are infused as a treatment for chills and fever.
32. Goldenrod *(Solidago juncea)*. The green leaves are chewed or infused to cure diarrhea. Also used to reduce fever.
33. Wintergreen *(Gaultheria procumbens)*. Entire plant is compounded with poke root, mullein leaves, wild cherry bark, and black cohosh bark *(Sp.?)* to make a tonic. Beneficial also for rheumatism.
34. Blackberry *(Rubus nigrobaccus)*. The vine is combined with wild cherry bark to cure dysentery.
35. Dock *(Rumex obtusifolius* and *R. crispus)*, "curly leaf." Root used as a blood purifier and remedy for jaundice.
36. Black Snakeroot *(Cimicifuga racemosa)*, stone root *(Collinsonia?)*, and root of elecampane *(Inula helenium)* are compounded to make a tonic.
37. Golden Aster *(Chrysopsis mariana)*. Tea made from the root to quiet infants. Also acts as tonic for sickly children.
38. "Turkey Foot" *(Sp.?)*, "leaves like turkey foot." Plant tip and root infused as a tea for weak women.
39. Prairie Moss *(Sp.?)*. Leaves used as poultice for sore throat. Plant infused as tea, called "tonsillitis medicine."
40. Cardinal Flower *(Lobelia cardinalis)*. An important plant for the Delaware herbalist. Tea made from the root used for typhoid. Administered in small quantities because of its strength.
41. Sage Willow or "red root" *(Salix tristis)*. Contains valuable medicinal properties of importance to Delaware herbalists. Tea

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made from root for women suffering displacement of womb. Used, together with roots of prairie willow *(Salix humilis)*, little burr *(Dentaria diphylla)* and false Solomon's seal to make a tea to treat scrofula and venereal disease.

42. Rattle-box *(Crotolaria saggitalis)*, "blown-over weed." A medicine for venereal disease is made from the root. It is a very strong narcotic.
43. Hedge Nettle *(Stachys palustris)*, "smart weed," is combined with common nightshade, "pretty flower," and button snakeroot to make a medicine for venereal disease.
44. Purple Cone-flower *(Brauneria purpurea)*, "white flower." This is called "Yuchi gonorrhea medicine" by my informant. A tea made from this root alone will cure an advanced case of venereal disease in seven days.
45. Ragweed *(Ambrosia artemisiaefolia)*. Plant used in making a poultice to apply as a preventative of blood poison.
46. Button Snakeroot *(Eryngium aquaticum)*, "to vomit." Used as a medicine for intestinal tape and "pin" worms.
47. Horsemint *(Monarda punctata)*. A tea made of the plant for fever, and to bathe face of patient.
48. Bayberry *(Myrica sp.)*. The bark is used as a blood purifier, and for kidney trouble.
49. Sweet Fern *(Myrica asplenifolia)*. Plant is steeped and liquid applied to blisters. Also combined with mallow root, elder flowers and dwarf elder to treat inflammation of the bladder. It is also good for scrofula. Is a blood purifier and useful in removing mucus from the lungs.
50. Pipsissewa *(Chimaphila umbellata)*. The plant is steeped and the liquid is applied to blisters. It is also combined with mallow root (?), elder flowers and dwarf elder bark in medicine for inflammation of the bladder. Also for scrofula. Purifies the blood and tends to aid in removing mucus from the lungs.
51. False Pennyroyal *(Hedeoma pulegioides)*. A tea is made from the leaves to relieve stomach pains.
52. Wild Carrot *(Daucus carota)*. Blossoms picked at full bloom are steeped as tea for diabetics.
53. Yarrow *(Achillea millefolium)*. A tea is made from the plant for disorders of the liver and kidneys.

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757 54. Prickly Ash *(Xanthoxylum americanum)*. "Bush with briars" or
278 "little thorn bush." Inner bark steeped as medicine for heart trouble. A small quantity is taken each day for three days, and after three days, the treatment is continued.

55. Wintergreen *(Gaultheria procumbens)*. A tea made from entire plant is taken for kidney disorders.

56. Cattail *(Typha latifolia)*. Medicine made from the root to dissolve kidney stone.

57. Partridge Berry *(Mitchella repens)*. A tea is made for suppressed menstruation. This remedy strengthens the female generative organs. In the treatment of rheumatism, the "herbal steam" treatment is considered of great value. A strong infusion is made from the roots or twigs of one of the medicinal plants useful for this type of sickness. The patient is seated with his feet in a basin of the liquid, made very hot, and a blanket then wrapped around the lower part of his body. Cold damp cloths are applied to the head during the steam treatment which lasts an hour or less. The upper portion of the body may also be steamed by raising the level of the blanket. This treatment is effective in reducing muscular swellings and stiff, aching joints. The following vegetal materials are used singly in this way:

58. (a) Bull Thistle *(Cirsium lanceolatum)*, "pretty flower."
(b) Poke.
(c) "Frost Weed."
(d) "Expert remedy," unidentified.
(e) Cedar *(Juniperus virginiana)*[8] particularly the twigs.
(f) Hemlock *(Tsuga canadensis)*.
(g) Dwarf Sumac.
(h) Hop Vine.

59. Blue Flag *(Iris versicolor)*, "blue flower" or "top like calamus." Medicine made from the root is valuable for rheumatism, scrofula and disorders of the liver and kidneys. Combined with the root of sevenbark *(Hydranga aborescens)*, it is used for gall stones.

60. Great Mullein *(Verbascum thapsus)*, "gray leaf." The leaves are heated and applied to the joints and body to allay rheumatism pain and reduce swelling. These leaves are combined with coltsfoot *(Petasites palmata)*, plum root, and glycerine to make a healing

[8] Speck, 1931, pp. 47, 127, 151, 171.

syrup for catarrh, coughs, and lung trouble. In preparing this remedy, the mullein must be gathered before the plant blooms.

61. Burdock *(Arctium minus)*, "big-leaved burr." A tea made from the root is good for rheumatism. Acts as a stimulant and blood-purifier.
62. Butterfly Weed *(Asclepias tuberosa)*, "where butterflies light." Root used as a remedy for pleurisy and rheumatism. Also administered to women following child-birth. Rattlesnake plantain *(Epipactis pubescens)* has the same term and is used in the same way.
63. Elecampane *(Inula helenium)*, "leaves like Indian cabbage." Root used in making a tonic, useful for strengthening digestive organs and to remove mucus from the intestines.
64. Toothwort *(Dentaria diphylla)*, "little burr." Root combined with other as a stomach remedy.
65. False Indigo *(Baptisia tinctoria)*. Liquid infused from root used in cleansing cuts and ulcers. Also employed as a douche.
66. Jimson Weed *(Datura stramonium)*. The leaves are crushed and applied to fresh wounds as a poultice. A salve for treating piles is made by pounding the seeds and mixing with tallow.
67. Common Plantain *(Plantago major)*, "path weed." Leaves crushed and used as a poultice. Plant combined with other plant parts is useful in treating female diseases.
68. Climbing Bittersweet *(Celastrus scandens)*, "yellow root." Root prepared as a poultice or salve for skin eruptions. Tea made from the root will clear up liver spots.
69. Skunk Cabbage *(Symplocarpus foetidus)*. A tea made from the root is useful in treating whooping cough. The leaves are crushed and used as a poultice to allay pain. People suffering from epilepsy often roll up a small portion of the leaf and chew it.
70. Sweet Flag *(Acorus calamus)*, "bitter." Root used in making tea useful for coughs, colds, and suppressed menses. Combined with sassafras root for intestinal pains.
71. Heal-All *(Prunella vulgaris)*. The plant top is used to make a cooling drink and body wash for fever.
72. Skull-Cap *(Scutellaria galericulata)*. The plant top is a stomach stimulant, and a laxative.
73. Catnip *(Nepeta cataria)*, "smells good." The leaves are prepared with peach seed to make a syrup, very beneficial for children.

757 278 74. MOTHERWORT *(Leonurus cardiaca)*. A tea is made from the leaves which is effective for female diseases.

75. FALSE SOLOMON'S SEAL *(Smilacina stellata)*. The root is combined with others as a medicine to cleanse the system and stimulate the stomach. A remedy also for leucorrhea.

76. MAY APPLE *(Podophyllum peltatum)*, "flower hangs down." A spring tonic and a laxative are made from the root.

77. BLOODROOT *(Sanguinaria canadensis)*. For general debility, a pea-sized piece of root is taken every morning for thirty days. Combined with other roots for a stomach remedy. The plant root provides the face paint used in the Big House Ceremony of the Delaware. [302 386]

78. DANDELION *(Taraxacum officinale)*. A laxative-tonic obtained from the plant.

79. VIRGINIA SNAKEROOT *(Aristolochia serpentaria)*. Used singly or combined with wintergreen as a tonic.

80. FRINGED GENTIAN *(Gentiana crinita)*. A tea made from the root acts as a blood-purifier and stomach-strengthener.

81. BLACK SNAKEROOT *(Cimicifuge racemosa)*, elecampane and stone root are combined to make a tonic.

82. MILKWEED *(Asclepias sp.)*. A tea made from the pounded and steeped roots of the five species of milkweed is a cure for epileptic fits in those born during certain phases of the moon. Such disturbances periodically occur during a particular moon-phase period.

751 757 278 797 83. PEYOTE *(Lophophora williamsii)*, "Our Father," is known to have been used to treat periodic fits, and is regarded as a sure cure for tuberculosis.[4] Wi·tapanóxwe carries a small, fringed leather bag, tied with deerskin thongs, containing several peyote "beans" or buttons for use in case of emergency. Certain Delaware subscribing to the "Wilson cult," wear a small beaded bag containing peyote, around their necks as a protection against illness. This talisman is even regarded as an advisory agent of approaching

[4] It is said that this highly valued and potent medicine was revealed to a woman in a dream who gave the knowledge of it to her people. It may be eaten with or without the usual ceremonial rites. For a study of the Peyote rites among the Delaware at Dewey and Anadarko, Oklahoma, see Petrullo, 1934. For more details, consult Safford, 1916, pp. 387, 424; Harrington, 1921, pp. 185-190; and the more recent study of LaBarre, 1938.

domestic and tribal crises. Witapanôxwe is not convinced of the truth of this statement, but claims that he merely carries his own supply for medicinal purposes.*

84. Cactus *(Opuntia vulgaris)* is called "thorny, useless." Witapanôxwe remarked that the Oklahoma negroes singe off the spines and apply a sliced portion to their corns to allay pain.

Miscellaneous Beliefs

1. To draw out frost bites, walk in the snow barefooted. Rubbing snow on the ears will bring relief.
2. Frost or dew gathered in late fall and rubbed on the body will prevent skin eruptions.
3. Water that collects in hollow trees or rocks is believed to have medicinal value.
4. Mud applied to a burn will take out "the fire."
5. To cure a child from slobbering, catch a number of minnows and have the child hold them in his mouth. Repeat this several times a week until the cure is effected.
6. To cure a child of bed-wetting, feed him portions of a roasted "timber rat" * This is believed to effect a sure cure. My informant and a companion once killed and roasted such a rodent, and both agreed that the flesh was palatable and not unlike that of squirrel. They were reticent, however, as to the therapeutic effects.
7. Relief is obtained in the case of whooping cough, if the mother first suckles a puppy and then her child.
8. A spider web applied to a flesh wound will stop the flow of blood.
9. Excrement of cattle or of poultry is employed as a poultice for boils.
10. Skunk-oil is regarded as a valuable remedy for colds and croup. For children the average dose is from three to five drops. A small quantity may be used externally on the throat and chest. Oil obtained from geese is employed similarly for colds. Skunk scent or rabbit urine is put into the ear to relieve earache. Deer and otter scent are also useful for medicinal purposes.

* This practice corresponds to one general among Eastern Algonkian peoples—that of carrying a piece of "muskrat root" *(Acorus calamus)* about the person as a disease preventive. A piece of the root is chewed in case of sudden illness.

* Compare use of a white-footed mouse for the same purpose among the Gayhead Indians (Tantaquidgeon, 1930, p. 20).

11. A syrup made by roasting onions is taken for colds. For infants and small children the syrup is sweetened and a few drops taken clear or in milk.

12. Mutton tallow is an emollient for chapped and irritated skin. It is used to make ointment.

13. Muscular cramps may be relieved by bathing the affected parts with urine.

14. A tea made from roasted, charred pig hoofs is beneficial for colds.

15. For snake bite suck the venom from the wound with a hollow piece of deer antler.

16. Treatment of sick horses. Years ago, after their migration westward, the Delaware used horses for travel. Often their animals would become ill during hunting activities on the Western plains. This was believed due to unsuitable drinking water or from eating poisonous weeds. Other disabilities were due to "bots"[6] or colic. For colic, strong tobacco juice, or gun-powder dissolved in hot water was administered. The most effective treatment was to throw a bucket of very hot water containing finely chopped bits of weasel hide[7] over the horse. Then the owner would force his weight up and down on the animal's abdomen or occasionally, beat it with a wet, heavy blanket for ten or fifteen minutes. The horse soon recovered and was again on his feet.

Warrior's Medicine

Warriors long ago also received gifts from supernatural agencies which enabled them to excell in feats of bravery. Their power came in dream-visions in which the identity of the supernatural was made known. Sometimes a power-song was granted at the same time. Certain men were appointed as leaders of the warriors and custodians of the secret formulæ, from which a particular preparation called "warrior medi-

[6] The larvæ of certain flies. Eggs are laid on the inside of the animal's foreleg, gain entrance into the blood stream and are carried to the alimentary tract where incubation takes place.

[7] The hide of the so-called "spotted weasel" is used for this purpose. My informant had never seen this animal but it had been described to him by his mother. It may refer to the ordinary weasel at the period of seasonal pilage change from brown to white. The species known to the Delaware are the Bonaparte *(Mustela cicognani)*, and New York weasel *(M. noveboracensis)*, Anthony, 1928, p. 102.

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cine,"[8] was prepared. Such formulæ were transferred from the warriors of one generation to another, in native theory only those known to live clean, pure lives being the recipients. A warrior carried a bundle which contained medicine and personal charms. The medicine stone[9] was used only in times of crisis.

Use of Wampum in Healing

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Shell wampum is used in treating cases of paralysis or similar afflictions believed due to failure of parents to fulfill certain ceremonial obligations or to breaking certain taboos. Before receiving treatment the patient presents one yard of wampum[10] to the medicine man. Potency is added to the herbal medicines by the wampum and enables the doctor to diagnose the case in a brief time.[11]

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The Otter Medicine

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The Otter[12] was regarded as the most sacred of all water animals. It figured in a ceremony described by Harrington[13] in which the spirit of the Otter was propitiated. In order to capture the animal a special lure was made. The formula for preparing such medicine[14] was in the custody of an old man of sufficient spiritual purity to withstand its great power. Certain roots,[15] cleaned by the old man in running water to the accompaniment of a song, were used. In doing so he was obliged to walk against the current, throwing water upon his tracks to conceal them. A secluded place was sought out for this preparatory rite. The medicine was hidden away from his dwelling lest it lose potency through the proximity of a woman. The medicine was considered very effective in luring other water animals, since it was a gift from the Otter, the most powerful of such creatures.

[804]

[8] According to Zeisberger *(op. cit.,* p. 127) "The captains and others secure a *beson* (medicine) to preserve themselves from arrow and ball." Converse (1910, p. 168) notes the use of medicine made from the roots of corn, which the men drank. It afforded them such supernatural protection that "they could not be shot even though they were shot at seven times."

[9] See page 23.

[10] Measured from the shoulder to the wrist.

[11] The function of wampum in healing and in the ceremony of the Big House is discussed by Speck, 1931, pp. 52-53.

[12] *Lutra canadensis.*

[13] 1921, p. 176.

[14] Known as "otter medicine."

[15] The same plant, "pull up" *(Sp.?)* is also used in preparation of love charms (see p. 13).

The Dog as a Vicar of Children

231 751 854 Upon the birth of a Delaware child, it was given a pet [16] to serve as the guardian of its health. If there was sickness about, the Delaware believed that it would be visited upon the dog instead of its little master. The animal was thought to say, "I am only a dog, the child is more precious." A small bag containing charcoal was tied around the pet animal's neck by the child's parents. Frequently they would talk to the dog. If the animal died, it was buried and the child given another pet. However, if the child fell sick and died, a release ceremony was performed [17] by placing a string of wampum about its neck, thus freeing the animal.[18]

Notes on Pregnancy and Child-birth

843 262 784 The prospective mother is advised to eat sparingly. Sour foods should not be eaten during the final stage of pregnancy as they are believed to cause contraction of the muscles. Onions and cabbage are also excluded from the diet. Salt is forbidden both before and after pregnancy, as it is thought to stop the flow of blood. Lifting heavy objects should be avoided during pregnancy and for a period of a month after delivery. A pregnant woman should not gaze at a deformed person or make fun of him, as it might affect her child. Care is also taken to avoid being frightened by dogs and other animals.

844 The woman is usually attended by a midwife who is given gifts of calico, tobacco, etc., from the woman's husband. To women over thirty years of age, a special medicine is given to shorten the period of labor.[19] The delivery is made in a kneeling position. Immediately after, a tea made from "pleurisy root" is administered. The navel cord is cut off about one and a half inches from the body. A piece of lead about two inches in diameter is bound to the body over the navel by a cloth. This bandage is kept in place until healing is complete, to avoid protrusion of the navel.

845 In case of still-birth, special treatment is given the mother. Still-birth is believed due to the child being hurt. "The child-killing sickness of women is hard to overcome." Twins are believed to have been con-

[16] Known by a term meaning "pet given child."

[17] See also p. 67 for release of a bear.

[18] As dictated by Wi-tapanôxwe.

[19] "The women know of certain medicines," according to Zeisberger (*op. cit.*, p. 56), "which usually act quickly in case of hard labor, which sometimes occurs, though not frequently."

nected within the womb. If one is hurt, the other will feel it even though they are separated by many miles. A child whose mother died during its birth, must not be allowed to cry. Someone must try to comfort it so that the spirit of the dead mother may not injure, or even kill the foster parent. 845

Birthmarks are an indication that both parents have experienced difficulties with other people. During his youth one man conversed with a dead person in a vision. The skeleton said to him, "You should know me by the mark on your children. You will know more when they are born." All of his children (boys) had a characteristic pecularity about the eyes, lacking control of the lids so that during the day they blinked constantly. Sometimes a birthmark in the shape of a leaf or berry appears on the child. This is attributed to a dream by the mother. The fruit means good luck and long life. A mark formed like a reptile is considered an evil omen. 845 846 [787]

While nursing the child, the mother must refrain from intercourse with any man other than her husband so that the infant may not have diarrhea. 853 857

A few notes were obtained on the treatment of the hair and teeth of children. 851

When a child's hair is cut, it is left in some out-of-the-way place.[20] It was believed that if the birds used it in building their nests, the child would suffer from headaches. If the remains were burnt, it would cause the hair to become brittle.[21]

During the teething period, a little bag containing finely crushed charcoal is hung about the child's neck. The latter chews upon it to ease his aching gums. A loose milk tooth is pulled out by means of a string, its removal allowing the permanent tooth to grow in straight. The extracted tooth is taken outdoors by the child and thrown in the direction of the east, with the words "My tooth I place down here. I know when you return I will feed you white beans."

A child's nails are trimmed with a knife or scissors. Care is taken not to lose any of the nail trimmings, which are carried into the woods and left upon a stump. At the same time the following words are addressed to the Owl: "Grandpa, I now give you these, your grandchild's nails, to make frames for your eyes."

[20] This and the following paragraph were recorded by Eugene Golomahtok, University of Pennsylvania, 1930.

[21] In adult life gray hair, an indication of longevity, is not pulled out. Its removal would be displeasing to the Creator as a lack of respect for the aged. 888 [888] 302

4:Tantaquidgeon E-5 (1930) 1942
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WITCHCRAFT

A TRADITION still existing among the Delaware relates of the development of witchcraft among the Nanticoke[1] and its introduction among the former prior to the period of their westward migration. The Nanticoke are said to have possessed a very powerful medicine which certain of them decided to use for malevolent purposes. Thereafter they went among the Delaware causing sickness which in most cases proved fatal. The Delaware people declined in numbers, but although greatly alarmed, were unable to destroy the guilty ones. Finally one night a man saw two large owls in a tree. He shot them. Upon reaching the spot where they had fallen, the bodies of two strange men were found.[2] It was decided that these were responsible for the black magic. Later two women arrived, searching for their husbands. When told the story of the owls and their fate, the women declared these to have been their husbands who had transformed themselves in order to work evil. This, according to the Delaware, marked the introduction of witchcraft into the tribe.

The present-day Delaware consider witchcraft to be an evil practice and the lowest form of shamanistic activity. There are, however, occasions when such power may be, as my informant phrased it, "legitimately used." If necessary to preserve one's life, it's use is not considered evil. This power was of such great force and potency that only the greatest shaman could break the spell inflicted by a witch. It is believed that the last of the witches died many years ago, their evil medicine buried with them.

Those men and women known to be adept in black magic usually received their malevolent power in dreams. Certain of them, however, acquired it of witches who before death transferred their power to others. Such witches who carried on their evil practices at night were called "night travellers." As a rule they did not mingle with other

[1] A statement by Zeisberger *(op. cit.,* p. 126) runs "By the Nanticokes the Indians have been instructed in the use of a peculiar kind of poison called *mattapassigon* meaning poison." This is probably the term translated here as "medicine for gaining influence," or "witchcraft." See Speck, 1937a, p. 135-142.

[2] This incident is contrary to a current belief among the Delaware and Nanticoke that a transformed person, if wounded, does not die until he reaches his destination and resumes his natural form.

people during the day lest they betray their evil power in some way, and thereby be accused. Their chief activity seems to have been that of annoying people, especially the sick, and of seeking revenge upon their rivals and enemies through use of their powerful medicine. But little is known of the actual nature or content of such medicine since it was always handled with the greatest secrecy. It is said, however, that such magic potions were concealed in small clay vessels, from which a small portion was removed. This was placed in the miniature pouch containing the supernatural token, by which the witch effected his transformation at will. A feather, claw, tooth, hair, or other part of a bird or animal capable of exerting evil influence, formed the medium of transformation. The small skin bag, "witch pouch," was carried suspended from a cord passing over one shoulder and across the body. It is said that a witch was unclothed as he travelled through the air, all the necessary equipment being carried in the pouch.

The clay medicine vessel was left in his dwelling by the witch. When one of the latter was taken and killed, his bowl was always sought and buried with him. Only by such an action could his power be completely destroyed. It was believed that if a witch lit his pipe before setting out upon his nefarious pursuits, he must return before the tobacco had completely burned out. He dares not stay longer lest he be discovered. A witch killed by a person lacking supernatural power will not die until his return home; if slain by a shaman, however, he succumbs immediately and is transformed into his human form. In former days a chief was free to order a witch put to death. The victim was dispatched by a blow from a war club and buried, together with his evil medicine.

My informant differentiated between a witch and a conjurer, indicating that the latter used his power for both good and evil, whereas all the activities of the witch were for malefic purposes. He related the following incidents which involved witchcraft.

> My mother told of the time she was bewitched. When a young girl, an older man wished to marry her. He asked her parents, but my mother refused his proposal. This made him very angry. Soon she became ill and as the cause was not known, a sweat doctor was called. Upon being given some tobacco, he set out to learn the cause of the illness. After a few visits, the doctor said that she was bewitched. Her parents could recall no one who might be responsible except the rejected suitor. After some time, a small bone

754 came from one of her fingers. It had been sent into her body by the witch. The sweat doctor had cured her.

The same witch wished to marry another girl. She was very young and considered the most beautiful girl on the reservation. As my mother had done, she refused the suitor, saying, "Why, I wouldn't marry that old man, and, besides, I'm too young to marry." When told of her answer, the old man said, "From this time on, if she ever sees her beauty again, it will be a surprise to me." So he set to work on her. In a few days she began to have trouble with her eyes. One night she awakened to see a human form standing over her. She felt peculiarly helpless and couldn't move. The strange person moved his hands across her eyes and disappeared. In a few days her eyes began to get sore and continued to grow worse until at last her sight was completely gone.

Later it was discovered that this blind woman had become a witch. She was married and had one daughter. The husband was of the Seneca tribe. Once she told her cousin, "I am getting old and there is something I wish to show you. Come to my house soon." The cousin became suspicious and delayed the visit as long as possible. Finally she went. The old woman showed her a trunk containing certain personal possessions, of which she was to take charge after her death. In removing them a snake skin was brought out and fell over the side of the trunk. While the visitor looked, the skin moved and as they talked, it wriggled back into the trunk. It seemed very unusual for the old blind woman to have such a snake skin. Finally she said to her visitor, "Now, I am going to die and I don't want this medicine to go out of the tribe. My daughter is old enough to take charge of it and I can't give it to my husband since he comes of a different tribe." The old woman died without anyone knowing what became of her medicine. Her cousin never admitted accepting it, but after her death it was found and buried with her. And that was the end of the witch medicine.

Those who were aware that a certain person was a witch rarely dared expose him lest they or some member of their family would become bewitched. This is clearly brought out in the following incident.

Once a Cherokee woman lived with the Delaware. She was very large and powerful, and was known as "Large-waist Cherokee Woman." Living with her was an adopted Delaware woman called "Day-light Person." Both women were old. Once the Cherokee took sick. Her friend believed that she went away at night, but never succeeded in confirming it. Finally the Cherokee informed her that she had been wounded. There was a bullet hole in her abdomen, in which she had stuffed grass to stop the flow of blood. The grass, however, had caused inflammation, so that she suffered greatly. At

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last she told her friend that she wished to confess. She said, "Now I am going to die and I want to tell you something. You must never reveal it or you will die also. I was out travelling (sic) one night and someone shot me." After her death, the other woman one day revealed the secret to some friends and soon after died.

[747]

One of the last of the Delaware witches is said to have joined the church, but continued to practice witchcraft. She believed that she could not find salvation because she had sold her soul to the Devil, but by joining the Church, thought she could secure some peace of mind.

[825]

The unnatural behaviour of birds or animals, as observed in dreams or waking life, has led people to regard them as transformed witches. Once a man saw a hog which, as he looked at it, seemed to grow longer and longer. He started towards the animal, but it retreated into the bushes. Thereupon he knew that it was a transformed person.

A second incident involved a young man returning home from a dance early in the morning. The path led through the woods and over a hill, at the foot of which stood a small cabin occupied by two old women. As he rode along, an owl flew quite low over his head towards the cabin where it disappeared. The young man told his people of the unusual flight of the owl and every one agreed that it was one of the old women returning home. Both had previously been suspected of witchcraft.

Another person had a similar experience with a boar. The man lived alone and one night, while lying on his bed, the door opened and in walked a large boar. The Indian, quite surprised by this, picked up a poker from the fireplace and attempted to drive out the animal. The boar ran around the table several times, without the man succeeding in striking it. Finally it escaped through the door. The man hurried outside and looked around, but the animal had disappeared entirely.

Many years ago a man about forty years old married a woman who was over seventy. My grandfather's brother lived with this couple. He was a powerful medicine man. After some years the old woman took sick and died. Her husband, a very vain, boastful individual, did not conceal his pleasure over her death. He was heard to say, "Now, I am the boss. See what I will do." My grandfather[1] soon atfer left the house. He walked away down the hill, frequently looking back at the house. After a while he returned. He had left to

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[1] In the Delaware kinship terminology one's grandfather's brothers are called by the same term as the grandfather.

754 prepare a magical snare by which to entrap the boastful widower. He set the snare at the doorstep of the house and went in and sat down. However, a visitor was heard approaching, and my grandfather quickly removed the snare so that an innocent person would not be harmed. Afterwards the invisible snare was reset and the intended victim stepped over it. Immediately after he suffered a congestive chill and by night, he was dead. His wife's corpse was still unburied and the day after her funeral, her husband's body was laid away. My grandfather did this to show that supernatural forces did exist to punish inhuman boasting. His people regarded this as an act of conjuring rather than witchcraft.

Persons who possessed the power of bewitchment were obliged to take at least the life of one human every year. During their annual meeting, if any witches had failed to do so, they deliberated upon the choice of a victim at that time. The belief was held by the Delaware that failure to do so would result in misfortune for the witch or his family through sudden illness or accident. Before a witch died, he must transfer his medicine to another to prevent the uncontrolled evil power from reacting upon a member of his family.

DREAMS

787 ALL DREAMS are regarded as significant by the Delaware. Some indicate good fortune and long life, while others fortell sickness and death. One type of dream of unusual significance is known by a term translated as "to dream ahead." Thus to dream of berries, fruit, or vegetation during the winter season is a sign that the dreamer will live to see the fruits of many seasons. To dream of snow at any time of the year is an indication of long life.

It is believed that the recurrence of the same dream for several nights is a sign of important news or even impending danger. In one such case, mentioned by Wi-tapanóxwe, his deceased parents appeared to him on six consecutive nights to warn him of an event which occurred a number of years later.

Long ago dreams were particularly significant to the Delaware hunter. Always in search of game animals for food, he was often led by the animal supernaturals in dreams to the secret places of the game. Upon awakening the hunter would offer a prayer and sacrifice a pinch of tobacco in his camp fire. Then he would follow the trail indicated to him in the dream.

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It is customary for the Delaware to learn in dreams names suitable for their children. During the later stages of pregnancy, the mid-wife or an old man is asked to think of a name and that revealed in a dream is later given to the child. Such a person need not necessarily be of the child's immediate relatives. Occasionally a gift is made him for this service.

To dream of catching fish in clear water is an indication that the dreamer will soon receive a sum of money. To dream of muddy water, on the other hand, is a sign of approaching illness or domestic difficulty.

To avert unpleasant dreams, a person smokes and prays to the Creator, appealing to him for aid in propitiating the supernatural powers responsible for such dreams. Cedar is also burned in the house to cleanse it. If a child is troubled by dreams at night, cedar boughs are soaked in water which is sprinkled over his person and the bed. This is believed to keep evil spirits away.

The more conservative Delaware have always been dependent upon dreams, and the appearance of certain celestial phenomena to warn them of impending danger. The appearance of a comet, "war spirit," in the heavens, is a sign of war. The "war dragon" flies through the air at night and appears like a streak of fire. The direction towards which its course is bent, is noted as the source of trouble. My informant reminded me of the appearance of such (Halley's comet) before the outbreak of the first World War. A falling star is also significant in war time. A fugitive attempting to escape may be located by means of a falling star, which the Delaware believe points to the spot of concealment. To point to a falling star will bring bad luck to a person.

NATURAL SIGNS AND OMENS

A FEW BELIEFS of miscellaneous character are noted for other natural phenomena. The two ends of the rainbow are believed to point to water. A snowfall late in the spring, with the wind to the north, indicates that the snow spirit is returning to his abode in the north. In the fall an abundance of berries and nuts, thick foliage and heavy corn husks all point to a long and severe winter.

[821]

A ringing or buzzing sound in the ear is a sign of impending death or bad news. The ear in which the sound is heard indicates the direction from which the news may be expected.

[761]

787 The twitching of the left eye, in the case of my informant, is a warn-
761 ing of the death of a relative or friend. This takes place two weeks or two months prior to the individual's death.

To see the suddenly disappearing likeness of a person is also a warning of death.

If a wolf barks at a person, it is an indication that he will live long.

Once Witapanóxwe, upon returning from the home of a sick person, saw a rabbit run from the shelter of a grave towards the house he had just left. To him it was a sign of the sick person's death in the near future.

787 Babies and small children are not allowed to cry at night nor older children to play after dark, for fear that their faces will become misshapen.

A "double crown" in an individual is an indication of longevity and superior intellect. The larger such features are, the longer is the possession to live and enjoy the blessings bestowed upon him by the Creator. An individual so blessed is assured of spiritual guidance and is likely to excel in his life work.

787 If chickens continue to scratch for food during a rain, it is an indica-
821 tion that the rain will continue for some time. A cock crowing during a storm says, "Going to clear off today." Crowing before midnight by the bird indicates a change of weather. Crowing on the doorstep brings a visitor.

If smoke from a fire rises during a storm, the rain will soon cease; if it hovers near the ground, the weather will continue unsettled.

If the sun casts slanting rays through the clouds, it is "drawing water." Rain will fall the following day.

When the wind blows the leaves "inside out," it is a sign of approaching rain.

A circle around the moon foretells an approaching storm. The number of stars within the circle indicates the time it will arrive.

To hear the sound of talking or cutting wood over a great distance indicates that a storm is brewing.

To see a hog carrying sticks of wood in its mouth is a sign of approaching rain.

"Three foggy mornings bring rain."

Thunder heard late in the winter foretells an early spring.

Loud reports from river ice indicate an early thaw. 787
A wolf "whinnying" (howling) denotes a change in the weather. [827]
To see a cat washing its face is an indication of an unexpected visitor; sharpening its claws denotes that it will soon receive some meat.

DELAWARE FOOD RESOURCES

IN AN EARLIER section it was pointed out that according to native belief, human health is dependent upon "pure, natural" food. Products of the fields and forests thus acquired a sacred character (Speck, 1931, p. 50), and food and medicine in Delaware conception were not totally unlike. It follows from this that the ailments afflicted the Indians in modern times are considered as being due to a departure from the ancient food regimen provided by the Creator. Investigation of the food supply, and its methods of preparation, was thought worthy of being taken up as part of the present phase of inquiry. The results are embodied in the present section, partly through their bearing upon health as dependent upon food. Except for this interrelation, the subject matter might seem to be more definitely an economic one. 262 [753]

Maize

Among the food products used by the Delaware, Indian maize *(Zea mays)* stands out as the staple vegetable product. Maize is believed to provide nourishment for the soul as well as for the body. The reverence for the Spirit of Maize[1] and for the processes of its preparation, still survives among the Delaware.

Before presenting the data which deals with the preparation of corn foods, it seems appropriate to mention native beliefs concerning the origin of this sacred food.[2] Maize, "original corn" or "common corn," is a gift from the Creator and in former times, according to Harrington *(op. cit.,* pp. 43, 141), was considered as one of the powerful 262 773

[1] Harrington, 1921, pp. 43, 193.

[2] For further information dealing with the maize complex in eastern North America, particularly among the Iroquois, see Parker, 1910; Converse, 1910; Waugh, 1916. The writer (1930) has noted the survival of certain traits indicating the presence of a religious rite in the early period among the southern New England tribes. For the Southeastern peoples, consult Swanton, 1928 b., pp. 443-444.

262 713 Spirit Beings. Zeisberger *(op. cit.,* p. 139) referred to Indian corn as the "wife of the Indian," and, in describing certain ceremonial rites, stated that they offered bear's flesh as a sacrifice to the corn. He also said that corn was offered ceremonially to the deer and bear. Apparently, Harrington (*ibid.,* pp. 70, 195) did not learn the details of this Corn-Spirit rite but the plant was, however, mentioned as a guardian spirit, Mother Corn. There is an interesting ceremony recorded by Dr. Speck[3] which the Delaware held to propitiate the spirit of Mother Corn whom they considered to hold protection over all vegetation. It is related that many years ago the corn crops began to decrease, so that people became alarmed. The leading men of the tribe met and agreed that to avert a famine, a ceremony must be performed to appease the Maize Spirit. It was feared that she had become displeased and intended to abandon her children, the Delaware. In this way the Corn Harvest Rite originated and the performance of its ritual made the occasion of a festival.

262 252 Corn also figured in the ceremonial diet of the participants of the Big House Ceremony. Dr. Speck (1931, p. 73) notes that corn flour and hominy were prepared and served by women attendants.[4] These foods were prepared in wooden mortars kept expressly for ceremonial use.[5] As was previously stated, corn gruel or hominy is considered to be the proper food for sick or convalescing persons.[6]

Indian corn of the variegated variety is known as "common" or "original corn" [7] Another variety, called "hollow corn," is ground into flour for use in making bread.

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[3] 1937a, pp. 79-90. In addition to the Corn Harvest rite and Corn Famine text, Dr. Speck has an account of the Vegetation Ceremony now performed bi-annually in the spring and fall. These gatherings are now called "Bread Dances" and in addition to the performance of a ritual, afford an occasion for recreation. Both men and women take part.

[4] The three men and three women who are responsible for the ceremonial equipment and assist in a ceremonial role in the nightly performances during the period of worship in the Big House. (Speck, 1931, pp. 71, 75.)

[171] [5] A similar observance has been recorded for the Mohegan of Connecticut and the Indians of Wampanoag extraction at Gay Head, Mass. See Tantaquidgeon, 1930, pp. 5-7.

[6] See Diet, p. 14.

[171] [7] I have observed that my own group at Mohegan, Conn., and the people at Gay Head, Mass., regard varied-colored corn to be the original variety and value it very highly.

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So far as could be ascertained, the use of corn medicine and fish fertilizer in corn hills, is the only vestige of the ritualistic complex now associated with maize cultivation.[8] My informant stated that in former times it was customary to use medicine in which corn was soaked to prevent cut worms. At present, seed corn is soaked in water and hardwood ashes. Fish bones were burned and combined with wood ashes and put in the corn hills as an offering to the Maize Spirit. Corn, beans, and squash were planted together, but the legend of the Three Sisters (corn, beans, and squash) [9] so prominent in Iroquois mythology, is absent.

The different varieties of maize are not planted near one another because, it is said, "One will visit the other and forget to come back."

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When corn matures one must share the first gathering with a less fortunate tribesman or with some old person. This rule applies to all crops as well as to the first kill.[10] In order that people may continue to receive the blessings of the Creator, every man is obligated to share his first fruits and game with others, before partaking of them himself. The practice of sharing vegetable food with a neighbor is known by the term, "I feed you." A hunter offering animal flesh in observance of this rule, used the phrase, "I give you some meat."

252

There are several methods employed in preparing corn as food.

(a) The husk is taken off and the ears laid in the sun until thoroughly dry. The grains may then be removed and pounded into hominy grits.

(b) After removing the husk, the ears are boiled until thoroughly cooked. They are allowed to cool, the grains removed with a spoon and spread out to dry.

(c) The ears are laid before the fire and roasted.

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Early records indicate that corn parched and crushed to meal, served as a very nourishing food which was indispensable to the hunter or

[8] The Iroquois observed the practice of soaking seed corn in a medicine especially prepared from certain plants. "In ancient times they enriched the soil with both fish and shell." (Waugh, *op. cit.*, p. 18.)

[9] The corn, bean and squash complex is discussed by Parker, 1910, p. 36, and Converse, 1910, p. 63.

[10] According to Zeisberger (*op. cit.*, p. 84) a hunter before setting out upon a long hunting trip, would kill a deer or two and prepare a feast as a sacrifice to the game. The old people as invited guests would pray for his good fortune during the expedition.

252 traveller of that period.[11] Zeisberger (*op. cit.*, p. 22) mentions two
251 varieties of corn meal which the Indians prepared for use on long journeys. Dried, unroasted corn was crushed to a meal or roasted in hot ashes and then pulverized. The meal was mixed with sugar, or water, and then eaten. Occasionally it was boiled in water. Heckewelder (*op. cit.*, p. 195) says that their *Psindamocan*[12] or *Tassmanane*[13] is the most nourishing and durable of their corn foods. He adds that they preferred the blue, sweet variety for this meal, and that with but a little of this food, they set out on long journeys.

252 Among the present-day Delaware the variety of corn used and the methods of its preparation, are the same as noted by Zeisberger and Heckewelder. However, due to the scarcity of "squaw" or variegated corn, it is now regarded as a ceremonial food. The corn is thoroughly parched and then pounded in the hominy mortars. The fine meal resulting is hominy or "traveling food." This may be eaten either mixed with water or with milk and sugar. The grits ground medium fine are cooked with meat, the combined food being called, "whole face hominy," and used in the Masked Dance Ceremony.[14] The coarse grits are called "hail stones." These are cooked and eaten with milk.

Dry, unparched corn is made into flour or pounded medium fine or coarse. The flour is used in making bread. A soft dough is made and rolled into a flat cake like a biscuit which is dipped in cold water and put in the ashes to bake. This bread is known as "put-in-the-ashes bread." Bread dough to which is added chili beans or raisins is put in greased vessels and baked in the Dutch oven. Dumplings stuffed with chopped meat are boiled. The coarse hominy is boiled

[11] Williams (1827, p. 33) mentions *no'kehick*, a parched meal used by the Narragansetts. He says in part, "I have travelled with neere 200 of them at once neere 100 miles through the woods, every man carrying a little basket of this at his back and sometimes in a hollow leather girdle about his middle sufficient for a man for three days." Waugh (*op. cit.*, p. 88) says, in writing of Iroquois corn foods, "There was apparently no more popular hunting or traveling food than this preparation in olden times. It was light and nourishing and could be eaten cooked or raw." In the Mohegan-Pequot dialect it is known as *yo'keg*, "corn parched and pounded," and among the Wampanoag descendants at Gay Head, it is called *no'cake*. In the two latter groups it is prepared in precisely the same manner as among the Delaware (See Tantaquidgeon, *op. cit.*, pp. 6-7).

[12] I was unable to obtain a translation of this term but my informant recognized it as pertaining to corn meal food.

[13] "Dried corn product."

[14] See Speck, 1937a, p. 52.

and used in different ways. It may be eaten with milk and brown sugar or with any kind of meat grease. A little salt may be added for additional flavor. 252

Various kinds of nut meats are added to cooked hominy to make a dish known as "nut hominy." Hominy and chopped meat (beef, pork or other fresh meat) are cooked together and then allowed to stand until sour. After hickory nuts are added to this mixture, the result is called "soured nut" hominy.

Hulled corn is made by boiling dried corn in a strong liquid, made alkaline by the addition of hard wood ashes. This process of preparation is long and arduous, since after hours of steady boiling it requires many washings in clear, cold water to rinse the lye from the loose hulls. This food may be eaten with milk and sugar, fried with potatoes in pork fat, combined with fresh or dried meat for stew, or with beans for succotash.

Wild Vegetable Foods

Long ago fruits and berries were preserved by drying, this practice giving way in later times to canning and the manufacture of jelly and jam. Dried fruit are prepared to eat in a number of ways. Grapes are boiled, and the resulting liquid thickened by the addition of corn meal, flour, or hominy grits. A boiled pudding is composed of dough made of cornmeal and flour, or flour only, to which any variety of berry, except strawberries, may be added. This dough is then placed in a cloth bag and boiled. When ripe, persimmons are mashed and spread on a cloth to dry for use in a bread called "persimmon bread." With few exceptions all of the fruits and berries mentioned are made into pies, puddings, preserves, fruit butters, and jams. 222 251 252

The various varieties of nuts are gathered in large quantities and stored away for future use. These provide a nourishing supplement to the remainder of natural food stuffs. Nuts are eaten raw, roasted, boiled, and frequently incorporated in other types of food. Edible acorns are usually roasted.

With the introduction and increased use of European food products, the necessity arose among the Delaware of fitting them into their own linguistic configuration, if the foreign terms themselves were not taken over. Like so many primitive groups, the Delaware came to apply native terms of a descriptive nature to the majority of elements foreign to their culture. Many of these have been retained to the 196 262 177

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196 present day. Thus, for example, the Delaware term for the cocoanut
262 is "water hickory nut."

"Indian Potato" or Ground Nut *(Apios tuberosa)*, "wild potato."
222 The tuberous roots are gathered in large quantities and stored for
252 winter use. They are not considered good after sprouting. The roots are either boiled and eaten as the cultivated potato, or dried and ground into flour used for making bread. In recent times the ground nut has not grown abundantly in the Delaware habitat, and is now considered a rare delicacy.

Sorrel *(Rumex acetosella)*, "sour." This plant, prepared much like rhubarb, is used as a filling for pies.

Onion *(Sp.?)*. Of the different varieties of wild onions, three are regarded by the Delaware as being edible. The one most commonly gathered for use is the "buttonseed." These are dried and prepared by frying, or boiling, or are added to flavor stews and soups. Wild onions are also cooked in grease to which eggs are added.

A species of mushroom *(Agaricus campestris)*, "tripe form," is fried in hot fat, or salted and boiled.

Certain plants are considered to be healthful foods, especially in spring, when people were in need of the medicinal substances present in them. The practice of seeking the first green plant shoots in early spring is not peculiar to the Delaware alone, but is characteristic of other Eastern Algonkian peoples. Such food is called "greens" or "plant tops." The young shoots are usually picked and cooked separately, or mixed with several other plants. In both cases the "greens" are parboiled in water, and then cooked with meat. Among such plants may be mentioned dandelion, milkweed, poke, lamb's quarters, mustard, dock, and watercress.

Animal Foods

825 Wild animals, as pointed out by F. G. Speck (1931, pp. 28-29), are
224 in general considered to exist in clan relationship with humans. The latter are said to be "kings among animals." Clean, pure animals of the forests are referred to in terms of human relationship and their spirits must be propitiated before they can be sought for food. If the supernaturals are appeased through sacrifices, the animals will allow themselves to be taken, but if the proper ceremonies are not carried out, they can never be approached by humans. Therefore a hunter before starting out, is obliged to pray and sacrifice tobacco, and also if he should dream of seeing game during the hunt. The Delaware "sharing-feast"

described by Zeisberger, has previously been referred to (p. 47). Special medicine lures for hunting are also prepared by the hunter.

The Delaware consider the bear and the deer to be the greatest of all animals. The bear is also called "Our Grandfather." Both animals are considered closely akin to the Indian, but the Delaware believe that the bear has the most human-like traits. The antelope, a creature of the later Delaware environment, is regarded as a sacred, pure animal. Of the water animals, the otter is regarded as supernaturally the most powerful.

During the chase, the hunter is careful not to unduly excite the game pursued, since the flesh of such an animal is apt to cause illness when eaten. The same treatment holds for the capture and killing of domestic animals and fowl. Formerly bison, bear, deer, otter, beaver, the smaller animals, and wild fowl provided meat for the Delaware diet. In the latter period squirrels, rabbits, and domestic animals replaced the increasingly rare, larger species.

After an animal was killed, all parts of it were utilized; the flesh for food; the hide for shelter, clothing, robes, and bags; the bones for implements, and the teeth for ornaments, etc. The hide was removed by the hunter forcing his fist between it and the flesh, thus working around the body until the hide was loose. The use of a sharp instrument for this purpose, would, it was claimed, cut and thus spoil the hide. All fat from the bison, bear, deer, and domestic animals was saved and stored in a rawhide container. The intestines were cleaned, filled with blood or meat, and cooked. The flesh of the larger animals was usually roasted. A fire was built in a pit and the carcass placed upon a scaffold above it. A slow fire was kept burning, over which the meat was turned until it was thoroughly cooked.

Meat was preserved in one of two ways—by smoke-drying or immersing it in grease. In drying, thin slices were suspended over a slow fire. In the latter process alternate layers of partially cooked meat and hot lard were placed in a large earthen crock until filled. Slippery elm bark, cinnamon, and allspice were added to the grease for flavor.

Stews and soups were made of fresh meat, to which hominy or corn meal dumplings were added. The flesh of small animals, from which the scent glands had been removed, were also preserved by smoke-drying. If a deer, or other animal, was killed during the mating season, the animal's testicles were immediately removed. An Indian hunter usually killed only male animals.

Fish were fried or cooked in a stew or soup. Formerly fish were preserved by drying.

4:Tantaquidgeon E-5 (1930) 1942
NM7 Delaware
Nanticoke NM11

APPENDIX I

Nanticoke Folk Beliefs

121 My reason for incorporating the following material is based upon the close historical affinities of the Nanticoke with the Delaware over a period of time so long that both groups must be considered ultimately to have sprung from a common source. The intimate association of
175 the two peoples has been maintained through the period of their co-residence in southeastern Pennsylvania and continued during the course of their migration northward along the Susquehanna River to the Iroquois. It seems hardly necessary to point out again that branches of both tribes were adopted by the Six Nations at the same time[1] and maintained their representatives in the Council of the League uninterruptedly down to the present day.

175 While the Delaware have preserved some semblance of their former culture through the varied accidents which befell them in their north-
177 ward and westward flight, the Nanticoke have more thoroughly succumbed to acculturation from alien influences. Yet it is the latter people only who have left descendants within the area formerly occupied by
[131] them in the Delaware Bay region, the mixed community located in the district known as Indian River Hundred, Sussex County, Delaware. In view of what has already been written about this community,[2] it seems hardly necessary here to review its history.

115 The Nanticoke informants employed in this investigation were Chief Russel Clark, his wife, Florence Clark (née Drain) and their son Ferdinand, who later succeeded to his father's office; the three Wright brothers, Warren, Elwood, and Walter; Willie Harmon, his wife, Annie, and their daughter, Janie; Lincoln Harmon and his wife, "Patia"; Levin Street and family, and a Mrs. Bumberry; and lastly Howard and Eliza Anne Johnson. It may be of interest that Chief Clark some years ago took the name of Wyniáco, the term held by the Nanticoke emperor.

177 It will be obvious to the ethnologist that no attempt is made to identify the following data as characteristic of Nanticoke culture of the pre-European period. In comparison with the preceding Delaware data, the notes to follow represent a fusion of disparate culture influences, the total effect of which is very non-Indian in character.

[1] In 1735 at the invitation of the Cayuga.
[2] Speck, 1913, 1922 and 1927.

4: Tantaquidgeon E-5 (1930) 1942
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For the layman, attention is called to the assumption that the Nanticoke, like other native peoples, were actuated by a spirit of inquiry into the natural world, such as to lead them to experiment with plants and plant substances introduced as the result of white contact. Such post-European elements and their application to useful ends belong to the later culture of the Indians and accompanied changes in their physical and social environment as well as in their racial composition. The task of identifying these cultural components and of determining their origins is not one for the present. The question, therefore, of the sources of Nanticoke ideas and practices of the present day is not included in the scope of this paper. The material has its bearing upon the development of the Nanticoke as an ethnic community, even though its analysis be left for a wiser day of culture reckoning.

My own experience with the Nanticoke was gained through the gathering of medical folklore, a task started independently in 1921 and continued during annual visits thereafter until the Pennsylvania Historical Commission provided funds for this research in 1931. I have attempted to incorporate in the present study all previously compiled material, both published* and unpublished, concerning the subject of my immediate interest. That more remains to be collected from the inexhaustible memories of the Nanticoke descendants scarcely need be added. One community in particular, at Cheswold, Delaware, which comprises people of similarly hybrid ancestry, still represents an untouched source for the collection of new material. This particular group was thought by Chief Clark to be more distinctly Delaware than Nanticoke, so far as possible Indian blood is concerned.

Medicine Practices

A number of methods are in use among the Nanticoke to avert or cure whooping cough. It is believed that a string or necklace of deerskin will protect the wearer against this disease.

If a woman marries without changing her name, *i. e.*, marries a man of the same name, she can cure her children of whooping cough by feeding them bread stolen from her neighbors. One informant stated, however, that it is bread stolen from such a woman that effects the

* I have included my own version of those Nanticoke folk-lore items which originally appeared in Speck, *The Nanticoke Community of Delaware* (1915). This duplication has seemed advisable in order to bring together the present collection of data in one place.

[755] cure. In the first, a friend was often asked to leave bread where it could be taken unseen.

Another method of treating whooping cough involved securing as many cockroaches as there are children affected, and naming one after each child. Then each child placed a roach into a bottle which was then tightly corked. The sickness is believed to pass with the death of the insect. During this period it is necessary, however, to keep the child's bowels open, else the charm may react and kill him.

A person living in the city is advised to put a cockroach in a thimble, tie it up in a cloth and wear it around the neck. "You will never whoop after wearing it."

For chicken pox, the child affected is placed before the open door of a chicken house, so that the chickens in coming out, fly over him.

To cure lameness, an earthworm is placed in a bottle which is then hung up somewhere. After the worm decays, the residue is rubbed on the affected part.

[757] [278] Pellets of yellow pine *(Pinus echinata)* tar are considered beneficial for soreness of the back, and as a cathartic.

For rheumatism, an eel-skin is bound around the part affected. Similarly, to ease a backache, the skin of a blacksnake, removed entire from the living reptile, is worn around the waist (one old Nanticoke is said to have obtained a fresh skin every spring, which he wore constantly).

In another treatment of rheumatism, the person is taken to the seashore, and at the water's edge, buried nude in the sand with only his head exposed. He remains there for about an hour. Two Nanticoke men are known to have been cured in this way.

[757] [278] To cure infants of colds, tea is made from calamus or "muskrat" root *(Acorus calamus)* and administered. A tea brewed from "Horsemint" *(Monarda punctata)* or skunk cabbage *(Symplocarpus fœtidus)* leaves is also good for colds. The Nanticoke believe that "chills" can be "promised away" by a healer or witch.

In another treatment of chills, notches equal to the number of attacks, are cut in a stick. The person then goes to a stream flowing east throughout its course, throws the stick over his left shoulder into the water, and walks away. He will have relief within a day of two.

If a child suffers from croup, he is stood against a door-joint and his height marked. After he outgrows the mark, the croup will leave him.

A remedy for sore throat is to place the bent thumb inside the sick person's mouth so as to force his jaws far apart for a period of five minutes. 755

A syrup made from star-grass is good for a cough. 757

Pipsissewa *(Chimaphila umbellata)* is steeped and drunk plentifully for the ague. 278

To prevent fever in summer, the petals of the first hepatica flower encountered that spring are chewed. This plant *(Hepatica americana)* is called "chills and fever."

Mullein *(Verbascum thapsus)* leaves are applied to allay fever. To prepare them the leaves are spread out, dipped in vinegar and then bound about the forehead, wrists, back of the neck, and soles of the feet. For a time the leaves are kept moist with vinegar.

Wild thyme *(Thymus serphyllum)* and boneset *(Eupatorium perfoliatum)* are steeped together and taken for chills and fever.

Fever and ague, very common in this region, are believed due to going barefoot or swimming in the river too early in spring. These ailments are warded off in the spring by drinking "sarsafack" or sassafras *(Sassafras albidum)* tea, which is "cooling to the blood." [751]

For pains in the stomach a cup of water into which tobacco smoke has been blown, is drunk. Tobacco smoke is blown into a child's mouth to cure colic. To treat indigestion, the gizzard of a chicken, previously kept from eating filth, is eaten without being cleaned.

A necklace made from kernals of a red ear of corn is worn as a protection against nose-bleed. Another method is to wrap a dried spider in cloth, and place it in a thimble to be suspended from the neck. Other treatments include pushing a cobweb up one's nostrils or dropping a bunch of brass keys down one's back. 751

It is also believed that recital of the following Biblical verse (Ezekiel 16:6) will cure nose-bleed, but only for a person of opposite sex. "When I passed by thee, I saw thee polluted in thy blood, and I said unto thee, Live: and thou didst live in thy blood: yea, thou didst live in thine blood." 755

A good lotion for sprains is made of the root of the false indigo *(Baptisia tinctoria)* plant and aspen *(Populus deltoidea)* bark. Also beneficial in this connection are the macerated roots of devil's shoestring *(Yucca filamentosa)* made into a poultice. 757 278

Warts, it is believed, can be "charmed away" with the spittle of certain persons with such power. Another treatment is that of rubbing

4:Tantaquidgeon E-5 (1930) 1942
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them with prickly pear *(Opuntia vulgaris)*. A split joint of the same plant is also applied to relieve inflammation from insect stings or bites.

Another way of removing warts is to rub them with a stone found at a crossroad, as one walks along. Then the stone is thrown over the left shoulder and the person continues on to his destination. The wart will disappear in a few days.

To relieve frost bite, the bladder of some animal is bound over the affected part. Gall from an animal source is also considered beneficial.

Shingles are cured by rubbing grease from a black hen or the tail of a black cat upon the sides of one's body.

The leaves of burdock *(Arctium minus)* are steeped and applied to boils.

Poultices are made of the leaves and stems of a plant called "King Cole oil weed" *(Sp.?)*.

To rid oneself of intestinal worms, the leaves of a plant called "fish weed" *(Sp.?)* are chewed. Snake-root *(Aristolochia serpentaria)* is steeped and drunk for the same purpose.

The Jewel weed plant or "balasm" *(Impatiens biflora)* is steeped and used to make a poultice for burns.

Skin cuts are healed by covering them with cobweb and binding a silver dollar over the wound. Soot from the chimney is also useful for this purpose.

To relieve earache, tobacco smoke is blown into the ear.

"Cow-itch," which generally affects people in the fall, is treated by wearing a piece of red yarn tied around the toe. The whole foot may also be placed in hot cow dung for this skin disorder.

Sores ("dew poison") are believed to come on one's feet from walking barefoot in dewy grass. This trouble is treated by bathing the feet in a liquid steeped from fuzzy, white leaves called "mouse-ears" *(Sp.?)*.

"A splinter from a tree struck by lightning will cure toothache." A treatment for aching teeth is to pick up an old jaw-bone of a horse by the teeth, and to walk forward counting each step until the burden must be dropped. The number of steps taken indicate the number of years before the attack will recur. One informant who tried this, counted to one hundred.

Grease obtained from a black hen is rubbed on the aching gums of teething infants. Another remedy is to roast the brains of a dead rabbit and rub a small amount on the gums. Another informant removes the "knowledge-bone," an odd-shaped bone from a hog's ear, and sus-

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pends it by a cord from her child's neck. A mole's foot inclosed in a small bag is also worn for the same purpose. A number of the Nanticoke carry a mole's foot in the pocket as a good luck piece to gain money.

The berries of sand myrtle *(Leiophyllum buxifolium)* are used to make wine, and a spring tonic.

Pennyroyal *(Hedeoma pulegioides)* and tansy *(Tanacetum vulgare)* are both employed as sudorifics. The former is also regarded as an excellent remedy for kidney and liver troubles.

The grated root of the arrow-arum *(Peltrandra virginica)* is given with milk to babies.

Several plants have local folk names, although no medicinal efficacy is ascribed to them. Milkweed *(Asclepias syriaca)* is called "frog's milk." Wild gooseberries *(Grossularia sp.)* are known as "Devil's berry" because "when they ripen one at a time and fall off during the night, they say that the Devil picks them off."

Weather Signs

If killdeer plovers ("kildee") are observed to flock and call on a calm morning, the wind will come up. These birds as well as others, are believed able to say certain words. Thus the killdeer says "Wind blow, wind blow!"

The flight of wild geese is also regarded as a sign of approaching wind.

If chickens continue to feed in the rain, it is an indication that the rain will last for some time. The Nanticoke believe that the fowl, aware of continuing rain, eat before they take shelter. If shelter is sought when the rain begins, the rain will not last long.

If the surf (the ocean is about ten miles from the village) can be heard, one may expect an east wind bringing rain the following day.

Another indication of approaching rain is the flocking together of crows or blackbirds.

If hogs become restless and start to pick up sticks, cobs, etc., as for a bed, the Nanticoke believe that a storm is approaching.

The appearance of the sun during rain denotes rain the following day. When this occurs the Nanticoke say that the Devil is beating his wife. Similarly if the sun appears while it is snowing, the "Old Man" (Devil) is picking his geese.

The point on the horizon where the Milky Way appears to rest indicates the direction from which the wind will blow the next day.

821 787 The appearance of a sun dog (parhelion) is an indubitable indication of approaching storm.

If a snake is killed, thrown into the branches of a tree and is caught [825] by them, it will rain the following day. The day will be clear, however, if the dead reptile falls clear.

The crowing of a rooster after nightfall denotes bad weather.

Snow is to be expected if wood sputters in the fire.

MISCELLANY

787 "If you mock a mourning dove, some time he will burn you."

825 The cooing of the turtle-dove indicates the direction in which one's lover is located.

The first cry of the whippoorwill in spring marks the time to plant corn.

A black animal of any kind crossing one's path at the beginning of a venture is a forecast of bad luck. One should turn back and go another time.

821 A falling star foretells a disappointment.

787 At the first sight of the new moon, one should remove his pocketbook and shake it towards the moon for good luck.

If the new moon is first seen with one's arms full of objects, times will be difficult during the month. If a person has his arms full of brush on this occasion, he will be carrying brush during most of the month. If his arms are empty, but little work will be done during this period.

The Jack-o'-lantern is a kind of spirit which pursues people and brings misfortune. If one is seen, the observer turns his pockets inside out to avert the evil. One informant claims to have seen several of such spirits one night issuing from a dead stump.

787 A ringing noise in the ear is known as "death bells" and announces [761] the demise of a relative or friend.

Nanticoke men visit each others' homes on New Year's Day, the first one to arrive at each house being given fifty cents. For a woman to come to the house on this day is regarded as an ill omen.

[825] Like the stork in Europe, the Fish Hawk *(Pandion haleætus carolinensis)* is venerated by the Nanticoke. To kill one or disturb a nest is regarded as a "sin." These birds build their nests near the Indians' homes, generally in the limb of a dead tree in an open field and return to them year after year.

The Buzzard *(Cathartes aura septentrionalis)* likewise is never molested. 787 825

If a scorpion lizard *(Sceloporus undulatus)* or "scorpion," as it is known locally, gets on a person and runs completely around his body, it is a sign that the person will die. [761]

To hand a person a closed knife will bring bad luck. The blade should be opened. 787

After severing the umbilical cord of an infant, it should be disposed of by burning lest misfortune ensue. If the cord is dropped, the baby subsequently will be unable to retain its urine. [844]

If an excess of saliva runs from a baby's mouth, empty a thimbleful of water into the tea kettle when it is nine day's old. That will prevent the child from slobbering. 854

"When we cut our hair, we put it in the stove and burn it. I clean my comb every morning and throw the loose hair in the fire. If it blazes, it means a long life but if the hair burns slowly and chars, they say a person won't live long."

If some of a person's hair is used by birds in nest building, it may result in a loss of mind.

The deciduous teeth of children are thrown in the fire. "If a dog should swallow one, a dog's tooth will grow in the child's mouth."

To shape a baby's head round, press its forehead with the right hand, the back of the head with the left, three times a day for four weeks. [856]

An infant's nose may be shaped by pinching it gently several times a day.

To hear a hen crow is bad luck. The bird should be killed. 787

If a rooster crows near the door of the house, a visitor is to be expected. 825

When the cry of the turtle dove is heard, one may sit down, take off his shoes and find inside of one a hair of the same color as that of one's future wife.

The small eggs often laid by chickens are called "latter eggs." They indicate that hen is through laying for the season.

It is regarded as unlucky to burn sassafras wood in the fire; the crackling sound made by this wood in burning will develop ill temper in some member of the family. There is no aversion to burning grapevine, as among the Pamunkey. 372 777

Sweeping out the house after nightfall is regarded as "sweeping out your luck." 777

751 484 "While moving a house, carry a broom and some salt and you'll always be clean and well."

224 In going out to hunt, the first animal or bird encountered should be killed "even though it's nothing but a sparrow."

252 Oil is prepared from walnuts, thickened and used in the preparation of food.

787 A spider hanging from the ceiling announces the approach of a stranger.

"A boy born to look like his mother is born to fortune; the same is true for a girl who resembles her father."

854 757 A crust ("crisp") of soot taken from the chimney is placed in a cloth bag and steeped in a half cup of hot water. This "tea" is considered beneficial for indigestion of babies.

824 A "mushrind" (mushroom) is believed to grow from frog-spawn.

825 Snails or slugs are never harmed. A slug is believed to be an immature snail, too young to have a shell. "It hunts around to find an empty shell and occupy it."

To bite off the head of a moth or butterfly is to secure a new suit of clothes of the same pattern as the insect's wings.

The eyes of the bullfrog are "popped-out" because he was run over by a "timber cart." Hence the remark, "it is hard on the eyes," made of a youth who refuses to fight.

832 The affections of a girl can be gained in the following way: An empty bottle is tightly corked and taken to a stream that flows east throughout its entire course. A string is fastened to the bottle and then secured to a tree near the stream. The bottle is placed in the water so that the current will draw the string taut. Then a picture of the loved one is drawn in the sand with a stick, the mind being held intent upon its desire. The arrangement is then left undisturbed. As long as the string holds the bottle, so long will the girl's affections be retained.

754 A person's death may be brought about by placing a lock of his hair in a hole bored in a pine tree in the winter, and plugging it up. Sometime in March the sap will rise in the tree and result in that person's death within a year.

832 767 To win the affections of a person of the opposite sex, go to a well at noon on the first day of May and hold a mirror so as to reflect the surface of the water below. The image of the person that the observer is to marry will appear in the mirror. If marriage is not in store for

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that person, the image of a coffin will appear instead. A variant of this involves gazing down into the water for the image to appear.

Another method of viewing the likeness of one's future husband is to tie the ends of two balls of yarn together and take them to the upper story of an old, deserted house. Then throw one yarn ball out of the window, retaining the other in the hand, and repeat the following lines:

"I wind my yarn,
Who'll wind agin' me?"

The girl's intended will then pick up the yarn and start to rewind it.

An incident was related by the Nanticoke to illustrate still another means of looking into the future. In employing this device a girl must wash her underclothing and hang them before the fire to dry. During the night her prospective husband will come and turn them to dry on the other side. A girl carried this out and next morning found that her garments had been turned and a knife thrust into them. She kept the knife. Some years later she married and told her husband of finding the knife. His reply was, "Yes, I put that knife there and now I am going to kill you with it. You nearly caused me to lose my life by a fall from the rigging of a ship." It was believed that the man's spirit left his body while he was working aloft on a ship, causing him to fall many feet to the deck and suffer severe injury.

For the following test, the services of two people of the same sex are required(?). An egg is boiled hard and allowed to remain in water for a whole day. The egg is then broken, the yolk removed and the resulting space filled with salt. The hardened egg white and salt are then eaten without drinking water and without speaking. Then the subject walks backward from the room, goes upstairs backward and gets into bed in the same way. If he or she dreams that night, the one who brings a drink of water in the dream is the future spouse. During the entire night complete silence must be maintained.

A test of similar purpose is also carried out by two persons of the same sex. At midnight, after the lights are turned very low, the principals sit opposite each other at a table and eat ash cake. The figure of the future wife or husband will appear in the door and walk across the room. If one is to remain single, a coffin will be seen beside one's chair.

One Nanticoke informant recalled an incident of two sisters each of whom wished to know the identity of her future husband. They undertook such a test as was just described and made the necessary arrangements for the "silent" meal in advance. Upon promising not to con-

787 verse, their brother was allowed to witness the procedure. The door of
832 the house was opened wide and secured, to prevent its closure by the high wind usually arising upon such occasions. The table was set for two and each girl, in turn, cooked an egg, and some meat for her lover, the food being placed on the table. Just then someone drove up outside, a young man walked in and sat down at the place set by one of the girls. Immediately following him were two men bearing a coffin which they placed beside the chair of the second sister. At the sight of this morbid object, both girls screamed, causing their ghostly visitors and the coffin to disappear. Some years later, according to the recital, the first girl married the man revealed to her that night but her less fortunate sister died within a short time. The informant added that while the meal was in progress, the prospective suitor lapsed into a brief coma which permitted his spiritual visitation at the rite.

787 Dreams and their significance form an interesting topic of conversation in the typical Nanticoke household. One informant stated, "Some
826 are born to see sights. If their veil (caul) is saved, they can talk with the dead; if lost, they will be timed and cannot talk with those in the other world. People who have such power aren't afraid of ghosts."

A number of the Nanticoke rely upon their dreams for advice along various lines. One woman stated that she had been perplexed as to the proper placing of a flight of steps by which to descend to the grove and beach in front of her dwelling. One night she had the following dream:

"I was standing out in front yard astudyin' 'bout where to put me steps. Pretty soon, Ralph (my son who's dead) came right up to where I was standin' and said, 'Mom, what's ye studyin' 'bout?' and I says, 'Tell me where to put me steps.' He said, 'Put 'em right chere.' And so I did."

One night she had a dream in which she talked with a daughter who died some years previously. "I saw Eunice there and she looked natural. I said, 'Don't you want to go home with me?' 'No,' she said, 'I'm happy here and I have lots of time off. Anyway, you'll all be home with me before another year passes. The world hain't goin' to stand long'."

Suggestive of the veil which separates them from the spiritual realm is a Nanticoke case in which a sister communicates in a dream with her brother whose death occurred some years previously. The scene of the dream was an attic room, a fence separating the two. They could not converse together but wrote their questions and answers on a sheet of paper which was held up and read by each one in turn.

It is said that in dreams the dead always appear natural and never 787
dressed in "grave clothes."

One man said that his mother seldom had a dream but when she did, it was usually of importance. On one occasion she dreamed of a wonderful place to catch fish and told her husband about it. Following her instructions he found the spot and caught a great quantity of fish. Another time they lost the smokehouse key. In a dream she saw the place where it was hidden from view in tall grass. Next day she went to the spot and found the key. "Somebody had dashed it in the grass waist-high."

To dream of one's teeth falling out, is a forecast of a death in the [illegible] family.

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APPENDIX II

USES OF MEDICINAL PLANTS AMONG THE CANADIAN DELAWARE

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THE following notes on the medicine practices of the Six Nations Delaware, Grand River Reserve, located near Hagersville, in Brant County, Ontario, Canada, were recorded during a visit to the reserve in November, 1931. The group consists of about 150 individuals of mixed Indian and white blood. Only a few, however, have any knowledge of the language and traditions of the Delaware who once inhabited the section of the country now known as Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and New York. To find the identity and location of the predecessors of the band now in question, who migrated to Canada, will be impossible until a comparative study has been made of the various vocabularies.

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I am indebted to Mrs. Martha Peters Hill, Nicholas Powless, his sister, Mrs. Maracle, Joseph Montour, John Lickers, and Walter Moses for aid in securing the Delaware information herein presented.

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In contrast to the ceremonies connected with the various processes of healing as employed by the Oklahoma Delaware, we find only a few traces of such rites among the Delaware of Canada. Plant parts to be used for medicinal purposes should be gathered when the vital properties are in that part of the plant (the flower, root, etc.), to be used. One informant added that plants should be gathered before the fireflies appear. When seeking herbal plants, the first of the desired species should not be plucked. It is customary to pass on to another of the same variety and there dig a small hole beside the plant and in it place an offering of tobacco. If a large quantity of herbs were gathered, they were tied in bundles and allowed to dry in the sun, to prevent mould. Some dried their plants in a warm room.

When bark is used it is taken from the east side of a tree; only the inner bark, which is usually peeled downward, is used. Roots may be scraped or cut into small portions.

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Medicinal plants are regarded as being sensitive to handling, and when brewing medicine, care must be taken to refrain from stirring the mixture while it is steeping. After being thoroughly steeped, the medicine is removed from the fire, and if necessary, stirred only toward the

4: Tantaquidgeon E-5 (1930) 1942
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right. It is never cooled by blowing upon it. Running water should be used, and it was customary in former times to dip the water with or against the current, or to submerge the container and allow the water to flow in from all sides.[1]

The term *"doctol,"* from English doctor, was the only term for an herbalist obtainable from those interviewed. It is also said both men and women could become practitioners. When calling upon a doctor for treatment it is customary to offer him a present of money. In former times, cloth, tobacco, and other gifts were offered.

GREAT MULLEIN *(Verbascum thapsus)*.

The leaves are crushed and applied as a poultice to bruised surfaces to reduce swelling and allay pain.

NANNYBERRY *(Viburnum lentago)* and mullein leaves are steeped and the tea administered in case of measles.

LIVE-FOREVER *(Sedum telephioides)*.

The leaves are crushed and used as a poultice to draw out poison. My informant regarded this to be a most powerful and effective application. He stated that he had suffered from a serious case of infection which resulted from stepping on a rusty nail and that the above remedy cured him in a short while.

PLANTAIN *(Plantago major)*.

The leaves are crushed and applied to bruises.

BURDOCK *(Arctium minus)*.

The leaves are bound on the body to reduce pain. The root is used in making medicine for purifying the blood.

HORSERADISH *(Radicula armoracia)*.

The leaves are applied as a poultice in case of neuralgia.

BITTERSWEET *(Celastrus scandens)*.

The root is used for making medicine which is administered to persons suffering from consumption.

TANSY *(Tanacetum vulgare)*.

The plant is used in making medicine which is effective in treating disorders of the stomach.

[1] My informants could not explain this but said that the water must be dipped in different ways according to the nature of the disease to be treated. It is a common belief that water dipped *with* the current acts as a laxative and *against* it acts as an emetic. Allowing the water to flow into the container from all sides suggests the idea that the remedy to be made would tend to benefit the entire system.

278 BONESET *(Eupatorium perfoliatum)*.
757 This is considered to be a very powerful medicinal herb by my informants and it should be used with great precaution according to their belief. Tea made from the leaves is beneficial as a stomach medicine.[2]

ELECAMPANE *(Inula helenium)* root and poplar *(Populus tremuloides)* bark are steeped together and the liquid drunk to relieve a cold.

CATNIP *(Nepeta cataria)*.
A tea made from the leaves is regarded as a soothing drink for infants.

WHITE PINE *(Pinus strobus)*.
The twigs are steeped to make a medicine which is effective in treating disorders of the kidneys. It is also administered to persons suffering from pulmonary diseases.
[753] The pitch is applied to boils to draw out the poison and reduce the pain.

SWEET FLAG *(Acorus calamus)*.
The root is scraped and hot water poured over it and drunk in case of colds.

BLOODROOT *(Sanguinaria canadensis)*.
A small quantity of the powdered root is added to a half a cup of lukewarm water and a teaspoonful to stop vomiting. The root is also used in combination with other plants in making a blood purifier.

YELLOW OAK *(Quercus muhlenbergii)*.
To stop vomiting, pour water over a piece of the bark and when the water becomes a yellowish tinge drink a small quantity of it.

IRONWOOD or AMERICAN HORNBEAM *(Carpinus caroliniana)* root or bark, and the bark of juniper *(Juniperus communis)*, white oak *(Quercus alba)*, wild cherry *(Prunus serotina)*, and hickory *(Carya ovata)* are steeped together for a tonic. A small bundle of some of each is put into about a pint of water. The mixture is steeped down

[2] This plant so commonly used by both Indians and whites in those sections of eastern North America where it is indigenous, appears to be regarded as being too powerful to be tampered with by the Six Nations Delaware informants. The Oklahoma Delaware, however, use the plant freely.

to about half the quantity. An equal part of brandy may be added. This is considered to be a month's treatment for one person and is considered to be effective in treating cases of general debility. It is valuable as a remedy for diseases peculiar to women.

My informant (Nicholas Powless) stated that he had bought the remedy, as is customary, from a Delaware herbalist. After a prolonged illness, during which time he was in the hospital, Mr. Powless was brought home, as he said, apparently to die. He obtained the formula just noted, made up the medicine and is taking it daily. He claims that he has continued to regain his strength and is slowly recovering from a complication of diseases pronounced incurable.

A tea made by pouring hot water over a small quantity of soot is given to babies in case of colic. A stronger tea is beneficial for a sick cow.

A powder obtained from decayed pine *(Pinus strobus)* is used for babies because of its healing properties.

SUMAC *(Rhus typhina)*.

A tea made from the berries is drunk as a remedy for diarrhea.

Skunk oil and molasses is taken for colds and cramp. The oil rubbed on the throat and chest sparingly tends to relieve congestion. Goose and raccoon oil are used similarly.

Rattlesnake oil is valuable in treating stiff joints. It is very powerful and should be used sparingly. Only a few drops on the finger tips and applied to the affected parts. The skin may be bound on the wrists and ankles to strengthen them.[8]

[8] When told of the belief that snake oil, if used alone, "will unjoint you," an idea common among the Wampanoag of Cape Cod, Mass., my informant laughed and said that he knew that it would not because he had used it on his joints with good results. His sister added that if he could obtain some rattlesnake oil, now he might keep in better condition.

APPENDIX III

THREE OKLAHOMA DELAWARE MYTHS

The Boy Who Lived With a Bear

539 "Once a small boy was lost in the woods. A woman with two children came along and took him with her to her house in the woods. But the boy soon discovered that this friend was a bear with two cubs and that the house was a great hollow tree trunk. One day a young hunter was out in the woods and he saw the little boy in a tree with the two cubs so he went back and told his people. The mother bear knew that soon they would come to take the boy away from her and she felt very badly because she had grown to like him as her own. And she knew, too, that when they came for the boy she would probably lose her life. So she cried and begged him to take his little bow and arrow and hold them near the entrance of the den so that the hunters might know that he was in there, but the boy would not do as she bid. Finally, the hunters came and called the boy, but he would not come out. The bear came out and the hunters killed her and took the boy and two cubs. The boy was returned to his family, but living in a house was strange to him after living with the bears in their den, and he had queer ways. The cubs were raised until they were full grown and then they were released by performing a ceremony with wampum which is always done when pets are to be no longer kept by a family." (See p. 36.)

The Woods Dwarf

"*Maté·kanis*, 'woods dwarf,' lived in the forest. He was kind and was always helping people, but only a few were known to have seen him. He was discovered by a little boy who went to play alone in the woods one day. The little boy liked *Maté·kanis* so much that he went to play with him often. When the other children asked him where he had been he would say, 'I have been to play with my little friend who lives in the woods.' Sometimes he could see *Maté·kanis* near where the other children were playing and would point to him but his playmates could not see the little brown creature. He is said to look like a small boy but is strong and powerful. Only certain people were known to

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have seen *Maté-kanis* and they usually became noted for their physical strentgh. *Maté-kanis* is not seen any more because the Indians have changed their mode of living and are not clean enough to be visited by such spiritual beings. The white man's ways are so far removed from the ways of the Indian that if we adopt any of them we cannot expect to see many of the things which were commonly seen before we knew of his strange ways." [1]

The Seven Wise Men

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"Years ago there were seven wise men among the Indians. So great was their pride that they did not wish to associate with the common people. Because they were so wise and great, they had to find a way to conceal themselves from the people. After thinking over the matter very seriously they said, 'We will turn into rocks of odd shapes.' Now there happened to be a young man who was gifted [1] and he went out to walk on a hillside. As he walked along he noticed the seven peculiarly shaped rocks and as he stopped to look at them, one of them spoke to him. The young man recognized them at once as being the seven prophets and they conversed together. They told him not to tell where they were, but someone noticed his frequent visits to the spot, and soon they were again sought by curious people. Now they must leave the quiet hillside and go elsewhere. After a while there appeared in the forest seven stately cedar trees. More perfectly formed trees were never before seen and they were greatly admired. It was not long before someone discovered that they were the seven prophets and they again had to change their form and depart. The Creator thought that it was of no use to place them on earth as they were being constantly bothered by earthly things so he placed them in the heavens. There we see the seven stars [2] as they were placed there so long ago by the Creator."

[1] According to Wi-tapanóxwe every individual is "gifted" or has some supernatural power. In some it is developed early in life, while in other individuals it remains a latent undeveloped force.

[2] The Pleiades.

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PLANTS AND PLANT USES OF

	Botanical Name	Common Name
222	1. *Achillea millefolium*	Yarrow
262	2. *Acorus calamus*	Sweet Flag
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824	3. *Aesculus glabra*	Buckeye
	4. *Agaricus campestris*	Mushroom
	5. *Allium canadense*	Wild Onion (small)
	6. *Amaranthus retroflexus*	Pigweed
	7. *Ambrosia artemisiaefolia*	Ragweed
	8. *Anaphalis margaritacea*	Pearly-everlasting
	9. *Angelica atropurpurea*	Angelica
	10. *Apios tuberosa*	Indian Potato, Groundnut
	11. *Apocynum cannabinum*	Indian Hemp
	12. *Aralia nudicaulis*	Sarsaparilla
	13. *Arctium minus*	Burdock
	14. *Aristolochia serpentaria*	Virginia Snakeroot
	15. *Artemisia frigida*	Wild Sage
	16. *Asclepias (5 species)*	Milkweed
	17. *Asclepias tuberosa*	Butterfly Weed
	18. *Baptisia tinctoria*	False Indigo
	19. *Betula lutea*	Yellow Birch
	20. *Brassica nigra*	Black Mustard
	21. *Brauneria purpurea*	Purple Cone-flower, "Horse-hobble weed"
	22. *Carya cordiformis*	Bitternut Hickory
	23. *Carya ovata*	Shell Bark Hickory
	24. *Carya glabra*	Pignut
	25. *Castanea pumila*	Chinquapin
	26. *Cercis canadensis*	Redbud
	27. *Chimaphila umbellata*	Pipsissewa
	28. *Chrysopis mariana*	Golden Aster
	29. *Cimicifuga racemosa*	Black Snakeroot
	30. *Cirsium lanceolatum*	Bull Thistle
	31. *Cornus canadensis*	Bunchberry
	32. *Cornus florida*	Dogwood
	33. *Corylus americana*	Hazelnut
	34. *Crotolaria saggitalis*	Rattle Box
	35. *Datura stramonium*	Jimson Weed

THE OKLAHOMA DELAWARE

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Native Use	Part of Plant Used	Type of Medicine
Medicine (liver and kidneys)	Entire plant	Simple
Medicine (cold, stomach-ache, suppressed menses)	Root	Compound
Medicine (poultice; utility fish poison)	Nut pulverized	Simple
Food		
Food		
Food	Use with others as greens	
Medicine (blood poisoning preventative)	Entire plant as poultice	Simple
Medicine (tonic)	Root	Compound
Medicine (stomach)	Root	Simple
Food	Root	
Mats		
Medicine (tonic)	Root	Compound
Medicine (rheumatism)	Root	Simple
Medicine (tonic)	Root	Compound
Medicine (ceremonial)	Leaves chewed	
Medicine (epilepsy)	Root	Compound
Medicine (rheumatism, healing drink following childbirth)	Root	Simple and compound
Medicine (wash for cuts, ulcers)	Root	Simple
Medicine (cathartic)	Bark	Simple
Food	Young shoots	
Medicine (venereal disease)	Root	Simple and compound
Food	Nuts	
Food	Nuts	
Food	Nuts	
Food	Nuts	
Medicine (reduce fever, stop vomiting)	Bark	Simple
Medicine (bladder, blood purifier)	Plant	Compound
Medicine (infants, frail children)	Root	Simple
Medicine (tonic)	Root	Simple and compound
Medicine (rheumatism)	Root	Simple
Medicine (body pains)	Bark	Compound
Medicine (tonic)	Root	Compound
Food	Nuts	
Medicine (venereal disease)	Root	Simple
Medicine (poultice for cuts)	Leaves, seeds	Simple

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PLANTS AND PLANT USES OF

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Botanical Name	Common Name
36. *Daucus carota*	Wild Carrot
37. *Dentaria diphylla*	Toothwort
38. *Diospyros virginiana*	Persimmon
39. *Epipactis pubescens*	Rattlesnake Plantain
40. *Eryngium aquaticum*	Button Snake-root
41. *Eupatorium perfoliatum*	Boneset
42. *Fragaria virginiana*	Strawberry
43. *Fraxinus americana*	White Ash
44. *Gaultheria procumbens*	Wintergreen
45. *Gaylussacia baccata*	Huckleberry
46. *Gelsemium sempervirens*	Yellow Jasmine
47. *Gentiana crinita*	Fringed Gentian
48. *Gleditsia triacanthos*	Honey Locust
49. *Hedeoma pulegioides*	False Pennyroyal
50. *Helianthemium canadense*	"Frost" or "ice" weed
51. *Humulus lupulus*	Hops
52. *Hydrangea aborescens*	Sevenbark
53. *Ilex opaca*	Holly
54. *Inula helenium*	Elecampane
55. *Iris versicolor*	Blue Flag
56. *Juglans nigra*	Black Walnut
57. *Juniperus virginiana*	Red Cedar
58. *Leonurus cardiaca*	Motherwort
59. *Lobelia cardinalis*	Cardinal Flower
60. *Lophophora williamsii*	Peyote
61. *Mentha piperita*	Peppermint
62. *Mentha canadensis*	Wildmint
63. *Mitchella repens*	Partridge Berry
64. *Monarda punctata*	Horse Mint
65. *Morus nigra*	Mulberry
66. *Myrica sp.*	Bayberry
67. *Myrica asplenifolia*	Sweet Fern
68. *Nepeta cataria*	Catnip
69. *Opuntia vulgaris*	Prickly Pear
70. *Panax quinquefolium*	Ginseng

OKLAHOMA DELAWARE—Continued

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Native Use	Part of Plant Used	Type of Medicine
Medicine (diabetes)	Blossoms	Simple
Medicine (scrofula, venereal disease)	Root	Compound
Food	Fruit	
Medicine (poultice; female disorder)	Leaves	Simple and compound
Medicine (venereal disease)	Root	Compound and simple
Medicine (chills, fever)	Root	Simple
Food	Berries	
Medicine (cathartic)	Bark	Simple
Medicine (tonic)	Plant	Compound and simple
Food	Berries	
Medicine (salve)	Root	Compound
Medicine (stomach; blood purifier)	Root	Simple
Medicine (tonic)	Bark	Compound
Medicine (pain in stomach)	Leaves	Simple
Medicine (strengthening)	Plant	Simple
Medicine (nerves)	Blossoms	Simple
Medicine (gallstones)	Root	Compound
Medicine (tonic)	Root	Compound
Medicine (rheumatism; liver; kidneys)	Root	Compound
Medicine (cathartic)	Bark	Simple
Medicine (rheumatism)	Twigs	Simple
Medicine (female disorder)	Leaves	Simple
Medicine (typhoid)	Root	Simple
Medicine (consumption; periodic fits; emergency med. charm)	"Bean" or "Button"	Simple
Medicine (tonic)	Leaves	Compound
Medicine (suppressed menses)	Plant	Simple
Medicine (fever)	Plant	Simple
Medicine (cathartic)	Bark	Simple
Medicine (female generative organs)	Root	Compound
Medicine (poison ivy)	Leaves	Simple
Medicine (tonic for children)	Leaves with peach seed	
Not used		
Medicine (effective in any severe illness. Most potent med.)	Root	Simple and compound

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Botanical Name	Common Name
71. *Phytolacca americana*	Poke
72. *Pimpinella anisum*	Anise
73. *Plantago major*	Plantain
74. *Platanus occidentalis*	Plane Tree
75. *Podophyllum peltatum*	May Apple
76. *Populus sargentii*	Cottonwood
77. *Prunella vulgaris*	Heal-all
78. *Prunus americana*	Plum
79. *Prunus persica*	Peach
80. *Prunus serotina*	Wild Cherry
81. *Pyrus communis*	Pear
82. *Pyrus coronaria*	Crab Apple
83. *Pyrus malus*	Apple
84. *Quercus alba*	White Oak
85. *Quercus macrocarpa*	Bur Oak
86. *Quercus velutina*	Black Oak
87. *Quercus palustris*	Pin Oak
88. *Quercus rubra*	Red Oak
89. *Radicula nasturtium-aquaticum*	Water Cress
90. *Rhamnus caroliniana*	Buckthorn
91. *Rhus copallina*	Dwarf Sumac
92. *Rhus toxicondendron*	Poison Ivy
93. *Rhus typhina*	Staghorn Sumac
94. *Ribes rotundifolium*	Gooseberry
95. *Ribes triste*	Swamp Currant
96. *Rubus canadensis*	Thimble Berry
97. *Rubus nigrobaccus*	Blackberry
98. *Rubus villosus*	Blackberry
99. *Rubus occidentalis*	Black Raspberry
100. *Rumex acetosella*	Sheep Sorrel
101. *Rumex crispus*	Dock
102. *Rhumex obtusifolius*	Dock
103. *Salix humilis*	Prairie Willow
104. *Salix tristis*	Sage Willow, "Red Root"
105. *Sambucus canadensis*	Elder

OKLAHOMA DELAWARE—Continued

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Native Use	Part of Plant Used	Type of Medicine
Medicine (rheumatism)	Root	Simple and compound
Medicine (cathartic)	Root	Simple and compound
Medicine (poultice; also female disorder)	Leaves	Simple and compound
Medicine (colds, sore throat)	Bark	Compound
Medicine (laxative; love charm)	Root	Simple
Medicine (female disorder)	Bark	Compound and simple
Medicine (fever)	Top	
Food	Fruit	
Food	Fruit	
Medicine (tonic)	Bark, Fruit	Compound
Food	Fruit	
Food	Fruit	
Food	Fruit	
Medicine (antiseptic)	Bark	Compound
Food	Nuts	
Medicine (hoarseness)	Bark	Simple
Medicine (intestinal pains)	Bark	Simple
Medicine (hoarseness)	Bark	Compound
Root	Plant	
Medicine (cathartic)	Bark	Simple
Medicine (ceremonial tobacco mixture)	Leaves, Root	Simple
Medicine (salve)	Root	Compound
Medicine (venereal disease)	Root	Compound
Food	Berries	
Food	Berries	
Medicine (dysentery)	Vine, Berries	Compound
Berries used as food	Berries	
Food	Berries	
Food	Berries	
Food	Plant	
Food	Plant	Simple and compound
Medicine (food)	Root, Young Shoots	
Medicine (venereal disease)	Root	Compound
Medicine (womb displacement; venereal disease)	Root	Compound
Medicine (salve) (fruit edible)	Bark, Berries	Simple Simple

PLANTS AND PLANT USES OF THE

	Botanical Name	Common Name
222 262 278	106. *Sanguinaria canadensis*	Bloodroot
824	107. *Sassafras albidum*	Sassafras
	108. *Scutellaria galericulata*	Skull Cap
	109. *Smilacina racemosa*	False Spikenard
	110. *Smilacina stellata*	False Solomon's Seal
	111. *Solanum dulcamera*	Bittersweet
	112. *Solanum nigrum*	Common Nightshade
	113. *Solidago juncea*	Goldenrod
	114. *Symplocarpus foetidus*	Skunk Cabbage
	115. *Stachys palustris*	Hedge Nettle
	116. *Taraxacum officinale*	Dandelion
	117. *Tsuga canadensis*	Hemlock
	118. *Typha latifolia*	Cat-tail
	119. *Ulmus americana*	American Elm
	120. *Vaccinium pennsylvanicum*	Lowbush Blueberry
	121. *Vaccinium corymbosum*	Highbush Blueberry
	122. *Verbascum thapsus*	Great Mullein
	123. *Verbena hastata*	Blue Vervain
	124. *Viburnum prunifolium*	Black Haw
	125. *Vitis* (various sp.)	Wild Grape
	126. *Vitis rupestris*	Wild Grape
	127. *Vitis vulpina*	Wild Grape
	128. *Xanthoxylum americanum*	Prickly Ash
	129. *Zea Mays*	Corn
	130. *Zea Mays identata*	Dent Corn
	131. *Zea Mays indurata*	Flint Corn
	132. *Zea Mays amylacea*	Flour Corn
	133. *Zea Mays saccharata*	Sweetcorn
	134. *Zea Mays everta*	Popcorn

OKLAHOMA DELAWARE—Concluded

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Native Use	Part of Plant Used	Type of Medicine
Medicine (tonic) ceremonial paint	Root	Simple and compound
Medicine (tonic)	Bark	Compound
Medicine (laxative)	Top	Simple
Medicine (tonic)	Root	Compound
Medicine (venereal disease, scrofula)	Root	Compound and simple
Medicine (fever, also in salve)	Root	Compound
Medicine (venereal disease)	Root	Compound
Medicine (diarrhea, fever)	Leaves (tea or chewed)	Simple
Medicine (whooping cough, fits, poultice)	Root, Leaves	Simple
Medicine (venereal disease)	Root	Compound
Medicine (tonic, laxative, food)	Root, Plant	Compound and simple
Medicine (herbal steam)	Twigs	Simple
Medicine (gravel in kidneys)	Root	Simple
Medicine (coughs, colds)	Bark	Simple
Food	Berries	
Food	Berries	
Medicine (rheumatism, colds)	Leaves	
Medicine (chills)	Root	Compound
Medicine (female generative organs)	Root	Compound
Food	Fruit	
Medicine (increase fertility)	Vine	Compound
Medicine (leucorrhea)	Juice from vine	Simple
Medicine (tonic, heart)	Bark	Simple and compound
Food		
Food		
Food		
Food		
Food		
Food		

PLANTS AND PLANT USES OF THE DELAWARE

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Botanical Name	Common Name
1. *Acorus calamus*	Sweet Flag
2. *Arctium minus*	Burdock
3. *Celastrus scandens*	Climbing Bittersweet
4. *Eupatorium perfoliatum*	Boneset
5. *Carya alba*	Hickory
6. *Inula helenium*	Elecampane
7. *Juniperus communis*	Juniper
8. *Nepeta cataria*	Catnip
9. *Ostrya virginiana*	Hop Hornbeam
10. *Pinus strobus*	White Pine
11. *Plantago major*	Plantain
12. *Populus tremuloides*	Aspen
13. *Prunus serotina*	Wild Cherry
14. *Quercus alba*	White Oak
15. *Quercus muhlenbergii*	Yellow Oak
16. *Rhus typhina*	Staghorn Sumac
17. *Roripa amoracia*	Horseradish
18. *Sanguinaria canadensis*	Bloodroot
19. *Tanacetum vulgare*	Tansy
20. *Verbascum thapsus*	Great Mullein
21. *Virburnum lentago*	Nanny-berry

MUNSEE, SIX NATIONS RESERVE, ONTARIO

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Native Use	Part of Plant Used	Type of Medicine
Medicine (colds)	Root scraped	
Medicine (blood purifier, poultice)	Root, Leaves	
Medicine (consumption)	Root	
Medicine (stomach)	Leaves	
Medicine (tonic, general debility, female disorder)	Bark	Compound
Medicine (colds)	Bark	Compound
Medicine (tonic, female weakness)	Bark	Compound
Medicine (infants)	Leaves	Simple
Medicine (tonic, general debility, female weakness)	Root	Compound
Medicine (kidneys, pulmonary boils)	Twigs, pitch	Simple
Medicine (bruises)	Leaves as poultice	Simple
Medicine (colds)	Bark	Compound
Medicine (tonic)	Bark	Compound
Medicine (tonic)	Bark	Compound
Medicine (to stop vomiting)	Bark, pour water in	Simple
Medicine (diarrhea)	Berries	
Medicine (neuralgia)	Leaves	
Medicine (to stop vomiting)	Root powdered	Compound and simple
Medicine (stomach)	Plant	
Medicine (pain, swelling)	Leaves as poultice	Simple
Medicine (measles)	Leaves	Simple

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PLANTS USED BY THE NANTICOKE OF

	Botanical Name	Common Name
222 278 824	1. *Acorus calamus*	Sweet Flag, "Muskrat-root"
	2. *Arctium minus*	Burdock
	3. *Aristolochia serpentaria*	Virginia Snakeroot
	4. *Baptisia tinctoria*	False Indigo
	5. *Chimaphila maculata*	Pipsissewa
	6. *Eupatorium perfoliatum*	Boneset
	7. *Hedeoma pulegioides*	False Pennyroyal
	8. *Hepatica americana*	Hepatica
	9. *Impatiens biflora*	Jewel-weed
	10. *Leiophyllum buxifolium*	Sand Myrtle
	11. *Monarda punctata*	Horsemint
	12. *Opuntia vulgaris*	Prickly Pear
[262 853]	13. *Peltandra virginica*	Arrowroot
	14. *Pinus echinata*	Yellow Pine
	15. *Populus deltoidea*	Poplar
	16. *Symplocarpus foetidus*	Skunk Cabbage
	17. *Tanacetum vulgare*	Tansy
	18. *Thymus serphyllum*	Wild Thyme
	19. *Verbascum thapsus*	Great Mullein
	*20. *Sassafras sassafras*	Sassafras
	*21. *Asclepias tuberosa*	Milkweed, "Frog's milk"
[262]	*22. *Grossularia* sp.	Wild Gooseberry, "Devil's-berry"
	*23. Sp.?	"Fish Weed"
	*24. Sp.?	"King Cole Oil Weed"

* Reproduced from Speck, 1915, p. 32.

INDIAN RIVER, SUSSEX CO., DELAWARE

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Use	Part Used
Medicine (colic)	Root
Medicine (boils)	Leaves
Medicine (vermifuge)	Root
Medicine (sprains)	Plant
Medicine (ague)	Plant
Medicine (chills and fever)	Plant
Medicine (sudorific)	Plant
Medicine (chills)	First petals chewed to prevent chills
Medicine (burns)	Plant steeped for tea; leaves used as poultice
Medicine (tonic)	Berries
Medicine (colds)	Plant
Medicine (warts)	Rub pear juice on wart
Fed to babies	Root grated
Medicine (cathartic)	Pellets of pine pitch
Medicine (sprains)	Bark
Medicine (colds)	Leaves
Medicine (sudorific)	Plant
Medicine (chills, fever)	Plant
Medicine (poultice for fever)	Leaves dipped in vinegar and bound on back of neck, forehead, wrists, and soles of feet
Medicine (fever, ague)	Roots
None	None
Food	Berries
Medicine (vermifuge)	Leaves chewed
Poultices	Leaves and stems

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Number 1

Berkeley, California

May, 1950

[Title Page]

A RECONSTRUCTION OF ABORIGINAL DELAWARE CULTURE FROM CONTEMPORARY SOURCES

Mary W. Herman

INTRODUCTION

Because of the early date at which the east coast tribes came into contact with Europeans and the scarcity of records which in most cases remain from that period, little is known about the culture of those tribes. It is therefore particularly fortunate that several early accounts of Delaware culture have been preserved, making possible a fairly complete and reliable reconstruction of at least one culture from this general area.

Information regarding the culture of the Delaware Indians at the time of contact with European civilizations is limited to records written by Europeans during the seventeenth century, and to a limited extent, those written during the eighteenth century when recollections of earlier days were still reasonably fresh and reliable. The reconstruction of a culture from such sources requires more than a mere compilation of material as there is much of a contradictory and obscure nature contained in the records. The following paper represents a systematization and critical analysis of the material in an effort to present as full and accurate a picture of the culture as the facts allow.

The two most important sources of Delaware ethnography in the early contact period are William Penn and Peter Lindstrom. Lindstrom was born in Stockholm in 1632. He studied at the University of Upsala where he specialized in mathematics and the arts of fortification. He came to the Swedish colony in the New World in 1653 under the unofficial sponsorship of the Swedish government, with the rank of an officer but with no salary. Later he became Engineer and Clerk of Court, and his duties in that position consisted in traveling throughout New Sweden making maps and sketches. In this way, he had excellent opportunities for observing the natives, who were still within close range of the Swedish settlements. Lindstrom left New Sweden in 1655. Although he did not write his Geographia until 1691, its close similarity to the report which he gave to the Swedish Crown shortly after his return has led Amandus Johnson to the opinion that he had made substantial notes at the time he was in this country. His work where it represents the actual observations of the author appears to be completely trustworthy, in spite of the fact that many of his premises and interpretations would be unacceptable today (Lindstrom, introd. by Johnson).

William Penn first arrived in America in 1682. Shortly after his arrival, he made an extensive tour of his dominions and dealt

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with the natives, primarily in matters concerned with land sales. It was shortly after his return from this trip that he wrote his "Letter to the Free Society of Traders" (contained in Penn, 1937), which is his most complete sketch of native life. It is probably based on secondhand knowledge as well as that gained directly from the natives, but the information found in it agrees well with that in Lindstrom and other shorter statements of the same period. The book which I have cited contains not only this main source of information but several letters from him which add a few details.

Other sources of seventeenth century Delaware life worthy of mention are Danckaerts, Kalm, Pastorius, and the Swedish writers whose observations have been summarized in Johnson. Danckaerts was in the New World for two years in 1678-80 and left a journal of his travels through Pennsylvania and New York which contains scattered references to Lenape culture. By far the most important observations he made were those concerning Delaware religion and beliefs on cosmology. These observations were based on single interviews with two Indians.

Kalm was sent to America by the Swedish Academy of Sciences in 1747 to discover what plants grown in the New World could be usefully grown in Sweden. He had been a pupil of Carl von Linné and had made scientific trips in Sweden, Finland and Russia prior to this trip (Kalm, 1937, introd. by Benson). His journal, which covers the years 1748-51, is of value primarily for its indications of changes which had already taken place in Lenape culture since contact and for additions to our knowledge of the material culture and foods of the Delaware of an earlier time.

Daniel Pastorius was a lawyer and a Pietist, one of the sects to which Penn had particularly directed his appeal for colonists. In 1683 Pastorius purchased 15,000 acres of land in the present area of Philadelphia as agent for a Frankfort group of Pietists. He arrived in Pennsylvania where he founded and became justice of the peace, schoolmaster and scrivener of Germantown (Myers, 1912, introd. to Pastorius, p. 355). Although he does not appear to have traveled much outside of this area, the Indians made frequent visits to Philadelphia and it appears that he had some first-hand contact with them. Much of his material on the other hand is probably second-hand.

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Eighteenth century sources are much more complete than those we have just mentioned and show greater understanding of the inner workings of Delaware culture. This is possible because the Moravian missionaries actually lived among the Indians-in the case of our two best sources, David Zeisberger and John Heckewelder for many years.

David Zeisberger was born in Moravia in 1721 of parents associated with the Church of the Bohemian Brethren. His parents fled to Saxony and then America to escape the persecution which this sect was then experiencing. Zeisberger was left in Saxony to complete his education

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but joined his parents in the New World at seventeen. He learned the Mohawk language at a missionary school in Bethelehem and shortly after that began his life with the Indians which, with only short trips to the civilized world, lasted sixty-two years. It should be noted here that Heckewelder, Zeisberger and many of the other Moravian missionaries learned the languages of the Indians with whom they were working. Zeisberger, unlike his fellow missionary John Heckewelder, was not what I would call sympathetic to Indian culture, but by reason of his sincerity and devotion to his religion was very successful among the Delavare and made many staunch friends in the course of his work (Zeisberger, 1910, introd.). His understanding of Delaware religion was perhaps the greatest weakness in his whole work, but even in this aspect of life he could not help but obtain some facts about the outward forms. De Schweinitz's work makes some useful additions to Zeisberger's History of the Northern American Indians, as he has utilized in addition to that work Zeisberger's correspondence with the mission board, journals and reports of special occurrences.

John Heckewelder was born in 1743 at Bedford, England of a family associated with the Brethren. He was taken to Bethlehem, Pennsylvania at the age of eleven when his father became director of the Moravian colony there. Before he became a missionary in 1771, he had had some experience as a messenger for the society, but had supported himself as a cedar cooper. He was a missionary to the Delaware for fifteen years during the period of the Revolutionary War and the Indian War which followed it (Heckewelder, 1881, introd.). Heckewelder was very partisan to the Delaware and idealized their institutions and history. His statements of fact based on actual observation, however, agree with those of Zeisberger and other observers of the same period.

Loskiel's account of the Delaware and Iroquois is based on the journals kept by all the Moravian missionaries. Since most of these journals are unavailable it has a use in spite of being a secondary source. Its value is lessened by the fact, however, that the great bulk of the material appears to have been taken from Zeisberger's History which is available. One other source of the Moravian missionaries' accounts is that edited by Gipson. This volume contains not only the account of the Moravian mission on White River, but selections from the autobiography of Abraham Luckenbach. The latter is particularly valuable as the writer appears to have been a more objective observer and more concerned with the Indians' culture than most of the other missionaries. His account of the Delaware is limited to the years 1800-1806.

Two missionaries of the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge (a Scotch organization) have also left some written observations on Delaware life. David Brainerd became a missionary for the society in 1744, working among the heterogeneous Indians of the Forks of the Delaware River and with a congregation of Delaware at Crossweeking, New Jersey (Edwards, 1798). His work is so introspective that it

114 contains few observations on Indian culture, but there are some very
797 good comments on Delaware religion. Since both Zeisberger and Heckewelder neglected this aspect of Delaware culture, Brainerd's really keen insights on this subject are of great value.

Charles Beatty was in contact with the Delaware for only a few weeks when he visited them in Ohio to see whether they would be interested in having a mission established there. This visit to a Delaware town on the Muskingum was made in 1766 and from it we have a good description of the town and the manner in which the council operated (Beatty, 1798).

114 George Brickell and Christian Fast were captives of the Delaware who were made members of families of the tribe. Brickell's account is by far more valuable, giving insight into the division of labor and the manner of rearing children in the late eighteenth century.

Another source of early material culture are the archaeological reports such as those of Abbot, Butler, Heye, and Skinner. Skinner and Harrington have also used the results of archaeology in other of their reports.

For purposes of my reconstruction, the descriptions of Delaware culture by ethnographers were not useable because they had combined material gained from different periods of time. Brinton, the earliest anthropologist to write at length about the Delaware, had other grave faults. In the first place, his conceptions of the universality of certain traits, particularly in the field of religion, led him to ascribe these traits to the Delaware without sufficient evidence. One example of this is his treatment of the Delaware culture hero. Secondly, I have differed with him on several points where the main problem was one of evaluation of the sources. In spite of his unreliability, however, Brinton was of use because he had utilized many old writers whom subsequent students had overlooked or known only through Brinton's writings.

Skinner's work is of value as a consolidation of the most important sources available, but presents a somewhat too generalized picture because he has assumed both that seventeenth and eighteenth Delaware culture and that Delaware and neighboring cultures were essentially the same. Harrington has presented the most complete picture of Delaware culture, but has included many details gained from later writers and his own field research in Oklahoma and Ontario, which cannot be demonstrated to have been part of aboriginal Delaware culture. Speck's published work on the Delaware is almost wholly restricted to the fields of religion and ceremony. His observations on the functioning of Delaware religion, although based largely on later periods, threw much light on the earlier material to which I had restricted myself. The views on the aboriginal social structure in Anthony Wallace's short sketch of

Delaware culture contained in his study of Teedyuhung proved particularly stimulating. His analysis of the Walking Purchase controversy is also the best I have found. 114

In using these documents it was found that when the statements made represented actual observations of the author, they were usually correct and could be checked with other sources. At times the authors specifically mentioned which statements were based on their own experience, and when they did not, this could sometimes be determined by the nature of the fact being related. A lot of the material, on the other hand, probably represents second-hand information. Except for statements which patently represented preconceptions of the author, however, the material gathered from the various sources proved consistent and, in most cases, capable of being checked. In addition to the precautions observed in using the earlier material, special care was taken in the use of these later writers not to assume as aboriginal customs for which there was no evidence in earlier writers.

The entire bibliography has been utilized in the present paper and represents as complete a list of the seventeenth and eighteenth century writings on Delaware ethnography as I have been able to find, but important papers based on the memories of nineteenth and twentieth century reservation Indians have been omitted. The only other work which contains anything like a thorough survey of historical sources on Delaware culture is Regina Flannery's check list of certain traits of coastal Algonkian culture (Flannery, 1939).

The Delaware of Lenape were a large, east coast tribe composed of numerous bands, the names of about twenty-five of which have been preserved. They spoke an Algonkian language related to those of tribes extending north to New England and south to Georgia. Their numbers, which have been estimated at about 8000, spread over a territory bounded on the east coast by Delaware Bay and Manhattan Island, in western Pennsylvania by the Schuylkill River, and in New York by the west bank of the Hudson River north to Kingston. In terms of the present states, this territory comprises eastern Pennsylvania, the northern coast of Delaware, all of New Jersey and a small portion of southeastern New York including Staten Island. On their west were the Susquehannock and the Iroquois. Throughout the seventeenth century the Delaware were frequently at war with the Mohawk, Susquehannock and Cherokee. By the beginning of the eighteenth century the Delaware had been pushed from their coastal position to the Susquehanna River, and in the subsequent century were driven farther to the west in Pennsylvani, Ohio and Indiana by the expanding white frontier. During this time they continued to support themselves and maintain a society socially and politically separate from that of the European colonies in America. At the end of the eighteenth century, however, they became split into small bands which affiliated with many different tribes in subsequent migrations to the south and west. A large part of the

131 [101] [197] [161]

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131 177 Delaware tribe was gathered together on a reservation in Kansas in 1835 and from there removed to their present location in Oklahoma, where they are politically incorporated in the Cherokee nation. Other Delaware, most of whom belonged to the Munsee division and were converted by Moravian missionaries in the eighteenth century, are now located in Ontario.

DELAWARE CULTURE

128 The method of presentation which has been followed is to place the authorities for each statement immediately after it. For the most part, traits for which there is no evidence in earlier sources have been omitted, but where this leaves a large gap in the picture of the culture, sections based purely on eighteenth century sources have been inserted. The material has been divided into three main aspects, and proceeds from a consideration of economic life, to social organization and religion.

Means of Procuring Food

226 [262] For the tribes living on the east coast, fishing was probably the most important means of getting food, judging from the relative amounts of shells and animal bones found in ancient sites (Skinner, 1915, p. 7). Oysters, clams, mussels and scallops were widely utilized as well as rockfish, shad, herring, sturgeon and gar fish which were found plentifully in those waters (Abbott, 1875, p. 278; Skinner, 1909, p. 46).

[227] According to Lindstrom, the Indians caught fish by building a dam across a stream near its source or at a waterfall. When the river rose, the last small opening was closed in the dam and the water allowed to flow over it, leaving the fish in shallow water at low tide. They were then either taken by hand or shot with bow and arrow (sic). The latter method was also used in deep water (Lindstrom, 1915, pp. 219-220). Other writers report the use of hemp nets, and a number of stone sinkers have been found in archaeological sites. Rude seines of matted leaves and twigs are mentioned as well as fishing spears (Abbott, 1875, pp. 278 and 361; Heye, p. 70; Skinner, 1915, pp. 7 and 10; Harrington, 1913, p. 222).

224 The Delaware's hunting was done both cooperatively and individually. Early Swedish writers have described one cooperative method in which deer were surrounded either by a ring of men or by a ring of fire, and driven toward the center where they were shot with bow and arrow. Sometimes they were driven into a river where they were lassoed (Johnson, p. 281; Lindstrom, p. 214). According to a later writer, these hunting parties had a leader and were governed by definite rules, but there is no direct evidence for this in pre-contact times (Loskiel, p. 77). These organized hunt took place in the fall, but hunting itself was a year round occupation

(Lindstrom, p. 215). Men went by themselves or took their families to the woods for periods of several days or weeks. In addition to their dependence on a steady aim with bow and arrow, they attempted to attract the animals by the use of charms and imitations of their calls (Harrington, 1913, pp. 221-22; Loskiel, p. 77). Loskiel, in the eighteenth century, also mentions the practice of chasing wounded deer for long distances if they did not fall on the first shot, but this cannot be documented by earlier accounts (Loskiel, p. 76). 224

Early Swedish writers noted that turkeys and other birds, deer, beavers and other small animals were snared (the twitchup is the only type of snare specifically mentioned) and beavers were sometimes killed with a lance (Johnson, p. 281). Pigeons might be killed by cutting all sides of a tree used as a roost, then toppling it when the birds alighted (Lindstrom, pp. 216-17). 224 223

Remnants of the Delaware's hunting equipment are found abundantly in their old haunts. Stone arrow points and lance heads are particularly numerous, but antler points are found in smaller quantities (Abbott, 1875, p. 269; Skinner, 1915, p. 10; Smith, p. 139; Kalm, p. 230). Stone axes suitable for crushing bones or shells, and knives suitable for skinning and cutting up the meat are also found in abundance (Abbott, 1875, pp. 264 and 303; Skinner, 1909, pp. 18-20; Kalm, p. 230; Heye, p. 71). 224 412 411

Even the earliest writers were aware to some extent of the reverence in which Delaware hunters held the provider of their sustenance. Lindstrom and Penn mention that the first catch of the season was eaten at a special feast accompanied by singing and dancing. All that was not eaten was burned, and on no account was any part sold (Lindstrom, pp. 214-15; Penn, p. 38). Boys did not begin hunting until about fifteen years of age, sometimes starting as the result of success in obtaining a guardian spirit through a vision. It was believed that the youth would be able to catch all that he desired on the day after such a vision (Lindstrom, p. 208). 224 [787]

The women's main contribution to the food supply lay in agriculture. Without doubt the most important crop was maize, of which the Delaware had several varieties[2] (De Rasieres, p. 107; Johnson, p. 279; Kalm, p. 74; Lindstrom, p. 223). To get some impression of the amount of maize grown, we may note that Krieger, commander in an expedition against one band of New Jersey Delaware in 1663, says that he cut down 215 acres of maize and burned more than 100 pits of corn and beans (Krieger, p. 39). There are also ample references to the cultivations of beans, squash (including pumpkins) and tobacco[3] (Harrington, 1913, p. 221; Johnson, p. 279; Kalm, p. 74). 241

Since the Delaware had no axe adequate to cut down a tree of any considerable size, they cleared their fields by seriously bruising the bark of the trees, thereby killing them. In this operation they [313 412]

241 used grooved axes hafted by tying the head between the ends of a split stick (Kalm, p. 229). The trees were then removed by burning (Johnson, p. 279; Harrington, 1913, p. 221; Kalm, p. 230). Zeisberger was told by his Indian acquaintances that, before they had metal tools, they also burned their wood into suitable lengths for use (Zeisberger, 1910, p. 29). After being cleared of rubbish and stones, [412] the land was broken up with a hoe made of stone, tortoise shell, or the shoulder blade of a deer, attached to a short handle (Johnson, p. 279; Skinner, 1909, p. 42; Abbott, 1875, pp. 350 and 356; Loskiel, p. 67; Beaver, p. 47). The earth was piled into little hills in which five or six grains of maize were planted about April. In the middle of May when the maize was the "height of a finger", they planted in each heap three or four "Turkish beans,"[4] which then grew up with and were supported by the maize. Maize was a plant that needed frequent weeding and hoeing (De Rasieres, p. 107; Johnson, p. 279; Harrington, 1913, p. 221).

242 There is no mention of the use of any kind of fertilizer by the Delaware, and early Swedish writers note that, "When a tract had been cultivated until crops would no longer grow, it was deserted and a new plantation prepared" (Johnson, p. 279). Therefore, in the present case there appears to be at least presumptive evidence for lack of fertilizing techniques.

227 In addition to the above-mentioned means of obtaining food, the
262 Delaware Indians gathered various wild berries, nuts, fruits, and roots. Although many of the early references tend to be generic, one gathers that strawberries, gooseberries, huckleberries or billberries, cranberries and grapes were among the chief fruits used (Loskiel, pp. 68-69; Kalm, p. 261; Skinner, 1909, p. 43; Waugh, pp. 127-28), and the butternut, walnut, chestnut and hickory the most important nuts (Loskiel, pp. 70-71; Lindstrom, p. 223; Waugh, p. 123). In addition, Kalm found that early Swedish residents of New Jersey remembered the Indians having used Hopnies or ground nut (Glycine apios), Katniss (Sagittaria sagittifolia) and Taw-Ho (Arum virginicum).[5] [252] This last was reputed to be poisonous in a raw state and so was placed in a hole covered with earth where it was cooked by a fire burning on top. They also boiled and ate the seeds of the Golden Club or Taw-Hee (Orontium aquaticum) (Kalm, pp. 260-61). The use of roots is referred to by other authors although the terms used vary (Brinton, 1885, p. 30; Johnson, p. 281; Lindstrom, p. 223; Skinner, 1909, p. 43).

262 Although there are no specific references to the making of maple syrup in early sources, all the later observers found maple sugar boiling an important activity and the properties of the maple were generally known and utilized on the east coast. It seems impossible that all the early writers would have overlooked the use of maple sap if it had been as important as it later became, but none of my sources mention it.

Food Preservation and Cooking

Passing to the problem of food preservation, we find that such crops as maize, tobacco and meat were most commonly stored in pits covered over first with bark or grass and then with earth (Lindstrom, p. 253; Johnson, p. 279; Krieger, p. 39; De Rasieres, p. 107). The house was also an important storage place, the food being placed in hemp bags and suspended from the ceiling (Johnson, p. 279; Harrington, 1913, p. 218; Heckewelder, 1820, p. 370). 251

Maize was used in a variety of ways. According to one author, those stalks that produced no ears were pulled early and the sap sucked from them (De Rasieres, p.107). The ears were either roasted in ashes or boiled. Most of the maize, however, seems to have been pounded or ground into flour and sifted through a basket of the desired coarseness. The finer flour was mixed with lukewarm water, kneaded into dough and made into round, flat little cakes which were baked in hot ashes. The coarser flour was made into porridge (i.e. boiled with water) to which nuts, beans, berries, pumpkin or meat were sometimes added (Penn, pp. 31-32; Lindstrom, p. 254; De Rasieres, p. 107; Danckhaerts, p. 159; Johnson, p. 281; Heckewelder, 1781, pp. 194-96; Loskiel, p. 67). Indeed, there seems to have been almost endless variety in the preparation of these cornflour dishes. 252

The other vegetables were most commonly eaten boiled and, it should be noted, without seasoning except ashes, as the Delaware did not use salt (Pastorius, 1700, p. 384; Danckaerts, p. 159; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 194; Lindstrom, p. 254). Water was probably the most important beverage known to the Delaware at this time, but fruit juices and water flavored with crushed walnuts or hickory nuts are reported (Johnson, p. 281; Loskiel, p. 74; Kalm, p. 269). Tobacco was always mixed with willow bark or sumac for smoking (Loskiel, p. 73; Speck, 1931, p. 127). [263] 272 276

Manufactures

A wide variety of materials was utilized for cooking equipment. Serving dishes were made of wood, bark, shell, or a cut-off calabash; spoons were of wood or suitably shaped shells. Cups of tortoise shell have also been found (Johnson, p. 281; Harrington, 1913, p. 223; Danckaerts, p. 159; Lindstrom, p. 255; Pastorius, 1700, p. 384; Skinner, 1915, p. 38). Pottery, which was used for boiling, is found abundantly in Lenape territory. It was made of clay mixed with pounded sea shells, mica or sand and various combinations of these ingredients. The technique used was coiling. Designs consisted of lines and dots, stamped or incised on the vessel. Broken or cracked pieces were mended by lacing through holes bored on either side of the defect (Skinner, 1915, pp. 12 and 13; Heye, pp. 62-66; Abbott, 1875, p. 345; Smith, p. 138; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 29). 415 323

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262 Flour was either ground between two stones or pounded in a
[412] mortar and pestle by the Delaware. The mortar was usually a hollowed tree trunk, the pestle a suitably shaped stone (Smith, p. 138; Lindstrom, pp. 253-54; Abbott, 1875, p. 357; Kalm, p. 230).

276 Stone pottery and clay pipes have been uncovered on archae-
[323] ological sites. Lindstrom describes the Lenape pipes as beautifully
324 painted and glazed with birds and animals on the head. He says there are some "...an ell in length, which are screwed together with leather,...and in these pipe-heads will go a handful of tobacco" (Lindstrom, p. 197). These were presumably of European manufacture. The pipes which have been recovered from old sites are of a much humbler variety (Abbott, 1875, pp. 343-44; Skinner, 1909, p. 27; Butler, p. 249). This apparent inconsistency can be readily explained, however, by assuming that Lindstrom was referring to the calumets or peace pipes, which were relatively rare and would be likely to have been carried west by the owners when they moved (Kalm, pp. 231-32).

285 Some household items manufactured by the Delaware women were
[283] mats, ropes and baskets made from wild hemp, spruce roots, corn husks and rushes. The mats, which were sometimes painted or had figures worked in or over the weave, were hung on the walls for increased protection against the elements as well as to beautify the house (Smith, p. 138; Lindstrom, p. 221; Harrington, 1913, p. 224). They were also used as part of the bedding together with the skin or
287 turkey-feather robes which served as clothing during the day (Johnson, p. 280; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 203). The turkey-feather robes deserve special attention as they were evidently one of the most distinctive and beautiful of the Delaware's manufactures. Lindstrom says: "They also make fine and beautiful quilts of painted bird feathers. In the first place they tie them with meshes like nets, yet very fine; then they fasten the feathers in the meshes, so neat and strong that not one feather can come loose from it..." (Lindstrom, pp. 221-22). When there was a "bed," it consisted of a wooden
352 shelf running around the interior wall of the house and serving as a seat by day (Harrington, 1913, p. 218; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 17; Skinner, 1915, p. 7).

342 The most common type of Delaware house was a small hut consisting of a rectangular, gabled frame of saplings covered with bark or mats. Penn describes their houses thus: "Their Houses are Mats, or Bark of Trees set on Poles, in the fashion of an English Barn, but out of the power of the Winds, for they are hardly higher than a Man..." (Penn, p. 31). Some Delaware, however, constructed a house large enough to accommodate several families, the increase in size all deriving from greater length. The result was not unlike an Iroquois longhouse.[6] In the center of the house was one or more fires depending on the length of the building, and the ridge of the roof was arranged with an opening through which the smoke could

escape. In the summer and on trips shelter was not considered necessary (Johnson, p. 281; Lindstrom, p. 211). Most villages also contained a "Big House" which served as a place for religious assemblies and council meetings, but both of these functions were sometimes performed outdoors or in the chief's house.

As aids to transportation the Delaware used the carrying straps, pack baskets (used by both men and women) and canoes. Their bark canoes were of birch or chestnut. They also used a dugout made by first burning a suitable log and then scraping the charred portions out with sharp stones and shells (Johnson, p. 280). Vessels capable of ocean travel were constructed by fastening two large dugout canoes together and using mats for sails.[7] In these, journeys were made as far as New England and Virginia (Johnson, p. 280; Lindstrom, p. 237).

Nineteenth century writers were of the opinion that the Lenape used large amounts of copper and perhaps even worked it themselves (Brinton, 1885, p. 52; Abbott, 1885, pp. 774-77). More recent evidence, however, indicates that copper was not abundantly used, the most common form in which it is found being tubular beads, and that it was received solely in trade (Skinner, 1909, p. 28).

Clothing

The clothing of the Indian men consisted in summer of a leather girdle from which hung a flap of leather.[8] At this time of year the Delaware frequently went without footwear (Pastorius, 1700, p. 384; 1698, p. 433; Danckaerts, pp. 169 and 280; Lindstrom, pp. 191-92 and 197). The women's dress consisted of a square piece of leather fringed at the bottom which was bound around the waist as a short skirt (Skinner, 1915, p. 5; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 29). In winter, both sexes added leather leggings, moccasins and robes of animal skins or turkey feathers to this costume. Apparently the skins of bear, deer and raccoon were most commonly used for clothing. All of the clothing was decorated with colored designs of dyed porcupine quills or wampum (Pastorius, 1698, p. 433; Johnson, p. 280; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 202; Skinner, 1915, pp. 3 and 5).

Both sexes decorated themselves with numerous ornaments, the women, however, outdoing the men. Wampum was hung in chains around the neck and from the ears, and woven in bands which were worn around the head, sometimes with a single feather set in them (Pastorius, 1698, p. 434; Lindstrom, p. 196). Around the neck were also worn necklaces of dyed deer hair and native copper, stone and shell pendants and breast plates (Abbott, 1875, p. 327; Heye, pp. 32-42). In addition, men were seldom without their pipe, tobacco pouch and bag of food also hung about the neck (Lindstrom, p. 197). For festive occasions the ornamentation was greatly increased and face paint of various designs added. Hair and skin shining with bear grease was

302 also considered a mark of beauty (Lindstrom, pp. 193, 194, and 196; Pastorius, 1698, p. 433).

The Delaware women had the distinctive custom of wearing their hair in a large bun at the back rather than in braids. Men plucked all body hair and that of the head except for one tuft which was allowed to grow long (Smith, p. 137; Harrington, 1913, p. 220; Pastorius, 1700, p. 384; Lindstrom, pp. 195 and 200). Men were
301 permitted to tattoo themselves as marks of distinction, the designs
304 suggesting the deed which they commemorated. The operation was performed by breaking the skin in the desired pattern with a flint knife or sharp fish tooth. When the blood had been drawn, a powder of burned poplar bark was laid in the wound. Apparently the tattoo lasted a lifetime (Heckewelder, 1881, p. 206).

291 Children were allowed to go about with little or no clothing until
302 eight or ten years of age, being protected from the sun by a liberal coating of bear grease (Johnson, p. 280; Pastorius, 1700, p. 384).

Family Organization and Customs

843 Starting at the beginning of life, we find that the birth process was accompanied by certain special customs. Penn says that "...when with Child, they [the women] know their Husbands no more, till delivered..." (Penn, p. 33). Harrington tells us that a prospective father who had bad luck at hunting attributed it to the spirit of his child playing about and scaring the game away. He would accordingly wear a miniature bow and arrow to keep the child's spirit amused while he hunted, or if this did not work he would try a small mortar and pestle assuming that the baby was a girl (1913, p. 212).

844 Birth itself occurred in the small hut which was also used during
[841] menstrual periods. The child was immediately immersed in water, then wrapped in a skin and bound to a cradle board. This was softened with a moss covering and had curved side pieces. The child stayed in the
854 cradleboard most of the time until it could walk (Pastorius, 1698,
482 p.434; Penn, pp.29-30; Lindstrom, p.201). Then, when it had to be carried, it was placed in a blanket and carried on the mother's back (Lindstrom, p.201).

861 Almost all of the writers were impressed with the quiet and respectful behavior of Delaware children. Only later writers, however, had much to say about the means used to educate them. These writers noted that children, especially the boys, seldom were punished (Brickell, p.47; Zeisberger, 1870, p.86). Brickell, who was brought up by a Delaware family, says that honesty, bravery and hospitality were cardinal virtues with them and that much of the training received was directed toward developing these virtues (pp.47-48). Also, of course, boys were taught woodcraft, fishing
[868] and hunting, and girls were taught the household duties including the care of the younger children.

the care of the younger children. Although physical punishment was seldom resorted to, exhortation and explanation were commonly used. One mythical story which was evidently used as a threat was that of the great naked bear. This was a creature, larger than most bears and naked except for a white spot. The only way to kill it was to break its back as its heart was so small that an arrow would seldom find it. The last of the species was reputed to have been killed on the east side of the Hudson River, but before that time it was said that recalcitrant children were particularly likely to be its victims (Heckewelder, 1799, pp.260-62).

A boy's life was not burdened with many chores until he was twelve or older, his time being spent in fishing and playing (Penn, p.30; Pastorius, 1698, p.434; Zeisberger, 1870, p.86; Harrington, 1913, p.213). When he reached this age, it was desirable for him to have a vision and receive a guardian spirit (Lindstrom, p.207). To promote this, the parents mistreated him, fed him sparingly and finally drove him into the woods. It was felt that this would cause a spirit to feel sorry for the boy and present itself to him.9 The nature of the vision which a youth had was sometimes taken as a sign of his future profession, and training in such a case would start immediately to prepare the boy to become a shaman or warrior as the case might be (Harrington, 1913, pp. 214-15; Zeisberger, 1910, p.101). At about fifteen the boys began hunting and at this they had to become proficient before considering marriage.

The girls stayed with their mothers and began helping to hoe the ground, plant corn and carry burdens as soon as they were able (Penn, p.30; Zeisberger, 1870, p.87). At a girl's first menstruation she went to a small hut some distance from the house where she stayed at least seven days. Here meals were brought to her by her mother or an old woman-friend, but she could not be touched. She used a sharpened stick in eating to prevent the food from touching her hands. At the end of her seclusion, the girl washed herself and all her clothing and dishes before returning home. She was then considered ready for marriage (Penn, pp.33-4; Beatty, p.43; Brickell, p.49; Harrington, 1913, p.215).

Marriage

"When the Young Women are fit for Marriage, they wear something upon their Heads for an Advertisement, but so as their Faces are hardly to be seen..."(Penn, p.31). Other descriptions tell us that this covering was made of worked mats decorated with alternate rows of white and black wampum and was worn pulled down to the middle of the forehead (Smith, p.138; Zeisberger, 1910, p.77). Girls married between the ages of thirteen and fourteen; boys, at seventeen or eighteen (Penn, p.31). According to Zeisberger, the Delaware had the tradition that individuals must always marry outside the local group, but no seventeenth century writer has commented on this point (Zeisberger, 1910, p.78).

584 Marriage arrangements were always simple, but it was definitely considered better form for the negotiations to take place between the two sets of parents rather than between the individuals concerned. In this type of negotiation, the man's mother took animal food which he had killed to the girl's mother; according to some sources, a [431] return gift was made of corn food prepared by the girl (Harrington, 1908, p.215; Heckewelder, 1881, pp.161-72; Zeisberger, 1910, p.78). It was not unusual, however, for the agreement to take place directly between the boy and girl in which case they might or might not go through these formalities. Loskiel, who is the only author who mentions the subject of residence after marriage, says that the 591 newly married couple often lived with friends for a short time until they built their own house (Loskiel, p.56).

462 The man was responsible for building the house and providing axes, hoes, canoes, dishes and household equipment although the girl might supply some things. The man was expected to support the family by hunting, trapping and fishing, and the game which he brought home was the property of his wife to use as she saw fit. She was equally responsible, however, for agricultural produce and cooking; and if she were remiss, might be reminded of her neglect by her husband's taking to the woods without telling her he planned to do so. She also carried packs in traveling, tanned skins and fetched wood (Penn, p.30; Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 155-160; G.Thomas, p.341).

586 There was apparently no strong pressure put upon the couple to remain together after they were married. Although later writers [595] state that marriages were formerly more stable, they present no evidence to substantiate this. Polygyny was permitted but infrequent (Heckewelder, 1881, p.154; Harrington, 1913, p.215; Zeisberger, 1910, pp.78-9; Loskiel, p.57). After the death of a spouse, the 768 widow or widower, but more particularly the former, was expected 587 to remain single for a year, but it is clear that this was frequently not done (Brickell, p.49; Loskiel, p.121).

Social Life and Organization

648 Most of Delaware social behavior is a closed book to us as 431 the early observers did not usually have long contacts with them in their villages. The early writers were aware, however, that the 574 Indian expected to be fed when he visited them, and that they were always offered food when they visited him. Likewise they noted that gifts passed readily from hand to hand among the Indians although property rights were clearly understood (Lindstrom p.233; Danckaerts, pp.80 and 159; Penn, p.32).

525 The following games were probably played in this early period: [526] footraces (lindstrom, p.191); a gambling game in which flat bones,

painted a different color on each side, were thrown up and caught, the goal being to get as many of a particular color as possible; and another in which an object was hidden under one of several moccasins and the players attempted to guess which one it was under (Denny, p.265; Brinton, 1888, p.40; Loskiel, p.105). The vigorous dances engaged in by the Delaware were also noted although no early writer mentions (as Zeisberger, writing in the eighteenth century does) that dances were held most evenings that the men were not out hunting (Penn, p.38; Zeisberger, 1870, p.90). Later writers all agree that the Delaware were a sociable people given to frequent visiting and communal games and dances (Zeisberger, 1870, p.87; Heckewelder, 1881, pp.101-3 and 149).

This may be the most suitable place to mention the dogs kept by the Delaware since it seems most likely that they were kept merely as pets. Their remains have not been found in great abundance and in most cases where they were found they appear to have been deliberately buried. There is only one instance where there is some question whether the animal had been used as a sacrifice (Skinner, 1915, p.48; Heye, p.59).

At the time of contact, the Lenape were living in villages composed of several groups of families in the summer and hunting in single family groups in winter. The associations of families constituted bands, the names of which generally had some reference to the territory which they occupied.[10] In the eighteenth century Heckewelder reported a double division of the tribe into three sub-tribes, called Unami, Unalachtigo and Munsee, and into three genealogical "totems" which I will call phratries. The phratries were named Turtle, Turkey and Wolf, and Heckewelder equated them with the sub-tribes. He believed that the divisions had existed in the contact period also (Heckewelder, 1881, pp.51-2). Morgan, in the late nineteenth century, found that the Munsee, who are generally called the "Wolf Tribe", actually had members belonging to all three phratries, and Harrington found the same situation in the twentieth century (Morgan, 1912, p.177; Harrington, 1913, p.209). The Munsee had a tradition, however, that the three phratries formerly occupied separate villages.

Both Harrington and Morgan found the modern Delaware phratries divided into matrilineal clans, the names of which were not totemic (Harrington, p.210; Morgan, 1912, p.177). The only evidence of totemic beliefs is a vague association between the turtle phratry and the mythical turtle in the creation myth and, of course, the phratry names themselves. The only evidence for the regulation of marriage by any social unit is found in Zeisberger who says that no Indian will marry within his own tribe as he considers himself too closely related to the other individuals in it. But his use of the word "tribe" is not clear so that the problem of which

614 social unit was exogamous remains indeterminate; in the nineteenth century the clans, but not the phratries, were found to be exogamous.

615 For the seventeenth century there is no evidence that the phratries functioned as sub-tribes and it seems safer for the present to assume that this was a later development.

Political Organization

622 Heads of families, warriors and aged men from all the local groups made up the councils of the bands and tribe. They were
623 consultants of a chief whose position was hereditary through the female line (Penn, p. 39; Lindstrom, p. 205). In the following description of a conference between Penn and the Delaware, the relationship between the council and chief as well as their method of conducting such a meeting are elucidated:

> "Every King hath his Council, and that consists of all the Old and Wise men of his Nation, which perhaps is two hundred People: nothing of Moment is undertaken, be it War, Peace, Selling of Land or Traffick, without advising with them; and which is more, with the Young Men too...
>
> I have had occasion to be in Council with them upon Treaties for Land, and to adjust the terms of Trade; their Order is thus: The King sits in the middle of an half Moon, and hath his Council, the Old and Wise on each hand; behind them, or at a little distance, sit the younger Fry, in the same figure. Having consulted and resolved their business, the King ordered one of them to speak to me, he stood up, came to me, and in the Name of his King saluted me, then took me by the hand, and told me, That he was ordered by his King to speak to me, and that now it was not he, but the King that spoke, becausewhat he should say, was the King's mind...
>
> During the time that this Person spoke, not a man of them was observed to whisper or smile; the Old, Grave, the Young, Reverend in their Deportment; they do speak little, but fervently, and with Elegancy..."

The points made here by Penn are all confirmed by later writers (Penn, pp. 40-42; Harrington, 1913, p. 211; Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 107-11; Ziesberger, 1910, pp. 92-93.).

622 The most important duties of these chiefs, before the advent of the whites, were probably to help settle quarrels among their people, be official host to all outside visitors and to confer with the council of the whole tribe which met under a head chief, who was always of the Turtle phratry. The position of this head chief and the constituency and duties of his council were the same as that of the band chiefs in relation to their members. In addition, he officially represented

the Lenape in dealings with other tribes and was entrusted with the protection of the tribal bag of records or mementoes. Interestingly enough, succession to this post was only partially hereditary, being the result of selection by the chiefs of the other two divisions from within a certain prescribed range of the male relatives of the old chief. Any chief might be deposed for improper or incompetent handling of affairs (Ruttenber, pp. 47-48; Harrington, 1913, p. 211; Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 107-11; Zeisberger, 1910, pp. 93-95).

Use of pictographic symbols and colored wampum to express meaning were two methods by which the chief could communicate with the bands in tangible form [11] (Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 109 and 130-31). One author also credits them with a special language used only in wartime to prevent their enemies from understanding their communications (Lindstrom, p. 204).

War

The powers of civil government were suspended in time of war and direction fell into the hands of the "captains", as they were usually called by the old writers. Little was written of Lenape customs in warfare during the early colonial period when most of the Delaware wars were against other tribes and seldom against the white settlers. The following section based on eighteenth century material is inserted th give a more complete picture of Delaware life rather than for comparative purposes.

The position of captain was achieved through leading several successful missions against enemy forces; that is, missions in which greater amounts of goods, prisoners and scalps were brought back than were lost. Most frequently, boys who aimed at the achievement of this status did so as the result of an adolescent vision. Those who succeeded were usually those who had had such a vision, which is not surprising as they would be likely to be fortified with greater assurance and more assiduous training (Ziesberger, 1910, p. 101; Loskiel, p. 142).

A chief could not declare war without the unanimous consent of his warrior chiefs; if they were unanimous in favoring war, he could not refuse to "accept the hatchet" (Loskiel, p. 144; Ruttenber, p. 48; Ziesberger, 1910, p. 98). Peace, on the other hand, could only be made effective by the chief whose decision in this matter had to be accepted by the warriors.

War, according to a partisan of the Delawares, was declared as a result of other tribes hunting in their territory, murder of a member of their tribe by an outsider, or robbery from a Delaware camp (Heckewelder, 1831, p. 175). Add to these causes the desire to confiscate property of other tribes for glory, and the list would be more complete (Loskiel, p.143).

be more complete (Loskiel, p. 143). The typical pre-white type of conflict was one in which a captain took a group of eight or ten warriors on a raid of the enemy camp, from which they carried off what goods they could, a few scalps and prisoners. If the chief of the raiding tribe did not denounce the raiding party and make recompense to the other tribe, war would be declared (Heckewelder, 1881, p. 176; Loskiel, p. 148). The warriors were recruited at a dance in which they signified their desire to participate by joining the warriors already dancing. This was a festive occasion at which women were present and it was repeated at the first night's camping ground to which the women followed the warriors (Heckewelder, 1881, p. 210; Loskiel, p. 146).

Prisoners were taken primarily to replace men of the tribe who had been killed in battle or died a natural death since the last war. On the march home prisoners received the same fare as the warriors themselves, but at each Delaware town they passed they were forced to perform for the amusement of the townspeople and run the gauntlet. This ordeal consisted in running between two parallel lines in which the townspeople were drawn up and suffering the blows of the double file until a specified pole was reached which guaranteed their safety. When the home village was reached, the same procedure occurred except that those who were to be adopted were sometimes protected by their foster families. Those who were not adopted were tortured in most of the ways the human mind has been able to devise, but gradual dismemberment and slow burning seem to have been the most common. A prisoner who remained impassive under this treatment was held in high estcem.

Women and children were not usually injured and the peace messenger was also granted immunity, indeed hospitality. Two essential ceremonies of the peace conference were the smoking of the peace pipe and the exchanging of strings of wampum to confirm the covenant (Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 215-18; Loskiel, pp. 143-156; Hill, pp. 53-55; Zeisberger, 1910, pp. 102-03 and 151).

The weapons used were the bow and arrow, the stone axe and a club with a rounded knob on the end. For defense they had a shield and helmet made of wooden sticks bound together with leather or hemp cord (Johnson, 1915, pp. 281-82; Koskiel, p. 141). Some of the east coast villages were palisaded for protection (Krieger, p. 51; Brinton, 1885, p. 51; Skinner, 1915, p. 7; Heye, p. 11).

Crime

Offenses against members of the group became a concern of the chief only when they could not be settled by the families concerned. "The Justice they have is Pecuniary: In case of any Wrong or evil Fact, be it Murther it self, they Attone by Feasts and Presents of

their Wampum, which is proportioned to the quality of the Offense or Person injured, or of the Sex they are of: for in case they kill a woman, they pay double, and the reason they render is , That she breedeth Children, which men cannot do." (Penn, p. 43). Except for the concept of different recompense according to the sex of the person injured, the above statements are confirmed by other writers. More common than recompense in the case of murder or rape, however, was the death of the offender at the hands of the injured person's family [12] (Brainerd, p. 336; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 329; Huttenber, p. 48; Harrington, 1913, p. 217).

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Religion

All of the Delaware accounts of the origin of the world and of the tribe center around a giant mythical tortoise related in some way to the Turtle phratry and the occasion of that phratry's pre-eminance over the other two. The most complete version is found in the writings of Danckaerts whose visit to this region dates back to 1679. He asked an old Indian where the first of his race came from.

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> "He was silent for a little while as if unable to climb up at once so high with his thoughts, or to express them without help, and then took a piece of coal out of the fire where he sat, and began to write upon the floor. He first drew a circle, a little oval to which he made four paws or feet, a head and a tail; 'This', said he, 'is a tortoise, lying in the water around it', and he moved his hand around the figure continuing, 'This was or is all water, and so at first was the world or the earth, when the tortoise gradually raised its round back up high, and the water ran off of it, and thus the earth became dry.' He then took a little straw and placed it on end in the middle of the figure and proceeded, 'The earth was now dry, and there grew a tree in the middle of the earth, and the root of this tree sent forth a sprout beside it, and there grew upon it a man, who was the first male; This man was then alone, and would have remained alone, but the tree bent over until its top touched the earth, and there shot therein another root from which came forth another sprout, and there grew upon it the woman, and from these two are all men produced...'" (Danckaerts, pp. 77-80).

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The following writers also refer to the turtle as the earth and the agent of the creation of man: Heckewelder (1881, p. 250); Kalm (p. 606); Zeisberger (1870, p. 218). Other creation myths have the general theme that the people lived under the earth before they came up to live on the surface (Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 249-50).

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The Gods of the Delaware

776 The Delaware believed in a supreme first power, "who had not only produced or made all things, but produces every day...Everything he makes and does is good." (Danckaerts, p. 174). This does not mean that the creator necessarily creates everything himself, but what ever being creates (as, for example, the tortoise in the creation myth) does so as his agent; Brainerd noted that although the Indians paid reverential attention to birds, beasts, fishes and reptiles, "...they do not indeed suppose a divine power essential to, or inhering in, these creatures; but that some invisible beings ...communicate to these animals a great power; ...and so make these creatures the immediate authors of good to certain persons." (Brainerd, pp. 344-45). Likewise the guardian spirits and all other beings with unusual power derive it from the Great Spirit (Penn, p. 37; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 128)

In addition to granting objects of nature special power on certain occasions, the Great Spirit is believed to have given more or less permanent control over certain aspects of nature to lesser beings. From this arises their concept of the lesser deities such as the four directions, the Sun, the Moon, Thunders, Living Solid Face or Mask Being (Harrington, 1913, pp. 226-27; Brainerd, p. 345: Heckwelder, 1881, pp. 212-213). We know from later sources that this last being is the guardian of the animals. He is the only deity whose appearance is specifically designated and represented by a costume. The face is a wooden mask painted half red and half black; its body, which was supposed to have been hairy, is represented by a suit of bearskin (Harrington, 1921, p. 33). Apparently Brainerd saw a shaman dressed to represent this being for his description coincides in all details (Brainerd, p. 237). The only other known images of the Delaware were faces, also painted red and black, which were carved on the Big House posts and miniature stone faces which were worn around the neck. Present day Delwares think of the former as representing the spirits in charge of each of the twelve heavens, and consider them related to the Living Solid Face (Beatty, p. 22; Harrington, 1921, p. 31). The latter were according to Harrington, worn as good luck or good health charms (Harrington, 1921, p. 36). An example of one found in an east coast site is shown in Skinner (1920, p. 5).

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773 776 The Delaware also told of a super-human man who had come in the remote past and taught them how to live. In Lindstrom's version, a Lenape woman became pregnant and gave birth to a son although no man had any connection with her. This boy, "...had so much to say that it was a great wonder and performed many miracles and wonders. When he now became somewhat large he departed from us and went up into the air... 'He promised to come back to us, but he never came back to us again,' they say." (Lindstrom, p. 208). In other accounts these same features are combined with a more specific refer-

ence to this person's having taught them the correct way to live and perform their sacrifices (Brainerd, p. 345; Luckenbach, p. 616; Brinton, 1888, p. 38). 773 776

Methods of Worship

The all-pervasive method of worship was sacrifice of burned flesh or tobacco. The correct method for performing these sacrifices, the dances, the order of procedure, method of constructing the house in which they were to be performed and other details were prescribed to the ancestors of the Delaware in the distant past. Most of these details escaped the notice, or at least failed to arouse the interest of our earliest observers, but Penn sketched their ceremonies in the following general terms: 782 796

> "Their Worship consists of two parts, Sacrifice and Cantico. Their Sacrifice is their first Fruits; the first and fattest Buck they kill, goeth to the fire, where he is all burnt with a Mournful Ditty of him that performeth the Ceremony... The other part is their Cantico, performed by round-Dances, sometimes words, sometimes Songs, then Shouts, two being in the middle that begin, and by Singing and Drumming on a Board direct the Chorus: Their Postures in the Dance are very Antick and differing, but all keep measure..." (p. 38-39; also see Lindstrom, p. 208).

The emphasis on traditionalism in Delaware religion makes it not unlikely that the ceremonies which were witnessed in the eighteenth century were similar to those performed before the white man arrived.[13] [177]

The following description of the fall ceremony is taken primarily from an eye witness account of Abraham Luckenbach, but where details are corroborated by other writers the reference is also cited. It coincides in many details with the ceremony described in Frank Speck's A Study of the Delaware Indian Big House Ceremony, which is an annotated account of a recitation of the ceremony as remembered by a Delaware Indian living in Oklahoma. 796

The ceremony was held in the Big House, which also served as council house. "The entrance was at both gable ends and there was neither floor nor ceiling. Near both ends and in the middle, there were three fires over which hung large kettles in which corn and meat were boiled for the guests and always kept in readiness for them to eat, when finished with the dance." The smoke opening left at the ridge of the roof and the bench running around the interior wall were similar to those already described for ordinary houses (also see Beatty, p. 22). 796 344

796 The greater part of the ceremony consisted of the recitation of visions by themen one at a time. They said that their protecting deities appeared to them in a dream "...in one or another form, for example, that of a large bird that then talked with them, told them their future fate for better or for worse; that they either would have great Chiefs or Warriors who would do great deeds, great witch-doctors who would deal in supernatural things, or that they would possess great riches and many relatives or the contrary. If the latter was the case, however, they did not sing their dreams but sadly related them;" The unfavorable dreams were not considered appropriate to recite at the ceremony.

In telling his dream, each man advanced "...holding the shell of a land-turtle containing a number of beans or kernels of corn... After he has rattled the turtle-shell with his hand amid many grimaces, he stops, and speaking in a loud tone of voice he relates, by fits and starts, the contents of his dream, or the manner in which his god appeared and what he told him." (Luckenbach, pp. 611-12, also see Zeisberger, 1910, p. 137). Actually these men whom Luckenbach saw recite their dreams were probably following a well-known path, with prearranged stopping places where the various "verses" of the vision were related. The same persons recited their dreams year after year so that they attained a formal pattern. The path followed represents allegorically the White Path or the Great Spirit's road, that is, the road of human existence and of the soul after death (Speck, 1931, p. 23).

[782] "These dances are held only at night and are often continued for weeks at a time." At the conclusion a sacrificial feast was held, for which the meat was provided by a communal hunt. Additional features of the Annual Ceremony noted by Kenny and Beatty were that the sacrifice consisted of twelve of each of several species of animals and that the offering was made by burning the fat of the animals on twelve hot stones. The men who performed the sacrifice then took a sweat bath using the same twelve stones (also see Kenney, pp. 168-69; Beatty, p. 44). "In conclusion, two beautiful tanned deer-skins are turned over to the two old men appointed beforehand, who hold them toward the sunrise, in front of the house of sacrifice and spread them out, while murmuring something. In this way, they imagine they are praying to their god. They thank him for long life and health. For this service the old men afterwards receive the skins as their property." (Luckenbach, p. 613; also see Beatty, pp. 43-44).14

796 782 The Moravian missionaries a Friedenshutten witnessed a slightly different ceremony to which only guests of the family were invited. An old man sacrificed a deer at the center fire, then built an "oven" in which he placed twelve stones representing various deities. The old man then took the boy in whose honor the ceremony was being given

inside the oven, shook a calabash rattle and threw tobacco in the fire while asking the spirits to grant the boy good luck (Loskiel, p. 43).

To these ceremonies each person had to contribute a certain amount of wampum, a feature noted by Penn (p. 39). Of the rationale behind this custom, Frank Speck says: "...the pecuniary aspect of wampum has been exaggerated in the early writings dealing with the eastern Indians. To the Delawares wampum stood forth in the light of a covenant. It represented, and still does, a magical power capable of annulling the effects of latent poisonous influences that might pass between persons who exchange gifts or who enter into the transfer of property." (Speck, 1931, p. 63).

In addition to these more formal ceremonies, Brickell states that "...when they start on a hunting expedition, the first game that is taken they skin and dress whole, breaking not a bone, leaving on the head, ears and hoofs. This they bring to camp and cook whole, and everyone eats of it, and the rest they burn entirely up." (p. 49).

The Delaware communicated with the supernatural by means of visions. "...they give much heed to dreams, because they suppose these invisible powers give them direction at such times about certain affairs, and sometimes inform them what animal they choose to be worshipped in." (Brainerd, pp. 349-350; also see Loskiel, p. 40). In regard to the last, Lindstrom says: "They adopt their Pauka or idol when about fifteen. They may make a human figure, claw of bear or eagle, tooth or bird bill. They hang it about their neck and it is so sacred that no one may touch it." (Lindstrom, p. 207). These animals which became guardian spirits received their power from the great Spirit. Such an animal became sacred to the person to whom it was the author of good, although to others it was the same as any other animal (Zeisberger, 1910, p. 132; Brainerd, pp. 344-345).[15]

The Hereafter

From the earliest sources we find that the Delaware had a concept of an immortal soul, a hereafter which was better than life on earth and that the attainment of this place was linked with good behavior in life. The hereafter was believed to lie to the south, but its location was very vaguely conceived. Likewise although they had the idea of reward for a good life, there was no definite expression of what this good life would involve. The bad were to be punished not by any torture but by the inability to attain the place of bliss (Penn, p. 37; Brainerd, p. 346; Zeisberger, 1910, pp. 128-29; Brickell, p. 49). The greatest difference between the Delaware concept of good and that of the Christian theology of the period lay in the fact that the Delaware concept was completely concerned with man's behavior toward his fellow man. The sacrifices which were made were apparently expected to influence one's immediate fortune but to have little effect on the state of the soul after death. Thus Brainerd says that the bad folk are those who "...lie, steal, quarrel with their neighbors, are unkind to their friends and especially to aged parents, and in a word, such as are a plague to mankind." (p. 346).

Death

761 Early burials which have been excavated reveal few objects buried with the body although Penn indicates that it was customary among the Lenape to place objects in the graves (p. 37). Skinner is of the opinion that this may have been a custom which was coming into more common practice during the period we are dealing with (Skinner, 1909, p. 30). Of about equal occurrence are flexed and secondary bone burials. A Delawnre burial has been described by Lindstrom: "...a round pit is dug in the ground and a stool is placed in the hole upon which the dead man shall sit. Then the dead man's money is placed upon him and he is set down in the pit upon the stool with a tobacco pipe a fathom long in his mouth...". After the hole is filled up, "...they dig down in the corners of a square four very long poles upon which they make three shelves, and decorate the poles with long strips of blue, red or green frieze[16] hanging like fringes." The bones were later dug up and the flesh cut from them after which they were wrapped in chestnut bark and placed on the bottom shelf where the bundle was allowed to stand until it rotted. (Lindstrom, pp. 249-250).

765 Above the body there has frequently been found a layer of shells which has been interpreted as evidence of a feast of the dead (Skinner, 1909, p. 30). Other features of the death ceremonies noted by early writers are: the use of charcoal on the face as a sign of mourning (Penn, p. 37; Danckaerts, p. 159), the sending of a messenger to all friends to announce a person's decease and loud lamentations at the grave. The name of the deceased was not mentioned (Lindstrom, pp. 249-250). 784 551 Many of these features are incorporated in Heckewelder's excellent description of the funeral of a chief's wife (Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 269-276).

Disease

753 Disease was classified into natural illness and sickness caused by witchcraft and spirits of the dead. This classification is reflected in the many different types of cures which the Delaware practiced. Curing was one of the few activities placed in the hands of professional 755 people, the shamans, although purely medicinal cures were also performed by laymen. The shamans used a combination of medicines, magic, sweating, bleeding and psychotherapy to effect their cures for which they were paid. Penn says that the Delaware will give anything to be cured and this is echoed by later writers (Penn, p. 36; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 232).

757 Medicines which were taken internally were made from bark and roots mixed with water (Penn, p. 36; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 224-231); likewise, plants with medicinal properties were made into poultices for wounds, boils and snake bite (Heckewelder, 1881, p. 229; Loskiel, p. 113). The shaman might also breathe on the patient or blow his remedy over the patient's body. In addition to making and giving these [illegible], the [illegible]ng frequently put on a performance in which he grimaced and acted [illegible] such a way as to frighten away the evil spirit which

was possessing the sick person (Danckaerts, p. 180; Lindstrom, p. 247). Possession by an evil spirit was believed to occur either though an accidental encounter with a human spirit or sorcery. The practice of the latter among the Delaware was largely confined to the curing shamans themselves (Zeisberger, 1910, pp. 125, 128, 131; Speck, 1931, p. 109; Brainerd, p. 347).

Sweating was done regularly, but was also considered beneficial in illness. The sweathouse was made of stone and clay with a hole at the top large enough to crawl through. A large number of stones were heated red hot and then put in the center. The bathers lay around them, water was poured on the stones and the hole stopped up. The sweating was followed by a plunge in the nearest stream (Lindstrom pp. 257-258). Penn witnessed a chief using this cure in the midst of winter, when a path had to be cut through the ice between the sweathouse and the river. (Penn, p. 55).

CONCLUSIONS

From the foregoing, it appears that quite a complete picture of Delaware life at the time of white contact can be reconstructed, based on observations made shortly after contact and supplemented by more complete descriptions of these customs by later observers. The method used in this paper brings out clearly, on the other hand, the fact that there was insufficient recording of the social and political organization of the tribe to permit a reconstruction of those aspects of life with any high degree of probability. By the time the Moravian missionaries came in contact with the Delaware culture, one hundred years had elapsed since initial contact and there is little basis on which to determine whether any trait mentioned by the missionaries represents an old, modified or new situation. This conclusion is in contrast with that of other writers on Delaware culture who have ignored the fact that their material was gathered at widely different times and places.

FOOTNOTES

000 1. The reports of Butler and Heye are based on an identification of bones found in old feast pits.

2. According to Waugh's report on Iroquois foods, the Onondaga had names for starchy, flint, sweet, starchy-sweet and pop corn, five of the seven generally recognized varieties of Zea mays (Waugh, pp. 74-77).

[241] 3. To these Brinton adds the sweet potato, but no early sources confirm him in this opinion (1885, p. 48).

4. Delaware sources do not indicate which types of beans were grown aboriginally, but Waugh in his report on the Iroquois states that they knew over sixty varieties. The natives described them according to use, i.e. bread or soup beans (Waugh, pp. 104-107).

5. The identifications are made by Kalm himself.

[171] 6. Brinton specifically denies that the Delaware had this type of house, but it is described in Lindstrom as translated by Johnson (p. 281). According to Skinner, Dankers and Sluyter described this longhouse for the Canarsie, a Mohegan group living also in New Jersey (1909, p. 47). In Geographia Americanae, Lindstrom says: "In the Fall every sachem has built a house in which he and his subjects can live." (p. 221). As can be seen the problem is closely related to that of whether more than one conjugal family ever resided together. Support for the belief that they did comes from Beatty who visited a Delaware town in Ohio and noted that several families sometimes lived in one house. (p. 37).

[501] 7. There is no evidence to indicate whether or not sails were used in pre-contact times.

[286] 8. Several early writers noted cloth garments worn by the Indians, but Harrington has said of the Canadian reservation Indians in 1908: "The nearest approach to the weaving of aboriginal fabrics is seen in the pack strap...They were made of fibres of Indian hemp, the milkweed or the inner bark of the slippery elm, boiled soft and rolled or twisted into cord with the hand on the bare thigh. The cords were then tightly woven into a strap two or three inches wide and a little more than two feet long..." No mention is made of any kind of weaving apparatus. It seems most likely that even though cloth is mentioned by some of the earliest writers, it is a borrowed trait although pack straps may have been aboriginal manufactures.

9. Ruth Benedict says that there generally is a correlation between painful inducement of visions and receiving the vision because of being pitied by the spirits (pp. 27-28).

10. The evidence available on this subject in printed form plus what can be found in deeds has been admirably summarized by Ruttenber (p.89ff.).

11. A pre-contact "history" of the Delaware, which is supposed to have been painted originally on sticks was acquired by Rafinesque in 1820. This man was a natural scientist and antiquarian of questionable repute, but the symbols in the document which he brought to light and their translation were pronounced authentic by several modern Delaware to whom it was shown by Brinton. The document, "The Walam Olum", with a translation of the Delaware text into English is reproduced by Brinton (1885).

12. One instance of the operation of this custom took place during the Dutch-Indian wars. The Dutch put a price on the heads of the Raritans, a Delaware band, for supposed offenses against them, but the only immediate result was a revenge murder by a neighboring band for an old injury (O'Callaghan, Vol. I, 1846, p. 240).

The following discussion of capturing two Indians who had murdered a white man also indicates the existence of this custom: "...only the Difficulty was, that there were seven of these Indyans, Men of the same Stock, that if two should be seised, the other five would seek to bee Revenged; soe it was unsafe." (Documents Relating to the Colonial History of New Jersey, Vol. I, p. 73).

13. Frank Speck (1931, p. 17): "The Big House capitulates the elements of certain minor feast ceremonies held on special occasions by families. The great annual ceremony seems to stand as an entity, one that does not submit to any assumption of recent origin in its present form of organization." This he feels is verified by its part-for-part resemblance to the Munsee ceremony in Canada, which would indicate that it must have been a national ceremony before 1700 when the groups began to separate.

In my opinion, however, there is not sufficient evidence that the "Annual Ceremony" of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries existed in all its complexity in the seventeenth century although most of its parts were probably contained in various different ceremonies which were performed. One important difference between the ceremonies mentioned by Penn and Lindstrom and the "Annual Ceremony" is that in the former the sacrificial meat consisted of the first of the season's kill and in the latter it consisted of game taken on a special communal hunt.

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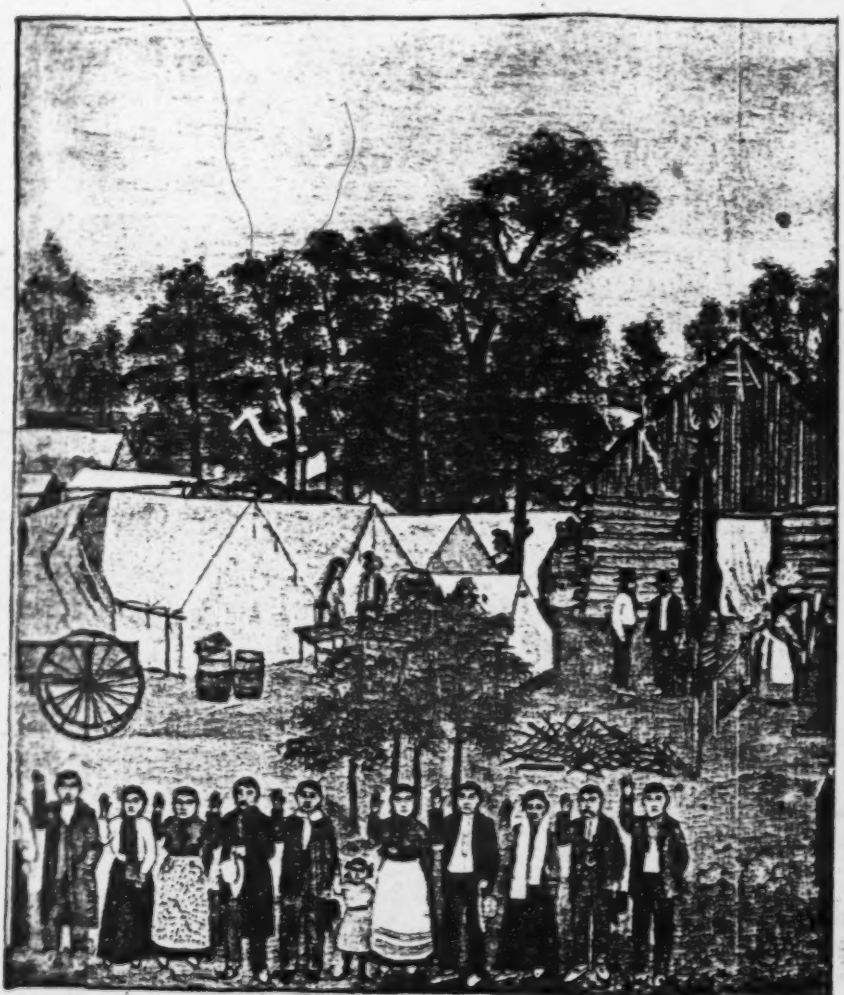

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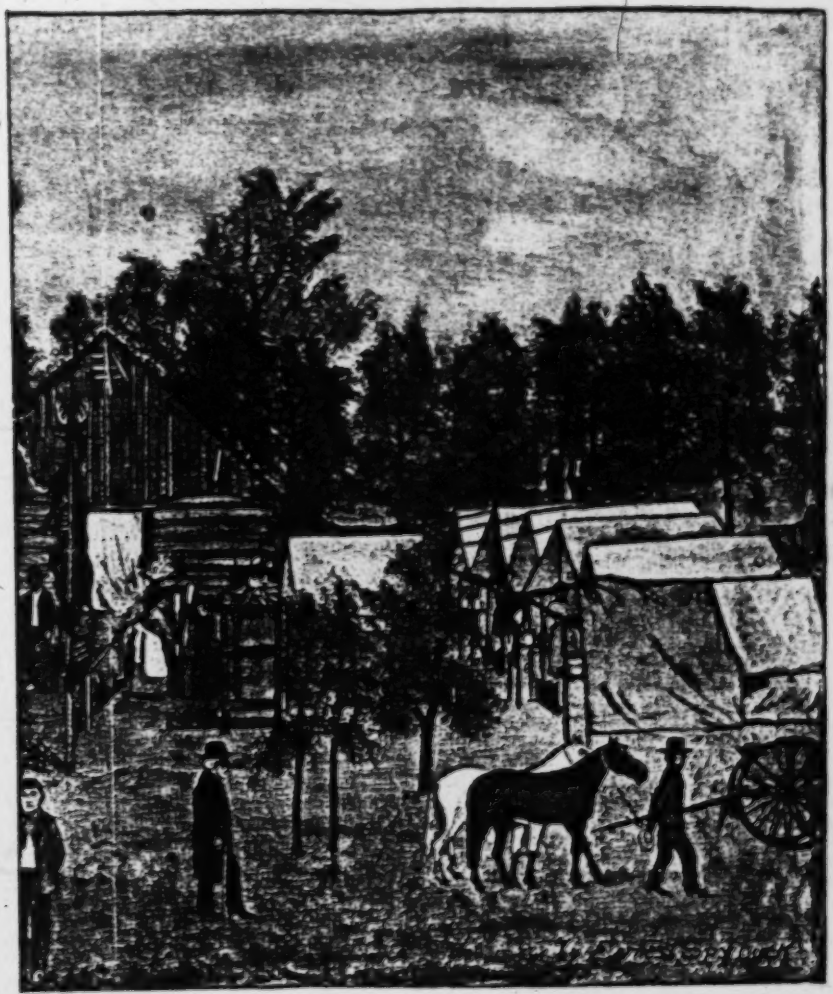

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INDIAN NOTES AND MONOGRAPHS

EDITED BY F. W. HODGE

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A SERIES OF PUBLICATIONS RELATING TO THE AMERICAN ABORIGINES

RELIGION AND CEREMONIES OF THE LENAPE

BY

M. R. HARRINGTON

NEW YORK
MUSEUM OF THE AMERICAN INDIAN
HEYE FOUNDATION
1921

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BY

M. R. HARRINGTON

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PREFACE

THE following paper is intended to be the first of a series concerning different phases of the culture of the Lenape or Delaware Indians, once a numerous people forming a confederacy of three closely related tribes, the Unami, the Minsi or Muncey, and the Unala"tko or Unalachtigo, first encountered by the whites in what is now New Jersey, Delaware, eastern Pennsylvania, and southeastern New York, but at last accounts[1] reduced to some 1900 souls scattered in Oklahoma and the Province of Ontario, Canada, with a few in Wisconsin and Kansas. Of these the Lenape of Oklahoma seem to be mainly of Unami extraction, the rest largely Minsi, while the Unala"tko appear to have merged with the others and to have lost their identity.

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115 The writer has gathered most of his data for the whole series from the Oklahoma bands, with such informants as Chief Charley Elkhair (Kokŭlŭpo'w^{u}e), Julius Fox, or Fouts (Peta'nlhink), Minnie Fox (Wemĕ̆le'xkwĕ) his wife, and William Brown; but much valuable information came from Canada where his principal informants were Chief James Wolf ('Tayeno'xwan), Chief Nellis F. Timothy, (Tomapemihi'lat), Isaac Monture (Ka'pyŭ'hŭm), Chief Nellis Monture, Michael Anthony (Na'nkŭma'oxa), and Monroe Pheasant. Of these especial credit is due to Julius Fox and Chief Timothy, both of whom manifested great interest in the work and exerted every effort to make it complete, and to Ernest Spybuck, a Shawnee, whose paintings, carefully made of Delaware ceremonies at the writer's request, form a valuable adjunct to the text.

127 The works of previous writers have been utilized where available, and much has been learned from archeological discoveries in the ancient territory of the

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Lenape, not so much, of course, with regard to the subject matter of the present paper, as of others in preparation. 127

Most of the information was gathered while the writer was collecting ethnological specimens for the Heye Museum of New York, now the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, during the years 1907 to 1910; but some of the Canadian data were procured earlier while in the field for Mr E. T. Tefft of New York, whose collection is now in the American Museum of Natural History. 114

Without knowledgeof the Delaware language in its divergent dialects, and without any pretension of being a philologist, the writer has endeavored to record the Lenapewords as he heard them,depending for translation on his interpreter *pro tem.* Hence some inaccuracies at least are inevitable. The alphabet used is as follows: 104

VOWELS	CONSONANTS
a as in arch.	*c* like English sh.
ă as in cat.	' a slight aspirate.
d as in fall.	ⁿ gives the preceding vowel a nasal sound.
aĭ as in aisle.	

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e like a in fate.
ĕ as in met.
i as in machine.
ĭ as in hit.
o as in note.
u as in flute.
ŭ as in but.
ů as in full.
ᵘ faintly whispered.
ʟ a surd l.
x like German ch.
Other consonants approximately as in English.

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It was intended at first to publish the mass of material thus obtained in the form of a monograph on the ethnology of the Lenape; but later it was seen that while some phases of their culture could be described in considerable detail, there were others not so well represented in our notes. It was therefore finally decided to publish at once such parts as were ready, in the form of separate papers, and to leave the others until more detailed information could be obtained.

No extended comparisons of the religion and ceremonies of the Lenape with those of other tribes will be attempted in this paper, these being reserved for a projected article to embody the results of a comparative study of Lenape culture.

M. R. HARRINGTON

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RELIGION AND CEREMONIES OF THE LENAPE

By M. R. Harrington

CHAPTER I

Pantheon

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To the mind of the Lenape, all the phenomena of nature, all the affairs of mankind, in fact the entire world as we know it, is under the control of invisible beings. Some are great and powerful, others of somewhat lesser influence, and so on down to the humble spirits of plants and stones. In some, good seems to predominate, in others, evil; but most of the *manĭ'towŭk*, or spirits, seem to be, like mortals, a mixture of desirable and undesirable qualities.

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SUPREME BEING

All the Lenape so far questioned, whether followers of the native or of the Christian religion, unite in saying that their people have always believed in a chief *Manĭ'to*, a leader of all the gods, in short, in a Great Spirit or Supreme Being, the other *manĭ'towŭk* for the greater part being merely agents appointed by him. His name, according to present Unami usage, is *Gicelĕmû''kaong'*, usually translated "great spirit," but meaning literally, "creator." Directly, or through the *manĭ'towŭk* his agents, he created the earth and everything in it, and gave to the Lenape all they possessed, "the trees, the waters, the fire that springs from flint,—everything." To him the people pray in their greatest ceremonies, and give thanks for the benefits he has given them. Most of their direct worship, however, is addressed to the *manĭ'towŭk* his agents, to whom he has given charge of the elements, and with whom the people feel they have a

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closer personal relation, as their actions are seen in every sunrise and thunderstorm, and felt in every wind that blows across woodland and prairie. Moreover, as the Creator lives in the twelfth or highest heaven above the earth, it takes twelve shouts or cries to reach his ear. An account of the worship of the Creator will be given later in connection with the description of the Annual Ceremony. The Minsi had similar beliefs, but the current name for the Great Spirit in that dialect today is *Pa"tŭmawas*, interpreted "He who is petitioned," or *Kĕ"tanito'wĕl*, "Great Spirit."

It has been frequently stated that the concept of a supreme being or chief of the gods was not known among the American tribes in precolonial times, and that the "Great Spirit" concept, now widely distributed among the Indians, is entirely the result of missionary teaching. This seems to have been the case in some instances, but it is a mistake to assume such a broad statement as a general rule, on *a priori* grounds. To the

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Indian mind, the spirits or gods partook largely of the nature of mankind—Why could not a chief of gods be as natural a concept as a chief of men? In the case of the Shawnee, the Creator or Great Spirit is usually spoken of as a woman, "Our Grandmother Paboth'kwe"—surely not a missionary idea!

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Let us trace back the Great Spirit concept among the Lenape, and find what the early writers say about it. Perhaps the earliest is in Danker and Sluyter's Journal[2] of about 1679, in which an old Indian living near Bergen, New Jersey, is quoted as saying: "The first and great beginning of all things, was Kickeron or Kickerom, who is the origin of all, who has not only once produced or made all things, but produces every day. . . . He governs all things."

William Penn,[3] in a letter dated Philadelphia, August 16, 1683, says: "They believe a God and Immortality; for they say, There is a King that made them, who dwells in a glorious country to the Southward of them, and that the Souls

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of the Good shall go thither, where they shall live again." Further confirmation is given by Holm[4] in his book first published in 1702, where he says, "They acknowledge a Supreme Being, a Great Spirit, who made the heavens and the earth."

Zeisberger[5] makes it even stronger, for he wrote, about 1779: "They believe and have from time immemorial believed that there is an Almighty Being who has created heaven and earth and man and all things else. This they have learned from their ancestors." Heckewelder[6] (p. 205) adds more details in his book, originally published in 1818: "Their Almighty Creator is always before their eyes on all important occasions. They feel and acknowledge his supreme power. . . . It is a part of their religious belief that there are inferior *Mannittōs*, to whom the great and good Being has given command over the elements."

Finally, in the little work ostensibly dictated by the Minsi John Wampum,[7] known as Chief Waubuno, undated, but

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776 probably printed in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, we have "The Great Spirit, whom we call in Munsee or Delaware Kaunzhe Pah-tum-owans or Kacheh Munitto (Great Spirit or Benevolent Spirit), created the Indians."

Thus we have a practically unbroken chain of authorities, including most of the best ones since 1679, all speaking of the "Great Spirit" as a well-developed concept. But Brainerd,[8] writing in 1745, is not so positive in his statements, for he speaks of their notions being "so dark and confused, that they seemed not to know what they thought themselves." He also says: "Before the coming of the white people, some supposed there were *four* invisible powers, who presided over the four corners of the earth. Others imagined the *sun* to be the *only* deity, and that all things were made by him. Others at the same time have a confused notion of a certain *body* or *fountain* of *deity*, something like the *anima mundi*." Later (p. 349) he quotes a converted Indian conjurer, who, in describing the

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a *b*

LENAPE MAN AND WOMAN OF OKLAHOMA IN CEREMONIAL COSTUME

a, John Anderson (Witanaxkóxwˀē); *b*, Mrs Elkhair (Kicilungonēˀxxwē)

[Facing p. 22]

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source of his former power, tells how it came from "a great man" who lived in a "world above at a vast distance from this. The great man was clothed with the day; yea, with the brightest day he ever saw . . . this whole world . . . was drawn upon him, so that *in* him, the earth, and all things on it, might be seen."

Perhaps, as Brinton[9] suggests, the original Great Spirit of the Lenape might really be called the God of Light. Brinton, however, does not think that this Spirit of Light was of necessity a *good* spirit; still, the Lenape today who follow the native religion, acknowledging his goodness in their ceremonies, think that "the Creator wants them to do right," and there is evidence[10] that the idea of goodness has been associated with that of the Great Spirit for a long time. Assuming that the Creator of the Lenape is the God of Light, what is it that leads men to worship the source of light? Is it not the self-evident benefits connected with light? It seems to the writer that

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776 goodness necessarily follows as an attribute of such a deity.

EVIL SPIRIT

The case is different with the Evil Spirit. The modern Lenape in Oklahoma make little mention of an Evil One, and James Wolf, my principal Minsi informant, did not speak of such a being at all, but there is some evidence, however, to show this belief to exist among the Lenape in more recent years.

114 177 776 Some writers do indeed make frequent mention of "the Devil" as figuring in early Lenape belief, but they translate the word "mani'to" as having that meaning, whereas it really signifies a supernatural being, good or bad. These writers evidently regarded as "the Devil" any deity not fitting into Christian doctrine.

But the real truth seems to be that, while in ancient times certain *mani'towŭk*, or spirits, were supposed to work evil, the Devil (along with whiskey and other blessings) was introduced by the whites.

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The whole matter is well summed up by Loskiel[11] where he says: "Besides the Supreme Being, they believe in good and evil spirits, considering them as subordinate deities. . . . They seem to have had no idea of the *Devil*, as the Prince of Darkness, before the Europeans came into the country." This idea is also supported by Zeisberger[12] and Brainerd,[13] although Holm[14] seems to give contrary evidence.

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MANĬ'TOWŬK OF THE FOUR DIRECTIONS

The Lenape now in Oklahoma believe that when the earth was created, and everything finished, the Creator gave the four quarters of the earth to four powerful beings, or *manĭ'towŭk*, whose duty it was to take care of these regions. These personages are the cause of the winds which blow from the different directions, with the exception of the tornado, which is thought to have a different origin. In the winter, it is said that the *manĭ'towŭk* of the north and the south are playing the game of bowl and

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776 821 dice, with alternating fortunes. When the north wind is successful it is cold for a long time, until the south wind wins again. These *manĭ'towŭk* are called *Moxhomsa' Wähänjio'pŭng'*, Grandfather at the East; *No''oma Cawane'yŭng'*, Grandmother at the South; *Moxhomsa' Eliosi'gak*, Grandfather at the West; and *Moxhomsa' Lowane'yŭng'*, Grandfather at the North, the expression *endalŭn towi'yŭn*, said to mean "who has charge of it" being frequently added after the name.

782 776 These are mentioned in the ritual of the Annual Ceremony, and the people often pray to them when gathering herbs or perparing medicines, at the same time offering tobacco.

171 776 821 The earliest record of this belief thus far found dates from 1616, and while it does not concern the Lenape proper, it illustrates a similar notion among a cognate people in Virginia. This is in Strachey's work,[15] in which he states, "The other four [gods] have no visible shape, but are indeed the four winds,

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which keep the four corners of the earth." Brainerd[16] mentions the same belief as being an old one among the Indians he knew, who were mainly Lenape, and as this was in 1745 we have at least a respectable antiquity established for "Our Grandparents at the Four Directions." Loskiel also mentions them.[17]

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THE SUN

To the Sun the Creator gave the duty of providing light for the people. The Unami say that he is a very powerful *manī'to*, and call him *Gickokwi'ta*. They speak of him as always clothed in the finest of deerskin garments, with his face handsomely painted, and wearing red feathers in his hair. Every day he travels across the heavens from east to west, stopping for a little while at midday, then going on. At night he comes back under the earth. The Minsi, according to James Wolf, called him *Ki'zho* or *Ki'zhox*, and *Gickoniki'zho* is another Unami form of the name. When praying

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776 821 [782] to the Sun, the Lenape usually addressed him as "Elder Brother." When praying

Little is found in early writings concerning the worship of the Sun, a mere mention in Brainerd,[18] and Loskiel,[19] by whom he is called "the sun or the god of the day."

THE MOON

None of my Lenape informants had much to say of the Moon, except that it was regarded as the *manï'to* charged with the duty of supplying light by night, and that it was addressed, like the Sun, as Elder Brother. It is mentioned as a god, and called the "night sun" by Loskiel.[20] This is expressed by the Unami name *Piske'weniki'zho.*

THE EARTH

776 823 Some Lenape speak of the earth itself as a *manï'to*, and call it "Our Mother" because it carries and nurtures the people, having been assigned that duty by the Creator. Others, instead of the earth itself, mention a spirit beneath or within the earth, but apparently separate from

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it. The earth is mentioned in a list of gods by Loskiel.[21] In some localities, at least, it was addressed in the Annual Ceremony, and thanks were offered to it for the benefits it gives to man.

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THUNDER BEINGS

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Perhaps the most important of all the subordinate *manī'towūk*, excepting only the Sun and possibly the Keepers of the Four Directions, were the Thunder Beings, to whom the Great Spirit gave the duty of watering the earth and protecting the people against Great Horned Water-serpents and other monsters. The Unami told me that they are called *Pethakowe'yūk*, and are addressed as Elder Brother. They are man-like beings with wings, and always carry a bow and arrows with which they can shatter trees. When the first thunder is heard in spring, the people say, "The Spring Flying Things are coming" and it makes them feel glad to think that winter is nearly over. Some burn tobacco and pray to the Thunders at this and other times,

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and for this reason they claim that the lightning never used to strike an Indian or to destroy Indian property.

The late James Wolf related an interesting Thunder myth, which will be found in the paper on Lenape Mythology to appear later, stating that the Minsi called the Thunders *Pile'swak*, or *Pile'soak*, and believed them to exist in the form of gigantic partridges, although really persons, or rather *manî'towik*. They used to live in Niagara gorge beneath the cataract, and could sometimes be seen coming out, in the form of a cloud, in which, as it rose, a play of lightning was visible. There were said to be three bands or parties of these mysterious beings, each band consisting of three Thunders.

Zeisberger[22] says, "Thunder is a mighty spirit dwelling in the mountains," and Heckewelder,[23] "Indians, at the approach of a storm or thunder gust, address the Mannitto of the air, to avert all danger from them." As a rule, however, the early writers do not seem to have noticed

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this belief, or have included it loosely under the worship of "gods" representing the elements. 776 821

KEEPERS OF THE HEAVENS

The Lenape now in Oklahoma believe that each of the twelve heavens, in the highest of which lives the Great Spirit, is presided over by a *mant'to* who serves as a messenger to repeat the prayers of men until they reach the ear of the Creator. They are represented by the carved faces upon the posts inside the temple, and are mentioned in the ritual of the Annual Ceremony. I can find no mention of them in early accounts of the Lenape, however, unless the twelve gods mentioned by Loskiel,[34] most of whom have already been spoken of in this chapter, may represent the same concept. The Lenape today speak of these as being related to the Living Solid Face, who will now claim our attention. 776 [772] [532]

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MĪSINGHÂLI'KŪN, OR LIVING SOLID FACE

The most remarkable deity of the Lenape is the Mask Being, called by the

FIG. 1.—Mask of the Oklahoma Lenape. (Height, 14.5 in.)

Unami *Mīsinghâli'kŭn*, which was interpreted as "Living Mask," or "Living Solid Face." According to the Unami,

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this being was made guardian by the Creator of all the wild animals of the forest, and is sometimes seen riding about on the back of a buck, herding the deer; but he lives in a range of rocky mountains above the earth. His face is large and round, the right half being painted red, the left black, while his body is covered with long dark hair like that of a bear. Unlike most of the deities in the Lenape pantheon, he is represented by a "graven image," a huge wooden mask, painted half red and half black (fig. 1); which is left in charge of some family who

FIG. 2.—Rattle of turtle-shell used by Misi'ngw. (Length, 16.7 in.)

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will take good care of it, and burn Indian tobacco for it from time to time. With the mask is kept a coat and leggings of bear-skin to represent the being's hairy body, a peculiar rattle of turtleshell (fig. 2), a stick, and a bag made of bear-skin, all used by the man selected to impersonate Mĭsinghâli'kŭn at the various ceremonies when he is supposed to appear, and which will be described later. To the back of the mask is fastened the skin of the bear's head, which effectually conceals the head and neck of the impersonator (pl. II), while the bear's ears, projecting, add to the uncanny effect.

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If any Lenape had a child who was weak, sickly, or disobedient, he would send word to the keeper of the mask that he wanted Mĭsinghâli'kŭn to "attend his child." It is said that it did not take the impersonator long to frighten the weakness, sickness, or laziness out of the child, so that thenceforth it would be strong and well, and would obey on the instant when asked to do anything. This effect was probably strengthened by

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COSTUME WORN BY IMPERSONATOR OF MĬSINGHÂLI'KŬN

[Facing p. 34]

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the mother saying, "If you don't behave, MIsi'ng^{w} will carry you off in a bag full of snakes!" This seems to be the only trace of the doctoring function of the mask among the Unami. They also say that when the keeper burns tobacco for MIsinghâli'kŭn and asks for good luck in hunting, "it turns out that way every time;" and if anyone has lost either horses or cattle, whether by straying away or through theft, he can go to the keeper of the MIsi'ng^{w} with some tobacco and recover them. All he has to do is to explain his errand to the keeper, who in turn informs MIsinghâli'kŭn that they want him to look for these particular animals. The loser then goes home, and in a few days the missing stock return, driven back by this mysterious being. If they were tied or hobbled, it is said that the MIsi'ng^{w} appears to them and so frightens them that they break loose and come home. MIsinghâli'kŭn has a special ceremony, held in the spring, and also participates in the Annual Ceremony at the Big House. This MIsi'ng^{w} is also

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776 796 called *Weopĕ'lakis*, to distinguish it from another, kept by a different family, which was not so important, and about which little was known by my informants except that, within their memories, it had never appeared at the Annual Ceremony, but that it probably had a spring dance of its own. There is an indistinct tradition, however, that in former times several masks were seen at the Annual Ceremony, and that half a day was given up to them.

751 777 778 Miniature masks (fig. 3) were often worn on the person as health or good-luck charms, in former days usually suspended from a string about the neck, but in later times carried in the pocket. The two large Unami masks in the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, are shown in pl. II and fig. 1.

776 778 Among the Minsi there are considerable differences in belief and in practice, their masks resembling those of the Iroquois in many particulars. The late James Wolf said that "Mizinkhâli'kŭn" was supposed to live among the rocks

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on a hill, where he was first seen, and told the people how to obtain his power. The mask owners formed a society, which

FIG. 3.—Charm representing Mlsinghâli'kŭn. (Height, 1.9 in.)

had a special meeting-house and ceremonies, and whose chief function it was to expell disease. This will be discussed further in another paper. Peter Jones[25]

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776 778 illustrates two Minsi masks in use in the first part of the nineteenth century, and these are here reproduced (pl. III). The first he calls a "Muncey idol," and says that it was "delivered up by Joe Nicholas on his Conversion to Christianity," and that "Me Zeengk is the name of this God"; while the second, which he names "a Muncey devil idol," "formerly belonging to the Logan family," was "delivered up on the 26th of Jan. 1842." Jones does not refer to these "idols" in the text. The second mask illustrated seems to have a turtleshell rattle tied on its back, the handle projecting downward. Another mask, found by the writer among the Lenape at Grand river, Ontario, and apparently of Minsi type, is shown in fig. 4. It was collected for Mr E. T. Tefft, of New York, but is now in the American Museum of Natural History.

172 776 778 Some of our best evidence indicating the early existence of belief in this Mask Being among the Lenape is furnished by archeology—by the finding of

[text continues on p. 41]

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MASKS OF THE MINSI (AFTER PETER JONES)

[facing p. 38]

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FIG. 4.—Mask from the Canadian Lenape. E. T. Tefft collection, American Museum of Natural History. (Height of head, 14 in.)

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FIG. 5.—Stone head or Misi'ngw' from Ohio. (Height, 13.9 in.)

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[continued from p. 38]

a number of heads or masks of stone (pl. IV) within the boundaries of their former domain in New Jersey and the vicinity,[26] which, when the rarity of such objects in the surrounding regions is also considered, seems quite significant. Such stone heads even mark the trail of the Lenape withdrawal westward through Pennsylvania,[27] and have even been found in Ohio, where they lingered for a time (fig. 5).

The best early description is given by Brainerd,[28] who, in May 1745, while on the Susquehanna above the English settlements, saw a masked Indian who must have been an impersonator of Mĭsinghâli'kŭn. It runs:

"But of all the sights I saw among them, or indeed anywhere else, none appeared so frightful . . . as the appearance of one who was a devout and zealous Reformer, or rather, restorer of what he supposed was the ancient religion of the Indians. He made his appearance in his *pontifical garb*, which was a coat of *bear skins*, dressed with the hair on, and hanging down to his toes; a pair of bear skin stockings; and a great *wooden* face painted, the one half black, the other half

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776 796 [292] [534] tawny, about the color of an Indian's skin, with an extravagant mouth, cut very much awry; the face fastened to a bear skin cap, which was drawn over his head. He advanced toward me with the instrument in his hand, which he used for music, in his idolatrous worship, which was a dry *tortoise shell* with some corn in it, and the neck of it drawn on to a piece of wood, which made a very convenient handle. As he came forward, he beat his tune with the rattle, and danced with all his might, but he did not suffer any part of his body, not so much as his fingers, to be seen."

776 778 With the exception of one minor point, the "wry mouth," this would be a good description of the MIsi'ng$^{w^t}$ outfit used until recently by the Lenape in Oklahoma (pl. II). On the following page, Brainerd mentions "images" which seem to be the MIsi'ng$^{w^t}$ faces carved on the posts of the Big House.

Zeisberger[29] also refers to the masks in these words:

"The only idol which the Indians have, and which may properly be called an idol, is their *Wsinkhoalican*, that is image. It is an image cut in wood, representing a human head in miniature, which they always carry about them either on a

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STONE HEAD OR MĬSI'NGʷ, FROM STATEN ISLAND, N. Y.
(Staten Island Institute of Arts and Sciences)

[facing p.32]

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string around their neck or in a bag. They often bring offerings to it. In their houses of sacrifice they have a head of this idol as large as life put upon a pole in the middle of the room."

In his Dictionary, Zeisberger gives the word for "idol" as *mĕsiŋk'*, so it seems probable that the *W* in "Wsinkhoalikan" is a misprint for *M*.

MOTHER CORN

One of the important *manĭtowŭk* of the old days was the Corn Goddess, known as "Mother Corn" of whom one of the Unami legends collected by the writer relates that "It was God's will that the Corn Spirit abide in the far heavenly region in the image of an aged woman, with dominion over all vegetation." Although little remembrance of the details of her worship can now be found among the Oklahoma Lenape, shĕ is mentioned as a Guardian Spirit; while at the Minsi ceremonies at Grand River Reserve in Ontario, she was one of the twelve benefactors of mankind to whom the thanks of the people were offered

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776 and Minsi women mentioned "Sister Corn" in praying for good crops in the corn fields; while Zeisberger[30] says that the presiding *Mani'to* of Indian Corn or maize was spoken of as the "wife" of the Indian, and was offered bear's flesh.

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CHAPTER II

Minor Deities

DOLL BEING

THE masks described in the last chapter are merely representations of a supernatural being, and are not supposed to be the dwellings of a spirit or spirits except when worn by an impersonator, who is said to become imbued with the spirit when the mask is donned; nor are they usually supposed to possess inherent power, except as symbols of Mĭsinghâlĭ'-kŭn. But the Lenape had also a class of images, usually of wood, representing the human form, which were supposed to possess life, or at least to be the residence of spirits, which, so far as can be learned, had no separate existence. They were supposed to understand what was said to them, and to have the power of pro-

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tecting the owner's health, to enjoy offerings, resent ill-treatment, and in fact seem to fall into the class of true fetishes. Usually, but not always, representing the female figure, they were kept as a rule by women, and were given yearly feasts, at which outfits of new clothes were put on them. The native name in Unami is *O''das*; in Minsi, *Nani'tls*. The ceremonies and beliefs associated with them will be described later, in the chapter on minor ceremonies. Most of the early writers seem to have overlooked them, which is not surprising, since they were matters of personal and not of public concern, and their rites were held in private. John Brainerd, however, mentions an "idol image"[31] which seems to be of this class, and a Minsi specimen is figured by Peter Jones[32] and mentioned by him in a footnote. This was afterward procured by the writer from Jones' son, and is now in the American Museum of Natural History (pl. VIII). John Brainerd (brother of the better known David) made his note of the custom

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about the middle of the eighteenth century, while that of Jones dates from about a century later. 776 778

TORNADO

Besides the gods hitherto named there were many other deities of lesser importance. The tornado, for instance, was one of these beings classed as *manl'towŭk*. He is mentioned as a giant in size, walking on his hands when in action, his long hair entangling and sweeping away forests and villages; and sometimes as a winged being. When a "cyclone" was seen approaching, some would burn tobacco, and addressing the roaring monster as "Grandfather," would pray that he turn aside and leave the village in peace. Others, scorning such measures of conciliation, would burn old moccasins and rubbish, advising the destroyer to turn aside if he wished to escape the stinging smoke; while still others, even less conciliatory, threatened him with the edge of an axe, vowing they would "break a wing for him" if he came their way. It 776 782 821

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776 782 821 was commonly said in the tribe that on account of these practices the Lenape suffered little from this evil *manĭ'to*.

SNOW BOY

776 821 [782] Another minor *manĭ'to* is Snow Boy, a being who is supposed to control snow and ice, but who is different from "Our Grandfather at the North," who merely supplies the north wind. Offerings were made to Snow Boy to insure a proper amount of snow for tracking in the winter hunt. Further information concerning these last two *manĭ'towŭk* will be found in the paper on Lenape Mythology, now in preparation.

COMET

[787] There is a third *manĭ'to* called *Elau'nato*, which some Lenape say means "Comet," others "Shooting Star." When a war is impending, says the legend, this being may be seen flying through the air, carrying a bunch of human heads. After Elau'nato has passed, if one listens he will hear a distant rumbling sound, for this *manĭ'to* knows beforehand where the

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fighting will take place, and drops the heads on the spot, and the noise of their fall is a roar like thunder. 776 821

EVIL MANĬ'TOWŬK

Both the Great Horned Serpents, monsters living in the rivers and lakes, and the Giant Bear were considered evil *manĭ'towŭk*, the only good derived from them being, in the first case, charms made of the scales, bone, or horn of the monsters, supposed to bring rain; and, in the second case, a medicine made from the tooth said to have the power of healing wounds. Children were accustomed to hunt in the sand for tracks of the Little People, comparable with fairies or elves among the whites. 776

ANIMAL SPIRITS

The concepts regarding the numerous animal spirits who were believed to offer themselves as guardians for mankind, are rather hard to define. Most Indians seem to regard their mysterious animal helper not as the spirit or soul of any 774 776

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774 776 particular animal taken as an individual, but as a spirit representing the entire species as a whole and partaking of the nature of the species, at the same time having human and *manI'to* attributes.

776 778 Brainerd[33] makes some interesting remarks on this subject, which are worth quoting:

> "They do not indeed suppose a divine power *essential* to, or *inhering* in, these creatures; but that some invisible beings . . . communicate to these animals a *great power;* . . . and so make these creatures the immediate authors of good to certain persons. Whence such a creature becomes *sacred* to the persons to whom he is supposed to be the immediate author of good, and through him they must worship the invisible powers, though to others he is no more than any other creature."

Certain it is, if a Lenape states that his blessing or power comes from "the otter," he does not mean some particular otter, but a spirit otter whose existence is independent of the life of any particular animal. However, such an animal was [774] supposed, like a man, to have a spirit or soul of its own.

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PLANT SPIRITS

When gathering herbs for medicine it was customary to offer prayers to certain spirits. Some seem to have prayed at this time to the four directions, others to the presiding genius of the species of plants they sought, or to the spirit of the individual plant itself. The Minsi say that only certain plants were thus addressed. The Corn Spirit has already been mentioned.

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LOCAL GENII

Certain localities, it is said, were thought to be the dwellings of local genii, to whom offerings were occasionally made, especially such places as displayed curious or unusual natural features, while even certain stones were said to have an animate principle or indwelling spirit.

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CHAPTER III

SURVIVAL OF THE SOUL

THE SOUL

775 THE doctrine of the survival of the soul or spirit after the death of the body, forms an integral part of Lenape belief. The spirit is supposed to leave the body at the moment of dissolution, but remains in the vicinity eleven days, during which time it subsists on food found in the houses of the living, if none has been placed at the grave. Some say that the actual food is not consumed but that the ghost extracts some essence or nourishment from it.

THE LAND OF SPIRITS

On the twelfth day the spirit leaves the earth and makes its way to the twelfth or highest heaven, the home of the Creator,

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where it lives indefinitely in a veritable "Happy Hunting Ground," a beautiful country where life goes on much as it does on earth, except that pain, sickness, and sorrow are unknown, and distasteful work and worry have no place; where children shall meet their parents who have gone before, and parents their children; where everything always looks new and bright. There is no sun in the Land of Spirits, but a brighter light which the Creator has provided. All people who die here, be they young or old, will look the same age there, and the blind, cripples,—anyone who has been maimed or injured,—will be perfect and as good as any there. This is because the flesh only was injured, not the spirit.

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This paradise, however, is only for the good, for those who have been kind to their fellows and have done their duty by their people. Little is said of those who have done evil in this world, except that they are excluded from the happy Land of Spirits. Some Unami say that the blood in a dead body draws up into

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775 globular form and floats about in the air as a luminous ball, but this is not the true spirit.

The Minsi seem to have retained a more archaic belief, for they say that the Land of Spirits lies to the southwest, in a country of good hunting. Here they say, the wigwams of the spirits are always neat and clean, and happiness prevails. But between our world and the spirit country flows a river which the spirit must cross on a slender foot-log or in a canoe.

GHOSTS AND MEDIUMSHIP

775 787 Ghosts do not seem always to have left the earth at the expiration of the twelve days, or else they have the power of returning, for the Lenape claim that boys, dreaming for power, have sometimes been pitied and given some blessing by the ghosts, who remained their guardian spirits through life. Such people were considered to have the power of talking with the departed and sometimes made a practice of it, but mediumship was by

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no means confined to them. Among the Minsi formerly they were accustomed to hold meetings in the burial grounds at certain times, when some medium, it is said, would communicate with the spirits. 775 787

The late James Wolf, one of the principal Minsi informants, was said to have this power. One time a man was drowned in the Thames river near Munceytown in Ontario, and the body could not be located. Wolf, it is said, walked up and down the river-banks, with a companion, talking to the water. At last a strange sound was heard, and Wolf stopped. "That was the dead man's spirit," he said; "the body lies right over in that hole." Surely enough, when they procured a boat, they found the body in the hole, wedged beneath a sunken log.

Certain regular ceremonies were held by both the Unami and the Minsi in honor of the dead, and will be discussed in a later paper. 769

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EARLY ACCOUNTS

Penn.—In William Penn's letter,[34] dated August 16, 1683, is the first mention of any details of Lenape beliefs regarding the soul that has been found. He says:

"They say there is a King that made them, who dwells in a glorious Country to the Southward of them, and that the Souls of the Good shall go thither, where they shall live again."

Brainerd.—The same Indian whom Brainerd saw in 1745 dressed in a bear-skin costume and with a wooden mask, told him[35] that—

"departed souls all went *southward*, and that the difference between good and bad was this: that the *former* were admitted into a beautiful town with *spiritual* walls, and that the *latter* would forever hover around these walls, in vain attempts to get in."

Later,[36] Brainerd speaks of the Spirit Land of the Lenape to the southward as being "an unknown and curious place" in which the shadows of the dead "will enjoy some kind of happiness, such as hunting, feasting, dancing, and the like."

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One of his Indian informants defined the kind of "bad folks" who would be unhappy in the hereafter as "those who lie, steal, quarrel with their neighbors, are unkind to their friends, and especially to aged parents, and, in a word, such as are a plague to mankind." These would be excluded from the "Happy Hunting Ground," not so much as a punishment to themselves, as to keep them from rendering unhappy the spirits of the good inhabiting the "beautiful town."

Zeisberger.—About 1748, according to Zeisberger,[37] a number of preachers appeared among the Indians, who claimed to have traveled in Heaven and conversed with God. Some exhibited charts of deerskin upon which were drawn maps of the Land of Spirits and figures representing other subjects used in their preaching. Some of their ideas concerning the Son of God, the Devil, and Hell, are evidently derived from the whites; others seem more aboriginal in character, such as purification by emetics, twelve different kinds being used. He wrote:

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"Other teachers pretended that stripes were the most effectual means to purge away sin. They advised their hearers to suffer themselves to be beaten with twelve different sticks from the soles of their feet to their necks, that their sins might pass from them through their throats. They preached a system of morals, very severe for the savages, insisting that the Indians abstain from fornication, adultery, murder, theft, and practise virtuous living as the condition to their attaining after death the place of good spirits, which they call Tschipeghacki, the 'land of spirits,' where the life is happy, and deer, bear and all manner of game are abundant and the water is like crystal. There nought was to be heard save singing, dancing and merry making.

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. . . The passage thither is the Milky Way. . . . Whoever reaches that place will find a city of beautiful houses and clean streets. Entering a house he will see no one, but have good things to eat placed before him, a fire made and a bed prepared—all of which is done by spirits invisible to him. Others assert that such an one will see the women coming with baskets on their backs full of strawberries and bilberries, large as apples, and will observe the inhabitants daily appear in fine raiment and live a life of rejoicing.—The bad Indians . . . will not reach the place, Tschipeghacki, but must remain some distance away, able to see those within dwelling happily, but not able to enter. They would receive nothing

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but poisonous wood and poisonous roots to eat, holding them ever near the brink of a bitter death, but not suffering them to die."

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Zeisberger usually specifies when his information is derived from tribes other than the Lenape, from whom most of his data were procured; so it is probable that the following quotation applies to them, although in part somewhat at variance with our other knowledge. He says:[38]

"They believe in the immortality of the soul. Some liken themselves to corn which, when thrown out and buried in the soil, comes up and grows. Some believe their souls to be in the sun, and only their bodies here. Others say that when they die their souls will go to God, and suppose that when they have been some time with God they will be at liberty to return to the world and be born again. Hence many believe . . . that they may have been in the world before.

"They believe also in the transmigration of the soul. Wandering spirits and ghosts, they claim, sometimes throw something into a public path and whoever goes over it is bewitched and becomes lame or ill."

Such was the Lenape belief with regard to the powers that control the world, and such were his notions concerning the

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souls of men. The main channel of communication between this great supernatural realm and mankind was, to the Lenape as to so many other tribes of Indians, the dream or vision, experienced either while fasting or in natural sleep. This subject will be considered in the next chapter.

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CHAPTER IV

Visions and Guardian Spirits

HE most vital and intimate phase of Lenape religion is the belief in dreams and visions, and in the existence of personal guardian spirits or supernatural helpers—concepts of wide distribution among the North American tribes, but rarely, perhaps, so vivid or well-developed as we find them here. The vision was the point of contact, the channel of communication, in Lenape belief, between the great and marvelous supernatural world and the sphere of everyday human life. In a vision the youth first found his guardian spirit, to whom he would always appeal, as his own special friend in the supernatural hierarchy, for aid and comfort in time of trouble, and for the revelation of coming events. He felt that this being took a close personal interest in his

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affairs, while the greater gods, including the Great Spirit himself, were so remote and so occupied with controlling more important things that they might not notice or concern themselves with the affairs of one individual man. Therefore the bulk of his prayers and offerings went to his guardian spirit. If a Lenape won great success on a war expedition or a hunting trip, he was sure the spirit had helped him; if unlucky, he believed that for some reason his guardian had become estranged, or had been overpowered by superior and malevolent forces. A man might become a sorcerer or a shaman at the behest of his guardian spirit, given in a dream or vision, or change his mode of life in other ways. Not every Lenape was blessed with such a guardian; yet many were so favored, usually in their boyhood days. To be eligible for supernatural favor, the youth had to *pi'lsü*^{n}, or pure, which means that not only must he be chaste, but that he must have kept strictly all the taboos against eating food prepared by

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women in their periodic condition, etc. Old Lenape say that, as the children of the tribe are reared nowadays in the same way as the whites, they can no longer be *pi'lsŭ*ⁿ, and the Powers will speak to them no more. This is a sad matter, for it means the loss of their principal ancient ceremonies, at which only those blessed with a vision can take active part. The old people feel it keenly that there will be no one left to conduct the rites when the last of their generation has been laid away. 776 787

INITIATION OF BOYS

Parents were especially anxious, of course, that their sons should have supernatural aid, hence, when a boy reached the age of about twelve years, they would frequently pretend to abuse him, and would drive him, fasting, out into the forest to shift as best he might, in the hope that some *mani'to* would take pity on the suffering child and grant him some power or blessing that would be his dependence through life. 787 881

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Sometimes a man who had several sons would take them out into the forest and build them a rude little tent, and here they would remain for days at a time. During the day the boys were not permitted to eat, but just before sunrise every morning each was given a medicine to make him vomit, after which a tiny piece of meat was given him, about the size of a man's little finger. Occasionally the boys became able to fast in this way for twelve days, at the end of which time, the Lenape say, some had received such power that they were able to rise into the air, or go down into the ground, or prophesy events a year or two ahead, with the magic aid of the supernatural being that had taken pity on them.

OTHER VISIONS

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It sometimes happened also that people received visions of power in natural sleep without fasting, or even when wide awake, while feeling melancholy and heartsick over the death of a loved one, or suffering other misfortune or trouble.

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As they sat brooding, some *manĭ'to* might address himself to them, and give them advice and comfort, or endow them with some kind of power. Women occasionally had visions of this kind. 787

THE GUARDIAN SPIRIT

Whatever the precise circumstances of its appearance, the guardian spirit in many instances was said to show itself first in human form, and it was only when it turned to leave that its real shape (of an animal, for instance) was noticed by the recipient of its blessing. Sometimes the interview was quite long and the directions given by the *manĭ'to* (for ceremonies, etc.) quite explicit; on other occasions they were very vague and cryptic. Frequently, according to the stories told, some tangible object, called by the Unami the *opi'na*, or blessing, was handed by the *manĭ'to* to the recipient of his favor, who usually swallowed it. Some recipients were called on, however, to make and keep some symbol of their protector, which was 776 787 [789]

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776 787 [789] usually worn on the person in the form of a charm.

533 554 776 787 FAVORED INDIVIDUALS.—Persons favored with a guardian spirit usually became prominent among their people and were held in high esteem. They composed rythmic chants referring to their visions for use at the Annual Ceremony. (which will be discussed in the next chapter), and dance songs to accompany them. Rarely were the words of either chants or songs at all definite: as a rule they merely mentioned attributes of the singer's guardian, or incidents of their first meeting, without stating outright what the guardian spirit was, or telling a consecutive story of the vision.

787 Most Lenape who have had such visions can not be induced to tell the details; but the following examples of such experiences, imperfect in many points, were finally obtained. Incomplete though they are, they will give some idea of this class of beliefs and in this way may prove of value.

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UNAMI EXAMPLES.—One old man named Pokite'hemun ("Breaker"), known to the whites in Oklahoma as George Wilson, saw in his vision what seemed to be a man who held out to him a white round object like a boy's marble, then tossed it to him. Pokite'-hemun caught it and swallowed it. Then as it turned to go, the being cried "*Kwank! kwank! kwank!* The ducks have a praying meeting in the fall of the year!" As it turned, Pokite'hemun noticed that it was really a duck instead of a man, and was colored half black and half white.[39] 787

Pokite'hemun could pound on his chest at any time and apparently cough up a round marble-like object, which he would show in his hand and then appear to swallow again. This he claimed was the *opi'na* given by his guardian spirit.

He seemed to regard the words of the duck spirit as an admonition to do all he could to keep up the tribal Annual Ceremony, which was held in the fall; while the "blessing" gave him good 533 539 787

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fortune. The chant he composed for use at this ceremony is as follows:

Lawulĕnjei
Wū"jegŭk loxweyu
Kwē"nanowagū"
Waila"goma"ole
Lĕnape, eli nanū"
Telowa", lowa"
Nu"ni, ĕndageko
Lowaet, lowa nū"ni.

The interpreter's translation, which is a somewhat free one, follows:

"When he opened his hand
Something came out of the center
That's his blessing
(For?) our kinfolks, the

Lenape; because that
Is what he said, he did say
This, when
He spoke, he said this."

Then came the dance song:

He-e-e-e nehani
Latama"ne
Nehani lama"ne
Kwe"nanowagŭn, nowagŭn
Hayela"goma"
Gweheyeha
Gehe!

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This, according to the interpreter, means simply, when stripped of its superfluous syllables, "We own a temple—his blessing—our kinfolks."

Another man saw in his boyhood vision the Mĭsinghâli'kŭn, or Living Solid Face, riding on a deer. I was unable to get the details of their meeting, or the chant, but this is the dance song:

Hehotawege'na
Hotowege'na
Xingâlo'pai awhe'wani
Mĭsinghâli'kŭn
Hâli'kŭne
A-he'-he-he'!

This, the interpreter said, means "Riding it, riding it, big buck deer, this one, Mĭsinghâli'kŭn!" Seldom do the songs or chants refer so definitely to the protector as does this.

A third Lenape, when a boy, was sent out to the corn-field to drive away the crows. As he stood by the field he saw them flying around to light on a tree near by. Suddenly someone spoke to him, and among the things said (which

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were not revealed to me) were the words "I like this Lenape food," referring to the corn. The boy thought a man was addressing him, until the person suddenly flew away in the form of a crow, crying "*Ha! Ha! Ha!*" I failed to get the Indian words for the song, and my informant did not remember the chant, but the translation of the song was given as follows:

"I like this Lenape food:"
I never knew a crow said that
Till the crow was cawing
"Ha! Ha! Ha!"

A fourth had seen some kind of an animal in his vision, but never told any of his tribesmen what it was. His song, as now remembered, was translated thus:

Come, follow me,
I am going
Out into the country.

A fifth had "Mother Corn" (the Corn Spirit) for a guardian, but only part of his song is remembered.

"All my children
Are glad when I come out!"

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Some people were helped by the spirits of the dead in the same way that others received aid from animal or other nature spirits. 775 787

"Old man" Secondine, now dead, a well known Oklahoma Lenape, was one of these. When a boy his parents drove him out in the woods, as was the custom, in the hope that he might receive a supernatural helper. After wandering about for a time, he took refuge in a large hollow tree, and made that his camping place. Before long he was visited by apparitions of persons he knew to be dead, who took pity on his starving condition, and brought him food which they had taken at night from the houses of the living, this being the way that disembodied spirits are supposed to get nourishment when visiting the scenes of their earthly life. In the meantime his parents were unable to find him, and searched for him without avail until the ghosts finally revealed to them his camping place, and then he was brought safely home. Ever afterward he claimed the

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775 787 ghosts as his guardians, and like others blessed with this kind of helpers, was said to hold some kind of communication with the departed.

787 MINSI EXAMPLES.—The late James Wolf, my principal Minsi informant, was said to possess this power, as was stated in the preceding chapter. He had, moreover, received another vision when a boy, but had made little, if any, use of it, because of his profession of Christianity. One time in his boyhood days, he told me, he thought or dreamed (he was not asleep at the time) that there was no water in the river, and that he went down into its bed and found only one little hole containing water. In this was a creature resembling a catfish, yet somewhat different, and near it was an ordinary crayfish, while on the surface of the water walked a number of little flies. The boy thinking what he had seen was real, ran home in haste to tell his father. The father walked down with him to see, but stopped on the bank where

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the edge of the water had been, while the boy ran on down to his pool. The river-bed seemed dry to him, but his father would not come, saying that the river was full of water. The boy then came out and they started for home, but before they were out of sight, the lad looked back. To his surprise, the river was full as usual. 787

The father, who was Flying Wolf, a noted Minsi warrior, had been favored himself, when a boy, with a rather unusual sort of vision, which James Wolf related to me, as nearly as possible the way the old man used to tell it at the Annual Ceremony.

"When I was a boy, I was once fast asleep on a hill near a little creek. Someone said, 'Wake up! Let us go where our friends are!' So I got up and followed him across the little creek and up a hill, where I saw six men sitting on a log. Then I went up and shook hands with them all. After they had shaken hands with me they all danced around in a ring." At this point he used to sing one verse of his dance song— [533] [539]

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Wčmi wango"towak kewiha
All greet one another
Yoki lĭnape witci.
Now Lenape at the same time
E-ye-he-ye-ĕl

"They told me, 'We will go to see our friends,' so I went with them. Every now and then they stopped and danced around as they had done before. After a while one of them told me to look toward the south, and there I saw a black cloud in which the lightning flashed. 'Would you like to go there?' they asked me. I answered 'No.' Then one asked if I wanted to go *that* way, pointing to the northeast, where the sky was blue and bright, to which I answered that I would rather go in that direction toward the clear sky. A little farther on they said: 'We will now leave you. Watch us as we go.' They went to the east a little way, and then I saw them trotting. They were wolves, and I had thought all the while that they were human beings."

[776] Verses of the dance song were sung at intervals during this speech. From analogy with other visions, such as are

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recorded above, one would think that the six wolf-men must have become Flying Wolf's protectors, but instead, it was a Thunder Being that became his principal guardian, whose participation in the vision is merely inferred from the mention in the speech of the black cloud and the lightning. Evidently this Thunder Being was not offended when Flying Wolf told his guides that he would rather go toward the clear sky than toward the black cloud.

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The Minsi say that when Flying Wolf recited his vision in the Big House ceremonies, he moved everyone, some even to tears. After he had finished, they say, a thunder-shower would almost always rise. He would become strangely excited when the dark clouds began to bank up on the horizon and spread themselves over the land. Stripping himself to the breechcloth, he was ready to go out when the storm broke, for he would never stay beneath a roof at such a time. He loved to expose his body to the driving gusts of wind and rain; the appalling

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roar was music to his ears; while the lighting, to the eyes of the frightened onlookers, seemed to play about his very body. He used to say that if he stayed indoors the lightning display would be so terrible that the others in the house could not endure it. No wonder they used to say of him, "*Piles'waL pewa'latcil!*" "He is in league with the Thunders!", or better, perhaps, "The Thunders will protect him!"

Within the memory of Minsi now living in Canada there were two members of the tribe who claimed the Sun spirit, *Ki'zho* (or *Ki'zhox*) as their protector. One of these was known as "Old man" Halfmoon, the other as "Muncey John" Henry. Halfmoon, it is said, when he wished to appear as a warrior, would sometimes hold his bare hands up toward the flaming face of his guardian, then rub the palms down his cheeks. When he removed his hands, it was seen that his face, clean before, was now painted in brilliant colors! "Surely," the people cried, "this man is in league with the Sun!"

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That the idea of a tangible 'blessing' is found among the Minsi, as well as among the Unami, is shown in certain of their traditions. 776 787

HISTORICAL REFERENCES.—*Brainerd.*—Brainerd seems to have been about the first author to recognize in any degree the importance of the dream or vision in Lenape religious belief. He says:[40]

"They give much heed to *dreams*, because they suppose that these invisible powers give them directions at such times about certain affairs, and sometimes inform them what *animal* they would choose to be worshipped in."

Other remarks by Brainerd on the same general topic were quoted in the preceding chapter.

Zeisberger.—Zeisberger[41] also devotes a paragraph to it, in which he says:

"Almost all animals and the elements are looked upon as spirits, one exceeding the other in dignity and power. There is scarcely an Indian who does not believe that one or more of these spirits has not been particularly given him to assist him and make him prosper. This, they claim, has been made known to them in a dream, even as their religious belief and witchcraft has

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been made known to them in a dream. One has, in a dream, received a serpent or a buffalo, another the sun or the moon, another an owl or some other bird, another a fish, some even ridiculously insignificant creatures such as ants. These are considered their spirits or *Manittos*. If an Indian has no Manitto to be his friend he considers himself forsaken, has nothing on which he may lean, has no hope of any assistance and is small in his own eyes. On the other hand those who have been thus favored possess a high and proud spirit."

Loskiel.—Loskiel's account[42] seems largely derived from the above. He remarks:

"The *manittos* are also considered as tutelar spirits. Every Indian has one or more, which he conceives to be peculiarly given to assist him and make him prosper. One has in a dream received the sun as his tutelar spirit, another the moon; a third, an owl; a fourth, a buffaloe; and so forth. An Indian is dispirited, and considers himself as forsaken by God, till he has received a tutelar spirit in a dream; But those who have been thus favored, are full of courage, and proud of their powerful ally."

Heckewelder.—Heckewelder[43] devotes a whole chapter to the subject, under the head of "Initiation of Boys," to which

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the reader is referred, as it is all of interest, but can not be reproduced here. I will merely quote portions of one paragraph, which will serve to show that this author found approximately similar ideas as had his predecessors, concepts which still exist among the Lenape.

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"When a boy is to be thus *initiated*, he is put under an alternate course of physic and fasting . . . so that he sees, or fancies that he sees visions, and has extraordinary dreams. Then he has interviews with the Manitto or with spirits, who inform him of what he was before he was born, and what he will be after his death. His fate in this life is laid entirely open before him, the spirit tells him what is to be his future employment, whether he will be a valiant warrior, a mighty hunter, a doctor, a conjuror or a prophet."

Later in the chapter Heckewelder mentions the fact that persons favored with such dreams considered themselves under the protection of the "celestial powers," and mentions the "strength, the power, and the courage" conveyed to them, but lays more stress on the prophetic side of these visions than on the actual

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aid rendered, according to Lenape belief, by the supernatural guardians.

Adams.—From Heckewelder's time to the present, I know of but one writer, besides myself, who describes, from his own observation, the Lenape belief in visions and guardian spirits. This is R. C. Adams,[41] himself of Delaware blood, whose notes may be found in the volume on Indians of the United States Census Report for 1890 (p. 298 et seq.). He says:

> "It is believed by the Delawares that every one has a guardian spirit which comes in the form of some bird, animal, or other thing, at times in dreams, and tells them what to do and what will happen. The guardian spirit is sent from the Great Spirit."

Having now considered the very foundation of Lenape religion, we may turn with better understanding, to their great Annual Ceremony.

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CHAPTER V

UNAMI ANNUAL CEREMONY

THE LEADER

THE great Annual Ceremony of the Lenape now in Oklahoma was and is held when the leaves turn yellow in the fall of the year, usually, according to the "pale face" reckoning, some time between the tenth and twentieth of October. It is not exactly a tribal affair, although the whole tribe participates, but must be undertaken by some certain individual of the proper qualifications who takes the responsibility of "bringing in" the meeting and acting as a leader.

The phratry to which this leader belongs determines the exact form of the ceremonies to be held; for each totemic group has a ritual of its own, that of the Wolf, which is

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6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
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LENAPE CEREMONIAL HOUSE NEAR DEWEY, OKLAHOMA

[Facing p. 82]

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796x here related, differing in some particulars from the ceremonies as practised by the Turtle or Turkey people. In former times, it is said, when one phratry had finished its twelve days of ceremonies, another would enact theirs, followed by the third; but at present qualified leaders are so few that it seldom if ever happens that more than one of them feels able to accept such exacting duties in any one year.

202
796x This leader it is who sends a messenger forth to notify the people what day the ceremonies are to commence and to invite them all to attend.

346
796x Several days before the date the wagons begin to roll in and a white village of tents springs up about the gray walls of the old Big House, temple, or *xi'ngwikan* (pl. v), standing on the banks of Little Caney river, north of Dewey in northern Oklahoma, far from any human habitation.

Built of rough logs, the Big House is now provided with a roof of hand-split shingles pierced by two great smoke-holes, as shown in the frontispiece and in

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pl. v, vi, but in former days the roof was of bark. The length is about 40 ft. from east to west, with a height at the eaves of about 6 ft., at the ridge 14 ft., and a width of 24.5 ft. Aside from certain ingenuities of construction which can not be discussed here, its chief interest lies in the two large carvings of the human face, one facing east (fig. 6) and one west, which adorn the great central post supporting the ridge-pole. Similar carvings, but smaller, may be seen upon each of the six posts which support the logs forming the sides (fig. 7), and still smaller ones, one upon each of the four door-posts. All twelve faces are painted, the right side of each red, the left black. The building is used only for the Annual Ceremony.

FIG. 6.—Central post of Ceremonial House, showing carved face.

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[532]

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OFFICERS

[796] [202] The messenger sent to assemble the people is one of three male attendants chosen by the leader, and these three men appoint three women to serve also. To these six attendants, known as *a'ckas*,

[346] [532]

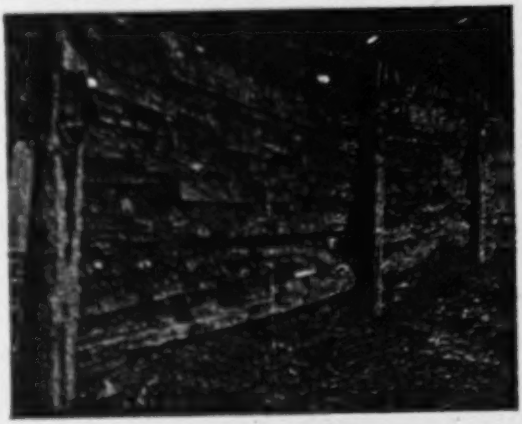

FIG. 7.—Side posts of Ceremonial House, showing carved faces.

[554] falls all the laborious work of the meeting. Although the duties are menial, it is considered quite an honor to be selected as *a'ckas*. The attendants camp on the north and south sides of the little open

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square just east of the Big House (pl. VII), an area where no one is allowed to pitch a tent. 796x

Other officers selected for the meeting are a speaker (usually at the time of the writer's visit, Chief Charley Elkhair), two singers, called *Tale'gunilk*, "Cranes," whose duty it is to beat the dry deerskin drum and sing the necessary songs, and a chief hunter who is supposed to provide venison for the feast. [533]

PREPARATIONS

Arrived at the Big House, the attendants begin at once to prepare the building for use after its year of idleness. The first act of the men is to make mortar of mud, in the old style, and stop the cracks between the logs of the house. 346 796x

Then they cut two forked saplings, and set them in the ground about ten feet apart, some distance in front of the Big House (see pl. VII); upon these is laid a pole, running east and west, to support the twenty-gallon kettle used in preparing hominy for the feast. After this they 354 796x 372 796x

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gather about a cord of wood for the fires inside the Big House and the cooking fire outside. Then the first night, a fire pure and undefiled by the white man

[401]

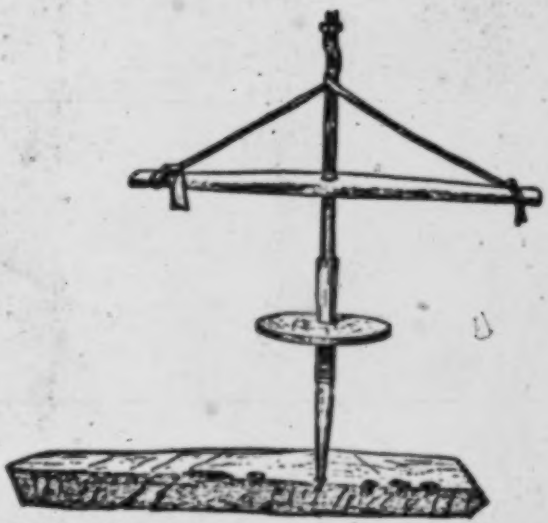

FIG. 8.—Ceremonial fire-drill used at the Annual Ceremony. (Length of shaft, 29.5 in.)

and his matches, is made with a fire-drill (fig. 8). This is operated on the principal of a pump-drill, like the ceremonial fire-drills of the Iroquois. This fire, and

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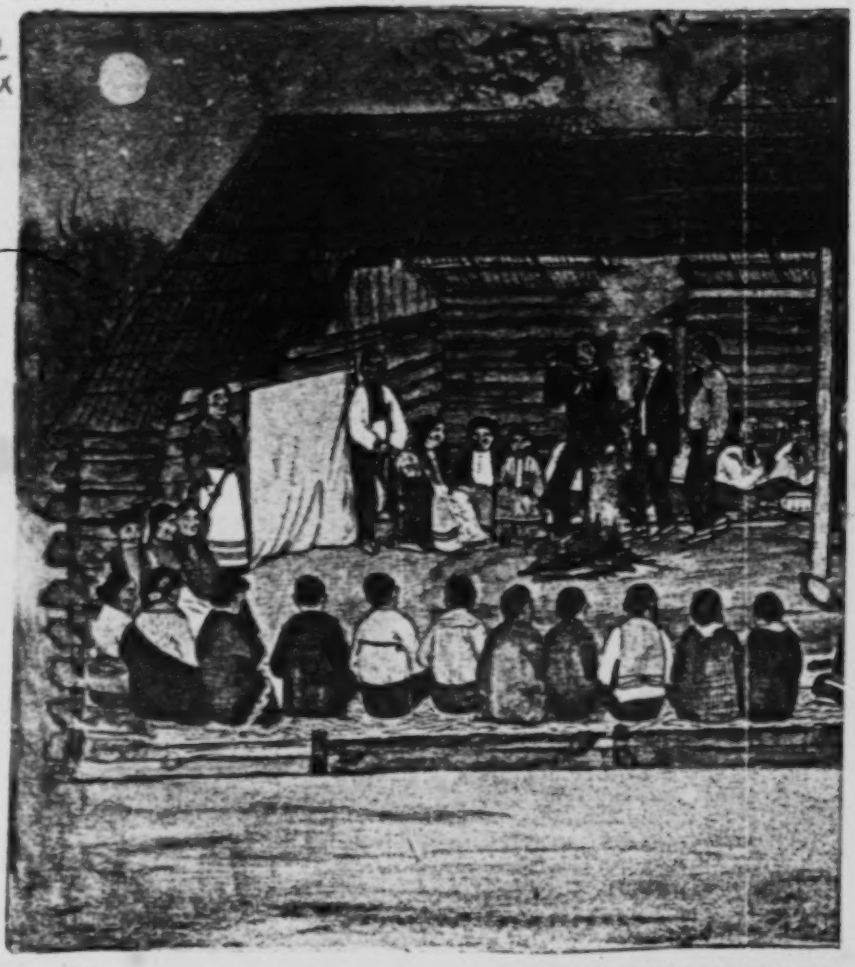

LENAPE ANNUAL CEREMONY IN
Native Painting by Earnest Spybuck.

[Following p. 86(A)]

[IN color]

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
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PL. VI

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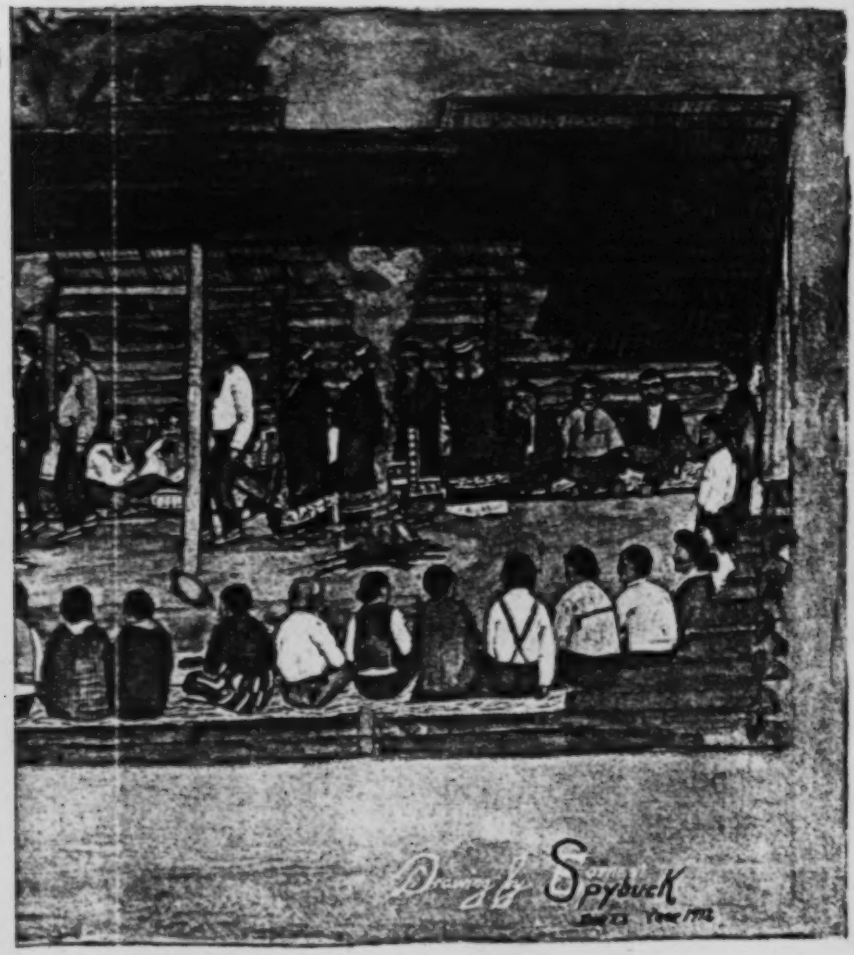

NUAL CEREMONY IN PROGRESS
nting by Earnest Spybuck, a Shawnee

[Following p. 86(B)]
[in color]

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this only, may be used in the temple, and no one is permitted to take it outside for any purpose. 796x [372]

CEREMONY COMMENCED

Two of the attendants, a man and a woman, then build the two fires in the temple, so that there may be plenty of light, and sweep the floor with turkey-wings for brushes. The men attendants take turns so that one of them, at least, is always on guard outside the building. When the temple is clean, the fires are burning bright, and the *a'ckas* have called the people in and all are assembled, the chief arises and delivers a speech. [237] [415]

CHIEF'S SPEECH

First he states the rules of the meeting, then he speaks along some such line as the following, which was dictated by Chief Elkhair, who frequently made these speeches: 537 796x 539

"We are thankful that so many of us are alive to meet together here once more, and that we are ready to hold our

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ceremonies in good faith. Now we shall meet here twelve nights in succession to pray to Gicelĕmû''kaong, who has directed us to worship in this way. And these twelve Mĭsi'ng$^{w't}$ faces [carved on the posts of the house] are here to watch and to carry our prayers to Gicelĕmû''-kaong in the highest heaven. The reason why we dance at this time is to raise our prayers to him. Our attendants here, three women and three men, have the task of keeping everything about our Temple in good order, and of trying to keep peace, if there is trouble. They must haul wood and build fires, cook and sweep out the Big House.

"When they sweep, they must sweep both sides of the fire twelve times, which sweeps a road to Heaven, just as they say that it takes twelve years to reach it. Women in their menses must not enter this house.

"When we come into this house of ours we are glad, and thankful that we are well, and for everything that makes us feel good which the Creator has placed

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here for our use. We come here to pray Him to have mercy on us for the year to come and to give us everything to make us happy; may we have good crops, and no dangerous storms, floods nor earthquakes. We all realize what He has put before us all through life, and that He has given us a way to pray to Him and thank Him. We are thankful to the East because everyone feels good in the morning when they awake, and see the bright light coming from the East, and when the Sun goes down in the West we feel good and glad we are well; then we are thankful to the West. And we are thankful to the North, because when the cold winds come we are glad to have lived to see the leaves fall again; and to the South, for when the south wind blows and everything is coming up in the spring, we are glad to live to see the grass growing and everything green again. We thank the Thunders, for they are the *manī'towŭk* that bring the rain, which the Creator has given them power to rule over. And we thank our mother, the

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Earth, whom we claim as mother because the Earth carries us and everything we need. When we eat and drink and look around, we know it is Gicelĕmû"kaong that makes us feel good that way. He gives us the purest thoughts that can be had. We should pray to Him every morning.

"Man has a spirit, and the body seems to be a coat for that spirit. That is why people should take care of their spirits, so as to reach Heaven and be admitted to the Creator's dwelling. We are given some length of time to live on earth, and then our spirits must go. When anyone's time comes to leave this earth, he should go to Gicelĕmû"kaong, feeling good on the way. We all ought to pray to Him, to prepare ourselves for days to come so that we can be with Him after leaving the earth.

"We must all put our thoughts to this meeting, so that Gicelĕmû"kaong will look upon us and grant what we ask. You all come here to pray; you have a way to reach Him all through life, Do

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not think of evil; strive always to think of the good which He has given us.

"When we reach that place, we shall not have to do anything or worry about anything, only live a happy life. We know there are many of our fathers who have left this earth and are now in this happy place in the Land of Spirits. When we arrive we shall see our fathers, mothers, children, and sisters there. And when we have prepared ourselves so that we can go to where our parents and children are, we feel happy.

"Everything looks more beautiful there than here, everything looks new, and the waters and fruits and everything are lovely.

"No sun shines there, but a light much brighter than the sun, the Creator makes it brighter by his power. All people who die here, young or old, will be of the same age there; and those who are injured, crippled, or made blind will look as good as the rest of them. It is nothing but the flesh that is injured: the spirit is as good as ever. That is the

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reason that people are told to help always the cripples or the blind. Whatever you do for them will surely bring its reward. Whatever you do for anybody will bring you credit hereafter. Whenever we think the thoughts that Gicelĕmû"kaong has given us, it will do us good.

"This is all I can think of to say along this line. Now we will pass the Turtle around, and all that feel like worshiping may take it and perform their ceremonies."

Some nights the speaker says more, sometimes less, just as he feels, but he always tries to tell it as he heard it from the old people who came before him.

RECITAL OF VISIONS

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Now, as was stated, these meetings are "brought in" by individuals; that is a certain person, usually a man, undertakes to arrange for the meeting and to lead the ceremonies. This person must be one of those gifted by a vision or dream of power in their youth, and hence, according to Lenape belief, one in communication with the supernatural world.

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When the people file into the Big House, the few that still have them dressed in their best Indian costumes carefully preserved for such occasions (pl. 1), the members of this leader's clan always take their seats on the north side, the other

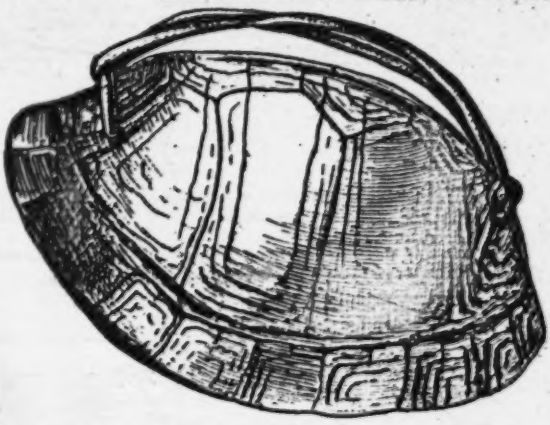

FIG. 9.—Rattle of land-tortoise shell, used by celebrants at the Annual Ceremony. (Length, 4.2 in.)

two clans in the west end and the south side. Men and women, however, do not mingle, but sit separately in the space allotted to their common clan. The diagram (pl. VII) shows the seating of the clans when the ceremony is

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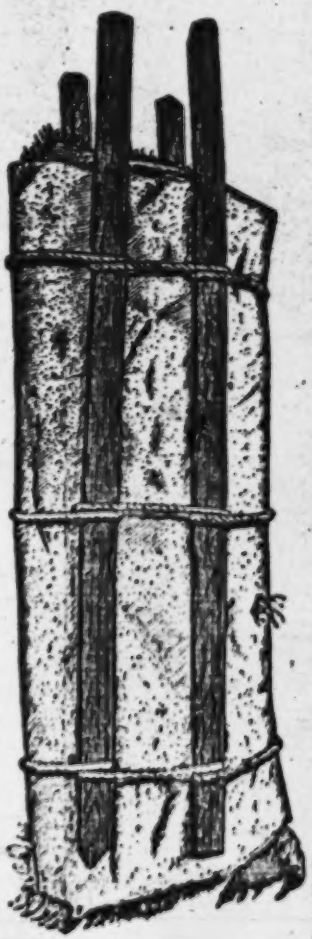
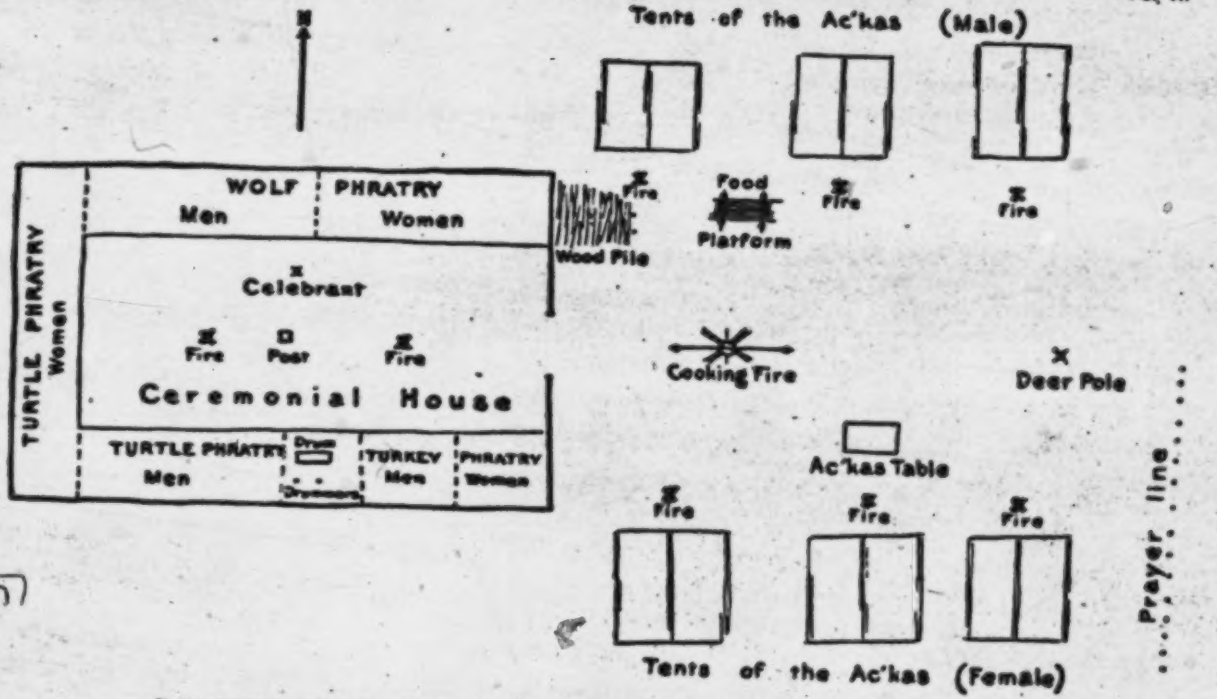


"brought in" by a member of the Wolf division.

After the chief's speech, the leader arises from his place just north of the central post, and, rapidly shaking a rattle (*taxo'xi cowŭni'-gŭn*) made of a box-tortoise shell (fig. 9), recites his vision in a high monotone, word by word. After he utters each word, he pauses an instant to give the singers sitting at the rolled dry

FIG. 10.—Drum made of dried deerskin used at the Annual Ceremony. (Length 38.2 in.)



PLAN OF LENAPE CEREMONIAL HOUSE AND GROUNDS NEAR DEWEY, OKLAHOMA

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deerskin called *powäni'gän* which serves as a drum (fig. 10), ample time to repeat the same word in the same tone, which produces an extraordinary effect. When he finishes, the drummers beat rapidly on the dry hide, repeating "*Ho-o-o!*" a number of times.

Then the celebrant repeats a verse of his song in the same way, and the drummers, having learned the words, sing them to a dance tune, beating the drum in slower time. After dancing awhile, the celebrator whoops, and they stop; then another similar verse, if not the same, is recited and then sung.

When the leader dances, he circles about the two fires contra-clockwise, and those who wish may join in the dance and follow him (pl. VI).

His dance finished, the leader passes the turtleshell to the next man who has been blessed with a vision. This one has the privilege of singing his vision if he wishes; if not, it is handed to the next "dreamer." After a celebrant has taken his seat, it is customary for those

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who desire it to smoke until the next man is ready to commence. At this time also it is considered proper for the people to enter or leave the Big House, which is not permitted while the actual ceremony is in progress. When the turtle rattle has thus made the round of the building and gets back to its starting point, the meeting is brought to a close. This is usually along toward morning, the exact time of course being dependent on the number who have sung their visions, and on the length of the intermissions.

CONCLUSION OF RITES

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Now, when the man who started the ceremonies begins to dance, that is a signal for two of the women *a'ckas*, or attendants, to go out and pound corn for hominy or meal, and two of their men colleagues cook it in the kettle hanging on the pole, so that it is ready when the turtle has made its rounds and the meeting is about to close. Then the repast

264 796x

of hominy or corn mush called *sä'pan* is

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distributed, and the speaker says, "We will now pray twelve times," so twelve times they cry "*Ho-o-o!*" as a prayer. Then they feast, using musselshells from the river as spoons, and finally the speaker dismisses them with the words, "This is all for tonight; tomorrow night we will meet again."

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DEPARTURE OF THE HUNTERS

When the next night arrives, approximately the same performance is repeated; and the same the next, with little of interest occurring during the day; but on the fourth morning, the leader who has selected a man for chief hunter, gives him a yard of wampum as pay. This master of the hunt then selects as many assistants as he wants, and he and his crew all gather in the Big House, where they are served about noon with a feast prepared for the occasion by the women of the camp, and the attendants tie sacks of the food to the hunters' saddles.

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[436]

When they have finished eating, they

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When they have finished eating they
224 arrange themselves in a row, each hunter
796x standing on his left foot and barely
[516] touching the ground with the toes of his right, an action whose meaning I have not yet been able to determine.

Then the speaker rises and talks to them, and the Mĭsi'ngʷᵗ who has been seen about the camp from time to time, is in the Big House listening to his words. "When you hunt," says the speaker, "think of nothing but luck to kill deer." As he speaks he goes to the
[276] west fire and throws into it, six times, an
[782] offering of native tobacco; then to the east fire, where he sacrifices six more pinches of the sacred herb—twelve in all. While sacrificing tobacco, he prays to the Mĭsi'ngʷᵗ to drive the deer up, so that the hunters can kill them. As he drops the last tobacco into the flames, he says, "If you kill a deer right away, bring it in tonight; if not, bring in all you kill day after tomorrow."

What tobacco is left is given to the chief hunter with the words, "When you camp tonight, burn this and ask Mĭsinghâli'kŭn

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to let you kill deer." The reader will remember that MIsinghâli'kŭn, in whose image the MIsi'ng$^{w'}$ is carved, is supposed to have control over the deer, and in fact over all wild animals.

All the hunters that are in the habit of chewing tobacco are now given some for this purpose. When they file out and mount their horses, the MIsi'ng$^{w'}$ follows them and sees them off.

After the hunters have disappeared, the people call the MIsi'ng$^{w'}$ back into the Big House and coax him to dance, while two men volunteer to sing for him.

PRAYER FOR THE HUNTERS

The following evening six men are appointed and given a yard of wampum to divide among them, to go out close to the forked game-pole east of the Big House, intended for the carcasses of the deer, and "pray" there twelve times. The meaning of this, of course, is that they sound the prayer word "*Ho-o-o!*" which is evidently to help the hunters. This night also a yard of wampum is unstrung

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and scattered on the ground just west of the east fire, and this the attendants must pick up, crying "*Ho-o-o!*" as they do so. For doing this, which is called "picking berries," they are supposed to keep what wampum they pick up.

RETURN OF THE HUNTERS

If the hunters are lucky and kill a deer the first day, they send one man back with it. As he approaches he fires a [202] gun as a signal of his coming, at which the singers run into the Big House and begin to sing and beat the drum. Then everyone is happy.

In any case the hunters all return on the third day. If they have killed deer, they shoot their guns; if not, they come in very quietly. When the shots are heard, the singers hasten to their places, and, beating the drum, sing a song that is used only on such occasions. Then when the hunters arrive, they feast, and their leader announces the names of those lucky enough to kill a deer. The carcasses are skinned and hung on the deer

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pole (shown in frontispiece), east of the Big House, and are used in the feasts at the close of every night's meeting until the gathering disbands.

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NEW FIRE

Every night the usual program is repeated until the ninth. On this night a new fire is kindled with the sacred pump-drill called *tu"da'i wähe"'ji manI'towŭk* or "Fire maker of the ManI'tos" (fig. 8), and the ashes of the old are carried out through the west door of the Big House, which is used only for this purpose (among the Unami), and is usually kept closed. The new fire seems to symbolize a fresh start in all the affairs of life.

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USE OF CARVED DRUMSTICKS

Also on the ninth night, before the singing begins, they bring out the two ancient drumsticks (*pa kŭ"di'gŭn*), carved with tiny human heads, one male and one female (fig. 11), to use in place of the cruder sticks used before, which are marked only with a rude cross (fig. 12, *a*).

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[Text continues on page 103]

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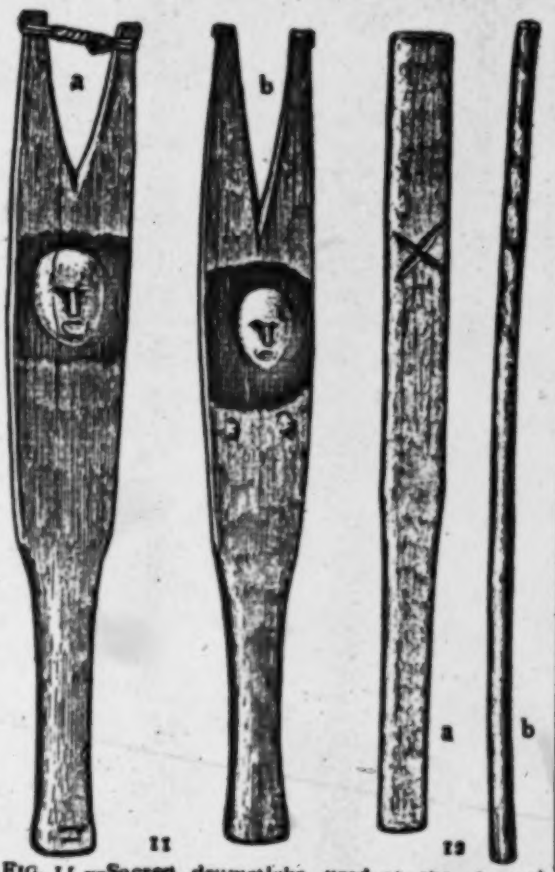

FIG. 11.—Sacred drumsticks, used at the Annual Ceremony in Oklahoma. (Length of *a*, 18.6 in.)

FIG. 12.—*a*, Plain drumstick used at the Annual Ceremony; *b*, Prayerstick. (Length of *b*, 18.9 in.)

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At this time, also, twelve prayersticks (*ma'tehi'gun*) are distributed—six plain and six striped ones (fig. 12, *b*)—by two of the male attendants, each with six, one man starting from each end of the Big House and proceeding in a trot to distribute the sticks while the drum is beaten, and the people, holding up their hands, cry the prayer word "*Ho-o-o!*"

Both drumsticks and prayersticks are used every night from this time on. If t so happens that the plain sticks do not fall opposite each other (or on opposite sides of the house), they must all be picked up again and redistributed. After this, those who have received a stick raise that instead of their hand, when they repeat the prayer word "*Ho-o-o!*" and carry it when they dance.

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TURTLE RATTLES

At this time, too, all who own turtle rattles such as are used in singing the visions (fig. 9), are requested to bring them in to the meeting, when they are placed in a row on the north side, in

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front of the man who, as the Indians phrase it, "brought on the meeting." The backs of the turtleshells are all measured with strings of wampum, which are cut off in lengths corresponding with the lengths of the backs.

Then the owners are called to get their turtles and wampum, which is supposed to be their pay for bringing them to the meeting. As each takes up his turtle, he shakes it, and if it does not sound well, then the people laugh, and the owner, abashed, takes his property out of sight as soon as possible.

PHRATRY PRAYERS

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Then they call up six men, two from each of the three phratries—Turtle, Turkey, and Wolf. Each goes outside and cries the prayer word "*Ho-o-o!*" twelve times, holding up his left hand. When the first one returns, he is given one yard of wampum, and divides it with the other five. This is done each night until the end.

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WOMEN'S NIGHT

The twelfth night is reserved for the women to relate their visions; but before they begin, the speaker orders the attendants to burn cedar-leaves in the two fires, and the people are supposed to inhale the smoke and purify themselves. Then two women are ordered to take, one a little bark dish (*a"sipta'gän*) of red paint (fig. 13), the other a similar

FIG. 13.—Paint-dish of bark, used at the Annual Ceremony. (Length, 2.2 in.)

vessel of grease, and the two start from the door on the north side of the Temple and go to each person present. One dips her fingers in the paint and touches the color to the person's left cheek, while her companion similarly annoints the person's head with a little of the grease. This done, two men attendants take the bark vessels and paint and grease in the

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796[K] same way the twelve MIsi'ng^{w} faces carved upon the posts of the building, also the drumsticks, the prayersticks, the deerskin drum, and the turtles. A variant has it that both bark vessels contain paint, the customs differing according to phratry.

[224] Each woman who takes part on this night receives a share of the venison, if there is any,—the biggest and fattest buck the hunters kill,—and the attendants cook it for them at the fire outside.

CONCLUSION OF CEREMONY

Next morning the men resume the ceremony and continue until the sun is high. Two men are then appointed to close the meeting, for which each receives one yard of wampum. Their duty is to [533] [535] sing twelve times while the people dance about the central post, the women in a circle next to the post, the men in another circle outside that of the women. These two singers stop dancing in front of where the chief is sitting, and announce, "We will now pray twelve times." They

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go back to their seats and cry "*Ho-o-o!*" twelve times. Then the attendants serve the last feast. Two women then go around with wampum in a wooden bowl, giving everyone two or three beads.

796*

PAYMENT OF ATTENDANTS

Then the attendants, three men and three women, stand in a row and receive six yards of wampum on one string, which they hold in their hands, the first in the row holding the end of the string, which stretches along from one to the other. Then the chief says: "We thank you attendants of this meeting for your kindness in sweeping our Temple for these twelve nights, and the attention and care you have given. We have heard our old parents say that, if you sweep this Meeting House twelve different times, you will sweep up to where our great Father is, as he is up in the twelfth Heaven above the earth."

[436]

The attendants then circle about the fires and go out to the cooking fireplace, where they divide the wampum, taking

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[805]

a yard apiece. At last, when the shadow of a person is nearly under him, that is, about noon, the speaker or chief arises, and says, "All of us kinfolk must now go out and end our meeting, which has been going on for twelve days and nights." Thereupon they all file out—men, women, and children—and form a row extending north and south, facing east, just east of the Big House, the hunters taking with them the skins of the deer they killed.

FINALE

Here they all pray, or rather cry the prayer word "*Ho-o-o!*" six times standing, holding up one hand, and six times kneeling, holding up the other hand. The meeting is then ended. This is shown in the frontispiece. The deerskins are given to poor old people, who need them to make moccasins.

[801]

One informant stated that instead of crying "*Ho-o-o*" twelve times in closing the meeting, it was customary to use this word only ten times, and then cry "*Ha-a-a*" twice, completing the sacred number twelve;

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but such discrepancies are probably due to the variation of ritual among the three phratries before mentioned, the Turkey, the Turtle, and the Wolf. This kind of prayer was noticed by Zeisberger[46] as early as 1779, for he writes:

"At a third kind of feast ten or more tanned deer-skins are given to as many old men or women, who wrap themselves in them and stand before the house with their faces turned toward the east, praying God with a loud voice to reward their benefactors. They turn toward the east because they believe that God dwells beyond the rising of the sun. At the same time much wampum is given away. This is thrown on the ground and the young people scramble for it. Afterward it is ascertained who secured the most. This feast is called *'ngammuin*, the meaning of which they themselves are unable to give."

The suspicion that Zeisberger mistook the conclusion of the Annual Ceremony for a separate rite is strengthened by the fact that he gives its name as "*'ngammuin*," which seems to be a form of *Ga'muing*, the modern Lenape name for their Annual Ceremony.

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PAYMENT OF OFFICERS

796x 465 All the officers of the meeting receive pay in wampum for their services, except, of course, the leader—the man who has caused the meeting to be held. The speaker receives a yard for every night of the meeting; the drummers get a yard between them each night; there are also the payments to the attendants, hunters, and others, already mentioned. The attendants have other sources of profit, too, for they serve meals three times a day in the Big House to the leader of the meeting and all his near relatives, also to the speaker and the drummers.

When they have finished feasting, the leader calls the attendants to come and get their dishes and pans. Each has a cup in which he brings coffee, and the leader puts twenty-five wampum beads in each cup for every meal. Moreover, when any one in the outside camps is hungry, he may go to an *a'ckas* and obtain a meal for twenty-five wampum beads. 796x The attendants have a table

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The attendants have a table near the tent of one of the woman *a'ckas*, and here they eat. 796x [264]

VALUATION OF WAMPUM

For ceremonial purposes the wampum (white) is held at one cent a bead, one hundred to the dollar. Before the meeting the people give a yard or so apiece, if they are able, to show their appreciation and to be prayed for, or subscribe money for its purchase and for the other things needed at the meeting. The wampum is afterward redeemed at the same rate and is kept to use again. 436 796x

INDIAN COMMENTS ON THE CEREMONY

Some explanations and remarks concerning the annual ceremony, as furnished by the Indians themselves, may prove of interest here. 796x

Julius Fouts (or Fox), the interpreter, remarks: [115]

"When the Delawares complete this meeting, then they claim they have worshiped everything on this earth. God gave the Powers Above authority to

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796^ go around and give all the tribes some way to worship. They say these things were as if carried in a bundle, and when they come to the Delawares, last of all, there was a lot left in the bundle and they got it all—that is why the Delawares have so many different things to do in their meetings."

In explanation of the prayer word *Ho-o-o*, he said, "Did you ever hear that [821] noise out in the woods, in the fall of the year? '*Ho-o-o*,' it says. What is it? It is the noise of the wind blowing in the trees. When the Delawares pray in the [782] Big House, they raise their voices and cry '*Ho-o-o*' to God, and the Misi'ng^{w} hears it and understands, for he is of the same nature as a tree, and there are twelve Misi'ng^{w} carved in the Big House who will carry the prayers to the twelfth Heaven. The Indians call the Misi'ng^{w} 'Grandfather,' because the trees were here before the Indians. The Big House is going out of use now, because only the old people have had gifts or visions of power to sing about. The children of

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today are not *pi'lsu*^{n}, or pure; they are reared like the whites, and the Powers Above do not speak to them any more."

Chief Charley Elkhair, or Elkire, who frequently served as speaker in the Big House, said:

"The Delaware meeting helps everybody in the world, for they pray for good crops and everything good, even wild fruits. About ten years ago the people thought they would give up holding these meetings, and the following year they had high winds and big rains, and everyone was frightened. Then grasshoppers came in swarms, but they came in the fall a little too late to get all the crops. So the people held a council and talked about the Big House again. They finally decided to resume it, before any more bad luck came; so they began the ceremonies again in the fall.

"Then it seemed as if all the trouble stopped. Of late there has been talk of again giving up the meeting, but if we do give it up we are likely to have a tornado or maybe dry weather to ruin the crops.

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"Once the Delawares owned a great deal of land, but that is nearly all gone now, and the people seem to have no power to do anything. When God looks down from Heaven, he sees but very few Delaware people, and the reason for this is that they cannot follow the Meeting House ceremonies now. When I was a little boy, I heard my people say that this thing would happen just as it is happening now. You see, the young people raised during the last thirty years do not believe in the old ways. We are having good times yet, but we don't know when we shall catch it. If anything happens to us, and once really begins, we can not stop it —it will be too late. Even if they take up the meeting again—they can not do right, even when the ceremonies are going on.

"They can not accomplish anything in the Big House; they can not raise it up, because there are a lot of young folks who do not even try to do what the speaker tells them, for they do not believe in it.

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"The people could get along fine, if they followed the rules of the meeting—not only the Delawares, but the other people round about. For when the Delaware prays, he prays for things that will benefit everybody; he prays for the children as well as for himself; he prays for future time. But if anything comes to destroy the world, it will be too late to think of starting the Big House then."

796x

Penn's Account.—William Penn seems to have been the first to attempt a description of Lenape rites, for he wrote in 1683, in the same letter we have quoted before:

"Their Worship consists of two parts, sacrifice and Cantico. Their sacrifice is their first fruits. . . . The other part of their worship is by Cantico, performed by round dances, sometimes words, sometimes songs, then shouts, two being in the middle that begin, and by singing and drumming on a board direct the chorus. . . . They are said to lay their altar on twelve stones."

In this brief account should be noted the presence of *two* drummers; the fact that they did not use a drum, but a "board" which was probably, if Penn had taken the

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796x trouble to look more closely, a dried hide; the word *cantico* which resembles the modern Lenape words for "dance"—*kĭ'nĭkă* among the Unami and *kĭ'ntika* among the Minsi; and finally the use of the sacred number twelve.

Zeisberger's Account.—The earliest detailed account, however, of the great Lenape ceremonies is given by Zeisberger,[46] who, writing about 1779, says:

782
796x "Worship and sacrifices have obtained among them from the earliest times, being usages handed down from their ancestors. Though in the detail of ceremony there has been change, as the Indians are more divided now than at that time, worship and sacrifice have continued as practiced in the early days, for the Indians believe that they would draw all manner of disease and misfortune upon themselves if they omitted to observe the ancestral rites.

[602] "In the matter of sacrifice, relationship, even though distant, is of significance, legitimate or illegitimate relationship being regarded without distinction. A sacrifice is offered by a family, with its entire relationship, once in two years. Others, even the inhabitants of other towns, are invited. Such sacrifices are commonly held in autumn, rarely in winter. As their connections are large, each Indian will have opportunity to

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attend more than one family sacrifice a year. The head of the family knows the time and he must provide for everything. When the head of such a family is converted, he gets into difficulty because his friends will not give him peace until he has designated some one to take his place in the arrangement of sacrificial feasts.

"Preparations for such a sacrificial feast extend through several days. The requisite number of deer and bears is calculated and the young people are sent into the woods to procure them together with the leader whose care it is to see that everything needful is provided. These hunters do not return until they have secured the amount of booty counted upon. On their return they fire a volley when near the town, march in in solemn procession and deposit the flesh in the house of sacrifice. Meantime the house has been cleared and prepared. The women have prepared fire-wood and brought in long dry reed grass, which has been strewn the entire length of the house, on both sides, for the guests to sit upon. Such a feast may continue for three or four nights, the separate sessions beginning in the afternoon and lasting until the next morning. Great kettles full of meat are boiled and bread is baked. These are served to the guests by four servants especially appointed for this service. The rule is that whatever is thus brought as a sacrifice must be eaten altogether and nothing left. A small quantity of melted fat only is

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poured into the fire. The bones are burnt, so that the dogs may not get any of them. After the meal the men and women dance, every rule of decency being observed. It is not a dance for pleasure or exercise, as is the ordinary dance engaged in by the Indians. One singer only performs during the dance, walking up and down, rattling a small tortoise shell filled with pebbles. He sings of the dreams the Indians have had, naming all the animals, elements and plants they hold to be spirits. None of the spirits of things that are useful to the Indians may be omitted. By worshipping all the spirits named they consider themselves to be worshipping God, who has revealed his will to them in dreams. When the first singer has finished he is followed by another. Between dances the guests may stop to eat again. There are four or five kinds of feasts, the ceremonies of which differ much from one another.

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"At these feasts there are never less than four servants, to each of whom a fathom of wampum is given that they may care for all necessary things. During the three or four days they have enough to do by day and by night. They have leave, also, to secure the best of provisions, such as sugar, bilberries, molasses, eggs, butter and to sell these things at a profit to guests and spectators."

Adams' Account.—The best and, in fact, the only late account previous to his

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own first article[47] the writer has seen of the Annual Ceremony among the Lenape in Oklahoma, is that written by Adams,[48] which reads as follows:

"The peculiar steps which they use in this dance have caused the name 'stomp' or 'stamp' to be applied to it.

"In regard to the stomp dances of our people, we have several kinds of dances; the most important one is the 'worship dance' which is carried on in a large building called a temple, which is rectangular and ranges from 60 to 80 feet long, from 30 to 40 feet wide, and is about 10 feet high. It is built of wood with 2 doors. The main entrance is at the eastern door, and it has only a dirt floor.

"On each post is carved a human face. On the center post or one in the center of the building four faces are carved; each face is painted one-half red and one-half black. All the people enter at the east and go out the same way. When they come in they pass to the right of the fire, and each of the three clans of the Delawares take seats next to the wall, the Turtle clan on the south, the Turkey on the west, and the Wolf on the north. In no case can any one pass between the center post and east door, but must go around the center post, even to go to the north side of the temple.

"This dance is held once each year, in the fall,

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and generally in October, in the full moon, and lasts not less than 12 days for each part. The tribe is divided into three clans, and each clan has to go through the same part, so the dance is sometimes 36 days long, but sometimes the second and third clans do not dance more than 6 days each.

[534]

"The Turtle clan usually lead or begin the dance. A tortoise shell, dried and beautifully polished and containing several small pebbles, is placed in the southeast corner near the door in front of the first person. If he has anything to say he takes the shell and rattles it, and an answer comes from the south side of the temple from the singers, who strike on a dried deer's hide: then the party who has the tortoise shell makes an address or talk to the people, and thanks the Great Spirit for blessings, and then proceeds to dance, going to the right and around the fire, followed by all who wish to take part, and finally coming to the center post he stops there; then all the dancers shake hands and return to their seats. Then the shell is passed to the next person, who dances or passes it on, as he chooses.

[356]

"On the third day of the dance all men, both married and single, are required to keep out of the company of women for 3 days at least. They have a doorkeeper, a leader, and 2 or 3 parties who sweep the ground floor with turkey wings, and who also serve as deacons. The

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ashes from the fire are always taken out at the west door, and the dirt is always swept in the fire. In front of the east door outside is a high pole on which venison hangs. It is a feast dance and the deacons distribute food among the people. The officers and waiters are paid in wampum for their services. 796x

"In no case is a dog allowed to enter the temple, and no one is allowed to laugh inside it, or in any way be rude. Each person is allowed to speak and tell his dream or dreams or to give advice. 796x 825

It is believed by the Delawares that every one has a guardian spirit which comes in the form of some bird, animal, or other thing, at times in dreams, and tells them what to do and what will happen. The guardian spirit is sent from the Great Spirit. [776]

"Traditions say that 10 years before white men came to this country (America) a young man told his dream in the temple. This was on the Atlantic coast. He saw coming across the great waters a large canoe with pinions (wings) and containing strange people, and that in 10 years they would in fact come. He told this dream and predicted the arrival of the white men each year until they came and were seen by his people. Many of our people still keep up this dance, but the temple is not so large as it used to be, and the attendance now is not more than 100 persons. Any Indian of any tribe can also take part in the dance, but no white man can. 173 796x 787

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796x "When the dance is over all the people go out and stand in a single line from east to west with their faces to the south. Then they kneel down and pray, and then go home. We do not know the origin of the worship dance, but the old Indians claim that the Great Spirit came many years ago and instructed it and also gave them the wampum."

114 796x In spite of several inaccuracies, such as the statement that the people face *south* (instead of east) while praying after the ceremony, this account is valuable on account of the additional data it furnishes on several points of interest, especially the tradition concerning the prophecy of the coming of the whites.

Another Form of the Annual Ceremony

796x It appears that in former years there was, in addition to the rite just described, another form of the Annual Ceremony practised by the Lenape, before their removal to what is now Oklahoma from Kansas, where the last man to "bring in" such a meeting was John Sarcoxie, now dead.

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The ceremony, which was called *Muxhatol'zing*, seems, from the accounts given the writer by his informants, to have taken place in a similar building, and to have been similar in ritual to that just described, except that it was held for only eight days instead of twelve, and that, after the return of the hunters the skin of one of the deer they had brought in was stuffed with grass and stood up by the central post of the Big House, antlers and all, while about its neck hung a string of wampum—perhaps as a propitiatory offering. 796 x

Moreover on the morning of the last day of the ceremony a large sweathouse was built and stones heated; then about noon the men who had been reciting their visions went into it, each taking one of the hot stones with him. This privilege was not confined to the actual celebrants however, for every one blessed by a guardian spirit even if they had not sung their visions in the meeting, was entitled to carry in a stone and join them. 787 796 x [343]

The entrance was then closed and

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water poured upon the stones; and while the steam rose and the sweathouse grew hotter and hotter the perspiring occupants prayed to their guardian spirits and recited their visions. These finished, with a shout of "There go our prayers to Those Above," the cover was suddenly snatched from the sweathouse so that the steam it had contained rose in a puff. If the steam cloud went straight up into the air it was thought that the prayers would be heard and answered, and that all was well, but if it broke and spread out the people felt that something had gone wrong, and that their prayers were of no avail.

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796x

In endeavoring to explain the presence of such variations of the Annual Ceremony, it should be remembered that the Lenape now in Oklahoma whom the writer has called for convenience "Unami," are not really pure descendants of this tribe, but probably have a large proportion of the blood of the Unala"tko or Unalachtigo, whose dialect, according to Heckewelder, was very similar, and a

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smaller proportion of Minsi and even Nanticoke blood. Perhaps then the first form of Annual Ceremony described may have originally been purely Unami, and the second Unalachtigo, or Minsi, or vice versa; but later, when the remnants of these tribes became amalgamated their mixed descendants inherited both forms.

The second form seems to be a variant of the rite mentioned by Zeisberger[49] who describes it as follows:

"A fifth kind of festival is held in honor of fire which the Indians regard as being their grandfather, and call *Machtusin*, meaning 'to perspire.' A sweating-oven is built in the midst of the house of sacrifice, consisting of twelve poles each of a different species of wood. These twelve poles represent twelve *Manitos*, some of these being creatures, others plants. These they run into the ground, tie together at the top, bending them toward each other; these are covered entirely with blankets, joined closely together, each person being very ready to lend his blanket, so that the whole appears like a baker's oven, high enough nearly to admit a man standing upright. After the meal of sacrifice, fire is made at the entrance of the oven and twelve large stones, about the size of human heads, are heated and placed in the oven. Then twelve Indians creep

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into it and remain there as long as they can bear the heat. While they are inside twelve pipes full of tobacco are thrown, one after another, upon the hot stones, which occasions a smoke almost powerful enough to suffocate those confined inside. Some one may also walk around the stones singing and offering tobacco, for tobacco is offered to fire. Usually, when the twelve men emerge from the oven, they fall down in a swoon. During this feast a whole buck-skin with the head and antlers is raised upon a pole, head and antlers resting on the pole, before which the Indians sing and pray. They deny that they pay any adoration to the buck, declaring that God alone is worshipped through this medium and is so worshipped at his will."

That this is really the same ceremony is shown not only by the details as related but by the native name of the rite, the *Machtuzin* of Zeisberger corresponding with the *MuxhatoL'zing* of the present writer.

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CHAPTER VI

Minsi Big House Ceremonies

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THE following account of the great ceremonies of the Minsi, which correspond to the annual ceremony of the Unami, was obtained from Chief James Wolf, now deceased, and his nephew, Chief Nellis Timothy.

MYTH OF ORIGIN

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At first, it appears, the Indians did not know how to worship, so Kĕ'tanĭto'-wĕt, the Great Manĭ'to or God, now called Pa''tŭmawas, came down and told them what to do. After following his instructions, they watched him when he ascended. He carried twelve sumach sticks in his hand, and they could see them shine far up in the air. Every now and then he dropped one, and when he

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dropped the twelfth he disappeared, while they heard the heavens crack like thunder behind him as he went in. After this the Lenape began to hold these meetings according to the instructions he had given them.

NUMBER OF CEREMONIES

796x

There were two of these ceremonies every year, both held in the Minsi Big House (*W'a'tekan*), which was quite similar to that of the Unami. One of these, performed about June when the wild strawberries were ripe, lasted only a single night; the other, early in winter, covered twelve days and nights. This latter corresponds to the Annual Ceremony of the Unami.

[272]

At the June ceremony fresh strawberries were made into a drink for the people, which reminds one of the Iroquois Strawberry Dance, or Dance of First Fruits, as it is sometimes called. Strawberries were dried at this time to make a drink for the Winter Ceremony.

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ARRANGEMENT OF THE BIG HOUSE

Like the Unami Big House, that of the Minsi had a large central post bearing carved faces; but, unlike that of the Unami, there was a second short post,

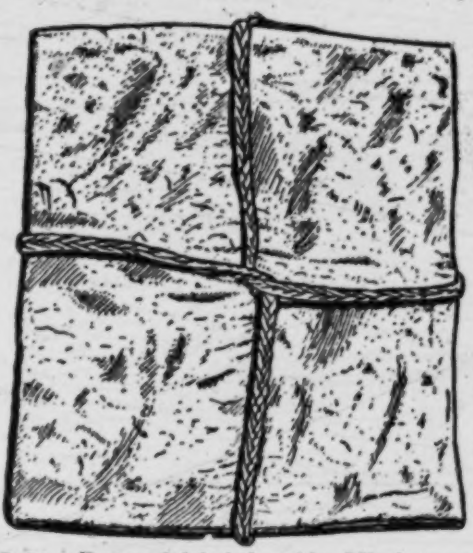

FIG. 14.—Drum of dried deerskin, Minsi type. E. T. Tefft collection, American Museum of Natural History. (Length 16.7 in.)

near the central one, upon which was hung, for each ceremony, a raw fresh deerskin with the head and horns at the

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top. This feature, however, corresponds with the second form of the Annual Ceremony noted among the Lenape in Oklahoma and also recorded by Zeisberger in Pennsylvania. Near this central post the singers sat, and beat with four carved sticks upon a dry deerhide folded into a square, in lieu of a drum (fig. 14), differing from the Unami form, which is a rolled dry deerskin upon which are tied several slats of wood (fig. 8). The drumsticks are flat, resembling those of the Unami, as each bears a face carved upon one side, but differ from them in the form of the forked end, and in width. Some, it is said, represented women, the breasts being indicated as

FIG. 15.—*a*, Drumstick, Minsi type; *b*, Prayer-stick. E. T. Tefft collection, American Museum of Natural History. (Length of *a*, 19 in.)

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among the Unami, but this feature does not appear in the set collected by the writer at Grand River reserve (fig. 15,*a*), which the Indians said were representative of the Minsi type. 346 796^x [532]

There were two poles laid along on each side from end to end of the Big House to divide the dancing place in the center from the sitting places on the side, which were covered with a special kind of leaves. Along these poles twelve little sumach sticks (fig. 15, *b*), peeled and painted, were laid for twelve people to hold in their hands, and tap on the poles in time to the music. [534] There were also provided a turtle rattle, which was placed at the foot of the central pole; a fire-drill which Nellis Timothy thinks was worked on the "pump-drill" principle, like that of the Unami, and a lot of entirely new and unused bowls and spoons of bark. [415] Unlike the Unami custom, both doors of the Big House were used, the people always going in at the east door and coming out at the west, and here also (like the Unami) the ashes

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346 79[1] [775] were carried out. "The Sun and everything else goes toward the west," say the Minsi, in explanation, "even the dead when they die."

PRELIMINARIES

79[x] [787] [202] The first act remembered by the informants preparatory to holding a meeting was to send to each man in the tribe who had been blessed by a "vision of power," a little stick which represented an invitation to the ceremony, the time of which the messenger gave out, before which date the people leaving their scattered homes gathered and camped about the Big House. Meanwhile hunters were sent out, appointed before, not during the meeting as among the Unami, to bring in for the Winter Ceremony, if possible, exactly twelve deer, which were cooked by four young men who served as attendants in a small separate house, built for the purpose.

372 79[x] *Fire.*—The fire was made with a fire-drill by a group of old men for use in the Big House, but, as among the Unami,

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none of it could be taken outside during the ceremony. 796x [372]

Purification.—When the two fires had been built, but before the crowd had gathered, the house was purified by the smoke of hemlock boughs thrown on the flames, and by sweeping the floor with turkey-wing fans, which cleared away both dirt and evil influences. 783 796x

OPENING OF THE CEREMONY

Chief's Speech.—The next step was for the attendants to call in all the people from their camps except the women in their menses who were not allowed to enter. When all were seated, the speaker rose and addressed those assembled in terms like the following: 537 796x

"We are now gathered here, our house is purified and clean, and Pa"tŭmawas is with us, ready to hear our worship. We must thank Him for all the things that we enjoy, for He made them every one." Then he proceeded to tell the people not to drink liquor, nor to do anything wrong in the Big House or in

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796 x

the camp about it, and advised them to be always honest and kind and hospitable. He held virtue as something to be followed, at the same time condemning evil, every vice that he could think of being mentioned.

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782
796 x

The chief then gave thanks for everything he could remember, from the heavenly bodies to the animals, trees, and herbs of the earth, not forgetting corn, beans, and squashes; and prayer for successful hunting and good health for all the people. At the summer meeting he prayed for good crops also. When he had finished, bear's fat was thrown on the two fires, and the smoke rose and filled the place with its odor.

CEREMONIAL DRINK

272
796 x

At this point it was customary to pass around a vessel of drink made of crushed wild strawberries, from which each person present swallowed about a spoonful, a drink made at the Summer Ceremony of fresh fruit, but in winter necessarily of berries dried for the purpose.

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RECITAL OF VISIONS

The first man to relate his vision (my informant did not remember whether he was the one who "brought in" the meeting or not) took up the turtle rattle from its place at the foot of the post and began to shake it rapidly, while the singers struck the drum of dry hide. He then recited the story of his vision of power, still keeping the rattle shaking, following this with his dance song, at the same time dancing and rattling the turtle-shell.

Any one who wished to dance was supposed to give wampum to the vision-teller for the privilege. Some who were well off would give him an entire string, others merely a few beads. These the vision-teller would take, when he had quite a handful, to two officers who sat in a corner of the building, whose duty it was to count the wampum, after which it was kept by the chief or leader. Sometimes if a poor person who had no wampum wished to dance, they would give him some to pay the vision-teller.

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A translated example of a Minsi vision chant and dance song has already been given. When the dream-teller finished the first verse of his dance song, he exclaimed, "*E-ye-he-ye-ĕ!*" whereupon the singers took up the strain and sang the verse several times, for the benefit of those who wished to dance, omitting, however, the final exclamation, but those who had bought the privilege rose and danced where they stood, instead of circling around, as among the Unami. Each "set" ended with a whoop, "*kwi!*".

796x
[576]

When the vision-teller finished dancing, he went around the house and shook hands with everyone; then the turtle rattle was passed to another man who had been blessed with a vision, and so on, until all those qualified, who wished to recite their visions, had done so.

OTHER FEATURES

The Prayer Cry.—From time to time during the night the prayer cry "*Ho-o-o!*" was repeated twelve times, and the

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twelfth cry, they say, was heard by the Great Manï'to. 796[x]

Feast.—The people were accustomed to eat a light supper before going into the meeting; then about midnight the four attendants carried around baskets with boiled meat and corn bread, and in the morning, before leaving the Big House, a regular feast of venison was served in new bark bowls and eaten with new bark spoons especially made for the purpose. [264]

Final Address.—Before the meeting closed, the speaker again addressed the people, telling them to do right, and prayed that the hunters about to leave for the winter hunt might be successful, and that all might live to meet again. [537]

CONCLUSION OF RITES

In the morning after the ceremonies in the Big House were finished, the people filed out through the west door, circled about the building, and lined up, facing eastward, to the east of it. Then they raised their hands and cried "*Ho-o-o!*"

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796^x twelve times, and the twelfth time, it is said, their cry reached Heaven.

184 796^x In comparing this form of the Annual Ceremony with that of the Oklahoma Lenape the most noticeable difference is that here no masked impersonator of Mĭsinghâli'kŭn was seen in or about the Big House, the Masks among the Minsi, as with the Iroquois, constituting a society with its own separate rites.

GRAND RIVER VERSION

796^x Such was the version of the great ceremonies given the writer by the Minsi of Munceytown, Ontario, which is similar to, but more detailed in parts than, the account previously obtained from the Delawares of Grand River reserve, published by the writer in the *American Anthropologist*[50] which we will reproduce here. It will be noticed that this description gives fuller information in some places where the first is deficient; so that between this and the preceding account, a good general idea of the Minsi form of the ceremony can be reconstructed. It reads:

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"In the old religious ceremonies of the Delawares at Grand River a very peculiar drum was used, a dry skin folded in rectangular form and beaten with four sticks, each bearing a tiny human head carved in relief (fig. 15, *a*). I secured the set of four original sticks from Michael Anthony (*Na'nkŭma'oxa*), and employed him to make me a reproduction of the drum (fig. 14) as the original had been destroyed. This he did, and in addition made six painted sticks (fig. 15, *b*) also used in the ceremony. The description of how these articles were used, pieced together from several Indian accounts, may prove of interest here.

"It appears that the Delawares of Six Nations Reserve formerly held what was known as a 'General Thanksgiving' ceremony called in Lenape *Gitctla'kan*, twice a year, once in the spring and again in the fall. At these times it was customary to meet in the Cayuga long-house, borrowed for the occasion. At a certain point in the proceedings (I shall not attempt a consecutive description from

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79% x [787] hearsay testimony) a man stood up and recited, in a rythmical sing-song tone, his dream—the vision of power seen by him in his youth. Na'nkūma'oxa remembered how one old man was accustomed to tell about a duck, half black and half white, which had appeared to him. Between the verses of the dream [533] four musicians kneeling at the drum (*pe'awahe'gŭn*) began a plaintive song, beating time with the carved sticks (*pe'awahe'gŭnŭk*). As they sang, the [535] reciter swayed his body to and fro, while a group of dancers gathered on the floor behind him danced with a sidewise step. Before the ceremony, poles were laid lengthwise along both sides of the council house, and against these, at intervals, three on a side, the painted sticks, called *mkāāhi'gŭn*, were laid. If anyone in the crowd felt 'especially happy' he was privileged to strike with one of these sticks upon one of the poles in time to the music. The carved heads on the drumsticks meant that human 532 79% x beings were giving thanks; the lengthwise

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painting of the sticks, half black and half red, implied that men and women were together in thanksgiving, the black representing the warriors, the red the women. The fork at the striking end of the sticks was to give a sharper sound. The dyes for producing the colors were made by boiling bark, the black being soft maple (*sexi'kiminsi*), and the red, red alder bark (*xito''pi*).

"In another part of the same ceremony wampum was used in the form of strings and bunches, both of which were represented in my collection from the Delawares. At least thirteen of the strings were used, each one made different by different combinations of the white and purple beads. These thirteen, it is said, represented respectively (1) Earth; (2) Plants; (3) Streams and Waters; (4) Corn, Beans, and Vegetables; (5) Wild Birds and Beasts; (6) Winds; (7) Sun; (8) Moon; (9) Sky; (10) Stars; (11) Thunder and Rain; (12) Spirits; and (13) Great Spirit. At the ceremony these strings were laid upon a bench before a

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speaker, who picked them up one by one as he made his address, each string reminding him of one part of his speech. He began, my informant told me, by explaining that the Great Spirit had made all things—the earth, plants, streams, and waters—everything. Having thus enumerated all the things represented by the wampum, he proceeded to speak to each of the remaining twelve directly, holding the appropriate string in his hand. Thus he gave thanks to the Earth for the benefits it gives to man, and prayed that its blessings might continue; then thanked in the same way the Plants, the Streams and Waters, the Winds; the Corn, Beans, and Vegetables—each one in turn. As he finished each string he handed it to an attendant, who laid it aside. When his long speech or prayer was finished, he announced, 'We will now enjoy ourselves,' and selected a man to distribute little bunches of wampum, three beads in each, which served as invitations to join in the dancing that followed. These bunches were delivered only to a certain number of

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those known to be 'sober and honest' among the crowd in the long-house. If any person wishing to dance failed to get invitation wampum, it was his privilege to ask for one of the bunches, which was given him if he was considered qualified. The first man receiving wampum arose first; then the others, until the dancers were all on the floor. It is said that this dance, which sometimes lasted all night, did not circle around like most of the Iroquois dances, but each performer remained in about the same spot.

"I was told that in this dance a small rattle without a handle and made of turtleshell was used, probably like the box-turtle rattle still used in the annual Planting Dance by the Seneca and Cayuga."

WAUBUNO'S VERSION

The only extended account in print, known to the writer, of the great ceremonies of the Minsi, beside his own, quoted above, is that furnished by John Wampum, known as Chief Waubuno,[61] which reads as follows:

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"They kept annual feasts:—. . . a feast of first fruits which they do not permit themselves to taste until they have made an offering of them to the manitu-oo-al, or gods; . . . There is one of the greatest sacrifice offerings of our forefathers every six months for cleansing themselves from sin; they will have twelve deers to be consumed in one day and night. At the great feast of the offerings of the first fruits of the earth, which feast the Delawares or Munceys hold annually, they brought a little of all that they raised, such as Indian corn, or hweisk-queem, potatoes, beans, pumpkins, squashes, together with the deer. The Indian women were busily engaged in cooking their provisions, previous to the commencement of their exercises. They invited all strangers into a long pagan temple prepared for such purposes, there is a door at each end—one opening to the east, and one opening to the west. On entering, they with all the Indians were seated on the ground around two fires; in the center of the temple was a large post, around which was suspended a number of deer skins, and wampum is kept buried at the foot of this post. Near the post sat two Indian singers, each with a large bundle of undressed deer skins which served as drums. There were two young men appointed to watch the doors and keep the fires burning, the doors being closed. Each of the young men brought an armful of hemlock boughs, which being thrown

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on the fires smothered them and caused a great smoke. In order that the smoke might fill every corner of the temple, each man waved his blanket over the fire; this was done with the idea of purifying the temple and driving out the evil spirits. After the smoke had subsided, the master of ceremonies, an old chief, rose and began to rattle a turtle shell he had in his hand. He delivered a speech to the people telling them the object of the meeting was to thank the great spirit for the growth and ripening of the corn. When he finished his speech he began to dance, sing and rattle the shell, the two singers joining in, beating on their skins. When he took his seat he handed the shell to the next person, who performed in the same way, thus it went from one to the other all night. The purport of their speeches was to recount the mercies of the Great Spirit to them during the past year, and telling any remarkable dreams that they had had. In the course of the night a number of them went out the west door, making a wailing noise to the moon, and came in again the east door. In the morning the meat and soup were divided amongst the people.

"These feasts often lasted twelve days and twelve nights, and the Indians call it nee-shaw-neechk-togho-quanoo-maun, or ween-da-much-teen. No drinking or improper conduct is allowed. The utmost solemnity prevails."

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CHAPTER VII

THE MISI'NG$^{W^t}$ OR MASK

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THE Minsi version of the myth explaining the origin of their great ceremonies has been already related, but not that of the Unami, for the latter, which concerns itself with the origin of the Unami rites as now practised, is so intimately interwoven with the story of the *Misi'ng$^{W^t}$*, or mask (fig. 1), that it was thought best to place it in the chapter devoted to that curious being, with whose position in the Lenape pantheon, recorded history, and activities in the Annual Ceremony, we have already become acquainted.

The myth is therefore presented herewith, as related by Chief Charley Elkhair, the Lenape master of ceremonies, with only such additions as later questioning brought forth.

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ORIGIN OF THE MASK, AND OF THE BIG HOUSE

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This is the way the Lenape found out that there is a living Mĭsinghâli'kŭn above us. Many years ago, when the Delawares lived in the East, there were three boys who were not treated very well. Their relatives did not take care of them, and it seemed as if it made no difference whether the children died or not. These boys were out in the woods thinking about their troubles, when they saw the Mĭsinghâli'kŭn or Living Solid Face. He came and spoke to them, and gave them strength so that nothing could hurt them again. To one of these boys he said, "You come along with me and I will show you the country I come from." So he took the boy up in the air to the place whence he came, which is rocky mountains above us, reaching out from the north and extending toward the south. It is not the place where people go when they die, for it is not very far from this earth. A long time ago people

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539 could see this country of Mīsinghâli'kŭn, but none can see it now.

While he was showing the boy his country, the Mīsinghâli'kŭn promised him that he would become stout and strong, and would have the power to get anything he wished. Then he brought the boy back.

Afterward, when the boy grew up and went hunting, he used to see the Mīsinghâli'kŭn riding a buck around among the other deer, herding them together. Thus it happened that there were three men in the tribe, who knew that there is a Mīsinghâli'kŭn, because they had seen him with their own eyes.

The Delawares had always kept a Big House (*xi'ngwikan*) to worship in, but in those days it was built entirely of bark and had no faces of the Mīsi'ng^{w}' carved upon the posts as it has now. Here they used to sing about their dreams (visions of power); but some time after the three boys talked with the Mīsinghâli'kŭn, the people gave up this worship, and for ten years had none.

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Then there came a great earthquake, which lasted twelve months and gave great trouble to the Lenape. It came because they had abandoned the worship their fathers had taught them. In those times the tribe lived in towns, not scattered about the country as they are now; and in one of these towns a chief had a big bark house, and here the people met to worship, hoping to stop the earthquake, while they were building a new Big House. When it was finished, they began to worship there, and sang and prayed all winter for relief. After spring came, they were holding a meeting one night when they heard the Mĭsinghâli'kŭn making a noise, "*Ho*^{n}-*ho*^{n}-*ho*^{n}," right east of the Big House. The chief, who did not know what was making the noise, called for somebody to go and see what it was. Then these three men offered to go, because, as they said, they knew what was making the noise and could find out what he wanted. So they went out and found Mĭsinghâli'kŭn, and asked him what he wanted. He answered:

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"Go back and tell the others to stop holding meetings and attend to their crops. Do not meet again until fall, when I will come and live with you, and help in the Big House. You must take wood and carve a face (MIsi'ng^{w}) just like mine, painted half black and half red, as mine is, and I will put my power in it, so that it will do what you ask. When the man who takes my part puts the face on, I will be there, and this is how I will live among you. This man must carry a turtle rattle and a stick, just as I do now." Then he told them how to fix the twelve carved faces on the posts of the Big House, and the faces on the drumsticks, and taught them how to hold the ceremony.

Then he said:

"You must also give me hominy every year in the spring. I take care of the deer and other game, that is what I am for. Wherever you build the Big House, I will keep the deer close by, so that you can get them when you need them.

"Never give up the Big House. If you

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do, there will be another earthquake, or something else just as bad.

"The earthquake stopped that time; that is why the Delawares have kept the MIsi'ng$^{w^t}$ and the Big House ever since. The Mask is left in charge of some family who will take good care of it, and burn Indian tobacco for it from time to time."

It will be seen that, according to the above tradition, the MIsi'ng$^{w^t}$ was, first of all, a personal helper, or guardian Spirit, that afterward became more or less of a tribal deity, and that his cult became engrafted on the Annual Ceremony among the Unami, the rites of which were already ancient among them. That this engrafting really took place seems possible from the fact that among the Minsi there were no masked performers at the Big House ceremonies, and that, while the central post of the temple was provided with carved faces, the masks had an entirely different function among this people. The innovation, if it took place at all, must have been before Brainerd's[52] time, however, for, as related

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in our first chapter, he found the MIsi'ng$^{w^t}$ and Big House in use, as among the Unami today, as early as May, 1745, while traveling among the Delawares living at that time on Susquehanna river.

MIsi'ng$^{w^t}$ DANCE

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Besides the part taken by the MIsi'ng$^{w^t}$ in the Annual Ceremony, he has certain rites peculiar to himself which were held every spring. As the Indians put it:

"When spring comes, the Delawares are glad, and they are thankful that their helper, the MIsi'ng$^{w^t}$, is still among them. For this reason they give a feast and dance to make him happy too."

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Notification.—So at the time of the full moon (about May), the keeper of the mask gives another Indian a yard of wampum to ride around to all the Delaware houses, wearing the mask and bearskin costume (pl. II) to let the people know that the time for the MIsi'ng$^{w^t}$ dance (*MIsingkI'nIkă*) is at hand. The MIsi'ng$^{w^t}$ rides horseback, and another man, also mounted, follows him to see that

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he comes to no harm. At each house the impersonator dismounts and enters, making known his errand by signs, but saying only "*Ho^{n}-ho^{n}-ho^{n}*," and everywhere they give him tobacco, which he puts in his sack. At this time the people frighten disobedient children with the threat that, unless they behave, the Mĭsi'ng^{w} will carry them away in a sack full of snakes. 796 x [201] [261]

Preparations.—The dance-ground customarily used for this purpose has meanwhile been put in order, a cleared place in the woods selected for good shade and pleasant surroundings, and the logs which serve as seats arranged to form the rectangle within which the dance takes place. A great pot of hominy is also prepared; this constitutes the main dish of the feast. [262]

The Ceremony.—When the people have gathered on the night appointed, and the impersonator has returned from the bushes where he retired to dress, wearing the mask and bearskin suit (pl. 11), the speaker addresses the people and relates the origin of the dance, then addressing the Mĭsi'ng^{w}, says, "Take care of us

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796 while we are dancing, so that everything goes smoothly." Then they have a dance in which the MIsi'ng$^{w^t}$ joins, but he dances around the outside of the circle of people, not with them. When they have finished, he dances twelve changes alone, which occupies the time until morning. When daylight appears, the hominy is brought out and everyone eats, including the MIsing$^{w^t}$, after which the speaker says, "Now we have eaten with our MIsi'ng$^{w^t}$. We will have this dance again next spring." The people then disperse to their homes, the MIsi'ng$^{w^t}$ is put away and the impersonator paid a yard of wampum for his dancing. At this dance the singers keep time by striking with sticks on a dry deer-hide rolled over and stuffed with dried grass, very similar to the "drum" used in the Big House.

Adams' Account.—The only account the writer has seen of this ceremony is that of Adams',[83] the chief inaccuracy of which is the statement that the dance is "only for amusement." It furnishes,

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however, several additions to our knowledge of the "Solid Face." It is as follows: 796*

"*Messingq or Solid Face Dance or Devil Dance.* —The principal leader in this dance is the Messingq, an Indian, who is dressed in a bearskin robe with a wooden face, one-half red and one-half black. He has a large bearskin pouch and carries a stick in one hand and a tortoise shell rattle in the other. He is a very active person. The dance is only for amusement, and men and women join in it. A large place is cleared in the woods, and the ground is swept clean and a fire built in the center. Across the fire and inside of the ring is a long hickory pole supported at each end by wooden forks set in the ground. On the east of this pole the singers stand; on the west end is a venison or deer, which is roasted. About daylight, when the dance is nearly over, all the dancers eat of the venison. They have a dried deer hide stretched over some hickory poles, and standing around it beat on the hide and sing. The dancers proceed around the fire to the right, the women on the inside next to the fire. After the dance is under headway the Messingq comes from the darkness, jumps over the dancers, and dances between the other dancers and the fire. He makes some funny and queer gestures, kicks the fire, and then departs. The Messingq is never allowed to talk, but frequently he visits the people at their homes. He is a terror to little children, and when he comes to a [292] [417]

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79x house or tent the man of the house usually gives him a piece of tobacco, which the Messingq smells and puts in his big pouch, after which he turns around and kicks back toward the giver which means 'thank you,' and departs. He never thinks of climbing a fence, but jumps over it every time that one is in his way. The Devil dance is what the white men call it, but the Delawares call it the Messingq, or 'solid face' dance. The Messingq does not represent an evil spirit, but is always considered a peacemaker. I suppose that it is from his hideous appearance that white men call him the devil."

OTHER FUNCTIONS OF MISI'NGʷᵗ

755 776 961 The MIsi'ngʷᵗ the Indians claim, "takes care of the children," as well as of the deer, for as before related if any Delaware has a child who is weak, sickly. or disobedient, he sends for the MIsi'ngʷᵗ and asks him to "attend to" his child, On his arrival it does not take the impersonator long to frighten the weakness, sickness, or laziness out of such children, so that "afterward they are well and strong, and whenever they are told to do a thing, they lose no time in obeying." This is the only trace of the doctoring function of the mask found among the Unami.

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function of the mask found among the Unami.

When the keeper of the MIsi'ng$^{w't}$ burns tobacco for him and asks for good luck in hunting, "it turns out that way every time;" and the Lenape say moreover that if anyone loses horses or cattle, either strayed away or stolen, he can go to the keeper of the MIsi'ng$^{w't}$ with some tobacco as a gift and get them back. He explains his errand to the keeper, who in turn informs the MIsi'ng$^{w't}$ that they want him to look for the horses or cattle. The loser then goes back home, and after a few days the missing animals return, driven back by the MIsi'ng$^{w't}$, who if they had been tied or hobbled by the thieves, frightened them until they broke away and came home. When the Big House meeting is held in the fall, the MIsi'ng$^{w't}$, as before related, is seen going around among the tents of the Delawares assembled, and in and out of the Big House, always coming from the woods, where the impersonator has a place to change his clothes. The Indians say:

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"He helps the people with their hunting, and also helps in the Big House while the ceremonies are in progress. If he finds anyone there who has not done right, he informs the three guards of the meeting, who take that person and put him out. In all these ways the Mĭsi'ngʷ helps the Delawares."

MASKS OF THE MINSI

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The Minsi Mizi'nk (cognate with the Unami *Mĭsi'ngʷ*) was a mask made of wood with copper or brass eyes and a crooked nose, according to my informants at Munceytown; and judging by Peter Jones' drawings (pl. III) they were provided also with hair, tufts of feathers, and jingling copper cones or deer-hoofs. The Mizink at Grand river was of Minsi type, judging by the specimen obtained by the writer (fig. 4).

Such masks were made to represent Mizinkhâli'kŭn, who was "something like a person, but different from the Indians, and was powerful. They saw him first among the rocks on a hill, and he spoke to

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them and told them what to do to get his power. When a man put on a Mizink he received the power of this person or spirit; he could even see behind him, and could cure diseases." 532 776 778

The Mask Society.—The men who owned these masks formed a kind of society which Nellis Timothy says originally had twelve members, but which, before it disbanded, dwindled to about five. Sometimes only two appeared in costume. 794

The society had a meeting-house of its own where its dances, *Mizinki'ntika*, were held, for, unlike the Unami custom, no Mizink ever appeared in the Big House. The members appeared wearing their masks and clad in rough bearskin and deerskin costumes, while some, at least, where provided with a turtleshell rattle which they would rub on a long pole, crying "*O^{n}-o^{n}-o^{n}!*" the while.

Ceremonies.—While no consecutive account of their ceremonies is now remembered, it was said that they sometimes put down their rattles, heaped up 794 796 751

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794 the ashes from the two fires, then threw
796 the ashes all over the house to prevent
751 the people assembled from having disease.

Should any sick person appear, he or
755 she would be especially treated with
794 ashes. Sometimes the performers would
796 pick up live coals and throw them about, frightening the people. At other times the whole company of them would go around to the different houses begging for tobacco, and would dance in any house where someone was willing to sing for them.

Nothing was said among the Minsi about the Mizink bringing back stray
532 stock or driving deer, characteristic at-
778 tributes of the Mask Being of the Unami.
[126] The writer obtained but one mask among the Canadian Lenape, and this was from the Grand River band (fig. 4); it has been described by him[84] in the following words:

"But one mask (*mizink*) was obtained. It differed from those of the Iroquois chiefly in being cruder, and also in decoration, the lines being burnt into the wood instead of being

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painted or curved. The original use of the mask had to do, in part at least, with healing the sick, but Isaac Montour (*Kapyâ'hâm*), from whom I bought it, failed to make himself clear as to the details."

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It will be seen that the Minsi beliefs and practices noted above resemble those of the False Face Company of the Iroquois tribes much more than they do the customs connected with Misi'ng^{w} among the Unami.

In fact, a vague tradition exists to the effect that the False Face Company of the Cayuga once put a stop to an epidemic of cholera among the Minsi. While this was not given to account for the origin of the society among the Minsi, it at least shows that they were familiar with the Iroquois practices in this line.

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CHAPTER VIII

Minor Ceremonies

The Doll Being

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HE Doll Being, called by the Unami *O"das* and by the Minsi *Nani"lis*, has been already mentioned as a minor Lenape deity, and it now remains only to relate the ceremonies and beliefs connected with it, beginning with the myth accounting for its origin.

Myth of Origin

Long ago, the Lenape say, some children, playing with sticks, decided to cut faces upon them, and were then very much surprised to notice that the little dolls which they had thus made seemed to have life. Their parents made them throw the dolls away when they discovered this, and most of the children

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soon forgot what had happened. One little girl, however, grieved for her doll; it bothered her all the time, and finally she began to dream of it every night. Then she told her parents of her trouble, and they realized that they should not have compelled her to throw the doll away. One night the doll appeared to the child and spoke to her, saying, "Find me and keep me always, and you and your family will ever enjoy good health. You must give me new clothing and hold a dance for me every spring," and then told her exactly what to do. The girl reported this to her parents, who immediately looked for the doll and found it, then dressed it, made some hominy, killed a deer, and held a dance in its honor as they were instructed, and this rite has been continued to the present day.

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PREPARATIONS FOR THE CEREMONY

When the family owning a doll of this kind is ready to conduct the Doll Dance (*O"das-kī'nĭkā*), they select two men to

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gather firewood and to clean up the dance-ground used every year, and to engage a speaker and two singers, paying each of them with a yard of wampum. The dance-ground is square, similar to that used for the Mĭsi'ng$^{w^t}$ dance, with logs ranged about for seats, in some pleasant place out in the woods. A hunter is then selected, who calls on several to help him get a deer, which, when brought in, is hung on poles prepared for it at the dance-ground, where it remains over night. The next morning they cook the deer and a kettle of hominy, and are then ready for the ceremony.

The Doll Dance

About the middle of the afternoon the speaker rises and addresses the people, telling them the story of the doll's origin and explaining its function; then he addresses the doll, which has now been fastened on a pole, calling it "grandmother" and notifying it that they are about to hold a dance in its honor, at the same time asking it to insure good health

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to the family of its owner. When he finishes, the dance leader, who should be a relative of the family owning it, takes the doll on its pole, and then, as the drummers sitting in the center of the dance-ground begin to strike the dry hide stuffed with grass that serves as a drum, and to sing the song of the Doll dance, he commences to dance, circling round the drummers, still carrying the doll, the people falling in behind him, forming two circles, the men inside, next to the drummers, and the women outside. When the leader finishes his "set," he passes the doll pole to the man behind him, who repeats the process, and so on until the men dancers have carried it six times, when it is transferred to the women, who, in their turn, dance six sets, making twelve in all, the Lenape sacred number.

The twelve sets, or "changes," lengthen the ceremony far into the night, and this necessitates a large fire to give light. This is built near the center of the dance-ground. Sometimes, if the crowd in

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attendance is large, two such fires are built. Between the changes the doll pole is stuck into the ground near the fire. When the twelfth set is finished, the speaker announces, "The Doll Dance is over," and the feast of hominy and venison is served to everyone. Then the speaker says: "If you want to dance the rest of the night, you may do so, for many of you have come a long way from home and should have a chance for more enjoyment. We will hold another Doll Dance next year." Then they put the doll away and amuse themselves with various social dances until morning.

Minsi Doll Ceremony

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Among the Minsi the beliefs concerning the Doll Being were similar, but differed in detail. As to origin, Wolf told the writer that one time a man lay ill, likely to die, and his family called in a medicine-man, or "witch-doctor." The shaman finally announced that the family must make one of these dolls and care for it, and that the sick man would then get

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well. This was done, and the doctor's prediction being realized, the Minsi have ever since made and used these dolls, called in their dialect *nani'tis*, which were transmitted from parents to children. Wolf's own mother had one, carved out of wood in the form of a person, with a woman's dress and moccasins (for as a rule they represent women); and she always cared for it religiously, in the belief that if well treated it would protect the family and give them good health, but if neglected, someone would surely die. Every year, in the fall, when the deer are in their best condition, Wolf's mother held a dance for it, called "Feeding the Nani'tis;" but she did more than feed it: she put new clothes on it, three sets, and new moccasins every year. She believed that the image sometimes went about of its own accord, although she kept it carefully in a box, for the old dresses always seemed worn at the bottom and soiled, and she found burrs clinging to them when she went to put new clothes on "Nani'tis."

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"NAHNEETIS THE GUARDIAN OF HEALTH"
(E. T Tefft Collection, American Museum of Natural History)

[facing p. 168]

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She hired a man especially to hunt a yearling doe for the ceremony, which took place in her own dwelling. The details are lost, but it is remembered that a man beat a little drum and sang while she, as owner, danced around, carrying the doll in her hands, followed by such of the other women present as wished to participate. Said Wolf, "The Nani'tis helped the Indians, that's why they fed it."

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An Old Minsi "Doll."—The writer was able to obtain but one old specimen of this type (pl. VIII), which was procured at the Grand River reserve, Ontario, for the E. T. Tefft collection, now in the American Museum of Natural History, and was described in the writer's article,[88] before cited, as follows:

"Perhaps the most interesting Delaware specimen of all is the little wooden image, about eight inches high, bought of Dr. Jones, which his father, Rev. Peter Jones, described and illustrated in his book under the name 'Nahnectis, the Guardian of Health.' He says:

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"'I have in my possession two family gods. One is called *Pabookowath*—the god that crushes

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or breaks down diseases. The other is a goddess named *Nahneetis*, the guardian of health. This goddess was delivered up to me by Eunice Hank, a Muncey Indian woman, who with her friends used to worship it in their sacred dances, making a feast to it every year, when a fat doe was sacrificed as an offering, and many presents were given by the friends assembled. She told me she was now restored to worship the Christian's God, and therefore had no further use for it.'

"There can be no doubt in this case concerning the identity of this specimen with the one illustrated in the book quoted. It will be noticed however by those who are familiar with Peter Jones' illustration that Nahneetis, like many humans, has lost her hair in her old age. An interesting feature of the specimen is the primitive skirt, which is made apparently by belting a blanket-like bit of cloth, bound at the edges, around Nahneetis' waist. A vestige of this method of making a skirt survives, I think, in the form of the beaded strip running up one of the vertical seams of the more modern Indian skirt, among both the Delawares and the Iroquois."

The writer afterward found such skirts still in use among the Lenape in Oklahoma (pl. 1, *b*).

An Early Account of Nani'tis.—Another early account of the Nani'tis among the Minsi may be found in the

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Wisconsin Historical Collections, among the documents relating to the Stockbridge Mission, written by the Rev. Cutting Marsh.[56] It reads as follows:

"Nov. 6th [1839]. A Munsee Indian who came to this place over a year previous from Canada called upon me with an interpreter in order to give up a family idol. This man whose name is Big-Deer is upwards of 50 years of age, and since removing to this place, thro' the influence of this family above mentioned has attended meetings constantly and gives some evidence of a change of heart.

"The history of this idol was very interesting. He said that his mother gave it to him before her death which occurred about 30 years ago, and that he had worshipped it until within a few years when he heard about Jesus Christ, but had never given it up before. 'Now he says I wish to give it up and follow the Lord Jesus Christ, and I give this idol to you and you may do what you are a mind to with it.' It was indeed not only a 'shameful thing,' but a horribly looking object about the size of a common doll; fantastically arrayed in Indian costume and nearly covered with silver broaches and trinkets; and whilst retained as an object of worship was kept wrapped up in some 20 envelopments of broad-cloth trimmed with scarlet ribbon. They called it their 'Mother,' it is more than a hundred

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years old, and its late possessor was the fourth generation which had worshipped it. The season for worshipping it was in the fall after a hunt when they made a feast to it and danced around it. 'If they did not do this every fall they said, that is, make the feast &c. it would be angry and destroy them by some dreadful sickness.' It was therefore an object of fear or dread with them, but not one of love and compassion."

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BEAR CEREMONY

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We will now consider two ceremonies of the Unami which are based on animal cults which show a considerable similarity not only in their traditional origin, but also in their ritual.

The more important seems to be the one called *Papasokwi''lŭn*, which, although no part of a bear appears in its rites as practised within recent years, was evidently a Bear ceremony in the days when these animals were abundant. It also exhibits some features suggesting the Annual Ceremony before described, but there is no MIsi'ng^{w}', and there are many other important differences.

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TRADITIONAL ORIGIN

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The Indians say that a cub bear, kept as a pet by a Lenape family long ago, became a great playmate of one of the little sons of the family, but finally grew so large that the child's parents decided to get rid of it; so they tied a little bag of tobacco around its neck and told it to go away. This it did, but the little boy, its playmate, soon fell ill, and his parents searched in vain for a cure. After a long while one of the Indian doctors told his parents that if they would hold a ceremony of this kind and repeat it every two years, the child would recover and would keep his health. This was done; the boy recovered, and his family, who belong to the Wolf phratry, have continued to practise the rites ever since, believing that it preserves their health.

PREPARATIONS

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This ceremony required a special house, which was made new for it every two years, so the first thing the family did, when the time approached, was to find

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a number of men, each of whom was paid a yard of wampum to cut forks and poles and erect the building. This was made by setting up a frame of poles in the form of a Big House, but smaller, only seven paces wide and fifteen paces long, then covering the top with brush and piling brush at the sides. Then to the east of the house a pole was erected, upon which to hang the meat for the feast, which, in old times, had to be a bear; but when bears became scarce a black hog was substituted, and of late a hog of any color has been used. The building finished, the hog was killed, and, having been hung on the pole over night, was taken into the house the next day, quartered, singed on a fire that had been built inside, then carried out again, cut up, and cooked, all except the loose fat, which was kept for a special purpose, as will appear later. When done, the meat was kept in large baskets, with the exception of the head, which, having been cooked whole, was placed in a large bowl with two of the animal's ribs in its mouth.

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The Rites

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When night came, the leader entered the brush house, taking with him a turtle rattle similar to that used in the Annual Ceremony, followed by the men who were to participate (no women being allowed), and then made a speech, telling of the men who had "brought in" this meeting, and explaining its origin, but making no prayers to the Great Spirit or to any of the *manī'towĭk*, his helpers. He then threw half of the hog-fat upon the fire, and placed a string of wampum around his own neck. At this juncture the cook brought him the hog's head in its bowl, and then, first announcing, "I am now going to carry the head around," the leader began to chant and to walk about the house, making false motions to everyone as if to give him the head, then withdrawing it and proceeding to the next. The burden of the chant, the Indians say, was "what his dream helper told him," very much as in the Big House, but here the people kept time to his chant orally, saying "*Hu-hu-hul*" until he

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stopped. The informant does not know who, if any one, shook the rattle. Probably it was employed by the singers after the burning of the head. After making the circuit twice, the leader hung his string of wampum upon some old man of the Turkey phratry who had a "vision of power," who took the head and made his rounds in the same way. He finally cut off the ears of the head, pulled the ribs from its mouth, and threw it into the fire, bowl and all. The meat was then distributed to everyone, whereupon the floor was open to any man who wished to sing an account of his vision. A bucket of prepared drink was placed at each end of the house for the refreshment of such singers, but the head, of course, was gone. When the songs were finished, the remainder of the fat, and finally the broth in which the meat had been cooked, were thrown upon the fire, and in conclusion, six women were called in and instructed to go out and give six times the prayer cry, "*Ho-o-o!*"

Perhaps the following ceremony noted

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by Zeisberger[177] may have been of this kind:

"A fourth kind of feast is held in honor of a certain voracious spirit, who, according to their opinions, is never satisfied. The guests are, therefore, obliged to eat all the bear's flesh and drink the melted fat. Though indigestion and vomiting may result they must continue and not leave anything."

OTTER CEREMONY

Similar to the Bear ceremony in many ways, both in traditional origin and in rites, was the observance called *A"tci-gamun'tti"*, said to mean "compulsory hog-eating," held to propitiate the Otter spirit, a cult whose paraphernalia the writer was fortunate enough to collect for the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation.

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MYTH OF ORIGIN

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Many years ago, so runs the story, a little girl about ten years of age was given a young otter for a pet, and this she kept and cared for until it was well grown. About this time she began to feel that she should keep him no longer, for she

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had come to realize that he was *pi"lsu*ª, meaning "pure" or "sacred," and, like all wild things, belonged to the Powers Above. The old people told her what she must do, so she took her otter down to the creek, and, first tying a little bag of tobacco on his neck, said to him: "Now I shall set you free. I have raised you and cared for you until now you are full grown. Go, then, and follow the ways of your kind."

The otter disappeared into the waters, and the little girl returned to her home, feeling that she had done well. But before a year had passed, a sickness came upon her, which the Indian doctors told her was caused by her pet otter, which wanted something to eat. The only way for the child to get well, they said, was for her to have a hog killed and cooked, and then to invite a number of men to eat it all, in the name of the otter. This was done, and when the men finished eating the hog and the soup, they said that the girl would recover, and so she did. For this ceremony they took an

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[Text continues on page 179]

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FIG. 16.—*a*, Regalia of otter-skin used in the Otter Rite; *b*, Regalia as worn. (Length of *a*, 56.5 in.)

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Lenape

otter-skin (fig. 16, *a*) to represent the girl's pet, which was used every two years, and when the owner died was passed to the oldest survivor of the family which owned it, and kept in the belief that it would benefit the health of all of them. It was the only one of its kind in the tribe, and is called "*Kunu^{n}'xäs.*"

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The Ceremony

The exact details and order of the ceremony were not remembered by our informant, but it was certain that the family in question "fed the otter" every two years in the spring, that being the time of year when the little girl had been taken ill. Everyone was invited, men and women, and a man was selected to cook the hog, and another to supply wood and to cut the poles for swinging the kettle, both of whom were paid with a yard of wampum. The fire was kindled with a special flint-and-steel always kept with the outfit (fig. 17).

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It will be observed that the otter-skin has a slit down the middle of the neck,

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through which the owner thrust his head in such manner that the otter's nose lay under the wearer's chin, while its body

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a b

FIG. 17.—Flint and steel used in the Otter Rite. (Length of *a*, 3 in.)

and tail hung down his back. Wearing the skin in this manner (fig. 16, *b*), himself impersonating the original otter, the owner would open the ceremony by walking about the fire, chanting and

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shaking the turtle rattle (fig. 18), which resembles those used in the Big House, while the audience kept time to his song by uttering "*Hu-hu-hu-hu!*" The nature of the song the writer was unable to learn, but, like the chants of the Bear

FIG. 18.—Rattle of land-tortoise shell used in the Otter Rite. (Length, 3.9 in.)

Ceremony, it probably was concerned with the singer's "dream helper." When he had finished, another man put on the skin and took up the chant, and so on until noon the next day, when the ceremony was brought to a close and all

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
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joined in the feast. At this time the skin is told, "We will feed you again in two years."

BUFFALO DANCE

Such was the list of native Lenape ceremonies furnished by our informants; but Adams[88] mentions several more, for which the writer was unable to procure much in the way of data. One of these was the Buffalo dance, which the writer feels should be included with the Otter and Bear ceremonies, although Adams calls it a "pleasure dance." He admits, it will be observed, that it usually took place before hunters started on the chase. His account follows:

"The Buffalo dance is a pleasure dance and always begins in the morning and lasts all day. The ground is made clean in a circle large enough to dance on, and in the center a fire is built and a fork driven into the ground on each side, and a pole placed across the fire east and west. On each side of the fire is a large brass kettle hanging across the pole with hominy in it, and when the dance is nearly over, the dancers eat the hominy, dipping their hands in the kettle. The singers are outside of the ring and beat on a dried deer

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hide stretched over poles. They do not use the same step in the dance, but gallop like buffaloes and bellow like them, also have horns on their heads and occasionally hook at each other. The dance is usually given before starting on a chase."

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IMPORTED CEREMONIES

Skeleton Dance

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The preceding ceremonies have all been, ostensibly at least, of native Lenape origin, but we now come to several whose outside origin is admitted by the Indians themselves. The most ancient of these is the "Human Skeleton Dance," mentioned by Adams.[88] He calls it a rite belonging to the Wolf clan or phratry of the Delawares, but the writer's informants say that it is not true Lenape at all, but a Nanticoke (One"tko) ceremony introduced among the Lenape by the survivors of that tribe who had joined forces with them. Adams' account, which is better than any the writer was able to obtain, is as follows:

"*Human Skeleton Dance.*—Given only by the Wolf clan of the Delawares. A

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certain dance given as a memorial to the dead was supposed to clear a way for the spirit of the deceased to the spirit land. When a member of the Wolf clan died, the flesh was stripped from the bones and buried, and the bones were dried at some private place. At the end of 12 days the skeleton would be wrapped in white buckskin and taken to a place prepared for the dance and there held up by some one. As the singers would sing the men who held the skeleton would shake it and the bones would rattle as the dancers would proceed around it. After the dance the skeleton was buried.

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Traditions say that in ancient times some of the head men in the Wolf clan had a dream that they must treat their dead in that way, and the custom has been handed down to them for many centuries. The other clans say the custom does not belong to them. The custom has been long dropped. There has not been a skeleton dance since 1860."

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Peyote Rite

One of the latest of introduced ceremonies, which was still much in favor with the Oklahoma Lenape when last visited by the writer, is the Peyote Rite, a cult

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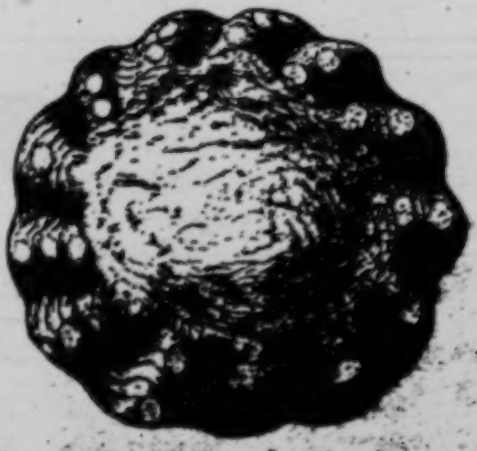

Fig. 19.—Peyote "Button." (Diameter, 1.9 in.)

now widespread among the tribes of the Central West, introduced among this people by an Indian named John Wilson, who obtained it, they say, from the Caddo on Washita river about the year 1890 or 1892. During this ceremony re-

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markable visions are produced by eating the dried top of a small cactus, the *peyote* (fig. 19), for which the cult is named, and these visions, coupled with the moral teachings embodied in the ritual, make it very attractive to the Indian, who, on joining the cult, is often persuaded to discard entirely the ancient beliefs of his own people. The writer is acquainted with two principal forms of the rite, one involving native deities only, the other, almost entirely Christian in teaching and symbolism. It is this latter form which has been adopted by the Lenape, to whom the tipi, in which the ceremony is held, is as foreign an institution as the little cactus itself, brought in from southern Texas and Mexico.

Paraphernalia.—For this ceremony the tipi is erected with the door to the east, and a complex series of symbols arranged inside, as shown in the smaller drawing, pl. IX. On the western side of the lodge is built a crescent-shaped mound, or "moon," of earth, packed hard, its horns turned toward the east, which they

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THE PEYOTE RITE AMONG THE I
Native Painting by Earnest Spybuck, a Sha

[Following p. 186 (A)] [IN color]

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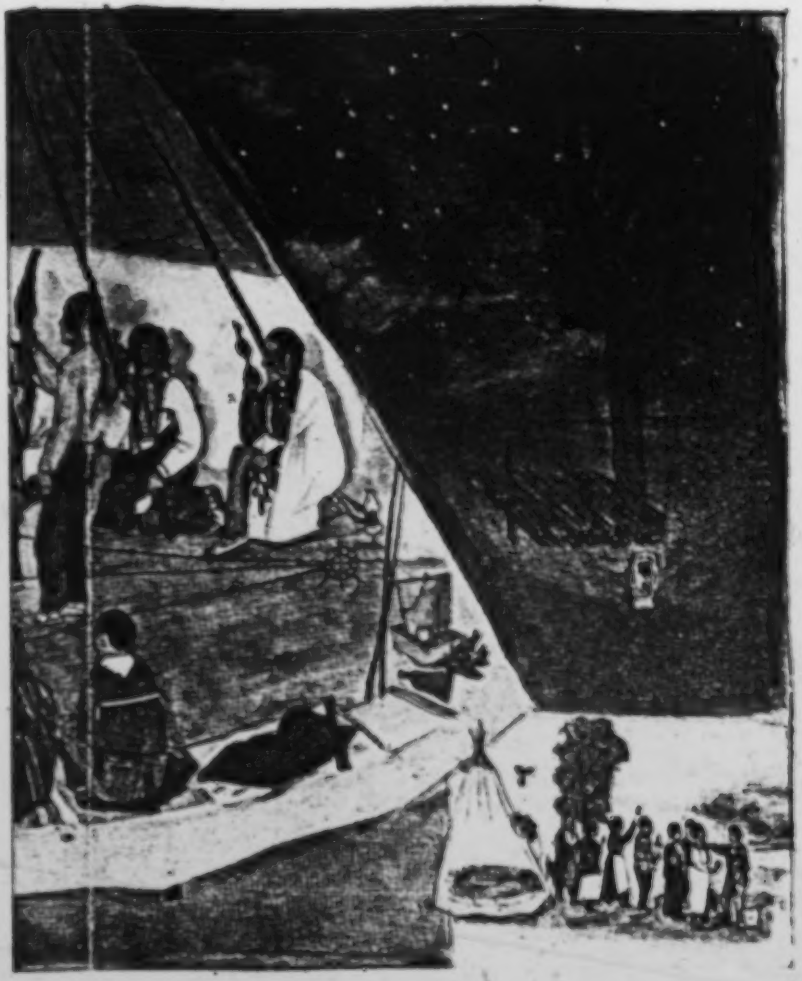

RITE AMONG THE LENAPE
g by Earnest Spybuck, a Shawnee

[Following p. 186 (B)] [IN color]

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say represents the tomb where Christ was buried, and on the center of this is placed a large peyote, dampened and flattened (fig. 10), resting either on a bed of feathers or on the bare earth; and to the west of this again, sometimes a crucifix, as shown in the illustration. Between the points of the crescent is built the fire in a certain prescribed manner with overlapping sticks forming an angle pointing westward. Near the door lies another mound—a round one representing the sun. From the peyote resting on the embankment to the sun mound, directly through the middle of the fire, a line is drawn in the earth of the floor. This represents the "peyote road" along which the Peyote Spirit takes the devotee on a journey toward the sun, and also symbolizes the road to Heaven that Jesus made for the souls of men when He returned thither. West of the crescent-shaped mound stands, when not in use, the highly decorated arrow or staff, frequently made in the form of a long cross, with a groove extending from

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end to end, representing the spirit road. A small water-drum made of a piece of deerskin stretched over a crock, as seen in pl. IX, a nicely carved drumstick, an eagle-feather fan for brushing all evil influence away from each devotee as he enters or leaves the ceremony, and a supply of dried peyote, dampened and crushed in a mortar, are all necessary for the ceremony. Each devotee, moreover, must be supplied with a decorated gourd rattle of his own.

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Officers.—The only officers needed for this rite are a "Road-man" or speaker, who sits in the west, just opposite the door, and a fire guard stationed at the door, whose duty it is to keep the fire burning, and to brush with the feather fan the devotees as they enter. This is illustrated in the colored plate (pl. IX), which represents also the "Road-man" guiding a newcomer to a seat.

Conduct of the Ceremony.—When all are gathered in the tipi, the leader first passes around a fragment herb which the people chew and rub over hands and

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body. Then the macerated peyote is passed, and each takes enough to make eight pellets about half an inch in diameter, of which some eat all, some only part, reserving some pellets to be eaten later. About this time the leader addresses the peyote and the fire, prays, and often delivers a regular sermon or moral lecture. He then takes the staff in his left hand, and sitting, or kneeling on one knee, he sings a certain number of peyote songs, which are a class to themselves, while the man to the left beats the drum, then passes the staff to the person on his right, himself taking the drum while this person sings, and so the staff travels round and round the lodge, each taking his turn at singing, while the devotees, men and women alike, keep their eyes fixed upon the fire or upon the peyote lying on the mound. As the night wears on the "medicine" begins to take effect, and the devotees see many strange visions, pictures, and brilliant-colored patterns. Often one may see the Peyote Spirit, in the form of an old

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man, who takes his spirit on a wonderful journey along the "peyote road," eastward toward the sun. At daybreak they all file out of the tipi bearing their paraphernalia, as seen in pl. IX, *b*, and when the sun appears they raise their hands in salutation, and then those who are left standing (for some fall as if dead at the sight of the sun) "give thanks to the Great Father in Heaven." Those who fall at sunrise, they say, are the ones who visited the sun in their visions. All sleep, or at least rest, until about noon, when a feast is served, after which everyone tells what he or she saw while "on the peyote road."

The Lenape variant of this ceremony, as related above, differs somewhat from that of other tribes practising the Christian form of the Peyote rite, but in all essentials it is almost identical.

Ghost Dance

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The Ghost dance was also introduced among the Lenape by an Indian named Wilson, about the same time, our infor-

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mants thought, as the Peyote rite, and, like it, probably from the Washita River region.

Wilson would call a dance every now and then during his lifetime, at which the people appeared in their everyday dress, without such special costumes as were seen, for instance, at such functions among the Kiowa and the Arapaho. At these meetings the participants would dance round and round for a long time, with a sidewise step, to the sound of song and water-drum, sometimes for a considerable period without stopping. Occasionally one would fall and appear to faint, and when revived would claim to have visited Heaven in spirit while his body lay as if dead. When Wilson died, the cult, so far as the Delawares were concerned, perished with him.

Such were the ceremonies surviving until recent times among the Lenape, from which have been omitted only the observances connected with the dead, shamanism, witchcraft, and war, all of which will be discussed in later papers.

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CHAPTER IX

SUMMARY

RELIGION

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A STUDY of the material presented shows that the Lenape believed in a Great Spirit, or Creator, whose goodness is acknowledged, who is thanked for past blessings and petitioned for their continuance, but who is not their only god. He is, however, the great chief of all, and dwells in the twelfth, or highest heaven. He created everything, either with his own hands or through agents sent by him, and all the powers of nature were assigned to their duties by his word. That these concepts are not new among the Lenape may be seen from the fact that most of the early writers who treat of this people have noticed such beliefs among them, which can be traced back as far as 1679.

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This Great Spirit gave the four quarters of the earth and the winds that come from them to four powerful beings, or *manï'-towŭk*, namely, Our Grandfather where daylight begins, Our Grandmother where it is warm, Our Grandfather where the sun goes down, and Our Grandfather where it is winter. To the Sun and the Moon, regarded as persons and addressed as Elder Brothers by the Indians, he gave the duty of providing light, and to our Elder Brothers the Thunders, man-like beings with wings, the task of watering the crops, and of protecting the people against the Great Horned Serpents and other water monsters. To the Living Solid Face, or Mask Being, was given charge of all the wild animals; to the Corn Spirit, control over all vegetation, while Our Mother, the Earth, received the task of carrying and feeding the people.

Besides these powerful personages were many lesser ones, such as the Small People, the Doll Being, the Snow Boy, and the Great Bear. Certain localities,

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776 moreover, were the abode of supernatural beings, while animals and plants were thought to have spirits of their own. Besides these there were, of course, the countless spirits of the human dead who were still supposed to retain some influence in earthly affairs.

771 This, then, was the supernatural world which, to the mind of the Lenape, controlled all things—on which they must depend for health, for success in all their undertakings, even the daily task of deer-hunting or corn-raising. Benevolent beings must be pleased, and bad spirits combated and overcome, or at least placated.

[776] There was, however, until very lately, no conception of a "devil" in the modern sense of the word.

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787 The main channel of communication between the supernatural world and man was the dream or vision, obtained, as before described, by fasting and consequent purification in youth. Through the vision the young man obtained his guardian spirit or supernatural helper,

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who gave him some power or blessing that was his main dependence through life, his aid in time of trouble, the secret of his success. No wonder, then, that visions and helpers form the basis of Lenape belief and worship. Among the guardian spirits figured not only such great powers as the Sun and the Thunder Beings, the personified powers of nature, but the spirits representing various species of animals and birds, such as the Wolf or the Owl, of plants, as "Mother Corn," as well as the Mask Being, and even the spirits of the dead which some Lenape claimed as helpers.

Those favored by such visions were considered the leading people of their community. They usually composed rythmic chants referring to their visions, and appropriate dance songs to go with them, to recite at the Annual Ceremony.

Belief in a soul or spirit surviving the death of the body formed an integral part of Lenape philosophy. The soul is supposed to linger for eleven days after death,

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and is addressed and offered food by the surviving relatives, sometimes in a formal "Feast of the Dead;" but on the twelfth day, they say, it leaves the earth and finally makes its way to the twelfth or highest heaven, the home of the Great Spirit, where it leads a happy life in a land where work and worry are unknown. Some persons are thought to have the power of communicating with the departed.

CEREMONIES

796 x

Most of the beliefs summarized above were found among the descendants of both Unami and Minsi; but when we consider their great religious ceremonies, we begin to note differences. While it is true that (1) in both cases these rites are based on the recital of the visions seen by the participants, combined with thanksgiving to the Great Spirit and his helpers for past blessings and prayers for their renewal, that (2) the New Fire ceremony figures in both, and that (3) they take place in a building of special

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form and decoration erected for the purpose, we note that among the Unami the ceremony is conducted only once a year, and is combined to a certain extent with the cult of the MIsi'ng^{w}, or Mask Being, a magnified guardian spirit or personal helper; while the Minsi have in addition to that held in the fall, a spring ceremony also, cognate with the Iroquois "Thanks for the First Fruits," or Strawberry Dance, and masked impersonators do not appear in the Minsi ceremonial house.

In the ceremonies of both Unami and Minsi, however, we note other similarities besides those first mentioned, such as the manner of prayer, the use of a drum made of a dried deer-hide beaten with flat forked drumsticks each bearing a carved face, the fumigation and sweeping of the Big House, the restriction against women in their menses, and the use of twelve as a sacred number.

It therefore seems likely that the rites, in spite of the differences noted, probably have a common origin, and hence date

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back to a period before the separation of the Unami and the Minsi. Indeed we have an historical account which seems to refer to this kind of ceremony as early as 1683, while under date of 1779 there is a description of the rites practically as enacted as late as 1920.

MINOR CEREMONIES

Analyzing the minor ceremonies of Lenape origin we find the cults of two types: one founded on a beneficent spirit, a personal helper such as the Mask Being, whose relations are friendly with mankind; the other based on a discarded toy or pet, which makes trouble for its former owner unless propitiated by the ceremony in question.

A good example, in fact the only one we recorded, of the first type is the ceremony in honor of the Mɪsinghâli'kŭn, or Mask Being, among the Unami, which, however, does not find its counterpart among the Minsi, who had a Society of Masks whose rites and functions were

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similar to those of the Iroquois "False Face Company." 796x

The second class embraces the cults of the Doll, Bear, and Otter, all of which must be propitiated periodically, under pain of sickness or death.

It will be observed that recitals of visions form a part of the Bear rites, and probably also of the Otter ceremony, all of which, taken into consideration with the preceding, gives rise to speculations concerning the basic form of Lenape ceremonies. Perhaps originally, everyone who had been blessed with a vision, held a periodic ceremony at which rites appropriate to his own guardian spirit were emphasized, but at which others so blessed could recite their own visions.

Of course ceremonies of extraneous origin, such as the Peyote rite, can not be classified with those of true Lenape origin; and there are others of which our accounts are so fragmentary that we can not place them, and still others, doubtless, that have disappeared entirely.

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That such may have been the case is not remarkable—not nearly so extraordinary as the fact that the Lenape have retained so much of their ancient beliefs and practices after three centuries of contact with civilization.

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VOLUME VII, 1937

OKLAHOMA DELAWARE CEREMONIES, FEASTS AND DANCES

BY

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University of Pennsylvania

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OKLAHOMA DELAWARE EX-CHIEF AND NARRATOR OF TEXTS. Wi'tapano'xwe, "Walks by Daylight," in Dance Costume.

[frontispiece]
[facing p. i]

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EXPLANATION OF CHARACTERS USED IN THE TEXTS

The following key explains the symbols for sounds as written in the accompanying texts. 104 194

p, b bilabials, occasionally intermediate when preceding the dark vowels, a, o, u.

p' a true, slightly aspirated, surd.

m bilabial similar to English m.

t surd, as t in English *ten*.

d intermediate alveolar sonant between surd and sonant quality.

t' a pure slightly aspirated surd.

s surd, sibilant, corresponding to English s when followed or preceded by i, otherwise postdental, bringing it closer to the interdental θ, (th) with which it corresponds in Munsee.

n alveolar, not differing from English n.

ŋ post-palatal, corresponding to English ng in *king*.

k somewhat intermediate surd stop, medial palatal similar to English k in *lock*.

k^w the preceding sound followed by aspiration followed by closure of lips as in position for w.

g sonant stop, corresponds to English g in *go*.

l not differing from English l.

l̥ voiceless lateral. Not a frequent sound.

' aspirated, rough breathing following vowel.

h more forcible breathing than preceding, posterior lingual position but no contact with palate (h may be justaposed to s, c, t, not equivalent to English sh, ch, th).

x surd, aspirant, palatal-lingual in position, similar to ch in German *bach*.

c medial palatal surd, as sh in English *wish*.

tc surd affricative, as ch in English *church*.

w, y semivowels.

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10+ · denotes lengthening, or as in English doubling, of vowel
19+ . or consonant.
ʷ whispered with position of lips for w, after g or k.

Vowels.

a, e, o, u, i open, medium length.
a^a, e^a, o^a, u^a, i^i open, long, with prolongation.
ą, nasalized.
a as in German *Mann*.
e as in English *yes*.
o as in English *Moses*, but more open, often difficult to distinguish from u.
u rounded as in English *put*.
i as in English *pin*.
i· as ee in English *queen*, or as in French *si*.
ai, ao, au } full glides, not diphthongs.
ə mid-mixed vowel, shorter than ɑ.
ɑ open, obscure, as English u in *but*. Sometimes with nasal quality.
ɔ· closed long.
ɔ closed, medium long a like English aw in *law*.
ˈ stress accent without regard for the possibility that voice pitch may prove later to have a more formal status than that of rhetorical sentence cadence.

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OKLAHOMA DELAWARE CEREMONIES, DANCES AND FEASTS

By Frank G. Speck

ABSTRACT

Since the appearance of the works of the educated Moravian missionaries, David Zeisberger and John Heckewelder, in the latter part of the eighteenth century, the religious systems, philosophies and rituals of the Delaware Nation have been allowed to rest in oblivion by students of native American culture. The backgrounds of colonial history in the east lie deeply imbedded in the cultural problems of the natives. Literary activity of Jesuit author-priests had laid, a century before, an illustrious documentary foundation for American aboriginal and colonial history dealing with the Huron, the Iroquois and the French of Canada and New York, upon which has since been built an extensive series of dignified studies. Availing himself of the opportunities of these early Pennsylvania missionary accounts for an insight into the past, the author has extended his contacts with living native American cultures of Algonkian persuasion to the Delaware Nation now residing in Oklahoma for the purpose of recording and analyzing the indigenous croyances and rituals still preserved in tradition and in practice. Although separated in space and time by two thousand miles from their homeland in Pennsylvania and New Jersey of two hundred years ago, the research covering some eight years of investigation among the Delawares of Oklahoma and the Delaware-Munsee of Ontario (supported partly by grants from the Faculty Research Fund of the University of Pennsylvania and the Historical Commission of Pennsylvania) has yielded material covering twenty ceremonies and rites which form the contents of this volume. It is a continuation of the field investigated in the author's "A Study of the Delaware Indian Big House Ceremony," Vol. 2, Historical Commission of Pennsylvania, 1931.

The presentation covers Family Feasts, the Bear and the Otter Rites of the Grease Drinking Ceremony, the Mask Dance Rite, the Buffalo Dance Ceremony, Rain Making Ritual, the Spring Prayer and Football Ceremony to Advance Vegetation, the Corn Harvest Ceremony, Rite to Avert Thunder, Mortuary Rites and Procedures, the Ceremonial Training of Men, the Ritualistic Games and Social Dances and an account of the Bone-Burial Ceremony which is attributed in origin to the tribes of the Southeast.

A dominant note is in the family cult rites which have been acquired in Delaware religious history through associations with animals, as related in mythology, which imposed certain ceremonial obligations upon them to avoid infliction of sickness. A tabular arrangement presents the analysis of traits of the ceremonies.

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105 The factual material permits the definition of the ceremonial pattern of the Delawares and an evaluation of the functions of appeal, wrought in humility as unassociated with North American Indian attitudes, to the high god or Creator and the lesser spirit forces, of satisfaction to plant and animal forces, of thanksgiving and subtle magical symbolism. Some of the rites, the addresses and poetically conceived prayers like great music and great poems flow from the heart not from the head, even burning with a fire nearly inspired for their devotion in the manner of religions of the Old World. Many are given in Delaware text recorded phonemically with interlinear and free translations. Notes are inserted where required to explain allusions to Delaware general belief and practice.

Several traditional accounts are included concerning traits (witchcraft and the removal of the flesh from the bones of the deceased before burial) in the now extinct culture of the Nanticoke of the upper Chesapeake Bay area.

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INTRODUCTION

The consummation of religious fervor of the Delaware Indians, as among many preliterate peoples, is reached in the periodic communal ceremony of the Big House which continued in performance through twelve consecutive nights. The Big House Ceremony was made a subject of study in 1928 and published as a separate volume in a series of monographs by the Historical Commission of Pennsylvania.[1] In the annual religious cycle of the Delawares, however, other rites and ceremonies of no less importance, though of shorter duration and with less formal preparation, had their place. A series of these minor performances and rites are to claim attention in the present study. The material was gathered between 1928 and 1932 under an appropriation for publication, as a second volume of Delaware ethnological research, granted by the Historical Commission of Pennsylvania. Acknowledgment is accordingly made to the Historical Commission for sponsorship in financing the project and releasing the manuscript in 1935.[2]

Among the existing members of the Delaware or Lenape Nation, now dwelling within the confines of the old Cherokee Nation in Oklahoma, many of these ancient rituals have continued in practice down to the present day, having been transported with the tribe from its original seats in Pennsylvania and New Jersey. Some of them are, indeed, mentioned, even described, by early missionary authors who strove so long to abolish them. The opportunity to study the concepts of these age-old ceremonials of a venerable tribe comes as a welcome augment to the all too meagre documentary records of such human achievements in the development of religion at

[1] Frank G. Speck, "A Study of the Delaware Indian Big House Ceremony, in Native Text Dictated by Wi'tapano'xwe." Vol. 2, Historical Commission of Pennsylvania, Harrisburg, 1931. Frequent reference will be made to this study under the abbreviation *Big House Ceremony*.

[2] Correspondence, Miss Frances Dorrance, Director, and Miss Myrtle Keeny, Acting Executive Secretary, Jan. 10-12, 1935.

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PLATE 1

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DELAWARE CEREMONIAL LEADERS IN DANCE COSTUME.

Left, Wi'tapano'xwe, "Walks by Daylight," C. J. Webber, and right, Kwutcpagi'kamen, "Rustling Leaves (when Walking)," George T. Anderson, of Dewey, Oklahoma. (Courtesy of Philadelphia *Public Ledger*, 1932, and Allen S. Fisher, "Lutheranism in Bucks County, 1734–1934," Tinicum, Pa., 1935.)

[FACING p. 4]

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large. It is, then, to one of the religious men of the tribe, *Wi·tapano'xue*, "Walks by Daylight" (C. J. Webber), the joint author of the text study of the Big House, supplemented with the cooperation of *Ni·'ka'ni·pazoxue*, "Walking in Advance, Leader" (Joe Washington), and *Kwulc'pagi·'kamen*, "Rustling Leaves (when walking)" (George T. Anderson), that we owe the narration of this series of texts explaining the procedures themselves and the traditions of their origin (Plate 1).

Some of them, for instance the Grease Drinking Ceremonies and the Doll Dance, are family properties handed down as obligations within the family group from some past period when the responsibility for their enactment was incurred through the event of some long-forgotten individual undergoing experience with a spirit in human or animal form. These have developed among the Delawares into septs inheriting the obligation to perform them corresponding to the motives actuating rites of similar derivation in several other parts of North America.

In the history of Delaware institutions of the kind there is reason to suppose that the minor ceremonies, perhaps those passed on through generations within the family groups, may indeed be older than the Big House Ceremony. The fact that in the Big House certain rites appear to have been added and others to have been dropped off as time went on would show that the great celebration has integrated through the coalition of originally separate elements. Its comprehensiveness and its thoroughly worked-out cosmological philosophy seem to denote this. The formative elements themselves, then, may be those which we have here, the minor rites performed by smaller social groups, the families, perhaps the villages under the old social system when the tribe resided undisturbed by an European invasion in the east, and those conceived by certain individuals as an outcome of their personal revelations. These bear indication of being prior developments entering into the composition of the dominating and communal Big House Ceremony. Keeping pace with the dwindling devotion of the Delawares to the rites of the Big House, the individual and

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small group celebrations have suffered decline, some having entirely ceased in recent years. In the minor ceremonies we have accordingly good prospective material to work over for the analysis of the larger composite ceremony. By taking into consideration with the Delaware institutions the process of ceremony integration in other parts of North America, of which the Sun Dance of the Plains Indians is a striking example, we are coming to possess the source material needed by the student pursuing research in the fascinating field of the history of religions. These repositories of native thought and experience are great in another sense. They offer a suggestive line of thought concerning the building-up process which has produced some of the great mass celebrations that mark the religious calendar of the preliterate tribes in whose culture have developed sophistries framed in proportions not unlike those of civilized nations.

I should like to add that the textual study offered in these pages is a contributive not a conclusive one as concerns the ethnology of the Delawares. Observations of ceremonial procedure still remain to be made on the rites that survive in the tribe.[3] But nothing can supercede the worth of the word for word deposition of even a modest informant like Wi'tapano'xwe, who has taken active part in many of them and whose nature has been steeped in reverence for them since childhood.

Some explanation should, it seems, be offered for omitting to mention and discuss ceremonial feasts and small rites that operate directly for the curing of sickness. The student of religious institutions would naturally expect these to be embraced in a study of this character since they are no less important and interesting as depicting the religious habits of the tribe. This aspect of the field has, however, been studied, and the material brought together for treatment in an independent monograph by Miss G. I. Tantaquidgeon, the manuscript being in the archives of the Historical Commission of Pennsylvania.

[3] Not forgetting that excellent studies made in the field of Delaware Ethnology by M. R. Harrington have been published in his "Religion and Ceremonies of the Lenape," Indian Notes and Monographs, Museum American Indian (Heye Foundation), New York, 1921, and more is promised by the same author.

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121 An explanation is also needed to account for omission in the present study of treatment of the Peyote cult which has invaded the religious complex of the Delawares in Oklahoma. Within the past fifty years a considerable number of families have been converted to this much-discussed, I may say, much-maligned, doctrine of psychophysical therapeutics. The Peyote creed has therefore become an element in the religious life of the tribe. Its history may be simple as an acculturation, but its elements under modification in the minds of its Delaware converts with their old spiritual system in the background remains a subject for research. This has been undertaken by Dr. V. M. Petrullo and the results have become available in his dissertation.[4]

008 In carrying out the purpose of studies projected among the various bands of the Delaware Nation in Oklahoma and Ontario, several sources of coöperation deserve mention, namely that afforded me by Dr. George G. Heye, Director of the Museum of the American Indian, New York, in securing specimens to illustrate the performances; by Mr. H. H. F. Jayne, University Museum, University of Pennsylvania, and several private collectors, Mr. S. W. Pennypacker II, Mr. Robert Riggs and Mr. Earl Horter of Philadelphia. A collection of articles illustrating Delaware religion in ethnology is also on loan exhibition by the writer in the rooms of the Delaware County Institute of Science, Media, Pennsylvania. To Miss D. M. Spencer, Dr. H. Wieschhoff and Mr. L. C. Eiseley I am indebted for cooperative aid.

[122] The Committee of the Faculty Research Fund, University of Pennsylvania, has awarded several grants, gratefully acknowledged, for field work in Delaware-Munsee religion among the bands resident in Ontario.

To Mr. Frank T. Siebert, Jr., University of Pennsylvania, I am also indebted for valued assistance in checking over the texts and translations, and my discussions of rites and tales, with his field notes.

114 Before proceeding to the subject matter of my study, one more comment upon the character of ancient documentary

[4] V. M. Petrullo, "The Diabolic Root, A Study of Peyotism, the New Indian Religion Among the Delawares." University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 1934, pp. 1–185.

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sources dealing with native life and customs as compared in value with living sources available today among the Indians themselves. There is in the minds of many students of history and ethnology a deep-seated feeling that in all cases of discrepancy of statement and interpretation modern sources are universally less reliable, through the assumption that the old writers were not only explicit and that they saw things correctly but that they observed native behavior at a time when foreign elements had not been incorporated into their ceremonies. The inference is, of course, often true, but the following case speaks for itself much to the contrary, and since it pertains intimately to Delaware religious festivals is worthy of notice here. Historians, indeed, treating the colonial period, with the Indians still in their natural background, seldom fail to applaud those efforts of contemporary writers as being the best fruits of observation, often the only ones to be relied upon when a conflict of authority on some phase of native belief arises between early published testimony and that of the present-day natives. The example in question, quoted below from a seventeenth century source answers for itself. The account, consisting of one page of matter is clearly a reference to the twelve-night Big House celebration recorded in the volume devoted to this ceremony.[4] In the passage there are nine correct observations and nine erroneous statements and misconceptions as we check them off against the full account. Thus, it seems one early documentary source of control over the facts involved in historical ethnology dealing with the Big House Ceremony fails in the test to stand as valid testimony in the face of modern investigation. This will serve to vindicate in the eyes of the sceptic the character of Indian informants on the subject of their rites and beliefs.

"For their worship which is diabolical, it is performed usually but once or twice a year, unless upon some extraordinary occasion, as upon making of War or the like; their usual time is about Michaelmass, when their corn is first ripe, the day being appointed by their chief Priest or pawaw; most of them go hunting for venison; When they are all congregated, their priest tells them, if he wants money, their God will accept no other offering, which the people believing, every one gives money ac-

[4] See footnote 1, page 3.

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114 cording to their ability. The priest takes the money, and putting it into some dishes, sets them upon the top of their low flat-roofed houses, and falls to invocating their God to come and receive it, which with many loud hallows, and outcries, knocking the ground with sticks, and beating themselves, is performed by the priest, and seconded by the people.

"After they have thus a while wearied themselves, the priest by his Conjuration brings in a devil amongst them, in the shape sometimes of a fowl, sometimes of a beast, and sometimes of a man, at which the people being amazed, not daring to stir, he improves the opportunity, steps out and makes sure of the money, and then returns to lay the spirit, who in the meantime is sometimes gone, and takes some of the Company along with him; but if any English at such times do come amongst them, it puts a period to their proceedings, and they will desire their absence, telling them their God will not come whilst they are there."[6]

Something may be deduced from the preceding since the purpose of an introduction is, among other aims, to anticipate some questions of history and interpretation of the material offered. I had previously expressed some conviction, after pondering on the various possibilities of how to classify the individual family feasts of the Delawares in relation to the Big House Ceremony, that integration had probably taken place.[7] In short, that the family religious observances were fundamental in respect to age and pattern and that, in the course of sacred history, perhaps indeed upon the event of some catastrophe of nature as Delaware tradition makes out, the Big House Ceremony came into conception and was established as an outcome of the crisis. The foregoing quotations and discussions should therefore be considered as evidence on the point.

Zeisberger over a century ago likewise wrote in general terms of Delaware ceremonies. His description is worth quoting. The wording, however, does not permit of specific classification of the particular ceremony he had in mind in his description. Part of it may cover the procedure of the Big House Ceremony while much of it could also apply to other rites, such as the Grease Drinking feasts, the patterns of which appear in his description. It either means that the ceremonial elements have undergone change in the evolution of Delaware

[6] "Denton's Description of New York formerly New Netherlands," 1670.
[7] "The Big House Ceremony," pp. 16–17.

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ceremony since his time, or that his version of ceremonial conduct, in which the elements of several festivals seem comprised, was due to indifference to the value of detail which we now require in such fields of investigation. 114

"Preparations for such a sacrificial feast extend through several days. The requisite number of deer and bears is calculated and the young people are sent into the woods to procure them together with the leader whose care it is to see that everything needful is provided. These hunters do not return until they have secured the amount of booty counted upon. On their return they fire a volley when near the town, march in in solemn procession and deposit the flesh in the house of sacrifice. Meantime the house has been cleared and prepared. The women have prepared fire-wood and brought in long dry reed grass, which has been strewn the entire length of the house, on both sides, for the guests to sit upon. Such a feast may continue for three or four nights, the separate sessions beginning in the afternoon and lasting until the next morning. Great kettles full of meat are boiled and bread is baked. These are served to the guests by four servants especially appointed for this service. The rule is that whatever is thus brought as a sacrifice must be eaten altogether and nothing left. A small quantity of melted fat only is poured into the fire.[8] The bones are burnt, so that the dogs may not get any of them. After the meal the men and women dance, every rule of decency being observed. It is not a dance for pleasure or exercise, as is the ordinary dance engaged in by the Indians. One singer only performs during the dance, walking up and down, rattling a small tortoise shell filled with pebbles. He sings of the dreams the Indians have had, naming all the animals, elements and plants they hold to be spirits. None of the spirits of things that are useful to the Indians may be omitted. By worshipping all the spirits named they consider themselves to be worshipping God, who has revealed his will to them in dreams. When the first singer has finished he is followed by another. Between dances the guests may stop to eat again. There are four or five kinds of feasts, the ceremonies of which differ much from one another."[9]

We may now consider the outlines of a pattern representing the Delaware ritual system. Enough material is at our disposal to suggest marking out the dominant traits of ceremonial form in the Oklahoma division of the Nation in the following sketch.

[8] This is remembered but no longer practiced.

[9] David Zeisberger, "History of the Northern American Indians." Ed. by A. B. Hulbert and W. N. Schwarze, Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, n.d., p. 137.

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DELAWARE CEREMONIAL PATTERN

*796 *Origin.*—Through mythical association of family ancestors with supernatural agencies. Usually explained in a mythical narrative.

Purpose.—The satisfaction of offended spiritual forces is accomplished, and recurrence of the original misfortune avoided by the rite. Incidentally an added blessing from the spiritual agent or host is secured for the group performing and for mankind in general, in curing or averting sickness, for protection or augmentation of crops, control of weather and seasons, checking of plague, pest or catastrophe.

Officers of Ceremony.—(*a*) A master of ceremonies who is responsible for entire management, with the aid of (*b*) assistants or attendants who sweep, cook and render general service; (*c*) musicians who drum and sing. The master of ceremonies a voluntary "who brings the ceremony in," is speech-maker, prayer-leader, and manager of order of procedure at ritual meetings. Principal participants are of same ceremonial group as holder of ceremony, other groups being represented as guests with appropriate parts.

Time and Place.—Usually at night in some place selected apart from the habitations. The sacred performance-place is usually in the form of a square, the four sides symbolizing the four quarters of the earth, and the whole plot a symbol of the sky realm. Performance is periodical, annual, or when spiritual admonition is felt in the presence of some impending personal or group crisis.

Order of Procedure.—(*a*) Opening address and invocation by master of ceremonies; (*b*) dance and recitations by men who have had spiritual visions, accompanied by drummers who repeat cantos of each recitation; (*c*) specific dance displaying an image or showing symbolical characteristics of the spiritual host of ceremony; (*d*) feast at midnight, or at stated periods, of "pure" meat and hominy secured by special hunter emissaries; (*e*) address of invocation closing first stage

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of ceremony; (*f*) relaxation for ensuing period of night in social dances and amusements. 796x

Wampum Compensation.—Gift of yard-length of wampum, "shoulder to finger-tip," to officers and assistants as spiritual compensation and symbol of blessing for their holy services. Wampum remains only in circulation for payment of offices in religious ceremonies for their maintenance, not as an economic medium of exchange.

Ceremonial Equipment.—Drums (dried deer hide folded and water-drum), rattles (tortoise shell containing pebbles), feathers for sweeping away spiritual obstacles, dried juniper incense, ceremonial smoking tobacco, grease for drinking, sacred cornmeal and wild meat (or accepted substitute to suit modern conditions), original Delaware dress and ornamentation of participants, red paint (*pe'kɔn*), and symbolical fires. *The Delaware pattern is inclined to the use of carved images of the human face and form, either as masks, effigy figures or face sculpturings.*

Symbol of Twelve.—In division of ceremony into periods, in repetition of movements, in ceremonial equipment, the number twelve is a base concept of procedure, deriving itself evidently from the lunar cycle. [801]

Religious Attitude.—Deep feeling of humility and unworthiness, constantly reiterated appeal to Great Spirit through the spirit-forces (mani'tu) controlling departments of the universe, for general blessings of health, protection and sustenance, with sincere expressions of gratitude for the blessings of nature hitherto enjoyed, reverence for ancestral institutions, foods and inventions and appeal to spirits of deceased to be present upon ceremonial occasions to enjoy them and grant immunity from spiritual infections of sickness and evil.

Social Aspects.—The solidification of Delaware nationality through coöperation and participation in the social events, dances and amusements, as well as in the religious unity fostered through the carrying out of rites and institutions originating among sanctified generations of the past. The unity of the ceremonial groupings (Wolf, Tortoise and Turkey) composing the Delaware tribe is strengthened by 796x 182

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the common duties and ceremonial cohesion of their members. The tendency to make Delaware ceremonies esoteric is also present.

The personages of the ceremony may be listed under the following titles, which apply to all the rites performed. The ceremony itself is *tel·ha'k·en*, "that which is brought in," the idea being that someone sponsors and produces it by bringing forth the occasion. The leader or master of ceremonies is *elha'k·et*, "one who brings it in"; *pəm'tu'nhet*, "the speaker" of the occasion; *a'cka"s*, "attendant," the waiter or helper; *exhayge'tcik*, "those who give away food," the cooks and feast attendants; *nazko'hak·e"tcik*, "followers" being the drummers whose rôle it is to follow the singers, repeating their verses; *pu'tcəl*, equivalent to officer who has charge of keeping order.

A word or two concerning the distinctions in character between narrations which pass among the Delawares as epics having a mythical explanatory origin and those which are mere chronicles of happenings in past or present experiences of life. The traditional legend explanatory of some of the phenomena of nature is termed *ati·loha'k·an*, the ordinary narrative story *la'tci·molsuwa'k·an*. The distinction between these categories is something like what differentiates a saga from a narrative. The former is a legend concerning characters and events which do not change in the telling, partaking of the nature of gospels. A biography, on the other hand, falls under the latter term. Similar distinctions, it is interesting to note, have been recorded in respect to the traditional lore of other Algonkian-speaking peoples so well defined in the case of the Menomini by Dr. Bloomfield.[1] The texts in the ensuing collection are of the saga type and as such form an individual version of certain important teachings concerning the spiritual and physical universe which have formed without change the body of sacred learning acquired from some remote sources and handed down among the religious leaders of the tribe for ages.

The foregoing summary is arranged and offered as a

[1] L. Bloomfield, "Menomini Texts," *Publications Amer. Ethnological Society*, XII, 1928, p. xii.

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source for comparison of Delaware ceremonies in general with those of other groups of eastern North America. Casual survey of its salient points will reveal differences and similarities observed in the elements of ceremony so far recorded among Central Algonkian, Iroquois tribes and those of the southeast. It will remain for more intensive study derived from similar summaries made among these groups to determine the position of Delaware ceremonialism in relation to them.

In conjunction with the Delaware series of festivals it is evident that those of the Munsee should be jointly grouped. Harrington's notes on Munsee rites is our principal source. The fact that the Munsee bands still exist in several locations in Canada leaves an open possibility that more detailed and penetrating records of ceremonies of the family or individual order may still be secured. Yet the more thoroughly Christianized condition of the tribe in general may, when the attempt is made, convert this hope to chagrin. This has been the outcome in the case of the Delaware-Munsee of the Six Nations reserve.

Formal ceremonies have disappeared from the calendar of religious events of the Delaware-Munsee incorporated with the Six Nations of Ontario for almost a century, since the abrupt discontinuation of the rites of the Big House in this band in 1832. This resulted from a successful attack on its creed by the native missionary, G. H. M. Johnson, a Mohawk.[1] There remains little to put on record beyond what knowledge we have, opportunely rescued in 1910–14 and admirably presented by M. R. Harrington in several of his publications referred to in the course of our study. Minor religious performances may still be obtained in descriptive form from the Canadian bands of Munsee and Delawares blended together on several of the reservations, but from a casual survey of these groups, their dialects and history, I am free to

[1] An interesting summary of religious history of the band is compiled by R. R. Whale, of the Brantford, Ontario, Historical Society. Johnson with John Wampum, presumably a Delaware, took axes and destroyed the images in the Long House in the Delaware settlement. Whereupon all the Delawares there were converted.

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agree with Harrington calling them Munsee and treating their ceremonial habits as allied properties of the Munsee tribe as such. Investigation in this direction still remains to be carried on systematically among the Munsee groups, and is being pushed by the author under grants awarded by the Faculty Research Fund of the University of Pennsylvania since 1932. Acknowledgment is made to this body for Grants No. 50 and 93 which were used in beginning Delaware-Munsee research and securing comparative material to elucidate some questions raised in the study of the Oklahoma band.

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ADDITIONAL NOTES TO THE BIG HOUSE CEREMONY

The great recurrent and communal ceremony, the Big House or Gamwing, has been covered in a preceding study.[1] At the time it was recorded, most of the topics prepared and discussed were treated with the understanding that a continuation of inquiry into Delaware religion would contribute supplementary material to our knowledge of the spiritual functionings of this festival. Accordingly the way was left open for an extension of its treatment as occasion arose. It is true in particular, and was so recognized in the version of the ceremony published, that variations in performance and in the obligations enforced upon its participants were understood to exist in accordance with the procedure as conducted under sponsorship of the three different social-ceremonial groups, Turkey, Tortoise and Wolf. It has previously been shown that the ceremonial if not the social structure of the Delaware Nation is, in certain respects, founded upon these groupings. I may repeat the important comment that the version of the Big House Ceremony recorded in the volume referred to, was a type-performance of the Turkey group, of which the narrator, Wi·tapano'xwe, was a council member.

An opportunity has since arisen for me to interview, in Oklahoma, Joe Washington, Ni·'ka'ni·paxoxwe, "Walking in Advance, Leader," the hereditary master of ceremonies of this rite when its celebration falls into the hands of the Wolf group. The occasion of questioning him resulted in substantiation of the details previously recorded and printed concerning the general aspects of the ceremony. But it became clear that in the history of Delaware institutions something has been going on either, *a*, to integrate the religious observances of what were formerly separate local bands of the tribe, having more or less distinct customs, into a national ceremony which through time has retained some

[1] See footnote 1, p. 3.

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original features of a distinct character, or, *b*, that it was in earlier times an uniform ritual which has broken up into variant forms with changes of time and place in the expansion of its influence. For the present time it seems hardly safe to interpret the circumstances that may have contributed to change the manner of its celebration. My impression is at present, nevertheless, that the three social subdivisions of the Nation, Turkey, Tortoise and Wolf, were in an earlier period indistinct areal groups whose fusion created the Nation. The Nanticoke, for instance, have been repeatedly referred to as being of the Wolf identity in the sense of a sub-tribe, and something similar is true of the Mahikan, giving evidence in the direction of the above supposition. As regards the local-group types of the Big House Ceremony, an opportunity to record the version and rulings of the performers as carried on by the Wolf group, would be an important addition to our knowledge of religious history among the eastern tribes. And Joe Washington's dictation of the Wolf group's regulations becomes a necessary task for the future. Through lack of support at the time to undertake this study its completion will have to remain postponed. Washington offered to dictate a full account of the Big House rite as carried on by the Wolf group, and through conference with him the following notes were secured covering some of the particulars in which it differed from the Turkey group rite. His observations bring out a point in question, namely, that the details of the Turkey and the Wolf group ceremony probably differ as much as they do when the Turkey group rite is compared with that of the Munsee recorded in Canada by Harrington.

The Wolf group ceremony lasted only eight days whereas the Turkey group rite as recorded consumed twelve. The last time that the Wolf rite was performed by the father of Joe Washington, he was told not to repeat it unless the spiritual obligation took possession of his mind with such compelling force that he could not decline his mission. He was also enjoined not to give way to the insistency of members of the Wolf group or others of the Nation that the rite be carried out merely to maintain the customs of their respective ancestors.

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This motive would be insufficient, even a sacrilege. The spiritual preparation of its participants was made a matter of prime importance and the purity of those concerned in it was to be insisted upon. Joe Washington has since felt that these serious injunctions were of so drastic a character that until the present time they could not be complied with. It seems, therefore, that there is little prospect for anything more than a dictated version to be obtained, which will have to await necessary support for its accomplishment.

Upon the occasion of my expedition to the Delawares in Oklahoma some time was spent in interviews with Tom Half Moon [1] who had had experience as an attendant, or *a'ckas*, of the Big House Ceremony as performed in recent years by his group, the Turkey group. The notes offered are, therefore, advantageous in respect to the details furnished by one who had the teachings directly from those who were responsible for its proper conduct. These notes should accordingly serve as a supplement to that section of the ceremony published in the Big House Ceremony volume dealing with the duties of the attendants. They are in effect as follows:

The attendants who sweep the White Path, or the path around which the dancers proceed when performing in the Big House after each dance, do so with turkey wings, using only the left hand in holding the fans, since the left hand is the holy hand, the right the unholy. The male attendants start sweeping at opposite ends from the women. When they have swept the dancing path twelve times they have cleared away the obstacles of an unfavorable spiritual nature lying between the worshippers and the Great Spirit. As was noted in the published account, the attendants each receive a yard of wampum at the end of the ceremony. He also noted that those who attended the ceremony received two wampum beads each to be kept by them as tokens of good fortune until the next performance. These beads were, he added, held in the mouth as sacred objects when the members went outside

[1] His Delaware title-name is *Axtuc'lpaqqu'ze*, "Overturns Mountains when Walking," a member of the Turkey group.

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796 at the termination of the rite to pray, forming a line at the west door of the Big House. Why they prayed with the wampum beads in their mouth, figuratively with their "heart" in their mouths, is not explicitly known to the informant, but we are told that wampum is the "heart" of the Delaware.

796 773 Reverting to Wi·tapano'xwe's version of the origin of the Turkey group rite, Half Moon added a most interesting supplement to the tradition which I quote as follows as nearly as possible in his words. The origin tale narrates the occasion of the earthquake and bursting forth of black fluid as in a volcanic eruption, as a sign of the anger of the Great Spirit aroused by the evil doings of men, and that the ceremony of the Big House was revealed in a vision to some good men as a means of appeasing the anger of the Supreme One. Half Moon added to this that at the time of the cataclysm the women in terror trying to shelter themselves from the downpour of destruction, took the little children under seven years old and held them in their arms. They knew that children of this age could not be guilty of wrong and so attempted to shield themselves from the Great Spirit's wrath. Finally, we are told, one of the innocents cried out in terror, "Ho, ho; Hă, hă," which became known at once as the revealed prayer-call by which the Great Spirit should be addressed. The distracted people knew that it was the mission of this child to inform them of the means by which the Great Spirit might be invoked in prayer to stay his anger. This most interesting narrative accounts for the origin of the sacred prayer-call so often employed in the procedure of the Big House as recorded in the published work, while for the student of the history of religions we in it have another instance of the ruse of the guilty hiding from wrath behind the shield of innocence.

796 778 773 From Half Moon as a source comes another most significant tradition bearing upon the history of the use of the Mask and the carved images in the Big House Ceremony. According to the Delaware conception of events in the history of their ceremony the images and the Mask Spirit episode (see page 39, "Big House Ceremony") were formally introduced into the rite

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shortly before or about at the time of the arrival of Europeans. 796x 778 773
A transcript of the informant's version is as follows:

"It was relatively late, just about the time when white people were first seen by the Delawares, that they adopted the carved images as part of the ceremonial equipment of the Big House. The images were not made on the posts of the building before. A man of spiritual power had a vision of a monster residing in the East, its body covered with hair, with a face half red and half black. To prove the reality of his vision he induced a companion to accompany him traveling to the East where they finally reached the dwelling place of the monster, proving his existence. Upon this discovery they returned to their people. Having identified the monster and desiring to acquire the power to call upon him for spiritual aid when they desired it, they induced the other Delawares to allow them to carve the likenesses of the monster upon the posts of the Big House. Furthermore they innovated the rite of the False Face or Mask image (Messingk) as personified by an actor who wore the Mask and who was garbed in the bear skin coat and leggings carrying a pouch of the same material and a large snapping turtle shell hand-rattle. Henceforth the Mask Image figured as a potent Spirit Force in the hierarchy of the Manitto assemblage in the Big House celebration. The black- and red-faced hairy monster possessed latent power to effect evil in the lives of men. Hence those to whom he reveals himself in a vision acquire the power to do harm, and since his presence is tolerated among the Big House spirits they may find a place among the worshipers. That is why it is not all for the exercise of the power of good. In the development of Delaware religion as it appears in the Big House, a fault crept in."

What the meaning of this peculiar legend may be as regards the actual history of the Big House Ceremony, one is at a loss to say as yet. It would seem that the position of the Mask Spirit as a canonized Spirit Force amid the benevolent congress of Delaware deities corresponds to that of the Devil's advocate. Before, however, we can admit the tradition as one having historical significance, a wiser analysis and wider comparison of the elements of the major ceremonies of the eastern Indians will have to be invoked. Nevertheless there seems to be a feeling current among some of the religious men with whom I talked that the Big House Ceremony has absorbed some imperfections and that this is one. Half Moon himself even went so far as to declare that the decline of the ceremony as well as of the Delaware Nation, was due to the transgression of accepting an Evil Force as part-sharer of the

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X 796 worship in the Big House. I might add, as contributing a
778 view-point on the same perplexing question, that early in the
773 eighteenth century the missionary Brainerd, then living with the Delawares on the upper Susquehanna in their village near Sunbury, reported a conversation with a man of the Nation in which was embodied a similar opinion as regards the False Face.

X 796 In a section of my study of the Big House Ceremony I
781 indulged in quoting some estimates of the religious spirit among the Delawares adding some of my own impressions in the matter. An opportunity to add to these, since it comes from the writings of a contemporary witness over a century ago when the tribe was resident on the Scioto River, comes from John Brickell. He says: "I know I am influenced to good even at this day more from what I learned among them than what I learned among people of my own color. . . . They worship the Great Spirit whom they call manito, which signifies or conveys to their mind the idea of all strength or rather all sufficiency." [1] This commentary may be adjoined as a supplement to the section in the work referred to, dealing also with the native concept of the Great Spirit, as something corroborative of the early belief of this tribe in the existence of a supreme deity and is intended for the eyes of authorities such as Dr. Schmidt who have devoted so much attention to the nativity of the concept in American culture.

X 796 In the study of the Big House Ceremony some space was
821 devoted to the construction of the belief regarding the path
775 taken by the soul in its journey from earth to the spirit realm. The assumption was made that the Milky Way was considered to be the path in question. Yet the inability on the part of several sources to furnish the native term applied to the Milky Way and their uncertainty as to what symbol in the sky represented the path of the spirit left the matter in a state of doubt. The fact that among other Algonkian peoples the Milky Way is "Spirit or Ghost Path" has some bearing on the point that we are trying to clear up in Delaware belief. It remained for inquiry among the Delaware-Munsee of the Six

[1] "Narrative of John Brickell's Captivity among the Delaware Indians," *The American Pioneer*, I, 2d ed., Cincinnati, 1842, pp. 43, 46, 48, 56.

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Nations Reserve, Canada, to furnish a Delaware appellation for the Milky Way, which turned out to be *ane'i*, "path." This determination would seem to bridge the gap in the previously obtained data. As a corroboration, likewise, of the Delaware belief that the Milky Way is the path of ghosts, we discover in the confessions of belief of the Delawares while residing in the Ohio region that the Milky Way was the path over which souls traveled; after the teachings of several native prophets who in about 1762 stirred religious revivals in the tribe.[4] Whether or not this belief was derived in that time from a still older native concept is not said, yet something of this sort is implied. Thus the Delawares coincide in belief with kindred peoples in the East to establish the antiquity of the concept just dealt with.

George Anderson, *Kwu'tcpagi·'kamen*, "Rustling Leaves (when Walking)," also of the Wolf ceremonial group, offered the following details of information on the procedure of his group when celebrating in the Big House.[5] The Wolf group rite may be conducted within an eight-day period. He had heard that the sweat lodge had formerly been erected in the Big House at a point just to the left of the drummers. As noted in the volume on the Big House Ceremony, the sweating rite was held as a test of endurance for the men who had spiritual guidance. Anderson also added that he had heard of deer skins as offerings being hung up inside the Big House during the Ceremony near the east door. Several additions were made by him to the information recorded in the volume referred to among which may be noted that when the fires are removed from the Big House the ashes from both are thrown out through the west door. Furthermore, he emphasized the regulation that no women or children were allowed to be present within the Big House when the new fire was being made. He said that the rite of making new fire performed by the male attendants was one of spiritual tensity, that some-

[4] Zeisberger, pp. 133–4. Heckewelder, pp. 291–3. For a summary of data in the epoch of the Delaware prophet see James Mooney, "The Ghost-Dance Religion," Fourteenth Annual Report, Bureau American Ethnology, 1896, pp. 662–9.

[5] Funds were available for the task through a Faculty Research Grant, University of Pennsylvania, Grant no. 93.

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x 796 times they failed trying with all their might to make fire with the fire drill one after another and had to resort to making it with flint and steel. He attributed such failure to the attendants having violated the rules of continence during the [831] Big House period. He himself felt that it was becoming more and more difficult for the Delawares to perform the ceremony on account of increasing moral laxity among the people.

Anderson corroborated the tradition of the earthquake and associated physical disturbances as accounting for the cause of the Delawares instituting the Big House Ceremony. He added that there was a tradition of falling stars occurring during the disturbance and also a tornado.[4] Anderson expressed the feeling of the Delawares that the performance of the Big House Ceremony was intended to avert physical catastrophes, saying that upon several occasions in the past the ceremony had been performed after a tornado in the country to preserve the people from another such visitation of anger on the part of the Creator.

It might be expected that the performance of the Big House Ceremony when sponsored by the Tortoise ceremonial group would differ in some of its particulars from what we have previously recorded. This investigation will undoubtedly have to be considered and it will be possible to do so should the Big House Ceremony ever be repeated by Frank Wilson who is a member of the Tortoise group.

Among the notes of information which Anderson made to extend our knowledge of details of the Big House Ceremony, [11] he called attention to an error in the color plate illustrating the interior of the Big House while one of the dances of vision recitation was in progress, in Harrington's monograph on Delaware ceremonies (*op. cit.* Pl. 6). The color plate shows the people in the Big House seated while the dance and recitation are going on. Anderson pointed out that the audience should be shown standing during the dance-recitation.

[4] *Gaw'zzu*, "whirlwind, tornado." Smaller gusts of whirling wind without the character of the preceding are called *ewi-olay'-u* in Delaware.

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DUALOGY OF SYMBOLISM IN THE BIG HOUSE RITE

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In my former study of the Big House Ceremony I did not become aware of the significance that seemed attached to the fact that upon the center-post of the structure there were two faces carved on opposite sides, one facing the east, the other the west, and that also there were two fires, one on the east, the other on the west side of the center-post. These are evident symbols of duality and it becomes plausible to suspect, as did Dr. P. W. Schmidt, that the symbolism of duality in these features of the Big House might refer to sun and moon worship. Dr. Schmidt, in correspondence with me, also suggests that the two fires may represent the luminaries, and the double image representations on the center post a dual personality vested in the Supreme Being idea which in turn he proposes may be a fusion of the male and female concepts as tribal progenitors (Stammeselternpaar). We lack, however, supporting native testimony for the establishment of Dr. Schmidt's elucidation of a historical background for these mysterious symbols so far as the Delawares are specifically concerned.[1]

I was unable to take up this question with Delaware informants before the publication of my earlier study but since that time I have had an opportunity to discuss the point with Anderson. While he was unable to speak in positive terms of the dual symbolism of the two fires, two center-post images, two doors of the Big House, two paints, red and black, on the carved images, he offered a rationalization in attempting to explain the matter. This I consider extremely well worth reproducing as an example of Delaware explanatory thought on a point concerning which tradition in the tribe is not definite enough to be canonical. Our own speculation on the matter, when such fails to coincide with speculative attempts of the natives who themselves *profess* the principles of the religion in question, can hardly be considered as having equal weight with theirs.

[1] See also Dr. P. W. Schmidt, "High Gods in North America, Oxford, 1933," for a scholar's insight into the comparative history of Algonkian concepts of deity and religious systems, summarizing part of Vol. 5 of his earlier monumental contribution; Die Ursprung der Gottesidee, Münster, 1929.

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796 I would accordingly present Anderson's explanation of the
772 dual principle in Delaware ritual as being connected with the
831 division of sex in the realm of life. Anderson pointed out that the balancing of functions between the male and female elements of human society was implied in the Delaware ritual performance. He began by referring to the requirement that there be an equal number of male and female attendants in service during the ceremony; that the duties of the females should coincide with and supplement those of the males; that one fire, theoretically, was in charge of the female attendants and represented their contribution to the worship, the other the males; that a similar division extended through the Big House, one door and the image on the center-post facing that door "belonging" to the men, the other, the opposite to women. He also pointed out in explaining the principle of dualism that when the attendants swept the dancing path encircling the two fires after each dance performance to purify it, with the turkey wing fans, a male attendant starts sweeping from the west door toward the east door and a female from the east door to the west door on the opposite side; that when the east door is reached by the male attendant sweeper and the west door by the female attendant sweeper, each places the fan-sweeper in a crevice in the logs above the door where he or she stops. Furthermore, at the conclusion of the next dance when the sweeping is repeated for the same purpose of purification, the male attendant sweeps his half of the dance path with the fan previously used by the female and leaves this in the logs above the door on her side. She does the same with the fan left over her door by the male attendant the time before. Thus the two fans are relayed by men and women attendants successively on opposite sides of the Big House after each dance. One of the fans, moreover, is associated with male attendants, the other with the female. Anderson used this illustration to bring out his idea as implied from the teaching of the old people that while there was no definite doctrine of sexual duality taught in the Big House, that the same might be implied as a hypothesis. He pointed out another fact in demonstrating this likelihood which is

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clearly evident on the surface, namely that the two forked drum sticks, those of highly ceremonial significance used only from the ninth night of the ceremony to the end, bear carvings of human heads, a male on one, a female on the other, the latter having also the representation of female breasts below the face. This leaves no doubt of latent trend of thought in the basic symbolism of duality based upon sex in Delaware. The two drum sticks in question are definitely designated male and female. 796x 772 831

I might mention also another piece of native reasoning along the same line in explanation of the black and red half-painting which is so characteristic of Delaware sacred coloring. It has been assumed and with good reason that these colors represent the states of life and death, respectively red and black. I would not discard this theory since it is one present in the minds of some Delawares, but would rather find an explanation for the confusion in idea of the black and red symbols as an overlapping of several vaguely fused symbolisms; one designating sex, the other life and death. The whole question, as it now stands, amounts to a problem of symbol interpretation in Delaware religion in which the supposition of sexual duality must be given primary consideration. 796x 772 831 822

Reverting for a moment to Anderson's explanation of the two fire, two door, two center-post image peculiarity in the Big House arrangement, it should not be inferred that he intended to point out that these were exclusively or definitely sexual segregations or that they reflected duality in the conception of deity. He also wished especially to avoid fixing the idea that the two center-post images represented the Creator. He tried to make clear that the two branches of service represented by the men and women worshippers were made convenient and kept separate in accordance with the division into male and female functions by the dual arrangements just noted. 796x 772 831

The whole question of sex differentiation in Delaware religion and natural thought is one which may have to be worked out through evidences beneath the surface, perhaps in almost forgotten but deeply significant principles of thought,

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Ceremony	Function	Spirit Force Addressed
1. Grease Drinking Ceremony; Bear Rite	To immunize against sickness caused by Bear	Bear
2. Grease Drinking Ceremony; Otter Rite	To immunize against sickness caused by Otter	Otter
3. Mask Dance Ceremony	To avert sickness caused by Face-Image spirit and to aid deer hunting and agriculture	Mask Spirit, Corn (mother or grandmother)
4. Opossum Dance	To satisfy the guardian spirit of opossums	Opossum
5. Doll Dance	To appease ill-will of spirit of corn and avert sickness	Human Images (dolls)
6. Buffalo Dance	To overcome buffalo	Buffalo
7. Spring Football Ceremony	To promote and protect growth of crops	Creator (father), Sun (elder brother) and Thunders (grandfathers)
8. Corn Harvest Ceremony	Thanksgiving, appeal for health and abundance	Creator (Father), Corn (mother or grandmother)
9. Social, or "Stomp" Dances	Amusement, social assembly	None specified
10. Big House Ceremony (Ga'mwiq)	To avert, (a) destruction of world; (b) national catastrophe and sickness; (c) to unify the people	Creator and entire pantheon

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THE FAMILY FEAST IN GENERAL

The gradation of ceremonies among the Delawares seems 76x
to lend itself to an arrangement along the following lines:
(*a*) individual rites; (*b*) family rites accompanied by feasting; (*c*) rites managed by the ceremonial group (Turkey, Tortoise, Wolf); (*d*) the periodic tribal ceremony managed by one of the three groups.

I presume that a supposition may even be entertained in support of the theory that these festivals developed in the order given, with the exception that in the case of the individual and family rite (*a*) and (*b*) it would be quite impossible to separate them. The general pattern as outlined previously (page 10) appears to pervade most of these performances but in particular stands out as the order of procedure ruling the family feasts. There is significance in this as respects the fundamental type of ceremony which the Delawares may be accused of favoring in the course of their religious history. Accordingly since the family feast pattern betrays its presence in others of the series as given above, the student of comparative religious functions may be excused for placing it upon record as the stamp of Delaware procedure in his attempt to give it place in the series of religious rites observed among the Indians of North America. I would refer to several remarks made in the introduction to this study concerning the position of the family feasts among the Delawares. That a similar impression is to be gleaned from the records of missionary authorities is evident. Zeisberger who knew the Delawares so long and so intimately has something to say on this point and I consider his paragraphs of sufficient importance to quote them.

"In the matter of sacrifice, relationship, even though distant, is of significance, legitimate or illegitimate relationship being regarded without distinction. A sacrifice is offered by a family, with its entire relationship, once in two years. Others, even the inhabitants of other towns, are invited. Such sacrifices are commonly held in autumn, rarely in winter

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ORCE ADDRESSED	ORIGIN	PROCEDURE
	From release of captive Bear (myth)	Recitation of visions, drinking grease and fea meat
	From release of captive Otter (myth)	Recitation of visions, drinking of grease and hog meat
it, Corn (mother or ther)	Obligation imposed by Spirit (myth)	Solo mask dance, eating corn foods
	Dream injunction (myth)	Imitative of opossum, and recitation of d hostess
nages (dolls)	Children's familiarity with corn mask dolls causing illness (myth)	Six men's, six women's dance songs, feast and corn foods, prayer-call facing east, t corn-bread images of human being and bear, offering
	None specified	Imitative of buffalo, circling, shoving
(father), Sun (elder and Thunders thers)	Mandatory by custom	Prayer, thanksgiving followed by dance, fol football game between men and women
(Father), Corn or grandmother)	Mythical corn famine, rite mandatory by custom	Day: Thanksgiving address by leader, d masked men, alternating with women's dan Night: Social dances, feast of corn foods, fi around drummers and singers
ified	None specified	Circling column in trot, contraclockwis motions, varied mimicry
nd entire pantheon	Ceremony revealed to tribe after mythical earthquake, tornado and volcano,—destruction of world	Recitation of visions with dancing aroun and praying, discourses and feasting fo nights; ceremonial hunt and mask dance morning; ninth night, new fire made, an call to creator, incense burned, wampum con and sacrifice, repainting images, corn-f meat feast; twelfth night "beginners" and rehearsal of vision recitation, fire allowed t ninth morning, dance around center-post prayer-call with prayer-sticks; wampum ma

[Facing p. 26(B)]

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SUMMARY OF DELAW

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CEDURE	CEREMONIAL HOST	PARTICIPANTS	
iking grease and feast of bear	Wolf division, head of family, self-appointed	Family of legendary hero and guests, no women	Bi
nking of grease and feast of	Oldest survivor of family concerned with legend	Family of legendary originator and guests, men and women	Sp
corn foods	Owner of mask, or person calling for rite as cure for sickness or scared after dreaming of mask	No restrictions	Ar p
and recitation of dream by	Female who inherits obligation	Female dance volunteers, singers, members of hostess's father's group	W.
dance songs, feast of meat -call facing east, tossing up nan being and bear, wampum	Families owning dolls descended from original children doll-makers; leader an invited chief with male and female assistants	Families owning dolls; unrestricted guests	Ar
ing, shoving	Not specified	Volunteers, no limitations	Wl
owed by dance, followed by nen and women	Chief of ceremonial group, Wolf, Tortoise, Turkey	No restrictions	An s
irese by leader, dance by g with women's dance st of corn foods, final dance ingers	Chosen (hereditary?)	No restrictions	An
ot, counterclockwise; hand	Appointed leaders	No limitations; free attendance	Co it
ith dancing around images s and feasting for twelve t and mask dance, fourth new fire made, and prayer- urned, wampum consecration ng images, corn-food and it "beginners" and women's ation, fire allowed to go out; around center-post images, sticks; wampum sacrifice	Individual of Wolf, Turkey or Tortoise group who assumes sponsorship, supported by his group and twelve "attendants"	Sponsor's group, and other two groups as collaborators	An n n

[facing p. 26(c)]

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ARY OF DELAWARE RITES AND FEASTS

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IPANTS	TIME HELD	DURATION	LOCA
dary hero and nen	Biennial	One night	Rectangular br
dary originator n and women	Spring, biennial	One or more days	Outdoors on pr
	Annually in autumn at beginning of hunting season	One night	Not specified
olunteers, sing- of hostess's	When called annually (?)	One night	Outdoor (?) dan
g dolls; unre-	Annually in fall	One night until sunrise	Outdoors on pre
imitations	When decided and called	All day	Outdoor dance c
	Annually in spring until midsummer end of June	Dancing several nights at end of each week, football game day following	Outdoors on pre
	Annually at corn harvest time	Day and night	Outdoors on pre
ree attendance	Conclusion of formal rites, or informally when called	All or part of night	Indoor or outdoo
and other two borators	Annually in fall (Oct.) (formerly by tradition every month)	Twelve nights, with rites on fourth and thirteenth days	In permanent cer ture (the Big E images of Creat lesser deities, an adjacent

[Facing p. 26(D)]

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Location	Musical Accompaniment	Supplies and Para
Rectangular brush house	Turtle hand-rattle	Wampum string for bear's meat, and bear's head (now
Outdoors on prepared ground	Turtle hand-rattle	Otter skin pendant on back o and steel fire tools
Not specified	Deer-hide drum, snapping turtle rattle by mask dancer	Red and black wooden mas leggings, bag, staff, corn payment
Outdoor (?) dance oval	Water-drum and rattle	Wampum paid to singer
Outdoors on prepared ground	Deer-hide drum with turtle-rattles	Dressed male and female do red, wampum to pay leads beef and hog meat, hominy,
Outdoor dance circle	Deer-hide drum	Buffalo horn head band, hom
Outdoors on prepared ground	(?)	Football of deer-hair and goal
Outdoors on prepared ground	Drums and rattles	Masks, corn husk covering, c
Indoor or outdoor circle	None required	Native costume urged
In permanent ceremonial structure (the Big House), before images of Creator and twelve lesser deities, and on grounds adjacent	Hide-drum, turtle hand-rattles	Wooden mask, corn-mortar mussel-shell spoons, red strings and beads, prayer-sti sticks, turkey-wing fans, fire corn foods, cedar incense

[Facing p. 26(E)]

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Supplies and Paraphernalia	Ceremonial Units
m string for bear's head, baskets of and bear's head (now hog's head)	Eat-all feast of bear's meat, vision recitation
in pendant on back of song leader, flint sel fire tools	Dream recitation, kindling new fire, feasting on hog flesh and grease
l black wooden mask, bear-skin coat, s, bag, staff, corn foods, wampum nt	Mask-clown dance, sermon, supplication, feast, social dances (mask-dancer also admitted to Big House Ceremony)
m paid to singer	Dream recitation, feast, sermon, social dances
male and female dolls, faces painted ampum to pay leader and assistants, d hog meat, hominy, cornbread	Song-dance, feast, sermon, social dances, extinguishing fire, cornbread image sacrifices
horn head band, hominy pot for feast	Imitative dancing
of deer-hair and goals	Round dances, prayer, thanksgiving; football game between sexes with wagering
orn husk covering, corn foods	Prayer, thanksgiving, masked dance, corn-food feast, social dances, Drunken dances
ostume urged	No ritual
mask, corn-mortar, bark dishes, shell spoons, red paint, wampum and beads, prayer-sticks, carved drum turkey-wing fans, fire-drill, deer meat, oda, cedar incense	Capitulates events of annual ceremonial cycle; vision recitation, sermons and prayers; corn-food and meat feasting, sacred hunt, mask-clown dancing; new fire rite; formerly sweat-bath rite; wampum sacrifice; purification,—sweeping of white-path; painting rite; cedar incense rite; paint annointment rite; no social dances; informal games during day intervals

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since it is only hinted at in deliberate explanation by the people of today, though preserved in the equipment and furnishings of their worship.

An arrangement of symbols and functions associated with sex in Delaware thought could be shown as follows.

MALE	FEMALE
ABSTRACT ASSOCIATIONS	
The color red	The color black
life	death (the beyond)
east	west
day	night
right-hand side	left-hand side
BIG HOUSE ASSOCIATIONS	
East half	West half [1]
east door	west door
east fire	west fire
image of Great Spirit on east side of center post	image of Great Spirit on west side of center post
FUNCTIONS AND PRIVILEGES	
Balanced participation in all rites and dances	
Balanced ritual and dance leadership (approximate)	
Balanced sponsorship of ceremonies	
Balanced performance of offices as "attendants" (a'cbas)	
Balanced dance-path sweeping	
Balanced reception of "payment" (sacrifice) of wampum for ceremonial services	
Balanced control of ceremonial equipment in east and west sides of Big House	
Conducting ceremonial hunt (symbol of animal economy as male sphere)	Preparing ceremonial foods (symbol of plant economy as female sphere)
Singing and praying aloud	Silent supplication
Giving ceremonial prayer-call	Occasionally giving prayer-call
Controling harvest rite (Corn Harvest Ceremony)	
Dancing on outside of dance column in Big House (inside in Doll Dance and Buffalo Dance)	Dancing on inside of dance column in Big House (outside in Doll Dance and Buffalo Dance)
Formal recitation of visions	Recitation allowed only on last day of Big House Ceremony
Use of musical instruments (hide-drum and rattle)	
Moral "purity" during ceremonial periods	Moral and catamenial "purity" during ceremonial periods

[1] Dichotomy of sex in the seating arrangements during ceremonies in the Big House is subordinated to the classified grouping of the ceremonial divisions, Turkey, Wolf, Tortoise, and secondarily to which of the three groups is sponsoring the celebration.

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X 796 As their connections are large, each Indian will have opportunity to attend more than one family sacrifice a year. The head of the family knows the time and he must provide for everything. When the head of such a family is converted, he gets into difficulty because his friends will not give him peace until he has designated some one to take his place in the arrangement for sacrificial feasts.

"A feast is held in honor of fire which the Indians regard as being their grandfather and call *Machtusin* meaning 'to perspire.' A sweating-oven is built of twelve poles each a different kind of wood, these represent twelve Manittos. Twelve large stones are heated and placed inside then twelve Indians enter the sweating-oven where they make an offering of tobacco by throwing it upon the stones, this may also be accompanied by singing. Also during this feast a whole buckskin is erected upon a pole before which the Indians pray and sing. They claim that they worship God in this manner, not the buck.

"At these feasts there are never less than four servants to each of whom a fathom of wampum is given that they may care for all necessary things. They have leave to secure the best of provisions and sell them to spectators. Festivals are usually closed with a general drinking bout. There are always rum-sellers present on such occasions who make large profits. As a result of the drinking there are generally several fatalities, for, among the Indians that gather from various places, such as wish to work off an old score are ready to make use of the opportunity afforded by these occasions."[1]

In addition to what has just been quoted in regard to family feasts, we learn of another Delaware custom recorded in a source which does not, however, definitely give its origin. Mombert[2] states that at the time of first fruits a feast was prepared at which the fattest buck obtainable was burned. In this rite they took care not to break any of the creature's bones but carefully gathered and buried them.

In the accounts of contemporary ceremonies which we have from the Delawares of Oklahoma, and even from the Munsee of Canada on the authority of Harrington and the source of which he quotes, the family feast still retains its prominence. In one case the family feast becomes a part of the funeral rite; in another it functions in the curing of disease; in another to avert sickness or the menace of sickness inherited within a family; in another to bring blessing upon the family and its associates. The family feast is unques-

[1] Zeisberger, *op. cit.*, pp. 138–9.
[2] J. G. Mombert, "History of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania," 1869, p. 15.

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tionably a canonized ritual in the operation of Delaware religion. Not so much can be said incidentally of the so-called clan feasts or preferably those of the ceremonial group in this tribe. The rites of the latter type appear to have reached greater prominence among the Central Algonkian peoples as we learn from several sources (Michelson, Hoffman, Densmore, Skinner, Bloomfield). It is, therefore, with some emphasis that the several following accounts of ceremonies inherited within more or less definite family groups are offered as examples of type performances in Delaware religion. 796x

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THE GREASE DRINKING CEREMONY, THE BEAR RITE

796 *A·'kq'ce·'i·k·a'wan*, "brush shed or arbor". The name is derived from the roofed shed in which several accounts tell us the rite was celebrated. Harrington gives the title "*Papasokwi·'lun*", without offering an explanation of the term. Its proper form is *pɔpa'·suk·wi·'hĭl·an*, "they rise up and take part", meaning that the men invited to assist the bringer-in of the ceremony do so by reciting their visions, as is done in the Big House. This term is not exclusively applicable to the Bear or Brush Arbor rite but denotes any of the feasts of the usual Delaware pattern in which the men who have had visions take part in the ritual to bring on the spiritual blessings as an aid to the purpose of the owner of the ceremony. Furthermore the term given by Parks for the Bear ceremony, "undah ah-ke wunnumong," properly *e'nda axki·kɔn·u'muwaŋg*, "when they engage in trials of spiritual experiences," also applies, as does the preceding term, to family feasts of the general Delaware pattern emphasized long ago by Zeisberger whose description is quoted in the introductory section.

I am treating this ceremony as a definite rite intended for the placation of the bear. Everything in the several accounts of the rite that we have points to this manifest purpose, yet some uncertainty prevails in the minds of several authorities in regard to discrepancies in the details of performance in the memory of those who have contributed accounts. At present, I should incline to regard the variant descriptions as referring to different phases of the ceremony. In view of the differences, not to force Wi·tapano'xwe's version as having final and exclusive identity, as he records it, I have included in footnotes the quotations of those whose versions differ.[1]

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[1] Harrington (*op. cit.*, p. 172) gives the traditional origin of the ceremony as follows: "The Indians say that a cub bear, kept by a Lenape family long ago, became a great playmate of the little sons of the family, but finally grew so large

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The tale in which a bear figures as the character influencing 796*
the social or religious destinies of a family is common through-
out the eastern Algonkian area. Its present recorded range of

that the child's parents decided to get rid of it; so they tied a little bag of tobacco [773]
around its neck and told it to go away. This it did, but the little boy, its play-
mate, soon fell ill, and his parents searched in vain for a cure. After a long while
one of the Indian doctors told his parents that if they would hold a ceremony of
this kind and repeat it every two years, the child would keep his health. This
was done; the boy recovered, and his family, who belong to the Wolf phratry, have
continued to practise the rites ever since, believing that it preserves their health."

The following version was obtained from Mr. J. A. Parks, Copan, Oklahoma, in 1930, through correspondence.

"The bear ceremony is mentioned by Harrington in his work on the 'Religion and Ceremonies of the Lenape.' Harrington's account is more or less correct. However, in this respect it is wrong: it is the *Otter* Ceremony which is held in the brush arbor, and not the *Bear* Ceremony. The writer saw the bear ceremony held at the home of Colonel Jackson, who was chief of the Turkey Clan, about thirty-five years ago.

"The leader of the ceremony takes the turtle-shell rattle in his hand and walks slowly around the fire (Pl. 2). As he goes along, he shakes the shell rattle and sings or chants an account of some vision he has at some time in his life experienced. At the same time, an attendant goes to the brass kettle hanging on the fire pole, which contains pure grease; he dips up some of the grease with a cup, and pours it into the pail held in his left hand. Then he goes in the opposite direction to that of the man singing and shaking the rattle. When they meet, the attendant hands the singer a cup full of the grease, who drinks a little of it and pours the rest into the fire, or, he may, if he should see some one among those present whose father was or is a member of the same clan as his father, take the cup of grease and give it to her or him, who then must drink a little of the grease and pour the rest in the fire. The party whom he obliges to do that might happen to be some bashful young boy or girl, who is, of course, abashed, which causes amusement and laughter.

"After this, the singer goes on with his walk and chant; the attendant moves in the opposite direction and, when they meet again, the same performance is repeated. When that man has finished, another man takes the shell and goes through the same performance, and so on, one after another, until all of the men who care to take part have taken part."

(A water-color painting of this rite by Mr. Parks, the author of the above notes, is in the University of Pennsylvania Museum. See Pl. 2.)

Unfortunately, Zeisberger (*op. cit.*, p. 138) devotes but little more than a single sentence to what is possibly a reference to the ceremony in question. He writes: "At another feast, a certain voracious spirit who is never satisfied is honored. The guests are required to eat all the bear's flesh and to drink the melted fat. Though indigestion and vomiting may result they must continue and not leave anything."

Heckewelder (*op. cit.*, p. 212) says: "There are even some animals, which though they are not considered as invested with power over them, yet are believed to be placed as guardians over their lives; and of course entitled to some notice and to some tokens of gratitude."

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X 776 distribution embraces the Wabanaki peoples where the bear episode reaches a high point of importance as a social explanatory tale. Here the tale concerns a child, lost by its parents, abducted by a she-bear who nourishes the foundling for almost a year before traces are found leading to its recovery and to the death of the bear foster-mother, but not until the bear has imposed the taboo of never killing she-bears upon the restored child and his descendants. The Wabanaki peoples seem, however, never to have developed the cult of the bear among the posterity of the hero of the tale. The Delawares did, and this, together with the identical tale of abduction, makes the Delaware case most interesting from the point of view of historical interpretation.[1]

Without attempting to deal with the possibilities of theory in the case of this tale and its associations in the northeast, we may proceed to assemble the Delaware information. It begins with the narrative of the Bear Abductor [2] to account for the association formed between the bear and a certain human family in which is passed down the obligation to perform a rite called the Brush Arbor ceremony by some, the Bear Ceremony by others.

In explanation of the ceremony and its history among the

[1] The distribution of an essentially similar tale throughout Europe and Asia not as a mythical narrative but as an historical event of contemporary reality would make an interesting theme for study. For instance, as late as the Sept. 30, 1931, issue of the *Boston Herald* it is reported as an actual occurrence in Russia.

[773] [2] A small boy lost in the woods was found by a woman with two children who took him home. She proved to be a bear with cubs who lived in a tree-trunk. When finally discovered and rescued by the people the boy had acquired some ursine habits. The she-bear was killed but the cubs were raised as pets. When they grew large they were released with a wampum string around their necks to dissolve the relationship between owner and pet lest calamity befall. A ceremony of release from possible sickness was thus founded which continued in the family of the little boy.

The first portion of the tale is told by R. C. Adams ("Legends of the Delaware Indians," Washington, 1905, pp. 61–3) in a somewhat embellished form. A full version of this significant tradition is again part of a collection obtained recently from the Delaware-Munsee of the Six Nations, Ontario, during investigation carried out by the writer through a grant of the Faculty Research Fund, Univ. of Penna. Here it is also an important historical myth, though it is not connected with the foundation of a cult festival as in the case under consideration among the Oklahoma Delawares. Where and when did the latter incorporate the feature of a family feast-rite into the ancient narrated event?

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Delawares, Wi·tapano'xwe wrote out the following abstract which adds some points to what he dictated in text. 796x

"This is an individual religious rite which is taken from raising pets such as pet bears and other animals. The last of these brush arbors was kept up by the Wolf Clan until about thirty years ago. However, this was only kept up by certain families, a chain of relationship having existed among several families. One, I remember, was a Delaware by the name of John Jim John, (*kexpes·i·'no* 'Twin-man') and his sister, Mrs. Frenchman. While still living in Kansas this family had a pet bear. Upon freeing a pet bear, after it had grown up, it has always been the custom to put a yard of wampum around the neck of the animal and go through a ceremony. At this time the people talk to the bear and tell the animal that he is now at liberty and he should no longer obligate himself to the family. Unless this is done, some illness or evil fate might befall some member of the family. Oftentimes these facts are found out from the medicine man, who is said to be able to find out these things through the power of his supreme guardian, or through the medium of that animal, thing, or object that blessed him in a dream during childhood. Sometimes that animal, thing, or object may have spoken to him and told him 'At a certain time in your life you must feed them or give a feast in memory of your own experience, or a plague would be brought onto you or your children.'" 796x 825 231

For the details of procedure of this long-obsolete ceremony, I am obliged to quote Harrington's (*op. cit.*, pp. 172–5) description, since Wi·tapano'xwe did not possess a sufficiently explicit version in his ceremonial repertoire. 796x

"This ceremony required a special house, which was made new for it every two years, so the first thing a family did when the time approached, was to find a number of men, each of whom was paid a yard of wampum to cut forks and poles and erect the building. This was made by setting up a frame of poles in form of a Big House, but smaller, only seven paces wide and fifteen paces long, then covering the top with brush and piling brush at the sides. Then to the east of the house a pole was erected upon which to hang the meat for the feast, which, in old times, had to be a bear; but when the bears became scarce a black hog was substituted, and of late a hog of any color has been used. The building finished, the hog was killed, and, having been hung on a pole over night, was taken into the house the next day, quartered, singed on a fire that had been built inside, then carried out again, cut up, and cooked, all except the loose fat, which was kept for a special purpose, as will appear later. When done, the meat was kept in large baskets, with the exception of the head, which, having been cooked whole, was placed in a large bowl with two animal's ribs in its mouth.

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X-796 "When night came, the leader entered the brush house, taking with him a turtle rattle similar to that used in the Annual Ceremony, followed by the men who were to participate (no women being allowed), and then made a speech, telling of the men who had 'brought in' this meeting, and explaining its origin, but making no prayers to the Great Spirit or to any of the manitowuk, his helpers. He then threw half of the hog-fat upon the fire, and placed a string of wampum around his own neck. At this juncture the cook brought him the hog's head in its bowl, and then first announcing, 'I am now going to carry the head around,' the leader began to chant and to walk about the house, making false motions to everyone as if to give him the head, then withdrawing and proceeding to the next. The burden of the chant, the Indians say, was 'what the dream helper told him,' very much as in the Big House, but here the people kept time to his chant orally, saying 'Hu-hu-hu!' until he stopped. The informant does not know who, if any one, shook the rattle. Probably it was employed by the singers after the burning of the head. After making the circuit twice, the leader hung his string of wampum upon some old man of the Turkey phratry who had a 'vision of power,' who took the head, pulled the ribs from its mouth, and threw it into the fire, bowl and all. The meat was then distributed to everyone, whereupon the floor was open to any man who wished to sing an account of his vision. A bucket of prepared drink was placed at each end of the house for refreshment of such singers, but the head, of course, was gone. When the songs were finished, the remainder of the fat, and finally the broth in which the meat had been cooked, were thrown upon the fire, and in conclusion, six women were called in and instructed to go out and give six times the prayer cry, 'Ho-o-o!'"

We have this additional detail furnished by Half Moon in regard to the service performed by the owner of the ceremony. It is his prerogative to pour a cup full of grease from the supply pail to be drunk by each of the guests in turn. Every time he pours out a portion in going the rounds, he takes his tortoise-shell rattle and chants his vision as he would do in the Big House ceremony. When all present have been served with grease he takes up the head of the pig or, as we are given to understand, the head of the bear which the original rules of the ceremony call for, and dances around the fire with it while singing. Then he throws the whole of it, including the pan in which it was carried, into the fire to be completely burned up. The occasion, however, did not prevent it being pulled out of the fire and saved by some one who wanted to do it.

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ORIGIN LEGEND OF BEAR OR BRUSH ARBOR CEREMONY

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Lɔ'mwe nɔtci· wendausi·'eŋgʷ kwut·enau''ki la•'ke-
Long ago since beginning of our life one kind cere-

yɔk·ɑn lowe•'nhaŋgʷ e'nda wi·hi'ttiŋg ɔk
money is said, so said when named [by the people] and

xa'n·e• lowenda'ɜ·u axkɑ'ce·i·k·a'wɑn. Yu'kwe kɑn-
accordingly is called brush-shed. Now recent-

dju'kwe e'nda la'xauɔ'xən·e•k' yu·'li·ł keni·i·'
ly when at the forks these [rivers] Caney

si·'powa' na'ne' ta'li· taɔ'ŋgan e•'li· ne•'ki·k'
creeks there where was lost [the rite] because these

e•lhake''ti·t' ne'k·e lɑk'hi·'k·wi· pɔlɑ'ci·ma•'nɑ
conducting the ceremony at that time [it seems] Frenchman

wi·'taema't·tci· tɔl·ha'k·e•n. me•'tci· yu'kwe we•kwi·'-
his wife it was her ceremony. Now then they are

ne•yu'ŋga. Yu'kwe yu'ni· la•k·eyɔ'k·ɑn ni·'cenau''kat'
all dead now. Now this ceremony is divided into two parts

we'ndji·ki·ci·mgɔ't·ɔk. a'lɔnde lɔ'mwe awe•ni'ŋgaxke
from which it originated. Some long time ago persons now dead

i·'yap'tci· e'nda awe•'n ke'ko liŋgwe-
caused when creature-thing [appearing] in form

hel·alu'k·uk te•'kɔnaye'ɜ·a'. ɔk xa'ne• kwu't·en-
of vision as a wild animal. And although one kind

au''ki· e'nda oxtca'nɔnd' ma'xk'ʷtɔt'. me•'tci· e'nda
or form. when having a pet little bear. Now when

ki·ci·'ki·t' na'lu'we•n pɑ'k·i·tanehi·'ne•n wa'ni· talɔ-
full grown then it was said "Let us turn it free this our

mu·'ɜ·ɔna tɔ't·a te•'kɔne. me•'tci· ke•xu'k·wɔnak·e't·e
pet somewhere in the wilds." Now when it was full-grown

na' wi·xka'utci· tɔ'hi·'pa'ɬi·n kwu't·i· mi·'mɑs
then suddenly became sick one child

xkwe'tcɔtc. nace•' nen'pi·'k·e•s wendji·'mɑn. e'nda
young woman, girl. Then sweat-doctor sent for. When

pɔ'n·dji·t' pi·mowa'k·aniŋ na' mɔ'xkámən tɔli·'
he entered sweat-house then it was discovered that

maiŋga'lkwun ne•'li·ł ɔ'xtcana'ɜ·a' na'
there was sympathetic relation between these pet, and then

[a] Caney Creek; name borrowed from English.

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lu'we·n yu'kwe hwtɑk·i·'i· pa·'t·ɔtc natc' pɔmɑ't·un-
it was said from here backward he came then to plead

ha·'lan. ɔk ke'ko naxpa·'p'tunha·'lan na'li''
spiritually. And whatever thing they offer with prayer they then

paxki·'tanehi·'n te·'kane.
turn [the animal] free in the woods.

Ce·'la hyu'ni· la·p'tu'naxgat' e'ndɑ pɔmɑ't·un-
Because that here are the instructions when pleading spirit-

ha·'lənd' te·kɑna'yes ge't·a paxki·'lənd'
ually with wild animal in order to prepare to secure aid from him

lo·''we·n. ɔk na li· wi·'hil·a·n e·lowe'si·t'. "me·'tci·ta'
they say. And then call him by name. "Now then

i'k·amaxte·'xɑn tɔli·' me·'tci· paxkandji·'ki·n. me·'tci·
the time has come that now you are full-grown. Now

kɔni·'hi·l·a't'amɑ ce·'lahɔne'n·i· pe·'mi·te·'kane·k.
you are at your maturity this is what your life has come to.

ngwi·s nane'' kwu'ndji·ni·n nane'' tɔ'pi·n ki·t'ha'k·e.
My son there you belong where dwells your fellow tribesman.

yu'kwe ce·la'yu'ki·k' ke·'kɔk k'naxpo·''xwe·n.
Here now there these wampum you shall carry with you as you walk.

ɔk tɔ'li· kenaxki·'xkwun tɔ't·a e·'lɔmuk·wɔnɑ'k·ɑ
And because it will protect you for time to come

se·'kausi·yan. pɔ'nae·'lɔndamɔn yu'kwe yu'ni· ni·'lo·na
as long as you live. Consider now now this given to us

mi·lkwu'si·eŋg·' wi·'ki·eŋg·' ɔk pɔ'nae·'lɔma'ɔk yu'ki·k
our gift our home and think about them these

ce· xi·'s·ɔmus·ɑk' ɔk xɑ's·ɑk. kɑ'tci· na't·e·'lɔ-
those younger brothers and elder brothers. Do not worry

mi·'heŋg·' wu'ndji· mɑ't·a pe·'xosi·kako·''ne·n ke'ko
about us that if not we might be overcome thing

mat·awe·'ltɑk cuk' pɔ'nae'lɔma k'ha'k·ai·' tɔli·'te
not good but evil but think of yourself, that will

ke·'p·e' ik·ali'tci· pe'tci· ɔlama'lsi·n. me·'tci·
yourself in time to come you will enjoy health. Now

te'p·i·lahɑ'p'a e'nxa·p'tune·ya.
sufficient for now what I have to say this time.

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THE LOST BOY ADOPTED BY A SHE-BEAR

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e'nda pi·laye'tcɔtc' tɑɔ'ŋgalɔk' ma'xko nɔnɔ"'nɑk'.
When boy lost bear adopted.

ɔk cɔm'utc' lɔ'mwe mi·'mɳɔ tɑɔ'ŋgɑł lowe"'nhɑŋg"
And also by the way long ago child lost it was said,

pi·laye'tcɔtc' i·ya'p'tci· e'nda papi'xti·t' mi·mɳ'sɑk
boy during while playing with children

te"'kɔne'. nanɑkwu't·i· wi·xka'utci· nama"'la"n tɔ'li·
in woods. Then one suddenly they noticed that

ma't·a wi·tc'kɔne"'wɑn te'xi· ma't·a nɔte"'lɔmayuwa'o
not with the rest of them really not pay attention to him

ne"'ki·k' mi·mɳ's·ɑk. me"'tci· e'nda lɔ'kwi·k' na'kɔ-
those children. Now when evening it was

nɔndj hwi·'kayo'yɔma to'lɔmatu'ni·ke"ne"'yɔ kwu't·i
then his elders [parents] they began to hunt one

t'pu'kwe la'p·i· ɔ'p·ɑŋge kwut·i·gi·'ckwe.
night next morning all day.

xa'n·ki· ke"xu'kwuni· nalowe"'n "me"'tci· nu'tckwe
Finally several days it was said "Now useless

nat·ona'wɔna'. me"'tci· et' awe"'n aye's·ɑ"[1] wuni'-
to search for him. Now evidently creature animal he has been

hilɑɔ'ŋgan." mat·n kwun·i·'i· ne"'li· nut'xani·k·we·t'
killed by." Not long afterward while hunting squirrels

kwu't·i·ski"'n·u wi·xka'utci· ne"lo'xwe"t' la"mci'ŋge na'
one young man suddenly while walking in woods then

wun·e"'yɔn awe"'ni·k' pe"'pa"p'hat·i'xti·t'. ahalɔwi·'i·
saw some creatures playing about. More and more

ki·'xki· li·' ki·mhɔ'k·e. me"'tci· ki·'xkitci· pa't·e
closely secretly crept up. Now close by coming

kekota'l·a kwu't·i· awe"'n lɔna"'p·e. na tɔli·' nɑna'ɔn
here the thing was one person human. There as he recognized him

nale't'ma na'ni· pi·'lɔtcɔtc' kɑn·dju'k·w" e"'lowenŋg
that it was that boy recently as said

tɑɔ'ŋgɑł. me"'tci· e'nda ap·a'tci·t' wi·'ki·t' nani·'
was lost. Now when he returned home then

ski·'n·u na tɔl·atci·'mwi·n. lo'we" "i'k·ali· e'nda
young man then he spread the news. He said "Down there where

[1] Note that the animal is spoken of as a human being.

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X 796 xi'ŋgwi· ci'ŋge·k ne·'yɔ pe·wi'tci·pa·'pi·t' na'ni·
539 big forest I saw playing with him [a bear] that
773 pi·'laye'tcɑtc' e·'loweŋg tɑɔ'ŋgɑl." e'ndɑ we·'ta'kɑn-
boy who was said to be lost." When he told his story

u't·iŋg lo'we· "xi'ŋgwi· nɑni· hi't·uk ɔk pohe·'s·u
and explained he said "Big the tree and hollow

a'hi· hukwe·'yuŋg na'ne kɑ'n·dɑ p'kwu's·i·n." lowe·'
very high up there up where hole in tree." He said

"ngi·'mhɔla'wɔk' na'ne nɔwu'ndji· ga'ski· wuli·'ne·yɔn
"I crept up on him that is why I could well see him

cɑk' nɑma·'lkuk' ɔk ca·'i· pɔndji·hil·e·'yuk
but they noticed me and right away they ran into the hole

hi't·'kuŋg." na' ca·'i· we·hɔm·a'ɔn kwi·'kayo'yɔma.
the tree." Then right away they notified his old man [parent].

me·'tci· e'ndɑ we·'mi· awe·'n we'u's·i·t' na' maye·'-
Now when every body knew of it then they called

ma·n lə'n·owak. na' ca·'e ik·alo'lti·n
together the men. Then right away there they all went

seka'kɔnd. na'lowe·n "me·'tci·ta wei·'tɔt'
last time seen at that spot. Then it was said, "Now it is expected that

kɔnup'ho'mɔna e·'li· kowato·'ne·n na'ni· nu'cae'hɔme [a]
we are in danger because we know that female bear with cubs

ma'xta·pe·'yɔ e'ndɑ nuce·'i·t'."
very mean when she has young."

Me'tci· e'ndɑ nɑma·'s·i·t' nɑni·' nu·caye'hɔme
Now when he noticed that female bear with cubs

na' ca·'e ika' wu'ndji a'lɔmi li·xaxku·'s·i·n. e'ndɑ
at once there from began to climb down. When

m'i·tci·'hi·l·a·t na' ca·'e ik·a'wundji pɑs·kwul·a'ɔn.
she came in sight right away from there shot her off the tree.

nace·' awe·'n aloka·'lan tə'li· kɔn·da'ku's·i·n hi't·-
And then some one they appointed to climb up on

kuŋg ɔk təli·' li·'xɔna·n ne'li·l pi·layetcɔ'tca'. ɔk
tree and to take down that boy. And

[a] e'hɔme generic term for "bear kind," or genus Ursus; xi'ŋgwe'hɔme "big beast," or male bear.

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ənąhəli·' we·'mi· enxu'ce·t maxtə't·a' na'ka ne'heland
also all the litter little bears deceased killed
nu'cae'me·'yu.
mother bear.

e'nda hwtəki·i·' pe·'cəwənd na'ni mi·'mqs na'
When back home they brought that child and

a'ləmi·' əxtca·'na·n ne·'ki·k maxk'ᵛtə'tak. mat·ak-
began to pet those little bears. Not so very

wəni·i·' na' tələmi·' atci·'mwi·n na'ni· pi·laye'tcətc.
long after then began telling his story the boy.

lowe·'hund "ni· ni·hila'tci də'l's·i·n da'tc'iŋ xe·yə'k·an
He said they say "I myself was cause my disobedience

wundji· nhi·'lənd na'ka ma'xko gahe's·ənə'na."
why was killed defunct bear our mother."

lo'we· "ke·xu'k·wuni· nəwi·'nowa'muk na'ka ma'xko
He said, "Several days she pleaded with me defunct bear

lo'we· na'nen sə'k·i· məli·'mwi·n. də'luk' 'ni·'tcan
she said that all the while cried. She said 'my child

me'tci· ma't·a kwun·i·'i· kəna·'pənałke'hen·a cuk'
now not long before they are coming upon us but

yu'kwea·' sa'kənəmα'ni· yu'ni skwə'nde ne'ni· ki·p'
now if you raise up in sight in this entrance that your arrow

na· yu'kwe ma't·a ni·łke·'wαn.' də'luk 'ələ'p·a'
and here now not would kill me.' She said, 'tomorrow

ne·'sko paxa'k·we·k nαtc pe·łti·n' lowe·'. ako'·
before noon then they will be here,' she said. Did not

ha'ci· djəp·i·na'o na'ni gahe's·ənə ək ne·'ki·k
never I discover what they were that one our mother and those

·nəxi·'səmə's·αk kandj nayu' ki·'ckwi·k nαtc nəmα'-
my brothers younger until this very day then they

xka·ke·nen. ge'hel·a haŋgᵂ ci·elə'ndam e·'li nu'lax-
found us. Certainly as said I am sorry because I was well

tca·'huk ək nu'li·pəndə'o e'nda ke'ko li·t' gahe·s·ə-
treated and I understood when something said our

na'na."
mother."

Nane' ki·'ckwi·k e'nda t'ho'nαnd nain·' pi·laye'-
That day when captured the boy

796 539 773 tcɔtc hwtɔk·i·'i· pe*cowa*' wi·'ki·t ɔk naholi·'
back home brought him his home and besides

ne*'ki·k' maxk'*tə'tɔk nace*' a'lami· oxtca*'na*n
the little bears right away began to pet them

ne*'ki·k ma'xkɔk. xa'nt'ki· tɔli·' gi·ci·ki·ne*'yo.
the bears. And finally until full grown they were.

nalowe*'n me'tci· gi·'ci·kohaulana'nɔk yu'kwe kowa*-
And it was said, "Now we have raised them now you

to*'nen ci·kwi·ne*'yɔk taku*' wɔli·xɔno*'wi· tə'li·
know they are orphans it is not right that

pa'xki·tanihi·'ne*n kandj hi'tami· pɔmɔto'nha*lə'nde.
we turn them loose until first we must perform a ceremony.

ɔk li·'xɔn tɔli'tc naxpaŋgoma*'ne*n na'ni·
And it is the rule that also we give with ceremony something of worth the

te*kɔna'yes· ke'ko." nace*' hukweni·ho*'la*n we*'mi·
wild animal something." And then they put around his neck all

enxi'xti·ti ne*'ki·k ma'xkɔk ke*'k'*.
in number as the bears wampum.

"Metci· elaŋgo*'mɔleŋg i'k·a pe*te*'lɔmuko*'ne*n
"Now[1] our relation it has come our time

tə'li· mi·'lkwus·i·n ɔk hwtɔk·i·'i· mi·'l·ɔn·e*n ɔ'nda
to you to be given and back we give you when

ni·'hilatci· ni·hi·lat·ɔma*'n. cuk' wa'ni· ce* xa'sowa
yourself your freedom. But this that your brother

pi·laye'tcɔtc nayu'ni· wundji·'aii·n. ki·lo'wa xan·e*'
boy here he belongs. But you yourselves

muxomsa'xtuk' hwtɔki·'i· te*'kɔne kta'ham·u e*'li·
our grandfathers back in wilderness you are going because

na'ne wundji·a'yu k'ha'k·ai. ɔk kɔnaxpaŋgo*'mɔlə'-
that is where you belong yourselves. And we give this ceremonially

n·e*n ni·lu'na lɔna*pe*'yɔk yu'ni· ke*'k'* kut·e*'ha*n
to you we the Delawares this wampum your heart

ma*'mca*li·e'ŋgwɔtc k'te'p·i· lu'we* yutɔ'c·e* do*'pi·n
when you think of us you can say back here live

elaŋgo*'mɔk. cuk ma't·ɔtc' tci·tc' pe*'xua·hi'k·ae-
my relatives. But do not any more approach us

[1] This address is to the bears.

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ho'mɔna e"li· na'lən·e kɔna'xpe"ləmu'k·un təli·'tc
because that [wampum] will take care of you that

te"'kɔne tala'usi·. ɔk ne'ni·ce" ke"'k'" ke"'naxki·'-
in wilderness you must live. And that wampum will take care of

xpun ik·ali'tci· pe"'tci· ɔ'lamahi·'tun. ɔk
you [in sorrow] if you in future comes your guardian of health. And

ɔne"'pena wu'ndji ma't·a pe"xo'si·hik·ako'wɔne"n
we also henceforth not be overcome by

ke'ko ma't·a we'ltuk. me'tci· laha'p·a muxo'"msa
anything not good. Now again grandfather

te'p·i· enxa'p'to"ne'ya wɔlaŋgo'sɔwi· li·'. wani'ci·."
enough I have to say in friendship way. Thanks."

Free Translation.

A long time ago, in the beginning of our existence, there was one kind of ceremony, it is said, named by the people and called Brush Arbor. Now, in recent times, when the Delawares were living at the forks of Caney Creek, it was lost because of the master of ceremony who at the time was the wife of Frenchman whose ceremony it was. Now, they are all dead. Now, this ceremony is divided into two parts whence it originated. One being, long time ago, caused by persons, now dead, to whom a creature appeared in the form of a vision as a wild animal. And the other kind resulted from having a pet, a little bear. Now, when it was full grown it was said, "Let us turn our pet loose somewhere in the wilds." And when it was grown up suddenly a child, a young woman, became sick. Then the sweat doctor was sent for. When he entered the sweat-house it was discovered that there was a sympathetic relation between the two, the pet and the child and it was said that the pet was spiritually pleading with her. And that they should offer something with a prayer as a sacrifice and liberate the animal in the woods. For these are the instructions when pleading spiritually with a wild animal in order to secure aid from him, it is said, and then call him by name saying, "Now then the time has come when you are full grown. Now you are at your maturity which is what your life has developed into.

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796 My son, you belong there in the wilderness, where dwell
539 your kind. Now you shall carry this wampum as you go
773 along and that will protect you in the future as long as you live. Consider well now that our home is given to us as a natural gift and think about these younger and older brothers. Do not worry about us that we might be overcome by evil, but think of yourself that you yourself may in the future enjoy health. Now this is all I have to say at this time."

THE LOST BOY ADOPTED BY A SHE-BEAR

When the lost boy was adopted by a bear. And also long ago a child, it is said, was lost. It was a boy, while playing with children in the woods. Then one, they suddenly noticed was not with the rest of them. The other children had really paid no attention to him. Now, when it was evening his parents began to hunt for him, all night and the next day. Finally after several days it was said, "Now it is vain to search for him. Evidently some wild animal has killed him." Not long afterward, while hunting squirrels, a young man suddenly walking in the woods saw some creatures playing about. Closer and closer he crept up secretly. Now coming close by, there was the creature – a human being. There as he recognized him, seeing that it was the boy who was recently said to have been lost. Now when he returned home the young man spread the news. He said, "Down there where the big forest is, I saw playing together a bear and the boy said to have been lost." When he told his story and explained it he said, "There is a big tree there and a hollow very high up, a hole up there in the tree." Said he, "I crept up on him, that is how I could see him well. But they noticed me and ran back into the hole in the tree right away." Then at once they notified his parents. And when everybody knew of it they called the men together. Then they all went at once to the spot where he was seen the last time. Then it was said, "Now we expect to be in danger because we know that a female bear with cubs is very savage when she has young." Now, when the female bear noticed them, she at once began to climb down from where she was. When she came in sight they shot her off the tree at once and then

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someone was induced to climb up into the tree that he might bring down the boy, and also the litter of little bears of the now dead mother bear they had killed. 796x 539 773

Then they brought the child back home and made pets of the little bears. Not long after, then the boy proceeded to tell his story. It is told that he said, "I myself, through my disobedience, was the cause of the bear, our mother, being killed." He said, "Several times she pleaded with me, the dead bear, speaking while she cried. She said, 'My child, it will not be long before they come upon us. But now if you raise up your arrow in sight in the entrance here, they will not kill me.' She said, 'Tomorrow, before noon, they will be here.' I did not discover what they were, our mother and brothers (the bears) until the very day that they found us. Certainly, as one would say, I am sorry because I was well treated and I could understand when our mother (the bear) said anything."

From the day that the boy was captured and brought back to his home where he lived, together with the little bears, they began right away to make pets of the bears, and thenceforth until they were full grown. And then, it was said, "Now we have raised them, yet you know they are orphans and it is no right to turn them loose until first a ceremony of pleading has been performed. And it is the rule that we offer a worthy sacrifice to the wild animal with something. And then they put wampum around their necks, each one of the bears.

"Now, our relation, it has come to be our time that you be given back, when you yourself we give you freedom. But this boy, your brother, belongs here, but as for you yourselves, grandfathers, back into the wilderness you are going by yourselves. And we, the Delawares, offer this wampum to you ceremonially as your heart. When you think of us you can say, 'Back there live our relations.' But do not approach us any more because that wampum will take care of you in the future, in case sorrow comes, as your guardian of health. And henceforth, we also shall not be overcome by anything evil. Now, once again, grandfather, I have said enough in the way of friendship. Thanks!"

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PLATE 2

GREASE DRINKING CEREMONY, OTTER RITE.
(Painting by J. A. Parks, Delaware Indian, Wann, Okla., 1931.)

[Facing p. 44]

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THE GREASE DRINKING CEREMONY
THE OTTER RITE

X 796 A family ceremony and feast intended to avert evil tendencies of the otter is recorded in outline by Harrington.[1] To the ceremony he gives the title A"tcigamultin, "compulsory hog eating." His description, which will shortly be quoted, is the only one that we have of the rite. The independent character of the ceremony is not clearly established by any information that we possess since there are no parallel accounts, nor was Wi·tapano'xwe conversant with its details. It seems to have been homologous in theory with that of the Bear Ceremony with the substitution of the otter as the creature invoked instead of the bear. In both rites the influence of a captive animal upon the health of its keeper is the starting point. The motive of both ceremonies is to release the individual from the menace of ill health and misfortune arising out of their association. As for the details of procedure the employment of an emblem of the animal throughout the ceremony, in this case the skin of the otter, is a noteworthy feature. The invitation to members of the opposite ceremonial group; the sermon of supplication to the animal for immunity from misfortune and ill health; the recitation of visions by the old men; and the termination of the performance in a general feast in which grease drinking is prominent and in which the animal addressed is considered as an honored guest, form the elements of the ceremonial pattern.

Some question arises as to details of equipment. Harrington is not explicit as to whether the performance was in the open or under a brush arbor. The informant, Parks, affirms the latter. The only other particulars for it must be sought in Harrington's description obtained in 1907 to 1910. Wi·tapano'xwe added his idea that the ceremony was intended more for men of warlike habits imbued with the purpose of

[1] Harrington, *op. cit.*, pp. 176-2.

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increasing their spiritual strength in accordance with the belief that the otter was the most powerful of the water animals. It was his understanding also that the rite was included under the name of *azki'kənumuwaŋg* "they engage in trials of spiritual experience." In view of the importance of grease drinking in the otter rite which was a prerogative of men of strength, he thought it might have been called *ənda pəmi'numu'heng*, "when grease they drink."

Since the ceremony was undoubtedly an event in the religious calendar of the Delawares it should be capitalized for future investigation. Harrington's description follows.

"Similar to the Bear Ceremony in many ways, both in traditional origin and its rites, was the observance called *A"lciqamu'ʟlin*, said to mean 'compulsory hog-eating,' held to propitiate the Otter spirit, a cult whose paraphernalia the writer was fortunate enough to collect for the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation.

"Many years ago, so runs the story, a little girl about ten years of age was given a young otter for a pet, and this she kept and cared for until it was well grown. About that time she began to feel that she should keep him no longer, for she had come to realize that he was *pi'lsun*, meaning 'pure' or 'sacred,' and, like all wild things belonged to the Powers Above. The old people told her what she must do, so she took her otter down to the creek, and, first tying a little bag of tobacco on his neck, said to him: 'Now I shall set you free. I have raised you and cared for you until you are now full grown. Go then, and follow the ways of your kind.'

"The otter disappeared into the waters, and the little girl returned to her home, feeling that she had done well. But before a year had passed, a sickness came upon her, which the Indian doctors told her was caused by her pet otter, which wanted something to eat. The only way for the child to get well, they said, was for her to have a hog killed and cooked, and then invite a number of men to eat it all, in the name of the otter. This was done, and when the men finished eating the hog and the soup, they said that the girl would recover, and so she did. For this ceremony they took an otter-skin to represent the girl's pet, which was used every two years, and when the owner died was passed to the oldest survivor of the family which owned it, and kept in the belief that it would benefit the health of all of them. It was the only one of its kind in the tribe, and was called '*kuny'zəs*.'

"The exact details and order of the ceremony were not remembered by our informant, but it was certain that the family in question 'fed the otter' every two years in the spring, that being the time of year when the little girl had been taken ill. Everyone was invited, men

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[796] and women, and a man was selected to cook the hog, and another to supply wood and to cut the poles for swinging the kettle, both of whom were paid with a yard of wampum. The fire was kindled with a special flint-and-steel always kept with the outfit.

"It will be observed that the otter-skin has a slit down the middle of the neck, through which the owner thrust his head in such a manner that the otter's nose lay under the wearer's chin, while its body and tail hung down his back. Wearing the skin in this manner himself impersonating the original otter, the owner would open the ceremony by walking about the fire, chanting and shaking the turtle rattle which resembled those used in the Big House, while the audience kept time to his song by uttering 'Hu-hu-hu-hu!' The nature of the song the writer was unable to learn, but, like the chants of the Bear Ceremony, it probably was concerned with the singer's 'dream helper.' When he had finished, another man put on the skin and took up the chant, and so on until noon the next day, when the ceremony was brought to a close and all joined in the feast. At this time the skin is told, 'We will feed you again in two years.'"

In regard to the Grease Drinking, or Otter, Ceremony, we have the following historical notes to add from the testi-
[424] mony of Tom Half Moon. The last time that the ceremony was performed (1898) it was done in behalf of his mother, Lizzie Half Moon of the Turkey group, in whose family the rite was an hereditary one coming down through her father, the previously mentioned Col. Jackson. Jackson acquired the privilege to perform it through his wife whose great-
[755] grandfather is said to have been its originator. His mother, it seems, was at the point of death, whereupon it was decided as a last resort to try a cure through the Otter Ceremony. Shortly after its completion, however, the afflicted woman died. Upon the failure of the rite it was decided to abandon it upon the assumption that it was valuable only to the women of an earlier generation of the Nation's history. Half Moon, who was present at its performance, corroborated the details
[346] previously recorded, affirming that the celebration was carried on within a brush enclosure or fence and not covered over at the top. He recalled how each one among those present took a little drink of grease, throwing the rest of his or her portion into the fire. The portions were offered to the participants by the leader or master of ceremonies.

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A Grease Drinking Ceremony was also possessed and celebrated in the family of Mrs. Jim (Sally) Thompson. As performed by this family the master of ceremonies wore a whole otter-skin suspended upon his back, the otter's head upon his breast in the manner described by Harrington in his section on the Otter Ceremonies. Half Moon thought that the otter skin in the Museum of the American Indian (Heye Foundation) was the one formerly belonging to this family.

A word seems to be called for in explanation of the confusion existing in the descriptions we have of the two preceding ceremonies, namely, the Bear or Brush Arbor rite and the Otter rite of the Grease Drinking Ceremony. The similarity of procedure in both cases and the conflicting testimony as regards the style of making the enclosure in which the celebration was carried out, are perplexing enough to cause the Indians as well as the several authorities who have quoted them to be accused of error. My attempt to straighten out the circumstances by questioning the Delawares themselves in Oklahoma resulted in partially clearing up the difficulty. It seems that type ceremonies similar in performance as regards function and general procedure, were customary properties among those families who possessed them either through inheritance or through direct acquisition by the visitation of spirits. In each family possessing a ceremony the details of arrangement and of paraphernalia differed somewhat. Therefore, when we record the traditional narrative of the ceremony as performed by the family of Col. Jackson we get the details that were characteristic of the rite as the particular rules of this family required it to be performed. Again, when the Thompson family, for instance, celebrated its grease-drinking feast the procedure was conducted as tradition had conveyed it in the past through the generations within that family. Again, in one family the ceremony would center about the myth of its relationship with the bear, whence the Bear rite as recorded in the previous chapter. Moreover, in different branches of the family in which the Bear rite was inherited, there could be variations in the procedure and the equipment,

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as we are told. In another family a grease-drinking feast would be performed to satisfy obligations incurred in some past relationship between its members and the traditional otter. From these circumstances arose variations in rites falling within the same general category, descriptions of which have come down to us in terms of variation. By understanding these to refer to separate performances of the general family feast type among different groups of kinsfolk, the difficulty of treating the conflicting sources is largely minimized. I need hardly add that these ceremonies have fallen out of use in the Nation within the last two generations and so the existing situation in regard to variations among the family types will have to remain uncorrected.

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THE MASK DANCE CEREMONY

Kant'ke'ohe'n mɔs'i'ŋgɔma, "he dances his face-image (mask)." The mask concept being one of some prominence in Delaware worship, one may imagine that a reconstruction of religious performance in the tribe, at a time before the decline of native institutions, would place the human-face representation in an exalted position among the spirit forces. In both Delaware and Iroquois religious pantomime masking seems about equally proportioned, though the finer details of belief and performance in the two groups are dissimilar enough to cause hesitation in allying them in origin. Yet it is noteworthy that only the Delawares among the Algonkian peoples east of the Alleghanies and south of New England exhibit the mask development, whence it extends southward to Florida with little interruption even considering the meagreness of early information on religious features in the lives of these mysterious tribes.

I have indulged in some discussion of the Mask Spirit and its history among the Delawares in my study of the Big House Ceremony,[1] to which the reader is referred for a summary account of the circumstances by which the Delawares became involved in the carrying out of the mask propitiation rite The details of the inheritance of the mask image and the expiation ceremony within a certain family in the tribe, namely the Frenchman family, have been outlined in the report referred to.

The ceremony is accordingly one of the family "feasts" among the Delawares that attracted the attention of Zeisberger as being of such frequent occurrence in the tribe while resident in Ohio in the eighteenth century.

We discover the concept governing this ceremonial feast to be that the Mask Spirit requires to be remembered with a

[1] "Big House Ceremony," p. 43. It may be noted that recent results of work among the Delaware-Munsee of the Six Nations reserve, Ontario, also disclose significant traditions of mask usage.

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dance and feast in his honor among the people. He is believed to be present at this time with the company. The occasion satisfies the Mask Spirit, his favor is invoked in behalf of hunters, especially in the pursuit of deer, over which he exerts spiritual control. And any possible influences of evil through sickness are averted by this ceremonial compensation. The function of the Mask Spirit as the guardian of the game is again shown by the fact that the feast was held in the autumn before the hunting season opened. The same idea is evident at the time, during the Big House Ceremony, when the Mask is brought in to dance just before the hunters depart for the ceremonial hunt on the fourth morning of the performance. In paying homage to the spiritual "owner" of the game we undoubtedly have an exceedingly old and fundamental religious property of the Algonkian culture complex.

The Mask Spirit, however, has manifestly a dual function in the Delaware pantheon, presiding over both the game spirits and those of cultivated vegetation. We learn this most clearly from the invocations in the address proclaimed in connection with the Mask dance. This characteristic Delaware *mani'tu* seems to reign as a spirit of responsibility for the food supply of the tribe, thus involving obligations to him on the part of the people for plant as well as animal sources of nourishment. The Mask Spirit also possesses a personality of evil, when aggravated by neglect. He seems to represent a menace not to be ignored when aroused, the humor of which is influenced by a kind of attention which is explained in the ensuing passages as an essential to well-being. The burden of propitiatory rite-performance was inflicted upon a certain posterity, the penalty of neglect of the mask rites being sickness. This feature is about the only element of the mask beliefs which corresponds with Iroquois teaching concerning the Mask Spirits.

In the text to follow, Wi'tapano'xwe reproduces the formal speeches which evince the Delaware attitude toward the mask concept and the purpose dominating the minds of the people in maintaining this interesting festival.

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The Mask Dance is given in the fall of the year because all vegetation is matured at that time, also the hunting season opens with Indians when the leaves of the forest have begun to turn red showing the first tinges of autumn. Deer hides are then said to be thickening and the fur becoming good.

The Delaware Mask Dance is given, sometimes because someone has had a "scare," or may have been attacked by some strange malady, or a sick spell, imagining that he has seen a mask and become frightened. Sometimes mask owners fail by neglect to give the usual annual Mask Ceremony, or again in case of death they fail to transfer the ownership of the mask to some member of the family or next closest of kin, so the strange things are brought about.

The Delaware Indians use the entire mask which has a cape attached to it, the cape hanging over the coat, thus the man wearing the mask must hold his fingers in the mouth of the mask while moving about or dancing because the mask is simply resting on the head and the large wooden face is heavy and will jolt on the head; now the mask wearer must carry his cane and the snapping turtle rattle in his right hand together until he stops. A shoulder strap about two inches wide is thrown over the shoulder with a small saddle bag attached and used to put chewing tobacco in, which is given to the mask-man or wearer. In order to keep children from making so much unnecessary noise, they are told that the bag (*pɔnda''ɜɔnakan*) contains snakes.

An old and historic specimen of the wooden mask used in recent years by the Delawares of the Cherokee band, Oklahoma, having found its way, surreptitiously as the Indians claim, into the cases of the Museum of the American Indian, New York, has been described by Harrington and myself. It is 14.5 inches in length the right half being painted red, the left half black. The eye-holes were small apertures perforated in tin plates to permit vision. It is not necessary to repeat here what has already been said of the object (Speck, "Big House Ceremony," pp. 39–44, 93).[1]

[1] Sooner or later it will become the task of a student to examine the correspondences between Delaware and Iroquois mask traits among which stand forth the common peculiarities of mask construction in both series, the use of

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[796] To prepare for a Mask Ceremony the owner of the mask must arrange for the same by setting a certain day and announcing the time when such a dance is to be held. He must have the maize (*xaskwi'n*) and flour-corn (*pu'he·m*)[1] to make Indian bread and hominy for the feast after the dance.

A young active and experienced dancer is chosen to do the dancing with the *mas·i'yg* (mask) outfit. He performs his antics and dances alone. As to the wearer of the mask during the dance only those who have charge of the ceremony know [781] his identity. It is deliberately kept a secret from the younger people in order to impress them with awe for supernatural forces and to restrain them from unruliness or boisterousness.

Any clan chief or an old man accustomed to speaking may act, by invitation of the mask owner, as master of ceremony. He is generally a member of one of the two ceremonial groups other than that of the mask owner. He [765] receives one Indian "yard" of wampum beads for his services. The dance, which is usually held at night time, is begun about midnight, and as soon as the performances are over with they have the feast. First of all the master of ceremony announces the purpose of the gathering. The owner of the mask in the wind-up says, "We have now finished dancing with our grandfather, and shared with him in this hominy. So, should we have the good fortune to be living next year, we may have another dance. But now when we are through eating we may dance long as we please with all good intent and purpose providing we keep good order, which is very pleasing to the mask spirit as well as to the owner of the mask."

[535] The mask performance is followed by a night of social dancing as is usual with the Delaware feasting ceremonies. The masking clownish pantomime is brought to a conclusion about midnight by a more or less set speech by the master of ceremony and the feast of hominy.

[796 533] The musical accompaniment consists in the singing of the

the large Snapping Turtle rattle, the rough staff, the whinnying utterances, the offering of tobacco, the association with illness and so on. For further particulars reference should be made to the Big House Ceremony study at the pages cited.

[1] A variety of white maize with a long slender cob.

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stated songs for the mask dance by selected men who beat time upon the flat deer-hide drum of the same type as that used in the Big House Ceremony. (See Fig. 19, I, of the "Big House Ceremony.")

It should be noted that the Mask Spirit is important enough among the spirit-forces to be admitted to the annual ceremony of the Big House. There, we learn, on the fourth morning of the festival the mask is admitted to the scene and the same dance as that just described is gone through.

See pp. 39–44, and figs. 9, 10 of the volume referred to for particulars and illustrations of the mask spirit concept, p. 139 for description of this intercession during the Big House Ceremony when the Mask-Spirit is introduced as a performer.

MASK DANCE ADDRESSES

Announcement by the Speaker

Elaŋgu'ndieŋg	kexa'p'tun	ke'ko	ŋga't·a	lo'we.	
Our kindred	few words	something	I want	to say.	
wa'ni	ce·	ni·'ma'tas	ga'xta	wehoma's·u	təli'	ga'xta
This	there	my brother	wants	to announce	that	he is going
kant'ke'ohe·n	məs·i'ŋgoma.	me'tci	paxka'ndji	ki·ca-		
to make dance	his mask.	Now	all ready	pre-		
na'k·ut	we·'mi·	ke'ko	nekałko't·uk	e'nda	wi·'huŋge·t'	
pared	all	things	used	when	he feasts[a]	
wa'ni	kəmuxo·'məna	məs·i'ŋg.	kowa'to·'ne·n	elaŋ-		
that	our grandfather	mask.	You know	my		
gu'ndieŋg	ləmwe''kami	nɔ'tci·	ki·ci·'mkɔt	elaehɔ's·i·t'		
kindred	ancient world	since	has been the rule	the manner		
awe·'n	nehel·a'la·t'	məs·i'ŋgɔ	e'nxan	acɔwi·ga'xtiŋg		
anyone	owning	a mask	each	every year		
na'ni·	lak'hi'kwi·	taxkɔkəni·'i·	lak'hi'kwi·	sa'psoha'la·		
that	time	in the fall	time	made hominy for		
məs·i'ŋg	wi·sa'pa·n	nani	kəmuxo·'məna.			
mask	hominy	that	our grandfather.			
yu'kwe	ki·ci· wunda'su	e'nda	pale'naxk	la'k·i·m-		
Now	has been set	when	fifth	day of the		

[a] Referring to both the mask and its owner.

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796 kwu'ɜ·i·t taxkokənə·'wi· gi·'cux li·[1] wunda'su təli'tc
539 month fall moon[1] as set for

537 kə'nt'ka·n nani·' mœ·i'ŋg. we·'mi· awe·'n ga'xta
the dance that mask. Every one must

kəlelə'ndamuk elaŋgu'ndieŋg ga't·a wi·teəma'mənа
remember my kindred must help

wa'ni· elaŋgo·'meŋ e·'li· me'tci· k'təm·a'·'kat' wa'ni·
this our relative because now pitiful this

lənа·'pe endala'us·i·t. me'tci· a'hət' təli·' ke'ko
Delaware way of living. Now it is hard that anything

k'tcuk·wənəmə'ne·n wa'ni· lənа·'pe mi·kəmcə·uwa'k·an
for us to move the Delaware his performances

ɔk mo·howa'k·an ɔk la·keyɔ'k·an. yu laha'p·a
and his dances and his ceremonies. Now for the present

te'pi· e'nxap'to·ne·'ya cuk' i·ya'p'tci· ndayɑ'ndama·n
it is enough what I have said but however I wish

tə'li· we·'mi· ik·a pe'tci· wɔlamalsi·'ne·n enda
that all up till then are well when

taxkɔ'ka na'mieŋg ɔk k'tə'li· wi·'t'ke·mane·'n
autumn we see and to we dance with

muxo·'mɜənа ne' lɑk'hi'kwi·.
our grandfather that time.

wa'ni·ci· elaŋgu'ndieŋg yu'kwe petci·lak'hwi·'eŋg
Thanks my kindred now here this evening

we·'mi· ce· ni·max'tə'ɜ·tuk ɔk udaxkwe·'mɑt·uk ɔk
all these our brothers and our sisters and

we·'mi· ne·k' tami·'mɔsɔmənа'nɑk pe'tci· we·'mi·
all these our children including all

enxənauga't·ɔk laŋgo·s·owa'tuk, me'tci· i·'k·a
every one my relations, now has

maxte·'xɑn tə'li· wi·'t·auhi·ma·'ue·n wa'ni· muxo·'·
come that we dance with him our grand-

mɜənа mœ·i'ŋg. ɔk gahə'ni· wani'ci· e'nda ne·'meŋg
father mask. And very thankful when we see

we·'mi· ke'ko paxkandji·'k·an. yu'kwe pe'tci· wi·'kwi·
every thing has matured. Now comes ending of

[1] October.

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537

taxkɔ'kiŋ li' we·'mi· ke'ko na'xpon·e uli·'nak·ɔt' ɔk
in fall as all things even look good and

kole'ləmuk'ho'məna we·'mi awe·'n. yu'kwe gat·a't·i·
we are glad all persons. Now do your utmost

we·'mi· awe·'n wi·tcəma·'me·n muxo·'məona i'k·a'
every one to help our grandfather up

petci· tə'li· təma''həma·n e'ləmi· t'pa·'kwi·k'. me'tci·
until that he finish (his dance) during the night. Now

e'nda təma'həma·t natc' laha'p·a wi·po·ma·'ne·n
when he finishes his dance then we will eat with him

ne'ni· musa·'p'sowak·an. me'tci· e'nda we·'mi· awe·'n
this his hominy. Now when every one

ki·'ci· xa'm·ənd' natc' la'p·i· ke·'xap'tun ke'ko
has been fed then again a few words things

e·'lowe·'ya natc kəndj ta'ləmi· lən·auhi·'ne·n.
I want to say, then we will begin our common dances.

ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER

Free Translation.

Our kindred, there are a few words that I wish to say. This brother of mine wants to announce that he is going to make a dance for his mask. Now, all the things that are to be used when he gives the feast to our grandfather the Mask are ready and prepared. You know, kindred, ever since ancient times the rule has told that anyone owning a mask, each year in the fall of the year, shall make hominy for that mask our grandfather.

Now, the time has been set for the fifth day of the fall moon as decided upon for dancing the Mask. Everyone must remember it, kindred, and must help this relative of ours, because now these Delaware customs have become pitiful. Now, it has become difficult for us to move anything in the way of Delaware ceremonies and dances. Now, for the present it is enough what I have said, but nevertheless I wish that all will have good health until then, that we shall see the autumn and dance with our grandfather at that time.

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OPENING ADDRESS

796 Thanks kindred, now here this evening all our brothers,
539 sisters, our children and each and every one of our relations,
537 it has happened that we have danced with our grandfather the Mask. And we are very thankful when we see how everything has matured. Now comes the conclusion in the fall as all things look so well, and we all of us are glad. Now, do your utmost everyone to help our grandfather along until he finishes his dance during the night. Now, when he finishes his dance then we will feast with him on this hominy which is his. Now, when everyone has been fed then again I want to say a few words, after which we will begin our common dances.

796 The speeches delivered at these ceremonies may vary
537 somewhat according to the mood of the chief invited to give them. They all follow the general pattern which has been demonstrated in connection with the various rites so far described as to have become familiar to the reader. Several formulistic thoughts, we are informed, should not be overlooked, such as voicing the feeling of enjoyment experienced by all present to have had the pleasure of feasting in company with the spirit of the occasion, in this case the Mask-Spirit, the fact that "no doubt exists but that the Mask-Spirit is well pleased with the devotion paid him, and that the outcome will be successful in bringing health and prosperity to the mask owner and all those present." The speaker should not forget to say his thanks for the good order prevailing at the ceremony and to ask that all those present will go home in harmony and with benefit after the general social dances, which invariably conclude the feasts, are finished.

THE OPOSSUM DANCE CEREMONY

Another family feast rite was *op·i'ɣk·a·n*, "Opossum Dance," also known by a sobriquet *suk'ce'p'ti·e'zk·a·n*, literally "black rump dance." For the latter designation no definite reason is given beyond stating that the woman who "owned" the dance and who took the leading part went through bodily movements supposed to represent the motions of an opossum in the throes of death. This was an inherited dream-revelation ceremony, owned by the descendants in the female line, of a woman who had long ago experienced a dream manifestation which imposed upon her and her posterity the obligation to perform the rite as an expiation for the benevolence of the animal that had appeared to her in vision form. Its procedure follows, as we shall see, the manner of the Big House Ceremony, in conformity with the definite Delaware pattern of religious performance.

The woman in this case was also a dame of tradition. The last time the ceremony was celebrated was during the early life of Wi·tapano'xwe's mother by a certain Mi·ma'ndi·, "Little Child," who had the distinction of being the last owner of the rite. Wi·tapano'xwe's mother had seen the ceremony enough to have been able to imitate in part the songs sung by Mi·ma'ndi·.

The Opossum Dance was, as previously noted, one of spiritual significance. It was opened with an address by a chief of another group and concluded with a feast. It was not known particularly as a ceremonial group- or clan-feast, although it was the possession of women in a definite family, and so may be said to be restricted to "clan" proprietorship. The singers were invited by the owner and chosen from members of the group with which she stood in a joking relationship, the group of her father. The accompaniment was provided by the water-drum, said to have been a clay pot with a hide stretched over its mouth. The singers occupied the usual place for musicians at one side of the dance area or

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x 796 oval, seated upon a log between two assistant singers who
333 shook rattles.

The movements of this dance followed the procedure of the serious recitations in the Big House Ceremony. The owner or leader, as we understand the term, sang a stanza of her song, then stopped singing while the drummer and his assistants repeated the stanza as the leader danced on about the circle, stopping again when the musicians had finished their repetition. Whereupon she took up the second stanza and the same procedure was repeated as for the first stanza. Other women, we are told, formed a line of followers behind her, and there is no mention of men in the column. The dance was thus divided into stations, after the Big House recitation pattern. The movement was contraclockwise.

x 796 At the termination of the songs, which may be inferred to have taken an hour or so to repeat, an address of the sermon type was made by the chief of one of the other two groups (Wolf, Turkey or Tortoise) who had made the opening speech.
[465] For this address he received from the owner a compensation of an arm-length of wampum. At the conclusion of his speech he instructed the company to assemble at the feast after which they were told to proceed with social dances of an informal nature which they might enjoy until morning. The selection of the latter dances and amusements was left to the pleasure of the company.

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SACRIFICE FEASTS

For a community, a family or an individual to prepare and conduct a feast accompanied by a more or less formal address as a means of bringing relief from trouble or to secure a spiritual blessing for those concerned, is a Delaware usage that assumes the character of a ceremony. It typifies the formal Delaware ceremonial pattern that prevails in most of the performances of a more impressive character such as the Big House Ceremony, the Doll Dance, the Bear Ceremony, the Otter Ceremony, the Corn Harvest Ceremony, the Buffalo Dance and the Opossum Dance.

The procedure of the feast or sacrifice rite, as it is called in Delaware *wi·hu'ŋgi·n*, "making an offering [or sacrifice] to someone," is rather simple. The party acting as host, whether it be a community, a family or an individual, provides the materials for the feast from the three kingdoms of life; flesh, vegetables and fruit. It is, moreover, often held upon the first taking of the produce of the chase or the first harvesting of things grown or gathered. Its ancient character is exhibited by the fact of its wide distribution in similar form over the entire territory inhabited by Algonkian-speaking peoples.

To secure relief for a sick member of a family is a common motive for giving a feast of offering. In such a case persons of another ceremonial division of the tribe (Wolf, Tortoise and Turkey groups) are called in as guests. The guests and the hosts eat separately, the guests being served first. A little speech of the following nature is made by the host. "Not having complied with the rules of life in some way which has caused its illness, I feel that I want to give this food in behalf of this child (or other afflicted member of the family as named), and hope that its health will be restored." Implied in this rite of appeal is the feeling that the good-will generated by the feast and the motive for it will cause those

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×796 present to pray and "to wish for"[1] the recovery of the sick 755one.

It is customary for the food to be divided equally among the guests and it is understood that all must be disposed of, if necessary by the invited ones taking home with them what they cannot eat in vessels or dishes brought with them for that purpose.

[1] The Delaware equivalent of a wide-spread belief in efficacy of the power of "wish" in eastern North America.

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THE DOLL DANCE CEREMONY

Oxta'uska'n, "DOLL DANCE"

The following ceremony is one of major significance among the Delawares. It embodies the idea of appeasing the latent ill-will of the Spirit of Corn, aroused through innocent familiarity incurred in the past between the children of certain families and this sensitive Manitto. It typifies, accordingly, one of the family feast ceremonies corresponding in motive with the grease drinking ceremonies, treated previously, in which the idea of placating an offended nature-force lies at bottom. Like the ceremonies mentioned in connection with the bear and the otter, it is obligatory among the descendants of the families who first formed the baneful associations with these spirit-forces, that the ceremonies be fulfilled according to the traditional regulations[1] to secure for them immunity from sickness and other evils of existence. And in conformity with ceremonies of this type we have a tale of origin explaining the mythological event that brought the condition about. This tale will be given shortly. We are told, for instance, that it was forbidden anciently for persons, especially children, to play with cornhusks or other parts of the sacred grain. As the tale narrates, certain children did so without the knowledge of those who would have prevented them. A disease affected them. When the medicine man had been called upon to ascertain its cause he informed them that the sanctity of "mother corn" had been violated, corn being the principal food supply of man provided by the Great Spirit. Even when unintentionally violated by children, he divined, their parents would have to stand the consequences. To remove the consequences a ceremony was prescribed in which dolls representing the Spirit of Corn were feasted and danced periodically among the families descended from children in-

[1] The formal term in Delaware is *kula'kan*, "restriction," equivalent to the more general designation "taboo."

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volved in the act of desecration as long as they existed. Thus originated the ceremony.

At the present time (1932) we are told there are three of these dolls held by Delaware families. They should be, according to the rulings, furnished with a feast and dance annually. The Delawares still do so as occasion permits, this being one of the ceremonies most recently performed in the Nation. Dr. V. M. Petrullo observed the rite in the summer of 1930. The dolls themselves are kept in the families in which they have descended with their ceremonial obligations for so long that they are held in an attitude of combined reverence and fear. That the ceremony has become a burden to the possessor of dolls is evident, but there being no means open to them to dismiss the obligation under which they have fallen without incurring still deeper animosity of Mother Corn, the rites must be maintained until some event warrants the abandoning of them. In several cases it is recalled that individuals who possessed the dolls in the past had the dolls buried with them upon request. In such cases the obligation to perform the dance ceased. In other cases the doll image and the ritual obligation was transferred to the oldest blood relation or to another relative whom the owner regarded as being most worthy of taking charge of the obligation and capable of conducting the ceremony. It is understood that the three images in the Nation at the present time may be accorded the honor of the feast ceremony all at the same time, being brought together by their owners upon the occasion called by the master of ceremonies. Some of these figures are male and some female. They are dressed in cloth as Delaware style requires with bead-work or ribbon-work and the faces painted in red which is rubbed off when the ceremony is over.

As regards the history of the Doll Ceremony we have no succinct facts to go by. Certain of the Indians themselves point out its similarity to the Bread Dance of the Shawnee.[1] What the two rites may be discovered to have in common might subsequently lead to a suggestion as to their earlier

[1] To be tested by data on Shawnee rites obtained by Dr. and Mrs. C. F. Voegelin.

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relationship, but of this we are still at a loss to form an idea. The references to pagan family feasts sketchily provided in the narratives of the early missionaries among the Delawares, would definitely point to the existence of a rite of this type in the tribe when it was still resident in the east.

The following is Wi·tapano'xwe's outline of the origin tale referred to just previously accounting for the acquisition of the ceremony in the family of his grandmother, Mawa't·e·s, a Munsee woman who was the owner of a·doll image and ceremony.

"A little girl of long ago was in the habit of playing with the corn. She would take the shucks and the end of a corncob with its silk and fashion a doll, the silk forming the hair, baring part of the cob to represent the face, and arranging the shucks to represent its dress, in the likeness of a human being. Several children imitated her action and took up playing with similar dolls. The first child was taken sick and became very ill. They sent for a medicine man. He pronounced her illness as being a result of violating laws imposed upon man's behavior in relation to the Spirit of Corn by the Great Spirit. He then told the parents of these children that the sickness could be cured by performing a feast once a year during the child's lifetime and transmitting it down through posterity to prevent return of the malady. The particulars governing the conduct of the feast and ceremony, as well as the details of construction and dress of the doll images to be used in the celebration, were all prescribed in the vision of the medicine man. The families were told to watch closely over the condition of the dolls, to keep their clothing in good repair and well decorated, and to renew it each year on the occasion of the feast. The songs of the ceremony were revealed in detail, there being six for the men participants and six for the women. They were told to provide the feast by killing a beef and a hog for the guests. Also to clear up a large dance ground at some suitable place in the open, likewise to provide at one end of the clearing a seat for the singers and a tent nearby to serve as a lodge for the master of ceremonies. A chief preferably but not necessarily of the same ceremonial group was to be invited to act as master of ceremonies, or *elha'k·e·l*, 'one who brings it in.' His aides were to be a woman invited to lead the dancers of her sex, a man to lead the men, and a fire-keeper, called *pu'tcal*, whose duty included the cooking of hominy and meat for the feast. Each of these attendants was to receive a yard ('shoulder to tip of finger length') of wampum for his services. Two drummers were also to be invited to sing and beat upon the folded deer-hide drum. They, too, were to receive the same amount of wampum. The chief invited to act as master of ceremonies would open the occasion with an address of instruction

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796 and admonition and close it with another. His duties also were to
773 include the enforcement of order during the night of the ceremony, to
539 encourage the people to participate in the dancing, and to see that all went smoothly and reverently until after midnight when the twelve formal chants of the men and women dancers had been completed, after which those present could spend the rest of the night until sunrise in the enjoyment of social dances of their own selection. His ceremonial pay was also a yard of wampum. The master of ceremonies was expected to refer in his opening address to the great event of the year as fall approaches, of the ripening of the corn, to the expectation on the part of the owners of 'our grandmothers,'[1] the dolls, that the dolls be fed with sacred food, hominy and meat. He was to recite how they were going to dance the twelve ceremonial dances representing the twelve months of the year, beginning about seven o'clock and ending at midnight. He was to instruct them how the dances were to alternate between the men and the women, the women having the first dance, how the appointed woman was to lead her participants and the man his. And how the man leader was to dance around the circle carrying one of the images and the women around another circle outside the line of the men dancers behind their leader carrying another of the dolls. Between dances the dolls were to be fastened on poles about five feet high placed in front of the tent that was the headquarters of the master of ceremonies. The prescribed musical instrument for the ceremony was to be the deer-hide drum, and turtle rattles for the leaders. A pole was to be supported upon props over the fire and the feasting kettle hung from it. At one end of the pole was also to be hung the drum when it was being beaten. The next speech of the master of ceremonies, to be given about midnight, was to include thanks to the Great Spirit for the blessing brought them by the ceremony, admonishing those present to conduct their behavior properly, to avoid drunkenness and irreverence. He was to render thanks likewise to the sun, 'our brother,' for his light, to the stars for theirs, and to all the spirits on earth for their blessings and care over us in life, to our grandmothers, the cornhusk dolls, the guardians of health who must be paid once a year by the ceremony for their spiritual aid. His instructions in closing his address were also to refer to the duties of the six selected male and six female leaders (these being relatives of the leader both by blood and within the ceremonial grouping) who should stand at sunrise facing the east with the dishes of food in their hands. They were also to sweep away the ashes from the fireplace and carry all to one side, then put the fire out. In his final address he was to refer to the twelve, male and female, dance leaders who are holding the dishes of food toward the sunrise, as rever-

[1] To explain the use of the relationship terms, grandmother and mother, the informant stated that the food, corn, is older than the dolls, whence the abstraction of grandmother in some cases.

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enced attendants inspired by the Great Spirit whose duty is to help the leader in the interest of their family ceremony. He was to tell them that when he had said 'ready' the holders of the dishes of food should make a sideways swinging motion with the dishes saying, '*Hyu'*, *hyu'*, *he e*,' twelve times. At the last time of the utterance they were to lay down the dishes of food making motions as if they were going to throw the food upon a tarpaulin spread nearby upon the dance ground for the people standing waiting to receive it. The bread was so to be thrown for the people to try to catch it if they could. The corn bread (*zaskwi'a'pan*) was to be made in representation of a human form; in the shape of a man complete with arms, legs and head symbolising the Corn Spirit. Another was to be made in the form of a bear about a foot in length, symbolising the stars and constellations to bring to mind the myth relative to the sky bear and the end of the world.[4] Upon each of the corn bread figures, the man and the bear, was to be placed a yard of wampum tied about the neck. Then as the twelve attendants stood in a row, the one standing on the south end of the line facing the sun was to hold the bear figure, the one on the north the human figure. The rest of the people do not know who are to hold these figures. They were instructed to throw the two figures of corn bread so as to cross each other in the air for the spectators to try and catch them. Those who did were to keep the wampum tied about the images, the successful ones thus receiving a yard of wampum as a ceremonial act. This last event was to take place just before the sun made its appearance on the horizon. Then all fell upon the food consuming it, except members of families owning the dolls. This was to end the ceremony after which all should go home and live properly until the ceremony is called for the next year. The rules required that in the case of death in the family the oldest in line next takes up the responsibility of the ceremony. Should he not wish to continue it it should be buried with him including the dolls which were to be referred to in such a case as 'orphans' since they have no one to care for them."

Harrington has also treated the Doll Dance. The tale accounting for its origin which he recorded differs in some details from the version given. It is as follows:[5]

"Long ago, the Lenape say, some children, playing with sticks, decided to cut faces upon them, and were then very much surprised to notice that the little dolls which they had thus made seemed to have life. Their parents made them throw the dolls away when they dis-

[4] A Delaware belief: when the bear (Ursa major) catches up with his severed head (a constellation not identified, corona borealis or Boötes) the earth will come to an end. Indeed, a prophetic truism.

[5] Harrington, I, pp. 162–3.

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X 776 773 539 covered this, and most of the children soon forgot what had happened. One little girl, however, grieved for her doll; it bothered her all the time, and finally she began to dream of it every night. Then she told her parents of her trouble, and they realised that they should not have compelled her to throw the doll away. One night the doll appeared to the child and spoke to her, saying, 'Find me and keep me always, and you and your family will ever enjoy good health. You must give me new clothing and hold a dance for me every spring,'[4] and then told her exactly what to do. The girl reported this to her parents, who immediately looked for the doll and found it, then dressed it, made some hominy, killed a deer, and held a dance in its honor as they were instructed, and this rite has been continued to the present day."

X 776 The description which he gives of the dance corresponds in most of its details with what has been previously set down. He mentions, however, a few additional features of the procedure which do not appear in my own. In preparation for the ceremony we are told "a hunter is then selected who calls on several to help him get a deer which, when brought in, is hung on poles prepared for it at the dance ground where it remains over night. The next morning they cook the deer and a kettle of hominy, and are then ready for the ceremony."

Furthermore he adds a point or two in regard to the carrying of the dolls during the dance. "When the leader finishes his 'set,' he passes the doll pole to the man behind him, who repeats the process, and so on until the men dancers [801] have carried it six times, when it is transferred to the women, who, in their turn, dance six sets, making twelve in all, the Lenape sacred number."

[4] My information implies that it was a fall rite.

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THE BUFFALO DANCE CEREMONY

Si·li·e'ezk·as, literally "buffalo dance", is one of the 796^x ceremonies concerning which Harrington expressed some uncertainty as regards its position in the Delaware cycle. He merely mentions the ceremony as known to his informants,[1] and quotes Adams as being the only other writer to have dealt with it in a brief account published forty years ago.[2] That the Buffalo Dance should be included with the Otter Ceremony or the Bear Ceremony, as Harrington surmises, I shall not agree with. We have enough concrete information regarding it to describe it as an independent rite, even basing judgment upon the meagre details now in hand. In the account that follows I have included the observations put on record by Adams.

It should be noted that the Delawares have abandoned the 796^x Buffalo Dance since their migration to the Cherokee Nation. 176 But in 1921 they performed the dance for exhibition purposes, led by a Christian Delaware, Filmore Secondine (*se'kəndaie'·xiŋg*, "As long as the building is"), who was old enough to have learned it in his younger days.[3] The Delawares, however, still participate in the Buffalo Dance when they visit the Shawnee, according to Wi·tapano'xwe. Among the latter the dance is still in favor, and, he adds, it was understood that both tribes carried it out in the same manner. Being a ceremony with common properties among a number of Oklahoma tribes we may wonder whether perhaps the Delawares did not acquire it after they had crossed westward into the area of the Central Algonkian or perhaps even later after their arrival beyond the Mississippi.

Wi·tapano'xwe states that this is a dance and ceremony 796^x intended for fighting men and hunters. Adams affirms this

[1] Harrington, I, p. 182–3.

[2] R. C. Adams, Report on Indians Taxed and Not Taxed, U. S. Census, 1890, p. 299.

[3] The informant thinks that J. A. Parks, a Delaware now living, may still know some of the Buffalo Dance songs which his grandfather knew.

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*796 by saying that it is a pleasure dance and is given before starting on the chase. The informant regards it as a special rite not falling into the series of devotional or medicine performances in which visions are recited. The dance is a dramatic pantomime of the buffalo in their wallow, intended to procure success in the hunt.

[534] The equipment for the dance is the pot drum or kettle drum. Adams refers to a drum consisting of a dried skin, stretched over poles, upon which to beat. The performers wear a special dress for the head, known as the horned fur-
[292] headband, a wide band of fur, otter or buffalo preferably, having short polished horns attached to each side over the ears of the wearer. The male performers smear the forelock and the parting of their hair with moistened clay. This is to symbolize the bulls disporting themselves in the mud wallow which I imagine needs no further description to readers. They also paint their faces yellow and smear clay
[302] on their bodies as far down as the belt. The informant also added that the men could wear the feather bonnet of the Plains type with buffalo horns attached to the sides. Both informants, Wi·tapano'xwe and Adams, mention the cleared and hard beaten dance-space, the preparing of a fire in the center, the erection of a cross-pole upon two forked posts driven into the earth at each side of the fire, from which are suspended two large kettles full of boiled hominy. The drummers and singers are seated on a log bench on the north side of the dancing space.

The personnel of the dance consists first of all in having a sponsor for the occasion in the form of some man who assumes responsibility for its proper conduct. He then selects his assistants, male and female, from members of his own ceremonial group (Turkey, Wolf or Tortoise). One of the men selected is to be the singer and he may have a couple of helpers. We are told that other men also who know the songs or those who may wish to learn them would be permitted to sit with the musicians and rehearse with them.

*796 The procedure in the Buffalo Dance is to emulate the
535 behavior of the buffalo as the animals are conceived as con-

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gregated around their wallow, shoving and pushing the weaker bulls and cows aside as they attempt to feed. The men dancers personify the bulls, the women performers the cows. The dance is begun by the men, who have gone off some distance from the dancing space to prepare themselves with headdress and clay coating. They come charging up to the dance-ring where they form in line on the south side, opposite the drummers and singers. Throughout the performance they grunt and snort like bulls. When the men are in the formation to begin, the women to take part form another line outside that of the men. There is a leader for the men, or bulls, and one for the women, or cows. When the accompaniment has begun, both lines commence to move contra-clockwise around the posts supporting the hominy pots. The men gallop and stamp like bulls. Suddenly, while circling the enclosure as they come near the hominy pots, one of the men will attempt to help himself to a portion of the hominy, using either his hands or a mussel-shell spoon. This is the moment for one of his neighboring dancers to charge to his side and using the horns of his headgear as the buffalo does his horns to thrust and try to push the feeder away from the food, as the jealous bulls are described as doing when crowding around the feeding place. All the time they are grunting hu^{a} hu^{a} hu^{a}! This act typifies the attempt of the strongest bull to ward off the herd while he gets his fill. This action is repeated each time that one of the bulls attempts to feed. The women, or cows, also try to get a taste of the hominy. At this moment one of the bulls comes charging up to drive her away from the pot, thrusting at her with his horns, whereupon another bull to protect her will attack the first and attempt to horn him to one side that the cow may feed. Thus the Buffalo Dance progresses amid great excitement and confusion among the dancers, though all the time some semblance of order of dance is maintained while the assigned songs are being rendered.

RAIN MAKING RITUAL

789 *E'nda sokola°'nheyg*, "when rain make." In making an appeal to the grandfather Thunder to send showers and rain, [825 ancient custom has decreed that the skin of a weasel is a 782 suitable offering to the "grandfather" accompanying the prayer.

The rite is an individual one. Any man or woman may own a weasel skin [1] and perform it in time of drought. The ritual is recited in seclusion, not at a public gathering as it is reported by Wi·tapano'xwe among the Shawnee.[2] By the holder of the weasel skin the object is regarded as sacred, the skin being treated as though it were a live animal. It is kept wrapped up and put away carefully so that it will not be molested, that is suffer indignity, this solicitude being similar to what is accorded other objects used in ceremonials. This may mean nothing more than being tied up and kept in a trunk, a basket or hung in a shed where it is out of the way. Wi·tapano'xwe had his enveloped in a green cloth and tied with a string of leather.[3] The weasel ceremonially used, is called *sa'ŋgwe*, a term which denotes something used for a sacred purpose.[4]

782 In this rite the rain-maker proceeds to a running stream. 789 He dips the skin into the water and lifts it upward while saying this beautiful little prayer addressing the Thunder and

[1] The species of weasel mentioned is *Mustela cicognani cicognani*, or *M. noveboracensis*. A third form mentioned by the informant is called "spotted weasel" has not been identified. The skin of the latter, he added, is used in making medicine for horse colic, so there is evidently some definite creature in mind.

[171] [2] According to the informant the Shawnee make more of a ceremony of rain-making with the weasel, the skin being kept in the custody of an old man who has exclusive right to handle it and to the place where it is concealed, and a dance accompanies the prayer.

[3] Specimen in collection of Historical Commission of Pennsylvania.

[825] [4] That the weasel has had a sacred function in early as well as recent Delaware religious magic is shown by the record of the same name for the animal recorded in Delaware of over a century ago, namely *sunquen* (Brinton, "Lenape Dictionary," p. 124).

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his messenger the weasel as the sources from which relief is hoped to come. The rain spirit is believed to repose in the thunder cloud that is soon expected to appear, and which is addressed as "grandfather." Wi·tapano'xwe added that the sacred animal is offered as a token of the good faith of the people in following the traditions of their ancestors as to how to pray when a drought had come upon them. The skin is held forth in the four directions, north, east, south and west. There is also, he added, an appeal to the running stream, "our mother," to aid in bringing about a rainfall for her suffering children on earth, "that all things we depend upon for our living and existence, vegetation and animal life, may grow in abundance."

Harrington has recorded a note on the occurrence of mink and weasel skin medicine sacks among the Munsee-Delawares of Moraviantown, Ontario, but he did not secure explanations of use.[1]

RAIN MAKING PRAYER

Wa'nici·	muxo"'msa.	yu'kwe	ki·'ckwi·k	ndayɑ'-	
Thanks	grandfather.	This	day	I	
ndama"n	təli·a'	wi·tɔmi·'ne"n	ko'xwi·sɑk.	kone"'mɑn	
wish	that	you help us	your grandchildren.	You see	
ełki·'kwi·	itəma'k·a'	we"'mi·	ke'ko	da'ɔt'.	gwi·'la li·
how	pitiful.	every	thing	scarce.	No place for
lama'hən·a	e"'li	kaha'p·ɑng	we"'mi·	yutali·'	
drinking water source	because	drought	all	here about	
eləma"'kami·.	na'xpon·ama"n	wa'ni·	saŋgwe'axe"s.		
on the earth.	I hold and ask with	that	weasel hide.		
e"'li·	na'ni·	li·'xɑn	lɔ'mwe	no'tci·	wa'ni· lən·a'p·e
Because	that is	rule	long ago	since	the Delaware
təli·	wa"'to"n	e"'li·	mi·łkwus·u'	e"laehɔ'si·t	e'nda
because	he knew	because	he was given	how to perform	when
wi·'nowe"t	na"'ta	hukwe'yuŋg	e'nda	leləmu'k·ɔn	
begging in earnest	to you	above	when	where you abide	
se's·ukəla"'nhe"s	muxo"'msa	pe"t'hak'ho'we.	e"'li·	ki·	
rain maker	grandfather	thunder.	Because	you	

[1] M. R. Harrington, "Vestiges of Material Culture Among the Canadian Delawares," *Amer. Anth.*, N.S., Vol. 10, No. 3, 1908, p. 417.

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782 xo'xa mi·'lkwus·in. ɔk kəni·'hi·la·tamən we·'mi· mbi·'
789 alone is given the power. And you control all water
539 ki· ma'n'towak·an tə'li· kəna'məne·n. wu'ndjitc
your spiritual power that we look for. Therefore
təma·'keləmi·e'ŋgwe ɔk ɔna'ni· saŋgwe'oxe·s na'lən·a
you have pity on us, and the weasel skin that
kwu't·i· te·kəna'yes i'k·a wundji·a'yu man'towa'k·an
one wild animal there belongs his spiritual power
wehendji·'hil·a·k sukəla·'namiŋg. yu'kwe e'nda teɔ'p·-
where it comes from rain fall. Now when I dip
ɒnak yu'ni· pe·mi·'tan·i·k ndəla·'p'tona'la wa'ni·
into water this in the stream I invoke by addressing that
aye'a·ɔs təli·' wi·tci·'lae'mhone·n e'nda i'k·a laŋgo·'si·-
animal that he might intercede for us when toward we appeal to
eŋg· hukwe'yuŋg lema'ta'p·i·yan. yuk wani'ci·
you above where you sit. Now thanks
moxo·'msa na'li·hi·'ne·n we·'mi· enxoxto·'leŋg'. wani'ci·
grandfather give us everything we ask of you. Thanks,
te'pi·laha'p·a.
this is all for now.

Free Translation.

Thanks, grandfather. This day I wish that you help us, your grandchildren. You see how pitiful it is, everything is growing scarce. There is indeed even no place to get drinking water because drought rules all about over the earth. I hold this weasel skin and plead with you. For that is the custom since long ago, as the Delaware knew, because the knowledge was given to him to know how to perform when supplicating you up there above where you abide, oh rain-maker, grandfather Thunder. For to you is given the power. And you control by your spiritual power all the water that we are craving. Therefore do you have pity on us, and also the weasel skin, the one wild animal from whose spiritual power comes the rainfall which belongs to him. Now when I dip it into the water of this stream, I call upon you by addressing this animal that he may intercede for us when we appeal to you up above where you sit. Now thanks, grandfather, do give us everything that we ask of you. Thanks, that is all for now.

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THE SPRING PRAYER AND FOOTBALL CEREMONY TO ADVANCE VEGETATION

An important rite took place in the spring at a time coinciding with the first appearance and growth of vegetation. The rite has lost most of its former strictness, and its performance in recent times is apparently of shorter duration. Without going into speculation upon its original character, we have certain particulars to place on record, of which the following text and description of a football ceremony as part of the celebration are of considerable interest. In describing the festival the text of the annual spring prayer will be given then a sketch of the football ceremony. The prayer is the formal prelude to the occasion and seems to embody the dominant spirit of thanksgiving and supplication in behalf of a vigorous growth of vegetation upon which the Delawares placed such stress in their economic existence. The prayer contains some finely worded passages and shows perhaps more than other declamations the power of expression of which the native mind is capable when stimulated to religious emotion by the contemplation of the blessings brought to man by the heat of the sun, moisture and the glorious realm of plant life.

There is reason to trace much of the ceremonial make-up of this festival to the Shawnee with whom the Delawares were, and still are, so closely associated. Until we have the results of the painstaking study of Shawnee ethnology in course of preparation by Dr. and Mrs. Voegelin it is wiser not to draw conclusions on this point.

The concept that trees are capable of breathing utterances has not died out in human letters among modern European poets [1] whose muse is of a much later birth than that of the

[1] For instance, among the latest; Stephen Vincent Benét ("John Brown's Body," N. Y., 1928),

> "I heard the song of breath . . .
> Solemn harps of the fir.
> And the vast, tiny grass
> Blown by a breath and speaking."

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Indians. And to witness a simular early creation of savage poetic imagination, we learn from the Mistassini, lowly hunters of Labrador, that when the wind blows the firs, bending down their tips and branches, it is the Great Spirit combing them as a father combs the hair of his children. Who has asserted that savages cannot be poets?

796 The season for this rite begins sometime in the early spring, and the playing of the football game lasts until midsummer, about the end of June, when its season is formally closed, not to be resumed until the next spring.

The ceremony, being a glorification over the return of spring, has certain formal requirements to be fulfilled, not only by the chief, but by the people at large. It is believed that if the rules governing the festival are not obeyed, floods, tornadoes, and storms will result, causing the destruction of grain and fruit crops. On the other hand, the proper conduct of the football game during the season of performance will strengthen the growth of the crops. There is also a symbolical feature of the festival in the desire to indulge in a show of pure enjoyment of the people for the blessings of good weather and the returning warmth of the sun. Therefore, it would seem to have some solstitial significance which is brought out in the ruling that the season for play terminates about the end of June. There seem to be no closely analogous ceremonies in the eastern area with which to compare this interesting rite outside of the Shawnee analogue, unless they be found in Iroquois, and no specific reference to it in the early Delaware narratives which might serve as a help in determining its former history before the removal west.

[71]

The ceremony bears the name *ni·p·ɔna'k·an*, "summer dance," while that part of it which pertains to the football play is called *paxsa'hama"ŋ*, "ballplay" (*paxsahi·'k·an*, "ball"). Another explanation of the latter term gives us the meaning "divided," referring to the division of the sexes into opposite sides to play the game. On the whole, we may sense a deeper religious symbolism lying beneath this celebration than is apparent in the meagre account now available.

Those who fancy such instances of belief in tree-animation will find several references in my "Naskapi" (University of Oklahoma Press, 1935, pp. 38–9).

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The Spring Dance may be called to performance by a chief of any one of the three ceremonial social groups, Wolf, Turkey or Tortoise. It is he who is responsible for the prayer which opens the event. Besides the prayer or invocation, he is expected to deliver a sermon before the dancing begins, the text of which follows the general pattern of such declamations among the more devout Indians over the whole Algonkian-speaking area, as I have had occasion to observe it. In this talk he tells the people that they must conduct themselves as is proper in a ceremonial dance, to show respect to the aged, to reverence the purpose of the dance and game and at the same time to extract as much good and enjoyment out of it as possible because the Creator intends for them to have it as a period of enjoyment. He sagely observes in closing that the Creator looks upon his people as his children and wishes for them to enjoy themselves as such without causing trouble.

In recent times the reduction of the rite to a mere football game seems to have been the tendency among the Oklahoma Delawares. The main officer is the fire guardian and dance promoter known by his office as *pu'teal*, who lectures the participants cautioning them against drinking, violence, scuffling or the leveling off of grudges during the game and dance. The dance song is accompanied by the water-drum. There are both women's dances and the ordinary "Stomp" or leading dances, and then mixed dances continuing through the night. The concluding dance is the parting dance, the so-called Drunken Dance, which terminates all Delaware social dance gatherings and takes place just before the break of dawn (see p. 98).

After the first night of the dance it is held over again for several nights, usually taking place the last of each week, the dance lasting over Saturday night.

The general details of the football game are as follows. The opposite sides are composed of an equal number of men and women. There are two goals, one at each end of the smooth area known as the football ground. The goal poles are two uprights eight or nine feet in height set about four

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796 feet apart. To score a goal the ball must go between these
526 poles. The opponents are allowed to throw and wrestle with each other, but must not hurt one another intentionally. The game is played for a score of twelve or twenty goals. The record of goals secured is kept by a score-keeper who is provided with a number of sharp sticks one of which he sticks into the ground as each goal is won by the sides. Wagering
[525] is customary, and ribbons, beads, breastpins, bracelets or money are placed in a pile on the outcome of the contest.

Mention should be made of the ball. It is composed of a bundle of deer hair sewed in buckskin cover and is about eight inches in diameter.

When the ball season has reached its end about the close of June, the chief orders the discontinuation of the game. And after the final game he takes the ball and makes a speech saying that the season is now to be closed until the next year. At the conclusion of his speech he takes the deer-hair filling out of the ball and cuts the cover in halves. This is the sign to all that the football festival season is over.[1]

SPRING PRAYER

796 Elaŋgu'ndieŋg" wani'ci· yu'kwe ki·'ckwi·k tɔli·'
782 My kindred I am thankful now this day that
539 mɔca·'tamɔne·n elki·'kwi· wɔle·lɔm·u'k·weŋg ɔ'nda
we are thinking how the blessings when

ko'xan·a ke·tan'to'wi·t' mɔca·'lkweŋg ɔk kɔne·'mɔne·n
our father Great Spirit remembers us and we can see

tɔli·' i·'ka pe·te·'lɔmuk·o·'ne·n ɔ'nda si·'kwunami·'eŋg"
that so to now we live to see when it is spring time we see together

wu'ndji· wɔla·te·'nami·'ne·n ɔ'nda ne·'meŋg" we·'mi·
that is why we are thankful rejoice when we see every

ke'ko li· sa'k·ɑn ɔk kɔmuxo·'mɔna·'nɔk hi·'t'kuk
thing how coming up and our grandfathers trees

sa·'k·ali·'yɔk yu'kwe we·'mi· elama·'kami·k' wɔli·na·'-
they send out loud now all over the universe kɔka

[1] Later information states that the ball is not destroyed at the end of the game except when it was conducted upon the principle of the Shawnee ruling which prevailed in Delaware tradition through the influence of this tribe.

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kwot' we·'mi· ski·'k'·" ɔk na'xpən·e ki·lawu's·ɔna 796[x]
fine all vegetation and also our grain 782
ɔk me'hɔmawɔ's·iŋg ne·'xkɔt' pe'a'lami· ki·ci·'k·iŋ 539
and our fruit ["what we pick"] it shows being begins growing.
na'xpən·e k'tama'ndamɔne·'n e'nda pe'tci· k'cɔt·e'kaŋg
And also we feel it when as puts forth heat,
na'ni· t'xą'sɔna ki·'cux wimbɔne'm'ko·'na ɔk nahali·'
he our elder brother the sun. He sympathizes with us and besides
ne·'ki·k mɔxo·'mɔɔn·a'nɔk pe·'t'ha'k·ɔwe·'yɔk ɔ'nda
these our grandfathers thunders when
mi·'lkweŋg" te'p·i· m'bi·" we·'mi· da' ne'ni· tɔ'li·xtun
they give us plenty of water. All is that created
ko·'xɔna gi·'ce·'lɔmu'kɔŋg'. i·'l·i·haŋg" we·'mi· ma'nitu
by our father the Creator even it is said every spirit
pa·'tamą kɔ'ha ta'm'se pən·da'wɔna·'nɔk mɔxo·'-
prays because sometimes we hear our
mɔɔna·'nɔk hit'kuk tɔ'li· me'mendɔwe·'ne·'yɔ ɔ'n·da
grandfathers trees, that they pray earnestly when
wani·' ke·'·exiŋg i'ka pomi·'hil·a·'t' tepi·a' wundji·-
the wind there go by that is enough for [to make]
awe·'n pɔna'elɔ'ndamɔn ɔk wundji· wɔla·'te·'nami·n
anyone thinking and on account of it to bring happiness
ɔ'n·da neŋg ko·'xɔna mwi·'kɔmɔɔ·uwa'k·an elki·'kwi·
when he sees our father his works of wonder how
wɔli·'ka'k·uŋg ki·'kaxtiŋge. Cela'han·e elaŋgu'ndieŋg"
well it affects us all the year. This is my kindred
lap'tu'naxgat' ale·'po'ndowa'k·an yu'kwe yu'ni·
the formula of prayer this here
e·'lim'kɔ't·ɔk.
of this kind.

Free Translation.

My kindred, I am thankful now as we are thinking upon the blessings received when our Father, the Great Spirit, remembers us. And we can see how up until now we have lived along so that we can all together observe the coming of springtime. Wherefore we rejoice when we see how every-

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X 776 762 539 thing is coming forth, and how our grandfather's trees are sending out their buds. And now everywhere throughout the land appears in beauty all the green growth and likewise our grains, while also the fruits that we gather show forth the beginnings of growth. And we also feel it as he is coming to send forth heat, that one our elder brother the sun. He has sympathy for us. And then, besides, those grandfathers of ours the Thunders as they give us an abundance of water. Everything is the doing of our Father the Creator. And it is even said that all the Spirit forces (manitu) pray, because sometimes we hear them, our grandfathers, the trees, as they earnestly commune in prayer when the wind passes by through them. It is enough to set anyone thinking and should be a cause for happiness when he beholds the marvelous works of our Father, and how well they work for our benefit all the year through. And that now, my kindred, is the formula of prayer for this kind of traditional rite here.

1 [erhalten. - Analyst]

[p. 78]

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THE CORN HARVEST CEREMONY

zaakwi·'mi· la"keyɔ'k·an, "CORN CEREMONY"

The Delawares celebrated the conclusion of the corn or maize bearing season with a festival of thanksgiving in which acknowledgement was made to mother Corn for the blessings of abundance, and an appeal made for the continuation of health, a form of blessing never forgotten for a moment by Delaware supplicants. The ceremony has analogies among all the eastern tribes, the underlying elements of worship being much the same all over the area of the maize complex. The Delaware festival is not preserved for us in rich detail unfortunately. The following notes on its procedures and the religious sentiments involved seem to be all that we have on record. Wi·tapano'xwe expresses himself in the text to the full extent of his knowledge on this important celebration. 796x

While the speech-making and feasting seem to follow the usual Delaware type of feasting rite, a particular feature appears in the manner in which the Corn anniversary is announced among the people a week or so before it takes place. This feature amounts to a formalistic procedure. In this performance two messengers dressed in suits of corn-husk clothing and wearing masks with corn husk "hair" ride through the Delaware settlements as a signal that the ceremony will soon occur. But they enact a strange symbol. Carrying a small quantity of excrement in a side pouch they smear the substance upon the persons of those they encounter en route who do not offer them at once a gift no matter how trifling. We shall hear of the strange practice in the texts to follow. The purpose of this punishment for disregard of the obligation toward the messengers seems to lie in the motive of enforcing obedience and even fear in case of refusal to comply with the exacting demands of tradition in regard to religious duties among the Delawares. This note of fidelity to ancient customs is dominant in the minds of the conserva- 796x 514

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tives, and the founders of these rites, whoever they were, seem to have made suitable provision against public indifference. In the words of the informant, no one is apt to disregard the call to obey religious custom in view of the consequences. And there may have been some idea of making an offering to mother Corn as well in this rite. Its origin dates from the first conception of the corn ceremony as the text relates.[1] The individuals whose duty it is to enact this part are hence called "excrement daubers," and their identity is, as might naturally be expected, kept in the dark. The rite itself is called *we'mui·ha'lowe's* "excrement daubing."

Of the masks used in this rite we have mention of several specimens obtained from *Ni·ka'ni·paxoxwe*, "Leading walker" (Joe Washington) of the same band in Oklahoma (Fig. 1, *A* and *B*).[2] They represent the features of masks requisitioned in the rites of the Corn Harvest Ceremony as celebrated by the Wolf division. According to the memory of Joe Washington, from whom they were obtained, the mask (*A*) with black on the forehead and chin part and the middle face-portion of red, was employed by the mask messenger and dancer of the Wolf division in his *midday* appearances. The dark upper and lower bands of color represent darkness before dawn and after sunset; the lighter center, the middle of the day. The other (*B*) with the upper face area black and the lower red was worn in the rites of the *early morning and evening*.

The corn ceremony itself seems to be known only through general description on the part of our informant who had the account of it from his mother. She had seen the rite when she was young. As will be seen its characteristics are those of the usual Delaware feasting festivals. There are the addresses by the speaker chosen for the occasion, the women having prepared beforehand the amount of hominy

[1] One of the Delaware authorities, J. A. Parks, states in recent correspondence that he thinks the "excrement dauber" rite belonged originally to the Shawnee. Joe Washington, who had witnessed the rite when a young man, attributes the custom to the Seneca "introduced a long time ago to the Delawares."

[2] Specimen *A* (model, 4½ x 5½ inches) is of oak with cap portion, over top and back, of trimmed deer skin, with shredded corn stalk "hair," *B* is similar in construction, 6 x 8 inches. Unlike Iroquois masks there are no little bags of tobacco offering attached to Delaware images.

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and corn bread required for the feast, and the first part of the day is spent in dancing to the songs that tradition has bequeathed for the rite, and as with the other feasts the ceremonial dance is terminated in an all-night session of mixed or social dances. 796^x

The corn dance is led by the two men wearing the corn husk costumes and masks. These performers take a turn at dancing, then a group of women take a turn. The women too have a pair of leaders but they wear no masks. After the social dances have been enjoyed, to which the night following is given over, the ceremony is concluded with what is called a Drunken dance. The drummers pick up and carry the drum and rattles, and lines of both sexes dance slowly in a circle around them. For this last act there are also specific songs.

So much for the objective aspects of the Corn Ceremony. As the text tells us its origin is believed to have sprung out of a famine, due evidently to some displeasure felt by the mani'tu. For some reason the corn "left" the Indians. When all the leading men had assembled to consider the matter they decided to devise some means by which the corn could be induced to come back. The result was to conceive the ceremony as we learn of it, the announcement of the occasion and the leading of the dance itself to be under the auspices of the men wearing masks of corn-husks. This origin concept reminds one strongly of the stress conditions in some ancient time that gave rise to the Big House ceremony, in the origin of which the displeasure of the world-controlling spirits is a prominent influence. 796^x 773

As a part of the corn complex of North America the ceremonies that received so much attention in the religious development of the Indians are to be considered in the future as an important and absorbing topic for comparative and analytical treatment. 796^x

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
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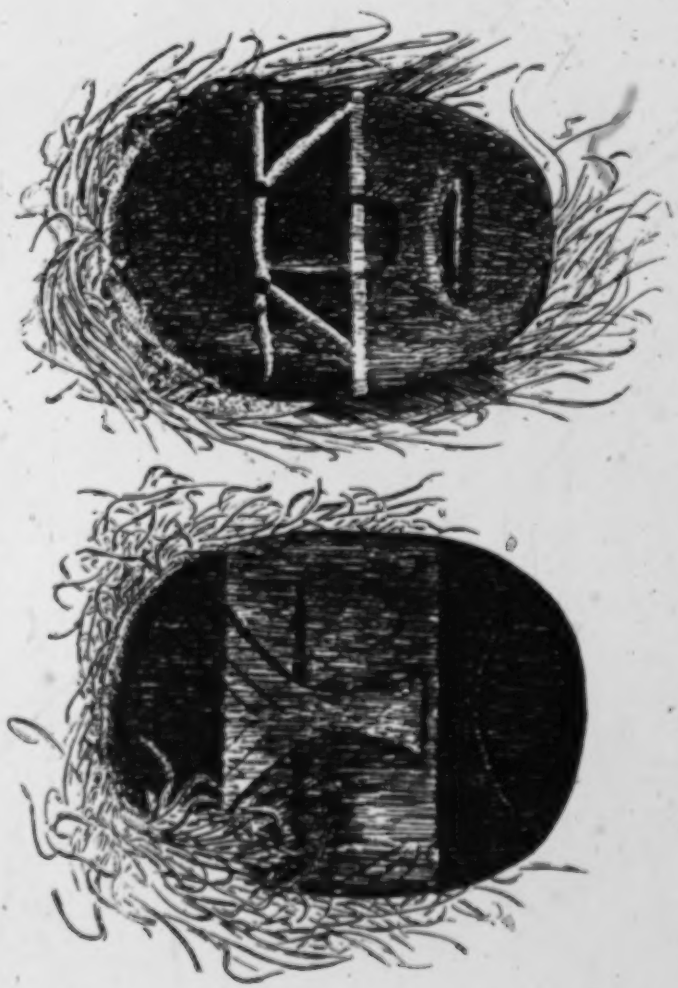
532
778
822



A B

FIG. 1. DELAWARE RED AND BLACK WOODEN MASKS WITH CORN-HUSK "HAIR" WORN BY OFFICER IN MASK CEREMONY (p. 80). *A*. Worn during mid-day performances (reproduction 5½ inches in length). *B*. Worn during morning and evening performances. The spacing of the red and black colors represents the proportion of light and dark, morning and evening (*B*), and in mid-day (*A*). (Sketch by M. H. Wheeler.)

7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
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ORIGIN OF THE CORN HARVEST CEREMONY

796 x
539
.773

Lɔ'mwe we'ak'hak·ami·'k·e k'ti·'hilɔe·taohən·a·'nɑk
Long ago in beginning of the world we have heard

ki·'kagoyəmən·a·ni'ŋga təli·' lowe·ne·'yɔ wa'ni· xaskwi·'m
our ancient dead how they said the corn

lɔ'mwe ngat'ha'k·e. wi·xka'utci hund' ka'it·i a'ləmi·
long ago migrated went away. All of a sudden it was slowly began

xi·'hi·l·e· aha'ləwi· k'təma'k·e·lən·damowa'k·an·u. ka'heli·
to lessen more and more it grew pitiful. Many

awe·'n nunde·'həl·e me'hmi·'tciŋ e·'li· lɔ'mwe nɔ'tei·
people were in need of food because long ago since

na'lowan xaskwi·'m tə'n·da ni·'kani·xi·'nɑn we·'mi·
this corn it was was leading food all

wi·'lawəs· na'wundji· me·hmawə'nsiŋg ɔk wi·yu's.
grain from that fruit and meat.

Ge'həl·a me·tci·'gai k'təma·'ksu et'
Very deplorable pitiful evidently it must have been

we·'mi· awe·'n. ə'nda me'tci· hwi·'la
all persons. When now in perplexity baffled

le·lən·dami·''t·i·t' ki·kago'yɔmən·ani'ŋga na' lo'we·n
as to what to think of to do our ancient ancestors then it was said,

''ma'ema''t·am we·'mi· awe·'ni·k a'kənutəmu't·am
"Let us gather all persons to council

tət·a a·' e·laehɔ's·ieŋg wu'ndji· kɑ'ski· wi·nowa'meŋg
what could we take action so that can we plead with

gahe's·ən·a təli·'tc ma't·a tci·mi·'' ngałko·'ne·n."
our mother so that will not forever leave us".

Nane'ce· wundji·'xɑn təli·' aləmi·' mani·'ha·n
That is whence the beginning that beginning the making

wani lən·a'pe yu'li·l mwe'mui·halɔwes·a'·s lo'we·n
the Delawares these excrement-rubbers. It is said

tcani·'laeha'wəna wa'ni· gahe's·əna nane'' wu'ndji·
we have offended this our mother that is reason

alɔ'mska·n. yu'kwe elaŋgu'ndieŋg yu'kwe ce·'
she is leaving. Now my kindred this is

ha't·e e·laehɔ'sieŋg pi·pi·'li· awe·'n
how a way here we can take action first one person and another

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796 ha'·t·e e'lowe·t' yu'ni· a· alɔwi·ɨ'. cuk' kwun·a'eke
539 a plan here to say "This here is better." But at last
773 ə'nda ki·ca'kenɥta'ɛ·i·k lo'we·n mani·ha'wɔna ni·'ca'
when it was considered in council, it was said we will make two

ɔp'akwi·' wucki'ŋgɔ ɔk naholi·' cakhukwi·'yan ɔk
corn shucks face-masks and including coat and

kako·'nɔn we·'mi ɔp'akwi·ɨ·'. yu'kwe e'nxɔn a'cɔwi·
leggings all corn husks. Now each change of

ga'xtiŋg mae'hel·a·n ɔk ha'·t·e·tc ɔk ki·'ci·ma·n
year . we will gather and there will be a plan and they will be selected

awe·'ni·k' nenu'nami''ti·t' yu'ni· la·'ke·yɔ'kan.
people who will own and control this ceremony.

Ni·ca' lə'n·owak pi·pi·'nawɔn i'k·a elhala''ti·t'
Two men are chosen who shall wear

ne·'li·l mwe'hɔmwi·ha'lɔwe·s ehalkwi·'tci· kexu'k·wɔni·
the excrement rubbers clothes, costume for a few days

a'pa·ma·'mehel·e·'yɔk e·li·'k'hat·iŋ. we·hɔma·'s·uwɔk
they go about neighborhood. They notify the people

li·' me·'tci· gici·'m'kɔt' ehel·ɔk'hi'k·wi· la·'k·e·t'
that now is arranged by rule the time for ceremony

nani·awe·'n ne·nɔnu·'nɔŋg neni·' xaskwi·'mi·
by that person who controls that corn

la·k'eyɔ'k·an. ɔk ə'nda tɔ't·a awe·'n ngi·'skaɔt'
festival celebration. And when any one meet with

ne·'li·l mwe''hɔmwi·ha·lɔwe·s·a' e·'li· mhi't·aɔŋge's·axpu
that excrement rubber because he rides horseback

ma't·a awe·'n ke'ko mi·'lat·e kwi·la'elek' we·'mi·
so one anything gives him without a doubt all

elki·'k'·si·t' cahu'k·u mwi·' e·'li· na'ni·-
over his person will be rubbed with excrement because that

ci·'xkɔndj li·'xɔn.
established rule.

me·'tci· a'pa'mi·ta ə'nda kwu't·ɔt·sɔ'nd·e·k ŋa'
Now about when one week then

mae'hol·a·n nalɔn·e'' wani·' lɔn·a'pe elowe'ldaŋg
they gather that is what the Delaware call

mwe'hɔmwi·halɔwe's kɔnt'ke'uhe·n. lɔ'mwe a''powɔk
excrement-rubber made him dance. Long ago there were

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lə'n·owak we'ɔtu'xti·t' ne"li·'l asuwa'k·an·a ne'n'
men who knew those songs that

hakałkɔ't·ak. ɔk a'po·'pan·i·k pu'tcəl·ak yu'kwe
were used. And used to have ushers.[1] Here

we·'mi· me'hmi·'tciŋg n'haka'łkət cuk' sa'p·a·n
all kinds of food is used but hominy

pi·'pe·'k·a sa·'psi·n na'lənen naxpale·'tama·n ə'nda
very thin hominy is cooked that is what is raised up the prayer when

wi·'nowa'mənd' na'ni· kahe·'s·ɔna xa'skwi·m. tɔ't·a
they are pleading that our mother corn. As long

se·ka'usi·t' wa'ni· elha'k·e·t' wunɔ·'xtun. me·'tci
as he is living the controller (of the ceremony) will carry it on. Now

ə'nda wi·ka'usi·t' natc' tami·'məsəm·a tɔ'nhuk'-
when the end of life (died) these his children handed

ɔma'ɔn wu'ndji· ekala'mi· e'laŋgoma'tci·'
down from that on according to relationship

yukwe' me·'tci ə'nda aləmi·' ma'ohiŋg a'po'wak
Here now when beginning the dance there are

xkwe·'yak ɔk lə'n·owak wi·'xani'xti·t·'. ə'nda me·'tci·
women and men who do cooking. When now

lact'pu·'kwi·k' na' laha'p·a xa'n·di·n wa'ni·
midnight then stop they pass food to eat the

elha'k·e·t' ɔk elaŋgo·'matci· ɔk nah·el·i·' ne·'ki·k'
master-of-ceremony and his kindred and also those

pu'tcelak təli·' xaŋge·ne·'yɔ'. me·'tci· e'nda ki'ci·
ushers for they pass the food around. Now when finished

mi·tsa''tiŋg na' la'p·i· aləma'ohi·n e·'li· naneli·'xan
eating then again they begin dancing because it is rule

li·' ɔ'p·an·aohi·n.
to dance till morning.

Nace·' wa'ni· kikwi·awe·'n pe·m'tu'nhe·t' lo'we·
There the old person to do talking says

me·'tci· kɔ'p·an·axi·nhɔ'm·ən·a ge'həl·a wani'ci· ə'nda
"Now we see daylight very indeed thankful because

[1] The same as the office of *a'cka·s*, attendant, in the Big House ceremony. The ushers belong to the same ceremonial group (Wolf, Turkey or Tortoise) as the controller or master of ceremonies. They are generally men who are not capable of taking more serious parts in the dances.

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ne'eŋg	xą'san·a	təli·'	la'p·i·	ɔxe·'tam·ako·'ne·n	
we see	our brother [the sun]	because	again	he gives us light	
we·'mi·	elama·'kami·k.	ɔk	ci·'ki·	e'nda	wəla·'tena-
all	over the world.	And	very nice	when	we are in good
mi·'eŋg	wuni·t'pų·'kwe	e'nda	wi·'tauhi·'meŋg·'		wa'ni·
spirits	all night long	when	we dance with		that
gahe'·ə·na	xa'skwi·m.	ɔk	la'p·i·	gaxti'ŋge	aye'ma-
our mother	corn.	And	again	in a year	if we should
pe·'tci·	wəlama'ki·e'ŋgwè		pe·'tci·	ma'e	wimbone·'-
come	we are well		arriving	come to	we shall
mawəna	na'ni·	elha'k·e·t'	ɔk	kwi·'tci·	wi·nowe'hən·a
sympathize	that	master-of-ceremony	and	with help	we beg a blessing
we'ndji·aik	mehemi·'tciŋg	ɔk	yu'ni·	lən·a'p·eyɔ'k·an	
where belongs	food	and	this	Delaware soul	
ɔk	anahal·e·'	we·'mi·	ke'ko	gi·'celəmu'kuk.	te'pi·
and	also	all	things	created.	This will
laha'p·a	wəla·'ha	xa'n·e·	kahe·'li·	ke'ko	ge·'ski·
be all for now	although	there is yet	many	things	I could
a·	lowe·'ya	cuk'	kə'təmaksi·'hənа.	na'ne	ci·'xkandj
to	say	but	we are pitiful, poor.	That	is all
me·'tci·	gaski·'	ləs·i·'ne·n.		yu	wani'ci·.
now	can	do under the circumstances.		Now	I thank you.

Free Translation.

Long ago in the beginning of the world we have heard from our ancient deceased how they said the corn went away. All of a sudden it gradually began to lessen and things grew more and more miserable. Many people were in need of food because for a long time the corn was the principal nourishment among all the grains, fruits and even meat.

Deplorable indeed and pitiful were all the people. Whereupon in perplexity as to what might be thought of to do, it was said among our ancient ancestors, "Let us gather together all the people into council as to what can be done to plead with our mother so that she will not leave us forever." From this originated in the beginning the custom among the Delawares of the excrement-daubers. It was said, we have offended our "mother," that is the reason why she is leaving

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us. Now, kindred, this is the way in which we can take action, first one person's idea then another's saying "This one is better." But at last when it had been pondered in council it was declared that we should make two corn husk face-masks, and a coat and leggings all of cornhusks. Now at each change of the years we shall gather and carry out a way so that certain people will be selected who will own and control this ceremony.

Two men are chosen who shall wear the excrement-daubers' costume, to go through the neighborhood for a few days. They notify the people that now according to the rulings is the time for the ceremony by that individual who has charge of the Corn Festival ceremony, and when anyone is encountered, as they ride about on horseback, who shall give nothing to them infallibly he shall be rubbed over with excrement because that is the established ruling.

Now in about one week they gather together for what the Delawares call the Excrement-dauber dance. Long ago there were men who knew these songs that were required. And they used to have ushers. Here all kinds of food were used, but especially hominy made very thin; cooked hominy is what was offered with the prayer when they were pleading with our "mother" Corn. As long as he was living the controller of the ceremony would carry it out. Then when he reached the end of his life his children handed it down from then on according to relationship.

Here now when the dance was beginning there were women and men who did the cooking. And now when it was midnight they would stop and pass around the food to eat, the master of the ceremony his kindred and also the ushers passing the food around. So when they had finished eating then they began dancing again, because it was the rule to dance until morning.

Then the old person appointed to do the talking would say, "Now that we see daylight we are very thankful indeed because we see our elder brother (the sun) as he again gives us light all over the world. And it is grand when we are in good spirits after dancing all night long with her who is our

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
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X 796 539 "mother," Corn. And again in a year if we should come together and if we are well as we come, we shall sympathize with the controller of the ceremony and help him beg a blessing from whence comes the source of food and the soul of the Delaware and all created things. This is all for now although there are yet many things that I could say, but we are so pitiful. This is all that I can do now under the circumstances. Now I thank you."

THE MESSENGERS OF THE CORN HARVEST FEAST

lə'mwe wunda''kwi· wehe'ndji·ɔ'p·aŋg e•lai·'k·e•t·e
Long ago back in the east dwelt when

wa'ni· lən·a'p·e ahi·' xe•lənau''ki· ha't·e•p' e•lha'k·e•t'.
the Delawares very were many kinds as to their ceremonies.

yukwe' me•'tci· təma•'ksu e•'li· a'hi· me•'tci· nunda''-
Here now miserable because very now lacking

həma•. cu'kwund di·'hilale•'pwəm'p'ke•'nen lə'mwenɔ'tci·
in strength. But then we have been cautioned long ago since

ki·kayo'yəmənə'niŋga lowe'yəkhaŋg kwən·a'e•k·etc'
our ancestors past who said it is said, finally we will be

kwi·lalə's·u wa'ni· lənə'p·e na'lən·e e•lowe'si·k
unable the Delaware, that is what they called

kwi·łko''na wa'ni· weɔ'p·si·t'.
we are being swallowed, overcome the white men.

kwut·enau''ki· e•lhak·e•'təp' wam·' lənap·e lowe'su
One kind ceremony that was the Delawares called

mwe'həmwi·ha•'ləwe•s. mɔ'ohowa'k·an aləwi·'haŋg
Excrement Rubber. His dance ceremony more than said

kwu't·ənəa'nde• pəma'mehəl·e•'yək ni·'ca mwe'həmwi·-
one week[1] they travel about two Excrement

ha•'ləwe•s·ak. we•'həm·a's·uwak we•'mi· e•'li·k'ha't·iŋg
Rubbers. They notify them all the neighborhood

təli·'' me•'tci· we'ndja'ki·ne•'yo ɔk wunda'ə·u ki·'-
that now they prepare and set the

ekwi·k· e•'lki·'kwi· aləmi·'hil·a•k' ne'ni· e•lhak·e•''ti·t'.
day how when begin that the ceremony.

[1] Literally "one Sunday."

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ɔk m'hi·'t·e hnaɔ'ŋge"a'po'wak haŋg" ə'n·da 716 x
And they go on horseback it was said. When 539

pəmɔ·ka''t·i·t' we"'mi· yu'li·ł eha'kwi·'t·tci· wa'ni·
traveling all these his garments that

mwe'həmwi·ha"'ləwe"s ə'p'skɔ' wundji·ta'wanu'. ɔk
Excrement-Rubber corn shucks made of. And

a'cəwi·luŋgho's·u xe"s·i·nu't·e nane'ni· tə'ndalə'n·əmən
across his shoulder skin pouch in that he carries

mwi·'. awe"'ni· e'n·da gi·'skaɔt' enha'o ta'k'ta
excrement. Anyone when he meets he must be paid anything

ke'ko i·'l·i· taŋgi't·i· ɔk awe"'n ciŋge"'nhe"t·e
something even a small amount, and the person if he refuses to pay

mwi·ha"'la e"'li· na'ni· ci·'xkandj la"ko"'wi· ne'ni·
excrement rubbed with because that is the rule that

la"k·eyɔ'k·an. ɔk a'pa"'mi·ta naxo'k·wuni· a'pa"ma'-
performance. And about three days they run

mehel·e"'yɔk ne"'ki·k' mwe'həmwi·ha"'ləwe"s·ak natc'
about those Excrement-Rubbers that

kandj aləmi·ma'ohi·n. ge'hel·a ke"'təmakawe'ni·ya
before [they] begin to dance. Surely I am pitiful

akw" ga's·ki· mayaɔ'xkənu"t·amu'wan wəl·a'haxa'ne"
not can I am unable to relate correctly the detail although

eli·hiləs·ta'o "gi·kayo'yəma lowe"'haŋg" ə'n·da
I have heard my ancient parent always say, said when

taxkɔ'k·iŋg di·'hilak'hi'k·wi· ka'nt'ka"n na'ni·
in the fall is the time how they dance that

mwe'həmwi·ha"'ləwe"s e"'li· na'neni·' di'hilak'hi'kwi·
Excrement-Rubber because that there is the time

ki·'ci·k·ənami·'n awe"'n wi·'lawə's·a. cela'hanen
they raise anyone his grain, individual crop. That is what

i·'hilak·əno't·asu ne' la"ke"'yən.
they related about that performance.

Free Translation.

Long ago back in the east where dwelt the Delawares there were many different kinds of ceremony but here it is pitiful because now strength is sadly lacking. But never-

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796 theless we have been cautioned for a long time by our deceased
539 fore-parents who declared, it is said, that finally the Delawares will become incompetent, that is, as they called it, we are being swallowed by the white man.

One kind of ceremony there was, called by the Delawares, Excrement Rubbing Dance. For more than a week, it is said, two Excrement Rubbers travel about to notify all those in the neighborhood that now they are preparing and the day is set upon which will begin that ceremony. And they go on horseback, it is said, when traveling. All that they [292] wear, these Excrement-daubers, is made of corn shucks. And across his shoulder is a skin-pouch in which he carries excrement. When he meets any one he must be paid with something even though it be a small amount [5] and any one refusing to pay is rubbed with excrement because that is the rule for that performance. And for about three days they run about, those Excrement-daubers, before they begin to dance. Truly am I pitiful that I cannot narrate correctly the details although I have heard my old parent always say, in the autumn, is the time when the Excrement-daubers dance because that is the time when the people harvest their grain crop. That is how the performance was described.

[5] A ribbon, a pin, or a piece of tobacco would serve.

PRAYER TO AVERT THUNDER

The appearance of a menacing storm cloud approaching causes the resort to prayer and the performance of a simple rite to avert danger from wind and lightning. The individual takes an ax, marks it with a cross on the blade by means of mud or paint, or anything at hand that shows up, and sticks the handle in the ground or stands it upright so that the blade will then, he believes, split the body of the storm cloud and cause it to divide and pass by on each side harmlessly.[1] When the act is performed he prays and if there is time smokes a pipe of tobacco as a "sacrifice."

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[788]

Thunder Prayer

Wani'ci	moxo^{w}'msa^{a}	pe't'hak'o'we	ɔk	ke^{e}'pi·
I thank you	Grandfather	Thunder	and	you also
mani'tû	kek'ca'xən·o^{w}'ke^{e}s	kəwi·'nowa'məł	təli·'	
Spirit	Wind.	I beg of you	that	
pal·i·'i·	pəma'·s·ka^{a}ne^{e}'yɔ	təma'ke^{e}ləmi·'ne^{e}n	k't'tami·'-	
somewhere else	you walk (go by, pass).	have pity on us	your	
məsəm	ka't·ci·	ap'hi'k·ai·'heŋg	kəne'i·hinɑ	
children.	Do not	run over us (to go over one's land).	You see us	
kət·əmak'si·'hinɑ	moxo^{w}'msa^{a}	naxpaŋgo^{w}'mələn	wa'ni·	
we are pitiful	Grandfather.	we sacrifice	him	
nəmoxo^{w}'məna	k'ca^{a}'ta'	ɔk	kəne^{e}'mən	yu'ni· pe^{e}
our grandfather	tobacco.	And	you see	this being
ki·ci·'xiŋ	təm·hi·'k·an	na'ni	li·'m'kət	təli·' paxsi·-
prepared	ax	the	custom	because it will split
taho'k·wun	ma't·a	paxke^{e}'yane	ce^{e}la'han·en	
you in two	if not	you turn your course, go some other way	that is	
təli·'xto^{w}n	ki·ce^{e}ləmu'k·ɔŋg	wu'ndji	wata^{a}'k'^{w}	
how it was ordained by	Creator	whence	it is known	

[1] I hardly need refer to the wide diffusion of this custom in eastern North America. Without having made a definite search for it I may refer to having heard it mentioned from the Naskapi (Mistassini) of the Labrador peninsula, through the Iroquois (also F. W. Waugh) and Mohegan, southward to the Catawba. It is known also among the negro freedmen of the Cherokee Nation. [771]

782 tami·'mǫsǝm e'laehɔ'ǝ·i·t' ǝ'nda hwi·'t·aŋg maxta'n'to
539 your children what to do when he is in fear of Evil Spirit

mu't·aehɔǝ·uwa'k·an. kǝlǝǝ·tai·'ne·n tami·'mǫsǝm
destructiveness. You listen to our pleading your children

moxo·msa'tuk na'ne ci·'xkandj ŋga'ski·lǝ'ǝ·i·n
Grandfathers. That is all I can do

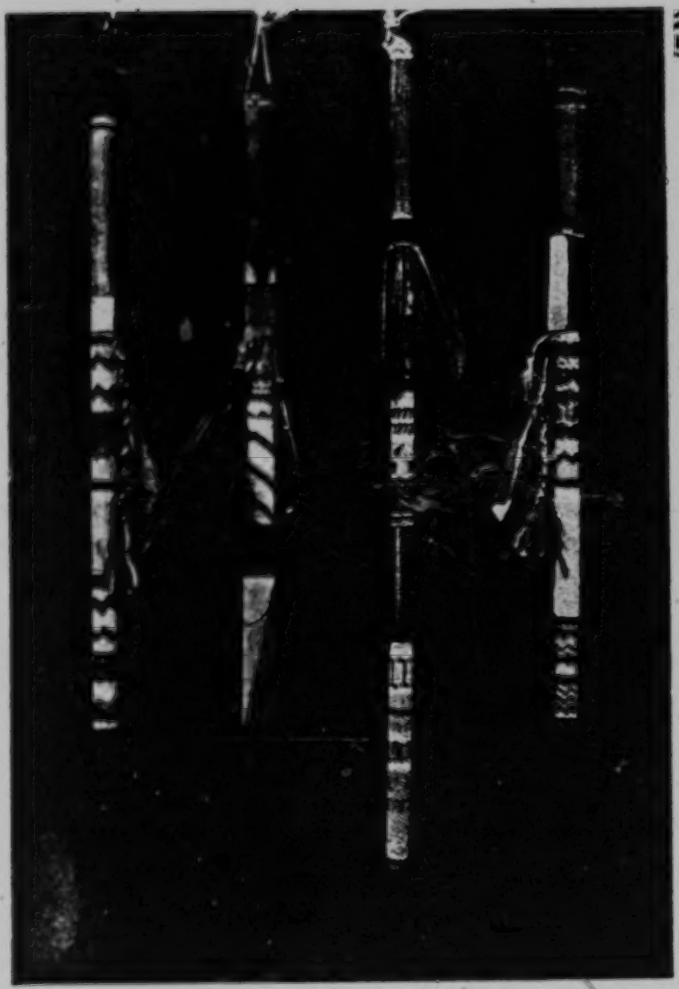
ke·'tomakawe·'ni·ya. la'p'i· ndǝ'lǝwe' wani'ci·.
poor me. Again I say thanks.

Free Translation.

I thank you, Grandfather Thunder, and you also, Spirit-Force Wind. I beg of you that you pass by and go somewhere else. Have pity on us your children. Do not run over our land. You see us how pitiful we are, Grandfather. We offer to you, him our Grandfather Tobacco. And you see this ax being prepared according to the custom. It will split you in two if you do not go another way. That is how it was ordained by the Creator wherefore it is known among your children, Grandfathers. That is all I can do, poor me. Again I say, I thank you.

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

PLATE 3



DECORATED WANDS USED BY LEADERS IN SOCIAL DANCES. (Eighteen to twenty inches in length, decorated with bead covering, paint and feather and yarn pendants.) (Photo by F. G. Speck.)

[FACING p. 93]

SOCIAL OR "STOMP" DANCES

No treatment of Delaware ceremonies and dances could 535
be considered complete without mention of the Social or 174
Round Dances, even allowing for the inevitable ignorance which will always exist in matters so intimate in the life of preliterate peoples. The performances are inseparable from many of the more serious rites as an aftermath to the devotional period for which the assemblies are specifically called. The Round Dances seem to be general properties of the eastern and southeastern tribes. One gets the impression from observing their performance that there has been extensive informal diffusion of this type of dance from some older center of ceremonial development in which they were once symbol rites of a more serious nature. I would hazard a guess that they may have arisen from the ceremonial institutions of some groups in the southeastern culture area and been carried far and wide to those sections of the country where we now find them. In recent times the Delawares indulged extensively in these dances, and when questioned as to their possible earlier history, they profess to know no more than that they are early acquired property of the Nation supposedly from the Creeks and Shawnee. Analysis of the song types by Dr. Herzog may afford a clue. My 535
study has not included more detailed treatment of social dances than plain description. At present they cannot be considered as possessing ulterior religious motives. Whatever they are, more specific attention as a group is called for. They are circular in movement, contra-clockwise, in single and double lines conducted by a leader. The particulars are given under the title headings. The names that the separate dances of this category possess are possibly indicative of southeastern sources, for instance there is the Stirrup Dance in which at a given period the woman side-partner of the man places one foot upon his instep as he dances next to her, both hopping along for an interval on one foot. Another is

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535 the Cherokee Dance, others the Shawnee Dance, the Woman's Dance and so on, differentiated chiefly through their songs, all falling under the classification of Stomp, Social, or Round Dances, the favorites of the various tribes now domiciled in Oklahoma.

STOMP DANCE, *Ni·ka·'n'ka·n*, "LEADING DANCE"

534 The procedure normally among the Delawares in carrying
535 out the features of the widespread Lead, or Stomp Dance, seems to be for the leader to head the column of dancers without shaking time with the hand rattle. The drum is not called for. Despite the supposition that these dances emanated from the cultural influence of the Creeks, it appears that, unlike the latter, the Delawares did not show the feature of having the women, who dance immediately behind the leader, wear the cluster of tortoise shell leg-rattles. Nevertheless a specimen of Box Tortoise shell (Plate 4), arranged to be tied to the leg of a dancer was obtained in Oklahoma from Tom Long Bone who indicated that it had been worn attached to the leg of a dance-leader in social dances.

The garter rattle of deer hoofs attached to a leather strip tied below each knee around the leg is shown in Fig. 3. The hoofs are strung around the leather on thongs, two or three in each cluster. This jingler is asserted to have been worn only in Social dances by Joe Washington who owned it. Another specimen, from Wi·tapano'xwe, has a cluster of thirty pendant deer hoofs strung in the center half of the leather leg band eight inches long and three wide with double tie strings (Pl. 4).

525 The major personage of these dances is the *ne'ni·ka·'nka·s*, "dance leader," whose function is to head the line of dancers of both sexes and all ages who follow him in single file as he leads in a circle turning from right to left. The Delaware
293 dance leader may also employ a short decorated stick or wand
535 held upward in the hand to accent his movements. Some
532 six or seven specimens of the leaders' wands, obtained from the Washington family, are interesting and beautiful. They range between two and two and a half feet in length, decorated

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FIG. 2. DELAWARE DANCE LEADER'S STAFF, decorated with symbolical beadwork, [illegible] pendants and yarn (length, eighteen inches).

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[Facing p. 16]

Poses Showing Manner of Using Rattles in Rites.

Left, Turtle shell hand rattle as held in Dream Recitation Rite. Right, Deer hoof knee or garter rattles as worn in Social Dances.
(Photo by F. S. Speck.)

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with carving, paint, tightly woven diagonal-technique beadwork, and feather pendants, single or in small clusters, as the illustrations show (Fig. 2). The carving is usually in block form, the exposed wood painted blue, yellow, or red, and the beadwork designed as it is on staffs used in the Peyote rites, all showing the influence of Peyote symbolism in their decoration. The feathers attached are usually those of the flicker (yellow shafted woodpecker) to denote the sacred power invested in this bird which has a black moon-marked breast, and sometimes parrot feathers obtained from the traders. On one specimen a strip of soft muskrat fur around the staff represented an admonition to "be polite," at the dance, avoiding loudness and vulgarity which might cause trouble.

According to the occasion, his musical equipment may be a hand-rattle. His lead songs are of the type in which a measure is sung by him alone when the dancers respond with a corresponding shorter measure in which the syllables vary only somewhat. These dances are most popular and seem to be growing in favor among the Indians of Oklahoma. In fact, within the last four or five years Delaware dance leaders have introduced them among the Osage, as is the case of Tom Half Moon himself.

While we have as yet no detailed accounts of such social-ceremonial pastimes among the still practicing groups to serve as a basis for comparative treatment, I can testify to having observed them over a wide area in the east, indeed from the Penobscot, and other Wabanaki of the northeast, and the Iroquois and Shawnee to the Cherokee, Creek and Yuchi of the Gulf area. The purpose, however, is not to discuss them here. The known history of many of these dances throughout the area proves a case of diffusion from tribe to tribe as they are deliberately carried by visiting dance leaders. We have knowledge of a number of introductions among the Iroquois from colonial times to the present.

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FIG. 3. DEER HOOF KNEE OR GARTER RATTLES WORN BY MEN IN SOCIAL DANCES (length, twelve inches). (Collection of S. W. Pennypacker.)

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TURKEY DANCE

535 One of the performances of the Stomp Dance complex is remembered as bearing the name *Tci·kənə'm'ka"n*, "Turkey Dance." In this the leader, while going around, waves his hands as a sign that it is time for the women desiring to enter to join in with the men whom they have selected as partners. There seem to be no other particulars worthy of mention in connection with this as a special feature of a social dance as described by Joe Washington.

BEAN DANCE

Another specific performance in the Stomp Dance series was described as *Ma"lax"si·'tka"n*, "Bean Dance," in which the leader carried a gourd rattle, while those who formed the dance line linked themselves by holding hands from the beginning throughout the dance.

DRUNKEN DANCE

The last dance of a night series is one in which the assembly, after circling around the fire as in the usual manner of the lead-dances, follows the leader (outdoors) to disband in view of the first streaks of light as the dawn approaches. Its movement is to bunch up in a cluster. The action is for two leaders to carry water-drums followed by two singers with gourd rattles circling the fire. As the song proceeds the men close in around the drummers forming in a bunch. The women dancers form a circle outside the men and join in the song. The movement of the dance and the song slows down. It is to be noted that some of the song stanzas are "rather sarcastic or saucy, sort of scornful between the sexes in a playful way" in the quaint phraseology of the informant.

This dance is the formal termination of a succession of social dances. The drums are thus formally "carried out," their service concluded for the night. I am not able to explain why it is called by the specific name that it bears.

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CEREMONIAL GAMES

The Moccasin Game Ceremony

Tci·pa'zkwi nal·ə'ti·n "Moccasin Game."—Within recent 524 generations, probably since the Delawares have resided in the west, as tradition notes, the Moccasin Game was played in this Nation as a pastime. But since the memory of the now living older people its performance as an amusement has stopped and the game has become associated only with the rites performed upon the occasion of funerals. Again disintegration of old customs has relegated its performance to nothing more than a memory, as we are told by Joe Washington that to his knowledge the last time this game had been carried out in connection with the funeral ceremony was about 1910. The Delaware form of this widespread Indian game ceremony is described from his memory in the following terms.

The Delawares played a moccasin game under the management of two men as leaders who were not members of the same ceremonial group (Tortoise, Wolf, Turkey) as the deceased person at whose funeral rite the performance took place. These men were usually the pall-bearers, and against them as opponents were two women of a similar classification. These pairs did the guessing for their respective sides. They built a fire in the stove and played the game all night. In the game four moccasins were provided by each side, and the object, a cartridge, small bone or a bullet, was hidden beneath the moccasins by each side in turn, the whereabouts of which was guessed at by the opposite side. The players, male and female, sat on opposite sides of the room in the house where the corpse lay. Each side had the four moccasins spread out side by side on the floor in front of its chief player. To one side sat the drummers who sang the moccasin game songs during the performance using the water-drum. Each side had its own songs which were sung by the drummers during

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524 the time when it held the guessing hand. There was also a man appointed on each side to keep score by means of counter sticks. When the cartridge, bone or bullet was hidden by the leaders of one party, the leader of the opposite side had to guess under which moccasin it was concealed. The guessing was indicated by means of finger signs, a wave of the open hand to the right or to the left meant either of the end moccasins, by lowering the third finger of the pointing hand the third moccasin from the left was denoted, by lowering the first finger the second was indicated. The leaders, when the opposite side was guessing, endeavored to confuse their opponents by deceptive motions. Every time a successful guess was made as to the whereabouts of a hidden object, that is, under which of the four moccasins it had been concealed by the party holding the guess, a stick was placed on a pile by the score-keeper totaling the number of successful guesses of his party. The number of counters required to win is not now remembered. Every time that one side guessed successfully the particular moccasin under which the object was concealed, the turn to hide it reverted to the opposite side. And, with each inning completed, the men of the winning side rose and danced around the room once or twice to the tune of a victory song to celebrate its achievement. We have to note, however, that after the moccasin game had ceased to be an independent form of winter and spring amusement and had become attached to funeral celebrations, the dancing, after each winning period, was discontinued out of respect for the deceased. In the arrangement of the parties forming the two opposite sides of the game, one group faced east, the other west. It seems as though the game were a symbol of contest between the two opposing quarters and
[763] that an element of divination belonged to it. We are told in this connection that if the east side defeated the west side in the evening's performance it was a sign of coming misfortune; that some one in the company would die within the year. Washington added that this portent associated with the game was one of the causes for its discontinuation about twenty years ago. Some other details of the moccasin game

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among the Delawares are provided from his memory. They may serve as a base of comparison with the type of performance recorded among other tribes of the same cultural group when time comes to consider the history of the game. We learn, for instance, that the players started with four moccasins on each side but that towards morning the women took away one moccasin, leaving them three under which to hide the cartridge or bullet. Later, in the early hours of the morning another moccasin was taken away, later another until only one remained on each side and the players were unable to continue. One of the older women, Mrs. Minnie Fouts, who had taken part in this rite, corroborated the information of Joe Washington and added some of the details put on record. As the moccasins were taken away one by one during the course of the night, it was a signal for a change in the repertoire of songs in the series. It was added in explanation of taking away the moccasins that the men were induced to cease the game by this gradual method, lest they play too long. The element of wagering on the outcome of the moccasin game was stricken out when the game came to be used in the funeral rite, though previously betting was carried on by the Delawares when the game was an independent celebration for amusement. The reason for introducing the moccasin game into the funeral program was to provide a means of keeping the party awake and in good spirits while they were sitting up with the dead person during the nights between the time of decease and burial. Levity was customary during the playing of the game, yet this did not seem to interfere with the spirit of the funeral, it being intended to lighten the grief of those who were paying their last duties to the deceased.[1]

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THE RING AND PIN GAME

Koko'lac (meaning not clear).—The following game, the name of which is not as descriptive as it might be although

[1] In the account of the Moccasin Game given by R. C. Adams ("Legends of the Delaware Indians," Washington, 1905, p. 47), some of the songs accompanying the rite are transcribed. It is doubtful whether any more of these scores could be secured at the present time.

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524 used to denote a game of extremely wide distribution throughout northern North America and retaining a uniform type wherever found, is common among the Delawares. At the present time it is played for amusement by persons of both sexes and all ages during the evenings in winter time. This, too, is regarded as a pastime for those who are born in winter, one that is thought to bring on cold stormy weather the ensuing day. Herein lies its ceremonial character.

To a sharpened stick or bone is fastened a leather string some twenty inches long at the other end of which is fixed the tail of a rabbit. On the string are threaded five hollow cones, the wider ends open toward the stick. For the want of sufficient native material the Delawares make these cones by hollowing out and tapering common spools. In former times they were the phalanges of the deer. In the specimens figured one is constructed with spools, the other with sections of some animals' leg bones. The object of the play is to swing the cones in the air, catching as many as possible on the end of the pointed stick. Each player repeats the attempt to impale these cones until he misses three times. For each cone caught on the stick he receives a count of one. The players keep count of their totals by memory. The winning total is decided upon at the beginning of the game, it may be 15, 25, 50 or 100 points. Small wagers are laid upon the [525] outcome, the player to reach the total first taking the stakes. To catch the rabbit's tail counts nothing.

[171] I hardly need comment upon the wide distribution of this game from the Pacific to the Atlantic and as far south as the Plains unbrokenly across North America, even in archaeological levels of considerable historical depth as Dr. Strong's findings indicate (Strong, op. cit., p. 192).

CEREMONIAL DOLLS

778 *Oxta's*, "Doll or Plaything."—The privilege of making dolls as toys out of cornhusks is denied children. The reason [777 753] is that corn is too sacred to be trifled with. To violate this would bring on bad luck in the form of sickness. Only those in whose family inheritance the obligation to make and to perform in ceremony with such creations are permitted to

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construct likenesses of the human figure. This belief is illustrated in the rite of the Doll Dance. When figures of cornhusk are to be made they should be made by a person born in summer, the season of growing corn, such an individual being known as *si·'kwan mi·'mqs*, "spring child." Persons, however, who are born in winter may make toys in the image of the emblem of their ceremonial group, though to do so is apt to bring on cold weather. It is believed that such action is apt to anger the spirit controlling the winter, namely, *Lowane'ke·s*, "Winter Spirit." As an example of the operation of privilege and restriction in such matters we have the case of a person of the Turkey group born in winter, who could make the image of a turkey, chicken, duck or goose out of cornstalks or cornhusks decorating it in correspondence with its nature as a bird by attaching feathers to it. This may be suspended in the dwelling by means of a string so that the wind will blow the image about. Those who observe it would remark, "Oh, you are trying to break the weather." In short, those born in summer can only exert influence through the making of images upon the creatures of the summer, for winter-born persons to make them is pernicious.

DICE AND BOWL GAME

Mama'n'di·n, "Gathering Dice Together." — Another amusement which among the Delawares took on the significance of a minor ceremony, was the game in which a wooden bowl and seven dice cut out of bone, mussel shells or peach seeds to produce outlines of turtles, horses' heads, one side in natural color, the other stained black, and other forms not well remembered as to detail. For some reason the Delawares have abandoned this pastime, although it has continued strongly among tribes whose native culture has become more thoroughly disintegrated. Even the details of the counting have been forgotten. Men and women indulged in the Dice and Bowl game for the purpose of wagering, the stakes being placed at one side before the opening of the game. The players sat in a circle around the bowl which rested on a folded blanket, each taking his turn by lifting the bowl off the blanket and bringing it down violently to cause

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the dice to fall at hazard. The counts depended upon the number of dice that fell with the same color up. We might imagine that the scoring color combination would be similar to those of related tribes who retain the game, yet lacking direct testimony on the point these particulars cannot be reconstructed. The number of counts gained by each player was recorded by his accumulating a pile of beans representing his total. Brinton records some particulars of the Canadian Delaware phase of the game.[1]

GAME OF JACK STRAWS

Sela'xti·'k·ana (*sela''ta·n*), "Scattering Straws."—The following game so closely resembles the European game of jack-straws that at first glance it might be summarily concluded to be of this derivation, nevertheless I would hesitate to speak too positively on this point in view of a number of distinct features connected with it which seem to belong in the realm of native thought. The furnishings of the game are fifty plain straws, smooth sections of bog grass about eight inches in length obtained by cutting the stems between the joints. To this number are fifteen additional straws marked by being burnt with a hot iron to produce dots, spirals and dashes. The count value of the marked straws begins at 5 and ends at 75. The devices which indicate their values seem to have formal character and I have indicated in the accompanying sketch the values assigned to them according to the advice of several informants in the Nation who still play the game, and with whom I engaged in it. The object of the game is to throw the straws upon a blanket folded to form a playing table in the middle of the habitation, and to remove the sticks one by one by means of a quill, the thick end of which has been bent into a hook. In removing the straws from the pile the player must avoid stirring the other straws in the slightest degree, to do so causes him to miss and the next player to the right takes his turn. All the straws obtained by each player are kept in a pile, the plain straws counting one point and the marked ones adding their

[1] D. G. Brinton, "Folk-Lore of the Modern Lenape," Essays of an Americanist, Philadelphia, 1890, p. 186.

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combined values. The winning score is decided upon at the beginning of the game, 100 being the usual goal. The manner of holding the straws is interesting. The entire bundle in which the plain and marked straws are shuffled is held between

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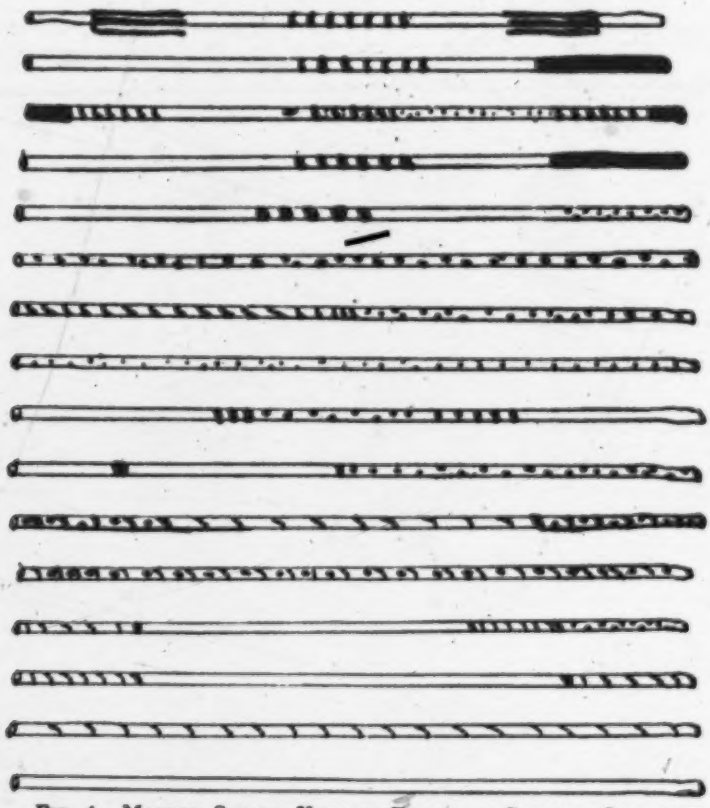

FIG. 4. MARKED STRAWS USED IN DELAWARE GAME OF JACKSTRAWS. From bottom up plain straw counts one, marked straws from five to seventy-five, by quinary and quindecimal symbols.

the palms a little above the blanket then dropped. They fall in confusion and the picking out then begins by the one who cast them, each player casting his own straws. Wagering may be indulged in and men and women may take part.

The person securing the lowest score forfeits a blanket or

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money, or as a minor stake the penalty is to cut wood for the owner of the house where it is played or for the winner, or to go on an errand, or to butcher a hog for him the next day, as the case may be.

This game has its limitations of performance inasmuch as it is proper only for those born in winter to engage in it and it is only played in the winter time, with the result that it brings on storms of sleet and blizzards. For these preferences to be violated would bring on bad luck.

The markings on the straws valued from 5 to 75, are indicated in the accompanying sketch.

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MISCELLANEOUS RITES

The Scratching Rite for Warriors

In the nature of an ordeal by which the man of strength showed his courage when preparing to go to war or to enter one of the physical contests, we learn that he scratched himself on the body. In the same operation he purified himself. Tradition is vague on the details, but in this rite we meet with one that is of apparently southern origin in view of its almost universal observance among the Indians of the southeastern or Gulf area. Our information does not permit of much discussion of the spiritual or physical qualities of this heroic practice, therefore it will have to stand simply as an occurrence to be noted in the study of distribution of the scratching rite as one of therapeusis and purification. It is called *le'həli·k'ci·'k·an*, "scratching."

The rite is mentioned by Lindeström as practiced medicinally by the Delawares in the middle of the seventeenth century for the purpose of relieving pain and fatigue after a strenuous journey, and also as a means of preventing them before one.[1] A piece of flint was the scarifying agent. *Wi·tapano'zwe* had heard that a fish bone had also been used, but there were no particulars given as to how the instrument was constructed.[2]

In 1756 John McCullough was held captive by the Delawares and adopted by them. During his captivity he observed many customs of importance. Among them he writes of being subjected to a punishment intended for mischievous boys in which the miscreant was scratched on the thighs and legs with the bill of a gar-fish wrapped in a thin rag so that the teeth projected through. Sometimes, he added, if punishment were merited a second or third time, the corrector would score the boys from the top of the shoulder down to the wrists and again from each shoulder to the hip, forming a

[1] Lindeström, *op. cit.*, 244. (Ed. A. Johnson, Philadelphia, 1925.)

[2] Bone scarifiers are known to the Cherokee and Catawba of the Carolinas.

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861 cross on the back. We can see in this rite a parallel to the information we already have concerning the practice of scratching the body with the teeth of some kind of fish.[1]

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THE SCRATCHING CEREMONY

yu'kwe nda'yaxkənu't·əmən e·'hele·k lɔ'mwe
Now I am relating how those performances long ago

ə'nda e·lowę'si·k' do·'p·ali·n ni·kani·'xiŋgi·k' i·la·'ɔk'
when it was called scouting. The leading warriors

maeŋge·'yɔk' a'kənu't·as·u e·'loweŋg pənahɔ'k·i·en
called together a council, they talked about what is called exploring

ci·'takɔ do·'p·ali·n ɔk a'kəni·ma'n ski·no'wɑk'
or scouting and they talked to young men

kę'ci·lɔs·i·'tci·k ke'kò e·hel·a'ci·mwi·'ti·t'
those who "great men" are in something who had had visions in dreams

wuska'ti·la'ɔk hi·ta'n·dəl·a·n ɔk wu'ndji· ki·ki·'naməŋ
the young warriors are trained and so are acquainted with

we·'mi· yu'ta li·' te·'kəne. wa'ni· ni·kani·'xiŋ ɔk
all this the wilderness. The leader and

məte·'inowɑk kələ'n·əmuk' i·laopa's·i·'kən ne·'sko
the medicine men "doctors" carry with them warrior's medicine before

a'ləm'ska'ti·t' i·la'o'keyɔk haŋg tàmseha'ŋg. wu'ska'-
they go off They have a war dance said sometimes. The young

ti·la'ɔk' wəli·'hil·i·k'cə'mən awe·'n hɔ'k·ae wu'ndji
warriors scratch themselves a person's body that is why

we·'i·tci·lae'ŋge·n təli·' te'pi·lə's·i·n a'hi· xahe'len·a'u'ki·
to convince that they are able very many are

ha't·e· ehela'ehɔs·i·'t·up' wa'ni· lən·a'p·e. ə'n·da
they had the performances the Delawares. When

we'ndja'ki·t' təli·' do·'pali·n ci·'takɔ i·la'o'k·an
they are prepared to scout or have war dance

ɔk cəmu'tc' lɔ'mwe ə'n·da pa'sa''hɔmaŋg
and also long time ago when they played Indian football

a'hi· təmi·'ki· awe·'n wəli·'hil·i·k'can hɔ'k·ayə
very ofttimes anyone scratch himself [until bleeds] on body

[1] Archibald Loudon, "A Collection of Some of the Most Interesting Narratives of the Outrages Committed by Indians in the Wars with the White People." 2 vols., Carlisle, 1808, reprinted 1888, containing Narrative of the Captivity of John McCullough, written by himself, 1776, pp. 209-70. See also for Shawnee

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ta'mechaŋg	awe·'n	ə'nda	we·'i·tci·na'k'·wi·t'	tali·'	726 539
sometimes	a person	when	he looked the part	that	
·kaci·lə'si·n	ək	ni·hi·l·a't·aŋge		elki·'kwi·	
he was powerful	and	could win [the game]		how in any way	
si·'hiwe·t'	lowe·'nhaŋg	api·'laxta·.			
as he wished	is called, said	used supernatural power.			

Free Translation.

Now, I am relating what was done long ago when scouting, as it was called. The leading warriors called a council. They talked about what is called exploring, or scouting. And the great men talked to the young men about the thing they possessed in their dream vision. The young warriors are trained and hence are acquainted with all this for the wilderness. The leader and the conjurors carry with them warrior's medicine. Before they start off they have a war dance, according to custom. Sometimes the young warriors scratch themselves,[4] each one on his body, in order to convince them that they have ability. Very many were the different rites the Delawares had, when they prepared for scouting or in the war dance, and also long ago when they played football. Very frequently a person would scratch himself to bleed his body. Sometimes when a person showed proof that he was powerful and could win out in any way he wished, it was said he used spiritual power.[5]

CEREMONIAL TRAINING AND PERSONAL CONDUCT

In a category somewhat by itself may be placed some rites 302 788
which seem to bear upon the ceremonial appearance of the individual as he presents himself for a day's program in life.

It was customary for the Delawares to apply fresh red paint to the face each day, coloring the cheeks and forehead. A line of red paint was also marked in the part of the hair from the forehead up. The coloring matter was ordinarily

analogy, T. W. Alford, "Civilization," University of Oklahoma Press, 1936, pp. 21–2.

[4] This weakened rite seems to be the only manifestation in Delaware ethnology of the ceremonial scarification that assumed such intensive force to the southward.

[5] The young men were advised by their elders not to use supernatural power unless there were serious need for it. This seems to be a common Algonkian opinion.

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mixed with tallow. The reason given for this action was to impress the Great Spirit with the fact that his people were up and about and observant of cleanliness and good appearance as they went about their tasks,—in short, that they were consciously alive and mindful of their obligations toward the rules of life taught by him.

Children were awakened about sunrise and instructed to wash their faces at once so that the Great Spirit would see that they were not lazy but ready and prepared for the day's duties. Young people were, moreover, advised to lift their feet nicely when they walked, and to find constantly something to do to engage their time in occupations that would be helpful to their parents and others. These monitions were also backed by the instructions that the Great Spirit would find them meritorious in conduct and reward them with a long and happy life. The present members of the nation who were brought up in such practices lament deeply the indifference of members of the present generation in such matters, attributing the decline of their people to failure in observing the teachings which made their ancestors powerful and respected.

A rite recorded of the Delawares of former times was the washing of youths each morning in clear running water, preferably that of streams, both in winter and summer, suggestive of a "river-cult." We hear of this habit frequently in the narratives of Delaware history when the tribe resided in the East. It seems to have been insisted upon generally for youths,[6] even enforced upon white boys who had been taken captive and adopted in the Nation, as we see in the following narrative.

To have spoken of personal purification by immersion in the water of streams leads to a more formal method of washing away defilement by the same means. Referring to John McCullough, who in 1776 wrote of his experiences while living as a captive with the then hostile Delawares, we are told of his enforced "conversion" to paganism at the hands

[6] An interesting resume of Delaware practices in the training of youths and warriors is given in the account of a Delaware author who describes the daily plunge into the river by boys undergoing the course of training in pairs. Cf. R. C. Adams, "Legends of the Delaware Indians," Washington, D. C., 1905, p. 26.

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of his masters. Two young men take him into a canoe, seising him by the wrists, plunging him over head and ears under the water and holding him down until he was almost smothered before letting him get breath. After repeating this treatment several times they took him out, dressed him in a ruffed shirt, shaved his head, provided him with a "roach," painted him, and told him he was then an Indian. Later his Indian "uncle" would waken him at daylight and make him sit down in the creek up to his chin. This was to make him hardy. He was, moreover, not allowed to go near the fire until he became dry.[7]

They followed the habit of securing a prosperous future for the young hunter by placing his umbilicus in the tracks of a deer, a magical observance based on a widespread native concept of spiritual sympathy. Again, the umbilicus would be placed in the water to cause the growing youth to acquire power as a swimmer.

THE CONSANGUINITY OF TRIBES

The Delawares, like other eastern peoples,[8] consider themselves to stand in certain genealogical relationships with neighboring tribes, as though they all constituted a great family,—some members older, some younger, lineal and collateral, and some in between as respects age and maturity. These relationships function in ceremonial gatherings wherein other tribes are concerned, and they are accepted without dispute among themselves. In the older accounts much stress was laid upon this feature of native life, and it seemed to form an important consideration in treaty negotiations that took place among the eastern and central tribes, giving precedence in authority to certain ones over others. From various sources we learn that the Delawares held a position of seniority among them. This fact may develop into one of some value in coördinating the position of the different groups and perhaps in throwing light on the historical sequence

[7] Loudon, *op. cit.*, pp. 260-261.

[8] The Wabanaki peoples, for instance, entertain a similar concept of tribal consanquinity, in which system they consider the Ottawa to be their grandfathers and among themselves the Micmac as their younger brothers (F. G. Speck, The Eastern Algonkian Confederacy, American Anthropologist, vol. 17, no. 3, 1915, pp. 490, 505).

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in tribal migrations which led to the settlement of the tribes in their proper locations. For, as we glance eastward from the Delawares and southward, likewise we discover the tribes to rate as nephews and grandsons of the patriarchal stem. I should not like, however, to stress the force of the traditional assumption of paternity that the Delawares lay claim to as being proof in any sense of the tribe being sire to those it regards as lineal or collateral descendants. The belief nevertheless has much ethnological value and has been disregarded by ethnologists without good reason. And since other tribes seem not to have retained extensive knowledge of these matters it has seemed important to record the text presenting the Delaware opinion of the matter. I have made some comment on tribal beliefs of consanguinity in the study of the Big House Ceremony and now the occasion seems ripe for the recording of the informant's own version of the situation with a comparison of the facts as written down a century ago by Zeisberger.[9]

In the following narration the information's tradition of the Delaware's imaginary relationship to other groups is placed on record. In the footnotes are included quotations from older authorities on the subject and comments by other living Delaware informants. The testimony before us brings out discrepancies, as might be expected when amassing data on a situation so involved with a tribal ego and the perpetuation of which is so dependent upon negotiations between the groups, associations which have long ceased to function.[10]

[9] Zeisberger, *op. cit.*, p. 109. See also Consanguinity of Tribes, in the "Big House Ceremony," p. 33. In the latter passage cited, an error evidently crept in, as the informant notes the Iroquois considered as "brothers" and the Seneca "nephews," while I find the Delaware chiefs designate the Seneca, at least, as "uncles."

[10] That these discrepancies have prevailed for a long time is shown by the observations of McKenney almost a century ago that the Wyandot claimed to be uncles of all other tribes, and the Delawares their grandfathers. But, he adds, the Delawares acknowledge themselves nephews of the Wyandots. J. L. McKenney and J. Hall, "History of the Indian Tribes of North America," Philadelphia, 1844, III, p. 7. After comparing Wi'tapano'xwe's authority ("Big House Ceremony," p. 33) that the Wyandots are "nephews" of the Delawares it may be gathered that the Indians themselves have now, as well as in the past, been responsible for the existing confusion. Their inaccuracy is either a trait in itself or an aberration of one.

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For it to be more consistently expressed would imply possession of an historical sense which we know is lacking in the native rôle of life. So before a meaning to this trait of eastern culture can be approached we shall have to record corresponding lists from other tribes checking them up with tradition and actual history.

The Delaware versions of tribal synonymy throw some interesting side-lights on early names and associations in the East which I shall not attempt to discuss in this paper.

CONSANGUINITY OF TRIBES

wa'ni·	lən·a'p·e	li·pəna·'ən	we·'mi·	enxake·'i·t'	
The	Delaware	are looked upon	all	different tribes	
wa'ni	me·'xkeɔ'xkus·i·t	tə'l·i·	ne'ka	ki·'k'hai·'n.	ahi·-
the	red men	that	he	is oldest.	Great
kahe·'li·	xt'oxwi·'s·u.	wəla'haxa'ne	a'ləndе	awe·'nhak·e	
many	his grandchildren.	Although besides	some	wild Indians	
ha't·e	e·laŋgo·'mənd	pəna''	wa'ni·	Ca·'wəno' [11]	
special	relationship	such as	the	Shawnee	
na'lən·a	ne·tami'xiŋg	noxwi·'s·əna.	nəwu'ndji	ekala·'mi·	
that is	first	grandchild.	From that	on down	
wa'ni	Pote'ɔt·am,[12]	Sa·'ki·a,[13]	Aya'howe,[14]	Ta'ŋgowe,[15]	
the	Pottawatomi,	Sauk and Fox,	Ioway,	Tonkawa,	
Ca'hax,[16]	Pi·'kaxca',[17]	ɔk	Ki·'kapu,[18]	Maya'hame',[19]	
Sioux,	Ottawa,	and	Kickapoo,	Miami,	

[11] Literally "southerner," a name of general distribution among the eastern tribes. (For discussion of term see Bulletin 30, Bureau American Ethnology, 2, p. 530.)

[12] Literally "half-witted, or not having good sense." (Potatawatamiñk or Potawagamiñk, "People of place of fire." *Ibid.*, p. 289.)

[13] The informant offered no analysis for this title. (Osā'kiwūg, "people of the outlet." *Ibid.*, p. 471.)

[14] The informant associated the name with the Delaware term a'howe, "thicket." ("Sleepy ones." *Ibid.*, 1, p. 612.)

[15] Associated with the Delaware stem taŋg—"little." (Tonkawe'ya, "they all stay together." *Ibid.*, 2, p. 778.)

[16] Literally, "shy, afraid, retreating in manner." (Chippewa term, Nadowe-is-iw, meaning, snake, adder. *Ibid.*, p. 577.)

[17] Literally, "smart, intelligent but having a shabby appearance." It also denotes, "wearing a tooth or claw necklace." It is more probable that the term denotes the Piankasha of Illinois and Indiana with whom the Delawares were associated before their removal across the Mississippi. (Ă dā we, "to trade, to buy and sell." *Ibid.*, p. 167.)

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619 Pe·yɔ'le,[20] ɔk ən·ahəl·i·' Tci·'pəwe,[21] Mənaˢ'məni·,[22]
648 Peoria, and besides Chippewa, Menomini,
539

Ci·li·ti·'xka,[23] Caˢcpu'ci·,[24] Patu'xka,[25] Win·i·peˢ'ga,[26]
Comanche, Nez Percé, Apache, Winnebago,

Wəcaˢ'ce,[27] Kąsi·a,[28] Paŋka,[29] Oka'xpa.[30] Weˢ'mi
Osage, Kaw, or Kansa Ponca, Quapaw. All

yu'kwe yu'ki·k ənxi·' wi·xk'wusi·'xti·t. yu'kwe yu'tali
these here each different named. Now here

[18] "Travelling or visiting people." (Kiwigapawˢ, "he stands about," or "he moves about, standing now here, now there." *Ibid.*, 1, p. 684.)

[19] Literally, "people living affiliated in settlements." (Chippewa term, omaumeg, "people who live on the peninsula." *Ibid.*, p. 852.) A more appropriate name for the Miami, given by Chief Fall Leaf in Oklahoma is *Tuwe'tuwe*. The closest analysis he could give for the term was "salamander larva" (*tuwe'kak*, "salamander"). The name takes us to the synonym Twightwee as denoting the Miami in Indiana and Illinois. How such an epithet came to be applied to them was beyond the tradition of the informants, their only suggestion being that at some early time upon first seeing members of the group, their appearance, perhaps painting, suggested to the Delawares the animal named. This was said to have been a basis for first names of groups and individuals.

[20] No explanation offered by informant but by Chief Fall Leaf analyzed to "people who have spiritual helpers." Tradition among the Delaware he assorted says that one of the first of natives met with had so much spiritual power that they gave them this name. (Piwareˢ, "he comes carrying a pack on his back." *Ibid.* 1, p. 228.)

[21] The term is suggestive of, "whistling people." (From ojib, "to pucker up," and ub-way, "to rpast." *Ibid.*, p. 277.) The Missisauga (Ojibwa) of Ontario, while not known to the Delawares of Oklahoma, are ranked as "grandchildren" by the Delaware-Munsee of the Six Nations Reserve.

[22] A proper name for which the informant gave no specific meaning. (Menominiwok ininiwok, "they are men." *Ibid.*, p. 842.)

[23] No explanation offered, but said to sound like "fast runner." (Padouca, Siouan name for Comanche. *Ibid.*, p. 327.)

[24] Evidently a derivation of Nez Perce' as it sounded to Delaware ears.

[25] Literally, "someone coming and someone going, not permanently located." Evidently confused in identity in the mind of informants. Paducah might be a survival of the Illinois designation. (A'pachu, "enemy." *Ibid.*, p. 163.)

[26] No explanation offered. (Chippewa term, winipig, "filthy water," and Sauk and Fox, 'winipyágohag', "people of the filthy water." *Ibid.*, 2, p. 958.)

[27] Delaware pronunciation of the tribal eponym.

[28] Literally, "coward." The Delaware feel that this is the proper meaning.

[29] No explanation given.

[30] No explanation offered by informant. (U'gakpa, "downstream people." *Ibid.*, p. 333.)

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təlawi·'hi·la·wa'o	yuli·'l	lənа'p·eyo	Wa·'panaxki [31]	ɔk	619
they call	the	Delawares	Wabanaki	also	648
muxomsɔ'n·a.	ka't·tci	we·'mi	ni·'maxtəna	dəl·ə-	539
"our grandfather."	But	all	our brothers	they	
wi·'lpo·na	lənа'·pe.[32]				
call us	Lenape.				

Yu'kwe	nəwe'i·taxkənu'təmən	wani·'	lənа·'pe
Now	I shall talk about, explain	the	Delaware
wei·maxtə'·s·i·t'	awe·'ni·	ako·'ta	nanhe·'li·
their brothers	whom	not	much I say
ge'ski·a'	wi'hil·ɑk'	wani·'	Wəne'·təko' [33]
as many	can name	the	Nanticoke
ɔk	Mahi·'kan·i· [34]	ɔk	Mu'nsi [35]
and	Mahican	and	Munsee
ɔk	ke·xa·'kei·	ɔ'pan·u' [36]	ce·la'han·e
and	several nations	Iroquois	and those
de'nxi·	məca·'la·n	ni·'maxtəs·ənа·'nuk.	cuk'
as many	I think of	our brothers.	But
ke'nowi·	a'p'tci·	wa'ni·	lən·a'p·e
nevertheless	always	the	Delawares
tə'n·da	ki'k'hayi'n.	nawu'ndji·	
the very	oldest.	And thence	

[31] A general appelation for the Delawares of long standing, meaning "easterners." The antiquity of this term points, with evidence not to be ignored, to the early affinity of the Delawares with the peoples of New England in general who were and are known by dialectic forms of the same classifying term.

[32] Literally, "common people." (See 2, p. 14, of this series, also Zeisberger, *op. cit.*, p. 114; Brinton and Anthony, "A Lenape-English Dictionary," The Pennsylvania Students Series. Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1889, 1, p. 63; Bulletin 30, Bureau American Ethnology, 1, p. 385.)

[33] Despite serious attempts to seek explanation of this term for Nanticoke as well as in cognate sources it remains incapable of precise analysis. The Canadian Delaware-Munsee informant (Nick Peters) thinks it alludes to great waves. ("Tidewater people." *Ibid.*, 2, p. 25.)

[34] No specific analysis offered. ("Wolf." *Ibid.*, 2, p. 786.)

[35] No analysis offered. (Min-asin-ink, "at the place where stones are gathered together." *Ibid.*, p. 957.)

[36] Literally, "eastern sunrise people." This term strangely includes both the Iroquois and the Brothertown Indians (Algonkian) which the Delawares fail to distinguish. Another term posk'oca·'s i·t', "wearing a natural crest or roach on the head," was thought to be recalled by the informant as a synonym for the Mohawk. He thought the Iroquois originated the "roach" head-dress, which agrees with tradition among the Penobscot, who describe a term me'gwaimo'suma'si·t, "Mohawk hair-cut," as denoting the hair shaved from the head leaving only a dorsal crest on the crown from front to rear. (For a short discussion of the distribution of the roach headdress see "The Big House Ceremony," p. 97.)

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619 ha'·t·e pi·'li· laŋgundowa'k·an. axpo'wak et' ik·ali'tci·
648 also existing other relationships. There must be older persons
539 elki·k'ᵂai·'tci·k' weotu'xti·t' we·'mi· e'nxenaxga't·uk
living longer than I who know all different degrees

laŋgǫᵂowa'k·an. yukwe'' tci·tc kexa'p'tun wa'ni·
relationship. Now then few words, the

Teᵉlma't·ən·u [37] luŋgɔxs·ə's·əna nahəli·' wa'ni·
Wyandot our nephews (brothers' or sisters' sons) and also the

Katu''hɔ.[38] ka't·ᵗᵉᵏi· wa'ni Me'ŋgwe,[39] spa'nayu' [40]
Cherokee. But the Seneca Mexicans

noᵉci·si·'nen kat·tci· wa'ni· weɔ'p'si·t' [41]
our uncles, "mother's brother" but the white person

ni·maxtə's·ən·a ɔk wa' səka'xkwu'leᵉs a'ləndə awe·'n
our brothers and the black color person some people

lo'weᵉ aneᵉskə's·i·t nəxąᵉ'səna ɔk nalən·a'n tə'n·da
say "he has a high color" our older brother, and he is the very

tci·tanə's·i·n we·'mi· enxake·'i·t' awe·'n.
stoutest of all different nations persons.

Free Translation.

The Delawares are looked upon by all the different tribes of Indians as being the oldest. A great many of them are their "grandchildren." And besides some of the "wild" Indians had special relationships, such as the Shawnee which are the first grandchildren. Thence on down in the following

[37] Literally, "along a mountain range."

[38] Meaning, "chilly, shivering with cold," suggested for this term in Delaware, disregarding its correct Cherokee source of origin. (For summary see Cherokee, *ibid.*, 1, p. 246.) The application of this term is definitely to the Seneca by the Delawares of Oklahoma and those in Canada. The latter call the Seneca "uncles," and the Seneca reciprocate by calling them "nephews."

[39] A term for various Iroquoian peoples reported in the earliest documents on Delaware history, given in the forms Mengwe, Minqua and their variants. The word is evidently too archaic for etymological explanation. It is current in recognizable form among all Wabanaki peoples south of the St. Lawrence. The informant also applied the term *wea'zkəti·'no* "red person or man," to the Seneca, but he did not give an historic reason for the name.

[40] Literally "Spaniard."

[41] A less respectful term used by the tribe to denote Europeans is *ɔ'pigg* "opossum," the likeness arising through the pale face and slobbering laugh characteristic of both in Delaware opinion. (See 2, of this series, p. 101.)

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order (the grandchildren) are, the Potowatomi, Sauk and Fox, Ioway, Tonkawa, Sioux, Ottawa, and Kickapoo, Miami, Peoria, and besides these the Chippewa, Menomini, Comanche, Nez Percé, Apache, Winnebago, Osage, Kaw, Ponca, Quapaw. All these here are differently named. Now here all these call the Delawares Wapanachki, or "Our Grandfather." But all our "brothers" call us by the name Lenape.

Now, I shall explain about the brothers of the Delawares, about whom I can not say much, but as many as I can name are the Nanticoke and Mahikan, and Munsee and several nations of the Iroquois are as many as I can think of as being our brothers. But nevertheless the Delawares are always considered the oldest. There must be older persons than I am who know all the different degrees of tribal relationship. Now then, a few more words, the Wyandot are our nephews, and also the Seneca and Cherokee. But the Mexicans are our uncles and the whites in general our brothers, and black people, some say "He who has a high color," our elder brothers, and it is he who is the strongest of all the different nations of people.

To the above list of tribal names several more may be added; mɑ'ckos, the Muskogi or Creek, a derivation of the term for swamp, and Taǫ'gale'wi·, the Yuchi, meaning a people inferentially lost or wandering. The latter revives an old designation, Tahogale, Hogloge and variants (see discussion in J. R. Swanton, Early History of the Creek Indians, Bulletin 73, Bureau American Ethnology, 1922, pp. 286–312) for this mysterious and important people with whom the Delawares appear to have had contact.

MORTUARY CEREMONIES AND PROCEDURES

The customs concerned with death and interment of the Delawares are traced to a fusion of the rites of the tribe proper with those of the Munsee. We even have evidence that for a portion of the Delaware group certain mortuary rites of the Nanticoke [42] were assimilated during one period of time, as Harrington's account reveals.[43] Without attempting to un-

[42] Harrington, *op. cit.*, 183–4.

[43] An account of the Nanticoke independent burial customs, which were maintained by members of this tribe living among the Delawares as late as 1870, will be given shortly (p. 142).

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764 tangle some slightly confused details which are encountered
174 in the various descriptions given by early as well as late authors on Delaware ethnology, the citations from some of them will be presented and those of the informant separately. It is manifest that mortuary rites of the tribe have changed from time to time while the Delawares have been passing through the vicissitudes of their protracted migration from the Atlantic to the Plains.

764 In the text dictated by Wi·tapano'xwe we learn sufficient detail to make a complete summary of burial customs unnecessary as a separate paragraph. Nevertheless several excerpts from explanatory notes made by him to clear up his narration may be introduced. They discuss the treatment of the body of the deceased, duties of the relatives, the arrangements for interment, the sitting-up with the corpse and the playing of the ceremonial moccasin gambling game, the feast at the gathering for interment and its repetition at the end of the first year period after death.

764 With the interest in ceremonial matters that is natural
775 to his mental make-up Wi·tapano'xwe gives us his version of the doctrines and rites appropriate to the ushering of the soul of the defunct Delaware to the "Land of Spirits Above," *manito''kamik hukwe'yuŋ*, from the "Land of Spirits on Earth," *manito''kamik*. His particulars are in accordance with the theory of the journey of the soul explained and illustrated by a sketch of the path of the soul in its progress to the abode of *ke·tan'to'wi·t*, "Great Spirit," as given in the study of the Big House Ceremony. (Op. cit. Fig. 26.)

764 His major contribution to our knowledge of current funereal customs lies in the outline of the sermon and procedure of the Feast for the Dead. The proper name for the feast on the eleventh day after death is *da'kwi·p'hɔ'l·i·n* "together eating." The feast that is celebrated one year after the death of the individual, at which only a few of the relatives are present, is called *wi·ho''mwi·n*, "feast of offering to someone." It has already been noted that the latter feast has entered the Delaware system of rites by assimilation from the institutions of the Munsee according to the opinion of our sources.

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The recurrence of this feast is determined by spiritual 764
influences. We are told, for instance, that if it is overlooked and the spirit of the deceased becomes offended, a disturbing dream visitation or an omen of mysterious significance would provide a warning against further neglect. This would cause the family to resort to the feast again.

The narrator assumes the rôle of the aged speaker who is invited by the family of the deceased to preside over the obsequies. He expounds the doctrine of immortality so vital and comforting to the bereaved Indians. He betrays the conservative attitude of the tribe which proved such a barrier to the theological arguments of the early Moravian missionaries when they first tried to combat the spiritual convictions of the natives. The ensuing lecture by the speaker should be read with the explanatory text of the Big House Ceremony on the table beside it. Without further comment on this important feast I would call attention only to the instance before us as being an American case of the psychological attitude of the natives toward the event of death, in which emotions that seem conflicting and not harmonized to the European mind are illustrated in the wailing and grief mingled with feasting and gaming during the rites of obsequy. The topic has been discussed continuously by religious theoreticians since the time of Tylor.

We may now take up the preliminary details of information on burial procedures from early as well as present sources. The first is the account of Wi·tapano'xwe.

Delaware Burial Ceremony

"To begin with, in case of one dying, four persons, two men and two women must be selected, usually of one of the two opposite ceremonial groups, to act as pall-bearers. A hog must be procured to provide sufficient meat, and also vegetables and fruit to feed every one who comes to the burial. The three principal food divisions are represented, meat, vegetables and fruits.

"When a man dies his body is dressed by the two men appointed, if a woman, the two women dress the body. A little red paint is used, because they believe this is formal preparation for the body of an 'Indian.'

"An elderly man is selected to talk and conduct the burial, and he must be governed by the wishes of the family, or according to the wishes

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764 of the person departed, if he or she made any statement as to what way he wanted the burial conducted.

[525] "All who wish to may come and sit up with the corpse. The men pall-bearers sit up and others who wish to play a hand game,* using usually a coffee bean or buckeye bean or a bullet for ball hiding—first under a glove or moccasin—and the other persons guess which moccasin he hides 764 the bean or bullet under. This is kept up until daybreak. At night be- 775 fore the "wake," the men pall-bearers discharge three (another says two) musket shots toward the sunset, then everyone must rise and give attention. The shots symbolise the departure of the soul of the deceased. Everyone must be awakened, especially the children, so that they may not become frightened. The widowed person or the bereaved parents stay awake all night. And just before sunrise another volley of two or three shots is fired which symbolises lifting the soul upward. The relatives of the deceased stand in front of the shooters. With the echo of the discharge the soul departs.

764 "Now an elderly person, who has been chosen to officiate at the ceremony, must offer thanks to the Great Spirit at breakfast time and [761] perform the ceremony before the body leaves the house. During the funeral procession no one must look back,—if they do it indicates another of the immediate members of the family will follow soon. The speaker must be given one 'Indian yard of wampum beads' for his services, which do not end until after the feast on the eleventh day noon hour.

"One of the pall-bearers must go to the grave each day and build a little fire at the head of the grave for four consecutive evenings and the people must leave the house in charge of someone, for it must not be left alone for twelve days, and a light must be kept burning at the main entrance of the house for four nights after the death of a person.

768 "And note, the widowed person must also be painted when the face 764 of the 'departed' body has been painted. Four days after, 'divorcement' proceeding takes place in the form of a ceremony. That is, they must burn cedar in the house to 'fumigate' and the cedar water is used to wash the widow's or widower's head. If a woman, she is told that she is now no longer obligated to her deceased husband's family. She is furnished with new clothes throughout. With this ceremony she is 'divorced,' but the relationship terminology remains the same to the family she formerly was married into.

775 "Now the burial hole is prepared on the day following the sitting up 826 with the body at night—it is not considered a grave until the body is in 772 it,—and even now, in the modern times, we do not believe in taking the body to be embalmed, as we believe the life blood is the spirit that remains on earth until the deceased is admitted to the abode of the Great Spirit, which is the twelfth level of the Heaven.

* This is the common moccasin game of North America. For description see S. Culin, "Games of the North American Indians," 24th Annual Report, Bureau American Ethnology 1906, and page 99 of this study.

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"A small wooden post is used in case of a man's grave and placed at the head of the grave on the east end. (The head must always be directed toward the sunrise, feet to the west.) A woman's grave is indicated by placing a cross. (See Fig. 5.) A few logs are placed over the grave to keep out 'varminta.'

"Now at the conclusion of the burial, or just before, a little hole must be left in the casket and one cut in the end opposite the head of the wood box also,[48] and the post placed after covering same, then paint the usual designs on posts. The victuals are separated for the pall-bearers and all the relatives. The latter eat apart from the people in general. Just before the feast at the cemetery the speaker calls all the people to the grave and talks—takes up the life of the person and relates the character of the dead person, and if he lived a nice quiet life and tells his chance or her chance to be born into the spiritual world. The life blood remains, but the body goes back to the mother earth, of which we are a part. The belongings of the dead are divided among those who waited on the body, and the food is divided among the four pall-bearers also.

"Now at the announcement the speaker tells them to remember well the eleventh day at the noon hour, all must be ready to offer thanks for the great opportunity to give victuals to their dead kinfolks, as well as giving the hog and other rations which will be offered to the one who departed. That is, he or she eats the last time with his or her living relatives or tribesmen.

"The latter feature belongs to the Munsee division of the Delawares, but a Delaware proper does not have the eleventh day feast. One of the Munsee division may say, in passing threatening jokes, for instance, 'I am going to kill you.' The Munsee will say, 'Well it will cost you two hogs!' That is, it means one hog at the time of burial and the other at the eleventh day feast."

The grave posts referred to are described as being about two feet in height above the ground, which at the head of a man's grave is a single one painted with crosses, at a woman's grave one with a horizontal cross-bar (Fig. 5, *a* and *b*). The crosses it should be added do not stand for the Christian emblem but represent the "Cross-roads" on the path of the spirit to the abode of souls (see pp. 174–7, "Big House Ceremony").

[48] It is important to note that the Delawares are strongly averse to the use of European materials in mortuary constructions. They will not use iron in nailing, nor will they compromise with the past by adopting metal coffins, out of fear that the spirit would be sealed up and unable to reach the "habitation of spirits above." As noted before, when a wooden casket is bought by the progressive Delawares a square hole is cut in it for the exit of the soul-spirit after the event of the feast.

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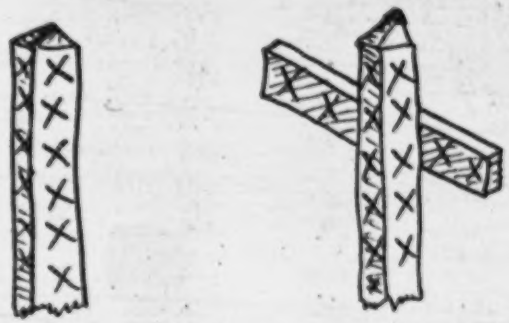
769 The Delawares have assimilated the Munsee custom of the family giving a feast one year from the date of death of its members. One or more deceased members of the same family

[764]



a b

FIG. 5. GRAVE POSTS AT HEAD OF MAN'S GRAVE (*a*) AND WOMAN'S (*b*), about two feet high.

may be remembered at this time, each one being represented by an invited person selected from another group (Wolf, Turtle or Turkey) or someone who is not related to the deceased by blood. Those representing the deceased need not necessarily be of corresponding sex. The person who is giving the feast, which is usually held at night, announces that he has invited the guests present to eat in memory of the departed member or members of his family. On such occasions the invited guests are served first. The food, which may be of various sorts, is equally divided and what is left the guests may take home in the vessels which it is customary to bring to such feasts for that purpose. A certain amount of food is set aside for the members of the family who eat after the guests have been served. Sometimes the person who sponsors the ceremony will give one of the guests a pint of liquor (or "sacred wine" as the informant called it) as a sacramental token. This he may dispose of as he chooses.[48]

764 A most complete description of a Delaware funeral is given by the missionary John Heckewelder, eye-witness to the burial of a woman of high rank in 1762, the wife of a war-chief, Shingask. The essential features of the event

[48] G. Tantaquidgeon, "Delaware Notes," 1930.

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described correspond to those of our sources.[47] Heckewelder's account, though somewhat too lengthy to quote here, is indispensable to the student of the history of Delaware institutions, since it gives extended details of burial practices, and in particular the garb and ornamentation of people of high rank during the period of residence in Ohio.

For a still earlier period, before the tribe had left the Atlantic coast, De Vries has a generalized account of burial:

"They make a large grave, and line it with boughs of trees, in which they lay the corpse, so that no earth can touch it. They then cover this with clay, and form the grave, seven or eight feet, in the shape of a sugar loaf, and place palisades around it. . . . They keep a portion of the dead in the house. . . . They then bury the bones in the grave, with a parcel of zeewan, and with arrows, kettles, knives, paper, and other knick-knacks which are held in great esteem by them, and cover them with earth, and place palisades around them. . . . Such is the custom on the coast in regard to the dead." [48]

For a later period we have the outline of burial customs by Zeisberger (1779–1780). The particulars that he gives follow in general those already noted, except that the funeral sermon is not emphasized, and like the modern rites show a change from the custom of burying property with the body to that of giving it away by selected distribution to those present at the ceremonies. Another discrepancy is found in Zeisberger's mention that the corpse is laid with head to west instead of to the east. His account is as follows:

"Formerly the people lined the graves with the bark of trees but now they have learned how to make coffins of boards. After the grave has been dug by the old women the men place the coffin in it. The corpse is brought, dressed in new clothing and a white shirt, with the face and shirt painted red, laid upon a new mat and placed in the coffin. In former times it was the custom to place the pouch, tobacco, pipe, knife, fire material, kettle and hatchet in the grave, leaving the grave open. Now, however, this is not done and the grave is filled with earth. The corpse was laid with the head toward the west. A post was erected at the head of the grave indicating by carvings or articles hung upon it the

[47] John Heckewelder, "History, Manners and Customs of the Indian Nations Who once Inhabited Pennsylvania and the Neighboring States," Publications of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, 1876, pp. 270–6.

[48] David De Vries, "Voyages from Holland to America," New York (translation), 1853, p. 164 et seq.

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person buried and his rank in the tribe. In the evening soon after sunset and in the morning before daybreak the female relations and friends assemble in the house of the deceased and mourn over the body. The effects of the deceased are taken to the place of burial, the greater part being distributed among those who assist at the burial. As the corpse is let down into the grave the women set up a deafening howl. After the ceremony the mother, grandmother, or some near female relative goes evening and morning to the grave and weeps over it, this continues, with less and less regularity until the mourning period is over. Sometimes food is placed over the grave." [49]

"To the spirits of the dead they offer both meat and drink. The doctors decide, in the case of a meat offering, which animal is to be sacrificed. When the guests are in the dark with no fire assembled an old man offers the meats to the enraged spirits and begs them to be pacified. The old man then communes with the spirits and tells the guests that they have been appeased.

"In the case of drink to be offered the guests assemble and drink together, then someone speaks with the spirits and pacifies them. The guests walk to the grave and pour some rum on it." [50]

Archaeological evidence is not lacking to show that before the historic period the custom of cleaning the bones of the dead and subsequent burial of the skeleton, sometimes in groups forming ossuaries, had penetrated as far north as the neighborhood of New York.[51] The testimony coincides with the tradition among the modern Delawares, recorded by Harrington, that the "Wolf clan" practiced the rite of removing the flesh from the bones of the deceased and later interred the bones with appropriate ceremonies.[52] Lindeström (1654) makes mention of the Delawares stripping the skeleton, disposing of the bones upon a shelf and distributing the property of the deceased among the relatives.[53] These institutions among the Delawares are unquestionably of southern origin, and their introduction as far north as the domain of the Delawares is clearly attributable to the Nanticoke in whose culture they were firmly established at an early period.

[49] Zeisberger, *op. cit.*, pp. 88–90.

[50] Zeisberger, *op. cit.*, p. 140.

[51] A. B. Skinner, "The Lenape Indians of Staten Island," Anthropological Papers, American Museum of Natural History, III, 1909, pp. 49–51.

[52] Harrington, *op. cit.*, pp. 183–4.

[53] Peter Lindeström, "Geographia Americae, 1654–6," ed. by A. Johnson, Philadelphia, 1926, pp. 249–51.

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In a subsequent chapter an account will be given of the mortuary practices of those Nanticoke who followed the Delawares to the west. These rites were carried out by the Nanticoke descendants among the Delawares as late as approximately 1860. From this case we learn the extent of assimilation of rites among the tribes which gradually joined together and formed the Delaware Nation of historic times. An interpretative summary of mortuary rites of the eastern tribes has appeared by MacLeod in which the southern origin of the bone cleaning complex is discussed.[54]

Preparations for the Burial

yu'kwe And now	elaŋgu'ndieŋ my kindred	yu'ni· this	awe·'n person	ə'n·da when
wi·k·a'ɔs·i·t'. is dead.	a'hɔt It is hard	ə'n·da when	wei·ta'k·ən·u't·əma' interpret	e·li·'xiŋg the customs
wəl·a·'haxane·' although	awe·'n person	wi·ka'ɔs·i·t. is dead.		hi·'t·ami· First
ɔp·ha't·i·n they sitting-up (wake) all night	ta'm·'se sometimes	haŋg^{w}. said.	ne·'wa Four	lə'n·owak men
n'hak·a'lkwus·owak are used	ə'n·da when	li·'nalə't·iŋ in the game	e·'li· because	tci·'- they
p·axkwi·nalə't·i·n play moccasin-game	kwu't·i· all	t'pu'kowe. night.	me·'tci· Now	ə'n·da when
pet·a'p·aŋg almost dawn	na' then	yu'ki·k' these	kwe·'tc'kun·a'xti·t' who dressed up	ma't·a- not
e·p·i·li·'tci· here [corpse]	naxɑ'n' three	kwuta·'+he·'yɔk times shoot	wehe'ndji·ə'p·aŋg east	
wundaxkwi·'i· toward	naxɑ'n' three times	kwut·a·'he·n. they discharge guns.	na'tc'pəna'hanen And then afterwards,	
we·'mi·awe·'n every body	tu·'kəna·. they awaken.	ni·'calənowɑ'k Two men	ɔk and	ni·'cax- two
kwe·'yɔk women	a'ləmi· begin	we'ndjaxki·n to prepare food	gi'ci·mi·taaxti'ŋ·ge after they had eaten	
nɑtc' and then	we·'mi·ke'ko everything	ki·cəna'k·wət' made ready	nɑtc' then	yu'ni· this

[54] W. C. MacLeod, "Priests, Temples and Practice of Mummification in Southeastern North America," XXII Congresso Internazionale degli Americanisti, Roma, 21–30, 1926, pp. 207–9.

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764 k'wutohe''pi· pən·d'ha'·t·o"n puhe"xɔ'k·uŋg. ɔk we"'mi·
539 body will be put in into box. And all

me'hmi·'tciŋg ga'xta gi·'!'səm·a"n e"'li· al·a'p·at'
food must be cooked because [must] hurry

we'ndji· te'p·i· gi·cəna'k·ɔt' ne'n·i ɔ'lak'".
so that enough time ready made the hole [grave].

ɔk cəmu'te' yu'ni· me'hmi·'tciŋg te'pa"ta"'s·u
And also this food is separated

me'"həmi·kəmɔə·i·'tci·k mi·tci''ti·t' ɔk yu'ki·k
by those who wait [on the dead person] eat and these

e"'laŋgo"ma''ti·t' ɔk nahəli·'' ci·'kwi·ne''ti·t'. ɔk
his kindred and also the orphans [bereaved].[a] And

nahəli·' tə't·a awe"'n witci·mi·'tsu. me"'tci· ə'n·da
also any person may eat with [them]. Now when

i'ka pe"t·a'ə·i·k' yu'ni· kwut·ohe"'p·i· kətəma"'-
there they bring this here body to the graves

ksowa'kan·i·ke·'k ɔk yu'ni· ɔ'lak'" ki·'cən·a'k·wut'.
[group of pitiful bodies] and here hole [grave] made ready.

nɑtc' pəndha'·t·o"n ne'kwut·ohe"'pi· nɑtc' laha'p·a
Then they lower, put in the body them afterward

awe"'n ki·'ci·ma"n pəmat·o"'nhe"t'.
someone is selected speaker.

The Burial Ceremony and Sermon (by Wi·tapano'xwe)

The person chosen to perform the ceremony of address in the following account is an old person well versed in the rites. He is usually a family head in the same family and group of the deceased. It will be noted that he receives the ceremonial [468] payment of the yard ("shoulder-length") of wampum. The rite described is understood to be of Munsee origin assimilated in ancient times to the Delaware rite.

Yu'kwe elaŋgu'ndieŋg" me"'tci· ki·cəna'k·wut'
"Here our kindred now is ready

yu'ni· k'təma"'ksowa'kan. ki·'!'cəna'k·wut' yu'kwe
this grave. Made ready here

we"'mi· la'tce"s·owa'k·ana ne'hel·ata'ŋgup' wa'k·a
all his belongings which belonged deceased

[a] This refers to the collateral relatives of the deceased and his children.

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ne·k·a'lkweŋg a''kahəm·awəne·'yo yu'ki·k mi·'kəm- 764
who departed to divide these the pall-bearers 539

ɔ·s·i·'tci·k. [16] ndəl·a'ŋgǫ·s·da'wɑn ga'hən·e wani'ci·
[attendants] [laborers]. My kinsman very thankful

təl·i·' ɔ·ngo·'məl·ən e·'li· me·'tci· i'k·a maxte·'xɑn
that I address you because now has come the occasion, [has been]

ni·cu'kwəni· kti·'hil·i· a'la le·'həl·e·'xe·n.
two days since when this life you departed.

yu'kwe e'n·da we·'tən·oma' yu'ni· kwu'tai·'k·ane
Here when I accept this one shoulder-length

ke·k' də'l·i· ke·xa'p'ton ke'ko e'n·da l·ə'l·an
wampum for me to say a little something when I speak to you

yu'kwe elaŋgo·'məlan. me·'tci· k'po·ne·'ləndamən
now my kinsman. Now you must forget

yu'ni· endalauai·'eŋg· ɔk we·'mi· yu'ki· ce·
this our home [earthly existence] and all these here

e'laŋgo·'mɑ't'. ka't·ci· nate·'ləndə'ŋhan ke'ko h·tɑk·i·'
related [ones]. Don't think anything of the past

e·'li· me·'tci· kwe'ndjaxki· təl·i·' wi·taŋgǫ·'s·i·n
because now you are prepared for to join the existence

ɔ's·i· we'ndji·ai·k' ne'n·i· lən·apeɔ'k·an. e·'li·
of the deceased where belong the soul-spirit. As

kowa·'ton we·'mi·tc' awe·'n tɔ'penshik·a·'k·un tə'l·i
you know everybody will have this experience for to

a'la tala'us·i·n yu'ni· e'ndale·'ləmu'k·weŋg·. nanen-
depart this existence, life now in this our earthly home. That

wu'ndji· ha't·e kwi·'tələt·owakan kwi·n pi·'pɔ'n·dəmən
is why indeed the teaching many times you have heard

təl·i·'tc' awe·'n wendja''kənan ɔk pi·'li·ha·'n na'ni·
that will a person prepare and purify that

lənə'p·eɔ'k·an təl·i·'tc' ma·tco·'xwen coxaxki·'i·
soul-spirit that it will go homeward straightforwardly, directly

wendji·'ai·k' ko·xəna·'niŋg kic·e·'ləmu'k·ɑŋ. yu'
where belong our father the creator. Now

[16] The following is a solemn monologue by the master-of-ceremony kneeling over the grave. He is addressing the deceased.

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764 wani'ci·. tep·i·'laha'p·a wəli·' kəle·'ləndə enxa'p'to·-
539 thanks. It is sufficient well to remember what I have

ne·'ya.
said.

The master-of-ceremony now turns to and addresses the people present who are standing before the grave. [No ceremonial grouping is here required.]

elaŋgundieng·· kəne·'mənə·n elki·'kwi· k'təma'k·a
Our kindred we can see how pitiful

ək ci·'eləndamowa'k·an·u ə'nda ci·'kwi·ne·'eŋg.
and its sadness when we are orphaned.

kəne·'mənə·n elki·'kwi· po··tci·hil·a'eŋg·· wa'ka
We can see how we miss the deceased

wi·kɔ'si·t' elaŋgo··'meŋg. ək ke·pe'n·a te·'ka wə'li·
departed our relative. And we be careful well

kəle·'ləndamu't·am təli·'tc' ga'xta' mi'ŋgaxse·'i·
to think so that will must better

ləi·'ne·n. pi·''pəndə'wənə ki·'kayo'yəmənaniŋga
we do. We have heard our deceased ancestors

elki·'kwi· haŋg·· wi·nowa'm'kweŋg tə'li·
how said they begged us, plead with us that

kitci·'t·e·he·'i· pəna'elən·damənə·'n e·'lau'si·'eŋg·· e·'li·
with all our heart we consider our own life how

ha't·e ale·pə'ndowa'k·an pi·'ci· [57] wa'ni· lən·a'p·e
indeed exists the teaching in reality the Delaware

mi·lkwu'si·t'. nanewu'ndji awe·'n pi'ci· a·' wə'li·
handed down. That is why a person there should in reality carefully

ke·'naxke·lə'n·damən pəmau''sowa'k·an təli·'tc' wəli·'
study [his] life so that carefully

wendja''kənə·'n no·'li·l h'··t·ən·apcə'k·ana. pi·''pəndə'-
prepare that his soul-spirit. We have

mənen lə'm·we nə'tci· we'sk'hakam·i·'k·e nə'tci
heard a long time ago in the beginning of the earth since has been

wa''kut' elki·'kwi· aho·''hə'ltuk mo't·omak·an na'n'i·
known how hard to travel his road that

[57] If someone should contradict a speaker he would exclaim pi'ci·, "It's a fact," "It's so!";—a· "there should," a mild imperative.

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ko"'xəna pi·'bi·t' mani't·o. cukwa'nd awe"'n we"lau"·
our father the pure spirit. But any person cleanly

si·t' mi'ŋgaxse top·owe"'ləndaməŋ
living less handicap, advantageous easy he feels it to be

mu't·əme"n ne'n·i·təma'k·an. awe"'n paxki·'akitcila'u'si·t'
to follow, to tread in the path. Anyone heedless, careless life living

a'hohɔ'lkut' mət·oma'k·an. e"'li· ko"'xəna tahɔ'l·au
his is hard road. Because our father loves

we"'mi· təmi·mə'səma wu'ndjitc awe"'n ula"te"'nami·n
all his children that is why a person will enjoy life

ə'n·da wə'li· ɔk nala'i· le'hele"'xe"t'. ən·da'neŋg
when properly and quietly he lives. When he sees

we"'mi ke'ko na'xpən·e yu'ni· pe"mi·ga'xtiŋg pona'
every thing including the the year even

yu'kwe ə'n·da ta'xkɔkəna'mi·eŋg we"'mi· ke'ko
now this time when it is fall every thing

ki·ci·'kan ɔk ə'nda wuski·si·'kɔŋ we"'mi· ke'ko
has matured and when early spring-time every thing

sak·a'lkɔt ɔk ki·'ki·ckwi·'k·e k'təma'n·daməne"n təli·'
grows, buds out and day by day we feel that

pe'tci· k'cəte"'kamən na'ni xą'səna ki·'cux
the coming heat that he our brother the sun

ki·'ckwun·o"'ke"s ɔk ke'naxke"ləmuk·o"'nə ko"'xəna
day-moon and he takes care of us our father

ge"tan't'o'wi·t ti·t'pukwi·'k·e ɔk naholi·' na'ni·
Creator during the night and including him

xą'səna ni·'pai·ki·'cux. nawu'ndji we"'mi· ek·ala"'mi·
our brother night-moon. From this all according

pe'tci· mi·lkwu'si·t' tci·'tan·os·owa'k·an manitu'wak
coming their given power, strength spirits

hukwe"'yuŋg ə'nda le"ləmu'k·uk ɔk naholi·' ne"'ki·k'
above where dwell, and including those

wi·'t·au'su'm'kweŋg[16] yu'tali· endalau'si·'eŋg" ce"'la-
who live among us here where we live [on earth]. That is

haneni·' elaŋgu'ndieŋg pi·''ponda'məne"n ə'nda ale"-
that our kindred we have heard when we

[16] Referring to tree, water, vegetable, fruit, animals, deer, birds, spirits, who live on earth among us.

764 po'm'kwəŋg" ki·'kayoyəmaⁿn·i'ŋga. yu'kwətci·te'
539 were being taught by our deceased ancestors. Now then yet

k"t·en·au"'ki· yu'kwe wu'ndji· te'l·ən ək kwu't·i·
one other thing. This [day] hence ten and one

t'xo'k·wənak'ha'k·e kowato'"ne"n eli·'xiŋg təli'tc'
days you know the rule that

we"'mi· awe"'n ga'xta pot·o"'n ki·'səmac'k·an e"'li·
every body must bring feast "cooked food" because

na'n·e lak·hi'k·wi· da"'kwi·p'hɔ't·i·n.[39]
at that time a feast, we shall have ["eating together"].

e"'li· pi·"'pon·da'wəna ki·kayoyəmənaⁿn·i'ŋga ehela"'-
Because we have heard our dead ancestors what

konotəmi'xti·t' lowe"'yək haŋg ə'n·da te'l·ən ək
they said about it they said [said] when ten and

kwu't·i t'xo'k'wəni ə'n·da le"la'əhək pa"t' na'ni·
one days when mid-sky [zenith] comes the

txa'səna gi·ckwuni·' gi·'cux natc' me"k·əni·'hil·a"k'
our brother day moon [sun] and then the last time

kwi·poma"'nen wa'ni· wi·kac's·i·t. ək kowa"to"'nen
we eat together, feast that departed. And we know

we"'mi· awe"'n a'pi·'lowa wi·'kɔs·i·'li·t' e"laŋgoma"'tci
everybody there is deceased relative

naneki·'ckwi·k kwi·poma'wəna elaŋgo'meŋ a'lənde
that day we eat with our relations some

ləmwe"'kami·k kəni'm'kalgo"'na lowe"'nhaŋg paxka'ndji·
times long ago left us it is also said extremely

wəle"'ləndamowa'k·an. ə'nda awe"'n ma't·a pe't·a"k'"
gladness, joy. When anyone does not bring

me'hmi·'tciŋg ci'xkuŋdj me't·aelə'ndam elaŋgo"'meŋ
food very disappointed, grieved [are] our relative

təliŋgə's·i·n pe'mi·'tsaxtiŋg lo'we"[40] k'təma'k·elə'mwi·
they look on those eating he says sadly, pitifully

ne"'pehatc' pet·a'k·e mi·'tci·a. cela'hənen elaŋ-
"Did anybody for me bring me food?" Now then my

[39] The feast usually given to the deceased one year after his death is called *wi·ho"'wi·n*, the feast to the individual deceased, only a few relatives taking part. In the *da'kwi·'p'hɔ't·i·n*, both the living and the dead are believed to be feasting together.

[40] Referring to the neglected spirit, who now speaks.

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gu'ndieŋg lak'hi'k·wi· a'hɔt' tɔli·' awe·'n wɔli·'
kindred how difficult [it is] for anyone carefully

n'ha'ɔ'tun eli·'xiŋg alepondowa'k·an. yu'kwelap·i·
to follow the rule teaching. Now again

kɔmi·'ko·'lae'mɔł ndɔla'ŋgundo·'stuk' te·'k·a wɔli·'
I call to your memory my kindred (vocative) be cautious carefully

ke·'naxki·to·''tam ga't·a we'ndjaxkona'wɔna na'n·i·
you observe we must we prepare the

lɔna'p·ɔɔk·an ne·'li· kwi·ya·'gwi· wɔlamałsi·'eŋg· ɔk'
soul-spirit while still in good health we are and

wɔle'lɔm·uk·weŋg na'ni· ko'xɔna ge·tan'to'wi·t'. e·'li·
the blessings of him our father the Creator. Because

elaŋgu'ndieŋg ako' kowa·to·'nen wi·xka'utɛi·a·' kwu't·i·
my kindred not we know how suddenly in one

spa'ŋgweɔk·an nɔtc' alaha't·e yu'ni· ɔndalausi·'eŋg·.
winking of an eye besides then the end this our earthly home.

e·'li· ko·'xɔna tɔli·' gi·ce·'lɔmi·n ɔk' wuni·'hil·a'tamɔn
Because our father so created and he has the power

elki·'kwi· kwe·tɔnɔma'k·weŋg kle'hel·e·'xeyɔk·anɔ'na.
sufficient to take from us our life.

e·laŋgu'ndieŋg a'hi· k'hahe·lɔn·a'uk·i· ke'ko ge·'ski·a'
Our kindred very many are things which I could

kweita'kɔnu'tɔmu'lan cuk'· elaŋgu'ndieŋg me·'tɛi·
explain to you [interpet to you] but my kindred now

ta'hi·hwu'ska k'tɔma·k'si·'hɔna. ni·'p·ɔna nda'hi·
very greatly we are weak and unable. I myself very

ke'ko li·'laem·a n'ha'k·ai e·'li· haŋg· ma't·a
matter grieved myself because it is said not

te·p·i·'hi·le·'i· pɔna'elɔndamowa'k·an. cuk'· wani'ci·
broad enough my mind [mentality]. But I am thankful,

ko·'pɔn·e mɔca·'tamɔne·n eli·'xiŋg yu'ni· ale'pon-
however, we remember the rule and this teach-

dowa'k·an ɔk' wu'ndji kwɔla·'te·nami·'nen ɔ'nda
ing and on account of it it brings us joyous feeling when

neɔk'·ti·'yeŋg kwi·ya'k·wi· ɔse'i·k'tenxi'ŋhɔna. ɔk'
we see each other we being still quite a number [of us] many of us. And

naxpo'xkwe·nen ɔ'nda pɔ'ndameŋg ko'xɔna tɔ'p'·
we take with us when we hear our father his

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764-539 tona'k·an e·'li· ke·'aki· lə'si·eqg·' ga't·a weli·'laeha'-
word because our best we do to try to

won·a na'ni· ke·'tan'to'wi·t' pe·'tci ki·ce'ləmuk·oŋ.
please the Great Spirit even our Creator.

wani'ci· te·'pi·lahap·a.[31]
I thank you, this is all for now.

Preparations For The Burial

Free Translation.

And now, my kindred, this person is dead. It is hard to explain how things should be done when a person is dead. First is the sitting up (wake), as is sometimes said. Four men are employed for the game because they play the moccasin game all night. Now when it is almost dawn, then those who dressed up the deceased shoot three times towards the east. Thrice they discharge guns. And then afterwards they awaken everybody. Two men and two women begin to prepare food and after they have eaten everything is made ready to put the body into the box. And the food must be cooked in a hurry so that there will be time enough to make the hole (grave). And also the food is separated by those who are in attendance who eat and those his kindred, and the orphans and relatives. And also anyone else may eat with them. Now when they bring this body to the group of pitiful bodies (graves), the hole is made ready. Then they lower the body and someone next is selected as speaker.

Address By An Invited Speaker

"Here now, my kindred, now this grave is ready. All his belongings are ready to be divided among the laborers (pallbearers). Now, my kinsman,[32] I am indeed thankful that I can address you because the time of two days has elapsed since you departed this life. Here when I accept this one shoulder length of wampum as an inducement for me to say something when I address you, now, my kinsman. Now you must forget this our earthly existence and all these here

[31] This terminates the address of the speaker at the grave.

[32] This solemn monologue is addressed to the deceased by the master-of-ceremony as he kneels over the grave.

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related ones. Do not think anything of the past, because you are now prepared to join the existence of the deceased where the soul spirit belongs. As you know, everybody will have the experience to depart this life. This is our earthly home, that is why, indeed, you have heard many times that a person should prepare and purify the soul-spirit so that it will go homeward directly where dwells Our Father, our Creator. Now, thanks. It is required to remember well what I have said." 764-539

[The Master-of-Ceremony now turns and addresses the people present who are standing before the grave.]

"Our kindred, we can see how pitiful it is and its sadness when we are orphaned. We can see how we miss the departed deceased, our relative, and we must be careful to think well upon it so that we may do better. We have heard our deceased ancestors how, it is said, they begged and pleaded with us that we should consider our own life earnestly as it stands in the teaching of reality handed down to the Delaware. That is why a person should positively and carefully study his life to prepare properly his soul-spirit. We have heard, a long time ago in the beginning of the earth, since it was known, how to travel the road of Our Father, the Pure Spirit. But any person living cleanly has less handicap and feels it easy to tread in the path. Anyone living a careless life has a difficult road. Because Our Father loves all of his children that is why a person can enjoy life when he lives properly and quietly. When he sees everything, even the passage of the year, even now at this time when fall is coming on, everything has matured; or in the early springtime when everything is budding out, day by day we feel the coming on of the heat which he, our Elder Brother, the Day Moon (sun) gives it, and as he, our Father, the Creator, takes care of us during the night along with him our Elder Brother, the Night Moon. Wherefore all is according to the strength given them by the spirits above, where they dwell, and also those who live among us here where we live on earth. It is that, our kindred, which we have heard when we were being taught by our deceased ancestors. Now, there is yet one

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other thing. Ten and one days from this day, you know it is the rule that everybody must bring cooked food because at that time we celebrate the feast.

"As we have heard our deceased ancestors, as they spoke about it, saying as we are told, when ten and one days, when in mid-sky (noon) comes our Elder Brother, the Day Moon (sun), then we eat together for the last time with the departed. And we know, all of us, that on that day our deceased relative is there as we eat with our relations, some having left us in the ancient days, as is said, bringing us extreme joy and gladness. When anyone does not bring food our relative is disappointed and grieved as he beholds those who are eating and says sadly, 'Did anyone bring food for me?' Now then, my kindred, how difficult it is for a person to follow the teaching and the rules properly. Now again, I call to your memory, kindred, how difficult it is for a person to follow the teaching and rules properly. Now again, I call to your memory, kindred, to be cautious and carefully observe how we must prepare the soul-spirit while we are still in good health and enjoying the blessings of him Our Father, the Creator, because kindred, we do not know how suddenly in one wink of an eye, even then the end may be of this our earthly home, because Our Father so created our life and he has sufficient power to take it from us.

"Kindred, very many are the things which I could explain to you, but kindred, now we have become very weak and pitiful. I, myself, am very much grieved over the matter because, as it is said, my mind is not sufficient for it but I am, nevertheless, thankful that we remember the rule and this teaching, from which we derive a feeling of joy as we see each other, there being quite a number of us. And we take away with us Our Father's word when we hear it as we do our utmost to try and please the Great Spirit, even Our Creator. I thank you. This is all for now."

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NANTICOKE RITES

Texts Relating to the Nanticoke

N D

It is not surprising that through early association with the Nanticoke of extreme southeastern Pennsylvania and Delaware before the Indian emigration from these regions, the Delawares should have assimilated, or had in common with this interesting tribe, certain practices and beliefs which have survived in tradition. Indeed we learn that as late as the period when the Delawares had settled down in Kansas there were among them a small number of Nanticoke families who at the time retained their peculiar language and some of their distinct customs and ceremonies. Wi·tapano'xwe was, fortunately for us, versed in some of these elements of lore and dictated his knowledge in the following text versions.

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Owing to the early disruption of the Nanticoke after the abandonment of the original territory on both sides of upper Chesapeake Bay, the tribe became gradually widely dispersed among the Iroquois in Canada and the West.[1] Some of them clung to their early affiliates the Delawares, whence the memories and traditions of the tribe among the Delawares of today. A short account of Nanticoke history in connection with the Delaware Nation has been presented in the author's study of the Big House Ceremony (*op. cit.*, p. 16) and a series of references to articles on the language and ethnology of the Nanticoke has been included in it.

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Nanticoke Origin of Witchcraft and Poison

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An interesting phase in the traditional history of Delaware customs comes out in a tale that attributes the origin of Delaware witchcraft and the administration of poisons to the Nanticoke. The tale in question is an accusation against the Nanticoke implying a degree of innocence on the part of the

[1] F. G. Speck, "The Nanticoke and Conoy Indians, with a Review of Linguistic Material from Manuscript and Living Sources," Historical Society of Delaware, Wilmington, 1927, pp. 1–77.

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Delawares in respect to the arts of black magic that would not be easy to establish for any one tribe in a culture area where similarity is so general throughout. It appears, however, from a scrutiny of data pertaining to the Nanticoke of colonial times that this tribe possessed a reputation for its knowledge of malefic sorcery. And aside from the earlier sources the tradition had survived with force among the Delawares of Zeisberger's time, as we shall see in the ensuing quotations, while it has not by any means died out among the Delawares today, as our texts show. Harrington also has notes on the same belief from the Oklahoma Delawares.[1]

And again, some Seneca assert that witchcraft was introduced among them by an Algonquin tribe which they had adopted. ". . . The *I"dos* company, one of the medicine societies, is said to be the survival of the older witch society introduced among the Seneca by the Nanticoke."[2]

"By the Nantikoks the Indians have been instructed in the use of a peculiar kind of poison called *Mattapassipan*,[4] meaning poison. The Nantikoks dwelt formerly in Maryland, along the sea, some of them still living there, and later moved to Wajomick[5] along the Susquehannah, finally proceeding further northward. In the late war they were driven out with the Six Nations. They brought knowledge of this poison, which carries many evils with it, to the nations and also to the Delawares. What it is and whereof it is made I am unable to say, as I have never seen it, and the descriptions vary. Possibly it is prepared in different ways. It is said not to be baneful in itself and to receive its power for working injury through witchcraft. It is declared to be capable of infecting whole townships and tribes with disorders as pernicious as the plague. With its use the sorcerers are said to be able to remove a person though he may be several hundred miles away. The Delawares have endeavored to extirpate the shocking evil. Their efforts extending over two years were in vain, for those possessed of the knowledge of its uses kept the knowledge secret. The Nantikoks who were wretched inventors of this poison and its arts, have nearly destroyed their own nation

[1] M. R. Harrington, information, 1926, also "Religion and Ceremonies of the Lenape," 1921, p. 124.

[2] A. C. Parker, "Code of Handsome Lake." Bull. 163, N. Y. State Museum, Albany, 1913, pp. 27, 29.

[4] This venerable term is still in use among the Delawares of Oklahoma, who pronounce it *mat-apa-i'kan*, "evil medicine." They are, moreover, cognizant of all that is baneful in association with the idea.

[5] Evidently intended for *wadje'wik*, "among the mountains."

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by it. Its use is rendered efficacious by a company of murderous sorcerers uniting in the same design. Its effects are the more terrible, because it is used not only in connection with individuals but whole communities. In their practices the sorcerers, except in case of the poison described, seem to use no Beson (*pi·'sun*, medicine) but a little piece of an old blanket or something else. This they rub in their hands until formed into a little ball. Naming the one who is marked for death, they throw this ball at him, saying that he shall die. They call this shooting the witchball. Any person wishing to get another whom he hates out of the way will hire a sorcerer or several of them to do it, paying them in wampum. The Indians say that their poison and witchcraft have no effect upon white people because they use so much salt in their victuals. But this is merely a pretense, as there are instances of Europeans having fallen victims to their skill in poisoning.

"It is remarkable that Indians of such character have been led to lead a new life and turn from all deceitful practices. From them it has been learned that most of their dark practices grow out of imagination and superstition. Of those, however, who seem versed in the use of *Mattapassigan* none have to the present time been converted, though some with whom I came into contact were inclined to better themselves but were unable to refrain from their evil practices, being afraid, apparently, that their lives would be endangered." [6]

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NƆ'TCI·'HWE°YƆ'K·AN, *Origin of Witchcraft*

Lɔ'mwe wi·əxka'utci wa'ni· lən·a°'pe wi·əxka'-
Long time ago all at once these Lenápe suddenly

undaola'o yu'li·ł une't'ko°'wi· lɔ'n·owɑk. gąci·las·i·'tci·k
discovered a secret [of] these Nanticoke people. Great wise men

maxkama'o ne°li·'l awenhake°'yo təli·' e't'ma
discovered of those uncivilized that were

xe°lunalu'k·un.
killing them in numbers.

kwu't·i· xkwe° ahi·pa°'lsu' e'nxɑn lɔ'kwi·k'
One woman taken very sick every evening

əndama'lsu. ge'hel·ɑ me°tci·'gai [7] ką°ce'ləndamowa°'-
and got worse. Indeed now it was very greatly astonishing

[6] Zeisberger, *op. cit.*, pp. 126–8.

[7] Used to denote the "feeling of weakness, yet with the ability to try to do the thing desired." It is always used by chiefs in addressing their people, *Me°'icka*—"try hard." The expression denotes deep humility of the speaker, yet a sincere devotion to the cause, and solicitude for its accomplishment. sda°'hi·

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k·anu enxu'nalund lən·a'pe. ki·ci·'ma·n ni·'ca
phenomenon the many lives which they had taken Indians. They engaged two

gącil·əs·i·''tci·k l·ə'n·owak tə'l·i ke·na'gi·'to·n we·'mi·
wise men men so that to guard all

ɔka'i· e·'pi't na' pa'lsi·t. t·ət·a''se·gi· təbu'kwi·k
around the place where lay that sick person. Sometime in the night

wi·axka'utci na' pən·da'wan də'l·i kuk·andji·'mwi·n
suddenly then they heard so like hooting

k'o'k·o·s.[8] mąt·anak'ge' na'lapi·pi·l·'li· k'o'k·o·s
owl. In a little while then again another owl

naxk·u't·am. nayu'' xkwi·'tanaxkwe' dwe'tci· na'u-
answered. Right there top of the tree they came and

həlane·'yo el·i·' nayu'ni· tə'l·i kəl·i·'p·ama·n yu'li·l
alighted as right here that fixed their gaze this

pa·lsi·'li·t·tci. ne'k·ex nane'' pe·xu'tci· tə'n·dagą'ci·p'-
the sick person. These there near by there

ha·'ne·'yo' ne·k' gąci·l·əs·i·'tci·k lə'n·owak. ni·ka'ni·
hiding those wise powerful men. Beforehand

gi·ci·'xto·ne·yo təl·i·' li·tc'ni·l·'la·n na'ko'wi· awe·'n
they had fixed it so that they kill any person

ci·'t·a'kɔ t·'u'na·n nani·'awe·n ne''hel·a·t'
or else capture that person [or thing] the one who killed

lən·ape'ɔx. na'xpən·a'nen yu'ki·k' k'ok''os·ak
the people [Delawares]. And then these owls

nayu'li· nax'ko'laən. o'n·da poni·'hi·la'di·t kek·ula''
they these were shot off where they sat. And when they fell discovered

yuk pi·li·awe·'ni·k ni·'ca' awo'·nhako'·yɔk'. ɔk
these something else two persons uncivilized (savages). And

su·'su·psuwak a'cowi·lung'hu·'sowak' xo·'s·a'[9]
naked They were across the breast skin

aundeka'k-wus, "I am unable to do the thing even to express myself as my forefathers did, but I'll do the best I can," is another formal expression of humility with devotion used by the trained speaker. To use these phrases is an accomplishment of the experienced Delaware orator.

[8] Great horned owl.

[9] Refers to a piece of undressed skin with hair on.

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ɔk pɔ'n·da's·ɔn·a"k·an nɔ't·ɔt' nalɔn·e' tci·p·i·e"le·k'
and pouch small that besides had destructive

pi·'"su·n ne'notci·we"i·t·uŋg talɔn·a'ɔ·u. ɔ'n·da
medicine the witchcraft was carried in. When

ɔ·'p·ɑŋg we"mi· awe"n we·homa'o mae'hel·a·n
next morning everybody was notified they gathered

pɔn·a'ɔn ne"ki·k' ne'hal·ɔ'n·dji·k' lɔ'n·owak.
and examined those killed men [the two owl-men].

akuawe"n maxgao'wi· we·ɔ'ha·t'. na'xpɔn·e nan·e'n
Nobody was found that knew them. And them those very

e·kao'k·we ta'l·i· p'ɔn·d'hak·e"hɔn. ni·ci·'-
under the trees there were covered up in the ground [buried]. Two

k·e·t·i'ŋ·ge wi·ɔxka'utci na' pe'tci ki·i·'ke·yɑk' ni·'ca
years afterward suddenly that came visiting two

xkwe"'yɑk. we"mi·yu'tali· kwi·'la"ta' oxɔm·e'yɔk
women All everywhere inquired in vain

wi·t·aye'matai·tci·. napɔn·ahɔn·e'n la'p·imaehel·a·"n
their husbands. Again gathered together

ɔk wendji·'ma·n ne"ki·k xkwe"'yɔk. we"hom·ao'k
and with sent for those women. They informed them

lo"'we·n tce·la" ne' ekao'k·we po'k·hak·ehɔn ni·'ca'
it was said right over there those trees under are buried two

awe"'ni·k no't'huk·'kɔ·n·a'n·ɑk ni'ci· gaxtə'n' petci-
people they came among us two years ago brought

na'x'poxwe'yɔk tci'p·i·e"'l·e·k' ke'ko. ce"'la hɑn·e·k'
with them bad thing. There are [pointing out, motion]

ku't·act'xi·ŋx'ge de'n·xu·na'luk·unanɔk'. lowe'·yɔk'ne·k
sixty [persons] of us they have killed that many of us. They said

ne"'ki·k' xkwe"'yɔk tɔ'l·i ne'k'·tɔn·pi·s·gek·e' lo"'we·
these women that one night they said

e·li·' lɔ'n·owak ma't·a' wa'kwu'ɔ·i·i· tɔ't·a e·ya"t·i·.
both men no one know where they went.

ɔ'n·da' wei't·a'kɔn·utama'und' lowe"'yɔk nalɔn·e"'-
When they explained it to them they said they were the

ki·'k. ɔ'nda'lɔ'n·d' yu'kwe' ki·'lo"'wa' one't'ko"'wɑk'
same ones. When they told these you Nanticokes

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xu"ha kowa"'tone"yo' ne'n·i· tci'p·i·e"l·e"k' pi·'sun.
alone you know that bad medicine.

lowe"'yɔk ne"k' aku'ta' ne'n·i li·'m'k·ɔt·u"'wi· tə'l·i
They said that is not what it was intended for that

awe"'n 'ni·'la"we"tun. cuk yu'ni· li·'mkɔt' li·
anybody kill [take life]. But this it is intended to be

naka"'lkɔt ə'nda' kok'"sa'p·iŋ li· naka"'lkɔt'
used for to searching out, seeking to learn [to test out circumstances]. So it is to be used.

ə'nda' ka'tawa"'taoŋg ke'kɔ e"laehɔ's·i·t'
When we want to know something how they conduct themselves

awe"'n ci·t·ak·ɔ' tə't·a' pe"mai·''ke"t'. ə'nda'
anyone, or where they may be camped. When

a"'lamwe"yɔ'k·an·i·k' nda' maxta"'geŋg' do''pali·'
in time of fear in war-time scouting

lə'n·owɑk aloke"'man' tə'li we"'mi· li· ɔka'e
men they send out to all for around

ke"'na'gi·tone"yɔx tə'li a" ma't·a wi·xkołko'wɑn
they guard that to not surprise them

awe"'ni·k' ma't·a we"liam'go'm'kweŋg.
any persons not on friendly terms with us.

naxpa'ən·e'n ku't·i· ke"'ptca"t aki·'no'
Afterwards one foolish (in selfish sense) young man

ə'nda' ki·i·'k·e"t' one"'t'ko wi·i·'ke"i· unak'hi'k·ayi·n
when visiting Nanticoke visited he borrowed

ne'n·i· ne'hno''tci·we"i·'tuŋg npi·'sun. yu'kwe pe'tci
that witchcraft medicine. To this [day] coming

ako"' ha'c·i kwu't·'goxɔx'to'wɑn. neke'x ke"k'"
not ever brought it back. So there was wampum

nhaka'lkwɔt' ə'nda' gi·'kai·'hɑnd'.
used when borrowing.

e"'li' yu'ni·li·wa'xkut ənda"we"'n ma't·a
So this is a known fact when anyone not

maya"o'pe"i·'tut [10] ne'k·ɑtc x'"tən·ape"'ma ci·tak·ɔ'
observe the strict rules he himself his family or

[10] Meaning that the wampum should be given as a binding obligation when something has been received, as in the case of the medicine. The wampum makes

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e·'laŋgoma'tci ci·ka·'kok' ka'ŋgami· ke'ko.
his relatives an affliction mysterious thing.

nan·eki·'ekwi·'k' wu'n·dji' al·emi·'xan
That very day from was beginning

aha·nhu'k·wi· pi·'li· awe·nhak·e·'yak'
it was [introduced] handed from one to another other uncivilised peoples

wa·'tola·n we·'mi elama'kami·'k e·lai·'k·e·t' wa'ni
to instruct them all over the earth where dwell these

me·xke·'yaxga'si·t' yu' manate·'yuŋg. ce·la'·-
red flesh men [red men] this continent on. That is

hən·en təli·' wa·'to·n wa'ni· lən·a'p·e
the way how understand the Delaware [the beginning of witchcraft].

Free Translation.

A long time ago all at once the Delawares suddenly discovered a secret of the Nanticoke people. The men of power discovered of those who were barbarous that they were killing them in numbers. One woman was taken very ill; every evening she became worse. Indeed it was most astonishing how many lives were taken among the people. They engaged two men of power to guard the dwelling all around where the sick person was. Some time in the night there they heard the hooting of an owl. Shortly after then another owl answered. Right there in a tree-top they came and alighted as they fixed their gaze straight upon the sick person. There close by were hiding those men of power. Beforehand they had arranged it so that they could kill anyone or else capture the creature who had killed the people. And then these owls were shot down where they sat, and when they fell it was discovered that these were transformations of two barbarians. And they were naked. They wore across the breast a skin and a small pouch in which evil medicine was carried for purposes of witchcraft. When everyone was notified next morning, they assembled and examined those dead men. No one was found who knew them. And then those same ones

the exchange innocuous. If he failed to carry out the rules it would bring the sickness back to him converting the medicine from a curative agent to a poison. For further discussion see chapter on Wampum, p. 63, "Big House Ceremony."

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were buried in the ground. Two years later there came suddenly to visit there two women. All about they inquired in vain for their husbands. Again they assembled and sent for these women. They informed them saying that right over there under those trees were buried two creatures who came among us two years ago, bringing with them a bad thing. And behold there were sixty of us as many as they had killed. They then decided, these women, that one night, as said, no one knew where these men had gone. When it was explained to them they said they were the same men. Whereupon they were told, "You Nanticoke alone know of the evil-medicine." They replied, "That is not what it was intended for, namely that anyone should take life. But it is intended to be used for divination. Thus it is to be used when we wish to know how anyone is, or where they may be camped. When in time of fear during war-time they send out scouting men to guard all around in order that no one may surprise them, anybody not on peaceful terms with us."

Afterwards one foolish young man while visiting among the Nanticoke borrowed that witchcraft medicine. Down to this day it was never taken back. And there was wampum used when borrowing. So this is a known fact that if anyone does not rightly observe the custom he himself, his family or his relatives would suffer affliction from some mysterious cause. From that day it originated and was introduced to mankind, among the barbarous tribes all over the earth where dwell the red-skinned people on this continent. That is how the Delawares knew of it.

NANTICOKE SKELETON DANCE

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A few words of explanation may make clearer the symbolism of this strange rite. The feast of the dead possesses features to be remarked upon as characteristic of tribes of the southeastern area who perform a reburial of the bones of the deceased, after which the soul is permanently dismissed from association with kindred living upon earth.

The Nanticoke have long been notorious for the custom,

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attributed to them by a number of authorities [11] covering almost three centuries, of removing the flesh from the bones of the dead and preserving them in bundles which were kept for a time by the family of the deceased, finally to be buried together in an ossuary as certain sources tell us, or kept in a building called a "bone house." [12] This strange funeral institution is undoubtedly of far southern origin as MacLeod has independently announced.[13] Quotations from the sources have been so numerous in literature dealing with the Nanticoke that it is not urgent to reproduce them here. There is, however, reason to note an extension of the custom to the Delawares which the latter, as I interpret probabilities, have acquired through association with the Nanticoke. The two tribes appear to have had close association throughout the span of their known history. A Delaware author of 1890, R. C. Adams, gives particulars of a Skeleton Dance practiced by the "Wolf Clan" of the Delawares which traced its origin to the Nanticoke. This description of the dance which I quote, coincides in part with the features of the ceremony described in the following text by Wi·tapano'xwe.

"*Human Skeleton Dance.* Given only by the Wolf Clan of the Delawares. A certain dance given as a memorial to the dead was supposed to clear a way for the spirit of the deceased to the spirit land.

[11] William Vans Murray, "Manuscript Vocabulary of the Nanticoke" (1792), Collections of American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, edited with notes by D. G. Brinton, *Trans. Amer. Phil. Society*, Philadelphia, 1892. See also F. G. Speck "The Nanticoke and Conoy Indians," 1, Historical Society of Delaware, Wilmington, 1927, pp. 32–5; Heckewelder (1819), *op. cit.*, p. 92; D. Brainerd (1745), "Life of Brainerd," Philadelphia, 1838, pp. 169–72; Gabriel Thomas (1698), "An Historical and Geographical Account of Pennsylvania and West Jersey," Narratives of Early Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Delaware. Ed. by A. C. Myers, New York, 1920, p. 340.

[12] Given by Murray as "Chicocason- or awacason- house," a term apparently related to Virginia Powhatan "quiocason" of corresponding meaning. The Nanticoke vocabulary also gives the term "Matsucksumpq." Reconstruction of this strange combination of consonants results apparently in resolving it to something akin to Delaware *ma'tci'hami·k*, denoting "abandoned or condemned ground" or "the house of the abandoned" meaning a grave. The term has been recorded more accurately by Hariot (1588) as "machacomoco" in the dialect of the tidewater Virginia tribes.

[13] W. C. MacLeod, "Priests, Temples and the Practice of Mummification in Southeastern North America." XXII Congresso Internazionale degli Americanisti, Roma, 1926, pp. 228–9.

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When a member of the Wolf Clan died, the flesh was stripped from the bones and buried, and the bones were dried at some private place. At the end of twelve days the skeleton would be wrapped in white buck skin and taken to a place prepared for the dance and there held up by someone. As the singers would sing the men who held the skeleton would shake it and the bones would rattle as the dancers would proceed around it. After the dance the skeleton was buried. Tradition says that in ancient times some of the head men in the Wolf Clan had a dream that they must treat their dead in that way, and the custom has been handed down to them for many centuries. The other clans say the custom does not belong to them. The custom has been long dropped. There has not been a skeleton dance since 1860." [14]

Harrington refers to information collected on the ceremony but prefers Adam's account in his memoir without further comment (Harrington, *op. cit.*, pp. 183–184). There may, however, be some unreliable statements in the Adams description.[15]

Zeisberger's description of the ceremony is also at variance with the others, but in several essential features the versions agree. Thus he observes:

"The Nantikoks (Nantikokes) of whom more in another place, have this singular custom that about three or four months after the funeral they open the grave, take out the bones, clean them of the flesh and dry them, wrap them up in new linen and inter them again. A feast is usually provided for the occasion, consisting of the best they can afford. Only the bones of the arms and legs of the corpse are thus treated. All the rest is buried or burned." [16]

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Archaeological evidence is at hand to extend the Nanticoke practice into the country of the Iroquois who gave them asylum after 1760 in the shelter of the League. The Susquehanna people, whose burial remains were considered by Moorehead to be of the Iroquoian type, show "bundle burial" as

[14] R. C. Adams, "Notes on the Delaware Indians," Report on Indians Taxed and Indians not Taxed, U. S. Census, 1890, p. 299.

[15] The account by Adams is not to be explicitly relied upon as a source. Adams, among other claims, assumed the honor of being the only descendant of Chief Captain White Eyes, and so had himself portrayed. This statement is not accepted without modification by the Delawares, for we are told that his mother was a white woman and his father was scarcely more than one fourth Indian and that of Stockbridge (ɔ'p·an·u) Mahikan descent adopted by the Delawares. The name ɔ'p·an·u "easterner" was applied to the Stockbridge and the Iroquois in general.

[16] Zeisberger, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

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far north as Athens, Pa., on the Susquehanna river, where bones were "heaped beside or over the skull." [17] This form of disposal of the dead is by no means limited to the area or disposed of by this single reference.

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That the ceremony described may have been performed by a Nanticoke contingent in the old Delaware Nation is possible in view of the fact that the Nanticoke have been referred to as constituting a "Wolf Clan," one of the ceremonial groupings, whenever we have mention of their social identity.[18]

We cannot, however, decide how and when the Delaware acquired this strange rite diffused from the peoples south of them, yet it is evident from Lindeström (1654–6) that it was known to them in southeastern Pennsylvania, and therefore this locale should be indicated as lying within the area of distribution of the custom of skeleton cleaning and bone burial.

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The interesting and important short text to follow recounts the traditional facts descriptive of the Skeleton Dance as maintained by a small Nanticoke sect among the Delawares as late as 1860, before the Nation had removed from Kansas to Indian Territory.

The Nanticoke of the Delaware Nation kept up the following performances until about 1860. Due then to inter-

[17] W. K. Moorehead, "The Susquehanna Archaeological Expedition," Second Report of Pennsylvania Historical Commission, Harrisburg, 1918, p. 122. From one to seven burials were in the same grave. In one ossuary were bundle burials indicating that the bones had been deposited in a pit subsequent to the disappearance of the flesh, evidence that they had been cleaned of flesh and buried. Also D. S. Davidson, "Burial Customs in the Delmarva Peninsula and the Question of their Chronology," *American Antiquity*, 1, no. 2, 1935, pp. 84–97 shows archaeological evidence of bundle burial and bone cleaning as a recent trait in the Slaughter Creek neighborhood of Maryland. Dr. Davidson also gives a summary of bone-cleaning burial customs in the east and in the southeast from whence the idea had originally spread. See also pertinent discussion by W. B. Marye, *ibid.* II, no. 1, 1936, pp. 40–6.

[18] Among the Nanticoke descendants incorporated with the Six Nations Iroquois at Brantford, Ontario, it was found that the tribe was remembered as a homogeneous group under the title of the "Wolf Clan" (Speck, "Nanticoke and Conoy Indians," *op. cit.*, p. 22) and a similar inference may be made from the statement of Adams (see f. n. 14 above, *op. cit.*, p. 299) who defines the Human Skeleton Dance as a "Wolf Clan" rite.

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mixture with the Delawares and the loss of the Nanticoke language among the descendants, the ceremony became obsolete. Some of the Delawares could, however, speak Nanticoke and sing the Nanticoke songs. Among the last of these was Bill Swa'nak (Bill White-Man), who himself was a Delaware. Recent information (1929) from the Delaware Nation states that there are only about six persons of recognized Nanticoke descent living there now.

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THE NANTICOKE SKELETON DANCE OR GHOST DANCE

Lɔ'mwe'kaming	no'tci·	wani·lən·a"'p·e	ki·'xkai·-	
Long ago times	ever since	the Delawares	lived close	
ke'yɔk'	yu'li·ł	uɔne't'ko"'wɑ'	wɑ̈nda'kui·'tali·'	ka'si·-
together with these		Nanticokes	back there	Kaw
ai·si·'pu[19]	e"'laik·e"'t·up'	wani·lɔna'p·e	ne"'skun	i·'k·a
River	there dwelt	the Delawares	before	there
wu'ndji	ngat·'ha'k·e"t'	a'hi·ma'	ɔse'i·	kwi·a'gwi·
thence	migrated	very very	many	yet
a"'po	une"'t'ko	ɔk	lo'we"n	nihi·la't·tci·
there	Nanticokes	and	it was said	there they had
ełhak·e"'ti·t	yu'kwe	ne'k·e	ke"xen·a"'gi·	ełha'k·e"t'
ceremony custom.	Now	there were	several	customs
ɔk	ma'uhowak·an.	kwut·ena"'ki·	e"łha'k·e"t'	lowę'suk'
and	dances.	One of them	customs	was called
une"'t'kowi·	wi·tci·payu'k·an	ɔ'n·da	awe"'n	pali·-
Nanticoke's	ghost dance	when	a person	passed
lə'si·t'	yu'ki·k'	une"'t'kowɑk'	te"xi·i·'	mala"'ci·
away	these	Nanticokes	above the ground	like
te"'xkakani·'xɑn	te'pi·təlɑk'hi'k·wi·		hukwe'yuŋg	
on platform of sticks	about so high		up above the ground	
nɑce"'	nanexkwi't·tci·	ni·pala"'n	awe"'n	ne'n·i·
and there	on top these	they stand	person's	that one
wtohe"'p·i·.	nace"'	ełki·'kwi·	we"'mi·awe"'n	ne'oyu"'s·əm
his body.	And there	whenever	all persons	that his flesh
kwun·a'i·k·e	pali·'le"	ɔk	pɔ't·alət'	nɑ'ce"
finally	decays	and	falls off	and there
we"'mi·keko				
every thing				

[19] This was the older Delaware reservation in Kansas on Kaw River.

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maeʰhɔ'sᵊu nɑ'li· hɔ'k·hak·eha'sᵊu nayu'təpɔ·kwi·'i·
is gathered and so is buried right here in front

ni·'p·ai·t' na'k·a awe·ni·'ka. nace·' tət·a lak'hi'k·wi·
where it stood the late deceased person dead. And there sometime afterward

nɑ'tc maeha'sᵊu we·'mi· oxkanu'm·a nayu'ni·
also will be is gathered all his bones and this

xkana'ndəp [20] naka'lkɔt' ə'n·da tci·'payuk·a'xti·t'
his skull using, doing when they had the ghost dance

tɔ't·a enxen·a'xki· awe·'ni·k' wi·kɔsi'xti·t' ə'n·da
as many as many as these persons who died when

kwu't·i·ga'xtiŋg we·'mi· awe·'n mɔca·'la·n [21]
within that one year all persons must represent the dead person

ɔk nane't'xi· hi't'kɔ ni·'paxtun a'pa·'mi· awe·'n
and as many sticks they erected about person

me·ca'k'·ᵊsi·t' naneshak·i·'to·n ɔk ənahəli·' ik·a'
person's height made that high. And besides there

e·tcgi·'xtun ne'n·i· xkana'ndəp' ɔk te'pi·talɔk'hi'k·wi·
they fastened this skull and about so far [on stick]

na'ni· ka'xtun pe·'mi·stce'hel·a·k' hi't·uk nace·'
there they tie cross-piece stick and there

awe·'n ɔ·'xt·a·s mani·'han mala·'ci· awe·'n a'lən·de
person doll they make like someone some

lə'n·u tci·'takɔ xkwe·' nɑce·' yuli·l xka'na nayu'-
man or woman and there these bones right

təpɔskwi·'i· ha't·un ni·'paxte·k' ne·'li·l hi't·'kok'
opposite they put where stand these sticks.

me·'tci· ə'nda na'k·epi·'ske·k' natɔ'ləmi· ma'uhi·ne·'yo
Now when after dark and they begin they dance

ᵊwe·'mi· awe·'n e'nxi· wi·'hil·ənd' witcikɔ'nt'ke ɔk
everybody every each was named takes part in dance with and

[20] We learn also that sometimes an image or dummy of rags and clothes would be used instead.

[21] Every deceased person represented in the ghost ceremony had to have a living representative in the company, someone selected from his family or a near friend. This was important. These participants had their faces painted black (*xska'xtai*, "black ashes or charcoal") as a sign of mourning appropriate to being in the company of the ghosts which are being called back by the ceremony.

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764 yu'ki·k' ne·'xkuhak·e·'tci·k naxpa'ŋgo·ma'ɔk' [22]
539 these who did the singing they give them ceremonially

ke·'ko ɔk wa'ni· ni·ka'nka·t' kwu't·i·t'po·'kwe
wampum and the leader of dance all one night

ma'uhi·n me·'tci· ɔ'n·da a'ləmi· pe·t·a'p·aŋg me·k·-
dances and now when beginning to be daylight the

əni·'hi·l·a·k as·owa'k·an la·s·o·'wɑk' ne·'ki·k' nexku'-
last song they sing these drummers

hak·e·'tci·k' lowe·'yɔkhaŋg təlowe·'humb' ma'
singers they say, it is said "You said finally [before you died]

mba'te' ndo·mi·ya'n· me·'tci·ta yu'kwe kənat·o·'mal.[23]
I will come when you call me. Now here I am calling you."

Free Translation.

A long time ago, when the Delawares lived close together with the Nanticokes, back there on Kaw River (Kansas) prior to 1875, where the Delawares dwelt before they migrated from that region, there were many of the Nanticoke there yet. And it was said at that time that they had a custom of their own. Now there were several customs and dances. One of these ceremonies in particular was called "The Nanticoke Ghost-Dance."

When anyone passed away, these Nanticokes erected a platform of sticks, above the ground, about as high as a person. And there on top of this, they stood the body of all such (who had died), the flesh finally decaying and falling off, to be gathered and buried right in front of where the corpse stood. And there, sometime afterward, all the bones and the skull to be used when they had their Ghost Dance.

According to the number of persons who had died during the year, they chose representatives of the dead persons. And they erected as many posts, as high as a person's head, as the number of dead during the year and there they fastened the skulls (one at the top of each post). And besides, they

[22] The relatives of those who have died and are represented at the ceremony buy the wampum beforehand to distribute as an appreciation of help to the men who perform the dance before the bones.

[23] This was the title of the final song.

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tied a cross piece of wood and dressed up the figure of the man or woman like a doll, upon it (beneath the skull). And they put the bones of the deceased right opposite each of the posts. Now, when it has become dark, they begin their dance. Everybody who is to take part in the dance is named, also those who do the singing. And each performer is ceremonially presented with wampum, also the leader of the dance. They dance (in a circle in front of the posts, bearing the skulls and effigies moving counter-clockwise) all night. And when it is beginning to be daylight, they sing the last song, these drummers and singers. This is what they say in the song, according to tradition, "You said before you died, 'I will come when you call me!' Now here I am calling you." N 764 539

Some additional notes on the procedure of the Skeleton Dance were recorded in Oklahoma from Mrs. Minnie Fouts, an aged Delaware, whose mother had taken part in the ceremony and who had mentioned some of the details to her when a young girl. We learn that the ceremony was performed near a fire, but far enough away so that there was no light. They had to dance around the effigies in the dark. The men who attended each of the skeletons lay down near them and shook the bones when the dancers went by. The dancers each had a gourd rattle. A kettle-drum was also used by the singers at one side. At midnight a feast of beans, bread, pumpkins, and meat was partaken of by the dancers and all smoked the pipe. Then in the morning all the food left over was gathered up and divided among the guests. D N 764 539 [15]

[p. 150 is blank]

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The matter presented in the study of Delaware ceremonies and dances just completed is intended to satisfy, so far as it may, the desires of several classes of investigators, both lay and professional, in the field of the human sciences.

To the ethnologist Delaware ceremonialism has properties which should throw light upon the whole structure of native religion in the east. The principles functionally underlying the rituals and festivals are not strange to the native groups from the southeast to the northeast this side of the Mississippi. The graded hierarchy from the peak of heaven where sits the supreme being and creator, through the lesser ranks of nature-forces of the sky brought into existence by him, down to the creatures of earth, human and animal and plant, is a familiar theme in the teachings of Indian philosophy in eastern North America. The intrusion of a pattern bearing the mark of Delaware thought is apparent in most of its details here, which will undoubtedly strike the attention of the specialist in cultural history. And there are evidences of trait diffusion—the migration of ideas in simpler parlance—among the native groups of the area which will prolong the discussions provoked by divergent theories of culture origins in the east. To the ethnologist of the historical persuasion I could predict that something significant may be expected to show forth from studies analogous to these now in process of completion among the allied Canadian Delaware and Munsee. I might even risk an estimate of my own—a crass violation of ideals of caution in such ventures—in respect to the possible mutuality of beliefs and rites of worship among both Delaware-Munsee and Iroquois. It is my impression namely, that a Delaware could participate in the program of many of the ceremonial observances of a Cayuga Iroquois Long House group with a certain assurance of understanding the theology involved and of being able to take part comfortably in them despite his ignorance of the language. Historical factors to produce such conditions cannot well be erased from the local picture. And yet Algonkian religious history has no definable landmarks.

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771 The succession of creed teachings which developed in the course of Delaware recorded religious history after the exodus from the Atlantic seaboard to the Mississippi and the southern plains has followed within a fairly uniform contour. The pattern has remained intact even under the domination of a succession of native revealers and prophets whose "arrogant dogmas" thwarted the efforts of the first Moravian missionaries in the seventeenth century. It has lasted on through the turbulent period of colonial wars and the Revolution, until the adoption of the Peyote worship in the last quarter of the century just passed.

And there are those whose interests are aroused when clearer inspection of the country's aboriginal institutions becomes possible through the efforts of ethnologists exploring the still existent tribes, in recording and interpreting native custom before it is swept away by changes lately going on.

And finally, there are those who see the institutions described here with the eyes of appreciators favored by fortune with a breadth of understanding to sense a realization of sacred antiquity in the limitless vistas environing the past of America's unwritten religions. I wonder if by gaining an insight into religious customs of the tribe he will see how Delaware religion has authentic qualities in that it represents a growth-phase of nature interpretation, sympathetic and rationalized, which causes one to enter into its meanings in reference to the forest world with an awakened understanding.

829 771 Like other aboriginal groups in the east (the Algonquin, Ojibwa, Wabanaki, Montagnais-Naskapi and even the Iroquois—respectively Man-beings, Wise-men, Native-men, Native-born-men and Man-men, literally translated) the Delawares proclaim their self-conscious human status by designating themselves as *Lənaʻpeɔk*, Common, or Ordinary, Men, as distinct from other creations. It is in their consciousness of possessing human arts and industries bestowed upon them by their creator that they distinguish themselves from the animals and other living forms. But their high relief of distinction from other created beings lies in the endowment of mental attributes, the superiorities which elevate them

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above all non-human life forms, and in particular the endowment of their own system of worship for which they are directly responsible to the Creator himself. Herein is born their tradition of religion, the very center of their culture, denoted by an abstraction, *lənapeɔ'k·an*, literally "human (Delaware) soul, or culture," a term occasionally encountered in the reflections of the speakers quoted in the texts. Upon such criteria of judgment the Lena'pe rate themselves as creatures far above the emergence level. And we have before us part of the evidence in the religious forms recorded in the preceding pages. To be sure the mass content of rites and ceremonies has been declining before the inroads of European influence. A mere pitiful residue is at hand, as the orator has frequently reiterated in his sermons. The native nations of Indians on the Atlantic seaboard were by no means crude or a primitive people.

That this essay is a sequel and complement to my Big House Ceremony volume (1931) need scarcely be repeated. Where that treats the composite rites whose aims are to invoke, address and thank the Creator, this deals with procedures directed toward influencing the lesser spiritual forces, to afford them satisfaction and to secure immunity from their imaginary persecutions. All is framed in accordance with a native concept of the workings of natural law as put in motion by the will of the Father, the Creator. The rites described are dominated by a constant idea in the minds of the people, to wit: that of being in the midst of a universe of partly-known spiritual beings potentially pernicious. Some among them are approachable by the proper forms of address on the part of man for the removal of harmful influences. When the corrective measures to alleviate the evils of spirit agencies are known they constitute the rites of relief, and here we have them collected; their philosophy of the uncertainties. A far-reaching distinction is observable between the Delaware attitude toward the Creator, who is consistently benign, and the spirits of lower rank addressed in the rites now treated whose attributes are not. These observations bring out the contrast between the ceremonies dealt with here and those

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covered in the Big House Ceremony. The infallible Father and Creator seated in the twelfth heaven above, in his beneficence toward man is believed to yearn for the voiced recognition of his creatures as they pay their devoirs to him—his human children gathered to celebrate the twelve day ceremony of the Big House. Even his creatures the trees recognise his all-high benevolence when murmuring their prayers to him in the rustling of leaves, and the birds whose voices are also prayer-calls. We learn again how only the created beings can depart from the rule of goodness and perfection; the lesser spirits, those on earth, mankind, animals, and plants. In man's struggle to avert the evil purposes of his spiritual opponents there have developed the means of checking their evil tendencies and consequent misfortunes. Thus are accounted for the rites and ceremonies. When the source of specific persecution has been discovered, the Delaware discovers the spiritual means for relief through revelation. Thus he has laid his mind open to the accumulation of visions and visitations and to their acceptance as verities. Most typical are the cases where captured and partly tamed animals, friends and pets at first, are imagined to possess lurking potencies of evil. They, like man, combine the opposed natures of good and evil. Caprice, it seems, decides their reactions toward each other. Yet throughout is the realization of the ruling principle of good in the abstract represented by the Creator, invoked through the medium of spirits nearest to him to intercede for the people's good. So we interpret the functions of the ceremonial rites and addresses which form so valuable a part of the material provided here by our informants. The systems revealed are not stupid and "superstitious" but poetical in their undertones of reasoning: poetical mechanisms of escape.

Thus having gone through the data gathered for preservation through some years of study at the feet of native informants, we build up the structure of knowledge providing source material for future students in the field of the humanities. In doing so we anticipate that unhappy time now hastened by the forces of commerce and "mass civilization" when

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native tribes and peoples in America are no longer distinct or treading in the traditional culture-paths of their borebears—the lost but venerated *ager antiquus*. We are dealing here with customs decadent within the last two generations, that is all. Echoes of rites last performed by the Delawares have died down but the voices are still living voices. As such they have been made to repeat the phrases and, as ex-players, enact the movements of age-old ceremonies. From this circumstance we all share the feeling that much is lacking, too much indeed to encourage a hope for light on their origins. There seems, however, to be no way to make up for the loss.

The dominating personality in this exposition of Delaware religious plays, their Director indeed, has been Wi·tapano'xwe —I prefer to designate him by his ceremonial name, as ordained by Algonkian custom in matters of this nature, rather than by his vulgar name C. J. Webber. So quite inevitably out of this circumstance has resulted material for a modest case-study of the mental attitudes of an *individual;* a Delaware of social prominence stirred by interest in the sophistries of his inherited traditions and creed. This is fortunate, for studies of personality in culture are constantly being emphasized. Wi·tapano'xwe unconsciously sits for his psychological tintype, adding another Indian character self-delineation to the series now assembled for analysis by investigators in this field, the later generations of students stimulated by the pioneering school of anthropological thought founded by Franz Boas.

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Geographia Americae

with

An Account *of the* Delaware Indians

Based on Surveys and Notes
Made in 1654–1656

By
PETER LINDESTRÖM

Translated from the Original Manuscript
with Notes, Introduction and an Appendix
of Indian Geographical Names with
their meanings

By
AMANDUS JOHNSON
Author of the "Swedish Settlements," etc.

[Title Page]

The Swedish Colonial Society
Philadelphia, 1925

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17. "In their ears they have brass and tin rings and small bunches of their money hanging." See p. 196. Observe especially the "plate" or badge worn by the figure to the left. This is probably of stone, corresponding to the objects represented in plate No. 28, upper row. From De Bry, *Voyages*.

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18. "On their heads they have sitting long and large painted bird feathers. Around their necks they have strung much money, hanging down like a lot of chains on their breasts." See p. 196. From De Bry, *Voyages*.

[Facing p. 191]

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CHAPTER IX.

Concerning the Natural Disposition, Life, Temper and Stature of the American Savage People.[1]

These wild people in New Sweden, they are not 101
called wild because we believe them to be mad and insane, but on account of their idolatry and error in religion. [They] are a kind of people 102
of brownish color,[2] quick, skillful in working with their hands, willing, clever and ready to learn and grasp a thing. In stature and form [they] are tall, some of them, medium and some, short; a well proportioned people, slender and straight as a candle. Why there are no hunchbacks among them the following chapter, concerning the rearing of their children will show, how they are treated while they are young.[3]

It is a brave people, daring, revengeful; are 103
eager for war, fearless, heroic, strong in their arms, but very weak across their back, very agile, and limber,[4] running like horses and have the

[1] *Om dee Americaniske wilde Menniskiors naturlige skickelicee, lefnat, humeur och Gestalt.* Cf. Holm, *Kort Beskrifning*, 110 ff.

[2] *Af brunn achtigh coleur.* Hence Lindeström does not call them red, but describes them correctly.

[3] See below, Chapt. XII.

[4] *Mycket wijge och lätte.* "They are generally quick on foot, brought up from the breasts to running; their legs being also from the wombe stretcht and bound up in a strange way on their Cradle backward, as also anointed; yet have they some that excell: So that I have knowne many of them run betweene foure-scoure or an hundred miles in a Summers day, and back in two dayes: they doe also practice running of *Races;* and commonly in the Summer, they delight to goe without shoes, although they

[pp. 1-190 not processed]

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scent of animals like dogs; have a good memory, are intimate in conversation,[5] industrious and diligent, clever, charitable, wide awake, bold,[6] inquisitive,[7] patient and hardened to stand much hardship. On the other hand, they are also very mischievous,[8] haughty, are eager for praise, wanton, bestial, mistrustful, untruthful and thievish, dishonorable, coarse in their affections, shameless and unchaste.

In short these Indians are people of various qualities and more inclined towards bad than towards good, which will be further observed in the following.

---

have them hanging at their backs: they are so exquisitely skilled in all the body and bowels of the Countrey (by reason of their huntings) that I have often been guided twentie, thirtie, yea, sometimes fortie miles through the woods, a streight course, out of any path." Williams, *Key*, 73–4.

[5] *Förtrogne i conversation*, that is they are trusting and openhearted.

[6] *Karske*, also *morske*, bold, cocky.

[7] *Undhersamme*, wondering, inquisitive. In this connection Williams says: "Their desire of, and delight in newes, is great, as the *Athenians*, and all Men, more or lesse; a stranger that can relate newes in their owne language, they will stile him *Manittoo*, a God." *Key*., 62.

[8] *Odijgdige*.

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CHAPTER X.

Concerning the Marriage of the American People and the Treatment [Used] by the Savage Females Against Birth Pangs.

These Indians are a bestial people and have their intercourse together with father, mother, brother and sister like irrational brutes, no one knowing rightly who is the father of the child;[1] but their sachem or chief he must take a wife to himself, not because he intends to conceive children with her alone, but because his government and household exists as under a family,[2] about which we shall obtain further [details] hereafter. This his wife, she must manage his entire household like a matron who always, in the absence of the sachem, must guard his property, which becomes her possession after his death.

When she has thus been wooed by him, the bride must bedeck [herself] for a year and a day,[3] although they do not know what a year means, yet

[1] Lindeström's religious zeal led him astray; besides he did not understand the family life of the Indians. Some early writers state that Indians of this district had but one wife, except the chiefs, who had many. Their ideas of morality were of course different from those of the white settlers. De Vries tells us that an Indian would lend his wife to a friend, and that jealousy did not exist among them.

[2] *Hans undherhafwande Regiment och Hushåldningh bestådr lijka som undher een familia.* In other words, according to Lindeström, the government is patriarchal, the chief being like the father of a household, hence it is necessary to have a mother of the household. *Cf.* in this connection a summary on "The Chief of the Indian Clan," by Rudolf Elander (Gothenburg, 1909).

[3] "A year and a day," see above, *Dedication*, note 23.

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585 a period of about that length is designated, dur-
292 ing which she must go the whole time in her bridal
305 attire, completely covered with their money, strung into the form of all kinds of figures, with which the ears, the arms and the body, down to the knees, are ornamented; with oiled hair, and face painted with all kinds of colors like a fearful scare-crow face.[4] Then she is decorated in the very best manner according to their views. Now when this said period is over then there is an end to their bridal ceremony.

824 When the savage females bear their children,
825 they tie around their waists a snake skin of the most poisonous kind of snakes, which are found in New Sweden and are called rattlesnakes, which has such an effect that they do not know of the least pain in their child birth, and are as healthy in an hour, as if they had never been through it.[5]

---

[4] *Skrådbukeansichte (Skrâpukansigte)*, mask, scarecrow. 'The Indians carry small bags of paint with them, keeping the colors separate as red, blue, green, brown, white, black, yellow. They esteem brilliant colors most, which shine like pure metal.' Van der Donck, *N. Y. Col.*, 2, I, 161–2, 163–4; cf. also, *N. Y. Col.*, 2, II, 269, De Vries, *N. Y. Col.*, 2, III, 106.

[5] It is the opinion of some medical men that the reports about the easy childbirth of primitive women are more or less fictitious; but that is probably not the case. Dr. Mjöberg, a Swedish explorer, relates that he saw women who bore children on the march and continued their journey without interruption.

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19. INDIAN FAMILY BY LINDESTRÖM. ORIGINAL SIZE; FROM THE *Geographia*.

[facing p. 195]

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CHAPTER XI.

Concerning the Habit, Clothes, Decoration and Ornaments of the American Savage People.

As to the subject of this chapter we shall begin with the head [of the savages] and continue to the feet. Firstly as to to the males. They shave off the hair upon their heads with sharp flints,[1] allowing tufts to remain here and there, and the bare places they color with red paint. Their hair is by nature coal black and long grown, so that their locks at the ears, which[2] they allow to hang uncut, reach down to the knees, which they, together with the other hair, anoint with bear fat, that it shines so that one can see one's reflection in it.[3] The locks they bind up with braids and ribbons and their threaded money. On the ends of their hair they string money and tie a knot to [it].[4] Around the head over the forehead they bind a belt of money, the width of a hand, strung in the form of figures.[5]

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[1] Small pieces of chipped flint.

[2] Which refers to locks; the order is Lindeström's.

[3] *Så en kan spegla sigh ther uthj.* Williams says in this connection: "Yet some cut their haire round, and some as low and as short as the sober English; yet I never saw any so to forget nature it selfe in such excessive length and monstrous fashion, as to the shame of the English Nation, I now (with grief) see my Country-men in England are degenerated unto." *Key*, 58.

[4] A custom described by other early writers. This form of decoration is common among primitive peoples. I saw it over large areas in West Africa.

[5] Something like the wampum belt. See picture facing this page. This headband is also common among primitive peoples.

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[302] By nature they indeed get whiskers, but they do not wish to have any, because they think it is shameful, wherefore, when the first hairs appear they sit and always pull and pluck out the hair with the roots, so that it never gets to grow,[6] but they look smooth on the chin as the women. They paint themselves in all kinds of ways in the face with all kinds of colors, so that they look inexpressibly horrible, when they think themselves to be adorned in the best manner. In their ears they have brass and tin rings and small bunches of money hanging. On their heads they have sitting long and large painted bird feathers. Around their necks they have strung much money, hanging down like a lot of chains on their breasts. And among these they have their *Pådhra* or idol hanging, concerning which more will be said hereafter, in the chapter about their faith and religion. On their backs they have their *notasser*[7] or bags hanging, very skillfully and neatly made, in which

[6] *När huldhåren uthepricka, sittia the alltydh* [och] *ryckia och plocka uth håår*[en] *medh rötterne.* Cf. *Doc.*, I, 281.

[7] The bags were made of corn husks, hemp and bast, often beautifully decorated. Cf. De Vries, *N. Y. Col.*, 2, III, 95, 107 ff., 269. The Lenapé (and possibly general Algonkian) word for bag, in this case with Swedish plural ending *-er*. Lindeström often used Indian words with the Swedish plural ending. The early settlers of all nationalities adopted many words from the Indians, some of which have become part of the English, French, Spanish or Portuguese languages in America of today. The Dutch and Swedes likewise borrowed many such words, but these forms died out with the elimination of the Dutch and Swedish languages. Only in a small district in New Jersey has a Dutch Dialect survived to our day, and this is greatly mixed with Indian words. In Dutch documents the word occurs as "*denotas*, bags," *Doc.*, I, 284. De Vries calls them *notassen*. Cf. Brinton, *Dict.*, 81. For Indian Bags, see Hodge, *Handbook*, I, 125.

As to the decorations of the Indians Williams says: "They hang these strings of money about their necks and wrists; as also upon the necks and wrists of their wives and children." *Key*, 131.

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they have their things, such as food, money, to-[482]
bacco, tobacco pipes, very artistically and well[301]
made; also bows and quarrels[8] (like those of the [41]
Poles) and helmets made of hard wooden pins and
strong wood, that no arrow can go through them.
Around their arms at the hands[9] they have brass[301]
and tin rings and threaded money, hanging like[276]
chains. In their hands they have tobacco pipes an
ell in length, which are screwed together with
leather, to lean on, and in these pipe-heads will go
a handful of tobacco.[10] Around their waists they[281]
have tied a broad belt of money, strung in the form
of figures, from which their pieces of cloth hang,[11]

[8] *Bågar och skiäcktor (skäckta)*, scutcher, swingle.

[9] *Om armarne wed händerne;* that is the wrist.

[10] *En godh näfwe*, a good handful. "*Hurit Biscko Hopocken*, a beautiful clay pipe. The Barbarians make tobacco-pipes of red, yellow and blue clay, which is found there in the country of fine quality.

Hurit Assacus Hopocken, a beautiful stone pipe. For the Barbarians also make tobacco pipes of white, grey, green, brown, black and blue stones, which are found so soft (*blöta*), that they can be cut with a knife, and from this, pipes half an ell in length are made." Campanius, *Cate.*, 143.

Williams says: "Generally all the Men throughout the Countrey have a Tobacco-bag with a pipe in it, hanging at their back; sometimes they make such great pipes, both of wood and stone, that they are two foot long, with men or beasts carved, so big or massie, that a Man may be hurt mortally by one of them; but these commonly come from *Mauquauogs*, or the men eaters, three or four hundred miles from us. They have an excellent Art to cast our Pewter and Brasse into very neate and artificiall Pipes. They take their *Wuttassauog* (that is, a weake Tobacco) which the Men plant themselves, very frequently; yet I never see any take so excessively, as I have seene Men in Europe; and yet excesse were more tolerable in them, because they want the refreshing of Beare and Wine, which God hath vouchsafed Europe." *Key*, 55. Cf. also Smith, p. 24; De Vries and other early Dutch writers, *N. Y. Col.*, 2, III, 23, etc.

[11] "*Machequoce*, a Girdle; which they make curiously of one, two, three, foure and five inches thicknesse and more, of this money which (sometimes to the value of ten pounds and more) they weare about their middle and as a scarfe about their shoulders and breasts." Williams, *Key*, 131.

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which some of them use to cover themselves with, which are of red or blue frieze or deer skin, everywhere sewed on with their money, and around the edges which hang down, lightly fastened with hanging narrow strips, like thick long fringes on the ends of which they also have money strung. Over their shoulders they have belts of money, threaded into figures. Otherwise, while the savages grow up they go quite naked, the very way they are born to this world, with the exception of the money they carry on themselves, knowing of no shame, and would not to this day hide their privacy, if they were not corrupted[12] by the Christians, of whom they are ashamed, and are hence compelled, if they wish to have dealings with the Christians, to cover themselves with something.

Lately, however, the sachems or chiefs of the savages and some of the principal savages have

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[12] *Uthskämde*, perhaps Lindeström means: to cause to be ashamed.

Williams says:

"They have a two-fold nakednesse:

"First, ordinary and constant, when although they have a Beasts skin, or an English mantle on, yet that covers ordinarily but their hinder parts and all the foreparts from top to toe, (except their secret parts, covered with a little Apron, after the patterne of their and our first Parents) I say all else open and naked.

"Their male children goe starke naked, and have no Apron untill they come to ten or twelve yeers of age; their Female they, in a modest blush cover with a little Apron of an hand breadth from their very birth. Their second nakednesse is when their men often abroad and both men and women within doores, leave off their beasts skin, or English cloth and so (excepting their little Apron) are wholly naked; yet but few of the women but will keepe their skin or cloth (though loose) or neare to them ready to gather it up about them.

"Custom hath used their minds and bodies to it, and in such a freedom from any wantonnesse, that I have never seen that wantonnesse amongst them, as, (with griefe) I have heard of in Europe." *Key*, 106. Cf. also Van der Donck, *N. Y. Col.*, 2, I, 194.

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begun to buy shirts from the Christians, reaching to the knees; but they do not know enough to let them be washed, but let them stay on unwashed as long as there is a single piece left. Lately the Christians have had a lot of coats, reaching to the knees, made of frieze for the savages living nearest [to themselves], the one side of the breast and back, red, the other side, blue, likewise on the arms, as the clothes of the orphan children in Stockholm are made. These [coats] the principal sachems bought from the Christians and liked them very much. Otherwise, when they want to be well dressed they wrap around themselves an ell of red or blue frieze of the broad Dutch frieze,[13] which they also buy from the Christians. On their feet they use *sippackor* or laced shoes of deer skin,[14] bordered and decorated with their money, almost in the same manner as the northern lace-shoe.[15]

The habit of the women is the same as that of the men, the only difference being in the adornment of the hair, in that the females braid their hair in 4 locks, which they allow to hang down the

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[13] *Breeda holländska frijset.*

[14] A Lenapé word (whose root is present in the various Algonkian dialects). It is found as *seppock*, *shipak*, etc., and came to mean shoe. It was adopted into English as *shoepack*. Lindeström added the Swedish plural *-or* (*sippackor*), as Swedish words ending in *a* were usually feminine and took the plural in *-or*. See also Campanius, *Cate.* Cf. note 7, above, and Chapt. VIII, note 5d. In Minsi the word seems to have been *matchtschipuk* (*matchesin*, *mockussin* (New England), etc., *moccasin*.) Cf. Brinton, *Dict.*, 71; Zeisberger, *Dict.*, 171–2; Williams, *Key*, 107. The Indian shoes were made of corn husks and (mostly) of leather (deer or elk). Cf. *N. Y. Col.*, 2, II, 269.

[15] *Norrländske mörpakor.* "Shoes" somewhat similar to the Indian moccasins were used by the Lapps and Finns in Northern Sweden.

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back or they tie it up in a square pouch on the back. Some of them tie it in a square pouch made for that purpose, but indeed they do not shave the hair off their heads nor do they use belts.[16] Some of them have their bags hanging on the side as the men do. This may now be sufficient about the dress of the Indians which can also be seen from the accompanying drawing of the savages.[17]

[16] *Eij heller bruka de gehängh.* *Gehäng* really means a sword belt or baldrick.

[17] Their covering, say the Dutch writers, was a coat of skin (beaver, bear, raccoon, etc.), with the fur outside in summer, inside in winter; or a coat of turkey feathers as described by Lindeström. They also wore leather girdles, ornamented with pieces of whale's fin, whale's bone, or wampum. Later the natives adopted shirts and cloth from the colonists. Cf. De Vries, Van der Donck, Rasier, the *Vertoogh*, etc., *N. Y. Col.*, 2, I, 194, II, 269, 347, 111, 95, etc.; Hodge, *Handbook*, I, 310 ff.

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CHAPTER XII.

Concerning the Treatment and Education of the Children of the American Savages.

As soon as the children are born to the world 854
the savage female takes the child and binds it to a piece of board, which is just as long as the child, with three long and broad braids, and does not place the smallest particle of clothing under or above the child. The first braid she wraps over the forehead and around the board, the second braid, right over the arms and the board, the third braid, right over the knees and the board, tying it[1] right strongly to the board.[2]

Then [she] puts it away on the ground, bends a bow over it, the two ends of which on either side she puts down into the ground, above this the savage female places a deer skin.

When she now takes the child to suckle it, she 855
takes the child together with the board, so that it always remains lying fastened to the board; but every time she takes the child to herself, she presses the child over the forehead with her hands the hardest she is able against the board, as well as the breast and the knees. Through this the savages become as straight as a candle and flat in the neck as a board.[3] The savage female never

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[1] The child.

[2] *Knytandes det rätt hårdt till brädet.* For this custom, see Hodge, *Handbook*, I, 265, 357–8. Cf. De Vries, *N. Y. Col.*, 2, 111, 106.

[3] Cf. Hodge, *Handbook*, I, 96.

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854 loosens it from the board, while it is young, except when she must do so for sanitary reasons. Nor do we ever hear their children cry or whine like the Christian children, but [they] are very patient. But when some illness attacks them, then they lament so miserably and quietly with a soft sound. However, they show themselves very tender towards their children, nor do they do away with their children, as unfortunately the prostitutes among the Christians too often do.[4]

857 When now the children finally get out of this their swaddle, they carry their children with them on their backs, just like the gypsies do.[5]

855 But as soon as the male children become so large
868 that they can run around, they exercise them with cross bows and slings, and when they become somewhat larger with the shooting of guns; and then names are given to them, how they are to be called.[6] But when the children become somewhat older, so that they arrive at some understanding, then they select and adopt their *Pådhra* or idol, faith and religion, about which we shall see below in the chapter concerned.[7]

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[4] Williams observes in this connection: "They nurse all their children themselves; yet, if she be an high or rich woman, she maintaines a Nurse to tend the childe." *Key*, 52.

[5] Cf. Hodge, *Handbook*, I, 357.

[6] By what name they are to be called.

[7] See below, Chapt. XV.

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CHAPTER XIII.

Concerning the Language of the American Savage People.

There is not much in particular to write about this, except that it is a poor language,[1] that a word may have many meanings, yet is spoken with a high pronunciation. As for instance when the savage says: *Ita kire*, that is to say, God's peace, welcome, how are you? *kire*, thou; *nir*, I; *tanckomen kire*, whence comest thou? *kecko hatte marrama*, what hast thou to sell? *punck*, powder; *aruns*, lead; *pickon*, gun; *makirick pickon*, a cannon or a large gun; *orit kire*, thou art beautiful and handsome; *mdkij*, yes indeed; *kicksj ita*, that's so; *nittappe kire*, thou art my good friend; *sewan*, money; *pddhra*, God; *manitto*, the evil one.[2]

Besides this we may also observe [something about the language] by the savage words and names, both here in the relation concerning New Sweden as well as from the map of New Sweden, whose lands, islands and creeks are all given and designated in the Indian language. Besides this these Indians or savage people are so clever, that when they see and observe that they have any dispute[3] with any of the surrounding nations, then he who is sachem or chief calls together all his people and instructs them saying: "Now we have

[1] *Ett fattigt språk*, not rich in words. This erroneous opinion has often been expressed even by modern writers. Cf. *Doc.*, I, 281.
[2] Cf. Campanius, *Cate;* Holm, *Kort Beskrifning*, 144 ff.
[3] *Någon fiendskap*, really enmity, warfare.

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178 enemies of that or that nation, therefore we must
648 make up a new language. This is now hereafter to be called thus and that this, so that our enemies who understand our language, used up to this time, may not be able to find out in the present times of war, what we have in mind to carry on against them; which none of our Renappi dare on pain of death disclose to our enemies;[4] and from this we can observe what a strong memory they have, that those who are neither able to read or write, are able to memorize such a lot in a hurry.[5]

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[4] It appears from this that the Indian had a kind of code language. Cf. Hodge, *Handbook*, II, 567 ff. See also *Doc.*, I, 281.

[5] "Their Braines are quick, their hands,
Their feet, their tongues, their eyes;
God may fit objects in his time,
To those quicke faculties."
Williams, *Key*, 43.

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20. "THESE INDIANS . . . USE NO OTHER ARMS BUT BOWS, SPEARS, ARROWS AND QUARRELS, SET WITH SHARP FLINT STONES." SEE P. 206. THE PLATE OR BADGE WORN ON A STRAP IS PROBABLY WHAT VAN DER DONCK REFERS TO WHEN HE SAYS: "THEY CARRIED A BLACK BADGE ON THEIR BREAST."

[FACING p. 205]

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CHAPTER XIV

Concerning the Origin, Warfare, Government and Guns of the American Savage People.

Concerning this,[1] [it can be said that] those who 622
are the sachems of the Indians do not know how to take such into observation; but those who are rulers retain the mastery and command, children after children, those who are male persons, whose subjects are to be submissive and obedient, which they [also] are,[2] attempting nothing else than to live up to that [which] they are commanded [to do], and in case they do otherwise, then he who is sachem holds them to strict justice that he without pardon,[3] when [someone is] caught in the act, consigns the same to death. And if any savage 628
of one nation kills one of another, immediately he[4] sends one of his subjects to the same nation and stealthily has one of them killed, whereby at once war is caused between them. Further, they follow 671
no other law or justice, but in whatever manner anyone unjustly suffers from the other, they immediately revenge on one another, like for like.[5]

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[1] Concerning the origin of the government, *i.e.*, the chiefship of the Indians. The idea is that the sachems do not know anything about the origin of the people or of their own families, or how their families at first were raised to the rank of rulers.

[2] *Thet the och dro.* "This word and the next, are words of great flattery which they use each to other, but constantly to their Princes at their speeches, for which, if they be eloquent, they esteeme them Gods as Herod among the *Jewes.*" Williams, *Key*, 63.

[3] *Uthan pardon.*

[4] The chief.

[5] "If any robbery fall out in Travell, between Persons of diverse States, the offended State sends for Justice; if no Justice bee

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In military matters and warfare these Indians are brave, using no other arms but rifles, bows, spears, arrows and quarrels, which are set with sharp flint [stones], and they use helmets which are made of sticks and wood, so strong that no quarry is able to go through it. They show no reverence or honor to their ruler, which their sachem does not require of them, but their sachem may come to sit just as soon last as first, thus and in other such things [they show no preference for their sachems].[6]

They know nothing of taxation and they are entirely ignorant of architecture and fortifications.[7]

Since I in this chapter have mentioned something about muskets, I will not neglect to say that in the year 1380 the art to shoot with guns was invented in Germany by a monk and alchemist by the name of Bartholdh Schwartz.[8]

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granted and recompence made, they grant out a kind of Letter of Mart to take satisfaction themselves, yet they are carefull not to exceed in taking from others, beyond the proportion of their owne losse." Williams, *Key*, 76–7.

[6] Perhaps my copy is defective here.

[7] *Medh Architecteurer och Fortificationer att umgåås är them aldeeles okunnigt.* Cf. Hodge, *Handbook*, I, 77 ff.

[8] Berthold Schwarz (Constantin Anklitzen(?)) of Freiburg(?), inventor of artillery and probably of gunpowder.

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21. Two small fetish masks of wood, and what was possibly a powder measure, made from an antler, carved with a human face and apparently the tail of a rattlesnake. This was undoubtedly carried on the same strap as the mask to the left, probably by a Lenape Chief. "The *Pâdârs* . . . is hung on a chain of their money on their breast." (See p. 207.) From original in University of Pennsylvania Museum. Photograph kindly supplied by Dr. Gordon, Director of the Museum.

[Facing p. 207]

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CHAPTER XV.

CONCERNING THE PAAHRA, IDOLATRY, FAITH AND RELIGION AND SACRIFICES TO MANITTO: THE DEVIL, ALSO WHETHER THE INDIANS HAVE A KNOWLEDGE OF CHRIST.

With reference to the religion of the Indians [it 778
is to be observed] that they adopt their *Pâdhra*[1]
or idol when they are about 15 years old. Thus
the one makes for himself a child of skin with
head, body, arms, hands, legs and feet to believe in.
The other selects a lion claw, that one, a bear claw,
this one, an eagle claw, that one, a lion tooth, this
one, a bear tooth, this one, a bird bill, etc. In fine,
whatever limb of any animal, bird, fish or other
[living thing] they desire to choose for their god
or *Pâdhra*, as they call [it], which is hung on a
chain of their money on their breast, they consider
this their god, so sacred that no one is allowed to 788
touch it,—the one who attempts it, he becomes his 790
chief enemy.[2] In this their god they have such a 787

[1] *Pâdhra (pôra).* This is a cognate of *boaNigan* (Penobscot), stem *boa (poa)*, which Prof. Speck says "denotes the concept of mystery." It is found in most dialects of the northeastern tribes, *bua-, pu-, bao-, pow-*, etc. *BoaNigan*, which Speck says means "instrument of mystery," and Lindeström's *pâdhra (pôra, bôla)* possibly denote the same concept,—"object through which or by which mysterious power is obtained and practiced." Cf. Speck, *Penobscot Shamanism, Mem. of Am. Anth. Ass.*, VI, 249 ff.

Cf. Heckewelder, *Indian Nations*, 239 ff. For Dutch accounts, see De Vries, Van der Donck, etc., *N. Y. Col.*, 2, I, 138, 213, 227, etc.; II, 203; III, 956, 159, etc. Cf. also Brainerd, Journal (*Mirabilia Dei*, etc.); Hesselius, *Kort Beretteise* (1725), 2 ff.

[2] The *taboo* of charms and fetishes is common among primitive peoples. Even the natives of Cape Verde Islands will not allow their charms to be touched. They are civilized, call themselves

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strong faith, that the night he dreams about him,[3] he will at once the following day be able to shoot as much game and catch as much fish as ever he wants to,—the evil one, undoubtedly helps him to it.[4]

The first hunt which the savages arrange in the spring [they dedicate to the evil one]; if they then can shoot ever so many animals in their hunt they do not sell a single one of them, but make a burnt offering of it[5] to *Manitto* or the devil; then they will that year have good luck in hunting and shooting.

They do, however, know a little historically about Christ, which they consider a fable. When the old savages are to tell the Christians what passed in former times, they say that it has been told them from times immemorial by their fathers and forefathers, who have said that it was, once in former time, one of our savage women who became pregnant by going and drinking in a brook; and none of our Rennappi had had any connection with her, yet she became pregnant and gave birth to a son. And when that one became somewhat large, something like this,—he measures with his hand in the air, as he knows nothing of age or years. "Yes, that was a pólite[6] and clever

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Portuguese citizens and speak a Portuguese dialect. For *taboo*, see Hodge, *Handbook*, II, 667.

[3] The charm or fetish emblem.

[4] Lindeström believed in the powers of the Indian medicine man; but he attributed this power to influence of the Devil. Cf. Heckewelder, *Indian Nations*, 231 ff.

[5] The game obtained in the hunt. Cf. Hodge, *Handbook*, II, 402 ff., and the literature quoted there.

[6] *Artigh, polite.* Perhaps, however, Lindeström means handsome, fine, splendid. See *artigh invention*, Chapt. XVII, note 3.

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boy," they say. "His like will never come here again. He had so much to say that it was a great wonder and [he] performed many miracles and wonders. When he now became somewhat large he departed from us and went up into the air, up there," they say, and point to heaven. "He promised to come back to us, but he never came back to us again," they say. "Sometime after him," they said, "a large-mouth with large beard,[7] like your large mouths are," they said, and likened him to our pastors. "He also had much to say for a time.[8] That one also went up there, like the other one," and the [Indians] pointed to heaven. "He promised also," they said, "to come back here to us again, but he never came." And it must surely have been one of the apostles, for the word of God is true, which can never fail us:[9] *Euntes docete omnes Gentes*, etc.[10] So far they know of Christ and his apostles and can relate it from hearsay from their fathers and forefathers.

[7] *Htoort skägg*, large beard, *i.e.*, long beard. The long, thick beard of some of the pastors made a strong impression on the Indians who had seen nothing like it before.

[8] *Han hade och mycket af munnen en tijdh*. *Lit.* he had also much of the mouth for a time.

[9] Perhaps Lindeström refers to the belief prevalent in the middle ages and later, that the apostles had visited all continents and all countries, according to the injunction quoted in Latin from the New Testament.

[10] Go and teach all people. Cf. *Mark*, XVI, 15.

[p. 210 is blank]

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CHAPTER XVI.

Concerning the Dwellings of the American Savage People.

During the summer they have no certain dwellings, but move about here and there around the country. However, in the fall each and every sachem has a house built for himself, which he and his subjects can live in during the winter, and during the summer they sing with the rabbit [and make a] house in every bush.[1] The house which they then build[2] is thus made, namely: first posts [are] dug down into the ground and set [down] securely, on which poles are fastened, the walls and half of the sides of the roof they clothe and cover with bark; the roof up at the ridge, where the smoke is to escape, they make open, an ell on either side of the ridge, all along the house, as long as it may be. And the length of the house they then plan according to the multitude of people [in the clan], that they can all be accommodated under one roof, about 100, 200, or 300 ells in length. But the width is on each side of the fireplace the length of a man, that they can lay lengthwise between the fire and the walls; for they have always the fire made lengthwise along the house, right in the center under the ridge, which burns night and day while the winter lasts. And they have one door only on each gable.[3] In this house

[1] That is: they sleep under a tree.
[2] In the winter.
[3] *En dörr hafwe the allenast på hwar gafwell.* The chestnut bark was mostly used for the covering of the buildings. Cf. Van der Donck, *N. Y. Col.*, 2, I, 151, 196. See also Beatty, *Journal* (Lon-

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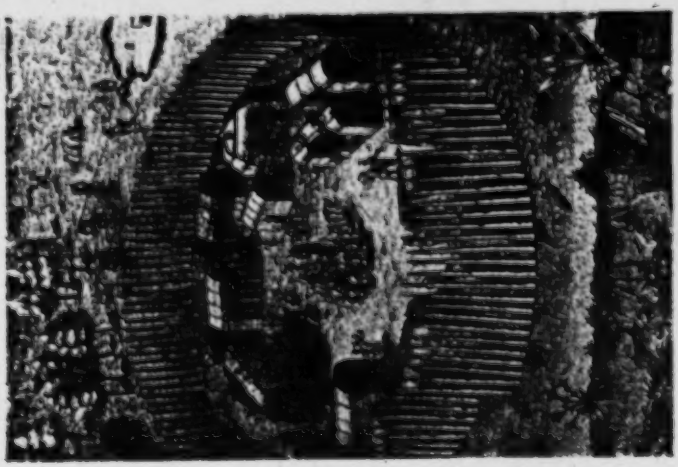

23. INDIAN VILLAGE WITH PALISADES. SEE P. 241.
FROM DE BRY, *Voyages*.

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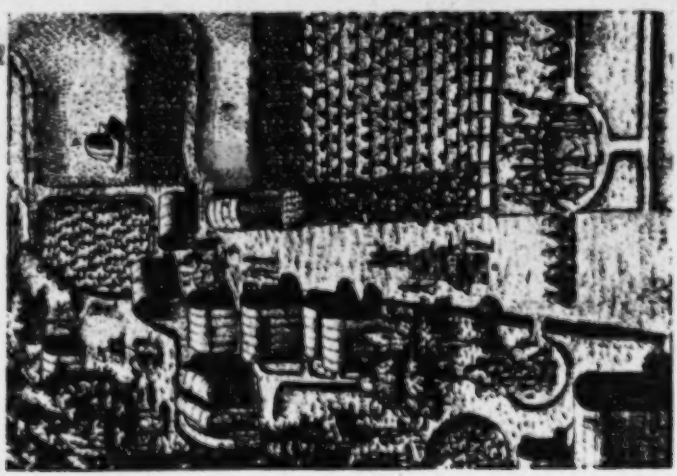

22. INDIAN VILLAGE, SHOWING CORNFIELD, TOBACCO PLANTATIONS, ETC. FROM DE BRY, *Voyages*.

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they now dwell while the winter lasts, and if the Christians then[4] had in mind to exterminate them, it could then be readily done; but that would be of no value or advantage to the Christians, for they are the slaves of the Christians which they themselves cannot know or observe. And the trade, traffic and commerce of the Christians would be of small value in that place, if the savages would not be [there]. The savages are ever willing and anxious to serve the Christians; [they] allow themselves to be commanded by the Christians, as if they were their subjects, but through good words; with dictation we get nowheres with them. If we should desire to prepare a feast, or if one otherwise may need [something] for the household, be it deer, turkeys, wild geese, wood-grouse, black-grouse, pigeons, etc., or whatever kind of game or fresh fish it may be, and one will command the savage to procure it, on that or that day for good pay, one may indeed be sure that he will get that which is desired, at the promised time. Thus in all other things which we may command, one may surely believe that it will be followed.

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don, 1768), 44-72; *Mss. 1412, yi*, Ridgway Library. Williams says: "Most commonly there houses are open, their doore is a hanging *Mat*, which being lift up, falls downe of itselfe; yet many of them get *English* boards and nailes, and make artificiall doores and bolts themselves, and others make slighter doores of *Burch* or *Chestnut* barke, which they make fast with a cord in the night time, or when they go out of town, and then the last (that makes fast) goes out at the Chimney, which is a large opening in the middle of their house, called: *Wunnauchicomock*, a chimney." *Key*, 51.

The long house with two fires was called *necquttow;* with three fires, *chiwahouttow*, etc. The round house was called *putuckakaun*, *Key* 47.

[4] During the winter.

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CHAPTER XVII.

Concerning the Hunting and Shooting of the American Savage People.

The soil in New Sweden is so loose, as if we stood and poked in ashes, because the earth there is not so closely rooted or sodded, as when it is somewhat used in the beginning, burnt, sown and cut.[1] There indeed grows a great deal of high grass, which reaches above the knees of a man, but the stalks are so far apart that one can uproot it like flax or hemp. There is also no thickly grown forest but the trees stand far apart, as if they were planted. The soil also appears there in the country, as if it formerly had stood under water, for there is found everywhere on the ground an abundance of all kinds of mussels and shells, as well as other things that are found in the water.[2]

Now as soon as the winter bids good night, they begin with their hunts, which is done with a fine innovation.[3] Now at that time of the year the grass which grows there, as has been said, is as dry as hay. When now the sachem wants to arrange his hunt, then he commands his people [to

[1] *Jorden in Nova Suecia är så lösa som man stode och rörde i Aska, af orsaak att Jorden är ther inthet så tätt rotader eller vallader såsom när hon blyfwer sådpt i förstonne brukader, brändh, sådder och afslagen.* This is ambiguous. Perhaps it means that the ground is loose before grass-roots and other growths have made it tough.

[2] *Musslor och alleheanda skaalar sampt annat som i wattnet finnes.*

[3] *Artigh invention.* See above, Chapt. XV, note 6.

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224 take a position] close together in a circle of ½, 1 or 2 miles,[4] according to the number of people at his command. In the first place each one roots up the grass in the position, [assigned to him] in the circumference, to the width of about 3 or 4 ells, so that the fire will not be able to run back, each one then beginning to set fire to the grass, which is mightily ignited, so that the fire travels away, in towards the center of the circle, which the Indians follow with great noise, and all the animals which are found within the circle, flee from the fire and the cries of the Indians, traveling away, whereby the circle through its decreasing is more and more contracted towards the center. When now the Indians have surrounded the center with a small circle, so that they mutually cannot do each other any harm,[5] then they break loose with guns and bows on the animals which they then have been blessed with, that not one can escape and thus they get a great multitude of all kinds of animals which are found there.

The first hunt of the year which they thus obtain [they consecrate to Manitto]. When they first have eaten their fill of it and enjoyed their feast[6] they make a burnt offering of the remaining, which they sacrifice to Manitto, i.e., the Devil, but not one animal of it do [they] sell, believing that

[4] Swedish or German miles.

[5] The idea is: when the circle has been so contracted that the animals run from one side of the circle to the other but before the hunters get too near to one another, they begin shooting. Dr. V. O. Freeburg, of New York, tells me that wolf hunts of this character were arranged in Kansas in the early days. Cf. Van der Donck, De Vries, etc., *N. Y. Col.*, 2, I, 167; III, 108, etc. Hodge, *Handbook*, I, 581.

[6] *Och hollet sitt gästebodh.*

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24. Collection of Blades, Knives, Spear Points, Arrowheads, Drills and Scrapers, mostly of Yellow Jasper, from the Delaware Valley, principally, Bucks Co., Pa.
[In Collections of Colonel Henry D. Paxson, Philadelphia, Pa.]

[Facing p. 215]

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they through this later will get in their hunt so much the greater blessing. Then they sing and dance and when they become jolly and happy then they cry and sing thus namely:[7] *Hägginj, hä, hä, hä; Häggінj hä; Häggінj hä; Häggінj hä, hä, hä, hä,* etc. Thus repeating and continuing so long a time, so that it reaches well over the forest.[8]

In this their convention[9] they [also] practice shooting. He who is sachem has a turkey placed very high in the air, whose entrails are removed and [the body] filled again with their money.[10] And the one who then can shoot it down, he receives the money, *et talia,* etc.

In the meantime later in the year, when the grass has thus been burnt off the land, they do not care to arrange any more such hunts,[11] but shoot the animals wherever they find them in the woods, which they have no difficulty in doing, because they have scent of the animals like the dogs; for often the savages say to the Christians, when they follow them in the woods: "Indeed I now feel the scent of deer, if I wanted to bother to go after them." This the Christians did not believe in the beginning, before they followed them, and got to see that they were right. Otherwise they are so perfect in shooting that they do not miss.

And the savage is so armstrong that he is able to shoot with a bow so far, that no gun can carry

[7] *Tå roopa the och sunga sådedes, nämbl.*
[8] So that it can be heard far over the forest. *Hegginj,* etc., the final *j* is used for *i*. Cf. Holm, *Kort Beskrifning,* 153 ff.; above, p. XL.
[9] *Uthi detta sitt concent.*
[10] Wampum.
[11] Like the one described above.

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that far,[13] when he extends his limbs so that daylight shines through his elbow joints. When a Christian wrestles with a savage, if he[13] does not get at his back [he cannot prevail against him], he can do nothing against his arms.

The savages also use a splendid system[14] for killing pigeons in quantities with great ease. When the pigeons come flying, which [at times] may be a few hundred pairs in a flock, or following, then they usually settle[15] down to rest in the largest and highest tree, which they find. Then they also have the custom that in the tree in which they once used to rest, they will, with preference go there again. When now the savage observes where they have been accustomed to rest, the savage goes and cuts around the tree, so that it stands only on the center. When now the pigeons come there again to sit down, they cannot possibly

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[12] For bows and arrows and their effectiveness, see Pope, *A Study of Bows and Arrows*, U. of Cal. Pub., XIII, No. 9, p. 329 ff. Cf. also Hodge, *Handbook*, I, 92-4, and literature quoted there.

[13] The Christian.

[14] *Een aertig invention*, see above, Chapt. XV, note 6.

[15] *Dê sittia the sigh.* Cf. Henry D. Paxson, *The Last of the Wild Pigeon in Bucks County* (1912). Williams says: "In that place these Fowle breed abundantly, and by reason of their delicate Food (especially in Strawberrie time when they pick up whole large Fields of the old grounds of the Natives, they are a delicate fowle, and because of their abundance, and the facility of killing them, they are and may be plentifully fed on." *Key*, 87. Van der Donck says in this connection: "De Wilden of Naturellen van het Landt weten oock somtijts de plaetsen daer sy broyen uyt te vinden, en met lange stocken de jonge Duyven uyt de nesten te stooten, op sulcke plaetsen die sy soo verkiesen om te broyen daer scholen sy met sulcke gruwelijcke meenichte van ontelbare duysenden by een, dat de Wilden met Wyven [en] kinderen doer naer toe trecken, deckwils eenighe hunderden sterck synde, wel een Maent doer ontrent blyvende, en schier anders niet eeten als jonge Duyven, die sy soo met stocken als geseght is uyt de nesten stooten." *Beschryvinge*, 41.

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set themselves so evenly on the tree that they 223
weigh alike on either side, whereby the tree falls over and kills a large number of them, for many cannot save themselves in such a fury of branches and leaves, nor fly away. There is also an abundance of swans and wild geese to shoot.[16]

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[16] Williams says in this connection: "The Indians having abundance of these sorts of Foule upon their waters, take great paines to kill any of them with their Bow and Arrowes; and are marvellous desirous of our English Guns, powder and shot (though they are wisely and generally denied by the English) yet with those which they get from the French, and some others (Dutch and English) they kill abundance of Fowle, being naturally excellent marksmen; and also more hardned to endure the weather, and wading, lying, and creeping on the ground." *Key*, 86.

[p. 218 is blank]

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25. "Later in the year, when the grass has been burnt off the land . . . they shoot the animals wherever they can find them in the woods." See p. 215. The method of disguise pictured above was cleverly employed by the Indians in a variety of forms.

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26. Fishing. See pp. 219–20. "They use no other vessels . . . than canoes." They also mason for themselves a little fireplace." (Notice the smoke between the two sitting figures.) See p. 238.

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CHAPTER XVIII

Concerning the Fishing of the American Savage People.

The savages do not know the use of seines, nets,226
hooks, trolling rods or trolling-line;[1] but far up in the kills or in the creeks emptying into the river, they arrange their fishing, either where the kills stop,[2] [up] in the country or at the falls. There they close in the kills right across,[3] leaving only a little opening or entrance for the fish right above like a *kassenoor*.[4] Now when the river rises and the water is highest they close up the opening, but when the water is run out and the ebb is lowest then the fish remains behind in the low water,

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[1] It appears strange that Lindeström did not see nets among the Delawares. Williams says: "*Ashop*, their nets. Which they will set thwart some little River or Cove wherein they kill Basse (at the fall of the water) with their arrows, or sharp sticks, especially if headed with Iron, gotten from the English." *Key*, 102.

Van der Donck gives the following lists of fishing implements used by the Indians: *seines, set-nets, small fikes, weirs, hooks.* See also De Vries, *N. Y. Col.*, 2, III, 95, etc.

[2] That is: at the source of a creek or at a waterfall. Cf. note 1, above, quoting Williams.

[3] *der stängia the kijlarne twert öfwer.* This custom of fishing is common among primitive peoples. I saw it in many places in West Africa. See the interesting account of Indian shad fishing in Loskiel, *Hist. of the Mis. of the U. B. among the Ind. of N. A.*, I, 94 ff.

[4] *Kassanoor (kassenoor).* This is apparently an Indian word (though as to form it might be Spanish or Portuguese), meaning fishtrap, or the opening of the fish-weir. The Penobscot *kenanggan*, fish-weir, is then a cognate, the stem being *kenang-*, *kasan-*. . . . "Nodli tun kenanggan k'wsagal sibu." (Then he made a weir across the river.) Speck, *Penobscot Transf. Tales. Int. Journal of Am. Ling.*, I, 192-3.

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where they either catch them with their hands or shoot it.[5] Otherwise, they also shoot it in deep water, where they can find it, and thus they obtain fish of all kinds, that are found there in abundance, spending [nothing] on either seines, nets or any fishing implements. Consequently the nourishment of the savages thus consists of agriculture, hunting, shooting, fishing, trade and the manufacture of their neat wares, concerning which we shall be informed hereafter.[6]

[5] The fish. Cf. also note 1, above, quoting Williams; Hodge, *Handbook*, I, 461 ff.

[6] See below, Chapt. XIX.

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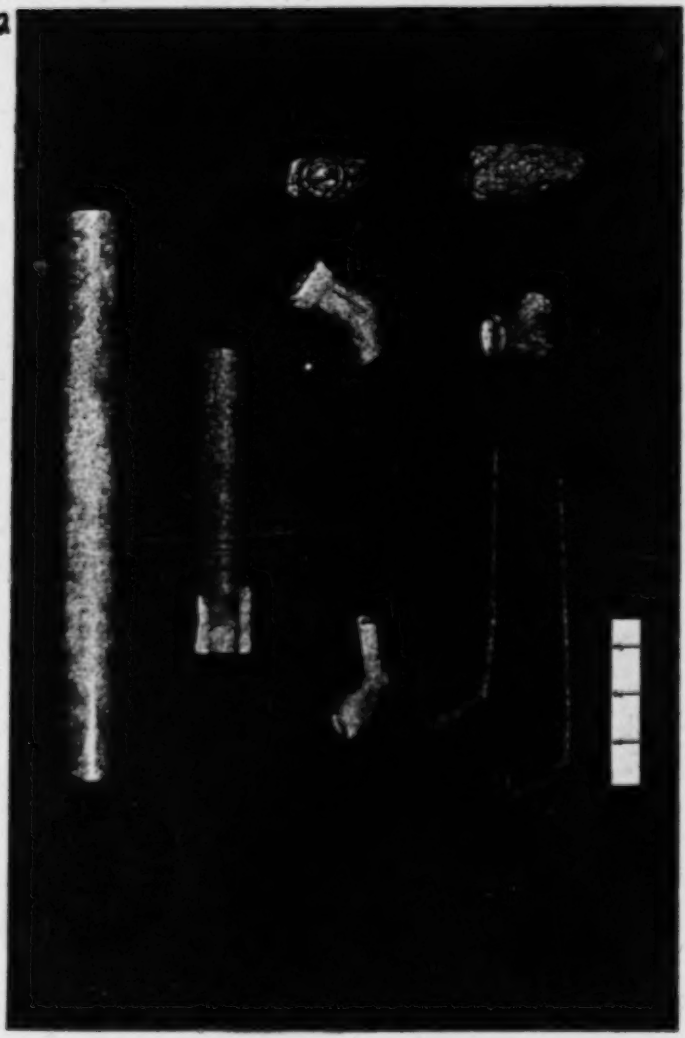

27. *Two upper figures*—1. Large Tubular Pipe, N. J. 2. Tubular Pipe (Broken), N. J. *Below broken tubular pipe to left*—Clay Pipe ("trade pipe" or European manufacture), Indian Grave, Chester Co., Pa. Clay Pipe, Trumpet Shape, Indian manufacture, Vincentown, N. J. *To left, below clay pipe*—Iron Trade Pipe (European manufacture), Grave, Hunterdon Co., N. J. Iron Trade Pipe (European manufacture), Grave, N. J. *To the extreme right and bottom*—3 Small Stone Pipes, N. J.

(In Collections of Colonel Henry D. Paxson, Philadelphia, Pa.)

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CHAPTER XIX.

Concerning the Manufacture of the Attractive and the Artistic Wares of the American Savage People.

Write or read the savages cannot, nor do any other work like the Christians, such as spin, weave, sew, *et talia, etc.* But their work consists[1] in neatly working [various things] by drawing, painting and glazing, as for instance their bags,[2] which they make so large that 1 quart, ½ gallon, yes 1, 1½, 2, 2½, 3 up to 6 gallons can go into them, to keep grain and all kinds of other such [things] in. These they elaborate with all kinds of figures of painted pine roots and also split,[3] painted sticks, unspeakably strong.[4]

They also make very neat tobacco pipes with all kinds of birds and animals on the pipe head, very beautifully painted and glazed.[5] There are also found beautiful colors of all kinds, which we can see by their neat and artistically painted work of bird feathers, tobacco pipes and more such [things]. They also make very fine and beautiful quilts[6] of painted bird feathers. In the first place they tie them with meshes like nets, yet very fine;[7]

[1] *Uthan derra arbete går uth på.* Cf. *Vertoogh, N. Y. Col.*, 2, II, 270; *Doc.*, I, 282; Williams, *Key*, 133.
[2] *Notasser.* See above, Chapt. XI, note 7.
[3] *Upflächa*, to tear up (?); cf. *flächa sönder*, tear asunder.
[4] Cf. Hodge, *Handbook*, I, 125, 132; above Chapt. XI, note 7.
[5] Cf. Chapt. IX, note 10; Hodge, *Handbook*, II, 257 ff.
[6] *Skiöna fällar. Fäll* usually means skins with the fur, fell.
[7] *Dock mycket granne.*

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then they fasten the feathers in the meshes, so neat and strong that not one feather can come loose from it; it would sooner go clear off.[8] They also make very fine, strong and artistic mats of finely painted spruce roots and strong straw, with all kinds of figures, to decorate and cover the walls with, and to place below their bed clothes.[9]

They also make helmets of hard sticks and strong wood, so that no arrow or swingle can go through it.[10]

The late Governor Printz had the savages make and thread up for him a suit of clothes, with coat, trousers and sword belt, entirely of their money, which was very artistic, threaded and worked with all kinds of animals, which came to a few thousand florins.[11] And [there is] much more, which could be described about their artistic manufacture, if space and time would allow. In fine if they were trained and kept at it, they would become very expert, for they are by nature capable to grasp and comprehend immediately what they see.[12]

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[8] The feather would sooner break off than come loose.
[9] Cf. Williams, *Key*, 47 ff.
[10] Repetition, see above.
[11] Williams says: "*Neyhommaussáunck*, a coat or Mantle, curiously made of the fairest feathers of their *Neyhommauog* or Turkies, which commonly their old Men make; and is with them as velvet with us." *Key*, 107.
[12] Cf. Williams, *Key*, 43.

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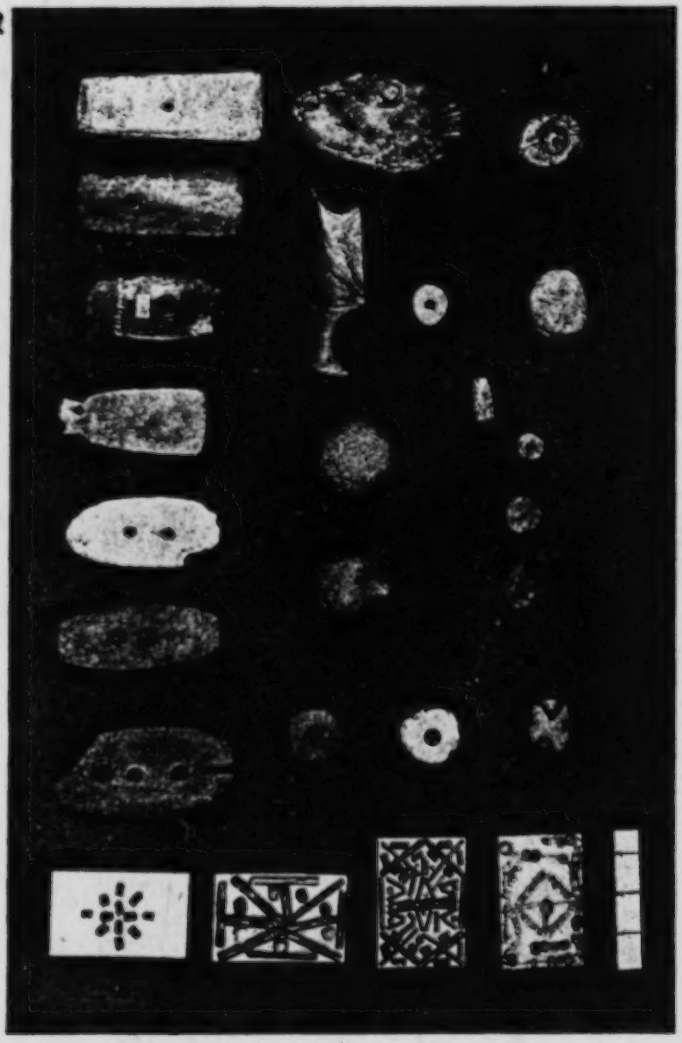

28. *First row, top to bottom*—Four Cards—Indian Traders' Glass Beads, from Graves, Washington Boro, Lancaster Co., Pa. *Top row, left to right*—7 perforated stones, principally from Delaware Valley (Pa.), in some cases worn for decorations, see plate 18. *Central figure*—Stone Top (?), N. J. Stone Ball, Bucks Co., Pa., Bird Stone, Pa. *To extreme right, centre*—Perforated Rubbing Stone (carried on a string around the neck (?)), Pa. *Remaining figures*—Stone Beads, Delaware Valley and Bucks Co., Pa.

[In Collections of Colonel Henry D. Paxson, Philadelphia, Pa.]

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CHAPTER XX.

Concerning the Commerce, Trade and Dealings of the American Savages and How Their Goods Are Sold to the Christians, Also How the Merchandise of the Christians Is Disposed for Them to the Savages.

Concerning the merchandise of the savages [it is to be said] that they[1] sell to the Christians all kinds of fur goods, such as beavers, otters, lynxes, fishers,[2] raccoons,[3] minks, wild-cats, elk-hides, bear-hides, wolf-skins, lion-hides,[4] deer-hides, checkered foxskins,[5] martins, musk-skins[6] and other kinds [of furs]. The savages also sell to the Christians foodstuffs, such as Indian corn of all kinds, Turkish beans, deer, elk and bear meat, fresh fish of all kinds; also all kinds of birds, such as wild turkeys, wood-grouse, black-grouse, partridges, swans, geese, hazel-grouse, and pigeons, etc. [They also sell] all kinds of fruits, peaches or skinless apples, watermelons, chestnuts, walnuts, plums, bullace-plums, grapes and wild hops. [They] likewise [sell] what they produce by the work of their hands.

If one should buy the aforesaid articles from the savages with the cash money of the savages they are expensive enough, but when one pays for

[1] The Indians. "Of their Bying and Selling," see Williams, *Key*, 133 ff.
[2] Cf. above, Chapt. VIII, note 5a.
[3] Cf. above, Chapt. VIII, note 5b.
[4] See above, Chapt. VIII, note 1.
[5] *Isprängde räffskinn.*
[6] See above, Chapt. VIII, note 6.

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them with the merchandise of the Christians, one can make an excessively large gain and profit in trading with the savages. Now there is a value on the merchandise of the savages as follows: 1 beaver [skin] is valued according to size from 7 to 8 florins in sewan (thus the money of the savages is called, concerning the manufacture and nature of which money we shall be informed in the following chapter). But the trade with the money of the savages is mostly reckoned in Holland florins and *styvers*, 1 Holland florin being 20 *styvers*.

An otter [skin] is valued at 4 to 6 florins, according to the number of silver hairs it has. A lynx [skin is valued at] 4 florins; fisher, 24 *styvers;* raccoon, 1 florin; mink, 1 florin; wild-cat, 10 *styvers;* elk-skin, 6 to 9 florins; bear-hides, pitch black, looking like gluttons,[1] 3 to 4 florins; a wolf-skin, 2 to 3 florins; a wolf-lynx, 6 to 9 florins; a 36-checkered fox-skin, 1 florin; a lion-skin, 6 florins; deer-skin, 24 *styvers;* muskrat-skin, 1 florin, and so on. [A] quilt of Turkey feathers [is worth] 1 ell of white *sewan*, a quilt of painted feathers, 2 ells of white sewan, or 1 ell of blue *sewan*. Indeed the savages understand how to value their pelts, but the beavers and otters with silver hairs, that these should be so valuable, as compared to the others, that they have no knowledge of. Otherwise in the case of the elk-skins and other skins the savages indeed sell according to their sizes and heaviness, but they know nothing of weight.[2] This valuation is only an approxima-

[1] *Beenders uth som ierfvar*, the glutton, wolverine or carcajou.
[2] That is: they have no scales by which they can compute the exact weight of articles

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tion, but one gives more or less for the skins, according to their size or quality.

Maize, beans and fruits are sold by means of bags, nor [do they] know of any definite measure. But birds [they sell as follows]: a turkey, for 4 *styvers;* swan, for 6 *styvers;* goose, for 4 *styvers;* a wood-grouse, for 4 *styvers;* a black-grouse, for 2 *styvers;* a duck, for 2 *styvers;* a partridge, for 2 *styvers;* a hazel-grouse, for 1 *styver;* a pigeon, for 1 *styver, etc. Sic ulterius,* about. A mat [is sold for] 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 florins; bags for 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 florins, according to their size and quality, as well as according to their beauty and skill of workmanship.

But if these, often mentioned savage merchandise, are bought with the goods of the Christians, then these[9] are: red and blue Holland frieze an ell in breadth, guns, powder, lead, copper and brass kettles, axes, hoes, picks, spades, shovels, glass beads (of all colors, large and small), awls, bodkins, small common scissors, knives, small mirrors, needles and such things; and from these things, one can have a very large profit, as has been said, for our goods are placed high enough [in price] to the savages. But the savages really do not understand this trade, for they hold frieze in as high esteem as the finest scarlet.

The savage really does not buy more than an ell's length at the time, for he does not need more in the piece, which he wraps around himself. If it is a piece of cloth to hide his nakedness with, then he takes an ell for it, [and] they really do not

[9] The goods of the Christians.

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[439] know of any other measure than an ell's length at the time, for he needs no more in the piece he wraps around himself.

When the Christians measure the frieze for the savage, they measure it for the savage on the edge, the savage taking hold of a corner of the frieze and the Christians on the edge, whereupon they pull the hardest they are able, stretching thus the ell for the savage, so that he for three ells barely gets more than two; which the savage thinks should be thus, and does not understand himself cheated in this.

[435] Tobacco is worth 2 *styvers* a pound.

Velvet, silk, broadcloth, apple juice[10] and all such things which one may want, come to New Sweden with ships from Virginia, New Holland, New England, the Carribean Islands, and from many other places; which merchandise the Swedes buy through the exchange of pelts and the money of the savages. Linen is very expensive there.[11]

[804] The savages also allow themselves to be greatly cheated in the sale of powder. The savage knows of no other measure than the handful.[12] When the Christians measure the powder with the hand for the savage he draws his hand together that the savage hardly gets more than ½ handful for a whole, and thus the savage is cheated, for he has in this no better understanding.

[435] [439] Valuations of the merchandise of the Christians is as follows: an ell of frieze [is valued at] 9 florins, one handful of powder, 3 florins. According to this measurement and valuation, 1 ell of

[10] Apple Cider.
[11] As it was bought from the English and Dutch.
[12] *Ina medh giöpen.* *Göpen*, handful, gripe, gowpen.

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Holland frieze will cost the savage 1 *riksdaler* and 42 *öre* silver money and ½ handful of powder 1 *riksdaler* and 12 *öre* silver money, at 6 *daler* silver money apiece. One axe is worth 3 florins; a hoe, 3 florins; a pick, 3 florins; a shovel, 3 florins; a bodkin, 1 florin; a small common pair of scissors, 3 florins; a knife, 1 or 2 florins; a small mirror, which may cost 2 or 3 *öre* copper money in Stockholm, [sells for] 1 florin; 1 pin,[13] 1 florin; a common sewing needle, 1 florin; glass beads, [a string] 3 times around the arm, 1 florin, etc. The aforesaid small wares are placed high enough for the savage [in exchange] for his pelts, but if the trade is done in the money of the savages, then it will cost the Christians more.

Formerly it was indeed forbidden, and agreed[14] among the Christian nations, that no guns, powder or lead should be sold to the savages; but after the English in Virginia had broken the law and first began to sell guns to the savages (which they have raised in value according to their quality, the cheapest [they sold] at 10 beaver [skins] and up to 20 beaver [skins] apiece for the dearest, so that one gun which is of some value, may cost the savages over 40, 50 and 60 *riksdaler*, at 6 *daler* silver money), therefore the Swedes began to sell powder and lead for them.[15] So much for the mutual trade of the Christians and the savages.

[13] *En stammenål*, perhaps a large pin with a head (often of glass).

[14] *Förbudit och afsagt*, perhaps forbidden and renounced.

[15] For the guns. The settlers in the various colonies accused each other of selling firearms to the natives against the law of nations, but it was a case of the pot calling the pan black. They all sold what they could and made profits in any way they were able.

[p. 228 is blank]

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CHAPTER XXI.

Concerning the Nature of the Coins and Money of the Savage People, What They Are Made of and What They Are Worth.

The moneys of the savages are of three kinds 436 of oblong stones, with holes drilled through them, and threaded on strings, that they can be measured by fathoms according to their value and use.[1] The sewan of the Renappies, that is the money of our river savages, [is of 2 kinds]; one kind black-blue,[2] the other kind white. But the third kind, which comes from the Black and White Minquas,[3] is red. These red stones and the black-blue are valued in the place of gold; three of these stones are worth one *styver* or one *öre* silver money. But the white stones are counted as silver, and 6 pieces of them are worth one *styver* or 1 *öre* silver money.[4] In size they are about the length of a wheat kernel and somewhat thicker; but the largest, as thick as

[1] Cf. Hodge, *Handbook*, II, 904 ff.

[2] *Swartblåd*, black-blue, dark blue. "Their white they call *Wompam* (which signifies white): their black *Suckauhock* (*Sacki* signifying blacke)." Williams, *Key*, 130.

[3] See above, Chapt. V, note 40.

[4] "The Indians are ignorant of Europes Coyne; yet they have given a name to ours, and call it Monaah from the English money.

"Their owne is of two sorts; one white, which they make of the stem or stocke of the Periwincle, which they call, *Metcauhock*, when all the shell is broken off: and of this sort six of their small Beads (which they make with holes to string the bracelets) are currant with the English for a Peny.

"The second is black, inclining to blew, which is made of the shell of a fish, which some English call Hens, *Poquaahock*, and of this sort three make an English peny.

"They that live upon the Sea side generally make of it, and as many make as will." Williams, *Key*, 128.

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20. *First row, top to bottom*—Crescent shape ceremonial stone, Delaware Water Gap, Pa.; Banner stone, without perforation, Bucks Co., Pa.; Banner stone, incipient perforation, N. J.; Banner stone, incipient perforation, Bucks Co., Pa. *Second row*—2 small perforated stones, Bucks Co., Pa. *Third row, top to bottom*—Long pick-shaped Banner stone, N. J.; Banner stone, perforated, Phila. Co., Pa.; Banner stone, perforated, Lancaster Co., Pa.; Banner stone, Bucks Co., Pa.; 2 small Banner stones, Bucks Co., Pa. *Fourth row*—Banner stone fragments, Neshaminy Cr., Bucks Co., Pa. *Fifth row, top to bottom*—Unfinished Banner stone, Bucks Co., Pa.; Large perforated Banner stone (restored), Northampton Co., Pa.; Banner stone, perforated, Lancaster Co., Pa.

[In Collections of Colonel Henry D. Paxson, Philadelphia, Pa.]

[Facing p. 230]

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436 a thick straw, and the length in proportion to their thickness; larger or smaller, they are not used. [They are] very smooth and even at the ends. There is also a streak on them like copper color, which the kernel by nature contains, from which the stones are made; namely of the kernel which runs whirl-like inside of the whooping cough bowls, which the wet nurses use to scrape off and give the little children for whooping cough, which is found in great abundance in New Sweden, both white, black and red.[5] Of this mentioned kernel [321] the savages turn and grind these stones and money, and special savages are designated and appointed for this, who make this money, and one person is not able to make more than about 6 to 8 *styvers* a day.[6]

435 In valuing these moneys we also count an ell of red, black-blue sewan for 1 ducat and 1 ell white sewan for one *riksdaler*. But otherwise they are mostly reckoned in Dutch florins and *styvers*, as stated above, one florin at 20 *styvers*.[7] These[8] moneys are as well made as any glass cutter could cut them of glass, cut and drilled through at their edges.[9] When the money through old use has been

[5] A nature medicine based on the superstitious belief that these scrapings will "cure the cough."

[6] Cf. Hodge, *Handbook*, II, 905.

[7] See Johnson, *Swedish Settlements*, I, 41.

[8] Lindeström has *hwilke*, which.

[9] *Uthi sijne kanter afskiårande och genomdrillande.* The passage is obscure. *Afskiårande* and *genomdrillande* are present participles and perhaps Lindeström means *af skårande och genom drillande*, in which case the passage would read: These moneys are as well made as any glass cutter could cut them of glass at the edges, through cutting and drilling.

In this connection Williams says: "Before they had awle blades from Europe, they made shift to bore this their shell money with stones." *Key*, 130.

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worn at the edges, that they do not, like glass, fall close together[10] on the cord, then the savages will not accept them for good; wherefore he tests them thus, that he takes the whole cord on which the money is threaded and strokes them over his nose. If nothing obstructs the nose,[11] but glides over like smooth glass, then he accepts the money as good. But if something offers obstruction, he rejects them. Now all the money is not equally large and thick, but some larger and some smaller, and is, in buying, variously collected, especially when one exchanges and trades in *styver* quantities; wherefore the one who owns them must closely see to it, that in threading them again he arranges those [together] which are able to neatly and well correlate on the cord, in case he wants to get rid of them.[12] 435

When we want to count them by *styvers* by means of the thumb, which is indeed the manner of the savages, we have for this a certain measure from the end of the thumb nail to the first joint of the thumb. Thus the money is divided and separated according to this [method], that on this length go exactly 6 stones [of] white [sewan], that is as much as one *styver* or one *öre* silver money, and 6 stones [of] red or black-blue [sewan which], are worth 2 *styvers* or 2 *öre* silver money. 436 [804]

The money hanks the Christians carry in bags.[13] When he[14], wishes to trade and has counted the

[10] *Falla tätt tillhopa.*
[11] *Tager då intheet emoth sådan.* The meaning is: if no obstruction is felt as the money passes over the nose, etc.
[12] In case he is to be able to use them in trading.
[13] *byxsäckier*, poke, pocket, bag.
[14] Lindeström uses the singular, han.

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money off the string and then makes a knot on the string; the purse is thereby tied up.[15] Ducats and *riksdaler* are not valid among the savages,[16] but [are accepted] among the Christians and on the foreign merchant vessels.

The Hollander in this as well as in other [things] has shown his [desire of] profit and greediness, thinking that he would, through the money of the savages, acquire a large capital and riches, began to export the whooping-cough shell to Holland and had these monies made in the savage manner. Accordingly [a quantity valued at] a barrel of gold[17] was made of it, which they brought to the West Indies to trade with. When the savages examined these monies, they recognized that it was not their handiwork and would not accept and take them for good and valid. Thus the Hollanders have done all their work and labor in vain.

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[15] *Så är penningepungen der medh igenknuten.* The idea seems to be this: when the Christian has counted a certain number of "stones" and removed them from the string to pay for certain articles, a knot is made on the string to keep the rest of the money from coming off,—the purse is thereby tied up. Lindeström considers the string as the purse, rather than the bag in which the money hanks are carried.

[16] Swedish money never became general among the Indians.

[17] *Tunna guld* (ton of gold), barrel of gold, was a definite measure of value, and was worth about $30,000 in our money of today. In Portuguese West Africa the natives speak of a sack of money (30 *Escudos*).

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CHAPTER XXII

Concerning the Liberality, Confidence and Conversation and Intercourse With the Christians and How the Christians Are Received When They Visit the Savages.

The savages are honorable enough in their conversation with the Christians, after their manner. 57a 57b
When they know that they have among them a *nittappi*[1] or a good friend who wishes them well, entertains him with food and drink, when he comes [to visit them], and also presents him with some little [thing], like an awl point, a mirror, glass beads and such things, which he recognizes as a great act of kindness.[2] When later the savage comes again to the Christian then he shows his generosity again in 20, 30 to 40 fold value in pelts and other things. Then the savage comes with it so proud and puffed up, throwing it on the floor before the Christian and puffs and blows, with it, as though he wanted to say: "Take this which I bring thee in good faith for the good thou hast done unto me." In such cases one must always 57a 57b 516
have the table uncovered at the lower end, for when the savage comes to his good friend, where he knows he has his free condition,[3] he climbs up and seats himself with feet and everything on the

[1] *Nittappi*, friend. A general Algonkian word, appearing in many forms, and still in use. Cf. *nitis*, friend, companion, Brinton, *Dict.*, 99.

[2] Lindeström's construction is poor but the meaning is clear. *And also presents him*, etc.; means of course, that the Nittappi or friend presents something to the Indian, such as a mirror, etc.

[3] Freedom of the place.

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572 table and crosses his legs and requests then of the
574 food on the table which he fancies. But when one
516 gives strong drinks to the savage, either wine or
[271] brandy, which he desires greatly, one must take
273 care not to give him too much, for then he becomes as though he were quite raving, throws and rolls himself into the burning fire, with a loud cry, and may then easily strike his good friend to death or otherwise set fire to the house, not knowing what he does; for he is not accustomed to such strong drinks. His daily drink is with the goose,[4] which holds his five senses together.

572 But when now the Christians come to the sav-
574 ages in their dwellings then the savages spread frieze and beautiful rugs on the ground, requesting them to sit down to rest. Then they bring forth such food as they have [on hand], namely a
[262] bag full of their bread, deer meat, elk meat and bear meat, fresh fish, bear pork and bear fat,[5] instead of butter; but this[6] is mostly raw, for they do not fry it any other way than on the coals (about which we shall learn further hereafter in the chapter concerning the household economy of the savages). This present one must not disdain, but accept with all thankfulness and praise, otherwise the savages will become very raving and impatient, so that their friendship is thereby turned into the greatest revenge and enmity. If one has any horse along, then the savages place the same kind of food before it also, which one must steal away from the horse, and thank the savage for

[4] His daily drink is the same as that of the goose, that is water.
[5] *Björnsiister.*
[6] Food, i.e., meat and fish.

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the feeding and feasting of the horse, just as if 572
it had consumed and eaten the same; otherwise 574
they would kill the horse, thinking that it would scorn them; for they have no horses or cattle; wherefore the savages do not know their nature, but they think that they eat the same food as the people eat.[7]

And above all things we must extol and praise 572
the savages, for the one by whom they are extolled 574
and praised that one they consider their most 576
faithful, good and best friend, but not having sense enough to consider, whether such [actions] come from the heart or not. They are also so simple, that they cannot simulate, nor do they know of any deceit, but do not imagine that anything could pass from a man's tongue, without coming from the heart.

The one who knows how to associate rightly 572
with the savages [will find that they] are a trustworthy and good-hearted folk,[8] when they are not angered, and even brave-hearted [enough] to risk death for their good friends, to whom they have professed their friendship and faithfulness, as they did in the year 1655.[9] When the Hollanders surprised us Swedes in New Sweden with hostility, then our river savages showed their friendship and faithfulness towards us. Now this intention of the Hollanders was known to our river savages, wherefore they betook themselves (unknown to us) and went to Manhattan City, in New Holland, to exact revenge on our behalf, doing

[7] Lindeström had heard this from some colonist.
[8] *Itt troget och godh hiärtat folck.*
[9] See Johnson, *The Swedes in America*, I, 330-31.

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572 great damage to the Hollander[s]. And the women, whom they succeeded in taking prisoners, they outraged. If the Hollanders in Manhattan City had not in a hurry sprung to arms and improved their fortifications, then the savages would have surprised them altogether and played master over the city. Which [fact] the Holland General Steyvesandt severely flung at us, saying that we had incited these tyrannical and heathenish enemies against them, which we did not even know had taken place, before it was related to us and thrown at us.[10]

From this as well as from more and other such [things], which space and time do not allow to expound, the faithfulness of the savages can be observed; but if they are angered then their loyalty is at an end, and revenge follows upon it.

[10] Peter Stuyvesant accused the Swedes of stirring up the Indians against New Amsterdam.

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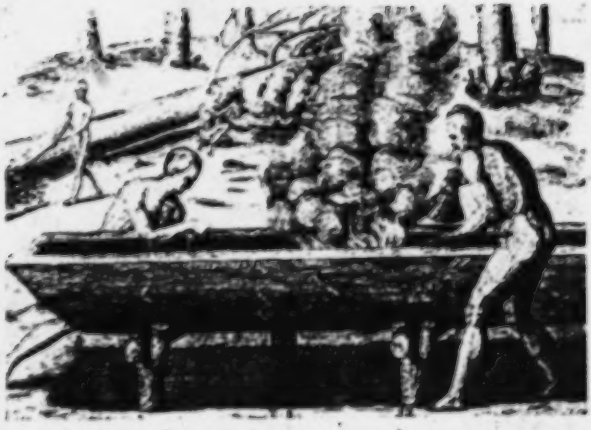

30. "HEE CONTINUES BURNING AND HEWING UNTIL HE HATH . . . FINISHED HIS BOATE." SEE NOTE 2, P. 237. THE FIRE WAS INTENSIFIED BY A FAN AND CLAY WAS EMPLOYED TO GIVE DIRECTION AND LIMIT TO THE BURNING, A RIM OF CLAY BEING PLACED ABOUND THE EDGES TO KEEP THE FIRE FROM COMING TOO NEAR "THE OUTHER SIDE."

[Facing p. 237]

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CHAPTER XXIII.

Concerning the Navigation and Vessels of the American Savage People.

In this connection [it can be said] that they used no other vessels in the river than canoes.[1] [These] are such as our punts in Sweden,[2] large and small.[3] But when they want [to go] a distance over the sea, as for instance to Virginia or New Holland, then they fasten two punts together broadwise[4] with timbers over them, right strongly put together, the deck made completely tight and side boards of planks; sails of rugs and frieze joined together;[5] ropes and tackle made of bast

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505

[1] *Ökestockar*, wooden canoes, not unlike those of the Indians, were used in Scandinavia in olden times. The Indian canoe in the East was made of "one log" or of bark. The log canoes, often made of a species of poplar, were sometimes very large (see note 2, below). De Vries had a canoe which could carry 225 bushels of maize. *Cf. Doc.*, I, 276; De Vries, Van der Donck; *N. Y. Col.*, 2, II, 269; III, 26–7, 94–5, etc. Cf. Brinton, *Dict.*, 20

[2] "*Mishoon*, an Indian Boat, or Canow made of a Pine or Oake, or Chestnut-tree: I have seene a Native goe into the woods with his hatchet carrying onely a Basket of Corne with him, and stones to strike fire when he had felled his tree (being a Chesnut) he made him a little House or shed of the bark of it, he puts fire and followes the burning of it with fire, in the midst of many places: his corne he boyles and hath the Brook by him, and sometimes angles for a little fish: but so hee continues burning and hewing untill he hath within ten or twelve dayes (lying there at his worke alone) finished, and (getting hands), launched his Boate; with which afterwards hee ventures out to fish in the Ocean."

Mishoonemese, A little Canow.

"Some of them will not well carry above three or foure: but some of them twenty, thirty, forty men." Williams, *Key* 98.

[3] *På bredden.*

[4] "Their owne reason hath taught them to pull off a Coat or two and set it up on a small pole, with which they will saile before a wind ten, or twenty mile, &c." Williams, *Key*, 99.

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and slender spruce roots; [and they] also mason
for themselves a little fireplace on deck, where they can thus make a fire, when necessary. These miserable vessels look like large sloops[5] in the sea, and thus they scrape themselves along with these [ships] the best they can. Compasses or other instruments of navigation they have no knowledge of how to use, to direct their course. But they find their way through experience, which is very risky and perilous. Although their journey over the sea cannot be very long, it may nevertheless be subjected to many misfortunes and accidents, with such miserable vessels.

[5] *Skutor*, gabbards, sloops, flatboats.

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CHAPTER XXIV.

Concerning the Ailments, Wonderful Medicines, Tyranny, Blood-Letting and Patience of the American Indians.

These savages are by nature a healthy people 164
and are rarely subjected to diseases, before death surprises them, or if it may happen that some contagious disease should come into the country, through which whole nations could die out, as has happened formerly among them here.

The French disease[1] sometimes indeed rages 757
among the savages, because they live in such unchastity and adultery, like irrational brutes; but against this they have a white kind of ointment, and cure themselves, after which it goes its way, as though it were wiped away by the hand.

Whoever is wounded by the poisonous rattle- 752
snake and is not cured and treated by the medical doctor of the savages, who is called the devil-chaser,[2] then there is no hope for the life of that patient any more, but he must die; for the savages have such splendid medicine against it,[3] that they immediately drive away the poison with it and cure it. For this purpose they use a kind of grass

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[1] *Morbus franseman.* Cf. Williams, *Key*, 158. See also *London Chronicle*, Oct. 8, 1757; Peter Kalm, *Journal; Mss. 1412 Yi, Ridgway Library.* For their remedies, see further Van der Donck, De Vries, *Vertoogh*, etc., *N. Y. Col.*, 2, I, 156; II, 269, etc.; Heckewelder, *Indian Nations*, 224 ff.; Speck, *Med. Prac. of the North. Algon., Proceed.* of the *Nine. Int. Cong.* of *Ame.* (1917), 303 ff. They even understood the value of mineral water.

[2] *Dyfweliagarea.*

[3] That is: the poison of the rattle snake.

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752 roots, which are called snakegrass-roots. These roots grow very much intertwined, like a very fine and close comb. These they chew to pieces and place them with sober spittle[4] on the sore and the bite, which has such a power by its application, as has been stated. But 2 or 3 of the Swedes there in the country, as I know, were wounded by these snakes. They immediately swelled up terribly and were dead within an hour, for they lacked these medicines.

825 136 These snakes are spotted, yellow and black, and on the tail they have horn-joints, one joint for each year, according to his age.[5] [They] have scent of a human being far away, [and when the snake scents a person] then he puts his tail in the air to shake and agitate, so that it is heard far away from him, with a sound like children's rattles with pease in them, yet very loud, so that a person can through this guard himself against it. Concerning this I have formerly discussed it somewhat in the chapter concerning the childbirth of the savage women and [stated] that the skin of this rattlesnake is found to be very splendid for pregnant women, that when they tie this around themselves, then they are immediately relieved of their severe childbirth.[6]

57 Concerning this, as well as many other innumerable[7] [things] one may well marvel at the splendid and miraculous medicines of the savages; so that if it is not a fatal disease, they know a

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[4] *Nychter spått*. Perhaps fresh rather than sober saliva.
[5] Cf. above, Chapt. VIII.
[6] See above, Chapts. VIII, X, note 5. Cf. Williams, *Key*, 125 ff.
[7] *Oresvitterligit*, unrecitable.

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remedy for it immediately, which they keep very secret from the Christians. "*Sed contra vim mortis, non est medicamen in hortis.*[8]

In this connection I also want to mention briefly what happened among the Black Minquas further in the [interior of the] country, with 15 individual Englishmen whom they had taken prisoners; from which one can learn of the horrible cruelty of the Minquas. It happened that the English of Virginia carried on war against these Minquas. When the English now came to these savages, marching 2 or 3 hundred men strong, with a few [small] field cannon,[9] they pitched their camp a short distance from the dwellings of the above-mentioned savages. But these savages are somewhat cleverer in building, than our own river Indians who live closer to us, using palisades around their dwellings. Therefore the English did not run, precipitously upon them, but first fired a few cannon [balls against their fort]. Then the English did not know a word about it, before the savages had surrounded[10] the English, were in their rear and drove them into flight, killing some of them and brought home with them 15 prisoners, whom they later, after the lapse of a few days, martyred to death wretchedly and unchristianlike. Because some of these prisoners were of noble birth and of some importance and value, the English offered for each one of them a few 100 florins

[8] For against the power of death, there is no medicine in gardens.

[9] *Feldtslangor.*

[10] *Hade the engelske berändt.* Berända usually means to surround, to invest, but here it perhaps means to go around, so as to get to the rear of the enemy.

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727 for ransom; but the savages did not care for ransom or a sum of money, but seemed to be more anxious to exact their revenge and satisfy their anger on these poor prisoners. They therefore erected a high platform, placing large piles of bark below it, upon which they poured all kinds of pitch, bear-fat, *et talia*, etc. Through this they wanted to indicate that whatsoever kind of drink the English wanted to pour out for them, that they themselves would now have to imbibe.[11] They also erected a post in the earth for each prisoner, around which they also placed piles of bark and poured fat thereupon, just as has been stated before. Then they took the prisoners out to undergo their punishment. They first brought them up on the high framework, who[12] were bound around their waists with long slender iron chains; then they put fire to the bark, lying below, and later, shoved one prisoner after the other down into the fire, which burnt with terrible violence. When they had been tormented somewhat in this fire, then the savages pulled them out of it.

Then they bound the said prisoners to the abovementioned poles, put fire also to that bark in which they had to dance, until they were practically half roasted. Nor did they want that any of them should lose his life in the fire, because they wanted to inflict upon them as much suffering as possible; wherefore they pulled the prisoners out again, placing them in front of themselves. Then they

[11] My copy has *inskrdnkio*, but this must be a mistake for *inskränkio*. The idea is: the kind of tortures the English had prepared for the Indians in case of victory they would now have to undergo themselves.

[12] The order is Lindeström's; who of course refers to them.

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brought forth their doctor of medicine, whom they 737
otherwise called the devil-chaser (why he has this name we will learn to know in the next following chapter). He took his knife and cut each one of the prisoners right over the forehead from one ear to the other, then he took the skin and pulled it backward on the neck or the throat, then he cut the tongue out of the mouths of all the prisoners. On one of them he wanted to prove his mastery and cure him again, if there was any one of them who wanted to live, and then that one would escape further punishment, which his other comrades still would have to stand, but there was no one of them who wanted to live. Then the devil-chaser cut all the fingers off the prisoners and threaded them upon a string, which he delivered to their sachem or ruler, who tied them around his neck. When this was done the devil-chaser cut all their toes off, which he also delivered to their sachem. These he tied around his legs at the knees. The sachem carried them on his body until the flesh rotted away, but when the flesh had rotted off and dried away, he scrapes[13] the bones clean and white, when he threads them anew upon a ribbon and carries them afterwards continually on his body, to show his great courage,—the greater skeleton bones these Minqua sachems carry, the braver warriors they are supposed to be. Then they brought forth fifteen bundles of reeds, like reeds here in Sweden, which were saturated in fat. Of these they bound a bundle on the back of each prisoner, turned them towards Virginia, set fire

[13] Lindeström mixes his tenses; baar . . . skaffwer, carried . . . scrapes.

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727 to the bundles and told them to run home again, where they had come from, and relate to their countrymen, how well they had been treated and entertained among the Black Minquas. They also sent good guides with them, whom the boys followed with a great noise,[14] shot at them with their quarrels until the one fell here and the other there. Such a miserable departure and end these poor people had, from which we can observe the awful cruelty of the Minquas. These Minquas are of
D two kinds, Black and White Minquas.[15]

484 Besides I further want to relate about the blood-
304 letting of the savages and their wonderful medi-
727 cines, which I have seen at least a hundred times among these savages. When the savage undertake to march a long journey, the first day he has marched, in the evening, when he strikes camp, he makes up a fire, takes a piece of flint as long as a finger which he has prepared and fitted for this purpose, sharp as a razor, with this he cuts himself all over his body into the deepest flesh, on his arms, thighs and legs, the depth of a finger, according to the depth of the flesh, deeper or less, standing then before the fire to shake off the blood, which runs off him, as if one had butchered an ox. When he now has allowed as much blood to run off as he thinks proper, then he takes a kind of ointment, which he smears over his body, wherever he has cut himself. Before morning, it is healed and run together, and blue streaks remain after it just as when one burns oneself with

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[14] *Poickarne medh stoort anskry efterfölgde.*
[15] An atrocity story Lindeström had heard from the English.

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powder,[16] wherefore the savages appear entirely striped and streaky[17] and especially the Minquas. This is now [something about] the blood letting and cutting of the savages, from which one can observe that they are patient and not tender-skinned. When now the savage has thus removed some blood, he may march and run as fast and as far as he wants to, he will not tire. This is a brief description of the wonderful medicines, blood letting, cruelty and patience of the Indians, because we must avoid details.

[16] *När en brinner sigh medh krutt.*

[17] *Remotte*, mod. Swed. *randig* (cf. rinna), striped or streaky. Lindeström's description is exaggerated. Cf. Heckewelder, *Indian Nations*, 225–6.

[p. 246 is blank]

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31. "THE SAVAGES APPEAR ENTIRELY STRIPED AND STREAKED." SEE P. 245. FROM DE BRY, *Voyages.*

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32. RELIGIOUS CELEBRATION. SEE P. 215. FROM DE BRY. *Voyages.*

[Facing p. 247]

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CHAPTER XXV.

Concerning the Devil-Chasing of the American Savage People and the Doctors of Medicine Who Are Called Devil-Chasers.

When the savage sickens and death attacks him 753
he does not believe in any death and resurrection, 755
but that *Manitto*, that is the Devil, is plaguing him;[1] for he knows indeed that the evil one exists,[2] who sends him all evil things; but he will not believe that any good God exists, who gives him both temporal and eternal good. Therefore the savages sacrifice and prepare feasts for the Devil in order to propitiate him that he should do them no harm; this the savages do in their hunting expeditions about which we have related before, and all other things which take place according to their plans.[3]

Now when the savage is tormented on his death- 755
bed, he calls for the doctor of medicine, who is otherwise called the devil-chaser. Then he first makes use of all kinds of medicines and when he finds that they do not help, he pretends to be worse than the Devil himself, intending thus to chase the evil one out of body of the savage, wherefore he is called the devil-chaser. Runs back and forth,

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[1] The construction is loose. The idea is: The Indian does not believe that God calls him to his death for a later resurrection, but that a fetish or some unseen power, probably in the service of an enemy, is plaguing him and will eventually cause his death.

[2] *Ty det weet hen wèll, att tele om den ondhe were till*, for he indeed knows to till [that] the evil one exists.

[3] See above, Chapts. XV, XVII.

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cries so that it is heard a long way off, rolls himself naked into the burning fire, takes fire brands with which he builds a wall[4] all around the sick one, the sick one enduring such with patience, both thinking that the worse the devil-chaser acts, the sooner the Devil will depart. But it is to be feared that his art and labor are in vain, although his medicines are very wonderful, neither they nor the devil-chaser's devil-chasing are undoubtedly able to further help or be of avail in that case.

And now when the savage has died then they set themselves down to bawl and howl, weep and lament over their good comrade's deathly departure. But the devil-chaser sits there so terrible and mourns over the fact that the Devil came to be his superior.

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[4] *Bastionerar den siuke*, bastionates the sick person, *i.e.*, builds a bastion around him. "In sicknesse the Priest comes close to the sick person, and performes many strange Actions about him, and threatens and conjures out the sicknesse." Williams, *Key*, 112.

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CHAPTER XXVI.

How the American and Savage People Treat and Act Towards the Dead Body and How Their Burials Are Celebrated.

Now when the savage is dead, then an Indian is 763
sent out around the country, crying, calling and lamenting, who runs around everywhere and makes this known to the good friends of the dead savage. Then those to whom he makes it known must have compassion with him and present him with something for his trouble. A few days after- 764
wards he is buried, and then a round deep pit[1] is dug in the ground and a stool is placed in the hole upon which the dead man shall sit.[2] Then the dead man's money is placed upon him and he is set down in the pit upon the stool with a tobacco pipe, a fathom long, in his mouth, screwed together with leather, the head of green or black stone, which is lighted through by the fire in the pipe, so that we can see how the tobacco is consumed,[3] and this pipe-head is so large that a handful of tobacco will go into it, which is to be his food on the journey. This pipe they dig down into the ground from the mouth of the man.[4] Afterwards they throw earth upon him and fill up the hole. When

[1] *En trinn, diup groop.* Cf. Williams, *Key*, 160 ff. Van der Donck, De Vries, etc., *N. Y. Col.*, 2, I, 202; III, 95, etc.

[2] *En stool (stol)*, chair, stool, here perhaps a round "log-stool," possibly eight or ten inches high.

[3] This would presuppose a very transparent material. Lindeström of course does not mean that the pipe in the grave was lighted, but that when a pipe was smoked, it could be seen how the tobacco was consumed.

[4] That is, the pipe stem was put into the dead man's mouth.

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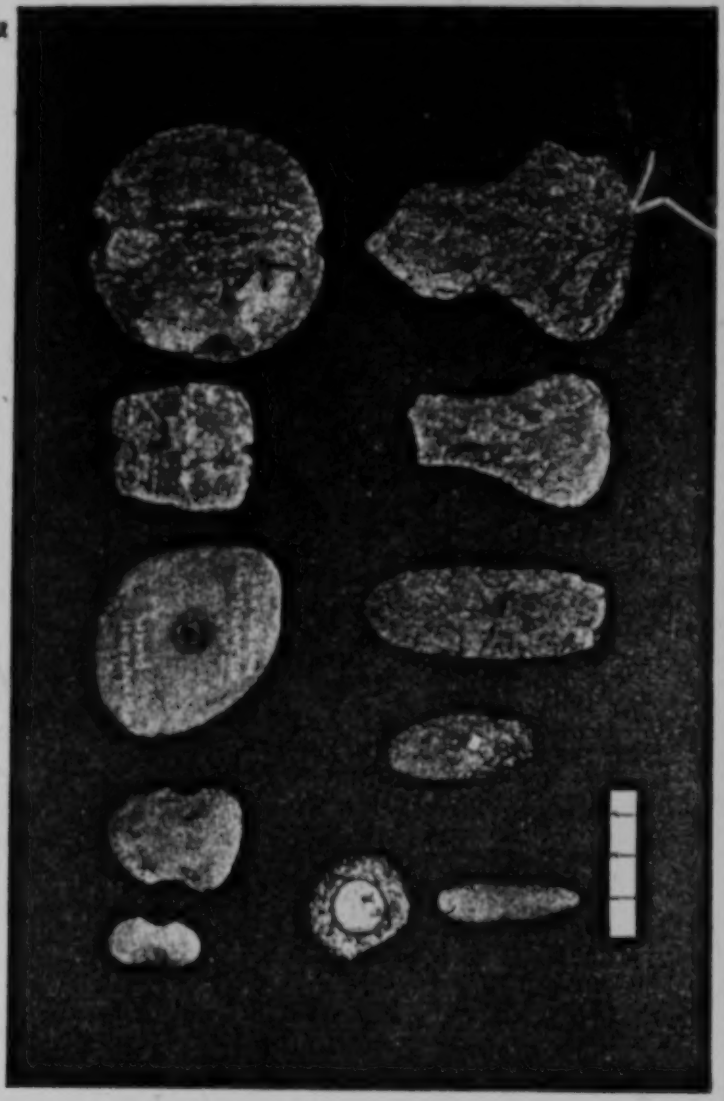

33. *Upper row, left to right*—2 Small Net Sinkers (?), Bucks Co., Pa.; Large Net Sinker (?) with hole, Camden, N. J.; two notched Slate Discs (sinkers (?)), Martins Creek, Northampton Co., Pa. *Lower row, left to right*—Small Paint Pestle with mortar above it (between the two rows), N. J.; Knife, Lancaster Co., Pa.; Blade or Knife, Bucks Co., Pa.; Hoe, Bucks Co., Pa.; Hoe (edge chipped off), N. J.

(In Collections of Colonel Henry D. Paxson, Philadelphia, Pa.)

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764 this is done they dig down in the corners of a square four very long poles upon which they make three shelves, and decorate the poles with long stripe of blue, red or green frieze, hanging like fringes.[a] Then those who have been the dead
765 man's relatives and best friends set themselves down for about the period of a month to lament the departure of the dead one, singing, crying, howling and lamenting, so that it is heard for a long distance. Now when this time is past they dig up the dead one and take all his money off him, which they put in a box and place on the lowest rack or shelf, then each one takes a knife and thus cuts the flesh off the bones of the dead one, wrapping the flesh in chestnut bark, which they place on the second shelf or rack, wrapping in like manner the bones into chestnut bark [and] placing them on the upper shelf or rack; but the entrails they dig down in the hole. Afterwards they still set themselves down for about the period of 14 days and further lament the departure of the dead, and when now that time is over, then their sorrow and lamentation are gone. Those who then are the
[766] relatives and best friends of the dead take the money-chest, dividing it between themselves, and therewith go their way; but the scaffolding together with the other [things] remains standing as a monument until it falls and rots away. When
[53] now the savage is thus buried the savages do not
784 wish to hear him mentioned by name again or to speak further about him. If the Christian should

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[a] Som buldoeer hängiaendes. Buldoe really means sail cloth or duck, but Lindeström apparently means stripe or fringes.

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happen to do this,[8] who does not know of their manner, then they hang their heads and sigh and puff severely, on account of it, not desiring to hear it mentioned.[9]

During these their burials there is often robbery committed by some of the Christians. Some scoundrels go to the savages and help them to mourn, pretending to be very sorrowful and sad, lamenting and weeping much worse and more miserably than the savages, saying that the [deceased] also had been their good friend, which the savages think is well, that they get company. These scoundrels watching their time, in the night when the savages sleep, steal away their money chest, so that the sorrow and lamentation for the savages become through this, deeper and greater.

[8] See above Chapt. II, note 27. Cf. also Van der Donck, etc.

[9] "Which bewailing is very solemne amongst them morning and evening, and sometimes in the Night they bewaile their lost husbands, wives, children, brethren, or sisters &c. Sometimes a quarter, halfe, yea, a whole yeare, and longer if it be for a great Prince. In this time (unlesse a dispensation be given) they count it a prophane thing either to play (as they much use to doe) or to paint themselves for beauty, but for mourning; or to be angry and fall out with any &c." Williams, *Key*, 54.

[p. 252 is blank]

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
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34. "THERE IS NO SCARCITY OF PROVISIONS AMONG THE SAVAGES." SEE PP. 253–5.

35. "THEY PASS . . . SLENDER SPITS OF WOOD THROUGH THE MEAT OR THE FISH, STICK THE SPITS DOWN INTO THE GROUND, AND TURN THE MEAT OR FISH NEAR THE FIRE." SEE P. 254.

[FACING P. 253]

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
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CHAPTER XXVII.

Concerning the Household Economy of the American Savage People, Their Threshing, Their Grinding, Their Baking, Their Frying and Cooking.

In this connection [*it may be said*] *that there is* found no scarcity of provisions among the savages, for the support of their household, but [they are] miserable cooks, they never cook good dishes.[1] They use no cattle. They do not need to thrash their grain, the maize; but when it gets ripe and dry, then they rub the ears between their hands and brush off the kernels. Their larders they dig down in the ground, close to their dwellings, wherein they have their maize, their beans, tobacco and other provisions, such as deer-meat, elk-meat, bear-meat, birds, fish and other such things, which may serve for the sustenance of man, but the bear pork as well as wild-boar pork and its fat they melt and use instead of butter.[2]

They use no querns,[3] but the meal for baking they pound asunder with a pestle and mortar, which they make in this manner, that for the purpose they cut a thick and large tree, 1¼ ells from

---

[1] *Godha rätter.* For the food of the Indians, see Van der Donck, De Vries, etc., *N. Y. Col.*, 2, I, 192 ff.; II, 283 ff.; III, 96, 104 ff.

[2] Cf. Van der Donck and other early Dutch writers.

[3] *Quarner bruka the ínthet.* In connection with the agriculture of the Indians Williams says: They "fell their trees with stone set in a wooden staff, and used wooden howes; which some old and poore women (fearfull to leave the old tradition) use to this day." *Key*, 130.

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the root, in the stump of which they dig out a round hole and thus make a mortar which is suited for the purpose and in which they pound all their grain to meal.[4] And then they bake their meal into small loaves as large as a small cheese,[5] in which they use a kind of berry like currants. Nor do they use any other bake-oven than the embers. The ashes they use according to the manner of the birds, to clean their stomach with, as the birds do with sand instead of salt, therefore they are not so particular, if their bread gets to be a little ashy. They have just recently begun to buy a little salt of the Christians, but they do not know how to use it otherwise than to chew a little of it at a time, like other costly spices.[6]

To brew ale or distill brandy, that they cannot turn their hand to. In reference to the frying by the savages [it is to be noted] that they know no other manner of doing it than to cut for themselves slender spits of wood, pass them through the meat or the fish, stick the spits down into the ground, and turn the meat or the fish near the fire.[7] When it now may be about half fried on the one side, then he turns the other side to the fire and when it is half fried on both sides, so that the blood still remains in it, then he considers it most wholesome and best to eat. In reference to the cooking of the savages [it may be stated] that they have

[4] Cf. Van der Donck and other Dutch writers of the early 17th Century, *N. Y. Col.*, 2, I, II, III.

[5] Perhaps six or eight inches in diameter.

[6] The natives apparently did not season their food with salt. Cf. Hodge, *Handbook*, II, 418 ff.

[7] See illustration facing page 253. The natives of Africa smoke and roast their fish in the same way.

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
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a full [supply] of copper and brass kettles for the purpose, large and small, which the savages buy from the Christians, hanging on a pole[8] along their hut or house from the one door to the other, below which the fire is made up, as has been stated before. And the savage woman whom the sachem owns for a wife, she is the housekeeper for the whole crowd. She selects for the cooking and determines which one of the savage women then and then,[9] each in her turn, shall look after the cooking. When now they think that the food is cooked, which indeed they use half cooked, then the kettles are carried forth to the housekeeper who pours out the food and divides it around for the people, 6 and 6 to a kettle. The vessels used for this purpose are small copper and brass kettles and cut-off calibashes like cups.[10]

As far as their drink is concerned [it may be said] that they drink with the goose.[11]

But when the Christians bake bread of this maize or Indian wheat, they also do it with hot embers in the fireplace. They make and knead the whole dough into one loaf, as wide as the bottom of the oven, raised like a loaf of rye bread. Then they sweep the fireplace clean and lay a couple of layers of large leaves next to the stones upon which they place the bread, then some layers [of leaves] on top and around the bread, and then

---

[8] *Hängander på en åke.* *Ås* in this connection would usually mean the ridge (ridge-pole) of a house, but Lindeström apparently uses the word in the sense of a pole.

[9] *Då och då*, i.e., from time to time.

[10] See above, Chapt. VII, note 13. It seems strange that Lindeström does not mention clay pots.

[11] See above, p. 234, note 4.

8:Linestrom T-5 (654-1655) 1925
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[Facing p. 256]

36. *Two upper objects*—1. Pestle, Burlington Island, N. J.; 2. Pestle, Bucks Co., Pa. *Row below pestles*—Celt, Playwicky Indian Town, Bucks Co., Pa.; Celt, Bucks Co., Pa.; Gouge, N. J.; 3 Celts, Bucks Co., Pa.; Large Celt, Burlington, Co., N. J. *Bottom row, left to right*—Implement probably used in skinning large animals, Bucks Co., Pa.; 2 Small Celts, Bucks Co., Pa.

[In Collections of Colonel Henry D. Paxson, Philadelphia, Pa.]

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
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placing all the embers upon it, which thus stands for the space of a few hours to bake through. When they suppose that it is well baked, they sweep off the ashes carefully, take up the bread and tear off the leaves, then the bread looks brown on the outside like a pancake, but inside it is white as milk and such a natural bread that a finer and more natural one cannot be put between the teeth.[13]

[13] *Att det kan icke skiönare och naturligare läggias under tändher.* The meaning is, it is as fine as any bread we can wish for.

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CHAPTER XXVIII.

Concerning the Vapor Baths of the American Savage People.

The bathhouse of the savages is made of stone 343
and clay and arched like a bake oven with a hole 515
above, large enough to crawl through.[1] [For bathing] they make a large pile of stones red hot, which they place in the centre of the bath house, and the bath house is [made] so large that they can lie lengthwise around the hot stone pile. When they now want to bathe, as many as can get 515
room at a time will crawl in and then they stop up the hole well with frieze cloth. Then the savages within the bath house begin to pour water upon the stones, accompanying this with an unspeakable crying and noise, that one may really be fearful of it, each one imitating the animal from which his *Pddhra* or idol has been taken, upon which they believe, the one [crying] like a lion, the one

[1] "This Hot-house is a kind of little Cell, six or eight foot over, round, made on the side of a hill (commonly by some Rivulet or Brooke) into this frequently the Men enter after they have exceedingly heated it with store of wood, laid upon an heape of stones in the middle. When they have taken out the fire, the stones keepe still a great heat: Ten, twelve, twenty more or lesse, enter at once starke naked, leaving their Coats, small breeches, (or aprons) at the doore, with one to keepe all: here doe they sit round these hot stones an houre or more, taking tobacco, discoursing and sweating together, which sweating they use for two ends: First, to cleanse their skin: Secondly, to purge their bodies, which doubtlesse is a great meanes of preserving them, and recovering them from diseases, especially from the French disease, which by sweating and some potions, they perfectly and speedily cure: when they came forth (which is matter of admiration) I have seen them runne (Summer and Winter) into the brookes to coole them, without the least hurt." Williams, *Key*, 158; cf. Hodge, *Handbook*, 660 ff.; Johnson, *Swedish Settlements*, I, 357 ff.

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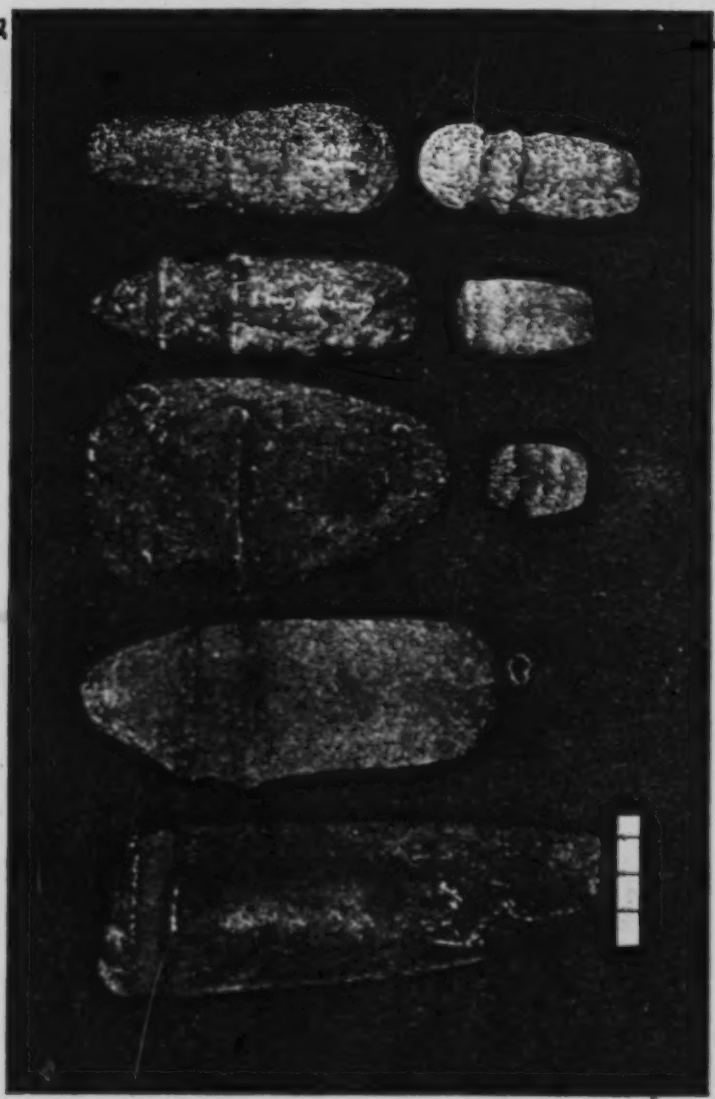

37. *Left to right*—Large Axe, Fairmount Park, Phila.; Axe, Playwicky, Indian Town, Bucks Co., Pa.; Axe, Kingsessing, Phila.; Adze, Assiscunk Creek, N. J.; Axe, Pemberton, N. J. *Lower row*—Small Axe, Bucks Co., Pa.; Axe, N. J.; Double Groove Axe, Playwicky, Indian Town.

[In Collections of Colonel Henry D. Paxson, Philadelphia, Pa.]

[Facing p. 258]

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515 like a bear, another like a bull,[2] a third like a wild boar, wolf, dog, goose, rooster,[3] etc. And when they now have finished bathing, and are not able to endure any more heat, then they crawl out of the bath house one after another, and run towards the stream into the cold water, being as agile to swim in the water as a goose. Then another crowd crawls into the bath house and makes the same noise, until each one has had his turn.[4]

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[2] *Den som en tiur*, that one like a bull.

[3] *Wargh, hundh, gädz, tupp.*

[4] *Till thes swarffwet är omgånget.* The description of Lindeström refers to the ceremonial vapor bath. He seems to have been unfamiliar with the vapor bath for medicinal purposes. Heckewelder says: "In those [complaints] which proceed from rheumatic affections bleeding and sweating are always the first remedies applied." *Indian Nations*, 225.

The Indian word for the bath-house was *pâmookan* (German orth.), from root *pâm* (pēm), to sweat, hence sweat house. Cf. Brinton, *Dict.*, 115–16; also Montanus, *Beschr.*, etc. (Amsterdam, 1671).

The employment of heat in the form of hot water or vapor to counteract certain disorders or cure various diseases is apparently common among all peoples that have reached a certain stage of development. In Central West Africa I found the practice among several tribes. (See my forthcoming book, *The Ethnography of Certain Bantu Tribes, etc.*)

It is interesting to note in this connection, that modern science is giving increased attention to the thermogenic reaction of the body against infectional diseases, and the application of heat to certain parts of the body, externally and internally, as a means of counteracting disorders or removing parasites lodged in the small or large intestine. Dr. D. Rivas, of the University of Pennsylvania, who has developed a new treatment for tape worm, dysentery, etc., based on a novel application of the principles of thermotherapy, has effected some remarkable cures without medicine of amebic dysentery and the removal of hook worms and the entire tape worm, head and all. Cf. Rivas, *The Thermogenic Reaction*, etc., The New Orleans Medical and Surgical Journal, Vol. 69, No. 2; *The Effect of Temperature on Protozoan and Metazoan Parasites and the Devise of a New Procedure—the "Hydro-Thermic Method"—for the Treatment of Parasitic and other Affections of the Intestine.* (In print.)

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VOLUME III

April, 1946—June, 1960

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Grateful acknowledgments are made to the Horace H. Rackham School of Graduate Studies, University of Michigan, for the grant which made this study possible.

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DELAWARE CULTURE CHRONOLOGY

By

VERNON KINIETZ

INDIANA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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I. INTRODUCTION

In 1638 Sweden planted the first permanent colony on the banks of the Delaware River. Since that date there has been continuous contact between the Delaware Indians then residing there and the whites. The Delaware Indians today offer an opportunity to study the process of culture change through a period of three centuries of contact with another culture.

The term "culture change" embraces all aspects of culture change, regardless of the process or processes whereby the change was brought about, whether by indigenous evolution, stimulus-diffusion, contact on a small or a large scale, or by some other way.

Acculturation is one process by which culture change takes place; it is the approximation of the culture of one social group to that of another under conditions of continuous contact. This process admits of a two-way passage of influence and predicates no end result except that it be somewhere between the two original cultures. Diffusion of ideas, technical processes and the like between neighboring groups is properly an example of acculturation. Usually acculturation studies are concerned with the results of the process on only one tribe or group.

Assimilation is distinguished from acculturation on the basis of political control. It is a process of culture change with the political dominance of one group directing the process and usually resulting in the engulfing of the other group and the obliteration of its culture. However, there are instances in which it was the ruling group that was engulfed or assimilated. Assimilation is acculturation, then, with a predicated result: the obliteration of one of two groups in contact.

Diffusion as a process is distinguished from acculturation only by the absence of direct or continuous contact. As a matter of fact, diffusion within a group is responsible for the preservation of its culture; diffusion between groups is responsible for the spread of culture and hence the change or accretion of traits among the receiving groups. If the examples of the diffusion of

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traits are sufficiently numerous or take place with continuous contact, the process is acculturation. In practice, diffusion is also to be distinguished from acculturation on a difference in emphasis. That is, when the distribution of a single trait or a nexus of traits is the problem in hand, the spreading of the trait or traits is an example of diffusion, but when the subject of inquiry is a single culture receiving or giving many traits through diffusion under a condition of continuous contact, the process is called acculturation.

2. The Delaware tribe with its well-documented history offers an excellent opportunity for the study of the process of acculturation and also the testing of the hypothesis that when a culture is invaded or confronted by an alien culture and particularly a superior or more complex one, its technology is the first aspect to change, sociological concepts and practices are more resistant, and the spiritual life is the last aspect to be affected.

3. A resumé of documentary material relating to the Delaware was followed by field work among the Delaware in northeastern and south-central Oklahoma in the fall of 1938.

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II. THE DELAWARE TRIBE

HISTORICAL SKETCH

The Delawares call themselves Lenape or Lenni Lenape. Their common name is derived from the fact that their first known residence was on the river so named by the English. Lindeström gives their location in 1656 as in the vicinity of Philadelphia on the west side of the Delaware River, and their kindred, the Munsee, were located on the east side. The territory that they occupied was probably much more extensive than Lindeström indicated, but little beyond the water courses had been explored in those days. The Delaware were still in possession of the river when William Penn entered into his first treaty with them in 1682.

The British administration after Penn's time was aligned with the Iroquois who assumed domination over the Delaware. It is practically impossible to determine the exact time or circumstances of the Iroquois "making women" of the Delaware, but about 1720 they denied the Delaware the right to make war or to dispose of land. Very soon the Delaware were being crowded out of their old locations by the Iroquois and the whites. They moved to various sites farther west in Pennsylvania, and by 1751 began to settle in eastern Ohio. Within a few years the majority of them were in Ohio and Indiana. The Moravian missionaries who followed them from the East established themselves in Ohio and worked with great success until the Revolution.

Distrusted by both the British and the colonists, the Delaware and particularly the Moravian converts, were harried from both sides. The Gnadenhütten Massacre in 1782 was the greatest blow dealt by the colonists, but while demoralizing, it was not as devastating as were the moves forced upon the Indians by the British the year before. The famine and other hardships resulting from these forced emigrations scattered and decimated the Christian Delaware and also created the opportunity for the

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731 Gnadenhütten affair. A score or so of families settled on the
167 Clinton River northwest of the site of Mount Clemens on land belonging to the Chippewa. They lived there from 1782 to 1786. In the latter year they moved to Pilgerruh near Pittsburgh, then to Pettquotting, and finally in 1791 to Canada. A few families returned to the Tuscarawas in 1798.

167 In the meantime the "heathen" Delaware were settling in
657 western Indiana, principally along the White River. In 1821 these were moved across the Mississippi by the Federal Government to a reservation near Leavenworth, Kansas. There they were joined about 1835 by a band of Delaware which had removed to Missouri in 1789 with the permission of the Spanish Government, and by 1820, after a sojourn in Arkansas, had moved to Texas with a Shawnee band. In 1867 the Delaware sold their lands in Kansas and bought rights as members of the Cherokee Nation in Oklahoma. A small party was living among the Caddo and Wichita in south-central Oklahoma when the "general severalty act" authorizing allotments was passed in 1887. This group received allotments as members of the Caddo and Wichita groups with which they have since been incorporated, while the majority in northeastern Oklahoma received allotments as members of the Cherokee Nation.

161 We have no estimates of the number of Delaware at the time
162 of their first contacts with the whites when they were living in a fairly compact body. Since then they have been scattered and connected with other tribes, with only an occasional village composed solely of Delaware. In 1824 their number was estimated as 1,500 in Kansas and 650 in Canada and scattered through New York and Ohio. In 1910 their population including the Munsee was about 1,850, of whom 895 were in Oklahoma, 55 in Kansas, about 250 Munsee with Stockbridge in Wisconsin, and 619 on three different reserves in Ontario. The 1930 figures show a slight decline, with 874 in Oklahoma.

CONTACTS

177 In their original habitat and during their migrations, the Delaware have been exposed to different types of white contact.

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These may be characterized by relative size in the following chronological order, 177

1. Until 1638. Contacts with only occasional trading ships.
2. 1638 to about 1700. Entire Delaware communities in contact with smaller white communities.
3. 1700 to 1750. Entire Delaware communities in contact with larger white communities.
4. 1751 to 1821. Contacts mainly with missionaries and traders.
5. 1821 to about 1850. Reservation life, contacts with government officials, missionaries, traders, and smaller white communities. [657]
6. 1850 to 1938. Delaware families on individual tracts and allotments, no longer in communities, in contact with white communities, and after 1890 surrounded by them.

At only rare and brief intervals, like the French and Indian War and the Revolution, were the whites openly and militantly hostile to the Delaware. Their contacts aside from these exterminating expeditions were responsible for the following types of effect. 648 177

1. Introduction of new ideas, materials, and techniques, with possible supplanting of the old ideas.
2. Introduction of other Indian elements through traders.
3. New tribal contacts through moves forced upon the Delaware whether by administrative action or otherwise. [167]
4. Change in habitat, due to destruction of game, forests, etc., and settlement on reservations and allotments.

It should be pointed out that not only did the white contact range through various nationalities—Swedish, Dutch, English, French, German, and American, but white culture as a whole was also changing through the centuries of contact. The most striking aspect of this evolution was probably in technology, but the changes in attitude towards the Indians and the changes in administrative policy were also important.

In their first historical habitat the Delaware were almost surrounded by closely related tribes—the Munsee, Mahican, Nanticokes, Conoy, Manhattan, and other members of the Wap- 133 177

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133 pinger confederacy, and the Iroquoian Susquehannas. Contacts
177 with the Iroquois were probably not very numerous until the Iroquois destroyed the Susquehanna in 1676. In 1689 contact with the Shawnee was first reported. Friendly relations with this tribe have continued to the present day but were particularly close during their residence in Ohio and Indiana. Their migrations westward brought them in contact with many other tribes, the Huron, Chippewa, Ottawa, Miami, Pawnee, Osage, Quapaw, and Cherokee to mention only the most important.

177 It is impossible to detect the full effect of each of these contacts upon the Delaware culture. Intermarriages took place with some of these tribes that there is no way of tracing. Genealogical research among the living Delaware is of no help since, generally speaking, the horizon of their memories is reached at three generations. Also complicating the picture is the fact that adoption completely wiped out tribal origin. The effect of all these contacts with other tribes was not, however, as great as the influence of the more powerful and more divergent culture of the whites.

THE DELAWARE TODAY

162 The census of 1930 listed 971 Delaware and Munsee in the United States, of whom 874 were living in Oklahoma. Of these 20.2 per cent were reported as full blooded. An examination of the instructions to the enumerators of the census reveals that the individual was asked for the percentage of Indian blood he
144 possessed and the tribe to which he belonged. The census figures
161 do not show the amount of mixture between tribes. According to the information I could get from the Indians themselves, it is very doubtful if there is a single full-blooded Delaware today. Many who are less than half Delaware consider themselves all Delaware, and would so state if casually asked, but even a short genealogy usually shows a mixture with white blood and also with that of other tribes. In 1865 the Indian agent among the Delaware reported that intermarriage was lessening the Indian blood among various tribes and that there was no remarkable in-

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crease or decrease in population, although the Delaware had increased some three hunderd in number.[1]

Most of the Delaware are living on their allotments scattered through the territory originally reserved for the Cherokee. Few of their allotments are contiguous, due to the exigencies of the allotting and to the fact that many of the farms have been sold when restrictions were removed. Very few of them were fortunate enough to have oil on their lands. They either farm their fields or cash rent them. Judging from the state of repair of the houses, those that farm their own fields are more prosperous than those who rent them out. This distinction is also recognized by the Indians. The majority probably rent their fields and subsist on the small cash return, aided by the produce from their gardens, old age pensions, and other occasional sources of income. There is very little in the appearance of their houses to distinguish them from their white neighbors. Clothes and automobiles also reflect their economic status in the same way that these items do for their white neighbors.

After their incorporation with the Cherokee, the Delaware maintained their own chieftainships for a time. As the functions of these clan heads ceased, so did the rules for the filling of the offices and the need for keeping them filled. The last of the clan chiefs died about 1900. Since that time only chiefs for the entire Delaware group in northeastern Oklahoma have been elected. These were elected mostly for business purposes—to have an official representative to treat with the Federal Government on annuities and other money matters. In the election each of the three tribal divisions, Turtle, Wolf, and Turkey nominated a candidate. The man getting the most votes was elected chief and the one getting the next highest number became assistant chief. The last election was held about 1917. The chief who was elected then died about 1935, and since that time there has been no recognized chief.

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[1] Pratt, John G., to J. R. Doolittle, September 15, 1865, in *Condition of the Indian Tribes. Report of the Joint Special Committee . . .* (*Senate Reports*, 39 Congress, 2 session, No. 156, Washington, D. C., 1867), Appendix, p. 483.

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535 Social dances not restricted to Delaware are held whenever a person who can afford to play host feels the urge to do so.
796 Gatherings with a religious motive may be said to have practically ceased. The Doll Dance which was a family responsibility has not been held since 1929. The Big House Ceremony has not been held since 1924, and since the ceremonial structure has been demolished, there is dim possibility that it will be revived. There are still a score or so who have participated in the Big House, but some of them will make no move toward revival. The hereditary leader of the Wolf clan in the Big House, who is probably the staunchest adherent of the ceremony, is now a leader
[795] of a peyote group in which several tribes are represented. The most tangible evidence of a community spirit still extant among
[764] the Delaware is the use of a Delaware cemetery.

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III. ANALYSIS OF DELAWARE CULTURE

THE PROJECT

The purpose of this study of the Delaware was to assemble and analyze data on the culture of the tribe from the earliest white contact to the present, with a view to determining what changes have taken place in their culture, when, and why. 121

The method used to assemble these data in comparable form was determined by the nature and scope of that portion of the material that pointed the way for such a study. For an understanding of the boundaries of this study an explanation of the provenience of this material is in order.

From 1813 to 1831 Lewis Cass was governor of Michigan Territory and *ex officio* superintendent of Indian affairs for the region. His interest in the Indians as individuals and as bearers of a dying culture led him to circulate in 1821 a pamphlet entitled *Inquiries respecting the History, Traditions, Languages, Manners, Customs, Religion, &c. of the Indians, Living within the United States,*[1] containing approximately four hundred questions with word lists in addition. A short time later another pamphlet entitled *Additional Inquiries respecting the Indian Languages*[2] was issued which emphasized the interest Cass had in language. In 1823, both pamphlets were reprinted and bound together with continuous paging.[3] 114

The queries were widely distributed among Indian agents, traders, and others who might be able to furnish information on specific tribes. Some of the recipients were dismayed by the number of questions, and, feeling that they did not have the fund of knowledge necessary to answer them, returned the pamphlets. Nevertheless, numerous answers were received by Cass, but they were, Cass reported to Schoolcraft in 1823, "more valuable for quantity than quality."[4] Cass planned on using the material so

[1] Detroit: Sheldon & Reed, 1821. 30 pp.
[2] 32 pp. No date or place of publication is given.
[3] Detroit: Sheldon & Reed, 1823. 64 pp.
[4] See letter of Henry Rowe Schoolcraft to Cass, November 22, 1823, The National Archives, Office of Indian Affairs, Michigan Superintendency Letterbook, No. 2, 1823, p. 265.

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collected in making an extensive report to the War Department, at that time in charge of Indian affairs. Disappointed in many of the answers returned but determined to pursue his inquiries, Cass requested permission of John C. Calhoun, the secretary of war, to employ an extra person at an interpreter's compensation to be sent to different Indian villages for the purpose of investigating their life and to carry out other useful duties.[1] On May 31, 1823, Calhoun granted permission and on June 20, 1823, Cass informed Calhoun that he had appointed Charles C. Trowbridge to fill the office.[2]

Trowbridge had already worked with the list of queries among the Chippewa. The summer and fall of 1823 were devoted to work among the Menomini and Winnebago. About the first of December he was sent to see William Conner on the White River, in Indiana, to collect information on the language of the Delaware. William Conner was apparently the principal informant and a very able one in compiling the 284-page Delaware grammar.[3] He had been brought up among the Delaware, married a daughter of Chief Anderson, and, besides trading with members of the tribe for many years, had served as interpreter in many treaty negotiations. His services to Trowbridge were supplemented by those of Captain Pipe, a Delaware who was sent from Sandusky for the purpose. The extent of Pipe's participation in compiling the grammar is unknown, but he was principally responsible for the ethnographic information Trowbridge recorded in a thirty-seven-page manuscript.[4] Pipe was at Conner's farm only ten days of the three months that Trow-

[1] Carter, Clarence E. (ed.), *The Territorial Papers of the United States*. Volume XI. *The Territory of Michigan, 1820-1829* (Washington, D. C., 1943), p. 363.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 363n.

[3] Two copies of the Delaware grammar were lent to the University of Michigan by Sydney T. Miller and his daughter Mrs. Thomas B. Byrd.

[4] Two copies of this manuscript were lent to the University of Michigan by Mr. Miller and Mrs. Byrd, one bearing the title, "Traditions of the Lenêê Lenâpee or Delawares," and the other, "Account of some of the Traditions, Manners and Customs of the Lenêê Lenâpaa or Delaware Indians." These are deposited in the Michigan Historical Collections, Rackham Building, University of Michigan.

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bridge was there. After the Delaware study Trowbridge collected several other sets of answers: two on the Shawnee,[1] one each on the Miami,[2] Kickapoo, and Wyandot, and another on the Delaware with Cass. 114

This extended notice of Trowbridge's activities is given because it is principally his manuscripts and others that fell into his hands that have been preserved. After Trowbridge resigned in 1825 Cass obtained funds and permission to hire three or four persons to carry on his work. Who these persons were or what they accomplished we do not know.

Previous to Trowbridge's visit to William Conner, John Johnston, Indian agent at Piqua, Ohio, sent Cass an answer on the Shawnee in his own handwriting and one on the Delaware, not in his own hand.[3] A series of answers on the Delaware found among the Trowbridge Papers in the Burton Historical Collection has been tentatively identified as the one submitted by Johnston.[4] Identification of the author will probably never be determined as Johnston did not name the person who compiled the answers he transmitted.

While at Detroit in 1824 Trowbridge and Cass alternated in recording the answers of a Canadian Delaware or Munsee named Captain Chipps. This manuscript of seventy-two pages in the handwriting of Cass and Trowbridge is also among the Trowbridge Papers in the Burton Historical Collection and, in addition, a partial copy in Trowbridge's hand is bound together with a third copy of Pipe's relation.

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[1] See Kinietz, Vernon, and Voegelin, Erminie W. (eds.), *Shawnese Traditions. C. C. Trowbridge's Account* (Museum of Anthropology, University of Michigan, *Occasional Contributions*, No. 9, Ann Arbor, 1939).

[2] See Kinietz, Vernon (ed.), *Meearmeear Traditions by C. C. Trowbridge* (Museum of Anthropology, University of Michigan, *Occasional Contributions*, No. 7, Ann Arbor, 1938).

[3] Johnston to Cass, May 10, 1822, The National Archives, Indian Office, Michigan Superintendency, Letterbook, No. 1, 1822, pp. 208-13.

[4] This bears the title, "Answers to the questions proposed in the Pamphlet, By the Delawares and Monsies." On the back of the manuscript in Trowbridge's handwriting is the following endorsement, "Lenēē Lenāpas Traditions &c." 115

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114 128 These three relations on the Delaware, hereafter denoted by the names John Johnston, Captain Pipe and Captain Chipps, were analyzed according to the questions they answered and transcribed into an element list in terms of the information they contained. The list was designed so that the information of each account could be tabulated and the presence or absence of a trait be indicated by a symbol such as a plus or a minus in columns headed by the name of the source.

This table was then expanded to include information derived from five sources which preceded these three in point of time. In the first three columns the information from Roger Williams, Adriaen Van der Donck, and Peter Lindeström appears, in that order." Only the last one of these accounts definitely relates to the Delaware. The other two are given as early accounts of tribes neighbor to the Delaware which may reflect the contemporary conditions among them as well, particularly the account of Van der Donck who included the Delaware River within the boundaries of New Netherlands. Williams' account was published in 1643, Van der Donck's was republished in 1656, and probably written about 1653, and Lindeström's account was written by him from notes made from 1654 to 1656.

In the fourth and fifth columns the information of Zeisberger and Heckewelder as contained in their published accounts is presented."

"Williams, Roger, "A Key into the Language of America . . . Together with Brief Observations of the Customes, Manners, and Worships, &c. of the Aforesaid Natives, in Peace and Warfe, in Life and Death . . . ," in Rhode Island Historical Society, *Collections*, I(1827), 17-163; Van der Donck, Adriaen, "A Description of the New Netherlands . . . ," in New York Historical Society, *Collections*, 2 series, I(1841), 129-242; Johnson, Amandus (ed. and trans.), *Geographia Americæ with an Account of the Delaware Indians Based on Surveys and Notes Made in 1654-1656 by Peter Lindeström* . . . (The Swedish Colonial Society, Philadelphia, 1925).

"Hulbert, Archer B., and Schwarze, William N. (eds.), "David Zeisberger's History of the Northern American Indians," in *Ohio Archæological and Historical Publications*, XIX(1910), 1-189; Heckewelder, John, *History, Manners, and Customs of the Indian Nations who Once Inhabited Pennsylvania and the Neighbouring States* . . . (Historical Society of Pennsylvania, *Memoirs*, XII, Philadelphia, 1876).

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After these historical accounts information on the same points obtained from four informants among the Oklahoma Delaware was recorded. It had been the original plan to conclude the tabulation of accounts of different periods with a survey of present customs among the Delaware. In the field work, however, it soon became apparent that such a survey would be meaningless if it did not include work with practically every person with Delaware blood. Furthermore, it was difficult for the informants to give coherent accounts of both past and present customs. In the end, the relations of several older people were taken for past customs and four of them constitute the accounts of the last period in the tabulation. Even though they never participated in some of the elements covered, their relations undoubtedly are representative of the period when there was a more unified and distinct Delaware culture; whereas, no handful of informants could possibly be responsible for all the aspects of the diversified practices and beliefs of the present. There was no selection of informants' accounts and rejection of others except on the basis of completeness.

This table is given on pages 22 to 37.

The exact phrasing of the Cass questions could not be used in working with the informants, as they were designed to be answered by persons familiar with the Indians rather than by the Indians themselves. The four informants whose accounts were used were:

J. W.: Joe Washington, Wann, Okla. Age 65. Wolf Clan.

W. T.: Willie Thomas, Anadarko, Okla., Age 65. Turtle Clan.

E. R.: Eli H. Reynolds, Anadarko, Oklahoma. Age 43. Only his mother was Delaware. She was Turkey and Wolf.

W. L.: Willie Longbone, Dewey, Okla. Age 70. Turtle Clan.

The information derived from these twelve accounts, beginning with that of Roger Williams, was analyzed in the sequence in which the various elements are entered in the table. Following the table there is a discussion of those elements showing any change over the entire period covered by the various accounts. Finally, there is a section of ethnographic notes on some of the elements.

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114 The twelve accounts may be divided into two groups on the
126 basis of their origin. The first eight were obtained from written
128 sources, five published and three unpublished. The last four were obtained from field work among the modern Delaware. For convenience, the first group will hereafter be called sources and the last group informants. Considering the time of inscribing or of obtaining the information on which they are based, the eight sources are found to form three groups and to represent three periods: the first composed of the accounts of Williams, Van der Donck, and Lindeström, dated 1643, 1653, 1656, respectively; the second, of the accounts of Zeisberger, 1780, and Heckewelder, whose account, although not published until 1819, is considered contemporaneous, as he left active mission work in 1786; and the third group, of the three Cass manuscripts dated 1823 and 1824. The accounts of the modern informants constitute the fourth group and period.

In the discussion of the different elements, comparison is usually between the accounts as grouped in these four periods. As page references to citations from the accounts of the three manuscripts and the four informants are impossible, they have been omitted for the published accounts also, in the interests of uniformity. When neither the tabulation of the material from the different accounts nor the section of ethnographic notes amplifying or qualifying the tabulated element list indicates the existence of any problem on any element, that element is omitted in the discussion. Numbers in parentheses refer to the numbers given to the elements on the table.

DISCUSSION OF THE ELEMENTS

Astronomy, Mathematics, etc.

921 The Delaware of the present indicate a knowledge of astronomy and mathematics that was not reported in historical accounts (3, 13). Whereas lack of knowledge or understanding on the part of some of the early reporters may be responsible for
[177] some of the apparent change, it is more reasonable to assign the cause of several of these changes to white contact. Belief in the

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roundness of the earth was denied until the fourth period (3). 821
This definitely dates the emergence of the element in the period 177
of greatest white influence. Since, in this period, the economy of the Delaware closely paralleled that of most of their white neighbors, it is not surprising that a knowledge of arithmetic in the abstract appeared that had been denied in former periods (13). The period three denials of opinions respecting the planetary system are refuted by the statements of Zeisberger and appear to be the result of confusion on the part of the authors between opinions and knowledge (1). The opinions of the Indians may have been erroneous, but they undoubtedly had them, as their names for stars and the myths concerning them show.

The division of the year into twelve months or moons to agree with the European usage appears to have been accomplished very early (7). Roger Williams reported thirteen months in 1643 but did not name them. Heckewelder gives the names of eleven months, omitting what would correspond to our November.

Religion

Religion among the Delaware appears to have been very in- 771
susceptible to change. From the records available, over three hundred years of white contact and more or less continuous missionary efforts have produced only one significant change.

The concept of a Supreme Being, superior to subordinate good 776
and evil deities, who has moral superintendence over worshipers that pray to Him for favors and assistance, is reported from 1643 to the present day, with only occasional dissent and never denial from all sources for any one period. On the belief in a 775
future state of punishments and rewards for which judgment is given immediately after death, there is again complete agreement.

The belief in the whereabouts of the places of habitation of 775
the souls of good and bad, has, however, undergone modification 177
(37). Roger Williams and Van der Donck recorded southwest and south, respectively, as the direction in which lay the land of

(Continued on p. 38)

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Table of Elements

+ = element present
− = element denied
(+) or (−) = source ambiguous
• = informant could not or would not say
S = some, sometimes, or several
† or * = see Ethnographic Notes, pp. 79-137 for additional information

	Williams	Van der Donck	Lindeström	Zeisberger	Heckewelder	Johnston	Pipe	Chippe	J. W.	W. T.	E. R.	W. L.
Astronomy, Mathematics, etc.												
1. Any opinion respecting the planetary system				+		−	•−	−	+	+	+	+
2. Origin myth		+			+		•+	•+	+	+	+	+
3. Earth is round				−	−			−	+	•+	•+	•+
4. immovable, shakes but does not revolve				+		+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+
5. Divide year into 4 seasons	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
6. Names	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
7. Divide year in ___ moons or months †	13			12	12	12	12	12	12	12	•	12
8. Sun is deity †	+	+		+		+	+	•	+	+	+	+
9. Moon is deity †	+	+		+		+	+	•	+	+	+	+
10. Opinion respecting eclipses †				+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•	+
11. Names for any star	+	+		+	+	−	•	−	+	+	+	•
12. Count by tens	+			+		+			+	•	+	+
13. Arithmetic in abstract				−		−	−	−	+	+	+	+
14. Four cardinal points †	+					+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+
15. Prognostics respecting weather						+	•	+	+	+	+	+
16. Meteors are indication of evil †						+	•	•	+	+	s	+
17. are misbehaving stars moving							+	•	−		+	−
18. Ceremonies on appearance of new moon						•−	−	•−	−	−	−	−
19. Calculate time of reappearance †						+	−	+	+	+	•	+
20. Regulate course in unknown country												
by the sun						+		+		+	+	+
by stars							+			+	+	
Religion												
21. Concept of Supreme Being †	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
22. Subordinate deities †	+		(+)	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+
23. Evil Spirits †			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
24. Supreme Being superior to subordinate and evil spirits				+	+	+	+	•	+	•	+	+
25. Subordinate spirits dominant over evil spirits					+	+	+		+			

26. Moral superintendence of Supreme Being over worshipers		−	(+)		+	+	+	−	+	+	776
27. Pray to Him for favors or assistance	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	782
28. Deposit tobacco on stones, mountains, etc. for favors					+	+	+	+	+	+	775
29. Tobacco sacrificed for success in hunting	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	713
30. Believe in a future state of punishments and rewards	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	754
31. Final judgment						+	+	+	+	+	744
32. Mental or corporeal pleasures in future state of existence		+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	164
33. Judgment immediately after death		+?				+	+	+	+	+	757
34. Souls of worthy go to place of happiness or abode of Supreme Being	+	+		+		+	+	+	+	+	756
35. Souls of bad go to land of bad spirits or hell left on earth or no good place	+	+		+		+	+	+	+	+	755
36. Tortured or unhappy in either place		+		+		+		−	+	−	343
37. Direction of habitation of good souls	SW	S		S		Up	S	Up	Up	Up Up	
bad souls						Up		Up	Up	Up	
38. Believe in ghosts		+		+		+	+	+	+	+	
39. Have priests	+	+		−		−	−	−	−	−	
40. Witches and wizards		+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
41. National worshiping society †				+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
Medicine											
42. Diseases to which peculiarly liable †											
Bowel disorders				+	+	+		+	−	−	
Consumption					+			−	+	+	
Pleurisy						+					
Chills and fevers	+			+	+		+	+	+	+	
Dysentery				+						−	
Rheumatism				+	+			−			
Boils				+							
43. Remedies usually roots and herbs	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
44. Bleeding common			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
45. Cupping common				+						−	
46. Sweating common	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
47. Medical profession	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	
48. Receive any education					−	−	−	−	−	−	
49. Called by divine agency in youth									+	+	
50. Count pulse							−		+	+	
51. Inquire into nature of complaint							+		+	+	

		Williams	Van der Donck	Lindeström	Zeisberger	Heckewelder	Johnston	Pipe	Chipps	J. W.	W. T.	E. R.	W. L.
	+ = element present − = element denied (+) or (−) = source ambiguous • = informant could not or would not say s = some, sometimes, or several † or * = see Ethnographic Notes, pp. 79-137 for additional information												
	Medicine—Continued												
52.	Perform surgical operation				(−)		−		−	−	−	−	−
53.	Unite profession with priesthood	(+)		(+)			−		−	−	−	−	−
54.	Always use juggling tricks †	+	s	s	s	s	−		−	s		s	s
55.	Beat on own breast	+		(+)		+	+			+	+	+	+
56.	Blow in hands	+		(+)		±	+			+	−	+	+
57.	Make rumbling noise	+		+	+		+			+	+	+	+
58.	Blow on patient	+		+	+	+	+			+	+	+	+
59.	Rub the part affected						+			+	+	+	+
60.	Have effect on patient's confidence						+			+	+	+	+
	General Manners and Customs												
61.	Eat human flesh			*(−)	−	−	−	•	−	−	−	−	−
62.	Shake hands on meeting; inquire about health and express gladness to see	(±)			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
64.	Great respect paid age or rank				+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
65.	Visit one another for purpose of conversation	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
66.	Regular parties at which they entertain				+		+	•	•	+	+	+	+
67.	Practice of telling stories				+		+	+	•	+	+	+	+
68.	In winter and at night only						+	•	•	+	+	+	•+
69.	Use words equivalent to swearing		−		−		+	−	−	−	−	−	−
70.	Exhibit strong feelings of love, friendship and affection to same sex					+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
71.	to opposite sex						+	−	+	+	−	+	•
72.	common to try to suppress to same sex						+	−	+	+	−	−	•
73.	common to try to suppress to opposite sex						+	+	+	+	−	−	
74.	Matter of pride to suppress feelings or excitement, especially fear and shame				+		+	•	+	+	(+)	+	+
75.	On return home men treat wives with indifference					+	+	+	•	−	+	−	+
76.	On return home men treat children with indifference					−	−	•	•	−	−	−	−
77.	Powers of recollection strong			+		+	+	•	+	+	+	+	+
78.	Any peculiarities in encampments (except war) or building of huts that distinguish from others				+		*+	•	•	•	+	*+	+

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+ = element present
− = element denied
(+) or (−) = source ambiguous
• = informant could not or would not say
S = some, sometimes, or several
† or * = see Ethnographic Notes, pp. 79-137 for additional information

	Williams	Van der Donck	Lindeström	Zeisberger	Heckewelder	Johnston	Pipe	Chippa	J. W.	W. T.	E. R.	W. L.
575												858
585												916
564												362
851												854
845												858
848												524
848												858
575												858
Birth and its incidents—Continued												
113. Parents exercise any control over mature children						+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+
114. Age children are expected to maintain themselves					20+	15-25		20	25	25	16-17+	20-22
115. Child given daily bath †		+				+	•	•	+	+	+	+
116. Cradle used	+	(−)	+	+		+	+	+	−	+	+	•+
117. Consists of board	+		+	+		+	+	+		•	•	+
118. with cushion			+			+	+	+		•	•	+
119. with hoop over head			+			+	+	+		•	•	+
120. hoop decorated						+	•	•		•	•	+
121. Cradle put in hammock						•	+	•			+	+
122. Boys and girls treated with equal care and affection						+	+	+	+	+	s	+
123. Any difference in treatment of legitimate and illegitimate	(−)	−				−	−	−	•	•−	−	−
124. Mother takes care of illegitimate	+	+				+	+	•	+	•	+	+
125. Father not compelled to contribute but may do so						+	+	−	+	•	+	+
126. Birth of twins frequent	+			−		−	+	−	+	+	−	+
127. Number of instances of triplets						0	1	1	0	0	0	0
128. Are parental feelings strong	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
129. Are filial feelings strong	−			+	+	s	+	+	+	+	+	+
130. Do they (128 and 129) continue through life				+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Marriage and its incidents												
131. Courtship				−	−	−	−	•(+)	−	−	•−	−
132. Marriage arranged by parents	(+)	+	−	s	+	−	+	−	+	−	+	+
133. Consent of either party asked	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−
134. Any ceremony of marriage †		+	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+
135. Presents for bride	(+)	+		+			+	+	+	+	+	+
136. Presents for family of bride	(+)			+		+	+	•	+	+	+	+
137. Presents exchanged				+	+	•	+	•	−	−	−	−
138. Time served by boy							−		•	−	−	−
139. Polygamy common †	−	−		−		−	−	−		−	−	−
140. Only rich or chiefs have more than one		+		+		+	+	+			+	+

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765
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+ = element present
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* = informant could not or would not say
§ = some, sometimes, or several
† or * = see Ethnographic Notes, pp. 79-137 for additional information

	Williams	Van der Donck	Lindeström	Zeisberger	Heckewelder	Johnston	Pipe	Clipps	J. W.	W. T.	E. R.	W. W.
Death and its incidents †												
175. Treatment of corpse. Eyes closed		+				+	(+)		+	+	+	+
176. Limbs straightened		+				+	(+)		+	+	+	+
177. Washed						+	+	+	+	+	+	+
178. Dressed				+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
179. Painted				+	+				+	+	+	•+
180. By unrelated persons		−			(+)	·	+	·	+	+	+	•+
181. Kept ___ nights before burial		8	8	(1)	1	1	1	•1-4	1	1	1	1-3
182. Burial	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
183. Extended		•—	•—	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
184. Grave depth ___ feet						3-4	3	5	5-6	4	4-5	3½-4
185. Grave lined with bark		+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
186. Grave goods of clothes only required	+	—	—	+	—	•	+	•	—	+	—	+
187. Post at head of graves of males only				—	—	•	+	•	—	—	—	—
188. Cremation					—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
189. Take up bones and reinter			•		—	8	—	—	—	—	—	—
190. Collection of people at burial, thanks to bystanders for assistance		+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
191. Chief prays that soul may go happy						•	•	+	+	+	+	+
192. Feast at the grave							+		+			
193. Feast and moccasin game night before burial									+	+	+	+
194. Mourning. Widow or widower observes for ___ months	3-12	12	•12	12		•	•9	9	•12	•12	12	•
195. Lets hair grow loose and unkempt		•—		+			+		+	+	•	+
196. Wears black	+	+					—	+	•	—	•	—
197. Abstains from games, dances and amusement	+						+		+	+	+	+
198. Does not remarry during mourning	•	+		+		+	+	+	+	•+	+	+
199. Terminated by relatives of deceased washing, giving new clothes, etc.				+		•	+	•	•	+	8	•+
200. Visits grave ___ nights				365	21	6-7	6	•	3	4	•	4
201. Visits grave ___ dawns				365		—	6		—	—	—	—

| | | |

+ = element present
− = element denied
(+) or (−) = source ambiguous
• = informant could not or would not say
$ = some, sometimes, or several
† or * = see Ethnographic Notes, pp. 79-137 for additional information

	Williams	Van der Donck	Lindeström	Zeisberger	Heckewelder	Johnston	Pipe	Chipps	J. W.	W. T.	E. R.	W. L.
	643	781	623	432	544	635	627	632	634	637	633	643
Chiefs—Continued												
237. War chief chosen through vision power				+	+				+	+	+	+
238. Body of counselors †	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+(+)	+	+•	+
239. Name *upwaenowuk							+		(+)	+	+	+
240. Chosen by people						+	+	•	+	+	+	+
241. Consider all matters of importance to tribe		+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
242. Counselors and chiefs only present at council meetings		$		$	$	+			$	$	$	$
243. All adults except women admitted				$				+	$	$	$	$
Justice												
244. Any mode of compelling payment of debt				+		−	−	−	−	−	−	−
245. Relatives of debtor make restitution				+	+		$		+		+	+
246. Creditor uses force							$	+	•+		+	−
247. Redress for civil injuries (theft)	•+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	+
248. Injured party applies to chief		+			−		+		+		+	+
249. Any punishment inflicted by nation if restitution is made		−		−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
250. Injured party has right to kill thief on second offense		−			+			+	+		+	+
251. Murder punished	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
252. By nation	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	•	−	+
253. Breach closed by presents		+		+	+•	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
254. Amount of wampum as presents †				+	•	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
255. Lacking presents, revenge by relatives	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	•	+
256. Revenge duty of any individual		•+			−	−	−	−	•+	−	−	•+
257. Any one interfere from duty		•+				−	•	−	−	•	•	
258. Guilty submits	+	•−				+	+	+	+	+	•	$
259. Feud arise from revenge		•+					−	−	−	−	•	−
260. Revenge approved by nation	+		+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+
261. Crimes. Theft	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
262. Rape		+					+		+	+	+	+
263. Adultery	+	+		+			+	+	+	+	+	+
264. Desertion of children								+	+	(+)	•+	
265. Drunkenness and slander	+							+	+	(+)		

266.	Any of these punished	+	−	−	+		−	+	+	(−)	+	+	
												20+	
267.	Age of youth becoming a man							20	25	25	21	24	
268.	Determined by own ability		+			+			−	−		−	
269.	Murder of wife by husband punished					−	−	−	+	?	5	+	
270.	Her relatives might revenge if they considered act unwarranted					+			−		+	+	
	Family Government												
271.	Husband treats wife with tenderness and respect			+	+	+			+	+	+	+	
272.	Provides meat	+	+		+	+			+	+	+	+	
273.	Provides clothing				+	+			+	+	+	+	
274.	Provides other necessities				+	+			+	+	+	+	
275.	Wife obeys husband				+	+				+	+	+	
276.	Makes clothing	+	+		+	+		+	+	+	+	+	
277.	Makes and mends moccasins	+	+		+	+		+	+	+	+	+	
278.	Raises corn and other crops	+	+	+	+	+		+	−	−	−	+	
279.	Cooks	+	+	+	+	+		+	−	−	+	+	
280.	Provides fuel		+	+	+	+		+	−	−	−	+	
281.	Manual labor falls on wife		+	+	s	+		+	−	−	−	+	
282.	Moving camp devolves upon women				+	−		−	−	−	−	+	
283.	Husband frequently strikes wife				−	−		−	−	−	−	−	
284.	If she is ill-tempered or refractory					+		+	−	−	−		
285.	Same affection and unreserved intercourse between spouses as in civilized life			+		+		+	+	+	+	+	
286.	Woman ever exercise government over children			+	+	+			+	+	+	+	
287.	Woman ever at the head of the establishment			+		+			+	+	+	+	
	Food, mode of living, etc.												
288.	Animals which are not used for food: several kinds				+	+			+	•		+	
289.	Very few	(+)		(+)				+		•	+		
290.	Opossum							+	+	+	+	+	
291.	Otter							+		+	•	+	
292.	Vegetable products eaten: All kinds												
293.	Number of kinds				+	+			+				
294.	Wild or ground potatoes				+	+		+	+	+	+	+	
295.	Corn	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
296.	Beans	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	
297.	Pumpkins (squash)	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	
					681	484	241	885	593	681	885	682	884
					262		562						

+ = element present
− = element denied
(+) or (−) = source ambiguous
* = informant could not or would not say
§ = some, sometimes, or several
† or ° = see Ethnographic Notes, pp. 79-137 for additional information

	Williams	Van der Donck	Lindeström	Zeisberger	Heckewelder	Johnston	Pipe	Clapp	J. W.	W. T.	E. R.	W. L.
Food, mode of living, etc.—Continued												
298. Vegetables introduced by whites				+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+
299. Wild rice				(−)		−		−	−	+	−	−
300. Have regular meals		−			+	−		−	+	+	+	−
301. Generally eat together (family)		(+)						+	−	+	+	−
302. Men and women eat together		(+)				+		+	+	+	+	+
303. Nest in their cooking			−	§	+	−		+	+	+	+	+
304. Several cooking modes		−	+		°+	+		+	+	+	+	+
305. Generally prefer well done			−	+					+	+	+	+
306. Commonly eat in the night						−		+	−	−	−	−
307. Eat every kind of fish		+	(+)			+		+	−	+	·	+
Hunting												
308. Use bow and arrow	+	+	+		+	+		+	+	+	+	+
309. Rifle and fowling piece		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
310. Blow gun for birds and small game								+	+	+	·	+
311. Deadfall for raccoon	+					+			+	+	+	+
312. Torches at night on water for deer						+			·	+	·	·
313. Fish with spears	+		−					+	+	·	+	+
314. With hook and line	+	+	−					+	+	·	+	+
315. By shooting with arrows	+		+						+	+	+	+
316. Hunt in large parties	+	+	+	+		+		+		+	+	+
317. Number in party	300	100				10-15		40-50		15	4	6-7
318. Any attendant ceremonies			°(+)	−		−		−		+	+	+
319. Under guidance of oldest or most expert			+	+		+			+	+	+	+
320. Any peculiar laws in hunting			+	+	·	−	·	+	+	+	+	+
321. When two are hunting and one kills animals, it is divided equally				(+)		+		+	(+)	(+)	+	+
322. Person who kills or first wounds animal entitled to whole when stranger appears						+						
323. to skin and half of carcass				+				+	+			+

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		Williams	Van der Donck	Lindeström	Zeisberger	Heckewelder	Johnston	Pipe	Chippa	J. W.	W. T.	E. R.	W. L.
	+ = element present − = element denied (+) or (−) = source ambiguous • = informant could not or would not say § = some, sometimes, or several † or * = see Ethnographic Notes, pp. 79-137 for additional information												
357.	Average height						•		•	5'9"	5'10"	•	5'10"
358.	All have high cheek bones						−		+	+		−	+
	Constitution, personal appearance, dress, etc.—Continued												
359.	Constitutions more rugged than that of whites						*+		+	+	+		+
360.	General state of health better than that of whites								+	+	+		+
	War and its incidents												
361.	Decided upon by council or civil chiefs	+			*(+)		+	+	+	+	*+	+	•
362.	Declared by killing and scalping enemy				+	+	+	+	+	+	•	•	
363.	Preceded by demand for redress					+	§	+	•	+		+	
364.	Notice of war given					−	−	−		+		*+	
365.	Notify allied tribes				+			+		•	•	•	
366.	War chief determines mode of conducting						+	+		+		+	
367.	Force raised by call for volunteers		+				+	+	+	+	+	+	
368.	Destination determined by war chief						+	+	•	−		−	
369.	Commander appointed by civil chiefs						−	+	+	+		+	
370.	Commander volunteers						+	−	−	−		−	
371.	Inferior officers appointed by commander						−	+	+	+		+	
372.	Inferior officers volunteer						+	−	•	−		−	
373.	Cooks are on permanent appointment							+		(+)		+	
374.	Ceremonies before start of expedition: General assembly				+		+	+	+	+		+	
375.	Feast				*+			*+	*+	*+		+	
376.	Dance				+	+		+	+	−		+	
377.	Civil chief cautions party				+		+	+		+			
378.	Subdivisions of forces on march	+				§	−	+		+		+	
379.	Each man carries own provisions	+			+		+	+	+	+	−	+	
380.	Discipline preserved	+			+		+	+	+	+	+	+	
381.	March in single file				+	§	+	*+	•	(+)	*−	*−	
382.	Encampment arranged East and West						+	*+	+	*−		*−	
383.	Number of poles parallel to fires						2	2	1	•	•	•	
384.	Guns stacked against poles						+	+	*+	•	•	•	
385.	Exit only at end of poles						+	+	+	•	•	•	

+ = element present
– = element denied
(+) or (–) = source ambiguous
• = informant could not or would not say
S = some, sometimes, or several
† or * = see Ethnographic Notes, pp. 79-137 for additional information

	Williams	Van der Donck	Lindeström	Zeisberger	Heckewelder	Johnston	Pipe	Chipps	J. W.	W. T.	E. R.	W. L.
419. War chief leaves war club at house of enemy chief to show desire for peace												
420. Delaware act part of mediators between other tribes		+										
421. Terms of peace negotiated			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Peace—Continued												
422. By village chiefs												
423. By council					+		+	+	+	+	+	+
424. By persons appointed				+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+
425. Ceremonies at conclusion of peace: Dancing						+	+	–	+	–	+	+
426. Feasts						–	*(+)	+	+	*+	+	+
427. Belts exchanged												
428. Pipe smoked			++		–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
429. Anything like flags of truce before whites					–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+
430. Flags or armorial bearings					–	–	–	.	*+	.	.	.
Games												
431. Ball play			+			•	+	+	+	+	–	–
432. Football	++					+	•	+	–	+	+	+
433. Dice game	++					++	+	+	+	+	+	+
434. Number of colors												
435. Number of dice			+	+		2	2	2	2	2	2	2
436. Cards	*+	*+	++	++		5-6	6	6	7	6	8	12
437. Quoits						+			–	–	–	*+
438. Wrestling			+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+
439. Racing	+											
440. Jumping						+	+	+	+	+	+	+
441. Hopping						+						*+
442. Lifting stones												
443. Throwing stones												
444. Shooting and throwing arrows												
445. Pond of gambling	+	+	+	+		–	+	+	s	s	+	+

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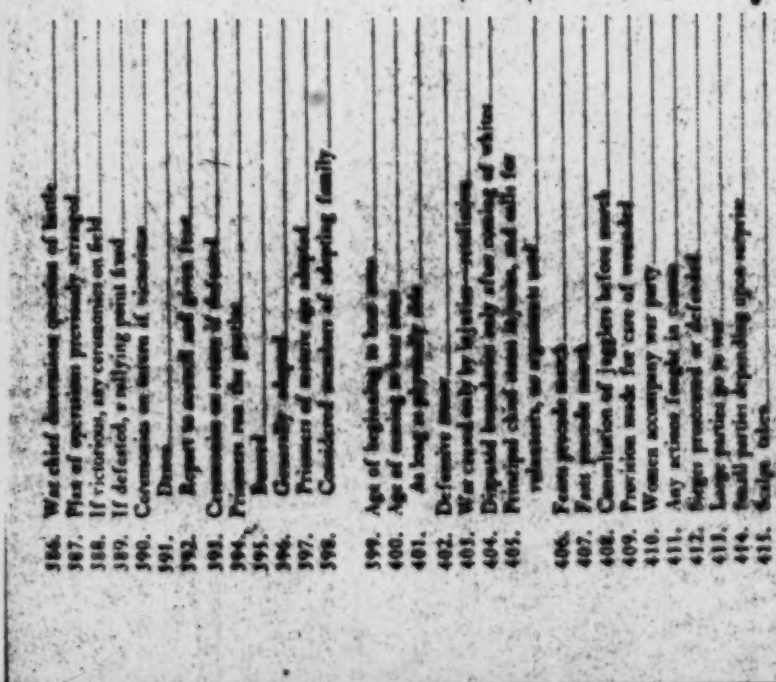

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775 abode of the souls of the good. In the second and third periods south is again mentioned as the direction of the land of good souls. However, in the third period the directions up and down for the location of the future abodes of the souls of good and bad persons appear. In the fourth period, the ascension of the souls of the good is unanimously asserted, while only one added that they also went west. This informant, E. R., also said that souls of the bad went down, whereas W. T., also of Anadarko, said that they stayed here on earth. W. L., of Dewey, said that souls of bad persons went to all the places on earth where they had committed their evil actions and were there punished. All this happened in the eleven days between death and the departure of the soul for the celestial abode of the Great Spirit.

775 The Delaware have thus approached the popular Christian
177 notions on this point but still retain some of their earlier concepts. The exposition of the modern Delaware clears up the confusion and seeming contradictions that exist in the earlier accounts as to the final disposition of the souls of the bad. There can be little doubt that missionary teaching was responsible for the idea of a hell which cropped up in the third period as a belief of the Delaware (35).

771 There are two exceptions to the continuity of concepts other-
177 wise shown by the elements under *Religion*. One is the report of priests in the first period and not thereafter (39). There was probably no change between the first and second periods but merely the discontinuance of the word priest to designate the shamans who were present in all periods. The other exception is the dissenting voice of Captain Chipps on such subjects as subordinate deities, ghosts, witches, and the national worshiping society (22, 38, 40, 41). Chipps was a Canadian Delaware or Munsee and probably the descendant of several generations of Moravian converts, for his account of the religion of the Delaware reflects much greater acceptance of Christian teachings than any of the accounts of the Oklahoma Delaware. The national
794 worshiping society or Big House Ceremony as it is now known,
797 was apparently successfully suppressed by the Moravian missionaries among the Canadian Delaware.

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A cogent reason for the survival of religious beliefs of the Delaware was the vehicle by which they were transmitted from generation to generation, the national worshiping society or Big House. The reaction to the introduction of white ways expressed itself in the integration of a number of original ceremonies. Some Christian elements were unconsciously incorporated along the way, but these were principally modifications of, rather than substitutes for, native concepts. The accounts of the national worshiping society given by John Johnston and Captain Pipe are included in the section of ethnographic notes.[1] I have discussed some of the changes in the ceremony itself during historic times in another article.[2]

Medicines

The information on the ailments prevalent at the time of first contact with the whites is very limited. Williams indicates that chills and fevers and toothaches were the most common disturbances to the health of the Narragansets. He and Lindeström mention plagues and the French disease among the Indians of their time. Smallpox was a plague for which Williams gave a native name. From their lack of resistance to many diseases prevalent in Europe, it has often been postulated that the Indians had not been exposed to them before white contact. The evidence compiled in this study neither proves nor disproves this assumption, although, of course, the modern informants say that in ancient times the Indians were very healthy and had no ills until the white man introduced them. This is in accord with the principle of former good times that is universal in its application.

Changes between early and late periods show up in two elements but are open to question as to the reliability of interpretation of the early information. First, Zeisberger, alone of the authors of the sources, reported cupping in practice among the Delaware (45). This was denied by all the modern informants although cupping by sucking was known among other tribes.

[1] See *post*, pp. 93-97.

[2] Kinietz, Vernon, "European Civilization as a Determinant of Native Indian Customs," in *American Anthropologist*, N. S. XLII(1940), 116-21.

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757 Since Zeisberger merely listed cupping as a therapeutic device without giving any details, it is impossible to check his statements absolutely. The other element indicating change is in the union
756 793 of the medical profession with the priesthood (53). As suggested previously, shamans may have been meant by priests. If this was so, of course, the two were united, but, if by "priests" was meant the leaders in the ceremonies of the tribe, the later sources and the informants deny such a union. Our information from the earliest accounts of the ceremonies is insufficient to judge whether there has been a change in function or a change in terms.

757 Evidence on the practice of counting the pulse was equally divided in both the third and fourth periods (50). Entire absence of information on this point prior to 1822 and the division of opinion thereafter strongly suggests that this element was borrowed from the whites sometime around the beginning of the nineteenth century but was not completely accepted.

343 Sweat baths were mentioned in every period as a cure or pre-
756 ventive of disease (46). They were also described by Lindeström,
755 but he did not attach any benefits to their use. The three older informants, J. W., W. T., and W. L., reported that there was a separate category of shamans called sweat doctors who used the sweat bath partly for its curative properties but principally as an aid to diagnosis. The fact that use of juggling tricks by medicine men was not uniformly reported by the sources may be explained by the statements of the informants who claimed that only the sweat doctors used them (54). The sweat doctors might effect their cures with sweat baths or they might merely make a diagnosis and leave the cure to some other shaman. A description of a sweat doctor's procedure was given by J. W. as follows:

755 "J. W.'s father was a sweat doctor. Had vision. Only those built houses. Built fire, put in six limestone rocks, dug little hole on north side of sweat house inside for rocks after they were hot. Pallet for patient on south side of hole, head outside (on east side) of blankets covering house. Leaves patient there ten to fifteen minutes while old man is getting ready a gallon of water with weeds of a certain kind immersed in it. Strips to breech

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cloth. Doctor gets in on north side of blanket, sits on west side of hole. Has handkerchief tying hair back. Puts water next to hole. Sprinkles water with fingers on rocks, four times with left hand while feeling patient over with right. Then takes mouthful of water which he spits on rock. Makes talk, blows on patient's sternum. Then knows disease. Slaps hands together to make more steam on patient. Then goes out after five or ten minutes, covers himself with blanket for three or four minutes with handkerchief off. Then goes back in with handkerchief on repeats previous performance and begins to sing, slaps hands while singing. Goes out again. Three times is all. Third person sits outside and after third time wraps patient up and takes him home and cleans him up. Doctor then cleans up himself and sweat house and goes to see patient or patient's relatives. Tells him disease and cure which may be sweat treatment for three, four or five days, and certain foods patient cannot eat. For instance, no meat or salt, grease for six days. A little tobacco is put in fire when building it. Just a little fire. Never use rocks again. Sweat house is only for those past five years of age. When younger, doctor places them on a warm rock outside. Tells mother what to eat if baby is nursing. Give baby herbs, maybe twice a day for couple of days. Payment is voluntary."

General Manners and Customs

The practice of eating human flesh even ceremonially has been denied by the Delaware and accounts of the Delaware throughout all the years back to Lindeström (61). This Swedish writer did not explicitly deny that the Delaware ate human flesh, but in describing the practice among the Minqua he implied that it was not true of the Delaware. The Delaware have a tale of cannibalism in the very early days which was the result of famine brought on by violation of a taboo. Aside from this case they admit no knowledge of cannibalism among them. Tribes with whom they were in contact from early historic times and before practiced cannibalism ceremonially and in times of famine. These were principally the Conestoga (the Minqua of Lindeström) and Iroquois. The latter have been credited with orig-

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266 727 inating the torture of prisoners, burning at the stake, and eating of their flesh. These elements were considered to have been adopted by other tribes in retaliation. Hence it is difficult to understand how the Delaware could have escaped or withstood this influence. The only explanation that seems at all plausible is that when the Delaware were subjugated by the Iroquois early in the eighteenth century, they lost the prime reason for the practice and soon lost even the memory of it.

576 According to information from the eighteenth century and later, the Indian mode of greeting was shaking hands (62). The three manuscripts of the early nineteenth century claimed that shaking hands was a very old Indian custom and one in existence before white contact. In the national worshiping society or Big House where an effort was made to preserve ancient customs, the left hand was used. This was the hand nearer the heart and so considered to be a more direct conveyance of friendship. It is interesting to note that the two modern informants who have participated in the Big House confirmed this use of the left hand, whereas the two who have had no firsthand information of this ceremony claimed the right hand was always used by the Delaware. None of the seventeenth-century sources, including accounts not used in the tabulation, referred to hand shaking. This absence of mention is not surprising as many details were ignored by the early writers, but in the case of Williams who gave many different expressions for greetings and included a description of an Indian stroking a sachem upon both shoulders, the suggestion is strong that hand shaking was not in use until learned from the whites. Early accounts of customs at the time of contact between other tribes and whites also indicate that hand shaking was not an Indian custom. Hence, we have a custom that was borrowed from the whites some time before the accounts of the second period.

576 562 There seems to have been a change in the freedom with which emotions toward the same and the opposite sex were exhibited (70-73). Part of the responsibility for the apparent change may be assigned to a lack of information or understanding. It is doubtful if any conclusions are warranted on the basis of the

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information available. On the other hand, the expression of feelings between men and their wives and children, which is a closely related subject, definitely shows a change in the fourth period (75, 76). In the second and third periods indifference on the part of the men to their wives on returning home was reported, whereas, in the fourth period, the two younger informants disclaimed such indifference. Paternal indifference to children is denied throughout. The behavior of the older men toward their wives was in accordance with the old ways, they said, whereas that of the younger men was apparently influenced by white standards of behavior.

Captain Chipps and two of the informants, W. T. and W. L., considered the Delaware to differ from other tribes in color (80). Among the informants the matter was one of personal opinion unwarranted by the color of the individual informants. The opinion is also unwarranted from a comparison of skin, hair, and eye color with members of neighboring tribes who have approximately the same percentage of Indian blood. The greater degree of sociability, friendship, and hospitality among the Delaware and all the informants is to be attributed, in part, at least, to their religion and their feeling of superiority to other tribes (82-84). They believe their Big House or Delaware "church" to be superior to the religious beliefs of other tribes, but they are tolerant of the shortcomings of the others and attempt no missionary work. Friendship with all mankind is preached in the Big House and practiced by all believers.

The elements concerned with the physical duties of the woman in the home are of doubtful value from a psychological and terminological viewpoint (85-87). The terms "easy," "contented," and "drudgery" all carry connotations beyond their strict meanings that are so divergent in their use by different observers or informants that comparison is impossible. It is interesting to note, however, that Heckewelder and Johnston agree with the statements of the modern Delaware that the position of women was easy and contented and that they were not considered menial servants of the men. The only dissenting voice was that of Captain Chipps. Nowhere is there any evidence that the women considered themselves imposed upon by the men.

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Birth and Its Incidents

553 The ceremony of naming a child (89) appears to have been
551 an adjunct of the Big House Ceremony in the nineteenth century and probably in the eighteenth century, although Zeisberger's remarks are not very clear. He reported: "The name is given at a sacrifice, on which occasion the Indian brings to some aged person, who performs the offering, a string of wampum, and tells him that he wishes his child's name to be named thus and so. During the sacrifice some other person sings a song in Indian fashion at a public gathering and makes known the child's name. This is called praying over the child. The same ceremony is performed when an adult person receives a name, even although he may already have been named."[1]

Captain Pipe stated that the name-giving ceremony was performed at a meeting of the national worshiping society.[2] Johnston reported that there was no ceremony; but so did Chipps, who then proceeded to describe one, although not in connection with the Big House Ceremony. Among the modern Delaware opinion was divided, and, oddly enough, divided according to the presence or absence of the Big House, even though they all disclaimed any knowledge of the connection of the naming ceremony with it as related by Pipe. J. W. said that the only connection that he knew of was that the native names were used exclusively in the Big House in recent years.

Lindeström reported that boys were not given names until they were large enough to shoot guns. All later sources and informants said that there was no particular age at which names were given, but all placed the time within two years of birth.

Very diverse accounts are given of the means of selecting a name (91-96). If there was a change within historic times, the sources included in this study fail to show it. The first period is not very well reported, but in each of the last three, names were chosen by the parents or dreamed by either parents or grandparents or some other elderly person. Zeisberger said that if it.

[1] Hulbert and Schwarze (eds.), "David Zeisberger's History," in *Ohio Archæological and Historical Publications*, XIX, 80.

[2] See *post*, p. 100.

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was left to the mother to select a name, she did so with little ceremony, but that the father pretended to receive a name in a dream. Pipe said that a child might take its name from its father, Van der Donck said from its mother, Chipps said sometimes from one of its parents but usually from one of its grandparents. Part of the diversity may be accounted for by the fact that often two or more old people including the child's grandparents, dreamed a name, and on being presented with these the parents made a selection. W. L., however, said that the power to name was derived from dreams and the names bestowed by an individual so empowered were usually related to his dream but that no dreaming was done for any particular child. None of the accounts indicate whether or not the name given an individual reflected his clan affiliation.

Whatever the origin of his name, the individual never had more than one, according to all informants and all the sources except Johnston, and apparently he had in mind the number of names an individual bore during life rather than at one time (97). In the changing of names during life the tabulation shows a clean break between the fourth and previous periods (98). The reason for this is not so clear, but it seems very reasonable to assign it to white influence and particularly the establishment of tribal rolls used in making annuity payments.

According to Williams, the Indian parents with whom he was acquainted did not use corporeal punishment for the correction of their children (105). He convinced one Narraganset father of the benefit of such correction. If corporeal punishment did not exist among the coastal Algonquain tribes before his time, the introduction of this element might be traced to him, for all of the subsequent writers with the exception of Heckewelder and all the informants affirmed the practice of it. However, the punishments listed by the other sources and informants were not very severe in most cases and indicate that, as among most tribes, the principal means of restraint with Delaware children were persuasion and example.

The education of Indian youth was frequently characterized as being entirely without system (103). It is true that formal

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861 classes and text books were not a basic part of the system, but the descriptions of the teaching of Indian children show that they were definitely educated to fill their places in the society of which they were members. At a very early age children were given as 868 toys models of implements they would use in earnest in later life. 867 These were different for each sex. For example, a boy would be given a tiny bow with straws for arrows; then, as he grew up, the size and effectiveness of the weapons would be increased until he was able to kill every sort of game as a full-fledged hunter. Girls were given dolls and very early instructed in the fundamentals of making baskets and pots. A considerable amount of the instruction given to children was by example and explanation incidental to actual practices by the parents or other elders, and by the relation of stories and myths. Therein lies the explanation of the failure of many early writers to find a "system" of education among the Indians. As a matter of fact, the reports of the age at which childhood was considered to cease show that the training of youths among the Indians was completed while they were still quite young (106).

597 Johnston and Chipps definitely stated that orphaned children were never adopted by relatives, although the care of orphans usually devolved upon the nearest relations in the absence of adoption (107-12). Zeisberger's statement that orphans were often given or bequeathed to old women may be construed the same way. Among the sources only Pipe gave relatives a prior claim on orphans. He said that maternal grandparents were bound by custom to take care of children on the death of the parents, but that, if they too were dead, other relatives or friends might take them. All of the modern informants agree that relatives of orphans could and did adopt them, although childless friends or neighbors who desired them often were given the orphans if they made their desires known. From the available information it looks as if there was a change in customs regarding the adoption of orphans within the fourth period.

854 The cradleboard must have been discarded by the Delaware 352 early in the fourth period, for of the modern informants not even the oldest had ever seen one in use among the Delaware

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(116). While three of them had heard of the former use of cradleboards, one, J. W., denied ever hearing of them among the Delaware, although he was familiar with their use by other tribes.

Marriage and Its Incidents

From the majority of the accounts denying courtship between the principals of a marriage it appears that Chipps's description of a brief courtship which was also a marriage ceremony was not typical of the Delaware (131).[1] Lindeström's record of fantastic promiscuity of all the people except the chiefs need not be considered one way or the other. Such a condition would not be reasonable for any people and certainly could not have existed among the Delaware in 1654 without many more than Lindeström having been aware of it. Chipps and Lindeström are also the only dissenters to the statement that marriages were arranged by the parents (132). As already mentioned, Lindeström's statements are not trustworthy on the subject of marriage and Chipps was reporting a Canadian Munsee group that differed in many respects from the Delaware group in this country. His remarks on marriage are applicable to the Chippewa with whom the Canadian Munsee were in contact and with whom they intermarried. In the light of Pipe's remark about the ignoring of formality,[2] it is probable that Chipps's statements reflect a condition in the third period not wholly attributable to the Chippewa or confined to the Canadian Delaware.

According to the tabulation of remarks on the asking of the consent of either party, parents in the first two periods were much more considerate of the wishes of their children than parents in the last two periods (133). The explanation probably lies in the statements of Zeisberger and Pipe that refusals to comply with the wishes of parents were rare. The story told by F. R. is an example of the means used by parents and other elders to keep the young folks in line.[3]

[1] *See post*, p. 107.
[2] *See post*, p. 109.
[3] *See post*, pp. 107-8.

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585 The reports of lack of ceremony attending a marriage are quite evidently based on a misunderstanding of what constitutes a ceremony (134). Considered in its meaning of any form, ritual, or custom established for the observance of joining in marriage, there was a ceremony for even the type of marriage described by Chipps. The Delaware ceremony, however, was not a complicated one to judge from the one described by Pipe for former times and appears to have been simplified even further at that time, 1824. The form of marriage of the Delaware then may safely be said to have undergone a lessening of formality by the third period even though most of the former practices were still remembered in the fourth. One of the customs connected with marriage that was not remembered in the fourth period, the exchange of presents, aids in establishing the time of the change in marriage forms (137). Whereas the giving of presents to the bride or the family of the bride (135, 136) was reported in all four periods, the exchange of presents was recorded as a custom in the second period, but one no longer practiced, according to Pipe, in the third period, and completely forgotten in the fourth.

595 Polygyny was not common in any period and was principally confined to chiefs and rich men. There is no consensus among either the sources or the informants as to whether any superiority was observed among the multiple wives or on what quality such a superiority might have been based (141-44). Polyandry was not mentioned in the first two periods, but was emphatically
595 denied in the last two (145). Information on the operation of
587 the levirate is too scanty to warrant any conclusions, but the sororate attracted attention in all but the first period (146-48). Polygynous sororate was reported by all three sources of the third period but denied by all the informants except W. L. His information applied to only one family. Successive sororate was reported in each of the last three periods and the only denial was that of the Canadian Chipps. There may have been a change in the feeling toward polygynous sororate in the last period, but as polygyny was not common in any period and opportunities for polygynous sororal marriages were fewer in the scattered

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condition of the smaller population of the last century, it is more likely that the custom simply ceased to be active. 585 587

In the same way marriage of a man to a woman and her daughter, either simultaneously or successively, was probably never very common and disappeared completely in the fourth period (149). The tabulated information shows a complete break between the sources and the informants. As the latter simply deny knowing of any such cases, now or in the past, and have no knowledge of any rule prohibiting such marriages, lack of opportunity is probably as much responsible as any change in viewpoint.

Divorce and allied considerations apparently have undergone little change in recent years from the point of view of the Delaware even with the superimposition of the legal code of the whites (153-58). W. T. in his very idealistic view of Delaware customs said children were brought up to mind their parents and that this behavior continued through life. Hence, in marriage a boy and girl had no choice but to do what parents decided. A girl then could not leave her husband because her parents had given her to the man in exchange for presents. He implied that the husband was not bound quite as much to continue a distasteful marriage, and, also, that after the death of the parents the girl could act more according to choice. E. R. and W. L. said that women seldom obtained a divorce, but according to J. W., whose son was recently divorced, the woman was chivalrously allowed to do the divorcing even if the husband was the wronged party. In his son's case the Delaware customs were observed as well as the legal steps. The wife had been running around with other men and drinking. After several of her protracted absences from home, Fred decided upon a divorce. He waited until she came home, asked her to pack up her belongings, and then took them and her to her father's home. Her father was already acquainted with the circumstances, but Fred repeated them and announced that he was through with her. Then he instituted legal action but both families already considered the divorce to be in effect. 586 [867]

Information on the two elements, cohabitation without marriage and children born out of wedlock (161 and 164), follows 588 948

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588 848 the same pattern: uniformity of affirmation among the sources and denial by all the informants except W. L. The remarks of W. L. show rather conclusively that the extension of the legal code of the whites over the Indians was largely responsible for this fourth-period change. He said that these elements were common "before the law came and then the women got mean and objected when their husbands went to see other girls." The changes indicated in the reputations of unmarried mothers and their chances of marriage (165, 167) are, of course, related to each other and derive from white contact.

582 The age of marriage was formerly much older, according to both Captain Pipe and W. L., than it was at the time of their accounts (173, 174). There is little evidence for this alleged relaxation of restrictions upon the marriageable age to be found in the source material. One might expect that the introduction [885] of firearms made some difference in the age at which a youth could support himself and hence a wife, but a bow and a supply of arrows were more easily obtained than a gun. The explanation for the comments on the independence of youth probably lies in the principle of "faith in former good times" or, to put it the other way around for this case, the principle of "present degeneration of youth." This principle of human nature is of widespread application and is found not only among many other Indian tribes but also in the beliefs of other races for the past five thousand years and more.

Death and Its Incidents

764 The treatment of their dead by the Delaware appears to have undergone little change in the time for which we have records. The preparation of the corpse shows no change with the exception of the substitution of European clothes for furs (175-79). Even now, however, moccasins and other items of Indian manufacture are used to dress the corpse when obtainable. There are two dissenters on the subject of the preparation of the corpse by unrelated persons only, one early and one modern (180). Probably there was no hard and fast rule, but nonrelatives were

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preferred if readily available and in many cases they were not. The length of time the corpse was kept before burial was given as several days by the two first-period sources giving information on this point (181). In the last three periods burial was usually on the day after death, particularly in summer. Pipe said that formerly the corpse was kept three days in summer and seven in winter, because it was supposed that the tutelar deity of the deceased might restore him to life. W. L. gave the same sort of an answer in a little more modern dress. He said that a body was kept one to three days, but that if death was from a serious illness, and there was no chance of his coming back to life, he was buried the next day.

The position of the corpse in burial quite evidently was changed after European contact (183). In the first period both Van der Donck and Lindeström described burials made in a sitting position either on a stool or a block of wood. Without the last detail this might be taken to mean in a flexed position but not necessarily upright. Since both these writers may have mentioned only the unusual and ignored burials in the familiar extended position, we are not sure from the documentary evidence whether the two positions were used contemporaneously or not. It is clear, however, that after some years of white contact, migration westward, and contact with other tribes, there was a change to the use of the extended position alone.

Opinion on the requirement of grave goods is divided in every period except the third (186). All the sources in that period and one or more in each of the others stated that clothes were the only grave goods required although other things might be added. Van der Donck and Lindeström in the first period, Heckewelder in the second, and J. W. in the fourth period all maintained that more than clothes was required to be put in the grave. The details of the latter's statement in connection with the actual cases described by him seem to explain all the discrepancies. He said that good articles left by a deceased person were given to the persons who performed the death and funeral services but that old, much-used articles were put in the grave. However, old cherished articles were frequently if not usually given to mem-

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764 [768] bers of the family before death. Thus, while old articles were required, those possessed by an individual might be so completely disposed of before death that the requirement was impossible of fulfillment and nullified.

The statement of Captain Pipe that posts were erected only at the head of graves containing males apparently was in error, although neither of the other sources of his period reported on this element (187). The sources prior to him and the informants who followed him all reported the erection of posts at the graves of both males and females.

A moccasin game at the side of the corpse the night before burial was reported by all the informants of the fourth period as an important part of the death ceremonies (193). The game was introduced among the Delaware at least as early as the third period (see 447), but apparently did not become associated with death customs until some time after 1824.

765 Mourning observances show two very marked changes; namely, the dropping of wearing black and dawn visits to the grave (196 and 201). The wearing of black was reported definitely in the first period, ignored in the second period, both reported and denied in the third and definitely denied in the fourth. Starting in the second period, reports of the dawn visits to the grave followed the same pattern of affirmation, contradiction, and denial. The length of mourning of widow or widower is reported so differently that one cannot postulate any direction of change (194). Mourning of relatives is also reported with the same variation in length of observance (202).

761 775 Theoretically there should be a connection between the elements dealing with dread of the approach of death and belief that bodies will be restored (203 and 206). That is, one would expect a belief in the restoration of life to be accompanied by a freedom of dread of death and a lack of belief in the restoration accompanied by dread of the approach of death. Instead of this correlation, we find that only one of the four informants who denied a belief that bodies would be restored after death admitted to a dread of the approach of death. Of course, the [774] belief in the separate survival of the soul must be considered in

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connection with the dread of death and the restoration of the body thereafter, but all the reports on these two elements also expressed a belief in the immortality of the soul.

Lineage

There is no change indicated by a consideration of matters of lineage with the exception of the endogamy vouched for by W. T. (214). He said that originally and until recently Delaware clans were endogamous, that each had to be kept clean and pure; but that now there are lots of half- and quarter-breeds. This statement of endogamy is not supported by other historic or contemporaneous evidence.

On the division of the Delaware into three groups, Turtle, Wolf and Turkey, there have been many conflicting opinions (209). Heckewelder called them tribes coinciding with the Unamis or Delaware, Munsee, and Unalachtigo.[1] Morgan considered them gens in the nature of phratries.[2] The modern Delaware frequently refer to these divisions as clans. Since Morgan's conclusion of phratries was based on the functionless and only vaguely remembered subdivisions called subgentes, it is important to have the result of Trowbridge's inquiries on this subject. He wrote:

"The Delaware nation is divided into three tribes, the *Tööksеet* or Wolf (Round foot; from *Tööktwaa* round & *oozēēt* foot) the *Tshēēkunum* or Turkey, called by the Munsees and sometimes by the Delawares *Pelāāooh*, and the *Tōōlpaa* or Turtle, (in Munsee *Skēēhkee*).

"They say that anciently each of these three tribes was divided into four, making twelve tribes, but they do not recollect the names of those subdivisions.

"Mr. Heckewelder has strangely mistaken himself when he said that Unamis (*Woonāūmee*) meant Turtle, or Turtle tribe, and Unalachtigo (*Woonalāūhtekoo*) the Turkey tribe. The term *Woonāūmee* was given by the Munsees to the Turtle tribe of

[1] Heckewelder, *History, Manners, and Customs of the Indians*, pp. 51-52.
[2] Morgan, Lewis H., *Ancient Society* . . . (Chicago, Henry Holt and Company, 1907), p. 172.

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619 Delawares because they resided at a place of that name; and *Woonalāūhtekoa* is the name of one of the twelve divisions just mentioned. (One of the four divisions of the Wolf tribe.) Mr. H. made a similar mistake when he distinguished the Munsees as one of the tribes of the Delaware nation. There are descendants of each of the three tribes among them as well as among the Delawares themselves.

. . . . . .

"They know nothing of a nation of Taleekāāee, Aleekāāee or Allegewi, of which Mr. Heckewelder speaks as the possessors of the country east of the Mississippi before the arrival of the Delawares. But Pipe says that one of the twelve tribes of the Delawares, before mentioned, was called Aleekāāee, and that they resided on the Allegheny River. That when he was a boy he saw one of their men at the house of his father, at or near Cape Girardeau and that his father pointed him out to Pipe as one of the Aleekāāee, but at that time they were but very few, and are supposed to be now extinct."

[184] It should be noted in connection with the divisions of the tribe or the tribal divisions of the nation that they have frequently been rated according to their importance. Captain Chipps said that the Wolf tribe was the first. Zeisberger said Turtle was first.[7] Among the modern Delaware the tribe placed first depended upon the tribal affinity of the informant: a Wolf always placed his tribe first and a Turtle placed the Turtle tribe first. Informants of these two groups named the other one second, and Turkey last. I was not able to find a Turkey informant.

Chiefs

643 The succession of chiefs among the Delaware has not been well or consistently described in the historic accounts. Many different ways of becoming chief have been reported. Lindeström implied that chieftainship was hereditary in an extended family, with the brother of the chief or his sister's son having preference over the son of the chief (218, 219). The chief might name

[7] Hulbert and Schwarze (eds.), "David Zeisberger's History," in *Ohio Archæological and Historical Publications*, XIX, 131-32.

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his successor but the council had to approve his choice (226). 643
Captain Chipps said that the council determined the successor when the chief died, by which he probably meant when he died without naming a successor. On the other hand, he said that all the tribes elected the chief for the others, excluding from the election the tribe for whom the election was held. It may be conjectured that by this he referred to the installation rather than the election of the chief, for such a procedure is out of line with the other accounts of the same period and even the rest of Chipps's own account. Zeisberger's account for the previous period also used the term election for a ceremony described as an installation. Some of the comments of Captain Chipps and Zeisberger also suggest the possibility that it was only the elevation of an ordinary chief to the head chieftainship of one division that was done by the other divisions or tribes (224). This is most likely the true explanation and its acceptance would explain some of the seeming contradictions in the accounts of these two writers. The modern Delaware have no knowledge of the custom, and since in recent years only one chief has been elected for all divisions, there could be no installation by the chiefs of two divisions for the other one.

Two other changes in the fourth period are significant and 643
indicate the almost complete breakdown of the old political 177
organization after continued white contact. These are the non-inheritance of chieftainship and the full participation of the people in the election (216-19, 221).

A reconstruction of the old system would be something very 621
close to the following. The three divisions of the Delaware, 614
Turtle, Wolf, and Turkey, were more or less separated from one another in place of residence and perhaps originally developed from such separation. Even into the nineteenth century certain towns were known as Turtle or Wolf towns. Each of these divisions was subdivided into twelve gentes or subgentes. These were undoubtedly exogamous, and possibly the divisions were also. Chieftainship in the subgentes or in the villages was hereditary in the extended family. Descent was matrilineal; hence, a chief was not succeeded by his son but by a brother, by

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621 a nephew, his sister's son, or sister's daughter's son. The se-
614 lection of a successor might be made by an incumbent with the approval of the people. Each of the three divisions had a chief who was chosen by a general council of chiefs and wisemen, possibly with the exclusion of the tribal chiefs and wisemen of the division involved. The installation of the tribal chief was conducted by the head chiefs of the other two divisions.
643 The various sources and informants were unanimous in saying that there was a boundary between the authority of the civil chief and that of the war chief (232). The superiority of the civil chief in peace time was also affirmed by all (233). The reversal of the relative power of each in war was likewise maintained without dissent (234). Power received through visions
[781] was a prerequisite to the office of war chief (237). Captain Pipe's account made no mention of vision power, but his statement of an election similar to that of a civil chief did not preclude this requirement. W. L. stated that a man must have received power through a vision to become eligible for election as a war chief.
623 The existence of a body of wisemen or counselors was reported in every period (238). These men were chosen by the people, according to the information from the third and fourth periods (240). The accounts of the earlier periods did not touch upon this matter. The council or body of wisemen was reported throughout all periods to consider all matters of importance to the tribe (241). The functions of the council were evidently considerable; although called only by the chief, their decision after due deliberation determined the course of action of the chief (238). Women had no voice in council and were only admitted at certain times (243).

Justice

681 According to the idealistic retrospect of W. T., originally, when the Delaware had things their own way, there was no theft, murder, rape, adultery, or any other crime or misdemeanor and hence no punishments or ways of handling such matters were
000 necessary. Since debts were not discussed in detail in the first

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Since debts were not discussed in detail in the first 686
period, we cannot tell whether their treatment was the same as Zeisberger recorded in the second period or not (244). Zeisberger said that if a debtor was unable to pay, the creditor dunned his friends who had to pay and rarely refused to do so. He thus implied that if a debtor was able to pay he was forced to do so. In the third and fourth periods the consensus was that there was no mode of compelling the payment of a debt, but that relatives or friends usually made restitution (245). Force might be used to get restitution, or, failing that, as a punishment (246). On this last element W. L. was the only dissenter. He said that force was never used because it was unnecessary, that anything borrowed was a gift and did not have to be returned unless a promise to do so was made by the borrower, and that a promise of this sort was always kept.

In spite of W. T.'s view of conditions among the Indians and 686
particularly the Delaware before much contact with the whites 177
had occurred, all of the first and second period accounts give evidence of a native mode of dealing with theft (247). It should be stated, however, that examples were said to be much more infrequent than among contemporaneous Europeans. No punishment except restitution was reported for the first offense (249). In default of restitution, J. W. said that a whipping was ordered 685
by the chief in cases of debt and theft and also as a punishment [684]
for rape. W. L. said that if wampum presents were not forthcoming from a detected thief, the chief ordered him to a whipping log where twenty-five strokes were administered for the first offense, fifty for the second, and other increases up to one hundred. Execution was not sanctioned as a punishment in default of presents, but in each of the last three periods the victim of a theft was said to have the right of killing such a defaulting thief on a subsequent offense, if caught in the act (250). This was denied by Van der Donck in the first period.

All the sources and informants were agreed that murder was 682
punished (251). Williams and Lindeström in the first period and J. W. and W. L. in the fourth were the only ones to report that the nation took any part in administering the punishment (252). However, according to Van der Donck, the chief or friends at-

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682 tempted to reconcile the parties involved and often gave liberally of their own means if those of the offender were deficient in order to settle the difficulty. Most breaches caused by murder were closed by presents (253). The reports of the amount of wampum, the usual compensation, varied; Zeisberger said one hundred fathoms for a man, double for a woman; Johnston and Chipps said two hundred fathoms; and Pipe reported one hundred and twenty fathoms for a man, one hundred and thirty for a woman (254). In the fourth period the discrepancies between the accounts show the effects of the lapse of time since this mode of appeasing bereaved relatives was used. J. W. said twelve yards of wampum was required, W. L. said fifty yards for a man and double for a woman, and W. T. said four feet was all that was necessary; whereas, E. R. did not think that a murder could ever be compensated for in this way and disclaimed all knowledge of wampum as a medium of exchange. E. R. said that blood vengeance was the only means of punishing a murderer.

682 627 Revenge, according to the rest of the accounts except Zeisberger and Johnston, was only resorted to in case presents were not offered or offered in insufficient amounts. Johnston said that no amount of wampum was sufficient to settle a second offense. Zeisberger did not explicitly refer to revenge but, in saying that a murderer who did not feel safe went to another village where he was a stranger, he implied that revenge was not unknown.

Revenge was the duty of the nearest relative of the slain person, according to Van der Donck, but no subsequent writer ascribed the responsibility to any particular person (256). In the later periods any of the relatives who were brave enough might undertake to obtain revenge but there was said to be no duty connected with it. In the fourth period, J. W. and W. L. said that relatives were not supposed to take revenge but that the chief appointed two or three men to do so. This element shows two changes from the first to the last period. In view of the established custom of giving presents to maintain peace disturbed by a murder it is probable that revenge was seldom taken within the nation. However, revenge as a method of

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settling such an affair was approved by the nation (260), and it did not give rise to a feud between the two families involved unless there was some violation of the established customs by the injured family as reported by Van der Donck (259).

Besides murder and theft, rape, adultery, desertion of children, drunkenness, and slander were considered crimes (262-65). Apparently the conception of what constituted punishment varied among the sources, for some did not regard the payment of wampum as such (266). This was the only retribution levied on the offender recorded by Van der Donck, Heckewelder, Chipps, and Pipe. Zeisberger agreed, except that in the case of adultery he said a man whose wife had been seduced awaited his opportunity and seduced the wife of the seducer. J. W. and W. L. said that failing presents, whipping and even death might be meted out in cases of persistent offenders. J. W. seemed to think that rape was always punished by death.

Another element that shows an increasingly rigorous enforcement of law and order with the passage of time is that involving the murder of a woman by her husband (269). In the first two periods this received no mention, but in the third there are statements by Johnston and Pipe that the husband would not be punished (270). Johnston said that the wife's relatives might take revenge if they considered the act unwarranted. According to the modern informants, such a murderer would be punished anyway, and there might be revenge in addition if her relatives thought the deed unwarranted.

References to the age at which adult status was reached were infrequently given by the earlier sources (267). Van der Donck and Johnston said that the matter was determined by the ability of the individual (268). Chipps said that a youth was considered a man at twenty years and was then his own master even though he could marry before that. None of the modern informants said that coming into adult status was determined by the ability of the individual, although W. L. implied as much by saying that the age was between twenty and twenty-four years. Two of the others placed the age at twenty-five years and the fourth at twenty-one. In a society that placed so much emphasis upon

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885 individual prowess, it is doubtful if a definite age was observed before the introduction of the concept of a legal age by the whites.

Family Government

593 Questions dealing with the display of tenderness and affection between husband and wife were framed by Cass to be answered by observers outside the group under consideration (271, 285). The opinions of the Delaware themselves were, of course, in the affirmative for the existence and display of these emotions, but they agreed with the information of the writers of the earlier periods who were only observers.

462 In seeking information on the elements dealing with the occupations of the husband and wife, it was emphasized that we were concerned with earlier conditions as well as with present practices. Although the methods may have changed, the responsibilities of the husband have remained the same from the earliest times known. He is still the provider of meat, clothing, and other necessities whether as the direct or indirect result of hunting or other activity (272-74).

593 462 562 The wife was expected in the old days to obey her husband, make clothing and moccasins of material provided by her spouse, tend the garden or fields, cook meals, and provide fuel (275-80). These duties were reported for women throughout the first three periods. It is interesting to note that three of the modern informants, J. W., W. T., and E. R., denied the agricultural responsibilities of women. It is a tossup whether they were uninformed of conditions in the past or answered as they did because these are not the sole responsibility of the women now and they interpreted the past in terms of their present customary division of labor which is similar to that of the whites. This chivalrous attitude is maintained on the question of manual labor falling on the wife (281). On all these elements the information of W. L. reflected the earlier conditions.

[224] [484] According to Heckewelder, when hunting was of great importance, the husband could not be encumbered with any burden when moving camp but must of necessity leave all that to his wife and himself be on the lookout for game (282). In the

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next period, however, Johnston and Chipps said that the men and women shared the labor of moving and pitching camp. In the fourth period W. L. was again the only one to place the responsibility on the women.

The husband did not strike his wife frequently, if at all, according to all the information gathered (283). Johnston and Chipps said that he might do so if she were ill-tempered or refractory (284). The modern informants denied this as a just cause, although E. R. said that it was up to the husband to punish his wife if she broke a rule.

Food, Mode of Living, etc.

Heckewelder said that the Delaware, Mahicans, and Shawnee were all very particular in their choice of meats and that nothing short of the most pressing hunger could induce them to eat of certain animals, such as the horse, dog, wildcat, panther, fox, muskrat, or wolf, all of which he had several times seen the Chippewa eat with a good appetite (288-91)." J. W. said that opossum, wolf, dog, woodchuck, snake, crow, hawk, owl, eagle, and, in fact, most fowls were not eaten. W. L. also said that opossum, muskrat, and several kinds of birds were not eaten. Apparently the symbols of the three tribal divisions, turtle, turkey and wolf, were not taboo for that reason, for only the last one was included on any list. The totems of the extinct subdivisions may have been taboo. This is true of the opossum which was most frequently mentioned as not being eaten and it was the name of one of the subdivisions. However, the Delaware regard the opossum as endowed with supernatural powers and in the nature of a trickster and have many stories that evince this attitude.

There seems to have been no taboos on vegetables eaten (292-98). Corn was the principal item cultivated. It was supplemented by the usual beans and squashes, and later vegetables introduced by the whites were also cultivated. Wild or ground potatoes and other less important wild products were gathered. The

"Heckewelder, *History, Manners, and Customs of the Indian Nations*, p. 196.

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222 staple of more northern tribes, wild rice, apparently never figured
262 in the diet of the Delaware, although W. T. claimed that it did (299). Little use seems to have been made of grasses or greens, but there is no suggestion that this avoidance was the result of a taboo.

264 Information on the regularity of meals among the Delaware is not conclusive (300). Van der Donck reported no regular meals in the first period, Heckewelder the reverse in the second period; but both Johnston and Chipps in the third period stated there were no regular meal times. In the fourth period three informants claimed regularity of meals for their ancestors as well as themselves; whereas the fourth, W. L., said that even when he was a boy there was always something to eat for the grownups and they ate when they felt like it. Chipps said that they ate in the night as often as in the day, but the other sources and informants denied this and maintained that it was only the hunter or traveler who returned at night that received anything to eat (306).

Men and women usually ate together according to the reports from all periods (302). Both J. W. and W. L. in the fourth period stated that children did not eat with the rest of the family (301). At some meals the children ate after the adults, who left them the amounts and parts of the food that they should eat. The last meal in the day for children was about four or five o'clock. From then on until the next morning they could have only water.

252 The question of neatness in cooking is a relative one (303). Lindeström and Johnston did not think they were neat at all. Zeisberger, Heckewelder, and Chipps, on the other hand, said that cleanliness was an individual matter but that on the whole the Delaware were much neater than many other tribes. The difference between Indian and white methods of cooking in the centuries past was probably much greater than the difference between the two now.

Van der Donck reported in the first period that boiling was the only mode of cooking meat used by the Indians (304). Since this was contradicted by Lindeström who wrote at practically

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the same time, there is no reason to suspect that the several cooking modes reported in all subsequent periods were the result of European introduction. On the other hand, Lindeström's statement that the Delaware preferred their fish only half fried finds no support in the information from the following periods (305). Zeisberger and all the modern informants said that meats were preferred well done. In this connection J. W. expressed the opinion of all the modern informants when he said that foods from the open air (not canned), cooked in clean water or well done in an open fire were clean and best.

When the Delaware were living on the Atlantic Coast, fish formed an important part of their diet, according to Van der Donck and Lindeström (307). Apparently every kind available in any particular locality was eaten. The reports of all subsequent periods also show an absence of taboo on particular kinds of fish, with the exception of J. W., and he could not name the varieties not eaten. Captain Chipps reported that some did not eat sturgeon, others catfish, but more as a matter of individual taste than because of a taboo.

Hunting

The bow and arrow was, of course, the common weapon used in hunting in prehistoric times and well remembered even today, although its utility as a meat-procuring arm has long been lost (308).

The surprising item in the list of arms used by the Delaware is the firearm (309). Even though every European colony on the Atlantic Coast protested the sale of firearms to the natives by the other colonies, and subordination of the Delaware to the Iroquois in the early eighteenth century was attributed to the fact that the latter were supplied earlier with firearms, we find two references to the rather common use of guns in hunting by the Delaware in the middle of the seventeenth century.

The blowgun was reported among the Canadian Delaware or Munsee of 1824 by Captain Chipps (310). At that time it was used by hunters to kill small game and birds. Poisoned darts were not mentioned. The three older informants among the

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411 Oklahoma Delaware said that they had used the blowgun as boys and that, although the targets were usually birds or small [524] game, the blowgun was more of a toy than anything else. Since the sojourn of the ancestors of the Oklahoma Delaware in Ohio [171] and Indiana in the first decades of the nineteenth century is rather well documented and accounts of that period fail to record the possession of the blowgun then, it is more than probable that two sources of diffusion are here indicated. The Canadian Munsee or Delaware undoubtedly received the blowgun from the Southeast through the Iroquois, whereas the Oklahoma Delaware probably received it direct from the southeastern tribes with whom they have been neighbors in Oklahoma.

227 It is strange that in two years on the Delaware River Lindeström did not see spears, nets, or hooks used to take fish (313-15). All these were mentioned by Roger Williams as being used by the Narragansets and all but the spears were listed by Van der Donck in addition to weirs. These last, according to Lindeström, were the principal means used by the Delaware to take fish. Weirs were not mentioned by the second- or third-period sources and were unknown to the modern Delaware.

224 Large hunting parties were reported periodically for the Delaware in every period (316). However, there was considerable variation as to the number constituting a large party (317). E. R. said four hunters were as many as ever hunted together. This is quite diverse from the hundreds reported in the first period. The parties were formed for their mutual advantage and were under the guidance of the oldest or most expert hunter (319). Williams, Van der Donck, and Lindeström mentioned the driving of deer by large parties. Subsequent accounts did not mention game drives, and the report of smaller parties probably indicate that they were no longer made. Group hunting in the later periods was described by Johnston as a party of several families going together directed by a head man who encouraged the young men to pursue their hunting every morning and directed them where and when to move their camps. The ceremonies observed [196] in connection with group hunting were rather elaborate as described by Lindeström (see *post*, pp. 127-28). In the second and

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third periods no ceremonies were reported. In the fourth period the ceremonies were said to be prayers at the beginning and conclusion of the expedition. 224 [796]

From the sequence of questions I understand that the one relating to "peculiar laws" in hunting concerned the rights of various members of a group hunting—the division of the game, the taboos to be observed, etc. (320). Most of the sources and all of the informants stated or indicated the existence of laws or rules from this standpoint. Johnston, however, understood the question differently, for he answered, "They have not, every one kills as much as he can." While he gave no information on the subject desired, his answer does show that the Indians with whom he was acquainted were not practicing conservation of game. There seems to have been a certain etiquette observed whenever a successful hunter was approached by an unsuccessful one at the scene of the kill (322-26). The sharing of the game killed was as generally observed as if the two had been hunting together (321), but the detail of the division depended upon the individual hunter and his mood of the moment. Deer was the principal animal sought in hunting, and often the term hunting was used synonymously with deer hunting, and in speaking of the divisions of game killed, the deer is always taken as the example. The fact that deer was the staple meat and hunted most often in the autumn is also shown in the more frequent reports of hunting in the autumn than in any other season (328-31). [576]

A ceremony celebrating the killing of the first game animal by a youthful hunter is well affirmed in every period (332). The details of the ceremony, however, are not always given. Zeisberger reported that the youth presented a male animal to an old man and a female animal to an old woman (337). This was denied by all the modern informants. The third- and fourth-period reports related that the selection of the recipient of the kill was not based on the sex of the animal (336). This contradiction may represent a change in custom between the second and third periods, but the fact that there is only one authority for the earlier period casts some doubt on the uniformity of 852

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852 the sex correlation. The animal or part of it was eaten by a friend who prayed for the continuance of good luck, according to Johnston, J. W. and W. L. (335). The dedication of the animal to deities or the spirits of deceased friends and the giving of the feast at night as mentioned by Johnston were denied by [177] two of the informants (333-34). There is a suggestion of a fourth-period change here that would be stronger if it were not for the paucity of accounts.

224 A feast, a dance, or both, were customarily given on the return of a hunting party, according to the statements or implications of the sources of the first three periods (338-39). The informants all denied that dances were held and W. T. was the [177] only one to admit the giving of feasts. This seems very definitely to reflect a change between the third and fourth periods, probably due to the decline in the economic importance of hunting.

Constitution, Personal Appearance, Dress, etc.

142 The elements under this heading are few and show little
302 change. There are, however, a couple of items that merit some discussion. First, on the matter of extirpating the beard, there is a division of opinion among the sources and among the informants (342). All the sources who mentioned the beard, except Van der Donck, said that it was pulled out. This was confirmed by J. W. in the fourth period but denied by W. T. and E. R. These maintained that the Indians never had beards until they intermarried with the whites.

The hairdress of the women offered little occasion for disagreement (349-53). All the sources and informants who gave any information on the subject agreed that women fastened their hair [illegible]d the head. Whether it was braided, clubbed, or fastened in a square bunch seems to have been a matter of individual preference, for one source mentioned all three methods [301] and four other accounts, two of the three methods. Ornamentation was also according to individual preference.

302 Men cut their hair short except for the tuft or scalp lock on the top of the head (345). The scalp lock was made into two braids according to all the sources who reported on this detail,

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but two informants, J. W. and W. L., dissented (346). W. T. alone of the informants recalled the former practice of two braids, one forward and the other to the rear (347). He wore his own hair in two braids hanging down beside his cheeks which he said was a custom borrowed from the Caddo among whom he was living.

It is to be regretted that we do not have better estimates of the average and greatest age of the Delaware (355-56). The figures we do have for the average age are not really average length of life of the population but the usual age at which the old people died. Even more extreme than an average age of seventy to eighty years is the three hundred years given by W. T. Earlier estimates, if available, might show a counterpart of this belief. Among the Shawnee of the eighteenth century the span of life set by the creator was believed to be two hundred years. W. T. said that before the coming of the whites all Indians lived an even three centuries. One hundred and forty years was the next greatest age reported in any other account.

War and Its Incidents

The prosecution and ritual of warfare probably consumed a large portion of the time and energies of the Delaware in prehistoric times. The accounts of the first period are very vague or completely silent upon the subject. In the fourth period the occasions or the means for war were mostly gone and the information again rather incomplete. W. T. for instance said that war was introduced to the Indians by the whites and that they had no practices that were not taught them by the latter. W. L. refused to commit himself on anything pertaining to war. The two younger informants gave fairly complete accounts that in general agreed with those of the earlier periods. Where they do not agree, the explanation is more apt to be due to lack of information than because of a change in custom.

Giving notice of war to the enemy except by incursions of a war party was inconsistent with the method of warfare pursued (362, 364). The existence of large war parties was denied by all accounts and only small parties depending upon surprise for

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721 their success were reported (413, 414). According to the sources, the council decided the question of going to war against a certain tribe (361), but the specific destination of a war party was determined by the war chief leading it. The informants' disagreement is undoubtedly in error.

726 The commander of a war party was appointed by the civil chiefs and he in turn appointed his supporting officers (369-72). There is some disagreement on these matters among the sources but the informants agree with the majority. A party usually marched in single file behind the chief, according to the sources, but this custom was practically unknown to the informants (381). Their information probably reflects a change in custom caused by the change in habitat from the eastern woodlands to the plains. The narrow forest trails that enforced a single file were left behind. It is possible that the change in the form of encampment from a line to a circle is also to be attributed to the change in residence (382).

727 It is surprising that two of the informants should recall the ceremonies on the field of victory reported by Heckewelder in the second period and denied by all the third-period sources (388). Ceremonies on the return home of a defeated party were similarly denied by the third-period sources and affirmed, although vaguely, by two of the fourth-period informants (393). As I have said before, conclusions based on statements of this sort are rather unsound because of lack of uniformity in what is meant by ceremony.

Although some of the earliest historic accounts report the burning of prisoners by various Indian tribes, the Delaware did not do so according to the implications of Lindeström (395). In the second period burning was reported, but in the third period it was denied, although Pipe said it was an ancient practice. The fourth-period informants knew nothing of the practice.

713 Defensive armor was reported by the first-period sources and by Zeisberger in the second period (402). Heckewelder and the third-period accounts denied the use of armor. Then in the fougth period two of three informants again reported it. The explanation of this contradiction seems to be that the use

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of defensive armor stopped in the second period, perhaps as the result of the introduction of firearms against which it was ineffective, but the memory of it continued into the fourth period. The third-period accounts were based on the practice of that time, whereas the last period accounts reflected the custom of the earliest period. 713

A similar situation seems to exist in regard to the consultation of jugglers before the march of a war party (408). We have no information on this point from the first or second period and such consultation is denied in the third period, but Chippe reported in 1824 that fifty years and more before it had been customary for the chiefs to consult the jugglers. The three informants in the fourth period were unanimous in reporting the reliance upon jugglers for determining the omens concerning a war party. 726 787

Sieges were not a war practice of the Delaware according to the early accounts (412). The sieges reported in the fourth period were of comparatively recent occurrence. 723

Roger Williams reported that enemy heads were taken as trophies and he made no mention of scalps (415). Other New England accounts of the same period related that hands were also cut off as trophies. We have no information on this point for the Delaware of the same period. In the next period Heckewelder said the Indians took scalps as trophies but that they referred to them as heads. About the same time accounts of other tribes stated that heads were taken if possible, but if pressed by pursuit or too encumbered by heads, a warrior would reduce his load by saving only the scalps. It is doubtful if the practice of taking scalps instead of heads originated in historic times, but it is certain that it completely replaced the latter, probably in the second period. 727

Peace

The elements entering into peace negotiations suffered a fate very similar to those of war. The sources and informants uniformly stated that ambassadors were sent to negotiate a peace (416), and that peace terms were negotiated and not dictated 728

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728 by one party (421). On the other hand, there was no agreement as to how the desire for peace was broached or who the negotiators or ambassadors were (419, 422-24). No changes are indicated in these elements; rather, it seems that a variety of customs were permissible at any period.

The ambassadors were probably appointed by the civil chiefs, by the council of wisemen, or both. Their mission many times was preceded by the showing of a desire for peace by a war chief while in enemy territory. Heckewelder was the only one to throw any doubt on the sanctity with which the person of the ambassador was held, and he blamed all violations on the whites.

[535] Dancing at the conclusion of a peace was affirmed and denied in both the third and fourth period, with the majority reporting its practice (425). On the basis of the first copy of Pipe's account, the third-period sources denied the connection of feasts with peace ceremonies, whereas the fourth-period informants all maintained that feasts were given (426). However, Pipe's account was changed in the second and third copies to vouch for the feasts that had been definitely denied in the first copy, and thus this clear cut division between the information of the two periods does not exist. I suspect that the data of the fourth period reflect precontact and early contact customs that had been dropped as a general practice by the third period when most of the treaty negotiations were between whites and Indians rather than between different tribes of Indians. Pipe's reversal may be explained and correlated with this hypothesis by assuming that his first account related the contemporaneous practice and his revised accounts the custom in the past. The exchange of belts was unquestioned and the smoking of a pipe almost so (427-28). Pipe's statement that the Delaware "never used the pipe as the northern nations do" contradicts both previous and subsequent accounts and is most incomprehensible.

Games

526 The ball play, sometimes known as la crosse, usually indulged in by the tribes of the eastern United States was common among the Delaware according to the second- and third-period sources

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and, of course, many accounts not used here (431). Three of the fourth-period informants, J. W., E. R. and W. L., all denied most emphatically that the Delaware ever had ball play. They knew the game and said that the Creeks and others played it but never the Delaware. W. T. of the Washita Delaware did not join in the denial. Repeated inquiries directed at J. W. and W. L. failed to shake their determination that the Delaware had never played the game. A similar reticence about this game among the Shawnee was finally broken down by Erminie W. Voegelin and found to spring from the prohibition of the game imposed by the government in 1874. Her informant stated that the Creek, Yuchi, Delaware, and Choctaw, all played the shinny game. The Shawnee played it until about 1874; after that little boys played it only, just for fun. The Shawnee played so much they neglected their crops. Then the government made them quit playing it.

Details of the various games were so seldom given that comparisons between the different periods are impossible. Usually only the presence or absence of a game can be noted. One exception is the dice game, in describing which all narrators mentioned two colors for the dice.

Reports of the number of dice used varied from five to twelve, with six being the number most frequently given. There was only one report, that of W. L., of twelve, and the suspicion arose that this might have been an extension by the informant of the sacred number twelve to the game and not the true case. Although no record of the connection between the dice game and the Big House Ceremony where the number twelve predominates is found, nor any memory of such a connection is recalled by the Oklahoma Delaware, the fact that Brinton collected in 1887 an account of this game played with twelve flat bones, and that it was said to have had, in the old days, a place in the native religious rites of the Delaware in Ontario,[1] furnishes corroboration of the authenticity of W. L.'s account.

[1] Brinton, Daniel G., "Lenâpé Conversations," in *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, 1(1888), 40.

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526 177 Games show no change of any significance aside from denial of ball play. Every game reported in earlier periods was remembered in the fourth period. Moccasin game undoubtedly was restricted to play in connection with funeral ceremonies in the fourth but not in earlier periods.

Dances

535 Dances, like games, show remarkably little change. The begging dance, reported in the third period, drew two definite denials in the fourth, while two informants did not even recognize the [721] dance (451). As this dance was usually held in connection with the outfitting of a war party, a fact of which none of the informants were aware (459), the two denials should more properly be classed as lack of information.

The two most important dances from the point of view of the Delaware were the *engomween* and the *linkaokon* (448-49). [796] These were their only dances with a religious significance (456-57). The *engomween* or worshiping dance was a part of the Big House Ceremony. The *linkaokon* was recognized by most of the informants by that name but is better known as the doll dance. The first has not been held since 1924 and the other since 1929. The only dances that have been held in recent years have been social dances which are not represented in the element list.

Music

533 [796] The elements listed under music are, of course, closely related to dances. The statement of Johnston that there was no ceremonial music except solo singing was refuted by all the informants who felt qualified to answer (475). Johnston's further statement that only nonsense or insignificant words were used in songs, even though corroborated by Chipps, is likewise denied by the same three informants and also by Heckewelder (476). In both these cases the informants are undoubtedly right. The error of Johnston is an understandable one when it is realized that songs were mostly of words carrying allusions, that many of them were archaic forms used only in songs, and that meaningless syllables were added to complete the rhythm, with the results that only an instructed person could understand them.

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The only other apparent change in the tabulation of the accounts of the different periods is the possession of the drum (466). Roger Williams stated that the Indians had no drums but that he had known one to make a good drum in imitation of the English. This may have been true, but it is most improbable that the spread of the drum over the entire continent can be attributed to its introduction by Europeans, especially in view of its known prehistoric use by certain tribes of Indians. The aboriginal possession of the flute is more questionable than that of the drum (470). This wind instrument was not reported before the third period.

Summary

Before summarizing the analysis of the culture chronology of the Delaware it may be well to state that no one is more keenly aware than I am of the unsatisfactory nature of some of the source material. This material must be utilized, however, in a study of cultural change extending over the number of years that this one does. I have endeavored to avoid the many pitfalls engendered by the use of this material. Items that had to be watched particularly were the subjective nature of some of the elements and the diverse use of terms by different authors. Four hundred and thirty-eight elements were considered cultural and comparable. This total eliminates elements on which there is information from only one period, elements on constitution, and elements giving ages within limits.

One of the first things to be observed in a perusal of the tabulation of accounts is the relatively small number of elements on which there is a complete disagreement between sources and informants. There are only twenty-three cases out of 438 elements in which the statements of one of the informants is not in agreement with at least one of the sources. Fifteen of the twenty-three elements represent changes. The remaining eight cases, or approximately two per cent of the total, are the only elements on which the informants' accounts as a whole deviate from those of the sources. This correspondence validates the use of data remembered by informants even though they may have

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121 learned of the discontinued customs through the relations of their
128 ancestors rather than through actual participation.

[114] Another noteworthy aspect is the frequency of contradictions in each period. Doubtless fuller information for each period would result in more conflicting reports. As it is, the list of contradictions is headed by eleven elements which show nothing but contradiction in every period. These eleven elements at least indicate that there was no one practice for these cases and illustrates the fallacy of relying on a single source or supposing the existence of a single practice.

121 Two hundred and forty-one elements were reported upon by
128 sources and informants without any disagreement. To get an
177 understanding of the stability of the culture, to these 241 elements should be added the eleven elements just mentioned, for they all show continuity, making a total of 252, or 57.3 per cent, of the 438 elements analyzed. All of these do not carry through from the first period to the last, for of the 438 elements, answers were returned on 210 in the first period, on 276 in the second, on 416 in the third, and on 436 in the fourth. Some of these elements appearing only in the later periods may represent additions to the culture, as in the case of the blowgun, but, in view of the lack of information on the earlier periods, they cannot be so considered.

177 There are 65 changes very definitely indicated. The changes are divided among the technological, sociological, and spiritual aspects of the culture thus: 16, 38, and 11, respectively. For the 77 technological, 262 sociological, and the 99 spiritual aspects so classified, these represent percentages of 20.77, 14.5, and 11.11, respectively. The series are too small for these small differences to be of great significance. Nevertheless, these figures are the nearest thing to proof that we have for the hypothesis that it is the spiritual life of a people in contact with a superior culture that is the least susceptible to change, that sociological concepts and practices are next, and that technological concepts and practices are the most susceptible.

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These changes are distributed in the various periods as follows: 15 in the second, 14 in the third, and 36 in the fourth. When these are broken down according to the type of change, that is, technological, sociological, and spiritual, the results are indecisive. This is largely due to the small number of elements and their selective nature. Another factor that distorts the picture is the length of time necessary for the completion of some of the changes. Several elements show that two or three periods were required for the complete acceptance of a change.

It has already been mentioned that this element list is the result of the questionnaire written by Cass in 1821. I repeat it because inherent in the questions is the realization that the culture of the Indians had then changed considerably. Consequently many of the changes that had taken place prior to 1821 are not represented. The most important or at least the most numerous items ignored are the tools, utensils, and other articles of everyday use. Articles of this nature of native manufacture were the first things to be superseded by those of European manufacture. The material culture of the Indians was drastically changed by the first of our periods. This fact should be borne in mind when one considers the changes that occurred in the later periods. Another important factor is the larger number of elements covered by the reports of the later periods. The third and fourth periods deal with over twice as many elements as the first. Proper allowance for this condition for the purpose of comparison would be to halve the fourth-period changes. If this is done, the changes for each period are remarkably uniform: 15, 14, and 18.

Now if we recall the different types of contact outlined earlier for the history of the Delaware, we find little variation in the amount of change for each type. In the period before 1750 when contact was between communities of whites and Delaware, there was presumably a great change in material culture. Between 1750 and 1850 the whites with whom the Delaware had contact were mostly traders and missionaries. Increasing emigrant trains and white settlers in the neighborhood of their Kansas reservation created so much trouble that in 1867 the Delaware sold their

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reservation and with the proceeds bought rights as members of the Cherokee Nation. They were soon encroached upon in their new location, and by 1890 there were approximately twice as many whites as Indians in the Cherokee territory. There does not appear to have been any great variation in the rate of culture change until this great influx of white settlers.

In this period of assimilation there was a rapid breakdown of Delaware culture preceded by the loss of control of internal affairs which was the last vestige of political autonomy. The memories of the fourth-period informants cover most of this period of assimilation. I have explained previously that their accounts reflect only inadvertently any of the changes that have taken place recently.

Throughout their checkered historical career, then, the Delaware underwent acculturation at a fairly uniform rate. Their history reveals no correlation between the content of acculturation and the type of white contact. The different aspects of culture showing acculturation are correlated with length of contact rather than with type of contact.

Comparisons between the rate of change in acculturation and the rate of change in assimilation are unwarranted in the case of the Delaware, for with them the assimilation followed a long period of acculturation. It should be pointed out that the control of internal affairs was surrendered to the Cherokee and not to the whites although by that time there was no question of their subordination to the latter. When they failed to receive equitable treatment from the Cherokee, they sought justice from the United States Government and submitted to the rule that they had so long rejected.

Most of the changes in the culture of the Delaware are the result of white influence. This was both direct and indirect. Contact with whites was directly responsible for the introduction of many elements such as the rifle and the idea of hell. White contact was indirectly responsible for other changes, such as the discontinuance of use of fish as a staple, use of weirs, and use of single file on the march. These cultural changes followed a change in habitat induced by the whites. Contact with other

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tribes was responsible for few changes. The only one represented in this study is the acquisition of the blowgun.

Of course, it is a mistake to assume that the culture of the Delaware would have been without change through these three centuries if not in contact with whites. Some change in Delaware culture may very well have been the result of indigenous development. The stimulus of the culture of the whites, however, was so much stronger that it is only reasonable that native developments should have been overshadowed. Nor was the culture of the whites standing still through this period. The culture of neither of the two groups was static, but as long as the Indian group was being moved westward ahead of the spread of white settlement, a static condition was simulated for that portion of the whites in contact with the Indians. The frontier changed but frontier conditions tended to remain the same. The effect of this contact with the white frontier is obvious among the Oklahoma Delaware today. The standard of living there is roughly that of pioneer agricultural regions fifty to seventy-five years ago and in the submarginal regions today.

The hypothesis that the technological, sociological, and spiritual aspects of a culture are increasingly resistant to change in that order has been shown to accord with the facts in the case of the Delaware. Language should either be included with the last aspect or be placed fourth and last, but has been omitted as outside the scope of this study. It may be said in passing, however, that the Delaware language is used by many who have otherwise retained little of the cultural heritage of the Delaware.

It seems to me that there is a very good reason for the persistence of the elements of the old spiritual life of a people after practically all other aspects of the culture are gone. This is the fact that control of religious and death practices is usually in the hands of the older people. These are the most conservative of the entire group, as a rule, and tend toward the perpetuation of the ways of their ancestors. This conservative attitude is particularly apparent in burial customs. In these matters the younger people seek to honor the practices of their elders on the death of the latter, even if they do not believe them necessary

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otherwise. The tendency to revert in old age to the teaching of one's childhood also serves to perpetuate the older customs, especially when it is the older people in the group that have charge of the ceremonies after death. Certainly this is the case among the Delaware. Every grave in the Delaware cemetery is oriented with the head to the east. Practically every grave bears the evidence of having been marked with a wooden post even though a stone marker was also erected. Many of the graves were enclosed with stone or wood cribs.

I conclude as a result of this study that historical culture change of the Delaware tribe can be indicated qualitatively and quantitatively by the use of an element list co-ordinated with chronology; that changes in different aspects of this culture have occurred as the result of the length of contact rather than the type of contact involved; that an acculturation study involving a single Indian tribe and the entire white civilization is necessarily one sided; that during white contact the influence of the whites upon the Delaware was almost solely responsible for the changes in the culture of the Indian tribe in question, overshadowing the effects of new contacts with other tribes; and that the process of culture change may be called acculturation or assimilation depending on the absence or presence of complete political domination.

IV. ETHNOGRAPHIC NOTES

Astronomy, Mathematics, etc.

1.[1] Planetary system

According to Captain Pipe, the stars were put in the sky for the guidance of the Indians—the whites had the compass. According to John Johnston, the Indians believed that there were four fixed stars in the North, East, South, and West, which were rivets holding up the sky. The seven stars were once seven boys who became such wizards that they could not dwell upon the earth. 821 [791 773]

2. Origin myth

Captian Pipe—They claim to be descendants of the Wyandots, and relate these circumstances connected with their birth. The Wyandots sprang from a hole in the earth, which is still to be seen on Lake Huron. Not long after their discovery of the world above, which they now inhabit, a virgin of that nation became pregnant from some unnatural cause and in due time was delivered of twins, a son and daughter, who spoke a language entirely different from their parent; to wit, that of the present Delawares. That it was customary at that time to marry very near relatives; that these twins were so united and from this incestuous intercourse sprang the Lenee Lenaupaa, who, by direction of their uncles, the Wyandots, went to the borders of the Ocean and there settled themselves. 773 [835]

They suppose that there was formerly a body like our sun, which they call a great cornstalk with wide spreading branches, planted by "the God" in another world far above us—there, they suppose, lived a tribe of Indians, with a chief at their head—one time, one of the women who had a child was taken sick, and being asked what would cure her, she said, "If this corn stalk was pulled up, and I was laid by the hole, from hence it was taken, I should get well." The chief gave orders, and the corn

[1] Numbers refer to the numbers given to the elements in the table, *ante*, pp. 22-37.

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773 stalk was removed and the woman laid by the hole, on her back. As soon as the corn stalk was taken from its place, there was total darkness, at which the Indians were exceedingly vexed—it was then thought best to punish the woman—they accordingly cast the woman with her child into the hole—she fell through child and all and was caught by an infinite number of "big hawks"—the hawks carried her and put her on the back of a great turtle. About this time, a loon dived into the sea, brought up a piece of earth and put it under the woman, between her and the turtle—the woman commenced a career round this particle of earth, which commenced enlarging, until it became [771] the great mass of matter which we inhabit. The earth is supposed to be of an oblong form, and is movable—it often shakes, but does not perform any revolutions. The Sun which now [821] enlightens the earth, is supposed to have been sent from the world above described. The substance of which it is composed is unknown. It performs daily revolutions.

772 *3. Earth is round*

W. T. — Earth was made round just like the sun, moon, and sky.

E. R. — The earth is flat (circle?).

W. L. — The earth is a circle and flat.

805 *6. Names of seasons*

821 The names of the seasons are *sikwon*, spring; *nipen*, summer; *takǫk*,* autumn; and *lowen*, winter.

7. Moons or months

The terms for the months and their significance are:

January

ZEISBERGER *Anixi gischuch*—Squirrel month, ground squirrels come out of their holes

ZEISBERGER —Mouse or Squirrel month—for they come out of holes

*The character ǫ has the phonetic value of the open "o," pronounced as "aw" in "awk."

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JOHNSTON	*Au, neque kie, shoe*—The squirrel moon
PIPE	*Arnăĕkwsee keeshooh*—Squirrel moon—engendering time
CHIPPS	*Un-ex-i-kà-so*
J. W.	*Motwigiso*—Hungry month—eating each other
W. L.	*Mamhotin*—Big snow—hungry—eating each other
W. T.	*Skolikĭso*—Frogs holler

February

ZEISBERGER	*Tsquall gischuch*—Frog month
ZEISBERGER	*Squalle gischuch*—Frog month, when frogs begin to croak
HECKEWELDER	—Frog month, because on warm days they begin to croak
JOHNSTON	*Chau, quol, le, ki, shoe*—The frozen month
PIPE	*Tsharkŏălee kĕĕshooh*—Frog moon
CHIPPS	*Squal-i-kà-so*
J. W.	*Anixwikiso*—Sugar moon
W. L.	*Skolikilo*—Frogs holler

March

ZEISBERGER	*M'choamowi gischuch*—Shad month
ZEISBERGER	*Chwoame gischuch*—Shad month, because this fish goes up rivers in great numbers
HECKEWELDER	—When on Atlantic coast called shad month, now sugar-making month.
JOHNSTON	*Hau, mo, n'ock, hee, tou*—The white bass moon
PIPE	*Haumoakwhĕĕta kĕĕshooh*—from a species of shell fish found at that time on the sea coast
CHIPPS	*Quaw-mo-kà-so*
J. W.	*Skoligiso*—Frogs hollering
W. L.	*Komwikĭlo*—Bees come out

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April

805 821 ZEISBERGER *Quitewuwhewi gischuch*—Spring month
ZEISBERGER *Hackinhewi gischuch*—Planting month
HECKEWELDER —The spring month
JOHNSTON *Qua, to, e, he, o, hee, shoe*—no English for it
PIPE *Kwăătiiōahaa kĕĕshooh*—from the shedding of the hair of the deer
CHIPPS *Al-lòu-uh-ke-hair-e-kà-so*
J. W. —Wet earth, rains
W. L. *Kičisikonkĭso*—Spring starting month

May

ZEISBERGER *Tauwinipen*—Beginning summer (signifying hoe is used on Indian corn in this month)
HECKEWELDER —The planting month
JOHNSTON *Ti, e, neep, pen, ie*—The moon between spring and summer
PIPE *Tiieenĕĕpen kĕĕshooh*—Middle moon, between spring and summer
CHIPPS *Uk-ke-hàve-ekà-so*
J. W. —All up, flowers, etc. commence bearing
W. L. *Mo' ksoatokĭso*—Deer getting red

June

[825] ZEISBERGER *Kitschinipen*—Summer (signifies the month in which the deer become red)
HECKEWELDER —The fawn month or the month in which the deer bring forth their young, or the month in which the hair of the deer changes to a reddish color
JOHNSTON *Ke, he, che, neep, pen, ie*—The moon when vegetation is in blossom
PIPE *Kitsheenĕĕpen kĕĕshooh*—Real summer moon
CHIPPS *Mo-mùs-ko-màv-e-kà-so*

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J. W.	*Kĭĭnipen*—Summer	805
W. L.	*Kĭĭnipen*—Starting summer	821
	July	
Zeisberger	*Yugatamoewi gischuch*—The time of raising the earth about the corn	
Heckewelder	—The summer month	
Johnston	*Gock, kau, tau, ma, ekeshoe*—The moon when vegetation is blossoming	[824]
Pipe	*Yaukāūtamwaa kĕĕshooh*—Moon of sacrifice or prayer. Time of feast of first fruits	[796]
Chipps	*La-kòk-me-aò-e-kà-so*	
J. W.	*Dainipen*—Middle summer	
W. L.	*Lainipen kĭĭo*—Middle of summer	
W. T.	*Kĭĭnĭ·pen*—Middle of summer	
	August	
Zeisberger	*Sakowoewhewi gischuch*—Deer month	
Zeisberger	*Winu gischuch*—The time when the corn is in the milk and ready to eat and roast	[824 243]
Heckewelder	—The month of roasting ears	
Johnston	*Sok, ho, a, ha, ie, kie, shough, i, e,*—The moon when the deer begin to turn gray	[825]
Pipe	*Saukiioahāā kĕĕshooh*—Moon in which deer get blue hair	
Chipps	*Wà-no-e-kà-so*	
J. W.	—Dry, hot, refreshing	
W. L.	*Kĭĭtakpk kĭĭo*—Beginning fall month	
W. T.	*Socowigiio*—Deer change color, Fall side of summer	[825]
	September	
Zeisberger	*Kitschitachquoak*—Autumn month	
Heckewelder	—The autumnal month	

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805 (21	Johnston	*Ke, he, che, tau, keke*—The moon previous to the falling of leaves
	Pipe	*Kitshee Tarkŏăk kĕĕshooh*—Commencement of cold moon
	Chipps	*Shàve-ko-us-ke-kav-e-kà-so*
	J. W.	—Gathering moon (harvest)
	W. L.	*Wipoqikrĭo*—Deer getting gray
	W. T.	*Pokxrt*—Fall—Leaves are broken

October

	Zeisberger	*Pooxit*—Month of vermin (the harvest month)
	Heckewelder	—The gathering or harvest month
[124]	Johnston	*Pooque, ieete*—The moon that the leaves fall
	Pipe	*Pŏŏkseet kĕĕshooh*—Broken moon, from the shedding of the leaves
	Chipps	*We-nàv-o-kà-so*
	J. W.	*Dakqkwinigilo*—Everyone gets together (Big House)
	W. L.	*Takqkinikrso*—Fall month when everyone gets together
	W. T.	*Winikrso*—Come snow

November

	Zeisberger	*Wini gischuch*—Snow month (the hunting month)
	Johnston	*We, ne, ke, shoue*—The moon when the snow commences falling
	Pipe	*Wĕĕnee kĕĕshooh*—The snowy moon
	Chipps	*Pah-po-sòp-we-e-kà-so*
	J. W.	*Dailówen*—Changing, falling moon
	W. L.	*Lawanikrĭo*—Winter moon
	W. T.	*Kilikaqk*—Fall

December

	Zeisberger	*M'chakhocque*—Cold month, the month when the cold makes the trees crack.

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		(Shows the time when the bucks cast their antlers) 805 821
HECKEWELDER		—The hunting month, it being the time when the stags have all dropped their antlers
JOHNSTON	*Hack, he, que*	—The moon when the severe cold begins
PIPE	*Henk hōākwaa kēēshooh*	—The clouded sky moon
CHIPPS	*Nà-we-où-o-wè-kà-io*	
J. W.	*Kičilo·wen*	—Grandfather—ground covered with snow
W. L.	*Anikwikiɾio*	—Squirrel moon—fawn as little as squirrels
W. T.	*Kičilo·wen*	—Winter, sure enough

From this material the following hypothetical list of the old names has been reconstructed in more modern orthography:

January *Anixi kiɾio*—Squirrel month
February *Skolikiɾio*—Frog month
March *Kwamowi* or *hømokwita kiɾio*—Shad month
April *Kwe·to·o·ha·kiɾio*—Spring month
May *Tainipen kiɾio*—Month between spring and summer or beginning of summer
June *Kičinipen kiɾio*—Summer
July *Yukøtamowi*—Summer
August *Sakawikiɾio*—Deer get gray hair; also *Winukiɾio*—corn ready to roast
September *Kičitakøk kiɾio*—Autumn month
October *Po·ksit kiɾio*—Harvest moon, falling leaves
November *Winikiɾio*—Snow month
December *Hakhokwa kiɾio*—Cold month

Variations from this by the modern Delaware are shown in the following list:

January *Motwigilo* or *Mamhotin*—Big snow—hungry—eating each other
April *Kičisikon kiɾio*—First spring month

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805 May *Mo'ksoate kĭlo*—Deer getting red
821 July *Dai-, Lai-,* or *Kĭči-nipew*—Middle of summer
October *Takŏkimikĭlo*—Fall month when everyone gets together
November *Dailo·wew* or *Luwanikĭlo*—Changing or winter moon
December *Kĭčilo·wew*—Winter

8 and 9. Sun and moon as deities

776 [821] John Johnston—They suppose the Sun to be a Deity composed of heat which regulates the day and returns to the East in the night under ground. Which is the cause of vegetation or makes the grass grow. The moon they suppose to be another Deity equal in rank with the sun which regulates the night and divides the year.

776 773 Captain Pipe—The Sun they suppose to be a human being, and they call him their brother. Tradition says that in early days the Sun was in the habit of devouring twelve Indian children each day at noon, as a kind of compensation for his labours; but the inhabitants of the earth becoming incensed at his voraciousness remonstrated. He then proposed to reduce the number to six but they still refused, and at length agreed upon two, which number they suppose he now receives every day. The light of the Sun is occasioned by the brightness of a feathered headdress which he wears. They think that the Indians once possessed the same general character with the Sun, that he has retained his original powers and they have degenerated to their present degraded situation. He is supposed to go under the Island at night for rest. The moon is supposed to be the brother of the Sun, and they formerly had numerous relatives who warred against each other and were all killed, and these wars occasioned the present employment of the younger brother, the moon.

776 All four of the modern informants called the sun "brother." All called the moon "brother," also, except J. W., who said it was known as grandmother, that she takes care of the weather, but is closest to the people.

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10. Eclipses

JOHN JOHNSTON—The eclipses they suppose to be caused by one of the twelve subordinate Deities as an indication of war or some other calamity which they think will shortly come. 821

CAPTAIN PIPE—Eclipses are thus accounted for. Every man as he grows up is visited in his dreams by his tutelar deity in the form of a Bear, Wolf, Dog, Tree, Cornstalk, or any thing else which the imagination can conceive, and by the deity he is protected and governed through life. When he dies his protector assumes the mourning garb common to deities, and through his influence the eclipse of the Sun or Moon takes place in token of the excess of his grief. 787 776 765

CAPTAIN CHIPPS—In an eclipse, they suppose, the moon gets between the Sun and the Earth.

J. W. said that eclipses had meaning but would not say what. Likewise W. T.

14. Four cardinal points

Both J. W. and W. T. named the four cardinal points but thought of up and down as equivalent to them.

16. Meteors as indication of evil

JOHN JOHNSTON—Meteors: They suppose them to be ominous of something bad especially if any person takes notice of them and says see that star they think that person will not live long, but they suppose that if they fall to the ground they turn into that substance or ball generally known by the puffball which will by pressing emit a smoke, they are afraid of those balls. 821 787 824

CAPTAIN PIPE—The Meteors called shooting stars are thus described. Like the Sun and Moon the stars are brothers to the Indians, human beings, and subject to the frailties of man. When one of them begins to practice lying and fraud he is rejected by the others and obliged to fly from his companions to seek a place of refuge. 577

J. W.—Meteors are a warning, forecast war etc. The place where the comet goes is the place where the battle or other catastrophe is going to occur. F. W.'s grandmother heard a great

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821 787 wind and looked up and saw a comet shaped like a head dripping fire and blood out of the mouth, coming from the West and going North and East, about five years before the World War.

W. T.—Meteors foretold the direction of a big wind coming the next day—they were already on the move.

18. Ceremonies on appearance of new moon

821 762 Captain Chipps—When they see the new moon, they thank the Great Spirit that they have lived to see it.

John Johnston—They do not at present but they say it was anciently a custom to offer some kind of a sacrifice.

821 *19. Calculation on time of reappearance of moon*

Captain Pipe—Nor can they calculate with certainty the time of its reappearance.

Religion

21. Concept of Supreme Being

776 John Johnston—They do [have concept of Supreme Being], and distinguish him by calling him the creator of us all and of all things.

Captain Pipe—They believe in one Supreme Being, who is known generally by the appellation *Keshaallemöönkungk*, "He who created us by his thought;" and sometimes *Kastaunutööwit*, The great spirit, from *Khit*, great; or *Waalseet Maunütoo*, He who is the good spirit, from *Woolit*, good. They suppose that this being created the world and remained sometime upon earth, having the moral superintendency of all affairs therein, and that having perfected the system which he commenced he left it.

Captain Chipps—They believe in one God, who is "God of the black as well as the white"—they suppose he lives in some world above this earth.

22. Subordinate deities

John Johnston—They believe in twelve subordinate deities placed in different grades descending from the highest to the lowest, they think the lowest is on earth among them but in-

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visible noticing all their actions, which he communicates to the next deity and so from one to the other until it is communicated to the Supreme being. 776

Captain Pipe—With the Indian (these Indians) all animals, and even animated nature, Trees, plants, etc., are considered as beings having supernatural powers. This is proved to be a serious belief by the great distinction in the language, which included trees, plants and some vegetables in the class of animated beings, and by the superstitious notions of these men, who having been prepared by excessive fatigue, long fasting and harsh treatment [783] from parents, for some unnatural excitement of the mind, dream, or fancy that they dream of seeing their guardian god coming [781] to them in the form of a Bear, Wolf, the Sun, the Moon, a Tree, etc., and directing them about their future conduct. Such [787] dream no doubt has great effect during the life of its subject, and in his private worship all his songs are descriptive of some of the events which he saw in his dream. He often repeats them and does not fail to attribute his success to the deity whose wonderful appearance had foretold his good fortune, or any mishap [788] to his own bad conduct which incensed his guardian.

23. Evil spirits

John Johnston—They believe in but one evil spirit which is the devil. They suppose him to have been created holy, but 776 773 he being proud spirited was not willing to acknowledge the creation of all things to the supreme being but contended that he had created the bad and the dispute arose to such a degree that the devil took a disgust and plunged himself from heaven into the earth where he remains to this day and that is the reason (they say) why guilty folk always look down.

Captain Pipe—Much of their unhappiness and misfortune 776 is attributed to the evil spirits of which there are many. They are called *Maatseetseet Maunatoowuk*, (Those who are bad Spirits) but are not distinguished by particular appellations.

Captain Chipps—They believe that "there is a devil, or there would not be so many wicked in the world,"—where he lives they cannot determine.

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30-37. Concept of future state

775 John Johnston—They generally believe in future rewards and punishments. They believe if a person is honest and upright in his deportment that immediately after leaving this world he will enter into another equally as good or better and those of the opposite character will be secluded and they think will be unhappy. They appear to (believe in a final judgment) and expect to be judged. They expect to enjoy those pleasures, amusements and all things which were the most agreeable to them on earth in the greatest perfections. They believe that the souls of those who are worthy are immediately after leaving the body conducted by their Deities to a place of happiness, and those who are judged unworthy are left on this earth to wander to and fro and are unhappy, and finally sink into the earth where they deposit their dead bodies there to receive eternal punishment.

Captain Pipe—They have no doubt that good or bad conduct in this life has an effect upon their future happiness or misery, and they suppose that the punishment or reward commences as soon as life leaves the body. If they have led good lives in this world, their souls are transported to the land of the Great spirit in the south, where they find magnificent dwellings, beautiful streams and fertile lands. There they are employed in worshiping the great author of their existence, through whose means they are furnished with all necessary food, together with many luxuries, living eternally in the enjoyment of the same corporeal pleasures which constituted their happiness on earth, though more refined and not alloyed by pain. Those on the contrary who have led a wicked life, are met at death by some of the evil spirits, by whom they are tormented by different species of torture (among which is fire) eternally. Sometimes they are sent by them again to earth, where they roam about in perfect misery.

Captain Chipps—They believe that men will be happy or miserable after death, according as their actions in this life are good or bad. After death, they suppose the soul to be traveling along a road which after some space branches off in two directions. At the forks, stands a being with a sword, who directs the good

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and bad souls in the proper courses—the good go to Heaven— 775
the bad are conducted by this armed stranger to Hell, where are prepared kettles of boiling water for their special accommodation. They believe in a day of judgment—that "the world will be at an end, when the whites get into full possession of it,"—that the souls only, after death will be accountable, and punished or rewarded. There are no particular days set apart for worship and no other religious ceremonies, but such as appertain to their festivals, war dance, etc. The soul immediately after death, is supposed to leave the body and absent itself, "traveling backwards and forwards" and occasionally visiting the body until the Great day.

J. W.—Soul stays with body of deceased in ground and decays with it. Resurrected at the final calling of everybody by the Creator. Spirit immediately leaves body and goes to all the places it has been during life and all bad actions are punished on the spot. The spirits of the good go almost directly to the Creator. All are ready to go by the 11th day, or 12th at noon, at which time to help them go, relatives give spirit a feast (in the Wolf division only). Six months or a year afterwards a relative or friend may feel the presence of a spirit and give a feast to remove the effects of spirit. Usually a year after death and then every year thereafter. A friend is called to the feast and given the food which he takes out and eats.

W. T. gave the name of ghost to the soul of J. W. and said 774
it stayed on earth while the spirit went "home" to heaven.

W. L. did not distinguish between soul and spirit. Said spirit goes eleven places before going to land of Great Spirit. These eleven places were "like Jacob's ladder."

38. Ghosts

JOHN JOHNSTON—They do [believe in ghosts] very much and 774
say that they have often seen them. 775

CAPTAIN PIPE—They have an idea that the ghosts of their deceased friends appear to them in the night, particularly after a failure to offer the customary feast at the grave; and they immediately prepare to do what from neglect or disrespect had

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774 been left undone, when the ghost ceases the visits.
775 CAPTAIN CHIPPS—Ghosts are not known—have not been heard of.

J. W.—Ghosts are really shades or shadows of spirits, often seen before or after death, they are signs or warnings and can be seen by human eyes. There is much paralysis among the Delaware which is often caused by being struck with a shadow or crossing it or paying any attention to it if one sees it coming. Stopping [822] 763 to look at it, turning around after passing, even innocently, has evil effects. There is no cure for it. Preventive by rubbing [751] streak of ashes on left cheek under eye before going out in the evening. Often marked children as safeguard.

W. T. attributed to the soul the actions of the shadow reported by J. W.

40. Witches and wizards

754 JOHN JOHNSTON—They are very firm in the belief of witchcraft and suppose that there is many among them that can appear [753] in the shape of any animal they please and have power to cause sickness. They believe this to be a supernatural power invested in them by some one of the Deities for the purpose of good that they might have power to heal the sick etc. But that in their present degenerated state they have made a bad use of it, that instead of healing they inflict with sickness and other calamities.
754 CAPTAIN PIPE—They believe in witches and wizards and 756 attribute their powers to the use of certain medicine, said to have been procured of the Nanticokes who had it from a naked infant found by them on the Sea Shore. In 1810, the prophet when [792] preaching against the use of this medicine pointed out five or six men and women on white river as the possessors of it. These [683] persons protested their innocence and were put to the torture, where they were exhorted to save themselves by delivering the means of destruction which they possessd. Seeing no other prospect of escape from death, they professed a knowledge of the arts and promised compliance, but after release they were not able to produce the cause of the difficulty, and they were by common consent condemned to death by burning.

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CAPTAIN CHIPPS—They believe there are no greater wizards 754
or witches than knaves or drunkards.

All the modern informants confirmed the belief in witches and wizards, but J. W., his wife and son were especially vehement in their current existence.

41. National Worshiping Society (Big House)

JOHN JOHNSTON—They have a national worship which they 794
think keeps the world from coming to an end. It is attended with very great expense in procuring wampum and provisions, etc. This meeting is continued for 12 days and twelve nights successively. They have a large building prepared for that pur- [346]
pose about 25 feet in width and 50 or 60 feet in length according to the number that is expected will attend, with a door in each end, notice is given at what time their worship will commence. When they are collected and seated in a row round the outside 796
of the building the men by themselves and the women by themselves a man and woman at each door the man for a doorkeeper and the women to sweep between every exercise, the fires are made in the middle of the building which they make by rubbing two dry sticks together that it may be pure, the fire they put out every day and make new lest it should become adulterated, they make it by rubbing two dry sticks together as at the first. Thus prepared the one that made preparation for the meeting gets up with a turtle shell in his hand (containing pebbles) and he gives it a shake and the whole assembly arise with him he then begins telling a dream which he says he dreamt in his childhood [787]
and the whole congregation repeats it after him in one voice word by word till he says he heard a voice singing to him and begins to sing immediately upon which two men commence beating with flat sticks upon skins folded together then he stops singing and he with the whole assembly jump ten or twelve jumps in the form of a dance then he makes a sudden halt and goes on with his dream as before repeated by the whole in one voice until he commences singing again as before and the players commence beating and the whole jump or dance in the form above mentioned thus they continue for the space of half an hour or more

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796 according to the length of his dream. Then they seat themselves and the room is swept by the woman at the doors the one that first spoke then shoves the shell under his legs to the next one, if he does not feel a disposition to tell his dream he shoves it to the next without shaking it, and it is shoved from one to another till it comes to one that wishes to tell his dream then he gives the shell a shake and after some minutes commences telling his dream while sitting but soon arises and the whole assembly with him he proceeds in the same manner as above mentioned. At intervals of telling dreams they appoint one or call one by name and give to him a piece of wampum then they call eleven more they go out of the meeting and make doleful noise which is similar to howling but they term it making twelve prayers or praying twelve times then they return in to the meeting and the foreman that is the one that was first called divides the wampum among the twelves that went out. Then commence telling dreams as before and going out to pray in the same manner thus they [784] continue for 12 days and twelve nights abstaining themselves from women and every thing whereby they think they could be defiled. In these meetings they always have one appointed and dressed in bear skins appearing very frightful to go round and examine and see if there is any improper conduct if so he points the stick at him or her which he has in his hand, the door-keepers immediately put the person out of the door and those who are put out are not admitted into the meeting any more. Previous to these meetings they appoint a number of young men to go and kill a certain number of deer which they think will be sufficient to last them during the meeting, these are dressed, their provisions cooked and served to them while in their worship by those that they call their butchers.

Captain Pipe—The grand national worship of the Delawares has been already alluded to, and I come now to a description of it. It is called Engömween. There are three or four families in the nation whose duty it is by inheritance to prepare for and invite the nation to this assembly, and to whose care is committed every arrangement respecting it. Each family takes upon itself the performance of these duties once in three years; and as they

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do so in pretty regular succession, the worship is annual, or perhaps more frequent. The time and place of meeting is designated by this family, the principal male of which sends a messenger to the chief or head man of each village, who in his turn disseminates the information through the families of those under him. At the time appointed the nation, as well males as females assemble at a large lodge prepared for the purpose, where the females are placed in rear of the men. Here with grave and downcast looks they sit and receive from one of the old men an address upon the importance of a due observance of the ceremonies of the worship, and of abstinence from all unlawful pleasures during the continuance of them, among which any connection with women is counted a polluting sin. After describing at length the customs of their ancestors, among which this worship is placed in the foreground, the principal man of those who prepared the place of worship, having in his hand a small turtle shell containing a few gravel stones, gives it a sudden shake, and at the signal the worshipers all rise. He then commences a history of his early dream, repeating it in short sentences, in a natural tone of voice and being followed in the repetition of each sentence by all who are in the house. At length he commences to sing his dream, being followed by the company as before, and relieved between the sentences by a chorus of singers who are seated apart from the other worshipers, and have a kind of tambourin composed of a deer skin stretched across four sticks, upon which they beat the time. The music is said to be agreeable and very soft.

After this person has finished the tale of his dream, in which is described minutely every circumstance connected with the appearance of his tutelar deity, as well as those events of his life, which being foretold, have *of course* come to pass, each person in the lodge takes him by the hand in a mystical manner and they all seat themselves. The men then smoke for a short time, preserving the utmost silence and gravity of deportment, during which occupation the speaker takes occasion to push the shell under his legs in a secret manner, to the next on his right, who declares his intention to speak by giving it a slight shake, or pushes it in the same secret way to the next. When one has

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[176] accepted the turtle by the shake of accession, he remains in a state of apparent meditation for a few minutes, and then rising gives it another rattle, when, as in the preceding instance, he is joined by all the worshipers and the same ceremonies of repeating the dream, are performed.

The worship is commenced at evening and continued until daybreak, when it ceases for the day during which time the worshipers remain in the lodge in perfect silence. Thus it is repeated from night to night six times, and at the closing of the last night they adjourn for an hour or two, and then finish the worship with the relation of the dream of some extraordinary personage, whose history has been preserved in tradition. They cease at noon of the last day.

To discharge the menial services incident to the meeting of [178] so large a body four servants are appointed, of whom two are males and two females. They sweep the council house at every interval of worship and perform any other duty required of them, for which they receive a compensation in wampum before the close of the meeting. To this stock of wampum when collected by the principal or leader of the assembly all contribute who have the means. Besides these officers, an old man of the juggling class is employed to keep order in the assembly. It is supposed he can tell by going around the lodge whether any [179] person has been polluted since the commencement of the worship, by connection with the opposite sex. To such person he points a stick and if he be a man the male servants lead him out of the lodge, from which he is expelled during the remainder of the worship. If a woman the same service is performed by the female domestics. The old inquisitor is dressed in the skin of a bear, with a frightful mask on his face, and is said to be a terrific object, particularly to those guilty of a breach of the customs of the assembly. His attention is often roused by the complaints of some one while telling his dream, who will stop and pretending to find a difficulty in speaking will ascribe it to the improper conduct of one of the members. Upon such occasion the old man commences his examination and his scrutinizing eye points out the object (perhaps innocent as himself) who is immediately removed, and the speaker continues.

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During the intervals between the songs, or at least once every night, the principal rises from his seat and calls before him six or twelve persons (male) (generally the latter number) from the worshipers. He then delivers to the male servants a quantity of wampum in strings, corresponding to the number of persons called. With these the servants precede the chosen, who go out of the lodge and with their faces turned to the east, seat themselves upon their hams and commence a kind of howl, which they repeat in the same tone twelve times. They then return to the lodge with great solemnity, and take their places as usual. —As a kind of relaxation from the severer duties of the worship, these chosen men are directed by the principal to scatter a quantity of wampum in grains, upon the ground within the lodge. This is for the benefit of the servants, who are obliged to stand upon one leg and take it up with the thumb and finger, a slow method, affording amusement to the spectators. But this only occurs at the close of the night's worship and would be considered improper at any other time. Dancing is sometimes practiced at these assemblages and besides the employment of relating their dreams they are frequently addressed by the old men in exhortations to preserve these customs in their purity, to prolong their own existence by continuing the meetings, and to adore the author, the Great spirit.

Medicine

42. Diseases

To the list on the table Roger Williams adds toothache as one of the greatest afflictions of the Indians (Narragansets); J. W., mumps; W. L., small pox. E. R. said that rheumatism was introduced only recently.

54. Juggling tricks.

The so-called juggling tricks were used only when the patient was dangerously ill, according to John Johnston. These tricks, according to J. W., W. T., and W. L., were used only by the sweat doctors in diagnosing a complaint.

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57. Rumbling noise made by jugglers

755
[756] The rumbling noise made by jugglers mentioned in the earlier accounts was replaced by singing in the accounts of J. W., W. T., and W. L., all of whom said that the sweat doctor sang or talked about his vision which gave him his power to see into the vitals of the patient and determine the nature of his illness.

GENERAL MANNERS AND CUSTOMS

61. Eating of human flesh

266 There is no statement about the eating of human flesh in LINDESTRÖM, but there is a description of torture by fire among
[727] the Minquas, and the inference is that such was not practiced among the Delaware and, also, that the eating of human flesh was not common if present at all.

62. Handshaking

576 JOHN JOHNSTON—[Salutation is] by shaking each other by the left hand as token of friendship considering the left hand to be the nighest to the heart. They say but little, except I am glad to see you your looks are familiar the countenance expressed gladness. (Shaking hands is an Indian, and they say an ancient custom.)

CAPTAIN PIPE—Their mode of salutation in meeting is not peculiar. They sometimes express a pleasure in seeing each other, at others the simple *Anishee*, (I am thankful,) is the only expression. They do not as with us, inquire after the health of their families, but of their business, route, etc. It is believed that shaking hand is an Indian custom, but before their knowledge of the whites they used the left hand. In the Engŏmween, or wor-
[796] shiping assembly, where ancient customs are said to prevail altogether, they always use the left hand.

CAPTAIN CHIPPS—The mode of salutation is by shaking hands:—inquiries after healths succeed. The shaking of hands (say they) "was in use from the time they were created."

J. W. and W. L. say that using left hand was formerly Delaware custom.

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W. T. and E. R. say that right was always used. 576

68. Story telling: in winter and at night only

W. L. said that one rule was that no one could sit up during the telling of stories as it might make them humpbacked. 538 784

78. Peculiarities in encampments

JOHN JOHNSTON—There is no [peculiarity] in their moving from place to place or in their hunting encampments, but they are very particular in the mode of erecting their war encampments. 361 726

E. R.—Camp site was fixed so that allied tribes would know who had been there, and which direction they went. The way they fixed the fire and ashes would tell who made the camp. [262]

79. Identification of makers of encampment

JOHN JOHNSTON—They can [identify them] because every tribe has a different mode of encamping and by the size of the camp or camps they can calculate very nigh the number that were in them. 361 202

CAPTAIN CHIPPS—They can tell the camps of the Cayugas and Massisagas, by their peculiar manner of encamping. Generally speaking, it is impossible for them to tell from a deserted camp, what particular tribe has occupied it.

83. Differences from other tribes in sociability, etc.

J. W.—Delaware are more friendly and sociable than other tribes even though they cannot trust others. The Delaware way of raising is to have children grow up to be friendly and pleasant so that other people will like them and they may do big things—get places on council, in Big House, and be a credit to parents. 181

W. T.—Sociability, friendliness, and hospitality are marked characteristics that distinguish Delaware from other tribes and should be rated first.

88. Spare lives of snakes

HECKEWELDER stated that Delaware spared the lives of snakes because killing one would bring other creeping things to bite them. 784 825

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784 825 JOHN JOHNSTON—Their principal reason is that the snake is such a malicious and spiteful animal that if they should kill them the rest would know it and would bite them.

CAPTAIN CHIPPS—They sometimes avoid killing snakes, on a march, because they say, "that if they kill one, the rest will be madder."

J. W.—Snakes were not killed unless necessary—"don't kill for nothing." Besides could tell good from bad snakes.

E. R. said that there were no rules against the killing of snakes and that he feared no retribution.

BIRTH AND ITS INCIDENTS

89. Naming of child

553 [796] CAPTAIN PIPE—Children are named at one of the grand worshiping councils, and as opportunities do not occur regularly, there is no particular age at which they are formerly [*sic.* formally?] named. (Children at times do not receive their names until they are quite large, at others while they are infants.) The child when about to be named is taken to the assembly and there presented to one of the old men (who is an orator and) of the same tribe with the father, together with a fathom of wampum for his services. This old man taking the child by the hand, rises and proclaims aloud his name, requesting all who hear him to [776] recollect. He then proffers a short prayer to the Great spirit in supplication for his blessing on the child during life; after which it is returned to its parents.

[814] CAPTAIN CHIPPS—There are no christenings—or ceremonies at the birth of their children. After the birth, a year or two, 851 sometimes less, the child is taken into council, and named. The 553 father names and the preacher announces the name to the assembly in a speech of some length—in which, he congratulates the parents of the child—hopes the child may become a good boy and "prays to God" to make him a good man, a good hunter and a good warrior.

J. W.—Has never seen or heard of naming in Big House. Parents take child to grandparents, either side. They give him

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name by the month in which he was born. Three or four days after birth, not over five months. They set a day on which relatives and friends bring things, grub, give it to baby—glad there are new folks, kin to us, who have come to live with us. Then every birthday give big feast. 851 553 [858]

E. R. and W. L. said names might be given immediately after birth or not until several days had passed.

90. Particular age of naming child

LINDESTRÖM says when they become large enough to shoot a gun.

91. Descriptive names

J. W.—Names in keeping with month of birth. 553

W. L.—Animal names are used but not exclusively.

93. Names from dreams

E. R.—All names come from dreams. Child might go several days without a name. Chaff each other in the family about not being able to give a newborn child a name. Finally one of the parents or grandparents, going to bed with this on his mind so much, would awake with a dream of a name. 553 787

JOHN JOHNSTON—It is generally from dreams dreamt by the parent or some relation, relative to the agility or faculty of some animal, which they say appears to them and tells a pretty story.

97 and 98. Individual has more than one name; changed later in life

JOHN JOHNSTON—They have [more than one name] sometimes but the second one is one of their own choosing when they arise to years of discretion. 553

CAPTAIN PIPE—Although they never have more than one name at a time it is not uncommon for them when grown up, to change their name, in which case the same ceremonies at the grand council take place. This subsequent naming (it sometimes goes as far as a third) is sometime because the original appellation,

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553 being descriptive may be more appropriate for children; at others because the subject has performed some remarkable feat of bravery or is otherwise deserving of a favorite name.

[551] E. R. and W. L. said that there were no second names except English ones and nicknames.

103. Education

867 869 CAPTAIN PIPE—Each man considers it his duty to advise the children of the same tribe with himself, and to instruct them by precept the way they should go, and to this kind of advice the father, though he may be never so great a scoundrel, is very particular, always enforcing the duty of correctness in their moral conduct. There is no system of education among them.

The account of the way J. W. was raised was recorded, practically verbatim, as follows:

When I was a baby they took good care of me—raise me so I could walk. When I was little my mother had to be awfully [262] careful. There was a certain food she must not eat. Not any side meat, or inside (liver, etc.) while nursing. Ham and shoulders all right—gave her strength. Any kind of vegetables, fruits, were all right. Anything cracked like nuts must not be eaten. Hominy all right. Must be careful about going [784] places, seeing things that surprise you which might get inside and affect child through milk. No cradles—wrap up in nice little clean cloths.

262 869 When I can eat: must not eat lots of different foods; such as like egg, inside meat; only outside but just good meat—none close to joint or head. Corn, vegetables all right, fruits all right but just so much.

When I can help myself—so I can see, eat by myself, well then any food, nuts or meat must not be eaten first, but give to either father, mother or other old folks, and then eat and as much as I want. Then they tell me certain parts I must not eat from then on until I am a man. They say don't ever eat egg, no liver, don't drink soup, unless you tell me, then I tell you what to do before you take, to give you strength. I say I want soup—they say run about a quarter of a mile (after taking).

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That gives me strength in the legs. Don't eat with your folks, wait until they get done. They leave what you should eat. 262 869

When my mother and father go somewhere, they take me along but I must not pry around but stay with one of my folks. 867 Then if they think I should be out they tell me "go out there and play but play good—whoever you see you must mind him —pay attention." Come back when they can you. Afternoon from three to four o'clock one must not play, run around or holler. Do not eat in the evening. Drink very little water. Go to bed at sundown. In the morning, just day, get up, wash, clean yourself up, take a refreshing. The sun come up and see you, give you strength, life. They tell me when you go out be careful. To go a little ways, you ask. Maybe want a little water, go get it—grandfather—have a thought—great thing—give you strength, give it to your folks, they thank you, drink, then you take it. Same way wood, go get it, put it over here, let your folks put it in the fire, don't put in fire until they tell you so. Don't just hit things with your ax until we tell you so. Don't kick things, there's your hand—use it—pick it up—if you can't pick up something in your way, go around. Then suppose somebody come—anybody—don't go meet him, or talk to him—stay away. But if somebody call you, have something for you to do, come and do it. Maybe he have something to tell you—don't forget it—maybe he give you good advice. Don't ever stand there and look at people too much. Look at them when they tell you something. Then when you get to be a big boy, you know and recognize things. You kill game—must not eat. I don't get to eat first game, give it to folks and let them eat it. Next game you can eat but there are certain parts like back you must not eat until you are a man. Then my father or mother send me some place to see somebody—tell him they want him to come over but I must come right back. When I get back they ask me if I tell them and what they say. I must answer if I am playing around and they call me—not just come but answer. Come with whip [861] to show me if I get beyond call. Wore long homemade shirt, [291] breechcloth, moccasins (barefoot in summer). Leggings of heavy cloth in winter. No hat. One little thin blanket in one corner or

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867 under bed. Use hands to eat. Sticks for forks, wooden spoons, knives only to cut meat. Ax to cut bones. No canned goods —stuff put in it might harm you—only clean food eaten.

867 In Fall, November, before sunup go to creek and swim.
866 Wind cold, water warm, give you strength, get out look like
[863] something pinched you. Go to house, burn cedar, refresh you. That's your health your body, no disease. If you are not clean any little thing can catch you.

Then when you get to be a man. Don't whoop like boy. Must take care of yourself—whooping might strain something. Then they tell me I can have a woman. If I see one I want I tell the
[864] old folks. I must not prowl around. Maybe another clan, maybe same clan but not folks. The old folks have rules, they talk to girl's folks. Her folks talk to her about me. Her folks like mine, mine like hers. Give her folks something, goods, blankets, etc. Big feast, invite people. Wedding—preacher talk to me and her. Tell us we must talk over things—where one of us wants to go, what to do, etc. Then maybe it's all right. Wife in family way must not go (six months or so after marriage) to see sick people, death or butchering. Any good things all right. Anything wrong or unnatural might affect child.

105. Corporeal punishment for children

861 Zeisberger says in one place that children were not punished, but reproved for mischief with gentle words; in another that water was thrown in their faces as punishment.

John Johnston—(No restraint or punishment) except threatening and denying them food for a certain time.

Captain Chipps—The domestic government of children is wild. Disobedience is punished severely by flogging—other offenses are considered lighter.

W. L.—Corporeal punishment was whipping but also throwing water in their faces. Think a lot of water and would pray to it (to wash child clean?) while throwing it in child's face.

106. Age at which childhood ceases

884 John Johnston—When they are considered capable of providing for themselves.

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CAPTAIN PIPE—In the days of yore children were considered 884
as bound to obey their parents, and were not suffered to marry until the age of thirty if males or twenty-four if females; but to use their own language, they have so degenerated that in these days, when a boy begins to grow hoarse he assumes the practices of a man, declares himself independent and marries.

CAPTAIN CHIPPS—At the age of 12, children cease to be such. They are considered young men, but are subject to the usual family punishments for offenses, until they become of age.

E. R.—Childhood generally considered to end at 14 to 15 years of age but in backward cases was later.

W. L.—About 20 years of age depending on individual.

107. Adoption of children by near relatives

ZEISBERGER—In many cases children who have become 597
motherless after birth have been reared by careful old women. Sometimes children are given to such women. Then they spare no pains in rearing them. Soup made of Indian corn, pounded [853]
very fine, is given by them to infants of tender age, that may have come into their possession. Ordinarily, orphans, even if they have lost but the mother, meet with hard experience and often suffer want. Children who have been given or bequeathed, on the contrary, are almost without exception well cared for.

JOHN JOHNSTON—They are not [adopted by near relatives], but when they adopt it is from a family that is not connected and when adopted are considered members of the family that they are adopted into. On death of parents care of child devolves upon nearest relation.

CAPTAIN PIPE—Orphans and sometimes neglected children, are often adopted by good men in the nation, and are in such case considered as the children of the adopting person subject to the same privileges which his own children enjoy. In case of the death of the parents, the maternal grandfather or mother is bound by custom to take the children under protection; but if they also be dead the children are adopted by such relatives or friends as may be inclined to take charge of them.

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597 CAPTAIN CHIPPS—Children are never adopted by their relatives—adoption is confined to those who have been taken prisoners. If both parents die the charge of the children devolves on the nearest relative. Orphans are not provided for—but seldom suffer, and it is considered "a good thing" to administer to their wants.

J. W.—Orphan taken care of by some one close to orphan or family—some one who knows about it and has watched it—is given the orphan to raise in preference to a near relative. Some one who has heard of the child's predicament is given the child if he makes his wishes known.

113. Control of parents over mature children

885 JOHN JOHNSTON—They [parents] do [have control over mature children] for they consider them better able to receive the counsels of the parents.

CAPTAIN PIPE—Parental feelings are very strong and generally continue during life, in consequence of which, aged relatives consider it their duty to advise the young and deter them from the commission of wrong. But no compulsory means are used after their arrival at years of discretion.

CAPTAIN CHIPPS—Attachment of parents to children continues through life. And parental authority is exercised at all ages.

E. R.—Children stayed under supervision of parents even after they were married and until first child was born. After that they might ask for advice but it was seldom given otherwise.

W. L.—Parents exercise control over children until they are married. (He was adopted by paternal grandparents when he was about 22 years of age.)

115. Daily bath given child

854 JOHN JOHNSTON—for one year.

[863] J. W.—for five years.

W. T.—for four years.

E. R.—twice daily for ten days, then daily for three to four months.

W. L.—for four to five years.

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121. Cradle put in hammock 854

W. L. said that a cradleboard was formerly used but that 352
his children were all raised in a cradle hammock, consisting of a cloth or piece of blanket, two ropes and two sticks. The ropes were suspended parallel, the edges of the blanket fastened to or around the ropes, and the sticks placed at the ends of the blanket to keep the ropes apart.

123. Any difference in treatment of legitimate and illegitimate children 848 [836]

W. T.—No difference because Delaware never had latter. Young folks did not play around—old folks watched them too close.

Marriage and Its Incidents

131. Courtship

Captain Chipps—Courtships are brief. If a man sees a 584
woman whom he likes, he gives her presents, and persuades her [936]
to sleep with him. Should they be mutually pleased, they afterwards live together as man and wife. The consent of parents on the subject is seldom asked—although it is considered proper [595]
to consult parents on the subject. If a marriage is consummated as above, and the parents are displeased, they use their exertions to separate the young couple—they fail, however, for the newmarried couple elope, when the alarm is sounded. There is no ceremony of marriage but the above.

E. R.—Both girls and boys were told to accept the first pro- 584
posal they received. The old people kept telling them this and 577
to show what might happen to them if they did not do this they 539
told the following story. Once there was a girl who was very pretty, one boy after another wanted to marry her but she did not care much for any of them and would not listen to her old folks. Then one day when she was out in the woods she met a very handsome young stranger. She fell for him, and when he said he wanted to take her home with him, she agreed. He took her into a nearby hollow where he had a very nice home. He told his mother he had brought home a wife and she was very

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534 glad. They settled down there and the girl was very contented.
577 She had a nice home, a handsome husband who was an excellent
539 hunter, bringing in lots of game every day. Things went along like that for about a year. Then one morning when she woke up her husband was not there. She went outside and asked the old lady, who was cleaning up around the fire, sweeping the yard and so forth, if she knew where her son was. The old lady thought he was home and the girl went back in the house to look again. In the middle of the bed a great big bull snake was curled up. She screamed and ran outside and told the old lady. The old lady was mad and said, "So he is playing tricks again," and grabbing a stick of firewood, went inside and began to beat the snake saying "get up you lazy fellow." Her son came out of the house laughing and began to tease his wife, asking her if she was scared. She was so scared she could hardly talk to him. After breakfast during which he continued to tease her, he went off. The old lady then talked to the girl and told her that while she had been there a year, she would not be happy there any longer and that it would be better if she went home to her own people. She went back home after being away almost a year. Her folks were glad to see her. She was pregnant and after a while got sick. She went off in the wood by herself and was very sick. Two little boys were playing in the woods and saw her lie down by a big log. They watched her die and going near her saw little snakes crawling out of her mouth, nose, eyes and ears. When the boys told the old folks what they had seen, they went out and looked at the body. They did not know what to make of it all but thought that that was what came from rejecting the first proposal the girl received.

[754] His old folks told E. R. that they did not know just how it all happened but thought that one of the fellows the girl had turned down had used power to get the snake to marry the girl and also used power to deceive the girl's eyes into thinking she was seeing a man. E. R. says the old folks were glad the old days were gone and that there were no longer people who could do things like that. Also they were glad that the days were gone when a person had to do things according to rules whether they were right or wrong.

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134. Any ceremony of marriage 585

LINDESTRÖM says that only chiefs had anything considered a marriage or any ceremony of marriage, the common people mating promiscuously.

JOHN JOHNSTON—The young couple have nothing to say to each other till the bargain is made by the parents then the young man gives a present of goods to the parents of the young woman and they are considered married. [584]

CAPTAIN PIPE—There is no ceremony of courtship and marriage in these degenerate days. Anciently, when the father ascertained that his son desired to marry, if he was of proper age, he sought for him a suitable partner in the person of some female of his acquaintance, and carried to her father a bundle of presents, making known to him at the same time the object of his visit. If the father of the female accepted the present, it was a signal of his consent to the union and the visitor returned to declare the result of his visit to his son. On the following night the female was conducted by her relatives to the lodge of her intended husband and there delivered to him. The day succeeding was taken up by the relatives of the bride in carrying to those of the groom large presents of corn, squashes, etc., together with pouches and other ornaments, the produce of female labour, and they also gave her a kettle for cooking. This was the conclusion of the ceremony, and the new married couple then set themselves at work to provide for their future subsistence. Instances of refusal to comply with the wishes of the parents have seldom been known. 584 585

J. W.—(See last paragraph of his autobiography under discussion of element 103, *ante*, p. 104.)

139-144. Polygamy

JOHN JOHNSTON—They generally have but one [wife] for they consider it wrong yet they some times have more. The one that can exercise the most bodily strength is considered superior. They (form one family) when the women can agree but if they cannot agree they live separate. 592 595

CAPTAIN PIPE—Formerly each man had but one wife, but now they are permitted to marry as many as they can maintain,

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592 who generally form the same family, the youngest having the
595 husband's preference. But if they cannot agree to live together they reside in separate cabins and receive the visits of the husband when he deigns to make them.

CAPTAIN CHIPPS—Polygamy is common with the rich—but "one woman is generally a match for a man," and with the poor, there is never more than one. If a man has several wives, he treats them equally well—they compose one family.

J. W. refused to comment on polygamy, while W. T. denied that there were ever any cases.

W. L. said that a person might have two or three wives but did not do so commonly. Reported that Sam White Turkey had three. Children by each were considered members of one family.

148. Polygynous sororate obligatory

595 JOHN JOHNSTON—If the man appears to regret the loss of his
587 wife and shuns the intercourse of women for a number of months, the relatives of the deceased will present him a suit of new clothes and give him to wife a sister or some other relative of his former wife, the same mode is adopted with regard to the women.

W. T. said both sororate and levirate if the relatives of the deceased insisted, but not otherwise.

158. Following divorce children stay with mother

586 CAPTAIN CHIPPS—If they have children, the parent to whom they are most attached takes and provides for them—there is no equal division of children.

W. L.—Children might stay with mother although father often kept boys.

165. Illegitimate children injurious to reputation of mother

848 CAPTAIN PIPE—So far as regards the reputation of women who have children without being married it is affected much as that of the whites. They secure to themselves a good deal of contempt and worthless fellows for their husbands.

168. Proportion of married women without children

842 ZEISBERGER, CAPTAIN CHIPPS, J. W., and E. R. all said the proportion of women without children was unknown. HECKE-

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WELDER and JOHN JOHNSTON said that the proportion was rather more than among the whites, the former attributing the cause to the introduction of liquor. 842

W. T. denied that there were any sterile Indian women. W. L. said that he knew of two cases.

169. Number of Children 163

ZEISBERGER gave the usual number of children as 4 to 6 in one place, whereas in another he said 8 to 12.

HECKEWELDER said that generally there were 4 to 5 children in a family, while some families had 6 to 9, and a few had as many as thirteen.

173 and 174. Age of marriage

VAN DER DONCK said that both men and women commonly got married only when they were fit to do so. 582

DEATH AND ITS INCIDENTS

The following accounts touch on so many points not treated by the others or each other that they are given here in their entirety. 128

CAPTAIN PIPE—As soon as life leaves the body some distant relative of the deceased takes upon himself the charge of paying the last offices. Two men and two women, not related, are employed in washing and dressing the body, (now in a white cloth; anciently in a newly dressed skin,) which is laid upon a kind of platform where it is kept one day previous to the interment. This time was formerly three days in summer and seven days in winter, because they supposed that the tutelar deity of the deceased might restore them to life; but at this day they seem to have little faith and are apparently anxious to get the corpse out of sight as soon as decency will permit. The two male attendants prepare a coffin in which they place the body, and it is borne by them to the grave, preceded by the relatives and succeeded by the more distant friends. The grave is dug about three feet deep and the coffin is covered with earth as among the whites. Before they knew the use of boards the grave was lined with bark and the body pro- 764 [177] [761 776]

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764 tected by a covering of the same before throwing in the earth. At the grave one of the relatives renders thanks to the bystanders for their assistance and the mourners return home.

765 For six days after the interment the near relatives visit the grave twice in each day; once at the break of day, and again at the going down of the sun. In the latter case they frequently remain until late at night. They seat themselves upon the grave, and not a word is spoken, but each is bowed down to the ground [178] in perfect silence. These visits are said to be made to the deceased who may not have set out upon his journey to the land of spirits and would of course like company during his stay.

They have no particular ceremony of mourning except that they abstain from games, dances and other amusements for twelve days, which by the husband or wife of a deceased person is continued for nine months, at the end of which time the relatives of the partner of this chief mourner make and present to him or her a new suit of clothes and formally pronounce their willingness for another marriage. They never paint themselves during the mourning season, as is the custom among the Chippeway's, but they divest themselves of all unnecessary apparel and of their ornaments, and suffer their hair to flow loosely about their necks.

769 It is customary among them to offer the first fine products of 765 the hunting season and the first fruits of the earth at the grave of the deceased. The meat or vegetables being cooked are carried thither by the relatives and a guest not connected with the deceased, is invited to eat that portion which would have been his if living. Silence is preserved during the feast and when it is finished the guest addresses the deceased in a kind of prayer, assuring him (or her) of the extreme regret of the friends left behind and imploring him to rest satisfied with the great change and not to return for the purpose of taking away any of the remaining relatives. Mr. Conner once saw the sister of a chief buried upon the banks of White River and this prayer was addressed to her by her brother, before the earth was thrown upon the body. They sometimes omit the ceremony of the feast at the grave, after a short time, but it has been known to continue for years, and is often renewed upon the appearance of any mis-

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fortune which can be attributed to the malignant spirit of the deceased.

They never burn the bodies of the deceased persons, nor do they take up the bones for reinterment. They say that the Nanticokes were in the habit of placing the body of the deceased upon a scaffold, where it was suffered to remain until the flesh decayed, when the friends and relatives assembled to pay the last duties to the bones. At this time a dance, called the Spirit dance, took place, in which they had the figure of a human being drawn upon a skin which was stretched over a hoop and suspended in the air. Under this figure sat the singers who continued their songs all the night, for if one of them thro' indolence or excessive fatigue stopped his song, it was an indication of his speedy death. The day succeeding the dance the friends assembled again at the same spot and large presents were distributed by one of the near relatives of the deceased. This man held in his hand a small ball, and placing himself in the midst of a circle formed by the spectators he would pretend to make frequent attempts to throw the ball out of the ring. At length he would throw it where it was least expected, and he who was so fortunate as to catch it received a portion of the presents. This was repeated until all the goods were given out, and at each return of the ball the figure on the skin was made to bow to it. After the distribution of the goods the bones were collected, put into a kind of box and buried in the ground. If a death happened at a distance from the village, as in hunting or on a journey, the flesh was separated from the bones by cutting, the bones were burned until they became perfectly dry and then transported to the place of burial, where the same ceremonies took place.

As Mr. Heckewelder has said, many ceremonies take place at the interment of a distinguished personage, which are not common on other occasions; such are distributing presents, feasting etc.; but the general customs are such as have been here related.

They sometimes put articles of furniture or clothing in the graves, as a gun for a man, a kettle for a woman; but this is not considered necessary, and arises only from the desire of the relatives to express some marked esteem for the deceased.

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764 At the head of a warrior it is common for them to place a white post, upon which is represented in hieroglyphics the tribe to which he belonged, the number of engagements in which he had been engaged, of scalps which he had taken, etc.; but no post is placed at the graves of women.

763 It is very customary among them to take leave of their friends when death approaches. In this they generally exhort them to good conduct, to live in harmony with each other and thus to procure the favor of the Great Spirit, and success in their undertakings. Some of them who have led improper and dissolute [761] lives dread very much the approach of death, but others die in perfect reconciliation to their fate. They generally die in possession of their mental faculties to the last moment, but to this many exceptions are found, resulting from the nature of the disease or the impression which the idea of death may have upon their minds.

764 J. W.—Two men and two women not related to deceased were chosen to take care of things relating to funeral. In the death of a man, the men prepared the body while the women cooked; the women prepared the body of a woman while the men cooked. [768] The relatives divided and distributed good articles left by the deceased among the persons who served. Old, much used articles were put in the grave.

The face of the deceased was painted as in life. The body was dressed in Indian clothes which had to be new. If the deceased did not have new clothes, they made them.

The corpse was kept until noon of the day after death before burial. It was placed in bark house outside of dwelling. Moccasin game played on south side of fire. Two pairs of moccasins were used but only one bullet. Towards morning (three o'clock) one pair was taken away. Points in the game were counted with about one hundred little sticks. After the one pair of moccasins [525] was taken away the winner of a counter threw it into the fire. The game is not played now but some one, usually one of the attendants, sits up all night with the corpse. No feast accompanied the game but food was available for all visitors.

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In the morning all the people lined up east of where the corpse 764
was laid, and one of the male attendants shot a gun eastward over the heads of the assembled friends and relatives, then handed the gun to the other male attendant who also shot it in the same direction.

In the case of a deceased man, just before the burial there were two men chosen, who went off and talked about the deceased. Then they got twelve little sticks about three or four inches long which they gave to a woman, not related to the deceased or his widow. This woman conducted the widow once around the grave before the corpse was covered. She proceeded counterclockwise and on each step placed her heel just ahead of the toe of the foot on the ground. She led the widow by joining their left hands. The widow was careful to step in the footsteps of her conductor. After the circuit of the grave, the conductor walked off in the same manner, and putting each stick in her mouth for an instant handed it over her shoulder to the widow whose hand had been released. The widow threw sticks alternately over each shoulder until all twelve were gone. Then while the conductor was leading the widow farther off, the attendants commenced filling the grave. Except for the reverse of the sexes the same procedure was used for a widower.

The corpse was placed in a casket at the head of which there was a hole and also a red painted cross (like a large X). For- [767 782]
merly the chief got down on one knee before the grave was filled and talked to the deceased, telling him to forget those who were left behind and not to bother them. Old Man Hill does it now. He had a vision giving him the power—not every one can do it. No one can do it for his own family.

Formerly a house 12′ by 6′ was built over each grave, using six logs on each side and then covering the structure with clapboards. Now only posts are erected at the head of the graves, all of which are headed to the East. The post differs for men and women. That for a woman has a crosspiece like a Christian cross; the ends of the crosspiece and the top of the upright may carry diamond-shaped figures. These figures or the plain ends are outlined with red paint and six crosses are painted in red on

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764 the upright below the crosspiece (also like large X's). The post for a man is a simple upright, the top of which may be carved into an elaborate triple diamond-shaped figure or not, but at any rate the top is cut at an angle so that there is a sharp edge uppermost. Red paint is also put on the top of the man's post, but only four crosses are painted lower down on the post.

Immediately after the burial there was a feast on the east side of the grave. Food was furnished by everybody; that brought by relatives was kept separately on the north side of the grave. Relatives ate the food brought by nonrelatives, while non-
765 relatives ate food brought by relatives. Man who talked at grave talked again at end of feast, and if the deceased belonged to the Wolf division, announced the coming of another feast twelve days after the death at the home of the deceased. At this second feast there was the same division of food between relatives and nonrelatives as at the feast at the grave. This second feast was not held among the Turtle or Turkey people unless there was some Wolf mixed in.

Every evening for three days after burial the relatives visit the grave and build a little fire which is immediately put out. Just a little fire is all that is necessary—it blazes once and then
[775] is blown out—it sort of liberates the spirit of deceased. Usually only one person visits grave. Do not visit grave after three days.

The widow must not change her clothing until the feast at the twelfth day. She eats off same plate. The woman attendant takes care of her, she must not do anything for herself—must not touch food, touch hair with comb or anything else—wears gloves. Her attendant washes her hair and body just before the feast and dresses her in new clothes, furnished by deceased husband's relatives. She stays home for these twevle days—does not even walk out without her attendant. No other mourning except that she cannot marry for a year. Same thing for widower. Near relatives observe care for a year.

763 A person about to die knows everything going on—reviews his life—knows everything—tries to say it with last breath.

764 W. T.—The body was prepared by two men and two women,
767 who might be related or not. It was washed, painted, combed

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and dressed in best clothes. There was no payment to persons 764
performing these services. The corpse was kept until noon of 767
the day after death. During this time the relatives and others
played moccasin game with four moccasins and two bullets. The [525]
grave was dug about four feet deep with the head to the East.
Never put anything into the grave. After the grave was filled
in the folks of the deceased who took care of the bereaved spouse
led him or her once around the grave, clockwise, natural steps,
not holding hands, but spouse was careful to step in the tracks
of the leader. Twelve sticks were thrown away during this cir-
cuit. Spouse was then led away from the grave. He or she then 765
visited the grave every evening about six or seven o'clock for four
nights, made a little fire, just lighted it and immediately blew
it out. Talked to deceased at this time. During these four days
relict did not wash, comb or paint. Was attended by the kin
folks of the deceased. At the end of this period he or she was
washed, combed and dressed in new clothes—sometimes offered
new spouse in the person of the sister or brother of the deceased
to take care of him or her. Always accepted. Formerly, two
years passed before relict was told to go free if not given a new
spouse at the end of the four-day period. Two years was too long,
so about one or two hundred years ago the time was reduced to
one year. Relict did not attend games, dances, etc. for one- or
two-year period. Other relatives observed same mourning as
relict for four-day period.

Preacher prayed after death and also at burial—talked to 764
deceased and told him to forget those who were left and to go 782
home and be happy. Graves were surrounded by trees laid in
a crib about three feet high and then covered with boards. Posts
were erected at head of graves of both men and women. The
posts might be painted or not. Diamond-shaped figures carved
on posts were not Delaware but Shawnee, as were the painted
figures or crosses. The post for men carried a crosspiece, whereas
that for women was an upright with a pointed top. Said that
the only feast offered the deceased was before burial.

E. R.—After death fix bark house outside of dwelling in which 764
corpse was placed with head to East. In the house there were fires

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764 on the north and south sides. Men assembled on the south side and the women on the north. They sang with drum accompaniment and played the moccasin game with two pairs of moccasins and one bullet. There was a feast before sundown. Burial was before sunup the day after death. The chief or some old man prayed and talked to deceased. All circled the grave clockwise, each [782] throwing in a little dirt. The chief then talked to the widow and [589] told her not to get married for a year. She must not attend dances or games for a year. The widow and immediate relatives did not wash, comb their hair or change their clothes for four days after a death. A widow visited grave irregularly and left food the same way. A crib of logs, four to six fest high, was placed around the grave and then covered over. A stick two to three inches thick was placed at the head of every grave. The point of the stick was six to seven inches long and painted red. There was a difference in the sticks for men and women but not sure just what, believed that women had a cross which was painted.

179 and 180. Corpse painted by unrelated person

W. L.—Body was prepared by two men and two women appointed from nonrelatives. One man marked the face of the deceased with paint and then one of the women came along and added some marks.

181. Corpse kept—nights before burial

Captain Chipps—The funeral in warm weather is attended the day after death. In winter the body is kept three or four days.

183. Burials extended.

Both Van der Donck and Lindeström said that a corpse was buried in a sitting position and placed either on a wooden block or a stool.

189. Take up bones and reinter

765 Lindeström said that the body was buried a few days after death, then for a period of about a month the departed was mourned, at the end of which time the body was disinterred and

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the bones cleaned and placed on a shelf on a rack where they were 765
allowed to decay, with no further attention being paid to them.

194. Mourning

LINDESTRÖM said that after the racking of the bones (see under 189) there was a further period of fourteen days of mourning, making the total at least forty-eight days and perhaps longer.

JOHN JOHNSTON—No particular length of time (for mourning).

CAPTAIN PIPE said that widow or widower observed mourning for nine months but practiced elements listed on the table as 195 to 197 inclusive, only during twelve days.

CAPTAIN PIPE, W. T. and E. R. See verbatim accounts given above, pp. 111-14, 116-18.

W. L.—Some terminated the mourning on the fourth day and others on the eleventh or twelfth day. Widow can marry then if she wishes.

195. Widows hair long and unkempt

VAN DER DONCK said that in certain cases the women shaved off their hair when their husbands died.

198. Widows and widowers do not remarry

W. T.—See account given at beginning of this section, p. 117.

199. Termination of mourning

JOHN JOHNSTON—They are affected in the same manner as the whites and their grief wears off by degrees.

W. L.—Widow is attended by some one of the relatives of the deceased up to the fourth, eleventh, or twelfth day and is then washed, dressed in new clothes and turned loose.

200. Visiting of grave.

CAPTAIN CHIPPS said that visits to the graves of deceased [769]
friends were frequent and that prayers were made for the salvation of souls of the deceased, but did not say how long they continued.

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202. Relatives observe mourning

765 JOHN JOHNSTON—All the relatives and some times more [observe mourning], according to the rank sustained by the deceased person.

206. Belief that bodies will be restored

775 CAPTAIN PIPE said that formerly the Delaware believed that bodies would be restored.

CAPTAIN CHIPPS—Thinks that he lived on the earth in "the olden time," from the circumstance of his being born with his ears bored, he thinks also, that if his spirit should go to Heaven, after death, he may be again restored to life.

207 and 208. Disposition of property of deceased

768 In the cases where an answer appears in only one alternative it means that the property of the deceased went first to that group and the other group had second choice.

LINEAGE

209. Nations divided into tribes

619 Whereas all the others said the Delaware had three divisions, Turtle, Turkey, and Wolf, CAPTAIN CHIPPS appears to have considered the question in a little different light, for his eight tribes are, *Oo-nóm-ma-u* or Delaware, *Mùn-see*, *Mo-hi-ga-ny* or Stockbridge, *Wau-pon-no* or Mohekan, *Waùb-ping* or Opossum, *U-sópe-see* or Esopus, *Oo-nàh-ti-co* or Nanticoke, and *Scàh-ti-co*.

213. Tribes are exogamous

[582] See J. W.'s autobiography in notes under 103, *ante*, p. 104. The rules he talked about the old folks having were concerned with family and division relationships. He could not give any of the rules, but it is apparent that one of the things talked over by the old folks was the propriety of the proposed marriage as to blood lines and clan affiliations. Marriage might be either within the clan (as they call each of the three divisions) or without.

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Chiefs

216. Civil chieftainship hereditary 643

Captain Chipes said that the brother of a chief, if he behaves well, must be named as chief in preference to the son and that the sister's son also succeeded in preference to his own son, all of which was determined by the council.

E. R. thought that the chieftainship was hereditary but was not certain of the succession.

221. Election of civil chief

Captain Pipe—At the creation of the world the Great Spirit 643 himself resided with the Indians and regulated their intercourse 666 with each other. When he left the earth he told them that he would depute a person possessing all his own virtues, at whose death they should choose a successor having as nearly as possible the same qualifications. Since that period the office of chief has been elective, yet the election is not made by the people. Merit alone ensures to a man this distinguished honour. There is among them a body of men called *Lupwaaeenōāwuk* or Wise Men, (the [623] plural, from *Lupwaaōākum* wisdom and *Lūnnos* a man). These men from their conduct in early life receive the attention and respect of the aged and as they grow in years they gradually assume the power which is attached to the wise men or counselors. At length they are received as members of that powerful body and become officially interested in the proper regulation of national affairs. All civil affairs are conducted and ordered by them and when the office of chief becomes vacant they assemble and in the presence of the *people* they consult together upon the qualifications of the aspirants and having decided they appoint another meeting for his inauguration, to which, as to the first, they invite the nation generally. At the appointed time the *Lupwaaeenōāwuk* together with the elected chief and such spectators as choose to attend, assemble at a grand lodge prepared for the purpose, and one of the body in a speech adapted to the occasion declares to the people their choice and then turning to the chief addresses him on the importance of a firm, independent

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643 and upright course of conduct, of good examples from the heads
666 of the nation etc. During the speech the speaker holds in his hand a belt of wampum, which he places around the neck of the chief, telling him, "now you have the speech, see that you keep it, and adhere to the advice contained in it."

CAPTAIN CHIPPS said that all the tribes elected the chief for the others, excluding from the election the tribe for whom the election is held. He also said that the principal chief was always from the Wolf tribe, but was elected by the other tribes. In view of his statements that the brother must be chosen over the nephew or son, and the nephew over the son, and that the chief could name his successor, it is possible that here he means the other tribes installed the new chief.

All four modern informants said that the council and the people in joint session elected the new chief.

ZEISBERGER said the election of a new chief was made by "the captains," by which it may be assumed that he meant the war chiefs.

225. Civil chief can be removed

643 CAPTAIN PIPE—As chiefs are elected by the will of the people, in the same manner they are removed from office. Not by direct accusation and trial however, for they are careful not to
[571] arraign an individual publicly before the nation whether he be great or low, but by neglecting to invite him to councils or refusal to listen to or execute his orders. This being done by the aged and influential, whose motives are made known at proper times, the neglect becomes general, the people contemn his authority and he is gradually lowered down to the private station, whence he does not attempt to rise but by a long course of good conduct or by some extraordinary effort of genius or political intrigue by which he can overpower his enemies at a single movement.

228. Age of succession of chief

JOHN JOHNSTON—No particular age, it depends on the ability, information and qualifications of the persons.

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CAPTAIN CHIPPS—They cannot be *principal chiefs* until they are 50 years old. 643

J. W.—35 to 40.

W. T.—Formerly, when Delaware lived to age of 300 years, a man had to be 70 to become a chief.

E. R.—Over 25.

W. L.—No particular age.

232. Boundary line between civil and war chief

CAPTAIN PIPE—Formerly the authority of the War and Council chiefs was distinctly defined. To use their expression, in a time of peace the war chief sat in the ashes, but upon the declaration of war the village or council chiefs took his place, and the movements of the war depended solely upon him. At this day however they have equal authority in treaties and the like, that is to say, according to their influence as men.

238. Body of counselors

JOHN JOHNSTON—The Counselors are appointed or chosen by the people according to their merit. Their duty is to assist in any good work that they are doing and to promulgate and cherish order. 623

CAPTAIN PIPE—The ceremonies attending the appointment of chief are practiced also at the reception of one of the wise men into that formidable body, excepting the placing a belt around the neck, which is not used at all. The Lupwaaeenöäwuk are not restricted to any particular number, but accessions are made of such as merit an admission from the general tenor of their lives. The members of this body, or some one of them as occasion may require, are appointed to carry into effect the orders of the chiefs, and any employment, however degrading, is considered by them an honour under such circumstances. In the distribution of annuities and of presents their services are indispensible, and while young they carry the kettles of the war parties while on the march. 643 666

Unimportant or ordinary occurrences are considered as within the superintendence of the Chiefs without consultation or advice; such as regulating the internal affairs of their villages, settling disputes, etc.; but affairs of consequence are never acted upon

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643 without the concurrence of the Lupwaaeenŏäwuk, from whom in
666 fact all important transactions emanate. The consultations of these men precede all treaties, declarations of War, etc., and after expressing their opinion as a body each member considers himself individually bound to assist and obey the Chief in the execution of it.

Captain Chipps—There is no particular body of counselors, except the chiefs—they have no stated times of holding councils, and meet only when business requires.

The young men are entitled to sit in Council at the age of 20, and are *then* "their own masters"—they can marry before that period, but are not entitled to the rights and privileges of men until they reach that age.

Councils are seldom called—except on matters relating to war —"the administration of law" is not known. The Council is opened by prayers to the Great Spirit, to give them wisdom. One man is appointed to make speeches, who is to be under the guidance and direction of the chiefs. No others have a right to address the Council—the orator is generally "the smartest man" —"*the best man.*" After the speaker has done, the chiefs make up their decisions,—which are immediately reported to all the people. Prayer closes the proceedings and the Council breaks up. Women are not admitted to the Councils.

J. W.—Council consisted of ten councilors, chief and assistant chief. All were elected by clan (later only for nation) and could be removed. Lately called only for business. Committees were appointed by council for term of two years. Meetings of council every two years. Many committees continued to function past terms if no new council. Speaker was supposed to be the voice of chief and council. (J. W. is now the speaker.) Young men were sometimes admitted to council for training. If council and people could not decide on some matter, the chief had the final voice, it was up to him to determine what the majority seemed to feel.

W. T. said that the council consisted of two chiefs and four other men.

W. L. reported that there were always twelve men elected by the people of the council.

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Justice

246. Use of force by creditor

J. W. said that a creditor or victim of a theft did not use force himself to get restitution but applied to the chief. Failing restitution, the chief appointed a man to punish the offender by whipping. On a second or third offense, the chief appointed two men who tied offender to a tree and whipped him with twelve sticks, using one at a time until all were broken. Whipped him to death, was J. W.'s way of putting it. This he was quite sure was the punishment formerly used. Rape was also punished in the same way. 685 686

247. Redress of civil injuries

Roger Williams said force was used for restitution in case of theft involving different tribes. 681

254. Amount of wampum paid by murderer

Zeisberger said one hundred fathoms of wampum for the murder of a man and two hundred for that of a woman. A person who murdered a relative usually went free. 681 682

John Johnston reported that two hundred fathoms was the amount necessary to close the breach on the first offense, no amount being satisfactory for later offenses of this nature.

Captain Pipe—If a murder is committed the friends and relatives of the murderer collect by their own means and the contributions of others a quantity of wampum, which they deposit with the Chief of their own tribe from time to time until the stock amounts to an hundred and twenty fathoms if the murdered person be a man or an hundred and thirty fathoms if a woman. When this is effected the Chiefs call a council at which the nation, or as many as are so inclined, with the friends of the deceased and the murderer assemble. Here, after a few remarks by way of consolation to the afflicted relatives the acceptance of the wampum is proposed to them, and if they refuse eight fathoms are added to it and the presentation is repeated. If they persist in their refusal eight fathoms more are added and should they still reject the offer the connexions of the murderer [696]

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681 pronounce themselves ready to meet the opposite party in any
682 way they may propose to avenge themselves. The fear of the anger of the nation always induces them at last to accept the wampum and compromise the matter. Great difficulties sometimes occur in procuring the quantity of wampum required by law. Seven or eight years have been thus employed. In such cases twelve fathoms are presented immediately after the commission of the offense, as an earnest of the desire of the aggressors to settle the difference in an amicable manner. The acceptance of this first offering is a pledge on the part of the injured relatives to receive the balance. No other presents accompany the wampum, as is the case among the northern Indians.

The guilty person if he be a worthless man, not respected by his own relatives or by the nation will generally effect his escape if possible, for he cannot hope for assistance in obtaining the quantity of wampum necessary. If he be poor but reputable he will probably "deliver his body" as they say, to the relatives of the murdered, and his life being in their hands they have an opportunity to show their generosity which they frequently seize upon.

Offenses of this nature are very often settled by a much smaller quantity of wampum than that mentioned, but as the law requires the one hundred and twenty or thirty fathoms a refusal to accept less does not meet the displeasure of the nation as would be the case if the legal quantity were rejected.

The murder of an individual belonging to a different tribe in the nation of the murder, is considered as a more heinous crime than if the parties were of the same parent stock, and is treated accordingly.

Captain Chipps—The punishment of death, however, is not sanctioned. The ordinary method of settling a difficulty, is by giving presents of wampum to the person injured—this is by judgment of the Council.

If one kills another, a council is called. The chiefs order the murderer to give to the relatives of the deceased, 200 fathoms of wampum—if he cannot do it, the relatives have the right to kill him, in any manner they please. If the relations do not take up the quarrel, the chiefs do nothing about it.

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J. W. said twelve yards was the required amount of wampum. 681
W. T. said four feet was all that was necessary. 682
W. L. said fifty yards for a man, but one hundred for a woman.

256 to 259. Revenge of murder

VAN DER DONCK—Murder or personal injuries are not attended to by the chief, or friends, except for the purpose of reconciling the parties, for which they use all possible means, and give liberally to effect their object when the offender is deficient in means, which is usually the case. A murder among them is never atoned for without heavy payment. The nearest relative by blood is always the avenger, and if he finds the murderer within twenty-four hours after the act, he is slain instantly, but if the murderer can save himself until one day is past, and the avenger slays him afterwards, then he is liable to be pursued and slain in like manner. A murderer seldom is killed after the first twenty-four hours are past, but he must flee and remain concealed; when the friends endeavour to reconcile the parties, which is frequently agreed to, on condition, that the nearest relatives of the murderer, be they men, women, or children, on meeting the relatives of the person murdered, must give way to them. 627 682

J. W. and W. L. said revenge might not be taken by relatives but by two or three men appointed by chief.

264. Desertion of children

E. R. said that desertion of children was settled in the family. 682

HUNTING

318. Ceremonies

LINDESTRÖM—Now as soon as the winter bids good night, they begin with their hunts, which is done with a fine innovation. Now at that time of the year the grass which grows there, as has been said, is as dry as hay. When now the sachem wants to arrange his hunt, then commands his people [to take a position] close together in a circle of ½, or 1 or 2 miles, according to the number of people at his command. In the first place each one 224 622

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224 622 roots up the grass in the position, [assigned to him] in the circumference, to the width of about 3 or 4 ells, so that the fire will not be able to run back, each one then beginning to set fire to the grass, which is mightily ignited, so that the fire travels away, in towards the center of the circle, which the Indians follow with great noise, and all the animals which are found within the circle, flee from the fire and the cries of the Indians, traveling away, whereby the circle through its decreasing is more and more contracted towards the center. When now the Indians have surrounded the center with a small circle, so that they mutually cannot do each other any harm, then they break loose with guns and bows on the animals which they then have been blessed with, that not one can escape and thus they get a great multitude of all kinds of animals which are found there.

[782 776] 796 The first hunt of the year which they thus obtain (they consecrate to Manitto). When they first have eaten their fill of it and enjoyed their feast they make a burnt offering of the remaining, which they sacrifice to Manitto, i. e., the Devil, but not one animal of it do [they] sell, believing that they through this later will get in their hunt so much the greater blessing. Then they sing and dance and when they become jolly and happy then they cry and sing thus namely: *Hägginj, hā, hā, hā; Hägginj hā; Hägginj hā, Hägginj hā, hā, hā, hā,* etc. Thus repeating and continuing so long a time, so that it reaches well over the forest.

338. Celebration on returning from hunting

[782 776] W. T. said that prayers to the Great Spirit were made at this time, desiring that the favors shown the people be continued as they were appreciated.

CONSTITUTION, PERSONAL APPEARANCE, DRESS, ETC.

342. Extirpation of beard

302 [142] J. W. said that formerly the beard was pulled out but that recently the occasional use of a razor was all that was necessary. W. T. and E. R. said that they never had any beards.

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347. Hair in two queues, one forward, one to the rear 302

W. T. said that formerly the Delaware men wore their hair in two braids, one to the front, and the other to the rear of the head but that recently he and others of the Anadarko group had worn their hair in two braids, one on each side of the face, in keeping with the Wichita, Kiowa and Caddo among whom they lived.

349. Hair fastened behind the head

W. L. said that women did not fasten hair at all until men began to do so and then women braided theirs. Could not be more definite about men braiding theirs, when or whether they braided all of their hair or only the queue.

357. Average height

JOHN JOHNSTON said [height] same as whites. CAPTAIN PIPE 141
said that the average height was between five feet nine inches and six feet.

359. Constitution more rugged than that of whites

JOHN JOHNSTON—Their strength I think is inferior [to the 142
whites] but more active, their constitutions are firm while in the prime of life, when they begin to decline I think they decline much faster than the whites.

WAR AND ITS INCIDENTS

361. Decided upon by council or civil chiefs 721

ZEISBERGER said war was decided upon by "the captains" presumably referring to the war chiefs.

W. T. said that war was not a part of the Delaware way of [172]
life until after the whites came and taught them to make war on each other.

W. L. said that there had been no wars in his time and that he knew nothing about conducting them.

364. Notice of war given

E. R. said that arrows would be sent to the other party after they had tried to settle a dispute by talk, if the other party kept the arrows they knew they had better prepare for war.

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375. Feast

721 ZEISBERGER reported the feast preceding a war party to be of a hog.

CAPTAIN PIPE said it was a bear that was eaten.

CAPTAIN CHIPPS said a bear was eaten if available, otherwise a buck.

J. W. said that the feast was preceded by a fast.

381. March in single file

726 CAPTAIN PIPE—They march in single file so long as they suppose themselves out of danger, but when by their spies they learn that caution is necessary, they separate into smaller bodies and form a solid one, as circumstances and the plan of attack render necessary.

W. T. and E. R. both said that war leader went first and the rest followed "in a herd."

382. Encampment arranged in east-west direction

CAPTAIN PIPE—When the party encamp they cut two long poles which they fasten to stakes at the distance of three or four feet from the ground, on opposite sides. In the centre between these poles two stakes are fastened in the earth from which their cooking kettle is suspended. On each side of the fire the warriors repose themselves having their weapons at their heads, resting against the poles. The leader places himself at the eastern end of this open encampment, the sides of which are generally made to run east and west; and notwithstanding the ease with which a warrior can creep out at the sides, he is compelled by custom to rise and walk in the line between the feet of his companions and go out at the end. Nor is any person permitted to go under the cooking poles in crossing from one side to the other. In the morning they leave the encampment without eating, following the chief, who goes out at the eastern end of the lodge singing his war song as they march.

J. W. and E. R. said war encampments were arranged in a circle.

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384. Guns stacked against pole

CAPTAIN CHIPPS—In marching against an enemy, they regularly encamp at Sunset—the method pursued, is, for the young men to procure two crotched poles and a cross piece, against which the guns are stacked, being first covered with *skin cases*— a fire is built on each side of this, between which and their guns, they take their rest, with their heads towards the guns, and their feet to the fire. 726

386. War chief determines question of battle

CAPTAIN CHIPPS—The chief decides in most cases, upon the expedience of giving battle—in times of difficulty however, he takes the votes of his warriors on the subject. The order of battle is decided in the same way, subject to be altered by circumstances. [725]

388. Any ceremony of victory on field

HECKEWELDER said that there was a dance of thanksgiving upon the return of a victorious war party. 727

W. T. and E. R. thought that there was a ceremony of some kind but did not know exactly what it was.

393. Ceremonies on return if defeated

E. R. said that the few survivors of a defeat in war returned home, pounded a drum and sang a death song by which the villagers knew that they had been defeated and came and condoled with them.

395. Prisoners burned

CAPTAIN PIPE—The practice of burning prisoners is said to have been very ancient. It extended particularly to great warriors, whose capture and death was accompanied with loud shouts by the victors.

399. Age of beginning to bear arms

J. W. said boy might begin to bear arms at 14 years and even accompany war parties but could not be considered a warrior until the age of 35. [884]

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408. Consultation of jugglers before march

721 787 CAPTAIN CHIPPS—There are no jugglers now (1824) living—the last that are recollected lived about 50 years ago—it was customary then for the chiefs to consult them, and be guided by their advice.

410. Women accompany war party

726 CAPTAIN PIPE—Anciently the women were never known to accompany a war party, but since booty has been an inducement they have been much in the habit of joining them.

CAPTAIN CHIPPS—The women seldom go into battle—they have however a right to fight, which entitles them to a place in the ranks—if they behave well, they are as much commended as the male warriors.

415. Scalps taken

727 ROGER WILLIAMS said that the whole head was taken as a trophy.

PEACE

728 *418. Ambassadors of peace carry white wampum*

J. W. reported that an ambassador carried "something" but not necessarily a belt of white wampum.

419. War club as emblem of desire for peace

J. W. insisted that chief left "some mark" at home of enemy chief to indicate a desire for peace but that it was not necessarily a war club.

426. Feasts

CAPTAIN PIPE in the first copy of his account said: The party inviting the assemblage of the council always furnish the necessary provisions for the visitors during their stay, but there are no feasts. In second and third copies of his account, he said there was a council after the preliminary negotiations and: At this council a grand feast was prepared and was accompanied with dancing.

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W. T.—Originally there was no war, hence no peace rules until after whites introduced war. William Penn made a treaty with the Delaware. The delegates (chief, assistant chief, war chief, and councilors) at this and later treaties, met, and talked things over, smoked just like businessmen do today. The white delegates were given food just like Indians always feed any visitors. At the Penn treaty they ate turkey. Thanksgiving day among the whites commemorates this first turkey feast. 721 728

429. Flag of truce

J. W. said that a flag of truce was something blue. 728

GAMES

432. Football

J. W. and W. T. said football was taken over recently from Shawnee. 526

W. L. said that the football game was played with the women against the men. There were two goal posts on the east side and two on the west. Each side tried to send the ball between the posts of the other side. The men had to kick the ball but the women could throw it. Once they appointed a man to help the women. He was mobbed and that was not tried again.

436. Cards

ROGER WILLIAMS reported a game like English cards in which rushes were used instead of cards. 525

VAN DER DONCK said that they played a game with pieces of reeds, resembling our card playing.

W. L. said that seven-up was the favorite game.

441. Hopping

W. T. stated that the game was to see who could cover the most ground in three hops. 524

442. Lifting stones

W. T. said that contests of lifting stones in the old days were really trials of the vision power of the different individuals, for 781 526

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781 526 in those days some through their power were able to lift stones weighing over a thousand pounds with one hand.

447. Moccasin game

524 525 John Johnston described the moccasin game as follows without any mention of its connection with the wake of a deceased person:

Moccasin is commenced by placing a blanket or two upon the ground, placing four moccasins upon the blankets. A small ball is made use of. They draw cuts to know which party has the ball first. One of the party that it falls to hides it under one of those moccasins and one of the other party looks for it, if the ball is under the moccasin he first draws, he had found it, if not one of the same party hides it again and it counts one in their tally, or if he turns over last he has found it and one of his party hides it, but if it is not under the one he first draws or if he turns them up and it is not under the one that he turns up last, it is considered not found and the same party hides it. The party that has the ball to hide sings and the other party is silent. For their tally they use three balls or sticks and every time the ball is hid and not found by the other party, one of those balls or sticks is given to the party that hid it until the three come together which is game and the party that has the balls has beat. They agree how many games they will play for the property that is at stake. They frequently make large bets upon this kind of game especially when one tribe plays against another.

All the modern informants reported this game being played only the night before a funeral.

Dances

448 and 449. Worshiping and common or corn dance

535 John Johnston—They had originally but two and one of them has been described in their mode of worship the other is conducted in similar manner, but they think of less consequence. At this dance the men all dance in front, the women in the rear in a single file at this dance. They have two that sing and beat

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upon their folded skins. They are very exact and expert in these 535
dances. The first dance they call *En, gom, ween* and the other *Lin, ks, o, kon* all other dances which they have they say are borrowed from other nations and they will not own them to be theirs.

Captain Pipe—In the Engomween, or worshiping assembly, [796]
where ancient customs are said to prevail altogether, they always use the left hand. This dance, (for it may be so called,) and the Lĕñkaun, or common dance, are the only dances which they claim as original among them. All others are said to be borrowed.

In the first copy of Pipe's relation, "common dance" might be read "corn dance." This latter interpretation is entirely plausible in view of the fact that all the modern informants immediately recognized the name and the dance as the Doll Dance which involves corn.

450. Buffalo dance

J. W. stated that he had never seen the Buffalo dance but had heard his uncle (probably great-grandfather) tell about it. He thought it probably the property of the Turtle clan.

453. War dance

J. W. said that the Peace dance was formerly the war dance and 721
that the Delaware had not had a real War dance for some time. 535
He had seen it performed however. It was usually given along in August. J. W.'s wife's uncle had a vision that he must take part in a War dance and went among the Shawnee and danced. Took tobacco and made talk; told what happened on warpath, what he had to do even if he did not want to. Showed scalp. Danced in daytime from three o'clock to pretty near sundown. Bad dance. Real ones (warriors or brave men) painted themselves and dressed only in breechclouts and moccasins.

W. T. said the Delaware had formerly had a war dance but that he had never seen it.

E. R. said that War dance was also known as Man dance.

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454. Co-coze-kon dance

535 CAPTAIN CHIPPS described this dance as different from the others. In it they all joined hands and stood in a ring, performing the usual motion of leaping up. He also said that when both sexes united in this amusement, they danced promiscuously.

None of the modern Delaware recognized this dance although W. L. thought that he had heard the name.

It is possible that this is the same dance that Zeisberger described as follows: On the occasion of making or renewing a treaty [149] with another nation a dance very different from the ordinary dance is engaged in. The dancers join hands and leap in a circle for some time. Suddenly the leader lets the hand of one of his partners go, springs forward and turns around several times, by which he draws the whole company round so as to be enclosed by them, when they stand close together. They disengage themselves as suddenly, yet keeping hold of hands during all the different evolutions and changes in the dance; this, as they explain it, represents the chain of friendship; a song, used only at such a solemnity, is sung by all.

462. Women excluded from war dance

721 CAPTAIN CHIPPS in treating of war said that women were al-
562 lowed to share in the great dance given just before setting out
535 on an expedition. In speaking of dances, he said that the Delaware had many different ones, the most important of which was the War dance, which was celebrated immediately after the declaration of war and from which the women were excluded, although they joined all the other dances. This is a contradiction unless one assumes that "to share in the great dance" referred to singing but not dancing. Evidence that such was sometimes the case is found in the following account of HECKEWELDER: After [127] returning from a successful expedition, a dance of *thanksgiving* is always performed, which partakes of the character of a religious ceremony. It is accompanied with singing and choruses, in which the women join. But they take no part in the rest of the performance. At the end of every song, the *scalp-yell* is shouted as many times as there have been scalps taken from the enemy.

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W. L. said that somtimes women joined the war dance, but usually only if they had lost relatives. 721 562

463. Dance in circle 535

W. T. described all dances as being done in a circle with all motion counterclockwise.

E. R. said the dancers moved around the circle clockwise.

W. L. stated that some dances were in circles but there might be several concentric circles. The men always danced in front of the women but in the cases of more than two concentric circles, the innermost formed of men, the next of women, the next of men and the outermost of women. In some dances the women danced on one spot while the men danced all around in pairs or in small groups.

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Commonwealth of Pennsylvania

A STUDY OF THE DELAWARE INDIAN BIG HOUSE CEREMONY

In Native Text
Dictated by Witapanóxwe

By

FRANK G. SPECK
University of Pennsylvania

Volume 2

[Title page]

PUBLICATIONS
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HARRISBURG
1931

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FOREWORD

IN offering this volume of source material to serious-minded readers, as well as to that widening circle of students of American ethnology and the history of religions, it is hoped for one thing that by it the literature on the religious aspect of life of the Indians of eastern North America, far too long neglected by investigators of our schools, will be elevated to a station worthy of consideration alongside the beliefs and ceremonies of native peoples in other culture areas of the continent.

Aside from my acknowledgments to Wi·tapano'xwe, whose genial spirit and fertile mind were the *sine qua non* of the study, I rejoice in expressing them also to certain others; to Albert Cook Myers for having advised me so opportunely in 1928 to apply to the Historical Commission of Pennsylvania for a research grant the very week the Great Spirit sent Wi·tapano'xwe to my office in search of employment; to Dr. H. H. Shenk for his confidence in my ability to carry on the task and for his generous compliance with my desires in connection with it, many of them whimsical I am sure; to the members of the Historical Commission for the absolute liberty granted me during its progress as to time and manner of work; to Florence Insley Speck for the encouragement rendered in her deep respect for and interest in the motifs of Delaware religious performance, to Gladys Tantaquidgeon for her constant encouragement and counsel, and for the indexing, and to Dr. William J. Phillips for critical reading of the manuscript. Indeed, those many individuals vested with administrative authority in the state who have lent their approval and support in various ways to such a project as this one, intended to be of permanent value to our learned posterity, also deserve commendation for their part in the undertaking.

F. G. SPECK,
University of Pennsylvania.

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Wilapasi'xen, "Walking with Daylight." (Photo by W. H. Holm, U. of Pa.)
Narrator of the text, and informant on the Big House Ceremony of the Delaware.

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Introduction and Explanation of the Ceremony

It has long been known that the Delaware Indians had a periodic ceremony of paramount importance in fulfilling their obligations toward a pantheon of spiritual forces. We learn something of such a ceremony from indications occurring in the 17th and 18th century sources, among which figure Denton (1670),[1] William Penn (1683),[2] Brainerd (1745),[3] Zeisberger (1779-80),[4] Loskiel (1794),[5] and Heckewelder (1771-86, 1818).[6] First from the casual writings of Dutch, Swedish and English authors we get glimpses of the ceremony while this famous and patriarchal nation was still residing in its haunts in eastern Pennsylvania and New Jersey. With the westward movement of the tribe, first to the valley of the Susquehanna and later to the Ohio country, the missionaries who attempted the conversion of the Delawares have added their comments upon the great recurrent festival, treating it in terms of cool description or in phrases of fervent condemnation according as their attitudes toward it were determined by their profession.

In the accounts we have, the ceremony is referred to under various titles, some in English, some in Delaware; Cantiko, (Penn, 1683), Gamwing, (Zeisberger, 1779), xingwi·ka'on, The Big House, The Annual Ceremony. And it is not a little strange that even the oldest of them are recognized by corresponding terms still current in the language of the tribe at the present time, as clearly explainable today as though we were still holding conference with native priests and patriarchs who had talked with Penn and his contemporaries. That the great rite was of local interest in the religious life of the allied peoples

[1] Denton's Description of New York, formerly New Netherlands, N. Y. 1670.

[2] William Penn. A Letter from William Penn, Proprietary and Governor of Pennsylvania in America to the Committee of the Free Society of Traders of that Province Residing in London, London 1683 in Narratives of Early Pennsylvania, of New Jersey and Delaware, Edited by Albert Cook Myers, N. Y. 1912, p. 234.

[3] David Brainerd, Memoirs of the Rev. David Brainerd, by Jonathan Edwards, New Haven, 1822.

[4] David Zeisberger. History of the Northern American Indians. Edited by A. B. Hulbert and W. N. Schwarze, Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, n.d.

[5] George Henry Loskiel, History of the Mission of the United Brethren Among the Indians of North America, London, 1794.

[6] John Heckewelder, History, Manners and Customs of the Indian Nations Who Once Inhabited Pennsylvania and the Neighboring States, Edited by W. C. Reichel. Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Phila. 1876.

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796 comprising the Delaware Nation is evident from all sources. That it
174 ruled the spiritual destinies of the Munsee, the Nanticoke, the Mahikan,
171 we know through collateral evidence, and analogous rites are inferred to have existed among the Mohegan on the east, the Powhatan peoples of Virginia and the Algonkian of the Carolina coast. Testimony from modern sources also points to a related performance of equal prominence in the religious behavior of the Shawnee. It would be an oversight besides, not to make reference to certain indications in the recorded discussions of Iroquois and Central Algonkian religion, of periodic ceremonies whose fundamental concepts form more or less a unit with those of the nation we are considering. Such a widely spread doctrine with associated rites of a unitary character assure us of the existence in aboriginal times of a culture-center, as regards creed, among the peoples of the Allegheny forest area, not only among the widely scattered Algonkian-speaking peoples but among others whose early history has been linked by some vague channels with them,
796 for instance the Muskogi and the Yuchi. If it is not going too far, I
174 would venture to repeat the assertion, often made by students of human culture, that the religious concepts of preliterate people express the keynote of their cultural status, that the same are to be regarded as forming their most conservative culture properties, reflecting the entire system of their culture in ramifications leading off to other topics of ethnology, the food-quest, social organization, warfare, art-symbolism, as well as rulings of simple custom and ethical character; indeed where not? This assumption, as we shall see, holds true with amazing consistency in the native civilization of the Delawares. While the pre-
114 viously recorded accounts of Delaware ceremonies, some of them explicit in detail and accuracy, have supplied occasional material for comparative and analytical studies in the ethnology of the eastern Indians, a feeling of dissatisfaction exists in regard to their content. This has been sufficient to cause hesitation on the part of ethnologists in using the records for the purpose of drawing culture conclusions since the accounts have all been fragmentary and recorded in the words of European observers instead of being based upon the expressions of the natives.[1] To have such records made in the words, and with the order and detail of thought of the people themselves is the highest ideal of the student of human institutions, an ideal now set up as the goal of endeavor in research. Accordingly when fate was moved
124 to provide me with a native Delaware informant in the person of
115 Wi·tapano'xwe, a Delaware whose early training, at the knees of his mother, was of the native, non-Christian type, I need hardly say that I laid aside every postponable obligation to devote attention to the

[1] More recently we have been bequeathed the excellent studies of eastern Indian ceremonies in native text by students who have recorded them from the dictation of the Indians, such as Hewitt, Jones, Michelson and Bloomfield.

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task of taking down from his lips his version of the entire doctrine 124
and the ceremony of his tribe at which he had upon so many occasions 115
been present. The results of our combined effort during four months
of writing are accordingly laid forth. The entire body of information,
the arrangement of thought and wording are his; the concepts ex-
tracted from the teachings of his early life, the ritual procedures repro-
duced from memory of participation in them, and the monologues,
are from his memory of repeated hearings by their narrators. The
mechanical task, the notations, are mine.

Few undertakings in my experience have proved so pleasant. 115
Wi·tapano'xwe, or War Eagle, (frontispiece) as he is known in his pro-
fession of herbalist, displayed the patience, the courtesy, and char-
acter of a gentleman. Representing the type once referred to by
Doctor Dorsey as a natural gentleman and sport, the Indian was still
unspoiled by a mercenary and material civilization; the simple-man-
nered, sympathetic, beautifully poised, contented, nature-loving,
thoughtful and mystic Algonkian. He deserves more extensive per-
sonal notice since he typifies Emerson's definition of a great man as
one "who in the crowd keeps the independence of solitude."

Wi·tapano'xwe, "Walking with Daylight," of the Fowl, or so-called
Turkey group (pele')[1] of the Delawares, was born in the Coowees-
coowee district of the Cherokee Nation, Indian Territory, about 1880,
according to his information, and as such he is listed in the records
of the Dawes Commission.[2] His father was a member of the Cherokee
Nation of the West. Being of Munsee descent on his mother's side
he was elected to the Council of the Fowl or Turkey division of this
tribe in 1902, and re-elected secretary of the Delaware executive coun-
cil by the combined Delaware and Munsee tribes in 1921.

The history of the Delawares shows that they have passed through 174
a series of momentous culture transitions before and since the com-
ing of the whites. We assume that before being disturbed by the
northward advance of the Iroquois they, together with the closely
related Munsee, presented a type of culture differing from the after-
period, during which assimilation with the Iroquois had progressed.
Subsequently came the Dutch and Quaker contacts, ushering in a
period which ended at the time of the withdrawal of the tribe from
the east. Then came the period of migration westward, opening
closer association with the trans-Alleghenean peoples (Wyandot,
Mingo, Shawnee, Piankashaw, Miami). Their next move brought
them into the central plains area producing acculturation in external-
ities with phases of Prairie culture as they met such exponents of

[1] One of the three major social subdivisions of the tribe, for definition of which see page 73.

[2] His enrollment name is James C. Webber, under Dawes' Commission Cher-okee Roll No. 31516.

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174 this culture area as the Osage, Kansa, Ioway and Quapaw. Then with
[668] their final repose under the wing of the Cherokee Nation they felt the touch of the northward-moving Peyote cult; this time an influence affecting the religious fibre of the tribe to a greater degree than had any of the preceding associations with other religious forms, not even excepting Christianity. The span of transition is apparently complete. Its angles are numerous enough to confuse the most systematic ethnologist, even if he had the properties of the various culture-periods blocked out for him. Things, however, are not so fortunate. We have no clear or specific knowledge of the first-contact Delaware and Munsee civilization; only scraps of the post-Iroquoian and post-European periods and almost nothing covering the century of migration from Pennsylvania to Kansas and Indian Territory. Amid the obscurity of our knowledge of the famous tribe through these eras the curtain is now raised for us in the twentieth century. And the ethnologist with methodical equipment and the resources afforded him by the present knowledge of human sciences enters the scene to grapple with the long neglected task. Happily for him, some of the Delawares, faithful to their traditions, are still practising their culture. They have retained their tribal organization, their language, their religious creed and rites, their philosophy of life, their psychological content and some vestiges of their industrial and economic past, handed down either through tradition or usage in remote districts among conservative families. Much of their past culture has indeed been fostered through sentiment and love.
121 This is the background out of which we are to construct our picture, to unravel the twisted elements woven into the Delaware culture fabric. From one point of view we are obliged to take the Delawares as they are now, to handle with delicacy the venture in research to discriminate between leather and cloth, sinew and thread, porcupine quills and glass beads and ribbon, stone and iron, in illustrating their processes of ornament and manufacture. Fortunately, equal difficulty does not confront us in dealing with the beliefs and practices of religion, since this is the realm in which man is most conservative; the truth of which statement challenges and astounds us in modern European as well as in modern Indian religions.

A few words of explanation seem to be called for in regard to my plan of arrangement in presenting the material in hand. A general discussion of some fundamental concepts and practices, I feel, is required, preceding the body of the text dictated by Wi'tapano'xwe, though footnote references accompanying the texts will find their connection with the theme. Other notes of an explanatory nature are needed to guide the sense of description through phrases and terms obscure to one not familiar with Delaware culture and the language, and to explain where English idioms have been called into use to

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cover Delaware phrases. In the section giving the Delaware text have been included footnotes explaining and analyzing terms which seem to require elucidation, or which through their idiomatic meanings seem to call for special notation in the eyes of the linguistic student. 121

In the free translation I have attempted to preserve the order, emphasis, terms of thought and wording characteristic of native speech. It is obvious, however, that the translator can not adhere faithfully in his rendering to native traits of syntax and thought composition in all cases; the result would be in English quite unintelligible.[1] Even to attempt this as much as I have, may seem to some readers, not familiar with thought-processes in other than Indo-European tongues, to create confusion in idea, or at least to present some peculiarly twisted expressions. I may remark, however, that both points of view have been given careful and prolonged consideration before the translations have been released. 128

The text, as the informant dictated it, in the course of the four months during which we were engaged, seemed to unfold almost in the character of a canon. He showed a very thoughtful manner in arranging its parts and the wording, conveying the impression that certain sections or chapters had a formal sequence, that certain topics belonged inseparably with it, and that other matters which came in for discussion as we proceeded did not belong to it.

HISTORICAL OUTLINE OF THE BIG HOUSE CEREMONY.—The ceremony which is the object of our study has borne several proper names in historical literature. The formal designation seems to have been G-amwing, a designation for the ceremony used by several of the earlier writers, and still recognized by the Delawares as being a proper term. Yet no explanation of its meaning, to be relied upon, is forthcoming from any of our sources.[2] Of equal prominence is the designation Xinwika'on, "Big House," which in the tongue of the Delawares is a favorite term of reference to both the edifice, or temple, in which the ceremony is performed, and the ceremony itself. This designation predominates in our text. The Delawares are not 796 552

[1] Compare Zeisberger's remarks on the language (op. cit., p. 143). "They are able to express themselves with great clearness and precision, and so concisely that much circumlocution is required to convey the full meaning of their expressions in an European language."

That the language in the middle of the 17th century, even when only approximately recorded, is still intelligible to the Delawares, appears from the following. In David de Vries Notes (1632) (Narratives of Early Pennsylvania, West New Jersey, and Delaware, 1630-1707, Ed. by Albert Cook Myers (1912), p. 16), it is recorded on the 8th of December, that while moored in the lower Delaware River, the Indians declared they would "make a firm peace which they call *raconiyn marenit*." This is the equivalent of ma'wanowòlaŋgu'ndi·n, "all agree to make peace."

[2] The term was no more capable of explanation in Zeisberger's day (1780), it would seem, than it is among the Delawares of today. He says, "This feast is called 'ngammuin, the meaning of which they themselves are unable to give. (op. cit., p. 138).

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796 552 destitute of terms in their own language suitable for denoting religious concepts. We find such formal terms as pa"tamwee'k-an, an abstract term derived from pa"tam- signifying "to pray."[1] This I have translated in the text by variations of its free meaning, as "worship," "religion," "prayer ceremony" to suit the context. Again we find the abstract term kena"mwi·n employed as a synonymous title for the ceremony, for which I have been obliged to give the same rendering in English. And even another which was likewise noted by the missionaries of a century ago, ka'ntika, (kan·t'ka". "he is dancing),[2] a composite term with the meaning of persons dancing in a line and pushing something forward, occurs in reference to the great ceremony as well as to other performances of a like nature in Delaware sacred conduct. And again we encounter the term menda'won, with the meaning of "House of Earnest Pleading," employed in the text to denote the ceremony. The informant thought that this term might be of Munsee derivation.

779 192 These terms point to a theosophical system and practice among the Delawares possessing considerable maturity of form and content. Indeed it impresses one, in meeting with the various religious terms employed in reference to the creed and practices of the tribe, that a well-rounded ecclesiastical system exists therein. There is little impoverishment of expression and much order and mature thought in the picturesque symbols developed within the complicated framework of figurative speech.

Such terms as "imploring in earnest," "sadness of mind," "blessed with fortune," "religious commandment," "customary teaching," "religious inspiration," "humility," "reverence," "ritual," appear with full voice of religious thought that we are accustomed to expect in religious forms of a relatively advanced character. They evince a

[1] Terms of similar derivation occur in Algonkian dialects south of the St. Lawrence and the Great Lakes (paba't-am, Wabanaki dialects). Northward the designation is related to forms of Cree-Montagnais aiamie'win, "prayer" comparable with Delaware aya'ndamen "to wish for, implore."

[2] A term denoting a ceremonial dance, with an interesting history. Chamberlain (Handbook Amer. Inds. Bull. 30, Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 202) reviews the term Cantico, as employed by the Dutch and English, tracing reference to it to 1664 as designating a death dance, to 1653 (Van der Donck), describing it as singing and dancing of the young, Dankers (1679) as conjuring the devil, Denton (1670) as a festival time. Nelson (Indians of New Jersey, 1894, p. 79) cites Hesselius as calling *Kinticke* a sacrifice or a festive gathering of the New Jersey Indians. The Munsee form of the verb is *ginikaen* (Brinton, Lenape Dict. p. 40) while in Zeisberger's vocabulary it appears as *genigoen, Cantico*, or dancing matches at festival time in which the spectators beat time with a stick upon the ground and sing (Daniel Denton's Description of New York formerly New Netherland, 1670, quoted by A. B. Skinner, Indians of Greater New York, 1915, p. 34) while *Kintika*, mentioned by Gov. Prints of New Sweden, as a means of serving Satan among the Delawares (erroneously rendered by Johnson, as "holy man or medicine man," Amandus Johnson, The Swedes in Delaware. N. Y. 1911, p. 379, fn.,) may be the first appearance in European sources of the word as denoting ceremonial dancing. The stem occurs in dialects as far away as the Wabanaki (Malecite, *ginie'kmuk*, "dance hard").

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deep religious feeling. And such expressions as "pitifulness," "spiritual yearning," "conviction of unworthiness," "earnestness of mind" are met with to found a still deeper impression of the term-formality in what would constitute a true religious vocabulary. We should also bear in mind that these are the familiar expressions of the professors of paganism, who have carried over their spiritual terminology from the ancient paganism of their ancestors. These terms are not borrowings from the tongues of Delaware converts to Christianity; for the terms adopted by the latter have been refused admission into the Pagan religious glossary.[1]

There is, indeed, much to attest an almost classical form of diction in the sacred phraseology; clear evidence of the organized position which Delaware holds in the scheme of Algonkian thought and semantics.[2] While the earlier sources found in the writings of missionaries deal sketchily with the phenomena of Delaware religion it is evident that their authors were incapable of gaining an insight into the spirit of native Delaware worship through two obstacles of considerable importance. First, their religious conviction would be sufficient to prevent them from inquiring sympathetically into the pagan doctrines involved, while the second consideration, namely, the esoterism of the pagan worshippers themselves, would in those days have been a barrier to the admission of outsiders into the Big House. We can catch glimpses however in the descriptions of the missionary authors dealing with what were to their eyes hideous practices of superstition or deviltry, of performances which coincide with some fundamental elements of the greater ceremonies.[3]

Were it not for the study of Delaware institutions made by Harrington over a period of some years, and published in several papers and

[1] The discrimination between religious denotations used by the pagans and the Christians is illustrated in the term denoting the soul, lan·apeɔ'k·an approximately "human substance" among the pagans, tci·'tcang among the Christian Delawares. While the latter term has wide analogies in cognates among practically all the Algonkian-speaking tribes its use has been expunged among the pagan element of the tribe, or at any rate avoided, because of its adoption into the phraseology of the missionaries and converts.

[2] A striking example of Delaware synthetic verbal construction in dignified discourse is the following which seems worthy of consideration, ɛ·'li· pl. "pan·dawənaninga ki·kayo'yəmənani'gga ə'n·da we·'l·taxkənotəmixti·t· . . . . "for so we have heard the deceased, our ancient deceased people of the past, when they were explaining the many things . . . ." (See page 115).

[3] Zeisberger op. cit., pp. 127-140; Heckewelder, op. cit., pp. 206-214, 239-248.

The short description of the Annual Ceremony written over the signature of R. C. Adams (Notes on the Delaware Indians. Report on Indians Taxed and Not Taxed. U. S. Census, 1800, p. 299) should also be considered, as well as the volumes by Dr. Brinton, largely secondary sources, which will be referred to by Roman numerals in my study when occasion requires quotation from them.

I. D. G. Brinton. The Lenape and Their Legends, Phila. 1885.

II. D. G. Brinton and A. S. Anthony. A Lenape'-English Dictionary, Historical Society of Pa. 1888.

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memoirs, our knowledge of the organized religious institutions of the tribe would at the present time be a blank. His contributions, accurate and trustworthy, should be consulted in connection with my study.[1]

Mr. Harrington who, between 1907 and 1910 made collections of ethnological specimens for the American Museum of Natural History, New York, and the Museum of the American Indian (Heye Foundation), incidentally devoted attention to a wide range of topics in the culture of both the Delaware and the Munsee. Aside from the publications mentioned he has manuscript material which has not yet appeared in print. On the whole our studies, as independent sources, coincide in content upon the points which are dealt with in common. I have, however, deviated from his precedent in several details. His use of the term Lenapé, which is the term the Delawares employ in referring to themselves,[2] I have discarded as a proper name for the people, preferring the term Delaware. Another matter which I have regarded in a different light is Harrington's use of the designation Unami for the Delaware proper throughout his publications for reasons of "convenience."[3] This name is not generally recognized in the tribe, there being many, including Wi·tapano'xwe, who had not heard of it until the question of its bearing had been raised. Upon the occasion of his return to his tribe in 1929, however, he inquired for particulars and learned from some older people of Munsee extraction that the eponym Unami was a Munsee term applied to the Delawares before the removal

[1] The titles of Harrington's reports on the tribe, which have come to my notice, are as follows in the order of their importance. In referring to them I shall use the Roman numbers affixed to them.

I. Religion and Ceremonies of the Lenape, Indian Notes and Monographs, Museum of the American Indian (Heye Foundation) 1921.

II. A Preliminary Sketch of Lenape Culture. American Anthropologist, Vol. XV, No. 2, 1913.

III. Vestiges of Material Culture among the Canadian Delawares, Ibid. Vol. X, No. 3, 1908.

IV. Some Customs of the Delaware Indians, Journal of the Museum, Univ. of Pa., Vol. 1, No. 3.

[2] Lon·a'pe denotes "common, human, ordinary man," in short "bourgeois." Heckewelder adds the meaning of "pure, unmixed" to the element, and also conceives it to have the sense of "original," in support of which he gives some satisfactory evidence (Heckewelder, pp. 401-2). Its use as a proper tribal name has a long antecedent. Heckewelder (op. cit., p. xii) remembered when the Delawares thought that the whites had given them the name Delaware in derision, though he says, they became reconciled to it on being told that it was the name of a great man, Lord de la War, which had been given to them and their river. As they were fond of being named after distinguished men they were pleased, considering it as a compliment. (cp. also Zeisberger, p. 145). The same author in discussing the appellation Lenape, which he says signifies "original people" from Lenni Lenape, adheres to the proper name Delaware in his work. Passing mention seems called for of a far-fetched attempt on the part of Zeisberger to extort an origin for the name Delaware from a native verb (Zeisberger p. 114) to which he himself, however, gave little weight. From lon·a'pe has developed an interesting abstraction; lon·a'pe·ɔ'k·an "Delaware, or human, soul," in the sense of meaning the principles of Delaware cultural life, as does also the synonym endalau'si·ɛgw, "our manner of life," a commonly recognized term.

[3] Harrington I, p. 124.

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of the combined tribes from Kansas about 1867. While the Delawares in Oklahoma are undoubtedly of the Unami division, as it was called by the Munsee, I have decided against the use of an alien term as a name for them. It is worth noting, at this point, as a possible aid to a future student of Delaware ethnography that Zeisberger employed the term "Unami Tribe" to designate that division of the people "which lived nearest to the sea."[1]

The Delawares of Colonial times were described as including three affiliated nations; besides the "Unami," just alluded to, the Munsee, and the so-called Unalachtigo. Whereas the Munsee had from the early period continued to exist as a group under their own name, separately from the Delawares both in Canada and the United States, and the "Unami" have been identified with the main body of the Delawares, we are not so fortunate with respect to the fate and identity of the Unalachtigo. While I am not urged to discuss the probability in full, it seems to me that evidence stands in favor of the conclusion that the people called Unalachtigo, whose identity has puzzled most of the writers applying themselves to Delaware ethnographical problems, are none other than the "Naraticons" of southern New Jersey under the guise of a dialectic name.

The Naraticons, to begin with, are given a prominent position as occupying an extensive territory in southern New Jersey. There is, in addition, a village called Naraticonk given a location on the Jersey side of the Delaware River opposite "Fort Cristina" near the mouth of a creek of the same name, now transformed into Raccoon Creek. These locations are given in a map of the region referring to a period about 1655.[2]

Acrelius (1759) also mentions "Narraticon's or Raccon's Kihl."[3] Lindeström (1656) and DeLaet (1633) mention the same name and place.[4] Brinton[5] produces further evidence on the name and says that the Unalachtigo (properly W'nalachtko for which he offers the meaning, "people who live near the ocean," from wunalawat,[6] "to go towards," and t'kow or t'kŏu, "wave"). He believed that this geographical division had its seat on the affluents of the Delaware, near Wilmington. Brinton moreover, refers to Lindstrom and Vander

[1] Zeisberger, op. cit., p. 114.
[2] Map of N. J. Vlascher, in New York Public Library, reproduced in Narratives of Early Pennsylvania, West New Jersey and Delaware (1630-1707) Edited by Albert Cook Myers, N. Y. (1912). For a series of local native place names of this district see also the record of the Court at Upland, Pa., 1676-81, Pub. Hist. Soc. of Pa. 1860, and Peter Lindeström (1654-6), Geographia Americae, with an account of the Delaware Indians. Ed. by Amandus Johnson, Swedish Colonial Society, Phila., 1925; and Amandus Johnson, The Swedish Settlements in Delaware, 1638-64, N. Y. 1911.
[3] Rev. I. Acrelius' account of Swedish churches in New Sweden. Albert Cook Myers, op. cit. p. 66.
[4] De Laet (1633) N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll. 2nd, S. I., p. 303 (1843).
[5] Brinton, I., pp. 36-7.
[6] Delaware, na'welast', "to follow."

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619 Donck locating the Naraticons as the southermost tribe in New Jersey
101 on Raccoon Creek, and adds the supposition that Naraticon, "is simply a translation of the Delaware nachenum,[1] raccoon." Evidence seems sufficiently strong to assign a location in southern New Jersey for a branch of the Delawares called Naraticons. We may, however disregard Brinton's attempt to explain the term, in favor of an attempt based upon this interesting term coming from native sources. The prominence of the name Naraticon on the map referred to and the extent of territory would seem to accord with its position as one of the three tribal constituents of the old Delaware nation. The term itself has interesting possibilties under analysis. In Delaware its correspondent nala'tkaŋg, "up stream where they live," (abbreviation of nalaha'tokaŋg, compare also nahi'tokaŋg, "down stream where they live."

Harrington thought that the "Unala'tko" had lost their identity and merged with the Delawares in Oklahoma, since he was unable to locate survivors there under the name.[2] Heckewelder[3] refers to the Unami and Unalachtigo as the divisions of the Delawares that settled nearest to the sea. This author is responsible for recording the information that created the discussion arising since his time over "totemic affiliations" of the three geographical subdivisions of the Delawares with the Tortoise (Unami) Turkey (Unalachtigo) and Wolf (Munsee).

To the Delawares the Nanticoke are known as Wone't'ko (plural wone't'kowak).[4] Some families of them migrated westward with the Delawares and kept up a distinctive form of burial as well as their language until about 1875. No information through living sources or printed records discloses testimony to indicate that this tribe performed the Big House ceremony. The informant had, however, heard the older Delawares in Oklahoma discuss the question of Nanticoke participation in the Big House. It is known that the Nanticoke performed in company with them, but it was not thought that the Nanticoke themselves had ever had the full ceremony.

796 Zeisberger has treated the ceremonies of the Delawares of his day
114 in a section covering some five pages of his book.[5] It would seem, however, if his narration is an accurate one and if his descriptions of the six or seven separate ceremonies were correctly observed and so separated in the religious practices of the tribe, that composition has taken place since his time. For the independent "feasts" which he describes are recognizable parts of the Big House ceremony and ritual of subsequent times. This nevertheless is an inference which further

[1] Brinton I, op. cit. p. 42.
[2] Harrington I, pp. 13, 124-5, and II, pp. 206-9.
[3] Heckewelder op. cit. pp. 51-3 and 250.
[4] The meaning of the term in Delaware is obscure.
[5] Zeisberger, pp. 130-141.

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information may alter. We can not be certain whether his integration of the rites was an actual condition holding true for the ceremony of the period, or one resulting from his style of writing down what he remembered of native customs after some years of retirement from the Indian country. The procedures followed by the Delawares in the four or five "feasts" he describes for us are all embraced within the Big House performance as we know it later. And, rather than discredit the force of living evidence based on the rites as performed by the Nation now, I would prefer to correct the information recorded by the observant but unsympathetic missionary. For, indeed, the ceremony shows itself to have a complex capitalization, its ritual extending through every form of worship, including individual, family or "clan rites," that we have mention of in any of the Delaware accounts. The Big House capitulates the elements of certain minor feast ceremonies held on special occasions by families.[1] The great annual ceremony seems to stand as an entity, one that does not submit to any assumption of recent origin in its present form of organization. Through the close resemblance it shows, element by element, with the Munsee corresponding ceremony, the two tribes were apparently performing it as a national religious institution before 1700, when they separated in the east, one division to go westward, the other to Canada. So it also seemed to Harrington.[2]

Unfortunately Heckewelder, who knew the Delawares so intimately, declined in his book to treat the topic of ceremonies, referring the matter to the previous narratives of Loskiel, whose knowledge we know was not gained from intimate contact with the tribe.

Reverting to consideration of the fate of the Big House in the succession of moves which the Delawares made in their two-century traverse from New Jersey to Oklahoma, we can only trace definite memory of the "temple" and ceremony to the final period of the tribe's residence in Kansas from about 1867 on. While in Kansas the Big House was located some five or six miles east of Lawrence.

The informant gave the following facts concerning the reconstruction of the building and the rehabilitation of the ceremony after the tribe had settled down to residence in its present seat in northern Oklahoma.

"In the Cherokee country the Big House of Little Caney River was reorganized by men of the Yellow Tree or poplar band. Three men were pa'·man·axgu'xwe, ne'ni'pai, and ehalu'xola'nd, whose names in order mean "Man Moving Around," "The One Who Stands," "Man

[1] Throughout the year there is a series of local feasts, some esoteric family ceremonies apart from the communal Big House worship. These are being studied in text and prepared for presentation in a separate memoir.

[2] I am drawing this inference of basic unity in fundamentals of the Munsee and Delaware forms of worship upon the conclusion reached by Harrington, pp. 196-197), after he had studied the Munsee rite.

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796 346 Who is Carried Around." Their descendents still carry the burden of the worship. They belonged to the "Wolf" group (Tu'k^{m}si^{l}t). For this reason the Wolf group claims the right to sponsor these exercises now, and holds the majority rule in the present Big House deliberations. And in my judgment they will always rule hereafter. The present house was built three or four hundred yards to the southwest of the present spot but on account of its inconvenience it was moved to where it now stands, and one acre was set aside by the Dawes Commission. It was remodeled by us after a deliberation in September 1913.

796 [735] "The ceremony has not been "taken in" for four years,[1] the last one being led by Frank Wilson (E'm·a^{s}). Poverty has driven them to neglect it. And also the loss of the wampum beads which one time numbered about one hundred and twenty-eight Indian yards, all of which has nearly disappeared for it has been sold to other Indian tribes, to white people or to Museums as relics."

796 171 Speculations upon the origin of the ceremony would be quite out of order from the ethno-historical point of view, but Delaware traditional history has no such hesitant attitude. As the myth develops we observe how the inception of the idea of the ceremony is laid to the revelation made in dreams to chosen leaders among the Munsee. Opinion seems quite general among the Delawares that the original conception of the ceremony is a Munsee one. This is interesting because it locates the ceremony in the northerly group of the three tribes forming the so-called Delaware Nation. It is fortunate that we have, from the pen of Harrington,[2] a treatise on the Munsee form of the Big House ceremony for the purpose of comparison and evaluation as far as the material provided in the several accounts will permit us to go. At present there seems little to point toward proof of priority for the Munsee phase of the worship, except for the quasi-historical estimate of the Delawares themselves. A feeling of respect for the Munsee is general among the Delawares. They are held in high esteem for their former bravery and, strange to say though natural enough in the regard held by Indians for such matters, for their indifference to economic and material affairs and devotion to those of a spiritual nature.[3]

648 797 ESOTERISM OF DELAWARE RELIGION.—In the missionary descriptions of 170 years ago, chiefly from the pen of John Heckewelder, we hear constantly of the inner spirit of aversion held toward the whites, and the distrust felt by the natives concerning the motives of all Euro-

[1] This was written in October 1928.

[2] Harrington I, pp. 127-161.

[3] Illustrative of this sentiment several Delaware observations may be recalled in reference to the Munsee. The latter, it would seem, are held in high esteem for their bravery and ability in spiritual matters, yet were noted for an indifference to dress and economic properties, in which respect the Delawares think they stood out in contrast with them.

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peans. The Moravian missionary brothers laid some stress on this situation as it affected their own interests and those of the colonies at large. They saw ample reason for such feelings in the occasion of the atrocities committed upon the Indians by the border whites culminating in the massacre of the defenseless converts at Gnädenhütten by Pennsylvania militia (1782).

Heckewelder, knowing the Delaware through fifteen years residence in their midst (1771-1786), words the following brief expressing his own view of the matter. "Long and dismal are the complaints which the Indians make of European ingratitude and injustice. They love to repeat them, and always do it with the eloquence of nature, aided by an energetic and comprehensive language, which our polished idioms cannot imitate. Often I have listened to these descriptions of their hard sufferings, until I felt ashamed of being a white man."[1]

As for the testimony of the Delawares themselves, Heckewelder quotes the speech of a war-chief Pachgantschihilas,[2] delivered in 1781 to the Moravian converts at Gnädenhütten. After recapitulating the events which had happened before in their relationship with the whites, he concluded, saying, "I admit that there are good white men, but they bear no proportion to the bad; the bad must be the strongest for they rule. They do what they please. They enslave those who are not of their own color, although created by the same Great Spirit who created them. They would make us slaves if they could, but as they cannot do it, they kill us! There is no faith to be placed in their words. They will take him by the hand, and at the same moment destroy him. And so you (addressing himself to the Christian Indians) will also be treated by them before long. Remember! that this day I have warned you to beware of such friends as these. I know the long knives; they are not to be trusted."

Eleven months after this speech was delivered by this prophetic chief, ninety-six of the same Christian Indians, about sixty of them women and children, were murdered at the place where these very words were spoken, by the same men he has alluded to.

There seems to be little need of going further with details of this topic since it is so thoroughly covered in the manuscripts of the earlier writers who had opportunities of observing the transition period of Delaware contact with civilization. In the treatises of two missionaries alone, fifteen pages are devoted to the interracial problem.[3]

[1] Heckewelder, op. cit., p. 76.
[2] Paxkandji'hi'las, "Person Running with Body and Soul."
[3] Zeisberger, p. 121-2; Heckewelder, pp. 71-85; Loskiel, pt. III, chap. 10. See also de Schweinitz, "The Life and Times of David Zeisberger, Phila. (1870).

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648 Neither time nor closer association with Europeans has caused this feeling to disappear among the Delawares.[1] We observe the persistence of the same spirit in the sentiments conveyed in the text, the reverence for the *mores* of the past, the attitude of adoration toward their ancestors who, although ignorant pagans, possessed a mystic wisdom and intelligence which, they are willing to concede, surpassed the endowments and knowledge of the present generation.[2]

Yet notwithstanding the attitude of the Delawares toward the whites, we must not be misled, by consideration of the antipathy and distrust expressed since colonial times, into regarding the same spirit to have characterized their religious motives. For several authorities besides the narrator of the text coincide in telling us that the ceremonies of placation performed by the tribe are maintained for the benefit of all mankind. The white man is to be blamed for the existence in the mind of the Delaware of the feeling in favor of segregation. Yet the Delaware is willing to extend over his enemies the blessings resulting from his devotions.

771 The informant's own attitude is interesting as expressed in his own words.

"The Big House is regarded by the Delawares as the supreme re-
[778 ligion among all forms of worship on the Continent. The center post
532] with the carved faces of the two sides is the foundation, whose topmost

[1] J. Morse (Rep. to the Secretary of War on the Indian Tribes, New Haven, 1822, p. 110) alludes to the Delawares of 1818 as "having a peculiar aversion to white people." Heckewelder still earlier had much to say about the causes of dissension, op. cit., p. 191.

[2] Note the spirit manifested in a communication from the Delaware Council to the Historical Commission (June 1929) "We are proud to have such a wonderful opportunity, so that our children will take pride in the work of their fathers to preserve our sacred Delaware tradition." While the hold of the old doctrine may be losing its grasp upon the younger generation of Delawares, we have some evidence of a reactionary trend in sentiment towards its rationalization. Not so long ago one of the Christian Delawares,
[182 moved by a zealous, evangelistic impulse, arose and advised the conservatives to abandon once and for all the Big House ceremony on the ground that it was part of an age of superstition and ignorance. The opposition accorded this appeal was surprising and unexpected. The individuals behind the move for abandonment were, as it happened, uneducated themselves. Some of the defenders of the old faith, women who possessed good education in government schools, responded by accusing the intruders of incompetency to pass judgment on the merits of the contending creeds, by reason of their own ignorance; in not being able to read the testaments of one nor grasp the meaning of the other. Religious conservatism is a marked characteristic of the nationalistic element in the Nation. It is even asserted that they regard their migration from the east to have been in part prompted by a desire to preserve their religion. Dr. Michelson, who visited the tribe in 1912, was impressed by their tenacity of creed, (Smithsonian Misc. Collec., vol. 60, No. 30, p. 35) upon which Harrington also makes comments (I, op. cit., p. 200).

In an unpublished note to the original manuscript of Rafinesque's Walamolum (1833) now in the Brinton Library of the University of Pennsylvania Museum, the author gives a handwritten fragment of Delaware history from 1600. It is a bitter native lament voiced over the decline of the tribe, pronounced by a chief and translated by a John Burns, with mention of the removal from the east to west of the Mississippi and finally to the Osage country.

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end pierces the sky extending to the throne of the Great Spirit, whose right hand is resting on top of it as a staff to hold a great power given to the red man. All other Indian worship is a branch of this belief. When the rules are faithfully carried out in accordance with the ways of the primitive Delawares, it governs even the religion of our white brothers, perpetuating happiness, health, and prosperity among all nations the world over. In regard to the center post which is said to link the Creator with his chosen people; it is considered a very important feature of the religion. There should be a special authority to explain the significance of the center post in order that its real value in the Indian world be brought out. This being done the other Indian nations would be able to understand this great worship which now only the Delawares know."

A word or two of comment on my own estimate of the character of Delaware religion may not be amiss. If the student of the religious systems of pre-literate peoples feels inclined to disparage the quality of thought and the symbolism of the rituals of other North American forms of worship, I imagine that his objections, on the basis perhaps of their fetishistic traits and their lack of spiritual refinement, would be removed in weighing the qualities of Delaware concepts and acts of reverence toward the powers beyond. Close attention during the two years of study to the intricacies of the Delaware doctrines has impressed me with the conviction that we have here a real religion in a simple form. Inculcated in its followers are virtues (we'lhik) that no one would question as being of an ennobling nature, for instance humility of spirit and conduct,[1] dependence[2] upon the benevolence of the spirit forces, gratitude[3] for the blessings they bestow, supplication[4] for the continuation of blessings, the exemplariness of "clean" sincere behavior toward man and spirit,[5] altruism,[6] consideration of the afflicted and the aged,[7] the apostrophe against violence and war,[8] the value of concentrated spiritual unity in worship, the assumed dignity and barbaric grandeur[9] of the rites, and in particular the endeavor to insure and promote human health and welfare[10] irrespective of tribe or race. All are well worthy it would seem of respectful consideration, to which should be added that the procedures of the paramount

[1] tamak-e'landamowa'k-an, "pitifulness in attitude."
[2] liyo'ndowak-an.
[3] owe'landamowa'k-an, "thankful satisfaction of mind."
[4] mas'mendowa'k-an, "earnest pleading."
[5] pi·'tsowa'k-an.
[6] lape'mkwus-i-n "act of making oneself useful."
[7] wi'mbendowa'k-an, "sympathy."
[8] wolangosowa'k-an, "peacefulness." (aspale'tamowak-an)
[9] woli·'nakewsowa'k-an, "fine appearance."
[10] kwe'namowa'k-an, "universal blessedness."

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771 114 ceremony are framed in richly symbolical acts, impressive to the civilized as well as the uncivilized observer, participated in equally by the congregation of worshipers, young and old, great and humble. That the Delawares produced a religion in the real, almost classical sense, will not, I believe, be strenuously denied even by the proponents of other creeds, at least those of the more liberal type of mind. It might indeed have become a great one of the mediaeval type had it been linked with the destinies of a militant aggressive race, with its native humanitarian ideals, its precepts of altruism and humility, its lyrics, its litanies and mysticism.

But after all, whatever the civilized reader, no doubt himself an adherent to some creed accused of being equally as superstitious if not as picturesque, may call these religions, there they stand as they evolved—lasting symbols of the strange systems of thought that have appeared and almost vanished in the changing pageant of human history.

772 346 778 THE DELAWARE COSMOS, THE BEAUTIFUL WHITE PATH.—It is rather difficult to grasp the Delaware scheme of things. The cosmos in terms of the Big House is a dual symbolism; one realm being that of the celestial universe embraced in terms of time and space; the other, the tangible realm of the human in the midst of the concrete. The two are fused in the symbol of the Big House. The term Big House has to the Delaware a symbolical value much deeper than its descriptive one, for we discover that the Big House stands for the universe; its floor, the earth; its four walls, the four quarters; its vault, the sky dome, atop which resides the Creator in his indefinable supremacy. To use Delaware expressions, the Big House being the universe, the center post is the staff of the Great Spirit with its foot upon the earth, its pinnacle reaching to the hand of the Supreme Deity. The floor of the Big House is the flatness of the earth[1] upon which sit the three grouped divisions of mankind, the human social groupings (Pole", Pukowa'ŋgo, Tu'k"si·t) in their appropriate places; the eastern door is the point of sunrise where day begins and at the same time the symbol of the beginning of things; the western door the point of sunset and symbol of termination; the north and south walls assume the meaning of respective horizons; the roof of the temple is the visible sky vault. The ground beneath the Big House is the realm of the underworld while above the roof lie the extended planes or levels, twelve in number, stretched upward to the abode of the "Great Spirit, even the Creator" as Delaware form puts it. Here we might speak of the carved free images, the revereneed masi'ŋgok, the representations on the center pole being the visible symbols of the Supreme Power,

[1] Lamha'k·l·ye "earth here below," so the inhabited world is referred to. The Delawares also know this as ketchak·l·ye, "great earth" meaning the main body of the earth.

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those on the upright posts, three on the north wall and three on the south wall, the man-i't-u of these respective zones; those on the eastern and western door posts, those of the east and west. Of the man-i't-u or "spirit-forces," both specific and general, more will be said later.

But the most engrossing allegory of all stands forth in the concept of the White Path,[1] the symbol of the transit of life, which is met with in the oval, hard-trodden dancing path outlined on the floor of the Big House, from the east door passing to the right down the north side past the second fire to the west door and doubling back on the south side of the edifice around the eastern fire to its beginning. This is the path of life down which man wends his way to the western door where all ends.[2] Its correspondent exists I assume in the Milky Way, where the passage of the soul after death continues in the spirit realm.[3] As the dancers in the Big House ceremony wend their stately passage following the course of the White Path they "push something along," meaning existence, with their rhythmic tread.[4] Not only the passage of life, but the journey of the soul after death is symbolically figured in the ceremony as will be explained in note III in the appendix.

The ceremony symbolizes the transit of the year period. Its twelve nights of performance represent the figure of the twelve moons, its progress from east to west the course of the sun, its varied symbolical rites the events in the passage of life's orbit from beginning to end.

We learn that the White Path is "our Father's, the Great Spirit's road," upon it human life proceeds in its course, which grand movement is symbolized by the dancers as they tread the "White Path" of the "Big House." By another allegory we have the clearing away of impediments from its surface in the intervals between the dances by the efforts of the Attendants who use the wing feathers of "pure" birds, such as the eagle, with which the "Path" is brushed clean. Here

[1] We'll-op-ske-xing. "Good or Beautiful White Path." Also weiau'sit motoma'k-an, "Righteous Path."

[2] The Delaware, like his Christian brother, admits that it is hard for feeble man to walk in this path without erring. The concept has deep possibilities for discussion from the point of view of ethics and life as the pagan sees them.

[3] The symbolical association between the "White Path" and the Milky Way is not definitely proved by Delaware information. By some strange circumstances it seems, the Delawares can not furnish the native name of the Milky Way. Persistent inquiry among the older men both at Dewey and at Anadarko, Oklahoma, by V. M. Petrullo have failed to procure it, likewise correspondence with Joe Washington and J. A. Parks, prominent members of the Delaware Nation. Therefore the association is my own theoretical assumption, an interpretation of our data, and upon the analogy offered by other Algonkian beliefs in which the Milky Way is generally the "Spirit or Ghost Path" over which the soul of the deceased passes to the realm above. The only Delaware equivalents for Milky Way so far obtained are pe'mi-ki-ci'k'tek "across marked" or "across smoky way," and a notion that it is compared with a cowlick of hair, paxtcanhwing, "where the hair is parted," which may be discarded as far as their bearing upon the question here as concerned. This important point calls for solution.

[4] The term ka'ntska implies this figure. (See page 12).

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796 is the symbol of the function of these noble birds, helpers of man, who
778 with their wings sweep the obstacles of disease and witch-craft from
772 the path which the Delaware treads to his final destiny.[1]

[774 824] Among the many noteworthy poetical concepts of which Delaware imagination is capable is also the thought that the trees, themselves spirit-forces, are calling forth in prayer to the Creator when the wind blowing through their foliage causes a rustling, or sighing as we would say.[2]

As life proceeds on its course under the gaze of the Supreme Power through the entire universe, with his minions posted around about in their respective quarters, so the Delawares performing in the Big House gyrate in their symbolical course in the shadow of the carved images. The symbolism of the harmonized progression of the celestial and terrestrial plane-realms is consistently carried out in thought in every performance and ritual connected with the Big House. Then there are the minor symbols of force, "Grandfathers" likewise; the guardian of the game animals, represented by the Mask Spirit, the mesing'hali'kan, the tobacco, the cedar, the wampum, the red paint, the feathers, the winds.

796 An essential point to the understanding of the Big House ceremony is that it is conducted under the sponsorship of one of the three subdivisions of the tribe.[3] And while the obligation as well as the honor of conducting the ceremony fall collectively upon the members, there is one among them who has personally assumed the religious duty involved in issuing the invitations, in appointing the officers for the different branches of service, and particularly in defraying the numerous expenses which arise in connection with bringing so many people together for a fortnight.[4] The responsibility of the occasion is voluntarily assumed by the giver, or as he is called in Delaware, tami'"ke't', the Bringer-in." Men imbued with a desire to acquire a spiritual blessing through their religious attitude, or to recognize some blessing enjoyed, are usually the ones who answer to the inner call of duty.[5]

[1] The significance of using feathers of the nobler birds comes out in Delaware in the carrying of fans made of eagle and hawk feathers, in the wearing of feathers in the hair, and in the use of the decorated feather wand in the recently introduced Peyote ceremony. The feathers dispel evil influences from the umbrage of their wearers, the fans sweep away malevolent agencies.

[2] This passage is contained in the text of a prayer made at the opening of spring-time dictated by Wi-tapano'xwe.

[3] The three sub-divisions of the Delawares, the so-called Tortoise, Turkey, and Wolf groups, have evoked no small amount of discussion (Morgan, Brinton, Harrington). They are, however, not yet thoroughly understood. Some facts connected with these groupings are dealt with farther along, though only so far as they require mention in connection with the Big House.

[4] The informant estimated the cost of performance to be about $150.00.

[5] Since, moreover, there is the conviction that welfare of man at large rests upon the performance of the ceremony, that a world catastrophe is warded off by it, the attitude of the host is one pervaded with generous altruism. (Compare Zeisberger, op. cit., p. 136; and Harrington, I, p. 115).

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It is expected that the announcement be made before the members of 796
the tribal council at one of its meetings prior to the time of notification. In the instance of our text Wi·tapano'xwe decided to recite the ceremony as though it were brought in and sponsored by Chief Elk-Hair, the present head chief of the Oklahoma Delawares whom Harrington referred to as an active ceremonial leader in 1910.[1]

CONCEPT OF THE SOUL.—A distinction observed between the phrase- 774
ology of the unconverted and the Christian Delawares in referring to the soul, which has already been mentioned, is of some significance in this connection. The former group employs the term lonape·o'k·an "human sign, or evidence of existence." The terminal element, -ok·an appears in combinations le·x'le·'·xe·yo'k·an "breath of life, actual life" meaning "my life"[2] (le·xe·'yan, "my breathing"), wihila·'ok·an "clan-name emblem." Its obscure abstract meaning, however, seems to lie beyond the scope of any specific English equivalent. The Christian Delawares use the term tei·'teang giving the significance in Delaware of an image, an appearance visible but without substance, an incorporeal image or phantom as an image in a mirror. The same term actually designates a mirror in the language.

The second term, now of the Christian Delaware religious vernacular, has a wide distribution among eastern Algonkian languages indicating that, while the synonomy noted has taken place in Delaware since the introduction of Christianity, the element tei·'teang for soul is an archaic property of the family of tongues.[3]

We are told that the soul leaves the body twelve days after death, [775]
that the life blood ("huk") remains as a spirit on the earth, whence arise ghosts or phantoms.

The heart is the seat of one soul, the blood the seat of another spir- 774
itual element. The heart and blood should be kept together after death 764
(for which reason the Delawares do not believe in embalming). The blood of the dead is the element from which the dead reappear to the living on earth in the form of ghosts. It is considered as the cause of paralysis and so was curable through appeal to the dead. We might refer to the funeral rites of the tribe which carry the burial customs over twelve days after death when certain feasting and rites are performed at the home of the deceased. And again these are repeated twelve months later in a yearly ceremonial feast to the dead. At the [769]
feast the opposite clan group has an important part to play.

[1] Harrington I, pp. 14, 87.

[2] A more general term for "life," in Delaware, is pema'usowak·an, with the sense of "being among the living."

[3] Mitschitschank, Munsee (Brinton, Lenape Dictionary, p. 83): djedja'kew, Wabanaki (St. Francis and Penobscot); atca'kew (Montagnais-Naskapi); tea'teung (Mohegan-Pequot); (mi)chachunck, (Natick, where the analogy between soul and mirror is also found (Trumbull, Natick Dictionary, pp. 325, 290, 571); and the same in Narragansett, (Roger Williams, Key to the Indian Language, p. 113); and (mit)tachonkq in the Quiripi dialect of western Connecticut.

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774 Zeisberger over 150 years ago was attracted sufficiently by the interest attached to these terms to devote attention to them in a paragraph which coincides with and corroborates the testimony of today.

"They consider the soul to be an invisible being and a spirit. Formerly, they used the word *Wtellenapewoagan* to describe it, meaning "Substance of a Human Being." Savages use this word to the present day. Now they have accepted the word *Wtschiltschank*, that is, "Spirit." They believe also in immortality of the soul, some likened themselves to corn which when thrown out and buried in the soil comes up and grows. Some believe their souls to be in the sun and only their bodies here. Others say that when they die their souls will go to [775] God and suppose that when they have been some time with God they will be at liberty to return to the world and be born again. Hence, many believe that their souls have come from God and that they have been in the world before."[1] The journey of the soul from the time of death until it reaches the abode of the Great Spirit has been revealed in a vision to Chief Elkhair and will be found in the appendix, note III.

776 THE SUPREME DEITY.—The concept of a supreme creative force is a well defined property of Delaware belief, denoted by the term ke'tan'to'wit, the close equivalent of which is "Great Power" or "Great Spirit." The same force is denoted as kice'lamu'kaong, "Creator." Herein lies the concept of the authorship of life and creation, but as to details of the character and appearance of the Supreme Power we have here no more to rely upon than we do in the case of other creeds whose notions of the ultimate divinity are equally vague. The Great Spirit, however, is "Father"[2] to the Delawares, whose supplication in all the endeavors of life are constantly directed to him, whose gratitude is constantly expressed to him in endless variety of thoughts recognizing him as the source from which come the blessings of the universe. A realization of the frailty of human power is deeply imbued in the mind of the Delawares. Without the guidance of their "Father," life to them would be hopelessly futile. But the minions of the Great Spirit, the "grandfathers," or man-i't-u of the universe created by him and the elemental forces of Nature are also remembered in the worship of the Great Spirit. As we observe the carved images of the Great Spirit adorning the center post of the Big House at a greater height than the surrounding images on the side posts, so the Great Spirit resides in his abode above the lesser Gods who inhabit the air, the earth, the water, and the underworld. In the topmost of the twelve "levels of light" (pi'tao'pan-e) he dwells. He holds a staff that reaches downward to the earth and is symbolized in

[1] Zeisberger, op. cit., p. 131.

[2] The consanguinity of man and the spirit-forces is to be discussed further on page 32. The only exception, among the eastern nations, to the habit of regarding the Great Spirit as Father, seems to be that of the Shawnee to whom the personage is nocomgon-a "Our Grandmother."

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the center posts of the Big House, to repeat what has already been observed. Thus the middle post with the two largest images carved on its opposite sides, east and west, is the emblem of contact between the Great Spirit and man, a symbol of the maintenance of life. Extending, as it is believed, from the earth to the twelfth tier of the heavens, the right hand of the Great Spirit rests upon its top. "It holds steadfast the Delaware religion and it is the base of all other Indian religions."[1] To him in his twelfth heaven, as it were, the worshipers in the Big House "lift their prayer" in unison by raising their voices in the prayer-call, "ho" given twelve times. With the prayer sticks, twelve in number, (six plain and six decorated with burned stripes, fig. 24) thrust in the air toward the top of the center posts where the mask-images stare placidly upon them, the worshipers lift their prayer to him as evidence of their fidelity.

There is, in addition to the synonyms given as denoting the Great Spirit, another interesting appellation recorded in 1670 among the Delawares of New Jersey by the Dutch travelers Dankers and Sluyter.[2] We are informed that "the first and great beginning of all things was *Kickeron* or *kickerom*, who is the original of all, who has not only once produced or made all things but produces every day." Brinton with his usual easy conviction reveals the "significance of this word," giving it the rendering of "Life, Light, Action or Energy." He adds "It is the abstract conception back of all these." While the term may indeed have had a place among the synonyms designating the ruling deity among the Delaware of the 17th century, it would seem to have either disappeared in later times or to be a distortion of the title ke'kaya'm'he'a, "governor, elder, or head-officer, president" which our informant affirms is applicable to a man, but not to a spirit.

It is important to note at this point that the term ki'tei ma'nitu, which has such a widespread use among the Algonkian in general as a designation of the Supreme Power is not employed by the pagan Delawares in referring to their deity. They do, however, comprehend the term as meaning "Real Spirit," (ki'tei, "real") not Great Spirit, as it is translated from Ojibwa, Potawatomi and other tongues.[3] Yet

[1] The familiar concept of the sky-tree in Iroquois mythology (Hewitt, Parker) exhibits some analogies to this belief. Its frequent representation in the pictography of the Iroquois has been touched upon by Parker (A. C. Parker, The Tree Symbol in Iroquois Mythology, American Anth. Volume XIV, Number 4, 1912). Similar interpretation seems implied in the ideography of the Delaware Walam Olum (Brinton, I, pp. 170-217), and in the symbolical motives of decoration of the tribes of southeastern New England (F. G. Speck Decorative Art of the Indians of Connecticut, Memoir 75, Geological Survey of Canada, 1915); a topic of research now being pursued by Miss Gladys Tantaquidgeon.

[2] Journal of a Voyage to New York in 1679-80, by Jasper Dankers and Peter Sluyter, p. 268. Translation in Transactions of the Long Island Hist. Soc., (Brooklyn 1867). Quoted and discussed by Brinton, The Lenape and their Legends, Philadelphia 1885, p. 132-3.

[3] So far as the Delaware are concerned the suppositions entertained by some ethnologists who have expressed the belief that this form of the name for the Great Spirit is of Christian origin, are borne out.

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it is still of equal importance to note that ki'tci-mani'tu is employed among the Delaware only by the Christian converts. I have previously mentioned the habit of the unconverted group of the tribe to avoid using religious terms adopted by their Christian kinsmen.

Radin[1] has expressed an opinion quite generally entertained among American ethnologists, that amid the varied types of disposition exhibited among savage as well as civilized people, it is those individuals of a religious and aesthetic temperament that the population finds its religious leaders, and that such minds are, in different races and regions, the authors of definitely monotheistic systems of thought. This seems applicable to the Delawares, for it is the visionaries who hold the preeminence of leadership in the ceremonies and who are at the same time the leaders of thought. They constitute, indeed, an eclectic priestly group in the tribe, though in ordinary life they are but laymen.

As we have it, the worship of the Supreme Deity and the lesser deities in Delaware offers a noteworthy correspondence to holy adoration in the Roman Church—to latry and dulia. Were it not for the fact that the Delawares were never under the ministrations of Roman Catholic evangelists it might seem that the Indians attempted an interpretation of the forms of Catholicism in their own terms, compromising with Christianity by refusing conversion and baptism but assimilating part of the doctrine.

In regard to this Zeisberger writes, "They believe and have from time immemorial believed that there is an Almighty Being who has created heaven and earth and man and all things else."[2] Heckewelder offers practically the same testimony, while earlier and later authors repeat what we also find in our text, a summary of evidence sufficient to establish the fact for Delaware belief that a Supreme Creative power with indications of anthropopathetic qualities, overtops the pantheism.[3] Heckewelder says, "It is a part of their religious belief, that there are inferior Mannittos, to whom the great and good Being has given the rule and command over the elements; that being so great, he like their chiefs, must have his attendants to execute his supreme behests:[4] these subordinate spirits (something in their nature between God and man) see and report what is doing upon earth; they look down particularly upon the Indians, to see whether they are in need of assistance, and are ready at their call to assist and protect them against danger."[5]

[1] Paul Radin, *Monotheism Among Primitive Peoples*, Lond. (1924) (Arthur Davis Memorial Lecture, v. 7).

[2] Zeisberger, op. cit., p. 128.

[3] The entire range of the Delaware religious phenomena, from secondary sources, has been reviewed and discussed sagely by P. W. Schmidt, S.V.D. (Der Ursprung der Gottesidee, Münster, 1929, II Teil, 406-448). Father Schmidt favors the idea of the aboriginal grasp of the Supreme Being concept among the Delawares.

[4] The term eka'laeme denotes the proportion of supernatural strength possessed by the man-i't-uwak, given them by the Great Spirit.

[5] Heckewelder, op. cit., p. 212.

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And also Heckewelder, "But amidst all these superstitious notions, the supreme Mannitto, the creator and preserver of heaven and earth, is the great object of their adoration. On him they rest their hopes, to him they address their prayers and make their solemn sacrifices."[1]

THE SUBORDINATE DEITIES.—The concepts denoted by the term man·i'·tu seem to have been the cause of some perplexity and discussion among students of Algonkian culture.[2] The difficulty has not been so much with the general connotation of the term but as to how it may be translated. Its variants occur throughout the Algonkian family of languages and its application is likewise much the same. The man·i'·tu concept is accordingly a general religious philosophical one, the understanding of which is hardly to be gained from any single source. Hence the use of the Delaware form of the term can contribute to, but not afford a final solution to the problem. And the contribution of the Delaware information is worthy of consideration, although providing no new aspects of thought beyond what has been defined in the treatment given it by other writers. In Delaware the pronunciation of the word is man·i'·tu (plural man·i'·towak'). As to its rendering into English I have come to the decision of using an

[1] Heckewelder, op. cit., p. 213.

[2] Among the foremost contributors to the discussion on this term has been William Jones. ("The Algonkian Manitou," Jour. Amer. Folk-Lore, vol. xviii, 1905, pp. 183-190). Jones proposed a range of limitation to its meaning. "The Algonkian conception of the manitou is bound up with the manifold ideas that flow from an unconscious relation with the outside world. It is embodied in all forms of religious belief and practice, and is intimately associated with customs and usages that bear upon life and its welfare." He concludes, "It has been observed that there is an unsystematic belief in a cosmic, mysterious property which is believed to be existing everywhere in nature; that the conception of the property can be thought of as impersonal, but that it becomes obscure when the property becomes identified with objects in nature; that it manifests itself in various forms; and that its emotional effect awakens a sense of mystery; that there is a lively appreciation of its miraculous efficacy; and that its interpretation is not according to any regular rule, but is based on one's feelings, rather than one's knowledge. Such in very brief statement is the conception of the manitou of three Algonkin peoples,—the Sauk, Fox, and Kickapoo. It seems probable that the same thing holds true of other Algonkians, like the Ojibwa, Ottawa, Menomini, and others of the central group. It would be interesting to know if the same conception in its general features extends to all other members of the family."

A. F. Chamberlain proposed the definition, "mysterious and unknown potencies and powers of life and of the universe," (Bull. 30, Bur. Amer. Eth., Vol. 1, p. 800). Its acceptance into the English dictionary under the definition as "one of the powers or spirits which dominate the forces of nature," seems to bear the mark of Chamberlain's influence.

A. B. Skinner (Jour. Amer. Folk-Lore, vol. xviii, No. cix, 1915, pp. 258-261), employing Menomini and Ojibwa data challenges the definition offered and refers the disputed term to "a God, or Godlike power" (the Supreme Being, or creator and the nature forces), "the supernatural power imparted by one of these gods to a mortal being," and, as an adjective, to "anything mental or immortal, animate or inanimate, which is the seat of supernatural power granted by any one of those beings possessing it." Similar phraseology might be applied to the Delaware conception of man·i'·tu as we encounter it in both living and literary sources.

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776 abbreviated composite term, "Spirit-force"[1] as an equivalent in the translations. Man·i'·t·u is applied to both supreme and the subordinate deities, the symbols of deities, the elements of nature, animals, trees, herbs, the force that dominates them and which transcends to man as a motive agent, and, we may feel assured, many other manifestations of a sort recognized in the inner linguistic and religious consciousness of the Delawares that are quite beyond their capacity to express in English. My idea of the rendering "Spirit-force" for the term is not to adopt an equivalent that is definitive but rather one that suggests the vagueness of the idea we have of it, and yet emphasizes some of the properties implied in the term. Hence I am willing to concede that it might be advisable simply to carry over the native term itself into the translations and discussion. In the choice of the two courses, however, the more economical and unilingual English designation has seemed preferable. It will be time enough later, I believe, to theorize upon the totality of the natural philosophy of the man·i'·t·u concept when we obtain further specific information so much needed from Algonkian groups as yet unstudied.

Returning to consideration of the Delaware term, we find in the anonymous manuscript of Moravian authorship edited by Brinton,[2] manitto, "maker, creator, God," with an emendation by Anthony, the Munsee collaborator, "properly spirit, not maker," (manitou te make.)[3] Harrington[4] ascribes the meaning of "invisible beings," to the term in its plural form (manitowuk) some great, others of lesser influence, who control the phenomena of nature, the affairs of mankind, the entire world as we know it, in some of which good predominates, in other evil.

Zeisberger has some discussion of the man·it·u as a personal guardian spirit revealed to the individual who appeals to its mercy (see p. 52) but he has little to say pertinent to the man·i'·t·u concept as we are considering it here.

In the present text we are taught, as the followers of the native religion in the Big House, are that the man·i'·t·u are in most cases "grandfathers" in others "elder brothers," and include the wild animals, trees, sun, moon, stars, thunders and other natural forces with deistic traits. The carved faces in the Big House represent them collectively, except for the larger images on the center post which represent the Supreme man·i'·t·u, the Creator. All are esteemed in a mental attitude of combined worship and prayer, in Delaware pa"taman.

776 608 TERMS OF CONSANGUINITY APPLIED TO SPIRITUAL FORCES.—The designation of individual deities of a native pantheon by terms of human

[1] While the verb man·i·to'·w·k, "they make" occurs in the text, it is not admitted as sufficient for an equivalent in full.
[2] Brinton II, p. 74.
[3] Ibid., II, p. 72.
[4] Harrington I, p. 17.

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Fig. 1—Side posts of Ceremonial House showing carved faces. After Harrington.

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Fig. 2—Delaware Tortoise shell rattles carried by reciters and dance leaders in the ceremony. (Hist. Com. of Pa.)

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776 consanguinity is to be noted widely in native American religious sys-
608 tems. The Delawares share this phenomenon. The relationship classification of the various spiritual forces recognised is given in the following grouping.

muxo"mɔɔn·a, "our grandfather."
Eagle, ai'xam, and feathers mi'kwɔna.
Air, gu"exiŋ
Planets and heavenly bodies as revealed in dreams and visions, moca'pan·o'k·e's (lit. "sky-creators")
Thunders, pe't'hak'owe'yok
Trees, hi't'kuk'
Vegetation, pe"mi·alɔmi'ca"ska'
Carved Faces in the Big House, mɔɔi'ŋgɔk
Turtle-rattles, cux'ɔni'k·an·ak
Water, "bi'
Fire, to'n·dai
Tobacco, k"ca"tai'
ko'xɔmɔn·a, "our grandmother."
Herb medicines, pi·'sun
Corn, χa'skwi·m
ni·ma'xtɔɔ·ɔn·a, "our brother," or xa"ɔɔna "our elder brother."
Turtle, ta'xkɔxk'
Snow, ku"n
Bear, ma'xk"
Animals (ac'ɔɔ·ak) in general considered as existing in clan relationship with humans. The latter are "kings" among animals.
Night sun, moon (male), ni·'pai· gi'cux
Day sun (male), gi'ckwɔni·i· gi'cux
Stars, lighting system, portion of the moon; ala'ŋgɔk
gahe'ɔɔna, "our mother."
Sea, bodies of water, mɔn·a'pe'k
Running Water, "bi· pe'mi·'t·an·i·k'
Earth, hak·iŋ
ko'xɔn·a, "our father."
Great Spirit, ke'tan'to'wi·t'

776 These deistic relatives of the Delawares all have their special functions to pursue under the surveillance of the "Great Spirit even the Creator." The missionary accounts and contemporary information from the living native worshipers coincide nicely in regard to the attributes of the graded spirit-forces. For some of them we have but a few remarks which will be found inserted as footnotes in the English translation of the text, for others, however, concerning which Witapano'xwe had explicit information to offer accumulating more than could well be condensed in such short space, separate treatment seems

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required. These I propose to deal with in the following section as man-i'tu deserving of particular mention, since this seems to represent their standing in the minds of devout Delawares. 776

Not only is the principle of consanquinity applied to deities and nature-forces, but to tribes and nations as well. Indeed the application of term of relationship to bodies of extra-biological classification is interesting enough to call for the inclusion of information given as a commentary on this point by Wi-tapano'xwe. With more detail to be secured it promises a fruitful problem for sociological interpretation. The informant's notes on the quasi-consanguinity of tribes are as follows. The Delawares believe that they are the oldest of the Indians. They call the following tribes "grand children," Shawnee, Potawatomi, Sauk and Fox, Ioway, Tonkawa, Sioux, Ottawa, Kickapoo, Miami, Peoria, Chippewa, Menomini, Winnebago. And these, in turn, call the Delawares, Wabanaki, Lenape, or else "Grandfathers,"—but, adds Wi-tapano'xwe, we are all "brothers," i. e. Indians. There are the Nanticoke, Mahikan, Munsee and Iroquois who are called brothers, relative age not specified, in spite of the fact that the Delawares assume to be older than they. There are other tribes which have different relationship with the Delawares, for example the Wyandots, Seneca and Cherokee are called "nephews" (either filial or sororal) and the Mexicans are called "uncles." To white people the general term, meaning "brothers" is applied, while negroes are termed "elder brothers," being considered the strongest of all races.[1] 776 829 608

THE CARVED IMAGES.—The concepts involved in the use of carved images in the likeness of the human face represent a phase of religious thought that has developed some exceptional prominence among the 532 778

[1] Zeisberger, (op. cit., p. 109) gives information corresponding to that of our informant, when he says that the "Shawnose" call the Delaware "grandfather." In regard to the "Mahikanders" we find a contradiction, and so are not able to compare the author's remarks with those in the text. Zeisberger also says that the Wiandots (Wyandots) and the Cherokees call the Delaware "grandfather," which differs from the information brought forward by our informant who considers them to be "nephews" of the Delaware. One infers from Zeisberger that the Delawares called the Twitchtwes (Miami), Wawiachtanos (a group of Mahikan), Kikapus, Chipuways, Ottawas, Putewoatalmen (Potawatomi) "brothers," differing from our information which states that the above tribes are known as "grandchildren," except when they were termed "brothers," implying that they were Indians similar to the Delawares. Zeisberger gives no kinship term as being applied to the negroes by the Delaware. He says: "These (the negroes) are looked upon as of their own kind and allowed full liberty. Indians and negroes intermarry and their mulatto children are as much loved as children of pure Indian blood." 582 1915

Heckewelder, op. cit., notes the Shawnee (p. 86) and the Chipewa (p. 124) as being grandchildren of the Delaware, which is similar to the information given us by Wi-tapano'xwe, but in the case of the Chippewa he differs from Zeisberger. Heckewelder notes (page 122) that the Nanticoke and Mahican call the Delaware "grandfather" which differs from the information in our text where they are said to be "brothers." Again a difference is observed between Heckewelder and our informant in regard to the Wyandot and Cherokee who are, according to Heckewelder, "grandchildren" of the Delawares, yet, according to our informant are "nephews."

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Fig. 3—View of the Delaware Indian "Big House," Caney Creek, Okla.

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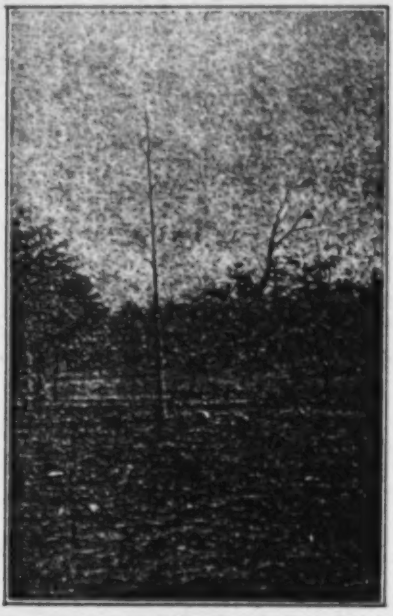

Fig. 4—View of trimmed tree upon which meat is hung at ceremony.

(Photos by Dr. Truman Michelson, Bur. Am. Ethnology, Wash., D. C.)

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Fig. 5—View of the center post with carved face above. Looking toward the west door.

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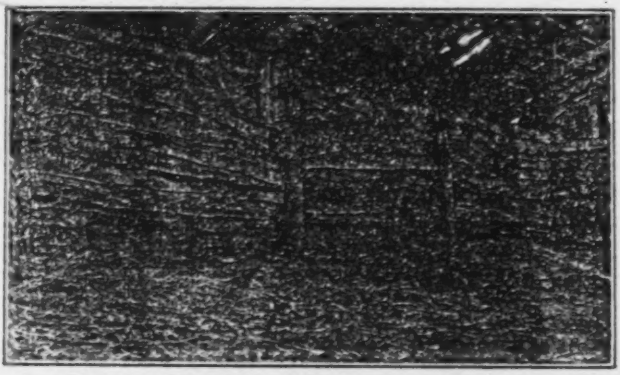

Fig. 6—View inside the Big House, showing support-posts, side logs and three of the false-face images on the side posts. The straw upon which the worshippers sit is also on the ground.

(Photos by Dr. Truman Michelson, Bur. Am. Ethnology, Wash., D. C.)

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532 778 Delawares.[1] The term applied to them is mae'ng" (singular) "face." The concept defined for us in several sources of information, including the living teachers, shows that the carved representations are portrayals of the spirit-forces (man-i'towak (plural)). They are not worshiped as objects. They stand as concrete representations of the spirit-forces as something to look at, to focus attention upon while the mind is centered upon the abstraction. The attitude is comparable to what is intended by the religious term iconolatry. The spirit forces are felt to be present where their likenesses are.

The images themselves when regarded as being separated from the domination of the function they serve are not treated with adoration. Hence when images are being made to replace old ones, in the occasional reconstruction of the Big House, the old images are laid aside, their meaning transferred to the new. Wi-tapano'xwe has himself, on one of the occasions when the Big House was rebuilt some years ago, carved one of the images on the side posts. This duty was assigned to the members of the council, each assuming the responsibility of carving one. His mental attitude is interesting in this connection. He made the post and carved the face on it, the second from the door on the west side of the Big House. He says, very naïvely, that he copied for his reproduction the one from the old post that he replaced, trying to reproduce as accurately as he could the technique and proportions of the original. He thought it best not to attempt any improvement in sculpture as he did not desire to deviate from established pattern. Some of the other artists, however, in making their reproductions attempted to do their best in sculptural representation. This shows us that the Delawares permit the play of individual motive in religious conduct, a fact which stands out in greater prominence among other Algonkian tribes where the organization of cult is not so strong. In short while there is undoubtedly much to learn from further experience with this sort of religious attitude among the Delawares it may be said that the images are strictly mediums for thought in the worship of the spirit-forces. The images are not the forces themselves. In the words of Wi-tapano'xwe, "You have the figure there in sight but the unseen spirit is back of it."

[1] Mask cults and image rituals of different degrees of importance are known only from certain parts of eastern North America; from the Middle Atlantic States southward (Iroquois, Delaware, Munsee, and Cherokee). The explorers' narratives, however, show the use of carved faces among the Algonkian peoples of Virginia and the Carolinas. The images formed posts standing at the places where ceremonies were performed (De Bry, Hariot). The use of carved masks (gourds) is indicated in the early 18th century for the Catawba by Lawson, while remains of wooden masks occur in an archaeological site in Florida (F. H. Cushing. Exploration of Ancient Key Dwellers Remains on the Gulf Coast of Florida. Proc. Amer. Phil. Soc., Phila. vol. 35, 1896, p. 388); and Harrington, (Cherokee and Earlier Remains on Upper Tennessee River, Indian Notes and Monographs, Mus. Amer. Ind., N. Y. 1922, p. 112), found a shell mask in Tennessee, in which state and Virginia almost a score are described by G. G. MacCurdy, xixth Internat. Cong. of Americanists, Wash. 1915, pp. 82-3, 84-5, 73; and W. H. Holmes 2nd Ann. Rep. Bur. Amer. Ethn. 1880-1, pp. 294-7, Pls. LXVII-IX.

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Several technical details in the make-up of the images are important. 532
One is the carved lines suggestive of wrinkles on the foreheads of the carved faces of the Big House posts. These are indeed wrinkles; the symbols of their age.

The black painting of the left side and the red painting of the right side of the images, as well as of the false face to be mentioned subsequently, and on the carved drum-sticks, has been given some discussion by Harrington[1] and was made the subject of questioning with Wi·tapano'xwe. It is evident that the dual color scheme, black and red, is based upon some very ancient and deeply symbolical native concept common throughout the east, the complete understanding of which has not been retained in Delaware tradition. We meet with the same color arrangement in designs of face painting in various connections among the Iroquois and tribes as remote from affinity with the Delawares as the Creek and Yuchi for instance.

Indications from the several sources available point to a fairly 778
uniform assumption that in the case of the Delaware the images or 532
icons are venerated as the symbols of deity, serving not as an object of worship (as the accepted definition of idolatry implies) but as channels for worship. It would seem that the icons bear an analogy to those functioning in Christian worship. Likenesses of the manitus in human-face form also appear in abnormal growths upon trees, and often in natural formations in ledges of rock. The latter have given rise to varied legends of stone faces familiar in the lore of the countryside. To the Delaware it is taboo to look much at them lest they speak to one, which might be for evil. And he imagines these nature-grown effigies to have the red and black coloration characteristic of the spirit itself.

In dealing next with the masks there seems to exist an attitude somewhat different from that which we find associated with the stationary images just mentioned. The Delawares, in recent times at least, possessed a mask cult. There is, however, so far as the annual ceremony is concerned, the single spiritual force, anthropomorphic in character, whose province in native theurgy lies in the custodianship of the game animals. This being is represented by a carved mask-fetish known as mae·i'ŋk'holi·'kan, signifying "mask spirit." More will be said of this "master of the game" shortly. The personification of this creature, who is represented in the ceremonial drama by some individual who wears not only the mask but a garb simulating the traditional hairy body-covering of the being, seems to enter into the performance of the Big House as an extraneous feature. Aside from several remarks to follow concerning the masked

[1] Harrington, (pp. 83, 140-141) I. learned that the "length-wise" painting of the sticks, half black and half red, implied that men and women were joined together in Thanksgiving, the black representing the warriors, the red the women.

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Fig. 7—Rattle of turtle-shell used by Mosl'ngw. (Length, 16.7 in.). After Harrington.

Fig. 8—Central post of Ceremonial House showing carved face. After Harrington.

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being, taken from the discussions of Zeisberger and Harrington, I will let Wi·tapano'xwe place forth in his own words the pertinent remarks relative to it which he dictated to me. 1778 532

THE MASK DANCE.—The False Face, or Mask, performance seems to possess indications of being an archaic mask-ceremony admitted into the annual Big House ritual during some phase of its later development. It bears some analogies suggestive at once of the game-owner concept that is met with among the Algonkian hunter-nomads of the far north, the Montagnais-Naskapi. In particular we note that the mask and bear-hide clothing are kept away from the precincts of the Big House until the time assigned for their appearance by permission of the master-of-ceremony. The Mask dancer does not remain long in the Big House, nor is his action there in any sense an obligation. Occasionally no one volunteers for the dance and then it is omitted. The informant himself had assumed the rôle several times and he seemed to regard it as lacking in theological significance from the point of view of the Big House doctrine. He related in this connection, how the chief function of the Mask dancer was to frighten children before and after his appearance in the Big House. The songs accompanying the Mask-Spirit dance (mae·ingka'n·t'ke') were not completely known to him. In one of these the words refer to the Mask-Spirit riding on the back of the deer.[1] 776

The Mask-Spirit seems to hold potency of both good and evil influence. There is the narrative of a man (Ben Horse) who had come under the power of the Mask-Spirit to such a degree that he was occasionally subjected to its control and fell to performing the antics of the Mask dancer to the point of dementia. A medicine-doctor called upon to free him from this influence ordered him to make a mask and perform the dance at certain times. This eventually cured him and he became the custodian of his mask and developed into a Mask-dancer. An insight into the function of this rite is also given by the narrative of another, a woman, terrified by the Mask-Spirit requiring similar remedial treatment of the mask. And we also hear of some children once so frightened that they ran several miles from the camp and were overtaken with difficulty by their parents whom they took also to be masked pursuers in their confusion of flight.

The Mask-Spirit as a potentially malicious spirit is clearly totally different in conception from six carved faces, "our grandfathers," appearing on the posts of the Big House.

We are taught in the text that the mae·i'ŋk'hali'kan is like the other man·i't·u deserving of adoration for the blessing he bestows upon hunters in allowing them to kill the deer, over whom he seems to act 796 776

[1] Another reflection of the tale known as Caribou-Man among the Naskapi of the north.

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Fig. 9—Costume worn by impersonator of Misinghall'kun. After Harrington.

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the part of custodian.[1] Harrington felt that this was the "most remarkable deity of the Lenape," who was "made guardian by the creator of all the wild animals of the forest, and was sometimes seen riding on the back of a buck, herding the deer; but he lived in a range of rocky mountains. His face is large and round, the right half being painted red, the left black, while his body is covered with long black hair like that of a bear."[2]

A certain amount of supernatural ability seems to be required of the individual who is to wear properly and display the mask. One who has this spiritual quality to a high degree finds himself able to see as well when wearing the mask, despite the smallness of the eye-openings, as though he were bare-eyed. His spiritual power, we are told, is thus tested; he partakes of the qualities of the prophet, kaci-la'su "great man." Other notes on the wearing of the mask are to be found in the text, page 93.

Before passing on, however, reference should be made to customs concerned with the mask recorded by the authors mentioned above. Zeisberger describes this as follows:

"The only idol which the Indians have, and which may properly be called an idol, is their Wsinkhoalican, that is image. It is an image cut in wood, representing a human head, in miniature, which they always carry about them either on a string around their neck or in a bag. They often bring offerings to it. In their houses of sacrifice they have a head of this idol as large as life put upon a pole in the middle of the room.[3]

Brainerd had occasion to observe the performance of the Mask-Spirit in 1745, on the upper Susquehanna, and wrote of the appearance of the Mask Dancer with "a coat of bear skins, dressed with the hair on, and hanging down to his toes; a pair of bear skin stockings; and a great wooden mask painted, the one half black, the other half tawny, about the color of an Indian's skin, with an extravagant mouth, cut very much awry; the face fastened to a bear skin cap, which was drawn over his head. He advanced toward me with the instrument in his hand, which he used for music, in his idolatrous worship, which was a dry tortoise shell with some corn in it, and the neck of it drawn on to a piece of wood, which made a very convenient handle."[4]

There seems, however, to be something omitted in recording these facts. A much more intimate connection between the mask itself and

[1] A hunter's taboo, founded supposedly upon some ancient principle of altruism, is that the first deer or other animal killed by the hunter be not eaten. The meat is given to some older person. The slayer never gets even a bite. Some phase of this rule is to be noted for every northern Algonkian tribe, though in no case have I as yet been fortunate enough to elicit a religious reason for it among the hunters who follow the practice.

[2] Harrington, I, p. 32-33.

[3] Zeisberger, op. cit., p. 141.

[4] Brainerd, op. cit., p. 237.

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Fig. 10—Mask of Oklahoma Lenape. (Height 14.5 in.). After Harrington.

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the spiritual force represented by it is apparent. The being itself seems to be incorporated in the mask image. The latter become more truly a fetish than the carved images representing the deities in the Big House. Its presence is a source of active power, for the most part, directed toward maleficence. This I think is brought out in several records which the informant dictated to me, tracing the presence of disease and misfortune to the possession of masks representing the human face, both large and small, in families who had, through some event, come into possession of them. Possession seems not always to have been voluntary and in such cases the owners were obliged through the revelations given them in dreams to perform periodic rites, called feasts, to annul their malefic potencies. I am led to believe that this explanation is a valid phenomenon associated with mask likenesses; one omitted from the explanations given us by the authors cited.

We learn in this connection that once a year, generally in the summer, the mask image was given a dance and feast of hominy by the family in whose custody it remained. The express purpose of this rite was to provide it enjoyment and nouriahment as a means of conciliation beyond what was accorded it by being brought out during the performance in the Big House. In such a family the mask must be disposed of in a ceremonial manner should it be desired to discontinue the obligatory rites, or should the family die out. Tradition requires the mask in this case to be buried, as the informant states, lest the effects of neglect of the mask be handed down to relatives. One is reminded, in learning of this reverential attitude toward the masks, of the frequency with which carved stone faces have been exhumed in the territories previously inhabited by the Delawares. The Museums of Pennsylvania, New Jersey and New York possess a number of specimens of the faces, which have been briefly discussed and illustrated by Harrington.[1]

The family in which fell the custody of the False Face was the Pela'ciman "Frenchman," family of the Wolf group. The wife of Frenchman was the person who had hereditary ownership of the mask. Her descendants, the McCartlain family (Turkey group), were next in succession but being inclined toward Christianity the rite was neglected by them. Subsequently Julius Fouts, Pet-ane'hing, "Threw Him Here," of the Tortoise group, took charge of the mask. Being afraid that it might be destroyed by worms while in his possession which might have brought sickness to his family as a consequence, Fouts turned it over to Pe'matae'kamon, "Moving-Flowers Man" (George Bullette) of the Fowl group. By the latter it was sold out of the tribe and finally found its errancy terminated in an exhibition case of the Museum of the American Indian (Heye Foundation). (Fig. 10).

[1] Op. cit., I, pp. 32-43.

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The mask rite, says Witapano'xwe, is an individual or family, not a group rite. The record of the change of hands through which it passed, going into each of the three groups at different times, brings out this act.

Since it happened that the custody of the mask fell to Delaware women as well as to men, there seems to have been no restriction as to sex in the office of keeping the masks as reported for the Iroquois. The same is true of the corn-husk masks. As among the Iroquois the Delaware wooden mask was kept face down when not in use, but only, the informant added, because the cloth covering at the back would make this position more convenient. We are impressed with the ruling that the mask could not be played with nor worn for social masquerading.

To the ethnologist, however, the significance of the Mask-Spirit is deep. The whole question of the trait which it represents in the customs of the Delawares is fraught with the possibilities of an archaic northern background, into which fits a series of beliefs and practices extending across boreal North America through northeastern Asia. The game owner concept, in short, stands forth in high relief among the far northern Algonkian. Its most intense development appears among the Montagnais-Naskapi of the Labrador peninsula.[1] For the region of the Great Lakes among the Central Algonkian we have as yet no records to substantiate the existence of the Game Owner concept so far south. The Delaware case is accordingly one of noteworthy bearing. Before passing by what Delaware belief has to contribute to the Game Owner concept in general the information pertaining to the mask spirits to be given in a text reserved for the later publication should be considered.[2] Here an account is recorded in which masks made of corn-husks are worn by messengers who go about announcing the occasion of a corn ceremony. The personification of the spirit of corn seems intended in the wearing of such a mask.

THE TORTOISE AS A SYMBOL.—Outlined in particularly high relief is the tortoise. In the latter creature we have the symbol of life, of perseverence, longevity and steadfastness. As the Delaware patriarch says, "The tortoise is the earth; is life." In the procession of time and among the elemental nature forces the direction of movement is from east to west, according to Delaware belief. So moves the tortoise with measured pace across the earth and through the Big House, carrying out the mythical allegory. At the end of his journey at the "western door," meaning where the sun sets at the edge of the

[1] Extended treatment of the religious beliefs and philosophy of the northern peoples, so far as the Game Owner concept is concerned, will be available for the students of religious customs of pre-literate peoples when manuscript now in course of preparation shall have been published.

[2] To form another volume of this series.

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earth, the world will come to an end as does the ceremony after the twelfth night. Thus the tortoise "brings the ceremony." His shell in the form of the rattle[1] is carried in the hands of the participants who take the part of leaders in the recitations and dances and move in the proper westward direction in the Big House. The saying is, as the ceremony is opened, and again after the intervals of pause, "The Tortoise is bringing us the worship and we are now ready to touch it again." 825 [773] 778

The tortoise, moreover, is "he who carries our mother's body"—the latter being a metaphor for the earth. The tortoise being a "grandfather" thus becomes more ancient than the earth. The prominence of this mysterious creature in Delaware religious belief has long been noted by writers dealing with the tribe.[2]

As early as 1670 the Delawares are recorded as declaring that all things came from the tortoise, that it brought forth the world, that from its back a tree had sprung upon whose branches men had grown, that it had a power and a nature to produce all things such as earth, and the like; that it brought forth what the supreme divinity wished through it to produce.[3] 825 778 773

[1] As early as 1794 the turtle-shell rattles are mentioned by G. H. Loskiel, History of the Missions of the United Brethren; and Elesberger, before him, 1779 (op. cit., p. 89).

[2] The tortoise was regarded in China as a sacred animal imbued with a knowledge of the future. Concerning hunting as well as crop prospects and rainfall the tortoise shell oracle was consulted. (B. Laufer, Scientific Monthly, Vol. XXV, p. 253, (1927). Rather strangely the intervening area between these occurrences does not show forth prominence of the tortoise in religious thought.

[3] This cosmological tale, valuable for its early date and more complete form than we expect from the 17th century writers, is given by Dankers and Sluyter, dated Oct. 16, 1680. (Journal of a Voyage to New York in 1679-80, p. 268) (Translated in vol. 1), Transactions of the Long Island Historical Society, Brooklyn, also Mem. Long Island Hist. Soc., vol. i, 1875, 1867, quoted by Brinton I, p. 133, and A. B. Skinner, the Lenape Indians of Staten Island, Anth. (Papers Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist., N. Y. vol. iii, (1909), p. 53). It seems worth quoting in full:

"16 Oct., 1679. In the morning there came an Indian to our house, a man about 80 years of age, whom our people call Jasper, who lived at Ahakinsack (Hackensack) at Akinom. We asked him where he believed he came from. He answered from his father. "And where did your father come from?" we said, "and your grandfather and great-grandfather, and so to the first of the race?" He was silent for a little while, either as if unable to climb up at once so high with his thoughts, or to express them without help, and then took a piece of coal out of the fire where he sat and began to write upon the floor. He first drew a circle, a little oval, to which he made four paws or feet, a head and a tail. 'This,' said he, 'is a tortoise lying in the water around it,' and he moved his hand round the figure, continuing, 'this was or is all water, and so at first was the world or the earth, when the tortoise gradually raised its round back up high, and the water run off it, and then the earth became dry.' He then took a little straw and placed it on end in the middle of the figure, and proceeded, 'the earth was now dry, and there grew a tree in the middle of the earth, and the root of this tree sent forth a sprout beside it, and there grew upon it a man, who was the first male. This man was there alone, and would have remained alone but the tree bent over its top and touched the earth and there shot therein another root, from which came forth another sprout, and there grew upon it the woman, and from these two are all men produced."

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825 T13 Zeisberger mentions the world-flood myth in which it is related that some human survivors took refuge on the back of a turtle whose age was so great that his shell was mossy.[1] And the turtle represents the earth. His rounded back is to the Delawares the earth dome.

825 T18 [302] Another indication of a belief in the latent poteney of the magical powers of this remarkable creature is met with in the esteem paid to the yellow color-pattern on the upper shell of the animal. Face paint patterns of a dignity appropriate to the men taking part in the Big House ceremony are copied from these markings.[2] The men wearing these patterns are adopting the symbol of the creature who "carries our mother's body."

The creature that typifies the earth-bearer, designated as taxko'xk[3] in Delaware, and whose symbol exists in the form of the shell-rattle, is the Box Turtle (Cistudo Carolina). This reptile is by the rulings of precise taxonymy not a tortoise but a connecting link between the aquatic turtles, or terrapins, and the terrestrial forms, the true tortoises. For the Box Turtles, of the genus Cistudo, deriving their name from the well known structure of the hinged plastron which permits the animal to withdraw the soft parts of its body completely within the protective cover of the shell, have partially webbed feet, which places them nearer to the Turtles than to the Tortoises. Yet to distinguish the reptile of Delaware tradition from the semi-aquatic American turtles, I have adhered to the designation of tortoise in the text and discussion.[4]

Perhaps certain remarks offered by the informant will, in con-

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[1] Zeisberger, op. cit., p. 131. See also E. deSchweinitz, Life and Times of David Zeisberger, pp. 218-19. Also Heckewelder, pp. 250, 308.
Later authors have pointed out the prominence of the tortoise as a symbol of the earth, not only in Delaware cosmology (Brinton I, p. 135) but in other Algonkian mythologies of the central and eastern areas as well.

[2] Considerable variation in the amount of yellow and in the outline of the patterns is observable in the markings of individual specimens of this genus of turtles.

[3] Of the five North American species of Cistudo, *Cistudo Carolina*, the eastern Box Turtle, the original race of Delaware tradition, and the Painted-Box Turtle (*c. ornata*), of the central region, were and are denoted as the proper forms. Possibly the Three-toed Box Turtle (*C. triunguis*) of the South Central states, may have been utilized by the tribe later in the west. The following are the names and identities of turtles mentioned by the informant:
ssa·ap'i·'p'konast' makakw'xki ta'xkuxk' "spotted back prairie turtle," Box Tortoise (Cistudo (sp)).
c'ingw'k·i ta'xkoxk' "timber turtle," (a large yellow tortoise). This can be used for the "coarse" rattle carried by the "second dancer" or follower."
pombu't·i·s, "stinking turtle" (Aromochelys odoratus, or Cinosternum Pennsylvanicum). Of no importance ceremonially.
pi'xolato'lha, "wrinkled breast," Soft-shelled turtle. (Trionyx spinifer). These are eaten, but are of no ceremonial importance.
co'xolato'lha "smooth breast," any water terrapin of genus Chrysemys. Snapping-turtle (Chelydra serpentina). Its shell is used only in the Mask ceremony and in Brush-arbor ceremony. The Delawares are cognizant of the Iroquois' use of the snapping turtle and of their own preference for the Box Tortoise in making rattles for dancing. The term taxko'xk denotes that the animal's shell is "fused together." An obsolete term for turtle is to'lpe.

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clusion, add something to our idea of another side of the character of this knowing and potent reptile, so important to the religious sense of the Delaware. 825 778

"The turtle is in its way an evil thing, yet not so evil as a snake which is controlled by the Evil Spirit and has also human face-paint patterns. The Turtle can hurt human-beings. Once a boy caught a water-turtle and turned him on his back. The Turtle got mad; raised himself on his legs stiffy. The Turtle raised himself, and launched himself through the air and struck the boy on his head and nearly killed him. The Turtle has a weapon in the sharp frontal plates."

FIRE SYMBOLISM.—Among the spirit-forces of Delaware cosmology "Our Grandfather Fire" (ta'ndai') is held in high esteem. The adoration of fire, however, is not sufficiently exclusive to justify the Delawares being called pyrolatrists.[1] Fire, as a spirit-force subordinate to the Great Spirit, is an agency of purification and invigoration. In the Big House ceremony the rite of kindling new fire with the consecrated fire-drill takes place to the accompaniment of an appropriate prayer on the ninth night from the lips of the Bringer-in, or Master of Ceremonies. The new fire is thus "pure," since it is made with the implements granted by the Great Spirit. The coming of the white man within the horizon of Delaware culture introducing matches into the native economy has undoubtedly served to throw the sanctity of the fire-drill into a higher light. But it would, I believe, be quite erroneous to undervalue the attitude of reverence, both in thought and ritual, which is held toward fire in native culture throughout the east.[1] To the Delaware ceremonialists the making of new, "pure" fire symbolizes "renewing of life, fresh vigor, the breathing of pure air uncontaminated by latent forces of disease, new and pure influences for life and health." It is one of the forces to which tobacco is constantly offered, and is an auxiliary to the use of cedar as incense in the act of purification. 822 776 372 [782]

Both Zeisberger and Harrington lay stress on the deification of fire among the Delawares.[2] In the Big House the two fires maintained throughout the ceremony east and west of the center-post,

[1] Some writers who have dealt with fire-worship among the eastern Indians seem to have gone too far in defining them as outright sun- and fire-worshipers, through exaggeration of the importance of fire ceremonies described in the older accounts. That the Delawares have been more conservative in regard to admitting innovations into their ceremonies is shown by the fact that the Yuchi, in whose annual ceremony the kindling of new fire is an important act, have condescended to use flint and steel (*F. G. Speck, Ethnology of the Yuchi Indians, Anth. Pubs. Univ. of Penna. Mus., vol. I No. 1 (1910), pp. 120-1*). On the other hand we know of perpetual fire being maintained in village temples among some of the early peoples of the southeastern area; evidence that must be given full weight in considering the question of pyrolatry in eastern America.

[2] Zeisberger, op. cit., pp. 138-139, Harrington, (I) passim.

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776 where they burn under the gaze of the carved images of the Great
372 Spirit on the post, represent the actual presence of this mighty spirit-force.

821 STARS AS SPIRIT-FORCES.—Among the man-i'tu mentioned in the text, the stars are given a prominent place. They too are "grandfathers" who, we are told, render service in assisting the moon to illuminate the night. It will be noticed that they receive a large share of reverence in the annual ceremony through being mentioned frequently in the adorational addresses. In the quaint phraseology of Wi·tapano'xwe we learn that the Great Dipper of European star-lore is called in Delaware max$^{k^w}$, "Bear." The head of the Bear is separate from the body. The legend tells us that the body is trying to catch up with the head, in which event the world will come to an end. Wi·tapano'xwe explained further that the stars of *corona borealis* formed the Bear's head which the animal is ever trying to reach. In Wabanaki star-lore this is the bear's den of hibernation from which the hunters, those three stars forming the so-called tail of the Bear (the handle of the Great Dipper in European belief), have driven the animal. It is said, by the same people, that the Bear is slain in the fall of the year, that its blood reddens the leaves of the trees and its fat when tried-out causes the earth to be covered with a white mantle, the snow. The subsequent portions of the tale seem not to have come forth as yet in Delaware mythology, although Zeisberger relates the outline of a legend of the Bear group in which the Bear is pursued by Indians "with a little dog; the three stars in the form of a triangle represent the head of a bear, which they cut from the trunk and threw down."[1]

The Delawares believe that some of the stars are living beings. For example the seven stars, known as asi·'sk^{w}taya'sak, "bunched-up," bear the identity of clean or holy men, prophets. They are known only to shamans or those who possess supernatural power. The legend says that at one time seven meteors fell from the sky partly burying themselves in the ground. Some shamans soon discovered them and they disappeared. The shamans found them again in the form of seven pine trees. They used to consult with these pine trees. Finally they became transformed into the seven stars.[2]

The informant adds: "The Delawares recognize the morning star, the evening star, and a constellation known as beast chasing the bear; At a certain season of the year you will find the leaves of the forest lying on the ground, appearing to be greasy and covered with spots of water. If at this time of year the beast has caught the bear the greasiness of the leaves is believed due to the bear-grease. Another large constellation near that of the bear represents his nest or den."

[1] Op. cit., p. 148.
[2] See Appendix, Note II.

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The Delawares determine, by the position of the stars, when to gather herbs for medicine, for they believe that the position of the stars and the moon informs them when the medical properties of the herb may be found in the branches or in the roots. The time to plant crops in the spring was likewise determined by the phases of the moon and the position of the stars. At a certain time when the moon and stars are in the correct relation to each other the Delawares know that the wild animals breed and that fish go up-stream. Persons born under certain changes of the moon are said to be affected by certain periodic diseases such as epilepsy and fits. The gathering of material for the making of baskets depends upon the time of year. In order that hides be made into durable leather the animals must be killed at the right time of year. The same is true in regard to killing hogs, for unless the animals are killed in the right quarter of the moon the meat will not keep. Likewise fruit, according to the Delaware must be picked at a certain phase of the moon or else it will rot. Celestial phenomena, the manitu of the skies, rule numerous phases of Delaware life.

THE CONCEPT OF PURITY AND DEFILEMENT.—It is most interesting to note a distinct attitude of reverence toward the phenomena of nature which are uncontaminated by the mechanistic hand of man. Nature itself is denoted by a term which may be recognized universally as an accepted definition: te'kaneo'a·u, "wild life, creation" in the liberal sense. This refers to creatures and phenomena brought into existence and controlled by the power of the Great Spirit. From nature's category the products of human invention are excluded. Thus it is the realm of pure nature with which the Delaware fundamentalist finds himself in accord. It supplies his needs, it satisfies his emotions, engages spiritual concern, becoming literally the element in which his whole life is framed. To deviate from the processes of nature, in thought and act, is sacrilege to him, to limit himself to its sphere is a sacred obligation passed down to him from his forefathers barring him off from the hazards of change and alteration in his conduct of life, and particularly in the performance of his religious duties. The Delaware fundamentalist is truly a conservative. By the mandates of his own creed he ought to be indeed a reactionary. And similar sentiment seems forthcoming from other Algonkian doctrinaries, hence we may assume it to be an ancient property of the race. Its lament is the necessity to depart from the ancient nature-bound practices, through the measure of force exerted by changes which age and time bring about.[1]

[1] This characteristic is often likened by them to the precepts of Christ, to whose example they refer with sympathy, and with the conviction that they are by nature his followers.

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A sharp distinction is drawn between that group of animals considered pure and undefiled in the spiritual sense and the group that has become contaminated through the modification of its diet and behavior brought about by domestication, in brief, wild animals as against the domesticated. The wild creatures are defined as being pure, clean, undefiled, the term used to describe them being pi'tal-. It is these which the Delaware observant may resort to for food, and for materials required in his economic life, and with them he has spiritual associations.[1] The domestic animals belonging to the white man's realm do not fit in his scheme of things, as they have not been fashioned by the Great Spirit to suit the needs of his red people.[2] It has been difficult indeed for the Delaware doctrinists to adjust the sweeping changes brought about in the economic life of the tribe, in the process of Europeanization, to a creed which pronounces the innovations from an alien world to be defilements. The disappearance of the wild animals, the compulsion of substituting their meat, their materials with those of a pastoral-agricultural civilization have, in the belief of the people, been the cause of their social and physical decline. They consider themselves to be losing vitality in proportion to their departure from old and natural or wilderness ways.[3] Accordingly we find the statement made that the deer, the elk, the bison, the antelope, and other wild animals are not only clean and "pure," but that they are man-i't-u. This we may note, in brief, is a most positive characteristic of Delaware belief.

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This distinction is supported by evidence well expressed by Zeisberger. "They regard the Europeans as a peaceable people, created of God to live according to their own manners and customs, even as the Indians have been created to live in their fashion, especially to sustain themselves by means of the chase. They think it contrary to the will of the deity to adopt, themselves, the manner of living peculiar to Europeans, pointing to fish, animals and birds as each having their characteristic habits. Each creature, bear, deer, or other animals, continues to live in its own way, and it has never yet been observed that an animal has adopted the habits of another. The same principle, they hold, applies to Indians and Europeans."[4]

for the realm of undefiled Nature the Delaware has a definite abstract term, te'koneau'suwakan literally "wilderness life."

[1] Heckewelder, op. cit., p. 196. In his account we note that the Mohican and Shawnee are very particular in their choice of meat.

[2] The preordained destiny of the Delawares to live as hunters and that of the whites to farm and domesticate is brought out in matter well presented by Heckewelder (op. cit., p. 187).

[3] It may be added that a corresponding idea of clean versus unclean animals is predominant among other Algonkian groups. Correspondence to the Delaware term pilsi may be noted with the same significance in Wabanaki, pils-, Algonquin pi'nsi-.

[4] Zeisberger, op. cit., p. 121.

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Not only are wild animals pure in contrast with domestic brutes in the sense embraced by the term, but youths who have completed the puberty vigil and acquired their guardian spirit are also pi·'lsi·t, "clean, uncontaminated, spiritually purified," as opposed to those who have not. For instance one of the signs denoting the transition from pre-adolescence in boys to the "purity of manhood" is in the voice. They say that the youth is expected to remain in solitude during his vigil until his voice has changed completely, by which time he is then pi·'lsi·t. It will be noticed also that the term is applied to fire made by the pump-drill at the Big House ceremony, pi·'lsi·t' te'·n·da', "clean fire," the unadulterated new fire made without matches or other unclean materials; the latter being cowa'·n·akwi· te'·n·da', "white man's fire," or mat·a pi·'ltak, "not pure." The sacred character of pure fire is shown in its honorific synonym muχo'·mson·a, "our grandfather," the source of healing.

Spiritual purity, however, is not conditioned by ethical conduct, but rather (like the Hebraic takor) through the observance of taboo regulations prescribed by ancient rulings.[1] Foremost among these are the restrictions placed upon the freedom of women in their catamenial periods, and the carrying out of dietary usages based upon the classification of animals as clean and unclean. Another evidence of the individual being spiritually pure is to have been blessed with a vision bestowed by a supernatural power. Such individuals are pi·'lsi· in a high degree. They are indeed the mainstays of the Big House ceremony. They are in blessed communion with the man·i't·u, bringing into the Big House their spiritual media, the controls under which their destinies are moulded. Again to be pi·'lsi· is to have gone through all the native teachings. And to live with a guileless character, child-like, is sufficient to entitle a man or woman (irrespective of marriage or celibacy) to be referred to as pi·'lsi·t lon'·o "pure, clean, man," or pi·'lsi·t xkwe'·, "pure, clean, woman," as a child is pi·'lsi·t mi·'mas. The above may serve to outline at least the Delaware concept of personal holiness and unholiness as it is expounded in the text.

BEING BLESSED WITH A VISION. THE PERFORMERS IN THE CEREMONY. The main active parts in the ceremony are performed by those who have been blessed with revelations by spiritual-forces, the man·i't·u. These are the pure men, and also in a minor rôle, the pure women. The word element aŋg'·o· seems to be the generic designation for the condition of being blessed with a spiritual revelation through a vision. By this is meant the visitation from some man·i't·u coming at some period in the life of the individual who is spiritually deserving from the point of view of his reverence for spiritual forces for his observance of the arbitrary rulings of religious doctrine, and adherence to logically

[1] A taboo is denoted by the term kwul·a·'gan, "something forbidden."

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787 moral conduct. To have received such a visitation is to be blessed indeed.[1] The age at which the revelation comes to the individual can not be said to have any limits. Some acquire their personal guardian in childhood, some in their youth at the time of the fast-vigil, others in the prime of life. And it seems that, like Wi·tapano'xwe, some may have several such revelations. In such a case the informant thought it customary to recite the first one experienced and to retain it throughout his or her career. In the case of plural visions, nevertheless, the individual could choose the one for recitation that he preferred in his own judgment. The general outline of facts and fancies concerned with the fast-vigil as they are given by Harrington seems to summarize this interesting and prominent feature of American ethnology as far as Delaware information is involved.[2] Yet a few specific cases not hitherto recorded of the spiritual visitant coming to individuals in distress, without any effort put forth on their part, may be given here to lay more emphasis upon this aspect of the personal-vision doctrine than it has hitherto received.[3]

We encounter in Delaware practice a system of religious abuse to challenge the pity of some spirit-force in behalf of a child, quite simple in theory. In the hope of evoking the compassion of some man·i't·u, the dutiful, conscientious parents, assume the rôle of desiring to drive the child forth from the shelter of home to become a friendless wanderer. The expulsion from home is, however, but a disguise, one to be carried only so far as to deceive some spirit-force into taking the victim under its protection and providing him with a guiding and shielding control for the rest of life. It is deliberately intended to exploit the mercy of the spirit-forces. The child, of course, is not aware of this ruse, so its misery is genuine. But once the visitation has occurred, its joy is equally genuine for it has found a "savior," a "control," superior in power to any human agency; and, of particular significance to him, one exclusively his own, not to be outgrown, nor to become old and decrepit like his parents. The event may be compared with the conversion period in the adolescence of the Christian child. If the conversion, here taking the guise of a spiritual hallucination like that of the Maid of Orleans, is complete, no distracting trials, no timidity of purpose in life, no "forsaken" complex, will disturb the fatalism which becomes a master principle throughout life for the individual. The fervor of belief of those who have had such revelations

[1] Apart from the concept of being blessed, denoted by the stem just given, we find the terms lingwe·hel·a·n, "he acquires a vision revelation;" lacl·'mwi·n, "dream vision."

[2] Harrington, I, pp. 61-77.

[3] For ethnological discussion of the significance of variations in the method by which the guardian spirit is acquired in North America, see R. F. Benedict, The Concept of the Guardian Spirit in North America, Mem. Amer. Anth. Assn., No. 29, 1923.

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was noteworthy to the early missionaries among the Delawares, who spoke frequently of it. 787

"Most extraordinary experiences have been met with by boys from twelve to fourteen years of age, when they have been alone in the forest in apprehension and in need. An old man in a gray beard may have appeared and said in soothing tone, "Do not fear, I am a rock and thou shalt call me by this name. I am the Lord of the whole earth and of every living creature therein, of the air and of wind and weather. No one dare oppose me and I will give thee the same power. No one shall do thee harm and thou needest not to fear any man." Such and similar prophecies he makes. Such a boy ruminates upon what he has heard and is confirmed in the opinion as he grows up that a peculiar power has been imparted to him to perform extraordinary exploits, and he imagines that no one can do him injury. As he can receive no further instruction from any one, he must learn from experience how far he can go, his imagination inspiring him to make every effort."[1]

"They believe in numerous spirits or subordinate deities. Almost all animals and the elements are looked upon as spirits, one exceeding [176] the other in dignity and power. There is scarcely an Indian who does not believe that one or more of these spirits has not been particularly given him to assist him and make him prosper. This, they claim, has been made known to them in a dream, even as their religious belief and witchcraft is alleged to have been made known to them in a dream. One has, in a dream, received a serpent or a buffalo, another the sun or the moon, another an owl or some other bird, another a fish, some even ridiculously insignificant creatures as ants. These are considered their spirits or *Manittos*. If an Indian has no *Manitto* to be his friend he considers himself forsaken, has nothing upon which he may lean, has no hope of any assistance and is small in his own eyes. On the other hand those who have been thus favored possess a high and proud spirit."[2]

Dr. Benedict has successfully classified the distribution of native theories of vision inducement and of involuntary spirit possession, as falling within areas east and west of the Rocky Mountains respectively. In the personal experiences of the Delawares the theories are combined, though the former, that of inducement, is stressed. "To be pitied by the spirits" is the proper mental attitude of vision inducement characteristic of the Delawares.

There are opportunities for psychological analysis latent in this behavior, but these I shall pass by. To give the native information in

[1] The phenomenon of belief that the individual holds himself as being invulnerable even to bullets is recorded of the early Delawares (Zeisberger, op. cit., p. 127), the same fatalism being known among the Plains Indians.

[2] Zeisberger, pp. 132-133.

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787 different cases as remembered by the informant seems at present more to the point than to attempt rationalistic discussion.

[792] Those who have acquired visions and who perform the act of reciting and leading dances are the spiritual leaders of the tribe. They are known, with an air of distinction, as wehendji·kane'it', a designation that I am scarcely capable of literally translating into English, but which is explained to mean, according to Wi·tapano'xwe, the act of dancing in a line close to one another in a formation like segments of a vertebra.

In the text we are given the recitation of several of those who had visions, whose sermons, as they might be called, were more distinctly remembered by the narrator from his having heard them on various occasions. Most noteworthy, however, is his own recitation, the time and circumstances of which are given in the translation with such notes as seemed needed. Other versions of spiritual visitations not recorded in text but of sufficient merit to be made available for students of Algonkian psycho-social phenomena have been included in a section of the appendix (note I).

787 796 In the act of reciting the vision within the Big House the performer (e'lhik·a'si·t') carries the tortoise rattle, called the "leading rattle." At his side dances the "follower," whose function is to repeat the leader's phrases and answer the leader's rattle with a shaking of his own rattle, called the "follower's rattle." This individual bears the formal designation we'te"gas·i·t' "follower."

Now is manifestly the time to bring in some explanation of the manner in which the visionary proceeds to declaim his revelation and to intone the chant which he has composed relative to the appearance of the man·i't·u and the effect it produced upon his feelings when it appeared to him. This is essential to the understanding of the ceremony. Reference to the accompanying sketch of the floor plan of the Big House (fig. 12) will be necessary.

The reciter alternately recites his vision and dances. While reciting, now shaking the rattle by a horizontal motion of the forearm, he stands in one place (A) while the dancers who have taken their places in the line behind him pause likewise. At the end of the stanza he bends his head, shakes the rattle vertically and dances down the line of the beaten path, or the White Path with a shuffling step, while the drummers repeat the same stanza that he has just declaimed as accurately as they can. So by alternating pauses and advances the reciter and leader covers the circuit of the dancing path within the Big House until, having led his followers once around, he arrives at a point near where he had begun his act. Here (at G) he leaves the oval course heading toward the center post. At a point about half way to the center (H) he pauses again for one of the stanza recitations then dances to the image facing the western door, recites another

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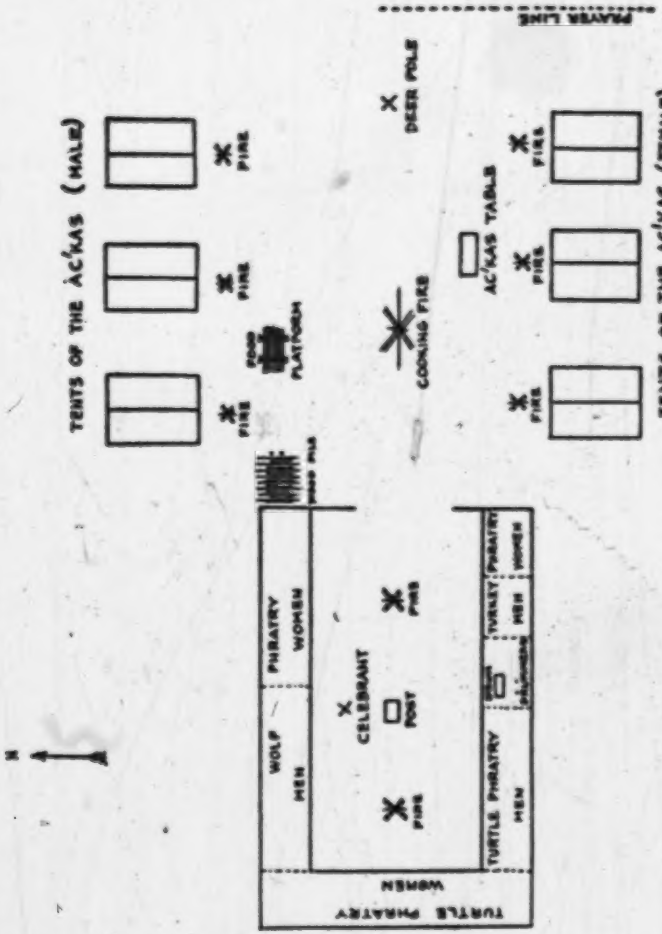

Fig. 11—Plan of Lenape Ceremonial House and Grounds near Dewey, Oklahoma. After Harrington.

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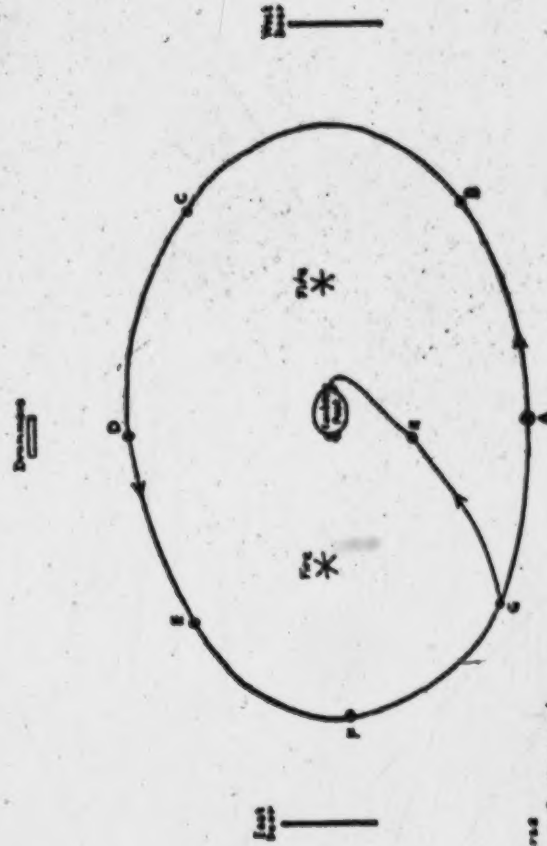

Figure 12—Diagram of "Beautiful White Path," the circuit of performers in the Big House during dances.

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stanza, whereupon they utter the prayer-call and raise their hands to "lift the prayer." Then he leads his dancing file around the post until he stands before the image facing the eastern door where they pray again. Experience and the use of good judgment in spacing the distance to be covered during the dancing intervals teaches the reciter to time his progress and pauses so that all will work out rightly. I have indicated on the diagram (fig. 12) the approximate stations, indicated by letters, at which the pauses would occur in a vision recitation of ordinary length.

It should be remembered that the "follower," or "after-time" man, any one of the group brothers of the reciter, is one who follows close behind the reciter throughout the round of the White Path and rattles alternately with the leader. As many men and women, as desire may join the dancing group and keep behind them.

When reaching the place where the drummers sit, it should be noted that the reciter stops and shakes hands with them, calling them by various kinship terms in a low emotional voice. Those who are in the dance line do the same. At the conclusion of this set of greeting he goes back to D, where he stopped singing, and resumes his dancing while the drummers repeat his chant. As he dances past the drummers he faces them dancing sideways instead of straight forward as ordinarily. This is a gesture of deference in recognition of the importance of the part they play.

Thus the reciter's narrative proceeds, beginning with the prelude, in which are given mention of the circumstances connected with the coming of the spiritual visitor. Some cryptic references are made to the spirit's appearance or to the guise in which it had shown itself; while in the interludes come the chant of adoration, the reciter's song recitative. He becomes a spiritual hero sounding his spiritual triumph, praising the Person, or Being, who revealed himself to him. The reciter becomes so thoroughly familiar with his personal relation through frequent rehearsal night after night, year after year, that it soon becomes a formula in his mind. Its phraseology develops into a litany, its alternating paragraphs of prose and chanting likewise become familiar to the ears and capable of repetition not only by the drummers, whose duty it is to echo his stanzas, but to the audience seated round the temple as well. In this way the performances of the leading personages of the ceremony assume the nature of common psycho-literary property. And we understand forthwith how Wi-tapano'xwe had arrived at a point where several of the recitations had become imbedded in his memory.

Whereas the major performance of the recitation of dance rites in the Big House falls to the lot of the senior reciters there is an opportunity provided, through a spirit of religious co-operation, for the younger men and women, who have had spiritual experiences of a

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787 minor sort, to rehearse their parts, and to give and to receive the
796 blessings accrued through enacting their parts. The open period for minor performers is on the twelfth night at the conclusion of the series of night rituals. This phase of the ceremony is denoted by the term a·teho·mwi·n which freely rendered means "the-performance-after-letting-the-fires-go-out."

The significance of these concluding rites lies in the understanding that the religious complex of the great ceremony has passed its climax. The performances of the men blessed with the visitations of supernatural beings have been done to their satisfaction, the Great Spirit has been duly regarded and invoked for further consideration of his people. And now to mark the subsidence of religious tension under which all have been held for the past twelve nights, the master actors, visionaries and reciters, retire from their high calling, and the hegemony is given over to those whose motives are perhaps as estimable but whose performances are still unperfected—the women and the younger men. The ceremony now takes on the figurative designation a·teho·mqi·n, having reference to "performing after letting the fires go out."[1] We have observed that after the ceremony of the twelfth night the two fires in the Big House, "their grandfathers," were not replenished with fuel by the attendants and that before closing for the night the ashes were ceremonially taken out. Henceforth on the last morning the dancing and singing is of a lower order of sanctity since this "grandfather," fire, is not a witness to it. The time for the shorter recitations of the inexpert youths and the ceremonially less important women has thus arrived, in accordance with which attitude we see a change of mien and the subsidence of the spirit of reverence maintained so painstakingly heretofore. The occasion is the time for rehearsal by the youths who have, on account of their age, only a minor part to play, but who after some years of this sort of thing will make their initial essay in the regular nightly rounds of recitation. It is thus in the "dimming of the light of the sacred fires" that they appear in the modified-service, when the ceremony is no longer "going with full strength."

796 Besides those men gifted with a vision who recite and lead the dancers around the White Path, there are other personages called acka··sak, "attendants" (singular, acka·'s) whose official duties are recognized as being of a high grade of sanctity in the Big House. Of these there are three males and three females, the pairs chosen from each of the three so-called totemic groups respectively (Pele·, Pukowa'-ŋgo, Tu'k··si·t). Their selection rests at the option of the individual who "brings in the ceremony." During the period of the performance the Attendants are lodged in six canvas tents ranged in two rows op-

[1] a·'te "to burn out," referring to fire, kwunall·i·'na a·'te na·ta'n-da· "let go out the fire."

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Fig. 13—Diagram showing dancing circuit in Big House on final day of ceremony (Atehowmwin)

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796 posite each other in front of the east door of the Big House, the men in the tents of the north row and the women in those of the south. The labors of the Attendants include the duties of the janitor, the gendarmerie, and the commissariat. The men's staff of office is a hickory pole with a shaved end, about 8 ft. long, with which they can poke at boisterous children or flay intrusive dogs in the Big House. Their functioning, however, is sacramental to a degree that can hardly be understood by the European who associates such menial and servile tasks only with profane employment. The Attendants at the Big House ceremony are highly honored with their position as workers whose services, as they are observed by the Great Spirit and the lesser deities, are bringing deep blessing not only to themselves but to the whole of mankind. Their pay is ceremonially given in the form of wampum which at the conclusion of the ceremony is redeemed in currency at a value determined now by the rarity of the beads. Of their other duties the sweeping the "White Path" in the Big House after each circuit of the dance, the kindling of the sacred fire with the fire drill, keeping the worshipers from falling asleep, driving dogs away from the premises and other labors, constant but blessed, we shall learn more in the footnotes given with the text.

MATURITY REQUIRED BEFORE RECITING IN THE CEREMONY.—The big House stands out in Delaware thought as the scene of performance destined only for those of mature spiritual strength. The complete exclusion of men under the age of 35 indicates that religious sentiment will hardly permit the appearance of a tyro as a reciter of vision and dance leader on any of the formal nights of the ceremony. This age seems indeed to be the age of "reason." The try-outs of younger men are permitted on the twelfth night during which the women take over the conduct of the ceremony. On this night the younger men who have had visions but whose "nerve" is weak, or whose mastery of his recitation and song is uncertain, make their essays along the line of leading. Their attempts are frequently met with derision it would seem. The informant recalls hearing of one occasion even when a respected elderly man, old Captain Curlyhead, made his first appearance on the White Path and launched his recitation, faltered, missed on the formal words and sequence, and retired shortly amid the derision of the spectators. He never attempted the thing again although his vision was known to be a good one and his social standing was high.

Younger men are cautioned not to undertake the recitation unless they are well enough qualified to carry it out without provoking ridicule or even bringing on censure of the older veterans. For they hold the opinion that it is folly for the young to attempt understanding of the mysteries and rites before the involuntary spiritual-mental awakening arrives during middle-age. When this realization of responsi-

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bility and maturity comes to the individual he feels that he is called to take his place in the annual ceremony. A new vision of life dawns upon him. He realizes that he has been brought into the world for a purpose and permitted to live to middle-age to raise children, take care of the aged relatives, help the people to health and comfort. Then there is also the feeling that others are observing him as an example of conduct. So he assumes his responsibility and prepares to appear in the Big House ceremony.[1]

We are told that the Big House performances were originally esoteric. Whites were excluded from it during the ceremonies, though in recent years the objection to their presence has been withdrawn due to intermarriage between Delaware women and white men.

The virtue of humility, so extolled and propogated in the philosophy of the Delawares, and the Iroquois[2] as well is one to which too little emphasis has been given by students. Historians, in particular those contrasting the humility of the evangelists with the contemptuousness of the natives, have ignored the declarations of ethnologists in this respect.[3]

THE SYMBOL OF TWELVE.—Allusion has previously been made in several places in our discussion, to the sanctity of the concept of twelve, the reason for which among the Delawares seems not to be objectively expressed.[4] Twelve is nevertheless a fundamental symbolical number. Throughout the text we hear of the Great Spirit residing in the twelfth stratum of the sky; of the prayer-call addressed to him uttered twelve times in succession; of the twelve prayer sticks or wands which lift the prayer to the twelfth heaven. The Big House ceremony itself is of twelve days' duration. The belief being that each day's performance lifts the worship a stage higher in the series of twelve successive sky levels until on the final day it reaches the Great Spirit himself.

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[1] Maturity is an important consideration with the Delawares. Among many facts still to be obtained in regard to restrictions of boys under the age of puberty, for instance, it may be interesting to note that these when they become old enough to take part in the hunt, are not allowed to eat soup lest their testicles rattle so warning game animals ahead of them, or to eat the heart of the animal lest they lose courage; or the animal's head, eyes, or ears lest they be bothered with gnats.

[2] A. C. Parker, The Code of Handsome Lake, Bull. 163. New York State Museum, Albany, 1912.

[3] For example Rev. T. J. Campbell, S. J.[3] tells his readers, "The red man had never much respect for the virtue of humility, and the young missionary (referring to Marquette among the Illinois) was treated rather contemptuously by many of the degraded wretches whom he was trying to regenerate." Pioneer Priests of North Amer. N. Y. 1911, Vol. III, p. 109.

[4] The importance of seven in Delaware thought has been stressed by A. L. Kroeber (Anthropology, N. Y. p. 252, j. n. 1) without giving the source. There seems to be no evidence of this in the material at hand.

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801 [825] • The Delawares also point out the occurrence of thirteen plates in the carapace and twelve in the plastron of all the members of the American tortoises and turtles, bordered by twelve marginal plates on each side. Another evidence in native thought of the tortoise as being a living symbol of the Universe.

Again we hear of a medicine compound prepared from twelve different herbal ingredients employed by the Delawares to cleanse them from sin.[1]

801 796 The prominence of the twelve concept as a unit of time in Delaware chronology of ritual is not to be overlooked, for we learn in the ruling of the funeral ceremony that the first post-mortem rites are performed twelve days after the day of demise, and that the concluding ceremony is carried out the twelfth moon after the event.

Of great interest also is the fact that the Delaware finds symbolical illustration of the concept of the twelve strata of heavens in the occurrence of twelve tail feathers in the plumage system of the birds. The allegory is carried out in the Peyote ceremony as performed by the Delawares, in the particular rite that is called the Young Men's Meeting. On this occasion, twelve sticks, six on each side, are used in building the fire near the center of the Peyote lodge, the fire being the symbol of the moon. A mound of earth, with the arrangement of the sticks referred to, forms the symbolical outline of the body and tail of the eagle. And when these twelve sticks burn down they leave twelve stumps again representing the tail feathers of the eagle. The Peyote rites of different groups vary in many particulars, a comparison of which would determine whether or not the above is exclusively a Delaware belief injected into the now widespread Peyote cult.

801 192 Before leaving the discussion of the number concept, it should be noted that the formal expression denoting twelve in the ceremonial vernacular is archaic; ata'x ok ni'ca, "ata'x, (ten) and two," instead of "te'lon, (ten) and two." Delaware tradition informs us that ata'x is an ancient term for ten prescribed by usage in the ceremony while in common speech te'lon denotes ten. In looking over earlier Delaware vocabularies we find the use of the common term indicated through the period of early contact in vocabularies recorded by Campanius (1645), Thomas (1695), Zeisberger (1750), Whipple (1855), in which the cognates are *Thaeren, Telen, Tellen, Telen.*[2] In a Delaware vocabulary taken down in New Jersey (1792) attributed to Thomas Jeffer-

[1] Zeisberger, op. cit., p. 134.

[2] Brinton I, p. 96. Comparative vocabularies from these sources are quoted. In a Swedish source, attributed to Campanius (Lutheri Catechismus öfwersatt på American-Virginiste Språtet, Stockholm, (1696), the form thaeren is given for "ten." Swedish, like Delaware, has in its recent development, under a change producing an *l* from the earlier *r* which in both instances may have had an *l* quality (Dr. A. J. Upvall). See also Amandus Johnson, Geographia Americae, op. cit., 289.

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son, the same form (*tillewa*) occurs.[1] The same term for the decimal occurs in cognate form throughout practically all the northern and eastern Algonkian tongues.[2] Is it reasonable then to consider the form ata'x as an Algonkian numeral so ancient as to antedate the dispersion of the Algonkian languages? 801 192

WAMPUM AS A SYMBOL.—In Delaware ceremonial, social and even economic procedure, wampum played an outstanding part. It is referred to in the text as "our heart." The subject, however, calls for more extended treatment than will be given it here. Wampum is designated by the term ke'k[w], a vocable which is peculiar to Delaware and which does not submit to philological analysis. Despite the uniformity of beliefs and practices involving the use of wampum beads throughout the eastern and central portions of the Algonkian area of distribution, the Delawares seem to have aberrated from employing the generic term wobu'bi[3] that we find in the speech of the other Wabanaki populations. The economic and symbolic functions of the peculiarly portentious medium of exchange I have dealt with in separate publication, to which I shall refer, as far as it deals with the Algonkian peoples of the northeast.[4] And the pecuniary aspect of wampum has been exaggerated in early writings dealing with the eastern Indians. To the Delawares wampum stood forth in the light of a covenant. It represented, and still does, a magical power capable of annulling the affects of latent poisonous influences that might pass between persons who exchange gifts or who enter into the transfer of property. I might even use the terms spiritual antiseptic in referring to the agency of the sacred beads in transactions of a personal nature as well as in negotiations between political bodies. Going a step further we see how the Indians regarded the belts and strings of wampum which were transferred between parties entering into negotiations as the necessary pledges of sincerity of spirit and purity of purpose.[5] 436

In the account of the annual ceremony a glance at the procedures shows how step by step wampum is brought into use as a medium of compensation carrying a spiritual valuation. But its monetary exchange value in Delaware culture is extremely low, hence the statements of the Indians themselves concerning its non-intrinsic rating are more clearly understood. The attendants we observe, whose office is to prepare the Big House, attend to materials such as food, fire, 436 796

[1] Manuscript in Archives of the American Philosophical Society of Phila., Indian Vocabularies p. 17.

[2] The wide diffusion of the cognates of tel-en is shown in the following instances, Wabanaki, mode'la, Montagnais-Naskapi, kuta'l-au.

[3] Literally "white string," the source of English "wampum."

[4] F. G. Speck, "The Functions of Wampum among the Northeastern Algonkian." Mem. Amer. Anth. Ass., vol. vi, No. 1, (1919).

[5] F. G. Speck, "The Penn Wampum Belts" Leaflet No. 2, Mus. Amer. Ind., (Heye Foundation), New York (1925).

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436 sweeping, and general order of the premises receive their pay in
796 wampum beads; the pecuniary value of which amounts to hardly more than a few cents. The drummers, the singers, the dance leaders, the reciters of visions are in their turn rewarded with small donations of wampum at the conclusion of their performances. This is a purifying gift rather than a pecuniary payment, one entirely out of proportion to the worth of services rendered.

[431] The worshipers of the Big House also offer their donations toward the ceremony in strings of wampum, giving them to the Master-of-Ceremonies, saying; ce·la·yu'ni· ndeli·' wi·teinge·n note·'ha·n "This here is how much I help from my heart!" The sacrosanctity of wampum is furthermore emphasized by the religious rule that wampum should always be given when something has been received, even when only a gift from a friend. In the esteem of the natives it becomes a most potent medicine. Failure to carry out the rules governing the bestowing of wampum would bring sickness upon the receiver of property through exchange or the receiver of a gift. This is especially
[167] true in connection with the Delaware practice of medicine, because medicine although destined to heal can double upon itself and become a poison when not sanctified by the conveyance of wampum.[1]

436 In Delaware phraseology "wampum is our heart." In exchanges of
425 vendable property, even extending to gifts between friends, there
751 lurked a potency for evil that might develop in who knows what quarter, producing malice or resentment among the parties concerned. It could even result in bodily poison to one or both. It is strictly correct to state that in the attitude of the eastern Indians toward such affairs the transfer of shell money from the hands of the receiver of a gift or a purchase to those of the giver performed the function of medicine.

436 The wampum protected them against spiritual infection and its
755 manifestation in the body in the form of sickness. Wampum was a purifier, purging the transaction from latent evil force. And should evil have leaked through the transaction the wampum would function as a purgative for its keeper. The same wampum was a spiritual emblem believed by them to have come originally from supernatural sources and embodying within it profound supernatural dynamics.

436 We can understand why a compact sealed with the transfer of
439 wampum was as sacred as one sworn to under oath by Europeans. It was such an attitude toward exchange and currency that our colonial forebears encountered when they bartered for land and peltry with the aborigines of New England and the Middle Atlantic States. The colonists handed out their exchange with the European notion of in-

[1] I am of course speaking of Delaware therapeutics exclusively, although something along the same line may be said, by those who are inclined toward a critical attitude, of civilized medical practices.

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trinsic value, receiving the return with the native idea of spiritual and supernatural interplay. 436 439

The Dutch in buying Manhattan for 60 guilders worth of trinkets undoubtedly drove a shrewd bargain with the Delawares. But who has told us that in the eyes of these same Delawares the currency was the symbol not the value equivalent of the relinquishment of their hereditary rights to the land as well as its products? This ridiculous price was to them a symbol over which they transferred their goodwill and spiritual power over forces dormant in the land, clearing away the poison that might have been engendered by the inequality of value in the transfer. Here lay the basis of conflict unreconcilable between the two culture spheres that met, bartered, and quarreled, in the settlement of the Atlantic seaboard. The one backed by unnumbered, metal-armed, aggressive and adventurous men from a tumultous old world as against a few thousand stone-age, passive, hunter-farmers.

There are deep associative meanings here underlying Algonkian and Iroquois wampum institutions. The problems of their origin, development and inter-relation are to be considered as a research problem of the future.

CEREMONIAL EQUIPMENT.—The material equipment of the Big House ceremony is mentioned with some detail in that part of the text which deals with preparation. The objects whose use is called for in various stages of the rite have a particular sacredness in the eyes of the Delawares. Between the occasions when the ceremony is performed they are carefully kept in the charge of some responsible chiefs or members of the council. Some of the objects required in the performance have been attached to it for lengthy periods of time. It has even been thought that they might have been brought from the east during the course of migration. This attitude of reverence, however, has not prevented the escape of specimens, representing practically all of the objects whose use is prescribed in the performance, from the hands of their custodians to find their way into the collections of eastern museums, even into the possession of private collectors.[1] In some cases faithful reproductions of the cherished articles have been made by the Indians to serve the purposes of demonstration. Therefore, utilizing the materials in the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, New York City, and the American Museum of Natural History, New York City, who have generally pro- 778 796

[1] The temptation to professional curio-hunters to sweep Indian reservations clean of native manufactures results in turning topsy-turvy their cultural life. It even comes from experts whose desire for the possession of rare specimens is sometimes greater than their desire for the advancement of knowledge. The existence of such bitter and senseless rivalries among collectors is responsible for the demolition of creeds and ceremonies now too far gone to study or to understand.

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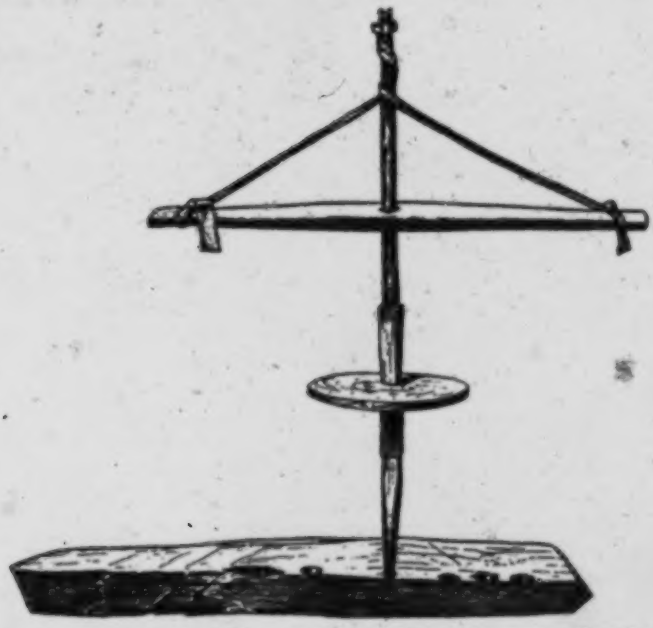

Fig. 14—Ceremonial fire drill used at the Big House Ceremony. (Length of shaft, 29.5 in.). After Harrington.

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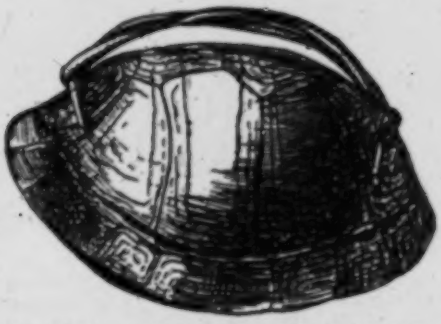

Fig. 15—Rattle of land-tortoise shell, used by celebrants of the Big House Ceremony. (Length 4.2 in.). After Harrington.

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vided illustration and granted access to the specimens for description, the accompanying plates and figures are made possible for our study. Other reproductions are from specimens being acquired in the Delaware collections in the State Museum at Harrisburg.[1]

The articles constituting the material equipment of the ceremony require some comment since reference is so frequently made to them in the text, although their proper description would fall under treatment in a study of Delaware material culture. Wi·tapano'xwe has, moreover, given us some additions to knowledge regarding these objects which I shall refer to briefly now, while reserving some explanatory remarks pertaining to them for the footnotes accompanying the translation.

The shell rattles (taxko'xk[e]) (figs. 2, 15) with which the men who recite their visions accompany themselves by sidewise motion of the arm are constructed of the dried shell of the box tortoise (Cistudo). A leather thong is fastened through holes in the top shell, beneath which the fingers pass so that the curve of the shell fits the palm of the hand. Both the dance leader who is reciting his vision and the man close by his side, who chants the responses to the song of the leader, carry the handrattles. The leader's rattle is, by traditional ruling, smaller than that of his associate.

The peculiar Delaware hide-drum (po$_{\chi}$on·i'k·an), (fig. 19), which was also known to the Munsee, has called forth some attention from Harrington. This instrument of percussion is simply a dried deer-skin folded and bound with cordage that fastens two long wooden slats to opposite sides, its length is thirty-two inches. The beaters are more interesting as ceremonial objects. During the nights of the annual performance up till the ninth, the drum batons (pa$_{\chi}$kandi'k·an) are plain bars of oak 16 inches in length with no other mark on them than a figure X carved on the upper side. The figure is said to symbolize the crossroads on the pathway of the soul (see page 174 and figs. 17, 22, 26). On the ninth night, however, the plain drum-beaters are put aside and their place is taken in the subsequent acts of the ceremony by the sacred beaters (pa$_{\chi}$kandi'k·an la$_{\chi}$a'usi·tci·k "forked-ones").[2] This substitution is an allegory of the increasing sanctity of the rites as they progress from the beginning, until reaching the ninth night the worship has approached so near the seat of the Great Spirit in his twelfth tier of heaven that the ceremony assumes a more formal phase, and appears with its equipment in ceremonial full-dress. The sacred batons (fig. 22, a, b) bear on their upper sides carvings of the human face in high relief with the symbolical red and black paint on the right

[1] Mention should be given to the illustrations of most of these objects in Harrington's study of Lenape religion and ceremonies.

[2] These sacramental objects are kept in the custody of the chiefs of the Tu'kwsi·t (Wolf) group.

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Fig. 16—Delaware Fire-drill (Hist. Comm. of Pa.)

Fig. 17—Delaware Drum-beaters marked with cross used before ninth night of Ceremony. (Hist. Com. of Pa.)

Fig. 18—Delaware hawk-tail hand fan carried by man. Used now generally in Peyote Ceremony. (Hist. Com. of Pa.)

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and left halves, respectively. The one also has carved representations of the female breasts. Harrington secured information explaining that these drum-beaters symbolized the male and female worshipers, but we cannot be so certain of this in view of the possibility that they may be representations of male and female deities, the "grandfathers" and "grandmothers" of the Delawares. The sacred drumsticks are also cut to have forked ends as the illustrations show. For this morphological feature Wi·tapano'xwe knew of no positive explanation unless it represents the forks in the pathway of the soul. Harrington suggested that it was to make a louder sound. Specimens made by the informant are shown in fig. 20. Pin oak was the wood used. The faces are designed to bring out male and female lineaments.

Reverting for a moment to a consideration of the drum it is worth noting that the Delawares use neither the hollow log-drum nor the water-drum in the Big House ceremony although both are known in connection with other dance performances in the tribe.

The prayer sticks (ma·mendahi·'k·ana·, plural) "means of earnest supplication" (fig. 24) are peeled wands about 18 inches long, twelve in number, six decorated with spirals encircling them burnt on their surface, six undecorated. On the ninth night likewise these wands are introduced into the prayer feature of the ceremony. The worshipers, who up until this night have simply raised their hands when giving voice to the prayer call when grouped around the center post, now raise their hands pointing toward the images of the great spirit on this post with the prayer wands. Here again we learn that the extra reach afforded by the sticks is symbolical of the greater height in the heaven-strata that has been reached in the progress of the worship.

The fire drill sang"hi·'k·an),[1] figs. 14, 16, the wooden corn mortar (kəho'k·an) and pestle, or "long pounder" (kwon·u'son·e'k"), fig. 23, the paint, ola·'man)[2] the "paint dishes" (ola'manolo'k·e·s), fig. 21, the feathers, (fig. 18), and other articles whose use is called for as the ceremony advances, are to be mentioned with explanatory observations in the footnotes accompanying the translation. These objects have a positive sanctified value as they function in the ceremony. The Delawares hold them in high esteem as symbols of the natural culture with which they were endowed by the Great Spirit before the coming of Europeans with their sacrilegious mechanisms, which latter are as far as possible held as taboo within the Big House itself and even on the premises. The same exclusive principle is carried out in respect to European foods. Even mussel shells are used as spoons.

A partly sanctified character is also ascribed to certain games which are permitted during the course of the ceremony. While the mem-

[1] sa'ggows, "something that makes a ringing noise," denoting the sound of the fire-drill when in use.

[2] A generic term for "red paint" known everywhere among northern and eastern Algonkians with little variation.

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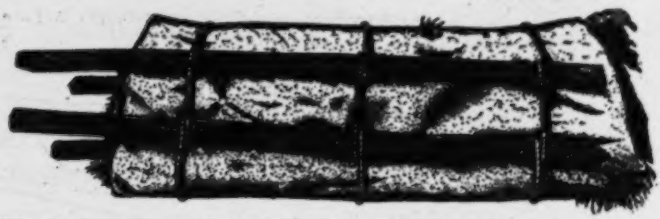

Fig. 19—Drum made of dried deerskin used at the Big House Ceremony. (Length, 38.2). After Harrington.

Fig. 20—Delaware drum beaters used on ninth night of ceremony. (Hist. Com. of Pa.)

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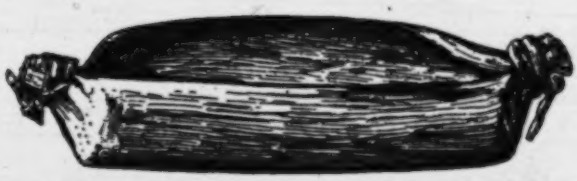

Fig. 21—Paint-dish of bark, used at the Big House Ceremony. (Length, 2.2 in.). After Harrington.

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bers of the group are convened for the Big House ceremony the day intervals between the nightly performances are passed in taking rest and in pastimes of a native character. The Delawares have various games (li·nalo'ti·n) of a non-formal nature. Among these are horse racing (h'wta'me'laxtaŋ, "trying out horses), and the dice and bowl game (ma'ma'ndi·n, "gathering [dice]") consisting of five dice, cut out of mussle shell carved into forms of button, horsehead, tortoise, tossed in a wooden bowl, the counters being kernels of corn or coffee beans. Other amusements, some obviously of European origin, are checkers, pitching quoits, cards, broad-jumping and jack-straws, it might be added that the Delawares are addicted to the well known moccasin-game but reserve it for the funeral ceremony.[1]

CEREMONIAL IMAGE AND FACE-PAINTING.—The application of pigment to the face has, in Delaware thought, the value of an anointment. The sanctity of the act of face-painting in connection with the performance is displayed in the formality of the rite on the ninth night in which the carved images in the Big House, the face images on the forked drum-sticks, and the faces of the worshipers themselves are given an application of red color. The images, however, receive an application of black and red on each half of the face, while the people receive a rubbing of red only on the cheeks and forehead. The proper native source of red for face painting, which the Delawares believe to have been created for their use by the Great Spirit, is Blood-root (Sanguinaria canadensis). Of this we hear occasionally in the text. In the accounts dealing with Indian customs in the east, Blood-root under the name pukoon is mentioned as an article of much importance. The term *pukoon* became adopted into English and the root became a color substance sought for in the commerce of the colonies. The Delawares still preserve a feeling of its importance and, although considered rare in the present habitat of the tribe in Oklahoma, it is locally present in quantities sufficient to supply an orange-red stain for them in their ceremonies. They call it pe''kon.[2]

Black painting is also important in significance. Black (sɔk·a'χtai, "black charcoal") is a means of summoning ghosts and so it is worn only when such associations are desired.[3]

In an account of early Pennsylvania and New Jersey, Gabriel Thomas (1698)[4] tells us that the Delawares upon decease made their faces black all over, and when their affairs went well they painted

[1] To be dealt with in a later memoir of this series.

[2] The identity of the above term with Sanguinaria was ascertained during a trip with the informant in the Pennsylvania woods where the plant was found and named.

[3] The informant remembers when a child being told by his mother to go wash the black paint from his face before night came on, after he had been playing dancing, lest it attract a ghost.

[4] Gabriel Thomas' Account, etc., in Narratives of Early Pennsylvania, West New Jersey, and Delaware, N. Y. (1912), edited by Albert Cook Myers, p. 341.

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their faces with red, "it being the token of their joy as the other is of their grief."

The dichromatic pattern, black and red, seems to stand out with prominence in the painting of the human face and its carved representations in the whole eastern portion of North America from Maine to the Gulf of Mexico. An explanation, often sought for by direct inquiry among the Indians, and again based upon hypothesis, has never seemed forthcoming. In the preceding remarks on the use of black among the Delawares, and again through implied reasoning, I would venture to suggest, lies a plausible explanation of the pattern of red and black. The red symbolizes living beings, the black dead, both idea and symbol having a deep grounding in the religious philosophy of the eastern part of the continent.

To illustrate some of the color patterns affected by the Delawares during the Big House ceremony, the narrator of the text made the accompanying color sketches (figure). The patterning permissible in the ceremony is normally restricted to black and red put on in larger masses rather than in fine lines. The mass designs are thought to be sombre, dignified; in short, full-dress in character, and, a note of no little significance, more ancient.

The smaller, fine-line designs placed on the cheeks or in the narrow area between the outer corner of the eye and the temple are regarded as being more modern, secular in character. These are considered too profane for the purpose of worship, and to wear them during the Big House ceremony would be out of keeping with the gravity of the occasion. The fine-line designs are regarded as being suitable for dress-up events of a social nature and for social dances. They belong also to the garb of warriors, like the wearing of the roach head-ornament and the feather bonnet. A series of examples of the fine line of warriors' face patterns for cheeks and temples are shown in figures , as observed and remembered by the informant. An analogy exists between the patterns adopted by warriors and the markings on the face of the rattlesnake and even the turtles. In both cases the patterns are thought ominous, which seems to account for their exclusion from the ceremonial category of designs. Painting on the face representing markings on turtles' or rattlesnakes' faces are called aca'co which means "slitting or cutting in the skin," in Delaware.[1]

THE SWEATING RITE.—At an earlier period of Delaware history, it is said in the text, before the evacuation of the tribal haunts in Kansas (1867) the performance of a sweating ceremony seems to have been included in the annual ceremony. Harrington has notes on this procedure for which he received the name muxhatoL'zing from his

[1] In Montagnais-Naskapi, aca'jo denotes tatooing.

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Fig. 22—Plain and Sacred (a and b) drumsticks used at the Big House ceremony in Oklahoma (Length, 18.6 in.). After Harrington.

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informants. He choses to regard this rite as another form of the annual ceremony, and supposes this to have been a tribal variation arising through the incorporation of alien features at the instigation of Munsee or Nanticoke adopted by the Delawares.[1] Zeisberger has an account referring to a sweating ceremony of a similar nature to that described by Harrington. The designation applied to it by Zeisberger is "machtuxin",[2] which he rendered "to perspire."

Wi·tapano'xwe secured the following description of the sweating-ceremony from aged living Indians in the Nation on the occasion of his visit home in 1929, and I give it as a supplement to what has already been published by others concerning it;

"The sweat-house performance does not belong to the regular annual ceremony of the Big House although it was formerly held in the Big House. It was a distinct ceremony lasting eight days held by the tribe when it was living in Kansas, before they moved to their present location in Oklahoma in 1867. When this ceremony was first held it was meant to determine who could withstand the greatest punishment by heat and steam. A large wigwam made of twelve poles bent together at the top and covered with hides. Opposite the door a number of pieces of wood and bark are arranged so that the wigwam will not catch fire. During the eight days of the ceremony hot rocks are placed in the wigwam and twelve men, each having had a vision so receiving supernatural power, are selected from the tribe to enter the wigwam where they sing their songs. Many of the men in the trial become weak and succumb to the heat while others withstand the punishment until the last man has finished his song. These men are always considered as being medicine men or healers. The ceremony is held just before sun set.

"The Lenape or Delawares are looked upon as the doctors and an older tribe, in fact as the "grandfathers" of all other tribes. The Indian doctors are known as *mo-ta-en-no* (mot·e'·nu) meaning a man who possesses supernatural healing power. Some times these men are warriors as well as healers."

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[1] Harrington I, pp. 122-6.

[2] Zeisberger, p. 138-9. This verb denoting dancing of ceremonial character appears as machtoga, probably the Munsee form (Brinton, p. 69) meaning "to perspire" being a symbolical dance held in honor of the "grandfather," fire. The number twelve appeared as an allegory in the dance. marta'ken (machtogen, Brinton, Lenape Dict., p. 69) "to fight" is probably the Munsee related form, while Mohegan-Pequot, mata'ga "dance" evidently rounds out the evidence that it denoted among the early eastern Algonkian a superior dance performance associated with fire, struggle, and purification by sweating, and war preparation.

The term machtuxin given by Zeisberger seems to be a shortened equivalent, maxtuw'sing, of the expression muxk'xoltuw'sing, "staying until one is sweated red." Both terms are intelligible to the speakers of the Delaware language today. Lindestrom (1654-6) describes the sweat-bath in familiar terms (A. Johnson, Geographia Americae, 1925, p. 257).

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THE SOCIAL GROUPS IN THE CEREMONY.—In the text frequent reference is made to the three group-subdivisions of the tribe. Inasmuch as no satisfactory conclusions have yet been reached in the classification of the subdivisions of Delaware social organization, I have been obliged to refer to the groupings under captions serviceable for present needs in our discussion of the Big House ceremony. My use of classifying terms for the groups is accordingly not to be considered as definitive. The social grouping that stands out with great prominence in the ceremonial organization of the tribe is the three-fold division of the people into zoonymic septs namely, the Pele", the Pukowa'ŋgo, and Tu'k"si·t. These having been translated by other writers as Turkey, Tortoise, and Wolf "clans" respectively, although Harrington, who uses these terms, has realized the difficulty of classifying Delaware society, and after sounding a note of caution has adopted the designation of "phratry" or totemic group as applicable to them. The concepts of association between the human members of these groups and the animals whose classification they bear are far from being clear at present. One point of importance to be brought out, however, is that the translations given above do not properly represent the meanings the terms are intended to convey. The terms in question are generic not specific; Pele", denoting any bird classified as belonging to the fowls or scratchers; Pukowa'ŋgo denoting the reptilians of the group testudinata (the term having the literal meaning of "sticky heels," derived from the habit of slowly lifting the foot when walking, characteristic of the turtles) and Tu'k"si·t, "round foot," denoting the quadrupeds. In the basis of this classification of mankind a religious rather than social symbolism may be detected. The term in Delaware denoting these divisions is la'ke'i·n, "manner of doing." These groups are not exogamous. Descent is through the mother. In ceremonial rites they each enjoy special privileges, have allotted duties to perform, segregated places of seating, the animal emblem as a name signature in common, and their own chiefs and council of three. Throughout the account of the ceremony reference will be made to these groups under their native designations.

Concerning the other groupings of Delaware society, upon which Harrington has published some discussion, there is no pressing reason for treatment at present from the point of view of the annual ceremony. In all, Harrington lists eighteen of these and refers to them as "clans" composing his "phratries."[1] Their names are not totemic. Since they do not function as social units in the ceremony to which we are giving attention they need not be treated further.

[1] Harrington I, pp. 81-82, 109; II, pp. 209-11. L. H. Morgan (Ancient Society, N. Y. 1877, pp. 171-3), using first hand Delaware sources in Kansas, first founded this classification.

[1] Harrington II, pp. 210-11. His group nomenclature follows that of Morgan (op. cit., p. 172).

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614 We may dismiss for the present, the problem of their origin after
621 giving the opinion of our informant, with which Harrington coincides, that they were local groups, district populations in an older habitat, which had accumulated the characteristic of sib groupings with maternal descent and exogany. Heckewelder,[1] over a century ago, who knew the Delawares so well, had sound reasons for his opinion on the character of the triple "totemic" groupings as being geographical divisions, originally tribal subdivisions. These, he continues to say in his discussion, again developed local sub-groupings that took name from localities, the eighteen so-called "clans" of Morgan and Harrington. The Delaware designation for these groups is wihil·a'i·n, "name or title."

128 EXPLANATION OF CHARACTERS USED IN THE TEXT

In general conformity with the suggestions of the committee on the transcription of Indian languages, I have employed the following characters in the transcription of the text. Occasional variation in the spelling of native terms will be found in the narrative, due to variability of pronunciation by the informant. This it has been thought wiser to retain until a more detailed study of sounds and phonetic laws can be made.

194 The Oklahoma dialect does not abound in the voiceless final vowels
104 and syllables which, according to Sapir,[2] characterize the dialect spoken by the Delawares of the Grand River reserve in Ontario.

There is no indication whatever in Delaware of an *r*, or *th* (*θ*) recorded by Brinton for instance, (in Lenape Dictionary), as in Munsee and Mahikan, and by Campanius (1645-96).[3]

p, *b* bilabials, occasionally intermediate when preceding the dark vowels, *a*, *o*, *u*.

p, a true, slightly aspirated, surd

m bilabial similar to English *m*.

t surd, as *t* in English ten.

d intermediate alveolar sonant between surd and sonant quality.

t' a pure slightly aspirated surd.

s surd, sibilant, corresponding to English *s* when followed or preceded by *i*, otherwise with slightly deflected tongue tip bringing it closer to *θ*, *(th)* with which it corresponds in Munsee.

n alveolar, not differing from English *n*.

g post-palatal, corresponding to English *ng* in king.

k somewhat intermediate surd stop, medial palatal similar to English *k* in lock. Often not distinguishable from *g*.

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[1] Heckewelder, op. cit., pp. 51-53, 250.

[2] E. Sapir, Geol. Survey of Canada, Summary Report, 1912, p. 6.

[3] The supposed change from *r* to *l* in later Delaware is discussed by Heckewelder, Trans. Amer. Philos. Soc. IV, 1834, pp. 351-96.

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k^w the preceding sound followed by aspiration followed by closure of lips as in position for *w*. 194 104

g sonant stop, corresponds to English *g* in go.

l not differing from English *l*.

l̥ surd lateral *l* with moderate aspiration. Not a frequent sound.

ʿ aspirated, rough breathing following vowel.

h more forcible breathing than preceding, posterior lingual position but no contact with palate. (not equivalent to English sh, ch, th). *h* may be juxtaposed to *s*, *c*, *t*.

x surd, spirant, palatal-lingual in position, similar to *ch* in German bach (This was written *ch* by the German missionaries (Zeisberger and Heckewelder) in Pennsylvania and Ohio, who wrote Delaware. Occasionally it becomes a spirant uvular, with medium stress force. It varies in quality from a strong *h* to a completely closed spirant, but is always voiceless. (Roman x in English text).

c medial palatal surd, as *sh* in English wish.

tc surd affricative, as *ch* in English church.

w, *y* semi-vowels

· denotes lengthening, or as in English doubling, of vowel or consonant.

ʷ whispered with position of lips for *w*, after *g* or *k*.

Vowels

a, *e*, *o*, *u*, *i* open, medium length.

a^a, e^a, o^a, u^a, i^a open, long, with prolongation

ä as in German mann.

e as in English yes.[1]

o as in English Moses, but more open, often difficult to distinguish from *u*.

u labialized as in English put.

i as in English pin.

i̯ as *ee* in English queen, or as in French *si*.

ᵘ, ʰ indicate whispered vowel following preceding sound.

ai, *ao*, *au* } full glides, not dipthongs.

ə open obscure, shorter than *ä*.

ə̃ open, obscure, as English *u* in but. Sometimes with nasal quality.

o̯ closed long .

o̯ closed, medium long *a* like English *aw* in law.

The texts in Delaware and English are divided off to form corresponding paragraphs and sentences on opposite pages.

[1] This sound Doctor Michelson represents by *ä* in his Delaware texts and notes. To my ear, however, as heard from the dictation Wi.tapano'xwe, it inclines to the *e* series.

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Plate I—Face paintings of persons taking part in the Delaware Big House Ceremony. [Upper five designs worn by men, (upper center by Samuel Anderson, lower right hand pattern by Little Stout), upper center commonly used by drummers, lower center worn by women.]

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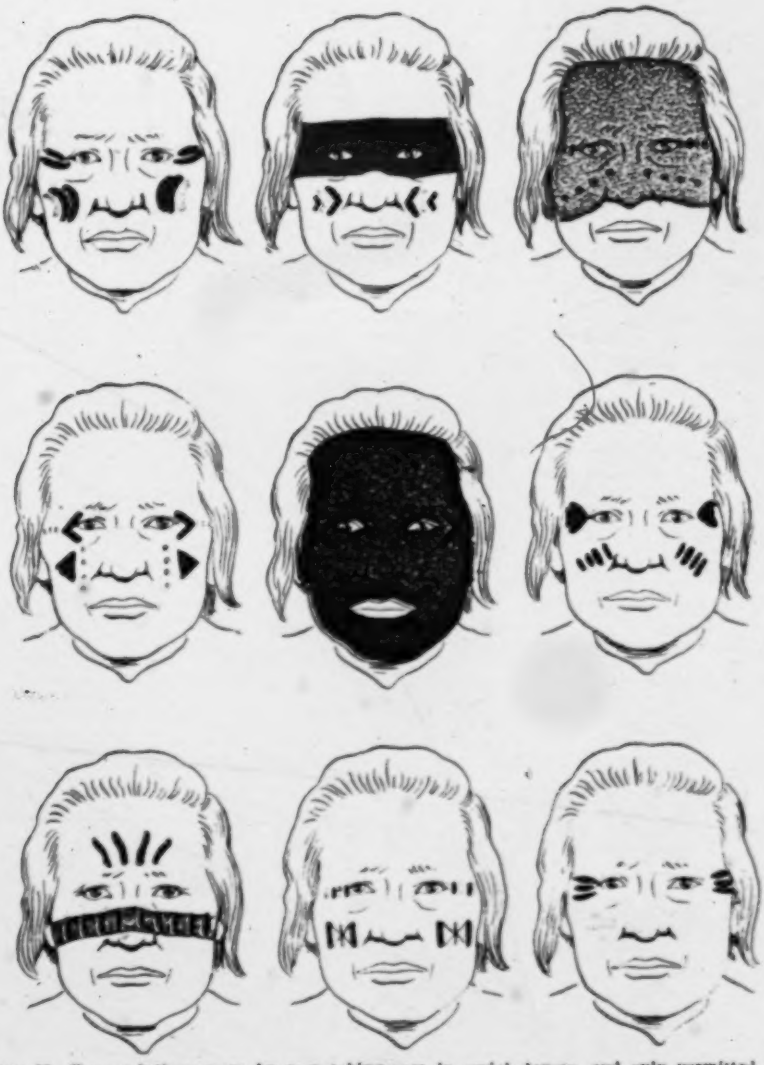

Plate 11—Face paintings worn by men taking part in social dances, and only permitted to the drummers in the Big House Ceremony. These are commonly known as warrior's or fancy dress paintings.

[Facing p. 78(B)]

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Plate III—Face paintings worn by men taking part in Social dances, and only permitted to the drummers in the Big House Ceremony. These are commonly known as warrior's or fancy dress paintings.

[Facing p. 78 (c)]

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Plate IV—Patterns for painting the cheeks and temples of men when dressing for social dances, but not to be worn in the Big House Ceremony.

[Facing p. 78(D)]

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Origin of The Ceremony

and

Formal Preparations

[p. 79]

I

ORIGIN OF THE CEREMONY, AND FORMAL PREPARATIONS

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Ehe'ki· wu'ndji· alami·'χiŋg yu''ni χiŋgwi·k·a'on? lə·'məwe wu'ndji alami·'χan ne' pa'tamweo·'k·an yu'kwe e'ləwe'ndaŋg wa'ni· lən·a''pe ga'mwi·ŋ. o'nda k'''teuk'hək·e''hela'k' we''mi yuta'li e'lai·'k·e't' lən·a'pe. na'χpən·e we''mi· ae''əə wi·ca'ə·o' ako''ka'·k·i· awe''n kp''ko mi·'k·andamu''wi· e'·li· ga''ci k'''teuk'k·hək·e''hele. ək ə·'hal·əm·i·' pe'tci ki·''s'k'hake''hele. we''mi awe''n ga''ce'lo'ndam ənda'·n·eŋg e'iki·'k·wi· ama'ŋgi pe'tci yu't·a la'mha'k·i·ye mata'weoχka'·t·ug' enχi·'t'χkwe''k' pe'tci t·u'χhak·i·e''hela'k' ahi·hwu'ə·k'a ga'ce''·ləndamuwa''k·an i·'l·i wa'ni ae''əə wi·ca'su' lo'we'n i·'l·i wa'ni ae''əə pa''tama''. napən·a''həne'·n· lo'we'n we'mi·a'' awe''n maye''·ma'n a'''kən·ut·a'·u a''t·ə·'t·a e'lacho'·si·yeŋg wundji·'a' wəli·'lae'heŋg na'n·i· pi·'ki·t man·i·'t·u pe'tci ki·'ce'ləmu'k·oŋ.

yukwi'·n·ek·e' k'''teu'k'hək·e'hel·a''k·e lowe''n ga'ci·k'tu'he' nun·hu'k·we yut·a' lamha'k·i·ye'. ək' pe'tci k'tale''tan pu'ŋg'' ək kwe'·e'ha't·e'k ək aha'm·e'ni·' pe'tci k'tal·e''tan ke''ko ma'l·aci· ka''noəli·na'k·wat' suk'pe''k·at' nen·i·ke''ko ge't'pe'hel·a't' la'mha'ki·ye·ne'·n·i ə'nda' ama'ŋgi tu''χk'hak·i·e'hel·ak' yu'endalaus·i·'eŋg' ga'he''ə·n·a oto'he''p·iŋ.

yuk·we pe'tci ako''' wa'k·ət·u''·wi ke''ko e'li·mgə·'t·uk' ne' suk'pe''k·a ke''ko ge't·ala''mwiŋg''. ne' ə'nda' ki·''skak·e'hel·a'k ha'k·i· ək ən·en·'' ənda'n·e''gə·'t·ək' pu'ŋg' ək kwe'·e'ha't·e'k' lo'we'n nale'tən·en ule'χ·e''yan ma'ta'·n·t'o.

Napən·a''han·en ə'·n·da· ma'ye''mand' lə·'n·owak lo'we'n pa'tama' a'' wa'ni lənə''p·e e'·li· wei·'t·ət·e't' a'hi·hwu'ək· tcani·'laeha''wən·a na' ge''t·an·'t·ə·'wi·t'. nan·ekwu'ndji· wi·''cal·uk·ə''nen. pi·'pi·''li awe''n pa'·u'k·wi lo'we' ''e'lahi·yu'ni del·aci·''mwi·n ək ngae·ki·

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I

ORIGIN OF THE CEREMONY AND FORMAL PREPARATIONS

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First of all, whence the beginning of this Big House? It was long ago in the beginning, that worship which is known to the Delawares as Gamwing.[1] It was when there was a period of quaking of the earth throughout where the Delawares inhabited. And even all the animals were frightened, so much that creatures could do nothing because so greatly was the earth shaking. And for great distances came crevices in the earth. Everyone was in great disturbance of mind. And so when such huge gaps appeared, even of unknown depth extending here into the world below, it produced to the utmost, great disturbance of mind. Even the animals were so terrified, it is said, that those animals prayed. And accordingly, it is said, all the creatures came into council to consider about a possible way to proceed so that we might please that Pure[2] Spirit, even the Creator.

[1] Mention of this term as the proper name of the ceremony has been previously made.

[2] For discussion see page 50. pi·ltak, "clean" is used to refer to the meat of a wild animal, which, since it is to the Delaware possessed of a spiritual nature, is religiously clean; pi·lsi·t, "clean, pure, undefiled," embodies the entire concept of purity.

Now at the time when the earth quaked, so it is said, a great cracking, rumbling noise arose here from down in the ground below. And there came rising dust and smoke, while here and there came rising something sticky, looking like tar[1], a black fluid. That substance overflowed down into the earth. That was when the great gaps opened in the ground, here where we dwell upon our mother's body.

So even it was not known what purpose was intended for the black fluid substance blown forth from below. There the earth lay gaping open and when the dust and smoke were seen, it was said to be the breath of the Evil Spirit.

[1] mal·ec·, sticky substance," (cp. Shawnee meaning, "sugar"). The narrator added, "The Indians of today do not know what that fluid was. They liken it to the flowing of oil from the newly discovered oil fields."

And then when the men were called together, it was said that the Delawares ought to pray, for it would seem that the Great Spirit was very seriously angry with them. That is why he frightened us. One after another, certain ones arose saying, "This, behold, is my dream,

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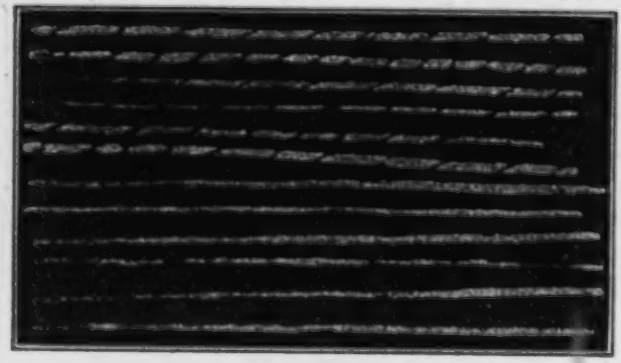

Fig. 24—Delaware Prayer Sticks (Hist. Com. of Pa.)

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Fig. 23—Delaware Corn mortar and pestle used in Ceremony (Hist. Com. of Pa.)

[P.80 is blank]

539 a" weta'kən·u't·əmən ək ngaːkiːa" laːsoː"wiːn wəlaːkiː weː"miːkeː"kə eːliː"namaːt." yukweː"loweː"n hiːtami gaːtəteː wiːkːhaːhanːa. naːχpənːe giːeiːmːgətː eːliːnaːkːə nenːiːwiːkːwam ək elkiːkːwiː pohəːnːdeːkː ək meːcaːkːa. naːχpənːe ləːweːn ceːlaːhənːeːn lakːhiːkːən neskəːndaːt yuː"niteː eleːliːjeː"χeː"siː"kaːkː ək wehəːnːdapːanːaːkːχiː"noːk neːkiːkː məːaː"kokː ək naχaːs niːpaoːciːakː ːnakːatkː"uːsowakː. ək niːhiːniːːca weː"ndaːkwi akwəːndə iːkːatə χkwiːtaːːkːe sakːuːsowak ək leː"laːiː χiŋːwite niːpːaoci ək iːkːa meːcaːːkːa yuːwiːkːwam mociːhiːlaːn. weː"mite niːpaoːciːakː kaakːcaː"sowak. ək yuːkiːkː pəmiːːteiːːhiːlaːk teːgweː"tiːkː nagaːlkwətː. ək iːkːa onaχkəːkːwe pəmiːːteiːːhiːlːe aːpaː"ciːaː. ək neː"kiːkː owiːkːanːak niciːpː hakːeːeː" leːlaːuhək təːndaː aː"nhukːwiːχiːːnan aləwiːiːteiːiːteː aweː"n meːcaːkːːsiːiːtː naːteːəneː wuːndji aːləmiːː askːəpiːːkːhaːn. weː"mite enχiːːnakałkːoːtːukː daː"χan. naːχpənːe neːkː ləːmaːtaχpaːciak ək pakːasiːkːaːχkːo nahəːilː nawiːkːpiː hakałkoːːsːu əːndaː aːkoneː"kːːheŋgː.

ək weː"ndaːkwi waːni leːlaː"iː eː"piːtː niːpaoːciː naːteːnenːtaːliː tandeːuheːn. nanːeːː təpəːkwiːiː hukweː"yuŋgː dalːiː piː"iː aːkoneːkːhaːsu. naːteːneː iːlhiːliːkːtalːaː"mo kweːchaːteːkː. ək weː"mi niːpaoːci aːpaː"mi aweː"n meːcaːkːːsiːtː naːteənːe taːliː wəlːcaːsw məəiːŋhəːliːkan wuːekiŋgːː ək ənːaːχpənːe paːsiː"iː neːwuekiːŋg maχkənːaːsu ək yaχkiː"i ːakːənːaː"ːn.

ək əkːaː"iː eːbelːaŋgweː"piːtː aweː"n naːteːənːe dalinhakaːlkətː akiː"kːə. ək naχaːs ləːnːowakː ək naχa χkweː"yək piːpiː"naːwən kwuːtiːte pəlːeː" ək pukːowaːŋgo ək kwuːtiː tuːkːːsiːtː. dəlikiːːcimːkwuːsiːn təlːiːte miːkəmoːsiːn tətaːseː"gi gaːmwiŋgː loːweːn aːtoχ niːːca tːχuːkːwənːi paː"tamaː"n naːnːiːshaːkːi deː"pːhatːoːwak eːliː"pːaŋgː daː"χanːa. kaːteineːχ χkweː"yək təliːmːkwuːsiːn təlikːəhəmːoneː"yə χːakwiːːm ək wiː"χənːiːn wiːoː"ːa. ək weː"miːtaχkwiː" ːckːaː"ːak χaŋgeː"yək wiːkwaː"həmːiŋ. ək eːnhaːkː kwutːaiːːkːane keː"kː eːnχən χangeː"tiːtː. ək liːmːkətː dəlːiːːteːawe"n hakːaː"tːamən keː"kː əːndaː mhaː"lːaŋgː meːmiːːteːiŋg ːckaː"siːkeː"i. taːli weː"miːteawe"n weːhenːdjiːkːaneː"iːkː laːmiːkwaːhəmːeːtə tali miːːtso ək nahəːliː" təːapeː"ma naχaːnː kwuːtiː giːːkwe.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

"This, behold, is my dream,
and I can thus explain it and sing it in every way just as I saw it.'"[1]
And now, it was said, first of all there must be a house built. And also to be planned how that house should look both as to its inside dimensions and height. And also, it was said what would be the size of the door here to be at the direction of the setting sun[2] and at the direction of the sunrise. And there will be jointed sections of the logs, and three posts used at the sides. And two will be on each side of the door reaching to the height of the top of the roof. And in the middle shall be the big post. And it shall be as high as the height of the house. And all posts shall be notched on top. And these at the side where the logs join shall stand as stud-posts facing each other, there held together at the top using short cross-ties.[3] And there shall be on top a larger timber cross-piece. And the ridge rafters in two pieces in the center where they join shall be more than a person's height, there from the beginning of the roof-pitch. And shall be made of various woods. And also the rafters and flat boards shall be used with the bark on, likewise in the roofing.

[1] The Big House, as we learn here, was conceived in a dream-vision revealed to certain persons by the Great Spirit. The recitation of experiences, obtained while in a dream state or in a disturbed emotional condition, has ever continued to form the key note of the ceremony so founded.
[2] The present Big House on Little Caney River, Oklahoma, is set north and south, evidently so placed by mistake, due to the position of the river.
[3] The notched binders fitted into notches of the posts to lock them.

And at both sides where sets the center post, there also shall be built the fires. Right there opposite and above them, an uncovered place shall be left in the roof. And that will be to force out the smoke. And on all the posts at about a person's height there shall be carved the mask-image face,[1] and also half the face painted red and the other side blackened.

And around the sides where the people sit, there shall be put dried grass. And three men and three women chosen, one shall be of the Pole" group, and of the Pukowa'ŋgo, and of the Tu'k"ni·t. Their service shall be to labor as long as the Gamwing, it was said, ten and two days[2] praying. All this time they furnish sufficient well-dried wood. It shall be, for those women, obligatory that they grind up corn and cook meat. And the Attendants all together feed in the house. And they pay them one shoulder-length[3] of wampum every time they furnish food. And it is the rule that the people shall use wampum when purchasing food from the Attendants. There everyone who recites visions in the House will eat there with his family three times each day.

[1] These are the sculptured personifications of the spirit-forces.
[2] For the discussion of this archaic style of enumeration in the ceremony see page 62.
[3] Measured from the shoulder point to the tip of finger of the extended arm.

X539 Ako'ˢ segaˢ'ᵉon ci·takᵒ' megoˢ'ᵉa nagalkotuˢ'ᵉwi onda' wi·l'ᵏhaŋgᵉ ok ma'ta kᵏpaˢ'ᵉsi·kᵏhakᵏ'ᵉci·l'. mᵏhi'thak·leˢ'ᵉe' la'mi·tkowaˢ'ᵉhameᵉ. aχt·u'χᵉˢa hakaˢ'ᵉla'n o'ndaᵉ ulaᵉpi·landᵉ puχon·i·'kan ok niˢ'ᵉa paᵏ'kamaˢ'ᵉkahi·'ᵉk·an·a laχaucaˢ'ᵉowakᵉ. ok meeiŋgᵉ'ᵉto'tᵉakᵉ wolo'ᵉaᵉn yaχkiˢ' wi·la'k·iˢ' eli·naksu'wakᵉ. lapipiˢ'li· lentᵉcaˢ'ᵉu hitᵉkwo'ᵉaᵉ ok neˢ'li·l hakałko't·uᵉ o'ndaᵉ naχko'hakgeχti·tᵉ dalekᵉa'ok. ok taχane'ndjo ha'tᵉe o'ndaᵉ wi·a'mᵉχkan·aˢ'si·i·k kᵐᵉcaˢ'ᵉtai ok kolᵉo'ke·n·i·'χk·an. la'pipiˢ'li· taχon·ᵉa'ndjo ha'tᵉe o'nda lonaˢ'ᵉi·kᵉ olaˢ'ᵉman ok peˢ'ᵉkon ok on·a'χpon·e nen·e'lχa'laᵉn popᵉho'k·wua.

ok ataχ niˢ'ᵉca man·i·'tᵒun hi·tᵉkwu'sa lowenda'su ma'mendahi·'k·an·a alo'n·de popᵉta'kᵉgeᵏhaˢ'ᵉowa ok alo'n·de so'sapeᵉkᵉhaˢ'ᵉuwa. aweˢ'ᵉn ka'ᵉta wi·'t·asowi·'t·e na'lson·e nokaˢ'ᵉtamon o'nda wi'tci·laŋgoˢ'ᵉi·tᵉ. loweᵉn ta'spaleᵉtamahan·a hukᵒweˢ'ᵉyuŋg ataχ niˢ'ᵉca e'nχiᵉ piˢ'ᵉtao'pan·i·kᵉ e'pi·tᵉ na gi'ceᵉlomu'k·oŋg.

yu'kwe yu'ni· χiŋgwik·a'on e'n·da ehi'ki· mani·'tuŋg lotaˢ'ᵉu na'lon·e kwu't·i· χi'ŋgwe paˢ'ᵉtamweo'k·an keˢ'ᵉnowi·ᵉ nani· meeiŋgokᵉ laˢ'ᵉwande nehen·i·'p·ai·t i·'ka hukweˢ'ᵉyuŋg eˢ'ᵉci· te'l·en ok ni·'ca tχukaᵉ'i·. ok piˢ'ᵉtao'p·an·e mocaˢ'ᵉkᵐᵉsu eˢ'ᵉli· na'lon·an lo'weᵉn golaᵉ'kᵐᵉ. hi·k·an na'n·i·. ki·'ceᵉlomu'k·oŋ tolaˢ'ᵉhon. na'lon·e'n·i wundji·'χᵉan ahaˢ'ᵉnhuk·wi· weˢ'ᵉmi· paˢ'ᵉtamweok·an wa'ni· meᵉχkeᵉyo'k·eᵉi·tᵉ neˢ'ᵉχpeᵉ. lomu'k·okᵉ wu'ndji· weˢ'ᵉmi· ta'k·okᵉ paˢ'ᵉtamweo'k·an eˢ'ᵉlki·'kameᵏ.

ok aᵉpiˢ'ᵉtawan wani lon·a'p·e keˢ'ᵉko neᵉkaˢ'ᵉko o'n·daᵉ ton·de'·uheŋg. loweᵉndaˢ'ᵉsu saŋgᵉhi·'k·an. endaᵉ'weᵉn ton·de'·uheᵉtᵉ pi·piˢ'ᵉnawan eckaˢ'ᵉak aweˢ'ᵉn nalaup·eˢ'ᵉi·tᵉ ci·takᵒ' piˢ'ᵉlsi·tᵉ na'lon·en tali·i·'te saŋgwe'uheᵉn la'mi·kowaᵉ'ᵉhame. tamᵉseˢ'ᵉhaŋgᵉ malsaˢ'ᵉpᵉχko nhakaˢ'ᵉłkotᵉ o'ndaᵉ ton·de'·uheŋg la'mi·kawaᵉ'ᵉhame ok tei·kok nakaˢ'ᵉłkotᵉ o'ndaᵉ malsaˢ'ᵉpᵉχko ton·de'·uheŋg.

yu'kwene'ᵉkeᵉ weᵉnde'lomu'k·ukᵉ wa'ni lon·a'p·e petci·naχᵉkwaᵉŋgoˢ'ᵉma'n daᵉkwi·ˢ' waᵉni· naᵉn·ᵉi· tali·i·'te ataχni·'ca tᵉχu'ᵉk·won·i paˢ'ᵉtamaᵉn. yu'wkenece' meeaˢ'ᵉkwi·k·aˢ'ᵉon eᵉlowe'ᵉi·kᵉ χi'ŋwi·k·a'on.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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No iron or nail is used when building the House, and no wooden floor. It has a dirt floor inside the House. Deerhide is used when the drum is tied together and two drum-sticks are cut forked. And small faces are carved on one side, alike in appearance. Another different pair of sticks are made plain and these are used when the cranes[1] are singing. And a wooden bowl is made ready when they mix up the tobacco and kinnickinnick[2]. Another different wooden bowl is provided when they carry the red paint and puccoon[3] and also there they put cedar.

And ten and two sticks are made, called "means of earnest prayer." And some are marked with spots. Whoever wishes to sing in company shall also use this when helping to lift up the prayer, it is said, with concentration of spiritual force far above to the ten and two sky-levels where dwells the Creator.

And now this Big House when first built, they say of it, was the one great prayer-creed, that this carved post in the middle of the House, standing there reaches to the above through as many as ten and two strata. And the strata of sky light are as high as that post, it is said, this being the fastener. That is the Creator's staff. From that very staff, branch off all prayer-creeds of the red-people given to them, whence come all other prayer-creeds of the world.

[1] Meaning the drummers. There being two drummers, one of them sings in a tone which the other repeats immediately after him, in imitation of the manner in which wild cranes cry when flying in response to the call of their leader. The result is tone is similar to an echo. The crane is the Sand-hill crane (Grus Mexicana), daleka'ɔk, (plural) whence the drummers derive their sobriquet. ni·'kanasos "the leader" is the singer who takes the leading part in the song; the other singer is oxteqgi·'xsos "after-time." See page 87.

[2] See footnote 6, page 127.

[3] See page 71.

[4] mas'mendahi·'k·an. This denotes prayer-sticks used in serious address to the Great Spirit. mas'mendawa'mal "I beg the Great Spirit to do my bidding." Specimens of the plain and decorated prayer-sticks made by the informant are shown (fig. 24).

The bearers of the twelve prayer-sticks give all their spiritual-force to lift the prayer being given by the speaker or the singers to the highest, or twelfth heaven,—the instrumental symbol of raising the word.

And there was given to the Delawares something which is used when they make fire. It is called "ringing noise-instrument"[1]. Whomever they chose as fire-maker, any of the Attendants, was of moral habits or spiritually clean, for that one shall drill for fire in the House. Sometimes flint is used when they make fire in the House and pith is used when they make fire with flint.

Now therefore in the beginning the Delawares came to be blessed with religion together with the Munsee; so the prayer worship proceeds for ten and two days. Now that very log-house itself is called Big House. Right here toward the dawn-direction and sun-set direc-

[1] See page 69.

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X 539 nayuˣ wehe'ndjiᵘ'p·aŋgˣ ok eˣheliᵒχʷᵉi·'kakˣ likwən·eˣn·deˣ ok weˣ'ndji·akəndeˣ' nayuˣ'ni· eˣheli·'ᵒχᵉi·ᵘ' kənami·'eŋgˣ liᵘ'χən təliᵘ' peˣtci· təmi·'kaˣtoʷˣ naˣ eˣlha'kˣeˣt.

weˣ'mi keˣ'ko aχpiᵘ'tawən wani·' lən·a'p·e neˣkalkə't·ukˣ eˣn·daˣ gamwiŋg. na'χpən·e keˣ'kʷ gi·ci·'mˣgotˣ loweˣ'n. kwut·ai·'k·an·e kwu'·t·iawe·ˣn meˣkʷ ən·da' wi·tcə'n·daŋg li· we'ndjaχkən·a'ˣsu yuˣ'ni neˣmi·'teiŋg ok ənaˣ'χpən·e eˣn·daˣ eˣnha·'wənd yu'ki·kˣ ecka'ˣsak. eˣ'lilo'weˣn wani aˣckaˣˣ oli·ᵘ'laelaˣ'o neˣ'lit koχən·aˣ'n·a geˣtanˣtoˣ'·wi·tˣ peˣtci ki·celəmu'k·oŋg.

eˣn·daˣ mi·kəmɔˣsi·tˣ weˣ'mike'ko pwi·'li·'tun na'n·i χkweˣ' wiˣtci ecka'ˣsi·tˣ eˣ'li akoʷˣ waˣkot·uˣ'wi eˣlki·kɔ·ˣt·i·g nen·i· mi·kəmɔ·sukak·an. wani· lən·a'p·e aˣpi·ˣtaɔn dəˣl·i uteˣ'haˣn nen·i·'keˣkʷ neˣka'ˣko. na'χpən·e eˣn·daˣ alamu'siŋg meˣmi·'teiŋg ciˣt·akˣkoˣ naχkowikeˣ'ko ən·daˣ mhaˣ'laŋg keˣ'kʷ akaˣ'tan. ok ən·da meˣ'teiχeˣ'li maena·ˣ'·si·kˣ keˣ'kʷ. nayuˣ mən·antei·'i· wundaχkwi·'i lehelamat·aχpi·i·tˣ wani elhak·et təpi·'lak·hik·wi hukweˣ'yuŋg. nan·eˣ pəmi·aˣpeˣhel·e eˣpeˣk heˣ'mˣtətˣ. nan·e'n celaˣtaˣ'ˣsu weˣ'mi enχa'oha'si·kˣ keˣ'kʷ yaˣi·'i· eˣnχan kiᵘ'ckwi·k.

ekəlowe'ˣn lɔ·'mwe ehi'ki ngamwi'ŋg·e lami·kwa'hame· hu'nd dalimani·ᵘ'haˣn χiŋ'wi piˣmuwaˣ'k·an. kəcaaɔ'n·en naˣ laˣmu'ŋgweˣ piˣmu'wak·aniŋgˣ hat·a'so waˣ nan·etəl·i'ˣ pən·djineˣ'yo mat·ə'inu'·wakˣ. ok mbi·'ˣ nakaˣ'lkət nayuˣ a'ˣsən·i·keˣ'ˣe li· susukˣhaˣ'su nalə·n·eˣ'eloweˣ'si·kˣ pop·əχuˣ'tˣiŋn. weˣ'miaweˣ'n enχip·eˣ'n·djitˣ gaski·'kʷ. ən·i·' laˣmu'ŋgweˣ aχpiᵘ'tˣ lo'weˣn gacilo'su. aˣlə'n·de aweˣ'n meˣt·χa'k·i aˣpˣtˣi·'kˣsu nan·ewu'ndji kˣtu'χholaˣn. yu'ki·kˣ geˣ'ˣki tət·eˣ'ha'k·i· tei·t·anuˣ'həm·aˣ'tˣ nalən·eˣ'kˣ aˣga'ci·lə'suwak.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

tion it has extended. And the doors are opposite each other. Right here in the direction of the sun-set, it is the rule that the Bringer-in come, bringing the ceremony into the House. 539X 773 796

Everything was provided for the Delawares in the Gamwing. There was also wampum supplied by rule, it is said. Each person gives one shoulder-length for helping to prepare this food and also for when they pay the Attendants. And, so it is said, the Attendant is pleasing to him our father the Great Spirit, even the Creator. 539X 773 796 436

When the workers[1] purify everything,[2] these women with the Attendants, it can not be conceived how sacredly valuable those labors are. It has been destined for the Delaware that that very wampum he uses becomes his heart. And moreover when purchasing food, or when anything of value is bought, he employs wampum. And then a quantity is gathered. Here at the left side of the House where the Bringer-in sits, at a certain height above the ground, there a white cloth is hung along the wall. There is suspended all the wampum, as much as has been gathered together each day over again.[3] [783]

[1] The word means "to labor" in the sense of doing something for oneself. Corresponding to the term alo'ke (Penobscot, Wabanaki) meaning "work," the Delaware denotes working for someone else by naloka'tke "I am hired by someone to work.

[2] The clean, pure character of the Attendants or "workers" diffuses spiritual purity over all those attending the ceremony inside the Big House and strengthens them for the ensuing year.

[3] The supply of wampum is renewed each day by those who through spiritual impulses contribute their treasure. They are blessed in proportion. It should be noted that no one is allowed to sell anything at the festival except the Attendants. Outside on the grounds at a distance from the Big House refreshments can be sold for money. But inside the Big House wampum must be used for exchange. In the present ceremonial transactions between the Attendants and the worshippers two or three beads pass for five cents. Some thirty or more years ago, however, when wampum was more plentiful it passed at one bead for a cent. [431]

And it was said, long ago in the beginning at the Gamwing, inside the Big House, they built a great sweat-house. They heated rock and put it inside that sweat-house. There the shamans[1] crawled in. And water was used here for pouring upon the rocks. That was called testing with heat. Everyone going in there and staying for any length of time was said to be a great man. Some person would be exhausted in a little while for which reason they took him out. Those enduring it for a considerable length of time, those are the great men.[2] 539X 773 796 554 785

[1] There were two classes of shamans. Some had healing power and are called nenpi·'kess "sweating doctor." The men who recite their visions in the Big House are also -mete·'l-nu in the Delaware classification, their description being kaci·'lse·n wehendji·k-an'yo "great men who perform in a single file [like the vertebral articulation of men and animals]." See page 54.

[2] Amounting to a title denoting "prophet, reciter of vision, healer, priest all in one.

X539 telkən·əwi·ʸ wəl·u'ŋgan haka·ʷlkət·ᵉ ə'n·da·ᵉ təl·ᵏhi·ʷk·eŋg χiŋwi·k·a'oning. ək ənə·ʷə·k·a·ᵉs kwe·ʷn·ə·ᵉk hi'·t·uk·ʷ kwəli·unde·ᵉs kəl·ə'·n·əm nalən·ə·ᵉ ni·nhaka·ʷlkət·ᵉ ən·da·ᵉ·ᵉ k·ʷtcuk·ə'k·hə'si·ᵏk·ᵉ tə'·n·da' ək li·'m·ᵉgot·ᵉ təl·i·'te·ᵉ wəli·ᵉ·ᵉ ə'səl·ə·ᵉnəma·ᵉne·ʷ'yə ənχən pi·ʸake·ᵉk tət·ase·ʷ'gi pa·ʷ'tamaŋg. ək wa'ni a'eka·ᵉs ni·kani·ᵏχiŋ ə'nχən·t·ᵉ lə'k·ᵉwi·k·ᵉ we·ʷ'mi ə·ᵉlai·'k·ə·ᵉt·ᵉ əka'i· yuχ χiŋwi·k·a'oning nan·ə·' pəp·pa·ʷmaka·ᵉn kəl·ə'·n·əm si·ya·ᵉ'k·ʷ. ək awe·ᵉn maχka'wande tə'·l·i·ᵉ pə't·tcə·ᵉhə·'si·n kwi·'t·ola·ᵉ. ək wa'ni· mi·'mas ale·ᵉpə·'ma·ᵉn. ək we·ᵉhəm·a·ᵉsu lə·'·ʷwe·ᵉte naχa·ʷ'n·ᵉ təmi·'ke·ᵉk·ᵉ təmi·'ke·ᵉk·ᵉ təmi·'ke·ᵉk·ᵉ. ək kandju'k·we gi·ci·ʸma·ᵉn wu'ndji wa'ni· lən·ape·ʷ'i· ə·ʷ'tean t·et·ᵉhu'nowe·ᵉs nan·esɔ·'k·i ge·ʷ'naχgi·tu·ʷ'n yu'ni· ə'ndama'chel·aŋ təl·i· ma'ta awe·ᵉn pet·u·ʷ'wun me'həmən·iŋg·ᵉ.

ən·da'·ᵉ pənae·ʷlən·daŋg awe·ʷn ə·ᵉli·'χiŋg we·ʷ'mi· kwi·'t·əl·ət·owak·an ək ale·ᵉpon·dowa'k·an ə'n·da maya·ʷi·le·ᵉk k·ᵉχwu'·s·u a·ᵉpic·ᵉ'i· ə·ᵉlipəna·ᵉ yu'ki·k taχwe·ᵉyəmən·a·ᵉ'nak awe·ʷ'n ə'n·da a·ᵉ'lawi·'χəni·t·ᵉ ako·ʷ pi·lai·'i· ək ako·ʷ le·ᵉləm·a·ᵉ'i· nətci·ʸ'tun wi·'χən·iŋg. ək mat·atəmi·ke·ᵉ'i· tə't·ase·ʷ'gi· mi·'kəm·u'k·uk·ᵉ ne·ᵉ pə'ləowa'k·an hwu'·s·ka ən·da gam·wi·t·ᵉ. ək li·'m·ᵉkət·ᵉ təl·i·a·ʷ awe·ʷ'n kwi·'t·a təmi·'k·ala·ᵉn aesə·'s·a tə't·ak·ᵉta·ᵉ·ᵉ ə·ᵉli·nak·ʷsi·t·ᵉ əχtea·ʷnənd awe·ʷ'n.

ək nayu't·ᵉ təpəakwi·ᵏ we'ndjiakəndə·ʷk kwə't·teəmiŋg nan·ə·ᵉ·ᵉ ole·ʷ tə'pi·lak·hik·wi ta'li· tən·de'uhə·n. ni·'ca·ᵉ laχaə'k·uk·ᵉ ni·'p·ala·ᵉn na'n·ə a·ᵉpa·ʷ'ei pəm·a·ᵉ'me nan·ə·ᵉ·ᵉ ə·ᵉ'hel·ela·ᵉn ama'ŋgi hu·ʷ'·ə·k ehe'ndali·ʸ·χəd·eŋg. nan·ə·' pe·ᵉχu'tei ni·'p·ai·n ne·ᵉχə·ᵉ'li laχəək·ᵉsi·t·ᵉ hi't·uk·ᵉ na'n·ə cela·ᵉt·u·ʷ'n wi·yu·ʷ'a. ək χiŋ'gwi· tə·ᵉχta·ʷ'k·an nan·ə·' wandak·kwi'tei tən·de·ʷyuŋg ni·'ei pi·ʸ't·ase·ᵉ eha't·uŋg χa'akwi·m nalən·ə·ᵉ haka·ʷlkət·ᵉ. ən·da sa·ʷ'p·siŋ yu'ki·k·ᵉ χkwe·ᵉi·'i· ə·ᵉcka·ʷ'ək nan·ə·'n təli·' mi·kə'n·damən ə'nχən ə'·p·aŋg ək lə'k·unəwi·'i təli·' kəhə·'k·ə·ᵉn mani·tu·ʷ'wak·ᵉ χ·ʷ'akwi·mal·u·ʷ'kət ək sa·ʷ'paŋg. tam·ə·ᵉ'ha·ᵉŋg ni·'ea ei·takə·' ne·ʷ'wa kəhə·'k·an·a haka·ʷlkət·ᵉ nahal·i·' ne·ʷ'li·t kwən·u'·ən·ə·ᵉ'k·ʷ.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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A turkey's [1] wing is used when they sweep out in the Big House. And besides, the Attendant carries a long stick as a poker and that is used when they stir up the fire, and it is the rule that they shall light a good bright fire every night as long as they perform the ceremony. And the Attendant-leader every evening walks around all over where they are camped about this Big House, holding a whip. And any person that they find that is causing unnecessary noise they correct. And the children are instructed. And he notifies them, telling them thrice "Come in! Come in! Come in!" And just recently they selected an officer from the Delaware Agency who is on guard all the time here while they are assembled, so that no one brings in liquor.[2]

[1] The specific term for the Wild Turkey (Meleagris gallipavo) is tel-'kanem, a term derived from the habit of this bird of scratching or "cleaning" the floor of the forest. In native Delaware ornithology, the order Gallinae is denoted by the generic term pole' which denotes any of the birds of the group, though writers on Delaware social organization have occasionally rendered the term by "turkey." Happily no natural history obsequies are called for in the case of this splendid bird for it still survives in its original range where the Delawares knew it.

[2] The imformant pointed to this as an indication of the lack of reverence, and indecency of behavior in the tribe under the influence of the white man's ways. Zeisberger (op. cit. p. 139) commented on the same thing as regards disorder at the feasts.

When any one of us considers the rule with all the obligations and instructions as these are properly carried out, it should be forbidden for one thing that those of our women who when they cannot cook[1] are not pure, be allowed to trouble about the cooking. And should not come in the Big House as long as they are affected with the sickness, because some pure children might be much contaminated, especially when they perform the Gamwing. And it is the rule that persons should abstain from bringing into the Big House any animals of whatever kind they may be which are domesticated.[2]

[1] Being in their catamenial periods.

[2] This has special reference to dogs, pigs, etc. Some discussion has previously been given concerning the status of the wild animals of the forest and those domesticated by man. The Attendants are expected to attack any such animals that come into the Big House and drive them away with their staffs.

And right here opposite from the door on the outside over there at a certain distance they make the fire. Two forked poles are set upright and a pole laid across, upon which they hang the big buckets in which they cook. Near here standing upright is a many-forked tree where meat is hung. And a big shelf is there at one side of the fireplace with two floors where they put the corn that is used. When hominy is made the female Attendants have for their duty, every morning and evening to grind and make corn flour and hominy. Sometimes two or four mortars are used together with those long pounders.

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Y 539 nayu·ni we·'nda·'k·wi naχa·'s hemsi·k·a·'nən·a·s da·'li· gi·ci·'χ·an. ne·'tami·'χiŋg·s nan·e·'n wi·'k·i·n ni·k·a·'ni·'χing a·'cka·'s nawu·'ndji we·'mi ·cka·'sa·s. ə·'n·da·s awe·'n yu·'ki·k·s acka·'s·ak ma·'t·a mi·kəm·ə·'ə·i·t·s kas·'ki· a·'nhuk·olu·'ke·'mu tə·'l·i· man·a·'χe·'n citakə·' tei·hi·'k·e·s wikwa·'·ham·iŋ ək ta·'mse wi·'χan·t·

a·'pi·'t·aən wani· lən·a·'·p·e məs·i·'ŋgholi·'k·an e·'li ko·'·n·u la·'ko·'· nan·i·'awe·'n nehel·a·'·la·'t·s neli·'lə məs·iŋ·'gə ya·'i·' enχa·'ngaχtiŋg·' ik·a·'tc təlo·'·χəl·a·'·o χiŋ·'gwi·ka·'əniŋg ne·'·li·l ·do·'·ə·'iŋgoma·'·s e·'li nalən·a·'n·i· təl·i·' nən·u·'·na·'n we·'·mi te·'·kən·ao·'·ə·a·s. ək lowe·'·n mu·'χo·'··mage·s al·əpa·'·ən·i·'·i· ha·'ŋg·' a·'pa·'·mage·s. nayu·'s pəp·'a·'·mi wi·'cala·'·n e·'·'teiŋg·'ha·'·li· tei mi·ma·'·ə·a·s. ə·'n·da·s wi·'·nowe·'·t·s wa·'ni· mi·ma·'s lale·'·p·o·'··ma·s t·e·'·nha·'·wəte·s pa·'k·i·kwəca·'·ta· təli·' ma·'ta wihi·'cal·ək·o·'·.·wən.

ə·'həl·əmi·'·s li·s wəl·a·'·pandama·'t·e awe·'·n e·'ka e·'·hel·at lo·'we·'n ga·'ei·lə·'·ə·u cuχuni·'k·an·a kəl·ə·'n·e· ta·'χkɔχi·i·' ək ala·'·ho·'·n t·əpa·'·ko·'·wi. ə·'n·da ke·'·koli·'χəi·t· wani· məs·iŋ·'g·' ma·'l·a·'·ei· ne·'hnaə·'ŋge·'s təl·i·'χəi·n ək əndata·'·t·e·pi·'t· ne·'·li·l χeo·'χ·'·ən·i·k·an·a nə·'ga·'lala·'·ə ə·'n·da·s mi·'·land· k·'wca·'··ta·i ca·'·kwi·ga·'·soha·'ŋg·'. nayu·'s pə·'n·da·'·sən·a·'·kaniŋg tə·'n·dalə·'n·əmən ne· k·'ca·'·t·ai. we·'·mi ha·'ŋg·' mi·'·mas lal·'·po·'·ma·'·n təl·i·' χko·'·'·k·amacho·'n na·'n·e pə·'n·da·'·sən·a·'·kan·iŋg ti·'hilane·'·hi·n wu·'ndjite· ma·'t·a awe·'·n kamutəma·'·wan kəmuχo·'·'·məən·'·an·a ne·'·ni·kwucha·'·t·ai. ək lo·'we·'n we·'·mi kwe·'·naχgi·'·to·'·n təli·'a·' ma·'t·a awe·'n pe·'·χosi·kako·'·'·wan pa·'·ləowa·'·k·an. ce·'la·'·hən·ən li·'·χ·an yu·'ni məs·iŋ·'ghəl·i·'k·an·i·i· ma·'·n·ituwa·'k·an.

ənda·'s aləmi·'χiŋg yu pa·'·tamweo·'k·an we·'·miawe·'·n lal·əpe·'·ma·'·n el·i·'·t·e ik·a·'hat·o·'·n we·'·mike·'·ko nən·hak·a·'·taŋg ə·'n·da lən·a·'··pe

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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Here on each side three tents[1] are provided. In the first[2] there camps the leading Attendant, from here outwards the rest of the Attendants. When any one of these Attendants does not serve, he can hire a substitute to provide fire-wood or to sweep in the Big House, and occasionally to cook.[3] 539X 796

[1] hemsi-k.a'wun.a', "cloth houses" (plural).
[2] Meaning nearest to the door of the Big House.
[3] For the service he pays in wampum.

The Delawares were given the Mask-Image[1] so it became the rule that whoever owns that mask should take it into the Big House each year, that mask, because it is he who has complete control over all the wild animals. And it is said that our grandfather[2] is believed to walk around early each morning. Now here he goes about frightening unruly children. When the "one who is our grandfather begs," the child is taught that he shall pay a plug of tobacco so that he will not scare them. 539X 796 778 [776]

If the person who assumes to wear the mask is able to see clearly[3] for a long distance it is said that he is a man of power. He carries a turtle-rattle[4] and a staff of twisted wood.[5] When the mask makes his utterance it resembles a horse whinnying, and when he makes signals using his turtle-rattle, then they give him tobacco. Customarily he kicks at persons. Here in a pouch he carries that tobacco. Every child customarily is taught that he gathers snakes and throws them into that pouch in order that no one may steal our grandfather's tobacco. And it is also said that our grandfather keeps guard over all so that no one may be overcome by disease. That also is the teaching in reference to the spiritual doctrine of the Mask-Image. [293]

[1] The following passage refers to the mask image mas-l'ughil-k.an about which something has been said in the introduction. The composite character of the annual ceremony is shown by the admission of this rite into the ceremony complex in honor of the one who "has control over all the wild game."
[2] The spirit represented by the mask also falls into the classification of consanguinity, and is so addressed.
[3] This evidence of personal power has already been dealt with (page 41).
[4] The rattle referred to is not the small hand rattle carried by the reciter of visions but a large instrument made of a snapping-turtle shell provided with a wooden handle (16.7 in. in length) suggestive of the rattle employed in Iroquois dance accompaniments. Harrington describes and illustrates one of these Delaware instruments (I, pp. 32, 36, fig. 2). (See fig. 7, p. 38). [534]
[5] The distribution of the walking staff as a ceremonial baton and its function in the ethnology of the eastern tribes has been generally overlooked by investigators yet we find evidence of its use over a wide area in the formalities of native behavior among both the Algonkian and Iroquois,—not to overlook the fact that the Delawares imagine the Great Spirit to possess one, the same being symbolised by the center post in the Big House. The Delaware designate the staff by ala'hoss (cp. Malecite, abato'wan). [293]

When the worship ceremony begins everyone is instructed to wear things conforming strictly to Delaware style, such for instance as the 539X 796

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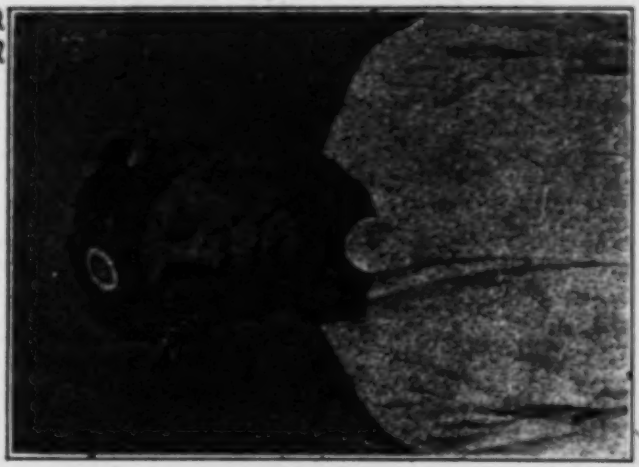

FIG. 25—The Delaware red deer-hair roach with carved bone spreader, bone tube and eagle feather (rear view), and the fur head band with horns, worn in ceremonial dress.

[p.94 is blank]

×539 i·'χtaŋg ta'maeha'ŋg a'χtuhi·'ek·un·a" cit·ak·' ne'hen·aoŋgw'si·'i· mi·'·laχk' o'n·da' mani·'hand' t'paako'·lu'. ok we'·mike'ku ma'ea'·pi·aha'·si·k'" nahal·i·'j lan·hakno'n·a. ok awe'·n li·'t·e'ha't·e nayu'" acka'si·ke'·yu tan·da' e'·laχki·n wu'ni·hil·a'·tamon e'li·na'k·o' ol·a'm·an ne'ga'·tam. ok awe'n li·t·e'·hat·e' a'ihamowi·'· mi·'kwun·a p'si·'·ka. we'·miha'ŋg" helo'·soe kal·a'nt'pe'pi'··u onda' tam·i·'k·e't'.

ok wu'nihol·a'·tamon awe'n e'le'·la'k·i·t' cu'k' maχkol·a'·man ok wi·sa'u'si·t' ha'ŋg" di·'·t̥omi·gi·' aka'·lkwus'. tak·o'·t·a maest·tee'' awe'·n wu'ckiŋg" eohomo'·wan amat·i·'t·i· ha'ŋg" awe'·n e'la'·'ko wo·'nanuŋg" cita'k·o pomi·'tei·'· wu'ckiŋgwi·ge'·e. kat·tei·'wani· me'··χka'kwa'ndal·e's ga'·s·ki· gi·'t·e'ha't·e sok·e'·la'k·o citako' ame'man·dje'·la'ko. yuk' we'·mi χkwe'· li·t·e'·hat·e' maχke'·la'ko on·da' tam·i·'ke't'. na' elha'k·e't' nan·e'lok·hi·'k·wi e'la'kan·a'·n we'·mi· ne'··ki·k' masi·i'ŋgok'.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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deer-tail or horse-hair when made into a roach.[1] And everything is beaded including moccasins. And if any one wishes it he goes there to the Attendant where he may choose paint of whatever color he prefers.[2] And those desiring it wear eagle feathers.[3] All the old men customarily have the head-band when going into the Big House.[4]

And anyone may choose his style, but red paint and yellow, by custom, are more frequently used. A person does not rub it on his face all over. A person usually paints his cheek or at the sides of his eyes lightly. But the relief-drummers[5] can, if desired, paint black or paint fancy. All these women if they desire may paint red when entering the Big House. And also when the ceremonial leader first enters the Big House that is the time when all those Face-images[6] are painted.

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[1] The "roach" is the dyed deer hair or horsehair crest worn by young and middle aged men, worn on the top of the head. (pl. —). The hair stands upright, reaching from the crown to the nape of the neck, kept in place by an ornamentally carved bone spreader forming the base for a bone tube in which an eagle feather is fastened. This is a characteristic head ornament of the Delawares, ancient as well as modern, allusions to it being found in the early explorers accounts from the Carolinas to Maine. It seems to have accompanied the shaved painted head as an attachment to the scalp-lock of warriors. Throughout the central Algonkian area and the southern Siouan tribes it appears with great prominence in later writings, and has finally spread among the Prairie peoples possibly through diffusion through the agency of the Omaha. The Delaware term for the roach, tapeakó·lu, has reference to the shaved head and stiffened hair; that for the bone spreader, cuxa·'las signifies "rattling pendant." These objects and their descriptive terms represent extremely ancient properties of eastern North America, having obvious connections with archaeological objects of bone which have puzzled investigators. The distribution of the roach head-ornament offers an interesting problem. Its occurrence is noted with practically no aberrant modifications among the early populations from Maine southward to Florida, west through the Iroquois to the Central Algonkian, the southern and eastern Siouan tribes.

Among the earliest references to the Delawares wearing the roach we may cite Denton's (1670) mentioning men affecting as head-wear "a kind of a Ruff made with Deer's hair, and dyed a scarlet colour, which they esteem very rich." (See quotation of pertinent data in A. B. Skinner, "Indians of Greater New York, 1915, p. 36). Neither the article itself nor the sentiment attached to it has altered much among the Delawares since this was written two hundred and sixty years ago.

[2] There are limitations in the colors and patterns in face-paintings. The accompanying chart shows the designs and areas of the face appropriate for the decoration of individuals of various classifications (plate I).

[3] The Delaware seldom trim or cut the feathers they use when dressing for the Big House. They say the feathers are perfect as they grow on the living bird and should not be altered. Only the feathers of birds considered noble, such as the eagles and certain of the larger hawks are sanctioned.

[4] Elderly men give up wearing the roach substituting the fur headband with beaded rosette and small feathers at the side, (see fig. 25), or simply the handkerchief tied around the hair into which a feather is stuck. The elders wear their hair shoulder-length.

[5] The drummers who assist the chief drummers are permitted by rulings of the Big House tradition to wear black in painting, or to paint the face according as their fancy may prompt (see plate II).

[6] The images on the side and center posts of the Big House. The renewal of the paint, half black and half red on these images is a sacred act performed out of the reverence for the "Grandfathers" at the same time when the communicants of the ceremony apply the paint to their own faces.

X539 ni·'ca· taχko'χak· mani·'ha·n te·'kan·e·'i·'. ku't·i· e·'lowenŋ ni·ka·-ni·'χiŋg· eu'χwuni·'k·an ok pi·'li· alowi·'tci elki·'k·e·i·t· lo'we·n ha·ŋg· ciŋge·'ki·'i taχko'χk·. na'lan·e·'k· naga·'lkwus·owa'k· on·da·· pa·'tamaŋg e'nχ·an pi·'ske·'k nayu' t·elom·a'ŋgan·e pemi·'tel·i· sko'nde ha·'la·n ne·'ki·'k· taχko'χak. o'n·da· pa·su'k·wi·t· wa'ni· elha'k·e·t· lo'we· ''me·'tel·t·a·'· ni·ma·'t·o'·e·tu·'g· pe'tel· daχkwe·'mo'·t·u·'k· me·'tel·-t·a·'· dalomi·'· ki·'kan·ak·o·'na·'nak ne·'ki ma'ni·t·o·'·ak pe·'mok·o·'-tu'·t·i·t· yu'ni· ke·'namuwo'k·an.'' nan·e'ce· dali'nakalkwo'·e·i·n ok wa'ni· wendji·'k·an·e·'i·t· ok na'ni· we't·egas·i·t· kwu'n·a·'wa'o ne·n-ku't·i· ne·'li taχko'χa· o'n·da wendji·'k·an·ei·'χti·t·.

wani·· ni·'k·ani·χi'ŋ taχko'χ ako'·· ama'ŋgowe·'i· kat· tel·na·· wet·e·'kas·i·'t· ama'ŋgowe· lowe·'n haŋg· naχku·'tam o'n·da ec'χho-nu'm·aŋg·.

e'n·χ·an gaχtiŋg a·'telmo'lai·n kikowi·n·owak. wun·da·'·e·u ta'·t·a ki·'ekwi·k· a·'kan·o·'·ta·'·e·u ok gi·ci·'ma·'n awe·'n temi·'k·e·t·. ok wi·'-hil·a· awe·'n pe·'muχoχta·'k·· k·ut·a'e t·χa·'i·'k·an·e ke·'k··. e'li ya·'i·'i· nan·eta'li wi·'hi·l·a·'n naχa·'· lo'n·owak· ok naχa' χkwe·'·ok acka·'·ak ma·'e' pon·a·'·o'k·. pi·pi·'·naon awe·'n wiŋgi ni·ka·'·ni· acka·'·ai·t· e·'li ni·'ca pole·'·ok· ni·'ca puk·owa'ŋgowok· ok ni·'ca tu'k··ai·t·ak· pi·-pi·'·naon.

yu'ki·k· ni·kan·i·'χi·nhi't·i·t· acka·'·ak kut·e·'li la·ke·'yowak e·lha'-k·e·t· na· te·mi·'k·e·t·. yu'kwe o'nda· naχko'·t·iŋg· wa'ni a'cka·s na'li·yu· kut·ai·'kan·i ke·'k·· naχpaŋgo'·ma·'n. ok ela· ta'·t·a gi·ckwi·k· ika'li· maik·hat·iŋg· χi'ŋgwik·a'on·iŋg. o'n·da· giel·'pi·'li·'tuŋg· yu'ni wi·kwam ok k·pa'·s·i·akwaha'·s·i·k ok we·'mi li· kot·teomiŋg tei·kan·a'-akwe·n we·'mi ok·'e wi·kwa·'hom·iŋg. na'ce· ki·'ean·a'k·ot· li· a'lam·iŋ

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Two shell-rattles they make of a wild creature.[1] One they call the leading rattle and the other, greater in size, is called, traditionally, timber-terrapin. And those are used when they pray every night. Here just at the right hand side of the door they place these shell-rattles. When the Master of Ceremonies arrives he says, "Now then, my brothers and my sisters, now as we begin we are approached and touched by those man-i't-u who are carrying this ceremony of worship."[2] That is how they employ them there. And both the dance-leader and his follower each hold in their hands these shell-rattles when they are dance-leading. The leading shell-rattle does not have a great sound, but that of the follower has a great sound, it is said traditionally, for he does answer when they are rattling.[3]

[1] It has been mentioned how reverential it is to put to the service of man, the body parts of wild creatures—the native wild fauna which are "pure" by contrast with the defiled animals of a domestic nature. The rattles used by the dance-leaders who sing the recitatives of their visions are shells of (Cistudo) the Box Turtle.

[2] This is a synonym for the usual term, pastamwsi'k-an.

[3] For illustrations of these large and small rattles see figs. 2, 15.

Every year the old men hold a council. The day is named, it is talked over, and they decide who shall bring in the ceremony.[1] And they name the person who shall carry the six yards of wampum. And generally they name three men and three women Attendants going to see them.[2] They select the one who is willing to act as leading Attendant for the two Turkey group representatives, and the two Turtle clan representatives and the two Wolf group representatives are chosen.[3]

These leading Attendants, one and the same, belonging in the group of the Master-of-Ceremonies, he who opens the ceremony. Now when the Attendants have accepted the call, forthwith a shoulder-length of wampum they are given as a symbol of being blessed.[4] And announcement is made of what day in the future they shall go into camp at the Big House. When they finish cleaning this House[5] they also plaster it with clay and all then about outside rake it clean. Then

[1] This is the sacred duty of assuming full responsibility for the performance, the term temi-ke being a formal one.

[2] To inform them of appointment and secure their acceptance.

[3] In these terms denoting the triple social subdivisions of the Delawares (see discussion on p. 75), we encounter metaphorical conceptions of the animals designated. Thus pelew denotes a bird of the order Gallinae, typified in Delaware by the turkey cognate throughout northern and eastern Algonkian (bineo, Ojibwa, pelee. Montagnais-Naskapi, "partridge") Puk.owa'ugo, denoting the tortoise group (Testudinata) literally means "sticky heels," in allusion to the dragging motion of the curious, ponderous creature in lifting his hind feet from the ground. Tu'kwal-t, literally "round foot" is figurative for the quadrupeds which seem according to my information to include any of the mammalia.

[4] The term used is a formal religious phrase naxpangow'ma-n not translated by a single word, but which I have rendered "being given as a symbol of blessing."

[5] The informant was undecided whether or not to use the term menda'en for the Big House, which is considered to be an old Munsee term.

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X 339 ga'mwiŋ. ok eəm·u·'te' we·'mlawe·'n wehe·'ndji·k·ane·'li·t' wəl·a'hal·a·'te euχun·i·'kan·a ta'χk>χi·'i· i·k·a'te pwe'eowa·'>' e'n·da pa·'tamaŋg·'.

ne·'kalə'mwe e'hi·'ki· pa·'tama'te wani·' lən·a·'pe e'nχan kut·i· gi·eo·'χiŋg' i·'k·a li' wəl·aik·'ha't·i·ŋ. χiŋwi·k·a·'on·iŋg ato'χeni·'ea t'x·u'k·weni pa·'tama'n. eu'k' en·da·' geχi·ga'χting pi·li·'l·iχta·'·u e'n·χan n·eχa' gi·'eo·'χiŋ. na'lap·i· and'hat·a·'·u. lo'we'n l>χa'iχk>·'nen enda'·we'n mi·kəm·o'·i·t' to'mi·pa·'tama'. na'·'n·da' me'kən·i·'hil·ak' and·'ha't·uŋg. lo'we'n yu'kwe'te wu'ndji e'nχan kut·a'e gi·eo·'χiŋg ga'mwiŋ. eu'k' go·'nu' maχga'·e·' te'li· e·'təm·a' me·'tcia'χi· eowa'·naχg>'·i·n. mwiχan·o'·i·e endan·e·'yot' wa'ni wu'skələn·a'·p·e e'lacho'·i·t' kwi·'gayo'yom·a. nayu'kwe me·'tci aχi·kwu'·ka a'·hot' li·'mac'hel·a'n en·da'' ga't·a'·ka·'ke'na·'mwi·t' wa'ni· lən·a'·p·e ki·'gaχti'ŋ·ge.

yukwe' li·'χan lo·'mwe no'tci· li' ke·'χen·a'uχki a'χpi·'n man·it·o'·. wak' e'li· lowe·'n we'·mi as'·ee ok' teo'·las nahal·i·' wa'ni· aχpa'·m·χ'k·'·i·t' te'kən·e·' awe·'n yukwe·' e'n·da' aχkən·i·'mant' χiŋgwi·k·a'ən·iŋg.

wa'ni· pi·'la·i·t' as'·ee ok' teo'·las aka'·ikwu'·u e'n·da wiu·'sheŋg. nawu'ndji we·'mi·awe·'n pena·'howa'ni mee·l'ŋgho'·l·i·'k·an ok we·'mi· e'lhi·k·a'·k·wi ok wa'ni taχko'χk' lowe·'n man·i·'t·u e·'li na'lən·an kwun·e·'mee yu'ni· kahe·'·'ena ut·ohe·'pi·. ok wa'ni teo'·l's ta'l·ihaka·'·ikwu'·u·i·n li' ho·'n. ok yu'li·t mwi·'k·wunu'·m·a hak'·ikwu'·u·owak'. e'·n·da pi·lhi'·t·eha'·u·i·k' we·'li· ep·el·e·'χiŋg ku'·χen·a ge·'t·an·to·'·wi·t' mut·oma'·k·an'. ok wu'ndji awe·'n wəl·i·'na'·

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and there preparation is made for beginning the Gamwing. And besides, everyone who is to relate a vision and lead a dance, if he has prepared his rattle of turtle shell, shall see to it to bring it with him for the ceremony.

There, in the ancient times the beginning of their worship the Delawares went into camp every month. They worshipped in the Big House for a ten and two day period. But then in a few years a different rule made it every three months. And again it was changed. It was said, "We are hindered in our labor," because of our ceremony. Whereupon for the last time they changed it. It was said, "From now on every six months," the Gamwing will be." But indeed it was discovered that they had become by now too much like the white man in their life.[1] The young Delawares were ashamed, seeing what their elders did. And so by this time it is very difficult for the Delawares to assemble when ready to perform the ceremony.[2]

[1] Among the Delawares, and the affiliated Nanticoke as well, the term cowa'na, denoting "salt water" came to be used in a dignified sense referring to Europeans, since they first appeared from the sea. In the vernacular, less respectful in its sense, the white man was also known as o'ping "white face" also denoting "opossum." This is more of a sobriquet in Delaware. The allusions to Europeans in other Eastern Algonkian languages did not follow the principle of Delaware usage, for the Munsee, awe'nik the plural of "who?" (Brinton, The Lenape and their Traditions), the Mohegan-Pequot, wa'naks, derives also from awa'n, "who"; Wabanaki, awa'nute, awe'nute of similar derivation.

[2] It would appear that the weakening of devotion has been a characteristic modern tendency among the native pagan groups as well as among Christians.

Such was the ruling long ago how several different kinds of spiritual-forces were existent, how, it was said, all the wild animals and birds as well as the creeping wild creatures are the ones to be mentioned[1] in the Big House.

The pure[2] animals and birds only are used when they prepare meat. This is the reason why every one of them, even that Mask-Spirit, and all their kind including the Tortoise,[3] are called man-i't-u. It is because he it is who carries our mother's body.[4] And the bird is used there to be eaten. And these feathers of him are ceremonially used when they sweep clean[5] the beautiful-pure White Path, our father's, the Great Spirit's road.[6] Wherefore a person will appear fine when dress-

[1] This means ceremonially; mention by symbolical references to pay them respect and to acknowledge their rule in the departments of nature.

[2] For further details concerning the "pure, clean" creatures see the outline discussion page 50.

[3] Note the use of the same term (ta'xkoxke) for both the creature itself and the tortoise-rattle. The latter is regarded as being the actual living creature in its ceremonial guise.

[4] The Delaware metaphor referring to the earth.

[5] The term used denotes, "they purify by sweeping clean," meaning to clear away latent malific spiritual forces that might lie in the White Path. This symbolically removes possible spiritual pollution from the course of the wor-

K 329 k'ɨ·n onda pej·'ka·'t' o·'li awe·'n hitci·'t·o'hc·'i pa·'tama· wa'ni
pon·a'hɨlɨ· a·'tu· ok we·'p'ti·ɨ·'s nahɨl·l·' wa'ni ɨ·'ɨ·'l·i'yu·' ta'k'ta

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shippers in the Big House, to clear the way for them to proceed, during the ceremony as well as through life, without the impediments of witchcraft and sickness, to the abode of the Creator. The feathers of the "pure, clean" birds possess the power to sweep away spiritual pollution, for which reason they are used by the Delawares, as well as other tribes as ornaments, as fans, and as brushes.

[6] This is the ceremonial designation of the hard-beaten path around the two fires in the Big House which the dancers traverse. A discussion of this religious concept has been given (p. 28). The reference to cleansing this path bears upon the duty of the Attendants to sweep it clean with the feather brushes or fans.

ing-up for the ceremony, because anyone who earnestly prays in worship to even the deer[1] and the antelope[2] as well as the bison[3] or any

[1] The Virginia deer (Odocoileus virginianus) designated axiw' in Delaware; related terms occurring for the animal in the Algonkian languages everywhere south of the Great Lakes. North of the Great Lakes where the caribou occurs as a competitive game animal the usual term is applied to it, and the deer acquires the name, wawa'tkee, or a variant.

[2] Literally, "white rump," descriptive of the appearance of the rump of the American pronghorn (Antilocapra americana) when startled by danger. "Another characteristic of these interesting animals is a conspicuous rump patch composed of white hairs which are longer than those elsewhere on the animal's back. Through developments in the skin muscles the pronghorn at times of excitement has the power to erect these white hairs until they stand out stiffly over the rump, forming a great dazzling white rosette, like a giant chrysanthemum, which, when the animal is dashing away across the plains in the bright sunlight, is extraordinarily conspicuous. The writer has many times discovered bands of antelope running on the open plains where but for these heliographic patches they would have been beyond ordinary eyesight. These long rump hairs lie like other hairs on the skin and give little indication of their strikingly conspicuous appearance until the animal suddenly throws them up into action." (E. W. Nelson, U. S. Dept. of Agri. Bull. No. 1346, 1925, quoted by H. E. Anthony, Field Book of N. American Mammals, New York, 1928).

[3] The term is, si-si'li-ye. This name has been analyzed to mean, "the animal that butts against and breaks to pieces" (Brinton, Lenape Dictionary, p. 132, the form siellije being given). (Note, the orthography of the original manuscript is German, hence j equals y). The animal designated here was originally the Eastern Bison (Bison b. pennsylvanicus, (Shoemaker)) becoming extinct in Pennsylvania about 1800 (H. W. Shoemaker, "A Pennsylvania Bison Hunt, Middleburg, Pa., 1915). Col. Shoemaker, who described the sub-species, ascribes to it a larger frame and darker coloration than the Plains Bison, with some white about the nose and eyes, and lacking the hump! (Anthony, op. cit. p. 539). That the Eastern Bison was known to the Delawares of ancient times as far east as New Jersey, although the animal itself did not range east of the Blue Ridge, is evidenced by the occurrence of a cognate term in the Delaware vocabulary (1795) attributed to Thomas Jefferson (Archives of the American Philosophical Society), recorded while the tribe resided in New Jersey;—sialliamuss. (See also Account of Gabriel Thomas (1698), in Narratives of Early Pennsylvania, West New Jersey and Delaware, Ed. by Albert Cook Myers, 1912) p. 322.) Brinton, (Lenape and their Legends, p. 226) attempts an etymology of the term, referring the termination *muss* to any large quadruped (moose, elk, cow, applied only to deer and elk by Anthony, Brinton's Munsee collaborator. (Lenape Dict. p. 86).

Although the eastern American elk, or wapiti, is not mentioned here in our text we learn of its being known to the Delawares under the designation, lon-l'mus, "common elk." The actual moose (Alces americana) seems only to have been known to the tribe after its migration. Zeisberger (pp. 58-9) devotes several paragraphs to the bison and elk of the Delaware country in Ohio in the last half of the 18th century.

539 awe·'n te'kse·a'yes lo'we·n pi·hi·t· man·i'te. ok esmu·'te yu'ki·k· ate'χemi·'ea moei'ŋgok· wi·kwa·'hamiŋg nahoi·i·'ne·k ma'mondahi·'k·an·ak ok wa'ni· χa'kwi·hi·· ok me·'homawu'n·siŋg we·'mi ke·'ko ne·'kalkwutsk· e'n·da ga'mwiŋg lo'we·n kwi·'teomuk·o'wak· e'n·da i·'k·a lale·'tama·ŋg ateχo'ni·'ea pi·'t·a·'p·an·e hukwe·'yuŋg e'n·da le·'lem·u'k·uk na'ku·'χen·a ge·'t·an·'te·'wi·t·.

ok· esmu·'te· yu'ni al·e·'p·on·dowa'k·an. tam·'seha'ŋg· lo'we·n kwi·'t·elat·owa'k·an en·da·· nateot·a'·siŋ wa'ni pe·'m·tu·'nhe·'t· we·'mi ha'ŋg· wi'hi·l·a·'e yu'li·l oka·'e ha'k·iŋg e·'pi·li·'tei man·i·t·o·'we· lowe·'haŋg· "gehel·a' wani·'ei teli' i·'k·a pe·'t·e·'lemuk·u·'·n·en teli' ne·'yo'n·en pe·'tei wus·kak·wi·n yu'ki· muχo'·'m·son·a'nak hi'·t·ku·'k· ok nahel·i· nece·' pe·'mia'lem·i· sa·'k·ska·.

yuk·we'tei·te· yu'ni mbi· ok nan·i·' muχo'·'m·e·en·a· te'n·da· lapi·· yu'ni ge·'eχiŋ la'p·i· yu'ni e'n·da e·el·a'nde·k· en·da naχpe'lem·end· we·'miawe·'n t·epi·'a· awe·n pen·a'el·e'ndam elki·'kwi wel·a'ŋgo'kwu'·el·t· i·k·a'wundji' ko·'·χen·a·'·n·iŋg e·'li ne·'k·a tel·i· we·'mi ke·'ko gi·e·'lem·i·n."

yu'k·wetei·'t· kute'n·a'k·i· man·i·'t·u e·'loweŋg huk·we·'yuŋg tal·e·'lem·uk. ne·'tami ·χkem·i·'mand· lowe·'n·uk gi·'ekwen·i·'i· gi·'euχ ok pi·'ke·'wen·i·i pe·'pom·o'·k·at· lowe·'·eu ni·'p·a· gi·'euχ ok ge·'χen·a·'k·i· ala'ŋgo· nan·i·' ne·'t·ami ne·'wund· nayuwu'n·da'kwi· wehen'djio'p·aŋg lowe·'·eu ma'χalaŋg·. la'p·i· ni·'ese ala'ŋgok te'mee·

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other wild creature whatsoever, that is said to be pure spirit. And also those twelve face-images in the Big House, and those prayer-sticks,[1] and the maize and fruit, all things indeed used in the Gamwing, it is said, are helpers when it comes to lifting up to the twelve levels of heaven above us where he dwells, our father the Great Spirit.

And also there is a ruling of custom. The religious obligations sometimes require that the speaker, when talking, it is said, names over all these spirit-forces wherever they reside around the earth, calling upon them, as it is said: "Truly we are thankful that we have lived long enough to see the time come when these our grandfathers the trees bloom forth, and also the coming up of vegetation.

[1] The twelve peeled rods held in the hands of the worshippers when they "raise their prayer to the twelfth level of heaven" to the Great Spirit by crying "ho" six times and "ha" six times, and pointing with the sticks to the image on the center post of the Big House. They are denoted by the term mamendahi·'kan'ak "the means of earnest prayer." In Harrington's study of Delaware religion no mention is made of the exact function of the prayer sticks (Harrington I, p. 103), though in the Munsee corresponding ceremony they are described (ibid. p. 131) as being used to drum with in time to the music, by those who wish to pray. There is another omission in reference to the prayer sticks (ibid. p. 103). Harrington speaks of a particular way in which the sticks "fall opposite each other" but no explanation is made. Discussion of these details will be found on page 69.

[2] Among the tree "grandfathers" thought of in particular is the maple from the sap of which native sugar is made.

Reference to the gift of the maple in yielding its sap for human use is a reminiscence of a widespread Algonkian usage. The Sugar Maple is sena'meci· "rock-place tree" (the Red Maple is called ɔsi·'komes "grove tree"). This tree is the real Acer saccharum and is known to the Oklahoma Delaware only by tradition since they remember it in the north. They make a sugar now from the Red Maple, not as strong in flavor as the other, but mixed with Box Elder (awi·'sai·t o'nas "yellow twig") and Black walnut tu'kwi·meci· "round-nut tree") but the latter has such a strong taste that only a little may be used. Heckewelder (op. cit., p. 194) gives an account of Delaware sugar-making during the Ohio period.

Now as well for this water and for him our grandfather fire, and again this air, again this sunlight. When everyone has been blessed with such gifts it is enough to make one realize what kind of benevolence comes from our father, because he it is who has created everything."[1]

And now furthermore one more spiritual-force is said to be a part of creation up above. The first being mentioned is called day-moon,[2] and the night traveler[3] is called night-moon. And of several kinds of stars, the first one seen is that one from the sunrise direction, called

[1] Zeisberger, before 1780 (op. cit. p. 129), had heard similar professions of gratitude; "They believe the Deity is graciously and mercifully disposed toward them, because he imparts power to the plants to grow, causes the rain to fall, and the sun to shine and gives game to man for his support."

[2] The designations "day-moon" and "night-moon" are widespread in northern Algonkian, (Munsee, Cree, Montagnais-Naskapi). Luminary would be a more exact equivalent of gi·'cux

[3] For the moon to be figuratively denoted as "night-traveler" is common in Eastern Algonkian (ni·bau'a·lit "night-walker," Penobscot, with cognates in the other Wabanaki languages; nanepaushet, Massachusetts (Trumbull, Natick Dict. p. 297).

X 539 haŋg" nayu'" pe'"pa'χa'k·we'k top·i·ne'o pi'"ske'"wən·i·'i'. lowt'"owak ne'"ki·k ala'ŋgok maχk"" ok nen·i·'wi·'t epa'"t·a. yu'kwe lo'we'n ełki·'kwite' na'n·i ma'χk"" maχta'l·iŋg" nen·i·'wi·'t na'te' wi·kwi·'χun' yu'ni o'n·dalausi·'eŋg". na'lap·i pi·'"li lo'we'n ansi·'sk""taya'"ak' ni·cae tχi·'"yok'. na'lap·i nayu'ni e'"heli k""si·'ke'"nami·'eŋg" na'n·i lo'kwən·u'"ke'"s lowe'"s·u kwe'tei·'pən·e'"a. nawu'ndji yu'k' tako'k·i·k' ala'ŋguk ok ki·'co'"χok. ok nahəl·i·' yu'k' pe't'ha'k·howe'"yok komuχo'"mən·a'nak pe'tei· ne'"li·l' kum·ho'k·o' we'"mi lowe'"n ma'n·it·u'"wak. nan·i·' ki·'cuχ χa'"'sən·a tə'n·da ni·ka'"ni·χi'"nan man·i'·tu hukwe'"yuŋg e'"li gaci·lə'·s·u. nen·i·' wəle'χe'"yan' wu'ndji k'cət·e'"·kamən we'"mi yu e'ləma'kan·i·k ok na'lən·an·i· təl·i·' o"·əl·e'"nəma'"n ki·'ckwun·i·i·' ga'·t·tci· na'n·i ni·'paiki·'cu'"χ ti·'hil·i o"·əl·e'"nəma'"n pi·'ske'"wən·i·'i·. ok ne'ki·'k' ala'ŋgok e'"ka'"la'"me' lak'hi'k·wi mi·l·kwus·i'χti·t' dəlki·'kwi wi·t·tcə'n·damən ku'"χən·a ge'tan·to'"wi·t mwi·'kəəs·uwa'k·an.

e'"la'hən·e tə'l·i·' wa'"tuŋg wa'ni lən·a'·p·e tə'l·i a'"lən·de ma'n·i·tu ga'·s·kənə'm·ən naχkə'wi ke'"'ko ok a'"lən·de nunda'·e li·' a'·pi·'"təən tci't·an·ə·owa'k·an. na'n·ewu'ndji o'n·da' awe'"n pao't·aŋg ke'"ko ci·'takə awe'"ni ha'te'te' e'lki·k·wi·'χiŋg ne'"χpe'ləmu'kuk k""tci·'t·anəə·uwa'k·an

yukwe'' geχən·a'"k·i· man·it·o'"wak ən·da' natci·'m'k""si·'χti·t' wa'ni· taχkə'χk lowe'"n gaci·lə'·s·u e'"li kə·kə'n·əmən yu'ni· gah'". ənə ot·ohe'"pi·. nan·i· wu'ndji lowe'"nha'ŋg" k'ai't·i· k""teu'k·wi·

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Great Star.[1] Again seven stars, it is said, are sometimes at the noon-point[2] seen after dark. These stars called the Bear;[3] also the head of this one is separate. Now it is said that whenever that Bear shall catch up with his head, then will be the end of the world.[4] And again another group is called Bunched-up,[5] seven is their number. And again here in the direction of sun-down, that evening-star is called kwe'tei'pon-e'a.[6] Thenceforth are other stars and moons. And there are also these Thunders, our grandfathers, even coming to those clouds, all called spirit-forces. And the sun, our elder brother, is considered a leading spirit-force up above, because he is a great person. By his breath he warms all the universe, and it is he also who lights up the day-time, and the night-sun. It is he who lights up the night-time. And those stars, in accordance with the strength given them, in proportion that serve and aid our father's, the Great Spirit's labors.

[1] ma'xalangw, "Great Star," a variant is ma'xkalangw, "red star."

[2] Meaning at the zenith, regarded in Delaware sky-lore as the point half-way between the earth and the summit of the sky dome, as nearly as can be ascertained.

[3] The constellation Ursus Major has among the Iroquois, the Cherokee, and also the Algonkian south of the St. Lawrence, the same interpretation, as representing the celestial Bear. North of this dividing line of culture, however, the figure is changed to that of the Fisher (Mustela pennanti) or Marten. The explanatory myths are of an entirely different nature in the two areas. The tale in the northern area seems to have a circumpolar distribution in North America from the Athapaskans through the Cree to the Montagnais-Naskapi of the Labrador peninsula, while the Bear legend of explanation traces to the southward. I have given some attention to this myth in a study of Penobscot tradition. (See also E. Hagar, Jour. Amer. Folk-Lore, vol. XIII, No. 49, p. 92; D. G. Brinton, Myths of the New World, Phila., 1896). (See previous discussion of star beliefs, p. 48).

[4] This vision of a celestial catastrophe reminds us again of the Delaware belief that when the Tortoise in his westward journey reaches the edge of the earth the world will come to an end.

[5] The word in the text is asi'a-kwtaya'a-ak, corresponding to Zeisberger's anschiaktawewak which he calls firebrands laid together (op. cit. p. 148). His editor suggests Cassiopeia.

[6] Unfortunately the informant was unable to give a translation for this term.

And so this is what the Delawares understand; namely that some spirit-forces are able to control everything whatsoever, and some are created with less strength. Therefore when a person acquires the strength of a vision of some object or living being, he will obtain it in accordance with the strength imbued in the spiritual power which gives it to him.[1]

And now of the several kinds of spirits when they are spoken of, the tortoise is said to be a powerful being because he is able to bear up this our mother's body. That is why it is said he slowly moves, walking

[1] This difficult passage is an example of the resourcefulness of the Delaware language. Two verbs, carry the much involved dominant ideas, pa'l-ang nee'xpeelsmu'kuk. The former contains the stem pao, universal in Algonkian, as denoting magical functioning (See Speck, Penobscot Shamanism. Mem. Anth. Assn., Vol. VI, No. 3, 1920, pp. 249-54) pa'lax being the Delaware for "fetish or charm," a spiritual agency; the second implies the meaning to be "born with power." Lindeström (1654-6) (op. cit. 207) discusses the term which he renders päähra.

X 539 aχcaho'ᵐχwᵉ ᵉ'li· nau·ndaməən yu'ni· məətto''· ha'k·i·. ək wəhə'·ndeᵉpanaχi·'neŋg wu'ndji aləmu'χweᵉn. loweᵉ'n elki·'kwiteᵉ ikə'peᵉtᵉ ᵉ'li wi·k'ho'k·i·eᵉ'kᵉ məᵉ'l·aᵉti· taki·'ti· teᵉ'k·eᵉtᵉ dəl·oweᵉ'həm·ə ku'tən spə'ŋgweə'k·an. eu'kᵉᵐᵉ'li ewi·'hi·l·aᵉkᵉ neᵉ pəmuχweᵉyə'k·an nan·ekᵉ·wu'ndji kwu'n·aməlsi·'neᵉn nact·a'k·ondj do'χkaχgaᵉ'n yu'ni ᵉ'la·maᵉ'kami·. ᵉ'li ə'n·da neᵉ'undᵉ teᵉ'kəne nayuᵉ ehel·i'χᵉᵐsi·ᵏ keᵉnami'·eŋgᵉ tə'n· ə'kᵉtə meᵉ'tci· meᵉ·hi'k·aŋg ne'n·i· mu'təmaᵉ'k·an nateᵉ alaha'tᵉ yu'ni· ha'k·i·

alə'ɬ·də awᵉ'n ə'n·daᵉ pəə'l·aᵉtᵉ awᵉ'n ·loweᵉ'n ka'·ki· hak·aᵉta'·m·ən ·'ən·da ahi·'χkokᵉ. awᵉ'ni· wu'ndji əktcək·aᵉ'tan ci·takə' awᵉ'n wu'ndji aχgᵉ'piŋgən. ək eli·'tᵉha'tə wunihil·oweᵉ'toᵉn nalən·eᵉ ᵉ'loweᵉ·i·kᵉ mətaᵉ'k·an.

yukweᵉ maᵉ't·awᵉ'li·lə'·i·t maᵉn·i·tu paᵉ·ə'l·aᵉn wu'ndji ka'·ki· awᵉ'n maᵉ'χtci li· hakaᵉ't·am·ən neᵉ maᵉn·ᵉduwaᵉ'k·an maᵉ'χta'nᵉtu tə'l·i· ni·hil·aᵉ't·amən lo'weᵉn ·haŋgᵉ meᵉ't·hikᵉ wani·ᵉ poᵉ'ci·ᵏs tci'ŋgweᵉ ci·takə' kweᵉ'nickwu'n·ayaᵉs ək wa'ni χkuᵉ'kᵉ nahəl·iᵉ

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deliberately, because he carries the whole earth. And he starts out, beginning walking from the direction of sunrise. It is said that when he arrives at the edge of the earth, it will seem like but a short time, namely, for instance we may say like one eye-wink.[1] But because of his slowness of movement afoot; that is why it seems so long before he shall have traversed this world. For, whenever they see him in the wilderness he is going toward the direction of sun-set.[2] And now it shall be, when he has completed his road, then shall come to end this earth.

[1] Meaning that to man's sense of time it seems like a long epoch, but in reality it forms but an instant when the tortoise shall have performed the journey imposed upon him by the Great Spirit. This is quite an unexpected philosophical allusion to the classical problem of relativity in time.

[2] The Delawares entertain the notion that all the tortoises seen in the woods are, unless their movements have been temporarily disturbed, headed westward in their journey across the continent imposed upon their race until the day of doom. Here is something for the naturalist to disprove!

Some persons when endowed with shaman power, it is said, can use it against anyone when they are angry. And that is the cause of some persons' disability[1] or the cause of persons going blind. And he may even decide that he can kill with it. And that is called evil conjuring.[2]

Now the non-beneficent spirit-force has shaman power wherefore a person can employ that Spiritual force for evil purpose. For, it is said by tradition, evil things belong to the Evil Spirit,[3] the cat, panther, or long-tail[4] and the snake, and also the lizard[5] and in-

[1] Literally -ăktcoka'l-an, "crooked leg," in this case meaning rheumatism or other forms of lameness.

[2] The non-benevolent practice of conjuring; witchcraft or black-magic which is as much condemned by the natives as by the mediaeval Europeans. Algonkian shamanistic accounts are fraught with both phases of the practice. So baneful is the recitation even of this information that Wi-tapano'xwe insisted it be kept out of the main body of the text.

[3] maxta'n'tuw, "Evil Spirit" has its closest analogy in Wabanaki, madaba'n-do, the term being mentioned by Father Rasles (1723) in his manuscript dictionary of Abenaki.

[4] The eastern panther (Felis cougar) only recently considered to be extinct in the Pennsylvania mountains, is known in Delaware by the peculiarity of its length of tail kwe'mi-ckwu'n-ayas "long tail." The same descriptive term is applied to the animal by the Wabanaki (pi-ta'lu, "long tail"). An interesting mention of panther hunting in Pennsylvania, but erroneously illustrated, is given by Alexander Wilson, the ornithologist in "The Foresters," published in his Portfolio 1812.

[5] This is a very old term referring to a legendary monster of lizard form, living in trees, running so swiftly as to overtake a man with ease. In early times a portion of its tail was secured by some means, it is related, and kept in possession by some malicious conjurors to work evil to mankind. A portion of the dried tail was scraped and put into the food of the intended victim causing him to die slowly by a wasting malady. The term is most interesting philologically, a variant in Brinton's Lenape Dictionary (p. 38) gegachxs (ch = x), evidently a Munsee cognate, in Nanticoke, oh lkaush-klas, (Speck, The Nanticoke and Conoy Indians, p. 62) and occurring in Wabanaki (Penobscot) as akada'lak', denoting the salamander in lieu of the lizard which does not occur so far north. A corruption of the word in Penobscot becomes a woman's cry of surprise and fear. The word is evidently a very ancient reptilian designation. I had occasion to observe the application of this word to the

X 539 wa'ni ks'kaχtal·l·a"gwe ok naχpen·e mu"χwe"s·ak" pena'"howan·i χalaχpu'"t·i·s nahal·l·' me'mχe·lχka"tas ok yu'k teo"la'sak wani·' teu"lo"lho'we ok ko"ko"s nahal·l·' nenhi·lti·p·a"se"t" kweya"'mwi·s.

yu'kwe e"lowe:ng pi·"hi·t" mi·'mas wan·dji·'χan ta'l·i awe"n ke"'ko lingwe"hel·a"n. ne'k·e le'mwe wani·' mima's pi·laetco'te"hang mi"la" hata"p·i·a ok hita"'ndal·a"'n teli·' alu"ha"n. ne"'sko pe"t·a'·p·ang mani·'ha" teli·' ma'et"i·'χemwi·n. me"'tci·e'·n·da kal·i'tci· lak"·hi'k"·si·t" i·'k·ali de"'gon·e le·ka'o. yuk·we't·a kaχta'" no"·s·teo"la'se. mat·a' χama"'i gandj ke"'ko n"hit·u't·e. ok lekun·swi·'·l· nahali·'·l· awe"n kawi·l· taχama"'i· e'li lo'we"n awe"'n mi·'mas tema"'k·ongomwi·'t·e tam"se"a" man·it·o'wak kwu't·amake"'lemawa"o e'·n·da pemaska'"t·i·t" ki·ga"la we"'mi mi·'mas elama"'kami·k". e"'li nayu'" wehe'ndjio'p·ang citak·o' huk·we"yung ok ta'mse lowane"'yung" citak·o' ea'wanaki·'ke wu'ndji k·i·ka"luk man·it·o'"wa. na'·n·ewundji yu'kwe e"'lowe"'si·k" k"tema'k·i·towa'k·an

le·'mewe lowe'ndase·u" ala"p·e'ndowa'k·an·a'len·de awe"'n e'·n·da pa"'hi·t" tet·a'k"ta" awe"'n tal·i·'kwi·lale"la'ndang nan·e'"wu'ndji· ke"'ko laci·"mwi·n ci·tak·o' ke"'ko lingwe"'hel·an. nalen·e'·n awe"n no'χpe"·lemu'k·un wu'ndji· ke"'ko lape"'mku'si·n ci·tak·o' wu'ndji nin"pi"·ke"n ci·tak·o' we'ndji·k·ane"'i.

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eastern Fence Lizard (Sceloporus undulatus), at the same time recording the folk-belief from Wi·tapano·'xwe that the puny creature is thought by some to be capable of entering the mouth of a person, biting his heart and causing death. 539X 734 776 825

sects, for example, the spider,[1] and also the scorpion,[2] and these birds; the screech owl and horned-owl[3] and also the chicken-killer,[4] the red-tailed hawk.[5]

[1] No specific race of arachnid is indicated by this general term, which means something repulsive.

[2] Literally "big with many legs."

[3] Onomatopoetic names. So the cry of the birds sounds to Delaware ears. Ko·'kos in some form is general in eastern Algonkian for the Great Horned Owl (Bubo virginianus).

[4] Buteo borealis.

[5] The above baneful creatures represent the agencies used by evil conjurors. The agent, animal or otherwise, used by the conjuror, is called wani peyo·'Lake "the being whose power I possess and control." This is regarded by the informant as the analogue to the term baohi·'gan used commonly throughout the northern Algonkian family as the messenger or agent of the conjuror. (cf. Penobscot Shamanism, F. G. Speck, Mem. Amer. Anth. Assn. Vol. VI, No. 3, 1920) where a summary of pertinent information for the northeast is given.

Now what is called the state of being a clean, pure child is the source of a person acquiring something as his spiritual vision. Anciently there the children, little boys, it is said, were given a bow and taught how to make arrows. Before daylight they obliged him to go in swimming.[1] Now after, when he appears to be older, far off into the wilds he is driven. "Now must you hunt birds!" Food is not eaten until he kills something. And in the evening as well, the person sleeps without being fed, because, it is said, a child lying exposed in a pitiful state would cause some occasional spirit-force to have pity on him when passing by visiting all the children in the world. Because here from the sunrise direction, or from up above and sometimes from the northern direction or the south, are the directions whence they are visited by spirit-forces. On account of this it is called pitiful abuse.[2] 539X 861 787

Long ago it was called correction. Some persons when sick in any way, persons in perplexity and distress, would accordingly experience a dream-vision of something, or some would acquire a revelation vision.

It is that which one is blessed, whence one becomes useful[3] or becomes a healer or the reciter of a vision in the Big House.

[1] This drastic custom intended not only to harden but to purify youths. The immersion daily in pure running water is part of the ceremonial bringing-up reported in a number of eastern peoples besides the Delawares.

[2] Here we meet with an important religious phenomena,—ritual abuse to secure a more intense spiritual blessing. The concept has been discussed in the beginning of the study.

[3] Meaning that one who has obtained a spiritual blessing or inspiration is under moral obligation by Delaware ethical standards to devote his gift toward the alleviation of human misery, by healing the sick, by setting the example of purity and unselfishness to others.

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x539 nace" naχen·aoχkat° awe"n e"li· mi·ikwu'si·t° ta'li· la'pem·kwu'si·n ei·taku' mətei'n·u ək awe"n gas·ki i·la"o nalən·e° e"lowe"si·k ga'ci·ləs·owa'k·an.

II

FIRST NIGHT OF THE CEREMONY
OPENING SPEECH BY MASTER-OF-CEREMONIES

Lowe"haŋg" nan·i·° e'lha'k·e"t° ənda'təmi·k·e"t° χiŋgwi·k·a'ən·iŋg ənda' pa'suk·wi·t° pmat·o"nhe° lowe" "gehel·a' wani'ci e"laŋgə'ndi·eŋg". ga'hən·e ci·'ki· təl·i' ik·ape"t·e'ləmu"ne°n ən·da' neuχt·i·'eŋg" təl·i· wə'l·amalsi·'ne°n. gehel·a' wa'nici· ta'l·i· oŋgo'"məl·ən° ni·'ma°·tə'stuk daχkwe"mət·uk ək ən·e'k ce" tami·'mas·m·ənae"nak. kən·a°'nχpaŋgo'mənən we"'mi enχa'oga't·ək° wəl·a'ŋgosowa'k·an. ge'hel·a'·me°tei·'gai· nda'hi· nunde'ka°ku'n° ə'n·da° ayal·e°poŋge"ya. ke"'təmak·awe"ni·ya ge'hel·aha'ŋg". a'hi· su'k·ən hənа'e lən·damowa'k·an ə'n·da° ne"'ma ki·'gaχtiŋge e'lki·'kwi me"tei k°təma'°ka yu'ni· e'ndalausi·'·eŋg". cu'k"' i·a°'p°teikat·a°'t·i ni·'ma°tə'stuk ndaχkwe"mətuk pe"'tei ne°k ce" tami·'mas·əmən·a'nak. ka'"t·ate° we"'miawe"n pəna°'elə'n·dam ki·tei·'t·ehe"'i ən·da° ik·a'laŋgome'ŋg" na'n·i ko'"χon·a ge"'tan°to'"·wi·t° pe'tei· ki·'celəmu'k·ong". ga'hən·e hwus·ka k°təma'k·e°lə'n·damowak·an ə'n·da° pon·a'm·eŋg" k"'tək·i·'i· wenda'u°si·eŋg" elki·'·ha'ŋg". lə'məwe i·li·'t·a° ge"'χi· gaχtə'n° we"'mi haŋg" yu'ni· komen·da'wun·ən·a"'n·iŋ wunu'ndje°li·χi·'nən° e°la'ŋgome'ŋgwi'ŋg°. ga'hən·e k"'təma'k·e°ləndamuwa'k·an ə'n·da ne"'meŋg" yu'kwe me"'tei· e"'lki·kwi· ei·'kalaŋgwepi·'χti·t° e"laŋgo'"meŋg. tepi·a° awe"n wu'ndji·pən·a'elə'n·dam. ni·'χpən·a tak·o'" di·'l·i·t·e°ha"'i· teχi·a°'ta° i·k·a°'li·tei be°t·a'u°si· tə'l·i· ai·χo'"li· lehel·e"χe°n ndəl·i·' nayu'ni· ə'wən·daŋgo'·"si·n wehe'ndaŋgo"si·'χfi·t° ki·'kayo'yəm·a°'ni'ŋga we°hwəl·i·' ke"'nam·

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These are the three ways in which a person is endowed that he becomes useful, or a magician.[1] And a person can become a warleader; that also is called greatness. 539[K] 787 554

[1] The term mote'lnu in Delaware signifying "shaman" introduces a term recognized throughout the Algonkian range with identical force.

II

FIRST NIGHT OF THE CEREMONY

The Master of Ceremony[1] says when he goes into[2] the Big House, when rising to his feet, he speaks saying, "Truly I am thankful, my kindred. It is exceedingly good that we have lived on through to see each other, that we are in good health. I am truly thankful to bring forth[3] the blessing, my brothers and sisters and those there, our children. I bless you all with every kind of blessing. Truly it is unbecoming to me because I feel incompetent when instructing you what to do. Pitiful am I, indeed, as it is said. It rests very heavily upon my mind when I see each year how at present this our way of living has become pitiful. But nevertheless we must all try, my brothers and sisters and also even those children. Let everyone use his mind earnestly when we lift up our prayer of appeal to that one, our father, the Great Spirit and Our Creator. Indeed it is with great sadness of mind that we look back and see the past of our cultural-life as it is said to have been. Formerly, but a few years ago, it is said, here the seating space in the Big House[4] was overcrowded with our now deceased relations. Indeed it brings sadness of mind when we see here now how few of our relatives are seated around that space. It is enough to make anyone ponder over the cause of it. I myself never did think that I would live long enough, as a survivor, living as I am right here, instructing in sacred things where other sacred-teachers, our deceased ancestors,[5] so thoroughly inspired in worship, taught. 539[K] 776

[1] A proper name in the ceremonial sense, elha'k-ets
[2] By this figure the formal opening of the ceremony is denoted, tami'ke, "to go in."
[3] The Master of Ceremony is regarded as the sponsor for all the blessings that result from the performance not only to the participants themselves, and to the tribe, but to the whole of mankind.
[4] He refers to the covering of straw laid around inside the walls of the Big House where the participants are sitting. No chairs or benches are permitted here. They are not of the ancient days. [Ind]
[5] How little the Delawares have changed in their mental attitude since 1742 is shown by comparison of the above reverential discourse with a declaration made by the missionary David Brainerd who labored, and finally succumbed to the effort, to swerve the same tribe from loyalty toward the beliefs of their ancestors. His lament was that they were so much attached "to the traditions and fabulous notions of their fathers, which they firmly believe, and thence look upon their ancestors to have been the best of men." (Life and Journal of the Rev. David Brainerd, pp. 397-425 (Edinburgh 1826) quoted by Brinton op. cit., p. 137).

539 wi·'tci·k. ntəl·i aya'ndama'n we'mi·awe'n wi·tcon·damən cu'k'' i·yap'tci· we'mia'we'n me'tega't·e' kitci·'t·e'he'i· ma'mendowe'tə ta'maesa''nan kətəma'k·ət·a'k·ona'n·ak ne'ki·k' man·it·o''wak ke''namhiti·'t' ke'namuwa'k·an'. ok nayu'k·we pə'tci lak''χi·'yeng χo''ləni·'t·i· k'ta'ləmi ki·''kən·ak·o''ne'n ne'ki·k' muχo''mson·a''nak kwe''tckwən·amhi·'t·i·t' yu'ni pa''tamwəɔ'k·an.

yukwe'' ə'n·da pa''tamaŋg' yuki·'k' pole''ok təl·i·' təmi·'kaχto''. ne''yə' wani·' ki·'kayo''yəm·ena'' ok' sa'ki·'ma'yəm·ə'na'. kə''kwəl·əpo'χwe' təli·' təmi·'k·ə'n.

ə'n·da a'ləmi·k·ane'i·t' wa'ni tə'mi·'k·ə't' we''mike'ko ki·'con·dja'·k·at'. nayu'' we'ndji·nχke''i le'la'uhuk' t'pəə·kwi·'' ne'ni·'p·ai·t' wa'ni· ni·'pəə'ci· wehe'ndaŋgo''ə·i·'t' wa'ni· tə'mi·'k·ə't'. nan·ewu'ndji·χən li' wendji·'k·ane''i·n. yu'ki·k' moχo''mson·a'nak taχko'χak lowi'hil·a'ok cuχuni·'k·anak. ə'n·da' i'k·apə''tuχwe''·t·i·t' le'maχta'p·i·t' ok nan·'i ə''lhik·a'ə·i·t' cuhi·'χil·al·a'' wa'ni· ni·kani·'χiŋg cuχuni·'k·an ok na'n·i we'tə'ga'ə·i·t' naχku''təm.

nate' yuki·'k' tale''kaə'k' naχə'n' po'k·ama'ne''yə' ne''li·l· poχən·i·'k·ana. hi't·ami wa'ni ni·ka'ni·'χiŋg' ku't·ən' po'k·ama'n' nal·a'p·i· wa'ni· weuχ·tə'n·gaə·ə'wi·t' na'lapi wa'ni ni·'k·ani·'χiŋg. napən·a'han·ən tə'l·owe''n wa'ni gə'tawe'ndjik·a'nə·i·t' "yu''ta' ka'kə'na''mwi·n!" na'we'mi ki'k·owile'n·u naχko''təm·uk lowe''yok "ha'u gəhə'l·a ə·i·'k·i· ni·'ma'təə."

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So I pray that everyone help. If accordingly everyone does all in his power, earnestly praying with all his heart, it might occasion those spirit-forces to hear our pitiful appeal, those who carry the power of blessing. And right here this evening in a little while we shall begin to feel ourselves being touched by our grandfathers[1] who move this our prayer-worship.

[1] The various man-i't-u or spirit-forces of nature, some of which have been previously mentioned by the narrator. The spirits dwelling in the turtle-shells are one of the manifestations of the Great Spirit, who function in this reference as the spirits whose duty it is to "start moving" the ceremony. The "touch" here means the "spirit of control" or the force that keeps the worship alive.

And now when worshiping, these Turkey-group people,[1] because they enter the Big House with the ceremony, that group is our old man[2] and our chief. He-Walks-Turning-Around-Slowly[3] is the one who brings in the ceremony.

When the Enterer begins the ceremony everything is prepared. Here at the middle of the right hand side, directly opposite where the stud-post stands, right here he conducts the worship—the Enterer. From this place is where they perform the vision recitations. These turtle-rattles are called our grandfathers. When they reach the place where the Master of Ceremonies sits,[4] he shakes the rattle, the leading rattle, and the follower answers him.[5]

[1] It is assumed in the text by the narrator that the Turkey, or Fowl division of the tribe is assuming the obligation to "enter the Big House bringing" meaning to sponsor the ceremony.

[2] The simile here denotes that the Turkey division has seniority over the other two so far as the period of the ceremony is concerned.

[3] The performance is to be recited as though it were being conducted by the present chief of the tribe, Charles Elkhair who has held the office since 1898, whose Delaware name is Ko·kwsi·apo'χwe denoting someone who is walking along slowly then turns around in the opposite direction. The same chief was the host to the ceremony described by Harrington in 1912 (Harrington I, pp. 85-7). The informant planned the text to follow Elkhair's manner of conducting it because he had participated in it frequently under him and had a clearer recollection of his addresses and details of management.

[4] This statement brings to mind the important and oft-repeated reference to the Tortoise in his transit of the world as "carrying the ceremony." The rattles, made of the animals shells, we are told, are following the same allegorical course from east to west.

[5] The dance leader uses a somewhat smaller tortoise shell than the "following," hence the designation leading rattle, as though the rattle itself were an active agency.

Then these "cranes," or drummers,[1] beat three times the drum. First the dance leader strikes the drum once, and then the follower-singer, and the leader again. And then also he will say, he who is about to recite his vision and dance, "I now must worship!" And all the old men answer. They say, "Hau! Indeed it is truly fine, my brother!"

[1] For some reason a simile has developed here by which the two men who attended to the drumming accompaniment are likened to Sandhill Cranes.

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Recitation of Vision by Ko·kwol·epo'χwe

*539 yu·ta ik·a·ndala·tci·mwi·n ka'si·a·[illegible]i'pu e·'ndalami'ma·la·'ne. e'n·da na'k·a nu·'χo wi·χka'utci li·'te·[illegible]me·'tci·ta· wi·'kwa'u·u'wa k·χi·sem·e'su'' gehe'l·ahwu'·ka nda'hi [illegible]e·'ko li·'la·'m·uk· nak·a·' nki·'kayo'yem·a. e·'li ci·'e·'le'n·damon neχ·'sem·e·a· e·'li di·hi·li·'te·'ha·'homb' χu'·ta· i·k·ali·'tci lak·hi'k·wi ·bi·'pa·'pi·ma wa'ni neχi·'·sem·e. gehe'l·ahwu'·ka nda'hi· su'k·'hik·a'k·wun·. ma't·anowa·'to·'n ngwi·'lale·'le'n·dam. nan·e'nowu'ndji a·'yale'm·'ska·'n na'yu·'wu'n·da·'kwi· e·'k·wi·'k·e. bep·a·'m·ak·a·'n ma't·anem·a·'tamo·'n teli· a'l·emi·' pi·'ake·'nami·n. ok· ahal·owi·'i nda'hi suk·'hi·k·a·'kwun pena'en·damowa'k·an gehel·a' me·'tci·ga'i· gwi·'lale·'le'n·dam wi·χka'ntci na· gi·ci·'te·'ha·'n ndeli·'te· t·et·a'ci·'ganto e·'li·'nama. na'yu e·k·ae'k·we deli·' wel·a·'m·hik·ala·'·mwi·n. ma't·ana·kge·'i· na· nda'lemi·ama'ndamon li· e·'toma·' ahale'm·'pehel·e·'yo ci·e·'le'n·damowa'k·an. ma·'mi· ma'l·aci· mat·a'ngawi·'i· e·'li ·di·'te·'ha·' kwon·a'cta nayu'n·i de'n·dala'ŋgel·en ako·'k·tae'k me·'tci no·'χi·'semsi·i'i·. ma't·anak·e·'i· nambe'n·damon ke·'ko nayu't·a pe·'χutci· ma·te·'χ·n. mat·anama·'tamo·'·n nde'l·i·

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Recitation of Vision by Ko"kwsi·epo'χwe

"I must now come to the point of relating my narrative about Kaw River[1] when I was but a child. When my now deceased father told me, "Now, indeed, for your younger brother life is ended,"[2] my defunct parent was exceedingly grieved over the thing. How sorry I was about my younger brother, because I used to think that sometime later when he grew up it would happen that I could play with that one my younger brother. Truly indeed, my meditations grew very heavy upon my mind. I did not know what to do for solace. Whereupon I wandered away, towards the edge of the timber. In my wandering I did not know that it was coming on night, while more and more was my grief weighing upon my mind. Truly, in my realization of helplessness, seeking for solace, I suddenly made up my mind then and there that whatever might become of me let it come. There under a tree I slowly sank and fell.[3] In a short time I began to feel that my miseries of mind had begun to flow out. It seemed not as though I were asleep because I thought it would make no difference if I should die right there, for my younger brother was now no more. It was not long before I heard something come to the ground close at hand. I

(Grus mexicana) or the Whooping Crane (G. americana) those now almost extinct birds whose wings in colonial times darkened the skies of Pennsylvania. "Cranes came hither along the Delaware by hundreds in the Spring (1700), but at present (1748) there are very few. . . . . Certain old Swedes told me that, in their younger years, as the country was not yet much cultivated, an incredible number of cranes were here every Spring," wrote Peter Kalm (Travels in North America, 1770, Vol. I, p. 290), the Swedish naturalist who visited the Delaware valley in the middle of the 18th century (see C. C. Abbot, A Naturalist's Rambles About Home, (1874), p. 230; and E. H. Forbush, "A History of Game Birds, Wild Fowl, and Shore Birds (1912), p. 478).

The birds are also mentioned for Pennsylvania by Gabriel Thomas (1634), (Narratives of Early Pennsylvania, West New Jersey and Delaware, Ed. by Albert Cook Myers (1912), p. 48). The cranes had disappeared from Eastern Pennsylvania and New Jersey by 1869 (W. P. Turnbull, Birds of Eastern Pennsylvania and New Jersey, (1869), p. 49). What the basis of resemblance was in the minds of the ancients, to have caused this resemblance to be featured between the drummers and cranes seems to be beyond our means of learning although the Delawares trace it to the peculiar cry the drummers utter when they terminate each dance round. We shall also hear more of them as the ceremony proceeds, for they play parts of considerable responsibility, being obliged for one thing, to repeat whatever is chanted by the dance-leader when he pauses in his song, during his vision recitation, to dance while the "cranes" echo his verses. They also have certain privileges in the use of face paint.

[1] ka'si·aa is the proper name in Delaware for the Kansa, or Kaw, tribe of the southern Siouan group, from which Kaw river derives its name. This is the scene of the reciter's vision, who is assumed to be, as previously noted, Chief Elkhair.

[2] A reverential way of referring to the death of a kinsman. If an animal were so referred to, the term a'ggel·a' "he is dead" is used. Still another paraphrase for decease is asmat·a'xpi·l·yɔ "he who no longer remains here."

[3] This term has a religious sense, the ordinary verb being nocɔ'ggi·xi, "I lie down."

X537 ᵉtəmaᵉ pukɔ'mᵉwi·pᵘha'tuŋ ik·a ᵉli'ŋgwehel·aᵉne lo'ᵉwaneᵉ'yuŋgᵉ. mat·aguᵉ'ko neᵉmoᵉ'wi· keᵉ'təmak·aweᵉ'ni·ya wəlaᵉ'haχa'n·eᵉ noᵉ'li·pe'n·dao nan·i·aweᵉ'n nayu' ce·i'·l· peᵉ'maᵉcaᵉ'eᵉkᵉ. de'l·l pe'n·dawən loweᵉ'χən "gatci·li·ᵘ'teᵉha'hən akoᵉ'ta keᵉ'ko del·eᵉlo'muk·wi·'l ni'tan·djoᵉ'." nayuᵉ li· hap·aᵉ'mᵉska·n. gehel·a'ndahi·' keᵉkoli·'lae'm·uk nan·i·aweᵉ'n ik·aeliŋ'gwawehel·aᵉ'neᵉ. nan·eᵉ'yon peᵉmaᵉ'meᵉtᵉ dəli·'nao maᵉ'mi·etᵉ nayu·'ni loᵉwaneᵉ'wuŋg wu'ndji·χᵉ'nən alaᵉci·aᵉ' · maχgi·na'kᵉᵉsu. ok loᵉ'weᵉ "teᵉka'n·djo wəli·ᵉ'keᵉnaχgi·ᵘ'tu kᵉpo'n·ai·aᵉ' ceᵉla'·ᵉhənen ndi·'hi·lən·eᵉmən nayu'·n ayaχpaᵉ'muχweᵉya'ᵉne." eᵉhel·eᵉ'kᵉᵉ. hik·wi·'l· tak·i·'χi·n lowᵉtaᵉ'keᵉuᵉ! eᵉn·da tak·i·'χiŋ tᵉəm·+ tᵉəm·+ yuk taleᵉ'kaə'k ·naχə'nᵉ poᵉ'k·amaᵉ'neᵉ'yo neᵉ'li·l· puχən·i·'kan·a ək naχkuᵉ'təmᵉ'kᵉ eᵉn·da loᵉ'weᵉŋg ni·'cən·an·huᵉ'k·wi· təm· təm·. maᵉ't·amaχti·'ti· gaci·na'kᵉᵉsuᵉ nan·i·aweᵉ'n

ən·dadəleᵉ'lam·a ənda' pən·a'ək ik·aə't ᵉ'ləc·aᵉwənak·i·'keᵉkᵉ tə'l·l maᵉteᵉχi·'nən. ək li·ᵘtaᵉ'kəu eᵉχən kᵉtak·i·'χiŋgᵉ nan·i·aweᵉ'n li·ᵘtaᵉ'·kᵉᵉsoχən·aᵉ'nᵉ ·ə·ə·+ ·ə·ə·+. ək 'loᵉ'weᵉ ənda' ik·amaχteᵉ'χiŋ" ceᵉ'lahan·en ndi·'hi·lən·eᵉmən nayu'ni ayaᵉpaᵉ'muŋgoᵉsi·aᵉ'ne eᵉ'li loᵉwe ək li·taᵉ'kᵉᵉsu nan·i·awᵉ'n loweᵉ'χən·aᵉn ən·da' maχteᵉ'χiŋg.

[Song A. First time]
eᵉləmi·leᵉ'hwi' [repeat]
kweᵉ'namoᵉ'wi·
gaᵉ'meᵉna'həwi·
waᵉ'ni leᵉ'n·aᵉ
peᵉ'wi·ᵘtaᵉ'ne
teχe'·l·
aᵉyeloᵉ'mə
kaᵉmi·ᵘna'hwi
kweᵉ'heyeᵉ'
yaᵉ'hwi·

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did not know it, but I had begun to rise up half-way attempting to look toward it in the north. 539K 796

Pitiful me, I saw nothing although I could well hear the person right over the ridge. As I listened he said, "Do not think that no thing cares for you, my friend!" Then and there I walked about. Indeed truly the thing overcame me with surprise, that person, when I came to the point of looking toward him. When I saw his form it seemed as though there in the direction of north, it lay extended like the appearance of red. And he said, "My friend, observe me carefully! Look at me, how I do when I walk about in this place!" Every little while he would start running. When he started running he sounded like tom+, tom+!" [Here the cranes beat the drum three times with the drum sticks, and they respond when he speaks in succession, tom+, tom+]. "Not small but great he looked, did that person. 787

When I thought it over, when I looked at it way over there, at the edge of the southern land[1] did it come to ground. And it sounded so, every time that creature started running, it sounded every time like o o+ o o+!" And he said when he landed there, "And that besides is what I do here, when I pass by bestowing my spiritual blessing." For he spoke and he sounded like, that person, speaking when he alighted;[2]

'Going by fanning the air, glory of him, the worship of man, all over the earth, glory of him. Cease,[1] ya hwi+!"

[1] Denoting the horizon where the earth island meets the surrounding water. [823]

[2] At this point the "cranes" (drummers) strike the deer-hide drum rapidly.

[3] This is a set form in the ritual recitation when the reciter of visions is about to quote the man-i't-u. As he commences dancing he changes to motion of the rattle from a sideways to an up-and-down vigorous stroke, keeping it up while he is dancing and the drummers accompany him. The performer holds the rattle in his right hand before his body at waist-level, the head of the shell to the left, the tail to the right.

[1] Addressed to the drummers.

[2] Conceived by the visionary almost with the rapture of the Psalmist, the spiritual presence of the "red-appearing" man-i't-u is chanted. The sonorous swish-swish of the pebbles inside the dry tortoise shell rattle adds a peculiar dramatic quality to the recitation.

As to the text of the chant, the words are warped from their ordinary form into a lyric measure in conformity with the usual pattern of such compositions. It might be rendered in the following roughly corresponding lines of free-verse for those who will accept an approximate transfer of meter from one language to another so far from it in grammatical form.

[538]

Wind of spirit
Rushing by me,
Magic Power
Gives me vision,
Exaltation
Caused by him.
Supplication
Of the people,
Universal
Exaltation
Caused by him.
Cease!
Yahwi+.

539 kwi^{n}. wa'ni· χan·e^{n} nayu'ta wunda'kwi·^{n} lowane^{n}yo dali·po'n·dasn. nan·i·awe^{n}'n e^{n}luk^{n}hik·wi·^{n} k^{mn}t·ak·i·'χi·n. ge'hel·a ahalowi·^{n} ke^{n}ko dali·'las^{n}muk nan·iawe^{n}'n nen·ie^{n}'luwe^{n}t^{n} lowe^{n}'χena'n^{n} enda'·k^{n}tak·i·'χi·ŋg^{n}.

[Song A. Second time]

kwi^{n} gaho'n·e wan·i·'ei· elaŋgu'ndieŋg^{n} no^{n}le^{n}'len·dam tel·i· i'k·ape'tei o'lamalsi·'nen te'l·i· na'nχpaŋgomel·en we^{n}'mi enχen·a^{n}'ga't·ek la'ŋ·go'^{n}nsowa'k·an ek nahel·i· we^{n}'mi ne'k^{n} moχo'^{n}mse·n·a'nak^{n}. ek^{n} laha'p·e kɔŋgo'^{n}ma^{n}mse·n·a'nak ne^{n}ki·k tale^{n}ka'o a'spale^{n}tamaχti·t^{n} wa'ni len·a'p·e kwe^{n}'namuwa'k·an. wa'ni· χan·e^{n} nan·e'l·l·o'^{n}we^{n}t^{n} lowe^{n}'χena'n enχe'n^{n} tak·i·'χiŋg

[Song A. Third time]

aha'lewi·^{n}no'^{n}li· ne^{n}yo nan·i·awe^{n}'n. dale^{n}lem·a^{n} i·k·ae't^{n} lo'wane^{n}'yeŋ te'n·dale^{n}lenau'k·un^{n} ek deli·^{n}'nau en·da ne^{n}'yo pe^{n}mi·'hi·l·a maχgi·l· na'k^{mn}su. naχa'n^{n}ne^{n}ne'n i·lo'we^{n}t^{n} nan'i·awe^{n}'n lowe^{n}'χen·a'n

[Song A. Fourth time]

kwi^{n}. gehe'l·a me^{n}tei·^{n}'gai nunde^{n}k·a'k·un e^{n}laŋgu'ndieŋg^{n} enk^{mn} wi·a'·p^{n}tei ge^{n}'ski·l·e'·si·n k^{n}tei·te^{n}he^{n} ke^{n}'temak·awe^{n}'ni· e^{n}'linan·e'ndi·te^{n}han o'n·da pe'n·dae na'n·iawe^{n}'n e^{n}'lowe^{n}t^{n} "tekan·djo'^{n} wa'l·i·pen·a'i." e^{n}'lil·owe^{n} "ne^{n}pet·a^{n} nayu'ni· ^{n}bi·'hap·a^{n}" muŋgo'ndamsn." li·t·a^{n}'k·et^{n} ndak·tak·i·χi·ŋg^{n}

[Song A. Fifth time]

kwi^{n}. yu'he^{n}laŋgu'ndieŋg no^{n}le^{n}le'n·dam ndal·i·mse·i·^{n}'k·am^{n}en yu'ni· we^{n}'li·pal·e^{n}'χiŋ ku^{n}'χen·a mu't·em·a^{n}'kan. ek me^{n}'tei nayu'^{n} t^{n}pe·kwi·^{n} pa^{n}'n·e^{n}n nehen·i·'pal·t moχo^{n}mse'n·a. ek ha'ŋg^{n} esmu'te^{n} pi'^{n}pen·da^{n}wen·a^{n}'n·ak ki·'kayo'yem·en·a^{n}n·i·'ŋga^{n} wehwel·i·' ke^{n}'na^{n}m^{n}·wi^{n}ti·t^{n}. lowe^{n}'yek ha'ŋg^{n} ee^{n}'ne t^{n}χo'n·^{n} ko·'kauχka^{n}'nen n·i·pal·t^{n} wa'ni muχo^{n}mse'n·a. yu'χge^{n}pe'n·a wu'ndamu't·am^{n} newundj χe'n^{n}

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[Stop][1] That being there in the direction of the north, there I heard him. That Person every so often started running. Indeed more and more at the thing I became oppressed about what that Person said. And he says when he started running [Stop]. 539 X 796 787

[The reciter repeats the chant as before while he dances around the circuit to the next station, fig. 12, to the accompaniment of the drumming.]

Truly thankful, my kindred, I am very glad that we have lived so far in good health and that I can bestow all kinds of spiritual blessings, even including all those of our grandfathers. And before long we shall shake hands with these "cranes"[2] who are lifting up the Delaware worship. That Being was speaking, saying every time that he started running.

[Repeat the chant for the third time.][3]

More and more clearly could I see that Person. I took it to be far away toward the north where it originated and it seemed, as I saw it going by, to be reddish in appearance. And he continued speaking, that Person, saying[4]

[The drummers repeat the chant, while the Reciter dances a certain distance, then says kwi· "stop," and pauses (at G on diagram (fig. 12)].

Truly it is unbecoming for me so weak, my kindred, but I shall nevertheless do as well as I can and with all my heart, pitiful me! for that is what I thought when I heard that Person saying, "My friend look at me carefully." Because he said, "I also bring blessings when I come here!" So it sounded when he started running.

[Repeat the chant for the fifth time].

Now, my kindred, I am very glad that I have reached this pure, clean White Path, and our Father's Road. And now here opposite we have come where our Grandfathers are standing.[5] And, as it is said, also we have heard how our deceased ancestors so carefully performed the rite. It is said that they called forth how many times to dance around the place where our Grandfather stands.[6] Let us, too, state

[1] This exclamation which I place within brackets wherever it occurs, is a command to the drummers to cease. Elkhair is now supposed to be standing at one of the stopping places in the dance circuit, or Great White Path, reciting his part. (fig. 12, a to g).

[2] The drummers.

[3] Here the Reciter stops almost in front of the drummers facing them and shakes hands with them. All those who are dancing behind him both men and women come up and also shake hands with the drummers, then resume their places behind the leader.

[4] The vague description of the Person (man-it'·u) seen by the visionary leaves its form and character to be imagined by the hearers. The informant for his part took it to mean to him a panther, which would, he thought, be a reasonable inference based upon the allusions by the Reciter. The latter does not like to betray in precise terms the identity of his guardian spirit. [776]

[5] Referring to the center post with the two large carved images, before which he has now taken his stand (see diagram fig. 12, h).

[6] Meaning also the center post.

537 nate' tal·aha'p·a' po'ni·ma'·nen nan·lawe'·n ma'·t·a χana'ne'·. aye'·ma ik·ali'·tci pe'·tci o'lamalsi·a'·ne pi·'p·i·poni·ma'·i·'wen·a nan·i·awe'·n nan·i·e'·lowet' e'·li lo'we'χen·a'n'.

[Song A. Sixth time]

kwi'. gehe'·l·a elaŋgu'ndieŋg' kta'hi· k'tami·'nak'ho'mena o'·n·da mi·'l·kwus·ieŋg' na'·n·he'·li pi·'lsi·t' ae'·e·s ne'χpale'·tama'eŋg wu'ndji we'·mi wele'·len·damene'·n on·da na'·n·iko'·χena ke'·tan'to'·wi·t' wi'·m'bene'·m'kweŋg. cuk'' i·a'p'tci ke'·temak'awe'·ni·eŋg na'·n·ek·wu'ndji· nayu'·t·ali ma'·ki·tak''·si·'ne'·n ko'·χena mwenda'·wəniŋ. wa'·ni χan·e'·nan·e' i·l·o'·we't' lowe'·χenan.

[Song A. Seventh time]

me'·tci e'laŋgu'ndieŋg ku'·t·en ko'·'kahel·a'·ne'·n wa'·ni moχo'·m·sə'·n·a məsi'·ŋg'. gehel·a' wani'·ci· tel·i· pe'·tci· ge'·naχki·χgo'·ne'·n ek tel·i·' wə'lamalsi·'ne'·n nahel·i·' ne'k·i·k' tami·'məsəmənə'·nak. yu'' oŋgo'·'ma'tam' moχo'·msə'·n·a. ni·'·con k'ta'·spale'tama'·ne'·n ho+, ho+.

[Song A. Eighth time]

kwi'. ek elap·i·' ni·ma'to'·s·tuk ek ndaχkwe'·mat·u'k' petci·' tami·ma'·stuk' tel·i·'' me'·tci· nayu'·ni pe'·t'ka'ne'·n ni·'·pai·t' wa'·ni kəmoχo'·'məən·a taχki·k' we'·'mi a'taχəni·'·ca χi'·'yok ne'·'ki·k' moχo'·'məən·a'·nak nawu'ndji· e'kala'·'mi we'·'mi mani'·t·u pən·a'' moχo'·'məən·a tə'·n·dai' ek na'gahe'·'ənə m'bi' ek we'·'mi ne'pausi·'tayəŋg me'·mi·'teiŋg.

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how many times, namely four times. And then we shall never cease talking again about that Person. If only it would be that I have good health in the future we would never stop talking about that Person, who spoke, as he said,[1]

[Repeat chant for the sixth time.][2]

Truly indeed my kindred we are enjoying very good fortune when we are given an abundance[3] of pure clean game animals as our spiritual food-offering,[4] as a result of which all shall become happy and contented in mind, when he our Father the Great Spirit has taken pity on us for our devotion.[5] But nevertheless we are pitiful, that is why here at this place we are heard sadly pleading in our Father's House.[6]

That Being continued speaking, saying:[7]

[Repeat the chant for the seventh time.][8]

Now my kindred, we have gone around him, our Grandfather's carved-face. Truly thankful, because even he has taken care of us until now and because we are in good health, including these our children. Now give reverence[9] to our Grandfather. Twice we shall lift up our appeal[10] ho+ ho+!

[Repeat the chant for the eighth time.][11]

And again, my brothers and sisters and also ye children, we have come dancing here to where stand those our Grandfathers, twelve in number all together our Grandfathers,[12] because from here on all the spirit-forces are alike, our grandfather Fire, and that one our mother Water, and all those who support our life with food. It is enough, my

[1] He raises his hand touching the carved face, and says ho+ ho+, and all who are with him either do the same with their hands or the prayer sticks that they carry.

[2] The inspired Reciter is now standing directly in front of the center post facing the carved image that faces toward the east.

[3] An ancient term, the modern is xahe'li "plenty."

[4] The term used here, neexpale'tam has a meaning difficult to render, an offering made by the people all together to induce spiritual force.

[5] wi·mbenem'k'nan, having the meaning, he has pity on us and shows his love and mercy for our act of worship.

[6] mwenda'wen a long house used exclusively for the purpose of religious worship (cp. Penobscot kwunda'wan).

[7] This formality is never omitted nor altered in ending the paragraphs of the address. Some speakers terminate with tom+ tom+ denoting the sound heard when the man-l't-u struck the ground on the horizon. In the case of one reciter, his guardian spirit having assumed the form of a duck, he uttered kwäk kwä, and declared that the echo reached the edge of the horizon.

[8] The Reciter is now facing the other carved image on the center post.

[9] ɔ̃ŋgo'wastam' the term discussed before.

[10] This is the prayer-cry for which the Delawares were known two centuries ago. The speaker now touches the eastern carved face on the center post with his left hand (the rattle is in his right hand), and those standing about him, who were following him around the dancing path in his dance, raise their right hands or the prayer sticks if they have them and give the prayer-cry as he does.

[11] The Reciter now leads his followers around the center post again in a circle, stopping before the eastern carved image as he did before. Kwi "stop," he says to the dancers and drummers, and resumes his sermon.

[12] He is indicating the twelve carved images in the Big House.

X539 tepi·a" elaŋgu'ndieŋg kwu'ndji· wela"·tenami·'ne"n o'·n·da mi·'tke"e'ŋg we"·mike"·ko pe"·ki·ci·'kiŋg we"·mi tanen·i·"· ko"·χona ke"·tan"·to"·wi·t" toli·"·χtun. wu'ndji ga'·ki· nen·ili·'nameŋg.

ok deli·'nau na'·ni·'awe"·n nayu'·ni e"·li ea"·wanaki·'·ke"·k deli·'nau o'χon·an we"·mi·et" ke"·ko tepe"·lamuk. ok li·ta'k"·su ond· k·tak·i·'χiŋ ho·+ ho·+

[Song A. Ninth time]

ge'hel·a elaŋgu'ndieŋg tel·ek"·u'·t·an ekan" χka"·ne"·n ni·'pal·t" wa'·ni moχo"·mae'·n·a. ok nayu'·k·we me"·k·en·i·'hil·a"·k" o'·n·da e'·kahel·a'·eŋg. na'·te we"·miawe"·n ataχeni·'cen" taspal·e"·tama"·ne"·n hukwe"·yuŋg wendiji·al'·k"· ne'·n·i· kwe"·namowa'·k·an wa'·ni lena'·p·e ataχen·i·'·ca χan" pi·tae'·p·an·e on·da le"·lamu'·kuk o'χon·a ge"·tan·to'·wi·t".

ok nan·e i·le"·wet" nan·i·awe"·n le"·we"·χenan"

[Song A. Tenth time]

ge'hel·a wani'·ci elaŋgu'ndieŋg me"·tci nayu'·" k"·pa"·ne"·n ni·'pal·t" wa'·ni komuχo"·mae·n·a. me"·tci·a"·ne i·'·k·a tel·a'·ŋgosi·'·nen te'·l·en ok ni·'·ca χan" taspal·e"·tama"·nen e"·p·i·t" nan·i·' nehela"·'lkweŋg" ke"··tan"·te"·wi·t" pe'·tci ki·ce"·lamu'·k·oŋg.

ge'hel·a wa'·nici teli·' oŋgo"·mal·en ni·ma"·te'·s·tuk ok nto'·χkwe"·ma'·t·uk" ok ne"·k" ce"· tami·'·maeomen·a"·nak". wani'·ci teli·'·" na'·nχ·paŋgo"·mal·en we"·mi· e'·nχen·auga'·t·ok" wela'·ŋgoeowa'·k·an". gebe'·l·a me"·tci·'gai nda'·hi ha'·ŋg" su'·k"·hik·ak·wun nde"·hiŋg" on·da ne"·ne" ta'·l·i· me"·tci· ci·'kwi·ne"·nen. kwi·'·n pi·'·"·pondae"·nen ki·kayo'·mae·n·a".

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kindred, to cause us happiness of mind when we are given all the things 539X
that grow and all which our Father the Great Spirit has so well pro- 796
vided. That is why it is possible for us to see this fulfilled.

And it seemed to me that that Person right there at the edge of the south-land seemed to me to possess power over all things. And it sounded so when he started running. ho+ ho+![1]

[Repeat the chant for the ninth time.][2]

Truly indeed, my kindred, once more besides we dance around where he stands, he our Grandfather. And this will be the last time when we shall go around. And then also will everyone twelve times lift up the prayer-worship, up above where belong these adorations[3] of the [772]
people[4] to the twelfth level of the sky where dwells our Father, the Great Spirit.

And thus speaking that Person said:

[Repeat the chant for the tenth time.][5]

Truly thankful, my kindred, now here we have come to where he our Grandfather stands.[6] Now the time has come for us to offer up our adoration, to lift up our prayer ten and two times to where dwells he who owns us,[7] the Great Spirit even our Creator.[8]

I am truly thankful that I bring the address of blessing, my brothers, my sisters, and these our children. I give thanks that I bring blessing, all and every kind of spiritual blessings. Truly I am very feeble myself, as it is said, it oppresses my heart when I see how now we are orphans.[9] Many times we have heard from our deceased an-

[1] When giving the prayer-call now, he touches the carved image as before.

[2] He leads the dancers around the post again to the other image, fulfilling his command to encircle the post twice.

[3] The term kwonamowa'k-an occurs here but I have given it another meaning to accord with the context.

[4] The text here might read as well, the Delawares, for, as we have learned, the tribe addresses itself as lonā'pe, "common people" as a proper name.

[5] He is now back again before the western-facing carved image.

[6] Meaning that the worshippers have figuratively mounted to the presence of the Great Spirit in his twelfth heaven.

[7] The conception of the Great Spirit as the owner of men, comes out similarly in Wabanaki (F. G. Speck," Wawenock Myths" 43rd Annual Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethnology, 1928, p. 300).

[8] At this point the leader touches the carved face on the center-post and all hold up their hands. Everybody in the Big House stands up (except those too old, deformed, or nursing children), saying ho+ six times, everybody holding up the right hand, and hā+ six times. Then the drummers follow; the leading drummer hits one, second drummer one, the leading drummer the final blow on the hide-drum. This is the signal for all to sit down.

The leader now faces west, with his back to the maniqw on the center post and directly under it. He shakes hands with his "followers" first, then with all who were in the line. Then each one goes to his respective place to be seated, observing the rule of going to the north and south sides of the Big House. They must pass westward around the two fires, following the White Path over which they have danced.

When all have seated themselves in their proper places, the Attendants put extra wood on the fires to light up the Big House. The speaker again declaims to the honor of the Creator.

[9] Referring to their bereavement through the generations of deceased ancestors.

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*539 niŋga ᵊlki·'kwi ha'ŋgᵊ təmaᵊk'hita'kᵐᵊal'χti·tᵊ ᵊ'n·da weᵊta'kənu'·
t·iŋ ᵊlki·'kwi k'təma'k·i leᵊk' neᵊk·e lak'hi·'k·wi· nda'hi ha'ŋgᵊ.
hwu'ᵊka ci·'l·laᵊm·ᵊ 'ha'k·ai ᵊ'laŋgu'ndieŋgᵊ ᵊ'n·da neᵊ'maᵊ hᵐteŋg
ᵊ'leᵊk·u'pᵊ. neᵊk·ecu'kᵐ geᵊhel·a i·aᵊ'p'tci· kat·aᵊ'·t·i weᵊ'miawᵊ'n
wi·teᵊ'n·dam·ᵊ'·t·am pi·taᵊ'ta təmaᵊ'k'sət·akiŋgwe nan·i·' keᵊtanᵊto'ᵐwi·tᵊ
ta'mᵊsᵊaᵊ'nen paᵊtahi·ksi·'hin·a weᵊ'lhik·aᵊ'kweŋg.

geᵊhel·a elaŋgu'ndieŋ nda'hiha'ŋg nundeᵊ'oma'ksi·n tel·i·' nayu'ni·
aᵊwon·daŋgoᵊ'si·n ni·'p·ai·tᵊ na'·n·i moχoᵊ'ᵐsᵊn·ᵊ·a. ᵊk geᵊhel·a wa'nici
tel·i·' ᵊ'ŋgoᵊman weᵊ'mi neᵊk'ᵊce man·i·t·oᵊ'ᵐwak weᵊ'mi peᵊ'maŋgweᵊ·
pi·'χti·tᵊ ᵊk hukweᵊ'yuŋg. ᵊk ᵊ'n·da mᵊcaᵊ'leŋgᵊ ki·kayo'yᵊmᵊn·aᵊ'niŋga
weᵊ'hwᵊl·i·ᵊ geᵊ'naχgi·to'ᵐti·tᵊ ᵊ'lhat·aᵊka'ᵊn·i·kᵊ yu'ni· paᵊ'tamweᵊ'k·an.
gehel·ᵊ' ᵊndᵊ ci·'ki· təl·i· kwi·yaᵊ'kwi nan·ᵊ'laehᵊ'sᵊ·i·nen ehel·i·'naeŋg
ki·'kayoyᵊmᵊn·aᵊ'ni·'ŋga yuᵊtepi·'lahap·a. wa'nici.''

Yu'kwe wa'ni ᵊ'lha'k·eᵊtᵊ ma'i· ləma'taχpo. ᵊ'n·da meᵊ'hok·weᵊ'·
p·i·tᵊ ᵊk gi·'ᵊ·ci·tᵊ·i·kᵊhi·'k·eng yu'ki·k meᵊ'χkwakwun·daleᵊ'ᵊak loweᵊ'yᵊak
''aya'χpu'kᵊ.'' ᵊ'li neᵊk kᵐᵊcaᵊ'tai taᵊ'χᵊᵊandjuŋg hataᵊ'ᵊu ika'li
wi·aᵊm'χkenaᵊ'ᵊu kəl·ᵊ'k·ᵊn·i·'k·an ᵊ'li nan·ᵊ' li·χᵊ'nᵊ təl·i·'tcᵊ
kəl·ᵊ'k·ənu'maᵊn wani·' lᵊn·aᵊ'p ᵊ'n·da aihu'·p·ᵊti· ᵊk nahəl·i·' nan·ᵊ'
pup·hᵊk·wu'ᵊ ᵊk ᵊl·aᵊ'manᵊ weᵊ'mi kwut·ᵊ'li taᵊl·i· geᵊ'naχgi·kwu'ᵊu
gi·'χki· poχᵊn·i·'k·aniŋg. ᵊk ᵊ'n·da aweᵊ'n ᵊka'ᵊᵊmaᵊ't lami·kwa'ᵊhᵊme
naᵊltcᵊneᵊ'l moχoᵊ'ᵐᵊsᵊn·aᵊ'na nᵊ'k·aᵊla'o ᵊ'li naᵊl·ᵊn·ᵊ ᵊ'loweŋg
pi·'ᵊtakᵊ təᵊn·dai.

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cestors how, so it is said, they sadly pleaded, when, reciting their vision experiences, telling how pitiful were the conditions then in their time said to be. Verily I myself do grieve, my kindred, when I look back there into the past. But, nevertheless indeed, try your utmost, every one have a helpful will, and it might be that our pitiful plea for mercy be heard by him the Great Spirit. We may perchance sometime gain a victory to our benefit.

Truly my kindred, as it is forcibly said, I am oppressed with a feeling of incapability while standing here to instruct anyone in the blessing, here where stands he our Grandfather.[1] And I am truly thankful to bless with gratitude all those spirit-forces, all of them sitting round about us over the entire earth. And when we consider how our deceased ancestors so thoroughly paid attention to the obligations of this prayer-worship! Indeed how great are we privileged and blessed that still we can perform the ceremony as we were accustomed to see our deceased ancestors do it! This is sufficient for this occasion. Thanks!"[2]

Now the leader goes and sits down. When he has properly seated himself and swept it clean[3] then 'these who are painted red'[4] say "Let us all smoke[5] Let us all smoke." So the tobacco has been placed in a wooden bowl and should be mixed with sumac leaves (kinnickinnick[6]), because it is the rule that sumac shall be used by the Delawares when smoking.[7] And besides the cedar[8] and paint are all kept there at one place close to the drum. And when anyone lights the pipe in the Big House, he will then use our Grandfather because that one also is called pure, clean fire.

[1] Indicating his position standing as though sermonizing from a pulpit before the images of the center post.

[2] It should be borne in mind that the speaker is to repeat his performance every night while the Big House ceremony is in session.

[3] Meaning that he has dusted away latent evil potencies with the turkey-wing fan symbols.

[4] Another ceremonial name for the assistant drummer.

[5] The verb here is said to be in the Munsee language aya'xpuwk', recalling the traditional Munsee origin of the ceremony. The corresponding Delaware term is hup.ɔ't.am "Let us smoke." The Delaware term kalakan.i'k.an has cognates throughout Algonkian.

[6] The Delaware smoking mixture consists largely of dried sumac (probably Rhus copallina) leaves, which are gathered before the frost strikes them in the fall and singed over an open fire, then exposed to the sun and mixed with smoking tobacco to the proportion of one-third sumac leaves and two-thirds tobacco.

[7] Smoking sumac clear or mixed with tobacco the Delawares regard as a peculiar custom of their own not shared by other peoples (see also Zeisberger, p. 116).

The Delawares were so fond of using this mixture that it is a legendary saying among them that on their hunting or scouting parties they could be identified from afar by the scent they left on the air. Having an earlier equipment with European firearms they were feared by other tribes who avoided them on this account. See also G. Catlin, Letters and Notes, Vol. II, 1841, pp. 101-2.

[8] The sacredness of red cedar (Juniperus virginiana) is a prominent feature of Delaware ceremony (see p. 171).

X539 ni·'ca acka"·ak tci·k'hi·k·e"yak. wani lə'n·u i·kawəle'' e'k·ala·'mo wundji·' a'ləmi·'tci·k'hi·'k·e'n ga't·tci· wani' χkwe" na'n·e ako'n·de wu'ndji a'ləmitci·k'hi·'k·e'n. tci·'k·onəm·wi·'i· wəlu'ŋg"onak' nagal·kwu'·owak ə'n·da tci·k'hi·'k·eŋg. el·i·'ite' a'cka'·ak kwu't·ənto'ləmi·ki·ci·' tci·k'hi·'k·e'ne"yak ə'n·da jk·apa'"ti·t' ako'n·de na' laha'·pa aχko'"lai·n ne"·ki·k' wəlu'ŋgonak'.

yu'kwe nalo'"χan tə·l·i' awe"n k'tci·l·i'·n ək tə'l·i ca"·l· tami·'k·e'n e"·li ma't·ana'k·e"·i· nacəla'·p·i· to'ləmi· k'"tcu'k·wi·n ne"·ki·k' moχo'"·. məən·a"·nak cuχuni·'k·anak.

ə'n·da jk·ape"·to'"χwe'"ti·'t' le"·maχtapi·'t' la'·p·i·pi·'·li wehe"·ndji·kan·e"·i·t' ci·'tako pi·'li·awe"·n te'pe"·ləmwi·t' tə·l·i wehe'ndji·k·an·e"·i·n nalo'"χan tə'l·i cuhi·'hi·l·ala"·n ək li·t·e'hat·e we'ndjik·ane"·yo.

Recitation of Vision by Wi·ta'panoχwe

We"·mi elaŋgu'ndieŋg ki·ki·'namən'yo ə'ndalami·ma'si·ya nahən·əmwi·'si·'pu wehi·'ki·ti·'ti·''t·up' 'ki·'kayo'miŋg'. wiχka'utci· na' 'gak·a'lo'm'kwun' na'k·a ngahe"·ə·a. i'k·alində'·ə·ka'k'" e"·li· amə·e'k·i·pəna'ək' le'k'hi·'k·an. nan·e' nəwu'nda'ka'lo'm'kwun. dəlu'k'" "ikali·a"·l te"·kən·e na'n·ecuk'" k'ti·'hilən·a'k'"si·n k'pən·a'ən le'k'hi·'k·an'." ək əlu'we "tət·a'te' eləmu'k·wun na'k·a kətəma'·kai· e"·li· k'pi·'χi·n na'ni· le'k'hi·'k·an. ta"·haci· ke'ko təl·iŋ'gwehel·a"·i· e"·li· cəwa'na' kəo'"si·an."

gehe'l·a elaŋgu'ndieŋg nda'hi· ke'ko li·lae'muk' na'ka ki·kayo'·yəm·a. nap·ana'han·en da'lemi· əχtamu"·χwen nayəwunda'"kwi· e"·hieli h'wusi·'ke'nami·'eŋg" e"·li· ci'ŋge'k'. ahal·əwi·'i· su'k·ən

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Two Attendants sweep clean the House.[1] The man goes to the far end from whence he begins to sweep, while the woman begins to sweep from the door. Turkey wings are used when sweeping. Both Attendants finish sweeping at the same time when they arrive at the door and then for a while put away the wings. 539X 796

Now it is permissible for anyone to go out, and quickly to come back inside because in a little while then again[2] will begin to stir those tortoise shell rattles, our Grandfathers.[3]

When they have come to where sits the next following Reciter-leader, or to anyone else feeling able to recite a vision and lead, it is permitted by the rule that he shake the rattle and, if desired, recite and lead.[4]

Recitation of Vision by Wi·ta'pano$_{\chi}$we[5]

"You, my kindred, are all acquainted with where I spent my childhood, at Raccoon[6] Creek, where lived my defunct parents. Once upon a time, then, my deceased mother scolded me. She drove me away because I was continually looking at books. That is why she scolded me. She told me, "Go away somewhere into the wilderness, since it seems that all you do, you look at books." And she said, "For all the days to come you will be poor because the book stands in your way. Never will anything be revealed to you in a vision because you live like a white man." 539X 796 787

Truly, my kindred, very greatly this matter impressed me concerning my deceased parents. And thereupon I began walking slowly there towards the direction where the sun sets, toward the timber. More

[1] Performing the symbolical rite of clearing away obstacles from the floor of the White Path or dancing path along which the worshippers are traveling to the abode of the Great Spirit.

[2] It is not permitted at other times during the performance to leave the Big House (see also Harrington I, p. 96).

[3] This expressive phrase represents the simile, previously mentioned, of the tortoise carrying the earth, the ceremony, and life on a west-ward course. As the tortoise rattles are passed from one Reciter to another as an invitation to perform they go the entire length of the White Path. When they have been around the building and all the Reciters have carried out their programs the session of the ceremony is over for the night. The tortoise figures as the "moving spirit" in the Big House.

[4] This is the occasion to be seized by someone who has had a spirit-revelation but who has not recited it before.

[5] The narrator of the text is here anticipating himself in the rôle he is to play at the next Annual Ceremony to be attended. He had recited and led the singers on former occasions of worship, but only in that part of the ceremony, during the twelfth night, known as A·tchow'mwi·n. This stage of the ceremony, which will be described in its proper place (pages 155, 166), is the occasion provided for women reciters and men who have not arrived at spiritual maturity. Within the last year or so Wi·ta'panoxwe, as his hair has begun to show signs of gray, feels himself called upon to advance into taking an active major part in the ceremony. After much thought and mental preparation on his part we see here the results of his composition in the relation that follows.

[6] The Raccoon, na'hanom, figures in the economic life of the tribe in a way never to be forgotten, for the term kwut·l· na'hanam, "one raccoon," denotes twenty-five cents in currency in Delaware, a reminder of the time back in the east when in the fur trade a raccoon skin was worth a shilling. Other tribes in the north traded the beaver (Cree, Montagnais) and the skunk skin (Mistassini) on the same basis. [436]

539 ci·e"lən·damowa'k·an o'n·da pən·a'eləma'k· n"ha'k·ai li·'t·e ge'hel·a ki·tci·i·' na'n·ele" wəla'mwe" ki·kayo'yəm ne'ni· e"lowe"t· ta'haei· ke'ko tali'ŋgwehel·a"i·. ək əni·'te ta"p"hi·taha'ci· 'nane'n" tale"·' ləm·uk·o'wən wa'ni· lən·a'p·e ne"χpe"ləm·u'k·u ge'hel·a elaŋgu'ndieŋg me"tei·'gai χe"li· ga'χtan·e"i·.

me"tei· o'n·da ki·'kələn·ap·e"·ya o'hələmi· ma'ekohə"k·iŋg o'n·da wi·t·ai·'k·e"ya"·ne ne"k""tan pi·'ske"nami·'ane tət·ase"·ki· təpu'k·wi·k" nambo'n·dawən awe"·ni·k" ge"·t"hi·t·a"k""ai'χti·t" la"·i· muea'p·ane. nayəwunda'kwi·'i· wehe'ndap·ənaχi·'neŋ wundo'χwe"ne"yo. ək o'n·da pe"·tei· na'χoχwe"·ti·t" nayu'ni· t"poskwi·'i· hukwe"·yuŋg o'n·da wəlo""hik·ala"·mwi·ya.

no'li·məea"·'tamən e'li·'t·op" naka ŋgahe"·ə·a ək ndi·'t·e "ce"k·tá" nalst he"·ki·k" manito'wak eha·χkan·i·'mat" ki·kaya'yəma." mat·anowa"·to"·wən e'li·'hil·a"k" ponae'lən·damowa'k·an. ika' eliŋgwehel·a"ha'n·e ako"" ke'ko ne"mo'wi· ke"·təmak·awe'ni·yə wəla"·ha'χane no'li·pən·da'ək ne"·ki·k" awe"·ni·k". dəle"ləm·a'ok" ne"wi·'yək et" ək·dəle"ləm·a'k a"ka'ei·na'g"·wowək et". e"·li· nda'hi· ke'ko li·lae'm"kuk" ənda' pe"tei· li·'"ti·t" "ga't·tei li·'·teha'han ta"taha'ei· na'nen təle"·ləm·uk·o'wən wa'ni· lən·a'p·e ne"χpe"··ləmu'k·uk"."

gehe'l·a wani'ei· elaŋgu'ndieŋg nole"·lən·dam təli·' məei·'kamən yu'ni· ko""χona mwu'·təm·a'k·an ke"tan"to'wi·t" we"·li·op·ale"·χiŋ. ge'hel·a me"tei·'gai nda'hi· nundeka'kwun ke"·təmakawe"·ni·ga e"·li· ta'ko" "di·li·t·eha'i· te·χi'a"ta" wi·χka'utei· dayo'ndalaeho'·i·n yuni· kəmenda'·wənana'niŋ ehe'n·da kəlo'·t·ak ki·kay'oyəmənani'ŋga we"·t· hwəli· ke"namwi·'tei·k. euk" i·a'p"tei· ge"·ski·lə'·i·ya. te'ka dəlaŋgo'··t·uk wi·tci·'lae'mi·k"" e"·li· me"·tei· kowa"·to""nen ahaləwi·' kət·amaksi·'hina. pi·ta"·ta ki·tci·'te"he'i· wi·tco'ndie'ŋgwe wi·χka'utei·a"·ni· pa"·tahi·lsi·'hina k"təma'kət·aχkwe'ŋgwe na'ni· ki·ce"·ləmu'k·uŋg

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and more heavy became my grief when I thought inwardly about myself, pondering how true indeed was that which my parent had spoken, in truth, in saying that never would anything be revealed to me in a vision. And I thought it very likely that never I would experience a blessing that the Delaware is spiritually influenced by. Indeed, my kindred, I was humble in spirit for many years. 539X 716 787

Now, when I became a grown man, far away in the country of the Creeks[1] where I was dwelling with them, one time when I was in the dark sometime during the night, I heard some persons coming towards me in the midst of the sky. It was here in the direction of the rising sun, whence they were coming. And when it happened that they stopped, it was right here over and above where I was lying.

I well remembered how she had spoken to me, my deceased mother, and I thought, "Lo and behold,[2] it must be that those are the spirit-forces my parent had talked about." I do not know just how my mind acted. When I looked toward them I saw nothing, pitiful me, although I well heard those Persons. I thought positively there must have been four of them and I thought, indeed, they looked wonderful. It must have been that because of the thing I was very much impressed, when it happened that they were saying to me, "Don't think that never will you have the spiritual power that the Delaware is blessed with!"[3]

I am truly thankful, my kindred, I am happy that I stand in this our Father's path, the beautiful White Path of the Great Spirit.[4] I am truly humble, for me it is unbecoming in the extreme, pitiful as I am, because never did I think that sometime or another, all of a sudden, I would be performing in this our Ceremonial House, where I patiently listened to our deceased old people who capably worshipped. But, however, I will do my utmost. Take heed, you my kindred, to help me because you know now more and more we are growing weak. So perhaps if earnestly we help each other, quite unexpectedly we might gain a spiritual victory if he hears our appeal, he, the Creator.[5]

[1] The Creek Indian is known to the Delawares as Ma'eko, a proper name derived from the tribal eponym of the Muskogi, as the Creek designate themselves.

[2] The term ce·k'ta" is an exclamation denoting surprise at the occurrence of something which is nevertheless vaguely expected.

[3] Wi·ta'panoxwe, who assumes himself to be the narrator now, is imagining that he would be seated among the members of his division (Pole"). As the turtle-rattle is being passed around the Big House, after several of the older reciters had accepted it and performed their recitation and dance, it would come to his hands. Having decided to undertake the responsibility of beginning his career as a reciter, perhaps unknown to the rest of the worshippers, he would take the turtle-rattle and begin shaking it sideways while declaiming the preceding in a loud staccato voice. (A phonograph record of the narrators recitation was made and is preserved in the collection of the Historical Commission).

[4] With the first sentence of this address the narrator sees himself stepping out into the dancing path with his turtle-rattle. While he advances along the White Path he proceeds with the recitation following.

[5] The informant desired emphasis to be put on the reiteration of the humble spirit, lack of self-confidence but hopeful attitude of the Delaware mind.

*539 yu'k^{e}iχane^{w} awe^{w}ni·k^{e} nane'n i·l·owe·^{w}ti·t^{e} lowe'yok ne'k^{e}

he·l^{e}t̥·l·e^{w}'l·əmu^{e}wi·n
kame^{e}'ne^{e}
hayu'na hwi·+
t·əle^{e}'l·əmu^{e}wi·
kano^{e}·wa wa'ni· lən·a'p·e pe^{e}wi·'tat^{e}
aye'lu^{e}'ma
kami·'ke
hayu'na hwi·+
weya' wehe, kwi·+

gehel·a' wani'ci· təli' oŋgo'^{e}·mələn lən·owe't·uk noskino'yu^{e}tuk^{e} ndaχkwe·'mat·uk^{e} ək nahəli·' ne^{e}ki·ce^{w} tami·'ma·əmənə'nak. kəna'ŋχ-paŋgo'^{e}·mələn we^{e}'mi· e'nχenau^{e}ga't·ək. ne'ni· wəla'ŋgosowa'k·an gehe'l·a nole^{w}'l·ən·dam təli·' pe'tci· o'lamahi·'nen o'n·da ma'ehela^{w}·eŋg^{w} yu'ni·ta'li· wi·'ki·eŋg. ge'hel·ahaŋg^{w} ci·l·lae'm·a ^{e}ha'kai· o'n·da natcut·əma e'hel·ale^{e}po'mi·i·t^{e} nki·kayo'yəma ək no'li·haŋg məca't-amən elki·'kwi·haŋg k^{e}təma'khi·tak^{ew}si'χti·t^{e} lə'mwe hi·lo'^{e}·əsi·ŋga o'n·da weita'χkənut·əmi'χti·t^{e} wenda'u^{e}si·χti·'t^{e} ^{e}hwteŋg^{w} ək e'le^{w}t·up^{e} ne'ke l·ak^{e}hi'k·wi·. o'n·da ka'kəl·əs·ta'ək^{e} ki·tci·'i· nane le^{w}. cuk^{e} me^{w}'tci· aləwi·'. yu'kwe lak^{e}hi'k·wi· kwi·'lali·na'k·ət^{e} elki·'kwi·ta^{e}tχi·'ti·eŋg^{w}. i·'l·i·haŋg^{w} geχi·ga'χtən elaŋgu'ndieŋg əse^{w}'i· awe^{w}ni·k we^{e}'mi· ək a'i· təla'ŋgwe·p^{e}ha'·t·i·n. cuk^{e} i·a'ptci· ge^{e}ski·lə'si·ya

ge'həl·a pi'ci· nda'hi· nundeka'kwun. akopənə' ndi·'li·t·eha'i· teχi·a'ta i·kali'tci· a'iχo'^{e}li· lehel·e^{w}χe^{e} təli·a' wi·χka'utci· nayu'ni· əwundaŋgo-si·n wehendaŋgo'siχti·t^{e} lə'mwenə'tci· ki·kayo'yəmənaniŋga we'hwəli ke^{w}namwi·'tci·k. ək wani'ci· elaŋgu'ndieŋg o'n·da owi·tci·'lae'm·lan e^{w}'li· na'neni· ci·'χkandj li·'χən we^{e}sk^{e}ha'k·ami·'ke təli·' awe^{w}ni·k wi·'tcəndi·ne^{e}'yo. e^{w}'li· i·'l·i·haŋg^{w} mi·mə'n·dət^{e} ke'ko wi·χka'utci· mi·ku'ŋge nanewu'ndji· χiŋgwi·. wi·tcomu'k·ət^{e} o'n·da awe^{w}'n wi·tci-lae'mand. ge'hel·a ke'ko a'' e^{w}lowe^{w}'ya cuk^{e} wanici·' təli·' naŋχ-

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Still can I hear those Persons there as they were speaking. They said these words;[1]

'he! You are given the same blessing
hayuna hwi- hayuna hwi-[2]
You are given the same blessing
That the Delawares are blessed with,
Through their prayer,
All over the world
hayuna hwi- hayuna hwi-
weya wehe. Stop![3]

I am truly thankful as I address you, you men, you young men, you our women, and also you our children. I extend to you all every form of this blessing. Truly I am glad because so far we have enjoyed good health while we are gathered here in this House. Truly, as it is said, I feel grieved myself when I mention the teaching of my elder, and, as I well said, I remember how pitiful they seemed talking long ago, those defunct old men, when they related the manner of life back in the past, the past manners of that time. When I listened to them seriously it was that way. But now here it is worse. It looks hopeless at this time in consideration of our small number. It was even said a few years ago, my kindred, there were quite a number of persons all around yet sitting about. But nevertheless I shall try my utmost.

Truly with shame, so unbecoming is it for me. I did not even think that I would live sufficiently long, deserted through death,[4] that I should, unexpectedly be instructing here where they were instructing, so long ago, our deceased ancestors who so well performed the worship. And I am thankful, my kindred, when you help me in my effort, for that has always been the rule since the beginning of the world, that persons should help each other. For it is even said that a little child may unexpectedly call attention to something important. Therefore greatly does it help when anyone is assisted in his recitation. Truly, my kindred, there is not much of importance I have to say, but I am

[1] The reciter now intones his song, a composition descriptive of his revelation and the emotions evoked by it, dancing along the path toward his first stopping point. Following the usual custom he shakes his rattle with the up and down vigorous motion. Then as in the case of the preceding recitation by Elkhair he halts at the close of his chant after signaling the drummers to stop, and the latter repeat his chant while he dances leading those who are accompanying him.

[2] These are the syllables with no specific word-meaning but used in chanting in a poetical sense.

[3] Upon the signal kwi-, "stop," the reciter gives a violent downward shake of the turtle-rattle and the drummers stop beating. At this pause the reciter begins dancing with his followers to the next stopping place, while the drummers, as explained before, repeat his chant. (dictophone record B, Pennsylvania Historical Commission).

[4] Meaning that, being left alone upon the death of his relatives, he did not expect to survive.

X 539 pangw"manen we"mi· ne"k" meχo"mesna'nak o'kal· ak elema'kami·k" ak hukwe'yung o'nda le"hemu'k·wi·ti·t" we"al· tanemi·" ku"χsna ke"tan"to'wi·t" toli·'χto"n. ak kwu'ndji wela"lenami·nen o'n·da wili·ka'k·weng.

yak tepi·laha'pa nane' 'le'nχi· lo'we"n.

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thankful to bring you a blessing from all those our grandfathers' round about us, both in the earth and up above where they dwell, all of them, according to Our Father the Great Spirit who has arranged it. And that is the source from which we enjoy benefit when we are blessed.

This is all that there is for me to say."[2]

[1] Meaning the carved images in the Big House and the unseen spirit-forces.

[2] The speaker gives his recitation in the same way every time during the twelve nights, even throughout the period of years during which he appears at the ceremony. As long as he lives he does not vary his recitation appreciably. For instance, when Joe Washington first gave his recitation he wept and did so each time he performed thereafter. The recitations are therefore formal.

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III

SECOND NIGHT OF THE CEREMONY

X539 yu'kwe me·'tci o'·n·da mak·an·i·'l· we'ndji·k·ane·'i·t· ki·ena·'k·si·t· naic· ne·'li· wa'li· tci·'k·hi·teha·'si·k nayu'ki·k taka'ki·k· le·n·swi·'i a'cka·'s·ak pw'etci·tami·ka·χto·'ne·'yo na'·n·i· sa·'pang. we·'miawe·'n wi·'tci· mi·t·teo sa·'pang. yu'ki·k· χkwe·'yuk we·'mi· o'·nχi·awe·'n pe·'tci naχko·'χkwe·'t· lo'·k·es as'hama·'o. wa'·ni· a'cka·'s· wu'·nli·e·'·. tamon o'·nχi· me·'k·ak· we·'mi hang. pi·'lae't·teote· kal·ane·' e·'·s· nalo·n·a·' 'haka'lkwu·s·u· mala·'ci·a·' e·'li 'haka·'lkwu'·si·t· e·'mho'·nes. yu'kwe awe·'n o'·n·da mece'·n·dang nem·i·' sa·'pa·'ŋ wu'·ndji wal·a·'·. te·'nama·n e·'li lowe·'hang wa'·ni te·'mi·'ke·'t· yu'·ni mem·'s·a'·p·sing k·'na'χpale·'tama·'·nen o'·n·da i'k·alangosi·eng ko·'·χona·'ning hukwe·'·. yung. yu'ki·k· acka·'s·ak wuni·'tami· te·'pa·'tone·'yo ne·'·n·'k·'ut·i awe·'·n o'·lak·e·'sing e·'li nan·e· ci·'χkandj li·'χan lo'·mwena·'tci wend·'ha'k·ami·k·.

THIRD NIGHT OF THE CEREMONY

wa'·nici elangu'·ndieng tali· kwi·ya·'kwi· wale·'lam·uko·'·nen. me·'·tci naχi·la'k·we kena·'tci· yu· tal·a'eho'·s·i·nen kamen·da'·uan·ena·'·n·iŋ. yu'kwe gat·a'·t·i we·'miawe·'·n kwi·'·nemawa·'·wona na'·n·i pi·l·i·t· ma'·nitu tel·i·a·' wimbene'·m·ko·'·ne'·n na'·n·i mee·i·'ŋhol·i·'k·an· e·'li na'·lenan wuni·'hil·a·'la'o we·'·mi te·'·kenae·'·a. yu'kwe ala'·pa ga'·χta we·'·mi

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III

SECOND NIGHT OF THE CEREMONY

[The procedure of the second night's performance follows that of the first night as respects the recitations by those who desire to chant their visions and to discourse.]

Here now, when the last Reciter-Leader has finished, and when they have swept the House well, then the other male Attendants bring inside the Big House the hominy.[1] Everyone eats the hominy in company. Each and all of the women comes bringing a dish to dip it out with. The Attendant has authority to give out the amount allotted to each, so it is said. The boys carry mussel-shells[2] which are used the same as when spoons are used. Now when everyone has eaten his share of the hominy, he feels happy for it, because the Bringer-in always says that this grain-food brings a spiritual blessing of strength when we set out to appeal to our common Father in the sky above. These Attendants first set apart a portion for each individual in his dish, because that is strictly understood to be the rule since long ago in the beginning of the world.[3]

THIRD NIGHT OF THE CEREMONY

Thanks be given, my kindred that still we are blessed with good fortune. Now it is the third evening since here we have performed the ceremony in our temple-house. Now we beg, everyone of us, at his utmost that we may be favored by the pure spirit-force, by him the mask-spirit[4] because he is the one who owns and controls all the wild animals.[5] Now tomorrow morning all must be ready to accompany the

[1] sa'pan, "boiled corn" was a cereal staple in the diet of the eastern Algonkian wherever they lived. The term is cognate with New England Algonkian sampi which has passed into English. (For discussion of the term, its history and application see A. F. Chamberlain, Bull. 30, Bur. Amer. Ethnology, part II, p. 422).

[2] The single shell of the fresh-water mussel (Unio companatus in the east, U. gibbosus, in the west) employed as a spoon is ee-e'm'hon.

[3] The procedure of the subsequent three nights in the Big House is about the same as that recorded for the first. The same speakers recite their visions. The rites of sweeping and feasting are repeated similarly.
One might ask what the worshippers do to while away the day-time between the strenuous night performances besides procuring some much needed rest. Custom permits them to indulge in native games, mention of which will be found on page 69.

[4] Something has already been said of the mask-spirit as the guardian of game animals (p. 39). This man.it'-u is now to be made the object of worship in a pantomime of some importance.

[5] Herein lies a concept ripe for elaboration, since the doctrine of ownership of game animals is a fundamental one in the cosmology of the Algonkian hunters of the north, whose culture has been assumed to be fundamental to the family (see pp. 39-41).

X 539 wi·tala"'i·t° ki·ce'ndjaχko e"'li nan·e'n° tol·i·'° kwut·i·'t·eha"'nen tali·'te° tami·nak·o"'nen. ni·'k·anala'i·t° ok e°lhik·a'k·wi· ok onhol·i·'i· wehi·'χen·i·t° we"'mi· ka'χta gi·'ci·m°kwu'·u ok k"'ca"'tai nahol·i·' ne'n·i ni·'mwe°ho"'lend°. acka"'·ak te"'kawo'linaχa"'tamuk° to'l·i· te"'pi· ni·mwaho"'la°n we"'mi· wi·'tala"'i·t° aχpo"'n.

ADDRESS ON THE FOURTH MORNING TO THE HUNTERS ABOUT TO LEAVE. THE MASK PERFORMANCE

yu'kwe elaŋgu'ndieŋg me"'tci nayu'k°pa°nen ne°yu'kwun·i· no'tci yu'ni· tala'choe·i·'nen. ok we"'mi e'nχi·eŋg kowa"'tonen e"'li·'χiŋg yu'ni k°pa"'tamwe'ok·an·o'na. yu'kwece" na'n·i mo"χo"'msena' k"'ca"'tai kana'ka°la'wena o'n·da ma'mendowa'm·eŋg° na'n·i· ke°tan°·to'wi·t°. ok na'n·i mee·i'ŋgholi·'k·an o'n·da na'χpaŋgo'meŋg wa'ni· mo"χo"'sen·a ta'n·dai. ce°la'hyu'ni· tol·ap°tu'nen wa'ni· te°mi·'k·e"'t°. "wani·'ci we"'mi man·i't·u χkwi·t°ha'k·ami·k° ok we"'mi man·i't·u hukwe"'yuŋg. to'li· ma"'mendowamalo'n·en mo"χo"'mse° o'n·da χa'me·leŋg° yu'ni· meχge°a'χkwus·i·t° k"'ca't·ai. k°təma"'keləmi·'nen ce°layu' koχkwi·'s·ak. kwi·nowa'm°kuk mee·i'ŋkholi·'k·an tali·a"' təmi·'nak·o"'nen. mi·li·'nen na'ni te°kana"'yes e"'li· ki·'k·ani·hil·a"'tamen we"'mi te°kana"'yes e"'li na°kala'wən·a na'χpale°tama"'nen nen·i· wio'"s. ok na'ni·ce° χa'akwi·m e"'li· we"'mi· me°həmi·'teiŋg mi·lkwu'·eieŋg wani'ci· man·i·t·u'wak to'l·i na'nχpaŋgomi·'nen ne'n·i· kəma'n°·to°wa'kan. yu'kwe na°li·hi·'nen we"'mi e'nχoχtu"'leŋg ke°tan°to'wi·an° po'tci ki·ce"'ləmu'k·uŋg mee·a"'l tami·me'səm."

ni·maχtə'·tuk°l yu'kwe wa'ni· ni·'k·ana'lai·t° ok wa'ni we°te"'kasi·'t° ok onahol·i·' wa'ni we°hi·'χan·t° te°'ka kəle°le'ndamuk we"'mi kwi·'·tol·ot·owa'k·an ok ale°po'ndowa'k·an e"'li kənaχpo'χwe°ne"'yo we"'mi awe'n e"'lai·t°. nayu' we'ndape"'·i·n kənaχpo'χwen wa'ni· mee·i'ŋgholi·'k·an man°tuwa'k·an ok kəmi·lkwu'·i k"'ca"'tai wa'ni· ni·'k·ana·la"'i·t° ok we°te"'ka°·i·t° kwe'nemene"'yo. me"'tci e'n·da ni·co'χkwun·i· sa'k°hak·e"'ek"' nalu"'χan° to'l·i awe'n nhi·'lae'·en e"'li haka"'taŋge awe'n wi·o'"n.

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hunt because to do so we concentrate our minds[1] in order that we may be favored with success. The Hunt-Leader and his assistant and also the cook[2] must all be selected, and also the tobacco together with the rations for the journey. You Attendants must see to it with care that plenty of rations for the journey are furnished for all the hunters; the bread.

ADDRESS ON THE FOURTH MORNING TO THE HUNTERS ABOUT TO LEAVE. THE MASK PERFORMANCE

Here now, my kindred, we have come to the fourth day since we began, in this place, to perform the ceremony. And each and every one of us knows the ruling of this our form of Prayer-Worship. Now we are using the tobacco our grandfather, while we are pleading earnestly with the Great Spirit. And the Mask-Spirit also, when we are giving thanks to him our grandfather Fire. This is how it is done by the Bringer-in[3], "I thank all the Spirit-Forces on top of the earth and all the Spirit-Forces up above. Wherefore we earnestly plead with grandfather when we give you to eat this red man's tobacco. Have pity on us here your grandchildren. They are begging you, Oh Mask-Spirit, that we may have success. Give us the wild animals since you control them, all the wild animals because we need that we may be blessed with this meat. And that one, our mother the corn, because of all the food given us I thank you Spirit Forces that we are given the blessing of your spirit-power. Now give us all we ask of you Great Spirit that you are and, our creator, think of your children."

Brothers[4]! Now the Hunt Leader, and he who is assistant, and also the cook, you must all remember the instructions and traditional rules that all persons who hunt observe as they journey. Here now being under our power, you are taking as you go the spirit-power of the Mask-Spirit, and tobacco is given the Hunt Leader and his assistant which they carry. Now when you have been gone two days it is permissible that any one who has killed something, they may use the meat.[5]

[1] This means that the hunters who are now to go forth are to be supported and strengthened by the "power of wish," in concentration by the worshippers who stay behind in the Big House.

[2] Incidentally this is one of the occasions when the Attendants are obliged to furnish the food without the usual payment of wampum that they ordinarily receive.

[3] He prays as follows and sprinkles a little tobacco on each of the two fires of the Big House while declaiming.

[4] The Master of Ceremonies having finished his prayer now addresses the hunters who are ready to go forth. He charges them with their instructions as they stand directly in front of the drummers, facing him.

[5] This means that if no deer have been taken by the hunters by the second day they may kill and eat any animal for food since by this time they may be relieved from the monotony of the corn bread diet.

Some of the interesting observations of this event as remembered by the

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1539 yu'kwe o'nda s'palai·'χti·t° wa'ni ni·kani·'χiŋg o'nda me°'tei pe°χu'tci pa'χti·t° tonia°' lai·t°po'°ku kwu'ton kwut·a°'hen ak tata o'nχi a'χta °hi·'l·and° na'leone χa'n k°°ta°'hen. yu'kwe o'nda daleka°'ak pan·daυ'χti·t° ta'l·i k°°ta°'hen wa'ni e°'lai·t° ca°'lte° wi·kwa'hamiŋ li° tami·he'hale° ak naχko'homa'o wa'ni e°'lai·t°. we°'mi a'eka'a ki'eona'k°°su ta'l·i χa'ma'n e°lai·'tci° ak we°'mi ne°henaυ'·ŋge'a laχon·a'n ak χa'm·a'n ce°la'hen·eni li·'m°kɔt° ak li·m°kwu'ɔ·in wa'ni a'eka'a.

hi'tami wa'ni te°mi·k·e°t° pa°tama' k°°ca'tai °haka°'tam. naχpa'ŋgoɔ·in o'nda ik·alaŋgo'ai·t° koχona°'niŋg yu'te°'pi laha'pa

eomute° haŋg e°laŋgu'ndieŋg la'mwe na'tci· li·'χan ta'l·i wi·'nowa·ma°'nen wa'ni moɔ·iŋghal·i·'k·an tali· ku'n·t°kan. ak we°ɔ'tae°k°° ne°'li aɔowa'k·ana° nen·haka'lkɔt·ak o'n·da na'χkohoma'und° wa·ni moɔ·iŋg. we°'miawe°'n ge·t·o'·t·omi·'k·e°t° nale°'χan tal·i·' pana°'ɔ·in ne°'li· ku'n·t°ka°'t wa'ni moɔ·i'ŋg wi·kwa'°hem·iŋg''

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Now when they return from the hunt, the Hunt-Leader when now he has come near even if it is midnight, shall shoot a signal once for as many deer as were killed, shooting so many times. And now when the Cranes hear the signal-shot of the Hunter he shall immediately run into the Big House and begin to sing for these hunters. All the Attendants must be ready to feed the hunters and all the horses unsaddled and fed, for that is the rule and act governing the Attendants.[1]

First the Bringer-in prays, using tobacco.[2] He bestows a blessing when offering praise to him our Father. This is sufficient for this time.[3]

There is also, my kindred, an ancient custom that we beg the Mask-Spirit to dance for us. You Cranes, you know how and you understand those songs which are used for this occasion when singing for the Mask. Every person who wants to go in the Big House is permitted to look on while the Mask dances in the Big House.[4]

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informant, who has taken part in this hunting rite, are that the leader distributes portions of tobacco to the hunters who are under his control. At each night's camp the stopping place is selected by him, the rations of food are distributed, tobacco is offered to the fire with a prayer by the leader and other details suggesting the rules governing the war parties' conduct among Central Algonkian and in the southern Plains areas.

Wi-ta'panoxwe, it is interesting to note, recalled, during his experience with the hunting squad, how a screech-owl cried near their camp one night; which has long been a sign of good luck (see also Zeisberger, p. 139). The next day he killed a deer, being the first of the party to do so.

[1] The hunters are not obliged to be concerned with the trouble of saddling, unsaddling or feeding their horses when enlisted in the sacred task of the ceremonial hunt. The Attendants take over all such duties of service to them and their animals.

[2] He burns a little tobacco in the fire.

[3] Hereupon it being between nine and ten o'clock in the morning, the hunters leave, departing westward toward the Osage nation nowadays, the only hunting ground accessible to them.

[4] The man wearing the mask and the bear-hide clothes keeps the mask and clothes some hundred yards from the Big House at the edge of the brush in the open, hung upon a branch to keep it away from the dogs. Anyone who desires to perform this rite may put on the paraphernalia and accept the invitation as given above, and go into the Big House and dance. His dance lasts about ten minutes anywhere in the Big House that he desires. The mask when worn is held by the chin with the holder's fingers in the mouth of the mask, so that the wearer can adjust the focus of the eyes of the carving to his own focus of vision. The eye holes are small, yet the mask could be adjusted so that the performer could see as though he were looking through spectacles. To be able to do this was considered as a sign of spiritual greatness. It might be added that the face illustrated in Harrington's study (Fig. 1, p. 32) has the left eye-hole enlarged, something that had been done improperly, according to the informant. He leaves wearing the garb and returns it to the place where it is kept (fig. 9). This all takes place before noon.

IV

FOURTH NIGHT OF THE CEREMONY

*539 aska·'ak ndu'mole'n·ow·ak. "me·χki·'k·an·e·'χiŋ etayu'ta!" wa'ni aska·'a 'du'ŋge· "me·'χki·k·an·e·'χiŋ!" "We·'lak·one·'χiŋ e'tayu'ta" naχke·'li'ŋge lo'we· wa'ni a'ska·'a me·'tei·k·anaχk·omko·'wa "Lenowi·'nund· e'tayu'ta" me·'tei·k·anaχke·'m·ke·'we· "Tapano·'χwe tayu'ta" me·'tei·k·an·aχke·'mko·'we· "Pe·'mipaχko·'χwe etayu'ta" me·'teik·anaχk·m·ke·'we· "Tel·a·'pan etayu'ta" me·'tei·k·an·aχk·m·ke·'we.

wa'ni te·mi·'k·e·'t· le·'we· "ni·maχte'etuk· ee·lahyu'ni kwutai·'kani ke·k·'. k·anaχpo·'χwe·ne·'yo wa'ni ne·'tami wi·'hi·l·ond. ma'epa·'tama'hemu kwe'teemi te'len ek ni·'ca χan·. taspale·'tamane·'yo hukwe·'yuŋg· e·'pi·t· na'ni ke·'χona ke·tan·te·'we·i·t·. ek ne·'lhake·'χti· yu'ki·k pa·'tama'teig kwe'teemiŋg ke·'powa· aska·'ak a't·a ki·'eenak·'si·'hema te'li mawa'si·ne·'yo. aska·'a wundaχa·'l we·'t·ani kwutai·'kani ke·k·' aeeni'ee· wu'ndaχli'tei ni·'pait· na'ni k·omoχo·'·meen·a. te'n·da la'χan·a·'n ne·'ki·k ke·'kuk. we·'mi a'cka·'a temi·k·e·'·tete e·'li nayu'kwe χo'lan·i'ti· ma'wa·i·ne·'yo

yu'kwenda'lemi mawa·i'χti·t· yu'ki·k aska·'ak lowe·'yuk· ne·'k m+ m+ m+.

wa'ni pe·'mto·'n·he·'i lo'we· "e'laŋgu'ndieŋg me·'tei ne·wi·l·a·'ki·wi·k·anə'tei yu·'ta'li pa·'tama·'neen. ek k·'temi·na'k·we awe·'n me·'o·'·si·t· yu'ki·k· e'lai·'tei·k wiχkautei·a· awe·'n ea·'i· apa'tei· te·'ka naχa'·tamuk· taleka'ok·. e·'li· kowa·'t·o·'n e'li·'m·ka. pon·dama'ne li· k·'·ta·'hen ea·'i· temi·'k·ehsi·a'hemu k·anaχgeha'ge'hemu."

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IV

FOURTH NIGHT OF THE CEREMONY

The Attendants call the men.[1] "Red Horns must be hereabouts!" The Attendant calling out, "Red-Horns!, Red-Horns!" "Good-Horns must be hereabouts!" If he answers[2] the Attendant says, "Now he has answered." "Looks-like-a-Man must be hereabouts!" "Now he has answered." "Rises-at-Daybreak must be hereabouts!" "Leaf-Man must be hereabouts." "Now he has answered." "How-the-Weather-is must be hereabouts." "Now he has answered."[3]

The Bringer-in says, "Brothers, here is the one shoulder length of wampum. You, the first ones called, take it with you and pray outside, ten and two times. Lift the prayers on high and where he dwells our father, the Great Spirit. And while these praying ones are outside you Attendants must be ready to 'pick berries.'[4] Attendant come here, take one shoulder length of wampum right over there on this side where stands Our Grandfather.[5] There do you unstring these wampum beads. All Attendants come in, because here, soon they are going to pick berries'."

Here they begin "picking berries," the Attendants, saying this, "m-+-!".[6]

The speaker says, "My kindred, now it is the fourth evening since we have been worshipping here. And should any one of the hunters whatsoever have good fortune all of a sudden, some one of the drummers be careful and watch for them at once. Because you know the rule. If you hear the signal-shot run inside the Big House at once. You must sing for them."

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[1] Now at the opening of the fourth night's performance following the departure of the hunters on their ceremonial hunting excursion, and after the Mask-Spirit has performed his antics in the Big House, the rites of the night are resumed by the Master of Ceremony who orders the Attendants to call forth certain of the old men of prominence to offer prayer for the success of the hunters. There is some honor attached to this selection, the men so singled out being called in a loud voice by their native names or titles.

The informant is pretending, in the text, that some prominent men are being called. He has changed his style of narration into the form of a monologue.

[2] Whereupon the men thus summoned by the Attendant answer "Hau" or "Yo'," when they hear their names called and come into the Big House.

[3] Those whose names have been called who form a praying squad now go outside and facing eastward raise their right hands giving the prayer-call ho-+ six times and hä-+ six times.

[4] "Picking the berries" is a figure of speech referring to the action of the six Attendants, three men and three women, who crouch down and pick up the scattered wampum beads spilled as commanded on the hard ground under the center post, and cram as many as they can into their mouths. This causes some innocent mirth among the audience. They accompany the act with the sound m-+ as noted in the next few lines. Their action symbolizes the habit of "birds picking up berries," (a sympathetic rite perhaps). The informant did not consider the performance to have any deep symbolical reference, but merely a method of paying extra wampum to the Attendants for their services.

[5] Referring to the mask-images on the center-post.

[6] In Harrington's account, (I, pp. 99-100) of this rite the Attendants are put down as saying "Ho-o-o!"

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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V

THE FIFTH AND SIXTH NIGHTS OF THE CEREMONY

THE SEVENTH NIGHT OF THE CEREMONY
RETURN OF THE HUNTERS

X539 me·'tci· ·'lanŋgu'ndieŋg ni·ca·'·a χi·la'k·wi k·'ti·'hili· pe'tci· tcmi·-kaχto·'·neen yu'ni· pa·'tamwe·kane'n·a. yu'kwe· ga'hen·e· ci·'ki· ta'li· tcmi·'na·ko·'·neen yu'ki·k· ko'skin·e'yomen·a·'·nak wani· gwi·'a "na'hen·e·'yu'χwe" ak "hwi·telu'ŋgwan" eli·'i· meee·'yak. gahe·i·'-wani'ci·. i·a·'·p·'tci· kwu'n·dji wela·'tenami·'nen ak kena'ka·'la'wen·a na'ni· se'·en kena'χpale·'tama·'·nen e'n·da wi·nowa·'meŋg· na'ni· ke·'tan·-to'wi·t·.

ak gahe'·a ci·'ki· tali·' wel·a'·panami·'nen ki·'ki·ekwi·'ke wu'ndji welamali·'nen. e'n·da e'pan·aχi·neŋg· e'n·da ne·'·eŋg· na'ni· χa'wen·a gi·'coχ tali·' eχe·'·tamen we·'·mi yu'ni· e'lama·'kami·k· ak kwu'ndji lamali·'nen e'n·da hama'ndameŋg· ta'li· peti· kee't·e·-kako·'·nen ne'n·i· wele·'χe·'yan. ak gahe'newani'ci· en·da' eŋge·'·meŋg· na'ni· pi·'skewani· pe·'pemi'·ka·'t· kχa'wena gi·'cuχ. e·'li pi·'·pen·da'-wenani'ŋga ki·ka'yoyemena·'ni·'ŋ'ga e'n·da we·'i·teχkenotemi'χti·t· lowe·'·yak hanŋ "ni·'pai·gi·'coχ ak nabeli·' ne'ki·e·' ala'ŋgak we·'·mi ta'ne·'i· tali·'χema·'n na'ni· nebei·alkweŋg." ak nani·e·' ko'χen·a ge·'·-cχiŋg ak wa'ni gahe·'·ena ·'hi· pe·'mi·'tanji·k· ak nani·e·' meχe·'·-meena te'n·da· ak we·'·mi ska'i· elaŋgwepi'χti·t· manitu'wak·. gahe'·a elaŋgu'ndieŋg teχi·ha'ŋg· ·'lai·ama'hi· ke·'tema'kawe·'ni·ye'. ·'la'hi nundeka'k·wun ·'ca·'·wama'·lai·n haŋg· dźale·'pe'ŋge·'n ·'lola'ŋgwe·da'wan e·lki·'kwi me·'·tci· a'hoχto·k· ak elki·'kwi· k·'we·u'keŋg·. pen·a'· yu'kwe e'n·da alemi·' ki·'kenu'k·weŋg ne·'·ki·k· manit·e·'wak eu·χen·i·'kan·ak· te·'·ka elaŋgu'ndieŋg· meca·'·tamu'tam te'li·' naqχpeŋge·'·manen nan·i·' ke·'tan·te·'·wi·t·. ak ga'hen·ci·'ki· ta'li· wimbene'mke·'·nen na'ni· ko'χen·a pe'tci· ki·'celemu'keŋg ne·'·li·l ce·' aχpi·ta'k·weŋg te·'·kenae'·en.

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V

THE FIFTH AND SIXTH NIGHTS OF THE CEREMONY

[The performance of the usual recitations and dances of the previous nights is repeated.] 539x 796

SEVENTH NIGHT OF THE CEREMONY
RETURN OF THE HUNTERS

Now, my kindred, it is the seventh evening come since we have brought in this pure prayer-worship. Now it is very pleasing that we have had good fortune, that these our young men and that he my son "Walking-four-abreast" and "With-Wings"[1] have killed game. I am indeed thankful. On account of it at least we feel pleased, and we use the animal that we offer up as a sacrifice when we are pleading with the Great Spirit.[2] [782]

And it is truly grand that we are having good weather each and every day, on account of which we enjoy good health. When we wake up to another day, when we see him our elder brother the sun how he lights up all this earth, which causes an emotion within us, when we feel the coming warmth of his breath of life. And we are truly thankful when we acknowledge the blessing of the Night-Traveler, our elder brother the Night-Moon.[3] For we have heard the deceased, our ancient people of the past while they were explaining these many things say, according to tradition, "Night-Moon and also those stars, all of them were put in place by him who owns us.[4] That one, our father the Wind, and that one, our mother Water, flowing stream[5] and that one, our grandfather Fire, all are sitting around us; the Spirit-forces.[6] Truly, my kindred, I feel very discouraged, pitiful me. It is unbecoming for me, I feel unable, as it is said,[7] to instruct my own kindred in blessings, so difficult is it now and so heavily are we oppressed. For instance now, when we are about to be touched by these Spirit-forces, the shell-rattles, be careful, my kindred, we must remember that we are praying for a blessing to the Great Spirit. And it is wonderful that he feels sympathy for us, he our father, also our Creator, in those wild animals which he has given us.[8]

[1] The narrator of the text is assuming that the ceremonial hunt has had a happy conclusion; that the two young men named here have been blessed with game.

[2] The informant compared the offering of "wild animal" flesh in this capacity with the Hebraic offering of a pure lamb on the altar. Said he, "It shows the real feeling of the worshipper to offer this pure clean flesh."

[3] It may be recalled here that both the luminaries are moons according to Delaware conceptions.

[4] Another means of designating the Great Spirit.

[5] A metaphor for our mother Water.

[6] Referring to the manitu controlling the world of nature but especially referring to the carved images on the post of the Big House who symbolize the Spirit-force behind everything that possesses life. [776]

[7] In the preceding passage we have an example of the high sounding discourse which the Delaware language is capable of expressing.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1923) 1931
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EIGHTH NIGHT OF THE CEREMONY

VI

NINTH NIGHT OF THE CEREMONY

*539 yu'kwe acka'ɔak kowa''to''ne''yo e'li'χiŋ yu'ni· ale''po'n·dowa'k·an ta'li· kale'la'n·damone'yo we''mi· enχi·'ye'k'' tali·' awe''n ga''ta pi·'lasha'a·i·n. we''mi pi·''pondaman·e''n ne'n·i· e''lale'p·o'n·ding' ne'k·aχke' ki·'kayoyomsna''ningga'. lowe''yak' hang' pi·'hi·te' awe''n tan·de'uhe'. e''li o'n·da 'haka''lend' ne''ki·k' tan·de'whe'ndji·k man·ito'wak a''lai tan·de'uhe'·te awe''n a'hi· hwu'·ka we·i·'tei·na'k·at' tali·' ma'·ta pi·hi·'wun wa'ni· a'h'kwetci· tan·de'uhe''t. enk' o'n·d ni·'maχto'·tuk' we''mi ke'ko a'·powat· o'n·da maya''i le'k'. yu'kwe kowa''to''ne''yo tali·' pi·'li·to''ne'yo yu'ni· ni·'cena'uki· che'n·da tan·de'·i·k'. we''mi·te puŋg' tuχoχta''·u ce'la'hen·eni· chel·i·'χ''·i·ka'·k' k'pa'ho''n na'·n·en i·'hil·i· 'haka''lkat' ok o'n·da tama''hma''eŋg' wa'ni· te'mi·'k·e't. na'n·e' tal·i· k'tci·n we''mi·awe''n ce'lahan·e'' li·'m'kat' yu'ni· pa''tamweo'kan·o'n·a

wanici·' elaŋgu'ndieŋg teli oŋgo'molan. gehela' no'le''lan·dam o'n·da nanχpaŋgo''nolan we''mi enχena'ga't·ak' wolaŋgo''sowa'k·an. me''tei elaŋgu'ndieŋg i·'ka pete''lam·uko''nen yu'ni· ta'n·da pi·li·'· taeŋg' yu'ni· kmen·da'wen·o'n·a. gehel·a'wanici· tali·' pe'tei o'lamal·i·nen pe'tei lak''χi·'yeŋg' e''li yu'kwe pi·'ake'k' kowa'to''nen chel·i·'nayeŋg' ki·'kayoyomona'ni·'ŋga we'hwal·i·' ke''naχki·tu'χti·t' ne'n·i· alepo'ndowak·an ok kɔ̃i·'t·elat·owa'k·an.

ok elaŋgu'ndieŋg we''mi·awe''n nehel·a''lat cuχon·i·'k·an·a' pwe'tei· naχpo'χwe'n nda'tami·'k·e't'. nate'yu'ni· ne''maχtapi·'t' wa'ni· te'mi·'· k·e't' t'poskwi·'i· da'li· ca'χaχkame''χaman we''mi· ne''ki·k' cuχoni·'k· anak. ok acka'ɔak kowa'to''ne'yo tali·'te' wendja''ki·ne'yo we''mi ke'ko ki·ci·'χto''ne'yo eli·pon·a'' ne''ki·k' paχkandi·'k·anak ok pep'χo'k·wuw nahel·i·' na' el·a'·m·an pe'·kan ok ma'·mendahi·'k·anak' we''mi ke'ko ne'ka'l· ke'·tok' yu'kwe o'n·da pi·'ake'k' ga''ta ki·ci·'m'got'.

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EIGHTH NIGHT OF THE CEREMONY

[The usual performance is repeated.]

VI

NINTH NIGHT OF THE CEREMONY

"Now Attendants, you understand by the rules of this teaching, that you keep in mind each of and all of you, that a person must act in purity.[1] All of us have heard the regulations of the past of our deceased ancestors. They said, according to tradition, that a clean pure person shall kindle fire. Because when using those fire-making spirit-forces, if the person should fail to make fire it would clearly seem a fact that he who tries to make fire is not clean. Nevertheless my brothers everything is easy when correctly done. Now you understand that you shall purify these two places where the fire always is. All the ashes shall be carried out there through the sun-set door that is so intended for it, and when we have finished the ceremony the Bringer-in goes out through it. Such is the rule for everybody in this our prayer-worship.

I am thankful, my kindred, I can address you with respect.[2] I am truly well pleased when I can extend to you[3] all every token of high respect and esteem. Now, my kindred, we have lived on to the point where we are cleaning this fire here in our ceremonial House.[3] I am indeed thankful that we have come so far in good health as this evening comes on, because this night we know how we have seen our deceased aged people perform, those who so thoroughly carried out the teachings and the strict rules of procedure.

And, my kindred, everyone who owns turtle-rattles should bring them with him when coming into the Big House. And right here where sits the Bringer-in, right opposite that place they should put them in a straight line, all those turtle-rattles. And Attendants, you know that you must prepare and make ready everything such as, for instance, those drum sticks,[4] and the cedar, and also that red paint, blood root, and the prayer sticks; everything that is used now on this night must be prepared for certain.

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[1] To have been "pure and clean," the Attendants must have refrained during the ceremony period from sexual intercourse, intoxication and the like. They may not enter the Big House to prosecute their duties if they have violated these rules.

[2] aggo'ma, the verb used here cannot be rendered by a single equivalent in English, so I have been obliged to paraphrase it as it occurs in the text from a choice of equivalents "to show respect for some one, to honor, esteem, invoke a blessing, to greet, to shake hands with."

[3] The importance of fire as a symbol of moral purity and as an emblem of life and health in Delaware philosophy can hardly be over estimated. A short discourse on the symbolism of fire has been given in the introduction and the beliefs outlined there should be recalled with the reading of the sermon that follows.

[4] This refers to both the plain and the carved drum sticks.

*539 yu'kwe ne"tami·χiŋg" wa'ni· ni·kami·'χiŋg a'eka"s we'tən·eme" kwut·al·'-kan·i· ke"k"" te"'ka weli·' k""a'ho ne"ki·k" eu χən·i·'kanak" we"'mi·te awe"n ni·'la ke"k""o ta't·a se"'kai·'k·anat" ne"'li·l eu χən·i·'kana". ok elaŋ-gu'ndieŋg me"'tci· nayu'ni· pete"'ləm·uk·o"nen ə'n·da .lowe'ŋg"haŋg" wihi·'lti·'n aeka'"ak "du"'mu ne"'ki·k awe"'ni·k wendji·'mak".

ni·maχta'"stuk celahyu'ni· kwut·al·'kəni· ke"k"". elaŋgu'ndieŋg mai pa"'tamahəmu kwo'tcəmiŋg. ə'n·date ataχni·'ca χən" aspale"'tama'ek neni·' kwena'muwak·an nate" k""la'k·ohomau"ti·ne"'yo neni·'ke"k"". ackaa·ak cə·əl·a'oə·i·k"". yu'kwe we"'mi·awe"n nehel·a'lat" euχni·'k·ana" mə'ewet·ona'o ok" euχi·'hil·al·a" na'n·i euχəni·'kan" .te'pi·lak"hi'k·wi. ə'n·da ki·cən·a'k·o we"'nai·ke'ko nahəli·' ne"'ki·k" pa'χkandi·'k·anak laχauχi·tci·k" ok se'hən we"'mi ne"k" ma'mendahi·k·anak" e"e'nχi·

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Now, the first thing that the Leading Attendant is to do is to take one shoulder-length of wampum, carefully and properly to measure those turtle-rattles so everyone will be given wampum beads in accordance with the length of the backs of his turtle-rattle.[1] And, my kindred, we have been permitted to see right here how, as it is said, the Attendants call by name those persons whom they send for.

[Repeat the procedure of first paragraph page 143, in which certain men are called by name to enter the big house and pray as was done on the fourth night.]

Ye my brothers, here now is one shoulder-length of wampum.[2] My kindred go give the prayer-call out doors. When twelve times the supplication shall have been lifted up then you shall divide the wampum equally among you. Attendants, build up a bright fire. Now everyone who owns turtle-rattles go take them and shake them, these turtle-rattles, as should be done. When everything is ready, including those forked drumsticks, do you scatter all those prayer sticks in an even number on each side[3] of the Big House. Now my kindred again

[1] This rite has the significance of a symbol—or spiritual compensation for the service of vision recitation, and the blessing it brings to the people, of those who have so performed. Harrington (I, pp. 103-4) makes mention of this rite, and speaks of the owners of the rattles, when reclaiming the rattles and the wampum placed with them, shaking the rattle several times to test its sound. He adds that if it does not sound well the owner, abashed, takes his property out of sight as soon as possible. Our informant corrected this impression by pointing out that the owners shook these rattles intentionally as though to say thanks, and that there was a spirit of drollery in the pass which caused sometimes a ripple of mirth, not as serious in men as Harrington understood it to be.

[2] There is an interval here. The speaker has turned to those chosen to give the prayer call. He has given to the owners of the rattles those who have reciting their visions during the ceremony, the amount of wampum measured off on their shells. They accept this by taking the rattle and shaking them a few times. Some mirth may be aroused among those present if the sound of the rattles is not clear.

[3] In the distribution of the Prayer Sticks among the spectators, the first and second attendants go from one end of the Big House to the other, going in opposite directions (east to west, and west to east). They lay the sticks in front of the people at reasonable distances apart, placing them so that the decorated sticks are opposite each other and the plain ones opposite each other. If the sticks do not come opposite each other, it must be done over again. The singers chant a certain song while this distribution is taking place. I should add that each Attendant distributes three plain and three decorated sticks. The symbolism of the six (spotted) or decorated sticks represents the cry of ho+ in the prayer call, the plain sticks the cry of hă+, although all the prayers mingle in the calls, irrespective of whether they have been bestowed with the decorated or plain sticks. The informants words were added, "There has to be a way of showing the difference between the beginning cries of ho+ and the ending cries of hă+, so it is shown on the sticks by the marks."

(Specimens of the prayer sticks made by the informant, are 14 inches in length, made of red maple and sassafras, fig. 14).

539 we·nda·'kwi· wi·kwa·'hamiŋg. me·'tci elaŋgu·'ndieŋg la·'p·i· ta·'ləmi·ki·'kənak·o·'nanak yu·'ki·k· manit·o·'wak· pe·'muχoχtu·'χti·t· yu·'ni· pa·'tamweo·'kanona

yu·'kwe acka·'s·ak tci·k·e·'k·. yu·'kwe me·'tci. wa·'ni· ni·kani·'χiŋg a·'ckas tən·de·'uhe·'k ok 'i·u·'s·o· pop·'ho·'k·wəs

"wani·'ci· ke·'tan·to·'wian· me·'tci nane·'n pe·'te·'ləm·uko·'nen ə·'n·da pi·'lhi·'ksum·eŋg yu·'ni· wi·'ki·eŋg e·'li· nane ci·'χ·k·andj li·'χan ləmwe·'kam·i·k· no·'tci· we·'ak·hak·am·i·'ke. ən·da·'awe·'n məca·'la·t· təmi·ma·'səma elki·'kwi· wəle·'l·em·uk·uk·. ok ən·dane·'yət· tə·'li· ə·'lamalsi·'ne·'yo ok wu·'ndji wəla·'tenamuwa·'k·an ə·'n·da tən·a·'elə·'n·dameŋg elki·'wi wəli·ka·'k·weŋg· ne·'ni· uli·'te·'he·'yək·an ko·'·χəna ke·'tan·to·'wi·t·. na·'χpən·e k·'tama·'n·damənə·'n ne·'ni· k·'·tci·'tanəs·owa·'k·an na·'ni· k·'moχo·'·məna tə·'n·da· wu·'ndji· wəl·i·'laeha·'·nen ə·'n·da pi·li·'haŋg ok wəli·'ta·'pa·'leŋg· ok ə·'n·da χa·'m·eŋg· ne·'·lice·' pop·'ho·'k·aa. we·'mi tanəni·' pəna·'nχpaŋgo·'·monen nani·' moχo·'·məna e·'li· kwimbəne·'m·ko·'·na ə·'n·da ne·'χkəŋg tə·'li· k·'təma·'k·aehəs·i·'nen ə·'n·da wi·nowa·'m·eŋg we·'mi mani·'t·o hukwe·'yuŋg ə·'n·da le·'ləm·u·'k·ək ok we·'mi· ne·'·ki·k· eləma·'·kami·k·. nali·hi·'·nen we·'mike·'ko we·'tu·'χieŋg· ənχoχto·'·leŋg· we·'tan·'towi·an pe·'tci· ki·ce·'·ləmu·'k·oŋg."

yu·'kwe acka·'s·ak wa·'ni· ni·'kani·'χiŋg pəmu·'χoχtu ta·'χanu·'ndjuŋg ke·'kəχ. we·'mi·tcawe·'·n mi·'la·'n e·'en·'χi· naχa·' ke·'·k·o. ga·'t·tci· wa·'ni· we·'t·e·'·kas·i·t· χkwe·'ii· a·'ckas pəmu·'χoχtu· ho·'k·es·ə·'ndju ə·'n·da lən·iŋ·'g ola·'m·an ok pe·'·kən we·'mi·tcawe·'·n ela·'ka·'n·aŋ.

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these spirit-forces are beginning to touch those who carry on this our prayer-ceremony.[1] 539X 796

Now the Attendants sweep the Big House clean. Now the leading Attendants make fire and burn cedar.[2]

"I am thankful, Oh thou Great Spirit, that we have been spared to live until now to purify with cedar smoke this our House, because that has always been the rule in the ancient world since the beginning of [782] creation. When anyone thinks of his children how fortunate it is to see them enjoying good health. And this is the cause of a feeling of happiness when we consider how greatly we are blessed by the benevolence of our father, the Great Spirit. And we can also feel the great strength of him our grandfather Fire for which we cause him pleasure when we purify and take care with it, and when we feed him this cedar. All of this together we offer in esteem to him, our grandfather, because he has compassion when he sees how pitifully we behave while we are pleading with all the spirit-forces above as they were created and with all those here on earth. Give us everything, our father, that we ask of you Great Spirit even the Creator."[3]

Now the leading Attendant shall carry around a wooden bowl of wampum beads. To every person he shall give equally three wampum [431] beads.[4] But the Following Attendant, a woman Attendant, shall carry a bark bowl containing paint and bloodroot so that everyone shall be [382] anointed with paint.[5]

[1] At the conclusion of these rites on the ninth evening the recitation of visions and the dancing around the White Path is resumed by the reciters as on the preceding nights. When the last reciter has completed his round the ceremony procedes as announced in the ensuing paragraph with the burning of cedar.

[2] At this juncture the Leader goes to the fire at the east of the center post while the cedar is burning and then to the west fire, and delivers the following prayer in a low tone.

[3] With the ending of his prayer the Leader has timed his movements so that his time was divided before each of the two fires of the Big House while the cedar incense had been burning.

[4] Those receiving the beads can keep them if desired. But it was customary for them to return the wampum to the common fund by putting them in a [425] little bowl standing on one of the hominy mortars outside after the meeting is over for that night. It was only by redonation of this nature that the supply of wampum necessary for conducting the ceremony could be assured.

[5] Some notes on the use of blood-root (Sanguinaria canadensis) as a red stain, or an anointment administered to the faces of all the worshippers, [384] have been included in the introduction. A point, however, arises in the matter of ceremonial usage here as recorded in Harrington's study (I, pp. 105-6). He mentions that a bowl of grease is carried around from which the attendants anoint the skin of those to be painted. It might be inferred that some religious significance is attached to the use of grease in this act. And especially [305] so in view of the similar function of grease among the far northern Algonkian who use grease rubbed on the face as "feeding the soul-spirit." Questioning the informant on this interesting point, however, only brings out the simple statement that the grease is put on to protect the skin from the effects of the paint, or pe'kan, which tends to be irritating. The grease is also put on the carved faces in this case to make the paint, put on after, sink in better. One might imagine, nevertheless, that at some former time the putting on of the grease was more of a rite than it is now.

K 539 ə'ndə we"mi· ki·'cen·ako·nate" tət·a'me"ə'ə·i·t" yu'ki·k" aeka'ə·ak te"laχ·
kən·a'ə we"mi məə·iŋgo" la'mi·kwa"hame. ce"la'han·e elaŋgu'ndieŋg"
lə'mweno'tei· li·'m"kət" ək di·'hil·aeho'ə·i·n wa'ni· lena'pe ə'n·da ga'"ta
woli·'laeha"t" ko"χona'n·a ke"tan"to'wi·t"

aeka'ə·ak təmi·'kaχtuk" kwi·'χən·i·kano'wa" ək ko"lakeəəwa'. we"·
miawe"'n ə'nχi· pe"·t·a"k"" lə'k·ea χa'm·a"te aa"·pan ək wi·yu'a.
ə'n·da ki·ei·'mi·taa'χtiŋ nate" we"miawe"n ke"'ta lami·kwa'"hame
kawi·'t" pe"tu"te ke'ko ne"ka't·am ta'k""ta ke'ko wuni·'hi·l·a'tamən
ə"li·na'k·o a"kwi'yana·. yu'kwe me"'tei· pe"·ekuŋ t"χi·l·a"'kwe nə'tei
yu'ni· wi·ki·'nen

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When all is ready then shall either one of these Attendants paint every Carved Image in the Big House. For that, my kindred, since ancient days is the rule and conduct of the Delaware when they intended to place our father, the Great Spirit. 539x 796

Attendants, bring into the House your cooking and your dishes. Each and everybody who brings a dish give him to eat some hominy and meat. When eating is finished, then shall everybody who desires to sleep in the House bring whatever things to use he may choose such as bed clothes.[1] Here now it is nine evenings since we have camped.[2] [554] [943]

[1] This is to be noted as a privilege accorded for this time to the worshippers who are attending the ceremony—a sanctification.

[2] The Delawares are widely scattered over Washington County, of the Cherokee Nation, hence in congregating for the ceremony they are obliged to domicile themselves in tents.

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VII

TENTH AND ELEVENTH NIGHTS OF THE CEREMONY

TWELFTH NIGHT OF THE CEREMONY

THE A'TEHO'MWI·N

X 539 wanici·' elaŋgu'ndieŋg təli·' me·'tci· ik·apa·'nen yu'ni· ə'nda wi·'kwi·əχta·'eŋg· ne· me·'χiŋgwe·ləmaχgə'tək· pa·'tamweə'k·anəna. gehəl·a· wani'ci· təli·' pe'tci· ə'lamalai·'nen ək ·tək·i·'i· wu'ndji ə'n·da pe'tci· wəlai·k·e·'eŋ e·'li· elaŋgu'ndieŋg χe·'ləna'u·ki· ge't·a mi·'kən·da'miŋg yu'kwe na pi·'skek. nole·'ləndam ni·maχtə'·tuk· ək ndoχkwe·'mat·uk pe'tci· ne'kee· tami·'məəmən·a·'nak elki·'kwi· wə'li·li·'nameŋg na'χpən·e elki·'kwi· wə'la'p·ana·'mi·'eŋg ki·ki·ekwi·'k·e. ·hwteŋg li·· e·'li· na'χpən·e. nani·ce·' muχə'·məən·a tə'n·da· ək yu'ki·k muχə'·məən·a'nak əka'i· elaŋ'gwepi·'tci·k· we·'mi kwu'ndji wəla·t·e'nami·'nen pe'teilak··

ək elaŋgu'ndieŋg yu'kwe pi·'skek nalu·'χən təli· awe·'n a'teho'·mwi·n ce·'li nani·ci·'χkandj li·'χan lə'mwe nə'tci ehi'k·i gəmwiŋ'ge wani·' lən·a'p·e ha't·e·. ək wa·'kət· li· ə'n·da te'len ək ni·'ca χi·'lak·wi nat·ane'ce· di·'hi·lak·hi·'k·wi· wi·'tci·laə'ŋge·n yu'ki·k daχkwe·'mənə·'nak ək tak·ta' awe·'n te·p·e·'ləmwi·t· yu'ki·k kwusk·ələnap·e'əmən·a'nak ki·ci·t·ehat·e awe·'n ahi'k·ta. ge'hel·a nalo·'χən təli·' ate·ho'mwi·n. e·'li ce·la'han·ek ki·'kəwə·i·'tci·k lə'n·owak ki·ci·mkwu'·owak təli·' wi·tcə'ndaməne·'yo yu'ni· pa·'tamweə'kan·ə'na. e·'li· a'hi· hwu'·ka k·'u'k·on yu'ni· mi·'kəm·əə·owa'k·an e·'li· a'hi· χi'ŋgwi·k·e'ko. na'ne wu'ndji pən·a' wa'ni· k·ha·'·ə·ana weə'p·ni·t· təli·'pən·a'mən ga'cəwə·owa'k·an. e·'li· ə'n·da ne·'kweŋg· təli·' ki·tci·'tehe·'i· k·təma'kaeho'·ə·i·nen yu'ni kənenda'wən·a'niŋg wundji kace·'ləndə'mən na'ni· ke·'kayə'mhe·'a. ək kwu'ndji wi·teəmu'k·ai·nen na'χpən·e k·tata'k·ehe'n·a tet·hu'n·

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TENTH AND ELEVENTH NIGHTS OF THE CEREMONY

[The performance of the usual recitations and dances is repeated.]

TWELFTH NIGHT OF THE CEREMONY

THE A'TEHO'MWI·N

I am thankful, my kindred, that we have come to the point where we are bringing to a close our worship which is so greatly esteemed.[1] I am indeed thankful that so far we have enjoyed good health from the commencement when we came here to camp, and because, my kindred, there are many more things that we want to do here tonight. I am glad, my brothers and my sisters and also those our children for so much good fortune as we have been blessed with for instance for such good weather as we have had day after day. As it was back in the beginning so, for instance, it is here. There is our grandfather Fire and these our grandfathers sitting around in our midst,[2] we should feel joy on account of them all as this evening has come.

And, my kindred, this night it is permitted that any one may take part in "the-performance-after-letting-the-fires-go-out"[3] because that has always been the rule since ancient times, since the beginning of the Gamwin of the Delawares. Whence also it is known that upon the twelfth evening then and there is the time that they take part in and help; namely, these our women and any other person who feels competent among our young people whose mind is made up. Yes, anyone truly may be permitted to perform "the-performance-after-letting-the-fire-go-out." For there are those older men who have been assigned the duty to maintain this our prayer-worship. For truly indeed this performance is a heavy burden because it is a very great thing. That is why he, our elder brother the white man looks at it as such, a wonderful performance. Because they regard us and see how earnestly we act the humble part in this our House of Worship, on account of it the government has great concern. And that is why we obtain help and

[1] This sermon represents the opening of the ceremony on the twelfth night. Since the conclusion of the last speech, on the ninth night the procedure of the intervening period (the tenth and eleventh nights) has been a repetition of the usual recitations and dancing gone through before.

[2] Referring again to the carved images on the posts of the Big House.

[3] The designation for this stage of the ceremony is a'teho'mwi·n. As the fires are now allowed to burn out, the ceremony is conceived as drawing to its close. The reciters who have played the major rôle up till this time no longer take the lead, for, as we are told, the meeting is to be turned over into the hands of the women and younger people who feel called to lead the dances, playing a minor part. Other notes on the symbolism of this ceremonial rite of conclusion have been offered in the introduction, pp. 57-8. Several specimen narratives, the minor recitations and song compositions, and experiences of men and women who gave them, as remembered by Witapano'xwe are given in the appendix, note I.

339 owe'a ke'naki·'kweŋg. ak ela'ŋgundieŋg wei'tci·na'kɔt° təli·' wi'·
tcomuk°ai·'nen yu'ni lən·a'pe e'lha'k·e't° ak we'·mi yu'ta li°
wa'·kɔt lo'mwe nə'tci we'ndji aha'·nhuk·wi· k°e·i·'t° wa'ni lən·a'pe.
e'·li ahi·hwu'·ka ləmwe'·kami·'k° we'·ak·hak·ami·'k·e dihili·' ki·co'·n-
damən na'ni· ke°tan°to'wi·t° wunda°kwi· wehe'nda'pan·aχi·'neŋg
cɔχpi·'ye e'lai·'k·e°tup° ki·kaya'yəmənani'ŋga. we'·mi· taneni·' 'kwun-
djia'· wəlat·e'nami·'nen e'·li· ala'pa ndaɔ'pan·aχi·'neŋg ne'·ako
pa'χakwenami·'eŋg° nate° ga'ta ki·'ci· təma'χoma°ne.

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also are supplied with an officer to protect us. And my kindred, it is evident that we have help since this Delaware conduct in ceremony is everywhere known since ancient times from place to place as the Delawares migrated. Because truly indeed, in the ancient world since the beginning of the earth was made by the Great Spirit back in the land of the sunrise on the coast where lived our deceased ancestors. Wherefore all of this should delight us because tomorrow is a new day and before we reach noon-time[1] we must complete the service.[2]

[1] For the ceremony to extend over noontime of the next day would bring it into the thirteenth day, by which the concept of "twelve," symbolizing the progress of the ceremony through the twelve heavens to the abode of the Great Spirit, would be broken.

[2] After the delivery of this address the women and young men prepare for the a'tcho'mwi·n.

The old women who have had any spiritual experiences are usually expected to take part first. They are given the preference. The turtle-rattle, to begin with, remains before the master of ceremonies. The old woman who has decided to dance takes the turtle and walks out into the path in front of the master-of-ceremonies. The man who has been decided upon to help the women and the young men is standing there also and when the woman takes the rattle he takes his place at her left and his assistant behind him also with a rattle.

They then begin dancing around the 'White Path,' she singing her chant. Any one present can now join in the dance, with the exception of children. They pass around the 'White Path' stopping at the usual intervals between the songs. (This is done to give opportunity for a short rest). Thus they move two abreast, the men dancers behind the male leader and his assistant, the women dancers behind the woman who is singing. There are speeches made by these women as in the case of the men of the preceding nights. They make the circuit around once, stopping before the master of ceremonies where they began. (For songs see Appendix note I).

Any young women or young men who feel the impulse to try out a song they may have acquired perform in the way just described.

If any one, moreover, should desire to lead a dance but does not feel able to do it himself or herself, he may induce one of the men who have recited their visions to lead the dance in their place. This is called "hiring," dalew-kse'la ndoli' li-kse'kwun, literally "hiring some one to support one." The employer in such a case derives spiritual benefit the same as though he had led the dance himself. The payment for this service is an arm-length of wampum.

At the end of which the Attendants bring in hominy and meat which is divided among those wishing to eat. The hides of such deer as have been killed are given to the old women, generally to those who have recited their vision chants on the evening before.

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THIRTEENTH MORNING OF THE CEREMONY
FINAL DANCE AROUND THE CENTER POST

*539 yu'kwe me·'tei· i'ka maχte·'χan· ta'li· yu'ki·k· daχkwe'əmənə'nak ke'ta wi·t'ka'χti·'t· ək wi·'tei·caχka·'me'·ti·t· kwo'teəmiŋg. ək we·'mi lən·o'wak nahəli·' tami·'məsəmənə'nak we·'miawe·'n' ke·'ski· a'l·enap·ei·'χta·'t· təmi·'ki·e'te·. ək tət·a' ei·'χkandj awe·'n e·'laχkwi·t· nahəl·i·' təmi·'k·e't·. ka't·e·i· yu'ki·k· tuχkwe'əmənanak· natc yu'ni akɔ'nde wu'ndji a'ləmi· wəla·'me·'ne·'yo. ki·'ei· wəla·'me·'ti·'t·e natc wa'ni· wi·'tei· təma'həm·a·'t· cuhi·'hi·lala'ətc· ne·'li·l ni·'kani·χiŋgi·· li·'tei· euχəi·'knanək·. ətɔχni·'ea t·χɔn· cuhi·'hil·ala·'n ekte lɔ·'we ənda' cuhi·'hilala·'t· kwi·'yaaa! we·'mi·tc· χkwe·'i· ni·kani·χi'ŋ wun'dji i'ka pə'tei· e·'li wi·'kəme·'ti·t· naχku't·əm lɔ·'we·'tc· we·'mi·awe·'n huχu!

waniei·' elaŋgu'ndieŋg la'pi· təli·' ɔŋgo'mələn we·'mi ni·maχtə'ə·tuk· lən·owa't·uk· nɔskinɔ'χtuk· ək daχkwe·'ma't·uk ək nahəl·i·' we·'mi· ne'k tami·'məsəmən·a'nak. ge'həl·a ei·'ki· ɔ'n·da wəla·'p·an·aχi·'neŋg ɔ'n·da wəli·ka'kweŋg na'ni· k·χa·'səna ki·'ekwuni·ki·'euχ ɔ'n·da pə'tei· ɔχə·'taŋg we·'mi· eləmə·'kami·k. e·'li· me·'tei· a'tɔχni·'ea t·χu'kwuni· kənə'tei yu'ni· tala'ehɔ'ə·i·nen ɔ'n·da mame'ndowa'meŋg ko·'χəna ke·'tan·to'wi·t· kowa·'to·'nen we·'mi·. ək ga'hən·e ei·ki· nɔ·le·'lən·dam ɔ'n·da wi·tcɔ'n·dieŋg ək ahi·hwu'ə·ka χiŋ'gɔχkwun·i·'· m'kɔt· yu'ni· pa·'tamweək·anə'na ək a'hi· ga'caehɔə·owa'kan ne'ni· mwi·'kəmɔə·owa'k·an wə'ni· k·ta'ckaə·əmənə me·'tei χolən·i't·i· lo·'wi·'· χta·'k·'·, ək eəla'han·en nen·'kwu·t·i kwut·ai·'k·əni ke·'k·' k·tenha'ənen

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THIRTEENTH MORNING OF THE CEREMONY
FINAL DANCE AROUND THE CENTER POST

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"Here now the time has come for all these our sisters to join and dance, and join in a single file outdoors.[1] And all the men and children besides, everybody may wear Delaware garb and go into the Big House. Yet whatever anyone wears it is the rule to go in. But women, from right here next the door, shall begin to form in single file. When they have formed a line then the assistant Concluder[2] should shake the Leading Tortoise-Rattles. Ten and two times he shall shake them and shall say when shaking them, 'kwi·ya+!' And all of the women from the leading one through to the end of the row shall answer, all of them, and say 'hu·+[3]!'

I am thankful, my kindred, that again I address you all as brothers, men, young men, our sisters and also all those our children. It is truly fine that we have good weather this morning, that we are so well blessed by him our elder brother, the day moon, when his coming illuminates all the earth. For now it is ten and two days since we have performed here while we were pleading earnestly with our father, the Great Spirit, as we all know. It is truly fine and I am glad when we are helping each other, and when this our prayer-worship is given such great consideration, and for the marvelousness of the service of those our Attendants now soon to be finished. And there is here for [465] each one, one shoulder-length of wampum that we pay them, although

[1] After the trying out dances of the minor participants on the twelfth evening the scene has closed for the night and the master of ceremonies is giving the opening address, with instructions for the procedure of the thirteenth morning. The final dance now to be ordered takes place around the center post of the Big House beneath the images of the Great Spirit before which a serious prayer-call is given. It bears the name of Təmaᵊ'həma, "conclusion."

[2] The master of ceremonies is so designated now.

[3] As the leader cries kwi·ya+ the first woman in the line answers with hu·+ followed by the next until all have been heard from consecutively as they "count off."

As the cry hu· hu· hu· resounds in turn down the line of women, they form inside the Big House in the manner indicated by the diagram (fig. 13) and proceed around the dance ring as shown by the double black lines, dancing to the points marked, and stopping. Then so on until they circle four times around the center posts. As they circle around the 'grandfather' they raise their heads to touch the images as on the previous occasions during the night dances. This time, however, some of them are carrying the prayer sticks. Those having them touch the images with them; this being what [782] we might term a more intense form of prayer since the prayer sticks are employed. It might be noted that the six decorated prayer sticks symbolise the six ho·+ cries of the prayer-call, the six plain ones the six hu·+ cries, given each time they pray.

X 537 wəl·a"·haχa'n·e" alowa"·ə"tu" ne" mwi·kəmə'əowak·a'nowa ə"li· ahi·hwu'·ka su'k·ən yu'ni· mwi·ka'n·dameŋg".

akuwa"·pona. ni· nga'·ski·a" lowe'·i· elki·ka'·χti·k". eukwu'nd i·a'·p"tei·pi'·pən·dawəna'n·ak ki·kayo'yəmənan·i'ŋga ehəla'"kən·ot·əmi'·χti·t" lowe'·yək haŋg wa'ni a'·eka'·s mwi·i·kmə'əowa'k·an ə'n·da tən·də'·uhe"t" ək ə'nd·a χa'·m"kweŋg ək ə'n·da tepi·ha'·tak"" da"·χana ək ə'n·da tei·k"hi·'k·ə"t" we"·mi· ta'·neni· pi·'lachəs·owak·an wundji wəli·'lacha'·nen na'·ni· nehəla'··łkweŋg". ə"li me"·tei i·'k·a petən·a"·kai·həna ə'nda təmahəm·a"·eŋg". pəna'·elən·damu'·t·an elaŋgu'ndieŋg" la'·pi· aye"·ma o"·lamalsi·ə'ŋgwe la'·pi·te" a'·cəwi· ga"·ti'·ŋge nayu'ni la'·pi· tə'n·dala'·ehəs·i'·nen.

ək əmu'·te" elaŋgu'ndieŋg ku"·nu kut·ena'·u'·ki· ke'·ko ge"·ta lowe"·i· wəli·'k·ena'·ke"·la'·ndamuk". lowe"·nhaŋg" awe"·n ə'n·da we"·lhik" pənəs'·-lə'·ndaŋg "te"·'hiŋg ta'·li· ki·ei·'χən pəna'·elən·damowa'k·an. ək ə'n·da wəli·'pən·aelə'·ndaŋg a'·p·owat" təli·' wəla'·ehə'·s·i·n ga'·t·tei ə'n·da maχta'·e·hə'·s·i·t" ne'·ni· me"·t"hik ə"li· awe"·n ə'n·da maya"·i· pən·a'·elə'·n·daŋg pəm·a'·ləowa'k·an. a'·hihwuska a'·hət ə"li· ka'·t·a wendjaχkən·a'·wəna na'·ni· lən·a'·p·eə'·k·an kwu'ndji·te ga'·s·ki· mat·teu'·χola"·nen wendji·'-ai·k ko"χəna"·niŋg ə'n·da a'·la "haka"·tamiŋg yu'·tali· ə'ndala'·u'·si·eŋg. yu'·ni·χane" "htohe"·p·i nate" y'·ut·a aeha'·t·e ə"li· na'·yu wundji·'ayu" ha'·k·iŋ.

gehela' elaŋgu'ndieŋg na'·ne nəwu'ndji haŋg" wi·nowa'·mələn tə'·li awe"·n wi·tei·'lae'·m"kwun ei·takə' wunda'·mak·wun ə"li ta'·m"·eha'·ŋg nowa'·ni· ke'·ko. na'·neni di·'hili·nəmən lə'·mwe nə'·tei·. teχi·'haŋg dələma'·hi· " ako"" te·pi·'hil·e"·i· lənə'·elən·damowa'k·an. nəwu'ndji·haŋg" wəl·a"·te'·nami·n ə'n·da awe"·n mi·ku'·mi·t" kek"".

ək acka"·s·ak ga'·t·a ki·ei·'χuk" ke"·k"" ta'·χanu'ndjuŋg we"·ni·te" awe"·n naχa"" ke"·k"" mi·'la" ək awe"·n li·'t·ehat·e ə'n·da me"·tei· k"teu'·tiŋg" kwə'·-teəmiŋg ləmat·ha'·te kəhə'·k·an nate" nen·i· təla'·nehi·n awe"·n ne"·li·l ke"·k"" mi·la'·ndji·

me"·tei elaŋgu'ndieŋg yu'·kwe ə'n·da məkən·i·'iki·'kən·uk·we'·ŋg yu'·ki·k" moχo'·"mən·a"·nak" euχəni·'k·an·ək nate" eləmi·'hi·l·e" tə'·li· toma'·həm·a'·nen. me"·tei·ta yu'·kwe ki·'cənauk"·si·'hi·na" tə'·li· wi·'kwi·-əχko"·nen yu'·ni· ko"·'χəna mwi·'kəm·ək·owa'k·an. ək elaŋgu'ndieŋg yu'·kwe wu'ndji· ə'n·da mateuχwe"·eŋg te'·ka wəli·'kələ'·lə'·n·damuχ

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worth much more are their services, because exceedingly heavy is this which we are doing.[1] 539.X 796

Hardly, for example, can I tell how precious it is. But, however, we have heard our deceased ancestors as they were speaking about it say, according to the custom, that the labor of the Attendant, when he makes fire, when he feeds us, when he provides plenty of fire wood, and when he sweeps the House clean;—all of this purification is the cause of bringing joy to the One who created us.[2] For now we have moved along toward where the ceremony closes. Let us consider, my kindred, if it would not bring us good health if again next year right here once more we perform the ceremony.

And besides, my kindred, there remains one more matter, something I want to say for you to bear well in mind. It is said traditionally, when any one on Good meditates in his heart, there is formed the thought. And when he thinks of good it is easy to behave well, but when he misbehaves it is the Evil that a person seriously thinks about as concerns his life. It is exceedingly hard because it is necessary that we prepare the soul-spirit in order that we shall be able to take it back home again to where it belongs, to Our Father, when its use is finished here where we live. Here in this place it is the body that shall remain here because here is where it belongs in the ground.[3]

Indeed, my kindred, that is why, as it is said, I plead with you that everyone take part and help me, or call it to my attention if sometimes I forget something. Always have I seen it this way since long ago. Yet at times, as it is said, I feel not to have grasped it sufficiently in mind. That is why, as it is said, I feel well pleased when any one calls my attention to something.

The Attendants must prepare wampum in a wooden bowl and every person shall be given three beads, and every person who wishes to, when he is now leaving to go outdoors, there where sets the hominy mortar may deposit them, whoever has been given these wampum beads. [925]

And now, my kindred, here when for the last time we are touched by these our grandfathers the turtle-rattles, that is the beginning of our concluding act. Now here at last we are ready to end this Our Father's service. And, my kindred, now from hence as we are going

[1] The master of ceremonies having now brought the worship to its close now makes his final bow with an eloquent declaration of humility, a summary of the spiritual force of what has been done and an appeal to the loyalty of his tribesmen.

[2] Another designation for the Great Spirit; as the explanation runs, "We are his children." [776]

[3] Mention has already been made, in the introduction, of Delaware eschatology, how it is believed that the heart is the seat of one soul, the blood of another remaining on earth after burial. [775]

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K 539 ɛ"li· naχpo"χkwenen ne'ni· lɛn·a'pe kwe'nanowa'k·an. kwu'ndji kwut·i·ga'χtɛn·ɛ"i· wɛla"tenami·'nen ɛ"li· we"mi· mani'tu a'χpi·tak"ɛŋg χkwi·t"ha'k·ami·k" ɔk ne"ki·k" hukwe'yuŋg ɔ'n·da lɛlɛm·u'kuk hwimbɔne'm"ko"nanak naheli·', na'ni· ko'"χɔna ke"ta'n"towi·t" pe'tɛi ki·ɛ"lɛmuk·ɔŋg yu" laha'pa nan·ɛ' t"χi·'".

yu'kwe ɛlaŋgu'ndiɛŋg" mɛk·ɔn·ihi·l·ak" ma'ɛpa"tama"ŋ we"'mi·awɛ"n ,kitɛi·tɛ"he'i· pa"tama"n. ɔk kowa"tonen wɛhe'ndji·'pan tali·' k"tɛulti·"hina ɔk naχpo'χwenen ne'ni· ke"k" pi·'i·nake"tamɔn ɛ"li· na'lɔn·ɛni· kut·ɛ·'ha"nen ɔ'n·da i·'k·alaŋgu'si·ɛŋg" koχɔna'niŋ wendji·'·asi·'k" ne'ni· lɛn·a'pɛɔ'k·an. ɔk pɔna'ɛlɔndam·u't·am" we"mi·awɛ"n kitɛi·'tɛhe'i i·'k·alaŋgo'"ɔo hukwe'yuŋg ɔk kɔnaχpale"tama'nen yu'ni· kut·ɛ"'hɔmɔna ke"k" ato"χni·'ɛa pi·tɔ'·p·ane tɛli· a'·spale"tama"nen ɔ'n·da le'lɔmu'kuk na'ni· ko'"χɔna ke"tan"to'wi·t" pe'tɛi ki·ɛ"lɔmu'k·ɔŋg.

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home, you must take good care, for you are carrying with you the spirit of Delaware worship. From now on for one year at least, we shall enjoy benefit from all the spirit-forces given us, those on top of the earth and those up above as they were created to have mercy upon us, and besides from him Our Father, the Great Spirit, even Our Creator. This will be all for this time.

Now, my kindred, for the last time we go out to pray, everybody with all his heart. And you know that we shall go out to the east and shall carry with us the wampum that is left unused because that is our heart[1] when we appeal for a blessing to our father with whom belongs the Delaware's soul. And let us consider, every one of us earnestly, as the prayer reaches up above, and we express our faith with this wampum in our heart, because through ten and two levels of the sky we lift our prayer-appeal to where dwells him Our Father the Great Spirit, even the Creator.[2]

[1] A short discourse on wampum given in the introduction (page 64) mentions this simile.

[2] Upon this announcement the wampum beads remaining available for this purpose are tied together into one string [the informant remembered when the Big House treasury contained fifteen or twenty strings, or arm lengths, but in recent years the total length has decreased to some twelve or fifteen feet] and held resting on their hands in a line reaching from one end of the row of people to the other as far as it will go. Facing east they raise the prayer-call, six times calling ho-+ and six times hā-+. This concludes the rite.

With this prayer the last word of the Bringer-in who has at the same time been Master of Ceremonies pronounces his last word of formality, his duties are ended before the sun has reached the noon point of the thirteenth day since the worshippers have convened—the termination point established by traditional ruling. And the great ceremony is ended. The assembled families now prepare to betake themselves home. As the Big House is emptied, the ceremonial property is removed by the Attendants, the premises swept out, the doors set in place, the bar posts raised as a symbol of vacancy—a method of "locking up" habitations when the occupants are away in vogue everywhere among Algonkian people. Conveyances are loaded with camping paraphernalia and household goods and the prairie roads become dusty with the passage of the Delaware cortège on its way in various directions to distant homesteads.

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APPENDIX

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Note I. Specimens of Recitation Songs Given in the A"teho'mwi'n Performance.

NOTE II. The Myth of Red Cedar and the Seven Stars (Pleiades).

NOTE III. Chief Elkhair's Vision of the Journey of the Soul.

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APPENDIX

NOTE I

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Specimens of Recitation-Songs Given in the A'teho'mwiu Performance.

The following song recitative of one of the oldest women will serve as an example of the type of performance enacted by the women who have had spiritual experiences. The performer was Mawa't'e's, "Bundle-in-good-condition," a Munsee woman the grandmother of the informant who died about 1914 at an estimated age of 109.

Her song (dictaphone record G)[1] relates to a "mermaid" which she had encountered in a river when a child of eight or nine years of age, determined by the event of the "falling stars" referring to a rain of meteors which she remembered seeing. The informant had heard her experience narrated many times during her life and her song chanted for many years in the Annual Ceremony. Hence he knew both well. The experience as related was as follows:

She was being taken on horseback by her mother across country on a journey to purchase some whiskey as was the custom among the women at that time. Her mother was riding the horse when, coming to a river which had risen by the freshets, she fell off in mid-stream. Neither she nor the horse were seen again. The little girl, Mawa't'e's, remained on the bank alone. No one knowing what had happened for nine days the child existed without human help. Finally a passing party discovered her and restored her to relatives. Then she related the unusual experience, how shortly after the accident a spotted woodpecker came to her every day bringing sufficient bread to keep her alive. To her the bird appeared as a little man garbed in native clothes and wearing a little hat all patterned and decorated to correspond with the markings on the birds feathers. It was not until the fourth or fifth day that she discovered him to have human form; one time when on the point of leaving he turned his back. Her benefactor sustained her with magic food. The next day of her lonely sojourn by the fateful river, there appeared to her a female emerging from the water, the lower part of whose body was that of a fish. Long streaming hair some yards in length floated about her covering her upper parts. The child tried to help her from the river when she asked her but the water-woman told her that it would be in vain since that was her fate. She announced, however, to the child that she was to be her guardian henceforth, that she would have health and live to a very, very advanced age.

She concluded her mission by telling the poor child that she would

[1] In collection of the Museum of the Historical Commission of Pennsylvania.

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not behold her again until a time when she would be seen in a dream precisely one year before death would remove her from the world, by which sign she would know that she had a year to live. Mawa'te's verily grew old with full confidence in her vision and lived for almost a century to chant her song of the "mermaid" visitation every year at the woman's part of the ceremony. On her one hundred and eighth year as was thought, she declared that the "mermaid" appeared to her as preordained and announced to her family the meaning of the event. Precisely one year from that day, having settled her affairs in the meantime, she lay down peacefully and died.

We have every reason to regard this experience and narrative as being typical of the old Delaware psychic life.

Several other minor experiences, the recitation of which fell into the final stage of the annual ceremony, are given in the following abstracts.

Wi·tapano'xwe's mother, Hannah E. Big Deer (Armstrong) or Yu'ti·n (from Justina, a German name), of the Pele' group, when a small child was treated by her parents in a manner to evoke sympathy. They often called her Sa'ki·a, or "Sauk," a term of derision, because she was so dark. This was done, following custom, to cause her to have a vision. She went about grieving, finally wandering to the river bank where she stopped under a tree-root which hung over the bank. She pulled at the earth under the tree until it was about to fall over and kill her, when pe"t'ha'kowe, "Thunder," came and, holding the tree up led her to safety and promised to help her. She never said much about it except that the Thunder took her up into the clouds to show her his power.

William Brown (Tu'k"si·t group) also had Thunder for a helper. He never recited his vision in the main ceremony, but during the a"teho'mwi·n he told how "Those Beings," without mentioning their names, took him up above. He said that they had nice feathers in their hair which they waved to make lightning.

Wi·tapano'xwe for his part, like many of the younger men who did not consider themselves quite capable nor mature enough to lead (wendji·kane"i·) in the serious part of the ceremony, has been accustomed to take part in the dance-leading (a"teho'mwi·n) on the twelfth night. This performance was merely a dance, the song accompaniment to which is a brief composition hinting at the event connected with his vision. As noted in connection with the a"teho'mwi·n dances, the performers do not carry on the protracted sermon recitations and the procession intervals around the White Path.

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Wi·tapano'xwe's rehearsal composition is as follows:[1]

[1] Dictophone record H, State Museum collection. The kindness of Mr. Harold MacGuffin should be acknowledged here for his loan of a dictophone in the process of recording the Delaware chants.

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nat·a nek tele'lem·u'k·un
wani· lə'n·ape· e''leləmu'k·uk
awi·'tape· naχpe'ləmuk·uk
we'mi· ne'χpe'ləmu'k·ə wani· lena'p·e
kwe'na'mowi·

Free translation.

Brought to you are those same blessings
That the Delaware is blessed with,
As to one of the tribe, the blessing is extended;
All the Delaware is blessed with
Through his religion.

He repeats this song over and over again until he has completed the circuit of the White Path, and returned with his line of dancers to the point where he arose to lead.

The informant also happened to remember the song of Joe Washington (Ni·ka''nipaχo''xwe "Leading-Man")[1]

di·hilənə'mən a'we'moχweya'ne
yu'ni· el''ma'kami·k
wa'ni· lena'p·e pa''tamweə'k·an
di·hilənə'mən a'we'moχweya'ne
ayaya''ne el''ma'kami·k
awi·ta'peək·an·ə'wa

Free translation.

This is how I do,
When I travel over this earth,
The Delaware religion!
This is how I do when I travel
When traveling over the universe.
Their tribal relationship!
Kwi·'yə kwi·[2]
Hu'[3]

[1] Dictophone record H. State Museum collection.
[2] The first, or leading dancer's, ending cry.
[3] The second, or assistant dancer's ending cry.

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NOTE II

RED CEDAR, A SACRED TREE

X537 yu'kwe nowe'i·ta·konu"təmən e'lhata'ka·'wəni·t' wa'ne' kəmoχo"məə'na popχo'k·wos a'hi· ka'helən·au"ki· li·'nahaka'lkwus·u. o'·n·da awe·'n maχ-kwi·s·i·t' h"ə·i·'t·a ci'tako wik·a't· wəla·'t'hak·a'wənu o'·n·da ko'la'ə·i·t' awe·'n wu'ndji· poka'kwi·'ə·i·n. ək o'·nda wu'ski· pal·i·'le'k' tət·a'tali·' naka'lkwus·u wa'ni· popχo'k·wus o'·nda pi·'lhi·k·sa'ə·i·k' wi·'kwəm

ək wani·' lən·a'·pe o'·nda pa'tama't' χiŋgwi·kaə'niŋg ap"tei· popχo'k·wus naka'lkwus·u e'·nda pi·'lhik·sa'ə·i·k' yu'ni· χiŋgwi·ka'ən. ək na'nepi·'ske'k' ehelak'·wi· nhakalkwu'ə·i·t' lowe·'nhaŋg" pi·'lhiksu'·t·i·n ək eəmu'te' we·'mi· me·'χkeə'χəə·i·t' e'·nχi· nən·u'staŋg yu'ni· pi·sun"i· mi·te'ha't·owak·an owa'to"n təli·' nhaka"lkwus·i·n wa'ni· popχo'k·wus. wəla'χan·e nicən·a'u'ki· pi·li· eli·nak'hə'ki· aki·'ko ka'ski· nhaka'lkət' ənda pi·lhik-sut·iŋg yu'ni· o'·nda "bi·'sun mi·tcha'·t·iŋ

euk' nalowa'ni· popχo'k·wus tə'·n·da ni'k·ani·χi·'nən ma'ni·t·u a'pi·'taund' tei·'tanəə·uwa'k·an wu'ndji· awe·'n wuli·'kai·'hil·a'n e'·nda k"tei·'χale·'-taŋg ne'ni· kweeha'·t·e'k. e"li· na'neni· təli·'mkwu'ə·i·n təli'te ta'pa'·la'n ək wəli·'ha'n oχwi·'ə·ə e'·nda wi·nowa'mkuk.

ək ahi·hwu'ska lə'mwe wa'ni· lən·a'·p'e wendau"ə·i·t' pi·"pəndawə-na'nək ki·'kayoyəmənə'ni'ŋga təli·'lowe'ne'·yə lə'·mwehund' a'po'·p·le'·n-dwak an·i·'k'an·i·k' a'ka'ci·ləə·i·χti·t' lən·u'ŋga ni·'eae hund' χi·'yək wi·χ-ka'·utei· na ma'·t·atei·te ni·hi·ne·'χkwus·i·'yuk. ne'ka'ke a'kaci·ləə·i'ti·'t' lən·u'ŋga. euk" wu'ski· pi·lae·'yək ke'ko weheli'ŋgwe'hela"ti·t' wi·χka'·-utei· ne'li· a'pa·'maka"ti·t' pe·'ma'ca'·e'k' sən·a'ɔŋge'·i·'i· wi·χka'utei· keko'·-layul ni·'paχte'k ni·'eae a'sə'·n·a ga'·χti el·i·na'kəχtu'. nahu'nd' wi·χka'·-utei· na'ni· pi·'lai ik·awu'ndji· kekolu'k·wun kwut·i· ne'li·l a'ə·ə'·n·a. nace·' tə'ləmi· wa'kwus·i·ne·'yə. ək nahalowi·'i· eae'·i· awe'ni·k gəm·e'·i·

[P.169 is blank]

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NOTE II

THE MYTH OF RED CEDAR AND THE SEVEN STARS

539X 121 [776]

Reference to the stars and to the cedar tree as spirit-forces in the course of the text seems to call for the insertion of the following narrative in the study. It was dictated by Wi-tapano'xwe in explanation of that part of the ceremony in which cedar was given to the fires in the Big House as spiritual 'food.'

RED CEDAR A SACRED TREE

539X 824 [757 783]

Now I am explaining what is the purpose of him our Grandfather Cedar,[1] how in many different ways it is used. When a person has a swelling in his feet or his legs it is good medicine as a steam bath for one to reduce swelling. And when after a recent death anywhere that cedar is used for purifying the house.

And when the Delawares worship in the Big House cedar is always used for purifying the Big House. And that night when the time arrives for its use it is said to be a purification-agency and also all the red men who understand this Medicine-eating[2] know that the cedar is used. Although two other different kinds are used as well for purification when this Medicine-eating is going on.

[776 757]

But that cedar is the leading spirit-force that is given for strength for anyone's healing, when inhaling the smoke. Because that very thing is the purpose intended in treating and healing his grandchild when he begs it of him.

539X 773

A very long time ago in the life of the Delawares we have heard our deceased ancestors how they said, in ancient times when there were living men of great spiritual power; seven of them, it was said, all at once were not seen any more. They had gone those prophets, men departed. But young pure youths[3] blessed with a vision of something all at once while walking about along the ridge among rocky cliffs—all at once a thing upright there, seven stones almost alike. And then it was said that all at once the youth was thence spoken to by one of these stones. Then they came to be known.[4] And more and more

[1] The specific native term for cedar is a derivative of "popping."

[2] This is the proper designation in Delaware for the Peyote ceremony: "Medicine-eating" referring to the eating of the Peyote bean (Lophophora).

[3] One need hardly be reminded that these are the young men ignorant of the ways of the world, of sin and carnality, brought up under the tutelage of solicitous parents, observant of the religious rules and guided in their conduct of life by the spirit-forces which appeared to them; the life ideals of the Delawares.

[4] Indicating that these prophets to escape the importunities of people seeking help from them had concealed their identity by transforming themselves into rock among the mountains.

X 539 i'k·a e"yak' e'li· nale'təma ne"ki·k' a'ka'ci·ləə·i"ti·'t' le'n·owak. wi·xka'ueti· ne"k""tən ik·a lo"ltiŋ'ge kekola'' yu'ni· mat·a awe"n yu'ta. a'hi· ami·'ka na'lap·i· awe"n mu'χkaən keko. yu'ki·k ni·'eae owəli·'nak""su'wak kowe"yok. a'ləndə awe"n təli·nao'ə ma'la'ci· pop'o'k'sak k'ət·ali·na'k""ai·n. ee'la'hənen·i ta'li· wei·tci·na'k·wut' təli' ki·'χgaŋgundi·ne"yɔ wa'ni· pop'χo'kwus ək wani· ko'we ənk' we"na·mwatci· pi·'li· li' mi·ɬkwu'·owak ma'ni·towa'k·an ə'n·da ki·'ee'ləma"t' na'ni· ki·ee'ləm·u'kɔŋg. we"namwatci· kwut·ə'li· tale'·ləm·u'k·uk ənk' e"l·i·i· mətə'·i·nowak.

ək tci·'tc' kwut·ena'u'ki· li' nhaka'lkwus·u wa'ni· popχo'kwus wihi'ndji· eheli'k si·'k·e"n.

la'p·i· namə'la"ək ne"ki·k 'kaci·ləə·i'·tci·k lə'n·owak tə'li e'təma' hi·t'kwi·ne"yɔ'. la'p·i· aləmake"yok ahi·'ami·'ka na'k·əndj la'pi· ma'χkaən. etki·'kwi· wa'kwus·i'χti·t' ke'kotal"" yu'ki·k hukwe'yuŋg me"ni·χiŋgi·k la'e moca"p·an·e ni·'eae ala'ŋgək ək wi·ɬkwus·owak ə'nda me'tci·' nama"lənd' na'lən·e'k gacawe"ni·k ək nane'wundji· yukwe'·petci· ako'' kwut·e'li· i·ya'pi·'yok ki·kaχti'ŋge. ee'la'hənen·i· dihi'l·owe"n ki·'kayo'yəmənə wundji·'χan təli·'' wa'kwus·i·n ma'ya'i wa'ni· popχo'kwus e'·lat'haka'wəni·t'.

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widely persons constantly went there because those prophet men were there. All of a sudden when several had gone there to the place where they were, no person was seen there. But again after a very long time some one found them. Here were these seven beautiful appearing pine trees. And some of the individuals appeared as cedars in outward appearance. This very thing there shows evidence that they are closely related, the cedar and the pine, although in a different way gifted with the power of spiritual force when created by the Creator. However, they were placed together as one since both are conjurors. 539X 773

And there is more than one way otherwise to use the cedar, for the purpose of coloring.

Again they notice that those prophet-men had become trees. Again they went away and it was a very long time afterward before they found them again. As soon as they were known here these had formed [82] in a group up above in the middle of the sky as seven stars[1] and they are called, when they are seen, as though they were great persons, for which reason from then on until now they never stay in one place during the year. That is what was said by our ancestors from whom [151] it was rightly known that the cedar was of medicinal purpose.

[1] The Pleiades.

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NOTE III

Chief Elkhair's vision of the Journey of the Soul.

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The informant in discussing the character of the soul and its future estate here gives an account of the belief of the Delawares as it was reviewed by Chief Elkhair at each performance of the Big House ceremony at some time during the performance when occasion offered itself to deviler a lecture of instruction on this interesting subject to the younger members of the company. While the recitation was fundamentally based upon the experiences indelibly impressed upon the mind of Elkhair in a vision that he at one time received, we recognize, nevertheless, the common catechistic pattern of belief which is fairly general throughout the whole of Delaware religious teaching. Therefore it is rather an example of the latter than a peculiar or individual property of Elkhair's. On account of the importance of this revelation in explaining the Delaware answer to that universally engrossing query as to what becomes of the soul, I have placed the heading here in the appendix instead of in the introduction, to give it the emphasis it seems to deserve.

Elkhair's vision dates back to an earlier period in his life, before the Peyote religion had been introduced among the Delawares. In it he beheld a bird of monstrous size resting upon a mountain. It was toward this landmark that he was led by a spirit who undertook to conduct him as far as the soul of a living being could go. It was apparently to instruct him in the nature of the soul's pilgrimage after death that the revelation was given him. He was accordingly taken only to the point in the journey beyond which the soul can not pass until it is released by death.

The path over which he traveled was a crooked, hard road, always up hill for its first stage, and led toward the mountain referred to. In the sketch made by Wi·tapano'xwe to illustrate this realm this section of the journey is marked A, and is called "Beautiful White Path," or "Righteous Path," the same as the dancing path within the Big House itself. The concept carries on the allegory of the Big House as a symbol of the life of man and its continuation in the spirit world.

Upon completion of this part of the journey the first turning point in the path was attained. This was the Cross Roads, enda'cowa ge''xiŋ "where roads cross" (B in the sketch). Elkhair's spirit was told here that none but the man who had led a righteous life could proceed beyond this point and achieve the desired goal that lay still farther along. The unrighteous are turned aside here and wander off on a branch path to some unhappy fate. The cross is the symbol of the cross roads. We find it engraved upon the so-called plain drumsticks (figs. 17, 22) used in the ceremony until the ninth night. At this

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period of the ceremony when the cross-marked drumsticks are put aside to yield place to the image-carved sticks, the ceremony takes on a more exclusive meaning to its celebrants, corresponding to the advance of the soul into a more exclusive realm in its progress toward the ultimate.

After proceeding past the cross-roads the spirit led his soul to the mountain upon which rested the bird previously mentioned (C in the sketch). This station is called teo'las endala'usi·t, or endale'lamukuk, "bird where he lives". This creature bears the name Ge'k'exonu'k·es "Storm-maker". And it is he who by the motion of his wings causes storms and winds to rage over the earth below.[1]

The next landmark in the course of the journey after passing by the mountain of the big bird was the abode of the Thunder, pe't'hakowe endale'lamukuk, "thunder where he lives" (D in the sketch). On these heights the way was obscured by smoke, clouds and lightning, from which sources the tempests descended upon the earth. It was a terrifying place.

Beyond this mountain of storms the soul of Elkhair could not pass, but he could, notwithstanding this, behold a still more distant ridge of mountains (E in the sketch) called "pe''maxtiŋ "mountain ridge". While it was forbidden for him to approach nearer he could at least hear the voices of departed souls beyond enjoying their heavenly existence. Here, he was told, the souls are resting until the end of the world when all shall be enabled to cross over the next gap to the final stage of the journey to where the Great Spirit sits. Here souls dwell without care, worry or sickness. But it is exclusive for the Delawares because only those who have been adherents to the Big House can become qualified for this existence.

This, the last stage of cosmic existence is that remote height of heaven where the Great Spirit rests supreme, looking down upon his creation, with his hand resting upon the staff he holds in his hand, which is, in the Delaware mind, symbolized by the center post of their Big House. No one of course knows what the final abode of souls is to be like, since Elkhair had no revelation concerning it. This realm is called lon-ape'ehat, "Delaware where he goes".

It should be recalled that these stages of the celestial pilgrimage are the "levels of heaven" mentioned before in the explanation of the ceremony, numbering twelve in all (see page 26).

In commenting upon the assumed nature of souls, Wi·tapano'xwe added that the soul appears as an image, without flesh, and that it is thought to look the same as it did in its earthly form.

In explaining the peculiar esoterism of the Delaware creed the informant said that exclusion of aliens was not a fixed property of

[1] Identical with a belief current among the Wabanaki.

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775 the system, since it was understood that if a person had lived in ac-
794 cordance with all the Delaware doctrines, by being admitted to the teachings of the Big House, his soul would go where the Delaware soul goes. This would mean that the individual had become an adopted Delaware both in body and spirit. He cited cases of Indians of other tribes who had married into the nation and become members of the ceremonial group. Such aliens also acquire the privilege of being buried in a Delaware cemetery, their funerals being celebrated with Delaware rites. This honor was accorded to his father who was born a Cherokee. He remembers hearing the chief say at his father's funeral, "All things to which the Deleware is entitled to are bestowed upon this soul".

Finally we may again remark upon the consistency with which the whole conception links together the life of the living Delaware, the state of his soul and the classical figurism of the Big House.

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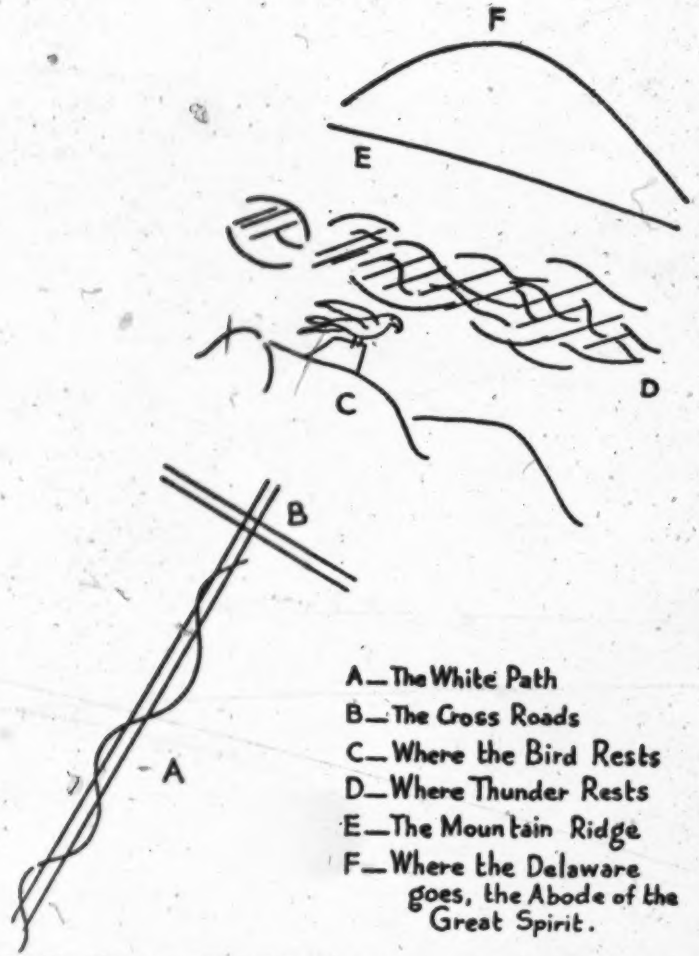

Fig. 26.—Sketch by informant illustrating concept of the journey of the soul after death. (See pages 25 and 174).

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[For the native text pertinent to the Delaware Big House Ceremony and its free translation by the author, see category 116, pp. 80-163, 168, 170-173.]

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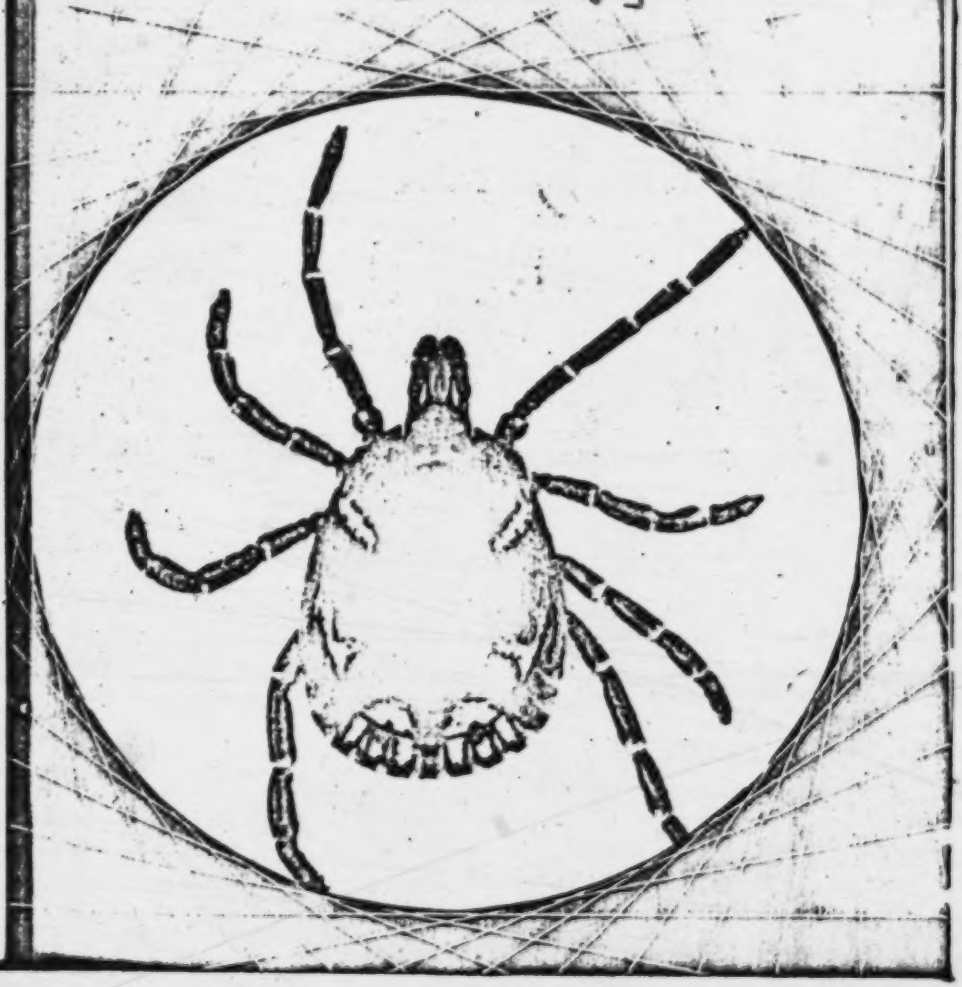
VOL. VIII, NO. 1 MARCH, 1956

THE TEXAS JOURNAL OF SCIENCE

PUBLISHED QUARTERLY BY THE TEXAS ACADEMY OF SCIENCE

[Title Page]



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The Peyote Cult of the Delaware Indians

by WILLIAM W. NEWCOMB, JR.

Texas Memorial Museum

276 Peyote *(Lophophora williamsii)* is a spineless, carrot-shaped, grayish-green cactus, which in this country grows primarily in the lower Rio Grande Valley. When eaten, either green, dried, or drunk as tea, peyote has the property of heightening or sharpening the perception of colors, forms, and sounds, or inducing visual and/or auditory hallucinations. The extent to which a person has or does not have hallucinations depends upon his physical and psychological state, the amount and type of peyote ingested, and perhaps other factors. Peyote is not a narcotic in that "It does not excite, stupefy, or produce muscular incoordination; there is no hangover; and the habitual user does not develop any increased tolerance or dependence" (La Barre, *et al.*, 1951: 582).

175 177 276 795 A knowledge of the properties of peyote and its utilization in religious ceremonies antedates recorded history in Mexico. It was not until late in the nineteenth century, however, that knowledge and a new ceremonial use of peyote developed and spread widely among the demoralized reservation Indians of the United States. The peyote cult was attractive to many of these Indians because it could easily replace outmoded or discarded religious rites, and because it was a continuing, if mild, rejection of elements of the dominant civilization. The new cult diffused to the Delaware Indians of northeastern Oklahoma about 1885, through the agency of John Wilson, a Caddo-Delaware from Anadarko in western Oklahoma (Petrullo, 1934: 83; La Barre, 1938: 109–123). This man had become a peyotist about 1880, and in subsequent years he converted many Delawares and other Indians in Oklahoma. John Wilson's version of peyotism, termed Big Moon or Moonhead, is today the most popular form of the cult among the main body of Delawares in northeastern Oklahoma. A less Christianized and less all-embracing religious cult called Little Moon was introduced somewhat later and has never attracted as many followers. I was unable to attend a Little Moon meeting; what follows pertains only to the Big Moon ceremony.

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My purposes in this article are to describe a fairly typical peyote meeting of the Delawares which I attended in the summer of 1952, and to discuss the changes which have occurred in this cult since 1930 when Petrullo made his study of Delaware peyotism (Petrullo, 1934).

THE BIG MOON PEYOTE CEREMONY

The Big Moon ceremonies of the Delawares are normally held in canvas covered tepees, generally in the cooler months of the year, but occasionally in hot weather. The reason for their seasonal nature is said to be in the interests of comfort; a tepee with a fire burning in it on a hot Oklahoma night is almost unbearable. Big Moon ceremonies are held on Saturday nights and last until Sunday noon. The peyote meeting I am about to describe was held on the farm of a Delaware, about ten miles east of the small town of Dewey, Washington County, Oklahoma. A tepee, about twenty feet in diameter, had been erected a few steps from the back door of the farm house. A bale of hay had been scattered about near the inside walls of the tepee; tarpaulins and quilts had then been spread over the hay, upon which the participants were to sit. In the center of the tepee was an oval depression, or fireplace, excavated to a depth of about six inches (Fig. 1). Extending from the fireplace were twelve lines or rays, made by scoring the hard ground to a depth of about half an inch. Within the fireplace, also scored in the earth, was a cross and at the intersection of its arms a heart-shaped figure. The fire, which was built over this heart, was made of twelve sticks interlaced in a V-shaped pattern with the open end towards the tepee entrance.

Just east of the fire, and lying along the long axis of the cross, was a stick of soft wood. One end was kept smoldering during the ceremony and was used to light corn husk-Bull Durham cigarettes. At the east end of the fireplace was a raised circular mound of hard packed earth. On the center of this mound, symbolic of the Sun, another heart had been scratched. On the opposite, or west side of the fireplace was the altar. This was an oblong, slightly raised, earthen area, on which was placed the ritual paraphernalia. In its center on a beaded cloth was a large, green peyote, or "Father Peyote." Just behind it a feathered and beaded peyote staff had been thrust into the ground. On the altar to the south of these objects was a glass bowl of green peyote, a kettle of peyote tea, and a leather bag of dried peyote buttons. To the north of "Father Peyote" on the altar was the drum used to accompany the singers (an old fashioned cast iron kettle, partly water-filled, and covered with a tightly drawn, wet, buckskin cover), and a bunch of sage.

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276 sage. The fireplace and the altar had been made many years pre-
795 viously, showing much use by being smooth and hard packed.
796 While the man who was to tend the fire and guard the door (fire-chief) and several helpers were arranging the tepee, several women were preparing peyote in the farmhouse kitchen. Peyote tea was made by chopping up dried peyote buttons and dropping them in boiling water. After steeping for a few minutes the tea was strained. Green peyote was prepared by peeling off the leathery skin, only the tops [372] being left intact. A little before ten o'clock the fire-chief lit the fire in the tepee with flint and steel. As soon as he came out of the tepee the leader (or road-chief) entered, followed by the drum-chief, the fourteen other participants, and finally the fire-chief. This meeting was somewhat atypical in the small number of participants; attendance usually averaged about twenty-five. After everyone was seated the drum-chief, a Sioux from the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota, [782] announced that several people had prayers and announcements to make. The road-chief, a Winnebago, then prayed in his own language. As translated next day, this prayer welcomed the participants and [755] asked for divine assistance in the conduct of the meeting. This meeting had been initiated by a Delaware woman who was ill (No. 14 in Fig. 1), and she stood up and thanked everyone for coming and assisting her in regaining her health. Another Delaware (No. 3 in Fig. 1) [609] then said a few words, principally to the effect that the "Native American Church" was not "idolatry" and that he was glad to welcome a white couple (the writer and his wife) to a meeting "to see what it really was like."

The road-chief then prayed again in Winnebago. When this prayer was concluded, he passed the peyote staff and a bunch of sage to the man on his left, who passed it on in a clockwise direction until it had

[text continues on p. 206]

276 (Explanation of Figure 1)

346 A. Altar
795 B. Fire. To some peyotists the heart repre-
996 sents the soul of the Fire Spirits.
C. Sun Mound. The heart symbolizes the soul of the Sun.
D. Ash Piles. Petrullo noted that in some versions of the rite these symbolize the lungs of Christ. I could not confirm this.
E. Water bucket and dipper.
F. Smoldering stick used to light cigarettes.
G. Tepee entrance.
H. Cross. Long axis symbolizes peyote road.
1. Road-chief, Winnebago
2. Delaware man
3. Delaware man
4. Shawnee man
5. Shawnee woman (4's wife)
6. Delaware man
7. Ego
8. Ego's wife
9. Sioux man
10. Sioux woman (9's wife)
11. Fire-chief, Delaware
12. Delaware man
13. Delaware man
14. Delaware sponsor
15. Winnebago woman (16's wife)
16. Winnebago man
17. Drum-chief, Sioux

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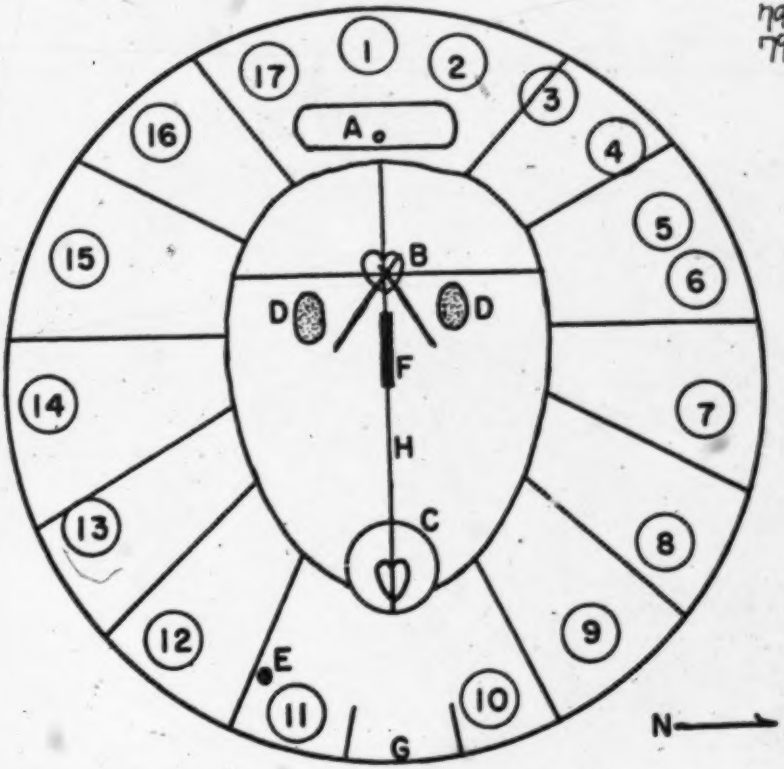
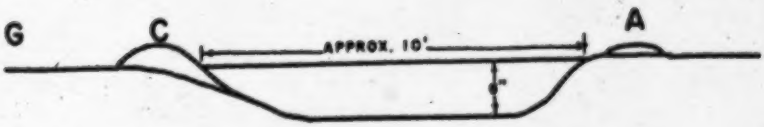
Figure 1



TOP VIEW



ELEVATION

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made a full circuit of the tepee. Many of the participants pressed the sage lightly to various parts of their bodies before passing it along. The road-chief then passed corn husks and Bull Durham tobacco in the same direction, everyone rolling a cigarette. These cigarettes were lit from the smoldering stick which was kept in readiness to the east of the fire. After the cigarettes had been smoked in silence, they were collected by the fire-chief. The butts were placed on the altar. Peyote was then passed in the same clockwise fashion; the road-chief directed that four buttons be taken, either two dried and two green, or four of a kind. Peyote tea was also passed, some individuals smearing their body, face, and hair with the tea, as well as drinking it.

When the peyote had completed the clockwise circuit, and as the participants were going through the ordeal of eating it, the road-chief prayed. He then began the opening song, holding a gourd rattle in his right hand and the peyote staff in his left, the drum-chief accompanying him on the drum. After four songs were sung the road-chief passed the staff and gourd rattle to the man on his left, accepted the drum from the drum-chief, and drummed for the man on his left, who sang four songs. After each set of four songs, the gourd rattle and staff were passed in a clockwise direction to the next man who sang a set of four songs, the previous singer becoming the drummer. The singing and drum accompaniment continued until midnight. Between sets of songs some individuals asked for peyote and others asked for water. The water was kept by the fire-chief's side in an ordinary bucket. Occasionally someone would leave the tepee, first getting permission from the road-chief. On re-entering, which was only permissible between sets of songs, the fire-chief cleansed and purified these people by brushing them from the head and shoulders down the arms to the fingers with an eagle feather fan. They then went around the north side of the fire to the altar, where they touched "Father Peyote," and the road-chief brushed them in a similar manner with another eagle feather fan. Then they returned to their places.

About midnight the fire-chief raked the ashes from the fire for the first time. He did this by moving the burning sticks eastward, taking a special peeled stick about six feet long and smoothing out the embers. After they were smoothed, another stick, somewhat longer than the first, was used to divide the ashes along the long axis of the cross, the ashes being formed into two neat piles on either side of the fire. After this was accomplished the fire was returned to its original position, built up, and the whole depression was swept from west to east

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with an ordinary kitchen broom. After midnight the ashes were removed from the fire whenever a considerable quantity had accumulated.

The road-chief prayed, peyote was passed, and the songs began again. The throb of the drum and the songs were interrupted only occasionally; someone would ask for peyote, a person would mumble, and once one of the Winnebagos (No. 16, Fig. 1) asked the road-chief for permission to attempt a cure of his wife's swollen feet. This request was granted. The Winnebago walked around the fireplace and altar in a clockwise direction and cedar needles were thrown on the fire. He "caught" the smoke in a feather and dipped it into a cup of water which he had in readiness. He then brushed the feather over the woman's legs, concentrating on her feet. He drew a faintly glowing ember from the fire, took the ash into his mouth, and spit the ash into the ash pile nearest him. He then vigorously sucked the patient's feet.

Also early in the morning the Delaware sponsor asked the road-chief if she could pray for herself and her family. He assented. Standing next to the altar, she smoked a corn husk cigarette and, with tears streaming down her cheeks, related first in English and then in Delaware the story of her illness, her unhappiness, and her desire for the good health of her family. A little later a woman (No. 10 in Fig. 1) asked if she might be allowed to sing. Permission being given, she sang the customary four songs, her husband drumming for her.

At dawn the road-chief announced that the drum was going around for the last time. Following this last round the sponsor, her husband and young daughter (who had awakened and come into the tepee) stood up. The road-chief cast cedar needles upon the fire and brushed the entire bodies of the family with his eagle feather fan in the customary way. He then prayed. After they had resumed their seats the road-chief prayed again, following which candy and crackers were passed. The meeting was closed by the assemblage reciting the Lord's Prayer. The fire-chief rose and went around the tepee in the clockwise direction shaking everyone's hand and congratulating them on a successful meeting. The person on his left followed him in a like manner, and so on until everybody had shaken hands with everyone else and the tepee was emptied. Coffee was made and the participants relaxed in the yard and talked until the noon meal, after which the group dispersed.

It is difficult, perhaps impossible, to convey the attitude of peyotists and the atmosphere of a peyote meeting by means of a description of what happens during the course of the night. Perhaps the general

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attitude is best summed up as one of intense emotion and reverence. It could hardly be otherwise, since any individual may come face to face with supernatural powers during the course of the ceremony. Even if he does not, he has come to the ceremony in the sincere belief that he can and will get help in solving the most serious of life's problems. This precludes a profane attitude. I can only echo Petrullo (1934: 88) who said that the atmosphere of the ceremony was ". . . accompanied by the deepest feeling of reverence and awe and peace that it has been my lot to have witnessed either among primitive people or Christian groups engaged in worshipping their God."

Peyote is of course the focal point of the peyote meeting, but peyote itself is not worshipped. Informants stress this again and again, probably because they have so frequently been attacked by Whites and Christian Indians on this point. Peyote is both a symbol of the supernatural forces being worshipped and a sacrament. For the Delaware peyotist it is a means of establishing contact with the supernatural world and of securing a personally satisfactory working relationship with the spirit forces. While Peyote is the most important supernatural force present, it is not the only one. The spiritual forces of Sun, Moon, Fire, and others are there. Their importance and even their existence depends upon individual interpretation (Fig. 1).

The outward emphasis of Delaware peyote meetings is upon curing. The stated purpose of the meeting I have described was to assist in the cure of the sponsor, and there was a shamanistic curing rite performed during the course of the evening. It should also be pointed out that many peyotists are eager to relate how peyote has cured them of various diseases. It would be a mistake, however, to regard Big Moon peyotism as merely a curing rite, or even to think of it as primarily so. Peyote is regarded as a spirit force through which men can approach the omnipotent supernatural power or powers. Informants sometimes equate peyote with Jesus and say that White men use the "Jesus road to God" while the "Indian takes the Peyote Road."

BIG MOON PEYOTISM—THEN AND NOW

Unfortunately Petrullo did not attend a Big Moon meeting with the Delawares near Dewey, but did participate in a Big Moon meeting of the Delawares at Anadarko. Normally there are many minor divergencies between meetings and tepee arrangements because there is no priesthood or dogmatic creed. As Petrullo (1934: 31) said, "A religion that insists that each individual can learn its doctrines only through personal experience with its gods must necessarily exist in a variable

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form." Despite the differences in locale and in the inherent variability of the cult, there is a surprising correspondence between the Big Moon meeting of 1930 in Anadarko and the one held in 1952 near Dewey. The similarity between the arrangement of the tepee I have described and the eight variants of the Big Moon altar and tepee which Petrullo diagrams is striking; the same is true of the conduct of the meetings. The principal differences between the meetings are presented in Table I (Petrullo, 1934: 87–95). The differences are minor; for the most part they are well within the range of variation of the cult, and of course in most respects the meetings are similar or identical. The principal change seems to be that women are allowed a much greater part in the

TABLE I

Differences in Big Moon Peyotism
1930 and 1952

1930—Anadarko	1952—Dewey
1. Quiet period in afternoon prior to ceremony.	1. Participants gather just before ceremony.
2. Road-chief seated people; women on south.	2. Sit where you like. Women seated on north and south.
3. Oil lamp near altar.	3. No light other than fire.
4. Personal paraphernalia permitted after midnight.	4. No personal paraphernalia in evidence at any time.
5. Crucifix on altar.	5. No crucifix.
6. Only road-chief smoked Indian tobacco cigarette to open meeting.	6. Everybody smokes corn husk-Bull Durham cigarette.
7. Women given only the peyote tea.	7. Women eat green or dried peyote; men drink tea.
8. "Fanning" with eagle-feather fan after sets of songs.	8. Absent.
9. Drum-chief sang after road-chiefs' opening song.	9. Drum-chief is last to sing; clockwise circuit followed without exception.
10. Women did not sing.	10. Woman sang, but permission had to be given by road-chief.
11. No midnight intermission.	11. Midnight intermission.
12. No shamanistic curing (possibly permitted).	12. Winnebago performed cure on wife.
13. At dawn road-chief sang "morning water-song"; each person drank water.	13. Negative.
14. Filed outside, washed faces, faced rising sun, returned to tepee, etc.	14. Meeting closed with Lord's Prayer.
15. No breakfast.	15. Breakfast.
16. Candy, etc., distributed at noon meal.	16. Candy passed before leaving tepee.

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meeting than they were two decades ago. In this respect peyotists seem to be merely following the general trend of White society.

Big Moon peyotism diffused to the Delawares as a substitute for an outmoded religious system, but its replacement of the traditional religion has been slow and incomplete. The peyote cult is still regarded by many Delawares as a somewhat inferior replacement for the traditional ceremonies. What is more, during World War II the Big House Ceremony, the major, annual religious rite of the Delawares, was revived and held three times, albeit in abbreviated form. The Delawares would continue the old rites today, but because of expense, cultural decay, and other factors, they have been finally abandoned. It is doubtful whether the traditional rites, even if abbreviated and vestigial, can ever again be held. Petrullo (1934: 175) underestimated their strength when he said more than two decades ago that they were "No longer able to perform the ancient ceremonies. . . ." Neither Petrullo nor I found out what proportion of the Delawares were peyotists, Christians, or adherents to the old religion, so that changes in religious affiliation are largely a matter of conjecture. It is known, however, that many of the proponents of the abandoned religion have become peyotists, but at least a few have become Christians. In short, the peyote cult has never completely replaced the traditional religion, nor has it gained universal approval. The most that can be said by way of comparison is that the Big Moon cult was a covert, lively, and popular one in the thirties; it remains so today.

Probably the greatest changes which have occurred in Delaware Big Moon peyotism within the past twenty-five years have been in the reasons why people are drawn to it. There is not space here to discuss this topic in detail, but it should be pointed out that the peyote cult originally diffused to the Delawares, and was still attractive to them in the early thirties because:

> . . it teaches acceptance of the new world, and makes possible an attitude of resignation in the face of the probable disappearance of the Indian groups as distinct peoples, culturally and racially, by insisting on the necessity of emancipation from mundane aspirations. . . . [The peyote cult] is the natural but final recourse of a subjugated people who fully realize the inadequacy of their material means to restore their former world-state (Petrullo, 1934: 1).

The appeal of modern peyotism is, at least in part, of a different nature. Briefly, the Delawares are no longer a cohesive cultural or social entity; they are geographically scattered and socially atomized. There is no tribal activity which draws them together as Delawares, and every year there are fewer distinctive customs which set them apart from

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other people. Yet the individual Delaware is not an ordinary American; he is thought of by the public as an Indian, and he thinks of himself as an Indian. One way in which he can express this Indianness and feel that he is a part of a larger group is to be a peyotist. The peyote cult gives him an opportunity to participate in ceremonies with others who occupy a similar position in American life, and it provides him with an opportunity to express his Indian cultural heritage, however slight it may be. In the meeting just described there were Winnebagos, Sioux, and Shawnees, in addition to the Delawares. This is normal for a Delaware peyote meeting; in fact, their meetings always include members of other tribes. They also frequently attend meetings with the Osage, Quapaw, and others. In short, in earlier times the Delaware Big Moon peyote cult was a religious expression of assimilation and an attempt to preserve something from the shattered cultural past. Today it functions more as a religious symbol of the Indian minority and a rallying point for what has been termed a Pan-Indian society (Newcomb, 1955).

SUMMARY

The arrangement of the tepee and the conduct of Delaware Big Moon peyote meetings has remained essentially constant since 1930. Over this span of time the Big Moon cult has not succeeded in completely replacing the traditional religion, nor has it apparently become any more popular. Probably the greatest changes have occurred in the reasons for the cults' appeal to the Delawares. The modern attractions of the peyote cult are particularly strong in its aspects as an *Indian* ceremony and as a rallying point for Pan-Indianism, rather than in the solace it offers to "a subjugated people."

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Pennsylvania Archaeologist

Bulletin of the Society for Pennsylvania Archaeology

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Delaware Indian Art Designs

GLADYS TANTAQUIDGEON

Introduction

101 The Delawares belong to the Algonkian linguistic stock. When referring to themselves they use the term Lenape or Lenni Lenape, which denotes "real" or "native men." The original 131 habitat of the Delawares was in southeastern New York, eastern Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Delaware. In this territory they were first visited by the Dutch, 648 Swedish and English voyagers in the 16th 175 and 17th centuries. About 1720, trouble began owing in part to pressure brought upon the Delawares by the Iroquois. This marked the beginning of a series of 167 migrations in which bands of Delawares 175 left their ancestral homes in the east and moved westward. Their first move took them to the valley of the Susquehanna, where they settled at Wyoming about 1742. By 1751 they had reached eastern Ohio and formed settlements. Another move brought numbers of them into Indiana. In 1789 they were granted permission by the Spanish government to settle in Missouri and Arkansas. Later most of the tribe was brought together on a reservation

[P.24, A]

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Delaware Indian Art Designs

GLADYS TANTAQUIDGEON

Introduction

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in Kansas, and from there they moved to Oklahoma and became incorporated with the Cherokee. Other bands found their way to Canada in the Province of Ontario, where they are now known as Delawares, Munsee and Moravians.

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The present population of the Delawares is estimated to be about 1,400. Of this number, 1,000 are in Oklahoma and the remainder in the province of Ontario, Canada.

Field of Art

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Until about 1890 the Delawares practiced many of their native arts and crafts but among the modern descendants of the tribe only a few of the older arts have survived. Pottery making, work in stone, bone, horn, antler, silver and the use of quills and hair in embroidery; twined basketry made from certain roots, and woven bags and girdles of Indian hemp (*Apocynum cannabium*) are now only vaguely remembered by some of the older members of the groups in Oklahoma and Ontario. Work in silver persisted until

[824]

[326]

[P.24,B] About 1913.

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463 about 1913. The Delaware women and a few men are yet skilled workers in beads, 531 both in sewed-on designs and in bead weaving. The women are expert in the art of working out intricate designs in ribbon applique on robes, leggings, breech cloths and moccasins. Some wood carving is also 322 done by the modern Delawares and a few 285 make splint baskets.

Designs and Symbolism

531 In the study of Delaware art motifs we find that they fall into two groups. In group A are the ancient earth symbols, floral and geometric (angular) patterns; in group B, the religious symbols of the Peyote Cult. This is a religious teaching and ceremony that arose in the tribe about 50 years ago. Animal and human figures [172] rarely occur in Delaware art. In archeological finds, representations of the human face in stone frequently occur but those are said to have been the charms owned and worn by certain individuals who had dreamed of the mask spirit and had the right to use its likeness as representative of the great spiritual force or guardian spirit. [787] If a person saw an animal during his dream quest he would have the right to use the likeness of that particular animal on his [614] wearing apparel. It is also permissible to have representations of clan animal totems on one's vest or tobacco pouch.

The earth symbols and the "trails" shown in plate 1 are said to be ancient, as well as figures A and B called "clasps" in plate 2. The earth symbols in plate 1 illustrate the [821] native Delaware belief that the earth rests on the back of a tortoise and that the sun in its daily round goes under the tortoise and comes up on the opposite side the next day. Figure C, plate 1, symbolizes the power of the Creator which is felt in the four corners of the earth. These symbols [171] occur in the ancient art designs of other Algonkian peoples in northeastern North America from Labrador to southern New England. Floral patterns for moccasin tops or vamps, breech cloths, robes and bags fall into this grouping (plates 3 and 4).

[P. 25, A]

531 also the angular patterns in plate 1 which are used in ribbon applique. The floral [751] patterns are protective, representing the plants which the Creator gave to mankind to cure diseases. It will be noted (plate 3) [291] that the patterns for women's moccasin vamps are plain and narrow in contrast to the wider patterns for men's moccasins.

Techniques

The bead workers and silk ribbon-workers have series of cut-out paper patterns which they use as guides. Typical patterns are shown in plates 1, 3 and 4. In making bead designs the paper pattern is cut out and tacked with thread in position on the article to be decorated. The entire pattern is outlined with white or light colored beads such as blue or pale yellow. The middle portion of the figure is then filled in and in turn bordered with light-colored beads. Then rows of dark beads are filled in to suit the taste of the individual. The paper patterns for silk-work are laid on the ribbon or cloth and the cut-out silk figures are arranged in place on the legging-strips or robes and hemmed down, the stitches being very fine.

286 In weaving the belts, headbands, garters and other ornaments, wool is used for the warp and coarse thread for the weft. Sometimes in constructing the long sashes, which frequently average five feet, the warp strands are attached to a bed post and the worker sits on the bed and weaves. For the shorter articles a cardboard box serves as a loom across which the warp is arranged according to the width desired. This is held on the lap of the weaver.

531 The modern Delaware bead and silk ribbon-workers do not limit the use of colors in their art work but select carefully, and combine a number of colors with very pleasing results.

Geometric and highly conventionalized floral patterns were stamped or engraved on silver brooches, bracelets and other ornaments. Dots, circles, straight and curved lines were used in combinations to form the designs. Small buttons and

[P.25, B]

Small buttons and
531 brooches ranging from ½ to ¾ of an inch
[291] in diameter were used in decorating the capes on women's over-waists. These capes were made to fall over the shoulders covering the upper arm. The silver buttons and brooches were arranged in various patterns sometimes covering the entire cape or collar. Several very old specimens are now extant in private and museum collections.

531 The use of Peyote[1] for ceremonial and
795 medicinal purposes was introduced among
[278 the Delawares about 1880. With the
177] growth of this religious creed a new

[P.26, A]

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sybmolism in art motifs has developed among its followers. Ceremonial wands, prayer staffs and feather fans as well as headbands, arm bands, belts and garters bear geometric figures done in beads (woven or sewed on) symbolizing the Peyote or cactus "button," mind, sky, water, fire and sun's rays. (Typical Peyote designs in plate 1.)

[278] (1) A small species of cactus (**Lophophora Williamsii**) used for ceremonial and religious purposes by certain groups in all tribes between the Rocky Mountains and the Gulf of Mexico, from the Arkansas River southward almost to the City of Mexico. (Bureau of American Ethnology, Bull. 30, **Handbook of American Indians**, Washington, 1910.)

[P. 26, B]

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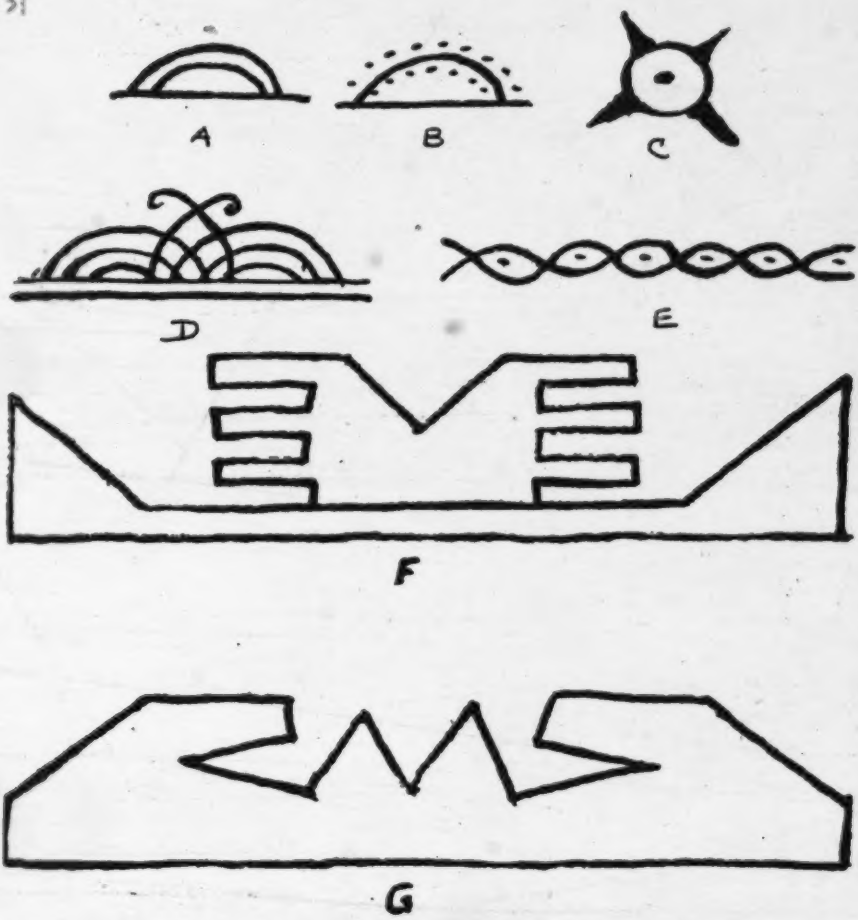

PLATE 1

Cut-out patterns in silk work for leggings and robes

[P.27]

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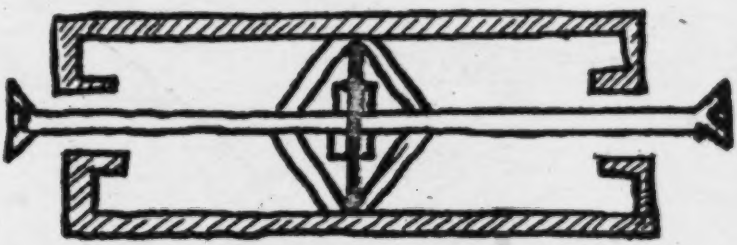

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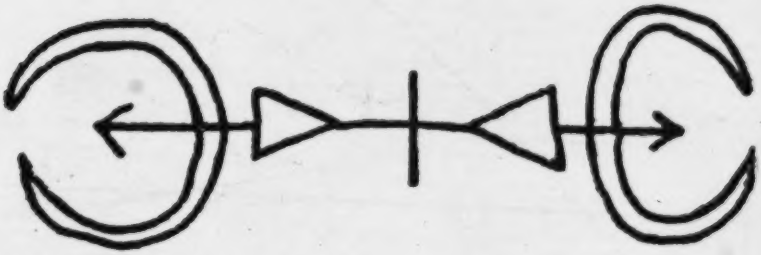

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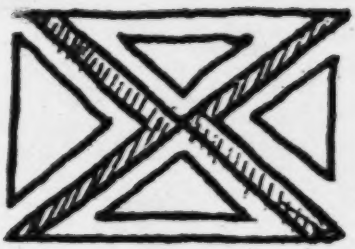

C

D

PLATE 2

A, B—Old designs in woven beadwork representing "clasps."
C—Peyote ceremony design representing "to be in good associations."
D—Meaning "Safe now, danger is past."

[P.28]

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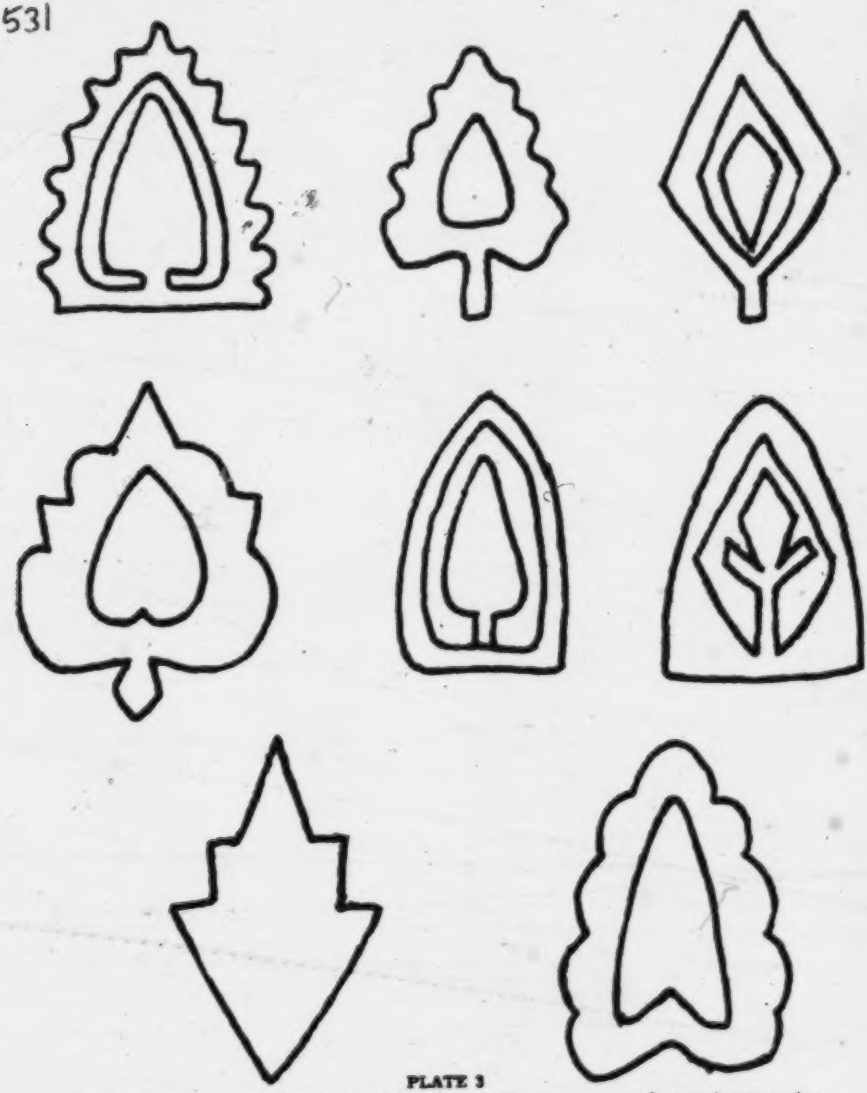

PLATE 3

Toe designs for moccasins derived from leaves. [Two upper rows for men's moccasins, lower row for womens.'] All in beadwork.

[P. 29]

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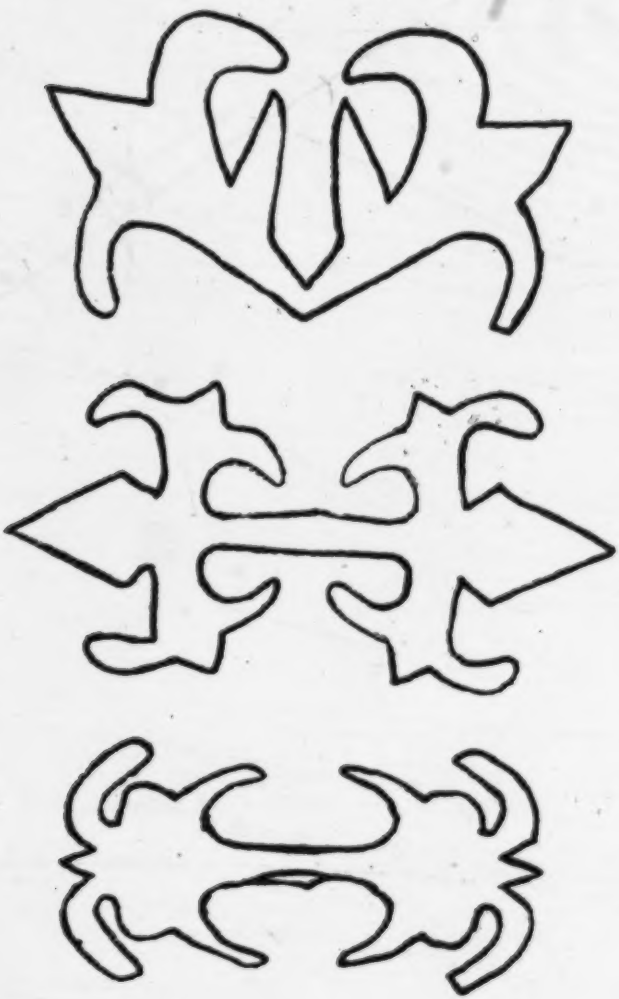

PLATE 4

Bead and silk work designs representing "flower" and "plants," reproduced on breechcloths, leggings, blankets, pouches.

[P.30]

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Bulletin of the Society for Pennsylvania Archaeology

VOL. XX JANUARY - JUNE, 1950 NOS. 1-2

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[P. 33, A]

Some Psychological Characteristics of the Delaware Indians during the 17th and 18th Centuries

ANTHONY F. C. WALLACE

Introduction

It is difficult for the archaeologist, when he lifts from the dirt a fragment of pottery, a bone awl, a projectile point, to have much feeling for the people of whom these relics are the sole material remains. Unavoidably, in the pages of archaeological reports, a people of the past is only a hollow-sounding name identified with a certain style of pottery or a certain type of flint-knapping. It is as if, a thousand years hence, scientists were able to say of ourselves no more than, "The inhabitants of Pennsylvania, about the year 1950 A.D., made many roads and buildings out of concrete; they also used metals extensively, and presumably had an elaborate social and ceremonial organization. . . ."

In this paper I shall try to tease out from the fragmentary historical accounts surviving from the period of colonization, some description of what kind of people the Delaware Indians were, psychologically. This reconstruction must inevitably be sketchy, inadequate, and mistaken in many ways which can never be discerned; and, of course, it does not reach back into the ages before white men came to America. But it is as clear a picture, in terms of modern psychological theory, as we can get of the Delawares as people, in that already clouded past from which such glimpses as these, and the lonely fragments of stone, pottery, and bone that the archaeologist uncovers, are the sole surviving evidences.

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[P.33, B]

Some Psychological Characteristics of the Delaware Indians during the 17th and 18th Centuries

ANTHONY F. C. WALLACE

Introduction

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The Relation of Parents to Children

Data on the relationship of the mother to the infant and child are meager, but they suggest that the mother was, in addition to her role as provider and protector, the agent of considerable frustration. This frustration, however, was not so recurrently severe as it was continuous. Instead of presenting the infant with any sudden major crisis, the mother was consistently indifferent to a number of particular lesser demands.

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Parents may have had some unconscious hostility to the new-born child: certain compulsive rituals had to be performed to prevent "wandering ghosts" from stealing away the soul of the infant.[1] The baby was, from birth until it was able to walk, bound to a cradle-board, from which it was normally released only for sanitary administrations. The mother nursed the child by picking it up with the board.[2] It was often left alone, on the board, swinging upright from a tree limb, while the mother worked in the corn-field or did other outdoor tasks. Many children are reported to have died while propped up in the board against a bench or wall in the houses. "The children by pushing and kicking not infrequently tumbled themselves into the fire or other danger and thus miserably perished, or were severly burned," observed

1. Harrington, 1938, p. 129.
2. Lindestrom, 1656, p. 201.
3. Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 85-86.
4. Lindestrom, 1656, p. 202.

[P.34,A]

155 Zeisberger.[5] Infants were described by
854 Lindestrom as never crying.[6] Whether this was because they were nursed whenever restless (which is most likely), or because the crying was consistently ignored in early infancy, is not clear from the available accounts. From Zeisberger's description of the frequency of the mother's absence, it would seem that, even if the child were nursed on demand when she was available, her frequent absences must have meant to the child that she was an
862 undependable provider. Children were weaned at the age of two or three; the techniques are not described.[8] Anal and
863 urethral training do not seem to have been strenuous: boys wore no clothes at all until
[291] the age of five or six, although girls wore aprons as soon as they could walk.[8]

861 Zeisberger noted that children were sometimes harshly treated, although such
155 behavior generally produced in them "bitterness, hatred and contempt." He went on to say, "The women are frequently guilty of thus raising their children to anger, for the women are often ill-tempered. By way of punishment, they will pour water on the children or thrust them into the water."[7] Zeisberger did not like the
[157 Indian women, whom he described also as being "much given to lying and gossip-
181] ing. They carry evil report from house to house. As long as they are observed they appear modest and without guile. All the wrongs of which they are guilty are done
114 in secret."[8] While one may be inclined to discount Zeisberger's accusations on the
797 grounds of the natural prejudice of a male missionary among somewhat more aggressive women than he was probably accustomed to at home, the general accuracy of his observations and the fact that he was really fond of his charges, with whom he spent much of his active life, suggest that he had imbibed the prevalent native male attitude toward the women of the tribe.

5. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 80.
6. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 17.
7. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 81.
8. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 124.

[P.34, B]

581 Divorce and family instability were
586 common; many children were raised by mother surrogates. "Owing to instability of the family relationship, children are
581 often neglected."[9] The father was absent, hunting, fishing, fighting, trading, or
855 attending treaties during most of the year; what discipline there was fell to the hand of the mother, who was considered to
796 "own" the children.[10] During one of the
861 annual calendar of ceremonies, young children were chased by a man dressed in a bear-skin, who threatened to punish them for misdeeds (of which the parents kept him informed from year to year) by carrying them away in a bag full of snakes.[11]
[776] This "Mask Spirit" was considered to be the "Guardian of the Game" and also promoted the fertility of the corn; in other words, was the symbol of the food-pro-
955 vider.[12] The boys were able to escape from the mother's supervision as soon as they were able to get about to play at hunting and fighting; but the girls were kept around
1754 the house to help the mother at work.[13] When a child died, an old woman was often accused of having bewitched it.[14]

155 It would seem that the mother-figure
593 remained a symbol of possible delights which could not be secured on demand, a symbol of diffused frustration, of withheld benefits and hidden hostility, to the Delaware, and the source of his generalized, if inhibited, aggressiveness; and that the father-figure stood on the horizon, so to speak, as a powerful, friendly being, but one too remote and too aloof to be depended upon.

Emotional Attachments in Maturity

584 The ideal in marriage was for a young man to fall in love with a girl. His family would present his suit; she would accept
[585] him by accepting the presents he sent, and come to live with him; and they would live happily and faithfully ever after. The

9. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 21.
10. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 14.
11. Harrington, 1938, pp. 52-53, 113.
12. Ibid.; Harrington, 1921.
13. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 16.
14. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 128.

[P. 35, A]

584 marriage would furthermore be congenial to the parents of both parties.[15] In practice
586 these marriages usually broke up quickly, both spouses quickly being unfaithful to one another.[16] Occasionally a man, his
[762] pride wounded by a wife's infidelity, directed his helpless anger inward and committed suicide by taking poison. Women too killed themselves out of jealousy.[17] The shifting romantic attachments of both sexes seem to represent an unending striving to find the all-satisfying parent: a striving continually doomed to frustration.

787 The guardian spirit relationship (which was sought by both men and women) seems also to be built upon the prototype of the search for the all-satisfying (but not authoritarian) parent.[18]

572 Among men there was an institution of "friendship" which focused considerable emotion upon a relationship of formally recognized mutual dependency, in war, in
[521] the chase, and in various other life-crises.[19] Men were more at ease with one another
[562] in conversation than with women and, according to Zeisberger, would automati-
[593] cally suspect as a lie any tale which they heard from a woman.[20] It was a common saying, "My wife is not my friend."[21] Old
888 women were accused by the men of being
439 the middlemen who carried the socially disrupting rum from white settlements to the villages.[22]

562 Implicit in all this was the assumption
571 on the part of all Delawares—men and women alike—that relationships with women, while they could be satisfying, were not likely to be; and the further assumption on the part of men that they had less to fear from other men than from

15. Heckewelder, 1819, p. 161; Zeisberger, 1778, p. 79.
16. Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 82-83.
17. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 83.
18. Lindestrom, 1656, pp. 207-209; Heckewelder, 1819, pp. 245-246; Zeisberger, 1778, p. 127.
19. Heckewelder, 1819, p. 278; Lindestrom, 1656, p. 233; Zeisberger, 1778, p. 116.
20. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 116.
21. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 99.
22. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 117.

[P. 35, B]

562
571 women, and might safely therefore be more "friendly" with them.

Oral Fixation

153 There is some evidence to suggest a preoccupation, which had a large component of aggressiveness, with oral needs. This concern with eating (and with other oral phenomena, such as ritualistic pipe-smoking, naming, and oratory), which reached far beyond subsistence requirements, can hardly be ascribed to a realistic subsistence anxiety since the Delawares had ample supplies of animal and vegetable foods at their disposal, and adequate techniques for cultivating, gathering, preserving, and storing them. It is worth [787] mentioning that the pubescent Delaware solicited the favor of a guardian spirit by self-imposed fasting; the spirit was supposed to pity him and appear in a vision; later the spirit would be important to him in helping to secure food.[23] Oral rituals, often with a compulsive quality, were a [527] recurrent institutional theme: almost all social gatherings involved eating, smoking, and oratory, and some were frankly eating-orgies—the famous "eat-all" feasts, for example; the fondness for liquor may be regarded as an oral trait of compulsive [757] character;[24] internal medicines were usually [758] taken as liquid herbal infusions, usually in large doses;[25] the sick lived on a liquid [754] diet;[26] suicide and witchcraft were both 762 accomplished in most cases by poison taken by mouth;[27] tortured prisoners were some- [727] times ceremonially eaten, and hunger 266 cannibalism was reported;[28] war parties made a ceremonial feast the night before their departure;[29] emetics were extensively [757] used in the treatment of disease, and vomit- 777 ing was thought to relieve a sense of guilt, and also to bring luck.[30]

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23. Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 132-133.
24. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 116; Heckewelder, 1819, p. 263.
25. Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 24-25; Tontoquidgeon.
26. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 24.
27. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 125; Heckewelder, 1819, p. 258.
28. Heckewelder, 1819, p. 199; Zeisberger, 1778, p 107-108.
29. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 103.
30. Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 84, 133-134.

[P.36,A]

153 Throughout these and other instances there seems to be an association between the concepts of eating and aggression, and between the concepts of not eating (or of giving up food to another, or of relinquishing what has been eaten) and of being accepted, approved, and helped.

The Guardian Spirit

156 The Delaware could not support a sense of social disapproval or of disregard. The great importance attached by Europeans to conscience was among the Delawares replaced by an equal importance attached to "face." When self-esteem needed encouragement, the individual dreamed (or interpreted his dreams as meaning) that he was great. Zeisberger remarked, "They are proud and haughty, even a miserable Indian, capable in no respect, imagines himself to be a great lord. They hold themselves in high regard as if they were capable of great and wonderful things, in which respect they are much encouraged by dreams, held among them to be very significant and, indeed, it would appear that through dreams Satan holds the heathen bound and fettered and in close connection with himself, subjecting them in this fashion to delusion. All this the missionaries discover in those who come to church and who need be thoroughly humbled before they give up the vain imaginations concerning themselves."[31]

156 776 One of the main functions of the guardian spirit was to buttress the Delaware's opinion of himself. "They believe," observed Zeisberger, "in numerous spirits or subordinate deities. Almost all animals and the elements are looked upon as spirits, one exceeding the other in dignity and power. There is scarcely an Indian who does not believe that one or more of these spirits has not been particularly given him to assist him and make him prosper. This, they claim, has been made known to them in a dream, even as their religious belief is alleged to have been made known to them in a dream. One has, in a dream,

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31. Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 18-19.

156 received a serpent or a buffalo, another the sun or the moon, another an owl or some
787 other bird, another a fish, some even ridiculously insignificant creatures such as ants. These are considered their spirits or *Manittos*. If an Indian has no Manitto to be his friend he considers himself forsaken, has nothing upon which he may lean, has no hope of any assistance and is small in his own eyes. On the other hand those who have been thus favored possess a high
154 and proud spirit."[32] We shall have further occasion to remark how many institutions were mobilized to prevent such casual wounds to self-esteem. We shall also see how much aggression such blows to self-esteem could arouse. Heckewelder and
[762] Zeisberger both mention that suicide was a common way of expressing the enormous but disorganized hostility aroused by slights such as marital infidelity or public shaming.[33]

Absence of Authoritarianism

861 Zeisberger and Heckewelder agreed that Delaware parents avoided corporal punishment, scolding, threatening, or otherwise disciplining children. Growing boys were left pretty much to their own devices. Little homilies on moral values were addressed to them and the child's pride was appealed to in efforts to induce ap-
593 proved social behavior.[34] The father spent much of his time away from home in the employments of the chase (especially when the fur trade added to the importance of
[462] hunting); the mother was responsible for the fundamental subsistence activities. In general the male was peripheral, the female
562 central in cultural role.[35] Delaware women were described as being given to petty
[157] meanness, malicious gossip, and lying; but they were not "matriarchs" in the sense of being the recognized arbiters of the home or society. Their evidently enlarged spite-

32. Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 132-133.
33. Heckewelder, 1819, pp. 258-260; Zeisberger, 1778, p. 83.
34. Heckewelder, 1819, pp. 113-117; Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 16, 81.
35. Heckewelder, 1819, pp. 154-162; Zeisberger, 1778, p. 13-14.

[P. 37, A]

562 fulness, in comparison with the men, may
157 have been owing to the fact that they were much more restricted in childhood than their brothers. Nowhere in Delaware society was there the model of anyone
592 with coercive authority; neither mother nor
622 father ruled the roost at home in an
625 authoritarian sense, the sachems had no power to enforce their wishes, and there was no conception of a state with police
586 powers. Divorce was easy and frequent and could be initiated by either party simply leaving the other.[36] Supernatural
776 beings were not Jehovah-like Gods who regularly punished the wicked and rewarded the good; the Delaware reckoned rather with a supernatural guardian spirit who acted as a comrade and friend who would assist his mortal protege in critical passes. Shame and pride are more frequent themes than guilt and self-righteousness;
577 Speck (referring to twentieth-century Oklahoma Delawares) says, "Spiritual purity . . . is not conditioned by ethical conduct, but rather . . . through the observance of taboo regulations prescribed by ancient rulings.[37]

155 It would seem to be a fair inference that
597 the Delaware often did not develop a strong authoritarian, coercive conscience; moral values (which certainly were recognized) did not possess an awesome, mosaic character; "good" and "bad" had a light affective tone.

114 Zeisberger, who as a Moravian believed
626 in less discipline and autocracy than was fashionable in eighteenth century Europe, was still puzzled as to how a society without authority could hold together. "Judged by the mere appearance of the Indians," he wrote, "one is surprised how modest and careful they are in relation to each other and imagines that the whites, if they were as free a people and had neither government nor punishment to fear, would not
626 be as united and peaceable as the Indians appear to be."[38] This superficial smooth-

36. Heckewelder, 1819, p. 154; Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 20-21.
37. Speck, 1931, p. 51.
38. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 122.

626 ness was accomplished, not by a fear of authority, but by everyone's fear of wounding someone else's self-esteem and thereby laying himself open to aggression. In order not to antagonize another, the individual had to be very circumspect in his behavior and avoid showing his own aggressive motives. There were a variety of institutionalized techniques which functioned to forestall possible antagonism-arousing situations. "They are not quarrelsome, and are always on their guard, so as not to offend each other," said Heckewelder, and Zeisberger made similar observations.[39] [831] Swearing was unknown (although obscenity was not tabooed).[40] Persons suspected of ill-doing were not accused openly; public or private disapproval was communicated by subtle allusions or by the [609] recital of a "dream."[41] Strangers and visitors were always treated politely; and negative replies to embassies from other communities were couched in ambiguous terms so that the matter was shelved rather than 576 contended over.[42] An elaborate code of 521 etiquette governed the men's talk. "Their common conversation turns upon hunting or the news of the day. Matter that has no foundation in fact may be drawn into conversation, and even though all may be aware of this, the narration continues uninterrupted. They may laugh now and again but they will listen attentively. No one interrupts another. When one has finished another begins. They never put any one publicly to blush; they are polite to each other and enjoy being politely treated. They like to be regarded as worthy people even though they may be the opposite. They are pleased to know that 796 they are liked."[43] Religious observances 776 (such as the periodic obligation to give a dance for a sacred mask) were performed under an almost obsessive fear that negligence, by offending the supernatural owner, would call down an indefinite but

39. Heckewelder, 1819, pp. 145-146; Zeisberger 1778, p. 115-116.
40. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 85.
41. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 120.
42. Heckewelder, 1819, p. 150.
43. Heckewelder, 1819, pp. 103-104; Zeisberger 1778, 115-116.

[P. 38, A]

776
[796] crippling revenge.[44] Even animals, (for
[825] example, the bear) had to be conceptualized as quasi-human beings engaged in war with the Indians to legitimize their killing.[45]

Anticipation of Aggression

626 In view of these elaborate cultural devices for avoiding situations where
156 aggressions might come to the surface, either in one's own self or in others, we might expect to find considerable anxiety in everyone over the suspicion that through some slip he might have aroused the hostility of an unknown enemy, especially since in every person there seems to have been a large amount of diffused aggression which could easily be projected onto other
[754] people. The fear of witchcraft, for instance, was universal and demoralizing.[46] Lindestrom described the Delawares as "mistrustful;"[47] and both Zeisberger and
[154] Heckewelder remarked on the elaborate institutions which functioned to deflect possible aggression.[48] Parents explained their reluctance to discipline children by
[861] saying that "the children might remember it against them and avenge themselves when they have attained to maturity."[49] (Zeisberger said that he knew of some cases where children *did* threaten to punish their parents for indignities suffered in childhood.)[50]

Techniques for Expressing Aggression

154 All these mechanisms indicate that the typical Delaware individual harbored within himself exceptionally uncomfortable aggressive impulses which he was afraid to focus on anyone for fear of counter-aggression. The eruption of these aggressions periodically shattered the equable facade of social behavior. "They are able to control their desires and passions," observed Zeisberger, "but once given free

44. Speck, 1931, pp. 39-44.
45. Wallace, 1949.
46. Heckewelder, 1819, pp. 239-240.
47. Lindestrom, 1656, pp. 191-192.
48. Heckewelder, 1819, pp. 103-104; Zeisberger 1778, pp. 115-116.
49. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 81.
50. Ibid.

154 rein these are the more violent."[51] Warfare
[721] provided a socially approved way of bleeding off some of these aggressions, for the warriors; and the institution of torture
154 gave the rest of the community a similar
727 opportunity. "The Indians flock to these executions as to some great solemnity, with a view to reeking on the unfortunate captive their cruel and revengeful dis-
154 position."[52] The institution of blood-
627 revenge[53] (which sometimes led to prolonged vendetta) was also an outlet for aggression; but the fear of its exercise no doubt served also to inhibit it. In
154 hunting, males could work off aggression
224 on animals, which were conceptualized as quasi-human. It is worth noting that among women, who had a more restricted
154 childhood and who at the same time had
521 fewer socially sanctioned outlets for aggression, the overflow dribbled off in
562 unpleasant gossip and slander, which the men, who had other means of catharsis, professed to scorn.[54]

154 All observers agreed that liquor dis-
273 solved the inhibitions against aggression. "The effects which intoxication produces
578 upon the Indians are dreadful," lamented Heckewelder. "It has been the cause of an infinite number of murders among them, besides biting off noses and otherwise disfiguring each other, which are the least consequences of the quarrels which inebriation produces between them."[55] As might be expected, therefore, Indian spokesmen frequently—and in vain—implored the whites to cease bringing liquor into their settlements.

Summary

127 From an examination of the early ethnological literature concerning the Delaware Indians, we have been able to discover some of their psychological
855 characteristics. The Delawares would seem in general to have been a people among whom the children grew up

51. Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 124-125.
52. Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 106-107.
53. Penn, 1683.
54. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 116.
55. Heckewelder, 1819, p. 263.

[P.39, A]

855 receiving from their mothers adequate physical care, especially in early infancy, but that the child did not receive much of what we would call "affection" or "love" and from time to time was neglected and subjected to petty meanness. The father had only intermittent contact with the mother-child nexus, and to the child appeared as a distant potentially loving (and perhaps also potentially threatening), but practically [861] remote figure. Neither parent made use of systematic punishment as an educative technique. The male child grew up into an adult who saw women both as 86 romantic ideals and as untrustworthy 562 and malicious, potentially witches, while men were regarded as potential comrades, toward whom nevertheless highly polite, circumspect behavior was required in order to avoid giving offense. Women grew up to be discreet but covertly malicious wives and mothers. No individual of either sex was conceived as [571] the possessor of unquestioned authority, and social relations hence were very individualistic and fissionable. There is 155 evidence to suggest that the individual remained somewhat fixed, on an unconscious level, to infantile patterns of "oral" reaction, of a dependent, aggressively demanding nature, although these dependency patterns were masked by a superficial individualism and self-sufficiency, and by careful inhibition of any openly aggressive behavior. The conflict between the dependent and aggressive impulses, on the one hand, and the conscientious efforts to be self-sufficient and unaggressive on the other, was partially resolved by the guardian spirit complex, a technique of personality integration which allowed the adolescent to collect his dependency wishes and displace them onto the fantasy figure of an all-powerful parent. Further relief was afforded by various institutionalized ritual or semi-ritual institutions, such as warfare, feasting, and religion. Liquor, however, was a severe threat to the integrity of the society, since it allowed repressed and sublimated im-

[P.39, B]

155 pulses, particularly aggressive ones, to break out into the open, often with socially catastrophic results.

It should be observed that in many respects this personality portrait of the 171 Delawares is similar to that drawn, from 155 different sources, by A. I. Hallowell for the Indians of the Northeast in general, and more particularly for the Ojibwa.[56] Thus Delaware personality is not markedly distinct from that of other Indians in the area, and a closer analysis than is possible here would probably be required to distinguish it from Ojibwa or other Algonkian peoples of the Northeast.

56. Hallowell, 1946.

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Pennsylvania Archaeologist

Bulletin of the
Society for Pennsylvania Archaeology

Vol. XXI January-June, 1951 Nos. 1-2

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A Tentative Catalogue of Minsi Material Culture

by Vernon Leslie

READERS of the "Archaeologist" will recall that one of the major problems of the archaeology of northeastern Pennsylvania has been the identification of the culture of the Minsi Indians with one of the several archaeological manifestations which occur in this area.

The Minsi, it will be remembered, were the northern clan of the Delaware inhabiting the upper Delaware Valley above the Water Gap as well as adjacent areas in New York. Although mention of them is to be found in written history, the Minsi make such a brief appearance there that at present very little can be learned from early writings concerning their material culture or ethnic peculiarities.

In my treatment of certain problems of the archaeology of the upper Delaware Valley published serially in the four issues of the "Pennsylvania Archaeologist" ending with that of Vol. XVII, No. 1, 1947, because of the paucity of evidence then available, I made no attempt definitely to describe Minsi culture by implement type or otherwise. Two possibilities were mentioned ("Archaeologist", Vol. XVI, No. 2, p. 73; idem, Vol. XVII, No. 1, p. 108): that the Minsi culture could possibly be the mysterious "Coastal" culture which I had identified in the upper Delaware Valley (which will be referred to again briefly in the conclusion of the present paper) or that it could possibly be identified with an Owasco-like manisfestation occurring on several sites in the area, particularly in

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A Tentative Catalogue of Minsi Material Culture

by VERNON LESLIE

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the vicinity of Milford, Pike Co., Pa. Dr. William A. Ritchie in his "Pre-Iroquoian Occupations of New York", pp. 56-57, had previously indicated the possibility of Owasco-Lenape connections.

In my report I also mentioned the occurrence of sherds on upper Delaware sites and in rock shelters (see Schrabisch, "Archaeology of the Delaware River Valley between Hancock and Dingman's Ferry in Wayne and Pike Counties", 1930) which were typologically Iroquois. Early in the spring of 1947 while looking over a site in Pike County, Pennsylvania, opposite the upper end of Minisink Island, I was struck by the possibility that the true explanation of the Minsi cultural enigma could lie in a combination of the Owasco and Iroquois elements present on several surface sites as well as in Schrabisch's rock shelters and in the Heye-Pepper excavation opposite Minisink Island in New Jersey (see "Exploration of a Munsee Cemetery near Montague, New Jersey", Heye, Pepper, 1915). This combination was viewed in my new theory as having resulted from acculturation brought about by the imposing of Iroquois elements upon an Owasco base. There is considerable historical evidence in support of such a possibility since the Algonkian Delaware are described as having been subjected by the Iroquois. One assumption is left hanging in the air here, however: that the pre-acculturation Algonkian Minsi were pure Owasco in culture.

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[P.10,A]

114 The possibilities of this 'acculturation
174 theory' seemed so appealing that I sent a letter to Dr. Claude Schaeffer, then of the Pennsylvania State Museum in Harrisburg, who was handling the publication of my manuscript, asking him to append my new view of the Minsi problem as a concluding footnote. For some reason which was never explained to me, however, this was not done.

Meanwhile in Rochester, Dr. William A. Ritchie, and in Philadelphia, Dr. Edmund S. Carpenter, were laying plans for a 1947 summer expedition in the upper Delaware area under an Indiana Historical Society grant for the purpose of attacking the Minsi problem as a phase of the wider question of determining the validity of the Walum Olum. The results of this expedition, with which the writer was for a time associated, have been ably and fully set forth by Dr. Ritchie in "The Bell-Philhower Site, Sussex County, New Jersey", Volume III, Number 2, Prehistory Research Series, The Indiana Historical Society, 1949.

The most important part of Ritchie's report bearing upon the present problem is the material contained on pages 194, 195, and 196. Briefly, Ritchie, while including the caution that the "evidence leaves something to be desired", concludes that the original Minsi Culture began as the Castle Creek Focus of the Owasco Aspect and was later modified by Unami and later still by Iroquoian elements.

121 In the light of the developments outlined in the foregoing, it is now possible to approach a description of the elements of Minsi material culture. It is obviously of value and interest to the numerous amateur and occasional professional archaeologists who do field work in the Minsi area to have at least a tentative idea of which artifacts can be assigned to the Minsi hori-

[P.10, B]

121 zon in order that Minsi material may be separated from artifacts pertaining to earlier occupations. The writer herewith presents what he considers to be a reasonably valid list of elements pertaining to Minsi material culture. This list cannot in the light of our present knowledge pretend to anything approaching final inclusiveness or conclusiveness. It is the 1951 model and all rights to make subsequent changes are reserved.

127 In this list I have, of course, leaned heavily upon Ritchie's Bell-Philhower report as well as my own researches both prior to and following the Bell-Philhower "dig". I would also like to acknowledge much valuable assistance derived from access to the splendid collection of material from Minisink Island in the collection of Mr. Rudolph Ludwig, Milford, Pa.

Ceramics

Pipes

172 276 323 So far as the writer has been able to determine, no stone pipes attributable to the Minsi have been found in the upper Delaware area or elsewhere. Pipes of pottery occur, but are not numerous. These pottery pipes may be tubular, effigy, or obtuse—angle elbow. (Plate 1, No. 2). [531] Decoration may consist of pointillé, incised lines, corded stick impressions, or may be absent. (Plate 1, Nos. 1 and 3, shows pointillé-decorated pipe sherds.)

Vessels

172 415 323 Pottery may be of various Owasco types (Castle Creek Epigonus is rather prominent) with punctuate, corded, platted, and beaded designs of several forms, or of Iroquoian types with incised designs in herringbone and other patterns. Rims often exhibit castellations. (See Plate 2. The sherds in the top row and the sherd at the left in the bottom row exhibit Owasco features. The remainder are primarily Iroquoian in motif.) An excellent description

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[P. 11, A]
An excellent description
172 of Owasco ceramics is contained in Ritchie's
323 "Pre-Iroquoian Occupations of New York
415 State". A reading of this should precede
[114] any serious approach to the study of what we presently believe to be Minsi pottery.

The bodies of Minsi vessels ordinarily are corded in some fashion. Ritchie assigns the greatest frequency to a finely corded body treatment with smoothed-over cord second, smooth third, and coarsely corded fourth. It is to be noted that other body techniques occur on occasion such as corded stick imprinted and brushed-over cord.

Miniature vessels occur in this culture. The writer has never seen any from the Milford area which were not crude, including one, partially complete, excavated by him from the Bell-Philhower Site late in 1947. (Plate 3).

It may be remarked in connection with this all too brief description of 'Minsi' pottery vessels that one of the stumbling blocks in the path of a final and conclusive acceptance of the Owasco-cum-Iroquois explanation of the ultimate Minsi Culture is the fact that to the best of my knowledge no sherd or vessel has yet been found on a presumed Minsi site embodying an indeniable combination of pronounced Owasco and Iroquoian decorative techniques. This statement is made with full awareness, however, that the so-called Castle Creek Epigonus pottery may represent a combination of decorative motifs.

Pottery Effigies

172 In the light of the finding by the writer
323 of the pottery effigy of an animal head on
532 the Bell site in 1949, there can be little doubt that objects of this type must be included in the material culture of the Minsi.

The object in question (Plate 4, Nos. 1 and 2) is complete with the exception of the ears and a small part of the lower por-

[P. 11, B]

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tion of the face. The hole in the dorsal surface (shown in Plate 4, No. 2) is connected with the holes indicating the eyes. No explanation for the purpose of this dorsal hole or indeed of the entire specimen can be attempted at this time.

Bone

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Bone and antler artifacts do not appear to be abundant on Minsi sites. On occasion, the bone awl, antler flakers of cylindrical form, combs, turtle-shell cups, perforated deer phalanges, perforated needles, antler picks, beaming tools, and short bone tubes, probably used as ornaments, are found.

Shell

At the present time, because of an almost total lack of evidence, (the Bell-Philhower Site report lists one shell bead found by Mr. Charles A. Philhower in a pit of the historical period and worked fragments of conch) the writer is not prepared to discuss the possible incidence of shell artifacts in the prehistoric Minsi Culture. In common with Ritchie ("Bell-Philhower Site", p. 178) he refers the interested reader to the Heye-Pepper report, "Exploration of a Munsee Cemetery" for a description of numerous shell ornaments, etc., from the *historic* Minsi site adjacent to the Bell-Philhower component.

ugh Stone

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Net sinkers are of two well-defined types: flat pebbles with two opposed notches, and sinkers made of thin sheets of stone chipped into circular or rectangular shape with two opposed notches. These 'trimmed sinkers' may have notches formed by chipping, or rarely, by grinding. (Plate 5, No. 3, shows notched flat pebble; Plate 5, No. 1, shows trimmed sinker with chipped notches; No. 3 of the same plate is a trimmed ground-notch sinker.)

Sinkers of both types may range in size from an inch to six or seven inches in

[P.12,A]

172 227 324 length. (Plate 11, Nos. 1 and 5, shows very small sinkers, No. 1 being the chipped type and No. 5, a notched pebble.) Caches of sinkers occur in this culture, the writer having uncovered a hoard of 28 specimens in 1936 and another of six specimens in 1948. (Plate 6 shows the six specimens contained in the latter find.)

Hammerstones, Hoes, Lap-Stones

172 324 412 Hammerstones consisting of simple bi-pitted pebbles (Plate 7, No. 2), rudely chipped triangular or oval stone hoes, and lap-stones or metates occur in this culture. One so-called lap-stone found in a pit on the Bell-Philhower Site late in 1947 consists of a roughly-shaped oblong block of very fine sandstone 3 in. thick, 11½ in. long, and 8 in. wide. Both faces are slightly concave.

Roller Pestles

Minsi roller pestles are generally very well made. Some are very long, exceeding 18 inches in length. One found by the writer shortly after the flood of 1936 is nearly 14 inches long and bears on one end the crude effigy of what appears to be a reptile head. (Plate 8).

Stone Discs

One stone disc in the writer's collection was washed out by the 1936 flood on the Davenport Site near Milford, Pa. It was found intimately associated with sherds of Minsi type. This specimen is 1¼ inches thick and is slightly over 4 inches in diameter. It was probably used as a muller in common with certain pebbles of fine sandstone occurring on Minsi sites. These pebbles show wear on one or both faces. (For illustration of stone disc, see Plate 9, No. 2.) It is to be observed that the type of stone disc under discussion here is not the kind of chipped disc (net sinker) mentioned in the Bell-Philhower report, p. 237.

[P. 12, B]

Sinew Stones

172 324 412 In the Milford area it is possible on occasion to recover egg-shaped (and sized) pebbles almost completely encircled by shallow pecked grooves. Ritchie in the Bell-Philhower report, p. 175, refers to them as "partly grooved thick pebble sinkers". The present writer has never found this explanation of their use to be entirely satisfactory (Plate 7, Nos. 1 and 3.)

Stone Faces

172 324 532 Under the category of rough stone it is proper to include the stone faces which now and then turn up on Minsi sites. To the writer's knowledge, at least five of these have been found in the Milford area, one splendid specimen from Minisink Island (Plate 10) being presently in the collection of Mr. Rudolph Ludwig. According to [196] numerous authorities, these rough-tone effigies were used in the Lenni-Lenapé Big House Ceremony.

Polished Stone Artifacts

Celts

172 324 412 The inventory of Minsi polished stone artifacts is not large. Most prominent in this category is the so-called 'thick-polled celt' (Plate 9, Nos. 1 and 3). It is to be observed that some of these are almost restagular in cross-section, others more nearly oval.

Small Chisels

Well made "miniature celts" in the form of small narrow chisels or of small pebbles with a celt-like edge are among the most interesting and unusual Minsi artifacts. Some (Plate 1, No. 8) are beautifully made. In my opinion, this type of implement is important in the identification of Minsi-occupied sites. Several years ago the writer published in the "Pennsylvania Archaeologist" (Vol. IX, No. 3) a brief discussion of the possible use of these small tools. In that article it was suggested

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that they were possibly used to incise pottery. (For illustrations of several of these chisels found in the Milford area, see Plate 1, Nos. 7 to 13.)

Gorgets and Pendants

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The Bell-Philhower report mentions gorgets and pendants as being possible Minsi traits (pp. 174 and 236) on the basis of the reported finding of a gorget by Mr. Charles A. Philhower in a pit in association with a mat needle and a pottery vessel of Owasco type. This view is further supported by the mention of Owasco parallels and by a reference to the discovery of a pendant by Heye and Pepper during their excavation of the adjacent Minsi site of the historic period.

The probability of the occurrence of both the gorget and the pendant in the inventory of Minsi cultural traits must be freely accepted, but it cannot be maintained that the matter is conclusively settled on the basis of present evidence—particularly as regards the gorget. It may be observed in connection with this problem that in this area the gorget is generally to be regarded as associated with the "middle" period rather than the "late" to which the Minsi belong. This does not, however, rule out the possibility of a weak survival or borrowing of this cultural trait.

Paint Stone

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In the summer of 1948 the writer found on the surface of the Bell-Philhower Site a thin rectangular piece of hematite with concave surfaces on each side exhibiting the marks of abrasion (Plate 1, No. 4). The obvious conclusion is that this object was used as a source of pigment, probably for personal adornment. While its occurrence on the surface gives rise to a certain element of doubt concerning its cultural affiliation, it is almost certainly of Minsi origin.

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[P. 13, B]

Chipped Stone Artifacts

Arrowpoints

172 324 411 Most prominent in the category of Minsi chipped stone implements is the triangular arrowpoint. While several forms of triangular points occur, the vast majority of Minsi points are equilateral triangles with concave bases. A considerable number of equilateral triangular points also occur with straight bases. (Plate 11, Nos. 14 and 11, shows concave-base points; Nos. 11, 12, and 13 have straight bases.)

[803] The materials of which Minsi chipped implements found in the Milford area are made include jasper (brown, yellow, red), argillite, black, white and gray chert, and a chalcedony-like material. By far the most commonly-used of these materials were argillite and black chert.

Knives

172 324 412 Although knives of several types (ovate, large triangular, broad side-notched, etc.) have been found on sites generally conceded to be Minsi, this kind of implement is not typical of the culture.

Scrapers

Both side scrapers, consisting of retouched flakes, and end scrapers occur in the Minsi Culture, but not to the extent that they are found in the much older Laurentian horizon.

The most prominent, in fact, almost the exclusive form of end scraper is the ovate type. The keeled back form is a very poor second and while occurring, is, like the chipped knife, not typical of the culture. (Plate 11, Nos. 7, 8, 9, shows end scrapers from a large site near Milford, Pa., generally conceded to be Minsi.)

Drills

Although Ritchie's statistics (Bell-Philhower report, p. 236) would lead one to the conclusion that drills are comparatively minor artifacts in the total Minsi series,

[P.14, A]

172 the writer has found that these implements
324 occur generally on Minsi sites. It is pos-
412 sible that they deserve more significance than Ritchie's tables would indicate. Ritchie (op. cit., p. 236) lists five types: expanded base, expanded side-notched base, expanded scraper base, T-shaped base, and Y-shaped base. Presently available statistics do not permit a selection of the most common form or forms (Plate 11, Nos. 2, 3, 4, 6).

Trade Goods

172 Any trade goods found in the upper
439 Delaware area are almost certainly surviving evidence of the period of Minsi-Caucasian contact. In general, trade material is extremely rare, evidencing the fact that the contact period was of very short duration in this area. One notable exception to this general paucity of trade material is that part of the Bell Site excavated by Heye and Pepper early in the second decade of the present century. In their exploration, Heye and Pepper found numerous articles of European or Colonial origin, including beads, metal kettles, etc. (See their "Exploration of a Munsee Cemetery near Montague, N. J.", 1915.)

The writer has found only two artifacts evidencing Caucasian contact: a sheet brass triangular arrowpoint from the Davenport Site across the Delaware from Milford, Pa., found on the surface in 1934, and a small perforated triangular ornament of catlinite from near Cocheton, Sullivan Co., N. Y. (Plate 11, No. 10, shows the brass arrowpoint; Plate 1, No. 6, is the catlinite ornament.)

Summary

172 With the exception of numerous pottery decorative patterns within the framework of certain Owasco and Iroquoian ceramic techniques, it is evident that Minsi material culture is not characterized by variety. This is, of course, an example of a cultural

172 trend to be noted elsewhere in the Northeast, notably among the Iroquois, in accordance with which there was a definite limitation and specialization of stone artifact types in the later periods of occupation which immediately preceded white contact. Among the Iroquois, for example, there was an almost total concentration upon the use of a single type of triangular arrowpoint. Among the Minsi, we likewise see a preference for one type of triangular arrowpoint, but differing from the Iroquois in having a concave base.

Collectors and others having material from sites in this area usually fail to realize that their proudly exhibited bannerstones, grooved axes, and wide varieties of stemmed and notched arrowpoints were not produced by the Indians whom we associate with the colonial period and the period immediately preceding, but rather were made by peoples who occupied the upper Delaware Valley long before the beginning of recorded American history.

With a fairly definite description of the Minsi cultural pattern, we have succeeded in reducing considerably the proportion of what is known to what is unknown in the archaeology of northeastern Pennsylvania. Two well-defined complexes, the Laurentian and the Minsi, have been recognized here. The largest single problem now remaining is to separate, identify, and equate with others in the Northeast the third pattern which seems to be present. This pattern, in the writer's opinion, immediately preceded the Minsi occupation which closed the local prehistoric period. It produced grooved axes, steatite vessels, gorgets, and a variety of arrowpoint forms, including stemmed types. Whether clay pottery was used is open to question. This pre-Minsi period seems to have been allied to the so-called Coastal Culture, a culture which at present seems to be the untouchable of northeastern archaeology.

[P.15, A]

172 It is suggested that more work be done on this Coastal pattern by our professional archaeologists and, finally, that the organizations and individuals who have already

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172 worked on it would do well to fulfill their scientific obligations by publishing their results.

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PLATE I. MINSI ARTIFACTS

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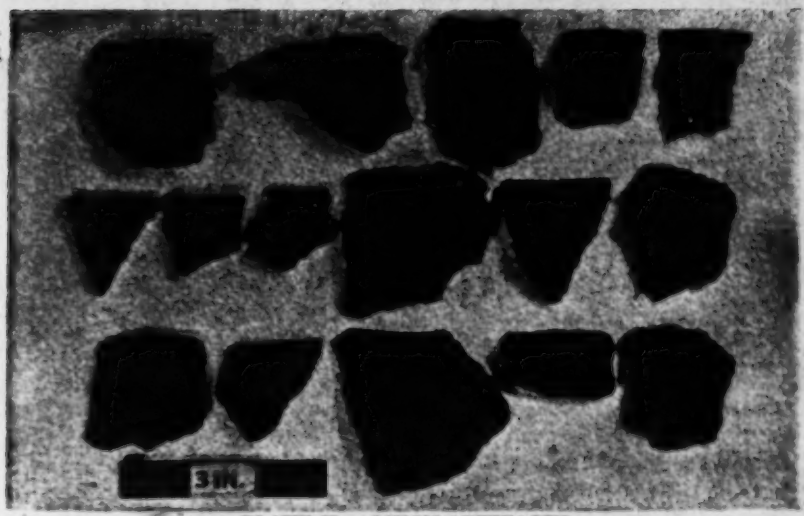

PLATE II. MINSI ARTIFACTS

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PLATE III. MINSI ARTIFACT

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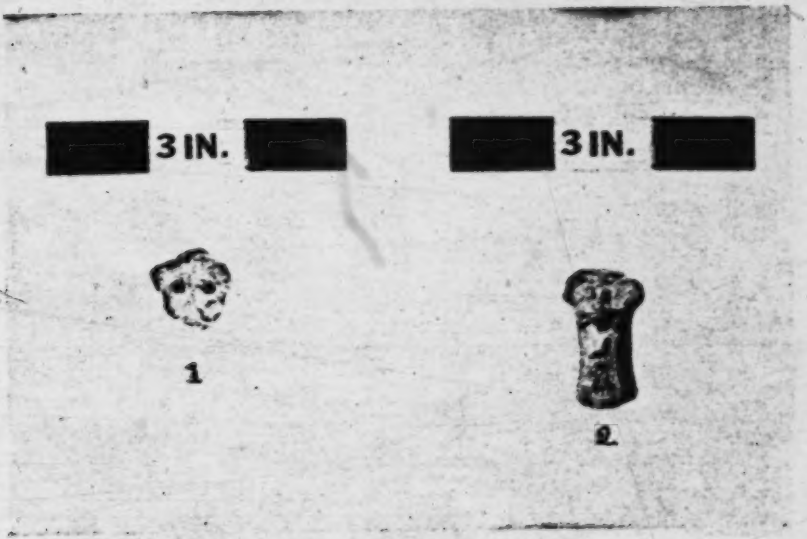

PLATE IV. MINSI ARTIFACT

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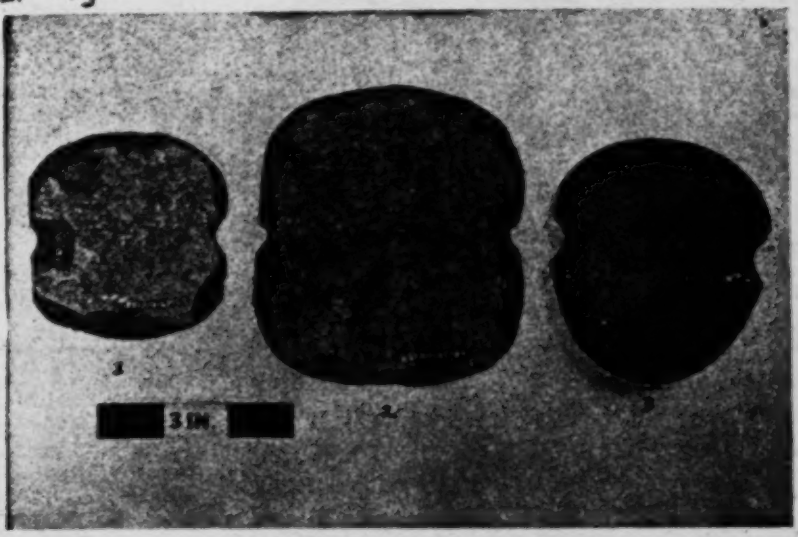

PLATE V. MINSI ARTIFACTS

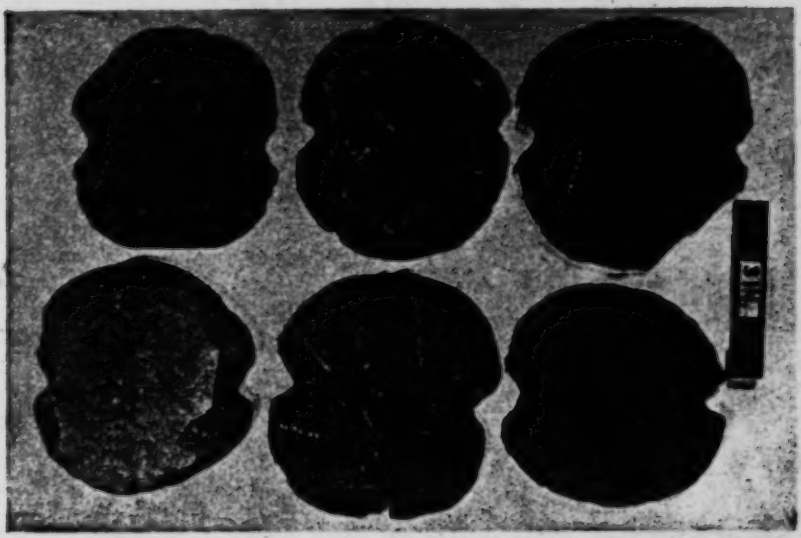

PLATE VI. MINSI ARTIFACTS

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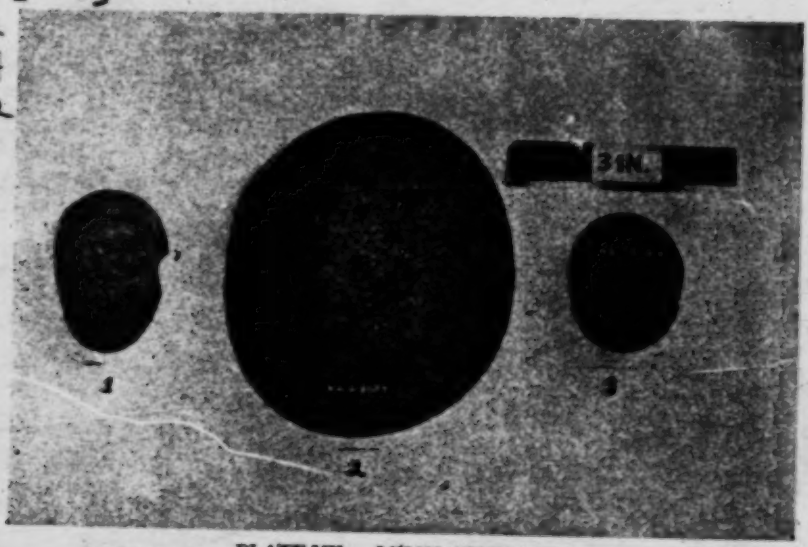

PLATE VII. MINSI ARTIFACTS

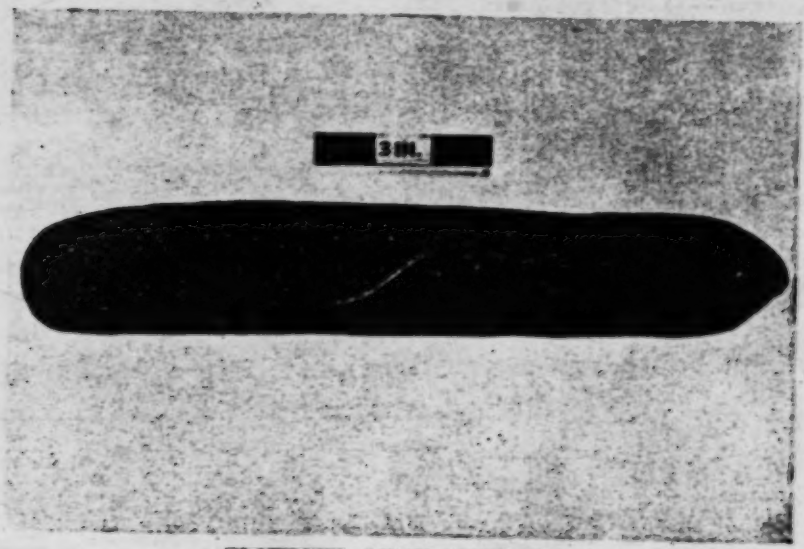

PLATE VIII. MINSI ARTIFACT

[P. 19]

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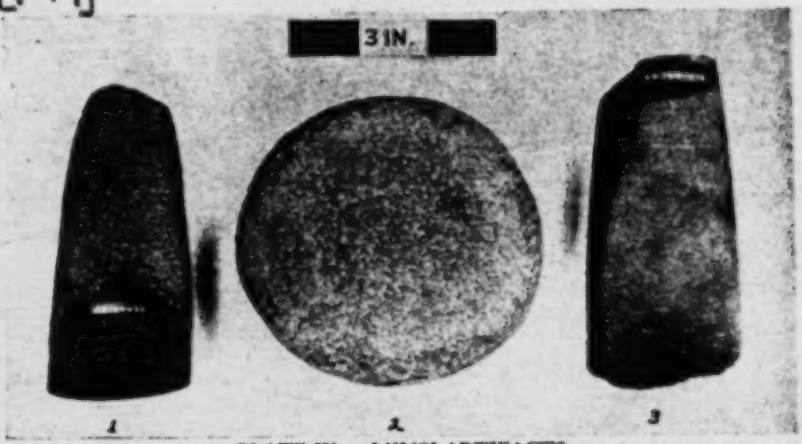

PLATE IX. MINSI ARTIFACTS

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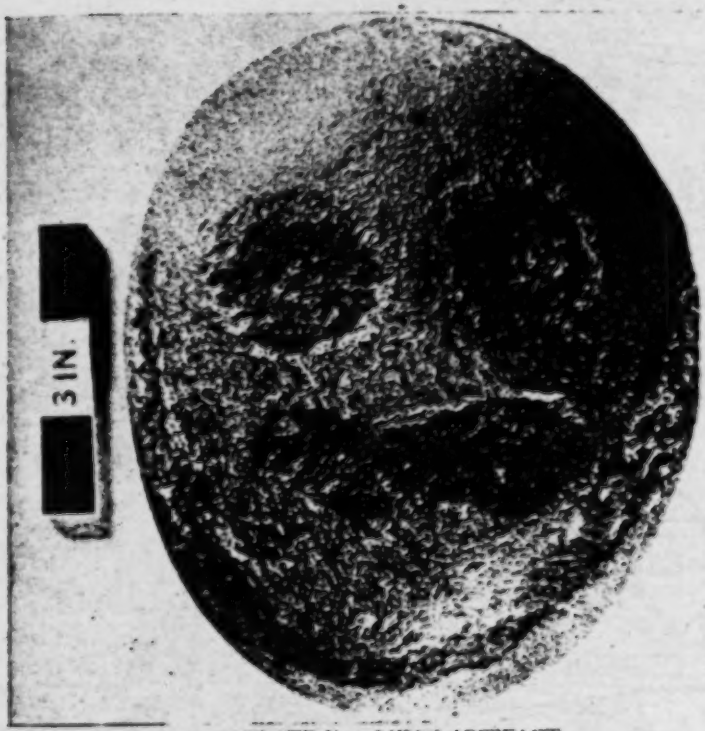

PLATE X. MINSI ARTIFACT

[P.20]

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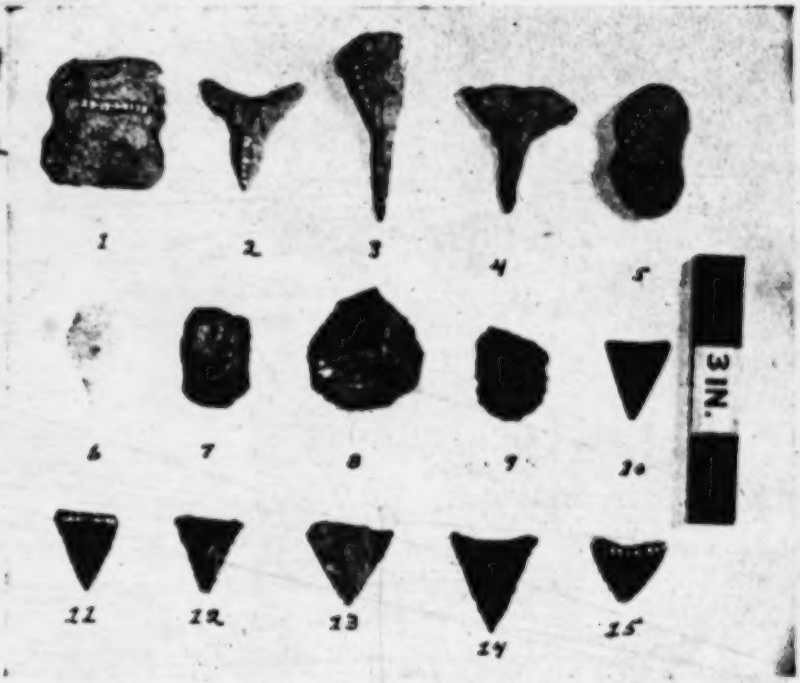

PLATE XI. MINSI ARTIFACTS

15: Morgan E-5 (1859) 1959 NM7 Delaware NM7

LEWIS HENRY MORGAN

THE INDIAN JOURNALS

1859-62

[Title page]

Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press

600

15:Morgan I-5 (1859)1959
NM7 Delaware NM7
Shawnee NN17
[428(A)]
[pp 1-27 not processed]

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Along the Kansas River are the Indian Reservations. First we have at the mouth on the north side the Wyandottes, a branch of the Iroquois family. Next west of them are the Delawares, and above them are the Pottawatamies; on the south side are the Shawnees, whose lands extend from Kansas City to near Lawrence. There are short breaks between the reservations between which the white settlers have got in, but the settlers are excluded from nearly the whole of the splendid land along this river. They have continued to lease some of it and to marry Indian wives and get adopted into the tribes and thus some few have gained farms, or the possession at least of valuable land. The whites of course are anxious for the further removal of these Indians, and their wiser men will see the necessity of their removal if they would save them from extermination by the usual process.

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I understand the Shawnees have by treaty with the government[11] divided up their lands as to give to each man, woman and child 200 acres of land, to be owned in fee by each but without the power of sale for eight years, after which each may sell. The

15:Morgan E-5 (1859)1959
NM7 Delaware NM7
Shawnee NN17

[418 (B)]

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423 balance of these lands they have sold to the government for 60 cents per acre. Upon these last lands the settlers have entered.

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423 The Delawares have also made a new treaty, by which after reserving a portion of their splendid reserve, they have agreed that the Government may sell the remainder for their benefit at public sale by auction, and that after deducting the expenses of the survey and sale, they are to have the remainder.[13] If the Indians located in this territory manage their property rights well, they will become well off, every individual, from the proceeds of their lands. They have possessed themselves of the finest part of Kansas under the treaties which provided for their removal.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

traits are sufficiently numerous or take place with continuous contact, the process is acculturation. In practice, diffusion is also to be distinguished from acculturation on a difference in emphasis. That is, when the distribution of a single trait or a nexus of traits is the problem in hand, the spreading of the trait or traits is an example of diffusion, but when the subject of inquiry is a single culture receiving or giving many traits through diffusion under a condition of continuous contact, the process is called acculturation.

12 The Delaware tribe with its well-documented history offers an excellent opportunity for the study of the process of acculturation and also the testing of the hypothesis that when a culture is invaded or confronted by an alien culture and particularly a superior or more complex one, its technology is the first aspect to change, sociological concepts and practices are more resistant, and the spiritual life is the last aspect to be affected.

123 A resumé of documentary material relating to the Delaware was followed by field work among the Delaware in northeastern and south-central Oklahoma in the fall of 1938.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

III. ANALYSIS OF DELAWARE CULTURE

THE PROJECT

The purpose of this study of the Delaware was to assemble and analyze data on the culture of the tribe from the earliest white contact to the present, with a view to determining what changes have taken place in their culture, when, and why.

The method used to assemble these data in comparable form was determined by the nature and scope of that portion of the material that pointed the way for such a study. For an understanding of the boundaries of this study an explanation of the provenience of this material is in order.

From 1813 to 1831 Lewis Cass was governor of Michigan Territory and *ex officio* superintendent of Indian affairs for the region. His interest in the Indians as individuals and as bearers of a dying culture led him to circulate in 1821 a pamphlet entitled *Inquiries respecting the History, Traditions, Languages, Manners, Customs, Religion, &c. of the Indians, Living within the United States,*[1] containing approximately four hundred questions with word lists in addition. A short time later another pamphlet entitled *Additional Inquiries respecting the Indian Languages*[2] was issued which emphasized the interest Cass had in language. In 1823, both pamphlets were reprinted and bound together with continuous paging.[3]

The queries were widely distributed among Indian agents, traders, and others who might be able to furnish information on specific tribes. Some of the recipients were dismayed by the number of questions, and, feeling that they did not have the fund of knowledge necessary to answer them, returned the pamphlets. Nevertheless, numerous answers were received by Cass, but they were, Cass reported to Schoolcraft in 1823, "more valuable for quantity than quality."[4] Cass planned on using the material so

[1] Detroit: Sheldon & Reed, 1821. 30 pp.
[2] 32 pp. No date or place of publication is given.
[3] Detroit: Sheldon & Reed, 1823. 64 pp.
[4] See letter of Henry Rowe Schoolcraft to Cass, November 22, 1823, The National Archives, Office of Indian Affairs, Michigan Superintendency Letterbook, No. 2, 1823, p. 265.

18:Morgan E-5 (1858)1859
NM7 Delaware NM7

[p 49]
[pp 29-48 not processed]

PART IV

114

Baptist Delaware Mission,
Kansas T. June 9, 1859

I left the Shawnee Mission (Friends) yesterday morning and reached here the same evening. I crossed Kansas River at the Delaware Crossing, about twelve miles above its mouth; and was so fortunate in point of time as to be there on Payment Day, which is the annual gala day of the nation. As I had never seen a government payment of Indian annuities I was, of course, very glad that it happened as it did. After spending about four hours as a spectator of this curious scene, I went on to the Mission. Today Mr. Pratt and myself went down again, and spent a few hours, the payment still going on, but so near completed that they expected to finish tonight. We have just returned somewhat fatigued by the ride, as the day is warm. Some account of the payment must be given, although it is one of those scenes which should be seen to be appreciated. The amount paid was universally large, it being no less a sum than $78,000 to something less than 1000 people all told, men, women and children, and was paid in gold and silver. In January 1858 the Delawares numbered by census 988. At the present June census their number is but 941. These figures were given me by Mr. Ford, a merchant of Lawrence, who stops here and is looking after the accounts with the Delawares. I supposed the nation was not diminishing, but rather on the increase.

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[648]

[450 (A)]

[*Payment Day*]

657 The place of payment was centrally located
527 but a most inconvenient place in itself, as it was upon a side hill with very rough ground all around it. The only recommendation was the eight or ten houses which made up the settlement, and furnished shelter for
[439] the goods of the traders, who are inseparable from all payments. The number present was large, just as many of the Delawares as could possibly leave their homes, with a single one behind in some cases to watch the premises. About 800 were present and some Shawnees from the opposite side and perhaps 100 white people, including traders and spectators. I arrived about 10 A.M. and the paying out commenced about 1 P.M.

291 The Indian women were all dressed out
177 in their best attire, as this is the only occa-
[527] sion that ever brings them together as a
[657] people. We saw the fruits of the sales of
[439] previous years, and some of the present, in advance a few hours of the time of payment, as the traders are eager to commence their work at once. In the first place the Delaware women have usually dropped the Indian skirt, and put on the long dress of the white female. I thought I saw a skirt upon an elderly woman, although it was covered up with a gown. Their dresses are of all colors, and some of them of rich materials. A few were dressed in colored muslin with silk shawls, and looked quite becomingly, but the most of them were, strange to say, dressed in silk gowns, some of which were brocade patterns of rich brocade silk, some were black, these looked the best. Some were crimson and black, some fiery plaid; the most of them were in bright colors. Over these they wore silk shawls of every color and shade, most of them fringed. They were expensive silk shawls of good

D 291 177 materials. Some of them had on two shawls, and some a third arranged as a neck drape. They appeared to have put on all they had, to show it, the quantity of dress being of more importance in their sight than its style, or quality.

Of course their appearance as a whole was fantastic and ludicrous. The dresses were made without taste from scant patterns, and worn without hoops or petticoats, thus giving to the skirt an appearance not to be compared for a moment with the Indian female skirt of cloth and blanket of the same, but these would be too warm for Kansas. I was glad to see the gown upon them, as it is a move in the right direction. At home they may wear the Indian gown, but I doubt it. The Shawnee women, all [S 291] that I saw, wore the gown. On their heads they tie a silk handkerchief universally. I did not see a bonnet among them.

D 142 144 The color of the Indian women is quite uniform, and is light. It shows that the white blood infused into them in the East has been well diffused throughout. The next cross with the white will make a pretty white child, of which I saw a few and but a few specimens, as the Delawares are quite [D 563] vigorous against intermarriage with the whites, and also against unlawful intercourse. As a whole, the expression on the D 142 face of the women was pleasant and healthful. They look strong, literally cleanly and [D 164] healthy, although I am told by Mr. Ford that syphilis is among their women to an alarming extent. Their faces would not lead to such a suspicion.

D 291 The men were more fantastically dressed than the women, and did not appear half as well. Their fancy dresses were cheap and absurd, rendering their general appearance [D 191] ridiculous. There were many good faces among them, and also well dressed Indians

[750 (c)]

291 who speak our language and have the man-
[191] ners and address of gentlemen. Some of the
old men and some of the young men had on
colored calico frock coats of the most gaudy
[302] colors. Many had vermilion on their faces,
thus giving them a low appearance, and I
saw a few girls with spots of it in their
[301] cheeks. One man I saw with a silver orna-
ment in his nose, which covered part of his
mouth. Many of the men wore leggings with
a wide side projection, ornamented, and
the breech cloth, over which they wore a
vest or shirt, and perhaps one of the frock
coats of calico above named, with head
bands of bead work over the shoulder and
meeting in a large bead work pocket on the
right hand side. As a body I should think
the men inferior to the women.

454 The Delawares have a million and up-
648 wards in the national treasury at five per
cent interest. Their regular annuity is
[657] $50,000. The present is a part of two pay-
ments, I understand, and is larger than
usual. There were several stores full of
443 goods, and a great many stands out in the
open air with the protection of canvas. The
492 great show of all was in saddles and bridles,
of which I presume I saw of saddles alone
[435] 150; the price ranges from $15 to 50 dol-
lars, the ordinary being $22 to $25. They
are the Mexican saddle, made at Westport,
Mo., and the kind usually used in Kansas
and this part of the west. It has a high pom-
mel, wooden stirrups usually, which are
easier than metal for long journeys, and a
well stuffed and quilted seat, with a high
rear plate. They are far superior to our
eastern saddle for riding.

439 The assortment of goods was creditable
to the good sense of the Delawares, as the
supply was adapted to the demand. Grains
of all kinds, tin wares of all kinds and at
reasonable prices, in fact they could not

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439 make anything on this article, wash tubs and washboards, coffee mills and household articles, calico and muslin goods. The chief take in was in the jewelry of which large and flashy assortments were exhibited, some of it looking extremely well; salt pork, flour and bacon were also offered. The trading, however, was not brisk, and I think was pretty much a failure, the reason being that Wyandotte and Kansas City are within easy reach, where they can buy cheaper and at their convenience. The
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[181] trader's chance lies in the weakness of the Indian before temptation, and his slight regard for money. As the payment was de-
D
452 layed more than a day beyond the time, I
443 noticed some of the Indians commenced moving up to book account in advance, which the traders favored. I saw two of them this afternoon arranging [?] payment in the Indian tents, and getting it, and I have no doubt doubling the amount in footing it up, or increasing it largely. They have to pay for a trader's license $25 to the agent, and unless they speculate in some way, they must make a failure on their sales.

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273 I saw no whisky nor ardent spirits of any
657 kind, and consequently no drunkenness or quarrelling. After it is all over tonight and the payment is over, and the government strikes its tent and moves off with the wagon marked U. S. and the small file of soldiers sent to protect the specie, the whisky will show itself, and the pockets of the remaining Indians who have any money will be picked. There were more white men around today than looked well for the Indian women.

S *Shawnees Uncles to the Chippeways, etc.*

648 Buraseau told me that years ago the Ojibwas, Pottawatamies and Ottawas took the

15:Morgan E-5 (1859)1959
NM7 Delaware NM7
Shawnee NN17
[851 (B)]

S 648 Shawnees into their alliance, or perhaps what is nearer the truth, recognized an ancient connection still preserved by tradition, and acknowledged the Shawnees their uncles, by which they admit them to be the older stock.

Tribes [Clans] of the Delawares and Descent in the Female Line

D 115 Was introduced by Mr. Pratt to William Adams,[81] Wa-le-oak-se, (White man), a very intelligent young man and an Indian. We went out under a tree and talked an B 681 hour. I found that the children of two tribes are brothers and sisters to each other, and the children of his sisters the same, and that the children of a brother and of a sister are nephew, and something else to each D 614 other, but he thought not uncle. He says the Delawares are now and were anciently divided into three tribes: 1. the Wolf, "round paw"; 2. the Turtle, "unfeathered animal"; 3. the Turkey or fowl, "feathered animal."

That this was a sort of generalization; that the Wolf separated the animals having hair, the Turtle animals without hair, including fish, and Turkey or Fowl, as this means any fowl, the animals with feathers, and these he says are subdivided into a number of others, but he could not give me the names. He said his tribe was that of the Mud Turtle, the turtle that muds himself and then lies in the sun. This was as far as he could go on this head. He says that in D [582] old times no man was allowed to marry a [183] woman of his own tribe, and it was the law until within the last generation, but that now is broken over constantly. That he was of the turtle tribe, and so were both his father and mother. He also said that he was D [611] entirely certain that in old times *the children followed the tribe of the mother*, and that it is

[p 51 (C)]

614 so now where the father and mother were
611 of different tribes. This is a very interesting fact, as it is the first exception, if true, in the Algonquin race which I have found. Mr. Pratt informs me that he understands the children are of the tribe of the mother,
[797] and he has been their missionary for twelve years and for 22 years an Indian missionary. I shall verify this perfectly before I leave. The young man also says that the
672 office of chief was hereditary in the tribe, as he thought, and that a brother or nephew succeeded as frequently as a son, but he was not quite sure on this subject. He gave me
535 the names of 16 of the dances, all he could remember, which will be given later.

602 He said the Delawares thought a good deal more of their relationships than we did, and if there was the least particle of relationship they were glad to find it. He
[582] says that in old times near relatives could not marry, but now they married as near as our cousins.

Family Names

551 We took up this inquiry. He says one tribe has no right to use the names of another tribe, as he thinks, and he also says the names can be readily distinguished from one another, but I must inquire further about this. He seemed to think the same name might be used by another tribe, in which case it would be slightly varied. The real truth about the distinctness of the Indian names constantly eludes me.[57A] I shall soon think there is nothing in it.

[57A] [For footnote see category 116, p. 209 (A) — Analyst]

15:Morgan E-5 (1850)1959
NM7 Delaware NM7

[p 52(1)]

535 *Dances of the Delawares*

1. Old Religious Dance	10. Dog Dance
2. Wolf Dance	11. War Dance
3. Turtle Dance	12. Feasting Dance
4. Chicken Dance	13. Dance for the Dead
5. Buffalo Dance	14. Striking the Stick Dance
6. Bear Dance	15. Buzzard Dance
7. Doll Baby Dance	16. Turkey Dance
8. Horse Dance	17. Duck Dance
9. False Face Dance	18. [left blank]
	19. Shuffle Dance

773 829 *Origin of the Three Varieties of the Human Race*

Mr. Pratt mentioned to me a Delaware explanation of the creation of the Negro, Indian and White man, to the effect that the Negro was created first, and was, as we say, a mistake or failure; it was the first attempt at man's creation. The Great Spirit next created the Indian, who was admitted to be a great improvement upon the negro; and last of all he created the white man.

The Good Spirit and the Boil

776 753 Mr. Pratt had a boil come on his arm. A Delaware told him he had a good friend, and in explanation said to him that the Evil Spirit had intended to destroy him; that he was followed in his rounds to do mischief to men by a small but good spirit, who continued in various ways to defeat the evil spirit of his purpose, when it was a case in which he wished to save the person from harm. That as the evil spirit was about to put forth his power upon him, the little spirit stepped forward and said to the evil one, "you let me deal with this person," whereupon he took or drew on his invisible bow a small and invisible arrow, and shot

[p 52(B)]

776 Mr. Pratt on the arm, and hence the boil.
753 In the meantime, the evil spirit, seeing the little spirit about to deal with him, passed on, and was thus diverted from his purpose. After doing this friendly act the little spirit at once passed on upon the track of the evil one to arrest and avert as many of his evil deeds as he could by persuasion, cunning or artifice. Thus the Indian said Mr. Pratt had a friend, and this boil was the result of his friendly interposition to save him from a greater evil.

[*Delaware Clans*]

115 Conversation with [Morgan's blank], the mother of Charles Johnny Cake.[83] She is sub. 1 Wolf Tribe. Her husband was Turtle. Her children are Wolf.

614 She confirms the division into Wolf, Turtle and Turkey Tribes, and says these are subdivided. The Wolf has the Bear, the Turtle the Big and Little Turtle, and the Turkey has the Crow. Those belonging to
[582] each subdivision to this day refuse to intermarry; but Little Turtle intermarries with Big Turtle, Bear with Wolf, Crow with Turkey. The children of ancient times and
[611] now are of the tribe of the mother in all cases. The terms Wolf, Turtle and Turkey are general ones, the word Took-seat, the name of the Wolf Tribe means "a round foot." There is another name for Wolf, Tam-me. The word for Turtle, Poke-koo-rin-go, does not mean any particular kind of Turtle, and so the name of the Turkey, Pal-la-ooh, means any kind of fowl. It appears to be a generalization for haired, non-haired and feathered animals. The subdivisions I must learn from her son.

She mentioned the We-loon-see Tribe as that of the Little Turtle, and also the Crow and the Bear, but could not remember their names. She gave We-saw-hut-ko, meaning

15:Morgan E-5 (1859)1959
NM7 Delaware NM7

[#52(c)]

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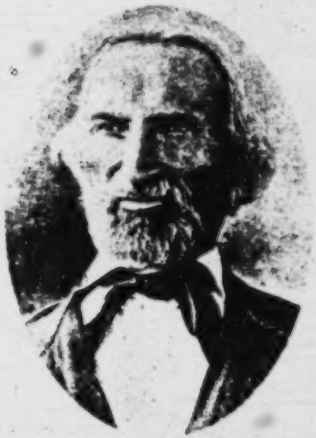

Charles Journeycake (Johnny Cake) was a chief, and a prominent leader of the Delawares in Kansas, as well as being a widely known Baptist minister. His mother gave Morgan information about the Delawares.

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[115]
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[614]
[611]

"Yellow Tree," as the name of one of the Bands. She appeared to be about 70 years old. She was of the Wolf tribe and her husband Turtle. She said the son did not necessarily succeed the father in the office of chief, but could not explain the succession fully. A brother or a sister's son often succeeded. Captain Ketchum[84] at the time of his death was head chief, a principal chief of the Turtle Tribe of the Delawares. This title or office is hereditary as she thought in the tribe, for she said the Turtles could not have a man of the Wolf or Turkey Tribe for their chief. Ketchum's name was Ta-whe-la-na (Catch Me). He died leaving a son; but was succeeded by John Konner, the present principal or hereditary chief who was the son of the youngest sister of Cap-

[p 53 (A)]

622 tain Ketchum, and of the Turtle Tribe. His
[611] name was Ta-ta-ne-sha. Here we have a practical illustration of descent in the female line, as with the Iroquois. She says each of the three tribes have one hereditary chief, called the Head Chief; that this chief never goes out to war, but stays at home while the Braves go out to fight.

648 The Delawares call the Senecas Mingwa-o, hence I think the historical word Mingoes,[55] a name for the Iroquois. The Delawares call the Iroquois and Wyandottes nephews, and thus assume the name
[186] of uncles, which is a way to express their seniority as well as original superiority.

553 I inquired of her about the family names, and was again put at fault. She says the father and mother can name their children as they please; that they ask some one for a list of old names of persons dead, and choose such ones as they like. She thought the names of the three tribes were kept dis-
[614] tinct, and then that they were used by these tribes indiscriminately. She said her husband named her children, and gave them all Turtle names, which was his tribe, then followed this up by stating that she did not know as it made any difference, that all used the same names. She referred to the
[171] Seneca practice of making a feast when a child was named, but said the Delawares did not do that way.

Winter

773 Mr. Pratt mentioned a Delaware tradition
821 about the origin of cold and heat and the change of the seasons as follows. In ancient times a married pair fell into disagreement. They lived in the far north region of cold. The wife, finding it impossible to live with her husband, or in resentment for some injury, travelled into the far south, into the region of heat. The husband became weary

15:Morgan E-5 (1859)1969
NM7 Delaware NM7

[453(B)]

773 and lonely in her absence, started to make
821 her a visit. As he travelled southward he carried the cold with him and wherever he went it became winter, or rather winter followed his footsteps. After he had concluded his visit he returned and carried back the winter with him as he advanced to the north. From the most ancient times this visit has been annually renewed.

Indian Persistency

157 Mr. Pratt mentioned as a recent occurrence
224 among the Delawares, that while a party
521 were out on a Buffalo hunt a few years since, one of them said one day that before he returned he would take a three year old bull buffalo alive. His companions rather laughed at his suggestion as an impossibility, and thought no more about it. This is the age when they are the most ferocious and unmanageable. A few days afterwards this hunter rode up to a herd of buffalo and having singled out a two or three year old bull, he managed to detach him from the

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John Gill Pratt was a dedicated Baptist missionary, working in turn with the Shawnees, the Stockbridge, and finally the Delawares. Morgan regarded him highly.

[p 53 (c)]

157 224 521 herd and gave him a chase. He followed until the buffalo was about tired out, with his tongue hanging out, and hardly able to move, while his own horse was in the same condition. Leaving his horse and his gun, the hunter, fresh and strong, took the buffalo by the tail and drove him on. He then went up an ascent and down on the other side until they came into a wet place where the buffalo stuck in the mud from weakness and exhaustion. He had thus taken his buffalo, in one sense. He was powerless, and still, except as he made slight efforts to fight. After spending some little time in this situation during which the buffalo was gaining strength and he was losing his, he was so fortunate as to espy and signal one of his party, who came to his aid, and the two, with a rope tied to his horns so as to keep at a safe distance from each of them and between both, they led or drove him to camp and thus the Indian maintained or made good his boast.

Delaware Baptist Mission School[86]

872 797 This school, under the supervision of Rev. John G. Pratt,[87] a matron, Mrs. Muse, and a teacher, Miss Morse,[88] is in a very flourishing condition and superior to any I have seen in the territory. It has accommodations for 78 Indian scholars as boarders and lodgers. The number last term was 64, the number the present term is about 50, as they have held back for the payment, and will soon come in now.

346 The buildings consist of a two and a half story farm house large on the ground, designed for the sleeping and clothing rooms of the school; another of the same size with a wing for a kitchen, designed for the residence of the superintendent and teachers, and is the eating and cooking place for all.[89] Also a large school house with folding doors

[For footnote, see category 116, p. 209 (c)--Analyst]

15:Morgan E-5 (1859)1969
NM7 Delaware NM7
Shawnee NN17
[54(A)]

D 346 in the center so as to separate the boys and girls, although they are as yet all together. There are numerous outbuildings, as a farm is carried on in connection with the school of about two hundred acres. The buildings D 872 were erected a few years ago with school [657] money belonging to the Delawares, and is supported with funds in the hands of the government reserved for that purpose.

D [797] The children are clothed, boarded and [657] taught by the Mission, and the government allows $75 per annum per scholar. They have two terms of five months each, and the children are kept in school about seven hours per day. They study reading, writing, and spelling, geography, arithmetic, with blackboard exercises. The scholars are mostly young, those now at school ranging from 6 to 18 years. They look well and healthy and free from sore eyes, and are decently and comfortably clad. This is the true system of Indian education, beyond a doubt, and this school is by far in the best condition of any I have seen. We see here New England cleanliness, system and good management. I did not visit the Mission S 872 School of the Methodist Southern Board 797 among the Shawnees. It is a large and flourishing school, I believe, but complaints are made of the principal of unfairness, of avarice, etc. He has made himself rich and also the Mission, they having secured by treaty between about 2000 acres of land, and at the same time he was active to prevent Friend Harvey from selling his Mission farm of 200 acres, evidently desiring to break up the Friends Mission.

D Mr. Pratt commenced his missionary life 797 22 years ago with his present wife then 20 years of age. He was accepted as a missionary to Burma, but was requested to fill temporarily an Indian Mission then vacant among the Stockbridges near Fort Leaven-

15:Morgan E-5 (1859)1959
NM7 Delaware NM7
Shawnee NN17
[p 54(B)]

D 797 worth, and went from there to the Shawnee Baptist Mission now closed, and from there to this Mission about 12 years ago. His wife is still young looking [she was forty-five at the time, ed.] and must have been beautiful as a girl. They are very worthy, refined and agreeable, and my short stay with them has been very pleasant indeed. Mr. Pratt is a well educated and superior man.

S 797 872 The Friends Shawnee Mission has done a good work among the Shawnees, but was never, I fancy, a very large school. There are but two boys there at present, but no doubt they have done as much good in proportion to the means employed as any other missionaries. The Friends are well adapted to gain the confidence of the Indian.

D 555 [*Delaware: Succession of Chiefs*]

In a brief conversation with Charles Johnny Cake, he informs me that the son never succeeds the father in the office of chief, but that the office goes either to a brother or the son of a sister. But strange to say the D 614 582 Turtle, the Wolf and the Turkey tribes each have several subdivisions, and while it was the ancient law that Turtle must always intermarry with Turtle, Wolf with Wolf and Turkey with Turkey, yet the subD [611] divisions were not allowed to intermarry and in these the children were of the tribe of the mother. Mrs. Johnny Cake, the mother D 124 614 582 of Charles, would not or could not tell me the names of the subdivisions. Charles would not today under the pretence that it was important to be right and he doubted his recollection of these subdivisions, although he said there were a number of each.

[454(c)]

124 I am very anxious to know. I asked an old
614 Delaware this morning, and he very coolly
582 told me that these questions were too small, by which he meant, I suppose, that it was prying into family matters rather impertinently.

614 It is by means of these subdivisions with
582 the prohibition of intermarriage that des-
611 cent in the female line is secured.

Lemuel R. Ketchum[90] says:

622 The Delawares have three Heads or great chiefs, one for each tribe. This chief is called Sa-ke-ma. It means Principal Chief. It is the name of the office, or the title of the person equivalent to President or King. They also have two subordinate chiefs. These chiefs together are called Ka-ke-um-ha-suk, or the chiefs. The term also includes the three
[623] head chiefs, and is used in contradistinction to councillors. The office has no special name. These two are inferior. If the three head chiefs decide upon a measure the two inferior must submit, but if two of the head chiefs and the two inferior chiefs should agree and the third head chief should stand out, the thing could not be done. The principal power is with the head chiefs. The three head chiefs can never go out to war, but the two inferior chiefs may. They are not, however, called war chiefs. Besides
623 these three the wise and experienced men of the nation are called councillors or Ha-ha-che-nowl-se-chick, which means simply councillors. These have a right to speak in a council of the chiefs. They can speak of their own motion without waiting to be
[562] asked by the chiefs. Women cannot speak in council.

Religious System

771 The Delawares believe in a Great Spirit,
[770] and in an Evil Spirit. They also believe in
[775] the immortality of the soul, and that they all went to heaven.

90 [For footnote, see category 116, p. 209(C)--Analyst]

[p 55 (A)]

000 all went to heaven. They have one religious
796 festival at which the Gum-win Dance is performed. This is the great religious dance. This is held once a year every fall, after the corn harvest is gathered. The festival lasts seven days. At this festival they have a number of old dances, which are still maintained among the Delawares. This Festival is called the Gum-win, from the dance. This is held for the purpose of returning thanks to the Great Spirit. They have a feast. Men, about 12, go out beforehand to hunt, and get game for the feast, particularly the deer. There is a class of persons
624 whose business it is to appoint the time for
796 holding this council, to prepare the feast, and supervise the business of the festival. They are both men and women, but Lemuel could not give me the name by which they are distinguished.

Marriage

582 Near relatives are not allowed to marry. First and second cousins are within the forbidden degrees; but third cousins under our system are allowed to marry. The names used by the several tribes are used in common. This seems to be the preferable conclusion. A young lad at the Mission told me
[614] that those of the same subdivision of the same tribe can intermarry if not too near of kin, but the fact is that they are all of near kin.

Succession of [Head] Chiefs

614 Upon the death of a head chief of the Tur-
622 tle Tribe, the three other subdivisions meet
623 in council to agree upon a successor who must be of the same subdivision of the tribe with the deceased, and is either a brother of the deceased or a sister's son. The second chief has the first speech, and the War Chief last, and enumerates the persons who

[455 (B)]

614 have expressed themselves in favor of the
622 person nominated. If they disagree, I have
623 not ascertained how it is adjusted. After the person is agreed upon, then all the chiefs meet in council and perform the ceremony of investing him with his office.

622 The war chiefs are selected and made such by the Head Chief without consulting the people, but not so with the Head Chief.

241 The Delawares are very well advanced as agriculturalists. When Mr. Pratt came
342 among them 12 years ago, as he informs me,
177 they were living in bark houses. Now many of them are living in frame houses two stories and 2½ stories high, some with a veranda in front the whole length, and they have good barns and outbuildings. Some of
231 them have herds of cattle from 25 to 100
422 and have from 5 to 20 swine, sheep, wagons, and all kinds of farming implements. Their future prospects are certainly very flattering if they push on as they have here. Their
648 women are interfered with a good deal by
563 the whites, and they are quick to marry
557 white husbands, as they seem to regard that as advancing. It would be so were their husbands respectable.

657 With their large annuity of $50,000 per annum, the best timbered lands in the state, and sufficient of them to give them all large farms, there is no reason why they should not become both agriculturalists and respectable citizens of the state. When they
000 become wealthy farmers as some of them now are, their children will intermarry respectably with our white people, and thus the children will become respectable and, if educated, in the second and third generations will become beautiful and attractive. This is to be the end of the Indian absorption of a small portion, which will improve and toughen our race, and the residue run out or forced into the regions of the mountains.

15:Morgan E-5 (1859)1959
NM7 Delaware NM7

[55(c)]

tains. There are two cases of *polygamy* here. Two well known Indians have two wives each. The Delawares are opposed to it, and are inclined to make a fuss about it. But I suppose it is an old Indian institution and they cannot make a law against it. If it was contrary to Indian law they would not admit the children of both mothers to annuities. As it now stands, their annuity is a bounty on children. I think the Delawares are tempted by their annuities.

Religious System of the Delawares[91]

William Adams, Del.

The Delawares believe in a Great and in an Evil Spirit. They also believe in a number of subordinate spirits, some of whom are waiting or ministering spirits of the Good and some of the Evil One. Among the waiting spirits of the former are the following.

1. Kaka-sha-ha-no-hase, the Spirit of the Whirlwind. He is represented as having the form of a man and is called Grand Father.

2. O-we-ya-la-so, the Spirit of the Wind. He is represented as having the form of a man, with long streaming hair, so long that it sometimes gets entangled in the trees as he rides along. He is called Grand Father.

3. Pate-hoc-hoo-weh, the Spirit of Thunder. He is represented as having the form of a bird, an Eagle, called Grand Father.

4. Wa-o-tun-oo-wase, the Spirit of Water. She is represented as having the hands of a woman, and the body, but ending in a fish's tail. She is supposed to dwell in every drop of water as well as in every river, creek, lake and stream, and sometimes to be a punishing spirit. She it is in cases of drowning who pulls the person under the water. Hence her name means "Pulling Down far Under."

5. Has-gueme, the Spirit of Corn. She is represented as having the form of a woman, and is called our Mother. She can foretell

[456 (A)]

776 about the coming crop. When she rises with her hair combed smooth and shining, and is seen in this condition, it is a favorable omen and indicates an abundant crop. When she rises with her hair uncombed and loose, it indicates a bad crop, or a failure of the harvest.

6. Wa-ma-take-a-nese, the Bad Spirit. He is represented as a little boy, with a bow and arrow, and as a constant friend of the Indian. He is everywhere and always at hand in the most impossible places, ready to assist us in our trials and troubles. He is a servant of the Great Spirit.

776 772 [824] [821] 7. Ma-mun-da-ase, the Spirit of War. He is represented as having the form of a panther, with a very long tail. He can foretell war about to arise, who will fight, and who succeed. The meteoric stones are dropped by him, and the war will arise in the direction from which the meteor comes, and go in the direction it goes. He is under the control of the Great Spirit, as are all good spirits.

776 773 The Great Spirit has the form of a man (name elsewhere). The Evil Spirit has the form of a man with one leg, the leg of an ox. The tradition is that the Evil Spirit was created by the good and was himself originally good, but he originated a contention among the inferior spirits which resulted in a division and taking of sides. In the midst of this contention they all came into the presence of the Great Spirit, who seized the Evil One and as a mark of his disapprobation and as a punishment, he wrenched off one of his legs and placed in the room of it that of an ox, that he might ever afterwards be known and recognized at once as an evil spirit, and then sent him down to the earth with the evil spirits who followed him.

775 Heaven they consider to be immediately over their heads and a place in which they

[4 56(B)]

775 have a bodily form. It is a journey of 12 days from earth to Heaven after death. [171] They believe as do the Iroquois, that the soul does not leave the body finally at death, but that it revisits the body for a few days before it takes its final departure. For this [764] reason, as Adams says, they bury on scaffolds in the trees, and in a sitting position near the surface of the earth. Last year he made a coffin for an Indian, and his friends made him bore a hole in the head of the coffin, the object of which being to allow the spirit free egress and regress to and from the body.

Heaven is a place of rest. They follow up the path, and the first stopping place is a place where they find a supply of vermilion or red paint. They cannot pass this place without painting their faces. If they have been accustomed to paint on earth, the paint will readily adhere, unless they have been very wicked, and then they pass on without delay. But if not used to painting, or if they have been very wicked, the paint will not adhere, and thus they are detained at this place until the Evil Spirit removes them to a place of punishment.

775 577 They say there are seven points of good and evil. If the deceased has four of the points of good in his favor, or more, he is sure to pass on to heaven, but if there [are] four or more bad, he cannot go to heaven but must be placed in a place of misery and unhappiness where he is punished according to his evil deeds. If he was accustomed to paint, it will be more apt to stick, and that is all that is claimed for this meritorious act. There is a second stopping place on the way where the selfish and covetous are surrounded and burned up in the article [on which] they set their store upon earth, and thus are kept out of heaven. They

775 825 have a belief that mosquitoes sprang up out

[¶ 52(C)]

775 of the souls of those who were punished by
825 the evil spirit, the wreck, or fragments into which they were cut up were turned into mosquitoes and such evil creatures.

776 Bad spirits are believed to pass by about
787 day break and good spirits are believed to pass along about dark. For this reason boys are often sent to bed without supper, that they may commune with or be visited by
[785] good spirits, the fasting state being thought to be favorable to such communion, and for the same reason are often compelled to get up before day break that the evil spirits may not obtain or exercise any wicked influence upon them.

776 I am told that the Shawnee Female Great
821 Spirit is in reality the moon, and is worshipped as our Grand Mother or something of that sort; and Isaac Johnny Cake who mentioned this [to] me also said that the Great Spirit of the Delawares was represented and believed to be a brother of the Sun, and that the Moon was the Grand Mother of the Great Spirit; and young Toucey, the Stockbridge, says that there is
[171] some evidence of a [?] in of the sun in the worship of several of the Indian races, including his own. The Iroquois return thanks to the sun for heating the earth and to the moon for cooling it, but this does not show a sun worship or anything like it.
[115] William Adams is to correspond with me on the religious system of the Delawares, and I hope to find out something definite about it.

Gum-mueen

796 This festival or annual worship of the Delawares as explained by William Adams and of which he is to write to me more fully, is quite interesting. They believe unless they
[241] observe it once a year their crops will fail, and they will lose the favor of the Great Spirit.

[#57(A)]

796 Spirit. It lasts 6 days. It may be repeated by another person or family for a second 6 days, and so on until the feelings are satisfied. It has been known to last a month. The meeting is called by one of a certain class, who I presume correspond with the Keepers of the Faith of the Iroquois. They are called A-la-pa-cte, meaning *Dreamers*. The [346] people meet in a large house erected on purpose for this worship and used for nothing else. They build two council fires in the [614] house, and the people assemble by tribes, the Turtles by themselves, the Wolves by themselves and the Turks by themselves. They use belts of wampum and have many ceremonies. It would seem that this council or religious meeting was called by some one [346] person. The door of the house of worship must open to the east.

796 533 When they are assembled two singers [?] sit down to two dried and rolled up deer skins, with sticks in their hands to beat time. The leader, who is stationed on the right hand side of the door, gets up and [534] shaking a turtle shell rattle, comes in extemporizing verses which are adapted to the set tune of his choosing, to relate his dream. As he relates his dream in music, he dances, they sing the same time and beat time, and all who enter the dance, dance [535] the religious dance which altogether is called the Gum-mween. This is repeated day by day for six days. But the leaders change. When one has told his dream, he hands his rattle to the next one, who in like singing relates his dream in words of his own making, but sung in an old well known tune of his own choosing.

796 [262] Before the festival 12 hunters are sent out for deer's meat, as no other meat is allowed. About 9 each morning this meat is served to all. At sundown each day they have an exhortation from the oldest wise

[457 (B)]

796 man of the nation. Once during the six days,
[782] about an hour after night fall, they burn
[824] incense by throwing on the fire in the cen-
ter of the house cedar branches, which fills
the house with smoke and then ascends to
the Great Spirit. If no one repeats the wor-
ship, or when all are done, the people all go
out in Indian file, and facing the east, in a
[782] united voice they thank the Great Spirit for
sparing their lives through the year, and in-
voke him to spare them until the next Gum-
mween.

15:Morgan E-6 (1859)1959
NM7 Delaware NM7
Munsee

[#59]
[#58 not processed]

Munsees

101 The Munsees are closely allied to the Dela-
614 wares. They have the three tribes, Wolf,
Turtle and Turkey, with the prohibition of
[582] intermarriage in the tribe, and with descent
[611] in the female line. This Toucey told me who
has lived among them. They are old Con-
101 necticut Indians. There are about 50 near
162 Fort Leavenworth, and some I think near
131 Green Bay.

15:Morgan E-5 (1859)1969
NM7 Delaware NM7
Shawnee NN17
[#204]
[## 60-203 not processed]

D
S
648
423

11. By treaty in 1854, the Shawnees surrendered 1,600,000 acres of land to the government and received "one-eighth of it back for distribution among the tribe . . . Voluntary allotment in severalty was a prominent feature of the treaty, and the division of the diminished reserve was to be made upon the basis of 200 acres for every individual . . . In the winter of 1856–57, Lot Coffman, a surveyor, was appointed by the federal government to take a census of the Shawnees and to distribute the land in accordance therewith" (Anna Heloise Abel, "Indian Reservations in Kansas and the Extinguishment of Their Title," in *Transactions of the Kansas Historical Society, 1903–04*, VIII, 93).

12. See *ibid.*, pp. 88–90.

15:Morgan E-5 (1859)1959
NM7 Delaware NM7

[p209 (A)]
[pp 205-208 not processed]

000 81. In *Systems* (p. 289) Morgan acknowledges the assistance of William Adams, "a young Delaware, educated at Delaware Mission in Kansas," in obtaining the kinship system of the Delawares.

121 82. Morgan was much interested in the method of bestowing names upon individuals in Indian society. Upon his return from this trip he read a paper, "Indian Mode of Bestowing Names," at the 13th meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science in Springfield, Massachusetts, in August; it was published in the *Proceedings*, pp. 340–43. It seems probable that he suspected that he might find here a distinctive characteristic of Indian culture—as he apparently regarded the custom of sleeping nude and wearing the breechcloth, frequently mentioned in *Systems*—that could be used for purposes of historical reconstruction.

[513]
[291]

000 83. Charles Johnny Cake (or Journeycake, as he signed his name, as a representative of the Delawares, to agreements with the United States in 1854) was a chief and prominent leader of the Delawares in Kansas. He was baptized in 1833, and later became "the

[648]

15:Morgan E-5 (1859)1869
NM7 Delaware NM7
[#209(B)]

most noted Baptist preacher" among the Delawares. Charles' brother, Isaac Journeycake, was quite prominent, also. One of Charles Journeycake's daughters, Nannie, married the eldest son of Mr. Pratt, Lucius, in the spring of 1860: "the bride was dressed in white muslin, with veil and orange blossoms, and looked very pretty" (Clara Gowing, "Life Among the Delaware Indians," *Collections of the Kansas State Historical Society, 1911–12*, XII, 186–87; *Home Mission Monthly*, Vol. 14, 1892).

In *Report on Indians Taxed and Indians Not Taxed in the United States* (Washington, D. C., 1894) there are three pictures dealing with Journeycake: (1) a portrait of him alone, 1890 and (2) a photograph of his residence, 1890 (both following p. 296), and (3) photograph of Journeycake with a delegation of Indians in Washington in 1867 (following p. 298).

84. There were many Ketchums among the Indians, not only among the Delawares, from 1850 to 1880 or later. "Captain" Ketchum is listed as a signatory of agreements with white organizations in 1832, 1843, and 1844 (*Transactions of the Kansas State Historical Society*, IX, 204; *Collections of the Kansas State Historical Society*, Vol. 16, pp. 755, 761). John Ketchum, Que-sha-to-wha, along with Charles Journeycake and other Delawares signed an agreement with Commissioner George W. Mannypenney in 1854, ceding lands. A James Ketchum was a member of the delegation of Delawares—which included Charles Journeycake and Agent Pratt, also—that went to Washington in 1867; he appears in the group picture mentioned in the previous footnote. In April, 1860, Mr. Pratt and a teacher at the mission drove out "to see chief Ketchum, who was sick." The teacher has left us a vivid picture of Ketchum's residence (Clara Gowing, *op. cit.*, p. 188).

85. From Algonquian *Mingwe*, "stealthy, treacherous." Used also by whites during the late

15:Morgan E-5 (1859)1959
NM7 Delaware NM7

[p209(c)]

colonial period to designate a detached band of Iroquois who settled in Pennsylvania (James Mooney, "Mingo," in *Handbook of the American Indians*, F. W. Hodge, ed.).

86. The school was begun in 1833; the first baptism occurred four years later. The school was moved out of low bottom lands in 1848 to its 1859 location (Rev. S. F. Smith, "Brief History of Missions in Kansas and Missouri," in *Home Mission Monthly*, Aug. 1879; Clara Gowing, *op. cit.*, p. 183, n. 3).

87. John Gill Pratt was born in Hingham, Mass., in 1814. He graduated from Andover Seminary in 1836 and was licensed to preach. In 1837 he married and immediately set out for Kansas. He served at the Shawnee Baptist Mission, where he printed religious material for Indians, and helped to publish a newspaper, the *Shawnee Sun*. He worked with the Stockbridge Indians from 1844 to 1848, when he took charge of the Delaware Baptist Mission. Mr. and Mrs. Pratt had seven children. Mr. Pratt died in 1900; Mrs. Pratt, a short time later (Gowing, *op. cit.*, pp. 183–84, n. 4).

88. Elizabeth S. Morse, born 1814, was "sent out from Boston in 1842 by the American Baptist Mission Union" to teach school among the Cherokees. She went to the Delaware Mission School about 1848, where she taught until the Delawares were removed to Indian Territory in 1867, when she went to live with friends. She died in 1899 (Gowing, *op. cit.*, p. 183, n. 2).

89. In October, 1859, Miss Clara Gowing arrived at the Delaware Mission School. She was born in Massachusetts, had been president of the W.C.T.U. in Reading, Massachusetts, had taught in colored schools in Virginia, etc. She has left us a very interesting account of her five years at the Delaware Mission, in her article, previously cited, pp. 183–93.

90. In *Systems* (p. 289) Morgan acknowledges the aid of "Lemuel R. Ketchum (Wool-le-

15:Morgan E-5 (1859)1959
NM7 Delaware NM7

[p210]

115 kun-num, 'Light of the Sun'), a Delaware."

000 91. The following data on the religion of the Delaware are taken from Part Five of the Journal.

[pp211 - 233 not processed]

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

DEDICATION.

TO

CASPAR WISTAR, M. D.

PRESIDENT OF THE AMERICAN PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY,

&c. &c.

DEAR SIR,

Having, at your particular request, undertaken the arduous task, of giving to the Historical Committee of our Society, an Account of those Indian Nations and Tribes which once inhabited Pennsylvania and the adjoining States, including those who are known by the name of the "Six Nations;" I have now, as far as has been in my power, complied with your wishes, or at least I have endeavoured so to do.

Foreseeing the difficulties I should labour under, in writing the history of a people, of whom so many had already written, I could not but consider the undertaking both as unpleasant and hazardous; being aware, that it would be impossible for me in all respects to coincide with those who have written before me; among whom there are not a few, who, although their good intentions cannot be doubted, yet from their too short residence in the country of the Indians, have not had sufficient opportunities to acquire the knowledge which they undertake to communicate. Ignorant of the language, or being but superficially acquainted with it, they have relied on ignorant or careless interpreters, by whom they have been

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

INTRODUCTION.

THE reader of the following pages, having already seen what has induced me to come forward with an historical account of the Indians, after so many have written on the same subject, will perhaps look for something more extraordinary in this, than in other works of the kind which he has seen. Not wishing any one to raise his expectations too high, I shall briefly state, that I have not written to excite astonishment, but for the information of those who are desirous of knowing the true history of those people, who, for centuries, have been in full possession of the country we now inhabit; but who have since emigrated to a great distance. I can only assure them, that I have not taken the information here communicated from the writings of others, but from the mouths of the very people I am going to speak of, and from my own observation of what I have witnessed while living among them. I have, however, occasionally quoted other authors, and in some instances copied short passages from their works, especially where I have thought it necessary to illustrate or corroborate my own statements of facts.

In what I have written concerning the character, customs, manners, and usages of these people, I cannot have been deceived, since it is the result of personal knowledge, of what I myself have seen, heard, and witnessed, while residing among and near them, for more than thirty years. I have however to remark, that this history, like other histories of former times, will not in every respect comport with the character of the Indians at the present time, since all these nations and tribes,

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7

PREFACE

Any group of people who have been able to preserve even some of the beliefs and customs of their ancestors of three and a half centuries ago in the face of intense, largely continuous pressure to abandon them merits the interest and attention of the social scientist. The Delaware Indians of Oklahoma are such a people — a people who only today are finally relinquishing a cultural tradition old in the time of John Smith and Henry Hudson.

Despite the wealth of documentary material dealing with Delaware culture, no comprehensive description of its early form has been written. Herman has recently reconstructed the early historic culture from documentary sources; her study, however, is not comprehensive.[1] Kinietz has attempted "to assemble and analyze data on the culture. . . from the earliest white contact to the present, with a view to determining what changes have taken place in their culture, when, and why."[2] Unfortunately, this analysis was only partly successful.[3] Several aspects of Delaware culture have received adequate treatment. The religious beliefs and practices, particularly of later times, have been described at length.[4] Delaware language has been described and analyzed,[5] and the Walam Olum or Red Score has been discussed extensively.[6] Apart from Kinietz' preliminary effort, there has been no attempt to describe or analyze Delaware acculturation. Likewise, no consideration has ever been given to the final phases of Delaware acculturation, or assimilation, particularly the part which the Delawares are playing in what has been termed the Pan-Indian society. The aims of this study are, then, to reconstruct the early historic culture of the Delawares, to describe how it changed under the impact of Euro-American civilization, and to explain, at least in broad terms, why the changes took place.

This study was originally prepared under the direction of the Department of Anthropology, University of Michigan, in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the Doctor of Philosophy degree. New data have altered the original dissertation to some extent, although the organization and conclusions remain essentially the same. Two chapters were deleted and included in others, and a map has been added.

During the summer months of 1951 and 1952 an ethnographic study was made of the Delaware Indians in Oklahoma. The cost of this field work was borne in part by funds provided by the Ford Foundation and administered by the Department of Anthropology, University of Michigan. I gratefully acknowledge this assistance. I particularly want to thank

[1] Herman, 1950, pp. 45-77.
[2] Kinietz, 1946, p. 15.
[3] Speck, 1948, pp. 723-24.
[4] Speck, 1931; Harrington, 1921.
[5] C. F. Voegelin, 1946; C. F. and E. W. Voegelin, 1946.
[6] Brinton, 1885; Lilly, 1944, pp. 33-40; E. W. Voegelin, 1940, pp. 28-31; Lilly, *et al.*, 1954. See Griffin, 1955, for a review of the preceding volume; Newcomb, 1955, pp. 57-63.

4: Tantaquidgeon E-5 (1930) 1942
NM7 Delaware NM7

INTRODUCTION

IT WAS my privilege and pleasure in the spring of 1930 to record the following data on native medical practices and folk beliefs as dictated by Wi·tapanóxwe, "Walks With Daylight," a Delaware Indian of Dewey, Oklahoma. Wi·tapanóxwe was retained as an informant for some months in Philadelphia with the aid of funds provided, in part, by the Pennsylvania Historical Commission. Some interesting facts concerning his life, as well as historical data pertaining to the location, migrations, and present status of the Delaware Indians were presented in a preceding volume (Speck, 1931) of this series. It seems unnecessary, therefore, for me to duplicate such information in the present monograph.

The material presented herein is offered not as a complete and exhaustive study of the curing practices and plant lore of the Delaware Indians but as the theories, practices, and beliefs of one practitioner—information for the most part to be regarded as personal property bequeathed to the informant by certain members of his family or revealed to him in dreams. There are, however, incorporated in these notes descriptions of certain observances of a more general nature which represent the common property of the tribe.

To much that has been written giving actual data on the pharmacology of various tribes in North America, the collection of Delaware material presented here will prove a helpful addition. Among the leading studies in this field, mention should be given to that of Robbins, Harrington, and Freire-Marreco (1916) on the Tewa, and various others by Mooney (1892), Swanton (1928a, 1928c), Speck (1937b) and Olbrechts (Cherokee MS., 1929) for the Southeast. For the Algonkian-speaking peoples of various tribal and cultural types the quantity of published material is also considerable, permitting ere long some attempt at a comparative summary. In this connection similar data contained in the Menomini studies of Smith (1923), and Bloomfield (1928); the Ojibwa researches of Hoffman (1893), and Densmore (1928); Gilmore's material (1919) from the Misouri River region, not to mention information published by Speck (1907, 1909, 1911, 1915, 1917), all offer much that is suggestive of the historical background from which such practices and beliefs may be supposed to have developed.

In connection with such studies I have in mind also the collections of unpublished herbal and charm cures obtained from various remnants of Algonkian peoples on the Atlantic seaboard by Dr. Speck (Powhatan MS.), Dr. Hallowell (St. Francis Abenaki MS.), and myself (1928; Gayhead and Mashpee Indian MS.). The material from these various

A RECONSTRUCTION OF ABORIGINAL DELAWARE CULTURE FROM CONTEMPORARY SOURCES

Mary W. Herman

INTRODUCTION

Because of the early date at which the east coast tribes came into contact with Europeans and the scarcity of records which in most cases remain from that period, little is known about the culture of those tribes. It is therefore particularly fortunate that several early accounts of Delaware culture have been preserved, making possible a fairly complete and reliable reconstruction of at least one culture from this general area.

Information regarding the culture of the Delaware Indians at the time of contact with European civilizations is limited to records written by Europeans during the seventeenth century, and to a limited extent, those written during the eighteenth century when recollections of earlier days were still reasonably fresh and reliable. The reconstruction of a culture from such sources requires more than a mere compilation of material as there is much of a contradictory and obscure nature contained in the records. The following paper represents a systematization and critical analysis of the material in an effort to present as full and accurate a picture of the culture as the facts allow.

The two most important sources of Delaware ethnography in the early contact period are William Penn and Peter Lindstrom. Lindstrom was born in Stockholm in 1632. He studied at the University of Upsala where he specialized in mathematics and the arts of fortification. He came to the Swedish colony in the New World in 1653 under the unofficial sponsorship of the Swedish government, with the rank of an officer but with no salary. Later he became Engineer and Clerk of Court, and his duties in that position consisted in traveling throughout New Sweden making maps and sketches. In this way, he had excellent opportunities for observing the natives, who were still within close range of the Swedish settlements. Lindstrom left New Sweden in 1655. Although he did not write the Geographie until 1691, its close similarity to the report which he gave to the Swedish Crown shortly after his return has led Amandus Johnson to the opinion that he had made substantial notes at the time he was in this country. His work where it represents the actual observations of the author appears to be completely trustworthy, in spite of the fact that many of his premises and interpretations would be unacceptable today (Lindstrom, introd. by Johnson).

William Penn first arrived in America in 1682. Shortly after his arrival, he made an extensive tour of his dominions and dealt

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
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closer personal relation, as their actions are seen in every sunrise and thunderstorm, and felt in every wind that blows across woodland and prairie. Moreover, as the Creator lives in the twelfth or highest heaven above the earth, it takes twelve shouts or cries to reach his ear. An account of the worship of the Creator will be given later in connection with the description of the Annual Ceremony. The Minsi had similar beliefs, but the current name for the Great Spirit in that dialect today is *Pa''tŭmawas*, interpreted "He who is petitioned," or *Kĕ''tanito'-wĕt*, "Great Spirit."

It has been frequently stated that the concept of a supreme being or chief of the gods was not known among the American tribes in precolonial times, and that the "Great Spirit" concept, now widely distributed among the Indians, is entirely the result of missionary teaching. This seems to have been the case in some instances, but it is a mistake to assume such a broad statement as a general rule, on *a priori* grounds. To the

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
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Indian mind, the spirits or gods partook largely of the nature of mankind—Why could not a chief of gods be as natural a concept as a chief of men? In the case of the Shawnee, the Creator or Great Spirit is usually spoken of as a woman, "Our Grandmother Paboth'kwe"—surely not a missionary idea!

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Let us trace back the Great Spirit concept among the Lenape, and find what the early writers say about it. Perhaps the earliest is in Danker and Sluyter's Journal[2] of about 1679, in which an old Indian living near Bergen, New Jersey, is quoted as saying: "The first and great beginning of all things, was Kickeron or Kickerom, who is the origin of all, who has not only once produced or made all things, but produces every day. . . . He governs all things."

William Penn,[3] in a letter dated Philadelphia, August 16, 1683, says: "They believe a God and Immortality; for they say, There is a King that made them, who dwells in a glorious country to the Southward of them, and that the Souls

7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
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INTRODUCTION

The consummation of religious fervor of the Delaware Indians, as among many preliterate peoples, is reached in the periodic communal ceremony of the Big House which continued in performance through twelve consecutive nights. The Big House Ceremony was made a subject of study in 1928 and published as a separate volume in a series of monographs by the Historical Commission of Pennsylvania.[1] In the annual religious cycle of the Delawares, however, other rites and ceremonies of no less importance, though of shorter duration and with less formal preparation, had their place. A series of these minor performances and rites are to claim attention in the present study. The material was gathered between 1928 and 1932 under an appropriation for publication, as a second volume of Delaware ethnological research, granted by the Historical Commission of Pennsylvania. Acknowledgment is accordingly made to the Historical Commission for sponsorship in financing the project and releasing the manuscript in 1935.[2]

Among the existing members of the Delaware or Lenape Nation, now dwelling within the confines of the old Cherokee Nation in Oklahoma, many of these ancient rituals have continued in practice down to the present day, having been transported with the tribe from its original seats in Pennsylvania and New Jersey. Some of them are, indeed, mentioned, even described, by early missionary authors who strove so long to abolish them. The opportunity to study the concepts of these age-old ceremonials of a venerable tribe comes as a welcome augment to the all too meagre documentary records of such human achievements in the development of religion at

[1] Frank G. Speck, "A Study of the Delaware Indian Big House Ceremony, in Native Text Dictated by Wi'tapano'xwe." Vol. 2, Historical Commission of Pennsylvania, Harrisburg, 1931. Frequent reference will be made to this study under the abbreviation *Big House Ceremony*.

[2] Correspondence, Miss Frances Dorrance, Director, and Miss Myrtle Keeny, Acting Executive Secretary, Jan. 10-12, 1935.

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
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large. It is, then, to one of the religious men of the tribe, *Wi'tapano'xue*, "Walks by Daylight" (C. J. Webber), the joint author of the text study of the Big House, supplemented with the cooperation of *Ni''ka'ni'paxoxue*, "Walking in Advance, Leader" (Joe Washington), and *Kwulc'pagi''kamen*, "Rustling Leaves (when walking)" (George T. Anderson), that we owe the narration of this series of texts explaining the procedures themselves and the traditions of their origin (Plate 1).

Some of them, for instance the Grease Drinking Ceremonies and the Doll Dance, are family properties handed down as obligations within the family group from some past period when the responsibility for their enactment was incurred through the event of some long-forgotten individual undergoing experience with a spirit in human or animal form. These have developed among the Delawares into septs inheriting the obligation to perform them corresponding to the motives actuating rites of similar derivation in several other parts of North America.

In the history of Delaware institutions of the kind there is reason to suppose that the minor ceremonies, perhaps those passed on through generations within the family groups, may indeed be older than the Big House Ceremony. The fact that in the Big House certain rites appear to have been added and others to have been dropped off as time went on would show that the great celebration has integrated through the coalition of originally separate elements. Its comprehensiveness and its thoroughly worked-out cosmological philosophy seem to denote this. The formative elements themselves, then, may be those which we have here, the minor rites performed by smaller social groups, the families, perhaps the villages under the old social system when the tribe resided undisturbed by an European invasion in the east, and those conceived by certain individuals as an outcome of their personal revelations. These bear indication of being prior developments entering into the composition of the dominating and communal Big House Ceremony. Keeping pace with the dwindling devotion of the Delawares to the rites of the Big House, the individual and

7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NMAI Delaware NM7
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small group celebrations have suffered decline, some having entirely ceased in recent years. In the minor ceremonies we have accordingly good prospective material to work over for the analysis of the larger composite ceremony. By taking into consideration with the Delaware institutions the process of ceremony integration in other parts of North America, of which the Sun Dance of the Plains Indians is a striking example, we are coming to possess the source material needed by the student pursuing research in the fascinating field of the history of religions. These repositories of native thought and experience are great in another sense. They offer a suggestive line of thought concerning the building-up process which has produced some of the great mass celebrations that mark the religious calendar of the preliterate tribes in whose culture have developed sophistries framed in proportions not unlike those of civilized nations.

I should like to add that the textual study offered in these pages is a contributive not a conclusive one as concerns the ethnology of the Delawares. Observations of ceremonial procedure still remain to be made on the rites that survive in the tribe.[1] But nothing can supercede the worth of the word for word deposition of even a modest informant like Wi·tapano'xwe, who has taken active part in many of them and whose nature has been steeped in reverence for them since childhood.

Some explanation should, it seems, be offered for omitting to mention and discuss ceremonial feasts and small rites that operate directly for the curing of sickness. The student of religious institutions would naturally expect these to be embraced in a study of this character since they are no less important and interesting as depicting the religious habits of the tribe. This aspect of the field has, however, been studied, and the material brought together for treatment in an independent monograph by Miss G. I. Tantaquidgeon, the manuscript being in the archives of the Historical Commission of Pennsylvania.

[1] Not forgetting that excellent studies made in the field of Delaware Ethnology by M. R. Harrington have been published in his "Religion and Ceremonies of the Lenape," Indian Notes and Monographs, Museum American Indian (Heye Foundation), New York, 1921, and more is promised by the same author.

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

121 An explanation is also needed to account for omission in the present study of treatment of the Peyote cult which has invaded the religious complex of the Delawares in Oklahoma. Within the past fifty years a considerable number of families have been converted to this much-discussed, I may say, much-maligned, doctrine of psychophysical therapeutics. The Peyote creed has therefore become an element in the religious life of the tribe. Its history may be simple as an acculturation, but its elements under modification in the minds of its Delaware converts with their old spiritual system in the background remains a subject for research. This has been undertaken by Dr. V. M. Petrullo and the results have become available in his dissertation.[4]

000 In carrying out the purpose of studies projected among the various bands of the Delaware Nation in Oklahoma and Ontario, several sources of coöperation deserve mention, namely that afforded me by Dr. George G. Heye, Director of the Museum of the American Indian, New York, in securing specimens to illustrate the performances; by Mr. H. H. F. Jayne, University Museum, University of Pennsylvania, and several private collectors, Mr. S. W. Pennypacker II, Mr. Robert Riggs and Mr. Earl Horter of Philadelphia. A collection of articles illustrating Delaware religion in ethnology is also on loan exhibition by the writer in the rooms of the Delaware County Institute of Science, Media, Pennsylvania. To Miss D. M. Spencer, Dr. H. Wieschhoff and Mr. L. C. Eiseley I am indebted for cooperative aid.

[122] The Committee of the Faculty Research Fund, University of Pennsylvania, has awarded several grants, gratefully acknowledged, for field work in Delaware-Munsee religion among the bands resident in Ontario.

To Mr. Frank T. Siebert, Jr., University of Pennsylvania, I am also indebted for valued assistance in checking over the texts and translations, and my discussions of rites and tales, with his field notes.

114 Before proceeding to the subject matter of my study, one more comment upon the character of ancient documentary

[4] V. M. Petrullo, "The Diabolic Root, A Study of Peyotism, the New Indian Religion Among the Delawares." University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 1934, pp. 1–185.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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The only other apparent change in the tabulation of the accounts of the different periods is the possession of the drum (466). Roger Williams stated that the Indians had no drums but that he had known one to make a good drum in imitation of the English. This may have been true, but it is most improbable that the spread of the drum over the entire continent can be attributed to its introduction by Europeans, especially in view of its known prehistoric use by certain tribes of Indians. The aboriginal possession of the flute is more questionable than that of the drum (470). This wind instrument was not reported before the third period.

Summary

Before summarizing the analysis of the culture chronology of the Delaware it may be well to state that no one is more keenly aware than I am of the unsatisfactory nature of some of the source material. This material must be utilized, however, in a study of cultural change extending over the number of years that this one does. I have endeavored to avoid the many pitfalls engendered by the use of this material. Items that had to be watched particularly were the subjective nature of some of the elements and the diverse use of terms by different authors. Four hundred and thirty-eight elements were considered cultural and comparable. This total eliminates elements on which there is information from only one period, elements on constitution, and elements giving ages within limits.

One of the first things to be observed in a perusal of the tabulation of accounts is the relatively small number of elements on which there is a complete disagreement between sources and informants. There are only twenty-three cases out of 438 elements in which the statements of one of the informants is not in agreement with at least one of the sources. Fifteen of the twenty-three elements represent changes. The remaining eight cases, or approximately two per cent of the total, are the only elements on which the informants' accounts as a whole deviate from those of the sources. This correspondence validates the use of data remembered by informants even though they may have

9: Kinietz E-4,5 (1938) 1946
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121 128 learned of the discontinued customs through the relations of their ancestors rather than through actual participation.

[114] Another noteworthy aspect is the frequency of contradictions in each period. Doubtless fuller information for each period would result in more conflicting reports. As it is, the list of contradictions is headed by eleven elements which show nothing but contradiction in every period. These eleven elements at least indicate that there was no one practice for these cases and illustrates the fallacy of relying on a single source or supposing the existence of a single practice.

121 128 177 Two hundred and forty-one elements were reported upon by sources and informants without any disagreement. To get an understanding of the stability of the culture, to these 241 elements should be added the eleven elements just mentioned, for they all show continuity, making a total of 252, or 57.3 per cent, of the 438 elements analyzed. All of these do not carry through from the first period to the last, for of the 438 elements, answers were returned on 210 in the first period, on 276 in the second, on 416 in the third, and on 436 in the fourth. Some of these elements appearing only in the later periods may represent additions to the culture, as in the case of the blowgun, but, in view of the lack of information on the earlier periods, they cannot be so considered.

177 There are 65 changes very definitely indicated. The changes are divided among the technological, sociological, and spiritual aspects of the culture thus: 16, 38, and 11, respectively. For the 77 technological, 262 sociological, and the 99 spiritual aspects so classified, these represent percentages of 20.77, 14.5, and 11.11, respectively. The series are too small for these small differences to be of great significance. Nevertheless, these figures are the nearest thing to proof that we have for the hypothesis that it is the spiritual life of a people in contact with a superior culture that is the least susceptible to change, that sociological concepts and practices are next, and that technological concepts and practices are the most susceptible.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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tribes was responsible for few changes. The only one represented in this study is the acquisition of the blowgun.

Of course, it is a mistake to assume that the culture of the Delaware would have been without change through these three centuries if not in contact with whites. Some change in Delaware culture may very well have been the result of indigenous development. The stimulus of the culture of the whites, however, was so much stronger that it is only reasonable that native developments should have been overshadowed. Nor was the culture of the whites standing still through this period. The culture of neither of the two groups was static, but as long as the Indian group was being moved westward ahead of the spread of white settlement, a static condition was simulated for that portion of the whites in contact with the Indians. The frontier changed but frontier conditions tended to remain the same. The effect of this contact with the white frontier is obvious among the Oklahoma Delaware today. The standard of living there is roughly that of pioneer agricultural regions fifty to seventy-five years ago and in the submarginal regions today.

The hypothesis that the technological, sociological, and spiritual aspects of a culture are increasingly resistant to change in that order has been shown to accord with the facts in the case of the Delaware. Language should either be included with the last aspect or be placed fourth and last, but has been omitted as outside the scope of this study. It may be said in passing, however, that the Delaware language is used by many who have otherwise retained little of the cultural heritage of the Delaware.

It seems to me that there is a very good reason for the persistence of the elements of the old spiritual life of a people after practically all other aspects of the culture are gone. This is the fact that control of religious and death practices is usually in the hands of the older people. These are the most conservative of the entire group, as a rule, and tend toward the perpetuation of the ways of their ancestors. This conservative attitude is particularly apparent in burial customs. In these matters the younger people seek to honor the practices of their elders on the death of the latter, even if they do not believe them necessary

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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177 otherwise. The tendency to revert in old age to the teaching of
• 771 one's childhood also serves to perpetuate the older customs, espe-
764 cially when it is the older people in the group that have charge of the ceremonies after death. Certainly this is the case among the Delaware. Every grave in the Delaware cemetery is oriented with the head to the east. Practically every grave bears the evidence of having been marked with a wooden post even though a stone marker was also erected. Many of the graves were enclosed with stone or wood cribs.

177 I conclude as a result of this study that historical culture change
121 of the Delaware tribe can be indicated qualitatively and quantitatively by the use of an element list co-ordinated with chronology; that changes in different aspects of this culture have occurred as the result of the length of contact rather than the type of contact involved; that an acculturation study involving a single Indian tribe and the entire white civilization is necessarily one sided; that during white contact the influence of the whites upon the Delaware was almost solely responsible for the changes in the culture of the Indian tribe in question, overshadowing the effects of new contacts with other tribes; and that the process of culture change may be called acculturation or assimilation depending on the absence or presence of complete political domination.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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FOREWORD

IN offering this volume of source material to serious-minded readers, as well as to that widening circle of students of American ethnology and the history of religions, it is hoped for one thing that by it the literature on the religious aspect of life of the Indians of eastern North America, far too long neglected by investigators of our schools, will be elevated to a station worthy of consideration alongside the beliefs and ceremonies of native peoples in other culture areas of the continent.

Aside from my acknowledgments to Wi·tapano'xwe, whose genial spirit and fertile mind were the *sine qua non* of the study, I rejoice in expressing them also to certain others; to Albert Cook Myers for having advised me so opportunely in 1928 to apply to the Historical Commission of Pennsylvania for a research grant the very week the Great Spirit sent Wi·tapano'xwe to my office in search of employment; to Dr. H. H. Shenk for his confidence in my ability to carry on the task and for his generous compliance with my desires in connection with it, many of them whimsical I am sure; to the members of the Historical Commission for the absolute liberty granted me during its progress as to time and manner of work; to Florence Insley Speck for the encouragement rendered in her deep respect for and interest in the motifs of Delaware religious performance; to Gladys Tantaquidgeon for her constant encouragement and counsel, and for the indexing, and to Dr. William J. Phillips for critical reading of the manuscript. Indeed, those many individuals vested with administrative authority in the state who have lent their approval and support in various ways to such a project as this one, intended to be of permanent value to our learned posterity, also deserve commendation for their part in the undertaking.

F. G. SPECK,
University of Pennsylvania.

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10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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174 this culture area as the Osage, Kansa, Ioway and Quapaw. Then with their final repose under the wing of the Cherokee Nation they felt [668] the touch of the northward-moving Peyote cult; this time an influence affecting the religious fibre of the tribe to a greater degree than had any of the preceding associations with other religious forms, not even excepting Christianity. The span of transition is apparently complete. Its angles are numerous enough to confuse the most systematic ethnologist, even if he had the properties of the various culture-periods blocked out for him. Things, however, are not so fortunate. We have no clear or specific knowledge of the first-contact Delaware and Munsee civilization; only scraps of the post-Iroquoian and post-European periods and almost nothing covering the century of migration from Pennsylvania to Kansas and Indian Territory. Amid the obscurity of our knowledge of the famous tribe through these eras the curtain is now raised for us in the twentieth century. And the ethnologist with methodical equipment and the resources afforded him by the present knowledge of human sciences enters the scene to grapple with the long neglected task. Happily for him, some of the Delawares, faithful to their traditions, are still practising their culture. They have retained their tribal organization, their language, their religious creed and rites, their philosophy of life, their psychological content and some vestiges of their industrial and economic past, handed down either through tradition or usage in remote districts among conservative families. Much of their past culture has indeed been fostered through sentiment and love.
● 121 This is the background out of which we are to construct our picture, to unravel the twisted elements woven into the Delaware culture fabric. From one point of view we are obliged to take the Delawares as they are now, to handle with delicacy the venture in research to discriminate between leather and cloth, sinew and thread, porcupine quills and glass beads and ribbon, stone and iron, in illustrating their processes of ornament and manufacture. Fortunately, equal difficulty does not confront us in dealing with the beliefs and practices of religion, since this is the realm in which man is most conservative; the truth of which statement challenges and astounds us in modern European as well as in modern Indian religions.

A few words of explanation seem to be called for in regard to my plan of arrangement in presenting the material in hand. A general discussion of some fundamental concepts and practices, I feel, is required, preceding the body of the text dictated by Wi'tapano'xwe, though footnote references accompanying the texts will find their connection with the theme. Other notes of an explanatory nature are needed to guide the sense of description through phrases and terms obscure to one not familiar with Delaware culture and the language, and to explain where English idioms have been called into use to

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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cover Delaware phrases. In the section giving the Delaware text have been included footnotes explaining and analyzing terms which seem to require elucidation, or which through their idiomatic meanings seem to call for special notation in the eyes of the linguistic student.

In the free translation I have attempted to preserve the order, emphasis, terms of thought and wording characteristic of native speech. It is obvious, however, that the translator can not adhere faithfully in his rendering to native traits of syntax and thought composition in all cases; the result would be in English quite unintelligible.[1] Even to attempt this as much as I have, may seem to some readers, not familiar with thought-processes in other than Indo-European tongues, to create confusion in idea, or at least to present some peculiarly twisted expressions. I may remark, however, that both points of view have been given careful and prolonged consideration before the translations have been released.

The text, as the informant dictated it, in the course of the four months during which we were engaged, seemed to unfold almost in the character of a canon. He showed a very thoughtful manner in arranging its parts and the wording, conveying the impression that certain sections or chapters had a formal sequence, that certain topics belonged inseparably with it, and that other matters which came in for discussion as we proceeded did not belong to it.

HISTORICAL OUTLINE OF THE BIG HOUSE CEREMONY.—The ceremony which is the object of our study has borne several proper names in historical literature. The formal designation seems to have been Gamwing, a designation for the ceremony used by several of the earlier writers, and still recognized by the Delawares as being a proper term. Yet no explanation of its meaning, to be relied upon, is forthcoming from any of our sources.[2] Of equal prominence is the designation Xinwika'on, "Big House," which in the tongue of the Delawares is a favorite term of reference to both the edifice, or temple, in which the ceremony is performed, and the ceremony itself. This designation predominates in our text. The Delawares are not

[1] Compare Heisberger's remarks on the language (op. cit., p. 143). "They are able to express themselves with great clearness and precision, and so concisely that much circumlocution is required to convey the full meaning of their expressions in an European language."

That the language in the middle of the 17th century, even when only approximately recorded, is still intelligible to the Delawares, appears from the following. In David de Vries Notes (1632) (Narratives of Early Pennsylvania, West New Jersey, and Delaware, 1630-1707, Ed. by Albert Cook Myers (1912), p. 16), it is recorded on the 8th of December, that while moored in the lower Delaware River, the Indians declared they would "make a firm peace which they call *recondyn marcreli*." This is the equivalent of ma'wuniwolaggu'ndi.n, "all agree to make peace."

[2] The term was no more capable of explanation in Heisberger's day (1780), it would seem, than it is among the Delawares of today. He says, "This feast is called 'ngammain, the meaning of which they themselves are unable to give. (op. cit., p. 138).

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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NOTE II

THE MYTH OF RED CEDAR AND THE SEVEN STARS

Reference to the stars and to the cedar tree as spirit-forces in the course of the text seems to call for the insertion of the following narrative in the study. It was dictated by Wi'tapano'xwe in explanation of that part of the ceremony in which cedar was given to the fires in the Big House as spiritual 'food.'

RED CEDAR A SACRED TREE

Now I am explaining what is the purpose of him our Grandfather Cedar,[1] how in many different ways it is used. When a person has a swelling in his feet or his legs it is good medicine as a steam bath for one to reduce swelling. And when after a recent death anywhere that cedar is used for purifying the house.

And when the Delawares worship in the Big House cedar is always used for purifying the Big House. And that night when the time arrives for its use it is said to be a purification-agency and also all the red men who understand this Medicine-eating[2] know that the cedar is used. Although two other different kinds are used as well for purification when this Medicine-eating is going on.

But that cedar is the leading spirit-force that is given for strength for anyone's healing, when inhaling the smoke. Because that very thing is the purpose intended in treating and healing his grandchild when he begs it of him.

A very long time ago in the life of the Delawares we have heard our deceased ancestors how they said, in ancient times when there were living men of great spiritual power; seven of them, it was said, all at once were not seen any more. They had gone those prophets, men departed. But young pure youths[3] blessed with a vision of something all at once while walking about along the ridge among rocky cliffs—all at once a thing upright there, seven stones almost alike. And then it was said that all at once the youth was thence spoken to by one of these stones. Then they came to be known.[4] And more and more

[1] The specific native term for cedar is a derivative of "popping."
[2] This is the proper designation in Delaware for the Peyote ceremony; "Medicine-eating" referring to the eating of the Peyote bean (Lophophora).
[3] One need hardly be reminded that these are the young men ignorant of the ways of the world, of sin and carnality, brought up under the tutelage of solicitous parents, observant of the religious rules and guided in their conduct of life by the spirit-forces which appeared to them; the life ideals of the Delawares.
[4] Indicating that these prophets to escape the importunities of people seeking help from them had concealed their identity by transforming themselves into rock among the mountains.

11:Newcomb E-5 (1952) 1956 NM7 Delaware NM7

The Peyote Cult of the Delaware Indians

by WILLIAM W. NEWCOMB, JR.

Texas Memorial Museum

276 Peyote *(Lophophora williamsii)* is a spineless, carrot-shaped, grayish-green cactus, which in this country grows primarily in the lower Rio Grande Valley. When eaten, either green, dried, or drunk as tea, peyote has the property of heightening or sharpening the perception of colors, forms, and sounds, or inducing visual and/or auditory hallucinations. The extent to which a person has or does not have hallucinations depends upon his physical and psychological state, the amount and type of peyote ingested, and perhaps other factors. Peyote is not a narcotic in that "It does not excite, stupefy, or produce muscular incoordination; there is no hangover; and the habitual user does not develop any increased tolerance or dependence" (La Barre, *et al.*, 1951: 582).

175 177 276 795 A knowledge of the properties of peyote and its utilization in religious ceremonies antedates recorded history in Mexico. It was not until late in the nineteenth century, however, that knowledge and a new ceremonial use of peyote developed and spread widely among the demoralized reservation Indians of the United States. The peyote cult was attractive to many of these Indians because it could easily replace outmoded or discarded religious rites, and because it was a continuing, if mild, rejection of elements of the dominant civilization. The new cult diffused to the Delaware Indians of northeastern Oklahoma about 1885, through the agency of John Wilson, a Caddo-Delaware from Anadarko in western Oklahoma (Petrullo, 1934: 83; La Barre, 1938: 109–123). This man had become a peyotist about 1880, and in subsequent years he converted many Delawares and other Indians in Oklahoma. John Wilson's version of peyotism, termed Big Moon or Moonhead, is today the most popular form of the cult among the main body of Delawares in northeastern Oklahoma. A less Christianized and less all-embracing religious cult called Little Moon was introduced somewhat later and has never attracted as many followers. I was unable to attend a Little Moon meeting; what follows pertains only to the Big Moon ceremony.

11:Newcomb E-5 (1952)1956 NM7 Delaware NM7

My purposes in this article are to describe a fairly typical peyote meeting of the Delawares which I attended in the summer of 1952, and to discuss the changes which have occurred in this cult since 1930 when Petrullo made his study of Delaware peyotism (Petrullo, 1934).

THE BIG MOON PEYOTE CEREMONY

The Big Moon ceremonies of the Delawares are normally held in canvas covered tepees, generally in the cooler months of the year, but occasionally in hot weather. The reason for their seasonal nature is said to be in the interests of comfort; a tepee with a fire burning in it on a hot Oklahoma night is almost unbearable. Big Moon ceremonies are held on Saturday nights and last until Sunday noon. The peyote meeting I am about to describe was held on the farm of a Delaware, about ten miles east of the small town of Dewey, Washington County, Oklahoma. A tepee, about twenty feet in diameter, had been erected a few steps from the back door of the farm house. A bale of hay had been scattered about near the inside walls of the tepee; tarpaulins and quilts had then been spread over the hay, upon which the participants were to sit. In the center of the tepee was an oval depression, or fireplace, excavated to a depth of about six inches (Fig. 1). Extending from the fireplace were twelve lines or rays, made by scoring the hard ground to a depth of about half an inch. Within the fireplace, also scored in the earth, was a cross and at the intersection of its arms a heart-shaped figure. The fire, which was built over this heart, was made of twelve sticks interlaced in a V-shaped pattern with the open end towards the tepee entrance.

Just east of the fire, and lying along the long axis of the cross, was a stick of soft wood. One end was kept smoldering during the ceremony and was used to light corn husk-Bull Durham cigarettes. At the east end of the fireplace was a raised circular mound of hard packed earth. On the center of this mound, symbolic of the Sun, another heart had been scratched. On the opposite, or west side of the fireplace was the altar. This was an oblong, slightly raised, earthen area, on which was placed the ritual paraphernalia. In its center on a beaded cloth was a large, green peyote, or "Father Peyote." Just behind it a feathered and beaded peyote staff had been thrust into the ground. On the altar to the south of these objects was a glass bowl of green peyote, a kettle of peyote tea, and a leather bag of dried peyote buttons. To the north of "Father Peyote" on the altar was the drum used to accompany the singers (an old fashioned cast iron kettle, partly water-filled, and covered with a tightly drawn, wet, buckskin cover), and a bunch of sage.

13:Wallace E-4 (no date)1950
NM7 Delaware NM7

[P. 33, A]

Some Psychological Characteristics of the Delaware Indians during the 17th and 18th Centuries

ANTHONY F. C. WALLACE

Introduction

It is difficult for the archaeologist, when he lifts from the dirt a fragment of pottery, a bone awl, a projectile point, to have much feeling for the people of whom these relics are the sole material remains. Unavoidably, in the pages of archaeological reports, a people of the past is only a hollow-sounding name identified with a certain style of pottery or a certain type of flint-knapping. It is as if, a thousand years hence, scientists were able to say of ourselves no more than, "The inhabitants of Pennsylvania, about the year 1950 A.D., made many roads and buildings out of concrete; they also used metals extensively, and presumably had an elaborate social and ceremonial organization. . . ."

In this paper I shall try to tease out from the fragmentary historical accounts surviving from the period of colonization, some description of what kind of people the Delaware Indians were, psychologically. This reconstruction must inevitably be sketchy, inadequate, and mistaken in many ways which can never be discerned; and, of course, it does not reach back into the ages before white men came to America. But it is as clear a picture, in terms of modern psychological theory, as we can get of the Delawares as people, in that already clouded past from which such glimpses as these, and the lonely fragments of stone, pottery, and bone that the archaeologist uncovers, are the sole surviving evidences.

14:Leslie A-4.5 (no date) 1951
NM7 Delaware NM7

[P.9, A]

A Tentative Catalogue of Minsi Material Culture

by VERNON LESLIE

121 READERS of the "Archaeologist" will recall that one of the major problems of the archaeology of northeastern Pennsylvania has been the identification of the culture of the Minsi Indians with one of the several archaeological manifestations which occur in this area.

101 The Minsi, it will be remembered, were the northern clan of the Delaware inhabiting the upper Delaware Valley above the Water Gap as well as adjacent areas in New York. Although mention of them is 174 to be found in written history, the Minsi make such a brief appearance there that at present very little can be learned from early writings concerning their material culture or ethnic peculiarities.

172 In my treatment of certain problems of the archaeology of the upper Delaware Valley published serially in the four issues of the "Pennsylvania Archaeologist" ending with that of Vol. XVII, No. 1, 1947, because of the paucity of evidence then available, I made no attempt definitely to describe Minsi culture by implement type or otherwise. Two possibilities were mentioned ("Archaeologist", Vol. XVI, No. 2, p. 73; idem, Vol. XVII, No. 1, p. 108): that the Minsi culture could possibly be the mysterious "Coastal" culture which I had identified in the upper Delaware Valley (which will be referred to again briefly in the conclusion of the present paper) or that it could possibly be identified with an Owasco-like manisfestation occurring on several sites in the area, particularly in

[P.10,A]

114
174 The possibilities of this 'acculturation theory' seemed so appealing that I sent a letter to Dr. Claude Schaeffer, then of the Pennsylvania State Museum in Harrisburg, who was handling the publication of my manuscript, asking him to append my new view of the Minsi problem as a concluding footnote. For some reason which was never explained to me, however, this was not done.

Meanwhile in Rochester, Dr. William A. Ritchie, and in Philadelphia, Dr. Edmund S. Carpenter, were laying plans for a 1947 summer expedition in the upper Delaware area under an Indiana Historical Society grant for the purpose of attacking the Minsi problem as a phase of the wider question of determining the validity of the Walum Olum. The results of this expedition, with which the writer was for a time associated, have been ably and fully set forth by Dr. Ritchie in "The Bell-Philhower Site, Sussex County, New Jersey", Volume III, Number 2, Prehistory Research Series, The Indiana Historical Society, 1949.

The most important part of Ritchie's report bearing upon the present problem is the material contained on pages 194, 195, and 196. Briefly, Ritchie, while including the caution that the "evidence leaves something to be desired", concludes that the original Minsi Culture began as the Castle Creek Focus of the Owasco Aspect and was later modified by Unami and later still by Iroquoian elements.

● 121 In the light of the developments outlined in the foregoing, it is now possible to approach a description of the elements of Minsi material culture. It is obviously of value and interest to the numerous amateur and occasional professional archaeologists who do field work in the Minsi area to have at least a tentative idea of which artifacts can be assigned to the Minsi hori-

14:Leslie A-4.5 (no date) 1951
NM7 Delaware NM7

[P.10, B]

121 zon in order that Minsi material may be separated from artifacts pertaining to earlier occupations. The writer herewith presents what he considers to be a reasonably valid list of elements pertaining to Minsi material culture. This list cannot in the light of our present knowledge pretend to anything approaching final inclusiveness or conclusiveness. It is the 1951 model and all rights to make subsequent changes are reserved.

127 In this list I have, of course, leaned heavily upon Ritchie's Bell-Philhower report as well as my own researches both prior to and following the Bell-Philhower "dig". I would also like to acknowledge much valuable assistance derived from access to the splendid collection of material from Minisink Island in the collection of Mr. Rudolph Ludwig, Milford, Pa.

Ceramics

Pipes

172 So far as the writer has been able to
276 determine, no stone pipes attributable to
323 the Minsi have been found in the upper Delaware area or elsewhere. Pipes of pottery occur, but are not numerous. These pottery pipes may be tubular, effigy, or obtuse—angle elbow. (Plate 1, No. 2).
[531] Decoration may consist of pointillé, incised lines, corded stick impressions, or may be absent. (Plate 1, Nos. 1 and 3, shows pointillé-decorated pipe sherds.)

Vessels

172 Pottery may be of various Owasco types
415 (Castle Creek Epigonus is rather promi-
323 nent) with punctuate, corded, platted, and beaded designs of several forms, or of Iroquoian types with incised designs in herringbone and other patterns. Rims often exhibit castellations. (See Plate 2. The sherds in the top row and the sherd at the left in the bottom row exhibit Owasco features. The remainder are primarily Iroquoian in motif.) An excellent description

15:Morgan E-5 (1859)1959
NM7 Delaware NM7

[p209 (A)]
[pp 205-208 not processed]

000 81. In *Systems* (p. 289) Morgan acknowledges the assistance of William Adams, "a young Delaware, educated at Delaware Mission in Kansas," in obtaining the kinship system of the Delawares.

•121 82. Morgan was much interested in the method of bestowing names upon individuals in Indian society. Upon his return from this trip he read a paper, "Indian Mode of Bestowing Names," at the 13th meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science in Springfield, Massachusetts, in August; it was published in the *Proceedings*, pp. 340–43. It seems probable that he suspected that he might find here a distinctive characteristic of Indian culture—as he apparently regarded the custom of sleeping nude and wearing the breechcloth, frequently mentioned in *Systems*—that could be used for purposes of historical reconstruction.

[513]
[291]

000 83. Charles Johnny Cake (or Journeycake, as he signed his name, as a representative of the Delawares, to agreements with the United States in 1854) was a chief and prominent leader of the Delawares in Kansas. He was baptized in 1833, and later became "the

[648]

2;Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7

PREFACE

Any group of people who have been able to preserve even some of the beliefs and customs of their ancestors of three and a half centuries ago in the face of intense, largely continuous pressure to abandon them merits the interest and attention of the social scientist. The Delaware Indians of Oklahoma are such a people — a people who only today are finally relinquishing a cultural tradition old in the time of John Smith and Henry Hudson.

Despite the wealth of documentary material dealing with Delaware culture, no comprehensive description of its early form has been written. Herman has recently reconstructed the early historic culture from documentary sources; her study, however, is not comprehensive.[1] Kinietz has attempted "to assemble and analyze data on the culture. . . from the earliest white contact to the present, with a view to determining what changes have taken place in their culture, when, and why."[2] Unfortunately, this analysis was only partly successful.[3] Several aspects of Delaware culture have received adequate treatment. The religious beliefs and practices, particularly of later times, have been described at length.[4] Delaware language has been described and analyzed,[5] and the Walam Olum or Red Score has been discussed extensively.[6] Apart from Kinietz' preliminary effort, there has been no attempt to describe or analyze Delaware acculturation. Likewise, no consideration has ever been given to the final phases of Delaware acculturation, or assimilation, particularly the part which the Delawares are playing in what has been termed the Pan-Indian society. The aims of this study are, then, to reconstruct the early historic culture of the Delawares, to describe how it changed under the impact of Euro-American civilization, and to explain, at least in broad terms, why the changes took place.

This study was originally prepared under the direction of the Department of Anthropology, University of Michigan, in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the Doctor of Philosophy degree. New data have altered the original dissertation to some extent, although the organization and conclusions remain essentially the same. Two chapters were deleted and included in others, and a map has been added.

During the summer months of 1951 and 1952 an ethnographic study was made of the Delaware Indians in Oklahoma. The cost of this field work was borne in part by funds provided by the Ford Foundation and administered by the Department of Anthropology, University of Michigan. I gratefully acknowledge this assistance. I particularly want to thank

[1] Herman, 1950, pp. 45-77.
[2] Kinietz, 1948, p. 15.
[3] Speck, 1948, pp. 723-34.
[4] Speck, 1931; Harrington, 1931.
[5] C. F. Voegelin, 1948; C. F. and E. W. Voegelin, 1946.
[6] Brinton, 1885; Lilly, 1944, pp. 33-40; E. W. Voegelin, 1940, pp. 28-31; Lilly, *et al.*, 1954. See Griffin, 1955, for a review of the preceding volume; Newcomb, 1955, pp. 57-63.

4: Tantaquidgeon E-5 (1930) 1942
NM7 Delaware NM7

FOREWORD

THE PRESENT PAPER represents an addition to the series of studies projected by the Pennsylvania Historical Commission on the life of the Indian peoples once resident within the State. This phase of the research program was planned some years ago by the Department of Anthropology, University of Pennsylvania, and carried out, in part, with the aid of funds supplied by the Commission.

The author of the study deserves a special recognition through qualities she possesses by nature and birth for the task undertaken. Born and reared in the environment of a Mohegan Indian home in Connecticut, she had the advantage of association in childhood with her grandmother and other old women versed in tribal traditions of plant and herbal medicines. Without having had the privilege of a technical training in botanic taxonomy, Miss Tantaquidgeon thus acquired a knowledge of identification of growing plants and their curative qualities and folklore. Her contribution is one that presents the latter rather than the former aspect. With this background of information on the plant lore and medicines of the Mohegan of southern New England, the author was well fitted for the work of studying the Pennsylvania-New Jersey area, and the curing practices of the Delaware. The flora and folklore of both areas and groups are not those of distinct types.

Accordingly, when in 1928 Wi·tapanóxwe (James C. Webber), whose medicine practice is the basis of this study, appeared in Philadelphia and became the object of investigation at the Department of Anthropology, University of Pennsylvania, the project was conceived and developed, leading to the collection of the present material. Miss Tantaquidgeon's training in comparative ethnology and lifelong interest in Algonkian nature-curing, placed her in a position to seize the opportunity. In the ensuing three years she worked at the recording of Wi·tapanóxwe's knowledge and theories as occasion offered.

The essay presented has limits in scope, some of which will appear more obvious to ethnologists than to others. It is not a study of a national stereotype medicine practice of the people we choose to designate as the Delaware Nation, but rather a sounding and analysis of information possessed by one typical practitioner in the healing profession. Individualism is indeed a trait of Pennsylvania Algonkian native culture in science as well as in character, even though the Delaware Indians are appreciably more institutionalized than the Algonkians formerly lying north of them. It may be expected that any Delaware phase of native "science" will show affinities with Iroquoian phases

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

121 An explanation is also needed to account for omission in the present study of treatment of the Peyote cult which has invaded the religious complex of the Delawares in Oklahoma. Within the past fifty years a considerable number of families have been converted to this much-discussed, I may say, much-maligned, doctrine of psychophysical therapeutics. The Peyote creed has therefore become an element in the religious life of the tribe. Its history may be simple as an acculturation, but its elements under modification in the minds of its Delaware converts with their old spiritual system in the background remains a subject for research. This has been undertaken by Dr. V. M. Petrullo and the results have become available in his dissertation.[4]

008 In carrying out the purpose of studies projected among the various bands of the Delaware Nation in Oklahoma and Ontario, several sources of coöperation deserve mention, namely that afforded me by Dr. George G. Heye, Director of the Museum of the American Indian, New York, in securing specimens to illustrate the performances; by Mr. H. H. F. Jayne, University Museum, University of Pennsylvania, and several private collectors, Mr. S. W. Pennypacker II, Mr. Robert Riggs and Mr. Earl Horter of Philadelphia. A collection of articles illustrating Delaware religion in ethnology is also on loan exhibition by the writer in the rooms of the Delaware County Institute of Science, Media, Pennsylvania. To Miss D. M. Spencer, Dr. H. Wieschhoff and Mr. L. C. Eiseley I am indebted for cooperative aid.

[122] The Committee of the Faculty Research Fund, University of Pennsylvania, has awarded several grants, gratefully acknowledged, for field work in Delaware-Munsee religion among the bands resident in Ontario.

To Mr. Frank T. Siebert, Jr., University of Pennsylvania, I am also indebted for valued assistance in checking over the texts and translations, and my discussions of rites and tales, with his field notes.

114 Before proceeding to the subject matter of my study, one more comment upon the character of ancient documentary

[4] V. M. Petrullo, "The Diabolic Root, A Study of Peyotism, the New Indian Religion Among the Delawares." University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 1934, pp. 1-185.

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

agree with Harrington calling them Munsee and treating their ceremonial habits as allied properties of the Munsee tribe as such. Investigation in this direction still remains to be carried on systematically among the Munsee groups, and is being pushed by the author under grants awarded by the [12] Faculty Research Fund of the University of Pennsylvania since 1932. Acknowledgment is made to this body for Grants No. 50 and 93 which were used in beginning Delaware-Munsee research and securing comparative material to elucidate some questions raised in the study of the Oklahoma band.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

FOREWORD

IN offering this volume of source material to serious-minded readers, as well as to that widening circle of students of American ethnology and the history of religions, it is hoped for one thing that by it the literature on the religious aspect of life of the Indians of eastern North America, far too long neglected by investigators of our schools, will be elevated to a station worthy of consideration alongside the beliefs and ceremonies of native peoples in other culture areas of the continent.

Aside from my acknowledgments to Wi·tapano'xwe, whose genial spirit and fertile mind were the *sine qua non* of the study, I rejoice in expressing them also to certain others; to Albert Cook Myers for having advised me so opportunely in 1928 to apply to the Historical Commission of Pennsylvania for a research grant the very week the Great Spirit sent Wi·tapano'xwe to my office in search of employment; to Dr. H. H. Shenk for his confidence in my ability to carry on the task and for his generous compliance with my desires in connection with it, many of them whimsical I am sure; to the members of the Historical Commission for the absolute liberty granted me during its progress as to time and manner of work; to Florence Insley Speck for the encouragement rendered in her deep respect for and interest in the motifs of Delaware religious performance; to Gladys Tantaquidgeon for her constant encouragement and counsel, and for the indexing, and to Dr. William J. Phillips for critical reading of the manuscript. Indeed, those many individuals vested with administrative authority in the state who have lent their approval and support in various ways to such a project as this one, intended to be of permanent value to our learned posterity, also deserve commendation for their part in the undertaking.

F. G. SPECK,
University of Pennsylvania.

[p. 4]

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

INTRODUCTION.

THE reader of the following pages, having already seen what has induced me to come forward with an historical account of the Indians, after so many have written on the same subject, will perhaps look for something more extraordinary in this, than in other works of the kind which he has seen. Not wishing any one to raise his expectations too high, I shall briefly state, that I have not written to excite astonishment, but for the information of those who are desirous of knowing the true history of those people, who, for centuries, have been in full possession of the country we now inhabit; but who have since emigrated to a great distance. I can only assure them, that I have not taken the information here communicated from the writings of others, but from the mouths of the very people I am going to speak of, and from my own observation of what I have witnessed while living among them. I have, however, occasionally quoted other authors, and in some instances copied short passages from their works, especially where I have thought it necessary to illustrate or corroborate my own statements of facts.

In what I have written concerning the character, customs, manners, and usages of these people, I cannot have been deceived, since it is the result of personal knowledge, of what I myself have seen, heard, and witnessed, while residing among and near them, for more than thirty years. I have however to remark, that this history, like other histories of former times, will not in every respect comport with the character of the Indians at the present time, since all these nations and tribes,

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

traits are sufficiently numerous or take place with continuous contact, the process is acculturation. In practice, diffusion is also to be distinguished from acculturation on a difference in emphasis. That is, when the distribution of a single trait or a nexus of traits is the problem in hand, the spreading of the trait or traits is an example of diffusion, but when the subject of inquiry is a single culture receiving or giving many traits through diffusion under a condition of continuous contact, the process is called acculturation.

[2] The Delaware tribe with its well-documented history offers an excellent opportunity for the study of the process of acculturation and also the testing of the hypothesis that when a culture is invaded or confronted by an alien culture and particularly a superior or more complex one, its technology is the first aspect to change, sociological concepts and practices are more resistant, and the spiritual life is the last aspect to be affected.

[3] A resumé of documentary material relating to the Delaware was followed by field work among the Delaware in northeastern and south-central Oklahoma in the fall of 1938.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

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1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

114 an essential service to point out the means of avoiding those deceptions, which if not sufficiently guarded against, will at last destroy all belief in the accounts given by travellers of distant nations and of manners and customs different from our own.

124 The first and most important thing for a traveller is a competent knowledge of the language of the people among 114 whom he is. Without this knowledge it is impossible that he can acquire a correct notion of their manners and customs and of the opinions which prevail among them. There is little faith to be placed in those numerous vocabularies of the languages of distant nations which are to be found in almost every book of voyages or travels; they are generally full of the most ridiculous mistakes; at least (for I must speak only of what I know) those which relate to the Indian languages of North America. I was some years ago shewn a vocabulary* of the idiom of the Indians who inhabited the banks of the Delaware, while Pennsylvania was under the dominion of the Swedes, which idiom was no other than the pure Unami dialect of the Lenape, and I could hardly refrain from laughing at the numerous errors that I observed in it; for instance, the Indian word given for *hand*, in fact means *finger*. This is enough to shew how carelessly those vocabularies are made, and how little their authors are acquainted with the languages that they pretend to teach.

The cause of these mistakes may be easily accounted for. When pointing to a particular object you ask an Indian how it is called, he never will give you the name of the *genus*, but always that of the *species*. Thus if you point to a tree, and ask for its name, the answer will be oak, beech, chesnut, maple, &c. as the case may be. Thus the Swedish author of the vocabulary that I have mentioned, probably happened to point to a *finger*, when he

[113] * Vocabularium Barbaro-Virgineorum, bound with an Indian translation from the Swedish of Luther's Catechism. Stockholm, 1696, duod.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

asked what was the Indian word for *hand*, and on receiving the answer, without further enquiry enriched his work with this notable specimen of Indian learning.

When I first went to reside among the Indians, I took great care to learn by heart the words *Kœcu k'dellounda-men yun?* which mean *What do you call this?* Whenever I found the Indians disposed to attend to my enquiries, I would point to particular objects and repeat my formulary, and the answers that they gave I immediately wrote down in a book which I kept for the purpose; at last when I had written about half a dozen sheets, I found that I had more than a dozen names for "*tree*," as many for "*fish*," and so on with other things and yet I had not a single generic name. What was still worse, when I pointed to something, repeating the name or one of the names by which I had been taught to call it, I was sure to excite a laugh; and when in order to be set right I put the question *Kœcu*, &c. I would receive for answer a new word or name which I had never heard before. This began to make me believe that every thing was not as it should be, and that I was not in the right way to learn the Indian language.

It was not only in substantives or the proper names of things that I found myself almost always mistaken. Those who are not acquainted with the copiousness of the Indian languages, can hardly form an idea of the various shades and combinations of ideas that they can express. For instance, the infinitive *Mitzin*, signifies *to eat*, and so does *Mohoan*. Now although the first of these words is sufficiently expressive of the act of eating something, be it what it may, yet the Indians are very attentive to expressing in one word what and how they have eaten, that is to say whether they have been eating something which needed no chewing, as pottage, mush or the like, or something that required the use of the teeth. In the latter case the proper word is *mohoan*, and in the former *guntammen*. If an Indian is asked *k'dapi mitzi?* have

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

124 you eaten? he will answer *n'dapi guntammen*, or *n'dapi mohoa*, according as what he has eaten did or did not require the aid of chewing. If he has eaten of both kinds of provisions at his meal, he will then use the generic word, and say, *n'dapi mitzi*, which means generally, *I have eaten.*

124 126 These niceties of course escaped me, and what was worse, few of the words I had taken down were correctly written. Essential letters or syllables, which in the rapidity of pronunciation had escaped my ear, were almost every where omitted. When I tried to make use of the words which I had so carefully collected, I found I was not understood, and I was at a loss to discover the cause to which I might attribute my want of success in the earnest endeavours that I was making to acquire the Indian tongue.

At last there came an Indian, who was conversant with the English and German, and was much my friend. I hastened to lay before him my learned collection of Indian words, and was very much astonished when he advised me immediately to burn the whole, and write no more. "The first thing" said he, "that you are to do "to learn our language is to get an Indian *ear*; when "that is obtained, no sound, no syllable will ever escape "your hearing it, and you will at the same time learn "the true pronunciation and how to accent your words "properly; the rest will come of itself." I found he was right. By listening to the natives, and repeating the words to myself as they spoke them, it was not many months before I ventured to converse with them and finally understood every word they said. The Indians are very proud of a white man's endeavouring to learn their language; they help him in every thing that they can, and it is not their fault if he does not succeed.

124 The language, then, is the first thing that a traveller ought to endeavour to acquire, at least, so as to be able to make himself understood and to understand others.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

Without this indispensible requisite he may write about the soil, earth and stones, describe trees and plants that grow on the surface of the land, the birds that fly in the air and the fishes that swim in the waters, but he should by no means attempt to speak of the disposition and characters of the human beings who inhabit the country, and even of their customs and manners, which it is impossible for him to be sufficiently acquainted with. And indeed, even with the advantage of the language, this knowledge is not to be acquired in a short time, so different is the impression which new objects make upon us at first sight, and that which they produce on a nearer view. I could speak the Delaware language very fluently but I was yet far from being well acquainted with the character and manners of the Lenape.

The Indians are very ready to answer the enquiries that are made respecting the usages of their country. But they are very much disgusted with the manner which they say some white people have of asking them questions on questions, without allowing them time to give a proper answer to any one of them. They, on the contrary, never ask a second question until they have received a full answer to the first. They say of those who do otherwise, that they seem as if they wished to know a thing, yet cared not whether they knew it correctly or properly. There are some men who before the Indians have well understood the question put to them, begin to write down their answers; of these they have no good opinion, thinking that they are writing something unfavourable of them.

There are men who will relate incredible stories of the Indians, and think themselves sufficiently warranted because they have Indian authority for it. But these men ought to know that all that an Indian says is not to be relied upon as truth. I do no mean to say that they are addicted to telling falsehoods, for nothing is farther from their character; but they are fond of the marvellous, and

l:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

124 when they find a white man inclined to listen to their tales of wonder, or credulous enough to believe their superstitious notions, there are always some among them ready to entertain him with tales of that description, as it gives them an opportunity of diverting themselves in their leisure hours, by relating such fabulous stories, while they laugh at the same time at their being able to deceive a people who think themselves so superior to them in wisdom and knowledge. They are fond of trying white men who come among them, in order to see whether they can act upon them in this way with success. Travellers who cannot speak their language, and are not acquainted with their character, manners and usages, should be more particularly careful not to ask them questions that touch in any manner upon their superstitious notions, or, as they are often considered even by themselves "fabulous amusements." Nor should a stranger ever display an anxiety to witness scenes of this kind, but rather appear indifferent about them. In this manner he cannot be misled by interested persons or those who have formed a malicious design to deceive him. Whenever such a disposition appears (and it is not difficult to be discovered) questions of this kind should be reserved for another time, and asked in a proper manner before other persons, or of those who would be candid and perhaps let the enquirer into the secret.

114 484 I have been led to consider Carver, who otherwise is deserving of credit for the greatest part of what he has written on the character of the Indians, to have been imposed upon in the story which he relates of having learned by means of a conjurer (the chief priest of the Killistenoes, as he calls him) who pretended to have had a conversation with the great Spirit, the precise time when a canoe should come, and certain traders who had been long expected should arrive.* Had Carver resided a longer time among the Indians, so as to have acquired a

* Carver's Travels, Introduction, p. 72. Boston Edit, 1797.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

sues should come, for that must have been known already, and that the people in it would tell them where the traders were, and when they might be expected to arrive.

As in or about the year 1774, I was travelling with some Christian Indians, two Indians of the same nation, but strangers to us, fell in with us just as we were going to encamp, and joined us for the night. One of them was an aged grave looking man, whom I was pleased to see in our company, and I flattered myself with obtaining some information from him, as, according to the Indian custom, age always takes the lead in conversation. I soon, however, perceived, to my great mortification, that he dwelt on subjects which I had neither a taste for nor an ear to hear; for his topic was the supernatural performances of Indians through the agency of an unseen Mannitto. I did not pay any attention to what he said, nor did any of our Christian Indians shew marks of admiration or astonishment at the stories he was telling, but sat in silence smoking their pipes. The speaker having, after an hour's time, finished his relations, the oldest Indian in my company addressed himself to me and said: "Now you have heard what some Indians can "perform. Have you ever heard the like before, and do "you believe all you have heard?" "There are," I answered, "many things that I have heard of the Indians, "and which I believe to be true, and such things I like to "hear; but there are also things which they relate "which I do not believe, and therefore do not wish to "know them. While our friend here was just now tel- "ling us stories of this kind, which I cannot believe, I "was wishing all the time that he might soon have fi- "nished and tell us something better." The Indian, taking the hint in good part, asked me then what things I should like to hear? On which I made him this reply: "As you are a man already in years, and much older "than myself, you must have seen many things that I

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

124 "have not seen, and heard much that I have not heard. "Now I should like to hear the history of your life; "where you was born, at what age you shot your first "deer, what things you heard of your father and your "grandfather relative to old times; where they supposed "the Indians to have come from, and what traditions they "had respecting them. I should like also to know how "many children you have had; how far you have tra- "velled in your lifetime, and what you have seen and "heard in your travels. See!" added I, "these are the "things that I should like to hear of the Indians; any "thing of the kind from you will give me pleasure." The Indian then, highly pleased with my candour, rea- dily complied, and having related every thing remarka- ble that had come within his observation and knowledge, I thanked him, saying that I should never forget him, nor what he had now related to me, but that I would try to forget what he had related in the beginning. The In- dians who were with me, following the thread of the con- versation, continued to entertain us with rational stories, and the evening was spent very agreeably. In the morn- ing, when we parted, the strange Indian whom I had thus rebuked, shook me cordially by the hand, saying: "Friend! you shall never be forgotten by me. Indeed I "call you my *friend*."

I would take the liberty to recommend to those who may hereafter travel among the Indians, in any part of America, to be particular in their enquiries respecting the connexion of the different nations or tribes with each other, especially when the analogy of their respective languages leads to infer such *relationship*, as the Indians call it. I beg leave to suggest a few questions, which, I think, ought always to be asked. They may lead to much useful information respecting the various migra- tions and the original places of residence of the Indian nations, and perhaps produce more important discove- ries.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

1. What is the name of your tribe? Is it its original name; if not, how was it formerly called?

2. Have you a tradition of your lineal descent as a nation or tribe?

3. To what tribes are you related by blood, and where do they reside?

4. What is your character or rank in the national family?

5. Which among the tribes connected with you is that which you call *grandfather*?

6. Where is the great council fire of all the nations or tribes connected with yours?

7. How do you address the chiefs and council of such a nation or tribe?

8. What is the badge of your tribe?

From these and other similar questions, much valuable information will probably result. The nation whom another tribe calls *grandfather*, is certainly the head of the family to which they both belong. At his door burns the "great national council fire," or, in other words, at the place where he resides with his counsellors, as the great or supreme chief of the national family, the heads of the tribes in the connexion occasionally assemble to deliberate on their common interests; any tribe may have a council fire of its own, but cannot dictate to the other tribes, nor compel any of them to take up the hatchet against an enemy; neither can they conclude a peace for the whole; this power entirely rests with the great national chief, who presides at the council fire of their *grandfather*.

Indian nations or tribes connected with each other are not always connected by blood or descended from the same original stock. Some are admitted into the connexion by adoption. Such are the Tuscaroras among the Six Nations; such the Cherokees among the Lenni Lenape. Thus, in the year 1779, a deputation of fourteen men came from the Cherokee nation to the council

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

fire of the Delawares, to condole with their *grandfather* on the loss of their head chief. There are tribes, on the other hand, who have wandered far from the habitations of those connected with them by blood or relationship. It is certain that they can no longer be benefited by the general council fire. They, therefore, become a people by themselves, and pass with us for a separate nation, if they only have a name; nevertheless, (if I am rightly informed) they well know to what stock or nation they originally belonged, and if questioned on that subject, will give correct answers. It is therefore very important to make these enquiries of any tribe or nation that a traveller may find himself among. The analogy of languages is the best and most unequivocal sign of connexion between Indian tribes; yet the absence of that indication should not always be relied upon.

It may not be improper also to mention in this place that the purity or correctness with which a language is spoken, will greatly help to discover who is the head of the national family. For no where is the language so much cultivated as in the vicinity of the great national council fire, where the orators have the best opportunity of displaying their talents. Thus the purest and most elegant dialect of the Lenape language, is that of the Unami or Turtle tribe.

APPENDIX II

USES OF MEDICINAL PLANTS AMONG THE CANADIAN DELAWARE

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THE following notes on the medicine practices of the Six Nations Delaware, Grand River Reserve, located near Hagersville, in Brant County, Ontario, Canada, were recorded during a visit to the reserve in November, 1931. The group consists of about 150 individuals of mixed Indian and white blood. Only a few, however, have any knowledge of the language and traditions of the Delaware who once inhabited the section of the country now known as Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and New York. To find the identity and location of the predecessors of the band now in question, who migrated to Canada, will be impossible until a comparative study has been made of the various vocabularies.

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I am indebted to Mrs. Martha Peters Hill, Nicholas Powless, his sister, Mrs. Maracle, Joseph Montour, John Lickers, and Walter Moses for aid in securing the Delaware information herein presented.

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[184]

In contrast to the ceremonies connected with the various processes of healing as employed by the Oklahoma Delaware, we find only a few traces of such rites among the Delaware of Canada. Plant parts to be used for medicinal purposes should be gathered when the vital properties are in that part of the plant (the flower, root, etc.), to be used. One informant added that plants should be gathered before the fireflies appear. When seeking herbal plants, the first of the desired species should not be plucked. It is customary to pass on to another of the same variety and there dig a small hole beside the plant and in it place an offering of tobacco. If a large quantity of herbs were gathered, they were tied in bundles and allowed to dry in the sun, to prevent mould. Some dried their plants in a warm room.

When bark is used it is taken from the east side of a tree; only the inner bark, which is usually peeled downward, is used. Roots may be scraped or cut into small portions.

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Medicinal plants are regarded as being sensitive to handling, and when brewing medicine, care must be taken to refrain from stirring the mixture while it is steeping. After being thoroughly steeped, the medicine is removed from the fire, and if necessary, stirred only toward the

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

796 174 171 comprising the Delaware Nation is evident from all sources. That it ruled the spiritual destinies of the Munsee, the Nanticoke, the Mahikan, we know through collateral evidence, and analogous rites are inferred to have existed among the Mohegan on the east, the Powhatan peoples of Virginia and the Algonkian of the Carolina coast. Testimony from modern sources also points to a related performance of equal prominence in the religious behavior of the Shawnee. It would be an oversight besides, not to make reference to certain indications in the recorded discussions of Iroquois and Central Algonkian religion, of periodic ceremonies whose fundamental concepts form more or less a unit with those of the nation we are considering. Such a widely spread doctrine with associated rites of a unitary character assure us of the existence in aboriginal times of a culture-center, as regards creed, among the peoples of the Allegheny forest area, not only among the widely scattered Algonkian-speaking peoples but among others whose early history has been linked by some vague channels with them, 796 for instance the Muskogi and the Yuchi. If it is not going too far, I 174 would venture to repeat the assertion, often made by students of human culture, that the religious concepts of preliterate people express the keynote of their cultural status, that the same are to be regarded as forming their most conservative culture properties, reflecting the entire system of their culture in ramifications leading off to other topics of ethnology, the food-quest, social organization, warfare, art-symbolism, as well as rulings of simple custom and ethical character; indeed where not? This assumption, as we shall see, holds true with amazing consistency in the native civilization of the Delawares. While the pre- 114 viously recorded accounts of Delaware ceremonies, some of them explicit in detail and accuracy, have supplied occasional material for comparative and analytical studies in the ethnology of the eastern Indians, a feeling of dissatisfaction exists in regard to their content. This has been sufficient to cause hesitation on the part of ethnologists in using the records for the purpose of drawing culture conclusions since the accounts have all been fragmentary and recorded in the words of European observers instead of being based upon the expressions of the natives.[1] To have such records made in the words, and with the order and detail of thought of the people themselves is the highest ideal of the student of human institutions, an ideal now set up as the goal of endeavor in research. Accordingly when fate was moved 124 to provide me with a native Delaware informant in the person of 115 Wi·tapano'xwe, a Delaware whose early training, at the knees of his mother, was of the native, non-Christian type, I need hardly say that I laid aside every postponable obligation to devote attention to the

[1] More recently we have been bequeathed the excellent studies of eastern Indian ceremonies in native text by students who have recorded them from the dictation of the Indians, such as Hewitt, Jones, Michelson and Bloomfield.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

task of taking down from his lips his version of the entire doctrine and the ceremony of his tribe at which he had upon so many occasions been present. The results of our combined effort during four months of writing are accordingly laid forth. The entire body of information, the arrangement of thought and wording are his; the concepts extracted from the teachings of his early life, the ritual procedures reproduced from memory of participation in them, and the monologues, are from his memory of repeated hearings by their narrators. The mechanical task, the notations, are mine.

Few undertakings in my experience have proved so pleasant. Wi·tapano'xwe, or War Eagle, (frontispiece) as he is known in his profession of herbalist, displayed the patience, the courtesy, and character of a gentleman. Representing the type once referred to by Doctor Dorsey as a natural gentleman and sport, the Indian was still unspoiled by a mercenary and material civilization; the simple-mannered, sympathetic, beautifully poised, contented, nature-loving, thoughtful and mystic Algonkian. He deserves more extensive personal notice since he typifies Emerson's definition of a great man as one "who in the crowd keeps the independence of solitude."

Wi·tapano'xwe, "Walking with Daylight," of the Fowl, or so-called Turkey group (pele')[1] of the Delawares, was born in the Cooweescoowee district of the Cherokee Nation, Indian Territory, about 1880, according to his information, and as such he is listed in the records of the Dawes Commission.[2] His father was a member of the Cherokee Nation of the West. Being of Munsee descent on his mother's side he was elected to the Council of the Fowl or Turkey division of this tribe in 1902, and re-elected secretary of the Delaware executive council by the combined Delaware and Munsee tribes in 1921.

The history of the Delawares shows that they have passed through a series of momentous culture transitions before and since the coming of the whites. We assume that before being disturbed by the northward advance of the Iroquois they, together with the closely related Munsee, presented a type of culture differing from the after-period, during which assimilation with the Iroquois had progressed. Subsequently came the Dutch and Quaker contacts, ushering in a period which ended at the time of the withdrawal of the tribe from the east. Then came the period of migration westward, opening closer association with the trans-Alleghenean peoples (Wyandot, Mingo, Shawnee, Piankashaw, Miami). Their next move brought them into the central plains area producing acculturation in externalities with phases of Prairie culture as they met such exponents of

[1] One of the three major social subdivisions of the tribe, for definition of which see page 75.

[2] His enrollment name is James C. Webber, under Dawes' Commission Cherokee Roll No. 31516.

16:Morgan E-S (1859)1958
NM7 Delaware NM7
Shawnee NN17
[p 54(B)]

D 797 worth, and went from there to the Shawnee Baptist Mission now closed, and from there to this Mission about 12 years ago. His wife is still young looking [she was forty-five at the time, ed.] and must have been beautiful as a girl. They are very worthy, refined and agreeable, and my short stay with them has been very pleasant indeed. Mr. Pratt is a well educated and superior man.

S 797 872 The Friends Shawnee Mission has done a good work among the Shawnees, but was never, I fancy, a very large school. There are but two boys there at present, but no doubt they have done as much good in proportion to the means employed as any other missionaries. The Friends are well adapted to gain the confidence of the Indian.

D 555 [*Delaware: Succession of Chiefs*]

In a brief conversation with Charles Johnny Cake, he informs me that the son never succeeds the father in the office of chief, but that the office goes either to a brother or the son of a sister. But strange to say the D 614 582 Turtle, the Wolf and the Turkey tribes each have several subdivisions, and while it was the ancient law that Turtle must always intermarry with Turtle, Wolf with Wolf and Turkey with Turkey, yet the D [611] subdivisions were not allowed to intermarry and in these the children were of the tribe of the mother. Mrs. Johnny Cake, the mother D ●124 614 582 of Charles, would not or could not tell me the names of the subdivisions. Charles would not today under the pretence that it was important to be right and he doubted his recollection of these subdivisions, although he said there were a number of each.

[54(c)]

124 I am very anxious to know. I asked an old
614 Delaware this morning, and he very coolly
582 told me that these questions were too small, by which he meant, I suppose, that it was prying into family matters rather impertinently.

614 It is by means of these subdivisions with
582 the prohibition of intermarriage that des-
611 cent in the female line is secured.

Lemuel R. Ketchum[90] says:

622 The Delawares have three Heads or great chiefs, one for each tribe. This chief is called Sa-ke-ma. It means Principal Chief. It is the name of the office, or the title of the person equivalent to President or King. They also have two subordinate chiefs. These chiefs together are called Ka-ke-um-ha-suk, or the chiefs. The term also includes the three
[623] head chiefs, and is used in contradistinction to councillors. The office has no special name. These two are inferior. If the three head chiefs decide upon a measure the two inferior must submit, but if two of the head chiefs and the two inferior chiefs should agree and the third head chief should stand out, the thing could not be done. The principal power is with the head chiefs. The three head chiefs can never go out to war, but the two inferior chiefs may. They are not, however, called war chiefs. Besides
623 these three the wise and experienced men of the nation are called councillors or Ha-ha-che-nowl-se-chick, which means simply councillors. These have a right to speak in a council of the chiefs. They can speak of their own motion without waiting to be
[562] asked by the chiefs. Women cannot speak in council.

Religious System

771 The Delawares believe in a Great Spirit,
[770] and in an Evil Spirit. They also believe in
[775] the immortality of the soul, and that they all went to heaven.

[90] [For footnote, see category 116, p. 209(C)-- Analyst]

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

you eaten? he will answer *n'dapi guntammen*, or *n'dapi mohoa*, according as what he has eaten did or did not require the aid of chewing. If he has eaten of both kinds of provisions at his meal, he will then use the generic word, and say, *n'dapi mitzi*, which means generally, *I have eaten.*

These niceties of course escaped me, and what was worse, few of the words I had taken down were correctly written. Essential letters or syllables, which in the rapidity of pronunciation had escaped my ear, were almost every where omitted. When I tried to make use of the words which I had so carefully collected, I found I was not understood, and I was at a loss to discover the cause to which I might attribute my want of success in the earnest endeavours that I was making to acquire the Indian tongue.

At last there came an Indian, who was conversant with the English and German, and was much my friend. I hastened to lay before him my learned collection of Indian words, and was very much astonished when he advised me immediately to burn the whole, and write no more. "The first thing" said he, "that you are to do "to learn our language is to get an Indian *ear;* when "that is obtained, no sound, no syllable will ever escape "your hearing it, and you will at the same time learn "the true pronunciation and how to accent your words "properly; the rest will come of itself." I found he was right. By listening to the natives, and repeating the words to myself as they spoke them, it was not many months before I ventured to converse with them and finally understood every word they said. The Indians are very proud of a white man's endeavouring to learn their language; they help him in every thing that they can, and it is not their fault if he does not succeed.

The language, then, is the first thing that a traveller ought to endeavour to acquire, at least, so as to be able to make himself understood and to understand others.

judged by the results of treatment rather than by the science of composition. I might compare it, in some respects, to the tenets of Christian Science without, I hope, doing too much injustice to the basis of this much favored school of reasoning. The Delaware would offer an instance of the powerful influence of religious beliefs upon professional technique, cited by Kirkpatrick (1929, p. 249) and elaborated by Boas (1929), Goldenweiser (1922) and Lowie (1924b) among American students of the subject. Here, however, lies an extended field for investigation which in no manner depends for its development upon Delaware data but in which, I hope, this material will find a place as illustrative of the status of magical science and religion among one of the eastern Algonkian tribes.

That the Delaware of today are not so different from their forebears of two centuries ago as regards ability to treat cases that baffle their rivals of the European profession, is shown by a statement in 1698 of Gabriel Thomas (1912, pp. 323, 340) who said, "The Indians are able doctors and surgeons as any in Europe, performing celebrated cures therewith." From the account written by Heckewelder (1876, p. 229) we have the following testimony. "I, myself, have been benefited and cured by taking their emetics and medicines in fevers, and by being sweated after their manner while laboring under a stubborn rheumatism. I have also known many, both whites and Indians, who have with the same success resorted to the Indian physicians, while laboring under diseases .. . I firmly believe that there is no wound, unless it should be absolutely mortal, or beyond the skill of our own good practitioners, which an Indian surgeon (I mean the best of them) will not succeed in healing." Zeisberger also refers to their ability to treat successfully different maladies, especially diseases peculiar to women. As for the present my informant lays claim to the curing of thirty-two persons during his sojourn in Philadelphia, for which he received no more regular compensation than voluntary gifts from persons of the underprivileged classes.

In assembling the botanic material presented here, specimens of plants were gathered in the wider Philadelphia area in company with my informant who explained at length their medicinal properties and uses. This collection was later supplemented by a few plants sent me by Witapanóxwe from his home in Oklahoma. From time to time such specimens were submitted to Dr. John M. Fogg, Department of Botany, University of Pennsylvania, who very kindly checked their scientific identity. At the conclusion of the investigation a complete list of plant specimens was sent to M. R. Gilmore, University of Michigan, for comment of an ethno-botanical nature.

In the text, bibliographic citations are indicated by the author's name and the date of publication, to permit ready reference to the bibliography.

[p. xii is blank]

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

794 the ashes from the two fires, then threw
796 the ashes all over the house to prevent
751 the people assembled from having disease.

Should any sick person appear, he or
755 she would be especially treated with
794 ashes. Sometimes the performers would
796 pick up live coals and throw them about, frightening the people. At other times the whole company of them would go around to the different houses begging for tobacco, and would dance in any house where someone was willing to sing for them.

Nothing was said among the Minsi about the Mizink bringing back stray
532 stock or driving deer, characteristic at-
778 tributes of the Mask Being of the Unami.
[126] The writer obtained but one mask among the Canadian Lenape, and this was from the Grand River band (fig. 4); it has been described by him[84] in the following words:

"But one mask (*mizink*) was obtained. It differed from those of the Iroquois chiefly in being cruder, and also in decoration, the lines being burnt into the wood instead of being

6 Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

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796x

She hired a man especially to hunt a yearling doe for the ceremony, which took place in her own dwelling. The details are lost, but it is remembered that a man beat a little drum and sang while she, as owner, danced around, carrying the doll in her hands, followed by such of the other women present as wished to participate. Said Wolf, "The Nani'tis helped the Indians, that's why they fed it."

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•[126]

An Old Minsi "Doll."—The writer was able to obtain but one old specimen of this type (pl. VIII), which was procured at the Grand River reserve, Ontario, for the E. T. Tefft collection, now in the American Museum of Natural History, and was described in the writer's article,[55] before cited, as follows:

"Perhaps the most interesting Delaware specimen of all is the little wooden image, about eight inches high, bought of Dr. Jones, which his father, Rev. Peter Jones, described and illustrated in his book under the name 'Nahmeetis, the Guardian of Health.' He says:

[776] "'I have in my possession two family gods. One is called *Pukookwaih*—the god that crushes

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

After these historical accounts information on the same points obtained from four informants among the Oklahoma Delaware was recorded. It had been the original plan to conclude the tabulation of accounts of different periods with a survey of present customs among the Delaware. In the field work, however, it soon became apparent that such a survey would be meaningless if it did not include work with practically every person with Delaware blood. Furthermore, it was difficult for the informants to give coherent accounts of both past and present customs. In the end, the relations of several older people were taken for past customs and four of them constitute the accounts of the last period in the tabulation. Even though they never participated in some of the elements covered, their relations undoubtedly are representative of the period when there was a more unified and distinct Delaware culture; whereas, no handful of informants could possibly be responsible for all the aspects of the diversified practices and beliefs of the present. There was no selection of informants' accounts and rejection of others except on the basis of completeness.

This table is given on pages 22 to 37.

The exact phrasing of the Cass questions could not be used in working with the informants, as they were designed to be answered by persons familiar with the Indians rather than by the Indians themselves. The four informants whose accounts were used were:

J. W.: Joe Washington, Wann, Okla. Age 65. Wolf Clan.

W. T.: Willie Thomas, Anadarko, Okla., Age 65. Turtle Clan.

E. R.: Eli H. Reynolds, Anadarko, Oklahoma. Age 43. Only his mother was Delaware. She was Turkey and Wolf.

W. L.: Willie Longbone, Dewey, Okla. Age 70. Turtle Clan.

The information derived from these twelve accounts, beginning with that of Roger Williams, was analyzed in the sequence in which the various elements are entered in the table. Following the table there is a discussion of those elements showing any change over the entire period covered by the various accounts. Finally, there is a section of ethnographic notes on some of the elements.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

114 The twelve accounts may be divided into two groups on the
●126 basis of their origin. The first eight were obtained from written
128 sources, five published and three unpublished. The last four were obtained from field work among the modern Delaware. For convenience, the first group will hereafter be called sources and the last group informants. Considering the time of inscribing or of obtaining the information on which they are based, the eight sources are found to form three groups and to represent three periods: the first composed of the accounts of Williams, Van der Donck, and Lindeström, dated 1643, 1653, 1656, respectively; the second, of the accounts of Zeisberger, 1780, and Heckewelder, whose account, although not published until 1819, is considered contemporaneous, as he left active mission work in 1786; and the third group, of the three Cass manuscripts dated 1823 and 1824. The accounts of the modern informants constitute the fourth group and period.

In the discussion of the different elements, comparison is usually between the accounts as grouped in these four periods. As page references to citations from the accounts of the three manuscripts and the four informants are impossible, they have been omitted for the published accounts also, in the interests of uniformity. When neither the tabulation of the material from the different accounts nor the section of ethnographic notes amplifying or qualifying the tabulated element list indicates the existence of any problem on any element, that element is omitted in the discussion. Numbers in parentheses refer to the numbers given to the elements on the table.

DISCUSSION OF THE ELEMENTS

Astronomy, Mathematics, etc.

921 The Delaware of the present indicate a knowledge of astronomy and mathematics that was not reported in historical accounts (3, 13). Whereas lack of knowledge or understanding on the part of some of the early reporters may be responsible for
[177] some of the apparent change, it is more reasonable to assign the cause of several of these changes to white contact. Belief in the

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7

II. THE RECONSTRUCTION OF DELAWARE CULTURE

Introduction

The most recent reconstruction of early historic Delaware culture by Herman[1] failed to use the data made available by Kinietz[2] from the Trowbridge and Cass papers and minimized contemporary ethnographic data. Herman largely ignored modern ethnographic information because it "had combined material gained from different periods of time."[3] Kinietz used the previously unavailable Trowbridge and Cass data, but took little advantage of the other sources. His work also omitted a discussion of religion and some aspects of social organization. This study has utilized most of the source material of both of these investigators, as well as their results, and has in addition used other documentary materials. I have also used modern ethnographic data more extensively than have others. By using proper controls the ethnography of the Delawares can be made to cast valuable light on some of the less well-illuminated aspects of the early historic culture. The presence of a culture trait, whose existence could not be traced to white culture, to other Indian cultures, or to some sort of synthesis of these, was assumed to be of Delaware origin. It should be noted that some traits found in the field were considered Delaware on the basis of their absence among other groups; documentary materials later confirmed a Delaware provenance for many of these traits. Evidence from the field indicated, for example, that the Delawares possessed the trait of making a hole at the head of a coffin through which the soul could find its exit. Exit and reentrance were eased by the application of red ocher to this aperture. No evidence could be found which would indicate that this trait had been borrowed from other Indian cultures, nor was it derived from white culture, except that wooden coffins were used in place of bark receptacles. Later research substantiated the conclusion that this trait was of Delaware origin. In brief, by using a cautious and judicious approach it is possible to project ethnographic data back to early historic times with a fair degree of probability. Wherever this approach has been utilized, it is so noted in the text. I have also made a more serious effort to reconstruct the kinship terminology and general kinship structure of the early historic Delawares than has been attempted previously. This reconstruction is based mainly upon the recent suggestions of Murdock.[4]

The authorities for the data are given in chronological order, the seventeenth-century sources are given first, then the eighteenth-century, and so on down to the data recorded by myself in the field. When data secured from informants is used, the initials of the informant appear in the text or in a footnote with other references.[5] A discussion of the documentary sources is given in the Appendix.

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[1] Herman, 1950, pp. 45-77.
[2] Kinietz, 1946.
[3] Herman, *op. cit.*, p. 48.
[4] Murdock, 1949, pp. 184-250, 323-53.
[5] Initials of informants are: O. A., Ollie Beaver Anderson; M. B., Mary Bob; N. D., Lenora Dean; J. T., Jim Thompson; F. W., Fred Washington; R. W., Reuben Wilson; L. F., Lillian Frenchman.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7

APPENDIX: THE SOURCE MATERIALS

The accuracy of the reconstruction of Delaware culture and the description of its change depend largely upon the trustworthiness of the source materials. The quantity and quality of the documents relating to the Delawares are relatively satisfactory. In the seventeenth century alone eleven individuals of four nationalities were eyewitness reporters of various aspects of native life. The extent to which these accounts agree with one another is reassuring. Most disagreements may be reconciled either as real differences present among the diverse Delawaran peoples, or as honest differences of opinion about customs observed.

Peter Lindestrom, Daniel Denton, and William Penn were the most important of the seventeenth-century sources in the quantity of ethnographic data their accounts contained. Lindestrom, a Swedish engineer and mathematician, came to New Sweden in 1653 and remained in the New World for two years. As an engineer and clerk of the court, he traveled extensively and had ample opportunity to observe and learn about native life, as is shown by his *Geographia Americae*, which was not published until 1691. He had, however, made notes or kept a journal while in the New World. His description of native life is, so far as I can judge, completely trustworthy.

Daniel Denton was among the first settlers in the township of Jamaica in 1656. His observations about the natives seem to be confined to inhabitants of western Long Island. It is possible that these Indians may have been Montauk rather than a Unami division, but if this is so they were culturally indistinguishable from the natives described by Lindestrom, Penn, and others. I have utilized Denton's *A Brief Description of New York* fully; it is not as complete an ethnography as Lindestrom's, but its quality is high, and Denton seems to have abided by his statement: "I...have writ nothing but what I have been an eyewitness to...."[1]

William Penn's relatively complete description of Delawaran peoples dates from 1682 or 1683. His letter to the "Committee of the Free Society of Traders" was written after an extensive tour of his lands during which time he had many discussions with the natives about land matters. Some of Penn's statements were probably not derived from firsthand information, but his account agrees tolerably well with others of the late seventeenth century.

The descriptions of Delawaran peoples by Robert Juet and Isaack de Rasieres are the earliest of which I have knowledge. Juet was an officer aboard Henry Hudson's "Half-Moon." Juet's "The Third Voyage of Master Henry Hudson" was written before he sailed on Hudson's fourth voyage in 1610. His knowledge of the natives was superficial, but the very early date of his observations provides useful knowledge of early contacts with Europeans. Isaack de Rasieres' letter was written before the third

[1]Denton, 1845, Preface.

2;Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7

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decade of the century; unfortunately for Delaware ethnography, sixteen crucial pages are missing. Despite this lack, De Rasieres shows surprising familiarity with marriage customs and government. When he depended upon secondhand information, however, his account is far less creditable. Johan de Laet's material dealing with the Delawares also dated from the first quarter of the seventeenth century. De Laet never visited America, but I used his data because he explicitly attempted to accurately describe native life and because he quoted extracts from the lost journal of Henry Hudson. He was also the first European to set down a vocabulary of the Delaware and Munsi languages. The fourth native of the Netherlands to write of the Delawares was David Pietersz De Vries. His observations were made in 1632 and 1633, and upon his return to Europe he published a book written from his journal. Myers has said that "he writes in a plain but vivid style and his book both internally and externally has well stood the tests of trustworthiness."[2] He was sympathetic towards the natives and has provided much valuable information. Adriaen Van der Donck, another native of Holland, wrote of the natives of New Netherland about the middle of the century. His description of the people is good, but the usable material is brief. Jaspar Dankers (or Danckaerts) and Peter Sluyter, in their journal kept between 1679 and 1680, contributed a small amount of information, chiefly about the religion and folklore of the natives.

The only German among the seventeenth-century writers was Francis Daniel Pastorius, a lawyer and scholar. His knowledge of the natives was limited, but what he did say about them I have found to be of value. His observations dated from 1683 to the close of the century. Gabriel Thomas, a Quaker by birth, was with the first group of Penn's emigrants. His account of Pennsylvania and "West New-Jersey" was published in 1698, but records events of almost two decades earlier. Myers said that Thomas had "a tendency to exaggerate in some of the passages; these lapses, however, are easily discernible. Where he writes what he himself knows he is in general reliable...."[3] His observations upon native life fit in fairly well with other accounts, although he had the unfortunate habit of lumping all Indians together as far as their customs were concerned. Other information about the early seventeenth-century Delawares was obtained from the reliable data found in Thomas Campanius Holm's *A Short Description of the Province of New Sweden*, and also in Amandus Johnson's summary of the information given by other Swedish writers about the Delawares.

In the first part of the eighteenth century David Brainerd, a religious zealot, provided some insights into religious customs, but little more. Peter Kalm, the great Swedish scientist, was in North America between 1748 and 1751 and has given a little information about the Delawares, chiefly ethnobotanical. By far the most important sources of information about them in the eighteenth century were David Zeisberger and

[2] Myers, 1912, p. 5.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 311.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7

John Heckewelder, both Moravian missionaries to the Delawares. They lived with the Delawares many years (in Zeisberger's case for more than fifty) and learned their language. Zeisberger was perhaps more ethnocentric and biased in his attitudes about the Delawares, although he viewed them more realistically than did Heckewelder. Heckewelder was more sympathetic towards them, but had a somewhat more romanticized conception of them than did Zeisberger. Neither man gave much information on religion, but in other respects they seem to have understood and written about the Delawares in a relatively thorough manner, considering the time and their occupations. Since they lived among the Delawares at a time when the culture was changing rapidly, their journals are valuable both for their ethnographic content and for the information they provide on culture change. A number of other sources of information concerning the eighteenth-century Delawares were used, but they were mostly minor, and are not discussed here.

Three nineteenth-century sources of information which I have used extensively deserve some comment: the diary of Abraham Luckenbach, another Moravian missionary, the journal of Lewis Henry Morgan, and the manuscript by Charles C. Trowbridge. Luckenbach maintained a mission to the Delawares on the White River in Indiana between 1801 and 1806. He was the best ethnographer of all the Moravians in terms of his interest in the native culture. He was also, as far as I can determine, the only white person ever to view and describe the Big House Ceremony.

Dr. Leslie A. White very kindly loaned me a copy of the unpublished "Journal of a Visit to Kansas and Nebraska in May and June, 1859, Number IV," by Lewis Henry Morgan. This journal contains many interesting insights into the condition of Delaware culture in 1859. Comments are unnecessary on the utility and validity of this journal and upon the other information supplied by the father of American ethnography.

Charles C. Trowbridge was employed by Lewis Cass, Governor of Michigan Territory, to obtain answers to a pamphlet he had prepared entitled "Inquiries respecting the History, Traditions, Languages, Manners, Customs, Religion, Etc. of the Indians, Living within the United States." Trowbridge wrote a thirty-seven page manuscript, two copies of which with different titles are in the Michigan Historical Collections. Trowbridge gained the information for this work in 1824 on the White River. I have used this account fully, and have utilized Kinietz's passages relating to other manuscripts fostered by Cass.[4]

[4] Kinietz, 1946, pp. 15-18.

A RECONSTRUCTION OF ABORIGINAL DELAWARE CULTURE FROM CONTEMPORARY SOURCES

Mary W. Herman

INTRODUCTION

Because of the early date at which the east coast tribes came into contact with Europeans and the scarcity of records which in most cases remain from that period, little is known about the culture of those tribes. It is therefore particularly fortunate that several early accounts of Delaware culture have been preserved, making possible a fairly complete and reliable reconstruction of at least one culture from this general area.

Information regarding the culture of the Delaware Indians at the time of contact with European civilizations is limited to records written by Europeans during the seventeenth century, and to a limited extent, those written during the eighteenth century when recollections of earlier days were still reasonably fresh and reliable. The reconstruction of a culture from such sources requires more than a mere compilation of material as there is much of a contradictory and obscure nature contained in the records. The following paper represents a systematization and critical analysis of the material in an effort to present as full and accurate a picture of the culture as the facts allow.

The two most important sources of Delaware ethnography in the early contact period are William Penn and Peter Lindstrom. Lindstrom was born in Stockholm in 1632. He studied at the University of Upsala where he specialized in mathematics and the arts of fortification. He came to the Swedish colony in the New World in 1653 under the unofficial sponsorship of the Swedish government, with the rank of an officer but with no salary. Later he became Engineer and Clerk of Court, and his duties in that position consisted in traveling throughout New Sweden making maps and sketches. In this way, he had excellent opportunities for observing the natives, who were still within close range of the Swedish settlements. Lindstrom left New Sweden in 1655. Although he did not write the Geographia until 1691, its close similarity to the report which he gave to the Swedish Crown shortly after his return has led Amandus Johnson to the opinion that he had made substantial notes at the time he was in this country. His work where it represents the actual observations of the author appears to be completely trustworthy, in spite of the fact that many of his premises and interpretations would be unacceptable today (Lindstrom, introd. by Johnson).

William Penn first arrived in America in 1682. Shortly after his arrival, he made an extensive tour of his dominions and dealt

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

115 The writer has gathered most of his data for the whole series from the Oklahoma bands, with such informants as Chief Charley Elkhair (Kokŭlŭpo'w''e), Julius Fox, or Fouts (Peta'nlhink), Minnie Fox (Wemĕĕle'xkwĕ) his wife, and William Brown; but much valuable information came from Canada where his principal informants were Chief James Wolf ('Tayeno'xwan), Chief Nellis F. Timothy, (Tomapemihi'lat), Isaac Monture (Ka'pyŭ'hŭm), Chief Nellis Monture, Michael Anthony (Na'nkŭma'oxa), and Monroe Pheasant. Of these especial credit is due to Julius Fox and Chief Timothy, both of whom manifested great interest in the work and exerted every effort to make it complete, and to Ernest Spybuck, a Shawnee, whose paintings, carefully made of Delaware ceremonies at the writer's request, form a valuable adjunct to the text.

• 127 The works of previous writers have been utilized where available, and much has been learned from archeological discoveries in the ancient territory of the

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

Lenape, not so much, of course, with regard to the subject matter of the present paper, as of others in preparation. 127

Most of the information was gathered while the writer was collecting ethnological specimens for the Heye Museum of New York, now the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, during the years 1907 to 1910; but some of the Canadian data were procured earlier while in the field for Mr E. T. Tefft of New York, whose collection is now in the American Museum of Natural History. 114

Without knowledgeof the Delaware language in its divergent dialects, and without any pretension of being a philologist, the writer has endeavored to record the Lenapewords as he heard them,depending for translation on his interpreter *pro tem.* Hence some inaccuracies at least are inevitable. The alphabet used is as follows: 104

VOWELS	CONSONANTS
a as in arch.	*c* like English sh.
ă as in cat.	' a slight aspirate.
â as in fall.	ⁿ gives the preceding vowel a nasal sound.
ai as in aisle.	

154 rein these are the more violent."[51] Warfare
[721] provided a socially approved way of bleeding off some of these aggressions, for the warriors; and the institution of torture
154 gave the rest of the community a similar
727 opportunity. "The Indians flock to these executions as to some great solemnity, with a view to reeking on the unfortunate captive their cruel and revengeful dis-
154 position."[52] The institution of blood-
627 revenge[53] (which sometimes led to prolonged vendetta) was also an outlet for aggression; but the fear of its exercise no doubt served also to inhibit it. In
154 hunting, males could work off aggression
224 on animals, which were conceptualized as quasi-human. It is worth noting that among women, who had a more restricted childhood and who at the same time had
154 fewer socially sanctioned outlets for
521 aggression, the overflow dribbled off in
562 unpleasant gossip and slander, which the men, who had other means of catharsis, professed to scorn.[54]

154 All observers agreed that liquor dis-
273 solved the inhibitions against aggression.
578 "The effects which intoxication produces upon the Indians are dreadful," lamented Heckewelder. "It has been the cause of an infinite number of murders among them, besides biting off noses and otherwise disfiguring each other, which are the least consequences of the quarrels which inebriation produces between them."[55] As might be expected, therefore, Indian spokesmen frequently—and in vain—implored the whites to cease bringing liquor into their settlements.

Summary

● 127 From an examination of the early ethnological literature concerning the Delaware Indians, we have been able to discover some of their psychological
855 characteristics. The Delawares would seem in general to have been a people among whom the children grew up

51. Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 124-125.
52. Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 106-107.
53. Penn, 1683.
54. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 116.
55. Heckewelder, 1819, p. 263.

[P.10, B]

121 zon in order that Minsi material may be separated from artifacts pertaining to earlier occupations. The writer herewith presents what he considers to be a reasonably valid list of elements pertaining to Minsi material culture. This list cannot in the light of our present knowledge pretend to anything approaching final inclusiveness or conclusiveness. It is the 1951 model and all rights to make subsequent changes are reserved.

• 127 In this list I have, of course, leaned heavily upon Ritchie's Bell-Philhower report as well as my own researches both prior to and following the Bell-Philhower "dig". I would also like to acknowledge much valuable assistance derived from access to the splendid collection of material from Minisink Island in the collection of Mr. Rudolph Ludwig, Milford, Pa.

Ceramics

Pipes

172 So far as the writer has been able to
276 determine, no stone pipes attributable to
323 the Minsi have been found in the upper Delaware area or elsewhere. Pipes of pottery occur, but are not numerous. These pottery pipes may be tubular, effigy, or obtuse—angle elbow. (Plate 1, No. 2).
[531] Decoration may consist of pointillé, incised lines, corded stick impressions, or may be absent. (Plate 1, Nos. 1 and 3, shows pointillé-decorated pipe sherds.)

Vessels

172 Pottery may be of various Owasco types
415 (Castle Creek Epigonus is rather promi
323 nent) with punctuate, corded, platted, and beaded designs of several forms, or of Iroquoian types with incised designs in herringbone and other patterns. Rims often exhibit castellations. (See Plate 2. The sherds in the top row and the sherd at the left in the bottom row exhibit Owasco features. The remainder are primarily Iroquoian in motif.) An excellent description

14: Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute
Delaware NM7
Winnebago NP12
Comanche NO6

APPENDIX II. PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST

The distribution list in this section was first devised upon the basis of experience with Ute peyotism and a study of published literature on the peyote cult generally.[*] The published accounts of the cult, however, did not contain the detailed information necessary to answer all the points raised, and so a blank copy of the list and a request to fill it out were sent to several ethnographers known to have attended peyote meetings. The response was most gratifying, time and knowledge being given freely. The locations of the tribes represented in the element list are indicated on map 2.

SYMBOLS USED IN THE ELEMENT LIST

+	Element present	( )	Exactness of data doubtful
—	Element absent	R	Recent development
Blank	Information lacking	*	Indicates that a note to the element is appended at the end of the list

SOURCES AND COLUMN ABBREVIATIONS

The sources for the data in both the list and the notes to the list, and the abbreviations at the heads of columns, are as follows:

13 T: Composite picture of cult of thirteen tribes visited by La Barre and Schultes, mostly in Oklahoma (Kickapoo, Kiowa, Quapaw, Shawnee, Wichita, Caddo, Comanche, Delaware, Osage, Oto, Pawnee, Ponca, Southern Cheyenne). Richard Evans Schultes, Peyote and Plants used in the Peyote Ceremony, HU-BML 4:127–152, 1937, with additions made on list by La Barre, 1938.

K-A: Kiowa-Apache. List filled in and notes supplied by J. Gilbert McAllister from information obtained during ethnographic field work performed 1933–1934 (eleven months) under the sponsorship of the University of Chicago.

Kio: Kiowa. List filled in and notes supplied by Weston La Barre. When returning the list La Barre wrote, "I believe that in peyotism tribal affiliation in this inter-tribal religion is far less important than leadership, i.e., what the particular leader's 'way' is, and from what leader he got his meeting." La Barre did field work in Oklahoma under the auspices of the Laboratory of Anthropology (1935), Yale University, and the American Museum of Natural History.

Com: Comanche in Oklahoma. List filled in and notes supplied by E. Adamson Hoebel.

Kic: Kickapoo in the vicinity of McLoud, Oklahoma. List filled in and notes supplied by John A. Noon, who attended a meeting during the summer of 1932. The Kickapoo leaders recognized that they "followed the Kiowa-Comanche 'way'."

Ab S: Absentee Shawnee of central Oklahoma. List filled in and notes supplied by Erminie W. Voegelin. Meeting attended in 1933. Voegelin reports three forms of the cult among the Absentee: (1) The Kiowa-Comanche form (the form which my list records); said to have been introduced about 1900 from the Kickapoo, who learned it from the Comanche; is the most popular form. (2) Caddo-Delaware variant of the "Wilson way," conducted by Ernest Spybuck. (3) Yuchi "way," conducted by Panther; considered by Voegelin's informants to be distinct from the Kiowa-Comanche version, yet probably only slightly variant. Membership in these forms of the cult does not interfere with participation in older Shawnee religious beliefs and ceremonies. The "Cherokee" or "Loyal" Shawnee in northeastern Oklahoma, however, take peyote "according to the Bible way . . . like those Ioways," which is La Barre's Oto "Christianized" version, and this does teach complete withdrawal from older native ceremonies.

De 1: Kiowa-Comanche type cult among the Delaware. List filled in by James C. Webber (a Delaware informant recommended by Dr. Frank Speck) and supplemented by Petrullo's published account, also principally from Webber.

De 2: "Wilson way" among the Delaware (La Barre's Caddo-Delaware). Abstracted from Petrullo's book, with additional notes supplied by James C. Webber. The list does not adequately bring out the degree of divergence which the cult has attained, which could only be done by devising a list based on the "Wilson way." The altar is greatly changed from the Kiowa-Comanche prototype and at times becomes extremely elaborate (see Petrullo, pls. 3–6).

Win: Winnebago of Nebraska. This is apparently a variant of the "Wilson way," although Alexis A. Praus, who filled in the list and supplied the notes, did not designate it as such. Praus attended

[*] Data for the Ute and Washo–Northern Paiute lists obtained in the field, and additional data on the cults of the Tarahumara, Tepehuan, Lipan Apache, Mescalero Apache, Kiowa, Oto, Delaware, Omaha, Iowa, Arapaho, Winnebago, and Taos from published literature, are part of my Ute Peyotism which has been accepted for publication by Anthropos.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

INTRODUCTION.

THE reader of the following pages, having already seen what has induced me to come forward with an historical account of the Indians, after so many have written on the same subject, will perhaps look for something more extraordinary in this, than in other works of the kind which he has seen. Not wishing any one to raise his expectations too high, I shall briefly state, that I have not written to excite astonishment, but for the information of those who are desirous of knowing the true history of those people, who, for centuries, have been in full possession of the country we now inhabit; but who have since emigrated to a great distance. I can only assure them, that I have not taken the information here communicated from the writings of others, but from the mouths of the very people I am going to speak of, and from my own observation of what I have witnessed while living among them. I have, however, occasionally quoted other authors, and in some instances copied short passages from their works, especially where I have thought it necessary to illustrate or corroborate my own statements of facts.

In what I have written concerning the character, customs, manners, and usages of these people, I cannot have been deceived, since it is the result of personal knowledge, of what I myself have seen, heard, and witnessed, while residing among and near them, for more than thirty years. I have however to remark, that this history, like other histories of former times, will not in every respect comport with the character of the Indians at the present time, since all these nations and tribes,

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

177 by their intercourse with the white people, have lost much of the honourable and virtuous qualities which they once possessed, and added to their vices and immorality. Of this, no one can be a better judge than a missionary residing among them. And if, what these people told us more than half a century ago; that lying, stealing, and other vicious acts, before the white men came among them, were considered as crimes, we may safely conclude —and we know it to be fact—that from that time to this, and especially within the last forty years, they have so much degenerated, that a delineation of their present character would bear no resemblance to what it was before.—It is therefore the history of early times, not of the present, that I have written; and to those times my delineations of their character must be considered to apply; yet, to shew the contrast, I have also delineated some of their present features.

128 [101] It may be proper to mention in this place, that I have made use of the proper national name of the people whom we call *Delawares*, which is: "*Leuni Lenape.*" Yet, as they, in the common way of speaking, merely pronounce the word "*Lenape*," I have, in most instances, when speaking of them, used this word singly. I have also made use of the word "*Mengwe*," or *Mingoes*, the name by which the *Lenape* commonly designate the people known to us by the name of the *Iroquois*, and *Five* or *Six Nations*. I shall give at the end a general list of all the names I have made use of in this communication, to which I refer the reader for instruction.

[195] As the Indians, in all their public speeches and addresses, speak in the singular number, I have sometimes been led to follow their example, when reporting what they have said; I have also frequently, by attending particularly to the identical words spoken by them, copied their peculiar phrases, when I might have given their meaning in other words.

On the origin of the Indians, I have been silent, leav-

9 [Erratum. See cat. 116, p. 348. - Analyst]

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7
Iroquois NM9

D
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ing this speculation to abler historians than myself. To their history, and notions with regard to their creation, I have given a place; and have also briefly related the traditions of the Lenape on the subject of their arrival at, and crossing the river Mississippi, their coming to the Atlantic coast, what occurred to them while in this country, and their retreat back again.

As the relation of the Delawares and Mohicans, concerning the policy adopted and pursued by the Six Nations towards them, may perhaps appear strange to many, and it may excite some astonishment, that a matter of such importance was not earlier set forth in the same light, I shall here, by way of introduction, and for the better understanding of the account which they give of this matter, examine into some facts, partly known to us already, and partly now told us in their relation; so that we may see how far these agree together, and know what we may rely upon.

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It is conceded on all sides that the Lenape and Iroquois carried on long and bloody wars with each other; but while the one party assert, that they completely conquered the other, and reduced them by force to the condition of women, this assertion is as strongly and pointedly denied by the other side; I have therefore thought that the real truth of this fact was well deserving of investigation.

The story told by the Mingoes to the white people, of their having conquered the Lenape and made women of them, was much too implicitly believed; for the whites always acted towards the Delawares under the impression that it was true, refused even to hear their own account of the matter, and "shut their ears" against them, when they attempted to inform them of the real fact. This denial of common justice, is one of the principal complaints of the Lenape against the English, and makes a part of the tradition or history which they preserve for posterity.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

hospitality. I have witnessed their virtues and experienced their goodness. I owe them a debt of gratitude, which I cannot acquit better than by presenting to the world this plain unadorned picture, which I have drawn in the spirit of candour and truth. Alas! in a few years, perhaps, they will have entirely disappeared from the face of the earth, and all that will be remembered of them will be that they existed and were numbered among the barbarous tribes that once inhabited this vast Continent. At least, let it not be said, that among the whole race of white Christian men, not one single individual could be found, who, rising above the cloud of prejudice with which the pride of civilisation has surrounded the original inhabitants of this land, would undertake the task of doing justice to their many excellent qualities, and raise a small frail monument to their memory.

I shall conclude with a few necessary remarks for the information of the reader.

Lenni Lenape being the national and proper name of the people we call "Delawares," I have retained this name, or for brevity's sake, called them simply *Lenape*, as they do themselves in most instances. Their name signifies "*original people*," a race of human beings who are the same that they were in the beginning, *unchanged* and *unmixed*.

These people (the Lenni Lenape) are known and called by all the western, northern, and some of the southern nations, by the name of *Wapanachki*, which the Europeans have corrupted into *Apenaki*, *Openagi*, *Abenaquis*,* and *Abenakis*.† All these names, however differently written, and improperly understood by authors, point to one and the same people, the Lenape, who are by this compound word, called, "people at the rising of

* Colden. † La Hontan.

l:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

the Sun," or, as we would say, *Eastlanders;* and are acknowledged by near forty Indian tribes, whom we call nations, as being their grandfathers. All these nations, derived from the same stock, recognise each other as Wapanachki, which among them is a generic name.

The name "*Delawares,*" which we give to these people, is unknown in their language, and I well remember the time when they thought the whites had given it to them in derision; but they were reconciled to it, on being told that it was the name of a great white chief, Lord de la War, which had been given to them and their river. As they are fond of being named after distinguished men, they were rather pleased, considering it as a compliment.

The *Mahicanni* have been called by so many different names,* that I was at a loss which to adopt, so that the reader might know what people were meant. Loskiel calls them "Mohicans," which is nearest to their real name Mahicanni, which, of course, I have adopted.

The name "*Nanticokes*" I have left as generally used, though properly it should be *Nentico*, or after the English pronunciation *Nantico.*

The "*Canai,*" I call by their *proper* name. I allude here to those people we call *Canais, Conois, Conoys, Canaways, Kanhawas, Canawese.*

With regard to the Five, or Six Nations, I have called them by different names, such as are most common, and well understood. The Lenape (Delawares) are never heard to say "*Six Nations,*" and it is a rare thing to hear these people named by them otherwise than *Mengwe;* the Mahicanni call them *Maqua,* and even most white people call them *Mingoes.* When I therefore have said the *Five* or *Six Nations,* I have only used our own

* The Dutch called them Mahikanders; the French, Mourigans, and Mahingans; the English, Mohiccons, Mohuccans, Mohegans, Muhheekanew, Schatikooks, River Indians.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca.1800) 1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

mode of speaking, not that of the Indians, who never look upon them as having been so many *nations*; but *divisions* and *tribes*, who, as united, have become a nation. Thus, when the Lenape (Delawares) happen to name them as one body, the word they make use of implies "the five divisions together, or united," as will be seen in another place of this work. I call them also *Iroquois*, after the French and some English writers. 128

The *Wyandots*, or *Wyondots*, are the same whom the French call *Hurons*, and sometimes *Guyandots*. Father Sagard, a French Missionary, who lived among them in the 17th century, and has written an account of his mission, and a kind of dictionary of their language, says their proper name is *Ahouandáte*, from whence it is evident that the English appellation Wyandots has been derived.

There being so many words in the language of the Lenape and their kindred tribes, the sound of which cannot well be represented according to the English pronunciation, I have in general adopted for them the German mode of spelling. The *ch*, particularly before a consonant, is a strong gutturaf, and unless an Englishman has the use of the Greek χ, he will not be able to pronounce it, as in the words *Chasquem* (Indian corn,) *Cheltol* (many,) *Ches* (a skin,) *Chauchschisis* (an old woman,) and a great many more. Sometimes, indeed, in the middle of a word substitutes may be found which may do, as in the word *Nimachtak* (brethren,) which might be written, *Nemaughtok*, but this will seldom answer. This is probably the reason that most of the English authors have written Indian words so incorrectly, far more so than French authors. 104 194 [192] [114]

The Delawares have neither of the letters R, F, nor V, in their language, though they easily learn to pronounce them. They have a consonant peculiar to them and other Indians, which is a sibilant, and which we

2:Newcomb E-4,5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7

II. THE RECONSTRUCTION OF DELAWARE CULTURE

Introduction

The most recent reconstruction of early historic Delaware culture by Herman[1] failed to use the data made available by Kinietz[2] from the Trowbridge and Cass papers and minimized contemporary ethnographic data. Herman largely ignored modern ethnographic information because it "had combined material gained from different periods of time."[3] Kinietz used the previously unavailable Trowbridge and Cass data, but took little advantage of the other sources. His work also omitted a discussion of religion and some aspects of social organization. This study has utilized most of the source material of both of these investigators, as well as their results, and has in addition used other documentary materials. I have also used modern ethnographic data more extensively than have others. By using proper controls the ethnography of the Delawares can be made to cast valuable light on some of the less well-illuminated aspects of the early historic culture. The presence of a culture trait, whose existence could not be traced to white culture, to other Indian cultures, or to some sort of synthesis of these, was assumed to be of Delaware origin. It should be noted that some traits found in the field were considered Delaware on the basis of their absence among other groups; documentary materials later confirmed a Delaware provenance for many of these traits. Evidence from the field indicated, for example, that the Delawares possessed the trait of making a hole at the head of a coffin through which the soul could find its exit. Exit and reentrance were eased by the application of red ocher to this aperture. No evidence could be found which would indicate that this trait had been borrowed from other Indian cultures, nor was it derived from white culture, except that wooden coffins were used in place of bark receptacles. Later research substantiated the conclusion that this trait was of Delaware origin. In brief, by using a cautious and judicious approach it is possible to project ethnographic data back to early historic times with a fair degree of probability. Wherever this approach has been utilized, it is so noted in the text. I have also made a more serious effort to reconstruct the kinship terminology and general kinship structure of the early historic Delawares than has been attempted previously. This reconstruction is based mainly upon the recent suggestions of Murdock.[4]

The authorities for the data are given in chronological order, the seventeenth-century sources are given first, then the eighteenth-century, and so on down to the data recorded by myself in the field. When data secured from informants is used, the initials of the informant appear in the text or in a footnote with other references.[5] A discussion of the documentary sources is given in the Appendix.

[1] Herman, 1950, pp. 45-77.
[2] Kinietz, 1948.
[3] Herman, *op. cit.*, p. 48.
[4] Murdock, 1949, pp. 184-250, 323-53.
[5] Initials of informants are: O. A., Ollie Beaver Anderson; M. B., Mary Bob; N. D., Lenora Dean; J. T., Jim Thompson; F. W., Fred Washington; R. W., Reuben Wilson; L. F., Lillian Frenchman.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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journeys in which corn was crushed into a meal, "or roasted in hot ashes, then crushed." To this maple sugar was added. This mixture could be stirred in water and boiled or could be eaten dry without cooking.[85] Adams, a Delaware and historian of his people, added that "they carried very simple food," parched corn pounded into a brown meal, sweetened with maple sugar, and mixed together with bear's lard.[86]

Water was the principal drink although various fruits and nuts were sometimes added. They "prepared a kind of liquor like milk by gathering a great number of hickory and black walnuts, dried and crushed them. Then they took out the kernels, pounded them as fine as flour, and mixed this with water so that it looked like milk and was almost as sweet."[87] Both Kinietz' and my informants (O.A., M.B.) held that their ancestors had regular meal times. Penn said that "they eat twice a day, Morning and Evening."[88] Men and women apparently ate together but children ate separately (O.A.). All of my informants stressed the fact that in the past an individual could eat anywhere in the village, and that everybody shared what food was available.

Food taboos. — It is unlikely that there were any general, culture-wide food taboos in early historic times. Certain foods may have been denied to an individual by his guardian spirit, but this is merely a supposition. Not even the animals symbolic of the phratries were taboo. Heckewelder, however, noted a taboo on the rabbit, identified with a culture-hero. He said that the Delawares, among other tribes, avoided the horse, dog, wildcat, ground hog, panther, fox, muskrat, and wolf;[89] De Laet, however, quoting Henry Hudson, described a "fat dog" which was butchered for a feast.[90] Rather than emphasize the few things that were not eaten by the Delawares, it would be more in keeping with the facts to state that the Delawares made relatively complete use of the edibles available to them, except rabbit and ground hog. Their tastes were catholic and were only slightly blunted by socioreligious proscriptions.

Delaware Economics

Although the methods by which and the persons by whom the need-serving goods were processed, distributed, and consumed are properly an aspect of social organization, it probably contributes more to an understanding of Delaware technology to discuss them under the heading of economics.

Division of Labor

The division of labor among the Delawares, as is true of cultures with analogous means of production, was predominantly sexual in

[85] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 22.
[86] Adams, 1905, p. 8.
[87] Kalm, 1937, I: 269.
[88] Penn, 1912, p. 233; Luckenbach, 1938, p. 599, agreed on this point.
[89] Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 251-52, 196; Zeisberger, 1910, pp. 132, 140.
[90] De Laet, 1909, p. 49.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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not uncommon: "Mr. Conner knows of many instances of it having been committed, sometimes by shooting, but generally by eating the root of the may apple. It proceeds most frequently from excess of gref (sic) or from disappointment in love."[117] There are indications, then, of a pattern of sex-oriented suicide in Delaware culture at least as early as the eighteenth century.

Kin Groups

There is no way of knowing exactly how much Delaware kinship structure and terminology changed in the two and a half centuries following European invasion. That it did change during this period is virtually certain, since factors which induce change were present, such as altered rules of residence, decreased polygyny, and increased economic and political importance of men. The literature of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries gives no description of the kinship structure. L. H. Morgan was the first investigator to furnish information on the subject, obtaining his data in 1859 on the Kansas reservation of the Delawares. Even at this time Morgan termed the system "deteriorated."[118] I shall first describe the system found by Morgan, then compare it with the modern one, and finally turn to a reconstruction of the early historic system. Kinship terms given by Zeisberger and other earlier authors are too scant to yield any information; these nuclear terms agree with Morgan's lists.

Nineteenth-Century Kinship Terms and Principles

The kinship system of both the Munsi and Unami has been called the "Mackenzie Basin" type by Spier, and would be termed Hawaiian by Murdock.[119] According to Morgan, the essential features of the Delaware (Unami) system (Fig. 1, p. 45: Fig. 2, p. 46) were:

1. A brother's son and daughter, whether Ego was male or female, were termed son and daughter.
2. A sister's son and daughter, Ego a male, were nephew and niece. Ego a female, they were son and daughter.
3. Parallel and cross-cousins were termed stepbrother and stepsister, "the males and females using different terms."[120]
4. A father's brother was termed little father.
5. A mother's brother was termed uncle.
6. Mother's sister, father's sister, and father's brother's wife were termed little mother.
7. All grandparents and all kin of the second ascending generation were called grandmother or grandfather.

[117] Trowbridge MS.
[118] Morgan, 1871, p. 221.
[119] Spier, 1925, p. 76; Murdock, 1949, pp. 223, 228.
[120] Morgan, 1871, pp. 221-22.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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the effort to do them good, and he gives dispassionately and honestly what he had abundant opportunity to learn of their character, customs and country.

The name of this volume, "History of the Indians," was not given to the manuscript by its author, but, by the Bishop De Schweinitz. Zeisberger, had he named it, would probably have called it, "Notes on the History, Life, Manners, and Customs of the Indians," and the most casual reader will recognize from the mode of presentation and the occasional repetitions that the manuscript is in the form of notes. It has seemed best, however, to reproduce it verbatim as written. The complete analytical index will fully make up for irregularity in arrangement and the lack of proper ordering of the material.

This manuscript, of upwards of eighty thousand words, was evidently written for the Rev. Henry Loskiel to aid him in the preparation of his most valuable *History of the Mission of the United Brethren among the Indians of North America*. Deriving his material from various sources, and writing inclusively of all the American Indians, Loskiel made less use of Zeisberger's manuscript than one would suppose, possibly incorporating, in one form or another, one-third of this manuscript and giving very slight recognition of the source of information. Moreover, writing as one who had little first-hand knowledge of his subject, many facts told by the venerable missionary of a certain Indian tribe lost, under Loskiel's treatment, much of their value, especially, when represented as though true of the typical American Indian. The result is that these pages from Zeisberger's pen, in the opinion of the editors, give the most reliable and accurate description in existence of the Indians of New York, Pennsylvania, and Ohio, written by one intimately acquainted with them. Lacking the polish and general literary excellence of his comrade John Heckewelder's *History*, the student perusing the two will surely agree that for solid information given in simple straight-forward style, the Zeisberger notes take first rank as a work of value. For instance, Zeisberger was practically uninfluenced by the appalling superstitions of the savages; the shams and frauds of their impotent sorcerers made but little impression on the rugged sense of the faithful missionary; so much so that one cannot

judged by the results of treatment rather than by the science of composition. I might compare it, in some respects, to the tenets of Christian Science without, I hope, doing too much injustice to the basis of this much favored school of reasoning. The Delaware would offer an instance of the powerful influence of religious beliefs upon professional technique, cited by Kirkpatrick (1929, p. 249) and elaborated by Boas (1929), Goldenweiser (1922) and Lowie (1924b) among American students of the subject. Here, however, lies an extended field for investigation which in no manner depends for its development upon Delaware data but in which, I hope, this material will find a place as illustrative of the status of magical science and religion among one of the eastern Algonkian tribes.

That the Delaware of today are not so different from their forebears of two centuries ago as regards ability to treat cases that baffle their rivals of the European profession, is shown by a statement in 1698 of Gabriel Thomas (1912, pp. 323, 340) who said, "The Indians are able doctors and surgeons as any in Europe, performing celebrated cures therewith." From the account written by Heckewelder (1876, p. 229) we have the following testimony. "I, myself, have been benefited and cured by taking their emetics and medicines in fevers, and by being sweated after their manner while laboring under a stubborn rheumatism. I have also known many, both whites and Indians, who have with the same success resorted to the Indian physicians, while laboring under diseases .. . I firmly believe that there is no wound, unless it should be absolutely mortal, or beyond the skill of our own good practitioners, which an Indian surgeon (I mean the best of them) will not succeed in healing." Zeisberger also refers to their ability to treat successfully different maladies, especially diseases peculiar to women. As for the present my informant lays claim to the curing of thirty-two persons during his sojourn in Philadelphia, for which he received no more regular compensation than voluntary gifts from persons of the underprivileged classes.

In assembling the botanic material presented here, specimens of plants were gathered in the wider Philadelphia area in company with my informant who explained at length their medicinal properties and uses. This collection was later supplemented by a few plants sent me by Wi·tapanóxwe from his home in Oklahoma. From time to time such specimens were submitted to Dr. John M. Fogg, Department of Botany, University of Pennsylvania, who very kindly checked their scientific identity. At the conclusion of the investigation a complete list of plant specimens was sent to M. R. Gilmore, University of Michigan, for comment of an ethno-botanical nature.

In the text, bibliographic citations are indicated by the author's name and the date of publication, to permit ready reference to the bibliography.

[p. xii is blank]

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177 Delaware tribe was gathered together on a reservation in Kansas in 1835 and from there removed to their present location in Oklahoma, where they are politically incorporated in the Cherokee nation. Other Delaware, most of whom belonged to the Munsee division and were converted by Moravian missionaries in the eighteenth century, are now located in Ontario.

DELAWARE CULTURE

128 The method of presentation which has been followed is to place the authorities for each statement immediately after it. For the most part, traits for which there is no evidence in earlier sources have been omitted, but where this leaves a large gap in the picture of the culture, sections based purely on eighteenth century sources have been inserted. The material has been divided into three main aspects, and proceeds from a consideration of economic life, to social organization and religion.

Means of Procuring Food

226 For the tribes living on the east coast, fishing was probably the most important means of getting food, judging from the relative amounts of shells and animal bones found in ancient sites (Skinner, [262] 1915, p. 7). Oysters, clams, mussels and scallops were widely utilized as well as rockfish, shad, herring, sturgeon and gar fish which were found plentifully in those waters (Abbott, 1875, p. 278; Skinner, 1909, p. 46).

According to Lindstrom, the Indians caught fish by building a dam across a stream near its source or at a waterfall. When the river rose, the last small opening was closed in the dam and the water allowed to flow over it, leaving the fish in shallow water at low tide. They were then either taken by hand or shot with bow and arrow (sic). The latter method was also used in deep water (Lindstrom, 1915, pp. 219-220). Other writers report the use of hemp nets, and [227] a number of stone sinkers have been found in archaeological sites. Rude seines of matted leaves and twigs are mentioned as well as fishing spears (Abbott, 1875, pp. 278 and 361; Heye, p. 70; Skinner, 1915, pp. 7 and 10; Harrington, 1913, p. 222).

224 The Delaware's hunting was done both cooperatively and individually. Early Swedish writers have described one cooperative method in which deer were surrounded either by a ring of men or by a ring of fire, and driven toward the center where they were shot with bow and arrow. Sometimes they were driven into a river where they were lassoed (Johnson, p. 281; Lindstrom, p. 214). According to a later writer, these hunting parties had a leader and were governed by definite rules, but there is no direct evidence for this in pre-contact times (Loskiel, p. 77). These organized hunt took place in the fall, but hunting itself was a year round occupation

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
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Lenape

PREFACE

THE following paper is intended to be the first of a series concerning different phases of the culture of the Lenape or Delaware Indians, once a numerous people forming a confederacy of three closely related tribes, the Unami, the Minsi or Muncey, and the Unala'tko or Unalachtigo, first encountered by the whites in what is now New Jersey, Delaware, eastern Pennsylvania, and southeastern New York, but at last accounts[1] reduced to some 1900 souls scattered in Oklahoma and the Province of Ontario, Canada, with a few in Wisconsin and Kansas. Of these the Lenape of Oklahoma seem to be mainly of Unami extraction, the rest largely Minsi, while the Unala'tko appear to have merged with the others and to have lost their identity.

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[161]

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6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
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Lenape

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e like a in fate.
ĕ as in met.
i as in machine.
ĭ as in hit.
o as in note.
u as in flute.
ŭ as in but.
ů as in full.
ʷ faintly whispered.
ʟ a surd l.
x like German ch.
Other consonants approximately as in English.

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It was intended at first to publish the mass of material thus obtained in the form of a monograph on the ethnology of the Lenape; but later it was seen that while some phases of their culture could be described in considerable detail, there were others not so well represented in our notes. It was therefore finally decided to publish at once such parts as were ready, in the form of separate papers, and to leave the others until more detailed information could be obtained.

No extended comparisons of the religion and ceremonies of the Lenape with those of other tribes will be attempted in this paper, these being reserved for a projected article to embody the results of a comparative study of Lenape culture.

M. R. HARRINGTON

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

114 128 These three relations on the Delaware, hereafter denoted by the names John Johnston, Captain Pipe and Captain Chipps, were analyzed according to the questions they answered and transcribed into an element list in terms of the information they contained. The list was designed so that the information of each account could be tabulated and the presence or absence of a trait be indicated by a symbol such as a plus or a minus in columns headed by the name of the source.

This table was then expanded to include information derived from five sources which preceded these three in point of time. In the first three columns the information from Roger Williams, Adriaen Van der Donck, and Peter Lindeström appears, in that order.[a] Only the last one of these accounts definitely relates to the Delaware. The other two are given as early accounts of tribes neighbor to the Delaware which may reflect the contemporary conditions among them as well, particularly the account of Van der Donck who included the Delaware River within the boundaries of New Netherlands. Williams' account was published in 1643, Van der Donck's was republished in 1656, and probably written about 1653, and Lindeström's account was written by him from notes made from 1654 to 1656.

In the fourth and fifth columns the information of Zeisberger and Heckewelder as contained in their published accounts is presented.[b]

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[a] Williams, Roger, "A Key into the Language of America . . . Together with Brief Observations of the Customes, Manners, and Worships, &c. of the Aforesaid Natives, in Peace and Warre, in Life and Death . . . ," in Rhode Island Historical Society, *Collections*, 1(1827), 17-163; Van der Donck, Adriaen, "A Description of the New Netherlands . . . ," in New York Historical Society, *Collections*, 2 series, 1(1841), 129-242; Johnson, Amandus (ed. and trans.), *Geographia Americae with an Account of the Delaware Indians Based on Surveys and Notes Made in 1654-1656 by Peter Lindeström* . . . (The Swedish Colonial Society, Philadelphia, 1925).

[b] Hulbert, Archer B., and Schwarze, William N. (eds.), "David Zeisberger's History of the Northern American Indians," in *Ohio Archæological and Historical Publications*, XIX(1910), 1-189; Heckewelder, John, *History, Manners, and Customs of the Indian Nations who Once Inhabited Pennsylvania and the Neighbouring States* . . . (Historical Society of Pennsylvania, *Memoirs*, XII, Philadelphia, 1876).

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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After these historical accounts information on the same points obtained from four informants among the Oklahoma Delaware was recorded. It had been the original plan to conclude the tabulation of accounts of different periods with a survey of present customs among the Delaware. In the field work, however, it soon became apparent that such a survey would be meaningless if it did not include work with practically every person with Delaware blood. Furthermore, it was difficult for the informants to give coherent accounts of both past and present customs. In the end, the relations of several older people were taken for past customs and four of them constitute the accounts of the last period in the tabulation. Even though they never participated in some of the elements covered, their relations undoubtedly are representative of the period when there was a more unified and distinct Delaware culture; whereas, no handful of informants could possibly be responsible for all the aspects of the diversified practices and beliefs of the present. There was no selection of informants' accounts and rejection of others except on the basis of completeness.

This table is given on pages 22 to 37.

The exact phrasing of the Cass questions could not be used in working with the informants, as they were designed to be answered by persons familiar with the Indians rather than by the Indians themselves. The four informants whose accounts were used were:

J. W.: Joe Washington, Wann, Okla. Age 65. Wolf Clan.

W. T.: Willie Thomas, Anadarko, Okla., Age 65. Turtle Clan.

E. R.: Eli H. Reynolds, Anadarko, Oklahoma. Age 43. Only his mother was Delaware. She was Turkey and Wolf.

W. L.: Willie Longbone, Dewey, Okla. Age 70. Turtle Clan.

The information derived from these twelve accounts, beginning with that of Roger Williams, was analyzed in the sequence in which the various elements are entered in the table. Following the table there is a discussion of those elements showing any change over the entire period covered by the various accounts. Finally, there is a section of ethnographic notes on some of the elements.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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114 The twelve accounts may be divided into two groups on the
126 basis of their origin. The first eight were obtained from written
128 sources, five published and three unpublished. The last four were obtained from field work among the modern Delaware. For convenience, the first group will hereafter be called sources and the last group informants. Considering the time of inscribing or of obtaining the information on which they are based, the eight sources are found to form three groups and to represent three periods: the first composed of the accounts of Williams, Van der Donck, and Lindeström, dated 1643, 1653, 1656, respectively; the second, of the accounts of Zeisberger, 1780, and Heckewelder, whose account, although not published until 1819, is considered contemporaneous, as he left active mission work in 1786; and the third group, of the three Cass manuscripts dated 1823 and 1824. The accounts of the modern informants constitute the fourth group and period.

In the discussion of the different elements, comparison is usually between the accounts as grouped in these four periods. As page references to citations from the accounts of the three manuscripts and the four informants are impossible, they have been omitted for the published accounts also, in the interests of uniformity. When neither the tabulation of the material from the different accounts nor the section of ethnographic notes amplifying or qualifying the tabulated element list indicates the existence of any problem on any element, that element is omitted in the discussion. Numbers in parentheses refer to the numbers given to the elements on the table.

DISCUSSION OF THE ELEMENTS

Astronomy, Mathematics, etc.

§21 The Delaware of the present indicate a knowledge of astronomy and mathematics that was not reported in historical accounts (3, 13). Whereas lack of knowledge or understanding on the part of some of the early reporters may be responsible for
[177] some of the apparent change, it is more reasonable to assign the cause of several of these changes to white contact. Belief in the

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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The only other apparent change in the tabulation of the accounts of the different periods is the possession of the drum (466). Roger Williams stated that the Indians had no drums but that he had known one to make a good drum in imitation of the English. This may have been true, but it is most improbable that the spread of the drum over the entire continent can be attributed to its introduction by Europeans, especially in view of its known prehistoric use by certain tribes of Indians. The aboriginal possession of the flute is more questionable than that of the drum (470). This wind instrument was not reported before the third period.

Summary

Before summarizing the analysis of the culture chronology of the Delaware it may be well to state that no one is more keenly aware than I am of the unsatisfactory nature of some of the source material. This material must be utilized, however, in a study of cultural change extending over the number of years that this one does. I have endeavored to avoid the many pitfalls engendered by the use of this material. Items that had to be watched particularly were the subjective nature of some of the elements and the diverse use of terms by different authors. Four hundred and thirty-eight elements were considered cultural and comparable. This total eliminates elements on which there is information from only one period, elements on constitution, and elements giving ages within limits.

One of the first things to be observed in a perusal of the tabulation of accounts is the relatively small number of elements on which there is a complete disagreement between sources and informants. There are only twenty-three cases out of 438 elements in which the statements of one of the informants is not in agreement with at least one of the sources. Fifteen of the twenty-three elements represent changes. The remaining eight cases, or approximately two per cent of the total, are the only elements on which the informants' accounts as a whole deviate from those of the sources. This correspondence validates the use of data remembered by informants even though they may have

9: Kinietz E-4,5 (1938) 1946
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121 learned of the discontinued customs through the relations of their
128 ancestors rather than through actual participation.

[114] Another noteworthy aspect is the frequency of contradictions in each period. Doubtless fuller information for each period would result in more conflicting reports. As it is, the list of contradictions is headed by eleven elements which show nothing but contradiction in every period. These eleven elements at least indicate that there was no one practice for these cases and illustrates the fallacy of relying on a single source or supposing the existence of a single practice.

121 Two hundred and forty-one elements were reported upon by
128 sources and informants without any disagreement. To get an
177 understanding of the stability of the culture, to these 241 elements should be added the eleven elements just mentioned, for they all show continuity, making a total of 252, or 57.3 per cent, of the 438 elements analyzed. All of these do not carry through from the first period to the last, for of the 438 elements, answers were returned on 210 in the first period, on 276 in the second, on 416 in the third, and on 436 in the fourth. Some of these elements appearing only in the later periods may represent additions to the culture, as in the case of the blowgun, but, in view of the lack of information on the earlier periods, they cannot be so considered.

177 There are 65 changes very definitely indicated. The changes are divided among the technological, sociological, and spiritual aspects of the culture thus: 16, 38, and 11, respectively. For the 77 technological, 262 sociological, and the 99 spiritual aspects so classified, these represent percentages of 20.77, 14.5, and 11.11, respectively. The series are too small for these small differences to be of great significance. Nevertheless, these figures are the nearest thing to proof that we have for the hypothesis that it is the spiritual life of a people in contact with a superior culture that is the least susceptible to change, that sociological concepts and practices are next, and that technological concepts and practices are the most susceptible.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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WELDER and JOHN JOHNSTON said that the proportion was rather more than among the whites, the former attributing the cause to the introduction of liquor.

W. T. denied that there were any sterile Indian women. W. L. said that he knew of two cases.

169. Number of Children

ZEISBERGER gave the usual number of children as 4 to 6 in one place, whereas in another he said 8 to 12.

HECKEWELDER said that generally there were 4 to 5 children in a family, while some families had 6 to 9, and a few had as many as thirteen.

173 and 174. Age of marriage

VAN DER DONCK said that both men and women commonly got married only when they were fit to do so.

DEATH AND ITS INCIDENTS

The following accounts touch on so many points not treated by the others or each other that they are given here in their entirety.

CAPTAIN PIPE—As soon as life leaves the body some distant relative of the deceased takes upon himself the charge of paying the last offices. Two men and two women, not related, are employed in washing and dressing the body, (now in a white cloth; anciently in a newly dressed skin,) which is laid upon a kind of platform where it is kept one day previous to the interment. This time was formerly three days in summer and seven days in winter, because they supposed that the tutelar deity of the deceased might restore them to life; but at this day they seem to have little faith and are apparently anxious to get the corpse out of sight as soon as decency will permit. The two male attendants prepare a coffin in which they place the body, and it is borne by them to the grave, preceded by the relatives and succeeded by the more distant friends. The grave is dug about three feet deep and the coffin is covered with earth as among the whites. Before they knew the use of boards the grave was lined with bark and the body pro-

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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cover Delaware phrases. In the section giving the Delaware text have been included footnotes explaining and analyzing terms which seem to require elucidation, or which through their idiomatic meanings seem to call for special notation in the eyes of the linguistic student. 121

In the free translation I have attempted to preserve the order, emphasis, terms of thought and wording characteristic of native speech. It is obvious, however, that the translator can not adhere faithfully in his rendering to native traits of syntax and thought composition in all cases; the result would be in English quite unintelligible.[1] Even to attempt this as much as I have, may seem to some readers, not familiar with thought-processes in other than Indo-European tongues, to create confusion in idea, or at least to present some peculiarly twisted expressions. I may remark, however, that both points of view have been given careful and prolonged consideration before the translations have been released. 128

The text, as the informant dictated it, in the course of the four months during which we were engaged, seemed to unfold almost in the character of a canon. He showed a very thoughtful manner in arranging its parts and the wording, conveying the impression that certain sections or chapters had a formal sequence, that certain topics belonged inseparably with it, and that other matters which came in for discussion as we proceeded did not belong to it.

HISTORICAL OUTLINE OF THE BIG HOUSE CEREMONY.—The ceremony which is the object of our study has borne several proper names in historical literature. The formal designation seems to have been Gamwing, a designation for the ceremony used by several of the earlier writers, and still recognized by the Delawares as being a proper term. Yet no explanation of its meaning, to be relied upon, is forthcoming from any of our sources.[2] Of equal prominence is the designation Xinwika'on, "Big House," which in the tongue of the Delawares is a favorite term of reference to both the edifice, or temple, in which the ceremony is performed, and the ceremony itself. This designation predominates in our text. The Delawares are not 796 552

[1] Compare Zeisberger's remarks on the language (op. cit., p. 143). "They are able to express themselves with great clearness and precision, and so concisely that much circumlocution is required to convey the full meaning of their expressions in an European language."

That the language in the middle of the 17th century, even when only approximately recorded, is still intelligible to the Delawares, appears from the following. In David de Vries Notes (1632) (Narratives of Early Pennsylvania, West New Jersey, and Delaware, 1630-1707, Ed. by Albert Cook Myers (1912), p. 16), it is recorded on the 8th of December, that while moored in the lower Delaware River, the Indians declared they would "make a firm peace which they call *raconiya marcuit*." This is the equivalent of ma'wanilolangu'ndi·n, "all agree to make peace."

[2] The term was no more capable of explanation in Zeisberger's day (1780), it would seem, than it is among the Delawares of today. He says, "This feast is called 'ngammuin, the meaning of which they themselves are unable to give. (op. cit., p. 138).

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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We may dismiss for the present, the problem of their origin after giving the opinion of our informant, with which Harrington coincides, that they were local groups, district populations in an older habitat, which had accumulated the characteristic of sib groupings with maternal descent and exogany. Heckewelder,[1] over a century ago, who knew the Delawares so well, had sound reasons for his opinion on the character of the triple "totemic" groupings as being geographical divisions, originally tribal subdivisions. These, he continues to say in his discussion, again developed local sub-groupings that took name from localities, the eighteen so-called "clans" of Morgan and Harrington. The Delaware designation for these groups is wihil·a'i·n, "name or title."

EXPLANATION OF CHARACTERS USED IN THE TEXT

In general conformity with the suggestions of the committee on the transcription of Indian languages, I have employed the following characters in the transcription of the text. Occasional variation in the spelling of native terms will be found in the narrative, due to variability of pronunciation by the informant. This it has been thought wiser to retain until a more detailed study of sounds and phonetic laws can be made.

The Oklahoma dialect does not abound in the voiceless final vowels and syllables which, according to Sapir,[2] characterize the dialect spoken by the Delawares of the Grand River reserve in Ontario.

There is no indication whatever in Delaware of an *r*, or *th* (*θ*) recorded by Brinton for instance, (in Lenape Dictionary), as in Munsee and Mahikan, and by Campanius (1645-96).[3]

p, *b* bilabials, occasionally intermediate when preceding the dark vowels, *a*, *o*, *u*.

p' a true, slightly aspirated, surd

m bilabial similar to English *m*.

t surd, as *t* in English ten.

d intermediate alveolar sonant between surd and sonant quality.

t' a pure slightly aspirated surd.

s surd, sibilant, corresponding to English *s* when followed or preceded by *i*, otherwise with slightly deflected tongue tip bringing it closer to *θ*, *(th)* with which it corresponds in Munsee.

n alveolar, not differing from English *n*.

ŋ post-palatal, corresponding to English *ng* in king.

k somewhat intermediate surd stop, medial palatal similar to English *k* in lock. Often not distinguishable from *g*.

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[1] Heckewelder, op. cit., pp. 51-53, 250.

[2] E. Sapir, Geol. Survey of Canada, Summary Report, 1912, p. 6.

[3] The supposed change from *r* to *l* in later Delaware is discussed by Heckewelder, Trans. Amer. Philos. Soc. IV, 1834, pp. 351-96.

14: Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute
Delaware NM7
Winnebago NP12
Comanche NO6

C
D
W
171
127
128
795

APPENDIX II. PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST

The distribution list in this section was first devised upon the basis of experience with Ute peyotism and a study of published literature on the peyote cult generally.* The published accounts of the cult, however, did not contain the detailed information necessary to answer all the points raised, and so a blank copy of the list and a request to fill it out were sent to several ethnographers known to have attended peyote meetings. The response was most gratifying, time and knowledge being given freely. The locations of the tribes represented in the element list are indicated on map 2.

SYMBOLS USED IN THE ELEMENT LIST

+	Element present	( )	Exactness of data doubtful
—	Element absent	R	Recent development
Blank	Information lacking	*	Indicates that a note to the element is appended at the end of the list

SOURCES AND COLUMN ABBREVIATIONS

The sources for the data in both the list and the notes to the list, and the abbreviations at the heads of columns, are as follows:

13 T: Composite picture of cult of thirteen tribes visited by La Barre and Schultes, mostly in Oklahoma (Kickapoo, Kiowa, Quapaw, Shawnee, Wichita, Caddo, Comanche, Delaware, Osage, Oto, Pawnee, Ponca, Southern Cheyenne). Richard Evans Schultes, Peyote and Plants used in the Peyote Ceremony, HU-BML 4:127–152, 1937, with additions made on list by La Barre, 1938.

K-A: Kiowa-Apache. List filled in and notes supplied by J. Gilbert McAllister from information obtained during ethnographic field work performed 1933–1934 (eleven months) under the sponsorship of the University of Chicago.

Kio: Kiowa. List filled in and notes supplied by Weston La Barre. When returning the list La Barre wrote, "I believe that in peyotism tribal affiliation in this inter-tribal religion is far less important than leadership, i.e., what the particular leader's 'way' is, and from what leader he got his meeting." La Barre did field work in Oklahoma under the auspices of the Laboratory of Anthropology (1935), Yale University, and the American Museum of Natural History.

C
127
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795

Com: Comanche in Oklahoma. List filled in and notes supplied by E. Adamson Hoebel.

Kic: Kickapoo in the vicinity of McLoud, Oklahoma. List filled in and notes supplied by John A. Noon, who attended a meeting during the summer of 1932. The Kickapoo leaders recognized that they "followed the Kiowa-Comanche 'way'."

Ab S: Absentee Shawnee of central Oklahoma. List filled in and notes supplied by Erminie W. Voegelin. Meeting attended in 1933. Voegelin reports three forms of the cult among the Absentee: (1) The Kiowa-Comanche form (the form which my list records); said to have been introduced about 1900 from the Kickapoo, who learned it from the Comanche; is the most popular form. (2) Caddo-Delaware variant of the "Wilson way," conducted by Ernest Spybuck. (3) Yuchi "way," conducted by Panther; considered by Voegelin's informants to be distinct from the Kiowa-Comanche version, yet probably only slightly variant. Membership in these forms of the cult does not interfere with participation in older Shawnee religious beliefs and ceremonies. The "Cherokee" or "Loyal" Shawnee in northeastern Oklahoma, however, take peyote "according to the Bible way . . . like those Ioways," which is La Barre's Oto "Christianized" version, and this does teach complete withdrawal from older native ceremonies.

D
127
128
795

De 1: Kiowa-Comanche type cult among the Delaware. List filled in by James C. Webber (a Delaware informant recommended by Dr. Frank Speck) and supplemented by Petrullo's published account, also principally from Webber.

De 2: "Wilson way" among the Delaware (La Barre's Caddo-Delaware). Abstracted from Petrullo's book, with additional notes supplied by James C. Webber. The list does not adequately bring out the degree of divergence which the cult has attained, which could only be done by devising a list based on the "Wilson way." The altar is greatly changed from the Kiowa-Comanche prototype and at times becomes extremely elaborate (see Petrullo, pls. 3–6).

W
127
128
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Win: Winnebago of Nebraska. This is apparently a variant of the "Wilson way," although Alexis A. Praus, who filled in the list and supplied the notes, did not designate it as such. Praus attended

* Data for the Ute and Washo–Northern Paiute lists obtained in the field, and additional data on the cults of the Tarahumara, Tepehuan, Lipan Apache, Mescalero Apache, Kiowa, Oto, Delaware, Omaha, Iowa, Arapaho, Winnebago, and Taos from published literature, are part of my Ute Peyotism which has been accepted for publication by Anthropos.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

concluding this to be the country destined for them by the Great Spirit, they began to emigrate thither, as yet but in small bodies, so as not to be straitened for want of provisions by the way, some even laying by for a whole year; at last they settled on the four great rivers (which we call Delaware, Hudson, Susquehannah, and Potomack) making the Delaware, to which they gave the name of "*Lenapewihittuck*,"* (the river or stream of the Lenape) the centre of their possessions.

They say, however, that the whole of their nation did not reach this country; that many remained behind in order to aid and assist that great body of their people, which had not crossed the Namæsi Sipu, but had retreated into the interior of the country on the other side, on being informed of the reception which those who had crossed had met with, and probably thinking that they had all been killed by the enemy.

Their nation finally became divided into three separate bodies; the larger body, which they suppose to have been one half of the whole, were settled on the Atlantic, and the other half was again divided into two parts, one of which, the strongest as they suppose, remained beyond the Mississippi, and the remainder where they left them, on this side of that river.

Those of the Delawares who fixed their abode on the shores of the Atlantic divided themselves into three tribes. Two of them, distinguished by the names of the *Turtle* and the *Turkey*, the former calling themselves *Unámis* and the other *Unalachtgo*, chose those grounds to settle on, which lay nearest to the sea, between the coast and the high mountains. As they multiplied, their settlements extended from the *Mohicannittuck* (river of the Mohicans, which we call the North or Hudson river) to

* The word "Hittuck," in the language of the Delawares, means a rapid stream; "Sipo," or "Sipu," is the proper name for a river.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

173 beyond the Potomack. Many families with their con-
131 nexions choosing to live by themselves, were scattered
101 not only on the larger but also on the small streams, throughout the country, having towns and villages, where they lived together in separate bodies, in each of which a chief resided; those chiefs, however, were subordinate (by their own free will, the only kind of subordination which the Indians know) to the head chiefs or great council of the nation, whom they officially informed of all events or occurrences affecting the general interest which came to their knowledge. The third tribe, the *Wolf*, commonly called the *Minsi*, which we have corrupted into *Monseys*, had chosen to live back of the two other tribes, and formed a kind of bulwark for their protection, watching the motions of the Mengwe, and being at hand to afford their aid in case of a rupture with them. The Minsi were considered the most warlike and active branch of the Lenape. They extended
[103] their settlements, from the *Minisink*, a place named after them, where they had their council seat and fire, quite up to the Hudson on the east; and to the west or south west far beyond the Susquehannah: their northern boundaries were supposed originally to be the heads of the great rivers Susquehannah and Delaware, and their southern boundaries that ridge of hills known in New Jersey by the name of *Muskanecun*, and in Pennsylvania, by those of *Lehigh*, *Coghnewago*, &c. Within this boundary were their principal settlements; and even as late as the year 1742, they had a town, with a large peach orchard, on the tract of land where *Nazareth*, in Pennsylvania, has since been built; another on *Lehigh*, (the west branch of the Delaware,) and others beyond the blue ridge, besides small family settlements here and there scattered.

173 From the above *three* tribes, the *Unamis*, *Unalachtgo*,

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

175 pulation was gradually reduced, but they lost the desire of becoming a civilised people; for the Americans, at last, become exasperated against them, and considering all Indians as their enemies, they sent parties out from time to time to destroy them. The murder of the Christian Indians on the Muskingum in 1782, completed their alienation. Those who yet remained were driven to despair, and finally dispersed.

131 It is not in my power to ascertain the whole number 167 of the Lenni Lenape, or Delaware Indians, still existing 161 at the present time. As far as I am informed, they are very much scattered, a number of them, chiefly of the Monsey tribe, living in Upper Canada, others are in the state of Ohio, and some on the waters of the Wabash in the Indiana territory. A considerable number of them has crossed the Mississippi. Their first emigrations to that country had already begun between the years 1780 and 1790. What the numbers of this nation were when the Europeans first came into this country is difficult to tell; all I can say is, that so early as 1760, their oldest men would say that they were not then as many hundreds as they had been thousands. They have considerably decreased since that period. I saw them myself between the years 1754 and 1760, by hundreds at a time, and Loskiel in his history gives an account of upwards of 800 having been fed at Bethlehem in one year. In the year 1762, while I lived at Tuscorawas on the Muskingum, they were settled on that river and its branches, and also on the Cayahoga river, which empties into Lake Erie, in the neighbourhood of which they had [103] since a small Christian settlement called *Pilgerruh*, (Pilgrim's rest.)*

* Loskiel, part III. ch. 12.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7
Mahican NM7
Iroquois NM7

a once large and flourishing settlement. It is probable that by this time they are nearly if not entirely extinct.

It is believed that the Mahicanni are the same nation who are so celebrated in the History of New England, under the name of *Pequods* or *Pequots*.* The Rev. Jonathan Edwards, late President of Union College at Schenectady, in the State of New York, published in the year 1788 in a pamphlet form, some observations on their language, which were republished at New York in 1804. This small tract, as well as the translation of the Bible into the Natick, by the venerable Eliott, and his grammar of that language, put it beyond a doubt that the idiom of the Mohicans and those of the other New England Indians proceeded from the same source with that of the Leuni Lenape.

CHAPTER V.

THE IROQUOIS.

THE most intelligent and credible Indians of the Lenape stock, including the Mohicans, have ever asserted, that in the whole country bounded on the north by the river St. Lawrence and the Great Lakes, (including what is now Nova Scotia and New Brunswick,) on the west by the Mississippi, on the east by the Great Salt-water Lake,† and on the south by the country of the Creeks, Cherokees, and other Florida Indians, there

* Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc. vol. IX. p. 77. Trumbull's History of Connecticut, vol. I. p. 28.

† The Atlantic ocean.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7
IROQUOISNM 9

I D ● 103 131 ● 101

were but two nations, the Mengwe, and themselves. Theirs was by far the most numerous and the most extensively settled, for their tribes extended even beyond the Mississippi. On the other side of the St. Lawrence, the Algonquins, the Killistenos or Knisteneaux, and others, speaking dialects of their language, prove their origin from the same stock. The Mengwe, on the contrary, were comparatively few, and occupied a much less portion of territory, being almost confined to the vicinity of the great lakes. But few tribes are known to be connected with them by descent and language; the principal ones are the Wyandots, otherwise called Hurons and the Naudowessies. Almost every other nation within the boundaries described, is of the Lenape family.

Each of these two great nations, say the Delawares, had an ancient national name, and a tradition of their respective origin, handed down to them by their ancestors, and diffused among all the kindred tribes. By whatsoever names those tribes might be called, and whatever their numbers were, still they considered themselves, and were considered by others, as the offspring of the same original stock. All the tribes who had sprung from the Lenape called the mother nation *grandfather*, and received, in return, the appellation of *grandchildren*. They were all united by the strongest ties of friendship and alliance; in their own expressive language, they made but *one house, one fire, and one canoe*, that is to say, that they constituted together one people, one family. The same thing took place between the Mengwe and the tribes descended from them. They and the Lenape had no relationship with each other, though they came over the Mississippi together at the same time. They considered each other as nations entirely distinct.

I 619

The Mengwe or Iroquois were always considered by the Lenape as only one nation, consisting of several confederated tribes. The name of Five and afterwards Six Nations, was given to them by the English, whose allies

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7

PART I. EARLY HISTORIC DELAWARE CULTURE

I. DELAWARE ORIGINS AND AFFILIATIONS

At the opening of the seventeenth century all of the Atlantic coastal peoples north of North Carolina and extending to the Maritime Provinces and the St. Lawrence were culturally similar to one another. Kroeber, however, distinguished two cultural provinces within the Algonkian area, a North Atlantic Slope and a Middle Atlantic Slope.[1] On the basis of an analysis of cultural traits Flannery divided this coastal area into three divisions, or subareas: Northern New England, Central, and Virginia-Maryland.[2] Kroeber's Middle Atlantic Slope is roughly equivalent to Flannery's Central area. The aborigines who were to become known as Delawares in the eighteenth century inhabited this Central or Middle Atlantic Slope area. They did not comprise, as the name Delaware implies, a single social, political, or linguistic entity. They did, however, inhabit a continuous area extending from Delaware Bay on the south, through Manhattan Island, and up the west side of the Hudson River to the Catskills on the north. Inland, they occupied the banks of the Delaware River and its tributaries northeast to the Hudson. This territory included part of the present state of Delaware, all of New Jersey, eastern Pennsylvania, and part of southern New York (Map 1).

The Delawaran peoples were centrally located within the Middle Atlantic Slope area. To the north were the Mahican, on the east bank of the Hudson lived the Wappinger division of the Mahican, and on Long Island were the Montauk, another Mahican group. To the south, in Maryland and part of Delaware, lived the Conoy, Nanticoke, Choptank, and associated peoples.[3] The other peoples of this area are little known apart from the notes in Captain John Smith's memoirs.[4] All of these peoples were similar to one another in culture and language, and remnants from most, if not all, of these tribes in later times became incorporated with the Delaware tribe. To the west, in eastern Pennsylvania, lived the Conestoga (or Susquehannock), an Iroquoian people.[5] To the northwest and north, in what is now New York State, were their Iroquoian relatives, the Five and later Six Nations.

Delaware Prehistory: a Summary

It is a difficult task to identify archaeological sites in the Middle Atlantic Slope area with historic tribes. This difficulty stems from two factors. First, soon after contact the coastal peoples emigrated, were dispersed, or died, with the result that it is impossible to find many coastal sites which contain contact materials. Second, since much

[1] Kroeber, 1947, p. 93.
[2] Flannery, 1939, p. 192.
[3] Kroeber, 1947, Map 1a, p. 93; Weslager, 1943, pp. 42-43.
[4] Smith, 1884, pp. 55, 351.
[5] Kroeber, 1947, Map 1a, p. 93.

2;Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7

of their kin who had moved there directly from northern New York. They, therefore, united with the Hurons (Talamatans) to drive out the Talega (Tsalaki, Cherokees) from the upper Ohio. This they only succeeded in accomplishing finally in the historic period. But they did clear the road and reached the Delaware valley, though neither forgetting nor giving up their claims to their western territories.[30]

It is not my purpose to go into the authenticity of the Walam Olum or the accuracy of its migration account. Suffice it to say that the Walam Olum was probably a product of the Delawares during their phase of revivalistic nativism and that it seems "to be an account, by a despairing person unable to gain his customary satisfactions from a life that no longer existed, of a Golden Age which never was. . . . Indeed the Walam Olum plainly appears to be the mirror image of a nativistically oriented people, rather than an authentic account of their history."[31]

The Location and Divisions of the Early Historic Delawares

It is impossible, for the following reasons, to know precisely the name, location, and affiliations of all the peoples who at the end of the seventeenth century joined forces and became known as the Delawares. First, the Delawaran peoples were aboriginally and during most of the seventeenth century unorganized politically and composed of a large number of subdivisions. Second, three different European nations were in contact with Delawaran peoples during this century. Their names for various groups often differed, and their interest in the relationships and locations of the various divisions was often slight. Third, these natives were soon displaced geographically and much reduced in numbers. Lastly, an unknown number of non-Delawaran peoples were incorporated into the Delaware tribe at the end of the seventeenth century. I have not undertaken the prodigious task of locating the Delawaran peoples by investigating all of the primary sources, although such a study is sorely needed; instead, a synthesis of previous investigations and two seventeenth-century maps is presented. This discussion is, therefore, liable to inaccuracies of various kinds.

For convenience the Delawares at the opening of historic times may be described as being composed of three geographical groups, traditionally called the Munsi, Unami, and Unalachtigo. The people who were to become the core of the tribe composed the division which became known in the mid-eighteenth century as the Unami. According to Brinton, the term Unami means "people down the river."[33] Zeisberger used the term

[30] Brinton, 1885, pp. 165-66.

[31] Newcomb, 1955, p. 63.

[32] The following discussion and Map 1 are based on Ruttenber, 1872, pp. 89-93; Hrdlicka, 1902, pp. 33-37; Skinner, 1909, pp. 30-32; Bolton, 1920, pp. 226-86; Swanton, 1953, pp. 48-55; Van der Donck's map of New Netherland, 1656, opposite p. 294 in Jameson, 1909; and N. J. Visscher's Map of New Netherland, New England . . . about 1655, opposite p. 170 in Myers, 1912.

[33] Brinton, 1885, p. 38.

[text continues on p. 7]

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7

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Map 1

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7

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to refer to that group of Delawares who "lived nearest to the sea."[34] The term seems to be of Munsi origin and was applied by them to the main body. The name first appeared in 1757 and was in use until the final removal to Oklahoma, but it is not remembered today.[35] The Unami occupied the middle reaches of the Delaware River including much of the Schuylkill River Valley. Besides territory in what is now Pennsylvania, they occupied a large part of New Jersey, as well as some territory on the lower Hudson.[36] The Unami were composed of the following subdivisions. The Navisink (or Neversinck, Navasink) "inhabited the Highlands south of Sandy Hook," the Sanhikan (also called Raritan) "were divided, it is said, in two sachemdoms and about twenty chieftaincies."[37] They occupied the Raritan Valley in northeast-central New Jersey, and probably the southern end of Staten Island. The third division was known as the Hackinsack (or Hackensack), and their territory included the valleys of the Hackinsack and Passaic rivers in northeastern New Jersey. The fourth division was the Aquackanonk; their territory included what is now Paterson, New Jersey, and they were "also described as occupying a considerable portion of the centre of New Jersey."[38] The fifth division, the Tappan (or Tapant), extended from the Hackinsack River to the highlands. They also seem to have had some land on the Hudson.[39] Wassenaer in 1624 associated a group called the Mechkentowoon with the Tappan; they may have been a separate group or a subdivision of the Tappan.[40] Swanton has termed them a Mahican subdivision.[41] The sixth division of the Unami was known as the Haverstraw; they lived north of the Tappan with undefined western boundaries and with Stony Point as their northern limit, according to Ruttenber. The Assiscunck and the Rancocas lived in the vicinity of Burlington, New Jersey, and Rancocas Creek to the south. Skinner gave the Okahoki as another division dwelling opposite the Rancocas on the west side of the Delaware. He also said that the Shackamaxon lived near and to the north of Philadelphia. These last two subdivisions Swanton assigned to the Unalachtigo. Some authorities list a number of other subdivisions in central New Jersey; these include Assunpink, Axion, Calcefar, Gashwechnagechga, Meletecunk, Mosilian, and Pompton. They may or may not have been independent Unami subdivisions. There is no assurance that the Unami groups were equal to one another in size or importance; they seem to have shared a common culture, but they were not unified politically.

On western Long Island two Montauk subdivisions, the Canarsee and the Rockaway, had close ties with the Unami and in part merged with the Delaware tribe in later times.[42] It is perhaps significant to recall that the East River Aspect also includes western Long Island. The Sanhikan, Hackensack, and Canarsee jointly occupied Staten Island, a

[34] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 114.
[35] Speck, 1931, p. 14; Hunter, 1951, p. 2; Hayes, 1954, p. 65.
[36] Mooney, 1911, p. 330.
[37] Ruttenber, 1872, p. 89.
[38] *Ibid.*, p. 91.
[39] Bolton, 1920, p. 281.
[40] Wassenaer, 1900, p. 87.
[41] Swanton, 1952, p. 41.
[42] Bolton, 1920, p. 271.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7

fact which is probably indicative of their close cultural affiliations. On the southern end of Manhattan Island were a people known as the Reckgawawanc. Bolton said they had close relationships with the Tappan, and in 1669 "they were driven away to a refuge among the Tappan by the warparties of the Mohawk."[43] To the north of the Reckgawawanc was a group known as the Weckquaesgeek, a Wappinger subdivision. They also seem to have been closely related to the peoples on the west side of the Hudson.

The second traditional division of the Delawares is known as the Munsi (or Munsee, Monsey, Minsi, Monthey, Minisink). This word means "people of the stony country" or perhaps "mountaineers."[44] The label is apt, for the Munsi inhabited the more mountainous area along the headwaters and tributaries of the Delaware River. The Munsi were a distinct group culturally and until the last century were often considered a separate tribe. Cherokee-Delawares are still able to point out members of this group, and the Munsi have persisted as a distinct group in Canada. The term Munsi does not appear in the literature until the eighteenth century, and Wallace contends that they were a coalescence of peoples around the Minisink community.[45]

The Waoraneck, who originally lived on the Hudson in Orange County, near Stony Point, were one of the peoples who probably became Munsi. They seem to have been one of the five or six "tribes" of the Esopus country. The Warranawonkong formed the second division, and their territory "embraced the waters of the Shawangunk, the Wallkill and the Esopus rivers."[46] The Mamekoting, the third division of the Munsi, lived in the Makating Valley. "Their history is so intimately blended with that of the Esopus Indians that identification is impossible further than by title."[47] The little-known Wawarsink were the fourth group of Esopus Indians. The Katskill, another group, lived north of the Saugerties and formed the eastern watershed of the Catskill Mountains.[48] The principal group of Munsi, inhabiting the headwaters of the Delaware River, was termed the Minisink.

The third and southernmost group of Delawares is not well known, since they seem to have merged with the Unami at an early date. Their name is usually given as Unalachtigo[49] (sometimes Unalachto) and signifies "people who live near the ocean."[50] Speck has suggested that they were really Naraticon of southern New Jersey "under the guise of a dialectic name."[51] Brinton, on the other hand, felt that they might be Nanticoke (Unechtigo).[52] Wallace said that since the term is found only "in the pages of Zeisberger, Heckewelder, and their copyists" there was no group so named.[53] He proposed, however, that the word Unalachtigo might refer "to any Indians — Delawares or otherwise — who lived in southern New Jersey along the shore."[54] Philhower said that the

[43] Bolton, 1920, p. 344.
[44] Brinton, 1885, p. 36.
[45] Wallace, 1949, p. 11.
[46] Ruttenber, 1872, p. 93.
[47] *Ibid.*, p. 95.
[48] *Ibid.*
[49] Harrington, 1913, p. 208.
[50] Brinton, 1885, p. 36.
[51] Speck, 1931, p. 15.
[52] Brinton, 1885, p. 36.
[53] Wallace, 1949, p. 12.
[54] *Ibid.*

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7

Unalachtigo and Nanticoke were closely related in culture and had a common origin.[58] For convenience the term Unalachtigo is used for the natives of southern New Jersey who in later times became part of the Delaware tribe.

The southern tip of Cape May was inhabited by a people known as the Kechemeche, and in the same area Swanton located a group he termed the Tirans.[59] In the valleys of the rivers and creeks emptying into Delaware Bay were many small groups of Delawares. On Maurice Creek were the Sewaposee (or Sewapois), and above them on Cohansey Creek the Siconesse (or Sikonesses). The Mantese (or Manta, Mante) inhabited the vicinity of Salem Creek, and north of them on Raccoon Creek were the Narraticon (or Naraticon). A group termed Asomoche has also been mentioned for this vicinity. To the north of the Narraticon in New Jersey, in the neighborhood of Pensaukin Creek, were found the Eromiex (or Ermonex, Eriwonec, Eriwoneck, Armewaxes). Near Camden was a group called the Yacomanshaghking, and extending up the east bank of the Delaware River to Burlington were several poorly known bands. Opposite the Narraticon in the vicinity of Wilmington, Delaware, were the Chikelacki (Chikohoki?), as well as the Amimenipaty, Hopokohacking, Memankitonna, and Passayank.

In sum, the people who were to comprise the Delaware tribe of the eighteenth century were drawn from a large number of small, dispersed, and essentially autonomous groups. At the dawn of historic times they were not a tribe in the political sense, and since they differed somewhat from one another in other aspects of culture, it is perhaps unwise to think of them as a tribe. It was not until these groups had become consolidated in the early decades of the eighteenth century that the term Delaware is properly applicable to them. The English name Delaware was given to these people because they were concentrated near the Delaware River in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Modern Delawares sometimes say that the term is derived from a Delaware expression meaning "I said" or "I meant." There is a phonetic similarity between this Delaware expression and the English name, but it is probably a rationalization.[57] The Delawares' term for themselves is "Lenape" which means "people."[58] They also occasionally refer to themselves as the "lenni lenape" which means the "real" or the "original people,"[59] or something similar to "we, the people."[60]

Linguistic Affiliations

The term Delaware has been used to refer to a language of the Central type of Eastern-Central Algonkin.[61] Eastern-Central Algonkin

[58] Philhower, 1931, p. 4. Weslager, 1950, pp. 48-54, 57-58, presents strong evidence against this identification, however.

[59] Swanton, 1952, p. 50.

[60] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 114, agrees on this point.

[57] Brinton, 1885, p. 34.

[58] Wallace, 1949, p. 7.

[59] Wissler, 1941, pp. 70-71.

[61] Michelson, 1912, pp. 221-90; Bloomfield, 1946, p. 85.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7

Though in the detail of the ceremony there has been change, as the Indians are more divided now than at that time [i.e., prehistorically] worship and sacrifice have continued as practiced in the early days, for the Indians believe that they would draw all manner of disease and misfortune upon themselves if they omitted to observe the ancestral rites.[104]

By the time the Shawnee prophet appeared the Delawares seem to have passed somewhat beyond the nativistic phase of acculturation.

Decadent Period (1814-1867)

The military defeats of the Delawares during the Nativistic Period and the disillusionment following the unsuccessful religious revivals set the stage for a phase of acculturation which is best described as one of decadence. By the second decade of the nineteenth century the Delawares were no longer an independent tribe, but were politically and militarily dominated by, and at the mercy of, the United States. In a social sense the tendencies towards dispersal first noted in the preceding period persisted, as small groups continued to desert the main body of the tribe. In other respects cultural decay and disintegration continued, although further acculturation is best described as halting. From this time on the Delawares underwent continuous, overt pressure to become "civilized" Americans.

History

In 1814 the British and Americans concluded a treaty of peace, one article of which stipulated that the Indian allies of the British would have their rights, privileges, and property restored.[105] In compliance with this treaty, in 1816 "A Treaty of Peace and Friendship" was entered into with the Delawares, as well as with other tribes.[106] This treaty did not long prevent the alienation of Indian lands, however, for during the administration of Monroe (1817-25) "a policy was inaugurated looking to increased westward emigration of Indians from east of the Mississippi."[107] Before the War of 1812 the Delawares had bitterly opposed the cession of land, but after the war they did not have the strength to resist the demands of the United States.[108]

In the Treaty of St. Mary's of 1818 the Delawares, including remnants of the Mahicans and Nanticokes, sold their land in Indiana to the government "without reserve." The government agreed to remove them to the west side of the Mississippi and give them land there, although no location or emigration date was set.[109] In 1820 Delawares from the

[104]Zeisberger, 1910, p. 136. Mahr, 1952, has documented the community responsibility of ritual leaders, as demonstrated in the experience of a Moravian convert of 1772.

[105]Thompson, 1937, p. 81; G. Foreman, 1946, pp. 27-23.

[106]G. Foreman, 1946, p. 29.

[107]*Ibid.*, pp. 32-47.

[108]Thompson, 1937, p. 81.

[109]Brinton, 1885, pp. 124-25; Mooney, 1911, p. 337; G. Foreman, 1946, p. 37.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7

Whitewater River region in southeastern Indiana and some Shawnees arrived at Kaskaskia. In November the Indian agent at Kaskaskia "paid for ferrying 1,346 Delawares and their 1,499 horses across the Mississippi."[110] Sickness hampered this migration as did also thievery of horses by whites.[111] They spent the winter of 1820 on the Current River in Carter and Shannon counties, Missouri, and they remained in this vicinity a second winter, despite the failure of their corn crop. During the early summer of 1821 the remaining White River Delawares began their trek to Missouri, but because of sickness and other difficulties they did not reach the Mississippi until winter.

In 1821 the Delawares were assigned land in western Missouri, but unfortunately this land possessed a lead mine which was coveted by whites.[112] Their Osage neighbors to the west also resented their presence, and hostilities resulted. During the second decade of this century the remaining Delawares in Ohio experienced increased pressure for emigration. The Delawares in Missouri urged them to migrate in a "correspondence by means of wampum."[113] The Indians of Missouri apparently were planning an alliance with these eastern Indians in order to strengthen themselves and dispossess the Osage. While negotiations were going on for removal of the eastern Indians, Senator Benton of Missouri proposed that land be provided west of Missouri for all Indians. By 1829 the Missouri Delawares and Ohio emigrants had consented to move to Kansas. The land reserved for them was in "the fork of the Kansas and Missouri rivers, extending up the Kansas to the Kansas line and up the Missouri to "Camp Leavenworth"; and thence by a line drawn westwardly, leaving a space of ten miles wide north of the Kansas boundary for an outlet."[114] This treaty provided that the Indians would be assisted in their removal with "ox teams, farming utensils, and provisions . . . ."[115] but some were so anxious that they moved on their own initiative. In 1829 the remaining Delawares in Ohio, chiefly Munsi, in a council with Cass at Detroit agreed to emigrate to Kansas.[116] In 1831 small bands were still moving west, including the band of the venerable Captain Pipe.[117]

As was noted earlier, some Delawares as early as 1789 had moved to Missouri under a Spanish grant. It appears to have been this band which was located on the Red River in the present-day McCurtain County, Oklahoma, in the early part of the nineteenth century. White settlers in 1828 petitioned the authorities for the removal of the Shawnees and Delawares in this area, the Shawnees having joined the Delawares subsequent to the War of 1812.[118] Under threat of armed might the Indians were driven from this locality to Texas. Samuel Houston attempted to supply the immigrant Cherokees, Shawnees, Delawares, Kickapoos, and others with land embracing present-day Cherokee and

[110] G. Foreman, 1946, p. 41.
[111] *Ibid.*, p. 43.
[112] *Ibid.*
[113] *Ibid.*, p. 48.
[114] *Ibid.*, p. 54.
[115] *Ibid.*, p. 55.
[116] *Ibid.*, pp. 55-56.
[117] *Ibid.*, p. 69.
[118] *Ibid.*, pp. 159-60.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7

Smith counties along the Neches and Angelina rivers in eastern Texas. The Texas senate refused to ratify Houston's treaty, however, and Mirabeau B. Lamar, Houston's successor, attacked and defeated these Indians.[119] They fled across the Red River to the vicinity of the Washita and Blue rivers in the lands of the Choctaw and Chickasaw. In the 1840's most of them settled in Creek territory on the north side of the Canadian River.[120] Colonel Ethan Allen Hitchcock reported in 1841 and 1842 that there were 700 Delawares "living sixty miles above the mouth of Little River."[121] They were at this time carrying on extensive intercourse with the Comanches and other western Indians. Foreman, quoting from the *Arkansas Intelligencer*, said that these Delawares "are in a semi-barbarous state, and entirely uneducated, but show great shrewdness and intelligence in their intercourse with the whites. As hunters and warriors they have a higher reputation than any other Indians on the frontier."[122]

Another small group of Texas Delawares had allied with the Caddos and they had intermarried. These, along with Tawakonis, Wacos, Shawnees, and Comanches, had been granted a reservation in Texas by the government. Texans resented their presence, however, and in 1859 the government moved them to the Washita River near the present town of Anadarko.[123] During the Civil War the agency responsible for the move was broken up, and the Indians fled to Butler County, Kansas. After the war they returned to the Washita much reduced in numbers; only 471 of the 1,492 who had emigrated from Texas were left. In 1874 the Delawares, Caddos, and Iowas near Anadarko joined forces under the Caddos, with a Caddo chief.[124] By 1886 the agency report listed only forty-one Delawares.[125] There appear to be no more than this number of Delawares in the Anadarko area today; they are culturally and biologically mixed with allied Indians.

Another group which was partly Delaware deserves mention here. This group, known as the Stockbridge, was originally the Mahican Housatonic of Massachusetts. After the American Revolution they joined the Oneida in New York, and in 1832, with a band of Oneida, confederated with a Christianized Munsi band on a reservation near Lake Winnebago in Wisconsin.[126] In 1839 the combined tribe of about 400 moved to Kansas, settling on Delaware lands. They were later reported as part of the Delaware tribe.[127] In 1853 the agent stated that there were only eighteen or twenty left. In 1859 the Stockbridge, variously known as Munsi or Christian Indians, confederated with two bands of Chippewa Indians in Kansas. After the Civil War the Cherokees took them into the Cherokee Nation. I found only one person who claimed to be a Stockbridge Indian living among the "Cherokee-Delawares."

Some Delawares served with the United States in the Seminole wars,

[119] G. Foreman, 1946, p. 161.
[120] *Ibid.*, p. 162.
[121] *Ibid.*, p. 162.
[122] *Ibid.*, p. 164, as quoted in the *Arkansas Intelligencer*, Feb. 7, 1846, p. 1, col. 4.
[123] G. Foreman, 1946, p. 282.
[124] *Ibid.*, pp. 282-84.
[125] *Ann. Rep.*, 1886, p. 128.
[126] Wright, 1951, p. 246.
[127] G. Foreman, 1946, pp. 337-38.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7

and according to Adams some were employed by the Hudson Bay Company and not only entered the far northwest, but settled there. He said that their descendants lived in Idaho, Montana, and Oregon in affiliation with the Crow and Nez Percé and "other northwestern tribes." He estimated their number at thirty-five.[128]

In 1838 there were 1,050 Delawares on their reservation at the mouth of the Kansas River.[129] There were also several hundred living along the Red River, as has been noted. These seem to have forsaken agriculture and were dependent upon the chase for most of their livelihood. The main body of Delawares, at the confluence of the Kansas and Missouri rivers, found no more tranquility or isolation from white contacts than they had found in Missouri, Indiana, or Ohio. Until 1833, when Indian agents concluded a treaty of peace, the Pawnees and Delawares were hostile to each other.[130] During the Gold Rush, and until the Delawares were forced from Kansas, white immigrants continually harassed them. Their horses were stolen, their timber cut, and their property violated. By 1854, in one of the Manypenny treaties, the Delawares were coerced into ceding much of their reservation. Adams said of this cession:

> They were encompassed on every side by settlers, and the history of their difficulties and discouragements was again repeated, their lands coveted and trespassed upon, their timber cut and destroyed. They were denied the protection of the law to either their property or persons, and in the hope of satisfying the demands of their neighbors and of the Government were persuaded, in 1854, to enter into a treaty with the United States by which they ceded 558,555.46 acres of the choicest of their lands in trust, which brought them $1,054,943.37, and at the same time to cede to the United States what was known as the "Outlet," a tract containing more than 1,000,000 acres, for the paltry sum of $10,000.[131]

In subsequent years the plight of the Delawares in Kansas became even more exasperating, for the railroads and the white settlers continued to covet their land.[132] In 1860 more Delaware lands were alienated by allotting to each Delaware eighty acres. The surplus land was to be purchased by the Pawnee and Western Railroad Company for $1.25 per acre.[133] In 1864 another treaty was made for the benefit of a railroad, resulting in the alienation of more land. By 1863 the harassed Delawares petitioned the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for money to send a delegation to the Rocky Mountains in search of a new home.[134] This request was refused, and a location in Indian Territory was suggested by the Commissioner, William P. Dole. Nothing could be done to further this movement until after the Civil War. Adams said that nearly all the able-bodied men enlisted in the Northern Army.[135]

On July 4, 1866, the Delaware tribe and the United States entered into another treaty providing for the removal of the Delawares to Indian

[128] Adams, 1906, p. 35.
[129] G. Foreman, 1946, p. 182; *Ann. Rep.*, 1838, p. 447.
[130] G. Foreman, 1946, p. 182.
[131] Adams, 1906, pp. 40-41.
[132] *Ibid.*, pp. 42 ff.
[133] G. Foreman, 1946, p. 185.
[134] Adams, 1906, p. 42; *Ann. Rep.*, 1863, p. 235.
[135] Adams, 1906, p. 42.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7

Territory. Every person carried upon a roll to be made up by February 18, 1867, was to be given one hundred and sixty acres of land purchased from the Cherokee Nation.[136] The Senate was slow in acting upon this treaty, and the Delawares in April, 1867, took the matter into their own hands and entered into the contract with the Cherokee Nation.[137] A Delaware delegation examined land in the Cherokee Nation and selected a strip of land lying along the Little Verdigris, or Caney, River. This tract comprises the northern four-fifths of present-day Washington County in northeastern Oklahoma.[138] The Delawares from tribal funds paid one dollar per acre for this land. When the roll was compiled there were nine hundred and eighty-five Delawares, who henceforth became part of the Cherokee tribe.[139]

During the fall and winter of 1867 the migration to Indian Territory was begun. The more prosperous individuals were the first to leave; some of the poorer Delawares did not arrive until the next summer.[140] This last migration is remembered by aged informants and is recalled as a journey of extreme hardship. It typifies the condition of the Delawares at this time, for it was the migration of a dispersed, erratically led, destitute remnant.

Acculturation

Acculturation during the Decadent Period is in one sense more complicated than at any other time. As has been seen, during this period the Delawares were more widely scattered and dispersed than they had been previously, and they were never able to regroup or reunite. The forces which affected these various remnants varied; the group which finally settled in the Anadarko vicinity, for example, had close contacts with the "wild" tribes (Comanche, Cheyenne, Arapaho), whereas the main body had more intimate relationships with the whites. For this and other reasons the subsequent culture change of these groups differed. Since my field work was principally with the descendants of the main body (the "Cherokee-Delaware"), my discussion principally concerns this group. It might be remarked in passing, however, that today all Delawares, whatever their antecedents, seem to have reached approximately the same stage of social and cultural assimilation.

It was during the Decadent Period that the aboriginal gardening techniques were finally abandoned. With the settlement of the main body of Delawares on reservations, and with closer association of Indians and whites, the opportunity to become acquainted with the horse-plow complex and the small grains increased immensely. The government agents and missionaries did everything within their power to transform the Delawares into sedentary, farming people. The men were reluctant, however, to alter their traditional role as hunters and warriors and

[136] *Ibid.*, p. 43; G. Foreman, 1946, pp. 186-87.
[137] G. Foreman, 1946, p. 188.
[138] Adams, 1906, p. 43.
[139] G. Foreman, 1946, p. 188.
[140] Adams, 1906, p. 43; G. Foreman, 1946, pp. 188-89; *Ann. Rep.*, 1868, p. 263.

3: Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7
Eastern Woodland Indians NM4

built in front of the opening before they go in and hot stones placed in the middle of the inclosed area. Not long after they have entered, they are covered with perspiration, then they crawl out and cool off, returning to repeat the same thing three or four times. Women have their own sweating ovens though they do not use them as commonly as do the men.[24]

Blood-letting and cupping are also in vogue among them. For blood-letting they use flint or glass. Of either they break off little fragments until a piece is secured that suits the purpose. This is fixed to a short stick, placed upon the artery and struck. In case of cupping, they open the skin with a knife, put a little calabash over the opening, burning birch-bast instead of a lamp.

The Delaware Nation, consisting of three tribes, the Unamis,[25] Wunalachticos[26] and Monsys,[27] formerly lived in the region about Philadelphia, also in Jersey about Trenton, Brunswick and Amboy. The Unamis are the chief people of the nation; their language, differing but little from that of the Wunalachtico, is the most melodious. The Monsy tongue is quite different, even though the three grew out of one parent language. The last named tribe lived in Minnissing[28] along the Delaware, behind the Blue Mountains.

Among Indians belonging to the Moravian Congregation on the Muskingum River there are some old people, who were in Philadelphia when the first houses were built there. They are able to relate how peaceably and agreeably the whites and Indians dwelt together, as if they had been one people, being ever ready each to serve the other. Even among the savages there are old people, who tell the following, as I have heard it from various individuals.

Before the whites had come into the land, there had been Indians who foretold that someone would come to them across the great sea. This they had repeated on various occasions in the hearing of other Indians, at the last even indicating the day when this should come to pass, the event making good their words. How these Indians could have foretold it, no one professes to know, the only explanation offered being that there

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

At Pittsburg the Monongehella, which takes its rise in Virginia, enters into the river. In the Indian tongue the name of this river was Mechmenawungihilla, which signifies a high bank, which is ever washed out and therefore collapses. Ten miles up this river on Turtoise[40] Creek General Braddock was defeated by the French and Indians in 1755 and at Fort Sigonier,[41] fifty-four miles to the east of Pittsburg, at various times during those wars many people were killed by the Indians. 133

The Alleghene is a navigable river and as one says in English, "of gentle current." Large vessels may pass from Pittsburg down the Ohio to Illinoise and into the Mississippi, which is fifteen hundred miles, and to a French island, New Orleans, in the last named river. The Ohio empties into the Mississippi fourteen hundred miles below Pittsburg. Previous to this war, the east side of this river was already thickly settled, but since the Indians have massacred so many, most settlers have retreated. Further down, about six hundred miles from Pittsburg, also on the east bank of the river there is a large settlement of the whites on the Kentuke[42] River. These also suffered much from the Indians in the late war.

Up to six or seven years ago the Delawares lived along the Alleghene, but after the Six Nations had sold a considerable portion on the eastern side of the river to the whites, they retreated to the Muskingum, where they now live. This stream rises near Cajahages[43] in a small lake, and the Cajahage River empties into Lake Erie only a short distance from its source. [131]

When one thinks of the number of rivers and creeks that flow into the lakes, one ceases to wonder at the existence of the Great Lakes. Lake Huron, Michillimakinac, Michigan and Superior, which lie to the north of Detroit, all find an outlet in Lake Erie and this in turn in Lake Ontario, whence the St. Lawrence River rises. In all these lakes no current is observable, but their waters are clear and transparent, abounding in fish.

Traders have journeyed northward from Detroit through Lake Superior and beyond to the neighborhood of Hudson Bay in the interest of trade with the Indians. Such a journey usually takes a year.

3: Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

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women officiated under such circumstances, Schoolcraft *History*, Pt. IV, 515. Loskiel refers to the efficiency of female doctors in child-birth. *History*, 110.

34. These primitive Turkish baths were, unquestionably, a great means of health to this race which suffered so largely from colds. Dr. McClure, who gives an interesting description of a sweating oven on the Muskingum, asserts, however, that to pulmonary disorders and small pox, the treatment was quite fatal. *Diary*, 67.

35. The Unamis, the chief tribe of the Delawares, lived on the Tuscarawas River.

36. The Unalochtgos, the tribe of second importance, lived beside the Tuscarawas.

37. The Monseys lived mostly on the Big Beaver River.

38. Orange Co., N. Y.

39. It is refreshing, in the face of so many idealistic accounts of primitive Indian life to read these blunt, plain statements of facts from Zeisberger's pen. We probably know more accurately concerning the Six Nations than of any other Indians. One of the earliest reports claims that De Nonville's soldiers in 1687 destroyed a million and a quarter bushels of corn in four Seneca villages. And yet we know that the eating of children in time of utter famine was known among the Senecas — Cadwallader Colden, *History of the Five Indian Nations* (1755) II, 8. If such destitution could exist in a region exceedingly well watered and fertile, what of Indians not so fortunately placed?

40. Bracket fungus.

41. Remains of the Mound-building Indians. These were found on the site of at least one of the Moravian Mission towns, Lichtenau. De Schweinitz, *Life of Zeisberger*, 433, 436 *Note*.

42. Unquestionably a European idea; no mounds in the Middle West were high enough to serve the purpose of rolling blocks or stones. The greater part of the mounds so far opened prove to have been raised over charnel houses after the latter had been filled with bodies.

43. These facts concerning the woolen wampum and the substitute for wampum are of utmost interest.

44. Allegheny River.

45. Neville's Island? This is clearly, the Delaware tradition.

46. Tennessee River, commonly known in early days as the Cherokee River. See A. B. Hulbert's, "Washington's Tour to the Ohio," *Ohio State Arch. and Hist. Quart.* XVII, (Oct. 1908), 484.

46½. At the Treaty of Fort Stanwix?

47. Here begins Zeisberger's version of the legend of the conquest of the Iroquois over the Delawares, one of the famous Indian legends. It is possible that this Zeisberger account is the original English (German) version upon which so many versions have been based. Heckewelder (*History* 11) referring to the source of his information.

Delaware culture contained in his study of Teedyuskung proved particularly stimulating. His analysis of the Walking Purchase controversy is also the best I have found.

In using these documents it was found that when the statements made represented actual observations of the author, they were usually correct and could be checked with other sources. At times the authors specifically mentioned which statements were based on their own experience, and when they did not, this could sometimes be determined by the nature of the fact being related. A lot of the material, on the other hand, probably represents second-hand information. Except for statements which patently represented preconceptions of the author, however, the material gathered from the various sources proved consistent and, in most cases, capable of being checked. In addition to the precautions observed in using the earlier material, special care was taken in the use of these later writers not to assume as aboriginal customs for which there was no evidence in earlier writers.

The entire bibliography has been utilized in the present paper and represents as complete a list of the seventeenth and eighteenth century writings on Delaware ethnography as I have been able to find, but important papers based on the memories of nineteenth and twentieth century reservation Indians have been omitted. The only other work which contains anything like a thorough survey of historical sources on Delaware culture is Regina Flannery's check list of certain traits of coastal Algonkian culture (Flannery, 1939).

The Delaware of Lenape were a large, east coast tribe composed of numerous bands, the names of about twenty-five of which have been preserved. They spoke an Algonkian language related to those of tribes extending north to New England and south to Georgia. Their numbers, which have been estimated at about 8000, spread over a territory bounded on the east coast by Delaware Bay and Manhattan Island, in western Pennsylvania by the Schuykill River, and in New York by the west bank of the Hudson River north to Kingston. In terms of the present status, this territory comprises eastern Pennsylvania, the north[illegible] coast of Delaware, all of New Jersey and a small portion of [illegible]stern New York including Staten Island. On their west were the Susquehannock and the Iroquois. Throughout the seventeenth century the Delaware were frequently at war with the Mohawk, Susquehannock and Cherokee. By the beginning of the eighteenth century the Delaware had been pushed from their coastal position to the Susquehanna River, and in the subsequent century were driven farther to the west in Pennsylvani, Ohio and Indiana by the expanding white frontier. During this time they continued to support themselves and maintain a society socially and politically separate from that of the European colonies in America. At the end of the eighteenth century, however, they became split into small bands which affiliated with many different tribes in subsequent migrations to the south and west. A large part of the

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Delaware tribe was gathered together on a reservation in Kansas in 1835 and from there removed to their present location in Oklahoma, where they are politically incorporated in the Cherokee nation. Other Delaware, most of whom belonged to the Munsee division and were converted by Moravian missionaries in the eighteenth century, are now located in Ontario.

DELAWARE CULTURE

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The method of presentation which has been followed is to place the authorities for each statement immediately after it. For the most part, traits for which there is no evidence in earlier sources have been omitted, but where this leaves a large gap in the picture of the culture, sections based purely on eighteenth century sources have been inserted. The material has been divided into three main aspects, and proceeds from a consideration of economic life, to social organization and religion.

Means of Procuring Food

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[262]

For the tribes living on the east coast, fishing was probably the most important means of getting food, judging from the relative amounts of shells and animal bones found in ancient sites (Skinner, 1915, p. 7). Oysters, clams, mussels and scallops were widely utilized as well as rockfish, shad, herring, sturgeon and gar fish which were found plentifully in those waters (Abbott, 1875, p. 278; Skinner, 1909, p. 46).

According to Lindstrom, the Indians caught fish by building a dam across a stream near its source or at a waterfall. When the river rose, the last small opening was closed in the dam and the water allowed to flow over it, leaving the fish in shallow water at low tide. They were then either taken by hand or shot with bow and arrow (sic). The latter method was also used in deep water (Lindstrom, 1915, pp. 219-220). Other writers report the use of hemp nets, and a number of stone sinkers have been found in archaeological sites. Rude seines of matted leaves and twigs are mentioned as well as fishing spears (Abbott, 1875, pp. 278 and 361; Heye, p. 70; Skinner, 1915, pp. 7 and 10; Harrington, 1913, p. 222).

[227]

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The Delaware's hunting was done both cooperatively and individually. Early Swedish writers have described one cooperative method in which deer were surrounded either by a ring of men or by a ring of fire, and driven toward the center where they were shot with bow and arrow. Sometimes they were driven into a river where they were lassoed (Johnson, p. 281; Lindstrom, p. 214). According to a later writer, these hunting parties had a leader and were governed by definite rules, but there is no direct evidence for this in pre-contact times (Loskiel, p. 77). These organized hunts took place in the fall, but hunting itself was a year round occupation

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

II. THE DELAWARE TRIBE

HISTORICAL SKETCH

The Delaware call themselves Lenape or Lenni Lenape. Their common name is derived from the fact that their first known residence was on the river so named by the English. Lindeström gives their location in 1656 as in the vicinity of Philadelphia on the west side of the Delaware River, and their kindred, the Munsee, were located on the east side. The territory that they occupied was probably much more extensive than Lindeström indicated, but little beyond the water courses had been explored in those days. The Delaware were still in possession of the river when William Penn entered into his first treaty with them in 1682.

The British administration after Penn's time was aligned with the Iroquois who assumed domination over the Delaware. It is practically impossible to determine the exact time or circumstances of the Iroquois "making women" of the Delaware, but about 1720 they denied the Delaware the right to make war or to dispose of land. Very soon the Delaware were being crowded out of their old locations by the Iroquois and the whites. They moved to various sites farther west in Pennsylvania, and by 1751 began to settle in eastern Ohio. Within a few years the majority of them were in Ohio and Indiana. The Moravian missionaries who followed them from the East established themselves in Ohio and worked with great success until the Revolution.

Distrusted by both the British and the colonists, the Delaware and particularly the Moravian converts, were harried from both sides. The Gnadenhütten Massacre in 1782 was the greatest blow dealt by the colonists, but while demoralizing, it was not as devastating as were the moves forced upon the Indians by the British the year before. The famine and other hardships resulting from these forced emigrations scattered and decimated the Christian Delaware and also created the opportunity for the

12:Tantaquidgeon E-5 (no date)1950
NM7 Delaware NM7

Delaware Indian Art Designs

GLADYS TANTAQUIDGEON

Introduction

101 THE DELAWARES belong to the Algonkian linguistic stock. When referring to themselves they use the term Lenape or Lenni Lenape, which denotes "real" or "native men." The original
131 habitat of the Delawares was in southeastern New York, eastern Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Delaware. In this territory they were first visited by the Dutch,
648 Swedish and English voyagers in the 16th
175 and 17th centuries. About 1720, trouble began owing in part to pressure brought upon the Delawares by the Iroquois. This marked the beginning of a series of
167 migrations in which bands of Delawares
175 left their ancestral homes in the east and moved westward. Their first move took them to the valley of the Susquehanna, where they settled at Wyoming about 1742. By 1751 they had reached eastern Ohio and formed settlements. Another move brought numbers of them into Indiana. In 1789 they were granted permission by the Spanish government to settle in Missouri and Arkansas. Later most of the tribe was brought together on a reservation

[P. 24, A]

15:Morgan E-8 (1859)1959
NM7 Delaware NM7
Munsee

[p 59]
[p 58 not processed]

Munsees

101 The Munsees are closely allied to the Dela-
wares. They have the three tribes, Wolf,
614 Turtle and Turkey, with the prohibition of
[582] intermarriage in the tribe, and with descent
[611] in the female line. This Toucey told me who
has lived among them. They are old Con-
101 necticut Indians. There are about 50 near
162 Fort Leavenworth, and some I think near
●131 Green Bay.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

From this digression I return again to the Alleghene or
133 Ohio Region. This is separated from Pennsylvania and the other colonies by the Alleghene mountains. The most considerable mountains to be passed on the road (from the land of the Delawares) to Pittsburg are the Sidling Hill, the Alleghene Mountain and Laurel Hill.[76] In other directions there are more, since the mountain chains at times divide and receive different names in the different regions in which they lie, though they belong to the same system. In Pennsylvania they are called the Blue Ridge, viz., the Little and the Great Blue Ridge, the latter being also called the Wolf's Mountain, on account of the number of wolves which infest it; and in the country about Tulpehocken and Thürnstein[76] as is to be seen on the chart, and another name is Jacob's Height.[77] The Thürnstein belongs, therefore, to the Alleghene Mountains, as appears not only from its position but also from similarity in mass, breadth and height to the other parts of that range.

This mountain chain forms a boundary between this region
132 and that to the east even in the matter of weather conditions.
133 In Pennsylvania the east wind generally brings rain. This is not the case in Ohio, where the east wind rarely blows and then hardly above twelve hours at a time. The south and west winds bring rain, and it even rains sometimes with a northwest wind. In Pennsylvania northwest wind brings clear and fine weather. All thunder storms rise either with the south, west or northwest winds and a land rain from the west sometimes continues for a week.

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3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

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The higher lying land, generally of medium richness, though some of this also is extraordinarily fertile, is the best for winter grains, and as but little of it is stony soil it would be difficult to find a spot that could not be cultivated to advantage.

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the Ohio three hundred miles below Pittsburg, one hundred miles from here, snow hardly ever remains on the ground, and the ground is bare for most of the winter. In autumn and even up to Christmas and New Year or beyond that time, there is little frost, and even if in a clear night the ground should freeze, it thaws soon after sunrise. There are very few clear, beautiful days in the winter-time; much of the time it rains, occasionally it snows. After a few clear days a change may be looked for. If there has been quite a snow, rain may follow. Yet the Muskingum, not having a strong current, is frozen over when there are several cold nights in succession. Usually this happens once during the winter, rarely oftener.

The Indians make little provision to feed their cattle in winter, for as there is no deep snow and the weather is generally mild, cattle and particularly horses can forage for themselves, finding feed in the woods. In the bottoms grass never quite dies away but remains green toward the end of March and beginning of April grows again.

Of wild fruits the strawberries,[85] much like those in Europe, are the first to ripen in spring. Blackberries,[86] raspberries,[87] bilberries,[88] are also found, though not native to these parts, for these varieties grow best on hills and in not too rich soil. Further, there are wild gooseberries[89] and currants,[90] the latter black in color and with a somewhat different taste from that of the red which are cultivated in gardens, though having the same sort of leaves. There are two varieties of cranberries;[91] one grows in swamps on low bushes not as high as the bilberry bushes, the other on small trees. For both the Indians have one name (Rakilun). Of the wild cherry, there are three kinds, not found in Europe at all, and having a very good taste. The one sort[92] grows on high thick trees, which are found in large numbers and yield a very fine red wood that is well suited for cabinet work. The other kinds[93] grow on bushes. On the islands in the Susquehanna, cherries[94] are found, very like the cultivated fruit, having about the same form and taste. The only difference is that they grow neither on trees nor bushes, but on vines, which lie on the ground and when lifted up appear laden with fruit.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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which the Delawares were enticed by the Six Nations. The woman's dress of the Delaware nation was shortened so as to reach only to the knees and a hatchet was given into their hands for defense. More than this, on the occasion of a council held during the same war, near Pittsburg, the Six Nations proposed to take the woman's dress away altogether and clothe them with the breech-clout, saying they could well see that the dress was a hindrance, inasmuch as the Delawares did not enter heartily into the war, being well aware that the Six Nations only sought their ruin. This, therefore, was not approved of by the Delawares, one of their chiefs rising to say to the Six Nations, "Why do you wish to rob the woman of her dress? I tell you that if you do, you will find creatures in it that are ready to bite you."

The Six Nations who had betrayed the Delawares into a war with the white people, at the last fell upon them themselves at the instigation of Sir William Johnson, taking many captives, especially of the Monsy [Monsey] tribe, whom they delivered over to Johnson, destroying and ravaging their towns on the Susquehanna and killing their cattle.[48½] The Delawares will not easily forget this piece of treachery and there is and remains a national hostility between these nations. In this present war the Delawares have done much to avenge themselves.

With the Mohicanders and Woapanose[49] the Six Nations also carried on wars for a long time; through the instrumentality of white people peace was eventually declared between them at Albanien.[50]

Concerning the country in which the Delawares formerly lived, viz., in Pennsylvania and Jersey, it is unnecessary to add anything, as these regions are well known. Along the Susquehanna, where our Indians lived, that is, at Friedenshütten,[51] the country is beautiful and the soil good along the river, but away from the river in the heart of the country it is very mountainous and of no use to the Indians except for the chase. Where the Indians would prepare land and plant, the soil must be of the best. In many cases where the Europeans would think it possible to have fine farms, the Indians would not look at the soil.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

From this digression I return again to the Alleghene or
133 Ohio Region. This is separated from Pennsylvania and the other colonies by the Alleghene mountains. The most considerable mountains to be passed on the road (from the land of the Delawares) to Pittsburg are the Sidling Hill, the Alleghene Mountain and Laurel Hill.[76] In other directions there are more, since the mountain chains at times divide and receive different names in the different regions in which they lie, though they belong to the same system. In Pennsylvania they are called the Blue Ridge, viz., the Little and the Great Blue Ridge, the latter being also called the Wolf's Mountain, on account of the number of wolves which infest it; and in the country about Tulpehocken and Thürnstein[77] as is to be seen on the chart, and another name is Jacob's Height.[77] The Thürnstein belongs, therefore, to the Alleghene Mountains, as appears not only from its position but also from similarity in mass, breadth and height to the other parts of that range.

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3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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At Pittsburg the Monongehella, which takes its rise in Virginia, enters into the river. In the Indian tongue the name of this river was Mechmenawungihilla, which signifies a high bank, which is ever washed out and therefore collapses. Ten miles up this river on Turtoise[80] Creek General Braddock was defeated by the French and Indians in 1755 and at Fort Sigonier,[81] fifty-four miles to the east of Pittsburg, at various times during those wars many people were killed by the Indians.

The Alleghene is a navigable river and as one says in English, "of gentle current." Large vessels may pass from Pittsburg down the Ohio to Illinoise and into the Mississippi, which is fifteen hundred miles, and to a French island, New Orleans, in the last named river. The Ohio empties into the Mississippi fourteen hundred miles below Pittsburg. Previous to this war, the east side of this river was already thickly settled, but since the Indians have massacred so many, most settlers have retreated. Further down, about six hundred miles from Pittsburg, also on the east bank of the river there is a large settlement of the whites on the Kentuke[82] River. These also suffered much from the Indians in the late war.

Up to six or seven years ago the Delawares lived along the [131] Alleghene, but after the Six Nations had sold a considerable portion on the eastern side of the river to the whites, they retreated to the Muskingum, where they now live. This stream rises near Cajahages[83] in a small lake, and the Cajahage River empties into Lake Erie only a short distance from its source.

When one thinks of the number of rivers and creeks that flow into the lakes, one ceases to wonder at the existence of the Great Lakes. Lake Huron, Michillimakinac, Michigan and Superior, which lie to the north of Detroit, all find an outlet in Lake Erie and this in turn in Lake Ontario, whence the St. Lawrence River rises. In all these lakes no current is observable, but their waters are clear and transparent, abounding in fish.

Traders have journeyed northward from Detroit through Lake Superior and beyond to the neighborhood of Hudson Bay in the interest of trade with the Indians. Such a journey usually takes a year.

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father to all these nations and they are the grandchildren. The Cherokees live on the east side of the Ohio, in the mountains opposite North Carolina. The Chipuways[200] are a numerous people on the north coast of Lake Erie. The Ottawas and the Putewoatamen live to the west of Lake Erie, but a great way beyond it. The Twichttwees and the Wawiachtanos dwell between the Sioto and the Wabash and the Kikapus, the Moshkos and Tuckachschas on both sides of the Wobash, yet a considerable distance from one another.

The country through which the Wobash [Wabash] flows is very level. Here are great plains producing nothing but grass as in the flats of Wajomik.[200] In a journey of some days you meet with neither hill, tree nor thicket. Upon these plains herds of buffalo are seen grazing, comprising sometimes of hundreds of head. The banks of the Ohio are subject to frequent inundation, especially in the spring when the snow melts in the north. For several miles on either side of the river the country will at such a time be under water. Should Indians be hunting at this time, they find it necessary to be careful of their canoes, lest they should suffer want or death, for once the water overflows the banks, it runs out many miles and there is no escape without a canoe. Buffalo and other game perish in large numbers in such floods. Where there is a slight elevation animals gather by the hundreds, until the waters recede. In that region there is a great salt-lick, much visited by buffalo and other game.[201] There bones and teeth of elephants of considerable size have been found, both by whites and Indians. In earlier times there must have been elephants in this region. Whether they were exterminated by the Indians or perished in some other way, it is not easy to determine.

The (Wiondats), or Hurons, have been given the latter name because formerly they lived near Lake Huron, (the Delawares call them Delamattenos),[201] they call the Delaware nation their cousin, and the latter in turn call them uncle. With these the Delawares have never had a war but have always been good friends. Between the Delawares and the Six Nations there has never been real friendship, because the latter secured peace in no straight-forward manner. Recognizing that the Delawares

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

These may be characterized by relative size in the following chronological order. 177

1. Until 1638. Contacts with only occasional trading ships.
2. 1638 to about 1700. Entire Delaware communities in contact with smaller white communities.
3. 1700 to 1750. Entire Delaware communities in contact with larger white communities.
4. 1751 to 1821. Contacts mainly with missionaries and traders.
5. 1821 to about 1850. Reservation life, contacts with government officials, missionaries, traders, and smaller white communities. [657]
6. 1850 to 1938. Delaware families on individual tracts and allotments, no longer in communities, in contact with white communities, and after 1890 surrounded by them.

At only rare and brief intervals, like the French and Indian War and the Revolution, were the whites openly and militantly hostile to the Delaware. Their contacts aside from these exterminating expeditions were responsible for the following types of effect. 648 177

1. Introduction of new ideas, materials, and techniques, with possible supplanting of the old ideas.
2. Introduction of other Indian elements through traders.
3. New tribal contacts through moves forced upon the Delaware whether by administrative action or otherwise. [167]
4. Change in habitat, due to destruction of game, forests, etc., and settlement on reservations and allotments.

It should be pointed out that not only did the white contact range through various nationalities—Swedish, Dutch, English, French, German, and American, but white culture as a whole was also changing through the centuries of contact. The most striking aspect of this evolution was probably in technology, but the changes in attitude towards the Indians and the changes in administrative policy were also important.

In their first historical habitat the Delaware were almost surrounded by closely related tribes—the Munsee, Mahican, Nanticokes, Conoy, Manhattan, and other members of the Wap- 133 177

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

133 pinger confederacy, and the Iroquoian Susquehannas. Contacts
177 with the Iroquois were probably not very numerous until the Iroquois destroyed the Susquehanna in 1676. In 1689 contact with the Shawnee was first reported. Friendly relations with this tribe have continued to the present day but were particularly close during their residence in Ohio and Indiana. Their migrations westward brought them in contact with many other tribes, the Huron, Chippewa, Ottawa, Miami, Pawnee, Osage, Quapaw, and Cherokee to mention only the most important.

177 It is impossible to detect the full effect of each of these contacts upon the Delaware culture. Intermarriages took place with some of these tribes that there is no way of tracing. Genealogical research among the living Delaware is of no help since, generally speaking, the horizon of their memories is reached at three generations. Also complicating the picture is the fact that adoption completely wiped out tribal origin. The effect of all these contacts with other tribes was not, however, as great as the influence of the more powerful and more divergent culture of the whites.

THE DELAWARE TODAY

162 The census of 1930 listed 971 Delaware and Munsee in the United States, of whom 874 were living in Oklahoma. Of these 20.2 per cent were reported as full blooded. An examination of the instructions to the enumerators of the census reveals that the individual was asked for the percentage of Indian blood he
144 possessed and the tribe to which he belonged. The census figures
161 do not show the amount of mixture between tribes. According to the information I could get from the Indians themselves, it is very doubtful if there is a single full-blooded Delaware today. Many who are less than half Delaware consider themselves all Delaware, and would so state if casually asked, but even a short genealogy usually shows a mixture with white blood and also with that of other tribes. In 1865 the Indian agent among the Delaware reported that intermarriage was lessening the Indian blood among various tribes and that there was no remarkable in-

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
NM7 Delaware NM7

CHAPTER XVII.

Concerning the Hunting and Shooting of the American Savage People.

The soil in New Sweden is so loose, as if we stood and poked in ashes, because the earth there is not so closely rooted or sodded, as when it is somewhat used in the beginning, burnt, sown and cut.[1] There indeed grows a great deal of high grass, which reaches above the knees of a man, but the stalks are so far apart that one can uproot it like flax or hemp. There is also no thickly grown forest but the trees stand far apart, as if they were planted. The soil also appears there in the country, as if it formerly had stood under water, for there is found everywhere on the ground an abundance of all kinds of mussels and shells, as well as other things that are found in the water.[2]

Now as soon as the winter bids good night, they begin with their hunts, which is done with a fine innovation.[3] Now at that time of the year the grass which grows there, as has been said, is as dry as hay. When now the sachem wants to arrange his hunt, then he commands his people [to

[1] *Jorden in Nova Hucoia är så löös som man stodo och rörde j Aska, af orsaak att Jorden är ther inthet så tätt rotader eller vallader sdsom när hon blyfwer något j förstonne brukader, brändh, sddder och afslagen.* This is ambiguous. Perhaps it means that the ground is loose before grass-roots and other growths have made it tough.

[2] *Musslor och allehanda skaalor sampt annat som i wattnet finnes.*

[3] *Artigh invention.* See above, Chapt. XV, note 6.

3: Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

The odor is somewhat like that of tar, though not very much so. They stir the water violently then let it settle and become clear. The more the pool is stirred the more abundantly does the oil flow. When it is clear they scoop it into kettles, and, as it is impossible to avoid getting some water, boil it and preserve it for use. They use it as a medicine in all sorts of cases for external application, thus for tooth-ache, head-ache, swelling, rheumatism, strained joints. Some also take it internally and it appears to have hurt no one in this way. Some, indeed, declare that the oil flows from the coal deposits, but this is not likely, for in the first place, there is no sign of pit coal to be seen in this region — one sees nothing more than poor sandstone and, in the second place, in other parts where there is much pit coal, as for example, along the Muskingum, no sign of oil is to be seen. Were the oil to be found there, the Indians would know of it, for they value it highly and have looked for it, but found none. Most probably it comes out of the earth. It is brownish in color and may be used in lamps, for it burns well.

Salt springs are to be found both along the Muskingum and along the Ohio. Of this salt the Indians make little use; they prefer to buy it from the whites, even though they have to pay a high price for it owing to the fact that it has to be brought a considerable distance from the seaports. Moreover, they use very little salt and seem not to require it. They often eat their food unsalted, even though they may have the salt, until they feel a longing for it.

These salt springs are usually to be found on the bank of a creek or even in the middle of the creek on a sand-bank, the fresh water flowing on both sides. The Indians have on occasion boiled a considerable quantity of salt in a short time at such a well, so that it would appear worth the labor to get it, especially as it is so expensive.

There are, also, many salt licks to which cattle, horses and game go in large numbers. These are generally springs that have salt or saltpetre[137] in them.

The common sort of stones in this region along the Ohio are the sandstones. Some are very hard, others soft. They

[137] [i.e., crude oil.—Analyst]

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

●135 are, for the most part, of a gray, fine sand and make as good whetstones as one might wish. Rocks you meet occasionally along the Ohio, but away from the river and here along the Muskingum very few, even most of, the mountains and hills are not rocky.

Pit-coal is found in abundance, but as there is no lack of wood it is little used and hardly thought of by the Indians. In Pittsburg the coal is used in fire-places and by blacksmiths.

[324] [276] A kind of stone, black in color, is found here, that is easily worked and cut. It has no sand in its composition and the Indians make tobacco pipes of it, some doing very neat work.

There is also a kind of stone, blue in color, which is very hard. It somewhat resembles the limestone of Pensilvanien, but examination has shown it to be different. Limestone has not yet been found in this region.

A mineralogist would find many more varieties to describe, to which I am unable to give even the names, especially along the shores of the river, where all kinds may be seen, green, yellow, blue, red and black. About ore I know little or nothing concerning this region. The Indians believed themselves to have found gold and silver, but what they produced as precious ore, because it resembled this somewhat, on the test and examination of whites was found to be sulphurous substance.[138] Whatever glitters, the Indians are apt to look upon at once as being gold or silver.

317 276 [439] The Cherokees, who through the years have had much intercourse with the Delawares, brought with them many tobacco pipes for trade. These they made of quite white stone, probably white marble.[139] When completed they blackened the pipes and in such a way that they retained their color. These pipes are made so neatly that they are no heavier than the European pipes.

From the Mississippi the Indians bring red marble, whenever they come from that direction. Of this pipes are also made. [293] Such pipes, however, are as a rule to be seen only in the possession of chiefs or captains, for not many of them are to be had. A pipe of this sort is generally used in council or on solemn occasions. This is carried about by the chief counsellor, each

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

317
one present draws a few whiffs of smoke and this is called smoking the peace-pipe. 276

There are four kinds of clay. There is the white, which is almost like chalk and with which, when dry, one can write as with chalk.[140] Another variety is quite black. This, however, becomes quite white when burned. Besides these, gray and yellow clays are found. A sort of yellow earth, rather of an orange tinge is found, of which the Indians, especially the warriors, make a fine color by burning.[141] With this they paint themselves and they are particularly careful that the head shall be always red. It is not too much for the Wiondats to come here to Tuscarawi, a distance of at least a hundred miles, to supply themselves with this red coloring matter. 135 [386] [301]

Concerning plants and roots of medicinal virtue, it would be possible, if one were to devote himself to inquiry, to secure a great deal of information from the Indians, for what one of these does not know another does, each man and woman having some knowledge in this direction, some more, some less. Hence, the custom that a patient who has consulted an Indian and secured a medicine from him without, however, being benefited, will go immediately to another; if no relief is obtained through his advice, the patient goes to a third, a fourth until he finds one whose medicine helps. For many ailments they have very good remedies, e. g., for rheumatism. In respect to this affliction I have witnessed instances where they have effected a thorough cure and not only once or twice. At times they can secure desired results with only two or three kinds of roots, at other times more are required. If a simple remedy does not afford relief, they may use twenty or more kinds of roots. Even in such cases I know of cures having been effected. In treating rheumatism, bathing and sweating play a great part. 757 278

They have remedies even for fevers. When a patient has been given a dose, they are generally able to tell from its workings whether he will recover or die. If he does not retain the medicine, this is regarded as a sign that he will hardly recover. I have paid some attention to this and like cases of treatment and found that the Indians have generally been correct in their

3: Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7
Iroquois NM9

In this region they found deer, elk and bear hunting good, as also beaver, fox and raccoon in plenty. The Susquehanna is well stocked with fish. The chief fish are the Rock fish,[52] regarded as one of the best fish, having large scales and often weighing from ten to forty pounds; the Shad[53] or May-fish which in the spring of the year come up the rivers in great numbers, at which time they are caught by the hundreds and thousands with nets made of wild vines; the Yellow Perch,[54] as its name suggests of yellowish color, having sharp prickles along the back, a narrow head and sharp teeth like the pike,[55] which also abounds; the Horn-fish[56] with a long bill like that of a duck, only narrower, having very sharp teeth. This fish is not eaten by the Indians. Further, there are trout[57] in the creeks in great numbers in winter and spring, as also in the Susquehanna. There are large eels[58] and various smaller fish, such as Catfish, Sunfish and others.

In the spring of the year 1765 two seals[59] were shot by the Indians at Wajomick. As the like had never been seen there before, these caused much astonishment among the Indians of that region. Many were summoned to witness the marvel. After they had sufficiently expressed their astonishment, a council was called to consider whether it would be proper to eat them or not. An old Indian arose and observed as God had sent them they could not but be good to eat, even though they had not seen such animals before. They, accordingly, prepared a feast and all who were assembled partook of the seals and found them a palatable dish. These seals had unquestionably come from the sea and had come up the river several hundred miles.

The region under consideration has this peculiarity above the country to the south that it has great swamps. A swamp is the name given to such a place where the sun never shines because of the dense thicket and which even in the middle of summer is always wet and cool. In such places the beech, white pine and spruce grow well. The Six Nations, to the north, are surrounded with such swamps. Hence, one must go a journey of many days through the wilderness before their

[i.e. along the Susquehanna. - Analyst]

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

with the white walnut bark,[145]
used externally and internally, they effect many cures. Laid upon flesh wounds this relieves pain at once, prevents swelling and accelerates healing. Applied externally in case of tooth-ache, head-ache or pain in the limbs, this brings speedy relief.

Beyond question there are many roots and herbs not found in Europe; perhaps it would be safe to say that this is true of most here found, but as I am no authority in this subject and know no names, except perhaps the Indian designations, I will add nothing further about roots and herbs. Doubtless, there are books from which one might get more information than it is in my power to give.

The following quadrupeds are to be found along the Ohio: In the first place, there are the deer,[146] whose skins are much used in barter and trade by the Indians. Their horns are not straight, but bent toward each other and have prongs. From May until September they are red, after that they lose the red hair and their hide is covered with long, gray hair, which is their winter coat. At about the beginning of the year they shed their horns; new ones grow in spring. These are at first and until they attain their full size, covered with a thin skin, which peels off when the horns harden. The tail is about a foot long and stands up straight when they run. As the under side of the tail is white it is possible to see them running at a great distance. The young are born in June or about that time, are red, spotted with white, until in the fall when they become gray. Deer have young each spring, sometimes two. As, however, they are hunted so persistently at the call of trade, their numbers diminish with each year, even though the forests are of vast extent, for the hunters are many. A large buckskin is valued at a Spanish dollar; two doeskins are regarded as equal in value to one buckskin.[147]

The bear is quite black, has short ears, a thick head and quite a sharp snout.[148] It has but a very short tail and great strong claws on his feet. It can easily climb the trees and bring down chestnuts and acorns. This is done, however, only when these are not ripe and do not, therefore, fall down. They generally break off the branches, throw them down and then climb

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● 136 down to consume the nuts. Where there is food and mast they are found. It is as if they knew that in this or that region it would be good for them to live. In the fall, when the Indians hunt the deer, they take no notice of the bears; otherwise they would spoil their fall hunting. They do, however, notice their tracks and whither they lead. At the end of December the bears, having fattened, seek their winter quarters, which they prepare in the trunks of hollow trees or in caves or the thickest part of the forest, where many old trees lie piled up. They leave their winter quarters in early spring, if they have young, of which there are generally two, not until May. During this period they are said to eat nothing, but to live on their own fat. When the deer hunt of the fall, at which season skins are 136 best, is over, the Indians immediately prepare for the bear hunt. 224 They are remarkably expert in finding out the haunts of these animals. If the bears are in hollow trees, it is frequently necessary to cut down the tree, as the bear will not leave his retreat otherwise. In case the bear comes out when they hammer on the tree and make a noise, they stand prepared with their guns to kill him as soon as most of his bulk is emerged. Their skins [513] are no great object for trade, hence the Indians prefer to use them for their sleeping places, for which the long hair makes them peculiarly useful. There is likewise a kind of bear, much larger than the common bear, with much hair on the legs, but little on the bodies, which appear quite smooth.[140] The Indians call it the king of bears, for they have found by experience that many bears will willingly follow it. While all the bears are carnivorous, and, therefore, flesh of game kept by the Indians hanging on trees forms for them a welcome repast, or they are fond of feeding on swine they catch in the forest, this kind of bear is particularly voracious. Many instances are known where they have seized upon even defenseless Indian women and children. In more northerly regions, as, e. g., in the country of the Mingoes, these are more frequently found and they have killed many Indians.

136 Elk are in my estimation most like the European stag,[140] and I have often thought that they must be the same species and that what is here called the stag is the European fallow deer,

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but as I have seen neither stag nor fallow deer in Europe I cannot speak authoritatively. I recognize that the English distinguish between the elk and the stag in Europe. They, also, shed their coat in spring and are reddish in color during the summer like the deer. In fall they are light gray and in winter dark gray. The bucks have long, heavy antlers with many prongs. These they shed each year as do the deer. The tail is quite short. As the skins are very thick and heavy and of no particular value, elk do not tempt the Indians to the chase. Occasionally, one is shot that happens near an Indian, but most of the flesh is left in the forest for beasts of prey, even though the animals are always fat, in summer as in winter and do not become lean, like the deer. 136 [224]

The buffaloes[151] are dark brown in color, covered with long hair, or rather soft down mixed with hair. Their legs are short, the body is very heavy. They have a hunch upon their backs, just above the shoulders. This diminishes toward the rear, hence, they appear much shorter from the back than from the front. They have a thick head and a long beard depends from the chin. Altogether, they present a terrible appearance. Their horns are short, but thick and quite black. The buffaloes are a good deal heavier and larger than cattle. One that I have seen was a yearling, raised by the Indians and quite tame; even this was the size of a small cow, that has already had calf. At one time these animals appeared in great numbers along the Muskingum, but as soon as the country begins to be inhabited by the Indians, they retire and are now only to be found near the mouth of the above named river. Along the banks of the Scioto and further south, both Indians and whites say that they may be seen in herds numbering hundreds. That is two or three-hundred miles from here. If a buffalo cow is shot, its calf, if such it has, will stand quietly by until the huntsman has skinned its dam and then follow him into his hut, stay at his fire and not leave him. That this is true, I have living witnesses enough about me to testify. [231]

The panther[152] has a head and face like a cat, its legs are short and the paws are armed with sharp claws. It is a beast of prey of uncommon strength. Its tail is long, compared with

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●136 that of the cat. Deer it is able to catch at will. If it spies one and is desirous of capturing it, the panther crawls along the ground behind fallen trees or through the thicket until it is sure of capturing the deer in one leap. Then it springs upon its prey, seizes it with its claws and does not release its hold until the victim is dead. If it misses its aim at the first spring, it never attempts a second. When the deer has been killed, the panther devours but a small part, leaving the rest. When again pressed by hunger it seeks new game. At a distance of ten yards from a tree, the panther can leap ten yards up the tree and leap the same distance from the tree. It is not known that a panther has ever done the Indians injury without provocation. Should an Indian get near the place where the young are kept, 136 then he is in great danger and if he does not know what to do 224 under such circumstances, is almost sure to lose his life. He must never turn his back upon the panther, thinking that he can escape. He must not take his eyes off the animal, and if he has not the courage to shoot, gently walk backward, until he is a good distance away. If he shoots and misses, then he is in imminent danger and must keep his eyes fixed on the panther. It has happened that in this way Indians have saved their lives. It has occurred that a bear has fought so long with a panther, near to where the latter had its young, that both fell dead. The skin of the panther is gray in color, mixed with reddish hair.

Wild cats, gray in color, are distinguished from the do- 136 mestic cats in that they have hardly any tail.[185] They are beasts of prey, even invade the hunting lodges of the Indians, when the latter are out and if they find meat devour it.

There are three varieties of fox, red,[186] gray[187] and black.[188]

The raccoon[189] is somewhat larger than a common cat and has a pointed snout. Its forefeet bear some resemblance to hands and are used as such, for it digs up small mussels out of the sand, which form its food when there are no acorns or chestnuts to be had. Its hind legs resemble those of the bear. It is fattest in autumn and winter, when it lives in hollow logs like a bear, without seeking food. They do not hibernate as long as do the bears. In a severe winter it retires for two whole months,

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otherwise, only four weeks. The flesh is wholesome and tastes like bears' meat and its skin is useful to hatters. 136

The otter[158] can live on land or in water. It often travels a considerable distance across the country from one creek or river to another.

The beaver[159] was formerly found in great numbers in this region, but since the Indians have learned from the whites to catch them in steel-traps,[160] they are more rarely found. A necessary thing in connection with the beaver-catch is a certain oil or spirit which the Indians prepare of various kinds of bark of trees and other aromatic things, which they place in the traps to decoy the beavers into them. The skins are always of considerable value. They are very industrious animals and for their size, of uncommon strength. Beaver dams of such dimensions are found in creeks, that it might be imagined that they had been built by human hands. Such dams they build when there are many together, for they work harmoniously, at night, in order to dam up the water and often put a considerable piece of land under water in course of their operations. In the middle of the dam they build their dwelling places that are raised above the water, wood and earth being the materials used. As their dens are in the middle of the lakes they cannot be easily reached. In the front part of the mouth they have four quite broad and very sharp teeth, two above and two below. With these they are able to gnaw through trees that are nearly a foot in diameter. When the tree is down they divide it into pieces of such size that they are able to manage them. These pieces carried into the water, they join together in such fashion that the water cannot tear them apart. I have myself seen in quite a large creek a beaver dam, in which the beavers were still undisturbed at home, so that I could observe their habits and work. The dam, extending straight across the creek, reached three feet above the water, so that it was possible to cross the creek dry shod, and put several acres of land under water. In another place, where the water had threatened to take another course, they had been obliged to build another dam, made of earth and branches of trees. Had this dam not been so far from human habitation, one might have thought that it had been constructed 136 224 136

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●136 by men. The animals are of a dark brown color, have short legs and broad feet, adapted to swimming and armed with short claws. The tail is broad and flat. At the end it is broadest, smooth, without any hair, and looks as though covered with fish scales. The tail furnshes the best flesh and is much liked by the Indians. It has an appearance different from the rest of the animal's flesh, being more like fish meat. As the skins always bring a good price, the Indians hunt these animals constantly. [439]

The opossum is about as large as a small dog, of grayish white color and carnivorous.[161] If it finds a dead deer, it strikes into the carcass, lives there and devours it gradually. It climbs the trees and sleeps hanging to a branch by its tail,[162] which is bare of hair and quite round. Should one approach it unawares, it never attempts to escape but lies down as dead and makes no motion, though handled and turned. If one leaves it, the animal watches and creeps off slyly as soon as the enemy has retired some distance. It is not able to run swiftly. The female has a bag under her belly, in which she carries her young until they are too large for this receptacle, when they follow the mother. If she meets with a fallen tree in her passage, she either walks around or lifts her young, one by one, over the trunk and then proceeds on her journey. The flesh of the creature tastes like pork and is eaten by the English, rarely by the Indians. [262]

The pole-cat[163] has white and black markings, a gentle and mild countenance. It goes out of the way for no one, and whoever approaches too near is ill rewarded for his curiosity. It has a special gland containing a fluid intolerably foetid. If one approaches too closely, the fluid is discharged and thrown in all directions with the tail. The offensive odor no one can bear and one is ready enough to get away. If one's person or clothes has been infected by the moisture, it is necessary to bathe and change before returning into company. Even dogs, when they kill the animal, find the stench unbearable. Yet the flesh of the creature is eaten by the Indians. It is said to be very good and not to have any offensive odor. [262]

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The porcupine[164] is not found along the Muskingum, seldom seen along the Ohio to the north, but frequently in the country of the Mingoes. The Indians eat its flesh, which tastes like pork, with great relish. It climbs the trees nimbly and has its home in hollow trees. The body is heavier than that of the fox. On the back the animal has whitish-brown quills, the length of a finger. These the squaws, particularly among the Mingoes, color red and use as needles to ornament their moccasins, pouches, in which tobacco and pipes are carried, and other things. As it cannot run swiftly, when anyone approaches, the animal turns its back, which is full of quills, toward the enemy, unless it is possible to get up a tree. Hence, they are easily killed. Dogs that attack the creature, suffer terribly and usually die, unless all the quills they have gotten into their bodies are removed, which is not easily accomplished, as many of them break off.

There is a small animal in the Mingoe country, called the marten,[165] concerning which I have been told that it probably belongs to the sable tribe. Though but small animals, their skins are of great value. The Indians catch them in wooden traps, using meat as a bait. The skins are sold to the whites.

I have already referred to the moose[166] that are to be found further north, of which I have seen nothing but the horns. The latter differ from those of the elk in that the prongs are broad and round. The Indians declare that these are equal in size to a horse. They have cloven hoofs and nostrils large enough to put a hand in. As I have no certain knowledge of these animals and have never even in Europe seen any nor have ever had a satisfactory description, I will not definitely declare that these are the animals they speak of, though I should be at a loss to know what other animals they refer to.

The muskrat,[167] able to live in or out of the water, is in many respects most like the beaver. Its tail is not broad as that of the beaver, but oval-shaped. Their dwellings are in the water, but so arranged that they can, according to inclination, be in the water or in a dry place. A great quantity of odorous matter is found in the body of this animal. The odor is unpleasant when too strong, but a little of it is agreeable. In the

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136 settlements of the white people the muskrat does much damage to mill-dams by its burrowing.

There are three kinds of squirrels, the black,[168] the grey,[169] and the red. The black are most commonly found, the grey are the largest and the red the smallest in size. Their flesh is tender, and eaten by the Indians in case of sickness or when they are very hungry for meat.

The ground squirrel[170] lives under the ground and is somewhat smaller than a common rat. They do great damage in the fields of the Indians, not only digging out the corn when it has been planted, but also pumpkin and melon seed. When the Indian corn is ripe, they lay in good stores of it for the winter. They stuff their cheeks full of it and then carry it to their storehouses.

The groundhog[171] also has its dwelling under ground. It is about the size of a large domestic cat, though heavier. It lives on grass and is, also, very fond of melons and pumpkins. It chews the cud.[172] Its feet are armed with claws. When pursued and unable to reach its hole, the animal will climb a tree. The flesh is toothsome and eaten by the Indians.

There is, also, a very large variety of wild cat,[173] other than the kind already mentioned. This is as large as a dog. It is very savage, even attacking a deer and killing it.

The hare[174] in these parts is small and not found in large numbers, being pursued by birds and beasts of prey. Towards the north I have seen them of the same size as those in Europe. In that region some are found with a snow white fur.[175] They dwell in hollow trees.

White deer are seldom seen in these parts.[176] These have generally in summer some red and in winter some gray spots. The Indians call a white deer the king of the deer and believe that the rest flock about and follow him.[177]

Wolves are very numerous, most are gray, some are almost black. As their skins serve no useful purpose and are not much valued, the Indians do not pursue them, unless they catch them tearing skins or devouring meat they have carefully laid away. Sometimes the wolves break into their hunting huts and do much damage. They rarely attack men, never when there are deer

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to pursue. The latter they attack in summer or winter, never stopping pursuit until a victim has been captured. Occasionally the deer save themselves in creeks and rivers, swimming a great distance down stream, so that it is impossible for the wolves to trace them. When a wolf has caught a deer and killed it, it will not at once consume the flesh, but go to the highest hill nearby and call its comrades, by howling. When these have assembled they devour the deer together. 136

Wild geese[178] appear here in spring and autumn. Some remain during the winter, others during the summer, the latter hatching their young in this region. Most of them remain long in this country, passing toward winter into a warmer latitude, toward summer to the north, where they build in the neighborhood of the Great Lakes and return in autumn with their young.

Wild ducks are birds of passage like the geese, but there are some varieties that stay during the summer season. One kind, called the tree duck, builds its nest in hollow trees, either hanging over the water or near to it.[179] When the young are hatched, they are thrown into the water and taken elsewhere. The male bird is the most beautiful of the water-fowls and very good to eat.

Another variety, that also has its nest here, is the sheldrake.[180] This has a narrow bill, armed with teeth. They live on fish, their flesh having the taste of fish. Indians rarely use them for food, though the flesh of some is very palatable.[181] [262]

The crane is the largest of the birds of these parts.[182] Standing on its long legs and stretching its neck upwards, it is as tall as a man. Its body is proportionately heavy. When hit by a shot and only wounded, it attacks its pursuer and has great power in striking with its wings. It is gray in color, has a sharply pointed bill and its feet are formed like those of the turkey. This bird is commonly found upon large plains or near to rivers. Their flesh is dark, rather tough and seldom eaten by the Indians. Their trumpeting may be heard a considerable distance.

Wild swans[183] are quite like the domestic birds, I have seen in Holland, quite white and of the same size. The Indians [262]

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136 declare that their flesh tastes like that of the bear, of which [262] they are particularly fond, and is often so fat that pieces may be cut from the flesh.

Wild turkeys[184] may be seen in the fall in flocks numbering hundreds. In the summer they disperse in the woods, this being the time for hatching the young. In winter their plumage is of a shining black, with white spots on the wings; in summer it [222] changes to a light brown. When the time comes for laying the eggs, the Indians seek them, as they are very fond of them.

[262] Pheasants are not valued by the Indians, though their flesh is palatable.[185] They fall victims, however, to birds of prey. Were it not for the birds of prey the woods would swarm with them, for the hen lays above twenty eggs at one time.

Heath-grouse, found here also, are a little larger than the pheasants.[186] They are not valued by the Indians any more than the pheasants. In the winter the latter shelter themselves from the birds by plunging, when pursued, into the snow, often running a considerable distance from one place to another under the snow, thus escaping their foes.

The wild pigeon[187] is of an ash-gray color, the male being distinguished by a red breast. In some years in fall, or even in spring, they flock together in such numbers that the air is darkened by their flight. Three years ago they appeared in such great numbers that the ground under their roosting-place was covered with their dung above a foot high, during one night. [223] The Indians went out, killed them with sticks and came home loaded. At such a time the noise the pigeons make is such that it is difficult for people near them to hear or understand each other. They do not always gather in such numbers in one place, often scattering over the great forests.

The turtle-doves are smaller than the pigeons and are always found in pairs.[188]

Partridges are small, neatly formed birds.[189] In the fall and winter they fly in broods. In the settlements they like to remain near the plantations, as they find the food they like in the fields. The flesh is tender and of a fine flavor. They are favorites with all people, being innocent and harmless birds.

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The eagle has a white head and tail.[190] The wings are black and the body partly black and partly ash-colored. It builds its nest usually in the fork of some lofty and thick tree. It lays the foundation with a great quantity of branches and repairs the nest built there every spring. Usually, they hatch but one, at most two, in a year. It is unquestionably the strongest among the birds of prey. I have seen it fight with another bird of prey,[191] much larger than itself and that wished to occupy its nest. Lifting the other bird into the air, the eagle hurled it down, after having severely injured it. Every morning the eagle goes out in search of prey and brings to its young, birds, squirrels, snakes and fish. Fish now and then prove destructive to them, for in attacking large fish, the bird sometimes cannot disengage its talons soon enough, but is drawn down into the water and drowned. 136

There is another species of eagle that I have seen nowhere but in this region. The Indians call it Chauwalanne, forked eagle,[192] from the fact that its tail is forked. It often soars to such a height that the eye cannot reach it. If it approaches the dwellings of the Indians, they always look upon it as a sign of change of weather or rain. Often the change follows such approach. It feeds upon snakes and other creatures, as does the white-headed eagle, but it is as a rule, continually on the wing during its repast. It builds its nest in high trees, but in as concealed a place as can be found. [825 821]

Of other birds of prey, there are to be found here the hawk,[193] the stone-falcon,[194] that remains near the rocks, the pigeon-hawk,[195] that pursues not only the pigeon but all other birds it can conquer, though it is a small bird and not as large as the pigeon.

The wood-pecker has a light red head with a red plume and is otherwise black with white spots.[196] It finds its food in old trees, this consisting of worms that are to be found in the wood.

One variety is called the Red-headed Wood-pecker,[197] because of the red head, is a nuisance in orchards, because it attacks the apples.

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●136 Another variety of wood-pecker is very small, is spotted and is much pursued by birds of prey, especially the hawk. Occasionally, the wood-pecker is able to defend himself against his enemies, it having happened that this bird when attacked, has thrust its bill into the head of the pursuer so that the latter fell dead.

The yellow wood-pecker,[198] so called because of its yellow wings, also climbs up and down the trees in search of food, with its head turned upward or downward.

A few green parrots[199] are seen in the woods here in summer. Further south they may be found in great numbers.

The loon[200] is a water bird about the size of a goose and is heavily feathered. It is spotted black and white, lives on fish and has a pointed bill. It cannot walk on land, as its feet are too far back, but is a strong swimmer. It can swim a considerable distance under the water, before rising to the surface, especially if it is being fired upon. Often the Indians are obliged to shoot a number of times before they hit the bird, for it is noted for its swiftness in diving, as well as for its swimming. It is not eatable, but the Indians make pouches of its skin, which is taken off whole, large enough to hold pipe, tobacco, flint, steel and knife.

There are two other birds of prey among those that fish, the one larger than the eagle[201] the other a small bird[202] that makes its nest on the ground along steep banks of creeks or rivers, where it makes a hole just large enough to slip into.

The heron[203] has long legs, great wings and a lean body.

There are two kinds of owls. The larger[204] is heard very much in the woods at night.

Crows[205] do much damage on the plantations, especially in the cornfields, both when the corn is planted and when it is ripe.

The Turkey Posser[206] has a head like a turkey, without feathers. It lives on carrion. The raven[207] is also a scavenger and at the same time a bird of prey, often attacking chickens. The raven makes good use of the meat that Indians leave in the woods.

The hoopoe[208] is fawn colored on the back and has a brown-

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ish breast. It has a plume of feathers on its head and is to be found along creeks and rivers where it finds its food. 136

The black-bird[209] has a reddish breast and its wings and back are ash-colored. Its song may be heard in wild regions and deserts.

The blue-bird[210] has a reddish breast also, otherwise its color is a beautiful azure. It makes its appearance in spring before any other bird.

The mocking-bird[211] mimics what it hears and imitates other birds.

A certain yellow[212] bird with black wings is to be found everywhere in great numbers. Its song is very agreeable.

There is another kind,[213] orange in color with black spots. This bird hangs its nest, made of wild hemp or flax, on the branches of trees. At one side of the nest there is a little opening at which the bird goes in and out.

Another kind of birds,[214] light-red in color, is particularly beautiful, as is another red bird[215] with black wings. Both kinds I have seen in Georgia and South Carolina.

Starlings[216] are quite black and found here in great numbers. They do much damage on the plantations.

The cat-bird[217] is so called because its note is like the mewing of a cat.

Finches,[218] tom-tits,[219] wrens,[220] are found in great numbers.

The smallest of the birds of this region is the honey-bird,[221] Without perching on the flowers, it sucks the honey out of them. In its swift flight it makes the air buzz and hum with its wings.

Serpents are so numerous that it is remarkable that Indians who spend much of their time in the forests are not bitten oftener. In stony places or mountains they are found most frequently. The winter they spend underground or in crevices of the rocks. In places where they are numerous, they gather in the fall and lie upon one another and twisted together until spring. Should they be discovered in winter they have to all appearances but little life, being able to move, but not having strength enough to crawl away.

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●186 (1) Among the most dangerous reptiles are the rattlesnakes.[221] They are yellow in color, marked with black spots. The largest are about four feet long, sometimes more, and about as thick as an arm. The rattles are at the end of their tails, and often betray the snakes when they are not seen. These rattles appear to be a thin, transparent horny substance, arranged in links. From the number of links it is possible to tell the age of the serpent, one being added every year. It is a rare thing to find one with twenty rattles. When the rattling sound is heard, it is a sign that the serpent is angry, the trembling of the tail causing the rattling. Even when they glide along the rattles make a slight sound which can, however, be detected only by those well acquainted with the ways of the snake. They do not rattle unless something approaches them. Head and mouth are rather broad in proportion to the size. On either side of the mouth they have two very sharp teeth, which lie concealed in a skin sack until they want to bite, when they are able to move these forward with great swiftness. Hence, it is that when anyone has been bitten four little openings close together may be seen in the skin. If a rattlesnake has been killed, which often happens, as they do not seek to escape nor go out of the way for any one, and one draws forward the teeth with a little stick, a clear liquid spurts out of the bag lying at the root of the teeth. This is the poisonous juice. Undoubtedly, the teeth in themselves are also poisonous. Indians [752] who have been bitten, even if they happen to be quite alone in the forest, know what to do. They seek certain herbs and roots that may be found anywhere and cure themselves of the bite, so that one rarely hears of death occasioned by the bite of this serpent. Horses or cattle bitten in the woods, where it is not possible to render immediate assistance, die in a short time. With proper management these animals may recover in twenty-four hours. With human beings a cure is not effected so quickly, and a curious thing is that the part where a human being has been bitten, becomes spotted like the rattlesnake. The fat of the rattlesnake is used by apothecaries. Here along the Muskingum rattlesnakes are not as numerous as in some regions that are stony or mountainous. Along the Susquehanna there

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are very many, especially along the West Branch up in the mountains. In that country in the spring of the year when the snakes come out of their holes they have been seen in such numbers in certain places that it would have been possible to load up several wagons with them, the air being infected with an intolerable stench. This was seen to be the case by Indians who were coming down the West Branch. At the time many of the reptiles had already crawled up the mountains, which were very steep. As there were many fallen leaves about, they set fire to them and the trees with the result that many of the snakes rolled down the mountains and were burned. When I passed through that region the first time, which was in June, I did, indeed, see unusually many rattlesnakes, but I could hardly have believed that there would be as many as the above incident would indicate. The second time, however, when my travels took me through that country, which happened in July, my companion and I had quite a different experience. Not only did we see them singly and in smaller numbers along the wayside, but in stony places so many around that when we began to kill them there was rattling all about to such a degree that we held it advisable to get out of that region as soon as possible. After this I could believe what I had heard, for in the fall, when they gather at different places, there must be immense number of them.

2) Copperheads,[224] named from the color of the reptiles. Their bite is as venomous as that of rattlesnakes.

3) Vipers[225] have a flat head, are short and thick, black on the back and gray on the belly. When approached, they distend the head and hiss so that it is possible to hear them at quite a distance. Their bite also is venomous.

4) One variety[225] of snake found here I have met with in no other region. The belly is quite red. These serpents may be found in the water and on land. They get to be from five to six feet in length and their bite is poisonous. To cure the bite of this reptile the Indians use a plant that grows in the water. These snakes have teeth all around the mouth, above and below, but no fangs.

5) Hornsnakes[226] are in color and size like the copperheads, except that they have a sharply pointed horn on the tail. They

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● 136 are as venomous as the copperheads and like them, only of middle size.

6) There is another kind[227] of blacksnake which gets to be about six feet long, but it is slender and able to move more swiftly. These climb trees and despoil nests of the young birds. The bite of the reptile causes a slight swelling, but has no other evil effects.

7) Water snakes[228] spend much of their time in the water, live on fish and are not poisonous.

8) A kind of striped, brightly marked snakes,[229] which are small and harmless.

9) There are green snakes,[230] white-bellied, not more than a foot in length and harmless.

I have myself seen a hawk descend on a blacksnake, of the kind described under number 6, and attack it, but the snake quickly coiled itself round the bird and killed it.

Concerning none of the reptiles described above, beyond the rattlesnake, is it known that they gather in great numbers at any time. None are so numerously represented as the rattlesnakes. All of them swallow their prey whole. Frogs, turtles, birds, groundhogs, squirrels, they swallow thus, but by slow degrees. They usually begin with the hind leg of an animal and gradually draw it in. All serpents cast their coat in spring. Often the whole skin of a snake, complete from the head downward, may be seen lying on the ground. This is very thin. The new skin of a black serpent is a shining jet. It is said that a rattlesnake, if irritated, and unable to avenge itself, will sink its fangs into its own body, with the result that it swells considerably and dies in a few hours. This snake is said to possess another peculiar property, as witnessed both by Indians and whites, viz., that of gazing with fixed eyes upon bird or squirrel and by a kind of fascination, stupefying them in such a manner that the poor creatures drop from the boughs and fall easy prey to their enemy.

[825] Lizards are but rarely found here. One variety, not above five or six inches in length, is said to be poisonous. Indians make much ado when they see them and try to frighten them away. They dwell in hollow trees, where they also keep their

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young. Other varieties, some very small, come into the huts that are reared in the forests and are very harmless. 136

Of fishes, there are doubtless many more varieties than those I have seen in the Ohio. I will, however, confine notice to those I have seen and know.

1) Pike[231] are of uncommon size and generally known.

2) The black-fish,[232] as the Indians call it, has large, brown scales, a small head and a small, round, soft mouth, not armed with teeth. Its shape is not broad, but round. It is reckoned one of the best flavored.

3) The buffalo-fish[233] is thus called by Indians and Europeans because of its being heard sometimes to bellow in the water. Its length is about a foot and a half or even two feet, and its breadth five or six inches. It has a curved back, prickly fins, a narrow mouth, and a small head, in which two white stones[234] are found, flat on one side and a little convex on the other. These are not ordinary stones, but have a stony appearance. The fish has no teeth, but at the entrance of its throat there are two strong flat bones, with grooves exactly fitting each other. With these it can crack the hardest mussels, which are its chief food, and serve to bait the hook in angling for it. The Indians, however, rarely using a hook and line, commonly pierce this fish with an iron prong of their own making. If any one should venture to put his finger into its mouth, even when to appearance it is half dead, he is in danger of losing one or more of his fingers, for the mussel shells which the fish constantly cracks, are very hard. 226

4) The catfish[235] is without scales and a good fish to eat. In the Muskingum there are no very large specimens of this fish. In the Ohio, on the other hand, they grow to an unusual size. In Pittsburg, a man who had gone fishing at night, having bound the line to his arm and gone to sleep in his canoe, was dragged into the water by the catfish and lost his life. Man and fish were found close together several days later.

5) The sturgeon[236] is the largest of the fish in the Muskingum. The largest caught here were from three to three and a half feet in length.

6) There is a kind of fish[237] with a narrowly formed mouth,

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136 armed with sharp teeth, almost like the bill of a duck. It has scales. The Indians do not use it for food.

7) Another kind[238] resembles the catfish very much. It has no scales. This also has a broad, plain beak like the bill of a goose, almost the length of a hand. This it uses to dig in sand or slime in search of food. The mouth opens below.

8) The white perch[239] is short and broad. It has scales and is good to eat.

9) The yellow perch[240] is not broad, but longer than the last named, has prickly fins and sharp teeth like those of a pike. It has a yellowish appearance and is one of the most palatable of fishes.

10) Eels are rarely found.[241]

11) There is an other variety of fish,[242] or whatever one may call it, resembling a small catfish, but having four short legs. It has a wide mouth and is about a foot and a half in length. The fins are short.

136 225 262 The river tortoise[243] of these parts is a species different from that found in Pensilvanien, which has a hard shell. The shell of this is quite soft and its head small and pointed, like that of a sea tortoise. The Indians shoot them, for they are not easily caught in any other way, as they seldom venture out of the water upon the banks of the river. The Indians are very fond of the flesh and of the eggs, which the animals lay in the sand on islands.

There is another variety of land tortoise[244] in these parts which has a hard shell, is small and very prettily marked. Flesh is also eaten.

136 Two varieties of shellfish[245] are found as well. One resembles the clams found along the seacoast, the inside of the shell being violet, shading to red; the other has a larger shell, which is white inside. Some speciments of smaller varieties[246] are also found.

Snails are likewise found. From one variety spring, it is believed, the many large gad-flies, which in the summer, in the months of July and August, worry the cattle to such an extent that during the day they cannot graze in the forest. During these two months both cattle and horses make for shelter every

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morning as soon as the sun begins to shine and return to the forest only at sundown. This species of snail deposits a colorless liquid of the consistency of saliva on the stems of various plants in the forest (presumably containing the eggs of the animal, which are hatched out by the sun). From this, it is supposed that the pestiferous gad-flies are hatched out.[247] Where there are large herds of cattle that destroy the weeds and root them up, not many of these insects are found.[248]

The common frogs are found in swamps near puddles and ponds. They are of a brownish color, do not croak, but have a note like a short whistle.[249] In springtime they may be heard all night. The Mingoes catch them at night by the light of a torch and eat them either fresh or dried. Green frogs are but rarely met with and only in rivers and brooks.[250] The largest American frog is the bull frog.[251] It inhabits rivers and large brooks. Their croaking resembles the bellowing of a bull, but is far more penetrating.

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Of rats, nothing is known in these parts, but mice[252] are very common.

Mosquitoes and sandflies are found in woods in summertime in great numbers. Both sting and a night in the forest would be intolerable without the smoke of a fire. They are particularly annoying in changeable weather. Even horses will make for the fire and stand in smoke to be free of the pests. Great and small gadflies come in July and August and trouble cattle so much that only at night the latter will graze, the gadflies disappearing until dawn of day.

Ticks are to be found in the woods. These will attack one, pierce the skin and suck the blood until they have so swelled that they drop off. Bed-bugs are to be found in the Indian huts at any time and fleas in the summer, not a few.

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The first deer a boy shoots proves the occasion of a great solemnity. If it happens to be a buck it is given to some old man; if a doe, to some old woman. These bring in the whole animal, skinned, if it is possible to do so. If the animal is too heavy, they bring the skin and as much of the flesh as they can carry, fetching the rest later. When they reach the village, they

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or chalk, for red is the color of war, even though the red marble pipe is most highly valued. For the same reason nothing red may appear on a string of wampum. A war-belt is smeared with red paint or cinnabar. If for want of a white wampum belt, one made of the violet colored shells has to be used, this is whitened with clay and then has the same signficance as a white belt. The dark wampum belts are used, whenever they wish to give some one a severe lesson or a reproof. After the ceremonies described above had been completed, and all had partaken of a feast, the exercises for that day were at an end. On the next day they approached the chief matters of interest and exchanged belts of friendship, this part of the negotiations lasting several days, as each belt was presented in connection with a formal speech.

136 A few words should be added concerning animals.

1) Swallows[210] are found, generally near some body of water. Snipe[211] are gray in color and have a bill almost as long as the body of the bird. The gull[212] is frequently seen near rivers and lakes. Two kinds of plover[213] may be seen in these parts, both found near water. The one variety is about the size of a blackbird,[214] which is sometimes found away from water, the other much smaller.

The whippoorwill[215] is a night bird, of gray color, somewhat smaller than a turtledove.[216] It has a thick head, a short bill and a wide mouth. It has received its name from its note, which may be heard all night long.

The Mosquito-hawk[217] gets its name from catching mosquitoes and flies while on the wing. It is about the size of turtledove, has a round white spot on each of its wings, which seem, when the animal flies, like holes in the wings. It will dart up and down very swiftly in its efforts to catch insects.

Of bees[218] nothing was known when we came here in '72, now they are to be found in large numbers in hollow trees in the woods.

Wasps[21] °are found in large numbers.

2) Among the quadrupeds the flying squirrel[220] should be noted. This animal is about the size of a rat, has a thin mem-

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braneous continuation of the skin of the sides and belly by which its hind and forelegs are connected. This supports the animal in leaping from one tree to another. In other respects it resembles the common squirrel. 136

3) There is found here a variety of rattlesnake[322] I have seen nowhere else. It is hardly a foot long and very slender, it has rattles as have the other varieties and its bite is quite as venomous. The color is, also, like that of the other rattlers, yellow with black markings.

4) Plants. Laurel,[322] also called the wild box, grows along river banks, or in the swamps in cool places or on the north side of mountains. It grows so thickly that it is impossible to get through. In swamps of laurel, bears like to make their winter quarters. The wood is fine and hard. The Indians make spoons of it. The main stem does not become thicker than a leg. The leaves are green summer and winter. 137 [322]

THE END.

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cites Loskiel, who had only Zeisberger's manuscript to follow. It is peculiar that Heckewelder should refer his readers to an authority who had no first-hand knowledge. Turning to Loskiel's version of the events which led up to the Delawares being made "women" we find (*History*, 124, *seq.*) that Zeisberger's plain account has been improved upon by being fashioned into formal speeches. These begin as follows:

"It is not profitable, that all the nations should be at war with each other, for this will at length be the ruin of the whole Indian race. We have therefore considered of a remedy, by which this evil may be prevented. One nation shall be the woman. We will place her in the midst, and the other nations who make war shall be the man, and live around the woman. No one shall touch or hurt the woman, and if anyone does it, we will immediately say to him, 'Why do you beat the woman?'"

By comparison it will be seen that Loskiel has put Zeisberger's words into the mouth of speakers, whereas Zeisberger did not include his account in quotation-marks, giving merely the story as it was told to him. Loskiel, by putting the same words into the mouths of the speakers and phrasing it all in the first instead of the third person, as Zeisberger wrote it, turned a legend into a seemingly accurate historical document. Parkman takes both Loskiel and Heckewelder to task for taking the story in "good faith," (*Conspiracy of Pontiac*, I, 31) but Loskiel had no reason to take Zeisberger's account as actual history; and De Schweinitz (*Life of Zeisberger*, 47) states that neither Zeisberger or Loskiel argue in favor of the story, while Heckewelder does. This forms an interesting example of the evolution of a legend into history: Zeisberger tells the Delaware legend, plainly and simply, in the third person; Loskiel forms it into speeches in the first person; Heckewelder takes these formal speeches and argues in their favor as true history.

48. Gourd or pumpkin.

48½. See William L. Stone, *The Life and Times of Sir William Johnson*, 214-215.

49. Woapanochky, "a people living toward the rising of the sun," was another name of the Delawares. Loskiel, *History* I, 2.

50. Albany, N. Y.

51. Bethlehem, Pa.

52. *Roccus lineatus* (Bloch) an important source of food to the early Virginians as attested by Captain John Smith and others.

53. *Alosa sapidissima* (Wilson).

54. Vernacular names of fishes are so numerous and so variable, the same common name being applied to very different fishes in different localities, that it is hard to identify some of these references with certainty. This however refers to *Perca flavescens* (Mitchill), commonly known as the yellow perch.

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55. *Stizostedion vitreum* (Mitchill) the pike or sauger.
56. *Lepisosteus osseus* (L.)
57. *Salvelinus fontinalis* (Mitchill), the speckled or brook trout.
58. *Anguilla chrysypa* Rafinesque.
59. *Phoca vitulina* L., the harbour seal, common farther north, though rare in this latitude even in salt water. Their occurrence at Wyoming nearly 200 miles up the Susquehanna River is quite remarkable, though other similar occurrences have been recorded.
60. *Chamaecyparis thyoides* (L.), the white cedar.
61. *Alces americanus* (Clinton). The animals migrated south in the winter crossing the Niagara, or the Lakes on the ice.
62. *Salmo salar* Linnaeus, the Atlantic salmon, formerly very abundant in the Hudson River though now nearly or quite exterminated there.
63. *Anguilla chrysypa* Rafinesque. Possibly the author was more familiar with the lamprey eel, *Ichthyomyzon concolor* (Kirtland) in the Muskingum region, hence his reference to the more slender head of *Anguilla chrysypa*. However, inasmuch as there is but the one true eel in our fresh waters and the lamprey is small and seldom seen, it seems probable that the eels which the author knew in New York and along the Muskingum were of the same sort. In autumn there is a universal migration of the adult eels to the sea to spawn. The Indians, true to their insight into nature, made the best of this opportunity for securing them in great quantities.
64. Niagara Falls.
65. Probably one of the Three Sister Islands.
66. Oneida Lake.
67. Cayuga Lake.
68. Seneca and Ithaca Lakes.
69. *Pyrus coronaria* L., the American crab apple or wild apple.
70. Mohawks.
71. Reference here is to Sullivan's expedition of 1779. The date of the writing of this history is here shown to be 1780.
72. Indicating that even with the unskilled cultivation of the Indians, the corn in different regions developed varieties each suited to its particular locality.
73. North Carolina.
74. Fort Frontenac, now Kingston, Canada.
75. One of the most elaborate descriptions of this route through Central Pennsylvania is given in Francis Baily's *Journal of a Tour in Unsettled parts of North America*. Sideling Hill is near the Juniata; Laurel Hill is a continuance of Chestnut Ridge, the latter being the local name of the range in Pennsylvania. Zeisberger's mention of it as the important western route at this period (pointing, as it does well back in the eighteenth century) is significant.

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137. A very questionable statement.

138. It is doubtful what Zeisberger means here by "marble;" possible it was gritty sandstone.

139. Iron Pyrites or "Fool's Gold."

140. Kaolin or China clay; colors in clays are due to impurities. The black clay which burns white evidently contained carbonaceous matter.

141. Yellow ochre.

142. Possibly a decoction made from polk-berries which would stimulate the secretion of the glands of the breasts, etc.

143. *Rhus toxicodendron* L., the poison vine or poison ivy.

144. *Rhus vernix* L., the poison sumac, our most poisonous plant.

145. Not used by the medical profession today.

146. *Odocoileus virginianus* (Boddaert).

147. The introduction of the rifle was the first step in destroying Nature's balance as applied to man and the native wild animals. Doubtless the deer and buffalo easily held their own in spite of the onslaughts of the Indians until the rifle gave the Indians a tremendous advantage as compared with their former weapons.

148. *Ursus americanus* Pallas.

149. In many cases the Indians multiplied the species of our larger mammals, basing their ideas on one or two unusually large individuals they happened to meet, or on some peculiar condition of the pelage. There is only one species of bear known from eastern United States.

150. *Cervus canadensis* (Erxleben) the wapiti, or "American Elk." The author is correct. The wapiti is nearly related to the stag, *Cervus elaphus* L., of Europe and is not an elk at all.

151. *Bison bison* (L.)

152. *Felis concuar* Kerr.

153. *Lynx rufus* (Guldenstaedt).

154. *Vulpes fulvus* (Dasmarest).

155. *Urocyon cinereoargenteus* (Schreber).

156. A black phase of the red fox *Vulpes fulvus*.

157. *Procyon lotor* (L.)

158. *Lutra canadensis* (Schreber).

159. *Castor canadensis* Kuhl.

160. The steel trap was another white man's invention which, placed in the hands of the Indians, proved most destructive to some of the animals which formerly held their own against the less effective methods of the Indians. The price paid for the pelts by the whites, was of course an additional factor in the destruction of many of the native animals.

161. *Didelphis virginiana* Kerr.

162. Certainly open to question and probably merely an Indian belief.

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163. *Mephitis mephitis* Schreber. 136●

164. *Erethizon dorsatum* (L.)

165. *Mustela americana* Turton, the pine marten or American sable, and the larger *Mustela pennantii* Exleben, the fisher, or fisher marten, both range into New York.

166. *Alces americanus* Clinton.

167. *Fiber zibethicus* (L.).

168. A melanistic form of the next. At times in some localities it is very abundant.

169. *Sciurus carolinensis* Gmelin, the common grey squirrel.

170. *Sciurus hudsonicus loquax* Bangs.

171. *Tamias striatus lysteri* (Rich.)

172. *Marmota monax* (L.)

173. *Lynx canadensis* Kerr, the Canada lynx.

174. *Lepus floridanus mearnsi* Allen.

175. *Lepus americanus virginianus* Harlan, the varying hare.

176. Doubtless partial albinos of the common deer, *Odocoilrus virginianus.*

177. An instance of the erroneous belief that an animal if any way conspicuously different from its fellows becomes a leader. On the contrary, the unfortunate variant is often mistreated by his fellows and sometimes even ostracised. "Sentiment" plays no part in the selection of leaders. It is simply a question of superior strength and endurance. 825

178. *Branta canadensis* (L.), the common wild goose, or Canada goose. Other species occur but are rare and probably never reared their young hereabouts. 136

179. *Aix sponsa* (L.) the beautiful wood duck. The young are said to be carried to the water in the bill of the parent.

180. Both *Mergus americanus* Cassin the American merganser or sheldrake, and *Lophodytes cucullatus* (L.,) the hooded merganser were formerly abundant in this region.

181. Probably the hooded merganser, which is said to be quite palatable, the flesh of the other mergansers being rank and fishy.

182. This is evidently *Grus mexicana* (Müll), the sandhill crane, a bird now very rare in Ohio.

183. *Olor columbianus* (Ord.), the whistling swan, and *Olor buccinator* (Rich.), the trumpeter swan, have been uncommon birds in this locality, the latter formerly breeding here. Both fit the description given. The former is now much less rare than the other.

184. *Meleagris gallopavo silvestris* Vieill.

185. *Bonasa umbellus* (L.), the ruffed grouse or pheasant, a beautiful, harmless and valuable bird now in danger of extermination if not rigidly protected.

186. This apparently refers to *Tympanuchus americanus* (Reich.), the prairie hen, now exterminated in Ohio and not generally supposed

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136 to have lived as far southeast as the Muskingum region, though it may possibly refer to the heath hen, *Tympanuchus cupido* (L.), once distributed from Massachusetts to Virginia, though doubtfully along the Muskingum, now extinct except on Martha's Vineyard Island, Mass. The heath hen is smaller than the ruffed grouse however.

187. *Ectopistes migratorius* (L.), the passenger pigeon, perhaps extinct, or if not already, it is most certain to become so.

188. *Zenaidura macroura carolinensis* (L.)

189. *Colinus virginianus* (L.), the bobwhite. The quail was formerly, while the dense forests were still undisturbed, much less abundant and generally distributed than in more recent years. One Ohio ornithologist, J. M. Wheaton, goes so far as to say that "—it was probably absent or at least confined to but few localities in the State at the time of its first settlement and has steadily increased in numbers as the forest has been cleared away." Report on the birds of Ohio, *Rep. Geol. Surv. Ohio*, (1882) IV, Pt. I, 449.

190. *Haliaeetus leucocephalus* (L.), the bald eagle.

191. Probably a young bald eagle. The young are three years in attaining the adult plumage, and often contend viciously with the parents for the possession of the nest to which the parents return year after year. Possibly this may have been a golden eagle, *Aquila chrysaetos* (L.), though it has apparently always been rare in the region and is not very pugnacious.

192. *Elanoides forficatus* (L.), the swallow-tailed kite, another beautiful, beneficial and entirely harmless great bird which is almost extinct and will probably never be seen in Ohio again, thanks to the skill of the brainless hunter!

193. The author did not distinguish between the red-tailed hawk, *Buteo borealis* (Gmel.) and the red-shouldered hawk *Buteo lineatus* (Gmel.), the two commoner species of large hawk.

194. Meaning probably *Falco peregrinus anatum* (Bonap.) the peregrine falcon or duck hawk, a near relative of the European "falcon gentil of song and story."

195. *Falco columbarius* L.

196. *Melanerpes erythrocephalus* (L.)

197. *Dryobates pubescens medianus* (Swains.), the downy woodpecker, and *Dryobates villosus* (L.), the hairy woodpecker, are almost alike except in size. Doubtless they were not distinguished. The former, the smaller one, is much the more abundant.

198. *Colaptes auratus luteus* Bangs, the flicker or yellow hammer.

199. *Conurus carolinensis* (L.), the Carolina paroquet, now almost extinct and long since disappeared from Ohio, another victim of the sportsman's gun and the milliner's art.

200. *Gavia immer* (Brünn.)

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201. It seems hard to determine what this refers to but it is most likely the second year bald eagle. The young requires three years to acquire the adult plumage. 136

202. *Ceryle alcyon* (L.), the kingfisher, which nests in a hole in the bank.

203. *Ardea herodias* L., the great blue heron.

204. *Strix varia* (Barton), the barred owl and *Bubo virginianus* (Gmel.), the great horned owl, were both abundant in early days. The small owl referred to is doubtless the ubiquitous screech owl, *Otus asio* (L.) though several other owls occur in the region.

205. *Corvus brachyrhynchos* Brehm.

206. *Cathartes aura septentrionalis* Wied.

207. *Corvus corax principalis* Ridgw. Ornithologists have believed that in Ohio the raven occurred only in the northern part. This record for southern Ohio is as interesting as authentic.

208. *Butorides virescens* (L.), the green heron or fly-up-the-creek, is meant.

209. The author, without doubt here refers to *Planesticus migratorius* L., the common American robin. A European bird, *Merula merula*, a near relative of our robin, is black, has habits like our robin, and is commonly known as the blackbird. Before the white settlers came the robin doubtless lived in open places in the forest, so that in the author's experience it was met with only in breaks in the forest, usually remote from the Indian villages. With the opening up of clearings the robin made acquaintance with the white man and came to live in open groves and orchards. This the robin did in common with many of our other native birds which formerly lived only in the open places in the forest. With the coming of the white settlers these birds found congenial homes in the clearings and orchards where they were also less subject to the attacks of predaceous birds and mammals.

210. *Sialia sialis* (L.)

211. *Mimus polyglottos* (L.) Very rare in the locality now.

212. *Astragulinus tristis* (L.), the American goldfinch or yellow bird.

213. *Icterus galbula* (L.), the Baltimore oriole.

214. *Piranga rubra* (L.), the summer tanager or summer red-bird.

215. *Piranga erythromelas* Vieill., the scarlet tanager.

216. The European starling is a member of the black-bird family (Icteridae) hence this reference is to our black-birds, of which the common species are *Quiscalus quiscula aeneus* (Ridgw.) the bronzed grackle or crow black-bird, *Molothrus ater* (Bodd.), the cow-bird, and *Agelaius phoeniceus* (L.), the red-winged black-bird.

217. *Dumetella carolinensis* (L.)

218. The many dull-colored sparrows (Fringillidae), most of the thrushes (Turdidae), probably some of the warblers, (Muiotiltidae),

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● 136 and doubtless other of the smaller birds are all here referred to as finches.

219. *Baeolophus bicolor* (L.), the tufted titmouse, and probably also *Parus atricapillus* (L.), the chickadee.

220. Though other species occur, *Thryothorus ludovicianus* (Lath.), the Carolina wren is the most abundant and most conspicuous species in this region.

221. *Archilochus colubris* (L.), the ruby-throated humming-bird.

222. *Crotalus horridus*. L.

223. *Ancistrodon contortrix* (L.)

224. *Heterodon platyrhinus* Latr. (probably var. *niger*) the spreading viper or hissing adder, an entirely harmless snake generally thought poisonous.

225. Apparently refers to *Natrix fasciata erythrogaster* Shaw, the red-bellied water-snake. The aquatic habits would seem to indicate this species. It is a harmless snake though generally thought poisonous.

226. Copperheads, *Anciatrodon contortrix* (L.), with the tail, as described, somewhat horny in appearance.

227. *Zamenis constrictor* (L.,) black snake or blue racer.

228. *Natrix fasciata sipedon* (L.)

229. *Eutaenia sirtalis* (L.), the garter snake.

230. *Liopeltis vernalis* (Dekay), the green or grass snake.

231. *Stizostedion vitreum* (Mitchill), the pike perch or jack salmon. The former large size of this fish is attested by the following: "The pike is the king of fish in the western rivers. Judge Gilbert Devoll took a pike in the Muskingum which weighed nearly one hundred pounds, on the 2nd day of July, 1788. He was a tall man but when the fish was suspended on the pole of the spear from his shoulder, its tail dragged on the ground, so that is was about six feet in length. This enormous fish was served up on the 4th of July at a public dinner." S. P. Hildreth, *Pioneer History*, 498.

232. Refers to one or more than one species of sucker. Probably *Moxostoma aureolum* (Le Seur), the common red-horse, was most taken, though *Catostomus commersonii* (Lacepede), the white sucker, *Cycleptus elongatus* (Le Seur), the black-horse, and other species are not uncommon.

233. *Ictiobus cyprinella* (Cuvier & Valenciennes), the large mouthed buffalo, *Ictiobus bubalus* (Rafinesque), the small-mouthed buffalo, and *Ictiobus urus* (Agassiz), the black buffalo, are species resembling each other closely. All occur in the region.

234. The calcareous earstones or otoliths.

235. Several species of catfish occur in the Muskingum. Among the valuable food species are *Ictalurus punctatus* (Rafinesque), the blue cat, *Ameiurus lacustris* (Walbaum), the Mississippi cat, *Ameiurus nebulosus* (Le Sueur), the bull head, and *Leptops olivaris* (Rafinesque), the mud cat. The Ohio catfish sometimes weigh sixty or seventy pounds.

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236. *Acipenser rubicundus* Le Sueur.

237. *Lepisosteus osseus* (L.), the gar pike.

238. *Polydon spathula* (Walbaum), the spoon-bill cat.

239. *Aplodinotus grunniens* Rafinesque, the white perch, called also fresh water drum in allusion to its producing a grunting or drumming noise.

240. *Perca flavescens* (Mitchill).

241. *Anguilla chrysypa* Rafinesque. Possibly the author was more familiar with the so-called lamprey eel, *Ichthyomyzon concolor* (Kirtland) (cf. note 63), in the region of the Muskingum.

242. This is a very peculiar reference to the water dogs, *Necturus maculatus* Rafinesque, the water dog with external gills, and *Cryptobranchus alleganiensis* (Daudin), the hell-bender or water dog without external gills.

243. *Trionyx spinifer* (Le Sueur), the common soft shelled turtle.

244. *Cistudo carolina* (L.), the common box or wood tortoise.

245. There are many species of mussels belonging to the genera, *Unio, Anodonta, Lampsilis,* etc., occurring in the region and the shells of several of these have a colored nacrous layer.

246. Other *Unio* species (?).

247. The snails, most likely referring to the larger species of *Helix* and related forms, were innocent of any connection with the gad flies.

248. In places where cattle destroy the weeds and other dense vegetation, conditions are not agreeable either to the snails or the gad flies, hence both are less abundant. These gad flies (family Tabanidae), *Tabanus, Chrysops,* etc., more commonly known as the horse fly, deposit their eggs on aquatic plants near the surface of the water and the larvae live in the mud and water feeding upon various soft bodied aquatic animals, snails among the rest, but of course not upon the land snails which the author apparently had in mind.

249. The frog with the call described is one of the tree frogs, *Hyla pickeringii* Storer, which lives near the water in spring and early summer. The Hylas go to the water very early in spring to deposit their eggs. The most common Hyla is *Hyla versicolor* Le Conte. The frogs the Mingoes caught were doubtless not the little hylas but more likely the leopard frog, *Rana virescens* Kalm, and the green frog, *Rana clamata* Daudin.

250. *Rana clamata* Daudin.

251. *Rana catesbiana* Shaw.

252. It would be interesting to know if the pestiferous house mouse, *Mus musculus* L., had even then reached this locality. The reference is most likely to the white footed mouse, *Peromyscus leucopus* (Rafinesque.)

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
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roots, which are called snakegrass-roots. These roots grow very much intertwined, like a very fine and close comb. These they chew to pieces and place them with sober spittle[4] on the sore and the bite, which has such a power by its application, as has been stated. But 2 or 3 of the Swedes there in the country, as I know, were wounded by these snakes. They immediately swelled up terribly and were dead within an hour, for they lacked these medicines.

These snakes are spotted, yellow and black, and on the tail they have horn-joints, one joint for each year, according to his age.[5] [They] have scent of a human being far away, [and when the snake scents a person] then he puts his tail in the air to shake and agitate, so that it is heard far away from him, with a sound like children's rattles with pease in them, yet very loud, so that a person can through this guard himself against it. Concerning this I have formerly discussed it somewhat in the chapter concerning the childbirth of the savage women and [stated] that the skin of this rattlesnake is found to be very splendid for pregnant women, that when they tie this around themselves, then they are immediately relieved of their severe childbirth.[6]

Concerning this, as well as many other innumerable[7] [things] one may well marvel at the splendid and miraculous medicines of the savages; so that if it is not a fatal disease, they know a

[4] *Nychter spätt.* Perhaps fresh rather than sober saliva.
[5] Cf. above, Chapt. VIII.
[6] See above, Chapts. VIII, X, note 5. Cf. Williams, *Key*, 125 ff.
[7] *Orecciterligit*, unreciteable.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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JOHNSTON	*Au, noque kie, shoe*—The squirrel moon
PIPE	*Arnēēkwsee keeshooh*—Squirrel moon—engendering time
CHIPPS	*Un-ex-i-kà-so*
J. W.	*Motwigiso*—Hungry month—eating each other
W. L.	*Mamhotin*—Big snow—hungry—eating each other
W. T.	*Skolikiso*—Frogs holler

February

ZEISBERGER	*Tsqualli gischuch*—Frog month
ZEISBERGER	*Squalle gischuch*—Frog month, when frogs begin to croak
HECKEWELDER	—Frog month, because on warm days they begin to croak
JOHNSTON	*Chau, quol, le, ki, shoe*—The frozen month
PIPE	*Tsharkōālee kēēshooh*—Frog moon
CHIPPS	*Squal-i-kà-so*
J. W.	*Anixwikiso*—Sugar moon
W. L.	*Skolikilo*—Frogs holler

March

ZEISBERGER	*M'choamowi gischuch*—Shad month
ZEISBERGER	*Chwoame gischuch*—Shad month, because this fish goes up rivers in great numbers
HECKEWELDER	—When on Atlantic coast called shad month, now sugar-making month.
JOHNSTON	*Hau, mo, n'ock, hee, tou*—The white bass moon
PIPE	*Haumoakwhēēta kēēshooh*—from a species of shell fish found at that time on the sea coast
CHIPPS	*Quaw-mo-kà-so*
J. W.	*Skoligiso*—Frogs hollering
W. L.	*Komwikilo*—Bees come out

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

So I pray that everyone help. If accordingly everyone does all in his power, earnestly praying with all his heart, it might occasion those spirit-forces to hear our pitiful appeal, those who carry the power of blessing. And right here this evening in a little while we shall begin to feel ourselves being touched by our grandfathers[1] who move this our prayer-worship.

[1] The various man-i't-u or spirit-forces of nature, some of which have been previously mentioned by the narrator. The spirits dwelling in the turtle-shells are one of the manifestations of the Great Spirit, who function in this reference as the spirits whose duty it is to "start moving" the ceremony. The "touch" here means the "spirit of control" or the force that keeps the worship alive.

And now when worshiping, these Turkey-group people,[1] because they enter the Big House with the ceremony, that group is our old man[2] and our chief. He-Walks-Turning-Around-Slowly[3] is the one who brings in the ceremony.

When the Enterer begins the ceremony everything is prepared. Here at the middle of the right hand side, directly opposite where the stud-post stands, right here he conducts the worship—the Enterer. From this place is where they perform the vision recitations. These turtle-rattles are called our grandfathers. When they reach the place where the Master of Ceremonies sits,[4] he shakes the rattle, the leading rattle, and the follower answers him.[5]

[1] It is assumed in the text by the narrator that the Turkey, or Fowl division of the tribe is assuming the obligation to "enter the Big House bringing" meaning to sponsor the ceremony.

[2] The simile here denotes that the Turkey division has senority over the other two so far as the period of the ceremony is concerned.

[3] The performance is to be recited as though it were being conducted by the present chief of the tribe, Charles Elkhair who has held the office since 1898, whose Delaware name is Ko·kwal·apo'χwe denoting someone who is walking along slowly then turns around in the opposite direction. The same chief was the host to the ceremony described by Harrington in 1912 (Harrington I, pp. 85-7). The informant planned the text to follow Elkhair's manner of conducting it because he had participated in it frequently under him and had a clearer recollection of his addresses and details of management.

[4] This statement brings to mind the important and oft-repeated reference to the Tortoise in his transit of the world as "carrying the ceremony." The rattles, made of the animals shells, we are told, are following the same allegorical course from east to west.

[5] The dance leader uses a somewhat smaller tortoise shell than the "following," hence the designation leading rattle, as though the rattle itself were an active agency.

Then these "cranes," or drummers,[1] beat three times the drum. First the dance leader strikes the drum once, and then the follower-singer, and the leader again. And then also he will say, he who is about to recite his vision and dance, "I now must worship!" And all the old men answer. They say, "Hau! Indeed it is truly fine, my brother!"

[1] For some reason a simile has developed here by which the two men who attended to the drumming accompaniment are likened to Sandhill Cranes,

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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Recitation of Vision by Ko"kwəl-əpo'χwə

"I must now come to the point of relating my narrative about Kaw River[1] when I was but a child. When my now deceased father told me, "Now, indeed, for your younger brother life is ended,"[2] my defunct parent was exceedingly grieved over the thing. How sorry I was about my younger brother, because I used to think that sometime later when he grew up it would happen that I could play with that one my younger brother. Truly indeed, my meditations grew very heavy upon my mind. I did not know what to do for solace. Whereupon I wandered away, towards the edge of the timber. In my wandering I did not know that it was coming on night, while more and more was my grief weighing upon my mind. Truly, in my realization of helplessness, seeking for solace, I suddenly made up my mind then and there that whatever might become of me let it come. There under a tree I slowly sank and fell.[3] In a short time I began to feel that my miseries of mind had begun to flow out. It seemed not as though I were asleep because I thought it would make no difference if I should die right there, for my younger brother was now no more. It was not long before I heard something come to the ground close at hand. I

(Grus mexicana) or the Whooping Crane (G. americana) those now almost extinct birds whose wings in colonial times darkened the skies of Pennsylvania. "Cranes came hither along the Delaware by hundreds in the Spring (1700), but at present (1748) there are very few. . . . . Certain old Swedes told me that, in their younger years, as the country was not yet much cultivated, an incredible number of cranes were here every Spring," wrote Peter Kalm (Travels in North America, 1770, Vol. I, p. 290), the Swedish naturalist who visited the Delaware valley in the middle of the 18th century (see C. C. Abbot, A Naturalist's Rambles About Home, (1894), p. 230; and E. H. Forbush, "A History of Game Birds, Wild Fowl, and Shore Birds (1912), p. 478).

The birds are also mentioned for Pennsylvania by Gabriel Thomas (1634), (Narratives of Early Pennsylvania, West New Jersey and Delaware, Ed. by Albert Cook Myers (1912), p. 48). The cranes had disappeared from Eastern Pennsylvania and New Jersey by 1809 (W. P. Turnbull, Birds of Eastern Pennsylvania and New Jersey, (1869), p. 49). What the basis of resemblance was in the minds of the ancients, to have caused this resemblance to be featured between the drummers and cranes seems to be beyond our means of learning although the Delawares trace it to the peculiar cry the drummers utter when they terminate each dance round. We shall also hear more of them as the ceremony proceeds, for they play parts of considerable responsibility, being obliged for one thing, to repeat whatever is chanted by the dance-leader when he pauses in his song, during his vision recitation, to dance while the "cranes" echo his verses. They also have certain privileges in the use of face paint.

[1] ka'si·a· is the proper name in Delaware for the Kansa, or Kaw, tribe of the southern Siouan group, from which Kaw river derives its name. This is the scene of the reciter's vision, who is assumed to be, as previously noted, Chief Elkhair.

[2] A reverential way of referring to the death of a kinsman. If an animal were so referred to, the term a'pgel·a· "he is dead" is used. Still another paraphrase for decease is a·mata'xpi·l'yə "he who no longer remains here."

[3] This term has a religious sense, the ordinary verb being nace'pgi·zi·, "I lie down."

3: Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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the Ohio three hundred miles below Pittsburg, one hundred miles from here, snow hardly ever remains on the ground, and the ground is bare for most of the winter. In autumn and even up to Christmas and New Year or beyond that time, there is little frost, and even if in a clear night the ground should freeze, it thaws soon after sunrise. There are very few clear, beautiful days in the winter-time; much of the time it rains, occasionally it snows. After a few clear days a change may be looked for. If there has been quite a snow, rain may follow. Yet the Muskingum, not having a strong current, is frozen over when there are several cold nights in succession. Usually this happens once during the winter, rarely oftener.

The Indians make little provision to feed their cattle in winter, for as there is no deep snow and the weather is generally mild, cattle and particularly horses can forage for themselves, finding feed in the woods. In the bottoms grass never quite dies away but remains green toward the end of March and beginning of April grows again.

Of wild fruits the strawberries,[85] much like those in Europe, are the first to ripen in spring. Blackberries,[86] raspberries,[87] bilberries,[88] are also found, though not native to these parts, for these varieties grow best on hills and in not too rich soil. Further, there are wild gooseberries[89] and currants,[90] the latter black in color and with a somewhat different taste from that of the red which are cultivated in gardens, though having the same sort of leaves. There are two varieties of cranberries;[91] one grows in swamps on low bushes not as high as the bilberry bushes, the other on small trees. For both the Indians have one name (Rakilun). Of the wild cherry, there are three kinds, not found in Europe at all, and having a very good taste. The one sort[92] grows on high thick trees, which are found in large numbers and yield a very fine red wood that is well suited for cabinet work. The other kinds[93] grow on bushes. On the islands in the Susquehanna, cherries[94] are found, very like the cultivated fruit, having about the same form and taste. The only difference is that they grow neither on trees nor bushes, but on vines, which lie on the ground and when lifted up appear laden with fruit.

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●[137] These grow on very stony ground near the water, where the sunshine is particularly hot. In these parts I have not come across this variety.

Besides, there are mulberries,[95] plums,[96] and wild grapes of three sorts, those growing on high ground[97] or hills being the best; those[98] found in the bottoms are very sour. Crabapples[99] grow in great plenty and the Indians, being very fond of sharp and sour fruit, eat them in abundance.

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Of nuts there are found: (1) The well known hazel nut,[100] (2) the hickory nut,[101] found in great plenty in some years and which the Indians gather in large quantities and use not only as they find them — they have a very sweet taste — but also extract from them a milky juice used in different foods and very nourishing. Sometimes they extract an oil by first roasting the nut in the shell under hot ashes and pounding them to a fine mash, which they boil in water. The oil swimming on the surface is skimmed off and preserved for cooking and other purposes. (3) The walnut of two varieties, the white walnut[102] deriving its name from the color of the wood which, strictly speaking, is gray, and the black walnut,[103] of which the wood is dark-brown, sometimes even shading into violet. The latter is very much used by cabinet makers for tables, chests and other things. The nuts, the one variety having a very hard shell, are eaten, but are very oily.

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The papa[104] tree, which I have seen nowhere else than along the Ohio, bears a very beautiful fruit, in form and size resembling a middle sized cucumber, of an agreeable smell and taste.

Wild laurel[105] is found in the bottoms in great abundance; the berries are smaller than those found elsewhere, but have about the same taste. Of these, even the whites make use. They grow on bushes, the wood of which has a strong spicy color and taste, used by the Indians for medicine and called by the English, spicewood.[106]

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Chestnuts[107] are very plentiful in some years. The Indians gather them and prepare various dishes with them. A larger variety of chestnuts[108] is native to these parts, but these are not fit to eat.

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Of roots, wild potatoes[109] and wild parsnips are found. Bread is baked of both, which one may be driven to eat by pangs of hunger. The Indians look for both roots when famine threatens and the supply of corn runs low, sometimes sustaining life with them for a considerable period.

A kind of bean, called by the Indians earth-bean, because it grows close to the ground, is also found and tastes when boiled, like the chestnut.

Wild citrons[110] or May apples, grow on a stalk not over a foot high. The Indians enjoy eating the fruit, which has a sour but pleasant taste. The roots are a powerful poison which, who eats, dies in a few hours' time unless promptly given an emetic.

Watermelons and muskmelons, which grow by culture only, are very refreshing in summer. Of some watermelons the meat is yellow and the seeds black; of others the meat and seeds red.

The forests contain mainly oak trees; other kinds of trees are, however, also found. They are not dense, but generally sufficiently open to allow comfortable passage on foot or horseback. There are five varieties of oak, white-oak,[110a] black-oak,[110b] red-oak,[110c] Spanish-oak,[110d] and swamp-oak.[110e] The red-oak has very narrow, small leaves and bears little colored acorns, such as I have seen nowhere else. Besides these, hickory trees of three sorts,[111] ash,[112] white and red beech,[113] sassafras,[114] in some places very thick, poplar[115] and chestnut[116] are the kinds generally found on high lying land. In the bottoms there are walnut, linden,[117] maple,[118] water-beech,[119] that grow near to the water and often attain great height and girth, hawthorne[120] and crab-apple.[121]

The Hoop-ash,[122] a little known tree and found only in this region, has this name because barral-hoops are made of the wood. It grows in the bottoms and is of little use otherwise, as the wood easily rots.

The Honey-locust[123] is likewise found in the bottoms. This tree but little resembles the locust of Pensilvanien, except that there is some similarity in foliage, though the leaves are smaller and finer. The trunks of the thickest trees are two feet in diameter on the average. The trunk is covered with thorns that stand straight out, are about six inches long and very sharp.

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●137 The wood is red, very hard and heavy and does not rot very quickly in the ground. It bears pods that fall off in the autumn. Besides the seeds, the pods contain a kind of molasses or honey, thus accounting for the name Europeans have given the tree. The Indians call it the thorn-tree on account of its many thorns.

Sugar trees are usually found in low, rich soil, sometimes, also, on higher land and in more northerly regions even on hills, where, however, the soil is very moist. The Delawares call this tree the *Achsunnamunschi*, that is, the stone-tree, on account of the hardness of the wood. The Mingoes give it a name signifying the sugar tree, as do the Europeans. From 222 the sap of the tree sugar is boiled. This is done by the Indians 252 in the early part of the year, beginning in February and continuing to the end of March or beginning of April, according as spring is early or late. In this region it is possible to boil sugar even in fall after there has been frost and in winter, if the season is mild. For as soon as the trees thaw a little the sap begins to run and then the trees are tapped. As, however, at that time of the year the weather is very uncertain and it is possible that there should be a cold wave at any time, it is hardly worth the effort to make the necessary arrangements and is hardly ever done, unless some one be driven of necessity to provide sugar for the household. This, we ourselves have been obliged to do and the sisters of our congregation have already boiled a quantity of sugar for congregational love-feasts, shortly before Christmas.

Spring is the proper season for boiling sugar. The following preparations are made. A number of small troughs [415] are made for receiving the sap. Usually, the Indians make them of wood, cutting them out roughly with a hatchet. Some Indians are able to make twenty or thirty of them in a day. Some do not go to so much trouble, but make dishes of the bark or bast of a tree, which serve quite as well, but are good for no more than one season. According as they have large or numerous kettles and troughs they can make much sugar, for there is no lack of trees. Besides the smaller troughs and dishes,

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hundred pounds of sugar in a season and a quantity of molasses, besides.

Sugar boiling is chiefly the employment of women. Even widows are able to earn enough by it to secure clothing and whatever else they may need. While the women are thus engaged, the men hunt and supply meat. As the deer skins are of little value at that season of the year, they generally hunt bear, which they seek in the rocks, hollow trees or thickets in their winter quarters. Bears are at this time generally fat.

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Dog-wood[128] is also found in these parts. The rind of the root is used in the apothecary shops in place of Jesuit-Bark.[129] This tree grows to be neither large nor high.

Red Cedars[130] are found along the Muskingum finer and larger than I have seen elsewhere in North America. They do not grow on the mountains as in Pensilvanien, where they are stunted and scrubby, but in the bottoms.

The spruce tree[127] is neither a fir nor a pine, according to my view, but something between the two. In this region the tree is found only occasionally along the creeks and rivers. In more northerly districts, however, there are great spruce forests and swamps.

Pitch-pine[128] is rarely found here and white pine[129] not at all; a hundred miles to the south one may see many specimens of either variety. Fir trees[130] I have seen near the source of the Ohio and pines[131] not far from Bethlehem, across the Blue Mountains in the great swamp.

Vines are very numerous, especially in the bottoms. They climb up the trees and look like anchor strands, often being thicker than these. The grapes they bear have a sour taste. Those which grow on the highlands and only have short, tender shoots, being frequently disturbed in their growth by brush-fires, have the best grapes. These have a good taste. Experience has taught that good wine may be made of both kinds.

I [824 415]

The elm tree,[132] already noticed above, is of no particular use, for the wood rots quickly, except that the Mingoes make bast canoes and kettles for sugar boiling of the bark, which is very tough.

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137 [278] The bark of stone birch[123] trees, as of many others, the Indians pound fine, mix with water and use as a medicine. This is the only variety of birch trees here. In Pensilvanien there are birch trees like those of Europe, though they do not grow to any size.

Aspen trees[124] are also found, though not in great numbers nor everywhere. One kind of tree is found here that I have seen nowhere else. The wood is soft and yellowish. The leaves are smooth and oval-shaped. The Indians call it *Wiseweminschi*, the yellow tree.[125]

317 Of oil wells I have seen three kinds, (1) wells that have an outlet; (2) wells that have no outlet, but are stagnant pools; (3) wells in creeks and even in the Ohio at two different points, one hundred and fifty miles from one another.

In the wells which have an outlet, oil and water together exude from the earth and where these flow grass and soil become oily. When there is no means of discharge one sees nothing more than oil welling up, which, if none has been taken off for some time, floats an inch or more in depth on the water. In the creeks it is possible to see some of the places where the oil flows, others not, for often the current carries the oil with it at such rate that you see the oil over all the surface of the water. In the Ohio there are, also, such places in the region of the oil wells. Here the current is very gentle and the Indians skim off the oil, though it is not easy to do this as the current, even though not swift, keeps carrying it along. Such places are usually revealed by the strong odor. Even though the water of a river keeps carrying away the oil, one may smell it at a distance of a quarter of a mile from the well. The soil near an oil well is poor, either a cold, clayey ground, or if it is near a creek, a poor quality of sand at the top. Neither good grass or wood will grow nearby, hardly anything more than a few stunted oak trees.

If the Indians wish to collect oil, which they prefer to do where the well has no discharge, as it is there most easily secured, they first throw away the old oil floating on top, as it has a stronger odor than that which wells up fresh from the earth.[126]

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predictions. In one important respect, according to my opinion, they make mistakes, namely, in not properly measuring doses and often needlessly torturing patients. Hence, it is that in connection with the external hurts, where over-treatment is less likely to occur, they have the better results, as is the case with rheumatism, for which they use only external applications. One Indian knows of good remedies for one disease or kind of injury, another another. Owing to the fact that they rarely reveal their knowledge to each other, much of the practical knowledge is lost.

In the matter of diseases peculiar to women, the women know a number of remedies, which usually act quickly and well, as in the case of hard labor, which sometimes occurs, though not frequently, and in other troubles. If mothers cannot suckle children for want of milk, they are able, by use of a drink, to increase the supply.[142]

In the use of poisonous roots the Indians are well versed, and there are many melancholy examples where they have by their use destroyed themselves or others. If a case of poisoning is taken in time, the effect of the poisonous root may be prevented by inducing vomiting. In case assistance is rendered too late, death follows, as a rule, in a few hours. There are poisonous roots that operate by slow degrees, in some cases illness may last a year or longer.

The so-called Poison Vine[143] grows plentifully in the bottoms. It climbs up the trees, much as a grape vine will, the main stem becoming as thick as an arm. Some are affected with swelling in the face and body if they touch it, others, even when the wind blows over it upon them. This is very painful until cured. Others do not suffer from the vine at all. This holds good of Indians as of others.

There are some poisonous trees.[144] These do not attain great height. They have a milky juice under the bark which is very poisonous.

The bark of many different kinds of trees is used by the Indians for preparing medicine. Occasionally, you will meet an Indian who has knowledge in this kind of remedies, but knows nothing of roots or herbs. With the white walnut bark,[145]

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braneous continuation of the skin of the sides and belly by which its hind and forelegs are connected. This supports the animal in leaping from one tree to another. In other respects it resembles the common squirrel. 136

3) There is found here a variety of rattlesnake[222] I have seen nowhere else. It is hardly a foot long and very slender, it has rattles as have the other varieties and its bite is quite as venomous. The color is, also, like that of the other rattlers, yellow with black markings.

4) Plants. Laurel,[222] also called the wild box, grows along river banks, or in the swamps in cool places or on the north side of mountains. It grows so thickly that it is impossible to get through. In swamps of laurel, bears like to make their winter quarters. The wood is fine and hard. The Indians make spoons of it. The main stem does not become thicker than a leg. The leaves are green summer and winter. 137 [322]

THE END.

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55. *Silsoztdion vitreum* (Mitchill) the pike or sauger.

56. *Lepisosteus osseus* (L.)

57. *Salvelinus fontinalis* (Mitchill), the speckled or brook trout.

58. *Anguilla chrysypa* Rafinesque.

59. *Phoca vitulina* L., the harbour seal, common farther north, though rare in this latitude even in salt water. Their occurrence at Wyoming nearly 200 miles up the Susquehanna River is quite remarkable, though other similar occurrences have been recorded.

60. *Chamaecyparis thyoides* (L.), the white cedar.

61. *Alces americanus* (Clinton). The animals migrated south in the winter crossing the Niagara, or the Lakes on the ice.

62. *Salmo salar* Linnaeus, the Atlantic salmon, formerly very abundant in the Hudson River though now nearly or quite exterminated there.

63. *Anguilla chrysypa* Rafinesque. Possibly the author was more familiar with the lamprey eel, *Ichthyomyzon concolor* (Kirtland) in the Muskingum region, hence his reference to the more slender head of *Anguilla chrysypa*. However, inasmuch as there is but the one true eel in our fresh waters and the lamprey is small and seldom seen, it seems probable that the eels which the author knew in New York and along the Muskingum were of the same sort. In autumn there is a universal migration of the adult eels to the sea to spawn. The Indians, true to their insight into nature, made the best of this opportunity for securing them in great quantities.

64. Niagara Falls.

65. Probably one of the Three Sister Islands.

66. Oneida Lake.

67. Cayuga Lake.

68. Seneca and Ithaca Lakes.

69. *Pyrus coronaria* L., the American crab apple or wild apple.

70. Mohawks.

71. Reference here is to Sullivan's expedition of 1779. The date of the writing of this history is here shown to be 1780.

72. Indicating that even with the unskilled cultivation of the Indians, the corn in different regions developed varieties each suited to its particular locality.

73. North Carolina.

74. Fort Frontenac, now Kingston, Canada.

75. One of the most elaborate descriptions of this route through Central Pennsylvania is given in Francis Baily's *Journal* of a *Tour in Unsettled parts of North America*. Sideling Hill is near the Juniata; Laurel Hill is a continuance of Chestnut Ridge, the latter being the local name of the range in Pennsylvania. Zeisberger's mention of it as the important western route at this period (pointing, as it does well back in the eighteenth century) is significant.

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78. The parallel chains of the Blue Ridge now known as Second and Third and Peters Mountains, being at that time without a name, Conrad Weiser called them, on the occasion of Zinzendorf's second journey into the Indian country, "The Thurnstein" in honor of this distinguished personage, one of whose titles was Lord of Thurnstein.

77. Jack's Mountain.

78. The present Erie, Pa.

79. By way of French Creek. Perhaps no other authority gives the name of Venango or *Onenge* as the name of this stream.

80. Turtle Creek.

81. Ligonier, Pa.

82. Kentucky River.

83. Cuyahoga River.

84. Scioto River.

85. *Fragaria virginiana* Duchesne.

86. *Rubus nigrobaccus* Bail, the common blackberry and *Rubus villosus* L., the dewberry.

87. *Rubus occidentalis* L.

88. *Vaccinium pennsylvanicum* Lam., the dwarf blueberry.

89. *Ribes cynosbati* L., the prickly gooseberry.

90. *Ribes floridum* L'Her., the wild black current.

91. *Vaccinium macrocarpon* Ait, the common cranberry and *Viburnum opulus* L., the tree cranberry.

92. *Prunus serotina* Ehrh., the common wild cherry.

93. *Prunus pennsylvanica* L., and probably *Prunus cuneata* Raf.

94. *Prunus pumila* L., the sand cherry.

95. *Morus rubra* L., the common red mulberry.

96. *Prunus americana* Marsh.

97. *Vitis aestivalis* Michx.

98. *Vitis cordifolia* Michx. and *Vitis vulpina* L.

99. *Pyrus coronaria* L. and *Pyrus angustifolia* Ait., both occur along the Muskingum and probably both were used by the Indians.

100. *Corylus americana* Walt.

101. *Carya* species (?) Doubtless the Indians made use of most of the half dozen edible species of the region.

102. *Juglans cinerea* L.

103. *Juglans nigra* L.

104. *Asimina triloba* Dunal.

105. *Benzoin aestivale* (L.) the common spice-bush, apparently.

106. Spicebush.

107. *Cadmera dentata* (Marsh).

108. An interesting reference to the Ohio Buckeye, *Aesculus glabra* Willd.

109. *Ipomoea panduratа* (L.) a relative of the morning glory with tuberous roots.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

110. *Podophyllum peltatum* L., the root of which is still a staple medicinal herb. 137

110a. *Quercus alba* L., the white oak.

110b. *Quercus velutina* Lam., the black or quercitron oak.

110c. *Quercus rubra* L., red oak.

110d. *Quercus falcata* Michx., Spanish oak.

110e. *Quercus palustris* Muench., the swamp Spanish or pinoak.

111. Doubtless more than three!

112. *Fraxinus americana* L., is the most common one, though other species occur in the region.

113. *Fagus grandifolia* Ehrh. There is but one beech though the wood in some is quite different in color from that of others.

114. *Sassafras variifolium* (Salisb.)

115. *Liriodendron tulipifera* L., the tulip tree, commonly called poplar.

116. *Castanea dentata* (Marsh).

117. *Tilia americana* L., basswood or linden.

118. *Acer saccharinum* L., the silver maple is most abundant near the water, though *Acer saccharum* Marsh, the sugar maple, and var. *nigrum* (Mx) also occur in the bottom lands.

119. *Carpinus caroliniana* Walt., the American hornbeam, is usually known as water beech but this description evidently refers to the sycamore, *Platanus occidentalis* L., sometimes called water beech. There is no other reference which could apply to the sycamore and it was then as now, a conspicuous tree of the river banks.

120. *Crataegus* species (?) Several of the 65(!) species accepted by the seventh edition of Gray's *Manual* occur here.

121. *Pyrus coronaria* L., and *Pyrus angustifolia* Ait.

122. *Fraxinus nigra* Marsh., the black ash.

123. *Gleditsia triacanthos* L.

124. *Cornus florida* L.

125. The bark of *Cinchona succirubra* and other species of *Cinchona* from which quinine is prepared. The Cinchonas grow wild in the Andes Mountains.

126. *Juniperus virginiana* L.

127. *Picea mariana* (Mill.) Black or leg spruce.

128. *Pinus rigida* Mill. Pitch pine.

129. *Pinus strobus* L. White pine.

130. *Abies balsamea* (L.)

131. *Pinus pungens* Lamb, the table mountain pine, presumably.

132. *Ulmus americana* L., and *V. racemosa* Thomas.

133. *Betula nigra* L., the river birch.

134. *Populus tremuloides* Michx., the American aspen.

135. *Cladrastis lutea* (Michx.).

136. Loskiel records that Indians sold oil to the whites "at four guineas a quart." *History*, 118. 435

3;Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

137. A very questionable statement.

138. It is doubtful what Zeisberger means here by "marble;" possible it was gritty sandstone.

139. Iron Pyrites or "Fool's Gold."

140. Kaolin or China clay; colors in clays are due to impurities. The black clay which burns white evidently contained carbonaceous matter.

141. Yellow ochre.

142. Possibly a decoction made from polk-berries which would stimulate the secretion of the glands of the breasts, etc.

143. *Rhus toxicodendron* L., the poison vine or poison ivy.

144. *Rhus vernix* L., the poison sumac, our most poisonous plant.

145. Not used by the medical profession today.

146. *Odocoileus virginianus* (Boddaert).

147. The introduction of the rifle was the first step in destroying Nature's balance as applied to man and the native wild animals. Doubtless the deer and buffalo easily held their own in spite of the onslaughts of the Indians until the rifle gave the Indians a tremendous advantage as compared with their former weapons.

148. *Ursus americanus* Pallas.

149. In many cases the Indians multiplied the species of our larger mammals, basing their ideas on one or two unusually large individuals they happened to meet, or on some peculiar condition of the pelage. There is only one species of bear known from eastern United States.

150. *Cervus canadensis* (Erxleben) the wapiti, or "American Elk." The author is correct. The wapiti is nearly related to the stag, *Cervus elaphus* L., of Europe and is not an elk at all.

151. *Bison bison* (L.)

152. *Felis couguar* Kerr.

153. *Lynx rufus* (Guldenstaedt).

154. *Vulpes fulvus* (Dasmarest).

155. *Urocyon cinereoargenteus* (Schreber).

156. A black phase of the red fox *Vulpes fulvus*.

157. *Procyon lotor* (L.)

158. *Lutra canadensis* (Schreber).

159. *Castor canadensis* Kuhl.

160. The steel trap was another white man's invention which, placed in the hands of the Indians, proved most destructive to some of the animals which formerly held their own against the less effective methods of the Indians. The price paid for the pelts by the whites, was of course an additional factor in the destruction of many of the native animals.

161. *Didelphis virginiana* Kerr.

162. Certainly open to question and probably merely an Indian belief.

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
NM7 Delaware NM7

CHAPTER XVII.

Concerning the Hunting and Shooting of the American Savage People.

The soil in New Sweden is so loose, as if we 134
stood and poked in ashes, because the earth there is not so closely rooted or sodded, as when it is somewhat used in the beginning, burnt, sown and cut.[1] There indeed grows a great deal of high 134-
grass, which reaches above the knees of a man, 137
but the stalks are so far apart that one can uproot it like flax or hemp. There is also no thickly grown forest but the trees stand far apart, as if they were planted. The soil also appears there in the country, as if it formerly had stood under water, for there is found everywhere on the ground an abundance of all kinds of mussels and shells, as well as other things that are found in the water.[2]

Now as soon as the winter bids good night, they 224
begin with their hunts, which is done with a fine innovation.[3] Now at that time of the year the grass which grows there, as has been said, is as dry as hay. When now the sachem wants to arrange his hunt, then he commands his people [to

---

[1] *Jorden in Nova Suecia är så löös som man stodo och rörde j Aska, af ordsaak att Jorden är ther inthet så tätt rotader eller vällader sdsom när hon blyfwer något j förstonne brukader, brändh, sddder och afslagen.* This is ambiguous. Perhaps it means that the ground is loose before grass-roots and other growths have made it tough.

[2] *Mussior och allehanda skoaler sampt annat som i wattnet finnes.*

[3] *Artigh invention.* See above, Chapt. XV, note 6.

9: Kinietz /E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

347. Hair in two queues, one forward, one to the rear 302

W. T. said that formerly the Delaware men wore their hair in two braids, one to the front, and the other to the rear of the head but that recently he and others of the Anadarko group had worn their hair in two braids, one on each side of the face, in keeping with the Wichita, Kiowa and Caddo among whom they lived.

349. Hair fastened behind the head

W. L. said that women did not fasten hair at all until men began to do so and then women braided theirs. Could not be more definite about men braiding theirs, when or whether they braided all of their hair or only the queue.

357. Average height

JOHN JOHNSTON said [height] same as whites. CAPTAIN PIPE 141 ● said that the average height was between five feet nine inches and six feet.

359. Constitution more rugged than that of whites

JOHN JOHNSTON—Their strength I think is inferior [to the 142 whites] but more active, their constitutions are firm while in the prime of life, when they begin to decline I think they decline much faster than the whites.

WAR AND ITS INCIDENTS

361. Decided upon by council or civil chiefs 721

ZEISBERGER said war was decided upon by "the captains" presumably referring to the war chiefs.

W. T. said that war was not a part of the Delaware way of [172] life until after the whites came and taught them to make war on each other.

W. L. said that there had been no wars in his time and that he knew nothing about conducting them.

364. Notice of war given

E. R. said that arrows would be sent to the other party after they had tried to settle a dispute by talk, if the other party kept the arrows they knew they had better prepare for war.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

with his execution, and having his looking-glass with him, he contemplated his work, seemingly with great pride and exultation. He asked me how I liked it? I answered that if he had done the work on a piece of board, bark, or any thing else, I should like it very well and often look at it. But, asked he, why not so as it is? Because I cannot see the face that is hidden under these colours, so as to know who it is. Well, he replied, I must go now, and as you cannot know me to-day, I will call to-morrow morning before you leave this place. He did so, and when he came back, he was washed clean again.

Thus, for a single night's *frolic*, a whole day is spent in what they call dressing, in which each strives to outdo the other.

When the men paint their thighs, legs and breast, they, generally, after laying on a thin shading coat of a darkish colour, and sometimes of a whitish clay, dip their fingers' ends in black or red paint, and drawing it on with their outspread fingers, bring the streaks to a serpentine form. The garments of some of their principal actors are singular, and decorated with such a number of gewgaws and trinkets, that it is impossible to give a precise description of them. Neither are they all alike in taste, every one dressing himself according to his fancy, or the custom of the tribe to which he belongs. While the women, as I have already said, have thimbles and little bells rattling at their ancles, the men have deers' claws fixed to their braced garters or knee bands, and also to their shoes, for the same purpose; for they consider jingling and rattling as indispensably necessary to their performances in the way of dancing.

The notion formerly entertained that the Indians are beardless by nature and have no hair on their bodies, appears now to be exploded and entirely laid aside. I cannot conceive how it is possible for any person to pass three weeks only among those people, without seeing

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

them pluck out their beards, with tweezers made expressly for that purpose. Before the Europeans came into the country, their apparatus for performing this work, consisted of a pair of muscle shells, sharpened on a gritty stone, which answered very well, being somewhat like pincers; but since they can obtain wire, of which that of brass is preferred, they make themselves tweezers, which they always carry with them in their tobacco-pouch, wherever they go, and when at leisure, they pluck out their beards or the hair above their foreheads. This they do in a very quick manner, much like the plucking of a fowl, and the oftener they pluck out their hair, the finer it grows afterwards, so that at last there appears hardly any, the whole having been rooted out. The principal reasons which they give for thus plucking out their beards and the hair next to their foreheads, are that they may have a clean skin to lay the paint on, when they dress for their festivals or dances, and to facilitate the *tattooing* themselves, a custom formerly much in use among them, especially with those who had distinguished themselves by their valour, and acquired celebrity. They say that either painting or tattooing on a hairy face or body would have a disgusting appearance.

As late as the year 1762, when I resided at Tuscarawas on the Muskingum, tattooing was still practised by some Indians: a valiant chief of that village, named *Wawundochwalend*, desirous of having another name given him, had the figure of a water-lizard engraved or tattooed on his face, above the chin, when he received the name *Twakachshawsu*, the water-lizard. The process of tattooing, which I once saw performed, is quickly done, and does not seem to give much pain. They have poplar bark in readiness burnt and reduced to a powder, the figures that are to be tattooed are marked or designed on the skin; the operator with a small stick, rather larger than a common match, to the end of which some sharp

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
.NM7 Delaware
Eastern Woodland Indians NM3

NOTES.

●142 1. It is of the Iroquois and Delawares that the author is speaking. Six footers among them were the exception; Red Jacket measured five feet eight; Logan, six feet; Shenandoah, six feet three. Schoolcraft (*History . . . of the Indian Tribes*, Pt. IV, 349) states that he found about one-half of the men of the Chippewa nation in 1822, six feet high; yet the Dakotas averaged five feet nine. Keokuk was six feet two. The Ottawas were of smaller stature than the average lake tribes. Schoolcraft did not find muscular development large save among tribes located near white settlements where the means of sustenance was more constantly supplied.

2. The color of the American Indian ranged from the "brown yellow" of the mulatto to the paled faced "White Indians" of the Red River, whose seeming likeness to the Welsh has been discussed (Samuel Gardner Drake, *The Aboriginal Races of North America*, I, 52-55). *The Blanc Barbus* of Canada and Menomonies of Wisconsin were of lighter complexion, while the darkest of aborigines were found in the Caribbean Islands, in Guinea and California. The Cherokees and Chippewas have been classed with the darker Indians of southern California, the West Indies, etc., as of possible Malay origin. By all accounts the skin of the red man is as thin and soft as that of the white man; poison ivy affected some Indians if they only came in contact with wind blowing over it upon them.

3. Peter A. Brown, Esq., in 1852, found the fibre or shaft of the average Indian's hair to be cylindrical, while in the case of the Anglo-Saxon it is oval and in the African race, elliptical; thus the first would be straight, the second curly and the third fetted or wooly.

600 4. The Seneca Tribe of the Six Nations were generally known west of New York by the name of Mingo, especially in the Ohio Valley. The name was also used as an equivalent for the more general term of Iroquois, but oftentimes meaning those who migrated from their New York homeland.

5. Shawanese or Shawnees of the Scioto Valley.

6. Wyandots of the region between the Sandusky Valley and the Detroit River.

7. The general impression that is current concerning the hardship of the life of Indian squaws could not have been gained from a careful reading of men who wrote of the Indians in their original environment. Writes Heckewelder: "There are many persons who believe, from the labour that they see Indian women perform, that they are in a manner treated as slaves . . . but they have no more than their fair share . . . of the hardships attendant on savage life. The

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

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a b

LENAPE MAN AND WOMAN OF OKLAHOMA IN CEREMONIAL COSTUME
a, John Anderson (Witanaxkóxw'ē); *b*, Mrs Elkhair (ʔKicilungonē'xkwē)

[Facing p. 22]

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

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M2
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Sa

OKLAHOMA DELAWARE EX-CHIEF AND NARRATOR OF TEXTS. Wi tapəno'xwe, "Walks by Daylight," in Dance Costume.

[frontispiece]
[facing p. i]

7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

PLATE 1

142
302
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DELAWARE CEREMONIAL LEADERS IN DANCE COSTUME.

Left, Wi'tapano'xwe, "Walks by Daylight," C. J. Webber, and right, Kwutcpagi'kamen, "Rustling Leaves (when Walking)," George T. Anderson, of Dewey, Oklahoma. (Courtesy of Philadelphia *Public Ledger*, 1932, and Allen S. Fisher, "Lutheranism in Bucks County, 1734-1934," Tinicum, Pa., 1935.)

[facing p. 4]

8:Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
NM7 Delaware NM7

CHAPTER IX.

Concerning the Natural Disposition, Life, Temper and Stature of the American Savage People.[1]

These wild people in New Sweden, they are not 101
called wild because we believe them to be mad and insane, but on account of their idolatry and error in religion. [They] are a kind of people 102
of brownish color,[2] quick, skillful in working with their hands, willing, clever and ready to learn and grasp a thing. In stature and form [they] are tall, some of them, medium and some, short; a well proportioned people, slender and straight as a candle. Why there are no hunchbacks among them the following chapter, concerning the rearing of their children will show, how they are treated while they are young.[3]

It is a brave people, daring, revengeful; are 103
eager for war, fearless, heroic, strong in their arms, but very weak across their back, very agile, and limber,[4] running like horses and have the

[1] *Om dee Americaniske wilde Menniskiors naturlige skickelleee, lefnat, humeur och Gestalt.* Cf. Holm, *Kort Beskrifning*, 110 ff.

[2] *Af braun achtigh colour.* Hence Lindeström does not call them red, but describes them correctly.

[3] See below, Chapt. XII.

[4] *Myeket wijge och lätte.* "They are generally quick on foot, brought up from the breasts to running; their legs being also from the wombe stretcht, and bound up in a strange way on their Cradle backward, as also anointed; yet have they some that excell: So that I have knowne many of them run betweene foure-scoure or an hundred miles in a Summers day, and back in two dayes: they doe also practice running of *Races;* and commonly in the Summer, they delight to goe without shoes, although they

[pp. 1-190 not processed]

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
NM7 Delaware NM7

[302] By nature they indeed get whiskers, but they do
302 not wish to have any, because they think it is
shameful, wherefore, when the first hairs appear
they sit and always pull and pluck out the hair
with the roots, so that it never gets to grow,[6] but
they look smooth on the chin as the women. They
paint themselves in all kinds of ways in the face
with all kinds of colors, so that they look inex-
pressibly horrible, when they think themselves
to be adorned in the best manner. In their ears
they have brass and tin rings and small bunches
of money hanging. On their heads they have sit-
301 ting long and large painted bird feathers. Around
their necks they have strung much money, hanging
down like a lot of chains on their breasts. And
among these they have their *Pådhra* or idol hang-
ing, concerning which more will be said hereafter,
in the chapter about their faith and religion. On
302 their backs they have their *notasser*[7] or bags
301 hanging, very skillfully and neatly made, in which

[6] *När huldhåren uthspricka, sittia the alltydh* [och] *ryckia och plocka uth hådr*[*en*] *medh rötterne.* Cf. *Doc.*, I, 281.

[7] The bags were made of corn husks, hemp and bast, often beautifully decorated. Cf. De Vries, *N. Y. Col.*, 2, III, 95, 107 ff., 269. The Lenapé (and possibly general Algonkian) word for bag, in this case with Swedish plural ending *-er*. Lindeström often used Indian words with the Swedish plural ending. The early settlers of all nationalities adopted many words from the Indians, some of which have become part of the English, French, Spanish or Portuguese languages in America of today. The Dutch and Swedes likewise borrowed many such words, but these forms died out with the elimination of the Dutch and Swedish languages. Only in a small district in New Jersey has a Dutch dialect survived to our day, and this is greatly mixed with Indian words. In Dutch documents the word occurs as "*denotas*, bags," *Doc.*, I, 284. De Vries calls them *notassen*. Cf. Brinton, *Dict.*, 81. For Indian Bags, see Hodge, *Handbook*, I, 125.

As to the decorations of the Indians Williams says: "They hang these strings of money about their necks and wrists; as also upon the necks and wrists of their wives and children." *Key*, 131.

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+ ≡ element present
− ≡ element denied
(+) or (−) ≡ source ambiguous
• ≡ informant could not or would not say
S ≡ some, sometimes, or several
† or * ≡ see Ethnographic Notes, pp. 79-137 for additional information

	Williams	Van der Donck	Lindeström	Zeisberger	Heckewelder	Johnston	Pipe	Chipps	J. W.	W. T.	E. R.	W. L.
357. Average height						•		•	5'9"	5'10"	•	5'10"
358. All have high cheek bones						−		+	+		−	+
Constitution, personal appearance, dress, etc.—Continued												
359. Constitutions more rugged than that of whites						•+		+	+	+		+
360. General state of health better than that of whites								+	+	+		+
War and its incidents												
361. Decided upon by council or civil chiefs	+			•(+)		+	+	+	+	•+	+	•
362. Declared by killing and scalping enemy				+	+	+	+	+	+	•	•	
363. Preceded by demand for redress					+	S	+	•	+		+	
364. Notice of war given					−	−	−		+		•+	
365. Notify allied tribes				+			+		•	•	•	
366. War chief determines mode of conducting						+	+		+		+	
367. Force raised by call for volunteers		+				+	+	+	+	+	+	
368. Destination determined by war chief						+	+	•	−		−	
369. Commander appointed by civil chiefs						−	+	+	+		+	
370. Commander volunteers						+	−	−	−		−	
371. Inferior officers appointed by commander						−	+	+	+		+	
372. Inferior officers volunteer						+	−	•	−		−	
373. Cooks are on permanent appointment							+		(+)		+	
374. Ceremonies before start of expedition: General assembly				+		+	+	+	+		+	
375. Feast				•+			•+	•+	•+		+	
376. Dance				+	+		+	+	−		+	
377. Civil chief cautions party				+		+	+		+			
378. Subdivisions of forces on march	+				S	−	+		+		+	
379. Each man carries own provisions	+			+		+	+	+	+	−	+	
380. Discipline preserved	+			+		+	+	+	+	+	+	
381. March in single file				+	S	+	•+	•	(+)	•−	•−	
382. Encampment arranged East and West						+	•+	+	•−		•−	
383. Number of poles parallel to fires						2	2	1	•	•	•	
384. Guns stacked against poles						+	+	•+	•	•	•	
385. Exit only at end of poles						+	+	+	•	•	•	

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

information available. On the other hand, the expression of feelings between men and their wives and children, which is a closely related subject, definitely shows a change in the fourth period (75, 76). In the second and third periods indifference on the part of the men to their wives on returning home was reported, whereas, in the fourth period, the two younger informants disclaimed such indifference. Paternal indifference to children is denied throughout. The behavior of the older men toward their wives was in accordance with the old ways, they said, whereas that of the younger men was apparently influenced by white standards of behavior.

Captain Chipps and two of the informants, W. T. and W. L., considered the Delaware to differ from other tribes in color (80). Among the informants the matter was one of personal opinion unwarranted by the color of the individual informants. The opinion is also unwarranted from a comparison of skin, hair, and eye color with members of neighboring tribes who have approximately the same percentage of Indian blood. The greater degree of sociability, friendship, and hospitality among the Delaware and all the informants is to be attributed, in part, at least, to their religion and their feeling of superiority to other tribes (82-84). They believe their Big House or Delaware "church" to be superior to the religious beliefs of other tribes, but they are tolerant of the shortcomings of the others and attempt no missionary work. Friendship with all mankind is preached in the Big House and practiced by all believers.

The elements concerned with the physical duties of the woman in the home are of doubtful value from a psychological and terminological viewpoint (85-87). The terms "easy," "contented," and "drudgery" all carry connotations beyond their strict meanings that are so divergent in their use by different observers or informants that comparison is impossible. It is interesting to note, however, that Heckewelder and Johnston agree with the statements of the modern Delaware that the position of women was easy and contented and that they were not considered menial servants of the men. The only dissenting voice was that of Captain Chipps. Nowhere is there any evidence that the women considered themselves imposed upon by the men.

.9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

852 the sex correlation. The animal or part of it was eaten by a friend who prayed for the continuance of good luck, according to Johnston, J. W. and W. L. (335). The dedication of the animal to deities or the spirits of deceased friends and the giving of the feast at night as mentioned by Johnston were denied by [177] two of the informants (333-34). There is a suggestion of a fourth-period change here that would be stronger if it were not for the paucity of accounts.

224 A feast, a dance, or both, were customarily given on the return of a hunting party, according to the statements or implications of the sources of the first three periods (338-39). The informants all denied that dances were held and W. T. was the [177] only one to admit the giving of feasts. This seems very definitely to reflect a change between the third and fourth periods, probably due to the decline in the economic importance of hunting.

Constitution, Personal Appearance, Dress, etc.

142 The elements under this heading are few and show little 302 change. There are, however, a couple of items that merit some discussion. First, on the matter of extirpating the beard, there is a division of opinion among the sources and among the informants (342). All the sources who mentioned the beard, except Van der Donck, said that it was pulled out. This was confirmed by J. W. in the fourth period but denied by W. T. and E. R. These maintained that the Indians never had beards until they intermarried with the whites.

The hairdress of the women offered little occasion for disagreement (349-53). All the sources and informants who gave any information on the subject agreed that women fastened their hair behind the head. Whether it was braided, clubbed, or fastened in a square bunch seems to have been a matter of individual preference, for one source mentioned all three methods [301] and four other accounts, two of the three methods. Ornamentation was also according to individual preference.

302 Men cut their hair short except for the tuft or scalp lock on the top of the head (345). The scalp lock was made into two braids according to all the sources who reported on this detail,

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

224 622 roots up the grass in the position, [assigned to him] in the circumference, to the width of about 3 or 4 ells, so that the fire will not be able to run back, each one then beginning to set fire to the grass, which is mightily ignited, so that the fire travels away, in towards the center of the circle, which the Indians follow with great noise, and all the animals which are found within the circle, flee from the fire and the cries of the Indians, traveling away, whereby the circle through its decreasing is more and more contracted towards the center. When now the Indians have surrounded the center with a small circle, so that they mutually cannot do each other any harm, then they break loose with guns and bows on the animals which they then have been blessed with, that not one can escape and thus they get a great multitude of all kinds of animals which are found there.

[782 776] 796 The first hunt of the year which they thus obtain (they consecrate to Manitto). When they first have eaten their fill of it and enjoyed their feast they make a burnt offering of the remaining, which they sacrifice to Manitto, i. e., the Devil, but not one animal of it do [they] sell, believing that they through this later will get in their hunt so much the greater blessing. Then they sing and dance and when they become jolly and happy then they cry and sing thus namely: *Hägginj, hā, hā, hā; Hägginj hā; Hägginj hā, Hägginj hā, hā, hā, hā,* etc. Thus repeating and continuing so long a time, so that it reaches well over the forest.

338. Celebration on returning from hunting

[782 776] W. T. said that prayers to the Great Spirit were made at this time, desiring that the favors shown the people be continued as they were appreciated.

Constitution, Personal Appearance, Dress, etc.

342. Extirpation of beard

302 [142] J. W. said that formerly the beard was pulled out but that recently the occasional use of a razor was all that was necessary. W. T. and E. R. said that they never had any beards.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

347. Hair in two queues, one forward, one to the rear 302

W. T. said that formerly the Delaware men wore their hair in two braids, one to the front, and the other to the rear of the head but that recently he and others of the Anadarko group had worn their hair in two braids, one on each side of the face, in keeping with the Wichita, Kiowa and Caddo among whom they lived.

349. Hair fastened behind the head

W. L. said that women did not fasten hair at all until men began to do so and then women braided theirs. Could not be more definite about men braiding theirs, when or whether they braided all of their hair or only the queue.

357. Average height

JOHN JOHNSTON said [height] same as whites. CAPTAIN PIPE 141
said that the average height was between five feet nine inches and six feet.

359. Constitution more rugged than that of whites

JOHN JOHNSTON—Their strength I think is inferior [to the 142
whites] but more active, their constitutions are firm while in the prime of life, when they begin to decline I think they decline much faster than the whites.

WAR AND ITS INCIDENTS

361. Decided upon by council or civil chiefs 721

ZEISBERGER said war was decided upon by "the captains" presumably referring to the war chiefs.

W. T. said that war was not a part of the Delaware way of [172]
life until after the whites came and taught them to make war on each other.

W. L. said that there had been no wars in his time and that he knew nothing about conducting them.

364. Notice of war given

E. R. said that arrows would be sent to the other party after they had tried to settle a dispute by talk, if the other party kept the arrows they knew they had better prepare for war.

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Wi'tapano'xwe, "Walking with Daylight," (Photo by W. H. Holden, U. of Pa.)
Narrator of the text, and informant on the Big House Ceremony of the Delawares.

[facing p. 5]

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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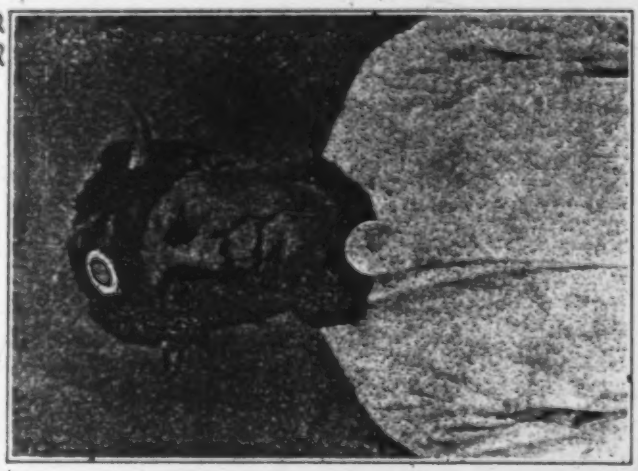

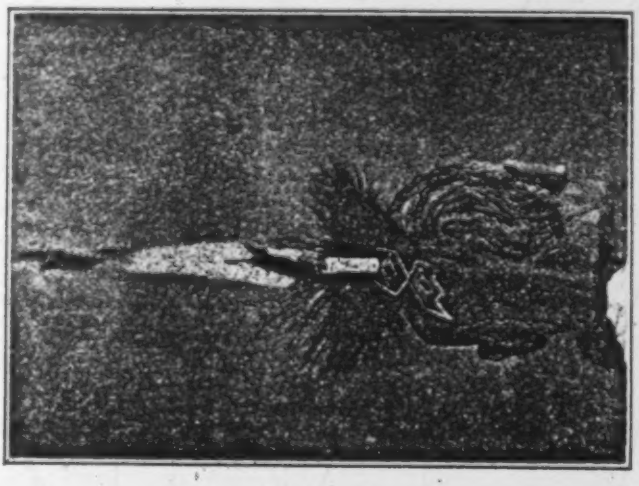

FIG. 25.—The Delaware red deer-hair roach with carved bone spreader, bone tube and eagle feather (rear view), and the fur head band with horns, worn in ceremonial dress.

[p.94 is blank]

D 291 177 materials. Some of them had on two shawls, and some a third arranged as a neck drape. They appeared to have put on all they had, to show it, the quantity of dress being of more importance in their sight than its style, or quality.

Of course their appearance as a whole was fantastic and ludicrous. The dresses were made without taste from scant patterns, and worn without hoops or petticoats, thus giving to the skirt an appearance not to be compared for a moment with the Indian female skirt of cloth and blanket of the same, but these would be too warm for Kansas. I was glad to see the gown upon them, as it is a move in the right direction. At home they may wear the Indian gown, but I doubt. The Shawnee women, all that I saw, wore the gown. On their heads they tie a silk handkerchief universally. I did not see a bonnet among them.

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D 142 144 The color of the Indian women is quite uniform, and is light. It shows that the white blood infused into them in the East has been well diffused throughout. The next cross with the white will make a pretty white child, of which I saw a few and but a few specimens, as the Delawares are quite vigorous against intermarriage with the whites, and also against unlawful intercourse. As a whole, the expression on the face of the women was pleasant and healthful. They look strong, literally cleanly and healthy, although I am told by Mr. Ford that syphilis is among their women to an alarming extent. Their faces would not lead to such a suspicion.

D [563]

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D [164]

D 291 The men were more fantastically dressed than the women, and did not appear half as well. Their fancy dresses were cheap and absurd, rendering their general appearance ridiculous. There were many good faces among them, and also well dressed Indians

D [191]

15:Morgan E-5 (1859)1959
NM? Delaware NM?

[52(c)]

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Charles Journeycake (Johnny Cake) was a chief, and a prominent leader of the Delawares in Kansas, as well as being a widely known Baptist minister. His mother gave Morgan information about the Delawares.

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"Yellow Tree," as the name of one of the Bands. She appeared to be about 70 years old. She was of the Wolf tribe and her husband Turtle. She said the son did not necessarily succeed the father in the office of chief, but could not explain the succession fully. A brother or a sister's son often succeeded. Captain Ketchum[84] at the time of his death was head chief, a principal chief of the Turtle Tribe of the Delawares. This title or office is hereditary as she thought in the tribe, for she said the Turtles could not have a man of the Wolf or Turkey Tribe for their chief. Ketchum's name was Ta-whe-la-na (Catch Me). He died leaving a son; but was succeeded by John Konner, the present principal or hereditary chief who was the son of the youngest sister of Cap-

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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are of considerable importance to Cherokee-Delaware Pan-Indianism. They not only serve as a common meeting ground for Indians, but their effect reinforces membership and consciousness of membership in Indian society.

Contrary to what I had supposed, social clubs of various types were not an important factor in the development of Pan-Indianism among the Cherokee-Delawares. Not one person was ever found who belonged to any national Indian organization, such as the National Congress of American Indians. In fact, many people professed complete ignorance of such organizations. For this reason these formal Indian groups, which in a sense may be said to be lobbying for Indianism, have been disregarded here. In passing, it might be noted that these organizations are possibly some sort of concrete expression of this acculturative trend among other Indian groups. Informal social clubs have some bearing upon Cherokee-Delaware Pan-Indianism. A number of women at one time belonged to the Indian Women's Club, an intertribal extension club of Washington County, which holds monthly meetings, has rummage sales, luncheons, and the like. Significantly, proceeds of one rummage sale were sent to the Navaho. Membership in this organization has declined since the war and none of the women interviewed belonged to it. It should be emphasized that this organization was Indian in character and not tribal. There has never been a men's club.

Extratribal marriage is an important factor in Cherokee-Delaware Pan-Indianism and assimilation. The Cherokee-Delawares are at the present time tribally exogamous. The youngest all-Delaware marriage I could find was between a man of thirty-eight and a woman of thirty-five, and this seems to have been somewhat exceptional. Only three living couples were found in which both partners claimed to be entirely Delaware, although a number of old widows and widowers had had Delaware spouses. Marriage to Indians of other tribes is the usual custom, but marriage to whites is not uncommon. Cherokee-Delawares have married Comanches, Senecas, Shawnees, Cherokees, Creeks, Yuchis, Peorias, and undoubtedly Indians of other tribes. How the Indian parents in these mixed marriages classify their children is indicative of the feelings about Pan-Indianism. If parents are questioned about tribal affiliation of their children, they may simply reply without much thought, "Indian," or with a little thought they may say, "Yuchi-Creek-Delaware," or something similarly artificial. Occasionally, they will skirt the question by giving the tribe in which the children are enrolled by the government. The wholesale marriage of the younger generation of Delawares to Indians of other tribes must be considered an important influence in the growth of Pan-Indianism. On the other hand, the marriage of Delawares to whites naturally, perhaps inevitably, results in further culture loss and completed assimilation. This would be particularly true of the individual who marries a white person and moves to an all-white community. Those individuals who marry whites but remain in an Indian community have, of course, a much better opportunity to retain Indian ways, and white marriage partners may become participants in Indian

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7

society. In one instance a Delaware woman's white husband has become a peyotist; he sings peyote songs and has served as fire chief in meetings.

The minority role and the consciousness of this standing on the part of the Cherokee-Delawares has also promoted Pan-Indianism. Discrimination against the Indians would presumably lead to feelings of isolation, persecution, and difference, perhaps greater than actually existed, and hence strengthen Pan-Indian society.[32] It is difficult, however, to assess the extent of discrimination against the Cherokee-Delawares. It is becoming increasingly difficult to recognize an Indian, whether on a racial or social basis. With the high incidence of past miscegenation, the high frequency of present-day mixed marriages, and the assimilation in dress, speech, and manners, a race bigot must have a high degree of perception to recognize and act against this minority. A number of tales of alleged discrimination were current in the community, but only one of these incidents (in rental housing) could be substantiated. Actual discrimination of any sort is probably rare, but there is a fairly widespread knowledge or belief that it exists. A universal awareness of past discrimination and exploitation and a knowledge of discrimination against Indians elsewhere are factors which encourage Pan-Indianism.

There are several other conditions which set the Cherokee-Delawares and other Indians apart as a minority group, and so contribute to Pan-Indianism. The Cherokee-Delawares have access to free services of government hospitals and schools, which in itself sets them apart from the whites. It also provides an opportunity for the Cherokee-Delawares to become well acquainted with Indians of other tribes. This is particularly true in schools where the association may be continued over a number of years. Government schools, however, are attended by the Cherokee-Delawares less frequently than formerly. Some of the attitudes of whites toward the Indian minority also serve to foster Pan-Indianism. To many an Oklahoman an Indian is an Indian, not a Cherokee, Kickapoo, or Delaware. The movies, the magazines, and other outlets of public information are constantly impressing upon him that he is an American Indian; no public agency impresses upon him the fact that he is a Delaware.[33] Many whites in Washington County were totally unaware that such a tribe as the Delaware existed. They were well aware, however, that there were many Indians in the county.

There are forces which hinder and oppose the development of Pan-Indianism, but it is difficult to assess many of them because they are of a negative and subjective nature. It is difficult to estimate, for instance, the pressure exerted by the dominant society for complete conformity. Whatever the extent of pressure for "100 per cent Americanism," it is not at present particularly noticeable; it seems instead that the Delawares are sufficiently assimilated linguistically, economically, and in

[32] Wirth, 1945, pp. 348-49, contains a pertinent discussion of this subject.

[33] Mead, 1932, pp. 67-68, noted these factors more than two decades ago.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

736 given assistance. A poor widow, even though she have children, finds it possible to make a living if she is willing to work. They pay her above the worth of her services in food and clothing; if it is summer she may work on the plantations; in winter she may prepare wood for fire. They are willing to help the poor but always expect them to render some service in return. It has been known that good has been done to prisoners condemned to death, even to whites, though this had to be done secretly.

829 A few negroes are found among the Indians having been
●144 either bought from the whites or secured as prisoners. These are looked upon as of their own kind and allowed full liberty. Indians and negroes intermarry and their mulatto children are as much loved as children of pure Indian blood.

431 They are fond of giving when they can expect something in return and of doing good which they have reason to hope may be returned. They easily forget the good that has been done, but if they have been cheated they never forget it. If a white has done them ever so many favors, helped them in need, or given them presents, and omits an opportunity to do the like only once, then all he may have done is forgotten. If an Indian takes a wife and dresses her generously from head to foot in new garments she will indeed be glad and proud; but she will more readily leave him than if he had given her little or nothing, for in that case she would still be in expectation of receiving something.

One may even make enemies of Indians through presents if these make them proud and one does not continue giving. Occasionally when a respectable present has been given the donor is slandered in order that he may not expect something in return from the recipient.

152 They are able to control their desires and passions, but once given free rein these are the more violent. Overcome with wrath, they at once think upon murder, and may, in the heat of passion, do something for which they will later feel remorse.

521 The women are much given to lying and gossiping. They carry evil report from house to house. As long as they are observed they appear modest and without guile. All the wrongs

3: Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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The only idol which the Indians have, and which may properly be called an idol, is their *W'sinkhoalican*, that is image. It is an image cut in wood, representing a human head, in miniature, which they always carry about them either on a string around their neck or in a bag. They often bring offerings to it. In their houses of sacrifice they have a head of this idol as large as life put upon a pole in the middle of the room.

Their ornaments are partly round shields and half moons of silver, partly the same forms made in wampum. These are usually worn upon the breast for adornment. They also have great belts of wampum made of the violet, not the white, wampum. Men as well as women wear silver crosses upon the breast and in the ears which custom comes from the French. The *W'sinkhoalican* they like also to hang about their children to preserve them from illness and insure them success.

They are very fond of white children. Hence Indian women run after white men and, when they have white children, make much of them, although they do not like the white people. Twins are regarded as particularly fortunate, being looked upon as favored people who have a great spirit.

Their language resembles various other languages, some more, some less. When one remembers how near or how far they have lived from one another it will appear that the differences in the languages have come about through the separation of the peoples and the little contact they have had with one another.

The Unami and the Wunalachtico both lived along the sea in Pennsylvania and in Jersey, a short distance from one another. Their languages differ very little. That of the Monsys[206] who lived on the other side of the Blue Mountains in Minnissink is very different from these, so that had they not dwelt nearer together and been in constant contact in recent times they would hardly understand each other. Yet the speech of each of these peoples is but a dialect of one and the same language. The language of the Mahikanders[207] bears much resemblance to that of the Monsys, the former having lived in New York and the Woapeno not far from them in New England. The language of the Nantikoks, formerly residing on the seacoast in Maryland, very much resembles the Delaware, differing only in pronunciation

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

133 pinger confederacy, and the Iroquoian Susquehannas. Contacts
177 with the Iroquois were probably not very numerous until the Iroquois destroyed the Susquehanna in 1676. In 1689 contact with the Shawnee was first reported. Friendly relations with this tribe have continued to the present day but were particularly close during their residence in Ohio and Indiana. Their migrations westward brought them in contact with many other tribes, the Huron, Chippewa, Ottawa, Miami, Pawnee, Osage, Quapaw, and Cherokee to mention only the most important.

177 It is impossible to detect the full effect of each of these contacts upon the Delaware culture. Intermarriages took place with some of these tribes that there is no way of tracing. Genealogical research among the living Delaware is of no help since, generally speaking, the horizon of their memories is reached at three generations. Also complicating the picture is the fact that adoption completely wiped out tribal origin. The effect of all these contacts with other tribes was not, however, as great as the influence of the more powerful and more divergent culture of the whites.

THE DELAWARE TODAY

162 The census of 1930 listed 971 Delaware and Munsee in the United States, of whom 874 were living in Oklahoma. Of these 20.2 per cent were reported as full blooded. An examination of the instructions to the enumerators of the census reveals that the individual was asked for the percentage of Indian blood he
144 possessed and the tribe to which he belonged. The census figures
161 do not show the amount of mixture between tribes. According to the information I could get from the Indians themselves, it is very doubtful if there is a single full-blooded Delaware today. Many who are less than half Delaware consider themselves all Delaware, and would so state if casually asked, but even a short genealogy usually shows a mixture with white blood and also with that of other tribes. In 1865 the Indian agent among the Delaware reported that intermarriage was lessening the Indian blood among various tribes and that there was no remarkable in-

9: Kinietz E-4,5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

crease or decrease in population, although the Delaware had increased some three hunderd in number.[1]

Most of the Delaware are living on their allotments scattered through the territory originally reserved for the Cherokee. Few of their allotments are contiguous, due to the exigencies of the allotting and to the fact that many of the farms have been sold when restrictions were removed. Very few of them were fortunate enough to have oil on their lands. They either farm their fields or cash rent them. Judging from the state of repair of the houses, those that farm their own fields are more prosperous than those who rent them out. This distinction is also recognized by the Indians. The majority probably rent their fields and subsist on the small cash return, aided by the produce from their gardens, old age pensions, and other occasional sources of income. There is very little in the appearance of their houses to distinguish them from their white neighbors. Clothes and automobiles also reflect their economic status in the same way that these items do for their white neighbors.

After their incorporation with the Cherokee, the Delaware maintained their own chieftainships for a time. As the functions of these clan heads ceased, so did the rules for the filling of the offices and the need for keeping them filled. The last of the clan chiefs died about 1900. Since that time only chiefs for the entire Delaware group in northeastern Oklahoma have been elected. These were elected mostly for business purposes—to have an official representative to treat with the Federal Government on annuities and other money matters. In the election each of the three tribal divisions, Turtle, Wolf, and Turkey nominated a candidate. The man getting the most votes was elected chief and the one getting the next highest number became assistant chief. The last election was held about 1917. The chief who was elected then died about 1935, and since that time there has been no recognized chief.

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[1] Pratt, John G., to J. R. Doolittle, September 15, 1865, in *Condition of the Indian Tribes. Report of the Joint Special Committee . . .* (*Senate Reports*, 39 Congress, 2 session, No. 156, Washington, D. C., 1867), Appendix, p. 483.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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connection with the dread of death and the restoration of the body thereafter, but all the reports on these two elements also expressed a belief in the immortality of the soul.

Lineage

There is no change indicated by a consideration of matters of lineage with the exception of the endogamy vouched for by W. T. (214). He said that originally and until recently Delaware clans were endogamous, that each had to be kept clean and pure; but that now there are lots of half- and quarter-breeds. This statement of endogamy is not supported by other historic or contemporaneous evidence.

On the division of the Delaware into three groups, Turtle, Wolf and Turkey, there have been many conflicting opinions (209). Heckewelder called them tribes coinciding with the Unamis or Delaware, Munsee, and Unalachtigo.[1] Morgan considered them gens in the nature of phratries.[2] The modern Delaware frequently refer to these divisions as clans. Since Morgan's conclusion of phratries was based on the functionless and only vaguely remembered subdivisions called subgentes, it is important to have the result of Trowbridge's inquiries on this subject. He wrote:

"The Delaware nation is divided into three tribes, the *Tōōkscet* or Wolf (Round foot; from *Tōōkwaa* round & *oozēēt* foot) the *Tshēēkunum* or Turkey, called by the Munsees and sometimes by the Delawares *Pelāāooh*, and the *Tōōlpaa* or Turtle, (in Munsee *Skēēhkee*).

"They say that anciently each of these three tribes was divided into four, making twelve tribes, but they do not recollect the names of those subdivisions.

"Mr. Heckewelder has strangely mistaken himself when he said that Unamis (*Woonāūmee*) meant Turtle, or Turtle tribe, and Unalachtigo (*Woonalāūhtekoo*) the Turkey tribe. The term *Woonāūmee* was given by the Munsees to the Turtle tribe of

[1] Heckewelder, *History, Manners, and Customs of the Indians*, pp. 51-52.
[2] Morgan, Lewis H., *Ancient Society . . .* (Chicago, Henry Holt and Company, 1907), p. 172.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

required. These I propose to deal with in the following section as man-i'-tu deserving of particular mention, since this seems to represent their standing in the minds of devout Delawares.

Not only is the principle of consanguinity applied to deities and nature-forces, but to tribes and nations as well. Indeed the application of term of relationship to bodies of extra-biological classification is interesting enough to call for the inclusion of information given as a commentary on this point by Wi-tapano'xwe. With more detail to be secured it promises a fruitful problem for sociological interpretation. The informant's notes on the quasi-consanguinity of tribes are as follows. The Delawares believe that they are the oldest of the Indians. They call the following tribes "grand children," Shawnee, Potawatomi, Sauk and Fox, Ioway, Tonkawa, Sioux, Ottawa, Kickapoo, Miami, Peoria, Chippewa, Menomini, Winnebago. And these, in turn, call the Delawares, Wabanaki, Lenape, or else "Grandfathers,"—but, adds Wi-tapano'xwe, we are all "brothers," i. e. Indians. There are the Nanticoke, Mahikan, Munsee and Iroquois who are called brothers, relative age not specified, in spite of the fact that the Delawares assume to be older than they. There are other tribes which have different relationship with the Delawares, for example the Wyandots, Seneca and Cherokee are called "nephews" (either filial or sororal) and the Mexicans are called "uncles." To white people the general term, meaning "brothers" is applied, while negroes are termed "elder brothers," being considered the strongest of all races.[1]

THE CARVED IMAGES.—The concepts involved in the use of carved images in the likeness of the human face represent a phase of religious thought that has developed some exceptional prominence among the

[1] Zeisberger, (op. cit., p. 109) gives information corresponding to that of our informant, when he says that the "Shawnose" call the Delaware "grandfather." In regard to the "Mahikanders" we find a contradiction, and so are not able to compare the author's remarks with those in the text. Zeisberger also says that the Wiandots (Wyandots) and the Cherokees call the Delaware "grandfather," which differs from the information brought forward by our informant who considers them to be "nephews" of the Delaware. One infers from Zeisberger that the Delawares called the Twitchtwes (Miami), Wawiachtanos (a group of Mahikan), Kikapus, Chipuways, Ottawas, Putewoataimen (Potawatomi) "brothers," differing from our information which states that the above tribes are known as "grandchildren," except when they were termed "brothers," implying that they were Indians similar to the Delawares. Zeisberger gives no kinship term as being applied to the negroes by the Delaware. He says: "These (the negroes) are looked upon as of their own kind and allowed full liberty. Indians and negroes intermarry and their mulatto children are as much loved as children of pure Indian blood."

Heckewelder, op. cit., notes the Shawnee (p. 86) and the Chipewa (p. 124) as being grandchildren of the Delaware, which is similar to the information given us by Wi-tapano'xwe, but in the case of the Chippewa he differs from Zeisberger. Heckewelder notes (page 122) that the Nanticoke and Mahican call the Delaware "grandfather" which differs from the information in our text where they are said to be "brothers."[2] Again a difference is observed between Heckewelder and our informant in regard to the Wyandot and Cherokee who are, according to Heckewelder, "grandchildren" of the Delawares, yet, according to our informant are "nephews."

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

bility and maturity comes to the individual he feels that he is called to take his place in the annual ceremony. A new vision of life dawns upon him. He realizes that he has been brought into the world for a purpose and permitted to live to middle-age to raise children, take care of the aged relatives, help the people to health and comfort. Then there is also the feeling that others are observing him as an example of conduct. So he assumes his responsibility and prepares to appear in the Big House ceremony.[1]

We are told that the Big House performances were originally esoteric. Whites were excluded from it during the ceremonies, though in recent years the objection to their presence has been withdrawn due to intermarriage between Delaware women and white men.

The virtue of humility, so extolled and propogated in the philosophy of the Delawares, and the Iroquois[2] as well is one to which too little emphasis has been given by students. Historians, in particular those contrasting the humility of the evangelists with the contemptuousness of the natives, have ignored the declarations of ethnologists in this respect.[3]

THE SYMBOL OF TWELVE.—Allusion has previously been made in several places in our discussion, to the sanctity of the concept of twelve, the reason for which among the Delawares seems not to be objectively expressed.[4] Twelve is nevertheless a fundamental symbolical number. Throughout the text we hear of the Great Spirit residing in the twelfth stratum of the sky; of the prayer-call addressed to him uttered twelve times in succession; of the twelve prayer sticks or wands which lift the prayer to the twelfth heaven. The Big House ceremony itself is of twelve days' duration. The belief being that each day's performance lifts the worship a stage higher in the series of twelve successive sky levels until on the final day it reaches the Great Spirit himself.

[1] Maturity is an important consideration with the Delawares. Among many facts still to be obtained in regard to restrictions of boys under the age of puberty, for instance, it may be interesting to note that these when they become old enough to take part in the hunt, are not allowed to eat soup lest their testicles rattle so warning game animals ahead of them, or to eat the heart of the animal lest they lose courage; or the animal's head, eyes, or ears lest they be bothered with gnats.

[2] A. C. Parker, The Code of Handsome Lake, Bull. 163. New York State Museum, Albany, 1912.

[3] For example Rev. T. J. Campbell, S. J.[2] tells his readers, "The red man had never much respect for the virtue of humility, and the young missionary (referring to Marquette among the Illinois) was treated rather contemptuously by many of the degraded wretches whom he was trying to regenerate." Pioneer Priests of North Amer. N. Y. 1911, Vol. III, p. 169.

[4] The importance of seven in Delaware thought has been stressed by A. L. Kroeber (Anthropology, N. Y. p. 252, j. n. 1) without giving the source. There seems to be no evidence of this in the material at hand.

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Of course their appearance as a whole was fantastic and ludicrous. The dresses were made without taste from scant patterns, and worn without hoops or petticoats, thus giving to the skirt an appearance not to be compared for a moment with the Indian female skirt of cloth and blanket of the same, but these would be too warm for Kansas. I was glad to see the gown upon them, as it is a move in the right direction. At home they may wear the Indian gown, but I doubt it. The Shawnee women, all
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3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7
Iroquois NM9
Shawnee NM17

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regard them but little. They do not seem to be ashamed of their vices. For this reason, Indians themselves declare that their condition grows worse from year to year. As there is neither law nor legal penalty among them, they have nothing to fear, except that an injured one may avenge himself in the manner in which he has been injured. If one has seduced the wife of another, the offended party will seek to seduce the wife of the offender. He will keep his purpose a secret and not rest until he has obtained satisfaction, when he makes known to others what he has done, so that the original offender may hear of it.

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D
881
[841]
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When, in a young female, the first menstrual discharge occurs, generally between the twelfth and sixteenth year, the Delawares generally separate such daughters from all companionship, the Monsies [Monseys] being more strict and having more ceremonies in the observance of the custom than the Miamis. They build for such a girl, separate hut, apart from the rest, where her mother or some old female acquaintance cares for her and guards her so that none may see her. Whereforé, she is also kept within the hut the whole of the menstrual period, with the blanket over her head. She is given little to eat, but regularly dosed with emetics. She is not allowed to do any work during the whole time, which generally lasts twelve days. At the end of the time, they bring her into her home, looking black, grimy and dishevelled, because she has been lying about in dust and ashes the whole time. Washed and dressed in new garments, she is allowed to be in the home, but required to wear a cap with a long shield, so that she can neither see any one readily, nor be seen. Such a covering she must wear for two months, at the end of which time she is informed that she may marry.

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The Shavanose [Shawanese] and Mingoes, however, who observe much the same custom, follow a different course in this matter. The young woman in question is allowed to remain in the house. She prepares food for those in the house, of the corn and fruits she has raised. Of such food she does not, however, herself partake, but goes to her hut, apart from the others, and there prepares and eats her food.

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Every month, during her menstrual period, a Delaware woman lives by herself in a separate hut, which is usually very

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca.1800) 1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

CHAPTER XXVIII.

BODILY CONSTITUTION AND DISEASES.

147 482 THE Indians are in general a strong race of men. It is very common to see a hunter come in with a whole deer on his back, fastened with a *Happis*, a kind of band with which they carry loads; it rests against the breast, that which the women use rests against the forehead. In this manner they will carry a load which many a white man would not have strength enough to raise from the ground. An Indian, named Samuel, once took the flour which was ground out of a bushel of wheat upon his back at sun-rise within two miles from Nazareth, and arrived with it in the evening of the same day at his camp at Wyoming. When the Indians build houses, they carry large logs on their shoulders from the place where the tree is cut down to where they are building.

147 Nevertheless, when put to agricultural or other manual labour, the Indians do not appear so strong as the whites; at least, they cannot endure it so long. Many reasons may be given for this, besides their not being accustomed to that kind of work. It is probably in part [261] to be ascribed to their want of substantial food, and their intemperate manner of living; eating, when they have it, to excess, and at other times being days and weeks in a state of want. Those who have been brought up to regular labour, like ourselves, become robust and strong and enjoy good health. Such was the case with the Christian Indians in the Moravian settlements.

So late as about the middle of the last century, the Indians were yet a hardy and healthy people, and many

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

very aged men and women were seen among them, some of whom thought they had lived about one hundred years. They frequently told me and others that when they were young men, their people did not marry so early as they did since, that even at twenty they were called boys and durst not wear a breech-cloth, as the men did at that time, but had only a small bit of a skin hanging before them. Neither, did they say, were they subject to so many disorders as in later times, and many of them calculated on dying of old age. But since that time a great change has taken place in the constitution of these Indians who live nearest to the whites. By the introduction of ardent spirits among them, they have been led into vices which have brought on disorders which they say were unknown before; their blood became corrupted by a shameful complaint, which the Europeans pretend to have received from the original inhabitants of America, while these say they had never known or heard of it until the Europeans came among them. Now the Indians are infected with it to a great degree; children frequently inherit it from their parents, and after lingering for a few years at last die victims to this poison.

Those Indians who have not adopted the vices of the white people live to a good age, from 70 to 90. Few arrive at the age of one hundred years. The women, in general, live longer than the men.

The Indians do not appear to be more or less exempt than the whites from the common infirmities of old age. I have known old men among them who had lost their memory, their sight, and their teeth. I have also seen them at eighty in their second childhood and not able to help themselves.

The Indian women are not in general so prolific as those of the white race. I imagine this defect is owing to the vicious and dissolute life they lead since the introduction of spirituous liquors. Among our Christian Indians, we have had a couple who had been

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

177 among the Indians as long as there were no Indian wars. Through the examples of the traders, also the Indians acquired the habit of drinking to excess. Secondly, the Indians had formerly great respect for the aged and the chiefs, from whom they learned that unfaithfulness in the marriage relationship was a great crime and that whoever was guilty of such evil would live neither long nor happily. At the present time they show little reverence to the aged and each one thinks himself to be wise in his own conceits.

M7 844 The Indian women are in general of a very strong bodily constitution. There are generally clever and experienced women enough who are able to give assistance and advice in time of labor; generally, women will remain in the house at this time. Some go into the woods by theinselves and bring their children to the house when they have seen the light of day. Most mothers nurse their children until they are two or more years [595] old. During this time many husbands have concubines, though not in the house.

553 If it is left to the mother to give the child a name, she uses little ceremony and calls it after some peculiar mark or character 854 in it, for instance the Beautiful, the Good Child, the Great-Eye, sometimes giving it a name of unsavory meaning. If the father gives the child a name he pretends that it has been suggested to him in a dream. The name is given at a sacrifice, on which occasion the Indian brings to some aged person, who performs the offering, a string of wampum, and tells him that he wishes his child's name to be named thus and so. During the sacrifice some other person sings a song in Indian fashion at a public gathering and makes known the child's name. This is called praying over the child. The same ceremony is performed when an adult person receives a name, even although he may already have been named. It is not common to call an adult by his name, for they are ashamed of their own names. If the attention of any one is to be attracted it is done in some other fashion than by the use of the name. In case of children, the names are used. In assemblies and in discourses they do not use the name of any one who is present, though absent persons are referred to by their names.

8:Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
NM7 Delaware NM7

they through this later will get in their hunt so much the greater blessing. Then they sing and dance and when they become jolly and happy then they cry and sing thus namely:[7] *Hägginj, hä, hä, hä; Hägginj hä; Hägginj hä; Hägginj hä, hä, hä, hä*, etc. Thus repeating and continuing so long a time, so that it reaches well over the forest.[8]

In this their convention[9] they [also] practice shooting. He who is sachem has a turkey placed very high in the air, whose entrails are removed and [the body] filled again with their money.[10] And the one who then can shoot it down, he receives the money, *et talia*, etc.

In the meantime later in the year, when the grass has thus been burnt off the land, they do not care to arrange any more such hunts,[11] but shoot the animals wherever they find them in the woods, which they have no difficulty in doing, because they have scent of the animals like the dogs; for often the savages say to the Christians, when they follow them in the woods: "Indeed I now feel the scent of deer, if I wanted to bother to go after them." This the Christians did not believe in the beginning, before they followed them, and got to see that they were right. Otherwise they are so perfect in shooting that they do not miss.

And the savage is so armstrong that he is able to shoot with a bow so far, that no gun can carry

[7] *Tå roopa the dett sunga sådedes, nämbl.*
[8] So that it can be heard far over the forest. *Hegginj*, etc., the final *j* is used for *i*. Cf. Holm, *Kort Beskrifning*, 153 ff.; above, p. XL.
[9] *Uthi detta sitt sammant.*
[10] Wampum.
[11] Like the one described above.

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
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that far,[12] when he extends his limbs so that daylight shines through his elbow joints. When a Christian wrestles with a savage, if he[13] does not get at his back [he cannot prevail against him], he can do nothing against his arms.

The savages also use a splendid system[14] for killing pigeons in quantities with great ease. When the pigeons come flying, which [at times] may be a few hundred pairs in a flock, or following, then they usually settle[15] down to rest in the largest and highest tree, which they find. Then they also have the custom that in the tree in which they once used to rest, they will, with preference go there again. When now the savage observes where they have been accustomed to rest, the savage goes and cuts around the tree, so that it stands only on the center. When now the pigeons come there again to sit down, they cannot possibly

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[12] For bows and arrows and their effectiveness, see Pope, *A Study of Bows and Arrows*, U. of Cal. Pub., XIII, No. 9, p. 329 ff. Cf. also Hodge, *Handbook*, I, 92–4, and literature quoted there.

[13] The Christian.

[14] *Een artig invention*, see above, Chapt. XV, note 6.

[15] *Dâ sättia the sigh.* Cf. Henry D. Paxson, *The Last of the Wild Pigeon in Bucks County* (1912). Williams says: "In that place these Fowle breed abundantly, and by reason of their delicate Food (especially in Strawberrie time when they pick up whole large Fields of the old grounds of the Natives, they are a delicate fowle, and because of their abundance, and the facility of killing them, they are and may be plentifully fed on." *Key*, 87. Van der Donck says in this connection: "De Wilden of Naturellen van het Landt weten ock somtijts de plaetsen daer sy broyen uyt te vinden, en met lange stocken de jonge Duyven uyt de nesten te stooten, op sulcke plaetsen die sy soo verkiesen om te broyen daer scholen sy met sulcke gruwelijcke meenichte van ontelbare duysenden by een, dat de Wilden met Wyven [en] kinderen door naer toe trecken, deckwils eenighe hunderden sterck zynde, wel een Maent doer ontrent blyvende, en schier anders niet eeten als jonge Duyven, die sy soo met stocken als geseght is uyt de nesten stooten." *Beschryvinge*, 41.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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informants. He choses to regard this rite as another form of the annual ceremony, apd supposes this to have been a tribal variation arising through the incorporation of alien features at the instigation of Munsee or Nanticoke adopted by the Delawares.[1] Zeisberger has an account referring to a sweating ceremony of a similar nature to that described by Harrington. The designation applied to it by Zeisberger is "machtuzin",[2] which he rendered "to perspire."

Witapano'xwe secured the following description of the sweating-ceremony from aged living Indians in the Nation on the occasion of his visit home in 1929, and I give it as a supplement to what has already been published by others concerning it;

"The sweat-house performance does not belong to the regular annual ceremony of the Big House although it was formerly held in the Big House. It was a distinct ceremony lasting eight days held by the tribe when it was living in Kansas, before they moved to their present location in Oklahoma in 1867. When this ceremony was first held it was meant to determine who could withstand the greatest punishment by heat and steam. A large wigwam made of twelve poles bent together at the top and covered with hides. Opposite the door a number of pieces of wood and bark are arranged so that the wigwam will not catch fire. During the eight days of the ceremony hot rocks are placed in the wigwam and twelve men, each having had a vision so receiving supernatural power, are selected from the tribe to enter the wigwam where they sing their songs. Many of the men in the trial become weak and succumb to the heat while others withstand the punishment until the last man has finished his song. These men are always considered as being medicine men or healers. The ceremony is held just before sun set.

"The Lenape or Delawares are looked upon as the doctors and an older tribe, in fact as the "grandfathers" of all other tribes. The Indian doctors are known as *ma-ta-en-no* (mat·e'i·nu) meaning a man who possesses supernatural healing power. Some times these men are warriors as well as healers."

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[1] Harrington I, pp. 122-6.

[2] Zeisberger, p. 138-9. This verb denoting dancing of ceremonial character appears as machtoga, probably the Munsee form (Brinton, p. 69) meaning "to perspire" being a symbolical dance held in honor of the "grandfather," fire. The number twelve appeared as an allegory in the dance. maxta'ken (machtogen, Brinton, Lenape Dict., p. 69) "to fight" is probably the Munsee related form, while Mohegan-Pequot, mata'ga "dance" evidently rounds out the evidence that it denoted among the early eastern Algonkian a superior dance performance associated with fire, struggle, and purification by sweating, and war preparation.

The term machtuzin given by Zeisberger seems to be a shortened equivalent, maxtu'algw, of the expression muxk'xoltu'algw, "staying until one is sweated red." Both terms are intelligible to the speakers of the Delaware language today. Lindeström (1654-6) describes the sweat-bath in familiar terms (A. Johnson, Geographia Americae, 1925, p. 257).

1;Heckewelder M-5 (ca.1800) 1819
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sometimes they scatter themselves, marching at proper distances from each other for a whole day and more, meeting, however, again at night, when they keep a watch; at other times they march in what is called *Indian file*, one man behind the other, treading carefully in each other's steps, so that their number may not be ascertained by the prints of their feet. The nearer they suppose themselves to be to the enemy, the more attentive they are to choosing hard, stony and rocky ground, on which human footsteps leave no impression; soft, marshy and grassy soils are particularly avoided, as in the former the prints of the feet would be easily discovered, and in the latter the appearance of the grass having been trodden upon might lead to detection; for if the grass or weeds are only bent, and have the least mark of having been walked upon, it will be almost certainly perceived, in which the sharpness and quickness of the Indians' sight is truly astonishing.

In some instances they deceive their enemies by imitating the cries or calls of some animal, such as the fawn, or turkey. They do this so admirably well, that they even draw the dam of the one and the mate of the other to the spot to which they want them to come. In this manner they often succeed in decoying the enemies to the place where they are lying in ambush, or get an opportunity of surrounding them. Such stratagems, however, cannot be resorted to in all seasons; with the turkey, it only answers in the spring, and with the fawn's dam until about midsummer. In the same manner, when scattered about in the woods, they easily find each other by imitating the song of some birds, such as the quail and the rook, and at evening and morning, and particularly in the night, the cry of the owl. By this means they all join each other, though not at the same time, as they are not, perhaps, all within hearing; but the cry of the owl is repeated from time to time until they are all assembled.

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party to accompany him, he would go with them in quest of the murderers, and was sure he could discover them by the prints of their feet and other marks well known to him, by which he would convince them that the real perpetrators of the crime belonged to the Six Nations. His proposal was accepted, he marched at the head of a party of whites and led them into the tracks. They soon found themselves in the most rocky parts of a mountain, where not one of those who accompanied him was able to discover a single track, nor would they believe that man had ever trodden upon this ground, as they had to jump over a number of crevices between the rocks, and in some instances to crawl over them. Now they began to believe that the Indian had led them across those rugged mountains in order to give the enemy time to escape, and threatened him with instant death the moment they should be fully convinced of the fraud. The Indian, true to his promise, would take pains to make them perceive that an enemy had passed along the places through which he was leading them; here he would shew them that the moss on the rock had been trodden down by the weight of an human foot, there that it had been torn and dragged forward from its place; further he would point out to them that pebbles or small stones on the rocks had been removed from their beds by the foot hitting against them, that dry sticks by being trodden upon were broken, and even that in a particular place, an Indian's blanket had dragged over the rocks, and removed or loosened the leaves lying there, so that they lay no more flat, as in other places; all which the Indian could perceive as he walked along, without even stopping. At last arriving at the foot of the mountain on soft ground, where the tracks were deep, he found out that the enemy were eight in number, and from the freshness of the foot prints, he concluded that they must be encamped at no great distance. This proved to be the exact truth, for, after gaining the eminence on the other side of the valley, the

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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other hand, they feel flattered when a white man does not disdain to treat them as children of the same Creator. Both reason and humanity concur in teaching us this conduct, but I am sorry to say that reason and humanity are in such cases too little attended to. I hope I may be permitted to expatiate a little on this subject; perhaps it may be beneficial to some white persons hereafter.

The Indians are, as I have already observed before,* excellent physiognomists. If they are accosted by or engaged in business with a number of whites, though they may not understand the language that is spoken, they will pretty accurately distinguish by the countenance, those who despise their colour from those who are under the influence of a more generous feeling, and in this they are seldom mistaken. They fix their eyes on the whole party round, and read as it were in the souls of the individuals who compose it. They mark those whom they consider as their friends, and those whom they think to be their enemies, and are sure to remember them ever after. But what must those expect, if a war or some other circumstance should put them into the power of the Indians, who, relying on their supposed ignorance of our idiom, do not scruple even in their presence to apply to them the epithets of *dogs*, *black d—ls*, and the like? Will not these poor people be in some degree justifiable in considering those persons as decidedly hostile to their race? such cases have unfortunately too frequently happened, and the savages have been blamed for treating as enemies those who had so cruelly wounded their most delicate feelings! many white men have been thus put to death, who had brought their fate on themselves by their own imprudence. On the other hand the Indians have not failed to mark those who at the time reprobated such indecent behaviour and reproached their companions for using such improper language. In the midst of war these

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ground with becoming ceremonies. Those ceremonies, however, are not the same in all cases, but vary according to circumstances, and the condition of the deceased; for rank and wealth receive distinctions even after death, as well among savages as among civilised nations. This, perhaps, may be easily accounted for. When a great chief dies, his death is considered as a national loss; of course all must join in a public demonstration of their sorrow. The rich man, on the other hand, had many friends during his life, who cannot decently abandon him the moment the breath is out of his body; besides, his fortune supplies the means of a rich entertainment at the funeral, of which many, as may well be supposed, are anxious to partake. Thus social distinctions are found even in the state of nature, where perfect equality, if it exists any where, might with the greatest probability be supposed to be found. Though the earth and its fruits are common to all the Indians, yet every man is permitted to enjoy the earnings of his industry, and that produces riches; and though there is no hereditary or even elective rank in their social organization, yet as power follows courage and talents, those who are generally acknowledged to be possessed of those qualities, assume their station above the rest, and the distinction of rank is thus established. Politicians and philosophers may reason on these facts as they please; the descriptions that I give are from nature, and I leave it to abler men than myself to draw the proper inferences from them.

On the death of a principal chief, the village resounds from one end to the other with the loud lamentations of the women, among whom those who sit by the corpse distinguish themselves by the shrillness of their cries and the frantic expression of their sorrow. This scene of mourning over the dead body continues by day and by night until it is interred, the mourners being relieved from time to time by other women.

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the lid of the coffin was again taken off, and the body exposed to view. Now the whole train formed themselves into a kind of semi-lunar circle on the south side of the grave, and seated themselves on the ground. Within this circle, at the distance of about fifteen yards from the grave, a common seat was made for Mr. Calhoon and myself to sit on, while the disconsolate *Shingask* retired by himself to a spot at some distance, where he was seen weeping, with his head bowed to the ground. The female mourners seated themselves promiscuously near to each other, among some low bushes that were at the distance of from twelve to fifteen yards east of the grave.

In this situation we remained for the space of more than two hours; not a sound was heard from any quarter, though the numbers that attended were very great; nor did any person move from his seat to view the body, which had been lightly covered over with a clean white sheet. All appeared to be in profound reflection and solemn mourning. Sighs and sobs were now and then heard from the female mourners, so uttered as not to disturb the assembly; it seemed rather as if intended to keep the feeling of sorrow alive in a manner becoming the occasion. Such was the impression made on us by this long silence.

At length, at about one o'clock in the afternoon, six men stepped forward to put the lid upon the coffin, and let down the body into the grave, when suddenly three of the women mourners rushed from their seats, and forcing themselves between these men and the corpse, loudly called out to the deceased to "arise and go with them and not to forsake them." They even took hold of her arms and legs; at first it seemed as if they were caressing her, afterwards they appeared to pull with more violence, as if they intended to run away with the body, crying out all the while, "Arise, arise! Come with us! Don't leave us! Don't abandon us!" At last they retired, plucking at their garments, pulling their hair, and ut-

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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prevented from getting at the corpse; when time and circumstances do not permit this, as, for instance, when the Indians are travelling, the body is enclosed in the bark of trees and thus laid in the grave. When a death takes place at their hunting camps, they make a kind of coffin as well as they can, or put a cover over the body, so that the earth may not sink on it, and then enclose the grave with a fence of poles.

Warriors that are slain in battle, are, if possible, drawn aside and buried, so that the enemy may not get their scalps, and also that he may not know the number of the slain. In such cases, they will turn an old log out of its bed, and dig a grave so deep, that the log, when replaced, may not press too hard upon the body. If any of the fresh earth be seen, they cover it with rotten wood, brush or leaves, that its place may not be found. If they have not sufficient time for this, or the number of their dead is too great, they throw the bodies on the top of each other between large logs, and place any kind of rotten wood or other rubbish upon them. They never, when they can help it, leave their dead to be devoured by wild beasts.

When the Indians have to speak of a deceased person, they never mention him or her by name, lest they should renew the grief of the family or friends. They say, "He who was our counsellor or chief," "She who was "the wife of our friend;" or they will allude to some particular circumstance, as that of the deceased having been with them at a particular time or place, or having done some particular act or spoken particular words which they all remember, so that every body knows who is meant. I have often observed with emotion this remarkable delicacy, which certainly does honour to their hearts, and shews that they are naturally accessible to the tenderest feelings of humanity.

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CHAPTER XXXVIII.

FRIENDSHIP.

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THOSE who believe that no faith is to be placed in the friendship of an Indian are egregiously mistaken, and know very little of the true character of those men of nature. They are, it is true, revengeful to their enemies, to those who wilfully do them an injury, who insult, abuse, or treat them with contempt. It may be said, indeed, that the passion of revenge is so strong in them that it knows no bounds. This does not, however, proceed from a bad or malicious disposition, but from the violence of natural feelings, unchecked by social institutions, and unsubdued by the force of revealed religion. The tender and generous passions operate no less powerfully on them than those of an opposite character, and they are as warm and sincere in their friendship, as vindictive in their enmities. Nay, I will venture to assert that there are those among them who on an emergency would lay down their lives for a friend: I could fill many pages with examples of Indian friendship and fidelity, not only to each other, but to men of other nations and of a different colour than themselves. How often, when wars were impending between them and the whites, have they not forewarned those among our frontier settlers whom they thought well disposed towards them, that dangerous times were at hand, and advised them to provide for their own safety, regardless of the jealousy which such conduct might excite among their own people? How often did they not even guard and escort them through the most dangerous places until they had reached a secure spot?

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3: Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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inside of a grave with the bark of trees and when the corpse was let down they placed some pieces of wood across, which were again covered with bark and then the earth thrown in. When they were able to split boards they placed them, not, however, joined in any way, in the grave in such a manner that the corpse might be between them. A fourth board was laid over it as a cover. Now they have learned to make proper coffins. The graves are generally dug by old women as the young people abhor this kind of work. The coffin is made by men and placed in the grave. Then the corpse is brought, dressed in new clothing and a white shirt, with the face and shirt painted red, laid upon a new mat and let down into the grave. They cover the body with the strowd and nail up the coffin. Formerly it was the custom to place the pouch, tobacco, pipe, knife, fire material, kettle and hatchet in the grave but this is no longer done. They also fill up the grave with earth, which was not done in former times. The graves are all arranged in such a manner that the head was turned to the east and the feet to the west. At the head of the corpse a tall post is erected, pointing out who is buried. If the deceased was a chief this post is neatly carved but not otherwise decorated. If it was a Captain the post is painted red and his head and glorious deeds are portrayed upon it. The burial post of a physician is hung with a small tortoise shell which he used in his juggling practice. In honor of a great warrior his warlike deeds are exhibited in red color on the burial post.

In the evening soon after sunset and in the morning before daybreak the female relations and friends assemble in the house of the deceased and mourn over the body. This is done until he is buried. All the effects of the deceased are piled up near the body. These are taken to the place of burial and the greater part is distributed among those who assisted in burying the dead. The rest is given to the friends present, each receiving a share. During the letting down of the corpse into the grave the women set up a deafening howl. Men deem it a shame to weep, yet in silence and unobserved they often cannot refrain from tears. After the ceremony is over the mother, grandmother or other near female relative of the deceased goes evening and

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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736 given assistance. A poor widow, even though she have children, finds it possible to make a living if she is willing to work. They pay her above the worth of her services in food and clothing; if it is summer she may work on the plantations; in winter she may prepare wood for fire. They are willing to help the poor but always expect them to render some service in return. It has been known that good has been done to prisoners condemned to death, even to whites, though this had to be done secretly.

829 144 A few negroes are found among the Indians having been either bought from the whites or secured as prisoners. These are looked upon as of their own kind and allowed full liberty. Indians and negroes intermarry and their mulatto children are as much loved as children of pure Indian blood.

431 They are fond of giving when they can expect something in return and of doing good which they have reason to hope may be returned. They easily forget the good that has been done, but if they have been cheated they never forget it. If a white has done them ever so many favors, helped them in need, or given them presents, and omits an opportunity to do the like only once, then all he may have done is forgotten. If an Indian takes a wife and dresses her generously from head to foot in new garments she will indeed be glad and proud; but she will more readily leave him than if he had given her little or nothing, for in that case she would still be in expectation of receiving something.

One may even make enemies of Indians through presents if these make them proud and one does not continue giving. Occasionally when a respectable present has been given the donor is slandered in order that he may not expect something in return from the recipient.

152 They are able to control their desires and passions, but once given free rein these are the more violent. Overcome with wrath, they at once think upon murder, and may, in the heat of passion, do something for which they will later feel remorse.

521 The women are much given to lying and gossiping. They carry evil report from house to house. As long as they are observed they appear modest and without guile. All the wrongs

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571 women, and might safely therefore be more "friendly" with them.

Oral Fixation

●153 There is some evidence to suggest a preoccupation, which had a large component of aggressiveness, with oral needs. This concern with eating (and with other oral phenomena, such as ritualistic pipe-smoking, naming, and oratory), which reached far beyond subsistence requirements, can hardly be ascribed to a realistic subsistence anxiety since the Delawares had ample supplies of animal and vegetable foods at their disposal, and adequate techniques for cultivating, gathering, preserving, and storing them. It is worth [787] mentioning that the pubescent Delaware solicited the favor of a guardian spirit by self-imposed fasting; the spirit was supposed to pity him and appear in a vision; later the spirit would be important to him in helping to secure food.[23] Oral rituals, often with a compulsive quality, were a [527] recurrent institutional theme: almost all social gatherings involved eating, smoking, and oratory, and some were frankly eating-orgies—the famous "eat-all" feasts, for example; the fondness for liquor may be regarded as an oral trait of compulsive [757] character;[24] internal medicines were usually [758] taken as liquid herbal infusions, usually in large doses;[25] the sick lived on a liquid [754 diet;[26] suicide and witchcraft were both 762] accomplished in most cases by poison taken by mouth;[27] tortured prisoners were some- [727] times ceremonially eaten, and hunger 266] cannibalism was reported;[28] war parties made a ceremonial feast the night before their departure;[29] emetics were extensively [757 used in the treatment of disease, and vomit- 777] ing was thought to relieve a sense of guilt, and also to bring luck.[30]

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23. Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 132-133.
24. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 116; Heckewelder, 1819, p. 263.
25. Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 24-25; Tantaquidgeon.
26. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 24.
27. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 125; Heckewelder, 1819, pp. 258.
28. Heckewelder, 1819, p. 199; Zeisberger, 1778, p. 107-108.
29. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 103.
30. Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 84, 133-134.

[P.36,A]

153 Throughout these and other instances there seems to be an association between the concepts of eating and aggression, and between the concepts of not eating (or of giving up food to another, or of relinquishing what has been eaten) and of being accepted, approved, and helped.

The Guardian Spirit

156 The Delaware could not support a sense of social disapproval or of disregard. The great importance attached by Europeans to conscience was among the Delawares replaced by an equal importance attached to "face." When self-esteem needed encouragement, the individual dreamed (or interpreted his dreams as meaning) that he was great. Zeisberger remarked, "They are proud and haughty, even a miserable Indian, capable in no respect, imagines himself to be a great lord. They hold themselves in high regard as if they were capable of great and wonderful things, in which respect they are much encouraged by dreams, held among them to be very significant and, indeed, it would appear that through dreams Satan holds the heathen bound and fettered and in close connection with himself, subjecting them in this fashion to delusion. All this the missionaries discover in those who come to church and who need be thoroughly humbled before they give up the vain imaginations concerning themselves."[31]

156 776 One of the main functions of the guardian spirit was to buttress the Delaware's opinion of himself. "They believe," observed Zeisberger, "in numerous spirits or subordinate deities. Almost all animals and the elements are looked upon as spirits, one exceeding the other in dignity and power. There is scarcely an Indian who does not believe that one or more of these spirits has not been particularly given him to assist him and make him prosper. This, they claim, has been made known to them in a dream, even as their religious belief is alleged to have been made known to them in a dream. One has, in a dream,

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31. Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 18-19.

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meeting than they were two decades ago. In this respect peyotists seem to be merely following the general trend of White society.

Big Moon peyotism diffused to the Delawares as a substitute for an outmoded religious system, but its replacement of the traditional religion has been slow and incomplete. The peyote cult is still regarded by many Delawares as a somewhat inferior replacement for the traditional ceremonies. What is more, during World War II the Big House Ceremony, the major, annual religious rite of the Delawares, was revived and held three times, albeit in abbreviated form. The Delawares would continue the old rites today, but because of expense, cultural decay, and other factors, they have been finally abandoned. It is doubtful whether the traditional rites, even if abbreviated and vestigial, can ever again be held. Petrullo (1934: 175) underestimated their strength when he said more than two decades ago that they were "No longer able to perform the ancient ceremonies. . . ." Neither Petrullo nor I found out what proportion of the Delawares were peyotists, Christians, or adherents to the old religion, so that changes in religious affiliation are largely a matter of conjecture. It is known, however, that many of the proponents of the abandoned religion have become peyotists, but at least a few have become Christians. In short, the peyote cult has never completely replaced the traditional religion, nor has it gained universal approval. The most that can be said by way of comparison is that the Big Moon cult was a covert, lively, and popular one in the thirties; it remains so today.

Probably the greatest changes which have occurred in Delaware Big Moon peyotism within the past twenty-five years have been in the reasons why people are drawn to it. There is not space here to discuss this topic in detail, but it should be pointed out that the peyote cult originally diffused to the Delawares, and was still attractive to them in the early thirties because:

> . . it teaches acceptance of the new world, and makes possible an attitude of resignation in the face of the probable disappearance of the Indian groups as distinct peoples, culturally and racially, by insisting on the necessity of emancipation from mundane aspirations. . . . [The peyote cult] is the natural but final recourse of a subjugated people who fully realize the inadequacy of their material means to restore their former world-state (Petrullo, 1934: 1).

The appeal of modern peyotism is, at least in part, of a different nature. Briefly, the Delawares are no longer a cohesive cultural or social entity; they are geographically scattered and socially atomized. There is no tribal activity which draws them together as Delawares, and every year there are fewer distinctive customs which set them apart from

[P. 36, B]

156 received a serpent or a buffalo, another the sun or the moon, another an owl or some 787 other bird, another a fish, some even ridiculously insignificant creatures such as ants. These are considered their spirits or *Manittos*. If an Indian has no Manitto to be his friend he considers himself forsaken, has nothing upon which he may lean, has no hope of any assistance and is small in his own eyes. On the other hand those who have been thus favored possess a high ●154 and proud spirit."[32] We shall have further occasion to remark how many institutions were mobilized to prevent such casual wounds to self-esteem. We shall also see how much aggression such blows to self-esteem could arouse. Heckewelder and [762] Zeisberger both mention that suicide was a common way of expressing the enormous but disorganized hostility aroused by slights such as marital infidelity or public shaming.[33]

Absence of Authoritarianism

861 Zeisberger and Heckewelder agreed that Delaware parents avoided corporal punishment, scolding, threatening, or otherwise disciplining children. Growing boys were left pretty much to their own devices. Little homilies on moral values were addressed to them and the child's pride was appealed to in efforts to induce approved social behavior.[34] The father spent 593 much of his time away from home in the employments of the chase (especially when the fur trade added to the importance of [462] hunting); the mother was responsible for the fundamental subsistence activities. In general the male was peripheral, the female central in cultural role.[35] Delaware women 562 were described as being given to petty [157] meanness, malicious gossip, and lying; but they were not "matriarchs" in the sense of being the recognized arbiters of the home or society. Their evidently enlarged spite-

32. Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 132-133.
33. Heckewelder, 1819, pp. 258-260; Zeisberger, 1778, p. 83.
34. Heckewelder, 1819, pp. 113-117; Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 16, 81.
35. Heckewelder, 1819, pp. 154-162; Zeisberger, 1778, p. 13-14.

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[796] crippling revenge.[44] Even animals, (for
[325] example, the bear) had to be conceptualized as quasi-human beings engaged in war with the Indians to legitimize their killing.[45]

Anticipation of Aggression

626 In view of these elaborate cultural devices for avoiding situations where
156 aggressions might come to the surface, either in one's own self or in others, we might expect to find considerable anxiety in everyone over the suspicion that through some slip he might have aroused the hostility of an unknown enemy, especially since in every person there seems to have been a large amount of diffused aggression which could easily be projected onto other
[754] people. The fear of witchcraft, for instance, was universal and demoralizing.[46] Lindestrom described the Delawares as "mistrustful,"[47] and both Zeisberger and
● [154] Heckewelder remarked on the elaborate institutions which functioned to deflect possible aggression.[48] Parents explained their reluctance to discipline children by
[861] saying that "the children might remember it against them and avenge themselves when they have attained to maturity."[49] (Zeisberger said that he knew of some cases where children *did* threaten to punish their parents for indignities suffered in childhood.)[50]

Techniques for Expressing Aggression

154 All these mechanisms indicate that the typical Delaware individual harbored within himself exceptionally uncomfortable aggressive impulses which he was afraid to focus on anyone for fear of counter-aggression. The eruption of these aggressions periodically shattered the equable facade of social behavior. "They are able to control their desires and passions," observed Zeisberger, "but once given free

44 Speck, 1931, pp. 39-44.
45 Wallace, 1949.
46 Heckewelder, 1819, pp. 239-240.
47 Lindestrom, 1656, pp. 191-92.
48 Heckewelder, 1819, pp. 103-104; Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 115-116.
49 Zeisberger, 1778, p. 81.
50 Ibid.

154 rein these are the more violent."[51] Warfare provided a socially approved way of [721] bleeding off some of these aggressions, for the warriors; and the institution of torture gave the rest of the community a similar 154 opportunity. "The Indians flock to these 727 executions as to some great solemnity, with a view to reeking on the unfortunate captive their cruel and revengeful disposition."[52] The institution of blood- 154 627 revenge[53] (which sometimes led to prolonged vendetta) was also an outlet for aggression; but the fear of its exercise no doubt served also to inhibit it. In 154 hunting, males could work off aggression 224 on animals, which were conceptualized as quasi-human. It is worth noting that among women, who had a more restricted childhood and who at the same time had 154 fewer socially sanctioned outlets for 521 aggression, the overflow dribbled off in 562 unpleasant gossip and slander, which the men, who had other means of catharsis, professed to scorn.[54]

154 All observers agreed that liquor dis- 273 solved the inhibitions against aggression. 578 "The effects which intoxication produces upon the Indians are dreadful," lamented Heckewelder. "It has been the cause of an infinite number of murders among them, besides biting off noses and otherwise disfiguring each other, which are the least consequences of the quarrels which inebriation produces between them."[55] As might be expected, therefore, Indian spokesmen frequently—and in vain—implored the whites to cease bringing liquor into their settlements.

Summary

127 From an examination of the early ethnological literature concerning the Delaware Indians, we have been able to discover some of their psychological 855 characteristics. The Delawares would seem in general to have been a people among whom the children grew up

51. Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 124-125.
52. Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 106-107.
53. Penn, 1683.
54. Zeisberger, 1776, p. 116.
55. Heckewelder, 1819, p. 263.

13:Wallace E-4 (no date)1950
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[P 33, B]

Some Psychological Characteristics of the Delaware Indians during the 17th and 18th Centuries

ANTHONY F. C. WALLACE

Introduction

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The Relation of Parents to Children

Data on the relationship of the mother to the infant and child are meager, but they suggest that the mother was, in addition to her role as provider and protector, the agent of considerable frustration. This frustration, however, was not so recurrently severe as it was continuous. Instead of presenting the infant with any sudden major crisis, the mother was consistently indifferent to a number of particular lesser demands.

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Parents may have had some unconscious hostility to the new-born child: certain compulsive rituals had to be performed to prevent "wandering ghosts" from stealing away the soul of the infant.[1] The baby was, from birth until it was able to walk, bound to a cradle-board, from which it was normally released only for sanitary administrations. The mother nursed the child by picking it up with the board.[2] It was often left alone, on the board, swinging upright from a tree limb, while the mother worked in the corn-field or did other outdoor tasks. Many children are reported to have died while propped up in the board against a bench or wall in the houses. "The children by pushing and kicking not infrequently tumbled themselves into the fire or other danger and thus miserably perished, or were severly burned," observed

1. Harrington, 1938, p. 129.
2. Lindestrom, 1656, p. 201.
3. Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 85-86.
4. Lindestrom, 1656, p. 202.

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155 Zeisberger.[3] Infants were described by
854 Lindestrom as never crying.[4] Whether this was because they were nursed whenever restless (which is most likely), or because the crying was consistently ignored in early infancy, is not clear from the available accounts. From Zeisberger's description of the frequency of the mother's absence, it would seem that, even if the child were nursed on demand when she was available, her frequent absences must have meant to the child that she was an
862 undependable provider. Children were weaned at the age of two or three; the techniques are not described.[5] Anal and
863 urethral training do not seem to have been strenuous: boys wore no clothes at all until
[241] the age of five or six, although girls wore aprons as soon as they could walk.[6]

861 Zeisberger noted that children were
155 sometimes harshly treated, although such behavior generally produced in them "bitterness, hatred and contempt." He went on to say, "The women are frequently guilty of thus raising their children to anger, for the women are often ill-tempered. By way of punishment, they will pour water on the children or thrust them into the water."[7] Zeisberger did not like the
[157 Indian women, whom he described also
181] as being "much given to lying and gossiping. They carry evil report from house to house. As long as they are observed they appear modest and without guile. All the wrongs of which they are guilty are done
114 in secret."[8] While one may be inclined to
797 discount Zeisberger's accusations on the grounds of the natural prejudice of a male missionary among somewhat more aggressive women than he was probably accustomed to at home, the general accuracy of his observations and the fact that he was really fond of his charges, with whom he spent much of his active life, suggest that he had imbibed the prevalent native male attitude toward the women of the tribe.

5. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 80.
6. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 17.
7. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 81.
8. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 124.

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581 Divorce and family instability were
586 common; many children were raised by mother surrogates. "Owing to instability of the family relationship, children are
581 often neglected."[9] The father was absent,
855 hunting, fishing, fighting, trading, or attending treaties during most of the year; what discipline there was fell to the hand of the mother, who was considered to
796 "own" the children.[10] During one of the
861 annual calendar of ceremonies, young children were chased by a man dressed in a bear-skin, who threatened to punish them for misdeeds (of which the parents kept him informed from year to year) by carrying them away in a bag full of snakes.[11]
[776] This "Mask Spirit" was considered to be the "Guardian of the Game" and also promoted the fertility of the corn; in other
955 words, was the symbol of the food provider.[12] The boys were able to escape from the mother's supervision as soon as they were able to get about to play at hunting and fighting; but the girls were kept around
754 the house to help the mother at work.[13] When a child died, an old woman was often accused of having bewitched it.[14]

155 It would seem that the mother-figure
593 remained a symbol of possible delights which could not be secured on demand, a symbol of diffused frustration, of withheld benefits and hidden hostility, to the Delaware, and the source of his generalized, if inhibited, aggressiveness; and that the father-figure stood on the horizon, so to speak, as a powerful, friendly being, but one too remote and too aloof to be depended upon.

Emotional Attachments in Maturity

584 The ideal in marriage was for a young man to fall in love with a girl. His family would present his suit; she would accept
[585] him by accepting the presents he sent, and come to live with him; and they would live happily and faithfully ever after. The

9. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 21.
10. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 14.
11. Harrington, 1938, pp. 52-53, 113.
12. **Ibid.**; Harrington, 1921.
13. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 16.
14. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 128.

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562 fulness, in comparison with the men, may
157 have been owing to the fact that they were much more restricted in childhood than their brothers. Nowhere in Delaware society was there the model of anyone
592 with coercive authority; neither mother nor
622 father ruled the roost at home in an
625 authoritarian sense, the sachems had no power to enforce their wishes, and there was no conception of a state with police
586 powers. Divorce was easy and frequent and could be initiated by either party simply leaving the other.[36] Supernatural
776 beings were not Jehovah-like Gods who regularly punished the wicked and rewarded the good; the Delaware reckoned rather with a supernatural guardian spirit who acted as a comrade and friend who would assist his mortal protege in critical passes. Shame and pride are more frequent themes than guilt and self-righteousness;
577 Speck (referring to twentieth-century Oklahoma Delawares) says, "Spiritual purity . . . is not conditioned by ethical conduct, but rather . . . through the observance of taboo regulations prescribed by ancient rulings."[37]

155 It would seem to be a fair inference that
597 the Delaware often did not develop a strong authoritarian, coercive conscience; moral values (which certainly were recognized) did not possess an awesome, mosaic character; "good" and "bad" had a light affective tone.

114 Zeisberger, who as a Moravian believed
626 in less discipline and autocracy than was fashionable in eighteenth century Europe, was still puzzled as to how a society without authority could hold together. "Judged by the mere appearance of the Indians," he wrote, "one is surprised how modest and careful they are in relation to each other and imagines that the whites, if they were as free a people and had neither government nor punishment to fear, would not
626 be as united and peaceable as the Indians appear to be."[38] This superficial smooth-

36 Heckewelder, 1819, p. 154; Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 20-21.
37 Speck, 1931, p. 51.
38 Zeisberger, 1778, p. 122.

[P. 39, A]

855 receiving from their mothers adequate physical care, especially in early infancy, but that the child did not receive much of what we would call "affection" or "love" and from time to time was neglected and subjected to petty meanness. The father had only intermittent contact with the mother-child nexus, and to the child appeared as a distant potentially loving (and perhaps also potentially threatening), but practically [861] remote figure. Neither parent made use of systematic punishment as an educative technique. The male child grew up into an adult who saw women both as 86 romantic ideals and as untrustworthy 562 and malicious, potentially witches, while men were regarded as potential comrades, toward whom nevertheless highly polite, circumspect behavior was required in order to avoid giving offense. Women grew up to be discreet but covertly malicious wives and mothers. No individual of either sex was conceived as [571] the possessor of unquestioned authority, and social relations hence were very individualistic and fissionable. There is • 155 evidence to suggest that the individual remained somewhat fixed, on an unconscious level, to infantile patterns of "oral" reaction, of a dependent, aggressively demanding nature, although these dependency patterns were masked by a superficial individualism and self-sufficiency, and by careful inhibition of any openly aggressive behavior. The conflict between the dependent and aggressive impulses, on the one hand, and the conscientious efforts to be self-sufficient and unaggressive on the other, was partially resolved by the guardian spirit complex, a technique of personality integration which allowed the adolescent to collect his dependency wishes and displace them onto the fantasy figure of an all-powerful parent. Further relief was afforded by various institutionalized ritual or semi-ritual institutions, such as warfare, feasting, and religion. Liquor, however, was a severe threat to the integrity of the society, since it allowed repressed and sublimated im-

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155 pulses, particularly aggressive ones, to break out into the open, often with socially catastrophic results.

It should be observed that in many respects this personality portrait of the Delawares is similar to that drawn, from different sources, by A. I. Hallowell for the Indians of the Northeast in general, and more particularly for the Ojibwa.[56] Thus Delaware personality is not markedly distinct from that of other Indians in the area, and a closer analysis than is possible here would probably be required to distinguish it from Ojibwa or other Algonkian peoples of the Northeast.

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56. Hallowell, 1946.

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1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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CHAPTER XVIII.

PRIDE AND GREATNESS OF MIND.

THE Indians are proud but not vain; they consider vanity as degrading and unworthy the character of a man. The hunter never boasts of his skill or strength, nor the warrior of his prowess. It is not right, they say, that one should value himself too much for an action which another may perform as well as himself, and when a man extols his own deeds, it seems as if he doubted his own capability to do the like again when he pleased. Therefore, they prefer in all cases to let their actions speak for themselves. The skins and peltry which the hunter brings home, the deer's horns on the roof of his cabin, the horses, furniture and other property that he possesses, his apparel and that of his family, the visits with which he is honoured by the first and best men among his nation; all these things shew what he is and what he has done, and with this he rests satisfied.

So with the warrior; it is enough for him that he is known to be a man of spirit and courage by the scalps and prisoners that he brings home; he never is seen going about boasting of his warlike exploits, and when questioned on the subject, he makes his answer as short as possible. Even when he is entering a town with his prisoners and scalps, he does not stare about to see whether the people are looking at him, but walks his usual steady pace and marches straight forward without appearing to see any body. When at some of their particular festivals, every warrior is called upon to relate his feats of arms, they make it a point to be as brief as pos-

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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266 ed a temporary relief, and that she might be able to support herself and her surviving children until a change in the weather should take place, so that they could be able to proceed on their journey; but the wolves getting the scent of the slaughtered child, became more furious than before, her danger every moment became more imminent. She now filled the air with her cries and supplications to the Great Spirit that he would look down with compassion on their awful condition, and save them by his almighty power.—But still the danger increased, the horrid food was almost exhausted, and no relief came. Already she contemplated sacrificing another child; she looked at each of them again and again with a mother's eye, now resolving on killing the one, then changing her mind, and endeavouring to determine on the destruction of the other; she hesitated, wept, despaired, and the children, well understanding what she meant, prayed that they might all die together. While in this situation, her hand already lifted to strike the fatal stroke, the yell of two approaching Indians strikes her ear, and the murderous weapon falls from her hand. The men with rackets to their feet now appear and the dreadful scene is at once closed. They had provisions with them. They made a pair of rackets for the woman to walk on, and brought her and her children along in safety to the Big Island, where my informants resided at the time. I cannot remember whether they told me that they had gone to that spot in consequence of a dream, or of some strong presentiment that they should find human creatures in distress; certain I am, however, that it was owing to one or other of these causes.

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[103] The place where this awful event took place was since called *Enda Mohótink*, which means "where human flesh was eaten." This name has been very familiar to the Indians who resided in that part of the country.

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184 There is a spot of land at the edge of the great Pine or Beech Swamp, precisely where it is crossed by the

l:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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road leading to Wyoming, which is called *the Hermit's Field*, and of which the following account is given. A short time before the white people came into Pennsylvania, a woman from some cause or other had separated herself from society, and with her young son, had taken her abode in this swamp, where she remained undiscovered until the boy grew up to manhood, procuring a livelihood by the use of the bow and arrow, in killing deer, turkeys and other animals, planting corn and vegetables, and gathering and curing nuts and berries of various kinds. When after her long seclusion she again saw Indians, she was much astonished to find them dressed in European apparel. She had become so attached to her place of abode, that she again returned thither and remained there for several years. I was shewn by the Indians in the year 1765, and often afterwards, the corn hills that she had made; the ground, being a stiff clay, was not wasted or worn down, but was covered with bushes, and the traces of the labour of the female hermit were plainly discoverable.

Thus the Indians will support themselves in the midst of the greatest difficulties, never despairing of their fate, but trusting to their exertions, and to the protection of the Almighty Being who created them.

[erratum. See cat. 116, p. 348. - Analyst]

[P.36,A]

153 Throughout these and other instances there seems to be an association between the concepts of eating and aggression, and between the concepts of not eating (or of giving up food to another, or of relinquishing what has been eaten) and of being accepted, approved, and helped.

The Guardian Spirit

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31. Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 18-19.

[P. 36, B]

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[462] the fur trade added to the importance of hunting); the mother was responsible for the fundamental subsistence activities. In general the male was peripheral, the female central in cultural role.[35] Delaware women
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[157] meanness, malicious gossip, and lying; but they were not "matriarchs" in the sense of being the recognized arbiters of the home or society. Their evidently enlarged spite-

32. Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 132-133.
33. Heckewelder, 1819, pp. 258-260; Zeisberger, 1778, p. 83.
34. Heckewelder, 1819, pp. 113-117; Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 16, 81.
35. Heckewelder, 1819, pp. 154-162; Zeisberger, 1778, p. 13-14.

[P. 38, A]

776
[796] crippling revenge.[44] Even animals, (for
[325] example, the bear) had to be conceptualized as quasi-human beings engaged in war with the Indians to legitimize their killing.[45]

Anticipation of Aggression

626 In view of these elaborate cultural devices for avoiding situations where
● 156 aggressions might come to the surface, either in one's own self or in others, we might expect to find considerable anxiety in everyone over the suspicion that through some slip he might have aroused the hostility of an unknown enemy, especially since in every person there seems to have been a large amount of diffused aggression which could easily be projected onto other
[754] people. The fear of witchcraft, for instance, was universal and demoralizing.[46] Lindestrom, described the Delawares as "mistrustful;"[47] and both Zeisberger and
[154] Heckewelder remarked on the elaborate institutions which functioned to deflect possible aggression.[48] Parents explained their reluctance to discipline children by
[861] saying that "the children might remember it against them and avenge themselves when they have attained to maturity."[49] (Zeisberger said that he knew of some cases where children *did* threaten to punish their parents for indignities suffered in childhood.)[50]

Techniques for Expressing Aggression

154 All these mechanisms indicate that the typical Delaware individual harbored within himself exceptionally uncomfortable aggressive impulses which he was afraid to focus on anyone for fear of counter-aggression. The eruption of these aggressions periodically shattered the equable facade of social behavior. "They are able to control their desires and passions," observed Zeisberger, "but once given free

44 Speck, 1931, pp. 39-44.
45 Wallace, 1949.
46 Heckewelder, 1819, pp. 239-240.
47 Lindestrom, 1656, pp. 191-192.
48 Heckewelder, 1819, pp. 103-104; Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 115-116.
49 Zeisberger, 1778, p. 61.
50 Ibid.

157

157 PERSONALITY TRAITS--occurrence of idiosyncratic habits (e.g., biting of lips or nails, twiddling of thumbs, wringing of hands); prevalence of co-operativeness and competitiveness; incidence and distribution of recurrent personality traits (e.g., leadership, submissiveness, aggressiveness); incidence and distribution of recognized types of personality (e.g., introvert, extrovert, obsessional, manic, paranoid, hypochondriac); generalized results of personality tests; indications of cultural selectivity with reference to personality traits and types; evidence bearing upon the existence of a modal or basic personality; etc. See also:

Mutual aid and competition 47
Social mobility 55
Derived drives and emotions 152
National character and ethos 161
Patterned expression of emotion 201
Attitudes 208
Postures 516
Humor 522
Statuses adapted to particular personality types 554
Social interaction rates 571
Types of religious experience 781
Ethnopsychology 828

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca.1800) 1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

262 shot. The Indians never despair, not even in the worst
157 of times and under the severest trials; when placed
252 in difficult situations they never use discouraging language, but always endeavour to raise their spirits and prevent them from sinking, under the hardships or dangers to which they are exposed. True to this national character, one of our old Indians immediately pronounced this wild cat to be "good, very good eating," and it was immediately ordered to be put on the spit and roasted for our supper. While this was performing, the old Indian endeavoured to divert the company by extolling in a jocular manner the country they had now got into, and where such good things were to be had; to which some one or other of the old men would reply; "all very true." At length, about nine o'clock at night, the call was given by the old cook (for so I now call him) that the meat was done and we might come in to eat. I, who had heard so much in praise of this repast, being greatly pinched with hunger, had kept myself in readiness for this expected call; but seeing nobody rise, and observing much merriment through the camp, I began to suspect that something was the matter, and therefore kept my seat. The night was spent without any body attempting to eat of the wild cat, and in the morning a different call was given by one of the old men, signifying that a large kettle of tea had been made by some of the good women, who invited all to come and take their share of it. Every one obeyed, this call and I went with the rest, the jovial old cook taking the roasted wild cat with him to the mess. The scene was not only very diverting, but brought on an interesting discussion between the men on the propriety or impropriety of eating the flesh of all animals without restriction, some contending that they were all by the will of the great Creator ordained for some use, and therefore put in the power of man; and how were we to know which were intended for our nourishment and which not? The old cook had himself taken that posi-

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

262 tion, adding that the hog and the bear fed on dirty things,
157 and yet we ate their meat with a good appetite. The cat, however, notwithstanding all the arguments in its favour, remained untouched, and was taken back by the old hunter and cook to its former place at his fire.

But now, Popunhank, whom we believed to be lost, and our guide, who once more had gone out, and exerted himself in vain to kill a deer, came in together. The guide had been desired as he pursued his hunt to look for our lost companion, and had the good luck to find him at the distance of five or six miles, with a fine deer that he had killed. He lost no time in bringing him back to our camp.

The sight of these two men dragging a large deer along was truly joyful to us, as well on account of the recovery of our lost friend, as of the meat that he brought. All felt the cravings of hunger, all were delighted with the certain prospect of immediate relief, yet no boisterous or extraordinary rejoicing took place, but all called out with one voice: *Anischi! Anischi!* we are thankful. The wild cat, which yet remained untouched, was thrown out of the camp, and dismissed by the old cook with these
261 words: "Go, cat, we do not want you this time!"

266 The woods and waters, at certain times and seasons,
[251] furnish to the Indians an abundant supply of wholesome nourishing food, which, if carefully gathered, cured and stored up, would serve them for the whole year, so that none need perish or even suffer from hunger; but they are not accustomed to laying in stores of provisions, except some Indian corn, dry beans and a few other articles. Hence they are sometimes reduced to great straits, and not seldom in absolute want of the necessaries of life, especially in the time of war. Yet, notwithstanding the numerous famines they have been visited with, they have among their traditions but one instance on record in which an human life was taken for the support of others, although they relate many cases

in carrying out his ceremonial duties. The process of preparation is long and arduous, a period during which the novice must observe carefully the ways of his elders. The youth is instructed to be prayerful and humble in spirit since it is believed that only through prayer and faith are great things accomplished. Humility is the keynote of Delaware behavior even among those men and women who have attained the experience of advanced age. If one has lived a clean, pure life and has been faithful to the doctrines of his tribal religion, he shall indeed be called great. Not of the pompous, boastful, type but a truly righteous man with full realization of the joys and blessings which come to those who are ever mindful of the Creator.

Some of the more spiritually inclined are known to have had more than one vision, as in the case of Wi·tapanóxwe whose first revelation came in his youth, the second later in life. If one has had several visions he usually is guided by the first but in any event he is free to choose according to his spiritual needs. After such a decision is made, however, the individual continues to adhere to the guardian selected throughout the remainder of his life.

Having lived according to the precepts of his native faith and achieved the age of mature experience, the informant was not averse to making known the spiritual power revealed to him during two dream visions. His recitation and song have been fully given in text in a preceding number of this series (Speck, 1931, pp. 128, 168). Now he is ready to take his place in the Big House Ceremonies and in the sweat lodge but prior to the recording of his vision, he still felt inexperienced and unworthy of appearing before his kinsmen in a ceremonial role.

The following is presented in the words of Wi·tapanóxwe and is self explanatory:

> It was while attending school at Chilocco, Oklahoma, I was taken sick with the black measles. The authorities were alarmed, thinking that it might be scarlet fever and more than a hundred of the pupils were removed to the local hospital and placed under quarantine. It was during that time that I had my trials and tribulations. The summer before, Mr. Wright, a noted evangelist of part Choctaw descent, had visited the school and held revivals. So many were converted that I too thought that I was fully converted and was persuaded to say that I had accepted Jesus Christ for my personal Savior. But now came the real test. I was one of thirty patients in a first floor ward and read the Scriptures constantly.

[P. 34, A].

155 Zeisberger.[3] Infants were described by
854 Lindestrom as never crying.[4] Whether this was because they were nursed whenever restless (which is most likely), or because the crying was consistently ignored in early infancy, is not clear from the available accounts. From Zeisberger's description of the frequency of the mother's absence, it would seem that, even if the child were nursed on demand when she was available, her frequent absences must have meant to the child that she was an
862 undependable provider. Children were weaned at the age of two or three; the techniques are not described.[5] Anal and
863 urethral training do not seem to have been strenuous: boys wore no clothes at all until
[291] the age of five or six, although girls wore aprons as soon as they could walk.[6]

861 Zeisberger noted that children were
155 sometimes harshly treated, although such behavior generally produced in them "bitterness, hatred and contempt." He went on to say, "The women are frequently guilty of thus raising their children to anger, for the women are often ill-tempered. By way of punishment, they will pour water on the children or thrust them into the water."[7] Zeisberger did not like the
[157 Indian women, whom he described also
181] as being "much given to lying and gossiping. They carry evil report from house to house. As long as they are observed they appear modest and without guile. All the wrongs of which they are guilty are done
114 in secret."[8] While one may be inclined to
797 discount Zeisberger's accusations on the grounds of the natural prejudice of a male missionary among somewhat more aggressive women than he was probably accustomed to at home, the general accuracy of his observations and the fact that he was really fond of his charges, with whom he spent much of his active life, suggest that he had imbibed the prevalent native male attitude toward the women of the tribe.

5. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 80.
6. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 17.
7. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 81.
8. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 124.

[P.36,A]

153 Throughout these and other instances there seems to be an association between the concepts of eating and aggression, and between the concepts of not eating (or of giving up food to another, or of relinquishing what has been eaten) and of being accepted, approved, and helped.

The Guardian Spirit

156 The Delaware could not support a sense of social disapproval or of disregard. The great importance attached by Europeans to conscience was among the Delawares replaced by an equal importance attached to "face." When self-esteem needed encouragement, the individual dreamed (or interpreted his dreams as meaning) that he was great. Zeisberger remarked, "They are proud and haughty, even a miserable Indian, capable in no respect, imagines himself to be a great lord. They hold themselves in high regard as if they were capable of great and wonderful things, in which respect they are much encouraged by dreams, held among them to be very significant and, indeed, it would appear that through dreams Satan holds the heathen bound and fettered and in close connection with himself, subjecting them in this fashion to delusion. All this the missionaries discover in those who come to church and who need be thoroughly humbled before they give up the vain imaginations concerning themselves."[31]

156 776 One of the main functions of the guardian spirit was to buttress the Delaware's opinion of himself. "They believe," observed Zeisberger, "in numerous spirits or subordinate deities. Almost all animals and the elements are looked upon as spirits, one exceeding the other in dignity and power. There is scarcely an Indian who does not believe that one or more of these spirits has not been particularly given him to assist him and make him prosper. This, they claim, has been made known to them in a dream, even as their religious belief is alleged to have been made known to them in a dream. One has, in a dream,

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31. Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 18-19.

[P. 36, B]

156 received a serpent or a buffalo, another the sun or the moon, another an owl or some
787 other bird, another a fish, some even ridiculously insignificant creatures such as ants. These are considered their spirits or *Manittos*. If an Indian has no Manitto to be his friend he considers himself forsaken, has nothing upon which he may lean, has no hope of any assistance and is small in his own eyes. On the other hand those who have been thus favored possess a high
154 and proud spirit."[32] We shall have further occasion to remark how many institutions were mobilized to prevent such casual wounds to self-esteem. We shall also see how much aggression such blows to self-esteem could arouse. Heckewelder and
[762] Zeisberger both mention that suicide was a common way of expressing the enormous but disorganized hostility aroused by slights such as marital infidelity or public shaming.[33]

Absence of Authoritarianism

861 Zeisberger and Heckewelder agreed that Delaware parents avoided corporal punishment, scolding, threatening, or otherwise disciplining children. Growing boys were left pretty much to their own devices. Little homilies on moral values were addressed to them and the child's pride was appealed to in efforts to induce ap-
593 proved social behavior.[34] The father spent much of his time away from home in the employments of the chase (especially when the fur trade added to the importance of
[462] hunting); the mother was responsible for the fundamental subsistence activities. In general the male was peripheral, the female
562 central in cultural role.[35] Delaware women were described as being given to petty
● [157] meanness, malicious gossip, and lying; but they were not "matriarchs" in the sense of being the recognized arbiters of the home or society. Their evidently enlarged spite-

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35. Heckewelder, 1819, pp. 154-162; Zeisberger, 1778, p. 13-14.

[P. 37, A]

562 fulness, in comparison with the men, may
157 have been owing to the fact that they were much more restricted in childhood than their brothers. Nowhere in Delaware society was there the model of anyone
592 with coercive authority; neither mother nor
622 father ruled the roost at home in an
625 authoritarian sense, the sachems had no power to enforce their wishes, and there was no conception of a state with police
586 powers. Divorce was easy and frequent and could be initiated by either party simply leaving the other.[36] Supernatural
776 beings were not Jehovah-like Gods who regularly punished the wicked and rewarded the good; the Delaware reckoned rather with a supernatural guardian spirit who acted as a comrade and friend who would assist his mortal protege in critical passes. Shame and pride are more frequent themes than guilt and self-righteousness;
577 Speck (referring to twentieth-century Oklahoma Delawares) says, "Spiritual purity . . . is not conditioned by ethical conduct, but rather . . . through the observance of taboo regulations prescribed by ancient rulings."[37]

155 It would seem to be a fair inference that
597 the Delaware often did not develop a strong authoritarian, coercive conscience; moral values (which certainly were recognized) did not possess an awesome, mosaic character; "good" and "bad" had a light affective tone.

114 Zeisberger, who as a Moravian believed
626 in less discipline and autocracy than was fashionable in eighteenth century Europe, was still puzzled as to how a society without authority could hold together. "Judged by the mere appearance of the Indians," he wrote, "one is surprised how modest and careful they are in relation to each other and imagines that the whites, if they were as free a people and had neither government nor punishment to fear, would not
626 be as united and peaceable as the Indians appear to be."[38] This superficial smooth-

36. Heckewelder, 1819, p. 154; Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 20-21.
37. Speck, 1931, p. 51.
38. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 122

15:Morgan E-5 (1859)1959
NM7 Delaware NM7

[p53(B)]

773 and lonely in her absence, started to make
821 her a visit. As he travelled southward he carried the cold with him and wherever he went it became winter, or rather winter followed his footsteps. After he had concluded his visit he returned and carried back the winter with him as he advanced to the north. From the most ancient times this visit has been annually renewed.

Indian Persistency

157 Mr. Pratt mentioned as a recent occurrence
224 among the Delawares, that while a party
521 were out on a Buffalo hunt a few years since, one of them said one day that before he returned he would take a three year old bull buffalo alive. His companions rather laughed at his suggestion as an impossibility, and thought no more about it. This is the age when they are the most ferocious and unmanageable. A few days afterwards this hunter rode up to a herd of buffalo and having singled out a two or three year old bull, he managed to detach him from the

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John Gill Pratt was a dedicated Baptist missionary, working in turn with the Shawnees, the Stockbridge, and finally the Delawares. Morgan regarded him highly.

[p 53(c)]

157 herd and gave him a chase. He followed
224 until the buffalo was about tired out, with
521 his tongue hanging out, and hardly able to move, while his own horse was in the same condition. Leaving his horse and his gun, the hunter, fresh and strong, took the buffalo by the tail and drove him on. He then went up an ascent and down on the other side until they came into a wet place where the buffalo stuck in the mud from weakness and exhaustion. He had thus taken his buffalo, in one sense. He was powerless, and still, except as he made slight efforts to fight. After spending some little time in this situation during which the buffalo was gaining strength and he was losing his, he was so fortunate as to espy and signal one of his party, who came to his aid, and the two, with a rope tied to his horses so as to keep at a safe distance from each of them and between both, they led or drove him to camp and thus the Indian maintained or made good his boast.

Delaware Baptist Mission School[86]

872 This school, under the supervision of Rev.
797 John G. Pratt,[87] a matron, Mrs. Muse, and a teacher, Miss Morse,[88] is in a very flourishing condition and superior to any I have seen in the territory. It has accommodations for 78 Indian scholars as boarders and lodgers. The number last term was 64, the number the present term is about 50, as they have held back for the payment, and will soon come in now.

346 The buildings consist of a two and a half story farm house large on the ground, designed for the sleeping and clothing rooms of the school; another of the same size with a wing for a kitchen, designed for the residence of the superintendent and teachers, and is the eating and cooking place for all.[89] Also a large school house with folding doors

[For footnote, see category 116, p. 209(c)--Analyst]

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7
Ojibwa NG6

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"the part of a coward; I told him that he knew the for-
"tune of war, that one or the other of us must have fallen;
"that it was his fate to be conquered, and he ought to die
"like a man, like a hero, and not like an old woman;
"that if the case had been reversed, and I had fallen into
"the power of my *enemy*, I would not have disgraced my
"nation as he did, but would have died with firmness and
"courage, as becomes a true warrior."

I leave the reader to reflect upon these anecdotes, which, I think, convey more real information than any further attempts that I could make to explain the strange notions which gave them rise.

CHAPTER XXXV.

INSANITY—SUICIDE.

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INSANITY is not common among the Indians; yet I have known several who were afflicted with mental derangement. Men in this situation are always considered as objects of pity. Every one, young and old, feels compassion for their misfortune; to laugh or scoff at them would be considered as a crime, much more so to insult or molest them. The nation or colour of the unfortunate object makes no difference; the charity of the Indians extends to all, and no discrimination is made in such a lamentable case.

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About the commencement of the Indian war in 1763, a trading Jew, named Chapman, who was going up the Detroit river with a batteau load of goods which he had

3: Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

sistency of a strong lye stops the flow of blood when applied to a fresh wound, even though an artery may have been ruptured, prevents swelling and heals the wound rapidly. After this solution has been used for one or two days other roots must be applied, such as the great sassaparilla and others that have healing powers.

Epilepsy is not very common among the Indians. It does not often happen that an Indian becomes mad, and madness among these people is not as violent as among the whites, probably, for the reason that they are not possessed of equal power with the whites, and even their bodies are weaker because they have not the abundance and variety of nourishing food. Blood letting is supposed to help the epileptics.

Of small-pox they knew nothing until some of them caught the contagion from the Europeans. Most of them died before the small-pox properly appeared. They are much inclined to boils and sores. Upon these they lay a warm poultice made of the flour of Indian corn; when the boils are ripe they are lanced. Broken arms and legs they are able to set very well, though limbs are not broken often, dislocated joints they are also able to correct. If an Indian has dislocated his foot or knee, when hunting alone, he creeps to the next tree and tying one end of his strap to it, fastens the other to the dislocated limb and, lying on his back, continues to pull until it is reduced. For tooth-ache the Indians use roots also, placing a little piece in the hollow tooth, which sometimes affords relief though not always. Sometimes teeth are extracted if a pair of pincers can be secured. It is not for lack of skill but for lack of proper instruments that they do not treat external injuries more successfully. Such instruments as they have are not used in the most careful manner. If one who is being operated on cries out, those present laugh. Misfortunes of almost any kind trouble them little; if house and goods have been burned, the unfortunate owners may even relate the experience in a humorous manner.

Many of them suffer from diarrhoea, particularly, in the fall of the year. The evil is aggravated because they know nothing of dieting and continue to eat whatever they wish. For

ered but I did not tell my brother what I saw. It seemed to come nearer and nearer to us but as we drew close, the thing disappeared suddenly into the woods. I asked my brother if he had seen the strange object but he replied that he had not. When we reached home I told my mother what I had seen and she warned us never to follow a ghost like that as it would lead us astray and finally to a pile of bones."

It may be of interest to note here that at times several people might see the same ghost and "feel" it pass by. Such an experience is always regarded as a warning, foretelling illness, death, or some sudden event. Children are cautioned against answering the call of an unseen person as it might prove to be a "ghost-whoop." Should a child answer such a call, his jaw would become dislocated or even his entire body paralyzed. Once a hunter answered such a "ghost-whoop" and upon trying to locate it, ran into a stack of bones.*

The cause of insanity is attributed to the failure of a family to perform certain inherited ceremonials. Failure to continue such prescribed rites is punished by misfortune of some kind. Certain individuals are capable of exorcising people afflicted with this malady, the Indian name for which is translated as "lacking good sense." In one incident a young man believed that he saw a "mask" everywhere he went. His relatives finally resorted to a sweat doctor who entered the sweat lodge to ascertain the cause of the illness. After the ritual the doctor announced that it was due to their failure to perform regularly a ceremony which had come down in the family. In order to avert further trouble and to rid the young man of the disease, the doctor advised that the neglected feast and ceremony be performed, after which the patient became normal once more. Could anything be more in conformity with modern psycopathic practice than the preceding case! Other native terms which apply to people similarly affected are translated as "silly" or "half-witted."

I might also note that having in mind the prevalence of the theory that animals are the main causes of disease among the Cherokee (Mooney, 1892, p. 322), and Muskhogean peoples of the Southeast, I failed to find any evidence whatever in the mind of my informant of a similar belief among the Delaware.

* Archaeologists, take note!—Editor.

in carrying out his ceremonial duties. The process of preparation is long and arduous, a period during which the novice must observe carefully the ways of his elders. The youth is instructed to be prayerful and humble in spirit since it is believed that only through prayer and faith are great things accomplished. Humility is the keynote of Delaware behavior even among those men and women who have attained the experience of advanced age. If one has lived a clean, pure life and has been faithful to the doctrines of his tribal religion, he shall indeed be called great. Not of the pompous, boastful, type but a truly righteous man with full realization of the joys and blessings which come to those who are ever mindful of the Creator.

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159 The attending nurse had an aged father who often told us that he had served in the Civil War. During that time he had the measles but he did not even go to bed. He was assigned to look after the personal needs of the patients in my ward and he soon tired of his duties. He would try to force us out of bed and called us all kinds of ugly names. He was more profane than any white man I had ever seen. We were not allowed to drink cold water to cool the high fever of the dreadful disease but were compelled to drink a weak solution of cayenne-pepper tea to quench our thirst. Of course that alone was bad enough but the disagreeable old veteran made matters worse.

His actions so disgusted me that I decided since I was feeling on the mend, to get up and put on my clothes. Unbeknown to either the doctor or the nurse, I got up and attended to the patients, giving them medicine as I had done many times before. It was in the month of February, the sun came out warm, but there was still a little scattering of snow on the prairie. Having finished my tasks I went out on the south side of the building and stood in the sunshine for a few minutes. Although I was wearing an overcoat, cap, and overshoes, the exposure, which I thought was harmless, nearly caused my death, leaving me weak for many years. Fortunately I pulled through—weak but determined to live.

This is the first time I have related my experience with the so-called white man's religion. That evening before five o'clock I was taken sick and went back to bed again. The doctor and nurse did not know that I had been up but the sudden rise in my temperature alarmed them greatly. I was delirious the greater part of the time for more than seven days. So they decided to notify my parents who lived some eighty miles away. It was at this time a vision came to me and accompanied me around the world. At times it seemed as though we were not on earth. This man spoke the Delaware language and he showed me many of the Indian ceremonies, some of which I had never seen or heard before. He showed me men and women who had departed this life many years before, and told me their names.

When at times I would awake from what seemed only a short nap, I would find myself talking to my mother who was at my bedside constantly. To my sorrow I found out that many of my comrades were worse off than I. It was here that I fully realized that the teachings of my mother had been so deeply impressed on my mind. This experience turned me back to the Delaware Big House.

So it happened that years later, after worrying about my careless life at home in Muskogee, these same strange visions came and spoke to me from mid-sky and gave me a song. They seemed to be four in number and were not earthly persons, but belonged to the sky.

4: Tantaquidgeon E-5 (1930) 1942
NM7 Delaware NM7

It was then they came to tell me what my mission on earth was to be. Since everyone has a purpose in life, mine was to heal the sick. Whenever I dreamed a secret I told my mother and she told me to keep this to myself until I became older. Now as I get older, I feel that I shall be better known in years to come. I am confident that my dream-vision power will bring me success throughout life since the Creator does not abandon his children to whom he had entrusted such gifts. By this I have learned to work out my own salvation, knowing that the Indian wholly depends upon the talent allotted to him by the Creator. These experiences fully qualify me to lead in the Big House if I choose to do so. My brothers do not know this but they suspect that I have a vision to relate. Some day they may have the pleasure of hearing it when the opportunity offers.

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Delaware Practitioners

Delaware herbalists are of two classes:[6] (1) "one who knows [medicine] well" and (2) "one who uses medicine for magic purposes."[7] It is believed that to the former is entrusted the knowledge of the healing properties of plants as well as the methods of preparing and administering them as medicine. These practitioners are usually women

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[6] Heckewelder (1876, p. 228) refers to the herbalists as "physicians and surgeons" and says in part: "By these names I wish to distinguish the good and honest practitioners who are in the habit of curing and healing diseases and wounds, by the simple application of natural remedies, without any mixture of superstition in the manner of preparing them." Zeisberger (*op. cit.* p. 24) does not classify the Indian doctors but writes, "There are Indians who have considerable knowledge of the virtue of roots and herbs, learned from their fathers, and who bring about relief."

[7] *Ibid*, p. 231. Heckewelder, in discussing this type has chosen to call them "doctors or juggler," for which he gives the following reasons: "These men are physicians, like the others of whom I have spoken, and like them are acquainted with the properties and virtues of plants, barks, roots and other remedies. They differ from them only by their pretensions of a superior knowledge. As the Indians in general believe in witchcraft, and ascribe to the arts of sorcerers many of the disorders with which they are afflicted in the regular course of nature, this class of men has risen up among them who pretend to be skilled in a certain occult science, by means of which they are able not only to cure natural diseases, but to counteract or destroy the enchantments of wizards or witches, and expel evil spirits."

1:Heckewelder M[illegible] (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

pulation was gradually reduced, but they lost the desire of becoming a civilised people; for the Americans, at last, become exasperated against them, and considering all Indians as their enemies, they sent parties out from time to time to destroy them. The murder of the Christian Indians on the Muskingum in 1782, completed their alienation. Those who yet remained were driven to despair, and finally dispersed.

It is not in my power to ascertain the whole number of the Lenni Lenape, or Delaware Indians, still existing at the present time. As far as I am informed, they are very much scattered, a number of them, chiefly of the Monsey tribe, living in Upper Canada, others are in the state of Ohio, and some on the waters of the Wabash in the Indiana territory. A considerable number of them has crossed the Mississippi. Their first emigrations to that country had already begun between the years 1780 and 1790. What the numbers of this nation were when the Europeans first came into this country is difficult to tell; all I can say is, that so early as 1760, their oldest men would say that they were not then as many hundreds as they had been thousands. They have considerably decreased since that period. I saw them myself between the years 1754 and 1760, by hundreds at a time, and Loskiel in his history gives an account of upwards of 800 having been fed at Bethlehem in one year. In the year 1762, while I lived at Tuscarawas on the Muskingum, they were settled on that river and its branches, and also on the Cayahoga river, which empties into Lake Erie, in the neighbourhood of which they had since a small Christian settlement called *Pilgerruh*, (Pilgrim's rest.)*

* Loskiel, part III. ch. 12.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7

197 includes, among others, Mahican, Wappinger, and Pequot. Delawaran peoples spoke at least two mutually intelligible dialects termed Munsi and Lenape.[63] There are indications, however, that Munsi was more like Mahican than Lenape. Zeisberger said:

> The Unami and the Wunalachtico (Unalachtigo)... languages differ very little. That of the Monsys... is very different from these, so that had they not dwelt nearer together and been in constant contact in recent times they would hardly understand each other. Yet the speech of each of these peoples is but a dialect of one and the same language. The language of the Mahikanders (Mahican) bears much resemblance to that of the Monsys.[64]

Zeisberger and Heckewelder[64] have also pointed out that the Nanticoke language was very similar to Delaware. Unfortunately, both Mahican and Nanticoke are extinct languages and cannot be examined by modern linguistic techniques. Suffice it to say that there was considerable dialectic diversity among the people who became the historic Delawares. Michelson has ventured the opinion that Delaware "as Zeisberger has presented it is not a single dialect but a composite," and Trowbridge concurred in this conclusion.[65] In sum, the linguistic evidence suggests a lack of unity among the people who became the Delawares, which reinforces my conclusion that at the dawn of historic times Delawaran peoples were not a cohesive or homogeneous cultural unit.

Population in the Seventeenth Century

●161 Ignorance of the composition and location of all the subdivisions which were to make up the Delaware tribe, and lack of information concerning introduced diseases, which at an early date may have decimated their ranks, are enough to make population estimates of the early seventeenth-century Delawaran peoples hazardous. Mooney in 1911 estimated the Delawares and Munsis as numbering "close to 12,000 souls" in 1600, but he reduced this figure to 8,000 by 1928.[66] Kroeber has followed Mooney in using the latter figure.[67]

The number of Delawaran peoples, whatever it may have been in 1600, was greatly reduced in the first century of contact with Europeans. In the literature of the seventeenth century the many allusions to this depopulation are unanimous in attributing it to disease, war, and demoralization. Alcoholism was a factor, but it was a greater contributor to depopulation in later times, although by the end of the seventeenth century the Delawares were described as loving drunkenness.[68] In the early part of the century the Munsis and Unamis suffered heavily in the Esopus wars with the Dutch,[69] and the Susquehannocks inflicted heavy casualties on the Unamis and Unalachtigos. In 1633, for example, the

[63] C. F. and E. W. Voegelin, 1946, pp. 188-89; C. F. Voegelin, 1946, pp. 130-57.
[64] Zeisberger, 1910, pp. 141-42.
[64] Heckewelder, 1881, p. 122; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 141.
[65] Michelson, 1912, p. 280; Trowbridge MS.
[66] Mooney, 1911, p. 333; 1928, p. 4.
[67] Kroeber, 1947, Table 7, p. 140.
[68] Pastorius, 1912, p. 433.
[69] Mooney, 1928, pp. 3-4.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7

Susquehannock burned a Delaware town and killed "ninety men" as well as women and children.[70] Lindestrom in 1654 mentioned that both the Delawares and the Swedes were suffering from illness and that the natives were blaming the Swedes for sickness and death.[71] Mooney said:

> As early as 1677 the Delawares accused the whites of having brought the smallpox among them, and in a council at Burlington, New Jersey, their speaker stated that it had already ravaged the tribe three times — in his grandfather's time, in his father's time, and in his own time. One of these visitations was probably that of 1637-1638, which swept all the region from the Chesapeake Bay to Lake Huron. Another was probably the same noted as ravaging the Conestoga in 1661-1663.[72]

Pastorius in a letter written in 1694 said:

> A great many of these savages have died, even since I came here, so that there are hardly more than a fourth part of the number now existing that were to be seen when I came to the country ten years ago.[73]

Denton as early as 1670 was able to say of the results of Indian contact with Europeans:

> ... it is to be admired how strangely they [i.e., Indians] have decreast by the Hand of God since the English first settling of these parts; for since my time, when there were six towns, they are reduced to two small villages, & it has been generally observed that where the English come to settle, a Divine Hand makes way for them, by removing or cutting off the *Indians*, either by wars one with the other, or by some raging mortal disease.[74]

Kalm seems to have summed it up accurately when he remarked in the eighteenth century:

> ... as the Europeans proceeded to cultivate the land, the Indians sold their land, and went further into the country. But in reality few of the Indians really left the country in this manner; most of them ended their days before, either by wars among themselves, or by the small-pox ... it has killed incredible numbers of them .... But brandy is said to have killed most of the Indians.[75]

These scattered statements leave no room to doubt that the population decline of the Delawares in the seventeenth century was tremendous. There are two important factors to keep in mind concerning the early population and the subsequent depopulation. First, even if the estimates of the population in 1600 are grossly low, the population density in pre-Columbian times was surprisingly low considering the nature of the habitat and the capacity of the natives' technological system. The reasons for the low population density are discussed later. Second, the depopulation during the seventeenth century was a contributory factor in the ultimate appearance of the Delaware tribe. The emergence of the tribe is treated more fully under Acculturation.

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[70] De Vries, 1857, p. 30.
[71] Lindestrom, 1925, pp. 127-38.
[72] Mooney, 1911, p. 333.
[73] Pastorius, 1912, p. 426.
[74] Denton, 1845, p. 6.
[75] Kalm, 1937, 1: 258-59.

Delaware culture contained in his study of Teedyskung proved particularly stimulating. His analysis of the Walking Purchase controversy is also the best I have found.

In using these documents it was found that when the statements made represented actual observations of the author, they were usually correct and could be checked with other sources. At times the authors specifically mentioned which statements were based on their own experience, and when they did not, this could sometimes be determined by the nature of the fact being related. A lot of the material, on the other hand, probably represents second-hand information. Except for statements which patently represented preconceptions of the author, however, the material gathered from the various sources proved consistent and, in most cases, capable of being checked. In addition to the precautions observed in using the earlier material, special care was taken in the use of these later writers not to assume as aboriginal customs for which there was no evidence in earlier writers.

The entire bibliography has been utilized in the present paper and represents as complete a list of the seventeenth and eighteenth century writings on Delaware ethnography as I have been able to find, but important papers based on the memories of nineteenth and twentieth century reservation Indians have been omitted. The only other work which contains anything like a thorough survey of historical sources on Delaware culture is Regina Flannery's check list of certain traits of coastal Algonkian culture (Flannery, 1939).

The Delaware of Lenape were a large, east coast tribe composed of numerous bands, the names of about twenty-five of which have been preserved. They spoke an Algonkian language related to those of tribes extending north to New England and south to Georgia. Their numbers, which have been estimated at about 8000, spread over a territory bounded on the east coast by Delaware Bay and Manhattan Island, in western Pennsylvania by the Schuykill River, and in New York by the west bank of the Hudson River north to Kingston. In terms of the present states, this territory comprises eastern Pennsylvania, the northern coast of Delaware, all of New Jersey and a small portion of southeastern New York including Staten Island. On their west were the Susquehannock and the Iroquois. Throughout the seventeenth century the Delaware were frequently at war with the Mohawk, Susquehannock and Cherokee. By the beginning of the eighteenth century the Delaware had been pushed from their coastal position to the Susquehanna River, and in the subsequent century were driven farther to the west in Pennsylvani, Ohio and Indiana by the expanding white frontier. During this time they continued to support themselves and maintain a society socially and politically separate from that of the European colonies in America. At the end of the eighteenth century, however, they became split into small bands which affiliated with many different tribes in subsequent migrations to the south and west. A large part of the

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

PREFACE

THE following paper is intended to be the first of a series concerning different phases of the culture of the Lenape or Delaware Indians, once a numerous people forming a confederacy of three closely related tribes, the Unami, the Minsi or Muncey, and the Unala"tko or Unalachtigo, first encountered by the whites in what is now New Jersey, Delaware, eastern Pennsylvania, and southeastern New York, but at last accounts[1] reduced to some 1900 souls scattered in Oklahoma and the Province of Ontario, Canada, with a few in Wisconsin and Kansas. Of these the Lenape of Oklahoma seem to be mainly of Unami extraction, the rest largely Minsi, while the Unala"tko appear to have merged with the others and to have lost their identity.

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9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

731 Gnadenhütten affair. A score or so of families settled on the
167 Clinton River northwest of the site of Mount Clemens on land belonging to the Chippewa. They lived there from 1782 to 1786. In the latter year they moved to Pilgerruh near Pittsburgh, then to Pettquotting, and finally in 1791 to Canada. A few families returned to the Tuscarawas in 1798.

167 In the meantime the "heathen" Delaware were settling in
657 western Indiana, principally along the White River. In 1821 these were moved across the Mississippi by the Federal Government to a reservation near Leavenworth, Kansas. There they were joined about 1835 by a band of Delaware which had removed to Missouri in 1789 with the permission of the Spanish Government, and by 1820, after a sojourn in Arkansas, had moved to Texas with a Shawnee band. In 1867 the Delaware sold their lands in Kansas and bought rights as members of the Cherokee Nation in Oklahoma. A small party was living among the Caddo and Wichita in south-central Oklahoma when the "general severalty act" authorizing allotments was passed in 1887. This group received allotments as members of the Caddo and Wichita groups with which they have since been incorporated, while the majority in northeastern Oklahoma received allotments as members of the Cherokee Nation.

161 We have no estimates of the number of Delaware at the time
162 of their first contacts with the whites when they were living in a fairly compact body. Since then they have been scattered and connected with other tribes, with only an occasional village composed solely of Delaware. In 1824 their number was estimated as 1,500 in Kansas and 650 in Canada and scattered through New York and Ohio. In 1910 their population including the Munsee was about 1,850, of whom 895 were in Oklahoma, 55 in Kansas, about 250 Munsee with Stockbridge in Wisconsin, and 619 on three different reserves in Ontario. The 1930 figures show a slight decline, with 874 in Oklahoma.

CONTACTS

177 In their original habitat and during their migrations, the Delaware have been exposed to different types of white contact.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

133 pinger confederacy, and the Iroquoian Susquehannas. Contacts
177 with the Iroquois were probably not very numerous until the Iroquois destroyed the Susquehanna in 1676. In 1689 contact with the Shawnee was first reported. Friendly relations with this tribe have continued to the present day but were particularly close during their residence in Ohio and Indiana. Their migrations westward brought them in contact with many other tribes, the Huron, Chippewa, Ottawa, Miami, Pawnee, Osage, Quapaw, and Cherokee to mention only the most important.

177 It is impossible to detect the full effect of each of these contacts upon the Delaware culture. Intermarriages took place with some of these tribes that there is no way of tracing. Genealogical research among the living Delaware is of no help since, generally speaking, the horizon of their memories is reached at three generations. Also complicating the picture is the fact that adoption completely wiped out tribal origin. The effect of all these contacts with other tribes was not, however, as great as the influence of the more powerful and more divergent culture of the whites.

THE DELAWARE TODAY

162 The census of 1930 listed 971 Delaware and Munsee in the United States, of whom 874 were living in Oklahoma. Of these 20.2 per cent were reported as full blooded. An examination of the instructions to the enumerators of the census reveals that
144 the individual was asked for the percentage of Indian blood he
161 possessed and the tribe to which he belonged. The census figures do not show the amount of mixture between tribes. According to the information I could get from the Indians themselves, it is very doubtful if there is a single full-blooded Delaware today. Many who are less than half Delaware consider themselves all Delaware, and would so state if casually asked, but even a short genealogy usually shows a mixture with white blood and also with that of other tribes. In 1865 the Indian agent among the Delaware reported that intermarriage was lessening the Indian blood among various tribes and that there was no remarkable in-

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

crease or decrease in population, although the Delaware had increased some three hunderd in number.[1]

Most of the Delaware are living on their allotments scattered through the territory originally reserved for the Cherokee. Few of their allotments are contiguous, due to the exigencies of the allotting and to the fact that many of the farms have been sold when restrictions were removed. Very few of them were fortunate enough to have oil on their lands. They either farm their fields or cash rent them. Judging from the state of repair of the houses, those that farm their own fields are more prosperous than those who rent them out. This distinction is also recognized by the Indians. The majority probably rent their fields and subsist on the small cash return, aided by the produce from their gardens, old age pensions, and other occasional sources of income. There is very little in the appearance of their houses to distinguish them from their white neighbors. Clothes and automobiles also reflect their economic status in the same way that these items do for their white neighbors.

After their incorporation with the Cherokee, the Delaware maintained their own chieftainships for a time. As the functions of these clan heads ceased, so did the rules for the filling of the offices and the need for keeping them filled. The last of the clan chiefs died about 1900. Since that time only chiefs for the entire Delaware group in northeastern Oklahoma have been elected. These were elected mostly for business purposes—to have an official representative to treat with the Federal Government on annuities and other money matters. In the election each of the three tribal divisions, Turtle, Wolf, and Turkey nominated a candidate. The man getting the most votes was elected chief and the one getting the next highest number became assistant chief. The last election was held about 1917. The chief who was elected then died about 1935, and since that time there has been no recognized chief.

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[1] Pratt, John G., to J. R. Doolittle, September 15, 1865, in *Condition of the Indian Tribes. Report of the Joint Special Committee . . .* (*Senate Reports*, 39 Congress, 2 session, No. 156, Washington, D. C., 1867), Appendix, p. 483.

12:Tantaquidgeon E-5 (no date)1950
NM7 Delaware NM7

Delaware Indian Art Designs

GLADYS TANTAQUIDGEON

Introduction

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in Kansas, and from there they moved to Oklahoma and became incorporated with the Cherokee. Other bands found their way to Canada in the Province of Ontario, where they are now known as Delawares, Munsee and Moravians.

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The present population of the Delawares is estimated to be about 1,400. Of this number, 1,000 are in Oklahoma and the remainder in the province of Ontario, Canada.

Field of Art

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178
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Until about 1890 the Delawares practiced many of their native arts and crafts but among the modern descendants of the tribe only a few of the older arts have survived. Pottery making, work in stone, bone, horn, antler, silver and the use of quills and hair in embroidery; twined basketry made from certain roots, and woven bags and girdles of Indian hemp (*Apocynum cannabium*) are now only vaguely remembered by some of the older members of the groups in Oklahoma and Ontario. Work in silver persisted until

[324]

[326]

[P 24, B] About 1913.

15:Morgan E-5 (1859)1059
NM7 Delaware NM7

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PART IV

114

Baptist Delaware Mission,
Kansas T. June 9, 1859

I left the Shawnee Mission (Friends) yesterday morning and reached here the same evening. I crossed Kansas River at the Delaware Crossing, about twelve miles above its mouth; and was so fortunate in point of time as to be there on Payment Day, which 657 [527] is the annual gala day of the nation. As I had never seen a government payment of Indian annuities I was, of course, very glad that it happened as it did. After spending about four hours as a spectator of this curious scene, [114] I went on to the Mission. Today Mr. Pratt and myself went down again, and spent a few hours, the payment still going on, but so near completed that they expected to finish tonight. We have just returned somewhat fatigued by the ride, as the day is warm. Some account of the payment must be given, although it is one of those scenes which should be seen to be appreciated. The amount paid was universally large, it being no less a sum than $78,000 to something less than 1000 people all told, men, women and children, and was paid in gold and silver. In January 1858 the • 161 Delawares numbered by census 988. At the present June census their number is but 941. These figures were given me by Mr. [648] Ford, a merchant of Lawrence, who stops here and is looking after the accounts with the Delawares. I supposed the nation was not diminishing, but rather on the increase

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

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15:Morgan E-5 (1859)1959
NM7 Delaware NM7
Munsee

[#59]
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Munsees

101 The Munsees are closely allied to the Dela-
614 wares. They have the three tribes, Wolf,
Turtle and Turkey, with the prohibition of
[582] intermarriage in the tribe, and with descent
[611] in the female line. This Toucey told me who
has lived among them. They are old Con-
101 necticut Indians. There are about 50 near
162 Fort Leavenworth, and some I think near
131 Green Bay.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

very aged men and women were seen among them, some of whom thought they had lived about one hundred years. They frequently told me and others that when they were young men, their people did not marry so early as they did since, that even at twenty they were called boys and durst not wear a breech-cloth, as the men did at that time, but had only a small bit of a skin hanging before them. Neither, did they say, were they subject to so many disorders as in later times, and many of them calculated on dying of old age. But since that time a great change has taken place in the constitution of those Indians who live nearest to the whites. By the introduction of ardent spirits among them, they have been led into vices which have brought on disorders which they say were unknown before; their blood became corrupted by a shameful complaint, which the Europeans pretend to have received from the original inhabitants of America, while these say they had never known or heard of it until the Europeans came among them. Now the Indians are infected with it to a great degree; children frequently inherit it from their parents, and after lingering for a few years at last die victims to this poison.

Those Indians who have not adopted the vices of the white people live to a good age, from 70 to 90. Few arrive at the age of one hundred years. The women, in general, live longer than the men.

The Indians do not appear to be more or less exempt than the whites from the common infirmities of old age. I have known old men among them who had lost their memory, their sight, and their teeth. I have also seen them at eighty in their second childhood and not able to help themselves.

The Indian women are not in general so prolific as those of the white race. I imagine this defect is owing to the vicious and dissolute life they lead since the introduction of spirituous liquors. Among our Christian Indians, we have had a couple who had been

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

converted for thirty years and had always led a regular life, and who had thirteen children. Others had from six to nine. In general, however, the Indians seldom have more than four or five children.

The Indian children, generally, continue two years at the breast, and there are instances of their sucking during four years. Mothers are very apt to indulge their last child, children in this respect enjoy the same privilege alike.

I have never heard of any nation or tribe of Indians who destroyed their children, when distorted or deformed, whether they were so born or came to be so afterwards. I have on the contrary seen very particular care taken of such children. Nor have I ever been acquainted with any Indians that made use of artificial means to compress or alter the natural shape of the heads of their children, as some travellers have, I believe, pretended.

The disorders to which the Indians are most commonly subjected are pulmonary consumptions, fluxes, fevers and severe rheumatisms, all proceeding probably from the kind of life they lead, the hardships they undergo, and the nature of the food that they take. Intermitting and bilious fevers set in among them regularly in the autumn, when their towns are situated near marshy grounds or ponds of stagnant water, and many die in consequence of them. I have observed that these fevers generally make their first appearance in the season of the wild plum, a fruit that the Indians are particularly fond of. Sometimes also after a famine or long suffering for want of food, when they generally make too free an use of green maize, squashes and other watery vegetables. They are also subject to a disease which they call the *yellow vomit*, which, at times, carries off many of them. They generally die of this disease on the second or third day after the first attack.

Their old men are very subject to rheumatisms in the back and knees; I have known them at the age of 50 or

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

The children have entirely their own will and never do anything by compulsion. Told to do something they do not care about, the children let it go by default and are not reprimanded for it. Yet many wellbred children are found among them who pay great attention and respect to parents and do things to please them. They are courteous, even to strangers. They respond to mild treatment. The contrary generally produces bitterness, hatred and contempt. The women are frequently guilty of thus raising their children to anger, for the women are often ill-tempered. By way of punishment, they will pour water on the children or thrust them into the water. The parents are careful not to beat their children, lest the children might remember it and revenge themselves on some future occasion. Instances are not wanting where children when grown have reproached their parents for corporal punishment received in youth and have threatened to return the indignity.

Rarely does an Indian have two or more wives, being fearful of strife in the house. Blood relations do not marry; in this particular they are even more strict than the whites. They claim that division of the race into tribes came about in order to make it more readily certain that a man in taking a wife was not marrying a near relative. Concerning the tribes, however, more will be said in another connection. An instance of an Indian having married a mother and her daughter at the same time was a most extraordinary thing.

Families have from four to six children. More than this number is unusual. Birth of twins is rarely heard of. In many cases children who have become motherless after birth have been reared by careful old women. Sometimes children are given to such women. Then they spare no pains in rearing them. Soup made of Indian corn, pounded very fine, is given by them to infants of tender age, that may have come into their possession. Ordinarily, orphans, even if they have lost but the mother, meet with hard experience and often suffer want. Children who have been given or bequeathed, on the contrary, are almost without exception well cared for.

In the management of household affairs the husband leaves

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

WELDER and JOHN JOHNSTON said that the proportion was rather more than among the whites, the former attributing the cause to the introduction of liquor.

W. T. denied that there were any sterile Indian women. W. L. said that he knew of two cases.

169. Number of Children

ZEISBERGER gave the usual number of children as 4 to 6 in one place, whereas in another he said 8 to 12.

HECKEWELDER said that generally there were 4 to 5 children in a family, while some families had 6 to 9, and a few had as many as thirteen.

173 and 174. Age of marriage

VAN DER DONCK said that both men and women commonly got married only when they were fit to do so.

DEATH AND ITS INCIDENTS

The following accounts touch on so many points not treated by the others or each other that they are given here in their entirety.

CAPTAIN PIPE—As soon as life leaves the body some distant relative of the deceased takes upon himself the charge of paying the last offices. Two men and two women, not related, are employed in washing and dressing the body, (now in a white cloth; anciently in a newly dressed skin,) which is laid upon a kind of platform where it is kept one day previous to the interment. This time was formerly three days in summer and seven days in winter, because they supposed that the tutelar deity of the deceased might restore them to life; but at this day they seem to have little faith and are apparently anxious to get the corpse out of sight as soon as decency will permit. The two male attendants prepare a coffin in which they place the body, and it is borne by them to the grave, preceded by the relatives and succeeded by the more distant friends. The grave is dug about three feet deep and the coffin is covered with earth as among the whites. Before they knew the use of boards the grave was lined with bark and the body pro-

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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from ice, must be an obstacle to the hunter, when in pursuit of a wounded deer, bear, or other animal, as is often the case. Nor has he then leisure to think on the state of his body, and to consider whether his blood is not too much heated to plunge without danger into the cold stream, since the game he is in pursuit of is running off from him with full speed. Many dangerous accidents often befal him, both as a hunter and a warrior, (for he is both) and are seldom unattended with painful consequences, such as rheumatism or consumption of the lungs, for which the sweat-house, on which they so much depend, and to which they often resort for relief, especially after a fatiguing hunt or warlike excursion, is not always a sure preservative or an effectual remedy.

The husband generally leaves the skins and peltry which he has procured by hunting to the care of his wife, who sells or barters them away to the best advantage for such necessaries as are wanted in the family; not forgetting to supply her husband with what he stands in need of, who, when he receives it from her hands never fails to return her thanks in the kindest manner. If debts had been previously contracted, either by the woman, or by her and her husband jointly, or if a horse should be wanted, as much is laid aside as will be sufficient to pay the debts or purchase the horse.

When a woman has got in her harvest of corn, it is considered as belonging to her husband, who, if he has suffering friends, may give them as much of it as he pleases, without consulting his wife, or being afraid of her being displeased; for she is in the firm belief that he is able to procure that article whenever it is wanted. The sugar which she makes out of the maple tree is also considered as belonging to her husband.

There is nothing in an Indian's house or family without its particular owner. Every individual knows what belongs to him, from the horse or cow down to the dog, cat, kitten and little chicken.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

very aged men and women were seen among them, some of whom thought they had lived about one hundred years. They frequently told me and others that when they were young men, their people did not marry so early as they did since, that even at twenty they were called boys and durst not wear a breech-cloth, as the men did at that time, but had only a small bit of a skin hanging before them. Neither, did they say, were they subject to so many disorders as in later times, and many of them calculated on dying of old age. But since that time a great change has taken place in the constitution of those Indians who live nearest to the whites. By the introduction of ardent spirits among them, they have been led into vices which have brought on disorders which they say were unknown before; their blood became corrupted by a shameful complaint, which the Europeans pretend to have received from the original inhabitants of America, while these say they had never known or heard of it until the Europeans came among them. Now the Indians are infected with it to a great degree; children frequently inherit it from their parents, and after lingering for a few years at last die victims to this poison.

Those Indians who have not adopted the vices of the white people live to a good age, from 70 to 90. Few arrive at the age of one hundred years. The women, in general, live longer than the men.

The Indians do not appear to be more or less exempt than the whites from the common infirmities of old age. I have known old men among them who had lost their memory, their sight, and their teeth. I have also seen them at eighty in their second childhood and not able to help themselves.

The Indian women are not in general so prolific as those of the white race. I imagine this defect is owing to the vicious and dissolute life they lead since the introduction of spirituous liquors. Among our Christian Indians, we have had a couple who had been

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

converted for thirty years and had always led a regular life, and who had thirteen children. Others had from six to nine. In general, however, the Indians seldom have more than four or five children.

The Indian children, generally, continue two years at the breast, and there are instances of their sucking during four years. Mothers are very apt to indulge their last child, children in this respect enjoy the same privilege alike.

I have never heard of any nation or tribe of Indians who destroyed their children, when distorted or deformed, whether they were so born or came to be so afterwards. I have on the contrary seen very particular care taken of such children. Nor have I ever been acquainted with any Indians that made use of artificial means to compress or alter the natural shape of the heads of their children, as some travellers have, I believe, pretended.

The disorders to which the Indians are most commonly subjected are pulmonary consumptions, fluxes, fevers and severe rheumatisms, all proceeding probably from the kind of life they lead, the hardships they undergo, and the nature of the food that they take. Intermitting and bilious fevers set in among them regularly in the autumn, when their towns are situated near marshy grounds or ponds of stagnant water, and many die in consequence of them. I have observed that these fevers generally make their first appearance in the season of the wild plum, a fruit that the Indians are particularly fond of. Sometimes also after a famine or long suffering for want of food, when they generally make too free an use of green maize, squashes and other watery vegetables. They are also subject to a disease which they call the *yellow vomit*, which, at times, carries off many of them. They generally die of this disease on the second or third day after the first attack.

Their old men are very subject to rheumatisms in the back and knees; I have known them at the age of 50 or

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

60 to be laid up for weeks and months at a time on this account, and I have seen boys 10 and 12 years of age, who through colds or fits of sickness had become so contracted that they never afterwards recovered the use of their limbs. 164

Worms are a very common disorder among Indian children, and great numbers of them die from that cause. They eat a great deal of green corn when in the milk, with beans, squashes, melons and the like; their bellies become remarkably large, and it is probably in that manner that the worms are generated. I rather think that Indian children suffer less in teething than the whites.

The gout, gravel, and scrophula or king's evil, are not known among the Indians. Nor have I ever known any one that had the disorder called the *Rickets*. Consumptions are very frequent among them since they have become fond of spirituous liquors, and their young men in great numbers fall victims to that complaint. A person who resides among them may easily observe the frightful decrease of their numbers from one period of ten years to another. Our vices have destroyed them more than our swords.

CHAPTER XXIX.

REMEDIES.

THE *Materia Medica* of the Indians consists of various roots and plants known to themselves, the properties of which they are not fond of disclosing to strangers. They make considerable use of the barks of trees, such 757 278

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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Susquehannock burned a Delaware town and killed "ninety men" as well as women and children.[70] Lindestrom in 1654 mentioned that both the Delawares and the Swedes were suffering from illness and that the natives were blaming the Swedes for sickness and death.[71] Mooney said:

> As early as 1677 the Delawares accused the whites of having brought the smallpox among them, and in a council at Burlington, New Jersey, their speaker stated that it had already ravaged the tribe three times — in his grandfather's time, in his father's time, and in his own time. One of these visitations was probably that of 1637-1638, which swept all the region from the Chesapeake Bay to Lake Huron. Another was probably the same noted as ravaging the Conestoga in 1661-1663.[72]

Pastorius in a letter written in 1694 said:

> A great many of these savages have died, even since I came here, so that there are hardly more than a fourth part of the number now existing that were to be seen when I came to the country ten years ago.[73]

Denton as early as 1670 was able to say of the results of Indian contact with Europeans:

> ... it is to be admired how strangely they [i.e., Indians] have decreast by the Hand of God since the English first settling of these parts; for since my time, when there were six towns, they are reduced to two small villages, & it has been generally observed that where the English come to settle, a Divine Hand makes way for them, by removing or cutting off the *Indians*, either by wars one with the other, or by some raging mortal disease.[74]

Kalm seems to have summed it up accurately when he remarked in the eighteenth century:

> ... as the Europeans proceeded to cultivate the land, the Indians sold their land, and went further into the country. But in reality few of the Indians really left the country in this manner; most of them ended their days before, either by wars among themselves, or by the small-pox ... it has killed incredible numbers of them .... But brandy is said to have killed most of the Indians.[75]

These scattered statements leave no room to doubt that the population decline of the Delawares in the seventeenth century was tremendous. There are two important factors to keep in mind concerning the early population and the subsequent depopulation. First, even if the estimates of the population in 1600 are grossly low, the population density in pre-Columbian times was surprisingly low considering the nature of the habitat and the capacity of the natives' technological system. The reasons for the low population density are discussed later. Second, the depopulation during the seventeenth century was a contributory factor in the ultimate appearance of the Delaware tribe. The emergence of the tribe is treated more fully under Acculturation.

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[70] De Vries, 1857, p. 39.
[71] Lindestrom, 1925, pp. 127-28.
[72] Mooney, 1911, p. 333.
[73] Pastorius, 1912, p. 426.
[74] Denton, 1845, p. 6.
[75] Kalm, 1937, I: 258-59.

3: Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

sistency of a strong lye stops the flow of blood when applied to a fresh wound, even though an artery may have been ruptured, prevents swelling and heals the wound rapidly. After this solution has been used for one or two days other roots must be applied, such as the great sassaparilla and others that have healing powers.

Epilepsy is not very common among the Indians. It does not often happen that an Indian becomes mad, and madness among these people is not as violent as among the whites, probably, for the reason that they are not possessed of equal power with the whites, and even their bodies are weaker because they have not the abundance and variety of nourishing food. Blood letting is supposed to help the epileptics.

Of small-pox they knew nothing until some of them caught the contagion from the Europeans. Most of them died before the small-pox properly appeared. They are much inclined to boils and sores. Upon these they lay a warm poultice made of the flour of Indian corn; when the boils are ripe they are lanced. Broken arms and legs they are able to set very well, though limbs are not broken often, dislocated joints they are also able to correct. If an Indian has dislocated his foot or knee, when hunting alone, he creeps to the next tree and tying one end of his strap to it, fastens the other to the dislocated limb and, lying on his back, continues to pull until it is reduced. For tooth-ache the Indians use roots also, placing a little piece in the hollow tooth, which sometimes affords relief though not always. Sometimes teeth are extracted if a pair of pincers can be secured. It is not for lack of skill but for lack of proper instruments that they do not treat external injuries more successfully. Such instruments as they have are not used in the most careful manner. If one who is being operated on cries out, those present laugh. Misfortunes of almost any kind trouble them little; if house and goods have been burned, the unfortunate owners may even relate the experience in a humorous manner.

Many of them suffer from diarrhoea, particularly, in the fall of the year. The evil is aggravated because they know nothing of dieting and continue to eat whatever they wish. For

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
NM7 Delaware NM7

CHAPTER XXIV.

Concerning the Ailments, Wonderful Medicines, Tyranny, Blood-Letting and Patience of the American Indians.

These savages are by nature a healthy people and are rarely subjected to diseases, before death surprises them, or if it may happen that some contagious disease should come into the country, through which whole nations could die out, as has happened formerly among them here.

The French disease[1] sometimes indeed rages among the savages, because they live in such unchastity and adultery, like irrational brutes; but against this they have a white kind of ointment, and cure themselves, after which it goes its way, as though it were wiped away by the hand.

Whoever is wounded by the poisonous rattlesnake and is not cured and treated by the medical doctor of the savages, who is called the devil-chaser,[2] then there is no hope for the life of that patient any more, but he must die; for the savages have such splendid medicine against it,[3] that they immediately drive away the poison with it and cure it. For this purpose they use a kind of grass

[1] *Morbus fransman.* Cf. Williams, *Key*, 158. See also *London Chronicle*, Oct. 6, 1757; Peter Kalm, *Journal; Mss. 1§12 Yi, Ridgway Library.* For their remedies, see further Van der Donck, De Vries, *Vertoogh*, etc., *N. Y. Col.*, 2, I, 156; II, 269, etc.; Heckewelder, *Indian Nations*, 224 ff.; Speck, *Med. Prac. of the North. Algon., Proceed.* of the *Nine. Int. Cong.* of *Ams.* (1917), 303 ff. They even understood the value of mineral water.

[2] *Dyfueliagaren.*

[3] That is: the poison of the rattle snake.

26. Moral superintendence of Supreme Being over worshipers		−	(+)		+	+	+	−	+	+	+		776
27. Pray to Him for favors or assistance	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		782
28. Deposit tobacco on stones, mountains, etc. for favors					+	+	+	+	+	+	+		775
29. Tobacco sacrificed for success in hunting	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		743
30. Believe in a future state of punishments and rewards	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		754
31. Final judgment						+	+	+	+	+	+		794
32. Mental or corporeal pleasures in future state of existence		+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		164
33. Judgment immediately after death		+?				+	+	+	+	+	• +		●
34. Souls of worthy go to place of happiness or abode of Supreme Being	+	+		+		+	+	+	+	+	+		
35. Souls of bad go to land of bad spirits or hell						+	+	−	+	+	−		
left on earth or no good place	+	+		+		+		−	+	+	−		
36. Tortured or unhappy in either place		+		+		+		−	+	+	•		
37. Direction of habitation of good souls	SW	S		S		Up	S	•	Up	Up	W & Up	Up	
bad souls						Up	•	•	Up		Up	Up	
38. Believe in ghosts		+		+		+	+	−	+	+	+	S	
39. Have priests	+	+		−		−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
40. Witches and wizards		+		+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	
41. National worshiping society †				+	+	+	+	−	+				
Medicine													
42. Diseases to which peculiarly liable †													
Bowel disorders				+	+	+			+		+	−	
Consumption					+				+	−	−	+	
Pleurisy						+			−		+		
Chills and fevers	+			+	+			+	+	+	+	+	
Dysentery				+					−		+		
Rheumatism				+	+				+	−	• +	−	
Boils				+					+		−		
43. Remedies usually roots and herbs	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	
44. Bleeding common			+	+	+	+		+	+	−	+	+	
45. Cupping common				+					−		−	−	
46. Sweating common	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	
47. Medical profession	+	−	+	+	+	−		+	−	−	+	−	
48. Receive any education													
49. Called by divine agency in youth									+	+	−	−	
50. Count pulse									+	+	−	−	
51. Inquire into nature of complaint						−			+	+	+	+	

343 755 756 757

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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A cogent reason for the survival of religious beliefs of the Delaware was the vehicle by which they were transmitted from generation to generation, the national worshiping society or Big House. The reaction to the introduction of white ways expressed itself in the integration of a number of original ceremonies. Some Christian elements were unconsciously incorporated along the way, but these were principally modifications of, rather than substitutes for, native concepts. The accounts of the national worshiping society given by John Johnston and Captain Pipe are included in the section of ethnographic notes.[1] I have discussed some of the changes in the ceremony itself during historic times in another article.[2]

Medicines

The information on the ailments prevalent at the time of first contact with the whites is very limited. Williams indicates that chills and fevers and toothaches were the most common disturbances to the health of the Narragansets. He and Lindeström mention plagues and the French disease among the Indians of their time. Smallpox was a plague for which Williams gave a native name. From their lack of resistance to many diseases prevalent in Europe, it has often been postulated that the Indians had not been exposed to them before white contact. The evidence compiled in this study neither proves nor disproves this assumption, although, of course, the modern informants say that in ancient times the Indians were very healthy and had no ills until the white man introduced them. This is in accord with the principle of former good times that is universal in its application.

Changes between early and late periods show up in two elements but are open to question as to the reliability of interpretation of the early information. First, Zeisberger, alone of the authors of the sources, reported cupping in practice among the Delaware (45). This was denied by all the modern informants although cupping by sucking was known among other tribes.

[1] See *post*, pp. 93-97.

[2] Kinietz, Vernon, "European Civilization as a Determinant of Native Indian Customs," in *American Anthropologist*, N. S. XLII(1940), 116-21.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

During the intervals between the songs, or at least once every night, the principal rises from his seat and calls before him six or twelve persons (male) (generally the latter number) from the worshipers. He then delivers to the male servants a quantity of wampum in strings, corresponding to the number of persons called. With these the servants precede the chosen, who go out of the lodge and with their faces turned to the east, seat themselves upon their hams and commence a kind of howl, which they repeat in the same tone twelve times. They then return to the lodge with great solemnity, and take their places as usual. —As a kind of relaxation from the severer duties of the worship, these chosen men are directed by the principal to scatter a quantity of wampum in grains, upon the ground within the lodge. This is for the benefit of the servants, who are obliged to stand upon one leg and take it up with the thumb and finger, a slow method, affording amusement to the spectators. But this only occurs at the close of the night's worship and would be considered improper at any other time. Dancing is sometimes practiced at these assemblages and besides the employment of relating their dreams they are frequently addressed by the old men in exhortations to preserve these customs in their purity, to prolong their own existence by continuing the meetings, and to adore the author, the Great spirit.

Medicine

42. Diseases

To the list on the table Roger Williams adds toothache as one of the greatest afflictions of the Indians (Narragansets); J. W., mumps; W. L., small pox. E. R. said that rheumatism was introduced only recently.

54. Juggling tricks.

The so-called juggling tricks were used only when the patient was dangerously ill, according to John Johnston. These tricks, according to J. W., W. T., and W. L., were used only by the sweat doctors in diagnosing a complaint.

D 291 177 materials. Some of them had on two shawls, and some a third arranged as a neck drape. They appeared to have put on all they had, to show it, the quantity of dress being of more importance in their sight than its style, or quality.

Of course their appearance as a whole was fantastic and ludicrous. The dresses were made without taste from scant patterns, and worn without hoops or petticoats, thus giving to the skirt an appearance not to be compared for a moment with the Indian female skirt of cloth and blanket of the same, but these would be too warm for Kansas. I was glad to see the gown upon them, as it is a move in the right direction. At home they may wear the Indian gown, but I doubt it. The Shawnee women, all that I saw, wore the gown. On their heads they tie a silk handkerchief universally. I did not see a bonnet among them.

S [291]

D 142 144 The color of the Indian women is quite uniform, and is light. It shows that the white blood infused into them in the East has been well diffused throughout. The next cross with the white will make a pretty white child, of which I saw a few and but a few specimens, as the Delawares are quite vigorous against intermarriage with the whites, and also against unlawful intercourse. As a whole, the expression on the face of the women was pleasant and healthful. They look strong, literally cleanly and healthy, although I am told by Mr. Ford that syphilis is among their women to an alarming extent. Their faces would not lead to such a suspicion.

D [563]

D 142

D [164]

D 291 The men were more fantastically dressed than the women, and did not appear half as well. Their fancy dresses were cheap and absurd, rendering their general appearance ridiculous. There were many good faces among them, and also well dressed Indians

D [191]

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9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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but two informants, J. W. and W. L., dissented (346). W. T. alone of the informants recalled the former practice of two braids, one forward and the other to the rear (347). He wore his own hair in two braids hanging down beside his cheeks which he said was a custom borrowed from the Caddo among whom he was living.

It is to be regretted that we do not have better estimates of the average and greatest age of the Delaware (355-56). The figures we do have for the average age are not really average length of life of the population but the usual age at which the old people died. Even more extreme than an average age of seventy to eighty years is the three hundred years given by W. T. Earlier estimates, if available, might show a counterpart of this belief. Among the Shawnee of the eighteenth century the span of life set by the creator was believed to be two hundred years. W. T. said that before the coming of the whites all Indians lived an even three centuries. One hundred and forty years was the next greatest age reported in any other account.

War and Its Incidents

The prosecution and ritual of warfare probably consumed a large portion of the time and energies of the Delaware in prehistoric times. The accounts of the first period are very vague or completely silent upon the subject. In the fourth period the occasions or the means for war were mostly gone and the information again rather incomplete. W. T. for instance said that war was introduced to the Indians by the whites and that they had no practices that were not taught them by the latter. W. L. refused to commit himself on anything pertaining to war. The two younger informants gave fairly complete accounts that in general agreed with those of the earlier periods. Where they do not agree, the explanation is more apt to be due to lack of information than because of a change in custom.

Giving notice of war to the enemy except by incursions of a war party was inconsistent with the method of warfare pursued (362, 364). The existence of large war parties was denied by all accounts and only small parties depending upon surprise for

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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CHAPTER IV.

SUBSEQUENT FATE OF THE LENAPE AND THEIR KINDRED TRIBES.

175
1677

AFTER the murder of the Conestogo Indians, the Lenni Lenape thought proper, for their safety, to withdraw altogether from the interior of the white settlements, into the wilds of the Susquehannah country; and Government, conscious that they could no longer protect any Indians, or body of Indians, whether Christians or not, in the settled parts of the province, advised the Christian Indians, whom, during the last troubles, they had with difficulty prevented from sharing the fate of the Conestogos, to retire into the back country. They did so, and settled at Wyalusing, which then became the nearest settlement of Indians to the white inhabitants, being upwards of 150 miles north of Philadelphia, and about 100 miles from the frontier settlers beyond the blue mountains; all the other Indians of that nation, together with the Nanticokes, lived then higher up the Susquehannah. For about five years, the Indians on this river enjoyed peace, and the Christian Indians lived quietly here and at another settlement they had made thirty miles higher, built good houses for themselves, together with a spacious church, planted fruit trees, and put large bodies of land under cultivation. But, while they were flattering themselves with the most favourable prospect, they were informed that the Six Nations had sold the whole country, including the land they lived on, to the English. They soon saw through the object of this clandestine proceeding, of which they had not received the least notice, and foreseeing what kind of neighbours they should have, if they should stay where

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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they were, they determined to move off in a body to the Ohio, where they had received an invitation to settle from the grand council of their nation. Accordingly, two hundred and forty one souls set off directly for the Muskingum river, where a large tract of land was given them, out of that which the Wyandots had formerly granted and confirmed to their people; the other Indians of the same nation residing on the Susquehannah soon followed, some settling at one place, some at another; the Mouseys, however, joined their own tribe, who long since had emigrated and were settled on the head waters of the Allegheny river; and so the whole country east of the Allegheny mountains was cleared of its original inhabitants.

The Delawares thus became at once released from their troublesome neighbours the Iroquois, who had calculated on their settling near them, at a place they had already fixed upon; but they were mistaken, for with all their fair speeches they could not persuade the Lenape, who gave them plainly to understand that they were no longer inclined to listen to a people who had so long and so often deceived them.

This happened in the year 1768, about six years before the beginning of the revolutionary war. During which short period of tranquillity, the numbers of the Christian Indians on the Ohio rapidly increased, and never was there such a fair prospect of their being fixed in a state of prosperous civilisation. But the revolution put an end to these hopes, and this opportunity was lost, perhaps, never to return again. It was not the fault of the American government, who were truly desirous of seeing the Indians adopt a neutral line of conduct, and repeatedly advised them not to interfere in the quarrel between the colonies and the mother country; happy would it have been if the British government had acted in the same manner; but they pursued a different plan. These poor deluded people were dragged into a war in which they had no concern, by which not only their po-

[Errata. See cat. 116, p. 348. -Analyst]

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

125 pulation was gradually reduced, but they lost the desire of becoming a civilised people; for the Americans, at last, become exasperated against them, and considering all Indians as their enemies, they sent parties out from time to time to destroy them. The murder of the Christian Indians on the Muskingum in 1782, completed their alienation. Those who yet remained were driven to despair, and finally dispersed.

131 It is not in my power to ascertain the whole number of the Lenni Lenape, or Delaware Indians, still existing 167 at the present time. As far as I am informed, they are very much scattered, a number of them, chiefly of the 161 Monsey tribe, living in Upper Canada, others are in the state of Ohio, and some on the waters of the Wabash in the Indiana territory. A considerable number of them has crossed the Mississippi. Their first emigrations to that country had already begun between the years 1780 and 1790. What the numbers of this nation were when the Europeans first came into this country is difficult to tell; all I can say is, that so early as 1760, their oldest men would say that they were not then as many hundreds as they had been thousands. They have considerably decreased since that period. I saw them myself between the years 1754 and 1760, by hundreds at a time, and Loskiel in his history gives an account of upwards of 800 having been fed at Bethlehem in one year. In the year 1762, while I lived at Tuscorawas on the Muskingum, they were settled on that river and its branches, and also on the Cayahoga river, which empties into Lake Erie, in the neighbourhood of which they had [103] since a small Christian settlement called *Pilgerruh*, (Pilgrim's rest.)*

* Loskiel, part III. ch. 12.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

II. THE DELAWARE TRIBE

HISTORICAL SKETCH

The Delaware call themselves Lenape or Lenni Lenape. Their common name is derived from the fact that their first known residence was on the river so named by the English. Lindeström gives their location in 1656 as in the vicinity of Philadelphia on the west side of the Delaware River, and their kindred, the Munsee, were located on the east side. The territory that they occupied was probably much more extensive than Lindeström indicated, but little beyond the water courses had been explored in those days. The Delaware were still in possession of the river when William Penn entered into his first treaty with them in 1682.

The British administration after Penn's time was aligned with the Iroquois who assumed domination over the Delaware. It is practically impossible to determine the exact time or circumstances of the Iroquois "making women" of the Delaware, but about 1720 they denied the Delaware the right to make war or to dispose of land. Very soon the Delaware were being crowded out of their old locations by the Iroquois and the whites. They moved to various sites farther west in Pennsylvania, and by 1751 began to settle in eastern Ohio. Within a few years the majority of them were in Ohio and Indiana. The Moravian missionaries who followed them from the East established themselves in Ohio and worked with great success until the Revolution.

Distrusted by both the British and the colonists, the Delaware and particularly the Moravian converts, were harried from both sides. The Gnadenhütten Massacre in 1782 was the greatest blow dealt by the colonists, but while demoralizing, it was not as devastating as were the moves forced upon the Indians by the British the year before. The famine and other hardships resulting from these forced emigrations scattered and decimated the Christian Delaware and also created the opportunity for the

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

731 Gnadenhütten affair. A score or so of families settled on the
167 Clinton River northwest of the site of Mount Clemens on land belonging to the Chippewa. They lived there from 1782 to 1786. In the latter year they moved to Pilgerruh near Pittsburgh, then to Pettquotting, and finally in 1791 to Canada. A few families returned to the Tuscarawas in 1798.

167 In the meantime the "heathen" Delaware were settling in
657 western Indiana, principally along the White River. In 1821 these were moved across the Mississippi by the Federal Government to a reservation near Leavenworth, Kansas. There they were joined about 1835 by a band of Delaware which had removed to Missouri in 1789 with the permission of the Spanish Government, and by 1820, after a sojourn in Arkansas, had moved to Texas with a Shawnee band. In 1867 the Delaware sold their lands in Kansas and bought rights as members of the Cherokee Nation in Oklahoma. A small party was living among the Caddo and Wichita in south-central Oklahoma when the "general severalty act" authorizing allotments was passed in 1887. This group received allotments as members of the Caddo and Wichita groups with which they have since been incorporated, while the majority in northeastern Oklahoma received allotments as members of the Cherokee Nation.

161 We have no estimates of the number of Delaware at the time
162 of their first contacts with the whites when they were living in a fairly compact body. Since then they have been scattered and connected with other tribes, with only an occasional village composed solely of Delaware. In 1824 their number was estimated as 1,500 in Kansas and 650 in Canada and scattered through New York and Ohio. In 1910 their population including the Munsee was about 1,850, of whom 895 were in Oklahoma, 55 in Kansas, about 250 Munsee with Stockbridge in Wisconsin, and 619 on three different reserves in Ontario. The 1930 figures show a slight decline, with 874 in Oklahoma.

CONTACTS

177 In their original habitat and during their migrations, the Delaware have been exposed to different types of white contact.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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These may be characterized by relative size in the following chronological order. 177

1. Until 1638. Contacts with only occasional trading ships.
2. 1638 to about 1700. Entire Delaware communities in contact with smaller white communities.
3. 1700 to 1750. Entire Delaware communities in contact with larger white communities.
4. 1751 to 1821. Contacts mainly with missionaries and traders.
5. 1821 to about 1850. Reservation life, contacts with government officials, missionaries, traders, and smaller white communities. [657]
6. 1850 to 1938. Delaware families on individual tracts and allotments, no longer in communities, in contact with white communities, and after 1890 surrounded by them.

At only rare and brief intervals, like the French and Indian War and the Revolution, were the whites openly and militantly hostile to the Delaware. Their contacts aside from these exterminating expeditions were responsible for the following types of effect. 648 177

1. Introduction of new ideas, materials, and techniques, with possible supplanting of the old ideas.
2. Introduction of other Indian elements through traders.
3. New tribal contacts through moves forced upon the Delaware whether by administrative action or otherwise. [167]
4. Change in habitat, due to destruction of game, forests, etc., and settlement on reservations and allotments.

It should be pointed out that not only did the white contact range through various nationalities—Swedish, Dutch, English, French, German, and American, but white culture as a whole was also changing through the centuries of contact. The most striking aspect of this evolution was probably in technology, but the changes in attitude towards the Indians and the changes in administrative policy were also important.

In their first historical habitat the Delaware were almost surrounded by closely related tribes—the Munsee, Mahican, Nanticokes, Conoy, Manhattan, and other members of the Wap- 33 177

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

tribes was responsible for few changes. The only one represented in this study is the acquisition of the blowgun. 177

Of course, it is a mistake to assume that the culture of the Delaware would have been without change through these three centuries if not in contact with whites. Some change in Delaware culture may very well have been the result of indigenous development. The stimulus of the culture of the whites, however, was so much stronger that it is only reasonable that native developments should have been overshadowed. Nor was the culture of the whites standing still through this period. The culture of neither of the two groups was static, but as long as the Indian group was being moved westward ahead of the spread of white settlement, a static condition was simulated for that portion of the whites in contact with the Indians. The frontier changed but frontier conditions tended to remain the same. The effect of this contact with the white frontier is obvious among the Oklahoma Delaware today. The standard of living there is roughly that of pioneer agricultural regions fifty to seventy-five years ago and in the submarginal regions today. [178] [167]

The hypothesis that the technological, sociological, and spiritual aspects of a culture are increasingly resistant to change in that order has been shown to accord with the facts in the case of the Delaware. Language should either be included with the last aspect or be placed fourth and last, but has been omitted as outside the scope of this study. It may be said in passing, however, that the Delaware language is used by many who have otherwise retained little of the cultural heritage of the Delaware. [121] [197]

It seems to me that there is a very good reason for the persistence of the elements of the old spiritual life of a people after practically all other aspects of the culture are gone. This is the fact that control of religious and death practices is usually in the hands of the older people. These are the most conservative of the entire group, as a rule, and tend toward the perpetuation of the ways of their ancestors. This conservative attitude is particularly apparent in burial customs. In these matters the younger people seek to honor the practices of their elders on the death of the latter, even if they do not believe them necessary 177 771 764

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

information may alter. We can not be certain whether his integration of the rites was an actual condition holding true for the ceremony of the period, or one resulting from his style of writing down what he remembered of native customs after some years of retirement from the Indian country. The procedures followed by the Delawares in the four or five "feasts" he describes for us are all embraced within the Big House performance as we know it later. And, rather than discredit the force of living evidence based on the rites as performed by the Nation now, I would prefer to correct the information recorded by the observant but unsympathetic missionary. For, indeed, the ceremony shows itself to have a complex capitalization, its ritual extending through every form of worship, including individual, family or "clan rites," that we have mention of in any of the Delaware accounts. The Big House capitulates the elements of certain minor feast ceremonies held on special occasions by families.[1] The great annual ceremony seems to stand as an entity, one that does not submit to any assumption of recent origin in its present form of organization. Through the close resemblance it shows, element by element, with the Munsee corresponding ceremony, the two tribes were apparently performing it as a national religious institution before 1700, when they separated in the east, one division to go westward, the other to Canada. So it also seemed to Harrington.[2]

Unfortunately Heckewelder, who knew the Delawares so intimately, declined in his book to treat the topic of ceremonies, referring the matter to the previous narratives of Loskiel, whose knowledge we know was not gained from intimate contact with the tribe.

Reverting to consideration of the fate of the Big House in the succession of moves which the Delawares made in their two-century traverse from New Jersey to Oklahoma, we can only trace definite memory of the "temple" and ceremony to the final period of the tribe's residence in Kansas from about 1867 on. While in Kansas the Big House was located some five or six miles east of Lawrence.

The informant gave the following facts concerning the reconstruction of the building and the rehabilitation of the ceremony after the tribe had settled down to residence in its present seat in northern Oklahoma.

"In the Cherokee country the Big House of Little Caney River was reorganized by men of the Yellow Tree or poplar band. Three men were pa'man·axgu'xwe, ne'ni'pai, and ehalu'xola'nd, whose names in order mean "Man Moving Around," "The One Who Stands," "Man

[1] Throughout the year there is a series of local feasts, some esoteric family ceremonies apart from the communal Big House worship. These are being studied in text and prepared for presentation in a separate memoir.

[2] I am drawing this inference of basic unity in fundamentals of the Munsee and Delaware forms of worship upon the conclusion reached by Harrington, pp. 196-197), after he had studied the Munsee rite.

12:Tantaquidgeon E-5 (no date)1950
NM7 Delaware NM7

Delaware Indian Art Designs

GLADYS TANTAQUIDGEON

Introduction

101 The Delawares belong to the Algonkian linguistic stock. When referring to themselves they use the term Lenape or Lenni Lenape, which denotes "real" or "native men." The original 131 habitat of the Delawares was in southeastern New York, eastern Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Delaware. In this territory they were first visited by the Dutch, 648 Swedish and English voyagers in the 16th 175 and 17th centuries. About 1720, trouble began owing in part to pressure brought upon the Delawares by the Iroquois. This marked the beginning of a series of 167 migrations in which bands of Delawares 175 left their ancestral homes in the east and moved westward. Their first move took them to the valley of the Susquehanna, where they settled at Wyoming about 1742. By 1751 they had reached eastern Ohio and formed settlements. Another move brought numbers of them into Indiana. In 1789 they were granted permission by the Spanish government to settle in Missouri and Arkansas. Later most of the tribe was brought together on a reservation

[P.24, A]

12:Tantaquidgeon E-5 (no date)1950
NM7 Delaware NM7

Delaware Indian Art Designs

GLADYS TANTAQUIDGEON

Introduction

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in Kansas, and from there they moved to Oklahoma and became incorporated with the Cherokee. Other bands found their way to Canada in the Province of Ontario, where they are now known as Delawares, Munsee and Moravians.

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The present population of the Delawares is estimated to be about 1,400. Of this number, 1,000 are in Oklahoma and the remainder in the province of Ontario, Canada.

Field of Art

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Until about 1890 the Delawares practiced many of their native arts and crafts but among the modern descendants of the tribe only a few of the older arts have survived. Pottery making, work in stone, bone, horn, antler, silver and the use of quills and hair in embroidery; twined basketry made from certain roots, and woven bags and girdles of Indian hemp (*Apocynum cannabium*) are now only vaguely remembered by some of the older members of the groups in Oklahoma and Ontario. Work in silver persisted until

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[326]

[P24, B] About 1913.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7
Ojibwa NG6

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"the part of a coward; I told him that he knew the for-
"tune of war, that one or the other of us must have fallen;
"that it was his fate to be conquered, and he ought to die
"like a man, like a hero, and not like an old woman;
"that if the case had been reversed, and I had fallen into
"the power of my *enemy*, I would not have disgraced my
"nation as he did, but would have died with firmness and
"courage, as becomes a true warrior."

I leave the reader to reflect upon these anecdotes, which, I think, convey more real information than any further attempts that I could make to explain the strange notions which gave them rise.

CHAPTER XXXV.

INSANITY—SUICIDE.

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INSANITY is not common among the Indians; yet I have known several who were afflicted with mental derangement. Men in this situation are always considered as objects of pity. Every one, young and old, feels compassion for their misfortune; to laugh or scoff at them would be considered as a crime, much more so to insult or molest them. The nation or colour of the unfortunate object makes no difference; the charity of the Indians extends to all, and no discrimination is made in such a lamentable case.

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About the commencement of the Indian war in 1763, a trading Jew, named Chapman, who was going up the Detroit river with a batteau load of goods which he had

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

CHAPTER XLII.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS AND ANECDOTES.

I HOPE I shall be excused for bringing here together into one view a few observations and anecdotes which either could not well find their places under any of the preceding divisions of my subject, or escaped my recollection at the proper time. These additional traits will contribute something to forming a correct idea of the Indian character and manners.

I have observed a great similarity in the customs, usages, and opinions of the different nations that I have seen, however distant from each other, and even though their languages differ so much that no traces of a common origin can be found in their etymology. The uniformity which exists in the manners of the Christian nations of Europe is attributed to their common religion and to their having once been connected together as parts of the Roman Empire. But no such bond of union appears to have subsisted between the Iroquois, for instance, and the Delawares, and yet, the language excepted, they resemble each other considerably more than the inhabitants of some European countries. I shall not endeavour to account for this remarkable fact, but I think it my duty to state it.

I have shewn in a former chapter* that the mythological notions of the Delaware Indians prevailed in the same manner among the Wabash; it is not in that alone that those nations resemble each other, though living at a great distance. It is the custom among the Delawares that if a hunter shoots down a deer when another per-

* Ch. 34. pp. 248. 249.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

son is present, or even accidentally comes by before the skin is taken off, he presents it to him, saying, "Friend, "skin your deer," and immediately walks off. William Wells, whom I have before spoken of, once paid me this compliment, and when I asked him the reason, he answered that it was the custom among the Indians on the Wabash.

In the year 1792, I travelled with a number of Indian chiefs of various tribes from Post Vincennes to Marietta, and I found in most instances that their usages and customs were the same that I had observed among the Delawares.

The Indians in general, although they understand and speak our language, yet prefer speaking to a white man through an interpreter. For this they give various reasons. With some it is a matter of pride; as their chiefs deliver their public speeches through interpreters, they think that they appear with more dignity when they do the same. Others imagine that their words will have greater weight and effect when expressed in proper grammatical language, while some are afraid of committing mistakes when speaking in an idiom not their own. Particularly when they have a joke to pass, a hint to give, or a shrewd remark to make, they wish it to have all the advantages of a good translation, and that their wit may not be spoiled by a foreign accent, improper expression, or awkward delivery.

Though the Indian is naturally serious, he does not dislike a jest on proper occasions, and will, sometimes even descend to a pun. Once at a dinner given at Marietta by the late colonel Sproat, to a number of gentlemen and Indian chiefs of various tribes, a Delaware chief, named George Washington, asked me what the name of our good friend, the Colonel, meant in the Lenape language? It should be observed that Colonel Sproat was remarkably tall. I told him that *Sprout* (for so the name is pronounced) meant in English a shoot, or twig of a

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7

428 "belonged to" the "individual" hunting territory.[117] The lineage, clan,
423 and phratry are discussed in the next chapter. There is nothing incompatible in the existence of maternal lineages (or clans) and male-used hunting territories.

Material Culture

361 Villages.—There is little information concerning the villages and
621 general settlement pattern of the early historic Delawares. Villages, or perhaps they might better be termed hamlets, were situated in bottom lands near the gardens or along the shores of bays.[118] These dispersed settlements were not palisaded.[119] Eighteenth-century and later information seems to reflect the original condition in that these settlements had no regular plan or arrangement, and that houses were not built close together.[120] There is no information concerning the length of time these villages were inhabited. If their garden plots were fertilized, residence in the villages may have been relatively permanent, but the fertilizer issue is in doubt. By the eighteenth century, after extensive migrations, villages were occupied until it became "troublesome to se-
[364] cure wood for fuel" and, implicitly, until they became overburdened with filth.[121] The Evelin paper of 1648 described twenty-three communities in New Jersey, ranging in population from fourteen to six hundred persons.[122] Lindestrom noted community size as "several hundred men strong, under each chief, counting women and children, some being stronger, some weaker."[123]

342 Dwellings.—There seems to have been some diversity in the type of
●171 dwellings of the early seventeenth-century Delawares. A circular wigwam and a long house identical with the Iroquoian type have been described, although the latter seems to represent a late prehistoric diffusion. De Laet and Van der Donck depicted Delawares using a circular bark dwelling with vaulted ceiling.[124] In another place De Laet stated that the dwelling was oven-shaped, but large enough for several related families.[125] Penn and Pastorius also alluded to this style of dwelling, whereas Holm and Lindestrom mentioned what seems to be the Iroquoian long house.[126] Zeisberger in the eighteenth century distinguished between house types of the Iroquois and the Delawares, describing a "rounded, arched roof" for the Iroquois and a "high-pitched, peaked roof" for the Delawares.[127] Harrington in 1913 characterized the house type current a few years previously as being similar to the Iroquois type.[128] The evidence, then, is not conclusive, but it seems probable

[117] Wallace, 1947, p. 18.
[118] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 87; Wallace, 1947, p. 18.
[119] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 241.
[120] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 87; O. A., J. T.
[121] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 87.
[122] Smith, 1877, p. 11.
[123] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 170.
[124] De Laet, 1909, p. 87; Van der Donck, 1909, p. 302.
[125] De Laet, 1909, p. 87.
[126] Penn, 1912, p. 232; Pastorius, 1912, p. 428; Holm, 1834, p. 123; Lindestrom, 1925, p. 211.
[127] Zeisberger, 1910, pp. 17-18.
[128] Harrington, 1913, pp. 217-18.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7

that the Delaware groups nearest to the Iroquois had been influenced by them. The Munsi were nearest to the Iroquois, and Harrington's informants were predominantly of this group. The various house styles, on the other hand, are possibly related to the seasonal movements of the Delawares, who, like the central Algonkians, may have utilized the rectangular, bark-covered long house in summer and the dome-shaped lodge in winter.[129]

The dome-shaped lodges were simple structures built by placing pieces of bark, preferably of linden or elm, over a sapling framework. The bark was stripped from the trees in summer in as large sheets as possible and dried. It then provided a watertight house.[130] House furnishings were rather meager. "They. . .make very fine, strong and artistic mats of finely painted spruce roots and strong straw, with all kinds of figures, to decorate and cover the walls with, and to place below their bed clothes."[131] Rush mats were painted and fastened to the walls in winter to keep out the cold. Some houses had "portraits and pictures somewhat rudely carved."[132] By the eighteenth century platforms made of poles, which encircled the walls and served as tables, benches, and beds, were mentioned.[133] The platform was covered by an untanned skin of bear or deer, or else with a mat.

Near each village was one or more sweat houses:

> When they wish to cleanse themselves of their foulness, they go in the autumn, when it begins to grow cold, and make, away off, near a running brook, a small oven, large enough for three or four men to lie in it. In making it they first take twigs of trees, and then cover them tight with clay, so that smoke cannot escape. This being done, they take a parcel of stones, which they heat in a fire, and then put in the oven, and when they think that it is sufficiently hot, they take the stones out again, and go and lie in it, men and women, boys and girls.[134]

Informants (O.A., J.T.) recalled small sweat lodges of this type. Skinner found "small beds of cracked stones and pebbles, without relics, often at some distance from other remains. . ."[135] Thus, archaeological remains tend to confirm the existence of this trait for the prehistoric people of Staten Island.

Clothing.—The amount of clothing worn by the Delawares varied with the season. In summer men wore only a leather breech cloth and women only a short skirt, and they frequently did without moccasins.[136] In colder seasons the principal garment was a skin of beaver, fox, deer, bear, elk, or raccoon.[137] The hair side was worn next to the body in

[129] Wissler, 1917, p. 221; Denton, 1845, p. 7.

[130] Thomas, 1912, p. 341; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 401; Mahr, 1954, pp. 381-83; O. A.

[131] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 239.

[132] O'Callaghan, 1850, I: 283; Hayes, 1954, p. 77.

[133] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 17.

[134] De Vries, 1909, pp. 217-18; Lindestrom, 1925, p. 257, described the sweat lodge in similar terms.

[135] Skinner, 1909, p. 48.

[136] Pastorius, 1912, p. 384; Lindestrom, 1925, pp. 191-92.

[137] De Laet, 1909, p. 57; De Rasieres, 1909, p. 108; Thomas, 1912, p. 341; Juet, 1909, p. 18; Van der Donck, 1909, p. 301.

4: Tantaquidgeon E-5 (1930) 1942
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ered but I did not tell my brother what I saw. It seemed to come nearer and nearer to us but as we drew close, the thing disappeared suddenly into the woods. I asked my brother if he had seen the strange object but he replied that he had not. When we reached home I told my mother what I had seen and she warned us never to follow a ghost like that as it would lead us astray and finally to a pile of bones."

It may be of interest to note here that at times several people might see the same ghost and "feel" it pass by. Such an experience is always regarded as a warning, foretelling illness, death, or some sudden event. Children are cautioned against answering the call of an unseen person as it might prove to be a "ghost-whoop." Should a child answer such a call, his jaw would become dislocated or even his entire body paralyzed. Once a hunter answered such a "ghost-whoop" and upon trying to locate it, ran into a stack of bones.[4]

The cause of insanity is attributed to the failure of a family to perform certain inherited ceremonials. Failure to continue such prescribed rites is punished by misfortune of some kind. Certain individuals are capable of exorcising people afflicted with this malady, the Indian name for which is translated as "lacking good sense." In one incident a young man believed that he saw a "mask" everywhere he went. His relatives finally resorted to a sweat doctor who entered the sweat lodge to ascertain the cause of the illness. After the ritual the doctor announced that it was due to their failure to perform regularly a ceremony which had come down in the family. In order to avert further trouble and to rid the young man of the disease, the doctor advised that the neglected feast and ceremony be performed, after which the patient became normal once more. Could anything be more in conformity with modern psycopathic practice than the preceding case! Other native terms which apply to people similarly affected are translated as "silly" or "half-witted."

I might also note that having in mind the prevalence of the theory that animals are the main causes of disease among the Cherokee (Mooney, 1892, p. 322), and Muskhogean peoples of the Southeast, I failed to find any evidence whatever in the mind of my informant of a similar belief among the Delaware.

[4] Archaeologists, take note!—Editor.

domestic and tribal crises. Wi·tapanôxwe is not convinced of the truth of this statement, but claims that he merely carries his own supply for medicinal purposes.[5]

84. Cactus *(Opuntia vulgaris)* is called "thorny, useless." Wi·tapanôxwe remarked that the Oklahoma negroes singe off the spines and apply a sliced portion to their corns to allay pain.

Miscellaneous Beliefs

1. To draw out frost bites, walk in the snow barefooted. Rubbing snow on the ears will bring relief.
2. Frost or dew gathered in late fall and rubbed on the body will prevent skin eruptions.
3. Water that collects in hollow trees or rocks is believed to have medicinal value.
4. Mud applied to a burn will take out "the fire."
5. To cure a child from slobbering, catch a number of minnows and have the child hold them in his mouth. Repeat this several times a week until the cure is effected.
6. To cure a child of bed-wetting, feed him portions of a roasted "timber rat" [6] This is believed to effect a sure cure. My informant and a companion once killed and roasted such a rodent, and both agreed that the flesh was palatable and not unlike that of squirrel. They were reticent, however, as to the therapeutic effects.
7. Relief is obtained in the case of whooping cough, if the mother first suckles a puppy and then her child.
8. A spider web applied to a flesh wound will stop the flow of blood.
9. Excrement of cattle or of poultry is employed as a poultice for boils.
10. Skunk-oil is regarded as a valuable remedy for colds and croup. For children the average dose is from three to five drops. A small quantity may be used externally on the throat and chest. Oil obtained from geese is employed similarly for colds. Skunk scent or rabbit urine is put into the ear to relieve earache. Deer and otter scent are also useful for medicinal purposes.

[5] This practice corresponds to one general among Eastern Algonkian peoples—that of carrying a piece of "muskrat root" *(Acorus calamus)* about the person as a disease preventive. A piece of the root is chewed in case of sudden illness.

[6] Compare use of a white-footed mouse for the same purpose among the Gayhead Indians (Tantaquidgeon, 1930, p. 20).

262 Spirit Beings. Zeisberger (*op. cit.*, p. 139) referred to Indian corn as the "wife of the Indian," and, in describing certain ceremonial rites, stated that they offered bear's flesh as a sacrifice to the corn. He also said that corn was offered ceremonially to the deer and bear. Apparently, Harrington (*ibid.*, pp. 70, 195) did not learn the details of this Corn-Spirit rite but the plant was, however, mentioned as a guardian spirit, Mother Corn. There is an interesting ceremony recorded by Dr. Speck [3] which the Delaware held to propitiate the spirit of Mother Corn whom they considered to hold protection over all vegetation. It is related that many years ago the corn crops began to decrease, so that people became alarmed. The leading men of the tribe met and agreed that to avert a famine, a ceremony must be performed to appease the Maize Spirit. It was feared that she had become displeased and intended to abandon her children, the Delaware. In this way the Corn Harvest Rite originated and the performance of its ritual made the occasion of a festival.

262 Corn also figured in the ceremonial diet of the participants of the Big House Ceremony. Dr. Speck (1931, p. 73) notes that corn flour and hominy were prepared and served by women attendants.[4] These foods were prepared in wooden mortars kept expressly for ceremonial use.[5] As was previously stated, corn gruel or hominy is considered to be the proper food for sick or convalescing persons.[6]

Indian corn of the variegated variety is known as "common" or "original corn" [7] Another variety, called "hollow corn," is ground into flour for use in making bread.

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[3] 1937a, pp. 79-90. In addition to the Corn Harvest rite and Corn Famine text, Dr. Speck has an account of the Vegetation Ceremony now performed bi-annually in the spring and fall. These gatherings are now called "Bread Dances" and in addition to the performance of a ritual, afford an occasion for recreation. Both men and women take part.

[4] The three men and three women who are responsible for the ceremonial equipment and assist in a ceremonial role in the nightly performances during the period of worship in the Big House. (Speck, 1931, pp. 71, 75.)

[5] A similar observance has been recorded for the Mohegan of Connecticut and the Indians of Wampanoag extraction at Gay Head, Mass. See Tantaquidgeon, 1930, pp. 5-7.

[6] See Diet, p. 14.

[7] I have observed that my own group at Mohegan, Conn., and the people at Gay Head, Mass., regard varied-colored corn to be the original variety and value it very highly.

to about half the quantity. An equal part of brandy may be added. This is considered to be a month's treatment for one person and is considered to be effective in treating cases of general debility. It is valuable as a remedy for diseases peculiar to women.

My informant (Nicholas Powless) stated that he had bought the remedy, as is customary, from a Delaware herbalist. After a prolonged illness, during which time he was in the hospital, Mr. Powless was brought home, as he said, apparently to die. He obtained the formula just noted, made up the medicine and is taking it daily. He claims that he has continued to regain his strength and is slowly recovering from a complication of diseases pronounced incurable.

A tea made by pouring hot water over a small quantity of soot is given to babies in case of colic. A stronger tea is beneficial for a sick cow.

A powder obtained from decayed pine *(Pinus strobus)* is used for babies because of its healing properties.

SUMAC *(Rhus typhina)*.

A tea made from the berries is drunk as a remedy for diarrhea.

Skunk oil and molasses is taken for colds and cramp. The oil rubbed on the throat and chest sparingly tends to relieve congestion. Goose and raccoon oil are used similarly.

Rattlesnake oil is valuable in treating stiff joints. It is very powerful and should be used sparingly. Only a few drops on the finger tips and applied to the affected parts. The skin may be bound on the wrists and ankles to strengthen them.[9]

[9] When told of the belief that snake oil, if used alone, "will unjoint you," an idea common among the Wampanoag of Cape Cod, Mass., my informant laughed and said that he knew that it would not because he had used it on his joints with good results. His sister added that if he could obtain some rattlesnake oil, now he might keep in better condition.

FOOTNOTES

[220] 1. The reports of Butler and Heye are based on an identification of bones found in old feast pits.

2. According to Waugh's report on Iroquois foods, the Onondaga had names for starchy, flint, sweet, starchy-sweet and pop corn, five of the seven generally recognized varieties of Zea mays (Waugh, pp. 74-77).

[240] 3. To these Brinton adds the sweet potato, but no early sources confirm him in this opinion (1885, p. 48).

4. Delaware sources do not indicate which types of beans were grown aboriginally, but Waugh in his report on the Iroquois states that they knew over sixty varieties. The natives described them according to use, i.e. bread or soup beans (Waugh, pp. 104-107).

5. The identifications are made by Kalm himself.

[171] 6. Brinton specifically denies that the Delaware had this type of house, but it is described in Lindstrom as translated by Johnson (p. 261). According to Skinner, Dankers and Sluyter described this longhouse for the Canarsie, a Mohegan group living also in New Jersey (1909, p. 47). In Geographia Americanae, Lindstrom says: "In the Fall every sachem has built a house in which he and his subjects can live." (p. 221). As can be seen the problem is closely related to that of whether more than one conjugal family ever resided together. Support for the belief that they did comes from Beatty who visited a Delaware town in Ohio and noted that several families sometimes lived in one house. (p. 37).

[501] 7. There is no evidence to indicate whether or not sails were used in pre-contact times.

[286] 8. Several early writers noted cloth garments worn by the Indians, but Harrington has said of the Canadian reservation Indians in 1908: "The nearest approach to the weaving of aboriginal fabrics is seen in the pack strap...They were made of fibres of Indian hemp, the milkweed or the inner bark of the slippery elm, boiled soft and rolled or twisted into cord with the hand on the bare thigh. The cords were then tightly woven into a strap two or three inches wide and a little more than two feet long..." No mention is made of any kind of weaving apparatus. It seems most likely that even though cloth is mentioned by some of the earliest writers, it is a borrowed trait although pack straps may have been aboriginal manufactures.

9. Ruth Benedict says that there generally is a correlation between painful inducement of visions and receiving the vision because of being pitied by the spirits (pp. 27-28).

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
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776 821 dice, with alternating fortunes. When the north wind is successful it is cold for a long time, until the south wind wins again. These *manĭ'towŭk* are called *Moxhomsa' Wăhănjio'pŭng*[1], Grandfather at the East; *No"oma Cawane'yŭng*[1], Grandmother at the South; *Moxhomsa' Eliosi'gak*, Grandfather at the West; and *Moxhomsa' Lowane'yŭng*[1], Grandfather at the North, the expression *endalŭn towi'yŭn*, said to mean "who has charge of it" being frequently added after the name.

782 776 These are mentioned in the ritual of the Annual Ceremony, and the people often pray to them when gathering herbs or perparing medicines, at the same time offering tobacco.

171 776 821 The earliest record of this belief thus far found dates from 1616, and while it does not concern the Lenape proper, it illustrates a similar notion among a cognate people in Virginia. This is in Strachey's work,[18] in which he states, "The other four [gods] have no visible shape, but are indeed the four winds,

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
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which keep the four corners of the earth." Brainerd[16] mentions the same belief as being an old one among the Indians he knew, who were mainly Lenape, and as this was in 1745 we have at least a respectable antiquity established for "Our Grandparents at the Four Directions." Loskiel also mentions them.[17]

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THE SUN

To the Sun the Creator gave the duty of providing light for the people. The Unami say that he is a very powerful *manï'to*, and call him *Gickokwi'ta*. They speak of him as always clothed in the finest of deerskin garments, with his face handsomely painted, and wearing red feathers in his hair. Every day he travels across the heavens from east to west, stopping for a little while at midday, then going on. At night he comes back under the earth. The Minsi, according to James Wolf, called him *Ki'zho* or *Ki'zhox*, and *Gickonïki'zho* is another Unami form of the name. When praying

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6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
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painted or curved. The original use of the mask had to do, in part at least, with healing the sick, but Isaac Montour (*Kapyâ'hâm*), from whom I bought it, failed to make himself clear as to the details."

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It will be seen that the Minsi beliefs and practices noted above resemble those of the False Face Company of the Iroquois tribes much more than they do the customs connected with Misi'ng"' among the Unami.

M71

In fact, a vague tradition exists to the effect that the False Face Company of the Cayuga once put a stop to an epidemic of cholera among the Minsi. While this was not given to account for the origin of the society among the Minsi, it at least shows that they were familiar with the Iroquois practices in this line.

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
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796 the common duties and ceremonial cohesion of their members.
182 The tendency to make Delaware ceremonies esoteric is also present.

796 The personages of the ceremony may be listed under the following titles, which apply to all the rites performed. The ceremony itself is *tel·ha'k·en*, "that which is brought in," the idea being that someone sponsors and produces it by bringing forth the occasion. The leader or master of ceremonies is *elha'k·et*, "one who brings it in"; *pəm'tu'nhel*, "the speaker" of the occasion; *a'cka·s*, "attendant," the waiter or helper; *exhaŋge'tcik*, "those who give away food," the cooks and feast attendants; *naxko'hak·e'tcik*, "followers" being the drummers whose rôle it is to follow the singers, repeating their verses; *pu'tcəl*, equivalent to officer who has charge of keeping order.

538 A word or two concerning the distinctions in character between narrations which pass among the Delawares as epics having a mythical explanatory origin and those which are mere chronicles of happenings in past or present experiences of life. The traditional legend explanatory of some of the phenomena of nature is termed *ati·loha'k·an*, the ordinary narrative story *la'tci·məsuwa'k·an*. The distinction between these categories is something like what differentiates a saga from a narrative. The former is a legend concerning characters and events which do not change in the telling, partaking of the nature of gospels. A biography, on the other hand, falls under the latter term. Similar distinctions, it is interesting to note, have been recorded in respect to the traditional lore of other Algonkian-speaking peoples so well defined in the case of the Menomini by Dr. Bloomfield.[1] The texts in the ensuing collection are of the saga type and as such form an individual version of certain important teachings concerning the spiritual and physical universe which have formed without change the body of sacred learning acquired from some remote sources and handed down among the religious leaders of the tribe for ages.

171 The foregoing summary is arranged and offered as a

[1] L. Bloomfield, "Menomini Texts," *Publications Amer. Ethnological Society*, XII, 1928, p. xii.

7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

source for comparison of Delaware ceremonies in general with those of other groups of eastern North America. Casual survey of its salient points will reveal differences and similarities observed in the elements of ceremony so far recorded among Central Algonkian, Iroquois tribes and those of the southeast. It will remain for more intensive study derived from similar summaries made among these groups to determine the position of Delaware ceremonialism in relation to them.

In conjunction with the Delaware series of festivals it is evident that those of the Munsee should be jointly grouped. Harrington's notes on Munsee rites is our principal source. The fact that the Munsee bands still exist in several locations in Canada leaves an open possibility that more detailed and penetrating records of ceremonies of the family or individual order may still be secured. Yet the more thoroughly Christianized condition of the tribe in general may, when the attempt is made, convert this hope to chagrin. This has been the outcome in the case of the Delaware-Munsee of the Six Nations reserve.

Formal ceremonies have disappeared from the calendar of religious events of the Delaware-Munsee incorporated with the Six Nations of Ontario for almost a century, since the abrupt discontinuation of the rites of the Big House in this band in 1832. This resulted from a successful attack on its creed by the native missionary, G. H. M. Johnson, a Mohawk.[1] There remains little to put on record beyond what knowledge we have, opportunely rescued in 1910–14 and admirably presented by M. R. Harrington in several of his publications referred to in the course of our study. Minor religious performances may still be obtained in descriptive form from the Canadian bands of Munsee and Delawares blended together on several of the reservations, but from a casual survey of these groups, their dialects and history, I am free to

[1] An interesting summary of religious history of the band is compiled by R. R. Whale, of the Brantford, Ontario, Historical Society. Johnson with John Wampum, presumably a Delaware, took axes and destroyed the images in the Long House in the Delaware settlement. Whereupon all the Delawares there were converted.

7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

THE MASK DANCE CEREMONY

Kant'ke'ohe•n məs·i'ŋgəma, "he dances his face-image (mask)." The mask concept being one of some prominence in Delaware worship, one may imagine that a reconstruction of religious performance in the tribe, at a time before the decline of native institutions, would place the human-face representation in an exalted position among the spirit forces. In both Delaware and Iroquois religious pantomime masking seems about equally proportioned, though the finer details of belief and performance in the two groups are dissimilar enough to cause hesitation in allying them in origin. Yet it is noteworthy that only the Delawares among the Algonkian peoples east of the Alleghanies and south of New England exhibit the mask development, whence it extends southward to Florida with little interruption even considering the meagreness of early information on religious features in the lives of these mysterious tribes.

I have indulged in some discussion of the Mask Spirit and its history among the Delawares in my study of the Big House Ceremony,[1] to which the reader is referred for a summary account of the circumstances by which the Delawares became involved in the carrying out of the mask propitiation rite The details of the inheritance of the mask image and the expiation ceremony within a certain family in the tribe, namely the Frenchman family, have been outlined in the report referred to.

The ceremony is accordingly one of the family "feasts" among the Delawares that attracted the attention of Zeisberger as being of such frequent occurrence in the tribe while resident in Ohio in the eighteenth century.

We discover the concept governing this ceremonial feast to be that the Mask Spirit requires to be remembered with a

[1] "Big House Ceremony," p. 43. It may be noted that recent results of work among the Delaware-Munsee of the Six Nations reserve, Ontario, also disclose significant traditions of mask usage.

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

RAIN MAKING RITUAL

789 *E'nda sokola:'nheŋg*, "when rain make." In making an appeal to the grandfather Thunder to send showers and rain, [825 ancient custom has decreed that the skin of a weasel is a 782] suitable offering to the "grandfather" accompanying the prayer.

The rite is an individual one. Any man or woman may own a weasel skin [1] and perform it in time of drought. The ritual is recited in seclusion, not at a public gathering as it is reported by Wi'tapano'xwe among the Shawnee.[2] By the holder of the weasel skin the object is regarded as sacred, the skin being treated as though it were a live animal. It is kept wrapped up and put away carefully so that it will not be molested, that is suffer indignity, this solicitude being similar to what is accorded other objects used in ceremonials. This may mean nothing more than being tied up and kept in a trunk, a basket or hung in a shed where it is out of the way. Wi'tapano'xwe had his enveloped in a green cloth and tied with a string of leather.[3] The weasel ceremonially used, is called *sa'ŋgwe*, a term which denotes something used for a sacred purpose.[4]

782 In this rite the rain-maker proceeds to a running stream. 789 He dips the skin into the water and lifts it upward while saying this beautiful little prayer addressing the Thunder and

[1] The species of weasel mentioned is *Mustela cicognani cicognani*, or *M. noveboracensis*. A third form mentioned by the informant is called "spotted weasel" has not been identified. The skin of the latter, he added, is used in making medicine for horse colic, so there is evidently some definite creature in mind.

[2] According to the informant the Shawnee make more of a ceremony of rain-making with the weasel, the skin being kept in the custody of an old man who has exclusive right to handle it and to the place where it is concealed, and a dance accompanies the prayer.

[3] Specimen in collection of Historical Commission of Pennsylvania.

[825] [4] That the weasel has had a sacred function in early as well as recent Delaware religious magic is shown by the record of the same name for the animal recorded in Delaware of over a century ago, namely *sanquen* (Brinton, "Lenape Dictionary," p. 124).

7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

Indians. And to witness a simular early creation of savage poetic imagination, we learn from the Mistassini, lowly hunters of Labrador, that when the wind blows the firs, bending down their tips and branches, it is the Great Spirit combing them as a father combs the hair of his children. Who has asserted that savages cannot be poets?

796 The season for this rite begins sometime in the early spring, and the playing of the football game lasts until midsummer, about the end of June, when its season is formally closed, not to be resumed until the next spring.

The ceremony, being a glorification over the return of spring, has certain formal requirements to be fulfilled, not only by the chief, but by the people at large. It is believed that if the rules governing the festival are not obeyed, floods, tornadoes, and storms will result, causing the destruction of grain and fruit crops. On the other hand, the proper conduct of the football game during the season of performance will strengthen the growth of the crops. There is also a symbolical feature of the festival in the desire to indulge in a show of pure enjoyment of the people for the blessings of good weather and the returning warmth of the sun. Therefore, it would seem to have some solstitial significance which is brought out in the ruling that the season for play terminates about the end of June. There seem to be no closely analogous ceremonies [171] in the eastern area with which to compare this interesting rite outside of the Shawnee analogue, unless they be found in Iroquois, and no specific reference to it in the early Delaware narratives which might serve as a help in determining its former history before the removal west.

The ceremony bears the name *ni·pɔnia'k·an*, "summer dance," while that part of it which pertains to the football play is called *paxsa'hama^{a}ŋ*, "ballplay" (*paxsahi·'k·an*, "ball"). Another explanation of the latter term gives us the meaning "divided," referring to the division of the sexes into opposite sides to play the game. On the whole, we may sense a deeper religious symbolism lying beneath this celebration than is apparent in the meagre account now available.

Those who fancy such instances of belief in tree-animation will find several references in my "Náskapi" (University of Oklahoma Press, 1935, pp. 38–9).

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

tives, and the founders of these rites, whoever they were, seem to have made suitable provision against public indifference. In the words of the informant, no one is apt to disregard the call to obey religious custom in view of the consequences. And there may have been some idea of making an offering to mother Corn as well in this rite. Its origin dates from the first conception of the corn ceremony as the text relates.[1] The individuals whose duty it is to enact this part are hence called "excrement daubers," and their identity is, as might naturally be expected, kept in the dark. The rite itself is called *we'mui·ha'lɔwe's* "excrement daubing."

Of the masks used in this rite we have mention of several specimens obtained from *Ni·ka'ni·paxoxwe*, "Leading walker" (Joe Washington) of the same band in Oklahoma (Fig. 1, *A* and *B*).[2] They represent the features of masks requisitioned in the rites of the Corn Harvest Ceremony as celebrated by the Wolf division. According to the memory of Joe Washington, from whom they were obtained, the mask (*A*) with black on the forehead and chin part and the middle face-portion of red, was employed by the mask messenger and dancer of the Wolf division in his *midday* appearances. The dark upper and lower bands of color represent darkness before dawn and after sunset; the lighter center, the middle of the day. The other (*B*) with the upper face area black and the lower red was worn in the rites of the *early morning and evening*.

The corn ceremony itself seems to be known only through general description on the part of our informant who had the account of it from his mother. She had seen the rite when she was young. As will be seen its characteristics are those of the usual Delaware feasting festivals. There are the addresses by the speaker chosen for the occasion, the women having prepared beforehand the amount of hominy

[1] One of the Delaware authorities, J. A. Parks, states in recent correspondence that he thinks the "excrement dauber" rite belonged originally to the Shawnee. Joe Washington, who had witnessed the rite when a young man, attributes the custom to the Seneca "introduced a long time ago to the Delawares."

[2] Specimen *A* (model, 4½ x 5½ inches) is of oak with cap portion, over top and back, of trimmed deer skin, with shredded corn stalk "hair." *B* is similar in construction, 6 x 8 inches. Unlike Iroquois masks there are no little bags of tobacco offering attached to Delaware images.

PRAYER TO AVERT THUNDER

The appearance of a menacing storm cloud approaching causes the resort to prayer and the performance of a simple rite to avert danger from wind and lightning. The individual takes an ax, marks it with a cross on the blade by means of mud or paint, or anything at hand that shows up, and sticks the handle in the ground or stands it upright so that the blade will then, he believes, split the body of the storm cloud and cause it to divide and pass by on each side harmlessly.[1] When the act is performed he prays and if there is time smokes a pipe of tobacco as a "sacrifice."

Thunder Prayer

Wani'ci	moxo^{u}'msa^{a}	pe't'hak'o'we	ɔk	ke^{e}'pi·
I thank you	Grandfather	Thunder	and	you also
mani'tu	kek'ca'xən·o^{u}'ke^{e}s	kɔwi·'nowa'mał	təli·'	
Spirit	Wind.	I beg of you	that	
pal·i·'i·	pəmɑ's·ka^{a}ne^{e}'yɔ	təma'ke^{e}ləmi·'ne^{e}n	k'tami·'-	
somewhere else	you walk (go by, pass).	have pity on us	your	
mɑsəm	ka't·ci·	ap'hi'k·ai·'heŋg	kəne'i·hinɑ	
children.	Do not	run over us (to go over one's land).	You see us	
kət·ɔmak'si·'hinɑ	moxo^{u}'msa^{a}	naxpaŋgo^{u}'mələn	wa'ni·	
we are pitiful	Grandfather.	we sacrifice	him	
nəmoxo^{u}'msəna	k'ca^{a}'ta'	ɔk	kəne^{e}'mən	yu'ni· pe^{e}
our grandfather	tobacco.	And	you see	this being
ki·ci·'xiŋ	təm·hi·'k·an	na'ni	li·'m'kət'	təli·' paxsi·-
prepared	ax	the	custom	because it will split
taho'k·wun	ma't·a	paxke^{e}'yane	ce^{e}la'han·en	
you in two	if not	you turn your course, go some other way	that is	
təli·'xto^{u}n	ki·ce^{e}ləmu'k·ɔŋg	wu'ndji	wata^{a}'k'^{w}	
how it was ordained by	Creator	whence	it is known	

[1] I hardly need refer to the wide diffusion of this custom in eastern North America. Without having made a definite search for it I may refer to having heard it mentioned from the Naskapi (Mistassini) of the Labrador peninsula, through the Iroquois (also F. W. Waugh) and Mohegan, southward to the Catawba. It is known also among the negro freedmen of the Cherokee Nation.

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
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293 with carving, paint, tightly woven diagonal-technique bead-
535 work, and feather pendants, single or in small clusters, as
532 the illustrations show (Fig. 2). The carving is usually in block form, the exposed wood painted blue, yellow, or red, and the beadwork designed as it is on staffs used in the Peyote rites, all showing the influence of Peyote symbolism in their decoration. The feathers attached are usually those of the flicker (yellow shafted woodpecker) to denote the sacred power invested in this bird which has a black moon-marked breast, and sometimes parrot feathers obtained from the traders. On one specimen a strip of soft muskrat fur around the staff represented an admonition to "be polite," at the dance, avoiding loudness and vulgarity which might cause trouble.

535 According to the occasion, his musical equipment may be
178 a hand-rattle. His lead songs are of the type in which a measure is sung by him alone when the dancers respond with a corresponding shorter measure in which the syllables vary only somewhat. These dances are most popular and seem to be growing in favor among the Indians of Oklahoma. In fact, within the last four or five years Delaware dance leaders have introduced them among the Osage, as is the case of Tom Half Moon himself.

535 While we have as yet no detailed accounts of such social-
●171 ceremonial pastimes among the still practicing groups to serve as a basis for comparative treatment, I can testify to having observed them over a wide area in the east, indeed from the Penobscot, and other Wabanaki of the northeast, and the Iroquois and Shawnee to the Cherokee, Creek and Yuchi of the Gulf area. The purpose, however, is not to discuss them here. The known history of many of these dances throughout the area proves a case of diffusion from tribe to tribe as they are deliberately carried by visiting dance leaders. We have knowledge of a number of introductions among the Iroquois from colonial times to the present.

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

524 used to denote a game of extremely wide distribution throughout northern North America and retaining a uniform type wherever found, is common among the Delawares. At the present time it is played for amusement by persons of both sexes and all ages during the evenings in winter time. This, too, is regarded as a pastime for those who are born in winter, one that is thought to bring on cold stormy weather the ensuing day. Herein lies its ceremonial character.

To a sharpened stick or bone is fastened a leather string some twenty inches long at the other end of which is fixed the tail of a rabbit. On the string are threaded five hollow cones, the wider ends open toward the stick. For the want of sufficient native material the Delawares make these cones by hollowing out and tapering common spools. In former times they were the phalanges of the deer. In the specimens figured one is constructed with spools, the other with sections of some animals' leg bones. The object of the play is to swing the cones in the air, catching as many as possible on the end of the pointed stick. Each player repeats the attempt to impale these cones until he misses three times. For each cone caught on the stick he receives a count of one. The players keep count of their totals by memory. The winning total is decided upon at the beginning of the game, it may be 15, 25, 50 or 100 points. Small wagers are laid upon the outcome, the player to reach the total first taking the stakes. To catch the rabbit's tail counts nothing.

[171] I hardly need comment upon the wide distribution of this game from the Pacific to the Atlantic and as far south as the Plains unbrokenly across North America, even in archaeological levels of considerable historical depth as Dr. Strong's findings indicate (Strong, op. cit., p. 192).

CEREMONIAL DOLLS

778 *Oxta's*, "Doll or Plaything."—The privilege of making dolls as toys out of cornhusks is denied children. The reason [777 753] is that corn is too sacred to be trifled with. To violate this would bring on bad luck in the form of sickness. Only those in whose family inheritance the obligation to make and to perform in ceremony with such creations are permitted to

7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
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NANTICOKE RITES

Texts Relating to the Nanticoke

N D

It is not surprising that through early association with the Nanticoke of extreme southeastern Pennsylvania and Delaware before the Indian emigration from these regions, the Delawares should have assimilated, or had in common with this interesting tribe, certain practices and beliefs which have survived in tradition. Indeed we learn that as late as the period when the Delawares had settled down in Kansas there were among them a small number of Nanticoke families who at the time retained their peculiar language and some of their distinct customs and ceremonies. Wi'tapano'xwe was, fortunately for us, versed in some of these elements of lore and dictated his knowledge in the following text versions.

101 171 N 101

Owing to the early disruption of the Nanticoke after the abandonment of the original territory on both sides of upper Chesapeake Bay, the tribe became gradually widely dispersed among the Iroquois in Canada and the West.[1] Some of them clung to their early affiliates the Delawares, whence the memories and traditions of the tribe among the Delawares of today. A short account of Nanticoke history in connection with the Delaware Nation has been presented in the author's study of the Big House Ceremony (*op. cit.*, p. 16) and a series of references to articles on the language and ethnology of the Nanticoke has been included in it.

Nanticoke Origin of Witchcraft and Poison

N D 754

An interesting phase in the traditional history of Delaware customs comes out in a tale that attributes the origin of Delaware witchcraft and the administration of poisons to the Nanticoke. The tale in question is an accusation against the Nanticoke implying a degree of innocence on the part of the

[1] F. G. Speck, "The Nanticoke and Conoy Indians, with a Review of Linguistic Material from Manuscript and Living Sources," Historical Society of Delaware, Wilmington, 1927, pp. 1–77.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

411 Oklahoma Delaware said that they had used the blowgun as boys and that, although the targets were usually birds or small [524] game, the blowgun was more of a toy than anything else. Since the sojourn of the ancestors of the Oklahoma Delaware in Ohio • [171] and Indiana in the first decades of the nineteenth century is rather well documented and accounts of that period fail to record the possession of the blowgun then, it is more than probable that two sources of diffusion are here indicated. The Canadian Munsee or Delaware undoubtedly received the blowgun from the Southeast through the Iroquois, whereas the Oklahoma Delaware probably received it direct from the southeastern tribes with whom they have been neighbors in Oklahoma.

227 It is strange that in two years on the Delaware River Lindeström did not see spears, nets, or hooks used to take fish (313-15). All these were mentioned by Roger Williams as being used by the Narragansets and all but the spears were listed by Van der Donck in addition to weirs. These last, according to Lindeström, were the principal means used by the Delaware to take fish. Weirs were not mentioned by the second- or third-period sources and were unknown to the modern Delaware.

224 Large hunting parties were reported periodically for the Delaware in every period (316). However, there was considerable variation as to the number constituting a large party (317). E. R. said four hunters were as many as ever hunted together. This is quite diverse from the hundreds reported in the first period. The parties were formed for their mutual advantage and were under the guidance of the oldest or most expert hunter (319). Williams, Van der Donck, and Lindeström mentioned the driving of deer by large parties. Subsequent accounts did not mention game drives, and the report of smaller parties probably indicate that they were no longer made. Group hunting in the later periods was described by Johnston as a party of several families going together directed by a head man who encouraged the young men to pursue their hunting every morning and directed them where and when to move their camps. The ceremonies observed [796] in connection with group hunting were rather elaborate as described by Lindeström (see *post*, pp. 127-28). In the second and

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

Introduction and Explanation of the Ceremony

It has long been known that the Delaware Indians had a periodic ceremony of paramount importance in fulfilling their obligations toward a pantheon of spiritual forces. We learn something of such a ceremony from indications occurring in the 17th and 18th century sources, among which figure Denton (1670),[1] William Penn (1683),[2] Brainerd (1745),[3] Zeisberger (1779-80),[4] Loskiel (1794),[5] and Heckewelder (1771-86, 1818).[6] First from the casual writings of Dutch, Swedish and English authors we get glimpses of the ceremony while this famous and patriarchal nation was still residing in its haunts in eastern Pennsylvania and New Jersey. With the westward movement of the tribe, first to the valley of the Susquehanna and later to the Ohio country, the missionaries who attempted the conversion of the Delawares have added their comments upon the great recurrent festival, treating it in terms of cool description or in phrases of fervent condemnation according as their attitudes toward it were determined by their profession.

In the accounts we have, the ceremony is referred to under various titles, some in English, some in Delaware; Cantiko, (Penn, 1683), Gamwing, (Zeisberger, 1779), xingwikaˈon, The Big House, The Annual Ceremony. And it is not a little strange that even the oldest of them are recognized by corresponding terms still current in the language of the tribe at the present time, as clearly explainable today as though we were still holding conference with native priests and patriarchs who had talked with Penn and his contemporaries. That the great rite was of local interest in the religious life of the allied peoples

[1] Denton's Description of New York, formerly New Netherlands, N. Y. 1670.

[2] William Penn. A Letter from William Penn, Proprietary and Governor of Pennsylvania in America to the Committee of the Free Society of Traders of that Province Residing in London, London 1683 in Narratives of Early Pennsylvania, of New Jersey and Delaware, Edited by Albert Cook Myers, N. Y. 1912, p. 234.

[3] David Brainerd, Memoirs of the Rev. David Brainerd, by Jonathan Edwards, New Haven, 1822.

[4] David Zeisberger. History of the Northern American Indians. Edited by A. B. Hulbert and W. N. Schwarze, Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, n.d.

[5] George Henry Loskiel, History of the Mission of the United Brethren Among the Indians of North America, London, 1794.

[6] John Heckewelder, History, Manners and Customs of the Indian Nations Who Once Inhabited Pennsylvania and the Neighboring States, Edited by W. C. Reichel. Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Phila. 1876.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

comprising the Delaware Nation is evident from all sources. That it ruled the spiritual destinies of the Munsee, the Nanticoke, the Mahikan, we know through collateral evidence, and analogous rites are inferred to have existed among the Mohegan on the east, the Powhatan peoples of Virginia and the Algonkian of the Carolina coast. Testimony from modern sources also points to a related performance of equal prominence in the religious behavior of the Shawnee. It would be an oversight besides, not to make reference to certain indications in the recorded discussions of Iroquois and Central Algonkian religion, of periodic ceremonies whose fundamental concepts form more or less a unit with those of the nation we are considering. Such a widely spread doctrine with associated rites of a unitary character assure us of the existence in aboriginal times of a culture-center, as regards creed, among the peoples of the Allegheny forest area, not only among the widely scattered Algonkian-speaking peoples but among others whose early history has been linked by some vague channels with them, for instance the Muskogi and the Yuchi. If it is not going too far, I would venture to repeat the assertion, often made by students of human culture, that the religious concepts of preliterate people express the keynote of their cultural status, that the same are to be regarded as forming their most conservative culture properties, reflecting the entire system of their culture in ramifications leading off to other topics of ethnology, the food-quest, social organization, warfare, art-symbolism, as well as rulings of simple custom and ethical character; indeed where not? This assumption, as we shall see, holds true with amazing consistency in the native civilization of the Delawares. While the previously recorded accounts of Delaware ceremonies, some of them explicit in detail and accuracy, have supplied occasional material for comparative and analytical studies in the ethnology of the eastern Indians, a feeling of dissatisfaction exists in regard to their content. This has been sufficient to cause hesitation on the part of ethnologists in using the records for the purpose of drawing culture conclusions since the accounts have all been fragmentary and recorded in the words of European observers instead of being based upon the expressions of the natives.[1] To have such records made in the words, and with the order and detail of thought of the people themselves is the highest ideal of the student of human institutions, an ideal now set up as the goal of endeavor in research. Accordingly when fate was moved to provide me with a native Delaware informant in the person of Witapano'xwe, a Delaware whose early training at the knees of his mother, was of the native, non-Christian type, I need hardly say that I laid aside every postponable obligation to devote attention to the

[1] More recently we have been bequeathed the excellent studies of eastern Indian ceremonies in native text by students who have recorded them from the dictation of the Indians, such as Hewitt, Jones, Michelson and Bloomfield.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

796 346 Who is Carried Around." Their descendents still carry the burden of the worship. They belonged to the "Wolf" group (Tu'k^{m}ai^{l}t). For this reason the Wolf group claims the right to sponsor these exercises now, and holds the majority rule in the present Big House deliberations. And in my judgment they will always rule hereafter. The present house was built three or four hundred yards to the southwest of the present spot but on account of its inconvenience it was moved to where it now stands, and one acre was set aside by the Dawes Commission. It was remodeled by us after a deliberation in September 1913.

796 [735] "The ceremony has not been "taken in" for four years,[1] the last one being led by Frank Wilson (E'm·a^{s}). Poverty has driven them to neglect it. And also the loss of the wampum beads which one time numbered about one hundred and twenty-eight Indian yards, all of which has nearly disappeared for it has been sold to other Indian tribes, to white people or to Museums as relics."

796 171 Speculations upon the origin of the ceremony would be quite out of order from the ethno-historical point of view, but Delaware traditional history has no such hesitant attitude. As the myth develops we observe how the inception of the idea of the ceremony is laid to the revelation made in dreams to chosen leaders among the Munsee. Opinion seems quite general among the Delawares that the original conception of the ceremony is a Munsee one. This is interesting because it locates the ceremony in the northerly group of the three tribes forming the so-called Delaware Nation. It is fortunate that we have, from the pen of Harrington,[2] a treatise on the Munsee form of the Big House ceremony for the purpose of comparison and evaluation as far as the material provided in the several accounts will permit us to go. At present there seems little to point toward proof of priority for the Munsee phase of the worship, except for the quasi-historical estimate of the Delawares themselves. A feeling of respect for the Munsee is general among the Delawares. They are held in high esteem for their former bravery and, strange to say though natural enough in the regard held by Indians for such matters, for their indifference to economic and material affairs and devotion to those of a spiritual nature.[3]

648 797 ESOTERISM OF DELAWARE RELIGION.—In the missionary descriptions of 170 years ago, chiefly from the pen of John Heckewelder, we hear constantly of the inner spirit of aversion held toward the whites, and the distrust felt by the natives concerning the motives of all Euro-

[1] This was written in October 1928.

[2] Harrington I, pp. 127-161.

[3] Illustrative of this sentiment several Delaware observations may be recalled in reference to the Munsee. The latter, it would seem, are held in high esteem for their bravery and ability in spiritual matters, yet were noted for an indifference to dress and economic properties, in which respect the Delawares think they stood out in contrast with them.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

deer-tail or horse-hair when made into a roach.[1] And everything is beaded including moccasins. And if any one wishes it he goes there to the Attendant where he may choose paint of whatever color he prefers.[2] And those desiring it wear eagle feathers.[3] All the old men customarily have the head-band when going into the Big House.[4]

And anyone may choose his style, but red paint and yellow, by custom, are more frequently used. A person does not rub it on his face all over. A person usually paints his cheek or at the sides of his eyes lightly. But the relief-drummers[5] can, if desired, paint black or paint fancy. All these women if they desire may paint red when entering the Big House. And also when the ceremonial leader first enters the Big House that is the time when all those Face-images[6] are painted.

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[1] The "roach" is the dyed deer hair or horsehair crest worn by young and middle aged men, worn on the top of the head. (pl. —). The hair stands upright, reaching from the crown to the nape of the neck, kept in place by an ornamentally carved bone spreader forming the base for a bone tube in which an eagle feather is fastened. This is a characteristic head ornament of the Delawares, ancient as well as modern, allusions to it being found in the early explorers accounts from the Carolinas to Maine. It seems to have accompanied the shaved painted head as an attachment to the scalp-lock of warriors. Throughout the central Algonkian area and the southern Siouan tribes it appears with great prominence in later writings, and has finally spread among the Prairie peoples possibly through diffusion through the agency of the Omaha. The Delaware term for the roach, tapaskowlu, has reference to the shaved head and stiffened hair; that for the bone spreader, cuxsalas signifies "rattling pendant." These objects and their descriptive terms represent extremely ancient properties of eastern North America, having obvious connections with archaeological objects of bone which have puzzled investigators. The distribution of the roach head-ornament offers an interesting problem. Its occurrence is noted with practically no aberrant modifications among the early populations from Maine southward to Florida, west through the Iroquois to the Central Algonkian, the southern and eastern Siouan tribes.

Among the earliest references to the Delawares wearing the roach we may cite Denton's (1670) mentioning men affecting as head-wear "a kind of a Ruff made with Deer's hair, and dyed a scarlet colour, which they esteem very rich." (See quotation of pertinent data in A. B. Skinner, "Indians of Greater New York, 1915, p. 36). Neither the article itself nor the sentiment attached to it has altered much among the Delawares since this was written two hundred and sixty years ago.

[2] There are limitations in the colors and patterns in face-paintings. The accompanying chart shows the designs and areas of the face appropriate for the decoration of individuals of various classifications (plate I).

[3] The Delaware seldom trim or cut the feathers they use when dressing for the Big House. They say the feathers are perfect as they grow on the living bird and should not be altered. Only the feathers of birds considered noble, such as the eagles and certain of the larger hawks are sanctioned.

[4] Elderly men give up wearing the roach substituting the fur headband with beaded rosette and small feathers at the side, (see fig. 25), or simply the handkerchief tied around the hair into which a feather is stuck. The elders wear their hair shoulder-length.

[5] The drummers who assist the chief drummers are permitted by rulings of the Big House tradition to wear black in painting, or to paint the face according as their fancy may prompt (see plate II).

[6] The images on the side and center posts of the Big House. The renewal of the paint, half black and half red on these images is a sacred act performed out of the reverence for the "Grandfathers" at the same time when the communicants of the ceremony apply the paint to their own faces.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

Great Star.[1] Again seven stars, it is said, are sometimes at the noon-point[2] seen after dark. Those stars called the Bear;[3] also the head of this one is separate. Now it is said that whenever that Bear shall catch up with his head, then will be the end of the world.[4] And again another group is called Bunched-up,[5] seven is their number. And again here in the direction of sun-down, that evening-star is called kwe'tei-'pon-e'a.[6] Thenceforth are other stars and moons. And there are also these Thunders, our grandfathers, even coming to those clouds, all called spirit-forces. And the sun, our elder brother, is considered a leading spirit-force up above, because he is a great person. By his breath he warms all the universe, and it is he also who lights up the day-time, and the night-sun. It is he who lights up the night-time. And those stars, in accordance with the strength given them, in proportion that serve and aid our father's, the Great Spirit's labors.

[1] ma'xsiangw, "Great Star," a variant is ma'xkaiaggw, "red star."

[2] Meaning at the zenith, regarded in Delaware sky-lore as the point halfway between the earth and the summit of the sky dome, as nearly as can be ascertained.

[3] The constellation Ursus Major has among the Iroquois, the Cherokee, and also the Algonkian south of the St. Lawrence, the same interpretation, as representing the celestial Bear. North of this dividing line of culture, however, the figure is changed to that of the Fisher (Mustela pennanti) or Marten. The explanatory myths are of an entirely different nature in the two areas. The tale in the northern area seems to have a circumpolar distribution in North America from the Athapaskans through the Cree to the Montagnais-Naskapi of the Labrador peninsula, while the Bear legend of explanation traces to the southward. I have given some attention to this myth in a study of Penobscot tradition. (See also S. Hagar, Jour. Amer. Folk-Lore, vol. XIII, No. 49, p. 92; D. G. Brinton, Myths of the New World, Phila., 1896). (See previous discussion of star beliefs, p. 48).

[4] This vision of a celestial catastrophe reminds us again of the Delaware belief that when the Tortoise in his westward journey reaches the edge of the earth the world will come to an end.

[5] The word in the text is asi'p-k-e'tayu'o-ak, corresponding to Zeisberger's anschisktawewak which he calls firebrands laid together (op. cit. p. 148). His editor suggests Cassiopeia.

[6] Unfortunately the informant was unable to give a translation for this term.

And so this is what the Delawares understand; namely that some spirit-forces are able to control everything whatsoever, and some are created with less strength. Therefore when a person acquires the strength of a vision of some object or living being, he will obtain it in accordance with the strength imbued in the spiritual power which gives it to him.[1]

And now of the several kinds of spirits when they are spoken of, the tortoise is said to be a powerful being because he is able to bear up this our mother's body. That is why it is said he slowly moves, walking

[1] This difficult passage is an example of the resourcefulness of the Delaware language. Two verbs, carry the much involved dominant idea, pa'tang ne'xpe-lsmu'kuk. The former contains the stem pao, universal in Algonkian, as denoting magical functioning (See Speck, Penobscot Shamanism. Mem. Anth. Assn., Vol. VI, No. 3, 1920, pp. 240-54) pa'lax being the Delaware for "fetish or charm," a spiritual agency; the second implies the meaning to be "born with power." Lindeström (1654-6) (op. cit. 207) discusses the term which he renders päähra.

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463 about 1913. The Delaware women and a few men are yet skilled workers in beads,
531 both in sewed-on designs and in bead weaving. The women are expert in the art of working out intricate designs in ribbon applique on robes, leggings, breech cloths
322 and moccasins. Some wood carving is also
285 done by the modern Delawares and a few make splint baskets.

Designs and Symbolism

531 In the study of Delaware art motifs we find that they fall into two groups. In group A are the ancient earth symbols, floral and geometric (angular) patterns; in group B, the religious symbols of the Peyote Cult. This is a religious teaching and ceremony that arose in the tribe about 50 years ago. Animal and human figures
[172] rarely occur in Delaware art. In archeological finds, representations of the human face in stone frequently occur but those are said to have been the charms owned and worn by certain individuals who had dreamed of the mask spirit and had the right to use its likeness as representative of
[787] the great spiritual force or guardian spirit. If a person saw an animal during his dream quest he would have the right to use the likeness of that particular animal on his
[614] wearing apparel. It is also permissible to have representations of clan animal totems on one's vest or tobacco pouch.

The earth symbols and the "trails" shown in plate 1 are said to be ancient, as well as figures A and B called "clasps" in plate 2. The earth symbols in plate 1 illustrate the
[821] native Delaware belief that the earth rests on the back of a tortoise and that the sun in its daily round goes under the tortoise and comes up on the opposite side the next day. Figure C, plate 1, symbolizes the power of the Creator which is felt in the four corners of the earth. These symbols
[171] occur in the ancient art designs of other Algonkian peoples in northeastern North America from Labrador to southern New England. Floral patterns for moccasin tops or vamps, breech cloths, robes and bags fall into this grouping (plates 3 and 4).

[P 25, A]

[P.39, B]

155 pulses, particularly aggressive ones, to break out into the open, often with socially catastrophic results.

It should be observed that in many respects this personality portrait of the Delawares is similar to that drawn, from different sources, by A. I. Hallowell for the Indians of the Northeast in general, and more particularly for the Ojibwa.[56] Thus Delaware personality is not markedly distinct from that of other Indians in the area, and a closer analysis than is possible here would probably be required to distinguish it from Ojibwa or other Algonkian peoples of the Northeast.

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56. Hallowell, 1946.

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14: Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR 13 Northern Paiute
Delaware NM7
Winnebago NP12
Comanche NO6

APPENDIX II. PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST

The distribution list in this section was first devised upon the basis of experience with Ute peyotism and a study of published literature on the peyote cult generally.[*] The published accounts of the cult, however, did not contain the detailed information necessary to answer all the points raised, and so a blank copy of the list and a request to fill it out were sent to several ethnographers known to have attended peyote meetings. The response was most gratifying, time and knowledge being given freely. The locations of the tribes represented in the element list are indicated on map 2.

SYMBOLS USED IN THE ELEMENT LIST

+	Element present	( )	Exactness of data doubtful
—	Element absent	R	Recent development
Blank	Information lacking	*	Indicates that a note to the element is appended at the end of the list

SOURCES AND COLUMN ABBREVIATIONS

The sources for the data in both the list and the notes to the list, and the abbreviations at the heads of columns, are as follows:

13-T: Composite picture of cult of thirteen tribes visited by La Barre and Schultes, mostly in Oklahoma (Kickapoo, Kiowa, Quapaw, Shawnee, Wichita, Caddo, Comanche, Delaware, Osage, Oto, Pawnee, Ponca, Southern Cheyenne). Richard Evans Schultes, Peyote and Plants used in the Peyote Ceremony, HU-BML 4:127–152, 1937, with additions made on list by La Barre, 1938.

K A: Kiowa-Apache. List filled in and notes supplied by J. Gilbert McAllister from information obtained during ethnographic field work performed 1933–1934 (eleven months) under the sponsorship of the University of Chicago.

Kio: Kiowa. List filled in and notes supplied by Weston La Barre. When returning the list La Barre wrote, "I believe that in peyotism tribal affiliation in this inter-tribal religion is far less important than leadership, i.e., what the particular leader's 'way' is, and from what leader he got his meeting." La Barre did field work in Oklahoma under the auspices of the Laboratory of Anthropology (1935), Yale University, and the American Museum of Natural History.

Com: Comanche in Oklahoma. List filled in and notes supplied by E. Adamson Hoebel.

Kic: Kickapoo in the vicinity of McLoud, Oklahoma. List filled in and notes supplied by John A. Noon, who attended a meeting during the summer of 1932. The Kickapoo leaders recognized that they "followed the Kiowa-Comanche 'way'."

Ab S: Absentee Shawnee of central Oklahoma. List filled in and notes supplied by Erminie W. Voegelin. Meeting attended in 1933. Voegelin reports three forms of the cult among the Absentee: (1) The Kiowa-Comanche form (the form which my list records); said to have been introduced about 1900 from the Kickapoo, who learned it from the Comanche; is the most popular form. (2) Caddo-Delaware variant of the "Wilson way," conducted by Ernest Spybuck. (3) Yuchi "way," conducted by Panther; considered by Voegelin's informants to be distinct from the Kiowa-Comanche version, yet probably only slightly variant. Membership in these forms of the cult does not interfere with participation in older Shawnee religious beliefs and ceremonies. The "Cherokee" or "Loyal" Shawnee in northeastern Oklahoma, however, take peyote "according to the Bible and [use] three towers," which is La Barre's Ute "Christianized" version, and this does teach complete withdrawal from older native ceremonies.

De 1: Kiowa-Comanche type cult among the Delaware. List filled in by James C. Webber (a Delaware informant recommended by Dr. Frank Speck) and supplemented by Petrullo's published account, also principally from Webber.

De 2: "Wilson way" among the Delaware (La Barre's Caddo-Delaware). Abstracted from Petrullo's book, with additional notes supplied by James C. Webber. The list does not adequately bring out the degree of divergence which the cult has attained, which could only be done by devising a list based on the "Wilson way." The altar is greatly changed from the Kiowa-Comanche prototype and at times becomes extremely elaborate (see Petrullo, pls. 3–6).

Win: Winnebago of Nebraska. This is apparently a variant of the "Wilson way," although Alexis A. Praus, who filled in the list and supplied the notes, did not designate it as such. Praus attended

[*] Data for the Ute and Washo–Northern Paiute lists obtained in the field, and additional data on the cults of the Tarahumara, Tepehuan, Lipan Apache, Mescalero Apache, Kiowa, Oto, Delaware, Omaha, Iowa, Arapaho, Winnebago, and Taos from published literature, are part of my Ute *Peyotism* which has been accepted for publication by Anthropos.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute
Comanche NO6
Crow NQ10
Delaware NM7
Winnebago NP12
Co
Cr
D
W
171
795
796
783
778

PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST—(*Continued*)

Element	Occurrence																				
	TSM	W-P	CHE	OMA	CHO	FOX	KIO	MES	NOC	WIN	DW2	DW1	ARA	KIC	COM	KIK	K-W	HIT
91. Replenishes fire	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
92. Cleans up and arranges ashes	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
93. Conducts people in and out	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
94. All bathe before attending meeting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(-)		-	+	+	+
95. Meeting place arranged (house, hogan, tipi)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
96. In open			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(-)		+	+	+	+
97. Entrance or opening toward east	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
98. Altar is (crescent) mound of earth	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
99. Concave side toward east	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
100. Line on top of moon	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(-)		+	+	+	+
101. Fire east of leader's place	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
102. East of moon	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
103. Sticks placed to form right angle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
104. Old methods used to start fire		-	+	+	-		+	+	+	+		+	+		-	+	+	+
105. 4 sticks on fire			(+)	+	-	(-)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		-	+	+	+
106. Special fire stick (poker)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
107. Worshippers congregate outside	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
108. Indian dress, moccasins, etc., preferred	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
109. Meeting starts in evening	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
110. Leader prays before entering meeting	+	+	+	+	+		(-)		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
111. Order of entrance: chief first	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
112. Chief drummer second		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
113. Cedarman third		-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
114. Men (before women and children)		-	+	+	+		(+)		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
115. Women and children allowed	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
116. Fire chief last	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
117. Seating: leader west of altar or shrine	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
118. Men, either side, near leader	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
119. Women, either side, near entrance		-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
120. Separation of men and women		-	-	+	+	(-)	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

Comanche ND6
Crow NQ10
Delaware NM7 ●
W,wwebago NP2

Stewart: Washo–Northern Paiute Peyotism

Element	Occurrence																			
	Ut	K-A	Kio	Com	Kit	S-Ar	Del	Del	Win	CoN	Cr	Cr	SRos	Dia	Cre	W-P	Tew			
121. An assistant on each side of leader	+	–	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	+				
122. Women sit behind men		–	–	–	• –	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	+				
123. All pass to south of moon	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
124. Sit on blankets, straw, etc.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	• +	• +	R • +	+	+	+				
125. *Artemisia* (sagebrush)	+	+	+	+	+	• +	• +	+	+	+	+	+	• +	+	+	–				
127. Prayer or speech or both at start of meeting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	• +	+	+	+	+				
128. Tobacco passed, all roll cigarettes	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
129. Cigarettes lit with fire stick, clockwise	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	• –	–	+	+	• +	+	+	• +	+				
130. Leader prays aloud during smoking	+	+	+	+	+	• –	+	+	–	+	• +	+	+	+	+	+				
131. Others pray silently	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	• +	• +	+	+	+	+				
132. Smoke blown toward moon	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	–	+	• +	• +	+	+	+	+				
133. All motion toward moon	+	+	+	+	+	• –	+	+	–	+	+	• +	• +	+	+	+				
134. Cigarette butts placed against altar or shrine	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	• –	–	–	+	• +	• +	+	+	+				
135. *Artemisia* (sage) leaves passed clockwise	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	• +	+	+	+	+	+				
136. Leaves rubbed on hands, clothes	+	• +	+	+	+	+	• –	+	–	–	+	• –	+	+	+	+				
137. Chewed	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+				
138. Peyote incensed before passing	+	+	+	+	(+)	–				+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
139. Peyote passed round circle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
140. Clockwise	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
141. All take 4 "buttons" at start	+	• +	+	+	–	• –	+	+		+	+	+	• +	+	+	+				
142. Each button chewed, spit into hands, rolled, offered to altar, and swallowed	+	• +	• +	+	+	–				–	• +	+	+	+	• +	+				
143. Chest patted during swallowing of button	+		• +	+	(–)	–				–	• +	• +	+	+	• +	+				
144. First peyote eaten before singing starts	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+		–	• +	• +	+	+	• +	+				
145. Paraphernalia brought out by chief	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	• +	+				
146. Laid on ground between leader and altar	+	+	+	+	+	• –	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
147. Cedarman throws cedar leaves on fire	+		+	–	(+)	• +	+	+		–	+	+	+	+	+	+				
148. Paraphernalia incensed	+	+	+	–	+		+	+		+	+	+	+	+	• +	+				
149. 4 times	+	+	+	–			+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
150. Worshippers incensed	+	• +	+	–			+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			

(Continued on next page)

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14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute
Comanche ND6
Delaware NM7 ●
C
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● 171
.N35
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PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST—(*Continued*)

Element	Occurrence																				
	12 T	K-A	Kio	Com	Kic	Ab S	De J	De 2	Wis	No C	Cr 1	Cr 2	WRS	Dio	Gos	dP	Tes				
151. 4 times	+		+	–		+				–	+			+		+	+				
152. Whistle placed near altar	+		+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+				
153. Leader starts singing, 4 songs	+	+	+	+		+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
154. Sings fixed opening song	+	+	+			+	+	+		–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
155. Holds staff in front of him	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
156. Another beats drum	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
157. Chief drummer beats drum	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
158. Drum, rattle, etc., passed round clockwise	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
159. Each man sings 4 songs	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
160. Each man drums for 4 songs of man to his left	+		+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
161. Rule against women singing	+	?	+	+		(+)	+	+	–	+	+	?	+	–	?	?	+				
162. Drumming, singing all night (except for midnight water call)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
163. Midnight water call and recess	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
164. Leader recalls drum, staff, etc.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
165. Fire chief forms ashes into crescent	+	+	+	+	+		+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
166. Fire replenished	+	+	+	+	+		+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
167. 4 sticks added							–				(+)	(+)	–	+		+	+				
168. Altar and floor carefully cleaned by fire chief	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
169. Cedar sprinkled on fire	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+				
170. Whistle blown by leader	+		+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+		–	+				
171. 4 times	+		+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+		–	+				
172. Leader sings fixed water song	+	+	+		+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+				
173. Bucket of water brought in by fire chief	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+				
174. By women		–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+				
175. Water bearer kneels east of bucket	+		+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
176. Cedarman prays, sprinkles cedar on fire	+		+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
177. Water bearer draws incense to water	+		+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
178. Water bearer prays, blesses water	+		+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
179. While smoking cigarette	+		+	+	+	+		–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
180. Leader given butt of same cigarette, smokes, prays	+		+	+	+	+		–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				

Comanche NO6
Delaware NM7 ●

Element	Occurrence																		
	U.T.	K-A	Klo	Com	Kih	Ab S	Del	Del	Wic	Noc	C-I	C-E	WES	Cha	Gro	Ar-P	Tom
181. Water bearer spills water on ground	+	–	+		+	+	+	–	–		+	+	+	+	+	+	
182. Bucket passed clockwise, all drink	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	++
183. Devotees rub, sprinkle ("baptise") selves with water	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+		+	
184. "Chief peyote," paraphernalia sprinkled	+	–		+			–	–	–	+	+	–	+	+		+	
185. Water bearer takes water outside	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
186. Makes circuit of altar before removing water	+		+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+•(+)		–	+	+	+	++
187. Drum, staff returned to place they occupied before midnight	+		+	+	+	•	–	–	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
188. After paraphernalia placed, leader goes outside	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	•–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
189. Blows whistle to cardinal directions	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
190. Prays to cardinal directions	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–		+	+	+	+	+	+	–	
191. Leader incensed upon return	+		+			+	+	–	–		+	+	+	+	+	+	
192. Replaces whistle near moon	+		+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	
193. After midnight individual fans, rattles, etc., used	+		+	+	•+	–	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
194. All urged during meeting to eat as much peyote as possible		•–	•+		+	+	+	+			•(+)	+	–	+•(+)		+	+
195. Urged not to eat too much			•+	–		–	–	–			– (+)	+	–	•+	–	–	
196. Individual prayers aloud, by men	+	+	•+	+	+	–	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
197. By women			•+	–	•+	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–		
198. Suppliant first gets tobacco from leader	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+		•+	+
199. Cigarette lighted with fire stick	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+		+	+
200. 4 puffs of smoke blown toward altar at start	+		+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+		+	
201. Butt handed to leader			+	+	(–)	–		•+	–	–	+	•–	+	+	+	–	
202. To cedarman, who blows 4 puffs toward altar			+	–	(–)	–		–	–	•–	+	–	+	+		–	
203. To chief drummer, who blows 4 puffs toward altar			+	–	(–)	–		–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	
204. Handed back to leader, who blows 4 puffs toward altar			+	–	(–)	–		+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	
205. Prayer by individual followed by one by leader		•+	+	+	(–)	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	•–	
206. No one leaves meeting while anyone is singing, praying, or eating peyote	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	•+	+	+
207. Morning water call (similar procedure to midnight ritual)	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	•+	•–	+	+	+	+	+	•+	–	+
208. Water brought in	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
209. By woman	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+

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14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute
Crow NQ10
Delaware NM7
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171 S45 796 [264]

PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST—(*Concluded*)

Element	Occurrence																				
	LIT	K-A	Kio	Com	Kio	Ar	Ar	Del	Del	Wm	C-Ne	C-O	C-O	Ute	Ute	Ute	d-W	Tew			
210. Who blesses water	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	• –	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+			
211. Woman makes circuit of altar before taking water outside	+	+	+		(+)	+			–	–		+	+	+	+	–	–	+			
212. Woman returns immediately with food and water	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	• –	• –	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
213. "Peyote breakfast"	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	• –	• –	+	• +	+	+	+	+	+	+			
214. Lined up in front of door, in order (from fire toward door)		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
215. Order: water, maize, fruit, meat		–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	• +	+	+	+	• +	+	+	+			
216. Water, rice, fruit, meat	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	• –	–	–	–	• +	–	–	–			
217. Water, maize, fruit, candy		–	–	–	–	• +	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–			
218. Water, maize, meat, fruit		–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–			
219. Parched maize in sweetened water		+		+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	• +	+	–	• +	+	+	+			
220. Candy also included in the breakfast	+	–	+	–	+	• +	–	–	• +	–	–	• –	• –	• +	• +	–	–	–			
221. Food blessed	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	• +	+	• +	+	+	+	+			
222. Wash before eating			–	–	–	–			• +		–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+			
223. Paraphernalia put away after blessing	+		+	+	+	+			• +	• +	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
224. Before eating	+		+	–		+			• +	• +	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+			
225. Drum untied	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	• +	• +	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
226. Water from drum drunk	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+		–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
227. Water touched to body with stick, hands—"baptism"	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
228. Any remaining poured on or between crescents	+	+	+	–	+	• +	–			• +	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
229. Objects used to tie on drumhead touched to body	+	+	+	+		–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
230. All parts of drum passed, handled	+	+	+	+		–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
231. Leader's outfit taken out by fire chief	+		+			+								+	+	+	+				
232. Food passed clockwise	+	+	+	+	+	+				–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
233. Replaced on floor between fire and door			?	+		+				–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
233a. Order before passing reversed				+		+				–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
234. Taken out by fire chief	+	+	• +	+		+				–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
235. After food taken out, all go outside, about 9 A.M.	+	+	+	+	+	+			• –	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
236. Sun greeted	+		–	–	(–)	–			• +		–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–			
237. Return to tipi to lounge, talk, smoke	+	+	• +	–	–	(–)	+	+			–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
238. Tipi dismantled, altar destroyed following meeting		• –	• +	+	–	+					+	• –	• +	• +	• +	• +	• +	• +			

Crow NQ10
Delaware NM7 ●

Element	Occurrence																	
	13 T	K-A	Kio	Com	Kie	Ab S	De 1	De 2	Wis	No C	Cr 1	Cr 2	WRS	Die	Gos	W-P	Tew
239. Feast follows meeting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
240. Aligned between leader and doot starting at west: Bible		−	−	−	−	•	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
241. Staff, rattle, and feathers	+	+	+	+		+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
242. Whistle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
243. "Chief peyote"	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
244. Crescent of earth	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
245. Crescent of ash	+	+	+	+	+	−	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
246. Fire	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
247. Fire stick	+	+	+	+	+	+			−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
248. Water	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
249. Person blessing water	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
250. Peyote breakfast	+	+	• +	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
251. Beliefs connected with peyotism: belief in a Great God (Great Spirit)	+		+	−	+	+	+	+	• +	+	+	+	• +	+	+	+	+
252. Belief in spirit forces subservient to the Great God	+		+		(−)	+	+	+	+				+	• +	+	+	
253. Peyote is a spirit force chosen to guide the Indians	+	+	+	+	+	• +	+	+		+		+	+	+	+	+	
254. Peyote's function is medicinal	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	• +	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
255. Peyote's function is particularly ethical-religious	+	+	• +	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+
256. Peyote's doctrines can be understood only through peyote intoxication	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	+		+	+	+		+	
257. Ultimate goal of intoxication is enlightenment and physical betterment	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	
258. Individual can be helped by concerted prayer	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+		+	+
259. Individual must attain purity before approaching spirit forces	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+		+		+	+	+	
260. An important function of peyote meeting is to purify	+	+	+	+	(+)	• +	+	+	+	+		+		+		+	
261. Modifications permitted by new revelations	+		+				−	+					−	+		•	+
262. Approach to spirit forces should be humble	+	+	• +	+	+	• +	+	+	+	+			+	+		+	
263. Concept of the Peyote road as ethical-religious	+	+	• +	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			+	+		+	
264. Identification of the Peyote road with the Creator's road		+	• +	−		−	+	+		+			+	+		+	+
265. Identification of the Peyote road with Jesus' road		+	• +	+	• +	−	−	+	+	−			+	+	•	+	
265a. (See note)																	

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14: Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR 13 Northern Paiute

Crow NQ 20
Delaware NM7 ●
Winnebago NP12

Stewart: Washo-Northern Paiute Peyotism 105[7]

Element	Occurrence																											
	ULT	K-A	Kio	Com	Kio	Ady	Del	Del	Wis	Oto	Cri	Oto	SUS	Dis	Gos	Ara	Dis	Tew
1. Staff of authority of leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2. "Cane" 3-5 feet long	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3. Tufts of hair at top	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
4. *Artemisia* tied near top or held along with cane	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
5. Passed around	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
6. Always passed between drum and altar	+	(+)	+		(–)	+				(+)	(+)	(+)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
7. Person holding staff leads singing	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
8. Rattle of leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
9. Gourd	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
10. Decorated	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
11. Handle beaded	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
12. Tufts of hair on top	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
13. Rattle passed around	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
14. Person singing shakes rattle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
15. Individual rattle also used	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
16. Only after midnight	+		+	+	–	–	+	•	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
17. To accompany singer holding staff			+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
18. Fan of leader (eagle tail feathers)	+	+	+	+	+	•	+	•	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
19. Each feather tied separately	+	+	+	+	(–)	+	+	•	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
20. Binding decorated		+	•	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
21. Passed around	+		–	+	(–)	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
22. Held with staff while singing	+		•	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
23. Individual fans also used	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
24. Only after midnight	+		+	–	(+)	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
25. All fans used to draw smoke over head, body	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
26. Eagle-wingbone whistle of leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
27. Used at special midnight ritual	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
28. At special morning ritual	+	+	+	+	(+)	+				+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
29. Placed near altar in front of leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
30. Only leader uses whistle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

For Notes to Element List see p. 114.

(Continued on next page)

C
D
W
171 ●
795
796
[534]

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR 13 Northern Paiute
Comanche No6
Delaware NM7
LC
D
●171
.N95
1996
[534
.276]

PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST—(*Continued*)

Element	Occurrence																				
	Tew	W-P	Ute	Gos	Ute	SWSh	Cr 2	Cr 1	No C	Win	Dw 2	Del	Ab S	Kio	Com	Kio	K-A	Kio	Kio	Kio	13 T
31. Paraphernalia satchel	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
32. Cloth upon which to place paraphernalia	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
33. Drum of leader (or chief drummer)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
34. Water drum	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
35. Iron kettle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
36. Pottery jar	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
37. Charcoal in water	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
38. Head of deerskin	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
39. Skin tied on before meeting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
40. 7 stones or sticks used in tie	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
41. 7 stones represent days																					
42. Rope forms star on bottom of drum	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
43. Star significant	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
44. Skin removed at end of meeting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
45. Only one drum used	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
46. Drumstick of leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
47. Individual drumsticks also used	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
48. Only after midnight	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
49. Drum and drumstick passed around	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
50. Separate drummer accompanies singer	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
51. Drummer usually at right of singer	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
52. Only men drum	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
53. Bag of cedar (juniper) leaves of leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
54. Cedar sprinkled on fire	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
55. Usually by cedarman	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
56. Only one bag of cedar used	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
57. Tobacco furnished by leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
58. Rolled in maize husks	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
59. In oak leaves	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
60. In paper	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−

14: Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute
Comanche ND6
Delaware NM7 ●

Element	Occurrence																		
	13 T	K-A	Ea	Com	Kio	Ab 8	Da 1	Da 2	Wa	No C	Or	Cr 2	WR8	Da	Gos	W-P	Tos		
61. Only leader's tobacco used	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	°+	+	+	(+)	+	–		
62. Tobacco lacking from ritual	°(+)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	°+	–	–	–		
63. Peyote furnished by leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°–	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+		
64. "Chief peyote," an extra large "button"	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+		
°65. Decorated with white lines	–	–	–		(–)		–	–	–	–	–	°–	–	–	–	–	–		
66. Placed on altar in front of leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
67. Is not eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	–	+		
68. *Artemisia* leaves under "chief peyote"	+	+	+	+	(–)	+	+			+	+	+	+	+		–			
69. Form cross	+	°+	(+)	+		+	+			+	+	°+	°+	+		–			
70. Peyote for eating passed around	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
71. Only leader's used until after midnight		°+	+		(+)	°–	+	°+	–		+	°–	°–	+	°(+)	°–			
72. Leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•	+	+		
73. Called chief or peyote chief	+	+	°+	+	(+)	°+	°+	°+		+	+	°+	°+	+	•	+	+		
74. Sits west of altar or shrine or fire	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
75. Has complete charge of meeting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
76. Assistants	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
77. 2 assistants		+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–			
78. 3 assistants	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	+		
79. 4 or more assistants		–	°–	–	–	+	+	°+	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	°+			
80. Chief drummer	+	+	+	+	+	+	°+	°+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
81. Sits at leader's right	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°–	°–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
82. Drums for leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°–	+		
83. Drums for each singer in turn	–	–	–	–	–	–		°+	°–	–	°+	°–	°–	°+	–	–			
84. Cedarman or cedar chief	+	–	+	+	+	°+	+	–	°+	°–	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+		
85. Sits at leader's left	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	°–	°–	+	°–	+	+	+	+			
86. Sprinkles cedar leaves on fire	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–			
87. Offers prayers at specified times	+	–	+	–	(–)	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
88. Fire chief or fire tender	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
89. Sits at north side of entrance	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+	°+		+									
90. Starts fire before meeting	+	+	+	+		+	+	+											

(Continued on next page)

C
D
171
M45
M96
[2x4]

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute
Crow NQ10
Delaware NM7

NOTES TO ELEMENT LIST

1. Cr 2: Straight stick of any kind or collapsible cane, beaded at joints (Voget).

2. Ab S: "The staff represents a walking cane" (Voegelin). Gos: Made of mountain mahogany by leader himself (Malouf).

3. K-A: Not necessarily (McAllister). Ab S: Deer's tail dyed red (Voegelin). De 1: Staff decorated with feathers, ribbon, and otter skins (Petrullo, 49). Win: Tufts of hair around two joints about a foot from each end of cane. An oval celloluid device 5 inches long with feathers attached around its edge was suspended from the upper joint. Staff was walking stick with crook (Praus). Cr 2: Horsehair among the Crow. Sometimes hair of different animals is used. "People wish for the same type of animal as the hair. It is a sort of wishbone." Crow prefer white horsehair to black. "The old-time Indians say white is the cleanest thing on earth; that is why they use that" (Voget).

4. Ab S: Held by person giving the meeting, at opening of meeting only (Voegelin). Cr 2: Four pieces of sage used, held along with staff. Silvery wide-leafed variety of sage is employed (Voget). WRS: Four pieces of *Artemisia* are tied on (Shimkin).

5. Ab S: Bunch of sage passed around separately at beginning of meeting (Voegelin); WRS: Clockwise, "the same as the world" (Shimkin).

9. Cr 2: Man who has his own rattle which suits the pitch of his voice holds leader's rattle in his left hand and rattles his own with his right hand. "Each man does as he wishes in worship." But note that individual rattles not employed until after midnight, apparently out of deference to position of leader. That would be impolite (Voget).

10. Kio: Decoration of gourd proper doubtful. But I have seen "Jesus talk" written on a Comanche gourd (La Barre). Ab S: Gourd itself is stained dark brown with walnut-bark (sic) dye; undecorated otherwise. But handle and projecting end are beaded, tasseled, etc. (Voegelin).

12. Gos: White horsehair at end of handle is not dyed (Malouf). W-P: Feathers also used.

13. Cr 1: "Passed with cane" (Voget).

16. De 2: In "Wilson way" meeting members can rattle own rattles any time (Webber). Prohibition on using rattles other than ones used by road chief until midnight (Petrullo, 90, 158). WRS: After drum goes around once, individual rattles may be used (Shimkin).

18. Ab S: Eagle, chicken hawk, parrot, "any kind of bird." Leader did not have special fan that was passed around; each person, including leader, brought and used own fan all night (Voegelin). De 2: Fans and single feathers used in meeting (Webber). See note 3. Cr 2: Any feathers used. Usually eagle tail feathers come out in set of twelve; that is, twelve good feathers found naturally in tail of each bird. "The twelve-feather set represents months of the year; we do not change that" (Voget). WRS: Eagle-wing fan with feathers bound together is most common. Fan is of same style as other ceremonial fans (Shimkin).

20. Kio: Buckskin feather sockets not decorated or beaded, but handle is beaded (La Barre).

21. W-P: Leader's fan passed only after midnight.

22. Kio: Leader holds own fan with staff when singing; other men do likewise with their fans when singing (La Barre).

24. De 2: Anyone having single feathers or fan can use them any time they wish (Webber).

25. Cr 1: "Used to draw smoke to inhale" (Voget).

26. De 2: Whistle not used in "Wilson way" meeting (Webber). Cr 2: Sometimes used four times in course of meeting. Midnight: strong, sharp, long blasts four times. "We make these four long calls in order that the Creator might hear us. That is the way I understand it among the Crows." Right after the water call, leader goes outside tipi, usually whistles in order toward east, south, west, and north, the four parts of the earth. Four blasts are given to each direction, and a prayer is offered. Type of prayer depends upon the leader, "but each corner has something of its own." East: prayer to rising sun, which brings daylight, and to wind, which comes from east, about which all peoples, Indian and white, know. "I do not know what other countries have, but the Montana east wind is harmless." South: prayers offered to those things of the south, for instance, warmth and food. West: setting of the sun brings darkness. Also, certain foods come from the west. "Whatever property is needed from the west [the leader asks for]." North: the same holds for the north; but north wind usually cold, so leader usually asks Creator to control it, keep it not too cold so that animals will not die (Voget).

14: Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR 13 Northern Paiute

Crow NQ1D
Delaware NM7 ●

27. Gos: Also used before meeting, while all lined up outside (Malouf).
28. Gos: See note 265a.
30. WRS: Leader allows others to blow whistle as special privilege—to show thanks to Creator (Shimkin).
32. Ab S: Square of purple velvet (Voegelin).
33. Com and No C: Chief drummer does not necessarily provide or tune drum. Best drum available used (Hoebel). Cr 1: Leader has complete outfit, and if drummer, whom he selects, has no drum, leader lends his (Voget). Cr 2: Chief drummer uses own drum (Voget).
35. Cr 2: Can be copper, gold, aluminum, or "anything of iron" (Voget). Gos: 1½-gallon size used, although gallon (No. 6) size desired (Malouf).
36. 13 T: Among Caddo (La Barre).
37. Cr 2: Charcoal obtained from leader's stove (Voget). Gos: Fourteen pieces; Goshute don't know what they represent (Malouf).
38. De 1: Otter skin sometimes used (Webber). Cr 1: "Buckskin of a sort," that is, any well-tanned skin (Voget). Cr 2: Usually deerskin best, but any soft skin may be used (Voget).
40. Kic: Six pebbles used (Noon). Ab S: Eight small round pebbles (Voegelin). De 1: Four small stones used (Petrullo, 50). Cr 1: Seven stone "marbles" (Voget). Cr 2: "Small ball-like rocks" (Voget).
43. Ab S: I suspect it is significant, but my informant did not comment on this (Voegelin). Cr 1: "It means the stars, I guess" (Voget). Cr 2: Symbolized stars in the sky; later the people observed that law officers carried such, and so "we use it to signify living within the law" (Voget). Gos: Represents Morning Star (Malouf).
44. Gos: See note 265a.
46. Cr 1: Chief drummer's used if he has one (Voget).
48. Ab S: Used only after drum had passed halfway around tipi, as far as door; then individual drumsticks smoked in cedar, and permission given to use them—but this long before midnight (Voegelin).
50. De 2: See note 83. Cr 1: Man asks permission of drum chief to pick out drummer (Voget).
51. K-A: Each person participating drums. Feeling strong that one should have peyote partner, and singing and drumming occur in couples. First man sings, his partner drums; then first man drums, second sings. Singing occurs in regular order. Drum skips and then goes back; then skips again, etc. (McAllister). Cr 2: If man on right (A) wishes man on left (B) to drum, B circles room clockwise and sits to right of staff held by A (Voget).
52. Ab S: "Women sometimes drum at a peyote meeting," but mainly men, I noticed (Voegelin). Cr 2: "There is no law against women [drumming], but they just don't" (Voget).
53. Kic: My information not definite on this point. My recollection is that the bag of cedar belonged to the cedarman—this may be a confused impression due to the fact that the cedarman alone threw the cedar on the fire (Noon). Cr 2: Members also have some for their own use (Voget).
55. K-A: No "cedarman"; drummer usually puts cedar on fire (McAllister). Ab S: Usually cedar sprinkled by leader (Voegelin).
56. Win: Both assistants to right and left of leader have cedar bags and sprinkle it on fire at different times. Man on left did so at midnight ceremony (Praus).
57. Ab S: This tobacco is mixed with sage (Voegelin). See note 198 W-P. WRS: Person calling meeting, or sponsor, gives tobacco to leader before meeting, unless sponsor also leader (Shimkin).
58. Gos: See note 265a.
59. Ab S: Perhaps—but I never heard of it for peyote meetings, although Shawnee use oak leaves sometimes for ordinary cigarettes (Voegelin).
60. Cr 2: Paper not "proper"; only when no husks available (Voget).
61. Cr 2: If leader has no tobacco on hand, others may offer their own (Voget).
62. 13 T: Tobacco lacking among some Oto, Pawnee, Winnebago (La Barre, 79). Ute: Tobacco not used in "old Sioux way" sects among Ute and Goshute.
63. Win: Cost of peyote defrayed by persons sponsoring meeting; I received buttons from fire chief, assistant at right of leader, and various men in the group (Praus). WRS: Sponsor gives peyote to leader. Names for peyote: (1) has; (2) wɔgᵂeɛi—a Comanche word for "cactus" (Shimkin).

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR 13 Northern Paiute
Comanche NO6
Delaware NM7 ●

C
D
● 171
795
796

64. Cr 2: Represents the original peyote which the woman found, as recounted in the legend which purports to account for the discovery and subsequent use of peyote (Voget).

65. Opler (1936, 160) states "some [Mescalero] peyote shamans trace a cross of pollen on the 'chief peyote,' some do not." Cr 2: Lines "grow" on peyote naturally; that is, peyote is not re-decorated, the lines (white) being natural products (Voget).

67. Cr 2: Informant thought the chief peyote could be eaten, but did not know of any instance (Voget).

69. K-A: Called a star rather than a cross (McAllister). Cr 2: Represents four corners of earth and also sun's rays (Voget). WRS: At times four, eight, or twelve leaves used to produce different forms (Shimkin).

70. Win: See note 63.

71. K-A: Not necessarily. Depends upon supply and generosity of leader (McAllister). Ab S: People urged to eat their own peyote, if they had brought any, early in evening (Voegelin). De 2: Peyote other than leader's may be eaten before midnight if leader's supply runs out (Webber). Cr 2: One's own peyote can be used from the start (Voget). WRS: Leader's peyote required only for "first round" (Shimkin). Gos: All peyote in one bag (Malouf). W-P: No individual supplies of peyote used in meetings.

73. Kio: Called "road chief" or "road man" from the "peyote road" on symbolic altar; leader tells them the "road" to go (La Barre). Ab S: "Boss man" or "road man" (Voegelin). De 1 and 2: "Road man" (Webber, Petrullo). Cr 2: Usually just plain "chief" (Voget). WRS: tegwahin (Shimkin). Gos: See note 265a.

74. De 2: In one "Wilson way" meeting, the road man sat at east end of moon, faced west (Webber). In one Big Moon variant, road chief to east of altar (Petrullo, 182). See note 97.

79. Kio: Four assistants if peyote woman, water and food bringer, is included (La Barre). De 2: See note 83.

80. De 1 and 2: Called "drum chief" (Webber). W-P: Leader's wife often chief drummer.

81. Win: Chief drummer sits at leader's left (Praus). No C: At leader's left (Hoebel).

83. De 2: "In some Caddo Delaware 'Big Moons' " the drum chief accompanies the drum round the circle, drumming for each singer (La Barre, 69). At start the fireman drums not only for road man, but for everybody completely round the circle; they have as many as five assistant firemen and they drum in turn until end of meeting (Webber). Win: May be chosen by anyone (Praus). Cr 1: May or may not (Voget). Cr 2: Any man can drum if picked out by the singer (Voget). WRS: May drum for beginner (Shimkin). Ute: Chief drummer drums for each singer in turn once during meeting. W-P: May drum for anyone who asks him, or he may offer to drum for individuals. Singer may ask anyone to drum for him; leader often asked. Taos: Singer may ask anyone to drum for him (Parsons).

84. Ab S: At meeting I attended, a visiting Arapaho filled all the functions you note for cedarman: But he was not explicitly referred to as cedarman (Voegelin). Win: See note 56. Cr 2: Apparently selected by leader for each meeting. There might be a different one before and after midnight (Voget).

85. Win: Sits at leader's right (Praus). No C: Sits at leader's right (Hoebel). Cr 2: "Just chance" (Voget).

88. Ab S: Also second fire chief (Voegelin).

89. K-A: Yes, but theoretically fire chief *should* sit on south side (McAllister). De 2: Firemen sit on both sides of door (Webber).

90. Cr 1: "He builds the fire, it commences" (Voget).

92. Win: See note 162.

93. Cr 1: "Well, he lets them come in, he lets them go out. If sick or helpless, he has to help"; otherwise people find own seats (Voget). Cr 2: Conducts late arrivals to their seats (Voget).

94. Kio: In theory; not rigidly adhered to (La Barre). De 2: Bathing not always before, sometimes after meetings (Webber). No C: Only chief and assistants by requirement, others may (Hoebel). Cr 1: If they have to (Voget). Cr 2: The people clean up. Could be viewed as a purification (Voget). W-P: Bathing recommended; often done in hot springs.

95. Ab S: Tipi, sometimes in house (Voegelin). Cr 1: If people want to put up a meeting, they have it at their house (Voget). Cr 2: House or tipi may be used, latter more proper (Voget).

14: Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR 13 Northern Paiute

Comanche N06
Delaware NM7

Gos: Although tipi preferable, house used at meeting attended. All good peyote members have houses facing east for that reason (Malouf).

96. Kio: In old days; not now (La Barre).

97. De 2: One Big Moon variant has entrance to west (Petrullo, 182). Sometimes door to west (Webber). See notes 74, 99.

98. De 2: Most usual Big Moon crescent altar is drawn on ground, instead of being made in a mound. Numerous other innovations in type of altar were introduced by Wilson and his followers (Petrullo, 80, 179–184). However, Anderson's Big Moon altar, consisting of crescentic mound with a line on its crest, is described and shown in picture (Petrullo, 48, 101). Win: Altar consisted of pit inside of horseshoe incised on floor. Lines extended beyond altar in the cardinal directions (Praus). Altar resembles that of the Delaware Big Moon variant shown by Petrullo, plate 3, page 79. Gos: Inasmuch as meeting held in dwelling, special altar constructed. In addition to crescent, apron of earth extended toward the east from concave side of moon which protected the wooden floor from hot embers carried in from fire outside (Malouf).

99. De 2: End toward west in one Big Moon variant (Petrullo, 182). See notes 74, 97. Win: See note 98.

100. De 2: See note 98. Win: See note 98.

101. Gos: Kerosene lamp, four sticks, and hot coals used in place of fire impossible in house (Malouf).

103. Com: Sticks form tipi (Hoebel). Cr 2: Point or "face" west (Voget). WRS: Must be neat is only rule (Shimkin).

104. Kio: In theory; not rigidly enforced. One leader insists fire be lit with one match (La Barre). Cr 1: "Matches is the quickest, or they could use 'clinkers'; that is the Indian way. But that is all past, you know" (Voget). Cr 2: Match employed (Voget).

105. Com and No C: Seven sticks on fire (Hoebel). De 1 and 2: Twelve sticks at start (Petrullo, 50, 101). Cr 2: Number varies with weather, but usually at least four (Voget). Taos: Seven sticks (Parsons).

106. WRS: Sometimes carved (Shimkin).

108. Ab S: Not obligatory, except for female. "Should wear moccasins." Several men wore blankets; "depended upon whether they owned one or not" (Voegelin). Cr 1: "They put on the best they have; they doll up, just as the whites when they go to church" (Voget). Cr 2: People wear their best clothes. Apparently no preference for old-time dress (Voget). Taos: "Peyote boys" wear American shoes and hats, contrary to the rule of going in Indian habit while at the pueblo. Peyotists refuse to cut seats from trousers (Parsons).

109. Cr 1: When dark (Voget).

110. Kio: Varies with leader (La Barre). Ab S: Leader offered prayers when putting up tipi, putting the sage (?) cross on moon, etc., but I do not think he prayed just before going in, except when he made the peyote tea just before the meeting (Voegelin).

111. De 2: Chief enters alone and is seated when others enter (Petrullo, 89; Webber). Gos: Chief enters alone and blows whistle for others to enter (Malouf). See note 265a.

112. De 2: Drum chief led worshippers into tipi (Petrullo, 96).

114. Cr 1: "Each family goes together; women could precede men" (Voget). Cr 2: Such an arrangement could be due to pure chance (Voget).

115. Kio: Women attend, but no children except when meeting given to heal child (Noon). WRS: Children allowed only if ill (Shimkin).

117. De 2: See notes 74, 97, 99. W-P: Rules for seating not fixed. When room, husband and wife sit together in inner circle; when crowded, wife and children sit back of husband.

119. Kio: Varies with leader; some on south side; some near door; some anywhere (save officials' places) (La Barre).

120. De 1 and 2: Women south of altar, men north of altar (Petrullo, 57; Webber). Cr 2: Single line used so no one sits between anyone else and the Creator's gift. Segregation would be result of chance (Voget). WRS: Theoretically proper, often disregarded (Shimkin).

122. Kio: All worshippers sit in single row save when more worshippers than can be thus accommodated (Noon).

124. Cr 1: Blankets (Voget). Cr 2: Each has his own cushion (Voget).

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125. Ab S: Sage underneath blankets (Voegelin). WRS: Sage formerly required (Shimkin).

127. Cr 2: Instructions first as to teaching or belief, followed by prayer (Voget).

128. De 2: Leader prepares first prayer cigarette, which is passed around to all (Webber). Cr 2: Cigarette rolled before prayer (Voget). Gos: See note 265a.

130. Ab S: Leader prayed silently while smoking (Voegelin). Cr 1: Tells about purpose of meeting so they may pray (Voget).

132. Cr 1: To "peyote chief," but "just the same as moon" (Voget). Cr 2: Blown toward "chief peyote" (Voget).

133. Ab S: Prayed with bowed heads, eyes closed, men must kneel (Voegelin).

134. De 2: In original Wilson Moon, cigarette butts placed at left side of altar, in front of road chief, but in other Big Moon ceremonies left in front of smoker to be gathered by fire chief (Webber). Cr 2: Those sitting facing convex surface of moon place their cigarette butts against moon; those facing concave side place their butts at point of horns of moon; those north of line between leader and entrance place theirs on north side of altar, and vice versa (Voget). WRS: Butts placed against moon by fire chief and assistant (Shimkin).

135. Cr 1: "Some take sage from seat and rub this on hands" (Voget).

136. K-A: Sage leaves placed under blankets and each person uses his own (McAllister).

137. Cr 2: Informant did not remember any chewing, but it may have happened a long time ago (Voget).

141. K-A: Yes, but at the meetings I attended they "cut the dose," as they termed it, to two, out of consideration for my presence, for they thought I would find it difficult to eat four; and I would have at one time (McAllister). Ab S: At the meeting we attended each was told to take two buttons (Voegelin). WRS: Some take two (Shimkin).

142. K-A: Optional: some do, most do not. Kio: Mode of eating depends on each individual (La Barre). Cr 1: Some. Most simply take it and eat (Voget). WRS: As special sign of respect to Creator (Shimkin).

143. Kio: Mode of eating depends on each individual (La Barre). Cr 1 and 2: Optional (Voget).

144. Cr 1: Four eaten; then they sing. When meeting starts, outfit has to be going [around] all the time (Voget). Cr 2: First four peyote buttons eaten before singing starts (Voget).

145. Gos: See note 265a.

146. Ab S: Leader held paraphernalia in hands; drum chief likewise (Voegelin).

147. Ab S: Leader sprinkled cedar (Voegelin). Cr 2: Chief does the incensing at this point (Voget).

148. Gos: See note 265a.

149. WRS: More than once; number not fixed (Shimkin).

150. K-A: When cedar is placed on the fire, each person symbolically washes himself with it (McAllister).

151. Cr 1: "Just once; so everyone can smell the smoke" (Voget). WRS: Number not fixed (Shimkin).

152. Cr 1: In front of leader (Voget).

154. WRS: Either Shoshone or Arapaho starting song may be used (Shimkin). Gos: See note 265a.

159. Ab S: "The usual number is four, but sometimes men feel so good that they may sing as many as twelve songs" (Voegelin).

160. De 2: Each man sings, then drums for his neighbor (Petrullo, 91). In Wilson Moon the drum chief and different fire chiefs do all the drumming (Webber). See note 53. W-P: See note 83.

161. K-A: Women attend, but I never saw them participate. I do not know if there is a rule; probably merely a feeling that they should not (McAllister). Cr 2: No rule against women singing (Voget). Gos: I inquired about this especially and they said women used to sing but do not do so any more (Malouf). W-P: Women hold staff, lead singing, drum.

163. De 2: No midnight recess (Petrullo, 42). Midnight water call and recess present in Big Moon cult (Petrullo, 158). Recess only to burn cedar incense for everyone to fan over themselves while standing. Water in meeting all night and can be used any time, but is used with restraint (Webber; Petrullo, 93). Gos: See note 265a. W-P: No fixed song for water calls, or any time.

164. Ab S: Recalls and lays them down (Voegelin). Cr 1: "Chief has to put outfit in front of himself" (Voget).

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165. De 1: Ashes formed into an eagle in one small-moon variant (Petrullo, 78). De 2: Ashes piled on each side of fire to represent the lungs of Jesus. Also formed into a heart (Petrullo, 101, 181). Win: Ashes formed into a moon twice during the ritual and, in addition, formed into a heart twice, the "Morning Star" twice (the second time with lines across two points), a cross (by filling with embers the interspaces of the cross incised on floor), and finally a sun (Praus).

169. De 2: See note 163. Cr 2: By cedarman (Voget).

170. Cr 2: Four blasts on the whistle; then two songs are sung, the first being "fixed" (Voget).

171. WRS: Sometimes twice (Shimkin).

172. De 2: Special water song used to call for fresh water in morning (Petrullo, 93).

173-174: Com and No C: Water handed into lodge by women; put in position by fire chief (Hoebel). Kio: Woman once observed blessing water at midnight (Noon).

176. W-P: Cedarman only sprinkles cedar on fire; no prayer.

177. Ab S: Swings water bucket four times over fire on which cedar has been sprinkled (Voegelin).

180. Cr 1: Drummer both smokes and prays (Voget).

182. Gos: To moisten "mother earth" (Malouf).

186. Cr 2: Makes circuit of room after removing water (Voget).

187. Ab S: Drum and staff were lying beside the leader; he picks up staff at this point and hands it to man on his left, while he goes outside with whistle (Voegelin). Win: During drinking of water at midnight, staff placed upright in hole just west of incised horseshoe, in front of leader (Praus).

188. Win: Drummer goes outside after paraphernalia placed (Praus).

193. Win: Only individual fans used after midnight (Praus). Kio: Only fans (Noon).

194. K-A: No urging; each is expected to be his own judge (McAllister). Kio: Depends on leader and age of those to whom he is talking (La Barre). Cr 1: "Chief tells them to eat all they wish, but it is up to the individual. Free will, you know. He does not coax to fill them up, or not to" (Voget). Gos: Urged to eat as much as desired (Malouf).

195. Kio: Depends on leader and age of those to whom he is talking (La Barre). Ute: In "old Sioux way" devotees urged not to eat too much; usually eat only four buttons.

196. Kio: As designated by leader (La Barre). De 2: Road man usually announces that anyone wishing to pray through a cigarette may do so after midnight, but some leaders do not approve of individual prayers (Webber).

197. Kio: As designated by leader (La Barre). Kie: Exceptional. Only when woman is close friend of family of person being treated. Spiritual value of prayers of friends is greater (Noon).

198. W-P: For special individual prayers, leader rolls the cigarettes, to which he adds ground sage leaves. See note 57 Ab S.

201. De 2: Road chief lighted and puffed cigarette before handing it to individual for his prayer, then this chief puffed it and prayed following individual (Petrullo, 93). Cr 2: It might be handed to anyone (Voget).

202. No C: Instead of to cedarman, butt handed to fire chief, who blows four puffs toward altar (Hoebel).

205. Kio: Procedure not rigid. Leader may run this differently at each meeting (La Barre). W-P: Leader occasionally but not usually prays following individual prayers.

206. Kio: May leave between a man's four songs, if gets leader's permission. Prescribed etiquette for passing before smokers and eaters (La Barre). Cr 1 and 2: Permissible to leave any time, if necessary (Voget). Gos: No one left during songs, but several went outside during prayers in early morning (Malouf).

207. De 2: Fixed water call in morning for fire chief to bring pail of fresh water, replacing that which had been in meeting all night. (Petrullo, 93, 102). All blessings by road chief in Big Moon variant (Webber; Petrullo, 102). Win: No water brought into meeting in morning (Praus). Gos: See note 265a.

209. De 2: See note 207.

210. De 2: Road chief blesses water (Webber).

212-213. De 2: No peyote breakfast (Petrullo, 94). Peyote breakfast present in all Big Moon variants (Petrullo, 157). As a rule, at "Wilson way" meeting no peyote breakfast served; instead candy, refreshments served, especially if among rich Oklahoma Indians (Webber). Win:

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Food eaten outside without special ceremony after meeting (Praus). Cr 1: "If breakfast ready, she [woman water carrier] brings it in; if not, fire chief brings it in later" (Voget).

215. No C: In absence of corn, Cracker Jack (a brand of candied popcorn) used. Boiled raisins and rice used as fruit (Hoebel). WRS: Order varied; fruit sometimes last (Shimkin). Gos: See note 265a. Taos: Rice sometimes used in place of maize (Parsons).

216. No C: See note 215 for use of rice. Gos: According to my Washo-Paiute informants, Goshute boiled rice instead of corn at times. W-P: Fruit (canned peaches, salad mixture) sometimes served before boiled rice.

217. Ab S: Fruit was home-canned blackberries (Voegelin).

219. Cr 1: "Just cooked corn; if do not have it, use canned corn" (Voget). WRS: May be canned corn (Shimkin).

220. Ab S: Red and white striped peppermint stick candy, broken into inch pieces (Voegelin). De 2: See note 212. Cr 1: "Not here, but I hear those south boys use it" (Voget). WRS: For special ceremonies—Christmas, Easter, etc. (Shimkin).

221. Cr 1 and 2: Individual selected especially for blessing food (Voget).

222. De 2: Exit from tipi at dawn to wash and greet sun, then return to tipi until dinner (Petrullo, 93).

223–225. De 2: Drum untied and paraphernalia put away after blessing and before eating dinner at noon (Petrullo, 94). Win: Paraphernalia put away after blessing of dinner at noon (Praus). Gos: See note 265a. Taos: After breakfast, singing continues until paraphernalia reach chief (Parsons).

226. No C: Water tasted on drumstick (Hoebel).

227. WRS: Recently discontinued (Shimkin).

228. Ab S: Poured on west side of moon (Voegelin). Win: Water from drum sprinkled on four interspaces of cross (incised on floor of fireplace) which had been filled with live embers by the fire chief (Praus).

234. Kio: Usually handed by fireman to woman or women helpers (La Barre).

235. De 2: Meeting continues until noon (Petrullo, 94; Webber).

236. Kio: No formal lining up to greet sun. May be individual wordless "greetings" (La Barre). De 2: Devotees file out of tipi and line up facing sun, at dawn (Petrullo, 96, 97). At exactly noon, leader gazes at sun and worships sun and blesses food (Webber).

237. Kio: May or may not return to tipi. Those with photophobic eyes seek shade either in tipi, under "shade," or under "tree" (La Barre).

238. K-A: Tipi dismantled, but altar simply left; no longer sacred, but not intentionally destroyed (McAllister). Kio: Depends on leader (La Barre). Cr 1: "Tipi might be taken down in evening, leaving altar way it is" (Voget).

240. Ab S: Bible not used, but I was told that it is used among the "Loyal" or Cherokee Shawnee of northeastern Oklahoma. Some among the Cherokee Shawnee take peyote "according to the Bible way . . . like those Ioways." The "Bible way" peyote takers are "against" old native religious ceremonies and dances, which is not the case among the Absentee (Voegelin).

250. Kio: Before the blessing of the water takes place, the food is outside the tipi back of the prayer. When it is set up for "peyote breakfast" it is between prayer and water (La Barre).

251–265. These elements are thus defined by Petrullo (1934, 154–58). Win: Jesus mentioned in all prayers (Praus). WRS: damē apē (Our [inclusive] Father). One informant used the exclusive form nī'mē apē (Shimkin.)

252. Gos: Prayers addressed to God, Jesus Christ, Mary, and Peyote (Malouf).

253. Ab S: "God sent the peyote for man to worship" (Voegelin).

254. Win: Meeting I attended was held to thank Jesus for the recovery of two women (Praus).

255. Kio: Some say so, some not (La Barre).

260. Ab S: Purification not stressed, but in line with all I heard about peyote (Voegelin).

261. W-P: Modifications were made, but there was no claim that they were based on revelations.

262. Kio: True of all American Indian religions about which I know, possibly of all approaches to all gods and spirits in all religion (maybe this is one of the definitions of religion!) (La Barre). Ab S: I should say so! "We are pitiful people" (Voegelin).

263. Kio: Like Calvin Coolidge's preacher, the Kiowa are "against sin" too; I don't know what else this element means (La Barre).

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264. Kio: Depends on the individual and his special life history (La Barre). C

265. Kio: Depends on the individual and his special life history (La Barre). Kic: The informant said the incised line on the crescent was "the line toward Christ" (Noon). Gos: Simply called the path of life (Malouf). D 171

265a. A copy of the following program was given to the Ibapah Goshute by an Oklahoma Indian. When the copy was badly worn the Indians asked subagent A. L. Robertson to make a new one, which he did, sending me the carbon copy in January, 1940. 795 796

PROGRAM: NATIVE AMERICAN CHURCH 50D

Part 1—Enter Tepee about 7 or 8 o'clock p.m. in file viz., first, the leader, second, drummer or assistant chief, third, audience follows, all taking seats, fourth, last man to enter fire chief.

Part 2—First, let [place] peyote on moon, second, pass tobacco and corn husks to right to man next to door south, third, fire chief passes cigarette lighted [cigarette-lighting] stick to first man south side of door going around the fire. Man places stick in fire. The chief or leader offers prayer for purpose of meeting it of 5 finish prayer out. Everybody put down stubs around base of moon.

Part 3—Pass sacks of medicine [peyote] to first man south of door and everybody take 4 peyote each and chew and eat medicine.

Part 4—Leader, lay rattler, staff, feathers, and whistle before you, and smudge outfit with cedar leaves by putting in fire and pass over the smudge whole outfit 4 times. Motion forward and back and drummer follows same motion. Lay whistle vertical along side of moon, under chief peyote. Start singing first song follow with any other 3 songs. Pass rattler, staff to left—going around.

Part 5—Midnight. Fire chief fix fire clear up. Gather [place] cigarette stubs to each end of moon [tips of crescent].

Leader recalls outfit to him, puts cedar in fire smudge outfit, drum also and sing midnight song, smudge the water sitting before fire, and fire man behind it and pass to leader and drummer will take cigarette puff. A few times and pass to leader to finish, lay cigarette down between base of moon and whistle and spill a little water on the ground, pass to man on the south side of the door going around to the fire man and take out water, set some where outside and return into tepee. Go around the place and leader then passed the outfit back to the man where the outfit was recalled for taking out water. Leader steps outdoors to offer prayer to four corner points of wall facing, east, south, west, north, blow whistle facing east and going to south side and blow the whistle south and going to west blow whistle to west and going to the north side blow whistle to the north and then return inside and drummer will make cedar smudge to you and take your seat as before. Lay whistle back in the same place and proceed as before.

Part 5—Morning. Fix ashes along side of moon and clean up. Fire man hands you whistle and smudge feathers and whistle. Sing morning song and follow with 3 songs and lay everything to right and leader may ask anyone to offer prayer with cedar to smudge water and meantime drummer rolls smoke for woman and when through smudging water pass cigarette to fireman. He lights it and gives to woman, she offers prayer. When through she takes her seat and smokes, then gives to leader. He offers prayer, finishes, puts stub down as usual. Woman spills little water on ground, drinks and passes water to one south side of door and going around as before. Woman rises, going around and picks up bucket before stepping out. As soon as possible have breakfast delivered, water, corn, fruit, meat. Recall outfit.

Sing 3 songs. Last one quitting song. Lay outfit before you. Offer as blessing for all. Take off chief peyote. Untie drum and pass around the circle.

Fire man takes outfit outside and comes in, goes around and pass breakfast to man south side door in position. Go out as soon as through.

[p 53 (A)]

622 [611] tain Ketchum, and of the Turtle Tribe. His name was Ta-ta-ne-sha. Here we have a practical illustration of descent in the female line, as with the Iroquois. She says each of the three tribes have one hereditary chief, called the Head Chief; that this chief never goes out to war, but stays at home while the Braves go out to fight.

648 The Delawares call the Senecas Mingwa-o, hence I think the historical word Mingoes, [189] a name for the Iroquois. The Delawares call the Iroquois and Wyandottes nephews, and thus assume the name [186] of uncles, which is a way to express their seniority as well as original superiority.

553 I inquired of her about the family names, and was again put at fault. She says the father and mother can name their children as they please; that they ask some one for a list of old names of persons dead, and choose such ones as they like. She thought the names of the three tribes were kept distinct, and then that they were used by these [614] tribes indiscriminately. She said her husband named her children, and gave them all Turtle names, which was his tribe, then followed this up by stating that she did not know as it made any difference, that all used the same names. She referred to the [171] Seneca practice of making a feast when a child was named, but said the Delawares did not do that way.

Winter

773 821 Mr. Pratt mentioned a Delaware tradition about the origin of cold and heat and the change of the seasons as follows. In ancient times a married pair fell into disagreement. They lived in the far north region of cold. The wife, finding it impossible to live with her husband, or in resentment for some injury, travelled into the far south, into the region of heat. The husband became weary

[4 56(B)]

775 have a bodily form. It is a journey of 12 days from earth to Heaven after death.
[171] They believe as do the Iroquois, that the soul does not leave the body finally at death, but that it revisits the body for a few days before it takes its final departure. For this
[764] reason, as Adams says, they bury on scaffolds in the trees, and in a sitting position near the surface of the earth. Last year he made a coffin for an Indian, and his friends made him bore a hole in the head of the coffin, the object of which being to allow the spirit free egress and regress to and from the body.

Heaven is a place of rest. They follow up the path, and the first stopping place is a place where they find a supply of vermilion or red paint. They cannot pass this place without painting their faces. If they have been accustomed to paint on earth, the paint will readily adhere, unless they have been very wicked, and then they pass on without delay. But if not used to painting, or if they have been very wicked, the paint will not adhere, and thus they are detained at this place until the Evil Spirit removes them to a place of punishment.

775 They say there are seven points of good
577 and evil. If the deceased has four of the points of good in his favor, or more, he is sure to pass on to heaven, but if there [are] four or more bad, he cannot go to heaven but must be placed in a place of misery and unhappiness where he is punished according to his evil deeds. If he was accustomed to paint, it will be more apt to stick, and that is all that is claimed for this meritorious act. There is a second stopping place on the way where the selfish and covetous are surrounded and burned up in the article [on which] they set their store upon
775 earth, and thus are kept out of heaven. They
825 have a belief that mosquitoes sprang up out

[p 52(c)]

775 of the souls of those who were punished by
825 the evil spirit, the wreck, or fragments into which they were cut up were turned into *mosquitoes and such evil creatures.*

776 Bad spirits are believed to pass by about
787 day break and good spirits are believed to pass along about dark. For this reason boys are often sent to bed without supper, that they may commune with or be visited by
[785] good spirits, the fasting state being thought to be favorable to such communion, and for the same reason are often compelled to get up before day break that the evil spirits may not obtain or exercise any wicked influence upon them.

776 I am told that the Shawnee Female Great
821 Spirit is in reality the moon, and is worshipped as our Grand Mother or something of that sort; and Isaac Johnny Cake who mentioned this [to] me also said that the Great Spirit of the Delawares was represented and believed to be a brother of the Sun, and that the Moon was the Grand Mother of the Great Spirit; and young Toucey, the Stockbridge, says that there is
[171] some evidence of a [?] in of the sun in the worship of several of the Indian races, including his own. The Iroquois return thanks to the sun for heating the earth and to the moon for cooling it, but this does not show a sun worship or anything like it.
[115] William Adams is to correspond with me on the religious system of the Delawares, and I hope to find out something definite about it.

Gum-mween

796 This festival or annual worship of the Delawares as explained by William Adams and of which he is to write to me more fully, is quite interesting. They believe unless they
[241] observe it once a year their crops will fail, and they will lose the favor of the Great Spirit.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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PART I. EARLY HISTORIC DELAWARE CULTURE

I. DELAWARE ORIGINS AND AFFILIATIONS

At the opening of the seventeenth century all of the Atlantic coastal peoples north of North Carolina and extending to the Maritime Provinces and the St. Lawrence were culturally similar to one another. Kroeber, however, distinguished two cultural provinces within the Algonkian area, a North Atlantic Slope and a Middle Atlantic Slope.[1] On the basis of an analysis of cultural traits Flannery divided this coastal area into three divisions, or subareas: Northern New England, Central, and Virginia-Maryland.[2] Kroeber's Middle Atlantic Slope is roughly equivalent to Flannery's Central area. The aborigines who were to become known as Delawares in the eighteenth century inhabited this Central or Middle Atlantic Slope area. They did not comprise, as the name Delaware implies, a single social, political, or linguistic entity. They did, however, inhabit a continuous area extending from Delaware Bay on the south, through Manhattan Island, and up the west side of the Hudson River to the Catskills on the north. Inland, they occupied the banks of the Delaware River and its tributaries northeast to the Hudson. This territory included part of the present state of Delaware, all of New Jersey, eastern Pennsylvania, and part of southern New York (Map 1).

The Delawaran peoples were centrally located within the Middle Atlantic Slope area. To the north were the Mahican, on the east bank of the Hudson lived the Wappinger division of the Mahican, and on Long Island were the Montauk, another Mahican group. To the south, in Maryland and part of Delaware, lived the Conoy, Nanticoke, Choptank, and associated peoples.[3] The other peoples of this area are little known apart from the notes in Captain John Smith's memoirs.[4] All of these peoples were similar to one another in culture and language, and remnants from most, if not all, of these tribes in later times became incorporated with the Delaware tribe. To the west, in eastern Pennsylvania, lived the Conestoga (or Susquehannock), an Iroquoian people.[5] To the northwest and north, in what is now New York State, were their Iroquoian relatives, the Five and later Six Nations.

Delaware Prehistory: a Summary

It is a difficult task to identify archaeological sites in the Middle Atlantic Slope area with historic tribes. This difficulty stems from two factors. First, soon after contact the coastal peoples emigrated, were dispersed, or died, with the result that it is impossible to find many coastal sites which contain contact materials. Second, since much

[1] Kroeber, 1947, p. 93.
[2] Flannery, 1939, p. 192.
[3] Kroeber, 1947, Map 1*a*, p. 93; Wallace, 1943, pp. 42-43.
[4] Smith, 1884, pp. 55, 351.
[5] Kroeber, 1947, Map 1*a*, p. 93.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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●172 of the area has been heavily urbanized, many sites have been destroyed.[6] Despite these difficulties the early historic Delawaran peoples have been partly identified with archaeological complexes of the area. The East River Aspect is a case in point. Smith said:

> The East River aspect represents the culture of the Algonkian-speaking peoples who inhabited the area in historic times. Specifically, the Wappinger, western Metoac, and some groups of Delaware appear to have carried the culture designated as the East River aspect.[7]

This Aspect takes in the area around the mouth of the Hudson River including western Long Island. At present it encompasses four foci: Massapeag, Clasons Point, Rosenkrans Ferry, and Bowmans Brook.[8] Smith, estimating that this culture made its appearance about A.D. 1000, said:

> Its advent represents a cultural discontinuity, for the underlying culture is the Clearview focus, an early stage in the development of Windsor. The different character of the artifacts in the East River culture and the survival of the Windsor culture elsewhere militate against attributing the change to diffusion. It seems to represent an invasion by new groups of people with a different cultural tradition.[9]

The East River Aspect apparently came into the area from New Jersey. Witthoft has said that the East River ceramic tradition developed from the poorly known ceramic style found on Abbott's Farm at Trenton, New Jersey. The upper levels of the Overpeck and Diehl sites, both located near Easton, Pennsylvania, and dug by MacNeish and Witthoft, also are connected with the early historic natives of the area.[10] The Overpeck ceramic series was also derived from Abbott's Farm, specifically from a ceramic type which Witthoft has termed Abbott Zoned pottery.[11]

The East River Aspect should probably be enlarged to include the Red Valley Focus of New Jersey. Cross used this term in preference to the "Early" Focus which was previously used by Ritchie for the Coastal Aspect.[12] Cross used Red Valley because ". . . in light of the homogeneity of the New Jersey culture, the temporal implications of 'Early' and 'Late' as applied to foci do not seem justifiable."[13] Sites in northern New Jersey are "more closely affiliated with the Rosenkrans Ferry or 'Late' Focus."[14] The conjectures which have derived the New York foci of the East River Aspect from New Jersey by migration, and by implication from the Red Valley Focus, would seem to indicate a closer affiliation with Delawaran peoples than was given by Smith. In short, about A.D. 1000 people who were probably Delawares extended their range to coastal New York.

Smith stated that the East River Aspect "may be connected with the

[6] Ritchie, 1938, p. 94.
[7] Smith, 1950, p. 116.
[8] *Ibid.*, p. 116.
[9] *Ibid.*, p. 108.
[10] MacNeish, 1952, p. 52.
[11] Personal communication from John Witthoft; Cross, 1953.
[12] Cross, 1941, p. 210; Ritchie, 1938, pp. 103-6.
[13] Cross, 1941, p. 211.
[14] *Ibid.*

2:Newcomb E-4,5 (1951-1952) 1956
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Northeastern phase"[15] of the Woodland pattern. The pottery "suggests" Owasco and Iroquois "in many of its traits."[16] Although the East River Aspect is intrusive at the mouth of the Hudson and cannot be derived from the Clearview Focus of the Windsor Aspect, it evidently is closely related to, and possibly derived from, the Owasco Aspect of the Northeastern Phase.[17] The suggestion made by Smith received support from Ritchie's thesis that the Castle Creek Focus (probably the latest stage of Owasco) is partly Delaware "on the grounds of territorial overlapping"[18] The masklike faces which are frequent on Castle Creek pipe bowls and the "conventionalized human effigies" which are present on one Castle Creek pot also are said to suggest the magico-religious mask cult of the historic Delawares.[19]

Another group of Delawares, the Munsi, has been definitely associated with an archaeological complex. The principal village of the peoples who were to become the historic Munsi was on Minisink Island. Heye and Pepper excavated this site, and in 1947 Ritchie conducted further excavations.[20] Ritchie summed up this work by saying:

> Basically, then, the Munsee culture as it first appeared on the Bell-Philhower Site, is identifiable with . . . the Castle Creek Focus of the Owasco Aspect, and there can be little doubt that it represents an importation from upriver in New York state. In its New Jersey milieu it underwent progressive changes as the result of acculturation through contacts with neighboring groups, chief of which was probably the Unami with whom the Munsee confederated and for whom they served as a buffer stage against the Iroquois.[21]

The historic Delaware culture may then be derived from "Late Prehistoric period"[22] cultures of the New York-New Jersey area. These cultures were in turn partial outgrowths of earlier cultures of the Intermediate period. Agriculture and shellfish collection, at least along the coast, were important during this interval. Pottery was common, bone and antler artifacts were present, and there was a preoccupation with burial in some places.[23] According to Ritchie, the Intermediate period in New York "represents successive diffusions over several centuries from the Great Lakes area, mainly Ohio, via the Alleghany Valley and south shore of Lake Erie. . . ."[24] The Archaic period, which underlies the Intermediate, is said to have lasted to about 1000 B.C. and was characterized as a wild food economy, including shellfish collection. Chipped stone projectile points were more abundant than in the subsequent period, but bone and antler artifacts were rare or absent. Ceramics, horticulture, and smoking pipes were also absent.[25]

The course of Delaware prehistory, then, was not that of a pure, internally developing system. Ritchie has expressed this point of view, stating that a knowledge of this area "recognizes the probability of

[15] Smith, 1950, p. 108.
[16] *Ibid.*, p. 117.
[17] Ritchie, 1944, p. 5, Pl. 1.
[18] *Ibid.*, p. 56.
[19] *Ibid.*, p. 57.
[20] Heye and Pepper, 1915; Ritchie, 1949; Philhower, 1953.
[21] Ritchie, 1949, p. 195.
[22] Ritchie, 1944, p. 7, Pl. 2.
[23] Smith, 1950, p. 106; Ritchie, 1944, p. 324.
[24] Ritchie, 1944, p. 324.
[25] Smith, 1950, p. 106; Ritchie, 1944, p. 321; Ritchie, 1951; Smith, 1955.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7

172 infusions of new complexes, probably in many cases associated with population movements which have acted to alter decidedly the tones and values of the cultural picture."[28] This does not mean, however, that there were extensive migrations into the area in recent times; the peoples of Delaware culture, on the contrary, had deep roots in the immediate vicinity. Migrations and the diffusion of cultural traits were important, but were not on the scale suggested by the Walam Olum or the oral traditions.

Traditional Origins

173 Some investigators, on the basis of the Walam Olum or other Delaware traditions, have suggested that the Delawares were recent immigrants from other areas.[27] The archaeological and the linguistic evidence does not seem to warrant, however, the postulation of any extensive recent eastward or southward migration of Delawaran peoples. It appears that the traditional western origin cited by many investigators is based upon the accounts found in Heckewelder and Zeisberger.[28] To summarize these accounts, the Delawares hundreds of years ago lived on the western side of the Mississippi and for unknown reasons they slowly migrated east. The "Mengwe" (Iroquois) also took part in this eastward migration and united with the Delawares to fight the "Talligewi" or "Alligewi," who held the land east of the river. The invaders ultimately triumphed, but after living for some time in the east these two allies fell out and warred upon each other. The Iroquoian tribes, on the losing side in these battles, were forced to confederate during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. A military stalemate followed until European contact was established, when the Dutch aided the Iroquois in making "women" of the Delawares.

The migration legend found in the Walam Olum (pictographic bark record of the Delawares) is similar to the one obtained by Zeisberger and Heckewelder. I have suggested elsewhere that the migration account of the Walam Olum was derived from the traditional legends, but that it was altered to suit the political circumstances of nineteenth-century Delaware life.[29] According to Brinton's translation of the Walam Olum, the origin of the Delawares was in the far northeast, "probably at Labrador." This legend recounts:

> [They] journeyed south and west, till they reached a broad water, full of islands and abounding in fish, perhaps the St. Lawrence about the Thousand Isles. They crossed and dwelt for some generations in the pine and hemlock regions of New York, fighting more or less with the Snake people, and the Talega, agricultural nations, living in stationary villages to the southeast of them, in the area of Ohio and Indiana. They drove out the former, but the latter remained on the upper Ohio and its branches. The Lenape, now settled on the streams in Indiana, wished to remove to the East to join the Mohegans and other

[26] Ritchie, 1944, p. 320.
[27] Kroeber, 1947, p. 93; Lilly, 1944, pp. 33-40; Lilly, *et al.*, 1954, pp. 273-85.
[28] Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 47-70; Zeisberger, 1871, pp. 32-36.
[29] Newcomb, 1955, pp. 57-63.

2;Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7

that the Delaware groups nearest to the Iroquois had been influenced by them. The Munsi were nearest to the Iroquois, and Harrington's informants were predominantly of this group. The various house styles, on the other hand, are possibly related to the seasonal movements of the Delawares, who, like the central Algonkians, may have utilized the rectangular, bark-covered long house in summer and the dome-shaped lodge in winter.[128]

The dome-shaped lodges were simple structures built by placing pieces of bark, preferably of linden or elm, over a sapling framework. The bark was stripped from the trees in summer in as large sheets as possible and dried. It then provided a watertight house.[130] House furnishings were rather meager. "They. . .make very fine, strong and artistic mats of finely painted spruce roots and strong straw, with all kinds of figures, to decorate and cover the walls with, and to place below their bed clothes."[131] Rush mats were painted and fastened to the walls in winter to keep out the cold. Some houses had "portraits and pictures somewhat rudely carved."[132] By the eighteenth century platforms made of poles, which encircled the walls and served as tables, benches, and beds, were mentioned.[133] The platform was covered by an untanned skin of bear or deer, or else with a mat.

Near each village was one or more sweat houses:

> When they wish to cleanse themselves of their foulness, they go in the autumn, when it begins to grow cold, and make, away off, near a running brook, a small oven, large enough for three or four men to lie in it. In making it they first take twigs of trees, and then cover them tight with clay, so that smoke cannot escape. This being done, they take a parcel of stones, which they heat in a fire, and then put in the oven, and when they think that it is sufficiently hot, they take the stones out again, and go and lie in it, men and women, boys and girls.[134]

Informants (O.A., J.T.) recalled small sweat lodges of this type. Skinner found "small beds of cracked stones and pebbles, without relics, often at some distance from other remains. . ."[135] Thus, archaeological remains tend to confirm the existence of this trait for the prehistoric people of Staten Island.

Clothing.—The amount of clothing worn by the Delawares varied with the season. In summer men wore only a leather breech cloth and women only a short skirt, and they frequently did without moccasins.[136] In colder seasons the principal garment was a skin of beaver, fox, deer, bear, elk, or raccoon.[137] The hair side was worn next to the body in

[128] Wissler, 1917, p. 221; Denton, 1845, p. 7.

[129] Thomas, 1912, p. 341; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 401; Mahr, 1954, pp. 381-82; O. A.

[130] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 223.

[131] O'Callaghan, 1850, I: 283; Hayes, 1954, p. 77.

[132] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 17.

[133] De Vries, 1909, pp. 217-18; Lindestrom, 1925, p. 257, described the sweat lodge in similar terms.

[134] Skinner, 1909, p. 48.

[135] Pastorius, 1912, p. 384; Lindestrom, 1925, pp. 191-92.

[136] De Laet, 1909, p. 57; De Rasieres, 1909, p. 108; Thomas, 1912, p. 341; Juet, 1909, p. 18; Van der Donck, 1909, p. 301.

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

776 778 illustrates two Minsi masks in use in the first part of the nineteenth century, and these are here reproduced (pl. III). The first he calls a "Muncey idol," and says that it was "delivered up by Joe Nicholas on his Conversion to Christianity," and that "Me Zeengk is the name of this God"; while the second, which he names "a Muncey devil idol," "formerly belonging to the Logan family," was "delivered up on the 26th of Jan. 1842." Jones does not refer to these "idols" in the text. The second mask illustrated seems to have a turtleshell rattle tied on its back, the handle projecting downward. Another mask, found by the writer among the Lenape at Grand river, Ontario, and apparently of Minsi type, is shown in fig. 4. It was collected for Mr E. T. Tefft, of New York, but is now in the American Museum of Natural History.

● 172 776 778 Some of our best evidence indicating the early existence of belief in this Mask Being among the Lenape is furnished by archeology—by the finding of

[text continues on p. 41]

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

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FIG. 5.—Stone head or Misi'nge' from Ohio. (Height, 13.0 in.)

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

[continued from p. 38]

a number of heads or masks of stone (pl. IV) within the boundaries of their former domain of New Jersey and the vicinity,[26] which, when the rarity of such objects in the surrounding regions is also considered, seems quite significant. Such stone heads even mark the trail of the Lenape withdrawal westward through Pennsylvania,[27] and have even been found in Ohio, where they lingered for a time (fig. 5).

The best early description is given by Brainerd,[28] who, in May 1745, while on the Susquehanna above the English settlements, saw a masked Indian who must have been an impersonator of MIsinghâli'kŭn. It runs:

"But of all the sights I saw among them, or indeed anywhere else, none appeared so frightful . . . as the appearance of one who was a devout and zealous Reformer, or rather, restorer of what he supposed was the ancient religion of the Indians. He made his appearance in his *pontifical garb*, which was a coat of *bear skins*, dressed with the hair on, and hanging down to his toes; a pair of bear skin stockings; and a great *wooden* face painted, the one half black, the other half

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.N6
778

STONE HEAD OR MISI'NG[w], FROM STATEN ISLAND, N. Y.
(Staten Island Institute of Arts and Sciences)

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

person buried and his rank in the tribe. In the evening soon after sunset and in the morning before daybreak the female relations and friends assemble in the house of the deceased and mourn over the body. The effects of the deceased are taken to the place of burial, the greater part being distributed among those who assist at the burial. As the corpse is let down into the grave the women set up a deafening howl. After the ceremony the mother, grandmother, or some near female relative goes evening and morning to the grave and weeps over it, this continues, with less and less regularity until the mourning period is over. Sometimes food is placed over the grave." [49]

"To the spirits of the dead they offer both meat and drink. The doctors decide, in the case of a meat offering, which animal is to be sacrificed. When the guests are in the dark with no fire assembled an old man offers the meats to the enraged spirits and begs them to be pacified. The old man then communes with the spirits and tells the guests that they have been appeased.

"In the case of drink to be offered the guests assemble and drink together, then someone speaks with the spirits and pacifies them. The guests walk to the grave and pour some rum on it." [50]

Archaeological evidence is not lacking to show that before the historic period the custom of cleaning the bones of the dead and subsequent burial of the skeleton, sometimes in groups forming ossuaries, had penetrated as far north as the neighborhood of New York.[51] The testimony coincides with the tradition among the modern Delawares, recorded by Harrington, that the "Wolf clan" practiced the rite of removing the flesh from the bones of the deceased and later interred the bones with appropriate ceremonies.[52] Lindeström (1654) makes mention of the Delawares stripping the skeleton, disposing of the bones upon a shelf and distributing the property of the deceased among the relatives.[53] These institutions among the Delawares are unquestionably of southern origin, and their introduction as far north as the domain of the Delawares is clearly attributable to the Nanticoke in whose culture they were firmly established at an early period.

[49] Zeisberger, *op. cit.*, pp. 88–90.

[50] Zeisberger, *op. cit.*, p. 140.

[51] A. B. Skinner, "The Lenape Indians of Staten Island," Anthropological Papers, American Museum of Natural History, III, 1909, pp. 49–51.

[52] Harrington, *op. cit.*, pp. 183–4.

[53] Peter Lindeström, "Geographia Americae, 1654–6," ed. by A. Johnson, Philadelphia, 1926, pp. 249–51.

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape
Nanticoke NM11

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764 When a member of the Wolf Clan died, the flesh was stripped from the bones and buried, and the bones were dried at some private place. At the end of twelve days the skeleton would be wrapped in white buck skin and taken to a place prepared for the dance and there held up by someone. As the singers would sing the men who held the skeleton would shake it and the bones would rattle as the dancers would proceed around it. After the dance the skeleton was buried. Tradition says that in ancient times some of the head men in the Wolf Clan had a dream that they must treat their dead in that way, and the custom has been handed down to them for many centuries. The other clans say the custom does not belong to them. The custom has been long dropped. There has not been a skeleton dance since 1860." [14]

Harrington refers to information collected on the ceremony but prefers Adam's account in his memoir without further comment (Harrington, *op. cit.*, pp. 183–184). There may, however, be some unreliable statements in the Adams description.[15]

Zeisberger's description of the ceremony is also at variance with the others, but in several essential features the versions agree. Thus he observes:

"The Nantikoks (Nantikokes) of whom more in another place, have this singular custom that about three or four months after the funeral they open the grave, take out the bones, clean them of the flesh and dry them, wrap them up in new linen and inter them again. A feast is usually provided for the occasion, consisting of the best they can afford. Only the bones of the arms and legs of the corpse are thus treated. All the rest is buried or burned." [16]

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●172 Archaeological evidence is at hand to extend the Nanticoke practice into the country of the Iroquois who gave them asylum after 1760 in the shelter of the League. The Susquehanna people, whose burial remains were considered by Moorehead to be of the Iroquoian type, show "bundle burial" as

[14] R. C. Adams, "Notes on the Delaware Indians," Report on Indians Taxed and Indians not Taxed, U. S. Census, 1890, p. 299.

[15] The account by Adams is not to be explicitly relied upon as a source. Adams, among other claims, assumed the honor of being the only descendant of Chief Captain White Eyes, and so had himself portrayed. This statement is not accepted without modification by the Delawares, for we are told that his mother was a white woman and his father was scarcely more than one fourth Indian and that of Stockbridge (ɔ'p an u) Mahikan descent adopted by the Delawares. The name ɔ'p an u "easterner" was applied to the Stockbridge and the Iroquois in general.

[16] Zeisberger, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape
Nanticoke NM11

D 172

far north as Athens, Pa., on the Susquehanna river, where bones were "heaped beside or over the skull." [17] This form of disposal of the dead is by no means limited to the area or disposed of by this single reference.

D N 764

That the ceremony described may have been performed by a Nanticoke contingent in the old Delaware Nation is possible in view of the fact that the Nanticoke have been referred to as constituting a "Wolf Clan," one of the ceremonial groupings, whenever we have mention of their social identity.[18]

We cannot, however, decide how and when the Delaware acquired this strange rite diffused from the peoples south of them, yet it is evident from Lindeström (1654–6) that it was known to them in southeastern Pennsylvania, and therefore this locale should be indicated as lying within the area of distribution of the custom of skeleton cleaning and bone burial.

N 764

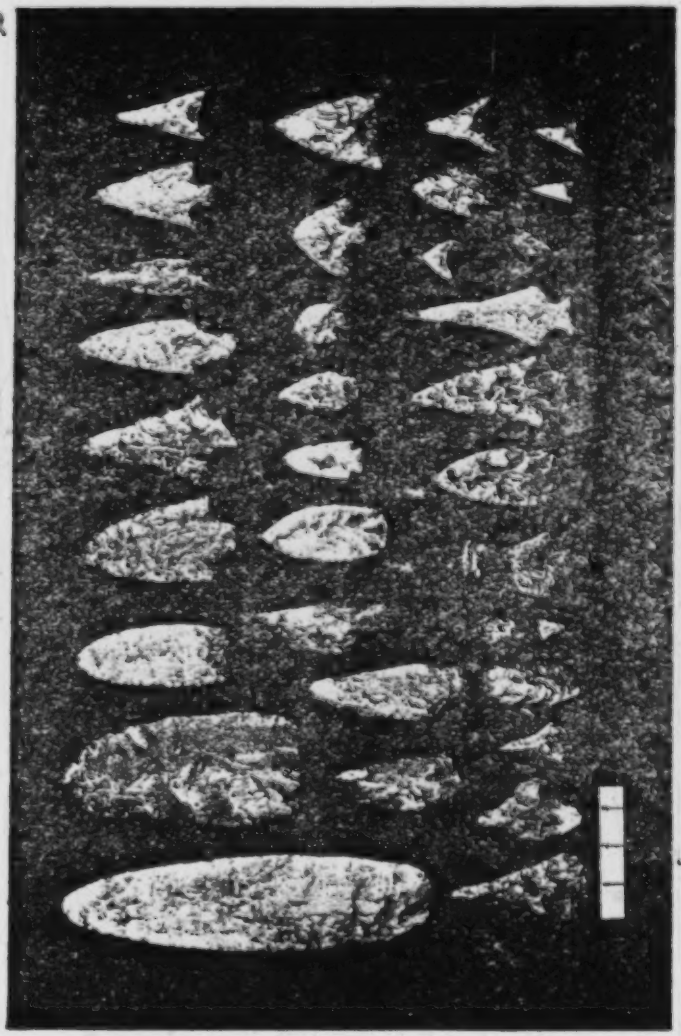
The interesting and important short text to follow recounts the traditional facts descriptive of the Skeleton Dance as maintained by a small Nanticoke sect among the Delawares as late as 1860, before the Nation had removed from Kansas to Indian Territory.

The Nanticoke of the Delaware Nation kept up the following performances until about 1860. Due then to inter-

[17] W. K. Moorehead, "The Susquehanna Archaeological Expedition," Second Report of Pennsylvania Historical Commission, Harrisburg, 1918, p. 122. From one to seven burials were in the same grave. In one ossuary were bundle burials indicating that the bones had been deposited in a pit subsequent to the disappearance of the flesh, evidence that they had been cleaned of flesh and buried. Also D. S. Davidson, "Burial Customs in the Delmarva Peninsula and the Question of their Chronology," *American Antiquity*, 1, no. 2, 1935, pp. 84–97 shows archaeological evidence of bundle burial and bone cleaning as a recent trait in the Slaughter Creek neighborhood of Maryland. Dr. Davidson also gives a summary of bone-cleaning burial customs in the east and in the southeast from whence the idea had originally spread. See also pertinent discussion by W. B. Marye, *ibid.* II, no. 1, 1936, pp. 40–6.

[18] Among the Nanticoke descendants incorporated with the Six Nations Iroquois at Brantford, Ontario, it was found that the tribe was remembered as a homogeneous group under the title of the "Wolf Clan" (Speck, "Nanticoke and Conoy Indians," *op. cit.*, p. 22) and a similar inference may be made from the statement of Adams (see f. n. 14 above, *op. cit.*, p. 299) who defines the Human Skeleton Dance as a "Wolf Clan" rite.

8:Linestrom T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
NM7 Delaware NM7

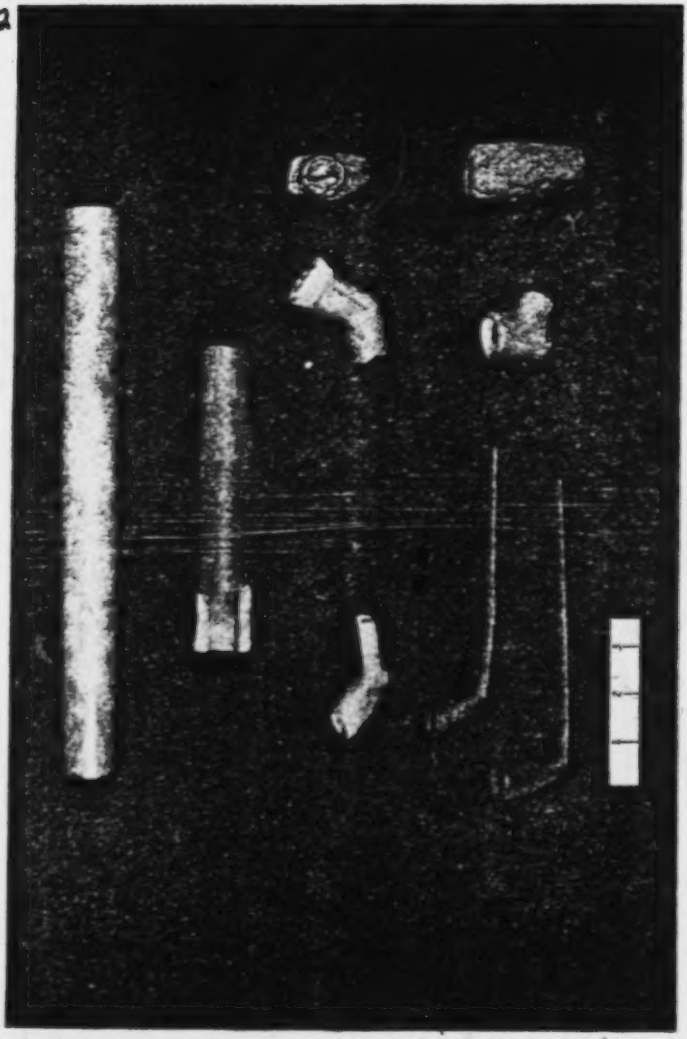


24. Collection of Blades, Knives, Spear-Points, Arrowheads, Drills and Scrapers, Mostly of Yellow Jasper, from the Delaware Valley, principally, Bucks Co., Pa.
[In Collections of Colonel Henry D. Paxson, Philadelphia, Pa.]

[Facing p. 215]

8:Linestrom T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
NM7 Delaware NM7

●172

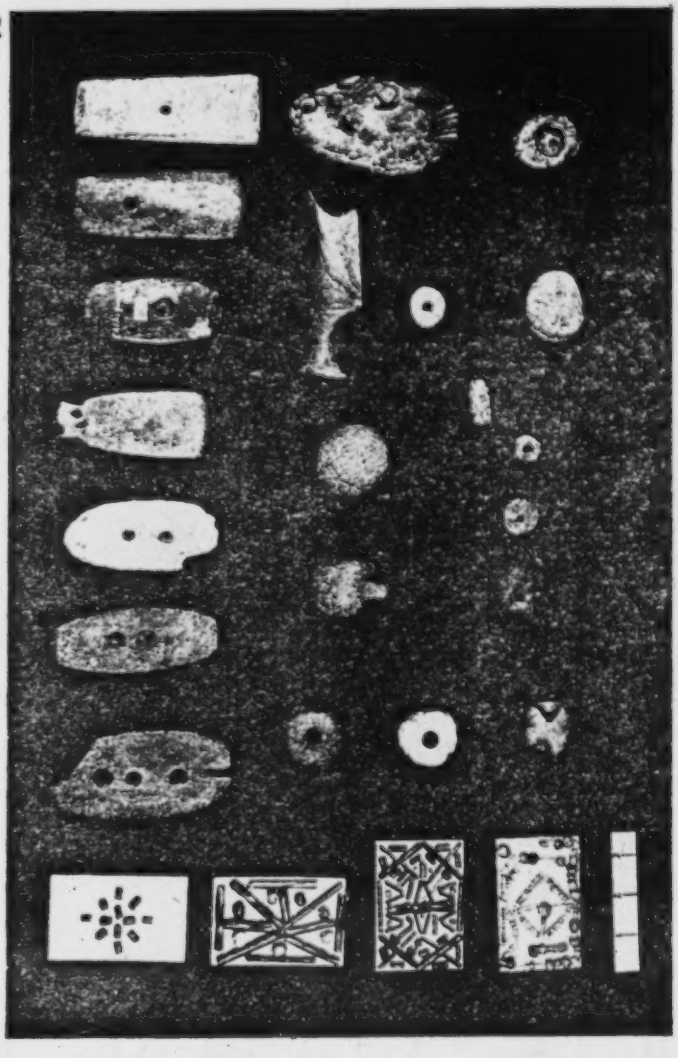


27. *Two upper figures*—1. LARGE TUBULAR PIPE, N. J. 2. TUBULAR PIPE (BROKEN), N. J. *Below broken tubular pipe to left*—CLAY PIPE ("TRADE PIPE" OR EUROPEAN MANUFACTURE), INDIAN GRAVE, CHESTER CO., PA. CLAY PIPE, TRUMPET SHAPE, INDIAN MANUFACTURE, VINCENTOWN, N. J. *To left, below clay pipe*—IRON TRADE PIPE (EUROPEAN MANUFACTURE), GRAVE, HUNTERDON CO., N. J. IRON TRADE PIPE (EUROPEAN MANUFACTURE), GRAVE, N. J. *To the extreme right and bottom*—3 SMALL STONE PIPES, N. J.

[IN COLLECTIONS OF COLONEL HENRY D. PARSONS, PHILADELPHIA, PA.]

[FACING p. 221]

8:Linestrom T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
NM7 Delaware NM7

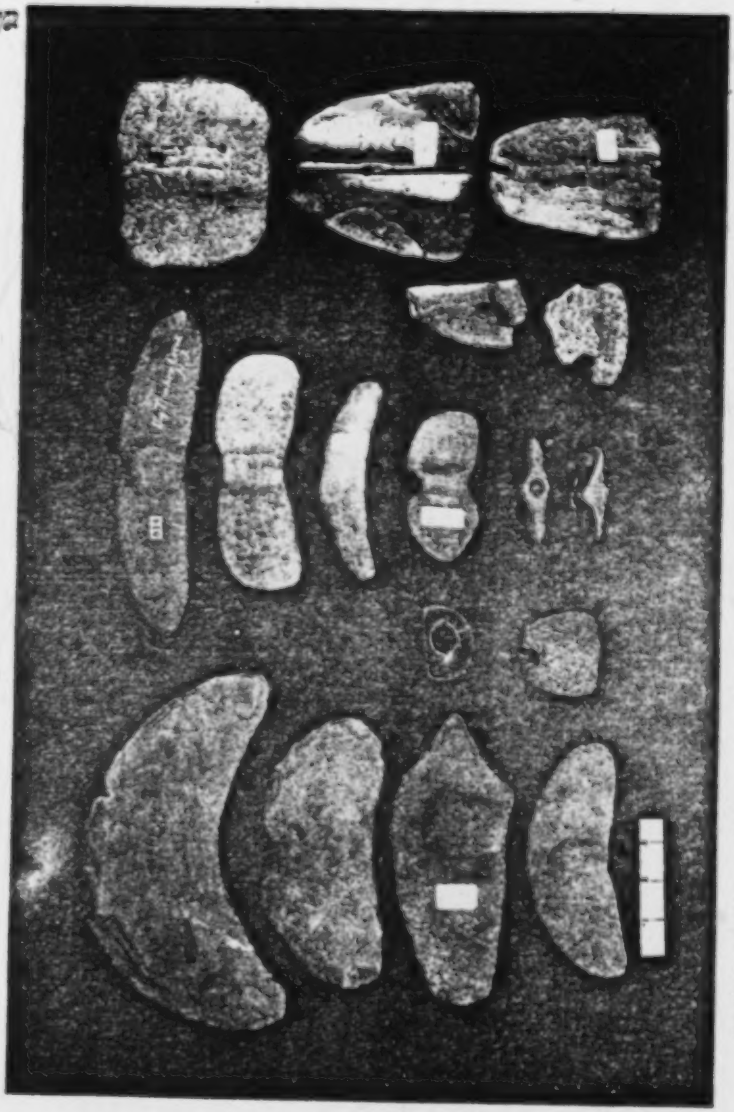


28. *First row, top to bottom*—Four Cards—Indian Teardrop Glass Beads, from Graves, Washington Boro, Lancaster Co., Pa. *Top row, left to right*—7 perforated stones, principally from Delaware Valley (Pa.), in some cases worn for decorations, see plate 18. *Central figure*—Stone Top (?), N. J. [Stone Ball, Bucks Co., Pa., Bird Stone, Pa. *To extreme right, centre*—Perforated Rubbing Stone (carried on a string around the neck (?)), Pa. *Remaining figure*—Stone Beads, Delaware Valley and Bucks Co., Pa.

[In Collections of Colonel Henry D. Paxson, Philadelphia, Pa.]

[FACING p.223]

8: Linestrom T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
NM7 Delaware NM7



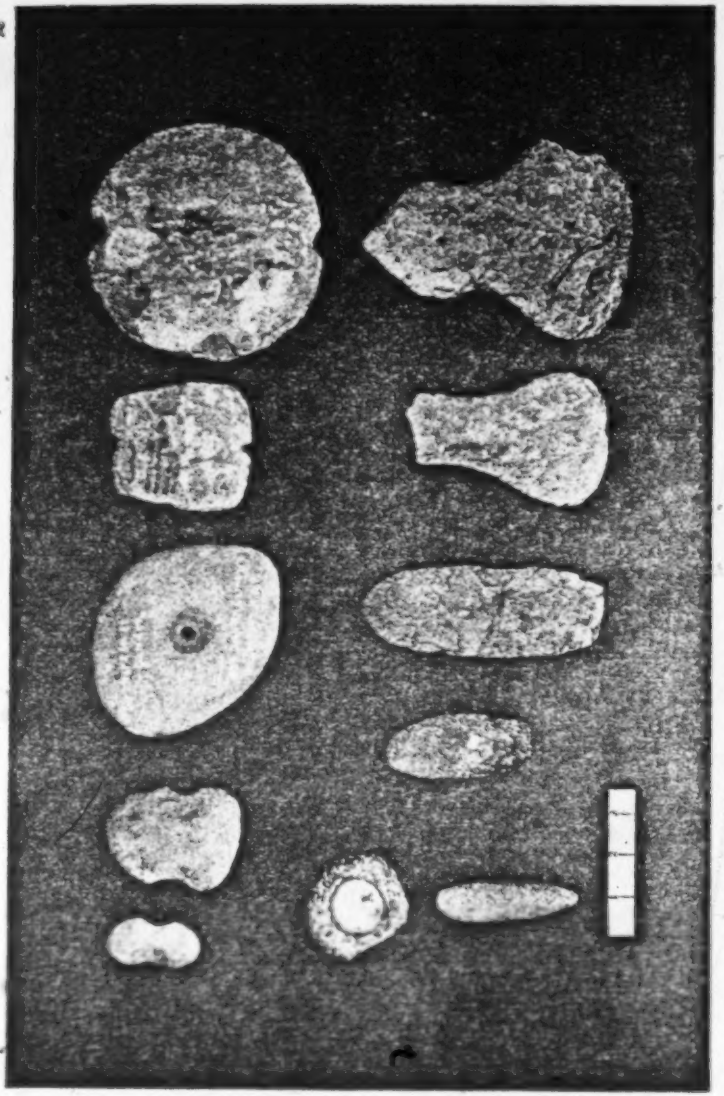
29. *First row, top to bottom*—CRESCENT SHAPE CEREMONIAL STONE, DELAWARE WATER GAP, PA.; BANNER STONE, WITHOUT PERFORATION, BUCKS CO., PA.; BANNER STONE, INCIPIENT PERFORATION, N. J.; BANNER STONE, INCIPIENT PERFORATION, BUCKS CO., PA. *Second row*—2 SMALL PERFORATED STONES, BUCKS CO., PA. *Third row, top to bottom*—LONG CHOPPER-SHAPED BANNER STONE, N. J.; BANNER STONE, PERFORATED, PHILA CO., PA.; BANNER STONE, PERFORATED, LANCASTER CO., PA.; BANNER STONE, PERFORATED, BANNER STONES, BUCKS CO., PA. *Fourth row*—BANNER STONE FRAGMENTS, NESHAMINY CR., BUCKS CO., PA. *Fifth row, top to bottom*—UNFINISHED BANNER STONE, BUCKS CO., PA.; LARGE PERFORATED BANNER STONE (RESTORED), NORTHAMPTON CO., PA.; BANNER STONE, PERFORATED, LANCASTER CO., PA.

[IN COLLECTIONS OF COLONEL HENRY D. PAXSON, PHILADELPHIA, PA.]

[Facing p. 230]

8: Linestrom T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
NM7 Delaware NM7

172



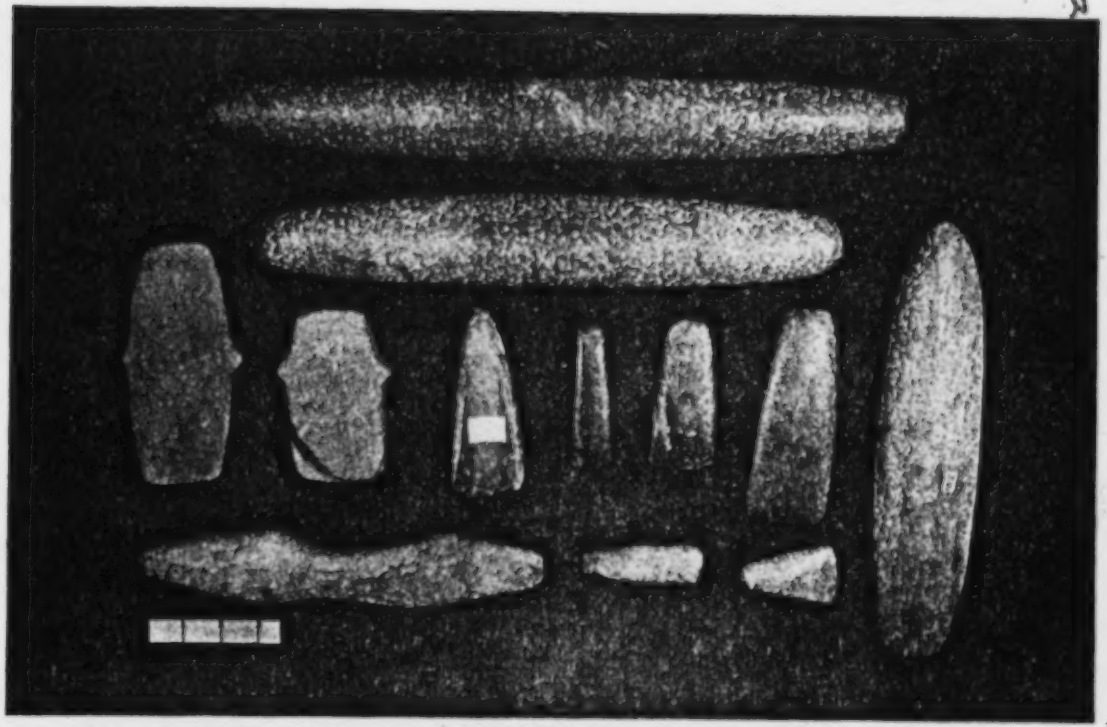
III. *Upper row, left to right*—2 SMALL NET SINKERS (?), BUCKS CO., PA.; LARGE NET SINKER (?) WITH HOLE, CAMDEN, N. J.; TWO NOTCHED SLATE DISCS (SINKERS (?)), MARTINS CREEK, NORTHAMPTON CO., PA. *Lower row, left to right*—SMALL PAINT PESTLE WITH MORTAR ABOVE IT (BETWEEN THE TWO ROWS), N. J.; KNIFE, LANCASTER CO., PA.; BLADE OR KNIFE, BUCKS CO., PA.; HOE, BUCKS CO., PA.; HOE (EDGE CHIPPED OFF), N. J.

(IN COLLECTIONS OF COLONEL HENRY D. PAXSON, PHILADELPHIA, PA.)

[FACING p. 250]

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
NM7 Delaware NM7

[Facing p. 259]

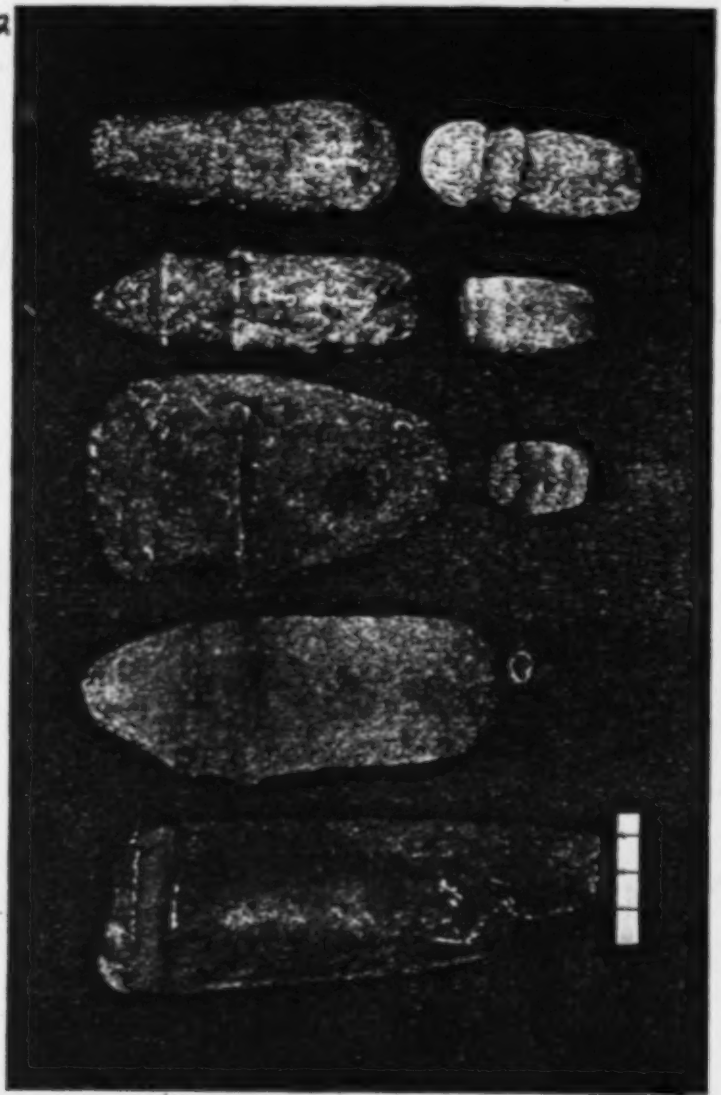


36. *Two upper objects*—1. Pestle, Burlington Island, N. J.; 2. Pestle, Bucks Co., Pa. *Row below pestles*—Celt, Playwicky Indian Town, Bucks Co., Pa.; Celt, Bucks Co., Pa.; Gouge, N. J.; 3 Celts, Bucks Co., Pa.; Large Celt, Burlington, Co., N. J. *Bottom row, left to right*—Implement probably used in skinning large animals, Bucks Co., Pa.; 2 Small Celts, Bucks Co., Pa.

[In Collections of Colonel Henry D. Paxson, Philadelphia, Pa.]

8: Lindström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
NM7 Delaware NM7

● 172



37. *Left to right*—Large Axe, Fairmount Park, Phila.; Axe, Plaswicky, Indian Town, Bucks Co., Pa.; Axe, Kensington, Phila.; Adze, Assiscunk Creek, N. J.; Axe, Pemberton, N. J. *Lower row*—Small Axe, Bucks Co., Pa.; Axe, N. J.; Double Groove Axe, Plaswicky, Indian Town.

[In Collections of Colonel Henry D. Paxson, Philadelphia, Pa.]

[Facing p. 258]

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463 about 1913. The Delaware women and a few men are yet skilled workers in beads,
531 both in sewed-on designs and in bead weaving. The women are expert in the art of working out intricate designs in ribbon applique on robes, leggings, breech cloths and moccasins. Some wood carving is also
322 done by the modern Delawares and a few
285 make splint baskets.

Designs and Symbolism

531 In the study of Delaware art motifs we find that they fall into two groups. In group A are the ancient earth symbols, floral and geometric (angular) patterns; in group B, the religious symbols of the Peyote Cult. This is a religious teaching and ceremony that arose in the tribe about 50 years ago. Animal and human figures rarely occur in Delaware art. In archeo-
[172] logical finds, representations of the human face in stone frequently occur but those are said to have been the charms owned and worn by certain individuals who had dreamed of the mask spirit and had the right to use its likeness as representative of the great spiritual force or guardian spirit.
[787] If a person saw an animal during his dream quest he would have the right to use the likeness of that particular animal on his wearing apparel. It is also permissible to
[614] have representations of clan animal totems on one's vest or tobacco pouch.

The earth symbols and the "trails" shown in plate 1 are said to be ancient, as well as figures A and B called "clasps" in plate 2. The earth symbols in plate 1 illustrate the
[821] native Delaware belief that the earth rests on the back of a tortoise and that the sun in its daily round goes under the tortoise and comes up on the opposite side the next day. Figure C, plate 1, symbolizes the power of the Creator which is felt in the four corners of the earth. These symbols
[171] occur in the ancient art designs of other Algonkian peoples in northeastern North America from Labrador to southern New England. Floral patterns for moccasin tops or vamps, breech cloths, robes and bags fall into this grouping (plates 3 and 4).
[P. 25, A]

14:Leslie A-4.5 (no date) 1951
NM7 Delaware NM7

[P.9, A]

A Tentative Catalogue of Minsi Material Culture

by Vernon Leslie

121 Readers of the "Archaeologist" will recall that one of the major problems of the archaeology of northeastern Pennsylvania has been the identification of the culture of the Minsi Indians with one of the several archaeological manifestations which occur in this area.

101 The Minsi, it will be remembered, were the northern clan of the Delaware inhabiting the upper Delaware Valley above the Water Gap as well as adjacent areas in New York. Although mention of them is 174 to be found in written history, the Minsi make such a brief appearance there that at present very little can be learned from early writings concerning their material culture or ethnic peculiarities.

172 In my treatment of certain problems of the archaeology of the upper Delaware Valley published serially in the four issues of the "Pennsylvania Archaeologist" ending with that of Vol. XVII, No. 1, 1947, because of the paucity of evidence then available, I made no attempt definitely to describe Minsi culture by implement type or otherwise. Two possibilities were mentioned ("Archaeologist", Vol. XVI, No. 2, p. 73; idem, Vol. XVII, No. 1, p. 108): that the Minsi culture could possibly be the mysterious "Coastal" culture which I had identified in the upper Delaware Valley (which will be referred to again briefly in the conclusion of the present paper) or that it could possibly be identified with an Owasco-like manifestation occurring on several sites in the area, particularly in

14:Leslie A-4.5 (no date) 1951
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[P.9, B]

A Tentative Catalogue of Minsi Material Culture

by Vernon Leslie

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the vicinity of Milford, Pike Co., Pa. Dr. William A. Ritchie in his "Pre-Iroquoian Occupations of New York", pp. 56-57, had previously indicated the possibility of Owasco-Lenape connections.

In my report I also mentioned the occurrence of sherds on upper Delaware sites and in rock shelters (see Schrabisch, "Archaeology of the Delaware River Valley between Hancock and Dingman's Ferry in Wayne and Pike Counties", 1930) which were typologically Iroquois. Early in the spring of 1947 while looking over a site in Pike County, Pennsylvania, opposite the upper end of Minisink Island, I was struck by the possibility that the true explanation of the Minsi cultural enigma could lie in a combination of the Owasco and Iroquois elements present on several surface sites as well as in Schrabisch's rock shelters and in the Heye-Pepper excavation opposite Minisink Island in New Jersey (see "Exploration of a Munsee Cemetery near Montague, New Jersey", Heye, Pepper, 1915). This combination was viewed in my new theory as having resulted from acculturation brought about by the imposing of Iroquois elements upon an Owasco base. There is considerable historical evidence in support of such a possibility since the Algonkian Delaware are described as having been subjected by the Iroquois. One assumption is left hanging in the air here, however: that the pre-acculturation Algonkian Minsi were pure Owasco in culture.

[174]

[P.10, B]

121 zon in order that Minsi material may be separated from artifacts pertaining to earlier occupations. The writer herewith presents what he considers to be a reasonably valid list of elements pertaining to Minsi material culture. This list cannot in the light of our present knowledge pretend to anything approaching final inclusiveness or conclusiveness. It is the 1951 model and all rights to make subsequent changes are reserved.

127 In this list I have, of course, leaned heavily upon Ritchie's Bell-Philhower report as well as my own researches both prior to and following the Bell-Philhower "dig". I would also like to acknowledge much valuable assistance derived from access to the splendid collection of material from Minisink Island in the collection of Mr. Rudolph Ludwig, Milford, Pa.

Ceramics

Pipes

172 276 323 So far as the writer has been able to determine, no stone pipes attributable to the Minsi have been found in the upper Delaware area or elsewhere. Pipes of pottery occur, but are not numerous. These pottery pipes may be tubular, effigy, or obtuse—angle elbow. (Plate 1, No. 2). [531] Decoration may consist of pointillé, incised lines, corded stick impressions, or may be absent. (Plate 1, Nos. 1, and 3, shows pointillé-decorated pipe sherds.)

Vessels

172 415 323 Pottery may be of various Owasco types (Castle Creek Epigonus is rather prominent) with punctuate, corded, platted, and beaded designs of several forms, or of Iroquoian types with incised designs in herringbone and other patterns. Rims often exhibit castellations. (See Plate 2. The sherds in the top row and the sherd at the left in the bottom row exhibit Owasco features. The remainder are primarily Iroquoian in motif.) An excellent description

[P. 11, A]

An excellent description

172 323 415 [114] of Owasco ceramics is contained in Ritchie's "Pre-Iroquoian Occupations of New York State". A reading of this should precede any serious approach to the study of what we presently believe to be Minsi pottery.

The bodies of Minsi vessels ordinarily are corded in some fashion. Ritchie assigns the greatest frequency to a finely corded body treatment with smoothed-over cord second, smooth third, and coarsely corded fourth. It is to be noted that other body techniques occur on occasion such as corded stick imprinted and brushed-over cord.

Miniature vessels occur in this culture. The writer has never seen any from the Milford area which were not crude, including one, partially complete, excavated by him from the Bell-Philhower Site late in 1947. (Plate 3).

It may be remarked in connection with this all too brief description of 'Minsi' pottery vessels that one of the stumbling blocks in the path of a final and conclusive acceptance of the Owasco-cum-Iroquois explanation of the ultimate Minsi Culture is the fact that to the best of my knowledge no sherd or vessel has yet been found on a presumed Minsi site embodying an undeniable combination of pronounced Owasco and Iroquoian decorative techniques. This statement is made with full awareness, however, that the so-called Castle Creek Epigonus pottery may represent a combination of decorative motifs.

Pottery Effigies

172 323 532 In the light of the finding by the writer of the pottery effigy of an animal head on the Bell site in 1949, there can be little doubt that objects of this type must be included in the material culture of the Minsi.

The object in question (Plate 4, Nos. 1 and 2) is complete with the exception of the ears and a small part of the lower por-

[P. 11, B]

172 323 532 tion of the face. The hole in the dorsal surface (shown in Plate 4, No. 2) is connected with the holes indicating the eyes. No explanation for the purpose of this dorsal hole or indeed of the entire specimen can be attempted at this time.

Bone

172 321 41 Bone and antler artifacts do not appear to be abundant on Minsi sites. On occasion, the bone awl, antler flakers of cylindrical form, combs, turtle-shell cups, perforated deer phalanges, perforated needles, antler picks, beaming tools, and short bone tubes, probably used as ornaments, are found.

Shell

At the present time, because of an almost total lack of evidence, (the Bell-Philhower Site report lists one shell bead found by Mr. Charles A. Philhower in a pit of the historical period and worked fragments of conch) the writer is not prepared to discuss the possible incidence of shell artifacts in the prehistoric Minsi Culture. In common with Ritchie ("Bell-Philhower Site", p. 178) he refers the interested reader to the Heye-Pepper report, "Exploration of a Munsee Cemetery" for a description of numerous shell ornaments, etc., from the *historic* Minsi site adjacent to the Bell-Philhower component.

ROUGH STONE

172 324 227 Net sinkers are of two well-defined types: flat pebbles with two opposed notches, and sinkers made of thin sheets of stone chipped into circular or rectangular shape with two opposed notches. These 'trimmed sinkers' may have notches formed by chipping, or rarely, by grinding. (Plate 5, No. 3, shows notched flat pebble; Plate 5, No. 1, shows trimmed sinker with chipped notches; No. 3 of the same plate is a trimmed ground-notch sinker.)

Sinkers of both types may range in size from an inch to six or seven inches in

[P. 12, A]

172 227 324 length. (Plate 11, Nos. 1 and 5, shows very small sinkers, No. 1 being the chipped type and No. 5, a notched pebble.) Caches of sinkers occur in this culture, the writer having uncovered a hoard of 28 specimens in 1936 and another of six specimens in 1948. (Plate 6 shows the six specimens contained in the latter find.)

Hammerstones, Hoes, Lap-Stones

172 324 412 Hammerstones consisting of simple bi-pitted pebbles (Plate 7, No. 2), rudely chipped triangular or oval stone hoes, and lap-stones or metates occur in this culture. One so-called lap-stone found in a pit on the Bell-Philhower Site late in 1947 consists of a roughly-shaped oblong block of very fine sandstone 3 in. thick, 11½ in. long, and 8 in. wide. Both faces are slightly concave.

Roller Pestles

Minsi roller pestles are generally very well made. Some are very long, exceeding 18 inches in length. One found by the writer shortly after the flood of 1936 is nearly 14 inches long and bears on one end the crude effigy of what appears to be a reptile head. (Plate 8).

Stone Discs

One stone disc in the writer's collection was washed out by the 1936 flood on the Davenport Site near Milford, Pa. It was found intimately associated with sherds of Minsi type. This specimen is 1¼ inches thick and is slightly over 4 inches in diameter. It was probably used as a muller in common with certain pebbles of fine sandstone occurring on Minsi sites. These pebbles show wear on one or both faces. (For illustration of stone disc, see Plate 9, No. 2.) It is to be observed that the type of stone disc under discussion here is not the kind of chipped disc (net sinker) mentioned in the Bell-Philhower report, p. 237.

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NM7 Delaware NM7

[P. 12, B]

Sinew Stones

172 324 412 "In the Milford area it is possible on occasion to recover egg-shaped (and sized) pebbles almost completely encircled by shallow pecked grooves. Ritchie in the Bell-Philhower report, p. 175, refers to them as "partly grooved thick pebble sinkers". The present writer has never found this explanation of their use to be entirely satisfactory (Plate 7, Nos. 1 and 3.)

Stone Faces

172 324 532 Under the category of rough stone it is proper to include the stone faces which now and then turn up on Minsi sites. To the writer's knowledge, at least five of these have been found in the Milford area, one splendid specimen from Minisink Island (Plate 10) being presently in the collection of Mr. Rudolph Ludwig. According to [796] numerous authorities, these rough-tone effigies were used in the Lenni-Lenapé Big House Ceremony.

Polished Stone Artifacts

Celts

172 324 412 The inventory of Minsi polished stone artifacts is not large. Most prominent in this category is the so-called 'thick-polled celt' (Plate 9, Nos. 1 and 3). It is to be observed that some of these are almost restagular in cross-section, others more nearly oval.

Small Chisels

Well made "miniature celts" in the form of small narrow chisels or of small pebbles with a celt-like edge are among the most interesting and unusual Minsi artifacts. Some (Plate 1, No. 8) are beautifully made. In my opinion, this type of implement is important in the identification of Minsi-occupied sites. Several years ago the writer published in the "Pennsylvania Archaeologist" (Vol. IX, No. 3) a brief discussion of the possible use of these small tools. In that article it was suggested

[P.13,A]

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that they were possibly used to incise pottery. (For illustrations of several of these chisels found in the Milford area, see Plate 1, Nos. 7 to 13.)

Gorgets and Pendants

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The Bell-Philhower report mentions gorgets and pendants as being possible Minsi traits (pp. 174 and 236) on the basis of the reported finding of a gorget by Mr. Charles A. Philhower in a pit in association with a mat needle and a pottery vessel of Owasco type. This view is further supported by the mention of Owasco parallels and by a reference to the discovery of a pendant by Heye and Pepper during their excavation of the adjacent Minsi site of the historic period.

The probability of the occurrence of both the gorget and the pendant in the inventory of Minsi cultural traits must be freely accepted, but it cannot be maintained that the matter is conclusively settled on the basis of present evidence—particularly as regards the gorget. It may be observed in connection with this problem that in this area the gorget is generally to be regarded as associated with the "middle" period rather than the "late" to which the Minsi belong. This does not, however, rule out the possibility of a weak survival or borrowing of this cultural trait.

Paint Stone

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In the summer of 1948 the writer found on the surface of the Bell-Philhower Site a thin rectangular piece of hematite with concave surfaces on each side exhibiting the marks of abrasion (Plate 1, No. 4). The obvious conclusion is that this object was used as a source of pigment, probably for personal adornment. While its occurrence on the surface gives rise to a certain element of doubt concerning its cultural affiliation, it is almost certainly of Minsi origin.

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[F-13, B]

Chipped Stone Artifacts

Arrowpoints

●172 324 411 Most prominent in the category of Minsi chipped stone implements is the triangular arrowpoint. While several forms of triangular points occur, the vast majority of Minsi points are equilateral triangles with concave bases. A considerable number of equilateral triangular points also occur with straight bases. (Plate 11, Nos. 14 and 11, shows concave-base points; Nos. 11, 12, and 13 have straight bases.)

[803] The materials of which Minsi chipped implements found in the Milford area are made include jasper (brown, yellow, red), argillite, black, white and gray chert, and a chalcedony-like material. By far the most commonly-used of these materials were argillite and black chert.

Knives

172 324 412 Although knives of several types (ovate, large triangular, broad side-notched, etc.) have been found on sites generally conceded to be Minsi, this kind of implement is not typical of the culture.

Scrapers

Both side scrapers, consisting of retouched flakes, and end scrapers occur in the Minsi Culture, but not to the extent that they are found in the much older Laurentian horizon.

The most prominent, in fact, almost the exclusive form of end scraper is the ovate type. The keeled back form is a very poor second and while occurring, is, like the chipped knife, not typical of the culture. (Plate 11, Nos. 7, 8, 9, shows end scrapers from a large site near Milford, Pa., generally conceded to be Minsi.)

Drills

Although Ritchie's statistics (Bell-Philhower report, p. 236) would lead one to the conclusion that drills are comparatively minor artifacts in the total Minsi series,

172 324 412 the writer has found that these implements occur generally on Minsi sites. It is possible that they deserve more significance than Ritchie's tables would indicate. Ritchie (op. cit., p. 236) lists five types: expanded base, expanded side-notched base, expanded scraper base, T-shaped base, and Y-shaped base. Presently available statistics do not permit a selection of the most common form or forms (Plate 11, Nos. 2, 3, 4, 6).

Trade Goods

172 439 Any trade goods found in the upper Delaware area are almost certainly surviving evidence of the period of Minsi-Caucasian contact. In general, trade material is extremely rare, evidencing the fact that the contact period was of very short duration in this area. One notable exception to this general paucity of trade material is that part of the Bell Site excavated by Heye and Pepper early in the second decade of the present century. In their exploration, Heye and Pepper found numerous articles of European or Colonial origin, including beads, metal kettles, etc. (See their "Exploration of a Munsee Cemetery near Montague, N. J.", 1915.)

The writer has found only two artifacts evidencing Caucasian contact: a sheet brass triangular arrowpoint from the Davenport Site across the Delaware from Milford, Pa., found on the surface in 1934, and a small perforated triangular ornament of catlinite from near Cocheton, Sullivan Co., N. Y. (Plate 11, No. 10, shows the brass arrowpoint; Plate 1, No. 6, is the catlinite ornament.)

Summary

172 With the exception of numerous pottery decorative patterns within the framework of certain Owasco and Iroquoian ceramic techniques, it is evident that Minsi material culture is not characterized by variety. This is, of course, an example of a cultural

[R 14, B]

●172 trend to be noted elsewhere in the Northeast, notably among the Iroquois, in accordance with which there was a definite limitation and specialization of stone artifact types in the later periods of occupation which immediately preceded white contact. Among the Iroquois, for example, there was an almost total concentration upon the use of a single type of triangular arrowpoint. Among the Minsi, we likewise see a preference for one type of triangular arrowpoint, but differing from the Iroquois in having a concave base.

Collectors and others having material from sites in this area usually fail to realize that their proudly exhibited bannerstones, grooved axes, and wide varieties of stemmed and notched arrowpoints were not produced by the Indians whom we associate with the colonial period and the period immediately preceding, but rather were made by peoples who occupied the upper Delaware Valley long before the beginning of recorded American history.

With a fairly definite description of the Minsi cultural pattern, we have succeeded in reducing considerably the proportion of what is known to what is unknown in the archaeology of northeastern Pennsylvania. Two well-defined complexes, the Laurentian and the Minsi, have been recognized here. The largest single problem now remaining is to separate, identify, and equate with others in the Northeast the third pattern which seems to be present. This pattern, in the writer's opinion, immediately preceded the Minsi occupation which closed the local prehistoric period. It produced grooved axes, steatite vessels, gorgets, and a variety of arrowpoint forms, including stemmed types. Whether clay pottery was used is open to question. This pre-Minsi period seems to have been allied to the so-called Coastal Culture, a culture which at present seems to be the untouchable of northeastern archaeology.

[P.15, A]

172 It is suggested that more work be done on this Coastal pattern by our professional archaeologists and, finally, that the organizations and individuals who have already

[P. 15, B]

172 worked on it would do well to fulfill their scientific obligations by publishing their results.

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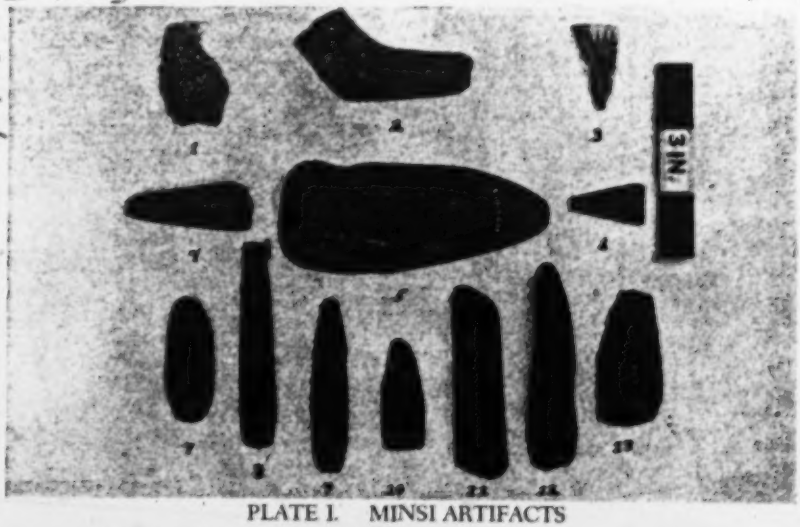

PLATE I. MINSI ARTIFACTS

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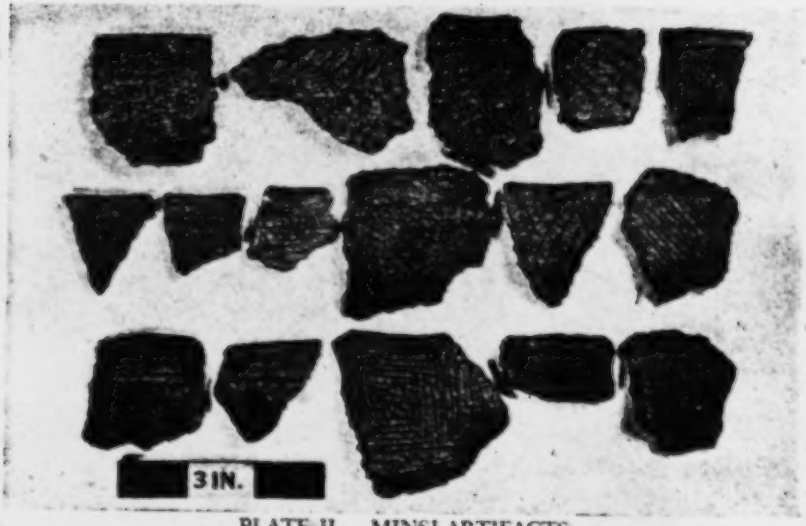

PLATE II. MINSI ARTIFACTS

[P 16]

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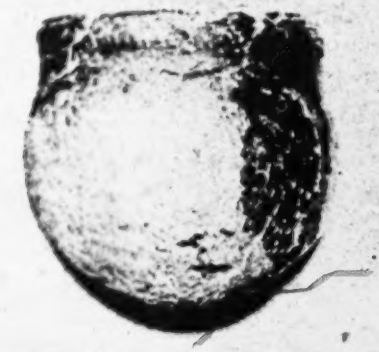

PLATE III. MINSI ARTIFACT

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PLATE IV. MINSI ARTIFACT

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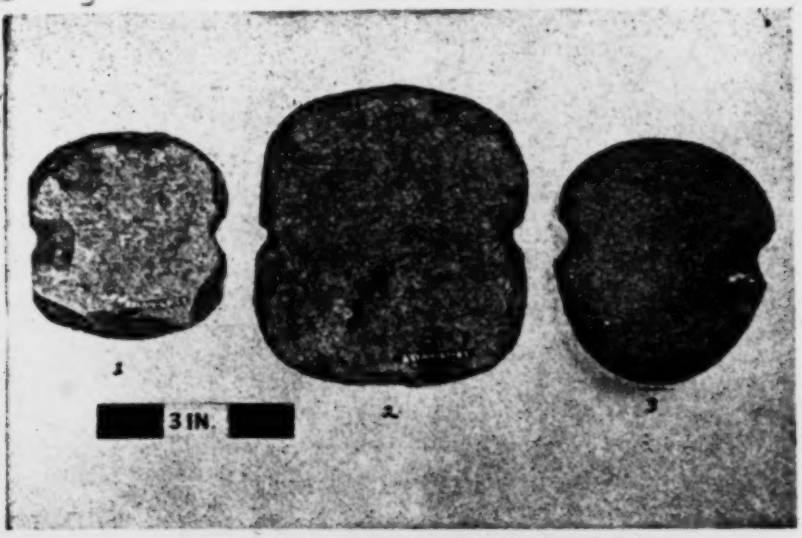

PLATE V. MINSI ARTIFACTS

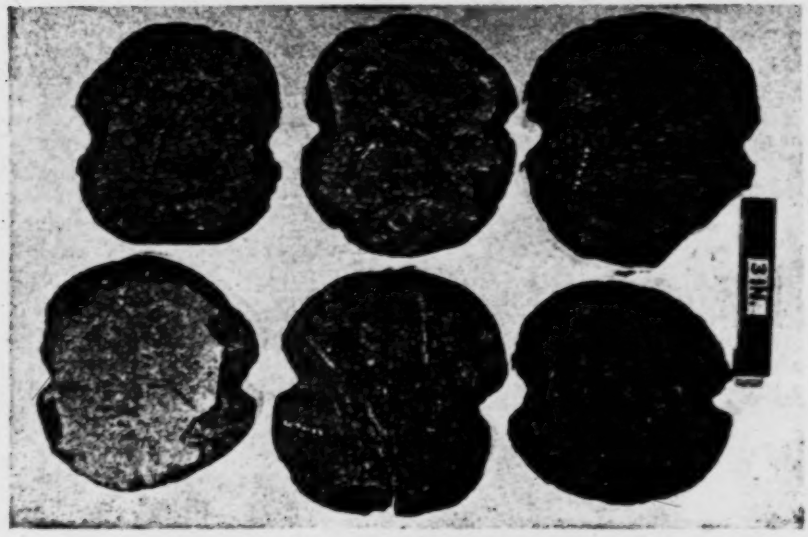

PLATE VI. MINSI ARTIFACTS

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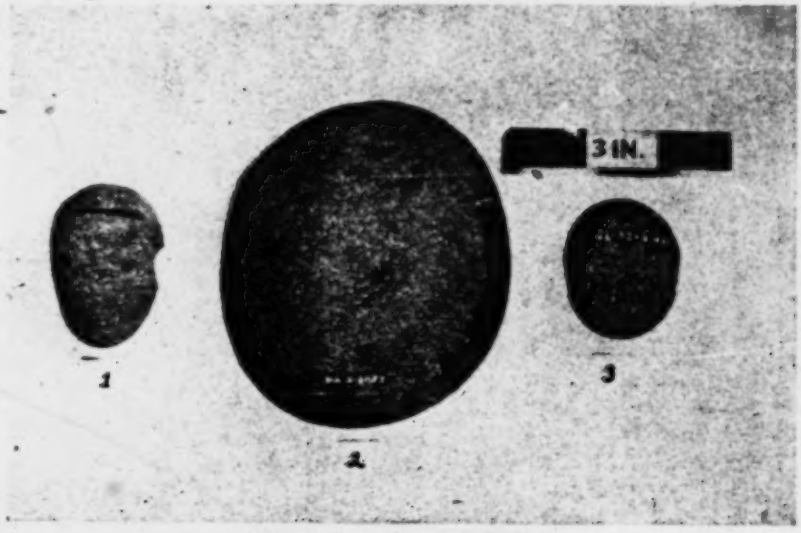

PLATE VII. MINSI ARTIFACTS

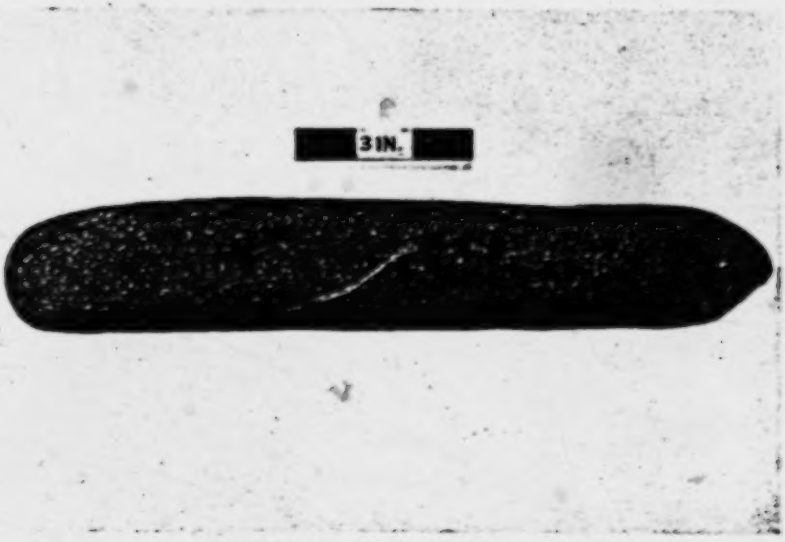

PLATE VIII. MINSI ARTIFACT

[P. 19]

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PLATE IX. MINSI ARTIFACTS

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PLATE X. MINSI ARTIFACT

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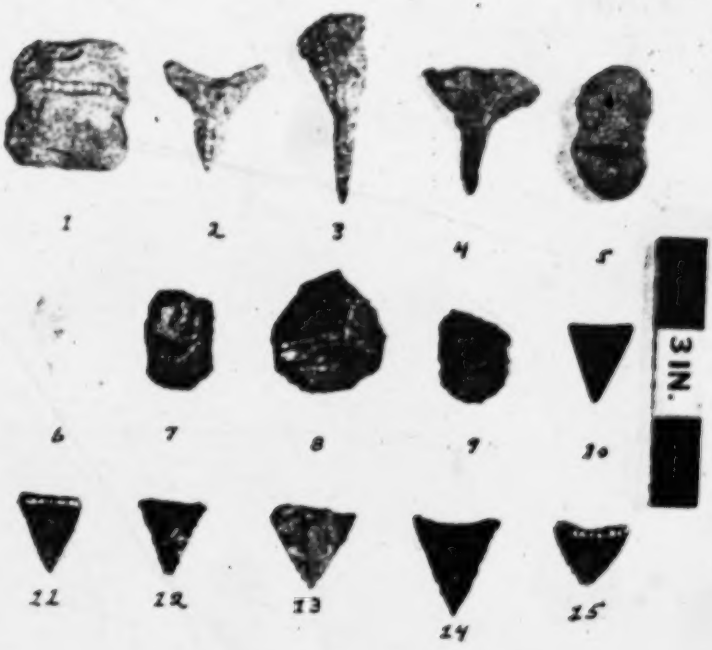

PLATE XI. MINSI ARTIFACTS

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

AN

HISTORICAL ACCOUNT, &c.

CHAPTER I.

HISTORICAL TRADITIONS OF THE INDIANS.

THE Lenni Lenape (according to the traditions handed down to them by their ancestors) resided many hundred years ago, in a very distant country in the western part of the American continent. For some reason, which I do not find accounted for, they determined on migrating to the eastward, and accordingly set out together in a body. After a very long journey, and many night's encampments* by the way, they at length arrived on the *Namæsi Sipu*,† where they fell in with the Mengwe,‡ who had likewise emigrated from a distant country, and had struck upon this river somewhat higher up. Their object was the same with that of the Delawares; they were proceeding on to the eastward, until they should find a country that pleased them. The spies which the Lenape had sent forward for the purpose of reconnoitring, had long before their arrival discovered that the country east of the Mississippi was inhabited by a very powerful nation who had many large towns built on the great rivers flowing through their land. Those people (as I was told) called themselves *Tulligeu* or *Talligewi*. Colonel John Gibson, however, a gentleman who has a thorough knowledge of the Indians, and speaks several of their lan-

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* "Night's encampment," is a halt of one year at a place.

† The Mississippi, or *River* of *Fish*; *Namæs*, a *Fish*; *Sipu*, a *River*.

‡ The Iroquois, or Five Nations.

[p. 29]

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7
Cherokee NM8

guages, is of opinion that they were not called *Talligewi*, but *Alligewi*, and it would seem that he is right, from the traces of their name which still remain in the country, the Allegheny river and mountains having indubitably been named after them. The Delawares still call the former *Alligéwi Sipu*, the River of the Alligewi. We have adopted, I know not for what reason, its Iroquois name, Ohio, which the French had literally translated into *La Belle Riviere*, The Beautiful River.* A branch of it, however, still retains the ancient name Allegheny.

Many wonderful things are told of this famous people. They are said to have been remarkably tall and stout, and there is a tradition that there were giants among them, people of a much larger size than the tallest of the Lenape. It is related that they had built to themselves regular fortifications or entrenchments, from whence they would sally out, but were generally repulsed. I have seen many of the fortifications said to have been built by them, two of which, in particular, were remarkable. One of them was near the mouth of the river Huron, which empties itself into the Lake St. Clair, on the north side of that Lake, at the distance of about 20 miles N. E. of Detroit. This spot of ground was, in the year 1786, owned and occupied by a Mr. Tucker. The other works, properly entrenchments, being walls or banks of earth regularly thrown up, with a deep ditch on the outside, were on the Huron river, east of the Sandusky, about six or eight miles from Lake Erie. Outside of the gateways of each of these two entrenchments, which lay within a mile of each other, were a number of large flat mounds, in which, the Indian pilot said, were buried hundreds of the slain Talligewi, whom I shall hereafter with Col. Gibson call *Alligewi*. Of these entrenchments, Mr. Abraham Steiner, who was with me at the time when I saw them, gave a very accurate description, which was

* Loskiel's History of the Mission of the United Brethren, Part I. Chap. 1.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7
Cherokee NM8
Iroquois NM9

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published at Philadelphia, in 1789 or 1790, in some periodical work the name of which I cannot at present remember.

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When the Lenape arrived on the banks of the Mississippi, they sent a message to the Alligewi to request permission to settle themselves in their neighbourhood. This was refused them, but they obtained leave to pass through the country and seek a settlement farther to the eastward. They accordingly began to cross the Namæsi Sipu, when the Alligewi, seeing that their numbers were so very great, and in fact they consisted of many thousands, made a furious attack on those who had crossed, threatening them all with destruction, if they dared to persist in coming over to their side of the river. Fired at the treachery of these people, and the great loss of men they had sustained, and besides, not being prepared for a conflict, the Lenape consulted on what was to be done; whether to retreat in the best manner they could, or try their strength, and let the enemy see that they were not cowards, but men, and too high minded to suffer themselves to be driven off before they had made a trial of their strength, and were convinced that the enemy was too powerful for them. The Mengwe, who had hitherto been satisfied with being spectators from a distance, offered to join them, on condition that, after conquering the country, they should be entitled to share it with them; their proposal was accepted, and the resolution was taken by the two nations, to conquer or die.

Having thus united their forces, the Lenape and Mengwe declared war against the Alligewi, and great battles were fought, in which many warriors fell on both sides. The enemy fortified their large towns and erected fortifications, especially on large rivers, and near lakes, where they were successively attacked and sometimes stormed by the allies. An engagement took place in which hundreds fell, who were afterwards buried in holes or laid together in heaps and covered over with earth.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7
Cherokee NM8
Iroquois NM9

No quarters were given, so that the Alligewi, at last, finding that their destruction was inevitable if they persisted in their obstinacy, abandoned the country to the conquerors, and fled down the Mississippi river, from whence they never returned. The war which was carried on with this nation, lasted many years, during which the Lenape lost a great number of their warriors, while the Mengwe would always hang back in the rear, leaving them to face the enemy. In the end, the conquerors divided the country between themselves; the Mengwe made choice of the lands in the vicinity of the great Lakes, and on their tributary streams, and the Lenape took possession of the country to the south. For a long period of time, some say many hundred years, the two nations resided peaceably in this country, and increased very fast; some of their most enterprising huntsmen and warriors, crossed the great swamps,* and falling on streams running to the eastward, followed them down to the great Bay River,† thence into the Bay itself, which we call Chesapeak. As they pursued their travels, partly by land, and partly by water, sometimes near and at other times on the great Saltwater Lake, as they call the Sea, they discovered the great River, which we call the Delaware; and thence exploring still eastward, the *Scheyichbi* country, now named New Jersey, they arrived at another great stream, that which we call the Hudson or North River. Satisfied with what they had seen, they, (or some of them) after a long absence, returned to their nation and reported the discoveries they had made; they described the country they had discovered, as abounding in game and various kinds of fruits; and the rivers and bays, with fish, tortoises, &c. together with abundance of water-fowl, and no enemy to be dreaded. They considered the event as a fortunate one for them, and

* The *Glades*, that is to say that they crossed the mountains.

† Meaning the river Susquehannah, which they call "the great Bay River," from where the west branch falls into the main stream.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

concluding this to be the country destined for them by the Great Spirit, they began to emigrate thither, as yet but in small bodies, so as not to be straitened for want of provisions by the way, some even laying by for a whole year; at last they settled on the four great rivers (which we call Delaware, Hudson, Susquehannah, and Potomack) making the Delaware, to which they gave the name of "*Lenapewihittuck*,"* (the river or stream of the Lenape) the centre of their possessions.

They say, however, that the whole of their nation did not reach this country; that many remained behind in order to aid and assist that great body of their people, which had not crossed the Namæsi Sipu, but had retreated into the interior of the country on the other side, on being informed of the reception which those who had crossed had met with, and probably thinking that they had all been killed by the enemy.

Their nation finally became divided into three separate bodies; the larger body, which they suppose to have been one half of the whole, were settled on the Atlantic, and the other half was again divided into two parts, one of which, the strongest as they suppose, remained beyond the Mississippi, and the remainder where they left them, on this side of that river.

Those of the Delawares who fixed their abode on the shores of the Atlantic divided themselves into three tribes. Two of them, distinguished by the names of the *Turtle* and the *Turkey*, the former calling themselves *Unámis* and the other *Unalachtgo*, chose those grounds to settle on, which lay nearest to the sea, between the coast and the high mountains. As they multiplied, their settlements extended from the *Mohicannittuck* (river of the Mohicans, which we call the North or Hudson river) to

* The word "Hittuck," in the language of the Delawares, means a rapid stream; "Sipo," or "Sipu," is the proper name for a river.

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beyond the Potomack. Many families with their connexions choosing to live by themselves, were scattered not only on the larger but also on the small streams, throughout the country, having towns and villages, where they lived together in separate bodies, in each of which a chief resided; those chiefs, however, were subordinate (by their own free will, the only kind of subordination which the Indians know) to the head chiefs or great council of the nation, whom they officially informed of all events or occurrences affecting the general interest which came to their knowledge. The third tribe, the *Wolf*, commonly called the *Minsi*, which we have corrupted into *Monseys*, had chosen to live back of the two other tribes, and formed a kind of bulwark for their protection, watching the motions of the Mengwe, and being at hand to afford their aid in case of a rupture with them. The Minsi were considered the most warlike and active branch of the Lenape. They extended their settlements, from the *Minisink*, a place named after them, where they had their council seat and fire, quite up to the Hudson on the east; and to the west or south west far beyond the Susquehannah: their northern boundaries were supposed originally to be the heads of the great rivers Susquehannah and Delaware, and their southern boundaries that ridge of hills known in New Jersey by the name of *Muskanecun*, and in Pennsylvania, by those of *Lehigh*, *Coghnewago*, &c. Within this boundary were their principal settlements; and even as late as the year 1742, they had a town, with a large peach orchard, on the tract of land where *Nazareth*, in Pennsylvania, has since been built; another on *Lehigh*, (the west branch of the Delaware,) and others beyond the blue ridge, besides small family settlements here and there scattered.

From the above *three* tribes, the *Unamis*, *Unalachtgo*,

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and the *Minsi*, comprising together the body of those people we call *Delawares*, had in the course of time, sprung many others, who, having for their own conveniency, chosen distant spots to settle on, and increasing in numbers, gave themselves names or received them from others. Those names, generally given after some simple natural objects, or after something striking or extraordinary, they continued to bear even after they ceased to be applicable, when they removed to other places, where the object after which they were named was not to be found; thus they formed separate and distinct tribes, yet did not deny their origin, but retained their affection for the parent tribe, of which they were even proud to be called the grandchildren.

This was the case with the *Mahicanni* or Mohicans, in the east, a people who by intermarriages had become a detached body, mixing two languages together, and forming out of the two a dialect of their own: choosing to live by themselves, they had crossed the Hudson River, naming it Mahicannituck River after their assumed name, and spread themselves over all that country which now composes the eastern states. New tribes again sprung from them, who assumed distinct names; still however not breaking off from the parent stock, but acknowledging the Lenni Lenape to be their grandfather: the Delawares, at last, thought proper to enlarge their council house for their Mahicanni grandchildren, that they might come to their fire, that is to say, be benefited by their advice, and also in order to keep alive their family connexions and remain in league with each other.

Much the same thing happened with a body of the Lenape, called *Nanticokes*, who had, together with their offspring, proceeded far to the south, in Maryland and Virginia; the council house was by their grandfather, (the Delawares,) extended to the Potomack, in the same manner and for the same motives as had been done with the *Mahicanni*.

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Meanwhile the Mengwe, who had first settled on the great Lakes between them, had always kept a number of canoes in readiness to save themselves, in case the Alligewi should return, and their number also increasing, they had in time proceeded farther, and settled below the Lakes along the river St. Lawrence, so that they were now become, on the north side, neighbours of the Lenape tribes.

These Mengwe now began to look upon their southern neighbours with a jealous eye, became afraid of their growing power, and of being dispossessed by them of the lands they occupied. To meet this evil in time, they first sought to raise quarrels and disturbances, which in the end might lead to wars between distant tribes and the Lenape, for which purpose, they clandestinely murdered people on one or the other side, seeking to induce the injured party to believe, that some particular nation or tribe had been the aggressor; and having actually succeeded to their wishes, they now stole into the country of the Lenape and their associates, frequently surprising them at their hunting camps, occasionally committing murders, and making off with the plunder. Foreseeing, however, that they could not go on in this way without being detected, they had recourse to other artful means, by which they actually succeeded in setting tribe against tribe, and nation against nation. As each nation or tribe has a particular mark on their war clubs, different from that of the others; and as on seeing one of these near the dead body of a murdered person, it is immediately known what nation or tribe has been the aggressor; so the Mengwe having left a war club, such as the Lenape made use of, in the Cherokee country, where they had purposely committed a murder, of course the Cherokees naturally concluding that it had been committed by the Lenape, fell suddenly upon them, which produced a most bloody war between the two nations. The treachery of the Mengwe, however, having been at

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length discovered, the Lenape determined on taking an exemplary revenge, and, indeed, nothing short of a total extirpation* of that deceitful race was resolved on; they were, besides, known to eat human flesh,† to kill men for the purpose of devouring them; and therefore were not considered by the Lenape as a pure race, or as rational beings; but as a mixture of the human and brutal kinds.

War being now openly declared against the Mengwe, it was carried on with vigour; until, at last, finding that they were no match for so powerful an enemy as the Lenape, who had such a train of connexions, ready to join them if necessity required, they fell upon the plan of entering into a confederacy with each other, by which they would be bound to make a common cause,

* Loskiel, part I. ch 10.

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† The Reverend C. Pyrlæus, a pupil of Conrad Weiser, of whom he learned the Mohawk language, and who was afterwards stationed on the Mohawk river, as a Missionary, has, in a manuscript book, written between the years 1742 and 1748, page 235, the following note, which he received from a principal chief of that nation. viz. "The Five Nations formerly did eat human flesh, they at one time "ate up a whole body of the French King's soldiers, they say, *Eto "niocht echquari*; which is: Human flesh tastes like bear's meat. "They also say, that the hands are not good eating, they are *yox-"gurut*, bitter."

Aged French Canadians have told me, many years since, while I was at Detroit, that they had frequently seen the Iroquois eat the flesh of those who had been slain in battle, and that this was the case in the war between the French and English, commonly called the war of 1756.

At a treaty held at the Proprietor's house in Philadelphia, July 5th 1742, with the Six Nations, none of the Senecas attended; the reason of their absence being asked, it was given for answer, "that there was a famine in their country, and that a father had been obliged to kill two of his children, to preserve the lives of the remainder of the family." See Colden's History of the Five Nations, part II. page 52. See also the minutes of that treaty, printed at Philadelphia, by B. Franklin, in 1743, p. 7, in the Collection of Indian Treaties in the library of the American Philosophical Society.

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and meet the common enemy with their united force, and not, as the present prospect was, be destroyed by tribes, which threatened in the end the destruction of the whole. Until this time, each tribe of the Mengwe had acted independent of the others, and they were not inclined to come under any supreme authority, which might counteract their base designs; for now, a single tribe, or even individuals of a tribe, by the commission of wanton hostilities, would draw the more peaceable among them into wars and bloodshed, as particularly had been the case with the Senecas, who were the most restless of the whole; and though the Lenape had directed their force principally against the aggressors, yet the body of the nation became thereby weaker; so that they saw the necessity of coming under some better regulations and government.*

This confederation took place some time between the 15th and 16th century;† the most bloody wars were afterwards carried on for a great length of time, between the confederated Iroquois, and the Delawares and their connexions, in which the Lenape say that they generally came off victorious. While these wars were carrying on with vigour, the French landed in Canada, and it was not long before they and the now combined Five Nations,

* Loskiel, part I. ch. I.

† The Rev. C. Pyrlæus, in his manuscript book, page 234, says: "The alliance or confederacy of the Five Nations was establish-"ed, as near as can be conjectured, one age (or the length of a man's "life) before the white people (the Dutch) came into the country. "*Thannawage* was the name of the aged Indian, a Mohawk, who first "proposed such an alliance." He then gives the names of the chiefs of the Five Nations, which at that time met and formed the alliance. viz. "*Teganawita*, of the Mohawks; *Otatschéchta*, of the "Oneidas; *Tatotarho*, of the Onondagos, *Tegahâyon*, of the Cay-"ugas; *Ganiatarió* and *Satagarùyes*, from two towns of the Sene-"cas &c." and concludes with saying: "All these names are forever "to be kept in remembrance, by naming a person in each nation after "them," &c. &c.

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or tribes, were at war with each other, the latter not being willing to permit that the French should establish themselves in that country. At last the Iroquois, finding themselves between two fires, and without any prospect of conquering the Lenape by arms, and seeing the necessity of withdrawing with their families, from the shores of the St. Lawrence, to the interior of the country, where the French could not easily reach them, fell upon a stratagem, which they flattered themselves would, if successful, secure to them not only a peace with the Lenape, but also with all the other tribes connected with them; so that they would then have but one enemy (the French) to contend with.

This plan was very deeply laid, and was calculated to deprive the Lenape and their allies, not only of their power but of their military fame, which had exalted them above all the other Indian nations. They were to be persuaded to abstain from the use of arms, and assume the station of mediators and umpires among their warlike neighbours. In the language of the Indians, they were to be made *women*.* It must be understood that among these nations wars are never brought to an end but by the interference of the weaker sex. The men, however tired of fighting, are afraid of being considered as cowards if they should intimate a desire for peace. It is not becoming, say they, for a warrior, with the bloody weapon in his hand, to hold pacific language to his enemy. He must shew to the end a determined courage, and appear as ready and willing to fight as at the beginning of the contest. Neither, say they, is it proper, to threaten and to sue in the same breath, to hold the peace belt in one hand, and the tomahawk in the other; men's words, as well as their actions, should be of a piece, all good or all bad; for it is a fixed maxim of theirs, which they apply on all occasions, that good can

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* Loskiel, part I. ch. 10.

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never dwell with evil. They also think that a treaty produced by threats or by force, cannot be binding. With these dispositions, war would never have ceased among Indians, until the extermination of one or the other party, if the tender and compassionate sex had not come forward, and by their moving speeches persuaded the enraged combatants to bury their hatchets, and make peace with each other. On these occasions they were very eloquent, they would lament with great feeling the losses suffered on both sides, when there was not a warrior, perhaps, who had not lost a son, a brother or a friend. They would describe the sorrows of widowed wives, and, above all, of bereaved mothers. The pains of child-birth, the anxieties attending the progress of their sons from infancy to manhood, they had willingly and even cheerfully suffered; but after all these trials, how cruel was it for them to see those promising youths whom they had reared with so much care, fall victims to the rage of war, and a prey to a relentless enemy; to see them slaughtered on the field of battle, or put to death, as prisoners, by a protracted torture, in the midst of the most exquisite torments. The thought of such scenes made them curse their own existence, and shudder at the idea of bearing children. Then they would conjure the warriors by every thing that was dear to them, to take pity on the sufferings of their wives and helpless infants, to turn their faces once more towards their homes, families and friends, to forgive the wrongs suffered from each other, to lay aside their deadly weapons, and smoke together the pipe of amity and peace. They had given on both sides sufficient proofs of their courage; the contending nations were alike high minded and brave, and they must now embrace as friends those whom they had learned to respect as enemies. Speeches like these seldom failed of their intended effect, and the women, by this honourable function of peace-makers, were placed in a situation by no means undignified. It would

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not be a disgrace, therefore; on the contrary, it would be an honour to a powerful nation, who could not be suspected of wanting either strength or courage, to assume that station by which they would be the means, and the only means, of preserving the general peace and saving the Indian race from utter extirpation.

Such were the arguments which the artful Mengwe urged to the Lenape to make them fall into the snare which they had prepared for them. They had reflected, they said, deeply reflected on their critical situation; there remained no resource for them, but that some magnanimous nation should assume the part and situation of the *woman*. It could not be given to a weak or contemptible tribe, such would not be listened to; but the Lenape and their allies would at once possess influence and command respect. As men they had been dreaded; as women they would be respected and honoured, none would be so daring or so base as to attack or insult them; as women they would have a right to interfere in all the quarrels of other nations, and to stop or prevent the effusion of Indian blood. They entreated them, therefore, to become *the woman* in name and in fact, to lay down their arms and all the insignia of warriors, to devote themselves to agriculture and other pacific employments, and thus become the means of preserving peace and harmony among the nations.

The Lenape, unfortunately for themselves, listened to the voice of their enemies. They knew it was too true, that the Indian nations, excited by their own unbridled passions, and not a little by their European neighbours, were in the way of total extirpation by each other's hands. They believed that the Mengwe were sincere, and that their proposal had no object in view but the preservation of the Indian race. In a luckless hour they gave their consent, and agreed to become *women*. This consent was received with great joy. A feast was prepared for the purpose of confirming and proclaiming the

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new order of things. With appropriate ceremonies, of which Loskiel has given a particular description,* the Delawares were installed in their new functions, eloquent speeches were delivered, accompanied, as usual, with belts of wampum. The great peace belt and the chain of friendship (in the figurative language of the Indians) was laid across the shoulders of the new mediator, one end of which, it was said, was to be taken hold of by all the Indian nations, and the other by the Europeans.† The Lenape say that the Dutch were present at that ceremony, and had no inconsiderable share in the intrigue.

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The old and intelligent Mahicani, whose forefathers inhabited the country on the east side of the North river, gave many years since the following account of the above transaction. They said that their grandfather, (the Lenni Lenape) and the nations or tribes connected with them, were so united, that whatsoever nation attacked the one, it was the same as attacking the whole; all in such cases would unite and make a common cause. That the long house (council house) of all those who were of the same blood, and united under this kind of tacit alliance, reached from the head of the tide, at some distance above where Gaaschtinick (Albany) now stands, to the head of the tide water on the Potomack. That at each end of this house there was a door for the tribes to enter at. That the Mengwe were in no way connected with those who had access to this house; but were looked upon as strangers. That the Lenape, with the Mohicans and all the other tribes in their connexion, were on the point of extirpating the Five Nations, when they applied to the *Dutchemaan*, who were now making a settlement at or near Gaaschtinick, to assist them in bringing about a peace with the Lenape. That accordingly these new comers invited the Lenape and the Mohicans to a grand

* Loskiel, part I. ch. 10. † Ibid

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council, at a place situated at some distance from where Albany now stands, which the white people have since called by the name of *Nordman's Kill*. That when at length, by their united supplications and fair speeches, they had got the hatchet out of the hands of the Lenape, they buried that weapon at Gaaschtinick, and said that they would build a church over the spot, so that the weapon could never any more be got at, otherwise than by lifting up the whole church, and whatever nation should dare to do this, on them the Dutchemaan would take revenge. That now, having succeeded in getting the weapon out of the hands of the Lenape, the ceremony of placing them in the situation of "the woman," for the purpose of being mediators, took place, when the Mengwe declared them henceforth to be their cousins, and the Mahicani, they said, they would call their nephews.

The Mahicani further say, that it was fear which induced the Dutchemaan to aid the Five Nations in bringing about this peace, because at the place where they were at that time making their settlement, great bodies of warriors would pass and repass, so that they could not avoid being interrupted in their undertakings, and probably molested, if not destroyed, by one or the other of the war parties, as their wars, at that time, were carried on with great rage, and no quarters were given. That in producing this peace, the white people had effected for the Mengwe, what no other nation could have done, and had laid the foundation of the future greatness of their Iroquois friends, as the same policy was pursued by the English, after they came into possession of this country.—So far the tradition of the Mahicani.

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The Rev. Mr. Pyrlæus, in his notes, after fixing as near as he could the time when the Five Nations confederated with each other, proceeds in these words: "According to "my informant, Sganarady, a creditable aged Indian, his "grandfather had been one of the deputies sent for the "purpose of entering into a covenant with the white En-

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"ropeans; they met at a place since called Nordman's "Kill, about four miles below where afterwards Albany "was built, where this covenant of friendship was first "established, and the Mohawks were the active body in "effecting this work."

From these three separate accounts of the Lenape, of the Mahicani, and of the Mohawks, as related by Mr. Pyrlæus, it appears to be conclusively proved, that the Europeans were already in this country, when the Lenape were persuaded to assume the station of *the woman*, and that the Dutch were assisting in the plot, and were at least the instigators, if not the authors of it. It was the *Dutch* who summoned the great council near Albany; the tomahawk was buried deep in the ground, and the vengeance of the *Dutch* was threatened if it should ever be taken up again; the peace belt was laid across the shoulders of the unfortunate Delawares, supported at one end by the Five Nations, and at the other by the *Europeans:* all these circumstances point so clearly to European intrigue, that it is impossible to resist the conclusion that the whites adopted this means to neutralise the power of the Delawares and their friends, whom they dreaded, and strengthen the hands of the Iroquois, who were in their alliance.

The Iroquois have denied that these machinations ever took place, and say that they conquered the Delawares in fair battle, and compelled them by force to become women, or in other words that they obliged them to submit to the greatest humiliation to which a warlike spirited people can ever be reduced; not a momentary humiliation, as when the Romans were compelled by the Samnites to pass under the Caudine forks, but a permanent disgrace, which was to last as long as their national existence. If this were true, the Lenape and their allies, who, like all other Indian nations, never considered a treaty binding when entered into under any kind of compulsion, would not have submitted to this any longer than

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until they could again have rallied their forces and fallen upon their enemy; they would have done long before the year 1755, what they did at last at that time, joined the French in their wars against the Iroquois and English, and would not have patiently waited more than a century before they took their revenge for so flagrant an outrage. Their numbers, acknowledged to have been far superior to that of their Indian enemies, and the vast extent of territory which they possessed, furnished them with ample means to have acted hostilely, if they had thought proper. On the contrary, they lived at peace with the Iroquois, and their European allies, until that decisive war, by which the French lost at once all their extensive possessions on the continent of America.

In addition to these positive proofs, negative evidence of the strongest kind may be adduced. The Iroquois say, indeed, that they conquered the Delawares and their allies, and compelled them to become women. But there is no tradition among them of the particulars of this important event. Neither Mr. Pyrlæus, nor Mr. Zeisberger, who both lived long among the Five Nations, and spoke and understood their language well, could obtain from them any details relative to this supposed conquest; they ought, certainly, to have been able to say how it was effected; whether by one decisive fight or by successive engagements; when, and at what place or places these engagements, or at least, the last battle took place; who were the nations or tribes engaged in it; who the chiefs or commanders; what numbers fell on each side; and a variety of other facts, by which the truth of their assertion might have been proved: the total absence of such details appears to me to militate against them in the strongest manner, and to corroborate the statement of their adversaries.

The Delawares are of opinion, that this scheme of the Five Nations, however deeply laid, and meant essentially to injure them, would not, however, have operated against

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them, but on the contrary have greatly subserved their national interest, if the Europeans had not afterwards come into the country in such great numbers, and multiplied so rapidly as they did. For their neutral position would greatly have favoured their increase, while the numbers of the other Indian nations would have been reduced by the wars in which they were continually engaged. But unfortunately for them, it happened, that the Europeans successively invaded the country which they occupied and now forms what are called the middle states, and as they advanced from the Atlantic into the interior, drove before them the Lenape and their allies, and obtained possession of their lands; while the Iroquois, who happened to be placed in the neighbourhood of Canada, between the French and English, who were frequently at war with each other, had an enemy, it is true, in the French nation, but had strong protectors in the English, who considered them as a check upon their enemies, and, being the most numerous people, were best able to afford them protection; thus they were suffered to increase and become powerful, while the Lenape, having no friend near them, the French being then at too great a distance, were entirely at the mercy of their English neighbours, who, advancing fast on their lands, gradually dispersed them, and other causes concurring, produced at last their almost entire destruction. Among those causes the treacherous conduct of the Five Nations may be considered as the principal one.

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Before that strange metamorphosis took place, of a great and powerful nation being transformed into a band of defenceless women, the Iroquois had never been permitted to visit the Lenape, even when they were at peace with each other. Whenever a Mengwe appeared in their country, he was hunted down as a beast of prey, and it was lawful for every one to destroy him. But now, *the woman* could not, consistently with her new station and her engagements, make use of destructive

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weapons, and she was bound to abstain from all violence against the human species. Her late enemies, therefore, found no difficulty in travelling, under various pretences, through her country, and those of her allies, and leaving here and there a few of their people to remain among them as long as they pleased, for the purpose, as they said, of keeping up a good understanding, and assisting them in the preservation of the general peace. But while they were amusing the Lenape with flattering language, they were concerting measures to disturb their quiet by involving them in difficulties with the neighbouring nations. I shall relate one among many instances of a similar conduct. They once sent their men into the Cherokee country, who were instructed secretly to kill one of that nation, and to leave a war club near the person murdered, which had been purposely made after the manner and in the shape of those of the Delawares. Now leaving a war club in an Indian country, is considered by those nations as a formal challenge or declaration of war. The Cherokees, deceived by appearances, and believing that their grandfather the Lenape had committed the murder, collected a large party to go into their country and take their revenge. Meanwhile, the Iroquois sent a messenger to the Lenape, to inform them of the approach of an enemy, who, they had learned from their hunters, was coming towards their settlement, and to advise them to send a number of their men immediately to a certain place, where they would be met by a large body of the Five Nations, who would take the lead, march in front, and fight their battles, so that they would have little else to do than to look on, and see how well their friends fought for them. The Lenape, being in no wise prepared to meet a powerful foe, assembled in haste a few of their men, and repaired to the place of rendezvous, where they were disappointed by not meeting any of their pretended protectors. The enemy, however, was close upon them; the Lenape fought with great

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courage, but were overpowered by an immense superiority of numbers, and defeated with considerable loss. Now the Iroquois made their appearance, and instead of attacking or pursuing the Cherokees, loaded the Delawares with reproaches, for their temerity, as they called it, in having dared, being *women*, to take the lead in attacking *men*. They told them that the Five Nations being their superiors, they ought to have waited for them before they attacked the Cherokees, that then their protectors would have fought and defeated them, but that as they had thought proper to act by themselves, they had received the punishment justly due to their presumption.

It was thus that the Five Nations rewarded the confidence that the Delawares had placed in them. Their treachery was not, however, suspected for a long time; but it was at last discovered; it was even found out that in this last engagement, a number of the Iroquois had joined in fight against them with their enemies. The Lenape then determined to unite their forces, and by one great effort to destroy entirely that perfidious nation. This, they say, they might easily have done, as they were then yet as numerous as the grasshoppers at particular seasons, and as destructive to their enemies as these insects are to the fruits of the earth; while they described the Mengwe as a number of croaking frogs in a pond, which make a great noise when all is quiet, but at the first approach of danger, nay, at the very rustling of a leaf, immediately plunge into the water and are silent.

But their attention was now diverted by other scenes. The whites were again landing in great numbers on their coast, in the east and south, and this spectacle once more engaged all the capacity of their minds. They were lost in admiration at what they saw, and were consulting and deliberating together on what they should do. The Five Nations, who lived out of the reach of all danger, never-

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theless also came; but bent on their own interest, while they were instigating the other nations to fall upon the new comers, or drive them off from their shores, by which they caused useless hostilities, in which they did not appear to participate, they were insinuating themselves into the favour of the powerful strangers, professing great friendship for them, persuading them that they were superior to the other Indian nations, that they had controul over them all, and would chastise those who should disturb their peace.

William Penn came, with his train of pacific followers. Never will the Delawares forget their elder brother *Miquon*, as they affectionately and respectfully call him. From his first arrival in their country, a friendship was formed between them which was to last as long as the sun should shine, and the rivers flow with water. That friendship would undoubtedly have continued to the end of time, had their good brother always remained among them, but in his absence, mischievous people, say they, got into power, who, not content with the land which had been given to them, contrived to get all that they wanted; and when the Lenape looked round for the friends of their brother Miquon, to hear their just complaints, and redress their wrongs, they could not discover them, and had the misfortune to see their greatest enemies the Mengwe, brought on for the purpose of shutting their mouths, and compelling them to submit to the injustice done them.

They cannot conceive how the English could turn from the people by whom they had been so kindly received and welcomed with open arms; from those who had permitted them to sit down upon their lands in peace, and without fear of being molested by them; who had taken delight in supplying all their wants,* and who were hap-

* Mr. Proud, in his History of Pennsylvania, relates that some time after the establishment of William Penn's government, the In-

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py in smoking the pipe of friendship with them at one and the same fire; how they could not only see them degraded and injured by a base and perfidious nation, but join with that nation in sinking them still lower. For to the countenance of the English, they say, is entirely owing the great preponderance which the Iroquois at last attained: they complain that the English did support that enemy against them, that they even sanctioned their insolence, by telling them to make use of their authority as men, and bring these women (the Lenape) to their senses. That they were even insulted and treated in a degrading manner, in treaties to which the English were parties, and particularly in that which took place at Easton in Pennsylvania, in July 1742, when the Six Nations were publicly called on to compel the Delawares to give up the land taken from them by the long day's walk. But for these repeated outrages, they would not have taken part with the French in the memorable war of 1755. Nor, perhaps, would they have done so, had not they been seduced into the measure by the perfidious Iroquois. At the commencement of that war, they brought the war belt with a piece of tobacco to the Delawares, and told them: "Remember that the English have unjustly de-
"prived you of much of your land, which they took from

[Erratum. See cat. 116, p. 1748. - Aug'ust]

dians used to supply the family of one John Chapman, whose descendants still reside in Bucks County, with all kinds of provisions, and mentions an affecting instance of their kindness to that family. Abraham and John Chapman, twin children about nine or ten years old, going out one evening to seek their cattle, met an Indian in the woods, who told them to go back, else they would be lost. They took his advice and went back, but it was night before they got home, where they found the Indian, who had repaired thither out of anxiety for them. And their parents, about that time, going to the yearly meeting at Philadelphia, and leaving a young family at home, the Indians came every day to see whether any thing was amiss among them. Such (says Proud) in many instances was the kind treatment of the Aborigines of this country to the English, in their first and early settlement. Proud's Hist. vol. I. p. 223, 224.

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"you by force. Your cause is just; therefore smoke of "this tobacco, and arise; join with us our fathers the "French, and take your revenge. You are women, it "is true, but we will shorten your petticoats, and though "you may appear by your dress to be women, yet by "your conduct and language you will convince your "enemies that you are determined not tamely to suffer "the wrongs and injuries inflicted upon you."

Yielding to these solicitations, the Delawares and their connexions took up arms against the English in favour of the French, and committed many hostilities, in which the Iroquois appeared to take no part. Sir William Johnson requested them to use their ascendancy and to persuade the hostile Indians to lay down the hatchet, instead of which, instead of conforming to the ancient custom of Indian nations, which was simply to take the war hatchet back from those to whom they had given it, they fell on a sudden on the unsuspecting Lenape, killed their cattle, and destroyed their town on the Susquehannah, and having taken a number of them prisoners, carried them to Sir William Johnson, who confined and put them in irons. This cruel act of treachery, the Delawares say, they will never forget nor forgive.

Thus the Lenape, whose principal settlements were then on the frontier of Pennsylvania, took part with the French, and acted hostilely against the English during the whole of the war of 1755. The animosity which mutual hostilities produced between them and the white settlers concurred, no doubt, with other causes, in producing the murder of the Conestogo Indians, which took place at the close of that war, in December 1763, and is feelingly related by Loskiel, Part I. ch. 14 and 15.

The revolutionary war put an end to the exorbitant power of the Iroquois. They were, indeed, still supported by the British government, but the Americans were now the strongest party, and of course against them. They endeavoured to persuade the other Indian nations

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to join them, but their expectations were deceived. At a meeting which took place at Pittsburg in 1775, for the express purpose of deliberating on the part which it became Indians to take in the disturbances which had arisen between the King of Great Britain and his subjects, Capt. White Eyes, a sensible and very spirited warrior of the Lenape, boldly declared to a select body of the Senecas, that his Indians would never join any nation or power, for the purpose of destroying a people who were born on the same soil with them. That the Americans were his friends and brothers, and that no nation should dictate to him what part he should take in the existing war. Anticipating the measure which the American Congress took in the succeeding year, he declared *himself*,* in behalf of his nation, free and independent of the Iroquois; they had pretended that they had conquered him, they had made a woman of him and dressed him in woman's apparel, but now he was again a man, he stood before them as a man, and with the weapons of a man he would assert his claim to all yonder country, pointing to the land on the west side of the Allegheny river; for to him it belonged, and not to the Six Nations, who falsely asserted that they had acquired it by conquest. In the year 1778 or 1779, the Lenape bravely asserted their national independence by joining Col. Brodhead's troops in an expedition against the Senecas. If they did not do as much in that war as might have been expected of them, and took only a partial revenge, it was owing to the death of their brave chief White Eyes, who died of the small pox at Pittsburg, I think, in the year 1780. He was a christian in his heart, but did not live to make a public profession of our

* Indian chiefs in their public speeches, always speak on behalf of their nation in the singular number and in the first person, considering themselves, in a manner, as its representatives.

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religion, though it is well known that he persuaded many Indians to embrace it.*

Although the Lenape acted independently in the war of 1755, and made a formal declaration of their independence at the beginning of the revolutionary war, yet the Six Nations persevered in their pretensions, and still affected to consider them as women. Finding, however, that this obsolete claim was no longer acknowledged, and that it was useless to insist upon it any longer, they came forward of their own accord, about the time of Wayne's treaty, and formally declared that the Lenape and their allies were no longer women, but MEN.

The Delawares and Mohicans agree in saying, that from the time of the fatal treaty in which they were persuaded to assimilate themselves to women, and, indeed, ever since the Europeans first came into the country, the conduct of the Iroquois was treacherous and perfidious in the extreme. That it was their constant practice to sally out secretly and commit depredations on the neighbouring nations, with intent to involve them in wars with each other. That they would also commit murders on the frontier settlers, from Virginia to New England, and charge the tribes who were settled in the neighbourhood with the commission of those crimes. That they would then turn negotiators, and effect a peace, always at the expense of the nation whom they had injured. They would sell the lands of other nations to the English and receive the money, pretending to a paramount right to the whole territory, and this, say the Lenape, was their manner of CONQUERING NATIONS!

* Loskiel, part II. ch. 8.

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CHAPTER II.

INDIAN ACCOUNT OF THE FIRST ARRIVAL OF THE DUTCH AT NEW YORK ISLAND.

THE Lenni Lenape claim the honour of having received and welcomed the Europeans on their first arrival in the country, situated between New England and Virginia. It is probable, however, that the Mahicani or Mohicans, who then inhabited the banks of the Hudson, concurred in the hospitable act. The relation I am going to make was taken down many years since from the mouth of an intelligent Delaware Indian, and may be considered as a correct account of the tradition existing among them of this momentous event. I give it as much as possible in their own language.

A great many years ago, when men with a white skin had never yet been seen in this land, some Indians who were out a fishing at a place where the sea widens, espied at a great distance something remarkably large floating on the water, and such as they had never seen before. These Indians immediately returning to the shore, apprised their countrymen of what they had observed, and pressed them to go out with them and discover what it might be. They hurried out together, and saw with astonishment the phenomenon which now appeared to their sight, but could not agree upon what it was; some believed it to be an uncommonly large fish or animal, while others were of opinion it must be a very big house floating on the sea. At length the spectators concluded that this wonderful object was moving towards the land, and that it must be an animal or something else that had life in it; it would therefore be proper to inform all the Indians on the inhabited isl-

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ands of what they had seen, and put them on their guard. Accordingly they sent off a number of runners and watermen to carry the news to their scattered chiefs, that they might send off in every direction for the warriors, with a message that they should come on immediately. These arriving in numbers, and having themselves viewed the strange appearance, and observing that it was actually moving towards the entrance of the river or bay; concluded it to be a remarkably large house in which the Mannitto (the Great or Supreme Being) himself was present, and that he probably was coming to visit them. By this time the chiefs were assembled at York island and deliberating in what manner in which they should receive their Mannitto on his arrival. Every measure was taken to be well provided with plenty of meat for a sacrifice. The women were desired to prepare the best victuals. All the idols or images were examined and put in order, and a grand dance was supposed not only to be an agreeable entertainment for the Great Being, but it was believed that it might, with the addition of a sacrifice, contribute to appease him if he was angry with them. The conjurers were also set to work, to determine what this phenomenon portended, and what the possible result of it might be. To these and to the chiefs and wise men of the nations, men, women and children were looking up for advice and protection. Distracted between hope and fear, they were at a loss what to do; a dance, however, commenced in great confusion. While in this situation, fresh runners arrive declaring it to be a large house of various colours, and crowded with living creatures. It appears now to be certain, that it is the great Mannitto, bringing them some kind of game, such as he had not given them before, but other runners soon after arriving declare that it is positively a house full of human beings, of quite a different colour from that of the Indians, and dressed differently from them; that in particular one of them was

[erratum. See vol. 116, p. 348. -Analyst]

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dressed entirely in red, who must be the Mannitto himself. They are hailed from the vessel in a language they do not understand, yet they shout or yell in return by way of answer, according to the custom of their country; many are for running off to the woods, but are pressed by others to stay, in order not to give offence to their visitor, who might find them out and destroy them. The house, some say, large canoe, at last stops, and a canoe of a smaller size comes on shore with the red man and some others in it; some stay with his canoe to guard it. The chiefs and wise men, assembled in council, form themselves into a large circle, towards which the man in red clothes approaches with two others. He salutes them with a friendly countenance, and they return the salute after their manner. They are lost in admiration; the dress, the manners, the whole appearance of the unknown strangers is to them a subject of wonder; but they are particularly struck with him who wore the red coat all glittering with gold lace, which they could in no manner account for. He, surely, must be the great Mannitto, but why should he have a white skin? Meanwhile, a large *Hackhack** is brought by one of his servants, from which an unknown substance is poured out into a small cup or glass, and handed to the supposed Mannitto. He drinks—has the glass filled again, and hands it to the chief standing next to him. The chief receives it, but only smells the contents and passes it on to the next chief, who does the same. The glass or cup thus passes through the circle, without the liquor being tasted by any one, and is upon the point of being returned to the red clothed Mannitto, when one of the Indians, a brave man and a great warrior, suddenly jumps up and harangues the assembly on the impropriety of returning the cup with its contents. It was handed to them, says

* Hackhack is properly a gourd, but since they have seen glass bottles and decanters, they call them by the same name.

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he, by the Mannitto, that they should drink out of it, as he himself had done. To follow his example would be pleasing to him; but to return what he had given them might provoke his wrath, and bring destruction on them. And since the orator believed it for the good of the nation that the contents offered them should be drunk, and as no one else would do it, he would drink it himself, let the consequence be what it might; it was better for one man to die, than that a whole nation should be destroyed. He then took the glass, and bidding the assembly a solemn farewel, at once drank up its whole contents. Every eye was fixed on the resolute chief, to see what effect the unknown liquor would produce. He soon began to stagger, and at last fell prostrate on the ground. His companions now bemoan his fate, he falls into a sound sleep, and they think he has expired. He wakes again, jumps up and declares, that he has enjoyed the most delicious sensations, and that he never before felt himself so happy as after he had drunk the cup. He asks for more, his wish is granted; the whole assembly then imitate him, and all become intoxicated.

After this general intoxication had ceased, for they say that while it lasted the whites had confined themselves to their vessel, the man with the red clothes returned again, and distributed presents among them, consisting of beads, axes, hoes, and stockings such as the white people wear. They soon became familiar with each other, and began to converse by signs. The Dutch made them understand that they would not stay here, that they would return home again, but would pay them another visit the next year, when they would bring them more presents, and stay with them a while; but as they could not live without eating, they should want a little land of them to sow seeds, in order to raise herbs and vegetables to put into their broth. They went away as they had said, and returned in the following season, when both parties were much rejoiced to see each other;

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but the whites laughed at the Indians, seeing that they knew not the use of the axes and hoes they had given them the year before; for they had these hanging to their breasts as ornaments, and the stockings were made use of as tobacco pouches. The whites now put handles to the former for them, and cut trees down before their eyes, hoed up the ground, and put the stockings on their legs. Here, they say, a general laughter ensued among the Indians, that they had remained ignorant of the use of such valuable implements, and had borne the weight of such heavy metal hanging to their necks, for such a length of time. They took every white man they saw for an inferior Mannitto attendant on the supreme Deity who shone superior in the red and laced clothes. As the whites became daily more familiar with the Indians, they at last proposed to stay with them, and asked only for so much ground for a garden spot as, they said, the hide of a bullock would cover or encompass, which hide was spread before them. The Indians readily granted this apparently reasonable request; but the whites then took a knife and beginning at one end of the hide, cut it up to a long rope, not thicker than a child's finger, so that by the time the whole was cut up, it made a great heap; they then took the rope at one end, and drew it gently along, carefully avoiding its breaking. It was drawn out into a circular form, and being closed at its ends, encompassed a large piece of ground. The Indians were surprised at the superior wit of the whites,* but did not wish to contend with them about a little land, as they had still enough themselves. The white and red men lived contentedly together for a long time, though the former from time to time asked for more land, which was readily obtained, and thus they gradually proceeded

* These Dutchmen were probably acquainted with what is related of Queen Dido in ancient history, and thus turned their classical knowledge to a good account.

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higher up the Mahicanittuck, until the Indians began to believe that they would soon want all their country, which in the end proved true.

CHAPTER III.

INDIAN RELATIONS OF THE CONDUCT OF THE EUROPEANS TOWARDS THEM.

LONG and dismal are the complaints which the Indians make of European ingratitude and injustice. They love to repeat them, and always do it with the eloquence of nature, aided by an energetic and comprehensive language, which our polished idioms cannot imitate. Often I have listened to these descriptions of their hard sufferings, until I felt ashamed of being a *white man*.

They are, in general, very minute in these recitals, and proceed with a great degree of order and regularity. They begin with the Virginians, whom they call the *long knives*, and who were the first European settlers in this part of the American continent. "It was we," say the Lenape, Mohicans, and their kindred tribes, "who "so kindly received them on their first arrival into our "country. We took them by the hand, and bid them "welcome to sit down by our side, and live with us as "brothers, but how did they requite our kindness? "They at first asked only for a little land on which to "raise bread for themselves and their families, and pas- "ture for their cattle, which we freely gave them. They "soon wanted more, which we also gave them. They "saw the game in the woods, which the Great Spi- "rit had given us for our subsistence, and they want-

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193 648 "ed that too. They penetrated into the woods, in quest "of game, they discovered spots of land which pleased "them; that land they also wanted, and because we "were loth to part with it, as we saw they had already "more than they had need of, they took it from us by "force and drove us to a great distance from our ancient "homes."

[103] "By and by the *Dutchemaan** arrived at *Manahach-* "*tánienk*,"† (here they relate with all its details what has been said in the preceding chapter.) "The great man "wanted only a little, little land, on which to raise "greens for his soup, just as much as a bullock's "hide would cover. Here we first might have observed "their deceitful spirit. The bullock's hide was cut "up into little strips, and did not cover, indeed, but en- "circled a very large piece of land, which we foolishly "granted to them. They were to raise *greens* on it, in- "stead of which they planted *great guns*; afterwards they "built strong houses, made themselves masters of the "Island, then went up the river to our enemies, the "Mengwe, made a league with them, persuaded us by "their wicked arts to lay down our arms, and at last "drove us entirely out of the country." Here, of course, is related at full length, the story which we have told in the first chapter. Then the Delawares proceed.

[103] "When the *Yengeese*‡ arrived at *Machtitschwanne*,§ "they looked about every where for good spots of land, "and when they found one, they immediately and with- "out ceremony possessed themselves of it; we were as-

* The Hollanders.

† Manhattan, or New York Island.

‡ An Indian corruption of the word *English*, whence probably the nickname *Yankees*.

§ This word means "a cluster of Islands with channels every way, "so that it is in no place shut up or impassable for craft." The Indians think that the white people have corrupted this word into *Massachusetts*. It deserves to be remarked as an example of the comprehensiveness of the Indian languages.

a [Erratum. See cat. 116, p. 348. - Ed. 1st]

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"tonished, but still we let them go on, not thinking it "worth while to contend for a little land. But when at "last they came to our favourite spots, those which lay "most convenient to our fisheries, then bloody wars en- "sued: we would have been contented that the white "people and we should have lived quietly beside each "other; but these white men encroached so fast upon us, "that we saw at once we should lose all, if we did not "resist them. The wars that we carried on against "each other, were long and cruel. We were enraged "when we saw the white people put our friends and "relatives whom they had taken prisoners on board of "their ships, and carry them off to sea, whether to drown "or sell them as slaves, in the country from which they "came, we knew not, but certain it is that none of them "have ever returned or even been heard of. At last "they got possession of the whole of the country which "the Great Spirit had given us. One of our tribes was "forced to wander far beyond Quebec; others dispersed "in small bodies, and sought places of refuge where they "could; some came to Pennsylvania; others went far to "the westward and mingled with other tribes.

"To many of those, Pennsylvania was a last, de- "lightful asylum. But here, again, the Europeans dis- "turbed them, and forced them to emigrate, although "they had been most kindly and hospitably received. "On which ever side of the *Lenapewihittuck*,* the white "people landed, they were welcomed as brothers by our "ancestors, who gave them lands to live on, and even "hunted for them, and furnished them with meat out of "the woods. Such was our conduct to the white men,† "who inhabited this country, until our elder brother, the

* The Delaware river. I have said above, p. 33. that *Hittuck* means a rapid stream. I should have added that it means so only when placed at the end of another word, and used as a compound. Singly, it signifies a *tree*.

† The Swedes and Dutch

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"great and good MIQUON,* came and brought us words "of peace and good will. We believed his words, and "his memory is still held in veneration among us. But "it was not long before our joy was turned into sor- "row: our brother Miquon died, and those of his good "counsellors who were of his mind, and knew what "had passed between him and our ancestors, were no "longer listened to; the strangers† who had taken their "places, no longer spoke to us of sitting down by the "side of each other as brothers of one family, they for- "got that friendship which their great man had esta- "blished with us, and was to last to the end of time; "they now only strove to get all our land from us by "fraud or by force, and when we attempted to remind them "of what our good brother had said, they became angry, "and sent word to our enemies the Mengwe, to meet "them at a great concil which they were to hold with us "at *Læhauwake*,‡ where they should take us by the hair "of our heads, and shake us well. The Mengwe came, "the council was held, and in the presence of the white "men, who did not contradict them, they told us that we "were women, and that they had made us such; that we "had no right to any land, because it was all theirs; that "we must be gone; and that as a great favour they permit- "ted us to go and settle further into the country, at the "place which they themselves pointed out at Wyoming."§

Thus these good Indians, with a kind of melancholy pleasure, recite the long history of their sufferings. After having gone through these painful details, they seldom fail to indulge in bitter, but too just reflections upon the men of Europe. "We and our kindred tribes," say they, "lived in peace and harmony with each other,

* William Penn.

† Land traders and speculators.

‡ Easton.

§ This actually took place at a treaty held at Easton, in July and November, 1756.

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"before the white people came into this country; our 173
"council house* extended far to the north and far to the
"south. In the middle of it we would meet from all parts 648
"to smoke the pipe of peace together. When the white
"men arrived in the south, we received them as friends;
"we did the same when they arrived in the east. It was
"we, it was our forefathers, who made them welcome, and
"let them sit down by our side. The land they settled on
"was ours. We knew not but the Great Spirit had sent
"them to us for some good purpose, and therefore we
"thought they must be a good people. We were mista-
"ken; for no sooner had they obtained a footing on our
"lands, than they began to pull our council house down†
"first at one end and then at the other, and at last meeting
"each other at the centre, where the council fire was yet
"burning bright, they put it out,‡ and extinguished it with
"our own blood!§ with the blood of those‖ who with us
"had received them! who had welcomed them in our land!
"Their blood ran in streams into our fire, and extinguished
"it so entirely, that not one spark was left us whereby to

* *Council house* here means, "Connexion District."

† *Pulling the council house down.* Destroying, dispersing the community, preventing their further intercourse with each other, by settling between them on their land. [195]

‡ *Putting the fire out.* Murdering them or their people, where they assemble for pacific purposes, where treaties are held &c. [195]

§ *Our own blood.* The blood flowing from the veins of some of our community. [195]

‖ Alluding to the murder of the Conestogo Indians, who though of another tribe, yet had joined them in welcoming the white people to their shores.

In a narrative of this lamentable event, supposed to have been written by the late Dr. Franklin, it is said: "On the first arrival of "the English in Pennsylvania, messengers from this tribe came to "welcome them with presents of venison, corn and skins, and the "whole tribe entered into a treaty of friendship with the first propri-"etor, William Penn, which was to last as long as the sun should "shine, or the waters run in the rivers."

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"kindle a new fire;* we were compelled to withdraw our-
"selves beyond the great swamp,† and to fly to our good
"uncle the *Delamattenos*,‡ who kindly gave us a tract of
"land to live on. How long we shall be permitted to re-
"main in this asylum, the Great Spirit only knows. The
"whites will not rest contented until they shall have de-
"stroyed the last of us, and made us disappear entirely
"from the face of the earth."

I have given here only a brief specimen of the charges which they exhibit against the white people. There are men among them, who have by heart the whole history of what took place between the whites and the Indians, since the former first came into their country; and relate the whole with ease and with an eloquence not to be imitated. On the tablets of their memories they preserve this record for posterity. I, at one time, in April 1787,[a] was astonished when I heard one of their orators, a great chief of the Delaware nation, go over this ground, recapitulating the most extraordinary events which had before happened, and concluding in these words: "I
"admit there are good white men, but they bear no pro-
"portion to the bad; the bad must be the strongest, for
"they rule. They do what they please. They enslave
"those who are not of their colour, although created by
"the same Great Spirit who created us.[b] They would
"make slaves of us if they could, but as they cannot do

[a] [erratum. should read 1781. - Ed.]

* *The fire was entirely extinguished by the blood of the murdered running into it; not a spark was left to kindle a new fire.* This alludes to the last fire that was kindled by the Pennsylvania government and themselves at Lancaster, where the last treaty was held with them in 1762, the year preceding this murder, which put an end to all business of the kind in the province of Pennsylvania.

† *The great Swamp.* The Glades on the Allegheny mountains.

‡ *Delamattenos.* The Hurons or Wyandots, whom they call their uncle. These, though speaking a dialect of the Iroquois language, are in connexion with the Lenape.

[b] [erratum. Should Read "them." - Ed.]

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"it, they kill us! There is no faith to be placed in their "words. They are not like the Indians, who are only "enemies, while at war, and are friends in peace. They "will say to an Indian, "my friend! my brother!" "They will take him by the hand, and at the same mo- "ment destroy him. And so you (addressing himself to "the Christian Indians) will also be treated by them be- "fore long. Remember! that this day I have warned "you to beware of such friends as these. I know the *long* "*knives*; they are not to be trusted."

Eleven months after this speech was delivered by this prophetic chief, ninety six of the same Christian Indians, about sixty of them women and children, were murdered at the place where these very words had been spoken, by the same men he had alluded to, and in the same manner that he had described. See Loskiel's History, Part III. ch. 10.

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the spot where Philadelphia now stands; others were conducted by the Mohicans into their own country, where they intermarried with them and became one people. When those settled near the Delaware had multiplied, they returned to Wyoming on the Susquehannah, where they resided for a great number of years.

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In the mean while, those who had remained on the Ohio increased in numbers, and in process of time began again to be troublesome to their neigbours. At last, they crossed the Allegheny mountains, and falling upon the camps of the Lenape on Juniata river, they committed several murders and went off with their plunder. It was soon discovered who were the aggressors; but the Lenape had now assumed the station of "the woman," and could not engage in wars. They could only apply for protection to the Five Nations, which they did, expecting that they would immediately pursue the offenders and inflict an exemplary punishment upon them, but the Five Nations found means to evade their demand for the present. They told the Delawares that the season was too far advanced to commence a war; that it was better to put off their intended expedition until the ensuing spring; that in the mean time, both nations should put themselves in readiness, and keep their preparations secret, and that as soon as the season should open, they would march off separately and meet together at an appointed time and place on the Allegheny, then push on together for the Shawano towns below the confluence of that river and the Monongahela, where they could fall together unawares on the aggressors and punish them. The Iroquois promised, as usual, that they would place themselves in the front of the battle, so that the Delawares would have nothing to do but to look on and see how bravely their protectors would fight for them, and if they were not satisfied with that, they might take their revenge themselves.

Agreeably to this plan, the Lenape remained quiet till

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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the spring, when, with a body of their most valiant men, they marched to the appointed spot; but how great was their surprise when their pretended champions did not make their appearance? They suspected treachery, and were not mistaken; for having immediately marched forward to the Shawano towns, bent on taking an exemplary revenge, they had the disappointment to see on their arrival their enemies pushing off as fast as they could down the Ohio river in their canoes. Some of them were flying by land, as probably they had not a sufficient number of canoes to convey their whole number; these they pursued and attacked, beat them severely, and took several prisoners. Here they had a striking instance of the treachery of the Mengwe, who had warned the Shawanos of their approach. Some time after this, the Shawanos who resided on the north branch of the Susquehannah, began to draw off by degrees, first to the west branch of that river and the Juniata, and then to the Ohio; so that at the commencement of the French war in 1755, they had all, except a few families, with whom was their chief Paxnos, retired to the Ohio, where they joined their countrymen in the war against the English.*

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* While these people lived at Wyoming and in its vicinity, they were frequently visited by missionaries of the Society of the United Brethren, who knowing them to be the most depraved and ferocious tribe of all the Indian nations they had heard of, sought to establish a friendship with them, so as not to be interrupted in their journies from one Indian Mission to another. Count Zinzendorff being at that time in the country, went in 1742 with some other Missionaries to visit them at Wyoming, stayed with them 20 days, and endeavoured to impress the gospel truths upon their minds; but these hardened people, suspecting his views, and believing that he wanted to purchase their land, on which it was reported there were mines of silver, conspired to murder him, and would have effected their purpose, but that Conrad Weiser, the Indian interpreter, arrived fortunately in time to prevent it. (Loskiel part II. ch. 1.) Notwithstanding this, the brethren frequently visited them, and Shehellemus, a

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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a once large and flourishing settlement. It is probable that by this time they are nearly if not entirely extinct.

It is believed that the Mahicanni are the same nation who are so celebrated in the History of New England, under the name of *Pequods* or *Pequots*.* The Rev. Jonathan Edwards, late President of Union College at Schenectady, in the State of New York, published in the year 1788 in a pamphlet form, some observations on their language, which were republished at New York in 1804. This small tract, as well as the translation of the Bible into the Natick, by the venerable Eliott, and his grammar of that language, put it beyond a doubt that the idiom of the Mohicans and those of the other New England Indians proceeded from the same source with that of the Leuni Lenape.

CHAPTER V.

THE IROQUOIS.

THE most intelligent and credible Indians of the Lenape stock, including the Mohicans, have ever asserted, that in the whole country bounded on the north by the river St. Lawrence and the Great Lakes, (including what is now Nova Scotia and New Brunswick,) on the west by the Mississippi, on the east by the Great Salt-water Lake,† and on the south by the country of the Creeks, Cherokees, and other Florida Indians, there

* Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc. vol. IX. p. 77. Trumbull's History of Connecticut, vol. I. p. 28.

† The Atlantic ocean.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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were but two nations, the Mengwe, and themselves. Theirs was by far the most numerous and the most extensively settled, for their tribes extended even beyond the Mississippi. On the other side of the St. Lawrence, the Algonquins, the Killistenos or Knisteneaux, and others, speaking dialects of their language, prove their origin from the same stock. The Mengwe, on the contrary, were comparatively few, and occupied a much less portion of territory, being almost confined to the vicinity of the great lakes. But few tribes are known to be connected with them by descent and language; the principal ones are the Wyandots, otherwise called Hurons and the Naudowessies. Almost every other nation within the boundaries described, is of the Lenape family.

Each of these two great nations, say the Delawares, had an ancient national name, and a tradition of their respective origin, handed down to them by their ancestors, and diffused among all the kindred tribes. By whatsoever names those tribes might be called, and whatever their numbers were, still they considered themselves, and were considered by others, as the offspring of the same original stock. All the tribes who had sprung from the Lenape called the mother nation *grandfather*, and received, in return, the appellation of *grandchildren*. They were all united by the strongest ties of friendship and alliance; in their own expressive language, they made but *one house, one fire, and one canoe*, that is to say, that they constituted together one people, one family. The same thing took place between the Mengwe and the tribes descended from them. They and the Lenape had no relationship with each other, though they came over the Mississippi together at the same time. They considered each other as nations entirely distinct.

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The Mengwe or Iroquois were always considered by the Lenape as only one nation, consisting of several confederated tribes. The name of Five and afterwards Six Nations, was given to them by the English, whose allies

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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172 infusions of new complexes, probably in many cases associated with population movements which have acted to alter decidedly the tones and values of the cultural picture."[36] This does not mean, however, that there were extensive migrations into the area in recent times; the peoples of Delaware culture, on the contrary, had deep roots in the immediate vicinity. Migrations and the diffusion of cultural traits were important, but were not on the scale suggested by the Walam Olum or the oral traditions.

Traditional Origins

●173 Some investigators, on the basis of the Walam Olum or other Delaware traditions, have suggested that the Delawares were recent immigrants from other areas.[37] The archaeological and the linguistic evidence does not seem to warrant, however, the postulation of any extensive recent eastward or southward migration of Delawaran peoples. It appears that the traditional western origin cited by many investigators is based upon the accounts found in Heckewelder and Zeisberger.[38] To summarize these accounts, the Delawares hundreds of years ago lived on the western side of the Mississippi and for unknown reasons they slowly migrated east. The "Mengwe" (Iroquois) also took part in this eastward migration and united with the Delawares to fight the "Talligewi" or "Alligewi," who held the land east of the river. The invaders ultimately triumphed, but after living for some time in the east these two allies fell out and warred upon each other. The Iroquoian tribes, on the losing side in these battles, were forced to confederate during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. A military stalemate followed until European contact was established, when the Dutch aided the Iroquois in making "women" of the Delawares.

The migration legend found in the Walam Olum (pictographic bark record of the Delawares) is similar to the one obtained by Zeisberger and Heckewelder. I have suggested elsewhere that the migration account of the Walam Olum was derived from the traditional legends, but that it was altered to suit the political circumstances of nineteenth-century Delaware life.[39] According to Brinton's translation of the Walam Olum, the origin of the Delawares was in the far northeast, "probably at Labrador." This legend recounts:

> [They] journeyed south and west, till they reached a broad water, full of islands and abounding in fish, perhaps the St. Lawrence about the Thousand Isles. They crossed and dwelt for some generations in the pine and hemlock regions of New York, fighting more or less with the Snake people, and the Talega, agricultural nations, living in stationary villages to the southeast of them, in the area of Ohio and Indiana. They drove out the former, but the latter remained on the upper Ohio and its branches. The Lenape, now settled on the streams in Indiana, wished to remove to the East to join the Mohegans and other

[36] Ritchie, 1944, p. 320.
[37] Kroeber, 1947, p. 93; Lilly, 1944, pp. 33-40; Lilly, *et al.*, 1954, pp. 273-86.
[38] Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 47-70; Zeisberger, 1871, pp. 32-36.
[39] Newcomb, 1955, pp. 57-63.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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of their kin who had moved there directly from northern New York. They, therefore, united with the Hurons (Talamatans) to drive out the Talega (Tsalaki, Cherokees) from the upper Ohio. This they only succeeded in accomplishing finally in the historic period. But they did clear the road and reached the Delaware valley, though neither forgetting nor giving up their claims to their western territories.[30]

It is not my purpose to go into the authenticity of the Walam Olum or the accuracy of its migration account. Suffice it to say that the Walam Olum was probably a product of the Delawares during their phase of revivalistic nativism and that it seems to be an account, by a despairing person unable to gain his customary satisfactions from a life that no longer existed, of a Golden Age which never was. . . . Indeed the Walam Olum plainly appears to be the mirror image of a nativistically oriented people, rather than an authentic account of their history."[31]

The Location and Divisions of the Early Historic Delawares

It is impossible, for the following reasons, to know precisely the name, location, and affiliations of all the peoples who at the end of the seventeenth century joined forces and became known as the Delawares. First, the Delawaran peoples were aboriginally and during most of the seventeenth century unorganized politically and composed of a large number of subdivisions. Second, three different European nations were in contact with Delawaran peoples during this century. Their names for various groups often differed, and their interest in the relationships and locations of the various divisions was often slight. Third, these natives were soon displaced geographically and much reduced in numbers. Lastly, an unknown number of non-Delawaran peoples were incorporated into the Delaware tribe at the end of the seventeenth century. I have not undertaken the prodigious task of locating the Delawaran peoples by investigating all of the primary sources, although such a study is sorely needed; instead, a synthesis of previous investigations and two seventeenth-century maps is presented. This discussion is, therefore, liable to inaccuracies of various kinds.

For convenience the Delawares at the opening of historic times may be described as being composed of three geographical groups, traditionally called the Munsi, Unami, and Unalachtigo. The people who were to become the core of the tribe composed the division which became known in the mid-eighteenth century as the Unami. According to Brinton, the term Unami means "people down the river."[33] Zeisberger used the term

[30] Brinton, 1885, pp. 165-66.

[31] Newcomb, 1955, p. 63.

[32] The following discussion and Map 1 are based on Ruttenber, 1872, pp. 89-93; Hrdlicka, 1902, pp. 33-37; Skinner, 1909, pp. 30-32; Bolton, 1920, pp. 226-88; Swanton, 1952, pp. 48-55; Van der Donck's map of New Netherland, 1656, opposite p. 294 in Jameson, 1909; and N. J. Visscher's Map of New Netherland, New England . . . about 1655, opposite p. 170 in Myers, 1912.

[33] Brinton, 1885, p. 36.

[text continues on p. 7]

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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built in front of the opening before they go in and hot stones placed in the middle of the inclosed area. Not long after they have entered, they are covered with perspiration, then they crawl out and cool off, returning to repeat the same thing three or four times. Women have their own sweating ovens though they do not use them as commonly as do the men.[34]

Blood-letting and cupping are also in vogue among them. For blood-letting they use flint or glass. Of either they break off little fragments until a piece is secured that suits the purpose. This is fixed to a short stick, placed upon the artery and struck. In case of cupping, they open the skin with a knife, put a little calabash over the opening, burning birch-bast instead of a lamp.

The Delaware Nation, consisting of three tribes, the Unamis,[35] Wunalachticos[36] and Monsys,[37] formerly lived in the region about Philadelphia, also in Jersey about Trenton, Brunswick and Amboy. The Unamis are the chief people of the nation; their language, differing but little from that of the Wunalachtico, is the most melodious. The Monsy tongue is quite different, even though the three grew out of one parent language. The last named tribe lived in Minnissing[38] along the Delaware, behind the Blue Mountains.

Among Indians belonging to the Moravian Congregation on the Muskingum River there are some old people, who were in Philadelphia when the first houses were built there. They are able to relate how peaceably and agreeably the whites and Indians dwelt together, as if they had been one people, being ever ready each to serve the other. Even among the savages there are old people, who tell the following, as I have heard it from various individuals.

Before the whites had come into the land, there had been Indians who foretold that someone would come to them across the great sea. This they had repeated on various occasions in the hearing of other Indians, at the last even indicating the day when this should come to pass, the event making good their words. How these Indians could have foretold it, no one professes to know, the only explanation offered being that there

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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173 must have been vision or revelation. They had repeatedly looked out over the sea, until at last a vessel was sighted, when they had immediately summoned the Indians and said: "See, here comes some one to us, concerning whose coming we have long ago told you; the gods are coming to visit us." They worshipped them, regarding them as deities. When the whites landed, they gave the Indians knives, hatchets, muskets and various other things they knew not how to use and, consequently, carefully put away. On occasion of feasts or sacrifices they suspended the knives and hatchets from their necks as ornaments and worshipped the various articles, bringing sacrifices to them. The muskets they did not use except on special days, when to satisfy curiosity a few shots were fired and then sacrifices offered them. When the whites, after lapse of considerable time came again and saw that the things they had given were worn about the neck, they gave the Indians instructions in the use of the knife, hatchet and musket.

In those early days the manner of living of the Indians was very different from that of the present time, yet, though they were wretchedly equipped and could barely supply their wants, they succeeded in supporting life.[39] They planted corn, beans, pumpkins, which they had at that time. Their hoe was a bone from the shoulder blade of the deer, which is broad at one end and very narrow at the other. With this bound to a stick they worked the soil. A turtle-shell sharpened by means of a stone and similarly attached to a stick, served much the same purpose. A kind of tobacco known as Brazilian tobacco, they also had; to the present day this tobacco, which has but small leaves, is called Indian tobacco.

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Their knives were made of flint, not in the form of our knives but shaped like arrow-heads, i. e., triangular, quite thin and with the two larger sides sharp. With such knives they stripped off the skin of deer and other game.

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Their hatchets, also made of stone and about the length of a hand, smoothed and sharpened, were secured to a wooden handle. These were not used for splitting wood but only to kill trees, as no more is necessary than to chop through the bark, if this is done at the right time, or to peel off bast for covering

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3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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805 done until June. The name given to June signifies the month in which the deer become red. That of July, the time of raising the earth about the corn, and of August, Winu Gischuch, the time when the corn is in the milk and ready to eat and roast. September is called the first autumn month, October the harvest month, November the hunting month, most of the Indians going out to shoot bucks. The name December shows the time when the bucks cast their antlers. January is the month in which the ground squirrels come out of their holes, and February they call Squalle Gischuch, the month of frogs, the month when the frogs begin to croak, though this again does not usually occur until later. At the present time the most of them begin the year with the Europeans, if they have come into frequent contact with them.

559 They are well versed in their genealogies and are able to describe every branch of the family with the greatest precision. 601 They also add concerning the character of their forefathers, such an one was a wise and intelligent man, a great chief or captain or an Achewilens, that is a rich man and seems to signify as much as the word, gentleman, for the rich among them are highly respected. These make themselves prominent by giving the chiefs great quantities of wampum, when the chiefs are in need, and they are regarded as the main supports of the chiefs.

•173 Concerning remoter ancestors they know nothing more than that they were great warriors and accomplished many heroic deeds, that in the war with the Six Nations, when they still lived along the sea-coast, the former were unable to do them much harm and after attacks on Delaware towns had fled in such haste that the Delawares had not been able to catch them, though they had got to the mountains as swiftly as turkeys, that, however, in spite of the ability of the Six Nations to get away the Delawares had caught and killed many of their enemies. They, also, relate concerning their ancestors that the Six Nations regarded them as mighty magicians, feared them and at last concluded a peace with them in the manner already described. Further, they relate how in times past the Delawares made attacks on towns of the Cherokees and killed many of the inhabitants; how, on occasion, they visited them at night during the dance, mingled

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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with the dancers, and when the amusement was at its height killed many of them with short weapons they had concealed under their blankets, escaping, after the deed was done, before their treachery had been discovered.

The land was never formally divided among the nations, whatever region was settled by a nation was recognized as property of that nation, and no one disputed its title, until, in course of war, one nation overpowered another and drove it out of its territory. In such cases, however, the conquering nation did not always settle on the conquered territory; for example, the Moshkos drove the Shawanose from their land in Florida but did not themselves settle there, still living on the west side of the Ohio in the region of the Wabash. The Delawares conquered the territory in which they live, having been driven out of the region they once inhabited by the white people. The Wiondats adjudged this region as belonging to them; and the Kikapus have given them a district along the Wabash and bordering on the country they inhabit for the chase. A part of the Delaware nation has lived in the Wabash region these many years, and of those living here many go thither every year. The boundaries of Indian countries are fixed along rivers and creeks or in a straight line from one river to another or along the mountain ranges, where there are mountains.

Of the spherical form of the earth they have no conception. Some declare that the earth floats upon the sea and that an enormous tortoise bears it on its back. The sky, they say, rests upon the water probably because it appears so to do when they look out upon the sea. Others declare that there is a place where the sky strikes the earth, rises again and continues moving up and down, smiting a rock, which causes such a report that it may be heard many days' journey. Two great captains once visited that place, and one of them risked going through the opening when the sky rose. He succeeded in getting into heaven and coming back. Yet where this place is they know as little as they do the location of Tschipey Hacki, the land of the spirits. The sun, they think, sinks into the water when it sets. Thunder is a mighty spirit dwelling in the mountains and sometimes issuing from their fastnesses suffers himself to be heard. Others imag-

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
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ashes from the fire are always taken out at the west door, and the dirt is always swept in the fire. In front of the east door outside is a high pole on which venison hangs. It is a feast dance and the deacons distribute food among the people. The officers and waiters are paid in wampum for their services.

"In no case is a dog allowed to enter the temple, and no one is allowed to laugh inside it, or in any way be rude. Each person is allowed to speak and tell his dream or dreams or to give advice. It is believed by the Delawares that every one has a guardian spirit which comes in the form of some bird, animal, or other thing, at times in dreams, and tells them what to do and what will happen. The guardian spirit is sent from the Great Spirit.

"Traditions say that 10 years before white men came to this country (America) a young man told his dream in the temple. This was on the Atlantic coast. He saw coming across the great waters a large canoe with pinions (wings) and containing strange people, and that in 10 years they would in fact come. He told this dream and predicted the arrival of the white men each year until they came and were seen by his people. Many of our people still keep up this dance, but the temple is not so large as it used to be, and the attendance now is not more than 100 persons. Any Indian of any tribe can also take part in the dance, but no white man can.

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
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strong faith, that the night he dreams about him,[3] he will at once the following day be able to shoot as much game and catch as much fish as ever he wants to,—the evil one, undoubtedly helps him to it.[4]

The first hunt which the savages arrange in the spring [they dedicate to the evil one]; if they then can shoot ever so many animals in their hunt they do not sell a single one of them, but make a burnt offering of it[5] to *Manitto* or the devil; then they will that year have good luck in hunting and shooting.

They do, however, know a little historically about Christ, which they consider a fable. When the old savages are to tell the Christians what passed in former times, they say that it has been told them from times immemorial by their fathers and forefathers, who have said that it was, once in former time, one of our savage women who became pregnant by going and drinking in a brook; and none of our Rennappi had had any connection with her, yet she became pregnant and gave birth to a son. And when that one became somewhat large, something like this,—he measures with his hand in the air, as he knows nothing of age or years. "Yes, that was a pólite[6] and clever

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Portuguese citizens and speak a Portuguese dialect. For *taboo*, see Hodge, *Handbook*, II, 667.

[3] The charm or fetish emblem.

[4] Lindeström believed in the powers of the Indian medicine man; but he attributed this power to influence of the Devil. Cf. Heckewelder, *Indian Nations*, 231 ff.

[5] The game obtained in the hunt. Cf. Hodge, *Handbook*, II, 402 ff., and the literature quoted there.

[6] *Artigh, polite.* Perhaps, however, Lindeström means handsome, fine, splendid. See *artigh invention*, Chapt. XVII, note 3.

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
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boy," they say. "His like will never come here again. He had so much to say that it was a great wonder and [he] performed many miracles and wonders. When he now became somewhat large he departed from us and went up into the air, up there," they say, and point to heaven. "He promised to come back to us, but he never came back to us again," they say. "Sometime after him," they said, "a large-mouth with large beard,[7] like your large mouths are," they said, and likened him to our pastors. "He also had much to say for a time.[8] That one also went up there, like the other one," and the [Indians] pointed to heaven. "He promised also," they said, "to come back here to us again, but he never came." And it must surely have been one of the apostles, for the word of God is true, which can never fail us:[9] *Euntes docete omnes Gentes*, etc.[10] So far they know of Christ and his apostles and can relate it from hearsay from their fathers and forefathers.

[7] *Stoort skägg*, large beard, *i.e.*, long beard. The long, thick beard of some of the pastors made a strong impression on the Indians who had seen nothing like it before.

[8] *Han hade och mycket af munnen en tijdh*. *Lit.* he had also much of the mouth for a time.

[9] Perhaps Lindeström refers to the belief prevalent in the middle ages and later, that the apostles had visited all continents and all countries, according to the injunction quoted in Latin from the New Testament.

[10] Go and teach all people. *Cf. Mark*, XVI, 15.

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1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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ing this speculation to abler historians than myself. To their history, and notions with regard to their creation, I have given a place; and have also briefly related the traditions of the Lenape on the subject of their arrival at, and crossing the river Mississippi, their coming to the Atlantic coast, what occurred to them while in this country, and their retreat back again.

As the relation of the Delawares and Mohicans, concerning the policy adopted and pursued by the Six Nations towards them, may perhaps appear strange to many, and it may excite some astonishment, that a matter of such importance was not earlier set forth in the same light, I shall here, by way of introduction, and for the better understanding of the account which they give of this matter, examine into some facts, partly known to us already, and partly now told us in their relation; so that we may see how far these agree together, and know what we may rely upon.

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It is conceded on all sides that the Lenape and Iroquois carried on long and bloody wars with each other; but while the one party assert, that they completely conquered the other, and reduced them by force to the condition of women, this assertion is as strongly and pointedly denied by the other side; I have therefore thought that the real truth of this fact was well deserving of investigation.

The story told by the Mingoes to the white people, of their having conquered the Lenape and made women of them, was much too implicitly believed; for the whites always acted towards the Delawares under the impression that it was true, refused even to hear their own account of the matter, and "shut their ears" against them, when they attempted to inform them of the real fact. This denial of common justice, is one of the principal complaints of the Lenape against the English, and makes a part of the tradition or history which they preserve for posterity.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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This complaint indeed, bears hard upon us, and should, at least, operate as a solemn call to rectify the error, if such it is found to be; that we, in our history, may not record and transmit erroneous statements of those Aborigines, from whom we have received the country we now so happily inhabit. We are bound in honour to acquit ourselves of all charges of the kind which those people may have against us, who, in the beginning welcomed us to their shores, in hopes that "they and we would sit beside each other as brothers;" and it should not be said, that now, when they have surrendered their whole country to us, and retired to the wilds of a distant country, we turn our backs upon them with contempt.

We know that all Indians have the custom of transmitting to posterity, by a regular chain of tradition, the remarkable events which have taken place with them at any time, even often events of a trivial nature, of which I could mention a number. Ought we then, when such a source of information is at hand, to believe the story told by the Six Nations, of their having conquered the Lenape, (a powerful nation with a very large train of connexions and allies) and forcibly made them women? Ought we not, before we believe this, to look for a tradition of the circumstances of so important an event; for some account, at least, of the time, place, or places, where those battles were fought, which decided the fate of the Lenape, the Mohicans, and of a number of tribes connected with them? Are we to be left altogether ignorant of the numbers that were slain at the time, and the country in which this memorable event took place; whether on the St. Lawrence, on the Lakes, in the country of the conquerors, or of the conquered? All these I am inclined to call *first* considerations, while a *second* would be: How does this story accord with the situation the first Europeans found these people in on their arrival in this country? Were not those who are said to be

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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a conquered people, thickly settled on the whole length of the sea coast, and far inland, in and from Virginia to and beyond the Province of Maine, and had they not yet, at that very time, a great National Council Fire burning on the banks of the Delaware? Does not the joint tradition of the Delawares, Mohicans and Nanticokes, inform us, that their great National Council House* then extended from the head of the tide on the (now) Hudson river, to the head of the tide on the Potomack? All this we shall find faithfully copied, or written down from their verbal tradition, and that this Council House "was pulled down by the white people!"† and of course was yet standing when they came into the country; which alone is sufficient to prove that the Lenape, at that time, were not a conquered people; and if they had been conquered since, we might expect to find the fact, with its particulars, somewhere on record.

It is admitted, however, by the Lenape themselves, that they and their allies were *made women* by the Iroquois. But how did this happen? Not surely by conquest, or the fate of battle. Strange as it may appear, it was not produced by the effects of superior force, but by successful intrigue. Here, if my informants were correct, and I trust they were, rests the great mystery, for the particulars of which, I refer the reader to the history of the Lenape and Mohicans themselves, as related in part by Loskiel in his "History of the Mission of the United Brethren among the North-American Indians," and in this work. In the first, he will find three material points ascertained, viz. 1st, "that the Delawares were too strong for the Iroquois, and could not be conquered by them by force of arms, but were subdued by

* A figurative expression, denoting the territory claimed by them, and occupied at the time.

† Alluding to the white people settling those countries.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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insidious means. 2d, that the making women of the Delawares was not an act of compulsion, but the result of their own free will and consent; and 3d, that the whites were already in the country at the time this ceremony took place, since they were to hold one end of the great Peace Belt in their hands.* In the following History, which I have taken from the relation of the most intelligent and creditable old Indians, both Delawares and Mohicans, not only the same facts will be found, but also a more minute account of this transaction; in which it will be shewn, that the Dutch not only were present at, but were parties to it, that it was in this manner that the Six Nations were relieved from the critical situation they were in, at that very time, with regard to their enemies, the Delawares, Mohicans, and their connexions, and that the white people present coaxed and persuaded them to cause the hatchet to be buried, declaring at the same time, that they "would fall on those who should dig it up again;" which was, on the part of the Hollanders, a declaration of war against the Delawares and their allies, if they, or any of them, should attempt again to act hostilely against the Six Nations. All this, according to the tradition of the Lenape, was transacted at a place, since called "Nordman's Kill," a few miles from the spot where afterwards Albany was built, and but a short time after the Dutch had arrived at New York Island, probably between the years 1609 and 1620.

The Rev. Mr. Pyrlæus, who had learned the Mohawk language of Conrad Weiser, and was stationed on the river of that name, for some time between the years 1742 and 1748, has noted down in a large manuscript book, that his friend there, the Mohawk chief, had told him, that at a place about four miles from Albany,

* Figurative expression. See Loskiel's History, Part I. c. 10.

A Treaty. See cat. 116, p 343. -Analyst

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now called Nordman's Kill, the first covenant had been made between the Six Nations and the white people; which is in confirmation of the correctness of the above tradition of the Mohicans.[a]

This was then, according to the best accounts we have, the time when this pretended "conquest," took place; and the Delawares, (as the Six Nations have since said) were by them *made women*. It was, however, a conquest of a singular nature, effected through duplicity and intrigue, at *a council fire*, not in *battle*. "And, (say the Delawares and Mohicans, in their tradition,) when the English took the country from the *Dutchemaan*, (Hollanders) they stepped into the same alliance with the Six Nations, which their predecessors had established with them."

Colden, in his "History of the Five Nations," informs us, page 34, that this took place in the year 1664; and in page 36, gives us full proof of this alliance, by the following account—He says: "The Five Nations being "now amply supplied by the English with fire-arms and "ammunition, gave full swing to their warlike genius, "and soon resolved to revenge the affronts they had at "any time received from the Indian nations that lived "at a greater distance from them. The nearest na- "tions, as they were attacked, commonly fled to those "that were further off, and the Five Nations pursued "them. This, together with the desire they had of con- "quering, or ambition of making all the nations around "them their tributaries, or to make them acknowledge "the Five Nations to be so far their masters, as to be "absolutely directed by them in all affairs of peace and "war with their neighbours, made them overrun great "part of North America. They carried their arms as "far south as Carolina; to the northward of New-Eng- "land; and as far west as the river Mississippi; over "a vast country, which extends twelve hundred miles "in length, from north to south, and about six hun-

[a] [Errata. Should read heape. -Analyst]

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"dred miles in breadth; where they entirely destroy-
"ed many nations, of whom there are now no accounts
"remaining among the English," &c.

To what a number of important questions would not the above statement give rise? But I will confine myself to a few, and enquire first, for what purpose the Five Nations were armed, and so "amply supplied with ammunition?" and secondly, what use did they make of those arms? The Delawares and Mohicans believed that the white people, first the Dutch and then the English, did all that was in their power to make the Mengwe a great people, so that they might rule over them and all other nations, and "that they had done what they wanted them to do," &c. For an answer to the second question, we have only to believe what Colden himself tells us, of what the same Mengwe or Iroquois did, after having received arms and ammunition from the English, which it clearly appears they could not have done before. Now, if we even were willing to admit that they had only gone off, "to revenge the affronts they had at any time received from the Indian Nations," yet, we would be willing to know, of what nature those affronts had been; otherwise we might conclude, that they were no other than that those nations had refused "to become tributary to them; "would not submit to their mandates, nor have them "for their masters;" and therefore had beaten them off, when they came into their country for the purpose of bringing them under subjection, and perhaps also paid them a visit in return, after they had murdered some of their people.

If we were permitted to omit the words, "revenge the affronts they had received from other nations," &c. we need not one moment be at a loss to know precisely what they went out for, as the historian himself tells us, that they, soon after receiving fire arms and ammunition, "gave full swing to their warlike genius, "and went off with a desire of conquering nations—of

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"making all those around them their tributaries, and compelling them all to acknowledge the Five Nations to be "their masters, and to be absolutely directed by them, "in all affairs of peace and war." We then know with certainty, what the object was for which they took the field.

We are here also told, of the vast tract of country over which the Six Nations had carried their arms, subduing, and even "so destroying many nations, that no account of them was now remaining with the English!"

In reply to this I might bring forward some sayings and assertions of the Delawares and Mohicans, which would not comport with the above story, nor apply to the great name the Six Nations have given themselves, which, as Colden tells us, is *Ongwe-honwe*, and signifies "men surpassing all others, superior to the rest of mankind:" but my object here is merely to discuss the fact, whether, previous to the white people's coming into the country, and while unsupplied with fire arms, hatchets, &c. those Iroquois had done such wonders among nations as they report; or, whether all this was done since that time, and in consequence of their being put into possession of those destructive weapons which they had not before; for how are we to judge, and decide on the comparative bravery of two different nations, without knowing whether or not the combatants were placed on an equal footing with regard to the weapons they used against each other?

I might ask the simple question, whether the Dutch, and afterwards the English, have favoured their "brethren," the Delawares, Mohicans, and other tribes connected with them, who lived between them and the Six Nations, and on the land which they wanted to have, in the same manner that they have favoured their enemies?

Colden, in his Introduction to the History of the Five Nations, page 3, says: "I have been told by old men

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"in New England, who remembered the time when the "Mohawks made war on *their* Indians," (meaning here the Mohicans, or River Indians, as they often were called,) "that as soon as a single Mohawk was discovered in the country, *their* Indians raised a cry, from "hill to hill, *a Mohawk! a Mohawk!* upon which they "all fled, like sheep before wolves, without attempting "to make the least resistance, whatever odds were on "their side," and that, "the poor New England Indians "immediately ran to the Christian houses, and the Mohawks often pursued them so closely, that they entered along with them, and knocked their brains out in "the presence of the people of the house," &c.

This is indeed a lamentable story! It might be asked, How could the white people, whom those very Mohicans had hospitably welcomed, and permitted to live with them on their land, suffer an enemy to come into the country to destroy their benefactors, without making any opposition? Why did these Indians suffer this? Why did they not with spirit meet this enemy?

The answer to this last question will be found in their traditional history of the great meeting at Nordman's Kill, where they were expressly told, after they had consented to bury the hatchet, wherewith they warred against the Six Nations, "That whatsoever nation, (meaning the Mohicans and Delawares) should dig up the hatchet again, on them would the white people fall and take revenge!"

Thus, then, arms were put into the hands of the Six Nations, and with them the Dutch, and afterwards the English, sided; but the Delawares and Mohicans were compelled to remain unarmed, for fear of being cut up by the white people, who had taken part with their enemies. May we not conclude, that these poor New England Indians were placed between two fires?

We do not, I believe, find that in the then middle colonies, the Mohawks, or any of the Five Nations, had

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ventured so far in their hostile conduct against the Delawares, as they had done to the Mohicans of New England, though the alliance between the Dutch and the Five Nations, and afterwards between the English and the latter, was much against both, and indeed more against the Delawares than the Mohicans: yet, by turning to treaties and councils, held with these nations between the years 1740 and 1760, in Pennsylvania, we find much insolent language, which the Iroquois were, I will say, permitted, but which, the people concerned say, they were "bid or hired to make against the Delawares, for the purpose of stopping their mouths, preventing them from stating their complaints and grievances, and asking redress from the colonial government."

The result of such high toned language, as that which was made use of to the Delawares, by the Six Nations, at a council held at the proprietors, in July, 1742, and at other times afterwards :* might easily have been foretold. For although now, these defenceless people had to submit to such gross insults, instead of seeing their grievances redressed, yet they were not ignorant of the manner in which they one day might take revenge, the door to the French, who were enemies to the English, being always open to them; they had but to go "on one side" (as they expressed themselves) to be out of the way of the Iroquois, and they could obtain from the possessors of Canada, and Louisiana, all that they wanted fire arms, hatchets, scalping knives, ammunition, &c. They did so, and withdrew to the Ohio country, whither they were followed by others from time to time, and by the time the French war broke out, they were in perfect readiness, and joining the enemies of Britain, they murdered great numbers of the defenceless inhabitants of Pennsylvania, laid the whole frontier waste, and spread terror and misery far and wide by the outrages they

* At a Treaty at Easton, in July and November 1756.

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committed; I have been myself a witness to those scenes, and to the distresses of hundreds of poor people, only in this one quarter.

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A work, entitled: "An Enquiry into the Causes of the "Alienation of the Delaware and Shawanese Indians "from the British Interest," written by Charles Thompson, Esq. and printed in London, in 1759, which some time since fell into my hands, well merits to be read with attention, on account of the correctness of the information that it contains.

By this time, the Delawares were sensible of the imposition which had been practised upon them. They saw that a plan had been organised for their destruction, and that not only their independence, but their very existence, was at stake; they therefore took measures to defend themselves, by abandoning the system of neutrality into which they had been insidiously drawn.

It was not without difficulty that I obtained from them these interesting details, for they felt ashamed of their own conduct; they were afraid of being charged with cowardice, or at least with want of forethought, in having acted as they did, and not having discovered their error until it was too late.

And yet, in my opinion, those fears were entirely groundless, and there appears nothing in their whole conduct disparaging to the courage and high sense of honour of that brave nation. Let us for a moment place ourselves in the situation of the Delawares, Mohicans, and the other tribes connected with them, at the time when the Europeans first landed on New-York Island. They were then in the height of their glory, pursuing their successes against the Iroquois, with whom they had long been at war. They were in possession of the whole country, from the sea coast to the Mississippi, from the River St. Lawrence to the frontier of Carolina, while the habitations of their enemies did not extend far beyond the great Lakes. In this situation, they are on

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a sudden checked in their career, by a phenomenon they had till then never beheld; immense canoes arriving at their shores, filled with people of a different colour, language, dress and manners, from themselves! In their astonishment they call out to one another: "Behold! the Gods are come to visit us!* They at first considered these astonishing beings, as messengers of peace, sent from the abode of the Great Spirit, and therefore, employed their time in preparing and making sacrifices to that Great Being who had so highly honoured them. Lost in amazement, fond of the enjoyment of this new spectacle, and anxious to know the result, they were unmindful of those matters which hitherto had taken up their minds and had been the object of their pursuits; they thought of nothing else but the wonders which now struck their eyes, and their sharpest wits were constantly employed in endeavouring to divine this great mystery! Such is the manner, in which they relate that event, the strong impression of which is not yet obliterated from their minds.

It was the *Delawares* who first received and welcomed these new guests on New York Island; the Mohicans, who inhabited the whole of the North River above, on its eastern side, were sent for to participate in the joy which was felt on being honoured by such visitants. Their tradition of this event is clear and explicit. None of the enemy, say they, (meaning the Five Nations†) were present.

It may possibly be asked, how the Dutch could favour the Five Nations so much, when none of them were present at the meetings which took place on their arrival in America? how they came to abandon their first

* Loskiel's History Part I. ch. 10.

† The Iroquois were at that time a confederacy of only Five Nations; they became Six afterwards when they were joined by the Tuscaroras.

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friends, and take part against them with strangers? and how the Dutch became acquainted with those strangers? I shall simply, in answer, give the traditional accounts of the Mohicans in their own words: "The "Dutch Traders (say they) penetrating into our country, "high up the Mohicanichtuck, (the Hudson River) fell "in with some of the Mingo warriors, who told them "that they were warring against the very people, (the "Delawares and Mohicans) who had so kindly received "them; they easily foresaw, that they could not carry "on their trade with their old friends, while this was "the case; neither would the Mingoes suffer them to "trade with their enemies, unless they (the Dutch) as-"sisted them in bringing about a peace between them. "They also made these traders sensible, that they at "that time, were at war with a people of the same "colour with their's (meaning the French,) who had, by "means of a very large river which lay to the North, "come into the country; that they (the Mengwe) were "the greatest and most powerful of all the Indian na-"tions; that if the people they belonged to, were friends "to their enemies, and sided with them in their wars, "they would turn their whole force against them; but if, "on the other hand, the Dutch would join them in ef-"fecting a peace with them, so that their hatchet should "be buried forever, they would support and protect "them in all their undertakings;* that these traders be-"ing frightened, had returned home, and having stated "the matter to their chief (the Dutch Governor,) a ves-"sel soon after went high up the river to an appointed "place, where meeting with the Maqua (Five Nations,) "a conference was held, at which the Dutch promised "them, that they would use their best endeavours to

* Meaning, that the Five Nations would assist the white people in getting the country of their enemies, the Delawares &c. to themselves.

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"persuade their enemies to give up the hatchet to be "buried, which, some time afterwards, actually took "place."

These are (as they say) the circumstances which led to the league which was afterwards established between the white people and the Five Nations, which was the cause of much dissatisfaction, injustice, and bloodshed, and which would not have taken place, if the rights and privileges of the different nations and tribes had been respected, and each left to act for itself, especially in selling their lands to the Europeans.

Having seen how the Five, afterwards Six Nations, rose to power, we have next to state by what means they lost the ascendancy which they had thus acquired.

The withdrawing of the principal part of the Delawares, and the Shawanos, from the Atlantic coast, between the years 1740 and 1760, afforded them an opportunity of consulting with the western tribes, on the manner of taking revenge on the Iroquois for the many provocations, wrongs and insults they had received from them; when *ten* nations immediately entered into an alliance for that purpose, the French having promised to assist them.* In the year 1756, they agreed to move on in detached bodies, as though they meant to attack the English, with whom they and the French were then at war, and then turn suddenly on the Six Nations and make a bold stroke. Though, for various reasons, their designs could not at that time be carried into effect, yet they did not lose sight of the object, waiting only for a proper opportunity.

It would, however, have been next to impossible, under existing circumstances, and while the Six Nations were supported by such a powerful ally as the English, for the Delawares and their allies, to subdue, or even effectually to chastise them. These Nations, however,

* Loskiel, part I. ch. 10.

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at the commencement of a war between the English nation, and the Colonies, were become so far independent, that such of them as lived remote from the British stations or garrisons, or were not immediately under their eye, were at full liberty to side with whom they pleased; and though the Six Nations attempted to dictate to the Western Delawares, what side they should take, their spirited chief, Captain White Eyes, did not hesitate to reply, in the name of his nation: "that he "should do as he pleased; that he wore no petticoats, as "they falsely pretended; he was no woman, but a "man, and they should find him to act as such." That this brave chief was in earnest, was soon after verified, by a party of Delawares joining the American army.

In 1781, when almost all the Indian nations were in the British interest, except a part of the Delawares, among whom were the Christian Indians between 2 and 300 souls in number, the British Indian agent at Detroit applied to the great council of the Six Nations at Niagara, to remove those Christian Indians out of the country: the Iroquois upon this sent a war message to the Chippeways and Ottawas,* to this effect: "We here-"with make you a present of the Christian Indians, to "make soup of;†" which, in the war language of the Indians, is saying: "We deliver these people to you to be murdered!" These brave Indians sent the message immediately back again with the reply: "We have no cause for doing this!"

The same message being next sent to the Wyandots, they likewise disobeyed their orders, and did not make the least attempt to murder those innocent people. The Iroquois, therefore, were completely at a loss how to think and act, seeing that their orders were every where disregarded.

* Loskiel, Part III. ch. 9.

† The proper name is *Widwas*, the *W* is whistled.

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At the conclusion of the revolutionary war, they had the mortification to see, that the trade which they had hitherto carried on, and to them was so agreeable and profitable, that of selling to the English the land of other nations, to which they had no possible claim, was at once and forever put an end to by the liberal line of conduct which the American Government adopted with the Indian Nations, leaving each at liberty to sell its own lands, reserving, only to themselves the right of purchase, to the exclusion of foreigners of every description.

In addition to this, the bond of connexion which subsisted between these Six Nations, if it was not entirely broken, yet was much obstructed, by a separation which took place at the close of that war, when a part, and the most active body of them, retired into Canada. No nation then any more regarded their commands, nor even their advice, when it did not accord with their will and inclination; all which became evident during the whole time the Western Nations were at war with the United States, and until the peace made with them in 1795.

At last, being sensible of their humbled situation, and probably dreading the consequence of their former insolent conduct to the other Indian Nations, and principally the Delawares, whom they had so long and so much insulted, were they not to make some amends for all this contumely? They came forward, at the critical moment just previous to the Treaty concluded by General Wayne, and formally declared the Delaware nation to be no longer *Women*, but MEN.

I hope to be believed in the solemn assertion which I now make: That in all that I have written on the subject of the history and politics of the Indian nations, I have neither been influenced by partiality for the one, or undue prejudice against the other, but having had the best opportunities of obtaining from authentic sources, such information in matters of fact, as has enabled me to make up my mind on the subject, I have taken the

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until they could again have rallied their forces and fallen upon their enemy; they would have done long before the year 1755, what they did at last at that time, joined the French in their wars against the Iroquois and English, and would not have patiently waited more than a century before they took their revenge for so flagrant an outrage. Their numbers, acknowledged to have been far superior to that of their Indian enemies, and the vast extent of territory which they possessed, furnished them with ample means to have acted hostilely, if they had thought proper. On the contrary, they lived at peace with the Iroquois, and their European allies, until that decisive war, by which the French lost at once all their extensive possessions on the continent of America.

In addition to these positive proofs, negative evidence of the strongest kind may be adduced. The Iroquois say, indeed, that they conquered the Delawares and their allies, and compelled them to become women. But there is no tradition among them of the particulars of this important event. Neither Mr. Pyrlæus, nor Mr. Zeisberger, who both lived long among the Five Nations, and spoke and understood their language well, could obtain from them any details relative to this supposed conquest; they ought, certainly, to have been able to say how it was effected; whether by one decisive fight or by successive engagements; when, and at what place or places these engagements, or at least, the last battle took place; who were the nations or tribes engaged in it; who the chiefs or commanders; what numbers fell on each side; and a variety of other facts, by which the truth of their assertion might have been proved: the total absence of such details appears to me to militate against them in the strongest manner, and to corroborate the statement of their adversaries.

The Delawares are of opinion, that this scheme of the Five Nations, however deeply laid, and meant essentially to injure them, would not, however, have operated against

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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of their kin who had moved there directly from northern New York. They, therefore, united with the Hurons (Talamatans) to drive out the Talega (Tsalaki, Cherokees) from the upper Ohio. This they only succeeded in accomplishing finally in the historic period. But they did clear the road and reached the Delaware valley, though neither forgetting nor giving up their claims to their western territories.[30]

It is not my purpose to go into the authenticity of the Walam Olum or the accuracy of its migration account. Suffice it to say that the Walam Olum was probably a product of the Delawares during their phase of revivalistic nativism and that it seems "to be an account, by a despairing person unable to gain his customary satisfactions from a life that no longer existed, of a Golden Age which never was. . . . Indeed the Walam Olum plainly appears to be the mirror image of a nativistically oriented people, rather than an authentic account of their history."[31]

The Location and Divisions of the Early Historic Delawares

It is impossible, for the following reasons, to know precisely the name, location, and affiliations of all the peoples who at the end of the seventeenth century joined forces and became known as the Delawares. First, the Delawaran peoples were aboriginally and during most of the seventeenth century unorganized politically and composed of a large number of subdivisions. Second, three different European nations were in contact with Delawaran peoples during this century. Their names for various groups often differed, and their interest in the relationships and locations of the various divisions was often slight. Third, these natives were soon displaced geographically and much reduced in numbers. Lastly, an unknown number of non-Delawaran peoples were incorporated into the Delaware tribe at the end of the seventeenth century. I have not undertaken the prodigious task of locating the Delawaran peoples by investigating all of the primary sources, although such a study is sorely needed; instead, a synthesis of previous investigations and two seventeenth-century maps is presented. This discussion is, therefore, liable to inaccuracies of various kinds.

For convenience the Delawares at the opening of historic times may be described as being composed of three geographical groups, traditionally called the Munsi, Unami, and Unalachtigo. The people who were to become the core of the tribe composed the division which became known in the mid-eighteenth century as the Unami. According to Brinton, the term Unami means "people down the river."[33] Zeisberger used the term

[30] Brinton, 1885, pp. 185-88.

[31] Newcomb, 1955, p. 63.

[32] The following discussion and Map 1 are based on Ruttenber, 1872, pp. 89-93; Hrdlicka, 1902, pp. 33-37; Skinner, 1909, pp. 30-32; Bolton, 1920, pp. 226-86; Swanton, 1953, pp. 48-55; Van der Donck's map of New Netherland, 1656, opposite p. 294 in Jameson, 1909; and N. J. Visscher's Map of New Netherland, New England . . . about 1655, opposite p. 170 in Myers, 1913.

[33] Brinton, 1885, p. 36.

[text continues on p. 7]

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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II. THE RECONSTRUCTION OF DELAWARE CULTURE

Introduction

The most recent reconstruction of early historic Delaware culture by Herman[1] failed to use the data made available by Kinietz[2] from the Trowbridge and Cass papers and minimized contemporary ethnographic data. Herman largely ignored modern ethnographic information because it "had combined material gained from different periods of time."[3] Kinietz used the previously unavailable Trowbridge and Cass data, but took little advantage of the other sources. His work also omitted a discussion of religion and some aspects of social organization. This study has utilized most of the source material of both of these investigators, as well as their results, and has in addition used other documentary materials. I have also used modern ethnographic data more extensively than have others. By using proper controls the ethnography of the Delawares can be made to cast valuable light on some of the less well-illuminated aspects of the early historic culture. The presence of a culture trait, whose existence could not be traced to white culture, to other Indian cultures, or to some sort of synthesis of these, was assumed to be of Delaware origin. It should be noted that some traits found in the field were considered Delaware on the basis of their absence among other groups; documentary materials later confirmed a Delaware provenance for many of these traits. Evidence from the field indicated, for example, that the Delawares possessed the trait of making a hole at the head of a coffin through which the soul could find its exit. Exit and reentrance were eased by the application of red ocher to this aperture. No evidence could be found which would indicate that this trait had been borrowed from other Indian cultures, nor was it derived from white culture, except that wooden coffins were used in place of bark receptacles. Later research substantiated the conclusion that this trait was of Delaware origin. In brief, by using a cautious and judicious approach it is possible to project ethnographic data back to early historic times with a fair degree of probability. Wherever this approach has been utilized, it is so noted in the text. I have also made a more serious effort to reconstruct the kinship terminology and general kinship structure of the early historic Delawares than has been attempted previously. This reconstruction is based mainly upon the recent suggestions of Murdock.[4]

The authorities for the data are given in chronological order, the seventeenth-century sources are given first, then the eighteenth-century, and so on down to the data recorded by myself in the field. When data secured from informants is used, the initials of the informant appear in the text or in a footnote with other references.[5] A discussion of the documentary sources is given in the Appendix.

[1] Herman, 1950, pp. 45-77.
[2] Kinietz, 1946.
[3] Herman, *op. cit.*, p. 48.
[4] Murdock, 1949, pp. 184-250, 323-52.
[5] Initials of informants are: O. A., Ollie Beaver Anderson; M. B., Mary Bob; N. D., Lenora Dean; J. T., Jim Thompson; F. W., Fred Washington; R. W., Reuben Wilson; L. F., Lillian Frenchman.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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III. DELAWARE SOCIOLOGY

As is true of all people on a comparable technological level, Delaware social organization was based upon ties of kinship. Or to put it another way, the organization by which the technology was operated and the ways in which individuals behaved toward one another were regulated and determined by ties of relationship. But "the records of departed civilizations, archeological and documentary, are relatively rich in evidences as to technology, economics, religion, and government but poor in information as to rules of descent, kinship terminology, and other aspects of social organization."[1] This general condition is true of early Delaware culture, but if reliance is placed upon Murdock's suggestions, it is possible to move from the documentarily known to the deductive probable and to reconstruct with some success the early kinship structure.

Life Cycle

Pregnancy and Birth

Marital abstinence was practiced during pregnancy.[2] Heckewelder stated that husbands were solicitous of the whims of their wives during pregnancy, citing a case in which a man traveled at least forty miles to obtain cranberries with which "to satisfy his wife's longings."[3] During pregnancy meat was not touched with the hands, but was eaten with a stick.[4] One of my informants (J.T.) said that bird and animal livers could not be eaten during pregnancy. This may well be a vestige of the early taboo on meat. According to Harrington's Munsi informants:

> The husband of an expectant mother was often accompanied on his hunting trips by the spirit of the unborn child, whose romping and playing about the bushes, invisible to mortal eye, would nevertheless frighten away the deer and send the hunter home empty-handed. To prevent this a little bow and arrow were made and attached to the prospective father's garments, in the hope that the little spirit would play with them and stay quietly with his parent. Should this precaution fail, the child was thought to be a girl, and a little corn mortar and pestle were substituted. . . .[5]

Birth, which was reported to be easy,[6] seems to have taken place away from the village, either in a menstrual hut or simply out of doors. Mary Jemison (a white captive of the eighteenth century, married at one time

[1] Murdock, 1949, p. 323.
[2] Thomas, 1912, p. 335; Penn, 1912, p. 232; Holm, 1834, p. 126.
[3] Heckewelder, 1881, p. 159.
[4] Holm, 1834, p. 128.
[5] Harrington, 1913, p. 212.
[6] Holm, 1834, p. 126.

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not uncommon: "Mr. Conner knows of many instances of it having been committed, sometimes by shooting, but generally by eating the root of the may apple. It proceeds most frequently from excess of gref (sic) or from disappointment in love."[117] There are indications, then, of a pattern of sex-oriented suicide in Delaware culture at least as early as the eighteenth century.

Kin Groups

There is no way of knowing exactly how much Delaware kinship structure and terminology changed in the two and a half centuries following European invasion. That it did change during this period is virtually certain, since factors which induce change were present, such as altered rules of residence, decreased polygyny, and increased economic and political importance of men. The literature of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries gives no description of the kinship structure. L. H. Morgan was the first investigator to furnish information on the subject, obtaining his data in 1859 on the Kansas reservation of the Delawares. Even at this time Morgan termed the system "deteriorated."[118] I shall first describe the system found by Morgan, then compare it with the modern one, and finally turn to a reconstruction of the early historic system. Kinship terms given by Zeisberger and other earlier authors are too scant to yield any information; these nuclear terms agree with Morgan's lists.

Nineteenth-Century Kinship Terms and Principles

The kinship system of both the Munsi and Unami has been called the "Mackenzie Basin" type by Spier, and would be termed Hawaiian by Murdock.[119] According to Morgan, the essential features of the Delaware (Unami) system (Fig. 1, p. 45; Fig. 2, p. 46) were:

1. A brother's son and daughter, whether Ego was male or female, were termed son and daughter.
2. A sister's son and daughter, Ego a male, were nephew and niece. Ego a female, they were son and daughter.
3. Parallel and cross-cousins were termed stepbrother and stepsister, "the males and females using different terms."[120]
4. A father's brother was termed little father.
5. A mother's brother was termed uncle.
6. Mother's sister, father's sister, and father's brother's wife were termed little mother.
7. All grandparents and all kin of the second ascending generation were called grandmother or grandfather.

[117] Trowbridge MS.
[118] Morgan, 1871, p. 221.
[119] Spier, 1925, p. 76; Murdock, 1949, pp. 223, 228.
[120] Morgan, 1871, pp. 221-22.

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8. All grandchildren and kin of the second descending generation, irrespective of sex, were called by one term, grandchild.
9. If Ego was male, the children of male cousins were son and daughter, whereas children of female cousins were nephew and niece. If Ego was female, the children of siblings and cousins, irrespective of sex, were son and daughter.

Modern Kinship Terms

My data agree in the main with Morgan's, although there are some curious differences. (For comparative purposes the modern kinship terms are discussed here rather than under Acculturation.) The changes may be due to Munsi influence, since the modern system is like that of the Munsi, although the Unami dialect is employed. The changes may also be regarded as a further deterioration, particularly as the kinship society is no longer functional.

In terminology the major alteration has been in the classification of cousins. All cousins are now put in the sibling category, being termed older brother, older sister, or younger sibling. (Fig. 3, p. 47.) The children of those individuals whom Ego terms sibling are son and daughter, with the exception that male Ego calls a sister's son nephew. Male Ego does not call sister's daughter niece, as was true in Morgan's time, but calls her daughter. When cousins became brothers and sisters, it was only logical to extend the son and daughter term to their offspring. It might be noted that women in Morgan's time used the son and daughter terminology for all offspring of cousins. All of my informants were vague about the proper term for father's sister's husband and mother's sister's husband. It was given as "my little stepfather," but also as "my little father."

A Reconstruction of the Early Historic Kinship Terminology

Despite the lack of any early historic description of the Delaware kinship terminology, an attempt to reconstruct it is profitable. There is fairly extensive information concerning the other facts of social existence in early historic times, and, given these facts, only certain conditions were possible for the kinship structure. The kinds of forces that affected Delaware society between the time of first contact and 1859 are also known, as are the results that these forces generally have upon kinship systems. Moreover, Morgan's description of the kinship system in 1859 provides a point of departure.

There are strong indications that most if not all of the seventeenth-century peoples who were to become the Delaware tribe reckoned descent in the maternal line and practiced matrilocal residence.[131] It has been seen that horticulture was in the hands of women, a fact which emphasizes

[131] Wallace, 1947, pp. 1-35.

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Delaware Kinship Terminology
Consanguineal

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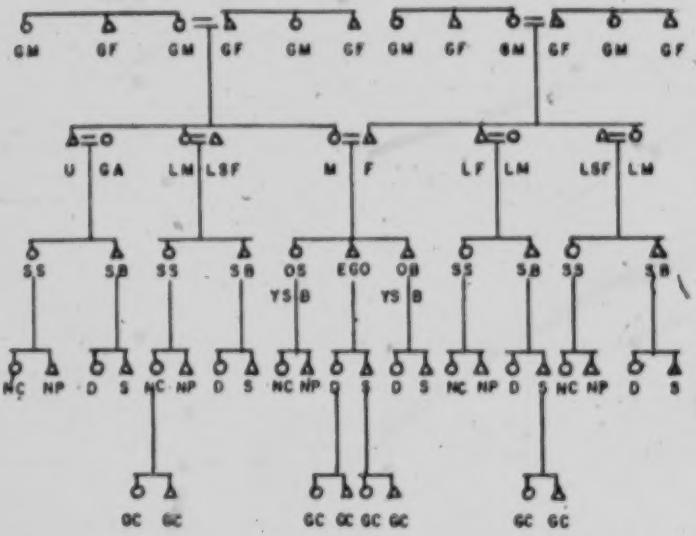

Fig. 1. Delaware terminological structure, consanguineal terms, male speaking (1859). The abbreviations are GF, grandfather; GM, grandmother; U, uncle; GA, great aunt, LM, little mother, LSF, little stepfather; M, mother; F, father; LF, little father; SS, stepsister; SB, stepbrother; OS, older sister; OB, older brother; YSB, younger sibling; NC, niece; NP, nephew; D, daughter; S, son, GC, grandchild. △ = male; ○ = female. With Ego female, the only difference in terms is found for nephew and niece. They are called son and daughter, so that all kin of the first descending generation are son and daughter.

the maternal line.[123] There were other cultural traits which point to a maternal emphasis: avuncular succession of sachemship is one, as are the facts that orphaned children were cared for by maternal grandparents, that a widower had to reimburse the wife's family before remarriage, and possibly that childhood names were given by mothers rather than by fathers. The occasional polygyny of the early period did not favor either matrilocality or matrilineal descent, although if it was of a sororal type it was then compatible with matrilocality.

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As has been noted, by the nineteenth century residence of a newly married couple was neolocal or bilocal, although probably it was matrilocal in early historic times. If a pre-European matrilocal society is assumed, what would cause an alteration to a neo- or bilocal rule? Murdock has said: "Rules of residence reflect general economic, social and cultural conditions. When underlying conditions change, rules of

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[123] Murdock, 1949, pp. 204-5.

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Delaware Kinship Terminology
Affinal

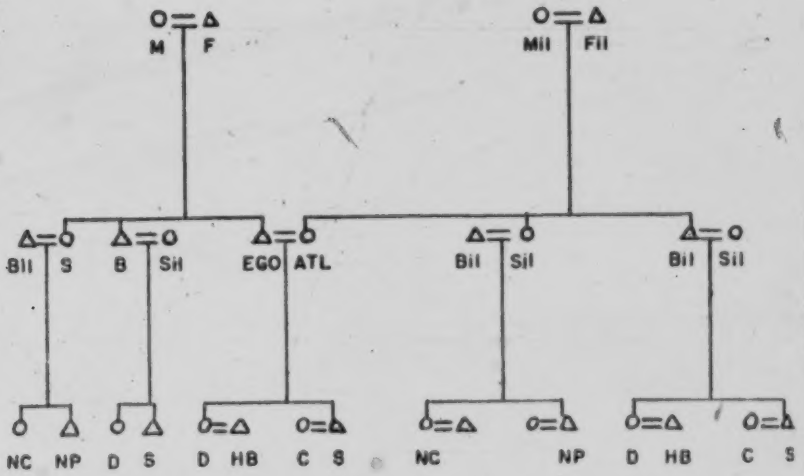

Fig. 2. Delaware terminological structure, affinal terms (1859). The abbreviations are Mil, mother-in-law; Fil, father-in-law; Bil, brother-in-law; Sil, sister-in-law; ATL, aid through life (spouse); HB, hunter for my benefit (son-in-law); C, cook (daughter-in-law). With Ego female, terms are the same. Other abbreviations as in Figure 1.

residence tend to be modified accordingly."[123] As he has pointed out further, the isolation and emphasis placed upon nuclear families, the decrease in polygyny, the scattering of kinsmen, and the individualistic emphasis placed upon economic activity, all favor the development of neolocal residence.[124] Bilocal residence is favored by "the adoption of a migratory life in unstable bands," and by the "approximate equality in status of the two sexes, especially with regard to the ownership and inheritance of property and privileges."[125] Almost all of the conditions which Murdock mentioned were prominent factors in Delaware life between 1600 and 1859. These forces are discussed at length under Acculturation; suffice it to say here that contact with Euro-American civilization caused extensive migrations, a new economic system emphasizing individual initiative, a decline in polygyny, breakup and decimation of geographically associated kinsmen, a decline in the importance of female-dominated horticulture, and increasing importance of men in subsistence. In short, residence rules of the Delawares in all probability altered from matrilocal to neolocal or bilocal.

The kinship terminology which Morgan described was in most of its

[123] Murdock, 1949, p. 17.
[124] *Ibid.*, p. 204.
[125] *Ibid.*

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Modern Delaware Kinship Terminology

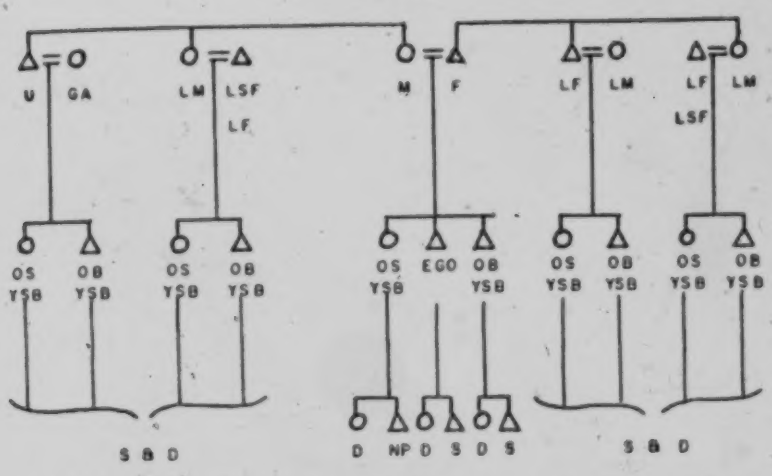

Fig. 3. Abbreviations are the same as for Figures 1 and 2. All cousins are called older brother or sister, or younger sibling. Sister's son is nephew, Ego male. Ego female, all kin of first descending generation are son or daughter. Mother's sister's husband and father's sister's husband may be called either little father, or little stepfather. A complete diagram is not given since there has been no change in other terms. Informants: O.A., M.B., J.T., F.W.

features in accord with the type which Murdock terms "Matri-Hawaiian."[126] It is apparent, however, that the early historic terminology was not Hawaiian, since descent must have been matrilineal instead of bilateral, as is required by a Hawaiian system. If an early historic system is now considered, with matrilineal descent and a matrilocal rule of residence, which by Morgan's time had evolved to a bilateral, Matri-Hawaiian type, is it possible to suggest the form of the early historic terminology? The most likely form would seem to be one of the 'Iroquois' type, since the generation principle is not violated in either, and the other differences are relatively minor.[127] In an Iroquoian system cross-cousins are called by the same terms, which differ from those used for parallel cousins. Parallel cousins may or may not be called by the same terms which are used for siblings. The term applied to mother and mother's sister is different from the one applied to father's sister. If it is assumed that the Delawares had this system, with matrilocal residence and matrilineal descent, how would this alteration to the Hawaiian type take place? It may be postulated, for example, that Ego's

[126] Murdock, 1949, p. 229.
[127] White, 1939, pp. 568-70.

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mother's brother upon marriage violates the traditional rule of matrilocal residence and brings his wife back to the group in which Ego is growing up. If this becomes a common occurrence, it is readily seen that a mother's brother's children might soon be confused, or aligned in Ego's mind with his parallel cousins, leading eventually to an alteration in cousin terminology. Or, if the rule of residence becomes neolocal, the same sort of alteration might take place. In this instance the reason for distinguishing between various kinds of cousins disappears, as with our own system. Neither paternal or maternal cross- or parallel cousins would in this case consistently be more familiar with Ego because of residence; they would be equals, receiving an equal emphasis in the kinship terminology. A logical accompaniment to this sort of alteration would be a change in Ego's terms for the first ascending generation. It is plain that a father's sister, who under an Iroquoian system had a special term, would now be the mother of children whom in a Hawaiian system Ego calls siblings, and hence she is called mother. It should be noted that the terminology employed in Morgan's time retained at least one feature of a previously unilateral system. This was the term for mother's brother, who was called uncle, instead of little father, as the logic of a bilateral system would lead one to expect. It may also be noted that the offspring of this uncle were placed in the sibling category by Ego. It may well be that the special, asymmetrical term for a mother's brother is a vestige of the once important avuncular relationship. It is difficult to arrive at a reasonable hypothesis for the similarly nonbilateral terminology applied to nepotic relatives in Morgan's time. First, there may have been no change in the terms employed for the children of siblings, for this is still a common Iroquoian type of terminology. I have not been able, however, to state the most probable terminology for the offspring of cousins; that the terms were different from the ones used in Morgan's time seems likely.

Clan and Phratry

The early historic Delawares seem to have had a rather weakly developed clan system. These named units probably consisted of a woman, her descendants, and collateral kin unilaterally reckoned in the maternal line. It cannot be determined whether these units should more properly be termed lineages, that is, unilateral descent groups tracing descent to a known ancestress, or clans, which may be defined as named, unilateral, exogamous descent groups, tracing ancestry to a mythically, or at least genetically, remote ancestor. Morgan termed these groups subgentes, since they were not totemic.[128] Wallace termed them lineages, and Harrington has called them clans.[129] Because of the diverse nature of the peoples who were to become the Delaware tribe any single characterization may be inaccurate.

[128]Morgan, 1877, p. 171.
[129]Wallace, 1947, p. 6; Harrington, 1913, p. 210.

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627 If peace could not be restored through the payment of "blood money," the interested kin, in case of murder, resolved the case by the murder of the guilty party or one of his kin.[165] From the scanty evidence available it would appear that only in the case of unresolved murders which were upsetting internal peace would society step in to halt the conflict.

576 Little is known about etiquette and the customary ways in which peo-
431 ple behaved towards one another. Penn, however, said:

> In liberality they excel. Nothing is too good for their friend. Give them a fine gun, coat, or other thing, it may pass twenty hands before it sticks: light of heart, strong affections, but soon spent: the most merry creatures that live: they feast and dance perpetually; they never have much, nor want much. Wealth circulateth like the blood. All parts partake; and though none shall want what another hath, yet exact observers of property.[166]

Denton in the same vein said:

> They are extraordinary charitable one to another, one having nothing to spare, but he freely imparts it to his friends & whatsoever they get by gaming or any other way, they share one to another leaving themselves commonly the least share.[167]

571 This sort of behavior is, of course, to be expected in a society organized upon a kinship basis. Society was predicated, not on the competition between individuals, but upon mutual assistance and the unity of action of the kin group. Respect for, and solicitous care of, the aged has also been noted.[168]

War

726 Small-scale, probably infrequent raiding by a few warriors was the
●174 typical form of warfare in early historic times and undoubtedly in the pre-European period. This type of conflict was a personal, usually non-economic feuding. An apt designation for it might be primitive war, since it seems to be characteristic of many cultures at this and lower technological levels of development. A special term for it is necessary since it generally differs in its causation, purpose, and form from total, modern warfare. There is little evidence that chronic, full-scale, economically caused warfare existed aboriginally in what is now northeastern United States. Hunt shared this point of view in writing of the Iroquois, generally considered to have been the most warlike of peoples in this area! He said:

> In the beginning intertribal rivalries were not keen, and intertribal war was purely private and social interprise. But before long the European trade was to create new rivalries, and whet old ones to the point where the issue became one of survival.[169]

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[165] Van der Donck, 1909, p. 303.
[166] Penn, 1683, p. 343.
[167] Denton, 1845, p. 9. Also see Zeisberger, 1910, pp. 115-16.
[168] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 123; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 103.
[169] Hunt, 1939, p. 22.

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Kroeber, on the other hand, has characterized warfare for the northeast as a whole as being of the modern, total kind:

> It was warfare that was insane, unending, continuously attritional, from our point of view; yet it was so integrated into the whole fabric of Eastern culture, so dominantly emphasized within it, that escape from it was well-nigh impossible.... This warfare, with its attendant unsettlement, confusion, destruction, and famines, was probably the most potent reason why population remained low in the East.[168]

There is no evidence which would support Kroeber's allegations, at least with respect to the prehistoric and early historic Delawares. Whether population density was low or not is conjectural, but even on the assumption that it was low, there is a much more realistic hypothesis available to explain it than the one offered by Kroeber. (See the Summary for this discussion.)

In the face of lack of evidence substantiating chronic and total warfare among the early Delawares, it is necessary to utilize indirect evidence to demonstrate that this type of conflict was minimal. The archaeology of the area offers little of a positive nature. Village sites of the East River Aspect, so far as can be determined, were not fortified or palisaded. They were "situated on or near tidal streams and bays."[169] A few sources mention palisades, but the evidence is not conclusive.[170] In Chapter I it was noted that Delaware villages were small, scattered, and on poorly defensible ground. During part of the year even village units did not exist, since family groups were away hunting. These facts do not suggest a martial atmosphere. If population densities were low, it seems unlikely that competition for agricultural land or for choice fishing locations existed. Disputes over hunting territories might have occurred, but these would have been primarily a family matter rather than of general concern. For chronic, vicious, and total war to exist there has to be a fairly strong motivation. As has been demonstrated elsewhere, cultures do not indulge in full-scale war, in the modern sense of the word, simply as an outlet for "psychological urges" or as a game.[171] As has been shown in the first chapter, Delaware culture in precontact times was in a political sense almost wholly unorganized. There was no tribe and there were apparently no institutions which in the event of invasion or attack could organize the people into an effective unit. It is difficult to believe that a people perilously and unendingly at war (for no apparent reason) would have as rudimentary a political and military organization as had the Delawares. Even in this cursory examination of the problem, it is clear that the precontact Delawares could have had only a small-scale, primitive war complex. This condition rapidly changed with the invasion of Europeans; chronic warfare of the most bitter kind soon came to be the daily pill of the Delawares. (This subject is taken up more fully in Chapter V.)

[168] Kroeber, 1947, p. 148.
[169] C. S. Smith, 1950, p. 116.
[170] Brinton, 1885, p. 51; Skinner, 1947, p. 7.
[171] Newcomb, 1950, pp. 317-30.

10. The evidence available on this subject in printed form plus what can be found in deeds has been admirably summarized by Huttenber (p.89ff.).

11. A pre-contact "history" of the Delaware, which is supposed to have been painted originally on sticks was acquired by Rafinesque in 1820. This man was a natural scientist and antiquarian of questionable repute, but the symbols in the document which he brought to light and their translation were pronounced authentic by several modern Delaware to whom it was shown by Brinton. The document, "The Walam Olum", with a translation of the Delaware text into English is reproduced by Brinton (1885).

12. One instance of the operation of this custom took place during the Dutch-Indian wars. The Dutch put a price on the heads of the Raritans, a Delaware band, for supposed offenses against them, but the only immediate result was a revenge murder by a neighboring band for an old injury (O'Callaghan, Vol. I, 1846, p. 240).

The following discussion of capturing two Indians who had murdered a white man also indicates the existence of this custom: "...only the Difficulty was, that there were seven of these Indyans, Men of the same Stock, that if two should be seised, the other five would seek to bee Revenged; soe it was unsafe." (Documents Relating to the Colonial History of New Jersey, Vol. I, p. 73).

13. Frank Speck (1931, p. 17): "The Big House capitulates the elements of certain minor feast ceremonies held on special occasions by families. The great annual ceremony seems to stand as an entity, one that does not submit to any assumption of recent origin in its present form of organization." This he feels is verified by its part-for-part resemblance to the Munsee ceremony in Canada, which would indicate that it must have been a national ceremony before 1700 when the groups began to separate.

In my opinion, however, there is not sufficient evidence that the "Annual Ceremony" of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries existed in all its complexity in the seventeenth century although most of its parts were probably contained in various different ceremonies which were performed. One important difference between the ceremonies mentioned by Penn and Lindstrom and the "Annual Ceremony" is that in the former the sacrificial meat consisted of the first of the season's kill and in the latter it consisted of game taken on a special communal hunt.

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

large. It is, then, to one of the religious men of the tribe, *Wi·tapano'xwe*, "Walks by Daylight" (C. J. Webber), the joint author of the text study of the Big House, supplemented with the cooperation of *Ni·'ka'ni·paxoxwe*, "Walking in Advance, Leader" (Joe Washington), and *Kwutc'pagi·'kamen*, "Rustling Leaves (when walking)" (George T. Anderson), that we owe the narration of this series of texts explaining the procedures themselves and the traditions of their origin (Plate 1).

Some of them, for instance the Grease Drinking Ceremonies and the Doll Dance, are family properties handed down as obligations within the family group from some past period when the responsibility for their enactment was incurred through the event of some long-forgotten individual undergoing experience with a spirit in human or animal form. These have developed among the Delawares into septs inheriting the obligation to perform them corresponding to the motives actuating rites of similar derivation in several other parts of North America.

In the history of Delaware institutions of the kind there is reason to suppose that the minor ceremonies, perhaps those passed on through generations within the family groups, may indeed be older than the Big House Ceremony. The fact that in the Big House certain rites appear to have been added and others to have been dropped off as time went on would show that the great celebration has integrated through the coalition of originally separate elements. Its comprehensiveness and its thoroughly worked-out cosmological philosophy seem to denote this. The formative elements themselves, then, may be those which we have here, the minor rites performed by smaller social groups, the families, perhaps the villages under the old social system when the tribe resided undisturbed by an European invasion in the east, and those conceived by certain individuals as an outcome of their personal revelations. These bear indication of being prior developments entering into the composition of the dominating and communal Big House Ceremony. Keeping pace with the dwindling devotion of the Delawares to the rites of the Big House, the individual and

7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
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small group celebrations have suffered decline, some having entirely ceased in recent years. In the minor ceremonies we have accordingly good prospective material to work over for the analysis of the larger composite ceremony. By taking into consideration with the Delaware institutions the process of ceremony integration in other parts of North America, of which the Sun Dance of the Plains Indians is a striking example, we are coming to possess the source material needed by the student pursuing research in the fascinating field of the history of religions. These repositories of native thought and experience are great in another sense. They offer a suggestive line of thought concerning the building-up process which has produced some of the great mass celebrations that mark the religious calendar of the preliterate tribes in whose culture have developed sophistries framed in proportions not unlike those of civilized nations.

I should like to add that the textual study offered in these pages is a contributive not a conclusive one as concerns the ethnology of the Delawares. Observations of ceremonial procedure still remain to be made on the rites that survive in the tribe.[1] But nothing can supercede the worth of the word for word deposition of even a modest informant like Wi'tapano'xwe, who has taken active part in many of them and whose nature has been steeped in reverence for them since childhood.

Some explanation should, it seems, be offered for omitting to mention and discuss ceremonial feasts and small rites that operate directly for the curing of sickness. The student of religious institutions would naturally expect these to be embraced in a study of this character since they are no less important and interesting as depicting the religious habits of the tribe. This aspect of the field has, however, been studied, and the material brought together for treatment in an independent monograph by Miss G. I. Tantaquidgeon, the manuscript being in the archives of the Historical Commission of Pennsylvania.

[1] Not forgetting that excellent studies made in the field of Delaware Ethnology by M. R. Harrington have been published in his "Religion and Ceremonies of the Lenape," Indian Notes and Monographs, Museum American Indian (Heye Foundation), New York, 1921, and more is promised by the same author.

7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
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THE SPRING PRAYER AND FOOTBALL CEREMONY TO ADVANCE VEGETATION

An important rite took place in the spring at a time coinciding with the first appearance and growth of vegetation. The rite has lost most of its former strictness, and its performance in recent times is apparently of shorter duration. Without going into speculation upon its original character, we have certain particulars to place on record, of which the following text and description of a football ceremony as part of the celebration are of considerable interest. In describing the festival the text of the annual spring prayer will be given then a sketch of the football ceremony. The prayer is the formal prelude to the occasion and seems to embody the dominant spirit of thanksgiving and supplication in behalf of a vigorous growth of vegetation upon which the Delawares placed such stress in their economic existence. The prayer contains some finely worded passages and shows perhaps more than other declamations the power of expression of which the native mind is capable when stimulated to religious emotion by the contemplation of the blessings brought to man by the heat of the sun, moisture and the glorious realm of plant life.

There is reason to trace much of the ceremonial make-up of this festival to the Shawnee with whom the Delawares were, and still are, so closely associated. Until we have the results of the painstaking study of Shawnee ethnology in course of preparation by Dr. and Mrs. Voegelin it is wiser not to draw conclusions on this point.

The concept that trees are capable of breathing utterances has not died out in human letters among modern European poets [1] whose muse is of a much later birth than that of the

[1] For instance, among the latest; Stephen Vincent Benét ("John Brown's Body," N. Y., 1928),

> "I heard the song of breath . . .
> Solemn harps of the fir.
> And the vast, tiny grass
> Blown by a breath and speaking."

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

tives, and the founders of these rites, whoever they were, seem to have made suitable provision against public indifference. In the words of the informant, no one is apt to disregard the call to obey religious custom in view of the consequences. And there may have been some idea of making an offering to mother Corn as well in this rite. Its origin dates from the first conception of the corn ceremony as the text relates.[1] The individuals whose duty it is to enact this part are hence called "excrement daubers," and their identity is, as might naturally be expected, kept in the dark. The rite itself is called *we'mui·ha'lɔwe's* "excrement daubing."

Of the masks used in this rite we have mention of several specimens obtained from *Ni·ka'ni·paxoxwe*, "Leading walker" (Joe Washington) of the same band in Oklahoma (Fig. 1, *A* and *B*).[2] They represent the features of masks requisitioned in the rites of the Corn Harvest Ceremony as celebrated by the Wolf division. According to the memory of Joe Washington, from whom they were obtained, the mask (*A*) with black on the forehead and chin part and the middle face-portion of red, was employed by the mask messenger and dancer of the Wolf division in his *midday* appearances. The dark upper and lower bands of color represent darkness before dawn and after sunset; the lighter center, the middle of the day. The other (*B*) with the upper face area black and the lower red was worn in the rites of the *early morning and evening*.

The corn ceremony itself seems to be known only through general description on the part of our informant who had the account of it from his mother. She had seen the rite when she was young. As will be seen its characteristics are those of the usual Delaware feasting festivals. There are the addresses by the speaker chosen for the occasion, the women having prepared beforehand the amount of hominy

[1] One of the Delaware authorities, J. A. Parks, states in recent correspondence that he thinks the "excrement dauber" rite belonged originally to the Shawnee. Joe Washington, who had witnessed the rite when a young man, attributes the custom to the Seneca "introduced a long time ago to the Delawares."

[2] Specimen *A* (model, 4½ x 5½ inches) is of oak with cap portion, over top and back, of trimmed deer skin, with shredded corn stalk "hair," *B* is similar in construction, 6 x 8 inches. Unlike Iroquois masks there are no little bags of tobacco offering attached to Delaware images.

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SOCIAL OR "STOMP" DANCES

No treatment of Delaware ceremonies and dances could 535
be considered complete without mention of the Social or 174
Round Dances, even allowing for the inevitable ignorance which will always exist in matters so intimate in the life of preliterate peoples. The performances are inseparable from many of the more serious rites as an aftermath to the devotional period for which the assemblies are specifically called. The Round Dances seem to be general properties of the eastern and southeastern tribes. One gets the impression from observing their performance that there has been extensive informal diffusion of this type of dance from some older center of ceremonial development in which they were once symbol rites of a more serious nature. I would hazard a guess that they may have arisen from the ceremonial institutions of some groups in the southeastern culture area and been carried far and wide to those sections of the country where we now find them. In recent times the Delawares indulged extensively in these dances, and when questioned as to their possible earlier history, they profess to know no more than that they are early acquired property of the Nation supposedly from the Creeks and Shawnee. Analysis of the song types by Dr. Herzog may afford a clue. My 535
study has not included more detailed treatment of social dances than plain description. At present they cannot be considered as possessing ulterior religious motives. Whatever they are, more specific attention as a group is called for. They are circular in movement, contra-clockwise, in single and double lines conducted by a leader. The particulars are given under the title headings. The names that the separate dances of this category possess are possibly indicative of southeastern sources, for instance there is the Stirrup Dance in which at a given period the woman side-partner of the man places one foot upon his instep as he dances next to her, both hopping along for an interval on one foot. Another is

7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

order (the grandchildren) are, the Potowatomi, Sauk and Fox, Ioway, Tonkawa, Sioux, Ottawa, and Kickapoo, Miami, Peoria, and besides these the Chippewa, Menomini, Comanche, Nez Percé, Apache, Winnebago, Osage, Kaw, Ponca, Quapaw. All these here are differently named. Now here all these call the Delawares Wapanachki, or "Our Grandfather." But all our "brothers" call us by the name Lenape.

Now, I shall explain about the brothers of the Delawares, about whom I can not say much, but as many as I can name are the Nanticoke and Mahikan, and Munsee and several nations of the Iroquois are as many as I can think of as being our brothers. But nevertheless the Delawares are always considered the oldest. There must be older persons than I am who know all the different degrees of tribal relationship. Now then, a few more words, the Wyandot are our nephews, and also the Seneca and Cherokee. But the Mexicans are our uncles and the whites in general our brothers, and black people, some say "He who has a high color," our elder brothers, and it is he who is the strongest of all the different nations of people.

To the above list of tribal names several more may be added; ma'ckos, the Muskogi or Creek, a derivation of the term for swamp, and Taǫ'gale'wi', the Yuchi, meaning a people inferentially lost or wandering. The latter revives an old designation, Tahogale, Hogloge and variants (see discussion in J. R. Swanton, Early History of the Creek Indians, Bulletin 73, Bureau American Ethnology, 1922, pp. 286–312) for this mysterious and important people with whom the Delawares appear to have had contact.

MORTUARY CEREMONIES AND PROCEDURES

The customs concerned with death and interment of the Delawares are traced to a fusion of the rites of the tribe proper with those of the Munsee. We even have evidence that for a portion of the Delaware group certain mortuary rites of the Nanticoke [42] were assimilated during one period of time, as Harrington's account reveals.[43] Without attempting to un-

[42] Harrington, *op. cit.*, 183–4.

[43] An account of the Nanticoke independent burial customs, which were maintained by members of this tribe living among the Delawares as late as 1870, will be given shortly (p. 142).

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

764 tangle some slightly confused details which are encountered
774 in the various descriptions given by early as well as late authors on Delaware ethnology, the citations from some of them will be presented and those of the informant separately. It is manifest that mortuary rites of the tribe have changed from time to time while the Delawares have been passing through the vicissitudes of their protracted migration from the Atlantic to the Plains.

764 In the text dictated by Wi·tapano'xwe we learn sufficient detail to make a complete summary of burial customs unnecessary as a separate paragraph. Nevertheless several excerpts from explanatory notes made by him to clear up his narration may be introduced. They discuss the treatment of the body of the deceased, duties of the relatives, the arrangements for interment, the sitting-up with the corpse and the playing of the ceremonial moccasin gambling game, the feast at the gathering for interment and its repetition at the end of the first year period after death.

764 With the interest in ceremonial matters that is natural
775 to his mental make-up Wi·tapano'xwe gives us his version of the doctrines and rites appropriate to the ushering of the soul of the defunct Delaware to the "Land of Spirits Above," *manito''kamik hukwe'yuŋ*, from the "Land of Spirits on Earth," *manito''kamik*. His particulars are in accordance with the theory of the journey of the soul explained and illustrated by a sketch of the path of the soul in its progress to the abode of *ke·tan'to'wi·t*, "Great Spirit," as given in the study of the Big House Ceremony. (Op. cit. Fig. 26.)

764 His major contribution to our knowledge of current funereal customs lies in the outline of the sermon and procedure of the Feast for the Dead. The proper name for the feast on the eleventh day after death is *da'kwi·p'hɔ't·i·n* "together eating." The feast that is celebrated one year after the death of the individual, at which only a few of the relatives are present, is called *wi·ho·''mwi·n*, "feast of offering to someone." It has already been noted that the latter feast has entered the Delaware system of rites by assimilation from the institutions of the Munsee according to the opinion of our sources.

7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
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The matter presented in the study of Delaware ceremonies and dances just completed is intended to satisfy, so far as it may, the desires of several classes of investigators, both lay and professional, in the field of the human sciences.

To the ethnologist Delaware ceremonialism has properties which should throw light upon the whole structure of native religion in the east. The principles functionally underlying the rituals and festivals are not strange to the native groups from the southeast to the northeast this side of the Mississippi. The graded hierarchy from the peak of heaven where sits the supreme being and creator, through the lesser ranks of nature-forces of the sky brought into existence by him, down to the creatures of earth, human and animal and plant, is a familiar theme in the teachings of Indian philosophy in eastern North America. The intrusion of a pattern bearing the mark of Delaware thought is apparent in most of its details here, which will undoubtedly strike the attention of the specialist in cultural history. And there are evidences of trait diffusion—the migration of ideas in simpler parlance—among the native groups of the area which will prolong the discussions provoked by divergent theories of culture origins in the east. To the ethnologist of the historical persuasion I could predict that something significant may be expected to show forth from studies analogous to these now in process of completion among the allied Canadian Delaware and Munsee. I might even risk an estimate of my own—a crass violation of ideals of caution in such ventures—in respect to the possible mutuality of beliefs and rites of worship among both Delaware-Munsee and Iroquois. It is my impression namely, that a Delaware could participate in the program of many of the ceremonial observances of a Cayuga Iroquois Long House group with a certain assurance of understanding the theology involved and of being able to take part comfortably in them despite his ignorance of the language. Historical factors to produce such conditions cannot well be erased from the local picture. And yet Algonkian religious history has no definable landmarks.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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Introduction and Explanation of the Ceremony

It has long been known that the Delaware Indians had a periodic ceremony of paramount importance in fulfilling their obligations toward a pantheon of spiritual forces. We learn something of such a ceremony from indications occurring in the 17th and 18th century sources, among which figure Denton (1670),[1] William Penn (1683),[2] Brainerd (1745),[3] Zeisberger (1779-80),[4] Loskiel (1794),[5] and Heckewelder (1771-86, 1818).[6] First from the casual writings of Dutch, Swedish and English authors we get glimpses of the ceremony while this famous and patriarchal nation was still residing in its haunts in eastern Pennsylvania and New Jersey. With the westward movement of the tribe, first to the valley of the Susquehanna and later to the Ohio country, the missionaries who attempted the conversion of the Delawares have added their comments upon the great recurrent festival, treating it in terms of cool description or in phrases of fervent condemnation according as their attitudes toward it were determined by their profession.

In the accounts we have, the ceremony is referred to under various titles, some in English, some in Delaware; Cantiko, (Penn, 1683), Gamwing, (Zeisberger, 1779), χingwi·ka'on, The Big House, The Annual Ceremony. And it is not a little strange that even the oldest of them are recognized by corresponding terms still current in the language of the tribe at the present time, as clearly explainable today as though we were still holding conference with native priests and patriarchs who had talked with Penn and his contemporaries. That the great rite was of local interest in the religious life of the allied peoples

[1] Denton's Description of New York, formerly New Netherlands, N. Y. 1670.

[2] William Penn. A Letter from William Penn, Proprietary and Governor of Pennsylvania in America to the Committee of the Free Society of Traders of that Province Residing in London, London 1683 in Narratives of Early Pennsylvania, of New Jersey and Delaware, Edited by Albert Cook Myers, N. Y. 1912, p. 234.

[3] David Brainerd, Memoirs of the Rev. David Brainerd, by Jonathan Edwards, New Haven, 1822.

[4] David Zeisberger. History of the Northern American Indians. Edited by A. B. Hulbert and W. N. Schwarze, Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, n.d.

[5] George Henry Loskiel, History of the Mission of the United Brethren Among the Indians of North America, London, 1794.

[6] John Heckewelder, History, Manners and Customs of the Indian Nations Who Once Inhabited Pennsylvania and the Neighboring States, Edited by W. C. Reichel. Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Phila. 1876.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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796 comprising the Delaware Nation is evident from all sources. That it
174 ruled the spiritual destinies of the Munsee, the Nanticoke, the Mahikan,
171 we know through collateral evidence, and analogous rites are inferred to have existed among the Mohegan on the east, the Powhatan peoples of Virginia and the Algonkian of the Carolina coast. Testimony from modern sources also points to a related performance of equal prominence in the religious behavior of the Shawnee. It would be an oversight besides, not to make reference to certain indications in the recorded discussions of Iroquois and Central Algonkian religion, of periodic ceremonies whose fundamental concepts form more or less a unit with those of the nation we are considering. Such a widely spread doctrine with associated rites of a unitary character assure us of the existence in aboriginal times of a culture-center, as regards creed, among the peoples of the Allegheny forest area, not only among the widely scattered Algonkian-speaking peoples but among others whose early history has been linked by some vague channels with them,
796 for instance the Muskogi and the Yuchi. If it is not going too far, I
174 would venture to repeat the assertion, often made by students of human culture, that the religious concepts of preliterate people express the keynote of their cultural status, that the same are to be regarded as forming their most conservative culture properties, reflecting the entire system of their culture in ramifications leading off to other topics of ethnology, the food-quest, social organization, warfare, art-symbolism, as well as rulings of simple custom and ethical character; indeed where not? This assumption, as we shall see, holds true with amazing consistency in the native civilization of the Delawares. While the previously recorded accounts of Delaware ceremonies, some of them explicit in detail and accuracy, have supplied occasional material for comparative and analytical studies in the ethnology of the eastern Indians, a feeling of dissatisfaction exists in regard to their content. This has been sufficient to cause hesitation on the part of ethnologists in using the records for the purpose of drawing culture conclusions since the accounts have all been fragmentary and recorded in the words of European observers instead of being based upon the expressions of the natives.[1] To have such records made in the words, and with the order and detail of thought of the people themselves is the highest ideal of the student of human institutions, an ideal now set up as the goal of endeavor in research. Accordingly when fate was moved
124 to provide me with a native Delaware informant in the person of
115 Wi·tapano'xwe, a Delaware whose early training, at the knees of his mother, was of the native, non-Christian type, I need hardly say that I laid aside every postponable obligation to devote attention to the

[1] More recently we have been bequeathed the excellent studies of eastern Indian ceremonies in native text by students who have recorded them from the dictation of the Indians, such as Hewitt, Jones, Michelson and Bloomfield.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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task of taking down from his lips his version of the entire doctrine and the ceremony of his tribe at which he had upon so many occasions been present. The results of our combined effort during four months of writing are accordingly laid forth. The entire body of information, the arrangement of thought and wording are his; the concepts extracted from the teachings of his early life, the ritual procedures reproduced from memory of participation in them, and the monologues, are from his memory of repeated hearings by their narrators. The mechanical task, the notations, are mine.

Few undertakings in my experience have proved so pleasant. Wi·tapano'xwe, or War Eagle, (frontispiece) as he is known in his profession of herbalist, displayed the patience, the courtesy, and character of a gentleman. Representing the type once referred to by Doctor Dorsey as a natural gentleman and sport, the Indian was still unspoiled by a mercenary and material civilization; the simple-mannered, sympathetic, beautifully poised, contented, nature-loving, thoughtful and mystic Algonkian. He deserves more extensive personal notice since he typifies Emerson's definition of a great man as one "who in the crowd keeps the independence of solitude."

Wi·tapano'xwe, "Walking with Daylight," of the Fowl, or so-called Turkey group (pele")[1] of the Delawares, was born in the Cooweescoowee district of the Cherokee Nation, Indian Territory, about 1880, according to his information, and as such he is listed in the records of the Dawes Commission.[2] His father was a member of the Cherokee Nation of the West. Being of Munsee descent on his mother's side he was elected to the Council of the Fowl or Turkey division of this tribe in 1902, and re-elected secretary of the Delaware executive council by the combined Delaware and Munsee tribes in 1921.

The history of the Delawares shows that they have passed through a series of momentous culture transitions before and since the coming of the whites. We assume that before being disturbed by the northward advance of the Iroquois they, together with the closely related Munsee, presented a type of culture differing from the after-period, during which assimilation with the Iroquois had progressed. Subsequently came the Dutch and Quaker contacts, ushering in a period which ended at the time of the withdrawal of the tribe from the east. Then came the period of migration westward, opening closer association with the trans-Alleghenean peoples (Wyandot, Mingo, Shawnee, Piankashaw, Miami). Their next move brought them into the central plains area producing acculturation in externalities with phases of Prairie culture as they met such exponents of

[1] One of the three major social subdivisions of the tribe, for definition of which see page 75.

[2] His enrollment name is James C. Webber, under Dawes' Commission Cherokee Roll No. 31516.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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174 this culture area as the Osage, Kansa, Ioway and Quapaw. Then with their final repose under the wing of the Cherokee Nation they felt
[668] the touch of the northward-moving Peyote cult; this time an influence affecting the religious fibre of the tribe to a greater degree than had any of the preceding associations with other religious forms, not even excepting Christianity. The span of transition is apparently complete. Its angles are numerous enough to confuse the most systematic ethnologist, even if he had the properties of the various culture-periods blocked out for him. Things, however, are not so fortunate. We have no clear or specific knowledge of the first-contact Delaware and Munsee civilization; only scraps of the post-Iroquoian and post-European periods and almost nothing covering the century of migration from Pennsylvania to Kansas and Indian Territory. Amid the obscurity of our knowledge of the famous tribe through these eras the curtain is now raised for us in the twentieth century. And the ethnologist with methodical equipment and the resources afforded him by the present knowledge of human sciences enters the scene to grapple with the long neglected task. Happily for him, some of the Delawares, faithful to their traditions, are still practising their culture. They have retained their tribal organization, their language, their religious creed and rites, their philosophy of life, their psychological content and some vestiges of their industrial and economic past, handed down either through tradition or usage in remote districts among conservative families. Much of their past culture has indeed been fostered through sentiment and love.
121 This is the background out of which we are to construct our picture, to unravel the twisted elements woven into the Delaware culture fabric. From one point of view we are obliged to take the Delawares as they are now, to handle with delicacy the venture in research to discriminate between leather and cloth, sinew and thread, porcupine quills and glass beads and ribbon, stone and iron, in illustrating their processes of ornament and manufacture. Fortunately, equal difficulty does not confront us in dealing with the beliefs and practices of religion, since this is the realm in which man is most conservative; the truth of which statement challenges and astounds us in modern European as well as in modern Indian religions.

A few words of explanation seem to be called for in regard to my plan of arrangement in presenting the material in hand. A general discussion of some fundamental concepts and practices, I feel, is required, preceding the body of the text dictated by Wi'tapano'xwe, though footnote references accompanying the texts will find their connection with the theme. Other notes of an explanatory nature are needed to guide the sense of description through phrases and terms obscure to one not familiar with Delaware culture and the language, and to explain where English idioms have been called into use to

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The mask rite, says Wi'tapano'xwe, is an individual or family, not a group rite. The record of the change of hands through which it passed, going into each of the three groups at different times, brings out this act.

Since it happened that the custody of the mask fell to Delaware women as well as to men, there seems to have been no restriction as to sex in the office of keeping the masks as reported for the Iroquois. The same is true of the corn-husk masks. As among the Iroquois the Delaware wooden mask was kept face down when not in use, but only, the informant added, because the cloth covering at the back would make this position more convenient. We are impressed with the ruling that the mask could not be played with nor worn for social masquerading.

To the ethnologist, however, the significance of the Mask-Spirit is deep. The whole question of the trait which it represents in the customs of the Delawares is fraught with the possibilities of an archaic northern background, into which fits a series of beliefs and practices extending across boreal North America through northeastern Asia. The game owner concept, in short, stands forth in high relief among the far northern Algonkian. Its most intense development appears among the Montagnais-Naskapi of the Labrador peninsula.[1] For the region of the Great Lakes among the Central Algonkian we have as yet no records to substantiate the existence of the Game Owner concept so far south. The Delaware case is accordingly one of noteworthy bearing. Before passing by what Delaware belief has to contribute to the Game Owner concept in general the information pertaining to the mask spirits to be given in a text reserved for the later publication should be considered.[2] Here an account is recorded in which masks made of corn-husks are worn by messengers who go about announcing the occasion of a corn ceremony. The personification of the spirit of corn seems intended in the wearing of such a mask.

THE TORTOISE AS A SYMBOL.—Outlined in particularly high relief is the tortoise. In the latter creature we have the symbol of life, of perseverence, longevity and steadfastness. As the Delaware patriarch says, "The tortoise is the earth; is life." In the procession of time and among the elemental nature forces the direction of movement is from east to west, according to Delaware belief. So moves the tortoise with measured pace across the earth and through the Big House, carrying out the mythical allegory. At the end of his journey at the "western door," meaning where the sun sets at the edge of the

[1] Extended treatment of the religious beliefs and philosophy of the northern peoples, so far as the Game Owner concept is concerned, will be available for the students of religious customs of pre-literate peoples when manuscript now in course of preparation shall have been published.

[2] To form another volume of this series.

14:Leslie A-4.5 (no date) 1951
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[P.9, A]

A Tentative Catalogue of Minsi Material Culture

by VERNON LESLIE

121 READERS of the "Archaeologist" will recall that one of the major problems of the archaeology of northeastern Pennsylvania has been the identification of the culture of the Minsi Indians with one of the several archaeological manifestations which occur in this area.

101 The Minsi, it will be remembered, were the northern clan of the Delaware inhabiting the upper Delaware Valley above the Water Gap as well as adjacent areas in New York. Although mention of them is 174 to be found in written history, the Minsi make such a brief appearance there that at present very little can be learned from early writings concerning their material culture or ethnic peculiarities.

172 In my treatment of certain problems of the archaeology of the upper Delaware Valley published serially in the four issues of the "Pennsylvania Archaeologist" ending with that of Vol. XVII, No. 1, 1947, because of the paucity of evidence then available, I made no attempt definitely to describe Minsi culture by implement type or otherwise. Two possibilities were mentioned ("Archaeologist", Vol. XVI, No. 2, p. 73; idem, Vol. XVII, No. 1, p. 108): that the Minsi culture could possibly be the mysterious "Coastal" culture which I had identified in the upper Delaware Valley (which will be referred to again briefly in the conclusion of the present paper) or that it could possibly be identified with an Owasco-like manisfestation occurring on several sites in the area, particularly in

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A Tentative Catalogue of Minsi Material Culture

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by VERNON LESLIE

the vicinity of Milford, Pike Co., Pa. Dr. William A. Ritchie in his "Pre-Iroquoian Occupations of New York", pp. 56-57, had previously indicated the possibility of Owasco-Lenape connections.

In my report I also mentioned the occurrence of sherds on upper Delaware sites and in rock shelters (see Schrabisch, "Archaeology of the Delaware River Valley between Hancock and Dingman's Ferry in Wayne and Pike Counties", 1930) which were typologically Iroquois. Early in the spring of 1947 while looking over a site in Pike County, Pennsylvania, opposite the upper end of Minisink Island, I was struck by the possibility that the true explanation of the Minsi cultural enigma could lie in a combination of the Owasco and Iroquois elements present on several surface sites as well as in Schrabisch's rock shelters and in the Heye-Pepper excavation opposite Minisink Island in New Jersey (see "Exploration of a Munsee Cemetery near Montague, New Jersey", Heye, Pepper, 1915). This combination was viewed in my new theory as having resulted from acculturation brought about by the imposing of Iroquois elements upon an Owasco base. There is considerable historical evidence in support of such a possibility since the Algonkian Delaware are described as having been subjected by the Iroquois. One assumption is left hanging in the air here, however: that the pre-acculturation Algonkian Minsi were pure Owasco in culture.

[174]

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The possibilities of this 'acculturation theory' seemed so appealing that I sent a letter to Dr. Claude Schaeffer, then of the Pennsylvania State Museum in Harrisburg, who was handling the publication of my manuscript, asking him to append my new view of the Minsi problem as a concluding footnote. For some reason which was never explained to me, however, this was not done.

Meanwhile in Rochester, Dr. William A. Ritchie, and in Philadelphia, Dr. Edmund S. Carpenter, were laying plans for a 1947 summer expedition in the upper Delaware area under an Indiana Historical Society grant for the purpose of attacking the Minsi problem as a phase of the wider question of determining the validity of the Walum Olum. The results of this expedition, with which the writer was for a time associated, have been ably and fully set forth by Dr. Ritchie in "The Bell-Philhower Site, Sussex County, New Jersey", Volume III, Number 2, Prehistory Research Series, The Indiana Historical Society, 1949.

The most important part of Ritchie's report bearing upon the present problem is the material contained on pages 194, 195, and 196. Briefly, Ritchie, while including the caution that the "evidence leaves something to be desired", concludes that the original Minsi Culture began as the Castle Creek Focus of the Owasco Aspect and was later modified by Unami and later still by Iroquoian elements.

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In the light of the developments outlined in the foregoing, it is now possible to approach a description of the elements of Minsi material culture. It is obviously of value and interest to the numerous amateur and occasional professional archaeologists who do field work in the Minsi area to have at least a tentative idea of which artifacts can be assigned to the Minsi hori-

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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CHAPTER IV.

SUBSEQUENT FATE OF THE LENAPE AND THEIR KINDRED TRIBES.

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AFTER the murder of the Conestogo Indians, the Lenni Lenape thought proper, for their safety, to withdraw altogether from the interior of the white settlements, into the wilds of the Susquehannah country; and Government, conscious that they could no longer protect any Indians, or body of Indians, whether Christians or not, in the settled parts of the province, advised the Christian Indians, whom, during the last troubles, they had with difficulty prevented from sharing the fate of the Conestogos, to retire into the back country. They did so, and settled at Wyalusing, which then became the nearest settlement of Indians to the white inhabitants, being upwards of 150 miles north of Philadelphia, and about 100 miles from the frontier settlers beyond the blue mountains; all the other Indians of that nation, together with the Nanticokes, lived then higher up the Susquehannah. For about five years, the Indians on this river enjoyed peace, and the Christian Indians lived quietly here and at another settlement they had made thirty miles higher, built good houses for themselves, together with a spacious church, planted fruit trees, and put large bodies of land under cultivation. But, while they were flattering themselves with the most favourable prospect, they were informed that the Six Nations had sold the whole country, including the land they lived on, to the English. They soon saw through the object of this clandestine proceeding, of which they had not received the least notice, and foreseeing what kind of neighbours they should have, if they should stay where

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

they were, they determined to move off in a body to the Ohio, where they had received an invitation to settle from the grand council of their nation. Accordingly, two hundred and forty one souls set off directly for the Muskingum river, where a large tract of land was given them, out of that which the Wyandots had formerly granted and confirmed to their people; the other Indians of the same nation residing on the Susquehannah soon followed, some settling at one place, some at another; the Mouseys,[a] however, joined their own tribe, who long since had emigrated and were settled on the head waters of the Allegheny river; and so the whole country east of the Allegheny mountains was cleared of its original inhabitants.

The Delawares thus became at once released from their troublesome neighbours the Iroquois, who had calculated on their settling near them, at a place they had already fixed upon; but they were mistaken, for with all their fair speeches they could not persuade the Lenape, who gave them plainly to understand that they were no longer inclined to listen to a people who had so long and so often deceived them.

This happened in the year 1768, about six[a] years before the beginning of the revolutionary war. During which short period of tranquillity, the numbers of the Christian Indians on the Ohio rapidly increased, and never was there such a fair prospect of their being fixed in a state of prosperous civilisation. But the revolution put an end to these hopes, and this opportunity was lost, perhaps, never to return again. It was not the fault of the American government, who were truly desirous of seeing the Indians adopt a neutral line of conduct, and repeatedly advised them not to interfere in the quarrel between the colonies and the mother country; happy would it have been if the British government had acted in the same manner; but they pursued a different plan. These poor deluded people were dragged into a war in which they had no concern, by which not only their po-

[a] [Errata. See cat. 116, p. 348. -Analyst]

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

pulation was gradually reduced, but they lost the desire of becoming a civilised people; for the Americans, at last, become exasperated against them, and considering all Indians as their enemies, they sent parties out from time to time to destroy them. The murder of the Christian Indians on the Muskingum in 1782, completed their alienation. Those who yet remained were driven to despair, and finally dispersed.

It is not in my power to ascertain the whole number of the Lenni Lenape, or Delaware Indians, still existing at the present time. As far as I am informed, they are very much scattered, a number of them, chiefly of the Monsey tribe, living in Upper Canada, others are in the state of Ohio, and some on the waters of the Wabash in the Indiana territory. A considerable number of them has crossed the Mississippi. Their first emigrations to that country had already begun between the years 1780 and 1790. What the numbers of this nation were when the Europeans first came into this country is difficult to tell; all I can say is, that so early as 1760, their oldest men would say that they were not then as many hundreds as they had been thousands. They have considerably decreased since that period. I saw them myself between the years 1754 and 1760, by hundreds at a time, and Loskiel in his history gives an account of upwards of 800 having been fed at Bethlehem in one year. In the year 1762, while I lived at Tuscorawas on the Muskingum, they were settled on that river and its branches, and also on the Cayahoga river, which empties into Lake Erie, in the neighbourhood of which they had since a small Christian settlement called *Pilgerruh*, (Pilgrim's rest.)*

* Loskiel, part III. ch. 12.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7

of their kin who had moved there directly from northern New York. They, therefore, united with the Hurons (Talamatans) to drive out the Talega (Tsalaki, Cherokees) from the upper Ohio. This they only succeeded in accomplishing finally in the historic period. But they did clear the road and reached the Delaware valley, though neither forgetting nor giving up their claims to their western territories.[30]

It is not my purpose to go into the authenticity of the Walam Olum or the accuracy of its migration account. Suffice it to say that the Walam Olum was probably a product of the Delawares during their phase of revivalistic nativism and that it seems "to be an account, by a despairing person unable to gain his customary satisfactions from a life that no longer existed, of a Golden Age which never was. . . . Indeed the Walam Olum plainly appears to be the mirror image of a nativistically oriented people, rather than an authentic account of their history."[31]

The Location and Divisions of the Early Historic Delawares

It is impossible, for the following reasons, to know precisely the name, location, and affiliations of all the peoples who at the end of the seventeenth century joined forces and became known as the Delawares. First, the Delawaran peoples were aboriginally and during most of the seventeenth century unorganized politically and composed of a large number of subdivisions. Second, three different European nations were in contact with Delawaran peoples during this century. Their names for various groups often differed, and their interest in the relationships and locations of the various divisions was often slight. Third, these natives were soon displaced geographically and much reduced in numbers. Lastly, an unknown number of non-Delawaran peoples were incorporated into the Delaware tribe at the end of the seventeenth century. I have not undertaken the prodigious task of locating the Delawaran peoples by investigating all of the primary sources, although such a study is sorely needed; instead, a synthesis of previous investigations and two seventeenth-century maps is presented. This discussion is, therefore, liable to inaccuracies of various kinds.

For convenience the Delawares at the opening of historic times may be described as being composed of three geographical groups, traditionally called the Munsi, Unami, and Unalachtigo. The people who were to become the core of the tribe composed the division which became known in the mid-eighteenth century as the Unami. According to Brinton, the term Unami means "people down the river."[32] Zeisberger used the term

[30] Brinton, 1885, pp. 185-86.
[31] Newcomb, 1956, p. 63.
[32] The following discussion and Map 1 are based on Ruttenber, 1872, pp. 89-93; Hrdlicka, 1903, pp. 33-37; Skinner, 1909, pp. 30-31; Bolton, 1920, pp. 228-86; Swanton, 1952, pp. 48-50; Van der Donck's map of New Netherland, 1656, opposite p. 294 in Jameson, 1909; and N. J. Visscher's Map of New Netherland, New England . . . about 1655, opposite p. 170 in Myers, 1912.
[33] Brinton, 1885, p. 38.

[text continues on p. 7]

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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Map 1

2;Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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to refer to that group of Delawares who "lived nearest to the sea."[34] The term seems to be of Munsi origin and was applied by them to the main body. The name first appeared in 1757 and was in use until the final removal to Oklahoma, but it is not remembered today.[35] The Unami occupied the middle reaches of the Delaware River including much of the Schuylkill River Valley. Besides territory in what is now Pennsylvania, they occupied a large part of New Jersey, as well as some territory on the lower Hudson.[36] The Unami were composed of the following subdivisions. The Navisink (or Neversinck, Navasink) "inhabited the Highlands south of Sandy Hook," the Sanhikan (also called Raritan) "were divided, it is said, in two sachemdoms and about twenty chieftaincies."[37] They occupied the Raritan Valley in northeast-central New Jersey, and probably the southern end of Staten Island. The third division was known as the Hackinsack (or Hackensack), and their territory included the valleys of the Hackinsack and Passaic rivers in northeastern New Jersey. The fourth division was the Aquackanonk; their territory included what is now Paterson, New Jersey, and they were "also described as occupying a considerable portion of the centre of New Jersey."[38] The fifth division, the Tappan (or Tapant), extended from the Hackinsack River to the highlands. They also seem to have had some land on the Hudson.[39] Wassenaer in 1624 associated a group called the Mechkentowoon with the Tappan; they may have been a separate group or a subdivision of the Tappan.[40] Swanton has termed them a Mahican subdivision.[41] The sixth division of the Unami was known as the Haverstraw; they lived north of the Tappan with undefined western boundaries and with Stony Point as their northern limit, according to Ruttenber. The Assiscunck and the Rancocas lived in the vicinity of Burlington, New Jersey, and Rancocas Creek to the south. Skinner gave the Okahoki as another division dwelling opposite the Rancocas on the west side of the Delaware. He also said that the Shackamaxon lived near and to the north of Philadelphia. These last two subdivisions Swanton assigned to the Unalachtigo. Some authorities list a number of other subdivisions in central New Jersey; these include Assunpink, Axion, Calcefar, Gashwechnagechga, Meletecunk, Mosilian, and Pompton. They may or may not have been independent Unami subdivisions. There is no assurance that the Unami groups were equal to one another in size or importance; they seem to have shared a common culture, but they were not unified politically.

On western Long Island two Montauk subdivisions, the Canarsee and the Rockaway, had close ties with the Unami and in part merged with the Delaware tribe in later times.[42] It is perhaps significant to recall that the East River Aspect also includes western Long Island. The Sanhikan, Hackensack, and Canarsee jointly occupied Staten Island, a

[34] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 114.
[35] Speck, 1931, p. 14; Hunter, 1951, p. 2; Hayes, 1954, p. 85.
[36] Mooney, 1911, p. 330.
[37] Ruttenber, 1872, p. 89.
[38] *Ibid.*, p. 91.
[39] Bolton, 1920, p. 281.
[40] Wassenaer, 1909, p. 67.
[41] Swanton, 1952, p. 41.
[42] Bolton, 1920, p. 271.

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fact which is probably indicative of their close cultural affiliations. On the southern end of Manhattan Island were a people known as the Reckgawawanc. Bolton said they had close relationships with the Tappan, and in 1669 "they were driven away to a refuge among the Tappan by the warparties of the Mohawk."[43] To the north of the Reckgawawanc was a group known as the Weckquaesgeek, a Wappinger subdivision. They also seem to have been closely related to the peoples on the west side of the Hudson.

The second traditional division of the Delawares is known as the Munsi (or Munsee, Monsey, Minsi, Monthey, Minisink). This word means "people of the stony country" or perhaps "mountaineers."[44] The label is apt, for the Munsi inhabited the more mountainous area along the headwaters and tributaries of the Delaware River. The Munsi were a distinct group culturally and until the last century were often considered a separate tribe. Cherokee-Delawares are still able to point out members of this group, and the Munsi have persisted as a distinct group in Canada. The term Munsi does not appear in the literature until the eighteenth century, and Wallace contends that they were a coalescence of peoples around the Minisink community.[45]

The Waoraneck, who originally lived on the Hudson in Orange County, near Stony Point, were one of the peoples who probably became Munsi. They seem to have been one of the five or six "tribes" of the Esopus country. The Warranawonkong formed the second division, and their territory "embraced the waters of the Shawangunk, the Wallkill and the Esopus rivers."[46] The Mamekoting, the third division of the Munsi, lived in the Makating Valley. "Their history is so intimately blended with that of the Esopus Indians that identification is impossible further than by title."[47] The little-known Wawarsink were the fourth group of Esopus Indians. The Katskill, another group, lived north of the Saugerties and formed the eastern watershed of the Catskill Mountains.[48] The principal group of Munsi, inhabiting the headwaters of the Delaware River, was termed the Minisink.

The third and southernmost group of Delawares is not well known, since they seem to have merged with the Unami at an early date. Their name is usually given as Unalachtigo[49] (sometimes Unalachto) and signifies "people who live near the ocean."[50] Speck has suggested that they were really Naraticon of southern New Jersey "under the guise of a dialectic name."[51] Brinton, on the other hand, felt that they might be Nanticoke (Unechtigo).[52] Wallace said that since the term is found only "in the pages of Zeisberger, Heckewelder, and their copyists" there was no group so named.[53] He proposed, however, that the word Unalachtigo might refer "to any Indians – Delawares or otherwise – who lived in southern New Jersey along the shore."[54] Philhower said that the

[43] Bolton, 1930, p. 344.
[44] Brinton, 1885, p. 36.
[45] Wallace, 1949, p. 11.
[46] Ruttenber, 1872, p. 93.
[47] *Ibid.*, p. 95.
[48] *Ibid.*
[49] Harrington, 1913, p. 208.
[50] Brinton, 1885, p. 36.
[51] Speck, 1931, p. 15.
[52] Brinton, 1885, p. 36.
[53] Wallace, 1949, p. 13.
[54] *Ibid.*

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Unalachtigo and Nanticoke were closely related in culture and had a common origin.[55] For convenience the term Unalachtigo is used for the natives of southern New Jersey who in later times became part of the Delaware tribe.

The southern tip of Cape May was inhabited by a people known as the Kechemeche, and in the same area Swanton located a group he termed the Tirans.[56] In the valleys of the rivers and creeks emptying into Delaware Bay were many small groups of Delawares. On Maurice Creek were the Sewaposee (or Sewapois), and above them on Cohansey Creek the Siconesse (or Sikonesses). The Mantese (or Manta, Mante) inhabited the vicinity of Salem Creek, and north of them on Raccoon Creek were the Narraticon (or Naraticon). A group termed Asomoche has also been mentioned for this vicinity. To the north of the Narraticon in New Jersey, in the neighborhood of Pensaukin Creek, were found the Eromiex (or Ermonex, Eriwonec, Eriwoneck, Armewaxes). Near Camden was a group called the Yacomanshaghking, and extending up the east bank of the Delaware River to Burlington were several poorly known bands. Opposite the Narraticon in the vicinity of Wilmington, Delaware, were the Chikelacki (Chikohoki?), as well as the Amimenipaty, Hopokohacking, Memankitonna, and Passayank.

In sum, the people who were to comprise the Delaware tribe of the eighteenth century were drawn from a large number of small, dispersed, and essentially autonomous groups. At the dawn of historic times they were not a tribe in the political sense, and since they differed somewhat from one another in other aspects of culture, it is perhaps unwise to think of them as a tribe. It was not until these groups had become consolidated in the early decades of the eighteenth century that the term Delaware is properly applicable to them. The English name Delaware was given to these people because they were concentrated near the Delaware River in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Modern Delawares sometimes say that the term is derived from a Delaware expression meaning "I said" or "I meant." There is a phonetic similarity between this Delaware expression and the English name, but it is probably a rationalization.[57] The Delawares' term for themselves is "Lenape" which means "people."[58] They also occasionally refer to themselves as the "lenni lenape" which means the "real" or the "original people,"[59] or something similar to "we, the people."[60]

Linguistic Affiliations

The term Delaware has been used to refer to a language of the Central type of Eastern-Central Algonkin.[61] Eastern-Central Algonkin

[55] Philhower, 1931, p. 4. Weslager, 1950, pp. 48-54, 57-58, presents strong evidence against this identification, however.

[56] Swanton, 1952, p. 50.

[57] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 114, agrees on this point.

[58] Brinton, 1885, p. 34.

[59] Wallace, 1949, p. 7.

[60] Wissler, 1941, pp. 70-71.

[61] Michelson, 1912, pp. 221-90; Bloomfield, 1946, p. 85.

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was not a simple one brought about by one relationship. By the end of the seventeenth century the Delaware tribe was coming under the domination of the United States alone, but this did not simplify the situation since the new nation was changing almost as rapidly as were its policies towards the Indians. Another important condition, perhaps the most important insofar as survival of Delaware culture was concerned, was the opportunity which the Delawares had to retreat beyond the frontier when they were too hard pressed by the whites. These successive migrations brought them into new environmental situations and into contact with a number of different tribes. These also had an effect upon Delaware culture change. In this study I can only hope to point out the major trends of the complex process of acculturation and some of the principal reasons for various kinds of alterations in Delaware culture.

The Contact Period (1524-1690)

Delaware acculturation naturally falls into four or five phases or periods. The existence of these periods is clear, although their duration in years may be but hazily defined. The first period, extending from 1524 to about 1690, I have termed the Contact Period. It was characterized by primary acculturation, that is, direct borrowing by the Delawares of a whole host of European traits, overwhelmingly of a technological nature. During this period forces which were partly or wholly extracultural were responsible for the appearance of a new sort of warfare, an altered economy, and extensive depopulation.

History

The first contact the Delawares had with Europeans seems to have been with Verrazzano in 1524. This explorer sailed into what may have been the Bay of New York and explored Bayonne Bay, but this brief encounter seems to have been culturally inconsequential.[3] The next contact was with Dutch traders in 1598, but Henry Hudson's visit in 1609 is often described as the beginning of regular intercourse between the Europeans and Delawares.[4] Hudson entered the Bay of New York, and one of his boats went as far up the Hudson River as Albany.[5] It has also been said that Hudson entered Delaware Bay in the same year. These early contacts cannot be described as particularly friendly; Hudson's mate was killed during an Indian attack on the East River in 1609, and strife between the Dutch and the Tappan and Raritan has been recorded in 1639-40.[6] Mey's fort near Philadelphia, built in 1631, was razed by the natives, and De Vries' colony on Cape Henlopen in the present state of Delaware was destroyed in 1632.[7] Despite the hostility which the natives occasionally showed towards the Europeans, relations were for

[3] Murphy, 1875, p. 176.
[4] Mooney, 1911, p. 331; Acrelius, 1876, xii.
[5] Acrelius, 1876, xii.
[6] Ruttenber, 1872, pp. 102-3.
[7] Acrelius, 1876, xiii.

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the most part peaceful during the early decades of the seventeenth century because both peoples were fascinated with, and drawn irresistibly to, each other by their respective goods and possessions. The contact was not limited to a few Delawares casually trading with Europeans; rather, every Indian avidly desired to barter his plentiful furs, food, or whatever else he might have that the Europeans desired, for the strange, efficient, and rare European goods. As Hunt has demonstrated, every Indian could at this time easily acquire the wherewithal to procure these desired items.[8]

During the early decades of the seventeenth century the Delawares found themselves in an admirable trading position. The Swedes, Dutch, and English had purchased land, established colonies, and were competing vigorously with one another for the Indian trade. On the Hudson River in 1609 there was "a great traffick in the skins of beavers, otters, foxes, bears, minks, wild cats, and the like."[9] In 1638 the Swedes, in their first year in the New World, exported 30,000 skins, chiefly from the Delaware area.[10] The Delawares did not long remain favored trading partners of the Europeans, however, since they did not have easy access to the rich fur-bearing lands of the interior. By 1627 the Iroquois were supplying the Dutch with a large quantity of furs in the Albany area, and until 1655 the Swedes carried on an extensive fur trade with the Susquehannock (Conestoga) Indians.[11] These Iroquoian peoples acted as a barrier to the coastal peoples in quest of the furs of the interior. The Europeans were quick to recognize the value of close trade connections with these inland Iroquoian peoples, for the Swedes backed the Susquehannock with arms and the Dutch, the Iroquois.[12]

The Delawares could not placidly watch the coveted European merchandise, particularly arms and ammunition, go to their rivals in the interior. In the 1660's "a terrific contest was then raging between the Senecas and the Minsis, and the former came to Ft. Orange and demanded, by virtue of the treaty of Esopus (1660) a higher price for their furs."[13] By 1680 the Minisink and the Tappan were under "obligations of subjugation" to the Iroquois,[14] and other Delaware groups were probably experiencing similar pressures about this time. This marks the beginning of the ascendancy of the Iroquois over the Delawares. The political and military superiority of the Iroquois was then a function of "their fortunate but accidental position as a buffer group and a trading front for the Dutch and English, [it] enabled them to maintain their solidarity while other aboriginal tribes were being broken and having their society destroyed by settlers, soldiers, and epidemics."[15]

The competition among the European nations was also intense, and by 1655 the Dutch were able to attack and conquer the Swedes on the Delaware River. Nine years later, in 1664, the English were able to

[8] Hunt, 1939, p. 4.
[9] De Laet, 1909, p. 48.
[10] Sipe, 1931, p. 61; Acrelius, 1876, pp. 19-20.
[11] Hunt, 1939, p. 33; Sipe, 1931, p. 61.
[12] Sipe, 1931, p. 61.
[13] Ruttenber, 1872, p. 68.
[14] *Ibid.*, p. 69.
[15] Griffin, 1954, p. 361; see also Ruttenber, 1872, p. 66.

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oust the Dutch from New Netherland.[16] When the English supplanted the Dutch on the Hudson, the condition of the Indians improved temporarily; treaties were concluded and peace restored.[17] The English, however, were acutely interested in expanding their colonial possessions, and from this time on the position of the Delawares became less and less enviable in their relationships both with the British and with other Indian tribes.[18] The last half of this century found the Delawares in a violent struggle with the British-supported Iroquois on the one hand and the land-hungry Europeans on the other.

Acculturation

From the time of their first contacts with the Europeans, the Indians had wanted to acquire guns, powder, cloth, lead, copper, kettles, axes, hoes, picks, spades, shovels, glass beads, awls, bodkins, scissors, knives, mirrors, and needles. William Penn, for example, purchased land in 1683 from Tamanend and other Delawares by the payment of:

> ...5 pairs of stockings, 20 bars of lead, 10 tobacco boxes, 6 coats, 2 guns, 8 shirts, 2 kettles, 12 awls, 5 hats, 25 pounds of powder, 1 peck of pipes, 38 yards of "duffields," 16 knives, 100 needles, 10 glasses, 5 caps, 15 combs, 5 hoes, 9 gimlets, 20 fish hooks, 10 tobacco tongs, 10 pairs of scissors, 7 half-gills, 6 axes, 2 blankets, 4 handfuls of bells, 4 yards of "stroudswaters" and 20 handfuls of wampum.[19]

Bolton, speaking of articles traded for land in the seventeenth century, said:

> The articles in greatest demand seem to have been more than three hundred knives of various kinds, followed by one hundred and eighty-five hatchets, axes, and adzes, and, to a much less extent, by one hundred and forty-one hoes. Doubtless the guns and fowling-pieces were the most coveted weapons, but of these they secured only sixty-seven in all, with two hundred and twenty-seven pounds of gunpowder and one hundred and thirty bars of lead, three melting ladles, and five bullet molds....Of clothing, one hundred and eighty-two coats were in the majority, these being already made up, with more than three hundred yards of the trade cloths known as duffels, duzzons, and stroudwater, and one hundred and thirteen shirts, ninety-two pairs of stockings, and eighty-seven blankets, with ten corals or beads.
>
> There were one hundred and seventeen kettles of iron or brass, seventy-six earthenware and stoneware jugs, twelve "steels to strike fire," and twenty spoons. Among sundry small objects were one thousand fish-hooks, two hundred and twenty needles, one hundred and twenty awls or "muxes," used to drill holes in wampum (as one of the deeds states), one hundred and thirty clay pipes, ten bells, and ten jewsharps.
>
> A few rolls of tobacco were thrown in, with thirty-two tobacco boxes; and with this went another kind of solace in the form of twenty-five half-vats of strong beer, and sixteen ankers of the Indians' deadliest enemy, rum.[20]

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[16] Myers, 1912, p. 54; Ruttenber, 1872, p. 158.
[17] Ruttenber, 1872, p. 158.
[18] *Ibid.*, p. 158.
[19] Sipe, 1931, p. 70.
[20] Bolton, 1920, pp. 299-300.

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land matters. The latter conflicts were with both Europeans and other Indian groups. In short, the pre-European primitive war complex, which had been indulged in as a pastime more than anything else, soon gave way to a bitter, long-lasting, and desperate struggle for survival.[23] In the Contact Period the conflicts were primarily with the Iroquois and Susquehannock; in subsequent periods the Delawares fought the land-hungry Euro-American forces almost exclusively. War continued to be carried on in the same way (i.e., by small groups of skulking Indians) and in fact proved highly successful in temporarily terrorizing the frontiers, but it was ultimately disastrous to the numerically and technologically inferior Delawares. In sum, a new form of warfare made its appearance in the Contact Period as a result of the conditions of culture contact rather than as a diffusion of traits. For this early period there is little positive documentation concerning the diffusion of social institutions or religious beliefs and practices. It is clear, nevertheless, that little if any diffusion from European civilization occurred in these areas of culture.

The Period of Consolidation (1690-1750)

In the sixty years following the close of the Contact Period there was an amazing reorganization and consolidation of the Delawaran peoples. The political entity known as the Delaware tribe emerged early in the eighteenth century, and there are indications of consolidation and synthesis in other parts of culture. The Big House Ceremony, for example, was probably synthesized during this epoch. Consolidation and reorganization were the results of the catastrophic depopulation which had occurred in the seventeenth century, the migration of Delawares and their subsequent concentration, their subjugation by the Iroquois, and the necessity for mutual protection and unified action in dealing with other Indians and with the Europeans.[24]

Migration

It was not until late in the seventeenth century that Delaware migrations became of major importance, although there had been a movement and reshuffling of the natives ever since the Europeans had established colonies. In 1682, when William Penn made his first treaty with the Delawares, they were still in possession of much of the lower Delaware Valley. Small groups or bands were moving westward as early as 1690; in this year, for instance, "a band of the Minsi left for the far West, to unite with the Ottawas."[25] Even before the opening of the new century, there seems to have been an increasing concentration of population

[23] Snyderman, 1948.

[24] Hunter, 1954, pp. 341-44, has contributed much to an understanding of this period by his study of the growth of the Delaware nation from 1701 to 1757.

[25] Ruttenber, 1872, p. 177; Brinton, 1885, p. 122.

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around the present Sunbury, in the Susquehanna Valley. By 1724 the Unami and Unalachtigo of this region had begun their migration to western Pennsylvania and the Allegheny River, below the mouth of the Mahoning, centering around the town of Kittaning.[30] In 1742 the Iroquois moved some of the remaining coastal Delawares to the Susquehanna Valley, and two years later by the treaty of Lancaster all of the Delawares remaining in the Delaware Valley were ordered by the Iroquois to "leave the waters of their river, and remove to Shamokin (now Sunbury) and Wyoming, and the Susquehanna, and most of them obeyed. The former was their chief town, and the residence of their 'king' Allemoebi."[37] After the Walking Purchase of 1737 the Munsi began their migration to the west.[38]

The geographical displacement, then, did not affect all the Delawares at once; small groups sold their land or were forced from it at various times. The scattered, decimated, demoralized, and unorganized bands, perhaps even families, of Delawares soon gathered, or were gathered, as they had never been in pre-European times. The "towns" that grew up in the river valleys of western Pennsylvania in the early decades of the eighteenth century were not formed from homogeneous cultural units. As early as 1694 part of the Shawnee became allied with the Munsi.[39] It is not known whether this association was only an alliance or whether it was something more. Mahican remnants became incorporated into the Delaware tribe; Hodge, for instance, said that "about 1730 a large body of them emigrated to Susquehanna r.and settled near Wyoming Pa., in the vicinity of the Delaware and Munsee, with whom they afterward removed to the Ohio region finally losing their identity."[30] The Conoy also about this time, and undoubtedly remnants from other tribes, were incorporated into the Delaware tribe.[31]

The westward migration of the Delawares set the stage for their more complete subjugation by the Iroquois. During the Period of Consolidation they were forced by the Iroquois to become "women." Weslager, who has made the most extensive study of this phenomenon, said that it occurred by conquest before 1712.[32] Whatever the date and method of subjugation, the Iroquois between this date and 1756 barred the Delawares from making treaties or going to war. It is impossible to determine the exact time when these subjugated people became the Delaware tribe. There are scattered references to "Delaware Indians" in the later decades of the seventeenth century, but it is not clear whether these indicate a political and cultural unit or their geographical location.[33] By 1736 the term Delaware was being used in treaties for at least some of these subjugated, but relatively unified peoples.[34] Before 1750 "chiefs" appeared who seem to have had considerable authority.

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[30]Sipe, 1931, p. 43.
[37]Brinton, 1885, p. 123.
[38]Sipe, 1931, p. 43.
[39]Ruttenber, 1872, pp. 180-81.
[30]Hodge, 1907, Pt. 1, p. 786; see also Harrington, 1913, p. 209.
[31]Hodge, 1907, Pt. 2, p. 25.
[32]Weslager, 1944, pp. 381-88.
[33]See, for example, Browne, 1896, XV: 174-75, XVII: 14, 210-11, 221.
[34]Franklin, 1939, p. 7.

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Teedyuscung by 1756 claimed authority over the entire tribe, including the Munsi.[35]

Apart from this secondary, political acculturation there are indications of other cultural changes. It is apparent, for example, that a number of technological items had completely replaced their native counterparts and had become necessities. This foreshadowed the dependence upon the dominant culture which has constantly increased since that time. Kalm in the first half of the eighteenth century said:

> Before the Europeans settled in North America the Indians had no other vessels to boil their meat in than these earthen pots of their own making; but since their arrival the savages have always bought pots, kettles and other necessary vessels of the Europeans, and no longer take the pains of making any, so that this art is entirely lost among them.[36]

Although the kinship structure of society survived this period, it was probably undergoing some alteration away from its early matrilineal, matrilocal emphasis. The number of clans probably increased as the Delaware tribe made its appearance. The tribal and village leaders developed considerable authority in external affairs, but they had no more power or control over internal affairs or over individual persons than they had traditionally possessed. In this period of turmoil it is apparent that stronger internal controls and a more highly developed apparatus of government were needed. Stronger external relations were formed by the emergence of chiefs and the tribe, but there is no indication of a similar strengthening of internal governmental institutions.

In the ideological sphere of culture there seems to have been no direct diffusion from European to Delaware culture. There was acculturation of a derived or secondary type, however, as is noted in Chapter IV. The Big House Ceremony as a tribal affair was probably synthesized during the early part of this period. It was also at this time that missionary activity was initiated among the Delawares. The first brief and futile attempt was made by David Brainerd, a missionary of the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge, a Scotch organization. The attitude of the Delawares was expressed in a conversation Brainerd had with a Munsi chief in 1744. Brainerd said:

> ...he inquired why I desired the Indians to become Christians, seeing the Christians were so much worse than the Indians are in their present state. The Christians, he said, would lie, steal, and drink, worse than the Indians. It was they first taught the Indians to be drunk: and they stole from one another, to that degree, that their rulers were obliged to hang them for it...he said, they would live as their fathers had lived, and go where their fathers were when they died.[37]

Later on Brainerd said:

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[35]Wallace, 1949, pp. 103-15; Sipe, 1931, p. 262.

[36]Kalm, 1937, I: 173.

[37]Brainerd, 1884, p. 127.

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> ...the manner of their living is likewise a great disadvantage to the design of their being Christianized. They are almost continually roving from place to place; and it is but rare that an opportunity can be had with some of them for their instruction. There is scarcely any time of the year, wherein the men can be found generally at home, except about six weeks before, and in the season of planting corn, and about two months in the latter part of summer, from the time they begin to roast their corn, until it is fit to gather in.[38]

By the closing decades of this period the Moravians had entered the missionary field and were to become important, although on the whole unsuccessful, agents of religious diffusion.

Nativistic Period (1750-1814)

The Nativistic Period is one of the most interesting epochs in Delaware history because the Delawares by the opening of this period had risen, Phoenix-like, from the ashes of their subjugation and removal and had forged themselves into a tribe which was able to defy the Six Nations and the Europeans. This was the period of Delaware militarism, and although they were on the losing end of every war in which they took part, the prowess of the Delaware warrior became know from the Atlantic seaboard to the Mississippi. In a more general way this period was characterized by secondary acculturation, or culture change and modification caused by, and a result of, earlier acculturation. In this period the stresses and strains of acculturation culminated in a nativistic movement.

History

The English had disposed of their European rivals on the Atlantic seaboard in the seventeenth century, but by the middle of the next century they were confronted with the much more serious competition of the French in the interior. War began between these two powers in 1754 with the surrender of Washington at Fort Necessity. The Five Nations continued their alliance with the English and promised the aid of their subjugated tribes, including the Delawares. Since the Delawares were now mainly in the Ohio Valley, they were not as amenable to Iroquoian pressure and were more easily influenced by the French. Their most immediate reason for finally taking the French side was probably the Albany purchase of 1754. Settlers from Connecticut had explored the Susquehanna River and decided to locate at Wyoming, land which had been assigned to the Delawares by the Iroquois. The purchase was made from a few drunken chiefs and "included the whole valley of Wyoming and the country westward to the sources of the Allegheny."[39] After Braddock's defeat in July, 1755, the Delawares with many other Ohio Valley Indians joined the French cause.[40] By this

[38] Brainerd, 1884, p. 131.
[39] Ruttenber, 1872, p. 216.
[40] Sipe, 1931, pp. 203 ff.

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action they literally and figuratively threw off the title of "women" and henceforth could not be regarded as docile subjects of the Iroquois. During this struggle the Delawares were split in two divisions, an eastern wing under Teedyuscung and a western one under Shingas. The western division was the more formidable in numbers and in proximity to the French and made the first raid against the frontier in the fall of 1755. The eastern division soon followed with raids into the Lehigh and Delaware valleys.[41] By 1756 the "Indians had cleared the Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia frontiers of settlers."[42] The French estimated that from July, 1755, until March, 1756, more than seven hundred people in Pennsylvania, Virginia, and North Carolina were captured or killed by the Delawares and Shawnees.[43] By 1758 the French could no longer support the marauding Indians, and a few days after the fall of Fort Duquesne in the autumn of 1758 the eastern Delawares and Shawnees made peace with the English in a council at Easton.[44] These Delawares accepted peace on the basis of English withdrawal east of the Alleghenies following the expulsion of the French.[45]

This peace was uneasy and of short duration for the English had no real intention of abandoning the rich Ohio and Allegheny valleys, and the western Delawares remained hostile.[46] Additional reasons for the renewal of hostilities were that the English were less friendly and sociable towards the Indians than had been the French, they gave less for skins and furs, they wanted to settle on the land instead of merely establishing trading posts, and they did not wish to part with guns and ammunition.[47] In 1763 the Indian allies were militarily successful, but by 1764 the Delawares had been subdued by Boquet.[48] In the spring of 1765 the Delawares "submitted to a treaty that represented a complete surrender." The principal features of the treaty were "cession of land in reparation for the losses caused by Indian attacks in 1763" and the stipulation that the Delawares should abide by "any cession of their lands made by the Iroquois."[49] This treaty deprived the Delawares of the use and ownership of all lands south and east of the Ohio River. Some Delawares lived on the upper reaches of the Susquehanna at this time with Nanticoke, Conoy, and Mahican, but the great body of the tribe lived in scattered settlements on Beaver Creek and the Muskingum in what is now Ohio.[50]

From the end of Pontiac's War until 1774 the Delawares were relatively peaceful; they had been soundly beaten by Boquet at Bushy Run, French influence was decreasing, and both Indians and the English needed to resume trading. The English, nevertheless, were unwilling to keep the Indians peaceful with expensive gifts, and the relentless

[41] Sipe, 1931, pp. 204-14; Ruttenber, 1872, pp. 219-20; Downes, 1940, p. 75; Acrelius, 1876, pp. 137-38.
[42] Downes, 1940, p. 80.
[43] Sipe, 1931, p. 275.
[44] *Ibid.*, pp. 408-9; Parkman, 1893, I: 143.
[45] Sipe, 1931, pp. 407-12.
[46] Ruttenber, 1872, pp. 242-43.
[47] Sipe, 1931, p. 407; Parkman, 1893, I: 172-90.
[48] Ruttenber, 1872, pp. 246-47; Downes, 1940, pp. 120-21; Thompson, 1937, pp. 4-5.
[49] Downes, 1940, pp. 121-22.
[50] *Ibid.*, p. 134; Parkman, 1893, I: 150.

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westward tide of immigration was increasing, particularly after 1770.[51] 177 ✓

During the Revolutionary War the Delawares were the only Indian tribe in the Ohio Valley which, for a time, supported the Americans.[52] 175 ●
The Delawares eventually joined the British for the following reasons. The Americans were unable to aid them either with goods or with protection from pro-British Indians, some Delawares had been killed by Americans, including White Eyes, a pro-American leader, and squatters had invaded Delaware hunting grounds west of the Ohio. The Munsi consistently seem to have been pro-British, raiding the Kentucky border as early as 1777.[53] In February of 1781 Captain Pipe, the leader of the war faction among the Munsi, persuaded the rest of the Delawares in a council held at Coshocton to formally go over to the British.[54] Heckewelder, the Moravian missionary, informed the Americans of this defection, and the Americans decided to forestall the Delawares by destroying their central town, Coshocton, on the Tuscarawas. This was done and some captives and much plunder were taken. In the meantime Delawares had successfully raided Wheeling and the frontier.[55] As a result of these hostilities, the main body of Delawares from the Coshocton community migrated to the Sandusky, Scioto, and the Mad rivers to the northwest, taking with them the Moravian missionaries and their disciples.[56] From this region the Delawares sent raiding parties to the Pennsylvania and Virginia frontiers. The infamous Gnadenhutten massacre seems to have been a retaliation for these raids. On the Tuscarawas River near Coshocton, ninety-six friendly and for the most part Christian Delawares of both sexes and all ages were clubbed to death by militia or "border outlaws."[57] The English capitulated in the fall of 1782, and the jurisdiction of the territory northwest of the Ohio fell to the newly created United States.[58] Delaware hostility was brought to a close in August, 1794, by the defeat of the allied Indians in the battle of Fallen Timbers. With this victory General Wayne was able to conclude the Treaty of Greenville (August, 1795), which marked the end of the conflict for the upper Ohio.[59] Although this area was ceded, the Indians were regarded as the "recognized owners of most of the present Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois."[60]

After the Treaty of Greenville white immigrants poured into the upper Ohio Valley, and the Delawares moved westward. As far back as 1770 the Delawares, in what is now Ohio, had received permission from the Piankashaw to migrate to lands between the Ohio and White rivers in the modern state of Indiana.[61] In 1781 Buckongahelas, a war chief,

[51] Zeisberger, 1871, p. 257.
[52] Thompson, 1937, p. 19; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 151.
[53] Downes, 1940, pp. 211-17, 241, 263; Butterfield, 1882, pp. 25-26.
[54] Sipe, 1931, p. 627; Butterfield, 1882, pp. 50-51.
[55] Downes, 1940, pp. 265, 271; Sipe, 1931, pp. 628-29; Butterfield, 1882, pp. 51-52.
[56] Butterfield, 1882, p. 52; Downes, 1940, p. 271; Sipe, 1931, p. 629.
[57] Mooney, 1911, p. 335.
[58] Zeisberger, 1871, pp. 566-72; Downes, 1940, pp. 273-75.
[59] Downes, 1940, p. 337; G. Foreman, 1946, p. 18.
[60] G. Foreman, 1946, pp. 18-19.
[61] *Ibid.*, p. 42.

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had urged this westward movement, and soon after the Treaty of Greenville many of the Delawares moved to the West Fork of the White River. Other Delawares, with associated Shawnees, moved to Missouri in 1789 with the permission of the Spanish government.[62] In 1792 Zeisberger had moved his colony of Christian Indians to Canada and founded the town of Fairfield on the Thames River.[63] Zeisberger's group settled near some pagan Munsi who had migrated to this region somewhat earlier. Today there is a threefold division of Delawares in Canada; the Moravians of the Thames, the Munsi, and a few Delawares settled on the Six Nations Reserve.[64] The subsequent history and acculturation of these groups has not been pursued further in the present study.

General W. H. Harrison, as early as 1803, undertook negotiations with the Indian tribes in the Northwest Territory with a view to gaining their land. From that date until the War of 1812 Harrison entered into numerous treaties with the Indians of this area, and the Delawares were forced to cede land, but were able to retain enough so that another westward migration was not necessary.[65] Of all the tribes in the territory of Indiana, the Delawares were the only one which Harrison was able to keep neutral during the War of 1812.[66] The Shawnees and other hostile Indians attempted to induce the Delawares to enter this war, but they were unsuccessful.[67] Chief Anderson, a principal chief, seems to have been persuasive in the cause for peace, as were the Moravians, but past military defeats and cultural decay in general were probably the basic reasons for the peaceful inclination of the Delawares.

Acculturation

During this period there was a continuous flow of European technological articles, yet there was no diffusion of new kinds of technological traits. Zeisberger's list of items which the Indians acquired from traders was similar to that given for the Contact Period:

> For their skins the Indians get from the traders powder, lead, rifle-barrelled guns — for other weapons they do not value — blankets, strouds, linen, shirts, cotton, callemanco, knives, needles, thread, woolen and silken ribbon, wire and kettles of brass, silver buckles . . . bracelets, thimbles, rings, combs, mirrors, axes, hatchets and other tools.[68]

The plow complex had not diffused to the Delawares even by the end of the period.[69] They acquired the domestic animals of the Europeans, although not all the skills of caring for them.[70] During the wars of this period they plundered the frontier settlements and acquired horses, cattle, and other animals. Charles Stuart, captive of the Delawares between 1755 and 1757, said in this connection:

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[62] Hodge, 1907, Pt. 1, p. 385.
[63] Zeisberger, 1871, p. 631.
[64] Harrington, 1908, p. 408.
[65] G. Foreman, 1946, p. 23 ff.
[66] Thompson, 1937, p. 64.
[67] Luckenbach, 1938, pp. 16-17.
[68] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 116.
[69] Luckenbach, 1938, pp. 598-99.
[70] *Ibid.*, pp. 60, 598.

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Though in the detail of the ceremony there has been change, as the Indians are more divided now than at that time [i.e., prehistorically] worship and sacrifice have continued as practiced in the early days, for the Indians believe that they would draw all manner of disease and misfortune upon themselves if they omitted to observe the ancestral rites.[104]

By the time the Shawnee prophet appeared the Delawares seem to have passed somewhat beyond the nativistic phase of acculturation.

Decadent Period (1814-1867)

The military defeats of the Delawares during the Nativistic Period and the disillusionment following the unsuccessful religious revivals set the stage for a phase of acculturation which is best described as one of decadence. By the second decade of the nineteenth century the Delawares were no longer an independent tribe, but were politically and militarily dominated by, and at the mercy of, the United States. In a social sense the tendencies towards dispersal first noted in the preceding period persisted, as small groups continued to desert the main body of the tribe. In other respects cultural decay and disintegration continued, although further acculturation is best described as halting. From this time on the Delawares underwent continuous, overt pressure to become "civilized" Americans.

History

In 1814 the British and Americans concluded a treaty of peace, one article of which stipulated that the Indian allies of the British would have their rights, privileges, and property restored.[105] In compliance with this treaty, in 1816 "A Treaty of Peace and Friendship" was entered into with the Delawares, as well as with other tribes.[106] This treaty did not long prevent the alienation of Indian lands, however, for during the administration of Monroe (1817-25) "a policy was inaugurated looking to increased westward emigration of Indians from east of the Mississippi."[107] Before the War of 1812 the Delawares had bitterly opposed the cession of land, but after the war they did not have the strength to resist the demands of the United States.[108]

In the Treaty of St. Mary's of 1818 the Delawares, including remnants of the Mahicans and Nanticokes, sold their land in Indiana to the government "without reserve." The government agreed to remove them to the west side of the Mississippi and give them land there, although no location or emigration date was set.[109] In 1820 Delawares from the

[104]Zeisberger, 1910, p. 136. Mahr, 1952, has documented the community responsibility of ritual leaders, as demonstrated in the experience of a Moravian convert of 1772.

[105]Thompson, 1937, p. 81; G. Foreman, 1946, pp. 27-23.

[106]G. Foreman, 1946, p. 29.

[107]*Ibid.*, pp. 32-47.

[108]Thompson, 1937, p. 81.

[109]Brinton, 1885, pp. 124-25; Mooney, 1911, p. 337; G. Foreman, 1946, p. 37.

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Whitewater River region in southeastern Indiana and some Shawnees arrived at Kaskaskia. In November the Indian agent at Kaskaskia "paid for ferrying 1,346 Delawares and their 1,499 horses across the Mississippi."[110] Sickness hampered this migration as did also thievery of horses by whites.[111] They spent the winter of 1820 on the Current River in Carter and Shannon counties, Missouri, and they remained in this vicinity a second winter, despite the failure of their corn crop. During the early summer of 1821 the remaining White River Delawares began their trek to Missouri, but because of sickness and other difficulties they did not reach the Mississippi until winter.

In 1821 the Delawares were assigned land in western Missouri, but unfortunately this land possessed a lead mine which was coveted by whites.[112] Their Osage neighbors to the west also resented their presence, and hostilities resulted. During the second decade of this century the remaining Delawares in Ohio experienced increased pressure for emigration. The Delawares in Missouri urged them to migrate in a "correspondence by means of wampum."[113] The Indians of Missouri apparently were planning an alliance with these eastern Indians in order to strengthen themselves and dispossess the Osage. While negotiations were going on for removal of the eastern Indians, Senator Benton of Missouri proposed that land be provided west of Missouri for all Indians. By 1829 the Missouri Delawares and Ohio emigrants had consented to move to Kansas. The land reserved for them was in "the fork of the Kansas and Missouri rivers, extending up the Kansas to the Kansas line and up the Missouri to "Camp Leavenworth"; and thence by a line drawn westwardly, leaving a space of ten miles wide north of the Kansas boundary for an outlet."[114] This treaty provided that the Indians would be assisted in their removal with "ox teams, farming utensils, and provisions . . . ."[115] but some were so anxious that they moved on their own initiative. In 1829 the remaining Delawares in Ohio, chiefly Munsi, in a council with Cass at Detroit agreed to emigrate to Kansas.[116] In 1831 small bands were still moving west, including the band of the venerable Captain Pipe.[117]

As was noted earlier, some Delawares as early as 1789 had moved to Missouri under a Spanish grant. It appears to have been this band which was located on the Red River in the present-day McCurtain County, Oklahoma, in the early part of the nineteenth century. White settlers in 1828 petitioned the authorities for the removal of the Shawnees and Delawares in this area, the Shawnees having joined the Delawares subsequent to the War of 1812.[118] Under threat of armed might the Indians were driven from this locality to Texas. Samuel Houston attempted to supply the immigrant Cherokees, Shawnees, Delawares, Kickapoos, and others with land embracing present-day Cherokee and

[110] G. Foreman, 1946, p. 41.
[111] *Ibid.*, p. 43.
[112] *Ibid.*
[113] *Ibid.*, p. 48.
[114] *Ibid.*, p. 54.
[115] *Ibid.*, p. 55.
[116] *Ibid.*, pp. 55-56.
[117] *Ibid.*, p. 69.
[118] *Ibid.*, pp. 159-60.

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Smith counties along the Neches and Angelina rivers in eastern Texas. The Texas senate refused to ratify Houston's treaty, however, and Mirabeau B. Lamar, Houston's successor, attacked and defeated these Indians.[119] They fled across the Red River to the vicinity of the Washita and Blue rivers in the lands of the Choctaw and Chickasaw. In the 1840's most of them settled in Creek territory on the north side of the Canadian River.[120] Colonel Ethan Allen Hitchcock reported in 1841 and 1842 that there were 700 Delawares "living sixty miles above the mouth of Little River."[121] They were at this time carrying on extensive intercourse with the Comanches and other western Indians. Foreman, quoting from the *Arkansas Intelligencer*, said that these Delawares "are in a semi-barbarous state, and entirely uneducated, but show great shrewdness and intelligence in their intercourse with the whites. As hunters and warriors they have a higher reputation than any other Indians on the frontier."[122]

Another small group of Texas Delawares had allied with the Caddos and they had intermarried. These, along with Tawakonis, Wacos, Shawnees, and Comanches, had been granted a reservation in Texas by the government. Texans resented their presence, however, and in 1859 the government moved them to the Washita River near the present town of Anadarko.[123] During the Civil War the agency responsible for the move was broken up, and the Indians fled to Butler County, Kansas. After the war they returned to the Washita much reduced in numbers; only 471 of the 1,492 who had emigrated from Texas were left. In 1874 the Delawares, Caddos, and Iowas near Anadarko joined forces under the Caddos, with a Caddo chief.[124] By 1886 the agency report listed only forty-one Delawares.[125] There appear to be no more than this number of Delawares in the Anadarko area today; they are culturally and biologically mixed with allied Indians.

Another group which was partly Delaware deserves mention here. This group, known as the Stockbridge, was originally the Mahican Housatonic of Massachusetts. After the American Revolution they joined the Oneida in New York, and in 1832, with a band of Oneida, confederated with a Christianized Munsi band on a reservation near Lake Winnebago in Wisconsin.[126] In 1839 the combined tribe of about 400 moved to Kansas, settling on Delaware lands. They were later reported as part of the Delaware tribe.[127] In 1853 the agent stated that there were only eighteen or twenty left. In 1859 the Stockbridge, variously known as Munsi or Christian Indians, confederated with two bands of Chippewa Indians in Kansas. After the Civil War the Cherokees took them into the Cherokee Nation. I found only one person who claimed to be a Stockbridge Indian living among the "Cherokee-Delawares."

Some Delawares served with the United States in the Seminole wars,

[119] G. Foreman, 1946, p. 161.
[120] *Ibid.*, p. 162.
[121] *Ibid.*, p. 162.
[122] *Ibid.*, p. 164, as quoted in the *Arkansas Intelligencer*, Feb. 7, 1846, p. 1, col. 4.
[123] G. Foreman, 1946, p. 282.
[124] *Ibid.*, pp. 282-84
[125] *Ann. Rep.*, 1886, p. 128.
[126] Wright, 1951, p. 246.
[127] G. Foreman, 1946, pp. 337-38.

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and according to Adams some were employed by the Hudson Bay Company and not only entered the far northwest, but settled there. He said that their descendants lived in Idaho, Montana, and Oregon in affiliation with the Crow and Nez Percé and "other northwestern tribes." He estimated their number at thirty-five.[128]

In 1838 there were 1,050 Delawares on their reservation at the mouth of the Kansas River.[129] There were also several hundred living along the Red River, as has been noted. These seem to have forsaken agriculture and were dependent upon the chase for most of their livelihood. The main body of Delawares, at the confluence of the Kansas and Missouri rivers, found no more tranquility or isolation from white contacts than they had found in Missouri, Indiana, or Ohio. Until 1833, when Indian agents concluded a treaty of peace, the Pawnees and Delawares were hostile to each other.[130] During the Gold Rush, and until the Delawares were forced from Kansas, white immigrants continually harassed them. Their horses were stolen, their timber cut, and their property violated. By 1854, in one of the Manypenny treaties, the Delawares were coerced into ceding much of their reservation. Adams said of this cession:

> They were encompassed on every side by settlers, and the history of their difficulties and discouragements was again repeated, their lands coveted and trespassed upon, their timber cut and destroyed. They were denied the protection of the law to either their property or persons, and in the hope of satisfying the demands of their neighbors and of the Government were persuaded, in 1854, to enter into a treaty with the United States by which they ceded 558,555.46 acres of the choicest of their lands in trust, which brought them $1,054,943.37, and at the same time to cede to the United States what was known as the "Outlet," a tract containing more than 1,000,000 acres, for the paltry sum of $10,000.[131]

In subsequent years the plight of the Delawares in Kansas became even more exasperating, for the railroads and the white settlers continued to covet their land.[132] In 1860 more Delaware lands were alienated by allotting to each Delaware eighty acres. The surplus land was to be purchased by the Pawnee and Western Railroad Company for $1.25 per acre.[133] In 1864 another treaty was made for the benefit of a railroad, resulting in the alienation of more land. By 1863 the harassed Delawares petitioned the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for money to send a delegation to the Rocky Mountains in search of a new home.[134] This request was refused, and a location in Indian Territory was suggested by the Commissioner, William P. Dole. Nothing could be done to further this movement until after the Civil War. Adams said that nearly all the able-bodied men enlisted in the Northern Army.[135]

On July 4, 1866, the Delaware tribe and the United States entered into another treaty providing for the removal of the Delawares to Indian

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[128] Adams, 1906, p. 35.
[129] G. Foreman, 1946, p. 182; *Ann. Rep.*, 1838, p. 447.
[130] G. Foreman, 1946, p. 182.
[131] Adams, 1906, pp. 40-41.
[132] *Ibid.*, pp. 42 ff.
[133] G. Foreman, 1946, p. 185.
[134] Adams, 1906, p. 42; *Ann. Rep.*, 1863, p. 235.
[135] Adams, 1906, p. 42.

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Territory. Every person carried upon a roll to be made up by February 18, 1867, was to be given one hundred and sixty acres of land purchased from the Cherokee Nation.[136] The Senate was slow in acting upon this treaty, and the Delawares in April, 1867, took the matter into their own hands and entered into the contract with the Cherokee Nation.[137] A Delaware delegation examined land in the Cherokee Nation and selected a strip of land lying along the Little Verdigris, or Caney, River. This tract comprises the northern four-fifths of present-day Washington County in northeastern Oklahoma.[138] The Delawares from tribal funds paid one dollar per acre for this land. When the roll was compiled there were nine hundred and eighty-five Delawares, who henceforth became part of the Cherokee tribe.[139]

During the fall and winter of 1867 the migration to Indian Territory was begun. The more prosperous individuals were the first to leave; some of the poorer Delawares did not arrive until the next summer.[140] This last migration is remembered by aged informants and is recalled as a journey of extreme hardship. It typifies the condition of the Delawares at this time, for it was the migration of a dispersed, erratically led, destitute remnant.

Acculturation

Acculturation during the Decadent Period is in one sense more complicated than at any other time. As has been seen, during this period the Delawares were more widely scattered and dispersed than they had been previously, and they were never able to regroup or reunite. The forces which affected these various remnants varied; the group which finally settled in the Anadarko vicinity, for example, had close contacts with the "wild" tribes (Comanche, Cheyenne, Arapaho), whereas the main body had more intimate relationships with the whites. For this and other reasons the subsequent culture change of these groups differed. Since my field work was principally with the descendants of the main body (the "Cherokee-Delaware"), my discussion principally concerns this group. It might be remarked in passing, however, that today all Delawares, whatever their antecedents, seem to have reached approximately the same stage of social and cultural assimilation.

It was during the Decadent Period that the aboriginal gardening techniques were finally abandoned. With the settlement of the main body of Delawares on reservations, and with closer association of Indians and whites, the opportunity to become acquainted with the horse-plow complex and the small grains increased immensely. The government agents and missionaries did everything within their power to transform the Delawares into sedentary, farming people. The men were reluctant, however, to alter their traditional role as hunters and warriors and

[136] *Ibid.*, p. 43; G. Foreman, 1946, pp. 188-87.
[137] G. Foreman, 1946, p. 188.
[138] Adams, 1906, p. 43.
[139] G. Foreman, 1946, p. 188.
[140] Adams, 1906, p. 43; G. Foreman, 1946, pp. 188-89; *Ann. Rep.*, 1868, p. 263.

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436 is even now the case, though they are not accounted as valuable as at one time. Formerly they sometimes used in the place of the belts the wing of some large bird, which is still done among the nations living in remoter regions, where wampum is rare or not to be had at all, where there is no trade with Europeans and some have not even seen wampum. Occasionally, though not often, embassies from such distant people come to the Delawares.[43]

211 212 648 A belt is given in confirmation of a message or speech, as they know nothing of writing; an answer given is similarly ratified by a belt of the same size. An alliance or league is hardly arranged by two peoples with less than twenty belts of wampum. Often thirty or more are required.

175 As I have digressed from the main matter, viz., the character and nature of the land, I must yet in passing notice how it came about that the Delawares, who had lived near the sea and along the Delaware River, came to Alleghene,[44] where they were strangers and had no claim to the land. Some eighty years ago, more or less, the whites being already in the country and many of the Delawares having moved far up the Delaware River, a party of these Indians, with the cousin of a chief as captain, went on a hunt. They were attacked by Cherokees, at that time dwelling along the Allegheny and its branches, and some of them were killed, the captain, a cousin of the chief, among the rest. The survivors fled to their homes, related to the chief what had happened and suggested that he give them more men in order that they might avenge themselves on their enemies. The chief, however, put them off and did not let them go, even though he sorrowed over the loss they had suffered. After the lapse of a year the chief sent out several hundred men to avenge themselves on the Cherokees (the Delawares at that time already having European arms). When they arrived at the enemies' first towns along the Allegheny, they found no one, for all had fled at the news of the Delawares' approach. The latter pursued, the Cherokees constantly retreating until they were overtaken at the great island[45] at the fork where Pittsburg is now situated. Perceiving that the Delawares were strong in num-

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bers, they had no heart to fight, though they stood ready with bow and arrow in hand; instead, their chiefs called to the Delawares to rest their arms and not fight. Afterwards they had an interview with the Delawares and surrendered themselves as prisoners. About half of them, however, dissatisfied with the capitulation, refused to surrender and escaped during the night, going down the river to the mouth of another river, now named the Cherokee River,[48] where they landed and afterward settled along this stream, in the region in which they still live. After the Delawares had finished with the Cherokees, the Six Nations arrived, having heard of the expedition of the Delawares. When they realized that the Delawares were masters of the situation, they professed satisfaction and said that they had come to assist them, but recognized that their aid was not now needed. Thereupon the Delawares gave them some of their prisoners as a present for their trouble and suffered them to go to their homes. Then the Delawares remained a long time at the Beaver Creek, to which they gave its name, in view of the animals that there abounded. After that the Delawares turned their faces homeward but soon returned, and since that time this region has been inhabited by Delawares and year by year more have come. Later the Wiondats, in connection with a solemn council, recognized the claim they made to the territory, inasmuch as they had conquered it. All this land and region, stretching as far as the creeks and waters that flow into the Alleghene the Delawares call Alligewinenk, which means, "a land into which they came from distant parts." The river itself, however, is called Alligewi Sipo. The whites have made Alleghene out of this, the Six Nations calling the river the Ohio.

The Cherokees were very powerful but had no friends among the nations; on the contrary, the Six Nations and the Wiondats waged war against them, though the Delawares made no further expeditions against them. Once it occurred that the Cherokees, pursuing the Six Nations who had done them some injury, came up to some Delaware towns and killed several of that people. This provoked a war between the Delawares and Cherokees that lasted until 1766 or 1767, when the Cherokees

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175 sought the friendship of the Delawares, who had done them much harm, even to the extent of going into their towns and killing a number of people. Hence, they made peace and the Cherokees recognized the Delawares as their grandfathers. Through intervention of the Delawares the Cherokees secured peace also with the Six Nations and others, which was established in 1768,[46] when the mission of the Brethren was begun at Goschgosching.

With the Delawares the Six Nations carried on long wars before the coming of the white man, and even after the advent of the pale-face, but the former were always too powerful for the Six Nations. The latter were convinced that if they continued the wars, their total extirpation would be inevitable. The Six Nations indeed boast that they had overcome the Delawares but these will not grant it, stating that as the Six Nations recognized the superior strength of the Delawares they thought of a means of saving their honor and making peace so that it might not seem that they had been conquered by the Delawares.

Soon after Pennsylvania had been settled by the whites, the Six Nations sent an embassy to the Delawares, opened negotiations and said:[47] It is not profitable that all the nations should be at war with each other, for this would at length ruin the whole Indian race. They had, therefore, contrived a remedy by which this evil might be prevented while there was yet opportunity to do so. One nation should be the woman. She should be placed in the midst, while the other nations, who make war, should be the man and live around the woman. No one should touch or hurt the woman, and if any one did so, they would immediately say to him, "Why do you beat the woman?" Then all the men should fall upon him who has beaten her. The woman should not go to war but endeavor to keep the peace with all. Therefore, if the men that surround her should beat each other and the war be carried on with violence, the woman should have the right of addressing them; "Ye men, what are ye about; why do ye beat each other? We are almost afraid. Consider that your wives and children must perish unless you desist. Do you mean to destroy yourselves from the face of the earth?" The men should then hear and obey the woman. Ever since then the Six Nations have called the Delawares their cousins, i. e.,

3: Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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sister's children, and declared them to be the woman, dressed them in a woman's long habit, reaching down to the feet, though Indian women wear only short garments that reach but little below the knee, and fastened this about their bodies with a great, large belt of wampum. They adorned them with ear-rings, such as their women were accustomed to wear. Further, they hung a calabash filled with oil and beson [medicine] on their arms, therewith to anoint themselves and other nations. They also gave them a corn-pestle and a hoe. Each of these points was confirmed by delivering a belt of wampum and the whole ceremony observed with the greatest solemnity. One must not, however, think they actually dressed them in women's garments and placed corn-pestle and hoe in their hands. It is to be understood in the same way as when the chiefs among the Indians lay out a trail several hundred miles through the woods, they cut away thorn and thicket, clear trees, rocks and stones out of the way, cut through the hills, level up the track and strew it with white sand, so that they may easily go from one nation to another; but when one goes the way that has thus been cleared it is found to be full of wood and rocks and stones and all overgrown with thorns and thicket. The woman's garment signified that they should not engage in war, for the Delawares were great and brave warriors, feared by the other nations; the corn-pestle and hoe that they should engage in agriculture. The calabash[48] with oil was to be used to cleanse the ears of the other nations, that they might attend to good and not to evil counsel. With the medicine or beson they were to heal those who were walking in foolish ways that they might come to their senses and incline their hearts to peace.

The Delaware nation is thus looked to for the preservation of peace and entrusted with the charge of the great belt of peace and the chain of friendship which they must take care to preserve inviolate and which they bear on their shoulders at its middle, the other nations and the Europeans holding the ends.

Thus it was brought about that the Delawares should be the cousins of the Six Nations and were made by them to be the women. Such a state of things was preserved until 1755, when a war broke out between the Indians and the white people into

3;Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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which the Delawares were enticed by the Six Nations. The woman's dress of the Delaware nation was shortened so as to reach only to the knees and a hatchet was given into their hands for defense. More than this, on the occasion of a council held during the same war, near Pittsburg, the Six Nations proposed to take the woman's dress away altogether and clothe them with the breech-clout, saying they could well see that the dress was a hindrance, inasmuch as the Delawares did not enter heartily into the war, being well aware that the Six Nations only sought their ruin. This, therefore, was not approved of by the Delawares, one of their chiefs rising to say to the Six Nations, "Why do you wish to rob the woman of her dress? I tell you that if you do, you will find creatures in it that are ready to bite you."

The Six Nations who had betrayed the Delawares into a war with the white people, at the last fell upon them themselves at the instigation of Sir William Johnson, taking many captives, especially of the Monsy [Monsey] tribe, whom they delivered over to Johnson, destroying and ravaging their towns on the Susquehanna and killing their cattle.[48½] The Delawares will not easily forget this piece of treachery and there is and remains a national hostility between these nations. In this present war the Delawares have done much to avenge themselves.

With the Mohicanders and Woapanose[49] the Six Nations also carried on wars for a long time; through the instrumentality of white people peace was eventually declared between them at Albanien.[50]

Concerning the country in which the Delawares formerly lived, viz., in Pennsylvania and Jersey, it is unnecessary to add anything, as these regions are well known. Along the Susquehanna, where our Indians lived, that is, at Friedenshütten,[51] the country is beautiful and the soil good along the river, but away from the river in the heart of the country it is very mountainous and of no use to the Indians except for the chase. Where the Indians would prepare land and plant, the soil must be of the best. In many cases where the Europeans would think it possible to have fine farms, the Indians would not look at the soil.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

I. INTRODUCTION

In 1638 Sweden planted the first permanent colony on the banks of the Delaware River. Since that date there has been continuous contact between the Delaware Indians then residing there and the whites. The Delaware Indians today offer an opportunity to study the process of culture change through a period of three centuries of contact with another culture.

The term "culture change" embraces all aspects of culture change, regardless of the process or processes whereby the change was brought about, whether by indigenous evolution, stimulus-diffusion, contact on a small or a large scale, or by some other way.

Acculturation is one process by which culture change takes place; it is the approximation of the culture of one social group to that of another under conditions of continuous contact. This process admits of a two-way passage of influence and predicates no end result except that it be somewhere between the two original cultures. Diffusion of ideas, technical processes and the like between neighboring groups is properly an example of acculturation. Usually acculturation studies are concerned with the results of the process on only one tribe or group.

Assimilation is distinguished from acculturation on the basis of political control. It is a process of culture change with the political dominance of one group directing the process and usually resulting in the engulfing of the other group and the obliteration of its culture. However, there are instances in which it was the ruling group that was engulfed or assimilated. Assimilation is acculturation, then, with a predicated result: the obliteration of one of two groups in contact.

Diffusion as a process is distinguished from acculturation only by the absence of direct or continuous contact. As a matter of fact, diffusion within a group is responsible for the preservation of its culture; diffusion between groups is responsible for the spread of culture and hence the change or accretion of traits among the receiving groups. If the examples of the diffusion of

[p. 6 is blank]

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

Introduction and Explanation of the Ceremony

It has long been known that the Delaware Indians had a periodic ceremony of paramount importance in fulfilling their obligations toward a pantheon of spiritual forces. We learn something of such a ceremony from indications occurring in the 17th and 18th century sources, among which figure Denton (1670),[1] William Penn (1683),[2] Brainerd (1745),[3] Zeisberger (1779-80),[4] Loskiel (1794),[5] and Heckewelder (1771-86, 1818).[6] First from the casual writings of Dutch, Swedish and English authors we get glimpses of the ceremony while this famous and patriarchal nation was still residing in its haunts in eastern Pennsylvania and New Jersey. With the westward movement of the tribe, first to the valley of the Susquehanna and later to the Ohio country, the missionaries who attempted the conversion of the Delawares have added their comments upon the great recurrent festival, treating it in terms of cool description or in phrases of fervent condemnation according as their attitudes toward it were determined by their profession.

In the accounts we have, the ceremony is referred to under various titles, some in English, some in Delaware; Cantiko, (Penn, 1683), Gamwing, (Zeisberger, 1779), xingwi·ka'on, The Big House, The Annual Ceremony. And it is not a little strange that even the oldest of them are recognized by corresponding terms still current in the language of the tribe at the present time, as clearly explainable today as though we were still holding conference with native priests and patriarchs who had talked with Penn and his contemporaries. That the great rite was of local interest in the religious life of the allied peoples

[1] Denton's Description of New York, formerly New Netherlands, N. Y. 1670.

[2] William Penn. A Letter from William Penn, Proprietary and Governor of Pennsylvania in America to the Committee of the Free Society of Traders of that Province Residing in London, London 1683 in Narratives of Early Pennsylvania, of New Jersey and Delaware, Edited by Albert Cook Myers, N. Y. 1912, p. 234.

[3] David Brainerd, Memoirs of the Rev. David Brainerd, by Jonathan Edwards, New Haven, 1822.

[4] David Zeisberger. History of the Northern American Indians. Edited by A. B. Hulbert and W. N. Schwarze, Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, n.d.

[5] George Henry Loskiel, History of the Mission of the United Brethren Among the Indians of North America, London, 1794.

[6] John Heckewelder, History, Manners and Customs of the Indian Nations Who Once Inhabited Pennsylvania and the Neighboring States, Edited by W. C. Reichel. Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Phila. 1876.

11:Newcomb E-5 (1952) 1956 NM7 Delaware NM7

The Peyote Cult of the Delaware Indians

by WILLIAM W. NEWCOMB, JR.

Texas Memorial Museum

Peyote (*Lophophora williamsii*) is a spineless, carrot-shaped, grayish-green cactus, which in this country grows primarily in the lower Rio Grande Valley. When eaten, either green, dried, or drunk as tea, peyote has the property of heightening or sharpening the perception of colors, forms, and sounds, or inducing visual and/or auditory hallucinations. The extent to which a person has or does not have hallucinations depends upon his physical and psychological state, the amount and type of peyote ingested, and perhaps other factors. Peyote is not a narcotic in that "It does not excite, stupefy, or produce muscular incoordination; there is no hangover; and the habitual user does not develop any increased tolerance or dependence" (La Barre, *et al.*, 1951: 582).

A knowledge of the properties of peyote and its utilization in religious ceremonies antedates recorded history in Mexico. It was not until late in the nineteenth century, however, that knowledge and a new ceremonial use of peyote developed and spread widely among the demoralized reservation Indians of the United States. The peyote cult was attractive to many of these Indians because it could easily replace outmoded or discarded religious rites, and because it was a continuing, if mild, rejection of elements of the dominant civilization. The new cult diffused to the Delaware Indians of northeastern Oklahoma about 1885, through the agency of John Wilson, a Caddo-Delaware from Anadarko in western Oklahoma (Petrullo, 1934: 83; La Barre, 1938: 109–123). This man had become a peyotist about 1880, and in subsequent years he converted many Delawares and other Indians in Oklahoma. John Wilson's version of peyotism, termed Big Moon or Moonhead, is today the most popular form of the cult among the main body of Delawares in northeastern Oklahoma. A less Christianized and less all-embracing religious cult called Little Moon was introduced somewhat later and has never attracted as many followers. I was unable to attend a Little Moon meeting; what follows pertains only to the Big Moon ceremony.

12:Tantaquidgeon E-5 (no date)1950
NM7 Delaware NM7

Delaware Indian Art Designs

GLADYS TANTAQUIDGEON

Introduction

101 THE DELAWARES belong to the Algonkian linguistic stock. When referring to themselves they use the term Lenape or Lenni Lenape, which denotes "real" or "native men." The original 131 habitat of the Delawares was in southeastern New York, eastern Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Delaware. In this territory they were first visited by the Dutch, 648 Swedish and English voyagers in the 16th 175 and 17th centuries. About 1720, trouble began owing in part to pressure brought upon the Delawares by the Iroquois. This marked the beginning of a series of 167 migrations in which bands of Delawares 175 left their ancestral homes in the east and moved westward. Their first move took them to the valley of the Susquehanna, where they settled at Wyoming about 1742. By 1751 they had reached eastern Ohio and formed settlements. Another move brought numbers of them into Indiana. In 1789 they were granted permission by the Spanish government to settle in Missouri and Arkansas. Later most of the tribe was brought together on a reservation

[P.24, A]

12:Tantaquidgeon E-5 (no date)1950
NM7 Delaware NM7

Delaware Indian Art Designs

GLADYS TANTAQUIDGEON

Introduction

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175

in Kansas, and from there they moved to Oklahoma and became incorporated with the Cherokee. Other bands found their way to Canada in the Province of Ontario, where they are now known as Delawares, Munsee and Moravians.

161

The present population of the Delawares is estimated to be about 1,400. Of this number, 1,000 are in Oklahoma and the remainder in the province of Ontario, Canada.

Field of Art

53
32
178
285

Until about 1890 the Delawares practiced many of their native arts and crafts but among the modern descendants of the tribe only a few of the older arts have survived. Pottery making, work in stone, bone, horn, antler, silver and the use of quills and hair in embroidery; twined basketry made from certain roots, and woven bags and girdles of Indian hemp (*Apocynum cannabium*) are now only vaguely remembered by some of the older members of the groups in Oklahoma and Ontario. Work in silver persisted until

[324]

[326]

[P 24, B] About 1913.

[For information on Delaware acculturation, and its extent at different historic time periods, see category 116, pp. 79-128.]

l:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

INTRODUCTION.

THE reader of the following pages, having already seen what has induced me to come forward with an historical account of the Indians, after so many have written on the same subject, will perhaps look for something more extraordinary in this, than in other works of the kind which he has seen. Not wishing any one to raise his expectations too high, I shall briefly state, that I have not written to excite astonishment, but for the information of those who are desirous of knowing the true history of those people, who, for centuries, have been in full possession of the country we now inhabit; but who have since emigrated to a great distance. I can only assure them, that I have not taken the information here communicated from the writings of others, but from the mouths of the very people I am going to speak of, and from my own observation of what I have witnessed while living among them. I have, however, occasionally quoted other authors, and in some instances copied short passages from their works, especially where I have thought it necessary to illustrate or corroborate my own statements of facts.

In what I have written concerning the character, customs, manners, and usages of these people, I cannot have been deceived, since it is the result of personal knowledge, of what I myself have seen, heard, and witnessed, while residing among and near them, for more than thirty years. I have however to remark, that this history, like other histories of former times, will not in every respect comport with the character of the Indians at the present time, since all these nations and tribes,

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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177 by their intercourse with the white people, have lost much of the honourable and virtuous qualities which they once possessed, and added to their vices and immorality. Of this, no one can be a better judge than a missionary residing among them. And if, what these people told us more than half a century ago; that lying, stealing, and other vicious acts, before the white men came among them, were considered as crimes, we may safely conclude —and we know it to be fact—that from that time to this, and especially within the last forty years, they have so much degenerated, that a delineation of their present character would bear no resemblance to what it was before.—It is therefore the history of early times, not of the present, that I have written; and to those times my delineations of their character must be considered to apply; yet, to shew the contrast, I have also delineated some of their present features.

128 [101] It may be proper to mention in this place, that I have made use of the proper national name of the people whom we call *Delawares*, which is: "*Lenni Lenape.*" Yet, as they, in the common way of speaking, merely pronounce the word "*Lenape*," I have, in most instances, when speaking of them, used this word singly. I have also made use of the word "*Mengwe*," or *Mingoes*, the name by which the *Lenape* commonly designate the people known to us by the name of the *Iroquois*, and *Five* or *Six Nations*. I shall give at the end a general list of all the names I have made use of in this communication, to which I refer the reader for instruction.

[195] As the Indians, in all their public speeches and addresses, speak in the singular number, I have sometimes been led to follow their example, when reporting what they have said; I have also frequently, by attending particularly to the identical words spoken by them, copied their peculiar phrases, when I might have given their meaning in other words.

On the origin of the Indians, I have been silent, leav-

9 [Erratum. See cat. 116, p. 348. - Analyst]

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

685 "Indian lock that I am putting to my door." I an-
829 swered, "Well enough; but I see you leave much pro-
609 "perty in the house, are you not afraid that those arti-
"cles will be stolen while you are gone?"—"Stolen! by
"whom?—"Why, by Indians, to be sure." "No, no,"
replied he, "no Indian would do such a thing, and unless
"a white man or white people should happen to come
"this way, I shall find all safe on my return."

829 The Indians say, that when the white people en-
609 camp in the woods they are sure to lose something; that
when they are gone, something or another is always
found which they have lost, such as a knife, flints, bul-
lets, and sometimes even money. They also observe that
the whites are not so attentive as they are to choosing
an open dry spot for their encampment; that they will
at once set themselves down in any dirty and wet place,
provided they are under large trees: that they never
look about to see which way the wind blows, so as to be
able to lay the wood for their fires in such a position
that the smoke may not blow on them; neither do they
look up the trees to see whether there are not dead limbs
that may fall on them while they are asleep; that any
wood will do for them to lay on their fires, whether it be
dry or wet, and half rotten, so that they are involved du-
ring the whole night in a cloud of smoke; or they take
such wood as young green oak, walnut, cherry, chesnut,
&c. which throws sparks out to a great distance, so that
their blankets and clothes get holes burned in them, and
sometimes their whole camp takes fire. They also re-
mark that the whites hang their kettles and pots over a
fire just kindled, and before the great body of smoke has
passed away.

829 They, however, acknowledge that the whites are inge-
609 nious, that they make axes, guns, knives, hoes, shovels,
177 pots and kettles, blankets, shirts, and other very conve-
nient articles, to which they have now became accustom-
ed, and which they can no longer do without. "Yet,"

l:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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say they, "our forefathers did without all these things, 829
"and we have never heard, nor has any tradition in- 609
"formed us that they were at a loss for the want of them; 609
"therefore we must conclude that they also were inge- 177
"nious; and, indeed, we know that they were; for they
"made axes of stone to cut with, and bows and arrows
"to kill the game; they made knives and arrows' points
"with sharp flint stones and bones, hoes and shovels
"from the shoulder blade of the elk and buffaloe; they
"made pots of clay, garments of skin, and ornaments
"with the feathers of the turkey, goose and other birds.
"They were not in want of any thing, the game was
"plenty and tame, the dart shot from our arrows did not
"frighten them as the report of the gun now does; we
"had therefore every thing that we could reasonably re-
"quire; we lived happy!"

Finally, they think, that the white people have learned 829
much of them in the art of war; for when they first be- 609
gan to fight the Indians, they stood all together in a
cluster and suffered themselves to be shot down like tur-
kies. They also make a distinction between a *warrior*
and a *murderer*, which, as they explain it, is not much
to our advantage. "It is not," say they, "the number
"of scalps alone which a man brings with him that prove
"him to be a brave warrior. Cowards have been
"known to return, and bring scalps home, which they
"had taken where they knew there was no danger,
"where no attack was expected and no opposition made.
"Such was the case with those who killed the Conesto-
"goes at and near Lancaster, the Christian Indians on
"the Muskingum, the friendly Indians near Pittsburg,
"and a great number of scattered, peaceable men of our
"nation, who were all murdered by *cowards*. It was
"not thus that the *Black Snake*,* the great General

* The Indians gave this name to General Wayne, because they say that he had all the cunning of this animal, who is superior to all other snakes in the manner of procuring his food. He hides himself in [825]

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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very aged men and women were seen among them, some of whom thought they had lived about one hundred years. They frequently told me and others that when they were young men, their people did not marry so early as they did since, that even at twenty they were called boys and durst not wear a breech-cloth, as the men did at that time, but had only a small bit of a skin hanging before them. Neither, did they say, were they subject to so many disorders as in later times, and many of them calculated on dying of old age. But since that time a great change has taken place in the constitution of those Indians who live nearest to the whites. By the introduction of ardent spirits among them, they have been led into vices which have brought on disorders which they say were unknown before; their blood became corrupted by a shameful complaint, which the Europeans pretend to have received from the original inhabitants of America, while these say they had never known or heard of it until the Europeans came among them. Now the Indians are infected with it to a great degree; children frequently inherit it from their parents, and after lingering for a few years at last die victims to this poison.

Those Indians who have not adopted the vices of the white people live to a good age, from 70 to 90. Few arrive at the age of one hundred years. The women, in general, live longer than the men.

The Indians do not appear to be more or less exempt than the whites from the common infirmities of old age. I have known old men among them who had lost their memory, their sight, and their teeth. I have also seen them at eighty in their second childhood and not able to help themselves.

The Indian women are not in general so prolific as those of the white race. I imagine this defect is owing to the vicious and dissolute life they lead since the introduction of spirituous liquors. Among our Christian Indians, we have had a couple who had been

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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them) will not succeed in healing. I once knew a noted Shawano, who having, out of friendship, conducted several white traders in safety to Pittsburg, while they were sought for by other Indians who wanted to revenge on them the murders committed by white men of some of their people, was on his return fired at by some white vilains, who had waylaid him for that purpose, and shot in the breast. This man, when I saw him, had already travelled eighty miles, with a wound from which blood and a kind of watery froth issued every time he breathed. Yet he told me he was sure of being cured, if he could only reach *Waketemeki*, a place fifty miles distant, where there were several eminent Indian surgeons. To me and others who examined the wound, it appeared incurable; nevertheless, he reached the place and was perfectly cured. I saw him at Detroit ten years afterwards; he was in sound health and grown to be a corpulent man. Nine years after this I dined with him at the same place.

CHAPTER XXXI.

DOCTORS OR JUGGLERS.

I CALL these men *Doctors*, because it is the name given them by their countrymen who have borrowed it from our language,* and they are themselves very fond of this pompous title.

* They call them *Doctels*, because the Indians cannot pronounce the letter R. The Minsi or Monseys call them "Mĕdéu," which signifies "conjuror."

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

ready described,* was forcibly poured down his throat. He recovered after some time, but never was again the strong healthy man he had been before; his wife however took warning from this desperate act, and behaved better ever after.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

DRUNKENNESS.

IN treating of this subject, I cannot resist the impression of a melancholy feeling, arising from the comparison which forces itself upon my mind of what the Indians were before the Europeans came into this country, and what they have become since, by a participation in our vices. By their intercourse with us, they have lost much of that original character by which they were once distinguished, and which it is the object of this work to delineate, and the change which has taken place is by no means for the better. I am not one of those wild enthusiasts who would endeavour to persuade mankind that savage life is preferable to a state of civilisation; but I leave it to every impartial person to decide, whether the condition of the healthy sober Indian, pursuing his game through forests and plains, is not far superior to that of the gangrened drunken white man, rioting in debauchery and vice?

I have already before taken notice† of the assertion

* See ch. 29. p. 218. † See ch. 28. p. 215.

l:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

which our aborigines do not hesitate to make, that before the Europeans landed in those parts of the American continent, they were unacquainted with that shameful disorder which attacks generation in its sources. I am well aware that this complaint is generally believed to have been communicated by the new world to the old. I do not know upon what proofs this opinion rests, but I am disposed to give credit to the uniform assertion of our northern Indians, that this contagion was first introduced among them by emigrants from Europe. However it may be, it is a lamentable fact that they are now very generally infected with it, and that their population can not long resist its destructive operation upon their once strong and healthy constitutions, particularly as it is associated with the abuse of strong liquors, now so prevalent among them.

Of the manner in which they have acquired this latter vice, I presume there can be no doubt. They charge us in the most positive manner with being the first who made them acquainted with ardent spirits, and what is worse, with having exerted all the means in our power to induce them to drink to excess. It is very certain that the processes of distillation and fermentation are entirely unknown to the Indians, and that they have among them no intoxicating liquors but such as they receive from us. The Mexicans have their *Pulqué*, and other indigenous beverages of an inebriating nature, but the North American Indians, before their intercourse with us commenced, had absolutely nothing of the kind. The smoke of the American weed, tobacco, was the only means that they at that time had in use to produce a temporary exhilaration of their spirits.

I have related in a former chapter,* the curious account given by the Delawares and Mohicans of the scene which took place when they were first made to taste spirituous liquors by the Dutch who landed on New York

* See ch. 2.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7

PREFACE

Any group of people who have been able to preserve even some of the beliefs and customs of their ancestors of three and a half centuries ago in the face of intense, largely continuous pressure to abandon them merits the interest and attention of the social scientist. The Delaware Indians of Oklahoma are such a people — a people who only today are finally relinquishing a cultural tradition old in the time of John Smith and Henry Hudson.

Despite the wealth of documentary material dealing with Delaware culture, no comprehensive description of its early form has been written. Herman has recently reconstructed the early historic culture from documentary sources; her study, however, is not comprehensive.[1] Kinietz has attempted "to assemble and analyze data on the culture. . . from the earliest white contact to the present, with a view to determining what changes have taken place in their culture, when, and why."[2] Unfortunately, this analysis was only partly successful.[3] Several aspects of Delaware culture have received adequate treatment. The religious beliefs and practices, particularly of later times, have been described at length.[4] Delaware language has been described and analyzed,[5] and the Walam Olum or Red Score has been discussed extensively.[6] Apart from Kinietz' preliminary effort, there has been no attempt to describe or analyze Delaware acculturation. Likewise, no consideration has ever been given to the final phases of Delaware acculturation, or assimilation, particularly the part which the Delawares are playing in what has been termed the Pan-Indian society. The aims of this study are, then, to reconstruct the early historic culture of the Delawares, to describe how it changed under the impact of Euro-American civilization, and to explain, at least in broad terms, why the changes took place.

This study was originally prepared under the direction of the Department of Anthropology, University of Michigan, in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the Doctor of Philosophy degree. New data have altered the original dissertation to some extent, although the organization and conclusions remain essentially the same. Two chapters were deleted and included in others, and a map has been added.

During the summer months of 1951 and 1952 an ethnographic study was made of the Delaware Indians in Oklahoma. The cost of this field work was borne in part by funds provided by the Ford Foundation and administered by the Department of Anthropology, University of Michigan. I gratefully acknowledge this assistance. I particularly want to thank

[1] Herman, 1950, pp. 45-77.
[2] Kinietz, 1948, p. 15.
[3] Speck, 1948, pp. 723-24.
[4] Speck, 1931; Harrington, 1921.
[5] C. F. Voegelin, 1948; C. F. and E. W. Voegelin, 1948.
[6] Brinton, 1885; Lilly, 1944, pp. 33-40; E. W. Voegelin, 1940, pp. 28-31; Lilly, *et al.*, 1954. See Griffin, 1955, for a review of the preceding volume; Newcomb, 1955, pp. 57-63.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7

soon as European utensils became available (early in the seventeenth century), maple sugar rapidly became a more important food. Honey was considered a delicacy when it could be obtained, but it was not an early food source since honey bees were not indigenous to the Delaware habitat.[69]

Preparation of food.— Dried and green corn was prepared in a wide variety of ways. Most corn seems to have been dried, ground, and baked. Typically, "they make flat cakes of the meal mixed with water, as large again as a farthing cake in this country, and bake them in the ashes, first wrapping a vine-leaf or maize-leaf around them. When they are sufficiently baked in the ashes, they make good palatable bread." William Penn said: "Their diet is Maze, or Indian Corn, divers ways prepared; sometimes Roasted in the Ashes, sometimes beaten and Boyled with Water, which they call *Homine*; they also make cakes, not unpleasant to eat."[71] Dried corn was placed in a wooden mortar made from a fire-hollowed log and ground with a wooden or stone pestle.[72] The meal was sifted through "a small basket, which they understand how to weave. . . ."[73] Harrington also mentioned the sifting of flour, saying that it was sifted "through sieve baskets of varying degrees of fineness."[74] The finest meal was used in the above-mentioned bread, and the coarser corn meal was used in porridge, or gruel.[75] The white-flour corn was usually utilized in the bread, but other varieties were used in hominy and gruel (M.B., O.A., J.T.). Berries were often added to the bread, and meat, berries, beans, nuts, and pumpkins were sometimes added to the gruel.[76] In later times "dumplings" were made by frying corn meal dough in grease, usually with added berries (O.A.). Hominy was prepared by boiling dried corn with ashes, which removed the husk. The hominy was washed repeatedly in a stream after it was cooked.[77]

"Those stalks [of corn] which are low and bear no ears, they pluck up in August, and suck out the sap, which is as sweet as if it were sugar-cane."[78] Green ears were roasted whole in ashes, grated and baked in the ashes, or boiled. The roots of water lily plants were peeled, cut into small chunks, and boiled (O.A.). Wild potatoes were prepared by boiling, skinning, and then mashing and were eaten with various kinds of "greens." The Delawares that live in the rural areas still gather and eat wild potatoes. An account of the preparation of maple sugar gives an ample description of this eighteenth-century trait:

> A number of small troughs are made for receiving the sap. Usually, the Indians make them of wood, cutting them out roughly with a hatchet. Some Indians are able to make twenty or thirty of them in a day. Some do not go to so

[69] Zeisberger, 1885, 1: 310.
[70] De Vries, 1909, pp. 218-19; also see Pastorius, 1912, p. 426; Van der Donck, 1909, p. 303.
[71] Penn, 1912, p. 232.
[72] De Rasieres, 1909, p. 107; Lindestrom, 1925, p. 253.
[73] De Rasieres, 1909, p. 107; De Vries, 1909, p. 218.
[74] Harrington, 1913, p. 221.
[75] Luckenbach, 1938, p. 599.
[76] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 254; Luckenbach, 1938, p. 599.
[77] Penn, 1912, p. 232; O. A., M. B.
[78] De Rasieres, 1909, p. 107.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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lameness.[33] For fear of this soul nobody ever eats in the dark or allows a sick person to be in a dark room (J.T., N.D.).

The Delawares believed in an after life, but what this existence was like is only vaguely described in the early literature and probably was only vaguely envisaged by them. De Vries said that "when they die they sing like the ravens; but this singing is entirely different from the singing of angels."[34] One source stated that "some" believed that after a soul had been in the other world for a time it might be reborn on earth in another individual.[35] Harrington said that on the twelfth day after death the spirit made its way to the twelfth or highest home, a beautiful place, without pain or sorrow, where there were magnificent dwellings, beautiful streams, and fertile lands. This paradise was only for the good; where bad or evil spirits went is unknown.[36] This concept was in all likelihood a diffusion from Christianity.

The Big House Ceremony

The Big House or Annual Ceremony has been the principal ceremony and the focal point of Delaware religious observances at least since the second half of the eighteenth century. Prior to the tribal consolidation of the Delawares (in the early decades of the eighteenth century), this Ceremony could not have existed as it is now known, since in its modern form it is a tribal or national religious event. I do not agree with Kinietz that the Big House Ceremony came into existence as an adjunct of the revivalistic nativism of the Delawares after 1762.[37] It seems much more likely that it was synthesized during the early decades of the century at the time when other parts of the culture were being unified and the tribal society was emerging. As far as I have been able to determine, the import and the meaning of this ceremony have not been nativistic as would be required by Kinietz's hypothesis. Its general purpose was to give thanks for past blessings and to ensure good fortune for the coming year.[38] Morgan said: "They believe unless they observe it once a year their crops will fail, and they will loose (sic) the favor of the Great Spirit."[39] I agree with Kinietz that "European civilization in contact with that of the Delawares was unconsciously responsible for the integration of the Big House Ceremony, the dropping and addition of many features . . . ,"[40] but I set the date for this integration half a century earlier than he does. The addition of the symbolic number twelve (from the twelve Apostles of Christianity?), the sacred number of the sweat lodge, and the appearance of the Mask Being during the ceremony are but two examples of historic additions to the ceremony.[41]

Unfortunately, the seventeenth-century documents contain little more than hints concerning the nature of the religious rites from which the the Big House Ceremony was synthesized. Denton, however, said:

[33] Speck, 1931, p. 25; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 131; J.T.
[34] De Vries, 1909, p. 224.
[35] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 131.
[36] Harrington, 1921, pp. 52-54.
[37] Kinietz, 1940, pp. 117-21.
[38] Speck, 1931, p. 21; R.W., O.A.
[39] Morgan, 1859, MS.
[40] Kinietz, 1940, p. 121.
[41] *Ibid.*, p. 118.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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No pottery was manufactured in
177 Oklahoma by the Delawares, although some of the aged Delawares re-
28 member that their grandmothers made undecorated utility pottery.
32 Dress and adornment had approximated that of the neighboring whites by the turn of the century. Men of the Cherokee-Delaware band, however, continued to wear their hair long until about 1920. Today, the only distinctive dress of the Delawares is worn at social and religious gatherings, and on these occasions it is of a miscellaneous Indian type rather than being specifically Delaware.

In sum, Delaware technology and material culture since 1867 have increasingly approximated the American pattern, particularly that of the poorer, rural, white groups. There are virtually no outward signs in subsistence, housing, or dress, which distinguish the Delawares from other Oklahomans.

Sociological Assimilation

177 It has already been noted that the social organization of the Dela-
57 wares had undergone considerable alteration before the final flight to
619 Indian Territory. Perhaps the most important change to take place after 1867 was the complete surrender of political authority. It should be recalled that the contract between the Cherokees and the Delawares provided for the admittance of the Delawares into the Cherokee tribe. Delaware chieftainship continued for a time, the last principal chief being Charles Journeycake, who served in this capacity from 1861 until he died in 1895.[3] After 1900 tribal chiefs were elected. Each of the three phratries nominated one candidate; the one who received the most votes became the chief. The principal duty of the chief was to act as a representative of the tribe in business dealings with the government. The last chief, Charles Elkhair, died in 1935 and has not been officially replaced. A business committee is the only formal governmental organization that continues in existence. It serves in an advisory capacity when there are claims against the government.[4]

The Delawares no longer have a society which is based upon ties of kinship. Outside of the immediate family there are no economic activities which depend upon the mutual aid of the clan, phratry, or other kinship groups. They have been completely assimilated into the American economic system. There is no feeling that care or assistance should be extended to other Delawares; in fact, in both Delaware communities there is a good deal of friction, jealousy, and antagonism between different individuals and family groups. This friction extends to all levels of organization, even to the business committee, with which there is always dissatisfaction. "They can't agree on a chief, they pull in different ways: if one person suggests something, somebody knocks him down" (O.A.). Probably this constant friction is a result of the heterogeneous degree of acculturation; some individuals are old, nearly illiterate, very

[3] Mitchell, 1895, pp. 7, 45. (This is a biography of the chief.)

[4] Wright, 1951, p. 153; J.T., O.A.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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D 584

good and preserved a certain decency, have fallen into disuse. At the present time, even if the Indian would take a wife in honorable fashion and proceed in accordance with the above described custom, the parties concerned will not deny his suit in view of the presents, even though the friends and the girl are not willing to accept him. The friends will urge the girl to live with the man a short time, and tell her that if she is not pleased, to leave him again. Thus it happens that women will go from one to another for the sake of the gifts. Yet there are many cases where husband and wife are faithful to one another throughout life.

Occasionally, parents who have a son will agree with parents who have a daughter that in due time their children shall marry. As, however, they can neither persuade nor compel their children against their wishes, it in the end depends upon the children whether the match shall be consummated.[284]

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Among the Mingoes it is not unusual to fix upon children of four or five years of age, with a view to future marriage. In this case the mother of the girl is obliged to bring a basket of bread every week into the house of the boy and to furnish him with firewood. The parents of the boy must supply the girl with meat and clothes, till they are both of a proper age. Their marriage, however, solely depends upon their own free will, for there is never any compulsion. If either man or woman is unwilling to follow up the engagement entered into by parents, no marriage results.

D 586 837

Although there are many Indians who live peaceably with their wives, especially if they have children for whom they care (for if a man has several children he will try to get along with his wife) the younger Indians at the present time generally live together only a very short time after a marriage. Hence, fornication is very common among them, Satan's influence in this respect being very strong.

D 177

If it is asked why the Indians at the present time are more given to vice and disorderly living than formerly, when they were as ignorant heathen as they are now, two reasons may be given. First, much evil unquestionably has been taught them by white people, especially the traders, who were content to live

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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●177 among the Indians as long as there were no Indian wars. Through the examples of the traders, also the Indians acquired the habit of drinking to excess. Secondly, the Indians had formerly great respect for the aged and the chiefs, from whom they learned that unfaithfulness in the marriage relationship was a great crime and that whoever was guilty of such evil would live neither long nor happily. At the present time they show little reverence to the aged and each one thinks himself to be wise in his own conceits.

M7 844 The Indian women are in general of a very strong bodily constitution. There are generally clever and experienced women enough who are able to give assistance and advice in time of labor; generally, women will remain in the house at this time. Some go into the woods by themselves and bring their children to the house when they have seen the light of day. Most mothers nurse their children until they are two or more years [595] old. During this time many husbands have concubines, though not in the house.

553 857 If it is left to the mother to give the child a name, she uses little ceremony and calls it after some peculiar mark or character in it, for instance the Beautiful, the Good Child, the Great-Eye, sometimes giving it a name of unsavory meaning. If the father gives the child a name he pretends that it has been suggested to him in a dream. The name is given at a sacrifice, on which occasion the Indian brings to some aged person, who performs the offering, a string of wampum, and tells him that he wishes his child's name to be named thus and so. During the sacrifice some other person sings a song in Indian fashion at a public gathering and makes known the child's name. This is called praying over the child. The same ceremony is performed when an adult person receives a name, even although he may already have been named. It is not common to call an adult by his name, for they are ashamed of their own names. If the attention of any one is to be attracted it is done in some other fashion than by the use of the name. In case of children, the names are used. In assemblies and in discourses they do not use the name of any one who is present, though absent persons are referred to by their names.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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776 making their offerings not directly to the Deity but to things of his creation, as will later appear. No one has ever heard that they have sacrificed to the devil, whom together with all evil spirits they abhor, believing that all evil comes from them, even as all good comes from God.

[177] They seem to have had no idea of the devil until in modern times preachers arose among them who proclaimed that there was such a being, having secured their knowledge from the whites. They have no very definite conception of him but consider him to be a very powerful spirit, able to work much harm and unable to do any good. Many say also that Indians would never be claimed by the devil, however wicked they might be in the world, because he existed only for the whites who wrought evil. They declare that he is not to be found among the Indians but only among the white people, for if he were among the Indians they would long since have discovered him, and their ancestors would have told them about him. They did know, however, about good and evil spirits which appears from this: when crimes had been committed, the guilty ones laid the blame on an evil spirit who had seduced them. They have also been accustomed to admonish one another in time of war not to give ear to the evil spirit but to the good spirit who counseled peace. They also knew nothing of Hell, believing only that 771 wicked men would go to no good place after this life. They have no proper term for such a place other than *Machtandonwinek* which means, with the devil, *Machtando* meaning the Evil One. They have never had regularly appointed priests, the oldest men having usually performed the sacrifices, admonished the people to good life and conduct, warned them against immorality, murder and violence, if they would be happy, attain to great age and after death get to the good place. How much this meant among blind savages who were dead in sins and had not the ability to withstand evil and vice may be readily imagined. It is possible that the admonitions of the aged availed to the extent of restraining wickedness, so that it did not break forth as it does at the present time. It is undoubtedly true that there were formerly fewer vices than now. Of some forms of indulgence they know nothing, for example of strong drink,

4: Tantaquidgeon E-5 (1930) 1942
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DELAWARE MEDICAL BELIEFS AND PRACTICES

Theories on the Causes of Disease.

THE DELAWARE, like so many preliterate peoples, share concepts of a similar character concerning the causes of disease (Clements, 1932). Certain maladies are attributed to the presence of some evil spirit in the body, which in turn is believed to be the work of a sorcerer; others are thought due to the patients' iniquities while a few result from an encounter with an apparition. Failure to obey the laws of nature is the reason most frequently cited by Wi·tapanóxwe for the increase of disease among the Delaware. He said, in part, "In ancient times there was but little sickness among the Indians. The Delaware were greatly blessed because we always kept up our ceremonies and observed the rules of right living.[1] The Indian was healthy because he ate only clean, pure food and lived close to nature. Then came the new people with their strange ways and food, and dreadful diseases."

Paraphrasing the statements of the informant, it is implied that with the onset and steady progress of Europeanization, the Indian was obliged to relinquish many of the ways of his accustomed mode of life. He was forced to seek new territories in order to escape the alien influences that were being forced upon him. Like the wild game, the Delaware fled to more remote regions because their former environment had become so thoroughly contaminated. At this time, it is said, the dwarfs and other non-human folk had safety and seclusion in the rocky cliffs. Certain plants no longer reproduced and grew. Those Indians who clung tenaciously to the teachings of their elders were greatly blessed by the Creator who guided them in visions as of old. From the conservative viewpoint of Wi·tapanóxwe, individuals of a weaker "intellect," were unable to cope with such adverse conditions and were swept away by the devastating effects of acculturation.

[1] Reference may be made to a recent paper of A. I. Hallowell (1939) in which he has shown that "sin" is considered a potent causation of disease among the Saulteaux Indians of the Lake Winnipeg region—Editor.

4: Tantaquidgeon E-5 (1930) 1942
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and used in different ways. It may be eaten with milk and brown sugar or with any kind of meat grease. A little salt may be added for additional flavor. 252

Various kinds of nut meats are added to cooked hominy to make a dish known as "nut hominy." Hominy and chopped meat (beef, pork or other fresh meat) are cooked together and then allowed to stand until sour. After hickory nuts are added to this mixture, the result is called "soured nut" hominy.

Hulled corn is made by boiling dried corn in a strong liquid, made alkaline by the addition of hard wood ashes. This process of preparation is long and arduous, since after hours of steady boiling it requires many washings in clear, cold water to rinse the lye from the loose hulls. This food may be eaten with milk and sugar, fried with potatoes in pork fat, combined with fresh or dried meat for stew, or with beans for succotash.

Wild Vegetable Foods

Long ago fruits and berries were preserved by drying, this practice giving way in later times to canning and the manufacture of jelly and jam. Dried fruit are prepared to eat in a number of ways. Grapes are boiled, and the resulting liquid thickened by the addition of corn meal, flour, or hominy grits. A boiled pudding is composed of dough made of cornmeal and flour, or flour only, to which any variety of berry, except strawberries, may be added. This dough is then placed in a cloth bag and boiled. When ripe, persimmons are mashed and spread on a cloth to dry for use in a bread called "persimmon bread." With few exceptions all of the fruits and berries mentioned are made into pies, puddings, preserves, fruit butters, and jams. 222 251 252

The various varieties of nuts are gathered in large quantities and stored away for future use. These provide a nourishing supplement to the remainder of natural-food stuffs. Nuts are eaten raw, roasted, boiled, and frequently incorporated in other types of food. Edible acorns are usually roasted.

With the introduction and increased use of European food products, the necessity arose among the Delaware of fitting them into their own linguistic configuration, if the foreign terms themselves were not taken over. Like so many primitive groups, the Delaware came to apply native terms of a descriptive nature to the majority of elements foreign to their culture. Many of these have been retained to the 196 262 177

present day. Thus, for example, the Delaware term for the cocoanut is "water hickory nut."

"Indian Potato" or Ground Nut *(Apios tuberosa)*, "wild potato." The tuberous roots are gathered in large quantities and stored for winter use. They are not considered good after sprouting. The roots are either boiled and eaten as the cultivated potato, or dried and ground into flour used for making bread. In recent times the ground nut has not grown abundantly in the Delaware habitat, and is now considered a rare delicacy.

Sorrel *(Rumex acetoseila)*, "sour." This plant, prepared much like rhubarb, is used as a filling for pies.

Onion *(Sp.?)*. Of the different varieties of wild onions, three are regarded by the Delaware as being edible. The one most commonly gathered for use is the "buttonseed." These are dried and prepared by frying, or boiling, or are added to flavor stews and soups. Wild onions are also cooked in grease to which eggs are added.

A species of mushroom *(Agaricus campestris)*, "tripe form," is fried in hot fat, or salted and boiled.

Certain plants are considered to be healthful foods, especially in spring, when people were in need of the medicinal substances present in them. The practice of seeking the first green plant shoots in early spring is not peculiar to the Delaware alone, but is characteristic of other Eastern Algonkian peoples. Such food is called "greens" or "plant tops." The young shoots are usually picked and cooked separately, or mixed with several other plants. In both cases the "greens" are parboiled in water, and then cooked with meat. Among such plants may be mentioned dandelion, milkweed, poke, lamb's quarters, mustard, dock, and watercress.

Animal Foods

Wild animals, as pointed out by F. G. Speck (1931, pp. 28-29), are in general considered to exist in clan relationship with humans. The latter are said to be "kings among animals." Clean, pure animals of the forests are referred to in terms of human relationship and their spirits must be propitiated before they can be sought for food. If the supernaturals are appeased through sacrifices, the animals will allow themselves to be taken, but if the proper ceremonies are not carried out, they can never be approached by humans. Therefore a hunter before starting out, is obliged to pray and sacrifice tobacco, and also if he should dream of seeing game during the hunt. The Delaware "sharing-feast"

Delaware culture contained in his study of Teedyuhung proved particularly stimulating. His analysis of the Walking Purchase controversy is also the best I have found. 114

In using these documents it was found that when the statements made represented actual observations of the author, they were usually correct and could be checked with other sources. At times the authors specifically mentioned which statements were based on their own experience, and when they did not, this could sometimes be determined by the nature of the fact being related. A lot of the material, on the other hand, probably represents second-hand information. Except for statements which patently represented preconceptions of the author, however, the material gathered from the various sources proved consistent and, in most cases, capable of being checked. In addition to the precautions observed in using the earlier material, special care was taken in the use of these later writers not to assume as aboriginal customs for which there was no evidence in earlier writers.

The entire bibliography has been utilized in the present paper and represents as complete a list of the seventeenth and eighteenth century writings on Delaware ethnography as I have been able to find, but important papers based on the memories of nineteenth and twentieth century reservation Indians have been omitted. The only other work which contains anything like a thorough survey of historical sources on Delaware culture is Regina Flannery's check list of certain traits of coastal Algonkian culture (Flannery, 1939).

The Delaware of Lenape were a large, east coast tribe composed of numerous bands, the names of about twenty-five of which have been preserved. They spoke an Algonkian language related to those of tribes extending north to New England and south to Georgia. Their numbers, which have been estimated at about 8000, spread over a territory bounded on the east coast by Delaware Bay and Manhattan Island, in western Pennsylvania by the Schuykill River, and in New York by the west bank of the Hudson River north to Kingston. In terms of the present states, this territory comprises eastern Pennsylvania, the northern coast of Delaware, all of New Jersey and a small portion of southeastern New York including Staten Island. On their west were the Susquehannock and the Iroquois. Throughout the seventeenth century the Delaware were frequently at war with the Mohawk, Susquehannock and Cherokee. By the beginning of the eighteenth century the Delaware had been pushed from their coastal position to the Susquehanna River, and in the subsequent century were driven farther to the west in Pennsylvani, Ohio and Indiana by the expanding white frontier. During this time they continued to support themselves and maintain a society socially and politically separate from that of the European colonies in America. At the end of the eighteenth century, however, they became split into small bands which affiliated with many different tribes in subsequent migrations to the south and west. A large part of the 131 [101] [197] [61] 131 177

131 177 Delaware tribe was gathered together on a reservation in Kansas in 1835 and from there removed to their present location in Oklahoma, where they are politically incorporated in the Cherokee nation. Other Delaware, most of whom belonged to the Munsee division and were converted by Moravian missionaries in the eighteenth century, are now located in Ontario.

DELAWARE CULTURE

128 The method of presentation which has been followed is to place the authorities for each statement immediately after it. For the most part, traits for which there is no evidence in earlier sources have been omitted, but where this leaves a large gap in the picture of the culture, sections based purely on eighteenth century sources have been inserted. The material has been divided into three main aspects, and proceeds from a consideration of economic life, to social organization and religion.

Means of Procuring Food

226 [262] For the tribes living on the east coast, fishing was probably the most important means of getting food, judging from the relative amounts of shells and animal bones found in ancient sites (Skinner, 1915, p. 7). Oysters, clams, mussels and scallops were widely utilized as well as rockfish, shad, herring, sturgeon and gar fish which were found plentifully in those waters (Abbott, 1875, p. 278; Skinner, 1909, p. 46).

[227] According to Lindstrom, the Indians caught fish by building a dam across a stream near its source or at a waterfall. When the river rose, the last small opening was closed in the dam and the water allowed to flow over it, leaving the fish in shallow water at low tide. They were then either taken by hand or shot with bow and arrow (sic). The latter method was also used in deep water (Lindstrom, 1915, pp. 219-220). Other writers report the use of hemp nets, and a number of stone sinkers have been found in archaeological sites. Rude seines of matted leaves and twigs are mentioned as well as fishing spears (Abbott, 1875, pp. 278 and 361; Heye, p. 70; Skinner, 1915, pp. 7 and 10; Harrington, 1913, p. 222).

224 The Delaware's hunting was done both cooperatively and individually. Early Swedish writers have described one cooperative method in which deer were surrounded either by a ring of men or by a ring of fire, and driven toward the center where they were shot with bow and arrow. Sometimes they were driven into a river where they were lassoed (Johnson, p. 281; Lindstrom, p. 214). According to a later writer, these hunting parties had a leader and were governed by definite rules, but there is no direct evidence for this in pre-contact times (Loskiel, p. 77). These organized hunt took place in the fall, but hunting itself was a year round occupation

ence to this person's having taught them the correct way to live and perform their sacrifices (Brainerd, p. 345; Luckenbach, p. 616; Brinton, 1888, p. 38). 773 776

Methods of Worship

The all-pervasive method of worship was sacrifice of burned flesh or tobacco. The correct method for performing these sacrifices, the dances, the order of procedure, method of constructing the house in which they were to be performed and other details were prescribed to the ancestors of the Delaware in the distant past. Most of these details escaped the notice, or at least failed to arouse the interest of our earliest observers, but Penn sketched their ceremonies in the following general terms: 782 796

> "Their Worship consists of two parts, Sacrifice and Cantico. Their Sacrifice is their first Fruits; the first and fattest Buck they kill, goeth to the fire, where he is all burnt with a Mournful Ditty of him that performeth the Ceremony... The other part is their Cantico, performed by round-Dances, sometimes words, sometimes Songs, then Shouts, two being in the middle that begin, and by Singing and Drumming on a Board direct the Chorus: Their Postures in the Dance are very Antick and differing, but all keep measure..." (p. 38-39; also see Lindstrom, p. 208).

The emphasis on traditionalism in Delaware religion makes it not unlikely that the ceremonies which were witnessed in the eighteenth century were similar to those performed before the white man arrived.[13] [177]

The following description of the fall ceremony is taken primarily from an eye witness account of Abraham Luckenbach, but where details are corroborated by other writers the reference is also cited. It coincides in many details with the ceremony described in Frank Speck's A Study of the Delaware Indian Big House Ceremony, which is an annotated account of a recitation of the ceremony as remembered by a Delaware Indian living in Oklahoma. 796

The ceremony was held in the Big House, which also served as council house. "The entrance was at both gable ends and there was neither floor nor ceiling. Near both ends and in the middle, there were three fires over which hung large kettles in which corn and meat were boiled for the guests and always kept in readiness for them to eat, when finished with the dance." The smoke opening left at the ridge of the roof and the bench running around the interior wall were similar to those already described for ordinary houses (also see Beatty, p. 22). 796 344

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
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Lenape

776 goodness necessarily follows as an attribute of such a deity.

EVIL SPIRIT

The case is different with the Evil Spirit. The modern Lenape in Oklahoma make little mention of an Evil One, and James Wolf, my principal Minsi informant, did not speak of such a being at all, but there is some evidence, however, to show this belief to exist among the Lenape in more recent years.

114 177 776 Some writers do indeed make frequent mention of "the Devil" as figuring in early Lenape belief, but they translate the word "mani'to" as having that meaning, whereas it really signifies a supernatural being, good or bad. These writers evidently regarded as "the Devil" any deity not fitting into Christian doctrine.

But the real truth seems to be that, while in ancient times certain *mani'towŭk*, or spirits, were supposed to work evil, the Devil (along with whiskey and other blessings) was introduced by the whites.

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
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The whole matter is well summed up by Loskiel[11] where he says: "Besides the Supreme Being, they believe in good and evil spirits, considering them as subordinate deities. . . . They seem to have had no idea of the *Devil*, as the Prince of Darkness, before the Europeans came into the country." This idea is also supported by Zeisberger[12] and Brainerd,[13] although Holm[14] seems to give contrary evidence.

MANĬ'TOWŬK OF THE FOUR DIRECTIONS

The Lenape now in Oklahoma believe that when the earth was created, and everything finished, the Creator gave the four quarters of the earth to four powerful beings, or *manĭ'towŭk*, whose duty it was to take care of these regions. These personages are the cause of the winds which blow from the different directions, with the exception of the tornado, which is thought to have a different origin. In the winter, it is said that the *manĭ'towŭk* of the north and the south are playing the game of bowl and

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
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hide stretched over poles. They do not use the same step in the dance, but gallop like buffaloes and bellow like them, also have horns on their heads and occasionally hook at each other. The dance is usually given before starting on a chase."

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IMPORTED CEREMONIES

SKELETON DANCE

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The preceding ceremonies have all been, ostensibly at least, of native Lenape origin, but we now come to several whose outside origin is admitted by the Indians themselves. The most ancient of these is the "Human Skeleton Dance," mentioned by Adams.[50] He calls it a rite belonging to the Wolf clan or phratry of the Delawares, but the writer's informants say that it is not true Lenape at all, but a Nanticoke (One"tko) ceremony introduced among the Lenape by the survivors of that tribe who had joined forces with them. Adams' account, which is better than any the writer was able to obtain, is as follows:

"*Human Skeleton Dance.*—Given only by the Wolf clan of the Delawares. A

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
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Lenape

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certain dance given as a memorial to the dead was supposed to clear a way for the spirit of the deceased to the spirit land. When a member of the Wolf clan died, the flesh was stripped from the bones and buried, and the bones were dried at some private place. At the end of 12 days the skeleton would be wrapped in white buckskin and taken to a place prepared for the dance and there held up by some one. As the singers would sing the men who held the skeleton would shake it and the bones would rattle as the dancers would proceed around it. After the dance the skeleton was buried.

[773]

Traditions say that in ancient times some of the head men in the Wolf clan had a dream that they must treat their dead in that way, and the custom has been handed down to them for many centuries. The other clans say the custom does not belong to them. The custom has been long dropped. There has not been a skeleton dance since 1860."

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
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Lenape

Peyote Rite

One of the latest of introduced ceremonies, which was still much in favor with the Oklahoma Lenape when last visited by the writer, is the Peyote Rite, a cult

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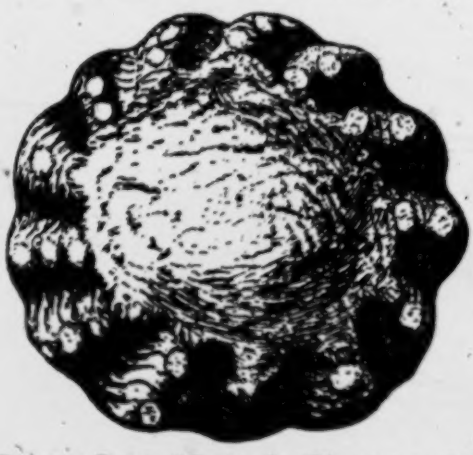

Fig. 19.—Peyote "Button." (Diameter, 1.9 in.)

now widespread among the tribes of the Central West, introduced among this people by an Indian named John Wilson, who obtained it, they say, from the Caddo on Washita river about the year 1890 or 1892. During this ceremony re-

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
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markable visions are produced by eating the dried top of a small cactus, the *peyote* (fig. 19), for which the cult is named, and these visions, coupled with the moral teachings embodied in the ritual, make it very attractive to the Indian, who, on joining the cult, is often persuaded to discard entirely the ancient beliefs of his own people. The writer is acquainted with two principal forms of the rite, one involving native deities only, the other, almost entirely Christian in teaching and symbolism. It is this latter form which has been adopted by the Lenape, to whom the tipi, in which the ceremony is held, is as foreign an institution as the little cactus itself, brought in from southern Texas and Mexico.

Paraphernalia.—For this ceremony the tipi is erected with the door to the east, and a complex series of symbols arranged inside, as shown in the smaller drawing, pl. IX. On the western side of the lodge is built a crescent-shaped mound, or "moon," of earth, packed hard, its horns turned toward the east, which they

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

say represents the tomb where Christ was buried, and on the center of this is placed a large peyote, dampened and flattened (fig. 19), resting either on a bed of feathers or on the bare earth; and to the west of this again, sometimes a crucifix, as shown in the illustration. Between the points of the crescent is built the fire in a certain prescribed manner with overlapping sticks forming an angle pointing westward. Near the door lies another mound—a round one representing the sun. From the peyote resting on the embankment to the sun mound, directly through the middle of the fire, a line is drawn in the earth of the floor. This represents the "peyote road" along which the Peyote Spirit takes the devotee on a journey toward the sun, and also symbolizes the road to Heaven that Jesus made for the souls of men when He returned thither. West of the crescent shaped mound stands, when not in use, the highly decorated arrow or staff, frequently made in the form of a long cross, with a groove extending from

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

end to end, representing the spirit road. A small water-drum made of a piece of deerskin stretched over a crock, as seen in pl. IX, a nicely carved drumstick, an eagle-feather fan for brushing all evil influence away from each devotee as he enters or leaves the ceremony, and a supply of dried peyote, dampened and crushed in a mortar, are all necessary for the ceremony. Each devotee, moreover, must be supplied with a decorated gourd rattle of his own.

Officers.—The only officers needed for this rite are a "Road-man" or speaker, who sits in the west, just opposite the door, and a fire guard stationed at the door, whose duty it is to keep the fire burning, and to brush with the feather fan the devotees as they enter. This is illustrated in the colored plate (pl. IX), which represents also the "Road-man" guiding a newcomer to a seat.

Conduct of the Ceremony.—When all are gathered in the tipi, the leader first passes around a fragment herb which the people chew and rub over hands and

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

body. Then the macerated peyote is passed, and each takes enough to make eight pellets about half an inch in diameter, of which some eat all, some only part, reserving some pellets to be eaten later. About this time the leader addresses the peyote and the fire, prays, and often delivers a regular sermon or moral lecture. He then takes the staff in his left hand, and sitting, or kneeling on one knee, he sings a certain number of peyote songs, which are a class to themselves, while the man to the left beats the drum, then passes the staff to the person on his right, himself taking the drum while this person sings, and so the staff travels round and round the lodge, each taking his turn at singing, while the devotees, men and women alike, keep their eyes fixed upon the fire or upon the peyote lying on the mound. As the night wears on the "medicine" begins to take effect, and the devotees see many strange visions, pictures, and brilliant-colored patterns. Often one may see the Peyote Spirit, in the form of an old

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6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
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man, who takes his spirit on a wonderful journey along the "peyote road," eastward toward the sun. At daybreak they all file out of the tipi bearing their paraphernalia, as seen in pl. IX, *b*, and when the sun appears they raise their hands in salutation, and then those who are left standing (for some fall as if dead at the sight of the sun) "give thanks to the Great Father in Heaven." Those who fall at sunrise, they say, are the ones who visited the sun in their visions. All sleep, or at least rest, until about noon, when a feast is served, after which everyone tells what he or she saw while "on the peyote road."

The Lenape variant of this ceremony, as related above, differs somewhat from that of other tribes practising the Christian form of the Peyote rite, but in all essentials it is almost identical.

Ghost Dance

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The Ghost dance was also introduced among the Lenape by an Indian named Wilson, about the same time, our infor-

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

mants thought, as the Peyote rite, and, like it, probably from the Washita River region. 177●
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796x

Wilson would call a dance every now and then during his lifetime, at which the people appeared in their everyday dress, without such special costumes as were seen, for instance, at such functions among the Kiowa and the Arapaho. At these meetings the participants would dance round and round for a long time, with a sidewise step, to the sound of song and water-drum, sometimes for a considerable period without stopping. Occasionally one would fall and appear to faint, and when revived would claim to have visited Heaven in spirit while his body lay as if dead. When Wilson died, the cult, so far as the Delawares were concerned, perished with him. [787]

Such were the ceremonies surviving until recent times among the Lenape, from which have been omitted only the observances connected with the dead, shamanism, witchcraft, and war, all of which will be discussed in later papers.

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
NM7 Delaware NM7

which some of them use to cover themselves with, which are of red or blue frieze or deer skin, everywhere sewed on with their money, and around the edges which hang down, lightly fastened with hanging narrow strips, like thick long fringes on the ends of which they also have money strung. Over their shoulders they have belts of money, threaded into figures. Otherwise, while the savages grow up they go quite naked, the very way they are born to this world, with the exception of the money they carry on themselves, knowing of no shame, and would not to this day hide their privacy, if they were not corrupted[12] by the Christians, of whom they are ashamed, and are hence compelled, if they wish to have dealings with the Christians, to cover themselves with something.

Lately, however, the sachems or chiefs of the savages and some of the principal savages have

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[12] *Uthskämde*, perhaps Lindeström means: to cause to be ashamed.

Williams says:

"They have a two-fold nakednesse:

"First, ordinary and constant, when although they have a Beasts skin, or an English mantle on, yet that covers ordinarily but their hinder parts and all the foreparts from top to toe, (except their secret parts, covered with a little Apron, after the patterne of their and our first Parents) I say all else open and naked.

"Their male children goe starke naked, and have no Apron untill they come to ten or twelve yeers of age; their Female they, in a modest blush cover with a little Apron of an hand bresdth from their very birth. Their second nakednesse is when their men often abroad and both men and women within doores, leave off their beasts skin, or English cloth and so (excepting their little Apron) are wholly naked; yet but few of the women but will keepe their skin or cloth (though loose) or neare to them ready to gather it up about them.

"Custom hath used their minds and bodies to it, and in such a freedom from any wantonnesse, that I have never seen that wantonnesse amongst them, as, (with griefe) I have heard of in Europe." *Key*, 106. Cf. also Van der Donck, *N. Y. Col.*, 2, I, 194.

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
NM7 Delaware NM7

begun to buy shirts from the Christians, reaching to the knees; but they do not know enough to let them be washed, but let them stay on unwashed as long as there is a single piece left. Lately the Christians have had a lot of coats, reaching to the knees, made of frieze for the savages living nearest [to themselves], the one side of the breast and back, red, the other side, blue, likewise on the arms, as the clothes of the orphan children in Stockholm are made. These [coats] the principal sachems bought from the Christians and liked them very much. Otherwise, when they want to be well dressed they wrap around themselves an ell of red or blue frieze of the broad Dutch frieze,[13] which they also buy from the Christians. On their feet they use *sippackor* or laced shoes of deer skin,[14] bordered and decorated with their money, almost in the same manner as the northern lace-shoe.[15]

The habit of the women is the same as that of the men, the only difference being in the adornment of the hair, in that the females braid their hair in 4 locks, which they allow to hang down the

[13] *Breeda hollänska frijset.*

[14] A Lenapé word (whose root is present in the various Algonkian dialects). It is found as *seppock*, *shipak*, etc., and came to mean shoe. It was adopted into English as *shoepack*. Lindeström added the Swedish plural *-or* (*sippackor*), as Swedish words ending in *a* were usually feminine and took the plural in *-or*. See also Campanius, *Cate.* Cf. note 7, above, and Chapt. VIII, note 6d. In Minsi the word seems to have been *matchtschipak* (*matchesin*, *mockussin* (New England), etc., *moccasin*.) Cf. Brinton, *Dict.*, 71; Zeisberger, *Dict.*, 171–2; Williams, *Key*, 107. The Indian shoes were made of corn husks and (mostly) of leather (deer or elk). Cf. *N. Y. Col.*, 2, II, 269.

[15] *Norrländske snörpakor.* "Shoes" somewhat similar to the Indian moccasins were used by the Lapps and Finns in Northern Sweden.

I. INTRODUCTION

In 1638 Sweden planted the first permanent colony on the banks of the Delaware River. Since that date there has been continuous contact between the Delaware Indians then residing there and the whites. The Delaware Indians today offer an opportunity to study the process of culture change through a period of three centuries of contact with another culture.

The term "culture change" embraces all aspects of culture change, regardless of the process or processes whereby the change was brought about, whether by indigenous evolution, stimulus-diffusion, contact on a small or a large scale, or by some other way.

Acculturation is one process by which culture change takes place; it is the approximation of the culture of one social group to that of another under conditions of continuous contact. This process admits of a two-way passage of influence and predicates no end result except that it be somewhere between the two original cultures. Diffusion of ideas, technical processes and the like between neighboring groups is properly an example of acculturation. Usually acculturation studies are concerned with the results of the process on only one tribe or group.

Assimilation is distinguished from acculturation on the basis of political control. It is a process of culture change with the political dominance of one group directing the process and usually resulting in the engulfing of the other group and the obliteration of its culture. However, there are instances in which it was the ruling group that was engulfed or assimilated. Assimilation is acculturation, then, with a predicated result: the obliteration of one of two groups in contact.

Diffusion as a process is distinguished from acculturation only by the absence of direct or continuous contact. As a matter of fact, diffusion within a group is responsible for the preservation of its culture; diffusion between groups is responsible for the spread of culture and hence the change or accretion of traits among the receiving groups. If the examples of the diffusion of

[p. 6 is blank]

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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731 Gnadenhütten affair. A score or so of families settled on the
167 Clinton River northwest of the site of Mount Clemens on land belonging to the Chippewa. They lived there from 1782 to 1786. In the latter year they moved to Pilgerruh near Pittsburgh, then to Pettquotting, and finally in 1791 to Canada. A few families returned to the Tuscarawas in 1798.

167 In the meantime the "heathen" Delaware were settling in
657 western Indiana, principally along the White River. In 1821 these were moved across the Mississippi by the Federal Government to a reservation near Leavenworth, Kansas. There they were joined about 1835 by a band of Delaware which had removed to Missouri in 1789 with the permission of the Spanish Government, and by 1820, after a sojourn in Arkansas, had moved to Texas with a Shawnee band. In 1867 the Delaware sold their lands in Kansas and bought rights as members of the Cherokee Nation in Oklahoma. A small party was living among the Caddo and Wichita in south-central Oklahoma when the "general severalty act" authorizing allotments was passed in 1887. This group received allotments as members of the Caddo and Wichita groups with which they have since been incorporated, while the majority in northeastern Oklahoma received allotments as members of the Cherokee Nation.

161 We have no estimates of the number of Delaware at the time
162 of their first contacts with the whites when they were living in a fairly compact body. Since then they have been scattered and connected with other tribes, with only an occasional village composed solely of Delaware. In 1824 their number was estimated as 1,500 in Kansas and 650 in Canada and scattered through New York and Ohio. In 1910 their population including the Munsee was about 1,850, of whom 895 were in Oklahoma, 55 in Kansas, about 250 Munsee with Stockbridge in Wisconsin, and 619 on three different reserves in Ontario. The 1930 figures show a slight decline, with 874 in Oklahoma.

CONTACTS

● 177 In their original habitat and during their migrations, the Delaware have been exposed to different types of white contact.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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These may be characterized by relative size in the following chronological order. 177

1. Until 1638. Contacts with only occasional trading ships.
2. 1638 to about 1700. Entire Delaware communities in contact with smaller white communities.
3. 1700 to 1750. Entire Delaware communities in contact with larger white communities.
4. 1751 to 1821. Contacts mainly with missionaries and traders.
5. 1821 to about 1850. Reservation life, contacts with government officials, missionaries, traders, and smaller white communities. [657]
6. 1850 to 1938. Delaware families on individual tracts and allotments, no longer in communities, in contact with white communities, and after 1890 surrounded by them.

At only rare and brief intervals, like the French and Indian War and the Revolution, were the whites openly and militantly hostile to the Delaware. Their contacts aside from these exterminating expeditions were responsible for the following types of effect. 648 177

1. Introduction of new ideas, materials, and techniques, with possible supplanting of the old ideas.
2. Introduction of other Indian elements through traders.
3. New tribal contacts through moves forced upon the Delaware whether by administrative action or otherwise. [167]
4. Change in habitat, due to destruction of game, forests, etc., and settlement on reservations and allotments.

It should be pointed out that not only did the white contact range through various nationalities—Swedish, Dutch, English, French, German, and American, but white culture as a whole was also changing through the centuries of contact. The most striking aspect of this evolution was probably in technology, but the changes in attitude towards the Indians and the changes in administrative policy were also important.

In their first historical habitat the Delaware were almost surrounded by closely related tribes—the Munsee, Mahican, Nanticokes, Conoy, Manhattan, and other members of the Wap- 133 177

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

133 pinger confederacy, and the Iroquoian Susquehannas. Contacts
177 with the Iroquois were probably not very numerous until the Iroquois destroyed the Susquehanna in 1676. In 1689 contact with the Shawnee was first reported. Friendly relations with this tribe have continued to the present day but were particularly close during their residence in Ohio and Indiana. Their migrations westward brought them in contact with many other tribes, the Huron, Chippewa, Ottawa, Miami, Pawnee, Osage, Quapaw, and Cherokee to mention only the most important.

177 It is impossible to detect the full effect of each of these contacts upon the Delaware culture. Intermarriages took place with some of these tribes that there is no way of tracing. Genealogical research among the living Delaware is of no help since, generally speaking, the horizon of their memories is reached at three generations. Also complicating the picture is the fact that adoption completely wiped out tribal origin. The effect of all these contacts with other tribes was not, however, as great as the influence of the more powerful and more divergent culture of the whites.

THE DELAWARE TODAY

162 The census of 1930 listed 971 Delaware and Munsee in the United States, of whom 874 were living in Oklahoma. Of these 20.2 per cent were reported as full blooded. An examination of the instructions to the enumerators of the census reveals that the individual was asked for the percentage of Indian blood he
144 possessed and the tribe to which he belonged. The census figures
161 do not show the amount of mixture between tribes. According to the information I could get from the Indians themselves, it is very doubtful if there is a single full-blooded Delaware today. Many who are less than half Delaware consider themselves all Delaware, and would so state if casually asked, but even a short genealogy usually shows a mixture with white blood and also with that of other tribes. In 1865 the Indian agent among the Delaware reported that intermarriage was lessening the Indian blood among various tribes and that there was no remarkable in-

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

crease or decrease in population, although the Delaware had increased some three hunderd in number.[1]

Most of the Delaware are living on their allotments scattered through the territory originally reserved for the Cherokee. Few of their allotments are contiguous, due to the exigencies of the allotting and to the fact that many of the farms have been sold when restrictions were removed. Very few of them were fortunate enough to have oil on their lands. They either farm their fields or cash rent them. Judging from the state of repair of the houses, those that farm their own fields are more prosperous than those who rent them out. This distinction is also recognized by the Indians. The majority probably rent their fields and subsist on the small cash return, aided by the produce from their gardens, old age pensions, and other occasional sources of income. There is very little in the appearance of their houses to distinguish them from their white neighbors. Clothes and automobiles also reflect their economic status in the same way that these items do for their white neighbors.

After their incorporation with the Cherokee, the Delaware maintained their own chieftainships for a time. As the functions of these clan heads ceased, so did the rules for the filling of the offices and the need for keeping them filled. The last of the clan chiefs died about 1900. Since that time only chiefs for the entire Delaware group in northeastern Oklahoma have been elected. These were elected mostly for business purposes—to have an official representative to treat with the Federal Government on annuities and other money matters. In the election each of the three tribal divisions, Turtle, Wolf, and Turkey nominated a candidate. The man getting the most votes was elected chief and the one getting the next highest number became assistant chief. The last election was held about 1917. The chief who was elected then died about 1935, and since that time there has been no recognized chief.

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[1] Pratt, John G., to J. R. Doolittle, September 15, 1865, in *Condition of the Indian Tribes. Report of the Joint Special Committee . . .* (*Senate Reports*, 39 Congress, 2 session, No. 156, Washington, D. C., 1867), Appendix, p. 483.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

114 The twelve accounts may be divided into two groups on the
126 basis of their origin. The first eight were obtained from written
128 sources, five published and three unpublished. The last four were obtained from field work among the modern Delaware. For convenience, the first group will hereafter be called sources and the last group informants. Considering the time of inscribing or of obtaining the information on which they are based, the eight sources are found to form three groups and to represent three periods: the first composed of the accounts of Williams, Van der Donck, and Lindeström, dated 1643, 1653, 1656, respectively; the second, of the accounts of Zeisberger, 1780, and Heckewelder, whose account, although not published until 1819, is considered contemporaneous, as he left active mission work in 1786; and the third group, of the three Cass manuscripts dated 1823 and 1824. The accounts of the modern informants constitute the fourth group and period.

In the discussion of the different elements, comparison is usually between the accounts as grouped in these four periods. As page references to citations from the accounts of the three manuscripts and the four informants are impossible, they have been omitted for the published accounts also, in the interests of uniformity. When neither the tabulation of the material from the different accounts nor the section of ethnographic notes amplifying or qualifying the tabulated element list indicates the existence of any problem on any element, that element is omitted in the discussion. Numbers in parentheses refer to the numbers given to the elements on the table.

DISCUSSION OF THE ELEMENTS

Astronomy, Mathematics, etc.

121 The Delaware of the present indicate a knowledge of astronomy and mathematics that was not reported in historical accounts (3, 13). Whereas lack of knowledge or understanding on the part of some of the early reporters may be responsible for some of the apparent change, it is more reasonable to assign the [177] cause of several of these changes to white contact. Belief in the

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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roundness of the earth was denied until the fourth period (3). This definitely dates the emergence of the element in the period of greatest white influence. Since, in this period, the economy of the Delaware closely paralleled that of most of their white neighbors, it is not surprising that a knowledge of arithmetic in the abstract appeared that had been denied in former periods (13). The period three denials of opinions respecting the planetary system are refuted by the statements of Zeisberger and appear to be the result of confusion on the part of the authors between opinions and knowledge (1). The opinions of the Indians may have been erroneous, but they undoubtedly had them, as their names for stars and the myths concerning them show.

The division of the year into twelve months or moons to agree with the European usage appears to have been accomplished very early (7). Roger Williams reported thirteen months in 1643 but did not name them. Heckewelder gives the names of eleven months, omitting what would correspond to our November.

Religion

Religion among the Delaware appears to have been very insusceptible to change. From the records available, over three hundred years of white contact and more or less continuous missionary efforts have produced only one significant change.

The concept of a Supreme Being, superior to subordinate good and evil deities, who has moral superintendence over worshipers that pray to Him for favors and assistance, is reported from 1643 to the present day, with only occasional dissent and never denial from all sources for any one period. On the belief in a future state of punishments and rewards for which judgment is given immediately after death, there is again complete agreement.

The belief in the whereabouts of the places of habitation of the souls of good and bad, has, however, undergone modification (37). Roger Williams and Van der Donck recorded southwest and south, respectively, as the direction in which lay the land of

(Continued on p. 38)

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

775 abode of the souls of the good. In the second and third periods south is again mentioned as the direction of the land of good souls. However, in the third period the directions up and down for the location of the future abodes of the souls of good and bad persons appear. In the fourth period, the ascension of the souls of the good is unanimously asserted, while only one added that they also went west. This informant, E. R., also said that souls of the bad went down, whereas W. T., also of Anadarko, said that they stayed here on earth. W. L., of Dewey, said that souls of bad persons went to all the places on earth where they had committed their evil actions and were there punished. All this happened in the eleven days between death and the departure of the soul for the celestial abode of the Great Spirit.

775 The Delaware have thus approached the popular Christian
177 notions on this point but still retain some of their earlier concepts. The exposition of the modern Delaware clears up the confusion and seeming contradictions that exist in the earlier accounts as to the final disposition of the souls of the bad. There can be little doubt that missionary teaching was responsible for the idea of a hell which cropped up in the third period as a belief of the Delaware (35).

771 There are two exceptions to the continuity of concepts other-
177 wise shown by the elements under *Religion*. One is the report of priests in the first period and not thereafter (39). There was probably no change between the first and second periods but merely the discontinuance of the word priest to designate the shamans who were present in all periods. The other exception is the dissenting voice of Captain Chipps on such subjects as subordinate deities, ghosts, witches, and the national worshiping society (22, 38, 40, 41). Chipps was a Canadian Delaware or Munsee and probably the descendant of several generations of Moravian converts, for his account of the religion of the Delaware reflects much greater acceptance of Christian teachings than any of the accounts of the Oklahoma Delaware. The national
794 worshiping society or Big House Ceremony as it is now known,
797 was apparently successfully suppressed by the Moravian missionaries among the Canadian Delaware.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

A cogent reason for the survival of religious beliefs of the Delaware was the vehicle by which they were transmitted from generation to generation, the national worshiping society or Big House. The reaction to the introduction of white ways expressed itself in the integration of a number of original ceremonies. Some Christian elements were unconsciously incorporated along the way, but these were principally modifications of, rather than substitutes for, native concepts. The accounts of the national worshiping society given by John Johnston and Captain Pipe are included in the section of ethnographic notes.[1] I have discussed some of the changes in the ceremony itself during historic times in another article.[2]

Medicines

The information on the ailments prevalent at the time of first contact with the whites is very limited. Williams indicates that chills and fevers and toothaches were the most common disturbances to the health of the Narragansets. He and Lindeström mention plagues and the French disease among the Indians of their time. Smallpox was a plague for which Williams gave a native name. From their lack of resistance to many diseases prevalent in Europe, it has often been postulated that the Indians had not been exposed to them before white contact. The evidence compiled in this study neither proves nor disproves this assumption, although, of course, the modern informants say that in ancient times the Indians were very healthy and had no ills until the white man introduced them. This is in accord with the principle of former good times that is universal in its application.

Changes between early and late periods show up in two elements but are open to question as to the reliability of interpretation of the early information. First, Zeisberger, alone of the authors of the sources, reported cupping in practice among the Delaware (45). This was denied by all the modern informants although cupping by sucking was known among other tribes.

[1] See *post*, pp. 93-97.

[2] Kinietz, Vernon, "European Civilization as a Determinant of Native Indian Customs," in *American Anthropologist*, N. S. XLII(1940), 116-21.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

his successor but the council had to approve his choice (226). 643
Captain Chipps said that the council determined the successor when the chief died, by which he probably meant when he died without naming a successor. On the other hand, he said that all the tribes elected the chief for the others, excluding from the election the tribe for whom the election was held. It may be conjectured that by this he referred to the installation rather than the election of the chief, for such a procedure is out of line with the other accounts of the same period and even the rest of Chipps's own account. Zeisberger's account for the previous period also used the term election for a ceremony described as an installation. Some of the comments of Captain Chipps and Zeisberger also suggest the possibility that it was only the elevation of an ordinary chief to the head chieftainship of one division that was done by the other divisions or tribes (224). This is most likely the true explanation and its acceptance would explain some of the seeming contradictions in the accounts of these two writers. The modern Delaware have no knowledge of the custom, and since in recent years only one chief has been elected for all divisions, there could be no installation by the chiefs of two divisions for the other one.

Two other changes in the fourth period are significant and 643
indicate the almost complete breakdown of the old political 177
organization after continued white contact. These are the non-inheritance of chieftainship and the full participation of the people in the election (216-19, 221).

A reconstruction of the old system would be something very 621
close to the following. The three divisions of the Delaware, 614
Turtle, Wolf, and Turkey, were more or less separated from one another in place of residence and perhaps originally developed from such separation. Even into the nineteenth century certain towns were known as Turtle or Wolf towns. Each of these divisions was subdivided into twelve gentes or subgentes. These were undoubtedly exogamous, and possibly the divisions were also. Chieftainship in the subgentes or in the villages was hereditary in the extended family. Descent was matrilineal; hence, a chief was not succeeded by his son but by a brother, by

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

Since debts were not discussed in detail in the first 686
period, we cannot tell whether their treatment was the same as Zeisberger recorded in the second period or not (244). Zeisberger said that if a debtor was unable to pay, the creditor dunned his friends who had to pay and rarely refused to do so. He thus implied that if a debtor was able to pay he was forced to do so. In the third and fourth periods the consensus was that there was no mode of compelling the payment of a debt, but that relatives or friends usually made restitution (245). Force might be used to get restitution, or, failing that, as a punishment (246). On this last element W. L. was the only dissenter. He said that force was never used because it was unnecessary, that anything borrowed was a gift and did not have to be returned unless a promise to do so was made by the borrower, and that a promise of this sort was always kept.

In spite of W. T.'s view of conditions among the Indians and 686
particularly the Delaware before much contact with the whites 177
had occurred, all of the first and second period accounts give evidence of a native mode of dealing with theft (247). It should be stated, however, that examples were said to be much more infrequent than among contemporaneous Europeans. No punishment except restitution was reported for the first offense (249). In default of restitution, J. W. said that a whipping was ordered 685
by the chief in cases of debt and theft and also as a punishment [684]
for rape. W. L. said that if wampum presents were not forthcoming from a detected thief, the chief ordered him to a whipping log where twenty-five strokes were administered for the first offense, fifty for the second, and other increases up to one hundred. Execution was not sanctioned as a punishment in default of presents, but in each of the last three periods the victim of a theft was said to have the right of killing such a defaulting thief on a subsequent offense, if caught in the act (250). This was denied by Van der Donck in the first period.

All the sources and informants were agreed that murder was 682
punished (251). Williams and Lindeström in the first period and J. W. and W. L. in the fourth were the only ones to report that the nation took any part in administering the punishment (252). However, according to Van der Donck, the chief or friends at-

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852 the sex correlation. The animal or part of it was eaten by a friend who prayed for the continuance of good luck, according to Johnston, J. W. and W. L. (335). The dedication of the animal to deities or the spirits of deceased friends and the giving of the feast at night as mentioned by Johnston were denied by [177] two of the informants (333-34). There is a suggestion of a fourth-period change here that would be stronger if it were not for the paucity of accounts.

224 A feast, a dance, or both, were customarily given on the return of a hunting party, according to the statements or implications of the sources of the first three periods (338-39). The informants all denied that dances were held and W. T. was the [171] only one to admit the giving of feasts. This seems very definitely to reflect a change between the third and fourth periods, probably due to the decline in the economic importance of hunting.

Constitution, Personal Appearance, Dress, etc.

142 The elements under this heading are few and show little 302 change. There are, however, a couple of items that merit some discussion. First, on the matter of extirpating the beard, there is a division of opinion among the sources and among the informants (342). All the sources who mentioned the beard, except Van der Donck, said that it was pulled out. This was confirmed by J. W. in the fourth period but denied by W. T. and E. R. These maintained that the Indians never had beards until they intermarried with the whites.

The hairdress of the women offered little occasion for disagreement (349-53). All the sources and informants who gave any information on the subject agreed that women fastened their hair behind the head. Whether it was braided, clubbed, or fastened in a square bunch seems to have been a matter of individual preference, for one source mentioned all three methods [301] and four other accounts, two of the three methods. Ornamentation was also according to individual preference.

302 Men cut their hair short except for the tuft or scalp lock on the top of the head (345). The scalp lock was made into two braids according to all the sources who reported on this detail,

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but two informants, J. W. and W. L., dissented (346). W. T. alone of the informants recalled the former practice of two braids, one forward and the other to the rear (347). He wore his own hair in two braids hanging down beside his cheeks which he said was a custom borrowed from the Caddo among whom he was living.

It is to be regretted that we do not have better estimates of the average and greatest age of the Delaware (355-56). The figures we do have for the average age are not really average length of life of the population but the usual age at which the old people died. Even more extreme than an average age of seventy to eighty years is the three hundred years given by W. T. Earlier estimates, if available, might show a counterpart of this belief. Among the Shawnee of the eighteenth century the span of life set by the creator was believed to be two hundred years. W. T. said that before the coming of the whites all Indians lived an even three centuries. One hundred and forty years was the next greatest age reported in any other account.

War and Its Incidents

The prosecution and ritual of warfare probably consumed a large portion of the time and energies of the Delaware in prehistoric times. The accounts of the first period are very vague or completely silent upon the subject. In the fourth period the occasions or the means for war were mostly gone and the information again rather incomplete. W. T. for instance said that war was introduced to the Indians by the whites and that they had no practices that were not taught them by the latter. W. L. refused to commit himself on anything pertaining to war. The two younger informants gave fairly complete accounts that in general agreed with those of the earlier periods. Where they do not agree, the explanation is more apt to be due to lack of information than because of a change in custom.

Giving notice of war to the enemy except by incursions of a war party was inconsistent with the method of warfare pursued (362, 364). The existence of large war parties was denied by all accounts and only small parties depending upon surprise for

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and, of course, many accounts not used here (431). Three of the fourth-period informants, J. W., E. R. and W. L., all denied most emphatically that the Delaware ever had ball play. They knew the game and said that the Creeks and others played it but never the Delaware. W. T. of the Washita Delaware did not join in the denial. Repeated inquiries directed at J. W. and W. L. failed to shake their determination that the Delaware had never played the game. A similar reticence about this game among the Shawnee was finally broken down by Erminie W. Voegelin and found to spring from the prohibition of the game imposed by the government in 1874. Her informant stated that the Creek, Yuchi, Delaware, and Choctaw, all played the shinny game. The Shawnee played it until about 1874; after that little boys played it only, just for fun. The Shawnee played so much they neglected their crops. Then the government made them quit playing it.

Details of the various games were so seldom given that comparisons between the different periods are impossible. Usually only the presence or absence of a game can be noted. One exception is the dice game, in describing which all narrators mentioned two colors for the dice.

Reports of the number of dice used varied from five to twelve, with six being the number most frequently given. There was only one report, that of W. L., of twelve, and the suspicion arose that this might have been an extension by the informant of the sacred number twelve to the game and not the true case. Although no record of the connection between the dice game and the Big House Ceremony where the number twelve predominates is found, nor any memory of such a connection is recalled by the Oklahoma Delaware, the fact that Brinton collected in 1887 an account of this game played with twelve flat bones, and that it was said to have had, in the old days, a place in the native religious rites of the Delaware in Ontario," furnishes corroboration of the authenticity of W. L.'s account.

"Brinton, Daniel G., "Lenâpé Conversations," in *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, 1(1888), 40.

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526 177 Games show no change of any significance aside from denial of ball play. Every game reported in earlier periods was remembered in the fourth period. Moccasin game undoubtedly was restricted to play in connection with funeral ceremonies in the fourth but not in earlier periods.

Dances

535 Dances, like games, show remarkably little change. The begging dance, reported in the third period, drew two definite denials in the fourth, while two informants did not even recognize the [721] dance (451). As this dance was usually held in connection with the outfitting of a war party, a fact of which none of the informants were aware (459), the two denials should more properly be classed as lack of information.

The two most important dances from the point of view of the Delaware were the *engomxeen* and the *linkaokon* (448-49). [796] These were their only dances with a religious significance (456-57). The *engomxeen* or worshiping dance was a part of the Big House Ceremony. The *linkaokon* was recognized by most of the informants by that name but is better known as the doll dance. The first has not been held since 1924 and the other since 1929. The only dances that have been held in recent years have been social dances which are not represented in the element list.

Music

533 [796] The elements listed under music are, of course, closely related to dances. The statement of Johnston that there was no ceremonial music except solo singing was refuted by all the informants who felt qualified to answer (475). Johnston's further statement that only nonsense or insignificant words were used in songs, even though corroborated by Chipps, is likewise denied by the same three informants and also by Heckewelder (476). In both these cases the informants are undoubtedly right. The error of Johnston is an understandable one when it is realized that songs were mostly of words carrying allusions, that many of them were archaic forms used only in songs, and that meaningless syllables were added to complete the rhythm, with the results that only an instructed person could understand them.

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121 learned of the discontinued customs through the relations of their
128 ancestors rather than through actual participation.

[114] Another noteworthy aspect is the frequency of contradictions in each period. Doubtless fuller information for each period would result in more conflicting reports. As it is, the list of contradictions is headed by eleven elements which show nothing but contradiction in every period. These eleven elements at least indicate that there was no one practice for these cases and illustrates the fallacy of relying on a single source or supposing the existence of a single practice.

121 Two hundred and forty-one elements were reported upon by
128 sources and informants without any disagreement. To get an
177 understanding of the stability of the culture, to these 241 elements should be added the eleven elements just mentioned, for they all show continuity, making a total of 252, or 57.3 per cent, of the 438 elements analyzed. All of these do not carry through from the first period to the last, for of the 438 elements, answers were returned on 210 in the first period, on 276 in the second, on 416 in the third, and on 436 in the fourth. Some of these elements appearing only in the later periods may represent additions to the culture, as in the case of the blowgun, but, in view of the lack of information on the earlier periods, they cannot be so considered.

177 There are 65 changes very definitely indicated. The changes are divided among the technological, sociological, and spiritual aspects of the culture thus: 16, 38, and 11, respectively. For the 77 technological, 262 sociological, and the 99 spiritual aspects so classified, these represent percentages of 20.77, 14.5, and 11.11, respectively. The series are too small for these small differences to be of great significance. Nevertheless, these figures are the nearest thing to proof that we have for the hypothesis that it is the spiritual life of a people in contact with a superior culture that is the least susceptible to change, that sociological concepts and practices are next, and that technological concepts and practices are the most susceptible.

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These changes are distributed in the various periods as follows: 15 in the second, 14 in the third, and 36 in the fourth. When these are broken down according to the type of change, that is, technological, sociological, and spiritual, the results are indecisive. This is largely due to the small number of elements and their selective nature. Another factor that distorts the picture is the length of time necessary for the completion of some of the changes. Several elements show that two or three periods were required for the complete acceptance of a change.

It has already been mentioned that this element list is the result of the questionnaire written by Cass in 1821. I repeat it because inherent in the questions is the realization that the culture of the Indians had then changed considerably. Consequently many of the changes that had taken place prior to 1821 are not represented. The most important or at least the most numerous items ignored are the tools, utensils, and other articles of everyday use. Articles of this nature of native manufacture were the first things to be superseded by those of European manufacture. The material culture of the Indians was drastically changed by the first of our periods. This fact should be borne in mind when one considers the changes that occurred in the later periods. Another important factor is the larger number of elements covered by the reports of the later periods. The third and fourth periods deal with over twice as many elements as the first. Proper allowance for this condition for the purpose of comparison would be to halve the fourth-period changes. If this is done, the changes for each period are remarkably uniform: 15, 14, and 18.

Now if we recall the different types of contact outlined earlier for the history of the Delaware, we find little variation in the amount of change for each type. In the period before 1750 when contact was between communities of whites and Delaware, there was presumably a great change in material culture. Between 1750 and 1850 the whites with whom the Delaware had contact were mostly traders and missionaries. Increasing emigrant trains and white settlers in the neighborhood of their Kansas reservation created so much trouble that in 1867 the Delaware sold their

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177 reservation and with the proceeds bought rights as members of the Cherokee Nation. They were soon encroached upon in their new location, and by 1890 there were approximately twice as many whites as Indians in the Cherokee territory. There does not appear to have been any great variation in the rate of culture change until this great influx of white settlers.

In this period of assimilation there was a rapid breakdown of Delaware culture preceded by the loss of control of internal affairs which was the last vestige of political autonomy. The memories of the fourth-period informants cover most of this period of assimilation. I have explained previously that their accounts reflect only inadvertently any of the changes that have taken place recently.

Throughout their checkered historical career, then, the Delaware underwent acculturation at a fairly uniform rate. Their history reveals no correlation between the content of acculturation and the type of white contact. The different aspects of culture showing acculturation are correlated with length of contact rather than with type of contact.

Comparisons between the rate of change in acculturation and the rate of change in assimilation are unwarranted in the case of the Delaware, for with them the assimilation followed a long period of acculturation. It should be pointed out that the control of internal affairs was surrendered to the Cherokee and not to the whites although by that time there was no question of their subordination to the latter. When they failed to receive equitable treatment from the Cherokee, they sought justice from the United States Government and submitted to the rule that they had so long rejected.

[148 636]

Most of the changes in the culture of the Delaware are the result of white influence. This was both direct and indirect. Contact with whites was directly responsible for the introduction of many elements such as the rifle and the idea of hell. White contact was indirectly responsible for other changes, such as the discontinuance of use of fish as a staple, use of weirs, and use of single file on the march. These cultural changes followed a change in habitat induced by the whites. Contact with other

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tribes was responsible for few changes. The only one represented in this study is the acquisition of the blowgun.

Of course, it is a mistake to assume that the culture of the Delaware would have been without change through these three centuries if not in contact with whites. Some change in Delaware culture may very well have been the result of indigenous development. The stimulus of the culture of the whites, however, was so much stronger that it is only reasonable that native developments should have been overshadowed. Nor was the culture of the whites standing still through this period. The culture of neither of the two groups was static, but as long as the Indian group was being moved westward ahead of the spread of white settlement, a static condition was simulated for that portion of the whites in contact with the Indians. The frontier changed but frontier conditions tended to remain the same. The effect of this contact with the white frontier is obvious among the Oklahoma Delaware today. The standard of living there is roughly that of pioneer agricultural regions fifty to seventy-five years ago and in the submarginal regions today.

The hypothesis that the technological, sociological, and spiritual aspects of a culture are increasingly resistant to change in that order has been shown to accord with the facts in the case of the Delaware. Language should either be included with the last aspect or be placed fourth and last, but has been omitted as outside the scope of this study. It may be said in passing, however, that the Delaware language is used by many who have otherwise retained little of the cultural heritage of the Delaware.

It seems to me that there is a very good reason for the persistence of the elements of the old spiritual life of a people after practically all other aspects of the culture are gone. This is the fact that control of religious and death practices is usually in the hands of the older people. These are the most conservative of the entire group, as a rule, and tend toward the perpetuation of the ways of their ancestors. This conservative attitude is particularly apparent in burial customs. In these matters the younger people seek to honor the practices of their elders on the death of the latter, even if they do not believe them necessary

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otherwise. The tendency to revert in old age to the teaching of one's childhood also serves to perpetuate the older customs, especially when it is the older people in the group that have charge of the ceremonies after death. Certainly this is the case among the Delaware. Every grave in the Delaware cemetery is oriented with the head to the east. Practically every grave bears the evidence of having been marked with a wooden post even though a stone marker was also erected. Many of the graves were enclosed with stone or wood cribs.

I conclude as a result of this study that historical culture change of the Delaware tribe can be indicated qualitatively and quantitatively by the use of an element list co-ordinated with chronology; that changes in different aspects of this culture have occurred as the result of the length of contact rather than the type of contact involved; that an acculturation study involving a single Indian tribe and the entire white civilization is necessarily one sided; that during white contact the influence of the whites upon the Delaware was almost solely responsible for the changes in the culture of the Indian tribe in question, overshadowing the effects of new contacts with other tribes; and that the process of culture change may be called acculturation or assimilation depending on the absence or presence of complete political domination.

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WELDER and JOHN JOHNSTON said that the proportion was rather more than among the whites, the former attributing the cause to the introduction of liquor.

W. T. denied that there were any sterile Indian women. W. L. said that he knew of two cases.

169. Number of Children

ZEISBERGER gave the usual number of children as 4 to 6 in one place, whereas in another he said 8 to 12.

HECKEWELDER said that generally there were 4 to 5 children in a family, while some families had 6 to 9, and a few had as many as thirteen.

173 and 174. Age of marriage

VAN DER DONCK said that both men and women commonly got married only when they were fit to do so.

DEATH AND ITS INCIDENTS

The following accounts touch on so many points not treated by the others or each other that they are given here in their entirety.

CAPTAIN PIPE—As soon as life leaves the body some distant relative of the deceased takes upon himself the charge of paying the last offices. Two men and two women, not related, are employed in washing and dressing the body, (now in a white cloth; anciently in a newly dressed skin,) which is laid upon a kind of platform where it is kept one day previous to the interment. This time was formerly three days in summer and seven days in winter, because they supposed that the tutelar deity of the deceased might restore them to life; but at this day they seem to have little faith and are apparently anxious to get the corpse out of sight as soon as decency will permit. The two male attendants prepare a coffin in which they place the body, and it is borne by them to the grave, preceded by the relatives and succeeded by the more distant friends. The grave is dug about three feet deep and the coffin is covered with earth as among the whites. Before they knew the use of boards the grave was lined with bark and the body pro-

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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347. Hair in two queues, one forward, one to the rear 302

W. T. said that formerly the Delaware men wore their hair in two braids, one to the front, and the other to the rear of the head but that recently he and others of the Anadarko group had worn their hair in two braids, one on each side of the face, in keeping with the Wichita, Kiowa and Caddo among whom they lived.

349. Hair fastened behind the head

W. L. said that women did not fasten hair at all until men began to do so and then women braided theirs. Could not be more definite about men braiding theirs, when or whether they braided all of their hair or only the queue.

357. Average height

JOHN JOHNSTON said [height] same as whites. CAPTAIN PIPE 141 said that the average height was between five feet nine inches and six feet.

359. Constitution more rugged than that of whites

JOHN JOHNSTON—Their strength I think is inferior [to the 142 whites] but more active, their constitutions are firm while in the prime of life, when they begin to decline I think they decline much faster than the whites.

WAR AND ITS INCIDENTS

361. Decided upon by council or civil chiefs 721

ZEISBERGER said war was decided upon by "the captains" presumably referring to the war chiefs.

W. T. said that war was not a part of the Delaware way of [177] life until after the whites came and taught them to make war on each other.

W. L. said that there had been no wars in his time and that he knew nothing about conducting them.

364. Notice of war given

E. R. said that arrows would be sent to the other party after they had tried to settle a dispute by talk, if the other party kept the arrows they knew they had better prepare for war.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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A sharp distinction is drawn between that group of animals considered pure and undefiled in the spiritual sense and the group that has become contaminated through the modification of its diet and behavior brought about by domestication, in brief, wild animals as against the domesticated. The wild creatures are defined as being pure, clean, undefiled, the term used to describe them being pi'lai·. It is these which the Delaware observant may resort to for food, and for materials required in his economic life, and with them he has spiritual associations.[1] The domestic animals belonging to the white man's realm do not fit in his scheme of things, as they have not been fashioned by the Great Spirit to suit the needs of his red people.[2] It has been difficult indeed for the Delaware doctrinists to adjust the sweeping changes brought about in the economic life of the tribe, in the process of Europeanization, to a creed which pronounces the innovations from an alien world to be defilements. The disappearance of the wild animals, the compulsion of substituting their meat, their materials with those of a pastoral-agricultural civilization have, in the belief of the people, been the cause of their social and physical decline. They consider themselves to be losing vitality in proportion to their departure from old and natural or wilderness ways.[3] Accordingly we find the statement made that the deer, the elk, the bison, the antelope, and other wild animals are not only clean and "pure," but that they are man·i't·u. This we may note, in brief, is a most positive characteristic of Delaware belief.

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This distinction is supported by evidence well expressed by Zeisberger. "They regard the Europeans as a peaceable people, created of God to live according to their own manners and customs, even as the Indians have been created to live in their fashion, especially to sustain themselves by means of the chase. They think it contrary to the will of the deity to adopt, themselves, the manner of living peculiar to Europeans, pointing to fish, animals and birds as each having their characteristic habits. Each creature, bear, deer, or other animals, continues to live in its own way, and it has never yet been observed that an animal has adopted the habits of another. The same principle, they hold, applies to Indians and Europeans."[4]

for the realm of undefiled Nature the Delaware has a definite abstract term, te'koneau's·uwak·an literally "wilderness life."

[1] Heckewelder, op. cit., p. 196. In his account we note that the Mohican and Shawnee are very particular in their choice of meat.

[2] The preordained destiny of the Delawares to live as hunters and that of the whites to farm and domesticate is brought out in matter well presented by Heckewelder (op. cit., p. 187).

[3] It may be added that a corresponding idea of clean versus unclean animals is predominant among other Algonkian groups. Correspondence to the Delaware term pilsi may be noted with the same significance in Wabanaki, pila-, Algonquin pi'nsi·.

[4] Zeisberger, op. cit., p. 121.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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bers of the group are convened for the Big House ceremony the day intervals between the nightly performances are passed in taking rest and in pastimes of a native character. The Delawares have various games (li·nalo'ti·n) of a non-formal nature. Among these are horse racing (h'wta'me'laxtaŋ, "trying out horses), and the dice and bowl game (ma'ma'ndi·n, "gathering [dice]") consisting of five dice, cut out of musale shell carved into forms of button, horsehead, tortoise, tossed in a wooden bowl, the counters being kernels of corn or coffee beans. Other amusements, some obviously of European origin, are checkers, pitching quoits, cards, broad-jumping and jack-straws, it might be added that the Delawares are addicted to the well known moccasin-game but reserve it for the funeral ceremony.[1]

CEREMONIAL IMAGE AND FACE-PAINTING.—The application of pigment to the face has, in Delaware thought, the value of an anointment. The sanctity of the act of face-painting in connection with the performance is displayed in the formality of the rite on the ninth night in which the carved images in the Big House, the face images on the forked drum-sticks, and the faces of the worshipers themselves are given an application of red color. The images, however, receive an application of black and red on each half of the face, while the people receive a rubbing of red only on the cheeks and forehead. The proper native source of red for face painting, which the Delawares believe to have been created for their use by the Great Spirit, is Blood-root (Sanguinaria canadensis). Of this we hear occasionally in the text. In the accounts dealing with Indian customs in the east, Blood-root under the name pukoon is mentioned as an article of much importance. The term *pukoon* became adopted into English and the root became a color substance sought for in the commerce of the colonies. The Delawares still preserve a feeling of its importance and, although considered rare in the present habitat of the tribe in Oklahoma, it is locally present in quantities sufficient to supply an orange-red stain for them in their ceremonies. They call it pe''kon.[2]

Black painting is also important in significance. Black (sɔk·a'χtai, "black charcoal") is a means of summoning ghosts and so it is worn only when such associations are desired.[3]

In an account of early Pennsylvania and New Jersey, Gabriel Thomas (1698)[4] tells us that the Delawares upon decease made their faces black all over, and when their affairs went well they painted

[1] To be dealt with in a later memoir of this series.

[2] The identity of the above term with Sanguinaria was ascertained during a trip with the informant in the Pennsylvania woods where the plant was found and named.

[3] The informant remembers when a child being told by his mother to go wash the black paint from his face before night came on, after he had been playing dancing, lest it attract a ghost.

[4] Gabriel Thomas' Account, etc., in Narratives of Early Pennsylvania, West New Jersey, and Delaware, N. Y. (1912), edited by Albert Cook Myers, p. 341.

11:Newcomb E-5 (1952) 1956 NM7 Delaware NM7

The Peyote Cult of the Delaware Indians

by WILLIAM W. NEWCOMB, JR.

Texas Memorial Museum

276 Peyote *(Lophophora williamsii)* is a spineless, carrot-shaped, grayish-green cactus, which in this country grows primarily in the lower Rio Grande Valley. When eaten, either green, dried, or drunk as tea, peyote has the property of heightening or sharpening the perception of colors, forms, and sounds, or inducing visual and/or auditory hallucinations. The extent to which a person has or does not have hallucinations depends upon his physical and psychological state, the amount and type of peyote ingested, and perhaps other factors. Peyote is not a narcotic in that "It does not excite, stupefy, or produce muscular incoordination; there is no hangover; and the habitual user does not develop any increased tolerance or dependence" (La Barre, *et al.*, 1951: 582).

175 A knowledge of the properties of peyote and its utilization in religious ceremonies antedates recorded history in Mexico. It was not 177 until late in the nineteenth century, however, that knowledge and a 276 new ceremonial use of peyote developed and spread widely among the 795 demoralized reservation Indians of the United States. The peyote cult was attractive to many of these Indians because it could easily replace outmoded or discarded religious rites, and because it was a continuing, if mild, rejection of elements of the dominant civilization. The new cult diffused to the Delaware Indians of northeastern Oklahoma about 1885, through the agency of John Wilson, a Caddo-Delaware from Anadarko in western Oklahoma (Petrullo, 1934: 83; La Barre, 1938: 109–123). This man had become a peyotist about 1880, and in subsequent years he converted many Delawares and other Indians in Oklahoma. John Wilson's version of peyotism, termed Big Moon or Moonhead, is today the most popular form of the cult among the main body of Delawares in northeastern Oklahoma. A less Christianized and less all-embracing religious cult called Little Moon was introduced somewhat later and has never attracted as many followers. I was unable to attend a Little Moon meeting; what follows pertains only to the Big Moon ceremony.

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meeting than they were two decades ago. In this respect peyotists seem to be merely following the general trend of White society.

Big Moon peyotism diffused to the Delawares as a substitute for an outmoded religious system, but its replacement of the traditional religion has been slow and incomplete. The peyote cult is still regarded by many Delawares as a somewhat inferior replacement for the traditional ceremonies. What is more, during World War II the Big House Ceremony, the major, annual religious rite of the Delawares, was revived and held three times, albeit in abbreviated form. The Delawares would continue the old rites today, but because of expense, cultural decay, and other factors, they have been finally abandoned. It is doubtful whether the traditional rites, even if abbreviated and vestigial, can ever again be held. Petrullo (1934: 175) underestimated their strength when he said more than two decades ago that they were "No longer able to perform the ancient ceremonies. . . ." Neither Petrullo nor I found out what proportion of the Delawares were peyotists, Christians, or adherents to the old religion, so that changes in religious affiliation are largely a matter of conjecture. It is known, however, that many of the proponents of the abandoned religion have become peyotists, but at least a few have become Christians. In short, the peyote cult has never completely replaced the traditional religion, nor has it gained universal approval. The most that can be said by way of comparison is that the Big Moon cult was a covert, lively, and popular one in the thirties; it remains so today.

Probably the greatest changes which have occurred in Delaware Big Moon peyotism within the past twenty-five years have been in the reasons why people are drawn to it. There is not space here to discuss this topic in detail, but it should be pointed out that the peyote cult originally diffused to the Delawares, and was still attractive to them in the early thirties because:

> . . it teaches acceptance of the new world, and makes possible an attitude of resignation in the face of the probable disappearance of the Indian groups as distinct peoples, culturally and racially, by insisting on the necessity of emancipation from mundane aspirations. . . . [The peyote cult] is the natural but final recourse of a subjugated people who fully realize the inadequacy of their material means to restore their former world-state (Petrullo, 1934: 1).

The appeal of modern peyotism is, at least in part, of a different nature. Briefly, the Delawares are no longer a cohesive cultural or social entity; they are geographically scattered and socially atomized. There is no tribal activity which draws them together as Delawares, and every year there are fewer distinctive customs which set them apart from

Small buttons and
531 brooches ranging from ½ to ¾ of an inch
[291] in diameter were used in decorating the capes on women's over-waists. These capes were made to fall over the shoulders covering the upper arm. The silver buttons and brooches were arranged in various patterns sometimes covering the entire cape or collar. Several very old specimens are now extant in private and museum collections.

531 The use of Peyote[1] for ceremonial and
795 medicinal purposes was introduced among
[298 the Delawares about 1880. With the
177] growth of this religious creed a new

[P.26, A]

15:Morgan 2-5 (1859)1959
NM7 Delaware NM7

[#50 (A)]

[*Payment Day*]

657 The place of payment was centrally located
527 but a most inconvenient place in itself, as it was upon a side hill with very rough ground all around it. The only recommendation was the eight or ten houses which made up the settlement, and furnished shelter for
[439] the goods of the traders, who are inseparable from all payments. The number present was large, just as many of the Delawares as could possibly leave their homes, with a single one behind in some cases to watch the premises. About 800 were present and some Shawnees from the opposite side and perhaps 100 white people, including traders and spectators. I arrived about 10 A.M. and the paying out commenced about 1 P.M.

291 The Indian women were all dressed out
● 177 in their best attire, as this is the only occa-
[527] sion that ever brings them together as a
657 people. We saw the fruits of the sales of previous years, and some of the present, in
[439] advance a few hours of the time of payment, as the traders are eager to commence their work at once. In the first place the Delaware women have usually dropped the Indian skirt, and put on the long dress of the white female. I thought I saw a skirt upon an elderly woman, although it was covered up with a gown. Their dresses are of all colors, and some of them of rich materials. A few were dressed in colored muslin with silk shawls, and looked quite becomingly, but the most of them were, strange to say, dressed in silk gowns, some of which were brocade patterns of rich brocade silk, some were black, these looked the best. Some were crimson and black, some fiery plaid; the most of them were in bright colors. Over these they wore silk shawls of every color and shade, most of them fringed. They were expensive silk shawls of good

D 291 177 materials. Some of them had on two shawls, and some a third arranged as a neck drape. They appeared to have put on all they had, to show it, the quantity of dress being of more importance in their sight than its style, or quality.

Of course their appearance as a whole was fantastic and ludicrous. The dresses were made without taste from scant patterns, and worn without hoops or petticoats, thus giving to the skirt an appearance not to be compared for a moment with the Indian female skirt of cloth and blanket of the same, but these would be too warm for Kansas. I was glad to see the gown upon them, as it is a move in the right direction. At home they may wear the Indian gown, but I doubt it. The Shawnee women, all [S 291] that I saw, wore the gown. On their heads they tie a silk handkerchief universally. I did not see a bonnet among them.

D 142 144 The color of the Indian women is quite uniform, and is light. It shows that the white blood infused into them in the East has been well diffused throughout. The next cross with the white will make a pretty white child, of which I saw a few and but a few specimens, as the Delawares are [D 563] quite vigorous against intermarriage with the whites; and also against unlawful intercourse. As a whole, the expression on the D 142 face of the women was pleasant and healthful. They look strong, literally cleanly and [D 164] healthy, although I am told by Mr. Ford that syphilis is among their women to an alarming extent. Their faces would not lead to such a suspicion.

D 291 The men were more fantastically dressed than the women, and did not appear half as well. Their fancy dresses were cheap and absurd, rendering their general appearance [D 191] ridiculous. There were many good faces among them, and also well dressed Indians

[p55 (B)]

614 have expressed themselves in favor of the
622 person nominated. If they disagree, I have
623 not ascertained how it is adjusted. After the person is agreed upon, then all the chiefs meet in council and perform the ceremony of investing him with his office.

622 The war chiefs are selected and made such by the Head Chief without consulting the people, but not so with the Head Chief.

241 The Delawares are very well advanced as agriculturalists. When Mr. Pratt came
342 among them 12 years ago, as he informs me,
177 they were living in bark houses. Now many of them are living in frame houses two stories and 2½ stories high, some with a veranda in front the whole length, and they have good barns and outbuildings. Some of
231 them have herds of cattle from 25 to 100
422 and have from 5 to 20 swine, sheep, wagons, and all kinds of farming implements. Their future prospects are certainly very flattering if they push on as they have here. Their
648 women are interfered with a good deal by
563 the whites, and they are quick to marry
557 white husbands, as they seem to regard that as advancing. It would be so were their husbands respectable.

657 With their large annuity of $50,000 per annum, the best timbered lands in the state, and sufficient of them to give them all large farms, there is no reason why they should not become both agriculturalists and respectable citizens of the state. When they
000 become wealthy farmers as some of them now are, their children will intermarry respectably with our white people, and thus the children will become respectable and, if educated, in the second and third generations will become beautiful and attractive. This is to be the end of the Indian absorption of a small portion, which will improve and toughen our race, and the residue run out or forced into the regions of the mountains.

31: Snyderman E-5 (ca. 1948) 1951
NM9 Iroquois NM9
Delaware NM7

The new and alien philosophy, however, soon spread to the neighbors of the Iroquois and caused these onetime "subjects" to adopt the white man's vehicles and guarantees of ownership. The sorry experience of the Delaware beginning with the Walking Purchase induced them to demand a guarantee of title:

> The Land which we now inhabit was granted by the Miamies and Potawatomies which they have renewed last September in great council held at Fort Wayne in the presence of Captain Wells and the commanding officer of the Fort.
>
> They granted to us to occupy and possess said land for the benefit of our tribes & their prosperity. But prohibited the right of selling the same. But took us in as joint owners of Said Land or Country—lest the grant should in future day fall into the hands of the white people, wherefore they gave us no writing at the time this took place. But for security they gave us Wampum instead of a written Deed. Our chiefs are doubtful with regard of such pledges—and indeed experience ought to teach us the weakness of such a measure. By observation the population of the United States, it appears to us that all Indian claims will be extinguished by the white people before long. The Land in which we wish to dwell all our days will inevitably be sold from under the feet of our poor children after us. In that case what will become of them . . . They will be compelled to dispossess once more. We dread that evil very much in spite of the pledges of Wampum which was given to us.

The chiefs went on to ask for "assistance" as they and their people (the Delaware) were "poor and have no sure habitation." They pointed out that they now found themselves in the "same situation as the first Whites whom they befriended." They asked for "pity" and a "writing" so that they would not be dispossessed by the Whites, who now claimed almost the "entire country" (Parker, Daniel, n. d.).

The quoted plea of the Delaware summarizes the basic changes in Indian philosophy toward land; it is symbolic of the fears and tensions shared by the Iroquois and all their Indian neighbors. It seems certain that prior to white contact, land was given (though not deeded in our sense), and wampum was used as a promise in perpetuity providing the new owner behaved.

The translation of land to a salable economic commodity blurred tribal boundaries. In times prior to the arrival of the Whites, tracts of land were claimed and even occupied by several tribes who seemed to have lived peaceably together. A band which moved from a piece of land and neither occupied it for a number of years nor hunted on it, in fact relinquished its claim. The only recollections of its former residence remained in the folklore. The new and, to the Indian's way of thinking, "artificial" values placed on land by the Whites destroyed these principles. We now find them claiming land long after they moved away. This is also indicative of the fact that all Indian philosophy was foundering in the whirlpool created by the impact of crass materialistic motives against an idealistic and natural ideology.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM? Delaware NM7

was in fact a declaration of war, with a fair notice that an invasion of the enemy's country was immediately to take place.

Such were the principles, such was the manly conduct of the Indians in former times. How different it is at present I need not say. We yet remember the unhappy fate of Messrs. *Trueman*, *Freeman*, and *Hardin*. These three respectable American gentlemen, were in the year 1793, sent to the Indians with flags of truce and peace proposals, and were all wantonly murdered. To whom is this horrid state of things to be attributed? I will not pretend to judge, but let us hear what the Indians say.

The principal reasons which they assign as having brought about this great change, are comprised under the following general heads.

I. That the white people have intermeddled with their national concerns, by dictating to one nation how they should treat another, and even how they should speak and what they should say to them, and by this means have entirely destroyed their national independence. That they have even encouraged and supported one Indian nation in not only affecting but actually exercising dominion and supremacy over all the others.

II. That the whites have treated the Indians as a contemptible race and paid no regard themselves to the sacred character of messengers, but murdered them as well as their chiefs in numerous instances without distinction. That they even polluted what among them is esteemed most holy and inviolable, their *council fires*, extinguishing them (as they express themselves) with streams of the best blood of their nation, in violation of their professions and most solemn promises! That their whole conduct in short has appeared as if they would say to them: "we "do not care for you; we despise you—all we want is "your lands, and those we will have."

Nor are they at a loss when called upon to specify the particular injuries of which they complain. Amidst a

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

a long list of similar grievances, I shall select a few of the most prominent.

1. The protection given against them to the Iroquois, encouraging that nation to insult them, to treat them as women made such by conquest, and to exercise a tyrannical superiority over them.

2. The murder of the Conestogo Indians, at the very place where a *council fire* was burning at the time; where treaties had been held with them in early times, and where even a treaty had been concluded in 1762, the year preceding the murder; and that too, in the country of their brother *Miquon*, in the *Quaker* country, in Pennsylvania.

3. The horrid murder committed between the years 1776 and 1779, on the great and much valued Shawano chief *Cornstalk*, at Kanhawa, where it was known that he was on a friendly and interesting errand.

4. The firing upon and severely wounding a noted Shawano in the year 1774, while on his return from Pittsburg, to which place he had, out of friendship and humanity, conducted several white traders and protected them against an enraged body of Indians, on whose relations the white people had committed most horrid murders.

5. The attacking the peaceable encampment of the Delaware chiefs on the island at Pittsburgh, where one *Messenger* and several others were murdered.

6. The murder of the Christian Indians on Muskingum, by Williamson's party, together with the chief from *Achsinning* (the standing stone,) although the persons thus murdered were known to be friends to the whites.

The Indians relate many more outrages committed on *messengers, visiters,* and other *friendly* Indians, of which I shall spare the painful recital to my readers. From this series of unjust and cruel acts, the Indian nations have at last come to the conclusion, that the Americans are in their hearts inimical to them, and that when they

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

send them messengers of peace, they only mean to lull them into a fancied security, that they may the easier fall upon and destroy them. It was in consequence of this conviction that the three respectable gentlemen whom I have already mentioned, met with their unhappy fate.

CHAPTER XXII.

TREATIES.

IN early times, when Indian nations, after long and bloody wars, met together for the purpose of adjusting their differences, or concluding a peace with each other, it was their laudable custom, as a token of their sincerity, to remove out of the place where the peace-makers were sitting, all warlike weapons and instruments of destruction, of whatever form or shape. "For," said they, "when we are engaged in a good work, nothing that is "bad must be visible. We are met together to forgive "and forget, to *bury* the destructive weapon, and put it "quite out of sight; we cast away from us the fatal in-"strument that has caused so much grief to our wives "and children, and has been the source of so many tears. "It is our earnest hope and wish that it may never be "dug up again." So particular were they on this point, that if a single weapon had been in sight, while a treaty was negotiating, it would have disturbed their minds by recalling the memory of past events, and instead, (as they say) of gladdening their hearts, by the prospect of

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

this food; but, afterwards, in the year 1762, when I resided at Tuscorawas on the Muskingum, I was told by some of them, that there were some animals which Indians did not eat, and among them were the *rabbit* and the *ground-hog*; for, said they, they did not know but that they might be *related* to them!

I found also that the Indians, for a similar reason, paid great respect to the rattle snake, whom they called their *grandfather*, and would on no account destroy him. One day, as I was walking with an elderly Indian on the banks of the Muskingum, I saw a large rattle-snake lying across the path, which I was going to kill. The Indian immediately forbade my doing so; for, said he, the rattle snake is grandfather to the Indians, and is placed here on purpose to guard us, and to give us notice of impending danger by his rattle, which is the same as if he were to tell us "look about!" Now, added he, if we were to kill one of those, the others would soon know it, and the whole race would rise upon us and bite us. I observed to him that the white people were not afraid of this; for they killed all the rattle snakes that they met with. On this he enquired whether any white man had been bitten by those animals, and of course I answered in the affirmative. "No wonder, then;" replied he, "you have to blame yourselves for that! you did as much "as declaring war against them, and you will find them "in your country, where they will not fail to make fre- "quent incursions. They are a very dangerous enemy; "take care you do not irritate them in *our* country; they "and their grandchildren are on good terms, and neither "will hurt the other."

These ancient notions have, however, in a great measure died away with the last generation, and the Indians at present kill their grandfather the rattle snake without ceremony, whenever they meet with him.

That the Indians, from the earliest times, considered themselves in a manner connected with certain ani-

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7

8. All grandchildren and kin of the second descending generation, irrespective of sex, were called by one term, grandchild.
9. If Ego was male, the children of male cousins were son and daughter, whereas children of female cousins were nephew and niece. If Ego was female, the children of siblings and cousins, irrespective of sex, were son and daughter.

Modern Kinship Terms

My data agree in the main with Morgan's, although there are some curious differences. (For comparative purposes the modern kinship terms are discussed here rather than under Acculturation.) The changes may be due to Munsi influence, since the modern system is like that of the Munsi, although the Unami dialect is employed. The changes may also be regarded as a further deterioration, particularly as the kinship society is no longer functional.

In terminology the major alteration has been in the classification of cousins. All cousins are now put in the sibling category, being termed older brother, older sister, or younger sibling. (Fig. 3, p. 47.) The children of those individuals whom Ego terms sibling are son and daughter, with the exception that male Ego calls a sister's son nephew. Male Ego does not call sister's daughter niece, as was true in Morgan's time, but calls her daughter. When cousins became brothers and sisters, it was only logical to extend the son and daughter term to their offspring. It might be noted that women in Morgan's time used the son and daughter terminology for all offspring of cousins. All of my informants were vague about the proper term for father's sister's husband and mother's sister's husband. It was given as "my little stepfather," but also as "my little father."

A Reconstruction of the Early Historic Kinship Terminology

Despite the lack of any early historic description of the Delaware kinship terminology, an attempt to reconstruct it is profitable. There is fairly extensive information concerning the other facts of social existence in early historic times, and, given these facts, only certain conditions were possible for the kinship structure. The kinds of forces that affected Delaware society between the time of first contact and 1859 are also known, as are the results that these forces generally have upon kinship systems. Moreover, Morgan's description of the kinship system in 1859 provides a point of departure.

There are strong indications that most if not all of the seventeenth-century peoples who were to become the Delaware tribe reckoned descent in the maternal line and practiced matrilocal residence.[121] It has been seen that horticulture was in the hands of women, a fact which emphasizes

[121] Wallace, 1947, pp. 1-35.

2;Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7

spoke Delaware, and several other elderly Delawares spoke only very halting English. Considering the small numbers of Delawares in this area and their close association with the Caddo, it seems probable that there, too, the Delaware language will rapidly disappear.

Pan-Indianism

As the preceding sections of this chapter indicate, the Delawares have arrived at what would seem to be a final stage of assimilation to American civilization; for all intents and purposes the Delaware culture and tribal society are things of the past. During the field work of 1951 with the Cherokee-Delawares it became increasingly clear, however, that they were not completely assimilated, nor did it seem likely that they would be in the near future. It was apparent that in the following summer's field work a survey of the phenomenon which was responsible for nonassimilation should be made. Since this survey was undertaken as peripheral to the major study, the reconstruction of Delaware culture, my conclusions should be regarded as tentative.

The Cherokee-Delawares have been participating in a number of customs and institutions which are describable only as Indian. Much time and a great deal of energy is consumed in activities which can be described as neither Delaware nor Anglo-American. There is, in short, wholehearted participation in and allegiance to what may be called a Pan-Indian society. This is a loosely knit, informally organized grouping of Indians, who, having partly lost their old cultural orientation, but not being fully assimilated into white society, have joined forces and are participating in and sharing a number of intertribal customs and institutions. These institutions were and are being synthesized from elements derived from Indian cultures, but also drawn from white civilization.

When I first wrote this section no published study had been specifically devoted to Pan-Indianism, although it had been mentioned explicitly or implied in a number of works.[31] Since that time a brief paper on the "Pan-Indian Culture of Oklahoma"[32] has appeared, and I have published an abbreviated account of Cherokee-Delaware Pan-Indianism.[33] Karl Schmitt read a paper entitled "A Possible Development of a Pan-Indian Culture in Oklahoma" at the Central States branch of the American Anthropological Association several years ago. He intended to publish the paper, but his untimely death temporarily halted this project. George Devereux in his book *Reality and Dream* approached the subject from a slightly different point of view, a psychoanalytical one. He suggested that "areal basic personalities" were being substituted for tribal ones, at least among Plains Indians.[34] Petrullo touched upon Pan-Indianism among the Delawares, saying:

[31] Brasé, 1950, pp. 213-22; Devereux, 1951, p. 40; Mead, 1932, pp. 66-68.
[32] Howard, 1954.
[33] Newcomb, 1955b.
[34] Devereux, 1951, p. 40.

2:Newcomb E-4,5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7

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> ...there has arisen a sympathetic attitude of the various tribal units towards each other, with the result that intercourse between them has become common, and each other's rites are observed and studied with the avowed purpose of comparison. This constant interchanging of ideas is giving rise to a novel feeling for Indian nationality.... The Delawares are actively participating in this, and as a result not only have they assimilated many of the ideas emanating from other tribes, but have disseminated their own widely.[36]

Cherokee-Delaware Pan-Indianism

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The peyote cult has always been essentially an intertribal phenomenon and this is true of Cherokee-Delaware peyotism today. It is probably the most important influence leading to Cherokee-Delaware participation in Pan-Indian society. Meetings are always held with Indians of other tribes, and in one which I attended, for example, besides the Delaware who sponsored it, a Winnebago (Roadman), Shawnees, and a Siouan couple from the Pine Ridge Reservation were present. Cherokee-Delaware peyotists frequently attend meetings with the Osages and Shawnees and also participate in meetings with Indians of many other tribes. Cherokee-Delaware peyotists feel closer and are more friendly to non-Delaware peyotists than they are to Delawares who are not members of the cult. Most Delaware peyotists belong to the more liberal and Christianized sect which has been termed Big Moon; a few are adherents of the Little Moon sect. Members of one sect ordinarily do not attend meetings of the other. The peyotists are ardent participants in, and often highly vocal advocates of, their cult, whereas the Protestants (who seem to be slightly more numerous) can be described as minimal or nominal members of their churches. The attractiveness of peyotism was especially apparent among the young men; none were encountered who were not peyotists. This may be partly explained by a feeling that peyotism is somewhat daring, and that it serves to announce to others that here is a person proud to be an Indian. The singing of peyote songs and the manufacture of peyote regalia are also pastimes of the young men. Membership in Protestant churches is not considered daring, it does not single out a member from his fellows, and it does not provide him with a pastime.

Brant has said that the peyote cult in southwestern Oklahoma "constitutes the religious symbol of what might be called a Pan-Indian movement."[36] LaBarre has summed up the Pan-Indian aspect of peyotism, and his remarks are also applicable to the Cherokee-Delawares: "The Indians feel, perhaps rightly, that peyotism is their last strong link with the aboriginal past, which others are trying to destroy. Hence it has contributed greatly to the sense of community and morale of the Indian groups in Oklahoma."[37]

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Many social activities of the Cherokee-Delawares are expressions of

[36] Petrullo, 1934, p. 29.
[36] Brant, 1950, p. 222.
[37] LaBarre, 1938, p. 188.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7

Pan-Indianism and promote continued participation in the Pan-Indian society. Included here are the various powwows,[28] stomp dances,[29] and Indian associations of different sorts, from national organizations to the more or less informal Indian clubs, including women's clubs, sewing circles, and the like.

Powwows illustrate vividly the extent of Cherokee-Delaware Pan-Indianism. They are Indian fairs and in many respects are similar to the traditional county fair. Ordinarily, they are sponsored by inter-tribal Indian clubs. A powwow generally lasts from several days to a week, the participants camping on the premises. Social dancing is the principal activity, and many of the dances are modern syntheses of tribal and American elements. Dance costumes can seldom be identified with a specific tribe, as they have rapidly evolved during this century, with free borrowing going on between tribes.[30] Even the music of the powwow and of other similar gatherings has taken on a Pan-Indian flavor. Rhodes, commenting on Plains music, has said that "through the Dakotas and westward to Oregon, where social and ceremonial life function rather weakly in an acculturated pattern, there is to be observed a trend toward uniformization of musical style."[31] A list of the various tribes that attend these Indian fairs is impressive evidence of the extent of Indianism. The "Devils Promenade," a fair held annually over the fourth of July near Quapaw, attracts Indians from virtually every tribe in Oklahoma and sizable contingents of Indians from other states as well. A number of Sac and Fox from Tama, Iowa, for example, were present during the 1952 dance. The Oklahoma powwows are climaxed by the annual American Indian Exposition held at Anadarko in August; it attracts Indians from every quarter of the United States.

A number of powwows were attended in the second summer's field work and the presence of two families at these affairs was recorded. Both families in one month attended five powwows, for periods of time ranging from one to three days. Included were powwows in Tulsa, Pawhuska, Sperry, Quapaw, and Pawnee, some as far as eighty miles, from the Dewey area. In no instance was a Cherokee-Delaware found who was not an avid fan of powwows, despite the fact that neither the dances, the music, nor the costumes were Delaware, or were derived from Delaware culture. The Delawares do not hold any powwow of their own, or any in conjunction with other Indians. Moreover, their last stomp dance, which was held early in the summer of 1951, was unsuccessful. They are not even very active as dancers in the powwows which they attend, being interested spectators rather than active participants. The magnetism which these powwows have for the Cherokee-Delawares lies in the opportunity afforded them to be with others whom they consider to be like themselves, and the chance it gives them to act as "Indians," or at least to act as they think Indians should act. These Indian fairs, then,

[28] This term is used in Oklahoma for social gatherings; I use it in this sense.

[29] I am using this term for the smaller, more informal, less commercialized dances.

[30] See Gunther, 1930, pp. 174-79, for a detailed description of this diffusion.

[31] Rhodes, 1953, p. 133.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7

are of considerable importance to Cherokee-Delaware Pan-Indianism. They not only serve as a common meeting ground for Indians, but their effect reinforces membership and consciousness of membership in Indian society.

Contrary to what I had supposed, social clubs of various types were not an important factor in the development of Pan-Indianism among the Cherokee-Delawares. Not one person was ever found who belonged to any national Indian organization, such as the National Congress of American Indians. In fact, many people professed complete ignorance of such organizations. For this reason these formal Indian groups, which in a sense may be said to be lobbying for Indianism, have been disregarded here. In passing, it might be noted that these organizations are possibly some sort of concrete expression of this acculturative trend among other Indian groups. Informal social clubs have some bearing upon Cherokee-Delaware Pan-Indianism. A number of women at one time belonged to the Indian Women's Club, an intertribal extension club of Washington County, which holds monthly meetings, has rummage sales, luncheons, and the like. Significantly, proceeds of one rummage sale were sent to the Navaho. Membership in this organization has declined since the war and none of the women interviewed belonged to it. It should be emphasized that this organization was Indian in character and not tribal. There has never been a men's club.

Extratribal marriage is an important factor in Cherokee-Delaware Pan-Indianism and assimilation. The Cherokee-Delawares are at the present time tribally exogamous. The youngest all-Delaware marriage I could find was between a man of thirty-eight and a woman of thirty-five, and this seems to have been somewhat exceptional. Only three living couples were found in which both partners claimed to be entirely Delaware, although a number of old widows and widowers had had Delaware spouses. Marriage to Indians of other tribes is the usual custom, but marriage to whites is not uncommon. Cherokee-Delawares have married Comanches, Senecas, Shawnees, Cherokees, Creeks, Yuchis, Peorias, and undoubtedly Indians of other tribes. How the Indian parents in these mixed marriages classify their children is indicative of the feelings about Pan-Indianism. If parents are questioned about tribal affiliation of their children, they may simply reply without much thought, "Indian," or with a little thought they may say, "Yuchi-Creek-Delaware," or something similarly artificial. Occasionally, they will skirt the question by giving the tribe in which the children are enrolled by the government. The wholesale marriage of the younger generation of Delawares to Indians of other tribes must be considered an important influence in the growth of Pan-Indianism. On the other hand, the marriage of Delawares to whites naturally, perhaps inevitably, results in further culture loss and completed assimilation. This would be particularly true of the individual who marries a white person and moves to an all-white community. Those individuals who marry whites but remain in an Indian community have, of course, a much better opportunity to retain Indian ways, and white marriage partners may become participants in Indian

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7

society. In one instance a Delaware woman's white husband has become a peyotist; he sings peyote songs and has served as fire chief in meetings.

The minority role and the consciousness of this standing on the part of the Cherokee-Delawares has also promoted Pan-Indianism. Discrimination against the Indians would presumably lead to feelings of isolation, persecution, and difference, perhaps greater than actually existed, and hence strengthen Pan-Indian society.[32] It is difficult, however, to assess the extent of discrimination against the Cherokee-Delawares. It is becoming increasingly difficult to recognize an Indian, whether on a racial or social basis. With the high incidence of past miscegenation, the high frequency of present-day mixed marriages, and the assimilation in dress, speech, and manners, a race bigot must have a high degree of perception to recognize and act against this minority. A number of tales of alleged discrimination were current in the community, but only one of these incidents (in rental housing) could be substantiated. Actual discrimination of any sort is probably rare, but there is a fairly widespread knowledge or belief that it exists. A universal awareness of past discrimination and exploitation and a knowledge of discrimination against Indians elsewhere are factors which encourage Pan-Indianism.

There are several other conditions which set the Cherokee-Delawares and other Indians apart as a minority group, and so contribute to Pan-Indianism. The Cherokee-Delawares have access to free services of government hospitals and schools, which in itself sets them apart from the whites. It also provides an opportunity for the Cherokee-Delawares to become well acquainted with Indians of other tribes. This is particularly true in schools where the association may be continued over a number of years. Government schools, however, are attended by the Cherokee-Delawares less frequently than formerly. Some of the attitudes of whites toward the Indian minority also serve to foster Pan-Indianism. To many an Oklahoman an Indian is an Indian, not a Cherokee, Kickapoo, or Delaware. The movies, the magazines, and other outlets of public information are constantly impressing upon him that he is an American Indian; no public agency impresses upon him the fact that he is a Delaware.[33] Many whites in Washington County were totally unaware that such a tribe as the Delaware existed. They were well aware, however, that there were many Indians in the county.

There are forces which hinder and oppose the development of Pan-Indianism, but it is difficult to assess many of them because they are of a negative and subjective nature. It is difficult to estimate, for instance, the pressure exerted by the dominant society for complete conformity. Whatever the extent of pressure for "100 per cent Americanism," it is not at present particularly noticeable; it seems instead that the Delawares are sufficiently assimilated linguistically, economically, and in

[32] Wirth, 1945, pp. 348-49, contains a pertinent discussion of this subject.

[33] Mead, 1932, pp. 67-68, noted these factors more than two decades ago.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7

177 general behavior that no strong, overt pressure is brought to bear upon
178 them to conform to all white customs. Perhaps the greatest deterrent to a more flourishing Pan-Indianism is found in the correlated facts of dispersion and assimilation. The majority of Cherokee-Delawares upon reaching maturity leave the area. They do so because there are no strong, culturally forceful ties which would hold them back, and there are many economic advantages to be gained elsewhere. They are far enough along the road of assimilation that they can go elsewhere and become nondistinctive participants in the majority society.

Even in a brief examination such as this, it is clear that a number of different circumstances and conditions have made participation in a Pan-Indian society a highly important part of Cherokee-Delaware life. As the old culture declined, as Delaware society disintegrated and its members became scattered, the void was partly bridged by participation in a Pan-Indian society. This amorphous and as yet unorganized grouping of Indians shares a mélange of traits which are Indian, as opposed to being tribal in their nature. The peyote cult was perhaps the first influence and is still one of the strongest elements furthering and cementing the bonds of Cherokee-Delaware Pan-Indianism. Intertribal gatherings such as powwows and Indian clubs and associations, tribal exogamy, the status of the Cherokee-Delawares as Indians rather than Delawares are all important, particularly in combination with one another, in contributing to Pan-Indianism. In sum, two sociocultural groups are rapidly obliterating the old culture and society of the Cherokee-Delawares; one is Pan-Indianism, the other is the Anglo-American culture. In general terms, more and more Cherokee-Delawares are becoming less and less Delaware and more and more white or Indian.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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A SUMMARY AND ANALYSIS OF DELAWARE ACCULTURATION

A comparison of Delaware acculturation with that which other peoples have undergone at various times and places is beyond the scope of this study, but it is perhaps justifiable to attempt to analyze Delaware acculturation and to indulge in a few speculations concerning this general cultural process. The principal problem to be dealt with here is the reason for the occurrence of acculturation in some parts of Delaware culture before it appeared in others.

It has been seen that the technological part of Delaware culture changed radically and early. A new type of economic organization and economically motivated war also appeared in the early period, but they were not culture complexes that had been borrowed as such from the Europeans. The second stage of acculturation witnessed a reorganization and integration in Delaware society, particularly in political organization. The third stage was characterized by a revolt against the European interlopers and against prior acculturation. The defeats and disappointments of this period set the stage for the more rapid cultural disintegration which occurred in subsequent periods. The present phase of acculturation has been termed assimilation, since the Delawares have become, at least in external appearance, similar to their white neighbors. An important feature of this phase of acculturation is participation in a Pan-Indian society. In general, the technological and economic systems were destroyed and replaced at an early date. Deterioration of the kinship structure came later, but preceded the collapse of the ideological system.

The reasons for the rapid adoption by the early historic Delawares of numerous European technological traits are quite clear. The Delawares immediately appreciated the utility and general superiority of most of the tangible equipment of the Europeans. It was at once apparent to the Indians, for instance, that a steel axe or a cloth coat was immensely superior to its native counterpart. Direct comparison and rapid selection of artifacts of this sort could be made. The diffusion was, then, primarily of artifacts which had obviously inferior parallels in native culture and that could be readily understood in terms of native culture. Linton has noted this general condition. He said: "It seems that, other things being equal, certain sorts of culture elements are more readily transferable than others. Tangible objects such as tools, utensils or ornaments are taken over with great ease, in fact they are usually the first things transferred in contact situations."[1] Other technological items, particularly guns and gunpowder had no similar counterpart in Delaware culture, although, of course, they had functions analogous to native weapons. It has already been shown why this complex was rapidly adopted; suffice it to say here that if the Delawares

[1]Linton, 1940, p. 485.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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were to survive in the new conditions imposed by contact they had to acquire European weapons.

Some technological items did not diffuse to the Delawares in the early period. The most important of these was the plow complex. First, this complex was an intricate, mechanical one, completely foreign to anything with which these simple gardeners were familiar. Second, the idea of using the energy of an ox or horse for utilitarian purposes was completely novel to them. Feeding, harnessing, and compelling obedience from these animals was in itself a complicated and difficult trait to acquire. Third, the Delaware women were not likely to associate the raising of wheat and other small grains with their own simple corn horticulture, even if they had observed the entire round of European farming. Other traits, such as houses and house furnishings, did not diffuse in the early period. It is apparent that permanent dwellings of European style were of little use to a people who were becoming more nomadic than they had been in precontact times.

The reasons why there was little diffusion sociologically or ideologically in the Contact Period are abundantly clear; either the traits were not present to be diffused, or if they were present they were not understood. If they had been present and understood, there would have been no stimulus to borrow them. The Delawares had little opportunity to observe such groups as the European family since their contacts were mostly with traders. It is hardly likely that the form and function of the family would be readily comprehended; even if it were, it is not probable that it would be considered worth imitating. The only hint of change in the native family was a possible lessening of polygyny. This alteration, if it took place, may not have been a direct diffusion, but a response to changed conditions. The natives in the early period had little opportunity to understand the structure and function of European political organization, since only the feeble arm of that organization was operating in America.

In some respects the diffusion of socioideological traits is different from the diffusion of technological items. An axe, whether steel or stone, is quickly recognizable as such by a person acquainted with axes, and he can readily choose the superior one. This type of reasoning cannot be carried over to the nonmaterial parts of culture. The family grouping or an economic organization can scarcely be seen, certainly not in the same way that one sees a concrete object. An axe can be readily understood and used apart from its original cultural context, but it is much more difficult for a kinship system to be understood and appreciated, much less voluntarily adopted, apart from its sociocultural context. It should also be noted that for a massive transfer of sociological or religious traits a shared language is a necessity; few Delawares spoke English or other European languages until well into the nineteenth century, and even fewer Europeans or Americans bothered to learn Delaware.

The same general comments can be made concerning ideological nonacculturation during the Contact Period. The native had little opportunity to observe or to embrace Christianity, the traders and settlers

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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were of a social group which was neither interested in, nor particularly concerned with, the spread of Christianity to the Indian. These Europeans, although professing one or another brand of Christianity, were in the main poor examples to set before the heathen. One Dutchman in a letter written in 1657 said:

> We can say but little of the conversion of the heathens or Indians here, and see no way to accomplish it, until they are subdued by the numbers and power of our people, and reduced to some sort of civilization; and also unless our people set them a better example, than they have done heretofore.[3]

As the writer of this letter realized, until Indian culture had been extensively altered, voluntary conversion of the Indian was impossible. To be more precise, since a religion may be viewed as a reflection and interpretation of a way of life, ordinarily this way of life has to be altered before there will be a willing and wholesale change to some religious system which is an expression of a completely different sort of existence. Even if Christianity (church services, and so forth) were observed by the Indian, it is difficult to see how the Indian would judge it to be superior to native religious forms. Some few elements may have been borrowed from Christianity in the Contact Period, but there is no proof that any were.

The most important changes in the Contact Period, in terms of their far-reaching effects, were changes which occurred because of the conditions of the contact situation. Depopulation and migration were important in this connection, as were the economic relationships which developed between the Europeans and Indians and the rise of chronic warfare.

By the second half of the eighteenth century acculturation had forged the Delawares into a militant tribe, but one which was split by contradictions within and endangered by enemies without. Insofar as a culture must be integrated, it is plain that when revolutionary changes occur technologically and economically, other segments of the culture must in time change and become adapted to the new conditions. The Period of Consolidation was a time when Delaware culture was becoming adjusted, if only partly, to these drastic alterations. The most noticeable expression of consolidation was the appearance of the Delaware tribe as a political entity. At first glance it seems surprising that a people of such heterogeneous origins, whose ranks had been decimated and who had been forced from their homes, should in slightly more than a century become a relatively unified tribe. But when it is realized that the Delawaran peoples were concentrated in "towns" as they had never been in pre-European times, that the Iroquois and Europeans were treating them as a single entity, and that there was an acute necessity for some agency to deal with and combat the menacing forces arrayed against them, the political consolidation becomes understandable. That other parts of culture should become more standardized, and that such things as the Big

[3] Jameson, 1909, p. 399.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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*177 ●178

House Ceremony should be synthesized at this time is also more readily comprehensible from this viewpoint. This is not intended to imply that by the end of the period Delaware culture was well integrated or was well adjusted to the external world. On the contrary, external events were to prove too much for the crude political mechanisms the Delawares had evolved, and since the culture continued to change rapidly internal integration was never attained.

It was in the following Nativistic Period that the unresolved conflicts had their most convulsive expression; the revolutionary changes were causing repercussions in the kinship structure, chronic warfare was having effects upon every aspect of society, and the traditionally weak political institutions were unable to cope with the host of new internal problems. The Delawares, ever hard pressed by missionaries, militant whites, and the advancing frontier, were becoming increasingly aware of their inability to control or even to stabilize, by their own unaided efforts, the rapid changes and conflicts in their life. As the realization grew that there was nothing more they could do, that there was no practical way out of their difficulties, they turned as a final resort to the supernatural world and a revivalistic nativism. These nativistic movements were essentially attempts to obtain cultural reintegration and stability by rejecting much that had been accepted from the whites and most of the changes that had come about because of the conditions of contact. This sort of reaction was an almost inevitable consequence of the rapid and extensive acculturation of the earlier periods.

The failure of the revivalistic nativism set the stage for a more rapid disintegration and collapse of the Delaware culture. Acculturation in the subsequent Decadent Period was mostly within the realm of social organization; there seems to have been little breakdown or replacement religiously or in other areas of ideology. There have been several not entirely successful attempts to explain why Delaware ideology was so resistant to change.[3] It may be suggested that the Delaware social system altered more rapidly than the ideological system since the social system was more directly dependent upon the technological system than was the ideological system. When the technology altered, the social organization, or some parts of it, was sooner affected than were the religious ceremonies or myths. This is easily seen if it is noted, for instance, that with European weapons a native could kill many more game and fur-bearing animals than had previously been possible. This diffusion must rapidly have influenced such social institutions as hunting territories, clan organization, and the economic importance of women. With the gun a Delaware could quickly reduce the number of animals in his hunting territory. The necessity of trade and the disappearance of game would force him farther away from home, upsetting whatever common geographical base his clan had, perhaps irreparably damaging this institution. Since men were of the sex that obtained the fur-bearing animals, their importance grew at the expense of women.

[3]Kinietz, 1946, pp. 77-78; Speck,

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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Although a man could supply relatively more game for the same expenditure of energy, his wife was raising no more, and probably less, garden produce if they had moved from their original location. Hence, the economic position of the male was enhanced, that of the female was decreased. The result was probably a change from a matrilocal-matrilineal system to a bilateral or neolocal-bilateral system of kinship reckoning. In short, the effects upon social organization of this altered technology were relatively soon felt. The immediate effect upon the ideological system is much less clear. It is difficult to see, for example, how the diffusion of guns or other technological equipment would soon affect such traits as the vision quest, the soul concept, or other supernatural or ideological beliefs or practices. Perhaps eventually there would be major repercussions, but it is clear that they would be long delayed.

Another obvious reason why the religious system was retained long after other segments of culture were replaced is that since religion deals with powerful, dangerous, feared, uncontrollable or partly uncontrollable forces, the Delawares simply did not dare to give up their beliefs. Should they do so, they felt that they would be punished by the tremendous wrath that supernatural beings could unleash. It is true, of course, that insofar as material items are endowed or sanctioned by supernatural forces, they too are that much more resistant to replacement by superior, competitive analogues. The same reasoning applies to nonmaterial institutions. A case in point is the retention of the phratry system by the Delawares; since it functioned primarily in a religious context, it was retained long after such institutions as the clan had disappeared.

I do not intend to imply that religious customs or ceremonies were completely static while other parts of the culture were undergoing revolutionary change. First, there was a synthesis of rites which produced the tribal Big House Ceremony, which is associated with the appearance and consolidation of the tribe. Secondly, a number of elements from Christianity were adopted and integrated into Delaware belief at various times. In general, however, religious beliefs and customs from the Period of Consolidation to the twentieth century were remarkably impervious to serious alteration.

With the collapse of most parts of Delaware culture in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, a stage of acculturation was reached which I have termed assimilation. Technologically, economically, socially, and to some extent religiously, the Delawares had approximated the dominant culture. Replacement of many Delaware traits, however, was by institutions that are properly referred to as Indian rather than as American. The old religious system, for example, was replaced in part by peyotism. The principal reason for the replacement of culture traits by Indian rather than by Anglo-American traits is probably to be found in the fact that traits which are familiar and which easily fit in with the old culture have a competitive advantage over foreign traits. Other things being equal, when two culture traits, or complexes of traits,

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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177 are in competition with each other, the one or ones which are more easily integrated and more easily understood and appreciated in terms of
178 the cultural background will be chosen.

From my point of view Pan-Indianism may be regarded as one of the final stages of acculturation, just prior to completed assimilation. Pan-Indianism has been made possible by the fact that through acculturation Indians of very diverse backgrounds have come to share a common language and to participate in the same economy. This means that they have been able to share, or perhaps to find out that they shared, a common core of tradition and a commonality of situation and purpose. Pan-Indianism may also be explained as an attempt, perhaps largely unconscious, by a minority group composed of many different tribal remnants to find unity and strength in common customs. In a sense, it is a final attempt to preserve a distinctiveness of being which a dominant civilization has tried to destroy. But in another sense it may be regarded as an effort to glorify or enhance a minority group status which the dominant majority has insisted be preserved.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

224 852 turn to the east, having the whole or part of the animal on the back, always with the skin, before entering the house and give vent to a prolonged call, which is the old man's or old woman's prayer to the Deity in behalf of the boy, that he may always be a fortunate hunter. During the repast they repeat their petitions and give counsel to the boy (who, with his companions, is a mere spectator) regarding the chase and all the circumstances of his future life, exhorting him above all things to revere old age and gray hairs and to be obedient to their words, because 688 experience has given them wisdom. Such counsel was heeded 178 in time past, and though the ceremonies are still kept up, the young no longer revere the aged as was the case at one time.

Formerly, the young revered the old, especially if they had gray or white heads.[1] They believed that these must be very wise and prudent, because they were of such an age and seemed to be favored of the gods. Therefore, they treated the aged well, brought them, it may be, a deer, in the hope that they might be instructed of them how to attain to equal age. They presented the old, also, with wampum or belts, with the same hope. While nothing was said, the aged understood and gave the desired instruction on another occasion.

No young Indian in those days would have dared to take 784 the tobacco pouch, (made usually of the skin of the otter, beaver, 274 raccoon, fox, pole-cat, or some other animal, stripped off whole, with a little slit at the neck), of an old person and take a pipeful of tobacco, thinking such an act a great sin and believing that it would be the cause of shortening his life. When, therefore, in those days, a young brave asked an aged man permission to fill his pipe from the latter's pouch, the old man understood that this was not the young man's intention at all, but he wished to place something in the pouch. Usually, wampum was put in and no tobacco taken out.[2] This, also, was done with the hope that the aged man might instruct the young brave how to be wise and to attain to great age. Indeed, good counsel is given, to bring offerings regularly on behalf of themselves and their friends, to be chaste, to abstain from drinking and stealing, which were common even in those days. These customs, however, have ceased. The old have lost respect and the young

3: Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7
Iroquois NM9
Shawnee NM17

regard them but little. They do not seem to be ashamed of their vices. For this reason, Indians themselves declare that their condition grows worse from year to year. As there is neither law nor legal penalty among them, they have nothing to fear, except that an injured one may avenge himself in the manner in which he has been injured. If one has seduced the wife of another, the offended party will seek to seduce the wife of the offender. He will keep his purpose a secret and not rest until he has obtained satisfaction, when he makes known to others what he has done, so that the original offender may hear of it.

When, in a young female, the first menstrual discharge occurs, generally between the twelfth and sixteenth year, the Delawares generally separate such daughters from all companionship, the Monsies [Monseys] being more strict and having more ceremonies in the observance of the custom than the Miamis. They build for such a girl, separate hut, apart from the rest, where her mother or some old female acquaintance cares for her and guards her so that none may see her. Wherefore, she is also kept within the hut the whole of the menstrual period, with the blanket over her head. She is given little to eat, but regularly dosed with emetics. She is not allowed to do any work during the whole time, which generally lasts twelve days. At the end of the time, they bring her into her home, looking black, grimy and dishevelled, because she has been lying about in dust and ashes the whole time. Washed and dressed in new garments, she is allowed to be in the home, but required to wear a cap with a long shield, so that she can neither see any one readily, nor be seen. Such a covering she must wear for two months, at the end of which time she is informed that she may marry.

The Shavanose [Shawanese] and Mingoes, however, who observe much the same custom, follow a different course in this matter. The young woman in question is allowed to remain in the house. She prepares food for those in the house, of the corn and fruits she has raised. Of such food she does not, however, herself partake, but goes to her hut, apart from the others, and there prepares and eats her food.

Every month, during her menstrual period, a Delaware woman lives by herself in a separate hut, which is usually very

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

do, there will be another earthquake, or something else just as bad.

"The earthquake stopped that time; that is why the Delawares have kept the MIsi'ng$^{w^t}$ and the Big House ever since. The Mask is left in charge of some family who will take good care of it, and burn Indian tobacco for it from time to time."

It will be seen that, according to the above tradition, the MIsi'ng$^{w^t}$ was, first of all, a personal helper, or guardian Spirit, that afterward became more or less of a tribal deity, and that his cult became engrafted on the Annual Ceremony among the Unami, the rites of which were already ancient among them. That this engrafting really took place seems possible from the fact that among the Minsi there were no masked performers at the Big House ceremonies, and that, while the central post of the temple was provided with carved faces, the masks had an entirely different function among this people. The innovation, if it took place at all, must have been before Brainerd's[62] time, however, for, as related

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
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in our first chapter, he found the MIsi'ng$^{w^t}$ and Big House in use, as among the Unami today, as early as May, 1745, while traveling among the Delawares living at that time on Susquehanna river.

MIsi'ng$^{w^t}$ DANCE

Besides the part taken by the MIsi'ng$^{w^t}$ in the Annual Ceremony, he has certain rites peculiar to himself which were held every spring. As the Indians put it:

"When spring comes, the Delawares are glad, and they are thankful that their helper, the MIsi'ng$^{w^t}$, is still among them. For this reason they give a feast and dance to make him happy too."

Notification.—So at the time of the full moon (about May), the keeper of the mask gives another Indian a yard of wampum to ride around to all the Delaware houses, wearing the mask and bearskin costume (pl. II) to let the people know that the time for the MIsi'ng$^{w^t}$ dance (*MIsingki'nika*) is at hand. The MIsi'ng$^{w^t}$ rides horseback, and another man, also mounted, follows him to see that

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
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large. It is, then, to one of the religious men of the tribe, *Wi·tapano'xwe*, "Walks by Daylight" (C. J. Webber), the joint author of the text study of the Big House, supplemented with the cooperation of *Ni·'ka'ni·paxoxwe*, "Walking in Advance, Leader" (Joe Washington), and *Kwutc'pagi·'kamen*, "Rustling Leaves (when walking)" (George T. Anderson), that we owe the narration of this series of texts explaining the procedures themselves and the traditions of their origin (Plate 1).

Some of them, for instance the Grease Drinking Ceremonies and the Doll Dance, are family properties handed down as obligations within the family group from some past period when the responsibility for their enactment was incurred through the event of some long-forgotten individual undergoing experience with a spirit in human or animal form. These have developed among the Delawares into septs inheriting the obligation to perform them corresponding to the motives actuating rites of similar derivation in several other parts of North America.

In the history of Delaware institutions of the kind there is reason to suppose that the minor ceremonies, perhaps those passed on through generations within the family groups, may indeed be older than the Big House Ceremony. The fact that in the Big House certain rites appear to have been added and others to have been dropped off as time went on would show that the great celebration has integrated through the coalition of originally separate elements. Its comprehensiveness and its thoroughly worked-out cosmological philosophy seem to denote this. The formative elements themselves, then, may be those which we have here, the minor rites performed by smaller social groups, the families, perhaps the villages under the old social system when the tribe resided undisturbed by an European invasion in the east, and those conceived by certain individuals as an outcome of their personal revelations. These bear indication of being prior developments entering into the composition of the dominating and communal Big House Ceremony. Keeping pace with the dwindling devotion of the Delawares to the rites of the Big House, the individual and

7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
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small group celebrations have suffered decline, some having entirely ceased in recent years. In the minor ceremonies we have accordingly good prospective material to work over for the analysis of the larger composite ceremony. By taking into consideration with the Delaware institutions the process of ceremony integration in other parts of North America, of which the Sun Dance of the Plains Indians is a striking example, we are coming to possess the source material needed by the student pursuing research in the fascinating field of the history of religions. These repositories of native thought and experience are great in another sense. They offer a suggestive line of thought concerning the building-up process which has produced some of the great mass celebrations that mark the religious calendar of the preliterate tribes in whose culture have developed sophistries framed in proportions not unlike those of civilized nations.

I should like to add that the textual study offered in these pages is a contributive not a conclusive one as concerns the ethnology of the Delawares. Observations of ceremonial procedure still remain to be made on the rites that survive in the tribe.[1] But nothing can supercede the worth of the word for word deposition of even a modest informant like Wi·tapano'xwe, who has taken active part in many of them and whose nature has been steeped in reverence for them since childhood.

Some explanation should, it seems, be offered for omitting to mention and discuss ceremonial feasts and small rites that operate directly for the curing of sickness. The student of religious institutions would naturally expect these to be embraced in a study of this character since they are no less important and interesting as depicting the religious habits of the tribe. This aspect of the field has, however, been studied, and the material brought together for treatment in an independent monograph by Miss G. I. Tantaquidgeon, the manuscript being in the archives of the Historical Commission of Pennsylvania.

[1] Not forgetting that excellent studies made in the field of Delaware Ethnology by M. R. Harrington have been published in his "Religion and Ceremonies of the Lenape," Indian Notes and Monographs, Museum American Indian (Heye Foundation), New York, 1921, and more is promised by the same author.

7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
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THE BUFFALO DANCE CEREMONY

Si·li·e'ox·an, literally "buffalo dance", is one of the 796^x ceremonies concerning which Harrington expressed some uncertainty as regards its position in the Delaware cycle. He merely mentions the ceremony as known to his informants,[1] and quotes Adams as being the only other writer to have dealt with it in a brief account published forty years ago.[2] That the Buffalo Dance should be included with the Otter Ceremony or the Bear Ceremony, as Harrington surmises, I shall not agree with. We have enough concrete information regarding it to describe it as an independent rite, even basing judgment upon the meagre details now in hand. In the account that follows I have included the observations put on record by Adams.

It should be noted that the Delawares have abandoned the 796^x Buffalo Dance since their migration to the Cherokee Nation. 178 But in 1921 they performed the dance for exhibition purposes, led by a Christian Delaware, Filmore Secondine (*se'kəndaie'·xiyg*, "As long as the building is"), who was old enough to have learned it in his younger days.[3] The Delawares, however, still participate in the Buffalo Dance when they visit the Shawnee, according to Wi·tapano'xwe. Among the latter the dance is still in favor, and, he adds, it was understood that both tribes carried it out in the same manner. Being a ceremony with common properties among a number of Oklahoma tribes we may wonder whether perhaps the Delawares did not acquire it after they had crossed westward into the area of the Central Algonkian or perhaps even later after their arrival beyond the Mississippi.

Wi·tapano'xwe states that this is a dance and ceremony 796^x intended for fighting men and hunters. Adams affirms this

[1] Harrington, I, p. 182-3.

[2] R. C. Adams, Report on Indians Taxed and Not Taxed, U. S. Census, 1890, p. 209.

[3] The informant thinks that J. A. Parks, a Delaware now living, may still know some of the Buffalo Dance songs which his grandfather knew.

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
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The Spring Dance may be called to performance by a chief of any one of the three ceremonial social groups, Wolf, Turkey or Tortoise. It is he who is responsible for the prayer which opens the event. Besides the prayer or invocation, he is expected to deliver a sermon before the dancing begins, the text of which follows the general pattern of such declamations among the more devout Indians over the whole Algonkian-speaking area, as I have had occasion to observe it. In this talk he tells the people that they must conduct themselves as is proper in a ceremonial dance, to show respect to the aged, to reverence the purpose of the dance and game and at the same time to extract as much good and enjoyment out of it as possible because the Creator intends for them to have it as a period of enjoyment. He sagely observes in closing that the Creator looks upon his people as his children and wishes for them to enjoy themselves as such without causing trouble.

In recent times the reduction of the rite to a mere football game seems to have been the tendency among the Oklahoma Delawares. The main officer is the fire guardian and dance promoter known by his office as *pu'tcəl*, who lectures the participants cautioning them against drinking, violence, scuffling or the leveling off of grudges during the game and dance. The dance song is accompanied by the water-drum. There are both women's dances and the ordinary "Stomp" or leading dances, and then mixed dances continuing through the night. The concluding dance is the parting dance, the so-called Drunken Dance, which terminates all Delaware social dance gatherings and takes place just before the break of dawn (see p. 98).

After the first night of the dance it is held over again for several nights, usually taking place the last of each week, the dance lasting over Saturday night.

The general details of the football game are as follows. The opposite sides are composed of an equal number of men and women. There are two goals, one at each end of the smooth area known as the football ground. The goal poles are two uprights eight or nine feet in height set about four

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
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with carving, paint, tightly woven diagonal-technique beadwork, and feather pendants, single or in small clusters, as the illustrations show (Fig. 2). The carving is usually in block form, the exposed wood painted blue, yellow, or red, and the beadwork designed as it is on staffs used in the Peyote rites, all showing the influence of Peyote symbolism in their decoration. The feathers attached are usually those of the flicker (yellow shafted woodpecker) to denote the sacred power invested in this bird which has a black moon-marked breast, and sometimes parrot feathers obtained from the traders. On one specimen a strip of soft muskrat fur around the staff represented an admonition to "be polite," at the dance, avoiding loudness and vulgarity which might cause trouble.

According to the occasion, his musical equipment may be a hand-rattle. His lead songs are of the type in which a measure is sung by him alone when the dancers respond with a corresponding shorter measure in which the syllables vary only somewhat. These dances are most popular and seem to be growing in favor among the Indians of Oklahoma. In fact, within the last four or five years Delaware dance leaders have introduced them among the Osage, as is the case of Tom Half Moon himself.

While we have as yet no detailed accounts of such social-ceremonial pastimes among the still practicing groups to serve as a basis for comparative treatment, I can testify to having observed them over a wide area in the east, indeed from the Penobscot, and other Wabanaki of the northeast, and the Iroquois and Shawnee to the Cherokee, Creek and Yuchi of the Gulf area. The purpose, however, is not to discuss them here. The known history of many of these dances throughout the area proves a case of diffusion from tribe to tribe as they are deliberately carried by visiting dance leaders. We have knowledge of a number of introductions among the Iroquois from colonial times to the present.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

tribes was responsible for few changes. The only one represented in this study is the acquisition of the blowgun.

Of course, it is a mistake to assume that the culture of the Delaware would have been without change through these three centuries if not in contact with whites. Some change in Delaware culture may very well have been the result of indigenous development. The stimulus of the culture of the whites, however, was so much stronger that it is only reasonable that native developments should have been overshadowed. Nor was the culture of the whites standing still through this period. The culture of neither of the two groups was static, but as long as the Indian group was being moved westward ahead of the spread of white settlement, a static condition was simulated for that portion of the whites in contact with the Indians. The frontier changed but frontier conditions tended to remain the same. The effect of this contact with the white frontier is obvious among the Oklahoma Delaware today. The standard of living there is roughly that of pioneer agricultural regions fifty to seventy-five years ago and in the submarginal regions today.

The hypothesis that the technological, sociological, and spiritual aspects of a culture are increasingly resistant to change in that order has been shown to accord with the facts in the case of the Delaware. Language should either be included with the last aspect or be placed fourth and last, but has been omitted as outside the scope of this study. It may be said in passing, however, that the Delaware language is used by many who have otherwise retained little of the cultural heritage of the Delaware.

It seems to me that there is a very good reason for the persistence of the elements of the old spiritual life of a people after practically all other aspects of the culture are gone. This is the fact that control of religious and death practices is usually in the hands of the older people. These are the most conservative of the entire group, as a rule, and tend toward the perpetuation of the ways of their ancestors. This conservative attitude is particularly apparent in burial customs. In these matters the younger people seek to honor the practices of their elders on the death of the latter, even if they do not believe them necessary

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

and there preparation is made for beginning the Gamwing. And besides, everyone who is to relate a vision and lead a dance, if he has prepared his rattle of turtle shell, shall see to it to bring it with him for the ceremony.

There, in the ancient times the beginning of their worship the Delawares went into camp every month. They worshipped in the Big House for a ten and two day period. But then in a few years a different rule made it every three months. And again it was changed. It was said, "We are hindered in our labor," because of our ceremony. Whereupon for the last time they changed it. It was said, "From now on every six months," the Gamwing will be." But indeed it was discovered that they had become by now too much like the white man in their life.[1] The young Delawares were ashamed, seeing what their elders did. And so by this time it is very difficult for the Delawares to assemble when ready to perform the ceremony.[2]

[1] Among the Delawares, and the affiliated Nanticoke as well, the term awa'na, denoting "salt water" came to be used in a dignified sense referring to Europeans, since they first appeared from the sea. In the vernacular, less respectful in its sense, the white man was also known as *ɔ'pinɛ* "white face" also denoting "opossum." This is more of a soberiquet in Delaware. The allusions to Europeans in other Eastern Algonkian languages did not follow the principle of Delaware usage, for the Munsee, awe'nik the plural of "who?" (Brinton, The Lenape and their Traditions), the Mohegan-Pequot, wa'noks, derives also from awa'n, "who"; Wabanaki, awa'nuter, awe'nuter of similar derivation.

[2] It would appear that the weakening of devotion has been a characteristic modern tendency among the native pagan groups as well as among Christians.

Such was the ruling long ago how several different kinds of spiritual-forces were existent, how, it was said, all the wild animals and birds as well as the creeping wild creatures are the ones to be mentioned[1] in the Big House.

The pure[2] animals and birds only are used when they prepare meat. This is the reason why every one of them, even that Mask-Spirit, and all their kind including the Tortoise,[3] are called man'i't u. It is because he it is who carries our mother's body.[4] And the bird is used there to be eaten. And these feathers of him are ceremonially used when they sweep clean[5] the beautiful-pure White Path, our father's, the Great Spirit's road.[6] Wherefore a person will appear fine when dress-

[1] This means ceremonially; mention by symbolical references to pay them respect and to acknowledge their rule in the departments of nature.

[2] For further details concerning the "pure, clean" creatures see the outline discussion page 50.

[3] Note the use of the same term (ta'khouke) for both the creature itself and the tortoise-rattle. The latter is regarded as being the actual living creature in its ceremonial guise.

[4] The Delaware metaphor referring to the earth.

[5] The term used denotes, "they purify by sweeping clean," meaning to clear away latent malific spiritual forces that might lie in the White Path. This symbolically removes possible spiritual pollution from the course of the wor-

11:Newcomb E-5 (1952) 1956 NM7 Delaware NM7

attitude is best summed up as one of intense emotion and reverence. It could hardly be otherwise, since any individual may come face to face with supernatural powers during the course of the ceremony. Even if he does not, he has come to the ceremony in the sincere belief that he can and will get help in solving the most serious of life's problems. This precludes a profane attitude. I can only echo Petrullo (1934: 88) who said that the atmosphere of the ceremony was ". . . accompanied by the deepest feeling of reverence and awe and peace that it has been my lot to have witnessed either among primitive people or Christian groups engaged in worshipping their God."

Peyote is of course the focal point of the peyote meeting, but peyote itself is not worshipped. Informants stress this again and again, probably because they have so frequently been attacked by Whites and Christian Indians on this point. Peyote is both a symbol of the supernatural forces being worshipped and a sacrament. For the Delaware peyotist it is a means of establishing contact with the supernatural world and of securing a personally satisfactory working relationship with the spirit forces. While Peyote is the most important supernatural force present, it is not the only one. The spiritual forces of Sun, Moon, Fire, and others are there. Their importance and even their existence depends upon individual interpretation (Fig. 1).

The outward emphasis of Delaware peyote meetings is upon curing. The stated purpose of the meeting I have described was to assist in the cure of the sponsor, and there was a shamanistic curing rite performed during the course of the evening. It should also be pointed out that many peyotists are eager to relate how peyote has cured them of various diseases. It would be a mistake, however, to regard Big Moon peyotism as merely a curing rite, or even to think of it as primarily so. Peyote is regarded as a spirit force through which men can approach the omnipotent supernatural power or powers. Informants sometimes equate peyote with Jesus and say that White men use the "Jesus road to God" while the "Indian takes the Peyote Road."

BIG MOON PEYOTISM—THEN AND NOW

Unfortunately Petrullo did not attend a Big Moon meeting with the Delawares near Dewey, but did participate in a Big Moon meeting of the Delawares at Anadarko. Normally there are many minor divergencies between meetings and tepee arrangements because there is no priesthood or dogmatic creed. As Petrullo (1934: 31) said, "A religion that insists that each individual can learn its doctrines only through personal experience with its gods must necessarily exist in a variable

11:Newcomb E-5 (1952)1956 NM7 Delaware NM7

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form." Despite the differences in locale and in the inherent variability of the cult, there is a surprising correspondence between the Big Moon meeting of 1930 in Anadarko and the one held in 1952 near Dewey. The similarity between the arrangement of the tepee I have described and the eight variants of the Big Moon altar and tepee which Petrullo diagrams is striking; the same is true of the conduct of the meetings. The principal differences between the meetings are presented in Table I (Petrullo, 1934: 87–95). The differences are minor; for the most part they are well within the range of variation of the cult, and of course in most respects the meetings are similar or identical. The principal change seems to be that women are allowed a much greater part in the

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TABLE I

Differences in Big Moon Peyotism
1930 and 1952

1930—Anadarko	1952—Dewey
1. Quiet period in afternoon prior to ceremony.	1. Participants gather just before ceremony.
2. Road-chief seated people; women on south.	2. Sit where you like. Women seated on north and south.
3. Oil lamp near altar.	3. No light other than fire.
4. Personal paraphernalia permitted after midnight.	4. No personal paraphernalia in evidence at any time.
5. Crucifix on altar.	5. No crucifix.
6. Only road-chief smoked Indian tobacco cigarette to open meeting.	6. Everybody smokes corn husk-Bull Durham cigarette.
7. Women given only the peyote tea.	7. Women eat green or dried peyote; men drink tea.
8. "Fanning" with eagle-feather fan after sets of songs.	8. Absent.
9. Drum-chief sang after road-chiefs' opening sung.	9. Drum-chief is last to sing; clockwise circuit followed without exception.
10. Women did not sing.	10. Woman sang, but permission had to be given by road-chief.
11. No midnight intermission.	11. Midnight intermission.
12. No shamanistic curing (possibly permitted).	12. Winnebago performed cure on wife.
13. At dawn road-chief sang "morning water-song"; each person drank water.	13. Negative.
14. Filed outside, washed faces, faced rising sun, returned to tepee, etc.	14. Meeting closed with Lord's Prayer.
15. No breakfast.	15. Breakfast.
16. Candy, etc., distributed at noon meal.	16. Candy passed before leaving tepee.

11:Newcomb E-5 (1952) 1956 NM7 Delaware NM7

meeting than they were two decades ago. In this respect peyotists seem to be merely following the general trend of White society.

Big Moon peyotism diffused to the Delawares as a substitute for an outmoded religious system, but its replacement of the traditional religion has been slow and incomplete. The peyote cult is still regarded by many Delawares as a somewhat inferior replacement for the traditional ceremonies. What is more, during World War II the Big House Ceremony, the major, annual religious rite of the Delawares, was revived and held three times, albeit in abbreviated form. The Delawares would continue the old rites today, but because of expense, cultural decay, and other factors, they have been finally abandoned. It is doubtful whether the traditional rites, even if abbreviated and vestigial, can ever again be held. Petrullo (1934: 175) underestimated their strength when he said more than two decades ago that they were "No longer able to perform the ancient ceremonies. . . ." Neither Petrullo nor I found out what proportion of the Delawares were peyotists, Christians, or adherents to the old religion, so that changes in religious affiliation are largely a matter of conjecture. It is known, however, that many of the proponents of the abandoned religion have become peyotists, but at least a few have become Christians. In short, the peyote cult has never completely replaced the traditional religion, nor has it gained universal approval. The most that can be said by way of comparison is that the Big Moon cult was a covert, lively, and popular one in the thirties; it remains so today.

Probably the greatest changes which have occurred in Delaware Big Moon peyotism within the past twenty-five years have been in the reasons why people are drawn to it. There is not space here to discuss this topic in detail, but it should be pointed out that the peyote cult originally diffused to the Delawares, and was still attractive to them in the easly thirties because:

> . . . it teaches acceptance of the new world, and makes possible an attitude of resignation in the face of the probable disappearance of the Indian groups as distinct peoples, culturally and racially, by insisting on the necessity of emancipation from mundane aspirations. . . . [The peyote cult] is the natural but final recourse of a subjugated people who fully realize the inadequacy of their material means to restore their former world-state (Petrullo, 1934: 1).

The appeal of modern peyotism is, at least in part, of a different nature. Briefly, the Delawares are no longer a cohesive cultural or social entity; they are geographically scattered and socially atomized. There is no tribal activity which draws them together as Delawares, and every year there are fewer distinctive customs which set them apart from

12:Tantaquidgeon E-5 (no date)1950
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Delaware Indian Art Designs

GLADYS TANTAQUIDGEON

Introduction

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in Kansas, and from there they moved to Oklahoma and became incorporated with the Cherokee. Other bands found their way to Canada in the Province of Ontario, where they are now known as Delawares, Munsee and Moravians.

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The present population of the Delawares is estimated to be about 1,400. Of this number, 1,000 are in Oklahoma and the remainder in the province of Ontario, Canada.

Field of Art

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Until about 1890 the Delawares practiced many of their native arts and crafts but among the modern descendants of the tribe only a few of the older arts have survived. Pottery making, work in stone, bone, horn, antler, silver and the use of quills and hair in embroidery; twined basketry made from certain roots, and woven bags and girdles of Indian hemp (*Apocynum cannabium*) are now only vaguely remembered by some of the older members of the groups in Oklahoma and Ontario. Work in silver persisted until

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[P 24, B] About 1913.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca, 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

other that they want to destroy, but us, poor Indians, that are between them. By this means they get our lan and, when that is obtained, the scissors are closed again, and laid by for further use.

They are remarkable for the particular respect which they pay to old age. In all their meetings, whether public or private, they pay the greatest attention to the observations and advice of the aged; no one will attempt to contradict them, nor to interfere in any manner or even to speak, unless he is specially called upon. "The aged," they say, "have lived through the whole period of our "lives, and long before we were born; they have not "only all the knowledge we possess, but a great deal "more. We, therefore, must submit our limited views "to their experience."

'In travelling, one of the oldest will always take the lead, unless another is specially appointed for that purpose.' If such a one stops to hunt, or in order to stay and encamp at the place for some time, all halt together, all are pleased with the spot and declare it to be judiciously chosen.

I shall expatiate further on this interesting part of the Indian character, in the sequel of this work.

They have a strong innate sense of justice, which will lead them sometimes to acts which some men will call heroic, others romantic; and not a few, perhaps, will designate by the epithet *barbarous*; a vague indefinite word, which if it means any thing, might, perhaps, be best explained by *something not like ourselves*. However that may be, this feeling certainly exists among the Indians, and as I cannot describe it better than by its effects, I shall content myself with relating on this subject a characteristic anecdote which happened in the year 1793, at an Indian village called *La Chine*, situated nine miles above Montreal, and was told me in the same year by Mr. La Ramée, a French Canadian inhabitant of that place, whom I believe to be a person of strict veracity.

l:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

bank of the river. The Cornplanter, chief of this nation, observing some uneasiness among the officers and people of the place, and fearing the murder at this time and place, might perhaps create much disturbance, waited in the morning on the Governor, whom he desired "not to be uneasy about what had happened the preceding night, for the man who had been killed was of no "consequence." This meant in other words, that he was disowned for his bad conduct by his countrymen, and that his death would not be a loss to his nation.

CHAPTER VIII.

EDUCATION.

IT may justly be a subject of wonder, how a nation without a written code of laws or system of jurisprudence, without any form or constitution of government, and without even a single elective or hereditary magistrate, can subsist together in peace and harmony, and in the exercise of the moral virtues; how a people can be well and effectually governed without any external authority; by the mere force of the ascendancy which men of superior minds have over those of a more ordinary stamp; by a tacit, yet universal submission to the aristocracy of experience, talents and virtue! Such, nevertheless, is the spectacle which an Indian nation exhibits to the eye of a stranger. I have been a witness to it for a long series of years, and after much observation and reflection to discover the cause of this phenomenon, I think I have reason to be satisfied that it is in

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

"All *Yengees!*"—Then, probably observing me, he said correcting himself, "No! one *Quækel.*"

Such are the observations which the Indians make on the white people, and the names which they give to them. They may sometimes be in the wrong; but, as they make it their particular study to become acquainted with the actions, motions, deportment and dress of the different nations, they seldom commit mistakes, and in general, they apply their different names precisely to those whom they are meant to designate or describe.

CHAPTER XIV.

INTERCOURSE WITH EACH OTHER.

IT is a striking fact, that the Indians, in their uncivilised state, should so behave towards each other as though they were a civilised people! I have in numerous instances witnessed their meeting together, their doing business and conversing with each other for hours, their labouring together, and their hunting and fishing in bodies or parties; I have seen them divide their game, venison, bear's meat, fish, &c. among themselves, when they sometimes had many shares to make, and cannot recollect a single instance of their falling into a dispute or finding fault with the distribution, as being unequal, or otherwise objectionable. On the contrary, on such occasions they even receive what is allotted to them with thanks; they say "*qnischi,*" I am thankful! as if it was a present given to them.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

They certainly (I am here speaking of the men) show a reverence for each other, which is visible on all occasions; they often meet for the purpose of conversation, and their sociability appears to be a recreation to them, a renewal of good fellowship. Their general principle, that good and bad cannot mingle or dwell together in one heart, and therefore must not come into contact, seems to be their guide on all occasions. So, likewise, when travelling, whether they are few, or many, they are cheerful, and resigned to the accidents which may befal them; never impatient, quarrelsome, or charging any one, or one another, with being in fault, or the occasion of what had happened; even though one should lose his all by the neglect or carelessness of the other, yet they will not fly into a passion, but patiently bear with the loss, thinking within themselves that such a one feels sorry enough already, and therefore it would be unreasonable to add to his pain. They judge with calmness on all occasions, and decide with precision, or endeavour so to do, between an accident and a wilful act;—the *first* (they say) they are all liable to commit, and therefore it ought not to be noticed, or punished;—the *second* being a wilful or premeditated act, committed with a bad design, ought on the contrary to receive due punishment.

To illustrate this subject, I shall relate a few of the cases of this description which have come within my knowledge. One morning early, an Indian came into the house of another who was yet abed, asking for the loan of his gun for a morning hunt, his own being out of repair; the owner readily consented, and said: "as my "gun is not loaded, you will have to take a few balls out "of your pouch!" In taking the gun down, it, however, by some accident went off, and lodged the contents in the owner's head, who was still lying on the bed, and now expired. The gun, it appeared, was loaded, though unknown to him, and the lock left in such a condition that by a touch it went off. A cry was heard from all sides

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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CHAPTER XXXII.

SUPERSTITION.

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GREAT and powerful as the Indian conceives himself to be, firm and undaunted as he really is, braving all seasons and weathers, careless of dangers, patient of hunger, thirst and cold, and fond of displaying the native energy of his character even in the midst of tortures, at the very thought of which our own puny nature revolts and shudders; this Lord of the Creation, whose life is spent in a state of constant warfare against the wild beasts of the forest and the savages of the wilderness, who proud of his independent existence, strikes his breast with exultation and exclaims "*I am a man!*"—the American Indian has one weak side, which sinks him down to the level of the most fearful and timid being, a childish apprehension of an occult and unknown power, which, unless he can summon sufficient fortitude to conquer it, changes at once the hero into a coward. It is incredible to what a degree the Indian's superstitious belief in witchcraft operates upon their minds; the moment that their imagination is struck with the idea that they are bewitched, they are no longer themselves; their fancy is constantly at work in creating the most horrid and distressing images. They see themselves falling a sacrifice to the wicked arts of a vile unknown hand, of one who would not have dared to face them in fair combat; dying a miserable ignominious death; a death, to which they would a thousand times prefer the stake with all its horrors. No tale, no tradition, no memorial of their cou-

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

considered as slight matters. If the will and intention of the aggressor appears to be *bad*; if the insult offered is considered as the forerunner of something worse; or, as the Indians express themselves, if the "*murdering spirit*" is "*alive*" within him who offers or threatens violence to another, they think themselves justified in preventing the act meditated against them; in such a case, they consider killing the aggressor as an act of necessity and self defence. Yet it is very rarely, indeed, that such punishments are inflicted.* The Indians, in general, avoid giving offence as much as possible. They firmly believe that bad thoughts and actions proceed from the evil spirit, and carefully avoid every thing that is *bad*.

Every person who is well acquainted with the true character of the Indians will admit that they are peaceable, sociable, obliging, charitable and hospitable among themselves, and that those virtues are, as it were, a part of their nature. In their ordinary intercourse, they are studious to oblige each other. They neither wrangle nor fight; they live, I believe, as peaceably together as any people on earth, and treat one another with the greatest respect. That they are not devoid of tender feelings has been sufficiently shewn in the course of this work. I do not mean to speak of those whose manners have been corrupted by a long intercourse with the worst class of white men; they are a degenerate race, very different from the true genuine Indians whom I have attempted to describe.

If any one should be disposed to think that I have exaggerated in the picture which I have drawn of these *original people*, as they call themselves, I appeal to the numerous impartial writers who have given the same testimony respecting them. What says Christopher Columbus himself of the American Indians in his letters to

* See above, ch 18 p. 161.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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his sovereign? "There are not," says he, "a better peo-
"ple in the world than these; more affectionate, affable
"or mild. *They love their neighbours as themselves.*"

Similar encomiums were passed on them by some of the first Englishmen who came to settle in this country. The Reverend Mr. Cushman, in a sermon preached at Plymouth in 1620, says: "The Indians are said to be "the most cruel and treacherous people in all those parts, "even like lions; but to us they have been like lambs, "so kind, so submissive and trusty, as a man may "truly say, many Christians are not so kind and sin-"cere."

The learned Dr. Elias Boudinot, of Burlington in New Jersey (a man well remembered as one of the most eminent leaders of the American revolution)* in a work† which, whatever opinion may be entertained of the hypothesis that he contends for, well deserves to be read, for the spirit which it breathes and the facts that it contains, has brought together in one view, the above and many other authorities of eminent men in favour of the American Indians, and in proof that their character is such as I have described. I shall not repeat after him what Las Casas, William Penn, Bryan Edwards, the Abbé Clavigero, Father Charlevoix, and others, have said on the same subject; those numerous and weighty testimonies may be found in the work to which I have referred.‡ But I cannot refrain from transcribing the opinion of the venerable author himself, to which his high character, his learning, and his independence, affix a more than common degree of authority.

* Dr. Boudinot was long a member and once President of the Continental Congress, and his talents were very useful to the cause which he had embraced. At a very advanced age, he now enjoys literary ease in a dignified retirement.

† A Star in the West, or a humble attempt to discover the long lost ten tribes of Israel, preparatory to their return to their beloved city, Jerusalem. Trenton (New Jersey) 1816.

‡ See page 140, and following.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

"It is a matter of fact," says Dr. Boudinot, "proved "by most historical accounts, that the Indians, at our "first acquaintance with them, generally manifested "themselves kind, hospitable and generous to the Euro- "peans, so long as they were treated with justice and "humanity. But when they were, from a thirst of gain, "over-reached on many occasions, their friends and re- "lations treacherously entrapped and carried away to be "sold for slaves, themselves injuriously oppressed, deceiv- "ed and driven from their lawful and native possessions; "what ought to have been expected, but inveterate en- "mity, hereditary animosity, and a spirit of perpetual "revenge? To whom should be attributed the evil "passions, cruel practices and vicious habits to which "they are now changed, but to those who first set them "the example, laid the foundation and then furnished "the continual means for propagating and supporting the "evil?"*

Such was the original character of the Indians, stamped, as it were, upon them by nature; but fifty or sixty years back, whole communities of them bore the stamp of this character, difficult now to be found within the precincts of any part of their territory bordering on the settlements of the white people!

What! will it be asked, can this be a true picture of the character of the Indians; of those brutes, barbarians, savages, men without religion or laws, who commit indiscriminate murders, without distinction of age or sex? Have they not in numberless instances desolated our frontiers, and butchered our people? Have they not violated treaties and deceived the confidence that we placed in them? No, no; they are beasts of prey in the human form; they are men with whom no faith is to be kept, and who ought to be cut off from the face of the earth!

Stop, my friends! hard names and broad assertions

* Star in the West, p. 138

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7
Nanticoke NM11

D 765 morning to the grave and weeps over it. This is repeated daily for some time but gradually less and less till the mourning period is over. Sometimes they place victuals on the grave that the deceased may not suffer hunger. The food thus left is generally consumed by dogs.

N 764 The Nantikoks [Nantikokes] of whom more in another place, have this singular custom that about three or four months after the funeral they open the grave, take out the bones, clean them of the flesh and dry them, wrap them up in new linen and inter them again. A feast is usually provided for the occasion, consisting of the best they can afford. Only the bones of the arms and legs of the corpse are thus treated. All the rest is buried or burned.

D 626 681 The Indians are a free people, knowing neither law nor restraint. They may not be prevailed on in any matter that does not please them, much less forced. If they cannot be persuaded with gentle words, further effort is in vain.

D 36 Each of them may settle where he pleases. Not satisfied with one place, an Indian may move to a town with which he is better pleased and no one offers any objection; or he may retire to a solitary place. Rarely will a family move far away from all society, though they frequently live apart from the towns to avoid being annoyed by drunkards; or they live thus alone in order to carry on the profitable traffic in rum more to their advantage. Many engage in rum traffic, especially women, who fetch it from the white people and sell at a considerable profit to the Indians, often taking from the latter everything they have, sometimes even their rifles on which they depend for subsistence. Chiefs and counsellors have often considered what might be done to stop this ruinous trade, and have often determined that no one should ever bring spirituous liquors into their towns again; for a time such a resolution would be kept, and then be broken, perhaps by the very ones who had counselled the prohibition. Since the Indians have taken so much to drinking rum, murders are more frequent. Murder committed in drunkenness is not severely punished. Hence, it is that one harboring hatred for another will, on the occasion of a drinking

D 439

D 682 672

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

tunity to trade with them their position would be without many of the advantages they now enjoy. They admit that the whites are very ingenious, because of their ability to manufacture a great variety of things, but regard their manner of living as wearisome and slavish as compared with their own. Their own skill as hunters and woodsmen, they hold, excels that of the whites. Towards these they harbor a secret enmity which they disguise in their presence, for they suspect that they will deprive them of their land and drive them within narrower confines. This suspicion is not without foundation. Among the Delawares this dislike has been moderated through long intercourse with the whites, yet they show that they have no particular love towards them, in that they will sell their lands to them and after these have become inhabited will seek to drive them off by starting war.

The French seem to possess a greater share of the good-will of the Indians than the English, being regarded by the Indians as being more akin to themselves, probably because they enter more easily into the Indian manner of living and appear always good-humored. Indians have more faith in the French than in other Europeans. Since the late war with England all the Americans except the English in Canada, otherwise called by the Indians Virginians, are known as Big Knives by the nations because, from the beginning, the Indians saw them and the Governor of Virginia on all occasions of negotiations with the Indians wearing long swords. Hence, they called them Choanschican and the Six Nations named them Assarigoa that is Big Knives, which name has been applied to all Virginians and has been extended from it to all Americans because the Virginians in this war negotiated most of the treaties with the Indians.[299]

Judged by the mere appearance of the Indians one is surprised how modest and careful they are in relation to each other and imagines that the whites, if they were as free a people and had neither government nor punishment to fear, would not be as united and peaceable as the Indians appear to be. The towns and villages of the latter are not indeed governed by force or law. Each individual is at liberty to live where he pleases,

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
NM7 Delaware NM7

CHAPTER IX.

Concerning the Natural Disposition, Life, Temper and Stature of the American Savage People.[1]

These wild people in New Sweden, they are not 101
called wild because we believe them to be mad
and insane, but on account of their idolatry and
error in religion. [They] are a kind of people 102
of brownish color,[2] quick, skillful in working with
their hands, willing, clever and ready to learn and
grasp a thing. In stature and form [they] are
tall, some of them, medium and some, short; a
well proportioned people, slender and straight as
a candle. Why there are no hunchbacks among
them the following chapter, concerning the rear-
ing of their children will show, how they are
treated while they are young.[3]

It is a brave people, daring, revengeful; are 103
eager for war, fearless, heroic, strong in their
arms, but very weak across their back, very agile,
and limber,[4] running like horses and have the

[1] *Om den Amerikanske vilde Menniskiors naturlige skickelser, lefnat, humeur och Gestalt.* Cf. Holm, *Kort Beskrifning*, 110 ff.

[2] *Af brun achtigh colour.* Hence Lindeström does not call them red, but describes them correctly.

[3] See below, Chapt. XII.

[4] *Mycket wijge och lätte.* "They are generally quick on foot, brought up from the breasts to running; their legs being also from the wombe stretcht and bound up in a strange way on their Cradle backward, as also anointed; yet have they some that excell: So that I have knowne many of them run betweene foure-scoure or an hundred miles in a Summers day, and back in two dayes: they doe also practice running of *Races;* and commonly in the Summer, they delight to goe without shoes, although they

[pp. 1-190 not processed]

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
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[8] scent of animals like dogs; have a good memory, are intimate in conversation,[5] industrious and diligent, clever, charitable, wide awake, bold,[6] inquisitive,[7] patient and hardened to stand much hardship. On the other hand, they are also very mischievous,[8] haughty, are eager for praise, wanton, bestial, mistrustful, untruthful and thievish, dishonorable, coarse in their affections, shameless and unchaste.

In short these Indians are people of various qualities and more inclined towards bad than towards good, which will be further observed in the following.

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have them hanging at their backs: they are so exquisitely skilled in all the body and bowels of the Countrey (by reason of their huntings) that I have often been guided twentie, thirtie, yea, sometimes fortie miles through the woods, a streight course, out of any path." Williams, *Key*, 73–4.

[5] *Fortrogne i conversation*, that is they are trusting and open-hearted.

[6] *Karske*, also *morske*, bold, cocky.

[7] *Undherraamme*, wondering, inquisitive. In this connection Williams says: "Their desire of, and delight in newes, is great, as the *Athenians*, and all Men, more or lesse; a stranger that can relate newes in their owne language, they will stile him *Manittoo*, a God." *Key*., 62.

[8] *Odijgdige*.

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
NM7 Delaware NM7

CHAPTER X.

Concerning the Marriage of the American People and the Treatment [Used] by the Savage Females Against Birth Pangs.

These Indians are a bestial people and have their intercourse together with father, mother, brother and sister like irrational brutes, no one knowing rightly who is the father of the child;[1] but their sachem or chief he must take a wife to himself, not because he intends to conceive children with her alone, but because his government and household exists as under a family,[2] about which we shall obtain further [details] hereafter. This his wife, she must manage his entire household like a matron who always, in the absence of the sachem, must guard his property, which becomes her possession after his death.

When she has thus been wooed by him, the bride must bedeck [herself] for a year and a day,[3] although they do not know what a year means, yet

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[1] Lindeström's religious zeal led him astray; besides he did not understand the family life of the Indians. Some early writers state that Indians of this district had but one wife, except the chiefs, who had many. Their ideas of morality were of course different from those of the white settlers. De Vries tells us that an Indian would lend his wife to a friend, and that jealousy did not exist among them.

[2] *Hans undherhafwande Regiment och Hushåldningh bestådr lijka som undher een familia.* In other words, according to Lindeström, the government is patriarchal, the chief being like the father of a household, hence it is necessary to have a mother of the household. Cf. in this connection a summary on "The Chief of the Indian Clan," by Rudolf Elander (Gothenburg, 1909).

[3] "A year and a day," see above, *Dedication*, note 23.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

W. T. and E. R. say that right was always used. 576

68. Story telling: in winter and at night only

W. L. said that one rule was that no one could sit up during the telling of stories as it might make them humpbacked. 538 784

78. Peculiarities in encampments

John Johnston—There is no [peculiarity] in their moving from place to place or in their hunting encampments; but they are very particular in the mode of erecting their war encampments. 361 726

E. R.—Camp site was fixed so that allied tribes would know who had been there, and which direction they went. The way they fixed the fire and ashes would tell who made the camp. [202]

79. Identification of makers of encampment

John Johnston—They can [identify them] because every tribe has a different mode of encamping and by the size of the camp or camps they can calculate very nigh the number that were in them. 361 202

Captain Chipps—They can tell the camps of the Cayugas and Massisagas, by their peculiar manner of encamping. Generally speaking, it is impossible for them to tell from a deserted camp, what particular tribe has occupied it.

83. Differences from other tribes in sociability, etc.

J. W.—Delaware are more friendly and sociable than other tribes even though they cannot trust others. The Delaware way of raising is to have children grow up to be friendly and pleasant so that other people will like them and they may do big things—get places on council, in Big House, and be a credit to parents. 181

W. T.—Sociability, friendliness, and hospitality are marked characteristics that distinguish Delaware from other tribes and should be rated first.

88. Spare lives of snakes

Heckewelder stated that Delaware spared the lives of snakes because killing one would bring other creeping things to bite them. 784 825

[P.34, A]

155 Zeisberger.[3] Infants were described by
854 Lindestrom as never crying.[4] Whether this was because they were nursed whenever restless (which is most likely), or because the crying was consistently ignored in early infancy, is not clear from the available accounts. From Zeisberger's description of the frequency of the mother's absence, it would seem that, even if the child were nursed on demand when she was available, her frequent absences must have meant to the child that she was an
362 undependable provider. Children were weaned at the age of two or three; the techniques are not described.[5] Anal and
363 urethral training do not seem to have been strenuous: boys wore no clothes at all until
[241] the age of five or six, although girls wore aprons as soon as they could walk.[6]

361 Zeisberger noted that children were
155 sometimes harshly treated, although such behavior generally produced in them "bitterness, hatred and contempt." He went on to say, "The women are frequently guilty of thus raising their children to anger, for the women are often ill-tempered. By way of punishment, they will pour water on the children or thrust them into the water."[7] Zeisberger did not like the
[157 Indian women, whom he described also
● 181] as being "much given to lying and gossiping. They carry evil report from house to house. As long as they are observed they appear modest and without guile. All the wrongs of which they are guilty are done
114 in secret."[8] While one may be inclined to
797 discount Zeisberger's accusations on the grounds of the natural prejudice of a male missionary among somewhat more aggressive women than he was probably accustomed to at home, the general accuracy of his observations and the fact that he was really fond of his charges, with whom he spent much of his active life, suggest that he had imbibed the prevalent native male attitude toward the women of the tribe.

5. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 80.
6. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 17.
7. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 81.
8. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 124.

[751(A)]

D
439 make anything on this article, wash tubs and washboards, coffee mills and household articles, calico and muslin goods. The chief take in was in the jewelry of which large and flashy assortments were exhibited, some of it looking extremely well; salt pork, flour and bacon were also offered. The trading, however, was not brisk, and I think was pretty much a failure, the reason being that Wyandotte and Kansas City are within easy reach, where they can buy cheaper and at their convenience. The
D
[181] trader's chance lies in the weakness of the Indian before temptation, and his slight
D
452 regard for money. As the payment was de-
443 layed more than a day beyond the time, I noticed some of the Indians commenced moving up to book account in advance, which the traders favored. I saw two of them this afternoon arranging [?] payment in the Indian tents, and getting it, and I have no doubt doubling the amount in footing it up, or increasing it largely. They have to pay for a trader's license $25 to the agent, and unless they speculate in some way, they must make a failure on their sales.

D
273 I saw no whisky nor ardent spirits of any
657 kind, and consequently no drunkenness or quarrelling. After it is all over tonight and the payment is over, and the government strikes its tent and moves off with the wagon marked U. S. and the small file of soldiers sent to protect the specie, the whisky will show itself, and the pockets of the remaining Indians who have any money will be picked. There were more white men around today than looked well for the Indian women.

Shawnees Uncles to the Chippeways, etc.

S
648 Buraseau told me that years ago the Ojibwas, Pottawatamies and Ottawas took the

7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

of ceremony; (*f*) relaxation for ensuing period of night in social dances and amusements. 796^x

Wampum Compensation.—Gift of yard-length of wampum, "shoulder to finger-tip," to officers and assistants as spiritual compensation and symbol of blessing for their holy services. Wampum remains only in circulation for payment of offices in religious ceremonies for their maintenance, not as an economic medium of exchange.

Ceremonial Equipment.—Drums (dried deer hide folded and water-drum), rattles (tortoise shell containing pebbles), feathers for sweeping away spiritual obstacles, dried juniper incense, ceremonial smoking tobacco, grease for drinking, sacred cornmeal and wild meat (or accepted substitute to suit modern conditions), original Delaware dress and ornamentation of participants, red paint (*pe'kɔn*), and symbolical fires. *The Delaware pattern is inclined to the use of carved images of the human face and form, either as masks, effigy figures or face sculpturings.*

Symbol of Twelve.—In division of ceremony into periods, in repetition of movements, in ceremonial equipment, the number twelve is a base concept of procedure, deriving itself evidently from the lunar cycle. [801]

Religious Attitude.—Deep feeling of humility and unworthiness, constantly reiterated appeal to Great Spirit through the spirit-forces (mani'tu) controlling departments of the universe, for general blessings of health, protection and sustenance, with sincere expressions of gratitude for the blessings of nature hitherto enjoyed, reverence for ancestral institutions, foods and inventions and appeal to spirits of deceased to be present upon ceremonial occasions to enjoy them and grant immunity from spiritual infections of sickness and evil.

Social Aspects.—The solidification of Delaware nationality through coöperation and participation in the social events, dances and amusements, as well as in the religious unity fostered through the carrying out of rites and institutions originating among sanctified generations of the past. The unity of the ceremonial groupings (Wolf, Tortoise and Turkey) composing the Delaware tribe is strengthened by 796^x 182

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
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796 the common duties and ceremonial cohesion of their members.
182 The tendency to make Delaware ceremonies esoteric is also present.

796 The personages of the ceremony may be listed under the following titles, which apply to all the rites performed. The ceremony itself is *tel·ha'k·en*, "that which is brought in," the idea being that someone sponsors and produces it by bringing forth the occasion. The leader or master of ceremonies is *elha'k·et*, "one who brings it in"; *pəm'tu'nhet*, "the speaker" of the occasion; *a'ckaˀs*, "attendant," the waiter or helper; *exhaŋge'tcik*, "those who give away food," the cooks and feast attendants; *naxko'hak·e'tcik*, "followers" being the drummers whose rôle it is to follow the singers, repeating their verses; *pu'tcɔl*, equivalent to officer who has charge of keeping order.

538 A word or two concerning the distinctions in character between narrations which pass among the Delawares as epics having a mythical explanatory origin and those which are mere chronicles of happenings in past or present experiences of life. The traditional legend explanatory of some of the phenomena of nature is termed *ati·loha'k·an*, the ordinary narrative story *la'tci·molsuwa'k·an*. The distinction between these categories is something like what differentiates a saga from a narrative. The former is a legend concerning characters and events which do not change in the telling, partaking of the nature of gospels. A biography, on the other hand, falls under the latter term. Similar distinctions, it is interesting to note, have been recorded in respect to the traditional lore of other Algonkian-speaking peoples so well defined in the case of the Menomini by Dr. Bloomfield.[1] The texts in the ensuing collection are of the saga type and as such form an individual version of certain important teachings concerning the spiritual and physical universe which have formed without change the body of sacred learning acquired from some remote sources and handed down among the religious leaders of the tribe for ages.

171 The foregoing summary is arranged and offered as a

[1] L. Bloomfield, "Menomini Texts," *Publications Amer. Ethnological Society*, XII, 1928, p. xii.

7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
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above all non-human life forms, and in particular the endowment of their own system of worship for which they are directly responsible to the Creator himself. Herein is born their tradition of religion, the very center of their culture, denoted by an abstraction, *lənapeɔ'k·an*, literally "human (Delaware) soul, or culture," a term occasionally encountered in the reflections of the speakers quoted in the texts. Upon such criteria of judgment the Lona'pe rate themselves as creatures far above the emergence level. And we have before us part of the evidence in the religious forms recorded in the preceding pages. To be sure the mass content of rites and ceremonies has been declining before the inroads of European influence. A mere pitiful residue is at hand, as the orator has frequently reiterated in his sermons. The native nations of Indians on the Atlantic seaboard were by no means crude or a primitive people.

That this essay is a sequel and complement to my Big House Ceremony volume (1931) need scarcely be repeated. Where that treats the composite rites whose aims are to invoke, address and thank the Creator, this deals with procedures directed toward influencing the lesser spiritual forces, to afford them satisfaction and to secure immunity from their imaginary persecutions. All is framed in accordance with a native concept of the workings of natural law as put in motion by the will of the Father, the Creator. The rites described are dominated by a constant idea in the minds of the people, to wit: that of being in the midst of a universe of partly-known spiritual beings potentially pernicious. Some among them are approachable by the proper forms of address on the part of man for the removal of harmful influences. When the corrective measures to alleviate the evils of spirit agencies are known they constitute the rites of relief, and here we have them collected; their philosophy of the uncertainties. A far-reaching distinction is observable between the Delaware attitude toward the Creator, who is consistently benign, and the spirits of lower rank addressed in the rites now treated whose attributes are not. These observations bring out the contrast between the ceremonies dealt with here and those

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
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covered in the Big House Ceremony. The infallible Father and Creator seated in the twelfth heaven above, in his beneficence toward man is believed to yearn for the voiced recognition of his creatures as they pay their devoirs to him—his human children gathered to celebrate the twelve day ceremony of the Big House. Even his creatures the trees recognize his all-high benevolence when murmuring their prayers to him in the rustling of leaves, and the birds whose voices are also prayer-calls. We learn again how only the created beings can depart from the rule of goodness and perfection; the lesser spirits, those on earth, mankind, animals, and plants. In man's struggle to avert the evil purposes of his spiritual opponents there have developed the means of checking their evil tendencies and consequent misfortunes. Thus are accounted for the rites and ceremonies. When the source of specific persecution has been discovered, the Delaware discovers the spiritual means for relief through revelation. Thus he has laid his mind open to the accumulation of visions and visitations and to their acceptance as verities. Most typical are the cases where captured and partly tamed animals, friends and pets at first, are imagined to possess lurking potencies of evil. They, like man, combine the opposed natures of good and evil. Caprice, it seems, decides their reactions toward each other. Yet throughout is the realization of the ruling principle of good in the abstract represented by the Creator, invoked through the medium of spirits nearest to him to intercede for the people's good. So we interpret the functions of the ceremonial rites and addresses which form so valuable a part of the material provided here by our informants. The systems revealed are not stupid and "superstitious" but poetical in their undertones of reasoning: poetical mechanisms of escape.

Thus having gone through the data gathered for preservation through some years of study at the feet of native informants, we build up the structure of knowledge providing source material for future students in the field of the humanities. In doing so we anticipate that unhappy time now hastened by the forces of commerce and "mass civilization" when

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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648 Neither time nor closer association with Europeans has caused this feeling to disappear among the Delawares.[1] We observe the persistence of the same spirit in the sentiments conveyed in the text, the reverence for the *mores* of the past, the attitude of adoration toward their ancestors who, although ignorant pagans, possessed a mystic wisdom and intelligence which, they are willing to concede, surpassed the endowments and knowledge of the present generation.[2]

Yet notwithstanding the attitude of the Delawares toward the whites, we must not be misled, by consideration of the antipathy and distrust expressed since colonial times, into regarding the same spirit to have characterized their religious motives. For several authorities besides the narrator of the text coincide in telling us that the ceremonies of placation performed by the tribe are maintained for the benefit of all mankind. The white man is to be blamed for the existence in the mind of the Delaware of the feeling in favor of segregation. Yet the Delaware is willing to extend over his enemies the blessings resulting from his devotions.

771 The informant's own attitude is interesting as expressed in his own words.

"The Big House is regarded by the Delawares as the supreme religion among all forms of worship on the Continent. The center post [778 532] with the carved faces of the two sides is the foundation, whose topmost

[1] J. Morse (Rep. to the Secretary of War on the Indian Tribes, New Haven, 1822, p. 110) alludes to the Delawares of 1818 as "having a peculiar aversion to white people." Heckewelder still earlier had much to say about the causes of dissension, op. cit., p. 191.

[2] Note the spirit manifested in a communication from the Delaware Council to the Historical Commission (June 1929) "We are proud to have such a wonderful opportunity, so that our children will take pride in the work of their fathers to preserve our sacred Delaware tradition." While the hold of the old doctrine may be losing its grasp upon the younger generation of Delawares, we have some evidence of a reactionary trend in sentiment towards its rationalization. Not so long ago one of the Christian Delawares, [182] moved by a zealous, evangelistic impulse, arose and advised the conservatives to abandon once and for all the Big House ceremony on the ground that it was part of an age of superstition and ignorance. The opposition accorded this appeal was surprising and unexpected. The individuals behind the move for abandonment were, as it happened, uneducated themselves. Some of the defenders of the old faith, women who possessed good education in government schools, responded by accusing the intruders of incompetency to pass judgment on the merits of the contending creeds, by reason of their own ignorance; in not being able to read the testaments of one nor grasp the meaning of the other. Religious conservatism is a marked characteristic of the nationalistic element in the Nation. It is even asserted that they regard their migration from the east to have been in part prompted by a desire to preserve their religion. Dr. Michelson, who visited the tribe in 1912, was impressed by their tenacity of creed, (Smithsonian Misc. Collec., vol. 60, No. 30, p. 35) upon which Harrington also makes comments (I, op. cit., p. 200).

In an unpublished note to the original manuscript of Rafinesque's Walamolum (1833) now in the Brinton Library of the University of Pennsylvania Museum, the author gives a handwritten fragment of Delaware history from 1600. It is a bitter native lament voiced over the decline of the tribe, pronounced by a chief and translated by a John Burns, with mention of the removal from the east to west of the Mississippi and finally to the Osage country.

11:Newcomb E-5 (1952) 1956 NM7 Delaware NM7

meeting than they were two decades ago. In this respect peyotists seem to be merely following the general trend of White society.

Big Moon peyotism diffused to the Delawares as a substitute for an outmoded religious system, but its replacement of the traditional religion has been slow and incomplete. The peyote cult is still regarded by many Delawares as a somewhat inferior replacement for the traditional ceremonies. What is more, during World War II the Big House Ceremony, the major, annual religious rite of the Delawares, was revived and held three times, albeit in abbreviated form. The Delawares would continue the old rites today, but because of expense, cultural decay, and other factors, they have been finally abandoned. It is doubtful whether the traditional rites, even if abbreviated and vestigial, can ever again be held. Petrullo (1934: 175) underestimated their strength when he said more than two decades ago that they were "No longer able to perform the ancient ceremonies. . . ." Neither Petrullo nor I found out what proportion of the Delawares were peyotists, Christians, or adherents to the old religion, so that changes in religious affiliation are largely a matter of conjecture. It is known, however, that many of the proponents of the abandoned religion have become peyotists, but at least a few have become Christians. In short, the peyote cult has never completely replaced the traditional religion, nor has it gained universal approval. The most that can be said by way of comparison is that the Big Moon cult was a covert, lively, and popular one in the thirties; it remains so today.

Probably the greatest changes which have occurred in Delaware Big Moon peyotism within the past twenty-five years have been in the reasons why people are drawn to it. There is not space here to discuss this topic in detail, but it should be pointed out that the peyote cult originally diffused to the Delawares, and was still attractive to them in the early thirties because:

> . . it teaches acceptance of the new world, and makes possible an attitude of resignation in the face of the probable disappearance of the Indian groups as distinct peoples, culturally and racially, by insisting on the necessity of emancipation from mundane aspirations. . . . [The peyote cult] is the natural but final recourse of a subjugated people who fully realize the inadequacy of their material means to restore their former world-state (Petrullo, 1934: 1).

The appeal of modern peyotism is, at least in part, of a different nature. Briefly, the Delawares are no longer a cohesive cultural or social entity; they are geographically scattered and socially atomized. There is no tribal activity which draws them together as Delawares, and every year there are fewer distinctive customs which set them apart from

11:Newcomb E-5 (1952)1956 NM7 Delaware NM7

other people. Yet the individual Delaware is not an ordinary American; he is thought of by the public as an Indian, and he thinks of himself as an Indian. One way in which he can express this Indianness and feel that he is a part of a larger group is to be a peyotist. The peyote cult gives him an opportunity to participate in ceremonies with others who occupy a similar position in American life, and it provides him with an opportunity to express his Indian cultural heritage, however slight it may be. In the meeting just described there were Winnebagos, Sioux, and Shawnees, in addition to the Delawares. This is normal for a Delaware peyote meeting; in fact, their meetings always include members of other tribes. They also frequently attend meetings with the Osage, Quapaw, and others. In short, in earlier times the Delaware Big Moon peyote cult was a religious expression of assimilation and an attempt to preserve something from the shattered cultural past. Today it functions more as a religious symbol of the Indian minority and a rallying point for what has been termed a Pan-Indian society (Newcomb, 1955).

SUMMARY

The arrangement of the tepee and the conduct of Delaware Big Moon peyote meetings has remained essentially constant since 1930. Over this span of time the Big Moon cult has not succeeded in completely replacing the traditional religion, nor has it apparently become any more popular. Probably the greatest changes have occurred in the reasons for the cult's appeal to the Delawares. The modern attractions of the peyote cult are particularly strong in its aspects as an *Indian* ceremony and as a rallying point for Pan-Indianism, rather than in the solace it offers to "a subjugated people."

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1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800) 1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

that they would draw down upon themselves the anger of the Great Spirit, were they to neglect those whom, in his goodness, he had permitted to attain such an advanced age, whom he had protected with his almighty power through all the perils and dangers of life, while so many had perished by wars, accidents and sickness in various forms, by the incantations of the wizzard or the stroke of the murderer, and not a few by the consequences of their own imprudent conduct.

It is a sacred principle among the Indians, and one of those moral and religious truths which they have always before their eyes, that the Great Spirit who created them, and provided them so abundantly with the means of subsistence, made it the duty of parents to maintain and take care of their children until they should be able to provide for themselves, and that having while weak and helpless received the benefits of maintenance, education and protection, they are bound to repay them by a similar care of those who are labouring under the infirmities of old age, and are no longer able to supply their own wants.

Thus, a strong feeling of gratitude towards their elders, inculcated and cherished from their earliest infancy, is the solid foundation on which rests that respect for old age for which Indians are so remarkable, and it is further supported by the well-founded hope of receiving the like succours and attentions in their turn, when the heavy hand of time shall have reduced them to the same helpless situation which they now commiserate in others, and seek by every means in their power to render more tolerable. Hence, they do not confine themselves to acts of absolute necessity; it is not enough for them that the old are not suffered to starve with hunger or perish with cold, but they must be made as much as possible to share in the pleasures and comforts of life. It is, indeed, a moving spectacle to see the tender and delicate attentions which, on every occasion, they lavish upon

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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bility and maturity comes to the individual he feels that he is called to take his place in the annual ceremony. A new vision of life dawns upon him. He realizes that he has been brought into the world for a purpose and permitted to live to middle-age to raise children, take care of the aged relatives, help the people to health and comfort. Then there is also the feeling that others are observing him as an example of conduct. So he assumes his responsibility and prepares to appear in the Big House ceremony.[1]

We are told that the Big House performances were originally esoteric. Whites were excluded from it during the ceremonies, though in recent years the objection to their presence has been withdrawn due to intermarriage between Delaware women and white men.

The virtue of humility, so extolled and propogated in the philosophy of the Delawares, and the Iroquois[2] as well is one to which too little emphasis has been given by students. Historians, in particular those contrasting the humility of the evangelists with the contemptuousness of the natives, have ignored the declarations of ethnologists in this respect.[3]

THE SYMBOL OF TWELVE.—Allusion has previously been made in several places in our discussion, to the sanctity of the concept of twelve, the reason for which among the Delawares seems not to be objectively expressed.[4] Twelve is nevertheless a fundamental symbolical number. Throughout the text we hear of the Great Spirit residing in the twelfth stratum of the sky; of the prayer-call addressed to him uttered twelve times in succession; of the twelve prayer sticks or wands which lift the prayer to the twelfth heaven. The Big House ceremony itself is of twelve days' duration. The belief being that each day's performance lifts the worship a stage higher in the series of twelve successive sky levels until on the final day it reaches the Great Spirit himself.

[1] Maturity is an important consideration with the Delawares. Among many facts still to be obtained in regard to restrictions of boys under the age of puberty, for instance, it may be interesting to note that these when they become old enough to take part in the hunt, are not allowed to eat soup lest their testicles rattle so warning game animals ahead of them, or to eat the heart of the animal lest they lose courage; or the animal's head, eyes, or ears lest they be bothered with gnats.

[2] A. C. Parker, The Code of Handsome Lake, Bull. 163. New York State Museum, Albany, 1912.

[3] For example Rev. T. J. Campbell, S. J.[2] tells his readers, "The red man had never much respect for the virtue of humility, and the young missionary (referring to Marquette among the Illinois) was treated rather contemptuously by many of the degraded wretches whom he was trying to regenerate." Pioneer Priests of North Amer. N. Y. 1911, Vol. III, p. 169.

[4] The importance of seven in Delaware thought has been stressed by A. L. Kroeber (Anthropology, N. Y. p. 252, f. n. 1) without giving the source. There seems to be no evidence of this in the material at hand.

S 648 Shawnees into their alliance, or perhaps what is nearer the truth, recognized an ancient connection still preserved by tradition, and acknowledged the Shawnees their uncles, by which they admit them to be the older stock.

Tribes [Clans] of the Delawares and Descent in the Female Line

D 115 Was introduced by Mr. Pratt to William Adams,[81] Wa-le-oak-se, (White man), a very intelligent young man and an Indian. We went out under a tree and talked an B 681 hour. I found that the children of two tribes are brothers and sisters to each other, and the children of his sisters the same, and that the children of a brother and of a sister are nephew, and something else to each D 614 other, but he thought not uncle. He says the Delawares are now and were anciently divided into three tribes: 1. the Wolf, "round paw"; 2. the Turtle, "unfeathered animal"; 3. the Turkey or fowl, "feathered animal."

That this was a sort of generalization; that the Wolf separated the animals having hair, the Turtle animals without hair, including fish, and Turkey or Fowl, as this means any fowl, the animals with feathers, and these he says are subdivided into a number of others, but he could not give me the names. He said his tribe was that of the Mud Turtle, the turtle that muds himself and then lies in the sun. This was as far as he could go on this head. He says that in D [582] old times no man was allowed to marry a [183] woman of his own tribe, and it was the law until within the last generation, but that now is broken over constantly. That he was of the turtle tribe, and so were both his father and mother. He also said that he was D [611] entirely certain that in old times *the children followed the tribe of the mother*, and that it is

[-8 55(c)]

000 595 183 tains. There are two cases of *polygamy* here. Two well known Indians have two wives each. The Delawares are opposed to it, and are inclined to make a fuss about it. But I suppose it is an old Indian institution and they cannot make a law against it. If it was contrary to Indian law they would not admit the children of both mothers to annuities. As it now stands, their annuity is a 657 bounty on children. I think the Delawares are tempted by their annuities.

Religious System of the Delawares[91]

776 William Adams, Del.

The Delawares believe in a Great and in an Evil Spirit. They also believe in a number of subordinate spirits, some of whom are waiting or ministering spirits of the Good and some of the Evil One. Among the waiting spirits of the former are the following.

776 821 1. Kaka-sha-ha-no-hase, the Spirit of the Whirlwind. He is represented as having the form of a man and is called Grand Father.

2. O-we-ya-la-so, the Spirit of the Wind. He is represented as having the form of a man, with long streaming hair, so long that it sometimes gets entangled in the trees as he rides along. He is called Grand Father.

3. Pate-hoc-hoo-weh, the Spirit of Thun- [825] der. He is represented as having the form of a bird, an Eagle, called Grand Father.

776 823 4. Wa-o-tun-oo-wase, the Spirit of Water. She is represented as having the hands of a woman, and the body, but ending in a fish's tail. She is supposed to dwell in every drop of water as well as in every river, creek, lake and stream, and sometimes to be a punishing spirit. She it is in cases of drowning who pulls the person under the water. Hence her name means "Pulling Down far Under."

776 [824] 5. Has-gueme, the Spirit of Corn. She is represented as having the form of a woman, and is called our Mother. She can foretell

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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266 ed a temporary relief, and that she might be able to support herself and her surviving children until a change in the weather should take place, so that they could be able to proceed on their journey; but the wolves getting the scent of the slaughtered child, became more furious than before, her danger every moment became more imminent. She now filled the air with her cries and supplications to the Great Spirit that he would look down with compassion on their awful condition, and save them by his almighty power.—But still the danger increased, the horrid food was almost exhausted, and no relief came. Already she contemplated sacrificing another child; she looked at each of them again and again with a mother's eye, now resolving on killing the one, then changing her mind, and endeavouring to determine on the destruction of the other; she hesitated, wept, despaired, and the children, well understanding what she meant, prayed that they might all die together. While in this situation, her hand already lifted to strike the fatal stroke, the yell of two approaching Indians strikes her ear, and the murderous weapon falls from her hand. The men with rackets to their feet now appear and the dreadful scene is at once closed. They had provisions with them. They made a pair of rackets for the woman to walk on, and brought her and her children along in safety to the Big Island, where my informants resided at the time. I cannot remember whether they told me that they had gone to that spot in consequence of a dream, or of some strong presentiment that they should find human creatures in distress; certain I am, however, that it was owing to one or other of these causes.

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[103] The place where this awful event took place was since called *Enda Mohátink*, which means "where human flesh was eaten." This name has been very familiar to the Indians who resided in that part of the country.

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184 There is a spot of land at the edge of the great Pine or Beech Swamp, precisely where it is crossed by the

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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road leading to Wyoming, which is called *the Hermit's Field*, and of which the following account is given. A short time before the white people came into Pennsylvania, a woman from some cause or other had separated herself from society, and with her young son, had taken her abode in this swamp, where she remained undiscovered until the boy grew up to manhood, procuring a livelihood by the use of the bow and arrow, in killing deer, turkeys and other animals, planting corn and vegetables, and gathering and curing nuts and berries of various kinds. When after her long seclusion she again saw Indians, she was much astonished to find them dressed in European apparel. She had become so attached to her place of abode, that she again returned thither and remained there for several years. I was shewn by the Indians in the year 1765, and often afterwards, the corn hills that she had made; the ground, being a stiff clay, was not wasted or worn down, but was covered with bushes, and the traces of the labour of the female hermit were plainly discoverable.

Thus the Indians will support themselves in the midst of the greatest difficulties, never despairing of their fate, but trusting to their exertions, and to the protection of the Almighty Being who created them.

[erratum. See cat. 116, p. 348. -Awa'ist]

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

their solemn sacrifices. These religious ceremonies are not always performed in the same manner. I had intended to have given some details upon this subject, but I find that it has been almost exhausted by other writers,* although I will not pretend to say that they are correct on every point. But I do not wish to repeat things which have already been told to the world over and over. Therefore, if on some subjects, relating to the manners and customs of the Indians, I should be thought to have passed over too quickly, and not to have sufficiently entered into particulars, let it be understood that I have done so to avoid the repetition of what others have said, although I am afraid I have been inadvertently guilty of it in more than one instance. I would not presume to communicate my little stock of knowledge, if I did not think that it will add something to what is already known.

I do not recollect that it has already been mentioned, that previous to entering upon the solemnity of their sacrifices, the Indians prepare themselves by vomiting, fasting, and drinking decoctions from certain prescribed plants. This they do to expel the evil which is within them, and that they may with a pure conscience attend to the *sacred performance*, for such they consider it. Nor is the object of those sacrifices always the same; there are sacrifices of prayer and sacrifices of thanksgiving, some for all the favours received by them and their ancestors from the great Being, others for special or particular benefits. After a successful war they never fail to offer up a sacrifice to the great Being, to return him thanks for having given them courage and strength to destroy or conquer their enemies.

* See Loskiel, part 1. ch. 3.

l:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7
Iroquois NM9

to a place where they could enjoy the light of heaven and have such excellent game in abundance.

The other two tribes, the *Unamis* or Tortoise, and the *Unalachtigos* or Turkey, have much similar notions, but reject the story of the lake, which, seems peculiar to the Minsi tribe.

These notions must be very far extended among the Indians of North America generally, since we find that they prevail also among the Iroquois, a nation so opposed to the Delawares, as has been shewn in the former parts of this work, and whose language is so different from theirs, that not two words, perhaps, similar or even analogous of signification may be found alike in both. On this subject I beg leave to present an extract from the manuscript notes of the late Reverend Christopher Pyrlæus, whom I am always fond of quoting with respect, as he was a man of great truth, and besides well acquainted with the Six Nations and their idioms.* The account that he here gives of the traditions of that people concerning their original existence, was taken down by him in January 1743, from the mouth of a respectable Mohawk chief named *Sganarady*, who resided on the Mohawk river.

The Extract.

"*Traditio.*—That they had dwelt in the earth where "it was dark and where no sun did shine. That though "they followed hunting, they ate mice, which they caught "with their hands. That *Ganawagahha* (one of them) "having accidentally found a hole to get out of the earth

* Mr. Pyrlæus lived long among the Iroquois and was well acquainted with their language. He was instructed in the Mohawk dialect by the celebrated interpreter Conrad Weiser. He has left behind him some manuscript grammatical works on that idiom, one of them is entitled: *Affixa nominum et verborum Linguæ Macquaicæ*, and another; *Adjectiva, nomina et pronomina Linguæ Mucquaicæ*. These MSS. are in the library of the Society of the United Brethren at Bethlehem.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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call "the *spring* month," May, the *planting* month, June, the *fawn* month, or the month in which the deer bring forth their young, or, again, the month in which the hair of the deer changes to a reddish colour. They call July the *summer* month; August, the month of *roasting ears*, that is to say, in which the ears of corn are fit to be roasted and eaten. September, they call the *autumnal* month, October, the gathering or *harvest* month; December, the *hunting* month, it being the time when the stags have all dropped their antlers or horns. January is called the *mouse* or *squirrel* month, for now those animals come out of their holes, and lastly, they call February the *frog* month, because on a warm day the frogs then begin to croak.

Some nations call the month of January by a name which denotes "the sun's return to them," probably because in that month the days begin to lengthen again. As I have said before, they do not all call the months by the same name; even the Monseys, a tribe of the Delawares, differ among themselves in the denominations which they give to them.

The Indians say that when the leaf of the white oak, which puts forth in the spring, is of the size of the ear of a mouse, it is time to plant corn; they observe that now the whipperwill has arrived, and is continually hovering over them calling out his Indian name "*Wekolis*," in order to remind them of the planting time, as if he said to them "*Huckiheck!* go to planting corn!"

They calculate their ages by some remarkable event which has taken place within their remembrance, as, for instance, an uncommonly severe winter, a very deep snow, an extraordinary freshet, a general war, the building of a new town or city by the white people, &c. Thus I have heard old Indians say more than fifty years ago, that when their brother Miquon spoke to their forefathers, they were of such an age or size, they could catch butterflies, or hit a bird with the bow and arrow. I have

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7

in religion. According to Speck's exhaustive monograph composed from one informant's data on the Big House Ceremony in the early 1930's, the last full or "real" ceremony was held during the fall of 1924.[5] Since the Delawares knew that this ceremony was in danger of dying out, they attempted to put young people in "important positions" and in positions of leadership (R.W.). An abbreviated Big House Ceremony was, in fact, performed during the second World War.[6]

The wartime Big House Ceremonies were held three times: in the spring of 1944, the following fall, and just before the conclusion of the European War in the spring of 1945. The traditional season for the ceremony was the fall, but two of these meetings were held in the spring. R.W. said that the first one was held in the spring because of the seriousness of the war. No explanation was given for the final spring meeting. The meetings were held in order to induce the supernatural powers to provide a quick victory for the United States and to ensure the return of the Delaware soldiers unharmed. The purpose of the meetings, then, was within the traditional pattern. Many people remain convinced of the efficacy of these meetings; after all, the War was over shortly after the last meeting, and no Delaware servicemen were killed on the fields of battle.

The wartime ceremonies were held on a farm a few miles north of Dewey. The Big House itself was built of bark and canvas and was an arbor rather than a house (O.A.). The old log "church" or "meeting house" fell into disrepair sometime after the ceremony of 1924, and no trace of it exists today. The carved heads (Mesingkwa) and other paraphernalia had been removed and sold to museums by J.F.[7] Joe Washington was the leader, at least during the last two meetings; other men who played important parts were Ben Hill, Jim Thompson, and Reuben Wilson. Joe Washington tried to arouse interest and continuance of the ceremony by explaining in the Delaware language what they were doing and why they were doing it. This attempt was rewarded with little success.

The Delawares did not camp at the Big House, as was customary, but came to the ceremonies every evening. It was said that "lots of the younger people didn't go." They failed to attend either because they thought it "silly" or because they did not understand the Delaware language very well (O.A.). Vision recital, as was customary, played the principal role in the wartime ceremonies. Reuben Wilson, Joe Washington, Ben Hill, and perhaps others recited either their own or traditional visions. The vision recital of these men was ridiculed; it was said that although they might have had visions, they did not have the "power" that the traditional visions gave. In short, "they just went through the motions." "Although they knowed the songs they didn't have the right (spiritual) power" (J.T.). Women traditionally were seldom blessed with visions, but the few who had had them were allowed to recite them on the

[5] Speck, 1931, p. 18; F. W., O.A., R.W.

[6] The Anadarko Delawares never performed the Big House Ceremony. The following account refers only to the Cherokee-Delawares.

[7] I have seen ceremonial equipment in the Philbrook Art Center in Tulsa which supposedly came from the Big House. Other material has found its way into the collections of the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania.

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The herbalist, before using herbs previously gathered and dried, performs the same rite of smoking and prayer. If the plants are being gathered for future rather than for immediate use, an appeal is made to the Creator to bless the plants and render the remedies effective in curing the future ills of his grandchildren.

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The custom of offering prayers before the gathering and preparation of medicinal plants is not observed exclusively by the medicine men but is known to every Delaware. However, it was remarked that many fail to adhere to the ancient rite.

In observing Witapanóxwe I was charmed by the delicate and reverential manner in which he handled the plants secured and arranged for this study. At this time he emphasized the idea of conservation, stating that one should gather only what was needed, and that vegetation in general should not be subjected to ruthless treatment.

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Purity means much to the conservative Delaware and so the pure plants, as taken from Mother Earth, must not be defiled. It is therefore important that in order to avoid contamination no metal should come in contact with plants that are to be used in the treatment of disease. Roots and plants are allowed to dry in the sun, its rays lending them added potency. In this connection it is considered highly beneficial for a convalescing person to lie directly in the sun, so that its strengthenings qualities may be transferred to him. After the process of curing, roots and leaves are prepared by crushing them in a non-metallic receptacle, a stone basin or a wooden mortar being used for the purpose.

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The herbalist smokes and offers a prayer while the medicine is being prepared and is always careful to stir it in the same direction—from left to right. One should never blow upon the concoction to cool it; to do so would represent an affront to the spirit of the plant.

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The most able practioner will not treat himself when ill, nor a sick member of his family, but always calls upon the service of another.[14]

If an herbalist or sweat doctor, after diagnosing a case, feels that it is beyond his power to effect a cure, he will send the patient to another more capable of treating him successfully. Sometimes a sick person

[14] Zeisberger *(op. cit.* p. 25) "If one should know enough to help himself, being able to prepare *Beson*, and became ill, he will rarely treat himself, having the superstitious belief that what is prepared by himself will be of no benefit. Using what has been prepared by another, he believes, will bring relief."

4:Tantaquidgeon E-5 (1930) 1942
NM7 Delaware NM7

APPENDIX II

USES OF MEDICINAL PLANTS AMONG THE CANADIAN DELAWARE

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THE following notes on the medicine practices of the Six Nations Delaware, Grand River Reserve, located near Hagersville, in Brant County, Ontario, Canada, were recorded during a visit to the reserve in November, 1931. The group consists of about 150 individuals of mixed Indian and white blood. Only a few, however, have any knowledge of the language and traditions of the Delaware who once inhabited the section of the country now known as Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and New York. To find the identity and location of the predecessors of the band now in question, who migrated to Canada, will be impossible until a comparative study has been made of the various vocabularies.

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I am indebted to Mrs. Martha Peters Hill, Nicholas Powless, his sister, Mrs. Maracle, Joseph Montour, John Lickers, and Walter Moses for aid in securing the Delaware information herein presented.

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In contrast to the ceremonies connected with the various processes of healing as employed by the Oklahoma Delaware, we find only a few traces of such rites among the Delaware of Canada. Plant parts to be used for medicinal purposes should be gathered when the vital properties are in that part of the plant (the flower, root, etc.), to be used. One informant added that plants should be gathered before the fireflies appear. When seeking herbal plants, the first of the desired species should not be plucked. It is customary to pass on to another of the same variety and there dig a small hole beside the plant and in it place an offering of tobacco. If a large quantity of herbs were gathered, they were tied in bundles and allowed to dry in the sun, to prevent mould. Some dried their plants in a warm room.

When bark is used it is taken from the east side of a tree; only the inner bark, which is usually peeled downward, is used. Roots may be scraped or cut into small portions.

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Medicinal plants are regarded as being sensitive to handling, and when brewing medicine, care must be taken to refrain from stirring the mixture while it is steeping. After being thoroughly steeped, the medicine is removed from the fire, and if necessary, stirred only toward the

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

closer personal relation, as their actions are seen in every sunrise and thunderstorm, and felt in every wind that blows across woodland and prairie. Moreover, as the Creator lives in the twelfth or highest heaven above the earth, it takes twelve shouts or cries to reach his ear. An account of the worship of the Creator will be given later in connection with the description of the Annual Ceremony. The Minsi had similar beliefs, but the current name for the Great Spirit in that dialect today is *Pa''tŭmawas*, interpreted "He who is petitioned," or *Kĕ''tanĭto'wĕt*, "Great Spirit."

It has been frequently stated that the concept of a supreme being or chief of the gods was not known among the American tribes in precolonial times, and that the "Great Spirit" concept, now widely distributed among the Indians, is entirely the result of missionary teaching. This seems to have been the case in some instances, but it is a mistake to assume such a broad statement as a general rule, on *a priori* grounds. To the

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
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water poured upon the stones; and while the steam rose and the sweathouse grew hotter and hotter the perspiring occupants prayed to their guardian spirits and recited their visions. These finished, with a shout of "There go our prayers to Those Above," the cover was suddenly snatched from the sweathouse so that the steam it had contained rose in a puff. If the steam cloud went straight up into the air it was thought that the prayers would be heard and answered, and that all was well, but if it broke and spread out the people felt that something had gone wrong, and that their prayers were of no avail.

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In endeavoring to explain the presence of such variations of the Annual Ceremony, it should be remembered that the Lenape now in Oklahoma whom the writer has called for convenience "Unami," are not really pure descendants of this tribe, but probably have a large proportion of the blood of the Unala'tko or Unalachtigo, whose dialect, according to Heckewelder, was very similar, and a

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

smaller proportion of Minsi and even Nanticoke blood. Perhaps then the first form of Annual Ceremony described may have originally been purely Unami, and the second Unalachtigo, or Minsi, or vice versa; but later, when the remnants of these tribes became amalgamated their mixed descendants inherited both forms.

The second form seems to be a variant of the rite mentioned by Zeisberger[49] who describes it as follows:

"A fifth kind of festival is held in honor of fire which the Indians regard as being their grandfather, and call *Machtuzin*, meaning 'to perspire.' A sweating-oven is built in the midst of the house of sacrifice, consisting of twelve poles each of a different species of wood. These twelve poles represent twelve *Manittos*, some of these being creatures, others plants. These they run into the ground, tie together at the top, bending them toward each other; these are covered entirely with blankets, joined closely together, each person being very ready to lend his blanket, so that the whole appears like a baker's oven, high enough nearly to admit a man standing upright. After the meal of sacrifice, fire is made at the entrance of the oven and twelve large stones, about the size of human heads, are heated and placed in the oven. Then twelve Indians creep

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

796^x twelve times, and the twelfth time, it is said, their cry reached Heaven.

●184 796^x In comparing this form of the Annual Ceremony with that of the Oklahoma Lenape the most noticeable difference is that here no masked impersonator of Mĭsinghâli'kŭn was seen in or about the Big House, the Masks among the Minsi, as with the Iroquois, constituting a society with its own separate rites.

GRAND RIVER VERSION

796^x Such was the version of the great ceremonies given the writer by the Minsi of Munceytown, Ontario, which is similar to, but more detailed in parts than, the account previously obtained from the Delawares of Grand River reserve, published by the writer in the *American Anthropologist*[50] which we will reproduce here. It will be noticed that this description gives fuller information in some places where the first is deficient; so that between this and the preceding account, a good general idea of the Minsi form of the ceremony can be reconstructed. It reads:

7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

source for comparison of Delaware ceremonies in general with those of other groups of eastern North America. Casual survey of its salient points will reveal differences and similarities observed in the elements of ceremony so far recorded among Central Algonkian, Iroquois tribes and those of the southeast. It will remain for more intensive study derived from similar summaries made among these groups to determine the position of Delaware ceremonialism in relation to them.

In conjunction with the Delaware series of festivals it is evident that those of the Munsee should be jointly grouped. Harrington's notes on Munsee rites is our principal source. The fact that the Munsee bands still exist in several locations in Canada leaves an open possibility that more detailed and penetrating records of ceremonies of the family or individual order may still be secured. Yet the more thoroughly Christianized condition of the tribe in general may, when the attempt is made, convert this hope to chagrin. This has been the outcome in the case of the Delaware-Munsee of the Six Nations reserve.

Formal ceremonies have disappeared from the calendar of religious events of the Delaware-Munsee incorporated with the Six Nations of Ontario for almost a century, since the abrupt discontinuation of the rites of the Big House in this band in 1832. This resulted from a successful attack on its creed by the native missionary, G. H. M. Johnson, a Mohawk.[1] There remains little to put on record beyond what knowledge we have, opportunely rescued in 1910–14 and admirably presented by M. R. Harrington in several of his publications referred to in the course of our study. Minor religious performances may still be obtained in descriptive form from the Canadian bands of Munsee and Delawares blended together on several of the reservations, but from a casual survey of these groups, their dialects and history, I am free to

[1] An interesting summary of religious history of the band is compiled by R. R. Whale, of the Brantford, Ontario, Historical Society. Johnson with John Wampum, presumably a Delaware, took axes and destroyed the images in the Long House in the Delaware settlement. Whereupon all the Delawares there were converted.

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

agree with Harrington calling them Munsee and treating their ceremonial habits as allied properties of the Munsee tribe as such. Investigation in this direction still remains to be carried on systematically among the Munsee groups, and is being pushed by the author under grants awarded by the Faculty Research Fund of the University of Pennsylvania since 1932. Acknowledgment is made to this body for Grants No. 50 and 93 which were used in beginning Delaware-Munsee research and securing comparative material to elucidate some questions raised in the study of the Oklahoma band.

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

original features of a distinct character, or, *b*, that it was in earlier times an uniform ritual which has broken up into variant forms with changes of time and place in the expansion of its influence. For the present time it seems hardly safe to interpret the circumstances that may have contributed to change the manner of its celebration. My impression is at present, nevertheless, that the three social subdivisions of the Nation, Turkey, Tortoise and Wolf, were in an earlier period indistinct areal groups whose fusion created the Nation. The Nanticoke, for instance, have been repeatedly referred to as being of the Wolf identity in the sense of a sub-tribe, and something similar is true of the Mahikan, giving evidence in the direction of the above supposition. As regards the local-group types of the Big House Ceremony, an opportunity to record the version and rulings of the performers as carried on by the Wolf group, would be an important addition to our knowledge of religious history among the eastern tribes. And Joe Washington's dictation of the Wolf group's regulations becomes a necessary task for the future. Through lack of support at the time to undertake this study its completion will have to remain postponed. Washington offered to dictate a full account of the Big House rite as carried on by the Wolf group, and through conference with him the following notes were secured covering some of the particulars in which it differed from the Turkey group rite. His observations bring out a point in question, namely, that the details of the Turkey and the Wolf group ceremony probably differ as much as they do when the Turkey group rite is compared with that of the Munsee recorded in Canada by Harrington.

The Wolf group ceremony lasted only eight days whereas the Turkey group rite as recorded consumed twelve. The last time that the Wolf rite was performed by the father of Joe Washington, he was told not to repeat it unless the spiritual obligation took possession of his mind with such compelling force that he could not decline his mission. He was also enjoined not to give way to the insistency of members of the Wolf group or others of the Nation that the rite be carried out merely to maintain the customs of their respective ancestors.

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

A Grease Drinking Ceremony was also possessed and celebrated in the family of Mrs. Jim (Sally) Thompson. As performed by this family the master of ceremonies wore a whole otter-skin suspended upon his back, the otter's head upon his breast in the manner described by Harrington in his section on the Otter Ceremonies. Half Moon thought that the otter skin in the Museum of the American Indian (Heye Foundation) was the one formerly belonging to this family.

A word seems to be called for in explanation of the confusion existing in the descriptions we have of the two preceding ceremonies, namely, the Bear or Brush Arbor rite and the Otter rite of the Grease Drinking Ceremony. The similarity of procedure in both cases and the conflicting testimony as regards the style of making the enclosure in which the celebration was carried out, are perplexing enough to cause the Indians as well as the several authorities who have quoted them to be accused of error. My attempt to straighten out the circumstances by questioning the Delawares themselves in Oklahoma resulted in partially clearing up the difficulty. It seems that type ceremonies similar in performance as regards function and general procedure, were customary properties among those families who possessed them either through inheritance or through direct acquisition by the visitation of spirits. In each family possessing a ceremony the details of arrangement and of paraphernalia differed somewhat. Therefore, when we record the traditional narrative of the ceremony as performed by the family of Col. Jackson we get the details that were characteristic of the rite as the particular rules of this family required it to be performed. Again, when the Thompson family, for instance, celebrated its grease-drinking feast the procedure was conducted as tradition had conveyed it in the past through the generations within that family. Again, in one family the ceremony would center about the myth of its relationship with the bear, whence the Bear rite as recorded in the previous chapter. Moreover, in different branches of the family in which the Bear rite was inherited, there could be variations in the procedure and the equipment,

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
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as we are told. In another family a grease-drinking feast would be performed to satisfy obligations incurred in some past relationship between its members and the traditional otter. From these circumstances arose variations in rites falling within the same general category, descriptions of which have come down to us in terms of variation. By understanding these to refer to separate performances of the general family feast type among different groups of kinsfolk, the difficulty of treating the conflicting sources is largely minimized. I need hardly add that these ceremonies have fallen out of use in the Nation within the last two generations and so the existing situation in regard to variations among the family types will have to remain uncorrected.

7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
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"A small wooden post is used in case of a man's grave and placed at the head of the grave on the east end. (The head must always be directed toward the sunrise, feet to the west.) A woman's grave is indicated by placing a cross. (See Fig. 5.) A few logs are placed over the grave to keep out 'varminta.'

"Now at the conclusion of the burial, or just before, a little hole must be left in the casket and one cut in the end opposite the head of the wood box also,[13] and the post placed after covering same, then paint the usual designs on posts. The victuals are separated for the pall-bearers and all the relatives. The latter eat apart from the people in general. Just before the feast at the cemetery the speaker calls all the people to the grave and talks—takes up the life of the person and relates the character of the dead person, and if he lived a nice quiet life and tells his chance or her chance to be born into the spiritual world. The life blood remains, but the body goes back to the mother earth, of which we are a part. The belongings of the dead are divided among those who waited on the body, and the food is divided among the four pall-bearers also.

"Now at the announcement the speaker tells them to remember well the eleventh day at the noon hour, all must be ready to offer thanks for the great opportunity to give victuals to their dead kinfolks, as well as giving the hog and other rations which will be offered to the one who departed. That is, he or she eats the last time with his or her living relatives or tribesmen.

"The latter feature belongs to the Munsee division of the Delawares, but a Delaware proper does not have the eleventh day feast. One of the Munsee division may say, in passing threatening jokes, for instance, 'I am going to kill you.' The Munsee will say, 'Well it will cost you two hogs!' That is, it means one hog at the time of burial and the other at the eleventh day feast."

The grave posts referred to are described as being about two feet in height above the ground, which at the head of a man's grave is a single one painted with crosses, at a woman's grave one with a horizontal cross-bar (Fig. 5, *a* and *b*). The crosses it should be added do not stand for the Christian emblem but represent the "Cross-roads" on the path of the spirit to the abode of souls (see pp. 174–7, "Big House Ceremony").

[13] It is important to note that the Delawares are strongly averse to the use of European materials in mortuary constructions. They will not use iron in nailing, nor will they compromise with the past by adopting metal coffins, out of fear that the spirit would be sealed up and unable to reach the "habitation of spirits above." As noted before, when a wooden casket is bought by the progressive Delawares a square hole is cut in it for the exit of the soul-spirit after the event of the feast.

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

person buried and his rank in the tribe. In the evening soon after sunset and in the morning before daybreak the female relations and friends assemble in the house of the deceased and mourn over the body. The effects of the deceased are taken to the place of burial, the greater part being distributed among those who assist at the burial. As the corpse is let down into the grave the women set up a deafening howl. After the ceremony the mother, grandmother, or some near female relative goes evening and morning to the grave and weeps over it, this continues, with less and less regularity until the mourning period is over. Sometimes food is placed over the grave." [49]

"To the spirits of the dead they offer both meat and drink. The doctors decide, in the case of a meat offering, which animal is to be sacrificed. When the guests are in the dark with no fire assembled an old man offers the meats to the enraged spirits and begs them to be pacified. The old man then communes with the spirits and tells the guests that they have been appeased.

"In the case of drink to be offered the guests assemble and drink together, then someone speaks with the spirits and pacifies them. The guests walk to the grave and pour some rum on it." [50]

Archaeological evidence is not lacking to show that before the historic period the custom of cleaning the bones of the dead and subsequent burial of the skeleton, sometimes in groups forming ossuaries, had penetrated as far north as the neighborhood of New York.[51] The testimony coincides with the tradition among the modern Delawares, recorded by Harrington, that the "Wolf clan" practiced the rite of removing the flesh from the bones of the deceased and later interred the bones with appropriate ceremonies.[52] Lindeström (1654) makes mention of the Delawares stripping the skeleton, disposing of the bones upon a shelf and distributing the property of the deceased among the relatives.[53] These institutions among the Delawares are unquestionably of southern origin, and their introduction as far north as the domain of the Delawares is clearly attributable to the Nanticoke in whose culture they were firmly established at an early period.

[49] Zeisberger, *op. cit.*, pp. 88–90.

[50] Zeisberger, *op. cit.*, p. 140.

[51] A. B. Skinner, "The Lenape Indians of Staten Island," Anthropological Papers, American Museum of Natural History, III, 1909, pp. 49–51.

[52] Harrington, *op. cit.*, pp. 183–4.

[53] Peter Lindeström, "Geographia Americae, 1654–6," ed. by A. Johnson, Philadelphia, 1926, pp. 249–51.

11:Newcomb E-5 (1952)1956 NM7 Delaware NM7

form." Despite the differences in locale and in the inherent variability of the cult, there is a surprising correspondence between the Big Moon meeting of 1930 in Anadarko and the one held in 1952 near Dewey. The similarity between the arrangement of the tepee I have described and the eight variants of the Big Moon altar and tepee which Petrullo diagrams is striking; the same is true of the conduct of the meetings. The principal differences between the meetings are presented in Table I (Petrullo, 1934: 87–95). The differences are minor; for the most part they are well within the range of variation of the cult, and of course in most respects the meetings are similar or identical. The principal change seems to be that women are allowed a much greater part in the

TABLE I

Differences in Big Moon Peyotism
1930 and 1952

1930—Anadarko	1952—Dewey
1. Quiet period in afternoon prior to ceremony.	1. Participants gather just before ceremony.
2. Road-chief seated people; women on south.	2. Sit where you like. Women seated on north and south.
3. Oil lamp near altar.	3. No light other than fire.
4. Personal paraphernalia permitted after midnight.	4. No personal paraphernalia in evidence at any time.
5. Crucifix on altar.	5. No crucifix.
6. Only road-chief smoked Indian tobacco cigarette to open meeting.	6. Everybody smokes corn husk-Bull Durham cigarette.
7. Women given only the peyote tea.	7. Women eat green or dried peyote; men drink tea.
8. "Fanning" with eagle-feather fan after sets of songs.	8. Absent.
9. Drum-chief sang after road-chiefs' opening song.	9. Drum-chief is last to sing; clockwise circuit followed without exception.
10. Women did not sing.	10. Woman sang, but permission had to be given by road-chief.
11. No midnight intermission.	11. Midnight intermission.
12. No shamanistic curing (possibly permitted).	12. Winnebago performed cure on wife.
13. At dawn road-chief sang "morning water-song"; each person drank water.	13. Negative.
14. Filed outside, washed faces, faced rising sun, returned to tepee, etc.	14. Meeting closed with Lord's Prayer.
15. No breakfast.	15. Breakfast.
16. Candy, etc., distributed at noon meal.	16. Candy passed before leaving tepee.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

829 to the Indians he assigned the nobler employment of hunting, and the supreme dominion over all the rest of the animal creation.

829 They will not admit that the whites are superior beings. They say that the hair of their heads, their features, the various colours of their eyes, evince that they 186 are not like themselves *Lenni Lenape*, an ORIGINAL PEOPLE, a race of men that has existed unchanged from the beginning of time; but they are a *mixed* race, and therefore a *troublesome* one; wherever they may be, the Great Spirit, knowing the wickedness of their disposition, found it necessary to give them a great Book,* and taught them how to read it, that they might know and observe what he wished them to do and to abstain from. But they, the Indians, have no need of any such book to let them know the will of their Maker; they find it engraved on their own hearts; they have had sufficient discernment given to them to distinguish good from evil, and by following that guide, they are sure not to err.

829 It is true, they confess, that when they first saw the whites, they took them for beings of a superior kind. They did not know but that they had been sent to them from the abode of the Great Spirit for some great and important purpose. They therefore, welcomed them, hoping to be made happier by their company. It was not long, however, before they discovered their mistake, having found them an ungrateful, insatiable people, who, though the Indians had given them as much land as was necessary to raise provisions for themselves and their families, and pasture for their cattle, wanted still to have more, and at last would not be contented with less than the *whole country*. "And yet," say those injured people, "these white men would always be telling us of their "great Book which God had given to them, they would "persuade us that every man was good who believed in "what the Book said, and every man was bad who did

* The Bible.

7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
\Lenape

"A small wooden post is used in case of a man's grave and placed at the head of the grave on the east end. (The head must always be directed toward the sunrise, feet to the west.) A woman's grave is indicated by placing a cross. (See Fig. 5.) A few logs are placed over the grave to keep out 'varminta.'

"Now at the conclusion of the burial, or just before, a little hole must be left in the casket and one cut in the end opposite the head of the wood box also,[49] and the post placed after covering same, then paint the usual designs on posts. The victuals are separated for the pall-bearers and all the relatives. The latter eat apart from the people in general. Just before the feast at the cemetery the speaker calls all the people to the grave and talks—takes up the life of the person and relates the character of the dead person, and if he lived a nice quiet life and tells his chance or her chance to be born into the spiritual world. The life blood remains, but the body goes back to the mother earth, of which we are a part. The belongings of the dead are divided among those who waited on the body, and the food is divided among the four pall-bearers also.

"Now at the announcement the speaker tells them to remember well the eleventh day at the noon hour, all must be ready to offer thanks for the great opportunity to give victuals to their dead kinfolks, as well as giving the hog and other rations which will be offered to the one who departed. That is, he or she eats the last time with his or her living relatives or tribesmen.

"The latter feature belongs to the Munsee division of the Delawares, but a Delaware proper does not have the eleventh day feast. One of the Munsee division may say, in passing threatening jokes, for instance, 'I am going to kill you.' The Munsee will say, 'Well it will cost you two hogs!' That is, it means one hog at the time of burial and the other at the eleventh day feast."

The grave posts referred to are described as being about two feet in height above the ground, which at the head of a man's grave is a single one painted with crosses, at a woman's grave one with a horizontal cross-bar (Fig. 5, *a* and *b*). The crosses it should be added do not stand for the Christian emblem but represent the "Cross-roads" on the path of the spirit to the abode of souls (see pp. 174–7, "Big House Ceremony").

[49] It is important to note that the Delawares are strongly averse to the use of European materials in mortuary constructions. They will not use iron in nailing, nor will they compromise with the past by adopting metal coffins, out of fear that the spirit would be sealed up and unable to reach the "habitation of spirits above." As noted before, when a wooden casket is bought by the progressive Delawares a square hole is cut in it for the exit of the soul-spirit after the event of the feast.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

information available. On the other hand, the expression of feelings between men and their wives and children, which is a closely related subject, definitely shows a change in the fourth period (75, 76). In the second and third periods indifference on the part of the men to their wives on returning home was reported, whereas, in the fourth period, the two younger informants disclaimed such indifference. Paternal indifference to children is denied throughout. The behavior of the older men toward their wives was in accordance with the old ways, they said, whereas that of the younger men was apparently influenced by white standards of behavior.

Captain Chipps and two of the informants, W. T. and W. L., considered the Delaware to differ from other tribes in color (80). Among the informants the matter was one of personal opinion unwarranted by the color of the individual informants. The opinion is also unwarranted from a comparison of skin, hair, and eye color with members of neighboring tribes who have approximately the same percentage of Indian blood. The greater degree of sociability, friendship, and hospitality among the Delaware and all the informants is to be attributed, in part, at least, to their religion and their feeling of superiority to other tribes (82-84). They believe their Big House or Delaware "church" to be superior to the religious beliefs of other tribes, but they are tolerant of the shortcomings of the others and attempt no missionary work. Friendship with all mankind is preached in the Big House and practiced by all believers.

The elements concerned with the physical duties of the woman in the home are of doubtful value from a psychological and terminological viewpoint (85-87). The terms "easy," "contented," and "drudgery" all carry connotations beyond their strict meanings that are so divergent in their use by different observers or informants that comparison is impossible. It is interesting to note, however, that Heckewelder and Johnston agree with the statements of the modern Delaware that the position of women was easy and contented and that they were not considered menial servants of the men. The only dissenting voice was that of Captain Chipps. Nowhere is there any evidence that the women considered themselves imposed upon by the men.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

619 Delawares because they resided at a place of that name; and *Woonalāūhtekoa* is the name of one of the twelve divisions just mentioned. (One of the four divisions of the Wolf tribe.) Mr. H. made a similar mistake when he distinguished the Munsees as one of the tribes of the Delaware nation. There are descendants of each of the three tribes among them as well as among the Delawares themselves.

. . . . . .

"They know nothing of a nation of Taleekāāee, Aleekāāee or Allegewi, of which Mr. Heckewelder speaks as the possessors of the country east of the Mississippi before the arrival of the Delawares. But Pipe says that one of the twelve tribes of the Delawares, before mentioned, was called Aleekāāee, and that they resided on the Allegheny River. That when he was a boy he saw one of their men at the house of his father, at or near Cape Girardeau and that his father pointed him out to Pipe as one of the Aleekāāee, but at that time they were but very few, and are supposed to be now extinct."

● [184] It should be noted in connection with the divisions of the tribe or the tribal divisions of the nation that they have frequently been rated according to their importance. Captain Chipps said that the Wolf tribe was the first. Zeisberger said Turtle was first." Among the modern Delaware the tribe placed first depended upon the tribal affinity of the informant: a Wolf always placed his tribe first and a Turtle placed the Turtle tribe first. Informants of these two groups named the other one second, and Turkey last. I was not able to find a Turkey informant.

Chiefs

643 The succession of chiefs among the Delaware has not been well or consistently described in the historic accounts. Many different ways of becoming chief have been reported. Lindeström implied that chieftainship was hereditary in an extended family, with the brother of the chief or his sister's son having preference over the son of the chief (218, 219). The chief might name

"Hulbert and Schwarze (eds.), "David Zeisberger's History," in *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Publications*, XIX, 131-32.

[53(A)]

622 tain Ketchum, and of the Turtle Tribe. His
[611] name was Ta-ta-ne-sha. Here we have a practical illustration of descent in the female line, as with the Iroquois. She says each of the three tribes have one hereditary chief, called the Head Chief; that this chief never goes out to war, but stays at home while the Braves go out to fight.

648 The Delawares call the Senecas Mingwa-o, hence I think the historical word Mingoes,[85] a name for the Iroquois. The Delawares call the Iroquois and Wyandottes nephews, and thus assume the name
[186] of uncles, which is a way to express their seniority as well as original superiority.

553 I inquired of her about the family names, and was again put at fault. She says the father and mother can name their children as they please; that they ask some one for a list of old names of persons dead, and choose such ones as they like. She thought the names of the three tribes were kept dis-
[614] tinct, and then that they were used by these tribes indiscriminately. She said her husband named her children, and gave them all Turtle names, which was his tribe, then followed this up by stating that she did not know as it made any difference, that all used the same names. She referred to the
[171] Seneca practice of making a feast when a child was named, but said the Delawares did not do that way.

Winter

773 Mr. Pratt mentioned a Delaware tradition
821 about the origin of cold and heat and the change of the seasons as follows. In ancient times a married pair fell into disagreement. They lived in the far north region of cold. The wife, finding it impossible to live with her husband, or in resentment for some injury, travelled into the far south, into the region of heat. The husband became weary

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7

177*
795

peyotism, and in this there are no essential differences from those that Petrullo described. The Big Moon version is the more liberal and contains more Christian elements than does the Little Moon. Thus, if diffusion of Christian traits has continued, it more likely has occurred in the Big Moon version. In the Big Moon meeting which I attended, some features were present which were lacking in Petrullo's accounts, and some features were lacking which were present in Big Moon meetings attended by him. There were, however, no essential differences in these meetings separated by more than two decades. The meeting I attended might very well have taken place in 1930 instead of 1952. Since peyotism is essentially individualistic, and since there is no institutionalized priesthood or specific creed, minor differences in form and procedure are to be expected.[19] Petrullo found substantial, but inconsequential differences in the Big Moon meetings which he attended. He gave, for instance, eight variations of the Big Moon altar;[20] the altar I saw was not identical with any of these, yet the basic features of all the altars were similar.

Linguistic Assimilation

177*
191

It has been said that of all culture traits language is the most persistent; this has been true for Delaware acculturation. During the earlier periods of acculturation there was virtually no replacement of language, although a few individuals learned English as a second language. In the Decadent Period there probably was an increase in the number of Delawares familiar with English. With permanent settlement in Oklahoma and the increased enrollment of Delaware children in government schools, this situation gradually altered. At the present time no Cherokee-Delaware, whatever his age or acculturative status, habitually speaks Delaware; all speak English. It is within the last generation that this change has taken place. I queried thirty-two persons and found that the native language of only three was English, and these three were thirty-five years old or younger. The youngest native speaker of Delaware was twenty-six. The native language of every person over thirty-five in the Cherokee-Delaware group was Delaware (or Munsi). Most of these people learned English when they were sent away to school. Present proficiency in Delaware varies tremendously, but there seems to be a correlation between age and proficiency (see Fig. 4). The people who speak Delaware well are usually older, but some of the younger people, because of individual inclination or association, speak it fluently. With the exception of three young persons, all people queried at least understood Delaware. Nine said they spoke Delaware well, five said their ability to speak Delaware was average, seven said it was poor, and eight understood but did not speak Delaware. These categories are admittedly imprecise, and the Delawares placed themselves on this linguistic scale, so that one person who said he spoke Delaware well may have been actually less fluent than another who said his ability was

[19] Petrullo, 1934, p. 149.
[20] *Ibid.*, Pls. 3-6.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7

The Relationship Between Language and Age Among the Cherokee-Delawares

*177
● 191

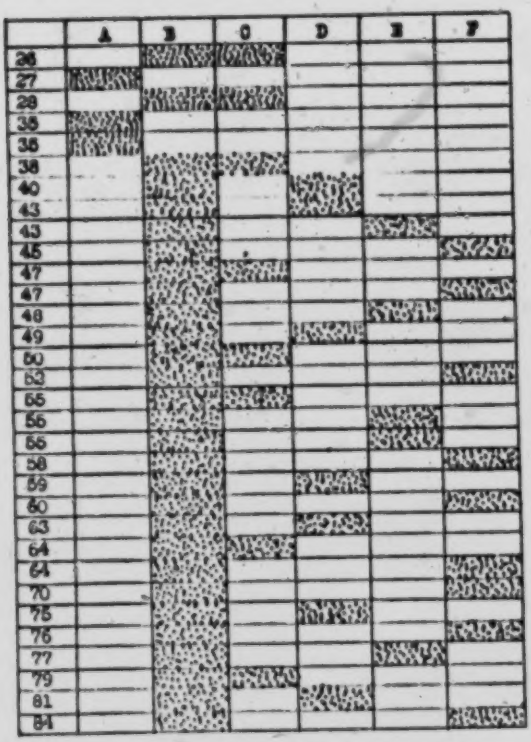

Fig. 4. A. Native speaker of English. B. Native speaker of Delaware (or Munsi). C. Native speaker of Delaware, but only understands, does not speak Delaware. D. Native speaker of Delaware, speaks it poorly. E. Native speaker of Delaware, average ability. F. Native speaker of Delaware, speaks it fluently, or well.

average. No children were found who spoke Delaware, although a few possibly understood it simply because their parents used the native language when they were discussing topics not meant for juvenile ears. One parent said that this ruse no longer worked with her offspring (L.F.). At the same time the children of this woman absolutely refused to speak Delaware and as far as is known they have never done so. It is not known whether the Delawares of Anadarko are losing their language as rapidly as the Cherokee-Delawares. One informant (M.B.) habitually

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7

spoke Delaware, and several other elderly Delawares spoke only very halting English. Considering the small numbers of Delawares in this area and their close association with the Caddo, it seems probable that there, too, the Delaware language will rapidly disappear.

Pan-Indianism

As the preceding sections of this chapter indicate, the Delawares have arrived at what would seem to be a final stage of assimilation to American civilization; for all intents and purposes the Delaware culture and tribal society are things of the past. During the field work of 1951 with the Cherokee-Delawares it became increasingly clear, however, that they were not completely assimilated, nor did it seem likely that they would be in the near future. It was apparent that in the following summer's field work a survey of the phenomenon which was responsible for nonassimilation should be made. Since this survey was undertaken as peripheral to the major study, the reconstruction of Delaware culture, my conclusions should be regarded as tentative.

The Cherokee-Delawares have been participating in a number of customs and institutions which are describable only as Indian. Much time and a great deal of energy is consumed in activities which can be described as neither Delaware nor Anglo-American. There is, in short, wholehearted participation in and allegiance to what may be called a Pan-Indian society. This is a loosely knit, informally organized grouping of Indians, who, having partly lost their old cultural orientation, but not being fully assimilated into white society, have joined forces and are participating in and sharing a number of intertribal customs and institutions. These institutions were and are being synthesized from elements derived from Indian cultures, but also drawn from white civilization.

When I first wrote this section no published study had been specifically devoted to Pan-Indianism, although it had been mentioned explicitly or implied in a number of works.[21] Since that time a brief paper on the "Pan-Indian Culture of Oklahoma"[22] has appeared, and I have published an abbreviated account of Cherokee-Delaware Pan-Indianism.[23] Karl Schmitt read a paper entitled "A Possible Development of a Pan-Indian Culture in Oklahoma" at the Central States branch of the American Anthropological Association several years ago. He intended to publish the paper, but his untimely death temporarily halted this project. George Devereux in his book *Reality and Dream* approached the subject from a slightly different point of view, a psychoanalytical one. He suggested that "areal basic personalities" were being substituted for tribal ones, at least among Plains Indians.[24] Petrullo touched upon Pan-Indianism among the Delawares, saying:

[21] Brant, 1950, pp. 212-22; Devereux, 1951, p. 40; Mead, 1932, pp. 68-68.
[22] Howard, 1955.
[23] Newcomb, 1955b.
[24] Devereux, 1951, p. 40.

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape
Nanticoke NM11

N 764 D [191]

mixture with the Delawares and the loss of the Nanticoke language among the descendants, the ceremony became obsolete. Some of the Delawares could, however, speak Nanticoke and sing the Nanticoke songs. Among the last of these was Bill Swa'nak (Bill White-Man), who himself was a Delaware. Recent information (1929) from the Delaware Nation states that there are only about six persons of recognized Nanticoke descent living there now.

N 764 539

THE NANTICOKE SKELETON DANCE OR GHOST DANCE

Lɔ'mwe'kamiŋg	no'tci·	wani·lən·a"'p·e	ki·'xkai·-	
Long ago times	ever since	the Delawares	lived close	
ke'yɔk'	yu'li·ł	uɔne't'ko"'wɑ'	wunda'kui·'tali·'	ka'si·-
together with these	Nanticokes	back there	Kaw	
ai·si·'pu[19]	e"'laik·e"'t·up'	wani·lənɑ'p·e	ne"'skun	i·'k·a
River	there dwelt	the Delawares	before	there
wu'ndji	ngat·'ha'k·e"t'	a'hi·ma'	ɔse'i·	kwi·a'gwi·
thence	migrated	very very	many	yet
a"'po	une"'t'ko	ɔk	lo'we"n	nihi·la't·tci·
there	Nanticokes	and	it was said	there they had
ha't·e	at that time			
ełhak·e"'ti·t	yu'kwe	ne'k·e	ke"xen·a"'gi·	ełha'k·e"t'
ceremony custom.	Now	there were	several	customs
ɔk	ma'uhowak·an.	kwut·ena"'ki·	e"łha'k·e"t'	lowe'suk'
and	dances.	One of them	customs	was called
une"'t'kowi·	wi·tci·payu'k·an	ə'n·da	awe"'n	pali·-
Nanticoke's	ghost dance	when	a person	passed
lɔ's·i·t'	yu'ki·k'	une"'t'kowɑk'	te"xi·i·'	mala"'ci·
away	these	Nanticokes	above the ground	like
te"'xkakani·'xɑn	te'pi·təlɑk'hi'k·wi·	hukwe'yuŋg		
on platform of sticks	about so high	up above the ground		
nɑce"'	nanexkwi't·tci·	ni·pala"'n	awe"'n	ne'n·i·
and there	on top these	they stand	person's	that one
wtohe"'p·i·.	nace"'	ełki·'kwi·	we"'mi·awe"'n	ne'oyu"'s·əm
his body.	And there	whenever	all persons	that his flesh
kwun·a'i·k·e	pali·'le"	ɔk	pɔ't·alət'	nɑ'ce"
finally	decays	and	falls off	and there
we"'mi·keko	every thing			

[19] This was the older Delaware reservation in Kansas on Kaw River.

+ = element present
− = element denied
(+) or (−) = source ambiguous
• = informant could not or would not say
S = some, sometimes, or several
† or * = see Ethnographic Notes, pp. 79-137 for additional information

	Williams	Van der Donck	Lindeström	Zeisberger	Heckewelder	Johnston	Pipe	Chippa	J. W.	W. T.	E. R.	W. L.
3442						674	858	5592	538	576	763	1551
Medicine—Continued												
52. Perform surgical operation				(−)		−		−	−	−	−	−
53. Unite profession with priesthood	(+)		(+)			−		−	−	−	−	−
54. Always use juggling tricks †	+	S	S	S	S	−		−	S		S	S
55. Beat on own breast	+		(+)		+	+			+	+	+	+
56. Blow in hands	+		(+)		+	+			+	−	+	+
57. Make rumbling noise	+		+	+	+	+			+	+	+	+
58. Blow on patient	+		+	+	+	+			+	+	+	+
59. Rub the part affected						+			+	+	+	+
60. Have effect on patient's confidence						+			+	+	+	+
General Manners and Customs												
61. Eat human flesh			*(−)	−	−	−	•	−	−	−	−	−
62. Shake hands on meeting; inquire about health and express gladness to see	(±)			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
64. Great respect paid age or rank				+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
65. Visit one another for purpose of conversation	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
66. Regular parties at which they entertain				+		+	•	•	+	+	+	+
67. Practice of telling stories				+		+	+	•	+	+	+	+
68. In winter and at night only						+	•	•	+	+	+	•+
69. Use words equivalent to swearing		−		−		+	−	−	−	−	−	−
70. Exhibit strong feelings of love, friendship and affection to same sex					+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
71. to opposite sex						+	−	+	+	−	+	•
72. common to try to suppress to same sex						+	−	+	+	−	−	+
73. common to try to suppress to opposite sex						+	+	+	+	−	−	•
74. Matter of pride to suppress feelings or excitement, especially fear and shame				+		+	•	+	+	(+)	+	+
75. On return home men treat wives with indifference					+	+	+	•	−	+	−	+
76. On return home men treat children with indifference					−	−	•	•	−	−	−	−
77. Powers of recollection strong			+		+	+	•	+	+	+	+	+
78. Any peculiarities in encampments (except war) or building of huts that distinguish from others				+		•+	•	•	•	+	•+	+

15:Morgan E-6 (1859)1959
NMT Delaware NM7
Shawnee NN17
[p50(B)]

D 291 177 materials. Some of them had on two shawls, and some a third arranged as a neck drape. They appeared to have put on all they had, to show it, the quantity of dress being of more importance in their sight than its style, or quality.

Of course their appearance as a whole was fantastic and ludicrous. The dresses were made without taste from scant patterns, and worn without hoops or petticoats, thus giving to the skirt an appearance not to be compared for a moment with the Indian female skirt of cloth and blanket of the same, but these would be too warm for Kansas. I was glad to see the gown upon them, as it is a move in the right direction. At home they may wear the Indian gown, but I doubt it. The Shawnee women, all [S 291] that I saw, wore the gown. On their heads they tie a silk handkerchief universally. I did not see a bonnet among them.

D 142 144 The color of the Indian women is quite uniform, and is light. It shows that the white blood infused into them in the East has been well diffused throughout. The next cross with the white will make a pretty white child, of which I saw a few and but a few specimens, as the Delawares are quite [D 563] vigorous against intermarriage with the whites, and also against unlawful intercourse. As a whole, the expression on the D 142 face of the women was pleasant and healthful. They look strong, literally cleanly and [D 164] healthy, although I am told by Mr. Ford that syphilis is among their women to an alarming extent. Their faces would not lead to such a suspicion.

D 291 The men were more fantastically dressed than the women, and did not appear half as well. Their fancy dresses were cheap and absurd, rendering their general appearance ridiculous. There were many good faces [D 191] among them, and also well dressed Indians

[750 (c)]

291 who speak our language and have the man-
[191] ners and address of gentlemen. Some of the
old men and some of the young men had on
colored calico frock coats of the most gaudy
[302] colors. Many had vermilion on their faces,
thus giving them a low appearance, and I
saw a few girls with spots of it in their
[301] cheeks. One man I saw with a silver orna-
ment in his nose, which covered part of his
mouth. Many of the men wore leggings with
a wide side projection, ornamented, and
the breech cloth, over which they wore a
vest or shirt, and perhaps one of the frock
coats of calico above named, with head
bands of bead work over the shoulder and
meeting in a large bead work pocket on the
right hand side. As a body I should think
the men inferior to the women.

454 The Delawares have a million and up-
648 wards in the national treasury at five per
cent interest. Their regular annuity is
[657] $50,000. The present is a part of two pay-
ments, I understand, and is larger than
usual. There were several stores full of
443 goods, and a great many stands out in the
open air with the protection of canvas. The
492 great show of all was in saddles and bridles,
of which I presume I saw of saddles alone
[435] 150; the price ranges from $15 to 50 dol-
lars, the ordinary being $22 to $25. They
are the Mexican saddle, made at Westport,
Mo., and the kind usually used in Kansas
and this part of the west. It has a high pom-
mel, wooden stirrups usually, which are
easier than metal for long journeys, and a
well stuffed and quilted seat, with a high
rear plate. They are far superior to our
eastern saddle for riding.

439 The assortment of goods was creditable
to the good sense of the Delawares, as the
supply was adapted to the demand. Grains
of all kinds, tin wares of all kinds and at
reasonable prices, in fact they could not

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca.1800) 1819
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mode of speaking, not that of the Indians, who never look upon them as having been so many *nations;* but *divisions* and *tribes*, who, as united, have become a nation. Thus, when the Lenape (Delawares) happen to name them as one body, the word they make use of implies "the five divisions together, or united," as will be seen in another place of this work. I call them also *Iroquois*, after the French and some English writers. 128

The *Wyandots*, or *Wyondots*, are the same whom the French call *Hurons*, and sometimes *Guyandots*. Father Sagard, a French Missionary, who lived among them in the 17th century, and has written an account of his mission, and a kind of dictionary of their language, says their proper name is *Ahouandáte*, from whence it is evident that the English appellation Wyandots has been derived.

There being so many words in the language of the Lenape and their kindred tribes, the sound of which cannot well be represented according to the English pronunciation, I have in general adopted for them the German mode of spelling. The *ch*, particularly before a consonant, is a strong guttural, and unless an Englishman has the use of the Greek χ, he will not be able to pronounce it, as in the words *Chasquem* (Indian corn,) *Cheltol* (many,) *Ches* (a skin,) *Chauchschisis* (an old woman,) and a great many more. Sometimes, indeed, in the middle of a word substitutes may be found which may do, as in the word *Nimachtak* (brethren,) which might be written, *Nemaughtok*, but this will seldom answer. This is probably the reason that most of the English authors have written Indian words so incorrectly, far more so than French authors. 104 194 [192] [114]

The Delawares have neither of the letters R, F, nor V, in their language, though they easily learn to pronounce them. They have a consonant peculiar to them and other Indians, which is a sibilant, and which we

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"tonished, but still we let them go on, not thinking it 173
"worth while to contend for a little land. But when at 648
"last they came to our favourite spots, those which lay
"most convenient to our fisheries, then bloody wars en-
"sued: we would have been contented that the white
"people and we should have lived quietly beside each
"other; but these white men encroached so fast upon us,
"that we saw at once we should lose all, if we did not
"resist them. The wars that we carried on against
"each other, were long and cruel. We were enraged
"when we saw the white people put our friends and
"relatives whom they had taken prisoners on board of
"their ships, and carry them off to sea, whether to drown
"or sell them as slaves, in the country from which they
"came, we knew not, but certain it is that none of them
"have ever returned or even been heard of. At last
"they got possession of the whole of the country which
"the Great Spirit had given us. One of our tribes was
"forced to wander far beyond Quebec; others dispersed
"in small bodies, and sought places of refuge where they
"could; some came to Pennsylvania; others went far to
"the westward and mingled with other tribes.

"To many of those, Pennsylvania was a last, de-
"lightful asylum. But here, again, the Europeans dis-
"turbed them, and forced them to emigrate, although
"they had been most kindly and hospitably received.
"On which ever side of the *Lenapewihittuck*,* the white [103]
"people landed, they were welcomed as brothers by our
"ancestors, who gave them lands to live on, and even
"hunted for them, and furnished them with meat out of
"the woods. Such was our conduct to the white men,†
"who inhabited this country, until our elder brother, the

* The Delaware river. I have said above, p. 33. that *Hittuck* means a rapid stream. I should have added that it means so only when placed at the end of another word, and used as a compound. Singly, it signifies a *tree*. [192]

† The Swedes and Dutch

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201 537 men, who every where speak more than the men, never want words to express themselves, but rather seem to have too many, and they do not oftener employ gestures in aid of their conversation than the vivacity of their sex induces them to do every where else.

201 It is true that the Indians have a language of signs, by which they communicate with each other on occasions when speaking is not prudent or proper, as, for instance, when they are about to meet an enemy, and by speaking they would run the risk of being discovered. By this means they also make themselves understood to those nations of Indians whose languages they are not acquainted with, for all the Indian nations understand each other in this way. It is also, in many cases, [558] a saving of words which the Indians are much intent on, believing that too much talking disgraces a man. When, therefore, they will relate something extraordinary in a few words, they make use of corresponding signs, which is very entertaining to those who listen and attend to them, and who are acquainted both with the language and the signs, being very much as if somebody were to explain a picture set before them. But they never make use of signs to supply any deficiency of language, as they have words and phrases sufficient to express every thing.

● 192 I have frequently questioned Indians who had been educated at our schools, and could understand, read, write, and speak both English and German, whether they could express their ideas better in either of those languages than in their own, and they have always and uniformly answered that they could express themselves with far the greatest ease in their own Indian, and that they never were at a loss for words or phrases in which to clothe every idea that occurred to them, without being in any case obliged to gesticulate or make motions with their hands or otherwise. From the knowledge which I have acquired of their language, I have

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reason to be satisfied that it is so. Indeed, how can it 192 ●
be doubted, when we have the whole of the Bible and New Testament translated into one of their dialects, and when we see our ministers, when once familiar with the language of the nation with which they reside, preach to them without the least difficulty on the most abstruse subjects of the Christian faith? It is true, that ideas are not always expressed in those languages in the same words, or under the same grammatical forms as in our own; where we would use one part of speech, we are obliged to employ another, and one single word with them will not seldom serve a purpose for which we would have to employ several; but still, the ideas are communicated, and pass with clearness and precision from mind to mind. Thus, the end of oral language is completely obtained, and more, I think, cannot be required.

The Indians do not possess our art of writing, they 211
have no alphabets, or any mode of representing to the [212]
eye the sounds of words spoken, yet they have certain hieroglyphics, by which they describe facts in so plain a manner, that those who are conversant with those marks can understand them with the greatest ease, as easily, indeed, as we can understand a piece of writing. For instance, on a piece of bark, or on a large tree with the bark taken off for the purpose, by the side of a path, they can and do give every necessary information to those who come by the same way; they will in that manner let them know, that they were a war party of so many men, from such a place, of such a nation and of such a tribe; how many of each tribe were in the party; to which tribe the chief or captain belonged; in what direction they proceeded to meet the enemy; how many days they were out and how many returning; what number of the enemy they had killed, how many prisoners they had brought; how many scalps they had taken; whether they had lost any of their party, and how many; what enemies they had met with, and how many

[Erratum. Should be "NOT."--Analyst]

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them) will not succeed in healing. I once knew a noted Shawano, who having, out of friendship, conducted several white traders in safety to Pittsburg, while they were sought for by other Indians who wanted to revenge on them the murders committed by white men of some of their people, was on his return fired at by some white vilains, who had waylaid him for that purpose, and shot in the breast. This man, when I saw him, had already travelled eighty miles, with a wound from which blood and a kind of watery froth issued every time he breathed. Yet he told me he was sure of being cured, if he could only reach *Waketemeki*, a place fifty miles distant, where there were several eminent Indian surgeons. To me and others who examined the wound, it appeared incurable; nevertheless, he reached the place and was perfectly cured. I saw him at Detroit ten years afterwards; he was in sound health and grown to be a corpulent man. Nine years after this I dined with him at the same place.

CHAPTER XXXI.

DOCTORS OR JUGGLERS.

I CALL these men *Doctors*, because it is the name given them by their countrymen who have borrowed it from our language,* and they are themselves very fond of this pompous title.

* They call them *Doctels*; because the Indians cannot pronounce the letter R. The Minsi or Monseys call them "Mĕdéu," which signifies "conjuror."

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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son is present, or even accidentally comes by before the skin is taken off, he presents it to him, saying, "Friend, "skin your deer," and immediately walks off. William Wells, whom I have before spoken of, once paid me this compliment, and when I asked him the reason, he answered that it was the custom among the Indians on the Wabash.

In the year 1792, I travelled with a number of Indian chiefs of various tribes from Post Vincennes to Marietta, and I found in most instances that their usages and customs were the same that I had observed among the Delawares.

The Indians in general, although they understand and speak our language, yet prefer speaking to a white man through an interpreter. For this they give various reasons. With some it is a matter of pride; as their chiefs deliver their public speeches through interpreters, they think that they appear with more dignity when they do the same. Others imagine that their words will have greater weight and effect when expressed in proper grammatical language, while some are afraid of committing mistakes when speaking in an idiom not their own. Particularly when they have a joke to pass, a hint to give, or a shrewd remark to make, they wish it to have all the advantages of a good translation, and that their wit may not be spoiled by a foreign accent, improper expression, or awkward delivery.

Though the Indian is naturally serious, he does not dislike a jest on proper occasions, and will, sometimes even descend to a pun. Once at a dinner given at Marietta by the late colonel Sproat, to a number of gentlemen and Indian chiefs of various tribes, a Delaware chief, named George Washington, asked me what the name of our good friend, the Colonel, meant in the Lenape language? It should be observed that Colonel Sproat was remarkably tall. I told him that *Sprout* (for so the name is pronounced) meant in English a shoot, or twig of a

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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monosyllables. In things relating to common life the language of the Indians is remarkably rich. They, in many cases, have several names for one and the same thing under different circumstances. They have ten different names for a bear, according to its age or sex. Similarly, they have a number of names for a deer. They have one word for fishing with a rod, another for fishing with a net, another for fishing with a spear or harpoon. Such words do not in the least resemble one another. The speech of the Unami has the most agreeable sound and is much easier for a European to acquire than that of the Monsys. The Monsy dialect, however, is a key to many of the expressions in the Unami. The latter have a way of dropping some syllables, so that without a knowledge of the former, it would be impossible either to spell their words or guess their meaning. The Unami have adopted many words of the Monsy dialect and the Monsys of the Unami dialect. They have no "f" nor "r" in their language, hence they pronounce foreign words containing these letters differently, for example, Pilip for Philip, Petelus for Petrus, adding a syllable, and Priscilla they pronounce Plicilla. In polysyllables the accent is generally placed on the middle syllable or on the last but one. This must be very minutely attended to because the sense of many words depends upon the accent. They can count up to thousands and hundreds of thousands, though they are unable to grasp the significance of large numbers. The women generally count upon their fingers, for this is their custom and their memory is poor.

In arithmetic they have made but little progress. They count up to ten, make a mark, proceed to the next ten and so on to the end of the account. By adding the tens they come to hundreds, and so on. In counting money the penny is the smallest coin they reckon. The Monsys call the stiver, of which they learned from the Dutch in Minissink,[300] stipel. Sixpence they call Gull, corruption of the Dutch Gulden. They usually count money according to Gulls, twenty Gulls being equal to ten shillings. If they want to calculate carefully, they take Indian corn, calling every grain a penny or a gull, adding as many as are necessary to make shillings and pounds.

8:Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
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CHAPTER XIII.

Concerning the Language of the American Savage People.

There is not much in particular to write about this, except that it is a poor language,[1] that a word may have many meanings, yet is spoken with a high pronunciation. As for instance when the savage says: *Ita kire,* that is to say, God's peace, welcome, how are you? *kire,* thou; *nir,* I; *tanckomen kire,* whence comest thou? *kecko hatte marrama,* what hast thou to sell? *punck,* powder; *aruns,* lead; *pickon,* gun; *makirick pickon,* a cannon or a large gun; *orit kire,* thou art beautiful and handsome; *mâkij,* yes indeed; *kicksj ita,* that's so; *nittappe kire,* thou art my good friend; *sewan,* money; *pâdhra,* God; *manitto,* the evil one.[2]

Besides this we may also observe [something about the language] by the savage words and names, both here in the relation concerning New Sweden as well as from the map of New Sweden, whose lands, islands and creeks are all given and designated in the Indian language. Besides this these Indians or savage people are so clever, that when they see and observe that they have any dispute[3] with any of the surrounding nations, then he who is sachem or chief calls together all his people and instructs them saying: "Now we have

[1] *Ett fattigt sprâk,* not rich in words. This erroneous opinion has often been expressed even by modern writers. Cf. *Doc.,* I, 281.
[2] Cf. Campanius, *Cate;* Holm, *Kort Beskrifning,* 144 ff.
[3] *Någon fiendskap,* really enmity, warfare.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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destitute of terms in their own language suitable for denoting religious concepts. We find such formal terms as pa"tamweo'k-an, an abstract term derived from pa"tam- signifying "to pray."[1] This I have translated in the text by variations of its free meaning, as "worship," "religion," "prayer ceremony" to suit the context. Again we find the abstract term kena"mwi·n employed as a synonymous title for the ceremony, for which I have been obliged to give the same rendering in English. And even another which was likewise noted by the missionaries of a century ago, ka'ntika, (kan·t'ka" "he is dancing),[2] a composite term with the meaning of persons dancing in a line and pushing something forward, occurs in reference to the great ceremony as well as to other performances of a like nature in Delaware sacred conduct. And again we encounter the term menda'wan, with the meaning of "House of Earnest Pleading," employed in the text to denote the ceremony. The informant thought that this term might be of Munsee derivation.

These terms point to a theosophical system and practice among the Delawares possessing considerable maturity of form and content. Indeed it impresses one, in meeting with the various religious terms employed in reference to the creed and practices of the tribe, that a well-rounded ecclesiastical system exists therein. There is little impoverishment of expression and much order and mature thought in the picturesque symbols developed within the complicated framework of figurative speech.

Such terms as "imploring in earnest," "sadness of mind," "blessed with fortune," "religious commandment," "customary teaching," "religious inspiration," "humility," "reverence," "ritual," appear with full voice of religious thought that we are accustomed to expect in religious forms of a relatively advanced character. They evince a

[1] Terms of similar derivation occur in Algonkian dialects south of the St. Lawrence and the Great Lakes (paba't-am, Wabanaki dialects). Northward the designation is related to forms of Cree-Montagnais atamie'win, "prayer" comparable with Delaware aya'ndamon "to wish for, implore."

[2] A term denoting a ceremonial dance, with an interesting history. Chamberlain (Handbook Amer. Inds. Bull. 30, Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 202) reviews the term Cantico, as employed by the Dutch and English, tracing reference to it to 1664 as designating a death dance, to 1653 (Van der Donck), describing it as singing and dancing of the young, Dankers (1679) as conjuring the devil, Denton (1670) as a festival time. Nelson (Indians of New Jersey, 1894, p. 79) cites Hesselius as calling *Kinticko* a sacrifice or a festive gathering of the New Jersey Indians. The Munsee form of the verb is *ginikaon* (Brinton, Lenape Dict. p. 40) while in Zeisberger's vocabulary it appears as *genigeen, Cantico*, or dancing matches at festival time in which the spectators beat time with a stick upon the ground and sing (Daniel Denton's Description of New York formerly New Netherland, 1670, quoted by A. B. Skinner, Indians of Greater New York, 1915, p. 34) while *Kintika*, mentioned by Gov. Prints of New Sweden, as a means of serving Satan among the Delawares (erroneously rendered by Johnson, as "holy man or medicine man," Amandus Johnson, The Swedes in Delaware. N. Y. 1911, p. 379, fn.,) may be the first appearance in European sources of the word as denoting ceremonial dancing. The stem occurs in dialects as far away as the Wabanaki (Malecite, *gisis'kuk*, "dance hard").

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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deep religious feeling. And such expressions as "pitifulness," "spiritual yearning," "conviction of unworthiness," "earnestness of mind" are met with to found a still deeper impression of the term-formality in what would constitute a true religious vocabulary. We should also bear in mind that these are the familiar expressions of the professors of paganism, who have carried over their spiritual terminology from the ancient paganism of their ancestors. These terms are not borrowings from the tongues of Delaware converts to Christianity; for the terms adopted by the latter have been refused admission into the Pagan religious glossary.[1]

There is, indeed, much to attest an almost classical form of diction in the sacred phraseology; clear evidence of the organized position which Delaware holds in the scheme of Algonkian thought and semantics.[2] While the earlier sources found in the writings of missionaries deal sketchily with the phenomena of Delaware religion it is evident that their authors were incapable of gaining an insight into the spirit of native Delaware worship through two obstacles of considerable importance. First, their religious conviction would be sufficient to prevent them from inquiring sympathetically into the pagan doctrines involved, while the second consideration, namely, the esoterism of the pagan worshippers themselves, would in those days have been a barrier to the admission of outsiders into the Big House. We can catch glimpses however in the descriptions of the missionary authors dealing with what were to their eyes hideous practices of superstition or devilitry, of performances which coincide with some fundamental elements of the greater ceremonies.[3]

Were it not for the study of Delaware institutions made by Harrington over a period of some years, and published in several papers and

[1] The discrimination between religious denotations used by the pagans and the Christians is illustrated in the term denoting the soul, lənapeʔkan approximately "human substance" among the pagans, tcí·tcaŋg among the Christian Delawares. While the latter term has wide analogies in cognates among practically all the Algonkian-speaking tribes its use has been expunged among the pagan element of the tribe, or at any rate avoided, because of its adoption into the phraseology of the missionaries and converts.

[2] A striking example of Delaware synthetic verbal construction in dignified discourse is the following which seems worthy of consideration, eʷli· pi·ˈpandawənaniŋga ki·kayoʔyəmənaniˈŋga əˈnda weˈ·l·taxkənotəmixtiˈtə . . . . "for so we have heard the deceased, our ancient deceased people of the past, when they were explaining the many things . . . ." (See page 115).

[3] Zeisberger op. cit., pp. 127-140; Heckewelder, op. cit., pp. 209-214, 230-248.

The short description of the Annual Ceremony written over the signature of R. C. Adams (Notes on the Delaware Indians. Report on Indians Taxed and Not Taxed. U. S. Census, 1890, p. 299) should also be considered, as well as the volumes by Dr. Brinton, largely secondary sources, which will be referred to by Roman numerals in my study when occasion requires quotation from them.

I. D. G. Brinton. The Lenape and Their Legends, Phila. 1885.

II. D. G. Brinton and A. S. Anthony. A Lenape'-English Dictionary, Historical Society of Pa. 1888.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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end pierces the sky extending to the throne of the Great Spirit, whose right hand is resting on top of it as a staff to hold a great power given to the red man. All other Indian worship is a branch of this belief. When the rules are faithfully carried out in accordance with the ways of the primitive Delawares, it governs even the religion of our white brothers, perpetuating happiness, health, and prosperity among all nations the world over. In regard to the center post which is said to link the Creator with his chosen people; it is considered a very important feature of the religion. There should be a special authority to explain the significance of the center post in order that its real value in the Indian world be brought out. This being done the other Indian nations would be able to understand this great worship which now only the Delawares know."

A word or two of comment on my own estimate of the character of Delaware religion may not be amiss. If the student of the religious systems of pre-literate peoples feels inclined to disparage the quality of thought and the symbolism of the rituals of other North American forms of worship, I imagine that his objections, on the basis perhaps of their fetishistic traits and their lack of spiritual refinement, would be removed in weighing the qualities of Delaware concepts and acts of reverence toward the powers beyond. Close attention during the two years of study to the intricacies of the Delaware doctrines has impressed me with the conviction that we have here a real religion in a simple form. Inculcated in its followers are virtues (we'lhik) that no one would question as being of an ennobling nature, for instance humility of spirit and conduct,[1] dependence[2] upon the benevolence of the spirit forces, gratitude[3] for the blessings they bestow, supplication[4] for the continuation of blessings, the exemplariness of "clean" sincere behavior toward man and spirit,[5] altruism,[6] consideration of the afflicted and the aged,[7] the apostrophe against violence and war,[8] the value of concentrated spiritual unity in worship, the assumed dignity and barbaric grandeur[9] of the rites, and in particular the endeavor to insure and promote human health and welfare[10] irrespective of tribe or race. All are well worthy it would seem of respectful consideration, to which should be added that the procedures of the paramount

[1] tamak·e·'landamowa'k·an, "pitifulness in attitude."
[2] lige·'ndowak·an.
[3] owee'landamowa'k·an, "thankful satisfaction of mind."
[4] mas'mendowa'k·an, "earnest pleading."
[5] pi·'tsowa'k·an.
[6] lapee'mkwus·i·n "act of making oneself useful."
[7] wi'mbendowa'k·an, "sympathy."
[8] wolangosowa'k·an, "peacefulness."
(aspalee'tamowak·an)
[9] woli·'nake·wsowa'k·an, "fine appearance."
[10] kwe'namowa'k·an, "universal blessedness."

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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801 [825] * The Delawares also point out the occurrence of thirteen plates in the carapace and twelve in the plastron of all the members of the American tortoises and turtles, bordered by twelve marginal plates on each side. Another evidence in native thought of the tortoise as being a living symbol of the Universe.

Again we hear of a medicine compound prepared from twelve different herbal ingredients employed by the Delawares to cleanse them from sin.[1]

801 796 The prominence of the twelve concept as a unit of time in Delaware chronology of ritual is not to be overlooked, for we learn in the ruling of the funeral ceremony that the first post-mortem rites are performed twelve days after the day of demise, and that the concluding ceremony is carried out the twelfth moon after the event.

Of great interest also is the fact that the Delaware finds symbolical illustration of the concept of the twelve strata of heavens in the occurrence of twelve tail feathers in the plumage system of the birds. The allegory is carried out in the Peyote ceremony as performed by the Delawares, in the particular rite that is called the Young Men's Meeting. On this occasion, twelve sticks, six on each side, are used in building the fire near the center of the Peyote lodge, the fire being the symbol of the moon. A mound of earth, with the arrangement of the sticks referred to, forms the symbolical outline of the body and tail of the eagle. And when these twelve sticks burn down they leave twelve stumps again representing the tail feathers of the eagle. The Peyote rites of different groups vary in many particulars, a comparison of which would determine whether or not the above is exclusively a Delaware belief injected into the now widespread Peyote cult.

801 192 Before leaving the discussion of the number concept, it should be noted that the formal expression denoting twelve in the ceremonial vernacular is archaic; ata'x ok ni'ea, "ata'x, (ten) and two," instead of "te'lən, (ten) and two." Delaware tradition informs us that ata'x is an ancient term for ten prescribed by usage in the ceremony while in common speech te'lən denotes ten. In looking over earlier Delaware vocabularies we find the use of the common term indicated through the period of early contact in vocabularies recorded by Campanius (1645), Thomas (1695), Ziesberger (1750), Whipple (1855), in which the cognates are *Thaeren, Telen, Tellen, Telen.*[2] In a Delaware vocabulary taken down in New Jersey (1792) attributed to Thomas Jeffer-

[1] Zeisberger, op. cit., p. 134.

[2] Brinton I, p. 90. Comparative vocabularies from these sources are quoted. In a Swedish source, attributed to Campanius (Lutheri Catechismus öfwersatt på American-Virginiske Språket, Stockholm, (1696), the form thaeren is given for "ten." Swedish, like Delaware, has in its recent development, under a change producing an *l* from the earlier *r* which in both instances may have had an *l* quality (Dr. A. J. Upvall). See also Amandus Johnson, Geographia Americae, op. cit., 289.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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son, the same form (*tilluun*) occurs.[1] The same term for the decimal occurs in cognate form throughout practically all the northern and eastern Algonkian tongues.[2] Is it reasonable then to consider the form ata'x as an Algonkian numeral so ancient as to antedate the dispersion of the Algonkian languages?

WAMPUM AS A SYMBOL.—In Delaware ceremonial, social and even economic procedure, wampum played an outstanding part. It is referred to in the text as "our heart." The subject, however, calls for more extended treatment than will be given it here. Wampum is designated by the term ke'k^{w}, a vocable which is peculiar to Delaware and which does not submit to philological analysis. Despite the uniformity of beliefs and practices involving the use of wampum beads throughout the eastern and central portions of the Algonkian area of distribution, the Delawares seem to have aberrated from employing the generic term wəba'bi[3] that we find in the speech of the other Wabanaki populations. The economic and symbolic functions of the peculiarly portentious medium of exchange I have dealt with in separate publication, to which I shall refer, as far as it deals with the Algonkian peoples of the northeast.[4] And the pecuniary aspect of wampum has been exaggerated in early writings dealing with the eastern Indians. To the Delawares wampum stood forth in the light of a covenant. It represented, and still does, a magical power capable of annulling the affects of latent poisonous influences that might pass between persons who exchange gifts or who enter into the transfer of property. I might even use the terms spiritual antiseptic in referring to the agency of the sacred beads in transactions of a personal nature as well as in negotiations between political bodies. Going a step further we see how the Indians regarded the belts and strings of wampum which were transferred between parties entering into negotiations as the necessary pledges of sincerity of spirit and purity of purpose.[5]

In the account of the annual ceremony a glance at the procedures shows how step by step wampum is brought into use as a medium of compensation carrying a spiritual valuation. But its monetary exchange value in Delaware culture is extremely low, hence the statements of the Indians themselves concerning its non-intrinsic rating are more clearly understood. The attendants we observe, whose office is to prepare the Big House, attend to materials such as food, fire,

[1] Manuscript in Archives of the American Philosophical Society of Phila., Indian Vocabularies, p. 17.

[2] The wide diffusion of the cognates of tel-en is shown in the following instances, Wabanaki, məda'la, Montagnais-Naskapi, kətə'l-nu.

[3] Literally "white string," the source of English "wampum."

[4] F. G. Speck, "The Functions of Wampum among the Northeastern Algonkian." Mem. Amer. Anth. Ass., vol. vi, No. 1, (1919).

[5] F. G. Speck, "The Penn Wampum Belts" Leaflet No. 3, Mus. Amer. Ind., (Heye Foundation), New York (1925).

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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which they are the head, whom they are appointed, indeed, to govern, but between whom and themselves intimate ties of connexion and relationship may exist, or at least, did exist in the beginning of time. They are, in fact, according to their opinions, only the first among equals, the legitimate hereditary sovereigns of the whole animated race, of which they are themselves a constituent part. Hence, in their languages, those inflections of their nouns which we call *genders*, are not, as with us, descriptive of the *masculine* and *feminine* species, but of the *animate* and *inanimate* kinds. Indeed, they go so far as to include trees and plants within the first of these descriptions. All animated nature, in whatever degree, is in their eyes a great whole, from which they have not yet ventured to separate themselves. They do not exclude other animals from their world of spirits, the place to which they expect to go after death.

I find it difficult to express myself clearly on this abstruse subject, which, perhaps, the Indians themselves do not very well understand, as they have no metaphysicians among them to analyse their vague notions, and perhaps confuse them still more. But I can illustrate what I have said by some characteristic anecdotes, with which I shall conclude this chapter.

I have already observed* that the Indian includes all savage beasts within the number of his *enemies*. This is by no means a metaphorical or figurative expression, but is used in a literal sense, as will appear from what I am going to relate.

A Delaware hunter once shot a huge bear and broke its back bone. The animal fell and set up a most plaintive cry, something like that of the panther when he is hungry. The hunter, instead of giving him another shot, stood up close to him, and addressed him in these words: "Hark ye! bear; you are a coward, and no warrior as "you pretend to be. Were you a warrior, you would

* See Page 84.

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mode of speaking, not that of the Indians, who never look upon them as having been so many *nations*; but *divisions* and *tribes*, who, as united, have become a nation. Thus, when the Lenape (Delawares) happen to name them as one body, the word they make use of implies "the five divisions together, or united," as will be seen in another place of this work. I call them also *Iroquois*, after the French and some English writers.

The *Wyandots*, or *Wyondots*, are the same whom the French call *Hurons*, and sometimes *Guyandots*. Father Sagard, a French Missionary, who lived among them in the 17th century, and has written an account of his mission, and a kind of dictionary of their language, says their proper name is *Ahouandàte*, from whence it is evident that the English appellation Wyandots has been derived.

There being so many words in the language of the Lenape and their kindred tribes, the sound of which cannot well be represented according to the English pronunciation, I have in general adopted for them the German mode of spelling. The *ch*, particularly before a consonant, is a strong guttural, and unless an Englishman has the use of the Greek χ, he will not be able to pronounce it, as in the words *Chasquem* (Indian corn,) *Cheltol* (many,) *Ches* (a skin,) *Chauchschisis* (an old woman,) and a great many more. Sometimes, indeed, in the middle of a word substitutes may be found which may do, as in the word *Nimachtak* (brethren,) which might be written, *Nemaughtok*, but this will seldom answer. This is probably the reason that most of the English authors have written Indian words so incorrectly, far more so than French authors.

The Delawares have neither of the letters R, F, nor V, in their language, though they easily learn to pronounce them. They have a consonant peculiar to them and other Indians, which is a sibilant, and which we

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represent by W. It is produced by a soft whistling, and is not unpleasant to the ear, although it comes before a consonant. It is not much unlike the English sound *wh* in *what*, but not so round or full, and rather more whistled. *W* before a vowel is pronounced as in English.

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829 to the natives.* They thought them better men than the
648 Virginians; but when they were afterwards cruelly treat-
551 ed by them, and their men shipped off to sea, the Mohi-
cans of that country called them *Tschachgoos*; and when next the people of the middle colonies began to murder them, and called on the Iroquois to insult them and assist in depriving them of their lands, they then dropped that name, and called the whites by way of derision, *Schwannack*, which signifies *salt beings*, or *bitter beings*; for in their language the word *Schwan*, is in general applied to things that have a salt, sharp, bitter, or sour taste. The object of this name, as well as of that which the Mohicans gave to the eastern people, was to express contempt as well as hatred or dislike, and to hold out the white inhabitants of the country as hateful and despicable beings. I have, however, in many instances observed that the Indians are careful not to apply this opprobrious name to any white person whom they know to be amicably disposed towards them, and whom they are sure to be a good, honest, well-meaning man. I have heard them charge their children not to call a particular white man *Schwannack*, but *Friend*. This name was first introduced about the year 1730. They never apply it to the *Quakers*, whom they greatly love and respect since the first arrival of William Penn into the
● [194] country. They call them *Quækels*, not having in their language the sound expressed by our letter R. They say they have always found them good, honest, affable and peaceable men, and never have had reason to complain of them.

648 These were the names which the Indians gave to the
551 whites, until the middle of the revolutionary war, when they were reduced to the following three:

1. *Mechanschican* or *Chanschican*, (long knives.) This

* Rogers's Key into the Language of the Indians of New England, ch. vi.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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various branches of their own nation. The Monsys and Unamis call one another Nitgochk, "my companion [feminine] in play," for the reason that the whole nation has become the women. The several tribes, also, have special names and titles, which the speaker must know. These titles are not generally used but only in their councils when something of importance is to be communicated, which is done with great solemnity. They are able to express themselves with great clearness and precision, and so concisely that much circumlocution is required to convey the full meaning of their expressions in an European language. In spiritual things, of which they are totally ignorant, there was utter lack of expressions. But since the gospel has been preached among them, their language has gained much in this respect. If they intend to speak in an obscure manner, they can speak so cleverly and with so much circumstance that even Indians must puzzle out the true sense of their allusions. They are able to convey an account of a bad action so skillfully that it appears not to be a bad but a virtuous deed. The chiefs are not particularly well versed in this art of dissembling, and, therefore, very strict attention must be paid to every word of their discourse, especially, if an answer is required, and great caution is necessary in order that one may not be caught.

A speaker in council must be able to deliver his speech without hesitation. Often he has no time to prepare his subject, the different heads are only briefly named or left for him to collect from the conversation of the chiefs. He must, then, be able to comprise the whole in a speech, well arranged and uninterrupted, which requires a clear and open understanding, a faithful memory and experience in matters of state. Young men are being constantly trained for such duty. They are admitted as hearers to the council, to familiar intercourse with the chiefs, who instruct them faithfully, and are employed as ambassadors to give them an opportunity to exercise themselves in public speaking.

The pronunciation of their language is easy, only the Ch is a very deep gutteral. The greatest difficulty is presented by the compounding of words with verbs, substantives and adjectives, which is very difficult for a European to learn. They have few

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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monosyllables. In things relating to common life the language of the Indians is remarkably rich. They, in many cases, have several names for one and the same thing under different circumstances. They have ten different names for a bear, according to its age or sex. Similarly, they have a number of names for a deer. They have one word for fishing with a rod, another for fishing with a net, another for fishing with a spear or harpoon. Such words do not in the least resemble one another. The speech of the Unami has the most agreeable sound and is much easier for a European to acquire than that of the Monsys. The Monsy dialect, however, is a key to many of the expressions in the Unami. The latter have a way of dropping some syllables, so that without a knowledge of the former, it would be impossible either to spell their words or guess their meaning. The Unami have adopted many words of the Monsy dialect and the Monsys of the Unami dialect. They have no "f" nor "r" in their language, hence they pronounce foreign words containing these letters differently, for example, Pilip for Philip, Petelus for Petrus, adding a syllable, and Priscilla they pronounce Plicilla. In polysyllables the accent is generally placed on the middle syllable or on the last but one. This must be very minutely attended to because the sense of many words depends upon the accent. They can count up to thousands and hundreds of thousands, though they are unable to grasp the significance of large numbers. The women generally count upon their fingers, for this is their custom and their memory is poor.

In arithmetic they have made but little progress. They count up to ten, make a mark, proceed to the next ten and so on to the end of the account. By adding the tens they come to hundreds, and so on. In counting money the penny is the smallest coin they reckon. The Monsys call the stiver, of which they learned from the Dutch in Minissink,[300] stipel. Sixpence they call Gull, corruption of the Dutch Gulden. They usually count money according to Gulls, twenty Gulls being equal to ten shillings. If they want to calculate carefully, they take Indian corn, calling every grain a penny or a gull, adding as many as are necessary to make shillings and pounds.

7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

EXPLANATION OF CHARACTERS USED IN THE TEXTS

The following key explains the symbols for sounds as written in the accompanying texts. 104 194

p, b bilabials, occasionally intermediate when preceding the dark vowels, a, o, u.

p' a true, slightly aspirated, surd.

m bilabial similar to English m.

t surd, as t in English *ten*.

d intermediate alveolar sonant between surd and sonant quality.

t' a pure slightly aspirated surd.

s surd, sibilant, corresponding to English s when followed or preceded by i, otherwise postdental, bringing it closer to the interdental θ, (th) with which it corresponds in Munsee.

n alveolar, not differing from English n.

ŋ post-palatal, corresponding to English ng in *king*.

k somewhat intermediate surd stop, medial palatal similar to English k in *lock*.

k^{w} the preceding sound followed by aspiration followed by closure of lips as in position for w.

g sonant stop, corresponds to English g in *go*.

l not differing from English l.

l̥ voiceless lateral. Not a frequent sound.

' aspirated, rough breathing following vowel.

h more forcible breathing than preceding, posterior lingual position but no contact with palate (h may be juxtaposed to s, c, t, not equivalent to English sh, ch, th).

x surd, aspirant, palatal-lingual in position; similar to ch in German *bach*.

c medial palatal surd, as sh in English *wish*.

tc surd affricative, as ch in English *church*.

w, y semivowels.

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Lenape

· denotes lengthening, or as in English doubling, of vowel or consonant.

ᵛ whispered with position of lips for w, after g or k.

Vowels.

a, e, o, u, i open, medium length.

a^{a}, e^{e}, o^{o}, u^{u}, i^{i} open, long, with prolongation.

ą, nasalized.

a as in German *Mann*.

e as in English *yes*.

o as in English *Moses*, but more open, often difficult to distinguish from u.

u rounded as in English *put*.

i as in English *pin*.

i· as ee in English *queen*, or as in French *si*.

ai, ao, au } full glides, not diphthongs.

ɔ mid-mixed vowel, shorter than *ɑ*.

ɑ open, obscure, as English u in *but*. Sometimes with nasal quality.

ɔ· closed long.

ɔ closed, medium long a like English aw in *law*.

ˈ stress accent without regard for the possibility that voice pitch may prove later to have a more formal status than that of rhetorical sentence cadence.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

614 We may dismiss for the present, the problem of their origin after
621 giving the opinion of our informant, with which Harrington coincides, that they were local groups, district populations in an older habitat, which had accumulated the characteristic of sib groupings with maternal descent and exogany. Heckewelder,[1] over a century ago, who knew the Delawares so well, had sound reasons for his opinion on the character of the triple "totemic" groupings as being geographical divisions, originally tribal subdivisions. These, he continues to say in his discussion, again developed local sub-groupings that took name from localities, the eighteen so-called "clans" of Morgan and Harrington. The Delaware designation for these groups is wihil-a'i·n, "name or title."

128 EXPLANATION OF CHARACTERS USED IN THE TEXT

In general conformity with the suggestions of the committee on the transcription of Indian languages, I have employed the following characters in the transcription of the text. Occasional variation in the spelling of native terms will be found in the narrative, due to variability of pronunciation by the informant. This it has been thought wiser to retain until a more detailed study of sounds and phonetic laws can be made.

194 The Oklahoma dialect does not abound in the voiceless final vowels
104 and syllables which, according to Sapir,[2] characterize the dialect spoken by the Delawares of the Grand River reserve in Ontario.

There is no indication whatever in Delaware of an *r*, or *th* (*θ*) recorded by Brinton for instance, (in Lenape Dictionary), as in Munsee and Mahikan, and by Campanius (1645-96).[3]

ṕ, b́ bilabials, occasionally intermediate when preceding the dark vowels, *a, o, u.*

p, a true, slightly aspirated, surd

m bilabial similar to English *m.*

t surd, as *t* in English ten.

d intermediate alveolar sonant between surd and sonant quality.

t' a pure slightly aspirated surd.

s surd, sibilant, corresponding to English *s* when followed or preceded by *i*, otherwise with slightly deflected tongue tip bringing it closer to *θ*, *(th)* with which it corresponds in Munsee.

n alveolar, not differing from English *n.*

ŋ post-palatal, corresponding to English *ng* in king.

k somewhat intermediate surd stop, medial palatal similar to English *k* in lock. Often not distinguishable from *g.*

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[1] Heckewelder, op. cit., pp. 51-53, 250.
[2] E. Sapir, Geol. Survey of Canada, Summary Report, 1912, p. 6.
[3] The supposed change from *r* to *l* in later Delaware is discussed by Heckewelder, Trans. Amer. Philos. Soc. IV, 1834, pp. 351-96.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

*k*ʷ the preceding sound followed by aspiration followed by closure of lips as in position for *w*. 194 104

g sonant stop, corresponds to English *g* in go.

l not differing from English *l*.

l̥ surd lateral *l* with moderate aspiration. Not a frequent sound.

ʿ aspirated, rough breathing following vowel.

h more forcible breathing than preceding, posterior lingual position but no contact with palate. (not equivalent to English sh, ch, th). *h* may be juxtaposed to *s*, *c*, *t*.

x surd, spirant, palatal-lingual in position, similar to *ch* in German bach (This was written *ch* by the German missionaries (Zeisberger and Heckewelder) in Pennsylvania and Ohio, who wrote Delaware. Occasionally it becomes a spirant uvular, with medium stress force. It varies in quality from a strong *h* to a completely closed spirant, but is always voiceless. (Roman x in English text).

c medial palatal surd, as *sh* in English wish.

tc surd affricative, as *ch* in English church.

w, *y* semi-vowels

· denotes lengthening, or as in English doubling, of vowel or consonant.

ʷ whispered with position of lips for *w*, after *g* or *k*.

Vowels

a, e, o, u, i open, medium length.

$a^{\cdot}$, $e^{\cdot}$, $o^{\cdot}$, $u^{\cdot}$, $i^{\cdot}$ open, long, with prolongation

a as in German mann.

e as in English yes.[1]

o as in English Moses, but more open, often difficult to distinguish from *u*.

u labialized as in English put.

i as in English pin.

ɨ as *ee* in English queen, or as in French *si*.

ᵎ, ʿ indicate whispered vowel following preceding sound.

ai
ao
au
} full glides, not dipthongs.

ə open obscure, shorter than *d*.

ɑ open, obscure, as English *u* in but. Sometimes with nasal quality.

ɔ closed long .

ɔ closed, medium long *a* like English *aw* in law.

The texts in Delaware and English are divided off to form corresponding paragraphs and sentences on opposite pages.

[1] This sound Doctor Michelson represents by *ä* in his Delaware texts and notes. To my ear, however, as heard from the dictation Wi.tapano'xwe, it inclines to the *e* series.

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177 by their intercourse with the white people, have lost much of the honourable and virtuous qualities which they once possessed, and added to their vices and immorality. Of this, no one can be a better judge than a missionary residing among them. And if, what these people told us more than half a century ago; that lying, stealing, and other vicious acts, before the white men came among them, were considered as crimes, we may safely conclude —and we know it to be fact—that from that time to this, and especially within the last forty years, they have so much degenerated, that a delineation of their present character would bear no resemblance to what it was before.—It is therefore the history of early times, not of the present, that I have written; and to those times my delineations of their character must be considered to apply; yet, to shew the contrast, I have also delineated some of their present features.

128 [101] It may be proper to mention in this place, that I have made use of the proper national name of the people whom we call *Delawares*, which is: "*Lenni Lenape.*" Yet, as they, in the common way of speaking, merely pronounce the word "*Lenape*," I have, in most instances, when speaking of them, used this word singly. I have also made use of the word "*Mengwe*," or *Mingoes*, the name by which the *Lenape* commonly designate the people known to us by the name of the *Iroquois*, and *Five* or *Six Nations*. I shall give at the end a general list of all the names I have made use of in this communication, to which I refer the reader for instruction.

[195] As the Indians, in all their public speeches and addresses, speak in the singular number, I have sometimes been led to follow their example, when reporting what they have said; I have also frequently, by attending particularly to the identical words spoken by them, copied their peculiar phrases, when I might have given their meaning in other words.

On the origin of the Indians, I have been silent, leav-

9 [Erratum. See cat. 116, p. 348. - Analyst]

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"before the white people came into this country; our "council house* extended far to the north and far to the "south. In the middle of it we would meet from all parts "to smoke the pipe of peace together. When the white "men arrived in the south, we received them as friends; "we did the same when they arrived in the east. It was "we, it was our forefathers, who made them welcome, and "let them sit down by our side. The land they settled on "was ours. We knew not but the Great Spirit had sent "them to us for some good purpose, and therefore we "thought they must be a good people. We were mista- "ken; for no sooner had they obtained a footing on our "lands, than they began to pull our council house down† "first at one end and then at the other, and at last meeting "each other at the centre, where the council fire was yet "burning bright, they put it out,‡ and extinguished it with "our own blood!§ with the blood of those‖ who with us "had received them! who had welcomed them in our land! "Their blood ran in streams into our fire, and extinguished "it so entirely, that not one spark was left us whereby to

* *Council house* here means, "Connexion District."

† *Pulling the council house down.* Destroying, dispersing the community, preventing their further intercourse with each other, by settling between them on their land.

‡ *Putting the fire out.* Murdering them or their people, where they assemble for pacific purposes, where treaties are held &c.

§ *Our own blood.* The blood flowing from the veins of some of our community.

‖ Alluding to the murder of the Conestogo Indians, who though of another tribe, yet had joined them in welcoming the white people to their shores.

In a narrative of this lamentable event, supposed to have been written by the late Dr. Franklin, it is said: "On the first arrival of "the English in Pennsylvania, messengers from this tribe came to "welcome them with presents of venison, corn and skins, and the "whole tribe entered into a treaty of friendship with the first propri- "etor, William Penn, which was to last as long as the sun should "shine, or the waters run in the rivers."

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622 217 to each particular sentence, the same as we can point out a passage in a book. Belts and strings, when done with by the speaker, are again handed to the chief, who puts them up carefully in the speech bag or pouch.

202 A message of importance is generally sent on to the place of its destination, by an inferior chief, by a counsellor, or by the speaker, especially when an immediate answer is expected. In other cases, where for instance only an answer to a speech is to be sent, two capable young men are selected for the purpose, the one to deliver the message or answer, and the other to pay attention while his companion is delivering it, that no part be forgotten or omitted. If the message be of a private nature, they are charged to draw or take it *under ground*, that is, not to make it known to any person whatsoever, except to him to whom it is directed. If they are told to enter *into the earth* with the message or speech, and rise again at the place where they are to deliver it, it is to desire them to be careful not to be seen by the way by any person, and for that purpose to avoid all paths, and travel through the woods.

622 202 No chief pays any attention to *reports*, though they may carry with them the marks of truth. Until he is *officially* and in due form apprised of the matter, he will, if questioned on the subject, reply that he had *not heard it*. It will, until then, be considered by him as the *song of a bird which had flown by*; but as soon as he is officially informed, through a string of wampum from some distant chief or leading man of the nation, whose situation entitles him to receive credit, he then will say: "I *have* heard it;" and acts accordingly.

202 195 The Indians generally, but their chiefs more particularly, have many figurative expressions in use, to understand which requires instruction. When a nation, by message or otherwise, speaks to another nation in this way, it is well understood; but when they speak to white people after this manner, who have not been accustomed to such language, explanations are necessary.

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537 "and say: (Here he fixed his eyes on the commandant.)

"FATHER! Some time ago you put a war hatchet into "my hands, saying: Take this weapon and try it on the "heads of my enemies the *long knives*, and let me afterwards know if it was sharp and good.

"FATHER! At the time when you gave me this weapon, I had neither cause nor inclination to go to war "against a people who had done me no injury; yet in "obedience to you, who say you are my father and call "me your child, I received the hatchet; well knowing "that if I did not obey, you would withhold from me* "the necessaries of life, without which I could not subsist, and which are not elsewhere to be procured but at "the house of my father.

"FATHER! You may, perhaps, think me a fool, for "risking my life at your bidding, in a cause too, by "which I have no prospect of gaining any thing; for it "is *your* cause and not mine. It is *your* concern to "fight the *long knives*; *you* have raised a quarrel amongst "yourselves, and *you* ought yourselves to fight it out. "You should not compel your children, the Indians, to "expose themselves to danger for *your sakes*.

"FATHER! Many lives have already been lost on your "account!—Nations have suffered and been weakened! "—Children have lost parents, brothers and relatives! "—Wives have lost husbands!—It is not known how "many more may perish before your war will be at an "end!

"FATHER! I have said that you may, perhaps, think "me a fool, for thus thoughtlessly rushing on your ene"my!—Do not believe this, Father! Think not that I "want sense to convince me, that although you now pre-

[195] * It will be understood that he speaks here throughout for himself and his nation or tribe, though always in the first person of the singular, according to the Indian mode.

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CHAPTER XII.

METAPHORICAL EXPRESSIONS.

THE Indians are fond of metaphors. They are to their discourse what feathers and beads are to their persons, a gawdy but tasteless ornament. Yet we must not judge them too severely on that account. There are other nations besides the American Indians who admire this mode of expression. Even in enlightened Europe, many centuries have not elapsed since the best and most celebrated writers employed this figure in a profuse manner, and thought it a great embellishment to their poetical and prose compositions; the immortal Shakspeare, himself, did not disdain it. 195

The following examples will be sufficient to give an idea of the metaphorical language of the Indians.

1. "*The sky is overcast with dark blustering clouds.*"—We shall have troublesome times; we shall have war.

2. "*A black cloud has arisen yonder.*"—War is threatened from that quarter, or from that nation.

3. "*Two black clouds are drawing towards each other.*"—Two powerful enemies are in march against each other!

4. "*The path is already shut up!*"—Hostilities have commenced. The war is begun.

5. "*The rivers run with blood!*"—War rages in the country.

6. "*To bury the hatchet.*"—To make, or conclude a peace.

7. "*To lay down the hatchet, or to slip the hatchet under the bedstead.*"—To cease fighting for a while, during a

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800) 1819
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● 195 truce; or, to place the hatchet at hand, so that it may be taken up again at a moment's warning.

8. "*The hatchet you gave me to strike your enemies, proved to be very dull, or not to be sharp; my arm was wearied to little purpose!*"—You supplied me so scantily with the articles I stood in need of, that I wanted strength to execute your orders. The presents you gave me were not sufficient for the task you imposed upon me, therefore I did little!

9. "*The hatchet you gave me was very sharp!*"—As you have satisfied me, I have done the same for you; I have killed many of your enemies.

10. "*You did not make me strong.*"—You gave me nothing, or but little.

11. "*Make me very strong!*"—Give me much, pay me well!

12. "*The stronger you make me, the more you will see!*"—The more you give me, the more I will do for you!

13. "*I did as you bid me, but* SEE *nothing!*"—I have performed my part, but you have not rewarded me; or, I did my part for you, but you have not kept your word!

14. "*You have spoken with your lips only, not from the heart.*"—You endeavour to deceive me; you do not intend to do as you say!

15. "*You now speak from the heart!*"—Now you mean what you say.

16. "*You keep me in the dark!*"—You wish to deceive me; you conceal your intentions from me; you keep me in ignorance!

17. "*You stopped my ears!*"—You kept the thing a secret from me; you did not wish me to know it!

18. "*Now I believe you!*"—Done! agreed! It shall be so!

19. "*Your words have penetrated into my heart!*"—I consent! am pleased with what you say!

20. "*You have spoken good words!*"—I am pleased, delighted with what you have said!

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21. "*You have spoken the truth!*"—I am satisfied with what you have said! 195

22. "*Singing birds!*"—Tale bearers—story tellers—liars.

23. "*Don't listen to the singing of the birds which fly by!*"—Don't believe what stragglers tell you!

24. "*What bird was it that sung that song?*"—Who was it that told that story, that lie?

25. (To a chief,) "*Have you heard the news?*"—Have you been *officially* informed?

26. "*I have not heard any thing!*"—I have no *official* information.

27. "*To kindle a council fire at such a place.*"—To appoint a place where the national business is to be transacted; to establish the seat of government there.

28. "*To remove the council fire to another place.*"—To establish another place for the seat of government.

29. "*The council fire has been extinguished.*"—Blood has been shed by an enemy at the seat of government, which has put the fire out; the place has been *polluted*.

30. "*Don't look the other way!*"—Don't lean to *that* side; don't join with those!

31. "*Look this way!*"—Join us, join our party.

32. "*I have not room to spread my blanket!*"—I am too much crowded on.

33. "*Not to have room enough for an encampment.*"—To be too much confined to a small district; not to have sufficient range for the cattle to feed on, or sufficient hunting ground.

34. "*I will place you under my wings!*"—(meaning under my arm pits) I will protect you at all hazards! You shall be perfectly safe, nobody shall molest you!

35. "*Suffer no grass to grow on the war path!*"—Carry on the war with vigour!

36. "*Never suffer grass to grow on this war path!*"—Be at perpetual war with the nation this path leads to; never conclude a peace with them.

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●195 37. "*To open a path from one nation to another, by removing the logs, brush and briers out of the way.*—To invite the nation to which the path leads, to a friendly intercourse; to prepare the way to live on friendly terms with them.

38. "*The path to that nation is again open!*"—We are again on friendly terms; the path may again be travelled with safety.

39. "*I hear sighing and sobbing in yonder direction!*"—I think that a chief of a neighbouring nation has died.

40. "*I draw the thorns out of your feet and legs, grease your stiffened joints with oil, and wipe the sweat off your body!*"—I make you feel comfortable after your fatiguing journey, that you may enjoy yourself while with us.

41. "*I wipe the tears from your eyes, cleanse your ears, and place your aching heart, which bears you down to one side, in its proper position!*"—I condole with you; dispel all sorrow! prepare yourself for business! (N. B. This is said when condoling with a nation on the death of a chief.)

42. "*I have discovered the cause of your grief!*"—I have seen the grave (where the chief was buried.)

43. "*I have covered you spot with fresh earth; I have raked leaves, and planted trees thereon!*"—means literally, I have hidden the grave from your eyes; and figuratively, "you must now be cheerful again!"

44. "*I lift you up from this place, and set you down again at my dwelling place!*"—I invite you to arise from hence, and come and live where I live.

45. "*I am much too heavy to rise at this present time!*"—I have too much property! (corn, vegetables &c.)

46. "*I will pass one night yet at this place.*"—I will stay one year yet at this place.

47. "*We have concluded a peace, which is to last as long as the sun shall shine, and the rivers flow with water!*"—The peace we have made is to continue as long as the world stands, or to the end of time.

2 [reading. See cat. 116 p. 348. -Analyst]

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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48. "*To bury the hatchet beneath the root of a tree.*"—To put it quite out of sight. 195

49. "*To bury deep in the earth,*" (an injury done)—To consign it to oblivion.

CHAPTER XIII.

INDIAN NAMES.

THE proper names of Indians are in general given to them after animals of various kinds, and even fishes and reptiles. Thus they are called the *Beaver, Otter, Sun-fish, Black-fish, Rattle-snake, Black-snake,* &c. They have also other descriptive names, from their personal qualities or appearances, and sometimes from fancy or caprice; but many of those are given them by the whites, such as *Pipe, White-eyes, Kill-buck,* &c. which are not real Indian names. They do not always preserve the names first given to them, but often assume a new one after they have come to man's estate. 551

Indians, who have particularly distinguished themselves by their conduct, or by some meritorious act, or who have been the subjects of some remarkable occurrence, have names given to them in allusion to those circumstances. Thus, I have known a man whose name would signify in our language *the beloved lover,* and one who was named *Met by love.* Another, a great warrior, who had been impatiently waiting for day-light to engage the enemy, was afterwards called *Cause day-light,* or *Make day-light appear.* So, one who had come in with a heavy load of turkies on his back, was called *The Carrier of Turkies,* and another whose shoes were gene- 553

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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council in a solemn speech. If the subjects are of great importance all who take part in the discussion stand as they speak. Each counsellor has the liberty to utter his sentiments and having made his speech, sits down. No one interrupts the speaker but all sit silent and attentive as if engaged in an act of devotion. The speeches are delivered in a pleasing manner and the words of the speakers flow as readily as if they were read from a manuscript. Whoever visits such an assembly, whether white man or savage Indian, cannot but be profoundly impressed.

A subject is often very thoroughly and extendedly discussed. The chiefs and counsellors in turn give their opinions and suggestions. When all have spoken, one of them is called upon to sum up the principal parts of all the speeches in a concise manner. This is done extempore and the necessary amendments proposed, every subject being brought into as short and comprehensive statement as possible. Before deliberations begin, the strings and belts of wampum must be placed in due order, for whatever is said without being confirmed by them is considered vain and without effect. They are so accustomed to this that when they communicate the contents of a message, merely in private conversation, they cannot do so without something in their hands, a strap, a ribbon or a blade of grass. Holding some such thing in his hand the speaker will recount the points in proper order as with the strings or belts of wampum thereto belonging.

When chiefs are compelled to give answer to a proposition of which they do not approve, but which they have consented to consider because they did not wish openly to offer an affront, they are able to frame their reply in so figurative and equivocal a style as to allow of almost any desired interpretation or application. Those who receive such an answer, know as little after the reply has been given as before, but are ashamed to ask further, lest they should be regarded as stupid and because chiefs are supposed to understand everything.

When treaty of peace is made with another nation it is determined that it shall last as long as sun and moon shine or rise and set, as long as the stars are in the heavens and the rivers

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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IV

FOURTH NIGHT OF THE CEREMONY

The Attendants call the men.[1] "Red Horns must be hereabouts!" The Attendant calling out, "Red-Horns!, Red-Horns!" "Good-Horns must be hereabouts!" If he answers[2] the Attendant says, "Now he has answered." "Looks-like-a-Man must be hereabouts!" "Now he has answered." "Rises-at-Daybreak must be hereabouts!" "Leaf-Man must be hereabouts." "Now he has answered." "How-the-Weather-is must be hereabouts." "Now he has answered."[3]

The Bringer-in says, "Brothers, here is the one shoulder length of wampum. You, the first ones called, take it with you and pray outside, ten and two times. Lift the prayers on high and where he dwells our father, the Great Spirit. And while these praying ones are outside you Attendants must be ready to 'pick berries.'[4] Attendant come here, take one shoulder length of wampum right over there on this side where stands Our Grandfather.[5] There do you unstring these wampum beads. All Attendants come in, because here, soon they are going to pick berries'."

Here they begin "picking berries," the Attendants, saying this, "m·+!".[6]

The speaker says, "My kindred, now it is the fourth evening since we have been worshipping here. And should any one of the hunters whatsoever have good fortune all of a sudden, some one of the drummers be careful and watch for them at once. Because you know the rule. If you hear the signal-shot run inside the Big House at once. You must sing for them."

[1] Now at the opening of the fourth night's performance following the departure of the hunters on their ceremonial hunting excursion, and after the Mask-Spirit has performed his antics in the Big House, the rites of the night are resumed by the Master of Ceremony who orders the Attendants to call forth certain of the old men of prominence to offer prayer for the success of the hunters. There is some honor attached to this selection, the men so singled out being called in a loud voice by their native names or titles.

The informant is pretending, in the text, that some prominent men are being called. He has changed his style of narration into the form of a monologue.

[2] Whereupon the men thus summoned by the Attendant answer "Hau" or "Yo'," when they hear their names called and come into the Big House.

[3] Those whose names have been called who form a praying squad now go outside and facing eastward raise their right hands giving the prayer-call ho·+ six times and hä·+ six times.

[4] "Picking the berries" is a figure of speech referring to the action of the six Attendants, three men and three women, who crouch down and pick up the scattered wampum beads spilled as commanded on the hard ground under the center post, and cram as many as they can into their mouths. This causes some innocent mirth among the audience. They accompany the act with the sound m·+ as noted in the next few lines. Their action symbolizes the habit of "birds picking up berries," (a sympathetic rite perhaps). The informant did not consider the performance to have any deep symbolical reference, but merely a method of paying extra wampum to the Attendants for their services.

[5] Referring to the mask-images on the center-post.

[6] In Harrington's account, (I, pp. 99-100) of this rite the Attendants are put down as saying "Ho-o-o!"

and used in different ways. It may be eaten with milk and brown sugar or with any kind of meat grease. A little salt may be added for additional flavor. 252

Various kinds of nut meats are added to cooked hominy to make a dish known as "nut hominy." Hominy and chopped meat (beef, pork or other fresh meat) are cooked together and then allowed to stand until sour. After hickory nuts are added to this mixture, the result is called "soured nut" hominy.

Hulled corn is made by boiling dried corn in a strong liquid, made alkaline by the addition of hard wood ashes. This process of preparation is long and arduous, since after hours of steady boiling it requires many washings in clear, cold water to rinse the lye from the loose hulls. This food may be eaten with milk and sugar, fried with potatoes in pork fat, combined with fresh or dried meat for stew, or with beans for succotash.

Wild Vegetable Foods

Long ago fruits and berries were preserved by drying, this practice giving way in later times to canning and the manufacture of jelly and jam. Dried fruit are prepared to eat in a number of ways. Grapes are boiled, and the resulting liquid thickened by the addition of corn meal, flour, or hominy grits. A boiled pudding is composed of dough made of cornmeal and flour, or flour only, to which any variety of berry, except strawberries, may be added. This dough is then placed in a cloth bag and boiled. When ripe, persimmons are mashed and spread on a cloth to dry for use in a bread called "persimmon bread." With few exceptions all of the fruits and berries mentioned are made into pies, puddings, preserves, fruit butters, and jams. 222 251 252

The various varieties of nuts are gathered in large quantities and stored away for future use. These provide a nourishing supplement to the remainder of natural food stuffs. Nuts are eaten raw, roasted, boiled, and frequently incorporated in other types of food. Edible acorns are usually roasted.

With the introduction and increased use of European food products, the necessity arose among the Delaware of fitting them into their own linguistic configuration, if the foreign terms themselves were not taken over. Like so many primitive groups, the Delaware came to apply native terms of a descriptive nature to the majority of elements foreign to their culture. Many of these have been retained to the 196 262 177

present day. Thus, for example, the Delaware term for the cocoanut is "water hickory nut."

"Indian Potato" or Ground Nut *(Apios tuberosa)*, "wild potato." The tuberous roots are gathered in large quantities and stored for winter use. They are not considered good after sprouting. The roots are either boiled and eaten as the cultivated potato, or dried and ground into flour used for making bread. In recent times the ground nut has not grown abundantly in the Delaware habitat, and is now considered a rare delicacy.

Sorrel *(Rumex acetosella)*, "sour." This plant, prepared much like rhubarb, is used as a filling for pies.

Onion *(Sp.?)*. Of the different varieties of wild onions, three are regarded by the Delaware as being edible. The one most commonly gathered for use is the "buttonseed." These are dried and prepared by frying, or boiling, or are added to flavor stews and soups. Wild onions are also cooked in grease to which eggs are added.

A species of mushroom *(Agaricus campestris)*, "tripe form," is fried in hot fat, or salted and boiled.

Certain plants are considered to be healthful foods, especially in spring, when people were in need of the medicinal substances present in them. The practice of seeking the first green plant shoots in early spring is not peculiar to the Delaware alone, but is characteristic of other Eastern Algonkian peoples. Such food is called "greens" or "plant tops." The young shoots are usually picked and cooked separately, or mixed with several other plants. In both cases the "greens" are parboiled in water, and then cooked with meat. Among such plants may be mentioned dandelion, milkweed, poke, lamb's quarters, mustard, dock, and watercress.

Animal Foods

Wild animals, as pointed out by F. G. Speck (1931, pp. 28-29), are in general considered to exist in clan relationship with humans. The latter are said to be "kings among animals." Clean, pure animals of the forests are referred to in terms of human relationship and their spirits must be propitiated before they can be sought for food. If the supernaturals are appeased through sacrifices, the animals will allow themselves to be taken, but if the proper ceremonies are not carried out, they can never be approached by humans. Therefore a hunter before starting out, is obliged to pray and sacrifice tobacco, and also if he should dream of seeing game during the hunt. The Delaware "sharing-feast"

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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which I have already mentioned, but a large vocabulary of the Huron,* composed by Father Sagard, a good and pious French Missionary, but of very limited abilities, and who also resided too short a time among that nation to be able to give a correct account of their language. He represents it in his preface, as poor, imperfect, anomalous, and inadequate to the clear expression of ideas, in which he is contradicted by others whom we have reason to believe better informed. Zeisberger considered the Iroquois (of which the Huron is a dialect,) as a rich and comprehensive idiom. It is to be regretted that a grammar which he had composed of it, and the best part of his Dictionary, are irretrievably lost. Sir William Johnson speaks highly of the powers of this language;† Colden,‡ though he did not know it himself, speaks in the same manner from the information of others. Indeed, Father Sagard's Dictionary itself, when attentively read by a person acquainted with the forms of Indian languages, affords sufficient intrinsic evidence of the mistakes of the good father who composed it.

III. The Lenape.

This is the most widely extended language of any of those that are spoken on this side of the Mississippi. It prevails in the extensive regions of Canada, from the coast of Labrador to the mouth of Albany river which falls into the southernmost part of Hudson's bay, and from thence to the Lake of the Woods, which forms the north-western boundary of the United States. It appears to be the language of all the Indians of that extensive

* Le grand Voyage du pays des Hurons, par Samuel Sagard, Paris, 1632. To which is added, a Dictionary of the Huron language, with a preface.

† Philos. Trans. Abr. vol. lxiii. p. 142.

‡ Hist. of the Five Nations, p. 14.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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country, except those of the Iroquois stock, which are by far the least numerous. Farther to the northwest, in the territories of the Hudson's Bay Company, other Indian nations have been discovered, such as the Black-foot Indians, Sussee Indians, Snake Indians, and others, whose languages are said to be different from the Iroquois and the Lenape, but we are not able to form a very correct judgment respecting those idioms from the scanty vocabularies which have been given us by Mackenzie, Umfreville and other travellers. We must wait for further light before we decide.

I
[361]

Out of the limits of Canada few Iroquois are found, except the remnants of those who were once settled in the vicinity of the great Lakes, in the northern parts of the now State of New York. There are yet some Wyandots in the vicinity of Detroit. All the rest of the Indians who now inhabit this country to the Mississippi, are of the Lenape stock, and speak dialects of that language. It it certain that at the time of the arrival of the Europeans, they were in possesssion of all the coast from the northernmost point of Nova Scotia to the Roanoke. Hence they were called *Wapanachki*, or *Abenakis*, men of the East. La Hontan gives us a list of the Indian nations of ancient Acadia, all speaking dialects of the Abenaki, or, as he calls it, of the Algonquin. They were the Abenakis, Micmacs, Canibas, Mahingans (Mohicans,) Openangos, Soccokis, and Etchemins, from whom all Nova Scotia, (excepting the peninsula,) and a part of the now district of Maine, were once called by the French the *country of the Etchemins*. He does not speak of the Souriquois, who are also known to have inhabited Acadia, and likewise spoke a dialect of the Lenape.

In the interior of the country we find every where the Lenape and their kindred tribes. The Miamis, or Twightwees, the Potowatomies, the Messissaugees, the Kickapoos, all those Indian nations who once inhabited, and parts of whom still inhabit the interior of our coun-

I:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800) 1819
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A D 197 try on this side of the Mississippi and the great Lakes, are unquestionably, from their dialects, of Lenape origin. The Shawanos, it is said, formerly dwelt upon the river Savannah, in Georgia, and a part of them remaining in that country, associated with the Creeks, still retain their language.* As far as we are able to judge from the little knowledge that has been transmitted to us of the languages of the Indians who once inhabited Maryland, Virginia and North Carolina, they all appear to have belonged to the same stock, the Nanticokes have been shewn to have been intimately connected with the Lenape, and among those who called them *grandfather*. Two pretty copious vocabularies of their language, in the possession of the Historical Committee of the American Philosophical Society, one of them communicated by Mr. Jefferson and the other by myself, prove it beyond a doubt to have been a dialect of the Lenape.† The Canai or Kanhawas, who have given their name to a river in Virginia which empties itself into the Ohio, are known to have been of the same stock. The Indian names of rivers, mountains and towns, through that vast extent of country, appear generally derived from the Lenape language.

A D 114 197 The Baron de La Hontan, is one of the first writers, I believe, who have spoken of the universality of this idiom; but it is extraordinary that he has not said a word of the Lenni Lenape, that great and powerful nation. He calls this language the *Algonquin* tongue, although he describes that people as "an erratic sort of savages, who, like the

* Barton's New Views, Ed. 1798. Prelim. Disc. p. 32.

† The late Dr. Barton, in the work above quoted, append. p. 3. Q A seems to doubt this fact, and relies on a series of numerals which I once communicated to him, and was found among the papers of the late Rev. Mr. Pyrlæus. But it is by no means certain that those numerals were taken from the language of the Nanticokes, and the vocabularies above mentioned leave no doubt as to the origin of that dialect.

Q A [Erratum. Should be P. 5 -- Analyst]

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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"Arabs, had no settled abode,"* and admits, that at the time when he wrote, their number did not exceed 200. What he says on this subject, however, is so much to my purpose, that I hope I shall be permitted to make a small extract from it.

"There are," says the Baron, "but two mother "tongues in the whole extent of Canada, which I confine "within the limits of the Mississippi; they are the *Huron* "and the *Algonquin*. The first is understood by the Iro- "quois, for the difference between these two languages "is no greater than that between the Norman and the "French. The second, namely the *Algonquin*, is as "much esteemed among the savages as the Greek and "Latin are in Europe; though it would seem that the "aborigines, to whom it owes its original, disgrace it by "the thinness of their nation, *for their whole number does "not amount to two hundred.*"†

What the Baron says here of this language is very correct; but why does he call it the Algonquin, and ascribe its origin to that miserable wandering tribe? He had the Abenakis at hand, whom in another place he puts at the head of the tribes inhabiting Nova Scotia, and who still preserved the generic name of the whole nation, *Wapanachke*, which the French have softened to suit the analogy of their own tongue, by which name the different nations and tribes of the Lenape stock still recognise each other to this day. It is probable that he did not sufficiently understand their language,‡ to have much conversation with them, otherwise, they would have informed him that they derived their origin from a great

* Letter v. † Letter xxv.

‡ He says that it is not copious, and is only adapted to the necessities and conveniences of life. These are the ideas which strangers and philosophers, reasoning *à priori*, entertain of Indian languages; but those who are well acquainted with them think very differently. And yet the Baron says that the Algonquin is "the finest and the "most universal language on the Continent."

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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and powerful nation residing in the interior of the country, whom they revered as their *grandfather*, at whose door the great national council fire was kept constantly burning, whose badge was the *Turtle*, and whose supremacy was acknowledged by all the kindred tribes.

Father Charlevoix, who also speaks of the universality of this language, commits the same error in ascribing its origin to the Algonquins. "In the southern part "of Hudson's Bay," says he, "the trade is carried on "with the Matassins, the Monsonies, the Christinaux, "(Knisteneaux) and the Assinipoils, the three first of "which speak the *Algonquin* language."* In a later publication, (I think by a Mr. Winterbotham,) of which, during my travels, some years ago, I had merely a glance, I found by some words he had put down in the language of those people, that they were *Minsi* or *Monseys*, a branch of the wolf tribe of the Lenape. So indeed? one of their names, *Monsonies*, seems of itself to indicate. The name of the Matassins, means in their language a tobacco pipe, and so it does in the Monsey to this day. And they all speak the Algonquin, a language, say both Charlevoix and La Hontan, universally known for a thousand leagues round. The last mentioned author subjoins a vocabulary of what he calls the Algonquin tongue, which bears a greater affinity to the language of the Unamis or Turtle† tribe of the Lenape, than that does to the idiom of the Monsey or Wolf tribe of the same nation. I find many words in the Algonquin (as given by La Hontan,) which are exactly the same as in the Unami, while others bear more resemblance to the Chippeway, also a dialect of the Lenape, spoken by a tribe in connexion with the Delawares, and who call them *grandfather*.

* Letter xi. p. 276.

† It should be properly *Tortoise*; but this word seems in a fair way to be entirely superseded by *Turtle*, as well in England as in this country.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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fire of the Delawares, to condole with their *grandfather* on the loss of their head chief. There are tribes, on the other hand, who have wandered far from the habitations of those connected with them by blood or relationship. It is certain that they can no longer be benefited by the general council fire. They, therefore, become a people by themselves, and pass with us for a separate nation, if they only have a name; nevertheless, (if I am rightly informed) they well know to what stock or nation they originally belonged, and if questioned on that subject, will give correct answers. It is therefore very important to make these enquiries of any tribe or nation that a traveller may find himself among. The analogy of languages is the best and most unequivocal sign of connexion between Indian tribes; yet the absence of that indication should not always be relied upon.

It may not be improper also to mention in this place that the purity or correctness with which a language is spoken, will greatly help to discover who is the head of the national family. For no where is the language so much cultivated as in the vicinity of the great national council fire, where the orators have the best opportunity of displaying their talents. Thus the purest and most elegant dialect of the Lenape language, is that of the Unami or Turtle tribe.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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Unalachtigo and Nanticoke were closely related in culture and had a common origin.[55] For convenience the term Unalachtigo is used for the natives of southern New Jersey who in later times became part of the Delaware tribe.

The southern tip of Cape May was inhabited by a people known as the Kechemeche, and in the same area Swanton located a group he termed the Tirans.[56] In the valleys of the rivers and creeks emptying into Delaware Bay were many small groups of Delawares. On Maurice Creek were the Sewaposee (or Sewapois), and above them on Cohansey Creek the Siconesse (or Sikonesses). The Mantese (or Manta, Mante) inhabited the vicinity of Salem Creek, and north of them on Raccoon Creek were the Narraticon (or Naraticon). A group termed Asomoche has also been mentioned for this vicinity. To the north of the Narraticon in New Jersey, in the neighborhood of Pensaukin Creek, were found the Eromiex (or Ermonex, Eriwonec, Eriwoneck, Armewaxes). Near Camden was a group called the Yacomanshaghking, and extending up the east bank of the Delaware River to Burlington were several poorly known bands. Opposite the Narraticon in the vicinity of Wilmington, Delaware, were the Chikelacki (Chikohoki?), as well as the Amimenipaty, Hopokohacking, Memankitonna, and Passayank.

In sum, the people who were to comprise the Delaware tribe of the eighteenth century were drawn from a large number of small, dispersed, and essentially autonomous groups. At the dawn of historic times they were not a tribe in the political sense, and since they differed somewhat from one another in other aspects of culture, it is perhaps unwise to think of them as a tribe. It was not until these groups had become consolidated in the early decades of the eighteenth century that the term Delaware is properly applicable to them. The English name Delaware was given to these people because they were concentrated near the Delaware River in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Modern Delawares sometimes say that the term is derived from a Delaware expression meaning "I said" or "I meant." There is a phonetic similarity between this Delaware expression and the English name, but it is probably a rationalization.[57] The Delawares' term for themselves is "Lenape" which means "people."[58] They also occasionally refer to themselves as the "lenni lenape" which means the "real" or the "original people,"[59] or something similar to "we, the people."[60]

Linguistic Affiliations

The term Delaware has been used to refer to a language of the Central type of Eastern-Central Algonkin.[61] Eastern-Central Algonkin

[55] Philhower, 1931, p. 4. Weslager, 1950, pp. 48-54, 57-58, presents strong evidence against this identification, however.

[56] Swanton, 1952, p. 50.

[57] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 114, agrees on this point.

[58] Brinton, 1885, p. 34.

[59] Wallace, 1949, p. 7.

[60] Wissler, 1941, pp. 70-71.

[61] Michelson, 1912, pp. 221-90; Bloomfield, 1946, p. 85.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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There can be no doubt, therefore, that this universal language, so much admired and so generally spoken by the Indian nations, is that of the Lenni Lenape, and is improperly named the Chippeway by Carver, and the Algonquin by La Hontan. The celebrated Professor Vater, in his excellent continuation of Adelung's Mithridates, calls the class of languages derived from this source, "the Chippewayo-Delawarian, or Algonkino-Mohican stock."* It is, perhaps, indifferent for philological purposes, whether a language be called the Delaware or the Chippeway, the Algonquin or the Mohican; but every body must be sensible of the inconvenience of those long compound names, which leave no fixed or determinate idea upon the mind. For the purpose of general description it seems better to designate the languages of those connected tribes by the name of their common grandfather, the Lenni Lenape, or by the generic denomination universally adopted among them, Wapanachki, or Abenaki. I have preferred the former as a mark of respect to an ancient and once powerful nation, and in the hope that her name may be preserved, at least, in the records of philological science.

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This beautiful language, and those which are derived from it, though more has been written upon them than on any of the other languages of these parts of the North American continent, are as yet but little known. The grammar of the Natick dialect published by Eliott, at Cambridge in Massachusetts, in the year 1666, has long been out of print, and is to be found only in very few libraries in the United States; Dr. Edwards's little tract on the Mohican language, although printed twice, does not appear to have had much circulation, and is not alone sufficient to give an idea of the forms and construction of these Indian dialects. Zeisberger's Delaware spelling

* *Chippewäisch-Delawarischer, oder Algonkisch-Mohegänischer, Stamm.* Mithrid. part III. vol. iii. p. 337.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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197 includes, among others, Mahican, Wappinger, and Pequot. Delawaran peoples spoke at least two mutually intelligible dialects termed Munsi and Lenape.[63] There are indications, however, that Munsi was more like Mahican than Lenape. Zeisberger said:

> The Unami and the Wunalachtico (Unalachtigo)... languages differ very little. That of the Monsys... is very different from these, so that had they not dwelt nearer together and been in constant contact in recent times they would hardly understand each other. Yet the speech of each of these peoples is but a dialect of one and the same language. The language of the Mahikanders (Mahican) bears much resemblance to that of the Monsys.[64]

Zeisberger and Heckewelder[65] have also pointed out that the Nanticoke language was very similar to Delaware. Unfortunately, both Mahican and Nanticoke are extinct languages and cannot be examined by modern linguistic techniques. Suffice it to say that there was considerable dialectic diversity among the people who became the historic Delawares. Michelson has ventured the opinion that Delaware "as Zeisberger has presented it is not a single dialect but a composite," and Trowbridge concurred in this conclusion.[66] In sum, the linguistic evidence suggests a lack of unity among the people who became the Delawares, which reinforces my conclusion that at the dawn of historic times Delawaran peoples were not a cohesive or homogeneous cultural unit.

Population in the Seventeenth Century

161 Ignorance of the composition and location of all the subdivisions which were to make up the Delaware tribe, and lack of information concerning introduced diseases, which at an early date may have decimated their ranks, are enough to make population estimates of the early seventeenth-century Delawaran peoples hazardous. Mooney in 1911 estimated the Delawares and Munsis as numbering "close to 12,000 souls" in 1600, but he reduced this figure to 8,000 by 1928.[67] Kroeber has followed Mooney in using the latter figure.[68]

The number of Delawaran peoples, whatever it may have been in 1600, was greatly reduced in the first century of contact with Europeans. In the literature of the seventeenth century the many allusions to this depopulation are unanimous in attributing it to disease, war, and demoralization. Alcoholism was a factor, but it was a greater contributor to depopulation in later times, although by the end of the seventeenth century the Delawares were described as loving drunkenness.[69] In the early part of the century the Munsis and Unamis suffered heavily in the Esopus wars with the Dutch,[70] and the Susquehannocks inflicted heavy casualties on the Unamis and Unalachtigos. In 1633, for example, the

[63] C. F. and E. W. Voegelin, 1946, pp. 188-89; C. F. Voegelin, 1946, pp. 130-57.
[64] Zeisberger, 1910, pp. 141-42.
[65] Heckewelder, 1881, p. 122; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 141.
[66] Michelson, 1912, p. 280; Trowbridge MS.
[67] Mooney, 1911, p. 333; 1928, p. 4.
[68] Kroeber, 1947, Table 7, p. 140.
[69] Pastorius, 1912, p. 433.
[70] Mooney, 1928, pp. 3-4.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7
Iroquois NM9

I 721 727

numbers who had perished in the endless wars, they had, long ere this, died out. As it is they have degenerated and are a very different people from what they once were. As all the Indian nations treat their captives in much the same manner, I will refer to this matter elsewhere.

I 133

Concerning the region in question, I merely wish to add that it is well watered by rivers and lakes so that it is possible to get almost anywhere by water. In the matter of trade, this is of great importance, though trade among the Six Nations amounts to little, as they do not secure much by the chase. The nations dwelling beyond them engage much more in trade. Each of the Six Nations has its language, the Cayuger and Sennecker and particularly the Tuscarores, who came from Maryland[73] when they lived by the sea, speaking tongues very different from the rest. In the main, however, all these dialects form one speech and the Indians of the Six Nations are all able to understand one another. The language of the Delawares, on the other hand, differs so much from that of the Six Nations, that they cannot understand each other. It is much easier to acquire the language of the Mingoes than that of the Delawares.

I 439
I 197
D 197

The country of the Six Nations is not mountainous but very level, so-called hills being of but little account. Indeed, the hills and elevations partake of the swampy nature of the lowland, even on the heights one is in the same kind of dense thicket as in the valleys, in which the sun rarely reaches the ground.

I 133

Concerning the St. Lawrence River, it is yet to be noted that its navigation is considerable, even though there are many rapids, which render the unloading of boats necessary. From Quebeck light boats are used as far as Fontenac[74] at the eastern end of Lake Ontario, a distance of three hundred and eighty miles. Thence, cargo is taken in sloops across the lake to Niagara at the western end, a distance of two hundred and twenty miles. From this point it is taken nine miles across country to navigable water and thus it is carried through Lake Erie to Detroit, a further distance of two hundred miles.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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The only idol which the Indians have, and which may properly be called an idol, is their *W'sinkhoulican*, that is image. It is an image cut in wood, representing a human head, in miniature, which they always carry about them either on a string around their neck or in a bag. They often bring offerings to it. In their houses of sacrifice they have a head of this idol as large as life put upon a pole in the middle of the room.

Their ornaments are partly round shields and half moons of silver, partly the same forms made in wampum. These are usually worn upon the breast for adornment. They also have great belts of wampum made of the violet, not the white, wampum. Men as well as women wear silver crosses upon the breast and in the ears which custom comes from the French. The *W'sinkhoulican* they like also to hang about their children to preserve them from illness and insure them success.

They are very fond of white children. Hence Indian women run after white men and, when they have white children, make much of them, although they do not like the white people. Twins are regarded as particularly fortunate, being looked upon as favored people who have a great spirit.

Their language resembles various other languages, some more, some less. When one remembers how near or how far they have lived from one another it will appear that the differences in the languages have come about through the separation of the peoples and the little contact they have had with one another.

The Unami and the Wunalachtico both lived along the sea in Pennsylvania and in Jersey, a short distance from one another. Their languages differ very little. That of the Monsys[366] who lived on the other side of the Blue Mountains in Minnissink is very different from these, so that had they not dwelt nearer together and been in constant contact in recent times they would hardly understand each other. Yet the speech of each of these peoples is but a dialect of one and the same language. The language of the Mahikanders[367] bears much resemblance to that of the Monsys, the former having lived in New York and the Wopeno not far from them in New England. The language of the Nantikoks, formerly residing on the seacoast in Maryland, very much resembles the Delaware, differing only in pronunciation

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

●197 and accent. The language of the Shawanose is also related to the Monsy and Delaware but, more particularly, to the Mahikander, only the former generally place the accent upon the last syllable of a word. The reason for this is that they originally lived in Florida and whether their language changed very much since they were driven out and lived first in the Forks of the Delaware, then along the Susquehannah, then along the Ohio and finally here among the Delawares, I am not able to determine, except it be, that in Florida the language of some other nations bore a resemblance to this. The language of the Twichtwees and Wawiachtanos resembles the Shawanose and consequently, also, the Delaware. The dialects of the Kikapus, Tuckachschas, Moshkos, Kaskaski the further away they lived resembles the Delawares less and less. Yet the Delawares have much intercourse with them, for many of them live along the Wabash where the Kikapus have given them hunting grounds. Every year Delaware hunters go thither for the chase and return. The language of the Ottawas is related somewhat to that of the Shawanose, Chipuways and the Delawares. The language of the Cherokees is a mixture of other languages. It has a little of the Shawanose, the Mingoes and a great deal of the Wiondats. The speech of the last named people and that of the Six Nations are again dialects of one and the same language, differing from one another yet easily understood by either of the nations named. It appears, therefore, safe to affirm that there are two principal languages spoken by the Indians of North America, namely the Mingoes and the Delaware.[209] Concerning the nations who live along the Mississippi I have no certain knowledge. They are not usually counted among the northern nations. Their language has an agreeable sound both in com-
537 mon conversation and in public delivery. The Monsy is much rougher. In their public delivery they speak with a very pompous and boastful tone, in which the Iroquois excel all the other Indians. There are, indeed, no rules of oratory laid down in the Indian language, yet the speakers must be well-versed in matters relating to their own nation as well as those of others, and they must know what title to apply to each of the other nations, whether brother or nephew or uncle. The same holds good of the

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

monosyllables. In things relating to common life the language of the Indians is remarkably rich. They, in many cases, have several names for one and the same thing under different circumstances. They have ten different names for a bear, according to its age or sex. Similarly, they have a number of names for a deer. They have one word for fishing with a rod, another for fishing with a net, another for fishing with a spear or harpoon. Such words do not in the least resemble one another. The speech of the Unami has the most agreeable sound and is much easier for a European to acquire than that of the Monsys. The Monsy dialect, however, is a key to many of the expressions in the Unami. The latter have a way of dropping some syllables, so that without a knowledge of the former, it would be impossible either to spell their words or guess their meaning. The Unami have adopted many words of the Monsy dialect and the Monsys of the Unami dialect. They have no "f" nor "r" in their language, hence they pronounce foreign words containing these letters differently, for example, Pilip for Philip, Petelus for Petrus, adding a syllable, and Priscilla they pronounce Plicilla. In polysyllables the accent is generally placed on the middle syllable or on the last but one. This must be very minutely attended to because the sense of many words depends upon the accent. They can count up to thousands and hundreds of thousands, though they are unable to grasp the significance of large numbers. The women generally count upon their fingers, for this is their custom and their memory is poor.

In arithmetic they have made but little progress. They count up to ten, make a mark, proceed to the next ten and so on to the end of the account. By adding the tens they come to hundreds, and so on. In counting money the penny is the smallest coin they reckon. The Monsys call the stiver, of which they learned from the Dutch in Minissink,[200] stipel. Sixpence they call Gull, corruption of the Dutch Gulden. They usually count money according to Gulls, twenty Gulls being equal to ten shillings. If they want to calculate carefully, they take Indian corn, calling every grain a penny or a gull, adding as many as are necessary to make shillings and pounds.

Delaware culture contained in his study of Teedyuscung proved particularly stimulating. His analysis of the Walking Purchase controversy is also the best I have found.

In using these documents it was found that when the statements made represented actual observations of the author, they were usually correct and could be checked with other sources. At times the authors specifically mentioned which statements were based on their own experience, and when they did not, this could sometimes be determined by the nature of the fact being related. A lot of the material, on the other hand, probably represents second-hand information. Except for statements which patently represented preconceptions of the author, however, the material gathered from the various sources proved consistent and, in most cases, capable of being checked. In addition to the precautions observed in using the earlier material, special care was taken in the use of these later writers not to assume as aboriginal customs for which there was no evidence in earlier writers.

The entire bibliography has been utilized in the present paper and represents as complete a list of the seventeenth and eighteenth century writings on Delaware ethnography as I have been able to find, but important papers based on the memories of nineteenth and twentieth century reservation Indians have been omitted. The only other work which contains anything like a thorough survey of historical sources on Delaware culture is Regina Flannery's check list of certain traits of coastal Algonkian culture (Flannery, 1939).

The Delaware of Lenape were a large, east coast tribe composed of numerous bands, the names of about twenty-five of which have been preserved. They spoke an Algonkian language related to those of tribes extending north to New England and south to Georgia. Their numbers, which have been estimated at about 8000, spread over a territory bounded on the east coast by Delaware Bay and Manhattan Island, in western Pennsylvania by the Schuykill River, and in New York by the west bank of the Hudson River north to Kingston. In terms of the present states, this territory comprises eastern Pennsylvania, the northern coast of Delaware, all of New Jersey and a small portion of southeastern New York including Staten Island. On their west were the Susquehannock and the Iroquois. Throughout the seventeenth century the Delaware were frequently at war with the Mohawk, Susquehannock and Cherokee. By the beginning of the eighteenth century the Delaware had been pushed from their coastal position to the Susquehanna River, and in the subsequent century were driven farther to the west in Pennsylvani, Ohio and Indiana by the expanding white frontier. During this time they continued to support themselves and maintain a society socially and politically separate from that of the European colonies in America. At the end of the eighteenth century, however, they became split into small bands which affiliated with many different tribes in subsequent migrations to the south and west. A large part of the

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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tribes was responsible for few changes. The only one represented in this study is the acquisition of the blowgun. 177

Of course, it is a mistake to assume that the culture of the Delaware would have been without change through these three centuries if not in contact with whites. Some change in Delaware culture may very well have been the result of indigenous development. The stimulus of the culture of the whites, however, was so much stronger that it is only reasonable that native developments should have been overshadowed. Nor was the culture of the whites standing still through this period. The culture of neither of the two groups was static, but as long as the Indian group was being moved westward ahead of the spread of white settlement, a static condition was simulated for that portion of the whites in contact with the Indians. The frontier changed but frontier conditions tended to remain the same. The effect of this contact with the white frontier is obvious among the Oklahoma Delaware today. The standard of living there is roughly that of pioneer agricultural regions fifty to seventy-five years ago and in the submarginal regions today. [178] [167]

The hypothesis that the technological, sociological, and spiritual aspects of a culture are increasingly resistant to change in that order has been shown to accord with the facts in the case of the Delaware. Language should either be included with the last aspect or be placed fourth and last, but has been omitted as outside the scope of this study. It may be said in passing, however, that the Delaware language is used by many who have otherwise retained little of the cultural heritage of the Delaware. [121] [197]

It seems to me that there is a very good reason for the persistence of the elements of the old spiritual life of a people after practically all other aspects of the culture are gone. This is the fact that control of religious and death practices is usually in the hands of the older people. These are the most conservative of the entire group, as a rule, and tend toward the perpetuation of the ways of their ancestors. This conservative attitude is particularly apparent in burial customs. In these matters the younger people seek to honor the practices of their elders on the death of the latter, even if they do not believe them necessary 177 771 764

the Lenape in dealings with other tribes and was entrusted with the protection of the tribal bag of records or mementoes. Interestingly enough, succession to this post was only partially hereditary, being the result of selection by the chiefs of the other two divisions from within a certain prescribed range of the male relatives of the old chief. Any chief might be deposed for improper or incompetent handling of affairs (Ruttenber, pp. 47-48; Harrington, 1913, p. 211; Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 107-11; Zeisberger, 1910, pp. 93-95). 622

Use of pictographic symbols and colored wampum to express meaning were two methods by which the chief could communicate with the bands in tangible form [11] (Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 109 and 130-31). One author also credits them with a special language used only in wartime to prevent their enemies from understanding their communications (Lindstrom, p. 204). [212 198]

War

The powers of civil government were suspended in time of war and direction fell into the hands of the "captains", as they were usually called by the old writers. Little was written of Lenape customs in warfare during the early colonial period when most of the Delaware wars were against other tribes and seldom against the white settlers. The following section based on eighteenth century material is inserted th give a more complete picture of Delaware life rather than for comparative purposes. 721 648

The position of captain was achieved through leading several successful missions against enemy forces; that is, missions in which greater amounts of goods, prisoners and scalps were brought back than were lost. Most frequently, boys who aimed at the achievement of this status did so as the result of an adolescent vision. Those who succeeded were usually those who had had such a vision, which is not surprising as they would be likely to be fortified with greater assurance and more assiduous training (Ziesberger, 1910, p. 101; Loskiel, p. 142). 726

A chief could not declare war without the unanimous consent of his warrior chiefs; if they were unanimous in favoring war, he could not refuse to "accept the hatchet" (Loskiel, p. 144; Ruttenber, p. 48; Ziesberger, 1910, p. 98). Peace, on the other hand, could only be made effective by the chief whose decision in this matter had to be accepted by the warriors. 721

War, according to a partisan of the Delawares, was declared as a result of other tribes hunting in their territory, murder of a member of their tribe by an outsider, or robbery from a Delaware camp (Heckewelder, 1831, p. 175). Add to these causes the desire to confiscate property of other tribes for glory, and the list would be more complete (Loskiel, p. 143).

8:Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
NM7 Delaware NM7

CHAPTER XIII.

Concerning the Language of the American Savage People.

There is not much in particular to write about this, except that it is a poor language,[1] that a word may have many meanings, yet is spoken with a high pronunciation. As for instance when the savage says: *Ita kire*, that is to say, God's peace, welcome, how are you? *kire*, thou; *nir*, I; *tanckomen kire*, whence comest thou? *kecko hatte mârrama*, what hast thou to sell? *punck*, powder; *aruns*, lead; *pickon*, gun; *makirick pickon*, a cannon or a large gun; *orit kire*, thou art beautiful and handsome; *mâkij*, yes indeed; *kicksj ita*, that's so; *nittappe kire*, thou art my good friend; *sewan*, money; *pââhra*, God; *manitto*, the evil one.[2]

Besides this we may also observe [something about the language] by the savage words and names, both here in the relation concerning New Sweden as well as from the map of New Sweden, whose lands, islands and creeks are all given and designated in the Indian language. Besides this these Indians or savage people are so clever, that when they see and observe that they have any dispute[3] with any of the surrounding nations, then he who is sachem or chief calls together all his people and instructs them saying: "Now we have

[1] *Ett fattigt sprâk*, not rich in words. This erroneous opinion has often been expressed even by modern writers. Cf. *Doc.*, I, 281.
[2] Cf. Campanius, *Cate;* Holm, *Kort Beskrifning*, 144 ff.
[3] *Någon fiensskap*, really enmity, warfare.

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
NM7 Delaware NM7

198 enemies of that or that nation, therefore we must
648 make up a new language. This is now hereafter to be called thus and that this, so that our enemies who understand our language, used up to this time, may not be able to find out in the present times of war, what we have in mind to carry on against them; which none of our Renappi dare on pain of death disclose to our enemies;[4] and from this we can observe what a strong memory they have, that those who are neither able to read or write, are able to memorize such a lot in a hurry.[5]

[4] It appears from this that the Indian had a kind of code language. Cf. Hodge, *Handbook*, II, 567 ff. See also *Doc.*, I, 281.

[5] "Their Braines are quick, their hands,
Their feet, their tongues, their eyes;
God may fit objects in his time,
To those quicke faculties."
Williams, *Key*, 43.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

CHAPTER X.

SIGNS AND HIEROGLYPHICS.

IT has been asserted by many persons that the languages of the Indians are deficient in words, and that, in order to make themselves understood, they are obliged to resort to motions and signs with their hands. This is entirely a mistake. I do not know a nation of whom foreigners do not say the same thing. The fact is, that in every country, signs and motions with the hands more or less accompany discourse, particularly when delivered with a certain degree of earnestness and warmth. Foreigners, who are not very conversant with a language, pay in general as much and sometimes more attention to these motions than to the words of the speaker, in order the better to be able to understand what falls from him. Hence, almost every nation charges the others with too much gesticulation in speaking. For a similar reason, a foreign language is generally thought to be spoken quicker than our own, while the truth is, that it is our ear which is slow in distinguishing the words, not the voice which speaks that is too quick in uttering them.

The Indians do not gesticulate more when they speak than other nations do. In their public speeches they will, like our preachers and lawyers, enforce what they say by gestures and motions of the body and hands, in order to give greater weight to their observations, or to represent the subject they speak of in a more lively manner than can be done by words alone; but in common conversation they make few of those motions, and not more, I believe, than we do ourselves; even the wo-

l:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

men, who every where speak more than the men, never want words to express themselves, but rather seem to have too many, and they do not oftener employ gestures in aid of their conversation than the vivacity of their sex induces them to do every where else.

It is true that the Indians have a language of signs, by which they communicate with each other on occasions when speaking is not prudent or proper, as, for instance, when they are about to meet an enemy, and by speaking they would run the risk of being discovered. By this means they also make themselves understood to those nations of Indians whose languages they are not acquainted with, for all the Indian nations understand each other in this way. It is also, in many cases, a saving of words which the Indians are much intent on, believing that too much talking disgraces a man. When, therefore, they will relate something extraordinary in a few words, they make use of corresponding signs, which is very entertaining to those who listen and attend to them, and who are acquainted both with the language and the signs, being very much as if somebody were to explain a picture set before them. But they never make use of signs to supply any deficiency of language, as they have words and phrases sufficient to express every thing.

I have frequently questioned Indians who had been educated at our schools, and could understand, read, write, and speak both English and German, whether they could express their ideas better in either of those languages than in their own, and they have always and uniformly answered that they could express themselves with far the greatest ease in their own Indian, and that they never were at a loss for words or phrases in which to clothe every idea that occurred to them, without being in any case obliged to gesticulate or make motions with their hands or otherwise. From the knowledge which I have acquired of their language, I have

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca.1800) 1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

sometimes they scatter themselves, marching at proper distances from each other for a whole day and more, meeting, however, again at night, when they keep a watch; at other times they march in what is called *Indian file*, one man behind the other, treading carefully in each other's steps, so that their number may not be ascertained by the prints of their feet. The nearer they suppose themselves to be to the enemy, the more attentive they are to choosing hard, stony and rocky ground, on which human footsteps leave no impression; soft, marshy and grassy soils are particularly avoided, as in the former the prints of the feet would be easily discovered, and in the latter the appearance of the grass having been trodden upon might lead to detection; for if the grass or weeds are only bent, and have the least mark of having been walked upon, it will be almost certainly perceived, in which the sharpness and quickness of the Indians' sight is truly astonishing.

In some instances they deceive their enemies by imitating the cries or calls of some animal, such as the fawn, or turkey. They do this so admirably well, that they even draw the dam of the one and the mate of the other to the spot to which they want them to come. In this manner they often succeed in decoying the enemies to the place where they are lying in ambush, or get an opportunity of surrounding them. Such stratagems, however, cannot be resorted to in all seasons; with the turkey, it only answers in the spring, and with the fawn's dam until about midsummer. In the same manner, when scattered about in the woods, they easily find each other by imitating the song of some birds, such as the quail and the rook, and at evening and morning, and particularly in the night, the cry of the owl. By this means they all join each other, though not at the same time, as they are not, perhaps, all within hearing; but the cry of the owl is repeated from time to time until they are all assembled.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

Nor does it follow, when they reckon or number the heads of their prisoners, that they have been or are to be put to death.

It is an awful spectacle to see the Indian warriors return home from a successful expedition with their prisoners and the scalps taken in battle. It is not unlike the return of a victorious army from the field, with the prisoners and *colours*, taken from the enemy, but the appearance is far more frightful and terrific. The scalps are carried in front, fixed on the end of a thin pole, about five or six inches[a] in length; the prisoners follow, and the warriors advance shouting the dreadful *scalp-yell*, which has been called by some the *death-halloo*, but improperly, for the reasons which I have already mentioned. For every *head* taken, dead or alive, a separate shout is given. In this yell or whoop, there is a mixture of triumph and terror; its elements, if I may so speak, seem to be *glory* and *fear*, so as to express at once the feelings of the shouting warriors, and those with which they have inspired to their enemies.

Different from this yell is the *alarm-whoop*, which is never sounded but when danger is at hand. It is performed in quick succession, much as with us the repeated cry of *Fire! Fire!* when the alarm is very great and lives are known or believed to be in danger. Both this and the scalp-yell consist of the sounds *aw* and *oh*, successively uttered, the last more accented, and sounded higher than the first; but in the *scalp-yell*, this last sound is drawn out at great length, as long indeed, as the breath will hold, and is raised about an octave higher than the former; while in the *alarm-whoop*, it is rapidly struck on as it were, and only a few notes above the other. These yells or whoops are dreadful indeed, and well calculated to strike with terror, those whom long habit has not accustomed to them. It is difficult to describe the impression which the *scalp-yell*, particularly, makes on a person who hears it for the first time.

[a] [Qu. read "feet." Ed.]

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

he comes to no harm. At each house the impersonator dismounts and enters, making known his errand by signs, but saying only "*Ho^{n}-ho^{n}-ho^{n}*," and everywhere they give him tobacco, which he puts in his sack. At this time the people frighten disobedient children with the threat that, unless they behave, the Mĭsi'ng^{w} will carry them away in a sack full of snakes.

Preparations.—The dance-ground customarily used for this purpose has meanwhile been put in order, a cleared place in the woods selected for good shade and pleasant surroundings, and the logs which serve as seats arranged to form the rectangle within which the dance takes place. A great pot of hominy is also prepared; this constitutes the main dish of the feast.

The Ceremony.—When the people have gathered on the night appointed, and the impersonator has returned from the bushes where he retired to dress, wearing the mask and bearskin suit (pl. II), the speaker addresses the people and relates the origin of the dance, then addressing the Mĭsi'ng^{w}, says, "Take care of us

l:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

622 217 to each particular sentence, the same as we can point out a passage in a book. Belts and strings, when done with by the speaker, are again handed to the chief, who puts them up carefully in the speech bag or pouch.

202 A message of importance is generally sent on to the place of its destination, by an inferior chief, by a counsellor, or by the speaker, especially when an immediate answer is expected. In other cases, when for instance only an answer to a speech is to be sent, two capable young men are selected for the purpose, the one to deliver the message or answer, and the other to pay attention while his companion is delivering it, that no part be forgotten or omitted. If the message be of a private nature, they are charged to draw or take it *under ground*, that is, not to make it known to any person whatsoever, except to him to whom it is directed. If they are told to enter *into the earth* with the message or speech, and rise again at the place where they are to deliver it, it is to desire them to be careful not to be seen by the way by any person, and for that purpose to avoid all paths, and travel through the woods.

620 202 No chief pays any attention to *reports*, though they may carry with them the marks of truth. Until he is *officially* and in due form apprised of the matter, he will, if questioned on the subject, reply that he had *not heard it*. It will, until then, be considered by him as the *song of a bird which had flown by*; but as soon as he is officially informed, through a string of wampum from some distant chief or leading man of the nation, whose situation entitles him to receive credit, he then will say: "I *have* heard it;" and acts accordingly.

202 195 The Indians generally, but their chiefs more particularly, have many figurative expressions in use, to understand which requires instruction. When a nation, by message or otherwise, speaks to another nation in this way, it is well understood; but when they speak to white people after this manner, who have not been accustomed to such language, explanations are necessary.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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Their belts of wampum are of different dimensions, both as to the length and breadth. White and black wampum are the kinds they use; the former denoting that which is *good*, as peace, friendship, good will &c., the latter the reverse; yet occasionally the black also is made use of on peace errands, when the white cannot be procured; but previous to its being produced for such purpose, it must be daubed all over with chalk, white clay, or any thing which changes the colour from black to white. The pipe of peace, being either made of a black or red stone, must also be whitened before it is produced and smoked out of on such occasions.

Roads from one friendly nation to another, are generally marked on the belt, by one or two rows of white wampum interwoven in the black, and running through the middle, and from end to end. It means that they are on good terms, and keep up a friendly intercourse with each other.

A black belt with the mark of a hatchet made on it with red paint, is a war belt, which when sent to a nation together with a twist or roll of tobacco, is an invitation to join in a war. If the nation so invited smoke of this tobacco and say it smokes well, they have given their consent, and are from that moment allies. If however they decline smoking, all further persuasion would be of no effect; yet it once happened, that war messengers endeavoured to persuade and compel a nation to accept the belt, by laying it on the shoulders or thigh of the chief, who, however, after shaking it off without touching it with his hands, afterwards, with a stick, threw it after them, as if he threw a snake or toad out of his way.

Although at their councils they do not seat themselves after the manner of the white people, yet the attitude they place themselves in is not chargeable to them as a want of respect. Faithful to the trust committed to them, they are careless of ceremonies, from which the

a [erratum. See cat. 116, p. 378. Analyst]

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

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treaties that have been made with the governors of the provinces and other documents, although they are not able to read. These constitute the archives, where all messages and reports are kept. With each message or speech there are one or more strings or belts of wampum. These, with the message or speech after the latter have been properly considered and answered, are deposited
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in the archives.[260] In connection with such a message there may be a string or belt to each point, for as soon as the deliverer of a message has finished with a point he gives over a string or belt to the chief, gets out another and continues to speak until his message has been fully delivered when he announces that he has done. If the strings and belts are handed about from one to another in the council this is an indication that the message is being favorably received. It may happen, however, that the chief does not take the belt into his hands but pushes it to one side with a stick, in which case no one will touch it. The messenger who has brought it must in this case take it back. This signifies that his message does not find approbation and it is accounted a disgrace. Such a rejected belt may be a war belt summoning the people to war, or it may be a belt admonishing them to maintain peace, or something else that is not agreeable may be required.

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[434]
The wampum which Europeans make and barter to the Indians is made of sea-mussel shells. One variety is quite white, the other dark violet, a quarter of an inch in length, an eighth of an inch in thickness and round. A hole is bored lengthwise through each shell, large enough to admit a heavy cord. They are strung like beads. Wampum constitutes the
[435]
money of the Indians. Two hundred shells cost a buck hide, or a Spanish dollar.[261] Before the white people came they had no such wampum for want of proper instruments to make it.[262] The white are a little less in value than the dark.

Strings are made of the beads that have been strung as described. Two, four or six placed side by side and properly fastened form a string. A string is usually half a yard long,
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sometimes longer. Upon delivery of a string a long speech may be made and much said upon the subject under consideration.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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202 ●

But when a belt is given few words are spoken, and they must be words of great importance, frequently requiring an explanation. Belts are of pure wampum worked in all manner of clever forms by the Indian women, they being informed in each case what the figures must be, inasmuch as the figures must correspond with the message. A belt is three or four inches broad and about a yard long.[563] Neither color nor the other quantities of wampum are matters of indifference, but have an immediate reference to those things which they are meant to confirm. A white string of belt signifies a good message and such a belt may have figures in dark wampum. If a treaty is to be made or renewed with another nation the message is commonly accompanied by a Road Belt. This is a white belt with two rows of black wampum running the entire length with a white row between the two black rows also running the entire length of the belt. This signifies that the way from one nation to another has been cleared of all brush, trees and stones. At the ends of the belt the two nations are likewise represented by two small dark spots. If a string or belt of wampum is intended to confirm a warning against evil or an earnest reproof the belt delivered is in black. When a nation is called upon to go to war or war declared against it the belt is black or marked with red, having in the middle the figure of an hatchet in white wampum. A peace belt is quite white, a fathom long and a hand broad and of not inconsiderable value.

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A chief has more use for the white wampum than the black. In particular cases and upon extraordinary occasions a voluntary contribution of wampum is made by the whole tribe or nation. The rich are considered as principal supporters of the chiefs and furnish them with wampum in an emergency, which rarely occurs more than once in three years. The usual expenses are defrayed from the treasury chest of the council, which is never empty, because when wampum is paid out usually an equal amount comes in. In general the chief does not speak in council, but has his speaker to whom he communicates his sentiments briefly and leaves him to expatiate on them. The latter must be able to put the whole matter in a speech well arranged, which requires a clear and open understanding, a faithful mem-

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3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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624 ory, experience in the affairs of the state and a knowledge of the formal language employed in council, which differs as much from the common language as does the language used by the whites in legal procedure, from the language of ordinary intercourse.

202 When a message is to be sent, this is entrusted to two or more messengers. One of these is to be the speaker, the others being ready to remind him of anything he might forget. A message is formally entrusted to ambassadors at a meeting of the Council. It is repeated a number of times and the one appointed speaker of the messengers must in turn repeat it several times, until he is able to deliver the message with facility and in proper form. The messengers are then fitted out with necessaries for the journey and dispatched. As the whole of a message is to be delivered verbally, a speaker must be a sensible and reliable man. Young men, destined for such service, are admitted as hearers to the council, where they may learn much. Any one employed as messenger is held in high regard. They must be young men, of great endurance on the march, who will not be stopped by bad weather or high waters. On occasions of extreme importance, as in time of war, messengers may have to be on the march night and day, finding their way in the darkest night on paths that a white man could scarce follow in daytime.

623 The council meetings are as quiet and orderly as if they were acts of devotion. Noises, talking and laughing are not heard, even though the young may be present. All pay strict attention to the speaker. The counsellors are called together by a servant and when they appear, they welcome one another, [276] shake hands and express their joy at meeting. Each brings pouch, pipe and they smoke a considerable amount of tobacco that has been mixed with dried and crushed sumac leaves. [562] Women are never admitted to the council; in matters of public interest they may stand about the house and listen, and they account it an honor when they are admitted, to hand victuals and keep up the fire. Provisions must always be in plenty in the council-house, for eating and deliberating alternate.

The principal chief, either himself or through a speaker, sets forth the subjects that shall engage the attention of the

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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were too powerful for them, they pretended that it would not be good for the nations to wage war continually and that one nation ought to be the woman and that nation must be the Delawares, as they were the greatest warriors. Afterward they alleged that they had conquered the Delawares. In the war which began in 1755 and lasted until the sixties the Delawares challenged the Six Nations on the occasion of a Treaty in Pittsburg, but the latter returned no answer."[99] 648

Of late years the Delawares have amazingly increased in reputation through the wise management of the Chief Netawatwes. This man spared no pains to gain the friendship of all the nations. He sent frequent embassies to the grandchildren, and showed himself a true grandfather. When the Delawares sent a message to the allied nations, the speech began with each string or belt of wampum, "Grand-children;" the nations address the Delawares, "Grandfather." The Wyandats and Six Nations are addressed "Uncle," and the Europeans, "Brother." The speech is generally addressed directly to the chief, though meant for the whole nation.

The nations generally addressed the French as "Father," when the latter were in possession of Canada and had intercourse with them. The same appellation was transferred to the English when they conquered Canada. In the other colonies Europeans and Indians called one another "Brothers." This practice was followed by Sir William Johnson.

Indians explain the origin of Nations and their names by saying, and this not unlikely, that the inhabitants of towns or districts named themselves according to the places where they dwelt. Thus even at the present time Delawares who live in Goschachgünk are commonly called Goschachgiwak, that is Goschachgühlser — "people of Goschachgünk." [773]

A message sent or a speech in council goes or is delivered in the name of the three tribes, signifying the three chiefs. The Turtle tribe is named first, next the Wolf Tribe and the Turkey Tribe last. 203 623 648

When a message is returned, not having been accepted, the belt or string of wampum that has been rejected is thrown on the floor of the council house, after it has been announced why

3;Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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●202 623 648 the message was not welcome. The refusal is considered a great affront and no one of the chiefs or counsellors will touch the rejected wampum belt or string. This lies on the floor, the men of the Council leaving the place, until some old woman removes it.

622 Concerning usages and ceremonies connected with the election of a chief the following should have been added. If a chief of the Turtle Tribe is to be elected his own tribe does not choose him but the chiefs of the other two tribes do this. Similarly, if a chief of the Wolf or Turkey Tribe were to be elected, the tribe concerned would have no part in the election. The election is conducted in the following manner. As each tribe lives in a town of its own, the two chiefs, upon whom the election devolves, meet with their counsellors and people at an appointed place, and after all necessary preparations have been made — some thirty belts of wampum are required and a number of speeches arranged for — they move in a procession toward the town where the election is to take place. The two chiefs head the procession and one of them sings along the whole way the speeches that are to be made to the chief about to be elected, singing in a tone used on this and no other occasion. Thus they, still singing, enter the town where the chief is to be elected. They find everything prepared for the occasion, enter the council house at the east end, pass on one side the two or three fires that have been made and sit down on the other side. Next the inhabitants of the town enter, welcome the guests by shaking their hands and sit down on the other side of the fire. One of the two chiefs, in a singing tone, opens the proceedings by explaining the object of the meeting, condoling with the chief elect, wipes the tears from his eyes, clears his ears and throat, removes all sorrow on account of the departed chief from his heart and comforts him. Next he declares him to be chief and formally fills the office made vacant by the death of the former chief. He then exhorts the young people to be obedient to their new chief, whenever he shall require their assistance, and explains to them how they are to conduct themselves toward the chief. The speech is confirmed by means of two belts of

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
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here related, differing in some particulars from the ceremonies as practised by the Turtle or Turkey people. In former times, it is said, when one phratry had finished its twelve days of ceremonies, another would enact theirs, followed by the third; but at present qualified leaders are so few that it seldom if ever happens that more than one of them feels able to accept such exacting duties in any one year.

This leader it is who sends a messenger forth to notify the people what day the ceremonies are to commence and to invite them all to attend.

Several days before the date the wagons begin to roll in and a white village of tents springs up about the gray walls of the old Big House, temple, or *xi'ngwikan* (pl. v), standing on the banks of Little Caney river, north of Dewey in northern Oklahoma, far from any human habitation.

Built of rough logs, the Big House is now provided with a roof of hand-split shingles pierced by two great smoke-holes, as shown in the frontispiece and in

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
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OFFICERS

The messenger sent to assemble the people is one of three male attendants chosen by the leader, and these three men appoint three women to serve also. To these six attendants, known as *a'ckas*,

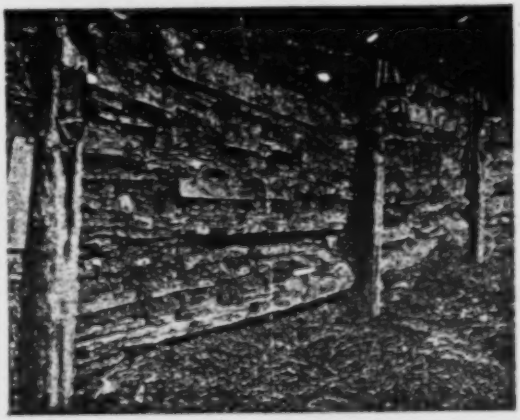

FIG. 7.—Side posts of Ceremonial House, showing carved faces.

falls all the laborious work of the meeting. Although the duties are menial, it is considered quite an honor to be selected as *a'ckas*. The attendants camp on the north and south sides of the little open

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
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346 were carried out. "The Sun and everything else goes toward the west," say the
796[1] Minsi, in explanation, "even the dead
[775] when they die."

PRELIMINARIES

796[x] The first act remembered by the informants preparatory to holding a meeting was to send to each man in the tribe
[787] who had been blessed by a "vision of
[202] power," a little stick which represented an invitation to the ceremony, the time of which the messenger gave out, before which date the people leaving their scattered homes gathered and camped about the Big House. Meanwhile hunters were sent out, appointed before, not during the meeting as among the Unami, to bring in for the Winter Ceremony, if possible, exactly twelve deer, which were cooked by four young men who served as attendants in a small separate house, built for the purpose.

Fire.—The fire was made with a fire-
372 drill by a group of old men for use in the
796[x] Big House, but, as among the Unami,

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
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796x

and scattered on the ground just west of the east fire, and this the attendants must pick up, crying "*Ho-o-o!*" as they do so. For doing this, which is called "picking berries," they are supposed to keep what wampum they pick up.

RETURN OF THE HUNTERS

If the hunters are lucky and kill a deer the first day, they send one man back with it. As he approaches he fires a [202] gun as a signal of his coming, at which the singers run into the Big House and begin to sing and beat the drum. Then everyone is happy.

In any case the hunters all return on the third day. If they have killed deer, they shoot their guns; if not, they come in very quietly. When the shots are heard, the singers hasten to their places, and, beating the drum, sing a song that is used only on such occasions. Then when the hunters arrive, they feast, and their leader announces the names of those lucky enough to kill a deer. The carcasses are skinned and hung on the deer

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
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in our first chapter, he found the MIsi'ng$^{w't}$ and Big House in use, as among the Unami today, as early as May, 1745, while traveling among the Delawares living at that time on Susquehanna river.

MIsi'ng$^{w't}$ DANCE

Besides the part taken by the MIsi'ng$^{w't}$ in the Annual Ceremony, he has certain rites peculiar to himself which were held every spring. As the Indians put it:

"When spring comes, the Delawares are glad, and they are thankful that their helper, the MIsi'ng$^{w't}$, is still among them. For this reason they give a feast and dance to make him happy too."

Notification.—So at the time of the full moon (about May), the keeper of the mask gives another Indian a yard of wampum to ride around to all the Delaware houses, wearing the mask and bearskin costume (pl. II) to let the people know that the time for the MIsi'ng$^{w't}$ dance (*MIsiugki'nika*) is at hand. The MIsi'ng$^{w't}$ rides horseback, and another man, also mounted, follows him to see that

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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W. T. and E. R. say that right was always used. 576

68. Story telling: in winter and at night only

W. L. said that one rule was that no one could sit up during 538
the telling of stories as it might make them humpbacked. 784

78. Peculiarities in encampments

JOHN JOHNSTON—There is no [peculiarity] in their moving 361
from place to place or in their hunting encampments, but they 726
are very particular in the mode of erecting their war encampments.

E. R.—Camp site was fixed so that allied tribes would know who had been there, and which direction they went. The way [202]
they fixed the fire and ashes would tell who made the camp.

79. Identification of makers of encampment

JOHN JOHNSTON—They can [identify them] because every 361
tribe has a different mode of encamping and by the size of the 202
camp or camps they can calculate very nigh the number that were in them.

CAPTAIN CHIPPS—They can tell the camps of the Cayugas and Massisagas, by their peculiar manner of encamping. Generally speaking, it is impossible for them to tell from a deserted camp, what particular tribe has occupied it.

83. Differences from other tribes in sociability, etc.

J. W.—Delaware are more friendly and sociable than other 181
tribes even though they cannot trust others. The Delaware way of raising is to have children grow up to be friendly and pleasant so that other people will like them and they may do big things—get places on council, in Big House, and be a credit to parents.

W. T.—Sociability, friendliness, and hospitality are marked characteristics that distinguish Delaware from other tribes and should be rated first.

88. Spare lives of snakes

HECKEWELDER stated that Delaware spared the lives of snakes 784
because killing one would bring other creeping things to bite them. 825

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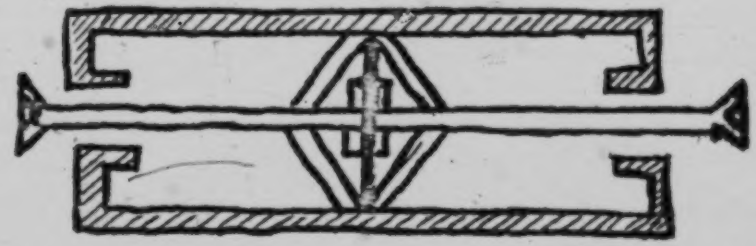
A



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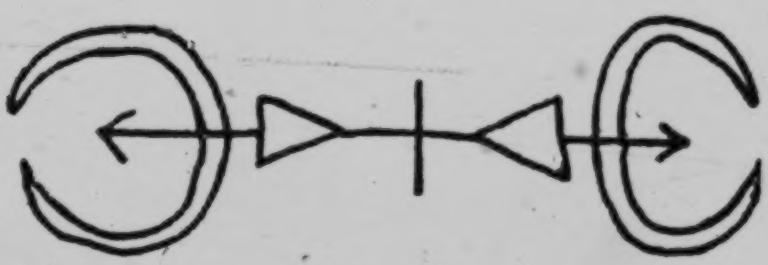

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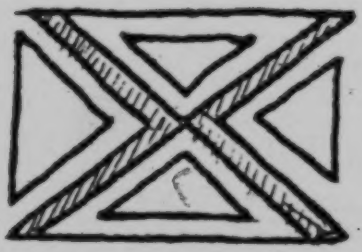

C

D

PLATE 2

A, B—Old designs in woven beadwork representing "clasps."
C—Peyote ceremony design representing "to be in good associations."
D—Meaning "Safe now, danger is past."

[P.28]

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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found guilty and the wife was "permitted to draw off his right shoe and left stocking...she then tears off the lappet that covers his private parts, gives him a kick behind, and so drives him out of the house...."[75] Husbands could punish adulterous wives by thrashing them, or could obtain a divorce by bringing them before the chief or sachem. The woman's hair was cut off, she was deprived of her property, and perhaps even of her life, if found guilty by the sachem.[76] But Denton remarked: "It is no offense for their married women to lie with another man provided she acquaint her husband, or some of her nearest Relations with it, but if not it is accounted such a fault that they sometimes punish it with death."[77] One of the culturally sanctioned mechanisms for obtaining revenge upon an adulterous spouse was suicide.[78] A man's retaliation for adultery could also be seduction of the adulterer's wife. If and when the injured husband was successful in this venture, he made the fact public so that the original adulterer would be held up for public scorn.[79]

A widow, prior to remarriage, whether his wife had died of natural or other causes, had to recompense her relatives for her loss.[80] The duration of mourning was about a year.[81] A widow during this time had to support herself; she could not be given meat since a hunter's weapons were supposed to fail if he had given meat to a widow.[82] When the year had passed, the deceased one's soul left the earth and remarriage could follow.

Death

As soon as a person died the fact of death was spread throughout the community by a crier. The crier was a woman especially appointed and paid for her services.[83] This announcement evoked loud outcrys and lamentations from the general populace. These lamentations were continued intermittently in the house where the deceased lay until burial.[84] In recent times and perhaps earlier the moccasin game was played in the dwelling where the corpse lay.[85] The body was not buried at once because it was necessary to give the supernatural forces an opportunity to restore life to the corpse.[86] The length of time the body was kept varied with the season; it was three days in summer and seven in winter.[87] During this interval the corpse was dressed in new clothes and richly adorned and painted. Before noon on the day of burial a number

[75] De Rasieres, 1909, p. 108.
[76] *Ibid.*; see also Pastorius, 1912, p. 424.
[77] Denton, 1845, p. 9.
[78] Penn, 1912, p. 232; Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 258-59; Loskiel, 1794, p. 58.
[79] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 77.
[80] Penn, 1912, p. 232.
[81] Pastorius, 1912, p. 435; Holm, 1834, p. 143; Brickell, 1842, p. 49; Trowbridge MS.
[82] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 88; Loskiel, 1794, p. 64.
[83] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 249; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 269.
[84] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 89; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 269.
[85] Harrington, 1913, p. 215; Kinietz, 1946, p. 72.
[86] Trowbridge MS; Kinietz, 1946, p. 51; J.T.
[87] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 249; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 269; Trowbridge MS; Kinietz, 1946, p. 51; M.D.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

sing young men in these matters, they assemble once or twice a year. On these occasions they always meet at a chosen spot in the woods, at a small distance from the town, where a fire is kindled, and at the proper time provisions are brought out to them: there, on a large piece of bark or on a blanket, all the documents are laid out in such order, that they can at once distinguish each particular speech, the same as we know the principal contents of an instrument of writing by the endorsement on it. If any paper or parchment writings are connected with the belts, or strings of wampum, they apply to some trusty white man (if such can be had,) to read the contents to them. Their speaker then, who is always chosen from among those who are endowed with superior talents, and has already been trained up to the business, rises, and in an audible voice delivers, with the gravity that the subject requires, the contents, sentence after sentence, until he has finished the whole on one subject. On the manner in which the belts or strings of wampum are handled by the speaker, much depends; the *turning** of the belt which takes place when he has finished one half of his speech, is a material point, though this is not common in *all* speeches with belts; but when it is the case, and is done properly, it may be as well known by it how far the speaker has advanced in his speech, as with us on taking a glance at the pages of a book or pamphlet while reading; and a good speaker will be able to point out the exact place on a belt which is to answer

* When, between the years 1760 and 1768, the noted war-chief Pontiac had concerted a plan of surprising and cutting off the garrison and town of Detroit, while in the act of delivering an impressive peace oration, to the then commandant Major Gladwyn, the *turning of the belt* was to have been the signal of the attack by his forces, who all had their guns, which previously had been cut off to large pistol length, hidden under their blankets. So I have been informed by some of the most respectable inhabitants of Detroit, and by the Indians themselves.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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Their belts of wampum are of different dimensions, both as to the length and breadth. White and black wampum are the kinds they use; the former denoting that which is *good*, as peace, friendship, good will &c., the latter the reverse; yet occasionally the black also is made use of on peace errands, when the white cannot be procured; but previous to its being produced for such purpose, it must be daubed all over with chalk, white clay, or any thing which changes the colour from black to white. The pipe of peace, being either made of a black or red stone, must also be whitened before it is produced and smoked out of on such occasions.

Roads from one friendly nation to another, are generally marked on the belt, by one or two rows of white wampum interwoven in the black, and running through the middle, and from end to end. It means that they are on good terms, and keep up a friendly intercourse with each other.

A black belt with the mark of a hatchet made on it with red paint, is a war belt, which when sent to a nation together with a twist or roll of tobacco, is an invitation to join in a war. If the nation so invited smoke of this tobacco and say it smokes well, they have given their consent, and are from that moment allies. If however they decline smoking, all further persuasion would be of no effect; yet it once happened, that war messengers endeavoured to persuade and compel a nation to accept the belt, by laying it on the shoulders or thigh of the chief, who, however, after shaking it off without touching it with his hands, afterwards, with a stick, threw it after them, as if he threw a snake or toad out of his way.

Although at their councils they do not seat themselves after the manner of the white people, yet the attitude they place themselves in is not chargeable to them as a want of respect. Faithful to the trust committed to them, they are careless of ceremonies, from which the

[erratum. See cat. 116, p. 348. Analyst]

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca.1800) 1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

reason to be satisfied that it is so. Indeed, how can it be doubted, when we have the whole of the Bible and New Testament translated into one of their dialects, and when we see our ministers, when once familiar with the language of the nation with which they reside, preach to them without the least difficulty on the most abstruse subjects of the Christian faith? It is true, that ideas are not always expressed in those languages in the same words, or under the same grammatical forms as in our own; where we would use one part of speech, we are obliged to employ another, and one single word with them will not seldom serve a purpose for which we would have to employ several; but still, the ideas are communicated, and pass with clearness and precision from mind to mind. Thus, the end of oral language is completely obtained, and more, I think, cannot be required. 192

The Indians do not possess our art of writing, they have no alphabets, or any mode of representing to the eye the sounds of words spoken, yet they have certain hieroglyphics, by which they describe facts in so plain a manner, that those who are conversant with those marks can understand them with the greatest ease, as easily, indeed, as we can understand a piece of writing. For instance, on a piece of bark, or on a large tree with the bark taken off for the purpose, by the side of a path, they can and do give every necessary information to those who come by the same way; they will in that manner let them know, that they were a war party of so many men, from such a place, of such a nation and of such a tribe; how many of each tribe were in the party; to which tribe the chief or captain belonged; in what direction they proceeded to meet the enemy; how many days they were out and how many returning; what number of the enemy they had killed, how many prisoners they had brought; how many scalps they had taken; whether they had lost any of their party, and how many; what enemies they had met with, and how many 211 (212)

[Erratum. Should be "Not."--Analyst]

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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Shawnee NM17

they consisted of; of what nation or tribe their captain was, &c.; all which, at a single glance, is perfectly well understood by them. In the same manner they describe a chase: all Indian nations can do this, although they have not all the same marks; yet I have seen the Delawares read with ease the drawings of the Chippeways, Mingoes, Shawanos, and Wyandots, on similar subjects.

While Indians are travelling to the place of their destination, whether it be on a journey to their distant hunting grounds or on a war excursion, some of the young men are sent out to hunt by the way, who, when they have killed a deer, bear, or other animal, bring it to the path, ready to be taken away by those who are coming along, (often with horses) to the place of encampment, when they all meet at night. Having hung up the meat by the side of the path, these young men make a kind of sun-dial, in order to inform those who are coming of the time of day it was at the time of their arrival and departure. A clear place in the path is sought for, and if not readily found, one is made by the side of it, and a circle or ring being drawn on the sand or earth, a stick of about two or three feet in length is fixed in the centre, with its upper end bent towards that spot in the horizon where the sun stood at the time of their arrival or departure. If both are to be noted down, two separate sticks are set; but generally one is sufficient, namely, for the time of departure.

Hunters have particular marks, which they make on the trees, where they strike off from the path to their hunting grounds or place of encampment, which is often at the distance of many miles; yet the women, who come from their towns to fetch meat from these camps, will as readily find them as if they were conducted to the spot.

I shall conclude this chapter with an anecdote, which will at once shew how expressive and energetic is this hieroglyphic writing of the Indians. A white man in the

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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436 is even now the case, though they are not accounted as valuable as at one time. Formerly they sometimes used in the place of the belts the wing of some large bird, which is still done among the nations living in remoter regions, where wampum is rare or not to be had at all, where there is no trade with Europeans and some have not even seen wampum. Occasionally, though not often, embassies from such distant people come to the Delawares.[43]

211 212 648 A belt is given in confirmation of a message or speech, as they know nothing of writing; an answer given is similarly ratified by a belt of the same size. An alliance or league is hardly arranged by two peoples with less than twenty belts of wampum. Often thirty or more are required.

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3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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ingratiate himself with the people and stand by his counsellors. 622
Hence, it is that the chiefs are generally friendly, gracious, hos- 623
pitable, communicative, affable and their house is open to every Indian. Even strangers who come on business put up in the chief's house and are accommodated with the best it affords. The ambassadors of other nations generally lodge with the chief 648
and they are well cared for. If their number is too great, and it 622
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several nations that ten or twenty men of other nations have arrived at the principal chief's house, they are put into a separate house and provided with every thing at the public expense, the counsellors taking care that they are entertained most hospitably in order that the nation may be in good repute amongst other nations.

In externals a chief has no advantages above others. He 622
must provide for his own maintenance, for no one is under any obligation to supply his wants. His wife, whose duty it is to provide sufficient corn for the year, is usually assisted by other women in her plantations, for much corn is required in such a house. If the chief is young and able to hunt he will, his official duties permitting, occasionally join the chase. He will even secure his own firewood as far as possible. In case he is old his friends, of whom there are usually many, and other Indians will furnish him with game, especially if he be popular.

The council house is either the house of the chief, which is 623
commonly large and roomy, or a building erected for that pur- [344]
pose. Here public councils are held, that is, such where messages which have arrived from whites or other Indians are published. Every one may listen and the messages are also discussed. In case there is something of particular importance to consider, only the chief and the counsellors assemble and determine upon the matter. The old chief Netawatwes[219] used to lay all affairs of state before his council for consideration. When they gave him their opinion, he either approved of it or indicated what was missing or not correct in the speech, upon which they would make the necessary amendments. Thus he kept them active and was held in great esteem. 211

The chief has the council bag in his possession, as also the 217
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treaties that have been made with the governors of the provinces and other documents, although they are not able to read. These constitute the archives, where all messages and reports are kept. With each message or speech there are one or more strings or belts of wampum. These, with the message or speech after the latter have been properly considered and answered, are deposited in the archives.[200] In connection with such a message there may be a string or belt to each point, for as soon as the deliverer of a message has finished with a point he gives over a string or belt to the chief, gets out another and continues to speak until his message has been fully delivered when he announces that he has done. If the strings and belts are handed about from one to another in the council this is an indication that the message is being favorably received. It may happen, however, that the chief does not take the belt into his hands but pushes it to one side with a stick, in which case no one will touch it. The messenger who has brought it must in this case take it back. This signifies that his message does not find approbation and it is accounted a disgrace. Such a rejected belt may be a war belt summoning the people to war, or it may be a belt admonishing them to maintain peace, or something else that is not agreeable may be required.

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The wampum which Europeans make and barter to the Indians is made of sea-mussel shells. One variety is quite white, the other dark violet, a quarter of an inch in length, an eighth of an inch in thickness and round. A hole is bored lengthwise through each shell, large enough to admit a heavy cord. They are strung like beads. Wampum constitutes the money of the Indians. Two hundred shells cost a buck hide, [435] or a Spanish dollar.[201] Before the white people came they had no such wampum for want of proper instruments to make it.[202] The white are a little less in value than the dark.

Strings are made of the beads that have been strung as described. Two, four or six placed side by side and properly fastened form a string. A string is usually half a yard long, sometimes longer. Upon delivery of a string a long speech may be made and much said upon the subject under consideration.

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But when a belt is given few words are spoken, and they must be words of great importance, frequently requiring an explanation. Belts are of pure wampum worked in all manner of clever forms by the Indian women, they being informed in each case what the figures must be, inasmuch as the figures must correspond with the message. A belt is three or four inches broad and about a yard long.[263] Neither color nor the other quantities of wampum are matters of indifference, but have an immediate reference to those things which they are meant to confirm. A white string of belt signifies a good message and such a belt may have figures in dark wampum. If a treaty is to be made or renewed with another nation the message is commonly accompanied by a Road Belt. This is a white belt with two rows of black wampum running the entire length with a white row between the two black rows also running the entire length of the belt. This signifies that the way from one nation to another has been cleared of all brush, trees and stones. At the ends of the belt the two nations are likewise represented by two small dark spots. If a string or belt of wampum is intended to confirm a warning against evil or an earnest reproof the belt delivered is in black. When a nation is called upon to go to war or war declared against it the belt is black or marked with red, having in the middle the figure of an hatchet in white wampum. A peace belt is quite white, a fathom long and a hand broad and of not inconsiderable value.

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A chief has more use for the white wampum than the black. In particular cases and upon extraordinary occasions a voluntary contribution of wampum is made by the whole tribe or nation. The rich are considered as principal supporters of the chiefs and furnish them with wampum in an emergency, which rarely occurs more than once in three years. The usual expenses are defrayed from the treasury chest of the council, which is never empty, because when wampum is paid out usually an equal amount comes in. In general the chief does not speak in council, but has his speaker to whom he communicates his sentiments briefly and leaves him to expatiate on them. The latter must be able to put the whole matter in a speech well arranged, which requires a clear and open understanding, a faithful mem-

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council in a solemn speech. If the subjects are of great importance all who take part in the discussion stand as they speak. Each counsellor has the liberty to utter his sentiments and having made his speech, sits down. No one interrupts the speaker but all sit silent and attentive as if engaged in an act of devotion. The speeches are delivered in a pleasing manner and the words of the speakers flow as readily as if they were read from a manuscript. Whoever visits such an assembly, whether white man or savage Indian, cannot but be profoundly impressed.

A subject is often very thoroughly and extendedly discussed. The chiefs and counsellors in turn give their opinions and suggestions. When all have spoken, one of them is called upon to sum up the principal parts of all the speeches in a concise manner. This is done extempore and the necessary amendments proposed, every subject being brought into as short and comprehensive statement as possible. Before deliberations begin, the strings and belts of wampum must be placed in due order, for whatever is said without being confirmed by them is considered vain and without effect. They are so accustomed to this that when they communicate the contents of a message, merely in private conversation, they cannot do so without something in their hands, a strap, a ribbon or a blade of grass. Holding some such thing in his hand the speaker will recount the points in proper order as with the strings or belts of wampum thereto belonging.

When chiefs are compelled to give answer to a proposition of which they do not approve, but which they have consented to consider because they did not wish openly to offer an affront, they are able to frame their reply in so figurative and equivocal a style as to allow of almost any desired interpretation or application. Those who receive such an answer, know as little after the reply has been given as before, but are ashamed to ask further, lest they should be regarded as stupid and because chiefs are supposed to understand everything.

When treaty of peace is made with another nation it is determined that it shall last as long as sun and moon shine or rise and set, as long as the stars are in the heavens and the rivers

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622 reprimand, and must promise to fulfill his duty better in the future.

The name Delawares undoubtedly has its origin with the 101 Europeans, for neither they themselves nor other nations use this name. They call themselves the Lenni-Lenape Indians or *W'oapanachke*, that is people living towards the rising of the sun, having formerly inhabited the eastern coast of North America. It is possible that the word Delawares should have been applied to the nation; because the Unami Tribe, which lived nearest the sea, uses the word *'ndellowen* very much. This word, meaning "I say," being a verb, appears frequently and in many forms in the conversation of the people. The first Europeans, not understanding the language and hearing this word very often may have made Delaware out of it and called the people thus. The Indians themselves believe this to be the explanation, though it is possible that the Europeans have another, of which I am not aware."[1]

●211 If a party of Indians have spent a night in the woods, it may be easily known, not only by the structure of their sleeping huts but also by their marks on the trees, to what tribe they belong. For they always leave a mark behind made either with red pigment or charcoal. Such marks are understood by the Indians who know how to read their meaning. Some markings point out the places where a company of Indians have been hunting, showing the number of nights they spent there, the [532] number of deer, bears and other game killed during the hunt. The warriors sometimes paint their own deeds and adventures, the number of prisoners or scalps taken, the number of troops they commanded and how many fell in battle.

If two nations are engaged in war and the warriors of one 726 commit some murderous act, it is not uncommon that they leave the hatchet in the head of the victim who has been scalped or lay a war-club, painted red, upon the body of the victim. This is a formal challenge, in consequence of which, a captain of the insulted party takes up the weapon of the murderers and hastens into their country to be avenged. He will do much the same thing, leaving his weapon upon the murdered, and

10. The evidence available on this subject is printed form plus what can be found in deeds has been admirably summarized by Ruttenber (p.89ff.).

11. A pre-contact "history" of the Delaware, which is supposed to have been painted originally on sticks was acquired by Rafinesque in 1820. This man was a natural scientist and antiquarian of questionable repute, but the symbols in the document which he brought to light and their translation were pronounced authentic by several modern Delaware to whom it was shown by Brinton. The document, "The Walam Olum", with a translation of the Delaware text into English is reproduced by Brinton (1885).

12. One instance of the operation of this custom took place during the Dutch-Indian wars. The Dutch put a price on the heads of the Raritans, a Delaware band, for supposed offenses against them, but the only immediate result was a revenge murder by a neighboring band for an old injury (O'Callaghan, Vol. I, 1846, p. 240).

The following discussion of capturing two Indians who had murdered a white man also indicates the existence of this custom: "...only the Difficulty was, that there were seven of these Indyans, Men of the same Stock, that if two should be seised, the other five would seek to bee Revenged; soe it was unsafe." (Documents Relating to the Colonial History of New Jersey, Vol. I, p. 73).

13. Frank Speck (1931, p. 17): "The Big House capitulates the elements of certain minor feast ceremonies held on special occasions by families. The great annual ceremony seems to stand as an entity, one that does not submit to any assumption of recent origin in its present form of organization." This he feels is verified by its part-for-part resemblance to the Munsee ceremony in Canada, which would indicate that it must have been a national ceremony before 1700 when the groups began to separate.

In my opinion, however, there is not sufficient evidence that the "Annual Ceremony" of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries existed in all its complexity in the seventeenth century although most of its parts were probably contained in various different ceremonies which were performed. One important difference between the ceremonies mentioned by Penn and Lindstrom and the "Annual Ceremony" is that in the former the sacrificial meat consisted of the first of the season's kill and in the latter it consisted of game taken on a special communal hunt.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca.1800) 1819
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reason to be satisfied that it is so. Indeed, how can it 192
be doubted, when we have the whole of the Bible and New Testament translated into one of their dialects, and when we see our ministers, when once familiar with the language of the nation with which they reside, preach to them without the least difficulty on the most abstruse subjects of the Christian faith? It is true, that ideas are not always expressed in those languages in the same words, or under the same grammatical forms as in our own; where we would use one part of speech, we are obliged to employ another, and one single word with them will not seldom serve a purpose for which we would have to employ several; but still, the ideas are communicated, and pass with clearness and precision from mind to mind. Thus, the end of oral language is completely obtained, and more, I think, cannot be required.

The Indians do not possess our art of writing, they 211
have no alphabets, or any mode of representing to the [212]
eye the sounds of words spoken, yet they have certain hieroglyphics, by which they describe facts in so plain a manner, that those who are conversant with those marks can understand them with the greatest ease, as easily, indeed, as we can understand a piece of writing. For instance, on a piece of bark, or on a large tree with the bark taken off for the purpose, by the side of a path, they can and do give every necessary information to those who come by the same way; they will in that manner let them know, that they were a war party of so many men, from such a place, of such a nation and of such a tribe; how many of each tribe were in the party; to which tribe the chief or captain belonged; in what direction they proceeded to meet the enemy; how many days they were out and how many returning; what number of the enemy they had killed, how many prisoners they had brought; how many scalps they had taken; whether they had lost any of their party, and how many; what enemies they had met with, and how many

[Erratum. Should be "Not."--Analyst]

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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Of writing they know nothing, except the painting of hieroglyphics, already referred to, which they know very well how to interpret. These drawings in red by the warriors may be legible for fifty years. After a hero has died, his deeds may, therefore, be kept in mind for many years by these markings. A letter, especially, if it is sealed, is considered a very important thing. If any treaties, contracts or deeds are required to be delivered to the Europeans, signed by their chiefs, captains or counsellors, they make their mark and get others to subscribe their names. The mark may be a hook, or the foot of a turkey or a turtle or represent something else. They are very generally ashamed of their Indian names and prefer the names given them by the whites. Some have learned to write the initial letters of their new names.

In reckoning time they do not count the days but the nights. An Indian says, "I have travelled so many nights." Only if the entire journey has been accomplished in one day, will he speak of a day's journey. Most of them determine a number of years by so many winters, springs, summers or autumns. They say, "In spring when we boil sugar," that is March, or "when we plant," that is May, so and so will be of such an age. Few know their age when they get to be over thirty. Some reckon from the time of a hard frost or a deep fall of snow in such a year, from an Indian war, or from the founding of Pittsburg or Philadelphia, when they were so or so old. They divide the year into winter, spring, summer, autumn, and these periods are divided according to the moons, though, it must be said, that their reckoning is not very accurate. They cannot agree just when to begin the new year. Most of them begin the year with the spring, that is with March, which they call Chwoame Gischuch, that is the Shad month, because at this season this fish goes up the rivers and creeks in great numbers. True these fish are not found here, but the name was brought from the Susquehanna region. April they call Hackihewi Gischuch, that is Planting month, though they rarely begin to plant before May or the end of April. May has a name signifying the month in which the hoe is used for Indian corn, though this is usually not

the Lenape in dealings with other tribes and was entrusted with the protection of the tribal bag of records or mementoes. Interestingly enough, succession to this post was only partially hereditary, being the result of selection by the chiefs of the other two divisions from within a certain prescribed range of the male relatives of the old chief. Any chief might be deposed for improper or incompetent handling of affairs (Ruttenber, pp. 47-48; Harrington, 1913, p. 211; Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 107-11; Zeisberger, 1910, pp. 93-95).

Use of pictographic symbols and colored wampum to express meaning were two methods by which the chief could communicate with the bands in tangible form [11] (Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 109 and 130-31). One author also credits them with a special language used only in wartime to prevent their enemies from understanding their communications (Lindstrom, p. 204).

War

The powers of civil government were suspended in time of war and direction fell into the hands of the "captains", as they were usually called by the old writers. Little was written of Lenape customs in warfare during the early colonial period when most of the Delaware wars were against other tribes and seldom against the white settlers. The following section based on eighteenth century material is inserted th give a more complete picture of Delaware life rather than for comparative purposes.

The position of captain was achieved through leading several successful missions against enemy forces; that is, missions in which greater amounts of goods, prisoners and scalps were brought back than were lost. Most frequently, boys who aimed at the achievement of this status did so as the result of an adolescent vision. Those who succeeded were usually those who had had such a vision, which is not surprising as they would be likely to be fortified with greater assurance and more assiduous training (Zeisberger, 1910, p. 101; Loskiel, p. 142).

A chief could not declare war without the unanimous consent of his warrior chiefs; if they were unanimous in favoring war, he could not refuse to "accept the hatchet" (Loskiel, p. 14[illegible]; Ruttenber, p. 48; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 98). Peace, on the other hand, could only be made effective by the chief whose decision in this matter had to be accepted by the warriors.

War, according to a partisan of the Delawares, was declared as a result of other tribes hunting in their territory, murder of a member of their tribe by an outsider, or robbery from a Delaware camp (Heckewelder, 1881, p. 275). "Add to these causes the desire to confiscate property of other tribes for glory, and the list would be more complete (Loskiel, p. 143).

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
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CHAPTER XIX.

Concerning the Manufacture of the Attractive and the Artistic Works of the American Savage People.

Write or read the savages cannot, nor do any other work like the Christians, such as spin, weave, sew, *et talia, etc.* But their work consists[1] in neatly working [various things] by drawing, painting and glazing, as for instance their bags,[2] which they make so large that 1 quart, ½ gallon, yes 1, 1½, 2, 2½, 3 up to 6 gallons can go into them, to keep grain and all kinds of other such [things] in. These they elaborate with all kinds of figures of painted pine roots and also split,[3] painted sticks, unspeakably strong.[4]

They also make very neat tobacco pipes with all kinds of birds and animals on the pipe head, very beautifully painted and glazed.[5] There are also found beautiful colors of all kinds, which we can see by their neat and artistically painted work of bird feathers, tobacco pipes and more such [things]. They also make very fine and beautiful quilts[6] of painted bird feathers. In the first place they tie them with meshes like nets, yet very fine;[7]

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[1] *Uthan derra arbete går uth på.* Cf. *Vertoogh, N. Y. Col.*, 2, II, 270; *Doc.*, I, 282; Williams, *Key*, 133.
[2] *Notasser.* See above, Chapt. XI, note 7.
[3] *Upfläcka*, to tear up (?); cf. *fläcka sönder*, tear asunder.
[4] Cf. Hodge, *Handbook*, I, 125, 132; above Chapt. XI, note 7.
[5] Cf. Chapt. IX, note 10; Hodge, *Handbook*, II, 257 ff.
[6] *Skiöna fällar. Fäll* usually means skins with the fur, fell.
[7] *Dock mycket grannc.*

I:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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CHAPTER VII.

GOVERNMENT.

622 623 624 ALTHOUGH the Indians have no code of laws for their government, their chiefs find little or no difficulty in governing them. They are supported by able experienced counsellors; men who study the welfare of the nation, and are equally interested with themselves in its prosperity. On them the people rely entirely, believing that what they do, or determine upon, must be right and for the public good.

623 Proud of seeing such able men conduct the affairs of their nation, the Indians are little troubled about what they are doing, knowing that the result of their deliberations will be made public in due time, and sure that it will receive their approbation. This result is made known to them by the chief through the orator, for which purpose they are called together and assemble at the council house; and if it be found necessary, to require a contribution of *wampum*, for carrying the decision of the chiefs into effect, it is cheerfully complied with by the whole assembly.

622 217 The chiefs are very careful in preserving for their own information, and that of future generations, all important deliberations and treaties made at any time between them and other nations. Thus, between the years 1770 and 1780, they could relate very minutely, what had passed between William Penn and their forefathers, at their first meeting and afterwards, and also the transactions which took place with the governors who succeeded him. For the purpose of refreshing their own memories, and of instructing one or more of their most capable and promi-

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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sing young men in these matters, they assemble once or twice a year. On these occasions they always meet at a chosen spot in the woods, at a small distance from the town, where a fire is kindled, and at the proper time provisions are brought out to them: there, on a large piece of bark or on a blanket, all the documents are laid out in such order, that they can at once distinguish each particular speech, the same as we know the principal contents of an instrument of writing by the endorsement on it. If any paper or parchment writings are connected with the belts, or strings of wampum, they apply to some trusty white man (if such can be had,) to read the contents to them. Their speaker then, who is always chosen from among those who are endowed with superior talents, and has already been trained up to the business, rises, and in an audible voice delivers, with the gravity that the subject requires, the contents, sentence after sentence, until he has finished the whole on one subject. On the manner in which the belts or strings of wampum are handled by the speaker, much depends; the *turning** of the belt which takes place when he has finished one half of his speech, is a material point, though this is not common in *all* speeches with belts; but when it is the case, and is done properly, it may be as well known by it how far the speaker has advanced in his speech, as with us on taking a glance at the pages of a book or pamphlet while reading; and a good speaker will be able to point out the exact place on a belt which is to answer

* When, between the years 1760 and 1768, the noted war-chief Pontiac had concerted a plan of surprising and cutting off the garrison and town of Detroit, while in the act of delivering an impressive peace oration, to the then commandant Major Gladwyn, the *turning of the belt* was to have been the signal of the attack by his forces, who all had their guns, which previously had been cut off to large pistol length, hidden under their blankets. So I have been informed by some of the most respectable inhabitants of Detroit, and by the Indians themselves.

l:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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to each particular sentence, the same as we can point out a passage in a book. Belts and strings, when done with by the speaker, are again handed to the chief, who puts them up carefully in the speech bag or pouch.

A message of importance is generally sent on to the place of its destination, by an inferior chief, by a counsellor, or by the speaker, especially when an immediate answer is expected. In other cases, where for instance only an answer to a speech is to be sent, two capable young men are selected for the purpose, the one to deliver the message or answer, and the other to pay attention while his companion is delivering it, that no part be forgotten or omitted. If the message be of a private nature, they are charged to draw or take it *under ground*, that is, not to make it known to any person whatsoever, except to him to whom it is directed. If they are told to enter *into the earth* with the message or speech, and rise again at the place where they are to deliver it, it is to desire them to be careful not to be seen by the way by any person, and for that purpose to avoid all paths, and travel through the woods.

No chief pays any attention to *reports*, though they may carry with them the marks of truth. Until he is *officially* and in due form apprised of the matter, he will, if questioned on the subject, reply that he had *not heard it*. It will, until then, be considered by him as the *song of a bird which had flown by*; but as soon as he is officially informed, through a string of wampum from some distant chief or leading man of the nation, whose situation entitles him to receive credit, he then will say: "I *have* heard it;" and acts accordingly.

The Indians generally, but their chiefs more particularly, have many figurative expressions in use, to understand which requires instruction. When a nation, by message or otherwise, speaks to another nation in this way, it is well understood; but when they speak to white people after this manner, who have not been accustomed to such language, explanations are necessary.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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ingratiate himself with the people and stand by his counsellors. Hence, it is that the chiefs are generally friendly, gracious, hospitable, communicative, affable and their house is open to every Indian. Even strangers who come on business put up in the chief's house and are accommodated with the best it affords. The ambassadors of other nations generally lodge with the chief and they are well cared for. If their number is too great, and it has happened in connection with weighty affairs concerning several nations that ten or twenty men of other nations have arrived at the principal chief's house, they are put into a separate house and provided with every thing at the public expense, the counsellors taking care that they are entertained most hospitably in order that the nation may be in good repute amongst other nations.

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The council house is either the house of the chief, which is commonly large and roomy, or a building erected for that purpose. Here public councils are held, that is, such where messages which have arrived from whites or other Indians are published. Every one may listen and the messages are also discussed. In case there is something of particular importance to consider, only the chief and the counsellors assemble and determine upon the matter. The old chief Netawatwes[259] used to lay all affairs of state before his council for consideration. When they gave him their opinion, he either approved of it or indicated what was missing or not correct in the speech, upon which they would make the necessary amendments. Thus he kept them active and was held in great esteem.

The chief has the council bag in his possession, as also the

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910 -
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treaties that have been made with the governors of the provinces and other documents, although they are not able to read. These constitute the archives, where all messages and reports are kept. With each message or speech there are one or more strings or belts of wampum. These, with the message or speech after the latter have been properly considered and answered, are deposited in the archives.[200] In connection with such a message there may be a string or belt to each point, for as soon as the deliverer of a message has finished with a point he gives over a string or belt to the chief, gets out another and continues to speak until his message has been fully delivered when he announces that he has done. If the strings and belts are handed about from one to another in the council this is an indication that the message is being favorably received. It may happen, however, that the chief does not take the belt into his hands but pushes it to one side with a stick, in which case no one will touch it. The messenger who has brought it must in this case take it back. This signifies that his message does not find approbation and it is accounted a disgrace. Such a rejected belt may be a war belt summoning the people to war, or it may be a belt admonishing them to maintain peace, or something else that is not agreeable may be required.

The wampum which Europeans make and barter to the Indians is made of sea-mussel shells. One variety is quite white, the other dark violet, a quarter of an inch in length, an eighth of an inch in thickness and round. A hole is bored lengthwise through each shell, large enough to admit a heavy cord. They are strung like beads. Wampum constitutes the money of the Indians. Two hundred shells cost a buck hide, or a Spanish dollar.[201] Before the white people came they had no such wampum for want of proper instruments to make it.[202] The white are a little less in value than the dark.

Strings are made of the beads that have been strung as described. Two, four or six placed side by side and properly fastened form a string. A string is usually half a yard long, sometimes longer. Upon delivery of a string a long speech may be made and much said upon the subject under consideration.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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Of writing they know nothing, except the painting of hieroglyphics, already referred to, which they know very well how to interpret. These drawings in red by the warriors may be legible for fifty years. After a hero has died, his deeds may, therefore, be kept in mind for many years by these markings. A letter, especially, if it is sealed, is considered a very important thing. If any treaties, contracts or deeds are required to be delivered to the Europeans, signed by their chiefs, captains or counsellors, they make their mark and get others to subscribe their names. The mark may be a hook, or the foot of a turkey or a turtle or represent something else. They are very generally ashamed of their Indian names and prefer the names given them by the whites. Some have learned to write the initial letters of their new names.

In reckoning time they do not count the days but the nights. An Indian says, "I have travelled so many nights." Only if the entire journey has been accomplished in one day, will he speak of a day's journey. Most of them determine a number of years by so many winters, springs, summers or autumns. They say, "In spring when we boil sugar," that is March, or "when we plant," that is May, so and so will be of such an age. Few know their age when they get to be over thirty. Some reckon from the time of a hard frost or a deep fall of snow in such a year, from an Indian war, or from the founding of Pittsburg or Philadelphia, when they were so or so old. They divide the year into winter, spring, summer, autumn, and these periods are divided according to the moons, though, it must be said, that their reckoning is not very accurate. They cannot agree just when to begin the new year. Most of them begin the year with the spring, that is with March, which they call Chwoame Gischuch, that is the Shad month, because at this season this fish goes up the rivers and creeks in great numbers. True, these fish are not found here, but the name was brought from the Susquehanna region. April they call Hackihewi Gischuch, that is Planting month, though they rarely begin to plant before May or the end of April. May has a name signifying the month in which the hoe is used for Indian corn, though this is usually not.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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The tilling of the ground at home, getting of the fire wood, and pounding of corn in mortars, is frequently done by female parties, much in the manner of those husking, quilting and other *frolics* (as they are called,) which are so common in some parts of the United States, particularly to the eastward. The labour is thus quickly and easily performed; when it is over, and sometimes in intervals, they sit down to enjoy themselves by feasting on some good victuals, prepared for them by the person or family for whom they work, and which the man has taken care to provide before hand from the woods; for this is considered a principal part of the business, as there are generally more or less of the females assembled who have not, perhaps for a long time, tasted a morsel of meat, being either widows, or orphans, or otherwise in straitened circumstances. Even the chat which passes during their joint labours is highly diverting to them, and so they seek to be employed in this way as long as they can, by going round to all those in the village who have ground to till.

When the harvest is in, which generally happens by the end of September, the women have little else to do than to prepare the daily victuals, and get fire wood, until the latter end of February or beginning of March, as the season is more or less backward, when they go to their sugar camps, where they extract sugar from the maple tree. The men having built or repaired their temporary cabin, and made all the troughs of various sizes, the women commence making sugar, while the men are looking out for meat, at this time generally fat bears, which are still in their winter quarters. When at home, they will occasionally assist their wives in gathering the sap, and watch the kettles in their absence, that the syrup may not boil over.

A man who wishes his wife to be with him while he is out hunting in the woods, needs only tell her, that on such a day they will go to such a place, where he will

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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character. Hunting was the primary occupation of men and gardening that of women. Although game did not form a preponderant part of the diet, it was extremely important in that wild animals provided clothing and other nonedible essentials.[91] The game which a man brought home was the property of his wife to do with as she saw fit; conversely, the woman's harvest of corn was "considered as belonging to the husband, who, if he has suffering friends, may give them as much of it as he pleases. . . ."[92] Men also built the dwellings, obtained or made the necessary axes, hoes, canoes, dishes, bowls, and other artifacts.[93] They were also supposed to keep in a constant state of readiness in case of attack, and they appear to have helped clear the land for gardens.[94] The women, in addition to planting, cultivating, harvesting, and storing the garden produce, bore the burden of all the household tasks. They cut and carried the firewood and made the carrying straps and bags, as well as the family clothing, and tanned the skins.[95] The women also carried the household goods when a family was on the trail.[96] De Vries said: ". . .the women are compelled to work like asses, and when they travel, to carry the baggage on their backs, together with their infants. . . ."[97] Mary Jemison said, however:

> Our labor was not severe; and that of one year was exactly similar, in almost every respect, to that of all others, without that endless variety [of white people]. Notwithstanding the Indian women have all the fuel and bread to procure, and the cooking to perform, their task is probably not harder than that of white women. . . .[98]

It should also be added that many of the tasks of the women were accomplished by a co-operative group of relatives, who lightened their labors with feasts and gaiety; the men, on the other hand, were frequently alone when hunting.[99] There were a few individuals who were part-time specialists; these were the wampum makers, other artisans, shamans, and sachems. All of these individuals took part in the basic subsistence activities of their sex.

Annual Round

Important to the understanding of the subsistence activities and the general economy of the Delawares is a discussion of the subsistence cycle or annual round. A. F. C. Wallace has recently investigated this phase of their culture and his conclusions correspond closely to mine, though based on slightly different evidence.[100] In the spring and summer

[91] Pastorius, 1912, p. 385; Van der Donck, 1909, p. 302; Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 155-57.

[92] Heckewelder, 1881, p. 158; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 16, agrees on this point.

[93] Van der Donck, 1909, p. 302; Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 155-57.

[94] Denton, 1845, p. 6; O. A.; M. B.

[95] Van der Donck, 1909, p. 301; Brickell, 1842, p. 47; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 16; M. B.

[96] Heckewelder, 1881, p. 158; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 24.

[97] De Vries, 1909, p. 218.

[98] Jemison, 1918, pp. 46-47; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 158, echoed this point of view.

[99] Heckewelder, 1881, p. 158; M. B., J. T., O. A.

[100] Wallace, 1947, pp. 16-18.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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the Indians congregated in their small villages, gardening and, if near the sea or a river, fishing. After they had planted the gardens they regularly visited the Europeans.[106] Following the harvest, and at least in later times after the socioreligious ceremonies climaxed by the Big House Ceremony, the villages were deserted as individual families scattered to their hunting territories. The first fall hunt was for deer and seems to have been communal, perhaps prior to the dispersal to individual hunting grounds. After the deer hunt bears and other game were sought by individual hunters.[108] The men hunted until February or March, depending upon the season. In later times the individual families then went to their sugaring grounds; there the women collected and boiled down the maple sap while the men continued to hunt.[109] In spring they again moved to their villages and planted their crops. Wallace has pointed out, however, that there were some exceptions to the hunting-gardening cycle;[110] different sorts of adjustment by different groups were necessary in the relatively diverse habitat of the Delawares.

Property Concept and Hunting Territories

The concept of private ownership of personal equipment, tools, and the like was well developed among the Delawares. Heckewelder, who had a good grasp of this subject, said:

> There is nothing in an Indian's house or family without its particular owner. Every individual knows what belongs to him, from the horse or cow down to the dog, cat, kitten and little chicken. Parents make presents to their children, and they in return to their parents. A father will sometimes ask his wife or one of his children for the loan of his horse to go out a hunting. For a litter of kittens or brood of chickens, there are often as many different owners as there are individual animals. In purchasing a hen with her brood, one frequently has to deal for it with several children. Thus, while the principle of community of goods prevails in the state, the rights of property are acknowledged among the members of a family. This is attended with a very good effect; for by this means every living creature is properly taken care of. It also promotes liberality among the children, which becomes a habit with them by the time they are grown up.[111]

Although most of Heckewelder's examples were items introduced by Europeans, there seems to be no reason why this sort of property concept was not an early one. This type of ownership is akin to our own concept of property; the "ownership" of other kinds of property was quite distinct from our own.

W. C. MacLeod,[112] utilizing Speck's[113] investigation, has presented a well-documented case for the family ownership of hunting grounds. The purpose of his paper was obviously to support the contentions of

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[106] Denton, 1845, p. 7; Holm, 1834, p. 123; De Rasieres, 1909, pp. 107-8.
[108] De Vries, 1909, p. 223; Zeisberger, 1910, pp. 12-13; Loskiel, 1794, p. 78.
[109] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 13.
[110] Wallace, 1947, p. 17.
[111] Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 158-59.
[112] MacLeod, 1922, pp. 448-63.
[113] Speck, 1915, pp. 289-305.

8:Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
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CHAPTER XVI.

Concerning the Dwellings of the American Savage People.

During the summer they have no certain dwellings, but move about here and there around the country. However, in the fall each and every sachem has a house built for himself, which he and his subjects can live in during the winter, and during the summer they sing with the rabbit [and make a] house in every bush.[1] The house which they then build[2] is thus made, namely: first posts [are] dug down into the ground and set [down] securely, on which poles are fastened, the walls and half of the sides of the roof they clothe and cover with bark; the roof up at the ridge, where the smoke is to escape, they make open, an ell on either side of the ridge, all along the house, as long as it may be. And the length of the house they then plan according to the multitude of people [in the clan], that they can all be accommodated under one roof, about 100, 200, or 300 ells in length. But the width is on each side of the fireplace the length of a man, that they can lay lengthwise between the fire and the walls; for they have always the fire made lengthwise along the house, right in the center under the ridge, which burns night and day while the winter lasts. And they have one door only on each gable.[3] In this house

[1] That is: they sleep under a tree.

[2] In the winter.

[3] *En dörr hafwe the allenast på hwar gaffwell.* The chestnut bark was mostly used for the covering of the buildings. Cf. Van der Donck, *N. Y. Col.*, 2, 1, 151, 196. See also Beatty, *Journal* (Lon-

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1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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462 224 hunt for a length of time, and she will be sure to have provisions and every thing else that is necessary in complete readiness, and well packed up to carry to the spot; for the man, as soon as he enters the woods, has to be looking out and about for game, and therefore cannot be encumbered with any burden; after wounding a deer, he may have to pursue it for several miles, often running it fairly down. The woman, therefore, takes charge 462 251 of the baggage, brings it to the place of encampment, and there, immediately enters on the duties of housekeeping, as if they were at home; she moreover takes pains to dry as much meat as she can, that none may be lost; she carefully puts the tallow up, assists in drying the skins, gathers as much wild hemp as possible for the 222 283 purpose of making strings, carrying bands, bags and other necessary articles, collects roots for dyeing; in short does every thing in her power to leave no care to her husband but the important one of providing meat for the family.

461 462 After all, the fatigue of the women is by no means to be compared to that of the men. Their hard and difficult employments are periodical and of short duration, while their husband's labours are constant and severe in the extreme. Were a man to take upon himself a part of his wife's duty, in addition to his own, he must necessarily sink under the load, and of course his family must suffer with him. On his exertions as a hunter, their existence depends; in order to be able to follow that rough employment with success, he must keep his limbs as supple as he can, he must avoid hard labour as much as possible, that his joints may not become stiffened, and that he may preserve the necessary strength and agility of body to enable him to pursue the chase, and bear the unavoidable hardships attendant on it; for the fatigues of hunting wear out the body and constitution far more than manual labour. Neither creeks nor rivers, whether shallow or deep, frozen or free

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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829 "Wayne acted; he was a true warrior and a brave man;
609 "he was equal to any of the chiefs that we have, equal
"to any that we ever had."

Thus, the Indians, while they deeply resent the wrongs and injuries which they have suffered, yet pay due homage to worth, bravery and military skill, even in an enemy. Strong as their feelings are, they do not extinguish their sense of justice, and they are still generously disposed to allow that there are great and good individuals among a race of men, who, they believe, have doomed them to utter destruction.

CHAPTER XXIV.

FOOD AND COOKERY.

262 THE principal food of the Indians consists of the game which they take or kill in the woods, the fish out of the waters, and the maize, potatoes, beans, pumpkins, [241] squashes, cucumbers, melons, and occasionally cabbages and turnips, which they raise in their fields; they make [222] use also of various roots of plants, fruits, nuts and berries out of the woods, by way of relish or as a seasoning to their victuals, sometimes also from necessity.

264 They commonly make two meals every day, which, they say, is enough. If any one should feel hungry between meal-times, there is generally something in the house ready for him.

[825] the grass with his head only above it, watching all around to see where the birds are building their nests, that he may know where to find the young ones when they are hatched.

l:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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733 "not worship him, as they do the good spirit, and there-
"fore I believe he puts something into the *beson*, for the
"purpose of destroying them."

HECKEW. "What the devil may do with the li-
"quor, I cannot tell; but I believe that he has a hand in
"every thing that is bad. When the Indians kill one
"another, bite off each other's noses, or commit such
"wicked acts, he is undoubtedly well satisfied; for, as
"God himself has said, he is a destroyer and a mur-
"derer."

INDIAN. "Well, now, we think alike, and henceforth
"he shall never again deceive me, or entice me to drink
"his *beson*."

It is a common saying with those white traders who find it their interest to make the Indians drunk, in order to obtain their peltry at a cheaper rate, that they *will* have strong liquors, and will not enter upon a bargain unless they are sure of getting it. I acknowledge that I have seen some such cases; but I could also state many from my own knowledge, where the Indians not only refused liquor, but resisted during several days all the attempts that were made to induce them even to taste it, being well aware, as well as those who offered it to them, that if they once should put it to their lips, such was their weakness on that score, that intoxication would inevitably follow.

I can, perhaps, offer a plausible reason why the Indians are so fond of spirituous drinks. The cause is, I believe, to be found in their living almost entirely upon fresh meats and green vegetables, such as corns, pumpkins, squashes, potatoes, cucumbers, melons, beans, &c. which causes a longing in their stomachs for some seasoning, particularly (as is often the case) when they have been
263 a long time without salt. They are, on those occasions,
●222 equally eager for any acid substances; vinegar, if they can get it, they will drink in considerable quantities, and think nothing of going thirty or forty miles in search of

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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cranberries, whether in season or not. They also gather crab-apples, wild-grapes, and other acid and even bitter-tasted fruits, as substitutes for salt, and in the spring they will peel such trees as have a sourish sap, which they lick with great avidity. When for a long time they have been without salt, and are fortunate enough to get some, they will swallow at a time a table-spoonful of that mineral substance, for which they say that they and their horses are equally hungry.

The Indians are very sensible of the state of degradation to which they have been brought by the abuse of strong liquors, and whenever they speak of it, never fail to reproach the whites for having enticed them into that vicious habit. I could easily prove how guilty the whites are in this respect, if I were to relate a number of anecdotes, which I rather wish to consign to oblivion. The following will be sufficient to confute those disingenuous traders, who would endeavour to shift the blame from themselves, in order to fix it upon the poor deluded Indians.

In the year 1769, an Indian from Susquehannah having came to Bethlehem with his sons to dispose of his peltry, was accosted by a trader from a neighbouring town, who addressed him thus: "Well! Thomas, I really believe you have turned Moravian." "Moravian!" answered the Indian, "what makes you think so?"—"Because," replied the other, "you used to come to us "to sell your skins and peltry, and now you trade them "away to the Moravians." "So!" rejoined the Indian, "now I understand you well, and I know what you mean "to say. Now hear me.—See, my friend! when I come "to this place with my skins and peltry to trade, the "people are kind, they give me plenty of good victuals "to eat, and pay me in money or whatever I want, and "no one says a word to me about drinking rum—neither "do I ask for it! When I come to your place with my "peltry, all call to me: 'Come, Thomas! here's rum,

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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were sometimes impounded by driving them with a brush roll, a technique widespread in the Southeast and among the Iroquois.[55]

Wild plant food.—The beans of the groundnut or wild bean, (*Apios americana*), were eaten, and its roots were boiled and eaten "instead of bread."[56] Kalm also said the Indians boiled, or roasted in ashes, a root which he called Katniss, apparently *Sagittaria latifolia* (Wapato, Water Nut, Swamp Potato). The roots of "Tawho," probably *Arisaema triphyllum* or jack-in-the-pulpit, were utilized "when bread and grain gave out."[57] They were placed in a pit, covered with earth, and baked by building a fire over the pit.[58] The dried and boiled seeds of the golden club (*Orontium aquaticum*) were eaten.[59]

From the eighteenth century on wild potatoes (*Ipomoea pandurata*) were frequently mentioned in the documents. They were baked into bread and were especially used in time of famine.[60] One informant (O.A.) also said that the wild potato, if boiled and mashed, was particularly useful as food for young children. Ginseng was gathered in the Ohio Valley during the eighteenth century and seems to have been sold to traders.[61] Other wild roots and tubers, utilized at least in later times, were wild onions, wild cabbage, "greens" (otherwise unidentified by O.A., M.B.), and water lily roots.[62] Zeisberger wrote of a time when his Christian Indians "industriously brought roots here from down the creek, of which they got many loads to town, which they cut thin, dry in the sun, pound and bake bread from, and this is now their principal food."[63] The Delawares utilized many varieties of wild fruits, including wild grapes, strawberries, gooseberries, blackberries, raspberries, wild plums, huckleberries, and cranberries.[64] The "Indians," probably including Delawares, ate the fruit of the May apple (*Podophyllum peltatum*).[65] They also made use of many nuts, chief among them being hickory (Skinner found them in archaeological deposits), hazelnut, and chestnut.[66] In Oklahoma the post-oak acorn (*Quercus stellata*) was eaten with hominy (J.T., O.A.).

The most important wild plant food of the eighteenth century was the sap of the sugar maple. Sugaring was not just an occasional pastime, for even in a bad year an individual made as much as one hundred pounds.[67] If a man owned several kettles, it was possible in good years to make several hundred pounds of sugar and some syrup.[68] This trait, however, was not mentioned by any of the seventeenth-century sources and was undoubtedly of less importance in pre-European times. As

[55] Zeisberger, 1776, p. 36; Fenton, 1942.
[56] Kalm, 1937, I: 259; De Vries, 1909, p. 219.
[57] Lindestrom, 1925, pp. 158-59.
[58] Kalm, 1937, I: 261; Zeisberger, 1887, p. 161, calls the Jack Maksaweek, "it causes purging," however.
[59] Kalm, 1937, I: 261.
[60] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 47; M. B., O. A.
[61] Zeisberger, 1885, II: 47.
[62] *Ibid.*, p. 109.
[63] *Ibid.*, pp. 109-10.
[64] Jost, 1909, p. 18; Kalm, 1937, I: 281; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 46; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 266; Loskiel, 1794, pp. 68-69; Skinner, 1909, p. 43; O. A., M. B., J. T.
[65] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 47.
[66] De Vries, 1909, p. 219; Brinton, 1896, p. 185; Skinner, 1909, p. 46.
[67] Zeisberger, 1885, II: 349.
[68] Zeisberger, 1910, pp. 50-51.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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As soon as European utensils became available (early in the seventeenth century), maple sugar rapidly became a more important food. Honey was considered a delicacy when it could be obtained, but it was not an early food source since honey bees were not indigenous to the Delaware habitat.[69]

Preparation of food.— Dried and green corn was prepared in a wide variety of ways. Most corn seems to have been dried, ground, and baked. Typically, "they make flat cakes of the meal mixed with water, as large again as a farthing cake in this country, and bake them in the ashes, first wrapping a vine-leaf or maize-leaf around them. When they are sufficiently baked in the ashes, they make good palatable bread." William Penn said: "Their diet is Maze, or Indian Corn, divers ways prepared; sometimes Roasted in the Ashes, sometimes beaten and Boyled with Water, which they call *Homine*; they also make cakes, not unpleasant to eat."[71] Dried corn was placed in a wooden mortar made from a fire-hollowed log and ground with a wooden or stone pestle.[72] The meal was sifted through "a small basket, which they understand how to weave. . . ."[73] Harrington also mentioned the sifting of flour, saying that it was sifted "through sieve baskets of varying degrees of fineness."[74] The finest meal was used in the above-mentioned bread, and the coarser corn meal was used in porridge, or gruel.[75] The white-flour corn was usually utilized in the bread, but other varieties were used in hominy and gruel (M.B., O.A., J.T.). Berries were often added to the bread, and meat, berries, beans, nuts, and pumpkins were sometimes added to the gruel.[76] In later times "dumplings" were made by frying corn meal dough in grease, usually with added berries (O.A.). Hominy was prepared by boiling dried corn with ashes, which removed the husk. The hominy was washed repeatedly in a stream after it was cooked.[77]

"Those stalks [of corn] which are low and bear no ears, they pluck up in August, and suck out the sap, which is as sweet as if it were sugar-cane."[78] Green ears were roasted whole in ashes, grated and baked in the ashes, or boiled. The roots of water lily plants were peeled, cut into small chunks, and boiled (O.A.). Wild potatoes were prepared by boiling, skinning, and then mashing and were eaten with various kinds of "greens." The Delawares that live in the rural areas still gather and eat wild potatoes. An account of the preparation of maple sugar gives an ample description of this eighteenth-century trait:

> A number of small troughs are made for receiving the sap. Usually, the Indians make them of wood, cutting them out roughly with a hatchet. Some Indians are able to make twenty or thirty of them in a day. Some do not go to so

[69] Zeisberger, 1885, I: 310.
[70] De Vries, 1909, pp. 218-19; also see Pastorius, 1912, p. 426; Van der Donck, 1909, p. 303.
[71] Penn, 1912, p. 232.
[72] De Rasieres, 1909, p. 107; Lindestrom, 1925, p. 253.
[73] De Rasieres, 1909, p. 107; De Vries, 1909, p. 218.
[74] Harrington, 1913, p. 221.
[75] Luckenbach, 1938, p. 599.
[76] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 254; Luckenbach, 1938, p. 599.
[77] Penn, 1912, p. 232; O. A., M. B.
[78] De Rasieres, 1909, p. 107.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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[137] These grow on very stony ground near the water, where the sunshine is particularly hot. In these parts I have not come across this variety.

Besides, there are mulberries,[95] plums,[96] and wild grapes of three sorts, those growing on high ground[97] or hills being the best; those[98] found in the bottoms are very sour. Crabapples[99] grow in great plenty and the Indians, being very fond of sharp and sour fruit, eat them in abundance.

Of nuts there are found: (1) The well known hazel nut,[100] (2) the hickory nut,[101] found in great plenty in some years and which the Indians gather in large quantities and use not only as they find them — they have a very sweet taste — but also extract from them a milky juice used in different foods and very nourishing. Sometimes they extract an oil by first roasting the nut in the shell under hot ashes and pounding them to a fine mash, which they boil in water. The oil swimming on the surface is skimmed off and preserved for cooking and other purposes. (3) The walnut of two varieties, the white walnut[102] deriving its name from the color of the wood which, strictly speaking, is gray, and the black walnut,[103] of which the wood is dark-brown, sometimes even shading into violet. The latter is very much used by cabinet makers for tables, chests and other things. The nuts, the one variety having a very hard shell, are eaten, but are very oily.

The papa[104] tree, which I have seen nowhere else than along the Ohio, bears a very beautiful fruit, in form and size resembling a middle sized cucumber, of an agreeable smell and taste.

Wild laurel[105] is found in the bottoms in great abundance; the berries are smaller than those found elsewhere, but have about the same taste. Of these, even the whites make use. They grow on bushes, the wood of which has a strong spicy odor and taste, used by the Indians for medicine and called by the English, spicewood.[106]

Chestnuts[107] are very plentiful in some years. The Indians gather them and prepare various dishes with them. A larger variety of chestnuts[108] is native to these parts, but these are not fit to eat.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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Of roots, wild potatoes[109] and wild parsnips are found. Bread is baked of both, which one may be driven to eat by pangs of hunger. The Indians look for both roots when famine threatens and the supply of corn runs low, sometimes sustaining life with them for a considerable period.

A kind of bean, called by the Indians earth-bean, because it grows close to the ground, is also found and tastes when boiled, like the chestnut.

Wild citrons[110] or May apples, grow on a stalk not over a foot high. The Indians enjoy eating the fruit, which has a sour but pleasant taste. The roots are a powerful poison which, who eats, dies in a few hours' time unless promptly given an emetic.

Watermelons and muskmelons, which grow by culture only, are very refreshing in summer. Of some watermelons the meat is yellow and the seeds black; of others the meat and seeds red.

The forests contain mainly oak trees; other kinds of trees are, however, also found. They are not dense, but generally sufficiently open to allow comfortable passage on foot or horseback. There are five varieties of oak, white-oak,[110a] black-oak,[110b] red-oak,[110c] Spanish-oak,[110d] and swamp-oak.[110e] The red-oak has very narrow, small leaves and bears little colored acorns, such as I have seen nowhere else. Besides these, hickory trees of three sorts,[111] ash,[112] white and red beech,[113] sassafras,[114] in some places very thick, poplar[115] and chestnut[116] are the kinds generally found on high lying land. In the bottoms there are walnut, linden,[117] maple,[118] water-beech,[119] that grow near to the water and often attain great height and girth, hawthorne[120] and crab-apple.[121]

The Hoop-ash,[122] a little known tree and found only in this region, has this name because barral-hoops are made of the wood. It grows in the bottoms and is of little use otherwise, as the wood easily rots.

The Honey-locust[123] is likewise found in the bottoms. This tree but little resembles the locust of Pensilvanien, except that there is some similarity in foliage, though the leaves are smaller and finer. The trunks of the thickest trees are two feet in diameter on the average. The trunk is covered with thorns that stand straight out, are about six inches long and very sharp.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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137 The wood is red, very hard and heavy and does not rot very quickly in the ground. It bears pods that fall off in the autumn. Besides the seeds, the pods contain a kind of molasses or honey, thus accounting for the name Europeans have given the tree. The Indians call it the thorn-tree on account of its many thorns.

Sugar trees are usually found in low, rich soil, sometimes, also, on higher land and in more northerly regions even on hills, where, however, the soil is very moist. The Delawares call this tree the *Achsunnamunschi*, that is, the stone-tree, on account of the hardness of the wood. The Mingoes give it a name signifying the sugar tree, as do the Europeans. From 222 the sap of the tree sugar is boiled. This is done by the Indians 252 in the early part of the year, beginning in February and continuing to the end of March or beginning of April, according as spring is early or late. In this region it is possible to boil sugar even in fall after there has been frost and in winter, if the season is mild. For as soon as the trees thaw a little the sap begins to run and then the trees are tapped. As, however, at that time of the year the weather is very uncertain and it is possible that there should be a cold wave at any time, it is hardly worth the effort to make the necessary arrangements and is hardly ever done, unless some one be driven of necessity to provide sugar for the household. This, we ourselves have been obliged to do and the sisters of our congregation have already boiled a quantity of sugar for congregational love-feasts, shortly before Christmas.

Spring is the proper season for boiling sugar. The following preparations are made. A number of small troughs [415] are made for receiving the sap. Usually, the Indians make them of wood, cutting them out roughly with a hatchet. Some Indians are able to make twenty or thirty of them in a day. Some do not go to so much trouble, but make dishes of the bark or bast of a tree, which serve quite as well, but are good for no more than one season. According as they have large or numerous kettles and troughs they can make much sugar, for there is no lack of trees. Besides the smaller troughs and dishes,

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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there must be several of larger size in which the sap is collected. If one is well supplied with utensils, there is this advantage, that on days when the sap flows freely much may be collected, which will enable one to keep on boiling when the sap does not flow plentifully. The sap flows most plentifully when it freezes at night and the sun shines during the day. At night it commonly ceases to run. The same is true in case of warm or rainy weather. As soon as there has been frost the sap runs again. There is a time in the boiling season when sap once or twice begins to flow in considerable quantities, both day and night. When this occurs the height of the sugar season is on. The sap which flows after this is not so good and yields less sugar. The last sugar secured in the spring is always of inferior quality. Hence, toward the end of the season no sugar, but only molasses is in most cases boiled.

The length of the season is determined by the weather conditions. If spring is late and night frosts continue for a considerable time, the flowing season is the longer. With the early advent of warm weather the season terminates very quickly. The shortest season lasts about a month, the longest nearly two months.

The thickest of the trees are two feet, sometimes more, in diameter. Those of middle size, which are still young, have many branches and are growing, yield the most sap. Experience has shown that such a tree will yield about sixty gallons of sap while sugar is being boiled, and thereafter another sixty for molasses. Seven to eight gallons of sap are regarded as necessary for a pound of sugar. Such a tree may, therefore, yield more than seven pounds of sugar and seven quarts of molasses. It has also been found that a tree which one year has yielded very freely, gives but little the next, and on the other hand, a tree that has yielded but little one season, gives largely the next. The sap, which is of a brownish color and becomes darker the longer it boils, is boiled until it gets to be of the consistency of molasses, is then poured off and kept. Wher a sufficient quantity of this consistency has been secured, it is boiled over a slow fire until it becomes sugar. It is important to boil

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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this over a slow fire, for the sap readily boils over and is easily burned. If the boiled sap is stirred until cold, the sugar becomes granulated and is as fine as the West Indian sugar. As the Indians lack the dishes and do not care to take the time to prepare it in this way, they usually form it into cakes, put it in a kettle or dish, or in default of these, on a stone and let it cool, when it becomes hard and may be easily preserved in baskets. If the troughs and kettles used for collecting the sap are made of wood that does not give color, the sugar becomes the finer, but if it gives color, as does the white walnut, the sugar becomes black the first year; thereafter, this is not the case.

When everything is prepared, an oblique incision is made in the tree and at the lower end of the same a thin wedge, three or four inches broad, is forced in, whence the sap runs down into the vessel placed below. According as the sap runs freely or contrarywise, the dishes must be emptied at given intervals, day and night. According to the manner of making the incision one may determine whether a tree shall be good for many or few years. If large openings are made the tree is soon spoiled and nothing is gained, for the sap runs no faster. In this matter, however, the Indians are very careless, for trees are numerous and after they have used one place for three or four years, they seek out another. There is, strange to say, no tree among all the rest so hardy as the sugar-tree, for even if the stem is cut all around, so that it can no longer be used, it does not die. Hence, the Indians very reluctantly make their fields where there are sugar-trees, as these are not to be exterminated, except they be cut down. This, however, is true that when trees have been used for eight or nine years they give less sap than formerly, as they are full of incisions and scars. An incision having been made in a tree in the spring of the year and the sap having flowed for some time, the incision needs to be enlarged, though only a little. This may be done two or three times in a season.

As the Indians have trees in abundance, their labors are richly rewarded. For if a man owns a kettle of ten or twelve gallons and has a few smaller ones with which to keep the large one filled, it will be possible for him to make several

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136 declare that their flesh tastes like that of the bear, of which [262] they are particularly fond, and is often so fat that pieces may be cut from the flesh.

Wild turkeys[186] may be seen in the fall in flocks numbering hundreds. In the summer they disperse in the woods, this being the time for hatching the young. In winter their plumage is of a shining black, with white spots on the wings; in summer it [229] changes to a light brown. When the time comes for laying the eggs, the Indians seek them, as they are very fond of them.

[262] Pheasants are not-valued by the Indians, though their flesh is palatable.[187] They fall victims, however, to birds of prey. Were it not for the birds of prey the woods would swarm with them, for the hen lays above twenty eggs at one time.

Heath-grouse, found here also, are a little larger than the pheasants.[188] They are not valued by the Indians any more than the pheasants. In the winter the latter shelter themselves from the birds by plunging, when pursued, into the snow, often running a considerable distance from one place to another under the snow, thus escaping their foes.

The wild pigeon[187] is of an ash-gray color, the male being distinguished by a red breast. In some years in fall, or even in spring, they flock together in such numbers that the air is darkened by their flight. Three years ago they appeared in such great numbers that the ground under their roosting-place was covered with their dung above a foot high, during one night. [223] The Indians went out, killed them with sticks and came home loaded. At such a time the noise the pigeons make is such that it is difficult for people near them to hear or understand each other. They do not always gather in such numbers in one place, often scattering over the great forests.

The turtle-doves are smaller than the pigeons and are always found in pairs.[188]

Partridges are small, neatly formed birds.[189] In the fall and winter they fly in broods. In the settlements they like to remain near the plantations, as they find the food they like in the fields. The flesh is tender and of a fine flavor. They are favorites with all people, being innocent and harmless birds.

and used in different ways. It may be eaten with milk and brown sugar or with any kind of meat grease. A little salt may be added for additional flavor. 252

Various kinds of nut meats are added to cooked hominy to make a dish known as "nut hominy." Hominy and chopped meat (beef, pork or other fresh meat) are cooked together and then allowed to stand until sour. After hickory nuts are added to this mixture, the result is called "soured nut" hominy.

Hulled corn is made by boiling dried corn in a strong liquid, made alkaline by the addition of hard wood ashes. This process of preparation is long and arduous, since after hours of steady boiling it requires many washings in clear, cold water to rinse the lye from the loose hulls. This food may be eaten with milk and sugar, fried with potatoes in pork fat, combined with fresh or dried meat for stew, or with beans for succotash.

Wild Vegetable Foods

Long ago fruits and berries were preserved by drying, this practice giving way in later times to canning and the manufacture of jelly and jam. Dried fruit are prepared to eat in a number of ways. Grapes are boiled, and the resulting liquid thickened by the addition of corn meal, flour, or hominy grits. A boiled pudding is composed of dough made of cornmeal and flour, or flour only, to which any variety of berry, except strawberries, may be added. This dough is then placed in a cloth bag and boiled. When ripe, persimmons are mashed and spread on a cloth to dry for use in a bread called "persimmon bread." With few exceptions all of the fruits and berries mentioned are made into pies, puddings, preserves, fruit butters, and jams. 222 251 252

The various varieties of nuts are gathered in large quantities and stored away for future use. These provide a nourishing supplement to the remainder of natural food stuffs. Nuts are eaten raw, roasted, boiled, and frequently incorporated in other types of food. Edible acorns are usually roasted.

With the introduction and increased use of European food products, the necessity arose among the Delaware of fitting them into their own linguistic configuration, if the foreign terms themselves were not taken over. Like so many primitive groups, the Delaware came to apply native terms of a descriptive nature to the majority of elements foreign to their culture. Many of these have been retained to the 196 262 177

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196 present day. Thus, for example, the Delaware term for the cocoanut
262 is "water hickory nut."

"Indian Potato" or Ground Nut *(Apios tuberosa)*, "wild potato."
222 The tuberous roots are gathered in large quantities and stored for
252 winter use. They are not considered good after sprouting. The roots are either boiled and eaten as the cultivated potato, or dried and ground into flour used for making bread. In recent times the ground nut has not grown abundantly in the Delaware habitat, and is now considered a rare delicacy.

Sorrel *(Rumex acetosella)*, "sour." This plant, prepared much like rhubarb, is used as a filling for pies.

Onion *(Sp.?)*. Of the different varieties of wild onions, three are regarded by the Delaware as being edible. The one most commonly gathered for use is the "buttonseed." These are dried and prepared by frying, or boiling, or are added to flavor stews and soups. Wild onions are also cooked in grease to which eggs are added.

A species of mushroom *(Agaricus campestris)*, "tripe form," is fried in hot fat, or salted and boiled.

Certain plants are considered to be healthful foods, especially in spring, when people were in need of the medicinal substances present in them. The practice of seeking the first green plant shoots in early spring is not peculiar to the Delaware alone, but is characteristic of other Eastern Algonkian peoples. Such food is called "greens" or "plant tops." The young shoots are usually picked and cooked separately, or mixed with several other plants. In both cases the "greens" are parboiled in water, and then cooked with meat. Among such plants may be mentioned dandelion, milkweed, poke, lamb's quarters, mustard, dock, and watercress.

Animal Foods

825 Wild animals, as pointed out by F. G. Speck (1931, pp. 28-29), are
224 in general considered to exist in clan relationship with humans. The latter are said to be "kings among animals." Clean, pure animals of the forests are referred to in terms of human relationship and their spirits must be propitiated before they can be sought for food. If the supernaturals are appeased through sacrifices, the animals will allow themselves to be taken, but if the proper ceremonies are not carried out, they can never be approached by humans. Therefore a hunter before starting out, is obliged to pray and sacrifice tobacco, and also if he should dream of seeing game during the hunt. The Delaware "sharing-feast"

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APPENDIX II

USES OF MEDICINAL PLANTS AMONG THE CANADIAN DELAWARE

THE following notes on the medicine practices of the Six Nations Delaware, Grand River Reserve, located near Hagersville, in Brant County, Ontario, Canada, were recorded during a visit to the reserve in November, 1931. The group consists of about 150 individuals of mixed Indian and white blood. Only a few, however, have any knowledge of the language and traditions of the Delaware who once inhabited the section of the country now known as Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and New York. To find the identity and location of the predecessors of the band now in question, who migrated to Canada, will be impossible until a comparative study has been made of the various vocabularies.

I am indebted to Mrs. Martha Peters Hill, Nicholas Powless, his sister, Mrs. Maracle, Joseph Montour, John Lickers, and Walter Moses for aid in securing the Delaware information herein presented.

In contrast to the ceremonies connected with the various processes of healing as employed by the Oklahoma Delaware, we find only a few traces of such rites among the Delaware of Canada. Plant parts to be used for medicinal purposes should be gathered when the vital properties are in that part of the plant (the flower, root, etc.), to be used. One informant added that plants should be gathered before the fireflies appear. When seeking herbal plants, the first of the desired species should not be plucked. It is customary to pass on to another of the same variety and there dig a small hole beside the plant and in it place an offering of tobacco. If a large quantity of herbs were gathered, they were tied in bundles and allowed to dry in the sun, to prevent mould. Some dried their plants in a warm room.

When bark is used it is taken from the east side of a tree; only the inner bark, which is usually peeled downward, is used. Roots may be scraped or cut into small portions.

Medicinal plants are regarded as being sensitive to handling, and when brewing medicine, care must be taken to refrain from stirring the mixture while it is steeping. After being thoroughly steeped, the medicine is removed from the fire, and if necessary, stirred only toward the

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PLANTS AND PLANT USES OF

	Botanical Name	Common Name
222	1. *Achillea millefolium*	Yarrow
262	2. *Acorus calamus*	Sweet Flag
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824	3. *Aesculus glabra*	Buckeye
	4. *Agaricus campestris*	Mushroom
	5. *Allium canadense*	Wild Onion (small)
	6. *Amaranthus retroflexus*	Pigweed
	7. *Ambrosia artemisiaefolia*	Ragweed
	8. *Anaphalis margaritacea*	Pearly-everlasting
	9. *Angelica atropurpurea*	Angelica
	10. *Apios tuberosa*	Indian Potato, Groundnut
	11. *Apocynum cannabinum*	Indian Hemp
	12. *Aralia nudicaulis*	Sarsaparilla
	13. *Arctium minus*	Burdock
	14. *Aristolochia serpentaria*	Virginia Snakeroot
	15. *Artemisia frigida*	Wild Sage
	16. *Asclepias (5 species)*	Milkweed
	17. *Asclepias tuberosa*	Butterfly Weed
	18. *Baptisia tinctoria*	False Indigo
	19. *Betula lutea*	Yellow Birch
	20. *Brassica nigra*	Black Mustard
	21. *Brauneria purpurea*	Purple Cone-flower, "Horse-hobble weed"
	22. *Carya cordiformis*	Bitternut Hickory
	23. *Carya ovata*	Shell Bark Hickory
	24. *Carya glabra*	Pignut
	25. *Castanea pumila*	Chinquapin
	26. *Cercis canadensis*	Redbud
	27. *Chimaphila umbellata*	Pipsissewa
	28. *Chrysopis mariana*	Golden Aster
	29. *Cimicifuga racemosa*	Black Snakeroot
	30. *Cirsium lanceolatum*	Bull Thistle
	31. *Cornus canadensis*	Bunchberry
	32. *Cornus florida*	Dogwood
	33. *Corylus americana*	Hazelnut
	34. *Crotolaria saggitalis*	Rattle Box
	35. *Datura stramonium*	Jimson Weed

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Native Use	Part of Plant Used	Type of Medicine
Medicine (liver and kidneys)	Entire plant	Simple
Medicine (cold, stomach-ache, suppressed menses)	Root	Compound
Medicine (poultice; utility fish poison)	Nut pulverized	Simple
Food		
Food		
Food	Use with others as greens	
Medicine (blood poisoning preventative)	Entire plant as poultice	Simple
Medicine (tonic)	Root	Compound
Medicine (stomach)	Root	Simple
Food	Root	
Mats		
Medicine (tonic)	Root	Compound
Medicine (rheumatism)	Root	Simple
Medicine (tonic)	Root	Compound
Medicine (ceremonial)	Leaves chewed	
Medicine (epilepsy)	Root	Compound
Medicine (rheumatism, healing drink following childbirth)	Root	Simple and compound
Medicine (wash for cuts, ulcers)	Root	Simple
Medicine (cathartic)	Bark	Simple
Food	Young shoots	
Medicine (venereal disease)	Root	Simple and compound
Food	Nuts	
Food	Nuts	
Food	Nuts	
Food	Nuts	
Medicine (reduce fever, stop vomiting)	Bark	Simple
Medicine (bladder, blood purifier)	Plant	Compound
Medicine (infants, frail children)	Root	Simple
Medicine (tonic)	Root	Simple and compound
Medicine (rheumatism)	Root	Simple
Medicine (body pains)	Bark	Compound
Medicine (tonic)	Root	Compound
Food	Nuts	
Medicine (venereal disease)	Root	Simple
Medicine (poultice for cuts)	Leaves, seeds	Simple

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Botanical Name	Common Name
36. *Daucus carota*	Wild Carrot
37. *Dentaria diphylla*	Toothwort
38. *Diospyros virginiana*	Persimmon
39. *Epipactis pubescens*	Rattlesnake Plantain
40. *Eryngium aquaticum*	Button Snake-root
41. *Eupatorium perfoliatum*	Boneset
42. *Fragaria virginiana*	Strawberry
43. *Fraxinus americana*	White Ash
44. *Gaultheria procumbens*	Wintergreen
45. *Gaylussacia baccata*	Huckleberry
46. *Gelsemium sempervirens*	Yellow Jasmine
47. *Gentiana crinita*	Fringed Gentian
48. *Gleditsia triacanthos*	Honey Locust
49. *Hedeoma pulegioides*	False Pennyroyal
50. *Helianthemium canadense*	"Frost" or "ice" weed
51. *Humulus lupulus*	Hops
52. *Hydranga aborescens*	Sevenbark
53. *Ilex opaca*	Holly
54. *Inula helenium*	Elecampane
55. *Iris versicolor*	Blue Flag
56. *Juglans nigra*	Black Walnut
57. *Juniperus virginiana*	Red Cedar
58. *Leonurus cardiaca*	Motherwort
59. *Lobelia cardinalis*	Cardinal Flower
60. *Lophophora williamsii*	Peyote
61. *Mentha piperita*	Peppermint
62. *Mentha canadensis*	Wildmint
63. *Mitchella repens*	Partridge Berry
64. *Monarda punctata*	Horse Mint
65. *Morus nigra*	Mulberry
66. *Myrica sp.*	Bayberry
67. *Myrica asplenifolia*	Sweet Fern
68. *Nepeta cataria*	Catnip
69. *Opuntia vulgaris*	Prickly Pear
70. *Panax quinquefolium*	Ginseng

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Native Use	Part of Plant Used	Type of Medicine
Medicine (diabetes)	Blossoms	Simple
Medicine (scrofula, venereal disease)	Root	Compound
Food	Fruit	
Medicine (poultice; female disorder)	Leaves	Simple and compound
Medicine (venereal disease)	Root	Compound and simple
Medicine (chills, fever)	Root	Simple
Food	Berries	
Medicine (cathartic)	Bark	Simple
Medicine (tonic)	Plant	Compound and simple
Food	Berries	
Medicine (salve)	Root	Compound
Medicine (stomach; blood purifier)	Root	Simple
Medicine (tonic)	Bark	Compound
Medicine (pain in stomach)	Leaves	Simple
Medicine (strengthening)	Plant	Simple
Medicine (nerves)	Blossoms	Simple
Medicine (gallstones)	Root	Compound
Medicine (tonic)	Root	Compound
Medicine (rheumatism; liver; kidneys)	Root	Compound
Medicine (cathartic)	Bark	Simple
Medicine (rheumatism)	Twigs	Simple
Medicine (female disorder)	Leaves	Simple
Medicine (typhoid)	Root	Simple
Medicine (consumption; periodic fits; emergency med. charm)	"Bean" or "Button"	Simple
Medicine (tonic)	Leaves	Compound
Medicine (suppressed menses)	Plant	Simple
Medicine (fever)	Plant	Simple
Medicine (cathartic)	Bark	Simple
Medicine (female generative organs)	Root	Compound
Medicine (poison ivy)	Leaves	Simple
Medicine (tonic for children)	Leaves with peach seed	
Not used		
Medicine (effective in any severe illness. Most potent med.)	Root	Simple and compound

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	Botanical Name	Common Name
71.	*Phytolacca americana*	Poke
72.	*Pimpinella anisum*	Anise
73.	*Plantago major*	Plantain
74.	*Platanus occidentalis*	Plane Tree
75.	*Podophyllum peltatum*	May Apple
76.	*Populus sargentii*	Cottonwood
77.	*Prunella vulgaris*	Heal-all
78.	*Prunus americana*	Plum
79.	*Prunus persica*	Peach
80.	*Prunus serotina*	Wild Cherry
81.	*Pyrus communis*	Pear
82.	*Pyrus coronaria*	Crab Apple
83.	*Pyrus malus*	Apple
84.	*Quercus alba*	White Oak
85.	*Quercus macrocarpa*	Bur Oak
86.	*Quercus velutina*	Black Oak
87.	*Quercus palustris*	Pin Oak
88.	*Quercus rubra*	Red Oak
89.	*Radicula nasturtium-aquaticum*	Water Cress
90.	*Rhamnus caroliniana*	Buckthorn
91.	*Rhus copallina*	Dwarf Sumac
92.	*Rhus toxicondendron*	Poison Ivy
93.	*Rhus typhina*	Staghorn Sumac
94.	*Ribes rotundifolium*	Gooseberry
95.	*Ribes triste*	Swamp Currant
96.	*Rubus canadensis*	Thimble Berry
97.	*Rubus nigrobaccus*	Blackberry
98.	*Rubus villosus*	Blackberry
99.	*Rubus occidentalis*	Black Raspberry
100.	*Rumex acetosella*	Sheep Sorrel
101.	*Rumex crispus*	Dock
102.	*Rhumex obtusifolius*	Dock
103.	*Salix humilis*	Prairie Willow
104.	*Salix tristis*	Sage Willow, "Red Root"
105.	*Sambucus canadensis*	Elder

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Native Use	Part of Plant Used	Type of Medicine
Medicine (rheumatism)	Root	Simple and compound
Medicine (cathartic)	Root	Simple and compound
Medicine (poultice; also female disorder)	Leaves	Simple and compound
Medicine (colds, sore throat)	Bark	Compound
Medicine (laxative; love charm)	Root	Simple
Medicine (female disorder)	Bark	Compound and simple
Medicine (fever)	Top	
Food	Fruit	
Food	Fruit	
Medicine (tonic)	Bark, Fruit	Compound
Food	Fruit	
Food	Fruit	
Food	Fruit	
Medicine (antiseptic)	Bark	Compound
Food	Nuts	
Medicine (hoarseness)	Bark	Simple
Medicine (intestinal pains)	Bark	Simple
Medicine (hoarseness)	Bark	Compound
Root	Plant	
Medicine (cathartic)	Bark	Simple
Medicine (ceremonial tobacco mixture)	Leaves, Root	Simple
Medicine (salve)	Root	Compound
Medicine (venereal disease)	Root	Compound
Food	Berries	
Food	Berries	
Medicine (dysentery)	Vine, Berries	Compound
Berries used as food	Berries	
Food	Berries	
Food	Berries	
Food	Plant	
Food	Plant	Simple and compound
Medicine (food)	Root, Young Shoots	
Medicine (venereal disease)	Root	Compound
Medicine (womb displacement; venereal disease)	Root	Compound
Medicine (salve) (fruit edible)	Bark, Berries	Simple Simple

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PLANTS AND PLANT USES OF THE

	Botanical Name	Common Name
106.	*Sanguinaria canadensis*	Bloodroot
107.	*Sassafras albidum*	Sassafras
108.	*Scutellaria galericulata*	Skull Cap
109.	*Smilacina racemosa*	False Spikenard
110.	*Smilacina stellata*	False Solomon's Seal
111.	*Solanum dulcamera*	Bittersweet
112.	*Solanum nigrum*	Common Nightshade
113.	*Solidago juncea*	Goldenrod
114.	*Symplocarpus foetidus*	Skunk Cabbage
115.	*Stachys palustris*	Hedge Nettle
116.	*Taraxacum officinale*	Dandelion
117.	*Tsuga canadensis*	Hemlock
118.	*Typha latifolia*	Cat-tail
119.	*Ulmus americana*	American Elm
120.	*Vaccinium pennsylvanicum*	Lowbush Blueberry
121.	*Vaccinium corymbosum*	Highbush Blueberry
122.	*Verbascum thapsus*	Great Mullein
123.	*Verbena hastata*	Blue Vervain
124.	*Viburnum prunifolium*	Black Haw
125.	*Vitis* (various sp.)	Wild Grape
126.	*Vitis rupestris*	Wild Grape
127.	*Vitis vulpina*	Wild Grape
128.	*Xanthoxylum americanum*	Prickly Ash
129.	*Zea Mays*	Corn
130.	*Zea Mays identata*	Dent Corn
131.	*Zea Mays indurata*	Flint Corn
132.	*Zea Mays amylacea*	Flour Corn
133.	*Zea Mays saccharata*	Sweetcorn
134.	*Zea Mays everta*	Popcorn

OKLAHOMA DELAWARE—Concluded

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Native Use	Part of Plant Used	Type of Medicine
Medicine (tonic) ceremonial paint	Root	Simple and compound
Medicine (tonic)	Bark	Compound
Medicine (laxative)	Top	Simple
Medicine (tonic)	Root	Compound
Medicine (venereal disease, scrofula)	Root	Compound and simple
Medicine (fever, also in salve)	Root	Compound
Medicine (venereal disease)	Root	Compound
Medicine (diarrhea, fever)	Leaves (tea or chewed)	Simple
Medicine (whooping cough, fits, poultice)	Root, Leaves	Simple
Medicine (venereal disease)	Root	Compound
Medicine (tonic, laxative, food)	Root, Plant	Compound and simple
Medicine (herbal steam)	Twigs	Simple
Medicine (gravel in kidneys)	Root	Simple
Medicine (coughs, colds)	Bark	Simple
Food	Berries	
Food	Berries	
Medicine (rheumatism, colds)	Leaves	
Medicine (chills)	Root	Compound
Medicine (female generative organs)	Root	Compound
Food	Fruit	
Medicine (increase fertility)	Vine	Compound
Medicine (leucorrhea)	Juice from vine	Simple
Medicine (tonic, heart)	Bark	Simple and compound
Food		
Food		
Food		
Food		
Food		
Food		

PLANTS AND PLANT USES OF THE DELAWARE

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Botanical Name	Common Name
1. *Acorus calamus*	Sweet Flag
2. *Arctium minus*	Burdock
3. *Celastrus scandens*	Climbing Bittersweet
4. *Eupatorium perfoliatum*	Boneset
5. *Carya alba*	Hickory
6. *Inula helenium*	Elecampane
7. *Juniperus communis*	Juniper
8. *Nepeta cataria*	Catnip
9. *Ostrya virginiana*	Hop Hornbeam
10. *Pinus strobus*	White Pine
11. *Plantago major*	Plantain
12. *Populus tremuloides*	Aspen
13. *Prunus serotina*	Wild Cherry
14. *Quercus alba*	White Oak
15. *Quercus muhlenbergii*	Yellow Oak
16. *Rhus typhina*	Staghorn Sumac
17. *Roripa amoracia*	Horseradish
18. *Sanguinaria canadensis*	Bloodroot
19. *Tanacetum vulgare*	Tansy
20. *Verbascum thapsus*	Great Mullein
21. *Viburnum lentago*	Nanny-berry

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Native Use	Part of Plant Used	Type of Medicine
Medicine (colds)	Root scraped	
Medicine (blood purifier, poultice)	Root, Leaves	
Medicine (consumption)	Root	
Medicine (stomach)	Leaves	
Medicine (tonic, general debility, female disorder)	Bark	Compound
Medicine (colds)	Bark	Compound
Medicine (tonic, female weakness)	Bark	Compound
Medicine (infants)	Leaves	Simple
Medicine (tonic, general debility, female weakness)	Root	Compound
Medicine (kidneys, pulmonary boils)	Twigs, pitch	Simple
Medicine (bruises)	Leaves as poultice	Simple
Medicine (colds)	Bark	Compound
Medicine (tonic)	Bark	Compound
Medicine (tonic)	Bark	Compound
Medicine (to stop vomiting)	Bark, pour water in	Simple
Medicine (diarrhea)	Berries	
Medicine (neuralgia)	Leaves	
Medicine (to stop vomiting)	Root powdered	Compound and simple
Medicine (stomach)	Plant	
Medicine (pain, swelling)	Leaves as poultice	Simple
Medicine (measles)	Leaves	Simple

used grooved axes hafted by tying the head between the ends of a split stick (Kalm, p. 229). The trees were then removed by burning (Johnson, p. 279; Harrington, 1913, p. 221; Kalm, p. 230). Zeisberger was told by his Indian acquaintances that, before they had metal tools, they also burned their wood into suitable lengths for use (Zeisberger, 1910, p. 29). After being cleared of rubbish and stones, the land was broken up with a hoe made of stone, tortoise shell, or the shoulder blade of a deer, attached to a short handle (Johnson, p. 279; Skinner, 1909, p. 42; Abbott, 1875, pp. 350 and 356; Loskiel, p. 67; Beaver, p. 47). The earth was piled into little hills in which five or six grains of maize were planted about April. In the middle of May when the maize was the "height of a finger", they planted in each heap three or four "Turkish beans,"[4] which then grew up with and were supported by the maize. Maize was a plant that needed frequent weeding and hoeing (De Rasieres, p. 107; Johnson, p. 279; Harrington, 1913, p. 221).

There is no mention of the use of any kind of fertilizer by the Delaware, and early Swedish writers note that, "When a tract had been cultivated until crops would no longer grow, it was deserted and a new plantation prepared" (Johnson, p. 279). Therefore, in the present case there appears to be at least presumptive evidence for lack of fertilizing techniques.

In addition to the above-mentioned means of obtaining food, the Delaware Indians gathered various wild berries, nuts, fruits, and roots. Although many of the early references tend to be generic, one gathers that strawberries, gooseberries, huckleberries or billberries, cranberries and grapes were among the chief fruits used (Loskiel, pp. 68-69; Kalm, p. 261; Skinner, 1909, p. 43; Waugh, pp. 127-28), and the butternut, walnut, chestnut and hickory the most important nuts (Loskiel, pp. 70-71; Lindstrom, p. 223; Waugh, p. 123). In addition, Kalm found that early Swedish residents of New Jersey remembered the Indians having used Hopniss or ground nut (Glycine apios), Katniss (Sagittaria sagittifolia) and Taw-Ho (Arum virginicum).[5] This last was reputed to be poisonous in a raw state and so was placed in a hole covered with earth where it was cooked by a fire burning on top. They also boiled and ate the seeds of the Golden Club or Taw-Hue (Orontium aquaticum) (Kalm, pp. 260-61). The use of roots is referred to be other authors although the terms used vary (Brinton, 1885, p. 50; Johnson, p. 281; Lindstrom, p. 223; Skinner, 1909, p. 43).

Although there are no specific references to the making of maple syrup in early sources, all the later observers found maple sugar boiling an important activity and the properties of the maple were generally known and utilized on the east coast. It seems impossible that all the early writers would have overlooked the use of maple sap if it had been as important as it later became, but none of my sources mention it.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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next period, however, Johnston and Chipps said that the men and women shared the labor of moving and pitching camp. In the fourth period W. L. was again the only one to place the responsibility on the women.

The husband did not strike his wife frequently, if at all, according to all the information gathered (283). Johnston and Chipps said that he might do so if she were ill-tempered or refractory (284). The modern informants denied this as a just cause, although E. R. said that it was up to the husband to punish his wife if she broke a rule.

Food, Mode of Living, etc.

Heckewelder said that the Delaware, Mahicans, and Shawnee were all very particular in their choice of meats and that nothing short of the most pressing hunger could induce them to eat of certain animals, such as the horse, dog, wildcat, panther, fox, muskrat, or wolf, all of which he had several times seen the Chippewa eat with a good appetite (288-91)." J. W. said that opossum, wolf, dog, woodchuck, snake, crow, hawk, owl, eagle, and, in fact, most fowls were not eaten. W. L. also said that opossum, muskrat, and several kinds of birds were not eaten. Apparently the symbols of the three tribal divisions, turtle, turkey and wolf, were not taboo for that reason, for only the last one was included on any list. The totems of the extinct subdivisions may have been taboo. This is true of the opossum which was most frequently mentioned as not being eaten and it was the name of one of the subdivisions. However, the Delaware regard the opossum as endowed with supernatural powers and in the nature of a trickster and have many stories that evince this attitude.

There seems to have been no taboos on vegetables eaten (292-98). Corn was the principal item cultivated. It was supplemented by the usual beans and squashes, and later vegetables introduced by the whites were also cultivated. Wild or ground potatoes and other less important wild products were gathered. The

"Heckewelder, *History, Manners, and Customs of the Indian Nations*, p. 196.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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staple of more northern tribes, wild rice, apparently never figured in the diet of the Delaware, although W. T. claimed that it did (299). Little use seems to have been made of grasses or greens, but there is no suggestion that this avoidance was the result of a taboo.

Information on the regularity of meals among the Delaware is not conclusive (300). Van der Donck reported no regular meals in the first period, Heckewelder the reverse in the second period; but both Johnston and Chipps in the third period stated there were no regular meal times. In the fourth period three informants claimed regularity of meals for their ancestors as well as themselves; whereas the fourth, W. L., said that even when he was a boy there was always something to eat for the grownups and they ate when they felt like it. Chipps said that they ate in the night as often as in the day, but the other sources and informants denied this and maintained that it was only the hunter or traveler who returned at night that received anything to eat (306).

Men and women usually ate together according to the reports from all periods (302). Both J. W. and W. L. in the fourth period stated that children did not eat with the rest of the family (301). At some meals the children ate after the adults, who left them the amounts and parts of the food that they should eat. The last meal in the day for children was about four or five o'clock. From then on until the next morning they could have only water.

The question of neatness in cooking is a relative one (303). Lindeström and Johnston did not think they were neat at all. Zeisberger, Heckewelder, and Chipps, on the other hand, said that cleanliness was an individual matter but that on the whole the Delaware were much neater than many other tribes. The difference between Indian and white methods of cooking in the centuries past was probably much greater than the difference between the two now.

Van der Donck reported in the first period that boiling was the only mode of cooking meat used by the Indians (304). Since this was contradicted by Lindeström who wrote at practically

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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The Delawares

traded to the Europeans and presumably they themselves utilized "otters, lynxes, fishes, minks, wild-cats, elk-hides. . .wolf skins, lion-hides, martins, and musk rat."[31] Neither the elk nor the bison formed an important part in Delaware subsistence in the eighteenth century, because their hides were "thick and heavy and of no value."[32] Neither animal was abundant in their habitat. Various birds formed a welcome addition to the diet and included "wild swans" (geese?), wild turkeys, wild pigeons, and partridges.[33] One seventeenth-century source described a method of pigeon hunting; trees which were favorite roosts for these birds were chopped nearly through, so that when a flock of pigeons settled down in the tree it would topple, killing a number of the birds.[34]

Individual hunting seems to have been confined primarily to the winter months; communal hunts, however, took place in the spring, summer, and fall.[35] One method of collective hunting, the "fire surround," was described by Lindestrom:

> When now the sachem wants to arrange his hunt, then he commands his people (to take a position) close together in a circle of 1/2, 1 or 2 miles, according to the number of people at his command. . . each one roots up the grass about 3 or 4 ells, so that the fire will not be able to run back, each one then beginning to set fire to the grass, which is mightily ignited, so that the fire travels away, in towards the center of the circle, which the Indians follow with great noise, and all the animals which are found within the circle, flee from the fire and the cries of the Indians. . . . When now the Indians have surrounded the center with a small circle, so that they mutually cannot do each other any harm, then they break loose with guns and bows on the animals.[36]

De Vries described a "surround" in which the game was driven into an enclosure and shot with a bow and arrow, and also a variant type in which the game was driven into a river and lassoed.[37] An informant told Kinietz that "four hunters were as many as ever hunted together," but this is contrary to what informants told me and surely did not hold true in early times.[38] Communal hunts were led by "the oldest or most expert, particularly if he be a member of the council."[39] Zeisberger related that there was a strictly formalized hunting etiquette:

> It is not considered good form for one to leave the party before the end of the hunt. If one has wounded a deer and another followed and killed it, the skin belongs to the first and either the half or the whole of the meat to the latter. If several take aim at once and they cannot determine which of them made the best shot, the skin is given to the oldest of the party, or, if he happened to be one of those taking aim, he is said to have killed the animal. Old men, therefore, no longer able to shoot well, generally get their share of the skins, if they only aim now and then with the others though they do not hit the mark.

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[31] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 223.
[32] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 58; Loskiel, p. 79.
[33] Zeisberger, 1910, pp. 65-66.
[34] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 216.
[35] *Ibid.*, p. 213; De Vries, 1909, p. 220; Zeisberger, 1910, pp. 58, 91, 138; Loskiel, 1794, p. 79.
[36] Lindestrom, 1925, pp. 213-14.
[37] De Vries, 1909, p. 220; Brinton, 1890, p. 184.
[38] Kinietz, 1946, p. 64; J. T., M. B.
[39] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 91; Kinietz, 1946, p. 64.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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136 declare that their flesh tastes like that of the bear, of which [262] they are particularly fond, and is often so fat that pieces may be cut from the flesh.

Wild turkeys[134] may be seen in the fall in flocks numbering hundreds. In the summer they disperse in the woods, this being the time for hatching the young. In winter their plumage is of a shining black, with white spots on the wings; in summer it changes to a light brown. When the time comes for laying [229] the eggs, the Indians seek them, as they are very fond of them.

Pheasants are not valued by the Indians, though their flesh [262] is palatable.[135] They fall victims, however, to birds of prey. Were it not for the birds of prey the woods would swarm with them, for the hen lays above twenty eggs at one time.

Heath-grouse, found here also, are a little larger than the pheasants.[136] They are not valued by the Indians any more than the pheasants. In the winter the latter shelter themselves from the birds by plunging, when pursued, into the snow, often running a considerable distance from one place to another under the snow, thus escaping their foes.

The wild pigeon[137] is of an ash-gray color, the male being distinguished by a red breast. In some years in fall, or even in spring, they flock together in such numbers that the air is darkened by their flight. Three years ago they appeared in such great numbers that the ground under their roosting-place was covered with their dung above a foot high, during one night. The Indians went out, killed them with sticks and came home [223] loaded. At such a time the noise the pigeons make is such that it is difficult for people near them to hear or understand each other. They do not always gather in such numbers in one place, often scattering over the great forests.

The turtle-doves are smaller than the pigeons and are always found in pairs.[138]

Partridges are small, neatly formed birds.[139] In the fall and winter they fly in broods. In the settlements they like to remain near the plantations, as they find the food they like in the fields. The flesh is tender and of a fine flavor. They are favorites with all people, being innocent and harmless birds.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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136 Another variety of wood-pecker is very small, is spotted and is much pursued by birds of prey, especially the hawk. Occasionally, the wood-pecker is able to defend himself against his enemies, it having happened that this bird when attacked, has thrust its bill into the head of the pursuer so that the latter fell dead.

The yellow wood-pecker,[198] so called because of its yellow wings, also climbs up and down the trees in search of food, with its head turned upward or downward.

A few green parrots[199] are seen in the woods here in summer. Further south they may be found in great numbers.

The loon[200] is a water bird about the size of a goose and is heavily feathered. It is spotted black and white, lives on fish and has a pointed bill. It cannot walk on land, as its feet are too far back, but is a strong swimmer. It can swim a considerable distance under the water, before rising to the surface, especially if it is being fired upon. Often the Indians are obliged to shoot a number of times before they hit the bird, for it is noted for its swiftness in diving, as well as for its swimming. It is not eatable, but the Indians make pouches of its skin, which is taken off whole, large enough to hold pipe, tobacco, flint, steel and knife.

[229] [262 415]

There are two other birds of prey among those that fish, the one larger than the eagle[201] the other a small bird[202] that makes its nest on the ground along steep banks of creeks or rivers, where it makes a hole just large enough to slip into.

The heron[203] has long legs, great wings and a lean body.

There are two kinds of owls. The larger[204] is heard very much in the woods at night.

Crows[205] do much damage on the plantations, especially in the cornfields, both when the corn is planted and when it is ripe.

The Turkey Posser[206] has a head like a turkey, without feathers. It lives on carrion. The raven[207] is also a scavenger and at the same time a bird of prey, often attacking chickens. The raven makes good use of the meat that Indians leave in the woods.

The hoopoe[208] is fawn colored on the back and has a brown-

(Lindstrom, p. 215). Men went by themselves or took their families to the woods for periods of several days or weeks. In addition to their dependence on a steady aim with bow and arrow, they attempted to attract the animals by the use of charms and imitations of their calls (Harrington, 1913, pp. 221-22; Loskiel, p. 77). Loskiel, in the eighteenth century, also mentions the practice of chasing wounded deer for long distances if they did not fall on the first shot, but this cannot be documented by earlier accounts (Loskiel, p. 76). 224

Early Swedish writers noted that turkeys and other birds, deer, beavers and other small animals were snared (the twitchup is the only type of snare specifically mentioned) and beavers were sometimes killed with a lance (Johnson, p. 281). Pigeons might be killed by cutting all sides of a tree used as a roost, then toppling it when the birds alighted (Lindstrom, pp. 216-17). 224 223

Remnants of the Delaware's hunting equipment are found abundantly in their old haunts. Stone arrow points and lance heads are particularly numerous, but antler points are found in smaller quantities (Abbott, 1875, p. 269; Skinner, 1915, p. 10; Smith, p. 139; Kalm, p. 230). Stone axes suitable for crushing bones or shells, and knives suitable for skinning and cutting up the meat are also found in abundance (Abbott, 1875, pp. 264 and 303; Skinner, 1909, pp. 18-20; Kalm, p. 230; Heye, p. 71). 224 412 411

Even the earliest writers were aware to some extent of the reverence in which Delaware hunters held the provider of their sustenance. Lindstrom and Penn mention that the first catch of the season was eaten at a special feast accompanied by singing and dancing. All that was not eaten was burned, and on no account was any part sold (Lindstrom, pp. 214-15; Penn, p. 38). Boys did not begin hunting until about fifteen years of age, sometimes starting as the result of success in obtaining a guardian spirit through a vision. It was believed that the youth would be able to catch all that he desired on the day after such a vision (Lindstrom, p. 208). 224 [787]

The women's main contribution to the food supply lay in agriculture. Without doubt the most important crop was maize, of which the Delaware had several varieties[2] (De Rasieres, p. 107; Johnson, p. 279; Kalm, p. 74; Lindstrom, p. 223). To get some impression of the amount of maize grown, we may note that Krieger, commander in an expedition against one band of New Jersey Delaware in 1663, says that he cut down 215 acres of maize and burned more than 100 pits of corn and beans (Krieger, p. 39). There are also ample references to the cultivations of beans, squash (including pumpkins) and tobacco[3] (Harrington, 1913, p. 221; Johnson, p. 279; Kalm, p. 74). 241

Since the Delaware had no axe adequate to cut down a tree of any considerable size, they cleared their fields by seriously bruising the bark of the trees, thereby killing them. In this operation they [313 412]

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
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that far,[13] when he extends his limbs so that daylight shines through his elbow joints. When a Christian wrestles with a savage, if he[13] does not get at his back [he cannot prevail against him], he can do nothing against his arms.

223 The savages also use a splendid system[14] for killing pigeons in quantities with great ease. When the pigeons come flying, which [at times] may be a few hundred pairs in a flock, or following, then they usually settle[15] down to rest in the largest and highest tree, which they find. Then they also have the custom that in the tree in which they once used to rest, they will, with preference go there again. When now the savage observes where they have been accustomed to rest, the savage goes and cuts around the tree, so that it stands only on the center. When now the pigeons come there again to sit down, they cannot possibly

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[12] For bows and arrows and their effectiveness, see Pope, *A Study of Bows and Arrows*, U. of Cal. Pub., XIII, No. 9, p. 329 ff. Cf. also Hodge, *Handbook*, I, 92–4, and literature quoted there.

[13] The Christian.

[14] *Een artig invention*, see above, Chapt. XV, note 6.

[15] *Dat sittia the sigh.* Cf. Henry D. Paxson, *The Last of the Wild Pigeon in Bucks County* (1912). Williams says: "In that place these Fowle breed abundantly, and by reason of their delicate Food (especially in Strawberrie time when they pick up whole large Fields of the old grounds of the Natives, they are a delicate fowle, and because of their abundance, and the facility of killing them, they are and may be plentifully fed on." *Key*, 87. Van der Donck says in this connection: "De Wilden of Naturellen van het Landt weten ook somtijts de plaetsen daer sy broyen uyt te vinden, en met lange stocken de jonge Duyven uyt de nesten te stooten, op sulcke plaetsen die sy soo verkiesen om te broyen daer scholen sy met sulcke gruwelijcke meenichte van ontelbare duysenden by een, dat de Wilden met Wyven [en] kinderen doer naer toe trecken, deckwils eenighe hunderden sterck zynde, wel een Maent doer ontrent blyvende, en schier anders niet eeten als jonge Duyven, die sy soo met stocken als geseght is uyt de nesten stooten." *Beschryvinge*, 41.

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
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set themselves so evenly on the tree that they 223
weigh alike on either side, whereby the tree falls over and kills a large number of them, for many cannot save themselves in such a fury of branches and leaves, nor fly away. There is also an abundance of swans and wild geese to shoot.[16]

[16] Williams says in this connection: "The Indians having abundance of these sorts of Foule upon their waters, take great paines to kill any of them with their Bow and Arrowes; and are marvellous desirous of our English Guns, powder and shot (though they are wisely and generally denied by the English) yet with those which they get from the French, and some others (Dutch and English) they kill abundance of Fowle, being naturally excellent marksmen; and also more hardned to endure the weather, and wading, lying, and creeping on the ground." *Key*, 84.

[p. 218 is blank]

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7
Shawnee NN17

they consisted of; of what nation or tribe their captain was, &c.; all which, at a single glance, is perfectly well understood by them. In the same manner they describe a chase: all Indian nations can do this, although they have not all the same marks; yet I have seen the Delawares read with ease the drawings of the Chippeways, Mingoes, Shawanos, and Wyandots, on similar subjects.

While Indians are travelling to the place of their destination, whether it be on a journey to their distant hunting grounds or on a war excursion, some of the young men are sent out to hunt by the way, who, when they have killed a deer, bear, or other animal, bring it to the path, ready to be taken away by those who are coming along, (often with horses) to the place of encampment, when they all meet at night. Having hung up the meat by the side of the path, these young men make a kind of sun-dial, in order to inform those who are coming of the time of day it was at the time of their arrival and departure. A clear place in the path is sought for, and if not readily found, one is made by the side of it, and a circle or ring being drawn on the sand or earth, a stick of about two or three feet in length is fixed in the centre, with its upper end bent towards that spot in the horizon where the sun stood at the time of their arrival or departure. If both are to be noted down, two separate sticks are set; but generally one is sufficient, namely, for the time of departure.

Hunters have particular marks, which they make on the trees, where they strike off from the path to their hunting grounds or place of encampment, which is often at the distance of many miles; yet the women, who come from their towns to fetch meat from these camps, will as readily find them as if they were conducted to the spot.

I shall conclude this chapter with an anecdote, which will at once shew how expressive and energetic is this hieroglyphic writing of the Indians. A white man in the

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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The tilling of the ground at home, getting of the fire wood, and pounding of corn in mortars, is frequently done by female parties, much in the manner of those husking, quilting and other *frolics* (as they are called,) which are so common in some parts of the United States, particularly to the eastward. The labour is thus quickly and easily performed; when it is over, and sometimes in intervals, they sit down to enjoy themselves by feasting on some good victuals, prepared for them by the person or family for whom they work, and which the man has taken care to provide before hand from the woods; for this is considered a principal part of the business, as there are generally more or less of the females assembled who have not, perhaps for a long time, tasted a morsel of meat, being either widows, or orphans, or otherwise in straitened circumstances. Even the chat which passes during their joint labours is highly diverting to them, and so they seek to be employed in this way as long as they can, by going round to all those in the village who have ground to till. 462 476 [517]

When the harvest is in, which generally happens by the end of September, the women have little else to do than to prepare the daily victuals, and get fire wood, until the latter end of February or beginning of March, as the season is more or less backward, when they go to their sugar camps, where they extract sugar from the maple tree. The men having built or repaired their temporary cabin, and made all the troughs of various sizes, the women commence making sugar, while the men are looking out for meat, at this time generally fat bears, which are still in their winter quarters. When at home, they will occasionally assist their wives in gathering the sap, and watch the kettles in their absence, that the syrup may not boil over. 462 221 [314]

A man who wishes his wife to be with him while he is out hunting in the woods, needs only tell her, that on such a day they will go to such a place, where he will 462 224

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

hunt for a length of time, and she will be sure to have provisions and every thing else that is necessary in complete readiness, and well packed up to carry to the spot; for the man, as soon as he enters the woods, has to be looking out and about for game, and therefore cannot be encumbered with any burden; after wounding a deer, he may have to pursue it for several miles, often running it fairly down. The woman, therefore, takes charge of the baggage, brings it to the place of encampment, and there, immediately enters on the duties of housekeeping, as if they were at home; she moreover takes pains to dry as much meat as she can, that none may be lost; she carefully puts the tallow up, assists in drying the skins, gathers as much wild hemp as possible for the purpose of making strings, carrying bands, bags and other necessary articles, collects roots for dyeing; in short does every thing in her power to leave no care to her husband but the important one of providing meat for the family.

After all, the fatigue of the women is by no means to be compared to that of the men. Their hard and difficult employments are periodical and of short duration, while their husband's labours are constant and severe in the extreme. Were a man to take upon himself a part of his wife's duty, in addition to his own, he must necessarily sink under the load, and of course his family must suffer with him. On his exertions as a hunter, their existence depends; in order to be able to follow that rough employment with success, he must keep his limbs as supple as he can, he must avoid hard labour as much as possible, that his joints may not become stiffened, and that he may preserve the necessary strength and agility of body to enable him to pursue the chase, and bear the unavoidable hardships attendant on it; for the fatigues of hunting wear out the body and constitution far more than manual labour. Neither creeks nor rivers, whether shallow or deep, frozen or free

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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aged and decrepid persons. When going out a hunting they will put them on a horse or in a canoe, and take them into the woods to their hunting ground, in order to revive their spirits by making them enjoy the sight of a sport in which they can no longer participate. They place them in particular situations, where they are sure that the game they are in pursuit of will pass by, taking proper measures at the same time to prevent its escape, so that their aged parents and friends may, at least, as our sportsmen call it, *be in at the death*. Nor is this all; the hoary veterans must also enjoy the honours of the chase; when the animal, thus surrounded, is come within reach of their guns, when every possibility of escape is precluded, by the woods all around being set on fire, they all, young and old, fire together, so that it is difficult to decide whose ball it was that brought the animal to the ground. But they never are at a loss to decide, and always give it in favour of the oldest man in the party. So, when the young people have discovered a place where the bears have their haunts, or have resorted to for the winter, they frequently take with them to the spot, such of the old men as are yet able to walk or ride, where they not only have an opportunity of witnessing the sport, but receive their full share of the meat and oil.

At home the old are as well treated and taken care of as if they were favourite children. They are cherished and even caressed; indulged in health and nursed in sickness; and all their wishes and wants are anticipated. Their company is sought by the young, to whom their conversation is considered an honour. Their advice is asked on all occasions, their words are listened to as oracles, and their occasional garrulity, nay, even the the second childhood often attendant on extreme old age, is never with Indians a subject of ridicule, or laughter. Respect, gratitude and love are too predominant in their minds to permit any degrading idea to mix itself with these truly honourable and generous feelings.

2 [Errata. See Col. 116, p. 348. - Ed. of F]

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The hunter prefers going out with his gun on an empty stomach; he says, that hunger stimulates him to exertion by reminding him continually of his wants, whereas a full stomach makes a hunter easy, careless and lazy, ever thinking of his home and losing his time to no purpose. With all their industry, nevertheless, and notwithstanding this strong stimulant, many a day passes over their heads that they have not met with any kind of game, nor consequently tasted a morsel of victuals; still they go on with their chase, in hopes of being able to carry some provisions home, and do not give up the pursuit until it is so dark that they can see no longer.

The morning and evening, they say, are the precious hours for the hunter. They lose nothing by sleeping in the middle of the day, that is to say, between ten o'clock in the morning and four in the afternoon, except in dark, cloudy and rainy weather, when the whole day is nearly equally good for hunting. Therefore the hunter, who happens to have no meat in the house, will be off and in the woods before day-light, and strive to be in again for breakfast with a deer, turkey, goose, bear, or racoon, or some other game then in season. Meanwhile, his wife has pounded her corn, now boiling on the fire, and baked her bread, which gives them a good breakfast. If, however, the husband is not returned by ten o'clock in the forenoon, the family take their meal by themselves, and his share is put aside for him when he comes home.

The Indians have a number of manners of preparing their corn. They make an excellent pottage of it, by boiling it with fresh or dried meat (the latter pounded), dried pumpkins, dry beans, and chesnuts. They sometimes sweeten it with sugar or molasses from the sugar-maple tree. Another very good dish is prepared by boiling with their corn or maize, the washed kernels of the shell-bark or hickory-nut. They pound the nuts in a block or mortar, pouring a little warm water on them, and gradually a little more as they become dry,

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bushy tail, moving as he walked, as though it were on springs; but for these accompaniments, the man, walking on all fours, might have been taken for a bear of an extraordinary size. Underneath, where his hands were, holes had been cut, though not visible to the eye, being covered with the long hair, through which he held and managed his implements, and he saw through two holes set with glass. The whole was a great curiosity, but not to be looked at by every body.

There are jugglers of another kind, in general old men and women, who although not classed among doctors or physicians, yet get their living by pretending to supernatural knowledge. Some pretend that they can bring down rain in dry weather when wanted, others prepare ingredients, which they sell to bad hunters, that they may have good luck, and others make philters or love potions for such married persons as either do not, or think they cannot love each other.

When one of these jugglers is applied to to bring down rain in a dry season, he must in the first instance receive a fee. This fee is made up by the women, who, as cultivators of the land are supposed to be most interested, but the men will slily slip something into their hands in aid of their collection, which consists of wampum beads, tobacco, silver broaches, and a dressed deer skin to make shoes of. If the juggler does not succeed in his experiment, he never is in want of an excuse; either the winds are in opposition to one another, the dry wind or air is too powerful for the moist or south wind, or he has not been made *strong enough*, (that is sufficiently paid) to compel the north to give way to the south from whence the rain is to come, or lastly, he wants time to invoke the great Spirit to aid him on the important occasion.

In the summer of the year 1799, a most uncommon drouth happened in the Muskingum country, so that every thing growing, even the grass and the leaves of the trees, appeared perishing; an old man named *Chenos*, who

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them all through. "No matter, Father!" answered they in a jocular manner, "give us only rain and we will cheerfully bear the soaking." They then passed on, and I proceeded to *Goschachking*, the village to which I was going. I mentioned the circumstance to the chief of the place, and told him that I thought it impossible that we should have rain while the sky was so clear as it then was and had been for near five weeks together, without its being previously announced by some signs or change in the atmosphere. But the chief answered: "*Chenos* "knows very well what he is about; he can at any time "predict what the weather will be; he takes his observa- "tions morning and evening from the river or something "in it." On my return from this place after three o'clock in the afternoon, the sky still continued the same until about four o'clock, when all at once the horizon became overcast, and without any thunder or wind it began to rain, and continued so for several hours together, until the ground became thoroughly soaked.

I am of opinion that this man, like others whom I have known, was a strict observer of the weather, and that his prediction that day was made in consequence of his having observed some signs in the sky or in the water, which his experience had taught him to be the forerunners of rain; yet the credulous multitude did not fail to ascribe it to his supernatural power.

The ingredients for a bad hunter, to make him have good luck, are tied up in a bit of cloth, and must be worn near his skin while he is hunting. The preparations intended to create love between man and wife, are to be slily conveyed to the frigid party by means of his victuals or drink.

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825 which they are the head, whom they are appointed, indeed, to govern, but between whom and themselves intimate ties of connexion and relationship may exist, or at least, did exist in the beginning of time. They are, in fact, according to their opinions, only the first among equals, the legitimate hereditary sovereigns of the whole animated race, of which they are themselves a constituent part. Hence, in their languages, those inflections of their nouns which we call *genders*, are not, as with us, [193] descriptive of the *masculine* and *feminine* species, but of the *animate* and *inanimate* kinds. Indeed, they go so far as to include trees and plants within the first of these descriptions. All animated nature, in whatever degree, is in their eyes a great whole, from which they have not yet ventured to separate themselves. They do not exclude other animals from their world of spirits, the place to which they expect to go after death.

I find it difficult to express myself clearly on this abstruse subject, which, perhaps, the Indians themselves do not very well understand, as they have no metaphysicians among them to analyse their vague notions, and perhaps confuse them still more. But I can illustrate what I have said by some characteristic anecdotes, with which I shall conclude this chapter.

I have already observed* that the Indian includes all savage beasts within the number of his *enemies*. This is by no means a metaphorical or figurative expression, but is used in a literal sense, as will appear from what I am going to relate.

825 224 A Delaware hunter once shot a huge bear and broke its back bone. The animal fell and set up a most plaintive cry, something like that of the panther when he is hungry. The hunter, instead of giving him another shot, stood up close to him, and addressed him in these words: "Hark ye! bear; you are a coward, and no warrior as "you pretend to be. Were you a warrior, you would

* See Page 84.

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"shew it by your firmness and not cry and whimper
"like an old woman. You know, bear, that our tribes
"are at war with each other, and that yours was the ag-
"gressor.* You have found the Indians too powerful
"for you, and you have gone sneaking about in the
"woods, stealing their hogs; perhaps at this time you
"have hog's flesh in your belly. Had you conquered
"me, I would have borne it with courage and died like
"a brave warrior; but you, bear, sit here and cry,
"and disgrace your tribe by your cowardly conduct."
I was present at the delivery of this curious invective; when the hunter had despatched the bear, I asked him how he thought that poor animal could understand what he said to it? "Oh!" said he in answer, "the bear un-
"derstood me very well; did you not observe how *ashamed*
"he looked while I was upbraiding him?"

Another time I witnessed a similar scene between the falls of the Ohio and the river Wabash. A young white man, named *William Wells*,† who had been when a boy taken prisoner by a tribe of the Wabash Indians, by whom he was brought up, and had imbibed all their notions, had so wounded a large bear that he could not move from the spot, and the animal cried piteously like the one I have just mentioned. The young man went up to him, and with seemingly great earnestness, addressed him in the Wabash language, now and then giving him a slight stroke on the nose with his ram-rod. I asked him, when he had done, what he had been saying to this bear? "I have," said he, "upbraided him for acting

* Probably alluding to a tradition which the Indians have of a very ferocious kind of bear, called the *naked bear*, which they say once existed, but was totally destroyed by their ancestors. The last was killed in the New York state, at a place they called *Hoosink*, which means the *Basin*, or more properly the *Kettle*.

† The same whom Mr. de Volney speaks of in his excellent "View of the Soil and Climate of United States." Supplement, No. VI. page 356. Philadelphia Edition, 1804.

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"the part of a coward; I told him that he knew the for-
"tune of war, that one or the other of us must have fallen;
"that it was his fate to be conquered, and he ought to die
"like a man, like a hero, and not like an old woman;
"that if the case had been reversed, and I had fallen into
"the power of my *enemy*, I would not have disgraced my
"nation as he did, but would have died with firmness and
"courage, as becomes a true warrior."

I leave the reader to reflect upon these anecdotes, which, I think, convey more real information than any further attempts that I could make to explain the strange notions which gave them rise.

CHAPTER XXXV.

INSANITY—SUICIDE.

INSANITY is not common among the Indians; yet I have known several who were afflicted with mental derangement. Men in this situation are always considered as objects of pity. Every one, young and old, feels compassion for their misfortune; to laugh or scoff at them would be considered as a crime, much more so to insult or molest them. The nation or colour of the unfortunate object makes no difference; the charity of the Indians extends to all, and no discrimination is made in such a lamentable case.

About the commencement of the Indian war in 1763, a trading Jew, named Chapman, who was going up the Detroit river with a batteau load of goods which he had

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CHAPTER XLII.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS AND ANECDOTES.

I HOPE I shall be excused for bringing here together into one view a few observations and anecdotes which either could not well find their places under any of the preceding divisions of my subject, or escaped my recollection at the proper time. These additional traits will contribute something to forming a correct idea of the Indian character and manners.

I have observed a great similarity in the customs, usages, and opinions of the different nations that I have seen, however distant from each other, and even though their languages differ so much that no traces of a common origin can be found in their etymology. The uniformity which exists in the manners of the Christian nations of Europe is attributed to their common religion and to their having once been connected together as parts of the Roman Empire. But no such bond of union appears to have subsisted between the Iroquois, for instance, and the Delawares, and yet, the language excepted, they resemble each other considerably more than the inhabitants of some European countries. I shall not endeavour to account for this remarkable fact, but I think it my duty to state it.

I have shown in a former chapter* that the mythological notions of the Delaware Indians prevailed in the same manner among the Wabash; it is not in that alone that those nations resemble each other, though living at a great distance. It is the custom among the Delawares that if a hunter shoots down a deer when another per-

* Ch. 34. pp. 248. 249.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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son is present, or even accidentally comes by before the skin is taken off, he presents it to him, saying, "Friend, "skin your deer," and immediately walks off. William Wells, whom I have before spoken of, once paid me this compliment, and when I asked him the reason, he answered that it was the custom among the Indians on the Wabash.

In the year 1792, I travelled with a number of Indian chiefs of various tribes from Post Vincennes to Marietta, and I found in most instances that their usages and customs were the same that I had observed among the Delawares.

The Indians in general, although they understand and speak our language, yet prefer speaking to a white man through an interpreter. For this they give various reasons. With some it is a matter of pride; as their chiefs deliver their public speeches through interpreters, they think that they appear with more dignity when they do the same. Others imagine that their words will have greater weight and effect when expressed in proper grammatical language, while some are afraid of committing mistakes when speaking in an idiom not their own. Particularly when they have a joke to pass, a hint to give, or a shrewd remark to make, they wish it to have all the advantages of a good translation, and that their wit may not be spoiled by a foreign accent, improper expression, or awkward delivery.

Though the Indian is naturally serious, he does not dislike a jest on proper occasions, and will, sometimes even descend to a pun. Once at a dinner given at Marietta by the late colonel Sproat, to a number of gentlemen and Indian chiefs of various tribes, a Delaware chief, named George Washington, asked me what the name of our good friend, the Colonel, meant in the Lenape language? It should be observed that Colonel Sproat was remarkably tall. I told him that *Sprout* (for so the name is pronounced) meant in English a shoot, or twig of a

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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taken together, is always as extensive, if not more so, than all the corn fields and kitchen gardens of an Indian family."[17] Luckenbach, a Moravian missionary of the early nineteenth century, said that the fields were "limited to two or three acres of corn for each family."[18] The Delawares today term the gardens "squaw patches" and claim that they never exceeded five acres in size (M.B., O.A.).

Most Delaware archaeological sites are in creek or valley bottoms;[19] in the eighteenth century such bottom land was chosen for gardens, since it was easily worked and was generally fertile.[20] Zeisberger, in the eighteenth century, took pains to point out that land away from rivers, although suitable for tillage by Europeans, was not utilized at all for this purpose by Indians.[21] Garden plots were cleared by bruising or removing the bark of the trees, then burning the trees after they were dry.[22] The seventeenth-century Swedish writers stated that garden plots were moved after the soil was exhausted.[23] Van der Donck in the middle of the century and Loskiel in the next century denied the use of fertilizer.[24] New England Indians, however, fertilized the land with fish, and Wallace has suggested that this trait may have been present among the Delawares.[25]

Corn was planted in ". . . square hills (so far apart) that one can conveniently walk between the hills. . . . And in each hill 6 or 7 grains are set."[26] According to De Rasieres:

> They make heaps like molehills, each about two and a half feet from the others, which they sow or plant in April with maize, in each heap five or six grains; in the middle of May, when the maize is the height of a finger or more, they plant in each heap three or four Turkish beans . . . . R [corn] is a grain to which much labor must be given, with weeding and earthing-up, or it does not thrive; and to this the women must attend very closely.[27]

Squash, pumpkins, several varieties of beans, and tobacco were also grown.[28] According to M.B. tobacco was grown only by women past the menopause. The Delawares blended their tobacco with sumac, one third sumac to two thirds tobacco.[29]

Hunting.—Hunting was important to the Delaware economy, not only because it provided food, but also because pelts and hides provided most of the material for clothing. The main objects of the hunt were deer and bear, but virtually all of the other mammals of their habitat were hunted and utilized for clothing or for food. This list included fox, raccoon, skunk, porcupine, opossum, and squirrel.[30] The Delawares

[17] Kalm, 1937, I: 307.
[18] Luckenbach, 1938, pp. 108-09.
[19] Personal communication from John Witthoft.
[20] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 44.
[21] *Ibid.*, p. 36.
[22] Johnson, 1917, p. 279; Kalm, 1937, I: 230; Harrington, 1913, p. 221.
[23] Johnson, 1917, p. 279.
[24] Loskiel, 1794, p. 66.
[25] Flannery, 1939, p. 10; Wallace, 1947, p. 18.
[26] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 179.
[27] De Rasieres, 1909, p. 107; Johnson, 1917, p. 279; and Harrington, 1913, p. 221, contain similar accounts of their horticulture.
[28] Just, 1909, p. 21; Johnson, 1917, p. 279; Kalm, 1937, I: 74; Lindestrom, 1925, pp. 180-81; Holm, 1834, p. 122.
[29] Speck, 1943, p. 324.
[30] Denton, 1845, p. 7; Van der Donck, 1909, p. 303; Zeisberger, 1910, pp. 37, 62-63.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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The Delawares

traded to the Europeans and presumably they themselves utilized "otters, lynxes, fishes, minks, wild-cats, elk-hides. . .wolf skins, lion-hides, martins, and musk rat."[31] Neither the elk nor the bison formed an important part in Delaware subsistence in the eighteenth century, because their hides were "thick and heavy and of no value."[32] Neither animal was abundant in their habitat. Various birds formed a welcome addition to the diet and included "wild swans" (geese?), wild turkeys, wild pigeons, and partridges.[33] One seventeenth-century source described a method of pigeon hunting; trees which were favorite roosts for these birds were chopped nearly through, so that when a flock of pigeons settled down in the tree it would topple, killing a number of the birds.[34]

Individual hunting seems to have been confined primarily to the winter months; communal hunts, however, took place in the spring, summer, and fall.[35] One method of collective hunting, the "fire surround," was described by Lindestrom:

> When now the sachem wants to arrange his hunt, then he commands his people (to take a position) close together in a circle of 1/2, 1 or 2 miles, according to the number of people at his command . . . each one roots up the grass about 3 or 4 ells, so that the fire will not be able to run back, each one then beginning to set fire to the grass, which is mightily ignited, so that the fire travels away, in towards the center of the circle, which the Indians follow with great noise, and all the animals which are found within the circle, flee from the fire and the cries of the Indians . . . . When now the Indians have surrounded the center with a small circle, so that they mutually cannot do each other any harm, then they break loose with guns and bows on the animals.[36]

De Vries described a "surround" in which the game was driven into an enclosure and shot with a bow and arrow, and also a variant type in which the game was driven into a river and lassoed.[37] An informant told Kinietz that "four hunters were as many as ever hunted together," but this is contrary to what informants told me and surely did not hold true in early times.[38] Communal hunts were led by "the oldest or most expert, particularly if he be a member of the council."[39] Zeisberger related that there was a strictly formalized hunting etiquette:

> It is not considered good form for one to leave the party before the end of the hunt. If one has wounded a deer and another followed and killed it, the skin belongs to the first and either the half or the whole of the meat to the latter. If several take aim at once and they cannot determine which of them made the best shot, the skin is given to the oldest of the party, or, if he happened to be one of those taking aim, he is said to have killed the animal. Old men, therefore, no longer able to shoot well, generally get their share of the skins, if they only aim now and then with the others though they do not hit the mark.

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[31] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 223.
[32] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 59; Loskiel, p. 79.
[33] Zeisberger, 1910, pp. 85-86.
[34] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 218.
[35] *Ibid.*, p. 213; De Vries, 1909, p. 230; Zeisberger, 1910, pp. 58, 91, 128; Loskiel, 1794, p. 79.
[36] Lindestrom, 1925, pp. 213-14.
[37] De Vries, 1909, p. 230; Brinton, 1890, p. 184.
[38] Kinietz, 1946, p. 64; J. T., M. B.
[39] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 91; Kinietz, 1946, p. 64.

2:Newcomb E-4,5 (1951-1952) 1956
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Such old men, accompanying a hunting party, get both meat and skins, for the good hunters will not let them return empty-handed. They have, in general, and the Unami in particular, the custom that when a huntsman has shot a deer, and another Indian joins him or only looks on at a distance, he immediately gives him the whole animal and goes in pursuit of another.[39]

The blowgun was in use among the Munsi by 1824, but was apparently present earlier; it was never of any great economic importance.[41] "Calls" were made to attract deer and turkeys. The deer call or "bleat" was made of cedar and was used primarily during the spring and early summer before the fawns had been weaned.[42] Harrington mentioned that "the deadfall and the 'twitchup' snare seem to have been the most popular varieties of traps."[43] The Delawares were also reported to be excellent stalkers of game and pursued wounded animals until their prey dropped from exhaustion.[44] If a hunter could not at first get within range of a deer he would chase it until he could, this procedure perhaps consuming an entire day.[45] One eighteenth-century author mentioned that deer were hunted by torchlight at night.[46]

Fishing.—Van der Donck said that Delawaran peoples "use all kinds of fish, which they commonly cook without removing the entrails, and snakes, frogs and the like."[47] Specifically, they caught and ate rock fish, shad, yellow perch, trout, eels, catfish, sunfish, sturgeon, and undoubtedly others, from both fresh and salt water. In 1756 two harbor seals were shot and eaten, but this was an unusual incident.[48] Tortoises were caught, and shellfish in large quantities must have been taken, if Skinner was correct in attributing shell mounds of the area to the Delawares.[49] Juet stated that the natives brought out quantities of oysters to trade to the crew of Hudson's Half Moon.[50]

Methods of fishing varied somewhat; Lindestrom described a method in which a stream was dammed when the water was high, so that fish were stranded behind the dam when the water was low. The fish were caught with bare hands or shot with the bow and arrow.[51] De Rasieres said that the Indians around Manhattan caught fish with "a drag-net they themselves knit very neatly, of the wild hemp, from which the women and men spin the thread."[52] Brinton mentioned fishhooks of bone and dried claws of birds, and Pastorius reported the use of hooks.[53] Harrington mentioned several methods of fishing. These may not be aboriginal since they do not appear elsewhere. He stated that fish were stupefied by large quantities of crushed green walnuts thrown into ponds. He also noted spearing and shooting of fish at night by torchlight.[54] Fish

[39] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 91.
[41] Harrington, 1913, p. 221; Kinietz, 1946, p. 63; Ketchum, 1865, II: 190 (1756).
[42] Foreman, 1937, p. 107; J. T., F. W.
[43] Harrington, 1913, p. 222.
[44] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 23.
[45] *Ibid.*, p. 23.
[46] Brickell, 1842, p. 47.
[47] Van der Donck, 1909, p. 303.
[48] Holm, 1834, p. 48; De Rasieres, 1909, p. 105; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 37.
[49] Holm, 1834, p. 48; Denton, 1845, p. 7; Skinner, 1909, pp. 5-17, 45-48; J. T.
[50] Juet, 1909, p. 20.
[51] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 219; Berlin, 1887, pp. 187-89.
[52] De Rasieres, 1909, p. 105.
[53] Brinton, 1885, p. 43; Pastorius, 1912, p. 434.
[54] Harrington, 1913, p. 222.

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were sometimes impounded by driving them with a brush roll, a technique widespread in the Southeast and among the Iroquois.[59]

Wild plant food.—The beans of the groundnut or wild bean, (*Apios americana*), were eaten, and its roots were boiled and eaten "instead of bread."[60] Kalm also said the Indians boiled, or roasted in ashes, a root which he called Katniss, apparently *Sagittaria latifolia* (Wapato, Water Nut, Swamp Potato). The roots of "Tawho," probably *Arisaema triphyllum* or jack-in-the-pulpit, were utilized "when bread and grain gave out."[61] They were placed in a pit, covered with earth, and baked by building a fire over the pit.[62] The dried and boiled seeds of the golden club (*Orontium aquaticum*) were eaten.[63]

From the eighteenth century on wild potatoes (*Ipomoea pandurata*) were frequently mentioned in the documents. They were baked into bread and were especially used in time of famine.[64] One informant (O.A.) also said that the wild potato, if boiled and mashed, was particularly useful as food for young children. Ginseng was gathered in the Ohio Valley during the eighteenth century and seems to have been sold to traders.[65] Other wild roots and tubers, utilized at least in later times, were wild onions, wild cabbage, "greens" (otherwise unidentified by O.A., M.B.), and water lily roots.[66] Zeisberger wrote of a time when his Christian Indians "industriously brought roots here from down the creek, of which they got many loads to town, which they cut thin, dry in the sun, pound and bake bread from, and this is now their principal food."[67] The Delawares utilized many varieties of wild fruits, including wild grapes, strawberries, gooseberries, blackberries, raspberries, wild plums, huckleberries, and cranberries.[68] The "Indians," probably including Delawares, ate the fruit of the May apple (*Podophyllum peltatum*).[69] They also made use of many nuts, chief among them being hickory (Skinner found them in archaeological deposits), hazelnut, and chestnut.[70] In Oklahoma the post-oak acorn (*Quercus stellata*) was eaten with hominy (J.T., O.A.).

The most important wild plant food of the eighteenth century was the sap of the sugar maple. Sugaring was not just an occasional pastime, for even in a bad year an individual made as much as one hundred pounds.[71] If a man owned several kettles, it was possible in good years to make several hundred pounds of sugar and some syrup.[72] This trait, however, was not mentioned by any of the seventeenth-century sources and was undoubtedly of less importance in pre-European times. As

[59] Zeisberger, 1778, p. 38; Fenton, 1942.
[60] Kalm, 1937, I: 259; De Vries, 1909, p. 219.
[61] Lindestrom, 1925, pp. 158-59.
[62] Kalm, 1937, I: 261; Zeisberger, 1887, p. 161, calls the Jack Maksaweek, "it causes purging," however.
[63] Kalm, 1937, I: 261.
[64] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 47; M. B., O. A.
[65] Zeisberger, 1885, II: 47.
[66] *Ibid.*, p. 109.
[67] *Ibid.*, pp. 109-10.
[68] Juet, 1909, p. 18; Kalm, 1937, I: 261; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 46; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 386; Loskiel, 1794, pp. 68-69; Skinner, 1909, p. 43; O. A., M. B., J. T.
[69] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 47.
[70] De Vries, 1909, p. 219; Brinton, 1890, p. 185; Skinner, 1909, p. 46.
[71] Zeisberger, 1885, II: 349.
[72] Zeisberger, 1910, pp. 50-51.

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become a shaman, chief, warrior, a person of riches, one with many relatives, or a failure.[19] The most unfortunate persons were those who had no guardian spirit. After one was granted a guardian spirit he commonly made an amulet or fetish. Frequently this was either a representation of the human figure or a stone or clay effigy of the human head. It also might be claws or teeth of an animal or bird.[20] Lindestrom said:

> They consider this their god, so sacred that no one is allowed to touch it.... In this their god they have such a strong faith, that the night he dreams about him, he will at once the following day be able to shoot as much game and catch as much fish as ever he wants to....[21]

Although most of our information about the vision quest is relatively recent, there seems to be no reason why it should not be valid for prehistoric and early historic times.

Apart from the influence that individuals wielded over supernatural powers as a consequence of obtaining a guardian spirit, favor could be curried and influence exerted through sacrifice, primarily by burning flesh and tobacco, but also by dances and songs. Sacrifices of first fruits were commonly mentioned in seventeenth-century sources. Penn said of these:

> Their sacrifice is their first fruits. The first and fattest buck they kill goes to the fire, where he is all burnt, with a mournful ditty of him who performeth the ceremony, but with such marvellous fervency and labour of body, that he will even sweat to a foam. The other part [of their worship] is their cantico, performed by round dances, sometimes words, sometimes songs, then shouts; two being in the middle who begin, and by singing and drumming on a board, direct the chorus. Their postures in the dance are very antic and differing, but all keep measure. This is done with equal earnestness and labour, but great appearance of joy. In the fall, when the corn cometh in, they begin to feast one another.[22]

Trowbridge said:

> When the ice is about to leave the rivers they make an offering of Tobacco with a wooden bowl of parched corn, by placing it on the surface and telling their grandfather, as they call it, that they leave him a pipe to smoke and something to eat on his journey. They sometimes make this offering of tobacco to obtain a safe voyage across the ice and for the same reason they throw it into the water when danger is apprehended. When they go to hunt, at the first encampment an offering of tobacco is made by burning, to the seven masters of the game.[23]

There were also many magical methods by which supernatural powers were influenced, but they are not well recorded in the literature. There are some indications from modern ethnographic data which

[19] Luckenbach, 1938, p. 612.
[20] Zeisberger, 1910, pp. 132-33.
[21] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 207; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 141, stated the same thing.
[22] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 208; Pastorius, 1912, p. 434; Brickell, 1842, p. 49; M.B. Penn, 1882, p. 244.
[23] Trowbridge MS.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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Very few of them were fortunate enough to have oil on their lands. They either farm their fields or cash rent them. Judging from the state of repair of the houses, those that farm their own fields are more prosperous than those who rent them out.... The majority probably rent their fields and subsist on the small cash return, aided by the produce from their gardens, old age pensions, and other occasional sources of income.[3]

I have never seen a farming enterprise among the Cherokee-Delawares which could be considered a successful commercial venture. Some subsistence farming continues, but a large proportion of the adult males work in the various industries of the county, such as the Dewey Portland Cement Company, or the Phillips Petroleum Company. The older Delawares, who have remained in the area, appear to have done so mainly because they possessed no special training which would allow them to rise on the economic ladder or to leave for higher paid employment elsewhere. The older generation also seems to have had no culturally inspired incentives to acquire special skills.

There was considerable hunting in the early days in Oklahoma. Game was still fairly plentiful, and until about 1870 the Delawares had to hunt because their gardens yielded only a precarious livelihood. The chief object of the hunt was traditionally deer, and informants (J.T., O.A.) said that this was true in Oklahoma. They also ventured out onto the plains in quest of the bison. The Anadarko band, because of their location and probably because of their proximity to Plains tribes, made considerably more use of the bison. Besides these animals, prairie chickens, of which there were immense quantities in the early days, wild turkeys, quail, fish, beaver, and raccoon were utilized. In the Caney Valley the hunting was done on horseback, by individuals or at most by small groups. Communal bison hunts occasionally took place on the plains. These included women to do the butchering. Autumn was preferred for communal hunts since the cooler weather allowed the hunters to bring back fresh instead of jerked meat. Preparation, preservation, and storage of food followed the traditional patterns well into this century. Little or no food is dried or jerked by the Cherokee-Delawares at present; most food comes out of the can and is prepared in the Anglo-American tradition.

By the time the Delawares had migrated to Oklahoma the log house (about thirteen by twenty feet) had become the ordinary dwelling. A smaller log house was erected nearby and served as a cookhouse. The bark and sapling wigwam persisted as an auxiliary dwelling until this century, as old informants remember the details of these structures (O.A., M.B.). Small cookstoves were in general use by the time the Delawares appeared in Oklahoma, and the other furnishings were primarily of American origin and design. Gradually the early log buildings were replaced by small clapboard dwellings. Houses today are usually in poor repair and are overcrowded and small; they are comparable to those of the poorer whites of the area. No pottery was manufactured in

[3] Kinietz, 1946, p. 13.

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must have been vision or revelation. They had repeatedly looked out over the sea, until at last a vessel was sighted, when they had immediately summoned the Indians and said: "See, here comes some one to us, concerning whose coming we have long ago told you; the gods are coming to visit us." They worshipped them, regarding them as deities. When the whites landed, they gave the Indians knives, hatchets, muskets and various other things they knew not how to use and, consequently, carefully put away. On occasion of feasts or sacrifices they suspended the knives and hatchets from their necks as ornaments and worshipped the various articles, bringing sacrifices to them. The muskets they did not use except on special days, when to satisfy curiosity a few shots were fired and then sacrifices offered them. When the whites, after lapse of considerable time came again and saw that the things they had given were worn about the neck, they gave the Indians instructions in the use of the knife, hatchet and musket.

In those early days the manner of living of the Indians was very different from that of the present time, yet, though they were wretchedly equipped and could barely supply their wants, they succeeded in supporting life.[29] They planted corn, beans, pumpkins, which they had at that time. Their hoe was a bone from the shoulder blade of the deer, which is broad at one end and very narrow at the other. With this bound to a stick they worked the soil. A turtle-shell sharpened by means of a stone and similarly attached to a stick, served much the same purpose. A kind of tobacco known as Brazilian tobacco, they also had; to the present day this tobacco, which has but small leaves, is called Indian tobacco.

Their knives were made of flint, not in the form of our knives but shaped like arrow-heads, i. e., triangular, quite thin and with the two larger sides sharp. With such knives they stripped off the skin of deer and other game.

Their hatchets, also made of stone and about the length of a hand, smoothed and sharpened, were secured to a wooden handle. These were not used for splitting wood but only to kill trees, as no more is necessary than to chop through the bark, if this is done at the right time, or to peel off bast for covering

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their huts. Trees were killed wherever they wished to have space for planting.

For the chase they used bow and arrow, both made of wood, the point of the arrow alone being of flint in the shape of a lengthened triangle, sharp and pointed, securely tied to the shaft.

Kettles and pots for cooking they made of clay mixed with sea shells, pounded very fine. After the pot had been shaped it was burned hard in fire. All these things, knives, hatchets, arrows and large pieces of the pottery they used at one time, are frequently found in places where Indians have lived. Potsherds have become black through and through so that the shell pieces may be seen.

They could shoot game as well in those days as at the present time with their rifled guns. They declare that game was not as shy then as now by reason of the report of the guns. In those days they killed only as much of game as was needed for sustenance, skins being used for clothing both men and women; hence, game was more abundant at that time. The women made blankets of turkey-feathers which were bound together with twine made of wild hemp. Of such many are to be found even at the present day among the Indians, and these in winter are a better protection against the cold than the best European blanket. The women also made themselves petticoats of wild hemp.

Bow and arrow have fallen into disuse among those Indians that trade with whites; are, indeed, only used for small game, such as the pigeon, fox and raccoon, in order to save powder. There are, however, whole tribes to the west and northwest that use nothing but bow and arrow in the chase and that have no European weapons, that are not even anxious to obtain them; for, say they, if we discard bow and arrow, who will then make for us enough of powder and shot. They prefer, therefore, to hold to their old custom and usage.

The fire materials of those days consisted of a dry piece of wood or board and a round dry stick. The latter was placed upon the board and turned or twirled with great swiftness, both hands being used, until there was smoke and fire. This, however, was done only in case their fire had gone out, which they

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136 down to consume the nuts. Where there is food and mast they are found. It is as if they knew that in this or that region it would be good for them to live. In the fall, when the Indians hunt the deer, they take no notice of the bears; otherwise they would spoil their fall hunting. They do, however, notice their tracks and whither they lead. At the end of December the bears, having fattened, seek their winter quarters, which they prepare in the trunks of hollow trees or in caves or the thickest part of the forest, where many old trees lie piled up. They leave their winter quarters in early spring, if they have young, of which there are generally two, not until May. During this period they are said to eat nothing, but to live on their own fat. When the deer hunt of the fall, at which season skins are 136 best, is over, the Indians immediately prepare for the bear hunt. ●224 They are remarkably expert in finding out the haunts of these animals. If the bears are in hollow trees, it is frequently necessary to cut down the tree, as the bear will not leave his retreat otherwise. In case the bear comes out when they hammer on the tree and make a noise, they stand prepared with their guns to kill him as soon as most of his bulk is emerged. Their skins [513] are no great object for trade, hence the Indians prefer to use them for their sleeping places, for which the long hair makes them peculiarly useful. There is likewise a kind of bear, much larger than the common bear, with much hair on the legs, but little on the bodies, which appear quite smooth.[149] The Indians call it the king of bears, for they have found by experience that many bears will willingly follow it. While all the bears are carnivorous, and, therefore, flesh of game kept by the Indians hanging on trees forms for them a welcome repast, or they are fond of feeding on swine they catch in the forest, this kind of bear is particularly voracious. Many instances are known where they have seized upon even defenseless Indian women and children. In more northerly regions, as, e. g., in the country of the Mingoes, these are more frequently found and they have killed many Indians.

136 Elk are in my estimation most like the European stag,[150] and I have often thought that they must be the same species and that what is here called the stag is the European fallow deer,

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but as I have seen neither stag nor fallow deer in Europe I cannot speak authoritatively. I recognize that the English distinguish between the elk and the stag in Europe. They, also, shed their coat in spring and are reddish in color during the summer like the deer. In fall they are light gray and in winter dark gray. The bucks have long, heavy antlers with many prongs. These they shed each year as do the deer. The tail is quite short. As the skins are very thick and heavy and of no particular value, elk do not tempt the Indians to the chase. Occasionally, one is shot that happens near an Indian, but most of the flesh is left in the forest for beasts of prey, even though the animals are always fat, in summer as in winter and do not become lean, like the deer. 136 [224]

The buffaloes[231] are dark brown in color, covered with long hair, or rather soft down mixed with hair. Their legs are short, the body is very heavy. They have a hunch upon their backs, just above the shoulders. This diminishes toward the rear, hence, they appear much shorter from the back than from the front. They have a thick head and a long beard depends from the chin. Altogether, they present a terrible appearance. Their horns are short, but thick and quite black. The buffaloes are a good deal heavier and larger than cattle. One that I have seen [231] was a yearling, raised by the Indians and quite tame; even this was the size of a small cow, that has already had calf. At one time these animals appeared in great numbers along the Muskingum, but as soon as the country begins to be inhabited by the Indians, they retire and are now only to be found near the mouth of the above named river. Along the banks of the Scioto and further south, both Indians and whites say that they may be seen in herds numbering hundreds. That is two or three hundred miles from here. If a buffalo cow is shot, its calf, if such it has, will stand quietly by until the huntsman has skinned its dam and then follow him into his hut, stay at his fire and not leave him. That this is true, I have living witnesses enough about me to testify.

The panther[232] has a head and face like a cat, its legs are short and the paws are armed with sharp claws. It is a beast of prey of uncommon strength. Its tail is long, compared with

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that of the cat. Deer it is able to catch at will. If it spies one and is desirous of capturing it, the panther crawls along the ground behind fallen trees or through the thicket until it is sure of capturing the deer in one leap. Then it springs upon its prey, seizes it with its claws and does not release its hold until the victim is dead. If it misses its aim at the first spring, it never attempts a second. When the deer has been killed, the panther devours but a small part, leaving the rest. When again pressed by hunger it seeks new game. At a distance of ten yards from a tree, the panther can leap ten yards up the tree and leap the same distance from the tree. It is not known that a panther has ever done the Indians injury without provocation. Should an Indian get near the place where the young are kept, then he is in great danger and if he does not know what to do under such circumstances, is almost sure to lose his life. He must never turn his back upon the panther, thinking that he can escape. He must not take his eyes off the animal, and if he has not the courage to shoot, gently walk backward, until he is a good distance away. If he shoots and misses, then he is in imminent danger and must keep his eyes fixed on the panther. It has happened that in this way Indians have saved their lives. It has occurred that a bear has fought so long with a panther, near to where the latter had its young, that both fell dead. The skin of the panther is gray in color, mixed with reddish hair.

Wild cats, gray in color, are distinguished from the domestic cats in that they have hardly any tail.[132] They are beasts of prey, even invade the hunting lodges of the Indians, when the latter are out and if they find meat devour it.

There are three varieties of fox, red,[134] gray[135] and black.[136]

The raccoon[137] is somewhat larger than a common cat and has a pointed snout. Its forefeet bear some resemblance to hands and are used as such, for it digs up small mussels out of the sand, which form its food when there are no acorns or chestnuts to be had. Its hind legs resemble those of the bear. It is fattest in autumn and winter, when it lives in hollow logs like a bear, without seeking food. They do not hibernate as long as do the bears. In a severe winter it retires for two whole months,

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otherwise, only four weeks. The flesh is wholesome and tastes like bears' meat and its skin is useful to hatters. 136

The otter[188] can live on land or in water. It often travels a considerable distance across the country from one creek or river to another.

The beaver[189] was formerly found in great numbers in this region, but since the Indians have learned from the whites to catch them in steel-traps,[190] they are more rarely found. A necessary thing in connection with the beaver-catch is a certain oil or spirit which the Indians prepare of various kinds of bark of trees and other aromatic things, which they place in the traps to decoy the beavers into them. The skins are always of considerable value. They are very industrious animals and for their size, of uncommon strength. Beaver dams of such dimensions are found in creeks, that it might be imagined that they had been built by human hands. Such dams they build when there are many together, for they work harmoniously, at night, in order to dam up the water and often put a considerable piece of land under water in course of their operations. In the middle of the dam they build their dwelling places that are raised above the water, wood and earth being the materials used. As their dens are in the middle of the lakes they cannot be easily reached. In the front part of the mouth they have four quite broad and very sharp teeth, two above and two below. With these they are able to gnaw through trees that are nearly a foot in diameter. When the tree is down they divide it into pieces of such size that they are able to manage them. These pieces carried into the water, they join together in such fashion that the water cannot tear them apart. I have myself seen in quite a large creek a beaver dam, in which the beavers were still undisturbed at home, so that I could observe their habits and work. The dam, extending straight across the creek, reached three feet above the water, so that it was possible to cross the creek dry shod, and put several acres of land under water. In another place, where the water had threatened to take another course, they had been obliged to build another dam, made of earth and branches of trees. Had this dam not been so far from human habitation, one might have thought that it had been constructed 136 224 136

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136 settlements of the white people the muskrat does much damage to mill-dams by its burrowing.

There are three kinds of squirrels, the black,[168] the grey,[169] and the red. The black are most commonly found, the grey are the largest and the red the smallest in size. Their flesh is [862] tender, and eaten by the Indians in case of sickness or when they are very hungry for meat.

The ground squirrel[170] lives under the ground and is somewhat smaller than a common rat. They do great damage in the fields of the Indians, not only digging out the corn when it has been planted, but also pumpkin and melon seed. When the Indian corn is ripe, they lay in good stores of it for the winter. They stuff their cheeks full of it and then carry it to their storehouses.

The groundhog[171] also has its dwelling under ground. It is about the size of a large domestic cat, though heavier. It lives on grass and is, also, very fond of melons and pumpkins. It chews the cud.[172] Its feet are armed with claws. When pursued and unable to reach its hole, the animal will climb a [262] tree. The flesh is toothsome and eaten by the Indians.

There is, also, a very large variety of wild cat,[173] other than the kind already mentioned. This is as large as a dog. It is very savage, even attacking a deer and killing it.

The hare[174] in these parts is small and not found in large numbers, being pursued by birds and beasts of prey. Towards the north I have seen them of the same size as those in Europe. In that region some are found with a snow white fur.[175] They dwell in hollow trees.

White deer are seldom seen in these parts.[176] These have generally in summer some red and in winter some gray spots. [825] The Indians call a white deer the king of the deer and believe that the rest flock about and follow him.[177]

Wolves are very numerous, most are gray, some are almost black. As their skins serve no useful purpose and are not much valued, the Indians do not pursue them, unless they catch them [224] tearing skins or devouring meat they have carefully laid away. Sometimes the wolves break into their hunting huts and do much damage. They rarely attack men, never when there are deer

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morning as soon as the sun begins to shine and return to the forest only at sundown. This species of snail deposits a colorless liquid of the consistency of saliva on the stems of various plants in the forest (presumably containing the eggs of the animal, which are hatched out by the sun). From this, it is supposed that the pestiferous gad-flies are hatched out.[247] Where there are large herds of cattle that destroy the weeds and root them up, not many of these insects are found.[248]

The common frogs are found in swamps near puddles and ponds. They are of a brownish color, do not croak, but have a note like a short whistle.[249] In springtime they may be heard all night. The Mingoes catch them at night by the light of a torch and eat them either fresh or dried. Green frogs are but rarely met with and only in rivers and brooks.[250] The largest American frog is the bull frog.[251] It inhabits rivers and large brooks. Their croaking resembles the bellowing of a bull, but is far more penetrating.

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Of rats, nothing is known in these parts, but mice[252] are very common.

Mosquitoes and sandflies are found in woods in summertime in great numbers. Both sting and a night in the forest would be intolerable without the smoke of a fire. They are particularly annoying in changeable weather. Even horses will make for the fire and stand in smoke to be free of the pests. Great and small gadflies come in July and August and trouble cattle so much that only at night the latter will graze, the gadflies disappearing until dawn of day.

Ticks are to be found in the woods. These will attack one, pierce the skin and suck the blood until they have so swelled that they drop off. Bed-bugs are to be found in the Indian huts at any time and fleas in the summer, not a few.

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The first deer a boy shoots proves the occasion of a great solemnity. If it happens to be a buck it is given to some old man; if a doe, to some old woman. These bring in the whole animal, skinned, if it is possible to do so. If the animal is too heavy, they bring the skin and as much of the flesh as they can carry, fetching the rest later. When they reach the village, they

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224 852 turn to the east, having the whole or part of the animal on the back, always with the skin, before entering the house and give vent to a prolonged call, which is the old man's or old woman's prayer to the Deity in behalf of the boy, that he may always be a fortunate hunter. During the repast they repeat their petitions and give counsel to the boy (who, with his companions, is a mere spectator) regarding the chase and all the circumstances of his future life, exhorting him above all things to revere old age and gray hairs and to be obedient to their words, because 688 178 experience has given them wisdom. Such counsel was heeded in time past, and though the ceremonies are still kept up, the young no longer revere the aged as was the case at one time.

Formerly, the young revered the old, especially if they had gray or white heads.[253] They believed that these must be very wise and prudent, because they were of such an age and seemed to be favored of the gods. Therefore, they treated the aged well, brought them, it may be, a deer, in the hope that they might be instructed of them how to attain to equal age. They presented the old, also, with wampum or belts, with the same hope. While nothing was said, the aged understood and gave the desired instruction on another occasion.

784 276 No young Indian in those days would have dared to take the tobacco pouch, (made usually of the skin of the otter, beaver, raccoon, fox, polecat, or some other animal, stripped off whole, with a little slit at the neck), of an old person and take a pipeful of tobacco, thinking such an act a great sin and believing that it would be the cause of shortening his life. When, therefore, in those days, a young brave asked an aged man permission to fill his pipe from the latter's pouch, the old man understood that this was not the young man's intention at all, but he wished to place something in the pouch. Usually, wampum was put in and no tobacco taken out. This, also, was done with the hope that the aged man might instruct the young brave how to be wise and to attain to great age. Indeed, good counsel is given, to bring offerings regularly on behalf of themselves and their friends, to be chaste, to abstain from drinking and stealing, which were common even in those days. These customs, however, have ceased. The old have lost respect and the young

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593 everything to his wife and never interferes in things committed to her. She cooks victuals regularly twice a day. If she neglects to do it in proper time, or even altogether, the husband never says a word but goes to a friend, being assured that he [574] will find something to eat, for when a stranger comes into the house the first attention shown is to put food before him, if there is anything in the house. The husband never offers to put wood on the fire, except it be that he has guests or some other extraordinary call to do it, for the woman cuts the wood and brings it to the house and is, therefore, the proper person to take care of the fire.

If his wife longs for meat, and gives him a hint of it, the husband goes out early in the morning without victuals and seldom returns without some game, should he even be obliged to stay out till late in the evening. When he returns with a deer, he throws it down before the door of the hut and walks in, saying nothing. But his wife, who has heard him lay down his burden, gives him something to eat, dries his clothes and then goes out to bring in the game. She may then do what she pleases with it. He says nothing, if she even gives the greatest [224] part of it to her friends, which is a very common custom. A woman generally remembers her friends when meat has been secured, or when her husband has brought flour from the whites.

If the husband intends to take a journey or go hunting, he gives his wife notice, and then she knows that it is her business to furnish him with proper provisions. If any dissatisfaction arises between them, the husband commonly takes his gun and walks off into the woods, without telling his wife whither he is going. Sometimes he does not return for some days, when both parties have generally forgotten their quarrels and live again in peace.

586 Young people who marry rarely remain faithful to each
837 other, but join themselves to others and again separate, continuing such disorderly living until they are older and more sensible. Then it not infrequently happens that they find one another again, or the husband may join himself permanently to some
582 other woman and settle down to housekeeping. Marriages are contracted early in life, when men are from eighteen to twenty years of age and women fourteen or fifteen.

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years of age and women fourteen or fifteen. There is in general no very strong tie between married people, not even between the older. A mere trifle furnishes ground for separation. Not every Indian, however, is indifferent to the light behavior of his wife. Many a one takes her unfaithfulness so to heart that in the height of his despair he swallows a poisonous root, which generally causes death in two hours, unless an antidote be administered in good time; this is often done, the Indians knowing that the properties of certain herbs counteract each other and being able to judge from the effects, what poison has been taken. Women, also, have been known to destroy themselves on account of a husband's unfaithfulness. To prevent such a calamity, they make use of a Beson, a love-charm, prepared by the old people and sold at a good price. This is constantly carried about by one or the other of the parties and is believed to keep man or woman faithful. Such a charm is even declared to have had the effect of making a woman run always and everywhere after her husband, until weary of life she has destroyed herself, or of similarly affecting a man. For this Beson, also, the Indians have their antidote. All this converted Indians have related to me.

Older men and women, particularly, have another Beson, supposed to have the magic power of bringing many presents to them. This charm they guard jealously among their most precious belongings, and is said to have the effect of bringing them food, clothing and whatever else they may need. It is prepared of roots pounded very fine, incantations being murmured meanwhile. A little of this preparation, about the size of a pea, is sold with a white and black wampum shell for a considerable price, often for a belt of wampum with several pounds in money. The love charm and others are similarly prepared. Usually, this is done by old women, who thus support themselves and promote superstition among the young.

The men have a Beson for the chase. This beson is a preparation made by old men, who are no more able to hunt, consisting of roots and herbs or made of the seeds of a certain plant. This is sold by them at a high price. They may earn much in this way, for every huntsman carries such a charm about in his

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pocket. Thus the old men support themselves when they can no longer engage in the chase. As there are several sorts of charm of this character, every one is desirous to get the best, even if [887] he has already at the price of half the catch of a season bought one charm and if it should cost him the greater part of his property to get the new one of which he has heard. Some Indians chew a certain root when on the deer-hunt, so the deer may not notice their approach when the wind blowing over the Indian to the game would otherwise give the alarm.

Another kind of Beson, considered to be a more powerful charm, is taken inwardly and occasions violent vomiting, but this is not in common use. According to the opinion of the Indians this beson will prove mischievous and have a contrary effect unless every ceremony connected with its use is attended to with the most scrupulous exactness. If a huntsman shoots nothing for several days, he swallows a small dose, observing all the rules prescribed by magic art. Not having taken any food he then starts on the chase and does not return before evening unless he has secured some game. It is claimed that the use of this charm enables them to shoot deer in considerable numbers. I have observed, however, that Indians have repeatedly taken such doses [777] during a period of three weeks and not been successful. In such cases ill-luck is ascribed to some other cause, frequently to the presence of a missionary. In cases where Indians, unable to secure anything in spite of the use of this beson while I was present have been successful in my absence, it has appeared that my presence has in some way interfered with their incantations. [788] In connection with the chase they lay much stress on dreams. If the dreamer fancies he sees an Indian and hears him say, "If thou will sacrifice to me, thou shalt shoot deer at pleasure," he will immediately prepare a sacrifice and burn the whole or part of a deer in honor of the apparition.

Occasionally, when an Indian would go hunting for a season, he will by way of preparation shoot a deer or two, bring home the flesh and prepare a feast, which is at the same time a sacrifice, to which the aged are invited. The latter pray for him that he may be fortunate and then he departs to stay away some time.

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orgy, put him out of the way, pretending to be very drunk and not capable of judging of the nature of his deed. Under such circumstances, according to ancient usage, the murderer must pay a hundred fathoms of wampum for the murder of a man and two hundred for that of a woman. If he is too poor to raise the amount, which is commonly the case, his friends help to raise it and turn it over to the relatives of the slain, at the same time delivering a speech. If any one has murdered his own relative, he usually escapes without difficulty, for the family can easily find reason for the deed, not wishing to lose two of their friends at once. Should a murderer not feel himself safe, he goes to another region or town where he is a stranger.

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In case of theft, which is held as a disgrace among them, nothing further is required than that the thief must restore what he has stolen, pay for it or give something in exchange. If justice cannot be satisfied in one of these ways, because the thief has nothing, loss falls on the party robbed, or the friends of the thief, if such he has, must make good the loss.

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When a whole party goes out to hunt, they govern themselves according to the wishes of the oldest or the most expert, particularly if he be a member of the council. It is not considered good form for one to leave the party before the end of the hunt. If one has wounded a deer and another followed and killed it, the skin belongs to the first and either the half or the whole of the meat to the latter. If several take aim at once and they cannot determine which of them made the best shot, the skin is given to the oldest of the party, or, if he happened to be one of those taking aim, he is said to have killed the animal. Old men, therefore, no longer able to shoot well, generally get their share of the skins, if they only aim now and then with the others though they do not hit the mark.

Such old men, accompanying a hunting party, get both meat and skins, for the good hunters will not let them return empty-handed. They have, in general, and the Unami in particular, the custom that when a huntsman has shot a deer, and another Indian joins him or only looks on at a distance, he immediately gives him the whole animal and goes in pursuit of another.

4: Tantaquidgeon E-5 (1930) 1942
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726

cine," [8] was prepared. Such formulæ were transferred from the warriors of one generation to another, in native theory only those known to live clean, pure lives being the recipients. A warrior carried a bundle which contained medicine and personal charms. The medicine stone [9] was used only in times of crisis.

Use of Wampum in Healing

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Shell wampum is used in treating cases of paralysis or similar afflictions believed due to failure of parents to fulfill certain ceremonial obligations or to breaking certain taboos. Before receiving treatment the patient presents one yard of wampum [10] to the medicine man. Potency is added to the herbal medicines by the wampum and enables the doctor to diagnose the case in a brief time.[11]

[756]

The Otter Medicine

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The Otter [12] was regarded as the most sacred of all water animals. It figured in a ceremony described by Harrington [13] in which the spirit of the Otter was propitiated. In order to capture the animal a special lure was made. The formula for preparing such medicine [14] was in the custody of an old man of sufficient spiritual purity to withstand its great power. Certain roots,[15] cleaned by the old man in running water to the accompaniment of a song, were used. In doing so he was obliged to walk against the current, throwing water upon his tracks to conceal them. A secluded place was sought out for this preparatory rite. The medicine was hidden away from his dwelling lest it lose potency through the proximity of a woman. The medicine was considered very effective in luring other water animals, since it was a gift from the Otter, the most powerful of such creatures.

[8] According to Zeisberger *(op. cit.,* p. 127) "The captains and others secure a *beson* (medicine) to preserve themselves from arrow and ball." Converse (1910, p. 168) notes the use of medicine made from the roots of corn, which the men drank. It afforded them such supernatural protection that "they could not be shot even though they were shot at seven times."

[9] See page 23.

[10] Measured from the shoulder to the wrist.

[11] The function of wampum in healing and in the ceremony of the Big House is discussed by Speck, 1931, pp. 52-53.

[12] *Lutra canadensis.*

[13] 1921, p. 176.

[14] Known as "otter medicine."

[15] The same plant, "pull up" *(Sp.?)* is also used in preparation of love charms (see p. 13).

[804]

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So far as could be ascertained, the use of corn medicine and fish fertilizer in corn hills, is the only vestige of the ritualistic complex now associated with maize cultivation.[8] My informant stated that in former times it was customary to use medicine in which corn was soaked to prevent cut worms. At present, seed corn is soaked in water and hardwood ashes. Fish bones were burned and combined with wood ashes and put in the corn hills as an offering to the Maize Spirit. Corn, beans, and squash were planted together, but the legend of the Three Sisters (corn, beans, and squash) [9] so prominent in Iroquois mythology, is absent.

The different varieties of maize are not planted near one another because, it is said, "One will visit the other and forget to come back."

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When corn matures one must share the first gathering with a less fortunate tribesman or with some old person. This rule applies to all crops as well as to the first kill.[10] In order that people may continue to receive the blessings of the Creator, every man is obligated to share his first fruits and game with others, before partaking of them himself. The practice of sharing vegetable food with a neighbor is known by the term, "I feed you." A hunter offering animal flesh in observance of this rule, used the phrase, "I give you some meat."

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There are several methods employed in preparing corn as food.

(a) The husk is taken off and the ears laid in the sun until thoroughly dry. The grains may then be removed and pounded into hominy grits.

(b) After removing the husk, the ears are boiled until thoroughly cooked. They are allowed to cool, the grains removed with a spoon and spread out to dry.

(c) The ears are laid before the fire and roasted.

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Early records indicate that corn parched and crushed to meal, served as a very nourishing food which was indispensable to the hunter or

[8] The Iroquois observed the practice of soaking seed corn in a medicine especially prepared from certain plants. "In ancient times they enriched the soil with both fish and shell." (Waugh, *op. cit.*, p. 18.)

[9] The corn, bean and squash complex is discussed by Parker, 1910, p. 36, and Converse, 1910, p. 63.

[10] According to Zeisberger (*op. cit.*, p. 84) a hunter before setting out upon a long hunting trip, would kill a deer or two and prepare a feast as a sacrifice to the game. The old people as invited guests would pray for his good fortune during the expedition.

present day. Thus, for example, the Delaware term for the cocoanut is "water hickory nut."

"Indian Potato" or Ground Nut *(Apios tuberosa)*, "wild potato." The tuberous roots are gathered in large quantities and stored for winter use. They are not considered good after sprouting. The roots are either boiled and eaten as the cultivated potato, or dried and ground into flour used for making bread. In recent times the ground nut has not grown abundantly in the Delaware habitat, and is now considered a rare delicacy.

Sorrel *(Rumex acetosella)*, "sour." This plant, prepared much like rhubarb, is used as a filling for pies.

Onion *(Sp.?)*. Of the different varieties of wild onions, three are regarded by the Delaware as being edible. The one most commonly gathered for use is the "buttonseed." These are dried and prepared by frying, or boiling, or are added to flavor stews and soups. Wild onions are also cooked in grease to which eggs are added.

A species of mushroom *(Agaricus campestris)*, "tripe form," is fried in hot fat, or salted and boiled.

Certain plants are considered to be healthful foods, especially in spring, when people were in need of the medicinal substances present in them. The practice of seeking the first green plant shoots in early spring is not peculiar to the Delaware alone, but is characteristic of other Eastern Algonkian peoples. Such food is called "greens" or "plant tops." The young shoots are usually picked and cooked separately, or mixed with several other plants. In both cases the "greens" are parboiled in water, and then cooked with meat. Among such plants may be mentioned dandelion, milkweed, poke, lamb's quarters, mustard, dock, and watercress.

Animal Foods

Wild animals, as pointed out by F. G. Speck (1931, pp. 28-29), are in general considered to exist in clan relationship with humans. The latter are said to be "kings among animals." Clean, pure animals of the forests are referred to in terms of human relationship and their spirits must be propitiated before they can be sought for food. If the supernaturals are appeased through sacrifices, the animals will allow themselves to be taken, but if the proper ceremonies are not carried out, they can never be approached by humans. Therefore a hunter before starting out, is obliged to pray and sacrifice tobacco, and also if he should dream of seeing game during the hunt. The Delaware "sharing-feast"

described by Zeisberger, has previously been referred to (p. 47). Special medicine lures for hunting are also prepared by the hunter. 825 224

The Delaware consider the bear and the deer to be the greatest of all animals. The bear is also called "Our Grandfather." Both animals are considered closely akin to the Indian, but the Delaware believe that the bear has the most human-like traits. The antelope, a creature of the later Delaware environment, is regarded as a sacred, pure animal. Of the water animals, the otter is regarded as supernaturally the most powerful.

During the chase, the hunter is careful not to unduly excite the game pursued, since the flesh of such an animal is apt to cause illness when eaten. The same treatment holds for the capture and killing of domestic animals and fowl. Formerly bison, bear, deer, otter, beaver, the smaller animals, and wild fowl provided meat for the Delaware diet. In the latter period squirrels, rabbits, and domestic animals replaced the increasingly rare, larger species. [262]

After an animal was killed, all parts of it were utilized; the flesh for food; the hide for shelter, clothing, robes, and bags; the bones for implements, and the teeth for ornaments, etc. The hide was removed by the hunter forcing his fist between it and the flesh, thus working around the body until the hide was loose. The use of a sharp instrument for this purpose, would, it was claimed, cut and thus spoil the hide. All fat from the bison, bear, deer, and domestic animals was saved and stored in a rawhide container. The intestines were cleaned, filled with blood or meat, and cooked. The flesh of the larger animals was usually roasted. A fire was built in a pit and the carcass placed upon a scaffold above it. A slow fire was kept burning, over which the meat was turned until it was thoroughly cooked. 224 252

Meat was preserved in one of two ways—by smoke-drying or immersing it in grease. In drying, thin slices were suspended over a slow fire. In the latter process alternate layers of partially cooked meat and hot lard were placed in a large earthen crock until filled. Slippery elm bark, cinnamon, and allspice were added to the grease for flavor. 251 252

Stews and soups were made of fresh meat, to which hominy or corn meal dumplings were added. The flesh of small animals, from which the scent glands had been removed, were also preserved by smoke-drying. If a deer, or other animal, was killed during the mating season, the animal's testicles were immediately removed. An Indian hunter usually killed only male animals.

Fish were fried or cooked in a stew or soup. Formerly fish were preserved by drying.

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Delaware tribe was gathered together on a reservation in Kansas in 1835 and from there removed to their present location in Oklahoma, where they are politically incorporated in the Cherokee nation. Other Delaware, most of whom belonged to the Munsee division and were converted by Moravian missionaries in the eighteenth century, are now located in Ontario.

DELAWARE CULTURE

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The method of presentation which has been followed is to place the authorities for each statement immediately after it. For the most part, traits for which there is no evidence in earlier sources have been omitted, but where this leaves a large gap in the picture of the culture, sections based purely on eighteenth century sources have been inserted. The material has been divided into three main aspects, and proceeds from a consideration of economic life, to social organization and religion.

Means of Procuring Food

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[243]
For the tribes living on the east coast, fishing was probably the most important means of getting food, judging from the relative amounts of shells and animal bones found in ancient sites (Skinner, 1915, p. 7). Oysters, clams, mussels and scallops were widely utilized as well as rockfish, shad, herring, sturgeon and gar fish which were found plentifully in those waters (Abbott, 1875, p. 278; Skinner, 1909, p. 46).

According to Lindstrom, the Indians caught fish by building a dam across a stream near its source or at a waterfall. When the river rose, the last small opening was closed in the dam and the water allowed to flow over it, leaving the fish in shallow water at low tide. They were then either taken by hand or shot with bow and arrow (sic). The latter method was also used in deep water (Lindstrom, 1915, pp. 219-220). Other writers report the use of hemp nets, and a number of stone sinkers have been found in archaeological sites. Rude seines of matted leaves and twigs are mentioned as well as fishing spears (Abbott, 1875, pp. 278 and 361; Heye, p. 70; Skinner, 1915, pp. 7 and 10; Harrington, 1913, p. 222).

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The Delaware's hunting was done both cooperatively and individually. Early Swedish writers have described one cooperative method in which deer were surrounded either by a ring of men or by a ring of fire, and driven toward the center where they were shot with bow and arrow. Sometimes they were driven into a river where they were lassoed (Johnson, p. 281; Lindstrom, p. 214). According to a later writer, these hunting parties had a leader and were governed by definite rules, but there is no direct evidence for this in pre-contact times (Loskiel, p. 77). These organized hunt took place in the fall, but hunting itself was a year round occupation

(Lindstrom, p. 215). Men went by themselves or took their families to the woods for periods of several days or weeks. In addition to their dependence on a steady aim with bow and arrow, they attempted to attract the animals by the use of charms and imitations of their calls (Harrington, 1913, pp. 221-22; Loskiel, p. 77). Loskiel, in the eighteenth century, also mentions the practice of chasing wounded deer for long distances if they did not fall on the first shot, but this cannot be documented by earlier accounts (Loskiel, p. 76).

Early Swedish writers noted that turkeys and other birds, deer, beavers and other small animals were snared (the twitchup is the only type of snare specifically mentioned) and beavers were sometimes killed with a lance (Johnson, p. 281). Pigeons might be killed by cutting all sides of a tree used as a roost, then toppling it when the birds alighted (Lindstrom, pp. 216-17).

Remnants of the Delaware's hunting equipment are found abundantly in their old haunts. Stone arrow points and lance heads are particularly numerous, but antler points are found in smaller quantities (Abbott, 1875, p. 269; Skinner, 1915, p. 10; Smith, p. 139; Kalm, p. 230). Stone axes suitable for crushing bones or shells, and knives suitable for skinning and cutting up the meat are also found in abundance (Abbott, 1875, pp. 264 and 303; Skinner, 1909, pp. 18-20; Kalm, p. 230; Heye, p. 71).

Even the earliest writers were aware to some extent of the reverence in which Delaware hunters held the provider of their sustenance. Lindstrom and Penn mention that the first catch of the season was eaten at a special feast accompanied by singing and dancing. All that was not eaten was burned, and on no account was any part sold (Lindstrom, pp. 214-15; Penn, p. 38). Boys did not begin hunting until about fifteen years of age, sometimes starting as the result of success in obtaining a guardian spirit through a vision. It was believed that the youth would be able to catch all that he desired on the day after such a vision (Lindstrom, p. 208).

The women's main contribution to the food supply lay in agriculture. Without doubt the most important crop was maize, of which the Delaware had several varieties[2] (De Rasieres, p. 107; Johnson, p. 279; Kalm, p. 74; Lindstrom, p. 223). To get some impression of the amount of maize grown, we may note that Krieger, commander in an expedition against one band of New Jersey Delaware in 1663, says that he cut down 215 acres of maize and burned more than 100 pits of corn and beans (Krieger, p. 39). There are also ample references to the cultivations of beans, squash (including pumpkins) and tobacco[3] (Harrington, 1913, p. 221; Johnson, p. 279; Kalm, p. 74).

Since the Delaware had no axe adequate to cut down a tree of any considerable size, they cleared their fields by seriously bruising the bark of the trees, thereby killing them. In this operation they

inside the oven, shook a calabash rattle and threw tobacco in the fire while asking the spirits to grant the boy good luck (Loskiel, p. 43).

To these ceremonies each person had to contribute a certain amount of wampum, a feature noted by Penn (p. 39). Of the rationale behind this custom, Frank Speck says: "...the pecuniary aspect of wampum has been exaggerated in the early writings dealing with the eastern Indians. To the Delawares wampum stood forth in the light of a covenant. It represented, and still does, a magical power capable of annulling the effects of latent poisonous influences that might pass between persons who exchange gifts or who enter into the transfer of property." (Speck, 1931, p. 63).

In addition to these more formal ceremonies, Brickell states that "...when they start on a hunting expedition, the first game that is taken they skin and dress whole, breaking not a bone, leaving on the head, ears and hoofs. This they bring to camp and cook whole, and everyone eats of it, and the rest they burn entirely up." (p. 49).

The Delaware communicated with the supernatural by means of visions. "...they give much heed to dreams, because they suppose these invisible powers give them direction at such times about certain affairs, and sometimes inform them what animal they choose to be worshipped in." (Brainerd, pp. 349-350; also see Loskiel, p. 40). In regard to the last, Lindstrom says: "They adopt their Paarka or idol when about fifteen. They may make a human figure, claw of bear or eagle, tooth or bird bill. They hang it about their neck and it is so sacred that no one may touch it." (Lindstrom, p. 207). These animals which became guardian spirits received their power from the great Spirit. Such an animal became sacred to the person to whom it was the author of good, although to others it was the same as any other animal (Zeisberger, 1910, p. 132; Brainerd, pp. 344-345).[15]

The Hereafter

From the earliest sources we find that the Delaware had a concept of an immortal soul, a hereafter which was better than life on earth and that the attainment of this place was linked with good behavior in life. The hereafter was believed to lie to the south, but its location was very vaguely conceived. Likewise although they had the idea of reward for a good life, there was no definite expression of what this good life would involve. The bad were to be punished not by any torture but by the inability to attain the place of bliss (Penn, p. 37; Brainerd, p. 346; Zeisberger, 1910, pp. 128-29; Brickell, p. 49). The greatest difference between the Delaware concept of good and that of the Christian theology of the period lay in the fact that the Delaware concept was completely concerned with man's behavior toward his fellow man. The sacrifices which were made were apparently expected to influence one's immediate fortune but to have little effect on the state of the soul after death. Thus Brainerd says that the bad folk are those who "...lie, steal, quarrel with their neighbors, are unkind to their friends and especially to aged parents, and in a word, such as are a plague to mankind." (p. 346).

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
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Lenape

the mother saying, "If you don't behave, MIsi'ng$^{w^t}$ will carry you off in a bag full of snakes!" This seems to be the only trace of the doctoring function of the mask among the Unami. They also say that when the keeper burns tobacco for MIsinghâli'kŭn and asks for good luck in hunting, "it turns out that way every time;" and if anyone has lost either horses or cattle, whether by straying away or through theft, he can go to the keeper of the MIsi'ng$^{w^t}$ with some tobacco and recover them. All he has to do is to explain his errand to the keeper, who in turn informs MIsinghâli'kŭn that they want him to look for these particular animals. The loser then goes home, and in a few days the missing stock return, driven back by this mysterious being. If they were tied or hobbled, it is said that the MIsi'ng$^{w^t}$ appears to them and so frightens them that they break loose and come home. MIsinghâli'kŭn has a special ceremony, held in the spring, and also participates in the Annual Ceremony at the Big House. This MIsi'ng$^{w^t}$ is also

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6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
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distributed, and the speaker says, "We will now pray twelve times," so twelve times they cry "*Ho-o-o!*" as a prayer. Then they feast, using musselshells from the river as spoons, and finally the speaker dismisses them with the words, "This is all for tonight; tomorrow night we will meet again."

264
796x

DEPARTURE OF THE HUNTERS

When the next night arrives, approximately the same performance is repeated; and the same the next, with little of interest occurring during the day; but on the fourth morning, the leader who has selected a man for chief hunter, gives him a yard of wampum as pay. This master of the hunt then selects as many assistants as he wants, and he and his crew all gather in the Big House, where they are served about noon with a feast prepared for the occasion by the women of the camp, and the attendants tie sacks of the food to the hunters' saddles.

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When they have finished eating, they

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
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●224 796[x] [516] When they have finished eating they arrange themselves in a row, each hunter standing on his left foot and barely touching the ground with the toes of his right, an action whose meaning I have not yet been able to determine.

Then the speaker rises and talks to them, and the Mĭsi'ng[w'] who has been seen about the camp from time to time, is in the Big House listening to his words. "When you hunt," says the speaker, "think of nothing but luck to kill deer." As he speaks he goes to the [276] [782] west fire and throws into it, six times, an offering of native tobacco; then to the east fire, where he sacrifices six more pinches of the sacred herb—twelve in all. While sacrificing tobacco, he prays to the Mĭsi'ng[w'] to drive the deer up, so that the hunters can kill them. As he drops the last tobacco into the flames, he says, "If you kill a deer right away, bring it in tonight; if not, bring in all you kill day after tomorrow."

What tobacco is left is given to the chief hunter with the words, "When you camp tonight, burn this and ask Mĭsinghâli'kŭn

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

to let you kill deer." The reader will remember that Mĭsinghâli'kŭn, in whose image the Mĭsi'ng^{w}' is carved, is supposed to have control over the deer, and in fact over all wild animals.

All the hunters that are in the habit of chewing tobacco are now given some for this purpose. When they file out and mount their horses, the Mĭsi'ng^{w}' follows them and sees them off.

After the hunters have disappeared, the people call the Mĭsi'ng^{w}' back into the Big House and coax him to dance, while two men volunteer to sing for him.

PRAYER FOR THE HUNTERS

The following evening six men are appointed and given a yard of wampum to divide among them, to go out close to the forked game-pole east of the Big House, intended for the carcasses of the deer, and "pray" there twelve times. The meaning of this, of course, is that they sound the prayer word "*Ho-o-o!*" which is evidently to help the hunters. This night also a yard of wampum is unstrung

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
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and scattered on the ground just west of the east fire, and this the attendants must pick up, crying "*Ho-o-o!*" as they do so. For doing this, which is called "picking berries," they are supposed to keep what wampum they pick up.

RETURN OF THE HUNTERS

If the hunters are lucky and kill a deer the first day, they send one man back with it. As he approaches he fires a [202] gun as a signal of his coming, at which the singers run into the Big House and begin to sing and beat the drum. Then everyone is happy.

In any case the hunters all return on the third day. If they have killed deer, they shoot their guns; if not, they come in very quietly. When the shots are heard, the singers hasten to their places, and, beating the drum, sing a song that is used only on such occasions. Then when the hunters arrive, they feast, and their leader announces the names of those lucky enough to kill a deer. The carcasses are skinned and hung on the deer

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

pole (shown in frontispiece), east of the Big House, and are used in the feasts at the close of every night's meeting until the gathering disbands.

224 ●
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NEW FIRE

Every night the usual program is repeated until the ninth. On this night a new fire is kindled with the sacred pump-drill called *tu"da'i wähe"'ji manï'towŭk* or "Fire maker of the Manï'tos" (fig. 8), and the ashes of the old are carried out through the west door of the Big House, which is used only for this purpose (among the Unami), and is usually kept closed. The new fire seems to symbolize a fresh start in all the affairs of life.

372
796 x

USE OF CARVED DRUMSTICKS

Also on the ninth night, before the singing begins, they bring out the two ancient drumsticks (*pa kŭ"di'gŭn*), carved with tiny human heads, one male and one female (fig. 11), to use in place of the cruder sticks used before, which are marked only with a rude cross (fig. 12, *a*).

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532
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[Text continues on page 103]

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
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same way the twelve MIsi'ng^{w} faces carved upon the posts of the building, also the drumsticks, the prayersticks, the deerskin drum, and the turtles. A variant has it that both bark vessels contain paint, the customs differing according to phratry.

Each woman who takes part on this night receives a share of the venison, if there is any,—the biggest and fattest buck the hunters kill,—and the attendants cook it for them at the fire outside.

CONCLUSION OF CEREMONY

Next morning the men resume the ceremony and continue until the sun is high. Two men are then appointed to close the meeting, for which each receives one yard of wampum. Their duty is to sing twelve times while the people dance about the central post, the women in a circle next to the post, the men in another circle outside that of the women. These two singers stop dancing in front of where the chief is sitting, and announce, "We will now pray twelve times." They

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

joined in the feast. At this time the skin is told, "We will feed you again in two years."

BUFFALO DANCE

Such was the list of native Lenape ceremonies furnished by our informants; but Adams[88] mentions several more, for which the writer was unable to procure much in the way of data. One of these was the Buffalo dance, which the writer feels should be included with the Otter and Bear ceremonies, although Adams calls it a "pleasure dance." He admits, it will be observed, that it usually took place before hunters started on the chase. His account follows:

"The Buffalo dance is a pleasure dance and always begins in the morning and lasts all day. The ground is made clean in a circle large enough to dance on, and in the center a fire is built and a fork driven into the ground on each side, and a pole placed across the fire east and west. On each side of the fire is a large brass kettle hanging across the pole with hominy in it, and when the dance is nearly over the dancers eat the hominy, dipping their hands in the kettle. The singers are outside of the ring and beat on a dried deer

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

hide stretched over poles. They do not use the same step in the dance, but gallop like buffaloes and bellow like them, also have horns on their heads and occasionally hook at each other. The dance is usually given before starting on a chase."

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796 ✗

IMPORTED CEREMONIES

Skeleton Dance

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The preceding ceremonies have all been, ostensibly at least, of native Lenape origin, but we now come to several whose outside origin is admitted by the Indians themselves. The most ancient of these is the "Human Skeleton Dance," mentioned by Adams.[30] He calls it a rite belonging to the Wolf clan or phratry of the Delawares, but the writer's informants say that it is not true Lenape at all, but a Nanticoke (One"tko) ceremony introduced among the Lenape by the survivors of that tribe who had joined forces with them. Adams' account, which is better than any the writer was able to obtain, is as follows:

"*Human Skeleton Dance.*—Given only by the Wolf clan of the Delawares. A

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
NM7 Delaware NM7

strong faith, that the night he dreams about him,[3] he will at once the following day be able to shoot as much game and catch as much fish as ever he wants to,—the evil one, undoubtedly helps him to it.[4]

The first hunt which the savages arrange in the spring [they dedicate to the evil one]; if they then can shoot ever so many animals in their hunt they do not sell a single one of them, but make a burnt offering of it[5] to *Manitto* or the devil; then they will that year have good luck in hunting and shooting.

They do, however, know a little historically about Christ, which they consider a fable. When the old savages are to tell the Christians what passed in former times, they say that it has been told them from times immemorial by their fathers and forefathers, who have said that it was, once in former time, one of our savage women who became pregnant by going and drinking in a brook; and none of our Rennappi had had any connection with her, yet she became pregnant and gave birth to a son. And when that one became somewhat large, something like this,—he measures with his hand in the air, as he knows nothing of age or years. "Yes, that was a pólite[6] and clever

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Portuguese citizens and speak a Portuguese dialect. For *taboo*, see Hodge, *Handbook*, II, 667.

[3] The charm or fetish emblem.

[4] Lindeström believed in the powers of the Indian medicine man; but he attributed this power to influence of the Devil. Cf. Heckewelder, *Indian Nations*, 231 ff.

[5] The game obtained in the hunt. Cf. Hodge, *Handbook*, II, 402 ff., and the literature quoted there.

[6] *Artigh, polite.* Perhaps, however, Lindeström means handsome, fine, splendid. See *artigh inventsion*, Chapt. XVII, note 3.

8:Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
NM7 Delaware NM7

CHAPTER XVII.

Concerning the Hunting and Shooting of the American Savage People.

The soil in New Sweden is so loose, as if we stood and poked in ashes, because the earth there is not so closely rooted or sodded, as when it is somewhat used in the beginning, burnt, sown and cut.[1] There indeed grows a great deal of high grass, which reaches above the knees of a man, but the stalks are so far apart that one can uproot it like flax or hemp. There is also no thickly grown forest but the trees stand far apart, as if they were planted. The soil also appears there in the country, as if it formerly had stood under water, for there is found everywhere on the ground an abundance of all kinds of mussels and shells, as well as other things that are found in the water.[2]

Now as soon as the winter bids good night, they begin with their hunts, which is done with a fine innovation.[3] Now at that time of the year the grass which grows there, as has been said, is as dry as hay. When now the sachem wants to arrange his hunt, then he commands his people [to

[1] *Jorden in Nova Suecia är så lösa som man stodo och rörde j Aska, af orsaak att Jorden är ther inthet så tätt rotader eller vallader såsom när hon blyfver nägot j förstonne brukader, brändh, sådder och afslagen.* This is ambiguous. Perhaps it means that the ground is loose before grass-roots and other growths have made it tough.

[2] *Musslor och allehanda skaalar sampt annat som i wattnet finnes.*

[3] *Artigh invention.* See above, Chapt. XV, note 6.

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
NM7 Delaware NM7

224 take a position] close together in a circle of ½, 1 or 2 miles,[4] according to the number of people at his command. In the first place each one roots up the grass in the position, [assigned to him] in the circumference, to the width of about 3 or 4 ells, so that the fire will not be able to run back, each one then beginning to set fire to the grass, which is mightily ignited, so that the fire travels away, in towards the center of the circle, which the Indians follow with great noise, and all the animals which are found within the circle, flee from the fire and the cries of the Indians, traveling away, whereby the circle through its decreasing is more and more contracted towards the center. When now the Indians have surrounded the center with a small circle, so that they mutually cannot do each other any harm,[5] then they break loose with guns and bows on the animals which they then have been blessed with, that not one can escape and thus they get a great multitude of all kinds of animals which are found there.

The first hunt of the year which they thus obtain [they consecrate to Manitto]. When they first have eaten their fill of it and enjoyed their feast[6] they make a burnt offering of the remaining, which they sacrifice to Manitto, i.e., the Devil, but not one animal of it do [they] sell, believing that

[4] Swedish or German miles.

[5] The idea is: when the circle has been so contracted that the animals run from one side of the circle to the other but before the hunters get too near to one another, they begin shooting. Dr. V. O. Freeburg, of New York, tells me that wolf hunts of this character were arranged in Kansas in the early days. Cf. Van der Donck, De Vries, etc., *N. Y. Col.*, 2, I, 167; III, 108, etc. Hodge, *Handbook*, I, 581.

[6] *Och hollet sitt gästebodh.*

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
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they through this later will get in their hunt so much the greater blessing. Then they sing and dance and when they become jolly and happy then they cry and sing thus namely:[7] *Hägginj, hä, hä, hä; Hägginj hä; Hägginj hä; Hägginj hä, hä, hä, hä*, etc. Thus repeating and continuing so long a time, so that it reaches well over the forest.[8]

In this their convention[9] they [also] practice shooting. He who is sachem has a turkey placed very high in the air, whose entrails are removed and [the body] filled again with their money.[10] And the one who then can shoot it down, he receives the money, *et talia*, etc.

In the meantime later in the year, when the grass has thus been burnt off the land, they do not care to arrange any more such hunts,[11] but shoot the animals wherever they find them in the woods, which they have no difficulty in doing, because they have scent of the animals like the dogs; for often the savages say to the Christians, when they follow them in the woods: "Indeed I now feel the scent of deer, if I wanted to bother to go after them." This the Christians did not believe in the beginning, before they followed them, and got to see that they were right. Otherwise they are so perfect in shooting that they do not miss.

And the savage is so armstrong that he is able to shoot with a bow so far, that no gun can carry

[7] *Tå roopa the och sunga alledes, sämbl.*
[8] So that it can be heard far over the forest. *Hegginj*, etc., the final *j* is used for *i*. Cf. Holm, *Kort Beskrifning*, 153 ff.; above, p. XL.
[9] *Uthi detta sitt consort.*
[10] Wampum.
[11] Like the one described above.

8:Linestrom T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
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224

25. "Later in the year, when the grass has been burnt off the land . . . they shoot the animals wherever they can find them in the woods." See p. 215. The method of disguise pictured above was cleverly employed by the Indians in a variety of forms.

501

26. Fishing. See pp. 219-20. "They use no other vessels . . . than canoes." They also mason for themselves a little *fireplace*." (*Notice the smoke between the two sitting figures.*) See p. 238.

[Facing p. 219]

+ = element present
− = element denied
(+) or (−) = source ambiguous
• = informant could not or would not say
§ = some, sometimes, or several
† or * = see Ethnographic Notes, pp. 79-137 for additional information

	Williams	Van der Donck	Lindestrom	Zeisberger	Heckewelder	Johnston	Pipe	Chipps	J. W.	W. T.	E. R.	W. L.
Food, mode of living, etc.—Continued												
298. Vegetables introduced by whites				+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+
299. Wild rice				(−)		−		−	−	+	−	−
300. Have regular meals		−			+	−		−	+	+	+	−
301. Generally eat together (family)		(+)						+	+	+	+	+
302. Men and women eat together		(+)				+		+	+	+	+	+
303. Neat in their cooking			−	§	+	−		+	+	+	+	+
304. Several cooking modes		−	+		•+	+		+	+	+	+	+
305. Generally prefer well done			−	+					+	+	+	+
306. Commonly eat in the night						−		+	−	−	−	−
307. Eat every kind of fish		+	(+)			+		+	−	+	•	+
Hunting												
308. Use bow and arrow	+	+	+		+	+		+	+	+	+	+
309. Rifle and fowling piece		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
310. Blow gun for birds and small game								+	+	+	•	+
311. Deadfall for raccoon	+					+			+	+	•	+
312. Torches at night on water for deer						+			•	+	•	•
313. Fish with spears	+		−					+	+	•	+	+
314. With hook and line	+	+	−					+	+	•	+	+
315. By shooting with arrows	+		+						+	+	+	+
316. Hunt in large parties	+	+	+	+		+		+	+	+	+	+
317. Number in party	300	100				10-15		40-50		15	4	6-7
318. Any attendant ceremonies			*(+)	−		−		−		+	+	+
319. Under guidance of oldest or most expert			+	+		+			+	+	+	+
320. Any peculiar laws in hunting			+	+	•	−	•	+	+	+	+	+
321. When two are hunting and one kills animals, it is divided equally				(+)		+		+	(+)	(+)	+	+
322. Person who kills or first wounds animal entitled to whole when stranger appears						+						
323. to skin and half of carcass				+				+	+			+

| | | |

9: Kinists E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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885 individual prowess, it is doubtful if a definite age was observed before the introduction of the concept of a legal age by the whites.

Family Government

593 Questions dealing with the display of tenderness and affection between husband and wife were framed by Cass to be answered by observers outside the group under consideration (271, 285). The opinions of the Delaware themselves were, of course, in the affirmative for the existence and display of these emotions, but they agreed with the information of the writers of the earlier periods who were only observers.

462 In seeking information on the elements dealing with the occupations of the husband and wife, it was emphasized that we were concerned with earlier conditions as well as with present practices. Although the methods may have changed, the responsibilities of the husband have remained the same from the earliest times known. He is still the provider of meat, clothing, and other necessities whether as the direct or indirect result of hunting or other activity (272-74).

593 462 562 The wife was expected in the old days to obey her husband, make clothing and moccasins of material provided by her spouse, tend the garden or fields, cook meals, and provide fuel (275-80). These duties were reported for women throughout the first three periods. It is interesting to note that three of the modern informants, J. W., W. T., and E. R., denied the agricultural responsibilities of women. It is a tossup whether they were uninformed of conditions in the past or answered as they did because these are not the sole responsibility of the women now and they interpreted the past in terms of their present customary division of labor which is similar to that of the whites. This chivalrous attitude is maintained on the question of manual labor falling on the wife (281). On all these elements the information of W. L. reflected the earlier conditions.

[224] [484] According to Heckewelder, when hunting was of great importance, the husband could not be encumbered with any burden when moving camp but must of necessity leave all that to his wife and himself be on the lookout for game (282). In the

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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411 Oklahoma Delaware said that they had used the blowgun as boys and that, although the targets were usually birds or small [524] game, the blowgun was more of a toy than anything else. Since the sojourn of the ancestors of the Oklahoma Delaware in Ohio [171] and Indiana in the first decades of the nineteenth century is rather well documented and accounts of that period fail to record the possession of the blowgun then, it is more than probable that two sources of diffusion are here indicated. The Canadian Munsee or Delaware undoubtedly received the blowgun from the Southeast through the Iroquois, whereas the Oklahoma Delaware probably received it direct from the southeastern tribes with whom they have been neighbors in Oklahoma.

227 It is strange that in two years on the Delaware River Lindeström did not see spears, nets, or hooks used to take fish (313-15). All these were mentioned by Roger Williams as being used by the Narragansets and all but the spears were listed by Van der Donck in addition to weirs. These last, according to Lindeström, were the principal means used by the Delaware to take fish. Weirs were not mentioned by the second- or third-period sources and were unknown to the modern Delaware.

● 224 Large hunting parties were reported periodically for the Delaware in every period (316). However, there was considerable variation as to the number constituting a large party (317). E. R. said four hunters were as many as ever hunted together. This is quite diverse from the hundreds reported in the first period. The parties were formed for their mutual advantage and were under the guidance of the oldest or most expert hunter (319). Williams, Van der Donck, and Lindeström mentioned the driving of deer by large parties. Subsequent accounts did not mention game drives, and the report of smaller parties probably indicate that they were no longer made. Group hunting in the later periods was described by Johnston as a party of several families going together directed by a head man who encouraged the young men to pursue their hunting every morning and directed them where and when to move their camps. The ceremonies observed [196] in connection with group hunting were rather elaborate as described by Lindeström (see *post*, pp. 127-28). In the second and

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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third periods no ceremonies were reported. In the fourth period the ceremonies were said to be prayers at the beginning and conclusion of the expedition. 224 [796]

From the sequence of questions I understand that the one relating to "peculiar laws" in hunting concerned the rights of various members of a group hunting—the division of the game, the taboos to be observed, etc. (320). Most of the sources and all of the informants stated or indicated the existence of laws or rules from this standpoint. Johnston, however, understood the question differently, for he answered, "They have not, every one kills as much as he can." While he gave no information on the subject desired, his answer does show that the Indians with whom he was acquainted were not practicing conservation of game. There seems to have been a certain etiquette observed whenever a successful hunter was approached by an unsuccessful one at the scene of the kill (322-26). The sharing of the game killed was as generally observed as if the two had been hunting together (321), but the detail of the division depended upon the individual hunter and his mood of the moment. Deer was the principal animal sought in hunting, and often the term hunting was used synonymously with deer hunting, and in speaking of the divisions of game killed, the deer is always taken as the example. The fact that deer was the staple meat and hunted most often in the autumn is also shown in the more frequent reports of hunting in the autumn than in any other season (328-31). [576]

A ceremony celebrating the killing of the first game animal by a youthful hunter is well affirmed in every period (332). The details of the ceremony, however, are not always given. Zeisberger reported that the youth presented a male animal to an old man and a female animal to an old woman (337). This was denied by all the modern informants. The third- and fourth-period reports related that the selection of the recipient of the kill was not based on the sex of the animal (336). This contradiction may represent a change in custom between the second and third periods, but the fact that there is only one authority for the earlier period casts some doubt on the uniformity of 332

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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852 the sex correlation. The animal or part of it was eaten by a friend who prayed for the continuance of good luck, according to Johnston, J. W. and W. L. (335). The dedication of the animal to deities or the spirits of deceased friends and the giving of the feast at night as mentioned by Johnston were denied by [177] two of the informants (333-34). There is a suggestion of a fourth-period change here that would be stronger if it were not for the paucity of accounts.

224 A feast, a dance, or both, were customarily given on the return of a hunting party, according to the statements or implications of the sources of the first three periods (338-39). The informants all denied that dances were held and W. T. was the [177] only one to admit the giving of feasts. This seems very definitely to reflect a change between the third and fourth periods, probably due to the decline in the economic importance of hunting.

Constitution, Personal Appearance, Dress, etc.

142 The elements under this heading are few and show little
302 change. There are, however, a couple of items that merit some discussion. First, on the matter of extirpating the beard, there is a division of opinion among the sources and among the informants (342). All the sources who mentioned the beard, except Van der Donck, said that it was pulled out. This was confirmed by J. W. in the fourth period but denied by W. T. and E. R. These maintained that the Indians never had beards until they intermarried with the whites.

The hairdress of the women offered little occasion for disagreement (349-53). All the sources and informants who gave any information on the subject agreed that women fastened their hair behind the head. Whether it was braided, clubbed, or fastened in a square bunch seems to have been a matter of individual preference, for one source mentioned all three methods [301] and four other accounts, two of the three methods. Ornamentation was also according to individual preference.

302 Men cut their hair short except for the tuft or scalp lock on the top of the head (345). The scalp lock was made into two braids according to all the sources who reported on this detail,

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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J. W. said twelve yards was the required amount of wampum. 681
W. T. said four feet was all that was necessary. 682
W. L. said fifty yards for a man, but one hundred for a woman.

256 to 259. Revenge of murder

VAN DER DONCK—Murder or personal injuries are not attended to by the chief, or friends, except for the purpose of reconciling the parties, for which they use all possible means, and give liberally to effect their object when the offender is deficient in means, which is usually the case. A murder among them is never atoned for without heavy payment. The nearest relative by blood is always the avenger, and if he finds the murderer within twenty-four hours after the act, he is slain instantly, but if the murderer can save himself until one day is past, and the avenger slays him afterwards, then he is liable to be pursued and slain in like manner. A murderer seldom is killed after the first twenty-four hours are past, but he must flee and remain concealed; when the friends endeavour to reconcile the parties, which is frequently agreed to, on condition, that the nearest relatives of the murderer, be they men, women, or children, on meeting the relatives of the person murdered, must give way to them. 627 682

J. W. and W. L. said revenge might not be taken by relatives but by two or three men appointed by chief.

264. Desertion of children

E. R. said that desertion of children was settled in the family. 682

HUNTING

318. Ceremonies

LINDESTRÖM—Now as soon as the winter bids good night, they begin with their hunts, which is done with a fine innovation. Now at that time of the year the grass which grows there, as has been said, is as dry as hay. When now the sachem wants to arrange his hunt, then commands his people [to take a position] close together in a circle of ½, or 1 or 2 miles, according to the number of people at his command. In the first place each one 224 622

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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224 622 roots up the grass in the position, [assigned to him] in the circumference, to the width of about 3 or 4 ells, so that the fire will not be able to run back, each one then beginning to set fire to the grass, which is mightily ignited, so that the fire travels away, in towards the center of the circle, which the Indians follow with great noise, and all the animals which are found within the circle, flee from the fire and the cries of the Indians, traveling away, whereby the circle through its decreasing is more and more contracted towards the center. When now the Indians have surrounded the center with a small circle, so that they mutually cannot do each other any harm, then they break loose with guns and bows on the animals which they then have been blessed with, that not one can escape and thus they get a great multitude of all kinds of animals which are found there.

[782 776 796 The first hunt of the year which they thus obtain (they consecrate to Manitto). When they first have eaten their fill of it and enjoyed their feast they make a burnt offering of the remaining, which they sacrifice to Manitto, i. e., the Devil, but not one animal of it do [they] sell, believing that they through this later will get in their hunt so much the greater blessing. Then they sing and dance and when they become jolly and happy then they cry and sing thus namely: *Hägginj, hä, hä, hä; Hägginj hä; Hägginj hä, Hägginj hä, hä, hä, hä,* etc. Thus repeating and continuing so long a time, so that it reaches well over the forest.

338. Celebration on returning from hunting

[782 776] W. T. said that prayers to the Great Spirit were made at this time, desiring that the favors shown the people be continued as they were appreciated.

CONSTITUTION, PERSONAL APPEARANCE, DRESS, ETC.

342. Extirpation of beard

302 [142] J. W. said that formerly the beard was pulled out but that recently the occasional use of a razor was all that was necessary. W. T. and E. R. said that they never had any beards.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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bility and maturity comes to the individual he feels that he is called to take his place in the annual ceremony. A new vision of life dawns upon him. He realizes that he has been brought into the world for a purpose and permitted to live to middle-age to raise children, take care of the aged relatives, help the people to health and comfort. Then there is also the feeling that others are observing him as an example of conduct. So he assumes his responsibility and prepares to appear in the Big House ceremony.[1]

We are told that the Big House performances were originally esoteric. Whites were excluded from it during the ceremonies, though in recent years the objection to their presence has been withdrawn due to intermarriage between Delaware women and white men.

The virtue of humility, so extolled and propogated in the philosophy of the Delawares, and the Iroquois[2] as well is one to which too little emphasis has been given by students. Historians, in particular those contrasting the humility of the evangelists with the contemptuousness of the natives, have ignored the declarations of ethnologists in this respect.[3]

THE SYMBOL OF TWELVE.—Allusion has previously been made in several places in our discussion, to the sanctity of the concept of twelve, the reason for which among the Delawares seems not to be objectively expressed.[4] Twelve is nevertheless a fundamental symbolical number. Throughout the text we hear of the Great Spirit residing in the twelfth stratum of the sky; of the prayer-call addressed to him uttered twelve times in succession; of the twelve prayer sticks or wands which lift the prayer to the twelfth heaven. The Big House ceremony itself is of twelve days' duration. The belief being that each day's performance lifts the worship a stage higher in the series of twelve successive sky levels until on the final day it reaches the Great Spirit himself.

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[1] Maturity is an important consideration with the Delawares. Among many facts still to be obtained in regard to restrictions of boys under the age of puberty, for instance, it may be interesting to note that these when they become old enough to take part in the hunt, are not allowed to eat soup lest their testicles rattle so warning game animals ahead of them, or to eat the heart of the animal lest they lose courage; or the animal's head, eyes, or ears lest they be bothered with gnats.

[2] A. C. Parker, The Code of Handsome Lake, Bull. 163. New York State Museum, Albany, 1912.

[3] For example Rev. T. J. Campbell, S. J.[3] tells his readers, "The red man had never much respect for the virtue of humility, and the young missionary (referring to Marquette among the Illinois) was treated rather contemptuously by many of the degraded wretches whom he was trying to regenerate." Pioneer Priests of North Amer. N. Y. 1911, Vol. III, p. 109.

[4] The importance of seven in Delaware thought has been stressed by A. L. Kroeber (Anthropology, N. Y. p. 252, f. n. 1) without giving the source. There seems to be no evidence of this in the material at hand.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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hunt because to do so we concentrate our minds[1] in order that we may be favored with success. The Hunt-Leader and his assistant and also the cook[2] must all be selected, and also the tobacco together with the rations for the journey. You Attendants must see to it with care that plenty of rations for the journey are furnished for all the hunters; the bread.

539X 796

ADDRESS ON THE FOURTH MORNING TO THE HUNTERS ABOUT TO LEAVE. THE MASK PERFORMANCE

Here now, my kindred, we have come to the fourth day since we began, in this place, to perform the ceremony. And each and every one of us knows the ruling of this our form of Prayer-Worship. Now we are using the tobacco our grandfather, while we are pleading earnestly with the Great Spirit. And the Mask-Spirit also, when we are giving thanks to him our grandfather Fire. This is how it is done by the Bringer-in[3], "I thank all the Spirit-Forces on top of the earth and all the Spirit-Forces up above. Wherefore we earnestly plead with grandfather when we give you to eat this red man's tobacco. Have pity on us here your grandchildren. They are begging you, Oh Mask-Spirit, that we may have success. Give us the wild animals since you control them, all the wild animals because we need that we may be blessed with this meat. And that one, our mother the corn, because of all the food given us I thank you Spirit Forces that we are given the blessing of your spirit-power. Now give us all we ask of you Great Spirit that you are and, our creator, think of your children."

539X 796 782

Brothers![4] Now the Hunt Leader, and he who is assistant, and also the cook, you must all remember the instructions and traditional rules that all persons who hunt observe as they journey. Here now being under our power, you are taking as you go the spirit-power of the Mask-Spirit, and tobacco is given the Hunt Leader and his assistant which they carry. Now when you have been gone two days it is permissible that any one who has killed something, they may use the meat.[5]

539X 796

[1] This means that the hunters who are now to go forth are to be supported and strengthened by the "power of wish," in concentration by the worshippers who stay behind in the Big House.

[2] Incidentally this is one of the occasions when the Attendants are obliged to furnish the food without the usual payment of wampum that they ordinarily receive.

[3] He prays as follows and sprinkles a little tobacco on each of the two fires of the Big House while declaiming.

[4] The Master of Ceremonies having finished his prayer now addresses the hunters who are ready to go forth. He charges them with their instructions as they stand directly in front of the drummers, facing him.

[5] This means that if no deer have been taken by the hunters by the second day they may kill and eat any animal for food since by this time they may be relieved from the monotony of the corn bread diet.

Some of the interesting observations of this event as remembered by the

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931

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Now when they return from the hunt, the Hunt-Leader when now he has come near even if it is midnight, shall shoot a signal once for as many deer as were killed, shooting so many times. And now when the Cranes hear the signal-shot of the Hunter he shall immediately run into the Big House and begin to sing for these hunters. All the Attendants must be ready to feed the hunters and all the horses unsaddled and fed, for that is the rule and act governing the Attendants.[1]

First the Bringer-in prays, using tobacco.[2] He bestows a blessing when offering praise to him our Father. This is sufficient for this time.[3]

There is also, my kindred, an ancient custom that we beg the Mask-Spirit to dance for us. You Cranes, you know how and you understand those songs which are used for this occasion when singing for the Mask. Every person who wants to go in the Big House is permitted to look on while the Mask dances in the Big House.[4]

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informant, who has taken part in this hunting rite, are that the leader distribute portions of tobacco to the hunters who are under his control. At each night's camp the stopping place is selected by him, the rations of food are distributed, tobacco is offered to the fire with a prayer by the leader and other details suggesting the rules governing the war parties' conduct among Central Algonkian and in the southern Plains areas.

Wi·ta'panoxwe, it is interesting to note, recalled, during his experience with the hunting squad, how a screech-owl cried near their camp one night; which has long been a sign of good luck (see also Zeisberger, p. 139). The next day he killed a deer, being the first of the party to do so.

[1] The hunters are not obliged to be concerned with the trouble of saddling, unsaddling or feeding their horses when enlisted in the sacred task of the ceremonial hunt. The Attendants take over all such duties of service to them and their animals.

[2] He burns a little tobacco in the fire.

[3] Hereupon it being between nine and ten o'clock in the morning, the hunters leave, departing westward toward the Osage nation nowadays, the only hunting ground accessible to them.

[4] The man wearing the mask and the bear-hide clothes keeps the mask and clothes some hundred yards from the Big House at the edge of the brush in the open, hung upon a branch to keep it away from the dogs. Anyone who desires to perform this rite may put on the paraphernalia and accept the invitation as given above, and go into the Big House and dance. His dance lasts about ten minutes anywhere in the Big House that he desires. The mask when worn is held by the chin with the holder's fingers in the mouth of the mask, so that the wearer can adjust the focus of the eyes of the carving to his own focus of vision. The eye holes are small, yet the mask could be adjusted so that the performer could see as though he were looking through spectacles. To be able to do this was considered as a sign of spiritual greatness. It might be added that the face illustrated in Harrington's study (Fig. 1, p. 32) has the left eye-hole enlarged, something that had been done improperly, according to the informant. He leaves wearing the garb and returns it to the place where it is kept (fig. 9). This all takes place before noon.

13:Wallace E-4 (no date)1950
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[P. 38, 0]

154 rein these are the more violent."[51] Warfare
[721] provided a socially approved way of bleeding off some of these aggressions, for the warriors; and the institution of torture
154 gave the rest of the community a similar
727 opportunity. "The Indians flock to these executions as to some great solemnity, with a view to reeking on the unfortunate
154 captive their cruel and revengeful dis-
627 position."[52] The institution of blood-revenge[53] (which sometimes led to prolonged vendetta) was also an outlet for aggression; but the fear of its exercise no doubt served also to inhibit it. In
154 hunting, males could work off aggression
224 on animals, which were conceptualized as quasi-human. It is worth noting that among women, who had a more restricted
154 childhood and who at the same time had
521 fewer socially sanctioned outlets for
562 aggression, the overflow dribbled off in unpleasant gossip and slander, which the men, who had other means of catharsis, professed to scorn.[54]

154 All observers agreed that liquor dis-
273 solved the inhibitions against aggression.
578 "The effects which intoxication produces upon the Indians are dreadful," lamented Heckewelder. "It has been the cause of an infinite number of murders among them, besides biting off noses and otherwise disfiguring each other, which are the least consequences of the quarrels which inebriation produces between them."[55] As might be expected, therefore, Indian spokesmen frequently—and in vain—implored the whites to cease bringing liquor into their settlements.

Summary

127 From an examination of the early ethnological literature concerning the Delaware Indians, we have been able to discover some of their psychological
855 characteristics. The Delawares would seem in general to have been a people among whom the children grew up

51. Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 124-125.
52. Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 106-107.
53. Penn, 1683.
54. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 116.
55. Heckewelder, 1819, p. 263.

15:Morgan E-5 (1859)1959
NM7 Delaware NM7

[F53(B)]

773 821 and lonely in her absence, started to make her a visit. As he travelled southward he carried the cold with him and wherever he went it became winter, or rather winter followed his footsteps. After he had concluded his visit he returned and carried back the winter with him as he advanced to the north. From the most ancient times this visit has been annually renewed.

Indian Persistency

157 224 521 Mr. Pratt mentioned as a recent occurrence among the Delawares, that while a party were out on a Buffalo hunt a few years since, one of them said one day that before he returned he would take a three year old bull buffalo alive. His companions rather laughed at his suggestion as an impossibility, and thought no more about it. This is the age when they are the most ferocious and unmanageable. A few days afterwards this hunter rode up to a herd of buffalo and having singled out a two or three year old bull, he managed to detach him from the

797 115

John Gill Pratt was a dedicated Baptist missionary, working in turn with the Shawnees, the Stockbridge, and finally the Delawares. Morgan regarded him highly.

[-p 53 (C)]

157 herd and gave him a chase. He followed until the buffalo was about tired out, with
● 224 his tongue hanging out, and hardly able to
521 move, while his own horse was in the same condition. Leaving his horse and his gun, the hunter, fresh and strong, took the buffalo by the tail and drove him on. He then went up an ascent and down on the other side until they came into a wet place where the buffalo stuck in the mud from weakness and exhaustion. He had thus taken his buffalo, in one sense. He was powerless, and still, except as he made slight efforts to fight. After spending some little time in this situation during which the buffalo was gaining strength and he was losing his, he was so fortunate as to espy and signal one of his party, who came to his aid, and the two, with a rope tied to his horns so as to keep at a safe distance from each of them and between both, they led or drove him to camp and thus the Indian maintained or made good his boast.

Delaware Baptist Mission School[86]

872 This school, under the supervision of Rev.
797 John G. Pratt,[87] a matron, Mrs. Muse, and a teacher, Miss Morse,[88] is in a very flourishing condition and superior to any I have seen in the territory. It has accommodations for 78 Indian scholars as boarders and lodgers. The number last term was 64, the number the present term is about 50, as they have held back for the payment, and will soon come in now.

346 The buildings consist of a two and a half story farm house large on the ground, designed for the sleeping and clothing rooms of the school; another of the same size with a wing for a kitchen, designed for the residence of the superintendent and teachers, and is the eating and cooking place for all.[89] Also a large school house with folding doors

[For footnote, see category 116, p. 209 (C)--Analyst]

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7

224 Such old men, accompanying a hunting party, get both meat and skins, for the good hunters will not let them return empty-handed. They have, in general, and the Unami in particular, the custom that when a huntsman has shot a deer, and another Indian joins him or only looks on at a distance, he immediately gives him the whole animal and goes in pursuit of another.[39]

[411] The blowgun was in use among the Munsi by 1824, but was apparently present earlier; it was never of any great economic importance.[41] "Calls" were made to attract deer and turkeys. The deer call or "bleat" was made of cedar and was used primarily during the spring and early summer before the fawns had been weaned.[42] Harrington mentioned that "the deadfall and the 'twitchup' snare seem to have been the most popular varieties of traps."[43] The Delawares were also reported to be excellent stalkers of game and pursued wounded animals until their prey dropped from exhaustion.[44] If a hunter could not at first get within range of a deer he would chase it until he could, this procedure perhaps consuming an entire day.[45] One eighteenth-century author mentioned that deer were hunted by torchlight at night.[46]

[481]

226 Fishing.—Van der Donck said that Delawaran peoples "use all kinds of fish, which they commonly cook without removing the entrails, and [252] snakes, frogs and the like."[47] Specifically, they caught and ate rock [265] fish, shad, yellow perch, trout, eels, catfish, sunfish, sturgeon, and undoubtedly others, from both fresh and salt water. In 1756 two harbor [225] seals were shot and eaten, but this was an unusual incident.[48] Tortoises were caught, and shellfish in large quantities must have been taken, if Skinner was correct in attributing shell mounds of the area to the Delawares.[49] Juet stated that the natives brought out quantities of oysters to trade to the crew of Hudson's Half Moon.[50]

Methods of fishing varied somewhat; Lindestrom described a method in which a stream was dammed when the water was high, so that fish were stranded behind the dam when the water was low. The fish were caught with bare hands or shot with the bow and arrow.[51] De Rasieres [283] said that the Indians around Manhattan caught fish with "a drag-net they themselves knit very neatly, of the wild hemp, from which the women and men spin the thread."[52] Brinton mentioned fishhooks of bone and dried claws of birds, and Pastorius reported the use of hooks.[53] Har- [278] rington mentioned several methods of fishing. These may not be aboriginal since they do not appear elsewhere. He stated that fish were stupefied by large quantities of crushed green walnuts thrown into ponds. He also noted spearing and shooting of fish at night by torchlight.[54] Fish

[39] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 91.
[41] Harrington, 1913, p. 221; Kinietz, 1946, p. 63; Ketchum, 1865, II: 190 (1796).
[42] Foreman, 1937, p. 107; J. T., F. W.
[43] Harrington, 1913, p. 222.
[44] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 23.
[45] *Ibid.*, p. 23.
[46] Brickell, 1842, p. 47.
[47] Van der Donck, 1909, p. 303.
[48] Holm, 1834, p. 48; De Rasieres, 1909, p. 105; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 37.
[49] Holm, 1834, p. 48; Denton, 1845, p. 7; Skinner, 1909, pp. 5-17, 45-48; J. T.
[50] Juet, 1909, p. 20.
[51] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 219; Berlin, 1887, pp. 167-69.
[52] De Rasieres, 1909, p. 105.
[53] Brinton, 1885, p. 52; Pastorius, 1912, p. 434.
[54] Harrington, 1913, p. 222.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

136 armed with sharp teeth, almost like the bill of a duck. It has scales. The Indians do not use it for food.

7) Another kind[238] resembles the catfish very much. It has no scales. This also has a broad, plain beak like the bill of a goose, almost the length of a hand. This it uses to dig in sand or slime in search of food. The mouth opens below.

8) The white perch[239] is short and broad. It has scales and is good to eat.

9) The yellow perch[240] is not broad, but longer than the last named, has prickly fins and sharp teeth like those of a pike. It has a yellowish appearance and is one of the most palatable of fishes.

10) Eels are rarely found.[241]

11) There is an other variety of fish,[242] or whatever one may call it, resembling a small catfish, but having four short legs. It has a wide mouth and is about a foot and a half in length. The fins are short.

136 The river tortoise[243] of these parts is a species different from that found in Pensilvanien, which has a hard shell. The 225 shell of this is quite soft and its head small and pointed, like 262 that of a sea tortoise. The Indians shoot them, for they are not easily caught in any other way, as they seldom venture out of the water upon the banks of the river. The Indians are very fond of the flesh and of the eggs, which the animals lay in the sand on islands.

There is another variety of land tortoise[244] in these parts which has a hard shell, is small and very prettily marked. Flesh is also eaten.

136 Two varieties of shellfish[245] are found as well. One resembles the clams found along the seacoast, the inside of the shell being violet, shading to red; the other has a larger shell, which is white inside. Some speciments of smaller varieties[246] are also found.

Snails are likewise found. From one variety spring, it is believed, the many large gad-flies, which in the summer, in the months of July and August, worry the cattle to such an extent that during the day they cannot graze in the forest. During these two months both cattle and horses make for shelter every

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7

224 Such old men, accompanying a hunting party, get both meat and skins, for the good hunters will not let them return empty-handed. They have, in general, and the Unami in particular, the custom that when a huntsman has shot a deer, and another Indian joins him or only looks on at a distance, he immediately gives him the whole animal and goes in pursuit of another.[39]

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[481]

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[252] [265] [225]

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[283]

[278]

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[42] Foreman, 1937, p. 107; J. T., F. W.
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[45] *Ibid.*, p. 23.
[46] Brickell, 1842, p. 47.
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[48] Holm, 1834, p. 48; De Rasieres, 1909, p. 105; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 37.
[49] Holm, 1834, p. 48; Denton, 1845, p. 7; Skinner, 1909, pp. 5-17, 45-48; J. T.
[50] Juet, 1909, p. 20.
[51] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 219; Berlin, 1887, pp. 167-68.
[52] De Rasieres, 1909, p. 106.
[53] Brinton, 1885, p. 52; Pastorius, 1912, p. 434.
[54] Harrington, 1913, p. 222.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7
Iroquois NM9

In this region they found deer, elk and bear hunting good, as also beaver, fox and raccoon in plenty. The Susquehanna is well stocked with fish. The chief fish are the Rock fish,[53] regarded as one of the best fish, having large scales and often weighing from ten to forty pounds; the Shad[53] or May-fish which in the spring of the year come up the rivers in great numbers, at which time they are caught by the hundreds and thousands with nets made of wild vines; the Yellow Perch,[54] as its name suggests of yellowish color, having sharp prickles along the back, a narrow head and sharp teeth like the pike,[55] which also abounds; the Horn-fish[56] with a long bill like that of a duck, only narrower, having very sharp teeth. This fish is not eaten by the Indians. Further, there are trout[57] in the creeks in great numbers in winter and spring, as also in the Susquehanna. There are large eels[58] and various smaller fish, such as Catfish, Sunfish and others.

In the spring of the year 1765 two seals[59] were shot by the Indians at Wajomick. As the like had never been seen there before, these caused much astonishment among the Indians of that region. Many were summoned to witness the marvel. After they had sufficiently expressed their astonishment, a council was called to consider whether it would be proper to eat them or not. An old Indian arose and observed as God had sent them they could not but be good to eat, even though they had not seen such animals before. They, accordingly, prepared for a feast and all who were assembled partook of the seals and found them a palatable dish. These seals had unquestionably come from the sea and had come up the river several hundred miles.

The region under consideration has this peculiarity above the country to the south that it has great swamps. A swamp is the name given to such a place where the sun never shines because of the dense thicket and which even in the middle of summer is always wet and cool. In such places the beech, white pine and spruce grow well. The Six Nations, to the north, are surrounded with such swamps. Hence, one must go a journey of many days through the wilderness before their

[i.e. along the Susquehanna.-Analyst]

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

young. Other varieties, some very small, come into the huts that are reared in the forests and are very harmless. 136

Of fishes, there are doubtless many more varieties than those I have seen in the Ohio. I will, however, confine notice to those I have seen and know.

1) Pike[221] are of uncommon size and generally known.

2) The black-fish,[222] as the Indians call it, has large, brown scales, a small head and a small, round, soft mouth, not armed with teeth. Its shape is not broad, but round. It is reckoned one of the best flavored.

3) The buffalo-fish[223] is thus called by Indians and Europeans because of its being heard sometimes to bellow in the water. Its length is about a foot and a half or even two feet, and its breadth five or six inches. It has a curved back, prickly fins, a narrow mouth, and a small head, in which two white stones[224] are found, flat on one side and a little convex on the other. These are not ordinary stones, but have a stony appearance. The fish has no teeth, but at the entrance of its throat there are two strong flat bones, with grooves exactly fitting each other. With these it can crack the hardest mussels, which are its chief food, and serve to bait the hook in angling for it. The Indians, however, rarely using a hook and line, commonly pierce this fish with an iron prong of their own making. If any one should venture to put his finger into its mouth, even when to appearance it is half dead, he is in danger of losing one or more of his fingers, for the mussel shells which the fish constantly cracks, are very hard. 226

4) The catfish[225] is without scales and a good fish to eat. In the Muskingum there are no very large specimens of this fish. In the Ohio, on the other hand, they grow to an unusual size. In Pittsburg, a man who had gone fishing at night, having bound the line to his arm and gone to sleep in his canoe, was dragged into the water by the catfish and lost his life. Man and fish were found close together several days later.

5) The sturgeon[226] is the largest of the fish in the Muskingum. The largest caught here were from three to three and a half feet in length.

6) There is a kind of fish[227] with a narrowly formed mouth,

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Delaware tribe was gathered together on a reservation in Kansas in 1835 and from there removed to their present location in Oklahoma, where they are politically incorporated in the Cherokee nation. Other Delaware, most of whom belonged to the Munsee division and were converted by Moravian missionaries in the eighteenth century, are now located in Ontario.

DELAWARE CULTURE

128

The method of presentation which has been followed is to place the authorities for each statement immediately after it. For the most part, traits for which there is no evidence in earlier sources have been omitted, but where this leaves a large gap in the picture of the culture, sections based purely on eighteenth century sources have been inserted. The material has been divided into three main aspects, and proceeds from a consideration of economic life, to social organization and religion.

Means of Procuring Food

226
[262]

For the tribes living on the east coast, fishing was probably the most important means of getting food, judging from the relative amounts of shells and animal bones found in ancient sites (Skinner, 1915, p. 7). Oysters, clams, mussels and scallops were widely utilized as well as rockfish, shad, herring, sturgeon and gar fish which were found plentifully in those waters (Abbott, 1875, p. 278; Skinner, 1909, p. 46).

According to Lindstrom, the Indians caught fish by building a dam across a stream near its source or at a waterfall. When the river rose, the last small opening was closed in the dam and the water allowed to flow over it, leaving the fish in shallow water at low tide. They were then either taken by hand or shot with bow and arrow (sic). The latter method was also used in deep water (Lindstrom, 1915, pp. 219-220). Other writers report the use of hemp nets, and a number of stone sinkers have been found in archaeological sites. Rude seines of matted leaves and twigs are mentioned as well as fishing spears (Abbott, 1875, pp. 278 and 361; Heye, p. 70; Skinner, 1915, pp. 7 and 10; Harrington, 1913, p. 222).

[227]

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The Delaware's hunting was done both cooperatively and individually. Early Swedish writers have described one cooperative method in which deer were surrounded either by a ring of men or by a ring of fire, and driven toward the center where they were shot with bow and arrow. Sometimes they were driven into a river where they were lassoed (Johnson, p. 281; Lindstrom, p. 214). According to a later writer, these hunting parties had a leader and were governed by definite rules, but there is no direct evidence for this in pre-contact times (Loskiel, p. 77). These organized hunt took place in the fall, but hunting itself was a year round occupation

8:Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
NM7 Delaware NM7

CHAPTER XVIII

Concerning the Fishing of the American Savage People.

The savages do not know the use of seines, nets, 226 ● hooks, trolling rods or trolling-line;[1] but far up in the kills or in the creeks emptying into the river, they arrange their fishing, either where the kills stop,[2] [up] in the country or at the falls. There they close in the kills right across,[3] leaving only a little opening or entrance for the fish right above like a *kassenoor*.[4] Now when the river rises and the water is highest they close up the opening, but when the water is run out and the ebb is lowest then the fish remains behind in the low water,

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[1] It appears strange that Lindeström did not see nets among the Delawares. Williams says: "*Ashop*, their nets. Which they will set thwart some little River or Cove wherein they kill Basse (at the fall of the water) with their arrows, or sharp sticks, especially if headed with Iron, gotten from the English." *Key*, 102.

Van der Donck gives the following lists of fishing implements used by the Indians: *seines, set-nets, small fikes, weirs, hooks.* See also De Vries, *N. Y. Col.*, 2, III, 95, etc.

[2] That is: at the source of a creek or at a waterfall. Cf. note 1, above, quoting Williams.

[3] *der stängia the kijlarne twert öfwer.* This custom of fishing is common among primitive peoples. I saw it in many places in West Africa. See the interesting account of Indian shad fishing in Loskiel, *Hist. of the Mis. of the U. B. among the Ind. of N. A.*, I, 94 ff.

[4] *Kassenoor (kassenoor).* This is apparently an Indian word (though as to form it might be Spanish or Portuguese), meaning fishtrap, or the opening of the fish-weir. The Penobscot *kenanggan*, fish-weir, is then a cognate, the stem being *kenang-*, *kasen-*. . . . "Nodli tun kenanggan k'wagal sibu." (Then he made a weir across the river.) Speck, *Penobscot Transf. Tales. Int. Journal of Am. Ling.*, 1, 192–3.

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
NM7 Delaware NM7

where they either catch them with their hands or shoot it.[5] Otherwise, they also shoot it in deep water, where they can find it, and thus they obtain fish of all kinds, that are found there in abundance, spending [nothing] on either seines, nets or any fishing implements. Consequently the nourishment of the savages thus consists of agriculture, hunting, shooting, fishing, trade and the manufacture of their neat wares, concerning which we shall be informed hereafter.[6]

[5] The fish. Cf. also note 1, above, quoting Williams; Hodge, *Handbook*, I, 461 ff.

[6] See below, Chapt. XIX.

+ = element present
− = element denied
(+) or (−) = source ambiguous
* = informant could not or would not say
§ = some, sometimes, or several
† or * = see Ethnographic Notes, pp. 79-137 for additional information

	Williams	Van der Donck	Lindestrom	Zeisberger	Heckewelder	Johnston	Pipe	Chippe	J. W.	W. T.	E. R.	W. L.
Food, mode of living, etc.—Continued												
298. Vegetables introduced by whites				+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+
299. Wild rice				(−)		−		−	−	+	−	−
300. Have regular meals		−			+	−		−	+	+	+	−
301. Generally eat together (family)		(+)						+	−	+	+	−
302. Men and women eat together		(+)				+		+	+	+	+	+
303. Neat in their cooking			−	§	+	−		+	+	+	+	+
304. Several cooking modes		−	+		*+	+		+	+	+	+	+
305. Generally prefer well done			−	+					+	+	−	+
306. Commonly eat in the night						−		+	−	−	•	−
307. Eat every kind of fish		+	(+)			+		+	−	+		+
Hunting												
308. Use bow and arrow	+	+	+		+	+		+	+	+	+	+
309. Rifle and fowling piece		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
310. Blow gun for birds and small game								+	+	+	•	+
311. Deadfall for raccoon	+					+			•	+	+	•
312. Torches at night on water for deer						+			•	+	•	+
313. Fish with spears	+		−					+	+	+	+	+
314. With hook and line	+	+	−					+	+	•	+	+
315. By shooting with arrows	+		+						+	+	+	+
316. Hunt in large parties	+	+	+	+		+		+	+	+	+	+
						10		40				
317. Number in party	300	100				15		50		15	4	6-7
318. Any attendant ceremonies			*(+)	−		−		−		+	+	+
319. Under guidance of oldest or most expert			+	+		+			+	+	+	+
320. Any peculiar laws in hunting			+	+	•	−	•	+	+	+	+	+
321. When two are hunting and one kills animals, it is divided equally				(+)		+		+	(+)	(+)	+	+
322. Person who kills or first wounds animal entitled to whole when stranger appears						+						
323. to skin and half of carcass				+				+	+			+

[P. 11, B]

172 323 532 tion of the face. The hole in the dorsal surface (shown in Plate 4, No. 2) is connected with the holes indicating the eyes. No explanation for the purpose of this dorsal hole or indeed of the entire specimen can be attempted at this time.

Bone

172 321 41 Bone and antler artifacts do not appear to be abundant on Minsi sites. On occasion, the bone awl, antler flakers of cylindrical form, combs, turtle-shell cups, perforated deer phalanges, perforated needles, antler picks, beaming tools, and short bone tubes, probably used as ornaments, are found.

Shell

At the present time, because of an almost total lack of evidence, (the Bell-Philhower Site report lists one shell bead found by Mr. Charles A. Philhower in a pit of the historical period and worked fragments of conch) the writer is not prepared to discuss the possible incidence of shell artifacts in the prehistoric Minsi Culture. In common with Ritchie ("Bell-Philhower Site", p. 178) he refers the interested reader to the Heye-Pepper report, "Exploration of a Munsee Cemetery" for a description of numerous shell ornaments, etc., from the *historic* Minsi site adjacent to the Bell-Philhower component.

ROUGH STONE

172 324 ●227 Net sinkers are of two well-defined types: flat pebbles with two opposed notches, and sinkers made of thin sheets of stone chipped into circular or rectangular shape with two opposed notches. These 'trimmed sinkers' may have notches formed by chipping, or rarely, by grinding. (Plate 5, No. 3, shows notched flat pebble; Plate 5, No. 1, shows trimmed sinker with chipped notches; No. 3 of the same plate is a trimmed ground-notch sinker.)

Sinkers of both types may range in size from an inch to six or seven inches in

14:Leslie A-4.5 (no date) 1951
NM7 Delaware NM7

[P.12, A]

172 length. (Plate 11, Nos. 1 and 5, shows
● 227 very small sinkers, No. 1 being the chipped
324 type and No. 5, a notched pebble.) Caches of sinkers occur in this culture, the writer having uncovered a hoard of 28 specimens in 1936 and another of six specimens in 1948. (Plate 6 shows the six specimens contained in the latter find.)

Hammerstones, Hoes, Lap-Stones

172 Hammerstones consisting of simple bi-
324 pitted pebbles (Plate 7, No. 2), rudely
412 chipped triangular or oval stone hoes, and lap-stones or metates occur in this culture. One so-called lap-stone found in a pit on the Bell-Philhower Site late in 1947 consists of a roughly-shaped oblong block of very fine sandstone 3 in. thick, 11½ in. long, and 8 in. wide. Both faces are slightly concave.

Roller Pestles

Minsi roller pestles are generally very well made. Some are very long, exceeding 18 inches in length. One found by the writer shortly after the flood of 1936 is nearly 14 inches long and bears on one end the crude effigy of what appears to be a reptile head. (Plate 8).

Stone Discs

One stone disc in the writer's collection was washed out by the 1936 flood on the Davenport Site near Milford, Pa. It was found intimately associated with sherds of Minsi type. This specimen is 1¼ inches thick and is slightly over 4 inches in diameter. It was probably used as a muller in common with certain pebbles of fine sandstone occurring on Minsi sites. These pebbles show wear on one or both faces. (For illustration of stone disc, see Plate 9, No. 2.) It is to be observed that the type of stone disc under discussion here is not the kind of chipped disc (net sinker) mentioned in the Bell-Philhower report, p. 237.

[P. 17]

172
324
●227

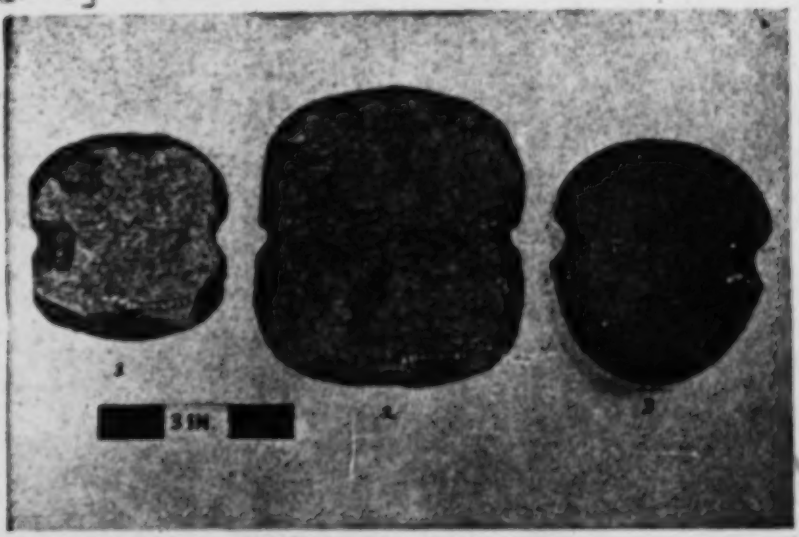

PLATE V. MINSI ARTIFACTS

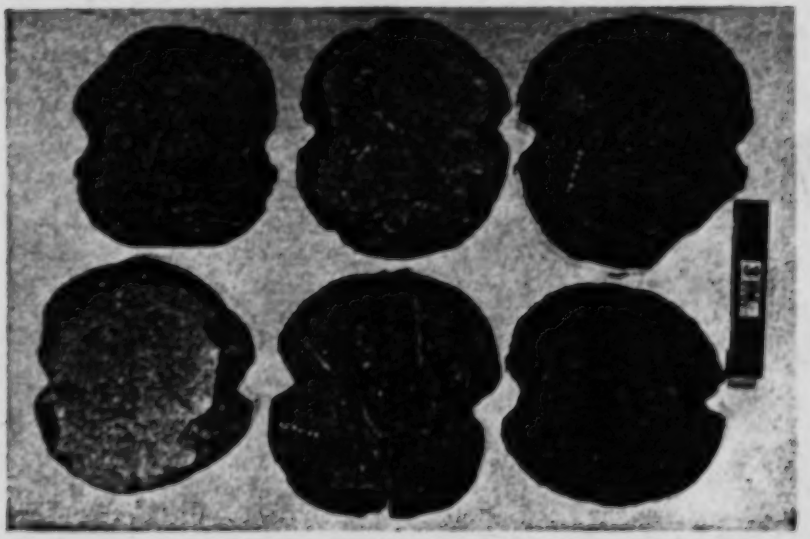

PLATE VI. MINSI ARTIFACTS

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

from ice, must be an obstacle to the hunter, when in pursuit of a wounded deer, bear, or other animal, as is often the case. Nor has he then leisure to think on the state of his body, and to consider whether his blood is not too much heated to plunge without danger into the cold stream, since the game he is in pursuit of is running off from him with full speed. Many dangerous accidents often befal him, both as a hunter and a warrior, (for he is both) and are seldom unattended with painful consequences, such as rheumatism or consumption of the lungs, for which the sweat-house, on which they so much depend, and to which they often resort for relief, especially after a fatiguing hunt or warlike excursion, is not always a sure preservative or an effectual remedy.

The husband generally leaves the skins and peltry which he has procured by hunting to the care of his wife, who sells or barters them away to the best advantage for such necessaries as are wanted in the family; not forgetting to supply her husband with what he stands in need of, who, when he receives it from her hands never fails to return her thanks in the kindest manner. If debts had been previously contracted, either by the woman, or by her and her husband jointly, or if a horse should be wanted, as much is laid aside as will be sufficient to pay the debts or purchase the horse.

When a woman has got in her harvest of corn, it is considered as belonging to her husband, who, if he has suffering friends, may give them as much of it as he pleases, without consulting his wife, or being afraid of her being displeased; for she is in the firm belief that he is able to procure that article whenever it is wanted. The sugar which she makes out of the maple tree is also considered as belonging to her husband.

There is nothing in an Indian's house or family without its particular owner. Every individual knows what belongs to him, from the horse or cow down to the dog, cat, kitten and little chicken.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

their wives and children when the enemies approached and attacked them, the men ranging themselves round the mound for defensive action. Their weapons were the bow and arrow and a wooden club, this last a piece of wood of not quite arm's length, having at the end a round knob about the size of a small child's head and made of very hard wood. Shields they bore made of hardened buffalo leather and presenting a convex surface without, while being hollow within. The curved outer surface they held toward the enemy and before their own breasts and faces in order that arrows discharged at them, striking the curved surface, would glance off and go to the side. With the left hand they held both shield and bow and with the right they drew the bow and held the arrow. On the above named hills they always had great blocks lying all about, in order that should the enemies attempt to storm the heights these might be rolled upon and among them so as to keep them off. In such attacks both sides usually lost many men, which were often buried in one pit and a great mound of earth raised above them, such as may even now be seen bearing in these days great and mighty trees.[42]

Dogs they likewise possessed in former days, of a kind still to be found in considerable numbers among them. These may be readily distinguished from European dogs, which are now most commonly found among the Indians, especially the Delawares. The ears of Indian dogs rise rigidly from the head and the animals have something of a wolfish nature, for they show their teeth immediately when roused. They will never attack a wolf in the forest, though set on to do so, in this respect, also differing from European dogs. Of their origin their masters can give as little information as of that of the Indians themselves.

The wampum strings of the Indians were formerly made of bits of wood, some white, some black, which were used in connection with embassies and speeches. Belts of wampum were also made. Some few were made of mussel-shells, which were held in the same value among them as gold among the Europeans, for much time was consumed in making even one such string of wampum. When whites came into the country these contrived to make wampum strings which they bartered to the Indians, who used them in place of their wooden wampum, as

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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the Ohio three hundred miles below Pittsburg, one hundred miles from here, snow hardly ever remains on the ground, and the ground is bare for most of the winter. In autumn and even up to Christmas and New Year or beyond that time, there is little frost, and even if in a clear night the ground should freeze, it thaws soon after sunrise. There are very few clear, beautiful days in the winter-time; much of the time it rains, occasionally it snows. After a few clear days a change may be looked for. If there has been quite a snow, rain may follow. Yet the Muskingum, not having a strong current, is frozen over when there are several cold nights in succession. Usually this happens once during the winter, rarely oftener.

The Indians make little provision to feed their cattle in winter, for as there is no deep snow and the weather is generally mild, cattle and particularly horses can forage for themselves, finding feed in the woods. In the bottoms grass never quite dies away but remains green toward the end of March and beginning of April grows again.

Of wild fruits the strawberries,[85] much like those in Europe, are the first to ripen in spring. Blackberries,[86] raspberries,[87] bilberries,[88] are also found, though not native to these parts, for these varieties grow best on hills and in not too rich soil. Further, there are wild gooseberries[89] and currants,[90] the latter black in color and with a somewhat different taste from that of the red which are cultivated in gardens, though having the same sort of leaves. There are two varieties of cranberries;[91] one grows in swamps on low bushes not as high as the bilberry bushes, the other on small trees. For both the Indians have one name (Rakilun). Of the wild cherry, there are three kinds, not found in Europe at all, and having a very good taste. The one sort[92] grows on high thick trees, which are found in large numbers and yield a very fine red wood that is well suited for cabinet work. The other kinds[93] grow on bushes. On the islands in the Susquehanna, cherries[94] are found, very like the cultivated fruit, having about the same form and taste. The only difference is that they grow neither on trees nor bushes, but on vines, which lie on the ground and when lifted up appear laden with fruit.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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but as I have seen neither stag nor fallow deer in Europe I cannot speak authoritatively. I recognize that the English distinguish between the elk and the stag in Europe. They, also, shed their coat in spring and are reddish in color during the summer like the deer. In fall they are light gray and in winter dark gray. The bucks have long, heavy antlers with many prongs. These they shed each year as do the deer. The tail is quite short. As the skins are very thick and heavy and of no particular value, elk do not tempt the Indians to the chase. Occasionally, one is shot that happens near an Indian, but most of the flesh is left in the forest for beasts of prey, even though the animals are always fat, in summer as in winter and do not become lean, like the deer.

The buffaloes[131] are dark brown in color, covered with long hair, or rather soft down mixed with hair. Their legs are short, the body is very heavy. They have a hunch upon their backs, just above the shoulders. This diminishes toward the rear, hence, they appear much shorter from the back than from the front. They have a thick head and a long beard depends from the chin. Altogether, they present a terrible appearance. Their horns are short, but thick and quite black. The buffaloes are a good deal heavier and larger than cattle. One that I have seen was a yearling, raised by the Indians and quite tame; even this was the size of a small cow, that has already had calf. At one time these animals appeared in great numbers along the Muskingum, but as soon as the country begins to be inhabited by the Indians, they retire and are now only to be found near the mouth of the above named river. Along the banks of the Scioto and further south, both Indians and whites say that they may be seen in herds numbering hundreds. That is two or three hundred miles from here. If a buffalo cow is shot, its calf, if such it has, will stand quietly by until the huntsman has skinned its dam and then follow him into his hut, stay at his fire and not leave him. That this is true, I have living witnesses enough about me to testify.

The panther[132] has a head and face like a cat, its legs are short and the paws are armed with sharp claws. It is a beast of prey of uncommon strength. Its tail is long, compared with

757 278 11. A syrup made by roasting onions is taken for colds. For infants and small children the syrup is sweetened and a few drops taken clear or in milk.

[752] 12. Mutton tallow is an emollient for chapped and irritated skin. It is used to make ointment.

13. Muscular cramps may be relieved by bathing the affected parts with urine.

14. A tea made from roasted, charred pig hoofs is beneficial for colds.

[752] 15. For snake bite suck the venom from the wound with a hollow piece of deer antler.

• 231 16. Treatment of sick horses. Years ago, after their migration westward, the Delaware used horses for travel. Often their animals would become ill during hunting activities on the Western plains. This was believed due to unsuitable drinking water or from eating poisonous weeds. Other disabilities were due to "bots"[1] or colic. For colic, strong tobacco juice, or gun-powder dissolved in hot water was administered. The most effective treatment was to throw a bucket of very hot water containing finely chopped bits of weasel hide[2] over the horse. Then the owner would force his weight up and down on the animal's abdomen or occasionally, beat it with a wet, heavy blanket for ten or fifteen minutes. The horse soon recovered and was again on his feet.

Warrior's Medicine

778 726 [787] Warriors long ago also received gifts from supernatural agencies which enabled them to excell in feats of bravery. Their power came in dream-visions in which the identity of the supernatural was made known. Sometimes a power-song was granted at the same time. Certain men were appointed as leaders of the warriors and custodians of the secret formulæ, from which a particular preparation called "warrior medi-

[1] The larvæ of certain flies. Eggs are laid on the inside of the animal's foreleg, gain entrance into the blood stream and are carried to the alimentary tract where incubation takes place.

[2] The hide of the so-called "spotted weasel" is used for this purpose. My informant had never seen this animal but it had been described to him by his mother. It may refer to the ordinary weasel at the period of seasonal pilage change from brown to white. The species known to the Delaware are the Bonaparte *(Mustela cicognani)*, and New York weasel *(M. noveboracensis)*, Anthony, 1928, p. 102.

The Dog as a Vicar of Children

231 751 854 Upon the birth of a Delaware child, it was given a pet [16] to serve as the guardian of its health. If there was sickness about, the Delaware believed that it would be visited upon the dog instead of its little master. The animal was thought to say, "I am only a dog, the child is more precious." A small bag containing charcoal was tied around the pet animal's neck by the child's parents. Frequently they would talk to the dog. If the animal died, it was buried and the child given another pet. However, if the child fell sick and died, a release ceremony was performed [17] by placing a string of wampum about its neck, thus freeing the animal.[18]

Notes on Pregnancy and Child-birth

843 262 784 The prospective mother is advised to eat sparingly. Sour foods should not be eaten during the final stage of pregnancy as they are believed to cause contraction of the muscles. Onions and cabbage are also excluded from the diet. Salt is forbidden both before and after pregnancy, as it is thought to stop the flow of blood. Lifting heavy objects should be avoided during pregnancy and for a period of a month after delivery. A pregnant woman should not gaze at a deformed person or make fun of him, as it might affect her child. Care is also taken to avoid being frightened by dogs and other animals.

844 The woman is usually attended by a midwife who is given gifts of calico, tobacco, etc., from the woman's husband. To women over thirty years of age, a special medicine is given to shorten the period of labor.[19] The delivery is made in a kneeling position. Immediately after, a tea made from "pleurisy root" is administered. The navel cord is cut off about one and a half inches from the body. A piece of lead about two inches in diameter is bound to the body over the navel by a cloth. This bandage is kept in place until healing is complete, to avoid protrusion of the navel.

845 In case of still-birth, special treatment is given the mother. Still-birth is believed due to the child being hurt. "The child-killing sickness of women is hard to overcome." Twins are believed to have been con-

[16] Known by a term meaning "pet given child."

[17] See also p. 67 for release of a bear.

[18] As dictated by Wi-tapanôxwe.

[19] "The women know of certain medicines," according to Zeisberger (*op. cit.*, p. 56), "which usually act quickly in case of hard labor, which sometimes occurs, though not frequently."

painted a different color on each side, were thrown up and caught, the goal being to get as many of a particular color as possible; and another in which an object was hidden under one of several moccasins and the players attempted to guess which one it was under (Denny, p.265; Brinton, 1888, p.40; Loskiel, p.105). The vigorous dances engaged in by the Delaware were also noted although no early writer mentions (as Zeisberger, writing in the eighteenth century does) that dances were held most evenings that the men were not out hunting (Penn, p.38; Zeisberger, 1870, p.90). Later writers all agree that the Delaware were a sociable people given to frequent visiting and communal games and dances (Zeisberger, 1870, p.87; Heckewelder, 1881, pp.101-3 and 149).

This may be the most suitable place to mention the dogs kept by the Delaware since it seems most likely that they were kept merely as pets. Their remains have not been found in great abundance and in most cases where they were found they appear to have been deliberately buried. There is only one instance where there is some question whether the animal had been used as a sacrifice (Skinner, 1915, p.48; Heye, p.59).

At the time of contact, the Lenape were living in villages composed of several groups of families in the summer and hunting in single family groups in winter. The associations of families constituted bands, the names of which generally had some reference to the territory which they occupied.[10] In the eighteenth century Heckewelder reported a double division of the tribe into three sub-tribes, called Unami, Unalachtigo and Munsee, and into three genealogical "totems" which I will call phratries. The phratries were named Turtle, Turkey and Wolf, and Heckewelder equated them with the sub-tribes. He believed that the divisions had existed in the contact period also (Heckewelder, 1881, pp.51-2). Morgan, in the late nineteenth century, found that the Munsee, who are generally called the "Wolf Tribe", actually had members belonging to all three phratries, and Harrington found the same situation in the twentieth century (Morgan, 1912, p.177; Harrington, 1913, p.209). The Munsee had a tradition, however, that the three phratries formerly occupied separate villages.

Both Harrington and Morgan found the modern Delaware phratries divided into matrilineal clans, the names of which were not totemic (Harrington, p.210; Morgan, 1912, p.177). The only evidence of totemic beliefs is a vague association between the turtle phratry and the mythical turtle in the creation myth and, of course, the phratry names themselves. The only evidence for the regulation of marriage by any social unit is found in Zeisberger who says that no Indian will marry within his own tribe as he considers himself too closely related to the other individuals in it. But his use of the word "tribe" is not clear so that the problem of which

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

Delawares, Wi·tapano'xwe wrote out the following abstract which adds some points to what he dictated in text. 796^x

"This is an individual religious rite which is taken from raising pets such as pet bears and other animals. The last of these brush arbors was kept up by the Wolf Clan until about thirty years ago. However, this was only kept up by certain families, a chain of relationship having existed among several families. One, I remember, was a Delaware by the name of John Jim John, (*kaxpes·i·'no* 'Twin-man') and his sister, Mrs. Frenchman. While still living in Kansas this family had a pet bear. Upon freeing a pet bear, after it had grown up, it has always been the custom to put a yard of wampum around the neck of the animal and go through a ceremony. At this time the people talk to the bear and tell the animal that he is now at liberty and he should no longer obligate himself to the family. Unless this is done, some illness or evil fate might befall some member of the family. Oftentimes these facts are found out from the medicine man, who is said to be able to find out these things through the power of his supreme guardian, or through the medium of that animal, thing, or object that blessed him in a dream during childhood. Sometimes that animal, thing, or object may have spoken to him and told him 'At a certain time in your life you must feed them or give a feast in memory of your own experience, or a plague would be brought onto you or your children.'" 796^x 825 231

For the details of procedure of this long-obsolete ceremony, I am obliged to quote Harrington's (*op. cit.*, pp. 172–5) description, since Wi·tapano'xwe did not possess a sufficiently explicit version in his ceremonial repertoire. 796^x

"This ceremony required a special house, which was made new for it every two years, so the first thing a family did when the time approached, was to find a number of men, each of whom was paid a yard of wampum to cut forks and poles and erect the building. This was made by setting up a frame of poles in form of a Big House, but smaller, only seven paces wide and fifteen paces long, then covering the top with brush and piling brush at the sides. Then to the east of the house a pole was erected upon which to hang the meat for the feast, which, in old times, had to be a bear; but when the bears became scarce a black hog was substituted, and of late a hog of any color has been used. The building finished, the hog was killed, and, having been hung on a pole over night, was taken into the house the next day, quartered, singed on a fire that had been built inside, then carried out again, cut up, and cooked, all except the loose fat, which was kept for a special purpose, as will appear later. When done, the meat was kept in large baskets, with the exception of the head, which, having been cooked whole, was placed in a large bowl with two animal's ribs in its mouth.

8:Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
NM7 Delaware NM7

CHAPTER XXVII.

Concerning the Household Economy of the American Savage People, Their Thrashing, Their Grinding, Their Baking, Their Frying and Cooking.

In this connection [*it may be said*] *that there* is found no scarcity of provisions among the savages, for the support of their household, but [they are] miserable cooks, they never cook good dishes.[1] They use no cattle. They do not need to thrash their grain, the maize; but when it gets ripe and dry, then they rub the ears between their hands and brush off the kernels. Their larders they dig down in the ground, close to their dwellings, wherein they have their maize, their beans, tobacco and other provisions, such as deer-meat, elk-meat, bear-meat, birds, fish and other such things, which may serve for the sustenance of man, but the bear pork as well as wild-boar pork and its fat they melt and use instead of butter.[2]

They use no querns,[3] but the meal for baking they pound asunder with a pestle and mortar, which they make in this manner, that for the purpose they cut a thick and large tree, 1¼ ells from

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[1] *Godha rätter.* For the food of the Indians, see Van der Donck, De Vries, etc., *N. Y. Col.*, 2, I, 192 ff.; II, 263 ff.; III, 98, 104 ff.

[2] Cf. Van der Donck and other early Dutch writers.

[3] *Quarnar bruka the inthet.* In connection with the agriculture of the Indians Williams says: They "fell their trees with stone set in a wooden staff, and used wooden howes; which some old and poore women (fearfull to leave the old tradition) use to this day." *Key*, 130.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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A sharp distinction is drawn between that group of animals considered pure and undefiled in the spiritual sense and the group that has become contaminated through the modification of its diet and behavior brought about by domestication, in brief, wild animals as against the domesticated. The wild creatures are defined as being pure, clean, undefiled, the term used to describe them being pi'tai·. It is these which the Delaware observant may resort to for food, and for materials required in his economic life, and with them he has spiritual associations.[1] The domestic animals belonging to the white man's realm do not fit in his scheme of things, as they have not been fashioned by the Great Spirit to suit the needs of his red people.[2] It has been difficult indeed for the Delaware doctrinists to adjust the sweeping changes brought about in the economic life of the tribe, in the process of Europeanization, to a creed which pronounces the innovations from an alien world to be defilements. The disappearance of the wild animals, the compulsion of substituting their meat, their materials with those of a pastoral-agricultural civilization have, in the belief of the people, been the cause of their social and physical decline. They consider themselves to be losing vitality in proportion to their departure from old and natural or wilderness ways.[3] Accordingly we find the statement made that the deer, the elk, the bison, the antelope, and other wild animals are not only clean and "pure," but that they are man·i't·u. This we may note, in brief, is a most positive characteristic of Delaware belief.

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This distinction is supported by evidence well expressed by Zeisberger. "They regard the Europeans as a peaceable people, created of God to live according to their own manners and customs, even as the Indians have been created to live in their fashion, especially to sustain themselves by means of the chase. They think it contrary to the will of the deity to adopt, themselves, the manner of living peculiar to Europeans, pointing to fish, animals and birds as each having their characteristic habits. Each creature, bear, deer, or other animals, continues to live in its own way, and it has never yet been observed that an animal has adopted the habits of another. The same principle, they hold, applies to Indians and Europeans."[4]

for the realm of undefiled Nature the Delaware has a definite abstract term, te'koneau'·uwak·an literally "wilderness life."

[1] Heckewelder, op. cit., p. 196. In his account we note that the Mohican and Shawnee are very particular in their choice of meat.

[2] The preordained destiny of the Delawares to live as hunters and that of the whites to farm and domesticate is brought out in matter well presented by Heckewelder (op. cit., p. 187).

[3] It may be added that a corresponding idea of clean versus unclean animals is predominant among other Algonkian groups. Correspondence to the Delaware term pilsi may be noted with the same significance in Wabanaki, pils-, Algonquin pi'nsi·.

[4] Zeisberger, op. cit., p. 121.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

A turkey's [1] wing is used when they sweep out in the Big House. And besides, the Attendant carries a long stick as a poker and that is used when they stir up the fire, and it is the rule that they shall light a good bright fire every night as long as they perform the ceremony. And the Attendant-leader every evening walks around all over where they are camped about this Big House, holding a whip. And any person that they find that is causing unnecessary noise they correct. And the children are instructed. And he notifies them, telling them thrice "Come in! Come in! Come in!" And just recently they selected an officer from the Delaware Agency who is on guard all the time here while they are assembled, so that no one brings in liquor.[2]

[1] The specific term for the Wild Turkey (Meleagris gallipavo) is tci·'kanom, a term derived from the habit of this bird of scratching or "cleaning" the floor of the forest. In native Delaware ornithology, the order Gallinae is denoted by the generic term pele' which denotes any of the birds of the group, though writers on Delaware social organization have occasionally rendered the term by "turkey." Happily no natural history obsequies are called for in the case of this splendid bird for it still survives in its original range where the Delawares knew it.

[2] The informant pointed to this as an indication of the lack of reverence, and indecency of behavior in the tribe under the influence of the white man's ways. Zeisberger (op. cit. p. 139) commented on the same thing as regards disorder at the feasts.

When any one of us considers the rule with all the obligations and instructions as these are properly carried out, it should be forbidden for one thing that those of our women who when they cannot cook[1] are not pure, be allowed to trouble about the cooking. And should not come in the Big House as long as they are affected with the sickness, because some pure children might be much contaminated, especially when they perform the Gamwing. And it is the rule that persons should abstain from bringing into the Big House any animals of whatever kind they may be which are domesticated.[2]

[1] Being in their catamenial periods.

[2] This has special reference to dogs, pigs, etc. Some discussion has previously been given concerning the status of the wild animals of the forest and those domesticated by man. The Attendants are expected to attack any such animals that come into the Big House and drive them away with their staffs.

And right here opposite from the door on the outside over there at a certain distance they make the fire. Two forked poles are set upright and a pole laid across, upon which they hang the big buckets in which they cook. Near here standing upright is a many-forked tree where meat is hung. And a big shelf is there at one side of the fireplace with two floors where they put the corn that is used. When hominy is made the female Attendants have for their duty, every morning and evening to grind and make corn flour and hominy. Sometimes two or four mortars are used together with those long pounders.

[455 (B)]

614 have expressed themselves in favor of the
622 person nominated. If they disagree, I have
623 not ascertained how it is adjusted. After the person is agreed upon, then all the chiefs meet in council and perform the ceremony of investing him with his office.

622 The war chiefs are selected and made such by the Head Chief without consulting the people, but not so with the Head Chief.

241 The Delawares are very well advanced as agriculturalists. When Mr. Pratt came
342 among them 12 years ago, as he informs me,
177 they were living in bark houses. Now many of them are living in frame houses two stories and 2½ stories high, some with a veranda in front the whole length, and they have good barns and outbuildings. Some of
● 231 them have herds of cattle from 25 to 100
422 and have from 5 to 20 swine, sheep, wagons, and all kinds of farming implements. Their future prospects are certainly very flattering if they push on as they have here. Their
648 women are interfered with a good deal by
563 the whites, and they are quick to marry
557 white husbands, as they seem to regard that as advancing. It would be so were their husbands respectable.

657 With their large annuity of $50,000 per annum, the best timbered lands in the state, and sufficient of them to give them all large farms, there is no reason why they should not become both agriculturalists and respectable citizens of the state. When they
000 become wealthy farmers as some of them now are, their children will intermarry respectably with our white people, and thus the children will become respectable and, if educated, in the second and third generations will become beautiful and attractive. This is to be the end of the Indian absorption of a small portion, which will improve and toughen our race, and the residue run out or forced into the regions of the mountains.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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much trouble, but make dishes of the bark or bast of a tree, which serve quite as well.... Besides the smaller troughs and dishes, there must be several of larger size in which the sap is collected.... The sap, which is of a brownish color and becomes darker the longer it boils, is boiled until it gets to be of the consistency of molasses, is then poured off and kept. When a sufficient quantity of this consistency has been secured, it is boiled over a slow fire until it becomes sugar.... As the Indians lack the dishes and do not care to take the time to prepare it in this way, they usually form it into cakes, put it in a kettle or dish, or in default of these, on a stone and let it cool, when it becomes hard and may be easily preserved in baskets."[79] 252

Preservation of food. — Corn, beans, and other agricultural produce were stored in mat-lined pits.[80] De Rasieres said that the dried grain was placed in "baskets woven of rushes or wild hemp" and then buried.[81] The grain was buried after the harvest or stored in the house for use after the return from the winter hunt.[82] Pit storage seems to have disappeared after the seventeenth century, at least there is no mention of it in the later documents. Modern information casts more specific light on methods of food preservation, which are probably similar to those of early historic times. Informants (O.A., M.B., J.T.) claimed that virtually every type of food was preserved by drying; ears of corn were braided in strings and stored in a specially made crude shelter or in the house. Green corn was boiled, cut off the cob, dried, and stored away. Corn was not ordinarily ground until ready for use, but sometimes dry corn was grated, the meal cooked in ovens, then crumbled and further dried in the sun, and stored. Pumpkins were sliced in rings as thick as a finger, sticks were run through these rings, and they were then dried in the sun. After drying they were stored away in sacks for winter use. Beans were boiled for a few minutes and then dried. Fruits and berries were sun dried, the smaller berries being mashed before drying. 251

Meat was preserved by jerking, that is, the flesh was cut into thin strips and dried. Venison, which formed the bulk of jerked meat, was dried by placing it over poles in the hot sun or over a fire. When ready to eat, the jerked meat was boiled with corn or vegetables or was simply pounded and eaten raw. Bear lard was preserved by rendering the lard and pouring it into the stomach or intestine of a bear. This lard was used in cooking, as was the oil from hickory nuts. The latter was produced by roasting the nuts, pounding the kernels to a fine consistency, boiling them in water, then skimming off the oil which came to the surface.[83] [237] [252]

Holm was the only one who mentioned a type of ration for journeys in the seventeenth century. He said: ". . .they take with them a kind of bread, made of Indian corn and tobacco juice, which is very good to allay hunger and quench thirst...."[84] Zeisberger mentioned a ration for 251 484

[79] Zeisberger, 1910, pp. 48-50.
[80] De Vries, 1909, pp. 218-30; Lindestrom, 1925, p. 253; Jemison, 1918, p. 52.
[81] De Rasieres, 1909, p. 106.
[82] Johnson, 1917, p. 279; Harrington, 1913, p. 218.
[83] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 48.
[84] Holm, 1834, p. 131.

3: Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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their huts. Trees were killed wherever they wished to have space for planting.

For the chase they used bow and arrow, both made of wood, the point of the arrow alone being of flint in the shape of a lengthened triangle, sharp and pointed, securely tied to the shaft.

Kettles and pots for cooking they made of clay mixed with sea shells, pounded very fine. After the pot had been shaped it was burned hard in fire. All these things, knives, hatchets, arrows and large pieces of the pottery they used at one time, are frequently found in places where Indians have lived. Potsherds have become black through and through so that the shell pieces may be seen.

They could shoot game as well in those days as at the present time with their rifled guns. They declare that game was not as shy then as now by reason of the report of the guns. In those days they killed only as much of game as was needed for sustenance, skins being used for clothing both men and women; hence, game was more abundant at that time. The women made blankets of turkey-feathers which were bound together with twine made of wild hemp. Of such many are to be found even at the present day among the Indians, and these in winter are a better protection against the cold than the best European blanket. The women also made themselves petticoats of wild hemp.

Bow and arrow have fallen into disuse among those Indians that trade with whites; are, indeed, only used for small game, such as the pigeon, fox and raccoon, in order to save powder. There are, however, whole tribes to the west and northwest that use nothing but bow and arrow in the chase and that have no European weapons, that are not even anxious to obtain them; for, say they, if we discard bow and arrow, who will then make for us enough of powder and shot. They prefer, therefore, to hold to their old custom and usage.

The fire materials of those days consisted of a dry piece of wood or board and a round dry stick. The latter was placed upon the board and turned or twirled with great swiftness, both hands being used, until there was smoke and fire. This, however, was done only in case their fire had gone out, which they

nature of the disease. The flesh of animals and fowl is excluded from the diet and in the case of fever, red or fox squirrel flesh is not eaten. This food taboo is known to the Delaware by a native word meaning "makes you sick." Corn hominy, however, is administered in most cases, as it is considered to be a nourishing food.

In the case of childbirth, salt is not eaten for ten days. Onions are given the mother to produce milk, but care must be taken not to use a quantity such as to cause nausea for the child and mother.

During the catamenial period a woman is not allowed to prepared food nor taken an active part in domestic affairs.[1] The separate dishes assigned to her at that time, may only be used by her husband. Food cooked by such a woman would produce tuberculosis in others in a short time. A term translated as "gives dirty food," is applied to such a practice and refers to the resultant poisonous effects. During her periodic isolation a woman herbalist must refrain from preparing remedies or participating in any of the ceremonies.

Divinatory Curing Practices

Certain acts of a divinatory nature are performed upon selection and preparation of plants, roots, and bark employed in making medicine. Only plants that are clean and well developed, with the roots free from knotty growths, are taken. When seeking bark, the medicine gatherer selects a sturdy, well-formed tree for the purpose. The bark growing on the east side of a tree is preferred for its greater strength-giving properties received from the morning sun.

In gathering medicinal supplies, the materials are inspected for a clue as to the course of the treatment. Thus, if roots appear rough and knotty, the patient will be difficult to cure; if clean and well-formed, it will be an easy task to restore his health. Another practice is to place some crushed leaves or roots in running water. If the substance sinks to the bottom of the stream, the patient for whom it is prepared, will die; if it floats, a speedy recovery is assured.

When all other remedies have failed, an emergency medicine is sometimes made from scrapings of deer antler. During its preparation a prayer is offered to the animal from which the antler was obtained. Witapoxwe related an incident in which a trial was made by means

[1] The puberty ceremony for young girls and the periodic isolation of women is described by Speck, *ibid*, pp. 73-77.

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
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Lenape

this being was made guardian by the Creator of all the wild animals of the forest, and is sometimes seen riding about on the back of a buck, herding the deer; but he lives in a range of rocky mountains above the earth. His face is large and round, the right half being painted red, the left black, while his body is covered with long dark hair like that of a bear. Unlike most of the deities in the Lenape pantheon, he is represented by a "graven image," a huge wooden mask, painted half red and half black (fig. 1); which is left in charge of some family who

FIG. 2.—Rattle of turtle-shell used by Misi'ngw. (Length, 16.7 in.)

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
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Lenape

this only, may be used in the temple, and no one is permitted to take it outside for any purpose.

CEREMONY COMMENCED

Two of the attendants, a man and a woman, then build the two fires in the temple, so that there may be plenty of light, and sweep the floor with turkey-wings for brushes. The men attendants take turns so that one of them, at least, is always on guard outside the building. When the temple is clean, the fires are burning bright, and the *a'ckas* have called the people in and all are assembled, the chief arises and delivers a speech.

CHIEF'S SPEECH

First he states the rules of the meeting, then he speaks along some such line as the following, which was dictated by Chief Elkhair, who frequently made these speeches:

"We are thankful that so many of us are alive to meet together here once more, and that we are ready to hold our

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
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When the people file into the Big House, the few that still have them dressed in their best Indian costumes carefully preserved for such occasions (pl. 1), the members of this leader's clan always take their seats on the north side, the other

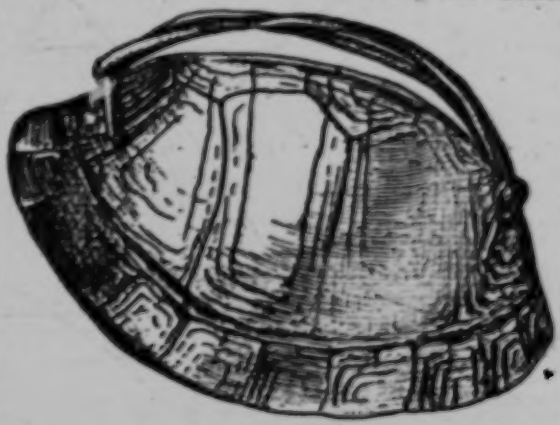

FIG. 9.—Rattle of land-tortoise shell, used by celebrants at the Annual Ceremony. (Length, 4.2 in.)

two clans in the west end and the south side. Men and women, however, do not mingle, but sit separately in the space allotted to their common clan. The diagram (pl. VII) shows the seating of the clans when the ceremony is

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
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shaking the turtle rattle (fig. 18), which resembles those used in the Big House, while the audience kept time to his song by uttering "*Hu-hu-hu-hu!*" The nature of the song the writer was unable to learn, but, like the chants of the Bear

FIG. 18.—Rattle of land-tortoise shell used in the Otter Rite. (Length, 3.9 in.)

Ceremony, it probably was concerned with the singer's "dream helper." When he had finished, another man put on the skin and took up the chant, and so on until noon the next day, when the ceremony was brought to a close and all

8:Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
NM7 Delaware NM7

CHAPTER XIX.

Concerning the Manufacture of the Attractive and the Artistic Wares of the American Savage People.

Write or read the savages cannot, nor do any other work like the Christians, such as spin, weave, sew, *et talia, etc.* But their work consists[1] in neatly working [various things] by drawing, painting and glazing, as for instance their bags,[2] which they make so large that 1 quart, ½ gallon, yea 1, 1½, 2, 2½, 3 up to 6 gallons can go into them, to keep grain and all kinds of other such [things] in. These they elaborate with all kinds of figures of painted pine roots and also split,[3] painted sticks, unspeakably strong.[4]

They also make very neat tobacco pipes with all kinds of birds and animals on the pipe head, very beautifully painted and glazed.[5] There are also found beautiful colors of all kinds, which we can see by their neat and artistically painted work of bird feathers, tobacco pipes and more such [things]. They also make very fine and beautiful quilts[6] of painted bird feathers. In the first place they tie them with meshes like nets, yet very fine;[7]

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[1] *Uthan deres arbete gåår uth på.* Cf. *Vertoogh, N. Y. Col.*, 2, II, 270; *Doc.*, I, 282; Williams, *Key*, 133.

[2] *Notasser.* See above, Chapt. XI, note 7.

[3] *Uppläcka*, to tear up (?); cf. *läcka sönder*, tear asunder.

[4] Cf. Hodge, *Handbook*, I, 125, 122; above Chapt. XI, note 7.

[5] Cf. Chapt. IX, note 10; Hodge, *Handbook*, II, 257 ff.

[6] *Skiälen fäller.* Fäll usually means skins with the fur, fell.

[7] *Doch mycket grannt.*

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
NM7 Delaware NM7

then they fasten the feathers in the meshes, so neat and strong that not one feather can come loose from it; it would sooner go clear off.[8] They also make very fine, strong and artistic mats of finely painted spruce roots and strong straw, with all kinds of figures, to decorate and cover the walls with, and to place below their bed clothes.[9]

They also make helmets of hard sticks and strong wood, so that no arrow or swingle can go through it.[10]

The late Governor Printz had the savages make and thread up for him a suit of clothes, with coat, trousers and sword belt, entirely of their money, which was very artistic, threaded and worked with all kinds of animals, which came to a few thousand florins.[11] And [there is] much more, which could be described about their artistic manufacture, if space and time would allow. In fine if they were trained and kept at it, they would become very expert, for they are by nature capable to grasp and comprehend immediately what they see.[12]

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[8] The feather would sooner break off than come loose.
[9] Cf. Williams, *Key*, 47 ff.
[10] Repetition, see above.
[11] Williams says: "*Neyhommaussàunck*, a coat or Mantle, curiously made of the fairest feathers of their *Neyhommaneg* or Turkies, which commonly their old Men make; and is with them as velvet with us." *Key*, 107.
[12] Cf. Williams, *Key*, 43.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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Fig. 1—Side posts of Ceremonial House showing carved faces. After Harrington.

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Fig. 2—Delaware Tortoise shell rattles carried by rectiers and dance leaders in the ceremony. (Hist. Com. of Pa.)

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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Fig. 7—Rattle of turtle-shell used by Mul'ngw. (Length, 16.7 in.). After Harrington.

Fig. 8—Central post of Ceremonial House showing carved face. After Harrington.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

A turkey's [1] wing is used when they sweep out in the Big House. And besides, the Attendant carries a long stick as a poker and that is used when they stir up the fire, and it is the rule that they shall light a good bright fire every night as long as they perform the ceremony. And the Attendant-leader every evening walks around all over where they are camped about this Big House, holding a whip. And any person that they find that is causing unnecessary noise they correct. And the children are instructed. And he notifies them, telling them thrice "Come in! Come in! Come in!" And just recently they selected an officer from the Delaware Ageney who is on guard all the time here while they are assembled, so that no one brings in liquor.[2]

[1] The specific term for the Wild Turkey (Meleagris gallipavo) is tci·'kanem, a term derived from the habit of this bird of scratching or "cleaning" the floor of the forest. In native Delaware ornithology, the order Gallinae is denoted by the generic term pele' which denotes any of the birds of the group, though writers on Delaware social organization have occasionally rendered the term by "turkey." Happily no natural history obsequies are called for in the case of this splendid bird for it still survives in its original range where the Delawares knew it.

[2] The imformant pointed to this as an indication of the lack of reverence, and indecency of behavior in the tribe under the influence of the white man's ways. Zeisberger (op. cit. p. 139) commented on the same thing as regards disorder at the feasts.

When any one of us considers the rule with all the obligations and instructions as these are properly carried out, it should be forbidden for one thing that those of our women who when they cannot cook[1] are not pure, be allowed to trouble about the cooking. And should not come in the Big House as long as they are affected with the sickness, because some pure children might be much contaminated, especially when they perform the Gamwing. And it is the rule that persons should abstain from bringing into the Big House any animals of whatever kind they may be which are domesticated.[2]

[1] Being in their catamenial periods.

[2] This has special reference to dogs, pigs, etc. Some discussion has previously been given concerning the status of the wild animals of the forest and those domesticated by man. The Attendants are expected to attack any such animals that come into the Big House and drive them away with their staffs.

And right here opposite from the door on the outside over there at a certain distance they make the fire. Two forked poles are set upright and a pole laid across, upon which they hang the big buckets in which they cook. Near here standing upright is a many-forked tree where meat is hung. And a big shelf is there at one side of the fireplace with two floors where they put the corn that is used. When hominy is made the female Attendants have for their duty, every morning and evening to grind and make corn flour and hominy. Sometimes two or four mortars are used together with those long pounders.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

III

SECOND NIGHT OF THE CEREMONY

[The procedure of the second night's performance follows that of the first night as respects the recitations by those who desire to chant their visions and to discourse.]

Here now, when the last Reciter-Leader has finished, and when they have swept the House well, then the other male Attendants bring inside the Big House the hominy.[1] Everyone eats the hominy in company. Each and all of the women comes bringing a dish to dip it out with. The Attendant has authority to give out the amount allotted to each, so it is said. The boys carry mussel-shells[2] which are used the same as when spoons are used. Now when everyone has eaten his share of the hominy, he feels happy for it, because the Bringer-in always says that this grain-food brings a spiritual blessing of strength when we set out to appeal to our common Father in the sky above. These Attendants first set apart a portion for each individual in his dish, because that is strictly understood to be the rule since long ago in the beginning of the world.[3]

THIRD NIGHT OF THE CEREMONY

Thanks be given, my kindred that still we are blessed with good fortune. Now it is the third evening since here we have performed the ceremony in our temple-house. Now we beg, everyone of us, at his utmost that we may be favored by the pure spirit-force, by him the mask-spirit[4] because he is the one who owns and controls all the wild animals.[5] Now tomorrow morning all must be ready to accompany the

[1] *sas'pan*, "boiled corn" was a cereal staple in the diet of the eastern Algonkian wherever they lived. The term is cognate with New England Algonkian *sumpi* which has passed into English. (For discussion of the term, its history and application see A. F. Chamberlain, Bull. 30, Bur. Amer. Ethnology, part II, p. 422).

[2] The single shell of the fresh-water mussel (Unio complanatus in the east, U. gibbosus, in the west) employed as a spoon is *ea-e'm'hon*.

[3] The procedure of the subsequent three nights in the Big House is about the same as that recorded for the first. The same speakers recite their visions. The rites of sweeping and feasting are repeated similarly.

One might ask what the worshippers do to while away the day-time between the strenuous night performances besides procuring some much needed rest. Custom permits them to indulge in native games, mention of which will be found on page 69.

[4] Something has already been said of the mask-spirit as the guardian of game animals (p. 39). This manitou is now to be made the object of worship in a pantomime of some importance.

[5] Herein lies a concept ripe for elaboration, since the doctrine of ownership of game animals is a fundamental one in the cosmology of the Algonkian hunters of the north, whose culture has been assumed to be fundamental to the family (see pp. 39-41).

11:Newcomb E-5 (1952) 1956 NM7 Delaware NM7

made a full circuit of the tepee. Many of the participants pressed the sage lightly to various parts of their bodies before passing it along. The road-chief then passed corn husks and Bull Durham tobacco in the same direction, everyone rolling a cigarette. These cigarettes were lit from the smoldering stick which was kept in readiness to the east of the fire. After the cigarettes had been smoked in silence, they were collected by the fire-chief. The butts were placed on the altar. Peyote was then passed in the same clockwise fashion; the road-chief directed that four buttons be taken, either two dried and two green, or four of a kind. Peyote tea was also passed, some individuals smearing their body, face, and hair with the tea, as well as drinking it.

When the peyote had completed the clockwise circuit, and as the participants were going through the ordeal of eating it, the road-chief prayed. He then began the opening song, holding a gourd rattle in his right hand and the peyote staff in his left, the drum-chief accompanying him on the drum. After four songs were sung the road-chief passed the staff and gourd rattle to the man on his left, accepted the drum from the drum-chief, and drummed for the man on his left, who sang four songs. After each set of four songs, the gourd rattle and staff were passed in a clockwise direction to the next man who sang a set of four songs, the previous singer becoming the drummer. The singing and drum accompaniment continued until midnight. Between sets of songs some individuals asked for peyote and others asked for water. The water was kept by the fire-chief's side in an ordinary bucket. Occasionally someone would leave the tepee, first getting permission from the road-chief. On re-entering, which was only permissible between sets of songs, the fire-chief cleansed and purified these people by brushing them from the head and shoulders down the arms to the fingers with an eagle feather fan. They then went around the north side of the fire to the altar, where they touched "Father Peyote," and the road-chief brushed them in a similar manner with another eagle feather fan. Then they returned to their places.

About midnight the fire-chief raked the ashes from the fire for the first time. He did this by moving the burning sticks eastward, taking a special peeled stick about six feet long and smoothing out the embers. After they were smoothed, another stick, somewhat longer than the first, was used to divide the ashes along the long axis of the cross, the ashes being formed into two neat piles on either side of the fire. After this was accomplished the fire was returned to its original position, built up, and the whole depression was swept from west to east

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27. Gos: Also used before meeting, while all lined up outside (Malouf).
28. Gos: See note 265a.
30. WRS: Leader allows others to blow whistle as special privilege—to show thanks to Creator (Shimkin).
32. Ab S: Square of purple velvet (Voegelin).
33. Com and No C: Chief drummer does not necessarily provide or tune drum. Best drum available used (Hoebel). Cr 1: Leader has complete outfit, and if drummer, whom he selects, has no drum, leader lends his (Voget). Cr 2: Chief drummer uses own drum (Voget).
35. Cr 2: Can be copper, gold, aluminum, or "anything of iron" (Voget). Gos: 1½-gallon size used, although gallon (No. 6) size desired (Malouf).
36. 13 T: Among Caddo (La Barre).
37. Cr 2: Charcoal obtained from leader's stove (Voget). Gos: Fourteen pieces; Goshute don't know what they represent (Malouf).
38. De 1: Otter skin sometimes used (Webber). Cr 1: "Buckskin of a sort," that is, any well-tanned skin (Voget). Cr 2: Usually deerskin best, but any soft skin may be used (Voget).
40. Kic: Six pebbles used (Noon). Ab S: Eight small round pebbles (Voegelin). De 1: Four small stones used (Petrullo, 50). Cr 1: Seven stone "marbles" (Voget). Cr 2: "Small ball-like rocks" (Voget).
43. Ab S: I suspect it is significant, but my informant did not comment on this (Voegelin). Cr 1: "It means the stars, I guess" (Voget). Cr 2: Symbolized stars in the sky; later the people observed that law officers carried such, and so "we use it to signify living within the law" (Voget). Gos: Represents Morning Star (Malouf).
44. Gos: See note 265a.
46. Cr 1: Chief drummer's used if he has one (Voget).
48. Ab S: Used only after drum had passed halfway around tipi, as far as door; then individual drumsticks smoked in cedar, and permission given to use them—but this long before midnight (Voegelin).
50. De 2: See note 83. Cr 1: Man asks permission of drum chief to pick out drummer (Voget).
51. K-A: Each person participating drums. Feeling strong that one should have peyote partner, and singing and drumming occur in couples. First man sings, his partner drums; then first man drums, second sings. Singing occurs in regular order. Drum skips and then goes back; then skips again, etc. (McAllister). Cr 2: If man on right (A) wishes man on left (B) to drum, B circles room clockwise and sits to right of staff held by A (Voget).
52. Ab S: "Women sometimes drum at a peyote meeting," but mainly men, I noticed (Voegelin). Cr 2: "There is no law against women [drumming], but they just don't" (Voget).
53. Kic: My information not definite on this point. My recollection is that the bag of cedar belonged to the cedarman—this may be a confused impression due to the fact that the cedarman alone threw the cedar on the fire (Noon). Cr 2: Members also have some for their own use (Voget).
55. K-A: No "cedarman"; drummer usually puts cedar on fire (McAllister). Ab S: Usually cedar sprinkled by leader (Voegelin).
56. Win: Both assistants to right and left of leader have cedar bags and sprinkle it on fire at different times. Man on left did so at midnight ceremony (Praus).
57. Ab S: This tobacco is mixed with sage (Voegelin). See note 198 W-P. WRS: Person calling meeting, or sponsor, gives tobacco to leader before meeting, unless sponsor also leader (Shimkin).
58. Gos: See note 265a.
59. Ab S: Perhaps—but I never heard of it for peyote meetings, although Shawnee use oak leaves sometimes for ordinary cigarettes (Voegelin).
60. Cr 2: Paper not "proper"; only when no husks available (Voget).
61. Cr 2: If leader has no tobacco on hand, others may offer their own (Voget).
62. 13 T: Tobacco lacking among some Oto, Pawnee, Winnebago (La Barre, 79). Ute: Tobacco not used in "old Sioux way" sects among Ute and Goshute.
63. Win: Cost of peyote defrayed by persons sponsoring meeting; I received buttons from fire chief, assistant at right of leader, and various men in the group (Praus). WRS: Sponsor gives peyote to leader. Names for peyote: (1) hus; (2) wɔg"ɔ́ɔi—a Comanche word for "cactus" (Shimkin).

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

"Wayne acted; he was a true warrior and a brave man; "he was equal to any of the chiefs that we have, equal "to any that we ever had."

Thus, the Indians, while they deeply resent the wrongs and injuries which they have suffered, yet pay due homage to worth, bravery and military skill, even in an enemy. Strong as their feelings are, they do not extinguish their sense of justice, and they are still generously disposed to allow that there are great and good individuals among a race of men, who, they believe, have doomed them to utter destruction.

CHAPTER XXIV.

FOOD AND COOKERY.

THE principal food of the Indians consists of the game which they take or kill in the woods, the fish out of the waters, and the maize, potatoes, beans, pumpkins, squashes, cucumbers, melons, and occasionally cabbages and turnips, which they raise in their fields; they make use also of various roots of plants, fruits, nuts and berries out of the woods, by way of relish or as a seasoning to their victuals, sometimes also from necessity.

They commonly make two meals every day, which, they say, is enough. If any one should feel hungry between meal-times, there is generally something in the house ready for him.

the grass with his head only above it, watching all around to see where the birds are building their nests, that he may know where to find the young ones when they are hatched.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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Delaware Technology

Subsistence

At the beginning of historic times all of the Middle Atlantic Slope cultures subsisted by means of hoe-gardening, fishing, and hunting. The relative importance of each of these subsistence methods has long been disputed for the area as a whole. Kroeber has maintained that agriculture was not basic to life in the Eastern Area, that "there is little to argue that the culture was leaning very fundamentally on agriculture."[6] He is almost certainly in error in minimizing agriculture and in the reasons he gives for its unimportance, at least so far as the Delawares were concerned. Among the more inland groups agriculture definitely was of paramount importance. In 1654 Lindestrom described a group on the Schuylkill who had ". . . . their dwellings side by side one another, wherefore this land is thereby being cleared and cultivated with great power."[7] Juet before 1610 described a group in the neighborhood of Sandy Hook as having a "great store of Maiz,"[8] and De Vries, De Laet, and William Penn all said that the principal food was maize.[9] Krieger in 1663, in an expedition against some New Jersey Delawares, cut down two hundred and fifteen acres of maize and burned over one hundred pits of corn and beans.[10] Wallace recently contended that agriculture was basic in the economy and added that the high status of women was a function of their basically important agricultural activities.[11] Hunting, gathering, and fishing were also important activities, and seasonally they may well have rivaled agricultural activity.

Gardening.—The principal crop plant was corn or maize (*Zea mays*), raised by the women.[12] They had several varieties ". . . .white, red, blue, flesh-colored, brown, yellow and spotted ears."[13] Holm in the early decades of the seventeenth century said the Delawares grew ". . . black maize of the colour of tar. . ."[14] Harrington in his field work among the Oklahoma Delawares noted six varieties that had been handed down from the early days and were still grown. There were "three soft and three hard" varieties.[15] The Delawares today remember or possess a white-flour corn used principally in bread;[16] red corn, a flint variety; Osage corn, a soft variety; blue corn; and Deer corn, a striped variety (J.T.). There is no assurance that these varieties have not been borrowed by the Delawares in recent times. The cultivated fields seem to have been rather small in extent. Kalm stated that an Indian's garden took up no more ground "than a farmer in our country takes to plant cabbage for his family. At least, a farmer's cabbage and turnip ground,

[6] Kroeber, 1947, p. 148.
[7] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 170.
[8] Juet, 1909, p. 18.
[9] De Vries, 1909, p. 218; De Laet, 1909, p. 57; Penn, 1912, p. 233.
[10] O'Callaghan, 1851, IV: 39.
[11] Wallace, 1947, pp. 9-10.
[12] De Laet, 1909, p. 49; Denton, 1845, p. 6; Van der Donck, 1909, p. 303; Thomas, 1912, p. 341; Penn, 1912, p. 233.
[13] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 179; see also De Rasieres, 1909, p. 107; Kalm, 1937, I: 74.
[14] Holm, 1834, p. 49.
[15] Harrington, 1913, p. 221.
[16] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 180, said bread was baked from white and yellow corn.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7

from archaeological sites attributed to the Delawares. Copper tobacco pipes were recorded early in the seventeenth century by Juet who said: "They had red Copper Tabacco pipes, and other things of Copper they did weare about their neckes."[167] Lindestrom described the pipes as painted and said that there were some "an ell in length, which are screwed together with leather, to lean on. . .and in these pipe-heads will go a handful of tobacco."[168] In another place he indicated that pipe heads were decorated with birds and animals "very beautifully painted and glazed."[169] Holm said that the pipes were "a fathom long, which they lean upon as a stick."[170] The pottery pipes found in archaeological sites were plainer, being "straight conical tubes, plain or stamped, to elbow-shaped forms decorated with incised or stamped lines."[171] De Laet said they had ". . .tubes for smoking tobacco formed. . .of flint stone ingeniously perforated."[172] Stone pipes, however, are relatively rare in archaeological sites.[173]

Agricultural implements of the women were simple; short-handled hoes were fashioned with a blade of dogwood, stone, tortoise shell, or the scapula of a deer (later bison).[174] The scapula hoe is remembered by living Delawares. The Delawares had pottery vessels, and according to archaeological information the paste varied from fine to medium coarse, grit temper was more common than shell temper, and sherds are usually gray or brown. Vessels had "conical and rounded bottoms" and were "straight walled or rounded." Shoulders were often absent, although some had pronounced shoulders when associated with a collared rim. Decoration, if present, was by roughening with a cord-wrapped paddle. Incised decorative designs were frequent.[175] Containers and other utensils were fashioned of wood, shell, bark, gourds, and tortoise shell.[176] Stone tools are common in archaeological deposits and include "plain or pitted hammerstones, anvil stones, abrading stones, sinew stones, pestles, shallow mortars, choppers (or hoes), picks, netsinkers, paint stones and amorphous pieces of mica."[177] They possessed "stone hatchets" that were hafted to a handle, and another type which was neither grooved nor hafted.[178] The women and old men manufactured the mats, ropes, tump lines, and baskets, which were made from wild hemp, nettle, silkweed, spruce roots, cornhusks, ash splints, papaw bark, elm bast, and rushes. Wooden bowls, dishes, and mortars were made of maple, buckeye, and elm wood.[179] Speck has described fully the block

[167]Juet, 1909, pp. 18-19; De Laet, 1909, p. 49.
[168]Lindestrom, 1925, p. 197.
[169]*Ibid.*, p. 221.
[170]Holm, 1834, p. 126.
[171]Smith, 1950, p. 119.
[172]De Laet, 1909, p. 57.
[173]Butler, 1947, p. 253.
[174]Johnson, 1917, p. 279; Jemison, 1918, p. 47; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 38; Mahr, 1954, pp. 385-86.
[175]Smith, 1950, pp. 117-18.
[176]Pastorius, 1912, p. 384; Lindestrom, 1925, p. 256; Johnson, 1917, p. 281; Speck, 1941, pp. 47, 78-79; Smith, 1950, p. 119.
[177]Smith, 1950, p. 119.
[178]Kalm, 1937, I: 229.
[179]Thomas, 1912, p. 341; Lindestrom, 1925, p. 221; De Laet, 1909, p. 57; Harrington, 1913, p. 224.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7

become a shaman, chief, warrior, a person of riches, one with many relatives, or a failure.[19] The most unfortunate persons were those who had no guardian spirit. After one was granted a guardian spirit he commonly made an amulet or fetish. Frequently this was either a representation of the human figure or a stone or clay effigy of the human head. It also might be claws or teeth of an animal or bird.[20] Lindestrom said:

> They consider this their god, so sacred that no one is allowed to touch it.... In this their god they have such a strong faith, that the night he dreams about him, he will at once the following day be able to shoot as much game and catch as much fish as ever he wants to....[21]

Although most of our information about the vision quest is relatively recent, there seems to be no reason why it should not be valid for prehistoric and early historic times.

Apart from the influence that individuals wielded over supernatural powers as a consequence of obtaining a guardian spirit, favor could be curried and influence exerted through sacrifice, primarily by burning flesh and tobacco, but also by dances and songs. Sacrifices of first fruits were commonly mentioned in seventeenth-century sources. Penn said of these:

> Their sacrifice is their first fruits. The first and fattest buck they kill goes to the fire, where he is all burnt, with a mournful ditty of him who performeth the ceremony, but with such marvellous fervency and labour of body, that he will even sweat to a foam. The other part [of their worship] is their cantico, performed by round dances, sometimes words, sometimes songs, then shouts; two being in the middle who begin, and by singing and drumming on a board, direct the chorus. Their postures in the dance are very antic and differing, but all keep measure. This is done with equal earnestness and labour, but great appearance of joy. In the fall, when the corn cometh in, they begin to feast one another.[23]

Trowbridge said:

> When the ice is about to leave the rivers they make an offering of Tobacco with a wooden bowl of parched corn, by placing it on the surface and telling their grandfather, as they call it, that they leave him a pipe to smoke and something to eat on his journey. They sometimes make this offering of tobacco to obtain a safe voyage across the ice and for the same reason they throw it into the water when danger is apprehended. When they go to hunt, at the first encampment an offering of tobacco is made by burning, to the seven masters of the game.[24]

There were also many magical methods by which supernatural powers were influenced, but they are not well recorded in the literature. There are some indications from modern ethnographic data which

[19] Luckenbach, 1938, p. 612.
[20] Zeisberger, 1910, pp. 132-33.
[21] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 207; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 141, stated the same thing.
[22] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 208; Pastorius, 1912, p. 434; Brickell, 1842, p. 49; M.B.
[23] Penn, 1882, p. 244.
[24] Trowbridge MS.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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VI. DELAWARE ASSIMILATION

The final flight to the Caney River Valley in Indian Territory in 1867 was the last movement of the Delawares as a tribe, and it also marked a stage of culture change which is more aptly termed assimilation than acculturation. Contact with the white man became even more intensive and extensive because the Delawares could no longer flee from his presence. Delaware technology had long since disappeared, and the old social organization was in an advanced state of decay. The religion had been attacked, and an increasing number of Delawares were becoming Christians. War, plunder by whites, disease, and poverty had reduced their numbers to less than a thousand persons. The last chapter of this saga does not, however, lack interest. Although the tribal society has disintegrated, the culture has not become extinct; the Delawares retain or remember a number of ancient cultural traits. They are also active participants in what has been termed a Pan-Indian society.

Settlement Pattern

According to the treaty which the Delawares made with the Cherokee Nation, each enrolled Delaware was to receive one hundred and sixty acres of land in the specified area of Indian Territory. The crucial fact is that the Delawares did not settle upon this land as a unit; some even settled on Osage land and some on land already claimed by Cherokee settlers.[1] There were several reasons for this scattered settlement pattern; the Delawares did not come to Oklahoma as a unit, they lacked leadership and straggled to it as individuals over more than a year's time. The shape of the purchased land, which was long and narrow, may have been a deterrent to settlement as a community. This settlement pattern was an important factor in the subsequent degeneration of Delaware society and culture.

Technological Assimilation

By the time the tribal remnant had settled in Indian Territory the old technology was hardly a memory. The Delawares had become by 1867, and were to remain for several decades of the twentieth century, essentially subsistence farmers. Old informants recalled that as soon as they were settled in Oklahoma, "squaw patches" were cultivated. These vegetable gardens, as was true in earlier times, ranged up to five acres in extent. Indian corn was the staple crop and is, in fact, still grown, although it is now of slight economic importance. Besides corn, informants related, sweet potatoes, beans, onions, peas, and Irish potatoes were raised. In time, however, subsistence farming was abandoned by most of the Delawares. Kinietz said of their subsistence:

[1] G. Foreman, 1948, pp. 188-89.

2;Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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Very few of them were fortunate enough to have oil on their lands. They either farm their fields or cash rent them. Judging from the state of repair of the houses, those that farm their own fields are more prosperous than those who rent them out.... The majority probably rent their fields and subsist on the small cash return, aided by the produce from their gardens, old age pensions, and other occasional sources of income.[3]

I have never seen a farming enterprise among the Cherokee-Delawares which could be considered a successful commercial venture. Some subsistence farming continues, but a large proportion of the adult males work in the various industries of the county, such as the Dewey Portland Cement Company, or the Phillips Petroleum Company. The older Delawares, who have remained in the area, appear to have done so mainly because they possessed no special training which would allow them to rise on the economic ladder or to leave for higher paid employment elsewhere. The older generation also seems to have had no culturally inspired incentives to acquire special skills.

There was considerable hunting in the early days in Oklahoma. Game was still fairly plentiful, and until about 1870 the Delawares had to hunt because their gardens yielded only a precarious livelihood. The chief object of the hunt was traditionally deer, and informants (J.T., O.A.) said that this was true in Oklahoma. They also ventured out onto the plains in quest of the bison. The Anadarko band, because of their location and probably because of their proximity to Plains tribes, made considerably more use of the bison. Besides these animals, prairie chickens, of which there were immense quantities in the early days, wild turkeys, quail, fish, beaver, and raccoon were utilized. In the Caney Valley the hunting was done on horseback, by individuals or at most by small groups. Communal bison hunts occasionally took place on the plains. These included women to do the butchering. Autumn was preferred for communal hunts since the cooler weather allowed the hunters to bring back fresh instead of jerked meat. Preparation, preservation, and storage of food followed the traditional patterns well into this century. Little or no food is dried or jerked by the Cherokee-Delawares at present; most food comes out of the can and is prepared in the Anglo-American tradition.

By the time the Delawares had migrated to Oklahoma the log house (about thirteen by twenty feet) had become the ordinary dwelling. A smaller log house was erected nearby and served as a cookhouse. The bark and sapling wigwam persisted as an auxiliary dwelling until this century, as old informants remember the details of these structures (O.A., M.B.). Small cookstoves were in general use by the time the Delawares appeared in Oklahoma, and the other furnishings were primarily of American origin and design. Gradually the early log buildings were replaced by small clapboard dwellings. Houses today are usually in poor repair and are overcrowded and small; they are comparable to those of the poorer whites of the area. No pottery was manufactured in

[3]Ziniets, 1946, p. 13.

3;Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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173 must have been vision or revelation. They had repeatedly looked out over the sea, until at last a vessel was sighted, when they had immediately summoned the Indians and said: "See, here comes some one to us, concerning whose coming we have long ago told you: the gods are coming to visit us." They worshipped them, regarding them as deities. When the whites landed, they gave the Indians knives, hatchets, muskets and various other things they knew not how to use and, consequently, carefully put away. On occasion of feasts or sacrifices they suspended the knives and hatchets from their necks as ornaments and worshipped the various articles, bringing sacrifices to them. The muskets they did not use except on special days, when to satisfy curiosity a few shots were fired and then sacrifices offered them. When the whites, after lapse of considerable time came again and saw that the things they had given were worn about the neck, they gave the Indians instructions in the use of the knife, hatchet and musket.

In those early days the manner of living of the Indians was very different from that of the present time, yet, though they were wretchedly equipped and could barely supply their wants, they succeeded in supporting life." They planted corn, beans, pumpkins, which they had at that time. Their hoe was a bone from the shoulder blade of the deer, which is broad at one end and very narrow at the other. With this bound to a stick they worked the soil. A turtle-shell sharpened by means of a stone and similarly attached to a stick, served much the same purpose. A kind of tobacco known as Brazilian tobacco, they also had; to the present day this tobacco, which has but small leaves, is called Indian tobacco.

Their knives were made of flint, not in the form of our knives but shaped like arrow-heads, i. e., triangular, quite thin and with the two larger sides sharp. With such knives they stripped off the skin of deer and other game.

Their hatchets, also made of stone and about the length of a hand, smoothed and sharpened, were secured to a wooden handle. These were not used for splitting wood but only to kill trees, as no more is necessary than to chop through the bark, if this is done at the right time, or to peel off bast for covering

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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133 The Muskingum (meaning Elk's Eye, so called because of the numbers of elk that formerly fed on its banks, these animals being found there even at the present time) empties into the Ohio two hundred miles below Pittsburg. It is navigable for canoes or light boats, which the Indians use upon it, from its source to its mouth.

The country is diversified with hillocks and gentle risings, but no great mountains are to be seen to the west of the Allegheny Mountains. The Indians are, therefore, yet in the possession of the best land. Along the creeks and rivers the soil is very rich and commonly called "The Bottoms." This sort of [311] land is chosen by the Indians for agricultural purposes not only because it is easily worked, but also because it yields aboundant crops for many years. When, however, their fields begin to [241] grow grass they leave them and break new land, for they regard it as too troublesome to root out the grass. For winter crops such soil would be too rich and would yield little or nothing. But corn and all else raised by the Indians thrives in rich soil.

The higher lying land, generally of medium richness, though some of this also is extraordinarily fertile, is the best for winter grains, and as but little of it is stony soil it would be difficult to find a spot that could not be cultivated to advantage.

132 Concerning the climate, I can only speak from a twelve years' acquaintance with the country. In the summer it is quite warm, especially in July and August, which are the two hottest months; woolen garments can hardly be worn at this season of the year. The winter is generally very mild. The snow is never deep, nor does it remain long on the ground. Last winter, 1779-80, which was very severe in Pensilvania, snow fell once to a depth of two feet. In eight days this was gone, though the ground was covered with snow most of the time between New Year and February. As I have neither chart nor instrument, I am unable to say in what degree of latitude it lies, though I reckon it to be about the same as that of Philadelphia. A distance of a hundred English miles north or south makes a very perceptible difference in temperature; for in Sandusky on Lake Erie, it is much colder and the snow is much deeper than here in the Muskingum Valley and along the Scioto,[84] which empties into

So far as could be ascertained, the use of corn medicine and fish fertilizer in corn hills, is the only vestige of the ritualistic complex now associated with maize cultivation.[8] My informant stated that in former times it was customary to use medicine in which corn was soaked to prevent cut worms. At present, seed corn is soaked in water and hardwood ashes. Fish bones were burned and combined with wood ashes and put in the corn hills as an offering to the Maize Spirit. Corn, beans, and squash were planted together, but the legend of the Three Sisters (corn, beans, and squash) [9] so prominent in Iroquois mythology, is absent.

The different varieties of maize are not planted near one another because, it is said, "One will visit the other and forget to come back."

When corn matures one must share the first gathering with a less fortunate tribesman or with some old person. This rule applies to all crops as well as to the first kill.[10] In order that people may continue to receive the blessings of the Creator, every man is obligated to share his first fruits and game with others, before partaking of them himself. The practice of sharing vegetable food with a neighbor is known by the term, "I feed you." A hunter offering animal flesh in observance of this rule, used the phrase, "I give you some meat."

There are several methods employed in preparing corn as food.

(a) The husk is taken off and the ears laid in the sun until thoroughly dry. The grains may then be removed and pounded into hominy grits.

(b) After removing the husk, the ears are boiled until thoroughly cooked. They are allowed to cool, the grains removed with a spoon and spread out to dry.

(c) The ears are laid before the fire and roasted.

Early records indicate that corn parched and crushed to meal, served as a very nourishing food which was indispensable to the hunter or

[8] The Iroquois observed the practice of soaking seed corn in a medicine especially prepared from certain plants. "In ancient times they enriched the soil with both fish and shell." (Waugh, *op. cit.*, p. 18.)

[9] The corn, bean and squash complex is discussed by Parker, 1910, p. 36, and Converse, 1910, p. 63.

[10] According to Zeisberger (*op. cit.*, p. 84) a hunter before setting out upon a long hunting trip, would kill a deer or two and prepare a feast as a sacrifice to the game. The old people as invited guests would pray for his good fortune during the expedition.

(Lindstrom, p. 215). Men went by themselves or took their families to the woods for periods of several days or weeks. In addition to their dependence on a steady aim with bow and arrow, they attempted to attract the animals by the use of charms and imitations of their calls (Harrington, 1913, pp. 221-22; Loskiel, p. 77). Loskiel, in the eighteenth century, also mentions the practice of chasing wounded deer for long distances if they did not fall on the first shot, but this cannot be documented by earlier accounts (Loskiel, p. 76).

Early Swedish writers noted that turkeys and other birds, deer, beavers and other small animals were snared (the twitchup is the only type of snare specifically mentioned) and beavers were sometimes killed with a lance (Johnson, p. 281). Pigeons might be killed by cutting all sides of a tree used as a roost, then toppling it when the birds alighted (Lindstrom, pp. 216-17).

Remnants of the Delaware's hunting equipment are found abundantly in their old haunts. Stone arrow points and lance heads are particularly numerous, but antler points are found in smaller quantities (Abbott, 1875, p. 269; Skinner, 1915, p. 10; Smith, p. 139; Kalm, p. 230). Stone axes suitable for crushing bones or shells, and knives suitable for skinning and cutting up the meat are also found in abundance (Abbott, 1875, pp. 264 and 303; Skinner, 1909, pp. 18-20; Kalm, p. 230; Heye, p. 71).

Even the earliest writers were aware to some extent of the reverence in which Delaware hunters held the provider of their sustenance. Lindstrom and Penn mention that the first catch of the season was eaten at a special feast accompanied by singing and dancing. All that was not eaten was burned, and on no account was any part sold (Lindstrom, pp. 214-15; Penn, p. 38). Boys did not begin hunting until about fifteen years of age, sometimes starting as the result of success in obtaining a guardian spirit through a vision. It was believed that the youth would be able to catch all that he desired on the day after such a vision (Lindstrom, p. 208).

The women's main contribution to the food supply lay in agriculture. Without doubt the most important crop was maize, of which the Delaware had several varieties[2] (De Rasieres, p. 107; Johnson, p. 279; Kalm, p. 74; Lindstrom, p. 223). To get some impression of the amount of maize grown, we may note that Krieger, commander in an expedition against one band of New Jersey Delaware in 1663, says that he cut down 215 acres of maize and burned more than 100 pits of corn and beans (Krieger, p. 39). There are also ample references to the cultivations of beans, squash (including pumpkins) and tobacco[3] (Harrington, 1913, p. 221; Johnson, p. 279; Kalm, p. 74).

Since the Delaware had no axe adequate to cut down a tree of any considerable size, they cleared their fields by seriously bruising the bark of the trees, thereby killing them. In this operation they

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used grooved axes hafted by tying the head between the ends of a split stick (Kalm, p. 229). The trees were then removed by burning (Johnson, p. 279; Harrington, 1913, p. 221; Kalm, p. 230). Zeisberger was told by his Indian acquaintances that, before they had metal tools, they also burned their wood into suitable lengths for use (Zeisberger, 1910, p. 29). After being cleared of rubbish and stones, the land was broken up with a hoe made of stone, tortoise shell, or the shoulder blade of a deer, attached to a short handle (Johnson, p. 279; Skinner, 1909, p. 42; Abbott, 1879, pp. 350 and 356; Loskiel, p. 67; Seaver, p. 47). The earth was piled into little hills in which five or six grains of maize were planted about April. In the middle of May when the maize was the "height of a finger", they planted in each heap three or four "Turkish beans,"[4] which then grew up with and were supported by the maize. Maize was a plant that needed frequent weeding and hoeing (De Rasieres, p. 107; Johnson, p. 279; Harrington, 1913, p. 221).

[242]

There is no mention of the use of any kind of fertilizer by the Delaware, and early Swedish writers note that, "When a tract had been cultivated until crops would no longer grow, it was deserted and a new plantation prepared" (Johnson, p. 279). Therefore, in the present case there appears to be at least presumptive evidence for lack of fertilizing techniques.

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In addition to the above-mentioned means of obtaining food, the Delaware Indians gathered various wild berries, nuts, fruits, and roots. Although many of the early references tend to be generic, one gathers that strawberries, gooseberries, huckleberries or billberries, cranberries and grapes were among the chief fruits used (Loskiel, pp. 68-69; Kalm, p. 261; Skinner, 1909, p. 43; Waugh, pp. 127-28), and the butternut, walnut, chestnut and hickory the most important nuts (Loskiel, pp. 70-71; Lindstrom, p. 223; Waugh, p. 123). In addition, Kalm found that early Swedish residents of New Jersey remembered the Indians having used Hopnise or ground nut (Glycine apios), Katnise (Sagittaria sagittifolia) and Taw-Ho (Arum virginicum).[5] This last was reputed to be poisonous in a raw state and so was placed in a hole covered with earth where it was cooked by a fire burning on top. They also boiled and ate the seeds of the Golden Club or Taw-Hoe (Orontium aquaticum) (Kalm, pp. 260-61). The use of roots is referred to be other authors although the terms used vary (Brinton, 1885, p. 90; Johnson, p. 281; Lindstrom, p. 223; Skinner, 1909, p. 43).

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Although there are no specific references to the making of maple syrup in early sources, all the later observers found maple sugar boiling an important activity and the properties of the maple were generally known and utilized on the east coast. It seems impossible that all the early writers would have overlooked the use of maple sap if it had been as important as it later became, but none of my sources mention it.

FOOTNOTES

000 1. The reports of Butler and Heye are based on an identification of bones found in old feast pits.

2. According to Waugh's report on Iroquois foods, the Onondaga had names for starchy, flint, sweet, starchy-sweet and pop corn, five of the seven generally recognized varieties of Zea mays (Waugh, pp. 74-77).

[241] 3. To these Brinton adds the sweet potato, but no early sources confirm him in this opinion (1885, p. 48).

4. Delaware sources do not indicate which types of beans were grown aboriginally, but Waugh in his report on the Iroquois states that they knew over sixty varieties. The natives described them according to use, i.e. bread or soup beans (Waugh, pp. 104-107).

5. The identifications are made by Kalm himself.

[171] 6. Brinton specifically denies that the Delaware had this type of house, but it is described in Lindstrom as translated by Johnson (p. 281). According to Skinner, Bankers and Sluyter described this longhouse for the Canarsie, a Mohegan group living also in New Jersey (1909, p. 47). In Geographia Americanae, Lindstrom says: "In the Fall every sachem has built a house in which he and his subjects can live." (p. 221). As can be seen the problem is closely related to that of whether more than one conjugal family ever resided together. Support for the belief that they did comes from Beatty who visited a Delaware town in Ohio and noted that several families sometimes lived in one house. (p. 37).

[501] 7. There is no evidence to indicate whether or not sails were used in pre-contact times.

[286] 8. Several early writers noted cloth garments worn by the Indians, but Harrington has said of the Canadian reservation Indians in 1908: "The nearest approach to the weaving of aboriginal fabrics is seen in the pack strap...They were made of fibres of Indian hemp, the milkweed or the inner bark of the slippery elm, boiled soft and rolled or twisted into cord with the hand on the bare thigh. The cords were then tightly woven into a strap two or three inches wide and a little more than two feet long..." No mention is made of any kind of weaving apparatus. It seems most likely that even though cloth is mentioned by some of the earliest writers, it is a borrowed trait although pack straps may have been aboriginal manufactures.

9. Ruth Benedict says that there generally is a correlation between painful inducement of visions and receiving the vision because of [illegible] pitied by the spirits (pp. 27-28).

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
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"They kept annual feasts:—. . . a feast of first fruits which they do not permit themselves to taste until they have made an offering of them to the manitu-oo-al, or gods; . . . There is one of the greatest sacrifice offerings of our forefathers every six months for cleansing themselves from sin; they will have twelve deers to be consumed in one day and night. At the great feast of the offerings of the first fruits of the earth, which feast the Delawares or Munceys hold annually, they brought a little of all that they raised, such as Indian corn, or hweink-queem, potatoes, beans, pumpkins, squashes, together with the deer. The Indian women were busily engaged in cooking their provisions, previous to the commencement of their exercises. They invited all strangers into a long pagan temple prepared for such purposes, there is a door at each end—one opening to the east, and one opening to the west. On entering, they with all the Indians were seated on the ground around two fires; in the center of the temple was a large post, around which was suspended a number of deer skins, and wampum is kept buried at the foot of this post. Near the post sat two Indian singers, each with a large bundle of undressed deer skins which served as drums. There were two young men appointed to watch the doors and keep the fires burning, the doors being closed. Each of the young men brought an armful of hemlock boughs, which being thrown

| | | |

[p 55 (B)]

614 have expressed themselves in favor of the
622 person nominated. If they disagree, I have
623 not ascertained how it is adjusted. After the person is agreed upon, then all the chiefs meet in council and perform the ceremony of investing him with his office.

622 The war chiefs are selected and made such by the Head Chief without consulting the people, but not so with the Head Chief.

● 241 The Delawares are very well advanced as agriculturalists. When Mr. Pratt came
342 among them 12 years ago, as he informs me,
177 they were living in bark houses. Now many of them are living in frame houses two stories and 2½ stories high, some with a veranda in front the whole length, and they have good barns and outbuildings. Some of
231 them have herds of cattle from 25 to 100
422 and have from 5 to 20 swine, sheep, wagons, and all kinds of farming implements. Their future prospects are certainly very flattering if they push on as they have here. Their
648 women are interfered with a good deal by
563 the whites, and they are quick to marry
557 white husbands, as they seem to regard that as advancing. It would be so were their husbands respectable.

657 With their large annuity of $50,000 per annum, the best timbered lands in the state, and sufficient of them to give them all large farms, there is no reason why they should not become both agriculturalists and respectable citizens of the state. When they
000 become wealthy farmers as some of them now are, their children will intermarry respectably with our white people, and thus the children will become respectable and, if educated, in the second and third generations will become beautiful and attractive. This is to be the end of the Indian absorption of a small portion, which will improve and toughen our race, and the residue run out or forced into the regions of the mountains.

[p 52(c)]

775 of the souls of those who were punished by
825 the evil spirit, the wreck, or fragments into which they were cut up were turned into mosquitoes and such evil creatures.

776 Bad spirits are believed to pass by about
787 day break and good spirits are believed to pass along about dark. For this reason boys are often sent to bed without supper, that they may commune with, or be visited by
[785] good spirits, the fasting state being thought to be favorable to such communion, and for the same reason are often compelled to get up before day break that the evil spirits may not obtain or exercise any wicked influence upon them.

776 I am told that the Shawnee Female Great
821 Spirit is in reality the moon, and is worshipped as our Grand Mother or something of that sort; and Isaac Johnny Cake who mentioned this [to] me also said that the Great Spirit of the Delawares was represented and believed to be a brother of the Sun, and that the Moon was the Grand Mother of the Great Spirit; and young Toucey, the Stockbridge, says that there is
[171] some evidence of a [?] in of the sun in the worship of several of the Indian races, including his own. The Iroquois return thanks to the sun for heating the earth and to the moon for cooling it, but this does not show a sun worship or anything like it.
[115] William Adams is to correspond with me on the religious system of the Delawares, and I hope to find out something definite about it.

Gum-mween

796 This festival or annual worship of the Delawares as explained by William Adams and of which he is to write to me more fully, is quite interesting. They believe unless they
[241] observe it once a year their crops will fail, and they will lose the favor of the Great Spirit.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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taken together, is always as extensive, if not more so, than all the corn fields and kitchen gardens of an Indian family."[17] Luckenbach, a Moravian missionary of the early nineteenth century, said that the fields were "limited to two or three acres of corn for each family."[18] The Delawares today term the gardens "squaw patches" and claim that they never exceeded five acres in size (M.B., O.A.).

Most Delaware archaeological sites are in creek or valley bottoms;[19] in the eighteenth century such bottom land was chosen for gardens, since it was easily worked and was generally fertile.[20] Zeisberger, in the eighteenth century, took pains to point out that land away from rivers, although suitable for tillage by Europeans, was not utilized at all for this purpose by Indians.[21] Garden plots were cleared by bruising or removing the bark of the trees, then burning the trees after they were dry.[22] The seventeenth-century Swedish writers stated that garden plots were moved after the soil was exhausted.[23] Van der Donck in the middle of the century and Loskiel in the next century denied the use of fertilizer.[24] New England Indians, however, fertilized the land with fish, and Wallace has suggested that this trait may have been present among the Delawares.[25]

Corn was planted in ". . . square hills (so far apart) that one can conveniently walk between the hills. . . . And in each hill 6 or 7 grains are set."[26] According to De Rasieres:

> They make heaps like molehills, each about two and a half feet from the others, which they sow or plant in April with maize, in each heap five or six grains; in the middle of May, when the maize is the height of a finger or more, they plant in each heap three or four Turkish beans .... It [corn] is a grain to which much labor must be given, with weeding and earthing-up, or it does not thrive; and to this the women must attend very closely.[27]

Squash, pumpkins, several varieties of beans, and tobacco were also grown.[28] According to M.B. tobacco was grown only by women past the menopause. The Delawares blended their tobacco with sumac, one third sumac to two thirds tobacco.[29]

Hunting.—Hunting was important to the Delaware economy, not only because it provided food, but also because pelts and hides provided most of the material for clothing. The main objects of the hunt were deer and bear, but virtually all of the other mammals of their habitat were hunted and utilized for clothing or for food. This list included fox, raccoon, skunk, porcupine, opossum, and squirrel.[30] The Delawares

[17] Kalm, 1937, I: 307.
[18] Luckenbach, 1936, pp. 598-99.
[19] Personal communication from John Witthoft.
[20] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 44.
[21] *Ibid.*, p. 36.
[22] Johnson, 1917, p. 279; Kalm, 1937, I: 330; Harrington, 1913, p. 221.
[23] Johnson, 1917, p. 279.
[24] Loskiel, 1794, p. 66.
[25] Flannery, 1939, p. 10; Wallace, 1947, p. 18.
[26] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 179.
[27] De Rasieres, 1909, p. 107; Johnson, 1917, p. 279; and Harrington, 1913, p. 221, contain similar accounts of their horticulture.
[28] Just, 1909, p. 21; Johnson, 1917, p. 279; Kalm, 1937, I: 74; Lindestrom, 1925, pp. 180-81; Holm, 1834, p. 122.
[29] Speck, 1943, p. 324.
[30] Denton, 1845, p. 7; Van der Donck, 1908, p. 303; Zeisberger, 1910, pp. 37, 62-63.

241 used grooved axes hafted by tying the head between the ends of a split stick (Kalm, p. 229). The trees were then removed by burning (Johnson, p. 279; Harrington, 1913, p. 221; Kalm, p. 230). Zeisberger was told by his Indian acquaintances that, before they had metal tools, they also burned their wood into suitable lengths for use (Zeisberger, 1910, p. 29). After being cleared of rubbish and stones, the land was broken up with a hoe made of stone, tortoise shell, or the shoulder blade of a deer, attached to a short handle (Johnson, p. 279; Skinner, 1909, p. 42; Abbott, 1875, pp. 350 and 356; Loskiel, p. 67; Beaver, p. 47). The earth was piled into little hills in which five or six grains of maize were planted about April. In the middle of May when the maize was the "height of a finger", they planted in each heap three or four "Turkish beans,"4 which then grew up with and were supported by the maize. Maize was a plant that needed frequent weeding and hoeing (De Rasieres, p. 107; Johnson, p. 279; Harrington, 1913, p. 221).

242 There is no mention of the use of any kind of fertilizer by the Delaware, and early Swedish writers note that, "When a tract had been cultivated until crops would no longer grow, it was deserted and a new plantation prepared" (Johnson, p. 279). Therefore, in the present case there appears to be at least presumptive evidence for lack of fertilizing techniques.

232 262 In addition to the above-mentioned means of obtaining food, the Delaware Indians gathered various wild berries, nuts, fruits, and roots. Although many of the early references tend to be generic, one gathers that strawberries, gooseberries, huckleberries or billberries, cranberries and grapes were among the chief fruits used (Loskiel, pp. 68-69; Kalm, p. 261; Skinner, 1909, p. 43; Waugh, pp. 127-28), and the butternut, walnut, chestnut and hickory the most important nuts (Loskiel, pp. 70-71; Lindstrom, p. 223; Waugh, p. 123). In addition, Kalm found that early Swedish residents of New Jersey remembered the Indians having used Hopniss or ground nut (Glycine apios), Katnins (Sagittaria sagittifolia) and Taw-Ho (Arum virginicum).5 This last was reputed to be poisonous in a raw state and so was placed in a hole covered with earth where it was cooked by a fire burning on top. They also boiled and ate the seeds of the Golden Club or Taw-Hoe (Orontium aquaticum) (Kalm, pp. 260-61). The use of roots is referred to by other authors although the terms used vary (Brinton, 1885, p. 50; Johnson, p. 281; Lindstrom, p. 223; Skinner, 1909, p. 43).

252 Although there are no specific references to the making of maple syrup in early sources, all the later observers found maple sugar boiling an important activity and the properties of the maple were generally known and utilized on the east coast. It seems impossible that all the early writers would have overlooked the use of maple sap if it had been as important as it later became, but none of my sources mention it.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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Delaware Technology

Subsistence

At the beginning of historic times all of the Middle Atlantic Slope cultures subsisted by means of hoe-gardening, fishing, and hunting. The relative importance of each of these subsistence methods has long been disputed for the area as a whole. Kroeber has maintained that agriculture was not basic to life in the Eastern Area, that "there is little to argue that the culture was leaning very fundamentally on agriculture."[6] He is almost certainly in error in minimizing agriculture and in the reasons he gives for its unimportance, at least so far as the Delawares were concerned. Among the more inland groups agriculture definitely was of paramount importance. In 1654 Lindestrom described a group on the Schuylkill who had "... . their dwellings side by side one another, wherefore this land is thereby being cleared and cultivated with great power."[7] Just before 1610 described a group in the neighborhood of Sandy Hook as having a "great store of Maiz,"[8] and De Vries, De Laet, and William Penn all said that the principal food was maize.[9] Krieger in 1663, in an expedition against some New Jersey Delawares, cut down two hundred and fifteen acres of maize and burned over one hundred pits of corn and beans.[10] Wallace recently contended that agriculture was basic in the economy and added that the high status of women was a function of their basically important agricultural activities.[11] Hunting, gathering, and fishing were also important activities, and seasonally they may well have rivaled agricultural activity.

Gardening.—The principal crop plant was corn or maize (*Zea mays*), raised by the women.[12] They had several varieties "... . .white, red, blue, flesh-colored, brown, yellow and spotted ears."[13] Holm in the early decades of the seventeenth century said the Delawares grew "... black maize of the colour of tar. . ."[14] Harrington in his field work among the Oklahoma Delawares noted six varieties that had been handed down from the early days and were still grown. There were "three soft and three hard" varieties.[15] The Delawares today remember or possess a white-flour corn used principally in bread;[16] red corn, a flint variety; Osage corn, a soft variety; blue corn; and Deer corn, a striped variety (J.T.). There is no assurance that these varieties have not been borrowed by the Delawares in recent times. The cultivated fields seem to have been rather small in extent. Kalm stated that an Indian's garden took up no more ground "than a farmer in our country takes to plant cabbage for his family. At least, a farmer's cabbage and turnip ground,

[6]Kroeber, 1947, p. 148.
[7]Lindestrom, 1925, p. 170.
[8]Just, 1909, p. 18.
[9]De Vries, 1909, p. 218; De Laet, 1909, p. 57; Penn, 1912, p. 232.
[10]O'Callaghan, 1851, IV: 39.
[11]Wallace, 1947, pp. 9-10.
[12]De Laet, 1909, p. 49; Denton, 1845, p. 6; Van der Donck, 1909, p. 302; Thomas, 1912, p. 341; Penn, 1912, p. 232.
[13]Lindestrom, 1925, p. 179; see also De Rasieres, 1909, p. 107; Kalm, 1937, I: 74.
[14]Holm, 1834, p. 49.
[15]Harrington, 1913, p. 231.
[16]Lindestrom, 1925, p. 180, said bread was baked from white and yellow corn.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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taken together, is always as extensive, if not more so, than all the corn fields and kitchen gardens of an Indian family."[17] Luckenbach, a Moravian missionary of the early nineteenth century, said that the fields were "limited to two or three acres of corn for each family."[18] The Delawares today term the gardens "squaw patches" and claim that they never exceeded five acres in size (M.B., O.A.).

Most Delaware archaeological sites are in creek or valley bottoms;[19] in the eighteenth century such bottom land was chosen for gardens, since it was easily worked and was generally fertile.[20] Zeisberger, in the eighteenth century, took pains to point out that land away from rivers, although suitable for tillage by Europeans, was not utilized at all for this purpose by Indians.[21] Garden plots were cleared by bruising or removing the bark of the trees, then burning the trees after they were dry.[22] The seventeenth-century Swedish writers stated that garden plots were moved after the soil was exhausted.[23] Van der Donck in the middle of the century and Loskiel in the next century denied the use of fertilizer.[24] New England Indians, however, fertilized the land with fish, and Wallace has suggested that this trait may have been present among the Delawares.[25]

Corn was planted in ". . . square hills (so far apart) that one can conveniently walk between the hills. . . . And in each hill 6 or 7 grains are set."[26] According to De Rasieres:

> They make heaps like molehills, each about two and a half feet from the others, which they sow or plant in April with maize, in each heap five or six grains; in the middle of May, when the maize is the height of a finger or more, they plant in each heap three or four Turkish beans . . . . R [corn] is a grain to which much labor must be given, with weeding and earthing-up, or it does not thrive; and to this the women must attend very closely.[27]

Squash, pumpkins, several varieties of beans, and tobacco were also grown.[28] According to M.B. tobacco was grown only by women past the menopause. The Delawares blended their tobacco with sumac, one third sumac to two thirds tobacco.[29]

Hunting.—Hunting was important to the Delaware economy, not only because it provided food, but also because pelts and hides provided most of the material for clothing. The main objects of the hunt were deer and bear, but virtually all of the other mammals of their habitat were hunted and utilized for clothing or for food. This list included fox, raccoon, skunk, porcupine, opossum, and squirrel.[30] The Delawares

[17] Kalm, 1937, I: 307.
[18] Luckenbach, 1938, pp. 598-99.
[19] Personal communication from John Witthoft.
[20] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 44.
[21] *Ibid.*, p. 36.
[22] Johnson, 1917, p. 279; Kalm, 1937, I: 230; Harrington, 1913, p. 221.
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[24] Loskiel, 1794, p. 66.
[25] Flannery, 1939, p. 10; Wallace, 1947, p. 18.
[26] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 179.
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[28] Just, 1909, p. 21; Johnson, 1917, p. 279; Kalm, 1937, I: 74; Lindestrom, 1925, pp. 180-81; Holm, 1834, p. 122.
[29] Speck, 1943, p. 324.
[30] Denton, 1845, p. 7; Van der Donck, 1909, p. 303; Zeisberger, 1910, pp. 37, 62-63.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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next period, however, Johnston and Chipps said that the men and women shared the labor of moving and pitching camp. In the fourth period W. L. was again the only one to place the responsibility on the women.

The husband did not strike his wife frequently, if at all, according to all the information gathered (283). Johnston and Chipps said that he might do so if she were ill-tempered or refractory (284). The modern informants denied this as a just cause, although E. R. said that it was up to the husband to punish his wife if she broke a rule.

Food, Mode of Living, etc.

Heckewelder said that the Delaware, Mahicans, and Shawnee were all very particular in their choice of meats and that nothing short of the most pressing hunger could induce them to eat of certain animals, such as the horse, dog, wildcat, panther, fox, muskrat, or wolf, all of which he had several times seen the Chippewa eat with a good appetite (288-91)." J. W. said that opossum, wolf, dog, woodchuck, snake, crow, hawk, owl, eagle, and, in fact, most fowls were not eaten. W. L. also said that opossum, muskrat, and several kinds of birds were not eaten. Apparently the symbols of the three tribal divisions, turtle, turkey and wolf, were not taboo for that reason, for only the last one was included on any list. The totems of the extinct subdivisions may have been taboo. This is true of the opossum which was most frequently mentioned as not being eaten and it was the name of one of the subdivisions. However, the Delaware regard the opossum as endowed with supernatural powers and in the nature of a trickster and have many stories that evince this attitude.

There seems to have been no taboos on vegetables eaten (292-98). Corn was the principal item cultivated. It was supplemented by the usual beans and squashes, and later vegetables introduced by the whites were also cultivated. Wild or ground potatoes and other less important wild products were gathered. The

"Heckewelder, *History, Manners, and Customs of the Indian Nations*, p. 196.

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J. W. *Kĭčinipen*—Summer 805
W. L. *Kĭčinipen*—Starting summer 821

July

ZEISBERGER *Yugatamoewi gischuch*—The time of raising the earth about the corn
HECKEWELDER —The summer month
JOHNSTON *Gock, kau, tau, ma, ekeshoe*—The moon when vegetation is blossoming [824]
PIPE *Yaukāütamwaa kēēshooh*—Moon of sacrifice or prayer. Time of feast of first fruits [796]

CHIPPS *La-kòk-me-aò-e-kà-so*
J. W. *Dainipen*—Middle summer
W. L. *Lainipen kĭ'lo*—Middle of summer
W. T. *Kĭčini'pen*—Middle of summer

August

ZEISBERGER *Sakauweuhewi gischuch*—Deer month
ZEISBERGER *Winu gischuch*—The time when the corn is in the milk and ready to eat and roast [824 243]
HECKEWELDER —The month of roasting ears
JOHNSTON *Sok, ho, a, ha, ie, kie, shough, i, e,*—The moon when the deer begin to turn gray [825]
PIPE *Saukiioshāā kēēshooh*—Moon in which deer get blue hair

CHIPPS *Wà-no-e-kà-so*
J. W. —Dry, hot, refreshing
W. L. *Kĭčitakŏk kĭ'lo*—Beginning fall month
W. T. *Socowigilo*—Deer change color, Fall side of summer [825]

September

ZEISBERGER *Kitschitachquoak*—Autumn month
HECKEWELDER —The autumnal month

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3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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must have been vision or revelation. They had repeatedly looked out over the sea, until at last a vessel was sighted, when they had immediately summoned the Indians and said: "See, here comes some one to us, concerning whose coming we have long ago told you; the gods are coming to visit us." They worshipped them, regarding them as deities. When the whites landed, they gave the Indians knives, hatchets, muskets and various other things they knew not how to use and, consequently, carefully put away. On occasion of feasts or sacrifices they suspended the knives and hatchets from their necks as ornaments and worshipped the various articles, bringing sacrifices to them. The muskets they did not use except on special days, when to satisfy curiosity a few shots were fired and then sacrifices offered them. When the whites, after lapse of considerable time came again and saw that the things they had given were worn about the neck, they gave the Indians instructions in the use of the knife, hatchet and musket.

In those early days the manner of living of the Indians was very different from that of the present time, yet, though they were wretchedly equipped and could barely supply their wants, they succeeded in supporting life.[39] They planted corn, beans, pumpkins, which they had at that time. Their hoe was a bone from the shoulder blade of the deer, which is broad at one end and very narrow at the other. With this bound to a stick they worked the soil. A turtle-shell sharpened by means of a stone and similarly attached to a stick, served much the same purpose. A kind of tobacco known as Brazilian tobacco, they also had; to the present day this tobacco, which has but small leaves, is called Indian tobacco.

Their knives were made of flint, not in the form of our knives but shaped like arrow-heads, i. e., triangular, quite thin and with the two larger sides sharp. With such knives they stripped off the skin of deer and other game.

Their hatchets, also made of stone and about the length of a hand, smoothed and sharpened, were secured to a wooden handle. These were not used for splitting wood but only to kill trees, as no more is necessary than to chop through the bark, if this is done at the right time, or to peel off bast for covering

| | | |

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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462 224 hunt for a length of time, and she will be sure to have provisions and every thing else that is necessary in complete readiness, and well packed up to carry to the spot; for the man, as soon as he enters the woods, has to be looking out and about for game, and therefore cannot be encumbered with any burden; after wounding a deer, he may have to pursue it for several miles, often running it fairly down. The woman, therefore, takes charge 462 251 of the baggage, brings it to the place of encampment, and there, immediately enters on the duties of housekeeping, as if they were at home; she moreover takes pains to dry as much meat as she can, that none may be lost; she carefully puts the tallow up, assists in drying the skins, gathers as much wild hemp as possible for the [222 283] purpose of making strings, carrying bands, bags and other necessary articles, collects roots for dyeing; in short does every thing in her power to leave no care to her husband but the important one of providing meat for the family.

461 462 After all, the fatigue of the women is by no means to be compared to that of the men. Their hard and difficult employments are periodical and of short duration, while their husband's labours are constant and severe in the extreme. Were a man to take upon himself a part of his wife's duty, in addition to his own, he must necessarily sink under the load, and of course his family must suffer with him. On his exertions as a hunter, their existence depends; in order to be able to follow that rough employment with success, he must keep his limbs as supple as he can, he must avoid hard labour as much as possible, that his joints may not become stiffened, and that he may preserve the necessary strength and agility of body to enable him to pursue the chase, and bear the unavoidable hardships attendant on it; for the fatigues of hunting wear out the body and constitution far more than manual labour. Neither creeks nor rivers, whether shallow or deep, frozen or free

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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either pounded or mashed, is put in broad green corn blades, generally filled in with a ladle, well wrapped up, and baked in the ashes, like the other. They consider this as a very delicate morsel, but to me it is too sweet.

Their *Psindamócan* or *Tassmanáne*, as they call it, is the most nourishing and durable food made out of the Indian corn. The blue sweetish kind is the grain which they prefer for that purpose. They parch it in clean hot ashes, until it bursts, it is then sifted and cleaned, and pounded in a mortar into a kind of flour, and when they wish to make it very good, they mix some sugar with it. When wanted for use, they take about a table spoonful of this flour in their mouths, then stooping to the river or brook, drink water to it. If, however, they have a cup or other small vessel at hand, they put the flour in it and mix it with water, in the proportion of one table spoonful to a pint. At their camps they will put a small quantity in a kettle with water and let it boil down, and they will have a thick pottage. With this food, the traveller and warrior will set out on long journeys and expeditions, and as a little of it will serve them for a day, they have not a heavy load of provisions to carry. Persons who are unacquainted with this diet ought to be careful not to take too much at a time, and not to suffer themselves to be tempted too far by its flavour; more than one or two spoonfuls at most at any one time or at one meal is dangerous; for it is apt to swell in the stomach or bowels, as when heated over a fire.

Their meat they either boil, roast, or broil. Their roasting is done by running a wooden spit through the meat, sharpened at each end, which they place near the fire, and occasionally turn. They broil on clean coals, drawn off from the fire for that purpose. They often laugh at the white hunters, for baking their bread in dirty ashes, and being alike careless of cleanliness when they broil their meat. They are fond of dried venison, pounded in a mortar and dipped in bear's oil. The Delawares, Mohicans, and Shawanos are very particular in their

l:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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262 tion, adding that the hog and the bear fed on dirty things,
157 and yet we ate their meat with a good appetite. The cat, however, notwithstanding all the arguments in its favour, remained untouched, and was taken back by the old hunter and cook to its former place at his fire.

But now, Papunhank, whom we believed to be lost, and our guide, who once more had gone out, and exerted himself in vain to kill a deer, came in together. The guide had been desired as he pursued his hunt to look for our lost companion, and had the good luck to find him at the distance of five or six miles, with a fine deer that he had killed. He lost no time in bringing him back to our camp.

The sight of these two men dragging a large deer along was truly joyful to us, as well on account of the recovery of our lost friend, as of the meat that he brought. All felt the cravings of hunger, all were delighted with the certain prospect of immediate relief, yet no boisterous or extraordinary rejoicing took place, but all called out with one voice: *Anischi! Anischi!* we are thankful. The wild cat, which yet remained untouched, was thrown out of the camp, and dismissed by the old cook with these
261 words: "Go, cat, we do not want you this time!"

266 The woods and waters, at certain times and seasons,
[251] furnish to the Indians an abundant supply of wholesome nourishing food, which, if carefully gathered, cured and stored up, would serve them for the whole year, so that none need perish or even suffer from hunger; but they are not accustomed to laying in stores of provisions, except some Indian corn, dry beans and a few other articles. Hence they are sometimes reduced to great straits, and not seldom in absolute want of the necessaries of life, especially in the time of war. Yet, notwithstanding the numerous famines they have been visited with, they have among their traditions but one instance on record in which an human life was taken for the support of others, although they relate many cases

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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much trouble, but make dishes of the bark or bast of a tree, which serve quite as well.... Besides the smaller troughs and dishes, there must be several of larger size in which the sap is collected.... The sap, which is of a brownish color and becomes darker the longer it boils, is boiled until it gets to be of the consistency of molasses, is then poured off and kept. When a sufficient quantity of this consistency has been secured, it is boiled over a slow fire until it becomes sugar.... As the Indians lack the dishes and do not care to take the time to prepare it in this way, they usually form it into cakes, put it in a kettle or dish, or in default of these, on a stone and let it cool, when it becomes hard and may be easily preserved in baskets.[79]

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Preservation of food. — Corn, beans, and other agricultural produce were stored in mat-lined pits.[80] De Rasieres said that the dried grain was placed in "baskets woven of rushes or wild hemp" and then buried.[81] The grain was buried after the harvest or stored in the house for use after the return from the winter hunt.[82] Pit storage seems to have disappeared after the seventeenth century, at least there is no mention of it in the later documents. Modern information casts more specific light on methods of food preservation, which are probably similar to those of early historic times. Informants (O.A., M.B., J.T.) claimed that virtually every type of food was preserved by drying; ears of corn were braided in strings and stored in a specially made crude shelter or in the house. Green corn was boiled, cut off the cob, dried, and stored away. Corn was not ordinarily ground until ready for use, but sometimes dry corn was grated, the meal cooked in ovens, then crumbled and further dried in the sun, and stored. Pumpkins were sliced in rings as thick as a finger, sticks were run through these rings, and they were then dried in the sun. After drying they were stored away in sacks for winter use. Beans were boiled for a few minutes and then dried. Fruits and berries were sun dried, the smaller berries being mashed before drying.

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Meat was preserved by jerking, that is, the flesh was cut into thin strips and dried. Venison, which formed the bulk of jerked meat, was dried by placing it over poles in the hot sun or over a fire. When ready to eat, the jerked meat was boiled with corn or vegetables or was simply pounded and eaten raw. Bear lard was preserved by rendering the lard and pouring it into the stomach or intestine of a bear. This lard was used in cooking, as was the oil from hickory nuts. The latter was produced by roasting the nuts, pounding the kernels to a fine consistency, boiling them in water, then skimming off the oil which came to the surface.[83]

[237] [252]

Holm was the only one who mentioned a type of ration for journeys in the seventeenth century. He said: ". . .they take with them a kind of bread, made of Indian corn and tobacco juice, which is very good to allay hunger and quench thirst...."[84] Zeisberger mentioned a ration for

251 484

[79] Zeisberger, 1910, pp. 48-50.
[80] De Vries, 1909, pp. 219-20; Lindestrom, 1925, p. 253; Jemison, 1916, p. 52.
[81] De Rasieres, 1909, p. 108.
[82] Johnson, 1917, p. 279; Harrington, 1913, p. 218.
[83] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 46.
[84] Holm, 1834, p. 121.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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251 484 journeys in which corn was crushed into a meal, "or roasted in hot ashes, then crushed." To this maple sugar was added. This mixture could be stirred in water and boiled or could be eaten dry without cooking.[55] Adams, a Delaware and historian of his people, added that "they carried very simple food," parched corn pounded into a brown meal, sweetened with maple sugar, and mixed together with bear's lard.[56]

271 272 Water was the principal drink although various fruits and nuts were sometimes added. They "prepared a kind of liquor like milk by gathering a great number of hickory and black walnuts, dried and crushed them. Then they took out the kernels, pounded them as fine as flour, and mixed this with water so that it looked like milk and was almost as sweet."[57] Both Kinietz' and my informants (O.A., M.B.) held that their 264 ancestors had regular meal times. Penn said that "they eat twice a day, Morning and Evening."[58] Men and women apparently ate together but children ate separately (O.A.). All of my informants stressed the fact that in the past an individual could eat anywhere in the village, and that everybody shared what food was available.

262 Food taboos. — It is unlikely that there were any general, culture-wide food taboos in early historic times. Certain foods may have been denied to an individual by his guardian spirit, but this is merely a supposition. Not even the animals symbolic of the phratries were taboo. Heckewelder, however, noted a taboo on the rabbit, identified with a culture-hero. He said that the Delawares, among other tribes, avoided the horse, dog, wildcat, ground hog, panther, fox, muskrat, and wolf;[59] De Laet, however, quoting Henry Hudson, described a "fat dog" which was butchered for a feast.[60] Rather than emphasize the few things that were not eaten by the Delawares, it would be more in keeping with the facts to state that the Delawares made relatively complete use of the edibles available to them, except rabbit and ground hog. Their tastes were catholic and were only slightly blunted by socioreligious proscriptions.

Delaware Economics

128 Although the methods by which and the persons by whom the need-serving goods were processed, distributed, and consumed are properly an aspect of social organization, it probably contributes more to an understanding of Delaware technology to discuss them under the heading of economics.

Division of Labor

462 The division of labor among the Delawares, as is true of cultures with analogous means of production, was predominantly sexual in

[55] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 22.
[56] Adams, 1905, p. 8.
[57] Kalm, 1937, I: 269.
[58] Penn, 1912, p. 233; Luckenbach, 1938, p. 899, agreed on this point.
[59] Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 251-52, 196; Zeisberger, 1910, pp. 132, 140.
[60] De Laet, 1909, p. 49.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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Eastern Woodland Indians NM14

E 484 On their journeys they are never in haste, for they are everywhere at home and whithersoever they wander they find sustenance in the forest. Therefore, if a white man travels with them it is wisest that he be content not to hasten but accommodate himself to their movements. In the morning they do not break camp early, not until they have eaten heartily, by which time the sun has usually been above the horizon two or three hours. Thereafter, they proceed very steadily until near sundown, when they go into camp. In rainy weather they peel E [343] bast from the trees and speedily build a hut, that is, a roof supported by four posts, under which they remain comfortably dry. This they do not only in summer but also in winter, at which time they know what trees to peel. In more northerly regions, as near Goschgosching[25] and the Mingoe country, where the snow is apt to be deep in winter, they go on snowshoes over the deepest snow. Here along the Muskingum, however, where the snow D 481 is never deep, this is not necessary; hence, in this means of locomotion the Delawares are not as skilled as the Mingoes. These snowshoes are like a heavy barrel-hoop, curved and very narrow in front, pointed behind and broad in the middle. This hoop is mostly interlaced with deerskin, something like a coarse sieve, so that the snow may not gather on it, but fall through. A little to the front of the middle there is a wooden crosspiece and a small opening upon which the foot is placed and bound with leathern thongs in such a fashion that the snowshoes seem to be dragged along behind on the snow. As to D 484 provisions for the journey, they take corn crushed to a meal or ● 251 roasted in hot ashes, then crushed, with which they mix a little sugar; of this, in the heat of summer, a refreshing and at the same time, nourishing drink may be prepared, if a little is stirred in water. This mixture may also be boiled in water or eaten dry. These two kinds of meal are the usual provisions. Cornbread does not keep long, in the summertime, particularly, becoming unwholesome in three or four days. Meat they can procure anywhere in the forest, as game is always to be found. In the securing of it they lose little time, for when they contemplate pitching a camp, the Indians plunge into the woods and shoot a deer, a turkey-cock or something else.

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So far as could be ascertained, the use of corn medicine and fish fertilizer in corn hills, is the only vestige of the ritualistic complex now associated with maize cultivation.[8] My informant stated that in former times it was customary to use medicine in which corn was soaked to prevent cut worms. At present, seed corn is soaked in water and hardwood ashes. Fish bones were burned and combined with wood ashes and put in the corn hills as an offering to the Maize Spirit. Corn, beans, and squash were planted together, but the legend of the Three Sisters (corn, beans, and squash) [9] so prominent in Iroquois mythology, is absent.

The different varieties of maize are not planted near one another because, it is said, "One will visit the other and forget to come back."

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When corn matures one must share the first gathering with a less fortunate tribesman or with some old person. This rule applies to all crops as well as to the first kill.[10] In order that people may continue to receive the blessings of the Creator, every man is obligated to share his first fruits and game with others, before partaking of them himself. The practice of sharing vegetable food with a neighbor is known by the term, "I feed you." A hunter offering animal flesh in observance of this rule, used the phrase, "I give you some meat."

252

There are several methods employed in preparing corn as food.

(a) The husk is taken off and the ears laid in the sun until thoroughly dry. The grains may then be removed and pounded into hominy grits.

(b) After removing the husk, the ears are boiled until thoroughly cooked. They are allowed to cool, the grains removed with a spoon and spread out to dry.

(c) The ears are laid before the fire and roasted.

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Early records indicate that corn parched and crushed to meal, served as a very nourishing food which was indispensable to the hunter or

[8] The Iroquois observed the practice of soaking seed corn in a medicine especially prepared from certain plants. "In ancient times they enriched the soil with both fish and shell." (Waugh, *op. cit.*, p. 18.)

[9] The corn, bean and squash complex is discussed by Parker, 1910, p. 36, and Converse, 1910, p. 63.

[10] According to Zeisberger (*op. cit.*, p. 84) a hunter before setting out upon a long hunting trip, would kill a deer or two and prepare a feast as a sacrifice to the game. The old people as invited guests would pray for his good fortune during the expedition.

252 251 traveller of that period.[11] Zeisberger (*op. cit.*, p. 22) mentions two varieties of corn meal which the Indians prepared for use on long journeys. Dried, unroasted corn was crushed to a meal or roasted in hot ashes and then pulverized. The meal was mixed with sugar, or water, and then eaten. Occasionally it was boiled in water. Heckewelder (*op. cit.*, p. 195) says that their *Psindamocan*[12] or *Tassmanane*[13] is the most nourishing and durable of their corn foods. He adds that they preferred the blue, sweet variety for this meal, and that with but a little of this food, they set out on long journeys.

252 Among the present-day Delaware the variety of corn used and the methods of its preparation, are the same as noted by Zeisberger and Heckewelder. However, due to the scarcity of "squaw" or variegated corn, it is now regarded as a ceremonial food. The corn is thoroughly parched and then pounded in the hominy mortars. The fine meal resulting is hominy or "traveling food." This may be eaten either mixed with water or with milk and sugar. The grits ground medium fine are cooked with meat, the combined food being called, "whole face hominy," and used in the Masked Dance Ceremony.[14] The coarse grits are called "hail stones." These are cooked and eaten with milk.

Dry, unparched corn is made into flour or pounded medium fine or coarse. The flour is used in making bread. A soft dough is made and rolled into a flat cake like a biscuit which is dipped in cold water and put in the ashes to bake. This bread is known as "put-in-the-ashes bread." Bread dough to which is added chili beans or raisins is put in greased vessels and baked in the Dutch oven. Dumplings stuffed with chopped meat are boiled. The coarse hominy is boiled

[11] Williams (1827, p. 33) mentions *no'kehick*, a parched meal used by the Narragansetts. He says in part, "I have travelled with neere 200 of them at once neere 100 miles through the woods, every man carrying a little basket of this at his back and sometimes in a hollow leather girdle about his middle sufficient for a man for three days." Waugh (*op. cit.*, p. 88) says, in writing of Iroquois corn foods, "There was apparently no more popular hunting or traveling food than this preparation in olden times. It was light and nourishing and could be eaten cooked or raw." In the Mohegan-Pequot dialect it is known as *yo'keg*, "corn parched and pounded," and among the Wampanoag descendants at Gay Head, it is called *no'cake*. In the two latter groups it is prepared in precisely the same manner as among the Delaware (See Tantaquidgeon, *op. cit.*, pp. 6-7).

[12] I was unable to obtain a translation of this term but my informant recognized it as pertaining to corn meal food.

[13] "Dried corn product."

[14] See Speck, 1937a, p. 52.

and used in different ways. It may be eaten with milk and brown sugar or with any kind of meat grease. A little salt may be added for additional flavor. 252

Various kinds of nut meats are added to cooked hominy to make a dish known as "nut hominy." Hominy and chopped meat (beef, pork or other fresh meat) are cooked together and then allowed to stand until sour. After hickory nuts are added to this mixture, the result is called "soured nut" hominy.

Hulled corn is made by boiling dried corn in a strong liquid, made alkaline by the addition of hard wood ashes. This process of preparation is long and arduous, since after hours of steady boiling it requires many washings in clear, cold water to rinse the lye from the loose hulls. This food may be eaten with milk and sugar, fried with potatoes in pork fat, combined with fresh or dried meat for stew, or with beans for succotash.

Wild Vegetable Foods

Long ago fruits and berries were preserved by drying, this practice giving way in later times to canning and the manufacture of jelly and jam. Dried fruit are prepared to eat in a number of ways. Grapes are boiled, and the resulting liquid thickened by the addition of corn meal, flour, or hominy grits. A boiled pudding is composed of dough made of cornmeal and flour, or flour only, to which any variety of berry, except strawberries, may be added. This dough is then placed in a cloth bag and boiled. When ripe, persimmons are mashed and spread on a cloth to dry for use in a bread called "persimmon bread." With few exceptions all of the fruits and berries mentioned are made into pies, puddings, preserves, fruit butters, and jams. 222 251 252

The various varieties of nuts are gathered in large quantities and stored away for future use. These provide a nourishing supplement to the remainder of natural food stuffs. Nuts are eaten raw, roasted, boiled, and frequently incorporated in other types of food. Edible acorns are usually roasted.

With the introduction and increased use of European food products, the necessity arose among the Delaware of fitting them into their own linguistic configuration, if the foreign terms themselves were not taken over. Like so many primitive groups, the Delaware came to apply native terms of a descriptive nature to the majority of elements foreign to their culture. Many of these have been retained to the 196 262 177

described by Zeisberger, has previously been referred to (p. 47). Special medicine lures for hunting are also prepared by the hunter. 825 224

The Delaware consider the bear and the deer to be the greatest of all animals. The bear is also called "Our Grandfather." Both animals are considered closely akin to the Indian, but the Delaware believe that the bear has the most human-like traits. The antelope, a creature of the later Delaware environment, is regarded as a sacred, pure animal. Of the water animals, the otter is regarded as supernaturally the most powerful.

During the chase, the hunter is careful not to unduly excite the game pursued, since the flesh of such an animal is apt to cause illness when eaten. The same treatment holds for the capture and killing of domestic animals and fowl. Formerly bison, bear, deer, otter, beaver, the smaller animals, and wild fowl provided meat for the Delaware diet. In the latter period squirrels, rabbits, and domestic animals replaced the increasingly rare, larger species. [262]

After an animal was killed, all parts of it were utilized; the flesh for food; the hide for shelter, clothing, robes, and bags; the bones for implements, and the teeth for ornaments, etc. The hide was removed by the hunter forcing his fist between it and the flesh, thus working around the body until the hide was loose. The use of a sharp instrument for this purpose, would, it was claimed, cut and thus spoil the hide. All fat from the bison, bear, deer, and domestic animals was saved and stored in a rawhide container. The intestines were cleaned, filled with blood or meat, and cooked. The flesh of the larger animals was usually roasted. A fire was built in a pit and the carcass placed upon a scaffold above it. A slow fire was kept burning, over which the meat was turned until it was thoroughly cooked. 224 252

Meat was preserved in one of two ways—by smoke-drying or immersing it in grease. In drying, thin slices were suspended over a slow fire. In the latter process alternate layers of partially cooked meat and hot lard were placed in a large earthen crock until filled. Slippery elm bark, cinnamon, and allspice were added to the grease for flavor. 251 252

Stews and soups were made of fresh meat, to which hominy or corn meal dumplings were added. The flesh of small animals, from which the scent glands had been removed, were also preserved by smoke-drying. If a deer, or other animal, was killed during the mating season, the animal's testicles were immediately removed. An Indian hunter usually killed only male animals.

Fish were fried or cooked in a stew or soup. Formerly fish were preserved by drying.

Food Preservation and Cooking

Passing to the problem of food preservation, we find that such crops as maize, tobacco and meat were most commonly stored in pits covered over first with bark or grass and then with earth (Lindstrom, p. 253; Johnson, p. 279; Krieger, p. 39; De Rasieres, p. 107). The house was also an important storage place, the food being placed in hemp bags and suspended from the ceiling (Johnson, p. 279; Harrington, 1913, p. 218; Heckewelder, 1820, p. 370). 251

Maize was used in a variety of ways. According to one author, those stalks that produced no ears were pulled early and the sap sucked from them (De Rasieres, p.107). The ears were either roasted in ashes or boiled. Most of the maize, however, seems to have been pounded or ground into flour and sifted through a basket of the desired coarseness. The finer flour was mixed with lukewarm water, kneaded into dough and made into round, flat little cakes which were baked in hot ashes. The coarser flour was made into porridge (i.e. boiled with water) to which nuts, beans, berries, pumpkin or meat were sometimes added (Penn, pp. 31-32; Lindstrom, p. 254; De Rasieres, p. 107; Danckhaerts, p. 159; Johnson, p. 281; Heckewelder, 1781, pp. 194-96; Loskiel, p. 67). Indeed, there seems to have been almost endless variety in the preparation of these cornflour dishes. 252

The other vegetables were most commonly eaten boiled and, it should be noted, without seasoning except ashes, as the Delaware did not use salt (Pastorius, 1700, p. 384; Danckaerts, p. 159; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 194; Lindstrom, p. 254). Water was probably the most important beverage known to the Delaware at this time, but fruit juices and water flavored with crushed walnuts or hickory nuts are reported (Johnson, p. 281; Loskiel, p. 74; Kalm, p. 269). Tobacco was always mixed with willow bark or sumac for smoking (Loskiel, p. 73; Speck, 1931, p. 127). [263] 272 276

Manufactures

A wide variety of materials was utilized for cooking equipment. Serving dishes were made of wood, bark, shell, or a cut-off calabash; spoons were of wood or suitably shaped shells. Cups of tortoise shell have also been found (Johnson, p. 281; Harrington, 1913, p. 223; Danckaerts, p. 159; Lindstrom, p. 255; Pastorius, 1700, p. 384; Skinner, 1915, p. 38). Pottery, which was used for boiling, is found abundantly in Lenape territory. It was made of clay mixed with pounded sea shells, mica or sand and various combinations of these ingredients. The technique used was coiling. Designs consisted of lines and dots, stamped or incised on the vessel. Broken or cracked pieces were mended by lacing through holes bored on either side of the defect (Skinner, 1915, pp. 12 and 13; Heye, pp. 62-66; Abbott, 1875, p. 345; Smith, p. 138; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 29). 415 323

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

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796x

dropped the twelfth he disappeared, while they heard the heavens crack like thunder behind him as he went in. After this the Lenape began to hold these meetings according to the instructions he had given them.

NUMBER OF CEREMONIES

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There were two of these ceremonies every year, both held in the Minsi Big House (*W'a'tekan*), which was quite similar to that of the Unami. One of these, performed about June when the wild strawberries were ripe, lasted only a single night; the other, early in winter, covered twelve days and nights. This latter corresponds to the Annual Ceremony of the Unami.

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At the June ceremony fresh strawberries were made into a drink for the people, which reminds one of the Iroquois Strawberry Dance, or Dance of First Fruits, as it is sometimes called. Strawberries were dried at this time to make a drink for the Winter Ceremony.

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8:Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
NM7 Delaware NM7

CHAPTER XXVII.

Concerning the Household Economy of the American Savage People, Their Thrashing, Their Grinding, Their Baking, Their Frying and Cooking.

In this connection [*it may be said*] *that there* is found no scarcity of provisions among the savages, for the support of their household, but [they are] miserable cooks, they never cook good dishes.[1] They use no cattle. They do not need to thrash their grain, the maize; but when it gets ripe and dry, then they rub the ears between their hands and brush off the kernels. Their larders they dig down in the ground, close to their dwellings, wherein they have their maize, their beans, tobacco and other provisions, such as deer-meat, elk-meat, bear-meat, birds, fish and other such things, which may serve for the sustenance of man, but the bear pork as well as wild-boar pork and its fat they melt and use instead of butter.[2]

They use no querns,[3] but the meal for baking they pound asunder with a pestle and mortar, which they make in this manner, that for the purpose they cut a thick and large tree, 1½ ells from

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[1] *Godha rätter.* For the food of the Indians, see Van der Donck, De Vries, etc., *N. Y. Col.*, 2, I, 192 ff.; II, 263 ff.; III, 95, 104 ff.

[2] Cf. Van der Donck and other early Dutch writers.

[3] *Quarnar bruka the inthet.* In connection with the agriculture of the Indians Williams says: They "fell their trees with stone set in a wooden staff, and used wooden howes; which some old and poore women (fearfull to leave the old tradition) use to this day." *Key*, 130.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

The hunter prefers going out with his gun on an empty stomach; he says, that hunger stimulates him to exertion by reminding him continually of his wants, whereas a full stomach makes a hunter easy, careless and lazy, ever thinking of his home and losing his time to no purpose. With all their industry, nevertheless, and notwithstanding this strong stimulant, many a day passes over their heads that they have not met with any kind of game, nor consequently tasted a morsel of victuals; still they go on with their chase, in hopes of being able to carry some provisions home, and do not give up the pursuit until it is so dark that they can see no longer.

The morning and evening, they say, are the precious hours for the hunter. They lose nothing by sleeping in the middle of the day, that is to say, between ten o'clock in the morning and four in the afternoon, except in dark, cloudy and rainy weather, when the whole day is nearly equally good for hunting. Therefore the hunter, who happens to have no meat in the house, will be off and in the woods before day-light, and strive to be in again for breakfast with a deer, turkey, goose, bear, or racoon, or some other game then in season. Meanwhile, his wife has pounded her corn, now boiling on the fire, and baked her bread, which gives them a good breakfast. If, however, the husband is not returned by ten o'clock in the forenoon, the family take their meal by themselves, and his share is put aside for him when he comes home.

The Indians have a number of manners of preparing their corn. They make an excellent pottage of it, by boiling it with fresh or dried meat (the latter pounded), dried pumpkins, dry beans, and chesnuts. They sometimes sweeten it with sugar or molasses from the sugar-maple tree. Another very good dish is prepared by boiling with their corn or maize, the washed kernels of the shell-bark or hickory-nut. They pound the nuts in a block or mortar, pouring a little warm water on them, and gradually a little more as they become dry,

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

252 until, at last, there is a sufficient quantity of water, so that by stirring up the pounded nuts the broken shells separate from the liquor, which from the pounded kernels assumes the appearance of milk. This being put into the kettle and mixed with the pottage gives it a rich and agreeable flavour. If the broken shells do not all freely separate by swimming on the top or sinking to the bottom, the liquor is strained through a clean cloth, before it is put into the kettle.

They also prepare a variety of dishes from the pumpkin, the squash, and the green French or kidney beans; they are very particular in their choice of pumpkins and squashes, and in their manner of cooking them. The women say that the less water is put to them, the better dish they make, and that it would be still better if they were stewed without any water, merely in the steam of the sap which they contain. They cover up the pots in which they cook them with large leaves of the pumpkin vine, cabbages, or other leaves of the larger kind. They make an excellent preserve from the cranberry and crab-apple, to which, after it has been well stewed, they add a proper quantity of sugar or molasses.

Their bread is of two kinds; one made up of green corn while in the milk, and another of the same grain when fully ripe and quite dry. This last is pounded as fine as possible, then sifted and kneaded into dough, and afterwards made up into cakes of six inches diameter and about an inch in thickness, rounded off on the edge. In baking these cakes, they are extremely particular; the ashes must be clean and hot, and if possible come out of good dry oak barks, which they say gives a brisk and durable heat. In the dough of this kind of bread, they frequently mix boiled pumpkins, green or dried, dry beans, or well pared chesnuts, boiled in the same manner, dried venison well pounded, whortle berries green or dry, but not boiled, sugar and other palatable ingredients. For the other kind of bread, the green corn is

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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either pounded or mashed, is put in broad green corn blades, generally filled in with a ladle, well wrapped up, and baked in the ashes, like the other. They consider this as a very delicate morsel, but to me it is too sweet.

Their *Psindamócan* or *Tussmanáne*, as they call it, is the most nourishing and durable food made out of the Indian corn. The blue sweetish kind is the grain which they prefer for that purpose. They parch it in clean hot ashes, until it bursts, it is then sifted and cleaned, and pounded in a mortar into a kind of flour, and when they wish to make it very good, they mix some sugar with it. When wanted for use, they take about a table spoonful of this flour in their mouths, then stooping to the river or brook, drink water to it. If, however, they have a cup or other small vessel at hand, they put the flour in it and mix it with water, in the proportion of one table spoonful to a pint. At their camps they will put a small quantity in a kettle with water and let it boil down, and they will have a thick pottage. With this food, the traveller and warrior will set out on long journeys and expeditions, and as a little of it will serve them for a day, they have not a heavy load of provisions to carry. Persons who are unacquainted with this diet ought to be careful not to take too much at a time, and not to suffer themselves to be tempted too far by its flavour; more than one or two spoonfuls at most at any one time or at one meal is dangerous; for it is apt to swell in the stomach or bowels, as when heated over a fire.

Their meat they either boil, roast, or broil. Their roasting is done by running a wooden spit through the meat, sharpened at each end, which they place near the fire, and occasionally turn. They broil on clean coals, drawn off from the fire for that purpose. They often laugh at the white hunters, for baking their bread in dirty ashes, and being alike careless of cleanliness when they broil their meat. They are fond of dried venison, pounded in a mortar and dipped in bear's oil. The Delawares, Mohicans, and Shawanos are very particular in their

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca.1800) 1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

262 shot. The Indians never despair, not even in the worst
157 of times and under the severest trials; when placed
252 in difficult situations they never use discouraging language, but always endeavour to raise their spirits and prevent them from sinking, under the hardships or dangers to which they are exposed. True to this national character, one of our old Indians immediately pronounced this wild cat to be "good, very good eating," and it was immediately ordered to be put on the spit and roasted for our supper. While this was performing, the old Indian endeavoured to divert the company by extolling in a jocular manner the country they had now got into, and where such good things were to be had; to which some one or other of the old men would reply; "all very true." At length, about nine o'clock at night, the call was given by the old cook (for so I now call him) that the meat was done and we might come in to eat. I, who had heard so much in praise of this repast, being greatly pinched with hunger, had kept myself in readiness for this expected call; but seeing nobody rise, and observing much merriment through the camp, I began to suspect that something was the matter, and therefore kept my seat. The night was spent without any body attempting to eat of the wild cat, and in the morning a different call was given by one of the old men, signifying that a large kettle of tea had been made by some of the good women, who invited all to come and take their share of it. Every one obeyed, this call and I went with the rest, the jovial old cook taking the roasted wild cat with him to the mess. The scene was not only very diverting, but brought on an interesting discussion between the men on the propriety or impropriety of eating the flesh of all animals without restriction, some contending that they were all by the will of the great Creator ordained for some use, and therefore put in the power of man; and how were we to know which were intended for our nourishment and which not? The old cook had himself taken that posi-

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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Such old men, accompanying a hunting party, get both meat and skins, for the good hunters will not let them return empty-handed. They have, in general, and the Unami in particular, the custom that when a huntsman has shot a deer, and another Indian joins him or only looks on at a distance, he immediately gives him the whole animal and goes in pursuit of another.[39]

The blowgun was in use among the Munsi by 1824, but was apparently present earlier; it was never of any great economic importance.[41] "Calls" were made to attract deer and turkeys. The deer call or "bleat" was made of cedar and was used primarily during the spring and early summer before the fawns had been weaned.[42] Harrington mentioned that "the deadfall and the 'twitchup' snare seem to have been the most popular varieties of traps."[43] The Delawares were also reported to be excellent stalkers of game and pursued wounded animals until their prey dropped from exhaustion.[44] If a hunter could not at first get within range of a deer he would chase it until he could, this procedure perhaps consuming an entire day.[45] One eighteenth-century author mentioned that deer were hunted by torchlight at night.[46]

Fishing.—Van der Donck said that Delawaran peoples "use all kinds of fish, which they commonly cook without removing the entrails, and snakes, frogs and the like."[47] Specifically, they caught and ate rock fish, shad, yellow perch, trout, eels, catfish, sunfish, sturgeon, and undoubtedly others, from both fresh and salt water. In 1756 two harbor seals were shot and eaten, but this was an unusual incident.[48] Tortoises were caught, and shellfish in large quantities must have been taken, if Skinner was correct in attributing shell mounds of the area to the Delawares.[49] Juet stated that the natives brought out quantities of oysters to trade to the crew of Hudson's Half Moon.[50]

Methods of fishing varied somewhat; Lindestrom described a method in which a stream was dammed when the water was high, so that fish were stranded behind the dam when the water was low. The fish were caught with bare hands or shot with the bow and arrow.[51] De Rasieres said that the Indians around Manhattan caught fish with "a drag-net they themselves knit very neatly, of the wild hemp, from which the women and men spin the thread."[52] Brinton mentioned fishhooks of bone and dried claws of birds, and Pastorius reported the use of hooks.[53] Harrington mentioned several methods of fishing. These may not be aboriginal since they do not appear elsewhere. He stated that fish were stupefied by large quantities of crushed green walnuts thrown into ponds. He also noted spearing and shooting of fish at night by torchlight.[54] Fish

[39] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 91.
[41] Harrington, 1913, p. 221; Kinietz, 1946, p. 63; Ketchum, 1865, II: 190 (1796).
[42] Foreman, 1937, p. 107; J. T., F. W.
[43] Harrington, 1913, p. 222.
[44] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 23.
[45] *Ibid.*, p. 23.
[46] Brickell, 1842, p. 47.
[47] Van der Donck, 1909, p. 303.
[48] Holm, 1834, p. 48; De Rasieres, 1909, p. 105; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 37.
[49] Holm, 1834, p. 48; Denton, 1845, p. 7; Skinner, 1909, pp. 5-17, 45-48; J. T.
[50] Juet, 1909, p. 20.
[51] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 219; Berlin, 1887, pp. 107-68.
[52] De Rasieres, 1909, p. 105.
[53] Brinton, 1885, p. 52; Pastorius, 1912, p. 434.
[54] Harrington, 1913, p. 222.

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were sometimes impounded by driving them with a brush roll, a technique widespread in the Southeast and among the Iroquois.[50]

Wild plant food.—The beans of the groundnut or wild bean, (*Apios americana*), were eaten, and its roots were boiled and eaten "instead of bread."[51] Kalm also said the Indians boiled, or roasted in ashes, a root which he called Katniss, apparently *Sagittaria latifolia* (Wapato, Water Nut, Swamp Potato). The roots of "Tawho," probably *Arisaema triphyllum* or jack-in-the-pulpit, were utilized "when bread and grain gave out."[52] They were placed in a pit, covered with earth, and baked by building a fire over the pit.[53] The dried and boiled seeds of the golden club (*Orontium aquaticum*) were eaten.[54]

From the eighteenth century on wild potatoes (*Ipomoea pandurata*) were frequently mentioned in the documents. They were baked into bread and were especially used in time of famine.[55] One informant (O.A.) also said that the wild potato, if boiled and mashed, was particularly useful as food for young children. Ginseng was gathered in the Ohio Valley during the eighteenth century and seems to have been sold to traders.[56] Other wild roots and tubers, utilized at least in later times, were wild onions, wild cabbage, "greens" (otherwise unidentified by O.A., M.B.), and water lily roots.[57] Zeisberger wrote of a time when his Christian Indians "industriously brought roots here from down the creek, of which they got many loads to town, which they cut thin, dry in the sun, pound and bake bread from, and this is now their principal food."[58] The Delawares utilized many varieties of wild fruits, including wild grapes, strawberries, gooseberries, blackberries, raspberries, wild plums, huckleberries, and cranberries.[59] The "Indians," probably including Delawares, ate the fruit of the May apple (*Podophyllum peltatum*).[60] They also made use of many nuts, chief among them being hickory (Skinner found them in archaeological deposits), hazelnut, and chestnut.[61] In Oklahoma the post-oak acorn (*Quercus stellata*) was eaten with hominy (J.T., O.A.).

The most important wild plant food of the eighteenth century was the sap of the sugar maple. Sugaring was not just an occasional pastime, for even in a bad year an individual made as much as one hundred pounds.[62] If a man owned several kettles, it was possible in good years to make several hundred pounds of sugar and some syrup.[63] This trait, however, was not mentioned by any of the seventeenth-century sources and was undoubtedly of less importance in pre-European times. As

[50] Zeisberger, 1778, p. 38; Fenton, 1942.
[51] Kalm, 1937, I: 259; De Vries, 1909, p. 219.
[52] Lindestrom, 1925, pp. 158-59.
[53] Kalm, 1937, I: 261; Zeisberger, 1887, p. 161, calls the Jack Maksaweek, "it causes purging," however.
[54] Kalm, 1937, I: 261.
[55] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 47; M. B., O. A.
[56] Zeisberger, 1885, II: 47.
[57] *Ibid.*, p. 109.
[58] *Ibid.*, pp. 109-10.
[59] Just, 1909, p. 18; Kalm, 1937, I: 261; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 46; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 266; Loskiel, 1794, pp. 68-69; Skinner, 1909, p. 43; O. A., M. B., J. T.
[60] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 47.
[61] De Vries, 1909, p. 219; Brinton, 1890, p. 185; Skinner, 1909, p. 46.
[62] Zeisberger, 1885, II: 349.
[63] Zeisberger, 1910, pp. 50-51.

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soon as European utensils became available (early in the seventeenth century), maple sugar rapidly became a more important food. Honey was considered a delicacy when it could be obtained, but it was not an early food source since honey bees were not indigenous to the Delaware habitat.[69]

Preparation of food.— Dried and green corn was prepared in a wide variety of ways. Most corn seems to have been dried, ground, and baked. Typically, "they make flat cakes of the meal mixed with water, as large again as a farthing cake in this country, and bake them in the ashes, first wrapping a vine-leaf or maize-leaf around them. When they are sufficiently baked in the ashes, they make good palatable bread." William Penn said: "Their diet is Maze, or Indian Corn, divers ways prepared; sometimes Roasted in the Ashes, sometimes beaten and Boyled with Water, which they call *Homine*; they also make cakes, not unpleasant to eat."[71] Dried corn was placed in a wooden mortar made from a fire-hollowed log and ground with a wooden or stone pestle.[72] The meal was sifted through "a small basket, which they understand how to weave. . . ."[73] Harrington also mentioned the sifting of flour, saying that it was sifted "through sieve baskets of varying degrees of fineness."[74] The finest meal was used in the above-mentioned bread, and the coarser corn meal was used in porridge, or gruel.[75] The white-flour corn was usually utilized in the bread, but other varieties were used in hominy and gruel (M.B., O.A., J.T.). Berries were often added to the bread, and meat, berries, beans, nuts, and pumpkins were sometimes added to the gruel.[76] In later times "dumplings" were made by frying corn meal dough in grease, usually with added berries (O.A.). Hominy was prepared by boiling dried corn with ashes, which removed the husk. The hominy was washed repeatedly in a stream after it was cooked.[77]

"Those stalks [of corn] which are low and bear no ears, they pluck up in August, and suck out the sap, which is as sweet as if it were sugar-cane."[78] Green ears were roasted whole in ashes, grated and baked in the ashes, or boiled. The roots of water lily plants were peeled, cut into small chunks, and boiled (O.A.). Wild potatoes were prepared by boiling, skinning, and then mashing and were eaten with various kinds of "greens." The Delawares that live in the rural areas still gather and eat wild potatoes. An account of the preparation of maple sugar gives an ample description of this eighteenth-century trait:

A number of small troughs are made for receiving the sap. Usually, the Indians make them of wood, cutting them out roughly with a hatchet. Some Indians are able to make twenty or thirty of them in a day. Some do not go to so

[69] Zeisberger, 1885, I: 310.
[70] De Vries, 1909, pp. 218-19; also see Pastorius, 1912, p. 426; Van der Donck, 1909, p. 303.
[71] Penn, 1912, p. 232.
[72] De Rasieres, 1909, p. 107; Lindestrom, 1925, p. 253.
[73] De Rasieres, 1909, p. 107; De Vries, 1909, p. 218.
[74] Harrington, 1913, p. 221.
[75] Luckenbach, 1938, p. 599.
[76] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 254; Luckenbach, 1938, p. 599.
[77] Penn, 1912, p. 232; O. A., M. B.
[78] De Rasieres, 1909, p. 107.

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much trouble, but make dishes of the bark or bast of a tree, which serve quite as well.... Besides the smaller troughs and dishes, there must be several of larger size in which the sap is collected.... The sap, which is of a brownish color and becomes darker the longer it boils, is boiled until it gets to be of the consistency of molasses, is then poured off and kept. When a sufficient quantity of this consistency has been secured, it is boiled over a slow fire until it becomes sugar.... As the Indians lack the dishes and do not care to take the time to prepare it in this way, they usually form it into cakes, put it in a kettle or dish, or in default of these, on a stone and let it cool, when it becomes hard and may be easily preserved in baskets."[79]

Preservation of food.—Corn, beans, and other agricultural produce were stored in mat-lined pits.[80] De Rasieres said that the dried grain was placed in "baskets woven of rushes or wild hemp" and then buried.[81] The grain was buried after the harvest or stored in the house for use after the return from the winter hunt.[82] Pit storage seems to have disappeared after the seventeenth century, at least there is no mention of it in the later documents. Modern information casts more specific light on methods of food preservation, which are probably similar to those of early historic times. Informants (O.A., M.B., J.T.) claimed that virtually every type of food was preserved by drying; ears of corn were braided in strings and stored in a specially made crude shelter or in the house. Green corn was boiled, cut off the cob, dried, and stored away. Corn was not ordinarily ground until ready for use, but sometimes dry corn was grated, the meal cooked in ovens, then crumbled and further dried in the sun, and stored. Pumpkins were sliced in rings as thick as a finger, sticks were run through these rings, and they were then dried in the sun. After drying they were stored away in sacks for winter use. Beans were boiled for a few minutes and then dried. Fruits and berries were sun dried, the smaller berries being mashed before drying.

Meat was preserved by jerking; that is, the flesh was cut into thin strips and dried. Venison, which formed the bulk of jerked meat, was dried by placing it over poles in the hot sun or over a fire. When ready to eat, the jerked meat was boiled with corn or vegetables or was simply pounded and eaten raw. Bear lard was preserved by rendering the lard and pouring it into the stomach or intestine of a bear. This lard was used in cooking, as was the oil from hickory nuts. The latter was produced by roasting the nuts, pounding the kernels to a fine consistency, boiling them in water, then skimming off the oil which came to the surface.[83]

Holm was the only one who mentioned a type of ration for journeys in the seventeenth century. He said: ". . .they take with them a kind of bread, made of Indian corn and tobacco juice, which is very good to allay hunger and quench thirst...."[84] Zeisberger mentioned a ration for

[79] Zeisberger, 1910, pp. 48-50.
[80] De Vries, 1909, pp. 219-20; Lindestrom, 1925, p. 253; Jemison, 1918, p. 52.
[81] De Rasieres, 1909, p. 108.
[82] Johnson, 1917, p. 279; Harrington, 1913, p. 218.
[83] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 46.
[84] Holm, 1834, p. 121.

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These grow on very stony ground near the water, where the sunshine is particularly hot. In these parts I have not come across this variety.

Besides, there are mulberries,[96] plums,[98] and wild grapes of three sorts, those growing on high ground[97] or hills being the best; those[98] found in the bottoms are very sour. Crabapples[99] grow in great plenty and the Indians, being very fond of sharp and sour fruit, eat them in abundance.

Of nuts there are found: (1) The well known hazel nut,[100] (2) the hickory nut,[101] found in great plenty in some years and which the Indians gather in large quantities and use not only as they find them — they have a very sweet taste — but also extract from them a milky juice used in different foods and very nourishing. Sometimes they extract an oil by first roasting the nut in the shell under hot ashes and pounding them to a fine mash, which they boil in water. The oil swimming on the surface is skimmed off and preserved for cooking and other purposes. (3) The walnut of two varieties, the white walnut[102] deriving its name from the color of the wood which, strictly speaking, is gray, and the black walnut,[103] of which the wood is dark-brown, sometimes even shading into violet. The latter is very much used by cabinet makers for tables, chests and other things. The nuts, the one variety having a very hard shell, are eaten, but are very oily.

The papa[104] tree, which I have seen nowhere else than along the Ohio, bears a very beautiful fruit, in form and size resembling a middle sized cucumber, of an agreeable smell and taste.

Wild laurel[105] is found in the bottoms in great abundance; the berries are smaller than those found elsewhere, but have about the same taste. Of these, even the whites make use. They grow on bushes, the wood of which has a strong spicy odor and taste, used by the Indians for medicine and called by the English, spicewood.[106]

Chestnuts[107] are very plentiful in some years. The Indians gather them and prepare various dishes with them. A larger variety of chestnuts[108] is native to these parts, but these are not fit to eat.

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137 The wood is red, very hard and heavy and does not rot very quickly in the ground. It bears pods that fall off in the autumn. Besides the seeds, the pods contain a kind of molasses or honey, thus accounting for the name Europeans have given the tree. The Indians call it the thorn-tree on account of its many thorns.

Sugar trees are usually found in low, rich soil, sometimes, also, on higher land and in more northerly regions even on hills, where, however, the soil is very moist. The Delawares call this tree the *Achsunnamunschi*, that is, the stone-tree, on account of the hardness of the wood. The Mingoes give it a name signifying the sugar tree, as do the Europeans. From 222 the sap of the tree sugar is boiled. This is done by the Indians 252 in the early part of the year, beginning in February and continuing to the end of March or beginning of April, according as spring is early or late. In this region it is possible to boil sugar even in fall after there has been frost and in winter, if the season is mild. For as soon as the trees thaw a little the sap begins to run and then the trees are tapped. As, however, at that time of the year the weather is very uncertain and it is possible that there should be a cold wave at any time, it is hardly worth the effort to make the necessary arrangements and is hardly ever done, unless some one be driven of necessity to provide sugar for the household. This, we ourselves have been obliged to do and the sisters of our congregation have already boiled a quantity of sugar for congregational love-feasts, shortly before Christmas.

Spring is the proper season for boiling sugar. The following preparations are made. A number of small troughs [415] are made for receiving the sap. Usually, the Indians make them of wood, cutting them out roughly with a hatchet. Some Indians are able to make twenty or thirty of them in a day. Some do not go to so much trouble, but make dishes of the bark or bast of a tree, which serve quite as well, but are good for no more than one season. According as they have large or numerous kettles and troughs they can make much sugar, for there is no lack of trees. Besides the smaller troughs and dishes,

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there must be several of larger size in which the sap is collected. If one is well supplied with utensils, there is this advantage, that on days when the sap flows freely much may be collected, which will enable one to keep on boiling when the sap does not flow plentifully. The sap flows most plentifully when it freezes at night and the sun shines during the day. At night it commonly ceases to run. The same is true in case of warm or rainy weather. As soon as there has been frost the sap runs again. There is a time in the boiling season when sap once or twice begins to flow in considerable quantities, both day and night. When this occurs the height of the sugar season is on. The sap which flows after this is not so good and yields less sugar. The last sugar secured in the spring is always of inferior quality. Hence, toward the end of the season no sugar, but only molasses is in most cases boiled.

The length of the season is determined by the weather conditions. If spring is late and night frosts continue for a considerable time, the flowing season is the longer. With the early advent of warm weather the season terminates very quickly. The shortest season lasts about a month, the longest nearly two months.

The thickest of the trees are two feet, sometimes more, in diameter. Those of middle size, which are still young, have many branches and are growing, yield the most sap. Experience has shown that such a tree will yield about sixty gallons of sap while sugar is being boiled, and thereafter another sixty for molasses. Seven to eight gallons of sap are regarded as necessary for a pound of sugar. Such a tree may, therefore, yield more than seven pounds of sugar and seven quarts of molasses. It has also been found that a tree which one year has yielded very freely, gives but little the next, and on the other hand, a tree that has yielded but little one season, gives largely the next. The sap, which is of a brownish color and becomes darker the longer it boils, is boiled until it gets to be of the consistency of molasses, is then poured off and kept. Wher a sufficient quantity of this consistency has been secured, it is boiled over a slow fire until it becomes sugar. It is important to boil

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252 this over a slow fire, for the sap readily boils over and is easily burned. If the boiled sap is stirred until cold, the sugar becomes granulated and is as fine as the West Indian sugar. As the Indians lack the dishes and do not care to take the time to prepare it in this way, they usually form it into cakes, put it in a kettle or dish, or in default of these, on a stone and let it cool, when it becomes hard and may be easily preserved in baskets. If the troughs and kettles used for collecting the sap are made of wood that does not give color, the sugar becomes the finer, but if it gives color, as does the white walnut, the sugar becomes black the first year; thereafter, this is not the case.

When everything is prepared, an oblique incision is made 222 in the tree and at the lower end of the same a thin wedge, three 252 or four inches broad, is forced in, whence the sap runs down into the vessel placed below. According as the sap runs freely or contrarywise, the dishes must be emptied at given intervals, day and night. According to the manner of making the incision one may determine whether a tree shall be good for many or few years. If large openings are made the tree is soon spoiled and nothing is gained, for the sap runs no faster. In this matter, however, the Indians are very careless, for trees are numerous and after they have used one place for three or four years, they seek out another. There is, strange to say, no tree among all the rest so hardy as the sugar-tree, for even if the stem is cut all around, so that it can no longer be used, it does not die. Hence, the Indians very reluctantly make their fields where there are sugar-trees, as these are not to be exterminated, except they be cut down. This, however, is true that when trees have been used for eight or nine years they give less sap than formerly, as they are full of incisions and scars. An incision having been made in a tree in the spring of the year and the sap having flowed for some time, the incision needs to be enlarged, though only a little. This may be done two or three times in a season.

As the Indians have trees in abundance, their labors are 252 richly rewarded. For if a man owns a kettle of ten or twelve gallons and has a few smaller ones with which to keep the large one filled, it will be possible for him to make several

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hundred pounds of sugar in a season and a quantity of molasses, besides.

Sugar boiling is chiefly the employment of women. Even widows are able to earn enough by it to secure clothing and whatever else they may need. While the women are thus engaged, the men hunt and supply meat. As the deer skins are of little value at that season of the year, they generally hunt bear, which they seek in the rocks, hollow trees or thickets in their winter quarters. Bears are at this time generally fat.

Dog-wood[124] is also found in these parts. The rind of the root is used in the apothecary shops in place of Jesuit-Bark.[125] This tree grows to be neither large nor high.

Red Cedars[126] are found along the Muskingum finer and larger than I have seen elsewhere in North America. They do not grow on the mountains as in Pensilvanien, where they are stunted and scrubby, but in the bottoms.

The spruce tree[127] is neither a fir nor a pine, according to my view, but something between the two. In this region the tree is found only occasionally along the creeks and rivers. In more northerly districts, however, there are great spruce forests and swamps.

Pitch-pine[128] is rarely found here and white pine[129] not at all; a hundred miles to the south one may see many specimens of either variety. Fir-trees[130] I have seen near the source of the Ohio and pines[131] not far from Bethlehem, across the Blue Mountains in the great swamp.

Vines are very numerous, especially in the bottoms. They climb up the trees and look like anchor strands, often being thicker than these. The grapes they bear have a sour taste. Those which grow on the highlands and only have short, tender shoots, being frequently disturbed in their growth by brush-fires, have the best grapes. These have a good taste. Experience has taught that good wine may be made of both kinds.

The elm tree,[132] already noticed above, is of no particular use, for the wood rots quickly, except that the Mingoes make bast canoes and kettles for sugar boiling of the bark, which is very tough.

262 Spirit Beings. Zeisberger (*op. cit.*, p. 139) referred to Indian corn as
713 the "wife of the Indian," and, in describing certain ceremonial rites, stated that they offered bear's flesh as a sacrifice to the corn. He also said that corn was offered ceremonially to the deer and bear. Apparently, Harrington (*ibid.*, pp. 70, 195) did not learn the details of this Corn-Spirit rite but the plant was, however, mentioned as a guardian spirit, Mother Corn. There is an interesting ceremony recorded by Dr. Speck [3] which the Delaware held to propitiate the spirit of Mother Corn whom they considered to hold protection over all vegetation. It is related that many years ago the corn crops began to decrease, so that people became alarmed. The leading men of the tribe met and agreed that to avert a famine, a ceremony must be performed to appease the Maize Spirit. It was feared that she had become displeased and intended to abandon her children, the Delaware. In this way the Corn Harvest Rite originated and the performance of its ritual made the occasion of a festival.

262 Corn also figured in the ceremonial diet of the participants of the
852 Big House Ceremony. Dr. Speck (1931, p. 73) notes that corn flour and hominy were prepared and served by women attendants.[4] These foods were prepared in wooden mortars kept expressly for ceremonial use.[5] As was previously stated, corn gruel or hominy is considered to be the proper food for sick or convalescing persons.[6]

Indian corn of the variegated variety is known as "common" or "original corn." [7] Another variety, called "hollow corn," is ground into flour for use in making bread.

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[3] 1937a, pp. 79-90. In addition to the Corn Harvest rite and Corn Famine text, Dr. Speck has an account of the Vegetation Ceremony now performed bi-annually in the spring and fall. These gatherings are now called "Bread Dances" and in addition to the performance of a ritual, afford an occasion for recreation. Both men and women take part.

[4] The three men and three women who are responsible for the ceremonial equipment and assist in a ceremonial role in the nightly performances during the period of worship in the Big House. (Speck, 1931, pp. 71, 75.)

[171] [5] A similar observance has been recorded for the Mohegan of Connecticut and the Indians of Wampanoag extraction at Gay Head, Mass. See Tantaquidgeon, 1930, pp. 5-7.

[6] See Diet, p. 14.

[171] [7] I have observed that my own group at Mohegan, Conn., and the people at Gay Head, Mass., regard varied-colored corn to be the original variety and value it very highly.

So far as could be ascertained, the use of corn medicine and fish fertilizer in corn hills, is the only vestige of the ritualistic complex now associated with maize cultivation.[8] My informant stated that in former times it was customary to use medicine in which corn was soaked to prevent cut worms. At present, seed corn is soaked in water and hardwood ashes. Fish bones were burned and combined with wood ashes and put in the corn hills as an offering to the Maize Spirit. Corn, beans, and squash were planted together, but the legend of the Three Sisters (corn, beans, and squash) [9] so prominent in Iroquois mythology, is absent.

The different varieties of maize are not planted near one another because, it is said, "One will visit the other and forget to come back."

When corn matures one must share the first gathering with a less fortunate tribesman or with some old person. This rule applies to all crops as well as to the first kill.[10] In order that people may continue to receive the blessings of the Creator, every man is obligated to share his first fruits and game with others, before partaking of them himself. The practice of sharing vegetable food with a neighbor is known by the term, "I feed you." A hunter offering animal flesh in observance of this rule, used the phrase, "I give you some meat."

There are several methods employed in preparing corn as food.

(a) The husk is taken off and the ears laid in the sun until thoroughly dry. The grains may then be removed and pounded into hominy grits.

(b) After removing the husk, the ears are boiled until thoroughly cooked. They are allowed to cool, the grains removed with a spoon and spread out to dry.

(c) The ears are laid before the fire and roasted.

Early records indicate that corn parched and crushed to meal, served as a very nourishing food which was indispensable to the hunter or

[8] The Iroquois observed the practice of soaking seed corn in a medicine especially prepared from certain plants. "In ancient times they enriched the soil with both fish and shell." (Waugh, *op. cit.*, p. 18.)

[9] The corn, bean and squash complex is discussed by Parker, 1910, p. 36, and Converse, 1910, p. 63.

[10] According to Zeisberger (*op. cit.*, p. 84) a hunter before setting out upon a long hunting trip, would kill a deer or two and prepare a feast as a sacrifice to the game. The old people as invited guests would pray for his good fortune during the expedition.

252 traveller of that period.[11] Zeisberger (*op. cit.*, p. 22) mentions two
251 varieties of corn meal which the Indians prepared for use on long journeys. Dried, unroasted corn was crushed to a meal or roasted in hot ashes and then pulverized. The meal was mixed with sugar, or water, and then eaten. Occasionally it was boiled in water. Heckewelder (*op. cit.*, p. 195) says that their *Psindamocan*[12] or *Tasemanane*[13] is the most nourishing and durable of their corn foods. He adds that they preferred the blue, sweet variety for this meal, and that with but a little of this food, they set out on long journeys.

252 Among the present-day Delaware the variety of corn used and the methods of its preparation, are the same as noted by Zeisberger and Heckewelder. However, due to the scarcity of "squaw" or variegated corn, it is now regarded as a ceremonial food. The corn is thoroughly parched and then pounded in the hominy mortars. The fine meal resulting is hominy or "traveling food." This may be eaten either mixed with water or with milk and sugar. The grits ground medium fine are cooked with meat, the combined food being called, "whole face hominy," and used in the Masked Dance Ceremony.[14] The coarse grits are called "hail stones." These are cooked and eaten with milk.

Dry, unparched corn is made into flour or pounded medium fine or coarse. The flour is used in making bread. A soft dough is made and rolled into a flat cake like a biscuit which is dipped in cold water and put in the ashes to bake. This bread is known as "put-in-the-ashes bread." Bread dough to which is added chili beans or raisins is put in greased vessels and baked in the Dutch oven. Dumplings stuffed with chopped meat are boiled. The coarse hominy is boiled

[11] Williams (1827, p. 33) mentions *no'kehick*, a parched meal used by the Narragansetts. He says in part, "I have travelled with neere 200 of them at once neere 100 miles through the woods, every man carrying a little basket of this at his back and sometimes in a hollow leather girdle about his middle sufficient for a man for three days." Waugh (*op. cit.*, p. 88) says, in writing of Iroquois corn foods, "There was apparently no more popular hunting or traveling food than this preparation in olden times. It was light and nourishing and could be eaten cooked or raw." In the Mohegan-Pequot dialect it is known as *yo'keg*, "corn parched and pounded," and among the Wampanoag descendants at Gay Head, it is called *no'cake*. In the two latter groups it is prepared in precisely the same manner as among the Delaware (See Tantaquidgeon, *op. cit.*, pp. 6-7).

[12] I was unable to obtain a translation of this term but my informant recognized it as pertaining to corn meal food.

[13] "Dried corn product."

[14] See Speck, 1937a, p. 52.

and used in different ways. It may be eaten with milk and brown sugar or with any kind of meat grease. A little salt may be added for additional flavor. 252

Various kinds of nut meats are added to cooked hominy to make a dish known as "nut hominy." Hominy and chopped meat (beef, pork or other fresh meat) are cooked together and then allowed to stand until sour. After hickory nuts are added to this mixture, the result is called "soured nut" hominy.

Hulled corn is made by boiling dried corn in a strong liquid, made alkaline by the addition of hard wood ashes. This process of preparation is long and arduous, since after hours of steady boiling it requires many washings in clear, cold water to rinse the lye from the loose hulls. This food may be eaten with milk and sugar, fried with potatoes in pork fat, combined with fresh or dried meat for stew, or with beans for succotash.

Wild Vegetable Foods

Long ago fruits and berries were preserved by drying, this practice giving way in later times to canning and the manufacture of jelly and jam. Dried fruit are prepared to eat in a number of ways. Grapes are boiled, and the resulting liquid thickened by the addition of corn meal, flour, or hominy grits. A boiled pudding is composed of dough made of cornmeal and flour, or flour only, to which any variety of berry, except strawberries, may be added. This dough is then placed in a cloth bag and boiled. When ripe, persimmons are mashed and spread on a cloth to dry for use in a bread called "persimmon bread." With few exceptions all of the fruits and berries mentioned are made into pies, puddings, preserves, fruit butters, and jams. 222 251 252

The various varieties of nuts are gathered in large quantities and stored away for future use. These provide a nourishing supplement to the remainder of natural food stuffs. Nuts are eaten raw, roasted, boiled, and frequently incorporated in other types of food. Edible acorns are usually roasted.

With the introduction and increased use of European food products, the necessity arose among the Delaware of fitting them into their own linguistic configuration, if the foreign terms themselves were not taken over. Like so many primitive groups, the Delaware came to apply native terms of a descriptive nature to the majority of elements foreign to their culture. Many of these have been retained to the 196 262 177

present day. Thus, for example, the Delaware term for the cocoanut is "water hickory nut."

"Indian Potato" or Ground Nut *(Apios tuberosa)*, "wild potato." The tuberous roots are gathered in large quantities and stored for winter use. They are not considered good after sprouting. The roots are either boiled and eaten as the cultivated potato, or dried and ground into flour used for making bread. In recent times the ground nut has not grown abundantly in the Delaware habitat, and is now considered a rare delicacy.

Sorrel *(Rumex acetosella)*, "sour." This plant, prepared much like rhubarb, is used as a filling for pies.

Onion *(Sp.?)*. Of the different varieties of wild onions, three are regarded by the Delaware as being edible. The one most commonly gathered for use is the "buttonseed." These are dried and prepared by frying, or boiling, or are added to flavor stews and soups. Wild onions are also cooked in grease to which eggs are added.

A species of mushroom *(Agaricus campestris)*, "tripe form," is fried in hot fat, or salted and boiled.

Certain plants are considered to be healthful foods, especially in spring, when people were in need of the medicinal substances present in them. The practice of seeking the first green plant shoots in early spring is not peculiar to the Delaware alone, but is characteristic of other Eastern Algonkian peoples. Such food is called "greens" or "plant tops." The young shoots are usually picked and cooked separately, or mixed with several other plants. In both cases the "greens" are parboiled in water, and then cooked with meat. Among such plants may be mentioned dandelion, milkweed, poke, lamb's quarters, mustard, dock, and watercress.

Animal Foods

Wild animals, as pointed out by F. G. Speck (1931, pp. 28-29), are in general considered to exist in clan relationship with humans. The latter are said to be "kings among animals." Clean, pure animals of the forests are referred to in terms of human relationship and their spirits must be propitiated before they can be sought for food. If the supernaturals are appeased through sacrifices, the animals will allow themselves to be taken, but if the proper ceremonies are not carried out, they can never be approached by humans. Therefore a hunter before starting out, is obliged to pray and sacrifice tobacco, and also if he should dream of seeing game during the hunt. The Delaware "sharing-feast"

described by Zeisberger, has previously been referred to (p. 47). Special medicine lures for hunting are also prepared by the hunter.

The Delaware consider the bear and the deer to be the greatest of all animals. The bear is also called "Our Grandfather." Both animals are considered closely akin to the Indian, but the Delaware believe that the bear has the most human-like traits. The antelope, a creature of the later Delaware environment, is regarded as a sacred, pure animal. Of the water animals, the otter is regarded as supernaturally the most powerful.

During the chase, the hunter is careful not to unduly excite the game pursued, since the flesh of such an animal is apt to cause illness when eaten. The same treatment holds for the capture and killing of domestic animals and fowl. Formerly bison, bear, deer, otter, beaver, the smaller animals, and wild fowl provided meat for the Delaware diet. In the latter period squirrels, rabbits, and domestic animals replaced the increasingly rare, larger species.

After an animal was killed, all parts of it were utilized; the flesh for food; the hide for shelter, clothing, robes, and bags; the bones for implements, and the teeth for ornaments, etc. The hide was removed by the hunter forcing his fist between it and the flesh, thus working around the body until the hide was loose. The use of a sharp instrument for this purpose, would, it was claimed, cut and thus spoil the hide. All fat from the bison, bear, deer, and domestic animals was saved and stored in a rawhide container. The intestines were cleaned, filled with blood or meat, and cooked. The flesh of the larger animals was usually roasted. A fire was built in a pit and the carcass placed upon a scaffold above it. A slow fire was kept burning, over which the meat was turned until it was thoroughly cooked.

Meat was preserved in one of two ways—by smoke-drying or immersing it in grease. In drying, thin slices were suspended over a slow fire. In the latter process alternate layers of partially cooked meat and hot lard were placed in a large earthen crock until filled. Slippery elm bark, cinnamon, and allspice were added to the grease for flavor.

Stews and soups were made of fresh meat, to which hominy or corn meal dumplings were added. The flesh of small animals, from which the scent glands had been removed, were also preserved by smoke-drying. If a deer, or other animal, was killed during the mating season, the animal's testicles were immediately removed. An Indian hunter usually killed only male animals.

Fish were fried or cooked in a stew or soup. Formerly fish were preserved by drying.

used grooved axes hafted by tying the head between the ends of a split stick (Kalm, p. 229). The trees were then removed by burning (Johnson, p. 279; Harrington, 1913, p. 221; Kalm, p. 230). Zeisberger was told by his Indian acquaintances that, before they had metal tools, they also burned their wood into suitable lengths for use (Zeisberger, 1910, p. 29). After being cleared of rubbish and stones, the land was broken up with a hoe made of stone, tortoise shell, or the shoulder blade of a deer, attached to a short handle (Johnson, p. 279; Skinner, 1909, p. 42; Abbott, 1875, pp. 350 and 356; Loskiel, p. 67; Seaver, p. 47). The earth was piled into little hills in which five or six grains of maize were planted about April. In the middle of May when the maize was the "height of a finger", they planted in each heap three or four "Turkish beans,"[4] which then grew up with and were supported by the maize. Maize was a plant that needed frequent weeding and hoeing (De Rasieres, p. 107; Johnson, p. 279; Harrington, 1913, p. 221).

There is no mention of the use of any kind of fertilizer by the Delaware, and early Swedish writers note that, "When a tract had been cultivated until crops would no longer grow, it was deserted and a new plantation prepared" (Johnson, p. 279). Therefore, in the present case there appears to be at least presumptive evidence for lack of fertilizing techniques.

In addition to the above-mentioned means of obtaining food, the Delaware Indians gathered various wild berries, nuts, fruits, and roots. Although many of the early references tend to be generic, one gathers that strawberries, gooseberries, huckleberries or billberries, cranberries and grapes were among the chief fruits used (Loskiel, pp. 68-69; Kalm, p. 261; Skinner, 1909, p. 43; Waugh, pp. 127-28), and the butternut, walnut, chestnut and hickory the most important nuts (Loskiel, pp. 70-71; Lindstrom, p. 223; Waugh, p. 123). In addition, Kalm found that early Swedish residents of New Jersey remembered the Indians having used Hopnies or ground nut (Glycine apios), Katniss (Sagittaria sagittifolia) and Taw-Ho (Arum virginicum).[5] This last was reputed to be poisonous in a raw state and so was placed in a hole covered with earth where it was cooked by a fire burning on top. They also boiled and ate the seeds of the Golden Club or Taw-Hoe (Orontium aquaticum) (Kalm, pp. 260-61). The use of roots is referred to be other authors although the terms used vary (Brinton, 1885, p. 50; Johnson, p. 281; Lindstrom, p. 223; Skinner, 1909, p. 43).

Although there are no specific references to the making of maple syrup in early sources, all the later observers found maple sugar boiling an important activity and the properties of the maple were generally known and utilized on the east coast. It seems impossible that all the early writers would have overlooked the use of maple sap if it had been as important as it later became, but none of my sources mention it.

Food Preservation and Cooking

Passing to the problem of food preservation, we find that such crops as maize, tobacco and meat were most commonly stored in pits covered over first with bark or grass and then with earth (Lindstrom, p. 253; Johnson, p. 279; Krieger, p. 39; De Rasieres, p. 107). The house was also an important storage place, the food being placed in hemp bags and suspended from the ceiling (Johnson, p. 279; Harrington, 1913, p. 218; Heckewelder, 1820, p. 370). 251

Maize was used in a variety of ways. According to one author, those stalks that produced no ears were pulled early and the sap sucked from them (De Rasieres, p.107). The ears were either roasted in ashes or boiled. Most of the maize, however, seems to have been pounded or ground into flour and sifted through a basket of the desired coarseness. The finer flour was mixed with lukewarm water, kneaded into dough and made into round, flat little cakes which were baked in hot ashes. The coarser flour was made into porridge (i.e. boiled with water) to which nuts, beans, berries, pumpkin or meat were sometimes added (Penn, pp. 31-32; Lindstrom, p. 254; De Rasieres, p. 107; Danckhaerts, p. 159; Johnson, p. 281; Heckewelder, 1781, pp. 194-96; Loskiel, p. 67). Indeed, there seems to have been almost endless variety in the preparation of these cornflour dishes. 252

The other vegetables were most commonly eaten boiled and, it should be noted, without seasoning except ashes, as the Delaware did not use salt (Pastorius, 1700, p. 384; Danckaerts, p. 159; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 194; Lindstrom, p. 254). Water was probably the most important beverage known to the Delaware at this time, but fruit juices and water flavored with crushed walnuts or hickory nuts are reported (Johnson, p. 281; Loskiel, p. 74; Kalm, p. 269). Tobacco was always mixed with willow bark or sumac for smoking (Loskiel, p. 73; Speck, 1931, p. 127). [263] 272 276

Manufactures

A wide variety of materials was utilized for cooking equipment. Serving dishes were made of wood, bark, shell, or a cut-off calabash; spoons were of wood or suitably shaped shells. Cups of tortoise shell have also been found (Johnson, p. 281; Harrington, 1913, p. 223; Danckaerts, p. 159; Lindstrom, p. 255; Pastorius, 1700, p. 384; Skinner, 1915, p. 38). Pottery, which was used for boiling, is found abundantly in Lenape territory. It was made of clay mixed with pounded sea shells, mica or sand and various combinations of these ingredients. The technique used was coiling. Designs consisted of lines and dots, stamped or incised on the vessel. Broken or cracked pieces were mended by lacing through holes bored on either side of the defect (Skinner, 1915, pp. 12 and 13; Heye, pp. 62-66; Abbott, 1875, p. 345; Smith, p. 138; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 89). 415 323

252
262 Flour was either ground between two stones or pounded in a
[412] mortar and pestle by the Delaware. The mortar was usually a hollowed tree trunk, the pestle a suitably shaped stone (Smith, p. 138; Lindstrom, pp. 253-54; Abbott, 1875, p. 357; Kalm, p. 230).

276
323 Stone pottery and clay pipes have been uncovered on archae-
324 ological sites. Lindstrom describes the Lenape pipes as beautifully painted and glazed with birds and animals on the head. He says there are some "...an ell in length, which are screwed together with leather,...and in these pipe-heads will go a handful of tobacco" (Lindstrom, p. 197). These were presumably of European manufacture. The pipes which have been recovered from old sites are of a much humbler variety (Abbott, 1875, pp. 343-44; Skinner, 1909, p. 27; Butler, p. 249). This apparent inconsistency can be readily explained, however, by assuming that Lindstrom was referring to the calumets or peace pipes, which were relatively rare and would be likely to have been carried west by the owners when they moved (Kalm, pp. 231-32).

285
[283] Some household items manufactured by the Delaware women were mats, ropes and baskets made from wild hemp, spruce roots, corn husks and rushes. The mats, which were sometimes painted or had figures worked in or over the weave, were hung on the walls for increased protection against the elements as well as to beautify the house (Smith, p. 138; Lindstrom, p. 221; Harrington, 1913, p. 224). They were also used as part of the bedding together with the skin or
287 turkey-feather robes which served as clothing during the day (Johnson, p. 280; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 203). The turkey-feather robes deserve special attention as they were evidently one of the most distinctive and beautiful of the Delaware's manufactures. Lindstrom says: "They also make fine and beautiful quilts of painted bird feathers. In the first place they tie them with meshes like nets, yet very fine; then they fasten the feathers in the meshes, so neat and strong that not one feather can come loose from it..." (Lindstrom, pp. 221-22). When there was a "bed," it consisted of a wooden
352 shelf running around the interior wall of the house and serving as a seat by day (Harrington, 1913, p. 218; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 17; Skinner, 1915, p. 7).

342 The most common type of Delaware house was a small hut consisting of a rectangular, gabled frame of saplings covered with bark or mats. Penn describes their houses thus: "Their Houses are Mats, or Bark of Trees set on Poles, in the fashion of an English Barn, but out of the power of the Winds, for they are hardly higher than a Man..." (Penn, p. 31). Some Delaware, however, constructed a house large enough to accommodate several families, the increase in size all deriving from greater length. The result was not unlike an Iroquois longhouse.[6] In the center of the house was one or more fires depending on the length of the building, and the ridge of the roof was arranged with an opening through which the smoke could

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

533 787 796x [276]

who desire it to smoke until the next man is ready to commence. At this time also it is considered proper for the people to enter or leave the Big House, which is not permitted while the actual ceremony is in progress. When the turtle rattle has thus made the round of the building and gets back to its starting point, the meeting is brought to a close. This is usually along toward morning, the exact time of course being dependent on the number who have sung their visions, and on the length of the intermissions.

CONCLUSION OF RITES

252 796x

Now, when the man who started the ceremonies begins to dance, that is a signal for two of the women *a'ckas*, or attendants, to go out and pound corn for hominy or meal, and two of their men colleagues cook it in the kettle hanging on the pole, so that it is ready when the turtle has made its rounds and the meeting is about to close. Then the repast

264 796x

of hominy or corn mush called *sā'pan* is

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

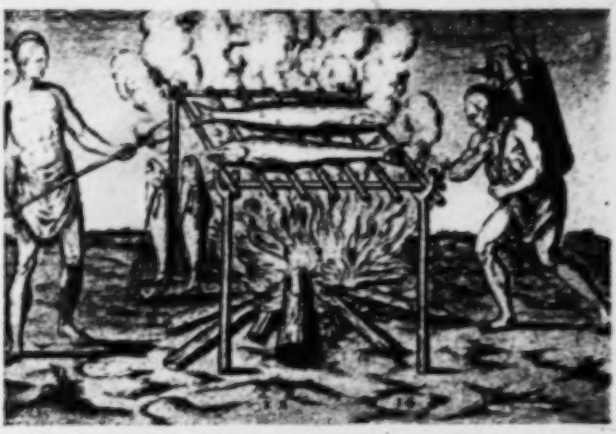
a number of men, each of whom was paid a yard of wampum to cut forks and poles and erect the building. This was made by setting up a frame of poles in the form of a Big House, but smaller, only seven paces wide and fifteen paces long, then covering the top with brush and piling brush at the sides. Then to the east of the house a pole was erected, upon which to hang the meat for the feast, which, in old times, had to be a bear; but when bears became scarce a black hog was substituted, and of late a hog of any color has been used. The building finished, the hog was killed, and, having been hung on the pole over night, was taken into the house the next day, quartered, singed on a fire that had been built inside, then carried out again, cut up, and cooked, all except the loose fat, which was kept for a special purpose, as will appear later. When done, the meat was kept in large baskets, with the exception of the head, which, having been cooked whole, was placed in a large bowl with two of the animal's ribs in its mouth.

796 x
946
252
796 x

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
NM7 Delaware NM7

252
415

34. "THERE IS NO SCARCITY OF PROVISIONS AMONG THE SAVAGES." SEE PP. 253–5.



35. "THEY PASS . . . SLENDER SPITS OF WOOD THROUGH THE MEAT OR THE FISH, STICK THE SPITS DOWN INTO THE GROUND, AND TURN THE MEAT OR FISH NEAR THE FIRE." SEE P. 254.

[FACING p. 253]

8:Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
NM7 Delaware NM7

CHAPTER XXVII.

Concerning the Household Economy of the American Savage People, Their Thrashing, Their Grinding, Their Baking, Their Frying and Cooking.

In this connection [*it may be said*] *that there* is found no scarcity of provisions among the savages, for the support of their household, but [they are] miserable cooks, they never cook good dishes.[1] They use no cattle. They do not need to thrash their grain, the maize; but when it gets ripe and dry, then they rub the ears between their hands and brush off the kernels. Their larders they dig down in the ground, close to their dwellings, wherein they have their maize, their beans, tobacco and other provisions, such as deer-meat, elk-meat, bear-meat, birds, fish and other such things, which may serve for the sustenance of man, but the bear pork as well as wild-boar pork and its fat they melt and use instead of butter.[2]

They use no querns,[3] but the meal for baking they pound asunder with a pestle and mortar, which they make in this manner, that for the purpose they cut a thick and large tree, 1½ ells from

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[1] *Godha rätter.* For the food of the Indians, see Van der Donck, De Vries, etc., *N. Y. Col.*, 2, I, 192 ff.; II, 283 ff.; III, 96, 104 ff.

[2] Cf. Van der Donck and other early Dutch writers.

[3] *Quarnar bruka the icke.* In connection with the agriculture of the Indians Williams says: They "fell their trees with stone set in a wooden staff, and used wooden howes; which some old and poore women (fearfull to leave the old tradition) use to this day." *Key*, 190.

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
NM7 Delaware NM7

the root, in the stump of which they dig out a round hole and thus make a mortar which is suited for the purpose and in which they pound all their grain to meal.[4] And then they bake their meal into small loaves as large as a small cheese,[5] in which they use a kind of berry like currants. Nor do they use any other bake-oven than the embers. The ashes they use according to the manner of the birds, to clean their stomach with, as the birds do with sand instead of salt, therefore they are not so particular, if their bread gets to be a little ashy. They have just recently begun to buy a little salt of the Christians, but they do not know how to use it otherwise than to chew a little of it at a time, like other costly spices.[6]

To brew ale or distill brandy, that they cannot turn their hand to. In reference to the frying by the savages [it is to be noted] that they know no other manner of doing it than to cut for themselves slender spits of wood, pass them through the meat or the fish, stick the spits down into the ground, and turn the meat or the fish near the fire.[7] When it now may be about half fried on the one side, then he turns the other side to the fire and when it is half fried on both sides, so that the blood still remains in it, then he considers it most wholesome and best to eat. In reference to the cooking of the savages [it may be stated] that they have

[4] Cf. Van der Donck and other Dutch writers of the early 17th Century, *N. Y. Col.*, 2, I, II, III.

[5] Perhaps six or eight inches in diameter.

[6] The natives apparently did not season their food with salt. Cf. Hodge, *Handbook*, II, 418 ff.

[7] See illustration facing page 253. The natives of Africa smoke and roast their fish in the same way.

8:Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
NM7 Delaware NM7

a full [supply] of copper and brass kettles for the purpose, large and small, which the savages buy from the Christians, hanging on a pole[8] along their hut or house from the one door to the other, below which the fire is made up, as has been stated before. And the savage woman whom the sachem owns for a wife, she is the housekeeper for the whole crowd. She selects for the cooking and determines which one of the savage women then and then,[9] each in her turn, shall look after the cooking. When now they think that the food is cooked, which indeed they use half cooked, then the kettles are carried forth to the housekeeper who pours out the food and divides it around for the people, 6 and 6 to a kettle. The vessels used for this purpose are small copper and brass kettles and cut-off calibashes like cups.[10]

As far as their drink is concerned [it may be said] that they drink with the goose.[11]

But when the Christians bake bread of this maize or Indian wheat, they also do it with hot embers in the fireplace. They make and knead the whole dough into one loaf, as wide as the bottom of the oven, raised like a loaf of rye bread. Then they sweep the fireplace clean and lay a couple of layers of large leaves next to the stones upon which they place the bread, then some layers [of leaves] on top and around the bread, and then

[8] *Hängandes på en åhe.* *Ås* in this connection would usually mean the ridge (ridge-pole) of a house, but Lindeström apparently uses the word in the sense of a pole.

[9] *Då och då*, *i.e.*, from time to time.

[10] See above, Chapt. VII, note 13. It seems strange that Lindeström does not mention clay pots.

[11] See above, p. 234, note 4.

+ = element present
− = element denied
(+) or (−) = source ambiguous
• = informant could not or would not say
S = some, sometimes, or several
† or * = see Ethnographic Notes, pp. 79-137 for additional information

	Williams	Van der Donck	Lindeström	Zeisberger	Heckewelder	Johnston	Pipe	Chipp	J. W.	W. T.	E. R.	W. L.
Food, mode of living, etc.—Continued												
298. Vegetables introduced by whites				+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+
299. Wild rice				(−)		−		−	−	+	−	−
300. Have regular meals		−			+	−		−	+	+	+	−
301. Generally eat together (family)		(+)						+	+	+	+	+
302. Men and women eat together		(+)				+		+	+	+	+	+
303. Neat in their cooking			−	S	+	−		+	+	+	+	+
304. Several cooking modes		−	+		•+	+		+	+	+	+	+
305. Generally prefer well done			−	+					+	+	+	+
306. Commonly eat in the night						−		+	−	+	−	+
307. Eat every kind of fish		+	(+)			+		+	−	+	•	+
Hunting												
308. Use bow and arrow	+	+	+		+	+		+	+	+	+	+
309. Rifle and fowling piece		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
310. Blow gun for birds and small game								+	+	+	•	+
311. Deadfall for raccoon	+					+			+	+	•	+
312. Torches at night on water for deer						+			•	+	•	•
313. Fish with spears	+		−					+	+	•	+	+
314. With hook and line	+	+	−					+	+	+	+	+
315. By shooting with arrows	+		+						+	+	+	+
316. Hunt in large parties	+	+	+	+		+		+	+	+	+	+
317. Number in party	300	100				10-15		40-50		15	4	6-7
318. Any attendant ceremonies			*(+)	−		−		−		+	+	+
319. Under guidance of oldest or most expert			+	+		+			+	+	+	+
320. Any peculiar laws in hunting			+	+	•	−	•	+	+	+	+	+
321. When two are hunting and one kills animals, it is divided equally				(+)		+		+	(+)	(+)	+	+
322. Person who kills or first wounds animal entitled to whole when stranger appears						+						
323. to skin and half of carcass				+				+	+			+

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

222 staple of more northern tribes, wild rice, apparently never figured
262 in the diet of the Delaware, although W. T. claimed that it did (299). Little use seems to have been made of grasses or greens, but there is no suggestion that this avoidance was the result of a taboo.

264 Information on the regularity of meals among the Delaware is not conclusive (300). Van der Donck reported no regular meals in the first period, Heckewelder the reverse in the second period; but both Johnston and Chipps in the third period stated there were no regular meal times. In the fourth period three informants claimed regularity of meals for their ancestors as well as themselves; whereas the fourth, W. L., said that even when he was a boy there was always something to eat for the grownups and they ate when they felt like it. Chipps said that they ate in the night as often as in the day, but the other sources and informants denied this and maintained that it was only the hunter or traveler who returned at night that received anything to eat (306).

Men and women usually ate together according to the reports from all periods (302). Both J. W. and W. L. in the fourth period stated that children did not eat with the rest of the family (301). At some meals the children ate after the adults, who left them the amounts and parts of the food that they should eat. The last meal in the day for children was about four or five o'clock. From then on until the next morning they could have only water.

●252 The question of neatness in cooking is a relative one (303). Lindeström and Johnston did not think they were neat at all. Zeisberger, Heckewelder, and Chipps, on the other hand, said that cleanliness was an individual matter but that on the whole the Delaware were much neater than many other tribes. The difference between Indian and white methods of cooking in the centuries past was probably much greater than the difference between the two now.

Van der Donck reported in the first period that boiling was the only mode of cooking meat used by the Indians (304). Since this was contradicted by Lindeström who wrote at practically

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

the same time, there is no reason to suspect that the several cooking modes reported in all subsequent periods were the result of European introduction. On the other hand, Lindeström's statement that the Delaware preferred their fish only half fried finds no support in the information from the following periods (305). Zeisberger and all the modern informants said that meats were preferred well done. In this connection J. W. expressed the opinion of all the modern informants when he said that foods from the open air (not canned), cooked in clean water or well done in an open fire were clean and best.

When the Delaware were living on the Atlantic Coast, fish formed an important part of their diet, according to Van der Donck and Lindeström (307). Apparently every kind available in any particular locality was eaten. The reports of all subsequent periods also show an absence of taboo on particular kinds of fish, with the exception of J. W., and he could not name the varieties not eaten. Captain Chipps reported that some did not eat sturgeon, others catfish, but more as a matter of individual taste than because of a taboo.

Hunting

The bow and arrow was, of course, the common weapon used in hunting in prehistoric times and well remembered even today, although its utility as a meat-procuring arm has long been lost (308).

The surprising item in the list of arms used by the Delaware is the firearm (309). Even though every European colony on the Atlantic Coast protested the sale of firearms to the natives by the other colonies, and subordination of the Delaware to the Iroquois in the early eighteenth century was attributed to the fact that the latter were supplied earlier with firearms, we find two references to the rather common use of guns in hunting by the Delaware in the middle of the seventeenth century.

The blowgun was reported among the Canadian Delaware or Munsee of 1824 by Captain Chipps (310). At that time it was used by hunters to kill small game and birds. Poisoned darts were not mentioned. The three older informants among the

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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other wild creature whatsoever, that is said to be pure spirit. And also those twelve face-images in the Big House, and those prayer-sticks,[1] and the maize and fruit, all things indeed used in the Gamwing, it is said, are helpers when it comes to lifting up to the twelve levels of heaven above us where he dwells, our father the Great Spirit.

And also there is a ruling of custom. The religious obligations sometimes require that the speaker, when talking, it is said, names over all these spirit-forces wherever they reside around the earth, calling upon them, as it is said: "Truly we are thankful that we have lived long enough to see the time come when these our grandfathers the trees bloom forth, and also the coming up of vegetation.

[1] The twelve peeled rods held in the hands of the worshippers when they "raise their prayer to the twelfth level of heaven" to the Great Spirit by crying "ho" six times and "ha" six times, and pointing with the sticks to the image on the center post of the Big House. They are denoted by the term mamendahl-'kan'ak "the means of earnest prayer." In Harrington's study of Delaware religion no mention is made of the exact function of the prayer sticks (Harrington I, p. 103), though in the Munsee corresponding ceremony they are described (ibid. p. 131) as being used to drum with in time to the music, by those who wish to pray. There is another omission in reference to the prayer sticks (ibid. p. 103). Harrington speaks of a particular way in which the sticks "fall opposite each other" but no explanation is made. Discussion of these details will be found on page 60.

[2] Among the tree "grandfathers" thought of in particular is the maple from the sap of which native sugar is made.

Reference to the gift of the maple in yielding its sap for human use is a reminiscence of a widespread Algonkian usage. The Sugar Maple is sona'meci- "rock-place tree" (the Red Maple is called ɔsi'komes "grove tree"). This tree is the real Acer saccharum and is known to the Oklahoma Delaware only by tradition since they remember it in the north. They make a sugar now from the Red Maple, not as strong in flavor as the other, but mixed with Box Elder (awi'sai-t o'nass "yellow twig") and Black walnut tu'kwi-meci- "round-nut tree") but the latter has such a strong taste that only a little may be used. Heckewelder (op. cit., p. 194) gives an account of Delaware sugar-making during the Ohio period.

Now as well for this water and for him our grandfather fire, and again this air, again this sunlight. When everyone has been blessed with such gifts it is enough to make one realize what kind of benevolence comes from our father, because he it is who has created everything."[1]

And now furthermore one more spiritual-force is said to be a part of creation up above. The first being mentioned is called day-moon,[2] and the night traveler[3] is called night-moon. And of several kinds of stars, the first one seen is that one from the sunrise direction, called

[1] Zeisberger, before 1780 (op. cit. p. 129), had heard similar professions of gratitude; "They believe the Deity is graciously and mercifully disposed toward them, because he imparts power to the plants to grow, causes the rain to fall, and the sun to shine and gives game to man for his support."

[2] The designations "day-moon" and "night-moon" are widespread in northern Algonkian, (Munsee, Cree, Montagnais-Naskapi). Luminary would be a more exact equivalent of gi-'cux

[3] For the moon to be figuratively denoted as "night-traveler" is common in Eastern Algonkian (ni-bau'a-it "night-walker," Penobscot, with cognates in the other Wabanaki languages; nanepaushet, Massachusetts (Trumbull, Natick Dict. p. 297).

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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The hunter prefers going out with his gun on an empty stomach; he says, that hunger stimulates him to exertion by reminding him continually of his wants, whereas a full stomach makes a hunter easy, careless and lazy, ever thinking of his home and losing his time to no purpose. With all their industry, nevertheless, and notwithstanding this strong stimulant, many a day passes over their heads that they have not met with any kind of game, nor consequently tasted a morsel of victuals; still they go on with their chase, in hopes of being able to carry some provisions home, and do not give up the pursuit until it is so dark that they can see no longer.

The morning and evening, they say, are the precious hours for the hunter. They lose nothing by sleeping in the middle of the day, that is to say, between ten o'clock in the morning and four in the afternoon, except in dark, cloudy and rainy weather, when the whole day is nearly equally good for hunting. Therefore the hunter, who happens to have no meat in the house, will be off and in the woods before day-light, and strive to be in again for breakfast with a deer, turkey, goose, bear, or racoon, or some other game then in season. Meanwhile, his wife has pounded her corn, now boiling on the fire, and baked her bread, which gives them a good breakfast. If, however, the husband is not returned by ten o'clock in the forenoon, the family take their meal by themselves, and his share is put aside for him when he comes home.

The Indians have a number of manners of preparing their corn. They make an excellent pottage of it, by boiling it with fresh or dried meat (the latter pounded), dried pumpkins, dry beans, and chesnuts. They sometimes sweeten it with sugar or molasses from the sugar-maple tree. Another very good dish is prepared by boiling with their corn or maize, the washed kernels of the shell-bark or hickory-nut. They pound the nuts in a block or mortar, pouring a little warm water on them, and gradually a little more as they become dry,

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262 tion, adding that the hog and the bear fed on dirty things,
157 and yet we ate their meat with a good appetite. The cat, however, notwithstanding all the arguments in its favour, remained untouched, and was taken back by the old hunter and cook to its former place at his fire.

But now, Popunhank, whom we believed to be lost, and our guide, who once more had gone out, and exerted himself in vain to kill a deer, came in together. The guide had been desired as he pursued his hunt to look for our lost companion, and had the good luck to find him at the distance of five or six miles, with a fine deer that he had killed. He lost no time in bringing him back to our camp.

The sight of these two men dragging a large deer along was truly joyful to us, as well on account of the recovery of our lost friend, as of the meat that he brought. All felt the cravings of hunger, all were delighted with the certain prospect of immediate relief, yet no boisterous or extraordinary rejoicing took place, but all called out with one voice: *Anischi! Anischi!* we are thankful. The wild cat, which yet remained untouched, was thrown out of the camp, and dismissed by the old cook with these
261 words: "Go, cat, we do not want you this time!"

266 The woods and waters, at certain times and seasons,
[251] furnish to the Indians an abundant supply of wholesome nourishing food, which, if carefully gathered, cured and stored up, would serve them for the whole year, so that none need perish or even suffer from hunger; but they are not accustomed to laying in stores of provisions, except some Indian corn, dry beans and a few other articles. Hence they are sometimes reduced to great straits, and not seldom in absolute want of the necessaries of life, especially in the time of war. Yet, notwithstanding the numerous famines they have been visited with, they have among their traditions but one instance on record in which an human life was taken for the support of others, although they relate many cases

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in which numbers of them were actually starved to death. The case I allude to was so singular a circumstance, that it seems the cruel act to which it gave rise was almost unavoidable. I shall relate it here as I have received it from the most unquestionable authority.

In the winter of 1739—40, ever since remembered as the hard winter, when the ground was covered with a very deep snow, a woman with three children, was coming from beyond the Allegheny mountains on a visit to her friends or relations residing at the great island on the west branch of the Susquehannah. After she had reached [103] that river somewhere about *Achtschingi Clammui*, which the whites have corrupted into *Chingleclamoose*, the snow fell in earlier than had been before known, to such a depth, that she could not proceed any farther. She began with putting herself and her children on short allowance, in hopes that the weather might become more moderate, or the snow so hard that they could walk over it. She strove to make her little store of provisions last as long as she could, by using the grass which grew on the river's edge, and certain barks as substitutes, which she boiled to make them digestible; but more snow falling, until at last it rose to the height of a fathom or six feet, she was deprived even of that wretched food, and the wolves hovering about day and night, often attempting to rush into her little encampment, her whole time was taken up with procuring wood and making fires to prevent herself and her children from being frozen to death, and keeping those voracious animals at a distance by throwing out fire-brands to them. Her situation, at last, became intolerable. Having no alternative but that of sacrificing one of her children, she resolved on destroying the youngest, in order to preserve the others and herself from the most dreadful death. After much hesitation, she turned away her eyes and with a trembling hand gave the fatal stroke, filling at the same time the air with her loud lamentations.—She now thought she had obtain-

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266 ed a temporary relief, and that she might be able to support herself and her surviving children until a change in the weather should take place, so that they could be able to proceed on their journey; but the wolves getting the scent of the slaughtered child, became more furious than before, her danger every moment became more imminent. She now filled the air with her cries and supplications to the Great Spirit that he would look down with compassion on their awful condition, and save them by his almighty power.—But still the danger increased, the horrid food was almost exhausted, and no relief came. Already she contemplated sacrificing another child; she looked at each of them again and again with a mother's eye, now resolving on killing the one, then changing her mind, and endeavouring to determine on the destruction of the other; she hesitated, wept, despaired, and the children, well understanding what she meant, prayed that they might all die together. While in this situation, her hand already lifted to strike the fatal stroke, the yell of two approaching Indians strikes her ear, and the murderous weapon falls from her hand. The men with rackets to their feet now appear and the dreadful scene is at once closed. They had provisions with them. They made a pair of rackets for the woman to walk on, and brought her and her children along in safety to the Big Island, where my informants resided at the time. I cannot remember whether they told me that they had gone to that spot in consequence of a dream, or of some strong presentiment that they should find human creatures in distress; certain I am, however, that it was owing to one or other of these causes.

[481]

[103] The place where this awful event took place was since called *Enda Mohótink*, which means "where human flesh was eaten." This name has been very familiar to the Indians who resided in that part of the country.

156
184 There is a spot of land at the edge of the great Pine or Beech Swamp, precisely where it is crossed by the

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca.1800) 1819
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CHAPTER XXVIII.

BODILY CONSTITUTION AND DISEASES.

147 482 THE Indians are in general a strong race of men. It is very common to see a hunter come in with a whole deer on his back, fastened with a *Happis*, a kind of band with which they carry loads; it rests against the breast, that which the women use rests against the forehead. In this manner they will carry a load which many a white man would not have strength enough to raise from the ground. An Indian, named Samuel, once took the flour which was ground out of a bushel of wheat upon his back at sun-rise within two miles from Nazareth, and arrived with it in the evening of the same day at his camp at Wyoming. When the Indians build houses, they carry large logs on their shoulders from the place where the tree is cut down to where they are building.

147 Nevertheless, when put to agricultural or other manual labour, the Indians do not appear so strong as the whites; at least, they cannot endure it so long. Many reasons may be given for this, besides their not being accustomed to that kind of work. It is probably in part [261] to be ascribed to their want of substantial food, and their intemperate manner of living; eating, when they have it, to excess, and at other times being days and weeks in a state of want. Those who have been brought up to regular labour, like ourselves, become robust and strong and enjoy good health. Such was the case with the Christian Indians in the Moravian settlements.

So late as about the middle of the last century, the Indians were yet a hardy and healthy people, and many

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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converted for thirty years and had always led a regular life, and who had thirteen children. Others had from six to nine. In general, however, the Indians seldom have more than four or five children.

The Indian children, generally, continue two years at the breast, and there are instances of their sucking during four years. Mothers are very apt to indulge their last child, children in this respect enjoy the same privilege alike.

I have never heard of any nation or tribe of Indians who destroyed their children, when distorted or deformed, whether they were so born or came to be so afterwards. I have on the contrary seen very particular care taken of such children. Nor have I ever been acquainted with any Indians that made use of artificial means to compress or alter the natural shape of the heads of their children, as some travellers have, I believe, pretended.

The disorders to which the Indians are most commonly subjected are pulmonary consumptions, fluxes, fevers and severe rheumatisms, all proceeding probably from the kind of life they lead, the hardships they undergo, and the nature of the food that they take. Intermitting and bilious fevers set in among them regularly in the autumn, when their towns are situated near marshy grounds or ponds of stagnant water, and many die in consequence of them. I have observed that these fevers generally make their first appearance in the season of the wild plum, a fruit that the Indians are particularly fond of. Sometimes also after a famine or long suffering for want of food, when they generally make too free an use of green maize, squashes and other watery vegetables. They are also subject to a disease which they call the *yellow vomit*, which, at times, carries off many of them. They generally die of this disease on the second or third day after the first attack.

Their old men are very subject to rheumatisms in the back and knees; I have known them at the age of 50 or

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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These grow on very stony ground near the water, where the sunshine is particularly hot. In these parts I have not come across this variety.

Besides, there are mulberries,[95] plums,[96] and wild grapes of three sorts, those growing on high ground[97] or hills being the best; those[98] found in the bottoms are very sour. Crabapples[99] grow in great plenty and the Indians, being very fond of sharp and sour fruit, eat them in abundance.

Of nuts there are found: (1) The well known hazel nut,[100] (2) the hickory nut,[101] found in great plenty in some years and which the Indians gather in large quantities and use not only as they find them — they have a very sweet taste — but also extract from them a milky juice used in different foods and very nourishing. Sometimes they extract an oil by first roasting the nut in the shell under hot ashes and pounding them to a fine mash, which they boil in water. The oil swimming on the surface is skimmed off and preserved for cooking and other purposes. (3) The walnut of two varieties, the white walnut[102] deriving its name from the color of the wood which, strictly speaking, is gray, and the black walnut,[103] of which the wood is dark-brown, sometimes even shading into violet. The latter is very much used by cabinet makers for tables, chests and other things. The nuts, the one variety having a very hard shell, are eaten, but are very oily.

The papa[104] tree, which I have seen nowhere else than along the Ohio, bears a very beautiful fruit, in form and size resembling a middle sized cucumber, of an agreeable smell and taste.

Wild laurel[105] is found in the bottoms in great abundance; the berries are smaller than those found elsewhere, but have about the same taste. Of these, even the whites make use. They grow on bushes, the wood of which has a strong spicy odor and taste, used by the Indians for medicine and called by the English, spicewood.[106]

Chestnuts[107] are very plentiful in some years. The Indians gather them and prepare various dishes with them. A larger variety of chestnuts[108] is native to these parts, but these are not fit to eat.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

friends will not give him peace until he has designated some one to take his place in the arrangement for sacrificial feasts.

Preparations for such a sacrificial feast extend through several days. The requisite number of deer and bears is calculated and the young people are sent into the woods to procure them together with the leader whose care it is to see that everything needful is provided. These hunters do not return until they have secured the amount of booty counted upon. On their return they fire a volley when near the town, march in in solemn procession and deposit the flesh in the house of sacrifice. Meantime the house has been cleared and prepared. The women have prepared fire-wood and brought in long dry reed grass, which has been strewn the entire length of the house, on both sides, for the guests to sit upon. Such a feast may continue for three or four nights, the separate sessions beginning in the afternoon and lasting until the next morning. Great kettles full of meat are boiled and bread is baked. These are served to the guests by four servants especially appointed for this service. The rule is that whatever is thus brought as a sacrifice must be eaten altogether and nothing left.[300] A small quantity of melted fat only is poured into the fire. The bones are burnt, so that the dogs may not get any of them. After the meal the men and women dance, every rule of decency being observed. It is not a dance for pleasure or exercise, as is the ordinary dance engaged in by the Indians. One singer only performs during the dance, walking up and down, rattling a small tortoise shell filled with pebbles. He sings of the dreams the Indians have had, naming all the animals, elements and plants they hold to be spirits. None of the spirits of things that are useful to the Indians may be omitted. By worshipping all the spirits named they consider themselves to be worshipping God, who has revealed his will to them in dreams. When the first singer has finished he is followed by another. Between dances the guests may stop to eat again. There are four or five kinds of feasts, the ceremonies of which differ much from one another.

In another kind of feast the men dance clad only in their Breech-clout, their bodies being daubed all over with white clay.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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829 "Wayne acted; he was a true warrior and a brave man;
609 "he was equal to any of the chiefs that we have, equal
"to any that we ever had."

Thus, the Indians, while they deeply resent the wrongs and injuries which they have suffered, yet pay due homage to worth, bravery and military skill, even in an enemy. Strong as their feelings are, they do not extinguish their sense of justice, and they are still generously disposed to allow that there are great and good individuals among a race of men, who, they believe, have doomed them to utter destruction.

CHAPTER XXIV.

FOOD AND COOKERY.

262 THE principal food of the Indians consists of the game which they take or kill in the woods, the fish out of the waters, and the maize, potatoes, beans, pumpkins, [241] squashes, cucumbers, melons, and occasionally cabbages and turnips, which they raise in their fields; they make [222] use also of various roots of plants, fruits, nuts and berries out of the woods, by way of relish or as a seasoning to their victuals, sometimes also from necessity.

264 They commonly make two meals every day, which, they say, is enough. If any one should feel hungry between meal-times, there is generally something in the house ready for him.

[825] the grass with his head only above it, watching all around to see where the birds are building their nests, that he may know where to find the young ones when they are hatched.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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either pounded or mashed, is put in broad green corn blades, generally filled in with a ladle, well wrapped up, and baked in the ashes, like the other. They consider this as a very delicate morsel, but to me it is too sweet.

Their *Psindamócan* or *Tassmanáne*, as they call it, is the most nourishing and durable food made out of the Indian corn. The blue sweetish kind is the grain which they prefer for that purpose. They parch it in clean hot ashes, until it bursts, it is then sifted and cleaned, and pounded in a mortar into a kind of flour, and when they wish to make it very good, they mix some sugar with it. When wanted for use, they take about a table spoonful of this flour in their mouths, then stooping to the river or brook, drink water to it. If, however, they have a cup or other small vessel at hand, they put the flour in it and mix it with water, in the proportion of one table spoonful to a pint. At their camps they will put a small quantity in a kettle with water and let it boil down, and they will have a thick pottage. With this food, the traveller and warrior will set out on long journeys and expeditions, and as a little of it will serve them for a day, they have not a heavy load of provisions to carry. Persons who are unacquainted with this diet ought to be careful not to take too much at a time, and not to suffer themselves to be tempted too far by its flavour; more than one or two spoonfuls at most at any one time or at one meal is dangerous; for it is apt to swell in the stomach or bowels, as when heated over a fire.

Their meat they either boil, roast, or broil. Their roasting is done by running a wooden spit through the meat, sharpened at each end, which they place near the fire, and occasionally turn. They broil on clean coals, drawn off from the fire for that purpose. They often laugh at the white hunters, for baking their bread in dirty ashes, and being alike careless of cleanliness when they broil their meat. They are fond of dried venison, pounded in a mortar and dipped in bear's oil. The Delawares, Mohicans, and Shawanos are very particular in their

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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choice of meats, and nothing short of the most pressing hunger can induce them to eat of certain animals, such as the horse, dog, wild cat, panther, fox, muskrat, wolf, &c. all which I have several times seen the Chippeways feast upon with a seemingly good appetite. The Iroquois are said to have been formerly very dirty in their eating. They dried the entrails of animals without cleaning, or even emptying them of their contents; then cut them into pieces and put them into their pottage, by way of seasoning.* The late Mr. Zeisberger has often related to me how he once mistook for black pepper or some other kind of spice, a certain unpleasant ingredient which he found floating in small grains on the surface of their broth.

Far different in this respect are the Lenape and their kindred tribes, particularly the three which I have named above. They are not only cleanly in their eating, but even delicate, and they will sometimes resist the pressing calls of hunger rather than eat the flesh of those animals which they consider as not being proper food for man. Of this I shall give an instance in the following anecdote.

I was travelling in the spring of 1773, from Muskingum to the Big Beaver, with more than twenty Indians, five of whom were old men and the rest women and children, all (except our guide) strangers to the country, having come but the year before from Wyalusing on the Susquehannah. Having been at one time confined two days by the overflowing of two large creeks, between which we were, we found our provisions at an end. Every man who had a gun was called upon to turn out into the woods, and try to kill something. Their endeavours, however, were to no purpose; the day passed away, and they all, except the well-known *Papunhank*, who had lost himself, returned to camp at night without bringing any thing of the meat kind but a wild cat, which our guide had

* This is not applicable to the Iroquois of the present time.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca.1800) 1819
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262 157 252 shot. The Indians never despair, not even in the worst of times and under the severest trials; when placed in difficult situations they never use discouraging language, but always endeavour to raise their spirits and prevent them from sinking, under the hardships or dangers to which they are exposed. True to this national character, one of our old Indians immediately pronounced this wild cat to be "good, very good eating," and it was immediately ordered to be put on the spit and roasted for our supper. While this was performing, the old Indian endeavoured to divert the company by extolling in a jocular manner the country they had now got into, and where such good things were to be had; to which some one or other of the old men would reply; "all very true." At length, about nine o'clock at night, the call was given by the old cook (for so I now call him) that the meat was done and we might come in to eat. I, who had heard so much in praise of this repast, being greatly pinched with hunger, had kept myself in readiness for this expected call; but seeing nobody rise, and observing much merriment through the camp, I began to suspect that something was the matter, and therefore kept my seat. The night was spent without any body attempting to eat of the wild cat, and in the morning a different call was given by one of the old men, signifying that a large kettle of tea had been made by some of the good women, who invited all to come and take their share of it. Every one obeyed, this call and I went with the rest, the jovial old cook taking the roasted wild cat with him to the mess. The scene was not only very diverting, but brought on an interesting discussion between the men on the propriety or impropriety of eating the flesh of all animals without restriction, some contending that they were all by the will of the great Creator ordained for some use, and therefore put in the power of man; and how were we to know which were intended for our nourishment and which not? The old cook had himself taken that posi-

l:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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262 tion, adding that the hog and the bear fed on dirty things,
157 and yet we ate their meat with a good appetite. The cat, however, notwithstanding all the arguments in its favour, remained untouched, and was taken back by the old hunter and cook to its former place at his fire.

But now, Popunhank, whom we believed to be lost, and our guide, who once more had gone out, and exerted himself in vain to kill a deer, came in together. The guide had been desired as he pursued his hunt to look for our lost companion, and had the good luck to find him at the distance of five or six miles, with a fine deer that he had killed. He lost no time in bringing him back to our camp.

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261 words: "Go, cat, we do not want you this time!"
266 The woods and waters, at certain times and seasons,
[251] furnish to the Indians an abundant supply of wholesome nourishing food, which, if carefully gathered, cured and stored up, would serve them for the whole year, so that none need perish or even suffer from hunger; but they are not accustomed to laying in stores of provisions, except some Indian corn, dry beans and a few other articles. Hence they are sometimes reduced to great straits, and not seldom in absolute want of the necessaries of life, especially in the time of war. Yet, notwithstanding the numerous famines they have been visited with, they have among their traditions but one instance on record in which an human life was taken for the support of others, although they relate many cases

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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their solemn sacrifices. These religious ceremonies are not always performed in the same manner. I had intended to have given some details upon this subject, but I find that it has been almost exhausted by other writers,* although I will not pretend to say that they are correct on every point. But I do not wish to repeat things which have already been told to the world over and over. Therefore, if on some subjects, relating to the manners and customs of the Indians, I should be thought to have passed over too quickly, and not to have sufficiently entered into particulars, let it be understood that I have done so to avoid the repetition of what others have said, although I am afraid I have been inadvertently guilty of it in more than one instance. I would not presume to communicate my little stock of knowledge, if I did not think that it will add something to what is already known.

I do not recollect that it has already been mentioned, that previous to entering upon the solemnity of their sacrifices, the Indians prepare themselves by vomiting, fasting, and drinking decoctions from certain prescribed plants. This they do to expel the evil which is within them, and that they may with a pure conscience attend to the *sacred performance*, for such they consider it. Nor is the object of those sacrifices always the same; there are sacrifices of prayer and sacrifices of thanksgiving, some for all the favours received by them and their ancestors from the great Being, others for special or particular benefits. After a successful war they never fail to offer up a sacrifice to the great Being, to return him thanks for having given them courage and strength to destroy or conquer their enemies.

* See Loskiel, part 1. ch. 3.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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"at, he went out, and that in walking about on the earth "he found a deer, which he took back with him, and "that both on account of the meat tasting so very good, "and the favourable description he had given them of the "country above and on the earth, their mother, conclu- "ded it best for them all to come out; that accordingly "they did so, and immediately set about planting corn, "&c. That, however, the *Nocharaworsul*, that is, the "*ground-hog*, would not come out, but had remained in "the ground as before."

So far Mr. Pyrlæus. From these traditions of the Iroquois, and those of the Delawares and Mohicans, it seems to follow, that they must have considered their numbers very small, when they dwelt in the earth; perhaps, no more than one family of each tribe, and that the custom of giving to their tribes the names of particular animals, must have been very ancient. The *ground-hog*, say the Mohawks, would not come out. But who was this hog? Might it not formerly have been the name of one of their tribes, who was made the subject of this fable?

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However ridiculous these stories are, the belief of the Indians in them is not to be shaken. When I was a boy between twelve and fifteen years of age, I had often heard of white people conversant with the Indians, who at that time would continually come to this place, (Bethlehem) in great numbers, even by hundreds, that the Indians did not eat rabbits, because they thought them infected with the venereal disease, and that whoever ate of their flesh, was sure to take that disorder. Being then myself fond of catching those animals in traps, I asked questions on this subject of several Mohican Indians, who spoke the German language; but though they said nothing about the disease that rabbits were said to be infected with, yet they advised me by no means to eat of their flesh. They gave me no reason whatever to induce me to abstain from

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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this food; but, afterwards, in the year 1762, when I resided at Tuscorawas on the Muskingum, I was told by some of them, that there were some animals which Indians did not eat, and among them were the *rabbit* and the *ground-hog*; for, said they, they did not know but that they might be *related* to them!

I found also that the Indians, for a similar reason, paid great respect to the rattle snake, whom they called their *grandfather*, and would on no account destroy him. One day, as I was walking with an elderly Indian on the banks of the Muskingum, I saw a large rattle-snake lying across the path, which I was going to kill. The Indian immediately forbade my doing so; for, said he, the rattle snake is grandfather to the Indians, and is placed here on purpose to guard us, and to give us notice of impending danger by his rattle, which is the same as if he were to tell us "look about!" Now, added he, if we were to kill one of those, the others would soon know it, and the whole race would rise upon us and bite us. I observed to him that the white people were not afraid of this; for they killed all the rattle snakes that they met with. On this he enquired whether any white man had been bitten by those animals, and of course I answered in the affirmative. "No wonder, then;" replied he, "you have to blame yourselves for that! you did as much "as declaring war against them, and you will find them "in your country, where they will not fail to make fre- "quent incursions. They are a very dangerous enemy; "take care you do not irritate them in *our* country; they "and their grandchildren are on good terms, and neither "will hurt the other."

These ancient notions have, however, in a great measure died away with the last generation, and the Indians at present kill their grandfather the rattle snake without ceremony, whenever they meet with him.

That the Indians, from the earliest times, considered themselves in a manner connected with certain ani-

2;Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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Delaware Technology

Subsistence

At the beginning of historic times all of the Middle Atlantic Slope cultures subsisted by means of hoe-gardening, fishing, and hunting. The relative importance of each of these subsistence methods has long been disputed for the area as a whole. Kroeber has maintained that agriculture was not basic to life in the Eastern Area, that "there is little to argue that the culture was leaning very fundamentally on agriculture."[6] He is almost certainly in error in minimizing agriculture and in the reasons he gives for its unimportance, at least so far as the Delawares were concerned. Among the more inland groups agriculture definitely was of paramount importance. In 1654 Lindestrom described a group on the Schuylkill who had ". . . . their dwellings side by side one another, wherefore this land is thereby being cleared and cultivated with great power."[7] Just before 1610 described a group in the neighborhood of Sandy Hook as having a "great store of Maiz;"[8] and De Vries, De Laet, and William Penn all said that the principal food was maize.[9] Krieger in 1663, in an expedition against some New Jersey Delawares, cut down two hundred and fifteen acres of maize and burned over one hundred pits of corn and beans.[10] Wallace recently contended that agriculture was basic in the economy and added that the high status of women was a function of their basically important agricultural activities.[11] Hunting, gathering, and fishing were also important activities, and seasonally they may well have rivaled agricultural activity.

Gardening.—The principal crop plant was corn or maize (*Zea mays*), raised by the women.[12] They had several varieties ". . . . white, red, blue, flesh-colored, brown, yellow and spotted ears."[13] Holm in the early decades of the seventeenth century said the Delawares grew ". . . black maize of the colour of tar. . ."[14] Harrington in his field work among the Oklahoma Delawares noted six varieties that had been handed down from the early days and were still grown. There were "three soft and three hard" varieties.[15] The Delawares today remember or possess a white-flour corn used principally in bread;[16] red corn, a flint variety; Osage corn, a soft variety; blue corn; and Deer corn, a striped variety (J.T.). There is no assurance that these varieties have not been borrowed by the Delawares in recent times. The cultivated fields seem to have been rather small in extent. Kalm stated that an Indian's garden took up no more ground "than a farmer in our country takes to plant cabbage for his family. At least, a farmer's cabbage and turnip ground,

[6]Kroeber, 1947, p. 148.
[7]Lindestrom, 1925, p. 179.
[8]Juet, 1909, p. 18.
[9]De Vries, 1909, p. 218; De Laet, 1909, p. 97; Penn, 1912, p. 232.
[10]O'Callaghan, 1851, IV: 39.
[11]Wallace, 1947, pp. 9-10.
[12]De Laet, 1909, p. 49; Denton, 1845, p. 6; Van der Donck, 1909, p. 302; Thomas, 1912, p. 341; Penn, 1912, p. 233.
[13]Lindestrom, 1925, p. 179; see also De Rasieres, 1909, p. 107; Kalm, 1937, I: 74.
[14]Holm, 1834, p. 49.
[15]Harrington, 1913, p. 221.
[16]Lindestrom, 1925, p. 180, said bread was baked from white and yellow corn.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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224 Such old men, accompanying a hunting party, get both meat and skins, for the good hunters will not let them return empty-handed. They have, in general, and the Unami in particular, the custom that when a huntsman has shot a deer, and another Indian joins him or only looks on at a distance, he immediately gives him the whole animal and goes in pursuit of another.[39]

[411] The blowgun was in use among the Munsi by 1824, but was apparently present earlier; it was never of any great economic importance.[41] "Calls" were made to attract deer and turkeys. The deer call or "bleat" was made of cedar and was used primarily during the spring and early summer before the fawns had been weaned.[42] Harrington mentioned that "the deadfall and the 'twitchup' snare seem to have been the most popular varieties of traps."[43] The Delawares were also reported to be excellent stalkers of game and pursued wounded animals until their prey dropped from exhaustion.[44] If a hunter could not at first get within range of a deer he would chase it until he could, this procedure perhaps consuming an entire day.[45] One eighteenth-century author mentioned that deer were hunted by torchlight at night.[46]

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226 Fishing.—Van der Donck said that Delawaran peoples "use all kinds of fish, which they commonly cook without removing the entrails, and [252] snakes, frogs and the like."[47] Specifically, they caught and ate rock [262] fish, shad, yellow perch, trout, eels, catfish, sunfish, sturgeon, and undoubtedly others, from both fresh and salt water. In 1756 two harbor [225] seals were shot and eaten, but this was an unusual incident.[48] Tortoises were caught, and shellfish in large quantities must have been taken, if Skinner was correct in attributing shell mounds of the area to the Delawares.[49] Juet stated that the natives brought out quantities of oysters to trade to the crew of Hudson's Half Moon.[50]

Methods of fishing varied somewhat; Lindestrom described a method in which a stream was dammed when the water was high, so that fish were stranded behind the dam when the water was low. The fish were caught with bare hands or shot with the bow and arrow.[51] De Rasieres [283] said that the Indians around Manhattan caught fish with "a drag-net they themselves knit very neatly, of the wild hemp, from which the women and men spin the thread."[52] Brinton mentioned fishhooks of bone and dried claws of birds, and Pastorius reported the use of hooks.[53] Har- [278] rington mentioned several methods of fishing. These may not be aboriginal since they do not appear elsewhere. He stated that fish were stupefied by large quantities of crushed green walnuts thrown into ponds. He also noted spearing and shooting of fish at night by torchlight.[54] Fish

[39] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 91.
[41] Harrington, 1913, p. 221; Kinietz, 1940, p. 63; Ketchum, 1865, II: 190 (1798).
[42] Foreman, 1937, p. 107; J. T., F. W.
[43] Harrington, 1913, p. 222.
[44] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 23.
[45] *Ibid.*, p. 23.
[46] Brickell, 1843, p. 47.
[47] Van der Donck, 1909, p. 303.
[48] Holm, 1834, p. 48; De Rasieres, 1909, p. 105; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 37.
[49] Holm, 1834, p. 48; Denton, 1845, p. 7; Skinner, 1909, pp. 5-17, 45-48; J. T.
[50] Juet, 1909, p. 20.
[51] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 219; Berlin, 1887, pp. 167-69.
[52] De Rasieres, 1909, p. 105.
[53] Brinton, 1885, p. 52; Pastorius, 1912, p. 434.
[54] Harrington, 1913, p. 222.

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journeys in which corn was crushed into a meal, "or roasted in hot ashes, then crushed." To this maple sugar was added. This mixture could be stirred in water and boiled or could be eaten dry without cooking.[85] Adams, a Delaware and historian of his people, added that "they carried very simple food," parched corn pounded into a brown meal, sweetened with maple sugar, and mixed together with bear's lard.[86]

Water was the principal drink although various fruits and nuts were sometimes added. They "prepared a kind of liquor like milk by gathering a great number of hickory and black walnuts, dried and crushed them. Then they took out the kernels, pounded them as fine as flour, and mixed this with water so that it looked like milk and was almost as sweet."[87] Both Kinietz' and my informants (O.A., M.B.) held that their ancestors had regular meal times. Penn said that "they eat twice a day, Morning and Evening."[88] Men and women apparently ate together but children ate separately (O.A.). All of my informants stressed the fact that in the past an individual could eat anywhere in the village, and that everybody shared what food was available.

Food taboos. — It is unlikely that there were any general, culture-wide food taboos in early historic times. Certain foods may have been denied to an individual by his guardian spirit, but this is merely a supposition. Not even the animals symbolic of the phratries were taboo. Heckewelder, however, noted a taboo on the rabbit, identified with a culture-hero. He said that the Delawares, among other tribes, avoided the horse, dog, wildcat, ground hog, panther, fox, muskrat, and wolf;[89] De Laet, however, quoting Henry Hudson, described a "fat dog" which was butchered for a feast.[90] Rather than emphasize the few things that were not eaten by the Delawares, it would be more in keeping with the facts to state that the Delawares made relatively complete use of the edibles available to them, except rabbit and ground hog. Their tastes were catholic and were only slightly blunted by socioreligious proscriptions.

Delaware Economics

Although the methods by which and the persons by whom the need-serving goods were processed, distributed, and consumed are properly an aspect of social organization, it probably contributes more to an understanding of Delaware technology to discuss them under the heading of economics.

Division of Labor

The division of labor among the Delawares, as is true of cultures with analogous means of production, was predominantly sexual in

[85] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 22.
[86] Adams, 1905, p. 8.
[87] Kalm, 1937, I: 269.
[88] Penn, 1912, p. 233; Luckenbach, 1938, p. 599, agreed on this point.
[89] Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 251-52, 198; Zeisberger, 1910, pp. 132, 140.
[90] De Laet, 1909, p. 49.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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In this region they found deer, elk and bear hunting good, as also beaver, fox and raccoon in plenty. The Susquehanna is well stocked with fish. The chief fish are the Rock fish,[53] regarded as one of the best fish, having large scales and often weighing from ten to forty pounds; the Shad[53] or May-fish which in the spring of the year come up the rivers in great numbers, at which time they are caught by the hundreds and thousands with nets made of wild vines; the Yellow Perch,[54] as its name suggests of yellowish color, having sharp prickles along the back, a narrow head and sharp teeth like the pike,[55] which also abounds; the Horn-fish[56] with a long bill like that of a duck, only narrower, having very sharp teeth. This fish is not eaten by the Indians. Further, there are trout[57] in the creeks in great numbers in winter and spring, as also in the Susquehanna. There are large eels[58] and various smaller fish, such as Catfish, Sunfish and others.

In the spring of the year 1765 two seals[59] were shot by the Indians at Wajomick. As the like had never been seen there before, these caused much astonishment among the Indians of that region. Many were summoned to witness the marvel. After they had sufficiently expressed their astonishment, a council was called to consider whether it would be proper to eat them or not. An old Indian arose and observed as God had sent them they could not but be good to eat, even though they had not seen such animals before. They, accordingly, prepared for a feast and all who were assembled partook of the seals and found them a palatable dish. These seals had unquestionably come from the sea and had come up the river several hundred miles.

The region under consideration has this peculiarity above the country to the south that it has great swamps. A swamp is the name given to such a place where the sun never shines because of the dense thicket and which even in the middle of summer is always wet and cool. In such places the beech, white pine and spruce grow well. The Six Nations, to the north, are surrounded with such swamps. Hence, one must go a journey of many days through the wilderness before their

[i.e., along the Susquehanna.-Analyst]

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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These grow on very stony ground near the water, where the sunshine is particularly hot. In these parts I have not come across this variety.

Besides, there are mulberries,[96] plums,[96] and wild grapes of three sorts, those growing on high ground[97] or hills being the best; those[98] found in the bottoms are very sour. Crabapples[99] grow in great plenty and the Indians, being very fond of sharp and sour fruit, eat them in abundance.

Of nuts there are found: (1) The well known hazel nut,[100] (2) the hickory nut,[101] found in great plenty in some years and which the Indians gather in large quantities and use not only as they find them — they have a very sweet taste — but also extract from them a milky juice used in different foods and very nourishing. Sometimes they extract an oil by first roasting the nut in the shell under hot ashes and pounding them to a fine mash, which they boil in water. The oil swimming on the surface is skimmed off and preserved for cooking and other purposes. (3) The walnut of two varieties, the white walnut[102] deriving its name from the color of the wood which, strictly speaking, is gray, and the black walnut,[103] of which the wood is dark-brown, sometimes even shading into violet. The latter is very much used by cabinet makers for tables, chests and other things. The nuts, the one variety having a very hard shell, are eaten, but are very oily.

The papa[104] tree, which I have seen nowhere else than along the Ohio, bears a very beautiful fruit, in form and size resembling a middle sized cucumber, of an agreeable smell and taste.

Wild laurel[105] is found in the bottoms in great abundance; the berries are smaller than those found elsewhere, but have about the same taste. Of these, even the whites make use. They grow on bushes, the wood of which has a strong spicy color and taste, used by the Indians for medicine and called by the English, spicewood.[106]

Chestnuts[107] are very plentiful in some years. The Indians gather them and prepare various dishes with them. A larger variety of chestnuts[108] is native to these parts, but these are not fit to eat.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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Of roots, wild potatoes[108] and wild parsnips are found. Bread is baked of both, which one may be driven to eat by pangs of hunger. The Indians look for both roots when famine threatens and the supply of corn runs low, sometimes sustaining life with them for a considerable period.

A kind of bean, called by the Indians earth-bean, because it grows close to the ground, is also found and tastes when boiled, like the chestnut.

Wild citrons[109] or May apples, grow on a stalk not over a foot high. The Indians enjoy eating the fruit, which has a sour but pleasant taste. The roots are a powerful poison which, who eats, dies in a few hours' time unless promptly given an emetic.

Watermelons and muskmelons, which grow by culture only, are very refreshing in summer. Of some watermelons the meat is yellow and the seeds black; of others the meat and seeds red.

The forests contain mainly oak trees; other kinds of trees are, however, also found. They are not dense, but generally sufficiently open to allow comfortable passage on foot or horseback. There are five varieties of oak, white-oak,[110a] black-oak,[110b] red-oak,[110c] Spanish-oak,[110d] and swamp-oak.[110e] The red-oak has very narrow, small leaves and bears little colored acorns, such as I have seen nowhere else. Besides these, hickory trees of three sorts,[111] ash,[112] white and red beech,[113] sassafras,[114] in some places very thick, poplar[115] and chestnut[116] are the kinds generally found on high lying land. In the bottoms there are walnut, linden,[117] maple,[118] water-beech,[119] that grow near to the water and often attain great height and girth, hawthorne[120] and crab-apple.[121]

The Hoop-ash,[122] a little known tree and found only in this region, has this name because barral-hoops are made of the wood. It grows in the bottoms and is of little use otherwise, as the wood easily rots.

The Honey-locust[123] is likewise found in the bottoms. This tree but little resembles the locust of Pensilvanien, except that there is some similarity in foliage, though the leaves are smaller and finer. The trunks of the thickest trees are two feet in diameter on the average. The trunk is covered with thorns that stand straight out, are about six inches long and very sharp.

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136 by men. The animals are of a dark brown color, have short legs and broad feet, adapted to swimming and armed with short claws. The tail is broad and flat. At the end it is broadest, smooth, without any hair, and looks as though covered with fish scales. The tail furnishes the best flesh and is much liked by the Indians. It has an appearance different from the rest [439] of the animal's flesh, being more like fish meat. As the skins always bring a good price, the Indians hunt these animals constantly.

The opossum is about as large as a small dog, of grayish white color and carnivorous.[161] If it finds a dead deer, it strikes into the carcass, lives there and devours it gradually. It climbs the trees and sleeps hanging to a branch by its tail,[162] which is bare of hair and quite round. Should one approach it unawares, it never attempts to escape but lies down as dead and makes no motion, though handled and turned. If one leaves it, the animal watches and creeps off slyly as soon as the enemy has retired some distance. It is not able to run swiftly. The female has a bag under her belly, in which she carries her young until they are too large for this receptacle, when they follow the mother. If she meets with a fallen tree in her passage, she either walks around or lifts her young, one by one, over the trunk and then proceeds on her journey. The flesh of the crea- [262] ture tastes like pork and is eaten by the English, rarely by the Indians.

The pole-cat[163] has white and black markings, a gentle and mild countenance. It goes out of the way for no one, and whoever approaches too near is ill rewarded for his curiosity. It has a special gland containing a fluid intolerably foetid. If one approaches too closely, the fluid is discharged and thrown in all directions with the tail. The offensive odor no one can bear and one is ready enough to get away. If one's person or clothes has been infected by the moisture, it is necessary to bathe and change before returning into company. Even dogs, when they kill the animal, find the stench unbearable. Yet the flesh [262] of the creature is eaten by the Indians. It is said to be very good and not to have any offensive odor.

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The porcupine[164] is not found along the Muskingum, seldom seen along the Ohio to the north, but frequently in the country of the Mingoes. The Indians eat its flesh, which tastes like pork, with great relish. It climbs the trees nimbly and has its home in hollow trees. The body is heavier than that of the fox. On the back the animal has whitish-brown quills, the length of a finger. These the squaws, particularly among the Mingoes, color red and use as needles to ornament their moccasins, pouches, in which tobacco and pipes are carried, and other things. As it cannot run swiftly, when anyone approaches, the animal turns its back, which is full of quills, toward the enemy, unless it is possible to get up a tree. Hence, they are easily killed. Dogs that attack the creature, suffer terribly and usually die, unless all the quills they have gotten into their bodies are removed, which is not easily accomplished, as many of them break off.

There is a small animal in the Mingoe country, called the marten,[165] concerning which I have been told that it probably belongs to the sable tribe. Though but small animals, their skins are of great value. The Indians catch them in wooden traps, using meat as a bait. The skins are sold to the whites.

I have already referred to the moose[166] that are to be found further north, of which I have seen nothing but the horns. The latter differ from those of the elk in that the prongs are broad and round. The Indians declare that these are equal in size to a horse. They have cloven hoofs and nostrils large enough to put a hand in. As I have no certain knowledge of these animals and have never even in Europe seen any nor have ever had a satisfactory description, I will not definitely declare that these are the animals they speak of, though I should be at a loss to know what other animals they refer to.

The muskrat,[167] able to live in or out of the water, is in many respects most like the beaver. Its tail is not broad as that of the beaver, but oval-shaped. Their dwellings are in the water, but so arranged that they can, according to inclination, be in the water or in a dry place. A great quantity of odorous matter is found in the body of this animal. The odor is unpleasant when too strong, but a little of it is agreeable. In the

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136 settlements of the white people the muskrat does much damage to mill-dams by its burrowing.

There are three kinds of squirrels, the black,[168] the grey,[169] and the red. The black are most commonly found, the grey are the largest and the red the smallest in size. Their flesh is [862] tender, and eaten by the Indians in case of sickness or when they are very hungry for meat.

The ground squirrel[170] lives under the ground and is somewhat smaller than a common rat. They do great damage in the fields of the Indians, not only digging out the corn when it has been planted, but also pumpkin and melon seed. When the Indian corn is ripe, they lay in good stores of it for the winter. They stuff their cheeks full of it and then carry it to their storehouses.

The groundhog[171] also has its dwelling under ground. It is about the size of a large domestic cat, though heavier. It lives on grass and is, also, very fond of melons and pumpkins. It chews the cud.[172] Its feet are armed with claws. When [262] pursued and unable to reach its hole, the animal will climb a tree. The flesh is toothsome and eaten by the Indians.

There is, also, a very large variety of wild cat,[173] other than the kind already mentioned. This is as large as a dog. It is very savage, even attacking a deer and killing it.

The hare[174] in these parts is small and not found in large numbers, being pursued by birds and beasts of prey. Towards the north I have seen them of the same size as those in Europe. In that region some are found with a snow white fur.[175] They dwell in hollow trees.

White deer are seldom seen in these parts.[176] These have generally in summer some red and in winter some gray spots. [835] The Indians call a white deer the king of the deer and believe that the rest flock about and follow him.[177]

Wolves are very numerous, most are gray, some are almost black. As their skins serve no useful purpose and are not much [224] valued, the Indians do not pursue them, unless they catch them tearing skins or devouring meat they have carefully laid away. Sometimes the wolves break into their hunting huts and do much damage. They rarely attack men, never when there are deer

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to pursue. The latter they attack in summer or winter, never stopping pursuit until a victim has been captured. Occasionally the deer save themselves in creeks and rivers, swimming a great distance down stream, so that it is impossible for the wolves to trace them. When a wolf has caught a deer and killed it, it will not at once consume the flesh, but go to the highest hill nearby and call its comrades, by howling. When these have assembled they devour the deer together. 136

Wild geese[178] appear here in spring and autumn. Some remain during the winter, others during the summer, the latter hatching their young in this region. Most of them remain long in this country, passing toward winter into a warmer latitude, toward summer to the north, where they build in the neighborhood of the Great Lakes and return in autumn with their young.

Wild ducks are birds of passage like the geese, but there are some varieties that stay during the summer season. One kind, called the tree duck, builds its nest in hollow trees, either hanging over the water or near to it.[179] When the young are hatched, they are thrown into the water and taken elsewhere. The male bird is the most beautiful of the water-fowls and very good to eat.

Another variety, that also has its nest here, is the sheldrake.[180] This has a narrow bill, armed with teeth. They live on fish, their flesh having the taste of fish. Indians rarely use them for food, though the flesh of some is very palatable.[181] 262

The crane is the largest of the birds of these parts.[182] Standing on its long legs and stretching its neck upwards, it is as tall as a man. Its body is proportionately heavy. When hit by a shot and only wounded, it attacks its pursuer and has great power in striking with its wings. It is gray in color, has a sharply pointed bill and its feet are formed like those of the turkey. This bird is commonly found upon large plains or near to rivers. Their flesh is dark, rather tough and seldom eaten by the Indians. Their trumpeting may be heard a considerable distance.

Wild swans[183] are quite like the domestic birds, I have seen in Holland, quite white and of the same size. The Indians 262

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136 declare that their flesh tastes like that of the bear, of which [262] they are particularly fond, and is often so fat that pieces may be cut from the flesh.

Wild turkeys[185] may be seen in the fall in flocks numbering hundreds. In the summer they disperse in the woods, this being the time for hatching the young. In winter their plumage is of a shining black, with white spots on the wings; in summer it changes to a light brown. When the time comes for laying [222] the eggs, the Indians seek them, as they are very fond of them.

Pheasants are not valued by the Indians, though their flesh [262] is palatable.[186] They fall victims, however, to birds of prey. Were it not for the birds of prey the woods would swarm with them, for the hen lays above twenty eggs at one time.

Heath-grouse, found here also, are a little larger than the pheasants.[188] They are not valued by the Indians any more than the pheasants. In the winter the latter shelter themselves from the birds by plunging, when pursued, into the snow, often running a considerable distance from one place to another under the snow, thus escaping their foes.

The wild pigeon[187] is of an ash-gray color, the male being distinguished by a red breast. In some years in fall, or even in spring, they flock together in such numbers that the air is darkened by their flight. Three years ago they appeared in such great numbers that the ground under their roosting-place was covered with their dung above a foot high, during one night. [223] The Indians went out, killed them with sticks and came home loaded. At such a time the noise the pigeons make is such that it is difficult for people near them to hear or understand each other. They do not always gather in such numbers in one place, often scattering over the great forests.

The turtle-doves are smaller than the pigeons and are always found in pairs.[188]

Partridges are small, neatly formed birds.[189] In the fall and winter they fly in broods. In the settlements they like to remain near the plantations, as they find the food they like in the fields. The flesh is tender and of a fine flavor. They are favorites with all people, being innocent and harmless birds.

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136 Another variety of wood-pecker is very small, is spotted and is much pursued by birds of prey, especially the hawk. Occasionally, the wood-pecker is able to defend himself against his enemies, it having happened that this bird when attacked, has thrust its bill into the head of the pursuer so that the latter fell dead.

The yellow wood-pecker,[198] so called because of its yellow wings, also climbs up and down the trees in search of food, with its head turned upward or downward.

A few green parrots[199] are seen in the woods here in summer. Further south they may be found in great numbers.

The loon[200] is a water bird about the size of a goose and is heavily feathered. It is spotted black and white, lives on fish and has a pointed bill. It cannot walk on land, as its feet are too far back, but is a strong swimmer. It can swim a considerable distance under the water, before rising to the surface, especially if it is being fired upon. Often the Indians are obliged to shoot a number of times before they hit the bird, for it is noted for its swiftness in diving, as well as for its swimming. It is not eatable, but the Indians make pouches of its skin, which is taken off whole, large enough to hold pipe, tobacco, flint, steel and knife.

[223]

[262 415]

There are two other birds of prey among those that fish, the one larger than the eagle[201] the other a small bird[202] that makes its nest on the ground along steep banks of creeks or rivers, where it makes a hole just large enough to slip into.

The heron[203] has long legs, great wings and a lean body.

There are two kinds of owls. The larger[204] is heard very much in the woods at night.

Crows[205] do much damage on the plantations, especially in the cornfields, both when the corn is planted and when it is ripe.

The Turkey Posser[206] has a head like a turkey, without feathers. It lives on carrion. The raven[207] is also a scavenger and at the same time a bird of prey, often attacking chickens. The raven makes good use of the meat that Indians leave in the woods.

The hoopoe[208] is fawn colored on the back and has a brown-

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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136 armed with sharp teeth, almost like the bill of a duck. It has scales. The Indians do not use it for food.

7) Another kind[238] resembles the catfish very much. It has no scales. This also has a broad, plain beak like the bill of a goose, almost the length of a hand. This it uses to dig in sand or slime in search of food. The mouth opens below.

8) The white perch[239] is short and broad. It has scales and is good to eat.

9) The yellow perch[240] is not broad, but longer than the last named, has prickly fins and sharp teeth like those of a pike. It has a yellowish appearance and is one of the most palatable of fishes.

10) Eels are rarely found.[241]

11) There is an other variety of fish,[242] or whatever one may call it, resembling a small catfish, but having four short legs. It has a wide mouth and is about a foot and a half in length. The fins are short.

136 The river tortoise[243] of these parts is a species different from that found in Pensilvanien, which has a hard shell. The 225 shell of this is quite soft and its head small and pointed, like 262 that of a sea tortoise. The Indians shoot them, for they are not easily caught in any other way, as they seldom venture out of the water upon the banks of the river. The Indians are very fond of the flesh and of the eggs, which the animals lay in the sand on islands.

There is another variety of land tortoise[244] in these parts which has a hard shell, is small and very prettily marked. Flesh is also eaten.

136 Two varieties of shellfish[245] are found as well. One resembles the clams found along the seacoast, the inside of the shell being violet, shading to red; the other has a larger shell, which is white inside. Some speciments of smaller varieties[246] are also found.

Snails are likewise found. From one variety spring, it is believed, the many large gad-flies, which in the summer, in the months of July and August, worry the cattle to such an extent that during the day they cannot graze in the forest. During these two months both cattle and horses make for shelter every

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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poorly built, and remains there two or three days, food being taken to her. When the time is over they bathe and wash their clothes and are allowed to return to their husbands. During the menstrual period, they are not permitted to do any cooking or domestic work. None will eat what a woman in this condition prepares, for food prepared under such circumstances is said to be unwholesome and to cause pain in the abdomen. The women do not go into company, but keep to their huts until their time is over. Hence, it occasionally happens that a woman engaged in baking will leave everything and go to her hut. This custom does not obtain among the Mingoes; their women continue their usual work and remain in the house.

In the wooing of a bride, custom demands that if an Indian would proceed honorably and at the same time have assurance that his wife when married will remain with him, he first sends a present of blankets, strouds, linen and whatever else the Indians commonly use for clothing and perhaps a few belts or fathoms of wampum. If he has no cloth, wampum alone will do. These things he gives to an Indian to whom he has declared his purpose and who hands them to a friend of the person fixed upon, speaks for him and presses his suit. Thereupon, the friends assemble, examine the present, propose the matter to the girl, who generally decides agreeably to the wish of her parents and relations. The suitor is then informed that his proposal has been accepted. If it is decided to decline the proposal, the present is simply returned and understood to be a friendly negative. In case the match is agreeable, the girl is led to the dwelling of the groom, without further ceremony. After the bride has joined her husband, the things constituting the present are divided among the friends and the belts of wampum cut and a piece given to each. The friends return the civility by a present of Indian corn, beans, kettles, dishes, spoons, sieves, baskets, hatchets, brought in solemn procession into the hut of the newly married couple. Commonly, the latter lodge in a friend's house until they can erect a dwelling of their own.

This custom still obtains among the Indians. Within the last years, however, disorderly living and evil have become so common that faith is not kept and many of the usages, that were

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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the command of the captains, especially in times of war, and do nothing without their consent. They neither leave the troop nor go hunting, as they know that their life and honor in a great measure depends upon the prudent conduct of their captains, and they obey them with pleasure. The night previous to the march of the army is spent in feasting, at which the chiefs are present, a hog, if procurable, being killed for the occasion. After the feast the captain and his people begin the war dance and continue till daybreak when they are quite hoarse and weary. Sometimes they dance in turn, each taking the head of the hog in his hand; again all dance together. Spectators are admitted, and may even join in the dance. Sometimes instead of a hog a couple of dogs are killed, not because dog's flesh is a delicacy, for the Indian dogs are very lean, but because it is said to inspire them with the true spirit of war and murder. I have even seen women partake of this feast, eating the dog's flesh with great greediness. I have steadily and courteously refused to partake when invited. The war dance having been completed they march out on the following day. The captain leads and his men follow in single file. When they reach the end of the street, they fire their pieces one after another and the captain begins the war song. As both their friends and the women generally accompany them to the first night's encampment, they halt about two or three miles from the town, dance the war dance once more, and the day following begin the march proper.

As they commonly have a long and tedious journey into the enemies' land their provisions are soon exhausted. They are then obliged to spend some days in hunting. No one enjoys any precedence during the march, not even the captain. They divide their provisions in equal shares, even if each man should get only a mouthful of bread or spoonful of meat. When they reach Indian towns with which they are at peace provisions are given them. They never go out in large parties but usually in small companies of ten or twenty, in order that they may not suffer so much for want of provisions. The captain is very attentive to the condition of his troop being answerable for all his men. If but a few are weary he orders all to halt till they

4: Tantaquidgeon E-5 (1930) 1942
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Bear and that woman, Small Person, to forget their troubles.[19] Because, Grandmother, it has been many years that they have been together. Again, Grandmother, I implore you because it is right that they should love each other henceforth. If you accept my plea, in two days from this time the woman will go back."

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The second variety of magical root, termed "pull up," is employed in the following manner. The informant's maternal grandfather transferred to him the secret of such a medicine gift in order to control human beings or animals. Although the root is intended primarily for use in hunting, it could also be employed to coerce or in general, influence people favorably. I was unable to secure a specimen of this "rare" plant for scientific identification.[20] Wi·tapanóxwe describes the plant root as having "five prongs." After securing several of the plants, the roots are prepared by cleansing them thoroughly in running water, to the accompaniment of songs and prayers. Three branches of the plant root are then broken off and another, taken from the root of a plant of the same species, attached to the remaining two, to make three. In this connection it may be noted that the emphasis upon the number three in this and the previously decribed love charm represents a symbolism for which the informant could offer no explanation.

[801]

In use, a small quantity of the prepared root is chewed three times a day. The juice resulting from the first mastication is rubbed on the hair, that from the second and third is swallowed. Such a procedure will bring about the desired result in a short time. To lure game animals some of the root is chewed while hunting. Wi·tapanóxwe related an incident of holding some of these roots in his hand while singing his medicine song, and thus luring a squirrel very close to him. The root is so powerful that if an excessive amount of juice is swallowed, the person's mind will become affected.

Food Taboos

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After he has diagnosed the case, the practitioner prescribes a curative diet[21] for the patient, the food restrictions being determined by the

[19] "Being in trouble."

[20] This is probably due to the supposed magical properties attributed to this plant, making it dangerous, according to Delaware belief, for persons other than practitioners to handle it. This applies to all other plants used for magical purposes.

[21] Barber (1856, p. 538) quotes the following from William Penn's letters: ". . . if they eat flesh it must be from the female of any creature." Also see Zeisberger, *op. cit.* p. 24.

nature of the disease. The flesh of animals and fowl is excluded from the diet and in the case of fever, red or fox squirrel flesh is not eaten. This food taboo is known to the Delaware by a native word meaning "makes you sick." Corn hominy, however, is administered in most cases, as it is considered to be a nourishing food.

In the case of childbirth, salt is not eaten for ten days. Onions are given the mother to produce milk, but care must be taken not to use a quantity such as to cause nausea for the child and mother.

During the catamenial period a woman is not allowed to prepared food nor taken an active part in domestic affairs.[33] The separate dishes assigned to her at that time, may only be used by her husband. Food cooked by such a woman would produce tuberculosis in others in a short time. A term translated as "gives dirty food," is applied to such a practice and refers to the resultant poisonous effects. During her periodic isolation a woman herbalist must refrain from preparing remedies or participating in any of the ceremonies.

Divinatory Curing Practices

Certain acts of a divinatory nature are performed upon selection and preparation of plants, roots, and bark employed in making medicine. Only plants that are clean and well developed, with the roots free from knotty growths, are taken. When seeking bark, the medicine gatherer selects a sturdy, well-formed tree for the purpose. The bark growing on the east side of a tree is preferred for its greater strength-giving properties received from the morning sun.

In gathering medicinal supplies, the materials are inspected for a clue as to the course of the treatment. Thus, if roots appear rough and knotty, the patient will be difficult to cure; if clean and well-formed, it will be an easy task to restore his health. Another practice is to place some crushed leaves or roots in running water. If the substance sinks to the bottom of the stream, the patient for whom it is prepared, will die; if it floats, a speedy recovery is assured.

When all other remedies have failed, an emergency medicine is sometimes made from scrapings of deer antler. During its preparation a prayer is offered to the animal from which the antler was obtained. Wi·tapanóxwe related an incident in which a trial was made by means

[33] The puberty ceremony for young girls and the periodic isolation of women is described by Zeisberger, *ibid*, pp. 75-77.

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27. Angelica *(Angelica atropurpurea)*, "to mix with smoking (tobacco)." Root used for stomach disorders; seeds sometimes mixed with smoking tobacco.

28. Anise *(Pimpinella anisum)*. Root used as a cathartic and stomach tonic.

29. Yellow Jasmine *(Gelsemium sempervirens)*, "yellow root." Root used as blood purifier.

30. The root of Staghorn Sumac *(Rhus typhina)*, "Cherokee sumac" is combined with that of "horse-hobble weed" or purple cone-flower *(Brauneria purpurea)* as a remedy for venereal disease. The patient should refrain from eating sour fruit and greasy foods. Water should be taken freely and often. [262]

31. Boneset *(Eupatorium perfoliatum)*. The root and occasionally the leaves are infused as a treatment for chills and fever.

32. Goldenrod *(Solidago juncea)*. The green leaves are chewed or infused to cure diarrhea. Also used to reduce fever.

33. Wintergreen *(Gaultheria procumbens)*. Entire plant is compounded with poke root, mullein leaves, wild cherry bark, and black cohosh bark *(Sp.?)* to make a tonic. Beneficial also for rheumatism.

34. Blackberry *(Rubus nigrobaccus)*. The vine is combined with wild cherry bark to cure dysentery.

35. Dock *(Rumex obtusifolius* and *R. crispus)*, "curly leaf." Root used as a blood purifier and remedy for jaundice.

36. Black Snakeroot *(Cimicifuga racemosa)*, stone root *(Collinsonia?)*, and root of elecampane *(Inula helenium)* are compounded to make a tonic.

37. Golden Aster *(Chrysopsis mariana)*. Tea made from the root to quiet infants. Also acts as tonic for sickly children.

38. "Turkey Foot" *(Sp.?)*, "leaves like turkey foot." Plant tip and root infused as a tea for weak women.

39. Prairie Moss *(Sp.?)*. Leaves used as poultice for sore throat. Plant infused as tea, called "tonsillitis medicine."

40. Cardinal Flower *(Lobelia cardinalis)*. An important plant for the Delaware herbalist. Tea made from the root used for typhoid. Administered in small quantities because of its strength.

41. Sage Willow or "red root" *(Salix tristis)*. Contains valuable medicinal properties of importance to Delaware herbalists. Tea

The Dog as a Vicar of Children

231 751 854 Upon the birth of a Delaware child, it was given a pet [16] to serve as the guardian of its health. If there was sickness about, the Delaware believed that it would be visited upon the dog instead of its little master. The animal was thought to say, "I am only a dog, the child is more precious." A small bag containing charcoal was tied around the pet animal's neck by the child's parents. Frequently they would talk to the dog. If the animal died, it was buried and the child given another pet. However, if the child fell sick and died, a release ceremony was performed [17] by placing a string of wampum about its neck, thus freeing the animal.[18]

Notes on Pregnancy and Child-birth

843 262 784 The prospective mother is advised to eat sparingly. Sour foods should not be eaten during the final stage of pregnancy as they are believed to cause contraction of the muscles. Onions and cabbage are also excluded from the diet. Salt is forbidden both before and after pregnancy, as it is thought to stop the flow of blood. Lifting heavy objects should be avoided during pregnancy and for a period of a month after delivery. A pregnant woman should not gaze at a deformed person or make fun of him, as it might affect her child. Care is also taken to avoid being frightened by dogs and other animals.

844 The woman is usually attended by a midwife who is given gifts of calico, tobacco, etc., from the woman's husband. To women over thirty years of age, a special medicine is given to shorten the period of labor.[19] The delivery is made in a kneeling position. Immediately after, a tea made from "pleurisy root" is administered. The navel cord is cut off about one and a half inches from the body. A piece of lead about two inches in diameter is bound to the body over the navel by a cloth. This bandage is kept in place until healing is complete, to avoid protrusion of the navel.

845 In case of still-birth, special treatment is given the mother. Still-birth is believed due to the child being hurt. "The child-killing sickness of women is hard to overcome." Twins are believed to have been con-

[16] Known by a term meaning "pet given child."

[17] See also p. 67 for release of a bear.

[18] As dictated by Wi·tapanóxwe.

[19] "The women know of certain medicines," according to Zeisberger (*op. cit.*, p. 56), "which usually act quickly in case of hard labor, which sometimes occurs, though not frequently."

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Loud reports from river ice indicate an early thaw.

A wolf "whinnying" (howling) denotes a change in the weather.

To see a cat washing its face is an indication of an unexpected visitor; sharpening its claws denotes that it will soon receive some meat.

DELAWARE FOOD RESOURCES

IN AN EARLIER section it was pointed out that according to native belief, human health is dependent upon "pure, natural" food. Products of the fields and forests thus acquired a sacred character (Speck, 1931, p. 50), and food and medicine in Delaware conception were not totally unlike. It follows from this that the ailments afflicted the Indians in modern times are considered as being due to a departure from the ancient food regimen provided by the Creator. Investigation of the food supply, and its methods of preparation, was thought worthy of being taken up as part of the present phase of inquiry. The results are embodied in the present section, partly through their bearing upon health as dependent upon food. Except for this interrelation, the subject matter might seem to be more definitely an economic one.

Maize

Among the food products used by the Delaware, Indian maize *(Zea mays)* stands out as the staple vegetable product. Maize is believed to provide nourishment for the soul as well as for the body. The reverence for the Spirit of Maize[1] and for the processes of its preparation, still survives among the Delaware.

Before presenting the data which deals with the preparation of corn foods, it seems appropriate to mention native beliefs concerning the origin of this sacred food.[2] Maize, "original corn" or "common corn," is a gift from the Creator and in former times, according to Harrington *(op. cit.,* pp. 43, 141), was considered as one of the powerful

[1] Harrington, 1921, pp. 43, 193.

[2] For further information dealing with the maize complex in eastern North America, particularly among the Iroquois, see Parker, 1910; Converse, 1910; Waugh, 1916. The writer (1930) has noted the survival of certain traits indicating the presence of a religious rite in the early period among the southern New England tribes. For the Southeastern peoples, consult Swanton, 1928 b., pp. 443-444.

262 Spirit Beings. Zeisberger *(op. cit.,* p. 139) referred to Indian corn as
173 the "wife of the Indian," and, in describing certain ceremonial rites, stated that they offered bear's flesh as a sacrifice to the corn. He also said that corn was offered ceremonially to the deer and bear. Apparently, Harrington (*ibid.,* pp. 70, 195) did not learn the details of this Corn-Spirit rite but the plant was, however, mentioned as a guardian spirit, Mother Corn. There is an interesting ceremony recorded by Dr. Speck [3] which the Delaware held to propitiate the spirit of Mother Corn whom they considered to hold protection over all vegetation. It is related that many years ago the corn crops began to decrease, so that people became alarmed. The leading men of the tribe met and agreed that to avert a famine, a ceremony must be performed to appease the Maize Spirit. It was feared that she had become displeased and intended to abandon her children, the Delaware. In this way the Corn Harvest Rite originated and the performance of its ritual made the occasion of a festival.

262 Corn also figured in the ceremonial diet of the participants of the
252 Big House Ceremony. Dr. Speck (1931, p. 73) notes that corn flour and hominy were prepared and served by women attendants.[4] These foods were prepared in wooden mortars kept expressly for ceremonial use.[5] As was previously stated, corn gruel or hominy is considered to be the proper food for sick or convalescing persons.[6]

Indian corn of the variegated variety is known as "common" or "original corn" [7] Another variety, called "hollow corn," is ground into flour for use in making bread.

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[3] 1937a, pp. 79-90. In addition to the Corn Harvest rite and Corn Famine text, Dr. Speck has an account of the Vegetation Ceremony now performed bi-annually in the spring and fall. These gatherings are now called "Bread Dances" and in addition to the performance of a ritual, afford an occasion for recreation. Both men and women take part.

[4] The three men and three women who are responsible for the ceremonial equipment and assist in a ceremonial role in the nightly performances during the period of worship in the Big House. (Speck, 1931, pp. 71, 75.)

[171] [5] A similar observance has been recorded for the Mohegan of Connecticut and the Indians of Wampanoag extraction at Gay Head, Mass. See Tantaquidgeon, 1930, pp. 5-7.

[6] See Diet, p. 14.

[171] [7] I have observed that my own group at Mohegan, Conn., and the people at Gay Head, Mass., regard varied-colored corn to be the original variety and value it very highly.

and used in different ways. It may be eaten with milk and brown sugar or with any kind of meat grease. A little salt may be added for additional flavor. 252

Various kinds of nut meats are added to cooked hominy to make a dish known as "nut hominy." Hominy and chopped meat (beef, pork or other fresh meat) are cooked together and then allowed to stand until sour. After hickory nuts are added to this mixture, the result is called "soured nut" hominy.

Hulled corn is made by boiling dried corn in a strong liquid, made alkaline by the addition of hard wood ashes. This process of preparation is long and arduous, since after hours of steady boiling it requires many washings in clear, cold water to rinse the lye from the loose hulls. This food may be eaten with milk and sugar, fried with potatoes in pork fat, combined with fresh or dried meat for stew, or with beans for succotash.

Wild Vegetable Foods

Long ago fruits and berries were preserved by drying, this practice giving way in later times to canning and the manufacture of jelly and jam. Dried fruit are prepared to eat in a number of ways. Grapes are boiled, and the resulting liquid thickened by the addition of corn meal, flour, or hominy grits. A boiled pudding is composed of dough made of cornmeal and flour, or flour only, to which any variety of berry, except strawberries, may be added. This dough is then placed in a cloth bag and boiled. When ripe, persimmons are mashed and spread on a cloth to dry for use in a bread called "persimmon bread." With few exceptions all of the fruits and berries mentioned are made into pies, puddings, preserves, fruit butters, and jams. 222 251 252

The various varieties of nuts are gathered in large quantities and stored away for future use. These provide a nourishing supplement to the remainder of natural food stuffs. Nuts are eaten raw, roasted, boiled, and frequently incorporated in other types of food. Edible acorns are usually roasted.

With the introduction and increased use of European food products, the necessity arose among the Delaware of fitting them into their own linguistic configuration, if the foreign terms themselves were not taken over. Like so many primitive groups, the Delaware came to apply native terms of a descriptive nature to the majority of elements foreign to their culture. Many of these have been retained to the 196 262 177

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196 present day. Thus, for example, the Delaware term for the cocoanut
262 is "water hickory nut."

"Indian Potato" or Ground Nut *(Apios tuberosa)*, "wild potato."
222 The tuberous roots are gathered in large quantities and stored for
252 winter use. They are not considered good after sprouting. The roots are either boiled and eaten as the cultivated potato, or dried and ground into flour used for making bread. In recent times the ground nut has not grown abundantly in the Delaware habitat, and is now considered a rare delicacy.

Sorrel *(Rumex acetosella)*, "sour." This plant, prepared much like rhubarb, is used as a filling for pies.

Onion *(Sp.?)*. Of the different varieties of wild onions, three are regarded by the Delaware as being edible. The one most commonly gathered for use is the "buttonseed." These are dried and prepared by frying, or boiling, or are added to flavor stews and soups. Wild onions are also cooked in grease to which eggs are added.

A species of mushroom *(Agaricus campestris)*, "tripe form," is fried in hot fat, or salted and boiled.

Certain plants are considered to be healthful foods, especially in spring, when people were in need of the medicinal substances present in them. The practice of seeking the first green plant shoots in early spring is not peculiar to the Delaware alone, but is characteristic of other Eastern Algonkian peoples. Such food is called "greens" or "plant tops." The young shoots are usually picked and cooked separately, or mixed with several other plants. In both cases the "greens" are parboiled in water, and then cooked with meat. Among such plants may be mentioned dandelion, milkweed, poke, lamb's quarters, mustard, dock, and watercress.

Animal Foods

825 Wild animals, as pointed out by F. G. Speck (1931, pp. 28-29), are
224 in general considered to exist in clan relationship with humans. The latter are said to be "kings among animals." Clean, pure animals of the forests are referred to in terms of human relationship and their spirits must be propitiated before they can be sought for food. If the supernaturals are appeased through sacrifices, the animals will allow themselves to be taken, but if the proper ceremonies are not carried out, they can never be approached by humans. Therefore a hunter before starting out, is obliged to pray and sacrifice tobacco, and also if he should dream of seeing game during the hunt. The Delaware "sharing-feast"

described by Zeisberger, has previously been referred to (p. 47). Special medicine lures for hunting are also prepared by the hunter.

The Delaware consider the bear and the deer to be the greatest of all animals. The bear is also called "Our Grandfather." Both animals are considered closely akin to the Indian, but the Delaware believe that the bear has the most human-like traits. The antelope, a creature of the later Delaware environment, is regarded as a sacred, pure animal. Of the water animals, the otter is regarded as supernaturally the most powerful.

During the chase, the hunter is careful not to unduly excite the game pursued, since the flesh of such an animal is apt to cause illness when eaten. The same treatment holds for the capture and killing of domestic animals and fowl. Formerly bison, bear, deer, otter, beaver, the smaller animals, and wild fowl provided meat for the Delaware diet. In the latter period squirrels, rabbits, and domestic animals replaced the increasingly rare, larger species.

After an animal was killed, all parts of it were utilized; the flesh for food; the hide for shelter, clothing, robes, and bags; the bones for implements, and the teeth for ornaments, etc. The hide was removed by the hunter forcing his fist between it and the flesh, thus working around the body until the hide was loose. The use of a sharp instrument for this purpose, would, it was claimed, cut and thus spoil the hide. All fat from the bison, bear, deer, and domestic animals was saved and stored in a rawhide container. The intestines were cleaned, filled with blood or meat, and cooked. The flesh of the larger animals was usually roasted. A fire was built in a pit and the carcass placed upon a scaffold above it. A slow fire was kept burning, over which the meat was turned until it was thoroughly cooked.

Meat was preserved in one of two ways—by smoke-drying or immersing it in grease. In drying, thin slices were suspended over a slow fire. In the latter process alternate layers of partially cooked meat and hot lard were placed in a large earthen crock until filled. Slippery elm bark, cinnamon, and allspice were added to the grease for flavor.

Stews and soups were made of fresh meat, to which hominy or corn meal dumplings were added. The flesh of small animals, from which the scent glands had been removed, were also preserved by smoke-drying. If a deer, or other animal, was killed during the mating season, the animal's testicles were immediately removed. An Indian hunter usually killed only male animals.

Fish were fried or cooked in a stew or soup. Formerly fish were preserved by drying.

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PLANTS AND PLANT USES OF

	Botanical Name	Common Name
222	1. *Achillea millefolium*	Yarrow
262	2. *Acorus calamus*	Sweet Flag
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824	3. *Aesculus glabra*	Buckeye
	4. *Agaricus campestris*	Mushroom
	5. *Allium canadense*	Wild Onion (small)
	6. *Amaranthus retroflexus*	Pigweed
	7. *Ambrosia artemisiaefolia*	Ragweed
	8. *Anaphalis margaritacea*	Pearly-everlasting
	9. *Angelica atropurpurea*	Angelica
	10. *Apios tuberosa*	Indian Potato, Groundnut
	11. *Apocynum cannabinum*	Indian Hemp
	12. *Aralia nudicaulis*	Sarsaparilla
	13. *Arctium minus*	Burdock
	14. *Aristolochia serpentaria*	Virginia Snakeroot
	15. *Artemisia frigida*	Wild Sage
	16. *Asclepias (5 species)*	Milkweed
	17. *Asclepias tuberosa*	Butterfly Weed
	18. *Baptisia tinctoria*	False Indigo
	19. *Betula lutea*	Yellow Birch
	20. *Brassica nigra*	Black Mustard
	21. *Brauneria purpurea*	Purple Cone-flower, "Horse-hobble weed"
	22. *Carya cordiformis*	Bitternut Hickory
	23. *Carya ovata*	Shell Bark Hickory
	24. *Carya glabra*	Pignut
	25. *Castanea pumila*	Chinquapin
	26. *Cercis canadensis*	Redbud
	27. *Chimaphila umbellata*	Pipsissewa
	28. *Chrysopis mariana*	Golden Aster
	29. *Cimicifuga racemosa*	Black Snakeroot
	30. *Cirsium lanceolatum*	Bull Thistle
	31. *Cornus canadensis*	Bunchberry
	32. *Cornus florida*	Dogwood
	33. *Corylus americana*	Hazelnut
	34. *Crotolaria saggitalis*	Rattle Box
	35. *Datura stramonium*	Jimson Weed

THE OKLAHOMA DELAWARE

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Native Use	Part of Plant Used	Type of Medicine
Medicine (liver and kidneys)	Entire plant	Simple
Medicine (cold, stomach-ache, suppressed menses)	Root	Compound
Medicine (poultice; utility fish poison)	Nut pulverized	Simple
Food		
Food		
Food	Use with others as greens	
Medicine (blood poisoning preventative)	Entire plant as poultice	Simple
Medicine (tonic)	Root	Compound
Medicine (stomach)	Root	Simple
Food	Root	
Mats		
Medicine (tonic)	Root	Compound
Medicine (rheumatism)	Root	Simple
Medicine (tonic)	Root	Compound
Medicine (ceremonial)	Leaves chewed	
Medicine (epilepsy)	Root	Compound
Medicine (rheumatism, healing drink following childbirth)	Root	Simple and compound
Medicine (wash for cuts, ulcers)	Root	Simple
Medicine (cathartic)	Bark	Simple
Food	Young shoots	
Medicine (venereal disease)	Root	Simple and compound
Food	Nuts	
Food	Nuts	
Food	Nuts	
Food	Nuts	
Medicine (reduce fever, stop vomiting)	Bark	Simple
Medicine (bladder, blood purifier)	Plant	Compound
Medicine (infants, frail children)	Root	Simple
Medicine (tonic)	Root	Simple and compound
Medicine (rheumatism)	Root	Simple
Medicine (body pains)	Bark	Compound
Medicine (tonic)	Root	Compound
Food	Nuts	
Medicine (venereal disease)	Root	Simple
Medicine (poultice for cuts)	Leaves, seeds	Simple

4:Tantaquidgeon E-5 (1930) 1942
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PLANTS AND PLANT USES OF

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Botanical Name	Common Name
36. *Daucus carota*	Wild Carrot
37. *Dentaria diphylla*	Toothwort
38. *Diospyros virginiana*	Persimmon
39. *Epipactis pubescens*	Rattlesnake Plantain
40. *Eryngium aquaticum*	Button Snake-root
41. *Eupatorium perfoliatum*	Boneset
42. *Fragaria virginiana*	Strawberry
43. *Fraxinus americana*	White Ash
44. *Gaultheria procumbens*	Wintergreen
45. *Gaylussacia baccata*	Huckleberry
46. *Gelsemium sempervirens*	Yellow Jasmine
47. *Gentiana crinita*	Fringed Gentian
48. *Gleditsia triacanthos*	Honey Locust
49. *Hedeoma pulegioides*	False Pennyroyal
50. *Helianthemium canadense*	"Frost" or "ice" weed
51. *Humulus lupulus*	Hops
52. *Hydranga aborescens*	Sevenbark
53. *Ilex opaca*	Holly
54. *Inula helenium*	Elecampane
55. *Iris versicolor*	Blue Flag
56. *Juglans nigra*	Black Walnut
57. *Juniperus virginiana*	Red Cedar
58. *Leonurus cardiaca*	Motherwort
59. *Lobelia cardinalis*	Cardinal Flower
60. *Lophophora williamsii*	Peyote
61. *Mentha piperita*	Peppermint
62. *Mentha canadensis*	Wildmint
63. *Mitchella repens*	Partridge Berry
64. *Monarda punctata*	Horse Mint
65. *Morus nigra*	Mulberry
66. *Myrica sp.*	Bayberry
67. *Myrica asplenifolia*	Sweet Fern
68. *Nepeta cataria*	Catnip
69. *Opuntia vulgaris*	Prickly Pear
70. *Panax quinquefolium*	Ginseng

OKLAHOMA DELAWARE—Continued

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Native Use	Part of Plant Used	Type of Medicine
Medicine (diabetes)	Blossoms	Simple
Medicine (scrofula, venereal disease)	Root	Compound
Food	Fruit	
Medicine (poultice; female disorder)	Leaves	Simple and compound
Medicine (venereal disease)	Root	Compound and simple
Medicine (chills, fever)	Root	Simple
Food	Berries	
Medicine (cathartic)	Bark	Simple
Medicine (tonic)	Plant	Compound and simple
Food	Berries	
Medicine (salve)	Root	Compound
Medicine (stomach; blood purifier)	Root	Simple
Medicine (tonic)	Bark	Compound
Medicine (pain in stomach)	Leaves	Simple
Medicine (strengthening)	Plant	Simple
Medicine (nerves)	Blossoms	Simple
Medicine (gallstones)	Root	Compound
Medicine (tonic)	Root	Compound
Medicine (rheumatism; liver; kidneys)	Root	Compound
Medicine (cathartic)	Bark	Simple
Medicine (rheumatism)	Twigs	Simple
Medicine (female disorder)	Leaves	Simple
Medicine (typhoid)	Root	Simple
Medicine (consumption; periodic fits; emergency med. charm)	"Bean" or "Button"	Simple
Medicine (tonic)	Leaves	Compound
Medicine (suppressed menses)	Plant	Simple
Medicine (fever)	Plant	Simple
Medicine (cathartic)	Bark	Simple
Medicine (female generative organs)	Root	Compound
Medicine (poison ivy)	Leaves	Simple
Medicine (tonic for children)	Leaves with peach seed	
Not used		
Medicine (effective in any severe illness. Most potent med.)	Root	Simple and compound

4:Tantaquidgeon E-5 (1930) 1942
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	Botanical Name	Common Name
71.	*Phytolacca americana*	Poke
72.	*Pimpinella anisum*	Anise
73.	*Plantago major*	Plantain
74.	*Platanus occidentalis*	Plane Tree
75.	*Podophyllum peltatum*	May Apple
76.	*Populus sargentii*	Cottonwood
77.	*Prunella vulgaris*	Heal-all
78.	*Prunus americana*	Plum
79.	*Prunus persica*	Peach
80.	*Prunus serotina*	Wild Cherry
81.	*Pyrus communis*	Pear
82.	*Pyrus coronaria*	Crab Apple
83.	*Pyrus malus*	Apple
84.	*Quercus alba*	White Oak
85.	*Quercus macrocarpa*	Bur Oak
86.	*Quercus velutina*	Black Oak
87.	*Quercus palustris*	Pin Oak
88.	*Quercus rubra*	Red Oak
89.	*Radicula nasturtium-aquaticum*	Water Cress
90.	*Rhamnus caroliniana*	Buckthorn
91.	*Rhus copallina*	Dwarf Sumac
92.	*Rhus toxicondendron*	Poison Ivy
93.	*Rhus typhina*	Staghorn Sumac
94.	*Ribes rotundifolium*	Gooseberry
95.	*Ribes triste*	Swamp Currant
96.	*Rubus canadensis*	Thimble Berry
97.	*Rubus nigrobaceus*	Blackberry
98.	*Rubus villosus*	Blackberry
99.	*Rubus occidentalis*	Black Raspberry
100.	*Rumex acetosella*	Sheep Sorrel
101.	*Rumex crispus*	Dock
102.	*Rhumex obtusifolius*	Dock
103.	*Salix humilis*	Prairie Willow
104.	*Salix tristis*	Sage Willow, "Red Root"
105.	*Sambucus canadensis*	Elder

OKLAHOMA DELAWARE—Continued

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Native Use	Part of Plant Used	Type of Medicine
Medicine (rheumatism)	Root	Simple and compound
Medicine (cathartic)	Root	Simple and compound
Medicine (poultice; also female disorder)	Leaves	Simple and compound
Medicine (colds, sore throat)	Bark	Compound
Medicine (laxative; love charm)	Root	Simple
Medicine (female disorder)	Bark	Compound and simple
Medicine (fever)	Top	
Food	Fruit	
Food	Fruit	
Medicine (tonic)	Bark, Fruit	Compound
Food	Fruit	
Food	Fruit	
Food	Fruit	
Medicine (antiseptic)	Bark	Compound
Food	Nuts	
Medicine (hoarseness)	Bark	Simple
Medicine (intestinal pains)	Bark	Simple
Medicine (hoarseness)	Bark	Compound
Root	Plant	
Medicine (cathartic)	Bark	Simple
Medicine (ceremonial tobacco mixture)	Leaves, Root	Simple
Medicine (salve)	Root	Compound
Medicine (venereal disease)	Root	Compound
Food	Berries	
Food	Berries	
Medicine (dysentery)	Vine, Berries	Compound
Berries used as food	Berries	
Food	Berries	
Food	Berries	
Food	Plant	
Food	Plant	Simple and compound
Medicine (food)	Root, Young Shoots	
Medicine (venereal disease)	Root	Compound
Medicine (womb displacement; venereal disease)	Root	Compound
Medicine (salve) (fruit edible)	Bark, Berries	Simple Simple

PLANTS AND PLANT USES OF THE

	Botanical Name	Common Name
106.	*Sanguinaria canadensis*	Bloodroot
107.	*Sassafras albidum*	Sassafras
108.	*Scutellaria galericulata*	Skull Cap
109.	*Smilacina racemosa*	False Spikenard
110.	*Smilacina stellata*	False Solomon's Seal
111.	*Solanum dulcamera*	Bittersweet
112.	*Solanum nigrum*	Common Nightshade
113.	*Solidago juncea*	Goldenrod
114.	*Symplocarpus foetidus*	Skunk Cabbage
115.	*Stachys palustris*	Hedge Nettle
116.	*Taraxacum officinale*	Dandelion
117.	*Tsuga canadensis*	Hemlock
118.	*Typha latifolia*	Cat-tail
119.	*Ulmus americana*	American Elm
120.	*Vaccinium pennsylvanicum*	Lowbush Blueberry
121.	*Vaccinium corymbosum*	Highbush Blueberry
122.	*Verbascum thapsus*	Great Mullein
123.	*Verbena hastata*	Blue Vervain
124.	*Viburnum prunifolium*	Black Haw
125.	*Vitis* (various sp.)	Wild Grape
126.	*Vitis rupestris*	Wild Grape
127.	*Vitis vulpina*	Wild Grape
128.	*Xanthoxylum americanum*	Prickly Ash
129.	*Zea Mays*	Corn
130.	*Zea Mays identata*	Dent Corn
131.	*Zea Mays indurata*	Flint Corn
132.	*Zea Mays amylacea*	Flour Corn
133.	*Zea Mays saccharata*	Sweetcorn
134.	*Zea Mays everta*	Popcorn

OKLAHOMA DELAWARE—Concluded

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Native Use	Part of Plant Used	Type of Medicine
Medicine (tonic) ceremonial paint	Root	Simple and compound
Medicine (tonic)	Bark	Compound
Medicine (laxative)	Top	Simple
Medicine (tonic)	Root	Compound
Medicine (venereal disease, scrofula)	Root	Compound and simple
Medicine (fever, also in salve)	Root	Compound
Medicine (venereal disease)	Root	Compound
Medicine (diarrhea, fever)	Leaves (tea or chewed)	Simple
Medicine (whooping cough, fits, poultice)	Root, Leaves	Simple
Medicine (venereal disease)	Root	Compound
Medicine (tonic, laxative, food)	Root, Plant	Compound and simple
Medicine (herbal steam)	Twigs	Simple
Medicine (gravel in kidneys)	Root	Simple
Medicine (coughs, colds)	Bark	Simple
Food	Berries	
Food	Berries	
Medicine (rheumatism, colds)	Leaves	
Medicine (chills)	Root	Compound
Medicine (female generative organs)	Root	Compound
Food	Fruit	
Medicine (increase fertility)	Vine	Compound
Medicine (leucorrhea)	Juice from vine	Simple
Medicine (tonic, heart)	Bark	Simple and compound
Food		
Food		
Food		
Food		
Food		
Food		

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Delaware tribe was gathered together on a reservation in Kansas in 1835 and from there removed to their present location in Oklahoma, where they are politically incorporated in the Cherokee nation. Other Delaware, most of whom belonged to the Munsee division and were converted by Moravian missionaries in the eighteenth century, are now located in Ontario.

DELAWARE CULTURE

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The method of presentation which has been followed is to place the authorities for each statement immediately after it. For the most part, traits for which there is no evidence in earlier sources have been omitted, but where this leaves a large gap in the picture of the culture, sections based purely on eighteenth century sources have been inserted. The material has been divided into three main aspects, and proceeds from a consideration of economic life, to social organization and religion.

Means of Procuring Food

226
[262]

For the tribes living on the east coast, fishing was probably the most important means of getting food, judging from the relative amounts of shells and animal bones found in ancient sites (Skinner, 1915, p. 7). Oysters, clams, mussels and scallops were widely utilized as well as rockfish, shad, herring, sturgeon and gar fish which were found plentifully in those waters (Abbott, 1875, p. 278; Skinner, 1909, p. 46).

[227]

According to Lindstrom, the Indians caught fish by building a dam across a stream near its source or at a waterfall. When the river rose, the last small opening was closed in the dam and the water allowed to flow over it, leaving the fish in shallow water at low tide. They were then either taken by hand or shot with bow and arrow (sic). The latter method was also used in deep water (Lindstrom, 1915, pp. 219-220). Other writers report the use of hemp nets, and a number of stone sinkers have been found in archaeological sites. Rude seines of matted leaves and twigs are mentioned as well as fishing spears (Abbott, 1875, pp. 278 and 361; Heye, p. 70; Skinner, 1915, pp. 7 and 10; Harrington, 1913, p. 222).

224

The Delaware's hunting was done both cooperatively and individually. Early Swedish writers have described one cooperative method in which deer were surrounded either by a ring of men or by a ring of fire, and driven toward the center where they were shot with bow and arrow. Sometimes they were driven into a river where they were lassoed (Johnson, p. 281; Lindstrom, p. 214). According to a later writer, these hunting parties had a leader and were governed by definite rules, but there is no direct evidence for this in pre-contact times (Loskiel, p. 77). These organized hunt took place in the fall, but hunting itself was a year round occupation

used grooved axes hafted by tying the head between the ends of a split stick (Kalm, p. 229). The trees were then removed by burning (Johnson, p. 279; Harrington, 1913, p. 221; Kalm, p. 230). Zeisberger was told by his Indian acquaintances that, before they had metal tools, they also burned their wood into suitable lengths for use (Zeisberger, 1910, p. 29). After being cleared of rubbish and stones, the land was broken up with a hoe made of stone, tortoise shell, or the shoulder blade of a deer, attached to a short handle (Johnson, p. 279; Skinner, 1909, p. 42; Abbott, 1875, pp. 350 and 356; Loskiel, p. 67; Beaver, p. 47). The earth was piled into little hills in which five or six grains of maize were planted about April. In the middle of May when the maize was the "height of a finger", they planted in each heap three or four "Turkish beans,"[4] which then grew up with and were supported by the maize. Maize was a plant that needed frequent weeding and hoeing (De Razieres, p. 107; Johnson, p. 279; Harrington, 1913, p. 221).

There is no mention of the use of any kind of fertilizer by the Delaware, and early Swedish writers note that, "When a tract had been cultivated until crops would no longer grow, it was deserted and a new plantation prepared" (Johnson, p. 279). Therefore, in the present case there appears to be at least presumptive evidence for lack of fertilizing techniques.

In addition to the above-mentioned means of obtaining food, the Delaware Indians gathered various wild berries, nuts, fruits, and roots. Although many of the early references tend to be generic, one gathers that strawberries, gooseberries, huckleberries or billberries, cranberries and grapes were among the chief fruits used (Loskiel, pp. 68-69; Kalm, p. 261; Skinner, 1909, p. 43; Waugh, pp. 127-28), and the butternut, walnut, chestnut and hickory the most important nuts (Loskiel, pp. 70-71; Lindstrom, p. 223; Waugh, p. 123). In addition, Kalm found that early Swedish residents of New Jersey remembered the Indians having used Hopnies or ground nut (Glycine apios), Katnise (Sagittaria sagittifolia) and Taw-Ho (Arum virginicum).[5] This last was reputed to be poisonous in a raw state and so was placed in a hole covered with earth where it was cooked by a fire burning on top. They also boiled and ate the seeds of the Golden Club or Taw-Hoe (Orontium aquaticum) (Kalm, pp. 260-61). The use of roots is referred to by other authors although the terms used vary (Brinton, 1885, p. 50; Johnson, p. 281; Lindstrom, p. 223; Skinner, 1909, p. 43).

Although there are no specific references to the making of maple syrup in early sources, all the later observers found maple sugar boiling an important activity and the properties of the maple were generally known and utilized on the east coast. It seems impossible that all the early writers would have overlooked the use of maple sap if it had been as important as it later became, but none of my sources mention it.

252
262 Flour was either ground between two stones or pounded in a mortar and pestle by the Delaware. The mortar was usually a hol-
[412] loved tree trunk, the pestle a suitably shaped stone (Smith, p. 138; Lindstrom, pp. 253-54; Abbott, 1875, p. 357; Kalm, p. 230).

276 Stone pottery and clay pipes have been uncovered on archae-
[323] ological sites. Lindstrom describes the Lenape pipes as beautifully
324 painted and glazed with birds and animals on the head. He says there are some "...an ell in length, which are screwed together with leather,...and in these pipe-heads will go a handful of tobacco" (Lindstrom, p. 197). These were presumably of European manufacture. The pipes which have been recovered from old sites are of a much humbler variety (Abbott, 1875, pp. 343-44; Skinner, 1909, p. 27; Butler, p. 249). This apparent inconsistency can be readily explained, however, by assuming that Lindstrom was referring to the calumets or peace pipes, which were relatively rare and would be likely to have been carried west by the owners when they moved (Kalm, pp. 231-32).

285 Some household items manufactured by the Delaware women were
[283] mats, ropes and baskets made from wild hemp, spruce roots, corn husks and rushes. The mats, which were sometimes painted or had figures worked in or over the weave, were hung on the walls for increased protection against the elements as well as to beautify the house (Smith, p. 138; Lindstrom, p. 221; Harrington, 1913, p. 224). They were also used as part of the bedding together with the skin or
287 turkey-feather robes which served as clothing during the day (Johnson, p. 280; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 203). The turkey-feather robes deserve special attention as they were evidently one of the most distinctive and beautiful of the Delaware's manufactures. Lindstrom says: "They also make fine and beautiful quilts of painted bird feathers. In the first place they tie them with meshes like nets, yet very fine; then they fasten the feathers in the meshes, so neat and strong that not one feather can come loose from it..." (Lindstrom, pp. 221-22). When there was a "bed," it consisted of a wooden
352 shelf running around the interior wall of the house and serving as a seat by day (Harrington, 1913, p. 218; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 17; Skinner, 1915, p. 7).

342 The most common type of Delaware house was a small hut consisting of a rectangular, gabled frame of saplings covered with bark or mats. Penn describes their houses thus: "Their Houses are Mats, or Bark of Trees set on Poles, in the fashion of an English Barn, but out of the power of the Winds, for they are hardly higher than a Man..." (Penn, p. 31). Some Delaware, however, constructed a house large enough to accommodate several families, the increase in size all deriving from greater length. The result was not unlike an Iroquois longhouse.[6] In the center of the house was one or more fires depending on the length of the building, and the ridge of the roof was arranged with an opening through which the smoke could

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

he comes to no harm. At each house the impersonator dismounts and enters, making known his errand by signs, but saying only "*Ho^{n}-ho^{n}-ho^{n}*," and everywhere they give him tobacco, which he puts in his sack. At this time the people frighten disobedient children with the threat that, unless they behave, the Mĭsi'ng^{w} will carry them away in a sack full of snakes.

Preparations.—The dance-ground customarily used for this purpose has meanwhile been put in order, a cleared place in the woods selected for good shade and pleasant surroundings, and the logs which serve as seats arranged to form the rectangle within which the dance takes place. A great pot of hominy is also prepared; this constitutes the main dish of the feast.

The Ceremony.—When the people have gathered on the night appointed, and the impersonator has returned from the bushes where he retired to dress, wearing the mask and bearskin suit (pl. II), the speaker addresses the people and relates the origin of the dance, then addressing the Mĭsi'ng^{w}, says, "Take care of us

7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

us. Now, kindred, this is the way in which we can take action, first one person's idea then another's saying "This one is better." But at last when it had been pondered in council it was declared that we should make two corn husk face-masks, and a coat and leggings all of cornhusks. Now at each change of the years we shall gather and carry out a way so that certain people will be selected who will own and control this ceremony. 796x 539 773

Two men are chosen who shall wear the excrement-daubers' costume, to go through the neighborhood for a few days. They notify the people that now according to the rulings is the time for the ceremony by that individual who has charge of the Corn Festival ceremony, and when anyone is encountered, as they ride about on horseback, who shall give nothing to them infallibly he shall be rubbed over with excrement because that is the established ruling. 796x 539

Now in about one week they gather together for what the Delawares call the Excrement-dauber dance. Long ago there were men who knew these songs that were required. And they used to have ushers. Here all kinds of food were used, but especially hominy made very thin; cooked hominy is what was offered with the prayer when they were pleading with our "mother" Corn. As long as he was living the controller of the ceremony would carry it out. Then when he reached the end of his life his children handed it down from then on according to relationship. [262]

Here now when the dance was beginning there were women and men who did the cooking. And now when it was midnight they would stop and pass around the food to eat, the master of the ceremony his kindred and also the ushers passing the food around. So when they had finished eating then they began dancing again, because it was the rule to dance until morning.

Then the old person appointed to do the talking would say, "Now that we see daylight we are very thankful indeed because we see our elder brother (the sun) as he again gives us light all over the world. And it is grand when we are in good spirits after dancing all night long with her who is our

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
NM7 Delaware NM7

where they either catch them with their hands or shoot it.[5] Otherwise, they also shoot it in deep water, where they can find it, and thus they obtain fish of all kinds, that are found there in abundance, spending [nothing] on either seines, nets or any fishing implements. Consequently the nourishment of the savages thus consists of agriculture, hunting, shooting, fishing, trade and the manufacture of their neat wares, concerning which we shall be informed hereafter.[6]

[5] The fish. Cf. also note 1, above, quoting Williams; Hodge, *Handbook*, I, 461 ff.

[6] See below, Chapt. XIX.

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
NM7 Delaware NM7

572 table and crosses his legs and requests then of the
574 food on the table which he fancies. But when one
516 gives strong drinks to the savage, either wine or
[271] brandy, which he desires greatly, one must take
273 care not to give him too much, for then he becomes as though he were quite raving, throws and rolls himself into the burning fire, with a loud cry, and may then easily strike his good friend to death or otherwise set fire to the house, not knowing what he does; for he is not accustomed to such strong drinks. His daily drink is with the goose,[4] which holds his five senses together.

572 But when now the Christians come to the sav-
574 ages in their dwellings then the savages spread frieze and beautiful rugs on the ground, requesting them to sit down to rest. Then they bring forth such food as they have [on hand], namely a
● [262] bag full of their bread, deer meat, elk meat and bear meat, fresh fish, bear pork and bear fat,[5] instead of butter; but this[6] is mostly raw, for they do not fry it any other way than on the coals (about which we shall learn further hereafter in the chapter concerning the household economy of the savages). This present one must not disdain, but accept with all thankfulness and praise, otherwise the savages will become very raving and impatient, so that their friendship is thereby turned into the greatest revenge and enmity. If one has any horse along, then the savages place the same kind of food before it also, which one must steal away from the horse, and thank the savage for

[4] His daily drink is the same as that of the goose, that is water.
[5] *Björnsister.*
[6] Food, i.e., meat and fish.

8:Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
NM7 Delaware NM7

CHAPTER XXVII.

Concerning the Household Economy of the American Savage People, Their Thrashing, Their Grinding, Their Baking, Their Frying and Cooking.

In this connection [*it may be said*] *that there* is found no scarcity of provisions among the savages, for the support of their household, but [they are] miserable cooks, they never cook good dishes.[1] They use no cattle. They do not need to thrash their grain, the maize; but when it gets ripe and dry, then they rub the ears between their hands and brush off the kernels. Their larders they dig down in the ground, close to their dwellings, wherein they have their maize, their beans, tobacco and other provisions, such as deer-meat, elk-meat, bear-meat, birds, fish and other such things, which may serve for the sustenance of man, but the bear pork as well as wild-boar pork and its fat they melt and use instead of butter.[2]

They use no querns,[3] but the meal for baking they pound asunder with a pestle and mortar, which they make in this manner, that for the purpose they cut a thick and large tree, 1½ ells from

[1] *Godha rättier.* For the food of the Indians, see Van der Donck, De Vries, etc., *N. Y. Col.*, 2, I, 192 ff.; II, 263 ff.; III, 95, 104 ff.

[2] Cf. Van der Donck and other early Dutch writers.

[3] *Quarnar bruka the inthet.* In connection with the agriculture of the Indians Williams says: They "fell their trees with stone set in a wooden staff, and used wooden howes; which some old and poore women (fearfull to leave the old tradition) use to this day." *Key*, 130.

| | | |

+ = element present
− = element denied
(+) or (−) = source ambiguous
* = informant could not or would not say
S = some, sometimes, or several
† or * = see Ethnographic Notes, pp. 79-137 for additional information

		Williams	Van der Donck	Lindeström	Zeisberger	Heckewelder	Johnston	Pipe	Chipps	J. W.	W. T.	E. R.	W. L.
	Food, mode of living, etc.—Continued												
298.	Vegetables introduced by whites				+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+
299.	Wild rice				(−)		−		−	−	+	−	−
300.	Have regular meals		−			+	−		−	+	+	+	−
301.	Generally eat together (family)		(+)						+	−	+	+	+
302.	Men and women eat together		(+)				+		+	+	+	+	+
303.	Neat in their cooking			−	S	+	+		+	+	+	+	+
304.	Several cooking modes		−	+		*+	+		+	+	+	+	+
305.	Generally prefer well done			−	+					+	+	−	+
306.	Commonly eat in the night						−		+	−	+	•	+
307.	Eat every kind of fish		+	(+)			+		+	−	+		+
	Hunting												
308.	Use bow and arrow	+	+	+		+	+		+	+	+	+	+
309.	Rifle and fowling piece		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
310.	Blow gun for birds and small game								+	+	+	•	•
311.	Deadfall for raccoon	+					+			•	+	•	•
312.	Torches at night on water for deer						+				+	•	•
313.	Fish with spears	+		−					+	•	+	•	+
314.	With hook and line	+	+	−					+	•	+	•	+
315.	By shooting with arrows	+		+						+	+	+	+
316.	Hunt in large parties	+	+	+	+		+		+	+	+	+	+
317.	Number in party	300	100				10-15		40-50		15	4	6-7
318.	Any attendant ceremonies			*(+)	−		−		−		+	+	+
319.	Under guidance of oldest or most expert			+	+		+			+	+	+	+
320.	Any peculiar laws in hunting			+	+	•	−	•	+	+	+	+	+
321.	When two are hunting and one kills animals, it is divided equally				(+)		+		+	(+)	(+)	+	+
322.	Person who kills or first wounds animal entitled to whole when stranger appears						+						
323.	to skin and half of carcass				+				+	+			+

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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cloth. Doctor gets in on north side of blanket, sits on west side 755
of hole. Has handkerchief tying hair back. Puts water next to hole. Sprinkles water with fingers on rocks, four times with left hand while feeling patient over with right. Then takes mouthful of water which he spits on rock. Makes talk, blows on patient's sternum. Then knows disease. Slaps hands together to make more steam on patient. Then goes out after five or ten minutes, covers himself with blanket for three or four minutes with handkerchief off. Then goes back in with handkerchief on repeats previous performance and begins to sing, slaps hands while singing. Goes out again. Three times is all. Third person sits outside and after third time wraps patient up and takes him home and cleans him up. Doctor then cleans up himself and sweat house and goes to see patient or patient's relatives. Tells him disease and cure which may be sweat treatment for three, four or five [265]
days, and certain foods patient cannot eat. For instance, no meat or salt, grease for six days. A little tobacco is put in fire when building it. Just a little fire. Never use rocks again. Sweat house is only for those past five years of age. When younger, doctor places them on a warm rock outside. Tells mother what to eat if baby is nursing. Give baby herbs, maybe twice a day for couple of days. Payment is voluntary."

General Manners and Customs

The practice of eating human flesh even ceremonially has been 266
denied by the Delaware and accounts of the Delaware throughout all the years back to Lindeström (61). This Swedish writer did not explicitly deny that the Delaware ate human flesh, but in describing the practice among the Minqua he implied that it was not true of the Delaware. The Delaware have a tale of cannibalism in the very early days which was the result of [784]
famine brought on by violation of a taboo. Aside from this case they admit no knowledge of cannibalism among them. Tribes with whom they were in contact from early historic times and before practiced cannibalism ceremonially and in times of famine. These were principally the Conestoga (the Minqua of Lindeström) and Iroquois. The latter have been credited with orig- [727]

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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next period, however, Johnston and Chipps said that the men and women shared the labor of moving and pitching camp. In the fourth period W. L. was again the only one to place the responsibility on the women.

The husband did not strike his wife frequently, if at all, according to all the information gathered (283). Johnston and Chipps said that he might do so if she were ill-tempered or refractory (284). The modern informants denied this as a just cause, although E. R. said that it was up to the husband to punish his wife if she broke a rule.

Food, Mode of Living, etc.

Heckewelder said that the Delaware, Mahicans, and Shawnee were all very particular in their choice of meats and that nothing short of the most pressing hunger could induce them to eat of certain animals, such as the horse, dog, wildcat, panther, fox, muskrat, or wolf, all of which he had several times seen the Chippewa eat with a good appetite (288-91)." J. W. said that opossum, wolf, dog, woodchuck, snake, crow, hawk, owl, eagle, and, in fact, most fowls were not eaten. W. L. also said that opossum, muskrat, and several kinds of birds were not eaten. Apparently the symbols of the three tribal divisions, turtle, turkey and wolf, were not taboo for that reason, for only the last one was included on any list. The totems of the extinct subdivisions may have been taboo. This is true of the opossum which was most frequently mentioned as not being eaten and it was the name of one of the subdivisions. However, the Delaware regard the opossum as endowed with supernatural powers and in the nature of a trickster and have many stories that evince this attitude.

There seems to have been no taboos on vegetables eaten (292-98). Corn was the principal item cultivated. It was supplemented by the usual beans and squashes, and later vegetables introduced by the whites were also cultivated. Wild or ground potatoes and other less important wild products were gathered. The

"Heckewelder, *History, Manners, and Customs of the Indian Nations*, p. 196.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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222 staple of more northern tribes, wild rice, apparently never figured
262 in the diet of the Delaware, although W. T. claimed that it did (299). Little use seems to have been made of grasses or greens, but there is no suggestion that this avoidance was the result of a taboo.

264 Information on the regularity of meals among the Delaware is not conclusive (300). Van der Donck reported no regular meals in the first period, Heckewelder the reverse in the second period; but both Johnston and Chipps in the third period stated there were no regular meal times. In the fourth period three informants claimed regularity of meals for their ancestors as well as themselves; whereas the fourth, W. L., said that even when he was a boy there was always something to eat for the grownups and they ate when they felt like it. Chipps said that they ate in the night as often as in the day, but the other sources and informants denied this and maintained that it was only the hunter or traveler who returned at night that received anything to eat (306).

Men and women usually ate together according to the reports from all periods (302). Both J. W. and W. L. in the fourth period stated that children did not eat with the rest of the family (301). At some meals the children ate after the adults, who left them the amounts and parts of the food that they should eat. The last meal in the day for children was about four or five o'clock. From then on until the next morning they could have only water.

252 The question of neatness in cooking is a relative one (303). Lindeström and Johnston did not think they were neat at all. Zeisberger, Heckewelder, and Chipps, on the other hand, said that cleanliness was an individual matter but that on the whole the Delaware were much neater than many other tribes. The difference between Indian and white methods of cooking in the centuries past was probably much greater than the difference between the two now.

Van der Donck reported in the first period that boiling was the only mode of cooking meat used by the Indians (304). Since this was contradicted by Lindeström who wrote at practically

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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the same time, there is no reason to suspect that the several cooking modes reported in all subsequent periods were the result of European introduction. On the other hand, Lindeström's statement that the Delaware preferred their fish only half fried finds no support in the information from the following periods (305). Zeisberger and all the modern informants said that meats were preferred well done. In this connection J. W. expressed the opinion of all the modern informants when he said that foods from the open air (not canned), cooked in clean water or well done in an open fire were clean and best.

When the Delaware were living on the Atlantic Coast, fish formed an important part of their diet, according to Van der Donck and Lindeström (307). Apparently every kind available in any particular locality was eaten. The reports of all subsequent periods also show an absence of taboo on particular kinds of fish, with the exception of J. W., and he could not name the varieties not eaten. Captain Chipps reported that some did not eat sturgeon, others catfish, but more as a matter of individual taste than because of a taboo.

Hunting

The bow and arrow was, of course, the common weapon used in hunting in prehistoric times and well remembered even today, although its utility as a meat-procuring arm has long been lost (308).

The surprising item in the list of arms used by the Delaware is the firearm (309). Even though every European colony on the Atlantic Coast protested the sale of firearms to the natives by the other colonies, and subordination of the Delaware to the Iroquois in the early eighteenth century was attributed to the fact that the latter were supplied earlier with firearms, we find two references to the rather common use of guns in hunting by the Delaware in the middle of the seventeenth century.

The blowgun was reported among the Canadian Delaware or Munsee of 1824 by Captain Chipps (310). At that time it was used by hunters to kill small game and birds. Poisoned darts were not mentioned. The three older informants among the

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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553 being descriptive may be more appropriate for children; at others because the subject has performed some remarkable feat of bravery or is otherwise deserving of a favorite name.

[551] E. R. and W. L. said that there were no second names except English ones and nicknames.

103. Education

867 869 CAPTAIN PIPE—Each man considers it his duty to advise the children of the same tribe with himself, and to instruct them by precept the way they should go, and to this kind of advice the father, though he may be never so great a scoundrel, is very particular, always enforcing the duty of correctness in their moral conduct. There is no system of education among them.

The account of the way J. W. was raised was recorded, practically verbatim, as follows:

When I was a baby they took good care of me—raise me so I could walk. When I was little my mother had to be awfully [262] careful. There was a certain food she must not eat. Not any side meat, or inside (liver, etc.) while nursing. Ham and shoulders all right—gave her strength. Any kind of vegetables, fruits, were all right. Anything cracked like nuts must not be eaten. Hominy all right. Must be careful about going [784] places, seeing things that surprise you which might get inside and affect child through milk. No cradles—wrap up in nice little clean cloths.

262 869 When I can eat: must not eat lots of different foods; such as like egg, inside meat; only outside but just good meat—none close to joint or head. Corn, vegetables all right, fruits all right but just so much.

When I can help myself—so I can see, eat by myself, well then any food, nuts or meat must not be eaten first, but give to either father, mother or other old folks, and then eat and as much as I want. Then they tell me certain parts I must not eat from then on until I am a man. They say don't ever eat egg, no liver, don't drink soup, unless you tell me, then I tell you what to do before you take, to give you strength. I say I want soup—they say run about a quarter of a mile (after taking).

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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That gives me strength in the legs. Don't eat with your folks, 262
wait until they get done. They leave what you should eat. 869

When my mother and father go somewhere, they take me
along but I must not pry around but stay with one of my folks. 867
Then if they think I should be out they tell me "go out there and play but play good—whoever you see you must mind him —pay attention." Come back when they can you. Afternoon from three to four o'clock one must not play, run around or holler. Do not eat in the evening. Drink very little water. Go to bed at sundown. In the morning, just day, get up, wash, clean yourself up, take a refreshing. The sun come up and see you, give you strength, life. They tell me when you go out be careful. To go a little ways, you ask. Maybe want a little water, go get it—grandfather—have a thought—great thing—give you strength, give it to your folks, they thank you, drink, then you take it. Same way wood, go get it, put it over here, let your folks put it in the fire, don't put in fire until they tell you so. Don't just hit things with your ax until we tell you so. Don't kick things, there's your hand—use it—pick it up—if you can't pick up something in your way, go around. Then suppose somebody come—anybody—don't go meet him, or talk to him—stay away. But if somebody call you, have something for you to do, come and do it. Maybe he have something to tell you—don't forget it—maybe he give you good advice. Don't ever stand there and look at people too much. Look at them when they tell you something. Then when you get to be a big boy, you know and recognize things. You kill game—must not eat. I don't get to eat first game, give it to folks and let them eat it. Next game you can eat but there are certain parts like back you must not eat until you are a man. Then my father or mother send me some place to see somebody—tell him they want him to come over but I must come right back. When I get back they ask me if I tell them and what they say. I must answer if I am playing around and they call me—not just come but answer. Come with whip [861]
to show me if I get beyond call. Wore long homemade shirt, [291]
breechcloth, moccasins (barefoot in summer). Leggings of heavy cloth in winter. No hat. One little thin blanket in one corner or

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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and there preparation is made for beginning the Gamwing. And besides, everyone who is to relate a vision and lead a dance, if he has prepared his rattle of turtle shell, shall see to it to bring it with him for the ceremony.

There, in the ancient times the beginning of their worship the Delawares went into camp every month. They worshipped in the Big House for a ten and two day period. But then in a few years a different rule made it every three months. And again it was changed. It was said, "We are hindered in our labor," because of our ceremony. Whereupon for the last time they changed it. It was said, "From now on every six months," the Gamwing will be." But indeed it was discovered that they had become by now too much like the white man in their life.[1] The young Delawares were ashamed, seeing what their elders did. And so by this time it is very difficult for the Delawares to assemble when ready to perform the ceremony.[2]

[1] Among the Delawares, and the affiliated Nanticoke as well, the term cowa'na, denoting "salt water" came to be used in a dignified sense referring to Europeans, since they first appeared from the sea. In the vernacular, less respectful in its sense, the white man was also known as ɔ'pigw "white face" also denoting "opossum." This is more of a sobriquet in Delaware. The allusions to Europeans in other Eastern Algonkian languages did not follow the principle of Delaware usage, for the Munsee, awe'nik the plural of "who?" (Brinton, The Lenape and their Traditions), the Mohegan-Pequot, wa'naks, derives also from awa'n, "who"; Wabanaki, awa'nuic, awe'nuic of similar derivation.

[2] It would appear that the weakening of devotion has been a characteristic modern tendency among the native pagan groups as well as among Christians.

Such was the ruling long ago how several different kinds of spiritual-forces were existent, how, it was said, all the wild animals and birds as well as the creeping wild creatures are the ones to be mentioned[1] in the Big House.

The pure[2] animals and birds only are used when they prepare meat. This is the reason why every one of them, even that Mask-Spirit, and all their kind including the Tortoise,[3] are called man-i't-u. It is because he it is who carries our mother's body.[4] And the bird is used there to be eaten. And these feathers of him are ceremonially used when they sweep clean[5] the beautiful-pure White Path, our father's, the Great Spirit's road.[6] Wherefore a person will appear fine when dress-

[1] This means ceremonially; mention by symbolical references to pay them respect and to acknowledge their rule in the departments of nature.

[2] For further details concerning the "pure, clean" creatures see the outline discussion page 50.

[3] Note the use of the same term (ta'xkoxke) for both the creature itself and the tortoise-rattle. The latter is regarded as being the actual living creature in its ceremonial guise.

[4] The Delaware metaphor referring to the earth.

[5] The term used denotes, "they purify by sweeping clean," meaning to clear away latent malific spiritual forces that might lie in the White Path. This symbolically removes possible spiritual pollution from the course of the wor-

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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III

SECOND NIGHT OF THE CEREMONY

[The procedure of the second night's performance follows that of the first night as respects the recitations by those who desire to chant their visions and to discourse.]

Here now, when the last Reciter-Leader has finished, and when they have swept the House well, then the other male Attendants bring inside the Big House the hominy.[1] Everyone eats the hominy in company. Each and all of the women comes bringing a dish to dip it out with. The Attendant has authority to give out the amount allotted to each, so it is said. The boys carry mussel-shells[2] which are used the same as when spoons are used. Now when everyone has eaten his share of the hominy, he feels happy for it, because the Bringer-in always says that this grain-food brings a spiritual blessing of strength when we set out to appeal to our common Father in the sky above. These Attendants first set apart a portion for each individual in his dish, because that is strictly understood to be the rule since long ago in the beginning of the world.[3]

THIRD NIGHT OF THE CEREMONY

Thanks be given, my kindred that still we are blessed with good fortune. Now it is the third evening since here we have performed the ceremony in our temple-house. Now we beg, everyone of us, at his utmost that we may be favored by the pure spirit-force, by him the mask-spirit[4] because he is the one who owns and controls all the wild animals.[5] Now tomorrow morning all must be ready to accompany the

[1] sa'pag, "boiled corn" was a cereal staple in the diet of the eastern Algonkian wherever they lived. The term is cognate with New England Algonkian sampi which has passed into English. (For discussion of the term, its history and application see A. F. Chamberlain, Bull. 30, Bur. Amer. Ethnology, part II, p. 422).

[2] The single shell of the fresh-water mussel (Unio companatus in the east, U. gibbosus, in the west) employed as a spoon is ees-e'm'hon.

[3] The procedure of the subsequent three nights in the Big House is about the same as that recorded for the first. The same speakers recite their visions. The rites of sweeping and feasting are repeated similarly.

One might ask what the worshippers do to while away the day-time between the strenuous night performances besides procuring some much needed rest. Custom permits them to indulge in native games, mention of which will be found on page 69.

[4] Something has already been said of the mask-spirit as the guardian of game animals (p. 39). This man-it'-u is now to be made the object of worship in a pantomime of some importance.

[5] Herein lies a concept ripe for elaboration, since the doctrine of ownership of game animals is a fundamental one in the cosmology of the Algonkian hunters of the north, whose culture has been assumed to be fundamental to the family (see pp. 39-41).

[#57(A)]

796 Spirit. It lasts 6 days. It may be repeated by another person or family for a second 6 days, and so on until the feelings are satisfied. It has been known to last a month. The meeting is called by one of a certain class, who I presume correspond with the Keepers of the Faith of the Iroquois. They are called A-la-pa-cte, meaning *Dreamers*. The
[346] people meet in a large house erected on purpose for this worship and used for nothing else. They build two council fires in the
[614] house, and the people assemble by tribes, the Turtles by themselves, the Wolves by themselves and the Turks by themselves. They use belts of wampum and have many ceremonies. It would seem that this council or religious meeting was called by some one
[346] person. The door of the house of worship must open to the east.

796 When they are assembled two singers [?]
533 sit down to two dried and rolled up deer skins, with sticks in their hands to beat time. The leader, who is stationed on the right hand side of the door, gets up and
[534] shaking a turtle shell rattle, comes in extemporizing verses which are adapted to the set tune of his choosing, to relate his dream. As he relates his dream in music, he dances, they sing the same time and beat time, and all who enter the dance, dance
[535] the religious dance which altogether is called the Gum-mween. This is repeated day by day for six days. But the leaders change. When one has told his dream, he hands his rattle to the next one, who in like singing relates his dream in words of his own making, but sung in an old well known tune of his own choosing.

796 Before the festival 12 hunters are sent
[262] out for deer's meat, as no other meat is allowed. About 9 each morning this meat is served to all. At sundown each day they have an exhortation from the oldest wise

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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733 "not worship him, as they do the good spirit, and there-
"fore I believe he puts something into the *beson*, for the
"purpose of destroying them."

HECKEW. "What the devil may do with the li-
"quor, I cannot tell; but I believe that he has a hand in
"every thing that is bad. When the Indians kill one
"another, bite off each other's noses, or commit such
"wicked acts, he is undoubtedly well satisfied; for, as
"God himself has said, he is a destroyer and a mur-
"derer."

INDIAN. "Well, now, we think alike, and henceforth
"he shall never again deceive me, or entice me to drink
"his *beson*."

It is a common saying with those white traders who find it their interest to make the Indians drunk, in order to obtain their peltry at a cheaper rate, that they *will* have strong liquors, and will not enter upon a bargain unless they are sure of getting it. I acknowledge that I have seen some such cases; but I could also state many from my own knowledge, where the Indians not only refused liquor, but resisted during several days all the attempts that were made to induce them even to taste it, being well aware, as well as those who offered it to them, that if they once should put it to their lips, such was their weakness on that score, that intoxication would inevitably follow.

I can, perhaps, offer a plausible reason why the Indians are so fond of spirituous drinks. The cause is, I believe, to be found in their living almost entirely upon fresh meats and green vegetables, such as corns, pumpkins, squashes, potatoes, cucumbers, melons, beans, &c. which causes a longing in their stomachs for some seasoning, particularly (as is often the case) when they have been
263 a long time without salt. They are, on those occasions,
222 equally eager for any acid substances; vinegar, if they can get it, they will drink in considerable quantities, and think nothing of going thirty or forty miles in search of

I:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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cranberries, whether in season or not. They also gather crab-apples, wild-grapes, and other acid and even bitter-tasted fruits, as substitutes for salt, and in the spring they will peel such trees as have a sourish sap, which they lick with great avidity. When for a long time they have been without salt, and are fortunate enough to get some, they will swallow at a time a table-spoonful of that mineral substance, for which they say that they and their horses are equally hungry.

The Indians are very sensible of the state of degradation to which they have been brought by the abuse of strong liquors, and whenever they speak of it, never fail to reproach the whites for having enticed them into that vicious habit. I could easily prove how guilty the whites are in this respect, if I were to relate a number of anecdotes, which I rather wish to consign to oblivion. The following will be sufficient to confute those disingenuous traders, who would endeavour to shift the blame from themselves, in order to fix it upon the poor deluded Indians.

In the year 1769, an Indian from Susquehannah having came to Bethlehem with his sons to dispose of his peltry, was accosted by a trader from a neighbouring town, who addressed him thus: "Well! Thomas, I really believe you have turned Moravian." "Moravian!" answered the Indian, "what makes you think so?"—"Because," replied the other, "you used to come to us "to sell your skins and peltry, and now you trade them "away to the Moravians." "So!" rejoined the Indian, "now I understand you well, and I know what you mean "to say. Now hear me.—See, my friend! when I come "to this place with my skins and peltry to trade, the "people are kind, they give me plenty of good victuals "to eat, and pay me in money or whatever I want, and "no one says a word to me about drinking rum—neither "do I ask for it! When I come to your place with my "peltry, all call to me: 'Come, Thomas! here's rum,

3: Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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The odor is somewhat like that of tar, though not very much so. They stir the water violently then let it settle and become clear. The more the pool is stirred the more abundantly does the oil flow. When it is clear they scoop it into kettles, and, as it is impossible to avoid getting some water, boil it and preserve it for use. They use it as a medicine in all sorts of cases for external application, thus for tooth-ache, head-ache, swelling, rheumatism, strained joints. Some also take it internally and it appears to have hurt no one in this way. Some, indeed, declare that the oil flows from the coal deposits, but this is not likely, for in the first place, there is no sign of pit coal to be seen in this region — one sees nothing more than poor sandstone and, in the second place, in other parts where there is much pit coal, as for example, along the Muskingum, no sign of oil is to be seen. Were the oil to be found there, the Indians would know of it, for they value it highly and have looked for it, but found none. Most probably it comes out of the earth. It is brownish in color and may be used in lamps, for it burns well.

Salt springs are to be found both along the Muskingum and along the Ohio. Of this salt the Indians make little use; they prefer to buy it from the whites, even though they have to pay a high price for it owing to the fact that it has to be brought a considerable distance from the seaports. Moreover, they use very little salt and seem not to require it. They often eat their food unsalted, even though they may have the salt, until they feel a longing for it.

These salt springs are usually to be found on the bank of a creek or even in the middle of the creek on a sand-bank, the fresh water flowing on both sides. The Indians have on occasion boiled a considerable quantity of salt in a short time at such a well, so that it would appear worth the labor to get it, especially as it is so expensive.

There are, also, many salt licks to which cattle, horses and game go in large numbers. These are generally springs that have salt or saltpetre[137] in them.

The common sort of stones in this region along the Ohio are the sandstones. Some are very hard, others soft. They

[137] [i.e., crude oil.—Ave Lallemant]

Food Preservation and Cooking

Passing to the problem of food preservation, we find that such crops as maize, tobacco and meat were most commonly stored in pits covered over first with bark or grass and then with earth (Lindstrom, p. 253; Johnson, p. 279; Krieger, p. 39; De Rasieres, p. 107). The house was also an important storage place, the food being placed in hemp bags and suspended from the ceiling (Johnson, p. 279; Harrington, 1913, p. 218; Heckewelder, 1820, p. 370). 251

Maize was used in a variety of ways. According to one author, those stalks that produced no ears were pulled early and the sap sucked from them (De Rasieres, p.107). The ears were either roasted in ashes or boiled. Most of the maize, however, seems to have been pounded or ground into flour and sifted through a basket of the desired coarseness. The finer flour was mixed with lukewarm water, kneaded into dough and made into round, flat little cakes which were baked in hot ashes. The coarser flour was made into porridge (i.e. boiled with water) to which nuts, beans, berries, pumpkin or meat were sometimes added (Penn, pp. 31-32; Lindstrom, p. 254; De Rasieres, p. 107; Danckhaerts, p. 159; Johnson, p. 281; Heckewelder, 1781, pp. 194-96; Loskiel, p. 67). Indeed, there seems to have been almost endless variety in the preparation of these cornflour dishes. 252

The other vegetables were most commonly eaten boiled and, it should be noted, without seasoning except ashes, as the Delaware did not use salt (Pastorius, 1700, p. 384; Danckaerts, p. 159; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 194; Lindstrom, p. 254). Water was probably the most important beverage known to the Delaware at this time, but fruit juices and water flavored with crushed walnuts or hickory nuts are reported (Johnson, p. 281; Loskiel, p. 74; Kalm, p. 269). Tobacco was always mixed with willow bark or sumac for smoking (Loskiel, p. 73; Speck, 1931, p. 127). [263] 272 276

Manufactures

A wide variety of materials was utilized for cooking equipment. Serving dishes were made of wood, bark, shell, or a cut-off calabash; spoons were of wood or suitably shaped shells. Cups of tortoise shell have also been found (Johnson, p. 281; Harrington, 1913, p. 223; Danckaerts, p. 159; Lindstrom, p. 255; Pastorius, 1700, p. 384; Skinner, 1915, p. 38). Pottery, which was used for boiling, is found abundantly in Lenape territory. It was made of clay mixed with pounded sea shells, mica or sand and various combinations of these ingredients. The technique used was coiling. Designs consisted of lines and dots, stamped or incised on the vessel. Broken or cracked pieces were mended by lacing through holes bored on either side of the defect (Skinner, 1915, pp. 12 and 13; Heye, pp. 62-66; Abbott, 1875, p. 345; Smith, p. 138; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 89). 415 323

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
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the root, in the stump of which they dig out a round hole and thus make a mortar which is suited for the purpose and in which they pound all their grain to meal.[4] And then they bake their meal into small loaves as large as a small cheese,[5] in which they use a kind of berry like currants. Nor do they use any other bake-oven than the embers. The ashes they use according to the manner of the birds, to clean their stomach with, as the birds do with sand instead of salt, therefore they are not so particular, if their bread gets to be a little ashy. They have just recently begun to buy a little salt of the Christians, but they do not know how to use it otherwise than to chew a little of it at a time, like other costly spices.[6]

To brew ale or distill brandy, that they cannot turn their hand to. In reference to the frying by the savages [it is to be noted] that they know no other manner of doing it than to cut for themselves slender spits of wood, pass them through the meat or the fish, stick the spits down into the ground, and turn the meat or the fish near the fire.[7] When it now may be about half fried on the one side, then he turns the other side to the fire and when it is half fried on both sides, so that the blood still remains in it, then he considers it most wholesome and best to eat. In reference to the cooking of the savages [it may be stated] that they have

[4] Cf. Van der Donck and other Dutch writers of the early 17th Century, *N. Y. Col.*, 2, I, II, III.

[5] Perhaps six or eight inches in diameter.

[6] The natives apparently did not season their food with salt. Cf. Hodge, *Handbook*, II, 418 ff.

[7] See illustration facing page 253. The natives of Africa smoke and roast their fish in the same way.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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829 609 "Wayne acted; he was a true warrior and a brave man; "he was equal to any of the chiefs that we have, equal "to any that we ever had."

Thus, the Indians, while they deeply resent the wrongs and injuries which they have suffered, yet pay due homage to worth, bravery and military skill, even in an enemy. Strong as their feelings are, they do not extinguish their sense of justice, and they are still generously disposed to allow that there are great and good individuals among a race of men, who, they believe, have doomed them to utter destruction.

CHAPTER XXIV.

FOOD AND COOKERY.

262 THE principal food of the Indians consists of the game which they take or kill in the woods, the fish out of the waters, and the maize, potatoes, beans, pumpkins, [241] squashes, cucumbers, melons, and occasionally cabbages and turnips, which they raise in their fields; they make [222] use also of various roots of plants, fruits, nuts and berries out of the woods, by way of relish or as a seasoning to their victuals, sometimes also from necessity.

264 They commonly make two meals every day, which, they say, is enough. If any one should feel hungry between meal-times, there is generally something in the house ready for him.

[825] the grass with his head only above it, watching all around to see where the birds are building their nests, that he may know where to find the young ones when they are hatched.

2:Newcomb E-4,5 (1951-1952) 1956.
NM7 Delaware NM7

journeys in which corn was crushed into a meal, "or roasted in hot ashes, then crushed." To this maple sugar was added. This mixture could be stirred in water and boiled or could be eaten dry without cooking.[65] Adams, a Delaware and historian of his people, added that "they carried very simple food," parched corn pounded into a brown meal, sweetened with maple sugar, and mixed together with bear's lard.[66]

Water was the principal drink although various fruits and nuts were sometimes added. They "prepared a kind of liquor like milk by gathering a great number of hickory and black walnuts, dried and crushed them. Then they took out the kernels, pounded them as fine as flour, and mixed this with water so that it looked like milk and was almost as sweet."[67] Both Kinietz' and my informants (O.A., M.B.) held that their ancestors had regular meal times. Penn said that "they eat twice a day, Morning and Evening."[68] Men and women apparently ate together but children ate separately (O.A.). All of my informants stressed the fact that in the past an individual could eat anywhere in the village, and that everybody shared what food was available.

Food taboos. — It is unlikely that there were any general, culture-wide food taboos in early historic times. Certain foods may have been denied to an individual by his guardian spirit, but this is merely a supposition. Not even the animals symbolic of the phratries were taboo. Heckewelder, however, noted a taboo on the rabbit, identified with a culture-hero. He said that the Delawares, among other tribes, avoided the horse, dog, wildcat, ground hog, panther, fox, muskrat, and wolf;[69] De Laet, however, quoting Henry Hudson, described a "fat dog" which was butchered for a feast.[70] Rather than emphasize the few things that were not eaten by the Delawares, it would be more in keeping with the facts to state that the Delawares made relatively complete use of the edibles available to them, except rabbit and ground hog. Their tastes were catholic and were only slightly blunted by socioreligious proscriptions.

Delaware Economics

Although the methods by which and the persons by whom the need-serving goods were processed, distributed, and consumed are properly an aspect of social organization, it probably contributes more to an understanding of Delaware technology to discuss them under the heading of economics.

Division of Labor

The division of labor among the Delawares, as is true of cultures with analogous means of production, was predominantly sexual in

[65] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 22.
[66] Adams, 1905, p. 8.
[67] Kalm, 1937, I: 269.
[68] Penn, 1912, p. 233; Luckenbach, 1938, p. 599, agreed on this point.
[69] Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 251-52, 196; Zeisberger, 1910, pp. 132, 140.
[70] De Laet, 1909, p. 49.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

pouch or a beaver-pouch or one decorated with coral, made by the women. Sometimes they have a buffalo horn, from which a pouch, made possibly of tanned deer-skin, depends. In the pouches they carry tobacco, fire materials, knife and pipe. Sumac is generally mixed with tobacco or sumac smoked without tobacco, for but few can stand smoking pure tobacco. Their common conversation turns upon hunting or the news of the day. Matter that has no foundation in fact may be drawn into conversation, and even though all may be aware of this, the narration continues uninterrupted. They may laugh now and again but they will listen attentively. No one interrupts another. When one has finished another begins. They never put any one publicly to blush; they are polite to each other and enjoy being politely treated. They like to be regarded as worthy people even though they may be the opposite. They are pleased to know that they are liked. When a guest comes into a house, food is placed before him; that comes before anything else. If the guests are from a distance and very good friends, the whole kettle of food is set before them, they are given dishes and spoons and allowed to help themselves first to as much as they wish. The guests having partaken of the food, pass the kettle back to the people of the house. They live very simply. Meat, corn, gruel, corn-bread, are the principal articles of diet.[220] In lieu of meat, various dishes are prepared with corn, or Sopan, milk and butter are used. They like to discuss affairs of state and communicate their opinions. In fact they are more ready to discuss such matters in course of visits than in the Council House, for there they prefer to let the older people speak. Occasionally visits are made with the purpose of discovering the opinions of others; in a chief's home all manner of reports, true and false, furnish material for discussion. The women speak of their work, their plantations, the pouches, bags, baskets, carrying bands they have made, many of them though not all smoking tobacco. Stories are carried by women from house to house; they are so often manufactured that if men, having listened attentively to some tale, hear that it originated with a woman they will give it no credit until confirmed by some more reliable authority.

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

533 787 796x [276] who desire it to smoke until the next man is ready to commence. At this time also it is considered proper for the people to enter or leave the Big House, which is not permitted while the actual ceremony is in progress. When the turtle rattle has thus made the round of the building and gets back to its starting point, the meeting is brought to a close. This is usually along toward morning, the exact time of course being dependent on the number who have sung their visions, and on the length of the intermissions.

CONCLUSION OF RITES

252 796x Now, when the man who started the ceremonies begins to dance, that is a signal for two of the women *a'ckas*, or attendants, to go out and pound corn for hominy or meal, and two of their men colleagues cook it in the kettle hanging on the pole, so that it is ready when the turtle has made its rounds and the meeting is about to close. Then the repast 264 796x of hominy or corn mush called *sä'pan* is

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
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distributed, and the speaker says, "We will now pray twelve times," so twelve times they cry "*Ho-o-o!*" as a prayer. Then they feast, using musselshells from the river as spoons, and finally the speaker dismisses them with the words, "This is all for tonight; tomorrow night we will meet again."

264 ●
796 ×

DEPARTURE OF THE HUNTERS

When the next night arrives, approximately the same performance is repeated; and the same the next, with little of interest occurring during the day; but on the fourth morning, the leader who has selected a man for chief hunter, gives him a yard of wampum as pay. This master of the hunt then selects as many assistants as he wants, and he and his crew all gather in the Big House, where they are served about noon with a feast prepared for the occasion by the women of the camp, and the attendants tie sacks of the food to the hunters' saddles.

224
796 ×
[436]

When they have finished eating, they

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

The attendants have a table near the tent of one of the woman *a'ckas*, and here they eat.

VALUATION OF WAMPUM

For ceremonial purposes the wampum (white) is held at one cent a bead, one hundred to the dollar. Before the meeting the people give a yard or so apiece, if they are able, to show their appreciation and to be prayed for, or subscribe money for its purchase and for the other things needed at the meeting. The wampum is afterward redeemed at the same rate and is kept to use again.

INDIAN COMMENTS ON THE CEREMONY

Some explanations and remarks concerning the annual ceremony, as furnished by the Indians themselves, may prove of interest here.

Julius Fouts (or Fox), the interpreter, remarks:

"When the Delawares complete this meeting, then they claim they have worshiped everything on this earth. God gave the Powers Above authority to

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

twelfth cry, they say, was heard by the Great Manï'to. 796×

Feast.—The people were accustomed to eat a light supper before going into the meeting; then about midnight the four attendants carried around baskets with boiled meat and corn bread, and in the morning, before leaving the Big House, a regular feast of venison was served in new bark bowls and eaten with new bark spoons especially made for the purpose. [264]

Final Address.—Before the meeting closed, the speaker again addressed the people, telling them to do right, and prayed that the hunters about to leave for the winter hunt might be successful, and that all might live to meet again. [537]

CONCLUSION OF RITES

In the morning after the ceremonies in the Big House were finished, the people filed out through the west door, circled about the building, and lined up, facing eastward, to the east of it. Then they raised their hands and cried "*Ho-o-o!*"

9: Kinietz E-4,5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

+ = element present
− = element denied
(+) or (−) = source ambiguous
• = informant could not or would not say
§ = some, sometimes, or several
† or * = see Ethnographic Notes, pp. 79-137 for additional information

	Williams	Van der Donck	Lindeström	Zeisberger	Heckewelder	Johnston	Pipe	Chipps	J. W.	W. T.	E. R.	W. L.
236												
237												
241												
244												
252												
254												
262												
Food, mode of living, etc.—Continued												
298. Vegetables introduced by whites				+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+
299. Wild rice				(−)		−		−	−	−	−	−
300. Have regular meals		−			+	−		−	+	+	+	−
301. Generally eat together (family)		(+)						+	−	+	+	−
302. Men and women eat together		(+)				+		+	+	+	+	+
303. Neat in their cooking			−	§	+	−		+	+	+	+	+
304. Several cooking modes		−	+		*+	+		+	+	+	+	+
305. Generally prefer well done			−	+					+	+	+	+
306. Commonly eat in the night						−		+	−	−	−	−
307. Eat every kind of fish		+	(+)			+		+	−	+	•	+
Hunting												
308. Use bow and arrow	+	+	+		+	+		+	+	+	+	+
309. Rifle and fowling piece		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
310. Blow gun for birds and small game								+	+	+	•	+
311. Deadfall for raccoon	+					+			+	+	•	+
312. Torches at night on water for deer						+			•	+	•	•
313. Fish with spears	+		−					+	+	+	+	+
314. With hook and line	+	+	−					+	+	•	+	+
315. By shooting with arrows	+		+						+	+	+	+
316. Hunt in large parties	+	+	+	+		+		+	+	+	+	+
317. Number in party	300	100				10-15		40-50		15	4	6-7
318. Any attendant ceremonies			*(+)	−		−		−		+	+	+
319. Under guidance of oldest or most expert			+	+		+			+	+	+	+
320. Any peculiar laws in hunting			+	+	•	−	•	+	+	+	+	+
321. When two are hunting and one kills animals, it is divided equally				(+)		+		+	(+)	(+)	+	+
322. Person who kills or first wounds animal entitled to whole when stranger appears						+						
323. to skin and half of carcass				+				+	+			+

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

staple of more northern tribes, wild rice, apparently never figured in the diet of the Delaware, although W. T. claimed that it did (299). Little use seems to have been made of grasses or greens, but there is no suggestion that this avoidance was the result of a taboo.

Information on the regularity of meals among the Delaware is not conclusive (300). Van der Donck reported no regular meals in the first period, Heckewelder the reverse in the second period; but both Johnston and Chipps in the third period stated there were no regular meal times. In the fourth period three informants claimed regularity of meals for their ancestors as well as themselves; whereas the fourth, W. L., said that even when he was a boy there was always something to eat for the grownups and they ate when they felt like it. Chipps said that they ate in the night as often as in the day, but the other sources and informants denied this and maintained that it was only the hunter or traveler who returned at night that received anything to eat (306).

Men and women usually ate together according to the reports from all periods (302). Both J. W. and W. L. in the fourth period stated that children did not eat with the rest of the family (301). At some meals the children ate after the adults, who left them the amounts and parts of the food that they should eat. The last meal in the day for children was about four or five o'clock. From then on until the next morning they could have only water.

The question of neatness in cooking is a relative one (303). Lindeström and Johnston did not think they were neat at all. Zeisberger, Heckewelder, and Chipps, on the other hand, said that cleanliness was an individual matter but that on the whole the Delaware were much neater than many other tribes. The difference between Indian and white methods of cooking in the centuries past was probably much greater than the difference between the two now.

Van der Donck reported in the first period that boiling was the only mode of cooking meat used by the Indians (304). Since this was contradicted by Lindeström who wrote at practically

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute
Crow NQ10
Delaware NM7 ●
C
D
1111
785
796
●[264]

PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST—(*Concluded*)

Element	Occurrences																					
	ST	KA	Kio	Com	Kio	SBT	Del	Del	Wa	Cha	Cr	Cr	Hid	Ute	Ute	Ute	Ute	Tew				
210. Who blesses water	+	+	+	+		+	+	• –	–	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
211. Woman makes circuit of altar before taking water outside	+	+	+		(+)	+		–	–													
212. Woman returns immediately with food and water	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	• –	• –	+	• +	• +	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
213. "Peyote breakfast"	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	• –	• –	+	• +	• +	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
214. Lined up in front of door, in order (from fire toward door)		+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	• +	• +	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
215. Order: water, maise, fruit, meat		–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	• +	• +	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
216. Water, rice, fruit, meat	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
217. Water, maise, fruit, candy		–	–	–	–	• +	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
218. Water, maise, meat, fruit		–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
219. Parched maise in sweetened water		+		+	+	+	+	–	–	–	• +	• +	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
220. Candy also included in the breakfast	+	–	+	–	+	• +	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	• +	• +	• +	• +	• +	• +	• +	• +
221. Food blessed	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	• –	–	+	• +	• +	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
222. Wash before eating			–	–	–	–	–	• +		–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
223. Paraphernalia put away after blessing	+		+	+	+	+	+	• +	• +	+	• +	• +	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
224. Before eating	+		+	–		+		• +	• +	+	• +	• +	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
225. Drum untied	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	• +	• +	+	• +	• +	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
226. Water from drum drunk	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	• –	• –	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
227. Water touched to body with stick, hands—"baptism"	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
228. Any remaining poured on or between crescents	+	+	+	–	+	• +	–	–	• +	–	• +	• +	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
229. Objects used to tie on drumhead touched to body	+	+	+	+		–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
230. All parts of drum passed, handled	+	+	+	+		–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
231. Leader's outfit taken out by fire chief	+		+			+																
232. Food passed clockwise	+	+	+	+	+	+				–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
233. Replaced on floor between fire and door			?	+		+																
233a. Order before passing reversed				+		+																
234. Taken out by fire chief	+	+	• +	+		+		• –		–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
235. After food taken out, all go outside, about 9 A.M.	+	+	+	+	+	+		• +		–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
236. Sun greeted	+		• –	–	(–)	–																
237. Return to tipi to lounge, talk, smoke	+	+	• +	–	–	(–)	+	+														
238. Tipi dismantled, altar destroyed following meeting		• –	• +	+	–	+																

Comanche NO6
Delaware NM7

165. De 1: Ashes formed into an eagle in one small-moon variant (Petrullo, 78). De 2: Ashes piled on each side of fire to represent the lungs of Jesus. Also formed into a heart (Petrullo, 101, 181). Win: Ashes formed into a moon twice during the ritual and, in addition, formed into a heart twice, the "Morning Star" twice (the second time with lines across two points), a cross (by filling with embers the interspaces of the cross incised on floor), and finally a sun (Praus).

169. De 2: See note 163. Cr 2: By cedarman (Voget).

170. Cr 2: Four blasts on the whistle; then two songs are sung, the first being "fixed" (Voget).

171. WRS: Sometimes twice (Shimkin).

172. De 2: Special water song used to call for fresh water in morning (Petrullo, 93).

173-174: Com and No C: Water handed into lodge by women; put in position by fire chief (Hoebel). Kio: Woman once observed blessing water at midnight (Noon).

176. W-P: Cedarman only sprinkles cedar on fire; no prayer.

177. Ab S: Swings water bucket four times over fire on which cedar has been sprinkled (Voegelin).

180. Cr 1: Drummer both smokes and prays (Voget).

182. Gos: To moisten "mother earth" (Malouf).

186. Cr 2: Makes circuit of room after removing water (Voget).

187. Ab S: Drum and staff were lying beside the leader; he picks up staff at this point and hands it to man on his left, while he goes outside with whistle (Voegelin). Win: During drinking of water at midnight, staff placed upright in hole just west of incised horseshoe, in front of leader (Praus).

188. Win: Drummer goes outside after paraphernalia placed (Praus).

193. Win: Only individual fans used after midnight (Praus). Kio: Only fans (Noon).

194. K-A: No urging; each is expected to be his own judge (McAllister). Kio: Depends on leader and age of those to whom he is talking (La Barre). Cr 1: "Chief tells them to eat all they wish, but it is up to the individual. Free will, you know. He does not coax to fill them up, or not to" (Voget). Gos: Urged to eat as much as desired (Malouf).

195. Kio: Depends on leader and age of those to whom he is talking (La Barre). Ute: In "old Sioux way" devotees urged not to eat too much; usually eat only four buttons.

196. Kio: As designated by leader (La Barre). De 2: Road man usually announces that anyone wishing to pray through a cigarette may do so after midnight, but some leaders do not approve of individual prayers (Webber).

197. Kio: As designated by leader (La Barre). Kic: Exceptional. Only when woman is close friend of family of person being treated. Spiritual value of prayers of friends is greater (Noon).

198. W-P: For special individual prayers, leader rolls the cigarettes, to which he adds ground sage leaves. See note 57 Ab S.

201. De 2: Road chief lighted and puffed cigarette before handing it to individual for his prayer; then this chief puffed it and prayed following individual (Petrullo, 93). Cr 2: It might be handed to anyone (Voget).

202. No C: Instead of to cedarman, butt handed to fire chief, who blows four puffs toward altar (Hoebel).

205. Kio: Procedure not rigid. Leader may run this differently at each meeting (La Barre). W-P: Leader occasionally but not usually prays following individual prayers.

206. Kio: May leave between a man's four songs, if gets leader's permission. Prescribed etiquette for passing before smokers and eaters (La Barre). Cr 1 and 2: Permissible to leave any time, if necessary (Voget). Gos: No one left during songs, but several went outside during prayers in early morning (Malouf).

207. De 2: Fixed water call in morning for fire chief to bring pail of fresh water, replacing that which had been in meeting all night. (Petrullo, 93, 102). All blessings by road chief in Big Moon variant (Webber; Petrullo, 102). Win: No water brought into meeting in morning (Praus). Gos: See note 265a.

209. De 2: See note 207.

210. De 2: Road chief blesses water (Webber).

212-213. De 2: No peyote breakfast (Petrullo, 94). Peyote breakfast present in all Big Moon variants (Petrullo, 157). As a rule, at "Wilson way" meeting no peyote breakfast served; instead candy, refreshments served, especially if among rich Oklahoma Indians (Webber). Win:

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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262 157 tion, adding that the hog and the bear fed on dirty things, and yet we ate their meat with a good appetite. The cat, however, notwithstanding all the arguments in its favour, remained untouched, and was taken back by the old hunter and cook to its former place at his fire.

But now, Papunhank, whom we believed to be lost, and our guide, who once more had gone out, and exerted himself in vain to kill a deer, came in together. The guide had been desired as he pursued his hunt to look for our lost companion, and had the good luck to find him at the distance of five or six miles, with a fine deer that he had killed. He lost no time in bringing him back to our camp.

The sight of these two men dragging a large deer along was truly joyful to us, as well on account of the recovery of our lost friend, as of the meat that he brought. All felt the cravings of hunger, all were delighted with the certain prospect of immediate relief, yet no boisterous or extraordinary rejoicing took place, but all called out with one voice: *Anischi! Anischi!* we are thankful. The wild cat, which yet remained untouched, was thrown out of the camp, and dismissed by the old cook with these words: "Go, cat, we do not want you this time!"

261 266 [251] The woods and waters, at certain times and seasons, furnish to the Indians an abundant supply of wholesome nourishing food, which, if carefully gathered, cured and stored up, would serve them for the whole year, so that none need perish or even suffer from hunger; but they are not accustomed to laying in stores of provisions, except some Indian corn, dry beans and a few other articles. Hence they are sometimes reduced to great straits, and not seldom in absolute want of the necessaries of life, especially in the time of war. Yet, notwithstanding the numerous famines they have been visited with, they have among their traditions but one instance on record in which an human life was taken for the support of others, although they relate many cases

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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in which numbers of them were actually starved to death. 266
The case I allude to was so singular a circumstance, that it seems the cruel act to which it gave rise was almost unavoidable. I shall relate it here as I have received it from the most unquestionable authority.

In the winter of 1739—40, ever since remembered as the hard winter, when the ground was covered with a very deep snow, a woman with three children, was coming from beyond the Allegheny mountains on a visit to her friends or relations residing at the great island on the west branch of the Susquehannah. After she had reached [103] that river somewhere about *Achtschingi Clammui*, which the whites have corrupted into *Chingieclamoose*, the snow fell in earlier than had been before known, to such a depth, that she could not proceed any farther. She began with putting herself and her children on short allowance, in hopes that the weather might become more moderate, or the snow so hard that they could walk over it. She strove to make her little store of provisions last as long as she could, by using the grass which grew on the river's edge, and certain barks as substitutes, which she boiled to make them digestible; but more snow falling, until at last it rose to the height of a fathom or six feet, she was deprived even of that wretched food, and the wolves hovering about day and night, often attempting to rush into her little encampment, her whole time was taken up with procuring wood and making fires to prevent herself and her children from being frozen to death, and keeping those voracious animals at a distance by throwing out fire-brands to them. Her situation, at last, became intolerable. Having no alternative but that of sacrificing one of her children, she resolved on destroying the youngest, in order to preserve the others and herself from the most dreadful death. After much hesitation, she turned away her eyes and with a trembling hand gave the fatal stroke, filling at the same time the air with her loud lamentations.—She now thought she had obtain-

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

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266

ed a temporary relief, and that she might be able to support herself and her surviving children until a change in the weather should take place, so that they could be able to proceed on their journey; but the wolves getting the scent of the slaughtered child, became more furious than before, her danger every moment became more imminent. She now filled the air with her cries and supplications to the Great Spirit that he would look down with compassion on their awful condition, and save them by his almighty power.—But still the danger increased, the horrid food was almost exhausted, and no relief came. Already she contemplated sacrificing another child; she looked at each of them again and again with a mother's eye, now resolving on killing the one, then changing her mind, and endeavouring to determine on the destruction of the other; she hesitated, wept, despaired, and the children, well understanding what she meant, prayed that they might all die together. While in this situation, her hand already lifted to strike the fatal stroke, the yell of two approaching Indians strikes her ear, and the murderous weapon falls from her hand. The men with rackets to their feet now appear and the dreadful scene is at once closed. They had provisions with them. They made a pair of rackets for the woman to walk on, and brought her and her children along in safety to the Big Island, where my informants resided at the time. I cannot remember whether they told me that they had gone to that spot in consequence of a dream, or of some strong presentiment that they should find human creatures in distress; certain I am, however, that it was owing to one or other of these causes.

[481]

[103]

The place where this awful event took place was since called *Enda Mohótink*, which means "where human flesh was eaten." This name has been very familiar to the Indians who resided in that part of the country.

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184

There is a spot of land at the edge of the great Pine or Beech Swamp, precisely where it is crossed by the

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7
Huron NM5
Cherokee NM8

are heated, and the unfortunate captive is bound to a stake placed at some distance from the fire. He is burned with the irons. Long strips of flesh are cut from his body with knives and salt is rubbed into the raw wounds. He may be half roasted at the fire, then released for a time, with a view to prolonging his tortures, which sometimes last three or four days. At length rendered insensible by pain, death may bring release, or his tormentors put an end to his sufferings and throw the mangled body into the flames. Captives often endure the torture with the greatest fortitude, sing of their heroic deeds accomplished in war, and do not let their captors notice fear or terror of death.

Now and then a condemned prisoner is released by ransom; sometimes release is refused no matter how much is offered. In the year 1779 among the Wiandots a white captive was tortured to death. Several English traders who were there offered goods to the amount of several hundred buckskins, that is so many Spanish dollars but without success. Among the Mingoes and Shawanose this inhuman method of treating captives is particularly in use. In course of the present war[71] they have given several horrid proofs of their cruel disposition.

Some years ago when a party of Shawanose went to war against the Cherokees, a young Shawanose was taken captive by the Cherokees and condemned to die. On the following day the fire was started, he was tied to the stake, and every preparation made for his execution, when a Cherokee woman arrived with a parcel of goods, and throwing them down at the feet of the warrior to whom the prisoner belonged begged for his release, alleging that she was a widow and wished to adopt him as her son. Her request was granted, the captive released and delivered over to her, and on the same day he walked up and down the village well dressed. He was so grateful to his protectress that he remained faithful to her, even returning in due time from a visit he paid to his own people.

The statement that the Indians are cannibals is unfounded in fact. It has happened in some cases that prisoners were devoured, and it may happen now on rare occasions to satisfy vengeful hate. Formerly Indians have been known in the height of their fury to tear an enemy's heart out of his body and devour

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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it raw. When an Indian nation wishes to excite another to war, it sometimes happens that they send one or more prisoners to such a nation with the words, "We send you this prisoner to make some broth," and frequently gain their aim in this fashion. The prisoner, however, is not devoured but executed without mercy. There is no rescuing him from horrible death.

Captains, when about to go to war, send to the captains of nations or towns who are in league with them a piece of tobacco to smoke, thus notifying them that they themselves will soon follow. By this they intend that the captains shall smoke their pipes and consider seriously whether they will take part in the war or not. One chief about to visit another will, similarly, send him a piece of tobacco with the message that he shall smoke, look in a certain direction and in due time he will see the sender coming. This is done to make sure that the visitor will find the chief whom he wishes to visit at home.

The last war of the nations was between the Six Nations, the Delawares and Shawanose and the Cherokees, the latter pitted against the rest. This war continued many years until peace was concluded in 1768,[272] as, a few years before, peace had been made between the Six Nations and the Catabe-Nation[273] through the mediation of Sir William Johnson at Albany. Concerning earlier Indian wars nothing is known and since that time war with the whites has engaged the attention of all the Indian nations.

With the Delawares the following nations are in league: The Mahikanider,[274] the Shawanose, the Cherokees, the Twichtwes,[275] the Wawiachtanos,[276] the Kikapus,[277] the Wiondats, the Tuckachschas,[278] the Chipuways, Ottawas, the Putewoataimen[279] and the Kaskaski.[280] The two last named dwell along the Wabash.[281]

The Shawanose, who formerly lived in Florida and have ever been a warlike people, had a war with the Moshkos.[282] The latter were the stronger and the Shawanose were reduced to a few remnants. The survivors left their country, came as fugitives up the Ohio to the Susquehanna. [Susquehannah]. They moved from place to place until they fell in with a strong party of Delawares. With these they entered into negotiations, stat-

+ = element present
− = element denied
(+) or (−) = source ambiguous
• = informant could not or would not say
s = some, sometimes, or several
† or * = see Ethnographic Notes, pp. 79-137 for additional information*

	Williams	Van der Donck	Lindestrom	Zeisberger	Heckewelder	Johnston	Pipe	Chippa	J. W.	W. T.	E. R.	W. L.
						634	574	858	2695	191	538	576	244	793	155	756	342
Medicine—Continued												
52. Perform surgical operation				(−)		−		−	−	−	−	−
53. Unite profession with priesthood	(+)		(+)			−		−	−	−	−	−
54. Always use juggling tricks †	+	s	s	s	s	−		−	s		s	s
55. Beat on own breast	+		(+)		+	+			+	+	+	+
56. Blow in hands	+		(+)		+	+			+	−	+	+
57. Make rumbling noise	+		+	+		+			+	−	+	+
58. Blow on patient	+		+	+	+	+			+	+	+	+
59. Rub the part affected						+			+	+	+	+
60. Have effect on patient's confidence						+			+	+	+	+
General Manners and Customs												
61. Eat human flesh			*(−)	−	−	−	•	−	−	−	−	−
62. Shake hands on meeting; inquire about health and express gladness to see	(±)			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
64. Great respect paid age or rank				+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
65. Visit one another for purpose of conversation	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
66. Regular parties at which they entertain				+		+	•	•	+	+	+	+
67. Practice of telling stories				+		+	+	•	+	+	+	+
68. In winter and at night only						+	•	•	+	+	+	•+
69. Use words equivalent to swearing		−		−		+	−	−	−	−	−	−
70. Exhibit strong feelings of love, friendship and affection to same sex					+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
71. to opposite sex						+	−	+	+	−	+	•
72. common to try to suppress to same sex						+	−	+	+	−	−	+
73. common to try to suppress to opposite sex						+	+	+	+	−	−	•
74. Matter of pride to suppress feelings or excitement, especially fear and shame				+		+	•	+	+	(+)	+	+
75. On return home men treat wives with indifference					+	+	+	•	−	+	−	+
76. On return home men treat children with indifference					−	−	•	•	−	−	−	−
77. Powers of recollection strong			+		+	+	•	+	+	+	+	+
78. Any peculiarities in encampments (except war) or building of huts that distinguish from others				+		•+	•	•	•	+	•+	+

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

cloth. Doctor gets in on north side of blanket, sits on west side of hole. Has handkerchief tying hair back. Puts water next to hole. Sprinkles water with fingers on rocks, four times with left hand while feeling patient over with right. Then takes mouthful of water which he spits on rock. Makes talk, blows on patient's sternum. Then knows disease. Slaps hands together to make more steam on patient. Then goes out after five or ten minutes, covers himself with blanket for three or four minutes with handkerchief off. Then goes back in with handkerchief on repeats previous performance and begins to sing, slaps hands while singing. Goes out again. Three times is all. Third person sits outside and after third time wraps patient up and takes him home and cleans him up. Doctor then cleans up himself and sweat house and goes to see patient or patient's relatives. Tells him disease and cure which may be sweat treatment for three, four or five days, and certain foods patient cannot eat. For instance, no meat or salt, grease for six days. A little tobacco is put in fire when building it. Just a little fire. Never use rocks again. Sweat house is only for those past five years of age. When younger, doctor places them on a warm rock outside. Tells mother what to eat if baby is nursing. Give baby herbs, maybe twice a day for couple of days. Payment is voluntary."

General Manners and Customs

The practice of eating human flesh even ceremonially has been denied by the Delaware and accounts of the Delaware throughout all the years back to Lindeström (61). This Swedish writer did not explicitly deny that the Delaware ate human flesh, but in describing the practice among the Minqua he implied that it was not true of the Delaware. The Delaware have a tale of cannibalism in the very early days which was the result of famine brought on by violation of a taboo. Aside from this case they admit no knowledge of cannibalism among them. Tribes with whom they were in contact from early historic times and before practiced cannibalism ceremonially and in times of famine. These were principally the Conestoga (the Minqua of Lindeström) and Iroquois. The latter have been credited with orig-

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

266 727 inating the torture of prisoners, burning at the stake, and eating of their flesh. These elements were considered to have been adopted by other tribes in retaliation. Hence it is difficult to understand how the Delaware could have escaped or withstood this influence. The only explanation that seems at all plausible is that when the Delaware were subjugated by the Iroquois early in the eighteenth century, they lost the prime reason for the practice and soon lost even the memory of it.

576 According to information from the eighteenth century and later, the Indian mode of greeting was shaking hands (62). The three manuscripts of the early nineteenth century claimed that shaking hands was a very old Indian custom and one in existence before white contact. In the national worshiping society or Big House where an effort was made to preserve ancient customs, the left hand was used. This was the hand nearer the heart and so considered to be a more direct conveyance of friendship. It is interesting to note that the two modern informants who have participated in the Big House confirmed this use of the left hand, whereas the two who have had no firsthand information of this ceremony claimed the right hand was always used by the Delaware. None of the seventeenth-century sources, including accounts not used in the tabulation, referred to hand shaking. This absence of mention is not surprising as many details were ignored by the early writers, but in the case of Williams who gave many different expressions for greetings and included a description of an Indian stroking a sachem upon both shoulders, the suggestion is strong that hand shaking was not in use until learned from the whites. Early accounts of customs at the time of contact between other tribes and whites also indicate that hand shaking was not an Indian custom. Hence, we have a custom that was borrowed from the whites some time before the accounts of the second period.

576 562 There seems to have been a change in the freedom with which emotions toward the same and the opposite sex were exhibited (70-73). Part of the responsibility for the apparent change may be assigned to a lack of information or understanding. It is doubtful if any conclusions are warranted on the basis of the

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

57. Rumbling noise made by jugglers

755
[756] The rumbling noise made by jugglers mentioned in the earlier accounts was replaced by singing in the accounts of J. W., W. T., and W. L., all of whom said that the sweat doctor sang or talked about his vision which gave him his power to see into the vitals of the patient and determine the nature of his illness.

GENERAL MANNERS AND CUSTOMS

61. Eating of human flesh

●266 There is no statement about the eating of human flesh in LINDESTRÖM, but there is a description of torture by fire among
[727] the Minquas, and the inference is that such was not practiced among the Delaware and, also, that the eating of human flesh was not common if present at all.

62. Handshaking

576 JOHN JOHNSTON—[Salutation is] by shaking each other by the left hand as token of friendship considering the left hand to be the nighest to the heart. They say but little, except I am glad to see you your looks are familiar the countenance expressed gladness. (Shaking hands is an Indian, and they say an ancient custom.)

CAPTAIN PIPE—Their mode of salutation in meeting is not peculiar. They sometimes express a pleasure in seeing each other, at others the simple *Anishee*, (I am thankful,) is the only expression. They do not as with us, inquire after the health of their families, but of their business, route, etc. It is believed that shaking hand is an Indian custom, but before their knowledge of the whites they used the left hand. In the Engŭmween, or wor-
[796] shiping assembly, where ancient customs are said to prevail altŏgether, they always use the left hand.

CAPTAIN CHIPPS—The mode of salutation is by shaking hands:—inquiries after healths succeed. The shaking of hands (say they) "was in use from the time they were created."

J. W. and W. L. say that using left hand was formerly Delaware custom.

[P. 35, B]

562
571 women, and might safely therefore be more "friendly" with them.

Oral Fixation

153 There is some evidence to suggest a preoccupation, which had a large component of aggressiveness, with oral needs. This concern with eating (and with other oral phenomena, such as ritualistic pipe-smoking, naming, and oratory), which reached far beyond subsistence requirements, can hardly be ascribed to a realistic subsistence anxiety since the Delawares had ample supplies of animal and vegetable foods at their disposal, and adequate techniques for cultivating, gathering, preserving, and storing them. It is worth [787] mentioning that the pubescent Delaware solicited the favor of a guardian spirit by self-imposed fasting; the spirit was supposed to pity him and appear in a vision; later the spirit would be important to him in helping to secure food.[23] Oral rituals, often with a compulsive quality, were a [527] recurrent institutional theme: almost all social gatherings involved eating, smoking, and oratory, and some were frankly eating-orgies—the famous "eat-all" feasts, for example; the fondness for liquor may be regarded as an oral trait of compulsive [757] character;[24] internal medicines were usually [758] taken as liquid herbal infusions, usually in large doses;[25] the sick lived on a liquid [754] diet;[26] suicide and witchcraft were both 762 accomplished in most cases by poison taken by mouth;[27] tortured prisoners were some-[727] times ceremonially eaten, and hunger ● 266 cannibalism was reported;[28] war parties made a ceremonial feast the night before their departure;[29] emetics were extensively [757] used in the treatment of disease, and vomit-777 ing was thought to relieve a sense of guilt, and also to bring luck.[30]

23. Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 132-133.
24. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 116; Heckewelder, 1819, p. 263.
25. Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 24-25; Tantaquidgeon.
26. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 24.
27. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 125; Heckewelder, 1819, p. 258.
28. Heckewelder, 1819, p. 199; Zeisberger, 1778, p. 107-108.
29. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 103.
30. Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 84, 133-134.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7

journeys in which corn was crushed into a meal, "or roasted in hot ashes, then crushed." To this maple sugar was added. This mixture could be stirred in water and boiled or could be eaten dry without cooking.[65] Adams, a Delaware and historian of his people, added that "they carried very simple food," parched corn pounded into a brown meal, sweetened with maple sugar, and mixed together with bear's lard.[66]

Water was the principal drink although various fruits and nuts were sometimes added. They "prepared a kind of liquor like milk by gathering a great number of hickory and black walnuts, dried and crushed them. Then they took out the kernels, pounded them as fine as flour, and mixed this with water so that it looked like milk and was almost as sweet."[67] Both Kinietz' and my informants (O.A., M.B.) held that their ancestors had regular meal times. Penn said that "they eat twice a day, Morning and Evening."[68] Men and women apparently ate together but children ate separately (O.A.). All of my informants stressed the fact that in the past an individual could eat anywhere in the village, and that everybody shared what food was available.

Food taboos. — It is unlikely that there were any general, culture-wide food taboos in early historic times. Certain foods may have been denied to an individual by his guardian spirit, but this is merely a supposition. Not even the animals symbolic of the phratries were taboo. Heckewelder, however, noted a taboo on the rabbit, identified with a culture-hero. He said that the Delawares, among other tribes, avoided the horse, dog, wildcat, ground hog, panther, fox, muskrat, and wolf;[69] De Laet, however, quoting Henry Hudson, described a "fat dog" which was butchered for a feast.[70] Rather than emphasize the few things that were not eaten by the Delawares, it would be more in keeping with the facts to state that the Delawares made relatively complete use of the edibles available to them, except rabbit and ground hog. Their tastes were catholic and were only slightly blunted by socioreligious proscriptions.

Delaware Economics

Although the methods by which and the persons by whom the need-serving goods were processed, distributed, and consumed are properly an aspect of social organization, it probably contributes more to an understanding of Delaware technology to discuss them under the heading of economics.

Division of Labor

The division of labor among the Delawares, as is true of cultures with analogous means of production, was predominantly sexual in

[65] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 22.
[66] Adams, 1905, p. 8.
[67] Kalm, 1937, I: 269.
[68] Penn, 1912, p. 233; Luckenbach, 1938, p. 899, agreed on this point.
[69] Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 251-52, 196; Zeisberger, 1910, pp. 132, 140.
[70] De Laet, 1909, p. 49.

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
NM7 Delaware NM7

572 table and crosses his legs and requests then of the
574 food on the table which he fancies. But when one
516 gives strong drinks to the savage, either wine or
● [271] brandy, which he desires greatly, one must take
273 care not to give him too much, for then he becomes as though he were quite raving, throws and rolls himself into the burning fire, with a loud cry, and may then easily strike his good friend to death or otherwise set fire to the house, not knowing what he does; for he is not accustomed to such strong drinks. His daily drink is with the goose,[4] which holds his five senses together.

572 But when now the Christians come to the sav-
574 ages in their dwellings then the savages spread frieze and beautiful rugs on the ground, requesting them to sit down to rest. Then they bring forth such food as they have [on hand], namely a
[262] bag full of their bread, deer meat, elk meat and bear meat, fresh fish, bear pork and bear fat,[5] instead of butter; but this[6] is mostly raw, for they do not fry it any other way than on the coals (about which we shall learn further hereafter in the chapter concerning the household economy of the savages). This present one must not disdain, but accept with all thankfulness and praise, otherwise the savages will become very raving and impatient, so that their friendship is thereby turned into the greatest revenge and enmity. If one has any horse along, then the savages place the same kind of food before it also, which one must steal away from the horse, and thank the savage for

[4] His daily drink is the same as that of the goose, that is water.
[5] *Björneister.*
[6] Food, *i.e.*, meat and fish.

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
NM7 Delaware NM7

a full [supply] of copper and brass kettles for the purpose, large and small, which the savages buy from the Christians, hanging on a pole[8] along their hut or house from the one door to the other, below which the fire is made up, as has been stated before. And the savage woman whom the sachem owns for a wife, she is the housekeeper for the whole crowd. She selects for the cooking and determines which one of the savage women then and then,[9] each in her turn, shall look after the cooking. When now they think that the food is cooked, which indeed they use half cooked, then the kettles are carried forth to the housekeeper who pours out the food and divides it around for the people, 6 and 6 to a kettle. The vessels used for this purpose are small copper and brass kettles and cut-off calibashes like cups.[10]

As far as their drink is concerned [it may be said] that they drink with the goose.[11]

But when the Christians bake bread of this maize or Indian wheat, they also do it with hot embers in the fireplace. They make and knead the whole dough into one loaf, as wide as the bottom of the oven, raised like a loaf of rye bread. Then they sweep the fireplace clean and lay a couple of layers of large leaves next to the stones upon which they place the bread, then some layers [of leaves] on top and around the bread, and then

[8] *Hängandes på en åhs.* *Ås* in this connection would usually mean the ridge (ridge-pole) of a house, but Lindeström apparently uses the word in the sense of a pole.

[9] *Då och då*, *i.e.*, from time to time.

[10] See above, Chapt. VII, note 13. It seems strange that Lindeström does not mention clay pots.

[11] See above, p. 234, note 4.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7

journeys in which corn was crushed into a meal, "or roasted in hot ashes, then crushed." To this maple sugar was added. This mixture could be stirred in water and boiled or could be eaten dry without cooking.[85] Adams, a Delaware and historian of his people, added that "they carried very simple food," parched corn pounded into a brown meal, sweetened with maple sugar, and mixed together with bear's lard.[86]

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[86] Adams, 1905, p. 8.
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[88] Penn, 1912, p. 233; Luckenbach, 1938, p. 599, agreed on this point.
[89] Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 251-52, 196; Zeisberger, 1910, pp. 132, 140.
[90] De Laet, 1909, p. 49.

Food Preservation and Cooking

Passing to the problem of food preservation, we find that such crops as maize, tobacco and meat were most commonly stored in pits covered over first with bark or grass and then with earth (Lindstrom, p. 253; Johnson, p. 279; Krieger, p. 39; De Rasieres, p. 107). The house was also an important storage place, the food being placed in hemp bags and suspended from the ceiling (Johnson, p. 279; Harrington, 1913, p. 218; Heckewelder, 1820, p. 370). 251

Maize was used in a variety of ways. According to one author, those stalks that produced no ears were pulled early and the sap sucked from them (De Rasieres, p.107). The ears were either roasted in ashes or boiled. Most of the maize, however, seems to have been pounded or ground into flour and sifted through a basket of the desired coarseness. The finer flour was mixed with lukewarm water, kneaded into dough and made into round, flat little cakes which were baked in hot ashes. The coarser flour was made into porridge (i.e. boiled with water) to which nuts, beans, berries, pumpkin or meat were sometimes added (Penn, pp. 31-32; Lindstrom, p. 254; De Rasieres, p. 107; Danckhaerts, p. 159; Johnson, p. 281; Heckewelder, 1781, pp. 194-96; Loskiel, p. 67). Indeed, there seems to have been almost endless variety in the preparation of these cornflour dishes. 252

The other vegetables were most commonly eaten boiled and, it should be noted, without seasoning except ashes, as the Delaware did not use salt (Pastorius, 1700, p. 384; Danckaerts, p. 159; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 194; Lindstrom, p. 254). Water was probably the most important beverage known to the Delaware at this time, but fruit juices and water flavored with crushed walnuts or hickory nuts are reported (Johnson, p. 281; Loskiel, p. 74; Kalm, p. 269). Tobacco was always mixed with willow bark or sumac for smoking (Loskiel, p. 73; Speck, 1931, p. 127). [263] 272 276

Manufactures

A wide variety of materials was utilized for cooking equipment. Serving dishes were made of wood, bark, shell, or a cut-off calabash; spoons were of wood or suitably shaped shells. Cups of tortoise shell have also been found (Johnson, p. 281; Harrington, 1913, p. 223; Danckaerts, p. 159; Lindstrom, p. 255; Pastorius, 1700, p. 384; Skinner, 1915, p. 38). Pottery, which was used for boiling, is found abundantly in Lenape territory. It was made of clay mixed with pounded sea shells, mica or sand and various combinations of these ingredients. The technique used was coiling. Designs consisted of lines and dots, stamped or incised on the vessel. Broken or cracked pieces were mended by lacing through holes bored on either side of the defect (Skinner, 1915, pp. 12 and 13; Heye, pp. 62-66; Abbott, 1875, p. 345; Smith, p. 138; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 29). 415 323

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

773 796x dropped the twelfth he disappeared, while they heard the heavens crack like thunder behind him as he went in. After this the Lenape began to hold these meetings according to the instructions he had given them.

NUMBER OF CEREMONIES

796x There were two of these ceremonies every year, both held in the Minsi Big House (*W'a'tekan*), which was quite similar to that of the Unami. One of these, performed about June when the wild strawberries were ripe, lasted only a single night; the other, early in winter, covered twelve days and nights. This latter corresponds to the Annual Ceremony of the Unami.

[272] At the June ceremony fresh strawberries were made into a drink for the people, which reminds one of the Iroquois Strawberry Dance, or Dance of First Fruits, as it is sometimes called. Strawberries were dried at this time to make a drink for the Winter Ceremony. [251]

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

537 796x the camp about it, and advised them to be always honest and kind and hospitable. He held virtue as something to be followed, at the same time condemning evil, every vice that he could think of being mentioned.

537 782 796x The chief then gave thanks for everything he could remember, from the heavenly bodies to the animals, trees, and herbs of the earth, not forgetting corn, beans, and squashes; and prayer for successful hunting and good health for all the people. At the summer meeting he prayed for good crops also. When he had finished, bear's fat was thrown on the two fires, and the smoke rose and filled the place with its odor.

CEREMONIAL DRINK

272 796x At this point it was customary to pass around a vessel of drink made of crushed wild strawberries, from which each person present swallowed about a spoonful, a drink made at the Summer Ceremony of fresh fruit, but in winter necessarily of berries dried for the purpose.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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which our aborigines do not hesitate to make, that before the Europeans landed in those parts of the American continent, they were unacquainted with that shameful disorder which attacks generation in its sources. I am well aware that this complaint is generally believed to have been communicated by the new world to the old. I do not know upon what proofs this opinion rests, but I am disposed to give credit to the uniform assertion of our northern Indians, that this contagion was first introduced among them by emigrants from Europe. However it may be, it is a lamentable fact that they are now very generally infected with it, and that their population can not long resist its destructive operation upon their once strong and healthy constitutions, particularly as it is associated with the abuse of strong liquors, now so prevalent among them.

Of the manner in which they have acquired this latter vice, I presume there can be no doubt. They charge us in the most positive manner with being the first who made them acquainted with ardent spirits, and what is worse, with having exerted all the means in our power to induce them to drink to excess. It is very certain that the processes of distillation and fermentation are entirely unknown to the Indians, and that they have among them no intoxicating liquors but such as they receive from us. The Mexicans have their *Pulque*, and other indigenous beverages of an inebriating nature, but the North American Indians, before their intercourse with us commenced, had absolutely nothing of the kind. The smoke of the American weed, tobacco, was the only means that they at that time had in use to produce a temporary exhilaration of their spirits.

I have related in a former chapter,* the curious account given by the Delawares and Mohicans of the scene which took place when they were first made to taste spirituous liquors by the Dutch who landed on New York

* See ch. 2.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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622 are moved neither by fear of men nor of God; fortunately there are few such.

[273] Strong drink occasions much disorder in the Indian towns.[266] If a chief is himself an abstainer, he may accomplish much against this evil, but he must be ever watchful and not tire in his efforts.

[428] At the death of a chief neither his children, wife, nor relatives inherit his possessions. Everything is distributed among the people except the wampum and belts, which belong to the chief in his official capacity, and the Council Bag. These are preserved and turned over to his successor in office. In general, some person who lived in intimacy with the deceased chief, and is well acquainted with the affairs of state is chosen to be his successor. It is generally agreed that such and such an one is the right person to assume the dignity of chief. If he is discreet and wins the favor of the captains and the people, the former in particular, will support him in every possible way. A captain, such as White Eye[267] was, is the Chief's right hand. He must undertake everything ordered of him by the chief, even at the hazard of his life. To show fear would not be in harmony with his dignity and a disgrace. If he is wounded or killed by the enemy, the whole nation joins in avenging his death, taking injury done him as seriously as if it concerned the person of the chief. This the captains are aware of and it gives them courage.

624

728 A captain has no more right to conclude peace than a chief to begin war.[268] If peace is offered to a captain, when he is in the enemy's country, he can give no other answer than that he will bring the proposal to the notice of the chief, for as a warrior he cannot make peace, and that in due time reply will be given. If the chief inclines to peace, he, as it were, assumes his office again, exerts his power, takes the matter out of the hands of the captain and desires him to sit down, which signifies declaring a truce. The hatchet is taken out of the captain's hand and he is obliged to cease from hostilities and keep his men quiet. The chief knowing that inactivity is not agreeable to the captain, asks his assistance in the negotiations and generally chooses him to be the messenger of peace to the

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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Trade with Europeans is carried on usually on the basis of fixed price, both as concerns goods and pelts. The Indians trade their deer, beaver, otter, raccoon, fox-skins, wild-cat-skins and others for goods which the traders often take a considerable distance into the Indian country. If they can deceive the whites, they do so with pleasure, for it is not easily done. They are delighted, also, if they succeed in purloining something. They are fond of buying on credit, promising to pay when they return from the chase. The traders may be willing to take the risk, hoping to control all that they catch. But if the Indians, on their return, find other traders in the country, they barter with them and trouble themselves no longer over their creditors. If the latter remind them of their debts, they are offended, for to pay old debts seems to them to be giving goods away for nothing. Usually traders learn from their losses to give nothing or but little on credit. This is the safest course and there is no danger in arousing the enmity of the Indians. When war breaks out the traders are the first in danger, not only of losing their property but also for their lives. When the Indians suspect a war approaching, they keep it secret and take as many goods upon credit as they can get; as soon as the war breaks out all debts are cancelled.

The Indians trade much among themselves, especially the women, who deal in rum, which they sell at exorbitant prices, which occasions much disorder. Indian traders usually demand high prices, knowing well that unless the buyer were in great distress, or fully intent upon closing the bargain, he would rather not deal with them. Indians when really anxious to obtain anything will pay almost any price. If they are in need of corn they will give goods or pelts in exchange for it. Frequently, the chiefs have prohibited the sale of strong drink in their towns, but it is always brought in in some manner, against which the chiefs are powerless to protest. For instance, they may appoint a sacrifice of rum, in which nothing but rum is used. This the chiefs cannot hinder owing to established custom. When once the Indians, who gather in large numbers for such a sacrifice, have tasted the strong drink but have not satisfied themselves, they will go to the old women who deal in liquor.

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273 438 The latter will often obtain everything that an Indian owns except his Breech-clout. For their skins the Indians get from the traders powder, lead, rifle-barrelled guns—for other weapons they do not value — blankets, strouds, linen, shirts, cotton, 439 callemanco,[297] knives, needles, thread, woolen and silken ribbon, wire and kettles of brass, silver buckles, — these are considered as valuable as gold and with them they can purchase almost anything — bracelets, thimbles, rings, combs, mirrors, axes, hatchets and other tools.

535 If the young are at home and not on the chase hardly a night passes without a dance. The women, who always follow the men, dancing in a circle, act with decency and becoming modesty, as if they were engaged in the most serious business. Neither laughing nor levity are to be noticed and they never speak a word to a man, for this would injure their character. They neither jump nor skip, but move one foot after the other slightly forwards then backwards, yet so as to advance gradually. The men shout and leap and stamp with such violence that the ground trembles under their feet. Whatever man acts in the oddest and most ridiculous manner is the most regarded. They dance in a circle around the fire. Often in the midst of the dance they will all hold their heads forward over the fire, stand bowed or leap and stamp, singing all the time; suddenly they stand erect again and move forward. They make all manner of unusual movements to show their agility and skill. They have no other music than the drum. When one dance has been finished the one who beats the drum sings and beats until another begins. There is always a leader whom all watch carefully and follow. They have various kinds of dances, some acquired from the other nations.

526 The young men often wrestle to test their strength. The one thrown is not angered but admits the other to be his master. Another mode of testing strength is in trying to lift some large stone, or throwing a stone of considerable size the greatest distance possible.

525 Nine-pins, ball-playing and cards they have learned from the whites. The Indian game of dice is the most popular of

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Indians sing and pray. They deny that they pay any adoration to the buck, declaring that God alone is worshipped through this medium and is so worshipped at his will.

At these feasts there are never less than four servants, to each of whom a fathom of wampum is given that they may care for all necessary things. During the three or four days they have enough to do by day and by night. They have leave, also, to secure the best of provisions, such as sugar, bilberries, molasses, eggs, butter and to sell these things at a profit to guests and spectators. Festivals are usually closed with a general drinking bout. There are always rum-sellers present on such occasions who make large profits. As a result of the drinking there are generally several fatalities, for, among the Indians that gather from various places, such as wish to work off an old score are ready to make use of the opportunity afforded by these occasions.

Besides these solemn feasts of sacrifice there are many of less importance, for individuals arrange them on their own account. They invite guests and prepare a feast of deer or bear's flesh. The guests consume the whole meal, the host and his family being mere spectators. At the great feasts all who are present partake of the food. Each individual may offer sacrifice for himself when engaged in the chase, in order that he may be successful. Having cut up a deer and divided it into many small pieces he scatters them about for the birds and crows that sit about on the trees waiting. Retiring to some distance the Indian will then amuse himself by observing in what manner they devour the prey. Another may offer to his *Manitto* for some other reason. Corn is said to be the wife of the Indian and to it they sacrifice bear's flesh. To the deer and bear they offer corn. To the fishes they bring an offering of small pieces of bread shaped in the form of fishes. If an Indian hunter hears an owl screech in the night he immediately throws some tobacco into the fire, muttering a few words at the same time. Then they promise themselves success for the next day for the owl is said to be a powerful spirit. In dreams, they claim, it has been made known to them what creatures to regard as their *manittos* and what offerings to bring to them. Such

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
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572 table and crosses his legs and requests then of the
574 food on the table which he fancies. But when one
516 gives strong drinks to the savage, either wine or
[271] brandy, which he desires greatly, one must take
273 care not to give him too much, for then he becomes as though he were quite raving, throws and rolls himself into the burning fire, with a loud cry, and may then easily strike his good friend to death or otherwise set fire to the house, not knowing what he does; for he is not accustomed to such strong drinks. His daily drink is with the goose,[4] which holds his five senses together.

572 574 But when now the Christians come to the savages in their dwellings then the savages spread frieze and beautiful rugs on the ground, requesting them to sit down to rest. Then they bring forth such food as they have [on hand], namely a
[262] bag full of their bread, deer meat, elk meat and bear meat, fresh fish, bear pork and bear fat,[5] instead of butter; but this[6] is mostly raw, for they do not fry it any other way than on the coals (about which we shall learn further hereafter in the chapter concerning the household economy of the savages). This present one must not disdain, but accept with all thankfulness and praise, otherwise the savages will become very raving and impatient, so that their friendship is thereby turned into the greatest revenge and enmity. If one has any horse along, then the savages place the same kind of food before it also, which one must steal away from the horse, and thank the savage for

[4] His daily drink is the same as that of the goose, that is water.
[5] *Björnsisler.*
[6] Food, *i.e.*, meat and fish.

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
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the root, in the stump of which they dig out a round hole and thus make a mortar which is suited for the purpose and in which they pound all their grain to meal.[4] And then they bake their meal into small loaves as large as a small cheese,[5] in which they use a kind of berry like currants. Nor do they use any other bake-oven than the embers. The ashes they use according to the manner of the birds, to clean their stomach with, as the birds do with sand instead of salt, therefore they are not so particular, if their bread gets to be a little ashy. They have just recently begun to buy a little salt of the Christians, but they do not know how to use it otherwise than to chew a little of it at a time, like other costly spices.[6]

[273] To brew ale or distill brandy, that they cannot turn their hand to. In reference to the frying by the savages [it is to be noted] that they know no other manner of doing it than to cut for themselves slender spits of wood, pass them through the meat or the fish, stick the spits down into the ground, and turn the meat or the fish near the fire.[7] When it now may be about half fried on the one side, then he turns the other side to the fire and when it is half fried on both sides, so that the blood still remains in it, then he considers it most wholesome and best to eat. In reference to the cooking of the savages [it may be stated] that they have

[4] Cf. Van der Donck and other Dutch writers of the early 17th Century, *N. Y. Col.*, 2, I, II, III.

[5] Perhaps six or eight inches in diameter.

[6] The natives apparently did not season their food with salt. Cf. Hodge, *Handbook*, II, 418 ff.

[7] See illustration facing page 253. The natives of Africa smoke and roast their fish in the same way.

154 rein these are the more violent."[51] Warfare
[721] provided a socially approved way of bleeding off some of these aggressions, for the warriors; and the institution of torture
154 gave the rest of the community a similar
727 opportunity. "The Indians flock to these executions as to some great solemnity, with a view to reeking on the unfortunate captive their cruel and revengeful dis-
154 position."[52] The institution of blood-
627 revenge[53] (which sometimes led to prolonged vendetta) was also an outlet for aggression; but the fear of its exercise no doubt served also to inhibit it. In
154 hunting, males could work off aggression
224 on animals, which were conceptualized as quasi-human. It is worth noting that among women, who had a more restricted
154 childhood and who at the same time had
521 fewer socially sanctioned outlets for
562 aggression, the overflow dribbled off in unpleasant gossip and slander, which the men, who had other means of catharsis, professed to scorn.[54]

154 All observers agreed that liquor dis-
● 273 solved the inhibitions against aggression.
578 "The effects which intoxication produces upon the Indians are dreadful," lamented Heckewelder. "It has been the cause of an infinite number of murders among them, besides biting off noses and otherwise disfiguring each other, which are the least consequences of the quarrels which inebriation produces between them."[55] As might be expected, therefore, Indian spokesmen frequently—and in vain—implored the whites to cease bringing liquor into their settlements.

Summary

127 From an examination of the early ethnological literature concerning the Delaware Indians, we have been able to discover some of their psychological
855 characteristics. The Delawares would seem in general to have been a people among whom the children grew up

51. Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 124-125.
52. Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 106-107.
53. Penn, 1683.
54. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 116.
55. Heckewelder, 1819, p. 263.

[#51 (A)]

D
439 make anything on this article, wash tubs and washboards, coffee mills and household articles, calico and muslin goods. The chief take in was in the jewelry of which large and flashy assortments were exhibited, some of it looking extremely well; salt pork, flour and bacon were also offered. The trading, however, was not brisk, and I think was pretty much a failure, the reason being that Wyandotte and Kansas City are within easy reach, where they can buy cheaper and at their convenience. The
D
[181] trader's chance lies in the weakness of the Indian before temptation, and his slight
D
452 regard for money. As the payment was de-
443 layed more than a day beyond the time, I noticed some of the Indians commenced moving up to book account in advance, which the traders favored. I saw two of them this afternoon arranging [?] payment in the Indian tents, and getting it, and I have no doubt doubling the amount in footing it up, or increasing it largely. They have to pay for a trader's license $25 to the agent, and unless they speculate in some way, they must make a failure on their sales.

D
273 I saw no whisky nor ardent spirits of any
657 kind, and consequently no drunkenness or quarrelling. After it is all over tonight and the payment is over, and the government strikes its tent and moves off with the wagon marked U. S. and the small file of soldiers sent to protect the specie, the whisky will show itself, and the pockets of the remaining Indians who have any money will be picked. There were more white men around today than looked well for the Indian women.

S
648 *Shawnees Uncles to the Chippeways, etc.*

Buraseau told me that years ago the Ojibwas, Pottawatamies and Ottawas took the

l:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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Their belts of wampum are of different dimensions, both as to the length and breadth. White and black wampum are the kinds they use; the former denoting that which is *good*, as peace, friendship, good will &c., the latter the reverse; yet occasionally the black also is made use of on peace errands, when the white cannot be procured; but previous to its being produced for such purpose, it must be daubed all over with chalk, white clay, or any thing which changes the colour from black to white. The pipe of peace, being either made of a black or red stone, must also be whitened before it is produced and smoked out of on such occasions.

202 832 211 [276]

Roads from one friendly nation to another, are generally marked on the belt, by one or two rows of white wampum interwoven in the black, and running through the middle, and from end to end. It means that they are on good terms, and keep up a friendly intercourse with each other.

202 211 487

A black belt with the mark of a hatchet made on it with red paint, is a war belt, which when sent to a nation together with a twist or roll of tobacco, is an invitation to join in a war. If the nation so invited smoke of this tobacco and say it smokes well, they have given their consent, and are from that moment allies. If however they decline smoking, all further persuasion would be of no effect; yet it once happened, that war messengers endeavoured to persuade and compel a nation to accept the belt, by laying it on the shoulders or thigh of the chief, who, however, after shaking it off without touching it with his hands, afterwards, with a stick, threw it after them, as if he threw a snake or toad out of his way.

202 721

Although at their councils they do not seat themselves after the manner of the white people, yet the attitude they place themselves in is not chargeable to them as a want of respect. Faithful to the trust committed to them, they are careless of ceremonies, from which the

623

a [erratum. See cat. 116, p. 378. - Analyst]

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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the nature of their crimes, if not publicly, still privately, for they are considered as a nuisance, and a disgrace to the nation, and so much so were persons of this description considered and despised in former times among the Delawares, before the white people came, that it was a rare thing to hear of any such being among them. This I have repeatedly been told, between the years 1770 and 1780, by Indians of that nation; one of whom, when a boy, resided on the spot where Philadelphia now stands, when the first house was building there, and assisted in furnishing the workmen with fish, and caught rabbits for them; the other, who was still older, lived with his parents on the spot where afterwards was built Perth Amboy in New Jersey: both were respectable men, highly esteemed by all who knew them.

I do not believe that there exists a people, more attentive to paying common civilities to each other, than the Indians are; but this, from a want of understanding their language, as well as their customs and manners, generally escapes the notice of travellers, although some of them, better observers than the rest, have touched upon this subject. In more than one hundred instances, I have with astonishment and delight witnessed the attention paid to a person entering the house of another, where, in the first instance, he is desired to seat himself, with the words, "sit down my friend!" if he is a stranger, or no relation; but if a relation, the proper title is added. A person is never left standing, there are seats for all; and if a dozen should follow each other in succession, all are provided with seats, and the stranger, if a white person, with the best. The tobacco pouch next is handed round; it is the first treat, as with us a glass of wine or brandy. Without a single word passing between the man and his wife, she will go about preparing some victuals for the company, and having served the visiters, will retire to a neighbour's house, to inform the family of the visit

l:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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which our aborigines do not hesitate to make, that before the Europeans landed in those parts of the American continent, they were unacquainted with that shameful disorder which attacks generation in its sources. I am well aware that this complaint is generally believed to have been communicated by the new world to the old. I do not know upon what proofs this opinion rests, but I am disposed to give credit to the uniform assertion of our northern Indians, that this contagion was first introduced among them by emigrants from Europe. However it may be, it is a lamentable fact that they are now very generally infected with it, and that their population can not long resist its destructive operation upon their once strong and healthy constitutions, particularly as it is associated with the abuse of strong liquors, now so prevalent among them.

Of the manner in which they have acquired this latter vice, I presume there can be no doubt. They charge us in the most positive manner with being the first who made them acquainted with ardent spirits, and what is worse, with having exerted all the means in our power to induce them to drink to excess. It is very certain that the processes of distillation and fermentation are entirely unknown to the Indians, and that they have among them no intoxicating liquors but such as they receive from us. The Mexicans have their *Pulque*, and other indigenous beverages of an inebriating nature, but the North American Indians, before their intercourse with us commenced, had absolutely nothing of the kind. The smoke of the American weed, tobacco, was the only means that they at that time had in use to produce a temporary exhilaration of their spirits.

I have related in a former chapter,* the curious account given by the Delawares and Mohicans of the scene which took place when they were first made to taste spirituous liquors by the Dutch who landed on New York

* See ch. 2.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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on the skin; the operator with a small stick, rather larger than a common match, to the end of which some sharp needles are fastened, quickly pricks over the whole so that blood is drawn, then a coat of this powder is laid and left on to dry. Before the whites came into this country, they scarified themselves for this purpose with flint stones, or pricked themselves with the sharp teeth of a fish.[155]

The men tatooed their arms, legs, and faces with figures of snakes, birds, and other animals. These were marks of distinction and commemorated some worthy deed or heroic action. Occasionally the women tattooed themselves.[156]

Both sexes painted their thighs, legs, breast, and face with streaks, lines, or circles. The usual colors were red, black, blue, and yellow.[157] Painting was mostly for festive occasions or for warfare. Women were more circumspect than men in the amount of paint used, since excessive or immodest painting was regarded as indicative of a wanton woman.[158] Both men and women wore numerous ornaments. Wampum in particular was a favorite; it was used as necklaces and wristlets and was hung from the ears. Sometimes it was woven in bands and worn on the head or clothing.[159] The helixes of men's ears were often pierced for wampum, metal, and other ornaments:

> They frequently cut the helix of the ear,[160] leaving the upper and lower ends intact and then hang bits of lead to it so that it is stretched. Then this curved border of the auricle is bound with brass wire, distending it considerably, and decorated with silver ornaments.[161]

Besides wampum, necklaces of dyed deer hair, stone, native copper, and shell gorgets were worn.[162] One source depicted men wearing "the thumbs of enemies they have killed."[163] Men carried tobacco pouches, often made from the whole skin of a loon, large enough to hold a pipe, tobacco, knife, a pair of depilatory shells, and other objects.[164]

Manufactures.—The bow and arrow, the war club or tomahawk, and the spear were the principal implements of the men.[165] The type of bow used is unknown, except for one vague reference to wooden bows and arrows.[166] The triangular stone projectile points were fastened to the shaft by means of resin.[167] Projectile points were usually made of quartz, but chert, slate, shale, granite, sandstone, and argillite points have been found. Some may even have been made of fish bones.[168] Stone, pottery, and copper pipes were noted, both from early documents and

[155] Heckewelder, 1881, p. 206.
[156] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 11.
[157] De Vries, 1909, p. 217; Holm, 1834, p. 119; Van der Donck, 1909, p. 301; Denton, 1845, p. 10.
[158] Heckewelder, 1881, p. 203.
[159] Van der Donck, 1909, p. 301; Pastorius, 1912, p. 434; Lindestrom, 1925, pp. 196-97.
[160] Heckewelder, 1881, p. 207; Luckenbach, 1938, p. 107.
[161] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 12.
[162] Abbott, 1875, p. 327; Heye and Pepper, 1915, pp. 32-42; Holm, 1834, p. 119.
[163] Holm, 1834, p. 119; Van der Donck, 1909, p. 301.
[164] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 68; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 204.
[165] Brinton, 1885, p. 53.
[166] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 29.
[167] De Laet, 1909, p. 48; Holm, 1834, p. 129; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 29.
[168] Smith, 1950, p. 119; De Laet, 1909, p. 57.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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from archaeological sites attributed to the Delawares. Copper tobacco pipes were recorded early in the seventeenth century by Juet who said: "They had red Copper Tabacco pipes, and other things of Copper they did weare about their neckes."[167] Lindestrom described the pipes as painted and said that there were some "an ell in length, which are screwed together with leather, to lean on. . .and in these pipe-heads will go a handful of tobacco."[168] In another place he indicated that pipe heads were decorated with birds and animals "very beautifully painted and glazed."[169] Holm said that the pipes were "a fathom long, which they lean upon as a stick."[170] The pottery pipes found in archaeological sites were plainer, being "straight conical tubes, plain or stamped, to elbow-shaped forms decorated with incised or stamped lines."[171] De Laet said they had ". . .tubes for smoking tobacco formed. . .of flint stone ingeniously perforated."[172] Stone pipes, however, are relatively rare in archaeological sites.[173]

Agricultural implements of the women were simple; short-handled hoes were fashioned with a blade of dogwood, stone, tortoise shell, or the scapula of a deer (later bison).[174] The scapula hoe is remembered by living Delawares. The Delawares had pottery vessels, and according to archaeological information the paste varied from fine to medium coarse, grit temper was more common than shell temper, and sherds are usually gray or brown. Vessels had "conical and rounded bottoms" and were "straight walled or rounded." Shoulders were often absent, although some had pronounced shoulders when associated with a collared rim. Decoration, if present, was by roughening with a cord-wrapped paddle. Incised decorative designs were frequent.[175] Containers and other utensils were fashioned of wood, shell, bark, gourds, and tortoise shell.[176] Stone tools are common in archaeological deposits and include "plain or pitted hammerstones, anvil stones, abrading stones, sinew stones, pestles, shallow mortars, choppers (or hoes), picks, netsinkers, paint stones and amorphous pieces of mica."[177] They possessed "stone hatchets" that were hafted to a handle, and another type which was neither grooved nor hafted.[178] The women and old men manufactured the mats, ropes, tump lines, and baskets, which were made from wild hemp, nettle, silkweed, spruce roots, cornhusks, ash splints, papaw bark, elm bast, and rushes. Wooden bowls, dishes, and mortars were made of maple, buckeye, and elm wood.[179] Speck has described fully the block

[167] Juet, 1909, pp. 18-19; De Laet, 1909, p. 49.
[168] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 197.
[169] *Ibid.*, p. 221.
[170] Holm, 1834, p. 120.
[171] Smith, 1950, p. 119.
[172] De Laet, 1909, p. 57.
[173] Butler, 1947, p. 252.
[174] Johnson, 1917, p. 279; Jemison, 1918, p. 47; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 28; Mahr, 1954, pp. 385-86.
[175] Smith, 1950, pp. 117-18.
[176] Pastorius, 1912, p. 384; Lindestrom, 1925, p. 255; Johnson, 1917, p. 281; Speck, 1941, pp. 47, 78-79; Smith, 1950, p. 119.
[177] Smith, 1950, p. 119.
[178] Kalm, 1937, I: 229.
[179] Thomas, 1912, p. 341; Lindestrom, 1925, p. 221; De Laet, 1909, p. 57; Harrington, 1913, p. 224.

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final day of the ceremony. At the time of the wartime meetings there were no women left who had had visions. Perhaps this is why they were called upon to offer prayers instead.

177 * 796 795 578

There was friction in at least one of the meetings since the leader, J.W., sold the scarce, virtually sacred wampum donated by other Delawares. The people who purchased the wampum were frequently strangers or curiosity seekers; they were seldom donors. Friction also occurred when some peyotists prayed in their fashion. One individual said of this friction:

> Ben Hill asked people to get up and pray — to pray to the fire. Nobody did for awhile so I got up. I prayed like a white preacher does, but in Indian. I prayed to the fire, and asked that all the boys be returned safely. I prayed that my boy would come back safe. I went on praying and I got to crying. Then I sat down. Then E. J. got up and prayed the same way, then a man. After that T.M. got up and said he didn't believe you could pray that way in this meeting. I felt so funny, I was crushed. I didn't go back after that. (O.A.)

[206] ●

The form of prayer that O.A. described is common in the local version of the Big Moon peyote cult, with the exception that in the peyote ceremony the prayer is accompanied by the smoking of a Bull Durham cornhusk cigarette.

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Even with what little is known about the wartime Big House ceremonies it is plain that they were more a reflection of the old rites than a faithful duplication of them. They lasted twelve days, visions were recited, some venison was eaten, but in almost every other respect they were changed. The few young people who attended did not know where to sit; even if they knew their phratry membership they probably did not know where that phratry belonged in the meeting house. The arbor was a poor substitute for the log Big House; there was room for only one fire, and the carved heads were missing. There could be no hunt for deer, because there were no deer. In one meeting O.A. persuaded a rancher to contribute a deer, but it was impossible to feed the participants for twelve days with one deer.

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After 1924 the Big House Ceremony withered away. It was briefly revived because of the stimulus of the second world war, but this revival was only a dim reflection of the original ceremony. Joe Washington and Ben Hill, the spark plugs of the wartime meetings, are dead. The few remaining participants who are familiar with the ritual are old and are not imparting their knowledge to others; and many Delawares who formerly participated have focused their attentions on the peyote cult. Informants gave two reasons why they preferred peyotism to the traditional religious forms: first, peyotism is cheap, but in the Big House Ceremony the "Bringer-in" is primarily responsible for the cost which in 1930 was one hundred and fifty dollars.[8] In a peyote meeting the cost is negligible in comparison and is often shared by the participants. Second, only Delawares can participate in the Big House Ceremony, and individual Delawares often have only a few Delaware friends,

[8] Speck, 1931, p. 24.

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135 are, for the most part, of a gray, fine sand and make as good whetstones as one might wish. Rocks you meet occasionally along the Ohio, but away from the river and here along the Muskingum very few, even most of, the mountains and hills are not rocky.

Pit-coal is found in abundance, but as there is no lack of wood it is little used and hardly thought of by the Indians. In Pittsburg the coal is used in fire-places and by blacksmiths.

[324] A kind of stone, black in color, is found here, that is easily worked and cut. It has no sand in its composition and the Indians make tobacco pipes of it, some doing very neat work.

[276] There is also a kind of stone, blue in color, which is very hard. It somewhat resembles the limestone of Pensilvanien, but examination has shown it to be different. Limestone has not yet been found in this region.

A mineralogist would find many more varieties to describe, to which I am unable to give even the names, especially along the shores of the river, where all kinds may be seen, green, yellow, blue, red and black. About ore I know little or nothing concerning this region. The Indians believed themselves to have found gold and silver, but what they produced as precious ore, because it resembled this somewhat, on the test and examination of whites was found to be sulphurous substance.[138] Whatever glitters, the Indians are apt to look upon at once as being gold or silver.

317 276 [439] The Cherokees, who through the years have had much intercourse with the Delawares, brought with them many tobacco pipes for trade. These they made of quite white stone, probably white marble.[139] When completed they blackened the pipes and in such a way that they retained their color. These pipes are made so neatly that they are no heavier than the European pipes.

From the Mississippi the Indians bring red marble, whenever they come from that direction. Of this pipes are also made. [213] Such pipes, however, are as a rule to be seen only in the possession of chiefs or captains, for not many of them are to be had. A pipe of this sort is generally used in council or on solemn occasions. This is carried about by the chief counsellor, each

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one present draws a few whiffs of smoke and this is called smoking the peace-pipe.

There are four kinds of clay. There is the white, which is almost like chalk and with which, when dry, one can write as with chalk.[140] Another variety is quite black. This, however, becomes quite white when burned. Besides these, gray and yellow clays are found. A sort of yellow earth, rather of an orange tinge is found, of which the Indians, especially the warriors, make a fine color by burning.[141] With this they paint themselves and they are particularly careful that the head shall be always red. It is not too much for the Wiondats to come here to Tuscarawi, a distance of at least a hundred miles, to supply themselves with this red coloring matter.

Concerning plants and roots of medicinal virtue, it would be possible, if one were to devote himself to inquiry, to secure a great deal of information from the Indians, for what one of these does not know another does, each man and woman having some knowledge in this direction, some more, some less. Hence, the custom that a patient who has consulted an Indian and secured a medicine from him without, however, being benefited, will go immediately to another; if no relief is obtained through his advice, the patient goes to a third, a fourth until he finds one whose medicine helps. For many ailments they have very good remedies, e. g., for rheumatism. In respect to this affliction I have witnessed instances where they have effected a thorough cure and not only once or twice. At times they can secure desired results with only two or three kinds of roots, at other times more are required. If a simple remedy does not afford relief, they may use twenty or more kinds of roots. Even in such cases I know of cures having been effected. In treating rheumatism, bathing and sweating play a great part.

They have remedies even for fevers. When a patient has been given a dose, they are generally able to tell from its workings whether he will recover or die. If he does not retain the medicine, this is regarded as a sign that he will hardly recover. I have paid some attention to this and like cases of treatment and found that the Indians have generally been correct in their

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224 852 turn to the east, having the whole or part of the animal on the back, always with the skin, before entering the house and give vent to a prolonged call, which is the old man's or old woman's prayer to the Deity in behalf of the boy, that he may always be a fortunate hunter. During the repast they repeat their petitions and give counsel to the boy (who, with his companions, is a mere spectator) regarding the chase and all the circumstances of his future life, exhorting him above all things to revere old age and gray hairs and to be obedient to their words, because 688 178 experience has given them wisdom. Such counsel was heeded in time past, and though the ceremonies are still kept up, the young no longer revere the aged as was the case at one time.

Formerly, the young revered the old, especially if they had gray or white heads.[253] They believed that these must be very wise and prudent, because they were of such an age and seemed to be favored of the gods. Therefore, they treated the aged well, brought them, it may be, a deer, in the hope that they might be instructed of them how to attain to equal age. They presented the old, also, with wampum or belts, with the same hope. While nothing was said, the aged understood and gave the desired instruction on another occasion.

584 ●276 No young Indian in those days would have dared to take the tobacco pouch, (made usually of the skin of the otter, beaver, raccoon, fox, pole-cat, or some other animal, stripped off whole, with a little slit at the neck), of an old person and take a pipeful of tobacco, thinking such an act a great sin and believing that it would be the cause of shortening his life. When, therefore, in those days, a young brave asked an aged man permission to fill his pipe from the latter's pouch, the old man understood that this was not the young man's intention at all, but he wished to place something in the pouch. Usually, wampum was put in and no tobacco taken out. This, also, was done with the hope that the aged man might instruct the young brave how to be wise and to attain to great age. Indeed, good counsel is given, to bring offerings regularly on behalf of themselves and their friends, to be chaste, to abstain from drinking and stealing, which were common even in those days. These customs, however, have ceased. The old have lost respect and the young

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624 ory, experience in the affairs of the state and a knowledge of the formal language employed in council, which differs as much from the common language as does the language used by the whites in legal procedure, from the language of ordinary intercourse.

202 When a message is to be sent, this is entrusted to two or more messengers. One of these is to be the speaker, the others being ready to remind him of anything he might forget. A message is formally entrusted to ambassadors at a meeting of the Council. It is repeated a number of times and the one appointed speaker of the messengers must in turn repeat it several times, until he is able to deliver the message with facility and in proper form. The messengers are then fitted out with necessaries for the journey and dispatched. As the whole of a message is to be delivered verbally, a speaker must be a sensible and reliable man. Young men, destined for such service, are admitted as hearers to the council, where they may learn much. Any one employed as messenger is held in high regard. They must be young men, of great endurance on the march, who will not be stopped by bad weather or high waters. On occasions of extreme importance, as in time of war, messengers may have to be on the march night and day, finding their way in the darkest night on paths that a white man could scarce follow in daytime.

623 The council meetings are as quiet and orderly as if they were acts of devotion. Noises, talking and laughing are not heard, even though the young may be present. All pay strict attention to the speaker. The counsellors are called together by a servant and when they appear, they welcome one another, shake hands and express their joy at meeting. Each brings [276] pouch, pipe and they smoke a considerable amount of tobacco that has been mixed with dried and crushed sumac leaves. [562] Women are never admitted to the council; in matters of public interest they may stand about the house and listen, and they account it an honor when they are admitted, to hand victuals and keep up the fire. Provisions must always be in plenty in the council-house, for eating and deliberating alternate.

The principal chief, either himself or through a speaker, sets forth the subjects that shall engage the attention of the

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and waters flow. In this connection, nations who make the treaty, or are allies, exchange a pipe between them which is called the pipe of peace. Such a pipe is carefully preserved and generally lighted in council by a captain or chief, whenever anything occurs relating to the ally and each member smokes a little out of it. The one who carries about the pipe reminds the members of the council of the covenant and the time of its establishment. The head of the pipe is commonly of stone, the stem of wood wound with a fine ribbon neatly decorated with white corals, the latter the work of the women.

It is the duty of the chief to maintain peace, to advise peace as long as possible. It is not in his power to begin war as long as the captains are averse to this. Without their consent he may not accept a war belt. If it is received this is on condition that he will turn it over to the captains for consideration. The chief must endeavor to preserve peace to the utmost of his power. If the captains are unanimous in declaring war he is obliged, as it were, to deliver the care of his people for the time being into their hands, for they are the warriors.

In the matter of choice of a chief various things are to be observed. The principal captain may choose a chief and inaugurate him, and it is also in his power to take him out of office if the chief proves a poor regent, acts contrary to the customs, does according to his own wishes and refuses to accept counsel. The captains, who always have the people on their side may thus forsake a chief, not only refusing to support him but even publicly announcing that they do not agree with him, and thus his power is at an end. The chief must always be a member of that tribe in which he presides. The sons of a chief cannot inherit their father's dignity, for the reason that they are not and cannot be, according to established usages, members of the tribe, inasmuch as children do not inherit tribal rights from the father but from the mother.[265] No Indian will marry a person in his own tribe, as he is too closely related to all in it. Herein, the Indians allege, is to be found the reason for the existence of the tribes. Were it not for these, they could not be quite sure whether persons to be married are near relatives or not. Hence, it is, also, that children are considered the property of the wife.

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it raw. When an Indian nation wishes to excite another to war, it sometimes happens that they send one or more prisoners to such a nation with the words, "We send you this prisoner to make some broth," and frequently gain their aim in this fashion. The prisoner, however, is not devoured but executed without mercy. There is no rescuing him from horrible death.

Captains, when about to go to war, send to the captains of nations or towns who are in league with them a piece of tobacco to smoke, thus notifying them that they themselves will soon follow. By this they intend that the captains shall smoke their pipes and consider seriously whether they will take part in the war or not. One chief about to visit another will, similarly, send him a piece of tobacco with the message that he shall smoke, look in a certain direction and in due time he will see the sender coming. This is done to make sure that the visitor will find the chief whom he wishes to visit at home.

The last war of the nations was between the Six Nations, the Delawares and Shawanose and the Cherokees, the latter pitted against the rest. This war continued many years until peace was concluded in 1768,[272] as, a few years before, peace had been made between the Six Nations and the Catabe-Nation[273] through the mediation of Sir William Johnson at Albany. Concerning earlier Indian wars nothing is known and since that time war with the whites has engaged the attention of all the Indian nations.

With the Delawares the following nations are in league: The Mahikander,[274] the Shawanose, the Cherokees, the Twichtwes,[275] the Wawiachtanos,[276] the Kikapus,[277] the Wiondats, the Tuckachschas,[278] the Chipuways, Ottawas, the Putewoataimen[279] and the Kaskaski.[280] The two last named dwell along the Wabash.[281]

The Shawanose, who formerly lived in Florida and have ever been a warlike people, had a war with the Moshkos.[282] The latter were the stronger and the Shawanose were reduced to a few remnants. The survivors left their country, came as fugitives up the Ohio to the Susquehanna. [Susquehannah]. They moved from place to place until they fell in with a strong party of Delawares. With these they entered into negotiations, stat-

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endeavor to bring back a scalp or several scalps to show that he has avenged the rights of his nation.

Across the Mississippi there lives a nation called the Su.[***] They live along the river Su far beyond the Illinois, where there are vast plains without trees and on which wild goats, buffalo and other game graze. As there is no wood, the Indians burn dried buffalo manure. For the winter they provide themselves with peat, which they dry with grass. Their utensils they make of clay and burn them, wherever they may be, for they travel from place to place following game. Their weapons are the bow and arrow. Water being scarce on the plains, they catch the dew for cooking and drinking purposes. For this purpose they use large sponges that grow on the rocks in the rivers. This I have been told by an Englishman who lived sometime in that country. These Indians trade with the Spaniards. I have heard from various sources that the further west one goes the more extensive are the plains.

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Indians usually treat one another with kindness and civility and in their bearing toward one another are modest. They are communicative but thoughtful. Of empty compliments they know nothing. In meeting it is customary to shake hands, greet one another with the friendly title of Father, Older or Younger Brother, Uncle, Cousin, Grand Son, Grandfather and say "I am glad to see you." Sometimes all this is repeated when the guests have been sometime in the house. Expression of greeting through others is hardly customary, occasionally a gift is sent by way of greeting. Greetings are expressed in all sincerity. If sentiments do not correspond to words and forms, the latter are dispensed with. If warriors, going to war or coming from war, when the murderous spirit is on them greet one (I will not say an Indian, for that were nothing unusual, but a white person) one may certainly believe to possess their favor and good grace and need fear no harm, for if they have the least feeling against anyone, they will use no form of greeting. This I know from frequent experience. An Indian carries pouch and pipe with him wherever he goes, for they are indispensable. For state occasions they may have an otter skin

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pouch or a beaver-pouch or one decorated with coral, made by the women. Sometimes they have a buffalo horn, from which a pouch, made possibly of tanned deer-skin, depends. In the pouches they carry tobacco, fire materials, knife and pipe. Sumac is generally mixed with tobacco or sumac smoked without tobacco, for but few can stand smoking pure tobacco. Their common conversation turns upon hunting or the news of the day. Matter that has no foundation in fact may be drawn into conversation, and even though all may be aware of this, the narration continues uninterrupted. They may laugh now and again but they will listen attentively. No one interrupts another. When one has finished another begins. They never put any one publicly to blush; they are polite to each other and enjoy being politely treated. They like to be regarded as worthy people even though they may be the opposite. They are pleased to know that they are liked. When a guest comes into a house, food is placed before him; that comes before anything else. If the guests are from a distance and very good friends, the whole kettle of food is set before them, they are given dishes and spoons and allowed to help themselves first to as much as they wish. The guests having partaken of the food, pass the kettle back to the people of the house. They live very simply. Meat, corn, gruel, corn-bread, are the principal articles of diet.[395] In lieu of meat, various dishes are prepared with corn, or Sopan, milk and butter are used. They like to discuss affairs of state and communicate their opinions. In fact they are more ready to discuss such matters in course of visits than in the Council House, for there they prefer to let the older people speak. Occasionally visits are made with the purpose of discovering the opinions of others; in a chief's home all manner of reports, true and false, furnish material for discussion. The women speak of their work, their plantations, the pouches, bags, baskets, carrying bands they have made, many of them though not all smoking tobacco. Stories are carried by women from house to house; they are so often manufactured that if men, having listened attentively to some tale, hear that it originated with a woman they will give it no credit until confirmed by some more reliable authority.

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796 At a third kind of feast ten or more tanned deer-skins are given to as many old men or women, who wrap themselves in them and stand before the house with their faces turned toward the east, praying God with a loud voice to reward their benefactors. They turn toward the east because they believe that God dwells beyond the rising of the sun. At the same time much wampum is given away. This is thrown on the ground and the young people scramble for it. Afterward it is ascertained who secured the most. This feast is called *'ngammuis*, the meaning of which they themselves are unable to give.

[796] A fourth kind of feast is held in honor of a certain voracious spirit, who, according to their opinions, is never satisfied. The guests are, therefore, obliged to eat all the bear's flesh and drink the melted fat. Though indigestion and vomiting may result they must continue and not leave anything.

[796] A fifth kind of festival is held in honor of fire which the Indians regard as being their grandfather and call *Machtuzin*, meaning "to perspire." A sweating-oven is built in the midst 796 of the house of sacrifice, consisting of twelve poles each of a different species of wood. These twelve poles represent twelve 343 *Manittos*, some of these being creatures, others plants. These [796] they run into the ground, tie together at the top, bending them toward each other; these are covered entirely with blankets, joined closely together, each person being very ready to lend his blanket, so that the whole appears like a baker's oven, high enough nearly to admit a man standing upright. After the meal or sacrifice, fire is made at the entrance of the oven and twelve large stones, about the size of human heads, are heated and placed in the oven. Then twelve Indians creep into it and remain there as long as they can bear the heat. While they [276] are inside twelve pipes full of tobacco are thrown, one after another, upon the hot stones which occasions a smoke almost powerful enough to suffocate those confined inside. Some one may also walk around the stones singing and offering tobacco, for tobacco is offered to fire. Usually, when the twelve men emerge from the oven, they fall down in a swoon. During this feast a whole buck-skin with the head and antlers is raised upon a pole, head and antlers resting on the pole, before which the

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them after their Chief Netawatwes had died. The ambassadors halted several miles below the town and sent word that they had arrived. The day after some Delaware Captains went down to welcome them and delivered a speech, in which they expressed joy on their arrival, extracted the thorns they had gotten on the journey from their feet, took the sand and gravel from between their toes, and anointed the wounds and bruises made by the briars and brushwod with oil, wiped the perspiration from their faces and the dust from their eyes, cleansed their ears, throats and hearts of all evil they had seen, heard or which had entered their hearts. A string of wampum was delivered in confirmation of this speech and then the Captains, accompanied by a large number of Indians, conducted the embassadors to the town. On entering the Cherokees saluted the inhabitants by firing their pieces, which was answered in the same manner by the Delawares. Next, the Captain of the Cherokees began a song, during which they proceeded to the Council-house, where everything had been prepared for the reception of the visitors. All having been seated, the Cherokee Captain comforted the grandfather, the Delaware nation, over the loss of the Chief. Continuing he wrapped the remains in a cloth, buried them, covered the grave with bark, wiped the tears from the eyes of the weeping nation, cleansed their ears and throats and took away all the sorrow from their hearts. He confirmed his speech by delivering a string of wampum. Then the peace-pipe was stuffed, lighted and in turn smoked by several Captains of the Delawares and Cherokees.

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The peace-pipe is held in high regard among the Indians. It is brought out at certain solemn occasions, as when peace is concluded or renewed. The head is six or eight inches long and three inches high. It is made of stone or marble. A pipe made of red marble, as was the one used on the occasion described above, is particularly valued. The pipe-stem is made of wood and blackened, it is strong and durable and may be four feet long. It is wound around with fine ribbon and decorated with ornaments made of porcupine quills of various colors. It may be further ornamented with green, yellow and white feathers. If the pipe is made of red marble it is whitened with white clay

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or chalk, for red is the color of war, even though the red marble pipe is most highly valued. For the same reason nothing red may appear on a string of wampum. A war-belt is smeared with red paint or cinnabar. If for want of a white wampum belt, one made of the violet colored shells has to be used, this is whitened with clay and then has the same signficance as a white belt. The dark wampum belts are used, whenever they wish to give some one a severe lesson or a reproof. After the ceremonies described above had been completed, and all had partaken of a feast, the exercises for that day were at an end. On the next day they approached the chief matters of interest and exchanged belts of friendship, this part of the negotiations lasting several days, as each belt was presented in connection with a formal speech.

136 A few words should be added concerning animals.

1) Swallows[210] are found, generally near some body of water. Snipe[211] are gray in color and have a bill almost as long as the body of the bird. The gull[212] is frequently seen near rivers and lakes. Two kinds of plover[213] may be seen in these parts, both found near water. The one variety is about the size of a blackbird,[214] which is sometimes found away from water, the other much smaller.

The whippoorwill[215] is a night bird, of gray color, somewhat smaller than a turtledove.[216] It has a thick head, a short bill and a wide mouth. It has received its name from its note, which may be heard all night long.

The Mosquito-hawk[217] gets its name from catching mosquitoes and flies while on the wing. It is about the size of turtledove, has a round white spot on each of its wings, which seem, when the animal flies, like holes in the wings. It will dart up and down very swiftly in its efforts to catch insects.

Of bees[218] nothing was known when we came here in '72, now they are to be found in large numbers in hollow trees in the woods.

Wasps[219] are found in large numbers.

2) Among the quadrupeds the flying squirrel[220] should be noted. This animal is about the size of a rat, has a thin mem-

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of the variety required, he does not gather it [11] but performs a ritual to appease the Spirit of the plant. A small hole is dug towards the east near its base and a small quantity of native tobacco [12] placed within. The herbalist then lights his pipe and smokes, meanwhile making the following appeal to the Creator and to the Spiritual forces which govern vegetation. The songs and properties are regarded as personal property and the accompanying medicine-gathering prayer of Wi·tapa·nóxwe is regarded as typical.

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MEDICINE GATHERING PRAYER (free translation)

"Grandfather, I come now for medical treatment. Your grandson (name of suppliant) needs your aid. He is giving you a smoke-offering here of tobacco. He implores you that he will get well because he, your child, is pitiful. And I myself earnestly pray that you take pity on him the sick one, I wish for him to get well forever of that which is causing pain in his body. For with you alone rests the spiritual power sufficient to bless anyone with, and hear now him our Grandfather tobacco, I beg of him that he will help me when we plead with earnest heart that you will take pity on your grandchild and that you will accept this appeal. I am thankful, Grandfather, also Creator, that you grant our appeal this day for all that we ask.[13] I am thankful, Grandfather. That is enough for this time."

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Upon the conclusion of this propitiatory rite the medicine person searches out another plant of the same species, which if clean and healthy-looking, is then gathered. It is now ready to be treated in accordance with the rules governing the preparation of roots and herbs in the accompanying pharmacopeia. If the root of a plant is to be used in making medicine, it is gathered at the season when the vital properties are present; similarly the stalk or leaves each are gathered at the proper seasons.

[11] Harrington (1921, p. 26) in reference to the manitowuck to whom the Indians pray, says, "These are mentioned in the ritual of the Annual Ceremony and the people often pray to them when gathering herbs or preparing medicines, at the same time offering tobacco." He also says (p. 51) that, ". . . Some seem to have prayed to the four directions, other to the presiding genius of the species of the plants they sought or to the spirit of the individual plant itself."

[12] "Real tobacco" (Nicotiana rustica), to which a Delaware term meaning, "our grandfather," is also given.

[13] The proper phrase in full is, "give us what we ask for." It is abbreviated here to suit the formula.

Food Preservation and Cooking

Passing to the problem of food preservation, we find that such crops as maize, tobacco and meat were most commonly stored in pits covered over first with bark or grass and then with earth (Lindstrom, p. 253; Johnson, p. 279; Krieger, p. 39; De Rasieres, p. 107). The house was also an important storage place, the food being placed in hemp bags and suspended from the ceiling (Johnson, p. 279; Harrington, 1913, p. 218; Heckewelder, 1820, p. 370). 251

Maize was used in a variety of ways. According to one author, those stalks that produced no ears were pulled early and the sap sucked from them (De Rasieres, p.107). The ears were either roasted in ashes or boiled. Most of the maize, however, seems to have been pounded or ground into flour and sifted through a basket of the desired coarseness. The finer flour was mixed with lukewarm water, kneaded into dough and made into round, flat little cakes which were baked in hot ashes. The coarser flour was made into porridge (i.e. boiled with water) to which nuts, beans, berries, pumpkin or meat were sometimes added (Penn, pp. 31-32; Lindstrom, p. 254; De Rasieres, p. 107; Danckhaerts, p. 159; Johnson, p. 281; Heckewelder, 1781, pp. 194-96; Loskiel, p. 67). Indeed, there seems to have been almost endless variety in the preparation of these cornflour dishes. 252

The other vegetables were most commonly eaten boiled and, it should be noted, without seasoning except ashes, as the Delaware did not use salt (Pastorius, 1700, p. 384; Danckaerts, p. 159; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 194; Lindstrom, p. 254). Water was probably the most important beverage known to the Delaware at this time, but fruit juices and water flavored with crushed walnuts or hickory nuts are reported (Johnson, p. 281; Loskiel, p. 74; Kalm, p. 269). Tobacco was always mixed with willow bark or sumac for smoking (Loskiel, p. 73; Speck, 1931, p. 127). [263] 272 276

Manufactures

A wide variety of materials was utilized for cooking equipment. Serving dishes were made of wood, bark, shell, or a cut-off calabash; spoons were of wood or suitably shaped shells. Cups of tortoise shell have also been found (Johnson, p. 281; Harrington, 1913, p. 223; Danckaerts, p. 159; Lindstrom, p. 253; Pastorius, 1700, p. 384; Skinner, 1915, p. 38). Pottery, which was used for boiling, is found abundantly in Lenape territory. It was made of clay mixed with pounded sea shells, mica or sand and various combinations of these ingredients. The technique used was coiling. Designs consisted of lines and dots, stamped or incised on the vessel. Broken or cracked pieces were mended by lacing through holes bored on either side of the defect (Skinner, 1915, pp. 12 and 13; Heye, pp. 62-66; Abbott, 1875, p. 345; Smith, p. 138; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 29). 415 323

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262 Flour was either ground between two stones or pounded in a
[412] mortar and pestle by the Delaware. The mortar was usually a hollowed tree trunk, the pestle a suitably shaped stone (Smith, p. 138; Lindstrom, pp. 253-54; Abbott, 1875, p. 357; Kalm, p. 230).

276 Stone pottery and clay pipes have been uncovered on archae-
[323] ological sites. Lindstrom describes the Lenape pipes as beautifully
324 painted and glazed with birds and animals on the head. He says there are some "...an ell in length, which are screwed together with leather,...and in these pipe-heads will go a handful of tobacco" (Lindstrom, p. 197). These were presumably of European manufacture. The pipes which have been recovered from old sites are of a much humbler variety (Abbott, 1875, pp. 343-44; Skinner, 1909, p. 27; Butler, p. 249). This apparent inconsistency can be readily explained, however, by assuming that Lindstrom was referring to the calumets or peace pipes, which were relatively rare and would be likely to have been carried west by the owners when they moved (Kalm, pp. 231-32).

285 Some household items manufactured by the Delaware women were
[283] mats, ropes and baskets made from wild hemp, spruce roots, corn husks and rushes. The mats, which were sometimes painted or had figures worked in or over the weave, were hung on the walls for increased protection against the elements as well as to beautify the house (Smith, p. 138; Lindstrom, p. 221; Harrington, 1913, p. 224). They were also used as part of the bedding together with the skin or
287 turkey-feather robes which served as clothing during the day (Johnson, p. 280; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 203). The turkey-feather robes deserve special attention as they were evidently one of the most distinctive and beautiful of the Delaware's manufactures. Lindstrom says: "They also make fine and beautiful quilts of painted bird feathers. In the first place they tie them with meshes like nets, yet very fine; then they fasten the feathers in the meshes, so neat and strong that not one feather can come loose from it..." (Lindstrom, pp. 221-22). When there was a "bed," it consisted of a wooden
352 shelf running around the interior wall of the house and serving as a seat by day (Harrington, 1913, p. 218; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 17; Skinner, 1915, p. 7).

342 The most common type of Delaware house was a small hut con-
sisting of a rectangular, gabled frame of saplings covered with bark or mats. Penn describes their houses thus: "Their Houses are Mats, or Bark of Trees set on Poles, in the fashion of an English Barn, but out of the power of the Winds, for they are hardly higher than a Man..." (Penn, p. 31). Some Delaware, however, constructed a house large enough to accommodate several families, the increase in size all deriving from greater length. The result was not unlike an Iroquois longhouse.[6] In the center of the house was one or more fires depending on the length of the building, and the ridge of the roof was arranged with an opening through which the smoke could

escape. In the summer and on trips shelter was not considered necessary (Johnson, p. 281; Lindstrom, p. 211). Most villages also contained a "Big House" which served as a place for religious assemblies and council meetings, but both of these functions were sometimes performed outdoors or in the chief's house.

As aids to transportation the Delaware used the carrying straps, pack baskets (used by both men and women) and canoes. Their bark canoes were of birch or chestnut. They also used a dugout made by first burning a suitable log and then scraping the charred portions out with sharp stones and shells (Johnson, p. 280). Vessels capable of ocean travel were constructed by fastening two large dugout canoes together and using mats for sails.[7] In these, journeys were made as far as New England and Virginia (Johnson, p. 280; Lindstrom, p. 237).

Nineteenth century writers were of the opinion that the Lenape used large amounts of copper and perhaps even worked it themselves (Brinton, 1885, p. 52; Abbott, 1885, pp. 774-77). More recent evidence, however, indicates that copper was not abundantly used, the most common form in which it is found being tubular beads, and that it was received solely in trade (Skinner, 1909, p. 28).

Clothing

The clothing of the Indian men consisted in summer of a leather girdle from which hung a flap of leather.[8] At this time of year the Delaware frequently went without footwear (Pastorius, 1700, p. 384; 1698, p. 433; Danckaerts, pp. 169 and 280; Lindstrom, pp. 191-92 and 197). The women's dress consisted of a square piece of leather fringed at the bottom which was bound around the waist as a short skirt (Skinner, 1915, p. 5; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 29). In winter, both sexes added leather leggings, moccasins and robes of animal skins or turkey feathers to this costume. Apparently the skins of bear, deer and raccoon were most commonly used for clothing. All of the clothing was decorated with colored designs of dyed porcupine quills or wampum (Pastorius, 1698, p. 433; Johnson, p. 280; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 202; Skinner, 1915, pp. 3 and 5).

Both sexes decorated themselves with numerous ornaments, the women, however, outdoing the men. Wampum was hung in chains around the neck and from the ears, and woven in bands which were worn around the head, sometimes with a single feather set in them (Pastorius, 1698, p. 434; Lindstrom, p. 196). Around the neck were also worn necklaces of dyed deer hair and native copper, stone and shell pendants and breast plates (Abbott, 1875, p. 327; Heye, pp. 32-42). In addition, men were seldom without their pipe, tobacco pouch and bag of food also hung about the neck (Lindstrom, p. 197). For festive occasions the ornamentation was greatly increased and face paint of various designs added. Hair and skin shining with bear grease was

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

deerskin called *powäni'gän* which serves as a drum (fig. 10), ample time to repeat the same word in the same tone, which produces an extraordinary effect. When he finishes, the drummers beat rapidly on the dry hide, repeating "*Ho-o-o!*" a number of times.

Then the celebrant repeats a verse of his song in the same way, and the drummers, having learned the words, sing them to a dance tune, beating the drum in slower time. After dancing awhile, the celebrator whoops, and they stop; then another similar verse, if not the same, is recited and then sung,

When the leader dances, he circles about the two fires contra-clockwise, and those who wish may join in the dance and follow him (pl. VI).

His dance finished, the leader passes the turtleshell to the next man who has been blessed with a vision. This one has the privilege of singing his vision if he wishes; if not, it is handed to the next "dreamer." After a celebrant has taken his seat, it is customary for those

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
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Lenape

533 787 796x [276]

who desire it to smoke until the next man is ready to commence. At this time also it is considered proper for the people to enter or leave the Big House, which is not permitted while the actual ceremony is in progress. When the turtle rattle has thus made the round of the building and gets back to its starting point, the meeting is brought to a close. This is usually along toward morning, the exact time of course being dependent on the number who have sung their visions, and on the length of the intermissions.

CONCLUSION OF RITES

252 796x

Now, when the man who started the ceremonies begins to dance, that is a signal for two of the women *a'ckas*, or attendants, to go out and pound corn for hominy or meal, and two of their men colleagues cook it in the kettle hanging on the pole, so that it is ready when the turtle has made its rounds and the meeting is about to close. Then the repast

264 796x

of hominy or corn mush called *sä'pan* is

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

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[516]

When they have finished eating they arrange themselves in a row, each hunter standing on his left foot and barely touching the ground with the toes of his right, an action whose meaning I have not yet been able to determine.

Then the speaker rises and talks to them, and the MIsi'ng[w'] who has been seen about the camp from time to time, is in the Big House listening to his words. "When you hunt," says the speaker, "think of nothing but luck to kill deer." As he speaks he goes to the [276] west fire and throws into it, six times, an [782] offering of native tobacco; then to the east fire, where he sacrifices six more pinches of the sacred herb—twelve in all. While sacrificing tobacco, he prays to the MIsi'ng[w'] to drive the deer up, so that the hunters can kill them. As he drops the last tobacco into the flames, he says, "If you kill a deer right away, bring it in tonight; if not, bring in all you kill day after tomorrow."

What tobacco is left is given to the chief hunter with the words, "When you camp tonight, burn this and ask MIsinghâli'kŭn

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

to let you kill deer." The reader will remember that Mĭsinghâli'kŭn, in whose image the Mĭsi'ng$^{w^t}$ is carved, is supposed to have control over the deer, and in fact over all wild animals.

All the hunters that are in the habit of chewing tobacco are now given some for this purpose. When they file out and mount their horses, the Mĭsi'ng$^{w^t}$ follows them and sees them off.

After the hunters have disappeared, the people call the Mĭsi'ng$^{w^t}$ back into the Big House and coax him to dance, while two men volunteer to sing for him.

PRAYER FOR THE HUNTERS

The following evening six men are appointed and given a yard of wampum to divide among them, to go out close to the forked game-pole east of the Big House, intended for the carcasses of the deer, and "pray" there twelve times. The meaning of this, of course, is that they sound the prayer word "*Ho-o-o!*" which is evidently to help the hunters. This night also a yard of wampum is unstrung

796x

●[276]

into it and remain there as long as they can bear the heat. While they are inside twelve pipes full of tobacco are thrown, one after another, upon the hot stones, which occasions a smoke almost powerful enough to suffocate those confined inside. Some one may also walk around the stones singing and offering tobacco, for tobacco is offered to fire. Usually, when the twelve men emerge from the oven, they fall down in a swoon. During this feast a whole buck-skin with the head and antlers is raised upon a pole, head and antlers resting on the pole, before which the Indians sing and pray. They deny that they pay any adoration to the buck, declaring that God alone is worshipped through this medium and is so worshipped at his will."

That this is really the same ceremony is shown not only by the details as related but by the native name of the rite, the *Machtuzin* of Zeisberger corresponding with the *MuxhatoL'zing* of the present writer.

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

PEYOTE RITE

One of the latest of introduced ceremonies, which was still much in favor with the Oklahoma Lenape when last visited by the writer, is the Peyote Rite, a cult

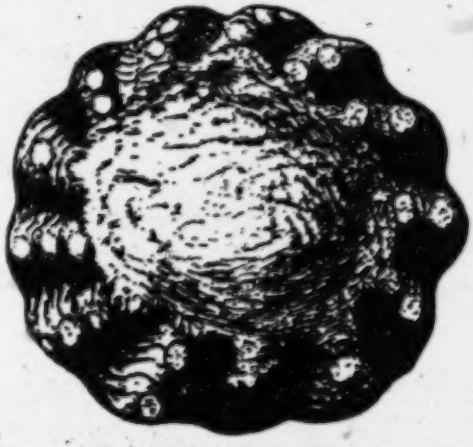

FIG. 19.—Peyote "Button." (Diameter, 1.9 in.)

now widespread among the tribes of the Central West, introduced among this people by an Indian named John Wilson, who obtained it, they say, from the Caddo on Washita river about the year 1890 or 1892. During this ceremony re-

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

177
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7%

markable visions are produced by eating the dried top of a small cactus, the *peyote* (fig. 19), for which the cult is named, and these visions, coupled with the moral teachings embodied in the ritual, make it very attractive to the Indian, who, on joining the cult, is often persuaded to discard entirely the ancient beliefs of his own people. The writer is acquainted with two principal forms of the rite, one involving native deities only, the other, almost entirely Christian in teaching and symbolism. It is this latter form which has been adopted by the Lenape, to whom the tipi, in which the ceremony is held, is as foreign an institution as the little cactus itself, brought in from southern Texas and Mexico.

Paraphernalia.—For this ceremony the tipi is erected with the door to the east, and a complex series of symbols arranged inside, as shown in the smaller drawing, pl. IX. On the western side of the lodge is built a crescent-shaped mound, or "moon," of earth, packed hard, its horns turned toward the east, which they

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
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Lenape

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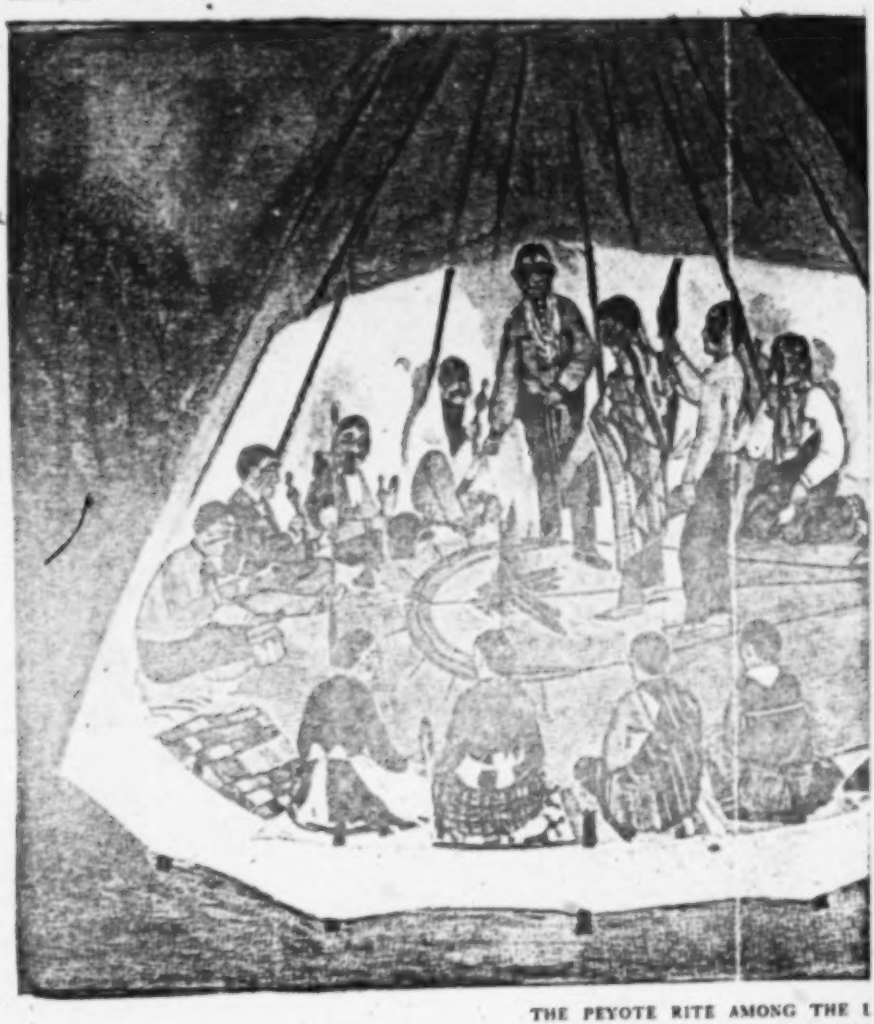

THE PEYOTE RITE AMONG THE L
Native Painting by Earnest Spybuck, a Sha

[Following p. 186 (A)] [IN COLOR]

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
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Lenape

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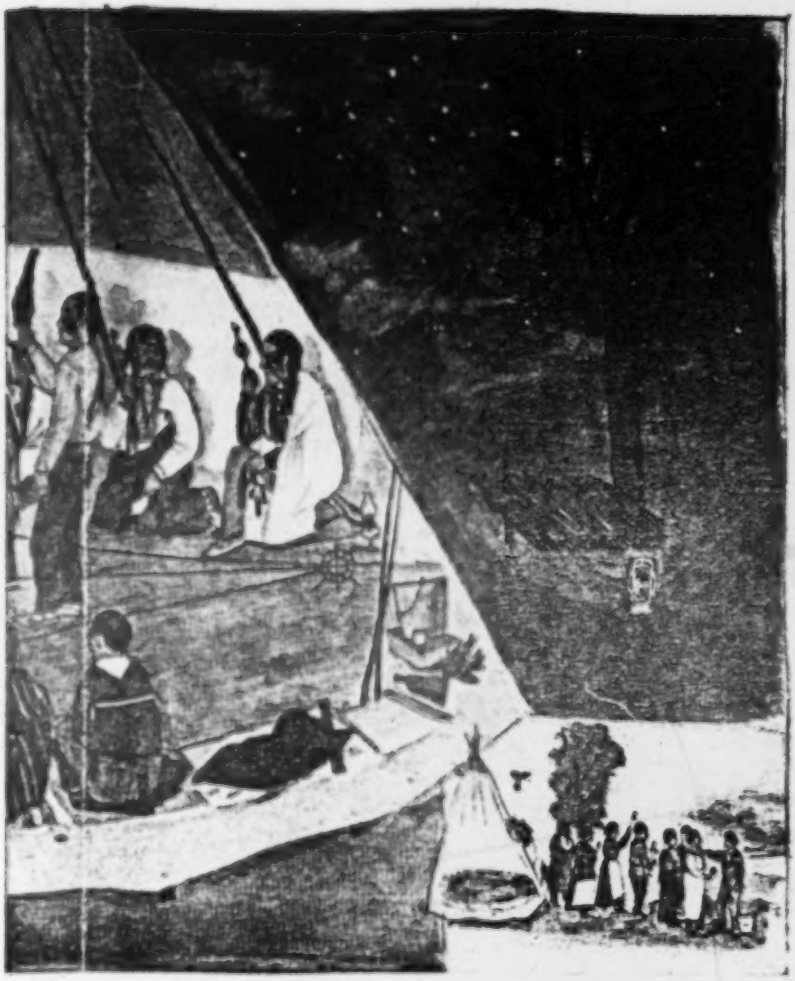

RITE AMONG THE LENAPE
g by Earnest Spybuck, a Shawnee

[Following p. 186 (B)] [IN color]

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

say represents the tomb where Christ was buried, and on the center of this is placed a large peyote, dampened and flattened (fig. 19), resting either on a bed of feathers or on the bare earth; and to the west of this again, sometimes a crucifix, as shown in the illustration. Between the points of the crescent is built the fire in a certain prescribed manner with overlapping sticks forming an angle pointing westward. Near the door lies another mound—a round one representing the sun. From the peyote resting on the embankment to the sun mound, directly through the middle of the fire, a line is drawn in the earth of the floor. This represents the "peyote road" along which the Peyote Spirit takes the devotee on a journey toward the sun, and also symbolizes the road to Heaven that Jesus made for the souls of men when He returned thither. West of the crescent-shaped mound stands, when not in use, the highly decorated arrow or staff, frequently made in the form of a long cross, with a groove extending from

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

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[534]
[293]
[534]

end to end, representing the spirit road. A small water-drum made of a piece of deerskin stretched over a crock, as seen in pl. IX, a nicely carved drumstick, an eagle-feather fan for brushing all evil influence away from each devotee as he enters or leaves the ceremony, and a supply of dried peyote, dampened and crushed in a mortar, are all necessary for the ceremony. Each devotee, moreover, must be supplied with a decorated gourd rattle of his own.

Officers.—The only offieers needed for this rite are a "Road-man" or speaker, who sits in the west, just opposite the door, and a fire guard stationed at the door, whose duty it is to keep the fire burning, and to brush with the feather fan the devotees as they enter. This is illustrated in the colored plate (pl. IX), which represents also the "Road-man" guiding a newcomer to a seat.

Conduct of the Ceremony.—When all are gathered in the tipi, the leader first passes around a fragment herb which the people chew and rub over hands and

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

body. Then the macerated peyote is passed, and each takes enough to make eight pellets about half an inch in diameter, of which some eat all, some only part, reserving some pellets to be eaten later. About this time the leader addresses the peyote and the fire, prays, and often delivers a regular sermon or moral lecture. He then takes the staff in his left hand, and sitting, or kneeling on one knee, he sings a certain number of peyote songs, which are a class to themselves, while the man to the left beats the drum, then passes the staff to the person on his right, himself taking the drum while this person sings, and so the staff travels round and round the lodge, each taking his turn at singing, while the devotees, men and women alike, keep their eyes fixed upon the fire or upon the peyote lying on the mound. As the night wears on the "medicine" begins to take effect, and the devotees see many strange visions, pictures, and brilliant-colored patterns. Often one may see the Peyote Spirit, in the form of an old

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6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

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man, who takes his spirit on a wonderful journey along the "peyote road," eastward toward the sun. At daybreak they all file out of the tipi bearing their paraphernalia, as seen in pl. IX, *b*, and when the sun appears they raise their hands in salutation, and then those who are left standing (for some fall as if dead at the sight of the sun) "give thanks to the Great Father in Heaven." Those who fall at sunrise, they say, are the ones who visited the sun in their visions. All sleep, or at least rest, until about noon, when a feast is served, after which everyone tells what he or she saw while "on the peyote road."

The Lenape variant of this ceremony, as related above, differs somewhat from that of other tribes practising the Christian form of the Peyote rite, but in all essentials it is almost identical.

Ghost Dance

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The Ghost dance was also introduced among the Lenape by an Indian named Wilson, about the same time, our infor-

8:Linestrom T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
NM7 Delaware NM7

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19. INDIAN FAMILY BY LINDESTRÖM. ORIGINAL SIZE; FROM THE *Geographia*.

[facing p. 195]

8:Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
NM7 Delaware NM7

they have their things, such as food, money, tobacco, tobacco pipes, very artistically and well made; also bows and quarrels[8] (like those of the Poles) and helmets made of hard wooden pins and strong wood, that no arrow can go through them. Around their arms at the hands[9] they have brass and tin rings and threaded money, hanging like chains. In their hands they have tobacco pipes an ell in length, which are screwed together with leather, to lean on, and in these pipe-heads will go a handful of tobacco.[10] Around their waists they have tied a broad belt of money, strung in the form of figures, from which their pieces of cloth hang,[11]

[8] *Bågar och skiäcktor (skäckta)*, scutcher, swingle.

[9] *Om armarne wed händerne;* that is the wrist.

[10] *En godh näfwe*, a good handful. "*Hurit Riecko Hopocken*, a beautiful clay pipe. The Barbarians make tobacco-pipes of red, yellow and blue clay, which is found there in the country of fine quality.

Hurit Assacus Hopocken, a beautiful stone pipe. For the Barbarians also make tobacco pipes of white, grey, green, brown, black and blue stones, which are found so soft (*blöta*), that they can be cut with a knife, and from this, pipes half an ell in length are made." Campanius, *Cate.*, 143.

Williams says: "Generally all the Men throughout the Countrey have a Tobacco-bag with a pipe in it, hanging at their back; sometimes they make such great pipes, both of wood and stone, that they are two foot long, with men or beasts carved, so big or massie, that a Man may be hurt mortally by one of them; but these commonly come from *Mauquauogs*, or the men eaters, three or four hundred miles from us. They have an excellent Art to cast our Pewter and Brasse into very neate and artificiall Pipes. They take their *Wuttamauog* (that is, a weake Tobacco) which the Men plant themselves, very frequently; yet I never see any take so excessively, as I have seene Men in Europe; and yet excesse were more tolerable in them, because they want the refreshing of Beare and Wine, which God hath vouchsafed Europe." *Key*, 55. Cf. also Smith, p. 24; De Vries and other early Dutch writers, *N. Y. Col.*, 2, III, 23, etc.

[11] "*Mochequoos*, a Girdle; which they make curiously of one, two, three, foure and five inches thicknesse and more, of this money which (sometimes to the value of ten pounds and more) they weare about their middle and as a scarfe about their shoulders and breasts." Williams, *Key*, 131.

8:Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
NM7 Delaware NM7

CHAPTER XIX.

Concerning the Manufacture of the Attractive and the Artistic Wares of the American Savage People.

Write or read the savages cannot, nor do any other work like the Christians, such as spin, weave, sew, *et talia, etc.* But their work consists[1] in neatly working [various things] by drawing, painting and glazing, as for instance their bags,[2] which they make so large that 1 quart, ½ gallon, yes 1, 1½, 2, 2½, 3 up to 6 gallons can go into them, to keep grain and all kinds of other such [things] in. These they elaborate with all kinds of figures of painted pine roots and also split,[3] painted sticks, unspeakably strong.[4]

They also make very neat tobacco pipes with all kinds of birds and animals on the pipe head, very beautifully painted and glazed.[5] There are also found beautiful colors of all kinds, which we can see by their neat and artistically painted work of bird feathers, tobacco pipes and more such [things]. They also make very fine and beautiful quilts[6] of painted bird feathers. In the first place they tie them with meshes like nets, yet very fine;[7]

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[1] *Uthan deres arbete går uth på.* Cf. *Vertoogh, N. Y. Col.,* 2, II, 270; *Doc.,* I, 282; Williams, *Key,* 133.
[2] *Notasser.* See above, Chapt. XI, note 7.
[3] *Upflicka,* to tear up (!); cf. *flicka sönder,* tear asunder.
[4] Cf. Hodge, *Handbook,* I, 125, 132; above Chapt. XI, note 7.
[5] Cf. Chapt. IX, note 10; Hodge, *Handbook,* II, 257 ff.
[6] *Skiöna fällar. Fäll* usually means skins with the fur, fell.
[7] *Dock mycket grenar.*

+ = element present
− = element denied
(+) or (−) = source ambiguous
• = informant could not or would not say
§ = some, sometimes, or several
† or * = see Ethnographic Notes, pp. 79-137 for additional information

	Williams	Van der Donck	Lindeström	Zeisberger	Heckewelder	Johnson	Pipe	Chipps	J. W.	W. T.	E. R.	W. L.
419. War chief leaves war club at house of enemy chief to show desire for peace						−	−	+	*+	•	−	•
420. Delaware act part of mediators between other tribes						+	+	•	+	•	•	+
421. Terms of peace negotiated				+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Peace—Continued												
422. By village chiefs							+	+	+	+	+	+
423. By council							+				+	+
424. By persons appointed					+	+						
425. Ceremonies at conclusion of peace: Dancing		+				+	+	−	+	−	+	+
426. Feasts						−	*(+)	−	+	*+	+	+
427. Belts exchanged				+		+	+	+	+		+	+
428. Pipe smoked				+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+
429. Anything like flags of truce before whites					−	−	−		*+	•	+	•
430. Flags or armorial bearings					−	−	−	•	•	•	−	•
Games												
431. Ball play				+		•	+	+	−	+	−	−
432. Football	+					+	•	•	*+	*+	+	*+
433. Dice game	+			+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+
434. Number of colors				2		2	2	2	2	2	2	2
435. Number of dice				6		5-6	6	6	7	6	8	12
436. Cards	*+	*+		+		+		+	−	+	−	*+
437. Quoits				+					−	−	+	+
438. Wrestling				+		+		+	+	+	+	+
439. Racing	+					+		+	+	+	+	+
440. Jumping						+		+	+	+	+	+
441. Hopping						+			+	*+	+	+
442. Lifting stones				+					−	*+	+	+
443. Throwing stones				+					+	+	+	+
444. Shooting and throwing arrows									+	+	+	+
445. Fond of gambling	+	+		+		−		+	s	s	+	+

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

cestors how, so it is said, they sadly pleaded, when, reciting their vision experiences, telling how pitiful were the conditions then in their time said to be. Verily I myself do grieve, my kindred, when I look back there into the past. But, nevertheless indeed, try your utmost, every one have a helpful will, and it might be that our pitiful plea for mercy be heard by him the Great Spirit. We may perchance sometime gain a victory to our benefit.

Truly my kindred, as it is forcibly said, I am oppressed with a feeling of incapability while standing here to instruct anyone in the blessing, here where stands he our Grandfather.[1] And I am truly thankful to bless with gratitude all those spirit-forces, all of them sitting round about us over the entire earth. And when we consider how our deceased ancestors so thoroughly paid attention to the obligations of this prayer-worship! Indeed how great are we privileged and blessed that still we can perform the ceremony as we were accustomed to see our deceased ancestors do it! This is sufficient for this occasion. Thanks!"[2]

Now the leader goes and sits down. When he has properly seated himself and swept it clean[3] then 'these who are painted red'[4] say "Let us all smoke[5] Let us all smoke." So the tobacco has been placed in a wooden bowl and should be mixed with sumac leaves (kinnickinnick[6]), because it is the rule that sumac shall be used by the Delawares when smoking.[7] And besides the cedar[8] and paint are all kept there at one place close to the drum. And when anyone lights the pipe in the Big House, he will then use our Grandfather because that one also is called pure, clean fire.

[1] Indicating his position standing as though sermonizing from a pulpit before the images of the center post.

[2] It should be borne in mind that the speaker is to repeat his performance every night while the Big House ceremony is in session.

[3] Meaning that he has dusted away latent evil potencies with the turkey-wing fan symbols.

[4] Another ceremonial name for the assistant drummer.

[5] The verb here is said to be in the Munsee language aya'xpuek', recalling the traditional Munsee origin of the ceremony. The corresponding Delaware term is hupɔ'tam "Let us smoke." The Delaware term kalakan.i'kan has cognates throughout Algonkian.

[6] The Delaware smoking mixture consists largely of dried sumac (probably Rhus copallina) leaves, which are gathered before the frost strikes them in the fall and singed over an open fire, then exposed to the sun and mixed with smoking tobacco to the proportion of one-third sumac leaves and two-thirds tobacco.

[7] Smoking sumac clear or mixed with tobacco the Delawares regard as a peculiar custom of their own not shared by other peoples (see also Zeisberger, p. 116).

The Delawares were so fond of using this mixture that it is a legendary saying among them that on their hunting or scouting parties they could be identified from afar by the scent they left on the air. Having an earlier equipment with European firearms they were feared by other tribes who avoided them on this account. See also G. Catlin, Letters and Notes, Vol. II, 1841, pp. 101-2.

[8] The sacredness of red cedar (Juniperus virginiana) is a prominent feature of Delaware ceremony (see p. 171).

11:Newcomb E-5 (1952) 1956 NM7 Delaware NM7

The Peyote Cult of the Delaware Indians

by WILLIAM W. NEWCOMB, JR.

Texas Memorial Museum

276 Peyote (*Lophophora williamsii*) is a spineless, carrot-shaped, grayish-green cactus, which in this country grows primarily in the lower Rio Grande Valley. When eaten, either green, dried, or drunk as tea, peyote has the property of heightening or sharpening the perception of colors, forms, and sounds, or inducing visual and/or auditory hallucinations. The extent to which a person has or does not have hallucinations depends upon his physical and psychological state, the amount and type of peyote ingested, and perhaps other factors. Peyote is not a narcotic in that "It does not excite, stupefy, or produce muscular incoordination; there is no hangover; and the habitual user does not develop any increased tolerance or dependence" (La Barre, *et al.*, 1951: 582).

175 A knowledge of the properties of peyote and its utilization in religious ceremonies antedates recorded history in Mexico. It was not 177 until late in the nineteenth century, however, that knowledge and a 276 new ceremonial use of peyote developed and spread widely among the 795 demoralized reservation Indians of the United States. The peyote cult was attractive to many of these Indians because it could easily replace outmoded or discarded religious rites, and because it was a continuing, if mild, rejection of elements of the dominant civilization. The new cult diffused to the Delaware Indians of northeastern Oklahoma about 1885, through the agency of John Wilson, a Caddo-Delaware from Anadarko in western Oklahoma (Petrullo, 1934: 83; La Barre, 1938: 109–123). This man had become a peyotist about 1880, and in subsequent years he converted many Delawares and other Indians in Oklahoma. John Wilson's version of peyotism, termed Big Moon or Moonhead, is today the most popular form of the cult among the main body of Delawares in northeastern Oklahoma. A less Christianized and less all-embracing religious cult called Little Moon was introduced some- [21] what later and has never attracted as many followers. I was unable to attend a Little Moon meeting; what follows pertains only to the Big Moon ceremony.

11:Newcomb E-5 (1952)1956 NM7 Delaware NM7

My purposes in this article are to describe a fairly typical peyote meeting of the Delawares which I attended in the summer of 1952, and to discuss the changes which have occurred in this cult since 1930 when Petrullo made his study of Delaware peyotism (Petrullo, 1934).

THE BIG MOON PEYOTE CEREMONY

The Big Moon ceremonies of the Delawares are normally held in canvas covered tepees, generally in the cooler months of the year, but occasionally in hot weather. The reason for their seasonal nature is said to be in the interests of comfort; a tepee with a fire burning in it on a hot Oklahoma night is almost unbearable. Big Moon ceremonies are held on Saturday nights and last until Sunday noon. The peyote meeting I am about to describe was held on the farm of a Delaware, about ten miles east of the small town of Dewey, Washington County, Oklahoma. A tepee, about twenty feet in diameter, had been erected a few steps from the back door of the farm house. A bale of hay had been scattered about near the inside walls of the tepee; tarpaulins and quilts had then been spread over the hay, upon which the participants were to sit. In the center of the tepee was an oval depression, or fireplace, excavated to a depth of about six inches (Fig. 1). Extending from the fireplace were twelve lines or rays, made by scoring the hard ground to a depth of about half an inch. Within the fireplace, also scored in the earth, was a cross and at the intersection of its arms a heart-shaped figure. The fire, which was built over this heart, was made of twelve sticks interlaced in a V-shaped pattern with the open end towards the tepee entrance.

Just east of the fire, and lying along the long axis of the cross, was a stick of soft wood. One end was kept smoldering during the ceremony and was used to light corn husk-Bull Durham cigarettes. At the east end of the fireplace was a raised circular mound of hard packed earth. On the center of this mound, symbolic of the Sun, another heart had been scratched. On the opposite, or west side of the fireplace was the altar. This was an oblong, slightly raised, earthen area, on which was placed the ritual paraphernalia. In its center on a beaded cloth was a large, green peyote, or "Father Peyote." Just behind it a feathered and beaded peyote staff had been thrust into the ground. On the altar to the south of these objects was a glass bowl of green peyote, a kettle of peyote tea, and a leather bag of dried peyote buttons. To the north of "Father Peyote" on the altar was the drum used to accompany the singers (an old fashioned cast iron kettle, partly water-filled, and covered with a tightly drawn, wet, buckskin cover), and a bunch of sage.

11:Newcomb E-5 (1952) 1956 NM7 Delaware NM7

sage. The fireplace and the altar had been made many years previously, showing much use by being smooth and hard packed.

While the man who was to tend the fire and guard the door (fire-chief) and several helpers were arranging the tepee, several women were preparing peyote in the farmhouse kitchen. Peyote tea was made by chopping up dried peyote buttons and dropping them in boiling water. After steeping for a few minutes the tea was strained. Green peyote was prepared by peeling off the leathery skin, only the tops being left intact. A little before ten o'clock the fire-chief lit the fire in the tepee with flint and steel. As soon as he came out of the tepee the leader (or road-chief) entered, followed by the drum-chief, the fourteen other participants, and finally the fire-chief. This meeting was somewhat atypical in the small number of participants; attendance usually averaged about twenty-five. After everyone was seated the drum-chief, a Sioux from the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota, announced that several people had prayers and announcements to make. The road-chief, a Winnebago, then prayed in his own language. As translated next day, this prayer welcomed the participants and asked for divine assistance in the conduct of the meeting. This meeting had been initiated by a Delaware woman who was ill (No. 14 in Fig. 1), and she stood up and thanked everyone for coming and assisting her in regaining her health. Another Delaware (No. 3 in Fig. 1) then said a few words, principally to the effect that the "Native American Church" was not "idolatry" and that he was glad to welcome a white couple (the writer and his wife) to a meeting "to see what it really was like."

The road-chief then prayed again in Winnebago. When this prayer was concluded, he passed the peyote staff and a bunch of sage to the man on his left, who passed it on in a clockwise direction until it had

[text continues on p. 206]

(Explanation of Figure 1)

A. Altar
B. Fire. To some peyotists the heart represents the soul of the Fire Spirits.
C. Sun Mound. The heart symbolizes the soul of the Sun.
D. Ash Piles. Petrullo noted that in some versions of the rite these symbolize the lungs of Christ. I could not confirm this.
E. Water bucket and dipper.
F. Smoldering stick used to light cigarettes.
G. Tepee entrance.
H. Cross. Long axis symbolizes peyote road.
1. Road-chief, Winnebago
2. Delaware man
3. Delaware man
4. Shawnee man
5. Shawnee woman (4's wife)
6. Delaware man
7. Ego
8. Ego's wife
9. Sioux man
10. Sioux woman (9's wife)
11. Fire-chief, Delaware
12. Delaware man
13. Delaware man
14. Delaware sponsor
15. Winnebago woman (16's wife)
16. Winnebago man
17. Drum-chief, Sioux

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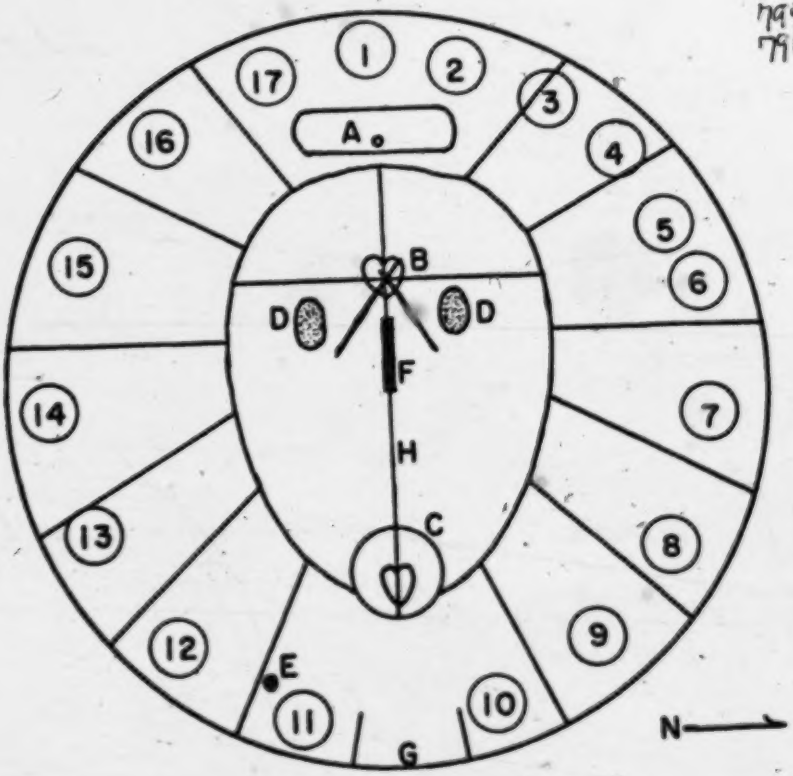
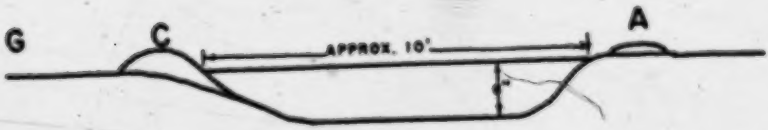
346
795
796

Figure 1



TOP VIEW



ELEVATION

11:Newcomb E-5 (1952) 1956 NM7 Delaware NM7

made a full circuit of the tepee. Many of the participants pressed the sage lightly to various parts of their bodies before passing it along. The road-chief then passed corn husks and Bull Durham tobacco in the same direction, everyone rolling a cigarette. These cigarettes were lit from the smoldering stick which was kept in readiness to the east of the fire. After the cigarettes had been smoked in silence, they were collected by the fire-chief. The butts were placed on the altar. Peyote was then passed in the same clockwise fashion; the road-chief directed that four buttons be taken, either two dried and two green, or four of a kind. Peyote tea was also passed, some individuals smearing their body, face, and hair with the tea, as well as drinking it.

When the peyote had completed the clockwise circuit, and as the participants were going through the ordeal of eating it, the road-chief prayed. He then began the opening song, holding a gourd rattle in his right hand and the peyote staff in his left, the drum-chief accompanying him on the drum. After four songs were sung the road-chief passed the staff and gourd rattle to the man on his left, accepted the drum from the drum-chief, and drummed for the man on his left, who sang four songs. After each set of four songs, the gourd rattle and staff were passed in a clockwise direction to the next man who sang a set of four songs, the previous singer becoming the drummer. The singing and drum accompaniment continued until midnight. Between sets of songs some individuals asked for peyote and others asked for water. The water was kept by the fire-chief's side in an ordinary bucket. Occasionally someone would leave the tepee, first getting permission from the road-chief. On re-entering, which was only permissible between sets of songs, the fire-chief cleansed and purified these people by brushing them from the head and shoulders down the arms to the fingers with an eagle feather fan. They then went around the north side of the fire to the altar, where they touched "Father Peyote," and the road-chief brushed them in a similar manner with another eagle feather fan. Then they returned to their places.

About midnight the fire-chief raked the ashes from the fire for the first time. He did this by moving the burning sticks eastward, taking a special peeled stick about six feet long and smoothing out the embers. After they were smoothed, another stick, somewhat longer than the first, was used to divide the ashes along the long axis of the cross, the ashes being formed into two neat piles on either side of the fire. After this was accomplished the fire was returned to its original position, built up, and the whole depression was swept from west to east

11:Newcomb E-5 (1952)1956 NM7 Delaware NM7

with an ordinary kitchen broom. After midnight the ashes were removed from the fire whenever a considerable quantity had accumulated.

The road-chief prayed, peyote was passed, and the songs began again. The throb of the drum and the songs were interrupted only occasionally; someone would ask for peyote, a person would mumble, and once one of the Winnebagos (No. 16, Fig. 1) asked the road-chief for permission to attempt a cure of his wife's swollen feet. This request was granted. The Winnebago walked around the fireplace and altar in a clockwise direction and cedar needles were thrown on the fire. He "caught" the smoke in a feather and dipped it into a cup of water which he had in readiness. He then brushed the feather over the woman's legs, concentrating on her feet. He drew a faintly glowing ember from the fire, took the ash into his mouth, and spit the ash into the ash pile nearest him. He then vigorously sucked the patient's feet.

Also early in the morning the Delaware sponsor asked the road-chief if she could pray for herself and her family. He assented. Standing next to the altar, she smoked a corn husk cigarette and, with tears streaming down her cheeks, related first in English and then in Delaware the story of her illness, her unhappiness, and her desire for the good health of her family. A little later a woman (No. 10 in Fig. 1) asked if she might be allowed to sing. Permission being given, she sang the customary four songs, her husband drumming for her.

At dawn the road-chief announced that the drum was going around for the last time. Following this last round the sponsor, her husband and young daughter (who had awakened and come into the tepee) stood up. The road-chief cast cedar needles upon the fire and brushed the entire bodies of the family with his eagle feather fan in the customary way. He then prayed. After they had resumed their seats the road-chief prayed again, following which candy and crackers were passed. The meeting was closed by the assemblage reciting the Lord's Prayer. The fire-chief rose and went around the tepee in the clockwise direction shaking everyone's hand and congratulating them on a successful meeting. The person on his left followed him in a like manner, and so on until everybody had shaken hands with everyone else and the tepee was emptied. Coffee was made and the participants relaxed in the yard and talked until the noon meal, after which the group dispersed.

It is difficult, perhaps impossible, to convey the attitude of peyotists and the atmosphere of a peyote meeting by means of a description of what happens during the course of the night. Perhaps the general

11:Newcomb E-5 (1952) 1956 NM7 Delaware NM7

attitude is best summed up as one of intense emotion and reverence. It could hardly be otherwise, since any individual may come face to face with supernatural powers during the course of the ceremony. Even if he does not, he has come to the ceremony in the sincere belief that he can and will get help in solving the most serious of life's problems. This precludes a profane attitude. I can only echo Petrullo (1934: 88) who said that the atmosphere of the ceremony was "... accompanied by the deepest feeling of reverence and awe and peace that it has been my lot to have witnessed either among primitive people or Christian groups engaged in worshipping their God."

Peyote is of course the focal point of the peyote meeting, but peyote itself is not worshipped. Informants stress this again and again, probably because they have so frequently been attacked by Whites and Christian Indians on this point. Peyote is both a symbol of the supernatural forces being worshipped and a sacrament. For the Delaware peyotist it is a means of establishing contact with the supernatural world and of securing a personally satisfactory working relationship with the spirit forces. While Peyote is the most important supernatural force present, it is not the only one. The spiritual forces of Sun, Moon, Fire, and others are there. Their importance and even their existence depends upon individual interpretation (Fig. 1).

The outward emphasis of Delaware peyote meetings is upon curing. The stated purpose of the meeting I have described was to assist in the cure of the sponsor, and there was a shamanistic curing rite performed during the course of the evening. It should also be pointed out that many peyotists are eager to relate how peyote has cured them of various diseases. It would be a mistake, however, to regard Big Moon peyotism as merely a curing rite, or even to think of it as primarily so. Peyote is regarded as a spirit force through which men can approach the omnipotent supernatural power or powers. Informants sometimes equate peyote with Jesus and say that White men use the "Jesus road to God" while the "Indian takes the Peyote Road."

BIG MOON PEYOTISM—THEN AND NOW

Unfortunately Petrullo did not attend a Big Moon meeting with the Delawares near Dewey, but did participate in a Big Moon meeting of the Delawares at Anadarko. Normally there are many minor divergencies between meetings and tepee arrangements because there is no priesthood or dogmatic creed. As Petrullo (1934: 31) said, "A religion that insists that each individual can learn its doctrines only through personal experience with its gods must necessarily exist in a variable

11:Newcomb E-5 (1952)1956 NM7 Delaware NM7

form." Despite the differences in locale and in the inherent variability of the cult, there is a surprising correspondence between the Big Moon meeting of 1930 in Anadarko and the one held in 1952 near Dewey. The similarity between the arrangement of the tepee I have described and the eight variants of the Big Moon altar and tepee which Petrullo diagrams is striking; the same is true of the conduct of the meetings. The principal differences between the meetings are presented in Table I (Petrullo, 1934: 87–95). The differences are minor; for the most part they are well within the range of variation of the cult, and of course in most respects the meetings are similar or identical. The principal change seems to be that women are allowed a much greater part in the

TABLE I

Differences in Big Moon Peyotism
1930 and 1952

1930—Anadarko	1952—Dewey
1. Quiet period in afternoon prior to ceremony.	1. Participants gather just before ceremony.
2. Road-chief seated people; women on south.	2. Sit where you like. Women seated on north and south.
3. Oil lamp near altar.	3. No light other than fire.
4. Personal paraphernalia permitted after midnight.	4. No personal paraphernalia in evidence at any time.
5. Crucifix on altar.	5. No crucifix.
6. Only road-chief smoked Indian tobacco cigarette to open meeting.	6. Everybody smokes corn husk-Bull Durham cigarette.
7. Women given only the peyote tea.	7. Women eat green or dried peyote; men drink tea.
8. "Fanning" with eagle-feather fan after sets of songs.	8. Absent.
9. Drum-chief sang after road-chiefs' opening song.	9. Drum-chief is last to sing; clockwise circuit followed without exception.
10. Women did not sing.	10. Woman sang, but permission had to be given by road-chief.
11. No midnight intermission.	11. Midnight intermission.
12. No shamanistic curing (possibly permitted).	12. Winnebago performed cure on wife.
13. At dawn road-chief sang "morning water-song"; each person drank water.	13. Negative.
14. Filed outside, washed faces, faced rising sun, returned to tepee, etc.	14. Meeting closed with Lord's Prayer.
15. No breakfast.	15. Breakfast.
16. Candy, etc., distributed at noon meal.	16. Candy passed before leaving tepee.

11:Newcomb E-5 (1952) 1956 NM7 Delaware NM7

meeting than they were two decades ago. In this respect peyotists seem to be merely following the general trend of White society.

Big Moon peyotism diffused to the Delawares as a substitute for an outmoded religious system, but its replacement of the traditional religion has been slow and incomplete. The peyote cult is still regarded by many Delawares as a somewhat inferior replacement for the traditional ceremonies. What is more, during World War II the Big House Ceremony, the major, annual religious rite of the Delawares, was revived and held three times, albeit in abbreviated form. The Delawares would continue the old rites today, but because of expense, cultural decay, and other factors, they have been finally abandoned. It is doubtful whether the traditional rites, even if abbreviated and vestigial, can ever again be held. Petrullo (1934: 175) underestimated their strength when he said more than two decades ago that they were "No longer able to perform the ancient ceremonies. . . ." Neither Petrullo nor I found out what proportion of the Delawares were peyotists, Christians, or adherents to the old religion, so that changes in religious affiliation are largely a matter of conjecture. It is known, however, that many of the proponents of the abandoned religion have become peyotists, but at least a few have become Christians. In short, the peyote cult has never completely replaced the traditional religion, nor has it gained universal approval. The most that can be said by way of comparison is that the Big Moon cult was a covert, lively, and popular one in the thirties; it remains so today.

Probably the greatest changes which have occurred in Delaware Big Moon peyotism within the past twenty-five years have been in the reasons why people are drawn to it. There is not space here to discuss this topic in detail, but it should be pointed out that the peyote cult originally diffused to the Delawares, and was still attractive to them in the early thirties because:

> . . it teaches acceptance of the new world, and makes possible an attitude of resignation in the face of the probable disappearance of the Indian groups as distinct peoples, culturally and racially, by insisting on the necessity of emancipation from mundane aspirations. . . . [The peyote cult] is the natural but final recourse of a subjugated people who fully realize the inadequacy of their material means to restore their former world-state (Petrullo, 1934: 1).

The appeal of modern peyotism is, at least in part, of a different nature. Briefly, the Delawares are no longer a cohesive cultural or social entity; they are geographically scattered and socially atomized. There is no tribal activity which draws them together as Delawares, and every year there are fewer distinctive customs which set them apart from

11:Newcomb E-5 (1952)1956 NM7 Delaware NM7

other people. Yet the individual Delaware is not an ordinary American; he is thought of by the public as an Indian, and he thinks of himself as an Indian. One way in which he can express this Indianness and feel that he is a part of a larger group is to be a peyotist. The peyote cult gives him an opportunity to participate in ceremonies with others who occupy a similar position in American life, and it provides him with an opportunity to express his Indian cultural heritage, however slight it may be. In the meeting just described there were Winnebagos, Sioux, and Shawnees, in addition to the Delawares. This is normal for a Delaware peyote meeting; in fact, their meetings always include members of other tribes. They also frequently attend meetings with the Osage, Quapaw, and others. In short, in earlier times the Delaware Big Moon peyote cult was a religious expression of assimilation and an attempt to preserve something from the shattered cultural past. Today it functions more as a religious symbol of the Indian minority and a rallying point for what has been termed a Pan-Indian society (Newcomb, 1955).

SUMMARY

The arrangement of the tepee and the conduct of Delaware Big Moon peyote meetings has remained essentially constant since 1930. Over this span of time the Big Moon cult has not succeeded in completely replacing the traditional religion, nor has it apparently become any more popular. Probably the greatest changes have occurred in the reasons for the cults' appeal to the Delawares. The modern attractions of the peyote cult are particularly strong in its aspects as an *Indian* ceremony and as a rallying point for Pan-Indianism, rather than in the solace it offers to "a subjugated people."

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[P.10, B]

121 zon in order that Minsi material may be separated from artifacts pertaining to earlier occupations. The writer herewith presents what he considers to be a reasonably valid list of elements pertaining to Minsi material culture. This list cannot in the light of our present knowledge pretend to anything approaching final inclusiveness or conclusiveness. It is the 1951 model and all rights to make subsequent changes are reserved.

127 In this list I have, of course, leaned heavily upon Ritchie's Bell-Philhower report as well as my own researches both prior to and following the Bell-Philhower "dig". I would also like to acknowledge much valuable assistance derived from access to the splendid collection of material from Minisink Island in the collection of Mr. Rudolph Ludwig, Milford, Pa.

Ceramics

Pipes

172 So far as the writer has been able to
●276 determine, no stone pipes attributable to
323 the Minsi have been found in the upper Delaware area or elsewhere. Pipes of pottery occur, but are not numerous. These pottery pipes may be tubular, effigy, or obtuse—angle elbow. (Plate 1, No. 2).
[531] Decoration may consist of pointillé, incised lines, corded stick impressions, or may be absent. (Plate 1, Nos. 1 and 3, shows pointillé-decorated pipe sherds.)

Vessels

172 Pottery may be of various Owasco types
415 (Castle Creek Epigonus is rather promi
323 nent) with punctuate, corded, platted, and beaded designs of several forms, or of Iroquoian types with incised designs in herringbone and other patterns. Rims often exhibit castellations. (See Plate 2. The sherds in the top row and the sherd at the left in the bottom row exhibit Owasco features. The remainder are primarily Iroquoian in motif.) An excellent description

[P.15, C]

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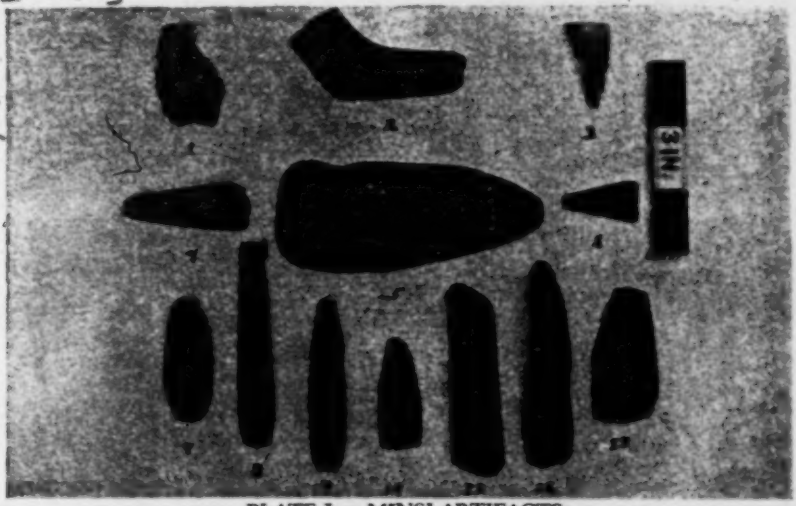

PLATE I. MINSI ARTIFACTS

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531

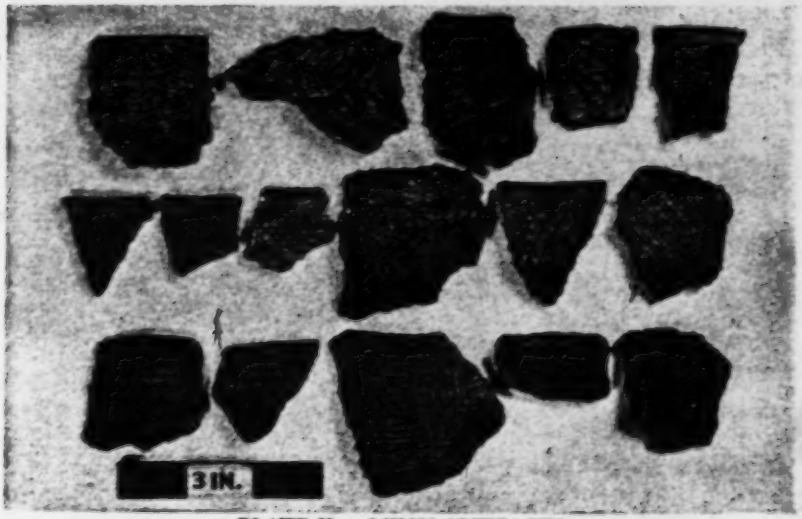

PLATE II. MINSI ARTIFACTS

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute

Comanche NO6

Delaware NM7●

C
D
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795
796
534
276

PAYOFF ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST—(*Continued*)

| Element | Occurrence | | |

14: Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR 13 Northern Paiute
Comanche ND6
Delaware NM7 ●

Element	Occurrence																					
	Tem	Ute	Cha	Gos	Ban	Bid	Pai	Wal	Wih	Mon	Ow	Ow	Ow	Ute	Ute	Ute	Ute	Ute	Ute	Ute	Ute	Ute
61. Only leader's tobacco used	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
62. Tobacco lacking from ritual		°(+)	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	°+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
63. Peyote furnished by leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
64. "Chief peyote," an extra large "button"	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
°65. Decorated with white lines	−	−	−		(−)	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
66. Placed on altar in front of leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
67. Is not eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
68. *Artemisia* leaves under "chief peyote"	+	+	+	+	(−)	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
69. Form cross	+	°+	(+)	+		+	+			+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
70. Peyote for eating passed around	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
71. Only leader's used until after midnight		°+	+		(+)	°−	+	°+	−		+	+	+	°+	°(+)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
72. Leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
73. Called chief or peyote chief	+	+	°+	+	(+)	°+	°+	°+		+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
74. Sits west of altar or shrine or fire	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
75. Has complete charge of meeting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
76. Assistants	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
77. 2 assistants		+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
78. 3 assistants	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
79. 4 or more assistants		−	°+	−	−	+	°+	°+	−	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
80. Chief drummer	+	+	+	+	+	+	°+	°+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
81. Sits at leader's right	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	°+	°−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
82. Drums for leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
83. Drums for each singer in turn	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	°+	°−	−	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
84. Cedarman or cedar chief	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	°+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
85. Sits at leader's left	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	°−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
86. Sprinkles cedar leaves on fire	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
87. Offers prayers at specified times	+	−	+	−	(−)	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
88. Fire chief or fire tender	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
89. Sits at north side of entrance	+	°+	+	+		+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
90. Starts fire before meeting	+	+	+	+			+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

(Continued on next page)

C
D
111
1945
196
[1946] ●

Comanche ND6
Crow NQ10
Delaware NM7 ●
Winnebago NP12

Stewart: Washo–Northern Paiute Peyotism 109[A]

Element	Occurrence																						
	13 T	K-A	Kio	Com	Kic	Ap B	Di 1	Di 2	Wa	O 2	O 1	O 2	Ute	Da	Gu	Ar-a	Tse						
121. An assistant on each side of leader	+	−	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	+								
122. Women sit behind men		−	−	−	•−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	+								
123. All pass to south of moon	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	++							
124. Sit on blankets, straw, etc	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	•+	+	+	+								
125. *Artemisia* (sagebrush)	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	−	−	−								
127. Prayer or speech or both at start of meeting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+							
128. Tobacco passed, all roll cigarettes	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			+	+	•+	+	+	•+	+								
129. Cigarettes lit with fire stick, clockwise	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+								
130. Leader prays aloud during smoking	+	+	+	+	+	•−	+	+	−	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+								
131. Others pray silently	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+								
132. Smoke blown toward moon	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	−	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+								
133. All motion toward moon	+	+	+	+	+	•−	+	•−	−	−	+	+	•+	+	+	+								
134. Cigarette butts placed against altar or shrine	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+								
135. *Artemisia* (sage) leaves passed clockwise	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	•+	+	+	+	+	+								
136. Leaves rubbed on hands, clothes	+	•+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+								
137. Chewed	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	•−	+	+	+								
138. Peyote incensed before passing	+	+	+	+	(+)	−				+	+	+	+	+	+	+								
139. Peyote passed round circle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+								
140. Clockwise	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+								
141. All take 4 "buttons" at start	+	•+	+	+	−	•−	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+								
142. Each button chewed, spit into hands, rolled, offered to altar, and swallowed	+	•+	•+	+	+	−				−	•+	+	•+	+	+	+								
143. Chest patted during swallowing of button	+		•+	+	(−)	−				−	•+	•+	•+	+	+	+								
144. First peyote eaten before singing starts	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+		−	•+	•+	•+	+	+	+								
145. Paraphernalia brought out by chief	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	•+	+								
146. Laid on ground between leader and altar	+	+	+	+	+	•−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+								
147. Cedarman throws cedar leaves on fire	+		+	−	(+)	•+	+	−		−	+	•−	+	+	+	+								
148. Paraphernalia incensed	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+		−	+	+	+	+	•+	+								
149. 4 times	+	+	+	−		+	+	+		−	+	+	+	+	+	+								
150. Worshippers incensed	+	•+	+	−		+	+	+		−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+							

(Continued on next page)

Co
Cr
D
W
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Comanche NO6
Delaware NM7

Element	Occurrence																				
	LTr	Ewa	Ela	Com	Ela	Ab	Dr	Dra	Wa	Oka	Cr	Cr	Ess	Du	Gu	Fa	Ta				
181. Water bearer spills water on ground	+	−	+		+	+	+	−	−		+	+	+	+	+	+					
182. Bucket passed clockwise, all drink	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	++				
183. Devotees rub, sprinkle ("baptize") selves with water	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+					
184. "Chief peyote," paraphernalia sprinkled	+	−		+			−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+		+					
185. Water bearer takes water outside	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+		+					
186. Makes circuit of altar before removing water	+		+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+•(+)		−	+	+	+					
187. Drum, staff returned to place they occupied before midnight	+		+	+	+	•	−	−•+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+					
188. After paraphernalia placed, leader goes outside	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−•−		+	+	+	+	+	+	+					
189. Blows whistle to cardinal directions	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+					
190. Prays to cardinal directions	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−		+	+	+	+	+	+	+					
191. Leader incensed upon return	+		+			+	+	−	−		+	+	+	+	+	+					
192. Replaces whistle near moon	+		+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+					
193. After midnight individual fans, rattles, etc., used	+		+	+	•+	−	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	++				
194. All urged during meeting to eat as much peyote as possible		•−	•+		+	+	+	+		•(+)	+	+	−	+	•(+)	+					
195. Urged not to eat too much			•+	−		−	−	−		− (+)	+	+	−	•+	−	+					
196. Individual prayers aloud, by men	+	+	•+	+	+	−	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
197. By women			•+	−	•+	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+					
198. Suppliant first gets tobacco from leader	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+		+	++				
199. Cigarette lighted with fire stick	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+		+					
200. 4 puffs of smoke blown toward altar at start	+		+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+					
201. Butt handed to leader			+	+	(−)	−		•+	−	−	+	•−	−	+	+	+					
202. To cedarman, who blows 4 puffs toward altar			+	−	(−)	−		−	−	•−	+	+	−	+		+					
203. To chief drummer, who blows 4 puffs toward altar			+	−	(−)	−		−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	+					
204. Handed back to leader, who blows 4 puffs toward altar			+	−	(−)	−		+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+					
205. Prayer by individual followed by one by leader			•+	+	(−)	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+					
206. No one leaves meeting while anyone is singing, praying, or eating peyote	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	•+	−					
207. Morning water call (similar procedure to midnight ritual)	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	•+	•−	+	+	+	+	+	•+	−	+				
208. Water brought in	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
209. By woman	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				

(Concluded on next page)

C
D
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14: Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute
Crow NQ1D
Delaware NM7 ●

| Element | Occurrence | | |

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute
Comanche NO6
Delaware NM7 ●

125. Ab S: Sage underneath blankets (Voegelin). WRS: Sage formerly required (Shimkin).

127. Cr 2: Instructions first as to teaching or belief, followed by prayer (Voget).

128. De 2: Leader prepares first prayer cigarette, which is passed around to all (Webber). Cr 2: Cigarette rolled before prayer (Voget). Gos: See note 265a.

130. Ab S: Leader prayed silently while smoking (Voegelin). Cr 1: Tells about purpose of meeting so they may pray (Voget).

132. Cr 1: To "peyote chief," but "just the same as moon" (Voget). Cr 2: Blown toward "chief peyote" (Voget).

133. Ab S: Prayed with bowed heads, eyes closed, men must kneel (Voegelin).

134. De 2: In original Wilson Moon, cigarette butts placed at left side of altar, in front of road chief, but in other Big Moon ceremonies left in front of smoker to be gathered by fire chief (Webber). Cr 2: Those sitting facing convex surface of moon place their cigarette butts against moon; those facing concave side place their butts at point of horns of moon; those north of line between leader and entrance place theirs on north side of altar, and vice versa (Voget). WRS: Butts placed against moon by fire chief and assistant (Shimkin).

135. Cr 1: "Some take sage from seat and rub this on hands" (Voget).

136. K-A: Sage leaves placed under blankets and each person uses his own (McAllister).

137. Cr 2: Informant did not remember any chewing, but it may have happened a long time ago (Voget).

141. K-A: Yes, but at the meetings I attended they "eut the dose," as they termed it, to two, out of consideration for my presence, for they thought I would find it difficult to eat four; and I would have at one time (McAllister). Ab S: At the meeting we attended each was told to take two buttons (Voegelin). WRS: Some take two (Shimkin).

142. K-A: Optional: some do, most do not. Kio: Mode of eating depends on each individual (La Barre). Cr 1: Some. Most simply take it and eat (Voget). WRS: As special sign of respect to Creator (Shimkin).

143. Kio: Mode of eating depends on each individual (La Barre). Cr 1 and 2: Optional (Voget).

144. Cr 1: Four eaten; then they sing. When meeting starts, outfit has to be going [around] all the time (Voget). Cr 2: First four peyote buttons eaten before singing starts (Voget).

145. Gos: See note 265a.

146. Ab S: Leader held paraphernalia in hands; drum chief likewise (Voegelin).

147. Ab S: Leader sprinkled cedar (Voegelin). Cr 2: Chief does the incensing at this point (Voget).

148. Gos: See note 265a.

149. WRS: More than once; number not fixed (Shimkin).

150. K-A: When cedar is placed on the fire, each person symbolically washes himself with it (McAllister).

151. Cr 1: "Just once; so everyone can smell the smoke" (Voget). WRS: Number not fixed (Shimkin).

152. Cr 1: In front of leader (Voget).

154. WRS: Either Shoshone or Arapaho starting song may be used (Shimkin). Gos: See note 265a.

159. Ab S: "The usual number is four, but sometimes men feel so good that they may sing as many as twelve songs" (Voegelin).

160. De 2: Each man sings, then drums for his neighbor (Petrullo, 91). In Wilson Moon the drum chief and different fire chiefs do all the drumming (Webber). See note 83. W-P: See note 83.

161. K-A: Women attend, but I never saw them participate. I do not know if there is a rule; probably merely a feeling that they should not (McAllister). Cr 2: No rule against women singing (Voget). Gos: I inquired about this especially and they said women used to sing but do not do so any more (Malouf). W-P: Women hold staff, lead singing, drum.

163. De 2: No midnight recess (Petrullo, 42). Midnight water call and recess present in Big Moon cult (Petrullo, 158). Recess only to burn cedar incense for everyone to fan over themselves while standing. Water in meeting all night and can be used any time, but is used with restraint (Webber; Petrullo, 93). Gos: See note 265a. W-P: No fixed song for water calls, or any time.

164. Ab S: Recalls and lays them down (Voegelin). Cr 1: "Chief has to put outfit in front of himself" (Voget).

14: Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute
Comanche NO6
Delaware NM7

165. De 1: Ashes formed into an eagle in one small-moon variant (Petrullo, 78). De 2: Ashes piled on each side of fire to represent the lungs of Jesus. Also formed into a heart (Petrullo, 101, 181). Win: Ashes formed into a moon twice during the ritual and, in addition, formed into a heart twice, the "Morning Star" twice (the second time with lines across two points), a cross (by filling with embers the interspaces of the cross incised on floor), and finally a sun (Praus).

169. De 2: See note 163. Cr 2: By cedarman (Voget).

170. Cr 2: Four blasts on the whistle; then two songs are sung, the first being "fixed" (Voget).

171. WRS: Sometimes twice (Shimkin).

172. De 2: Special water song used to call for fresh water in morning (Petrullo, 93).

173–174: Com and No C: Water handed into lodge by women; put in position by fire chief (Hoebel). Kio: Woman once observed blessing water at midnight (Noon).

176. W-P: Cedarman only sprinkles cedar on fire; no prayer.

177. Ab S: Swings water bucket four times over fire on which cedar has been sprinkled (Voegelin).

180. Cr 1: Drummer both smokes and prays (Voget).

182. Gos: To moisten "mother earth" (Malouf).

186. Cr 2: Makes circuit of room after removing water (Voget).

187. Ab S: Drum and staff were lying beside the leader; he picks up staff at this point and hands it to man on his left, while he goes outside with whistle (Voegelin). Win: During drinking of water at midnight, staff placed upright in hole just west of incised horseshoe, in front of leader (Praus).

188. Win: Drummer goes outside after paraphernalia placed (Praus).

193. Win: Only individual fans used after midnight (Praus). Kio: Only fans (Noon).

194. K-A: No urging; each is expected to be his own judge (McAllister). Kio: Depends on leader and age of those to whom he is talking (La Barre). Cr 1: "Chief tells them to eat all they wish, but it is up to the individual. Free will, you know. He does not coax to fill them up, or not to" (Voget). Gos: Urged to eat as much as desired (Malouf).

195. Kio: Depends on leader and age of those to whom he is talking (La Barre). Ute: In "old Sioux way" devotees urged not to eat too much; usually eat only four buttons.

196. Kio: As designated by leader (La Barre). De 2: Road man usually announces that anyone wishing to pray through a cigarette may do so after midnight, but some leaders do not approve of individual prayers (Webber).

197. Kio: As designated by leader (La Barre). Kie: Exceptional. Only when woman is close friend of family of person being treated. Spiritual value of prayers of friends is greater (Noon).

198. W-P: For special individual prayers, leader rolls the cigarettes, to which he adds ground sage leaves. See note 57 Ab S.

201. De 2: Road chief lighted and puffed cigarette before handing it to individual for his prayer, then this chief puffed it and prayed following individual (Petrullo, 93). Cr 2: It might be handed to anyone (Voget).

202. No C: Instead of to cedarman, butt handed to fire chief, who blows four puffs toward altar (Hoebel).

205. Kio: Procedure not rigid. Leader may run this differently at each meeting (La Barre). W-P: Leader occasionally but not usually prays following individual prayers.

206. Kio: May leave between a man's four songs, if gets leader's permission. Prescribed etiquette for passing before smokers and eaters (La Barre). Cr 1 and 2: Permissible to leave any time, if necessary (Voget). Gos: No one left during songs, but several went outside during prayers in early morning (Malouf).

207. De 2: Fixed water call in morning for fire chief to bring pail of fresh water, replacing that which had been in meeting all night. (Petrullo, 93, 102). All blessings by road chief in Big Moon variant (Webber; Petrullo, 102). Win: No water brought into meeting in morning (Praus). Gos: See note 265a.

209. De 2: See note 207.

210. De 2: Road chief blesses water (Webber).

212–213. De 2: No peyote breakfast (Petrullo, 94). Peyote breakfast present in all Big Moon variants (Petrullo, 157). As a rule, at "Wilson way" meeting no peyote breakfast served; instead candy, refreshments served, especially if among rich Oklahoma Indians (Webber). Win:

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Delaware tribe was gathered together on a reservation in Kansas in 1835 and from there removed to their present location in Oklahoma, where they are politically incorporated in the Cherokee nation. Other Delaware, most of whom belonged to the Munsee division and were converted by Moravian missionaries in the eighteenth century, are now located in Ontario.

DELAWARE CULTURE

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The method of presentation which has been followed is to place the authorities for each statement immediately after it. For the most part, traits for which there is no evidence in earlier sources have been omitted, but where this leaves a large gap in the picture of the culture, sections based purely on eighteenth century sources have been inserted. The material has been divided into three main aspects, and proceeds from a consideration of economic life, to social organization and religion.

Means of Procuring Food

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For the tribes living on the east coast, fishing was probably the most important means of getting food, judging from the relative amounts of shells and animal bones found in ancient sites (Skinner, 1915, p. 7). Oysters, clams, mussels and scallops were widely utilized as well as rockfish, shad, herring, sturgeon and gar fish which were found plentifully in those waters (Abbott, 1875, p. 278; Skinner, 1909, p. 46).

According to Lindstrom, the Indians caught fish by building a dam across a stream near its source or at a waterfall. When the river rose, the last small opening was closed in the dam and the water allowed to flow over it, leaving the fish in shallow water at low tide. They were then either taken by hand or shot with bow and arrow (sic). The latter method was also used in deep water (Lindstrom, 1915, pp. 219-220). Other writers report the use of hemp nets, and a number of stone sinkers have been found in archaeological sites. Rude seines of matted leaves and twigs are mentioned as well as fishing spears (Abbott, 1875, pp. 278 and 361; Heye, p. 70; Skinner, 1915, pp. 7 and 10; Harrington, 1913, p. 222).

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The Delaware's hunting was done both cooperatively and individually. Early Swedish writers have described one cooperative method in which deer were surrounded either by a ring of men or by a ring of fire, and driven toward the center where they were shot with bow and arrow. Sometimes they were driven into a river where they were lassoed (Johnson, p. 281; Lindstrom, p. 214). According to a later writer, these hunting parties had a leader and were governed by definite rules, but there is no direct evidence for this in pre-contact times (Loskiel, p. 77). These organized hunt took place in the fall, but hunting itself was a year round occupation

9: Kinietz E-4,5 (1938) 1946 NM7 Delaware NM7

+ = element present
− = element denied
(+) or (−) = source ambiguous
* = informant could not or would not say
S = some, sometimes, or several
† or * = see Ethnographic Notes, pp. 79-137 for additional information

		Williams	Van der Donck	Lindeström	Zeisberger	Heckewelder	Johnston	Pipe	Chipps	J. W.	W. T.	E. R.	W. L.
	Food, mode of living, etc.—Continued												
298.	Vegetables introduced by whites				+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+
299.	Wild rice				(−)		−		−	−	+	−	−
300.	Have regular meals		−			+	−		−	+	+	+	−
301.	Generally eat together (family)		(+)						+	−	+	+	+
302.	Men and women eat together		(+)				+		+	+	+	+	+
303.	Neat in their cooking			−	S	+	−		+	+	+	+	+
304.	Several cooking modes		−	+		*+	+		+	+	+	+	+
305.	Generally prefer well done			−	+					+	+	+	+
306.	Commonly eat in the night						−		+	−	−	−	−
307.	Eat every kind of fish		+	(+)			+		+	−	+	•	+
	Hunting												
308.	Use bow and arrow	+	+	+		+	+		+	+	+	+	+
309.	Rifle and fowling piece		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
310.	Blow gun for birds and small game								+	+	+	•	+
311.	Deadfall for raccoon	+					+			•	+	•	•
312.	Torches at night on water for deer						+			•	+	•	•
313.	Fish with spears	+		−					+	+	•	+	+
314.	With hook and line	+	+	−					+	+		+	+
315.	By shooting with arrows	+		+						+	+	+	+
316.	Hunt in large parties	+	+	+	+		+		+	+	+	+	+
317.	Number in party	300	100				10-15		40-50		15	4	6-7
318.	Any attendant ceremonies			*(+)	−		−		−		+	+	+
319.	Under guidance of oldest or most expert			+	+		+			+	+	+	+
320.	Any peculiar laws in hunting			+	+	•	−	•	+	+	+	+	+
321.	When two are hunting and one kills animals, it is divided equally				(+)		+		+	(+)	(+)	+	+
322.	Person who kills or first wounds animal entitled to whole when stranger appears						+						
323.	to skin and half of carcass				+				+	+			+

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

411 Oklahoma Delaware said that they had used the blowgun as boys and that, although the targets were usually birds or small [524] game, the blowgun was more of a toy than anything else. Since the sojourn of the ancestors of the Oklahoma Delaware in Ohio [171] and Indiana in the first decades of the nineteenth century is rather well documented and accounts of that period fail to record the possession of the blowgun then, it is more than probable that two sources of diffusion are here indicated. The Canadian Munsee or Delaware undoubtedly received the blowgun from the Southeast through the Iroquois, whereas the Oklahoma Delaware probably received it direct from the southeastern tribes with whom they have been neighbors in Oklahoma.

227 It is strange that in two years on the Delaware River Lindeström did not see spears, nets, or hooks used to take fish (313-15). All these were mentioned by Roger Williams as being used by the Narragansets and all but the spears were listed by Van der Donck in addition to weirs. These last, according to Lindeström, were the principal means used by the Delaware to take fish. Weirs were not mentioned by the second- or third-period sources and were unknown to the modern Delaware.

224 Large hunting parties were reported periodically for the Delaware in every period (316). However, there was considerable variation as to the number constituting a large party (317). E. R. said four hunters were as many as ever hunted together. This is quite diverse from the hundreds reported in the first period. The parties were formed for their mutual advantage and were under the guidance of the oldest or most expert hunter (319). Williams, Van der Donck, and Lindeström mentioned the driving of deer by large parties. Subsequent accounts did not mention game drives, and the report of smaller parties probably indicate that they were no longer made. Group hunting in the later periods was described by Johnston as a party of several families going together directed by a head man who encouraged the young men to pursue their hunting every morning and directed them where and when to move their camps. The ceremonies observed [196] in connection with group hunting were rather elaborate as described by Lindeström (see *post*, pp. 127-28). In the second and

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

60 to be laid up for weeks and months at a time on this account, and I have seen boys 10 and 12 years of age, who through colds or fits of sickness had become so contracted that they never afterwards recovered the use of their limbs. 164

Worms are a very common disorder among Indian children, and great numbers of them die from that cause. They eat a great deal of green corn when in the milk, with beans, squashes, melons and the like; their bellies become remarkably large, and it is probably in that manner that the worms are generated. I rather think that Indian children suffer less in teething than the whites.

The gout, gravel, and scrophula or king's evil, are not known among the Indians. Nor have I ever known any one that had the disorder called the *Rickets*. Consumptions are very frequent among them since they have become fond of spirituous liquors, and their young men in great numbers fall victims to that complaint. A person who resides among them may easily observe the frightful decrease of their numbers from one period of ten years to another. Our vices have destroyed them more than our swords.

CHAPTER XXIX.

REMEDIES.

THE *Materia Medica* of the Indians consists of various roots and plants known to themselves, the properties of which they are not fond of disclosing to strangers. They make considerable use of the barks of trees, such 757 278

l:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

as the white and black oak, the white walnut, of which they make pills, the cherry, dogwood, maple, birch, and several others. They prepare and compound these medicines in different ways, which they keep a profound secret. Those preparations are frequently mixed with superstitious practices, calculated to guard against the powers of witchcraft, in which, unfortunately they have a strong fixed belief. Indeed, they are too apt to attribute the most natural deaths to the arts and incantations of sorcerers, and their medicine is, in most cases, as much directed against those as against the disease itself. There are, however, practitioners among them who are free from these prejudices, or at least do not introduce them into their practice of the medical art. Still there is a superstitious notion, in which all their physicians participate, which is, that when an emetic is to be administered, the water in which the potion is mixed must be drawn up a stream, and if for a cathartic downwards. This is, at least, innocent, and not more whimsical perhaps, nor more calculated to excite a smile, than some theories of grave and learned men in civilised countries.

In fevers the Indians usually administer emetics which are made up and compounded in various ways. I saw an emetic once given to a man who had poisoned himself with the root of the May Apple.* It consisted of a piece of racoon skin burned with the hair on and finely powdered, pounded dry beans and gunpowder. These three ingredients were mixed with water and poured down the patient's throat. This brought on a severe vomiting, the poisonous root was entirely discharged and the man cured.

In other complaints, particularly in those which proceed from rheumatic affections, bleeding and sweating are always the first remedies applied. The sweat oven is the first thing that an Indian has recourse to when he

* Podophyllum peltatum.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

(Acquaintance took
Between the years 1771 and 1780, four Indians of my)
762 the root of the may-apple, which is commonly used on
[278] such occasions, in order to poison themselves, in which they all succeeded, except one. Two of them were young men, who had been disappointed in love, the girls on whom they had fixed their choice, and to whom they were engaged, having changed their minds and married other lovers. They both put an end to their existence. The two others were married men. Their stories, as pictures of Indian manners, will not, perhaps, be thought uninteresting.

One of those unfortunate men was a person of an excellent character, respected and esteemed by all who knew him. He had a wife whom he was very fond of and two children, and they lived very happily together at the distance of about half a mile from the place where I resided. He often came to visit me, and as he was of a most amiable disposition, I was pleased with his visits, and always gave him a hearty welcome. When I thought he was too long without coming, I went myself to the delightful spot which he had judiciously selected for his dwelling. Here I always found the family cheerful, sociable and happy, until some time before the fatal catastrophe happened, when I observed that my friend's countenance bore the marks of deep melancholy, of which I afterwards learned the cause. His wife had received the visits of another man; he foresaw that he would soon be obliged to separate from her, and he shuddered when he thought that he must also part from his two lovely children; for it is the
[586] custom of the Indians, that when a divorce takes place between husband and wife, the children remain with their mother, until they are of a proper age to choose for themselves. One hope, however, still remained. The sugar-making season was at hand, and they were shortly to remove to their sugar camp, where he flattered himself his wife would not be followed by the disturber of his peace, whose residence was about ten miles from thence. But this hope was of short duration. They had hardly been

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224 Such old men, accompanying a hunting party, get both meat and skins, for the good hunters will not let them return empty-handed. They have, in general, and the Unami in particular, the custom that when a huntsman has shot a deer, and another Indian joins him or only looks on at a distance, he immediately gives him the whole animal and goes in pursuit of another.[39]

[411] The blowgun was in use among the Munsi by 1824, but was apparently present earlier; it was never of any great economic importance.[41] "Calls" were made to attract deer and turkeys. The deer call or "bleat" was made of cedar and was used primarily during the spring and early summer before the fawns had been weaned.[42] Harrington mentioned that "the deadfall and the 'twitchup' snare seem to have been the most popular varieties of traps."[43] The Delawares were also reported to be ex-
[481] cellent stalkers of game and pursued wounded animals until their prey dropped from exhaustion.[44] If a hunter could not at first get within range of a deer he would chase it until he could, this procedure perhaps consuming an entire day.[45] One eighteenth-century author mentioned that deer were hunted by torchlight at night.[46]

226 Fishing.—Van der Donck said that Delawaran peoples "use all kinds
[252 of fish, which they commonly cook without removing the entrails, and
262] snakes, frogs and the like."[47] Specifically, they caught and ate rock fish, shad, yellow perch, trout, eels, catfish, sunfish, sturgeon, and un-
[225] doubtedly others, from both fresh and salt water. In 1756 two harbor seals were shot and eaten, but this was an unusual incident.[48] Tortoises were caught, and shellfish in large quantities must have been taken, if Skinner was correct in attributing shell mounds of the area to the Delawares.[49] Juet stated that the natives brought out quantities of oysters to trade to the crew of Hudson's Half Moon.[50]

Methods of fishing varied somewhat; Lindestrom described a method in which a stream was dammed when the water was high, so that fish were stranded behind the dam when the water was low. The fish were caught with bare hands or shot with the bow and arrow.[51] De Rasieres
[283] said that the Indians around Manhattan caught fish with "a drag-net they themselves knit very neatly, of the wild hemp, from which the women and men spin the thread."[52] Brinton mentioned fishhooks of bone and dried claws of birds, and Pastorius reported the use of hooks.[53] Harrington mentioned several methods of fishing. These may not be ab-
[278] original since they do not appear elsewhere. He stated that fish were stupefied by large quantities of crushed green walnuts thrown into ponds. He also noted spearing and shooting of fish at night by torchlight.[54] Fish

[39] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 91.
[41] Harrington, 1913, p. 221; Kinietz, 1946, p. 63; Ketchum, 1865, II: 190 (1790).
[42] Foreman, 1937, p. 107; J. T., F. W.
[43] Harrington, 1913, p. 222.
[44] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 23.
[45] *Ibid.*, p. 23.
[46] Brickell, 1842, p. 47.
[47] Van der Donck, 1909, p. 363.
[48] Holm, 1834, p. 48; De Rasieres, 1909, p. 105; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 37.
[49] Holm, 1834, p. 48; Denton, 1845, p. 7; Skinner, 1909, pp. 5-17, 45-48; J. T.
[50] Juet, 1909, p. 30.
[51] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 219; Berlin, 1887, pp. 167-69.
[52] De Rasieres, 1909, p. 105.
[53] Brinton, 1885, p. 82; Pastorius, 1912, p. 434.
[54] Harrington, 1913, p. 222.

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Curing

Although most serious ailments were treated magically by shamans, there was a considerable body of knowledge concerning various herbs, roots, and decoctions of one sort or another that did have a beneficial medicinal value. It should also be noted that wounds and external injuries were successfully treated.[85] This practical medicinal knowledge was the property of both ordinary individuals and shamans. Many of the curative practices, both magical and otherwise, were directed at the spirits, rather than derived from a real knowledge of physiology and pathology. This, of course, did not decrease the beneficial (or harmful) effects of the various remedies.[86]

Roots, herbs, and bark, particularly oak, walnut, cherry, dogwood, maple, and birch, were used as medicines.[87] These materials were prepared and compounded in a number of ways, and the knowledge of them was a closely guarded secret, passed on to one's children only when the owner was at death's door.[88] This secrecy remains, and my informants refused to do more than hint at the nature of their medicines. Emetics, blood letting, and perhaps cupping were common remedies in the eighteenth century.[89] The most common medicinal practice was sweat bathing. Men used the village sweat bath more frequently than did the women, who had their own.[90] A sweat bath was taken by an individual when he was tired or had contracted a cold or did not feel well. Men usually took one or two a week; women took them less frequently. Occasionally, a shaman would take a sweat bath while his patient lay outside, and frequently various medicines were taken during or immediately after a sweat bath.[91]

Folklore

Knowledge of Delaware folklore is imperfect and incomplete. The purely secular tales are little known; however, I obtained a few in the field. The mythology dealing with supernatural beings is only slightly better known. R. C. Adams published a number of tales current in the late nineteenth century; none of the stories he related was told to me.[92] The earliest origin story was obtained by Dankers in the seventeenth century, who had directed some questions at an old man of the Hackinsack division of the Unami:

[85] Van der Donck, 1909, p. 301; Thomas, 1912, p. 340; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 15. Tantaquidgeon, 1942, described medical practices and materia medica of the Delawares. Mahr, 1951, has summarized the early data on Delaware herbalism and healing; Mahr, 1955, has studied nonesoteric herb lore.

[86] Heckewelder, 1881, p. 224.

[87] Penn, 1882, p. 244; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 25; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 224; Lochenbach, 1938, p. 376; Tantaquidgeon, 1942, pp. 24-37.

[88] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 24; N.D.

[89] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 26; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 225.

[90] De Vries, 1909, pp. 217-18; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 25; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 226.

[91] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 26; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 225; O.A.

[92] Adams, 1905.

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[37] These grow on very stony ground near the water, where the sunshine is particularly hot. In these parts I have not come across this variety.

Besides, there are mulberries,[95] plums,[96] and wild grapes of three sorts, those growing on high ground[97] or hills being the best; those[98] found in the bottoms are very sour. Crabapples[99] grow in great plenty and the Indians, being very fond of sharp and sour fruit, eat them in abundance.

Of nuts there are found: (1) The well known hazel nut,[100] (2) the hickory nut,[101] found in great plenty in some years and which the Indians gather in large quantities and use not only as they find them — they have a very sweet taste — but also extract from them a milky juice used in different foods and very nourishing. Sometimes they extract an oil by first roasting the nut in the shell under hot ashes and pounding them to a fine mash, which they boil in water. The oil swimming on the surface is skimmed off and preserved for cooking and other purposes. (3) The walnut of two varieties, the white walnut[102] deriving its name from the color of the wood which, strictly speaking, is gray, and the black walnut,[103] of which the wood is dark-brown, sometimes even shading into violet. The latter is very much used by cabinet makers for tables, chests and other things. The nuts, the one variety having a very hard shell, are eaten, but are very oily.

The papa[104] tree, which I have seen nowhere else than along the Ohio, bears a very beautiful fruit, in form and size resembling a middle sized cucumber, of an agreeable smell and taste.

Wild laurel[105] is found in the bottoms in great abundance; the berries are smaller than those found elsewhere, but have about the same taste. Of these, even the whites make use. They grow on bushes, the wood of which has a strong spicy color and taste, used by the Indians for medicine and called by the English, spicewood.[106]

Chestnuts[107] are very plentiful in some years. The Indians gather them and prepare various dishes with them. A larger variety of chestnuts[108] is native to these parts, but these are not fit to eat.

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137 [278] The bark of stone birch[123] trees, as of many others, the Indians pound fine, mix with water and use as a medicine. This is the only variety of birch trees here. In Pensilvanien there are birch trees like those of Europe, though they do not grow to any size.

Aspen trees[124] are also found, though not in great numbers nor everywhere. One kind of tree is found here that I have seen nowhere else. The wood is soft and yellowish. The leaves are smooth and oval-shaped. The Indians call it *Wiswemiuschi*, the yellow tree.[125]

317 Of oil wells I have seen three kinds, (1) wells that have an outlet; (2) wells that have no outlet, but are stagnant pools; (3) wells in creeks and even in the Ohio at two different points, one hundred and fifty miles from one another.

In the wells which have an outlet, oil and water together exude from the earth and where these flow grass and soil become oily. When there is no means of discharge one sees nothing more than oil welling up, which, if none has been taken off for some time, floats an inch or more in depth on the water. In the creeks it is possible to see some of the places where the oil flows, others not, for often the current carries the oil with it at such rate that you see the oil over all the surface of the water. In the Ohio there are, also, such places in the region of the oil wells. Here the current is very gentle and the Indians skim off the oil, though it is not easy to do this as the current, even though not swift, keeps carrying it along. Such places are usually revealed by the strong odor. Even though the water of a river keeps carrying away the oil, one may smell it at a distance of a quarter of a mile from the well. The soil near an oil well is poor, either a cold, clayey ground, or if it is near a creek, a poor quality of sand at the top. Neither good grass or wood will grow nearby, hardly anything more than a few stunted oak trees.

If the Indians wish to collect oil, which they prefer to do where the well has no discharge, as it is there most easily secured, they first throw away the old oil floating on top, as it has a stronger odor than that which wells up fresh from the earth.[126]

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The odor is somewhat like that of tar, though not very much so. They stir the water violently then let it settle and become clear. The more the pool is stirred the more abundantly does the oil flow. When it is clear they scoop it into kettles, and, as it is impossible to avoid getting some water, boil it and preserve it for use. They use it as a medicine in all sorts of cases for external application, thus for tooth-ache, head-ache, swelling, rheumatism, strained joints. Some also take it internally and it appears to have hurt no one in this way. Some, indeed, declare that the oil flows from the coal deposits, but this is not likely, for in the first place, there is no sign of pit coal to be seen in this region — one sees nothing more than poor sandstone and, in the second place, in other parts where there is much pit coal, as for example, along the Muskingum, no sign of oil is to be seen. Were the oil to be found there, the Indians would know of it, for they value it highly and have looked for it, but found none. Most probably it comes out of the earth. It is brownish in color and may be used in lamps, for it burns well.

Salt springs are to be found both along the Muskingum and along the Ohio. Of this salt the Indians make little use; they prefer to buy it from the whites, even though they have to pay a high price for it owing to the fact that it has to be brought a considerable distance from the seaports. Moreover, they use very little salt and seem not to require it. They often eat their food unsalted, even though they may have the salt, until they feel a longing for it.

These salt springs are usually to be found on the bank of a creek or even in the middle of the creek on a sand-bank, the fresh water flowing on both sides. The Indians have on occasion boiled a considerable quantity of salt in a short time at such a well, so that it would appear worth the labor to get it, especially as it is so expensive.

There are, also, many salt licks to which cattle, horses and game go in large numbers. These are generally springs that have salt or saltpetre[137] in them.

The common sort of stones in this region along the Ohio are the sandstones. Some are very hard, others soft. They

[137] [i.e., crude oil.—Arelst]

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one present draws a few whiffs of smoke and this is called smoking the peace-pipe. 276

There are four kinds of clay. There is the white, which is almost like chalk and with which, when dry, one can write as with chalk.[140] Another variety is quite black. This, however, becomes quite white when burned. Besides these, gray and yellow clays are found. A sort of yellow earth, rather of an orange tinge is found, of which the Indians, especially the warriors, make a fine color by burning.[141] With this they paint themselves and they are particularly careful that the head shall be always red. It is not too much for the Wiondats to come here to Tuscarawj, a distance of at least a hundred miles, to supply themselves with this red coloring matter. 135 [386] [301]

Concerning plants and roots of medicinal virtue, it would be possible, if one were to devote himself to inquiry, to secure a great deal of information from the Indians, for what one of these does not know another does, each man and woman having some knowledge in this direction, some more, some less. Hence, the custom that a patient who has consulted an Indian and secured a medicine from him without, however, being benefited, will go immediately to another; if no relief is obtained through his advice, the patient goes to a third, a fourth until he finds one whose medicine helps. For many ailments they have very good remedies, e. g., for rheumatism. In respect to this affliction I have witnessed instances where they have effected a thorough cure and not only once or twice. At times they can secure desired results with only two or three kinds of roots, at other times more are required. If a simple remedy does not afford relief, they may use twenty or more kinds of roots. Even in such cases I know of cures having been effected. In treating rheumatism, bathing and sweating play a great part. 757 278

They have remedies even for fevers. When a patient has been given a dose, they are generally able to tell from its workings whether he will recover or die. If he does not retain the medicine, this is regarded as a sign that he will hardly recover. I have paid some attention to this and like cases of treatment and found that the Indians have generally been correct in their

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predictions. In one important respect, according to my opinion, they make mistakes, namely, in not properly measuring doses and often needlessly torturing patients. Hence, it is that in connection with the external hurts, where over-treatment is less likely to occur, they have the better results, as is the case with rheumatism, for which they use only external applications. One Indian knows of good remedies for one disease or kind of injury, another another. Owing to the fact that they rarely reveal their knowledge to each other, much of the practical knowledge is lost.

In the matter of diseases peculiar to women, the women know a number of remedies, which usually act quickly and well, as in the case of hard labor, which sometimes occurs, though not frequently, and in other troubles. If mothers cannot suckle children for want of milk, they are able, by use of a drink, to increase the supply.[143]

In the use of poisonous roots the Indians are well versed, and there are many melancholy examples where they have by their use destroyed themselves or others. If a case of poisoning is taken in time, the effect of the poisonous root may be prevented by inducing vomiting. In case assistance is rendered too late, death follows, as a rule, in a few hours. There are poisonous roots that operate by slow degrees, in some cases illness may last a year or longer.

The so-called Poison Vine[143] grows plentifully in the bottoms. It climbs up the trees, much as a grape vine will, the main stem becoming as thick as an arm. Some are affected with swelling in the face and body if they touch it, others, even when the wind blows over it upon them. This is very painful until cured. Others do not suffer from the vine at all. This holds good of Indians as of others.

There are some poisonous trees.[144] These do not attain great height. They have a milky juice under the bark which is very poisonous.

The bark of many different kinds of trees is used by the Indians for preparing medicine. Occasionally, you will meet an Indian who has knowledge in this kind of remedies, but knows nothing of roots or herbs. With the white walnut bark,[145]

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With the white walnut bark, 115

used externally and internally, they effect many cures. Laid upon flesh wounds this relieves pain at once, prevents swelling and accelerates healing. Applied externally in case of tooth-ache, head-ache or pain in the limbs, this brings speedy relief.

Beyond question there are many roots and herbs not found in Europe; perhaps it would be safe to say that this is true of most here found, but as I am no authority in this subject and know no names, except perhaps the Indian designations, I will add nothing further about roots and herbs. Doubtless, there are books from which one might get more information than it is in my power to give.

The following quadrupeds are to be found along the Ohio: In the first place, there are the deer,[116] whose skins are much used in barter and trade by the Indians. Their horns are not straight, but bent toward each other and have prongs. From May until September they are red, after that they lose the red hair and their hide is covered with long, gray hair, which is their winter coat. At about the beginning of the year they shed their horns; new ones grow in spring. These are at first and until they attain their full size, covered with a thin skin, which peels off when the horns harden. The tail is about a foot long and stands up straight when they run. As the under side of the tail is white it is possible to see them running at a great distance. The young are born in June or about that time, are red, spotted with white, until in the fall when they become gray. Deer have young each spring, sometimes two. As, however, they are hunted so persistently at the call of trade, their numbers diminish with each year, even though the forests are of vast extent, for the hunters are many. A large buckskin is valued at a Spanish dollar; two doeskins are regarded as equal in value to one buckskin.[117]

The bear is quite black, has short ears, a thick head and quite a sharp snout.[118] It has but a very short tail and great strong claws on his feet. It can easily climb the trees and bring down chestnuts and acorns. This is done, however, only when these are not ripe and do not, therefore, fall down. They generally break off the branches, throw them down and then climb

759 but occasionally a man is blessed with a vision [8] in which the Creator bestows upon him this great gift, and like Wi·tapanóxwe, he becomes an herbalist. In addition to the knowledge of healing acquired through his guardian Spirit,[9] the informant has also followed carefully the teachings of his mother who was recognized by Delaware of the older generation as one adept in the art of compounding and administering herbal remedies.

[791] The second class is composed of individuals whose supernatural power enables them to perform acts such as reuniting an estranged couple or dispelling a supposedly evil charm. Certain rare plants are employed by them in practices resorted to only in emergencies.

It must be emphasized here that, according to Delaware belief, the practitioners are the medium through whom the Creator sends his healing power to alleviate distress caused by the physical and mental ills which attack the frail bodies of mankind.

Absolute faith in the unfailing power and benevolence of the Creator is the force which inspires the Delaware who has been blessed with a medicine vision and he is ever appealing in prayer to that higher Spiritual Force for aid in his professional undertakings.

[824 825] Believing that plants and animals in general are closely related to mankind [10] and that the Creator has endowed them individually with spiritual natures equally as sensitive as our own, the Delaware herbalist is always careful to perform the formal propitiatory rites before gathering a plant or removing part of an animal for use in making medicine.

759 824 782 ●278 If a practitioner is called upon to treat a person during the growing season in spring or summer, his first move, after the formal acceptance of the case and receipt of a gift of tobacco, is to go out and seek a plant of the desired species to be used in making medicine for the treatment of the particular ailment. After coming upon the first plant

[8] Zeisberger *(op. cit.* p. 25) "Fancied skill and imagined ability to heal the sick are traced to dreams which these individuals may have had in their youth. To the dreams they appeal, for in them they have much faith." See also Speck, 1931, p. 51; Harrington, 1921, p. 61; and Benedict, 1923.

[9] Harrington (1921, p. 80) quoting from the notes of R. C. Adams, "It is believed by the Delaware that every one has a guardian spirit which comes in the form of some bird, animal, or other thing, at times in dreams and tells them what to do and what will happen. The guardian spirit is sent from the Great spirit."

[10] Speck (1931, pp. 28, 29) discusses the principle of consanguinity as applied to deities and nature-forces.

of the variety required, he does not gather it [11] but performs a ritual to appease the Spirit of the plant. A small hole is dug towards the east near its base and a small quantity of native tobacco [12] placed within. The herbalist then lights his pipe and smokes, meanwhile making the following appeal to the Creator and to the Spiritual forces which govern vegetation. The songs and properties are regarded as personal property and the accompanying medicine-gathering prayer of Witapanóxwe is regarded as typical.

MEDICINE GATHERING PRAYER (free translation)

"Grandfather, I come now for medical treatment. Your grandson (name of suppliant) needs your aid. He is giving you a smoke-offering here of tobacco. He implores you that he will get well because he, your child, is pitiful. And I myself earnestly pray that you take pity on him the sick one, I wish for him to get well forever of that which is causing pain in his body. For with you alone rests the spiritual power sufficient to bless anyone with, and hear now him our Grandfather tobacco, I beg of him that he will help me when we plead with earnest heart that you will take pity on your grandchild and that you will accept this appeal. I am thankful, Grandfather, also Creator, that you grant our appeal this day for all that we ask.[13] I am thankful, Grandfather. That is enough for this time."

Upon the conclusion of this propitiatory rite the medicine person searches out another plant of the same species, which if clean and healthy-looking, is then gathered. It is now ready to be treated in accordance with the rules governing the preparation of roots and herbs in the accompanying pharmacopeia. If the root of a plant is to be used in making medicine, it is gathered at the season when the vital properties are present; similarly the stalk or leaves each are gathered at the proper seasons.

[11] Harrington (1921, p. 26) in reference to the manitowuck to whom the Indians pray, says, "These are mentioned in the ritual of the Annual Ceremony and the people often pray to them when gathering herbs or preparing medicines, at the same time offering tobacco." He also says (p. 51) that, ". . . Some seem to have prayed to the four directions, other to the presiding genius of the species of the plants they sought or to the spirit of the individual plant itself."

[12] "Real tobacco" (Nicotiana rustica), to which a Delaware term meaning, "our grandfather," is also given.

[13] The proper phrase in full is, "give us what we ask for." It is abbreviated here to suit the formula.

The herbalist, before using herbs previously gathered and dried, performs the same rite of smoking and prayer. If the plants are being gathered for future rather than for immediate use, an appeal is made to the Creator to bless the plants and render the remedies effective in curing the future ills of his grandchildren.

The custom of offering prayers before the gathering and preparation of medicinal plants is not observed exclusively by the medicine men but is known to every Delaware. However, it was remarked that many fail to adhere to the ancient rite.

In observing Wi·tapanóxwe I was charmed by the delicate and reverential manner in which he handled the plants secured and arranged for this study. At this time he emphasized the idea of conservation, stating that one should gather only what was needed, and that vegetation in general should not be subjected to ruthless treatment.

Purity means much to the conservative Delaware and so the pure plants, as taken from Mother Earth, must not be defiled. It is therefore important that in order to avoid contamination no metal should come in contact with plants that are to be used in the treatment of disease. Roots and plants are allowed to dry in the sun, its rays lending them added potency. In this connection it is considered highly beneficial for a convalescing person to lie directly in the sun, so that its strengthenings qualities may be transferred to him. After the process of curing, roots and leaves are prepared by crushing them in a non-metallic receptacle, a stone basin or a wooden mortar being used for the purpose.

The herbalist smokes and offers a prayer while the medicine is being prepared and is always careful to stir it in the same direction—from left to right. One should never blow upon the concoction to cool it; to do so would represent an affront to the spirit of the plant.

The most able practioner will not treat himself when ill, nor a sick member of his family, but always calls upon the service of another.[14]

If an herbalist or sweat doctor, after diagnosing a case, feels that it is beyond his power to effect a cure, he will send the patient to another more capable of treating him successfully. Sometimes a sick person

[14] Zeisberger *(op. cit.* p. 25) "If one should know enough to help himself, being able to prepare *Beson*, and became ill, he will rarely treat himself, having the superstitious belief that what is prepared by himself will be of no benefit. Using what has been prepared by another, he believes, will bring relief."

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will visit several doctors in succession before finding one who has knowledge of preparing a remedy for his particular illness.[18]

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The person, either male or female, known by the term meaning "one who uses medicine for magic purposes," apparently had a larger number of patients in early times than the type of practitioner previously described. Zeisberger (*op. cit.*, p. 25), and Heckewelder (*op. cit.*, p. 231), from whom this impression is obtained, give rather detailed accounts of their seemingly weird practices. Both writers attribute the popularity of this group of healers to their feigned ability of dispelling the charms of evil sorcerers whom the Indians constantly feared. Witapanóxwe clarifies the distorted impressions implicit in these accounts by his interpretation of the procedure employed in treatment. The herbalist was called upon to aid individuals who have experienced difficulty in their marital relations or who have tried unsuccessfully to win the favor of a lover. Others came to him to be freed from malevolent influences. His power was not, however, limited to the control of human beings but extended to animals as well. Such a person was truly a "powerful man." This great power was entrusted with the admonition that it must never be used for malevolent purposes. Like the group of practitioners previously mentioned, the code of such people was based upon profound faith in the Creator, strict observance of the laws of nature and a deep regard for the traditions of their tribe.

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The plants employed by such an herbalist were of the rarest and most powerful kind. Their habitat and medicinal properties were not known to ordinary individuals. Such plants were unable to withstand the progress of civilization because, as my informant put it, "they could not live in unclean surroundings." The preparation made from these rare flora was known to the Delaware as "medicine for magic use," or "love medicine" (Zeisberger, *op. cit.*, p. 83). It was regarded as a gift, not to be used upon ordinary occasions but only in cases of emergency.

[18] Zeisberger (*ibid.*, p. 55) states that "Concerning plants and roots of medicinal value, it would be possible, if one were to devote himself to inquiry, to secure a great deal of information from the Indians for what one does not know another does, each man and woman having some knowledge in this direction, some more, some less. Hence, the custom that a patient who has consulted an Indian and secures a medicine from him without, however, being benefited, will go immediately to another; if no relief is obtained through his advice, the patient goes to a third, a fourth, until he finds one whose medicine helps."

nature of the disease. The flesh of animals and fowl is excluded from the diet and in the case of fever, red or fox squirrel flesh is not eaten. This food taboo is known to the Delaware by a native word meaning "makes you sick." Corn hominy, however, is administered in most cases, as it is considered to be a nourishing food.

In the case of childbirth, salt is not eaten for ten days. Onions are given the mother to produce milk, but care must be taken not to use a quantity such as to cause nausea for the child and mother.

During the catamenial period a woman is not allowed to prepared food nor taken an active part in domestic affairs.[33] The separate dishes assigned to her at that time, may only be used by her husband. Food cooked by such a woman would produce tuberculosis in others in a short time. A term translated as "gives dirty food," is applied to such a practice and refers to the resultant poisonous effects. During her periodic isolation a woman herbalist must refrain from preparing remedies or participating in any of the ceremonies.

Divinatory Curing Practices

Certain acts of a divinatory nature are performed upon selection and preparation of plants, roots, and bark employed in making medicine. Only plants that are clean and well developed, with the roots free from knotty growths, are taken. When seeking bark, the medicine gatherer selects a sturdy, well-formed tree for the purpose. The bark growing on the east side of a tree is preferred for its greater strength-giving properties received from the morning sun.

In gathering medicinal supplies, the materials are inspected for a clue as to the course of the treatment. Thus, if roots appear rough and knotty, the patient will be difficult to cure; if clean and well-formed, it will be an easy task to restore his health. Another practice is to place some crushed leaves or roots in running water. If the substance sinks to the bottom of the stream, the patient for whom it is prepared, will die; if it floats, a speedy recovery is assured.

When all other remedies have failed, an emergency medicine is sometimes made from scrapings of deer antler. During its preparation a prayer is offered to the animal from which the antler was obtained. Witapanóxwe related an incident in which a trial was made by means

[33] The puberty ceremony for young girls and the periodic isolation of women is described by Zeisberger, *ibid*, pp. 75-77.

of this substance. His niece was preparing it for a small child who was dangerously ill. She dropped a small quantity in a cup of hot water and observing it settle to the bottom, knew that the small patient would not recover. The medicine was administered as a tea, but the child died in a short time.[83]

In the making of an emetic, the necessary water should be dipped from the stream *with* the current;[84] for a cathartic, *against* the current. A similar regulation applies to the gathering of bark; for use as an emetic, the bark is peeled upward; for a cathartic, downward.

Formerly there were among the Delaware, as among other tribes, certain men and women whose supernatural power enabled them to communicate with the dead, to locate lost persons and objects and to foretell coming events. This practice was known as "locating or foretelling," and one who possessed such power was known as a "man who tells of the future." The source of this extraordinary power was attributed to one's guardian spirit or in some instances to the spirits of the dead. Those who were able to communicate with the dead usually performed at night. Such a person was also thought able to cure paralysis.

Some individuals who possessed the power to stay under water for a period of several hours at one time, were frequently called upon to locate a drowned person or a submerged object. One man was known to have found the body of a drowned person after months of futile searching by others. Some years later, the son of this shaman, after becoming converted to Christianity and studying for the ministry, finally persuaded his father to abandon the native faith and join the Christian church. In doing so the old seer, forsaken by his supernatural guardian, forfeited his magical power. Later the old man returned to the Delaware religion, but the power which enabled him to be of service to his tribesmen, was gone forever.

Witapanóxwe's grandfather was one of the last of the Delaware to possess such extraordinary mental and physical powers. He was able to perform the submersion feat and several times located the bodies of persons who had drowned in the rivers of Kansas. On one occasion a

[83] In reference to remedies for fever, Zeisberger observes (*op. cit.*, p. 55) that "when a patient has been given a dose, they are generally able to tell by its workings whether he will recover or die. If he does not retain the medicine it is regarded as a sign that he will hardly recover."

[84] This practice was noted by Heckewelder, *op. cit.*, p. 224.

CURATIVE PRACTICES AND HERBAL REMEDIES

757 HERBAL REMEDIES recorded here may be divided arbitrarily into two groups—the simple and the compound. In the former group, one, two, or three different plant parts are mixed together as contrasted with those remedies of the second group which includes from seven to twenty vegetal substances, according to the specific sickness encountered. My informant stated that "man needs medicine made from many different plants to act upon his bodily organs, afflicted by the ills from which he suffers." Frequently Wi·tapanóxwe uses as many as fourteen different plant substances in making up certain medicines, while other herbalists are said to compound theirs from seven or more elements.[1] Thus we may cite the predominant occurrence of compound remedies among the Delaware in contrast to the simple remedies of the eastern and northeastern Algonkians (Speck, 1917).

757 The bark preparations noted immediately below are called "single" (simple) remedies by my informant, and are employed as a cathartic. In preparing and administering these medicines, the correct procedure should be carefully followed in each case. To avoid nausea, bark is customarily removed from smaller twigs and branches rather than from those of larger size. In the preparation of 1 b, c, d, and e, the branches are not roasted as in 1 a.

1. (a) BLACK WALNUT *(Juglans nigra)*, "round nut tree." Three slender branches are roasted in the open fire. The bark from each is then removed, by peeling from the tip end[2] and tied in separate bundles. A strong tea is made by boiling these three bundles of bark together and large draughts taken occasionally. To remove bile from the intestines, the treatment is continued for two days. The leaves are scattered about the house to dispel fleas while the sap is a good application for any inflammation. Juice from the green hull of the fruit is rubbed over the infected area to cure ringworm, "contagious skin disease."

[1] The native use of twelve different medicines which cause one to vomit and "thus remove his sins" is mentioned by Zeisberger, *op. cit.*, p. 134. Elsewhere (p. 35) he states that occasionally the Indians are able to effect a cure with only two or three kinds of roots. If a simple remedy does not bring relief, twenty or more are used.

[2] To cause vomiting, the bark is peeled upward on the branch.

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(b) Mulberry *(Morus nigra)*, "surrounding berries tree."
(c) Yellow Birch *(Betula lutea)*, "yellow willow."
(d) White Ash *(Fraxinus americana)*, "brittle tree."
(e) Buckthorn *(Rhamnus caroliniana)*, "buckthorn."

2. Honey Locust *(Gleditsia triacanthos)*, "accidentally thorned." The bark of the following species, honey locust, prickly ash, wild cherry, and sassafras are combined for a general tonic. This medicine is used for a severe cough and to purify the blood.

3. Sycamore *(Plantanus occidentalis)*, "shedding bark." The bark of the sycamore and honey locust are steeped for a gargle to relieve hoarseness and sore throat. Three chips taken from the east side of the honey locust and sycamore trees are steeped together with red oak bark and sweet flag root to make a hot drink for colds.

4. Chestnut *(Aesculus glabra)*, "big acorn tree." Nuts ground up and mixed with sweet oil or mutton tallow to make poultice for earache. A nut carried in the pocket will relieve rheumatism. Nuts ground up for use as fish poison in streams. This is known as "fish peyote," as it makes them "dizzy" and they can be caught easily.

5. Sassafras *(Sassafras albidum)*. Bark of the root, together with other bark, used as a blood purifier. In spring employed as a beverage.

6. White Oak *(Quercus alba)*, "gray tree." Bark is a valuable substance in Delaware medicine and is used in compounding many remedies. For a severe cough, a tea is steeped from the bark. For sore throat a stronger liquid is used as a gargle. Also makes an excellent douche; liquid used to cleanse bruises and ulcers.

7. Pin Oak *(Q. palustris)*, "black acorn tree." Infusion of inner bark given for intestinal pains. The acorns are edible.

8. Red Oak *(Q. rubra)*, "red oak." Bark is steeped to make a tea for severe cough. Will also relieve hoarseness.

9. Black Oak *(Q. velutina)* "bitter tree." Inner bark used for colds and hoarseness. Infused for tea and gargle.

10. Redbud *(Cercis canadensis)*, "red bud." Bark steeped in cold water for a drink to reduce fever and stop vomiting.

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11. Cottonwood *(Populus deltoides,* or *Sargentii)*, "tree with moving leaves." Bark from the black haw, wild plum, and cottonwood are combined to make tea for weakness and debility in women.

12. Black Haw *(Viburnum prunifolium)*, "berries-in-sight tree." Bark taken from the root is combined with leaves of bloodroot, wild plum, pearly everlasting, "stone root" and bayberry to make a tonic to strengthen the female generative organs.

13. Elm *(Ulmus americana)*. Inner bark steeped and liquid drunk for colds and severe coughs.

14. Dogwood *(Cornus florida)*. The root is combined with others to make a tonic. In another variety *(C. canadensis)*, "arrow wood," the bark is combined with that of other species to relieve body pains.

15. Peach *(Prunus persica)* leaves are infused to expel pin worms and to stop vomiting in children. A small quantity is sweetened and is drunk occasionally until relief is felt.

16. Holly *(Ilex opaca)* is designated as the "red berry tree." It is believed that holly grows up near the place where a person was frightened. If one became suddenly frightened, he remarks, "I guess holly will grow here because I was scared so badly."

17. Grape *(Vitis rupestris)*. Vine is combined with bloodroot, pearly everlasting, "star root" *(sp.?)*, false spikenard, peppermint, and sarsaparilla to make a tonic for frail women. It is also said to increase fertility.

18. Fox Grape *(V. vulpina)*, "sour berry tree." Sap of the vine valuable in treating leucorrhea and when removed in spring, beneficial for the hair.

19. Elder *(Sambucus canadensis)*, "hollow tree." The leaves and stems act as a blood purifier, also used in the treatment of jaundice. From the elder flower, a tea is made for colic in infants. The bark scrapings are used in making a poultice for sores, swellings, and wounds.

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20. Hops *(Humulus lupulus)*. The blossoms are employed in medicine for nervousness. A small bag filled with hops and heated is useful as an application to relieve earache or toothache. A tea made from the plant acts as a tonic-stimulant.

[752] 21. Dwarf Sumac *(Rhus copallina)*, "kinnikinnick tree." Roots pounded and applied as poultice for sores and skin eruptions. An

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infusion of the leaves is used to cleanse and purify skin eruptions. To treat venereal disease an infusion of the roots is taken. The berries are useful in making a mouth wash.

22. Wild Cherry *(Prunus serotina)*, "excrement tree." Bark used as remedy for diarrhea. Also combined with other roots and bark as a tonic. The fruit is sometimes used to make cough syrup.

23. Ginseng *(Panax quinquefolium)* is named "man and woman," a term descriptive of the human-like form of the root. The terms "Grandmother" and "Grandfather" are also given the plants, because they are usually found growing in pairs. The root is regarded as being very potent by the Delaware and may be used in treating either sex. In treating males, the "male root" is used, and vice versa. Plant is believed to have retreated, like others, before the advance of civilization and hence, is rarely found. It possesses medicinal properties which will, in many cases, effect cures where all others have failed. The root is diced in small particles, a tablespoon of which is added to a cup of hot water to make tea. The root is used with other plant parts as a general tonic.

24. "Frost" or "Ice" Weed *(Helianthemium canadense)*, was revealed to a Delaware in a dream in which the plant said, "I am strong and great. Stronger than any other plant because I remain green later in fall. Use me and you will become strong." Root used in making poultice for sore throat. Tea infused from plant taken at same time.

25. Poke *(Phytolacca decandra)*, "purple berry." The root of this plant is combined with the bark of sarsaparilla and mountain grape to make a remedy for rheumatism. It acts as a stimulant and blood purifier. In preparing the medicine, the root of the poke is first thoroughly roasted and then crushed. To avoid nausea, a small dose is customary.

26. Poison Ivy *(Rhus toxicondrendon)*, "irritating" or "blistering" vine. Not poisonous to everyone. The root contains valuable medicinal properties. A poultice is made from the roasted, crushed root. A salve effective for chronic sores and glandular swellings is made from the roots of poke (roasted), bittersweet, yellow parilla, and the bark of elder. These ingredients are placed in boiling tallow or lard, to which is added a medium-sized piece of beeswax. A more modern formula calls for the addition of one-fourth ounce of carbolic acid and two ounces of menthol crystals.

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27. Angelica *(Angelica atropurpurea)*, "to mix with smoking (tobacco)." Root used for stomach disorders; seeds sometimes mixed with smoking tobacco.

28. Anise *(Pimpinella anisum)*. Root used as a cathartic and stomach tonic.

29. Yellow Jasmine *(Gelsemium sempervirens)*, "yellow root." Root used as blood purifier.

30. The root of Staghorn Sumac *(Rhus typhina)*, "Cherokee sumac" is combined with that of "horse-hobble weed" or purple cone-flower *(Brauneria purpurea)* as a remedy for venereal disease. The patient should refrain from eating sour fruit and greasy foods. Water should be taken freely and often. [262]

31. Boneset *(Eupatorium perfoliatum)*. The root and occasionally the leaves are infused as a treatment for chills and fever.

32. Goldenrod *(Solidago juncea)*. The green leaves are chewed or infused to cure diarrhea. Also used to reduce fever.

33. Wintergreen *(Gaultheria procumbens)*. Entire plant is compounded with poke root, mullein leaves, wild cherry bark, and black cohosh bark *(Sp.?)* to make a tonic. Beneficial also for rheumatism.

34. Blackberry *(Rubus nigrobaccus)*. The vine is combined with wild cherry bark to cure dysentery.

35. Dock *(Rumex obtusifolius* and *R. crispus)*, "curly leaf." Root used as a blood purifier and remedy for jaundice.

36. Black Snakeroot *(Cimicifuga racemosa)*, stone root *(Collinsonia?)*, and root of elecampane *(Inula helenium)* are compounded to make a tonic.

37. Golden Aster *(Chrysopsis mariana)*. Tea made from the root to quiet infants. Also acts as tonic for sickly children.

38. "Turkey Foot" *(Sp.?)*, "leaves like turkey foot." Plant tip and root infused as a tea for weak women.

39. Prairie Moss *(Sp.?)*. Leaves used as poultice for sore throat. Plant infused as tea, called "tonsillitis medicine."

40. Cardinal Flower *(Lobelia cardinalis)*. An important plant for the Delaware herbalist. Tea made from the root used for typhoid. Administered in small quantities because of its strength.

41. Sage Willow or "red root" *(Salix tristis)*. Contains valuable medicinal properties of importance to Delaware herbalists. Tea

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made from root for women suffering displacement of womb. Used, together with roots of prairie willow *(Salix humilis)*, little burr *(Dentaria diphylla)* and false Solomon's seal to make a tea to treat scrofula and venereal disease.

42. Rattle-box *(Crotolaria saggitalis)*, "blown-over weed." A medicine for venereal disease is made from the root. It is a very strong narcotic.
43. Hedge Nettle *(Stachys palustris)*, "smart weed," is combined with common nightshade, "pretty flower," and button snakeroot to make a medicine for venereal disease.
44. Purple Cone-flower *(Brauneria purpurea)*, "white flower." This is called "Yuchi gonorrhea medicine" by my informant. A tea made from this root alone will cure an advanced case of venereal disease in seven days.
45. Ragweed *(Ambrosia artemisiaefolia)*. Plant used in making a poultice to apply as a preventative of blood poison.
46. Button Snakeroot *(Eryngium aquaticum)*, "to vomit." Used as a medicine for intestinal tape and "pin" worms.
47. Horsemint *(Monarda punctata)*. A tea made of the plant for fever, and to bathe face of patient.
48. Bayberry *(Myrica sp.)*. The bark is used as a blood purifier, and for kidney trouble.
49. Sweet Fern *(Myrica asplenifolia)*. Plant is steeped and liquid applied to blisters. Also combined with mallow root, elder flowers and dwarf elder to treat inflammation of the bladder. It is also good for scrofula. Is a blood purifier and useful in removing mucus from the lungs.
50. Pipsissewa *(Chimaphila umbellata)*. The plant is steeped and the liquid is applied to blisters. It is also combined with mallow root (?), elder flowers and dwarf elder bark in medicine for inflammation of the bladder. Also for scrofula. Purifies the blood and tends to aid in removing mucus from the lungs.
51. False Pennyroyal *(Hedeoma pulegioides)*. A tea is made from the leaves to relieve stomach pains.
52. Wild Carrot *(Daucus carota)*. Blossoms picked at full bloom are steeped as tea for diabetics.
53. Yarrow *(Achillea millefolium)*. A tea is made from the plant for disorders of the liver and kidneys.

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54. Prickly Ash *(Xanthoxylum americanum)*. "Bush with briars" or "little thorn bush." Inner bark steeped as medicine for heart trouble. A small quantity is taken each day for three days, and after three days, the treatment is continued.

55. Wintergreen *(Gaultheria procumbens)*. A tea made from entire plant is taken for kidney disorders.

56. Cattail *(Typha latifolia)*. Medicine made from the root to dissolve kidney stone.

57. Partridge Berry *(Mitchella repens)*. A tea is made for suppressed menstruation. This remedy strengthens the female generative organs. In the treatment of rheumatism, the "herbal steam" treatment is considered of great value. A strong infusion is made from the roots or twigs of one of the medicinal plants useful for this type of sickness. The patient is seated with his feet in a basin of the liquid, made very hot, and a blanket then wrapped around the lower part of his body. Cold damp cloths are applied to the head during the steam treatment which lasts an hour or less. The upper portion of the body may also be steamed by raising the level of the blanket. This treatment is effective in reducing muscular swellings and stiff, aching joints. The following vegetal materials are used singly in this way:

58. (a) Bull Thistle *(Cirsium lanceolatum)*, "pretty flower."
(b) Poke.
(c) "Frost Weed."
(d) "Expert remedy," unidentified.
(e) Cedar *(Juniperus virginiana)*[9] particularly the twigs.
(f) Hemlock *(Tsuga canadensis)*.
(g) Dwarf Sumac.
(h) Hop Vine.

59. Blue Flag *(Iris versicolor)*, "blue flower" or "top like calamus." Medicine made from the root is valuable for rheumatism, scrofula and disorders of the liver and kidneys. Combined with the root of sevenbark *(Hydranga aborescens)*, it is used for gall stones.

60. Great Mullein *(Verbascum thapsus)*, "gray leaf." The leaves are heated and applied to the joints and body to allay rheumatism pain and reduce swelling. These leaves are combined with coltsfoot *(Petasites palmata)*, plum root, and glycerine to make a healing

[9] Speck, 1931, pp. 47, 127, 151, 171.

syrup for catarrh, coughs, and lung trouble. In preparing this remedy, the mullein must be gathered before the plant blooms.

61. Burdock *(Arctium minus)*, "big-leaved burr." A tea made from the root is good for rheumatism. Acts as a stimulant and blood-purifier.
62. Butterfly Weed *(Asclepias tuberosa)*, "where butterflies light." Root used as a remedy for pleurisy and rheumatism. Also administered to women following child-birth. Rattlesnake plantain *(Epipactis pubescens)* has the same term and is used in the same way.
63. Elecampane *(Inula helenium)*, "leaves like Indian cabbage." Root used in making a tonic, useful for strengthening digestive organs and to remove mucus from the intestines.
64. Toothwort *(Dentaria diphylla)*, "little burr." Root combined with other as a stomach remedy.
65. False Indigo *(Baptisia tinctoria)*. Liquid infused from root used in cleansing cuts and ulcers. Also employed as a douche.
66. Jimson Weed *(Datura stramonium)*. The leaves are crushed and applied to fresh wounds as a poultice. A salve for treating piles is made by pounding the seeds and mixing with tallow.
67. Common Plantain *(Plantago major)*, "path weed." Leaves crushed and used as a poultice. Plant combined with other plant parts is useful in treating female diseases.
68. Climbing Bittersweet *(Celastrus scandens)*, "yellow root." Root prepared as a poultice or salve for skin eruptions. Tea made from the root will clear up liver spots.
69. Skunk Cabbage *(Symplocarpus foetidus)*. A tea made from the root is useful in treating whooping cough. The leaves are crushed and used as a poultice to allay pain. People suffering from epilepsy often roll up a small portion of the leaf and chew it.
70. Sweet Flag *(Acorus calamus)*, "bitter." Root used in making tea useful for coughs, colds, and suppressed menses. Combined with sassafras root for intestinal pains.
71. Heal-All *(Prunella vulgaris)*. The plant top is used to make a cooling drink and body wash for fever.
72. Skull-Cap *(Scutellaria galericulata)*. The plant top is a stomach stimulant, and a laxative.
73. Catnip *(Nepeta cataria)*, "smells good." The leaves are prepared with peach seed to make a syrup, very beneficial for children.

757 74. MOTHERWORT *(Leonurus cardiaca)*. A tea is made from the leaves ●278 which is effective for female diseases.

75. FALSE SOLOMON'S SEAL *(Smilacina stellata)*. The root is combined with others as a medicine to cleanse the system and stimulate the stomach. A remedy also for leucorrhea.

76. MAY APPLE *(Podophyllum peltatum)*, "flower hangs down." A spring tonic and a laxative are made from the root.

77. BLOODROOT *(Sanguinaria canadensis)*. For general debility, a pea-sized piece of root is taken every morning for thirty days. Combined with other roots for a stomach remedy. The plant root provides the face paint used in the Big House Ceremony of the Delaware. [302 386]

78. DANDELION *(Taraxacum officinale)*. A laxative-tonic obtained from the plant.

79. VIRGINIA SNAKEROOT *(Aristolochia serpentaria)*. Used singly or combined with wintergreen as a tonic.

80. FRINGED GENTIAN *(Gentiana crinita)*. A tea made from the root acts as a blood-purifier and stomach-strengthener.

81. BLACK SNAKEROOT *(Cimicifuge racemosa)*, elecampane and stone root are combined to make a tonic.

82. MILKWEED *(Asclepias sp.)*. A tea made from the pounded and steeped roots of the five species of milkweed is a cure for epileptic fits in those born during certain phases of the moon. Such disturbances periodically occur during a particular moon-phase period.

751 83. PEYOTE *(Lophophora williamsii)*, "Our Father," is known to have 757 been used to treat periodic fits, and is regarded as a sure cure 278 for tuberculosis.[4] Wi·tapanóxwe carries a small, fringed leather 787 bag, tied with deerskin thongs, containing several peyote "beans" or buttons for use in case of emergency. Certain Delaware subscribing to the "Wilson cult," wear a small beaded bag containing peyote, around their necks as a protection against illness. This talisman is even regarded as an advisory agent of approaching

[4] It is said that this highly valued and potent medicine was revealed to a woman in a dream who gave the knowledge of it to her people. It may be eaten with or without the usual ceremonial rites. For a study of the Peyote rites among the Delawares at Dewey and Anadarko, Oklahoma, see Petrullo, 1934. For more details, consult Safford, 1916, pp. 387, 424; Harrington, 1921, pp. 185-190; and the more recent study of LaBarre, 1938.

domestic and tribal crises. Witapanôxwe is not convinced of the truth of this statement, but claims that he merely carries his own supply for medicinal purposes.[5]

84. Cactus *(Opuntia vulgaris)* is called "thorny, useless." Witapanôxwe remarked that the Oklahoma negroes singe off the spines and apply a sliced portion to their corns to allay pain.

Miscellaneous Beliefs

1. To draw out frost bites, walk in the snow barefooted. Rubbing snow on the ears will bring relief.
2. Frost or dew gathered in late fall and rubbed on the body will prevent skin eruptions.
3. Water that collects in hollow trees or rocks is believed to have medicinal value.
4. Mud applied to a burn will take out "the fire."
5. To cure a child from slobbering, catch a number of minnows and have the child hold them in his mouth. Repeat this several times a week until the cure is effected.
6. To cure a child of bed-wetting, feed him portions of a roasted "timber rat" * This is believed to effect a sure cure. My informant and a companion once killed and roasted such a rodent, and both agreed that the flesh was palatable and not unlike that of squirrel. They were reticent, however, as to the therapeutic effects.
7. Relief is obtained in the case of whooping cough, if the mother first suckles a puppy and then her child.
8. A spider web applied to a flesh wound will stop the flow of blood.
9. Excrement of cattle or of poultry is employed as a poultice for boils.
10. Skunk-oil is regarded as a valuable remedy for colds and croup. For children the average dose is from three to five drops. A small quantity may be used externally on the throat and chest. Oil obtained from geese is employed similarly for colds. Skunk scent or rabbit urine is put into the ear to relieve earache. Deer and otter scent are also useful for medicinal purposes.

[5] This practice corresponds to one general among Eastern Algonkian peoples—that of carrying a piece of "muskrat root" *(Acorus calamus)* about the person as a disease preventive. A piece of the root is chewed in case of sudden illness.

* Compare use of a white-footed mouse for the same purpose among the Gayhead Indians (Tantaquidgeon, 1930, p. 20).

11. A syrup made by roasting onions is taken for colds. For infants and small children the syrup is sweetened and a few drops taken clear or in milk.

12. Mutton tallow is an emollient for chapped and irritated skin. It is used to make ointment.

13. Muscular cramps may be relieved by bathing the affected parts with urine.

14. A tea made from roasted, charred pig hoofs is beneficial for colds.

15. For snake bite suck the venom from the wound with a hollow piece of deer antler.

16. Treatment of sick horses. Years ago, after their migration westward, the Delaware used horses for travel. Often their animals would become ill during hunting activities on the Western plains. This was believed due to unsuitable drinking water or from eating poisonous weeds. Other disabilities were due to "bots"[6] or colic. For colic, strong tobacco juice, or gun-powder dissolved in hot water was administered. The most effective treatment was to throw a bucket of very hot water containing finely chopped bits of weasel hide[7] over the horse. Then the owner would force his weight up and down on the animal's abdomen or occasionally, beat it with a wet, heavy blanket for ten or fifteen minutes. The horse soon recovered and was again on his feet.

Warrior's Medicine

Warriors long ago also received gifts from supernatural agencies which enabled them to excell in feats of bravery. Their power came in dream-visions in which the identity of the supernatural was made known. Sometimes a power-song was granted at the same time. Certain men were appointed as leaders of the warriors and custodians of the secret formulæ, from which a particular preparation called "warrior medi-

[6] The larvæ of certain flies. Eggs are laid on the inside of the animal's foreleg, gain entrance into the blood stream and are carried to the alimentary tract where incubation takes place.

[7] The hide of the so-called "spotted weasel" is used for this purpose. My informant had never seen this animal but it had been described to him by his mother. It may refer to the ordinary weasel at the period of seasonal pilage change from brown to white. The species known to the Delaware are the Bonaparte (*Mustela cicognani*), and New York weasel (*M. noveboracensis*), Anthony, 1928, p. 102.

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APPENDIX II

USES OF MEDICINAL PLANTS AMONG THE CANADIAN DELAWARE

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THE following notes on the medicine practices of the Six Nations Delaware, Grand River Reserve, located near Hagersville, in Brant County, Ontario, Canada, were recorded during a visit to the reserve in November, 1931. The group consists of about 150 individuals of mixed Indian and white blood. Only a few, however, have any knowledge of the language and traditions of the Delaware who once inhabited the section of the country now known as Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and New York. To find the identity and location of the predecessors of the band now in question, who migrated to Canada, will be impossible until a comparative study has been made of the various vocabularies.

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I am indebted to Mrs. Martha Peters Hill, Nicholas Powless, his sister, Mrs. Maracle, Joseph Montour, John Lickers, and Walter Moses for aid in securing the Delaware information herein presented.

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In contrast to the ceremonies connected with the various processes of healing as employed by the Oklahoma Delaware, we find only a few traces of such rites among the Delaware of Canada. Plant parts to be used for medicinal purposes should be gathered when the vital properties are in that part of the plant (the flower, root, etc.), to be used. One informant added that plants should be gathered before the fireflies appear. When seeking herbal plants, the first of the desired species should not be plucked. It is customary to pass on to another of the same variety and there dig a small hole beside the plant and in it place an offering of tobacco. If a large quantity of herbs were gathered, they were tied in bundles and allowed to dry in the sun, to prevent mould. Some dried their plants in a warm room.

When bark is used it is taken from the east side of a tree; only the inner bark, which is usually peeled downward, is used. Roots may be scraped or cut into small portions.

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Medicinal plants are regarded as being sensitive to handling, and when brewing medicine, care must be taken to refrain from stirring the mixture while it is steeping. After being thoroughly steeped, the medicine is removed from the fire, and if necessary, stirred only toward the

right. It is never cooled by blowing upon it. Running water should be used, and it was customary in former times to dip the water with or against the current, or to submerge the container and allow the water to flow in from all sides.[1]

The term *"doctol,"* from English doctor, was the only term for an herbalist obtainable from those interviewed. It is also said both men and women could become practitioners. When calling upon a doctor for treatment it is customary to offer him a present of money. In former times, cloth, tobacco, and other gifts were offered.

GREAT MULLEIN *(Verbascum thapsus)*.

The leaves are crushed and applied as a poultice to bruised surfaces to reduce swelling and allay pain.

NANNYBERRY *(Viburnum lentago)* and mullein leaves are steeped and the tea administered in case of measles.

LIVE-FOREVER *(Sedum telephioides)*

The leaves are crushed and used as a poultice to draw out poison. My informant regarded this to be a most powerful and effective application. He stated that he had suffered from a serious case of infection which resulted from stepping on a rusty nail and that the above remedy cured him in a short while.

PLANTAIN *(Plantago major)*.

The leaves are crushed and applied to bruises.

BURDOCK *(Arctium minus)*.

The leaves are bound on the body to reduce pain. The root is used in making medicine for purifying the blood.

HORSERADISH *(Radicula armoracia)*.

The leaves are applied as a poultice in case of neuralgia.

BITTERSWEET *(Celastrus scandens)*.

The root is used for making medicine which is administered to persons suffering from consumption.

TANSY *(Tanacetum vulgare)*.

The plant is used in making medicine which is effective in treating disorders of the stomach.

[1] My informants could not explain this but said that the water must be dipped in different ways according to the nature of the disease to be treated. It is a common belief that water dipped *with* the current acts as a laxative and *against* it acts as an emetic. Allowing the water to flow into the container from all sides suggests the idea that the remedy to be made would tend to benefit the entire system.

278 757 BONESET *(Eupatorium perfoliatum)*.

This is considered to be a very powerful medicinal herb by my informants and it should be used with great precaution according to their belief. Tea made from the leaves is beneficial as a stomach medicine.*

ELECAMPANE *(Inula helenium)* root and poplar *(Populus tremuloides)* bark are steeped together and the liquid drunk to relieve a cold.

CATNIP *(Nepeta cataria)*.

A tea made from the leaves is regarded as a soothing drink for infants.

WHITE PINE *(Pinus strobus)*.

The twigs are steeped to make a medicine which is effective in treating disorders of the kidneys. It is also administered to persons suffering from pulmonary diseases.

[752] The pitch is applied to boils to draw out the poison and reduce the pain.

SWEET FLAG *(Acorus calamus)*.

The root is scraped and hot water poured over it and drunk in case of colds.

BLOODROOT *(Sanguinaria canadensis)*.

A small quantity of the powdered root is added to a half a cup of lukewarm water and a teaspoonful to stop vomiting. The root is also used in combination with other plants in making a blood purifier.

YELLOW OAK *(Quercus muhlenbergii)*.

To stop vomiting, pour water over a piece of the bark and when the water becomes a yellowish tinge drink a small quantity of it.

IRONWOOD or AMERICAN HORNBEAM *(Carpinus caroliniana)* root or bark, and the bark of juniper *(Juniperus communis)*, white oak *(Quercus alba)*, wild cherry *(Prunus serotina)*, and hickory *(Carya ovata)* are steeped together for a tonic. A small bundle of some of each is put into about a pint of water. The mixture is steeped down

*This plant so commonly used by both Indians and whites in those sections of eastern North America where it is indigenous, appears to be regarded as being too powerful to be tampered with by the Six Nations Delaware informants. The Oklahoma Delaware, however, use the plant freely.

to about half the quantity. An equal part of brandy may be added. This is considered to be a month's treatment for one person and is considered to be effective in treating cases of general debility. It is valuable as a remedy for diseases peculiar to women.

My informant (Nicholas Powless) stated that he had bought the remedy, as is customary, from a Delaware herbalist. After a prolonged illness, during which time he was in the hospital, Mr. Powless was brought home, as he said, apparently to die. He obtained the formula just noted, made up the medicine and is taking it daily. He claims that he has continued to regain his strength and is slowly recovering from a complication of diseases pronounced incurable.

A tea made by pouring hot water over a small quantity of soot is given to babies in case of colic. A stronger tea is beneficial for a sick cow.

A powder obtained from decayed pine *(Pinus strobus)* is used for babies because of its healing properties.

SUMAC *(Rhus typhina)*.

A tea made from the berries is drunk as a remedy for diarrhea.

Skunk oil and molasses is taken for colds and cramp. The oil rubbed on the throat and chest sparingly tends to relieve congestion. Goose and raccoon oil are used similarly.

Rattlesnake oil is valuable in treating stiff joints. It is very powerful and should be used sparingly. Only a few drops on the finger tips and applied to the affected parts. The skin may be bound on the wrists and ankles to strengthen them.[8]

[8] When told of the belief that snake oil, if used alone, "will unjoint you," an idea common among the Wampanoag of Cape Cod, Mass., my informant laughed and said that he knew that it would not because he had used it on his joints with good results. His sister added that if he could obtain some rattlesnake oil, now he might keep in better condition.

4:Tantaquidgeon E-5 (1930) 1942
NM7 Delaware NM7

PLANTS AND PLANT USES OF

	Botanical Name	Common Name
222	1. *Achillea millefolium*	Yarrow
262	2. *Acorus calamus*	Sweet Flag
278	3. *Aesculus glabra*	Buckeye
824		
	4. *Agaricus campestris*	Mushroom
	5. *Allium canadense*	Wild Onion (small)
	6. *Amaranthus retroflexus*	Pigweed
	7. *Ambrosia artemisiaefolia*	Ragweed
	8. *Anaphalis margaritacea*	Pearly-everlasting
	9. *Angelica atropurpurea*	Angelica
	10. *Apios tuberosa*	Indian Potato, Groundnut
	11. *Apocynum cannabinum*	Indian Hemp
	12. *Aralia nudicaulis*	Sarsaparilla
	13. *Arctium minus*	Burdock
	14. *Aristolochia serpentaria*	Virginia Snakeroot
	15. *Artemisia frigida*	Wild Sage
	16. *Asclepias (5 species)*	Milkweed
	17. *Asclepias tuberosa*	Butterfly Weed
	18. *Baptisia tinctoria*	False Indigo
	19. *Betula lutea*	Yellow Birch
	20. *Brassica nigra*	Black Mustard
	21. *Brauneria purpurea*	Purple Cone-flower, "Horse-hobble weed"
	22. *Carya cordiformis*	Bitternut Hickory
	23. *Carya ovata*	Shell Bark Hickory
	24. *Carya glabra*	Pignut
	25. *Castanea pumila*	Chinquapin
	26. *Cercis canadensis*	Redbud
	27. *Chimaphila umbellata*	Pipsissewa
	28. *Chrysopis mariana*	Golden Aster
	29. *Cimicifuga racemosa*	Black Snakeroot
	30. *Cirsium lanceolatum*	Bull Thistle
	31. *Cornus canadensis*	Bunchberry
	32. *Cornus florida*	Dogwood
	33. *Corylus americana*	Hazelnut
	34. *Crotolaria saggitalis*	Rattle Box
	35. *Datura stramonium*	Jimson Weed

THE OKLAHOMA DELAWARE

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Native Use	Part of Plant Used	Type of Medicine
Medicine (liver and kidneys)	Entire plant	Simple
Medicine (cold, stomach-ache, suppressed menses)	Root	Compound
Medicine (poultice; utility fish poison)	Nut pulverized	Simple
Food		
Food		
Food	Use with others as greens	
Medicine (blood poisoning preventative)	Entire plant as poultice	Simple
Medicine (tonic)	Root	Compound
Medicine (stomach)	Root	Simple
Food	Root	
Mats		
Medicine (tonic)	Root	Compound
Medicine (rheumatism)	Root	Simple
Medicine (tonic)	Root	Compound
Medicine (ceremonial)	Leaves chewed	
Medicine (epilepsy)	Root	Compound
Medicine (rheumatism, healing drink following chiidbirth)	Root	Simple and compound
Medicine (wash for cuts, ulcers)	Root	Simple
Medicine (cathartic)	Bark	Simple
Food	Young shoots	
Medicine (venereal disease)	Root	Simple and compound
Food	Nuts	
Food	Nuts	
Food	Nuts	
Food	Nuts	
Medicine (reduce fever, stop vomiting)	Bark	Simple
Medicine (bladder, blood purifier)	Plant	Compound
Medicine (infants, frail children)	Root	Simple
Medicine (tonic)	Root	Simple and compound
Medicine (rheumatism)	Root	Simple
Medicine (body pains)	Bark	Compound
Medicine (tonic)	Root	Compound
Food	Nuts	
Medicine (venereal disease)	Root	Simple
Medicine (poultice for cuts)	Leaves, seeds	Simple

4:Tantaquidgeon E-5 (1930) 1942
NM7 Delaware NM7

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PLANTS AND PLANT USES OF

Botanical Name	Common Name
36. *Daucus carota*	Wild Carrot
37. *Dentaria diphylla*	Toothwort
38. *Diospyros virginiana*	Persimmon
39. *Epipactis pubescens*	Rattlesnake Plantain
40. *Eryngium aquaticum*	Button Snake-root
41. *Eupatorium perfoliatum*	Boneset
42. *Fragaria virginiana*	Strawberry
43. *Fraxinus americana*	White Ash
44. *Gaultheria procumbens*	Wintergreen
45. *Gaylussacia baccata*	Huckleberry
46. *Gelsemium sempervirens*	Yellow Jasmine
47. *Gentiana crinita*	Fringed Gentian
48. *Gleditsia triacanthos*	Honey Locust
49. *Hedeoma pulegioides*	False Pennyroyal
50. *Helianthemium canadense*	"Frost" or "ice" weed
51. *Humulus lupulus*	Hops
52. *Hydrangea aborescens*	Sevenbark
53. *Ilex opaca*	Holly
54. *Inula helenium*	Elecampane
55. *Iris versicolor*	Blue Flag
56. *Juglans nigra*	Black Walnut
57. *Juniperus virginiana*	Red Cedar
58. *Leonurus cardiaca*	Motherwort
59. *Lobelia cardinalis*	Cardinal Flower
60. *Lophophora williamsii*	Peyote
61. *Mentha piperita*	Peppermint
62. *Mentha canadensis*	Wildmint
63. *Mitchella repens*	Partridge Berry
64. *Monarda punctata*	Horse Mint
65. *Morus nigra*	Mulberry
66. *Myrica sp.*	Bayberry
67. *Myrica asplenifolia*	Sweet Fern
68. *Nepeta cataria*	Catnip
69. *Opuntia vulgaris*	Prickly Pear
70. *Panax quinquefolium*	Ginseng

OKLAHOMA DELAWARE—Continued

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Native Use	Part of Plant Used	Type of Medicine
Medicine (diabetes)	Blossoms	Simple
Medicine (scrofula, venereal disease)	Root	Compound
Food	Fruit	
Medicine (poultice; female disorder)	Leaves	Simple and compound
Medicine (venereal disease)	Root	Compound and simple
Medicine (chills, fever)	Root	Simple
Food	Berries	
Medicine (cathartic)	Bark	Simple
Medicine (tonic)	Plant	Compound and simple
Food	Befries	
Medicine (salve)	Root	Compound
Medicine (stomach; blood purifier)	Root	Simple
Medicine (tonic)	Bark	Compound
Medicine (pain in stomach)	Leaves	Simple
Medicine (strengthening)	Plant	Simple
Medicine (nerves)	Blossoms	Simple
Medicine (gallstones)	Root	Compound
Medicine (tonic)	Root	Compound
Medicine (rheumatism; liver; kidneys)	Root	Compound
Medicine (cathartic)	Bark	Simple
Medicine (rheumatism)	Twigs	Simple
Medicine (female disorder)	Leaves	Simple
Medicine (typhoid)	Root	Simple
Medicine (consumption; periodic fits; emergency med. charm)	"Bean" or "Button"	Simple
Medicine (tonic)	Leaves	Compound
Medicine (suppressed menses)	Plant	Simple
Medicine (fever)	Plant	Simple
Medicine (cathartic)	Bark	Simple
Medicine (female generative organs)	Root	Compound
Medicine (poison ivy)	Leaves	Simple
Medicine (tonic for children)	Leaves with peach seed	
Not used		
Medicine (effective in any severe illness. Most potent med.)	Root	Simple and compound

4:Tantaquidgeon E-5 (1930) 1942
NM7 Delaware NM7

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	Botanical Name	Common Name
71.	*Phytolacca americana*	Poke
72.	*Pimpinella anisum*	Anise
73.	*Plantago major*	Plantain
74.	*Platanus occidentalis*	Plane Tree
75.	*Podophyllum peltatum*	May Apple
76.	*Populus sargentii*	Cottonwood
77.	*Prunella vulgaris*	Heal-all
78.	*Prunus americana*	Plum
79.	*Prunus persica*	Peach
80.	*Prunus serotina*	Wild Cherry
81.	*Pyrus communis*	Pear
82.	*Pyrus coronaria*	Crab Apple
83.	*Pyrus malus*	Apple
84.	*Quercus alba*	White Oak
85.	*Quercus macrocarpa*	Bur Oak
86.	*Quercus velutina*	Black Oak
87.	*Quercus palustris*	Pin Oak
88.	*Quercus rubra*	Red Oak
89.	*Radicula nasturtium-aquaticum*	Water Cress
90.	*Rhamnus caroliniana*	Buckthorn
91.	*Rhus copallina*	Dwarf Sumac
92.	*Rhus toxicondendron*	Poison Ivy
93.	*Rhus typhina*	Staghorn Sumac
94.	*Ribes rotundifolium*	Gooseberry
95.	*Ribes triste*	Swamp Currant
96.	*Rubus canadensis*	Thimble Berry
97.	*Rubus nigrobaceus*	Blackberry
98.	*Rubus villosus*	Blackberry
99.	*Rubus occidentalis*	Black Raspberry
100.	*Rumex acetosella*	Sheep Sorrel
101.	*Rumex crispus*	Dock
102.	*Rhumex obtusifolius*	Dock
103.	*Salix humilis*	Prairie Willow
104.	*Salix tristis*	Sage Willow, "Red Root"
105.	*Sambucus canadensis*	Elder

OKLAHOMA DELAWARE—Continued

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Native Use	Part of Plant Used	Type of Medicine
Medicine (rheumatism)	Root	Simple and compound
Medicine (cathartic)	Root	Simple and compound
Medicine (poultice; also female disorder)	Leaves	Simple and compound
Medicine (colds, sore throat)	Bark	Compound
Medicine (laxative; love charm)	Root	Simple
Medicine (female disorder)	Bark	Compound and simple
Medicine (fever)	Top	
Food	Fruit	
Food	Fruit	
Medicine (tonic)	Bark, Fruit	Compound
Food	Fruit	
Food	Fruit	
Food	Fruit	
Medicine (antiseptic)	Bark	Compound
Food	Nuts	
Medicine (hoarseness)	Bark	Simple
Medicine (intestinal pains)	Bark	Simple
Medicine (hoarseness)	Bark	Compound
Root	Plant	
Medicine (cathartic)	Bark	Simple
Medicine (ceremonial tobacco mixture)	Leaves, Root	Simple
Medicine (salve)	Root	Compound
Medicine (venereal disease)	Root	Compound
Food	Berries	
Food	Berries	
Medicine (dysentery)	Vine, Berries	Compound
Berries used as food	Berries	
Food	Berries	
Food	Berries	
Food	Plant	
Food	Plant	Simple and compound
Medicine (food)	Root, Young Shoots	
Medicine (venereal disease)	Root	Compound
Medicine (womb displacement; venereal disease)	Root	Compound
Medicine (salve) (fruit edible)	Bark, Berries	Simple Simple

4:Tantaquidgeon E-5 (1930) 1942
NM7 Delaware NM7

PLANTS AND PLANT USES OF THE

	Botanical Name	Common Name
106.	*Sanguinaria canadensis*	Bloodroot
107.	*Sassafras albidum*	Sassafras
108.	*Scutellaria galericulata*	Skull Cap
109.	*Smilacina racemosa*	False Spikenard
110.	*Smilacina stellata*	False Solomon's Seal
111.	*Solanum dulcamara*	Bittersweet
112.	*Solanum nigrum*	Common Nightshade
113.	*Solidago juncea*	Goldenrod
114.	*Symplocarpus foetidus*	Skunk Cabbage
115.	*Stachys palustris*	Hedge Nettle
116.	*Taraxacum officinale*	Dandelion
117.	*Tsuga canadensis*	Hemlock
118.	*Typha latifolia*	Cat-tail
119.	*Ulmus americana*	American Elm
120.	*Vaccinium pennsylvanicum*	Lowbush Blueberry
121.	*Vaccinium corymbosum*	Highbush Blueberry
122.	*Verbascum thapsus*	Great Mullein
123.	*Verbena hastata*	Blue Vervain
124.	*Viburnum prunifolium*	Black Haw
125.	*Vitis* (various sp.)	Wild Grape
126.	*Vitis rupestris*	Wild Grape
127.	*Vitis vulpina*	Wild Grape
128.	*Xanthoxylum americanum*	Prickly Ash
129.	*Zea Mays*	Corn
130.	*Zea Mays identata*	Dent Corn
131.	*Zea Mays indurata*	Flint Corn
132.	*Zea Mays amylacea*	Flour Corn
133.	*Zea Mays saccharata*	Sweetcorn
134.	*Zea Mays everta*	Popcorn

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OKLAHOMA DELAWARE—Concluded

Native Use	Part of Plant Used	Type of Medicine
Medicine (tonic) ceremonial paint	Root	Simple and compound
Medicine (tonic)	Bark	Compound
Medicine (laxative)	Top	Simple
Medicine (tonic)	Root	Compound
Medicine (venereal disease, scrofula)	Root	Compound and simple
Medicine (fever, also in salve)	Root	Compound
Medicine (venereal disease)	Root	Compound
Medicine (diarrhea, fever)	Leaves (tea or chewed)	Simple
Medicine (whooping cough, fits, poultice)	Root, Leaves	Simple
Medicine (venereal disease)	Root	Compound
Medicine (tonic, laxative, food)	Root, Plant	Compound and simple
Medicine (herbal steam)	Twigs	Simple
Medicine (gravel in kidneys)	Root	Simple
Medicine (coughs, colds)	Bark	Simple
Food	Berries	
Food	Berries	
Medicine (rheumatism, colds)	Leaves	
Medicine (chills)	Root	Compound
Medicine (female generative organs)	Root	Compound
Food	Fruit	
Medicine (increase fertility)	Vine	Compound
Medicine (leucorrhea)	Juice from vine	Simple
Medicine (tonic, heart)	Bark	Simple and compound
Food		
Food		
Food		
Food		
Food		
Food		

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PLANTS AND PLANT USES OF THE DELAWARE

Botanical Name	Common Name
1. *Acorus calamus*	Sweet Flag
2. *Arctium minus*	Burdock
3. *Celastrus scandens*	Climbing Bittersweet
4. *Eupatorium perfoliatum*	Boneset
5. *Carya alba*	Hickory
6. *Inula helenium*	Elecampane
7. *Juniperus communis*	Juniper
8. *Nepeta cataria*	Catnip
9. *Ostrya virginiana*	Hop Hornbeam
10. *Pinus strobus*	White Pine
11. *Plantago major*	Plantain
12. *Populus tremuloides*	Aspen
13. *Prunus serotina*	Wild Cherry
14. *Quercus alba*	White Oak
15. *Quercus muhlenbergii*	Yellow Oak
16. *Rhus typhina*	Staghorn Sumac
17. *Roripa amoracia*	Horseradish
18. *Sanguinaria canadensis*	Bloodroot
19. *Tanacetum vulgare*	Tansy
20. *Verbascum thapsus*	Great Mullein
21. *Virburnum lentago*	Nanny-berry

MUNSEE, SIX NATIONS RESERVE, ONTARIO

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824

Native Use	Part of Plant Used	Type of Medicine
Medicine (colds)	Root scraped	
Medicine (blood purifier, poultice)	Root, Leaves	
Medicine (consumption)	Root	
Medicine (stomach)	Leaves	
Medicine (tonic, general debility, female disorder)	Bark	Compound
Medicine (colds)	Bark	Compound
Medicine (tonic, female weakness)	Bark	Compound
Medicine (infants)	Leaves	Simple
Medicine (tonic, general debility, female weakness)	Root	Compound
Medicine (kidneys, pulmonary boils)	Twigs, pitch	Simple
Medicine (bruises)	Leaves as poultice	Simple
Medicine (colds)	Bark	Compound
Medicine (tonic)	Bark	Compound
Medicine (tonic)	Bark	Compound
Medicine (to stop vomiting)	Bark, pour water in	Simple
Medicine (diarrhea)	Berries	
Medicine (neuralgia)	Leaves	
Medicine (to stop vomiting)	Root powdered	Compound and simple
Medicine (stomach)	Plant	
Medicine (pain, swelling)	Leaves as poultice	Simple
Medicine (measles)	Leaves	Simple

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

PLANT SPIRITS

When gathering herbs for medicine it was customary to offer prayers to certain spirits. Some seem to have prayed at this time to the four directions, others to the presiding genius of the species of plants they sought, or to the spirit of the individual plant itself. The Minsi say that only certain plants were thus addressed. The Corn Spirit has already been mentioned. 278 776 782 824

LOCAL GENII

Certain localities, it is said, were thought to be the dwellings of local genii, to whom offerings were occasionally made, especially such places as displayed curious or unusual natural features, while even certain stones were said to have an animate principle or indwelling spirit. 776 823

Small buttons and
531 brooches ranging from ½ to ¾ of an inch
[291] in diameter were used in decorating the capes on women's over-waists. These capes were made to fall over the shoulders covering the upper arm. The silver buttons and brooches were arranged in various patterns sometimes covering the entire cape or collar. Several very old specimens are now extant in private and museum collections.

531 The use of Peyote[1] for ceremonial and
795 medicinal purposes was introduced among
● [278 the Delawares about 1880. With the
177] growth of this religious creed a new

[P.26, A]

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795

sybmolism in art motifs has developed among its followers. Ceremonial wands, prayer staffs and feather fans as well as headbands, arm bands, belts and garters bear geometric figures done in beads (woven or sewed on) symbolizing the Peyote or cactus "button," mind, sky, water, fire and sun's rays. (Typical Peyote designs in plate 1.)

[278]

(1) A small species of cactus (**Lophophora Williamsii**) used for ceremonial and religious purposes by certain groups in all tribes between the Rocky Mountains and the Gulf of Mexico, from the Arkansas River southward almost to the City of Mexico. (Bureau of American Ethnology, Bull. 30, **Handbook of American Indians**, Washington, 1910.)

[P. 26, B]

2:Newcomb E-4,5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7

No pottery was manufactured in

177 Oklahoma by the Delawares, although some of the aged Delawares re-
26 member that their grandmothers made undecorated utility pottery.
32 Dress and adornment had approximated that of the neighboring whites by the turn of the century. Men of the Cherokee-Delaware band, however, continued to wear their hair long until about 1920. Today, the only distinctive dress of the Delawares is worn at social and religious gatherings, and on these occasions it is of a miscellaneous Indian type rather than being specifically Delaware.

In sum, Delaware technology and material culture since 1867 have increasingly approximated the American pattern, particularly that of the poorer, rural, white groups. There are virtually no outward signs in subsistence, housing, or dress, which distinguish the Delawares from other Oklahomans.

Sociological Assimilation

177 It has already been noted that the social organization of the Dela-
571 wares had undergone considerable alteration before the final flight to
619 Indian Territory. Perhaps the most important change to take place after 1867 was the complete surrender of political authority. It should be recalled that the contract between the Cherokees and the Delawares provided for the admittance of the Delawares into the Cherokee tribe. Delaware chieftainship continued for a time, the last principal chief being Charles Journeycake, who served in this capacity from 1861 until he died in 1895.[3] After 1900 tribal chiefs were elected. Each of the three phratries nominated one candidate; the one who received the most votes became the chief. The principal duty of the chief was to act as a representative of the tribe in business dealings with the government. The last chief, Charles Elkhair, died in 1935 and has not been officially replaced. A business committee is the only formal governmental organization that continues in existence. It serves in an advisory capacity when there are claims against the government.[4]

The Delawares no longer have a society which is based upon ties of kinship. Outside of the immediate family there are no economic activities which depend upon the mutual aid of the clan, phratry, or other kinship groups. They have been completely assimilated into the American economic system. There is no feeling that care or assistance should be extended to other Delawares; in fact, in both Delaware communities there is a good deal of friction, jealousy, and antagonism between different individuals and family groups. This friction extends to all levels of organization, even to the business committee, with which there is always dissatisfaction. "They can't agree on a chief, they pull in different ways: if one person suggests something, somebody knocks him down" (O.A.). Probably this constant friction is a result of the heterogeneous degree of acculturation; some individuals are old, nearly illiterate, very

[3] Mitchell, 1895, pp. 7, 45. (This is a biography of the chief.)
[4] Wright, 1951, p. 153; J.T., O.A.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

CHAPTER XXV.

DRESS, AND ORNAMENTING OF THEIR PERSONS.

IN ancient times, the dress of the Indians was made of the skins of animals and feathers. This clothing, they say, was not only warmer, but lasted much longer than any woollen goods they have since purchased of the white people. They can dress any skin, even that of the buffaloe, so that it becomes quite soft and supple, and a good buffaloe or bear skin blanket will serve them many years without wearing out. Beaver and raccoon skin blankets are also pliant, warm and durable; they sew together as many of those skins as is necessary, carefully setting the hair or fur all the same way, so that the blanket or covering be smooth, and the rain do not penetrate, but run off. In wearing these fur blankets they are regulated by the weather; if it is cold and dry the fur is placed next the body, but in warm and wet weather, they have it outside. Some made themselves long frocks of fine fur, and the women's petticoats in the winter season were also made of them, otherwise of dressed deer skins, the same as their shirts, leggings and shoes. They say that shoes made of dressed bear skins, with the hair on and turned inside, are very warm, and in dry weather, durable. With the large rib bones of the elk and buffaloe they shaved the hair off the skins they dressed, and even now, they say that they can clean a skin as well with a well prepared rib-bone as with a knife.

The blankets made from feathers were also warm and durable. They were the work of the women, particu-

escape. In the summer and on trips shelter was not considered necessary (Johnson, p. 281; Lindstrom, p. 211). Most villages also contained a "Big House" which served as a place for religious assemblies and council meetings, but both of these functions were sometimes performed outdoors or in the chief's house. 342 344

As aids to transportation the Delaware used the carrying straps, pack baskets (used by both men and women) and canoes. Their bark canoes were of birch or chestnut. They also used a dugout made by first burning a suitable log and then scraping the charred portions out with sharp stones and shells (Johnson, p. 280). Vessels capable of ocean travel were constructed by fastening two large dugout canoes together and using mats for sails.[7] In these, journeys were made as far as New England and Virginia (Johnson, p. 280; Lindstrom, p. 237). 501 [482]

Nineteenth century writers were of the opinion that the Lenape used large amounts of copper and perhaps even worked it themselves (Brinton, 1885, p. 52; Abbott, 1885, pp. 774-77). More recent evidence, however, indicates that copper was not abundantly used, the most common form in which it is found being tubular beads, and that it was received solely in trade (Skinner, 1909, p. 28). 325 [439]

Clothing

The clothing of the Indian men consisted in summer of a leather girdle from which hung a flap of leather.[8] At this time of year the Delaware frequently went without footwear (Pastorius, 1700, p. 384; 1698, p. 433; Danckaerts, pp. 169 and 280; Lindstrom, pp. 191-92 and 197). The women's dress consisted of a square piece of leather fringed at the bottom which was bound around the waist as a short skirt (Skinner, 1915, p. 5; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 29). In winter, both sexes added leather leggings, moccasins and robes of animal skins or turkey feathers to this costume. Apparently the skins of bear, deer and raccoon were most commonly used for clothing. All of the clothing was decorated with colored designs of dyed porcupine quills or wampum (Pastorius, 1698, p. 433; Johnson, p. 280; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 202; Skinner, 1915, pp. 3 and 5). 291 [281] [531] [301]

Both sexes decorated themselves with numerous ornaments, the women, however, outdoing the men. Wampum was hung in chains around the neck and from the ears, and woven in bands which were worn around the head, sometimes with a single feather set in them (Pastorius, 1698, p. 434; Lindstrom, p. 196). Around the neck were also worn necklaces of dyed deer hair and native copper, stone and shell pendants and breast plates (Abbott, 1875, p. 327; Heye, pp. 32-42). In addition, men were seldom without their pipe, tobacco pouch and bag of food also hung about the neck (Lindstrom, p. 197). For festive occasions the ornamentation was greatly increased and face paint of various designs added. Hair and skin shining with bear grease was 301 [276] 302

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

462 hunt for a length of time, and she will be sure to have
224 provisions and every thing else that is necessary in complete readiness, and well packed up to carry to the spot; for the man, as soon as he enters the woods, has to be looking out and about for game, and therefore cannot be encumbered with any burden; after wounding a deer, he may have to pursue it for several miles, often running it fairly down. The woman, therefore, takes charge
462 of the baggage, brings it to the place of encampment,
251 and there, immediately enters on the duties of housekeeping, as if they were at home; she moreover takes pains to dry as much meat as she can, that none may be lost; she carefully puts the tallow up, assists in drying
222 the skins, gathers as much wild hemp as possible for the
283 purpose of making strings, carrying bands, bags and other necessary articles, collects roots for dyeing; in short does every thing in her power to leave no care to her husband but the important one of providing meat for the family.

461 After all, the fatigue of the women is by no means to
462 be compared to that of the men. Their hard and difficult employments are periodical and of short duration, while their husband's labours are constant and severe in the extreme. Were a man to take upon himself a part of his wife's duty, in addition to his own, he must necessarily sink under the load, and of course his family must suffer with him. On his exertions as a hunter, their existence depends; in order to be able to follow that rough employment with success, he must keep his limbs as supple as he can, he must avoid hard labour as much as possible, that his joints may not become stiffened, and that he may preserve the necessary strength and agility of body to enable him to pursue the chase, and bear the unavoidable hardships attendant on it; for the fatigues of hunting wear out the body and constitution far more than manual labour. Neither creeks nor rivers, whether shallow or deep, frozen or free

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7

224 Such old men, accompanying a hunting party, get both meat and skins, for the good hunters will not let them return empty-handed. They have, in general, and the Unami in particular, the custom that when a huntsman has shot a deer, and another Indian joins him or only looks on at a distance, he immediately gives him the whole animal and goes in pursuit of another.[39]

[411] The blowgun was in use among the Munsi by 1824, but was apparently present earlier; it was never of any great economic importance.[41] "Calls" were made to attract deer and turkeys. The deer call or "bleat" was made of cedar and was used primarily during the spring and early summer before the fawns had been weaned.[42] Harrington mentioned that "the deadfall and the 'twitchup' snare seem to have been the most popular varieties of traps."[43] The Delawares were also reported to be excellent stalkers of game and pursued wounded animals until their prey dropped from exhaustion.[44] If a hunter could not at first get within range of a deer he would chase it until he could, this procedure perhaps consuming an entire day.[45] One eighteenth-century author mentioned that deer were hunted by torchlight at night.[46]

[481]

226 Fishing.—Van der Donck said that Delawaran peoples "use all kinds
[252 of fish, which they commonly cook without removing the entrails, and
262] snakes, frogs and the like."[47] Specifically, they caught and ate rock
fish, shad, yellow perch, trout, eels, catfish, sunfish, sturgeon, and un-
[225] doubtedly others, from both fresh and salt water. In 1756 two harbor seals were shot and eaten, but this was an unusual incident.[48] Tortoises were caught, and shellfish in large quantities must have been taken, if Skinner was correct in attributing shell mounds of the area to the Delawares.[49] Juet stated that the natives brought out quantities of oysters to trade to the crew of Hudson's Half Moon.[50]

Methods of fishing varied somewhat; Lindestrom described a method in which a stream was dammed when the water was high, so that fish were stranded behind the dam when the water was low. The fish were caught with bare hands or shot with the bow and arrow.[51] De Rasieres
[283] said that the Indians around Manhattan caught fish with "a drag-net they themselves knit very neatly, of the wild hemp, from which the women and men spin the thread."[52] Brinton mentioned fishhooks of bone and dried claws of birds, and Pastorius reported the use of hooks.[53] Har-
[278] rington mentioned several methods of fishing. These may not be aboriginal since they do not appear elsewhere. He stated that fish were stupefied by large quantities of crushed green walnuts thrown into ponds. He also noted spearing and shooting of fish at night by torchlight.[54] Fish

[39] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 91.
[41] Harrington, 1913, p. 221; Kinietz, 1946, p. 63; Ketchum, 1865, II: 190 (1796).
[42] Foreman, 1937, p. 107; J. T., F. W.
[43] Harrington, 1913, p. 222.
[44] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 23.
[45] *Ibid.*, p. 23.
[46] Brickell, 1842, p. 47.
[47] Van der Donck, 1909, p. 303.
[48] Holm, 1834, p. 48; De Rasieres, 1909, p. 105; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 37.
[49] Holm, 1834, p. 48; Denton, 1845, p. 7; Skinner, 1909, pp. 5-17, 45-46; J. T.
[50] Juet, 1909, p. 20.
[51] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 219; Berlin, 1887, pp. 167-68.
[52] De Rasieres, 1909, p. 105.
[53] Brinton, 1885, p. 53; Pastorius, 1912, p. 434.
[54] Harrington, 1913, p. 222.

252
262 Flour was either ground between two stones or pounded in a mortar and pestle by the Delaware. The mortar was usually a hollowed tree trunk, the pestle a suitably shaped stone (Smith, p. 138; [412] Lindstrom, pp. 253-54; Abbott, 1875, p. 357; Kalm, p. 230).

276 Stone pottery and clay pipes have been uncovered on archae-[323] ological sites. Lindstrom describes the Lenape pipes as beautifully painted and glazed with birds and animals on the head. He says 324 there are some "...an ell in length, which are screwed together with leather,...and in these pipe-heads will go a handful of tobacco" (Lindstrom, p. 197). These were presumably of European manufacture. The pipes which have been recovered from old sites are of a much humbler variety (Abbott, 1875, pp. 343-44; Skinner, 1909, p. 27; Butler, p. 249). This apparent inconsistency can be readily explained, however, by assuming that Lindstrom was referring to the calumets or peace pipes, which were relatively rare and would be likely to have been carried west by the owners when they moved (Kalm, pp. 231-32).

285 Some household items manufactured by the Delaware women were mats, ropes and baskets made from wild hemp, spruce roots, corn [283] husks and rushes. The mats, which were sometimes painted or had figures worked in or over the weave, were hung on the walls for increased protection against the elements as well as to beautify the house (Smith, p. 138; Lindstrom, p. 221; Harrington, 1913, p. 224). They were also used as part of the bedding together with the skin or 287 turkey-feather robes which served as clothing during the day (Johnson, p. 280; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 203). The turkey-feather robes deserve special attention as they were evidently one of the most distinctive and beautiful of the Delaware's manufactures. Lindstrom says: "They also make fine and beautiful quilts of painted bird feathers. In the first place they tie them with meshes like nets, yet very fine; then they fasten the feathers in the meshes, so neat and strong that not one feather can come loose from it..." (Lindstrom, pp. 221-22). When there was a "bed," it consisted of a wooden 352 shelf running around the interior wall of the house and serving as a seat by day (Harrington, 1913, p. 218; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 17; Skinner, 1915, p. 7).

342 The most common type of Delaware house was a small hut consisting of a rectangular, gabled frame of saplings covered with bark or mats. Penn describes their houses thus: "Their Houses are Mats, or Bark of Trees set on Poles, in the fashion of an English Barn, but out of the power of the Winds, for they are hardly higher than a Man..." (Penn, p. 31). Some Delaware, however, constructed a house large enough to accommodate several families, the increase in size all deriving from greater length. The result was not unlike an Iroquois longhouse.[6] In the center of the house was one or more fires depending on the length of the building, and the ridge of the roof was arranged with an opening through which the smoke could

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

shaking the turtle rattle (fig. 18), which resembles those used in the Big House, while the audience kept time to his song by uttering "*Hu-hu-hu-hu!*" The nature of the song the writer was unable to learn, but, like the chants of the Bear

FIG. 18.—Rattle of land-tortoise shell used in the Otter Rite. (Length, 3.9 in.)

Ceremony, it probably was concerned with the singer's "dream helper." When he had finished, another man put on the skin and took up the chant, and so on until noon the next day, when the ceremony was brought to a close and all

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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that the Delaware groups nearest to the Iroquois had been influenced by them. The Munsi were nearest to the Iroquois, and Harrington's informants were predominantly of this group. The various house styles, on the other hand, are possibly related to the seasonal movements of the Delawares, who, like the central Algonkians, may have utilized the rectangular, bark-covered long house in summer and the dome-shaped lodge in winter.[130]

The dome-shaped lodges were simple structures built by placing pieces of bark, preferably of linden or elm, over a sapling framework. The bark was stripped from the trees in summer in as large sheets as possible and dried. It then provided a watertight house.[130] House furnishings were rather meager. "They. . .make very fine, strong and artistic mats of finely painted spruce roots and strong straw, with all kinds of figures, to decorate and cover the walls with, and to place below their bed clothes."[131] Rush mats were painted and fastened to the walls in winter to keep out the cold. Some houses had "portraits and pictures somewhat rudely carved."[132] By the eighteenth century platforms made of poles, which encircled the walls and served as tables, benches, and beds, were mentioned.[133] The platform was covered by an untanned skin of bear or deer, or else with a mat.

Near each village was one or more sweat houses:

> When they wish to cleanse themselves of their foulness, they go in the autumn, when it begins to grow cold, and make, away off, near a running brook, a small oven, large enough for three or four men to lie in it. In making it they first take twigs of trees, and then cover them tight with clay, so that smoke cannot escape. This being done, they take a parcel of stones, which they heat in a fire, and then put in the oven, and when they think that it is sufficiently hot, they take the stones out again, and go and lie in it, men and women, boys and girls.[134]

Informants (O.A., J.T.) recalled small sweat lodges of this type. Skinner found "small beds of cracked stones and pebbles, without relics, often at some distance from other remains. . ."[135] Thus, archaeological remains tend to confirm the existence of this trait for the prehistoric people of Staten Island.

Clothing.—The amount of clothing worn by the Delawares varied with the season. In summer men wore only a leather breech cloth and women only a short skirt, and they frequently did without moccasins.[136] In colder seasons the principal garment was a skin of beaver, fox, deer, bear, elk, or raccoon.[137] The hair side was worn next to the body in

[130] Wissler, 1917, p. 221; Denton, 1845, p. 7.

[131] Thomas, 1913, p. 341; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 401; Mahr, 1954, pp. 381-82; O. A.

[132] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 222.

[133] O'Callaghan, 1850, I: 283; Hayes, 1864, p. 77.

[134] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 17.

[135] De Vries, 1909, pp. 217-18; Lindestrom, 1925, p. 257, described the sweat lodge in similar terms.

[136] Skinner, 1909, p. 48.

[137] Pastorius, 1913, p. 384; Lindestrom, 1925, pp. 191-92.

[137] De Laet, 1909, p. 57; De Razieres, 1909, p. 106; Thomas, 1913, p. 341; Just, 1909, p. 18; Van der Donck, 1909, p. 201.

252
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8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
NM7 Delaware NM7

then they fasten the feathers in the meshes, so neat and strong that not one feather can come loose from it; it would sooner go clear off.[8] They also make very fine, strong and artistic mats of finely painted spruce roots and strong straw, with all kinds of figures, to decorate and cover the walls with, and to place below their bed clothes.[9]

They also make helmets of hard sticks and strong wood, so that no arrow or swingle can go through it.[10]

The late Governor Printz had the savages make and thread up for him a suit of clothes, with coat, trousers and sword belt, entirely of their money, which was very artistic, threaded and worked with all kinds of animals, which came to a few thousand florins.[11] And [there is] much more, which could be described about their artistic manufacture, if space and time would allow. In fine if they were trained and kept at it, they would become very expert, for they are by nature capable to grasp and comprehend immediately what they see.[12]

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[8] The feather would sooner break off than come loose.
[9] Cf. Williams, *Key*, 47 ff.
[10] Repetition, see above.
[11] Williams says: "*Ncyhommaussáuack*, a coat or Mantle, curiously made of the fairest feathers of their *Ncyhommauog* or Turkies, which commonly their old Men make; and is with them as velvet with us." *Key*, 107.
[12] Cf. Williams, *Key*, 43.

12:Tantaquidgeon E-5 (no date)1950
NM7 Delaware NM7

Delaware Indian Art Designs

GLADYS TANTAQUIDGEON

Introduction

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in Kansas, and from there they moved to Oklahoma and became incorporated with the Cherokee. Other bands found their way to Canada in the Province of Ontario, where they are now known as Delawares, Munsee and Moravians.

161

The present population of the Delawares is estimated to be about 1,400. Of this number, 1,000 are in Oklahoma and the remainder in the province of Ontario, Canada.

Field of Art

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Until about 1890 the Delawares practiced many of their native arts and crafts but among the modern descendants of the tribe only a few of the older arts have survived. Pottery making, work in stone, bone, horn, antler, silver and the use of quills and hair in embroidery; twined basketry made from certain roots, and woven bags and girdles of Indian hemp (*Apocynum cannabium*) are now only vaguely remembered by some of the older members of the groups in Oklahoma and Ontario. Work in silver persisted until

[324]

[326]

[P.24,B] About 1913.

000

463 about 1913. The Delaware women and a few men are yet skilled workers in beads,
531 both in sewed-on designs and in bead weaving. The women are expert in the art of working out intricate designs in ribbon applique on robes, leggings, breech cloths and moccasins. Some wood carving is also
322 done by the modern Delawares and a few
285 make splint baskets.

Designs and Symbolism

531 In the study of Delaware art motifs we find that they fall into two groups. In group A are the ancient earth symbols, floral and geometric (angular) patterns; in group B, the religious symbols of the Peyote Cult. This is a religious teaching and ceremony that arose in the tribe about 50 years ago. Animal and human figures
[172] rarely occur in Delaware art. In archeological finds, representations of the human face in stone frequently occur but those are said to have been the charms owned and worn by certain individuals who had dreamed of the mask spirit and had the right to use its likeness as representative of
[787] the great spiritual force or guardian spirit. If a person saw an animal during his dream quest he would have the right to use the likeness of that particular animal on his
[614] wearing apparel. It is also permissible to have representations of clan animal totems on one's vest or tobacco pouch.

The earth symbols and the "trails" shown in plate 1 are said to be ancient, as well as figures A and B called "clasps" in plate 2. The earth symbols in plate 1 illustrate the
[821] native Delaware belief that the earth rests on the back of a tortoise and that the sun in its daily round goes under the tortoise and comes up on the opposite side the next day. Figure C, plate 1, symbolizes the power of the Creator which is felt in the four corners of the earth. These symbols
[171] occur in the ancient art designs of other Algonkian peoples in northeastern North America from Labrador to southern New England. Floral patterns for moccasin tops or vamps, breech cloths, robes and bags fall into this grouping (plates 3 and 4).

[P. 25, A]

FOOTNOTES

[220] 1. The reports of Butler and Hays are based on an identification of bones found in old feast pits.

2. According to Waugh's report on Iroquois foods, the Onondaga had names for starchy, flint, sweet, starchy-sweet and pop corn, five of the seven generally recognized varieties of Zea mays (Waugh, pp. 74-77).

[241] 3. To these Brinton adds the sweet potato, but no early sources confirm him in this opinion (1885, p. 48).

4. Delaware sources do not indicate which types of beans were grown aboriginally, but Waugh in his report on the Iroquois states that they knew over sixty varieties. The natives described them according to use, i.e. bread or soup beans (Waugh, pp. 104-107).

5. The identifications are made by Kalm himself.

[171] 6. Brinton specifically denies that the Delaware had this type of house, but it is described in Lindstrom as translated by Johnson (p. 201). According to Skinner, Dankers and Sluyter described this longhouse for the Canarsie, a Mohegan group living also in New Jersey (1909, p. 47). In Geographia Americanae, Lindstrom says: "In the Fall every sachem has built a house in which he and his subjects can live." (p. 221). As can be seen the problem is closely related to that of whether more than one conjugal family ever resided together. Support for the belief that they did comes from Beatty who visited a Delaware town in Ohio and noted that several families sometimes lived in one house. (p. 37).

[501] 7. There is no evidence to indicate whether or not sails were used in pre-contact times.

[286] 8. Several early writers noted cloth garments worn by the Indians, but Harrington has said of the Canadian reservation Indians in 1908: "The nearest approach to the weaving of aboriginal fabrics is seen in the pack strap...They were made of fibres of Indian hemp, the milkweed or the inner bark of the slippery elm, boiled soft and rolled or twisted into cord with the hand on the bare thigh. The cords were then tightly woven into a strap two or three inches wide and a little more than two feet long..." No mention is made of any kind of weaving apparatus. It seems most likely that even though cloth is mentioned by some of the earliest writers, it is a borrowed trait although pack straps may have been aboriginal manufactures.

9. Ruth Benedict says that there generally is a correlation between pain[illegible] inducement of visions and receiving the vision because of b[illegible] pitied by the spirits (pp. 27-28).

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
NM7 Delaware NM7

CHAPTER XIX.

Concerning the Manufacture of the Attractive and the Artistic Wares of the American Savage People.

Write or read the savages cannot, nor do any other work like the Christians, such as spin, weave, sew, *et talia, etc.* But their work consists[1] in neatly working [various things] by drawing, painting and glazing, as for instance their bags,[2] which they make so large that 1 quart, ½ gallon, yea 1, 1½, 2, 2½, 3 up to 6 gallons can go into them, to keep grain and all kinds of other such [things] in. These they elaborate with all kinds of figures of painted pine roots and also split,[3] painted sticks, unspeakably strong.[4]

They also make very neat tobacco pipes with all kinds of birds and animals on the pipe head, very beautifully painted and glazed.[5] There are also found beautiful colors of all kinds, which we can see by their neat and artistically painted work of bird feathers, tobacco pipes and more such [things]. They also make very fine and beautiful quilts[6] of painted bird feathers. In the first place they tie them with meshes like nets, yet very fine;[7]

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[1] *Uthan deres arbete gåår uth på.* Cf. *Vertoogh, N. Y. Col.*, 2, II, 270; *Doc.*, I, 282; Williams, *Key*, 133.
[2] *Notasser.* See above, Chapt. XI, note 7.
[3] *Upfläcka*, to tear up (?); cf. *flicka sönder*, tear asunder.
[4] Cf. Hodge, *Handbook*, I, 125, 132; above Chapt. XI, note 7.
[5] Cf. Chapt. IX, note 10; Hodge, *Handbook*, II, 267 ff.
[6] *Skiöna fäller.* *Fäll* usually means skins with the fur, fell.
[7] *Dock mycket grannæ.*

531 also the angular patterns in plate 1 which are used in ribbon applique. The floral [751] patterns are protective, representing the plants which the Creator gave to mankind to cure diseases. It will be noted (plate 3) that the patterns for women's moccasin [291] vamps are plain and narrow in contrast to the wider patterns for men's moccasins.

Techniques

The bead workers and silk ribbon-workers have series of cut-out paper patterns which they use as guides. Typical patterns are shown in plates 1, 3 and 4. In making bead designs the paper pattern is cut out and tacked with thread in position on the article to be decorated. The entire pattern is outlined with white or light colored beads such as blue or pale yellow. The middle portion of the figure is then filled in and in turn bordered with light-colored beads. Then rows of dark beads are filled in to suit the taste of the individual. The paper patterns for silk-work are laid on the ribbon or cloth and the cut-out silk figures are arranged in place on the legging-strips or robes and hemmed down, the stitches being very fine.

286 In weaving the belts, headbands, garters and other ornaments, wool is used for the warp and coarse thread for the weft. Sometimes in constructing the long sashes, which frequently average five feet, the warp strands are attached to a bed post and the worker sits on the bed and weaves. For the shorter articles a cardboard box serves as a loom across which the warp is arranged according to the width desired. This is held on the lap of the weaver.

531 The modern Delaware bead and silk ribbon-workers do not limit the use of colors in their art work but select carefully, and combine a number of colors with very pleasing results.

Geometric and highly conventionalized floral patterns were stamped or engraved on silver brooches, bracelets and other ornaments. Dots, circles, straight and curved lines were used in combinations to form the designs. Small buttons and

[P.25, B]

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

CHAPTER XXV.

DRESS, AND ORNAMENTING OF THEIR PERSONS.

IN ancient times, the dress of the Indians was made of the skins of animals and feathers. This clothing, they say, was not only warmer, but lasted much longer than any woollen goods they have since purchased of the white people. They can dress any skin, even that of the buffaloe, so that it becomes quite soft and supple, and a good buffaloe or bear skin blanket will serve them many years without wearing out. Beaver and raccoon skin blankets are also pliant, warm and durable; they sew together as many of those skins as is necessary, carefully setting the hair or fur all the same way, so that the blanket or covering be smooth, and the rain do not penetrate, but run off. In wearing these fur blankets they are regulated by the weather; if it is cold and dry the fur is placed next the body, but in warm and wet weather, they have it outside. Some made themselves long frocks of fine fur, and the women's petticoats in the winter season were also made of them, otherwise of dressed deer skins, the same as their shirts, leggings and shoes. They say that shoes made of dressed bear skins, with the hair on and turned inside, are very warm, and in dry weather, durable. With the large rib bones of the elk and buffaloe they shaved the hair off the skins they dressed, and even now, they say that they can clean a skin as well with a well prepared rib-bone as with a knife.

The blankets made from feathers were also warm and durable. They were the work of the women, particu-

l:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

larly of the old, who delight in such work, and indeed, in any work which shews that they are able to do their parts and be useful to society. It requires great patience, being the most tedious kind of work I have ever seen them perform, yet they do it in a most ingenious manner. The feathers, generally those of the turkey and goose, are so curiously arranged and interwoven together with thread or twine, which they prepare from the rind or bark of the wild hemp and nettle, that ingenuity and skill cannot be denied them. They shew the same talent and much forethought in making their *Happis*, the bands with which they carry their bags and other burdens; they make these very strong and lasting.

The present dress of the Indians is well known to consist in blankets, plain or ruffled shirts and leggings for the men, and petticoats for the women, made of cloth, generally red, blue, or black. The wealthy adorn themselves besides with ribands or gartering of various colours, beads, and silver broaches. These ornaments are arranged by the women, who, as well as the men, know how to dress themselves in style. Those of the men principally consist in the painting of themselves, their head and face principally, shaving or good clean garments, silver arm spangles and breast plates, and a belt or two of wampum hanging to their necks. The women, at the expense of their husbands or lovers, line their petticoat and blue or scarlet cloth blanket or covering with choice ribands of various colours, or with gartering, on which they fix a number of silver broaches or small round buckles. They adorn their leggings in the same manner; their mocksens, (properly *Maxen*, or according to the English pronunciation *Moxen*), are embroidered in the neatest manner, with coloured porcupine quills, and are besides, almost entirely covered with various trinkets; they have, moreover, a number of little bells and brass thimbles fixed round their ancles, which, when they walk, make a tinkling noise, which is heard

2;Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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cold weather and outside in warmer weather.[138] Perhaps the most exotic garments in the eyes of Europeans were the feather mantles which were used both as robes and as bedding.[139] Lindestrom said: "They also make very fine and beautiful quilts of painted bird feathers. In the first place they tie them with meshes like nets, yet very fine, then fasten the feathers in the meshes, so neat and strong that not one feather can come loose from it; it would sooner go clear off."[140] Besides robes, leggings that extended almost to the hips and moccasins were worn.[141] For winter wear "they say that shoes made of dressed bears skins, with the hair on and turned inside, are very warm, and in dry weather, durable."[142] One source mentioned cornhusk moccasins.[143] Women's dress differed from male attire in that a short skin skirt of a square wrap-around style was worn.[144] Clothing was highly decorated with colored designs of dyed porcupine quills, or it was painted.[145] Hats were not used, although one source mentioned "helmets of hard sticks and strong wood" used for defensive purposes in war.[146] Denton said: "They wear no Hats, but commonly wear about their Heads a Snake's skin, or a belt of their money, or a kind of a Ruff made with Déer's hair & died of a scarlet colour, which they esteem very rich."[147] Children wore little or no clothing in warm weather, but by the eighteenth century girls donned, as soon as they could walk, "a little frock" resembling their mother's costume. Boys at about the age of six began wearing the breech cloth.[148]

Adornment and ornamentation.— Men wore a scalp lock, that is, one tuft of hair was allowed to grow long. Other body and facial hair, if any, was plucked out.[149] "They root out the hair from the forehead backward so that the head is bald up to the crown, and only a hand-breadth of it in circular form is suffered to remain. . . ."[150] Women wore their hair in a bun at the back of the head; it was not cut and sometimes hung to the knees.[151] Face and hair of both sexes were smeared with grease.[152] There was no mention of tattooing during the seventeenth century, but since in the next century it was well established, it probably was an ancient custom:

> The process of tattooing, which I once saw performed, is quickly done, and does not seem to give much pain. They have poplar bark in readiness burnt and reduced to a powder, the figures that are to be tattooed are marked or designed

[138] De Vries, 1909, p. 217; Holm, 1834, p. 119; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 202.
[139] De Vries, 1909, p. 217; Juet, 1909, p. 18; Van der Donck, 1909, p. 301; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 203.
[140] Lindestrom, 1925, pp. 221-22.
[141] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 15; Lindestrom, 1925, p. 199.
[142] Heckewelder, 1881, p. 202.
[143] Van der Donck, 1909, p. 301.
[144] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 15; Skinner, 1947, p. 5.
[145] Heckewelder, 1881, p. 202; Skinner, 1947, pp. 3-4.
[146] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 222.
[147] Denton, 1845, p. 10; Holm, 1834, p. 120, noted the same customs.
[148] Johnson, 1917, p. 280; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 17.
[149] Thomas, 1912, p. 340; Lindestrom, 1925, pp. 195-96; Van der Donck, 1909, p. 300.
[150] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 12.
[151] Smith, 1877, p. 137; Lindestrom, 1925, p. 195.
[152] Van der Donck, 1909, p. 301; De Rasieres, 1909, p. 106; Pastorius, 1912, p. 433.

252
262 Flour was either ground between two stones or pounded in a mortar and pestle by the Delavare. The mortar was usually a hol-
[412] lowed tree trunk, the pestle a suitably shaped stone (Smith, p. 138; Lindstrom, pp. 253-54; Abbott, 1875, p. 357; Kalm, p. 230).

276 Stone potsery and clay pipes have been uncovered on archae-
[323] ological sites. Lindstrom describes the Lenape pipes as beautifully
324 painted and glazed with birds and animals on the head. He says there are some "...an ell in length, which are screwed together with leather,...and in these pipe-heads will go a handful of tobacco" (Lindstrom, p. 197). These were presumably of European manufacture. The pipes which have been recovered from old sites are of a much humbler variety (Abbott, 1875, pp. 343-44; Skinner, 1909, p. 27; Butler, p. 249). This apparent inconsistency can be readily explained, however, by assuming that Lindstrom was referring to the calumets or peace pipes, which were relatively rare and would be likely to have been carried west by the owners when they moved (Kalm, pp. 231-32).

285 Some household items manufactured by the Delaware women were
[283] mats, ropes and baskets made from wild hemp, spruce roots, corn husks and rushes. The mats, which were sometimes painted or had figures worked in or over the weave, were hung on the walls for increased protection against the elements as well as to beautify the house (Smith, p. 138; Lindstrom, p. 221; Harrington, 1913, p. 224). They were also used as part of the bedding together with the skin or
287 turkey-feather robes which served as clothing during the day (Johnson, p. 280; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 203). The turkey-feather robes deserve special attention as they were evidently one of the most distinctive and beautiful of the Delaware's manufactures. Lindstrom says: "They also make fine and beautiful quilts of painted bird feathers. In the first place they tie them with meshes like nets, yet very fine; then they fasten the feathers in the meshes, so neat and strong that not one feather can come loose from it..." (Lindstrom, pp. 221-22). When there was a "bed," it consisted of a wooden
352 shelf running around the interior wall of the house and serving as a seat by day (Harrington, 1913, p. 218; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 17; Skinner, 1915, p. 7).

342 The most common type of Delaware house was a small hut consisting of a rectangular, gabled frame of saplings covered with bark or mats. Penn describes their houses thus: "Their Houses are Mats, or Bark of Trees set on Poles, in the fashion of an English Barn, but out of the power of the Winds, for they are hardly higher than a Man..." (Penn, p. 31). Some Delaware, however, constructed a house large enough to accommodate several families, the increase in size all deriving from greater length. The result was not unlike an Iroquois longhouse.[6] In the center of the house was one or more fires depending on the length of the building, and the ridge of the roof was arranged with an opening through which the smoke could

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
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CHAPTER XIX.

Concerning the Manufacture of the Attractive and the Artistic Wares of the American Savage People.

Write or read the savages cannot, nor do any other work like the Christians, such as spin, weave, sew, *et talia, etc.* But their work consists[1] in neatly working [various things] by drawing, painting and glazing, as for instance their bags,[2] which they make so large that 1 quart, ½ gallon, yea 1, 1½, 2, 2½, 3 up to 6 gallons can go into them, to keep grain and all kinds of other such [things] in. These they elaborate with all kinds of figures of painted pine roots and also split,[3] painted sticks, unspeakably strong.[4]

They also make very neat tobacco pipes with all kinds of birds and animals on the pipe head, very beautifully painted and glazed.[5] There are also found beautiful colors of all kinds, which we can see by their neat and artistically painted work of bird feathers, tobacco pipes and more such [things]. They also make very fine and beautiful quilts[6] of painted bird feathers. In the first place they tie them with meshes like nets, yet very fine;[7]

[1] *Uthan derce arbete gådr uth på.* Cf. *Vertoogh, N. Y. Col.*, 2, II, 270; *Doc.*, I, 282; Williams, *Key*, 133.
[2] *Notasser.* See above, Chapt. XI, note 7.
[3] *Upfläcka*, to tear up (?); cf. *fläcka sönder*, tear asunder.
[4] Cf. Hodge, *Handbook*, I, 125, 132; above Chapt. XI, note 7.
[5] Cf. Chapt. IX, note 10; Hodge, *Handbook*, II, 257 ff.
[6] *Skiöna fällar. Fäll* usually means skins with the fur, fell.
[7] *Dock mycket granne.*

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
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then they fasten the feathers in the meshes, so neat and strong that not one feather can come loose from it; it would sooner go clear off.[8] They also make very fine, strong and artistic mats of finely painted spruce roots and strong straw, with all kinds of figures, to decorate and cover the walls with, and to place below their bed clothes.[9]

They also make helmets of hard sticks and strong wood, so that no arrow or swingle can go through it.[10]

The late Governor Printz had the savages make and thread up for him a suit of clothes, with coat, trousers and sword belt, entirely of their money, which was very artistic, threaded and worked with all kinds of animals, which came to a few thousand florins.[11] And [there is] much more, which could be described about their artistic manufacture, if space and time would allow. In fine if they were trained and kept at it, they would become very expert, for they are by nature capable to grasp and comprehend immediately what they see.[12]

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[8] The feather would sooner break off than come loose.
[9] Cf. Williams, *Key*, 47 ff.
[10] Repetition, see above.
[11] Williams says: "*Neyhommauashunck*, a coat or Mantle, curiously made of the fairest feathers of their *Neyhommauog* or Turkies, which commonly their old Men make; and is with them as velvet with us." *Key*, 107.
[12] Cf. Williams, *Key*, 43.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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CHAPTER XXV.

DRESS, AND ORNAMENTING OF THEIR PERSONS.

IN ancient times, the dress of the Indians was made of the skins of animals and feathers. This clothing, they say, was not only warmer, but lasted much longer than any woollen goods they have since purchased of the white people. They can dress any skin, even that of the buffaloe, so that it becomes quite soft and supple, and a good buffaloe or bear skin blanket will serve them many years without wearing out. Beaver and raccoon skin blankets are also pliant, warm and durable; they sew together as many of those skins as is necessary, carefully setting the hair or fur all the same way, so that the blanket or covering be smooth, and the rain do not penetrate, but run off. In wearing these fur blankets they are regulated by the weather; if it is cold and dry the fur is placed next the body, but in warm and wet weather, they have it outside. Some made themselves long frocks of fine fur, and the women's petticoats in the winter season were also made of them, otherwise of dressed deer skins, the same as their shirts, leggings and shoes. They say that shoes made of dressed bear skins, with the hair on and turned inside, are very warm, and in dry weather, durable. With the large rib bones of the elk and buffaloe they shaved the hair off the skins they dressed, and even now, they say that they can clean a skin as well with a well prepared rib-bone as with a knife.

The blankets made from feathers were also warm and durable. They were the work of the women, particu-

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

larly of the old, who delight in such work, and indeed, in any work which shews that they are able to do their parts and be useful to society. It requires great patience, being the most tedious kind of work I have ever seen them perform, yet they do it in a most ingenious manner. The feathers, generally those of the turkey and goose, are so curiously arranged and interwoven together with thread or twine, which they prepare from the rind or bark of the wild hemp and nettle, that ingenuity and skill cannot be denied them. They shew the same talent and much forethought in making their *Happis*, the bands with which they carry their bags and other burdens; they make these very strong and lasting.

The present dress of the Indians is well known to consist in blankets, plain or ruffled shirts and leggings for the men, and petticoats for the women, made of cloth, generally red, blue, or black. The wealthy adorn themselves besides with ribands or gartering of various colours, beads, and silver broaches. These ornaments are arranged by the women, who, as well as the men, know how to dress themselves in style. Those of the men principally consist in the painting of themselves, their head and face principally, shaving or good clean garments, silver arm spangles and breast plates, and a belt or two of wampum hanging to their necks. The women, at the expense of their husbands or lovers, line their petticoat and blue or scarlet cloth blanket or covering with choice ribands of various colours, or with gartering, on which they fix a number of silver broaches or small round buckles. They adorn their leggings in the same manner; their mocksens, (properly *Maxen*, or according to the English pronunciation *Moxen*), are embroidered in the neatest manner, with coloured porcupine quills, and are besides, almost entirely covered with various trinkets; they have, moreover, a number of little bells and brass thimbles fixed round their ancles, which, when they walk, make a tinkling noise, which is heard

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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at some distance; this is intended to draw the attention of those who pass by, that they may look at and admire them.

The women make use of vermilion in painting themselves for dances, but they are very careful and circumspect in applying the paint, so that it does not offend or create suspicion in their husbands; there is a mode of painting which is left entirely to loose women and prostitutes.

As I was once resting in my travels at the house of a trader who lived at some distance from an Indian town, I went in the morning to visit an Indian acquaintance and friend of mine. I found him engaged in plucking out his beard, preparatory to painting himself for a dance which was to take place the ensuing evening. Having finished his head dress, about an hour before sun-set, he came up, as he said, to see me, but I and my companions judged that he came *to be seen*. To my utter astonishment, I saw three different paintings or figures on one and the same face. He had, by his great ingenuity and judgment in laying on and shading the different colours, made his nose appear, when we stood directly in front of him, as if it were very long and narrow, with a round knob at the end, much like the upper part of a pair of tongs. On one cheek there was a red round spot, about the size of an apple, and the other was done in the same manner with black. The eye-lids, both the upper and lower ones, were reversed in the colouring. When we viewed him in profile on one side, his nose represented the beak of an eagle, with the bill rounded and brought to a point, precisely as those birds have it, though the mouth was somewhat open. The eye was astonishingly well done, and the head, upon the whole, appeared tolerably well, shewing a great deal of fierceness. When we turned round to the other side, the same nose now resembled the snout of a pike, with the mouth so open, that the teeth could be seen. He seemed much pleased

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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very aged men and women were seen among them, some of whom thought they had lived about one hundred years. They frequently told me and others that when they were young men, their people did not marry so early as they did since, that even at twenty they were called boys and durst not wear a breech-cloth, as the men did at that time, but had only a small bit of a skin hanging before them. Neither, did they say, were they subject to so many disorders as in later times, and many of them calculated on dying of old age. But since that time a great change has taken place in the constitution of those Indians who live nearest to the whites. By the introduction of ardent spirits among them, they have been led into vices which have brought on disorders which they say were unknown before; their blood became corrupted by a shameful complaint, which the Europeans pretend to have received from the original inhabitants of America, while these say they had never known or heard of it until the Europeans came among them. Now the Indians are infected with it to a great degree; children frequently inherit it from their parents, and after lingering for a few years at last die victims to this poison.

Those Indians who have not adopted the vices of the white people live to a good age, from 70 to 90. Few arrive at the age of one hundred years. The women, in general, live longer than the men.

The Indians do not appear to be more or less exempt than the whites from the common infirmities of old age. I have known old men among them who had lost their memory, their sight, and their teeth. I have also seen them at eighty in their second childhood and not able to help themselves.

The Indian women are not in general so prolific as those of the white race. I imagine this defect is owing to the vicious and dissolute life they lead since the introduction of spirituous liquors. Among our Christian Indians, we have had a couple who had been

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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that the Delaware groups nearest to the Iroquois had been influenced by them. The Munsi were nearest to the Iroquois, and Harrington's informants were predominantly of this group. The various house styles, on the other hand, are possibly related to the seasonal movements of the Delawares, who, like the central Algonkians, may have utilized the rectangular, bark-covered long house in summer and the dome-shaped lodge in winter.[129]

The dome-shaped lodges were simple structures built by placing pieces of bark, preferably of linden or elm, over a sapling framework. The bark was stripped from the trees in summer in as large sheets as possible and dried. It then provided a watertight house.[130] House furnishings were rather meager. "They. . .make very fine, strong and artistic mats of finely painted spruce roots and strong straw, with all kinds of figures, to decorate and cover the walls with, and to place below their bed clothes."[131] Rush mats were painted and fastened to the walls in winter to keep out the cold. Some houses had "portraits and pictures somewhat rudely carved."[132] By the eighteenth century platforms made of poles, which encircled the walls and served as tables, benches, and beds, were mentioned.[133] The platform was covered by an untanned skin of bear or deer, or else with a mat.

Near each village was one or more sweat houses:

> When they wish to cleanse themselves of their foulness, they go in the autumn, when it begins to grow cold, and make, away off, near a running brook, a small oven, large enough for three or four men to lie in it. In making it they first take twigs of trees, and then cover them tight with clay, so that smoke cannot escape. This being done, they take a parcel of stones, which they heat in a fire, and then put in the oven, and when they think that it is sufficiently hot, they take the stones out again, and go and lie in it, men and women, boys and girls.[134]

Informants (O.A., J.T.) recalled small sweat lodges of this type. Skinner found "small beds of cracked stones and pebbles, without relics, often at some distance from other remains. . ."[135] Thus, archaeological remains tend to confirm the existence of this trait for the prehistoric people of Staten Island.

Clothing.— The amount of clothing worn by the Delawares varied with the season. In summer men wore only a leather breech cloth and women only a short skirt, and they frequently did without moccasins.[136] In colder seasons the principal garment was a skin of beaver, fox, deer, bear, elk, or raccoon.[137] The hair side was worn next to the body in

[129] Wissler, 1917, p. 221; Denton, 1845, p. 7.

[130] Thomas, 1912, p. 341; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 401; Mahr, 1954, pp. 381-82; O. A.

[131] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 222.

[132] O'Callaghan, 1850, I: 282; Hayes, 1954, p. 77.

[133] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 17.

[134] De Vries, 1909, pp. 217-18; Lindestrom, 1925, p. 257, described the sweat lodge in similar terms.

[135] Skinner, 1909, p. 48.

[136] Pastorius, 1912, p. 384; Lindestrom, 1925, pp. 191-92.

[137] De Laet, 1909, p. 57; De Rasieres, 1909, p. 106; Thomas, 1912, p. 341; Juet, 1909, p. 18; Van der Donck, 1909, p. 301.

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cold weather and outside in warmer weather.[138] Perhaps the most exotic garments in the eyes of Europeans were the feather mantles which were used both as robes and as bedding.[139] Lindestrom said: "They also make very fine and beautiful quilts of painted bird feathers. In the first place they tie them with meshes like nets, yet very fine, then fastes the feathers in the meshes, so neat and strong that not one feather can come loose from it; it would sooner go clear off."[140] Besides robes, leggings that extended almost to the hips and moccasins were worn.[141] For winter wear "they say that shoes made of dressed bears skins, with the hair on and turned inside, are very warm, and in dry weather, durable."[142] One source mentioned cornhusk moccasins.[143] Women's dress differed from male attire in that a short skin skirt of a square wrap-around style was worn.[144] Clothing was highly decorated with colored designs of dyed porcupine quills, or it was painted.[145] Hats were not used, although one source mentioned "helmets of hard sticks and strong wood" used for defensive purposes in war.[146] Denton said: "They wear no Hats, but commonly wear about their Heads a Snake's skin, or a belt of their money, or a kind of a Ruff made with Deer's hair & died of a scarlet colour, which they esteem very rich."[147] Children wore little or no clothing in warm weather, but by the eighteenth century girls donned, as soon as they could walk, "a little frock" resembling their mother's costume. Boys at about the age of six began wearing the breech cloth.[148]

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2;Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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When Mr. Pratt came among them 12 years ago, as he informs me, they were living in bark houses. Now many of them are living in frame houses two stories and 2½ stories high, some with a veranda in front the whole length, and they have good barns and outbuildings.[150]

Morgan described the attire of the Delawares on a gala "Payment Day" as resembling dress of the whites in cut, but varying in other respects. He said:

The Delaware women have usually dropped the Indian skirt, and put on the long dress of the white female. . . . Their dresses are of all colors, and some of them are of rich materials. A few were dressed in colored muslin with silk shawls, and looked quite becomingly, but the most of them were, strange to say, dressed in silk gowns, some of which were brocade patterns of rich brocade silk, some were black, these looked the best. Some were crimson and black, some fiery plaid; the most of them were in bright colors. Over these they wore silk shawls of every color and shade, most of them fringed. . . . They appeared to have put on all they had, to show it, the quantity of dress being of more importance in their sight than its style, or quality.[151]

Morgan also described male attire:

The men were more fantastically dressed than the women, and did not appear half as well. Their fancy dresses were cheap and absurd, rendering their general appearance ridiculous. . . . Some of the old men and some of the young men had on colored calico frock coats of the most gaudy colors. Many had vermilion on their faces, thus giving them a low appearance, and I saw a few girls with spots of it in their cheeks. One man I saw with a silver ornament in his nose, which covered part of his mouth. Many of the men wore leggins with a wide side projection, ornamented, and the breech cloth, over which they wore a vest or shirt, and perhaps one of the frock coats of calico above named, with head bands of bead work over the shoulder and meeting in a large bead work pocket on the right hand side.[152]

Social and political institutions continued their decline during the Decadent Period. In Chapter III the deteriorated kinship system of the mid-nineteenth century and the changes it subsequently underwent were examined in detail. The most noteworthy change politically was the surrender of political independence for the security, or anticipated security, of the reservation. There was no mention during the nineteenth century or subsequently of strong native leaders; they had ceased to exist. Many other features of Delaware social organization must have been seriously altered, or were completely replaced during this period. Unfortunately, information is limited. As early as 1824 Trowbridge observed:

In days of yore children were considered as bound to obey their parents, and were not suffered to marry until the age of thirty if males or twenty four if females; but to use their own language, a boy begins to grow hoarse he assumes the practices of a man, declares himself independent and marries.[153]

[150] Morgan, 1859, MS.
[151] *Ibid.*
[152] *Ibid.*
[153] Trowbridge MS.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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their huts. Trees were killed wherever they wished to have space for planting.

For the chase they used bow and arrow, both made of wood, the point of the arrow alone being of flint in the shape of a lengthened triangle, sharp and pointed, securely tied to the shaft.

Kettles and pots for cooking they made of clay mixed with sea shells, pounded very fine. After the pot had been shaped it was burned hard in fire. All these things, knives, hatchets, arrows and large pieces of the pottery they used at one time, are frequently found in places where Indians have lived. Potsherds have become black through and through so that the shell pieces may be seen.

They could shoot game as well in those days as at the present time with their rifled guns. They declare that game was not as shy then as now by reason of the report of the guns. In those days they killed only as much of game as was needed for sustenance, skins being used for clothing both men and women; hence, game was more abundant at that time. The women made blankets of turkey-feathers which were bound together with twine made of wild hemp. Of such many are to be found even at the present day among the Indians, and these in winter are a better protection against the cold than the best European blanket. The women also made themselves petticoats of wild hemp.

Bow and arrow have fallen into disuse among those Indians that trade with whites; are, indeed, only used for small game, such as the pigeon, fox and raccoon, in order to save powder. There are, however, whole tribes to the west and northwest that use nothing but bow and arrow in the chase and that have no European weapons, that are not even anxious to obtain them; for, say they, if we discard bow and arrow, who will then make for us enough of powder and shot. They prefer, therefore, to hold to their old custom and usage.

The fire materials of those days consisted of a dry piece of wood or board and a round dry stick. The latter was placed upon the board and turned or twirled with great swiftness, both hands being used, until there was smoke and fire. This, however, was done only in case their fire had gone out, which they

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

854 the mother going to fetch water or on some other errand. The children by pushing and kicking not infrequently tumbled themselves into the fire or other danger and thus miserably perished, or were severely burned. For this reason the custom is in disfavor.

342 Their houses are fairly clean, some being superior in this respect and affording a comfortable night's lodging for a [574] European. In case a guest is expected, especially if it be a white [356] person, they prepare as comfortable a bed as possible. They sweep the bunk, that serves as seat and table in the daytime and as bed at night, and spread a mat with one or more deer or bear [363] skins upon it. Though usually a comfortable couch in summer time it may be made very uncomfortable by the fleas brought in by dogs. Their kettles, dishes and spoons are not kept in good order; sometimes they are only licked by the dogs in lieu of washing. Dishes and spoons they make themselves of wood, [415 322] sometimes of tree knots or growths, often very neatly. The spoons are generally large and round shaped. Occasionally, a spoon will be used by several people, turn about, at a meal. Brass kettles, to be found in most houses because very necessary for sugar boiling, are bought from the whites.

•291 The Indians are lovers of finery and dress, the women more than the men; the latter take care that the women adorn themselves in proper manner. The men clothe themselves rather meanly, regarding it as a disgrace to be better appareled than their wives. The dress which particularly distinguishes the women is a petticoat or strowd, blue, red or black, made of a piece of cloth about two yards long, adorned with red, blue or yellow bands laid double and bound about the body. Many women wear a white shirt over the strowd, decorated with silver buckles, the more the better. Red or blue leggings are worn, made of fine cloth joined by a broad band of silk bordered with coral. These leggings reach only to the feet. Shoes are made very neatly. Over the first strowd they may wear another, not decorated with ribbons, which if it inconveniences them in their movements may be easily laid aside. Thus clad a woman is well dressed. In [296] place of the white shirts, blue linen or cotton may be worn. When [386] they wear a white shirt, which is preferably of fine linen; it is often died red with cinnabar about the neck.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

often dyed red with cinnabar about the neck. Such a shirt may be worn unwashed until it is torn. More careful women, however wash their clothing. Men and women paint their faces almost daily, especially if they go out to a dance in the evening. Men, particularly, think it is proper to paint and often their whole head is colored vermillion.[255] Here and there black spots may be introduced, or they paint one-half of their head and face black, the other red. Figures are added according to taste.[256] Indian women never paint their faces with a variety of figures, but rather make a round red spot upon each cheek and redden the eyelids, the tops of their heads and, in some cases, the rims of the ears and the temples.[257] Older women adorn themselves but rarely, usually appearing in old cast-off garments. Even if the husband of such a woman provides new clothing, she will rarely put it on, especially if she has a daughter to whom she gives the new clothing in exchange for old garments.

Their towns are generally laid out near a lake, river or brook, yet sufficiently elevated to escape the danger of inundations, which are very common in spring. In building towns no regular plan is observed but every one builds according to his fancy. The houses are not built close together. Some years ago, when the Delawares planned Gochachgünk, they wished to imitate the Christian Indians and build their town in orderly fashion but they did not succeed, even though they had laid it out. When they have lived long in one place, it at last becomes troublesome to secure wood for fuel because all the wood in the neighborhood has been used. This causes them to leave the place and plan a new village for the sake of the wood and other conveniences. Although they have horses that roam about and are rarely used except when they wish to ride, it is too troublesome for them to break these to work and, furthermore, since fetching wood is the work of the women, the men do not concern themselves about it.

Of inheritances they know nothing. Every Indian knows that whatever he leaves at his death is divided among his friends. If a woman becomes a widow, no matter how long she may have lived with her husband, friends come, take everything that be-

escape. In the summer and on trips shelter was not considered necessary (Johnson, p. 281; Lindstrom, p. 211). Most villages also contained a "Big House" which served as a place for religious assemblies and council meetings, but both of these functions were sometimes performed outdoors or in the chief's house.

As aids to transportation the Delaware used the carrying straps, pack baskets (used by both men and women) and canoes. Their bark canoes were of birch or chestnut. They also used a dugout made by first burning a suitable log and then scraping the charred portions out with sharp stones and shells (Johnson, p. 280). Vessels capable of ocean travel were constructed by fastening two large dugout canoes together and using mats for sails.[7] In these, journeys were made as far as New England and Virginia (Johnson, p. 280; Lindstrom, p. 237).

Nineteenth century writers were of the opinion that the Lenape used large amounts of copper and perhaps even worked it themselves (Brinton, 1885, p. 52; Abbott, 1885, pp. 774-77). More recent evidence, however, indicates that copper was not abundantly used, the most common form in which it is found being tubular beads, and that it was received solely in trade (Skinner, 1909, p. 28).

Clothing

The clothing of the Indian men consisted in summer of a leather girdle from which hung a flap of leather.[8] At this time of year the Delaware frequently went without footwear (Pastorius, 1700, p. 384; 1698, p. 433; Danckaerts, pp. 169 and 280; Lindstrom, pp. 191-92 and 197). The women's dress consisted of a square piece of leather fringed at the bottom which was bound around the waist as a short skirt (Skinner, 1915, p. 5; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 29). In winter, both sexes added leather leggings, moccasins and robes of animal skins or turkey feathers to this costume. Apparently the skins of bear, deer and raccoon were most commonly used for clothing. All of the clothing was decorated with colored designs of dyed porcupine quills or wampum (Pastorius, 1698, p. 433; Johnson, p. 280; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 202; Skinner, 1915, pp. 3 and 5).

Both sexes decorated themselves with numerous ornaments, the women, however, outdoing the men. Wampum was hung in chains around the neck and from the ears, and woven in bands which were worn around the head, sometimes with a single feather set in them (Pastorius, 1698, p. 434; Lindstrom, p. 196). Around the neck were also worn necklaces of dyed deer hair and native copper, stone and shell pendants and breast plates (Abbott, 1875, p. 327; Heye, pp. 32-42). In addition, men were seldom without their pipe, tobacco pouch and bag of food also hung about the neck (Lindstrom, p. 197). For festive occasions the ornamentation was greatly increased and face paint of various designs added. Hair and skin shining with bear grease was

302 also considered a mark of beauty (Lindstrom, pp. 193, 194, and 196; Pastorius, 1698, p. 433).

The Delaware women had the distinctive custom of wearing their hair in a large bun at the back rather than in braids. Men plucked all body hair and that of the head except for one tuft which was allowed to grow long (Smith, p. 137; Harrington, 1913, p. 220; Pastorius, 1700, p. 384; Lindstrom, pp. 195 and 200). Men were
301 permitted to tattoo themselves as marks of distinction, the designs
304 suggesting the deed which they commemorated. The operation was performed by breaking the skin in the desired pattern with a flint knife or sharp fish tooth. When the blood had been drawn, a powder of burned poplar bark was laid in the wound. Apparently the tattoo lasted a lifetime (Heckewelder, 1881, p. 206).

291 Children were allowed to go about with little or no clothing until
302 eight or ten years of age, being protected from the sun by a liberal coating of bear grease (Johnson, p. 280; Pastorius, 1700, p. 384).

Family Organization and Customs

843 Starting at the beginning of life, we find that the birth process was accompanied by certain special customs. Penn says that "...when with Child, they [the women] know their Husbands no more, till delivered..." (Penn, p. 33). Harrington tells us that a prospective father who had bad luck at hunting attributed it to the spirit of his child playing about and scaring the game away. He would accordingly wear a miniature bow and arrow to keep the child's spirit amused while he hunted, or if this did not work he would try a small mortar and pestle assuming that the baby was a girl (1913, p. 212).

844 Birth itself occurred in the small hut which was also used during
[841] menstrual periods. The child was immediately immersed in water, then wrapped in a skin and bound to a cradle board. This was softened with a moss covering and had curved side pieces. The child stayed in the
854 cradleboard most of the time until it could walk (Pastorius, 1698,
482 p.434; Penn, pp.29-30; Lindstrom, p.201). Then, when it had to be carried, it was placed in a blanket and carried on the mother's back (Lindstrom, p.201).

861 Almost all of the writers were impressed with the quiet and respectful behavior of Delaware children. Only later writers, however, had much to say about the means used to educate them. These writers noted that children, especially the boys, seldom were punished (Brickell, p.47; Zeisberger, 1870, p.86). Brickell, who was brought up by a Delaware family, says that honesty, bravery and hospitality were cardinal virtues with them and that much of the training received was directed toward developing these virtues (pp.47-48). Also, of course, boys were taught woodcraft, fishing
[862] and hunting, and girls were taught the household duties including the care of the young children.

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

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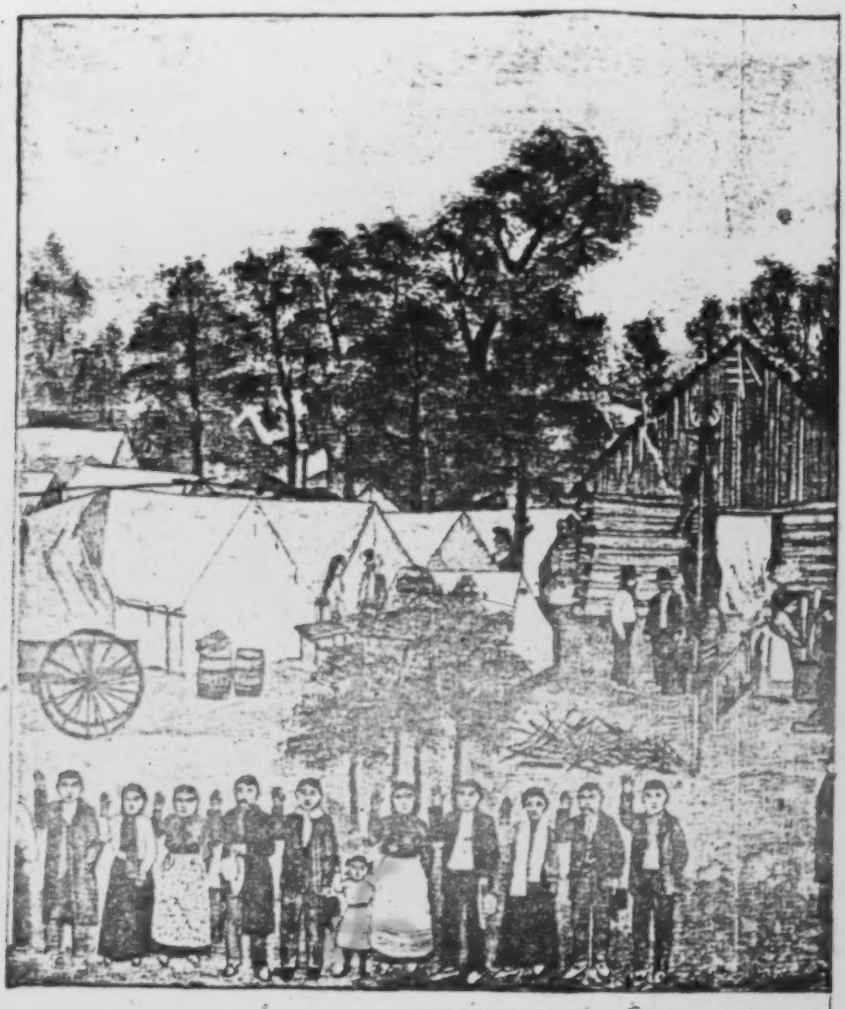

CONCLUSION OF THE LENAPE ANNUAL CERE
Native Painting by Earnest Spybuck, a

[Facing p. 1(A)] [in color]

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

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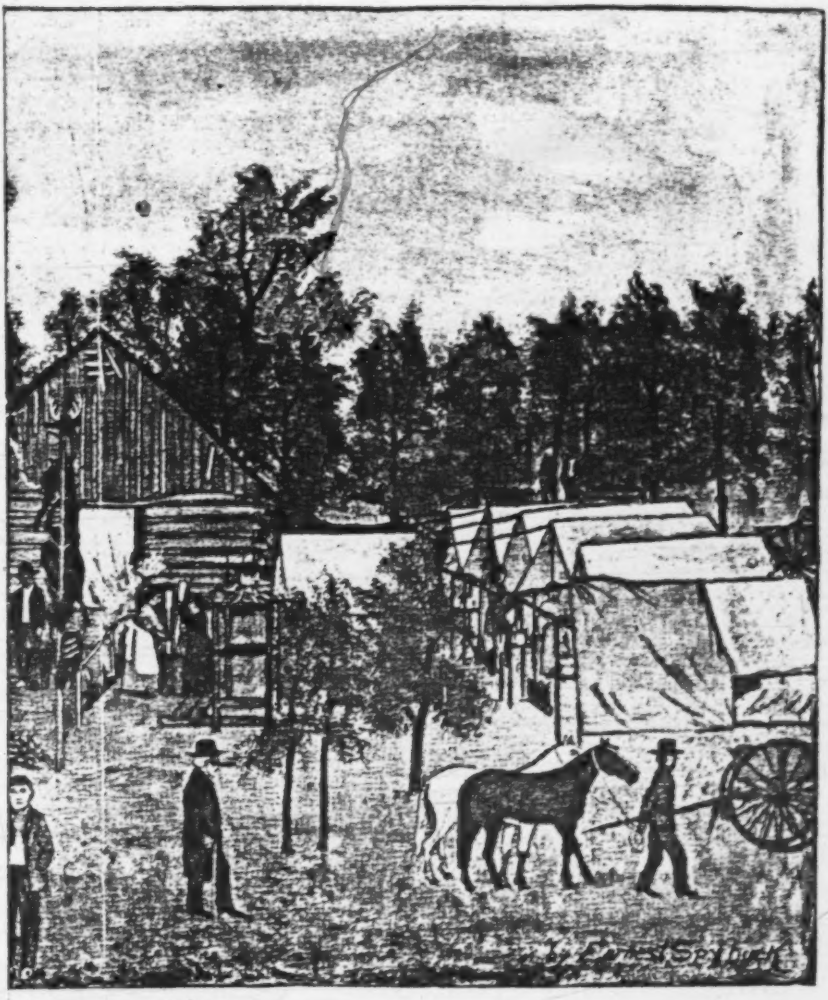

NAPE ANNUAL CEREMONY IN OKLAHOMA
ing by Earnest Spybuck, a Shawnee

[FACING p. 1(B)] [IN COLOR]

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

or breaks down diseases. The other is a goddess named *Nahneetis*, the guardian of health. This goddess was delivered up to me by Eunice Hank, a Muncey Indian woman, who with her friends used to worship it in their sacred dances, making a feast to it every year, when a fat doe was sacrificed as an offering, and many presents were given by the friends assembled. She told me she was now restored to worship the Christian's God, and therefore had no further use for it.'

"There can be no doubt in this case concerning the identity of this specimen with the one illustrated in the book quoted. It will be noticed however by those who are familiar with Peter Jones' illustration that Nahneetis, like many humans, has lost her hair in her old age. An interesting feature of the specimen is the primitive skirt, which is made apparently by belting a blanket-like bit of cloth, bound at the edges, around Nahneetis' waist. A vestige of this method of making a skirt survives, I think, in the form of the beaded strip running up one of the vertical seams of the more modern Indian skirt, among both the Delawares and the Iroquois."

The writer afterward found such skirts still in use among the Lenape in Oklahoma (pl. 1, *b*).

An Early Account of Nani'tĭs.—Another early account of the Nani'tĭs among the Minsi may be found in the

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

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OKLAHOMA DELAWARE EX-CHIEF AND NARRATOR OF TEXTS. Wi·tapano'xwe, "Walks by Daylight," in Dance Costume.

[frontispiece]
[facing p. i]

8:Linestrom T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
NM7 Delaware NM7

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19. INDIAN FAMILY BY LINDESTRÖM. ORIGINAL SIZE; FROM THE *Geographia*.

[facing p. 195]

8:Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
NM7 Delaware NM7

they have their things, such as food, money, tobacco, tobacco pipes, very artistically and well made; also bows and quarrels[8] (like those of the Poles) and helmets made of hard wooden pins and strong wood, that no arrow can go through them. Around their arms at the hands[9] they have brass and tin rings and threaded money, hanging like chains. In their hands they have tobacco pipes an ell in length, which are screwed together with leather, to lean on, and in these pipe-heads will go a handful of tobacco.[10] Around their waists they have tied a broad belt of money, strung in the form of figures, from which their pieces of cloth hang,[11]

[8] *Bågar och skiäcktor (skäckta)*, scutcher, swingle.

[9] *Om armarne wed händerne;* that is the wrist.

[10] *En godh näfwe*, a good handful. "*Hurit Biecko Hopockan*, a beautiful clay pipe. The Barbarians make tobacco-pipes of red, yellow and blue clay, which is found there in the country of fine quality.

Hurit Assacan Hopockan, a beautiful stone pipe. For the Barbarians also make tobacco pipes of white, grey, green, brown, black and blue stones, which are found so soft (*blöta*), that they can be cut with a knife, and from this, pipes half an ell in length are made." Campanius, *Cate.*, 143.

Williams says: "Generally all the Men throughout the Countrey have a Tobacco-bag with a pipe in it, hanging at their back; sometimes they make such great pipes, both of wood and stone, that they are two foot long, with men or beasts carved, so big or massie, that a Man may be hurt mortally by one of them; but these commonly come from *Mauquawogs*, or the men eaters, three or four hundred miles from us. They have an excellent Art to cast our Pewter and Brasse into very neate and artificiall Pipes. They take their *Wuttamauog* (that is, a weake Tobacco) which the Men plant themselves, very frequently; yet I never see any take so excessively, as I have seene Men in Europe; and yet excesse were more tolerable in them, because they want the refreshing of Beare and Wine, which God hath vouchsafed Europe." *Key*, 55. Cf. also Smith, p. 24; De Vries and other early Dutch writers, *N. Y. Col.*, 2, III, 23, etc.

[11] "*Mackequoce*, a Girdle; which they make curiously of one, two, three, foure and five inches thicknesse and more, of this money which (sometimes to the value of ten pounds and more) they weare about their middle and as a scarfe about their shoulders and breasts." Williams, *Key*, 131.

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
NM7 Delaware NM7

which some of them use to cover themselves with, which are of red or blue frieze or deer skin, everywhere sewed on with their money, and around the edges which hang down, lightly fastened with hanging narrow strips, like thick long fringes on the ends of which they also have money strung. Over their shoulders they have belts of money, threaded into figures. Otherwise, while the savages grow up they go quite naked, the very way they are born to this world, with the exception of the money they carry on themselves, knowing of no shame, and would not to this day hide their privacy, if they were not corrupted[12] by the Christians, of whom they are ashamed, and are hence compelled, if they wish to have dealings with the Christians, to cover themselves with something.

Lately, however, the sachems or chiefs of the savages and some of the principal savages have

[12] *Uthakiamde*, perhaps Lindeström means: to cause to be ashamed.

Williams says:

"They have a two-fold nakednesse:

"First, ordinary and constant, when although they have a Beasts skin, or an English mantle on, yet that covers ordinarily but their hinder parts and all the foreparts from top to toe, (except their secret parts, covered with a little Apron, after the patterne of their and our first Parents) I say all else open and naked.

"Their male children goe starke naked, and have no Apron untill they come to ten or twelve yeers of age; their Female they, in a modest blush cover with a little Apron of an hand breadth from their very birth. Their second nakednesse is when their men often abroad and both men and women within doores, leave off their beasts skin, or English cloth and so (excepting their little Apron) are wholly naked; yet but few of the women but will keepe their skin or cloth (though loose) or neare to them ready to gather it up about them.

"Custom hath used their minds and bodies to it, and in such a freedom from any wantonnesse, that I have never seen that wantonnesse amongst them, as, (with griefe) I have heard of in Europe." *Key*, 106. *Cf.* also Van der Donck, *N. Y. Col.*, 2, I, 194.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

That gives me strength in the legs. Don't eat with your folks, wait until they get done. They leave what you should eat. 262 869

When my mother and father go somewhere, they take me along but I must not pry around but stay with one of my folks. Then if they think I should be out they tell me "go out there and play but play good—whoever you see you must mind him —pay attention." Come back when they can you. Afternoon from three to four o'clock one must not play, run around or holler. Do not eat in the evening. Drink very little water. Go to bed at sundown. In the morning, just day, get up, wash, clean yourself up, take a refreshing. The sun come up and see you, give you strength, life. They tell me when you go out be careful. To go a little ways, you ask. Maybe want a little water, go get it—grandfather—have a thought—great thing—give you strength, give it to your folks, they thank you, drink, then you take it. Same way wood, go get it, put it over here, let your folks put it in the fire, don't put in fire until they tell you so. Don't just hit things with your ax until we tell you so. Don't kick things, there's your hand—use it—pick it up—if you can't pick up something in your way, go around. Then suppose somebody come—anybody—don't go meet him, or talk to him—stay away. But if somebody call you, have something for you to do, come and do it. Maybe he have something to tell you—don't forget it—maybe he give you good advice. Don't ever stand there and look at people too much. Look at them when they tell you something. Then when you get to be a big boy, you know and recognize things. You kill game—must not eat. I don't get to eat first game, give it to folks and let them eat it. Next game you can eat but there are certain parts like back you must not eat until you are a man. Then my father or mother send me some place to see somebody—tell him they want him to come over but I must come right back. When I get back they ask me if I tell them and what they say. I must answer if I am playing around and they call me—not just come but answer. Come with whip [861] to show me if I get beyond call. Wore long homemade shirt, [291] breechcloth, moccasins (barefoot in summer). Leggings of heavy cloth in winter. No hat. One little thin blanket in one corner or

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531 also the angular patterns in plate 1 which are used in ribbon applique. The floral [1751] patterns are protective, representing the plants which the Creator gave to mankind to cure diseases. It will be noted (plate 3) [291] that the patterns for women's moccasin vamps are plain and narrow in contrast to the wider patterns for men's moccasins.

Techniques

The bead workers and silk ribbon-workers have series of cut-out paper patterns which they use as guides. Typical patterns are shown in plates 1, 3 and 4. In making bead designs the paper pattern is cut out and tacked with thread in position on the article to be decorated. The entire pattern is outlined with white or light colored beads such as blue or pale yellow. The middle portion of the figure is then filled in and in turn bordered with light-colored beads. Then rows of dark beads are filled in to suit the taste of the individual. The paper patterns for silk-work are laid on the ribbon or cloth and the cut-out silk figures are arranged in place on the legging-strips or robes and hemmed down, the stitches being very fine.

286 In weaving the belts, headbands, garters and other ornaments, wool is used for the warp and coarse thread for the weft. Sometimes in constructing the long sashes, which frequently average five feet, the warp strands are attached to a bed post and the worker sits on the bed and weaves. For the shorter articles a cardboard box serves as a loom across which the warp is arranged, according to the width desired. This is held on the lap of the weaver.

531 The modern Delaware bead and silk ribbon-workers do not limit the use of colors in their art work but select carefully, and combine a number of colors with very pleasing results.

Geometric and highly conventionalized floral patterns were stamped or engraved on silver brooches, bracelets and other ornaments. Dots, circles, straight and curved lines were used in combinations to form the designs. Small buttons and

[P.25, B]

Small buttons and

531 brooches ranging from ½ to ¾ of an inch
[291] in diameter were used in decorating the capes on women's over-waists. These capes were made to fall over the shoulders covering the upper arm. The silver buttons and brooches were arranged in various patterns sometimes covering the entire cape or collar. Several very old specimens are now extant in private and museum collections.

531 The use of Peyote[1] for ceremonial and
795 medicinal purposes was introduced among
[298 the Delawares about 1880. With the
177] growth of this religious creed a new

[P.26, A]

[P. 34, A]

155 Zeisberger.[3] Infants were described by
854 Lindestrom as never crying.[4] Whether this was because they were nursed whenever restless (which is most likely), or because the crying was consistently ignored in early infancy, is not clear from the available accounts. From Zeisberger's description of the frequency of the mother's absence, it would seem that, even if the child were nursed on demand when she was available, her frequent absences must have meant to the child that she was an
862 undependable provider. Children were weaned at the age of two or three; the techniques are not described.[5] Anal and
863 urethral training do not seem to have been strenuous: boys wore no clothes at all until
[241] the age of five or six, although girls wore aprons as soon as they could walk.[6]

861 Zeisberger noted that children were
155 sometimes harshly treated, although such behavior generally produced in them "bitterness, hatred and contempt." He went on to say, "The women are frequently guilty of thus raising their children to anger, for the women are often ill-tempered. By way of punishment, they will pour water on the children or thrust them into the water."[7] Zeisberger did not like the
[157 Indian women, whom he described also
181] as being "much given to lying and gossiping. They carry evil report from house to house. As long as they are observed they appear modest and without guile. All the wrongs of which they are guilty are done
114 in secret."[8] While one may be inclined to
797 discount Zeisberger's accusations on the grounds of the natural prejudice of a male missionary among somewhat more aggressive women than he was probably accustomed to at home, the general accuracy of his observations and the fact that he was really fond of his charges, with whom he spent much of his active life, suggest that he had imbibed the prevalent native male attitude toward the women of the tribe.

5. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 80.
6. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 17.
7. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 81.
8. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 124.

15:Morgan E-5 (1859)1959
NM7 Delaware [illegible]

[450 (A)]

[*Payment Day*]

657 The place of payment was centrally located
527 but a most inconvenient place in itself, as it was upon a side hill with very rough ground all around it. The only recommendation was the eight or ten houses which made up the settlement, and furnished shelter for
[439] the goods of the traders, who are inseparable from all payments. The number present was large, just as many of the Delawares as could possibly leave their homes, with a single one behind in some cases to watch the premises. About 800 were present and some Shawnees from the opposite side and perhaps 100 white people, including traders and spectators. I arrived about 10 A.M. and the paying out commenced about 1 P.M.

291 The Indian women were all dressed out
177 in their best attire, as this is the only occasion that ever brings them together as a
[527] people. We saw the fruits of the sales of
657 previous years, and some of the present, in
[439] advance a few hours of the time of payment, as the traders are eager to commence their work at once. In the first place the Delaware women have usually dropped the Indian skirt, and put on the long dress of the white female. I thought I saw a skirt upon an elderly woman, although it was covered up with a gown. Their dresses are of all colors, and some of them of rich materials. A few were dressed in colored muslin with silk shawls, and looked quite becomingly, but the most of them were, strange to say, dressed in silk gowns, some of which were brocade patterns of rich brocade silk, some were black, these looked the best. Some were crimson and black, some fiery plaid; the most of them were in bright colors. Over these they wore silk shawls of every color and shade, most of them fringed. They were expensive silk shawls of good

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materials. Some of them had on two shawls, and some a third arranged as a neck drape. They appeared to have put on all they had, to show it, the quantity of dress being of more importance in their sight than its style, or quality.

Of course their appearance as a whole was fantastic and ludicrous. The dresses were made without taste from scant patterns, and worn without hoops or petticoats, thus giving to the skirt an appearance not to be compared for a moment with the Indian female skirt of cloth and blanket of the same, but these would be too warm for Kansas. I was glad to see the gown upon them, as it is a move in the right direction. At home they may wear the Indian gown, but I doubt it. The Shawnee women, all that I saw, wore the gown. On their heads they tie a silk handkerchief universally. I did not see a bonnet among them.

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[291]

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The color of the Indian women is quite uniform, and is light. It shows that the white blood infused into them in the East has been well diffused throughout. The next cross with the white will make a pretty white child, of which I saw a few and but a few specimens, as the Delawares are quite vigorous against intermarriage with the whites, and also against unlawful intercourse. As a whole, the expression on the face of the women was pleasant and healthful. They look strong, literally cleanly and healthy, although I am told by Mr. Ford that syphilis is among their women to an alarming extent. Their faces would not lead to such a suspicion.

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[563]

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The men were more fantastically dressed than the women, and did not appear half as well. Their fancy dresses were cheap and absurd, rendering their general appearance ridiculous. There were many good faces among them, and also well dressed Indians

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[191]

[750 (c)]

291 who speak our language and have the man-
[191] ners and address of gentlemen. Some of the old men and some of the young men had on colored calico frock coats of the most gaudy
[302] colors. Many had vermilion on their faces, thus giving them a low appearance, and I saw a few girls with spots of it in their
[301] cheeks. One man I saw with a silver ornament in his nose, which covered part of his mouth. Many of the men wore leggings with a wide side projection, ornamented, and the breech cloth, over which they wore a vest or shirt, and perhaps one of the frock coats of calico above named, with head bands of bead work over the shoulder and meeting in a large bead work pocket on the right hand side. As a body I should think the men inferior to the women.

454 The Delawares have a million and up-
648 wards in the national treasury at five per cent interest. Their regular annuity is
[657] $50,000. The present is a part of two payments, I understand, and is larger than usual. There were several stores full of
443 goods, and a great many stands out in the open air with the protection of canvas. The
492 great show of all was in saddles and bridles, of which I presume I saw of saddles alone
[435] 150; the price ranges from $15 to 50 dollars, the ordinary being $22 to $25. They are the Mexican saddle, made at Westport, Mo., and the kind usually used in Kansas and this part of the west. It has a high pommel, wooden stirrups usually, which are easier than metal for long journeys, and a well stuffed and quilted seat, with a high rear plate. They are far superior to our eastern saddle for riding.

439 The assortment of goods was creditable to the good sense of the Delawares, as the supply was adapted to the demand. Grains of all kinds, tin wares of all kinds and at reasonable prices, in fact they could not

[p209 (A)]
[pp 205-208 not processed]

000 81. In *Systems* (p. 289) Morgan acknowledges the assistance of William Adams, "a young Delaware, educated at Delaware Mission in Kansas," in obtaining the kinship system of the Delawares.

121 82. Morgan was much interested in the method of bestowing names upon individuals in Indian society. Upon his return from this trip he read a paper, "Indian Mode of Bestowing Names," at the 13th meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science in Springfield, Massachusetts, in August; it was published in the *Proceedings*, pp. 340–43. It seems probable that he suspected that he might find here a distinctive characteristic of Indian culture—as he apparently regarded the custom of sleeping nude and wearing the breechcloth, frequently mentioned in *Systems*—that could be used for purposes of historical reconstruction.

[513]
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000 83. Charles Johnny Cake (or Journeycake, as he signed his name, as a representative of the Delawares, to agreements with the United States in 1854) was a chief and prominent leader of the Delawares in Kansas. He was baptized in 1833, and later became "the

[648]

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

756 HECKEW. To my knowledge, there are no cases where witchcraft is assigned as the cause of a disorder, of course our doctors have nothing to do with that; and though they may sometimes have occasion to apply powerful remedies in obstinate diseases, yet it is not done by dressing themselves like wild beasts, to frighten, as you say, the disorder away. Were our doctors to adopt this mode, they would soon be left without patients and without bread; they would starve.

KILLB. Our doctors are the richest people among us, they have every thing they want; fine horses to ride, fine clothes to wear, plenty of strings and belts of wampum, and silver arm and breast plates in abundance.

HECKEW. And our doctors have very fine horses and carriages, fine houses, fine clothes, plenty of good provisions and wines, and plenty of money besides! They are looked upon as gentlemen, and would not suffer your doctor, dressed as he is, to come into their company.

KILLB. You must, my friend! consider that the cases are very different. Had the white people sorcerers among them as the Indians have, they would find it necessary to adopt our practice and apply our remedies in the same manner that our doctors do. They would find it necessary to take strong measures to counteract and destroy the dreadful effects of witchcraft.

HECKEW. The sorcerers that you speak of exist only in your imagination; rid yourselves of this, and you will hear no more of them.

756 292 The dress this juggler had on, consisted of an entire garment or outside covering, made of one or more bear skins, as black as jet, so well fitted and sewed together, that the man was not in any place to be perceived. The whole head of the bear, including the mouth, nose, teeth, ears, &c. appeared the same as when the animal was living; so did the legs with long claws; to this were added a huge pair of horns on the head, and behind a large

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

bushy tail, moving as he walked, as though it were on springs; but for these accompaniments, the man, walking on all fours, might have been taken for a bear of an extraordinary size. Underneath, where his hands were, holes had been cut, though not visible to the eye, being covered with the long hair, through which he held and managed his implements, and he saw through two holes set with glass. The whole was a great curiosity, but not to be looked at by every body.

There are jugglers of another kind, in general old men and women, who although not classed among doctors or physicians, yet get their living by pretending to supernatural knowledge. Some pretend that they can bring down rain in dry weather when wanted, others prepare ingredients, which they sell to bad hunters, that they may have good luck, and others make philters or love potions for such married persons as either do not, or think they cannot love each other.

When one of these jugglers is applied to to bring down rain in a dry season, he must in the first instance receive a fee. This fee is made up by the women, who, as cultivators of the land are supposed to be most interested, but the men will slily slip something into their hands in aid of their collection, which consists of wampum beads, tobacco, silver broaches, and a dressed deer skin to make shoes of. If the juggler does not succeed in his experiment, he never is in want of an excuse; either the winds are in opposition to one another, the dry wind or air is too powerful for the moist or south wind, or he has not been made *strong enough*, (that is sufficiently paid) to compel the north to give way to the south from whence the rain is to come, or lastly, he wants time to invoke the great Spirit to aid him on the important occasion.

In the summer of the year 1799, a most uncommon drouth happened in the Muskingum country, so that every thing growing, even the grass and the leaves of the trees, appeared perishing; an old man named *Chenos*, who

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7
Iroquois NM9
Shawnee NM17

regard them but little. They do not seem to be ashamed of their vices. For this reason, Indians themselves declare that their condition grows worse from year to year. As there is neither law nor legal penalty among them, they have nothing to fear, except that an injured one may avenge himself in the manner in which he has been injured. If one has seduced the wife of another, the offended party will seek to seduce the wife of the offender. He will keep his purpose a secret and not rest until he has obtained satisfaction, when he makes known to others what he has done, so that the original offender may hear of it.

When, in a young female, the first menstrual discharge occurs, generally between the twelfth and sixteenth year, the Delawares generally separate such daughters from all companionship, the Monsies [Monseys] being more strict and having more ceremonies in the observance of the custom than the Miamis. They build for such a girl, separate hut, apart from the rest, where her mother or some old female acquaintance cares for her and guards her so that none may see her. Wherefore, she is also kept within the hut the whole of the menstrual period, with the blanket over her head. She is given little to eat, but regularly dosed with emetics. She is not allowed to do any work during the whole time, which generally lasts twelve days. At the end of the time, they bring her into her home, looking black, grimy and dishevelled, because she has been lying about in dust and ashes the whole time. Washed and dressed in new garments, she is allowed to be in the home, but required to wear a cap with a long shield, so that she can neither see any one readily, nor be seen. Such a covering she must wear for two months, at the end of which time she is informed that she may marry.

The Shavanose [Shawanese] and Mingues, however, who observe much the same custom, follow a different course in this matter. The young woman in question is allowed to remain in the house. She prepares food for those in the house, of the corn and fruits she has raised. Of such food she does not, however, herself partake, but goes to her hut, apart from the others, and there prepares and eats her food.

Every month, during her menstrual period, a Delaware woman lives by herself in a separate hut, which is usually very

the care of the younger children. Although physical punishment was seldom resorted to, exhortation and explanation were commonly used. One mythical story which was evidently used as a threat was that of the great naked bear. This was a creature, larger than most bears and naked except for a white spot. The only way to kill it was to break its back as its heart was so small that an arrow would seldom find it. The last of the species was reputed to have been killed on the east side of the Hudson River, but before that time it was said that recalcitrant children were particularly likely to be its victims (Heckewelder, 1799, pp.260-62).

A boy's life was not burdened with many chores until he was twelve or older, his time being spent in fishing and playing (Penn, p.30; Pastorius, 1698, p.434; Zeisberger, 1870, p.86; Harrington, 1913, p.213). When he reached this age, it was desirable for him to have a vision and receive a guardian spirit (Lindstrom, p.207). To promote this, the parents mistreated him, fed him sparingly and finally drove him into the woods. It was felt that this would cause a spirit to feel sorry for the boy and present itself to him.9 The nature of the vision which a youth had was sometimes taken as a sign of his future profession, and training in such a case would start immediately to prepare the boy to become a shaman or warrior as the case might be (Harrington, 1913, pp. 214-15; Zeisberger, 1910, p.101). At about fifteen the boys began hunting and at this they had to become proficient before considering marriage.

The girls stayed with their mothers and began helping to hoe the ground, plant corn and carry burdens as soon as they were able (Penn, p.30; Zeisberger, 1870, p.87). At a girl's first menstruation she went to a small hut some distance from the house where she stayed at least seven days. Here meals were brought to her by her mother or an old woman-friend, but she could not be touched. She used a sharpened stick in eating to prevent the food from touching her hands. At the end of her seclusion, the girl washed herself and all her clothing and dishes before returning home. She was then considered ready for marriage (Penn, pp.33-4; Beatty, p.43; Brickell, p.49; Harrington, 1913, p.215).

Marriage

"When the Young Women are fit for Marriage, they wear something upon their Heads for an Advertisement, but so as their Faces are hardly to be seen..."(Penn, p.31). Other descriptions tell us that this covering was made of worked mats decorated with alternate rows of white and black wampum and was worn pulled down to the middle of the forehead (Smith, p.138; Zeisberger, 1910, p.77). Girls married between the ages of thirteen and fourteen; boys, at seventeen or eighteen (Penn, p.31). According to Zeisberger, the Delaware had the tradition that individuals must always marry outside the local group, but no seventeenth century writer has commented on this point (Zeisberger, 1910, p.78).

The Gods of the Delaware

776 The Delaware believed in a supreme first power, "who had not only produced or made all things, but produces every day...Everything he makes and does is good." (Danckaerts, p. 174). This does not mean that the creator necessarily creates everything himself, but what ever being creates (as, for example, the tortoise in the creation myth) does so as his agent; Brainerd noted that although the Indians paid reverential attention to birds, beasts, fishes and reptiles, "...they do not indeed suppose a divine power essential to, or inhering in, these creatures; but that some invisible beings ...communicate to these animals a great power; ...and so make these creatures the immediate authors of good to certain persons." (Brainerd, pp. 344-45). Likewise the guardian spirits and all other beings with unusual power derive it from the Great Spirit (Penn, p. 37; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 128).

In addition to granting objects of nature special power on certain occasions, the Great Spirit is believed to have given more or less permanent control over certain aspects of nature to lesser beings. From this arises their concept of the lesser deities such as the four directions, the Sun, the Moon, Thunders, Living Solid Face or Mask Being (Harrington, 1913, pp. 226-27; Brainerd, p. 345: Heckwelder, 1881, pp. 212-213). We know from later sources that this last being is the guardian of the animals. He is the only deity whose appearance is specifically designated and represented 532 by a costume. The face is a wooden mask painted half red and half [292] black; its body, which was supposed to have been hairy, is represented by a suit of bearskin (Harrington, 1921, p. 33). Apparently Brainerd saw a shaman dressed to represent this being for his description coincides in all details (Brainerd, p. 237). The only other known images of the Delaware were faces, also painted red and black, which were carved on the Big House posts and miniature stone faces which were worn around the neck. Present day Delwares think of the former as representing the spirits in charge of each of the twelve heavens, and consider them related to the Living Solid [777] Face (Beatty, p. 22; Harrington, 1921, p. 31). The latter were according to Harrington, worn as good luck or good health charms (Harrington, 1921, p. 36). An example of one found in an east coast site is shown in Skinner (1920, p. 5).

773 The Delaware also told of a super-human man who had come in 771 the remote past and taught them how to live. In Lindstrom's version, a Lenape woman became pregnant and gave birth to a son although no man had any connection with her. This boy, "...had so much to say that it was a great wonder and performed many miracles and wonders. When he now became somewhat large he departed from us and went up into the air... 'He promised to come back to us, but he never came back to us again,' they say." (Lindstrom, p. 208). In other accounts these same features are combined with a more specific refer-

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

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a b

LENAPE MAN AND WOMAN OF OKLAHOMA IN CEREMONIAL COSTUME

a, John Anderson (Witanaxkóxw'ĕ); *b*, Mrs Elkhair (Kicilungonĕ'xkwĕ)

[Facing p. 22]

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

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COSTUME WORN BY IMPERSONATOR OF MĬSINGHÂLI'KŬN

[Facing p. 34]

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

[continued from p. 38]

a number of heads or masks of stone (pl. IV) within the boundaries of their former domain in New Jersey and the vicinity,[26] which, when the rarity of such objects in the surrounding regions is also considered, seems quite significant. Such stone heads even mark the trail of the Lenape withdrawal westward through Pennsylvania,[27] and have even been found in Ohio, where they lingered for a time (fig. 5).

The best early description is given by Brainerd,[28] who, in May 1745, while on the Susquehanna above the English settlements, saw a masked Indian who must have been an impersonator of Mĭsinghâli'kŭn. It runs:

"But of all the sights I saw among them, or indeed anywhere else, none appeared so frightful . . . as the appearance of one who was a devout and zealous Reformer, or rather, restorer of what he supposed was the ancient religion of the Indians. He made his appearance in his *pontifical garb*, which was a coat of *bear skins*, dressed with the hair on, and hanging down to his toes; a pair of bear skin stockings; and a great *wooden* face painted, the one half black, the other half

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

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[534]

tawny, about the color of an Indian's skin, with an extravagant mouth, cut very much awry; the face fastened to a bear skin cap, which was drawn over his head. He advanced toward me with the instrument in his hand, which he used for music, in his idolatrous worship, which was a dry *tortoise shell* with some corn in it, and the neck of it drawn on to a piece of wood, which made a very convenient handle. As he came forward, he beat his tune with the rattle, and danced with all his might, but he did not suffer any part of his body, not so much as his fingers, to be seen."

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With the exception of one minor point, the "wry mouth," this would be a good description of the MIsi'ng^{wi} outfit used until recently by the Lenape in Oklahoma (pl. II). On the following page, Brainerd mentions "images" which seem to be the MIsi'ng^{wi} faces carved on the posts of the Big House.

Zeisberger[29] also refers to the masks in these words:

"The only idol which the Indians have, and which may properly be called an idol, is their *Wsinkhoalican*, that is Image. It is an Image cut in wood, representing a human head in miniature, which they always carry about them either on a

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

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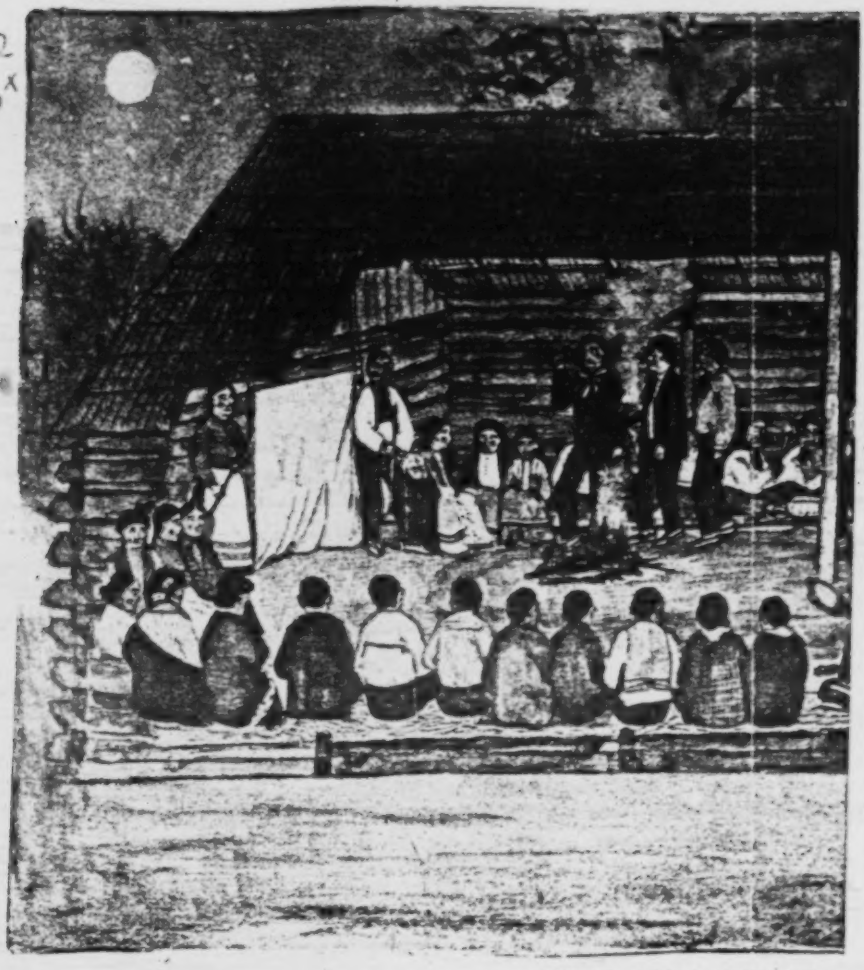

LENAPE ANNUAL CEREMONY IN
Native Painting by Earnest Spybuck.

[Following p. 86(A)]

[IN color]

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

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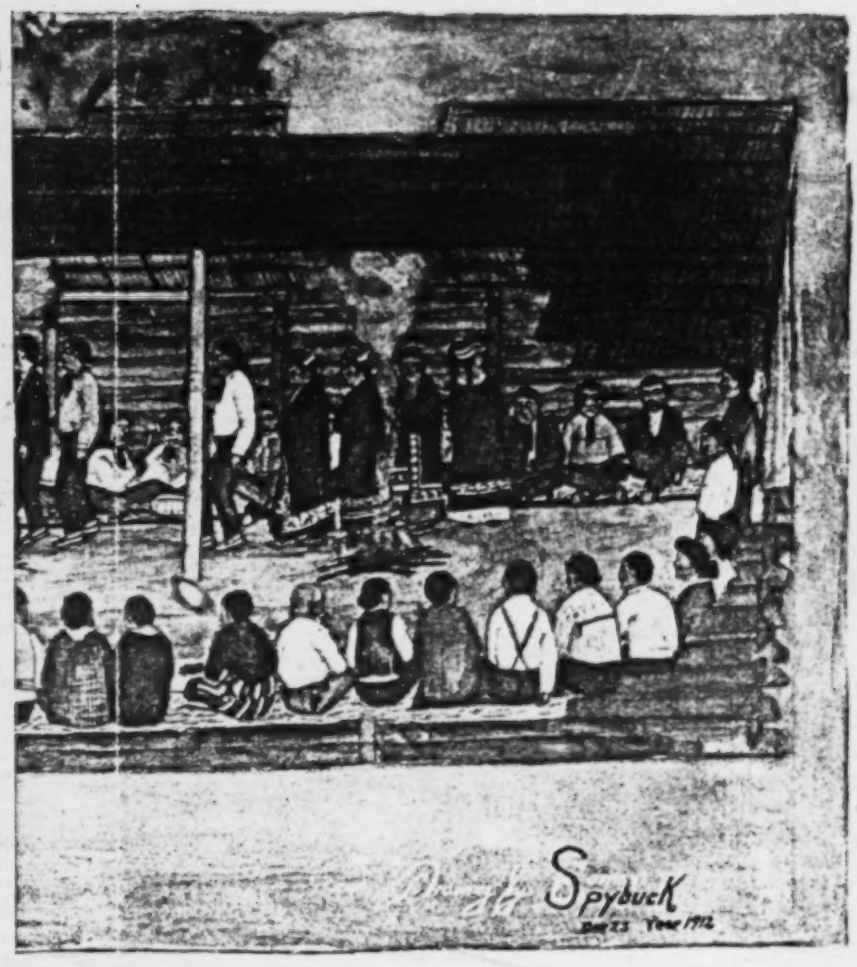

NUAL CEREMONY IN PROGRESS
nting by Earnest Spybuck, a Shawnee

[Following p. 86(B)]
[IN color]

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

When the people file into the Big House, the few that still have them dressed in their best Indian costumes carefully preserved for such occasions (pl. 1), the members of this leader's clan always take their seats on the north side, the other

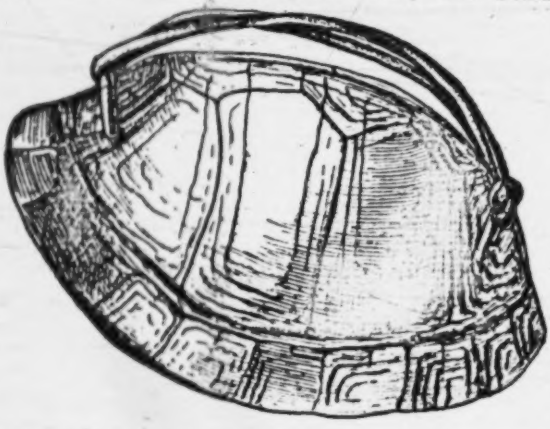

FIG. 9.—Rattle of land-tortoise shell, used by celebrants at the Annual Ceremony. (Length, 4.2 in.)

two clans in the west end and the south side. Men and women, however, do not mingle, but sit separately in the space allotted to their common clan. The diagram (pl. VII) shows the seating of the clans when the ceremony is

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

however, several additions to our knowledge of the "Solid Face." It is as follows: 796^x

"*Messingq or Solid Face Dance or Devil Dance.* —The principal leader in this dance is the Messingq, an Indian, who is dressed in a bearskin robe with a wooden face, one-half red and one-half black. He has a large bearskin pouch and carries a stick in one hand and a tortoise shell rattle in the other. He is a very active person. The dance is only for amusement, and men and women join in it. A large place is cleared in the woods, and the ground is swept clean and a fire built in the center. Across the fire and inside of the ring is a long hickory pole supported at each end by wooden forks set in the ground. On the east of this pole the singers stand; on the west end is a venison or deer, which is roasted. About daylight, when the dance is nearly over, all the dancers eat of the venison. They have a dried deer hide stretched over some hickory poles, and standing around it beat on the hide and sing. The dancers proceed around the fire to the right, the women on the inside next to the fire. After the dance is under headway the Messingq comes from the darkness, jumps over the dancers, and dances between the other dancers and the fire. He makes some funny and queer gestures, kicks the fire, and then departs. The Messingq is never allowed to talk, but frequently he visits the people at their homes. He is a terror to little children, and when he comes to a [292] [417]

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

had come to realize that he was *pi'lsu*", meaning "pure" or "sacred," and, like all wild things, belonged to the Powers Above. The old people told her what she must do, so she took her otter down to the creek, and, first tying a little bag of tobacco on his neck, said to him: "Now I shall set you free. I have raised you and cared for you until now you are full grown. Go, then, and follow the ways of your kind."

The otter disappeared into the waters, and the little girl returned to her home, feeling that she had done well. But before a year had passed, a sickness came upon her, which the Indian doctors told her was caused by her pet otter, which wanted something to eat. The only way for the child to get well, they said, was for her to have a hog killed and cooked, and then to invite a number of men to eat it all, in the name of the otter. This was done, and when the men finished eating the hog and the soup, they said that the girl would recover, and so she did. For this ceremony they took an

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[Text continues on page 179]

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
NM7 Delaware NM7.
Lenape

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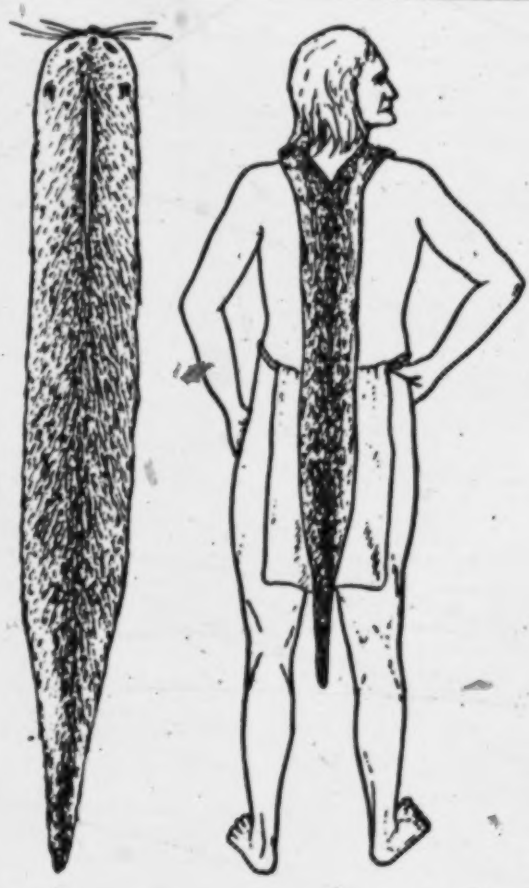

a b

FIG. 16.—*a*, Regalia of otter-skin used in the Otter Rite; *b*, Regalia as worn. (Length of *a*, 56.5 in.)

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

otter-skin (fig. 16, *a*) to represent the girl's pet, which was used every two years, and when the owner died was passed to the oldest survivor of the family which owned it, and kept in the belief that it would benefit the health of all of them. It was the only one of its kind in the tribe, and is called "*Kunu"'xäs.*"

The Ceremony

The exact details and order of the ceremony were not remembered by our informant, but it was certain that the family in question "fed the otter" every two years in the spring, that being the time of year when the little girl had been taken ill. Everyone was invited, men and women, and a man was selected to cook the hog, and another to supply wood and to cut the poles for swinging the kettle, both of whom were paid with a yard of wampum. The fire was kindled with a special flint-and-steel always kept with the outfit (fig. 17).

It will be observed that the otter-skin has a slit down the middle of the neck,

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

796 X
[292]

through which the owner thrust his head in such manner that the otter's nose lay under the wearer's chin, while its body

[372]

a b

FIG. 17.—Flint and steel used in the Otter Rite. (Length of *a*, 3 in.)

and tail hung down his back. Wearing the skin in this manner (fig. 16, *b*), himself impersonating the original otter, the owner would open the ceremony by walking about the fire, chanting and

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

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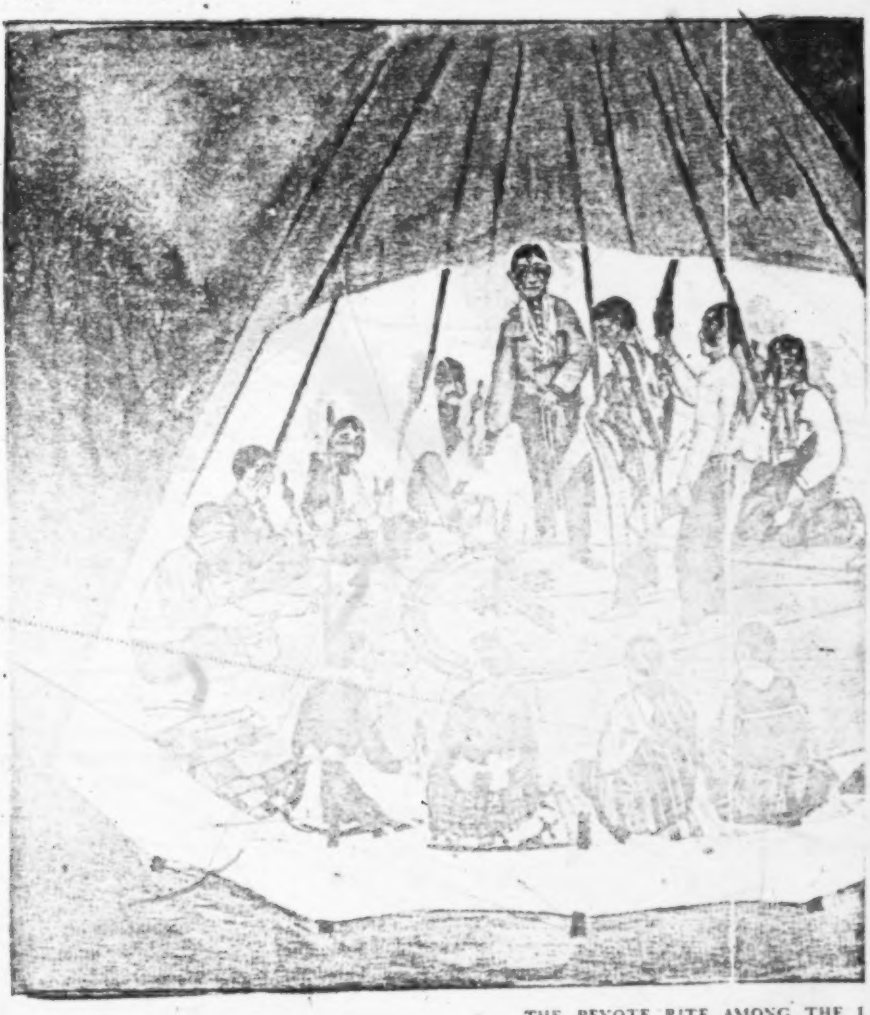

THE PEYOTE RITE AMONG THE I
Native Painting by Earnest Spybuck, a Sha

[Following p. 186 (A)] [IN COLOR]

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

PL. IX

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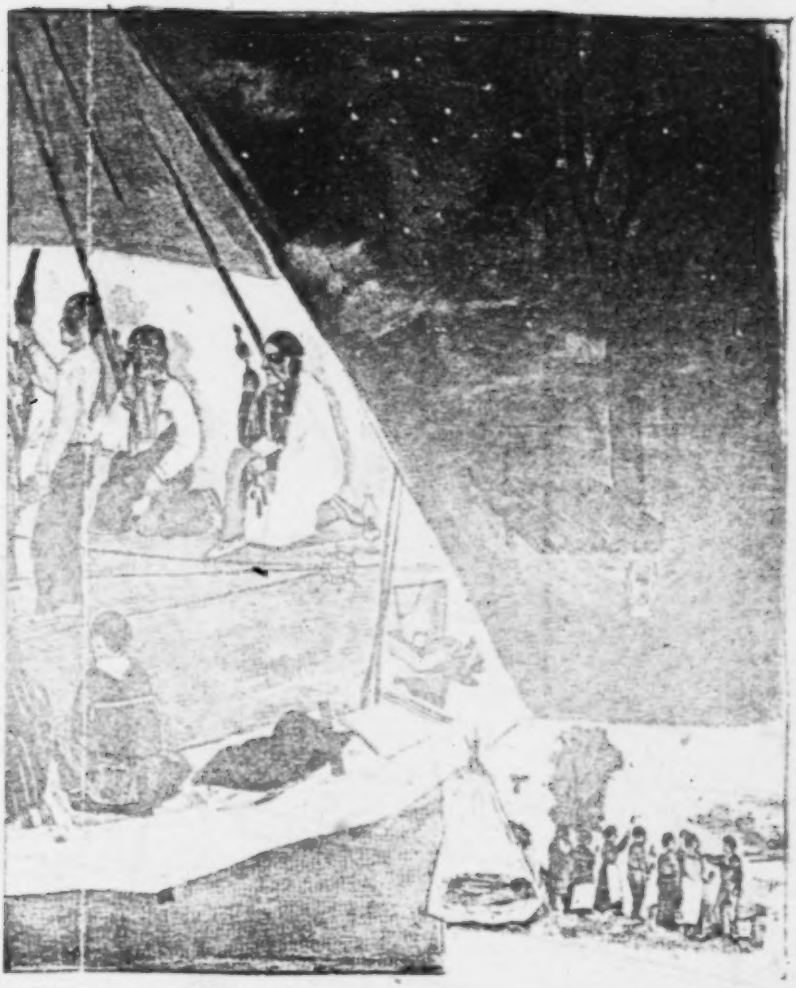

RITE AMONG THE LENAPE
g by Earnest Spybuck, a Shawnee

[Following p. 186 (B)] [IN color]

7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

PLATE 1

#2
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DELAWARE CEREMONIAL LEADERS IN DANCE COSTUME.

Left, Wi'tapano'xwe, "Walks by Daylight," C. J. Webber, and right, Kwutcpagi'kamen, "Rustling Leaves (when Walking)," George T. Anderson, of Dewey, Oklahoma. (Courtesy of Philadelphia *Public Ledger*, 1932, and Allen S. Fisher, "Lutheranism in Bucks County, 1734–1934," Tinicum, Pa., 1935.)

[facing p. 4]

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

×796 by saying that it is a pleasure dance and is given before starting on the chase. The informant regards it as a special rite not falling into the series of devotional or medicine performances in which visions are recited. The dance is a dramatic pantomime of the buffalo in their wallow, intended to procure success in the hunt.

[534] The equipment for the dance is the pot drum or kettle drum. Adams refers to a drum consisting of a dried skin, stretched over poles, upon which to beat. The performers wear a special dress for the head, known as the horned fur-
● [292] headband, a wide band of fur, otter or buffalo preferably, having short polished horns attached to each side over the ears of the wearer. The male performers smear the forelock and the parting of their hair with moistened clay. This is to symbolize the bulls disporting themselves in the mud wallow which I imagine needs no further description to readers. They also paint their faces yellow and smear clay
[302] on their bodies as far down as the belt. The informant also added that the men could wear the feather bonnet of the Plains type with buffalo horns attached to the sides. Both informants, Wi'tapano'xwe and Adams, mention the cleared and hard beaten dance-space, the preparing of a fire in the center, the erection of a cross-pole upon two forked posts driven into the earth at each side of the fire, from which are suspended two large kettles full of boiled hominy. The drummers and singers are seated on a log bench on the north side of the dancing space.

The personnel of the dance consists first of all in having a sponsor for the occasion in the form of some man who assumes responsibility for its proper conduct. He then selects his assistants, male and female, from members of his own ceremonial group (Turkey, Wolf or Tortoise). One of the men selected is to be the singer and he may have a couple of helpers. We are told that other men also who know the songs or those who may wish to learn them would be permitted to sit with the musicians and rehearse with them.

×796 The procedure in the Buffalo Dance is to emulate the
535 behavior of the buffalo as the animals are conceived as con-

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

796 theless we have been cautioned for a long time by our deceased
539 fore-parents who declared, it is said, that finally the Delawares will become incompetent, that is, as they called it, we are being swallowed by the white man.

One kind of ceremony there was, called by the Delawares, Excrement Rubbing Dance. For more than a week, it is said, two Excrement Rubbers travel about to notify all those in the neighborhood that now they are preparing and the day is set upon which will begin that ceremony. And they go on horseback, it is said, when traveling. All that they [792] wear, these Excrement-daubers, is made of corn shucks. And across his shoulder is a skin-pouch in which he carries excrement. When he meets any one he must be paid with something even though it be a small amount [1] and any one refusing to pay is rubbed with excrement because that is the rule for that performance. And for about three days they run about, those Excrement-daubers, before they begin to dance. Truly am I pitiful that I cannot narrate correctly the details although I have heard my old parent always say, in the autumn, is the time when the Excrement-daubers dance because that is the time when the people harvest their grain crop. That is how the performance was described.

[1] A ribbon, a pin, or a piece of tobacco would serve.

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
NM7 Delaware NM7

CHAPTER X.

Concerning the Marriage of the American People and the Treatment [Used] by the Savage Females Against Birth Pangs.

These Indians are a bestial people and have their intercourse together with father, mother, brother and sister like irrational brutes, no one knowing rightly who is the father of the child;[1] but their sachem or chief he must take a wife to himself, not because he intends to conceive children with her alone, but because his government and household exists as under a family,[2] about which we shall obtain further [details] hereafter. This his wife, she must manage his entire household like a matron who always, in the absence of the sachem, must guard his property, which becomes her possession after his death.

When she has thus been wooed by him, the bride must bedeck [herself] for a year and a day,[3] although they do not know what a year means, yet

[1] Lindeström's religious zeal led him astray; besides he did not understand the family life of the Indians. Some early writers state that Indians of this district had but one wife, except the chiefs, who had many. Their ideas of morality were of course different from those of the white settlers. De Vries tells us that an Indian would lend his wife to a friend, and that jealousy did not exist among them.

[2] *Hans undherhafwande Regiment och Hwskålldsingh bestådr lijka som undher een familie.* In other words, according to Lindeström, the government is patriarchal, the chief being like the father of a household, hence it is necessary to have a mother of the household. Cf. in this connection a summary on "The Chief of the Indian Clan," by Rudolf Elander (Gothenburg, 1909).

[3] "A year and a day," see above, *Dedication*, note 23.

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
NM7 Delaware NM7

585 a period of about that length is designated, dur-
292 ing which she must go the whole time in her bridal
305 attire, completely covered with their money, strung into the form of all kinds of figures, with which the ears, the arms and the body, down to the knees, are ornamented; with oiled hair, and face painted with all kinds of colors like a fearful scare-crow face.[4] Then she is decorated in the very best manner according to their views. Now when this said period is over then there is an end to their bridal ceremony.

824 When the savage females bear their children,
825 they tie around their waists a snake skin of the most poisonous kind of snakes, which are found in New Sweden and are called rattlesnakes, which has such an effect that they do not know of the least pain in their child birth, and are as healthy in an hour, as if they had never been through it.[5]

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[4] *Skrâdbukcansichte (Skrâpukansigte)*, mask. scarecrow. 'The Indians carry small bags of paint with them, keeping the colors separate as red, blue, green, brown, white, black, yellow. They esteem brilliant colors most, which shine like pure metal.' Van der Donck, *N. Y. Col.*, 2, I, 161–2, 163–4; cf. also, *N. Y. Col.*, 2, II, 269, De Vries, *N. Y. Col.*, 2, III, 106.

[5] It is the opinion of some medical men that the reports about the easy childbirth of primitive women are more or less fictitious; but that is probably not the case. Dr. Mjöberg, a Swedish explorer, relates that he saw women who bore children on the march and continued their journey without interruption.

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
NM7 Delaware NM7

which some of them use to cover themselves with, which are of red or blue frieze or deer skin, everywhere sewed on with their money, and around the edges which hang down, lightly fastened with hanging narrow strips, like thick long fringes on the ends of which they also have money strung. Over their shoulders they have belts of money, threaded into figures. Otherwise, while the savages grow up they go quite naked, the very way they are born to this world, with the exception of the money they carry on themselves, knowing of no shame, and would not to this day hide their privacy, if they were not corrupted[12] by the Christians, of whom they are ashamed, and are hence compelled, if they wish to have dealings with the Christians, to cover themselves with something.

Lately, however, the sachems or chiefs of the savages and some of the principal savages have

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[12] *Uthskämde*, perhaps Lindeström means: to cause to be ashamed.

Williams says:

"They have a two-fold nakednesse:

"First, ordinary and constant, when although they have a Beasts skin, or an English mantle on, yet that covers ordinarily but their hinder parts and all the foreparts from top to toe, (except their secret parts, covered with a little Apron, after the patterne of their and our first Parents) I say all else open and naked.

"Their male children goe starke naked, and have no Apron untill they come to ten or twelve yeers of age; their Female they, in a modest blush cover with a little Apron of an hand breadth from their very birth. Their second nakednesse is when their men often abroad and both men and women within doores, leave off their beasts skin, or English cloth and so (excepting their little Apron) are wholly naked; yet but few of the women but will keepe their skin or cloth (though loose) or neare to them ready to gather it up about them.

"Custom hath used their minds and bodies to it, and in such a freedom from any wantonnesse, that I have never seen that wantonnesse amongst them, as, (with griefe) I have heard of in Europe." *Key*, 106. Cf. also Van der Donck, *N. Y. Col.*, 2, I, 194.

8:Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
NM7 Delaware NM7

begun to buy shirts from the Christians, reaching to the knees; but they do not know enough to let them be washed, but let them stay on unwashed as long as there is a single piece left. Lately the Christians have had a lot of coats, reaching to the knees, made of frieze for the savages living nearest [to themselves], the one side of the breast and back, red, the other side, blue, likewise on the arms, as the clothes of the orphan children in Stockholm are made. These [coats] the principal sachems bought from the Christians and liked them very much. Otherwise, when they want to be well dressed they wrap around themselves an ell of red or blue frieze of the broad Dutch frieze,[13] which they also buy from the Christians. On their feet they use *sippackor* or laced shoes of deer skin,[14] bordered and decorated with their money, almost in the same manner as the northern lace-shoe.[15]

The habit of the women is the same as that of the men, the only difference being in the adornment of the hair, in that the females braid their hair in 4 locks, which they allow to hang down the

[13] *Breeda holländska frijset.*

[14] A Lenapé word (whose root is present in the various Algonkian dialects). It is found as *seppock*, *shipak*, etc., and came to mean shoe. It was adopted into English as *shoepack*. Lindeström added the Swedish plural *-or* (*sippackor*), as Swedish words ending in *a* were usually feminine and took the plural in *-or*. See also Campanius, *Cate.* Cf. note 7, above, and Chapt. VIII, note 6d. In Missi the word seems to have been *matchtschipak* (*matchesin*, *mockussin* (New England), etc., *moccasin*.) Cf. Brinton, *Diet.*, 71; Zeisberger, *Diet.*, 171–2; Williams, *Key*, 107. The Indian shoes were made of corn husks and (mostly) of leather (deer or elk). Cf. *N. Y. Col.*, 2, II, 269.

[15] *Norrländske snörpskor.* "Shoes" somewhat similar to the Indian moccasins were used by the Lapps and Finns in Northern Sweden.

8:Lindström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
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20. "These Indians . . . use no other arms but bows, spears, arrows and quarrels, set with sharp flint stones." See p. 206. The plate or badge worn on a strap is probably what Van der Donck refers to when he says: "They carried a black badge on their breast."

[Facing p. 205]

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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their faces with red, "it being the token of their joy as the other is of their grief."

The dichromatic pattern, black and red, seems to stand out with prominence in the painting of the human face and its carved representations in the whole eastern portion of North America from Maine to the Gulf of Mexico. An explanation, often sought for by direct inquiry among the Indians, and again based upon hypothesis, has never seemed forthcoming. In the preceding remarks on the use of black among the Delawares, and again through implied reasoning, I would venture to suggest, lies a plausible explanation of the pattern of red and black. The red symbolizes living beings, the black dead, both idea and symbol having a deep grounding in the religious philosophy of the eastern part of the continent.

To illustrate some of the color patterns affected by the Delawares during the Big House ceremony, the narrator of the text made the accompanying color sketches (figure). The patterning permissible in the ceremony is normally restricted to black and red put on in larger masses rather than in fine lines. The mass designs are thought to be sombre, dignified; in short, full-dress in character, and, a note of no little significance, more ancient.

The smaller, fine-line designs placed on the cheeks or in the narrow area between the outer corner of the eye and the temple are regarded as being more modern, secular in character. These are considered too profane for the purpose of worship, and to wear them during the Big House ceremony would be out of keeping with the gravity of the occasion. The fine-line designs are regarded as being suitable for dress-up events of a social nature and for social dances. They belong also to the garb of warriors, like the wearing of the roach head-ornament and the feather bonnet. A series of examples of the fine line of warriors' face patterns for cheeks and temples are shown in figures , as observed and remembered by the informant. An analogy exists between the patterns adopted by warriors and the markings on the face of the rattlesnake and even the turtles. In both cases the patterns are thought ominous, which seems to account for their exclusion from the ceremonial category of designs. Painting on the face representing markings on turtles' or rattlesnakes' faces are called aca'co which means "slitting or cutting in the skin," in Delaware.[1]

THE SWEATING RITE.—At an earlier period of Delaware history, it is said in the text, before the evacuation of the tribal haunts in Kansas (1867) the performance of a sweating ceremony seems to have been included in the annual ceremony. Harrington has notes on this procedure for which he received the name muxhatoL'zing from his

[1] In Montagnais-Naskapi, aca'jo denotes tatooing.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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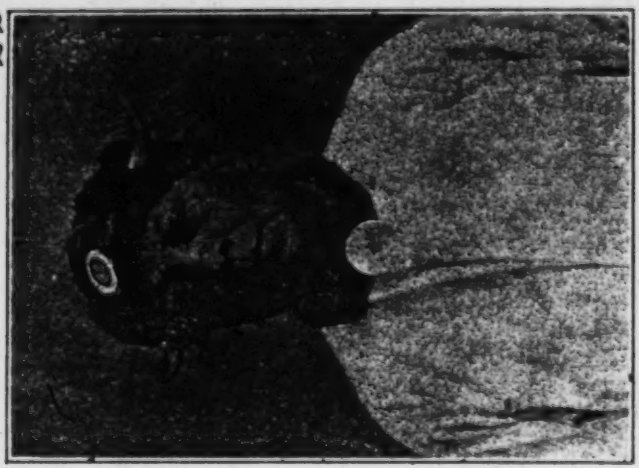

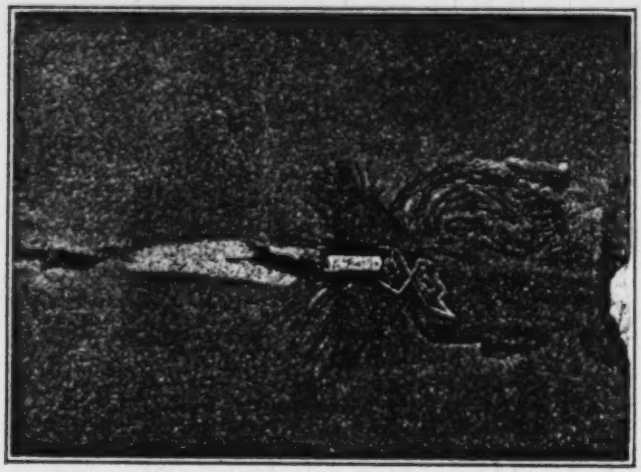

Fig. 25—The Delaware red deer-hair roach with carved bone spreader, bone tube and eagle feather (rear view), and the fur head band with horns, worn in ceremonial dress.

[p.94 is blank]

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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deer-tail or horse-hair when made into a roach.[1] And everything is beaded including moccasins. And if any one wishes it he goes there to the Attendant where he may choose paint of whatever color he prefers.[2] And those desiring it wear eagle feathers.[3] All the old men customarily have the head-band when going into the Big House.[4]

And anyone may choose his style, but red paint and yellow, by custom, are more frequently used. A person does not rub it on his face all over. A person usually paints his cheek or at the sides of his eyes lightly. But the relief-drummers[5] can, if desired, paint black or paint fancy. All these women if they desire may paint red when entering the Big House. And also when the ceremonial leader first enters the Big House that is the time when all those Face-images[6] are painted.

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[1] The "roach" is the dyed deer hair or horsehair crest worn by young and middle aged men, worn on the top of the head. (pl. —). The hair stands upright, reaching from the crown to the nape of the neck, kept in place by an ornamentally carved bone spreader forming the base for a bone tube in which an eagle feather is fastened. This is a characteristic head ornament of the Delawares, ancient as well as modern, allusions to it being found in the early explorers accounts from the Carolinas to Maine. It seems to have accompanied the shaved painted head as an attachment to the scalp-lock of warriors. Throughout the central Algonkian area and the southern Siouan tribes it appears with great prominence in later writings, and has finally spread among the Prairie peoples possibly through diffusion through the agency of the Omaha. The Delaware term for the roach, tapaskowlu, has reference to the shaved head and stiffened hair; that for the bone spreader, cuxa'las signifies "rattling pendant." These objects and their descriptive terms represent extremely ancient properties of eastern North America, having obvious connections with archaeological objects of bone which have puzzled investigators. The distribution of the roach head-ornament offers an interesting problem. Its occurrence is noted with practically no aberrant modifications among the early populations from Maine southward to Florida, west through the Iroquois to the Central Algonkian, the southern and eastern Siouan tribes.

Among the earliest refe[illegible]ces to the Delawares wearing the roach we may cite Denton's (1670) mention of the men affecting as head-wear "a kind of a Ruff made with Deer's hair, and dyed a scarlet colour, which they esteem very rich." (See quotation of pertinent data in A. B. Skinner, "Indians of Greater New York, 1915, p. 30). Neither the article itself nor the sentiment attached to it has altered much among the Delawares since this was written two hundred and sixty years ago.

[2] There are limitations in the colors and patterns in face-paintings. The accompanying chart shows the designs and areas of the face appropriate for the decoration of individuals of various classifications (plate I).

[3] The Delaware seldom trim or cut the feathers they use when dressing for the Big House. They say the feathers are perfect as they grow on the living bird and should not be altered. Only the feathers of birds considered noble, such as the eagles and certain of the larger hawks are sanctioned.

[4] Elderly men give up wearing the roach substituting the fur headband with beaded rosette and small feathers at the side, (see fig. 25), or simply the handkerchief tied around the hair into which a feather is stuck. The elders wear their hair shoulder-length.

[5] The drummers who assist the chief drummers are permitted by rulings of the Big House tradition to wear black in painting, or to paint the face according as their fancy may prompt (see plate II).

[6] The images on the side and center posts of the Big House. The renewal of the paint, half black and half red on these images is a sacred act performed out of the reverence for the "Grandfathers" at the same time when the communicants of the ceremony apply the paint to their own faces.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

Nor does it follow, when they reckon or number the heads of their prisoners, that they have been or are to be put to death.

It is an awful spectacle to see the Indian warriors return home from a successful expedition with their prisoners and the scalps taken in battle. It is not unlike the return of a victorious army from the field, with the prisoners and *colours*, taken from the enemy, but the appearance is far more frightful and terrific. The scalps are carried in front, fixed on the end of a thin pole, about five or six inches[a] in length; the prisoners follow, and the warriors advance shouting the dreadful *scalp-yell*, which has been called by some the *death-halloo*, but improperly, for the reasons which I have already mentioned. For every *head* taken, dead or alive, a separate shout is given. In this yell or whoop, there is a mixture of triumph and terror; its elements, if I may so speak, seem to be *glory* and *fear*, so as to express at once the feelings of the shouting warriors, and those with which they have inspired to their enemies.

Different from this yell is the *alarm-whoop*, which is never sounded but when danger is at hand. It is performed in quick succession, much as with us the repeated cry of *Fire! Fire!* when the alarm is very great and lives are known or believed to be in danger. Both this and the scalp-yell consist of the sounds *aw* and *oh*, successively uttered, the last more accented, and sounded higher than the first; but in the *scalp-yell*, this last sound is drawn out at great length, as long indeed, as the breath will hold, and is raised about an octave higher than the former; while in the *alarm-whoop*, it is rapidly struck on as it were, and only a few notes above the other. These yells or whoops are dreadful indeed, and well calculated to strike with terror, those whom long habit has not accustomed to them. It is difficult to describe the impression which the *scalp-yell*, particularly, makes on a person who hears it for the first time.

[a] [Erroneous. Should read "feet." - Analyst]

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7

on the skin; the operator with a small stick, rather larger than a common match, to the end of which some sharp needles are fastened, quickly pricks over the whole so that blood is drawn, then a coat of this powder is laid and left on to dry. Before the whites came into this country, they scarified themselves for this purpose with flint stones, or pricked themselves with the sharp teeth of a fish.[183]

The men tatooed their arms, legs, and faces with figures of snakes, birds, and other animals. These were marks of distinction and commemorated some worthy deed or heroic action. Occasionally the women tattooed themselves.[184]

Both sexes painted their thighs, legs, breast, and face with streaks, lines, or circles. The usual colors were red, black, blue, and yellow.[185] Painting was mostly for festive occasions or for warfare. Women were more circumspect than men in the amount of paint used, since excessive or immodest painting was regarded as indicative of a wanton woman.[186] Both men and women wore numerous ornaments. Wampum in particular was a favorite; it was used as necklaces and wristlets and was hung from the ears. Sometimes it was woven in bands and worn on the head or clothing.[187] The helixes of men's ears were often pierced for wampum, metal, and other ornaments:

> They frequently cut the helix of the ear,[188] leaving the upper and lower ends intact and then hang bits of lead to it so that it is stretched. Then this curved border of the auricle is bound with brass wire, distending it considerably, and decorated with silver ornaments.[189]

Besides wampum, necklaces of dyed deer hair, stone, native copper, and shell gorgets were worn.[190] One source depicted men wearing "the thumbs of enemies they have killed."[191] Men carried tobacco pouches, often made from the whole skin of a loon, large enough to hold a pipe, tobacco, knife, a pair of depilatory shells, and other objects.[192]

Manufactures.—The bow and arrow, the war club or tomahawk, and the spear were the principal implements of the men.[193] The type of bow used is unknown, except for one vague reference to wooden bows and arrows.[194] The triangular stone projectile points were fastened to the shaft by means of resin.[195] Projectile points were usually made of quartz, but chert, slate, shale, granite, sandstone, and argillite points have been found. Some may even have been made of fish bones.[196] Stone, pottery, and copper pipes were noted, both from early documents and

[183] Heckewelder, 1881, p. 206.
[184] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 12.
[185] De Vries, 1909, p. 217; Holm, 1834, p. 119; Van der Donck, 1909, p. 301; Denton, 1845, p. 10.
[186] Heckewelder, 1881, p. 203.
[187] Van der Donck, 1909, p. 301; Pastorius, 1912, p. 434; Lindestrom, 1925, pp. 196-97.
[188] Heckewelder, 1881, p. 207; Lucknabach, 1938, p. 107.
[189] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 12.
[190] Abbott, 1875, p. 327; Heye and Pepper, 1915, pp. 32-42; Holm, 1834, p. 119.
[191] Holm, 1834, p. 119; Van der Donck, 1909, p. 301.
[192] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 68; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 204.
[193] Brinton, 1885, p. 53.
[194] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 29.
[195] De Laet, 1909, p. 48; Holm, 1834, p. 129; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 29.
[196] Smith, 1950, p. 119; De Laet, 1909, p. 57.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

135 are, for the most part, of a gray, fine sand and make as good whetstones as one might wish. Rocks you meet occasionally along the Ohio, but away from the river and here along the Muskingum very few, even most of, the mountains and hills are not rocky.

Pit-coal is found in abundance, but as there is no lack of wood it is little used and hardly thought of by the Indians. In Pittsburg the coal is used in fire-places and by blacksmiths.

[324] [276] A kind of stone, black in color, is found here, that is easily worked and cut. It has no sand in its composition and the Indians make tobacco pipes of it, some doing very neat work.

There is also a kind of stone, blue in color, which is very hard. It somewhat resembles the limestone of Pensilvanien, but examination has shown it to be different. Limestone has not yet been found in this region.

A mineralogist would find many more varieties to describe, to which I am unable to give even the names, especially along the shores of the river, where all kinds may be seen, green, yellow, blue, red and black. About ore I know little or nothing concerning this region. The Indians believed themselves to have found gold and silver, but what they produced as precious ore, because it resembled this somewhat, on the test and examination of whites was found to be sulphurous substance.[138] Whatever glitters, the Indians are apt to look upon at once as being gold or silver.

317 276 [439] The Cherokees, who through the years have had much intercourse with the Delawares, brought with them many tobacco pipes for trade. These they made of quite white stone, probably white marble.[139] When completed they blackened the pipes and in such a way that they retained their color. These pipes are made so neatly that they are no heavier than the European pipes.

From the Mississippi the Indians bring red marble, whenever they come from that direction. Of this pipes are also made. [213] Such pipes, however, are as a rule to be seen only in the possession of chiefs or captains, for not many of them are to be had. A pipe of this sort is generally used in council or on solemn occasions. This is carried about by the chief counsellor, each

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
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Lenape

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"NAHNEETIS THE GUARDIAN OF HEALTH"
(E. T Tefft Collection, American Museum of Natural History)

[facing p. 168]

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
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[534]
[293]

end to end, representing the spirit road. A small water-drum made of a piece of deerskin stretched over a crock, as seen in pl. IX, a nicely carved drumstick, an eagle-feather fan for brushing all evil influence away from each devotee as he enters or leaves the ceremony, and a supply of dried peyote, dampened and crushed in a mortar, are all necessary for the ceremony. Each devotee, moreover, must be supplied with a decorated gourd rattle of his own.

[534]

Officers.—The only officers needed for this rite are a "Road-man" or speaker, who sits in the west, just opposite the door, and a fire guard stationed at the door, whose duty it is to keep the fire burning, and to brush with the feather fan the devotees as they enter. This is illustrated in the colored plate (pl. IX), which represents also the "Road-man" guiding a newcomer to a seat.

Conduct of the Ceremony.—When all are gathered in the tipi, the leader first passes around a fragment herb which the people chew and rub over hands and

7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

PLATE 1

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DELAWARE CEREMONIAL LEADERS IN DANCE COSTUME.

Left, Wi'tapano'xwe, "Walks by Daylight," C. J. Webber, and right, Kwutcpagi'kamen, "Rustling Leaves (when Walking)," George T. Anderson, of Dewey, Oklahoma. (Courtesy of Philadelphia *Public Ledger*, 1932, and Allen S. Fisher, "Lutheranism in Bucks County, 1734–1934," Tinicum, Pa., 1935.)

[facing p. 4]

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

A Grease Drinking Ceremony was also possessed and celebrated in the family of Mrs. Jim (Sally) Thompson. As performed by this family the master of ceremonies wore a whole otter-skin suspended upon his back, the otter's head upon his breast in the manner described by Harrington in his section on the Otter Ceremonies. Half Moon thought that the otter skin in the Museum of the American Indian (Heye Foundation) was the one formerly belonging to this family.

A word seems to be called for in explanation of the confusion existing in the descriptions we have of the two preceding ceremonies, namely, the Bear or Brush Arbor rite and the Otter rite of the Grease Drinking Ceremony. The similarity of procedure in both cases and the conflicting testimony as regards the style of making the enclosure in which the celebration was carried out, are perplexing enough to cause the Indians as well as the several authorities who have quoted them to be accused of error. My attempt to straighten out the circumstances by questioning the Delawares themselves in Oklahoma resulted in partially clearing up the difficulty. It seems that type ceremonies similar in performance as regards function and general procedure, were customary properties among those families who possessed them either through inheritance or through direct acquisition by the visitation of spirits. In each family possessing a ceremony the details of arrangement and of paraphernalia differed somewhat. Therefore, when we record the traditional narrative of the ceremony as performed by the family of Col. Jackson we get the details that were characteristic of the rite as the particular rules of this family required it to be performed. Again, when the Thompson family, for instance, celebrated its grease-drinking feast the procedure was conducted as tradition had conveyed it in the past through the generations within that family. Again, in one family the ceremony would center about the myth of its relationship with the bear, whence the Bear rite as recorded in the previous chapter. Moreover, in different branches of the family in which the Bear rite was inherited, there could be variations in the procedure and the equipment,

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
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PLATE 3

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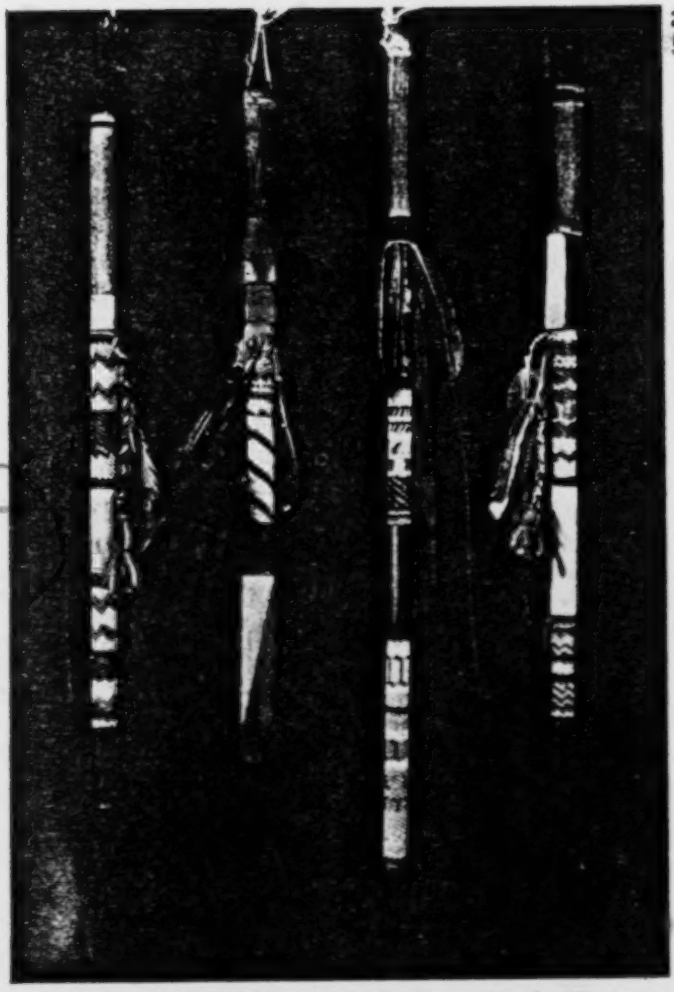

DECORATED WANDS USED BY LEADERS IN SOCIAL DANCES. (Eighteen to twenty inches in length, decorated with bead covering, paint and feather and yarn pendants.) (Photo by F. S. Speck.)

[FACING p. 93]

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

535 the Cherokee Dance, others the Shawnee Dance, the Woman's Dance and so on, differentiated chiefly through their songs, all falling under the classification of Stomp, Social, or Round Dances, the favorites of the various tribes now domiciled in Oklahoma.

STOMP DANCE, *Ni·ka"'n'ka"n*, "LEADING DANCE"

534 The procedure normally among the Delawares in carrying
535 out the features of the widespread Lead, or Stomp Dance, seems to be for the leader to head the column of dancers without shaking time with the hand rattle. The drum is not called for. Despite the supposition that these dances emanated from the cultural influence of the Creeks, it appears that, unlike the latter, the Delawares did not show the feature of having the women, who dance immediately behind the leader, wear the cluster of tortoise shell leg-rattles. Nevertheless a specimen of Box Tortoise shell (Plate 4), arranged to be tied to the leg of a dancer was obtained in Oklahoma from Tom Long Bone who indicated that it had been worn attached to the leg of a dance-leader in social dances.

The garter rattle of deer hoofs attached to a leather strip tied below each knee around the leg is shown in Fig. 3. The hoofs are strung around the leather on thongs, two or three in each cluster. This jingler is asserted to have been worn only in Social dances by Joe Washington who owned it. Another specimen, from Wi·tapano'xwe, has a cluster of thirty pendant deer hoofs strung in the center half of the leather leg band eight inches long and three wide with double tie strings (Pl. 4

535 The majo[illegible]onage of these dances is the *ne'ni·ka"'nka"s*, "dance leader," [illegible]ose function is to head the line of dancers of both sexes and all ages who follow him in single file as he leads in a circle turning from right to left. The Delaware
293 dance leader may also employ a short decorated stick or wand
535 held upward in the hand to accent his movements. Some
532 six or seven specimens of the leaders' wands, obtained from the Washington family, are interesting and beautiful. They range between two and two and a half feet in length, decorated

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
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FIG. 2. DELAWARE DANCE LEADER'S STAFF, decorated with symbolical beadwork, feather pendants and yarn (length, eighteen inches).

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

293 with carving, paint, tightly woven diagonal-technique bead-
535 work, and feather pendants, single or in small clusters, as
532 the illustrations show (Fig. 2). The carving is usually in block form, the exposed wood painted blue, yellow, or red, and the beadwork designed as it is on staffs used in the Peyote rites, all showing the influence of Peyote symbolism in their decoration. The feathers attached are usually those of the flicker (yellow shafted woodpecker) to denote the sacred power invested in this bird which has a black moon-marked breast, and sometimes parrot feathers obtained from the traders. On one specimen a strip of soft muskrat fur around the staff represented an admonition to "be polite," at the dance, avoiding loudness and vulgarity which might cause trouble.

535 According to the occasion, his musical equipment may be
178 a hand-rattle. His lead songs are of the type in which a measure is sung by him alone when the dancers respond with a corresponding shorter measure in which the syllables vary only somewhat. These dances are most popular and seem to be growing in favor among the Indians of Oklahoma. In fact, within the last four or five years Delaware dance leaders have introduced them among the Osage, as is the case of Tom Half Moon himself.

535 While we have as yet no detailed accounts of such social-
171 ceremonial pastimes among the still practicing groups to serve as a basis for comparative treatment, I can testify to having observed them over a wide area in the east, indeed from the Penobscot, and other Wabanaki of the northeast, and the Iroquois and Shawnee to the Cherokee, Creek and Yuchi of the Gulf area. The purpose, however, is not to discuss them here. The known history of many of these dances throughout the area proves a case of diffusion from tribe to tribe as they are deliberately carried by visiting dance leaders. We have knowledge of a number of introductions among the Iroquois from colonial times to the present.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

Here on each side three tents[1] are provided. In the first[2] there camps the leading Attendant, from here outwards the rest of the Attendants. When any one of these Attendants does not serve, he can hire a substitute to provide fire-wood or to sweep in the Big House, and occasionally to cook.[3] 539X 796

[1] bemsi·k·a·'wan·a', "cloth houses" (plural).
[2] Meaning nearest to the door of the Big House.
[3] For the service he pays in wampum.

The Delawares were given the Mask-Image[1] so it became the rule that whoever owns that mask should take it into the Big House each year, that mask, because it is he who has complete control over all the wild animals. And it is said that our grandfather[2] is believed to walk around early each morning. Now here he goes about frightening unruly children. When the "one who is our grandfather begs," the child is taught that he shall pay a plug of tobacco so that he will not scare them. 539X 796 778 [776]

If the person who assumes to wear the mask is able to see clearly[3] for a long distance it is said that he is a man of power. He carries a turtle-rattle[4] and a staff of twisted wood.[5] When the mask makes his utterance it resembles a horse whinnying, and when he makes signals using his turtle-rattle, then they give him tobacco. Customarily he kicks at persons. Here in a pouch he carries that tobacco. Every child customarily is taught that he gathers snakes and throws them into that pouch in order that no one may steal our grandfather's tobacco. And it is also said that our grandfather keeps guard over all so that no one may be overcome by disease. That also is the teaching in reference to the spiritual doctrine of the Mask-Image. [293]

[1] The following passage refers to the mask image mas·i'ŋgholi·k·an about which something has been said in the introduction. The composite character of the annual ceremony is shown by the admission of this rite into the ceremony complex in honor of the one who "has control over all the wild game."
[2] The spirit represented by the mask also falls into the classification of consanguinity, and is so addressed.
[3] This evidence of personal power has already been dealt with (page 41).
[4] The rattle referred to is not the small hand rattle carried by the reciter of visions but a large instrument made of a snapping-turtle shell provided with a wooden handle (16.7 in. in length) suggestive of the rattle employed in Iroquois dance accompaniments. Harrington describes and illustrates one of these Delaware instruments (I, pp. 32, 36, fig. 2). (See fig. 7, p. 38). [534]
[5] The distribution of the walking staff as a ceremonial baton and its function in the ethnology of the eastern tribes has been generally overlooked by investigators yet we find evidence of its use over a wide area in the formalities of native behavior among both the Algonkian and Iroquois,—not to overlook the fact that the Delawares imagine the Great Spirit to possess one, the same being symbolized by the center post in the Big House. The Delaware designate the staff by ala·'hoŋ (cp. Malecite, abato'won). [293]

When the worship ceremony begins everyone is instructed to wear things conforming strictly to Delaware style, such for instance as the 539X 796

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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CHAPTER XXV.

DRESS, AND ORNAMENTING OF THEIR PERSONS.

IN ancient times, the dress of the Indians was made of the skins of animals and feathers. This clothing, they say, was not only warmer, but lasted much longer than any woollen goods they have since purchased of the white people. They can dress any skin, even that of the buffaloe, so that it becomes quite soft and supple, and a good buffaloe or bear skin blanket will serve them many years without wearing out. Beaver and raccoon skin blankets are also pliant, warm and durable; they sew together as many of those skins as is necessary, carefully setting the hair or fur all the same way, so that the blanket or covering be smooth, and the rain do not penetrate, but run off. In wearing these fur blankets they are regulated by the weather; if it is cold and dry the fur is placed next the body, but in warm and wet weather, they have it outside. Some made themselves long frocks of fine fur, and the women's petticoats in the winter season were also made of them, otherwise of dressed deer skins, the same as their shirts, leggings and shoes. They say that shoes made of dressed bear skins, with the hair on and turned inside, are very warm, and in dry weather, durable. With the large rib bones of the elk and buffaloe they shaved the hair off the skins they dressed, and even now, they say that they can clean a skin as well with a well prepared rib-bone as with a knife.

The blankets made from feathers were also warm and durable. They were the work of the women, particu-

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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854 the mother going to fetch water or on some other errand. The children by pushing and kicking not infrequently tumbled themselves into the fire or other danger and thus miserably perished, or were severely burned. For this reason the custom is in disfavor.

342 Their houses are fairly clean, some being superior in this respect and affording a comfortable night's lodging for a [574] European. In case a guest is expected, especially if it be a white [356] person, they prepare as comfortable a bed as possible. They sweep the bunk, that serves as seat and table in the daytime and as bed at night, and spread a mat with one or more deer or bear [362] skins upon it. Though usually a comfortable couch in summer time it may be made very uncomfortable by the fleas brought in by dogs. Their kettles, dishes and spoons are not kept in good order; sometimes they are only licked by the dogs in lieu of washing. Dishes and spoons they make themselves of wood, [415 322] sometimes of tree knots or growths, often very neatly. The spoons are generally large and round shaped. Occasionally, a spoon will be used by several people, turn about, at a meal. Brass kettles, to be found in most houses because very necessary for sugar boiling, are bought from the whites.

291 The Indians are lovers of finery and dress, the women more than the men; the latter take care that the women adorn themselves in proper manner. The men clothe themselves rather meanly, regarding it as a disgrace to be better appareled than their wives. The dress which particularly distinguishes the women is a petticoat or strowd, blue, red or black, made of a piece of cloth about two yards long, adorned with red, blue or yellow bands laid double and bound about the body. Many women wear a white shirt over the strowd, decorated with silver buckles, the more the better. Red or blue leggings are worn, made of fine cloth joined by a broad band of silk bordered with coral. These leggings reach only to the feet. Shoes are made very neatly. Over the first strowd they may wear another, not decorated with ribbons, which if it inconveniences them in their movements may be easily laid aside. Thus clad a woman is well dressed. In [296] place of the white shirts, blue linen or cotton may be worn. When [386] they wear a white shirt, which is preferably of fine linen, it is often decked with ribbons about the neck.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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often dyed red with cinnabar about the neck. Such a shirt may be worn unwashed until it is torn. More careful women, however wash their clothing. Men and women paint their faces almost daily, especially if they go out to a dance in the evening. Men, particularly, think it is proper to paint and often their whole head is colored vermillion.[256] Here and there black spots may be introduced, or they paint one-half of their head and face black, the other red. Figures are added according to taste.[256] Indian women never paint their faces with a variety of figures, but rather make a round red spot upon each cheek and redden the eyelids, the tops of their heads and, in some cases, the rims of the ears and the temples.[257] Older women adorn themselves but rarely, usually appearing in old cast-off garments. Even if the husband of such a woman provides new clothing, she will rarely put it on, especially if she has a daughter to whom she gives the new clothing in exchange for old garments.

Their towns are generally laid out near a lake, river or brook, yet sufficiently elevated to escape the danger of inundations, which are very common in spring. In building towns no regular plan is observed but every one builds according to his fancy. The houses are not built close together. Some years ago, when the Delawares planned Gochachgünk, they wished to imitate the Christian Indians and build their town in orderly fashion but they did not succeed, even though they had laid it out. When they have lived long in one place, it at last becomes troublesome to secure wood for fuel because all the wood in the neighborhood has been used. This causes them to leave the place and plan a new village for the sake of the wood and other conveniences. Although they have horses that roam about and are rarely used except when they wish to ride, it is too troublesome for them to break these to work and, furthermore, since fetching wood is the work of the women, the men do not concern themselves about it.

Of inheritances they know nothing. Every Indian knows that whatever he leaves at his death is divided among his friends. If a woman becomes a widow, no matter how long she may have lived with her husband, friends come, take everything that be-

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
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which some of them use to cover themselves with, which are of red or blue frieze or deer skin, everywhere sewed on with their money, and around the edges which hang down, lightly fastened with hanging narrow strips, like thick long fringes on the ends of which they also have money strung. Over their shoulders they have belts of money, threaded into figures. Otherwise, while the savages grow up they go quite naked, the very way they are born to this world, with the exception of the money they carry on themselves, knowing of no shame, and would not to this day hide their privacy, if they were not corrupted[12] by the Christians, of whom they are ashamed, and are hence compelled, if they wish to have dealings with the Christians, to cover themselves with something.

Lately, however, the sachems or chiefs of the savages and some of the principal savages have

[12] *Uthskämde*, perhaps Lindeström means: to cause to be ashamed.

Williams says:

"They have a two-fold nakednesse:

"First, ordinary and constant, when although they have a Beasts skin, or an English mantle on, yet that covers ordinarily but their hinder parts and all the foreparts from top to toe, (except their secret parts, covered with a little Apron, after the patterne of their and our first Parents) I say all else open and naked.

"Their male children goe starke naked, and have no Apron untill they come to ten or twelve yeers of age; their Female they, in a modest blush cover with a little Apron of an hand breadth from their very birth. Their second nakednesse is when their men often abroad and both men and women within doores, leave off their beasts skin, or English cloth and so (excepting their little Apron) are wholly naked; yet but few of the women but will keepe their skin or cloth (though loose) or neare to them ready to gather it up about them.

"Custom hath used their minds and bodies to it, and in such a freedom from any wantonnesse, that I have never seen that wantonnesse amongst them, as, (with griefe) I have heard of in Europe." *Key*, 100. Cf. also Van der Donck, *N. Y. Col.*, 2, I, 194.

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
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begun to buy shirts from the Christians, reaching to the knees; but they do not know enough to let them be washed, but let them stay on unwashed as long as there is a single piece left. Lately the Christians have had a lot of coats, reaching to the knees, made of frieze for the savages living nearest [to themselves], the one side of the breast and back, red, the other side, blue, likewise on the arms, as the clothes of the orphan children in Stockholm are made. These [coats] the principal sachems bought from the Christians and liked them very much. Otherwise, when they want to be well dressed they wrap around themselves an ell of red or blue frieze of the broad Dutch frieze,[13] which they also buy from the Christians. On their feet they use *sippackor* or laced shoes of deer skin,[14] bordered and decorated with their money, almost in the same manner as the northern lace-shoe.[15]

The habit of the women is the same as that of the men, the only difference being in the adornment of the hair, in that the females braid their hair in 4 locks, which they allow to hang down the

[13] *Breeda holländska frijset.*

[14] A Lenapé word (whose root is present in the various Algonkian dialects). It is found as *seppock*, *shipak*, etc., and came to mean shoe. It was adopted into English as *shoepack*. Lindeström added the Swedish plural *-or* (*sippackor*), as Swedish words ending in *a* were usually feminine and took the plural in *-or*. See also Campanius, *Cate.* Cf. note 7, above, and Chapt. VIII, note 5d. In Minsi the word seems to have been *matchtschipak* (*matcheesin*, *mookussin* (New England), etc., *moccasin*.) Cf. Brinton, *Dict.*, 71; Zeisberger, *Dict.*, 171–2; Williams, *Key*, 107. The Indian shoes were made of corn husks and (mostly) of leather (deer or elk). Cf. *N. Y. Col.*, 2, II, 269.

[15] *Norrländske snörpskor.* "Shoes" somewhat similar to the Indian moccasins were used by the Lapps and Finns in Northern Sweden.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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larly of the old, who delight in such work, and indeed, in any work which shews that they are able to do their parts and be useful to society. It requires great patience, being the most tedious kind of work I have ever seen them perform, yet they do it in a most ingenious manner. The feathers, generally those of the turkey and goose, are so curiously arranged and interwoven together with thread or twine, which they prepare from the rind or bark of the wild hemp and nettle, that ingenuity and skill cannot be denied them. They shew the same talent and much forethought in making their *Happis*, the bands with which they carry their bags and other burdens; they make these very strong and lasting.

The present dress of the Indians is well known to consist in blankets, plain or ruffled shirts and leggings for the men, and petticoats for the women, made of cloth, generally red, blue, or black. The wealthy adorn themselves besides with ribands or gartering of various colours, beads, and silver broaches. These ornaments are arranged by the women, who, as well as the men, know how to dress themselves in style. Those of the men principally consist in the painting of themselves, their head and face principally, shaving or good clean garments, silver arm spangles and breast plates, and a belt or two of wampum hanging to their necks. The women, at the expense of their husbands or lovers, line their petticoat and blue or scarlet cloth blanket or covering with choice ribands of various colours, or with gartering, on which they fix a number of silver broaches or small round buckles. They adorn their leggings in the same manner; their mocksens, (properly *Maxen*, or according to the English pronunciation *Moxen*), are embroidered in the neatest manner, with coloured porcupine quills, and are besides, almost entirely covered with various trinkets; they have, moreover, a number of little bells and brass thimbles fixed round their ancles, which, when they walk, make a tinkling noise, which is heard

l:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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at some distance; this is intended to draw the attention of those who pass by, that they may look at and admire them.

The women make use of vermilion in painting themselves for dances, but they are very careful and circumspect in applying the paint, so that it does not offend or create suspicion in their husbands; there is a mode of painting which is left entirely to loose women and prostitutes.

As I was once resting in my travels at the house of a trader who lived at some distance from an Indian town, I went in the morning to visit an Indian acquaintance and friend of mine. I found him engaged in plucking out his beard, preparatory to painting himself for a dance which was to take place the ensuing evening. Having finished his head dress, about an hour before sun-set, he came up, as he said, to see me, but I and my companions judged that he came *to be seen*. To my utter astonishment, I saw three different paintings or figures on one and the same face. He had, by his great ingenuity and judgment in laying on and shading the different colours, made his nose appear, when we stood directly in front of him, as if it were very long and narrow, with a round knob at the end, much like the upper part of a pair of tongs. On one cheek there was a red round spot, about the size of an apple, and the other was done in the same manner with black. The eye-lids, both the upper and lower ones, were reversed in the colouring. When we viewed him in profile on one side, his nose represented the beak of an eagle, with the bill rounded and brought to a point, precisely as those birds have it, though the mouth was somewhat open. The eye was astonishingly well done, and the head, upon the whole, appeared tolerably well, shewing a great deal of fierceness. When we turned round to the other side, the same nose now resembled the snout of a pike, with the mouth so open, that the teeth could be seen. He seemed much pleased

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with his execution, and having his looking-glass with him, he contemplated his work, seemingly with great pride and exultation. He asked me how I liked it? I answered that if he had done the work on a piece of board, bark, or any thing else, I should like it very well and often look at it. But, asked he, why not so as it is? Because I cannot see the face that is hidden under these colours, so as to know who it is. Well, he replied, I must go now, and as you cannot know me to-day, I will call to-morrow morning before you leave this place. He did so, and when he came back, he was washed clean again.

Thus, for a single night's *frolic*, a whole day is spent in what they call dressing, in which each strives to outdo the other.

When the men paint their thighs, legs and breast, they, generally, after laying on a thin shading coat of a darkish colour, and sometimes of a whitish clay, dip their fingers' ends in black or red paint, and drawing it on with their outspread fingers, bring the streaks to a serpentine form. The garments of some of their principal actors are singular, and decorated with such a number of gewgaws and trinkets, that it is impossible to give a precise description of them. Neither are they all alike in taste, every one dressing himself according to his fancy, or the custom of the tribe to which he belongs. While the women, as I have already said, have thimbles and little bells rattling at their ancles, the men have deers' claws fixed to their braced garters or knee bands, and also to their shoes, for the same purpose; for they consider jingling and rattling as indispensably necessary to their performances in the way of dancing.

The notion formerly entertained that the Indians are beardless by nature and have no hair on their bodies, appears now to be exploded and entirely laid aside. I cannot conceive how it is possible for any person to pass three weeks only among those people, without seeing

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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ments, all new, were set off with rows of silver broaches,* one row joining the other. Over the sleeves of her new ruffled shirt were broad silver arm spangles from her shoulder down to her wrist, on which were bands, forming a kind of mittens, worked together of wampum, in the same manner as the belts which they use when they deliver speeches. Her long plaited hair was confined by broad bands of silver, one band joining the other, yet not of the same size, but tapering from the head downwards and running at the lower end to a point. On the neck were hanging five broad belts of wampum tied together at the ends, each of a size smaller than the other, the largest of which reached below her breast, the next largest reaching to a few inches of it, and so on, the uppermost one being the smallest. Her scarlet leggings were decorated with different coloured ribands sewed on, the outer edges being finished off with small beads also of various colours. Her mocksens were ornamented with the most striking figures, wrought on the leather with coloured porcupine quills, on the borders of which, round the ancles, were fastened a number of small round silver bells, of about the size of a musket ball. All these things, together with the vermilion paint, judiciously laid on, so as to set her off in the highest style, decorated her person in such a manner, that perhaps nothing of the kind could exceed it.

The spectators having retired, a number of articles were brought out of the house and placed in the coffin, wherever there was room to put them in, among which were a new shirt, a dressed deer skin for shoes, a pair of scissors, needles, thread, a knife, pewter basin and spoon, pint cup, and other similar things, with a number of trinkets and other small articles which she was fond of while

* A kind of round buckle with a tongue, which the Indians fasten to their shirts. The traders call them *broaches*. They are placed in rows, at the distance of about the breadth of a finger one from the other.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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on the skin; the operator with a small stick, rather larger than a common match, to the end of which some sharp needles are fastened, quickly pricks over the whole so that blood is drawn, then a coat of this powder is laid and left on to dry. Before the whites came into this country, they scarified themselves for this purpose with flint stones, or pricked themselves with the sharp teeth of a fish.[180]

The men tatooed their arms, legs, and faces with figures of snakes, birds, and other animals. These were marks of distinction and commemorated some worthy deed or heroic action. Occasionally the women tattooed themselves.[184]

Both sexes painted their thighs, legs, breast, and face with streaks, lines, or circles. The usual colors were red, black, blue, and yellow.[185] Painting was mostly for festive occasions or for warfare. Women were more circumspect than men in the amount of paint used, since excessive or immodest painting was regarded as indicative of a wanton woman.[186] Both men and women wore numerous ornaments. Wampum in particular was a favorite; it was used as necklaces and wristlets and was hung from the ears. Sometimes it was woven in bands and worn on the head or clothing.[187] The helixes of men's ears were often pierced for wampum, metal, and other ornaments:

> They frequently cut the helix of the ear,[188] leaving the upper and lower ends intact and then hang bits of lead to it so that it is stretched. Then this curved border of the auricle is bound with brass wire, distending it considerably, and decorated with silver ornaments.[189]

Besides wampum, necklaces of dyed deer hair, stone, native copper, and shell gorgets were worn.[190] One source depicted men wearing "the thumbs of enemies they have killed."[191] Men carried tobacco pouches, often made from the whole skin of a loon, large enough to hold a pipe, tobacco, knife, a pair of depilatory shells, and other objects.[192]

Manufactures.— The bow and arrow, the war club or tomahawk, and the spear were the principal implements of the men.[193] The type of bow used is unknown, except for one vague reference to wooden bows and arrows.[194] The triangular stone projectile points were fastened to the shaft by means of resin.[195] Projectile points were usually made of quartz, but chert, slate, shale, granite, sandstone, and argillite points have been found. Some may even have been made of fish bones.[196] Stone, pottery, and copper pipes were noted, both from early documents and

[180] Heckewelder, 1881, p. 206.
[181] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 12.
[182] De Vries, 1909, p. 217; Holm, 1834, p. 119; Van der Donck, 1909, p. 301; Denton, 1845, p. 10.
[183] Heckewelder, 1881, p. 203.
[184] Van der Donck, 1909, p. 301; Pastorius, 1912, p. 434; Lindestrom, 1925, pp. 196-97.
[185] Heckewelder, 1881, p. 207; Luckenbach, 1838, p. 107.
[186] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 12.
[187] Abbott, 1875, p. 327; Heye and Pepper, 1915, pp. 32-42; Holm, 1834, p. 119.
[188] Holm, 1834, p. 119; Van der Donck, 1909, p. 301.
[189] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 68; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 204.
[190] Brinton, 1885, p. 53.
[191] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 29.
[192] De Laet, 1909, p. 48; Holm, 1834, p. 129; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 29.
[193] Smith, 1950, p. 119; De Laet, 1909, p. 57.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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881 and guards her so that none may see her . . . she is also kept within the hut the whole of the menstrual period, with the blanket over her head. . . .[45]

De Vries also noted that these girls hid behind a garment "which they throw over their body drawing it over the head so that one can barely [783] see their eyes."[47] The emphasis during menstruation was on uncleanliness and the necessity of isolation from society.[48] A girl could not touch her hair during her first isolation, food was eaten with a stick, and no meat was eaten.[49] In the last century, and perhaps earlier, a girl could not look in a mirror or talk to people (N.D.). At the end of the seclusion the girl's mother washed her hair, bathed her, and gave her new clothes. The idea was impressed upon the girl that she was now a woman and was henceforth to give up the toys and activities of childhood.[50] The same general restrictions applied to menstruating women.[51]

836 Little is known about premarital chastity in early historic times.
548 Denton said, however: "Any maid before she is married doth lie with whom she please for money without any scandal, or the least aspersion to be cast upon her it being so customary, & their laws tolerating it."[52]

Marriage

582 After the boys had proved themselves to be adequate hunters and the girls had passed through their first seclusion, they were considered
884 ready for marriage. This took place at about the age of seventeen or eighteen for boys and thirteen or fourteen for girls.[53] A girl showed her marriageability by wearing some sort of headpiece and by modestly covering the face with a portion of clothing when in public.[54] De Vries
● [301] said further that girls "deck themselves with a quantity of zeewan [wampum] upon the body, head and neck; they then go and sit in some place, in company with some squaws, showing that they are up for a bargain."[55]

584 Several different ways of arranging marriages and several types of marriage ceremony have been recorded for the Delawares. Some of this variety was probably due to diffusion from other Indian cultures or from Euro-American civilization, but it was also possible that there were variations among the diverse Delawaran peoples. Four seventeenth-century sources stated that girls were courted with wampum.[56] In later times, at least, relatives or go-betweens arranged the marriage. According to Heckewelder the prospective bridegroom's mother usually initiated the negotiations; according to Trowbridge the father of the

[45] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 77.
[47] De Vries, 1909, p. 218; also Loskiel, 1794, p. 58.
[48] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 77; N.D., O.A.
[49] Penn, 1912, p. 232.
[50] N.D. See section on Mythology in Chap. IV for an account of a girl who refused to part with her dolls.
[51] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 77.
[52] Denton, 1845, p. 9.
[53] Penn, 1912, p. 231; Holm, 1834, pp. 127-28; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 75; Loskiel, 1794, p. 63.
[54] De Vries, 1909, p. 218; Pastorius, 1912, p. 434; Penn, 1912, p. 231.
[55] De Vries, 1909, p. 218.
[56] Ibid.; De Rasieres, 1909, p. 106; Denton, 1845, p. 9; Van der Donck, 1909, p. 202.

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A HISTORY OF THE INDIANS.

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The North American Indians are of middle size, well built, straight, light-footed, well adapted for travel through the forest, much of which is due to the fact that they do no heavy work, but support themselves by the chase.[1] Their color is brown, but of different shades. Some are light brown, hardly to be distinguished from a brown European, did not their eyes and hair betray them. Again, others are so dark that they differ little from mulattoes.[2] Their hair is jet-black and coarse, almost like the hair of a horse's mane.[3] Their heads become gray or even white in old age, otherwise they are without exception, black. The men rarely let the hair grow long, and it is common practice among them, though the custom is obsolescent, that they root out the hair from the forehead backward so that the head is bald up to the crown and only a hand-breadth of it in circular form is suffered to remain, whence in the case of savages generally depend long braids, one on either side, closely plaited and bound by bracelets of coral, some, also, hanging silver upon them. It is a very common that they wear a plume of feathers on the middle of the head, rising straight up or hanging downward. They frequently cut the helix of the ear, leaving the upper and lower ends intact and then hang bits of lead to it so that it is stretched. Then this curved border of the auricle is bound with brass wire, distending it considerably, and decorated with silver ornaments. Among Indians who have come in contact with whites this is less often done. They, also, pierce the nose and adorn it with silver. The beard is rooted out as soon as it begins to grow. The men tattoo their bodies in arm, leg or face with all manner of figures, serpents, birds or other animals, which are marked out by pricking the skin with a needle, powder or soot being afterward rubbed into the punctures. Occasionally, the women mark their bodies thus. The women let the hair grow long, so that it sometimes reaches to the knees; they do not braid it but tie a cloth around it. The Mingoes,[4] Shawano[5] and Wiondatoe[6] women have a long braid reaching the hips, bound in cloth

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and red ribbon, in the case of the rich, being further adorned with silver clasps of considerable weight from top to bottom. The Delawares, also, do this, though not so generally. The women wear earrings of wampum, coral or silver.

The men hunt, secure meat for the household, clothing for their wives and children, getting it in exchange for hides, build houses or huts, and also help their wives clear the land for cultivation and build fences around it. The duties of the women are cooking, finding fire-wood, planting and reaping. They plant corn, principally, making of this their bread, which is baked in the ashes, and preparing with it various dishes. Besides, they raise pumpkins of various kinds, potatoes, beans and other vegetables, which they have learned to know through the whites, such as cabbage, turnips, etc.[1]

The best time for the chase is in the fall, when the game is fat and the hides are good. Hence, they commonly in September and October go hunting with their families, remaining afield until the New Year or longer, though after that the skins cannot be used. Elk and buffalo they shoot little and rarely, as the hides are too heavy and of little value, and if they shoot one of these animals now and again, most of the meat is left lying in the woods, where it is consumed by wolves, or other wild animals or birds. The deer, which are most sought and are larger than the European roe, have the best skins and are most valued by the Europeans. After the New Year they devote themselves to the catching of the beaver, the raccoon, the fox and other fur-yielding animals; they also hunt the bear, at that time very fat, as a rule, and hibernating in dens, hollow trees or rocks or thickets and eating nothing for two or three months except that they suck their paws and are nourished by the fat they have acquired in the fall from consuming acorns, chestnuts, various other nuts, etc. Hunting of this nature lasts until spring, when in May their time for planting begins. In February sugar-boiling begins, farther north in March.[2] This is the work of the women, the men continuing the chase. When planting time is past, the summer chase begins at the end of June or the beginning of July, when the deer take on a reddish hue and the pelts are again good and fit for trade. The deer change their color twice in the

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one present draws a few whiffs of smoke and this is called smoking the peace-pipe.

There are four kinds of clay. There is the white, which is almost like chalk and with which, when dry, one can write as with chalk.[140] Another variety is quite black. This, however, becomes quite white when burned. Besides these, gray and yellow clays are found. A sort of yellow earth, rather of an orange tinge is found, of which the Indians, especially the warriors, make a fine color by burning.[141] With this they paint themselves and they are particularly careful that the head shall be always red. It is not too much for the Wiondats to come here to Tuscarawi, a distance of at least a hundred miles, to supply themselves with this red coloring matter.

135
[384]
[301]

Concerning plants and roots of medicinal virtue, it would be possible, if one were to devote himself to inquiry, to secure a great deal of information from the Indians, for what one of these does not know another does, each man and woman having some knowledge in this direction, some more, some less. Hence, the custom that a patient who has consulted an Indian and secured a medicine from him without, however, being benefited, will go immediately to another; if no relief is obtained through his advice, the patient goes to a third, a fourth until he finds one whose medicine helps. For many ailments they have very good remedies, e. g., for rheumatism. In respect to this affliction I have witnessed instances where they have effected a thorough cure and not only once or twice. At times they can secure desired results with only two or three kinds of roots, at other times more are required. If a simple remedy does not afford relief, they may use twenty or more kinds of roots. Even in such cases I know of cures having been effected. In treating rheumatism, bathing and sweating play a great part.

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They have remedies even for fevers. When a patient has been given a dose, they are generally able to tell from its workings whether he will recover or die. If he does not retain the medicine, this is regarded as a sign that he will hardly recover. I have paid some attention to this and like cases of treatment and found that the Indians have generally been correct in their

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7
Iroquois NM9

The porcupine[164] is not found along the Muskingum, seldom seen along the Ohio to the north, but frequently in the country of the Mingoes. The Indians eat its flesh, which tastes like pork, with great relish. It climbs the trees nimbly and has its home in hollow trees. The body is heavier than that of the fox. On the back the animal has whitish-brown quills, the length of a finger. These the squaws, particularly among the Mingoes, color red and use as needles to ornament their moccasins, pouches, in which tobacco and pipes are carried, and other things. As it cannot run swiftly, when anyone approaches, the animal turns its back, which is full of quills, toward the enemy, unless it is possible to get up a tree. Hence, they are easily killed. Dogs that attack the creature, suffer terribly and usually die, unless all the quills they have gotten into their bodies are removed, which is not easily accomplished, as many of them break off.

There is a small animal in the Mingoe country, called the marten,[165] concerning which I have been told that it probably belongs to the sable tribe. Though but small animals, their skins are of great value. The Indians catch them in wooden traps, using meat as a bait. The skins are sold to the whites.

I have already referred to the moose[166] that are to be found further north, of which I have seen nothing but the horns. The latter differ from those of the elk in that the prongs are broad and round. The Indians declare that these are equal in size to a horse. They have cloven hoofs and nostrils large enough to put a hand in. As I have no certain knowledge of these animals and have never even in Europe seen any nor have ever had a satisfactory description, I will not definitely declare that these are the animals they speak of, though I should be at a loss to know what other animals they refer to.

The muskrat,[167] able to live in or out of the water, is in many respects most like the beaver. Its tail is not broad as that of the beaver, but oval-shaped. Their dwellings are in the water, but so arranged that they can, according to inclination, be in the water or in a dry place. A great quantity of odorous matter is found in the body of this animal. The odor is unpleasant when too strong, but a little of it is agreeable. In the

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

often dyed red with cinnabar about the neck. Such a shirt may be worn unwashed until it is torn. More careful women, however wash their clothing. Men and women paint their faces almost daily, especially if they go out to a dance in the evening. Men, particularly, think it is proper to paint and often their whole head is colored vermillion.[255] Here and there black spots may be introduced, or they paint one-half of their head and face black, the other red. Figures are added according to taste.[256] Indian women never paint their faces with a variety of figures, but rather make a round red spot upon each cheek and redden the eyelids, the tops of their heads and, in some cases, the rims of the ears and the temples.[257] Older women adorn themselves but rarely, usually appearing in old cast-off garments. Even if the husband of such a woman provides new clothing, she will rarely put it on, especially if she has a daughter to whom she gives the new clothing in exchange for old garments.

Their towns are generally laid out near a lake, river or brook, yet sufficiently elevated to escape the danger of inundations, which are very common in spring. In building towns no regular plan is observed but every one builds according to his fancy. The houses are not built close together. Some years ago, when the Delawares planned Gochachgünk, they wished to imitate the Christian Indians and build their town in orderly fashion but they did not succeed, even though they had laid it out. When they have lived long in one place, it at last becomes troublesome to secure wood for fuel because all the wood in the neighborhood has been used. This causes them to leave the place and plan a new village for the sake of the wood and other conveniences. Although they have horses that roam about and are rarely used except when they wish to ride, it is too troublesome for them to break these to work and, furthermore, since fetching wood is the work of the women, the men do not concern themselves about it.

Of inheritances they know nothing. Every Indian knows that whatever he leaves at his death is divided among his friends. If a woman becomes a widow, no matter how long she may have lived with her husband, friends come, take everything that be-

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

The only idol which the Indians have, and which may properly be called an idol, is their *W'sinkhoalican*, that is image. It is an image cut in wood, representing a human head, in miniature, which they always carry about them either on a string around their neck or in a bag. They often bring offerings to it. In their houses of sacrifice they have a head of this idol as large as life put upon a pole in the middle of the room.

Their ornaments are partly round shields and half moons of silver, partly the same forms made in wampum. These are usually worn upon the breast for adornment. They also have great belts of wampum made of the violet, not the white, wampum. Men as well as women wear silver crosses upon the breast and in the ears which custom comes from the French. The *W'sinkhoalican* they like also to hang about their children to preserve them from illness and insure them success.

They are very fond of white children. Hence Indian women run after white men and, when they have white children, make much of them, although they do not like the white people. Twins are regarded as particularly fortunate, being looked upon as favored people who have a great spirit.

Their language resembles various other languages, some more, some less. When one remembers how near or how far they have lived from one another it will appear that the differences in the languages have come about through the separation of the peoples and the little contact they have had with one another.

The Unami and the Wunalachtico both lived along the sea in Pennsylvania and in Jersey, a short distance from one another. Their languages differ very little. That of the Monsys[366] who lived on the other side of the Blue Mountains in Minnissink is very different from these, so that had they not dwelt nearer together and been in constant contact in recent times they would hardly understand each other. Yet the speech of each of these peoples is but a dialect of one and the same language. The language of the Mahikanders[367] bears much resemblance to that of the Monsys, the former having lived in New York and the Woapeno not far from them in New England. The language of the Nantikoks, formerly residing on the seacoast in Maryland, very much resembles the Delaware, differing only in pronunciation

escape. In the summer and on trips shelter was not considered necessary (Johnson, p. 281; Lindstrom, p. 211). Most villages also contained a "Big House" which served as a place for religious assemblies and council meetings, but both of these functions were sometimes performed outdoors or in the chief's house.

As aids to transportation the Delaware used the carrying straps, pack baskets (used by both men and women) and canoes. Their bark canoes were of birch or chestnut. They also used a dugout made by first burning a suitable log and then scraping the charred portions out with sharp stones and shells (Johnson, p. 280). Vessels capable of ocean travel were constructed by fastening two large dugout canoes together and using mats for sails.[7] In these, journeys were made as far as New England and Virginia (Johnson, p. 280; Lindstrom, p. 237).

Nineteenth century writers were of the opinion that the Lenape used large amounts of copper and perhaps even worked it themselves (Brinton, 1885, p. 52; Abbott, 1885, pp. 774-77). More recent evidence, however, indicates that copper was not abundantly used, the most common form in which it is found being tubular beads, and that it was received solely in trade (Skinner, 1909, p. 28).

Clothing

The clothing of the Indian men consisted in summer of a leather girdle from which hung a flap of leather.[8] At this time of year the Delaware frequently went without footwear (Pastorius, 1700, p. 384; 1698, p. 433; Danckaerts, pp. 169 and 280; Lindstrom, pp. 191-92 and 197). The women's dress consisted of a square piece of leather fringed at the bottom which was bound around the waist as a short skirt (Skinner, 1915, p. 5; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 29). In winter, both sexes added leather leggings, moccasins and robes of animal skins or turkey feathers to this costume. Apparently the skins of bear, deer and raccoon were most commonly used for clothing. All of the clothing was decorated with colored designs of dyed porcupine quills or wampum (Pastorius, 1698, p. 433; Johnson, p. 280; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 202; Skinner, 1915, pp. 3 and 5).

Both sexes decorated themselves with numerous ornaments, the women, however, outdoing the men. Wampum was hung in chains around the neck and from the ears, and woven in bands which were worn around the head, sometimes with a single feather set in them (Pastorius, 1698, p. 434; Lindstrom, p. 196). Around the neck were also worn necklaces of dyed deer hair and native copper, stone and shell pendants and breast plates (Abbott, 1875, p. 327; Heye, pp. 32-42). In addition, men were seldom without their pipe, tobacco pouch and bag of food also hung about the neck (Lindstrom, p. 197). For festive occasions the ornamentation was greatly increased and face paint of various designs added. Hair and skin shining with bear grease was

also considered a mark of beauty (Lindstrom, pp. 193, 194, and 196; Pastorius, 1698, p. 433).

The Delaware women had the distinctive custom of wearing their hair in a large bun at the back rather than in braids. Men plucked all body hair and that of the head except for one tuft which was allowed to grow long (Smith, p. 137; Harrington, 1913, p. 220; Pastorius, 1700, p. 384; Lindstrom, pp. 195 and 200). Men were permitted to tattoo themselves as marks of distinction, the designs suggesting the deed which they commemorated. The operation was performed by breaking the skin in the desired pattern with a flint knife or sharp fish tooth. When the blood had been drawn, a powder of burned poplar bark was laid in the wound. Apparently the tattoo lasted a lifetime (Heckewelder, 1881, p. 206).

Children were allowed to go about with little or no clothing until eight or ten years of age, being protected from the sun by a liberal coating of bear grease (Johnson, p. 280; Pastorius, 1700, p. 384).

Family Organization and Customs

Starting at the beginning of life, we find that the birth process was accompanied by certain special customs. Penn says that "...when with Child, they [the women] know their Husbands no more, till delivered..." (Penn, p. 33). Harrington tells us that a prospective father who had bad luck at hunting attributed it to the spirit of his child playing about and scaring the game away. He would accordingly wear a miniature bow and arrow to keep the child's spirit amused while he hunted, or if this did not work he would try a small mortar and pestle assuming that the baby was a girl (1913, p. 212).

Birth itself occurred in the small hut which was also used during menstrual periods. The child was immediately immersed in water, then wrapped in a skin and bound to a cradle board. This was softened with a moss covering and had curved side pieces. The child stayed in the cradleboard most of the time until it could walk (Pastorius, 1698, p.434; Penn, pp.29-30; Lindstrom, p.201). Then, when it had to be carried, it was placed in a blanket and carried on the mother's back (Lindstrom, p.201).

Almost all of the writers were impressed with the quiet and respectful behavior of Delaware children. Only later writers, however, had much to say about the means used to educate them. These writers noted that children, especially the boys, seldom were punished (Brickell, p.47; Zeisberger, 1870, p.86). Brickell, who was brought up by a Delaware family, says that honesty, bravery and hospitality were cardinal virtues with them and that much of the training received was directed toward developing these virtues (pp.47-48). Also, of course, boys were taught woodcraft, fishing and hunting, and girls were taught the household duties including the care of the younger children.

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

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"NAHNEETIS THE GUARDIAN OF HEALTH"
(E. T Tefft Collection, American Museum of Natural History)

[Facing p. 168]

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

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302

OKLAHOMA DELAWARE EX-CHIEF AND NARRATOR OF TEXTS. Wi'tapano'xwe, "Walks by Daylight," in Dance Costume.

[frontispiece]

[facing p. 1]

8:Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
NM7 Delaware NM7

CHAPTER XI.

Concerning the Habit, Clothes, Decoration and Ornaments of the American Savage People.

As to the subject of this chapter we shall begin with the head [of the savages] and continue to the feet. Firstly as to to the males. They shave off the hair upon their heads with sharp flints,[1] allowing tufts to remain here and there, and the bare places they color with red paint. Their hair is by nature coal black and long grown, so that their locks at the ears, which[2] they allow to hang uncut, reach down to the knees, which they, together with the other hair, anoint with bear fat, that it shines so that one can see one's reflection in it.[3] The locks they bind up with braids and ribbons and their threaded money. On the ends of their hair they string money and tie a knot to [it].[4] Around the head over the forehead they bind a belt of money, the width of a hand, strung in the form of figures.[5]

[1] Small pieces of chipped flint.
[2] *Which* refers to locks; the order is Lindeström's.
[3] *Så en kan spegla sighther uthj.* Williams says in this connection: "Yet some cut their haire round, and some as low and as short as the sober English; yet I never saw any so to forget nature it selfe in such excessive length and monstrous fashion, as to the shame of the English Nation, I now (with grief) see my Countrey-men in England are degenerated unto." *Key*, 58.
[4] A custom described by other early writers. This form of decoration is common among primitive peoples. I saw it over large areas in West Africa.
[5] Something like the wampum belt. See picture facing this page. This headband is also common among primitive peoples.

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
NM7 Delaware NM7

[482] By nature they indeed get whiskers, but they do
302 not wish to have any, because they think it is shameful, wherefore, when the first hairs appear they sit and always pull and pluck out the hair with the roots, so that it never gets to grow,[6] but they look smooth on the chin as the women. They paint themselves in all kinds of ways in the face with all kinds of colors, so that they look inexpressibly horrible, when they think themselves to be adorned in the best manner. In their ears they have brass and tin rings and small bunches
● 301 of money hanging. On their heads they have sitting long and large painted bird feathers. Around their necks they have strung much money, hanging down like a lot of chains on their breasts. And among these they have their *Pådhra* or idol hanging, concerning which more will be said hereafter, in the chapter about their faith and religion. On
482 their backs they have their *notasser*[7] or bags
301 hanging, very skillfully and neatly made, in which
41

[6] *När huldhåren uthspricka, sittia the alltydh* [och] *ryckia och plocka uth hårr*[en] *medh rötterne.* Cf. *Doc.*, I, 281.

[7] The bags were made of corn husks, hemp and bast, often beautifully decorated. Cf. De Vries, *N. Y. Col.*, 2, III, 95, 107 ff., 269. The Lenapé (and possibly general Algonkian) word for bag, in this case with Swedish plural ending *-er*. Lindeström often used Indian words with the Swedish plural ending. The early settlers of all nationalities adopted many words from the Indians, some of which have become part of the English, French, Spanish or Portuguese languages in America of today. The Dutch and Swedes likewise borrowed many such words, but these forms died out with the elimination of the Dutch and Swedish languages. Only in a small district in New Jersey has a Dutch Dialect survived to our day, and this is greatly mixed with Indian words. In Dutch documents the word occurs as "*denotas*, bags," *Doc.*, I, 284. De Vries calls them *notassen*. Cf. Brinton, *Diet.*, 81. For Indian Bags, see Hodge, *Handbook*, I, 125.

As to the decorations of the Indians Williams says: "They hang these strings of money about their necks and wrists; as also upon the necks and wrists of their wives and children." *Key*, 131.

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
NM7 Delaware NM7

they have their things, such as food, money, to- 482
bacco, tobacco pipes, very artistically and well 30
made; also bows and quarrels[8] (like those of the 41
Poles) and helmets made of hard wooden pins and
strong wood, that no arrow can go through them.
Around their arms at the hands[9] they have brass 30
and tin rings and threaded money, hanging like 276
chains. In their hands they have tobacco pipes an
ell in length, which are screwed together with
leather, to lean on, and in these pipe-heads will go
a handful of tobacco.[10] Around their waists they 281
have tied a broad belt of money, strung in the form
of figures, from which their pieces of cloth hang,[11]

[8] *Bågar och skiäcktor (skäckta)*, scutcher, swingle.

[9] *Om armarne weed händerne;* that is the wrist.

[10] *En godh näfwe*, a good handful. "*Hurit Siecko Hopockan*, a beautiful clay pipe. The Barbarians make tobacco-pipes of red, yellow and blue clay, which is found there in the country of fine quality.

Hurit Assacus Hopockan, a beautiful stone pipe. For the Barbarians also make tobacco pipes of white, grey, green, brown, black and blue stones, which are found so soft (*blöta*), that they can be cut with a knife, and from this, pipes half an ell in length are made." Campanius, *Cate.*, 143.

Williams says: "Generally all the Men throughout the Countrey have a Tobacco-bag with a pipe in it, hanging at their back; sometimes they make such great pipes, both of wood and stone, that they are two foot long, with men or beasts carved, so big or massie, that a Man may be hurt mortally by one of them; but these commonly come from *Mauquauuogs*, or the men eaters, three or four hundred miles from us. They have an excellent Art to cast our Pewter and Brasse into very neate and artificiall Pipes. They take their *Wuttamauog* (that is, a weake Tobacco) which the Men plant themselves, very frequently; yet I never see any take so excessively, as I have seene Men in Europe; and yet excesse were more tolerable in them, because they want the refreshing of Beare and Wine, which God hath vouchsafed Europe." *Key*, 55. Cf. also Smith, p. 24; De Vries and other early Dutch writers, *N. Y. Col.*, 2, III, 23, etc.

[11] "*Machequoce*, a Girdle; which they make curiously of one, two, three, foure and five inches thicknesse and more, of this money which (sometimes to the value of ten pounds and more) they weare about their middle and as a scarfe about their shoulders and breasts." Williams, *Key*, 131.

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
NM7 Delaware NM7

301 which some of them use to cover themselves with,
291 which are of red or blue frieze or deer skin, everywhere sewed on with their money, and around the edges which hang down, lightly fastened with hanging narrow strips, like thick long fringes on the ends of which they also have money strung. Over their shoulders they have belts of money, threaded into figures. Otherwise, while the savages grow up they go quite naked, the very way they are born to this world, with the exception of the money they carry on themselves, knowing of no shame, and would not to this day hide their privacy, if they were not corrupted[12] by the Christians, of whom they are ashamed, and are hence compelled, if they wish to have dealings with the Christians, to cover themselves with something.

292 Lately, however, the sachems or chiefs of the
296 savages and some of the principal savages have
177

[12] *Utskämde*, perhaps Lindeström means: to cause to be ashamed.

Williams says:

"They have a two-fold nakednesse:

"First, ordinary and constant, when although they have a Beasts skin, or an English mantle on, yet that covers ordinarily but their hinder parts and all the foreparts from top to toe, (except their secret parts, covered with a little Apron, after the patterne of their and our first Parents) I say all else open and naked.

"Their male children goe starke naked, and have no Apron untill they come to ten or twelve yeers of age; their Female they, in a modest blush cover with a little Apron of an hand breadth from their very birth. Their second nakednesse is when their men often abroad and both men and women within doores, leave off their beasts skin, or English cloth and so (excepting their little Apron) are wholly naked; yet but few of the women but will keepe their skin or cloth (though loose) or neare to them ready to gather it up about them.

"Custom hath used their minds and bodies to it, and in such a freedom from any wantonnesse, that I have never seen that wantonnesse amongst them, as, (with griefe) I have heard of in Europe." *Key*, 106. Cf. also Van der Donck, *N. Y. Col.*, 2, I, 194.

8:Linestrom T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
NM7 Delaware NM7

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21. TWO SMALL FETISH MASKS OF WOOD, AND WHAT WAS POSSIBLY A POWDER MEASURE, MADE FROM AN ANTLER, CARVED WITH A HUMAN FACE AND APPARENTLY THE TAIL OF A RATTLESNAKE. THIS WAS UNDOUBTEDLY CARRIED ON THE SAME STRAP AS THE MASK TO THE LEFT, PROBABLY BY A LENAPE CHIEF. "THE *Pâdârs* . . . IS HUNG ON A CHAIN OF THEIR MONEY ON THEIR BREAST." (SEE P. 207.) FROM ORIGINAL IN UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA MUSEUM. PHOTOGRAPH KINDLY SUPPLIED BY DR. GORDON, DIRECTOR OF THE MUSEUM.

[FACING p. 207]

| | | |

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

852 the sex correlation. The animal or part of it was eaten by a friend who prayed for the continuance of good luck, according to Johnston, J. W. and W. L. (335). The dedication of the animal to deities or the spirits of deceased friends and the giving of the feast at night as mentioned by Johnston were denied by [177] two of the informants (333-34). There is a suggestion of a fourth-period change here that would be stronger if it were not for the paucity of accounts.

224 A feast, a dance, or both, were customarily given on the return of a hunting party, according to the statements or implications of the sources of the first three periods (338-39). The informants all denied that dances were held and W. T. was the [177] only one to admit the giving of feasts. This seems very definitely to reflect a change between the third and fourth periods, probably due to the decline in the economic importance of hunting.

Constitution, Personal Appearance, Dress, etc.

142 The elements under this heading are few and show little 302 change. There are, however, a couple of items that merit some discussion. First, on the matter of extirpating the beard, there is a division of opinion among the sources and among the informants (342). All the sources who mentioned the beard, except Van der Donck, said that it was pulled out. This was confirmed by J. W. in the fourth period but denied by W. T. and E. R. These maintained that the Indians never had beards until they intermarried with the whites.

The hairdress of the women offered little occasion for disagreement (349-53). All the sources and informants who gave any information on the subject agreed that women fastened their hair behind the head. Whether it was braided, clubbed, or fastened in a square bunch seems to have been a matter of individual preference, for one source mentioned all three methods [301] and four other accounts, two of the three methods. Ornamentation was also according to individual preference.

302 Men cut their hair short except for the tuft or scalp lock on the top of the head (345). The scalp lock was made into two braids according to all the sources who reported on this detail,

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

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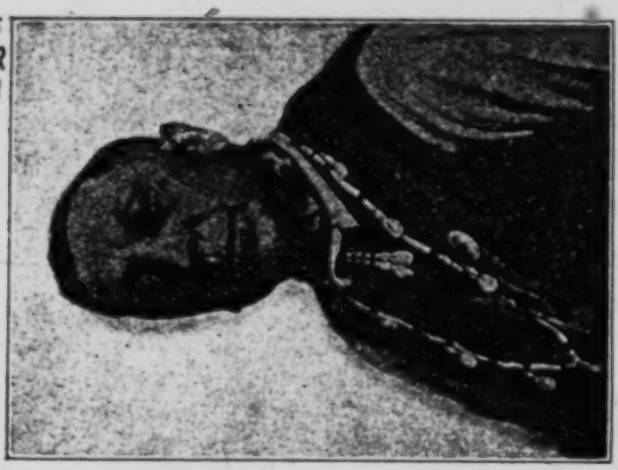

Wi'tapano'xwa, "Walking with Daylight." (Photo by W. H. Holden, U. of Pa.)
Narrator of the text, and informant on the Big House Ceremony of the Delawares.

[facing p. 5]

[P.13,A]

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412 that they were possibly used to incise pottery. (For illustrations of several of these chisels found in the Milford area, see Plate 1, Nos. 7 to 13.)

Gorgets and Pendants

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301 The Bell-Philhower report mentions gorgets and pendants as being possible Minsi traits (pp. 174 and 236) on the basis of the reported finding of a gorget by Mr. Charles A. Philhower in a pit in association with a mat needle and a pottery vessel of Owasco type. This view is further supported by the mention of Owasco parallels and by a reference to the discovery of a pendant by Heye and Pepper during their excavation of the adjacent Minsi site of the historic period.

The probability of the occurrence of both the gorget and the pendant in the inventory of Minsi cultural traits must be freely accepted, but it cannot be maintained that the matter is conclusively settled on the basis of present evidence—particularly as regards the gorget. It may be observed in connection with this problem that in this area the gorget is generally to be regarded as associated with the "middle" period rather than the "late" to which the Minsi belong. This does not, however, rule out the possibility of a weak survival or borrowing of this cultural trait.

Paint Stone

172
386 In the summer of 1948 the writer found on the surface of the Bell-Philhower Site a thin rectangular piece of hematite with concave surfaces on each side exhibiting the marks of abrasion (Plate 1, No. 4). The obvious conclusion is that this object was used as a source of pigment, probably for personal adornment. While its occurrence on the surface gives rise to a certain element of doubt concerning its cultural affiliation, it is almost certainly of Minsi origin.

[350 (c)]

291 who speak our language and have the man-
[191] ners and address of gentlemen. Some of the
old men and some of the young men had on
colored calico frock coats of the most gaudy
[302] colors. Many had vermilion on their faces,
thus giving them a low appearance, and I
saw a few girls with spots of it in their
[301] cheeks. One man I saw with a silver orna-
ment in his nose, which covered part of his
mouth. Many of the men wore leggings with
a wide side projection, ornamented, and
the breech cloth, over which they wore a
vest or shirt, and perhaps one of the frock
coats of calico above named, with head
bands of bead work over the shoulder and
meeting in a large bead work pocket on the
right hand side. As a body I should think
the men inferior to the women.

454 The Delawares have a million and up-
648 wards in the national treasury at five per
cent interest. Their regular annuity is
[657] $50,000. The present is a part of two pay-
ments, I understand, and is larger than
usual. There were several stores full of
443 goods, and a great many stands out in the
open air with the protection of canvas. The
492 great show of all was in saddles and bridles,
of which I presume I saw of saddles alone
[435] 150; the price ranges from $15 to 50 dol-
lars, the ordinary being $22 to $25. They
are the Mexican saddle, made at Westport,
Mo., and the kind usually used in Kansas
and this part of the west. It has a high pom-
mel, wooden stirrups usually, which are
easier than metal for long journeys, and a
well stuffed and quilted seat, with a high
rear plate. They are far superior to our
eastern saddle for riding.

439 The assortment of goods was creditable
to the good sense of the Delawares, as the
supply was adapted to the demand. Grains
of all kinds, tin wares of all kinds and at
reasonable prices, in fact they could not

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

larly of the old, who delight in such work, and indeed, in any work which shews that they are able to do their parts and be useful to society. It requires great patience, being the most tedious kind of work I have ever seen them perform, yet they do it in a most ingenious manner. The feathers, generally those of the turkey and goose, are so curiously arranged and interwoven together with thread or twine, which they prepare from the rind or bark of the wild hemp and nettle, that ingenuity and skill cannot be denied them. They shew the same talent and much forethought in making their *Happis*, the bands with which they carry their bags and other burdens; they make these very strong and lasting.

The present dress of the Indians is well known to consist in blankets, plain or ruffled shirts and leggings for the men, and petticoats for the women, made of cloth, generally red, blue, or black. The wealthy adorn themselves besides with ribands or gartering of various colours, beads, and silver broaches. These ornaments are arranged by the women, who, as well as the men, know how to dress themselves in style. Those of the men principally consist in the painting of themselves, their head and face principally, shaving or good clean garments, silver arm spangles and breast plates, and a belt or two of wampum hanging to their necks. The women, at the expense of their husbands or lovers, line their petticoat and blue or scarlet cloth blanket or covering with choice ribands of various colours, or with gartering, on which they fix a number of silver broaches or small round buckles. They adorn their leggings in the same manner; their mocksens, (properly *Ma.xen*, or according to the English pronunciation *Moxen*), are embroidered in the neatest manner, with coloured porcupine quills, and are besides, almost entirely covered with various trinkets; they have, moreover, a number of little bells and brass thimbles fixed round their ancles, which, when they walk, make a tinkling noise, which is heard

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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at some distance; this is intended to draw the attention of those who pass by, that they may look at and admire them.

The women make use of vermilion in painting themselves for dances, but they are very careful and circumspect in applying the paint, so that it does not offend or create suspicion in their husbands; there is a mode of painting which is left entirely to loose women and prostitutes.

As I was once resting in my travels at the house of a trader who lived at some distance from an Indian town, I went in the morning to visit an Indian acquaintance and friend of mine. I found him engaged in plucking out his beard, preparatory to painting himself for a dance which was to take place the ensuing evening. Having finished his head dress, about an hour before sun-set, he came up, as he said, to see me, but I and my companions judged that he came *to be seen*. To my utter astonishment, I saw three different paintings or figures on one and the same face. He had, by his great ingenuity and judgment in laying on and shading the different colours, made his nose appear, when we stood directly in front of him, as if it were very long and narrow, with a round knob at the end, much like the upper part of a pair of tongs. On one cheek there was a red round spot, about the size of an apple, and the other was done in the same manner with black. The eye-lids, both the upper and lower ones, were reversed in the colouring. When we viewed him in profile on one side, his nose represented the beak of an eagle, with the bill rounded and brought to a point, precisely as those birds have it, though the mouth was somewhat open. The eye was astonishingly well done, and the head, upon the whole, appeared tolerably well, shewing a great deal of fierceness. When we turned round to the other side, the same nose now resembled the snout of a pike, with the mouth so open, that the teeth could be seen. He seemed much pleased

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with his execution, and having his looking-glass with him, he contemplated his work, seemingly with great pride and exultation. He asked me how I liked it? I answered that if he had done the work on a piece of board, bark, or any thing else, I should like it very well and often look at it. But, asked he, why not so as it is? Because I cannot see the face that is hidden under these colours, so as to know who it is. Well, he replied, I must go now, and as you cannot know me to-day, I will call to-morrow morning before you leave this place. He did so, and when he came back, he was washed clean again.

Thus, for a single night's *frolic*, a whole day is spent in what they call dressing, in which each strives to outdo the other.

When the men paint their thighs, legs and breast, they, generally, after laying on a thin shading coat of a darkish colour, and sometimes of a whitish clay, dip their fingers' ends in black or red paint, and drawing it on with their outspread fingers, bring the streaks to a serpentine form. The garments of some of their principal actors are singular, and decorated with such a number of gewgaws and trinkets, that it is impossible to give a precise description of them. Neither are they all alike in taste, every one dressing himself according to his fancy, or the custom of the tribe to which he belongs. While the women, as I have already said, have thimbles and little bells rattling at their ancles, the men have deers' claws fixed to their braced garters or knee bands, and also to their shoes, for the same purpose; for they consider jingling and rattling as indispensably necessary to their performances in the way of dancing.

The notion formerly entertained that the Indians are beardless by nature and have no hair on their bodies, appears now to be exploded and entirely laid aside. I cannot conceive how it is possible for any person to pass three weeks only among those people, without seeing

l:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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them pluck out their beards, with tweezers made expressly for that purpose. Before the Europeans came into the country, their apparatus for performing this work, consisted of a pair of muscle shells, sharpened on a gritty stone, which answered very well, being somewhat like pincers; but since they can obtain wire, of which that of brass is preferred, they make themselves tweezers, which they always carry with them in their tobacco-pouch, wherever they go, and when at leisure, they pluck out their beards or the hair above their foreheads. This they do in a very quick manner, much like the plucking of a fowl, and the oftener they pluck out their hair, the finer it grows afterwards, so that at last there appears hardly any, the whole having been rooted out. The principal reasons which they give for thus plucking out their beards and the hair next to their foreheads, are that they may have a clean skin to lay the paint on, when they dress for their festivals or dances, and to facilitate the *tattooing* themselves, a custom formerly much in use among them, especially with those who had distinguished themselves by their valour, and acquired celebrity. They say that either painting or tattooing on a hairy face or body would have a disgusting appearance.

As late as the year 1762, when I resided at Tuscorawas on the Muskingum, tattooing was still practised by some Indians: a valiant chief of that village, named *Wawundochwalend*, desirous of having another name given him, had the figure of a water-lizard engraved or tattooed on his face, above the chin, when he received the name *Twakachshawsu*, the water-lizard. The process of tattooing, which I once saw performed, is quickly done, and does not seem to give much pain. They have poplar bark in readiness burnt and reduced to a powder, the figures that are to be tattooed are marked or designed on the skin; the operator with a small stick, rather larger than a common match, to the end of which some sharp

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CHAPTER XXVII.

SCALPING—WHOOPS OR YELLS—PRISONERS.

SCALPING is a practice which the Indians say has obtained with their nations for ages. I need not describe the manner in which the operation is performed, it has been sufficiently done by others.* Indian warriors think it necessary to bring home the scalps of those they have killed or disabled, as visible proofs of their valour; otherwise they are afraid that their relations of the combat and the account they give of their individual prowess might be doubted or disbelieved. Those scalps are dried up, painted and preserved as trophies, and a warrior is esteemed in proportion to the number of them that he can shew.

It is well known fact that the Indians pluck out all their hair except one tuft on the crown of their heads; but the reason of this exception is not, perhaps, so well understood, which is no other than to enable themselves to take off each others' scalps in war with greater facility. "When we go to fight an enemy," say they, "we "meet on equal ground; and we take off each other's "scalps, if we can. The conqueror, whoever he may be, "is entitled to have something to shew to prove his bra- "very and his triumph, and it would be *ungenerous* in a "warrior to deprive an enemy of the means of acqui- "ring that glory of which he himself is in pursuit. A "warrior's conduct ought to be *manly*, else he is *no man*." As this custom prevails among all the Indian nations, it

* See Loskiel, p. 1. ch. 11.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca.1800)1819
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ments, all new, were set off with rows of silver broaches,* one row joining the other. Over the sleeves of her new ruffled shirt were broad silver arm spangles from her shoulder down to her wrist, on which were bands, forming a kind of mittens, worked together of wampum, in the same manner as the belts which they use when they deliver speeches. Her long plaited hair was confined by broad bands of silver, one band joining the other, yet not of the same size, but tapering from the head downwards and running at the lower end to a point. On the neck were hanging five broad belts of wampum tied together at the ends, each of a size smaller than the other, the largest of which reached below her breast, the next largest reaching to a few inches of it, and so on, the uppermost one being the smallest. Her scarlet leggings were decorated with different coloured ribands sewed on, the outer edges being finished off with small beads also of various colours. Her mocksens were ornamented with the most striking figures, wrought on the leather with coloured porcupine quills, on the borders of which, round the ancles, were fastened a number of small round silver bells, of about the size of a musket ball. All these things, together with the vermilion paint, judiciously laid on, so as to set her off in the highest style, decorated her person in such a manner, that perhaps nothing of the kind could exceed it.

The spectators having retired, a number of articles were brought out of the house and placed in the coffin, wherever there was room to put them in, among which were a new shirt, a dressed deer skin for shoes, a pair of scissors, needles, thread, a knife, pewter basin and spoon, pint cup, and other similar things, with a number of trinkets and other small articles which she was fond of while

* A kind of round buckle with a tongue, which the Indians fasten to their shirts. The traders call them *broaches*. They are placed in rows, at the distance of about the breadth of a finger one from the other.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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cold weather and outside in warmer weather.[138] Perhaps the most exotic garments in the eyes of Europeans were the feather mantles which were used both as robes and as bedding.[139] Lindestrom said: "They also make very fine and beautiful quilts of painted bird feathers. In the first place they tie them with meshes like nets, yet very fine, then fasten the feathers in the meshes, so neat and strong that not one feather can come loose from it; it would sooner go clear off."[140] Besides robes, leggings that extended almost to the hips and moccasins were worn.[141] For winter wear "they say that shoes made of dressed bears skins, with the hair on and turned inside, are very warm, and in dry weather, durable."[142] One source mentioned cornhusk moccasins.[143] Women's dress differed from male attire in that a short skin skirt of a square wrap-around style was worn.[144] Clothing was highly decorated with colored designs of dyed porcupine quills, or it was painted.[145] Hats were not used, although one source mentioned "helmets of hard sticks and strong wood" used for defensive purposes in war.[146] Denton said: "They wear no Hats, but commonly wear about their Heads a Snake's skin, or a belt of their money, or a kind of a Ruff made with Deer's hair & died of a scarlet colour, which they esteem very rich."[147] Children wore little or no clothing in warm weather, but by the eighteenth century girls donned, as soon as they could walk, "a little frock" resembling their mother's costume. Boys at about the age of six began wearing the breech cloth.[148]

Adornment and ornamentation.— Men wore a scalp lock, that is, one tuft of hair was allowed to grow long. Other body and facial hair, if any, was plucked out.[149] "They root out the hair from the forehead backward so that the head is bald up to the crown, and only a hand-breadth of it in circular form is suffered to remain. . . ."[150] Women wore their hair in a bun at the back of the head; it was not cut and sometimes hung to the knees.[151] Face and hair of both sexes were smeared with grease.[152] There was no mention of tattooing during the seventeenth century, but since in the next century it was well established, it probably was an ancient custom:

> The process of tattooing, which I once saw performed, is quickly done, and does not seem to give much pain. They have poplar bark in readiness burnt and reduced to a powder, the figures that are to be tattooed are marked or designed

[138] De Vries, 1909, p. 217; Holm, 1834, p. 119; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 202.
[139] De Vries, 1909, p. 217; Juet, 1909, p. 18; Van der Donck, 1909, p. 301; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 203.
[140] Lindestrom, 1925, pp. 221-22.
[141] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 15; Lindestrom, 1925, p. 199.
[142] Heckewelder, 1881, p. 202.
[143] Van der Donck, 1909, p. 301.
[144] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 15; Skinner, 1947, p. 5.
[145] Heckewelder, 1881, p. 202; Skinner, 1947, pp. 3-4.
[146] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 222.
[147] Denton, 1845, p. 10; Holm, 1834, p. 120, noted the same customs.
[148] Johnson, 1917, p. 280; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 17.
[149] Thomas, 1912, p. 340; Lindestrom, 1925, pp. 195-96; Van der Donck, 1909, p. 300.
[150] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 12.
[151] Smith, 1877, p. 137; Lindestrom, 1925, p. 195.
[152] Van der Donck, 1909, p. 301; De Rasieres, 1909, p. 108; Pastorius, 1912, p. 433.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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on the skin; the operator with a small stick, rather larger than a common match, to the end of which some sharp needles are fastened, quickly pricks over the whole so that blood is drawn, then a coat of this powder is laid and left on to dry. Before the whites came into this country, they scarified themselves for this purpose with flint stones, or pricked themselves with the sharp teeth of a fish.[155]

The men tatooed their arms, legs, and faces with figures of snakes, birds, and other animals. These were marks of distinction and commemorated some worthy deed or heroic action. Occasionally the women tattooed themselves.[156]

Both sexes painted their thighs, legs, breast, and face with streaks, lines, or circles. The usual colors were red, black, blue, and yellow.[157] Painting was mostly for festive occasions or for warfare. Women were more circumspect than men in the amount of paint used, since excessive or immodest painting was regarded as indicative of a wanton woman.[158] Both men and women wore numerous ornaments. Wampum in particular was a favorite; it was used as necklaces and wristlets and was hung from the ears. Sometimes it was woven in bands and worn on the head or clothing.[159] The helixes of men's ears were often pierced for wampum, metal, and other ornaments:

> They frequently cut the helix of the ear,[160] leaving the upper and lower ends intact and then hang bits of lead to it so that it is stretched. Then this curved border of the auricle is bound with brass wire, distending it considerably, and decorated with silver ornaments.[161]

Besides wampum, necklaces of dyed deer hair, stone, native copper, and shell gorgets were worn.[162] One source depicted men wearing "the thumbs of enemies they have killed."[163] Men carried tobacco pouches, often made from the whole skin of a loon, large enough to hold a pipe, tobacco, knife, a pair of depilatory shells, and other objects.[164]

Manufactures.—The bow and arrow, the war club or tomahawk, and the spear were the principal implements of the men.[165] The type of bow used is unknown, except for one vague reference to wooden bows and arrows.[166] The triangular stone projectile points were fastened to the shaft by means of resin.[167] Projectile points were usually made of quartz, but chert, slate, shale, granite, sandstone, and argillite points have been found. Some may even have been made of fish bones.[168] Stone, pottery, and copper pipes were noted, both from early documents and

[155] Heckewelder, 1881, p. 206.
[156] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 12.
[157] De Vries, 1909, p. 217; Holm, 1834, p. 119; Van der Donck, 1909, p. 301; Denton, 1845, p. 10.
[158] Heckewelder, 1881, p. 203.
[159] Van der Donck, 1909, p. 301; Paschius, 1912, p. 434; Lindestrom, 1925, pp. 196-97.
[160] Heckewelder, 1881, p. 207; Luckenbach, 1938, p. 107.
[161] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 12.
[162] Abbott, 1875, p. 327; Heye and Pepper, 1915, pp. 32-42; Holm, 1834, p. 119.
[163] Holm, 1834, p. 119; Van der Donck, 1909, p. 301.
[164] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 68; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 204.
[165] Brinton, 1885, p. 53.
[166] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 29.
[167] De Laet, 1909, p. 48; Holm, 1834, p. 129; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 29.
[168] Smith, 1950, p. 119; De Laet, 1909, p. 57.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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A HISTORY OF THE INDIANS.

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The North American Indians are of middle size, well built, straight, light-footed, well adapted for travel through the forest, much of which is due to the fact that they do no heavy work, but support themselves by the chase.[1] Their color is brown, but of different shades. Some are light brown, hardly to be distinguished from a brown European, did not their eyes and hair betray them. Again, others are so dark that they differ little from mulattoes.[2] Their hair is jet-black and coarse, almost like the hair of a horse's mane.[3] Their heads become gray or even white in old age, otherwise they are without exception, black. The men rarely let the hair grow long, and it is common practice among them, though the custom is obsolescent, that they root out the hair from the forehead backward so that the head is bald up to the crown and only a hand-breadth of it in circular form is suffered to remain, whence in the case of savages generally depend long braids, one on either side, closely plaited and bound by bracelets of coral, some, also, hanging silver upon them. It is a very common that they wear a plume of feathers on the middle of the head, rising straight up or hanging downward. They frequently cut the helix of the ear, leaving the upper and lower ends intact and then hang bits of lead to it so that it is stretched. Then this curved border of the auricle is bound with brass wire, distending it considerably, and decorated with silver ornaments. Among Indians who have come in contact with whites this is less often done. They, also, pierce the nose and adorn it with silver. The beard is rooted out as soon as it begins to grow. The men tattoo their bodies in arm, leg or face with all manner of figures, serpents, birds or other animals, which are marked out by pricking the skin with a needle, powder or soot being afterward rubbed into the punctures. Occasionally, the women mark their bodies thus. The women let the hair grow long, so that it sometimes reaches to the knees; they do not braid it but tie a cloth around it. The Mingoes,[4] Shawano[5] and Wiondatoo[6] women have a long braid reaching the hips, bound in cloth

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and red ribbon, in the case of the rich, being further adorned with silver clasps of considerable weight from top to bottom. The Delawares, also, do this, though not so generally. The women wear earrings of wampum, coral or silver.

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The men hunt, secure meat for the household, clothing for their wives and children, getting it in exchange for hides, build houses or huts, and also help their wives clear the land for cultivation and build fences around it. The duties of the women are cooking, finding fire-wood, planting and reaping. They plant corn, principally, making of this their bread, which is baked in the ashes, and preparing with it various dishes. Besides, they raise pumpkins of various kinds, potatoes, beans and other vegetables, which they have learned to know through the whites, such as cabbage, turnips, etc.[1]

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The best time for the chase is in the fall, when the game is fat and the hides are good. Hence, they commonly in September and October go hunting with their families, remaining afield until the New Year or longer, though after that the skins cannot be used. Elk and buffalo they shoot little and rarely, as the hides are too heavy and of little value, and if they shoot one of these animals now and again, most of the meat is left lying in the woods, where it is consumed by wolves, or other wild animals or birds. The deer, which are most sought and are larger than the European roe, have the best skins and are most valued by the Europeans. After the New Year they devote themselves to the catching of the beaver, the raccoon, the fox and other fur-yielding animals; they also hunt the bear, at that time very fat, as a rule, and hibernating in dens, hollow trees or rocks or thickets and eating nothing for two or three months except that they suck their paws and are nourished by the fat they have acquired in the fall from consuming acorns, chestnuts, various other nuts, etc. Hunting of this nature lasts until spring, when in May their time for planting begins. In February sugar-boiling begins, farther north in March.[2] This is the work of the women, the men continuing the chase. When planting time is past, the summer chase begins at the end of June or the beginning of July, when the deer take on a reddish hue and the pelts are again good and fit for trade. The deer change their color twice in the

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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often dyed red with cinnabar about the neck. Such a shirt may be worn unwashed until it is torn. More careful women, however wash their clothing. Men and women paint their faces almost daily, especially if they go out to a dance in the evening. Men, particularly, think it is proper to paint and often their whole head is colored vermillion.[255] Here and there black spots may be introduced, or they paint one-half of their head and face black, the other red. Figures are added according to taste.[256] Indian women never paint their faces with a variety of figures, but rather make a round red spot upon each cheek and redden the eyelids, the tops of their heads and, in some cases, the rims of the ears and the temples.[257] Older women adorn themselves but rarely, usually appearing in old cast-off garments. Even if the husband of such a woman provides new clothing, she will rarely put it on, especially if she has a daughter to whom she gives the new clothing in exchange for old garments.

Their towns are generally laid out near a lake, river or brook, yet sufficiently elevated to escape the danger of inundations, which are very common in spring. In building towns no regular plan is observed but every one builds according to his fancy. The houses are not built close together. Some years ago, when the Delawares planned Gochachgünk, they wished to imitate the Christian Indians and build their town in orderly fashion but they did not succeed, even though they had laid it out. When they have lived long in one place, it at last becomes troublesome to secure wood for fuel because all the wood in the neighborhood has been used. This causes them to leave the place and plan a new village for the sake of the wood and other conveniences. Although they have horses that roam about and are rarely used except when they wish to ride, it is too troublesome for them to break these to work and, furthermore, since fetching wood is the work of the women, the men do not concern themselves about it.

Of inheritances they know nothing. Every Indian knows that whatever he leaves at his death is divided among his friends. If a woman becomes a widow, no matter how long she may have lived with her husband, friends come, take everything that be-

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friends will not give him peace until he has designated some one to take his place in the arrangement for sacrificial feasts. 782 796

Preparations for such a sacrificial feast extend through several days. The requisite number of deer and bears is calculated and the young people are sent into the woods to procure them together with the leader whose care it is to see that everything needful is provided. These hunters do not return until they have secured the amount of booty counted upon. On their return they fire a volley when near the town, march in in solemn procession and deposit the flesh in the house of sacrifice. Meantime the house has been cleared and prepared. The women have prepared fire-wood and brought in long dry reed grass, which has been strewn the entire length of the house, on both sides, for the guests to sit upon. Such a feast may continue for three or four nights, the separate sessions beginning in the afternoon and lasting until the next morning. Great kettles full of meat are boiled and bread is baked. These are served to the guests by four servants especially appointed for this service. The rule is that whatever is thus brought as a sacrifice must be eaten altogether and nothing left.[203] A small quantity of melted fat only is poured into the fire. The bones are burnt, so that the dogs may not get any of them. After the meal the men and women dance, every rule of decency being observed. It is not a dance for pleasure or exercise as is the ordinary dance engaged in by the Indians. One singer only performs during the dance, walking up and down, rattling a small tortoise shell filled with pebbles. He sings of the dreams the Indians have had, naming all the animals, elements and plants they hold to be spirits. None of the spirits of things that are useful to the Indians may be omitted. By worshipping all the spirits named they consider themselves to be worshipping God, who has revealed his will to them in dreams. When the first singer has finished he is followed by another. Between dances the guests may stop to eat again. There are four or five kinds of feasts, the ceremonies of which differ much from one another. [261]

In another kind of feast the men dance clad only in their Breech-clout, their bodies being daubed all over with white clay. 796 [302]

74. Motherwort *(Leonurus cardiaca)*. A tea is made from the leaves which is effective for female diseases.

75. False Solomon's Seal *(Smilacina stellata)*. The root is combined with others as a medicine to cleanse the system and stimulate the stomach. A remedy also for leucorrhea.

76. May Apple *(Podophyllum peltatum)*, "flower hangs down." A spring tonic and a laxative are made from the root.

77. Bloodroot *(Sanguinaria canadensis)*. For general debility, a pea-sized piece of root is taken every morning for thirty days. Combined with other roots for a stomach remedy. The plant root provides the face paint used in the Big House Ceremony of the Delaware.

78. Dandelion *(Taraxacum officinale)*. A laxative-tonic obtained from the plant.

79. Virginia Snakeroot *(Aristolochia serpentaria)*. Used singly or combined with wintergreen as a tonic.

80. Fringed Gentian *(Gentiana crinita)*. A tea made from the root acts as a blood-purifier and stomach-strengthener.

81. Black Snakeroot *(Cimicifuge racemosa)*, elecampane and stone root are combined to make a tonic.

82. Milkweed *(Asclepias sp.)*. A tea made from the pounded and steeped roots of the five species of milkweed is a cure for epileptic fits in those born during certain phases of the moon. Such disturbances periodically occur during a particular moon-phase period.

83. Peyote *(Lophophora williamsii)*, "Our Father," is known to have been used to treat periodic fits, and is regarded as a sure cure for tuberculosis.[4] Wi·tapanôxwe carries a small, fringed leather bag, tied with deerskin thongs, containing several peyote "beans" or buttons for use in case of emergency. Certain Delaware subscribing to the "Wilson cult," wear a small beaded bag containing peyote, around their necks as a protection against illness. This talisman is even regarded as an advisory agent of approaching

[4] It is said that this highly valued and potent medicine was revealed to a woman in a dream who gave the knowledge of it to her people. It may be eaten with or without the usual ceremonial rites. For a study of the Peyote rites among the Delaware at Dewey and Anadarko, Oklahoma, see Petrullo, 1934. For more details, consult Safford, 1916, pp. 387, 424; Harrington, 1921, pp. 185-190; and the more recent study of LaBarre, 1938.

nected within the womb. If one is hurt, the other will feel it even though they are separated by many miles. A child whose mother died during its birth, must not be allowed to cry. Someone must try to comfort it so that the spirit of the dead mother may not injure, or even kill the foster parent. 845

Birthmarks are an indication that both parents have experienced difficulties with other people. During his youth one man conversed with a dead person in a vision. The skeleton said to him, "You should know me by the mark on your children. You will know more when they are born." All of his children (boys) had a characteristic pecularity about the eyes, lacking control of the lids so that during the day they blinked constantly. Sometimes a birthmark in the shape of a leaf or berry appears on the child. This is attributed to a dream by the mother. The fruit means good luck and long life. A mark formed like a reptile is considered an evil omen. 845 826 [787]

While nursing the child, the mother must refrain from intercourse with any man other than her husband so that the infant may not have diarrhea. 853 837

A few notes were obtained on the treatment of the hair and teeth of children. 851

When a child's hair is cut, it is left in some out-of-the-way place.[10] It was believed that if the birds used it in building their nests, the child would suffer from headaches. If the remains were burnt, it would cause the hair to become brittle.[11]

During the teething period, a little bag containing finely crushed charcoal is hung about the child's neck. The latter chews upon it to ease his aching gums. A loose milk tooth is pulled out by means of a string, its removal allowing the permanent tooth to grow in straight. The extracted tooth is taken outdoors by the child and thrown in the direction of the east, with the words "My tooth I place down here. I know when you return I will feed you white beans."

A child's nails are trimmed with a knife or scissors. Care is taken not to lose any of the nail trimmings, which are carried into the woods and left upon a stump. At the same time the following words are addressed to the Owl: "Grandpa, I now give you these, your grandchild's nails, to make frames for your eyes."

[10] This and the following paragraph were recorded by Eugene Golomahtok, University of Pennsylvania, 1930.

[11] In adult life gray hair, an indication of longevity, is not pulled out. Its removal would be displeasing to the Creator as a lack of respect for the aged. [988 1088 302]

escape. In the summer and on trips shelter was not considered necessary (Johnson, p. 281; Lindstrom, p. 211). Most villages also contained a "Big House" which served as a place for religious assemblies and council meetings, but both of these functions were sometimes performed outdoors or in the chief's house.

As aids to transportation the Delaware used the carrying straps, pack baskets (used by both men and women) and canoes. Their bark canoes were of birch or chestnut. They also used a dugout made by first burning a suitable log and then scraping the charred portions out with sharp stones and shells (Johnson, p. 280). Vessels capable of ocean travel were constructed by fastening two large dugout canoes together and using mats for sails.[7] In these, journeys were made as far as New England and Virginia (Johnson, p. 280; Lindstrom, p. 237).

Nineteenth century writers were of the opinion that the Lenape used large amounts of copper and perhaps even worked it themselves (Brinton, 1885, p. 52; Abbott, 1885, pp. 774-77). More recent evidence, however, indicates that copper was not abundantly used, the most common form in which it is found being tubular beads, and that it was received solely in trade (Skinner, 1909, p. 28).

Clothing

The clothing of the Indian men consisted in summer of a leather girdle from which hung a flap of leather.[8] At this time of year the Delaware frequently went without footwear (Pastorius, 1700, p. 384; 1698, p. 433; Danckaerts, pp. 169 and 280; Lindstrom, pp. 191-92 and 197). The women's dress consisted of a square piece of leather fringed at the bottom which was bound around the waist as a short skirt (Skinner, 1915, p. 5; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 29). In winter, both sexes added leather leggings, moccasins and robes of animal skins or turkey feathers to this costume. Apparently the skins of bear, deer and raccoon were most commonly used for clothing. All of the clothing was decorated with colored designs of dyed porcupine quills or wampum (Pastorius, 1698, p. 433; Johnson, p. 280; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 202; Skinner, 1915, pp. 3 and 5).

Both sexes decorated themselves with numerous ornaments, the women, however, outdoing the men. Wampum was hung in chains around the neck and from the ears, and woven in bands which were worn around the head, sometimes with a single feather set in them (Pastorius, 1698, p. 434; Lindstrom, p. 196). Around the neck were also worn necklaces of dyed deer hair and native copper, stone and shell pendants and breast plates (Abbott, 1875, p. 327; Heye, pp. 32-42). In addition, men were seldom without their pipe, tobacco pouch and bag of food also hung about the neck (Lindstrom, p. 197). For festive occasions the ornamentation was greatly increased and face paint of various designs added. Hair and skin shining with bear grease was

also considered a mark of beauty (Lindstrom, pp. 193, 194, and 196; Pastorius, 1698, p. 433).

The Delaware women had the distinctive custom of wearing their hair in a large bun at the back rather than in braids. Men plucked all body hair and that of the head except for one tuft which was allowed to grow long (Smith, p. 137; Harrington, 1913, p. 220; Pastorius, 1700, p. 384; Lindstrom, pp. 195 and 200). Men were permitted to tattoo themselves as marks of distinction, the designs suggesting the deed which they commemorated. The operation was performed by breaking the skin in the desired pattern with a flint knife or sharp fish tooth. When the blood had been drawn, a powder of burned poplar bark was laid in the wound. Apparently the tattoo lasted a lifetime (Heckewelder, 1881, p. 206).

Children were allowed to go about with little or no clothing until eight or ten years of age, being protected from the sun by a liberal coating of bear grease (Johnson, p. 280; Pastorius, 1700, p. 384).

Family Organization and Customs

Starting at the beginning of life, we find that the birth process was accompanied by certain special customs. Penn says that "...when with Child, they [the women] know their Husbands no more, till delivered..." (Penn, p. 33). Harrington tells us that a prospective father who had bad luck at hunting attributed it to the spirit of his child playing about and scaring the game away. He would accordingly wear a miniature bow and arrow to keep the child's spirit amused while he hunted, or if this did not work he would try a small mortar and pestle assuming that the baby was a girl (1913, p. 212).

Birth itself occurred in the small hut which was also used during menstrual periods. The child was immediately immersed in water, then wrapped in a skin and bound to a cradle board. This was softened with a moss covering and had curved side pieces. The child stayed in the cradleboard most of the time until it could walk (Pastorius, 1698, p.434; Penn, pp.29-30; Lindstrom, p.201). Then, when it had to be carried, it was placed in a blanket and carried on the mother's back (Lindstrom, p.201).

Almost all of the writers were impressed with the quiet and respectful behavior of Delaware children. Only later writers, however, had much to say about the means used to educate them. These writers noted that children, especially the boys, seldom were punished (Brickell, p.47; Zeisberger, 1870, p.86). Brickell, who was brought up by a Delaware family, says that honesty, bravery and hospitality were cardinal virtues with them and that much of the training received was directed toward developing these virtues (pp.47-48). Also, of course, boys were taught woodcraft, fishing and hunting, and girls were taught the household duties including

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
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a *b*

LENAPE MAN AND WOMAN OF OKLAHOMA IN CEREMONIAL COSTUME
a, John Anderson (Witanaxkóxw'ĕ); *b*, Mrs Elkhair (Kicilungonĕ'zkwĕ)

[Facing p. 22]

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

WOMEN'S NIGHT

The twelfth night is reserved for the women to relate their visions; but before they begin, the speaker orders the attendants to burn cedar-leaves in the two fires, and the people are supposed to inhale the smoke and purify themselves. Then two women are ordered to take, one a little bark dish (*a"sipta'gän*) of red paint (fig. 13), the other a similar

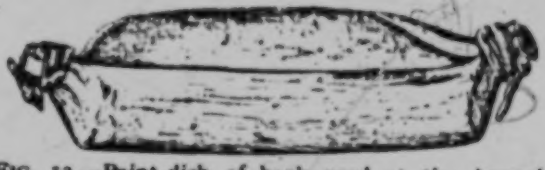

FIG. 13.—Paint-dish of bark, used at the Annual Ceremony. (Length, 2.2 in.)

vessel of grease, and the two start from the door on the north side of the Temple and go to each person present. One dips her fingers in the paint and touches the color to the person's left cheek, while her companion similarly annoints the person's head with a little of the grease. This done, two men attendants take the bark vessels and paint and grease in the

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
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OKLAHOMA DELAWARE EX-CHIEF AND NARRATOR OF TEXTS. Wi'tapono'tue, "Walks by Daylight," in Dance Costume.

[frontispiece]
[facing p. 1]

7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

PLATE 1

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DELAWARE CEREMONIAL LEADERS IN DANCE COSTUME.

Left, Wi'tapano'xwe, "Walks by Daylight," C. J. Webber, and right, Kwutepagi'kamen, "Rustling Leaves (when Walking)," George T. Anderson, of Dewey, Oklahoma. (Courtesy of Philadelphia *Public Ledger*, 1932, and Allen S. Fisher, "Lutheranism in Bucks County, 1734–1934," Tinicum, Pa., 1935.)

[facing p. 4]

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

×796 by saying that it is a pleasure dance and is given before starting on the chase. The informant regards it as a special rite not falling into the series of devotional or medicine performances in which visions are recited. The dance is a dramatic pantomime of the buffalo in their wallow, intended to procure success in the hunt.

[534] The equipment for the dance is the pot drum or kettle drum. Adams refers to a drum consisting of a dried skin, stretched over poles, upon which to beat. The performers wear a special dress for the head, known as the horned fur-
[292] headband, a wide band of fur, otter or buffalo preferably, having short polished horns attached to each side over the ears of the wearer. The male performers smear the forelock and the parting of their hair with moistened clay. This is to symbolize the bulls disporting themselves in the mud wallow which I imagine needs no further description to readers. They also paint their faces yellow and smear clay
[302] on their bodies as far down as the belt. The informant also added that the men could wear the feather bonnet of the Plains type with buffalo horns attached to the sides. Both informants, Wi'tapano'xwe and Adams, mention the cleared and hard beaten dance-space, the preparing of a fire in the center, the erection of a cross-pole upon two forked posts driven into the earth at each side of the fire, from which are suspended two large kettles full of boiled hominy. The drummers and singers are seated on a log bench on the north side of the dancing space.

The personnel of the dance consists first of all in having a sponsor for the occasion in the form of some man who assumes responsibility for its proper conduct. He then selects his assistants, male and female, from members of his own ceremonial group (Turkey, Wolf or Tortoise). One of the men selected is to be the singer and he may have a couple of helpers. We are told that other men also who know the songs or those who may wish to learn them would be permitted to sit with the musicians and rehearse with them.

×796 The procedure in the Buffalo Dance is to emulate the
535 behavior of the buffalo as the animals are conceived as con-

7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

					726
ta'msehaŋg	awe·'n	ə'nda	we·'i·tci·na'k'·si·t'	təli·'	539
sometimes	a person	when	he looked the part	that	
kaci·lə'si·n	ɔk	ni·hi·l·a't·aŋge		elki·'kwi·	
he was powerful	and	could win [the game]		how in any way	
si·'hiwe·t'	lowe·'nhaŋg	api·'laxta·.			
as he wished	is called, said	used supernatural power.			

Free Translation.

Now, I am relating what was done long ago when scouting, as it was called. The leading warriors called a council. They talked about what is called exploring, or scouting. And the great men talked to the young men about the thing they possessed in their dream vision. The young warriors are trained and hence are acquainted with all this for the wilderness. The leader and the conjurors carry with them warrior's medicine. Before they start off they have a war dance, according to custom. Sometimes the young warriors scratch themselves,[4] each one on his body, in order to convince them that they have ability. Very many were the different rites the Delawares had, when they prepared for scouting or in the war dance, and also long ago when they played football. Very frequently a person would scratch himself to bleed his body. Sometimes when a person showed proof that he was powerful and could win out in any way he wished, it was said he used spiritual power.[5]

CEREMONIAL TRAINING AND PERSONAL CONDUCT

In a category somewhat by itself may be placed some rites 302 ●
which seem to bear upon the ceremonial appearance of the 788
individual as he presents himself for a day's program in life.

It was customary for the Delawares to apply fresh red paint to the face each day, coloring the cheeks and forehead. A line of red paint was also marked in the part of the hair from the forehead up. The coloring matter was ordinarily

analogy, T. W. Alford, "Civilization," University of Oklahoma Press, 1936, pp. 21–2.

[4] This weakened rite seems to be the only manifestation in Delaware ethnology of the ceremonial scarification that assumed such intensive force to the southward.

[5] The young men were advised by their elders not to use supernatural power unless there were serious need for it. This seems to be a common Algonkian opinion.

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

302 mixed with tallow. The reason given for this action was to
783 impress the Great Spirit with the fact that his people were up and about and observant of cleanliness and good appearance as they went about their tasks,—in short, that they were consciously alive and mindful of their obligations toward the rules of life taught by him.

788 Children were awakened about sunrise and instructed to
869 wash their faces at once so that the Great Spirit would see that they were not lazy but ready and prepared for the day's duties. Young people were, moreover, advised to lift their feet nicely when they walked, and to find constantly something to do to engage their time in occupations that would be helpful to their parents and others. These monitions were also backed by the instructions that the Great Spirit would find them meritorious in conduct and reward them with a long and happy life. The present members of the nation who were brought up in such practices lament deeply the indifference of members of the present generation in such matters, attributing the decline of their people to failure in observing the teachings which made their ancestors powerful and respected.

788 A rite recorded of the Delawares of former times was the
515 washing of youths each morning in clear running water, preferably that of streams, both in winter and summer, suggestive of a "river-cult." We hear of this habit frequently in the narratives of Delaware history when the tribe resided in the East. It seems to have been insisted upon generally for youths,[4] even enforced upon white boys who had been taken captive and adopted in the Nation, as we see in the following narrative.

727 To have spoken of personal purification by immersion in
783 the water of streams leads to a more formal method of washing away defilement by the same means. Referring to John McCullough, who in 1776 wrote of his experiences while living as a captive with the then hostile Delawares, we are told of his enforced "conversion" to paganism at the hands

[4] An interesting resume of Delaware practices in the training of youths and warriors is given in the account of a Delaware author who describes the daily plunge into the river by boys undergoing the course of training in pairs. Cf. R. C. Adams, "Legends of the Delaware Indians," Washington, D. C., 1905, p. 26.

8:Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
NM7 Delaware NM7

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19. Indian family by Lindeström. Original size; from the *Geographia*.

[facing p. 195]

8:Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
NM7 Delaware NM7

CHAPTER XI.

Concerning the Habit, Clothes, Decoration and Ornaments of the American Savage People.

As to the subject of this chapter we shall begin 301 302
with the head [of the savages] and continue to the feet. Firstly as to to the males. They shave off the hair upon their heads with sharp flints,[1] allowing tufts to remain here and there, and the bare places they color with red paint. Their hair is by nature coal black and long grown, so that their locks at the ears, which[2] they allow to hang uncut, reach down to the knees, which they, together with the other hair, anoint with bear fat, that it shines so that one can see one's reflection in it.[3] The locks they bind up with braids and ribbons and their threaded money. On the ends of their hair they string money and tie a knot to [it].[4] Around the head over the forehead they bind a belt of money, the width of a hand, strung in the form of figures.[5]

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[1] Small pieces of chipped flint.

[2] *Which* refers to locks; the order is Lindeström's.

[3] *Så en kan spegla sighther uthj.* Williams says in this connection: "Yet some cut their haire round, and some as low and as short as the sober English; yet I never saw any so to forget nature it selfe in such excessive length and monstrous fashion, as to the shame of the English Nation, I now (with grief) see my Countrey-men in England are degenerated unto." *Key*, 58.

[4] A custom described by other early writers. This form of decoration is common among primitive peoples. I saw it over large areas in West Africa.

[5] Something like the wampum belt. See picture facing this page. This headband is also common among primitive peoples.

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
NM7 Delaware NM7

[142] By nature they indeed get whiskers, but they do
● 302 not wish to have any, because they think it is shameful, wherefore, when the first hairs appear they sit and always pull and pluck out the hair with the roots, so that it never gets to grow,[6] but they look smooth on the chin as the women. They paint themselves in all kinds of ways in the face with all kinds of colors, so that they look inexpressibly horrible, when they think themselves to be adorned in the best manner. In their ears they have brass and tin rings and small bunches
301 of money hanging. On their heads they have sitting long and large painted bird feathers. Around their necks they have strung much money, hanging down like a lot of chains on their breasts. And among these they have their *Pââhra* or idol hanging, concerning which more will be said hereafter, in the chapter about their faith and religion. On
482 their backs they have their *notasser*[7] or bags
301 hanging, very skillfully and neatly made, in which
41

[6] *Når huldhren uthsprieke, sittie the eilltydh* [och] *ryckie och plocke uth hâår*[en] *medh rötterne.* Cf. *Doc.*, I, 281.

[7] The bags were made of corn husks, hemp and bast, often beautifully decorated. Cf. De Vries, *N. Y. Col.*, 2, III, 95, 107 ff., 209. The Lenapé (and possibly general Algonkian) word for bag, in this case with Swedish plural ending *-er*. Lindeström often used Indian words with the Swedish plural ending. The early settlers of all nationalities adopted many words from the Indians, some of which have become part of the English, French, Spanish or Portuguese languages in America of today. The Dutch and Swedes likewise borrowed many such words, but these forms died out with the elimination of the Dutch and Swedish languages. Only in a small district in New Jersey has a Dutch Dialect survived to our day, and this is greatly mixed with Indian words. In Dutch documents the word occurs as "*desotas*, bags," *Doc.*, I, 284. De Vries calls them *notassers*. Cf. Brinton, *Diet.*, 81. For Indian Bags, see Hodge, *Handbook*, I, 125.

As to the decorations of the Indians Williams says: "They hang these strings of money about their necks and wrists; as also upon the necks and wrists of their wives and children." *Key*, 131.

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
NM7 Delaware NM7

begun to buy shirts from the Christians, reaching to the knees; but they do not know enough to let them be washed, but let them stay on unwashed as long as there is a single piece left. Lately the Christians have had a lot of coats, reaching to the knees, made of frieze for the savages living nearest [to themselves], the one side of the breast and back, red, the other side, blue, likewise on the arms, as the clothes of the orphan children in Stockholm are made. These [coats] the principal sachems bought from the Christians and liked them very much. Otherwise, when they want to be well dressed they wrap around themselves an ell of red or blue frieze of the broad Dutch frieze,[13] which they also buy from the Christians. On their feet they use *sippackor* or laced shoes of deer skin,[14] bordered and decorated with their money, almost in the same manner as the northern lace-shoe.[15]

The habit of the women is the same as that of the men, the only difference being in the adornment of the hair, in that the females braid their hair in 4 locks, which they allow to hang down the

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[13] *Breeda holländska frijset.*

[14] A Lenapé word (whose root is present in the various Algonkian dialects). It is found as *seppock*, *shipak*, etc., and came to mean shoe. It was adopted into English as *shoepack*. Lindeström added the Swedish plural *-or* (*sippackor*), as Swedish words ending in *a* were usually feminine and took the plural in *-or*. See also Campanius, *Catc.* Cf. note 7, above, and Chapt. VIII, note 5d. In Minsi the word seems to have been *matchtschipak* (*matchcus*, *mockussin* (New England), etc., *moccasin*.) Cf. Brinton, *Dict.*, 71; Zeisberger, *Dict.*, 171–2; Williams, *Key*, 107. The Indian shoes were made of corn husks and (mostly) of leather (deer or elk). Cf. *N. Y. Col.*, 2, 11, 269.

[15] *Norrländske snörpskor.* "Shoes" somewhat similar to the Indian moccasins were used by the Lapps and Finns in Northern Sweden.

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
NM7 Delaware NM7

back or they tie it up in a square pouch on the back. Some of them tie it in a square pouch made for that purpose, but indeed they do not shave the hair off their heads nor do they use belts.[16] Some of them have their bags hanging on the side as the men do. This may now be sufficient about the dress of the Indians which can also be seen from the accompanying drawing of the savages.[17]

[16] *Eij heller bruke de gehängk.* *Gehäng* really means a sword belt or baldrick.

[17] Their covering, say the Dutch writers, was a coat of skin (beaver, bear, raccoon, etc.), with the fur outside in summer, inside in winter; or a coat of turkey feathers as described by Lindeström. They also wore leather girdles, ornamented with pieces of whale's fin, whale's bone, or wampum. Later the natives adopted shirts and cloth from the colonists. Cf. De Vries, Van der Donck, Rasier, the *Vertoogh*, etc., *N. Y. Col.*, 2, I, 194, II, 269, 347, 111, 95, etc.; Hodge, *Handbook*, I, 310 ff.

| | | |

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

852 the sex correlation. The animal or part of it was eaten by a friend who prayed for the continuance of good luck, according to Johnston, J. W. and W. L. (335). The dedication of the animal to deities or the spirits of deceased friends and the giving of the feast at night as mentioned by Johnston were denied by [177] two of the informants (333-34). There is a suggestion of a fourth-period change here that would be stronger if it were not for the paucity of accounts.

224 A feast, a dance, or both, were customarily given on the return of a hunting party, according to the statements or implications of the sources of the first three periods (338-39). The informants all denied that dances were held and W. T. was the [177] only one to admit the giving of feasts. This seems very definitely to reflect a change between the third and fourth periods, probably due to the decline in the economic importance of hunting.

Constitution, Personal Appearance, Dress, etc.

142 The elements under this heading are few and show little 302 change. There are, however, a couple of items that merit some discussion. First, on the matter of extirpating the beard, there is a division of opinion among the sources and among the informants (342). All the sources who mentioned the beard, except Van der Donck, said that it was pulled out. This was confirmed by J. W. in the fourth period but denied by W. T. and E. R. These maintained that the Indians never had beards until they intermarried with the whites.

The hairdress of the women offered little occasion for disagreement (349-53). All the sources and informants who gave any information on the subject agreed that women fastened their hair behind the head. Whether it was braided, clubbed, or fastened in a square bunch seems to have been a matter of individual preference, for one source mentioned all three methods [301] and four other accounts, two of the three methods. Ornamentation was also according to individual preference.

302 Men cut their hair short except for the tuft or scalp lock on the top of the head (345). The scalp lock was made into two braids according to all the sources who reported on this detail,

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

but two informants, J. W. and W. L., dissented (346). W. T. alone of the informants recalled the former practice of two braids, one forward and the other to the rear (347). He wore his own hair in two braids hanging down beside his cheeks which he said was a custom borrowed from the Caddo among whom he was living.

It is to be regretted that we do not have better estimates of the average and greatest age of the Delaware (355-56). The figures we do have for the average age are not really average length of life of the population but the usual age at which the old people died. Even more extreme than an average age of seventy to eighty years is the three hundred years given by W. T. Earlier estimates, if available, might show a counterpart of this belief. Among the Shawnee of the eighteenth century the span of life set by the creator was believed to be two hundred years. W. T. said that before the coming of the whites all Indians lived an even three centuries. One hundred and forty years was the next greatest age reported in any other account.

War and Its Incidents

The prosecution and ritual of warfare probably consumed a large portion of the time and energies of the Delaware in prehistoric times. The accounts of the first period are very vague or completely silent upon the subject. In the fourth period the occasions or the means for war were mostly gone and the information again rather incomplete. W. T. for instance said that war was introduced to the Indians by the whites and that they had no practices that were not taught them by the latter. W. L. refused to commit himself on anything pertaining to war. The two younger informants gave fairly complete accounts that in general agreed with those of the earlier periods. Where they do not agree, the explanation is more apt to be due to lack of information than because of a change in custom.

Giving notice of war to the enemy except by incursions of a war party was inconsistent with the method of warfare pursued (362, 364). The existence of large war parties was denied by all accounts and only small parties depending upon surprise for

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

224 622 roots up the grass in the position, [assigned to him] in the circumference, to the width of about 3 or 4 ells, so that the fire will not be able to run back, each one then beginning to set fire to the grass, which is mightily ignited, so that the fire travels away, in towards the center of the circle, which the Indians follow with great noise, and all the animals which are found within the circle, flee from the fire and the cries of the Indians, traveling away, whereby the circle through its decreasing is more and more contracted towards the center. When now the Indians have surrounded the center with a small circle, so that they mutually cannot do each other any harm, then they break loose with guns and bows on the animals which they then have been blessed with, that not one can escape and thus they get a great multitude of all kinds of animals which are found there.

[782 776] 796 The first hunt of the year which they thus obtain (they consecrate to Manitto). When they first have eaten their fill of it and enjoyed their feast they make a burnt offering of the remaining, which they sacrifice to Manitto, i. e., the Devil, but not one animal of it do [they] sell, believing that they through this later will get in their hunt so much the greater blessing. Then they sing and dance and when they become jolly and happy then they cry and sing thus namely: *Hägginj, hä, hä, hä; Hägginj hä; Hägginj hä, Hägginj hä, hä, hä, hä,* etc. Thus repeating and continuing so long a time, so that it reaches well over the forest.

338. Celebration on returning from hunting

[782 776] W. T. said that prayers to the Great Spirit were made at this time, desiring that the favors shown the people be continued as they were appreciated.

Constitution, Personal Appearance, Dress, etc.

342. Extirpation of beard

● 302 [142] J. W. said that formerly the beard was pulled out but that recently the occasional use of a razor was all that was necessary. W. T. and E. R. said that they never had any beards.

9: Kinietz /E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

347. Hair in two queues, one forward, one to the rear 302

W. T. said that formerly the Delaware men wore their hair in two braids, one to the front, and the other to the rear of the head but that recently he and others of the Anadarko group had worn their hair in two braids, one on each side of the face, in keeping with the Wichita, Kiowa and Caddo among whom they lived.

349. Hair fastened behind the head

W. L. said that women did not fasten hair at all until men began to do so and then women braided theirs. Could not be more definite about men braiding theirs, when or whether they braided all of their hair or only the queue.

357. Average height

JOHN JOHNSTON said [height] same as whites. CAPTAIN PIPE 141
said that the average height was between five feet nine inches and six feet.

359. Constitution more rugged than that of whites

JOHN JOHNSTON—Their strength I think is inferior [to the 142
whites] but more active, their constitutions are firm while in the prime of life, when they begin to decline I think they decline much faster than the whites.

WAR AND ITS INCIDENTS

361. Decided upon by council or civil chiefs 721

ZEISBERGER said war was decided upon by "the captains" presumably referring to the war chiefs.

W. T. said that war was not a part of the Delaware way of [172]
life until after the whites came and taught them to make war on each other.

W. L. said that there had been no wars in his time and that he knew nothing about conducting them.

364. Notice of war given

E. R. said that arrows would be sent to the other party after they had tried to settle a dispute by talk, if the other party kept the arrows they knew they had better prepare for war.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

Zeisberger mentions the world-flood myth in which it is related that some human survivors took refuge on the back of a turtle whose age was so great that his shell was mossy.[1] And the turtle represents the earth. His rounded back is to the Delawares the earth dome.

Another indication of a belief in the latent potency of the magical powers of this remarkable creature is met with in the esteem paid to the yellow color-pattern on the upper shell of the animal. Face paint patterns of a dignity appropriate to the men taking part in the Big House ceremony are copied from these markings.[2] The men wearing these patterns are adopting the symbol of the creature who "carries our mother's body."

The creature that typifies the earth-bearer, designated as taxko'xk[3] in Delaware, and whose symbol exists in the form of the shell-rattle, is the Box Turtle (Cistudo Carolina). This reptile is by the rulings of precise taxonymy not a tortoise but a connecting link between the aquatic turtles, or terrapins, and the terrestrial forms, the true tortoises. For the Box Turtles, of the genus Cistudo, deriving their name from the well known structure of the hinged plastron which permits the animal to withdraw the soft parts of its body completely within the protective cover of the shell, have partially webbed feet, which places them nearer to the Turtles than to the Tortoises. Yet to distinguish the reptile of Delaware tradition from the semi-aquatic American turtles, I have adhered to the designation of tortoise in the text and discussion.[4]

Perhaps certain remarks offered by the informant will, in con-

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[1] Zeisberger, op. cit., p. 131. See also E. deSchweinitz, Life and Times of David Zeisberger, pp. 218-19. Also Heckewelder, pp. 250, 308.
Later authors have pointed out the prominence of the tortoise as a symbol of the earth, not only in Delaware cosmology (Brinton I, p. 135) but in other Algonkian mythologies of the central and eastern areas as well.

[2] Considerable variation in the amount of yellow and in the outline of the patterns is observable in the markings of individual specimens of this genus of turtles.

[3] Of the five North American species of Cistudo, *Cistudo Carolina*, the eastern Box Turtle, the original race of Delaware tradition, and the Painted-Box Turtle (*c. ornata*), of the central region, were and are denoted as the proper forms. Possibly the Three-toed Box Turtle (*C. triunguis*) of the South Central states, may have been utilized by the tribe later in the west. The following are the names and identities of turtles mentioned by the informant:
sse·sp'i·'p'konast' məkəke·'xki ta'xkoxk' "spotted back prairie turtle," Box Tortoise (Cistudo (sp)).
c'iggc·'k·i ta'xkoxk' "timber turtle," (a large yellow tortoise). This can be used for the "course" rattle carried by the "second dancer" or follower."
pombu't·i·s, "stinking turtle" (Aromochelys odoratus, or Cinosternum Pennsylvanicum). Of no importance ceremonially.
pi'səlato'lha, "wrinkled breast," Soft-shelled turtle. (Trionyx spinifer). These are eaten, but are of no ceremonial importance.
c·'xəlato'lha "smooth breast," any water terrapin of genus Chrysemys. Snapping-turtle (Chelydra serpentina). Its shell is used only in the Mask ceremony and in Brush-arbor ceremony. The Delawares are cognizant of the Iroquois' use of the snapping turtle and of their own preference for the Box Tortoise in making rattles for dancing. The term taxko'xk denotes that the animal's shell is "fused together. An obsolete term for turtle is to'lpe.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca, 1925) 1931
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bers of the group are convened for the Big House ceremony the day intervals between the nightly performances are passed in taking rest and in pastimes of a native character. The Delawares have various games (li·nale'ti·n) of a non-formal nature. Among these are horse racing (h'wta'me'laxtan, "trying out horses), and the dice and bowl game (ma'ma'ndi·n, "gathering [dice]") consisting of five dice, cut out of mussle shell carved into forms of button, horsehead, tortoise, tossed in a wooden bowl, the counters being kernels of corn or coffee beans. Other amusements, some obviously of European origin, are checkers, pitching quoits, cards, broad-jumping and jack-straws, it might be added that the Delawares are addicted to the well known moccasin-game but reserve it for the funeral ceremony.[1]

CEREMONIAL IMAGE AND FACE-PAINTING.—The application of pigment to the face has, in Delaware thought, the value of an anointment. The sanctity of the act of face-painting in connection with the performance is displayed in the formality of the rite on the ninth night in which the carved images in the Big House, the face images on the forked drum-sticks, and the faces of the worshipers themselves are given an application of red color. The images, however, receive an application of black and red on each half of the face, while the people receive a rubbing of red only on the cheeks and forehead. The proper native source of red for face painting, which the Delawares believe to have been created for their use by the Great Spirit, is Blood-root (Sanguinaria canadensis). Of this we hear occasionally in the text. In the accounts dealing with Indian customs in the east, Blood-root under the name pukoon is mentioned as an article of much importance. The term *pukoon* became adopted into English and the root became a color substance sought for in the commerce of the colonies. The Delawares still preserve a feeling of its importance and, although considered rare in the present habitat of the tribe in Oklahoma, it is locally present in quantities sufficient to supply an orange-red stain for them in their ceremonies. They call it pe''kɔn.[2]

Black painting is also important in significance. Black (sɔk·a'χtai, "black charcoal") is a means of summoning ghosts and so it is worn only when such associations are desired.[3]

In an account of early Pennsylvania and New Jersey, Gabriel Thomas (1698)[4] tells us that the Delawares upon decease made their faces black all over, and when their affairs went well they painted

[1] To be dealt with in a later memoir of this series.

[2] The identity of the above term with Sanguinaria was ascertained during a trip with the informant in the Pennsylvania woods where the plant was found and named.

[3] The informant remembers when a child being told by his mother to go wash the black paint from his face before night came on, after he had been playing dancing, lest it attract a ghost.

[4] Gabriel Thomas' Account, etc., in Narratives of Early Pennsylvania, West New Jersey, and Delaware, N. Y. (1912), edited by Albert Cook Myers, p. 341.

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their faces with red, "it being the token of their joy as the other is of their grief."

The dichromatic pattern, black and red, seems to stand out with prominence in the painting of the human face and its carved representations in the whole eastern portion of North America from Maine to the Gulf of Mexico. An explanation, often sought for by direct inquiry among the Indians, and again based upon hypothesis, has never seemed forthcoming. In the preceding remarks on the use of black among the Delawares, and again through implied reasoning, I would venture to suggest, lies a plausible explanation of the pattern of red and black. The red symbolizes living beings, the black dead, both idea and symbol having a deep grounding in the religious philosophy of the eastern part of the continent.

To illustrate some of the color patterns affected by the Delawares during the Big House ceremony, the narrator of the text made the accompanying color sketches (figure). The patterning permissible in the ceremony is normally restricted to black and red put on in larger masses rather than in fine lines. The mass designs are thought to be sombre, dignified; in short, full-dress in character, and, a note of no little significance, more ancient.

The smaller, fine-line designs placed on the cheeks or in the narrow area between the outer corner of the eye and the temple are regarded as being more modern, secular in character. These are considered too profane for the purpose of worship, and to wear them during the Big House ceremony would be out of keeping with the gravity of the occasion. The fine-line designs are regarded as being suitable for dress-up events of a social nature and for social dances. They belong also to the garb of warriors, like the wearing of the roach head-ornament and the feather bonnet. A series of examples of the fine line of warriors' face patterns for cheeks and temples are shown in figures , as observed and remembered by the informant. An analogy exists between the patterns adopted by warriors and the markings on the face of the rattlesnake and even the turtles. In both cases the patterns are thought ominous, which seems to account for their exclusion from the ceremonial category of designs. Painting on the face representing markings on turtles' or rattlesnakes' faces are called aca'co which means "slitting or cutting in the skin," in Delaware.[1]

THE SWEATING RITE.—At an earlier period of Delaware history, it is said in the text, before the evacuation of the tribal haunts in Kansas (1867) the performance of a sweating ceremony seems to have been included in the annual ceremony. Harrington has notes on this procedure for which he received the name muxhatoL'zing from his

[1] In Montagnais-Naskapi, aca'jo denotes tatooing.

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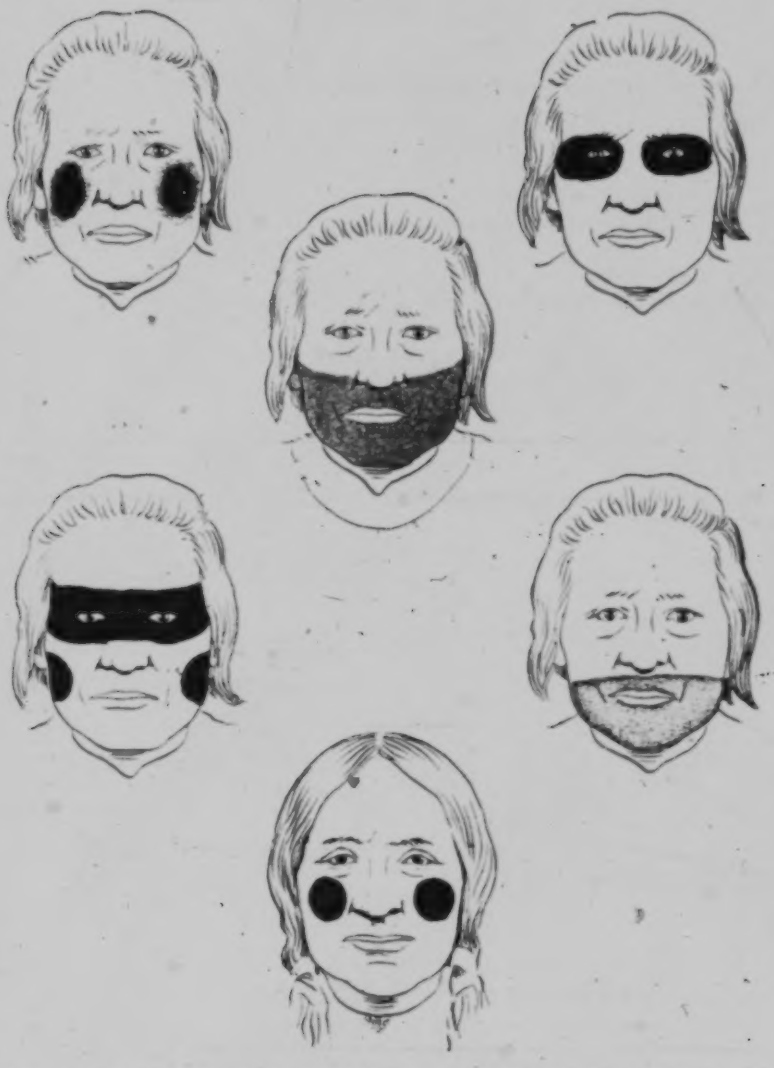

Plate I—Face paintings of persons taking part in the Delaware Big House Ceremony. [Upper five designs worn by men, (upper center by Samuel Anderson, lower right hand pattern by Little Stout), upper center commonly used by drummers, lower center worn by women.]

p. 78 (A)]

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Plate II—Face paintings worn by men taking part in social dances, and only permitted to the drummers in the Big House Ceremony. These are commonly known as warrior's or Lame dress paintings.

[Facing p. 78(B)]

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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Plate III—Face-paintings worn by men taking part in Social dances, and only permitted to the drummers in the Big House Ceremony. These are commonly known as Warrior's or fancy dress paintings.

[Facing p. 78 (c)]

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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Plate IV—Patterns for painting the cheeks and temples of men when dressing for social dances, but not to be worn in the Big House Ceremony.

[Facing p. 78(D)]

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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deer-tail or horse-hair when made into a roach.[1] And everything is beaded including moccasins. And if any one wishes it he goes there to the Attendant where he may choose paint of whatever color he prefers.[2] And those desiring it wear eagle feathers.[3] All the old men customarily have the head-band when going into the Big House.[4]

And anyone may choose his style, but red paint and yellow, by custom, are more frequently used. A person does not rub it on his face all over. A person usually paints his cheek or at the sides of his eyes lightly. But the relief-drummers[5] can, if desired, paint black or paint fancy. All these women if they desire may paint red when entering the Big House. And also when the ceremonial leader first enters the Big House that is the time when all those Face-images[6] are painted.

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[1] The "roach" is the dyed deer hair or horsehair crest worn by young and middle aged men, worn on the top of the head. (pl. —). The hair stands upright, reaching from the crown to the nape of the neck, kept in place by an ornamentally carved bone spreader forming the base for a bone tube in which an eagle feather is fastened. This is a characteristic head ornament of the Delawares, ancient as well as modern, allusions to it being found in the early explorers accounts from the Carolinas to Maine. It seems to have accompanied the shaved painted head as an attachment to the scalp-lock of warriors. Throughout the central Algonkian area and the southern Siouan tribes it appears with great prominence in later writings, and has finally spread among the Prairie peoples possibly through diffusion through the agency of the Omaha. The Delaware term for the roach, tapaskowiu, has reference to the shaved head and stiffened hair; that for the bone spreader, cuxaalas signifies "rattling pendant." These objects and their descriptive terms represent extremely ancient properties of eastern North America, having obvious connections with archaeological objects of bone which have puzzled investigators. The distribution of the roach head-ornament offers an interesting problem. Its occurrence is noted with practically no aberrant modifications among the early populations from Maine southward to Florida, west through the Iroquois to the Central Algonkian, the southern and eastern Siouan tribes.

Among the earliest references to the Delawares wearing the roach we may cite Denton's (1670) mentioning men affecting as head-wear "a kind of a tuft made with Deer's hair, and dyed a scarlet colour, which they esteem very rich." (See quotation of pertinent data in A. B. Skinner, "Indians of Greater New York, 1915, p. 30). Neither the article itself nor the sentiment attached to it has altered much among the Delawares since this was written two hundred and sixty years ago.

[2] There are limitations in the colors and patterns in face-paintings. The accompanying chart shows the designs and areas of the face appropriate for the decoration of individuals of various classifications (plate I).

[3] The Delaware seldom trim or cut the feathers they use when dressing for the Big House. They say the feathers are perfect as they grow on the living bird and should not be altered. Only the feathers of birds considered noble, such as the eagles and certain of the larger hawks are sanctioned.

[4] Elderly men give up wearing the roach substituting the fur headband with beaded rosette and small feathers at the side, (see fig. 25), or simply the handkerchief tied around the hair into which a feather is stuck. The elders wear their hair shoulder-length.

[5] The drummers who assist the chief drummers are permitted by rulings of the Big House tradition to wear black in painting, or to paint the face according as their fancy may prompt (see plate II).

[6] The images on the side and center posts of the Big House. The renewal of the paint, half black and half red on these images is a sacred act performed out of the reverence for the "Grandfathers" at the same time when the communicants of the ceremony apply the paint to their own faces.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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these spirit-forces are beginning to touch those who carry on this our prayer-ceremony.[1]

Now the Attendants sweep the Big House clean. Now the leading Attendants make fire and burn cedar.[2]

"I am thankful, Oh thou Great Spirit, that we have been spared to live until now to purify with cedar smoke this our House, because that has always been the rule in the ancient world since the beginning of creation. When anyone thinks of his children how fortunate it is to see them enjoying good health. And this is the cause of a feeling of happiness when we consider how greatly we are blessed by the benevolence of our father, the Great Spirit. And we can also feel the great strength of him our grandfather Fire for which we cause him pleasure when we purify and take care with it, and when we feed him this cedar. All of this together we offer in esteem to him, our grandfather, because he has compassion when he sees how pitifully we behave while we are pleading with all the spirit-forces above as they were created and with all those here on earth. Give us everything, our father, that we ask of you Great Spirit even the Creator."[3]

Now the leading Attendant shall carry around a wooden bowl of wampum beads. To every person he shall give equally three wampum beads.[4] But the Following Attendant, a woman Attendant, shall carry a bark bowl containing paint and bloodroot so that everyone shall be anointed with paint.[5]

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[1] At the conclusion of these rites on the ninth evening the recitation of visions and the dancing around the White Path is resumed by the reciters as on the preceding nights. When the last reciter has completed his round the ceremony procedes as announced in the ensuing paragraph with the burning of cedar.

[2] At this juncture the Leader goes to the fire at the east of the center post while the cedar is burning and then to the west fire, and delivers the following prayer in a low tone.

[3] With the ending of his prayer the Leader has timed his movements so that his time was divided before each of the two fires of the Big House while the cedar incense had been burning.

[4] Those receiving the beads can keep them if desired. But it was customary for them to return the wampum to the common fund by putting them in a little bowl standing on one of the hominy mortars outside after the meeting is over for that night. It was only by redonation of this nature that the supply of wampum necessary for conducting the ceremony could be assured.

[5] Some notes on the use of blood-root (Sanguinaria canadensis) as a red stain, or an anointment administered to the faces of all the worshippers, have been included in the introduction. A point, however, arises in the matter of ceremonial usage here as recorded in Harrington's study (I, pp. 105-6). He mentions that a bowl of grease is carried around from which the attendants anoint the skin of those to be painted. It might be inferred that some religious significance is attached to the use of grease in this act. And especially so in view of the similar function of grease among the far northern Algonkian who use grease rubbed on the face as "feeding the soul-spirit." Questioning the informant on this interesting point, however, only brings out the simple statement that the grease is put on to protect the skin from the effects of the paint, or pe'kon, which tends to be irritating. The grease is also put on the carved faces in this case to make the paint, put on after, sink in better. One might imagine, nevertheless, that at some former time the putting on of the grease was more of a rite than it is now.

[350 (c)]

291 who speak our language and have the man-
[191] ners and address of gentlemen. Some of the old men and some of the young men had on colored calico frock coats of the most gaudy
[302] colors. Many had vermilion on their faces, thus giving them a low appearance, and I saw a few girls with spots of it in their
[301] cheeks. One man I saw with a silver ornament in his nose, which covered part of his mouth. Many of the men wore leggings with a wide side projection, ornamented, and the breech cloth, over which they wore a vest or shirt, and perhaps one of the frock coats of calico above named, with head bands of bead work over the shoulder and meeting in a large bead work pocket on the right hand side. As a body I should think the men inferior to the women.

454 The Delawares have a million and up-
648 wards in the national treasury at five per cent interest. Their regular annuity is
[657] $50,000. The present is a part of two payments, I understand, and is larger than usual. There were several stores full of
443 goods, and a great many stands out in the open air with the protection of canvas. The
492 great show of all was in saddles and bridles, of which I presume I saw of saddles alone
[435] 150; the price ranges from $15 to 50 dollars, the ordinary being $22 to $25. They are the Mexican saddle, made at Westport, Mo., and the kind usually used in Kansas and this part of the west. It has a high pommel, wooden stirrups usually, which are easier than metal for long journeys, and a well stuffed and quilted seat, with a high rear plate. They are far superior to our eastern saddle for riding.

439 The assortment of goods was creditable to the good sense of the Delawares, as the supply was adapted to the demand. Grains of all kinds, tin wares of all kinds and at reasonable prices, in fact they could not

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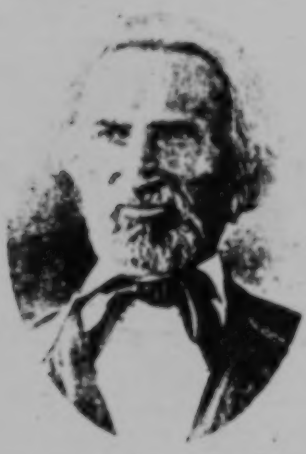

Charles Journeycake (Johnny Cake) was a chief, and a prominent leader of the Delawares in Kansas, as well as being a widely known Baptist minister. His mother gave Morgan information about the Delawares.

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"Yellow Tree," as the name of one of the Bands. She appeared to be about 70 years old. She was of the Wolf tribe and her husband Turtle. She said the son did not necessarily succeed the father in the office of chief, but could not explain the succession fully. A brother or a sister's son often succeeded. Captain Ketchum[14] at the time of his death was head chief, a principal chief of the Turtle Tribe of the Delawares. This title or office is hereditary as she thought in the tribe, for she said the Turtles could not have a man of the Wolf or Turkey Tribe for their chief. Ketchum's name was Ta-whe-la-na (Catch Me). He died leaving a son; but was succeeded by John Konner, the present principal or hereditary chief who was the son of the youngest sister of Cap-

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[611]

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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them pluck out their beards, with tweezers made expressly for that purpose. Before the Europeans came into the country, their apparatus for performing this work, consisted of a pair of muscle shells, sharpened on a gritty stone, which answered very well, being somewhat like pincers; but since they can obtain wire, of which that of brass is preferred, they make themselves tweezers, which they always carry with them in their tobacco-pouch, wherever they go, and when at leisure, they pluck out their beards or the hair above their foreheads. This they do in a very quick manner, much like the plucking of a fowl, and the oftener they pluck out their hair, the finer it grows afterwards, so that at last there appears hardly any, the whole having been rooted out. The principal reasons which they give for thus plucking out their beards and the hair next to their foreheads, are that they may have a clean skin to lay the paint on, when they dress for their festivals or dances, and to facilitate the *tattooing* themselves, a custom formerly much in use among them, especially with those who had distinguished themselves by their valour, and acquired celebrity. They say that either painting or tattooing on a hairy face or body would have a disgusting appearance.

As late as the year 1762, when I resided at Tuscarawas on the Muskingum, tattooing was still practised by some Indians: a valiant chief of that village, named *Wawundochwalend*, desirous of having another name given him, had the figure of a water-lizard engraved or tattooed on his face, above the chin, when he received the name *Twakachshawsu*, the water-lizard. The process of tattooing, which I once saw performed, is quickly done, and does not seem to give much pain. They have poplar bark in readiness burnt and reduced to a powder, the figures that are to be tattooed are marked or designed on the skin; the operator with a small stick, rather larger than a common match, to the end of which some sharp

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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needles are fastened, quickly pricks over the whole so that blood is drawn, then a coat of this powder is laid and left on to dry. Before the whites came into this country, they scarified themselves for this purpose with sharp flint stones, or pricked themselves with the sharp teeth of a fish.

In the year 1742, a veteran warrior of the Lenape nation and Monsey tribe, renowned among his own people for his bravery and prowess, and equally dreaded by their enemies, joined the Christian Indians who then resided at this place.* This man, who was then at an advanced age, had a most striking appearance, and could not be viewed without astonishment. Besides that his body was full of scars, where he had been struck and pierced by the arrows of the enemy, there was not a spot to be seen, on that part of it which was exposed to view, but what was tattooed over with some drawing relative to his achievements, so that the whole together struck the beholder with amazement and terror. On his whole face, neck, shoulders, arms, thighs and legs, as well as on his breast and back, were represented scenes of the various actions and engagements he had been in; in short, the whole of his history was there deposited, which was well known to those of his nation, and was such that all who heard it thought it could never be surpassed by man. Far from murdering those who were defenceless or unarmed, his generosity, as well as his courage and skill in the art of war, was acknowledged by all. When, after his conversion, he was questioned about his warlike feats, he frankly and modestly answered, "That being now "taken captive by *Jesus Christ*, it did not become him to "relate the deeds he had done while in the service of the "evil spirit; but that he was willing to give an account "in the manner in which he had been *conquered*." At his baptism, on the 23d of December 1742, he received the name of *Michael*, which he preserved until his death,

* Bethlehem.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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which happened on the 24th of July 1756. He led the life of a true Christian, and was always ready and willing to relate the history of his conversion, which I heard myself from his own mouth. His age, when he died, was supposed to be about eighty years.

The cutting of the ears, which formerly was practised among the Indians, is now no longer so common with them. Their reasons for laying this custom aside, are that the operation is painful, not only when performed, but until the ears are perfectly healed, which takes a long time, and that they often lose that part of their ears which is separated from the solid part, by its being torn off by the the bushes, or falling off when frost-bitten. I once heard of a gay Indian setting off on a severe cold morning for a neighbouring village not more than three miles distant, whose ears had been touched by the frost, and dropped off before he arrived at the place to which he was going. He had not even felt that he had lost them, and when told of it, he was so chagrined that he was going to destroy himself. I have seen a great many Indians with torn ears; but now the custom of cutting them is nearly if not entirely disused.

CHAPTER XXVI.

DANCES, SONGS, AND SACRIFICES.

THE dances of the Indians vary according to the purposes for which they are intended. We have seen, in the second chapter of this work, that when the Dutch first landed on New York island, the inhabitants who be-

l:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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converted for thirty years and had always led a regular life, and who had thirteen children. Others had from six to nine. In general, however, the Indians seldom have more than four or five children.

The Indian children, generally, continue two years at the breast, and there are instances of their sucking during four years. Mothers are very apt to indulge their last child, children in this respect enjoy the same privilege alike.

I have never heard of any nation or tribe of Indians who destroyed their children, when distorted or deformed, whether they were so born or came to be so afterwards. I have on the contrary seen very particular care taken of such children. Nor have I ever been acquainted with any Indians that made use of artificial means to compress or alter the natural shape of the heads of their children, as some travellers have, I believe, pretended.

The disorders to which the Indians are most commonly subjected are pulmonary consumptions, fluxes, fevers and severe rheumatisms, all proceeding probably from the kind of life they lead, the hardships they undergo, and the nature of the food that they take. Intermitting and bilious fevers set in among them regularly in the autumn, when their towns are situated near marshy grounds or ponds of stagnant water, and many die in consequence of them. I have observed that these fevers generally make their first appearance in the season of the wild plum, a fruit that the Indians are particularly fond of. Sometimes also after a famine or long suffering for want of food, when they generally make too free an use of green maize, squashes and other watery vegetables. They are also subject to a disease which they call the *yellow vomit*, which, at times, carries off many of them. They generally die of this disease on the second or third day after the first attack.

Their old men are very subject to rheumatisms in the back and knees; I have known them at the age of 50 or

2;Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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cold weather and outside in warmer weather.[138] Perhaps the most exotic garments in the eyes of Europeans were the feather mantles which were used both as robes and as bedding.[139] Lindestrom said: "They also make very fine and beautiful quilts of painted bird feathers. In the first place they tie them with meshes like nets, yet very fine, then fasten the feathers in the meshes, so neat and strong that not one feather can come loose from it; it would sooner go clear off."[140] Besides robes, leggings that extended almost to the hips and moccasins were worn.[141] For winter wear "they say that shoes made of dressed bears skins, with the hair on and turned inside, are very warm, and in dry weather, durable."[142] One source mentioned cornhusk moccasins.[143] Women's dress differed from male attire in that a short skin skirt of a square wrap-around style was worn.[144] Clothing was highly decorated with colored designs of dyed porcupine quills, or it was painted.[145] Hats were not used, although one source mentioned "helmets of hard sticks and strong wood" used for defensive purposes in war.[146] Denton said: "They wear no Hats, but commonly wear about their Heads a Snake's skin, or a belt of their money, or a kind of a Ruff made with Deer's hair & died of a scarlet colour, which they esteem very rich."[147] Children wore little or no clothing in warm weather, but by the eighteenth century girls donned, as soon as they could walk, "a little frock" resembling their mother's costume. Boys at about the age of six began wearing the breech cloth.[148]

Adornment and ornamentation.— Men wore a scalp lock, that is, one tuft of hair was allowed to grow long. Other body and facial hair, if any, was plucked out.[149] "They root out the hair from the forehead backward so that the head is bald up to the crown, and only a hand-breadth of it in circular form is suffered to remain. . . ."[150] Women wore their hair in a bun at the back of the head; it was not cut and sometimes hung to the knees.[151] Face and hair of both sexes were smeared with grease.[152] There was no mention of tattooing during the seventeenth century, but since in the next century it was well established, it probably was an ancient custom:

> The process of tattooing, which I once saw performed, is quickly done, and does not seem to give much pain. They have poplar bark in readiness burnt and reduced to a powder, the figures that are to be tattooed are marked or designed

[138] De Vries, 1909, p. 217; Holm, 1834, p. 119; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 202.
[139] De Vries, 1909, p. 217; Juet, 1909, p. 18; Van der Donck, 1909, p. 301; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 203.
[140] Lindestrom, 1925, pp. 221-22.
[141] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 15; Lindestrom, 1925, p. 199.
[142] Heckewelder, 1881, p. 202.
[143] Van der Donck, 1909, p. 301.
[144] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 15; Skinner, 1947, p. 5.
[145] Heckewelder, 1881, p. 202; Skinner, 1947, pp. 3-4.
[146] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 222.
[147] Denton, 1845, p. 10; Holm, 1834, p. 120, noted the same customs.
[148] Johnson, 1917, p. 280; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 17.
[149] Thomas, 1912, p. 340; Lindestrom, 1925, pp. 195-96; Van der Donck, 1909, p. 300.
[150] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 12.
[151] Smith, 1877, p. 137; Lindestrom, 1925, p. 195.
[152] Van der Donck, 1909, p. 301; De Rasieres, 1909, p. 106; Pastorius, 1912, p. 433.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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on the skin; the operator with a small stick, rather larger than a common match, to the end of which some sharp needles are fastened, quickly pricks over the whole so that blood is drawn, then a coat of this powder is laid and left on to dry. Before the whites came into this country, they scarified themselves for this purpose with flint stones, or pricked themselves with the sharp teeth of a fish.[153]

The men tatooed their arms, legs, and faces with figures of snakes, birds, and other animals. These were marks of distinction and commemorated some worthy deed or heroic action. Occasionally the women tattooed themselves.[154]

Both sexes painted their thighs, legs, breast, and face with streaks, lines, or circles. The usual colors were red, black, blue, and yellow.[155] Painting was mostly for festive occasions or for warfare. Women were more circumspect than men in the amount of paint used, since excessive or immodest painting was regarded as indicative of a wanton woman.[156] Both men and women wore numerous ornaments. Wampum in particular was a favorite; it was used as necklaces and wristlets and was hung from the ears. Sometimes it was woven in bands and worn on the head or clothing.[157] The helixes of men's ears were often pierced for wampum, metal, and other ornaments:

> They frequently cut the helix of the ear,[158] leaving the upper and lower ends intact and then hang bits of lead to it so that it is stretched. Then this curved border of the auricle is bound with brass wire, distending it considerably, and decorated with silver ornaments.[159]

Besides wampum, necklaces of dyed deer hair, stone, native copper, and shell gorgets were worn.[160] One source depicted men wearing "the thumbs of enemies they have killed."[161] Men carried tobacco pouches, often made from the whole skin of a loon, large enough to hold a pipe, tobacco, knife, a pair of depilatory shells, and other objects.[162]

Manufactures.— The bow and arrow, the war club or tomahawk, and the spear were the principal implements of the men.[163] The type of bow used is unknown, except for one vague reference to wooden bows and arrows.[164] The triangular stone projectile points were fastened to the shaft by means of resin.[165] Projectile points were usually made of quartz, but chert, slate, shale, granite, sandstone, and argillite points have been found. Some may even have been made of fish bones.[166] Stone, pottery, and copper pipes were noted, both from early documents and

[153] Heckewelder, 1881, p. 206.
[154] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 12.
[155] De Vries, 1909, p. 217; Holm, 1834, p. 119; Van der Donck, 1909, p. 301; Denton, 1845, p. 10.
[156] Heckewelder, 1881, p. 203.
[157] Van der Donck, 1909, p. 301; Pastorius, 1912, p. 434; Lindestrom, 1925, pp. 196-97.
[158] Heckewelder, 1881, p. 207; Luckenbach, 1938, p. 107.
[159] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 12.
[160] Abbott, 1875, p. 327; Heye and Pepper, 1915, pp. 32-42; Holm, 1834, p. 119.
[161] Holm, 1834, p. 119; Van der Donck, 1909, p. 301.
[162] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 68; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 204.
[163] Brinton, 1885, p. 53.
[164] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 29.
[165] De Laet, 1909, p. 48; Holm, 1834, p. 129; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 29.
[166] Smith, 1950, p. 119; De Laet, 1909, p. 57.

302 also considered a mark of beauty (Lindstrom, pp. 193, 194, and 196; Pastorius, 1698, p. 433).

The Delaware women had the distinctive custom of wearing their hair in a large bun at the back rather than in braids. Men plucked all body hair and that of the head except for one tuft which was allowed to grow long (Smith, p. 137; Harrington, 1913, p. 220; Pastorius, 1700, p. 384; Lindstrom, pp. 195 and 200). Men were
301 permitted to tattoo themselves as marks of distinction, the designs
304 suggesting the deed which they commemorated. The operation was performed by breaking the skin in the desired pattern with a flint knife or sharp fish tooth. When the blood had been drawn, a powder of burned poplar bark was laid in the wound. Apparently the tattoo lasted a lifetime (Heckewelder, 1881, p. 206).

291 Children were allowed to go about with little or no clothing until
302 eight or ten years of age, being protected from the sun by a liberal coating of bear grease (Johnson, p. 280; Pastorius, 1700, p. 384).

Family Organization and Customs

843 Starting at the beginning of life, we find that the birth process was accompanied by certain special customs. Penn says that "...when with Child, they [the women] know their Husbands no more, till delivered..." (Penn, p. 33). Harrington tells us that a prospective father who had bad luck at hunting attributed it to the spirit of his child playing about and scaring the game away. He would accordingly wear a miniature bow and arrow to keep the child's spirit amused while he hunted, or if this did not work he would try a small mortar and pestle assuming that the baby was a girl (1913, p. 212).

844 Birth itself occurred in the small hut which was also used during
[841] menstrual periods. The child was immediately immersed in water, then wrapped in a skin and bound to a cradle board. This was softened with a moss covering and had curved side pieces. The child stayed in the
854 cradleboard most of the time until it could walk (Pastorius, 1698,
482 p.434; Penn, pp.29-30; Lindstrom, p.201). Then, when it had to be carried, it was placed in a blanket and carried on the mother's back (Lindstrom, p.201).

861 Almost all of the writers were impressed with the quiet and respectful behavior of Delaware children. Only later writers, however, had much to say about the means used to educate them. These writers noted that children, especially the boys, seldom were punished (Brickell, p.47; Zeisberger, 1870, p.86). Brickell, who was brought up by a Delaware family, says that honesty, bravery and hospitality were cardinal virtues with them and that much of the training received was directed toward developing these virtues (pp.47-48). Also, of course, boys were taught woodcraft, fishing and hunting, and girls were taught the household duties including the care of the younger children.

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
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I
727 to the bundles and told them to run home again, where they had come from, and relate to their countrymen, how well they had been treated and entertained among the Black Minquas. They also sent good guides with them, whom the boys followed with a great noise,[14] shot at them with their quarrels until the one fell here and the other there. Such a miserable departure and end these poor people had, from which we can observe the awful cruelty of the Minquas. These Minquas are of
D two kinds, Black and White Minquas.[15]

484 Besides I further want to relate about the blood-
● 304 letting of the savages and their wonderful medi-
727 cines, which I have seen at least a hundred times among these savages. When the savage undertake to march a long journey, the first day he has marched, in the evening, when he strikes camp, he makes up a fire, takes a piece of flint as long as a finger which he has prepared and fitted for this purpose, sharp as a razor, with this he cuts himself all over his body into the deepest flesh, on his arms, thighs and legs, the depth of a finger, according to the depth of the flesh, deeper or less, standing then before the fire to shake off the blood, which runs off him, as if one had butchered an ox. When he now has allowed as much blood to run off as he thinks proper, then he takes a kind of ointment, which he smears over his body, wherever he has cut himself. Before morning, it is healed and run together, and blue streaks remain after it just as when one burns oneself with

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[14] *Poickarne medh stoort anskry efterfölgde.*
[15] An atrocity story Lindeström had heard from the English.

8:Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
NM7 Delaware NM7

powder,[16] wherefore the savages appear entirely striped and streaky[17] and especially the Minquas. This is now [something about] the blood letting and cutting of the savages, from which one can observe that they are patient and not tender-skinned. When now the savage has thus removed some blood, he may march and run as fast and as far as he wants to, he will not tire. This is a brief description of the wonderful medicines, blood letting, cruelty and patience of the Indians, because we must avoid details.

[16] *När en brünner sigh medh kruth.*

[17] *Renotte*, mod. Swed. *randig* (cf. rända), striped or streaky. Lindeström's description is exaggerated. Cf. Heckewelder, *Indian Nations*, 225–6.

[p. 246 is blank]

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

133 The Muskingum (meaning Elk's Eye, so called because of the numbers of elk that formerly fed on its banks, these animals being found there even at the present time) empties into the Ohio two hundred miles below Pittsburg. It is navigable for canoes or light boats, which the Indians use upon it, from its source to its mouth.

The country is diversified with hillocks and gentle risings, but no great mountains are to be seen to the west of the Alleghene Mountains. The Indians are, therefore, yet in the possession of the best land. Along the creeks and rivers the soil is very rich and commonly called "The Bottoms." This sort of [311] land is chosen by the Indians for agricultural purposes not only because it is easily worked, but also because it yields aboundant crops for many years. When, however, their fields begin to [241] grow grass they leave them and break new land, for they regard it as too troublesome to root out the grass. For winter crops such soil would be too rich and would yield little or nothing. But corn and all else raised by the Indians thrives in rich soil.

The higher lying land, generally of medium richness, though some of this also is extraordinarily fertile, is the best for winter grains, and as but little of it is stony soil it would be difficult to find a spot that could not be cultivated to advantage.

132 Concerning the climate, I can only speak from a twelve years' acquaintance with the country. In the summer it is quite warm, especially in July and August, which are the two hottest months; woolen garments can hardly be worn at this season of the year. The winter is generally very mild. The snow is never deep, nor does it remain long on the ground. Last winter, 1779-80, which was very severe in Pensilvania, snow fell once to a depth of two feet. In eight days this was gone, though the ground was covered with snow most of the time between New Year and February. As I have neither chart nor instrument, I am unable to say in what degree of latitude it lies, though I reckon it to be about the same as that of Philadelphia. A distance of a hundred English miles north or south makes a very perceptible difference in temperature; for in Sandusky on Lake Erie, it is much colder and the snow is much deeper than here in the Muskingum Valley and along the Scioto,[84] which empties into

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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243 taken together, is always as extensive, if not more so, than all the corn fields and kitchen gardens of an Indian family."[17] Luckenbach, a Moravian missionary of the early nineteenth century, said that the fields were "limited to two or three acres of corn for each family."[18] The Delawares today term the gardens "squaw patches" and claim that they never exceeded five acres in size (M.B., O.A.).

[361] Most Delaware archaeological sites are in creek or valley bottoms;[19] in the eighteenth century such bottom land was chosen for gardens, since it was easily worked and was generally fertile.[20] Zeisberger, in [312] the eighteenth century, took pains to point out that land away from rivers, although suitable for tillage by Europeans, was not utilized at all for this purpose by Indians.[21] Garden plots were cleared by bruising or removing the bark of the trees, then burning the trees after they were dry.[22] The seventeenth-century Swedish writers stated that garden plots [242] were moved after the soil was exhausted.[23] Van der Donck in the middle of the century and Loskiel in the next century denied the use of fertilizer.[24] New England Indians, however, fertilized the land with fish, and Wallace has suggested that this trait may have been present among the Delawares.[25]

Corn was planted in ". . . square hills (so far apart) that one can conveniently walk between the hills. . . . And in each hill 6 or 7 grains are set."[26] According to De Rasieres:

> They make heaps like molehills, each about two and a half feet from the others, which they sow or plant in April with maize, in each heap five or six grains; in the middle of May, when the maize is the height of a finger or more, they plant in each heap three or four Turkish beans .... It [corn] is a grain to which much labor must be given, with weeding and earthing-up, or it does not thrive; and to this the women must attend very closely.[27]

244 Squash, pumpkins, several varieties of beans, and tobacco were also
249 grown.[28] According to M.B. tobacco was grown only by women past the menopause. The Delawares blended their tobacco with sumac, one third sumac to two thirds tobacco.[29]

224 Hunting.—Hunting was important to the Delaware economy, not only because it provided food, but also because pelts and hides provided most of the material for clothing. The main objects of the hunt were deer and bear, but virtually all of the other mammals of their habitat were hunted and utilized for clothing or for food. This list included fox, raccoon, skunk, porcupine, opossum, and squirrel.[30] The Delawares

[17] Kalm, 1937, I: 307.
[18] Luckenbach, 1938, pp. 598-99.
[19] Personal communication from John Witthoft.
[20] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 44.
[21] *Ibid.*, p. 36.
[22] Johnson, 1917, p. 279; Kalm, 1937, I: 230; Harrington, 1913, p. 221.
[23] Johnson, 1917, p. 279.
[24] Loskiel, 1794, p. 66.
[25] Flannery, 1939, p. 10; Wallace, 1947, p. 18.
[26] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 179.
[27] De Rasieres, 1909, p. 107; Johnson, 1917, p. 279; and Harrington, 1913, p. 221, contain similar accounts of their horticulture.
[28] Juet, 1909, p. 21; Johnson, 1917, p. 279; Kalm, 1937, I: 74; Lindestrom, 1925, pp. 180-81; Holm, 1834, p. 122.
[29] Speck, 1943, p. 324.
[30] Denton, 1845, p. 7; Van der Donck, 1909, p. 303; Zeisberger, 1910, pp. 37, 62-63.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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were generally careful to keep burning. On journeys they were accustomed to carry fire with them from one lodging-place to another, for which purpose they used a certain kind of fungus,[40] that grows upon trees. With such a glowing piece of fungus they could travel from morning to evening. This custom has to the present day not ceased among the Indians, nor has the method of making fire described above, some still employing it on special occasions and in connection with their sacrifices, in order to remind themselves of former customs and usages. Firewood they did not split in former days nor could they have done so with their hatchets of stone. They burned it into pieces of such length that could be carried home. They built a fire against the trunks of standing trees and kept it burning until they fell, which method still obtains among them, especially the older ones, for whom it is difficult to fell trees and split wood and who, perhaps, do not even own a hatchet. These may not burn a piece of split wood during a whole winter, but provide fuel for themselves in the manner described, which is quite easy and convenient for them.

Canows made of wood as well as bast, they also had in earlier days, fashioning the former out of a whole tree trunk, which they burned out and only used their hatchets to chop off glowing coals, lest they should burn in deeper in one place than another or even burn a hole through.

Their dwellings were huts of bark, which they lined with rushes in order to keep out the cold, roofed they were with bark, even as is the case now, though sometimes rushes or long, dry reed-grass served the purpose.

Underground dwellings there were, also, of which here and there traces may be found, particularly along the Muskingum, in which region one may yet see many places, where embankments, still to be seen, were thrown up around a whole town.[41] Here and there, furthermore, near the sites of such towns there are mounds, not natural, but made by the hand of man, for in those days the natives carried on great wars with one another, Indians being formerly, according to their own testimony, far more numerous than at the present time. At the top of these mounds there was a hollow place, to which the Indians brought

3: Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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often dyed red with cinnabar about the neck. Such a shirt may be worn unwashed until it is torn. More careful women, however wash their clothing. Men and women paint their faces almost daily, especially if they go out to a dance in the evening. Men, particularly, think it is proper to paint and often their whole head is colored vermillion.[255] Here and there black spots may be introduced, or they paint one-half of their head and face black, the other red. Figures are added according to taste.[256] Indian women never paint their faces with a variety of figures, but rather make a round red spot upon each cheek and redden the eyelids, the tops of their heads and, in some cases, the rims of the ears and the temples.[257] Older women adorn themselves but rarely, usually appearing in old cast-off garments. Even if the husband of such a woman provides new clothing, she will rarely put it on, especially if she has a daughter to whom she gives the new clothing in exchange for old garments.

Their towns are generally laid out near a lake, river or brook, yet sufficiently elevated to escape the danger of inundations, which are very common in spring. In building towns no regular plan is observed but every one builds according to his fancy. The houses are not built close together. Some years ago, when the Delawares planned Gochachgünk, they wished to imitate the Christian Indians and build their town in orderly fashion but they did not succeed, even though they had laid it out. When they have lived long in one place, it at last becomes troublesome to secure wood for fuel because all the wood in the neighborhood has been used. This causes them to leave the place and plan a new village for the sake of the wood and other conveniences. Although they have horses that roam about and are rarely used except when they wish to ride, it is too troublesome for them to break these to work and, furthermore, since fetching wood is the work of the women, the men do not concern themselves about it.

Of inheritances they know nothing. Every Indian knows that whatever he leaves at his death is divided among his friends. If a woman becomes a widow, no matter how long she may have lived with her husband, friends come, take everything that be-

(Lindstrom, p. 215). Men went by themselves or took their families to the woods for periods of several days or weeks. In addition to their dependence on a steady aim with bow and arrow, they attempted to attract the animals by the use of charms and imitations of their calls (Harrington, 1913, pp. 221-22; Loskiel, p. 77). Loskiel, in the eighteenth century, also mentions the practice of chasing wounded deer for long distances if they did not fall on the first shot, but this cannot be documented by earlier accounts (Loskiel, p. 76). 224

Early Swedish writers noted that turkeys and other birds, deer, beavers and other small animals were snared (the twitchup is the only type of snare specifically mentioned) and beavers were sometimes killed with a lance (Johnson, p. 281). Pigeons might be killed by cutting all sides of a tree used as a roost, then toppling it when the birds alighted (Lindstrom, pp. 216-17). 224 223

Remnants of the Delaware's hunting equipment are found abundantly in their old haunts. Stone arrow points and lance heads are particularly numerous, but antler points are found in smaller quantities (Abbott, 1875, p. 269; Skinner, 1915, p. 10; Smith, p. 139; Kalm, p. 230). Stone axes suitable for crushing bones or shells, and knives suitable for skinning and cutting up the meat are also found in abundance (Abbott, 1875, pp. 264 and 303; Skinner, 1909, pp. 18-20; Kalm, p. 230; Heye, p. 71). 224 412 411

Even the earliest writers were aware to some extent of the reverence in which Delaware hunters held the provider of their sustenance. Lindstrom and Penn mention that the first catch of the season was eaten at a special feast accompanied by singing and dancing. All that was not eaten was burned, and on no account was any part sold (Lindstrom, pp. 214-15; Penn, p. 38). Boys did not begin hunting until about fifteen years of age, sometimes starting as the result of success in obtaining a guardian spirit through a vision. It was believed that the youth would be able to catch all that he desired on the day after such a vision (Lindstrom, p. 208). 224 [787]

The women's main contribution to the food supply lay in agriculture. Without doubt the most important crop was maize, of which the Delaware had several varieties[2] (De Rasieres, p. 107; Johnson, p. 279; Kalm, p. 74; Lindstrom, p. 223). To get some impression of the amount of maize grown, we may note that Krieger, commander in an expedition against one band of New Jersey Delaware in 1663, says that he cut down 215 acres of maize and burned more than 100 pits of corn and beans (Krieger, p. 39). There are also ample references to the cultivations of beans, squash (including pumpkins) and tobacco[3] (Harrington, 1913, p. 221; Johnson, p. 279; Kalm, p. 74). 241

Since the Delaware had no axe adequate to cut down a tree of any considerable size, they cleared their fields by seriously bruising the bark of the trees, thereby killing them. In this operation they [313 412]

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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The tilling of the ground at home, getting of the fire wood, and pounding of corn in mortars, is frequently done by female parties, much in the manner of those husking, quilting and other *frolics* (as they are called,) which are so common in some parts of the United States, particularly to the eastward. The labour is thus quickly and easily performed; when it is over, and sometimes in intervals, they sit down to enjoy themselves by feasting on some good victuals, prepared for them by the person or family for whom they work, and which the man has taken care to provide before hand from the woods; for this is considered a principal part of the business, as there are generally more or less of the females assembled who have not, perhaps for a long time, tasted a morsel of meat, being either widows, or orphans, or otherwise in straitened circumstances. Even the chat which passes during their joint labours is highly diverting to them, and so they seek to be employed in this way as long as they can, by going round to all those in the village who have ground to till.

When the harvest is in, which generally happens by the end of September, the women have little else to do than to prepare the daily victuals, and get fire wood, until the latter end of February or beginning of March, as the season is more or less backward, when they go to their sugar camps, where they extract sugar from the maple tree. The men having built or repaired their temporary cabin, and made all the troughs of various sizes, the women commence making sugar, while the men are looking out for meat, at this time generally fat bears, which are still in their winter quarters. When at home, they will occasionally assist their wives in gathering the sap, and watch the kettles in their absence, that the syrup may not boil over.

A man who wishes his wife to be with him while he is out hunting in the woods, needs only tell her, that on such a day they will go to such a place, where he will

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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137 [278] The bark of stone birch[123] trees, as of many others, the Indians pound fine, mix with water and use as a medicine. This is the only variety of birch trees here. In Pensilvanien there are birch trees like those of Europe, though they do not grow to any size.

Aspen trees[124] are also found, though not in great numbers nor everywhere. One kind of tree is found here that I have seen nowhere else. The wood is soft and yellowish. The leaves are smooth and oval-shaped. The Indians call it *Wisewemiuscki*, the yellow tree.[125]

317 Of oil wells I have seen three kinds, (1) wells that have an outlet; (2) wells that have no outlet, but are stagnant pools; (3) wells in creeks and even in the Ohio at two different points, one hundred and fifty miles from one another.

In the wells which have an outlet, oil and water together exude from the earth and where these flow grass and soil become oily. When there is no means of discharge one sees nothing more than oil welling up, which, if none has been taken off for some time, floats an inch or more in depth on the water. In the creeks it is possible to see some of the places where the oil flows, others not, for often the current carries the oil with it at such rate that you see the oil over all the surface of the water. In the Ohio there are, also, such places in the region of the oil wells. Here the current is very gentle and the Indians skim off the oil, though it is not easy to do this as the current, even though not swift, keeps carrying it along. Such places are usually revealed by the strong odor. Even though the water of a river keeps carrying away the oil, one may smell it at a distance of a quarter of a mile from the well. The soil near an oil well is poor, either a cold, clayey ground, or if it is near a creek, a poor quality of sand at the top. Neither good grass or wood will grow nearby, hardly anything more than a few stunted oak trees.

If the Indians wish to collect oil, which they prefer to do where the well has no discharge, as it is there most easily secured, they first throw away the old oil floating on top, as it has a stronger odor than that which wells up fresh from the earth.[126]

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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The odor is somewhat like that of tar, though not very much so. 317
They stir the water violently then let it settle and become clear. The more the pool is stirred the more abundantly does the oil flow. When it is clear they scoop it into kettles, and, as it is impossible to avoid getting some water, boil it and preserve it for use. They use it as a medicine in all sorts of cases for external application, thus for tooth-ache, head-ache, swelling, rheumatism, strained joints. Some also take it internally and it appears to have hurt no one in this way. Some, indeed, declare that the oil flows from the coal deposits, but this is not likely, for in the first place, there is no sign of pit coal to be seen in this region — one sees nothing more than poor sandstone and, in the second place, in other parts where there is much pit coal, as for example, along the Muskingum, no sign of oil is to be seen. Were the oil to be found there, the Indians would know of it, for they value it highly and have looked for it, but found none. Most probably it comes out of the earth. It is brownish in color and may be used in lamps, for it burns well. [278]

Salt springs are to be found both along the Muskingum and along the Ohio. Of this salt the Indians make little use; they prefer to buy it from the whites, even though they have to pay a high price for it owing to the fact that it has to be brought a considerable distance from the seaports. Moreover, they use very little salt and seem not to require it. They often eat their food unsalted, even though they may have the salt, until they feel a longing for it. 317 263

These salt springs are usually to be found on the bank of a creek or even in the middle of the creek on a sand-bank, the fresh water flowing on both sides. The Indians have on occasion boiled a considerable quantity of salt in a short time at such a well, so that it would appear worth the labor to get it, especially as it is so expensive. 317

There are, also, many salt licks to which cattle, horses and game go in large numbers. These are generally springs that have salt or saltpetre[137] in them.

The common sort of stones in this region along the Ohio are the sandstones. Some are very hard, others soft. They 135

[137] [i.e., crude oil.—Analyst]

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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135 are, for the most part, of a gray, fine sand and make as good whetstones as one might wish. Rocks you meet occasionally along the Ohio, but away from the river and here along the Muskingum very few, even most of, the mountains and hills are not rocky.

Pit-coal is found in abundance, but as there is no lack of wood it is little used and hardly thought of by the Indians. In Pittsburg the coal is used in fire-places and by blacksmiths.

[324] [276] A kind of stone, black in color, is found here, that is easily worked and cut. It has no sand in its composition and the Indians make tobacco pipes of it, some doing very neat work.

There is also a kind of stone, blue in color, which is very hard. It somewhat resembles the limestone of Pensilvanien, but examination has shown it to be different. Limestone has not yet been found in this region.

A mineralogist would find many more varieties to describe, to which I am unable to give even the names, especially along the shores of the river, where all kinds may be seen, green, yellow, blue, red and black. About ore I know little or nothing concerning this region. The Indians believed themselves to have found gold and silver, but what they produced as precious ore, because it resembled this somewhat, on the test and examination of whites was found to be sulphurous substance.[138] Whatever glitters, the Indians are apt to look upon at once as being gold or silver.

317 276 [439] The Cherokees, who through the years have had much intercourse with the Delawares, brought with them many tobacco pipes for trade. These they made of quite white stone, probably white marble.[139] When completed they blackened the pipes and in such a way that they retained their color. These pipes are made so neatly that they are no heavier than the European pipes.

From the Mississippi the Indians bring red marble, whenever they come from that direction. Of this pipes are also made. [293] Such pipes, however, are as a rule to be seen only in the possession of chiefs or captains, for not many of them are to be had. A pipe of this sort is generally used in council or on solemn occasions. This is carried about by the chief counsellor, each

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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one present draws a few whiffs of smoke and this is called smoking the peace-pipe.

There are four kinds of clay. There is the white, which is almost like chalk and with which, when dry, one can write as with chalk.[140] Another variety is quite black. This, however, becomes quite white when burned. Besides these, gray and yellow clays are found. A sort of yellow earth, rather of an orange tinge is found, of which the Indians, especially the warriors, make a fine color by burning.[141] With this they paint themselves and they are particularly careful that the head shall be always red. It is not too much for the Wiondats to come here to Tuscarawi, a distance of at least a hundred miles, to supply themselves with this red coloring matter.

Concerning plants and roots of medicinal virtue, it would be possible, if one were to devote himself to inquiry, to secure a great deal of information from the Indians, for what one of these does not know another does, each man and woman having some knowledge in this direction, some more, some less. Hence, the custom that a patient who has consulted an Indian and secured a medicine from him without, however, being benefited, will go immediately to another; if no relief is obtained through his advice, the patient goes to a third, a fourth until he finds one whose medicine helps. For many ailments they have very good remedies, e. g., for rheumatism. In respect to this affliction I have witnessed instances where they have effected a thorough cure and not only once or twice. At times they can secure desired results with only two or three kinds of roots, at other times more are required. If a simple remedy does not afford relief, they may use twenty or more kinds of roots. Even in such cases I know of cures having been effected. In treating rheumatism, bathing and sweating play a great part.

They have remedies even for fevers. When a patient has been given a dose, they are generally able to tell from its workings whether he will recover or die. If he does not retain the medicine, this is regarded as a sign that he will hardly recover. I have paid some attention to this and like cases of treatment and found that the Indians have generally been correct in their

3;Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

137. A very questionable statement.

138. It is doubtful what Zeisberger means here by "marble;" possible it was gritty sandstone.

139. Iron Pyrites or "Fool's Gold."

140. Kaolin or China clay; colors in clays are due to impurities. The black clay which burns white evidently contained carbonaceous matter.

141. Yellow ochre.

142. Possibly a decoction made from polk-berries which would stimulate the secretion of the glands of the breasts, etc.

143. *Rhus toxicodendron* L., the poison vine or poison ivy.

144. *Rhus vernix* L., the poison sumac, our most poisonous plant.

145. Not used by the medical profession today.

146. *Odocoileus virginianus* (Boddaert).

147. The introduction of the rifle was the first step in destroying Nature's balance as applied to man and the native wild animals. Doubtless the deer and buffalo easily held their own in spite of the onslaughts of the Indians until the rifle gave the Indians a tremendous advantage as compared with their former weapons.

148. *Ursus americanus* Pallas.

149. In many cases the Indians multiplied the species of our larger mammals, basing their ideas on one or two unusually large individuals they happened to meet, or on some peculiar condition of the pelage. There is only one species of bear known from eastern United States.

150. *Cervus canadensis* (Erxleben) the wapiti, or "American Elk." The author is correct. The wapiti is nearly related to the stag, *Cervus elaphus* L., of Europe and is not an elk at all.

151. *Bison bison* (L.)

152. *Felis couguar* Kerr.

153. *Lynx rufus* (Guldenstaedt).

154. *Vulpes fulvus* (Dasmarest).

155. *Urocyon cinereoargenteus* (Schreber).

156. A black phase of the red fox *Vulpes fulvus.*

157. *Procyon lotor* (L.)

158. *Lutra canadensis* (Schreber).

159. *Castor canadensis* Kuhl.

160. The steel trap was another white man's invention which, placed in the hands of the Indians, proved most destructive to some of the animals which formerly held their own against the less effective methods of the Indians. The price paid for the pelts by the whites, was of course an additional factor in the destruction of many of the native animals.

161. *Didelphis virginiana* Kerr.

162. Certainly open to question and probably merely an Indian belief.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7

No pottery was manufactured in
Oklahoma by the Delawares, although some of the aged Delawares remember that their grandmothers made undecorated utility pottery. Dress and adornment had approximated that of the neighboring whites by the turn of the century. Men of the Cherokee-Delaware band, however, continued to wear their hair long until about 1920. Today, the only distinctive dress of the Delawares is worn at social and religious gatherings, and on these occasions it is of a miscellaneous Indian type rather than being specifically Delaware.

In sum, Delaware technology and material culture since 1867 have increasingly approximated the American pattern, particularly that of the poorer, rural, white groups. There are virtually no outward signs in subsistence, housing, or dress, which distinguish the Delawares from other Oklahomans.

Sociological Assimilation

It has already been noted that the social organization of the Delawares had undergone considerable alteration before the final flight to Indian Territory. Perhaps the most important change to take place after 1867 was the complete surrender of political authority. It should be recalled that the contract between the Cherokees and the Delawares provided for the admittance of the Delawares into the Cherokee tribe. Delaware chieftainship continued for a time, the last principal chief being Charles Journeycake, who served in this capacity from 1861 until he died in 1895.[3] After 1900 tribal chiefs were elected. Each of the three phratries nominated one candidate; the one who received the most votes became the chief. The principal duty of the chief was to act as a representative of the tribe in business dealings with the government. The last chief, Charles Elkhair, died in 1935 and has not been officially replaced. A business committee is the only formal governmental organization that continues in existence. It serves in an advisory capacity when there are claims against the government.[4]

The Delawares no longer have a society which is based upon ties of kinship. Outside of the immediate family there are no economic activities which depend upon the mutual aid of the clan, phratry, or other kinship groups. They have been completely assimilated into the American economic system. There is no feeling that care or assistance should be extended to other Delawares; in fact, in both Delaware communities there is a good deal of friction, jealousy, and antagonism between different individuals and family groups. This friction extends to all levels of organization, even to the business committee, with which there is always dissatisfaction. "They can't agree on a chief, they pull in different ways: if one person suggests something, somebody knocks him down" (O.A.). Probably this constant friction is a result of the heterogeneous degree of acculturation; some individuals are old, nearly illiterate, very

[3] Mitchell, 1895, pp. 7, 45. (This is a biography of the chief.)

[4] Wright, 1951, p. 153; J.T., O.A.

12:Tantaquidgeon E-5 (no date)1950
NM7 Delaware NM7

Delaware Indian Art Designs

GLADYS TANTAQUIDGEON

Introduction

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in Kansas, and from there they moved to Oklahoma and became incorporated with the Cherokee. Other bands found their way to Canada in the Province of Ontario, where they are now known as Delawares, Munsee and Moravians.

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The present population of the Delawares is estimated to be about 1,400. Of this number, 1,000 are in Oklahoma and the remainder in the province of Ontario, Canada.

Field of Art

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Until about 1890 the Delawares practiced many of their native arts and crafts but among the modern descendants of the tribe only a few of the older arts have survived. Pottery making, work in stone, bone, horn, antler, silver and the use of quills and hair in embroidery; twined basketry made from certain roots, and woven bags and girdles of Indian hemp (*Apocynum cannabium*) are now only vaguely remembered by some of the older members of the groups in Oklahoma and Ontario. Work in silver persisted until

[324]

[326]

[P.24, B] About 1913.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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stamp ornamentation of basketry in historic times, possibly a diffusion from the Europeans.[180]

Boats.—Canoes were of two types, a solid dugout canoe and one of birch or other bark. The dugouts were made of tulip poplar, cedar, sycamore, and probably other suitable woods, which were hollowed out by fire.[181] When they wished to venture out to sea or into rough water, two canoes were lashed together. Sails on these vessels were reported, but seem to be post-European.[182] Zeisberger described the manufacture of the eighteenth-century bark canoe, which probably represented the earlier technique:

> These canows are fashioned of one piece of bast, the outer side of which is turned inward, both ends sharply pointed and securely sewn with bast, the inside being stretched out by a ribbing of bent wooden rods, which keeps the canow in its proper form. These canows are so light upon the water that they easily glide away from under the feet of one unaccustomed to them when attempting to stand. ... To make one they choose a tree according to the size of canow desired and peel the bark off carefully so that there may be no rent. If a canow gets out of repair or is punctured... the latter know how to repair it by securing a patch of bast over any opening. Besides, there is a kind of elm-wood bast which they crush or pound fine and which is of a sticky consistency, serving them in place of tar, to keep their canows water-tight so that they do not leak.[183]

These canoes were made of elm, black oak, and hickory bark.[184] Harrington said that for temporary use "six or more logs lashed together in the form of a raft with bark withes carried people and baggage across waters or down streams as required."[185]

Wampum.—The subject of wampum comes up in several different contexts, since its uses ranged all the way from individual ornamentation to negotiatory belts in peace and war. I shall merely examine its form and manufacture since its sociopolitical implications have been discussed fully by Speck and Snyderman.[186] Virtually all the early documents mentioned the possession and use of wampum (often called zeewan or sewan) by the Delawares. Lindestrom, for example, said they had "oblong stones, with holes drilled through them, and threaded on strings. . .one kind [is] black-blue, the other kind white.... In size they are about the length of a wheat kernel and somewhat thicker."[187] He added that it was made by specialists, but says no more on the subject.[188] Fortunately, however, Burggraf has reconstructed the manufacture of wampum from knowledge gained through the material found in Indian workshops on Long Island. The white wampum was made solely from "the central stock of both *F. carica* and *F. canaliculatas*".[189]

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[180] Speck, 1947, pp. 17-19.
[181] Holm, 1834, p. 130; De Laet, 1909, pp. 38, 57; Van der Donck, 1909, p. 301; Mahr, 1954, pp. 382-83.
[182] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 237.
[183] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 33.
[184] Zeisberger, 1776, p. 33; Brinton, 1890, p. 185; Harrington, 1913, p. 223; Mahr, 1954, p. 382.
[185] Harrington, 1913, p. 223.
[186] Speck, 1919; Snyderman, 1955.
[187] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 229.
[188] *Ibid.*, p. 230.
[189] Burggraf, 1938, p. 54.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7

The first stage in the course of manufacture was to break away all the outer whorls, leaving only the spiral center-stock. Next, with a chip of stone or a knife, the spire was cut off by sawing or notching around its circumference at the point where the first bead would be started. After this grooving had been carried far enough, the waste portion was broken off and discarded. In some cases this cutting seems to have been accomplished wholly with some abrasive implement, usually a bit of sharp-grained red sandstone. The fresh shiny surface of the interior of a periwinkel, as the shells are called locally, is of surprising hardness, and for this first step the quickest method would be employed. In severing finished beads, great care was shown and the narrow groove was carried deep enough to prevent any breakage in detaching the completed specimen....[190]

Black wampum was made from the Quahog (*Mercenaria mercenaria*), and its manufacture was more difficult:

The first step was to break off the anterior end of suitable dark-colored valves. Many fragments were never worked beyond this stage, most generally due to an insufficient thickness of the purple shell. Then, with some light hammer and perhaps a sort of percussion flaker, the thin edges of this bit of shell were chipped away leaving a slightly curving "stick" of purple.... The next step was to grind away the chipped edges, which could be easily accomplished with the sandstone "abradors" recovered.[191]

This tubular type was of late origin, replacing a disc type after 1620.[192]

[190] Burggraf, 1938, p. 56.
[191] *Ibid.*, p. 57.
[192] Speck, 1919, p. 4; Burggraf, 1938, p. 53.

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
NM7 Delaware NM7

436 a thick straw, and the length in proportion to their thickness; larger or smaller, they are not used. [They are] very smooth and even at the ends. There is also a streak on them like copper color, which the kernel by nature contains, from which the stones are made; namely of the kernel which runs whirl-like inside of the whooping cough bowls, which the wet nurses use to scrape off and give the little children for whooping cough, which is found in great abundance in New Sweden, both white, black and red.[5] Of this mentioned kernel
● [427] the savages turn and grind these stones and money, and special savages are designated and appointed for this, who make this money, and one person is not able to make more than about 6 to 8 *styvers* a day.[6]

435 In valuing these moneys we also count an ell of red, black-blue sewan for 1 ducat and 1 ell white sewan for one *riksdaler*. But otherwise they are mostly reckoned in Dutch florins and *styvers*, as stated above, one florin at 20 *styvers*.[7] These[8] moneys are as well made as any glass cutter could cut them of glass, cut and drilled through at their edges.[9] When the money through old use has been

[5] A nature medicine based on the superstitious belief that these scrapings will "cure the cough."

[6] Cf. Hodge, *Handbook*, II, 905.

[7] See Johnson, *Swedish Settlements*, I, 41.

[8] Lindeström has *Aucilke*, which.

[9] *Uthå sijne kanter afskärande och genomdrillande.* The passage is obscure. *Afskärande* and *genomdrillande* are present participles and perhaps Lindeström means *af skärande och genomdrillande*, in which case the passage would read: These moneys are as well made as any glass cutter could cut them of glass at the edges, through cutting and drilling.

In this connection Williams says: "Before they had awle blades from Europe, they made shift to bore this their shell money with stones." *Key*, 130.

[P. 11, B]

172 tion of the face. The hole in the dorsal
323 surface (shown in Plate 4, No. 2) is con-
532 nected with the holes indicating the eyes. No explanation for the purpose of this dorsal hole or indeed of the entire specimen can be attempted at this time.

Bone

172 Bone and antler artifacts do not appear
●321 to be abundant on Minsi sites. On occa-
41 sion, the bone awl, antler flakers of cylindrical form, combs, turtle-shell cups, perforated deer phalanges, perforated needles, antler picks, beaming tools, and short bone tubes, probably used as ornaments, are found.

Shell

At the present time, because of an almost total lack of evidence, (the Bell-Philhower Site report lists one shell bead found by Mr. Charles A. Philhower in a pit of the historical period and worked fragments of conch) the writer is not prepared to discuss the possible incidence of shell artifacts in the prehistoric Minsi Culture. In common with Ritchie ("Bell-Philhower Site", p. 178) he refers the interested reader to the Heye-Pepper report, "Exploration of a Munsee Cemetery" for a description of numerous shell ornaments, etc., from the *historic* Minsi site adjacent to the Bell-Philhower component.

ROUGH STONE

172 Net sinkers are of two well-defined
324 types: flat pebbles with two opposed
227 notches, and sinkers made of thin sheets of stone chipped into circular or rectangular shape with two opposed notches. These 'trimmed sinkers' may have notches formed by chipping, or rarely, by grinding. (Plate 5, No. 3, shows notched flat pebble; Plate 5, No. 1, shows trimmed sinker with chipped notches; No. 3 of the same plate is a trimmed ground-notch sinker.)

Sinkers of both types may range in size from an inch to six or seven inches in

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

cat, kitten and little chicken. Parents make presents to their children, and they in return to their parents. A father will sometimes ask his wife or one of his children for the loan of his horse to go out a hunting. For a litter of kittens or brood of chickens, there are often as many different owners as there are individual animals. In purchasing a hen with her brood, one frequently has to deal for it with several children. Thus, while the principle of community of goods prevails in the state, the rights of property are acknowledged among the members of a family. This is attended with a very good effect; for by this means every living creature is properly taken care of. It also promotes liberality among the children, which becomes a habit with them by the time they are grown up.

An Indian loves to see his wife well clothed, which is a proof that he is fond of her; at least, it is so considered. While his wife is bartering the skins and peltry he has taken in his hunt, he will seat himself at some distance, to observe her choice, and how she and the traders agree together. When she finds an article which she thinks will suit or please her husband, she never fails to purchase it for him; she tells him that it is *her* choice, and he is never dissatisfied.

The more a man does for his wife, the more he is esteemed, particularly by the women, who will say: "This man surely loves his wife." Some men at their leisure hours make bowls and ladles, which, when finished, are at their wives' disposal.

If a sick or pregnant woman longs for any article of food, be it what it may, and however difficult to be procured, the husband immediately sets out to endeavour to get it. I have known a man to go forty or fifty miles for a mess of cranberries to satisfy his wife's longing. In the year 1762, I was witness to a remarkable instance of the disposition of Indians to indulge their wives. There was a famine in the land, and a sick Indian woman ex-

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

854 the mother going to fetch water or on some other errand. The children by pushing and kicking not infrequently tumbled themselves into the fire or other danger and thus miserably perished, or were severely burned. For this reason the custom is in disfavor.

342 Their houses are fairly clean, some being superior in this respect and affording a comfortable night's lodging for a [574] European. In case a guest is expected, especially if it be a white [356] person, they prepare as comfortable a bed as possible. They sweep the bunk, that serves as seat and table in the daytime and as bed at night, and spread a mat with one or more deer or bear [362] skins upon it. Though usually a comfortable couch in summer time it may be made very uncomfortable by the fleas brought in by dogs. Their kettles, dishes and spoons are not kept in good order; sometimes they are only licked by the dogs in lieu of washing. Dishes and spoons they make themselves of wood, [415 322] sometimes of tree knots or growths, often very neatly. The spoons are generally large and round shaped. Occasionally, a spoon will be used by several people, turn about, at a meal. Brass kettles, to be found in most houses because very necessary for sugar boiling, are bought from the whites.

29 The Indians are lovers of finery and dress, the women more than the men; the latter take care that the women adorn themselves in proper manner. The men clothe themselves rather meanly, regarding it as a disgrace to be better appareled than their wives. The dress which particularly distinguishes the women is a petticoat or strowd, blue, red or black, made of a piece of cloth about two yards long, adorned with red, blue or yellow bands laid double and bound about the body. Many women wear a white shirt over the strowd, decorated with silver buckles, the more the better. Red or blue leggings are worn, made of fine cloth joined by a broad band of silk bordered with coral. These leggings reach only to the feet. Shoes are made very neatly. Over the first strowd they may wear another, not decorated with ribbons, which if it inconveniences them in their movements may be easily laid aside. Thus clad a woman is well dressed. In [296] place of the white shirts, blue linen or cotton may be worn. When [386] they wear a white shirt, which is preferably of fine linen, it is often died red with cinnabar about the neck.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

braneous continuation of the skin of the sides and belly by which its hind and forelegs are connected. This supports the animal in leaping from one tree to another. In other respects it resembles the common squirrel. 136

3) There is found here a variety of rattlesnake[222] I have seen nowhere else. It is hardly a foot long and very slender, it has rattles as have the other varieties and its bite is quite as venomous. The color is, also, like that of the other rattlers, yellow with black markings.

4) Plants. Laurel,[222] also called the wild box, grows along river banks, or in the swamps in cool places or on the north side of mountains. It grows so thickly that it is impossible to get through. In swamps of laurel, bears like to make their winter quarters. The wood is fine and hard. The Indians make spoons of it. The main stem does not become thicker than a leg. The leaves are green summer and winter. 137 [322]

THE END.

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
NM7 Delaware NM7

then they fasten the feathers in the meshes, so neat and strong that not one feather can come loose from it; it would sooner go clear off.[8] They also make very fine, strong and artistic mats of finely painted spruce roots and strong straw, with all kinds of figures, to decorate and cover the walls with, and to place below their bed clothes.[9]

They also make helmets of hard sticks and strong wood, so that no arrow or swingle can go through it.[10]

The late Governor Printz had the savages make and thread up for him a suit of clothes, with coat, trousers and sword belt, entirely of their money, which was very artistic, threaded and worked with all kinds of animals, which came to a few thousand florins.[11] And [there is] much more, which could be described about their artistic manufacture, if space and time would allow. In fine if they were trained and kept at it, they would become very expert, for they are by nature capable to grasp and comprehend immediately what they see.[12]

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[8] The feather would sooner break off than come loose.
[9] Cf. Williams, *Key*, 47 ff.
[10] Repetition, see above.
[11] Williams says: "*Neyhommaucshunck*, a coat or Mantle, curiously made of the fairest feathers of their *Neyhommauog* or Turkies, which commonly their old Men make; and is with them as velvet with us." *Key*, 107.
[12] Cf. Williams, *Key*, 43.

8:Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
NM7 Delaware NM7

CHAPTER XXVII.

Concerning the Household Economy of the American Savage People, Their Thrashing, Their Grinding, Their Baking, Their Frying and Cooking.

In this connection [*it may be said*] *that there* is found no scarcity of provisions among the savages, for the support of their household, but [they are] miserable cooks, they never cook good dishes.[1] They use no cattle. They do not need to thrash their grain, the maize; but when it gets ripe and dry, then they rub the ears between their hands and brush off the kernels. Their larders they dig down in the ground, close to their dwellings, wherein they have their maize, their beans, tobacco and other provisions, such as deer-meat, elk-meat, bear-meat, birds, fish and other such things, which may serve for the sustenance of man, but the bear pork as well as wild-boar pork and its fat they melt and use instead of butter.[2]

They use no querns,[3] but the meal for baking they pound asunder with a pestle and mortar, which they make in this manner, that for the purpose they cut a thick and large tree, 1½ ells from

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[1] *Godha rätter.* For the food of the Indians, see Van der Donck, De Vries, etc., *N. Y. Col.*, 2, I, 192 ff.; II, 263 ff.; III, 95, 104 ff.

[2] Cf. Van der Donck and other early Dutch writers.

[3] *Quarnar bruka the inthet.* In connection with the agriculture of the Indians Williams says: They "fell their trees with stone set in a wooden staff, and used wooden howes; which some old and poore women (fearfull to leave the old tradition) use to this day." *Key*, 130.

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
NM7 Delaware NM7

the root, in the stump of which they dig out a round hole and thus make a mortar which is suited for the purpose and in which they pound all their grain to meal.[4] And then they bake their meal into small loaves as large as a small cheese,[5] in which they use a kind of berry like currants. Nor do they use any other bake-oven than the embers. The ashes they use according to the manner of the birds, to clean their stomach with, as the birds do with sand instead of salt, therefore they are not so particular, if their bread gets to be a little ashy. They have just recently begun to buy a little salt of the Christians, but they do not know how to use it otherwise than to chew a little of it at a time, like other costly spices.[6]

To brew ale or distill brandy, that they cannot turn their hand to. In reference to the frying by the savages [it is to be noted] that they know no other manner of doing it than to cut for themselves slender spits of wood, pass them through the meat or the fish, stick the spits down into the ground, and turn the meat or the fish near the fire.[7] When it now may be about half fried on the one side, then he turns the other side to the fire and when it is half fried on both sides, so that the blood still remains in it, then he considers it most wholesome and best to eat. In reference to the cooking of the savages [it may be stated] that they have

[4] Cf. Van der Donck and other Dutch writers of the early 17th Century, *N. Y. Col.*, 2, I, II, III.

[5] Perhaps six or eight inches in diameter.

[6] The natives apparently did not season their food with salt. Cf. Hodge, *Handbook*, II, 418 ff.

[7] See illustration facing page 253. The natives of Africa smoke and roast their fish in the same way.

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463 about 1913. The Delaware women and a few men are yet skilled workers in beads,
531 both in sewed-on designs and in bead weaving. The women are expert in the art of working out intricate designs in ribbon applique on robes, leggings, breech cloths
322 and moccasins. Some wood carving is also
285 done by the modern Delawares and a few make splint baskets.

Designs and Symbolism

531 In the study of Delaware art motifs we find that they fall into two groups. In group A are the ancient earth symbols, floral and geometric (angular) patterns; in group B, the religious symbols of the Peyote Cult. This is a religious teaching and ceremony that arose in the tribe about 50 years ago. Animal and human figures
[172] rarely occur in Delaware art. In archeological finds, representations of the human face in stone frequently occur but those are said to have been the charms owned and worn by certain individuals who had dreamed of the mask spirit and had the right to use its likeness as representative of
[787] the great spiritual force or guardian spirit. If a person saw an animal during his dream quest he would have the right to use the likeness of that particular animal on his
[614] wearing apparel. It is also permissible to have representations of clan animal totems on one's vest or tobacco pouch.

The earth symbols and the "trails" shown in plate 1 are said to be ancient, as well as figures A and B called "clasps" in plate 2. The earth symbols in plate 1 illustrate the
[821] native Delaware belief that the earth rests on the back of a tortoise and that the sun in its daily round goes under the tortoise and comes up on the opposite side the next day. Figure C, plate 1, symbolizes the power of the Creator which is felt in the
[171] four corners of the earth. These symbols occur in the ancient art designs of other Algonkian peoples in northeastern North America from Labrador to southern New England. Floral patterns for moccasin tops or vamps, breech cloths, robes and bags fall into this grouping (plates 3 and 4).

[P. 25, A]

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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from archaeological sites attributed to the Delawares. Copper tobacco pipes were recorded early in the seventeenth century by Juet who said: "They had red Copper Tabacco pipes, and other things of Copper they did weare about their neckes."[167] Lindestrom described the pipes as painted and said that there were some "an ell in length, which are screwed together with leather, to lean on. . .and in these pipe-heads will go a handful of tobacco."[168] In another place he indicated that pipe heads were decorated with birds and animals "very beautifully painted and glazed."[169] Holm said that the pipes were "a fathom long, which they lean upon as a stick."[170] The pottery pipes found in archaeological sites were plainer, being "straight conical tubes, plain or stamped, to elbow-shaped forms decorated with incised or stamped lines."[171] De Laet said they had ". . .tubes for smoking tobacco formed. . .of flint stone ingeniously perforated."[172] Stone pipes, however, are relatively rare in archaeological sites.[173]

Agricultural implements of the women were simple; short-handled hoes were fashioned with a blade of dogwood, stone, tortoise shell, or the scapula of a deer (later bison).[174] The scapula hoe is remembered by living Delawares. The Delawares had pottery vessels, and according to archaeological information the paste varied from fine to medium coarse, grit temper was more common than shell temper, and sherds are usually gray or brown. Vessels had "conical and rounded bottoms" and were "straight walled or rounded." Shoulders were often absent, although some had pronounced shoulders when associated with a collared rim. Decoration, if present, was by roughening with a cord-wrapped paddle. Incised decorative designs were frequent.[175] Containers and other utensils were fashioned of wood, shell, bark, gourds, and tortoise shell.[176] Stone tools are common in archaeological deposits and include "plain or pitted hammerstones, anvil stones, abrading stones, sinew stones, pestles, shallow mortars, choppers (or hoes), picks, netsinkers, paint stones and amorphous pieces of mica."[177] They possessed "stone hatchets" that were hafted to a handle, and another type which was neither grooved nor hafted.[178] The women and old men manufactured the mats, ropes, tump lines, and baskets, which were made from wild hemp, nettle, silkweed, spruce roots, cornhusks, ash splints, papaw bark, elm bast, and rushes. Wooden bowls, dishes, and mortars were made of maple, buckeye, and elm wood.[179] Speck has described fully the block

[167]Juet, 1909, pp. 18-19; De Laet, 1909, p. 49.
[168]Lindestrom, 1925, p. 197.
[169]*Ibid.*, p. 221.
[170]Holm, 1834, p. 130.
[171]Smith, 1950, p. 119.
[172]De Laet, 1909, p. 57.
[173]Butler, 1947, p. 252.
[174]Johnson, 1917, p. 279; Jemison, 1918, p. 47; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 28; Mähr, 1954, pp. 385-86.
[175]Smith, 1950, pp. 117-18.
[176]Pastorius, 1912, p. 384; Lindestrom, 1925, p. 255; Johnson, 1917, p. 281; Speck, 1941, pp. 47, 76-79; Smith, 1950, p. 119.
[177]Smith, 1950, p. 119.
[178]Kalm, 1937, I: 229.
[179]Thomas, 1912, p. 341; Lindestrom, 1925, p. 221; De Laet, 1909, p. 57; Harrington, 1913, p. 224.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

their huts. Trees were killed wherever they wished to have space for planting. 412

For the chase they used bow and arrow, both made of wood, the point of the arrow alone being of flint in the shape of a lengthened triangle, sharp and pointed, securely tied to the shaft. 224

Kettles and pots for cooking they made of clay mixed with sea shells, pounded very fine. After the pot had been shaped it was burned hard in fire. All these things, knives, hatchets, arrows and large pieces of the pottery they used at one time, are frequently found in places where Indians have lived. Potsherds have become black through and through so that the shell pieces may be seen. 323

They could shoot game as well in those days as at the present time with their rifled guns. They declare that game was not as shy then as now by reason of the report of the guns. In those days they killed only as much of game as was needed for sustenance, skins being used for clothing both men and women; hence, game was more abundant at that time. The women made blankets of turkey-feathers which were bound together with twine made of wild hemp. Of such many are to be found even at the present day among the Indians, and these in winter are a better protection against the cold than the best European blanket. The women also made themselves petticoats of wild hemp. 224 291 [237]

Bow and arrow have fallen into disuse among those Indians that trade with whites; are, indeed, only used for small game, such as the pigeon, fox and raccoon, in order to save powder. There are, however, whole tribes to the west and northwest that use nothing but bow and arrow in the chase and that have no European weapons, that are not even anxious to obtain them; for, say they, if we discard bow and arrow, who will then make for us enough of powder and shot. They prefer, therefore, to hold to their old custom and usage. 224

The fire materials of those days consisted of a dry piece of wood or board and a round dry stick. The latter was placed upon the board and turned or twirled with great swiftness, both hands being used, until there was smoke and fire. This, however, was done only in case their fire had gone out, which they 372

Food Preservation and Cooking

Passing to the problem of food preservation, we find that such crops as maize, tobacco and meat were most commonly stored in pits covered over first with bark or grass and then with earth (Lindstrom, p. 253; Johnson, p. 279; Krieger, p. 39; De Rasieres, p. 107). The house was also an important storage place, the food being placed in hemp bags and suspended from the ceiling (Johnson, p. 279; Harrington, 1913, p. 218; Heckewelder, 1820, p. 370). 251

Maize was used in a variety of ways. According to one author, those stalks that produced no ears were pulled early and the sap sucked from them (De Rasieres, p.107). The ears were either roasted in ashes or boiled. Most of the maize, however, seems to have been pounded or ground into flour and sifted through a basket of the desired coarseness. The finer flour was mixed with lukewarm water, kneaded into dough and made into round, flat little cakes which were baked in hot ashes. The coarser flour was made into porridge (i.e. boiled with water) to which nuts, beans, berries, pumpkin or meat were sometimes added (Penn, pp. 31-32; Lindstrom, p. 254; De Rasieres, p. 107; Danckhaerts, p. 159; Johnson, p. 281; Heckewelder, 1781, pp. 194-96; Loskiel, p. 67). Indeed, there seems to have been almost endless variety in the preparation of these cornflour dishes. 252

The other vegetables were most commonly eaten boiled and, it should be noted, without seasoning except ashes, as the Delaware did not use salt (Pastorius, 1700, p. 384; Danckaerts, p. 159; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 194; Lindstrom, p. 254). Water was probably the most important beverage known to the Delaware at this time, but fruit juices and water flavored with crushed walnuts or hickory nuts are reported (Johnson, p. 281; Loskiel, p. 74; Kalm, p. 269). Tobacco was always mixed with willow bark or sumac for smoking (Loskiel, p. 73; Speck, 1931, p. 127). [263] 272 276

Manufactures

A wide variety of materials was utilized for cooking equipment. Serving dishes were made of wood, bark, shell, or a cut-off calabash; spoons were of wood or suitably shaped shells. Cups of tortoise shell have also been found (Johnson, p. 281; Harrington, 1913, p. 223; Danckaerts, p. 159; Lindstrom, p. 255; Pastorius, 1700, p. 384; Skinner, 1915, p. 38). Pottery, which was used for boiling, is found abundantly in Lenape territory. It was made of clay mixed with pounded sea shells, mica or sand and various combinations of these ingredients. The technique used was coiling. Designs consisted of lines and dots, stamped or incised on the vessel. Broken or cracked pieces were mended by lacing through holes bored on either side of the defect (Skinner, 1915, pp. 12 and 13; Heye, pp. 62-66; Abbott, 1875, p. 345; Smith, p. 138; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 29). 415 323

252
262 Flour was either ground between two stones or pounded in a
[412] mortar and pestle by the Delaware. The mortar was usually a hollowed tree trunk, the pestle a suitably shaped stone (Smith, p. 138; Lindstrom, pp. 253-54; Abbott, 1875, p. 357; Kalm, p. 230).

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287 turkey-feather robes which served as clothing during the day (Johnson, p. 280; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 203). The turkey-feather robes deserve special attention as they were evidently one of the most distinctive and beautiful of the Delaware's manufactures. Lindstrom says: "They also make fine and beautiful quilts of painted bird feathers. In the first place they tie them with meshes like nets, yet very fine; then they fasten the feathers in the meshes, so neat and strong that not one feather can come loose from it..." (Lindstrom, pp. 221-22). When there was a "bed," it consisted of a wooden
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[P.10, B]

121 zon in order that Minsi material may be separated from artifacts pertaining to earlier occupations. The writer herewith presents what he considers to be a reasonably valid list of elements pertaining to Minsi material culture. This list cannot in the light of our present knowledge pretend to anything approaching final inclusiveness or conclusiveness. It is the 1951 model and all rights to make subsequent changes are reserved.

127 In this list I have, of course, leaned heavily upon Ritchie's Bell-Philhower report as well as my own researches both prior to and following the Bell-Philhower "dig". I would also like to acknowledge much valuable assistance derived from access to the splendid collection of material from Minisink Island in the collection of Mr. Rudolph Ludwig, Milford, Pa.

Ceramics

Pipes

172 So far as the writer has been able to
276 determine, no stone pipes attributable to
323 the Minsi have been found in the upper Delaware area or elsewhere. Pipes of pottery occur, but are not numerous. These pottery pipes may be tubular, effigy, or obtuse—angle elbow. (Plate 1, No. 2).
[531] Decoration may consist of pointillé, incised lines, corded stick impressions, or may be absent. (Plate 1, Nos. 1 and 3, shows pointillé-decorated pipe sherds.)

Vessels

172 Pottery may be of various Owasco types
415 (Castle Creek Epigonus is rather promi
323 nent) with punctuate, corded, platted, and beaded designs of several forms, or of Iroquoian types with incised designs in herringbone and other patterns. Rims often exhibit castellations. (See Plate 2. The sherds in the top row and the sherd at the left in the bottom row exhibit Owasco features. The remainder are primarily Iroquoian in motif.) An excellent description

[P. 1, A]

An excellent description

172 of Owasco ceramics is contained in Ritchie's
323 "Pre-Iroquoian Occupations of New York
415 State". A reading of this should precede
[114] any serious approach to the study of what we presently believe to be Minsi pottery.

The bodies of Minsi vessels ordinarily are corded in some fashion. Ritchie assigns the greatest frequency to a finely corded body treatment with smoothed-over cord second, smooth third, and coarsely corded fourth. It is to be noted that other body techniques occur on occasion such as corded stick imprinted and brushed-over cord.

Miniature vessels occur in this culture. The writer has never seen any from the Milford area which were not crude, including one, partially complete, excavated by him from the Bell-Philhower Site late in 1947. (Plate 3).

It may be remarked in connection with this all too brief description of 'Minsi' pottery vessels that one of the stumbling blocks in the path of a final and conclusive acceptance of the Owasco-cum-Iroquois explanation of the ultimate Minsi Culture is the fact that to the best of my knowledge no sherd or vessel has yet been found on a presumed Minsi site embodying an indeniable combination of pronounced Owasco and Iroquoian decorative techniques. This statement is made with full awareness, however, that the so-called Castle Creek Epigonus pottery may represent a combination of decorative motifs.

Pottery Effigies

172 In the light of the finding by the writer
323 of the pottery effigy of an animal head on
532 the Bell site in 1949, there can be little doubt that objects of this type must be included in the material culture of the Minsi.

The object in question (Plate 4, Nos. 1 and 2) is complete with the exception of the ears and a small part of the lower por-

[P. 11, B]

172 tion of the face. The hole in the dorsal
●323 surface (shown in Plate 4, No. 2) is con-
532 nected with the holes indicating the eyes. No explanation for the purpose of this dorsal hole or indeed of the entire specimen can be attempted at this time.

Bone

172 Bone and antler artifacts do not appear
321 to be abundant on Minsi sites. On occa-
41 sion, the bone awl, antler flakers of cylindrical form, combs, turtle-shell cups, perforated deer phalanges, perforated needles, antler picks, beaming tools, and short bone tubes, probably used as ornaments, are found.

Shell

At the present time, because of an almost total lack of evidence, (the Bell-Philhower Site report lists one shell bead found by Mr. Charles A. Philhower in a pit of the historical period and worked fragments of conch) the writer is not prepared to discuss the possible incidence of shell artifacts in the prehistoric Minsi Culture. In common with Ritchie ("Bell-Philhower Site", p. 178) he refers the interested reader to the Heye-Pepper report, "Exploration of a Munsee Cemetery" for a description of numerous shell ornaments, etc., from the *historic* Minsi site adjacent to the Bell-Philhower component.

ROUGH STONE

172 Net sinkers are of two well-defined
324 types: flat pebbles with two opposed
227 notches, and sinkers made of thin sheets of stone chipped into circular or rectangular shape with two opposed notches. These 'trimmed sinkers' may have notches formed by chipping, or rarely, by grinding. (Plate 5, No. 3, shows notched flat pebble; Plate 5, No. 1, shows trimmed sinker with chipped notches; No. 3 of the same plate is a trimmed ground-notch sinker.)

Sinkers of both types may range in size from an inch to six or seven inches in

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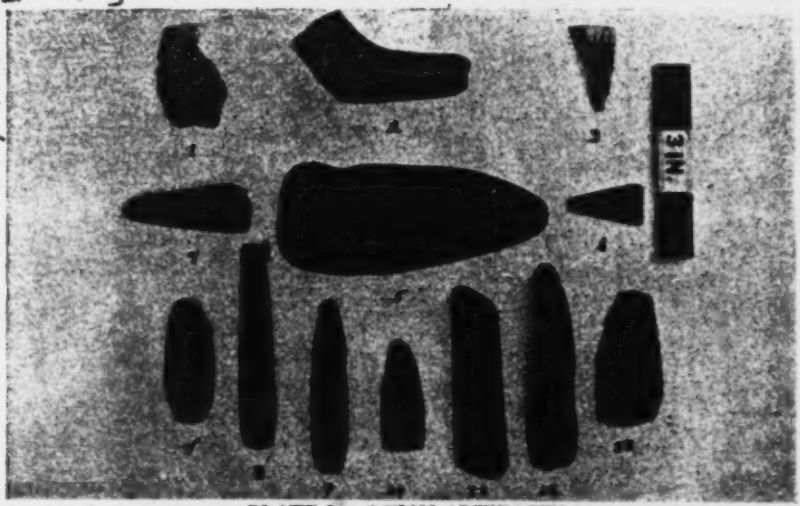

PLATE I. MINSI ARTIFACTS

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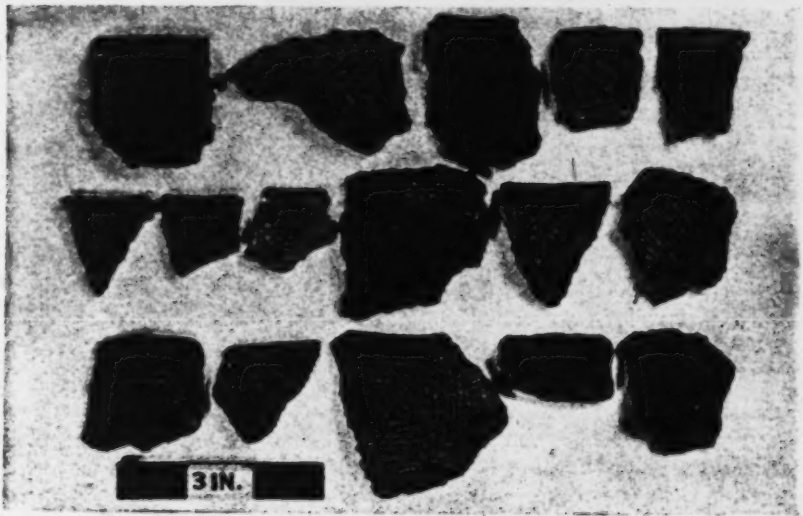

PLATE II. MINSI ARTIFACTS

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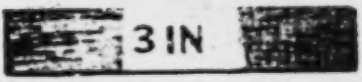

PLATE III. MINSI ARTIFACT

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PLATE IV. MINSI ARTIFACT

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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135 are, for the most part, of a gray, fine sand and make as good whetstones as one might wish. Rocks you meet occasionally along the Ohio, but away from the river and here along the Muskingum very few, even most of, the mountains and hills are not rocky.

Pit-coal is found in abundance, but as there is no lack of wood it is little used and hardly thought of by the Indians. In Pittsburg the coal is used in fire-places and by blacksmiths.

[324] [276] A kind of stone, black in color, is found here, that is easily worked and cut. It has no sand in its composition and the Indians make tobacco pipes of it, some doing very neat work.

There is also a kind of stone, blue in color, which is very hard. It somewhat resembles the limestone of Pensilvanien, but examination has shown it to be different. Limestone has not yet been found in this region.

A mineralogist would find many more varieties to describe, to which I am unable to give even the names, especially along the shores of the river, where all kinds may be seen, green, yellow, blue, red and black. About ore I know little or nothing concerning this region. The Indians believed themselves to have found gold and silver, but what they produced as precious ore, because it resembled this somewhat, on the test and examination of whites was found to be sulphurous substance.[138] Whatever glitters, the Indians are apt to look upon at once as being gold or silver.

317 276 [439] The Cherokees, who through the years have had much intercourse with the Delawares, brought with them many tobacco pipes for trade. These they made of quite white stone, probably white marble.[139] When completed they blackened the pipes and in such a way that they retained their color. These pipes are made so neatly that they are no heavier than the European pipes.

From the Mississippi the Indians bring red marble, whenever they come from that direction. Of this pipes are also made. [293] Such pipes, however, are as a rule to be seen only in the possession of chiefs or captains, for not many of them are to be had. A pipe of this sort is generally used in council or on solemn occasions. This is carried about by the chief counsellor, each

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[P. 11, B]

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Sinkers of both types may range in size from an inch to six or seven inches in

[P.12, A]

172 227 324 length. (Plate 11, Nos. 1 and 5, shows very small sinkers, No. 1 being the chipped type and No. 5, a notched pebble.) Caches of sinkers occur in this culture, the writer having uncovered a hoard of 28 specimens in 1936 and another of six specimens in 1948. (Plate 6 shows the six specimens contained in the latter find.)

Hammerstones, Hoes, Lap-Stones

172 324 412 Hammerstones consisting of simple bi-pitted pebbles (Plate 7, No. 2), rudely chipped triangular or oval stone hoes, and lap-stones or metates occur in this culture. One so-called lap-stone found in a pit on the Bell-Philhower Site late in 1947 consists of a roughly-shaped oblong block of very fine sandstone 3 in. thick, 11½ in. long, and 8 in. wide. Both faces are slightly concave.

Roller Pestles

Minsi roller pestles are generally very well made. Some are very long, exceeding 18 inches in length. One found by the writer shortly after the flood of 1936 is nearly 14 inches long and bears on one end the crude effigy of what appears to be a reptile head. (Plate 8).

Stone Discs

One stone disc in the writer's collection was washed out by the 1936 flood on the Davenport Site near Milford, Pa. It was found intimately associated with sherds of Minsi type. This specimen is 1¼ inches thick and is slightly over 4 inches in diameter. It was probably used as a muller in common with certain pebbles of fine sandstone occurring on Minsi sites. These pebbles show wear on one or both faces. (For illustration of stone disc, see Plate 9, No. 2.) It is to be observed that the type of stone disc under discussion here is not the kind of chipped disc (net sinker) mentioned in the Bell-Philhower report, p. 237.

14:Leslie A-4.5 (no date) 1951
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[P. 12, B]

Sinew Stones

172 324 412 In the Milford area it is possible on occasion to recover egg-shaped (and sized) pebbles almost completely encircled by shallow pecked grooves. Ritchie in the Bell-Philhower report, p. 175, refers to them as "partly grooved thick pebble sinkers". The present writer has never found this explanation of their use to be entirely satisfactory (Plate 7, Nos. 1 and 3.)

Stone Faces

172 324 532 Under the category of rough stone it is proper to include the stone faces which now and then turn up on Minsi sites. To the writer's knowledge, at least five of these have been found in the Milford area, one splendid specimen from Minisink Island (Plate 10) being presently in the collection of Mr. Rudolph Ludwig. According to [796] numerous authorities, these rough-tone effigies were used in the Lenni-Lenapé Big House Ceremony.

Polished Stone Artifacts

Celts

172 324 412 The inventory of Minsi polished stone artifacts is not large. Most prominent in this category is the so-called 'thick-polled celt' (Plate 9, Nos. 1 and 3). It is to be observed that some of these are almost restagular in cross-section, others more nearly oval.

Small Chisels

Well made "miniature celts" in the form of small narrow chisels or of small pebbles with a celt-like edge are among the most interesting and unusual Minsi artifacts. Some (Plate 1, No. 8) are beautifully made. In my opinion, this type of implement is important in the identification of Minsi-occupied sites. Several years ago the writer published in the "Pennsylvania Archaeologist" (Vol. IX, No. 3) a brief discussion of the possible use of these small tools. In that article it was suggested

14:Leslie A-4.5 (no date) 1951
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that they were possibly used to incise pottery. (For illustrations of several of these chisels found in the Milford area, see Plate 1, Nos. 7 to 13.)

Gorgets and Pendants

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The Bell-Philhower report mentions gorgets and pendants as being possible Minsi traits (pp. 174 and 236) on the basis of the reported finding of a gorget by Mr. Charles A. Philhower in a pit in association with a mat needle and a pottery vessel of Owasco type. This view is further supported by the mention of Owasco parallels and by a reference to the discovery of a pendant by Heye and Pepper during their excavation of the adjacent Minsi site of the historic period.

The probability of the occurrence of both the gorget and the pendant in the inventory of Minsi cultural traits must be freely accepted, but it cannot be maintained that the matter is conclusively settled on the basis of present evidence—particularly as regards the gorget. It may be observed in connection with this problem that in this area the gorget is generally to be regarded as associated with the "middle" period rather than the "late" to which the Minsi belong. This does not, however, rule out the possibility of a weak survival or borrowing of this cultural trait.

Paint Stone

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In the summer of 1948 the writer found on the surface of the Bell-Philhower Site a thin rectangular piece of hematite with concave surfaces on each side exhibiting the marks of abrasion (Plate 1, No. 4). The obvious conclusion is that this object was used as a source of pigment, probably for personal adornment. While its occurrence on the surface gives rise to a certain element of doubt concerning its cultural affiliation, it is almost certainly of Minsi origin.

[P. 13, B]

Chipped Stone Artifacts

Arrowpoints

172 Most prominent in the category of Minsi chipped stone implements is the triangular
● 324 arrowpoint. While several forms of trian-
411 gular points occur, the vast majority of Minsi points are equilateral triangles with concave bases. A considerable number of equilateral triangular points also occur with straight bases. (Plate 11, Nos. 14 and 11, shows concave-base points; Nos. 11, 12, and 13 have straight bases.)

The materials of which Minsi chipped
[803] implements found in the Milford area are made include jasper (brown, yellow, red), argillite, black, white and gray chert, and a chalcedony-like material. By far the most commonly-used of these materials were argillite and black chert.

Knives

172 Although knives of several types (ovate,
324 large triangular, broad side-notched, etc.)
412 have been found on sites generally conceded to be Minsi, this kind of implement is not typical of the culture.

Scrapers

Both side scrapers, consisting of retouched flakes, and end scrapers occur in the Minsi Culture, but not to the extent that they are found in the much older Laurentian horizon.

The most prominent, in fact, almost the exclusive form of end scraper is the ovate type. The keeled back form is a very poor second and while occurring, is, like the chipped knife, not typical of the culture. (Plate 11, Nos. 7, 8, 9, shows end scrapers from a large site near Milford, Pa., generally conceded to be Minsi.)

Drills

Although Ritchie's statistics (Bell-Philhower report, p. 236) would lead one to the conclusion that drills are comparatively minor artifacts in the total Minsi series,

172 the writer has found that these implements
324 occur generally on Minsi sites. It is pos-
412 sible that they deserve more significance than Ritchie's tables would indicate. Ritchie (op. cit., p. 236) lists five types: expanded base, expanded side-notched base, expanded scraper base, T-shaped base, and Y-shaped base. Presently available statistics do not permit a selection of the most common form or forms (Plate 11, Nos. 2, 3, 4, 6).

Trade Goods

172 Any trade goods found in the upper
439 Delaware area are almost certainly surviving evidence of the period of Minsi-Caucasian contact. In general, trade material is extremely rare, evidencing the fact that the contact period was of very short duration in this area. One notable exception to this general paucity of trade material is that part of the Bell Site excavated by Heye and Pepper early in the second decade of the present century. In their exploration, Heye and Pepper found numerous articles of European or Colonial origin, including beads, metal kettles, etc. (See their "Exploration of a Munsee Cemetery near Montague, N. J.", 1915.)

The writer has found only two artifacts evidencing Caucasian contact: a sheet brass triangular arrowpoint from the Davenport Site across the Delaware from Milford, Pa., found on the surface in 1934, and a small perforated triangular ornament of catlinite from near Cocheton, Sullivan Co., N. Y. (Plate 11, No. 10, shows the brass arrowpoint; Plate 1, No. 6, is the catlinite ornament.)

Summary

172 With the exception of numerous pottery decorative patterns within the framework of certain Owasco and Iroquoian ceramic techniques, it is evident that Minsi material culture is not characterized by variety. This is, of course, an example of a cultural

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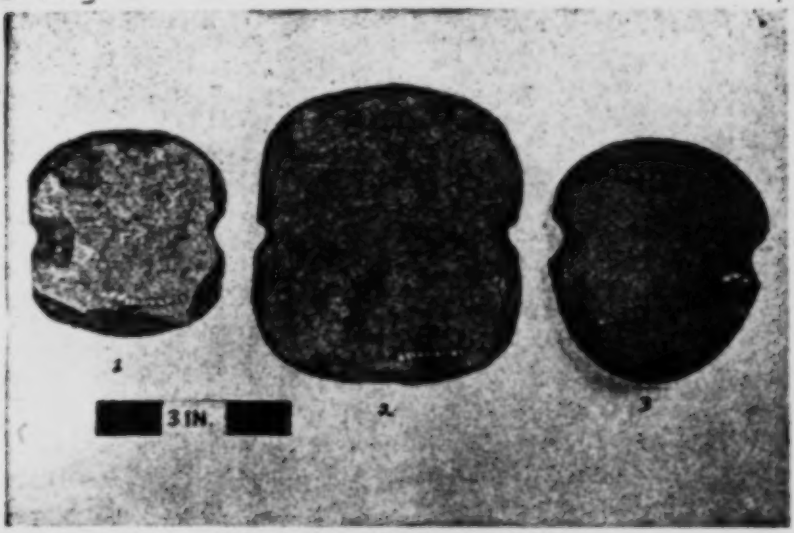

PLATE V. MINSI ARTIFACTS

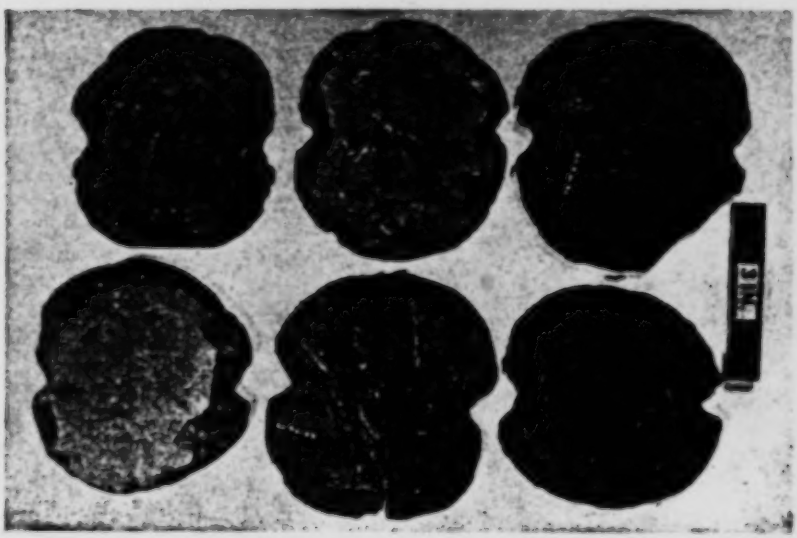

PLATE VI. MINSI ARTIFACTS

[P. 18]

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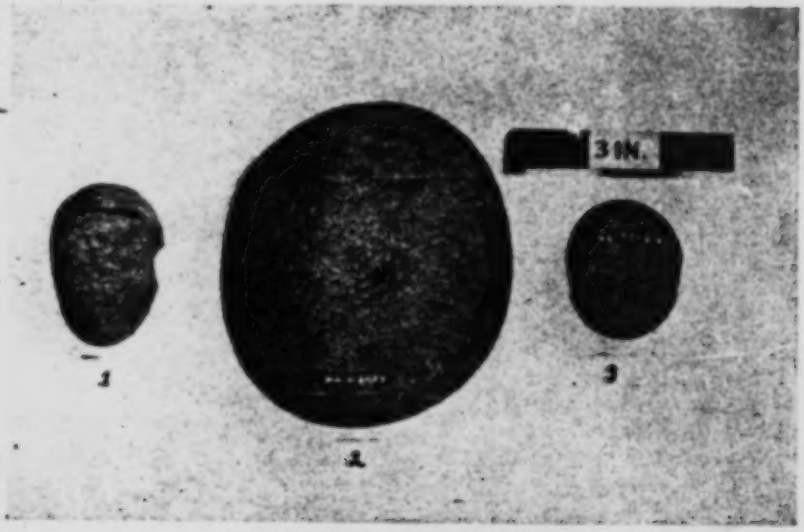

PLATE VII. MINSI ARTIFACTS

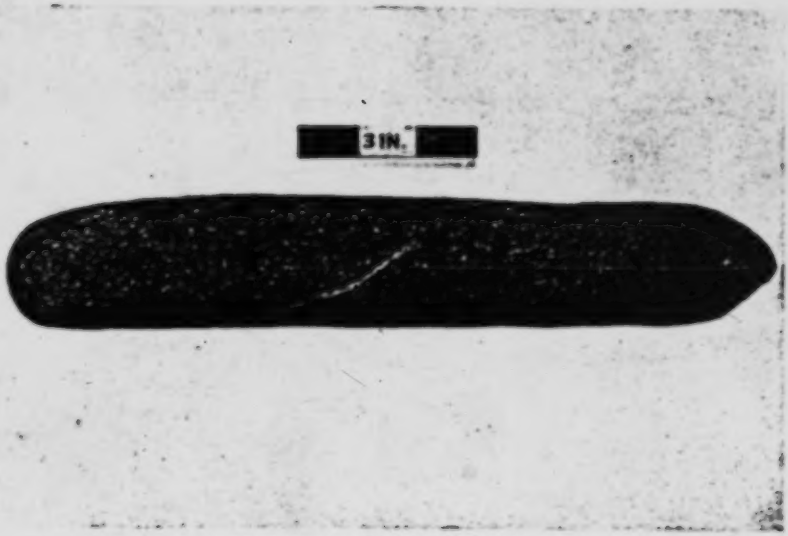

PLATE VIII. MINSI ARTIFACT

[P. 19]

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PLATE IX. MINSI ARTIFACTS

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PLATE X. MINSI ARTIFACT

[P-20]

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PLATE XI. MINSI ARTIFACTS

escape. In the summer and on trips shelter was not considered necessary (Johnson, p. 281; Lindstrom, p. 211). Most villages also contained a "Big House" which served as a place for religious assemblies and council meetings, but both of these functions were sometimes performed outdoors or in the chief's house.

As aids to transportation the Delaware used the carrying straps, pack baskets (used by both men and women) and canoes. Their bark canoes were of birch or chestnut. They also used a dugout made by first burning a suitable log and then scraping the charred portions out with sharp stones and shells (Johnson, p. 280). Vessels capable of ocean travel were constructed by fastening two large dugout canoes together and using mats for sails.[7] In these, journeys were made as far as New England and Virginia (Johnson, p. 280; Lindstrom, p. 237).

Nineteenth century writers were of the opinion that the Lenape used large amounts of copper and perhaps even worked it themselves (Brinton, 1885, p. 52; Abbott, 1885, pp. 774-77). More recent evidence, however, indicates that copper was not abundantly used, the most common form in which it is found being tubular beads, and that it was received solely in trade (Skinner, 1909, p. 28).

Clothing

The clothing of the Indian men consisted in summer of a leather girdle from which hung a flap of leather.[8] At this time of year the Delaware frequently went without footwear (Pastorius, 1700, p. 384; 1698, p. 433; Danckaerts, pp. 169 and 280; Lindstrom, pp. 191-92 and 197). The women's dress consisted of a square piece of leather fringed at the bottom which was bound around the waist as a short skirt (Skinner, 1915, p. 5; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 29). In winter, both sexes added leather leggings, moccasins and robes of animal skins or turkey feathers to this costume. Apparently the skins of bear, deer and raccoon were most commonly used for clothing. All of the clothing was decorated with colored designs of dyed porcupine quills or wampum (Pastorius, 1698, p. 433; Johnson, p. 286; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 202; Skinner, 1915, pp. 3 and 5).

Both sexes decorated themselves with numerous ornaments, the women, however, outdoing the men. Wampum was hung in chains around the neck and from the ears, and woven in bands which were worn around the head, sometimes with a single feather set in them (Pastorius, 1698, p. 434; Lindstrom, p. 196). Around the neck were also worn necklaces of dyed deer hair and native copper, stone and shell pendants and breast plates (Abbott, 1875, p. 327; Heye, pp. 32-42). In addition, men were seldom without their pipe, tobacco pouch and bag of food also hung about the neck (Lindstrom, p. 197). For festive occasions the ornamentation was greatly increased and face paint of various designs added. Hair and skin shining with bear grease was

12:Tantaquidgeon E-5 (no date)1950
NM7 Delaware NM7

Delaware Indian Art Designs

GLADYS TANTAQUIDGEON

Introduction

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in Kansas, and from there they moved to Oklahoma and became incorporated with the Cherokee. Other bands found their way to Canada in the Province of Ontario, where they are now known as Delawares, Munsee and Moravians.

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The present population of the Delawares is estimated to be about 1,400. Of this number, 1,000 are in Oklahoma and the remainder in the province of Ontario, Canada.

Field of Art

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Until about 1890 the Delawares practiced many of their native arts and crafts but among the modern descendants of the tribe only a few of the older arts have survived. Pottery making, work in stone, bone, horn, antler, silver and the use of quills and hair in embroidery; twined basketry made from certain roots, and woven bags and girdles of Indian hemp (*Apocynum cannabium*) are now only vaguely remembered by some of the older members of the groups in Oklahoma and Ontario. Work in silver persisted until

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[P.24, B] About 1913.

2;Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7

"belonged to" the "individual" hunting territory.[117] The lineage, clan, and phratry are discussed in the next chapter. There is nothing incompatible in the existence of maternal lineages (or clans) and male-used hunting territories.

Material Culture

Villages.—There is little information concerning the villages and general settlement pattern of the early historic Delawares. Villages, or perhaps they might better be termed hamlets, were situated in bottom lands near the gardens or along the shores of bays.[118] These dispersed settlements were not palisaded.[119] Eighteenth-century and later information seems to reflect the original condition in that these settlements had no regular plan or arrangement, and that houses were not built close together.[120] There is no information concerning the length of time these villages were inhabited. If their garden plots were fertilized, residence in the villages may have been relatively permanent, but the fertilizer issue is in doubt. By the eighteenth century, after extensive migrations, villages were occupied until it became "troublesome to secure wood for fuel" and, implicitly, until they became overburdened with filth.[121] The Evelin paper of 1648 described twenty-three communities in New Jersey, ranging in population from fourteen to six hundred persons.[122] Lindestrom noted community size as "several hundred men strong, under each chief, counting women and children, some being stronger, some weaker."[123]

Dwellings.—There seems to have been some diversity in the type of dwellings of the early seventeenth-century Delawares. A circular wigwam and a long house identical with the Iroquoian type have been described, although the latter seems to represent a late prehistoric diffusion. De Laet and Van der Donck depicted Delawares using a circular bark dwelling with vaulted ceiling.[124] In another place De Laet stated that the dwelling was oven-shaped, but large enough for several related families.[125] Penn and Pastorius also alluded to this style of dwelling, whereas Holm and Lindestrom mentioned what seems to be the Iroquoian long house.[126] Zeisberger in the eighteenth century distinguished between house types of the Iroquois and the Delawares, describing a "rounded, arched roof" for the Iroquois and a "high-pitched, peaked roof" for the Delawares.[127] Harrington in 1913 characterized the house type current a few years previously as being similar to the Iroquois type.[128] The evidence, then, is not conclusive, but it seems probable

[117] Wallace, 1947, p. 18.
[118] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 87; Wallace, 1947, p. 18.
[119] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 241.
[120] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 87; O. A., J. T.
[121] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 87.
[122] Smith, 1877, p. 11.
[123] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 170.
[124] De Laet, 1909, p. 57; Van der Donck, 1909, p. 302.
[125] De Laet, 1909, p. 57.
[126] Penn, 1912, p. 232; Pastorius, 1912, p. 425; Holm, 1834, p. 123; Lindestrom, 1925, p. 211.
[127] Zeisberger, 1910, pp. 17-18.
[128] Harrington, 1913, pp. 217-18.

that the Delaware groups nearest to the Iroquois had been influenced by them. The Munsi were nearest to the Iroquois, and Harrington's informants were predominantly of this group. The various house styles, on the other hand, are possibly related to the seasonal movements of the Delawares, who, like the central Algonkians, may have utilized the rectangular, bark-covered long house in summer and the dome-shaped lodge in winter.[129]

The dome-shaped lodges were simple structures built by placing pieces of bark, preferably of linden or elm, over a sapling framework. The bark was stripped from the trees in summer in as large sheets as possible and dried. It then provided a watertight house.[130] House furnishings were rather meager. "They. . .make very fine, strong and artistic mats of finely painted spruce roots and strong straw, with all kinds of figures, to decorate and cover the walls with, and to place below their bed clothes."[131] Rush mats were painted and fastened to the walls in winter to keep out the cold. Some houses had "portraits and pictures somewhat rudely carved."[132] By the eighteenth century platforms made of poles, which encircled the walls and served as tables, benches, and beds, were mentioned.[133] The platform was covered by an untanned skin of bear or deer, or else with a mat.

Near each village was one or more sweat houses:

> When they wish to cleanse themselves of their foulness, they go in the autumn, when it begins to grow cold, and make, away off, near a running brook, a small oven, large enough for three or four men to lie in it. In making it they first take twigs of trees, and then cover them tight with clay, so that smoke cannot escape. This being done, they take a parcel of stones, which they heat in a fire, and then put in the oven, and when they think that it is sufficiently hot, they take the stones out again, and go and lie in it, men and women, boys and girls.[134]

Informants (O.A., J.T.) recalled small sweat lodges of this type. Skinner found "small beds of cracked stones and pebbles, without relics, often at some distance from other remains. . ."[135] Thus, archaeological remains tend to confirm the existence of this trait for the prehistoric people of Staten Island.

Clothing.—The amount of clothing worn by the Delawares varied with the season. In summer men wore only a leather breech cloth and women only a short skirt, and they frequently did without moccasins.[136] In colder seasons the principal garment was a skin of beaver, fox, deer, bear, elk, or raccoon.[137] The hair side was worn next to the body in

[129] Wissler, 1917, p. 221; Denton, 1845, p. 7.

[130] Thomas, 1912, p. 341; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 401; Mahr, 1954, pp. 381-83; O. A.

[131] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 222.

[132] O'Callaghan, 1850, I: 282; Hayes, 1954, p. 77.

[133] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 17.

[134] De Vries, 1909, pp. 217-18; Lindestrom, 1925, p. 257, described the sweat lodge in similar terms.

[135] Skinner, 1909, p. 48.

[136] Pastorius, 1912, p. 384; Lindestrom, 1925, pp. 191-92.

[137] De Laet, 1909, p. 57; De Rasieres, 1909, p. 108; Thomas, 1912, p. 341; Juet, 1909, p. 18; Van der Donck, 1909, p. 301.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7

Very few of them were fortunate enough to have oil on their lands. They either farm their fields or cash rent them. Judging from the state of repair of the houses, those that farm their own fields are more prosperous than those who rent them out.... The majority probably rent their fields and subsist on the small cash return, aided by the produce from their gardens, old age pensions, and other occasional sources of income.[3]

I have never seen a farming enterprise among the Cherokee-Delawares which could be considered a successful commercial venture. Some subsistence farming continues, but a large proportion of the adult males work in the various industries of the county, such as the Dewey Portland Cement Company, or the Phillips Petroleum Company. The older Delawares, who have remained in the area, appear to have done so mainly because they possessed no special training which would allow them to rise on the economic ladder or to leave for higher paid employment elsewhere. The older generation also seems to have had no culturally inspired incentives to acquire special skills.

There was considerable hunting in the early days in Oklahoma. Game was still fairly plentiful, and until about 1870 the Delawares had to hunt because their gardens yielded only a precarious livelihood. The chief object of the hunt was traditionally deer, and informants (J.T., O.A.) said that this was true in Oklahoma. They also ventured out onto the plains in quest of the bison. The Anadarko band, because of their location and probably because of their proximity to Plains tribes, made considerably more use of the bison. Besides these animals, prairie chickens, of which there were immense quantities in the early days, wild turkeys, quail, fish, beaver, and raccoon were utilized. In the Caney Valley the hunting was done on horseback, by individuals or at most by small groups. Communal bison hunts occasionally took place on the plains. These included women to do the butchering. Autumn was preferred for communal hunts since the cooler weather allowed the hunters to bring back fresh instead of jerked meat. Preparation, preservation, and storage of food followed the traditional patterns well into this century. Little or no food is dried or jerked by the Cherokee-Delawares at present; most food comes out of the can and is prepared in the Anglo-American tradition.

By the time the Delawares had migrated to Oklahoma the log house (about thirteen by twenty feet) had become the ordinary dwelling. A smaller log house was erected nearby and served as a cookhouse. The bark and sapling wigwam persisted as an auxiliary dwelling until this century, as old informants remember the details of these structures (O.A., M.B.). Small cookstoves were in general use by the time the Delawares appeared in Oklahoma, and the other furnishings were primarily of American origin and design. Gradually the early log buildings were replaced by small clapboard dwellings. Houses today are usually in poor repair and are overcrowded and small; they are comparable to those of the poorer whites of the area. No pottery was manufactured in

[3] Kinietz, 1946, p. 13.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7
Eastern Woodland Indians NM4
Iroquois NM9

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are as cleanly as one could expect it. The Monsys[14] and the Mingoes, however, far excel the Delawares in uncleanliness, and, since the dogs are constantly in the houses or lying about the fires, there are generally many fleas and other insects.

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Their britchen,[13] made of boards and arranged about the fire, serve as table, bench and bedstead. The underbedding upon which they lie, is either an untanned deer or bear skin or a mat of rushes, which grow in ponds or stagnant water; these the women are clever enough to decorate in red, black or other colors, finding the materials for the latter in the forest. These mats they also fasten about the walls of their lodges, keeping out the cold of winter as well as for ornamentation. Blankets worn during the day as part of the clothing serve at night as covering.

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Boys and girls sleep apart. As soon as girls walk a little frock is fastened about them in order that they may accustom themselves to wear their clothing in a modest manner, the garments of the women being short, for the reason that long gowns would seriously inconvenience them in their movements through the forests. In this particular the boys are neglected, wearing little or nothing until at the age of five or six years, when a flap of cloth is fastened to a leathern band or girdle that has been worn from early in infancy in order that they might become accustomed to it.

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Houses of the Indians were formerly only huts and for the most part remain such humble structures, particularly in regions far removed from the habitation of whites. These huts are built either of bast (tree-bark peeled off in the summer) or the walls are made of boards covered with bast. They are low structures. Fire is made in the middle of the hut under an opening whence the smoke escapes. Among the Mingoes and the Six Nations[15] one rarely sees houses other than such huts built entirely of bast, which, however, are frequently very long, having at least from two to four fire-places; as many families inhabiting such a house as there are fire-places, the families being related. Among the Delawares each family prefers to have its own house, hence they are small. The Mingoes make a rounded,

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3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7
Iroquois NM9
Eastern Woodland Indians NM4

I D 342 arched roof, the Delawares on the contrary, a high pitched, peaked roof. The latter, coming much in contact with the whites, as they do not live more than a hundred miles from Pittsburg, have learned to build block houses or have hired whites to build them. Christian Indians generally build proper and comfortable houses and the savages who seek to follow their example in work and household arrangement learn much from them,.

E 461 The North American Indians, whom I wish now to describe as well as I have learned to know them, are by nature (I speak of savages) lazy as far as work is concerned. If they are at home and not engaged in the chase they lie all day on their britchen and sleep; when night comes they go to the dance or wander about in disorderly fashion. The old men work a little, chopping wood or doing other things about the house, but the younger do nothing unless driven by dire necessity to build a hut or house or the like. Whatever time is not devoted to sleep is E 525 517 given to amusements, such as ball playing, which they have learned from the whites, as also cards. A game with dice they have themselves invented. The dice are made of the pits of wild plums, not cubical but oval shaped and smooth, black on one side and yellow on the other. These they each in turn raise in a wooden vessel and throw forcibly to the ground, occupying whole days in this way and accompanying their plays with much E 535 517 noisy ejaculation. Dances take place every night, all young people, men and women, attending. The dancing takes place either in a large house or in the open about the fire.[17] The men lead in the dance, the women closing the circle. Such is the exultant shouting on these occasions that it can be heard two or three miles away. The dance usually lasts until midnight, though there are intervals of rest. The drum which keeps the time is a thin deer-skin stretched across a barrel, or, in lieu of this, a kettle.

E 181 They are proud and haughty, even a miserable Indian, capable in no respect, imagines himself to be a great lord.[18] They hold themselves in high regard as if they were capable of great and wonderful things, in which respect they are much encouraged by dreams, held among them to be very significant and,

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

were generally careful to keep burning. On journeys they were accustomed to carry fire with them from one lodging-place to another, for which purpose they used a certain kind of fungus,[40] that grows upon trees. With such a glowing piece of fungus they could travel from morning to evening. This custom has to the present day not ceased among the Indians, nor has the method of making fire described above, some still employing it on special occasions and in connection with their sacrifices, in order to remind themselves of former customs and usages. Firewood they did not split in former days nor could they have done so with their hatchets of stone. They burned it into pieces of such length that could be carried home. They built a fire against the trunks of standing trees and kept it burning until they fell, which method still obtains among them, especially the older ones, for whom it is difficult to fell trees and split wood and who, perhaps, do not even own a hatchet. These may not burn a piece of split wood during a whole winter, but provide fuel for themselves in the manner described, which is quite easy and convenient for them.

Canows made of wood as well as bast, they also had in earlier days, fashioning the former out of a whole tree trunk, which they burned out and only used their hatchets to chop off glowing coals, lest they should burn in deeper in one place than another or even burn a hole through.

Their dwellings were huts of bark, which they lined with rushes in order to keep out the cold, roofed they were with bark, even as is the case now, though sometimes rushes or long, dry reed-grass served the purpose.

Underground dwellings there were, also, of which here and there traces may be found, particularly along the Muskingum, in which region one may yet see many places, where embankments, still to be seen, were thrown up around a whole town.[41] Here and there, furthermore, near the sites of such towns there are mounds, not natural, but made by the hand of man, for in those days the natives carried on great wars with one another, Indians being formerly, according to their own testimony, far more numerous than at the present time. At the top of these mounds there was a hollow place, to which the Indians brought

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

the mother going to fetch water or on some other errand. The children by pushing and kicking not infrequently tumbled themselves into the fire or other danger and thus miserably perished, or were severely burned. For this reason the custom is in disfavor.

Their houses are fairly clean, some being superior in this respect and affording a comfortable night's lodging for a European. In case a guest is expected, especially if it be a white person, they prepare as comfortable a bed as possible. They sweep the bunk, that serves as seat and table in the daytime and as bed at night, and spread a mat with one or more deer or bear skins upon it. Though usually a comfortable couch in summer time it may be made very uncomfortable by the fleas brought in by dogs. Their kettles, dishes and spoons are not kept in good order; sometimes they are only licked by the dogs in lieu of washing. Dishes and spoons they make themselves of wood, sometimes of tree knots or growths, often very neatly. The spoons are generally large and round shaped. Occasionally, a spoon will be used by several people, turn about, at a meal. Brass kettles, to be found in most houses because very necessary for sugar boiling, are bought from the whites.

The Indians are lovers of finery and dress, the women more than the men; the latter take care that the women adorn themselves in proper manner. The men clothe themselves rather meanly, regarding it as a disgrace to be better appareled than their wives. The dress which particularly distinguishes the women is a petticoat or strowd, blue, red or black, made of a piece of cloth about two yards long, adorned with red, blue or yellow bands laid double and bound about the body. Many women wear a white shirt over the strowd, decorated with silver buckles, the more the better. Red or blue leggings are worn, made of fine cloth joined by a broad band of silk bordered with coral. These leggings reach only to the feet. Shoes are made very neatly. Over the first strowd they may wear another, not decorated with ribbons, which if it inconveniences them in their movements may be easily laid aside. Thus clad a woman is well dressed. In place of the white shirts, blue linen or cotton may be worn. When they wear a white shirt, which is preferably of fine linen, it is often dressed with cinnabar about the neck.

252
262 Flour was either ground between two stones or pounded in a
[412] mortar and pestle by the Delaware. The mortar was usually a hol-
loved tree trunk, the pestle a suitably shaped stone (Smith, p. 138;
Lindstrom, pp. 253-54; Abbott, 1875, p. 357; Kalm, p. 230).

276 Stone pottery and clay pipes have been uncovered on archae-
[323] ological sites. Lindstrom describes the Lenape pipes as beautifully
324 painted and glazed with birds and animals on the head. He says
there are some "...an ell in length, which are screwed together
with leather,...and in these pipe-heads will go a handful of tobacco"
(Lindstrom, p. 197). These were presumably of European manufacture.
The pipes which have been recovered from old sites are of a much
humbler variety (Abbott, 1875, pp. 343-44; Skinner, 1909, p. 27;
Butler, p. 249). This apparent inconsistency can be readily ex-
plained, however, by assuming that Lindstrom was referring to the
calumets or peace pipes, which were relatively rare and would
be likely to have been carried west by the owners when they moved
(Kalm, pp. 231-32).

285 Some household items manufactured by the Delaware women were
[283] mats, ropes and baskets made from wild hemp, spruce roots, corn
husks and rushes. The mats, which were sometimes painted or had
figures worked in or over the weave, were hung on the walls for
increased protection against the elements as well as to beautify
the house (Smith, p. 138; Lindstrom, p. 221; Harrington, 1913, p. 224).
They were also used as part of the bedding together with the skin or
287 turkey-feather robes which served as clothing during the day (Johnson,
p. 260; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 203). The turkey-feather robes deserve
special attention as they were evidently one of the most distinctive
and beautiful of the Delaware's manufactures. Lindstrom says:
"They also make fine and beautiful quilts of painted bird feathers.
In the first place they tie them with meshes like nets, yet very
fine; then they fasten the feathers in the meshes, so neat and
strong that not one feather can come loose from it..." (Lindstrom,
pp. 221-22). When there was a "bed," it consisted of a wooden
352 shelf running around the interior wall of the house and serving
as a seat by day (Harrington, 1913, p. 218; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 17;
Skinner, 1915, p. 7).

342 The most common type of Delaware house was a small hut con-
sisting of a rectangular, gabled frame of saplings covered with bark
or mats. Penn describes their houses thus: "Their Houses are Mats,
or Bark of Trees set on Poles, in the fashion of an English Barn,
but out of the power of the Winds, for they are hardly higher than
a Man..." (Penn, p. 31). Some Delaware, however, constructed a
house large enough to accommodate several families, the increase in
size all deriving from greater length. The result was not unlike
an Iroquois longhouse.[6] In the center of the house was one or more
fires depending on the length of the building, and the ridge of the
roof was arranged with an opening through which the smoke could

escape. In the summer and on trips shelter was not considered necessary (Johnson, p. 281; Lindstrom, p. 211). Most villages also contained a "Big House" which served as a place for religious assemblies and council meetings, but both of these functions were sometimes performed outdoors or in the chief's house. 342 344

As aids to transportation the Delaware used the carrying straps, pack baskets (used by both men and women) and canoes. Their bark canoes were of birch or chestnut. They also used a dugout made by first burning a suitable log and then scraping the charred portions out with sharp stones and shells (Johnson, p. 280). Vessels capable of ocean travel were constructed by fastening two large dugout canoes together and using mats for sails.[7] In these, journeys were made as far as New England and Virginia (Johnson, p. 280; Lindstrom, p. 237). 501 [482]

Nineteenth century writers were of the opinion that the Lenape used large amounts of copper and perhaps even worked it themselves (Brinton, 1885, p. 52; Abbott, 1885, pp. 774-77). More recent evidence, however, indicates that copper was not abundantly used, the most common form in which it is found being tubular beads, and that it was received solely in trade (Skinner, 1909, p. 28). 325 [439]

Clothing

The clothing of the Indian men consisted in summer of a leather girdle from which hung a flap of leather.[8] At this time of year the Delaware frequently went without footwear (Pastorius, 1700, p. 384; 1698, p. 433; Danckaerts, pp. 169 and 280; Lindstrom, pp. 191-92 and 197). The women's dress consisted of a square piece of leather fringed at the bottom which was bound around the waist as a short skirt (Skinner, 1915, p. 5; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 29). In winter, both sexes added leather leggings, moccasins and robes of animal skins or turkey feathers to this costume. Apparently the skins of bear, deer and raccoon were most commonly used for clothing. All of the clothing was decorated with colored designs of dyed porcupine quills or wampum (Pastorius, 1698, p. 433; Johnson, p. 280; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 202; Skinner, 1915, pp. 3 and 5). 291 [281] [531] [301]

Both sexes decorated themselves with numerous ornaments, the women, however, outdoing the men. Wampum was hung in chains around the neck and from the ears, and woven in bands which were worn around the head, sometimes with a single feather set in them (Pastorius, 1698, p. 434; Lindstrom, p. [illegible]). Around the neck were also worn necklaces of dyed deer hair and native copper, stone and shell pendants and breast plates (Abbott, 1875, p. 327; Heye, pp. 32-42). In addition, men were seldom without their pipe, tobacco pouch and bag of food also hung about the neck (Lindstrom, p. 197). For festive occasions the ornamentation was greatly increased and face paint of various designs added. Hair and skin shining with bear grease was 301 [276] 302

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

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CONCLUSION OF THE LENAPE ANNUAL CERE
Native Painting by Earnest Spybuck, a

[FACING p. 1(A)] [IN COLOR]

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

FRONTISPIECE

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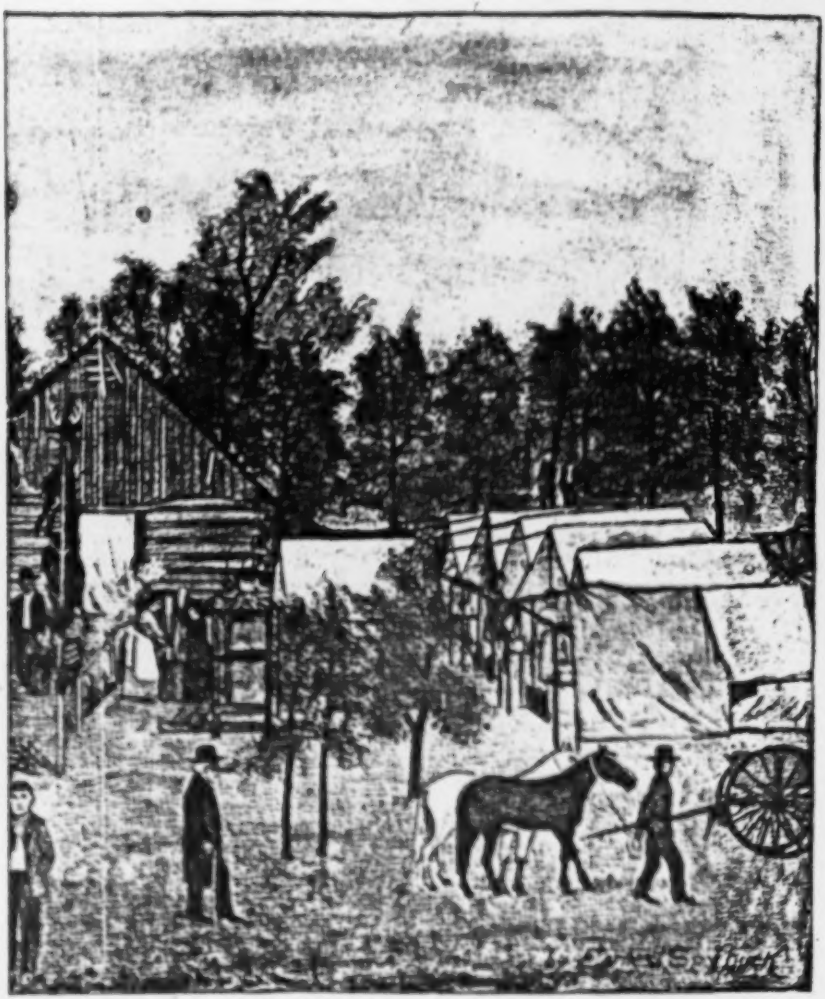

NAPE ANNUAL CEREMONY IN OKLAHOMA
ing by Earnest Spybuck, a Shawnee

[Facing p. 1(B)] [in color]

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
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CHAPTER XVI.

Concerning the Dwellings of the American Savage People.

During the summer they have no certain dwellings, but move about here and there around the country. However, in the fall each and every sachem has a house built for himself, which he and his subjects can live in during the winter, and during the summer they sing with the rabbit [and make a] house in every bush.[1] The house which they then build[2] is thus made, namely: first posts [are] dug down into the ground and set [down] securely, on which poles are fastened, the walls and half of the sides of the roof they clothe and cover with bark; the roof up at the ridge, where the smoke is to escape, they make open, an ell on either side of the ridge, all along the house, as long as it may be. And the length of the house they then plan according to the multitude of people [in the clan], that they can all be accommodated under one roof, about 100, 200, or 300 ells in length. But the width is on each side of the fireplace the length of a man, that they can lay lengthwise between the fire and the walls; for they have always the fire made lengthwise along the house, right in the center under the ridge, which burns night and day while the winter lasts. And they have one door only on each gable.[3] In this house

[1] That is: they sleep under a tree.
[2] In the winter.
[3] *En dörr hafwe the allenast på hwar gaffwell.* The chestnut bark was mostly used for the covering of the buildings. Cf. Van der Donck, *N. Y. Col.*, 2, I, 151, 196. See also Beatty, *Journal* (Lon-

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
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they now dwell while the winter lasts, and if the Christians then[4] had in mind to exterminate them, it could then be readily done; but that would be of no value or advantage to the Christians, for they are the slaves of the Christians which they themselves cannot know or observe. And the trade, traffic and commerce of the Christians would be of small value in that place, if the savages would not be [there]. The savages are ever willing and anxious to serve the Christians; [they] allow themselves to be commanded by the Christians, as if they were their subjects, but through good words; with dictation we get nowheres with them. If we should desire to prepare a feast, or if one otherwise may need [something] for the household, be it deer, turkeys, wild geese, wood-grouse, black-grouse, pigeons, etc., or whatever kind of game or fresh fish it may be, and one will command the savage to procure it, on that or that day for good pay, one may indeed be sure that he will get that which is desired, at the promised time. Thus in all other things which we may command, one may surely believe that it will be followed.

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don, 1788), 44-72; *Mss. 1412, pi*, Ridgway Library. Williams says: "Most commonly there houses are open, their doore is a hanging *Mat*, which being lift up, falls downe of itselfe; yet many of them get *English* boards and nailes, and make artificiall doores and bolts themselves, and others make slighter doores of *Burch* or *Chestnut* barke, which they make fast with a cord in the night time, or when they go out of town, and then the last (that makes fast) goes out at the Chimney, which is a large opening in the middle of their house, called: *Wunnauchicomock*, a chimney." *Key*, 51.

The long house with two fires was called *necquttow;* with three fires, *shiuchcuttow*, etc. The round house was called *putuckakaun, Key* 47.

[4] During the winter.

+ = element present
− = element denied
(+) or (−) = source ambiguous
* = informant could not or would not say
s = some, sometimes, or several
† or * = see Ethnographic Notes, pp. 79-137 for additional information

		Williams	Van der Donck	Lindeström	Zeisberger	Heckewelder	Johnston	Pipe	Chippa	J. W.	W. T.	E. R.	W. L.
							129	574	858	2795	191	558	576
											992	763	755
													756
													742
Medicine—Continued													
52.	Perform surgical operation				(−)		−		−	−	−	−	−
53.	Unite profession with priesthood	(+)		(+)			−		−	−	−	−	−
54.	Always use juggling tricks †	+	s	s	s	s	−		−	s		s	s
55.	Beat on own breast	+		(+)		+	+			+	+	+	+
56.	Blow in hands	+		(+)		+	+			+	−	+	+
57.	Make rumbling noise	+		+	+		+			+	+	+	+
58.	Blow on patient	+		+	+	+	+			+	+	+	+
59.	Rub the part affected						+			+	+	+	+
60.	Have effect on patient's confidence						+			+	+	+	+
General Manners and Customs													
61.	Eat human flesh			•(−)	−	−	−	•	−	−	−	−	−
62.	Shake hands on meeting; inquire about health and express gladness to see	(±)			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
64.	Great respect paid age or rank				+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
65.	Visit one another for purpose of conversation	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
66.	Regular parties at which they entertain				+		+	•	•	+	+	+	+
67.	Practice of telling stories				+		+	+	•	+	+	+	+
68.	In winter and at night only						+	•	•	+	+	+	•+
69.	Use words equivalent to swearing		−		−		+	−	−	−	−	−	−
70.	Exhibit strong feelings of love, friendship and affection to same sex					+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
71.	to opposite sex						+	−	+	+	−	−	•
72.	common to try to suppress to same sex						+	−	+	+	−	−	•+
73.	common to try to suppress to opposite sex						+	+	+	+	−	−	•
74.	Matter of pride to suppress feelings or excitement, especially fear and shame				+		+	•	+	+	(+)	+	+
75.	On return home men treat wives with indifference					+	+	+	•	−	+	−	+
76.	On return home men treat children with indifference					−	−	•	•	−	−	−	−
77.	Powers of recollection strong			+		+	+	•	+	+	+	+	+
78.	Any peculiarities in encampments (except war) or building of huts that distinguish from others				+		•+	•	•	•	+	•+	+

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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When all is ready then shall either one of these Attendants paint every Carved Image in the Big House. For that, my kindred, since ancient days is the rule and conduct of the Delaware when they intended to place our father, the Great Spirit.

Attendants, bring into the House your cooking and your dishes. Each and everybody who brings a dish give him to eat some hominy and meat. When eating is finished, then shall everybody who desires to sleep in the House bring whatever things to use he may choose such as bed clothes.[1] Here now it is nine evenings since we have camped.[2]

[1] This is to be noted as a privilege accorded for this time to the worshippers who are attending the ceremony—a sanctification.

[2] The Delawares are widely scattered over Washington County, of the Cherokee Nation, hence in congregating for the ceremony they are obliged to domicile themselves in tents.

[p 55 (B)]

614 have expressed themselves in favor of the
622 person nominated. If they disagree, I have
623 not ascertained how it is adjusted. After the person is agreed upon, then all the chiefs meet in council and perform the ceremony of investing him with his office.

622 The war chiefs are selected and made such by the Head Chief without consulting the people, but not so with the Head Chief.

241 The Delawares are very well advanced as agriculturalists. When Mr. Pratt came
342 among them 12 years ago, as he informs me,
177 they were living in bark houses. Now many of them are living in frame houses two stories and 2½ stories high, some with a veranda in front the whole length, and they have good barns and outbuildings. Some of
231 them have herds of cattle from 25 to 100
422 and have from 5 to 20 swine, sheep, wagons, and all kinds of farming implements. Their future prospects are certainly very flattering if they push on as they have here. Their
648 women are interfered with a good deal by
563 the whites, and they are quick to marry
557 white husbands, as they seem to regard that as advancing. It would be so were their husbands respectable.

657 With their large annuity of $50,000 per annum, the best timbered lands in the state, and sufficient of them to give them all large farms, there is no reason why they should not become both agriculturalists and respectable citizens of the state. When they
000 become wealthy farmers as some of them now are, their children will intermarry respectably with our white people, and thus the children will become respectable and, if educated, in the second and third generations will become beautiful and attractive. This is to be the end of the Indian absorption of a small portion, which will improve and toughen our race, and the residue run out or forced into the regions of the mountains.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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feels the least indisposed; it is the place to which the wearied traveller, hunter, or warrior looks for relief from the fatigues he has endured, the cold he has caught, or the restoration of his lost appetite. 757 515

This oven is made of different sizes, so as to accommodate from two to six persons at a time, or according to the number of men in the village, so that they may be all successively served. It is generally built on a bank or slope, one half of it within and the other above ground. It is well covered on the top with split plank and earth, and has a door in front, where the ground is level to go or rather to creep in. Here, on the outside, stones, generally of about the size of a large turnip, are heated by one or more men appointed each day for that purpose. While the oven is heating, decoctions from roots or plants are prepared either by the person himself who intends to sweat, or by one of the men of the village, who boils a large kettleful for the general use, so that when the public cryer going his rounds calls out *Pimook!* "go to sweat!" every one brings his small kettle, which is filled for him with the potion, which at the same time serves him as a medicine, promotes a profuse perspiration, and quenches his thirst. As soon as a sufficient number have come to the oven, a number of the hot stones are rolled into the middle of it, and the sweaters go in, seating themselves or rather squatting round those stones, and there they remain until the sweat ceases to flow; then they come out, throwing a blanket or two about them that they may not catch cold; in the mean while, fresh heated stones are thrown in for those who follow them. While they are in the oven, water is now and then poured on the hot stones to produce a steam, which they say, increases the heat, and gives suppleness to their limbs and joints. In rheumatic complaints, the steam is produced by a decoction of boiled roots, and the patient during the operation is well wrapped up in blankets, to keep the cold air from him, and promote perspiration at the same time. 757 515 343

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

343 515 757 Those sweat ovens are generally at some distance from an Indian village, where wood and water is always at hand. The best order is preserved at those places. The women have their separate oven in a different direction from that of the men, and subjected to the same rules. The men generally sweat themselves once and sometimes twice a week; the women have no fixed day for this exercise, nor do they use it as often as the men.

0p0 In the year 1784, a gentleman whom I had been acquainted with at Detroit, and who had been for a long time in an infirm state of health, came from thence to the village of the Christian Indians on the Huron river, in order to have the benefit of the sweat oven. It being in the middle of winter, when there was a deep snow on the ground, and the weather was excessively cold, I advised him to postpone his sweating to a warmer season; but he persisting in his resolution, I advised him by no means to remain in the oven longer than fifteen or at most twenty minutes. But when he once was in it, feeling himself comfortable, he remained a full hour, at the end of which he fainted, and was brought by two strong Indians to my house, in very great pain and not able to walk. He remained with me until the next day, when we took him down in his sleigh to his family at Detroit. His situation was truly deplorable; his physicians at that place gave up all hopes of his recovery, and he frequently expressed his regret that he had not followed my advice. Suddenly, however, a change took place for the better, and he not only recovered his perfect health, but became a stout corpulent man, so that he would often say, that his going into the sweat oven was the best thing he had ever done in his life for the benefit of his health. He said so to me fifteen years afterwards when I saw him in the year 1798. He had not had the least indisposition since that time. He died about the year 1814, at an advanced age.

l:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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764 tering loud cries and lamentations, with all the appear-
766 ance of frantic despair. After they were seated on the ground, they continued in the same manner crying and sobbing and pulling at the grass and shrubs, as if their minds were totally bewildered and they did not know what they were doing.

As soon as these women had gone through their part of the ceremony, which took up about fifteen minutes, the six men whom they had interrupted and who had remained at the distance of about five feet from the corpse, again stepped forward and did their duty. They let down the coffin into the earth, and laid two thin poles of about four inches diameter, from which the bark had been taken off, lengthways and close together over the grave, after which they retired. Then the husband of the deceased advanced with a very slow pace, and when he came to the grave, walked over it on these poles, and proceeded forward in the same manner into an extensive adjoining prairie, which commenced at this spot.

When the widowed chief had advanced so far that he could not hear what was doing at the grave, a painted post, on which were drawn various figures, emblematic of the deceased's situation in life and of her having been the wife of a valiant warrior, was brought by two men and delivered to a third, a man of note, who placed it in such a manner that it rested on the coffin at the head of the grave, and took great care that a certain part of the drawings should be exposed to the East, or rising of the sun; then, while he held the post erect and properly situated, some women filled up the grave with hoes, and having placed dry leaves and pieces of bark over it, so that none of the fresh ground was visible, they retired, and some men, with timbers fitted before hand for the purpose, enclosed the grave about breast-high, so as to secure it from the approach of the wild beasts.

[343] The whole work being finished, which took up about an hour's time, Mr. Calhoon and myself expected that

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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we might be permitted to go home, as we wished to do, particularly as we saw a thundergust from the west fast approaching; but the Indians, suspecting our design, soon came forward with poles and blankets, and in a few minutes erected a shelter for us.

The storm, though of short duration, was tremendous; the water, produced by the rain, flowing in streams; yet all had found means to secure themselves during its continuance, and being on prairie ground, we were out of all danger of trees being torn up or blown down upon us. Our encampment now appeared like a village, or rather like a military camp, such was the number of places of shelter that had been erected.

Fortunately, the husband of the deceased had reached the camp in good time, and now the gust being over, every one was served with victuals that had been cooked at some distance from the spot. After the repast was over, the articles of merchandise which had been brought by the two men in the rear, having been made up in parcels, were distributed among all present. No one from the oldest to the youngest, was excepted, and every one partook of the liberal donation. This difference only was made, that those who had rendered the greatest services received the most valuable presents, and we were much pleased to see the female mourners well rewarded, as they had, indeed, a very hard task to perform. Articles of little value, such as gartering, tape, needles, beads, and the like, were given to the smaller girls; the older ones received a pair of scissars, needles and thread, and a yard or two of riband. The boys had a knife, jews-harp, awl-blades, or something of similar value. Some of the grown persons received a new suit of clothes, consisting of a blanket, shirt, breech-cloth and leggings, of the value in the whole of about eight dollars; and the women, (I mean those who had rendered essential services) a blanket, ruffled shirts, stroud and leggings, the whole worth from ten to twelve dollars. Mr. Calhoon

2;Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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that the Delaware groups nearest to the Iroquois had been influenced by them. The Munsi were nearest to the Iroquois, and Harrington's informants were predominantly of this group. The various house styles, on the other hand, are possibly related to the seasonal movements of the Delawares, who, like the central Algonkians, may have utilized the rectangular, bark-covered long house in summer and the dome-shaped lodge in winter.[130]

The dome-shaped lodges were simple structures built by placing pieces of bark, preferably of linden or elm, over a sapling framework. The bark was stripped from the trees in summer in as large sheets as possible and dried. It then provided a watertight house.[130] House furnishings were rather meager. "They. . .make very fine, strong and artistic mats of finely painted spruce roots and strong straw, with all kinds of figures, to decorate and cover the walls with, and to place below their bed clothes."[131] Rush mats were painted and fastened to the walls in winter to keep out the cold. Some houses had "portraits and pictures somewhat rudely carved."[132] By the eighteenth century platforms made of poles, which encircled the walls and served as tables, benches, and beds, were mentioned.[133] The platform was covered by an untanned skin of bear or deer, or else with a mat.

Near each village was one or more sweat houses:

> When they wish to cleanse themselves of their foulness, they go in the autumn, when it begins to grow cold, and make, away off, near a running brook, a small oven, large enough for three or four men to lie in it. In making it they first take twigs of trees, and then cover them tight with clay, so that smoke cannot escape. This being done, they take a parcel of stones, which they heat in a fire, and then put in the oven, and when they think that it is sufficiently hot, they take the stones out again, and go and lie in it, men and women, boys and girls.[134]

Informants (O.A., J.T.) recalled small sweat lodges of this type. Skinner found "small beds of cracked stones and pebbles, without relics, often at some distance from other remains. . ."[135] Thus, archaeological remains tend to confirm the existence of this trait for the prehistoric people of Staten Island.

Clothing.— The amount of clothing worn by the Delawares varied with the season. In summer men wore only a leather breech cloth and women only a short skirt, and they frequently did without moccasins.[136] In colder seasons the principal garment was a skin of beaver, fox, deer, bear, elk, or raccoon.[137] The hair side was worn next to the body in

[130] Wissler, 1917, p. 221; Denton, 1845, p. 7.

[131] Thomas, 1912, p. 341; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 401; Mahr, 1954, pp. 381-82; O. A.

[132] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 222.

[133] O'Callaghan, 1850, I: 282; Hayes, 1954, p. 77.

[134] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 17.

[135] De Vries, 1909, pp. 217-18; Lindestrom, 1925, p. 257, described the sweat lodge in similar terms.

[136] Skinner, 1909, p. 48.

[137] Pastorius, 1912, p. 384; Lindestrom, 1925, pp. 191-92.

[138] De Laet, 1909, p. 57; De Rasieres, 1909, p. 106; Thomas, 1912, p. 341; Juet, 1909, p. 18; Van der Donck, 1909, p. 301.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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796 At a third kind of feast ten or more tanned deer-skins are given to as many old men or women, who wrap themselves in them and stand before the house with their faces turned toward the east, praying God with a loud voice to reward their benefactors. They turn toward the east because they believe that God dwells beyond the rising of the sun. At the same time much wampum is given away. This is thrown on the ground and the young people scramble for it. Afterward it is ascertained who secured the most. This feast is called *'ngammuin*, the meaning of which they themselves are unable to give.

[776] A fourth kind of feast is held in honor of a certain voracious spirit, who, according to their opinions, is never satisfied. The guests are, therefore, obliged to eat all the bear's flesh and drink the melted fat. Though indigestion and vomiting may result they must continue and not leave anything.

[776] A fifth kind of festival is held in honor of fire which the Indians regard as being their grandfather and call *Machtuzin*, meaning "to perspire." A sweating-oven is built in the midst 796 of the house of sacrifice, consisting of twelve poles each of a different species of wood. These twelve poles represent twelve ●343 *Manittos*, some of these being creatures, others plants. These [776] they run into the ground, tie together at the top, bending them toward each other; these are covered entirely with blankets, joined closely together, each person being very ready to lend his blanket, so that the whole appears like a baker's oven, high enough nearly to admit a man standing upright. After the meal or sacrifice, fire is made at the entrance of the oven and twelve large stones, about the size of human heads, are heated and placed in the oven. Then twelve Indians creep into it and remain there as long as they can bear the heat. While they [276] are inside twelve pipes full of tobacco are thrown, one after another, upon the hot stones which occasions a smoke almost powerful enough to suffocate those confined inside. Some one may also walk around the stones singing and offering tobacco, for tobacco is offered to fire. Usually, when the twelve men emerge from the oven, they fall down in a swoon. During this feast a whole buck-skin with the head and antlers is raised upon a pole, head and antlers resting on the pole, before which the

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

Indians sing and pray. They deny that they pay any adoration to the buck, declaring that God alone is worshipped through this medium and is so worshipped at his will.

At these feasts there are never less than four servants, to each of whom a fathom of wampum is given that they may care for all necessary things. During the three or four days they have enough to do by day and by night. They have leave, also, to secure the best of provisions, such as sugar, bilberries, molasses, eggs, butter and to sell these things at a profit to guests and spectators. Festivals are usually closed with a general drinking bout. There are always rum-sellers present on such occasions who make large profits. As a result of the drinking there are generally several fatalities, for, among the Indians that gather from various places, such as wish to work off an old score are ready to make use of the opportunity afforded by these occasions.

Besides these solemn feasts of sacrifice there are many of less importance, for individuals arrange them on their own account. They invite guests and prepare a feast of deer or bear's flesh. The guests consume the whole meal, the host and his family being mere spectators. At the great feasts all who are present partake of the food. Each individual may offer sacrifice for himself when engaged in the chase, in order that he may be successful. Having cut up a deer and divided it into many small pieces he scatters them about for the birds and crows that sit about on the trees waiting. Retiring to some distance the Indian will then amuse himself by observing in what manner they devour the prey. Another may offer to his *Manitto* for some other reason. Corn is said to be the wife of the Indian and to it they sacrifice bear's flesh. To the deer and bear they offer corn. To the fishes they bring an offering of small pieces of bread shaped in the form of fishes. If an Indian hunter hears an owl screech in the night he immediately throws some tobacco into the fire, muttering a few words at the same time. Then they promise themselves success for the next day for the owl is said to be a powerful spirit. In dreams, they claim, it has been made known to them what creatures to regard as their *manittos* and what offerings to bring to them. Such

757 cedure within the lodge for the purpose of diagnosing and treating sickness.

756 The term applied to the sweat house healer is one meaning a "sweat doctor." He always performs within the lodge when asked to examine 757 or treat a patient. It is interesting to note that my informant, Wi·tapanóxwe, and Charley Elkhair, the present head chief of the Oklahoma Delaware, claim the distinction of being the only men among the Oklahoma Delaware who have supernatural sanction to perform in this capacity. The former believes that he is privileged to assume the role which his people consider appropriate only for men whose mind and character have been strengthened by years of experience but that up to the present time (1930) he has not attempted it. The powerful shamans[29] of an earlier period were said to have been able to perform miraculous feats and effect marvelous cures without the aid of the sweat lodge although it was frequently employed in their practices.

787 Both of the above types of medicinemen receive their power from the Creator through dream-visions, the spiritual visitation occurring 756 usually just before sunrise or sunset. The vision is accompanied by 759 a medicine song which becomes the personal property of the healer, to be sung during performances in the sweat lodge. It is said that women rarely became sweat doctors. Wi·tapanóxwe, since his vision and medicine song were received just before sunrise, considers that as the time of day during which he would be most successful in curing activities within the sweat lodge. Those who received their power at sunset accordingly regarded that as the most suitable time for performances.

Contrary to the herbalist's custom of not accepting gifts or payment for his services, the sweat doctor expects payment from those who approach him for consultation and treatment. In former times trader's trinkets, etc., and somewhat later, horses, blankets, and money were given by those requiring his services.

343 The construction and equipment of the sweat lodge are matters of considerable importance in this particular type of curing. It is built of twelve poles which represent the twelve levels of heaven (Speck, 1931, p. 74) and according to native belief, lead to the abode of the [772] Creator. For this purpose saplings chosen for their flexibility, are cut

[29] In Delaware the term used means "powerful man," "man who can heal," and refers to a type of shaman, called *medeu* by the Delaware of an earlier period, especially concerned with curing. Among the Chippewa (Densmore, 1929, pp. 86-97) the *mide* were the leaders of the *mide'wiwin* or Grand Medicine Society. See also Hodge, 1912, p. 523.

into lengths averaging from six to eight feet. The end of each of these poles is pushed into the ground to form a circular outline, five or six feet in diameter, with a somewhat wider space marking the entrance towards the north or south. The opposite ends are then bent over and lashed down to form a dome-shaped structure, over which skins, mats or blankets are laid. The fire, located in the lodge center, is built of twelve logs of hard wood. Neither driftwood nor wood obtained from a tree struck by lightning are suitable for this purpose. The use of the former, known as "gathered together by water," would tend to cause a flood. Fuel taken from a tree struck by lightning, is termed "thunder burned wood"; its use in the sweat lodge, thus angering the Lightning Spirit, would cause a severe storm.

The native doctor may employ any person to assist in building the fire, carrying rocks and water, or arranging mats of Indian hemp and bark for the pallet upon which the patient is laid. The latter is covered with skin robes or blankets so that only his head is exposed. After the fire has burned down sufficiently to form a bed of coals, more logs are added and the rocks, usually limestone, brought in. Twelve stones of medium size are placed in the fire. For handling them, a branch of hickory or any hard wood, about five feet long, is split at one end for use as a fork. After the rocks have become thoroughly heated, water is poured over them to produce steam. The doctor prays and sings for a period of time determined by the nature of the sickness and the strength of the patient. His song at this time is the narration of his dream-vision experience made as an appeal to the Creator and his supernatural guardian. Although the emphasis in this type of treatment is upon mental suggestion, in some instances tea made of herbs is administered by the doctor.

In addition to the lodge, poles, fire logs, and steam rocks [80] grouped in units of twelve to conform with the twelve levels of heaven, symbolical significance is also attached to fire, water, and stone. These are regarded as minor deities, often referred to in terms of human consanguinity (Speck, 1931, p. 32), possessed of great healing

[80] Brinton (1888, p. 37) in writing of the survival of curing rites among the Ontario Delaware, states: "I enquired in particular if there are any remnants of the curious adoration of the twelve sacred stones described by Zeisberger. I found that the custom of the sweat lodge still prevails. The steam is generated by pouring water on hot stones. This is done by the medicine man who is known as *Quechksapiet*. He brings in one stone after another and pours water on it until it ceases "to sing" and invariable he uses precisely twelve stones."

was possessing the sick person (Danckaerts, p. 180; Lindstrom, p. 247). Possession by an evil spirit was believed to occur either though an accidental encounter with a human spirit or sorcery. The practice of the latter among the Delaware was largely confined to the curing shamans themselves (Zeisberger, 1910, pp. 125, 128, 131; Spock, 1931, p. 109; Brainerd, p. 347).

Sweating was done regularly, but was also considered beneficial in illness. The sweathouse was made of stone and clay with a hole at the top large enough to crawl through. A large number of stones were heated red hot and then put in the center. The bathers lay around them, water was poured on the stones and the hole stopped up. The sweating was followed by a plunge in the nearest stream (Lindstrom pp. 257-258). Penn witnessed a chief using this cure in the midst of winter, when a path had to be cut through the ice between the sweathouse and the river. (Penn, p. 55).

CONCLUSIONS

From the foregoing, it appears that quite a complete picture of Delaware life at the time of white contact can be reconstructed, based on observations made shortly after contact and supplemented by more complete descriptions of these customs by later observers. The method used in this paper brings out clearly, on the other hand, the fact that there was insufficient recording of the social and political organization of the tribe to permit a reconstruction of those aspects of life with any high degree of probability. By the time the Moravian missionaries came in contact with the Delaware culture, one hundred years had elapsed since initial contact and there is little basis on which to determine whether any trait mentioned by the missionaries represents an old, modified or new situation. This conclusion is in contrast with that of other writers on Delaware culture who have ignored the fact that their material was gathered at widely different times and places.

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

The ceremony, which was called *Muxhatol'zing*, seems, from the accounts given the writer by his informants, to have taken place in a similar building, and to have been similar in ritual to that just described, except that it was held for only eight days instead of twelve, and that, after the return of the hunters the skin of one of the deer they had brought in was stuffed with grass and stood up by the central post of the Big House, antlers and all, while about its neck hung a string of wampum—perhaps as a propitiatory offering.

Moreover on the morning of the last day of the ceremony a large sweathouse was built and stones heated; then about noon the men who had been reciting their visions went into it, each taking one of the hot stones with him. This privilege was not confined to the actual celebrants however, for every one blessed by a guardian spirit even if they had not sung their visions in the meeting, was entitled to carry in a stone and join them.

The entrance was then closed and

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

smaller proportion of Minsi and even Nanticoke blood. Perhaps then the first form of Annual Ceremony described may have originally been purely Unami, and the second Unalachtigo, or Minsi, or vice versa; but later, when the remnants of these tribes became amalgamated their mixed descendants inherited both forms. 184 796 x

The second form seems to be a variant of the rite mentioned by Zeisberger[49] who describes it as follows: 796 x

"A fifth kind of festival is held in honor of fire which the Indians regard as being their grandfather, and call *Machtuzin*, meaning 'to perspire.' A sweating-oven is built in the midst of the house of sacrifice, consisting of twelve poles each of a different species of wood. These twelve poles represent twelve *Manittos*, some of these being creatures, others plants. These they run into the ground, tie together at the top, bending them toward each other; these are covered entirely with blankets, joined closely together, each person being very ready to lend his blanket, so that the whole appears like a baker's oven, high enough nearly to admit a man standing upright. After the meal of sacrifice, fire is made at the entrance of the oven and twelve large stones, about the size of human heads, are heated and placed in the oven. Then twelve Indians creep [372] [343]

8:Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
NM7 Delaware NM7

CHAPTER XXVII.

Concerning the Household Economy of the American Savage People, Their Thrashing, Their Grinding, Their Baking, Their Frying and Cooking.

In this connection [*it may be said*] *that there* is found no scarcity of provisions among the savages, for the support of their household, but [they are] miserable cooks, they never cook good dishes.[1] They use no cattle. They do not need to thrash their grain, the maize; but when it gets ripe and dry, then they rub the ears between their hands and brush off the kernels. Their larders they dig down in the ground, close to their dwellings, wherein they have their maize, their beans, tobacco and other provisions, such as deer-meat, elk-meat, bear-meat, birds, fish and other such things, which may serve for the sustenance of man, but the bear pork as well as wild-boar pork and its fat they melt and use instead of butter.[2]

They use no querns,[3] but the meal for baking they pound asunder with a pestle and mortar, which they make in this manner, that for the purpose they cut a thick and large tree, 1½ ells from

[1] *Godha rätter.* For the food of the Indians, see Van der Donck, De Vries, etc., *N. Y. Col.*, 2, I, 192 ff.; II, 263 ff.; III, 95, 104 ff.

[2] Cf. Van der Donck and other early Dutch writers.

[3] *Quarnar bruka the inthet.* In connection with the agriculture of the Indians Williams says: They "fell their trees with stone set in a wooden staff, and used wooden howes; which some old and poore women (fearfull to leave the old tradition) use to this day." *Key*, 130.

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
NM7 Delaware NM7

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Concerning the Vapor Baths of the American Savage People.

The bathhouse of the savages is made of stone 343
and clay and arched like a bake oven with a hole 515
above, large enough to crawl through.[1] [For bathing] they make a large pile of stones red hot, which they place in the centre of the bath house, and the bath house is [made] so large that they can lie lengthwise around the hot stone pile. When they now want to bathe, as many as can get 513
room at a time will crawl in and then they stop up the hole well with frieze cloth. Then the savages within the bath house begin to pour water upon the stones, accompanying this with an unspeakable crying and noise, that one may really be fearful of it, each one imitating the animal from which his *Pddhra* or idol has been taken, upon which they believe, the one [crying] like a lion, the one

[1] "This Hot-house is a kind of little Cell, six or eight foot over, round, made on the side of a hill (commonly by some Rivulet or Brooke) into this frequently the Men enter after they have exceedingly heated it with store of wood, laid upon an heape of stones in the middle. When they have taken out the fire, the stones keepe still a great heat: Ten, twelve, twenty more or lesse, enter at once starke naked, leaving their Coats, small breeches, (or aprons) at the doore, with one to keepe all: here doe they sit round these hot stones an houre or more, taking tobacco, discoursing and sweating together, which sweating they use for two ends: First, to cleanse their skin: Secondly, to purge their bodies, which doubtlesse is a great meanes of preserving them, and recovering them from diseases, especially from the French disease, which by sweating and some potions, they perfectly and speedily cure: when they came forth (which is matter of admiration) I have seen them runne (Summer and Winter) into the brookes to coole them, without the least hurt." Williams, *Key*, 168; cf. Hodge, *Handbook*, 660 ff.; Johnson, *Swedish Settlements*, I, 357 ff.

26. Moral superintendence of Supreme Being over worshipers		−	(+)		+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	
27. Pray to Him for favors or assistance	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	
28. Deposit tobacco on stones, mountains, etc. for favors					+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	
29. Tobacco sacrificed for success in hunting	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
30. Believe in a future state of punishments and rewards	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
31. Final judgment						+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
32. Mental or corporeal pleasures in future state of existence		+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
33. Judgment immediately after death		+!				+	+	+	+	+	+	•	
34. Souls of worthy go to place of happiness or abode of Supreme Being	+	+		+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
35. Souls of bad go to land of bad spirits or hell							+	+	−	+	+	−	
left on earth or no good place	+	+		+		+			−	+	−	−	
36. Tortured or unhappy in either place		+		+		+			−	+	•	−	
											Wk		
37. Direction of habitation of good souls	SW	S		S		Up	S	•	Up	Up	Up	Up	
bad souls						Up	•	•	Up		Up	Up	
38. Believe in ghosts		+		+		+	+	−	+	+	+	+	
39. Have priests	+	+		−		−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
40. Witches and wizards		+		+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	
41. National worshiping society †				+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	
Medicine													
42. Diseases to which peculiarly liable †													
Bowel disorders				+	+	+			+		+	−	
Consumption					+				+	−	−	+	
Pleurisy						+			−		+		
Chills and fevers	+			+	+			+	−	+	+	+	
Dysentery				+					−		+		
Rheumatism				+	+				+	−	•	−	
Boils				+					+		−		
43. Remedies usually roots and herbs	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	
44. Bleeding common			+	+	+	+		+	+	−	+	+	
45. Cupping common				+					−		−	+	
46. Sweating common	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	
47. Medical profession	+	−	+	+	+	−		+	+	+	+	+	
48. Receive any education					−	−		−	+	−	−	−	
49. Called by divine agency in youth								+	+	+	+	+	
50. Count pulse						−		+	+	+	+	+	
51. Inquire into nature of complaint						+		+	+	+	+	+	

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9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

757 Since Zeisberger merely listed cupping as a therapeutic device without giving any details, it is impossible to check his statements absolutely. The other element indicating change is in the union 756 793 of the medical profession with the priesthood (53). As suggested previously, shamans may have been meant by priests. If this was so, of course, the two were united, but, if by "priests" was meant the leaders in the ceremonies of the tribe, the later sources and the informants deny such a union. Our information from the earliest accounts of the ceremonies is insufficient to judge whether there has been a change in function or a change in terms.

757 Evidence on the practice of counting the pulse was equally divided in both the third and fourth periods (50). Entire absence of information on this point prior to 1822 and the division of opinion thereafter strongly suggests that this element was borrowed from the whites sometime around the beginning of the nineteenth century but was not completely accepted.

343 Sweat baths were mentioned in every period as a cure or pre- 756 ventive of disease (46). They were also described by Lindeström, 755 but he did not attach any benefits to their use. The three older informants, J. W., W. T., and W. L., reported that there was a separate category of shamans called sweat doctors who used the sweat bath partly for its curative properties but principally as an aid to diagnosis. The fact that use of juggling tricks by medicine men was not uniformly reported by the sources may be explained by the statements of the informants who claimed that only the sweat doctors used them (54). The sweat doctors might effect their cures with sweat baths or they might merely make a diagnosis and leave the cure to some other shaman. A description of a sweat doctor's procedure was given by J. W. as follows:

755 "J. W.'s father was a sweat doctor. Had vision. Only those built houses. Built fire, put in six limestone rocks, dug little hole on north side of sweat house inside for rocks after they were hot. Pallet for patient on south side of hole, head outside (on east side) of blankets covering house. Leaves patient there ten to fifteen minutes while old man is getting ready a gallon of water with weeds of a certain kind immersed in it. Strips to breech

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7

For their worship which is diabolical, it is performed usually but once or twice a year, unless upon some extraordinary occasion, as upon making of war or the like; their usual time is about *Michaelmass*, when their corn is first ripe, the day being appointed by their chief Priest or pawaw, most of them go a hunting for venison: When they are all congregated, their priest tells them if he want money, their God will accept of no other offering, which the people believing, every one gives money according to their ability.[42]

This is the sort of description of a pretribal ceremony which one would expect from a seventeenth-century writer. The hunt for venison and the use of wampum were, for example, integral features of the later Big House Ceremony. Speck has suggested that the historic form of the ceremony developed from "rites managed by the ceremonial group (Turkey, Tortoise, Wolf)" which, in turn, developed from family or individual rites.[43] In historic times each phratry varied somewhat from the others in the performance of the ceremony; that of the Wolf phratry, for instance, lasted only eight days, whereas the ceremony of the Turkey phratry lasted twelve days.[44] In a sense, then, the ceremony never attained complete tribal integration. Since Speck's studies of the Big House Ceremony are relatively complete and are complemented by those of Zeisberger, Trowbridge, and Harrington, and by the eyewitness account by Luckenbach, it is not necessary here to give a detailed description of the historic ceremony; a brief synopsis taken from the accounts of these writers and from the descriptions given by my own informants should suffice.

After the Big House Ceremony became a tribal affair, it was held but once a year. It took place in a "big house," a building which also served as a council house and was similar in structure to the Iroquoian Long House. In the center of this structure was a pole, on the north and south sides of which were carved faces;[45] ten other identical faces were placed around the walls. Apparently this was the practice before 1763.[46] The participants camped near the Big House for the duration of the ceremony, the women to the north and the men to the south (M.B.). Throughout this period celibacy was practiced, participants were supposed to be in a pure and clean frame of mind, and menstruating women were not allowed inside the Big House. Offenders were removed from the building by the Mask Being or other officials.[47] One individual, known as the "bringer-in," sponsored and led the ceremony, and the phratry to which he belonged determined the exact form the ceremony was to take. One source stated that in each phratry there was a family which inherited the right to sponsor the annual ceremony;[48] possibly this was a vestige of the individual or family rites from which it evolved.

[42] Denton, 1845, p. 7.
[43] Speck, 1950, p. 27.
[44] *Ibid.*, p. 16; Harrington, 1913, p. 230.
[45] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 141.
[46] Kinietz, 1940, p. 116, dates this feature after 1824, but Bartram and Kenny apparently saw such a ceremonial structure in August, 1761 (Kenny, 1913, p. 22).
[47] Trowbridge MS; M.B.
[48] Trowbridge MS.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

ingratiate himself with the people and stand by his counsellors. 622
Hence, it is that the chiefs are generally friendly, gracious, hos- 623
pitable, communicative, affable and their house is open to every Indian. Even strangers who come on business put up in the chief's house and are accommodated with the best it affords. The ambassadors of other nations generally lodge with the chief 648
and they are well cared for. If their number is too great, and it 622
has happened in connection with weighty affairs concerning 623
several nations that ten or twenty men of other nations have arrived at the principal chief's house, they are put into a separate house and provided with every thing at the public expense, the counsellors taking care that they are entertained most hospitably in order that the nation may be in good repute amongst other nations.

In externals a chief has no advantages above others. He 632
must provide for his own maintenance, for no one is under any obligation to supply his wants. His wife, whose duty it is to provide sufficient corn for the year, is usually assisted by other women in her plantations, for much corn is required in such a house. If the chief is young and able to hunt he will, his official duties permitting, occasionally join the chase. He will even secure his own firewood as far as possible. In case he is old his friends, of whom there are usually many, and other Indians will furnish him with game, especially if he be popular.

The council house is either the house of the chief, which is 623
commonly large and roomy, or a building erected for that pur- [344]
pose. Here public councils are held, that is, such where messages which have arrived from whites or other Indians are published. Every one may listen and the messages are also discussed. In case there is something of particular importance to consider, only the chief and the counsellors assemble and determine upon the matter. The old chief Netawatwes[259] used to lay all affairs of state before his council for consideration. When they gave him their opinion, he either approved of it or indicated what was missing or not correct in the speech, upon which they would make the necessary amendments. Thus he kept them active and was held in great esteem. 211

The chief has the council bag in his possession, as also the 217
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escape. In the summer and on trips shelter was not considered necessary (Johnson, p. 281; Lindstrom, p. 211). Most villages also contained a "Big House" which served as a place for religious assemblies and council meetings, but both of these functions were sometimes performed outdoors or in the chief's house.

As aids to transportation the Delaware used the carrying straps, pack baskets (used by both men and women) and canoes. Their bark canoes were of birch or chestnut. They also used a dugout made by first burning a suitable log and then scraping the charred portions out with sharp stones and shells (Johnson, p. 280). Vessels capable of ocean travel were constructed by fastening two large dugout canoes together and using mats for sails.[7] In these, journeys were made as far as New England and Virginia (Johnson, p. 280; Lindstrom, p. 237).

Nineteenth century writers were of the opinion that the Lenape used large amounts of copper and perhaps even worked it themselves (Brinton, 1885, p. 52; Abbott, 1885, pp. 774-77). More recent evidence, however, indicates that copper was not abundantly used, the most common form in which it is found being tubular beads, and that it was received solely in trade (Skinner, 1909, p. 28).

Clothing

The clothing of the Indian men consisted in summer of a leather girdle from which hung a flap of leather.[8] At this time of year the Delaware frequently went without footwear (Pastorius, 1700, p. 384; 1698, p. 433; Danckaerts, pp. 169 and 280; Lindstrom, pp. 191-92 and 197). The women's dress consisted of a square piece of leather fringed at the bottom which was bound around the waist as a short skirt (Skinner, 1915, p. 5; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 29). In winter, both sexes added leather leggings, moccasins and robes of animal skins or turkey feathers to this costume. Apparently the skins of bear, deer and raccoon were most commonly used for clothing. All of the clothing was decorated with colored designs of dyed porcupine quills or wampum (Pastorius, 1698, p. 433; Johnson, p. 280; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 202; Skinner, 1915, pp. 3 and 5).

Both sexes decorated themselves with numerous ornaments, the women, however, outdoing the men. Wampum was hung in chains around the neck and from the ears, and woven in bands which were worn around the head, sometimes with a single feather set in them (Pastorius, 1698, p. 434; Lindstrom, p. 196). Around the neck were also worn necklaces of dyed deer hair and native copper, stone and shell pendants and breast plates (Abbott, 1875, p. 327; Heye, pp. 32-42). In addition, men were seldom without their pipe, tobacco pouch and bag of food also hung about the neck (Lindstrom, p. 197). For festive occasions the ornamentation was greatly increased and face paint of various designs added. Hair and skin shining with bear grease was

ence to this person's having taught them the correct way to live and perform their sacrifices (Brainerd, p. 345; Luckenbach, p. 616; Brinton, 1888, p. 38). 773 776

Methods of Worship

The all-pervasive method of worship was sacrifice of burned flesh or tobacco. The correct method for performing these sacrifices, the dances, the order of procedure, method of constructing the house in which they were to be performed and other details were prescribed to the ancestors of the Delaware in the distant past. Most of these details escaped the notice, or at least failed to arouse the interest of our earliest observers, but Penn sketched their ceremonies in the following general terms: 782 796

> "Their Worship consists of two parts, Sacrifice and Cantico. Their Sacrifice is their first Fruits; the first and fattest Buck they kill, goeth to the fire, where he is all burnt with a Mournful Ditty of him that performeth the Ceremony... The other part is their Cantico, performed by round-Dances, sometimes words, sometimes Songs, then Shouts, two being in the middle that begin, and by Singing and Drumming on a Board direct the Chorus: Their Postures in the Dance are very Antick and differing, but all keep measure..." (p. 38-39; also see Lindstrom, p. 208).

The emphasis on traditionalism in Delaware religion makes it not unlikely that the ceremonies which were witnessed in the eighteenth century were similar to those performed before the white man arrived.13 [177]

The following description of the full ceremony is taken primarily from an eye witness account of Abraham Luckenbach, but where details are corroborated by other writers the reference is also cited. It coincides in many details with the ceremony described in Frank Speck's A Study of the Delaware Indian Big House Ceremony, which is an annotated account of a recitation of the ceremony as remembered by a Delaware Indian living in Oklahoma. 796

The ceremony was held in the Big House, which also served as council house. "The entrance was at both gable ends and there was neither floor nor ceiling. Near both ends and in the middle, there were three fires over which hung large kettles in which corn and meat were boiled for the guests and always kept in readiness for them to eat, when finished with the dance." The smoke opening left at the ridge of the roof and the bench running around the interior wall were similar to those already described for ordinary houses (also see Beatty, p. 22). 796 344

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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For their worship which is diabolical, it is performed usually but once or twice a year, unless upon some extraordinary occasion, as upon making of war or the like; their usual time is about *Michaelmass*, when their corn is first ripe, the day being appointed by their chief Priest or pawaw, most of them go a hunting for venison: When they are all congregated, their priest tells them if he want money, their God will accept of no other offering, which the people believing, every one gives money according to their ability.[42]

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[42] Denton, 1845, p. 7.
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[45] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 141.
[46] Kinietz, 1940, p. 118, dates this feature after 1824, but Bartram and Kenny apparently saw such a ceremonial structure in August, 1761 (Kenny, 1913, p. 22).
[47] Trowbridge MS; M.B.
[48] Trowbridge MS.

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
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here related, differing in some particulars from the ceremonies as practised by the Turtle or Turkey people. In former times, it is said, when one phratry had finished its twelve days of ceremonies, another would enact theirs, followed by the third; but at present qualified leaders are so few that it seldom if ever happens that more than one of them feels able to accept such exacting duties in any one year.

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This leader it is who sends a messenger forth to notify the people what day the ceremonies are to commence and to invite them all to attend.

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796x

Several days before the date the wagons begin to roll in and a white village of tents springs up about the gray walls of the old Big House, temple, or *xi'ngwikan* (pl. v), standing on the banks of Little Caney river, north of Dewey in northern Oklahoma, far from any human habitation.

Built of rough logs, the Big House is now provided with a roof of hand-split shingles pierced by two great smoke-holes, as shown in the frontispiece and in

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

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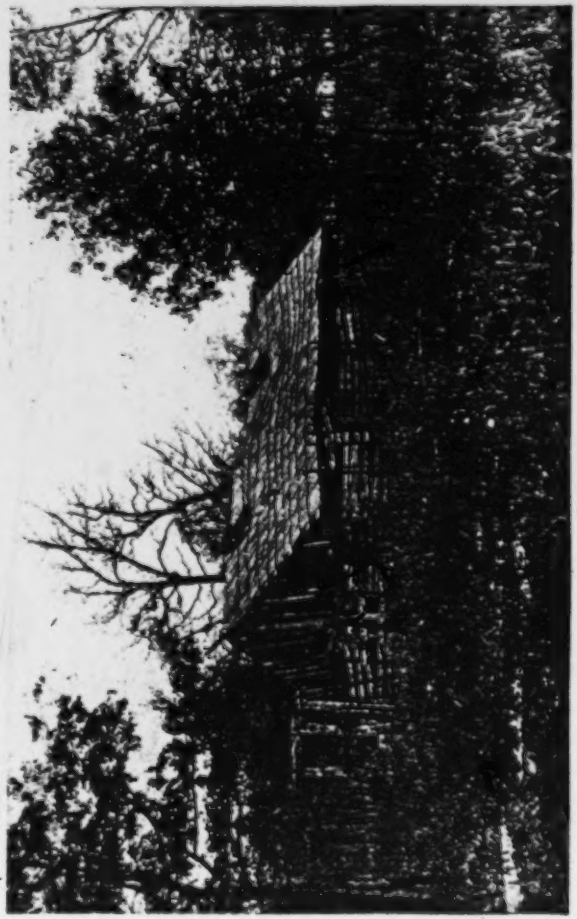

LENAPE CEREMONIAL HOUSE NEAR DEWEY, OKLAHOMA

[facing p. 82]

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

pl. v, vi, but in former days the roof was of bark. The length is about 40 ft. from east to west, with a height at the eaves of about 6 ft., at the ridge 14 ft., and a width of 24.5 ft. Aside from certain ingenuities of construction which can not be discussed here, its chief interest lies in the two large carvings of the human face, one facing east (fig. 6) and one west, which adorn the great central post supporting the ridge-pole. Similar carvings, but smaller, may be seen upon each of the six posts which support the logs forming the sides (fig. 7), and still smaller ones, one upon each of the four door-posts. All twelve faces are painted, the right side of each red, the left black. The building is used only for the Annual Ceremony.

FIG. 6.—Central post of Ceremonial House, showing carved face.

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
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OFFICERS

The messenger sent to assemble the people is one of three male attendants chosen by the leader, and these three men appoint three women to serve also. To these six attendants, known as *a'ckas*,

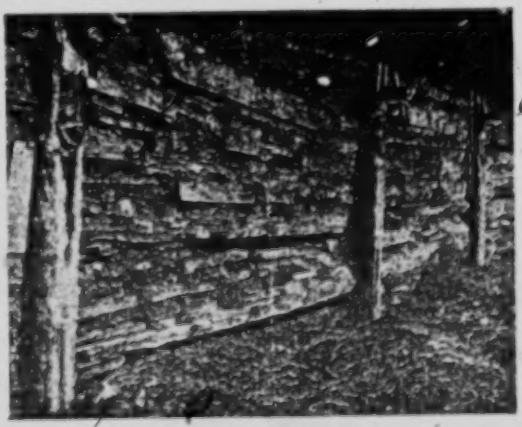

FIG. 7.—Side posts of Ceremonial House, showing carved faces.

falls all the laborious work of the meeting. Although the duties are menial, it is considered quite an honor to be selected as *a'ckas*. The attendants camp on the north and south sides of the little open

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
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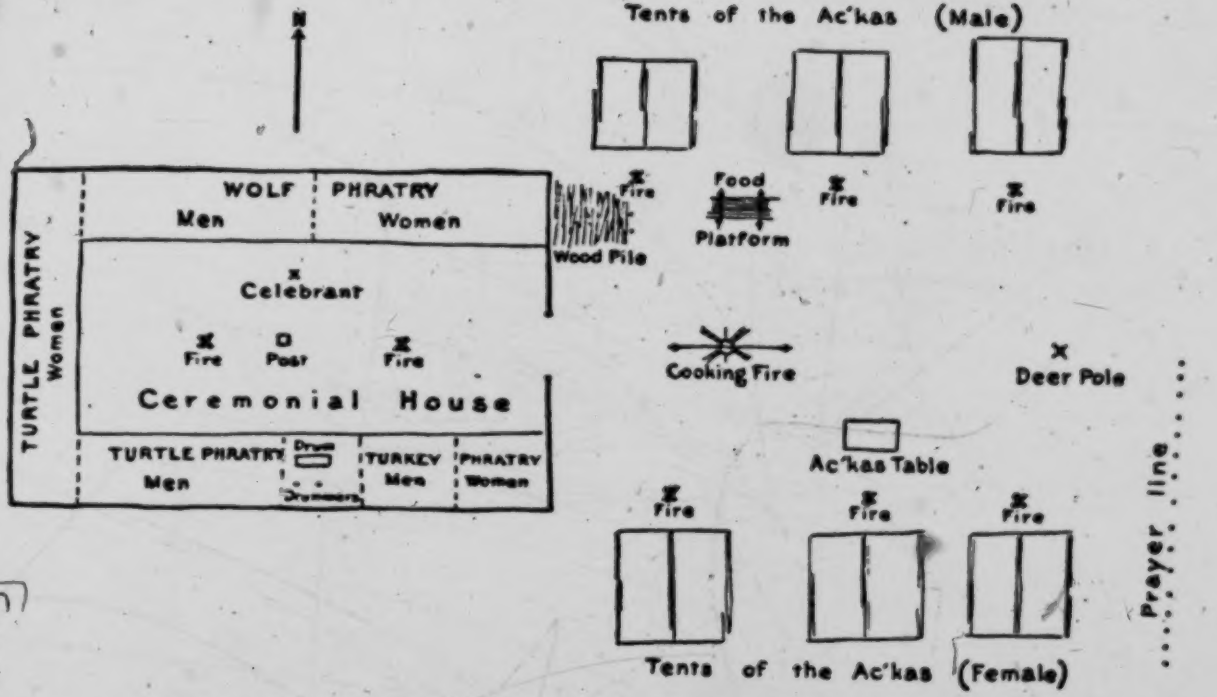
square just east of the Big House (pl. VII), an area where no one is allowed to pitch a tent.

Other officers selected for the meeting are a speaker (usually at the time of the writer's visit, Chief Charley Elkhair), two singers, called *Tale'gunûk*, "Cranes," whose duty it is to beat the dry deerskin drum and sing the necessary songs, and a chief hunter who is supposed to provide venison for the feast.

[533]

PREPARATIONS

Arrived at the Big House, the attendants begin at once to prepare the building for use after its year of idleness. The first act of the men is to make mortar of mud, in the old style, and stop the cracks between the logs of the house. Then they cut two forked saplings, and set them in the ground about ten feet apart, some distance in front of the Big House (see pl. VII); upon these is laid a pole, running east and west, to support the twenty-gallon kettle used in preparing hominy for the feast. After this they



PLAN OF LENAPE CEREMONIAL HOUSE AND GROUNDS NEAR DEWEY, OKLAHOMA

[Facing p. 94]

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6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
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6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
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own first article[47] the writer has seen of the Annual Ceremony among the Lenape in Oklahoma, is that written by Adams,[48] which reads as follows:

"The peculiar steps which they use in this dance have caused the name 'stomp' or 'stamp' to be applied to it.

"In regard to the stomp dances of our people, we have several kinds of dances; the most important one is the 'worship dance' which is carried on in a large building called a temple, which is rectangular and ranges from 60 to 80 feet long, from 30 to 40 feet wide, and is about 10 feet high. It is built of wood with 2 doors. The main entrance is at the eastern door, and it has only a dirt floor.

"On each post is carved a human face. On the center post or one in the center of the building four faces are carved; each face is painted one-half red and one-half black. All the people enter at the east and go out the same way. When they come in they pass to the right of the fire, and each of the three clans of the Delawares take seats next to the wall, the Turtle clan on the south, the Turkey on the west, and the Wolf on the north. In no case can any one pass between the center post and east door, but must go around the center post, even to go to the north side of the temple.

"This dance is held once each year, in the fall,

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
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Lenape

ARRANGEMENT OF THE BIG HOUSE

Like the Unami Big House, that of the Minsi had a large central post bearing carved faces; but, unlike that of the Unami, there was a second short post,

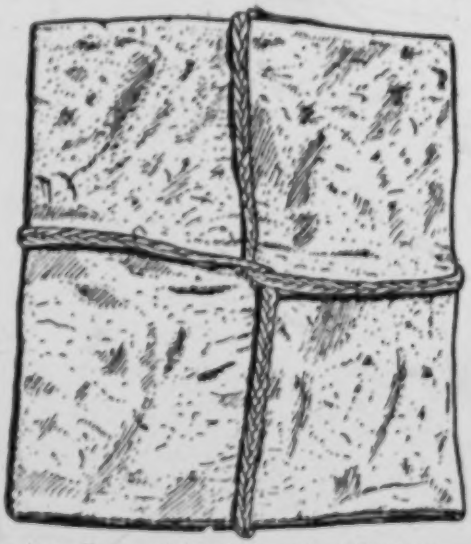

FIG. 14.—Drum of dried deerskin, Minsi type. E. T. Tefft collection, American Museum of Natural History. (Length 16.7 in.)

near the central one, upon which was hung, for each ceremony, a raw fresh deerskin with the head and horns at the

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
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top. This feature, however, corresponds with the second form of the Annual Ceremony noted among the Lenape in Oklahoma and also recorded by Zeisberger in Pennsylvania. Near this central post the singers sat, and beat with four carved sticks upon a dry deerhide folded into a square, in lieu of a drum (fig. 14), differing from the Unami form, which is a rolled dry deerskin upon which are tied several slats of wood (fig. 8). The drumsticks are flat, resembling those of the Unami, as each bears a face carved upon one side, but differ from them in the form of the forked end, and in width. Some, it is said, represented women, the breasts being indicated as

FIG. 15.—*a*, Drumstick, Minsi type; *b*, Prayer-stick. E. T. Tefft collection, American Museum of Natural History. (Length of *a*, 19 in.)

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

among the Unami, but this feature does not appear in the set collected by the writer at Grand River reserve (fig. 15,*a*), which the Indians said were representative of the Minsi type.

There were two poles laid along on each side from end to end of the Big House to divide the dancing place in the center from the sitting places on the side, which were covered with a special kind of leaves. Along these poles twelve little sumach sticks (fig. 15, *b*), peeled and painted, were laid for twelve people to hold in their hands, and tap on the poles in time to the music. There were also provided a turtle rattle, which was placed at the foot of the central pole; a fire-drill which Nellis Timothy thinks was worked on the "pump-drill" principle, like that of the Unami, and a lot of entirely new and unused bowls and spoons of bark. Unlike the Unami custom, both doors of the Big House were used, the people always going in at the east door and coming out at the west, and here also (like the Unami) the ashes

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
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•346 796[1] [775] were carried out. "The Sun and everything else goes toward the west," say the Minsi, in explanation, "even the dead when they die."

PRELIMINARIES

796[x] [787] [202] The first act remembered by the informants preparatory to holding a meeting was to send to each man in the tribe who had been blessed by a "vision of power," a little stick which represented an invitation to the ceremony, the time of which the messenger gave out, before which date the people leaving their scattered homes gathered and camped about the Big House. Meanwhile hunters were sent out, appointed before, not during the meeting as among the Unami, to bring in for the Winter Ceremony, if possible, exactly twelve deer, which were cooked by four young men who served as attendants in a small separate house, built for the purpose.

372 796[x] *Fire.*—The fire was made with a fire-drill by a group of old men for use in the Big House, but, as among the Unami,

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
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TRADITIONAL ORIGIN

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The Indians say that a cub bear, kept as a pet by a Lenape family long ago, became a great playmate of one of the little sons of the family, but finally grew so large that the child's parents decided to get rid of it; so they tied a little bag of tobacco around its neck and told it to go away. This it did, but the little boy, its playmate, soon fell ill, and his parents searched in vain for a cure. After a long while one of the Indian doctors told his parents that if they would hold a ceremony of this kind and repeat it every two years, the child would recover and would keep his health. This was done; the boy recovered, and his family, who belong to the Wolf phratry, have continued to practise the rites ever since, believing that it preserves their health.

PREPARATIONS

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This ceremony required a special house, which was made new for it every two years, so the first thing the family did, when the time approached, was to find

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
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a number of men, each of whom was paid a yard of wampum to cut forks and poles and erect the building. This was made by setting up a frame of poles in the form of a Big House, but smaller, only seven paces wide and fifteen paces long, then covering the top with brush and piling brush at the sides. Then to the east of the house a pole was erected, upon which to hang the meat for the feast, which, in old times, had to be a bear; but when bears became scarce a black hog was substituted, and of late a hog of any color has been used. The building finished, the hog was killed, and, having been hung on the pole over night, was taken into the house the next day, quartered, singed on a fire that had been built inside, then carried out again, cut up, and cooked, all except the loose fat, which was kept for a special purpose, as will appear later. When done, the meat was kept in large baskets, with the exception of the head, which, having been cooked whole, was placed in a large bowl with two of the animal's ribs in its mouth.

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796 x

6:Harrington E-S (1907-1910) 1921
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THE PEYOTE RITE AMONG THE I
Native Painting by Earnest Spybuck, a Sha

[following p. 186 (A)] [IN color]

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
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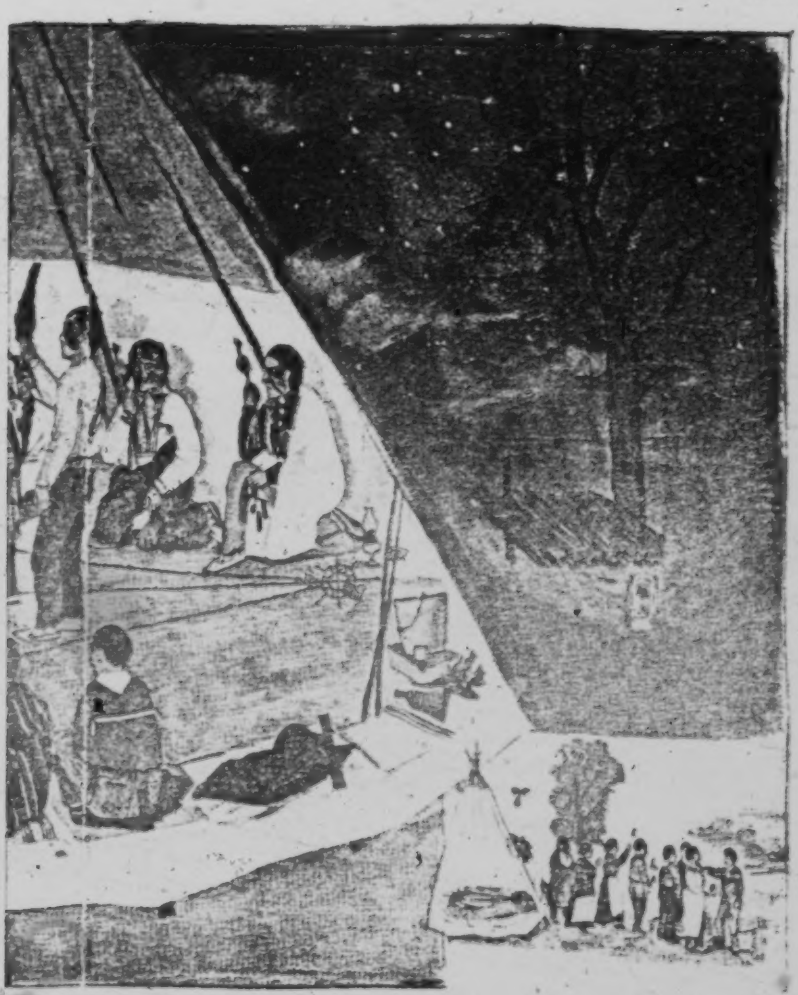

RITE AMONG THE LENAPE
g by Earnest Spybuck, a Shawnee

[Following p. 186 (B)] [IN color]

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

and women, and a man was selected to cook the hog, and another to supply wood and to cut the poles for swinging the kettle, both of whom were paid with a yard of wampum. The fire was kindled with a special flint-and-steel always kept with the outfit.

"It will be observed that the otter-skin has a slit down the middle of the neck, through which the owner thrust his head in such a manner that the otter's nose lay under the wearer's chin, while its body and tail hung down his back. Wearing the skin in this manner himself impersonating the original otter, the owner would open the ceremony by walking about the fire, chanting and shaking the turtle rattle which resembled those used in the Big House, while the audience kept time to his song by uttering 'Hu-hu-hu-hu!' The nature of the song the writer was unable to learn, but, like the chants of the Bear Ceremony, it probably was concerned with the singer's 'dream helper.' When he had finished, another man put on the skin and took up the chant, and so on until noon the next day, when the ceremony was brought to a close and all joined in the feast. At this time the skin is told, 'We will feed you again in two years.'"

In regard to the Grease Drinking, or Otter, Ceremony, we have the following historical notes to add from the testimony of Tom Half Moon. The last time that the ceremony was performed (1898) it was done in behalf of his mother, Lizzie Half Moon of the Turkey group, in whose family the rite was an hereditary one coming down through her father, the previously mentioned Col. Jackson. Jackson acquired the privilege to perform it through his wife whose great-grandfather is said to have been its originator. His mother, it seems, was at the point of death, whereupon it was decided as a last resort to try a cure through the Otter Ceremony. Shortly after its completion, however, the afflicted woman died. Upon the failure of the rite it was decided to abandon it upon the assumption that it was valuable only to the women of an earlier generation of the Nation's history. Half Moon, who was present at its performance, corroborated the details previously recorded, affirming that the celebration was carried on within a brush enclosure or fence and not covered over at the top. He recalled how each one among those present took a little drink of grease, throwing the rest of his or her portion into the fire. The portions were offered to the participants by the leader or master of ceremonies.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NL17 Delaware NM7

CAPTAIN CHIPPS—They believe there are no greater wizards 764
or witches than knaves or drunkards.

All the modern informants confirmed the belief in witches and wizards, but J. W., his wife and son were especially vehement in their current existence.

4. National Worshiping Society (Big House)

JOHN JOHNSTON—They have a national worship which they 794
think keeps the world from coming to an end. It is attended with very great expense in procuring wampum and provisions, etc. This meeting is continued for 12 days and twelve nights successively. They have a large building prepared for that pur- [346]
pose about 25 feet in width and 50 or 60 feet in length according to the number that is expected will attend, with a door in each end, notice is given at what time their worship will commence. When they are collected and seated in a row round the outside 796
of the building the men by themselves and the women by themselves a man and woman at each door the man for a doorkeeper and the women to sweep between every exercise, the fires are made in the middle of the building which they make by rubbing two dry sticks together that it may be pure, the fire they put out every day and make new lest it should become adulterated, they make it by rubbing two dry sticks together as at the first. Thus prepared the one that made preparation for the meeting gets up with a turtle shell in his hand (containing pebbles) and he gives it a shake and the whole assembly arise with him he then begins telling a dream which he says he dreamt in his childhood [787]
and the whole congregation repeats it after him in one voice word by word till he says he heard a voice singing to him and begins to sing immediately upon which two men commence beating with flat sticks upon skins folded together then he stops sing- [533 535]
ing and he with the whole assembly jump ten or twelve jumps in the form of a dance then he makes a sudden halt and goes on with his dream as before repeated by the whole in one voice until he commences singing again as before and the players commence beating and the whole jump or dance in the form above mentioned thus they continue for the space of half an hour or more

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

information may alter. We can not be certain whether his integration of the rites was an actual condition holding true for the ceremony of the period, or one resulting from his style of writing down what he remembered of native customs after some years of retirement from the Indian country. The procedures followed by the Delawares in the four or five "feasts" he describes for us are all embraced within the Big House performance as we know it later. And, rather than discredit the force of living evidence based on the rites as performed by the Nation now, I would prefer to correct the information recorded by the observant but unsympathetic missionary. For, indeed, the ceremony shows itself to have a complex capitalization, its ritual extending through every form of worship, including individual, family or "clan rites," that we have mention of in any of the Delaware accounts. The Big House capitulates the elements of certain minor feast ceremonies held on special occasions by families.[1] The great annual ceremony seems to stand as an entity, one that does not submit to any assumption of recent origin in its present form of organization. Through the close resemblance it shows, element by element, with the Munsee corresponding ceremony, the two tribes were apparently performing it as a national religious institution before 1700, when they separated in the east, one division to go westward, the other to Canada. So it also seemed to Harrington.[2]

Unfortunately Heckewelder, who knew the Delawares so intimately, declined in his book to treat the topic of ceremonies, referring the matter to the previous narratives of Loskiel, whose knowledge we know was not gained from intimate contact with the tribe.

Reverting to consideration of the fate of the Big House in the succession of moves which the Delawares made in their two-century traverse from New Jersey to Oklahoma, we can only trace definite memory of the "temple" and ceremony to the final period of the tribe's residence in Kansas from about 1867 on. While in Kansas the Big House was located some five or six miles east of Lawrence.

The informant gave the following facts concerning the reconstruction of the building and the rehabilitation of the ceremony after the tribe had settled down to residence in its present seat in northern Oklahoma.

"In the Cherokee country the Big House of Little Caney River was reorganized by men of the Yellow Tree or poplar band. Three men were pa'·man·axgu'xwe, ne'ni'pai, and ehalu'xola'nd, whose names in order mean "Man Moving Around," "The One Who Stands," "Man

[1] Throughout the year there is a series of local feasts, some esoteric family ceremonies apart from the communal Big House worship. These are being studied in text and prepared for presentation in a separate memoir.

[2] I am drawing this inference of basic unity in fundamentals of the Munsee and Delaware forms of worship upon the conclusion reached by Harrington, pp. 196-197), after he had studied the Munsee rite.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

796 346 Who is Carried Around." Their descendents still carry the burden of the worship. They belonged to the "Wolf" group (Tu'k^{w}si^{l}t). For this reason the Wolf group claims the right to sponsor these exercises now, and holds the majority rule in the present Big House deliberations. And in my judgment they will always rule hereafter. The present house was built three or four hundred yards to the southwest of the present spot but on account of its inconvenience it was moved to where it now stands, and one acre was set aside by the Dawes Commission. It was remodeled by us after a deliberation in September 1913.

796 [735] "The ceremony has not been "taken in" for four years,[1] the last one being led by Frank Wilson (E'm·a^{s}). Poverty has driven them to neglect it. And also the loss of the wampum beads which one time numbered about one hundred and twenty-eight Indian yards, all of which has nearly disappeared for it has been sold to other Indian tribes, to white people or to Museums as relics."

796 171 Speculations upon the origin of the ceremony would be quite out of order from the ethno-historical point of view, but Delaware traditional history has no such hesitant attitude. As the myth develops we observe how the inception of the idea of the ceremony is laid to the revelation made in dreams to chosen leaders among the Munsee. Opinion seems quite general among the Delawares that the original conception of the ceremony is a Munsee one. This is interesting because it locates the ceremony in the northerly group of the three tribes forming the so-called Delaware Nation. It is fortunate that we have, from the pen of Harrington,[2] a treatise on the Munsee form of the Big House ceremony for the purpose of comparison and evaluation as far as the material provided in the several accounts will permit us to go. At present there seems little to point toward proof of priority for the Munsee phase of the worship, except for the quasi-historical estimate of the Delawares themselves. A feeling of respect for the Munsee is general among the Delawares. They are held in high esteem for their former bravery and, strange to say though natural enough in the regard held by Indians for such matters, for their indifference to economic and material affairs and devotion to those of a spiritual nature.[3]

648 791 ESOTERISM OF DELAWARE RELIGION.—In the missionary descriptions of 170 years ago, chiefly from the pen of John Heckewelder, we hear constantly of the inner spirit of aversion held toward the whites, and the distrust felt by the natives concerning the motives of all Euro-

[1] This was written in October 1928.

[2] Harrington I, pp. 127-161.

[3] Illustrative of this sentiment several Delaware observations may be recalled in reference to the Munsee. The latter, it would seem, are held in high esteem for their bravery and ability in spiritual matters, yet were noted for an indifference to dress and economic properties, in which respect the Delawares think they stood out in contrast with them.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

771 ceremony are framed in richly symbolical acts, impressive to the civ-
114 ilized as well as the uncivilized observer, participated in equally by the congregation of worshipers, young and old, great and humble. That the Delawares produced a religion in the real, almost classical sense, will not, I believe, be strenuously denied even by the proponents of other creeds, at least those of the more liberal type of mind. It might indeed have become a great one of the mediaeval type had it been linked with the destinies of a militant aggressive race, with its native humanitarian ideals, its precepts of altruism and humility, its lyrics, its litanies and mysticism.

But after all, whatever the civilized reader, no doubt himself an adherent to some creed accused of being equally as superstitious if not as picturesque, may call these religions, there they stand as they evolved—lasting symbols of the strange systems of thought that have appeared and almost vanished in the changing pageant of human history.

772 THE DELAWARE COSMOS, THE BEAUTIFUL WHITE PATH.—It is rather
346 difficult to grasp the Delaware scheme of things. The cosmos in terms
778 of the Big House is a dual symbolism; one realm being that of the celestial universe embraced in terms of time and space; the other, the tangible realm of the human in the midst of the concrete. The two are fused in the symbol of the Big House. The term Big House has to the Delaware a symbolical value much deeper than its descriptive one, for we discover that the Big House stands for the universe; its floor, the earth; its four walls, the four quarters; its vault, the sky dome, atop which resides the Creator in his indefinable supremacy. To use Delaware expressions, the Big House being the universe, the center post is the staff of the Great Spirit with its foot upon the earth, its pinnacle reaching to the hand of the Supreme Deity. The floor of the Big House is the flatness of the earth[1] upon which sit the three grouped divisions of mankind, the human social groupings (Pəle", Pukowa'ŋgo, Tu'k"si·t) in their appropriate places; the eastern door is the point of sunrise where day begins and at the same time the symbol of the beginning of things; the western door the point of sunset and symbol of termination; the north and south walls assume the meaning of respective horizons; the roof of the temple is the visible sky vault. The ground beneath the Big House is the realm of the underworld while above the roof lie the extended planes or levels, twelve in number, stretched upward to the abode of the "Great Spirit, even the Creator" as Delaware form puts it. Here we might speak of the carved free images, the revereneed məsi'ŋgok, the representations on the center pole being the visible symbols of the Supreme Power,

[1] Lamha'k·i·ye "earth here below," so the inhabited world is referred to. The Delawares also know this as ketchak·i·ye, "great earth" meaning the main body of the earth.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

those on the upright posts, three on the north wall and three on the south wall, the man-i't-u of these respective zones; those on the eastern and western door posts, those of the east and west. Of the man-i't-u or "spirit-forces," both specific and general, more will be said later.

But the most engrossing allegory of all stands forth in the concept of the White Path,[1] the symbol of the transit of life, which is met with in the oval, hard-trodden dancing path outlined on the floor of the Big House, from the east door passing to the right down the north side past the second fire to the west door and doubling back on the south side of the edifice around the eastern fire to its beginning. This is the path of life down which man wends his way to the western door where all ends.[2] Its correspondent exists I assume in the Milky Way, where the passage of the soul after death continues in the spirit realm.[3] As the dancers in the Big House ceremony wend their stately passage following the course of the White Path they "push something along," meaning existence, with their rhythmic tread.[4] Not only the passage of life, but the journey of the soul after death is symbolically figured in the ceremony as will be explained in note III in the appendix.

The ceremony symbolizes the transit of the year period. Its twelve nights of performance represent the figure of the twelve moons, its progress from east to west the course of the sun, its varied symbolical rites the events in the passage of life's orbit from beginning to end.

We learn that the White Path is "our Father's, the Great Spirit's road," upon it human life proceeds in its course, which grand movement is symbolized by the dancers as they tread the "White Path" of the "Big House." By another allegory we have the clearing away of impediments from its surface in the intervals between the dances by the efforts of the Attendants who use the wing feathers of "pure" birds, such as the eagle, with which the "Path" is brushed clean. Here

[1] We'll-o-ale-xing, "Good or Beautiful White Path." Also we-lau'si-t mətoma'k-an, "Righteous Path."

[2] The Delaware, like his Christian brother, admits that it is hard for feeble man to walk in this path without erring. The concept has deep possibilities for discussion from the point of view of ethics and life as the pagan sees them.

[3] The symbolical association between the "White Path" and the Milky Way is not definitely proved by Delaware information. By some strange circumstances it seems, the Delawares can not furnish the native name of the Milky Way. Persistent inquiry among the older men both at Dewey and at Anadarko, Oklahoma, by V. M. Petrullo have failed to procure it, likewise correspondence with Joe Washington and J. A. Parks, prominent members of the Delaware Nation. Therefore the association is my own theoretical assumption, an interpretation of our data, and upon the analogy offered by other Algonkian beliefs in which the Milky Way is generally the "Spirit or Ghost Path" over which the soul of the deceased passes to the realm above. The only Delaware equivalents for Milky Way so far obtained are pe'mi ki ci'k'tek "across marked" or "across smoky way," and a notion that it is compared with a cowlick of hair, paxtcanhwing, "where the hair is parted," which may be discarded as far as their bearing upon the question here as concerned. This important point calls for solution.

[4] The term ka'ntcka implies this figure. (See page 12).

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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Fig. 3—View of the Delaware Indian "Big House," Caney Creek, Okla.

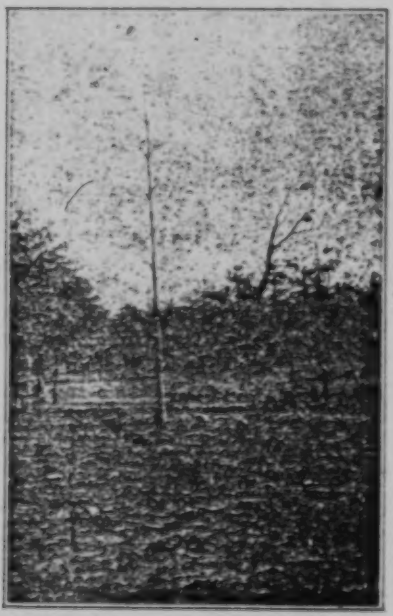

Fig. 4—View of trimmed tree upon which meat is hung at ceremony.
(Photos by Dr. Truman Michelson, Bur. Am. Ethnology, Wash., D. C.)

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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Fig. 8—View of the center post with carved face above. Looking toward the west door.

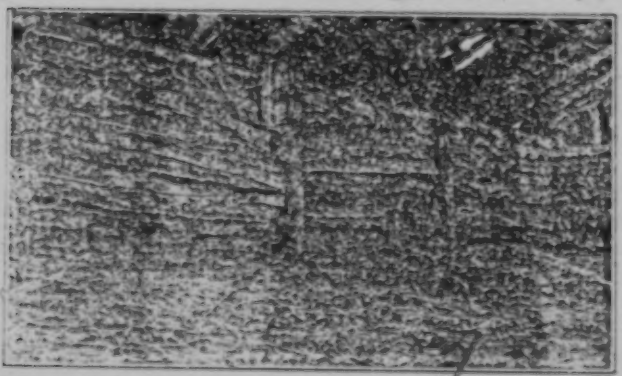

Fig. 9—View inside the Big House, showing support-posts, side logs and three of the false-face images on the side posts. The straw upon which the worshippers sit is also on the ground.

(Photos by Dr. Truman Michelson, Bur. Am. Ethnology, Wash., D. C.)

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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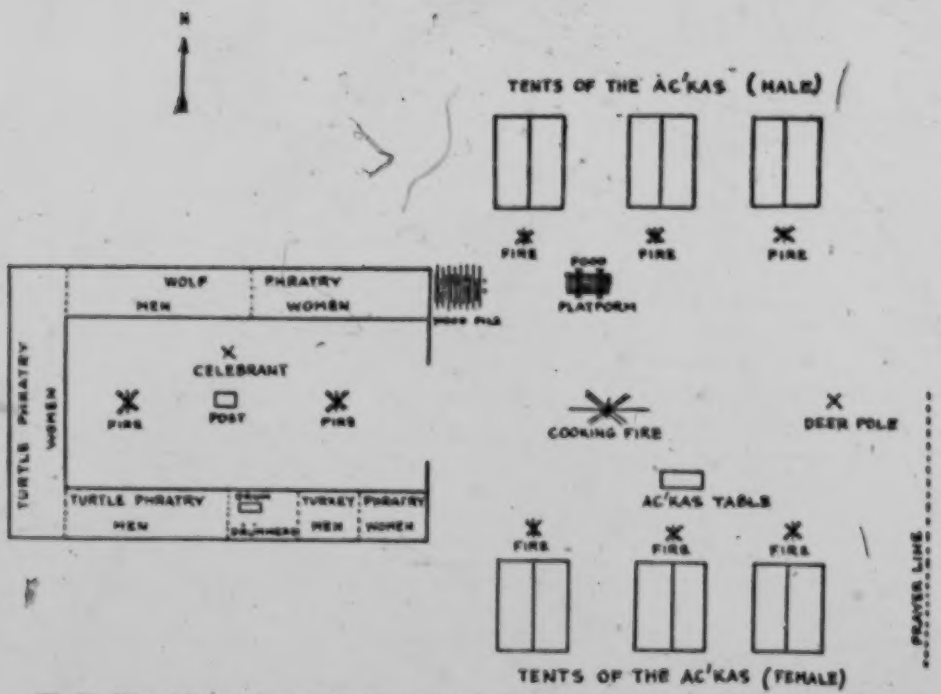

Fig. 11—Plan of Lenape Ceremonial House and Grounds near Dewey, Oklahoma. After Harrington.

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10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

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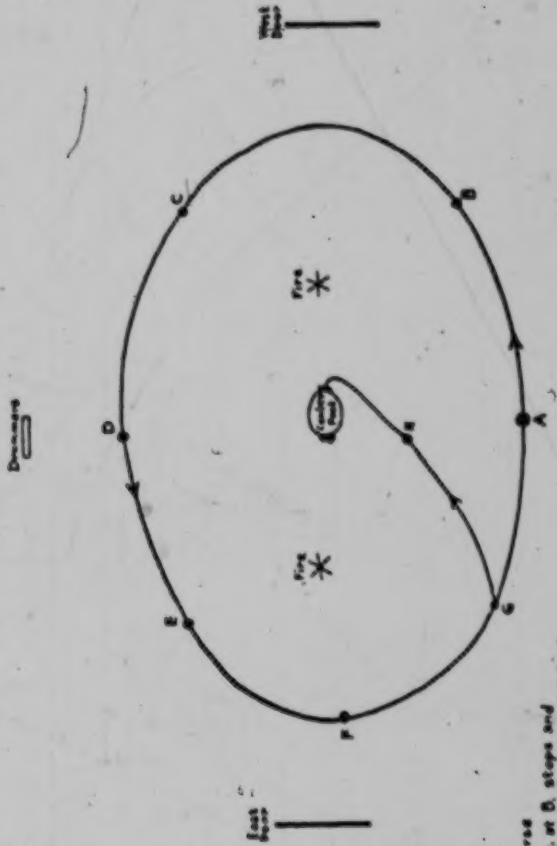


Leaders Course
A-B, Spring at B, steps and dance to C while drummers sing
C-D, Speaking and shakes hands with drummers
D-E, Dances and drummer sing
E-F, Speaking
F-G, Dancing
H Reciting

Figure 12—Diagram of "Beautiful White Path," the circuit of performers in the Big House during dances.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

"This, behold, is my dream;
and I can thus explain it and sing it in every way just as I saw it."[1]
And now, it was said, first of all there must be a house built. And also to be planned how that house should look both as to its inside dimensions and height. And also, it was said what would be the size of the door here to be at the direction of the setting sun[2] and at the direction of the sunrise. And there will be jointed sections of the logs, and three posts used at the sides. And two will be on each side of the door reaching to the height of the top of the roof. And in the middle shall be the big post. And it shall be as high as the height of the house. And all posts shall be notched on top. And these at the side where the logs join shall stand as stud-posts facing each other, there held together at the top using short cross-ties.[3] And there shall be on top a larger timber cross-piece. And the ridge rafters in two pieces in the center where they join shall be more than a person's height, there from the beginning of the roof-pitch. And shall be made of various woods. And also the rafters and flat boards shall be used with the bark on, likewise in the roofing.

[1] The Big House, as we learn here, was conceived in a dream-vision revealed to certain persons by the Great Spirit. The recitation of experiences, obtained while in a dream state or in a disturbed emotional condition, has ever continued to form the key note of the ceremony so founded.
[2] The present Big House on Little Caney River, Oklahoma, is set north and south, evidently so placed by mistake, due to the position of the river.
[3] The notched binders fitted into notches of the posts to lock them.

And at both sides where sets the center post, there also shall be built the fires. Right there opposite and above them, an uncovered place shall be left in the roof. And that will be to force out the smoke. And on all the posts at about a person's height there shall be carved the mask-image face,[1] and also half the face painted red and the other side blackened.

And around the sides where the people sit, there shall be put dried grass. And three men and three women chosen, one shall be of the Pole[2] group, and of the Pukowa'ngo, and of the Tu'k[w]si t. Their service shall be to labor as long as the Gamwing, it was said, ten and two days[3] praying. All this time they furnish sufficient well-dried wood. It shall be, for those women, obligatory that they grind up corn and cook meat. And the Attendants all together feed in the house. And they pay them one shoulder-length[4] of wampum every time they furnish food. And it is the rule that the people shall use wampum when purchasing food from the Attendants. There everyone who recites visions in the House will eat there with his family three times each day.

[1] These are the sculptured personifications of the spirit-forces.
[2] For the discussion of this archaic style of enumeration in the ceremony see page 62.
[3] Measured from the shoulder point to the tip of finger of the extended arm.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

No iron or nail is used when building the House, and no wooden floor. It has a dirt floor inside the House. Deerhide is used when the drum is tied together and two drum-sticks are cut forked. And small faces are carved on one side, alike in appearance. Another different pair of sticks are made plain and these are used when the cranes[1] are singing. And a wooden bowl is made ready when they mix up the tobacco and kinnickinnick[2]. Another different wooden bowl is provided when they carry the red paint and puccoon[3] and also there they put cedar.

And ten and two sticks are made, called "means of earnest prayer." And some are marked with spots. Whoever wishes to sing in company shall also use this when helping to lift up the prayer, it is said, with concentration of spiritual force far above to the ten and two sky-levels where dwells the Creator.

And now this Big House when first built, they say of it, was the one great prayer-creed, that this carved post in the middle of the House, standing there reaches to the above through as many as ten and two strata. And the strata of sky light are as high as that post, it is said, this being the fastener. That is the Creator's staff. From that very staff, branch off all prayer-creeds of the red-people given to them, whence come all other prayer-creeds of the world.

[1] Meaning the drummers. There being two drummers, one of them sings in a tone which the other repeats immediately after him, in imitation of the manner in which wild cranes cry when flying in response to the call of their leader. The result in tone is similar to an echo. The crane is the Sand-hill crane (Grus Mexicana), daleka'ok, (plural) whence the drummers derive their sobriquet. ni'kanasos "the leader" is the singer who takes the leading part in the song; the other singer is oxtegi'xsos "after-time." See page 87.

[2] See footnote 6, page 127.

[3] See page 71.

[4] mas'mendahi'k an. This denotes prayer-sticks used in serious address to the Great Spirit. mas'mendawa'mal "I beg the Great Spirit to do my bidding." Specimens of the plain and decorated prayer-sticks made by the informant are shown (fig. 24).

The bearers of the twelve prayer-sticks give all their spiritual-force to lift the prayer being given by the speaker or the singers to the highest, or twelfth heaven,—the instrumental symbol of raising the word.

And there was given to the Delawares something which is used when they make fire. It is called "ringing noise-instrument"[1]. Whomever they chose as fire-maker, any of the Attendants, was of moral habits or spiritually clean, for that one shall drill for fire in the House. Sometimes flint is used when they make fire in the House and pith is used when they make fire with flint.

Now therefore in the beginning the Delawares came to be blessed with religion together with the Munsee; so the prayer worship proceeds for ten and two days. Now that very log-house itself is called Big House. Right here toward the dawn-direction and sun-set direc-

[1] See page 69.

11:Newcomb E-5 (1952)1956 NM7 Delaware NM7

My purposes in this article are to describe a fairly typical peyote meeting of the Delawares which I attended in the summer of 1952, and to discuss the changes which have occurred in this cult since 1930 when Petrullo made his study of Delaware peyotism (Petrullo, 1934).

THE BIG MOON PEYOTE CEREMONY

The Big Moon ceremonies of the Delawares are normally held in canvas covered tepees, generally in the cooler months of the year, but occasionally in hot weather. The reason for their seasonal nature is said to be in the interests of comfort; a tepee with a fire burning in it on a hot Oklahoma night is almost unbearable. Big Moon ceremonies are held on Saturday nights and last until Sunday noon. The peyote meeting I am about to describe was held on the farm of a Delaware, about ten miles east of the small town of Dewey, Washington County, Oklahoma. A tepee, about twenty feet in diameter, had been erected a few steps from the back door of the farm house. A bale of hay had been scattered about near the inside walls of the tepee; tarpaulins and quilts had then been spread over the hay, upon which the participants were to sit. In the center of the tepee was an oval depression, or fireplace, excavated to a depth of about six inches (Fig. 1). Extending from the fireplace were twelve lines or rays, made by scoring the hard ground to a depth of about half an inch. Within the fireplace, also scored in the earth, was a cross and at the intersection of its arms a heart-shaped figure. The fire, which was built over this heart, was made of twelve sticks interlaced in a V-shaped pattern with the open end towards the tepee entrance.

Just east of the fire, and lying along the long axis of the cross, was a stick of soft wood. One end was kept smoldering during the ceremony and was used to light corn husk-Bull Durham cigarettes. At the east end of the fireplace was a raised circular mound of hard packed earth. On the center of this mound, symbolic of the Sun, another heart had been scratched. On the opposite, or west side of the fireplace was the altar. This was an oblong, slightly raised, earthen area, on which was placed the ritual paraphernalia. In its center on a beaded cloth was a large, green peyote, or "Father Peyote." Just behind it a feathered and beaded peyote staff had been thrust into the ground. On the altar to the south of these objects was a glass bowl of green peyote, a kettle of peyote tea, and a leather bag of dried peyote buttons. To the north of "Father Peyote" on the altar was the drum used to accompany the singers (an old fashioned cast iron kettle, partly water-filled, and covered with a tightly drawn, wet, buckskin cover), and a bunch of sage

11:Newcomb E-5 (1952) 1956 NM7 Delaware NM7

276 sage. The fireplace and the altar had been made many years pre-
795 viously, showing much use by being smooth and hard packed.
796 While the man who was to tend the fire and guard the door (fire-chief) and several helpers were arranging the tepee, several women were preparing peyote in the farmhouse kitchen. Peyote tea was made by chopping up dried peyote buttons and dropping them in boiling water. After steeping for a few minutes the tea was strained. Green peyote was prepared by peeling off the leathery skin, only the tops being left intact. A little before ten o'clock the fire-chief lit the fire in the tepee with flint and steel. As soon as he came out of the tepee the leader (or road-chief) entered, followed by the drum-chief, the fourteen other participants, and finally the fire-chief. This meeting was somewhat atypical in the small number of participants; attendance usually averaged about twenty-five. After everyone was seated the drum-chief, a Sioux from the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota, announced that several people had prayers and announcements to make. The road-chief, a Winnebago, then prayed in his own language. As translated next day, this prayer welcomed the participants and asked for divine assistance in the conduct of the meeting. This meeting had been initiated by a Delaware woman who was ill (No. 14 in Fig. 1), and she stood up and thanked everyone for coming and assisting her in regaining her health. Another Delaware (No. 3 in Fig. 1) then said a few words, principally to the effect that the "Native American Church" was not "idolatry" and that he was glad to welcome a white couple (the writer and his wife) to a meeting "to see what it really was like."

The road-chief then prayed again in Winnebago. When this prayer was concluded, he passed the peyote staff and a bunch of sage to the man on his left, who passed it on in a clockwise direction until it had

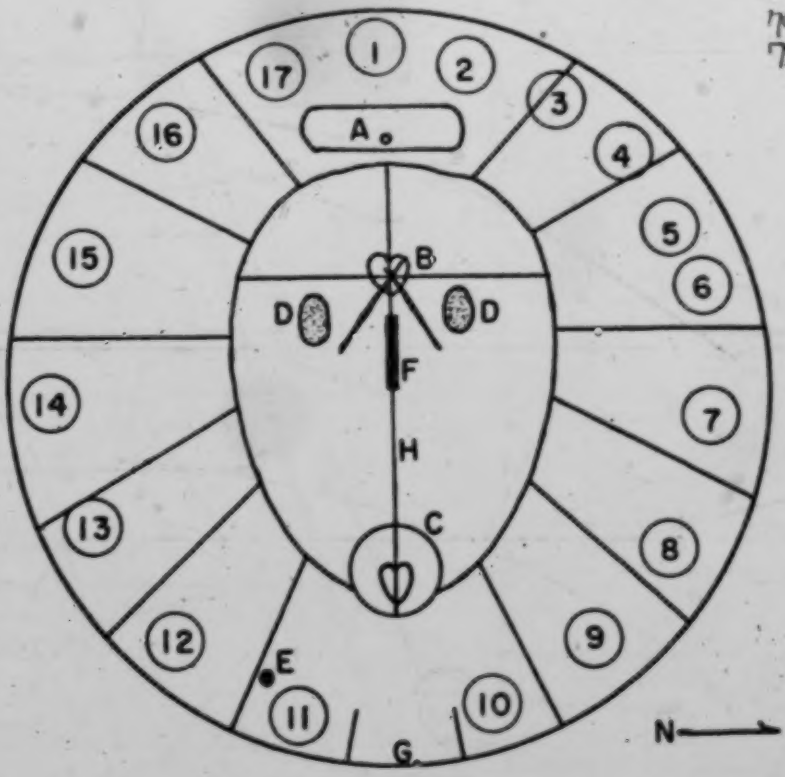
[text continues on p. 206]

(Explanation of Figure 1)

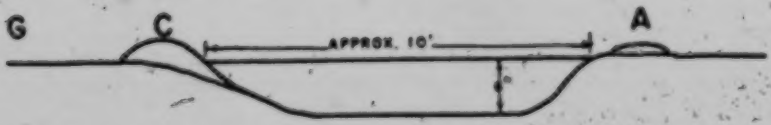
276
346
795
996

A. Altar
B. Fire. To some peyotists the heart represents the soul of the Fire Spirits.
C. Sun Mound. The heart symbolizes the soul of the Sun.
D. Ash Piles. Petrullo noted that in some versions of the rite these symbolize the lungs of Christ. I could not confirm this.
E. Water bucket and dipper.
F. Smoldering stick used to light cigarettes.
G. Tepee entrance.
H. Cross. Long axis symbolizes peyote road.
1. Road-chief, Winnebago
2. Delaware man
3. Delaware man
4. Shawnee man
5. Shawnee woman (4's wife)
6. Delaware man
7. Ego
8. Ego's wife
9. Sioux man
10. Sioux woman (9's wife)
11. Fire-chief, Delaware
12. Delaware man
13. Delaware man
14. Delaware sponsor
15. Winnebago woman (16's wife)
16. Winnebago man
17. Drum-chief, Sioux

Figure 1



TOP VIEW



ELEVATION

[p 53 (C)]

herd and gave him a chase. He followed until the buffalo was about tired out, with his tongue hanging out, and hardly able to move, while his own horse was in the same condition. Leaving his horse and his gun, the hunter, fresh and strong, took the buffalo by the tail and drove him on. He then went up an ascent and down on the other side until they came into a wet place where the buffalo stuck in the mud from weakness and exhaustion. He had thus taken his buffalo, in one sense. He was powerless, and still, except as he made slight efforts to fight. After spending some little time in this situation during which the buffalo was gaining strength and he was losing his, he was so fortunate as to espy and signal one of his party, who came to his aid, and the two, with a rope tied to his horns so as to keep at a safe distance from each of them and between both, they led or drove him to camp and thus the Indian maintained or made good his boast.

Delaware Baptist Mission School[86]

This school, under the supervision of Rev. John G. Pratt,[87] a matron, Mrs. Muse, and a teacher, Miss Morse,[88] is in a very flourishing condition and superior to any I have seen in the territory. It has accommodations for 78 Indian scholars as boarders and lodgers. The number last term was 64, the number the present term is about 50, as they have held back for the payment, and will soon come in now.

The buildings consist of a two and a half story farm house large on the ground, designed for the sleeping and clothing rooms of the school; another of the same size with a wing for a kitchen, designed for the residence of the superintendent and teachers, and is the eating and cooking place for all.[89] Also a large school house with folding doors

[For footnote, see category 116, p. 209 (C)--Analyst]

15:Morgan E-5 (1859)1959

NM? Delaware NM?
Shawnee NN17

[54(A)]

D 346 in the center so as to separate the boys and girls, although they are as yet all together. There are numerous outbuildings, as a farm is carried on in connection with the school of about two hundred acres. The buildings D 872 were erected a few years ago with school [657] money belonging to the Delawares, and is supported with funds in the hands of the government reserved for that purpose.

D [797] The children are clothed, boarded and [657] taught by the Mission, and the government allows $75 per annum per scholar. They have two terms of five months each, and the children are kept in school about seven hours per day. They study reading, writing, and spelling, geography, arithmetic, with blackboard exercises. The scholars are mostly young, those now at school ranging from 6 to 18 years. They look well and healthy and free from sore eyes, and are decently and comfortably clad. This is the true system of Indian education, beyond a doubt, and this school is by far in the best condition of any I have seen. We see here New England cleanliness, system and good management. I did not visit the Mission S 872 School of the Methodist Southern Board 797 among the Shawnees. It is a large and flourishing school, I believe, but complaints are made of the principal of unfairness, of avarice, etc. He has made himself rich and also the Mission, they having secured by treaty between about 2000 acres of land, and at the same time he was active to prevent Friend Harvey from selling his Mission farm of 200 acres, evidently desiring to break up the Friends Mission.

D Mr. Pratt commenced his missionary life 797 22 years ago with his present wife then 20 years of age. He was accepted as a missionary to Burma, but was requested to fill temporarily an Indian Mission then vacant among the Stockbridges near Fort Leaven-

[P57(A)]

796 Spirit. It lasts 6 days. It may be repeated by another person or family for a second 6 days, and so on until the feelings are satisfied. It has been known to last a month. The meeting is called by one of a certain class, who I presume correspond with the Keepers of the Faith of the Iroquois. They are called A-la-pa-cte, meaning *Dreamers*. The
• [346] people meet in a large house erected on purpose for this worship and used for nothing else. They build two council fires in the
[614] house, and the people assemble by tribes, the Turtles by themselves, the Wolves by themselves and the Turks by themselves. They use belts of wampum and have many ceremonies. It would seem that this council or religious meeting was called by some one
[346] person. The door of the house of worship must open to the east.

796 When they are assembled two singers [?]
533 sit down to two dried and rolled up deer skins, with sticks in their hands to beat time. The leader, who is stationed on the right hand side of the door, gets up and
[534] shaking a turtle shell rattle, comes in extemporizing verses which are adapted to the set tune of his choosing, to relate his dream. As he relates his dream in music, he dances, they sing the same time and beat time, and all who enter the dance, dance
[535] the religious dance which altogether is called the Gum-mween. This is repeated day by day for six days. But the leaders change. When one has told his dream, he hands his rattle to the next one, who in like singing relates his dream in words of his own making, but sung in an old well known tune of his own choosing.

796 Before the festival 12 hunters are sent
[262] out for deer's meat, as no other meat is allowed. About 9 each morning this meat is served to all. At sundown each day they have an exhortation from the oldest wise

2:Newcomb E-4,5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7

that the Delaware groups nearest to the Iroquois had been influenced by them. The Munsi were nearest to the Iroquois, and Harrington's informants were predominantly of this group. The various house styles, on the other hand, are possibly related to the seasonal movements of the Delawares, who, like the central Algonkians, may have utilized the rectangular, bark-covered long house in summer and the dome-shaped lodge in winter.[129]

The dome-shaped lodges were simple structures built by placing pieces of bark, preferably of linden or elm, over a sapling framework. The bark was stripped from the trees in summer in as large sheets as possible and dried. It then provided a watertight house.[130] House furnishings were rather meager. "They. . .make very fine, strong and artistic mats of finely painted spruce roots and strong straw, with all kinds of figures, to decorate and cover the walls with, and to place below their bed clothes."[131] Rush mats were painted and fastened to the walls in winter to keep out the cold. Some houses had "portraits and pictures somewhat rudely carved."[132] By the eighteenth century platforms made of poles, which encircled the walls and served as tables, benches, and beds, were mentioned.[133] The platform was covered by an untanned skin of bear or deer, or else with a mat.

Near each village was one or more sweat houses:

> When they wish to cleanse themselves of their foulness, they go in the autumn, when it begins to grow cold, and make, away off, near a running brook, a small oven, large enough for three or four men to lie in it. In making it they first take twigs of trees, and then cover them tight with clay, so that smoke cannot escape. This being done, they take a parcel of stones, which they heat in a fire, and then put in the oven, and when they think that it is sufficiently hot, they take the stones out again, and go and lie in it, men and women, boys and girls.[134]

Informants (O.A., J.T.) recalled small sweat lodges of this type. Skinner found "small beds of cracked stones and pebbles, without relics, often at some distance from other remains. . ."[135] Thus, archaeological remains tend to confirm the existence of this trait for the prehistoric people of Staten Island.

Clothing.—The amount of clothing worn by the Delawares varied with the season. In summer men wore only a leather breech cloth and women only a short skirt, and they frequently did without moccasins.[136] In colder seasons the principal garment was a skin of beaver, fox, deer, bear, elk, or raccoon.[137] The hair side was worn next to the body in

[129] Wissler, 1917, p. 221; Denton, 1845, p. 7.

[130] Thomas, 1912, p. 341; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 401; Mahr, 1954, pp. 381-82; O. A.

[131] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 222.

[132] O'Callaghan, 1850, I: 282; Hayes, 1954, p. 77.

[133] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 17.

[134] De Vries, 1909, pp. 217-18; Lindestrom, 1925, p. 257, described the sweat lodge in similar terms.

[135] Skinner, 1909, p. 48.

[136] Pastorius, 1912, p. 384; Lindestrom, 1925, pp. 191-92.

[137] De Laet, 1909, p. 97; De Rasieres, 1909, p. 106; Thomas, 1912, p. 341; Juet, 1909, p. 18; Van der Donck, 1909, p. 301.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7

Very few of them were fortunate enough to have oil on their lands. They either farm their fields or cash rent them. Judging from the state of repair of the houses, those that farm their own fields are more prosperous than those who rent them out. . . . The majority probably rent their fields and subsist on the small cash return, aided by the produce from their gardens, old age pensions, and other occasional sources of income.[3]

I have never seen a farming enterprise among the Cherokee-Delawares which could be considered a successful commercial venture. Some subsistence farming continues, but a large proportion of the adult males work in the various industries of the county, such as the Dewey Portland Cement Company, or the Phillips Petroleum Company. The older Delawares, who have remained in the area, appear to have done so mainly because they possessed no special training which would allow them to rise on the economic ladder or to leave for higher paid employment elsewhere. The older generation also seems to have had no culturally inspired incentives to acquire special skills.

There was considerable hunting in the early days in Oklahoma. Game was still fairly plentiful, and until about 1870 the Delawares had to hunt because their gardens yielded only a precarious livelihood. The chief object of the hunt was traditionally deer, and informants (J.T., O.A.) said that this was true in Oklahoma. They also ventured out onto the plains in quest of the bison. The Anadarko band, because of their location and probably because of their proximity to Plains tribes, made considerably more use of the bison. Besides these animals, prairie chickens, of which there were immense quantities in the early days, wild turkeys, quail, fish, beaver, and raccoon were utilized. In the Caney Valley the hunting was done on horseback, by individuals or at most by small groups. Communal bison hunts occasionally took place on the plains. These included women to do the butchering. Autumn was preferred for communal hunts since the cooler weather allowed the hunters to bring back fresh instead of jerked meat. Preparation, preservation, and storage of food followed the traditional patterns well into this century. Little or no food is dried or jerked by the Cherokee-Delawares at present; most food comes out of the can and is prepared in the Anglo-American tradition.

By the time the Delawares had migrated to Oklahoma the log house (about thirteen by twenty feet) had become the ordinary dwelling. A smaller log house was erected nearby and served as a cookhouse. The bark and sapling wigwam persisted as an auxiliary dwelling until this century, as old informants remember the details of these structures (O.A., M.B.). Small cookstoves were in general use by the time the Delawares appeared in Oklahoma, and the other furnishings were primarily of American origin and design. Gradually the early log buildings were replaced by small clapboard dwellings. Houses today are usually in poor repair and are overcrowded and small; they are comparable to those of the poorer whites of the area. No pottery was manufactured in

[3] Kinietz, 1946, p. 13.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

854 the mother going to fetch water or on some other errand. The children by pushing and kicking not infrequently tumbled themselves into the fire or other danger and thus miserably perished, or were severely burned. For this reason the custom is in disfavor.

342 Their houses are fairly clean, some being superior in this respect and affording a comfortable night's lodging for a [574] European. In case a guest is expected, especially if it be a white [356] person, they prepare as comfortable a bed as possible. They sweep the bunk, that serves as seat and table in the daytime and as bed at night, and spread a mat with one or more deer or bear [362] skins upon it. Though usually a comfortable couch in summer time it may be made very uncomfortable by the fleas brought in by dogs. Their kettles, dishes and spoons are not kept in good order; sometimes they are only licked by the dogs in lieu of washing. Dishes and spoons they make themselves of wood, [415 322] sometimes of tree knots or growths, often very neatly. The spoons are generally large and round shaped. Occasionally, a spoon will be used by several people, turn about, at a meal. Brass kettles, to be found in most houses because very necessary for sugar boiling, are bought from the whites.

24 The Indians are lovers of finery and dress, the women more than the men; the latter take care that the women adorn themselves in proper manner. The men clothe themselves rather meanly, regarding it as a disgrace to be better appareled than their wives. The dress which particularly distinguishes the women is a petticoat or strowd, blue, red or black, made of a piece of cloth about two yards long, adorned with red, blue or yellow bands laid double and bound about the body. Many women wear a white shirt over the strowd, decorated with silver buckles, the more the better. Red or blue leggings are worn, made of fine cloth joined by a broad band of silk bordered with coral. These leggings reach only to the feet. Shoes are made very neatly. Over the first strowd they may wear another, not decorated with ribbons, which if it inconveniences them in their movements may be easily laid aside. Thus clad a woman is well dressed. In [296] place of the white shirts, blue linen or cotton may be worn. When [386] they wear a white shirt, which is preferably of fine linen, it is often decked with cinnabar about the neck.

3: Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

work of the women is not hard or difficult. They are both able and willing to do it, and always perform it with cheerfulness. I have never known an Indian woman to complain of the hardship of carrying this burden (a pack on making a journey) which serves for their own comfort and support as well as their husbands . . . . the fatigue of the women is by no means to be compared to that of the men. Their hard and difficult employments are periodical and of short duration, while their husbands' labours are constant in the extreme. Were a man to take upon himself a part of his wife's duty, in addition to his own, he must necessarily sink under the load, and of course his family must suffer with him"—*An account of the History, Manners and Customs of the Indian nations* (1817) 146-7. As to the universal cheerfulness of Indian women Zeisberger is at variance with his compatriot. "The Indian women," writes Loskiel, "are more given to stealing, lying, quarreling, backbiting and slandering than the men"—*History of the Mission of the United Brethren*, (1794), 16. In our numerous references to the above mentioned writers, in footnotes, we shall use the following terminology, Heckewelder's *History*, Heckewelder's *Narrative*, and Loskiel's *History*.

8. Zeisberger, it must always be remembered, is writing in Ohio; his references to the country to the northward are the result of his acquaintance with the Six Nations in New York State.

9. The Onondaga tribe of Six Nations, located near Syracuse, New York.

9½. Zeisberger seems here to imply that the country of the Shawanese was Kentucky; elsewhere he clearly speaks of the Scioto Valley as but one hundred miles distant.

10. Contrary to the taste of other Indians, as the Dakotas, Schoolcraft, *History*, Pt. IV, 67.

11. Breech cloth.

12. Singularly enough, everything in an Indian's cabin had its specific owner. "Every individual knows what belongs to him, from the horse or cow down to the dog, cat, kitten and little chicken. For a litter of kittens or brood of chickens there are often as many different owners as there are individual animals. Thus while the principle of community of goods prevails in the State, the rights of property are acknowledged among the members of a family"—Heckewelder, *History*, 147-8.

13. Indian Hemp; *Apocynum cannabium*, L.

14. Monsey, one of the Three Tribes of the Delawares living chiefly on the Beaver River.

15. Bunks made of boards.

16. The expression here is singular and shows that the western, migratory Iroquois were clearly distinguished from those who remained in the "Long House" in New York State.

252
262 Flour was either ground between two stones or pounded in a mortar and pestle by the Delaware. The mortar was usually a hollowed tree trunk, the pestle a suitably shaped stone (Smith, p. 138; [412] Lindstrom, pp. 253-54; Abbott, 1875, p. 357; Kalm, p. 230).

276 Stone pottery and clay pipes have been uncovered on archae-
323 ological sites. Lindstrom describes the Lenape pipes as beautifully
324 painted and glazed with birds and animals on the head. He says there are some "...an ell in length, which are screwed together with leather,...and in these pipe-heads will go a handful of tobacco" (Lindstrom, p. 197). These were presumably of European manufacture. The pipes which have been recovered from old sites are of a much humbler variety (Abbott, 1875, pp. 343-44; Skinner, 1909, p. 27; Butler, p. 249). This apparent inconsistency can be readily explained, however, by assuming that Lindstrom was referring to the calumets or peace pipes, which were relatively rare and would be likely to have been carried west by the owners when they moved (Kalm, pp. 231-32).

285 Some household items manufactured by the Delaware women were
[283] mats, ropes and baskets made from wild hemp, spruce roots, corn husks and rushes. The mats, which were sometimes painted or had figures worked in or over the weave, were hung on the walls for increased protection against the elements as well as to beautify the house (Smith, p. 138; Lindstrom, p. 221; Harrington, 1913, p. 224). They were also used as part of the bedding together with the skin or
287 turkey-feather robes which served as clothing during the day (Johnson, p. 280; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 203). The turkey-feather robes deserve special attention as they were evidently one of the most distinctive and beautiful of the Delaware's manufactures. Lindstrom says: "They also make fine and beautiful quilts of painted bird feathers. In the first place they tie them with meshes like nets, yet very fine; then they fasten the feathers in the meshes, so neat and strong that not one feather can come loose from it..." (Lindstrom, pp. 221-22). When there was a "bed," it consisted of a wooden
352 shelf running around the interior wall of the house and serving as a seat by day (Harrington, 1913, p. 218; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 17; Skinner, 1915, p. 7).

342 The most common type of Delaware house was a small hut consisting of a rectangular, gabled frame of saplings covered with bark or mats. Penn describes their houses thus: "Their Houses are Mats, or Bark of Trees set on Poles, in the fashion of an English Barn, but out of the power of the Winds, for they are hardly higher than a Man..." (Penn, p. 31). Some Delaware, however, constructed a house large enough to accommodate several families, the increase in size all deriving from greater length. The result was not unlike an Iroquois longhouse.[6] In the center of the house was one or more fires depending on the length of the building, and the ridge of the roof was arranged with an opening through which the smoke could

| | | |

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

861 classes and text books were not a basic part of the system, but the descriptions of the teaching of Indian children show that they were definitely educated to fill their places in the society of which they were members. At a very early age children were given as 868 867 toys models of implements they would use in earnest in later life. These were different for each sex. For example, a boy would be given a tiny bow with straws for arrows; then, as he grew up, the size and effectiveness of the weapons would be increased until he was able to kill every sort of game as a full-fledged hunter. Girls were given dolls and very early instructed in the fundamentals of making baskets and pots. A considerable amount of the instruction given to children was by example and explanation incidental to actual practices by the parents or other elders, and by the relation of stories and myths. Therein lies the explanation of the failure of many early writers to find a "system" of education among the Indians. As a matter of fact, the reports of the age at which childhood was considered to cease show that the training of youths among the Indians was completed while they were still quite young (106).

597 Johnston and Chipps definitely stated that orphaned children were never adopted by relatives, although the care of orphans usually devolved upon the nearest relations in the absence of adoption (107-12). Zeisberger's statement that orphans were often given or bequeathed to old women may be construed the same way. Among the sources only Pipe gave relatives a prior claim on orphans. He said that maternal grandparents were bound by custom to take care of children on the death of the parents, but that, if they too were dead, other relatives or friends might take them. All of the modern informants agree that relatives of orphans could and did adopt them, although childless friends or neighbors who desired them often were given the orphans if they made their desires known. From the available information it looks as if there was a change in customs regarding the adoption of orphans within the fourth period.

854 The cradleboard must have been discarded by the Delaware 352 early in the fourth period, for of the modern informants not even the oldest had ever seen one in use among the Delaware

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

(116). While three of them had heard of the former use of cradleboards, one, J. W., denied ever hearing of them among the Delaware, although he was familiar with their use by other tribes.

Marriage and Its Incidents

From the majority of the accounts denying courtship between the principals of a marriage it appears that Chipps's description of a brief courtship which was also a marriage ceremony was not typical of the Delaware (131).[1] Lindeström's record of fantastic promiscuity of all the people except the chiefs need not be considered one way or the other. Such a condition would not be reasonable for any people and certainly could not have existed among the Delaware in 1654 without many more than Lindeström having been aware of it. Chipps and Lindeström are also the only dissenters to the statement that marriages were arranged by the parents (132). As already mentioned, Lindeström's statements are not trustworthy on the subject of marriage and Chipps was reporting a Canadian Munsee group that differed in many respects from the Delaware group in this country. His remarks on marriage are applicable to the Chippewa with whom the Canadian Munsee were in contact and with whom they intermarried. In the light of Pipe's remark about the ignoring of formality,[2] it is probable that Chipps's statements reflect a condition in the third period not wholly attributable to the Chippewa or confined to the Canadian Delaware.

According to the tabulation of remarks on the asking of the consent of either party, parents in the first two periods were much more considerate of the wishes of their children than parents in the last two periods (133). The explanation probably lies in the statements of Zeisberger and Pipe that refusals to comply with the wishes of parents were rare. The story told by E. R. is an example of the means used by parents and other elders to keep the young folks in line.[3]

[1] See *post*, p. 107.
[2] See *post*, p. 109.
[3] See *post*, pp. 107-8.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

121. Cradle put in hammock 854

W. L. said that a cradleboard was formerly used but that 352
his children were all raised in a cradle hammock, consisting of a cloth or piece of blanket, two ropes and two sticks. The ropes were suspended parallel, the edges of the blanket fastened to or around the ropes, and the sticks placed at the ends of the blanket to keep the ropes apart.

123. Any difference in treatment of legitimate and illegitimate children 848 [836]

W. T.—No difference because Delaware never had latter. Young folks did not play around—old folks watched them too close.

Marriage and Its Incidents

131. Courtship

Captain Chipps—Courtships are brief. If a man sees a 584
woman whom he likes, he gives her presents, and persuades her [836]
to sleep with him. Should they be mutually pleased, they afterwards live together as man and wife. The consent of parents on the subject is seldom asked—although it is considered proper [585]
to consult parents on the subject. If a marriage is consummated as above, and the parents are displeased, they use their exertions to separate the young couple—they fail, however, for the newmarried couple elope, when the alarm is sounded. There is no ceremony of marriage but the above.

E. R.—Both girls and boys were told to accept the first pro- 584
posal they received. The old people kept telling them this and 577
to show what might happen to them if they did not do this they 539
told the following story. Once there was a girl who was very pretty, one boy after another wanted to marry her but she did not care much for any of them and would not listen to her old folks. Then one day when she was out in the woods she met a very handsome young stranger. She fell for him, and when he said he wanted to take her home with him, she agreed. He took her into a nearby hollow where he had a very nice home. He told his mother he had brought home a wife and she was very

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

A turkey's [1] wing is used when they sweep out in the Big House. And besides, the Attendant carries a long stick as a poker and that is used when they stir up the fire, and it is the rule that they shall light a good bright fire every night as long as they perform the ceremony. And the Attendant-leader every evening walks around all over where they are camped about this Big House, holding a whip. And any person that they find that is causing unnecessary noise they correct. And the children are instructed. And he notifies them, telling them thrice "Come in! Come in! Come in!" And just recently they selected an officer from the Delaware Agency who is on guard all the time here while they are assembled, so that no one brings in liquor.[2]

[1] The specific term for the Wild Turkey (Meleagris gallipavo) is tel'kanam, a term derived from the habit of this bird of scratching or "cleaning" the floor of the forest. In native Delaware ornithology, the order Gallinae is denoted by the generic term palee' which denotes any of the birds of the group, though writers on Delaware social organization have occasionally rendered the term by "turkey." Happily no natural history obsequies are called for in the case of this splendid bird for it still survives in its original range where the Delawares knew it.

[2] The informant pointed to this as an indication of the lack of reverence, and indecency of behavior in the tribe under the influence of the white man's ways. Zeisberger (op. cit. p. 139) commented on the same thing as regards disorder at the feasts.

When any one of us considers the rule with all the obligations and instructions as these are properly carried out, it should be forbidden for one thing that those of our women who when they cannot cook[1] are not pure, be allowed to trouble about the cooking. And should not come in the Big House as long as they are affected with the sickness, because some pure children might be much contaminated, especially when they perform the Gamwing. And it is the rule that persons should abstain from bringing into the Big House any animals of whatever kind they may be which are domesticated.[2]

[1] Being in their catamenial periods.

[2] This has special reference to dogs, pigs, etc. Some discussion has previously been given concerning the status of the wild animals of the forest and those domesticated by man. The Attendants are expected to attack any such animals that come into the Big House and drive them away with their staffs.

And right here opposite from the door on the outside over there at a certain distance they make the fire. Two forked poles are set upright and a pole laid across, upon which they hang the big buckets in which they cook. Near here standing upright is a many-forked tree where meat is hung. And a big shelf is there at one side of the fireplace with two floors where they put the corn that is used. When hominy is made the female Attendants have for their duty every morning and evening to grind and make corn flour and hominy. Sometimes two or four mortars are used together with those long pounders.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

These are the three ways in which a person is endowed that he becomes useful, or a magician.[1] And a person can become a warleader; that also is called greatness.

[1] The term mote'ina in Delaware signifying "shaman" introduces a term recognised throughout the Algonkian range with identical force.

II

FIRST NIGHT OF THE CEREMONY

The Master of Ceremony[1] says when he goes into[2] the Big House, when rising to his feet, he speaks saying, "Truly I am thankful, my kindred. It is exceedingly good that we have lived on through to see each other, that we are in good health. I am truly thankful to bring forth[3] the blessing, my brothers and sisters and those there, our children. I bless you all with every kind of blessing. Truly it is unbecoming to me because I feel incompetent when instructing you what to do. Pitiful am I, indeed, as it is said. It rests very heavily upon my mind when I see each year how at present this our way of living has become pitiful. But nevertheless we must all try, my brothers and sisters and also even those children. Let everyone use his mind earnestly when we lift up our prayer of appeal to that one, our father, the Great Spirit and Our Creator. Indeed it is with great sadness of mind that we look back and see the past of our cultural-life as it is said to have been. Formerly, but a few years ago, it is said, here the seating space in the Big House[4] was overcrowded with our now deceased relations. Indeed it brings sadness of mind when we see here now how few of our relatives are seated around that space. It is enough to make anyone ponder over the cause of it. I myself never did think that I would live long enough, as a survivor, living as I am right here, instructing in sacred things where other sacred teachers, our deceased ancestors,[5] so thoroughly inspired in worship, taught.

[1] A proper name in the ceremonial sense, elha'k éete

[2] By this figure the formal opening of the ceremony is denoted, tami'ke, "to go in."

[3] The Master of Ceremony is regarded as the sponsor for all the blessings that result from the performance not only to the participants themselves, and to the tribe, but to the whole of mankind.

[4] He refers to the covering of straw laid around inside the walls of the Big House where the participants are sitting. No chairs or benches are permitted here. They are not of the ancient days.

[5] How little the Delawares have changed in their mental attitude since 1742-is shown by comparison of the above reverential discourse with a declaration made by the missionary David Brainerd who labored, and finally succumbed to the effort, to swerve the same tribe from loyalty toward the beliefs of their ancestors. His lament was that they were so much attached "to the traditions and fabulous notions of their fathers, which they firmly believe, and thence look upon their ancestors to have been the best of men." (Life and Journal of the Rev. David Brainerd, pp. 397-425 (Edinburgh 1820) quoted by Brinton op. cit., p. 137).

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7

Very few of them were fortunate enough to have oil on their lands. They either farm their fields or cash rent them. Judging from the state of repair of the houses, those that farm their own fields are more prosperous than those who rent them out. . . . The majority probably rent their fields and subsist on the small cash return, aided by the produce from their gardens, old age pensions, and other occasional sources of income.[1]

I have never seen a farming enterprise among the Cherokee-Delawares which could be considered a successful commercial venture. Some subsistence farming continues, but a large proportion of the adult males work in the various industries of the county, such as the Dewey Portland Cement Company, or the Phillips Petroleum Company. The older Delawares, who have remained in the area, appear to have done so mainly because they possessed no special training which would allow them to rise on the economic ladder or to leave for higher paid employment elsewhere. The older generation also seems to have had no culturally inspired incentives to acquire special skills.

There was considerable hunting in the early days in Oklahoma. Game was still fairly plentiful, and until about 1870 the Delawares had to hunt because their gardens yielded only a precarious livelihood. The chief object of the hunt was traditionally deer, and informants (J.T., O.A.) said that this was true in Oklahoma. They also ventured out onto the plains in quest of the bison. The Anadarko band, because of their location and probably because of their proximity to Plains tribes, made considerably more use of the bison. Besides these animals, prairie chickens, of which there were immense quantities in the early days, wild turkeys, quail, fish, beaver, and raccoon were utilized. In the Caney Valley the hunting was done on horseback, by individuals or at most by small groups. Communal bison hunts occasionally took place on the plains. These included women to do the butchering. Autumn was preferred for communal hunts since the cooler weather allowed the hunters to bring back fresh instead of jerked meat. Preparation, preservation, and storage of food followed the traditional patterns well into this century. Little or no food is dried or jerked by the Cherokee-Delawares at present; most food comes out of the can and is prepared in the Anglo-American tradition.

By the time the Delawares had migrated to Oklahoma the log house (about thirteen by twenty feet) had become the ordinary dwelling. A smaller log house was erected nearby and served as a cookhouse. The bark and sapling wigwam persisted as an auxiliary dwelling until this century, as old informants remember the details of these structures (O.A., M.B.). Small cookstoves were in general use by the time the Delawares appeared in Oklahoma, and the other furnishings were primarily of American origin and design. Gradually the early log buildings were replaced by small clapboard dwellings. Houses today are usually in poor repair and are overcrowded and small; they are comparable to those of the poorer whites of the area. No pottery was manufactured in

[1] Kinietz, 1946, p. 13.

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

square just east of the Big House (pl. VII), an area where no one is allowed to pitch a tent. 796x

Other officers selected for the meeting are a speaker (usually at the time of the writer's visit, Chief Charley Elkhair), two singers, called *Talé'gunük*, "Cranes," whose duty it is to beat the dry deerskin drum and sing the necessary songs, and a chief hunter who is supposed to provide venison for the feast. [533]

PREPARATIONS

Arrived at the Big House, the attendants begin at once to prepare the building for use after its year of idleness. 346 796x The first act of the men is to make mortar of mud, in the old style, and stop the cracks between the logs of the house. Then they cut two forked saplings, and 354 set them in the ground about ten feet 796x apart, some distance in front of the Big House (see pl. VII); upon these is laid a pole, running east and west, to support the twenty-gallon kettle used in preparing 372 hominy for the feast. After this they 796x

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

"This, behold, is my dream,
and I can thus explain it and sing it in every way just as I saw it."[1] 539
And now, it was said, first of all there must be a house built. And 773
also to be planned how that house should look both as to its inside 346
dimensions and height. And also, it was said what would be the size of the door here to be at the direction of the setting sun[2] and at the direction of the sunrise. And there will be jointed sections of the logs, and three posts used at the sides. And two will be on each side of the door reaching to the height of the top of the roof. And in the middle shall be the big post. And it shall be as high as the height of the house. And all posts shall be notched on top. And these at the side where the logs join shall stand as stud-posts facing each other, there held together at the top using short cross-ties.[3] And there shall be on top a larger timber cross-piece. And the ridge rafters in two pieces in the center where they join shall be more than a person's height, there from the beginning of the roof-pitch. And shall be made of various woods. And also the rafters and flat boards shall be used with the bark on, likewise in the roofing.

[1] The Big House, as we learn here, was conceived in a dream-vision revealed to certain persons by the Great Spirit. The recitation of experiences, obtained while in a dream state or in a disturbed emotional condition, has ever continued to form the key note of the ceremony so founded.
[2] The present Big House on Little Caney River, Oklahoma, is set north and south, evidently so placed by mistake, due to the position of the river.
[3] The notched binders fitted into notches of the posts to lock them.

And at both sides where sets the center post, there also shall be built 354
the fires. Right there opposite and above them, an uncovered place shall be left in the roof. And that will be to force out the smoke. And on all the posts at about a person's height there shall be carved the mask-image face,[1] and also half the face painted red and the other side blackened.

And around the sides where the people sit, there shall be put dried 538
grass. And three men and three women chosen, one shall be of the 773
Pɔ̃le'' group, and of the Pukowa'ŋgo, and of the Tu'k"si t. Their 756
service shall be to labor as long as the Gamwing, it was said, ten and two days[2] praying. All this time they furnish sufficient well-dried wood. It shall be, for those women, obligatory that they grind up corn and cook meat. And the Attendants all together feed in the house. And they pay them one shoulder-length[3] of wampum every time they furnish food. And it is the rule that the people shall use wampum when purchasing food from the Attendants. There everyone who recites visions in the House will eat there with his family three times each day.

[1] These are the sculptured personifications of the spirit-forces.
[2] For the discussion of this archaic style of enumeration in the ceremony see page 62.
[3] Measured from the shoulder point to the tip of finger of the extended arm.

11:Newcomb E-5 (1952)1956 NM7 Delaware NM7

My purposes in this article are to describe a fairly typical peyote meeting of the Delawares which I attended in the summer of 1952, and to discuss the changes which have occurred in this cult since 1930 when Petrullo made his study of Delaware peyotism (Petrullo, 1934).

THE BIG MOON PEYOTE CEREMONY

The Big Moon ceremonies of the Delawares are normally held in canvas covered tepees, generally in the cooler months of the year, but occasionally in hot weather. The reason for their seasonal nature is said to be in the interests of comfort; a tepee with a fire burning in it on a hot Oklahoma night is almost unbearable. Big Moon ceremonies are held on Saturday nights and last until Sunday noon. The peyote meeting I am about to describe was held on the farm of a Delaware, about ten miles east of the small town of Dewey, Washington County, Oklahoma. A tepee, about twenty feet in diameter, had been erected a few steps from the back door of the farm house. A bale of hay had been scattered about near the inside walls of the tepee; tarpaulins and quilts had then been spread over the hay, upon which the participants were to sit. In the center of the tepee was an oval depression, or fireplace, excavated to a depth of about six inches (Fig. 1). Extending from the fireplace were twelve lines or rays, made by scoring the hard ground to a depth of about half an inch. Within the fireplace, also scored in the earth, was a cross and at the intersection of its arms a heart-shaped figure. The fire, which was built over this heart, was made of twelve sticks interlaced in a V-shaped pattern with the open end towards the tepee entrance.

Just east of the fire, and lying along the long axis of the cross, was a stick of soft wood. One end was kept smoldering during the ceremony and was used to light corn husk-Bull Durham cigarettes. At the east end of the fireplace was a raised circular mound of hard packed earth. On the center of this mound, symbolic of the Sun, another heart had been scratched. On the opposite, or west side of the fireplace was the altar. This was an oblong, slightly raised, earthen area, on which was placed the ritual paraphernalia. In its center on a beaded cloth was a large, green peyote, or "Father Peyote." Just behind it a feathered and beaded peyote staff had been thrust into the ground. On the altar to the south of these objects was a glass bowl of green peyote, a kettle of peyote tea, and a leather bag of dried peyote buttons. To the north of "Father Peyote" on the altar was the drum used to accompany the singers (an old fashioned cast iron kettle, partly water-filled, and covered with a tightly drawn, wet, buckskin cover), and a bunch of sage

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

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while their field labour employs them at most six weeks in the year, that of the men continues the whole year round.

When a couple is newly married, the husband (without saying a single word upon the subject) takes considerable pains to please his wife, and by repeated proofs of his skill and abilities in the art of hunting, to make her sensible that she can be happy with him, and that she will never want while they live together. At break of day he will be off with his gun, and often by breakfast time return home with a deer, turkey, or some other game. He endeavours to make it appear that it is in his power to bring provisions home whenever he pleases, and his wife, proud of having such a good hunter for her husband, does her utmost to serve and make herself agreeable to him.

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356

The work of the women is not hard or difficult. They are both able and willing to do it, and always perform it with cheerfulness. Mothers teach their daughters those duties which common sense would otherwise point out to them when grown up. Within doors, their labour is very trifling; there is seldom more than one pot or kettle to attend to. There is no scrubbing of the house, and but little to wash, and that not often. Their principal occupations are to cut and fetch in the fire wood, till the ground, sow and reap the grain, and pound the corn in mortars for their pottage, and to make bread which they bake in the ashes. When going on a journey, or to hunting camps with their husbands, if they have no horses, they carry a pack on their backs which often appears heavier than it really is; it generally consists of a blanket, a dressed deer skin for mocksons, a few articles of kitchen furniture, as a kettle, bowl or dish, with spoons and some bread, corn, salt, &c. for their nourishment. I have never known an Indian woman complain of the hardship of carrying this burden, which serves for their own comfort and support as well as of their husbands.

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[482]

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

854 the mother going to fetch water or on some other errand. The children by pushing and kicking not infrequently tumbled themselves into the fire or other danger and thus miserably perished, or were severely burned. For this reason the custom is in disfavor.

342 Their houses are fairly clean, some being superior in this respect and affording a comfortable night's lodging for a [574] European. In case a guest is expected, especially if it be a white [356] person, they prepare as comfortable a bed as possible. They sweep the bunk, that serves as seat and table in the daytime and as bed at night, and spread a mat with one or more deer or bear [352] skins upon it. Though usually a comfortable couch in summer time it may be made very uncomfortable by the fleas brought in by dogs. Their kettles, dishes and spoons are not kept in good order; sometimes they are only licked by the dogs in lieu of washing. Dishes and spoons they make themselves of wood, [415 322] sometimes of tree knots or growths, often very neatly. The spoons are generally large and round shaped. Occasionally, a spoon will be used by several people, turn about, at a meal. Brass kettles, to be found in most houses because very necessary for sugar boiling, are bought from the whites.

29 The Indians are lovers of finery and dress, the women more than the men; the latter take care that the women adorn themselves in proper manner. The men clothe themselves rather meanly, regarding it as a disgrace to be better appareled than their wives. The dress which particularly distinguishes the women is a petticoat or strowd, blue, red or black, made of a piece of cloth about two yards long, adorned with red, blue or yellow bands laid double and bound about the body. Many women wear a white shirt over the strowd, decorated with silver buckles, the more the better. Red or blue leggings are worn, made of fine cloth joined by a broad band of silk bordered with coral. These leggings reach only to the feet. Shoes are made very neatly. Over the first strowd they may wear another, not decorated with ribbons, which if it inconveniences them in their movements may be easily laid aside. Thus clad a woman is well dressed. In [296] place of the white shirts, blue linen or cotton may be worn. When [386] they wear a white shirt, which is preferably of fine linen, it is often died red with cinnabar about the neck.

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

535 796^ and generally in October, in the full moon, and lasts not less than 12 days for each part. The tribe is divided into three clans, and each clan has to go through the same part, so the dance is sometimes 36 days long, but sometimes the second and third clans do not dance more than 6 days each.

[534] "The Turtle clan usually lead or begin the dance. A tortoise shell, dried and beautifully polished and containing several small pebbles, is placed in the southeast corner near the door in front of the first person. If he has anything to say he takes the shell and rattles it, and an answer comes from the south side of the temple from the singers, who strike on a dried deer's hide: then the party who has the tortoise shell makes an address or talk to the people, and thanks the Great Spirit for blessings, and then proceeds to dance, going to the right and around the fire, followed by all who wish to take part, and finally coming to the center post he stops there; then all the dancers shake hands and return to their seats. Then the shell is passed to the next person, who dances or passes it on, as he chooses.

796^ [834] "On the third day of the dance all men, both married and single, are required to keep out of the company of women for 3 days at least. They have a doorkeeper, a leader, and 2 or 3 parties who sweep the ground floor with turkey wings, and who also serve as deacons. The [356]

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

the great and good Spirit, in order to teach his countrymen, who were on the way to perdition, how they could become reconciled to their God. He would make his followers believe that he had once been taken so near to heaven, that he could distinctly hear the crowing of the cocks, and that at another time he had been borne by unseen hands to where he had been permitted to take a peep into the heavens, of which there were three, one for the Indians, one for the negroes and another for the white people. That of the Indians he observed to be the happiest of the three, and that of the whites the unhappiest; for they were under chastisement for their ill treatment of the Indians and for possessing themselves of the land which God had given to them. They were also punished for making beasts of the negroes, by selling them as the Indians do their horses and dogs, and beating them unmercifully, although God had created them as well as the rest of mankind.

The novelty of these visions procured him hearers for a time; he found, however, at last, that the Indians became indifferent to his doctrines, particularly as he frequently warned them not to drink the *poison* brought to them by the white people, of which his congregations were very fond. Then he bethought himself of a more popular and interesting subject, and began to preach against witchcraft and those who dealt in the black art. Here he had all the passions and prejudices of the poor Indians on his side, and he did not fail to meet with the general approbation, when he declared to them that wizzards were getting the upper hand, and would destroy the nation, if they were not checked in their career. He travelled in 1775, to *Goschachking*, at the forks of Muskingum, to lay this business before the great council of the Delawares, and take their opinion upon it. The first report which the Missionaries on the Muskingum heard on this subject, was that the chiefs had at first united in having every conjurer and witch in

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7

PART I. EARLY HISTORIC DELAWARE CULTURE

I. DELAWARE ORIGINS AND AFFILIATIONS

At the opening of the seventeenth century all of the Atlantic coastal peoples north of North Carolina and extending to the Maritime Provinces and the St. Lawrence were culturally similar to one another. Kroeber, however, distinguished two cultural provinces within the Algonkian area, a North Atlantic Slope and a Middle Atlantic Slope.[1] On the basis of an analysis of cultural traits Flannery divided this coastal area into three divisions, or subareas: Northern New England, Central, and Virginia-Maryland.[2] Kroeber's Middle Atlantic Slope is roughly equivalent to Flannery's Central area. The aborigines who were to become known as Delawares in the eighteenth century inhabited this Central or Middle Atlantic Slope area. They did not comprise, as the name Delaware implies, a single social, political, or linguistic entity. They did, however, inhabit a continuous area extending from Delaware Bay on the south, through Manhattan Island, and up the west side of the Hudson River to the Catskills on the north. Inland, they occupied the banks of the Delaware River and its tributaries northeast to the Hudson. This territory included part of the present state of Delaware, all of New Jersey, eastern Pennsylvania, and part of southern New York (Map 1).

The Delawaran peoples were centrally located within the Middle Atlantic Slope area. To the north were the Mahican, on the east bank of the Hudson lived the Wappinger division of the Mahican, and on Long Island were the Montauk, another Mahican group. To the south, in Maryland and part of Delaware, lived the Conoy, Nanticoke, Choptank, and associated peoples.[3] The other peoples of this area are little known apart from the notes in Captain John Smith's memoirs.[4] All of these peoples were similar to one another in culture and language, and remnants from most, if not all, of these tribes in later times became incorporated with the Delaware tribe. To the west, in eastern Pennsylvania, lived the Conestoga (or Susquehannock), an Iroquoian people.[5] To the northwest and north, in what is now New York State, were their Iroquoian relatives, the Five and later Six Nations.

Delaware Prehistory: a Summary

It is a difficult task to identify archaeological sites in the Middle Atlantic Slope area with historic tribes. This difficulty stems from two factors. First, soon after contact the coastal peoples emigrated, were dispersed, or died, with the result that it is impossible to find many coastal sites which contain contact materials. Second, since much

[1] Kroeber, 1947, p. 93.
[2] Flannery, 1939, p. 192.
[3] Kroeber, 1947, Map 1a, p. 93; Weslager, 1943, pp. 42-43.
[4] Smith, 1884, pp. 55, 351.
[5] Kroeber, 1947, Map 1a, p. 93.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7

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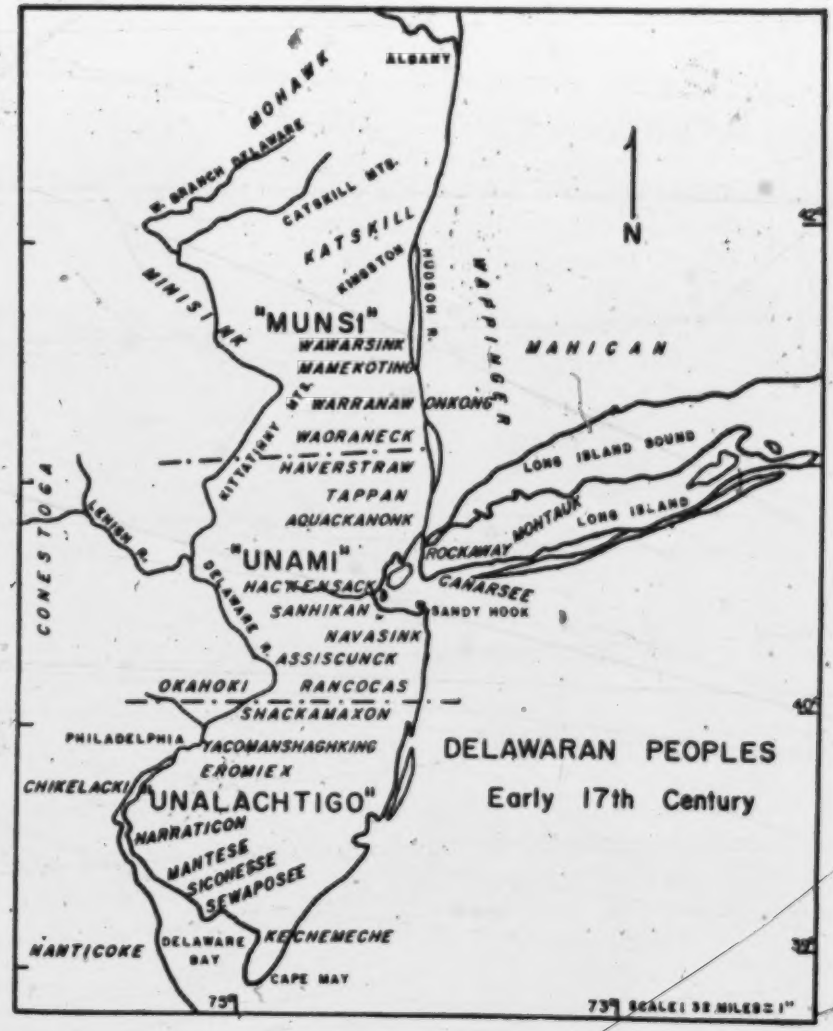

Map 1

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7

taken together, is always as extensive, if not more so, than all the corn fields and kitchen gardens of an Indian family."[17] Luckenbach, a Moravian missionary of the early nineteenth century, said that the fields were "limited to two or three acres of corn for each family."[18] The Delawares today term the gardens "squaw patches" and claim that they never exceeded five acres in size (M.B., O.A.).

Most Delaware archaeological sites are in creek or valley bottoms;[19] in the eighteenth century such bottom land was chosen for gardens, since it was easily worked and was generally fertile.[20] Zeisberger, in the eighteenth century, took pains to point out that land away from rivers, although suitable for tillage by Europeans, was not utilized at all for this purpose by Indians.[21] Garden plots were cleared by bruising or removing the bark of the trees, then burning the trees after they were dry.[22] The seventeenth-century Swedish writers stated that garden plots were moved after the soil was exhausted.[23] Van der Donck in the middle of the century and Loskiel in the next century denied the use of fertilizer.[24] New England Indians, however, fertilized the land with fish, and Wallace has suggested that this trait may have been present among the Delawares.[25]

Corn was planted in ". . . square hills (so far apart) that one can conveniently walk between the hills. . . . And in each hill 6 or 7 grains are set."[26] According to De Rasieres:

> They make heaps like molehills, each about two and a half feet from the others, which they sow or plant in April with maize, in each heap five or six grains; in the middle of May, when the maize is the height of a finger or more, they plant in each heap three or four Turkish beans . . . . It [corn] is a grain to which much labor must be given, with weeding and earthing-up, or it does not thrive; and to this the women must attend very closely.[27]

Squash, pumpkins, several varieties of beans, and tobacco were also grown.[28] According to M.B. tobacco was grown only by women past the menopause. The Delawares blended their tobacco with sumac, one third sumac to two thirds tobacco.[29]

Hunting.—Hunting was important to the Delaware economy, not only because it provided food, but also because pelts and hides provided most of the material for clothing. The main objects of the hunt were deer and bear, but virtually all of the other mammals of their habitat were hunted and utilized for clothing or for food. This list included fox, raccoon, skunk, porcupine, opossum, and squirrel.[30] The Delawares

[17] Kalm, 1937, I: 307.
[18] Luckenbach, 1938, pp. 598-99.
[19] Personal communication from John Witthoft.
[20] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 44.
[21] *Ibid.*, p. 38.
[22] Johnson, 1917, p. 279; Kalm, 1937, I: 230; Harrington, 1913, p. 221.
[23] Johnson, 1917, p. 279.
[24] Loskiel, 1794, p. 66.
[25] Flannery, 1939, p. 10; Wallace, 1947, p. 18.
[26] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 179.
[27] De Rasieres, 1909, p. 107; Johnson, 1917, p. 279; and Harrington, 1913, p. 221, contain similar accounts of their horticulture.
[28] Juet, 1909, p. 21; Johnson, 1917, p. 279; Kalm, 1937, I: 74; Lindestrom, 1925, pp. 180-81; Holm, 1834, p. 122.
[29] Speck, 1943, p. 324.
[30] Denton, 1845, p. 7; Van der Donck, 1909, p. 303; Zeisberger, 1910, pp. 37, 62-63.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7

428 423 "belonged to" the "individual" hunting territory.[117] The lineage, clan, and phratry are discussed in the next chapter. There is nothing incompatible in the existence of maternal lineages (or clans) and male-used hunting territories.

Material Culture

361 621 Villages.— There is little information concerning the villages and general settlement pattern of the early historic Delawares. Villages, or perhaps they might better be termed hamlets, were situated in bottom lands near the gardens or along the shores of bays.[118] These dispersed settlements were not palisaded.[119] Eighteenth-century and later information seems to reflect the original condition in that these settlements had no regular plan or arrangement, and that houses were not built close together.[120] There is no information concerning the length of time these villages were inhabited. If their garden plots were fertilized, residence in the villages may have been relatively permanent, but the fertilizer issue is in doubt. By the eighteenth century, after extensive migrations, villages were occupied until it became "troublesome to secure wood for fuel" and, implicitly, until they became overburdened with filth.[121] The Evelin paper of 1648 described twenty-three communities in New Jersey, ranging in population from fourteen to six hundred persons.[122] Lindestrom noted community size as "several hundred men strong, under each chief, counting women and children, some being stronger, some weaker."[123]

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342 17 Dwellings.— There seems to have been some diversity in the type of dwellings of the early seventeenth-century Delawares. A circular wigwam and a long house identical with the Iroquoian type have been described, although the latter seems to represent a late prehistoric diffusion. De Laet and Van der Donck depicted Delawares using a circular bark dwelling with vaulted ceiling.[124] In another place De Laet stated that the dwelling was oven-shaped, but large enough for several related families.[125] Penn and Pastorius also alluded to this style of dwelling, whereas Holm and Lindestrom mentioned what seems to be the Iroquoian long house.[126] Zeisberger in the eighteenth century distinguished between house types of the Iroquois and the Delawares, describing a "rounded, arched roof" for the Iroquois and a "high-pitched, peaked roof" for the Delawares.[127] Harrington in 1913 characterized the house type current a few years previously as being similar to the Iroquois type.[128] The evidence, then, is not conclusive, but it seems probable

[117] Wallace, 1947, p. 18.
[118] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 87; Wallace, 1947, p. 18.
[119] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 241.
[120] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 87; O. A., J. T.
[121] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 87.
[122] Smith, 1877, p. 11.
[123] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 170.
[124] De Laet, 1909, p. 57; Van der Donck, 1909, p. 302.
[125] De Laet, 1909, p. 57.
[126] Penn, 1912, p. 332; Pastorius, 1912, p. 425; Holm, 1834, p. 123; Lindestrom, 1925, p. 211.
[127] Zeisberger, 1910, pp. 17-18.
[128] Harrington, 1913, pp. 217-18.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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VI. DELAWARE ASSIMILATION

The final flight to the Caney River Valley in Indian Territory in 1867 was the last movement of the Delawares as a tribe, and it also marked a stage of culture change which is more aptly termed assimilation than acculturation. Contact with the white man became even more intensive and extensive because the Delawares could no longer flee from his presence. Delaware technology had long since disappeared, and the old social organization was in an advanced state of decay. The religion had been attacked, and an increasing number of Delawares were becoming Christians. War, plunder by whites, disease, and poverty had reduced their numbers to less than a thousand persons. The last chapter of this saga does not, however, lack interest. Although the tribal society has disintegrated, the culture has not become extinct; the Delawares retain or remember a number of ancient cultural traits. They are also active participants in what has been termed a Pan-Indian society.

Settlement Pattern

According to the treaty which the Delawares made with the Cherokee Nation, each enrolled Delaware was to receive one hundred and sixty acres of land in the specified area of Indian Territory. The crucial fact is that the Delawares did not settle upon this land as a unit; some even settled on Osage land and some on land already claimed by Cherokee settlers.[1] There were several reasons for this scattered settlement pattern; the Delawares did not come to Oklahoma as a unit, they lacked leadership and straggled to it as individuals over more than a year's time. The shape of the purchased land, which was long and narrow, may have been a deterrent to settlement as a community. This settlement pattern was an important factor in the subsequent degeneration of Delaware society and culture.

Technological Assimilation

By the time the tribal remnant had settled in Indian Territory the old technology was hardly a memory. The Delawares had become by 1867, and were to remain for several decades of the twentieth century, essentially subsistence farmers. Old informants recalled that as soon as they were settled in Oklahoma, "squaw patches" were cultivated. These vegetable gardens, as was true in earlier times, ranged up to five acres in extent. Indian corn was the staple crop and is, in fact, still grown, although it is now of slight economic importance. Besides corn, informants related, sweet potatoes, beans, onions, peas, and Irish potatoes were raised. In time, however, subsistence farming was abandoned by most of the Delawares. Kinietz said of their subsistence:

[1] G. Foreman, 1946, pp. 188-89.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

were generally careful to keep burning. On journeys they were accustomed to carry fire with them from one lodging-place to another, for which purpose they used a certain kind of fungus,[40] that grows upon trees. With such a glowing piece of fungus they could travel from morning to evening. This custom has to the present day not ceased among the Indians, nor has the method of making fire described above, some still employing it on special occasions and in connection with their sacrifices, in order to remind themselves of former customs and usages. Firewood they did not split in former days nor could they have done so with their hatchets of stone. They burned it into pieces of such length that could be carried home. They built a fire against the trunks of standing trees and kept it burning until they fell, which method still obtains among them, especially the older ones, for whom it is difficult to fell trees and split wood and who, perhaps, do not even own a hatchet. These may not burn a piece of split wood during a whole winter, but provide fuel for themselves in the manner described, which is quite easy and convenient for them.

Canows made of wood as well as bast, they also had in earlier days, fashioning the former out of a whole tree trunk, which they burned out and only used their hatchets to chop off glowing coals, lest they should burn in deeper in one place than another or even burn a hole through.

Their dwellings were huts of bark, which they lined with rushes in order to keep out the cold, roofed they were with bark, even as is the case now, though sometimes rushes or long, dry reed-grass served the purpose.

Underground dwellings there were, also, of which here and there traces may be found, particularly along the Muskingum, in which region one may yet see many places, where embankments, still to be seen, were thrown up around a whole town.[41] Here and there, furthermore, near the sites of such towns there are mounds, not natural, but made by the hand of man, for in those days the natives carried on great wars with one another, Indians being formerly, according to their own testimony, far more numerous than at the present time. At the top of these mounds there was a hollow place, to which the Indians brought

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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their wives and children when the enemies approached and attacked them, the men ranging themselves round the mound for defensive action. Their weapons were the bow and arrow and a wooden club, this last a piece of wood of not quite arm's length, having at the end a round knob about the size of a small child's head and made of very hard wood. Shields they bore made of hardened buffalo leather and presenting a convex surface without, while being hollow within. The curved outer surface they held toward the enemy and before their own breasts and faces in order that arrows discharged at them, striking the curved surface, would glance off and go to the side. With the left hand they held both shield and bow and with the right they drew the bow and held the arrow. On the above named hills they always had great blocks lying all about, in order that should the enemies attempt to storm the heights these might be rolled upon and among them so as to keep them off. In such attacks both sides usually lost many men, which were often buried in one pit and a great mound of earth raised above them, such as may even now be seen bearing in these days great and mighty trees.[43]

Dogs they likewise possessed in former days, of a kind still to be found in considerable numbers among them. These may be readily distinguished from European dogs, which are now most commonly found among the Indians, especially the Delawares. The ears of Indian dogs rise rigidly from the head and the animals have something of a wolfish nature, for they show their teeth immediately when roused. They will never attack a wolf in the forest, though set on to do so, in this respect, also differing from European dogs. Of their origin their masters can give as little information as of that of the Indians themselves.

The wampum strings of the Indians were formerly made of bits of wood, some white, some black, which were used in connection with embassies and speeches. Belts of wampum were also made. Some few were made of mussel-shells, which were held in the same value among them as gold among the Europeans, for much time was consumed in making even one such string of wampum. When whites came into the country these contrived to make wampum strings which they bartered to the Indians, who used them in place of their wooden wampum, as

3: Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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often dyed red with cinnabar about the neck. Such a shirt may be worn unwashed until it is torn. More careful women, however wash their clothing. Men and women paint their faces almost daily, especially if they go out to a dance in the evening. Men, particularly, think it is proper to paint and often their whole head is colored vermillion.[255] Here and there black spots may be introduced, or they paint one-half of their head and face black, the other red. Figures are added according to taste.[256] Indian women never paint their faces with a variety of figures, but rather make a round red spot upon each cheek and redden the eyelids, the tops of their heads and, in some cases, the rims of the ears and the temples.[257] Older women adorn themselves but rarely, usually appearing in old cast-off garments. Even if the husband of such a woman provides new clothing, she will rarely put it on, especially if she has a daughter to whom she gives the new clothing in exchange for old garments.

Their towns are generally laid out near a lake, river or brook, yet sufficiently elevated to escape the danger of inundations, which are very common in spring. In building towns no regular plan is observed but every one builds according to his fancy. The houses are not built close together. Some years ago, when the Delawares planned Gochachgünk, they wished to imitate the Christian Indians and build their town in orderly fashion but they did not succeed, even though they had laid it out. When they have lived long in one place, it at last becomes troublesome to secure wood for fuel because all the wood in the neighborhood has been used. This causes them to leave the place and plan a new village for the sake of the wood and other conveniences. Although they have horses that roam about and are rarely used except when they wish to ride, it is too troublesome for them to break these to work and, furthermore, since fetching wood is the work of the women, the men do not concern themselves about it.

Of inheritances they know nothing. Every Indian knows that whatever he leaves at his death is divided among his friends. If a woman becomes a widow, no matter how long she may have lived with her husband, friends come, take everything that be-

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7
Nanticoke NM11

D 765 morning to the grave and weeps over it. This is repeated daily for some time but gradually less and less till the mourning period is over. Sometimes they place victuals on the grave that the deceased may not suffer hunger. The food thus left is generally consumed by dogs.

N 764 The Nantikoks [Nantikokes] of whom more in another place, have this singular custom that about three or four months after the funeral they open the grave, take out the bones, clean them of the flesh and dry them, wrap them up in new linen and inter them again. A feast is usually provided for the occasion, consisting of the best they can afford. Only the bones of the arms and legs of the corpse are thus treated. All the rest is buried or burned.

D 626 181 The Indians are a free people, knowing neither law nor restraint. They may not be prevailed on in any matter that does not please them, much less forced. If they cannot be persuaded with gentle words, further effort is in vain.

D 36 Each of them may settle where he pleases. Not satisfied with one place, an Indian may move to a town with which he is better pleased and no one offers any objection; or he may retire to a solitary place. Rarely will a family move far away from all society, though they frequently live apart from the towns to avoid being annoyed by drunkards; or they live thus alone in order to carry on the profitable traffic in rum more to their advantage. Many engage in rum traffic, especially women, who fetch it from the white people and sell at a considerable profit to the Indians, often taking from the latter everything they have, sometimes even their rifles on which they depend for subsistence. Chiefs and counsellors have often considered what might be done to stop this ruinous trade, and have often determined that no one should ever bring spirituous liquors into their towns again; for a time such a resolution would be kept, and then be broken, perhaps by the very ones who had counselled the prohibition. Since the Indians have taken so much to drinking rum, murders are more frequent. Murder committed in drunkenness is not severely punished. Hence, it is that one harboring hatred for another will, on the occasion of a drinking

D 439

D 682 672

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

tunity to trade with them their position would be without many of the advantages they now enjoy. They admit that the whites are very ingenious, because of their ability to manufacture a great variety of things, but regard their manner of living as wearisome and slavish as compared with their own. Their own skill as hunters and woodsmen, they hold, excels that of the whites. Towards these they harbor a secret enmity which they disguise in their presence, for they suspect that they will deprive them of their land and drive them within narrower confines. This suspicion is not without foundation. Among the Delawares this dislike has been moderated through long intercourse with the whites, yet they show that they have no particular love towards them, in that they will sell their lands to them and after these have become inhabited will seek to drive them off by starting war.

The French seem to possess a greater share of the goodwill of the Indians than the English, being regarded by the Indians as being more akin to themselves, probably because they enter more easily into the Indian manner of living and appear always good-humored. Indians have more faith in the French than in other Europeans. Since the late war with England all the Americans except the English in Canada, otherwise called by the Indians Virginians, are known as Big Knives by the nations because, from the beginning, the Indians saw them and the Governor of Virginia on all occasions of negotiations with the Indians wearing long swords. Hence, they called them Choanschican and the Six Nations named them Assarigoa that is Big Knives, which name has been applied to all Virginians and has been extended from it to all Americans because the Virginians in this war negotiated most of the treaties with the Indians.[299]

Judged by the mere appearance of the Indians one is surprised how modest and careful they are in relation to each other and imagines that the whites, if they were as free a people and had neither government nor punishment to fear, would not be as united and peaceable as the Indians appear to be. The towns and villages of the latter are not indeed governed by force or law. Each individual is at liberty to live where he pleases,

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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moving from one place to another according to inclination, yet they generally dwell together for the sake of the help they can render each other in building and in fencing up the great field where all may plant and be sure that their pieces of ground will not be molested by cattle. If they have a good chief he may be very useful to the people, for under him they believe themselves to dwell in safety as it is his business to keep the peace with other nations and order among his own people in so far as this may be secured among the Indians who are a free people recognizing neither compulsion nor authority to punish. By means of discretion and diplomacy a chief may accomplish much. At times he may not tell his counsellors, much less the people, what his ultimate purposes are, for fear of not attaining them. Moving forward step by step he may gain his end. Of violence, murder (except in drunkenness), robbery, theft, one rarely hears among the Indians. They may leave all they have caught in the chase and their utensils in the forest, secured indeed against wild animals such as wolves and bear, but not hidden from the Indians. They often hang their things to trees in the woods where everyone passing by may see them and leave them there for days and weeks, yet they are never molested. Stolen goods may not be easily concealed among them, and whoever has been guilty of theft must restore or repay lest a horse or two or even his gun, which is an Indian's means of sustenance, be taken from him or his friends summoned to make good the injury, even years after the theft has been committed. The latter will rather pay than be much and often called upon to do so.

Few houses are locked when the people go out. A stick is placed against the door on the outside and the passerby sees that no one is at home and does not enter. Each one is free to do as he pleases without let or hindrance, yet he will rarely do another injury.

Their old people, even though they are only able to crawl about and are a source of trouble and have nothing to bequeath to anyone, are faithfully cared for by their friends who seem to wish that their lives should be prolonged. That they are unmerciful and insensible towards the poor and needy may not be said of them. Even strangers who have no friends are

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

with the dancers, and when the amusement was at its height killed many of them with short weapons they had concealed under their blankets, escaping, after the deed was done, before their treachery had been discovered.

The land was never formally divided among the nations, whatever region was settled by a nation was recognized as property of that nation, and no one disputed its title, until, in course of war, one nation overpowered another and drove it out of its territory. In such cases, however, the conquering nation did not always settle on the conquered territory; for example, the Moshkos drove the Shawanose from their land in Florida but did not themselves settle there, still living on the west side of the Ohio in the region of the Wabash. The Delawares conquered the territory in which they live, having been driven out of the region they once inhabited by the white people. The Wiondats adjudged this region as belonging to them; and the Kikapus have given them a district along the Wabash and bordering on the country they inhabit for the chase. A part of the Delaware nation has lived in the Wabash region these many years, and of those living here many go thither every year. The boundaries of Indian countries are fixed along rivers and creeks or in a straight line from one river to another or along the mountain ranges, where there are mountains.

Of the spherical form of the earth they have no conception. Some declare that the earth floats upon the sea and that an enormous tortoise bears it on its back. The sky, they say, rests upon the water probably because it appears so to do when they look out upon the sea. Others declare that there is a place where the sky strikes the earth, rises again and continues moving up and down, smiting a rock, which causes such a report that it may be heard many days' journey. Two great captains once visited that place, and one of them risked going through the opening when the sky rose. He succeeded in getting into heaven and coming back. Yet where this place is they know as little as they do the location of Tschipey Hacki, the land of the spirits. The sun, they think, sinks into the water when it sets. Thunder is a mighty spirit dwelling in the mountains and sometimes issuing from their fastnesses suffers himself to be heard. Others imag-

8: Lindestrom T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
NM7 Delaware NM7

CHAPTER XVI.

Concerning the Dwellings of the American Savage People.

During the summer they have no certain dwellings, but move about here and there around the country. However, in the fall each and every sachem has a house built for himself, which he and his subjects can live in during the winter, and during the summer they sing with the rabbit [and make a] house in every bush.[1] The house which they then build[2] is thus made, namely: first posts [are] dug down into the ground and set [down] securely, on which poles are fastened, the walls and half of the sides of the roof they clothe and cover with bark; the roof up at the ridge, where the smoke is to escape, they make open, an ell on either side of the ridge, all along the house, as long as it may be. And the length of the house they then plan according to the multitude of people [in the clan], that they can all be accommodated under one roof, about 100, 200, or 300 ells in length. But the width is on each side of the fireplace the length of a man, that they can lay lengthwise between the fire and the walls; for they have always the fire made lengthwise along the house, right in the center under the ridge, which burns night and day while the winter lasts. And they have one door only on each gable.[3] In this house

[1] That is: they sleep under a tree.
[2] In the winter.
[3] *En dörr hafwe the allenast på hwar gaffwell.* The chestnut bark was mostly used for the covering of the buildings. Cf. Van der Donck, *N. Y. Col.*, 2, I, 151, 196. See also Beatty, *Journal* (Lon-

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

W. T. and E. R. say that right was always used. 576

68. Story telling: in winter and at night only

W. L. said that one rule was that no one could sit up during 538
the telling of stories as it might make them humpbacked. 784

78. Peculiarities in encampments

JOHN JOHNSTON—There is no [peculiarity] in their moving 361
from place to place or in their hunting encampments, but they 726
are very particular in the mode of erecting their war encampments.

E. R.—Camp site was fixed so that allied tribes would know who had been there, and which direction they went. The way [202]
they fixed the fire and ashes would tell who made the camp.

79. Identification of makers of encampment

JOHN JOHNSTON—They can [identify them] because every 361
tribe has a different mode of encamping and by the size of the 202
camp or camps they can calculate very nigh the number that were in them.

CAPTAIN CHIPPS—They can tell the camps of the Cayugas and Massisagas, by their peculiar manner of encamping. Generally speaking, it is impossible for them to tell from a deserted camp, what particular tribe has occupied it.

83. Differences from other tribes in sociability, etc.

J. W.—Delaware are more friendly and sociable than other 181
tribes even though they cannot trust others. The Delaware way of raising is to have children grow up to be friendly and pleasant so that other people will like them and they may do big things—get places on council, in Big House, and be a credit to parents.

W. T.—Sociability, friendliness, and hospitality are marked characteristics that distinguish Delaware from other tribes and should be rated first.

88. Spare lives of snakes

HECKEWELDER stated that Delaware spared the lives of snakes 784
because killing one would bring other creeping things to bite them. 825

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

their huts. Trees were killed wherever they wished to have space for planting.

For the chase they used bow and arrow, both made of wood, the point of the arrow alone being of flint in the shape of a lengthened triangle, sharp and pointed, securely tied to the shaft.

Kettles and pots for cooking they made of clay mixed with sea shells, pounded very fine. After the pot had been shaped it was burned hard in fire. All these things, knives, hatchets, arrows and large pieces of the pottery they used at one time, are frequently found in places where Indians have lived. Potsherds have become black through and through so that the shell pieces may be seen.

They could shoot game as well in those days as at the present time with their rifled guns. They declare that game was not as shy then as now by reason of the report of the guns. In those days they killed only as much of game as was needed for sustenance, skins being used for clothing both men and women; hence, game was more abundant at that time. The women made blankets of turkey-feathers which were bound together with twine made of wild hemp. Of such many are to be found even at the present day among the Indians, and these in winter are a better protection against the cold than the best European blanket. The women also made themselves petticoats of wild hemp.

Bow and arrow have fallen into disuse among those Indians that trade with whites; are, indeed, only used for small game, such as the pigeon, fox and raccoon, in order to save powder. There are, however, whole tribes to the west and northwest that use nothing but bow and arrow in the chase and that have no European weapons, that are not even anxious to obtain them; for, say they, if we discard bow and arrow, who will then make for us enough of powder and shot. They prefer, therefore, to hold to their old custom and usage.

The fire materials of those days consisted of a dry piece of wood or board and a round dry stick. The latter was placed upon the board and turned or twirled with great swiftness, both hands being used, until there was smoke and fire. This, however, was done only in case their fire had gone out, which they

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

were generally careful to keep burning. On journeys they were accustomed to carry fire with them from one lodging-place to another, for which purpose they used a certain kind of fungus,[40] that grows upon trees. With such a glowing piece of fungus they could travel from morning to evening. This custom has to the present day not ceased among the Indians, nor has the method of making fire described above, some still employing it on special occasions and in connection with their sacrifices, in order to remind themselves of former customs and usages. Firewood they did not split in former days nor could they have done so with their hatchets of stone. They burned it into pieces of such length that could be carried home. They built a fire against the trunks of standing trees and kept it burning until they fell, which method still obtains among them, especially the older ones, for whom it is difficult to fell trees and split wood and who, perhaps, do not even own a hatchet. These may not burn a piece of split wood during a whole winter, but provide fuel for themselves in the manner described, which is quite easy and convenient for them.

Canows made of wood as well as bast, they also had in earlier days, fashioning the former out of a whole tree trunk, which they burned out and only used their hatchets to chop off glowing coals, lest they should burn in deeper in one place than another or even burn a hole through.

Their dwellings were huts of bark, which they lined with rushes in order to keep out the cold, roofed they were with bark, even as is the case now, though sometimes rushes or long, dry reed-grass served the purpose.

Underground dwellings there were, also, of which here and there traces may be found, particularly along the Muskingum, in which region one may yet see many places, where embankments, still to be seen, were thrown up around a whole town.[41] Here and there, furthermore, near the sites of such towns there are mounds, not natural, but made by the hand of man, for in those days the natives carried on great wars with one another, Indians being formerly, according to their own testimony, far more numerous than at the present time. At the top of these mounds there was a hollow place, to which the Indians brought

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

square just east of the Big House (pl. VII), an area where no one is allowed to pitch a tent. 796x

Other officers selected for the meeting are a speaker (usually at the time of the writer's visit, Chief Charley Elkhair), two singers, called *Tale'gunük*, "Cranes," whose duty it is to beat the dry deerskin drum and sing the necessary songs, and a chief hunter who is supposed to provide venison for the feast. [533]

PREPARATIONS

Arrived at the Big House, the attendants begin at once to prepare the building for use after its year of idleness. The first act of the men is to make mortar of mud, in the old style, and stop the cracks between the logs of the house. Then they cut two forked saplings, and set them in the ground about ten feet apart, some distance in front of the Big House (see pl. VII); upon these is laid a pole, running east and west, to support the twenty-gallon kettle used in preparing hominy for the feast. After this they 346 796x 354 796x 372 796x

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
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372
796

gather about a cord of wood for the fires inside the Big House and the cooking fire outside. Then the first night, a fire pure and undefiled by the white man

[401]

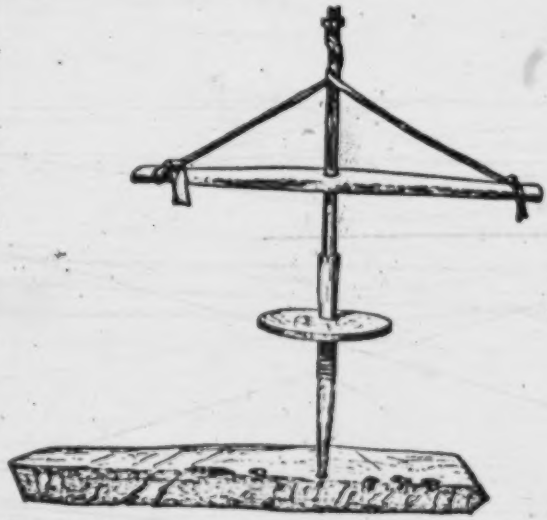

FIG. 8.—Ceremonial fire-drill used at the Annual Ceremony. (Length of shaft, 29.5 in.)

and his matches, is made with a fire-drill (fig. 8). This is operated on the principal of a pump-drill, like the ceremonial fire-drills of the Iroquois. This fire, and

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
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this only, may be used in the temple, and no one is permitted to take it outside for any purpose.

CEREMONY COMMENCED

Two of the attendants, a man and a woman, then build the two fires in the temple, so that there may be plenty of light, and sweep the floor with turkey-wings for brushes. The men attendants take turns so that one of them, at least, is always on guard outside the building. When the temple is clean, the fires are burning bright, and the *a'ckas* have called the people in and all are assembled, the chief arises and delivers a speech.

CHIEF'S SPEECH

First he states the rules of the meeting, then he speaks along some such line as the following, which was dictated by Chief Elkhair, who frequently made these speeches:

"We are thankful that so many of us are alive to meet together here once more, and that we are ready to hold our

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

pole (shown in frontispiece), east of the Big House, and are used in the feasts at the close of every night's meeting until the gathering disbands.

224
796x

NEW FIRE

Every night the usual program is repeated until the ninth. On this night a new fire is kindled with the sacred pump-drill called *tu"da'i wähe"'ji manl'towŭk* or "Fire maker of the Manl'tos" (fig. 8), and the ashes of the old are carried out through the west door of the Big House, which is used only for this purpose (among the Unami), and is usually kept closed. The new fire seems to symbolize a fresh start in all the affairs of life.

372
796x

USE OF CARVED DRUMSTICKS

Also on the ninth night, before the singing begins, they bring out the two ancient drumsticks (*pa kŭ"di'gŭn*), carved with tiny human heads, one male and one female (fig. 11), to use in place of the cruder sticks used before, which are marked only with a rude cross (fig. 12, *a*).

534
532
778
796x

[Text continues on page 103]

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
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Lenape

smaller proportion of Minsi and even Nanticoke blood. Perhaps then the first form of Annual Ceremony described may have originally been purely Unami, and the second Unalachtigo, or Minsi, or vice versa; but later, when the remnants of these tribes became amalgamated their mixed descendants inherited both forms. 184 796x

The second form seems to be a variant of the rite mentioned by Zeisberger[49] who describes it as follows: 796x

"A fifth kind of festival is held in honor of fire which the Indians regard as being their grandfather, and call *Machtuzin*, meaning 'to perspire.' A sweating-oven is built in the midst of the house of sacrifice, consisting of twelve poles each of a different species of wood. These twelve poles represent twelve *Manittos*, some of these being creatures, others plants. These they run into the ground, tie together at the top, bending them toward each other; these are covered entirely with blankets, joined closely together, each person being very ready to lend his blanket, so that the whole appears like a baker's oven, high enough nearly to admit a man standing upright. After the meal of sacrifice, fire is made at the entrance of the oven and twelve large stones, about the size of human heads, are heated and placed in the oven. Then twelve Indians creep [372] [343]

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
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Lenape

346
796^1
[775]

were carried out. "The Sun and everything else goes toward the west," say the Minsi, in explanation, "even the dead when they die."

PRELIMINARIES

796^x
[787]
[202]

The first act remembered by the informants preparatory to holding a meeting was to send to each man in the tribe who had been blessed by a "vision of power," a little stick which represented an invitation to the ceremony, the time of which the messenger gave out, before which date the people leaving their scattered homes gathered and camped about the Big House. Meanwhile hunters were sent out, appointed before, not during the meeting as among the Unami, to bring in for the Winter Ceremony, if possible, exactly twelve deer, which were cooked by four young men who served as attendants in a small separate house, built for the purpose.

372
796^x

Fire.—The fire was made with a fire-drill by a group of old men for use in the Big House, but, as among the Unami,

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
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Lenape

none of it could be taken outside during the ceremony.

Purification.—When the two fires had been built, but before the crowd had gathered, the house was purified by the smoke of hemlock boughs thrown on the flames, and by sweeping the floor with turkey-wing fans, which cleared away both dirt and evil influences.

OPENING OF THE CEREMONY

Chief's Speech.—The next step was for the attendants to call in all the people from their camps except the women in their menses who were not allowed to enter. When all were seated, the speaker rose and addressed those assembled in terms like the following:

"We are now gathered here, our house is purified and clean, and Pa"tũmawas is with us, ready to hear our worship. We must thank Him for all the things that we enjoy, for He made them every one." Then he proceeded to tell the people not to drink liquor, nor to do anything wrong in the Big House or in

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
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Lenape

otter-skin (fig. 16, *a*) to represent the girl's pet, which was used every two years, and when the owner died was passed to the oldest survivor of the family which owned it, and kept in the belief that it would benefit the health of all of them. It was the only one of its kind in the tribe, and is called "*Kunu^{n}'xäs.*"

292 796 x

The Ceremony

The exact details and order of the ceremony were not remembered by our informant, but it was certain that the family in question "fed the otter" every two years in the spring, that being the time of year when the little girl had been taken ill. Everyone was invited, men and women, and a man was selected to cook the hog, and another to supply wood and to cut the poles for swinging the kettle, both of whom were paid with a yard of wampum. The fire was kindled with a special flint-and-steel always kept with the outfit (fig. 17).

796 x

[372]

It will be observed that the otter-skin has a slit down the middle of the neck,

292 796 x

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
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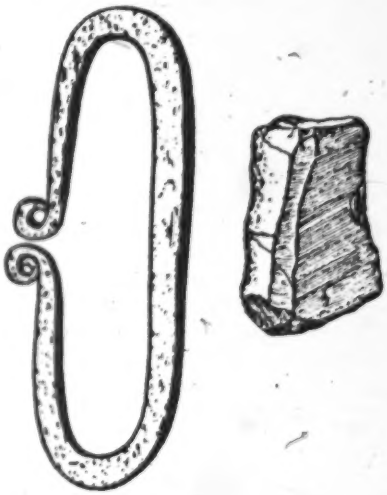
Lenape

796 X [292] through which the owner thrust his head in such manner that the otter's nose lay under the wearer's chin, while its body

[372]



a b

FIG. 17.—Flint and steel used in the Otter Rite. (Length of *a*, 3 in.)

and tail hung down his back. Wearing the skin in this manner (fig. 16, *b*), himself impersonating the original otter, the owner would open the ceremony by walking about the fire, chanting and

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

clusion, add something to our idea of another side of the character of this knowing and potent reptile, so important to the religious sense of the Delaware. 825 778

"The turtle is in its way an evil thing, yet not so evil as a snake which is controlled by the Evil Spirit and has also human face-paint patterns. The Turtle can hurt human-beings. Once a boy caught a water-turtle and turned him on his back. The Turtle got mad; raised himself on his legs stiffly. The Turtle raised himself, and launched himself through the air and struck the boy on his head and nearly killed him. The Turtle has a weapon in the sharp frontal plates."

FIRE SYMBOLISM.—Among the spirit-forces of Delaware cosmology "Our Grandfather Fire" (to'n·dai') is held in high esteem. The adoration of fire, however, is not sufficiently exclusive to justify the Delawares being called pyrolatrists. Fire, as a spirit-force subordinate to the Great Spirit, is an agency of purification and invigoration. In the Big House ceremony the rite of kindling new fire with the consecrated fire-drill takes place to the accompaniment of an appropriate prayer on the ninth night from the lips of the Bringer-in, or Master of Ceremonies. The new fire is thus "pure," since it is made with the implements granted by the Great Spirit. The coming of the white man within the horizon of Delaware culture introducing matches into the native economy has undoubtedly served to throw the sanctity of the fire-drill into a higher light. But it would, I believe, be quite erroneous to undervalue the attitude of reverence, both in thought and ritual, which is held toward fire in native culture throughout the east.[1] To the Delaware ceremonialists the making of new, "pure" fire symbolized "renewing of life, fresh vigor, the breathing of pure air uncontaminated by latent forces of disease, new and pure influences for life and health." It is one of the forces to which tobacco is constantly offered, and is an auxiliary to the use of cedar as incense in the act of purification. 822 776 372 [782]

Both Zeisberger and Harrington lay stress on the deification of fire among the Delawares.[2] In the Big House the two fires maintained throughout the ceremony east and west of the center-post,

[1] Some writers who have dealt with fire-worship among the eastern Indians seem to have gone too far in defining them as outright sun- and fire-worshipers, through exaggeration of the importance of fire ceremonies described in the older accounts. That the Delawares have been more conservative in regard to admitting innovations into their ceremonies is shown by the fact that the Yuchi, in whose annual ceremony the kindling of new fire is an important act, have condescended to use flint and steel (F. G. Speck, Ethnology of the Yuchi Indians, Anth. Pubs. Univ. of Penna. Mus., vol. I No. 1 (1910), pp. 120-1). On the other hand we know of perpetual fire being maintained in village temples among some of the early peoples of the southeastern area; evidence that must be given full weight in considering the question of pyrolatry in eastern America.

[2] Zeisberger, op. cit., pp. 138-139, Harrington, (I) passim.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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776
372 where they burn under the gaze of the carved images of the Great Spirit on the post, represent the actual presence of this mighty spirit-force.

821 STARS AS SPIRIT-FORCES.—Among the man·i't·u mentioned in the text, the stars are given a prominent place. They too are "grandfathers" who, we are told, render service in assisting the moon to illuminate the night. It will be noticed that they receive a large share of reverence in the annual ceremony through being mentioned frequently in the adorational addresses. In the quaint phraseology of Wi·tapano'xwe we learn that the Great Dipper of European star-lore is called in Delaware maχk^{w}, "Bear." The head of the Bear is separate from the body. The legend tells us that the body is trying to catch up with the head, in which event the world will come to an end. Wi·tapano'xwe explained further that the stars of *corona borealis* formed the Bear's head which the animal is ever trying to reach. In Wabanaki star-lore this is the bear's den of hibernation from which the hunters, those three stars forming the so-called tail of the Bear (the handle of the Great Dipper in European belief), have driven the animal. It is said, by the same people, that the Bear is slain in the fall of the year, that its blood reddens the leaves of the trees and its fat when tried-out causes the earth to be covered with a white mantle, the snow. The subsequent portions of the tale seem not to have come forth as yet in Delaware mythology, although Zeisberger relates the outline of a legend of the Bear group in which the Bear is pursued by Indians "with a little dog; the three stars in the form of a triangle represent the head of a bear, which they cut from the trunk and threw down."[1]

The Delawares believe that some of the stars are living beings. For example the seven stars, known as asi·'sk^{w}taya'sak, "bunched-up," bear the identity of clean or holy men, prophets. They are known only to shamans or those who possess supernatural power. The legend says that at one time seven meteors fell from the sky partly burying themselves in the ground. Some shamans soon discovered them and they disappeared. The shamans found them again in the form of seven pine trees. They used to consult with these pine trees. Finally they became transformed into the seven stars.[2]

The informant adds: "The Delawares recognize the morning star, the evening star, and a constellation known as beast chasing the bear; At a certain season of the year you will find the leaves of the forest lying on the ground, appearing to be greasy and covered with spots of water. If at this time of year the beast has caught the bear the greasiness of the leaves is believed due to the bear-grease. Another large constellation near that of the bear represents his nest or den."

[1] Op. cit., p. 148.
[2] See Appendix, Note II.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

Not only are wild animals pure in contrast with domestic brutes in the sense embraced by the term, but youths who have completed the puberty vigil and acquired their guardian spirit are also pi·'lai·t, "clean, uncontaminated, spiritually purified," as opposed to those who have not. For instance one of the signs denoting the transition from pre-adolesence in boys to the "purity of manhood" is in the voice. They say that the youth is expected to remain in solitude during his vigil until his voice has changed completely, by which time he is then pi·'lsi·t. It will be noticed also that the term is applied to fire made by the pump-drill at the Big House ceremony, pi·'lsi·t' ta'·n·da', "clean fire," the unadulterated new fire made without matches or other unclean materials; the latter being cowa'·n·akwi· ta'·n·da', "white man's fire," or mat·a pi·'lt·ak, "not pure." The sacred character of pure fire is shown in its honorific synonym muχo'·mson·a, "our grandfather," the source of healing.

Spiritual purity, however, is not conditioned by ethical conduct, but rather (like the Hebraic takor) through the observance of taboo regulations prescribed by ancient rulings.[1] Foremost among these are the restrictions placed upon the freedom of women in their catamenial periods, and the carrying out of dietary usages based upon the classification of animals as clean and unclean. Another evidence of the individual being spiritually pure is to have been blessed with a vision bestowed by a supernatural power. Such individuals are pi·'lsi· in a high degree. They are indeed the mainstays of the Big House ceremony. They are in blessed communion with the man·i't·u, bringing into the Big House their spiritual media, the controls under which their destinies are moulded. Again to be pi·'lai· is to have gone through all the native teachings. And to live with a guileless character, child-like, is sufficient to entitle a man or woman (irrespective of marriage or celibacy) to be referred to as pi·'lai·t lən'·o "pure, clean, man," or pi·'lsi·t xkwe'', "pure, clean, woman," as a child is pi·'lsi·t mi·'mas. The above may serve to outline at least the Delaware concept of personal holiness and unholiness as it is expounded in the text.

BEING BLESSED WITH A VISION. THE PERFORMERS IN THE CEREMONY. The main active parts in the ceremony are performed by those who have been blessed with revelations by spiritual-forces, the man·i't·u. These are the pure men, and also in a minor rôle, the pure women. The word element ang'o· seems to be the generic designation for the condition of being blessed with a spiritual revelation through a vision. By this is meant the visitation from some man·i't·u coming at some period in the life of the individual who is spiritually deserving from the point of view of his reverence for spiritual forces for his observance of the arbitrary rulings of religious doctrine, and adherence to logically

[1] A taboo is denoted by the term kwul a·'gan, "something forbidden."

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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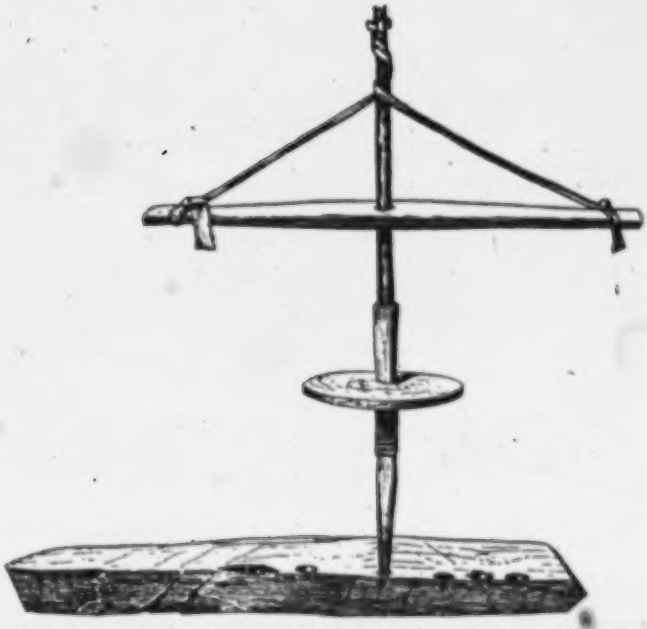

Fig. 14—Ceremonial fire drill used at the Big House Ceremony. (Length of shaft, 29.5 in.). After Harrington.

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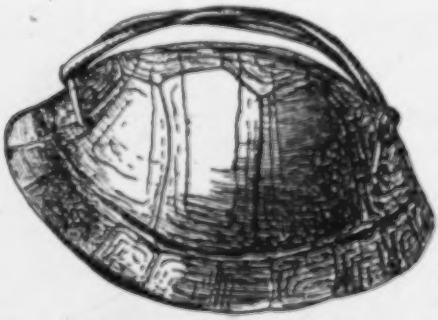

Fig. 15—Rattle of land-tortoise shell, used by celebrants of the Big House Ceremony. (Lenth 4.2 in.). After Harrington.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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Fig. 18—Delaware hawk-tail hand fan carried by man. Used now generally in Peyote Ceremony. (Hist. Com. of Pa.)

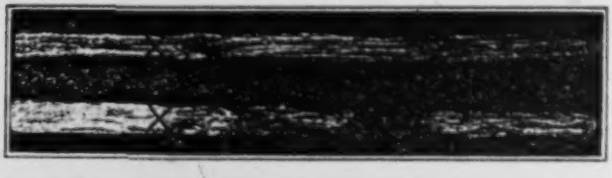

Fig. 17—Delaware Drum-beaters marked with cross used before ninth night of Ceremony. (Hist. Com. of Pa.)

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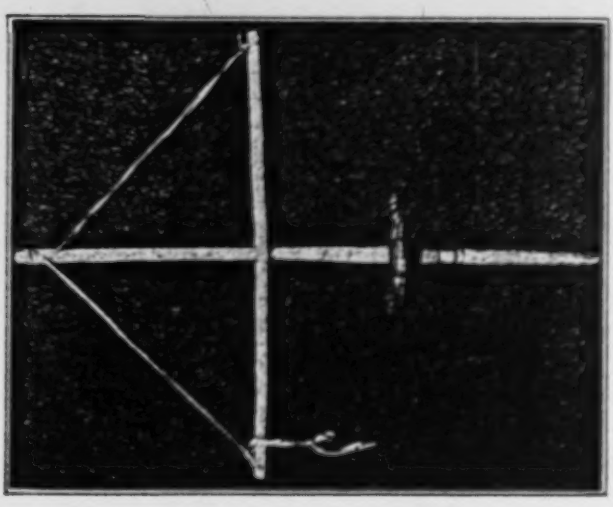

Fig. 19—Delaware Fire-drill (Hist. Comm. of Pa.)

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

No iron or nail is used when building the House, and no wooden floor. It has a dirt floor inside the House. Deerhide is used when the drum is tied together and two drum-sticks are cut forked. And small faces are carved on one side, alike in appearance. Another different pair of sticks are made plain and these are used when the cranes[1] are singing. And a wooden bowl is made ready when they mix up the tobacco and kinnickinnick[2]. Another different wooden bowl is provided when they carry the red paint and puccoon[3] and also there they put cedar.

And ten and two sticks are made, called "means of earnest prayer." And some are marked with spots. Whoever wishes to sing in company shall also use this when helping to lift up the prayer, it is said, with concentration of spiritual force far above to the ten and two sky-levels where dwells the Creator.

And now this Big House when first built, they say of it, was the one great prayer-ereed, that this carved post in the middle of the House, standing there reaches to the above through as many as ten and two strata. And the strata of sky light are as high as that post, it is said, this being the fastener. That is the Creator's staff. From that very staff, branch off all prayer-ereeds of the red-people given to them, whence come all other prayer-ereeds of the world.

[1] Meaning the drummers. There being two drummers, one of them sings in a tone which the other repeats immediately after him, in imitation of the manner in which wild cranes cry when flying in response to the call of their leader. The result in tone is similar to an echo. The crane is the Sand-hill crane (Grus Mexicana), daleka'ok, (plural) whence the drummers derive their sobriquet. ni'kanasee "the leader" is the singer who takes the leading part in the song; the other singer is oxtoggi'xsee "after-time." See page 87.

[2] See footnote 6, page 127.

[3] See page 71.

[4] mas'meodahi'kan. This denotes prayer-sticks used in serious address to the Great Spirit. mas'meodawa'mal "I beg the Great Spirit to do my bidding." Specimens of the plain and decorated prayer-sticks made by the informant are shown (fig. 24).

The bearers of the twelve prayer-sticks give all their spiritual-force to lift the prayer being given by the speaker or the singers to the highest, or twelfth heaven,—the instrumental symbol of raising the word.

And there was given to the Delawares something which is used when they make fire. It is called "ringing noise-instrument"[1]. Whomever they chose as fire-maker, any of the Attendants, was of moral habits or spiritually clean, for that one shall drill for fire in the House. Sometimes flint is used when they make fire in the House and pith is used when they make fire with flint.

Now therefore in the beginning the Delawares came to be blessed with religion together with the Munsee; so the prayer worship proceeds for ten and two days. Now that very log-house itself is called Big House. Right here toward the dawn-direction and sun-set direc-

[1] See page 69.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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EIGHTH NIGHT OF THE CEREMONY

[The usual performance is repeated.]

VI

NINTH NIGHT OF THE CEREMONY

"Now Attendants, you understand by the rules of this teaching, that you keep in mind each of and all of you, that a person must act in purity.[1] All of us have heard the regulations of the past of our deceased ancestors. They said, according to tradition, that a clean pure person shall kindle fire. Because when using those fire-making spirit-forces, if the person should fail to make fire it would clearly seem a fact that he who tries to make fire is not clean. Nevertheless my brothers everything is easy when correctly done. Now you understand that you shall purify these two places where the fire always is. All the ashes shall be carried out there through the sun-set door that is so intended for it, and when we have finished the ceremony the Bringer-in goes out through it. Such is the rule for everybody in this our prayer-worship.

I am thankful, my kindred, I can address you with respect.[2] I am truly well pleased when I can extend to you[3] all every token of high respect and esteem. Now, my kindred, we have lived on to the point where we are cleaning this fire here in our ceremonial House.[4] I am indeed thankful that we have come so far in good health as this evening comes on, because this night we know how we have seen our deceased aged people perform, those who so thoroughly carried out the teachings and the strict rules of procedure.

And, my kindred, everyone who owns turtle-rattles should bring them with him when coming into the Big House. And right here where sits the Bringer-in, right opposite that place they should put them in a straight line, all those turtle-rattles. And Attendants, you know that you must prepare and make ready everything such as, for instance, those drum sticks,[4] and the cedar, and also that red paint, blood root, and the prayer sticks; everything that is used now on this night must be prepared for certain.

---

[1] To have been "pure and clean," the Attendants must have refrained during the ceremony period from sexual intercourse, intoxication and the like. They may not enter the Big House to prosecute their duties if they have violated these rules.

[2] ango'ma, the verb used here cannot be rendered by a single equivalent in English so I have been obliged to paraphrase it as it occurs in the text from a choice of equivalents "to show respect for some one, to honor, esteem, invoke a blessing, to greet, to shake hands with."

[3] The importance of fire as a symbol of moral purity and as an emblem of life and health in Delaware philosophy can hardly be over estimated. A short discourse on the symbolism of fire has been given in the introduction and the beliefs outlined there should be recalled with the reading of the sermon that follows.

[4] This refers to both the plain and the carved drum sticks.

11:Newcomb E-5 (1952)1956 NM7 Delaware NM7

My purposes in this article are to describe a fairly typical peyote meeting of the Delawares which I attended in the summer of 1952, and to discuss the changes which have occurred in this cult since 1930 when Petrullo made his study of Delaware peyotism (Petrullo, 1934).

THE BIG MOON PEYOTE CEREMONY

The Big Moon ceremonies of the Delawares are normally held in canvas covered tepees, generally in the cooler months of the year, but occasionally in hot weather. The reason for their seasonal nature is said to be in the interests of comfort; a tepee with a fire burning in it on a hot Oklahoma night is almost unbearable. Big Moon ceremonies are held on Saturday nights and last until Sunday noon. The peyote meeting I am about to describe was held on the farm of a Delaware, about ten miles east of the small town of Dewey, Washington County, Oklahoma. A tepee, about twenty feet in diameter, had been erected a few steps from the back door of the farm house. A bale of hay had been scattered about near the inside walls of the tepee; tarpaulins and quilts had then been spread over the hay, upon which the participants were to sit. In the center of the tepee was an oval depression, or fireplace, excavated to a depth of about six inches (Fig. 1). Extending from the fireplace were twelve lines or rays, made by scoring the hard ground to a depth of about half an inch. Within the fireplace, also scored in the earth, was a cross and at the intersection of its arms a heart-shaped figure. The fire, which was built over this heart, was made of twelve sticks interlaced in a V-shaped pattern with the open end towards the tepee entrance.

Just east of the fire, and lying along the long axis of the cross, was a stick of soft wood. One end was kept smoldering during the ceremony and was used to light corn husk-Bull Durham cigarettes. At the east end of the fireplace was a raised circular mound of hard packed earth. On the center of this mound, symbolic of the Sun, another heart had been scratched. On the opposite, or west side of the fireplace was the altar. This was an oblong, slightly raised, earthen area, on which was placed the ritual paraphernalia. In its center on a beaded cloth was a large, green peyote, or "Father Peyote." Just behind it a feathered and beaded peyote staff had been thrust into the ground. On the altar to the south of these objects was a glass bowl of green peyote, a kettle of peyote tea, and a leather bag of dried peyote buttons. To the north of "Father Peyote" on the altar was the drum used to accompany the singers (an old fashioned cast iron kettle, partly water-filled, and covered with a tightly drawn, wet, buckskin cover), and a bunch of sage.

11: Newcomb E-5 (1952) 1956 NM7 Delaware NM7

sage. The fireplace and the altar had been made many years previously, showing much use by being smooth and hard packed.

While the man who was to tend the fire and guard the door (fire-chief) and several helpers were arranging the tepee, several women were preparing peyote in the farmhouse kitchen. Peyote tea was made by chopping up dried peyote buttons and dropping them in boiling water. After steeping for a few minutes the tea was strained. Green peyote was prepared by peeling off the leathery skin, only the tops being left intact. A little before ten o'clock the fire-chief lit the fire in the tepee with flint and steel. As soon as he came out of the tepee the leader (or road-chief) entered, followed by the drum-chief, the fourteen other participants, and finally the fire-chief. This meeting was somewhat atypical in the small number of participants; attendance usually averaged about twenty-five. After everyone was seated the drum-chief, a Sioux from the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota, announced that several people had prayers and announcements to make. The road-chief, a Winnebago, then prayed in his own language. As translated next day, this prayer welcomed the participants and asked for divine assistance in the conduct of the meeting. This meeting had been initiated by a Delaware woman who was ill (No. 14 in Fig. 1), and she stood up and thanked everyone for coming and assisting her in regaining her health. Another Delaware (No. 3 in Fig. 1) then said a few words, principally to the effect that the "Native American Church" was not "idolatry" and that he was glad to welcome a white couple (the writer and his wife) to a meeting "to see what it really was like."

The road-chief then prayed again in Winnebago. When this prayer was concluded, he passed the peyote staff and a bunch of sage to the man on his left, who passed it on in a clockwise direction until it had

[text continues on p. 206]

(Explanation of Figure 1)

A. Altar
B. Fire. To some peyotists the heart represents the soul of the Fire Spirits.
C. Sun Mound. The heart symbolizes the soul of the Sun.
D. Ash Piles. Petrullo noted that in some versions of the rite these symbolize the lungs of Christ. I could not confirm this.
E. Water bucket and dipper.
F. Smoldering stick used to light cigarettes.
G. Tepee entrance.
H. Cross. Long axis symbolizes peyote road.
1. Road-chief, Winnebago
2. Delaware man
3. Delaware man
4. Shawnee man
5. Shawnee woman (4's wife)
6. Delaware man
7. Ego
8. Ego's wife
9. Sioux man
10. Sioux woman (9's wife)
11. Fire-chief, Delaware
12. Delaware man
13. Delaware man
14. Delaware sponsor
15. Winnebago woman (16's wife)
16. Winnebago man
17. Drum-chief, Sioux

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7

428 "belonged to" the "individual" hunting territory.[117] The lineage, clan,
423 and phratry are discussed in the next chapter. There is nothing incompatible in the existence of maternal lineages (or clans) and male-used hunting territories.

Material Culture

361 Villages.— There is little information concerning the villages and
621 general settlement pattern of the early historic Delawares. Villages, or perhaps they might better be termed hamlets, were situated in bottom lands near the gardens or along the shores of bays.[118] These dispersed settlements were not palisaded.[119] Eighteenth-century and later information seems to reflect the original condition in that these settlements had no regular plan or arrangement, and that houses were not built close together.[120] There is no information concerning the length of time these villages were inhabited. If their garden plots were fertilized, residence in the villages may have been relatively permanent, but the fertilizer issue is in doubt. By the eighteenth century, after extensive migrations, villages were occupied until it became "troublesome to secure wood for fuel" and, implicitly, until they became overburdened with filth.[121] The Evelin paper of 1648 described twenty-three communities in New Jersey, ranging in population from fourteen to six hundred persons.[122] Lindestrom noted community size as "several hundred men strong, under each chief, counting women and children, some being stronger, some weaker."[123]

342 Dwellings.— There seems to have been some diversity in the type of
171 dwellings of the early seventeenth-century Delawares. A circular wigwam and a long house identical with the Iroquoian type have been described, although the latter seems to represent a late prehistoric diffusion. De Laet and Van der Donck depicted Delawares using a circular bark dwelling with vaulted ceiling.[124] In another place De Laet stated that the dwelling was oven-shaped, but large enough for several related families.[125] Penn and Pastorius also alluded to this style of dwelling, whereas Holm and Lindestrom mentioned what seems to be the Iroquoian long house.[126] Zeisberger in the eighteenth century distinguished between house types of the Iroquois and the Delawares, describing a "rounded, arched roof" for the Iroquois and a "high-pitched, peaked roof" for the Delawares.[127] Harrington in 1913 characterized the house type current a few years previously as being similar to the Iroquois type.[128] The evidence, then, is not conclusive, but it seems probable

[117] Wallace, 1947, p. 18.
[118] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 87; Wallace, 1947, p. 18.
[119] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 241.
[120] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 87; O. A., J. T.
[121] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 87.
[122] Smith, 1877, p. 11.
[123] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 170.
[124] De Laet, 1909, p. 57; Van der Donck, 1909, p. 302.
[125] De Laet, 1909, p. 57.
[126] Penn, 1912, p. 232; Pastorius, 1912, p. 425; Holm, 1834, p. 123; Lindestrom, 1925, p. 211.
[127] Zeisberger, 1910, pp. 17-18.
[128] Harrington, 1913, pp. 217-18.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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one present draws a few whiffs of smoke and this is called smoking the peace-pipe. 276

There are four kinds of clay. There is the white, which is almost like chalk and with which, when dry, one can write as with chalk.[140] Another variety is quite black. This, however, becomes quite white when burned. Besides these, gray and yellow clays are found. A sort of yellow earth, rather of an orange tinge is found, of which the Indians, especially the warriors, make a fine color by burning.[141] With this they paint themselves and they are particularly careful that the head shall be always red. It is not too much for the Wiondats to come here to Tuscarawi, a distance of at least a hundred miles, to supply themselves with this red coloring matter. 135. [386] [301]

Concerning plants and roots of medicinal virtue, it would be possible, if one were to devote himself to inquiry, to secure a great deal of information from the Indians, for what one of these does not know another does, each man and woman having some knowledge in this direction, some more, some less. Hence, the custom that a patient who has consulted an Indian and secured a medicine from him without, however, being benefited, will go immediately to another; if no relief is obtained through his advice, the patient goes to a third, a fourth until he finds one whose medicine helps. For many ailments they have very good remedies, e. g., for rheumatism. In respect to this affliction I have witnessed instances where they have effected a thorough cure and not only once or twice. At times they can secure desired results with only two or three kinds of roots, at other times more are required. If a simple remedy does not afford relief, they may use twenty or more kinds of roots. Even in such cases I know of cures having been effected. In treating rheumatism, bathing and sweating play a great part. 757 278

They have remedies even for fevers. When a patient has been given a dose, they are generally able to tell from its workings whether he will recover or die. If he does not retain the medicine, this is regarded as a sign that he will hardly recover. I have paid some attention to this and like cases of treatment and found that the Indians have generally been correct in their

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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854 the mother going to fetch water or on some other errand. The children by pushing and kicking not infrequently tumbled themselves into the fire or other danger and thus miserably perished, or were severely burned. For this reason the custom is in disfavor.

342 Their houses are fairly clean, some being superior in this respect and affording a comfortable night's lodging for a [574] European. In case a guest is expected, especially if it be a white [356] person, they prepare as comfortable a bed as possible. They sweep the bunk, that serves as seat and table in the daytime and as bed at night, and spread a mat with one or more deer or bear [362] skins upon it. Though usually a comfortable couch in summer time it may be made very uncomfortable by the fleas brought in by dogs. Their kettles, dishes and spoons are not kept in good order; sometimes they are only licked by the dogs in lieu of washing. [415] Dishes and spoons they make themselves of wood, 322 sometimes of tree knots or growths, often very neatly. The spoons are generally large and round shaped. Occasionally, a spoon will be used by several people, turn about, at a meal. Brass kettles, to be found in most houses because very necessary for sugar boiling, are bought from the whites.

291 The Indians are lovers of finery and dress, the women more than the men; the latter take care that the women adorn themselves in proper manner. The men clothe themselves rather meanly, regarding it as a disgrace to be better appareled than their wives. The dress which particularly distinguishes the women is a petticoat or strowd, blue, red or black, made of a piece of cloth about two yards long, adorned with red, blue or yellow bands laid double and bound about the body. Many women wear a white shirt over the strowd, decorated with silver buckles, the more the better. Red or blue leggings are worn, made of fine cloth joined by a broad band of silk bordered with coral. These leggings reach only to the feet. Shoes are made very neatly. Over the first strowd they may wear another, not decorated with ribbons, which if it inconveniences them in their movements may be easily laid aside. Thus clad a woman is well dressed. In [296] place of the white shirts, blue linen or cotton may be worn. When [386] they wear a white shirt, which is preferably of fine linen, it is often decked with cawaban about the neck.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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253. The reader will not fail to note that Zeisberger, writing at the beginning of the last quarter of the eighteenth century continually pictures the Indian as he once was; his tenses are largely past tenses and he shows the contemporary Indian as a degenerate. It will be remembered that Pontiac's appeal to the red race in 1763 was for regeneration, for the abandonment of the practices learned of the white man and readoption of the lost arts of forest life which were rapidly being forgotten. Lack of respect for old age was one of the important signs of racial degeneration. Does this apply to the red race only? Heckewelder's chapter on "Respect for the Aged," pictures the red man in the primitive state but his tenses are present tenses, though writing at the beginning of the nineteenth century. *History*, 152-158.

254. Heckewelder states that when parents negotiate a marriage the bridegroom's mother acts as negotiatrix. The latter "begins her duties by taking a good leg of venison, or bear's meat . . to the house where the bride dwells, not forgetting to mention, that her son has killed it." The bride's mother soon brings in return some fruit or handiwork produced by her daughter. If both the children expressed themselves favorably towards the respective gifts, the matter was quickly arranged; if not, the affair was at an end.

255. A Yellow ochre, found near the Muskingum, when burnt, made a rich red paint, which Indians came many miles to obtain. Vermillion River in Ohio derived its name from the clay there obtained for painting; the same was true of Paint Creek.

256. Figures of animals being most commonly used, especially the turtle, deer, bear and wolf.

257. Heckewelder records: "The women make use of vermillion in painting themselves for dances, but they are very careful and circumspect in applying the paint, so that it does not offend or create suspicion in their husbands; there is a mode of painting which is left entirely to loose women and prostitutes." *History*, 190.

258. The Revolutionary war.

259. The Delaware leader often called King Newcomer, from his capital Newcomerstown or Gekelemukpechunk, Ohio, who refused to attend Bouquet's treaty in 1764 at Coshocton. A generous friend of the Moravians. See De Schweinitz, *Life and Times of Zeisberger*, 366, *seq.*

260. The writer speaks from notable experience, the archives of the Six Nations, than which no Indian archives were of equal moment, were deposited in Zeisberger's house at Onondaga during his residence at that mission. See *Bethlehem Diary*, Aug. 2, 1755.

261. 4 s. 4 d.

262. The primitive wampum was made of pieces of wood variously stained with different colors.

263. Containing four, eight or twelve fathoms of wampum.

264. A most interesting fact perhaps noted by no other authority.

74. MOTHERWORT *(Leonurus cardiaca)*. A tea is made from the leaves which is effective for female diseases.

75. FALSE SOLOMON'S SEAL *(Smilacina stellata)*. The root is combined with others as a medicine to cleanse the system and stimulate the stomach. A remedy also for leucorrhea.

76. MAY APPLE *(Podophyllum peltatum)*, "flower hangs down." A spring tonic and a laxative are made from the root.

77. BLOODROOT *(Sanguinaria canadensis)*. For general debility, a pea-sized piece of root is taken every morning for thirty days. Combined with other roots for a stomach remedy. The plant root provides the face paint used in the Big House Ceremony of the Delaware.

78. DANDELION *(Taraxacum officinale)*. A laxative-tonic obtained from the plant.

79. VIRGINIA SNAKEROOT *(Aristolochia serpentaria)*. Used singly or combined with wintergreen as a tonic.

80. FRINGED GENTIAN *(Gentiana crinita)*. A tea made from the root acts as a blood-purifier and stomach-strengthener.

81. BLACK SNAKEROOT *(Cimicifuge racemosa)*, elecampane and stone root are combined to make a tonic.

82. MILKWEED *(Asclepias sp.)*. A tea made from the pounded and steeped roots of the five species of milkweed is a cure for epileptic fits in those born during certain phases of the moon. Such disturbances periodically occur during a particular moon-phase period.

83. PEYOTE *(Lophophora williamsii)*, "Our Father," is known to have been used to treat periodic fits, and is regarded as a sure cure for tuberculosis.[4] Witapanóxwe carries a small, fringed leather bag, tied with deerskin thongs, containing several peyote "beans" or buttons for use in case of emergency. Certain Delaware subscribing to the "Wilson cult," wear a small beaded bag containing peyote, around their necks as a protection against illness. This talisman is even regarded as an advisory agent of approaching

[4] It is said that this highly valued and potent medicine was revealed to a woman in a dream who gave the knowledge of it to her people. It may be eaten with or without the usual ceremonial rites. For a study of the Peyote rites among the Delaware at Dewey and Anadarko, Oklahoma, see Petrullo, 1934. For more details, consult Safford, 1916, pp. 387, 424; Harrington, 1921, pp. 185-190; and the more recent study of LaBarre, 1938.

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
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painting of the sticks, half black and half red, implied that men and women were together in thanksgiving, the black representing the warriors, the red the women. The fork at the striking end of the sticks was to give a sharper sound. The dyes for producing the colors were made by boiling bark, the black being soft maple (*sexi'kiminsi*), and the red, red alder bark (*xito''pi*).

"In another part of the same ceremony wampum was used in the form of strings and bunches, both of which were represented in my collection from the Delawares. At least thirteen of the strings were used, each one made different by different combinations of the white and purple beads. These thirteen, it is said, represented respectively (1) Earth; (2) Plants; (3) Streams and Waters; (4) Corn, Beans, and Vegetables; (5) Wild Birds and Beasts; (6) Winds; (7) Sun; (8) Moon; (9) Sky; (10) Stars; (11) Thunder and Rain; (12) Spirits; and (13) Great Spirit. At the ceremony these strings were laid upon a bench before a

796x
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[386]
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10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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bers of the group are convened for the Big House ceremony the day intervals between the nightly performances are passed in taking rest and in pastimes of a native character. The Delawares have various games (li·nalə'ti·n) of a non-formal nature. Among these are horse racing (h*wta*me'laxtaŋ, "trying out horses), and the dice and bowl game (ma*ma'ndi·n, "gathering [dice]") consisting of five dice, cut out of musale shell carved into forms of button, horsehead, tortoise, tossed in a wooden bowl, the counters being kernels of corn or coffee beans. Other amusements, some obviously of European origin, are checkers, pitching quoits, cards, broad-jumping and jack-straws, it might be added that the Delawares are addicted to the well known moccasin-game but reserve it for the funeral ceremony.[1]

CEREMONIAL IMAGE AND FACE-PAINTING.—The application of pigment to the face has, in Delaware thought, the value of an anointment. The sanctity of the act of face-painting in connection with the performance is displayed in the formality of the rite on the ninth night in which the carved images in the Big House, the face images on the forked drum-sticks, and the faces of the worshipers themselves are given an application of red color. The images, however, receive an application of black and red on each half of the face, while the people receive a rubbing of red only on the cheeks and forehead. The proper native source of red for face painting, which the Delawares believe to have been created for their use by the Great Spirit, is Blood-root (Sanguinaria canadensis). Of this we hear occasionally in the text. In the accounts dealing with Indian customs in the east, Blood-root under the name pukoon is mentioned as an article of much importance. The term *pukoon* became adopted into English and the root became a color substance sought for in the commerce of the colonies. The Delawares still preserve a feeling of its importance and, although considered rare in the present habitat of the tribe in Oklahoma, it is locally present in quantities sufficient to supply an orange-red stain for them in their ceremonies. They call it pe*'kən.[2]

Black painting is also important in significance. Black (səkə'χtai, "black charcoal") is a means of summoning ghosts and so it is worn only when such associations are desired.[3]

In an account of early Pennsylvania and New Jersey, Gabriel Thomas (1698)[4] tells us that the Delawares upon decease made their faces black all over, and when their affairs went well they painted

[1] To be dealt with in a later memoir of this series.

[2] The identity of the above term with Sanguinaria was ascertained during a trip with the informant in the Pennsylvania woods where the plant was found and named.

[3] The informant remembers when a child being told by his mother to go wash the black paint from his face before night came on, after he had been playing dancing, lest it attract a ghost.

[4] Gabriel Thomas' Account, etc., in Narratives of Early Pennsylvania, West New Jersey, and Delaware, N. Y. (1912), edited by Albert Cook Myers, p. 341.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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these spirit-forces are beginning to touch those who carry on this our prayer-ceremony.[1]

Now the Attendants sweep the Big House clean. Now the leading Attendants make fire and burn cedar.[2]

"I am thankful, Oh thou Great Spirit, that we have been spared to live until now to purify with cedar smoke this our House, because that has always been the rule in the ancient world since the beginning of creation. When anyone thinks of his children how fortunate it is to see them enjoying good health. And this is the cause of a feeling of happiness when we consider how greatly we are blessed by the benevolence of our father, the Great Spirit. And we can also feel the great strength of him our grandfather Fire for which we cause him pleasure when we purify and take care with it, and when we feed him this cedar. All of this together we offer in esteem to him, our grandfather, because he has compassion when he sees how pitifully we behave while we are pleading with all the spirit-forces above as they were created and with all those here on earth. Give us everything, our father, that we ask of you Great Spirit even the Creator."[3]

Now the leading Attendant shall carry around a wooden bowl of wampum beads. To every person he shall give equally three wampum beads.[4] But the Following Attendant, a woman Attendant, shall carry a bark bowl containing paint and bloodroot so that everyone shall be anointed with paint.[5]

[1] At the conclusion of these rites on the ninth evening the recitation of visions and the dancing around the White Path is resumed by the reciters as on the preceding nights. When the last reciter has completed his round the ceremony procedes as announced in the ensuing paragraph with the burning of cedar.

[2] At this juncture the Leader goes to the fire at the east of the center post while the cedar is burning and then to the west fire, and delivers the following prayer in a low tone.

[3] With the ending of his prayer the Leader has timed his movements so that his time was divided before each of the two fires of the Big House while the cedar incense had been burning.

[4] Those receiving the beads can keep them if desired. But it was customary for them to return the wampum to the common fund by putting them in a little bowl standing on one of the hominy mortars outside after the meeting is over for that night. It was only by redonation of this nature that the supply of wampum necessary for conducting the ceremony could be assured.

[5] Some notes on the use of blood-root (Sanguinaria canadensis) as a red stain, or an anointment administered to the faces of all the worshippers, have been included in the introduction. A point, however, arises in the matter of ceremonial usage here as recorded in Harrington's study (I, pp. 105-6). He mentions that a bowl of grease is carried around from which the attendants anoint the skin of those to be painted. It might be inferred that some religious significance is attached to the use of grease in this act. And especially so in view of the similar function of grease among the far northern Algonkian who use grease rubbed on the face as "feeding the soul-spirit." Questioning the informant on this interesting point, however, only brings out the simple statement that the grease is put on to protect the skin from the effects of the paint, or pe'kon, which tends to be irritating. The grease is also put on the carved faces in this case to make the paint, put on after, sink in better. One might imagine, nevertheless, that at some former time the putting on of the grease was more of a rite than it is now.

[P.13,A]

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that they were possibly used to incise pottery. (For illustrations of several of these chisels found in the Milford area, see Plate 1, Nos. 7 to 13.)

Gorgets and Pendants

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The Bell-Philhower report mentions gorgets and pendants as being possible Minsi traits (pp. 174 and 236) on the basis of the reported finding of a gorget by Mr. Charles A. Philhower in a pit in association with a mat needle and a pottery vessel of Owasco type. This view is further supported by the mention of Owasco parallels and by a reference to the discovery of a pendant by Heye and Pepper during their excavation of the adjacent Minsi site of the historic period.

The probability of the occurrence of both the gorget and the pendant in the inventory of Minsi cultural traits must be freely accepted, but it cannot be maintained that the matter is conclusively settled on the basis of present evidence—particularly as regards the gorget. It may be observed in connection with this problem that in this area the gorget is generally to be regarded as associated with the "middle" period rather than the "late" to which the Minsi belong. This does not, however, rule out the possibility of a weak survival or borrowing of this cultural trait.

Paint Stone

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In the summer of 1948 the writer found on the surface of the Bell-Philhower Site a thin rectangular piece of hematite with concave surfaces on each side exhibiting the marks of abrasion (Plate 1, No. 4). The obvious conclusion is that this object was used as a source of pigment, probably for personal adornment. While its occurrence on the surface gives rise to a certain element of doubt concerning its cultural affiliation, it is almost certainly of Minsi origin.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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stamp ornamentation of basketry in historic times, possibly a diffusion from the Europeans.[180]

Boats.—Canoes were of two types, a solid dugout canoe and one of birch or other bark. The dugouts were made of tulip poplar, cedar, sycamore, and probably other suitable woods, which were hollowed out by fire.[181] When they wished to venture out to sea or into rough water, two canoes were lashed together. Sails on these vessels were reported, but seem to be post-European.[182] Zeisberger described the manufacture of the eighteenth-century bark canoe, which probably represented the earlier technique:

> These canows are fashioned of one piece of bast, the outer side of which is turned inward, both ends sharply pointed and securely sewn with bast, the inside being stretched out by a ribbing of bent wooden rods, which keeps the canow in its proper form. These canows are so light upon the water that they easily glide away from under the feet of one unaccustomed to them when attempting to stand. ... To make one they choose a tree according to the size of canow desired and peel the bark off carefully so that there may be no rent. If a canow gets out of repair or is punctured... the latter know how to repair it by securing a patch of bast over any opening. Besides, there is a kind of elm-wood bast which they crush or pound fine and which is of a sticky consistency, serving them in place of tar, to keep their canows water-tight so that they do not leak.[183]

These canoes were made of elm, black oak, and hickory bark.[184] Harrington said that for temporary use "six or more logs lashed together in the form of a raft with bark withes carried people and baggage across waters or down streams as required."[185]

Wampum.—The subject of wampum comes up in several different contexts, since its uses ranged all the way from individual ornamentation to negotiatory belts in peace and war. I shall merely examine its form and manufacture since its sociopolitical implications have been discussed fully by Speck and Snyderman.[186] Virtually all the early documents mentioned the possession and use of wampum (often called zeewan or sewan) by the Delawares. Lindestrom, for example, said they had "oblong stones, with holes drilled through them, and threaded on strings. . .one kind [is] black-blue, the other kind white.... In size they are about the length of a wheat kernel and somewhat thicker."[187] He added that it was made by specialists, but says no more on the subject.[188] Fortunately, however, Burggraf has reconstructed the manufacture of wampum from knowledge gained through the material found in Indian workshops on Long Island. The white wampum was made solely from "the central stock of both *F. carica* and *F. canaliculatas*".[189]

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[180] Speck, 1947, pp. 17-19.
[181] Holm, 1834, p. 130; De Laet, 1909, pp. 38, 57; Van der Donck, 1909, p. 301; Mahr, 1954, pp. 382-83.
[182] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 227.
[183] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 23.
[184] Zeisberger, 1776, p. 33; Brinton, 1890, p. 185; Harrington, 1913, p. 223; Mahr, 1954, p. 382.
[185] Harrington, 1913, p. 223.
[186] Speck, 1919; Snyderman, 1955.
[187] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 229.
[188] *Ibid.*, p. 230.
[189] Burggraf, 1938, p. 54.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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were generally careful to keep burning. On journeys they were accustomed to carry fire with them from one lodging-place to another, for which purpose they used a certain kind of fungus,[40] that grows upon trees. With such a glowing piece of fungus they could travel from morning to evening. This custom has to the present day not ceased among the Indians, nor has the method of making fire described above, some still employing it on special occasions and in connection with their sacrifices, in order to remind themselves of former customs and usages. Firewood they did not split in former days nor could they have done so with their hatchets of stone. They burned it into pieces of such length that could be carried home. They built a fire against the trunks of standing trees and kept it burning until they fell, which method still obtains among them, especially the older ones, for whom it is difficult to fell trees and split wood and who, perhaps, do not even own a hatchet. These may not burn a piece of split wood during a whole winter, but provide fuel for themselves in the manner described, which is quite easy and convenient for them.

Canows made of wood as well as bast, they also had in earlier days, fashioning the former out of a whole tree trunk, which they burned out and only used their hatchets to chop off glowing coals, lest they should burn in deeper in one place than another or even burn a hole through.

Their dwellings were huts of bark, which they lined with rushes in order to keep out the cold, roofed they were with bark, even as is the case now, though sometimes rushes or long, dry reed-grass served the purpose.

Underground dwellings there were, also, of which here and there traces may be found, particularly along the Muskingum, in which region one may yet see many places, where embankments, still to be seen, were thrown up around a whole town.[41] Here and there, furthermore, near the sites of such towns there are mounds, not natural, but made by the hand of man, for in those days the natives carried on great wars with one another, Indians being formerly, according to their own testimony, far more numerous than at the present time. At the top of these mounds there was a hollow place, to which the Indians brought

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
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gather about a cord of wood for the fires inside the Big House and the cooking fire outside. Then the first night, a fire pure and undefiled by the white man

[401]

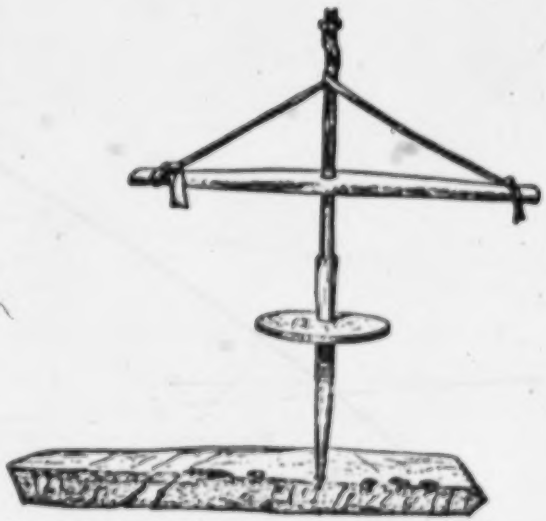

FIG. 8.—Ceremonial fire-drill used at the Annual Ceremony. (Length of shaft, 29.5 in.)

and his matches, is made with a fire-drill (fig. 8). This is operated on the principal of a pump-drill, like the ceremonial fire-drills of the Iroquois. This fire, and

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
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[182] By nature they indeed get whiskers, but they do
302 not wish to have any, because they think it is shameful, wherefore, when the first hairs appear they sit and always pull and pluck out the hair with the roots, so that it never gets to grow,[6] but they look smooth on the chin as the women. They paint themselves in all kinds of ways in the face with all kinds of colors, so that they look inexpressibly horrible, when they think themselves to be adorned in the best manner. In their ears they have brass and tin rings and small bunches of money hanging. On their heads they have sit-
301 ting long and large painted bird feathers. Around their necks they have strung much money, hanging down like a lot of chains on their breasts. And among these they have their *Pâdhra* or idol hanging, concerning which more will be said hereafter, in the chapter about their faith and religion. On
182 their backs they have their *notasser*[7] or bags
301 hanging, very skillfully and neatly made, in which
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[6] *När huldhåren uthsprieka, sittia the allthdå* [och] *ryckia och plocka uth hårr*[en] *medh röitterne.* Cf. *Doc.*, I, 281.

[7] The bags were made of corn husks, hemp and bast, often beautifully decorated. Cf. De Vries, *N. Y. Col.*, 2, III, 95, 107 ff., 269. The Lenapé (and possibly general Algonkian) word for bag, in this case with Swedish plural ending *-er*. Lindeström often used Indian words with the Swedish plural ending. The early settlers of all nationalities adopted many words from the Indians, some of which have become part of the English, French, Spanish or Portuguese languages in America of today. The Dutch and Swedes likewise borrowed many such words, but these forms died out with the elimination of the Dutch and Swedish languages. Only in a small district in New Jersey has a Dutch dialect survived to our day, and this is greatly mixed with Indian words. In Dutch documents the word occurs as "*denotas*, bags," *Doc.*, I, 284. De Vries calls them *notassen*. Cf. Brinton, *Dict.*, 81. For Indian Bags, see Hodge, *Handbook*, I, 125.

As to the decorations of the Indians Williams says: "They hang these strings of money about their necks and wrists; as also upon the necks and wrists of their wives and children." *Key*, 131.

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
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they have their things, such as food, money, to-432
bacco, tobacco pipes, very artistically and well 301
made; also bows and quarrels[8] (like those of the 41
Poles) and helmets made of hard wooden pins and
strong wood, that no arrow can go through them.
Around their arms at the hands[9] they have brass 301
and tin rings and threaded money, hanging like [276]
chains. In their hands they have tobacco pipes an
ell in length, which are screwed together with
leather, to lean on, and in these pipe-heads will go
a handful of tobacco.[10] Around their wnists they [281]
have tied a broad belt of money, strung in the form
of figures, from which their pieces of cloth hang,[11]

[8] *Bågar och skiäcktor (skäckta)*, scutcher, swingle.

[9] *Om armarne wred händerne;* that is the wrist.

[10] *En goth näfwe*, a good handful. "*Hurit Riecko Hopockon*, a beautiful clay pipe. The Barbarians make tobacco-pipes of red, yellow and blue clay, which is found there in the country of fine quality.

Hurit Assarna Hopockon, a beautiful stone pipe. For the Barbarians also make tobacco pipes of white, grey, green, brown, black and blue stones, which are found so soft (*blöta*), that they can be cut with a knife, and from this, pipes half an ell in length are made." Campanius, *Cate.*, 143.

Williams says: "Generally all the Men throughout the Countrey have a Tobacco-bag with a pipe in it, hanging at their back; sometimes they make such great pipes, both of wood and stone, that they are two foot long, with men or beasts carved, so big or massie, that a Man may be hurt mortally by one of them; but these commonly come from *Mauquauogs*, or the men eaters, three or four hundred miles from us. They have an excellent Art to cast our Pewter and Brasse into very neate and artificiall Pipes. They take their *Wuttamauog* (that is, a weake Tobacco) which the Men plant themselves, very frequently; yet I never see any take so excessively, as I have seene Men in Europe; and yet excesse were more tolerable in them, because they want the refreshing of Beare and Wine, which God hath vouchsafed Europe." *Key*, 55. Cf. also Smith, p. 24; De Vries and other early Dutch writers, *N. Y. Col.*, 2, 111, 23, etc.

[11] "*Machequoce*, a Girdle; which they make curiously of one, two, three, foure and five inches thicknesse and more, of this money which (sometimes to the value of ten pounds and more) they weare about their middle and as a scarfe about their shoulders and breasts." Williams, *Key*, 131.

14:Leslie A-4.5 (no date) 1951
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[P. 11, B]

172 323 532 tion of the face. The hole in the dorsal surface (shown in Plate 4, No. 2) is connected with the holes indicating the eyes. No explanation for the purpose of this dorsal hole or indeed of the entire specimen can be attempted at this time.

Bone

172 321 ● 41 Bone and antler artifacts do not appear to be abundant on Minsi sites. On occasion, the bone awl, antler flakers of cylindrical form, combs, turtle-shell cups, perforated deer phalanges, perforated needles, antler picks, beaming tools, and short bone tubes, probably used as ornaments, are found.

Shell

At the present time, because of an almost total lack of evidence, (the Bell-Philhower Site report lists one shell bead found by Mr. Charles A. Philhower in a pit of the historical period and worked fragments of conch) the writer is not prepared to discuss the possible incidence of shell artifacts in the prehistoric Minsi Culture. In common with Ritchie ("Bell-Philhower Site", p. 178) he refers the interested reader to the Heye-Pepper report, "Exploration of a Munsee Cemetery" for a description of numerous shell ornaments, etc., from the *historic* Minsi site adjacent to the Bell-Philhower component.

ROUGH STONE

172 324 227 Net sinkers are of two well-defined types: flat pebbles with two opposed notches, and sinkers made of thin sheets of stone chipped into circular or rectangular shape with two opposed notches. These 'trimmed sinkers' may have notches formed by chipping, or rarely, by grinding. (Plate 5, No. 3, shows notched flat pebble; Plate 5, No. 1, shows trimmed sinker with chipped notches; No. 3 of the same plate is a trimmed ground-notch sinker.)

Sinkers of both types may range in size from an inch to six or seven inches in

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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Such old men, accompanying a hunting party, get both meat and skins, for the good hunters will not let them return empty-handed. They have, in general, and the Unami in particular, the custom that when a huntsman has shot a deer, and another Indian joins him or only looks on at a distance, he immediately gives him the whole animal and goes in pursuit of another.[39]

The blowgun was in use among the Munsi by 1824, but was apparently present earlier; it was never of any great economic importance.[41] "Calls" were made to attract deer and turkeys. The deer call or "bleat" was made of cedar and was used primarily during the spring and early summer before the fawns had been weaned.[42] Harrington mentioned that "the deadfall and the 'twitchup' snare seem to have been the most popular varieties of traps."[43] The Delawares were also reported to be excellent stalkers of game and pursued wounded animals until their prey dropped from exhaustion.[44] If a hunter could not at first get within range of a deer he would chase it until he could, this procedure perhaps consuming an entire day.[45] One eighteenth-century author mentioned that deer were hunted by torchlight at night.[46]

Fishing.—Van der Donck said that Delawaran peoples "use all kinds of fish, which they commonly cook without removing the entrails, and snakes, frogs and the like."[47] Specifically, they caught and ate rock fish, shad, yellow perch, trout, eels, catfish, sunfish, sturgeon, and undoubtedly others, from both fresh and salt water. In 1756 two harbor seals were shot and eaten, but this was an unusual incident.[48] Tortoises were caught, and shellfish in large quantities must have been taken, if Skinner was correct in attributing shell mounds of the area to the Delawares.[49] Juet stated that the natives brought out quantities of oysters to trade to the crew of Hudson's Half Moon.[50]

Methods of fishing varied somewhat; Lindestrom described a method in which a stream was dammed when the water was high, so that fish were stranded behind the dam when the water was low. The fish were caught with bare hands or shot with the bow and arrow.[51] De Rasieres said that the Indians around Manhattan caught fish with "a drag-net they themselves knit very neatly, of the wild hemp, from which the women and men spin the thread."[52] Brinton mentioned fishhooks of bone and dried claws of birds, and Pastorius reported the use of hooks.[53] Harrington mentioned several methods of fishing. These may not be aboriginal since they do not appear elsewhere. He stated that fish were stupefied by large quantities of crushed green walnuts thrown into ponds. He also noted spearing and shooting of fish at night by torchlight.[54] Fish

[39] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 91.
[41] Harrington, 1913, p. 221; Kinietz, 1946, p. 63; Ketchum, 1865, II: 190 (1796).
[42] Foreman, 1937, p. 107; J. T., F. W.
[43] Harrington, 1913, p. 222.
[44] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 23.
[45] *Ibid.*, p. 23.
[46] Brickell, 1842, p. 47.
[47] Van der Donck, 1909, p. 303.
[48] Holm, 1834, p. 48; De Rasieres, 1909, p. 105; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 37.
[49] Holm, 1834, p. 48; Denton, 1845, p. 7; Skinner, 1909, pp. 5-17, 45-46; J. T.
[50] Juet, 1909, p. 30.
[51] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 219; Berlin, 1887, pp. 187-89.
[52] De Rasieres, 1909, p. 105.
[53] Brinton, 1885, p. 53; Pastorius, 1912, p. 434.
[54] Harrington, 1913, p. 222.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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on the skin; the operator with a small stick, rather larger than a common match, to the end of which some sharp needles are fastened, quickly pricks over the whole so that blood is drawn, then a coat of this powder is laid and left on to dry. Before the whites came into this country, they scarified themselves for this purpose with flint stones, or pricked themselves with the sharp teeth of a fish.[153]

The men tatooed their arms, legs, and faces with figures of snakes, birds, and other animals. These were marks of distinction and commemorated some worthy deed or heroic action. Occasionally the women tattooed themselves.[154]

Both sexes painted their thighs, legs, breast, and face with streaks, lines, or circles. The usual colors were red, black, blue, and yellow.[155] Painting was mostly for festive occasions or for warfare. Women were more circumspect than men in the amount of paint used, since excessive or immodest painting was regarded as indicative of a wanton woman.[156] Both men and women wore numerous ornaments. Wampum in particular was a favorite; it was used as necklaces and wristlets and was hung from the ears. Sometimes it was woven in bands and worn on the head or clothing.[157] The helixes of men's ears were often pierced for wampum, metal, and other ornaments:

> They frequently cut the helix of the ear,[158] leaving the upper and lower ends intact and then hang bits of lead to it so that it is stretched. Then this curved border of the auricle is bound with brass wire, distending it considerably, and decorated with silver ornaments.[159]

Besides wampum, necklaces of dyed deer hair, stone, native copper, and shell gorgets were worn.[160] One source depicted men wearing "the thumbs of enemies they have killed."[161] Men carried tobacco pouches, often made from the whole skin of a loon, large enough to hold a pipe, tobacco, knife, a pair of depilatory shells, and other objects.[162]

Manufactures.— The bow and arrow, the war club or tomahawk, and the spear were the principal implements of the men.[163] The type of bow used is unknown, except for one vague reference to wooden bows and arrows.[164] The triangular stone projectile points were fastened to the shaft by means of resin.[165] Projectile points were usually made of quartz, but chert, slate, shale, granite, sandstone, and argillite points have been found. Some may even have been made of fish bones.[166] Stone, pottery, and copper pipes were noted, both from early documents and

[152] Heckewelder, 1881, p. 206.
[153] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 12.
[154] De Vries, 1909, p. 217; Holm, 1834, p. 119; Van der Donck, 1909, p. 301; Denton, 1845, p. 10.
[155] Heckewelder, 1881, p. 203.
[156] Van der Donck, 1909, p. 301; Pastorius, 1912, p. 434; Lindestrom, 1925, pp. 196-97.
[157] Heckewelder, 1881, p. 207; Luckenbach, 1938, p. 107.
[158] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 12.
[159] Abbott, 1875, p. 327; Heye and Pepper, 1915, pp. 32-42; Holm, 1834, p. 119.
[160] Holm, 1834, p. 119; Van der Donck, 1909, p. 301.
[161] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 68; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 204.
[162] Brinton, 1885, p. 53.
[163] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 29.
[164] De Laet, 1909, p. 48; Holm, 1834, p. 129; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 29.
[165] Smith, 1950, p. 119; De Laet, 1909, p. 57.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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their wives and children when the enemies approached and attacked them, the men ranging themselves round the mound for defensive action. Their weapons were the bow and arrow and a wooden club, this last a piece of wood of not quite arm's length, having at the end a round knob about the size of a small child's head and made of very hard wood. Shields they bore made of hardened buffalo leather and presenting a convex surface without, while being hollow within. The curved outer surface they held toward the enemy and before their own breasts and faces in order that arrows discharged at them, striking the curved surface, would glance off and go to the side. With the left hand they held both shield and bow and with the right they drew the bow and held the arrow. On the above named hills they always had great blocks lying all about, in order that should the enemies attempt to storm the heights these might be rolled upon and among them so as to keep them off. In such attacks both sides usually lost many men, which were often buried in one pit and a great mound of earth raised above them, such as may even now be seen bearing in these days great and mighty trees.[42]

Dogs they likewise possessed in former days, of a kind still to be found in considerable numbers among them. These may be readily distinguished from European dogs, which are now most commonly found among the Indians, especially the Delawares. The ears of Indian dogs rise rigidly from the head and the animals have something of a wolfish nature, for they show their teeth immediately when roused. They will never attack a wolf in the forest, though set on to do so, in this respect, also differing from European dogs. Of their origin their masters can give as little information as of that of the Indians themselves.

The wampum strings of the Indians were formerly made of bits of wood, some white, some black, which were used in connection with embassies and speeches. Belts of wampum were also made. Some few were made of mussel-shells, which were held in the same value among them as gold among the Europeans, for much time was consumed in making even one such string of wampum. When whites came into the country these contrived to make wampum strings which they bartered to the Indians, who used them in place of their wooden wampum, as

3: Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7
Shawnee NM17

D 411

The Delaware Indians use no other than rifle-barrelled guns, having satisfied themselves that these are the best for shooting at long range, in which they are very skillful and shooting accurately. They have acquired considerable skill in making minor repairs when their weapons get out of order. Some have even learned to furnish them with stocks, neatly and well made. An Indian really intent on making something will not spare pains or time in accomplishing his purpose even when he has not seen the thing made and takes great pride in the work of his hands. Among nations living farther inland the rifle-barrelled guns are rare and muskets are more commonly found, often in very poor condition, except among the Shawanose [Shawanese] who know and value the rifle-barrelled gun. S [411]

D 586

It occurs to me to add that when a man and his wife have no children, they generally separate before long, each believing the other to be the guilty cause, and attributing it to the other. There are also women who never have children. Such a one goes from one man to another until some man who has children already takes her. There are men also who never have children. In both sexes, however, these cases are rare.

D 578

Cursing and swearing are never heard among the Indians; they have no words of this character in their language. If women or men would berate one another — rarely the case among men, except in case of the younger, more frequent among women — they direct words and speeches at one another which would not be considered terrible by other people but are very seriously taken by the Indians. If they would revile one another in extremest fashion, they use some obscene expressions.

D 854 [482]

Mothers carry the children on their backs under the blanket. They do this even when the children are five years old and over, for they love their children. In former days it was the custom to bind the child upon a board which was carried by means of a band fastened round the head in such a way that the child was suspended on the back in an upright position. This practice gets more and more out of fashion, for the reason that it has been the cause of miserable death of the children. It was customary that children thus fastened were placed against a bench or elsewhere,

(Lindstrom, p. 215). Men went by themselves or took their families to the woods for periods of several days or weeks. In addition to their dependence on a steady aim with bow and arrow, they attempted to attract the animals by the use of charms and imitations of their calls (Harrington, 1913, pp. 221-22; Loskiel, p. 77). Loskiel, in the eighteenth century, also mentions the practice of chasing wounded deer for long distances if they did not fall on the first shot, but this cannot be documented by earlier accounts (Loskiel, p. 76). 224

Early Swedish writers noted that turkeys and other birds, deer, beavers and other small animals were snared (the twitchup is the only type of snare specifically mentioned) and beavers were sometimes killed with a lance (Johnson, p. 281). Pigeons might be killed by cutting all sides of a tree used as a roost, then toppling it when the birds alighted (Lindstrom, pp. 216-17). 224 223

Remnants of the Delaware's hunting equipment are found abundantly in their old haunts. Stone arrow points and lance heads are particularly numerous, but antler points are found in smaller quantities (Abbott, 1875, p. 269; Skinner, 1915, p. 10; Smith, p. 139; Kalm, p. 230). Stone axes suitable for crushing bones or shells, and knives suitable for skinning and cutting up the meat are also found in abundance (Abbott, 1875, pp. 264 and 303; Skinner, 1909, pp. 18-20; Kalm, p. 230; Heye, p. 71). 224 412 411

Even the earliest writers were aware to some extent of the reverence in which Delaware hunters held the provider of their sustenance. Lindstrom and Penn mention that the first catch of the season was eaten at a special feast accompanied by singing and dancing. All that was not eaten was burned, and on no account was any part sold (Lindstrom, pp. 214-15; Penn, p. 38). Boys did not begin hunting until about fifteen years of age, sometimes starting as the result of success in obtaining a guardian spirit through a vision. It was believed that the youth would be able to catch all that he desired on the day after such a vision (Lindstrom, p. 208). 224 [787]

The women's main contribution to the food supply lay in agriculture. Without doubt the most important crop was maize, of which the Delaware had several varieties[2] (De Rasieres, p. 107; Johnson, p. 279; Kalm, p. 74; Lindstrom, p. 223). To get some impression of the amount of maize grown, we may note that Krieger, commander in an expedition against one band of New Jersey Delaware in 1663, says that he cut down 215 acres of maize and burned more than 100 pits of corn and beans (Krieger, p. 39). There are also ample references to the cultivations of beans, squash (including pumpkins) and tobacco[3] (Harrington, 1913, p. 221; Johnson, p. 279; Kalm, p. 74). 241

Since the Delaware had no axe adequate to cut down a tree of any considerable size, they cleared their fields by seriously bruising the bark of the trees, thereby killing them. In this operation they [313 412]

be more complete (Loskiel, p. 143). The typical pre-white type of conflict was one in which a captain took a group of eight or ten warriors on a raid of the enemy camp, from which they carried off what goods they could, a few scalps and prisoners. If the chief of the raiding tribe did not denounce the raiding party and make recompense to the other tribe, war would be declared (Heckewelder, 1881, p. 176; Loskiel, p. 148). The warriors were recruited at a dance in which they signified their desire to participate by joining the warriors already dancing. This was a festive occasion at which women were present and it was repeated at the first night's camping ground to which the women followed the warriors (Heckewelder, 1881, p. 210; Loskiel, p. 146).

Prisoners were taken primarily to replace men of the tribe who had been killed in battle or died a natural death since the last war. On the march home prisoners received the same fare as the warriors themselves, but at each Delaware town they passed they were forced to perform for the amusement of the townspeople and run the gauntlet. This ordeal consisted in running between two parallel lines in which the townspeople were drawn up and suffering the blows of the double file until a specified pole was reached which guaranteed their safety. When the home village was reached, the same procedure occurred except that those who were to be adopted were sometimes protected by their foster families. Those who were not adopted were tortured in most of the ways the human mind has been able to devise, but gradual dismemberment and slow burning seem to have been the most common. A prisoner who remained impassive under this treatment was held in high esteem.

Women and children were not usually injured and the peace messenger was also granted immunity, indeed hospitality. Two essential ceremonies of the peace conference were the smoking of the peace pipe and the exchanging of strings of wampum to confirm the covenant (Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 215-18; Loskiel, pp. 143-156; Hill, pp. 53-55; Zeisberger, 1910, pp. 102-03 and 151).

The weapons used were the bow and arrow, the stone axe and a club with a rounded knob on the end. For defense they had a shield and helmet made of wooden sticks bound together with leather or hemp cord (Johnson, 1915, pp. 201-02; Koskiel, p. 141). Some of the east coast villages were palisaded for protection (Krieger, p. 51; Brinton, 1885, p. 51; Skinner, 1915, p. 7; Heye, p. 11).

Crime

Offences against members of the group became a concern of the chief only when they could not be settled by the families concerned. "The Justice they have is Pecuniary: In case of any Wrong or evil Fact, be it Murther it self, they Attone by Feasts and Presents of

8:Linestrom T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
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20. "These Indians . . . use no other arms but bows, spears, arrows and quarrels, set with sharp flint stones." See p. 206. The plate or badge worn on a strap is probably what Van der Donck refers to when he says: "They carried a black badge on their breast."

[Facing p. 205]

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
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In military matters and warfare these Indians are brave, using no other arms but rifles, bows, spears, arrows and quarrels, which are set with sharp flint [stones], and they use helmets which are made of sticks and wood, so strong that no quarry is able to go through it. They show no reverence or honor to their ruler, which their sachem does not require of them, but their sachem may come to sit just as soon last as first, thus and in other such things [they show no preference for their sachems].[6]

They know nothing of taxation and they are entirely ignorant of architecture and fortifications.[7]

Since I in this chapter have mentioned something about muskets, I will not neglect to say that in the year 1380 the art to shoot with guns was invented in Germany by a monk and alchemist by the name of Bartholdh Schwartz.[8]

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granted and recompence made, they grant out a kind of Letter of Mart to take satisfaction themselves, yet they are carefull not to exceed in taking from others, beyond the proportion of their owne losse." Williams, *Key*, 76–7.

[6] Perhaps my copy is defective here.

[7] *Medh Architecteurer och Fortificationer att umgådz är them aldeeles okunnigt.* Cf. Hodge, *Handbook*, I, 77 ff.

[8] Berthold Schwarz (Constantin Anklitzen(?)) of Freiburg(?), inventor of artillery and probably of gunpowder.

8:Linestrom T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
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21. TWO SMALL FETISH MASKS OF WOOD, AND WHAT WAS POSSIBLY A POWDER MEASURE, MADE FROM AN ANTLER, CARVED WITH A HUMAN FACE AND APPARENTLY THE TAIL OF A RATTLESNAKE. THIS WAS UNDOUBTEDLY CARRIED ON THE SAME STRAP AS THE MASK TO THE LEFT, PROBABLY BY A LENAPE CHIEF. "THE *Pdâkra* . . . IS HUNG ON A CHAIN OF THEIR MONEY ON THEIR BREAST." (SEE P. 207.) FROM ORIGINAL IN UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA MUSEUM. PHOTOGRAPH KINDLY SUPPLIED BY DR. GORDON, DIRECTOR OF THE MUSEUM.

[Facing p. 207]

8:Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
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they through this later will get in their hunt so much the greater blessing. Then they sing and dance and when they become jolly and happy then they cry and sing thus namely:[7] *Hägginj, hä, hä, hä; Hägginj hä; Hägginj hä; Hägginj hä, hä, hä, hä*, etc. Thus repeating and continuing so long a time, so that it reaches well over the forest.[8]

In this their convention[9] they [also] practice shooting. He who is sachem has a turkey placed very high in the air, whose entrails are removed and [the body] filled again with their money.[10] And the one who then can shoot it down, he receives the money, *et talia*, etc.

In the meantime later in the year, when the grass has thus been burnt off the land, they do not care to arrange any more such hunts,[11] but shoot the animals wherever they find them in the woods, which they have no difficulty in doing, because they have scent of the animals like the dogs; for often the savages say to the Christians, when they follow them in the woods: "Indeed I now feel the scent of deer, if I wanted to bother to go after them." This the Christians did not believe in the beginning, before they followed them, and got to see that they were right. Otherwise they are so perfect in shooting that they do not miss.

And the savage is so armstrong that he is able to shoot with a bow so far, that no gun can carry

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[7] *Tå roopa the och sunga sådedes, nämbl.*

[8] So that it can be heard far over the forest. *Hegginj*, etc., the final *j* is used for *i*. Cf. Holm, *Kort Beskrifning*, 153 ff.; above, p. XL.

[9] *Uthi detta sitt convent.*

[10] Wampum.

[11] Like the one described above.

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
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that far,[13] when he extends his limbs so that daylight shines through his elbow joints. When a Christian wrestles with a savage, if he[14] does not get at his back [he cannot prevail against him], he can do nothing against his arms.

The savages also use a splendid system[14] for killing pigeons in quantities with great ease. When the pigeons come flying, which [at times] may be a few hundred pairs in a flock, or following, then they usually settle[15] down to rest in the largest and highest tree, which they find. Then they also have the custom that in the tree in which they once used to rest, they will, with preference go there again. When now the savage observes where they have been accustomed to rest, the savage goes and cuts around the tree, so that it stands only on the center. When now the pigeons come there again to sit down, they cannot possibly

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[13] For bows and arrows and their effectiveness, see Pope, *A Study of Bows and Arrows*, U. of Cal. Pub., XIII, No. 9, p. 329 ff. Cf. also Hodge, *Handbook*, I, 92-4, and literature quoted there.

[14] The Christian.

[14] *Een artig invention*, see above, Chapt. XV, note 6.

[15] *Dä sättia the sigh.* Cf. Henry D. Paxson, *The Last of the Wild Pigeon in Bucks County* (1912). Williams says: "In that place these Fowle breed abundantly, and by reason of their dellcate Food (especially in Strawberrie time when they pick up whole large Fields of the old grounds of the Natives, they are a delicate fowle, and because of their abundance, and the facility of killing them, they are and may be plentifully fed on." *Key*, 87. Van der Donck says in this connection: "De Wilden of Naturellen van het Landt weten ock somtijts de plaetsen daer sy broyen uyt te vinden, en met lange stocken de jonge Duyven uyt de nesten te stooten, op sulcke plaetsen die sy soo verkiesen om te broyen daer scholen sy met sulcke gruwelijcke meenichte van ontelbare duysenden by een, dat de Wilden met Wyven [en] kinderen doer naer toe trecken, deckwils eenighe hunderden sterck synde, wel een Maent doer ontrent blyvende, en schier andere niet eeten als jonge Duyven, die sy soo met stocken als geseght is uyt de nesten stooten." *Beschryvinge*, 41.

+ = element present
− = element denied
(+) or (−) = source ambiguous
• = informant could not or would not say
S = some, sometimes, or several
† or * = see Ethnographic Notes, pp. 79-137 for additional information

	Williams	Van der Donck	Lindeström	Zeisberger	Heckewelder	Johnston	Pipe	Chipps	J. W.	W. T.	E. R.	T. W.
Food, mode of living, etc.—Continued												
298. Vegetables introduced by whites				+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+
299. Wild rice				(−)		−		−	−	+	−	−
300. Have regular meals		−			+	−		−	+	+	+	−
301. Generally eat together (family)		(+)						+	−	+	+	−
302. Men and women eat together		(+)				+		+	+	+	+	+
303. Neat in their cooking			−	S	+	−		+	+	+	+	+
304. Several cooking modes		−	+		*+	+		+	+	+	+	+
305. Generally prefer well done			−	+					+	+	−	−
306. Commonly eat in the night						−		+	−	−	•	−
307. Eat every kind of fish		+	(+)			+		+	−	+		+
Hunting												
308. Use bow and arrow	+	+	+		+	+		+	+	+	+	+
309. Rifle and fowling piece		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
310. Blow gun for birds and small game								+	+	+	•	+
311. Deadfall for raccoon	+					+			•	+	•	•
312. Torches at night on water for deer						+				+		
313. Fish with spears	+		−					+	+	+	+	+
314. With hook and line	+	+	−					+	+	•	+	+
315. By shooting with arrows	+		+						+	+	+	+
316. Hunt in large parties	+	+	+	+		+		+	+	+	+	+
317. Number in party	300	100				10-15		40-50		15	4	6-7
318. Any attendant ceremonies			*(+)	−		−		−		+	+	+
319. Under guidance of oldest or most expert			+	+		+			+	+	+	+
320. Any peculiar laws in hunting			+	+	•	−	•	+	+	+	+	+
321. When two are hunting and one kills animals, it is divided equally				(+)		+		+	(+)	(+)	+	+
322. Person who kills or first wounds animal entitled to whole when stranger appears						+						
323. to skin and half of carcass				+				+	+			+

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

the same time, there is no reason to suspect that the several cooking modes reported in all subsequent periods were the result of European introduction. On the other hand, Lindeström's statement that the Delaware preferred their fish only half fried finds no support in the information from the following periods (305). Zeisberger and all the modern informants said that meats were preferred well done. In this connection J. W. expressed the opinion of all the modern informants when he said that foods from the open air (not canned), cooked in clean water or well done in an open fire were clean and best.

When the Delaware were living on the Atlantic Coast, fish formed an important part of their diet, according to Van der Donck and Lindeström (307). Apparently every kind available in any particular locality was eaten. The reports of all subsequent periods also show an absence of taboo on particular kinds of fish, with the exception of J. W., and he could not name the varieties not eaten. Captain Chipps reported that some did not eat sturgeon, others catfish, but more as a matter of individual taste than because of a taboo.

Hunting

The bow and arrow was, of course, the common weapon used in hunting in prehistoric times and well remembered even today, although its utility as a meat-procuring arm has long been lost (308).

The surprising item in the list of arms used by the Delaware is the firearm (309). Even though every European colony on the Atlantic Coast protested the sale of firearms to the natives by the other colonies, and subordination of the Delaware to the Iroquois in the early eighteenth century was attributed to the fact that the latter were supplied earlier with firearms, we find two references to the rather common use of guns in hunting by the Delaware in the middle of the seventeenth century.

The blowgun was reported among the Canadian Delaware or Munsee of 1824 by Captain Chipps (310). At that time it was used by hunters to kill small game and birds. Poisoned darts were not mentioned. The three older informants among the

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

411 Oklahoma Delaware said that they had used the blowgun as boys and that, although the targets were usually birds or small [524] game, the blowgun was more of a toy than anything else. Since the sojourn of the ancestors of the Oklahoma Delaware in Ohio [171] and Indiana in the first decades of the nineteenth century is rather well documented and accounts of that period fail to record the possession of the blowgun then, it is more than probable that two sources of diffusion are here indicated. The Canadian Munsee or Delaware undoubtedly received the blowgun from the Southeast through the Iroquois, whereas the Oklahoma Delaware probably received it direct from the southeastern tribes with whom they have been neighbors in Oklahoma.

227 It is strange that in two years on the Delaware River Lindeström did not see spears, nets, or hooks used to take fish (313-15). All these were mentioned by Roger Williams as being used by the Narragansets and all but the spears were listed by Van der Donck in addition to weirs. These last, according to Lindeström, were the principal means used by the Delaware to take fish. Weirs were not mentioned by the second- or third-period sources and were unknown to the modern Delaware.

224 Large hunting parties were reported periodically for the Delaware in every period (316). However, there was considerable variation as to the number constituting a large party (317). E. R. said four hunters were as many as ever hunted together. This is quite diverse from the hundreds reported in the first period. The parties were formed for their mutual advantage and were under the guidance of the oldest or most expert hunter (319). Williams, Van der Donck, and Lindeström mentioned the driving of deer by large parties. Subsequent accounts did not mention game drives, and the report of smaller parties probably indicate that they were no longer made. Group hunting in the later periods was described by Johnston as a party of several families going together directed by a head man who encouraged the young men to pursue their hunting every morning and directed them where and when to move their camps. The ceremonies observed [196] in connection with group hunting were rather elaborate as described by Lindeström (see *post*, pp. 127-28). In the second and

14:Leslie A-4.5 (no date) 1951
NM7 Delaware NM7
[F-13, B]

Chipped Stone Artifacts

Arrowpoints

172 324 411 Most prominent in the category of Minsi chipped stone implements is the triangular arrowpoint. While several forms of triangular points occur, the vast majority of Minsi points are equilateral triangles with concave bases. A considerable number of equilateral triangular points also occur with straight bases. (Plate 11, Nos. 14 and 11, shows concave-base points; Nos. 11, 12, and 13 have straight bases.)

[803] The materials of which Minsi chipped implements found in the Milford area are made include jasper (brown, yellow, red), argillite, black, white and gray chert, and a chalcedony-like material. By far the most commonly-used of these materials were argillite and black chert.

Knives

172 324 412 Although knives of several types (ovate, large triangular, broad side-notched, etc.) have been found on sites generally conceded to be Minsi, this kind of implement is not typical of the culture.

Scrapers

Both side scrapers, consisting of retouched flakes, and end scrapers occur in the Minsi Culture, but not to the extent that they are found in the much older Laurentian horizon.

The most prominent, in fact, almost the exclusive form of end scraper is the ovate type. The keeled back form is a very poor second and while occurring, is, like the chipped knife, not typical of the culture. (Plate 11, Nos. 7, 8, 9, shows end scrapers from a large site near Milford, Pa., generally conceded to be Minsi.)

Drills

Although Ritchie's statistics (Bell-Philhower report, p. 236) would lead one to the conclusion that drills are comparatively minor artifacts in the total Minsi series,

[P. 20]

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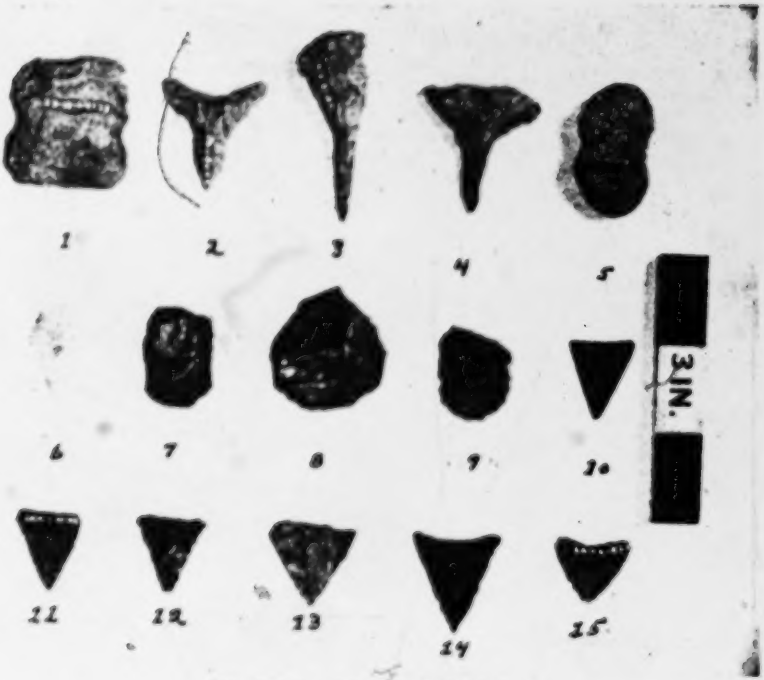

PLATE XI. MINSI ARTIFACTS

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

CHAPTER XXV.

DRESS, AND ORNAMENTING OF THEIR PERSONS.

IN ancient times, the dress of the Indians was made of the skins of animals and feathers. This clothing, they say, was not only warmer, but lasted much longer than any woollen goods they have since purchased of the white people. They can dress any skin, even that of the buffaloe, so that it becomes quite soft and supple, and a good buffaloe or bear skin blanket will serve them many years without wearing out. Beaver and raccoon skin blankets are also pliant, warm and durable; they sew together as many of those skins as is necessary, carefully setting the hair or fur all the same way, so that the blanket or covering be smooth, and the rain do not penetrate, but run off. In wearing these fur blankets they are regulated by the weather; if it is cold and dry the fur is placed next the body, but in warm and wet weather, they have it outside. Some made themselves long frocks of fine fur, and the women's petticoats in the winter season were also made of them, otherwise of dressed deer skins, the same as their shirts, leggings and shoes. They say that shoes made of dressed bear skins, with the hair on and turned inside, are very warm, and in dry weather, durable. With the large rib bones of the elk and buffaloe they shaved the hair off the skins they dressed, and even now, they say that they can clean a skin as well with a well prepared rib-bone as with a knife.

The blankets made from feathers were also warm and durable. They were the work of the women, particu-

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7

from archaeological sites attributed to the Delawares. Copper tobacco pipes were recorded early in the seventeenth century by Juet who said: "They had red Copper Tabacco pipes, and other things of Copper they did weare about their neckes."[167] Lindestrom described the pipes as painted and said that there were some "an ell in length, which are screwed together with leather, to lean on. . .and in these pipe-heads will go a handful of tobacco."[168] In another place he indicated that pipe heads were decorated with birds and animals "very beautifully painted and glazed."[169] Holm said that the pipes were "a fathom long, which they lean upon as a stick."[170] The pottery pipes found in archaeological sites were plainer, being "straight conical tubes, plain or stamped, to elbow-shaped forms decorated with incised or stamped lines."[171] De Laet said they had ". . .tubes for smoking tobacco formed. . .of flint stone ingeniously perforated."[172] Stone pipes, however, are relatively rare in archaeological sites.[173]

Agricultural implements of the women were simple; short-handled hoes were fashioned with a blade of dogwood, stone, tortoise shell, or the scapula of a deer (later bison).[174] The scapula hoe is remembered by living Delawares. The Delawares had pottery vessels, and according to archaeological information the paste varied from fine to medium coarse, grit temper was more common than shell temper, and sherds are usually gray or brown. Vessels had "conical and rounded bottoms" and were "straight walled or rounded." Shoulders were often absent, although some had pronounced shoulders when associated with a collared rim. Decoration, if present, was by roughening with a cord-wrapped paddle. Incised decorative designs were frequent.[175] Containers and other utensils were fashioned of wood, shell, bark, gourds, and tortoise shell.[176] Stone tools are common in archaeological deposits and include "plain or pitted hammerstones, anvil stones, abrading stones, sinew stones, pestles, shallow mortars, choppers (or hoes), picks, netsinkers, paint stones and amorphous pieces of mica."[177] They possessed "stone hatchets" that were hafted to a handle, and another type which was neither grooved nor hafted.[178] The women and old men manufactured the mats, ropes, tump lines, and baskets, which were made from wild hemp, nettle, silkweed, spruce roots, cornhusks, ash splints, papaw bark, elm bast, and rushes. Wooden bowls, dishes, and mortars were made of maple, buckeye, and elm wood.[179] Speck has described fully the block

[167]Juet, 1909, pp. 18-19; De Laet, 1909, p. 49.
[168]Lindestrom, 1925, p. 127.
[169]*Ibid.*, p. 221.
[170]Holm, 1834, p. 130.
[171]Smith, 1950, p. 119.
[172]De Laet, 1909, p. 57.
[173]Butler, 1947, p. 252.
[174]Johnson, 1917, p. 279; Jemison, 1918, p. 47; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 38; Mahr, 1954, pp. 385-86.
[175]Smith, 1950, pp. 117-18.
[176]Pastorius, 1912, p. 384; Lindestrom, 1925, p. 255; Johnson, 1917, p. 281; Speck, 1941, pp. 47, 78-79; Smith, 1950, p. 119.
[177]Smith, 1950, p. 119.
[178]Kalm, 1937, I: 329.
[179]Thomas, 1912, p. 341; Lindestrom, 1925, p. 231; De Laet, 1909, p. 87; Harrington, 1913, p. 224.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

must have been vision or revelation. They had repeatedly looked out over the sea, until at last a vessel was sighted, when they had immediately summoned the Indians and said: "See, here comes some one to us, concerning whose coming we have long ago told you; the gods are coming to visit us." They worshipped them, regarding them as deities. When the whites landed, they gave the Indians knives, hatchets, muskets and various other things they knew not how to use and, consequently, carefully put away. On occasion of feasts or sacrifices they suspended the knives and hatchets from their necks as ornaments and worshipped the various articles, bringing sacrifices to them. The muskets they did not use except on special days, when to satisfy curiosity a few shots were fired and then sacrifices offered them. When the whites, after lapse of considerable time came again and saw that the things they had given were worn about the neck, they gave the Indians instructions in the use of the knife, hatchet and musket.

In those early days the manner of living of the Indians was very different from that of the present time, yet, though they were wretchedly equipped and could barely supply their wants, they succeeded in supporting life.[39] They planted corn, beans, pumpkins, which they had at that time. Their hoe was a bone from the shoulder blade of the deer, which is broad at one end and very narrow at the other. With this bound to a stick they worked the soil. A turtle-shell sharpened by means of a stone and similarly attached to a stick, served much the same purpose. A kind of tobacco known as Brazilian tobacco, they also had; to the present day this tobacco, which has but small leaves, is called Indian tobacco.

Their knives were made of flint, not in the form of our knives but shaped like arrow-heads, i. e., triangular, quite thin and with the two larger sides sharp. With such knives they stripped off the skin of deer and other game.

Their hatchets, also made of stone and about the length of a hand, smoothed and sharpened, were secured to a wooden handle. These were not used for splitting wood but only to kill trees, as no more is necessary than to chop through the bark, if this is done at the right time, or to peel off bast for covering

3: Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

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their huts. Trees were killed wherever they wished to have space for planting.

224 For the chase they used bow and arrow, both made of wood, the point of the arrow alone being of flint in the shape of a lengthened triangle, sharp and pointed, securely tied to the shaft.

323 Kettles and pots for cooking they made of clay mixed with sea shells, pounded very fine. After the pot had been shaped it was burned hard in fire. All these things, knives, hatchets, arrows and large pieces of the pottery they used at one time, are frequently found in places where Indians have lived. Potsherds have become black through and through so that the shell pieces may be seen.

224 They could shoot game as well in those days as at the present time with their rifled guns. They declare that game was not as shy then as now by reason of the report of the guns. In those days they killed only as much of game as was needed for sustenance, skins being used for clothing both men and women; hence, game was more abundant at that time. 291 The women made blankets of turkey-feathers which were bound [237] together with twine made of wild hemp. Of such many are to be found even at the present day among the Indians, and these in winter are a better protection against the cold than the best European blanket. The women also made themselves petticoats of wild hemp.

224 Bow and arrow have fallen into disuse among those Indians that trade with whites; are, indeed, only used for small game, such as the pigeon, fox and raccoon, in order to save powder. There are, however, whole tribes to the west and northwest that use nothing but bow and arrow in the chase and that have no European weapons, that are not even anxious to obtain them; for, say they, if we discard bow and arrow, who will then make for us enough of powder and shot. They prefer, therefore, to hold to their old custom and usage.

372 The fire materials of those days consisted of a dry piece of wood or board and a round dry stick. The latter was placed upon the board and turned or twirled with great swiftness, both hands being used, until there was smoke and fire. This, however, was done only in case their fire had gone out, which they

(Lindstrom, p. 215). Men went by themselves or took their families to the woods for periods of several days or weeks. In addition to their dependence on a steady aim with bow and arrow, they attempted to attract the animals by the use of charms and imitations of their calls (Harrington, 1913, pp. 221-22; Loskiel, p. 77). Loskiel, in the eighteenth century, also mentions the practice of chasing wounded deer for long distances if they did not fall on the first shot, but this cannot be documented by earlier accounts (Loskiel, p. 76). 224

Early Swedish writers noted that turkeys and other birds, deer, beavers and other small animals were snared (the twitchup is the only type of snare specifically mentioned) and beavers were sometimes killed with a lance (Johnson, p. 281). Pigeons might be killed by cutting all sides of a tree used as a roost, then toppling it when the birds alighted (Lindstrom, pp. 216-17). 224 223

Remnants of the Delaware's hunting equipment are found abundantly in their old haunts. Stone arrow points and lance heads are particularly numerous, but antler points are found in smaller quantities (Abbott, 1875, p. 269; Skinner, 1915, p. 10; Smith, p. 139; Kalm, p. 230). Stone axes suitable for crushing bones or shells, and knives suitable for skinning and cutting up the meat are also found in abundance (Abbott, 1875, pp. 264 and 303; Skinner, 1909, pp. 18-20; Kalm, p. 230; Heye, p. 71). 224 412 411

Even the earliest writers were aware to some extent of the reverence in which Delaware hunters held the provider of their sustenance. Lindstrom and Penn mention that the first catch of the season was eaten at a special feast accompanied by singing and dancing. All that was not eaten was burned, and on no account was any part sold (Lindstrom, pp. 214-15; Penn, p. 38). Boys did not begin hunting until about fifteen years of age, sometimes starting as the result of success in obtaining a guardian spirit through a vision. It was believed that the youth would be able to catch all that he desired on the day after such a vision (Lindstrom, p. 208). 224 [787]

The women's main contribution to the food supply lay in agriculture. Without doubt the most important crop was maize, of which the Delaware had several varieties[2] (De Rasieres, p. 107; Johnson, p. 279; Kalm, p. 74; Lindstrom, p. 223). To get some impression of the amount of maize grown, we may note that Krieger, commander in an expedition against one band of New Jersey Delaware in 1663, says that he cut down 215 acres of maize and burned more than 100 pits of corn and beans (Krieger, p. 39). There are also ample references to the cultivations of beans, squash (including pumpkins) and tobacco[3] (Harrington, 1913, p. 221; Johnson, p. 279; Kalm, p. 74). 241

Since the Delaware had no axe adequate to cut down a tree of any considerable size, they cleared their fields by seriously bruising the bark of the trees, thereby killing them. In this operation they [313 412]

used grooved axes hafted by tying the head between the ends of a split stick (Kalm, p. 229). The trees were then removed by burning (Johnson, p. 279; Harrington, 1913, p. 221; Kalm, p. 230). Zeisberger was told by his Indian acquaintances that, before they had metal tools, they also burned their wood into suitable lengths for use (Zeisberger, 1910, p. 29). After being cleared of rubbish and stones, the land was broken up with a hoe made of stone, tortoise shell, or the shoulder blade of a deer, attached to a short handle (Johnson, p. 279; Skinner, 1909, p. 42; Abbott, 1875, pp. 350 and 356; Loskiel, p. 67; Beaver, p. 47). The earth was piled into little hills in which five or six grains of maize were planted about April. In the middle of May when the maize was the "height of a finger", they planted in each heap three or four "Turkish beans,"[4] which then grew up with and were supported by the maize. Maize was a plant that needed frequent weeding and hoeing (De Rasieres, p. 107; Johnson, p. 279; Harrington, 1913, p. 221).

There is no mention of the use of any kind of fertilizer by the Delaware, and early Swedish writers note that, "When a tract had been cultivated until crops would no longer grow, it was deserted and a new plantation prepared" (Johnson, p. 279). Therefore, in the present case there appears to be at least presumptive evidence for lack of fertilizing techniques.

In addition to the above-mentioned means of obtaining food, the Delaware Indians gathered various wild berries, nuts, fruits, and roots. Although many of the early references tend to be generic, one gathers that strawberries, gooseberries, huckleberries or billberries, cranberries and grapes were among the chief fruits used (Loskiel, pp. 68-69; Kalm, p. 261; Skinner, 1909, p. 43; Waugh, pp. 127-28), and the butternut, walnut, chestnut and hickory the most important nuts (Loskiel, pp. 70-71; Lindstrom, p. 223; Waugh, p. 123). In addition, Kalm found that early Swedish residents of New Jersey remembered the Indians having used Hopnias or ground nut (Glycine apios), Katnias (Sagittaria sagittifolia) and Taw-Ho (Arum virginicum).[5] This last was reputed to be poisonous in a raw state and so was placed in a hole covered with earth where it was cooked by a fire burning on top. They also boiled and ate the seeds of the Golden Club or Taw-Hoe (Orontium aquaticum) (Kalm, pp. 260-61). The use of roots is referred to by other authors although the terms used vary (Brinton, 1885, p. 50; Johnson, p. 281; Lindstrom, p. 223; Skinner, 1909, p. 43).

Although there are no specific references to the making of maple syrup in early sources, all the later observers found maple sugar boiling an important activity and the properties of the maple were generally known and utilized on the east coast. It seems impossible that all the early writers would have overlooked the use of maple sap if it had been as important as it later became, but none of my sources mention it.

252
262 Flour was either ground between two stones or pounded in a
[412] mortar and pestle by the Delaware. The mortar was usually a hollowed tree trunk, the pestle a suitably shaped stone (Smith, p. 138; Lindstrom, pp. 253-54; Abbott, 1875, p. 357; Kalm, p. 230).

276 Stone pottery and clay pipes have been uncovered on archae-
323 ological sites. Lindstrom describes the Lenape pipes as beautifully
324 painted and glazed with birds and animals on the head. He says there are some "...an ell in length, which are screwed together with leather,...and in these pipe-heads will go a handful of tobacco" (Lindstrom, p. 197). These were presumably of European manufacture. The pipes which have been recovered from old sites are of a much humbler variety (Abbott, 1875, pp. 343-44; Skinner, 1909, p. 27; Butler, p. 249). This apparent inconsistency can be readily explained, however, by assuming that Lindstrom was referring to the calumets or peace pipes, which were relatively rare and would be likely to have been carried west by the owners when they moved (Kalm, pp. 231-32).

285 Some household items manufactured by the Delaware women were
[283] mats, ropes and baskets made from wild hemp, spruce roots, corn husks and rushes. The mats, which were sometimes painted or had figures worked in or over the weave, were hung on the walls for increased protection against the elements as well as to beautify the house (Smith, p. 138; Lindstrom, p. 221; Harrington, 1913, p. 224). They were also used as part of the bedding together with the skin or
287 turkey-feather robes which served as clothing during the day (Johnson, p. 280; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 203). The turkey-feather robes deserve special attention as they were evidently one of the most distinctive and beautiful of the Delaware's manufactures. Lindstrom says: "They also make fine and beautiful quilts of painted bird feathers. In the first place they tie them with meshes like nets, yet very fine; then they fasten the feathers in the meshes, so neat and strong that not one feather can come loose from it..." (Lindstrom, pp. 221-22). When there was a "bed," it consisted of a wooden
352 shelf running around the interior wall of the house and serving as a seat by day (Harrington, 1913, p. 218; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 17; Skinner, 1915, p. 7).

342 The most common type of Delaware house was a small hut consisting of a rectangular, gabled frame of saplings covered with bark or mats. Penn describes their houses thus: "Their Houses are Mats, or Bark of Trees set on Poles, in the fashion of an English Barn, but out of the power of the Winds, for they are hardly higher than a Man..." (Penn, p. 31). Some Delaware, however, constructed a house large enough to accommodate several families, the increase in size all deriving from greater length. The result was not unlike an Iroquois longhouse.[6] In the center of the house was one or more fires depending on the length of the building, and the ridge of the roof was arranged with an opening through which the smoke could

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

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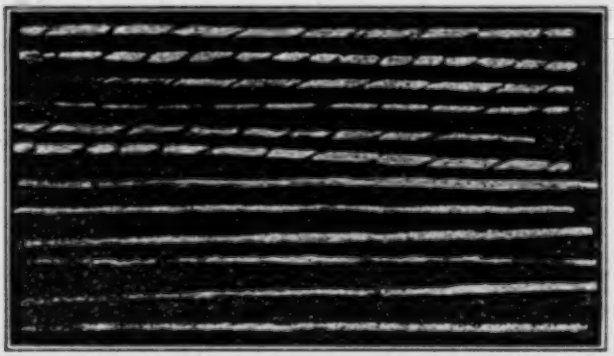

Fig. 24—Delaware Prayer Sticks (Hist. Com. of Pa.)

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Fig. 23—Delaware Corn mortar and pestle used in Ceremony (Hist. Com. of Pa.)

[P. 80 is blank]

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

A turkey's [1] wing is used when they sweep out in the Big House. And besides, the Attendant carries a long stick as a poker and that is used when they stir up the fire, and it is the rule that they shall light a good bright fire every night as long as they perform the ceremony. And the Attendant-leader every evening walks around all over where they are camped about this Big House, holding a whip. And any person that they find that is causing unnecessary noise they correct. And the children are instructed. And he notifies them, telling them thrice "Come in! Come in! Come in!" And just recently they selected an officer from the Delaware Ageney who is on guard all the time here while they are assembled, so that no one brings in liquor.[2]

[1] The specific term for the Wild Turkey (Meleagris gallipavo) is tel·'kənəm, a term derived from the habit of this bird of scratching or "cleaning" the floor of the forest. In native Delaware ornithology, the order Gallinae is denoted by the generic term pole' which denotes any of the birds of the group, though writers on Delaware social organization have occasionally rendered the term by "turkey." Happily no natural history obsequies are called for in the case of this splendid bird for it still survives in its original range where the Delawares knew it.

[2] The imformant pointed to this as an indication of the lack of reverence, and indecency of behavior in the tribe under the influence of the white man's ways. Zeisberger (op. cit. p. 139) commented on the same thing as regards disorder at the feasts.

When any one of us considers the rule with all the obligations and instructions as these are properly carried out, it should be forbidden for one thing that those of our women who when they cannot cook[1] are not pure, be allowed to trouble about the cooking. And should not come in the Big House as long as they are affected with the sickness, because some pure children might be much contaminated, especially when they perform the Gamwing. And it is the rule that persons should abstain from bringing into the Big House any animals of whatever kind they may be which are domesticated.[2]

[1] Being in their catamenial periods.

[2] This has special reference to dogs, pigs, etc. Some discussion has previously been given concerning the status of the wild animals of the forest and those domesticated by man. The Attendants are expected to attack any such animals that come into the Big House and drive them away with their staffs.

And right here opposite from the door on the outside over there at a certain distance they make the fire. Two forked poles are set upright and a pole laid across, upon which they hang the big buckets in which they cook. Near here standing upright is a many-forked tree where meat is hung. And a big shelf is there at one side of the fireplace with two floors where they put the corn that is used. When hominy is made the female Attendants have for their duty every morning and evening to grind and make corn flour and hominy. Sometimes two or four mortars are used together with those long pounders.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

III

SECOND NIGHT OF THE CEREMONY

[The procedure of the second night's performance follows that of the first night as respects the recitations by those who desire to chant their visions and to discourse.]

Here now, when the last Reciter-Leader has finished, and when they have swept the House well, then the other male Attendants bring inside the Big House the hominy.[1] Everyone eats the hominy in company. Each and all of the women comes bringing a dish to dip it out with. The Attendant has authority to give out the amount allotted to each, so it is said. The boys carry mussel-shells[2] which are used the same as when spoons are used. Now when everyone has eaten his share of the hominy, he feels happy for it, because the Bringer-in always says that this grain-food brings a spiritual blessing of strength when we set out to appeal to our common Father in the sky above. These Attendants first set apart a portion for each individual in his dish, because that is strictly understood to be the rule since long ago in the beginning of the world.[3]

THIRD NIGHT OF THE CEREMONY

Thanks be given, my kindred that still we are blessed with good fortune. Now it is the third evening since here we have performed the ceremony in our temple-house. Now we beg, everyone of us, at his utmost that we may be favored by the pure spirit-force, by him the mask-spirit[4] because he is the one who owns and controls all the wild animals.[5] Now tomorrow morning all must be ready to accompany the

[1] sa·'pan, "boiled corn" was a cereal staple in the diet of the eastern Algonkian wherever they lived. The term is cognate with New England Algonkian sampi which has passed into English. (For discussion of the term, its history and application see A. F. Chamberlain, Bull. 30, Bur. Amer. Ethnology, part II, p. 422).

[2] The single shell of the fresh-water mussel (Unio companatus in the east, U. gibbosus, in the west) employed as a spoon is ees-e'm'hon.

[3] The procedure of the subsequent three nights in the Big House is about the same as that recorded for the first. The same speakers recite their visions. The rites of sweeping and feasting are repeated similarly.

One might ask what the worshippers do to while away the day-time between the strenuous night performances besides procuring some much needed rest. Custom permits them to indulge in native games, mention of which will be found on page 69.

[4] Something has already been said of the mask-spirit as the guardian of game animals (p. 39). This man-it'-u is now to be made the object of worship in a pantomime of some importance.

[5] Herein lies a concept ripe for elaboration, since the doctrine of ownership of game animals is a fundamental one in the cosmology of the Algonkian hunters of the north, whose culture has been assumed to be fundamental to the family (see pp. 39-41).

11:Newcomb E-5 (1952) 1956 NM7 Delaware NM7

made a full circuit of the tepee. Many of the participants pressed the sage lightly to various parts of their bodies before passing it along. The road-chief then passed corn husks and Bull Durham tobacco in the same direction, everyone rolling a cigarette. These cigarettes were lit from the smoldering stick which was kept in readiness to the east of the fire. After the cigarettes had been smoked in silence, they were collected by the fire-chief. The butts were placed on the altar. Peyote was then passed in the same clockwise fashion; the road-chief directed that four buttons be taken, either two dried and two green, or four of a kind. Peyote tea was also passed, some individuals smearing their body, face, and hair with the tea, as well as drinking it.

When the peyote had completed the clockwise circuit, and as the participants were going through the ordeal of eating it, the road-chief prayed. He then began the opening song, holding a gourd rattle in his right hand and the peyote staff in his left, the drum-chief accompanying him on the drum. After four songs were sung the road-chief passed the staff and gourd rattle to the man on his left, accepted the drum from the drum-chief, and drummed for the man on his left, who sang four songs. After each set of four songs, the gourd rattle and staff were passed in a clockwise direction to the next man who sang a set of four songs, the previous singer becoming the drummer. The singing and drum accompaniment continued until midnight. Between sets of songs some individuals asked for peyote and others asked for water. The water was kept by the fire-chief's side in an ordinary bucket. Occasionally someone would leave the tepee, first getting permission from the road-chief. On re-entering, which was only permissible between sets of songs, the fire-chief cleansed and purified these people by brushing them from the head and shoulders down the arms to the fingers with an eagle feather fan. They then went around the north side of the fire to the altar, where they touched "Father Peyote," and the road-chief brushed them in a similar manner with another eagle feather fan. Then they returned to their places.

About midnight the fire-chief raked the ashes from the fire for the first time. He did this by moving the burning sticks eastward, taking a special peeled stick about six feet long and smoothing out the embers. After they were smoothed, another stick, somewhat longer than the first, was used to divide the ashes along the long axis of the cross, the ashes being formed into two neat piles on either side of the fire. After this was accomplished the fire was returned to its original position, built up, and the whole depression was swept from west to east

14:Leslie A-4.8 (no date) 1951
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[P.12, A]

172 227 324 length. (Plate 11, Nos. 1 and 5, shows very small sinkers, No. 1 being the chipped type and No. 5, a notched pebble.) Caches of sinkers occur in this culture, the writer having uncovered a hoard of 28 specimens in 1936 and another of six specimens in 1948. (Plate 6 shows the six specimens contained in the latter find.)

Hammerstones, Hoes, Lap-Stones

172 324 412 Hammerstones consisting of simple bi-pitted pebbles (Plate 7, No. 2), rudely chipped triangular or oval stone hoes, and lap-stones or metates occur in this culture. One so-called lap-stone found in a pit on the Bell-Philhower Site late in 1947 consists of a roughly-shaped oblong block of very fine sandstone 3 in. thick, 11½ in. long, and 8 in. wide. Both faces are slightly concave.

Roller Pestles

Minsi roller pestles are generally very well made. Some are very long, exceeding 18 inches in length. One found by the writer shortly after the flood of 1936 is nearly 14 inches long and bears on one end the crude effigy of what appears to be a reptile head. (Plate 8).

Stone Discs

One stone disc in the writer's collection was washed out by the 1936 flood on the Davenport Site near Milford, Pa. It was found intimately associated with sherds of Minsi type. This specimen is 1¼ inches thick and is slightly over 4 inches in diameter. It was probably used as a muller in common with certain pebbles of fine sandstone occurring on Minsi sites. These pebbles show wear on one or both faces. (For illustration of stone disc, see Plate 9, No. 2.) It is to be observed that the type of stone disc under discussion here is not the kind of chipped disc (net sinker) mentioned in the Bell-Philhower report, p. 237.

[P. 12, 8]

Sinew Stones

172 324 412 In the Milford area it is possible on occasion to recover egg-shaped (and sized) pebbles almost completely encircled by shallow pecked grooves. Ritchie in the Bell-Philhower report, p. 175, refers to them as "partly grooved thick pebble sinkers". The present writer has never found this explanation of their use to be entirely satisfactory (Plate 7, Nos. 1 and 3.)

Stone Faces

172 324 532 Under the category of rough stone it is proper to include the stone faces which now and then turn up on Minsi sites. To the writer's knowledge, at least five of these have been found in the Milford area, one splendid specimen from Minisink Island (Plate 10) being presently in the collection of Mr. Rudolph Ludwig. According to [796] numerous authorities, these rough-tone effigies were used in the Lenni-Lenapé Big House Ceremony.

Polished Stone Artifacts

Celts

172 324 412 The inventory of Minsi polished stone artifacts is not large. Most prominent in this category is the so-called 'thick-polled celt' (Plate 9, Nos. 1 and 3). It is to be observed that some of these are almost restagular in cross-section, others more nearly oval.

Small Chisels

Well made "miniature celts" in the form of small narrow chisels or of small pebbles with a celt-like edge are among the most interesting and unusual Minsi artifacts. Some (Plate 1, No. 8) are beautifully made. In my opinion, this type of implement is important in the identification of Minsi-occupied sites. Several years ago the writer published in the "Pennsylvania Archaeologist" (Vol. IX, No. 3) a brief discussion of the possible use of these small tools. In that article it was suggested

[P.13, A]

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that they were possibly used to incise pottery. (For illustrations of several of these chisels found in the Milford area, see Plate 1, Nos. 7 to 13.)

Gorgets and Pendants

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The Bell-Philhower report mentions gorgets and pendants as being possible Minsi traits (pp. 174 and 236) on the basis of the reported finding of a gorget by Mr. Charles A. Philhower in a pit in association with a mat needle and a pottery vessel of Owasco type. This view is further supported by the mention of Owasco parallels and by a reference to the discovery of a pendant by Heye and Pepper during their excavation of the adjacent Minsi site of the historic period.

The probability of the occurrence of both the gorget and the pendant in the inventory of Minsi cultural traits must be freely accepted, but it cannot be maintained that the matter is conclusively settled on the basis of present evidence—particularly as regards the gorget. It may be observed in connection with this problem that in this area the gorget is generally to be regarded as associated with the "middle" period rather than the "late" to which the Minsi belong. This does not, however, rule out the possibility of a weak survival or borrowing of this cultural trait.

Paint Stone

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In the summer of 1948 the writer found on the surface of the Bell-Philhower Site a thin rectangular piece of hematite with concave surfaces on each side exhibiting the marks of abrasion (Plate 1, No. 4). The obvious conclusion is that this object was used as a source of pigment, probably for personal adornment. While its occurrence on the surface gives rise to a certain element of doubt concerning its cultural affiliation, it is almost certainly of Minsi origin.

14:Leslie A-4.5 (no date) 1951
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[P-13, B]

Chipped Stone Artifacts

Arrowpoints

172 324 411 Most prominent in the category of Minsi chipped stone implements is the triangular arrowpoint. While several forms of triangular points occur, the vast majority of Minsi points are equilateral triangles with concave bases. A considerable number of equilateral triangular points also occur with straight bases. (Plate 11, Nos. 14 and 11, shows concave-base points; Nos. 11, 12, and 13 have straight bases.)

[803] The materials of which Minsi chipped implements found in the Milford area are made include jasper (brown, yellow, red), argillite, black, white and gray chert, and a chalcedony-like material. By far the most commonly-used of these materials were argillite and black chert.

Knives

172 324 412 Although knives of several types (ovate, large triangular, broad side-notched, etc.) have been found on sites generally conceded to be Minsi, this kind of implement is not typical of the culture.

Scrapers

Both side scrapers, consisting of retouched flakes, and end scrapers occur in the Minsi Culture, but not to the extent that they are found in the much older Laurentian horizon.

The most prominent, in fact, almost the exclusive form of end scraper is the ovate type. The keeled back form is a very poor second and while occurring, is, like the chipped knife, not typical of the culture. (Plate 11, Nos. 7, 8, 9, shows end scrapers from a large site near Milford, Pa., generally conceded to be Minsi.)

Drills

Although Ritchie's statistics (Bell-Philhower report, p. 236) would lead one to the conclusion that drills are comparatively minor artifacts in the total Minsi series,

14:Leslie A-4.5 (no date) 1951
NM7 Delaware NM7
[F 14, A]

172 the writer has found that these implements
324 occur generally on Minsi sites. It is pos-
412 sible that they deserve more significance than Ritchie's tables would indicate. Ritchie (op. cit., p. 236) lists five types: expanded base, expanded side-notched base, expanded scraper base, T-shaped base, and Y-shaped base. Presently available statistics do not permit a selection of the most common form or forms (Plate 11, Nos. 2, 3, 4, 6).

Trade Goods

172 Any trade goods found in the upper
439 Delaware area are almost certainly surviving evidence of the period of Minsi-Caucasian contact. In general, trade material is extremely rare, evidencing the fact that the contact period was of very short duration in this area. One notable exception to this general paucity of trade material is that part of the Bell Site excavated by Heye and Pepper early in the second decade of the present century. In their exploration, Heye and Pepper found numerous articles of European or Colonial origin, including beads, metal kettles, etc. (See their "Exploration of a Munsee Cemetery near Montague, N. J.", 1915.)

The writer has found only two artifacts evidencing Caucasian contact: a sheet brass triangular arrowpoint from the Davenport Site across the Delaware from Milford, Pa., found on the surface in 1934, and a small perforated triangular ornament of catlinite from near Cocheton, Sullivan Co., N. Y. (Plate 11, No. 10, shows the brass arrowpoint; Plate 1, No. 6, is the catlinite ornament.)

Summary

172 With the exception of numerous pottery decorative patterns within the framework of certain Owasco and Iroquoian ceramic techniques, it is evident that Minsi material culture is not characterized by variety. This is, of course, an example of a cultural

[P.15, C]

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PLATE I. MINSI ARTIFACTS

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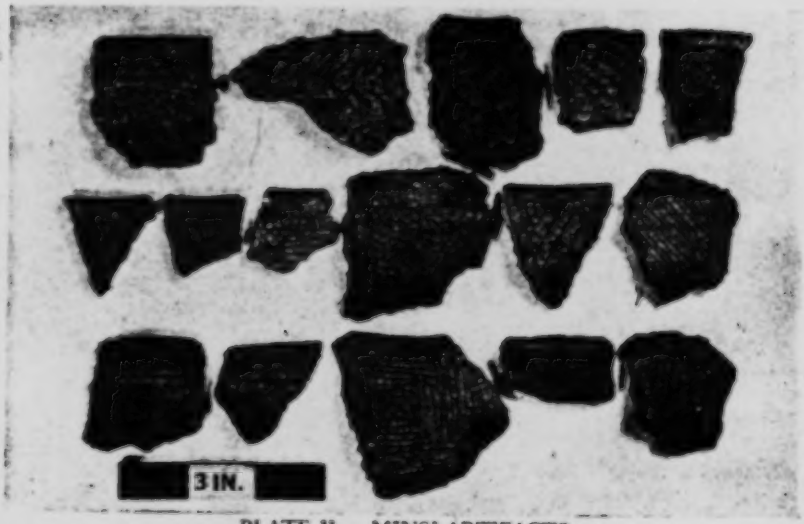

PLATE II. MINSI ARTIFACTS

[P. 18]

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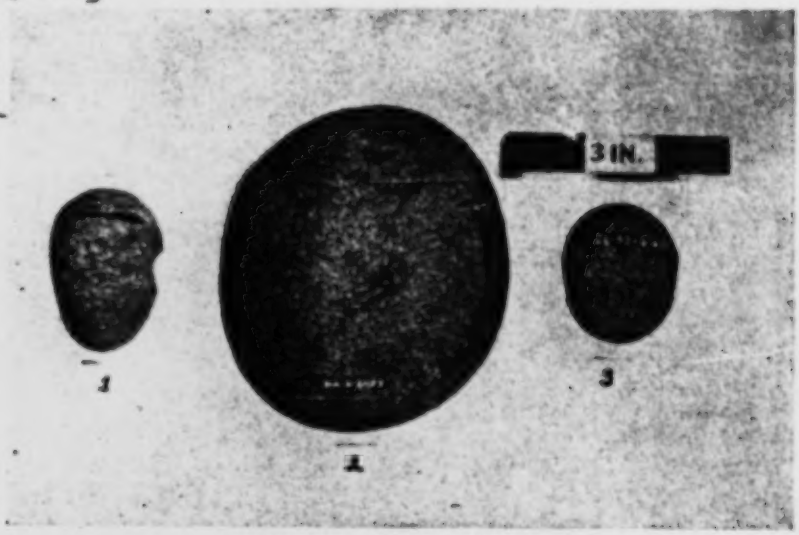

PLATE VII. MINSI ARTIFACTS

PLATE VIII. MINSI ARTIFACT

[P. 19]

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PLATE IX. MINSI ARTIFACTS

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PLATE X. MINSI ARTIFACT

[P.20]

PLATE XI. MINSI ARTIFACTS

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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moving from one place to another according to inclination, yet they generally dwell together for the sake of the help they can render each other in building and in fencing up the great field where all may plant and be sure that their pieces of ground will not be molested by cattle. If they have a good chief he may be very useful to the people, for under him they believe themselves to dwell in safety as it is his business to keep the peace with other nations and order among his own people in so far as this may be secured among the Indians who are a free people recognizing neither compulsion nor authority to punish. By means of discretion and diplomacy a chief may accomplish much. At times he may not tell his counsellors, much less the people, what his ultimate purposes are, for fear of not attaining them. Moving forward step by step he may gain his end. Of violence, murder (except in drunkenness), robbery, theft, one rarely hears among the Indians. They may leave all they have caught in the chase and their utensils in the forest, secured indeed against wild animals such as wolves and bear, but not hidden from the Indians. They often hang their things to trees in the woods where everyone passing by may see them and leave them there for days and weeks, yet they are never molested. Stolen goods may not be easily concealed among them, and whoever has been guilty of theft must restore or repay lest a horse or two or even his gun, which is an Indian's means of sustenance, be taken from him or his friends summoned to make good the injury, even years after the theft has been committed. The latter will rather pay than be much and often called upon to do so.

Few houses are locked when the people go out. A stick is placed against the door on the outside and the passerby sees that no one is at home and does not enter. Each one is free to do as he pleases without let or hindrance, yet he will rarely do another injury.

Their old people, even though they are only able to crawl about and are a source of trouble and have nothing to bequeath to anyone, are faithfully cared for by their friends who seem to wish that their lives should be prolonged. That they are unmerciful and insensible towards the poor and needy may not be said of them. Even strangers who have no friends are

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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As soon as European utensils became available (early in the seventeenth century), maple sugar rapidly became a more important food. Honey was considered a delicacy when it could be obtained, but it was not an early food source since honey bees were not indigenous to the Delaware habitat.[69]

Preparation of food.— Dried and green corn was prepared in a wide variety of ways. Most corn seems to have been dried, ground, and baked. Typically, "they make flat cakes of the meal mixed with water, as large again as a farthing cake in this country, and bake them in the ashes, first wrapping a vine-leaf or maize-leaf around them. When they are sufficiently baked in the ashes, they make good palatable bread." William Penn said: "Their diet is Maze, or Indian Corn, divers ways prepared; sometimes Roasted in the Ashes, sometimes beaten and Boyled with Water, which they call *Homine*; they also make cakes, not unpleasant to eat."[71] Dried corn was placed in a wooden mortar made from a fire-hollowed log and ground with a wooden or stone pestle.[72] The meal was sifted through "a small basket, which they understand how to weave. . . ."[73] Harrington also mentioned the sifting of flour, saying that it was sifted "through sieve baskets of varying degrees of fineness."[74] The finest meal was used in the above-mentioned bread, and the coarser corn meal was used in porridge, or gruel.[75] The white-flour corn was usually utilized in the bread, but other varieties were used in hominy and gruel (M.B., O.A., J.T.). Berries were often added to the bread, and meat, berries, beans, nuts, and pumpkins were sometimes added to the gruel.[76] In later times "dumplings" were made by frying corn meal dough in grease, usually with added berries (O.A.). Hominy was prepared by boiling dried corn with ashes, which removed the husk. The hominy was washed repeatedly in a stream after it was cooked.[77]

"Those stalks [of corn] which are low and bear no ears, they pluck up in August, and suck out the sap, which is as sweet as if it were sugar-cane."[78] Green ears were roasted whole in ashes, grated and baked in the ashes, or boiled. The roots of water lily plants were peeled, cut into small chunks, and boiled (O.A.). Wild potatoes were prepared by boiling, skinning, and then mashing and were eaten with various kinds of "greens." The Delawares that live in the rural areas still gather and eat wild potatoes. An account of the preparation of maple sugar gives an ample description of this eighteenth-century trait:

A number of small troughs are made for receiving the sap. Usually, the Indians make them of wood, cutting them out roughly with a hatchet. Some Indians are able to make twenty or thirty of them in a day. Some do not go to so

[69] Zeisberger, 1885, I: 310.
[70] De Vries, 1909, pp. 218-19; also see Pastorius, 1912, p. 426; Van der Donck, 1909, p. 303.
[71] Penn, 1912, p. 232.
[72] De Rasieres, 1909, p. 107; Lindestrom, 1925, p. 253.
[73] De Rasieres, 1909, p. 107; De Vries, 1909, p. 218.
[74] Harrington, 1913, p. 221.
[75] Luckenbach, 1938, p. 599.
[76] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 254; Luckenbach, 1938, p. 599.
[77] Penn, 1912, p. 232; O. A., M. B.
[78] De Rasieres, 1909, p. 107.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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on the skin; the operator with a small stick, rather larger than a common match, to the end of which some sharp needles are fastened, quickly pricks over the whole so that blood is drawn, then a coat of this powder is laid and left on to dry. Before the whites came into this country, they scarified themselves for this purpose with flint stones, or pricked themselves with the sharp teeth of a fish.[152]

The men tatooed their arms, legs, and faces with figures of snakes, birds, and other animals. These were marks of distinction and commemorated some worthy deed or heroic action. Occasionally the women tattooed themselves.[154]

Both sexes painted their thighs, legs, breast, and face with streaks, lines, or circles. The usual colors were red, black, blue, and yellow.[155] Painting was mostly for festive occasions or for warfare. Women were more circumspect than men in the amount of paint used, since excessive or immodest painting was regarded as indicative of a wanton woman.[156] Both men and women wore numerous ornaments. Wampum in particular was a favorite; it was used as necklaces and wristlets and was hung from the ears. Sometimes it was woven in bands and worn on the head or clothing.[157] The helixes of men's ears were often pierced for wampum, metal, and other ornaments:

> They frequently cut the helix of the ear,[158] leaving the upper and lower ends intact and then hang bits of lead to it so that it is stretched. Then this curved border of the auricle is bound with brass wire, distending it considerably, and decorated with silver ornaments.[159]

Besides wampum, necklaces of dyed deer hair, stone, native copper, and shell gorgets were worn.[160] One source depicted men wearing "the thumbs of enemies they have killed."[161] Men carried tobacco pouches, often made from the whole skin of a loon, large enough to hold a pipe, tobacco, knife, a pair of depilatory shells, and other objects.[162]

Manufactures.— The bow and arrow, the war club or tomahawk, and the spear were the principal implements of the men.[163] The type of bow used is unknown, except for one vague reference to wooden bows and arrows.[164] The triangular stone projectile points were fastened to the shaft by means of resin.[165] Projectile points were usually made of quartz, but chert, slate, shale, granite, sandstone, and argillite points have been found. Some may even have been made of fish bones.[166] Stone, pottery, and copper pipes were noted, both from early documents and

[152] Heckewelder, 1881, p. 206.
[154] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 12.
[155] De Vries, 1909, p. 217; Holm, 1834, p. 119; Van der Donck, 1909, p. 301; Denton, 1845, p. 10.
[156] Heckewelder, 1881, p. 203.
[157] Van der Donck, 1909, p. 301; Pastorius, 1912, p. 434; Lindestrom, 1925, pp. 196-97.
[158] Heckewelder, 1881, p. 207; Luckenbach, 1938, p. 107.
[159] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 12.
[160] Abbott, 1875, p. 327; Heye and Pepper, 1915, pp. 32-42; Holm, 1834, p. 119.
[161] Holm, 1834, p. 119; Van der Donck, 1909, p. 301.
[162] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 68; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 204.
[163] Brinton, 1885, p. 53.
[164] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 29.
[165] De Laet, 1909, p. 48; Holm, 1834, p. 129; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 29.
[166] Smith, 1950, p. 119; De Laet, 1909, p. 57.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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from archaeological sites attributed to the Delawares. Copper tobacco pipes were recorded early in the seventeenth century by Juet who said: "They had red Copper Tabacco pipes, and other things of Copper they did weare about their neckes."[167] Lindestrom described the pipes as painted and said that there were some "an ell in length, which are screwed together with leather, to lean on. . .and in these pipe-heads will go a handful of tobacco."[168] In another place he indicated that pipe heads were decorated with birds and animals "very beautifully painted and glazed."[169] Holm said that the pipes were "a fathom long, which they lean upon as a stick."[170] The pottery pipes found in archaeological sites were plainer, being "straight conical tubes, plain or stamped, to elbow-shaped forms decorated with incised or stamped lines."[171] De Laet said they had ". . .tubes for smoking tobacco formed. . .of flint stone ingeniously perforated."[172] Stone pipes, however, are relatively rare in archaeological sites.[173]

Agricultural implements of the women were simple; short-handled hoes were fashioned with a blade of dogwood, stone, tortoise shell, or the scapula of a deer (later bison).[174] The scapula hoe is remembered by living Delawares. The Delawares had pottery vessels, and according to archaeological information the paste varied from fine to medium coarse, grit temper was more common than shell temper, and sherds are usually gray or brown. Vessels had "conical and rounded bottoms" and were "straight walled or rounded." Shoulders were often absent, although some had pronounced shoulders when associated with a collared rim. Decoration, if present, was by roughening with a cord-wrapped paddle. Incised decorative designs were frequent.[175] Containers and other utensils were fashioned of wood, shell, bark, gourds, and tortoise shell.[176] Stone tools are common in archaeological deposits and include "plain or pitted hammerstones, anvil stones, abrading stones, sinew stones, pestles, shallow mortars, choppers (or hoes), picks, netsinkers, paint stones and amorphous pieces of mica."[177] They possessed "stone hatchets" that were hafted to a handle, and another type which was neither grooved nor hafted.[178] The women and old men manufactured the mats, ropes, tump lines, and baskets, which were made from wild hemp, nettle, silkweed, spruce roots, cornhusks, ash splints, papaw bark, elm bast, and rushes. Wooden bowls, dishes, and mortars were made of maple, buckeye, and elm wood.[179] Speck has described fully the block

[167] Juet, 1909, pp. 18-19; De Laet, 1909, p. 49.
[168] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 197.
[169] *Ibid.*, p. 221.
[170] Holm, 1834, p. 130.
[171] Smith, 1950, p. 119.
[172] De Laet, 1909, p. 57.
[173] Butler, 1947, p. 252.
[174] Johnson, 1917, p. 279; Jemison, 1918, p. 47; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 28; Mahr, 1954, pp. 385-86.
[175] Smith, 1950, pp. 117-18.
[176] Pastorius, 1912, p. 384; Lindestrom, 1925, p. 255; Johnson, 1917, p. 281; Speck, 1941, pp. 47, 76-79; Smith, 1950, p. 119.
[177] Smith, 1950, p. 119.
[178] Kalm, 1937, I: 229.
[179] Thomas, 1912, p. 341; Lindestrom, 1925, p. 221; De Laet, 1909, p. 57; Harrington, 1913, p. 224.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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137 The wood is red, very hard and heavy and does not rot very quickly in the ground. It bears pods that fall off in the autumn. Besides the seeds, the pods contain a kind of molasses or honey, thus accounting for the name Europeans have given the tree. The Indians call it the thorn-tree on account of its many thorns.

Sugar trees are usually found in low, rich soil, sometimes, also, on higher land and in more northerly regions even on hills, where, however, the soil is very moist. The Delawares call this tree the *Achsunnamunschi*, that is, the stone-tree, on account of the hardness of the wood. The Mingoes give it a name signifying the sugar tree, as do the Europeans. From 222 the sap of the tree sugar is boiled. This is done by the Indians 252 in the early part of the year, beginning in February and continuing to the end of March or beginning of April, according as spring is early or late. In this region it is possible to boil sugar even in fall after there has been frost and in winter, if the season is mild. For as soon as the trees thaw a little the sap begins to run and then the trees are tapped. As, however, at that time of the year the weather is very uncertain and it is possible that there should be a cold wave at any time, it is hardly worth the effort to make the necessary arrangements and is hardly ever done, unless some one be driven of necessity to provide sugar for the household. This, we ourselves have been obliged to do and the sisters of our congregation have already boiled a quantity of sugar for congregational love-feasts, shortly before Christmas.

Spring is the proper season for boiling sugar. The following preparations are made. A number of small troughs [415] are made for receiving the sap. Usually, the Indians make them of wood, cutting them out roughly with a hatchet. Some Indians are able to make twenty or thirty of them in a day. Some do not go to so much trouble, but make dishes of the bark or bast of a tree, which serve quite as well, but are good for no more than one season. According as they have large or numerous kettles and troughs they can make much sugar, for there is no lack of trees. Besides the smaller troughs and dishes,

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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136 Another variety of wood-pecker is very small, is spotted and is much pursued by birds of prey, especially the hawk. Occasionally, the wood-pecker is able to defend himself against his enemies, it having happened that this bird when attacked, has thrust its bill into the head of the pursuer so that the latter fell dead.

The yellow wood-pecker,[198] so called because of its yellow wings, also climbs up and down the trees in search of food, with its head turned upward or downward.

A few green parrots[199] are seen in the woods here in summer. Further south they may be found in great numbers.

The loon[200] is a water bird about the size of a goose and is heavily feathered. It is spotted black and white, lives on fish and has a pointed bill. It cannot walk on land, as its feet are too far back, but is a strong swimmer. It can swim a considerable distance under the water, before rising to the surface, especially if it is being fired upon. Often the Indians are [223] obliged to shoot a number of times before they hit the bird, for it is noted for its swiftness in diving, as well as for its swimming. It is not eatable, but the Indians make pouches of its [262 415] skin, which is taken off whole, large enough to hold pipe, tobacco, flint, steel and knife.

There are two other birds of prey among those that fish, the one larger than the eagle[201] the other a small bird[202] that makes its nest on the ground along steep banks of creeks or rivers, where it makes a hole just large enough to slip into.

The heron[203] has long legs, great wings and a lean body.

There are two kinds of owls. The larger[204] is heard very much in the woods at night.

Crows[205] do much damage on the plantations, especially in the cornfields, both when the corn is planted and when it is ripe.

The Turkey l'osser[206] has a head like a turkey, without feathers. It lives on carrion. The raven[207] is also a scavenger and at the same time a bird of prey, often attacking chickens. The raven makes good use of the meat that Indians leave in the woods.

The hoopoe[208] is fawn colored on the back and has a brown-

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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the mother going to fetch water or on some other errand. The children by pushing and kicking not infrequently tumbled themselves into the fire or other danger and thus miserably perished, or were severely burned. For this reason the custom is in disfavor.

Their houses are fairly clean, some being superior in this respect and affording a comfortable night's lodging for a European. In case a guest is expected, especially if it be a white person, they prepare as comfortable a bed as possible. They sweep the bunk, that serves as seat and table in the daytime and as bed at night, and spread a mat with one or more deer or bear skins upon it. Though usually a comfortable couch in summer time it may be made very uncomfortable by the fleas brought in by dogs. Their kettles, dishes and spoons are not kept in good order; sometimes they are only licked by the dogs in lieu of washing. Dishes and spoons they make themselves of wood, sometimes of tree knots or growths, often very neatly. The spoons are generally large and round shaped. Occasionally, a spoon will be used by several people, turn about, at a meal. Brass kettles, to be found in most houses because very necessary for sugar boiling, are bought from the whites.

The Indians are lovers of finery and dress, the women more than the men; the latter take care that the women adorn themselves in proper manner. The men clothe themselves rather meanly, regarding it as a disgrace to be better appareled than their wives. The dress which particularly distinguishes the women is a petticoat or strowd, blue, red or black, made of a piece of cloth about two yards long, adorned with red, blue or yellow bands laid double and bound about the body. Many women wear a white shirt over the strowd, decorated with silver buckles, the more the better. Red or blue leggings are worn, made of fine cloth joined by a broad band of silk bordered with coral. These leggings reach only to the feet. Shoes are made very neatly. Over the first strowd they may wear another, not decorated with ribbons, which if it inconveniences them in their movements may be easily laid aside. Thus clad a woman is well dressed. In place of the white shirts, blue linen or cotton may be worn. When they wear a white shirt, which is preferably of fine linen, it is often dressed with cinnabar about the neck.

Food Preservation and Cooking

Passing to the problem of food preservation, we find that such crops as maize, tobacco and meat were most commonly stored in pits covered over first with bark or grass and then with earth (Lindstrom, p. 253; Johnson, p. 279; Krieger, p. 39; De Rasieres, p. 107). The house was also an important storage place, the food being placed in hemp bags and suspended from the ceiling (Johnson, p. 279; Harrington, 1913, p. 218; Heckewelder, 1820, p. 370). 251

Maize was used in a variety of ways. According to one author, those stalks that produced no ears were pulled early and the sap sucked from them (De Rasieres, p.107). The ears were either roasted in ashes or boiled. Most of the maize, however, seems to have been pounded or ground into flour and sifted through a basket of the desired coarseness. The finer flour was mixed with lukewarm water, kneaded into dough and made into round, flat little cakes which were baked in hot ashes. The coarser flour was made into porridge (i.e. boiled with water) to which nuts, beans, berries, pumpkin or meat were sometimes added (Penn, pp. 31-32; Lindstrom, p. 254; De Rasieres, p. 107; Danckhaerts, p. 159; Johnson, p. 281; Heckewelder, 1781, pp. 194-96; Loskiel, p. 67). Indeed, there seems to have been almost endless variety in the preparation of these cornflour dishes. 252

The other vegetables were most commonly eaten boiled and, it should be noted, without seasoning except ashes, as the Delaware did not use salt (Pastorius, 1700, p. 384; Danckaerts, p. 159; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 194; Lindstrom, p. 254). Water was probably the most important beverage known to the Delaware at this time, but fruit juices and water flavored with crushed walnuts or hickory nuts are reported (Johnson, p. 281; Loskiel, p. 74; Kalm, p. 269). Tobacco was always mixed with willow bark or sumac for smoking (Loskiel, p. 73; Speck, 1931, p. 127). [263] 272 276

Manufactures

A wide variety of materials was utilized for cooking equipment. Serving dishes were made of wood, bark, shell, or a cut-off calabash; spoons were of wood or suitably shaped shells. Cups of tortoise shell have also been found (Johnson, p. 281; Harrington, 1913, p. 223; Danckaerts, p. 159; Lindstrom, p. 255; Pastorius, 1700, p. 384; Skinner, 1915, p. 38). Pottery, which was used for boiling, is found abundantly in Lenape territory. It was made of clay mixed with pounded sea shells, mica or sand and various combinations of these ingredients. The technique used was coiling. Designs consisted of lines and dots, stamped or incised on the vessel. Broken or cracked pieces were mended by lacing through holes bored on either side of the defect (Skinner, 1915, pp. 12 and 13; Heye, pp. 62-66; Abbott, 1875, p. 345; Smith, p. 138; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 89). 415 323

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

this only, may be used in the temple, and no one is permitted to take it outside for any purpose.

CEREMONY COMMENCED

Two of the attendants, a man and a woman, then build the two fires in the temple, so that there may be plenty of light, and sweep the floor with turkey-wings for brushes. The men attendants take turns so that one of them, at least, is always on guard outside the building. When the temple is clean, the fires are burning bright, and the *a'ckas* have called the people in and all are assembled, the chief arises and delivers a speech.

CHIEF'S SPEECH

First he states the rules of the meeting, then he speaks along some such line as the following, which was dictated by Chief Elkhair, who frequently made these speeches:

"We are thankful that so many of us are alive to meet together here once more, and that we are ready to hold our

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
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WOMEN'S NIGHT

The twelfth night is reserved for the women to relate their visions; but before they begin, the speaker orders the attendants to burn cedar-leaves in the two fires, and the people are supposed to inhale the smoke and purify themselves. Then two women are ordered to take, one a little bark dish (*a"sipta'gän*) of red paint (fig. 13), the other a similar

FIG. 13.—Paint-dish of bark, used at the Annual Ceremony. (Length, 2.2 in.)

vessel of grease, and the two start from the door on the north side of the Temple and go to each person present. One dips her fingers in the paint and touches the color to the person's left cheek, while her companion similarly annoints the person's head with a little of the grease. This done, two men attendants take the bark vessels and paint and grease in the

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
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among the Unami, but this feature does not appear in the set collected by the writer at Grand River reserve (fig. 15,*a*), which the Indians said were representative of the Minsi type. 346 796^ [532]

There were two poles laid along on each side from end to end of the Big House to divide the dancing place in the center from the sitting places on the side, which were covered with a special kind of leaves. Along these poles twelve little sumach sticks (fig. 15, *b*), peeled and painted, were laid for twelve people to hold in their hands, and tap on the poles in time to the music. [534] There were also provided a turtle rattle, which was placed at the foot of the central pole; a fire-drill which Nellis Timothy thinks was worked on the "pump-drill" principle, like that of the Unami, and a lot of entirely new and unused bowls and spoons of bark. [415] Unlike the Unami custom, both doors of the Big House were used, the people always going in at the east door and coming out at the west, and here also (like the Unami) the ashes

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
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CHAPTER XIX.

Concerning the Manufacture of the Attractive and the Artistic Wares of the American Savage People.

Write or read the savages cannot, nor do any other work like the Christians, such as spin, weave, sew, *et talia, etc.* But their work consists[1] in neatly working [various things] by drawing, painting and glazing, as for instance their bags,[2] which they make so large that 1 quart, ½ gallon, yes 1, 1½, 2, 2½, 3 up to 6 gallons can go into them, to keep grain and all kinds of other such [things] in. These they elaborate with all kinds of figures of painted pine roots and also split,[3] painted sticks, unspeakably strong.[4]

They also make very neat tobacco pipes with all kinds of birds and animals on the pipe head, very beautifully painted and glazed.[5] There are also found beautiful colors of all kinds, which we can see by their neat and artistically painted work of bird feathers, tobacco pipes and more such [things]. They also make very fine and beautiful quilts[6] of painted bird feathers. In the first place they tie them with meshes like nets, yet very fine;[7]

[1] *Uthan dersa arbete gådr uth på.* Cf. *Vertoogh, N. Y. Col.*, 2, II, 270; *Doc.*, I, 282; Williams, *Key*, 133.
[2] *Notasser.* See above, Chapt. XI, note 7.
[3] *Upfläcka*, to tear up (?); cf. *fläcka sönder*, tear asunder.
[4] Cf. Hodge, *Handbook*, I, 125, 132; above Chapt. XI, note 7.
[5] Cf. Chapt. IX, note 10; Hodge, *Handbook*, II, 257 ff.
[6] *Skiöna fällar. Fäll* usually means skins with the fur, fell.
[7] *Dock mycket granne.*

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
NM7 Delaware NM7

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34. "THERE IS NO SCARCITY OF PROVISIONS AMONG THE SAVAGES." SEE PP. 253–5.

35. "THEY PASS . . . SLENDER SPITS OF WOOD THROUGH THE MEAT OR THE FISH, STICK THE SPITS DOWN INTO THE GROUND, AND TURN THE MEAT OR FISH NEAR THE FIRE." SEE P. 254.

[Facing p. 253]

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
NM7 Delaware NM7

252 the root, in the stump of which they dig out a
322 round hole and thus make a mortar which is suited for the purpose and in which they pound all their grain to meal.[4] And then they bake their
252 meal into small loaves as large as a small cheese,[5] in which they use a kind of berry like currants. Nor do they use any other bake-oven than the embers. The ashes they use according to the manner of the birds, to clean their stomach with, as the birds do with sand instead of salt, therefore they are not so particular, if their bread gets to be a little ashy. They have just recently begun to
[413 263] buy a little salt of the Christians, but they do not know how to use it otherwise than to chew a little of it at a time, like other costly spices.[6]

[273] To brew ale or distill brandy, that they cannot turn their hand to. In reference to the frying by the savages [it is to be noted] that they know no other manner of doing it than to cut for themselves slender spits of wood, pass them through the meat or the fish, stick the spits down into the ground, and turn the meat or the fish near the fire.[7] When it now may be about half fried on the one side, then he turns the other side to the fire and when it is half fried on both sides, so that the blood still remains in it, then he considers it most wholesome and best to eat. In reference to the cooking
[439 415] of the savages [it may be stated] that they have

[4] Cf. Van der Donck and other Dutch writers of the early 17th Century, *N. Y. Col.*, 2, I, II, III.

[5] Perhaps six or eight inches in diameter.

[6] The natives apparently did not season their food with salt. Cf. Hodge, *Handbook*, II, 418 ff.

[7] See illustration facing page 253. The natives of Africa smoke and roast their fish in the same way.

8:Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
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a full [supply] of copper and brass kettles for the purpose, large and small, which the savages buy from the Christians, hanging on a pole[8] along their hut or house from the one door to the other, below which the fire is made up, as has been stated before. And the savage woman whom the sachem owns for a wife, she is the housekeeper for the whole crowd. She selects for the cooking and determines which one of the savage women then and then,[9] each in her turn, shall look after the cooking. When now they think that the food is cooked, which indeed they use half cooked, then the kettles are carried forth to the housekeeper who pours out the food and divides it around for the people, 6 and 6 to a kettle. The vessels used for this purpose are small copper and brass kettles and cut-off calibashes like cups.[10]

As far as their drink is concerned [it may be said] that they drink with the goose.[11]

But when the Christians bake bread of this maize or Indian wheat, they also do it with hot embers in the fireplace. They make and knead the whole dough into one loaf, as wide as the bottom of the oven, raised like a loaf of rye bread. Then they sweep the fireplace clean and lay a couple of layers of large leaves next to the stones upon which they place the bread, then some layers [of leaves] on top and around the bread, and then

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[8] *Hängandes på en åhs.* *Ås* in this connection would usually mean the ridge (ridge-pole) of a house, but Lindeström apparently uses the word in the sense of a pole.

[9] *Då och då*, *i.e.*, from time to time.

[10] See above, Chapt. VII, note 13. It seems strange that Lindeström does not mention clay pots.

[11] See above, p. 134, note 4.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

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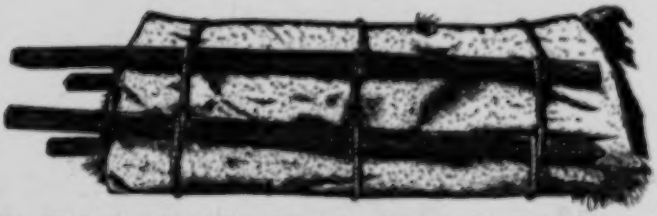

Fig. 19—Drum made of dried deerskin used at the Big House Ceremony. (Length, 38.2). After Harrington.

Fig. 20—Delaware drum beaters used on ninth night of ceremony. (Hist. Com. of Pa.)

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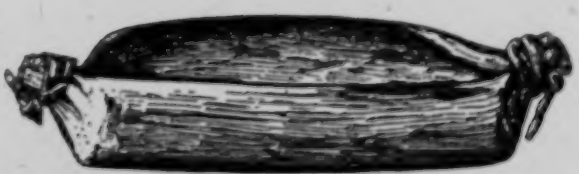

Fig. 21—Paint-dish of bark, used at the Big House Ceremony. (Length, 2.2 in.). After Harrington.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

No iron or nail is used when building the House, and no wooden floor. It has a dirt floor inside the House. Deerhide is used when the drum is tied together and two drum-sticks are cut forked. And small faces are carved on one side, alike in appearance. Another different pair of sticks are made plain and these are used when the cranes[1] are singing. And a wooden bowl is made ready when they mix up the tobacco and kinnickinnick[2]. Another different wooden bowl is provided when they carry the red paint and puccoon[3] and also there they put cedar.

And ten and two sticks are made, called "means of earnest prayer." And some are marked with spots. Whoever wishes to sing in company shall also use this when helping to lift up the prayer, it is said, with concentration of spiritual force far above to the ten and two sky-levels where dwells the Creator.

And now this Big House when first built, they say of it, was the one great prayer-ereed, that this carved post in the middle of the House, standing there reaches to the above through as many as ten and two strata. And the strata of sky light are as high as that post, it is said, this being the fastener. That is the Creator's staff. From that very staff, branch off all prayer-ereeds of the red-people given to them, whence come all other prayer-ereeds of the world.

[1] Meaning the drummers. There being two drummers, one of them sings in a tone which the other repeats immediately after him, in imitation of the manner in which wild cranes cry when flying in response to the call of their leader. The result in tone is similar to an echo. The crane is the Sand-hill crane (Grus Mexicana), daleka'ok, (plural) whence the drummers derive their sobriquet. ni'kanasos "the leader" is the singer who takes the leading part in the song; the other singer is oxtengi'xsos "after-time." See page 57.

[2] See footnote 6, page 127.

[3] See page 71.

[4] mas'mendahi'k an. This denotes prayer-sticks used in serious address to the Great Spirit. mas'mendawa'mal "I beg the Great Spirit to do my bidding." Specimens of the plain and decorated prayer-sticks made by the informant are shown (fig. 24).

The bearers of the twelve prayer-sticks give all their spiritual-force to lift the prayer being given by the speaker or the singers to the highest, or twelfth heaven,—the instrumental symbol of raising the word.

And there was given to the Delawares something which is used when they make fire. It is called "ringing noise-instrument"[1]. Whomever they chose as fire-maker, any of the Attendants, was of moral habits or spiritually clean, for that one shall drill for fire in the House. Sometimes flint is used when they make fire in the House and pith is used when they make fire with flint.

Now therefore in the beginning the Delawares came to be blessed with religion together with the Munsee; so the prayer worship proceeds for ten and two days. Now that very log-house itself is called Big House. Right here toward the dawn-direction and sun-set direc-

[1] See page 69.

[P.10, B]

121 zon in order that Minsi material may be separated from artifacts pertaining to earlier occupations. The writer herewith presents what he considers to be a reasonably valid list of elements pertaining to Minsi material culture. This list cannot in the light of our present knowledge pretend to anything approaching final inclusiveness or conclusiveness. It is the 1951 model and all rights to make subsequent changes are reserved.

127 In this list I have, of course, leaned heavily upon Ritchie's Bell-Philhower report as well as my own researches both prior to and following the Bell-Philhower "dig". I would also like to acknowledge much valuable assistance derived from access to the splendid collection of material from Minisink Island in the collection of Mr. Rudolph Ludwig, Milford, Pa.

Ceramics

Pipes

172 So far as the writer has been able to
276 determine, no stone pipes attributable to
323 the Minsi have been found in the upper Delaware area or elsewhere. Pipes of pottery occur, but are not numerous. These pottery pipes may be tubular, effigy, or obtuse—angle elbow. (Plate 1, No. 2). [531] Decoration may consist of pointillé, incised lines, corded stick impressions, or may be absent. (Plate 1, Nos. 1 and 3, shows pointillé-decorated pipe sherds.)

Vessels

172 Pottery may be of various Owasco types
415 (Castle Creek Epigonus is rather promi-
323 nent) with punctuate, corded, platted, and beaded designs of several forms, or of Iroquoian types with incised designs in herringbone and other patterns. Rims often exhibit castellations. (See Plate 2. The sherds in the top row and the sherd at the left in the bottom row exhibit Owasco features. The remainder are primarily Iroquoian in motif.) An excellent description

[P. 11, A]

An excellent description

172 of Owasco ceramics is contained in Ritchie's
323 "Pre-Iroquoian Occupations of New York
415 State". A reading of this should precede
[114] any serious approach to the study of what we presently believe to be Minsi pottery.

The bodies of Minsi vessels ordinarily are corded in some fashion. Ritchie assigns the greatest frequency to a finely corded body treatment with smoothed-over cord second, smooth third, and coarsely corded fourth. It is to be noted that other body techniques occur on occasion such as corded stick imprinted and brushed-over cord.

Miniature vessels occur in this culture. The writer has never seen any from the Milford area which were not crude, including one, partially complete, excavated by him from the Bell-Philhower Site late in 1947. (Plate 3).

It may be remarked in connection with this all too brief description of 'Minsi' pottery vessels that one of the stumbling blocks in the path of a final and conclusive acceptance of the Owasco-cum-Iroquois explanation of the ultimate Minsi Culture is the fact that to the best of my knowledge no sherd or vessel has yet been found on a presumed Minsi site embodying an undeniable combination of pronounced Owasco and Iroquoian decorative techniques. This statement is made with full awareness, however, that the so-called Castle Creek Epigonus pottery may represent a combination of decorative motifs.

Pottery Effigies

172 In the light of the finding by the writer
323 of the pottery effigy of an animal head on
532 the Bell site in 1949, there can be little doubt that objects of this type must be included in the material culture of the Minsi.

The object in question (Plate 4, Nos. 1 and 2) is complete with the exception of the ears and a small part of the lower por-

[P 16]

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[redacted] 3 IN [redacted]

PLATE III. MINSI ARTIFACT

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[redacted] 3 IN. [redacted] [redacted] 3 IN. [redacted]

1

2

PLATE IV. MINSI ARTIFACT

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

was born on the river Delaware, was applied to by the women to bring down rain, and was well feed for the purpose. Having failed in his first attempt, he was feed a second time, and it happened that one morning, when my business obliged me to pass by the place where he was at work, as I knew him very well, I asked him at once what he was doing? "I am hired," said he, "to do a very "hard day's work."

Q. And, pray, what work?

A. Why, to bring down rain from the sky.

Q. Who hired you to do that?

A. The women of the village; don't you see how much rain is wanted, and that the corn and every thing else is perishing?

Q. But can you make it rain?

A. I can, and you shall be convinced of it this very day.

He had, by this time, encompassed a square of about five feet each way, with stakes and barks so that it might resemble a pig pen of about three feet in height, and now, with his face uplifted and turned towards the north, he muttered something, then closely shutting up with bark the opening which had been left on the north side, he turned in the same manner, still muttering some words, towards the south, as if invoking some superior being, and having cut through the bark on the south west corner, so as to make an opening of two feet, he said; "now "we shall have rain enough!" Hearing down the river the sound of setting poles striking against a canoe, he enquired of me what it was? I told him it was our Indians going up the river to make a bush net for fishing. "Send them home again!" said he, "tell them that this "will not be a fit day for fishing!" I told him to let them come on and speak to them himself, if he pleased. He did so, and as soon as they came near him, he told them that they must by no means think of fishing that day, for there should come a heavy rain which would wet

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

however, several additions to our knowledge of the "Solid Face." It is as follows: 796*

"*Messingq or Solid Face Dance or Devil Dance.* —The principal leader in this dance is the Messingq, an Indian, who is dressed in a bearskin robe with a wooden face, one-half red and one-half black. He has a large bearskin pouch and carries a stick in one hand and a tortoise shell rattle in the other. He is a very active person. The dance is only for amusement, and men and women join in it. A large place is cleared in the woods, and the ground is swept clean and a fire built in the center. Across the fire and inside of the ring is a long hickory pole supported at each end by wooden forks set in the ground. On the east of this pole the singers stand; on the west end is a venison or deer, which is roasted. About daylight, when the dance is nearly over, all the dancers eat of the venison. They have a dried deer hide stretched over some hickory poles, and standing around it beat on the hide and sing. The dancers proceed around the fire to the right, the women on the inside next to the fire. After the dance is under headway the Messingq comes from the darkness, jumps over the dancers, and dances between the other dancers and the fire. He makes some funny and queer gestures, kicks the fire, and then departs. The Messingq is never allowed to talk, but frequently he visits the people at their homes. He is a terror to little children, and when he comes to a [292] [417]

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

Fig. 3—View of the Delaware Indian "Big House," Caney Creek, Okla.

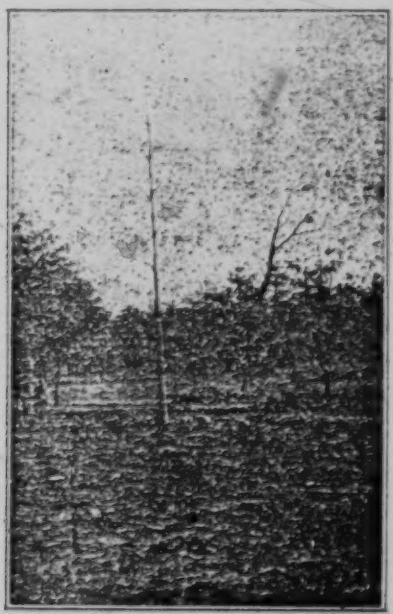

Fig. 4—View of trimmed tree upon which meat is hung at ceremony.

(Photos by Dr. Truman Michelson, Bur. Am. Ethnology, Wash., D. C.)

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

A turkey's [1] wing is used when they sweep out in the Big House. And besides, the Attendant carries a long stick as a poker and that is used when they stir up the fire, and it is the rule that they shall light a good bright fire every night as long as they perform the ceremony. And the Attendant-leader every evening walks around all over where they are camped about this Big House, holding a whip. And any person that they find that is causing unnecessary noise they correct. And the children are instructed. And he notifies them, telling them thrice "Come in! Come in! Come in!" And just recently they selected an officer from the Delaware Agency who is on guard all the time here while they are assembled, so that no one brings in liquor.[2]

[1] The specific term for the Wild Turkey (Meleagris gallipavo) is tel'kanom, a term derived from the habit of this bird of scratching or "cleaning" the floor of the forest. In native Delaware ornithology, the order Gallinae is denoted by the generic term polee which denotes any of the birds of the group, though writers on Delaware social organization have occasionally rendered the term by "turkey." Happily no natural history obsequies are called for in the case of this splendid bird for it still survives in its original range where the Delawares knew it.

[2] The informant pointed to this as an indication of the lack of reverence, and indecency of behavior in the tribe under the influence of the white man's ways. Zeisberger (op. cit. p. 139) commented on the same thing as regards disorder at the feasts.

When any one of us considers the rule with all the obligations and instructions as these are properly carried out, it should be forbidden for one thing that those of our women who when they cannot cook[1] are not pure, be allowed to trouble about the cooking. And should not come in the Big House as long as they are affected with the sickness, because some pure children might be much contaminated, especially when they perform the Gamwing. And it is the rule that persons should abstain from bringing into the Big House any animals of whatever kind they may be which are domesticated.[2]

[1] Being in their catamenial periods.

[2] This has special reference to dogs, pigs, etc. Some discussion has previously been given concerning the status of the wild animals of the forest and those domesticated by man. The Attendants are expected to attack any such animals that come into the Big House and drive them away with their staffs.

And right here opposite from the door on the outside over there at a certain distance they make the fire. Two forked poles are set upright and a pole laid across, upon which they hang the big buckets in which they cook. Near here standing upright is a many-forked tree where meat is hung. And a big shelf is there at one side of the fireplace with two floors where they put the corn that is used. When hominy is made the female Attendants have for their duty every morning and evening to grind and make corn flour and hominy. Sometimes two or four mortars are used together with those long pounders.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

cat, kitten and little chicken. Parents make presents to their children, and they in return to their parents. A father will sometimes ask his wife or one of his children for the loan of his horse to go out a hunting. For a litter of kittens or brood of chickens, there are often as many different owners as there are individual animals. In purchasing a hen with her brood, one frequently has to deal for it with several children. Thus, while the principle of community of goods prevails in the state, the rights of property are acknowledged among the members of a family. This is attended with a very good effect; for by this means every living creature is properly taken care of. It also promotes liberality among the children, which becomes a habit with them by the time they are grown up.

An Indian loves to see his wife well clothed, which is a proof that he is fond of her; at least, it is so considered. While his wife is bartering the skins and peltry he has taken in his hunt, he will seat himself at some distance, to observe her choice, and how she and the traders agree together. When she finds an article which she thinks will suit or please her husband, she never fails to purchase it for him; she tells him that it is *her* choice, and he is never dissatisfied.

The more a man does for his wife, the more he is esteemed, particularly by the women, who will say: "This man surely loves his wife." Some men at their leisure hours make bowls and ladles, which, when finished, are at their wives' disposal.

If a sick or pregnant woman longs for any article of food, be it what it may, and however difficult to be procured, the husband immediately sets out to endeavour to get it. I have known a man to go forty or fifty miles for a mess of cranberries to satisfy his wife's longing. In the year 1762, I was witness to a remarkable instance of the disposition of Indians to indulge their wives. There was a famine in the land, and a sick Indian woman ex-

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7

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[102] De Vries, 1909, p. 222; Zeisberger, 1910, pp. 12-13; Loskiel, 1794, p. 78.
[103] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 13.
[104] Wallace, 1947, p. 17.
[105] Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 158-59.
[106] MacLeod, 1922, pp. 448-63.
[107] Speck, 1915, pp. 289-305.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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from ice, must be an obstacle to the hunter, when in pursuit of a wounded deer, bear, or other animal, as is often the case. Nor has he then leisure to think on the state of his body, and to consider whether his blood is not too much heated to plunge without danger into the cold stream, since the game he is in pursuit of is running off from him with full speed. Many dangerous accidents often befal him, both as a hunter and a warrior, (for he is both) and are seldom unattended with painful consequences, such as rheumatism or consumption of the lungs, for which the sweat-house, on which they so much depend, and to which they often resort for relief, especially after a fatiguing hunt or warlike excursion, is not always a sure preservative or an effectual remedy.

The husband generally leaves the skins and peltry which he has procured by hunting to the care of his wife, who sells or barters them away to the best advantage for such necessaries as are wanted in the family; not forgetting to supply her husband with what he stands in need of, who, when he receives it from her hands never fails to return her thanks in the kindest manner. If debts had been previously contracted, either by the woman, or by her and her husband jointly, or if a horse should be wanted, as much is laid aside as will be sufficient to pay the debts or purchase the horse.

When a woman has got in her harvest of corn, it is considered as belonging to her husband, who, if he has suffering friends, may give them as much of it as he pleases, without consulting his wife, or being afraid of her being displeased; for she is in the firm belief that he is able to procure that article whenever it is wanted. The sugar which she makes out of the maple tree is also considered as belonging to her husband.

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An Indian loves to see his wife well clothed, which is a proof that he is fond of her; at least, it is so considered. While his wife is bartering the skins and peltry he has taken in his hunt, he will seat himself at some distance, to observe her choice, and how she and the traders agree together. When she finds an article which she thinks will suit or please her husband, she never fails to purchase it for him; she tells him that it is *her* choice, and he is never dissatisfied.

The more a man does for his wife, the more he is esteemed, particularly by the women, who will say: "This man surely loves his wife." Some men at their leisure hours make bowls and ladles, which, when finished, are at their wives' disposal.

If a sick or pregnant woman longs for any article of food, be it what it may, and however difficult to be procured, the husband immediately sets out to endeavour to get it. I have known a man to go forty or fifty miles for a mess of cranberries to satisfy his wife's longing. In the year 1762, I was witness to a remarkable instance of the disposition of Indians to indulge their wives. There was a famine in the land, and a sick Indian woman ex-

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7

character. Hunting was the primary occupation of men and gardening that of women. Although game did not form a preponderant part of the diet, it was extremely important in that wild animals provided clothing and other nonedible essentials.[91] The game which a man brought home was the property of his wife to do with as she saw fit; conversely, the woman's harvest of corn was "considered as belonging to the husband, who, if he has suffering friends, may give them as much of it as he pleases. . . ."[92] Men also built the dwellings, obtained or made the necessary axes, hoes, canoes, dishes, bowls, and other artifacts.[93] They were also supposed to keep in a constant state of readiness in case of attack, and they appear to have helped clear the land for gardens.[94] The women, in addition to planting, cultivating, harvesting, and storing the garden produce, bore the burden of all the household tasks. They cut and carried the firewood and made the carrying straps and bags, as well as the family clothing, and tanned the skins.[95] The women also carried the household goods when a family was on the trail.[96] De Vries said: ". . .the women are compelled to work like asses, and when they travel, to carry the baggage on their backs, together with their infants. . . ."[97] Mary Jemison said, however:

> Our labor was not severe; and that of one year was exactly similar, in almost every respect, to that of all others, without that endless variety [of white people]. Notwithstanding the Indian women have all the fuel and bread to procure, and the cooking to perform, their task is probably not harder than that of white women. . . .[98]

It should also be added that many of the tasks of the women were accomplished by a co-operative group of relatives, who lightened their labors with feasts and gaiety; the men, on the other hand, were frequently alone when hunting.[99] There were a few individuals who were part-time specialists; these were the wampum makers, other artisans, shamans, and sachems. All of these individuals took part in the basic subsistence activities of their sex.

Annual Round

Important to the understanding of the subsistence activities and the general economy of the Delawares is a discussion of the subsistence cycle or annual round. A. F. C. Wallace has recently investigated this phase of their culture and his conclusions correspond closely to mine, though based on slightly different evidence.[100] In the spring and summer

[91] Pastorius, 1912, p. 385; Van der Donck, 1909, p. 302; Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 155-57.

[92] Heckewelder, 1881, p. 158; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 16, agrees on this point.

[93] Van der Donck, 1909, p. 302; Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 155-57.

[94] Denton, 1845, p. 6; O. A., M. B.

[95] Van der Donck, 1909, p. 302; Brickell, 1842, p. 47; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 16; M. B.

[96] Heckewelder, 1881, p. 156; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 24.

[97] De Vries, 1909, p. 218.

[98] Jemison, 1918, pp. 46-47; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 158, echoed this point of view.

[99] Heckewelder, 1881, p. 158; M. B., J. T., O. A.

[100] Wallace, 1947, pp. 18-18.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7

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[103] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 13.
[104] Wallace, 1947, p. 17.
[105] Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 188-89.
[106] MacLeod, 1932, pp. 448-63.
[107] Speck, 1915, pp. 289-305.

[455 (B)]

614 have expressed themselves in favor of the
622 person nominated. If they disagree, I have
623 not ascertained how it is adjusted. After the person is agreed upon, then all the chiefs meet in council and perform the ceremony of investing him with his office.

622 The war chiefs are selected and made such by the Head Chief without consulting the people, but not so with the Head Chief.

241 The Delawares are very well advanced as agriculturalists. When Mr. Pratt came
342 among them 12 years ago, as he informs me,
177 they were living in bark houses. Now many of them are living in frame houses two stories and 2½ stories high, some with a veranda in front the whole length, and they have good barns and outbuildings. Some of
231 them have herds of cattle from 25 to 100
422 and have from 5 to 20 swine, sheep, wagons, and all kinds of farming implements. Their future prospects are certainly very flattering if they push on as they have here. Their
648 women are interfered with a good deal by
563 the whites, and they are quick to marry
557 white husbands, as they seem to regard that as advancing. It would be so were their husbands respectable.

657 With their large annuity of $50,000 per annum, the best timbered lands in the state, and sufficient of them to give them all large farms, there is no reason why they should not become both agriculturalists and respectable citizens of the state. When they
000 become wealthy farmers as some of them now are, their children will intermarry respectably with our white people, and thus the children will become respectable and, if educated, in the second and third generations will become beautiful and attractive. This is to be the end of the Indian absorption of a small portion, which will improve and toughen our race, and the residue run out or forced into the regions of the mountains.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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paint here and there on the trees along the war path, the whole animals carrying a gun with the muzzle projecting forward, and if he leaves a mark at the place where he has made a stroke on his enemy, it will be the picture of a tortoise. Those of the Turkey tribe paint only one foot of a turkey, and the Wolf tribe, sometimes a wolf at large with one leg and foot raised up to serve as a hand, in which the animal also carries a gun with the muzzle forward. They, however, do not generally use the word "wolf," when speaking of their tribe, but call themselves *Pauk-sit*,[2] which means *round-foot*, that animal having a round foot like a dog.

The Indians, in their hours of leisure, paint their different marks or badges on the doors of their respective houses, that those who pass by may know to which tribe the inhabitants belong. Those marks also serve them for signatures to treaties and other documents. They are as proud of their origin from the tortoise, the turkey, and the wolf, as the nobles of Europe are of their descent from the feudal barons of ancient times, and when children spring from intermarriages between different tribes, their genealogy is carefully preserved by tradition in the family, that they may know to which tribe they belong.

I have often reflected on the curious connexion which appears to subsist in the mind of an Indian between man and the brute creation, and found much matter in it for curious observation. Although they consider themselves superior to all other animals and are very proud of that superiority; although they believe that the beasts of the forest, the birds of the air, and the fishes of the waters, were created by the Almighty Being for the use of man; yet it seems as if they ascribe the difference between themselves and the brute kind, and the dominion which they have over them, more to their superior bodily strength and dexterity than to their immortal souls. All beings endowed by the Creator with the power of volition and self-motion, they view in a manner as a great society of

2 [Lenâtum. See cat. 116, p. 348. - Analyst]

2:Newcomb' E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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221 the Indians congregated in their small villages, gardening and, if near the sea or a river, fishing. After they had planted the gardens they regularly visited the Europeans.[104] Following the harvest, and at least in later times after the socioreligious ceremonies climaxed by the Big House Ceremony, the villages were deserted as individual families scattered to their hunting territories. The first fall hunt was for deer and seems to have been communal, perhaps prior to the dispersal to individual hunting grounds. After the deer hunt bears and other game were sought by individual hunters.[105] The men hunted until February or March, depending upon the season. In later times the individual families then went to their sugaring grounds; there the women collected and boiled down the maple sap while the men continued to hunt.[106] In spring they again moved to their villages and planted their crops. Wallace has pointed out, however, that there were some exceptions to the hunting-gardening cycle;[107] different sorts of adjustment by different groups were necessary in the relatively diverse habitat of the Delawares.

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[104] Denton, 1845, p. 7; Holm, 1834, p. 123; De Rasieres, 1909, pp. 107-8.
[105] De Vries, 1909, p. 332; Zeisberger, 1910, pp. 12-13; Loshiel, 1794, p. 78.
[106] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 13.
[107] Wallace, 1947, p. 17.
[108] Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 158-59.
[109] MacLeod, 1923, pp. 448-63.
[110] Speck, 1915, pp. 289-305.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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423 [114]

R. H. Lowie[108] and others who at this time (*ca.* 1920) were attempting to demonstrate that private ownership was the rule and not the exception in primitive society. I do not deny that the Delawares shared in the Eastern Algonkian trait of family-held hunting grounds. I do deny, however, that the early historic concept of land ownership was analogous to the European one. Wallace, who has made the most penetrating study of early Delaware land tenure, summed up their concept by saying:

> To the Delaware Indian, land was an element, a medium of existence, like the air and the sunlight and the rivers. To him, "ownership" of land meant, not exclusive personal title to the soil itself, but occupation of a certain position of responsibility in the social unit which exploited the soil. The "sale" of land (to use the white man's term) might, to the Delaware, be almost any mutually satisfactory change in the relationship of two groups of persons subsisting on the land. In the earliest sales, the Indians seem to have intended only to give the whites freedom to use the land in conjunction with the native population.[109]

MacLeod in a footnote tacitly agreed with this point of view, saying: "The selling of land of course was a notion foreign, so far as we know, to native ideas or practice."[110]

There are no seventeenth-century sources which, to my knowledge, described directly and in straightforward fashion the hunting territories. On the basis of the records of early land transactions, however, both MacLeod and Wallace have reconstructed the system which must have existed. The smallest unit of land was a named "hunting territory covering up to two hundred square miles of land."[111] Their boundaries were often vague, and territories overlapped, although natural landmarks were used as boundaries. "Such territories are often associated in European documents with the names of individual Indians, who are called 'owners.'"[112] Most of these territories were, however, sold by groups of Indians. In short, the so-called "owners" were simply representatives of the social units who used this land.[113] It also appears that disposition of these territories did not rest solely in the hands of these individuals, but was the privilege of the community.[114] Wallace has demonstrated that a number of individual hunting territories made up a larger unit which he terms "communal territories" of "up to 1500 square miles."[115]

428 423

Inheritance of hunting territory right is but vaguely understood. MacLeod has suggested that the inheritance of hunting territory was through the paternal line, since it was used primarily by males. If this was true it would suggest either that matrilineal reckoning of kinship was a historic accretion to Delaware culture, or that the two systems existed side by side.[116] Wallace has concluded, as have I, that the maternal lineage was the social unit that "owned" or perhaps more aptly

[108] Lowie, 1920, pp. 310 ff.
[109] Wallace, 1947, p. 2; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 102, agreed with this concept of land possession.
[110] MacLeod, 1932, p. 483.
[111] Wallace, 1947, p. 3.
[112] *Ibid.*, p. 3; MacLeod, 1932, p. 483.
[113] Wallace, 1947, p. 4.
[114] *Ibid.*, p. 5.
[115] *Ibid.*, p. 6.
[116] MacLeod, 1932, p. 483.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7

"belonged to" the "individual" hunting territory.[117] The lineage, clan, and phratry are discussed in the next chapter. There is nothing incompatible in the existence of maternal lineages (or clans) and male-used hunting territories.

Material Culture

Villages.— There is little information concerning the villages and general settlement pattern of the early historic Delawares. Villages, or perhaps they might better be termed hamlets, were situated in bottom lands near the gardens or along the shores of bays.[118] These dispersed settlements were not palisaded.[119] Eighteenth-century and later information seems to reflect the original condition in that these settlements had no regular plan of arrangement, and that houses were not built close together.[120] There is no information concerning the length of time these villages were inhabited. If their garden plots were fertilized, residence in the villages may have been relatively permanent, but the fertilizer issue is in doubt. By the eighteenth century, after extensive migrations, villages were occupied until it became "troublesome to secure wood for fuel" and, implicitly, until they became overburdened with filth.[121] The Evelin paper of 1648 described twenty-three communities in New Jersey, ranging in population from fourteen to six hundred persons.[122] Lindestrom noted community size as "several hundred men strong, under each chief, counting women and children, some being stronger, some weaker."[123]

Dwellings.— There seems to have been some diversity in the type of dwellings of the early seventeenth-century Delawares. A circular wigwam and a long house identical with the Iroquoian type have been described, although the latter seems to represent a late prehistoric diffusion. De Laet and Van der Donck depicted Delawares using a circular bark dwelling with vaulted ceiling.[124] In another place De Laet stated that the dwelling was oven-shaped, but large enough for several related families.[125] Penn and Pastorius also alluded to this style of dwelling, whereas Holm and Lindestrom mentioned what seems to be the Iroquoian long house.[126] Zeisberger in the eighteenth century distinguished between house types of the Iroquois and the Delawares, describing a "rounded, arched roof" for the Iroquois and a "high-pitched, peaked roof" for the Delawares.[127] Harrington in 1913 characterized the house type current a few years previously as being similar to the Iroquois type.[128] The evidence, then, is not conclusive, but it seems probable

[117] Wallace, 1947, p. 18.
[118] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 87; Wallace, 1947, p. 18.
[119] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 241.
[120] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 87; O. A., J. T.
[121] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 87.
[122] Smith, 1877, p. 11.
[123] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 170.
[124] De Laet, 1909, p. 57; Van der Donck, 1909, p. 302.
[125] De Laet, 1909, p. 57.
[126] Penn, 1912, p. 232; Pastorius, 1912, p. 429; Holm, 1834, p. 123; Lindestrom, 1925, p. 211.
[127] Zeisberger, 1910, pp. 17-18.
[128] Harrington, 1913, pp. 217-18.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

crease or decrease in population, although the Delaware had increased some three hunderd in number.[1]

Most of the Delaware are living on their allotments scattered through the territory originally reserved for the Cherokee. Few of their allotments are contiguous, due to the exigencies of the allotting and to the fact that many of the farms have been sold when restrictions were removed. Very few of them were fortunate enough to have oil on their lands. They either farm their fields or cash rent them. Judging from the state of repair of the houses, those that farm their own fields are more prosperous than those who rent them out. This distinction is also recognized by the Indians. The majority probably rent their fields and subsist on the small cash return, aided by the produce from their gardens, old age pensions, and other occasional sources of income. There is very little in the appearance of their houses to distinguish them from their white neighbors. Clothes and automobiles also reflect their economic status in the same way that these items do for their white neighbors.

After their incorporation with the Cherokee, the Delaware maintained their own chieftainships for a time. As the functions of these clan heads ceased, so did the rules for the filling of the offices and the need for keeping them filled. The last of the clan chiefs died about 1900. Since that time only chiefs for the entire Delaware group in northeastern Oklahoma have been elected. These were elected mostly for business purposes—to have an official representative to treat with the Federal Government on annuities and other money matters. In the election each of the three tribal divisions, Turtle, Wolf, and Turkey nominated a candidate. The man getting the most votes was elected chief and the one getting the next highest number became assistant chief. The last election was held about 1917. The chief who was elected then died about 1935, and since that time there has been no recognized chief.

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[1] Pratt, John G., to J. R. Doolittle, September 15, 1865, in *Condition of the Indian Tribes. Report of the Joint Special Committee . . .* (*Senate Reports*, 39 Congress, 2 session, No. 156, Washington, D. C., 1867), Appendix, p. 483.

15:Morgan E-5 (1859)1959
NM7 Delaware NM7
Shawnee NN19

[p28 (B)]

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balance of these lands they have sold to the government for 60 cents per acre. Upon these last lands the settlers have entered. The Delawares have also made a new treaty, by which after reserving a portion of their splendid reserve, they have agreed that the Government may sell the remainder for their benefit at public sale by auction, and that after deducting the expenses of the survey and sale, they are to have the remainder.[12] If the Indians located in this territory manage their property rights well, they will become well off, every individual, from the proceeds of their lands. They have possessed themselves of the finest part of Kansas under the treaties which provided for their removal.

15:Morgan E-5 (1859)1959
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11. By treaty in 1854, the Shawnees surrendered 1,600,000 acres of land to the government and received "one-eighth of it back for distribution among the tribe . . . Voluntary allotment in severalty was a prominent feature of the treaty, and the division of the diminished reserve was to be made upon the basis of 200 acres for every individual . . . In the winter of 1856–57, Lot Coffman, a surveyor, was appointed by the federal government to take a census of the Shawnees and to distribute the land in accordance therewith" (Anna Heloise Abel, "Indian Reservations in Kansas and the Extinguishment of Their Title," in *Transactions of the Kansas Historical Society, 1903–04*, VIII, 93).

12. See *ibid.*, pp. 88–90.

31: Snyderman E-5 (ca. 1948) 1951
NM9 Iroquois NM9
Delaware NM7
Miami NP9

I D M 423 574 648 563 [682] when the Delaware tried to exact "blood money" from the Miami to "cover the bones" of several of their people who had been murdered by the Miami, they were reminded firmly that they had been allowed to keep the money for the sales of Miami lands and that this should suffice. Joseph Richardville speaking for the Miami stated:

> Grand Fathers: You must recollect when you passed over the great mountains, & came to our country, that you were poor and destitute; you placed yourselves under our protection; we gave you lands, & at the Treaty of St. Mary's you sat in council with us. These we considered enough to satisfy you for all the injury our bad young men had done you; but it appears otherwise, for you continue to beg for more nothwithstanding all that has been told to you by our old chief who now lies sick in his wigwam. [Tipton, 1942, p. 764.]

When it was politic, the Iroquois assumed responsibility for their "dependents" to the point of pressing their claims. Thus Canassatego speaking to Representatives of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia at Lancaster on July 2, 1744, pressed the case of the Canoy who had been defrauded by the Whites (Lowrie and Clarke, 1832–34, vol. 1, pp. 724–725).

On July 1, 1749, the Iroquois Assuchquay spoke for the Canoy as follows:

I [694] As we were coming here the Canoy Indians gave us this string of Wampum, thereby putting their case into our Hands, which we undertook to Speak to. It seems when the Proprietories bought the Land between Delaware and Susquehanna from us, the Tract, as they told us, on which the Canoy Town stood was reserv'd out of the Grant on account of those Indians living there, & when they should quit it they were to have a Consideration paid them for it. This we think they are entitled to, as they have left the Land & Live among other Nations at Juniata; and as they tell us that they never receiv'd anything for their Land. we recommend it to you to see them paid. [Prov. Council Pa., Minutes, vol. 5, p. 390.]

And when it suited their purposes, dependents were allowed to share the presents. There is on record an actual agreement between the chiefs of the Six Nations and the Commissioners of Pennsylvania dated January 1, 1789, which contains a clause noting that, "Two Munseys signed as being residenters on the land, but not owners" (Prov. Council Pa., Minutes, vol. 5, p. 512).

I 423 648 563 In the foregoing, we have described how the League functioned for its tenants, dependents, guests, and colonists. When the League began to sell the land from under dependent peoples, friction developed which was not to be resolved by the dictates of Onondaga. The attempt of the League authorities to prevent the Iroquois on the Ohio from receiving "presents from the Governor of Virginia" by labeling them "Hunters and no Counselors or Chief Men" (ibid., p. 478) convinced neither the Governor of Virginia nor the Indian frontiersmen of the League's power to enforce its decision. Likewise the state-

31: Snyderman E-5 (ca. 1948) 1951
NM9 Iroquois NM9
Delaware NM7

The new and alien philosophy, however, soon spread to the neighbors of the Iroquois and caused these onetime "subjects" to adopt the white man's vehicles and guarantees of ownership. The sorry experience of the Delaware beginning with the Walking Purchase induced them to demand a guarantee of title:

> The Land which we now inhabit was granted by the Miamies and Potawatomies which they have renewed last September in great council held at Fort Wayne in the presence of Captain Wells and the commanding officer of the Fort.
>
> They granted to us to occupy and possess said land for the benefit of our tribes & their prosperity. But prohibited the right of selling the same. But took us in as joint owners of Said Land or Country—lest the grant should in future day fall into the hands of the white people, wherefore they gave us no writing at the time this took place. But for security they gave us Wampum instead of a written Deed. Our chiefs are doubtful with regard of such pledges—and indeed experience ought to teach us the weakness of such a measure. By observation the population of the United States, it appears to us that all Indian claims will be extinguished by the white people before long. The Land in which we wish to dwell all our days will inevitably be sold from under the feet of our poor children after us. In that case what will become of them . . . They will be compelled to dispossess once more. We dread that evil very much in spite of the pledges of Wampum which was given to us.

The chiefs went on to ask for "assistance" as they and their people (the Delaware) were "poor and have no sure habitation." They pointed out that they now found themselves in the "same situation as the first Whites whom they befriended." They asked for "pity" and a "writing" so that they would not be dispossessed by the Whites, who now claimed almost the "entire country" (Parker, Daniel, n. d.).

The quoted plea of the Delaware summarizes the basic changes in Indian philosophy toward land; it is symbolic of the fears and tensions shared by the Iroquois and all their Indian neighbors. It seems certain that prior to white contact, land was given (though not deeded in our sense), and wampum was used as a promise in perpetuity providing the new owner behaved.

The translation of land to a salable economic commodity blurred tribal boundaries. In times prior to the arrival of the Whites, tracts of land were claimed and even occupied by several tribes who seemed to have lived peaceably together. A band which moved from a piece of land and neither occupied it for a number of years nor hunted on it, in fact relinquished its claim. The only recollections of its former residence remained in the folklore. The new and, to the Indian's way of thinking, "artificial" values placed on land by the Whites destroyed these principles. We now find them claiming land long after they moved away. This is also indicative of the fact that all Indian philosophy was foundering in the whirlpool created by the impact of crass materialistic motives against an idealistic and natural ideology.

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
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large. It is, then, to one of the religious men of the tribe, *Wi·tapano'xwe*, "Walks by Daylight" (C. J. Webber), the joint author of the text study of the Big House, supplemented with the cooperation of *Ni·'ka'ni·paxoxwe*, "Walking in Advance, Leader" (Joe Washington), and *Kwutc'pagi·'kamen*, "Rustling Leaves (when walking)" (George T. Anderson), that we owe the narration of this series of texts explaining the procedures themselves and the traditions of their origin (Plate 1).

Some of them, for instance the Grease Drinking Ceremonies and the Doll Dance, are family properties handed down as obligations within the family group from some past period when the responsibility for their enactment was incurred through the event of some long-forgotten individual undergoing experience with a spirit in human or animal form. These have developed among the Delawares into septs inheriting the obligation to perform them corresponding to the motives actuating rites of similar derivation in several other parts of North America.

In the history of Delaware institutions of the kind there is reason to suppose that the minor ceremonies, perhaps those passed on through generations within the family groups, may indeed be older than the Big House Ceremony. The fact that in the Big House certain rites appear to have been added and others to have been dropped off as time went on would show that the great celebration has integrated through the coalition of originally separate elements. Its comprehensiveness and its thoroughly worked-out cosmological philosophy seem to denote this. The formative elements themselves, then, may be those which we have here, the minor rites performed by smaller social groups, the families, perhaps the villages under the old social system when the tribe resided undisturbed by an European invasion in the east, and those conceived by certain individuals as an outcome of their personal revelations. These bear indication of being prior developments entering into the composition of the dominating and communal Big House Ceremony. Keeping pace with the dwindling devotion of the Delawares to the rites of the Big House, the individual and

IMPORTANCE OF THE DREAM VISION IN DELAWARE CURING

787 The dream vision[1] is of paramount importance in the life of the Delaware. This supernatural visitation is experienced during childhood, or less frequently, at the age of maturity. More commonly it occurs during the fast-vigil of a youth at puberty, alone in the forests searching for a spirit guardian (Benedict, 1923). It is usually to such individuals, considered by the Spirit-forces to be spiritually and morally pure, that this great blessing is bestowed. The gift is not restricted to the male but supernatural power granted to a girl is usually of lesser force. It is said, however, that women, through spiritual guidance, are more adept as a rule in the art of preparing and administering herb medicines than men. Occasionally a man has been blessed with a vision that gives him power to become an herb doctor. (Wítapanóxwe became proficient in that field as will become evident in a subsequent narrative.

Not always is the revelation experienced in a dream. The neophyte may be walking alone in the woods, or even in a situation of apparent danger when the presence of the spiritual agent is made known to him. A voice from a rock, a bird, an animal or even the sky is recognized, as the medium through which the coveted power is conveyed to the fortunate one. Occasionally a song is granted to the novice during the visitation. This bequest is regarded as personal property to be used exclusively by the owner during participation in the ceremonies of the Big House or in practicing healing with herbs or in the sweat-lodge.

424

To receive such a revelation from the Creator means much to a Delaware. It affords the assurance of spiritual guidance in all things, thus giving him confidence to go afield and to face whatever adversities may come into his life without fear.

To those whom the Creator has entrusted with this great gift comes the full realization of the necessity of fulfilling certain obligations. The dream-vision is not divulged until a man reaches maturity and comes to feel that he is capable of appearing before his tribesmen as one who has had sufficient experience in life to avoid incurring criticism

[1] Zeisberger "To the dreams they appeal for in them they have much faith." See also: *Ibid*, p. 25, Harrington (1921, p. 61). "The most vital and intimate phase of Lenape religion is the belief in dreams and visions, and in the existence of personal guardian spirits or supernatural helpers—concepts of wide distribution among the North American tribes, but rarely so vivid or well-developed as we find them here."

4: Tantaquidgeon E-5 (1930) 1942
NM7 Delaware NM7

of the variety required, he does not gather it [11] but performs a ritual to appease the Spirit of the plant. A small hole is dug towards the east near its base and a small quantity of native tobacco [12] placed within. The herbalist then lights his pipe and smokes, meanwhile making the following appeal to the Creator and to the Spiritual forces which govern vegetation. The songs and properties are regarded as personal property and the accompanying medicine-gathering prayer of Witapanóxwe is regarded as typical.

MEDICINE GATHERING PRAYER (free translation)

"Grandfather, I come now for medical treatment. Your grandson (name of suppliant) needs your aid. He is giving you a smoke-offering here of tobacco. He implores you that he will get well because he, your child, is pitiful. And I myself earnestly pray that you take pity on him the sick one, I wish for him to get well forever of that which is causing pain in his body. For with you alone rests the spiritual power sufficient to bless anyone with, and hear now him our Grandfather tobacco, I beg of him that he will help me when we plead with earnest heart that you will take pity on your grandchild and that you will accept this appeal. I am thankful, Grandfather, also Creator, that you grant our appeal this day for all that we ask.[13] I am thankful, Grandfather. That is enough for this time."

Upon the conclusion of this propitiatory rite the medicine person searches out another plant of the same species, which if clean and healthy-looking, is then gathered. It is now ready to be treated in accordance with the rules governing the preparation of roots and herbs in the accompanying pharmacopeia. If the root of a plant is to be used in making medicine, it is gathered at the season when the vital properties are present; similarly the stalk or leaves each are gathered at the proper seasons.

[11] Harrington (1921, p. 26) in reference to the manitowuck to whom the Indians pray, says, "These are mentioned in the ritual of the Annual Ceremony and the people often pray to them when gathering herbs or preparing medicines, at the same time offering tobacco." He also says (p. 51) that, ". . . Some seem to have prayed to the four directions, other to the presiding genius of the species of the plants they sought or to the spirit of the individual plant itself."

[12] "Real tobacco" (Nicotiana rustica), to which a Delaware term meaning, "our grandfather," is also given.

[13] The proper phrase in full is, "give us what we ask for." It is abbreviated here to suit the formula.

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
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[796] and women, and a man was selected to cook the hog, and another to supply wood and to cut the poles for swinging the kettle, both of whom were paid with a yard of wampum. The fire was kindled with a special flint-and-steel always kept with the outfit.

"It will be observed that the otter-skin has a slit down the middle of the neck, through which the owner thrust his head in such a manner that the otter's nose lay under the wearer's chin, while its body and tail hung down his back. Wearing the skin in this manner himself impersonating the original otter, the owner would open the ceremony by walking about the fire, chanting and shaking the turtle rattle which resembled those used in the Big House, while the audience kept time to his song by uttering 'Hu-hu-hu-hu!' The nature of the song the writer was unable to learn, but, like the chants of the Bear Ceremony, it probably was concerned with the singer's 'dream helper.' When he had finished, another man put on the skin and took up the chant, and so on until noon the next day, when the ceremony was brought to a close and all joined in the feast. At this time the skin is told, 'We will feed you again in two years.'"

In regard to the Grease Drinking, or Otter, Ceremony, we have the following historical notes to add from the testi-
[424] mony of Tom Half Moon. The last time that the ceremony was performed (1898) it was done in behalf of his mother, Lizzie Half Moon of the Turkey group, in whose family the rite was an hereditary one coming down through her father, the previously mentioned Col. Jackson. Jackson acquired the privilege to perform it through his wife whose great-
[755] grandfather is said to have been its originator. His mother, it seems, was at the point of death, whereupon it was decided as a last resort to try a cure through the Otter Ceremony. Shortly after its completion, however, the afflicted woman died. Upon the failure of the rite it was decided to abandon it upon the assumption that it was valuable only to the women of an earlier generation of the Nation's history. Half Moon, who was present at its performance, corroborated the details
[346] previously recorded, affirming that the celebration was carried on within a brush enclosure or fence and not covered over at the top. He recalled how each one among those present took a little drink of grease, throwing the rest of his or her portion into the fire. The portions were offered to the participants by the leader or master of ceremonies.

7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

A Grease Drinking Ceremony was also possessed and celebrated in the family of Mrs. Jim (Sally) Thompson. As performed by this family the master of ceremonies wore a whole otter-skin suspended upon his back, the otter's head upon his breast in the manner described by Harrington in his section on the Otter Ceremonies. Half Moon thought that the otter skin in the Museum of the American Indian (Heye Foundation) was the one formerly belonging to this family.

A word seems to be called for in explanation of the confusion existing in the descriptions we have of the two preceding ceremonies, namely, the Bear or Brush Arbor rite and the Otter rite of the Grease Drinking Ceremony. The similarity of procedure in both cases and the conflicting testimony as regards the style of making the enclosure in which the celebration was carried out, are perplexing enough to cause the Indians as well as the several authorities who have quoted them to be accused of error. My attempt to straighten out the circumstances by questioning the Delawares themselves in Oklahoma resulted in partially clearing up the difficulty. It seems that type ceremonies similar in performance as regards function and general procedure, were customary properties among those families who possessed them either through inheritance or through direct acquisition by the visitation of spirits. In each family possessing a ceremony the details of arrangement and of paraphernalia differed somewhat. Therefore, when we record the traditional narrative of the ceremony as performed by the family of Col. Jackson we get the details that were characteristic of the rite as the particular rules of this family required it to be performed. Again, when the Thompson family, for instance, celebrated its grease-drinking feast the procedure was conducted as tradition had conveyed it in the past through the generations within that family. Again, in one family the ceremony would center about the myth of its relationship with the bear, whence the Bear rite as recorded in the previous chapter. Moreover, in different branches of the family in which the Bear rite was inherited, there could be variations in the procedure and the equipment,

7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
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THE OPOSSUM DANCE CEREMONY

Another family feast rite was *op·i'ỵk·a·n*, "Opossum Dance," also known by a sobriquet *suk'ce'p'ti·e'xk·a·n*, literally "black rump dance." For the latter designation no definite reason is given beyond stating that the woman who "owned" the dance and who took the leading part went through bodily movements supposed to represent the motions of an opossum in the throes of death. This was an inherited dream-revelation ceremony, owned by the descendants in the female line, of a woman who had long ago experienced a dream manifestation which imposed upon her and her posterity the obligation to perform the rite as an expiation for the benevolence of the animal that had appeared to her in vision form. Its procedure follows, as we shall see, the manner of the Big House Ceremony, in conformity with the definite Delaware pattern of religious performance.

The woman in this case was also a dame of tradition. The last time the ceremony was celebrated was during the early life of Wi·tapano'xwe's mother by a certain Mi·ma'ndi·, "Little Child," who had the distinction of being the last owner of the rite. Wi·tapano'xwe's mother had seen the ceremony enough to have been able to imitate in part the songs sung by Mi·ma'ndi·.

The Opossum Dance was, as previously noted, one of spiritual significance. It was opened with an address by a chief of another group and concluded with a feast. It was not known particularly as a ceremonial group- or clan-feast, although it was the possession of women in a definite family, and so may be said to be restricted to "clan" proprietorship. The singers were invited by the owner and chosen from members of the group with which she stood in a joking relationship, the group of her father. The accompaniment was provided by the water-drum, said to have been a clay pot with a hide stretched over its mouth. The singers occupied the usual place for musicians at one side of the dance area or

4: Tantaquidgeon E-5 (1930) 1942
NM7 Delaware NM7

to about half the quantity. An equal part of brandy may be added. This is considered to be a month's treatment for one person and is considered to be effective in treating cases of general debility. It is valuable as a remedy for diseases peculiar to women.

My informant (Nicholas Powless) stated that he had bought the remedy, as is customary, from a Delaware herbalist. After a prolonged illness, during which time he was in the hospital, Mr. Powless was brought home, as he said, apparently to die. He obtained the formula just noted, made up the medicine and is taking it daily. He claims that he has continued to regain his strength and is slowly recovering from a complication of diseases pronounced incurable.

A tea made by pouring hot water over a small quantity of soot is given to babies in case of colic. A stronger tea is beneficial for a sick cow.

A powder obtained from decayed pine *(Pinus strobus)* is used for babies because of its healing properties.

SUMAC *(Rhus typhina)*.

A tea made from the berries is drunk as a remedy for diarrhea.

Skunk oil and molasses is taken for colds and cramp. The oil rubbed on the throat and chest sparingly tends to relieve congestion. Goose and raccoon oil are used similarly.

Rattlesnake oil is valuable in treating stiff joints. It is very powerful and should be used sparingly. Only a few drops on the finger tips and applied to the affected parts. The skin may be bound on the wrists and ankles to strengthen them.[8]

[8] When told of the belief that snake oil, if used alone, "will unjoint you," an idea common among the Wampanoag of Cape Cod, Mass., my informant laughed and said that he knew that it would not because he had used it on his joints with good results. His sister added that if he could obtain some rattlesnake oil, now he might keep in better condition.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

436 sweeping, and general order of the premises receive their pay in
796 wampum beads; the pecuniary value of which amounts to hardly more than a few cents. The drummers, the singers, the dance leaders, the reciters of visions are in their turn rewarded with small donations of wampum at the conclusion of their performances. This is a purifying gift rather than a pecuniary payment, one entirely out of proportion to the worth of service rendered.

[31] The worshipers of the Big House also offer their donations toward the ceremony in strings of wampum, giving them to the Master-of-Ceremonies, saying; ce·la'yu'ni· ndeli·' wi·teinge'n note·'ha'n "This here is how much I help from my heart!" The sacrosanctity of wampum is furthermore emphasized by the religious rule that wampum should always be given when something has been received, even when only a gift from a friend. In the esteem of the natives it becomes a most potent medicine. Failure to carry out the rules governing the bestowing of wampum would bring sickness upon the receiver of property through exchange or the receiver of a gift. This is especially
[157] true in connection with the Delaware practice of medicine, because medicine although destined to heal can double upon itself and become a poison when not sanctified by the conveyance of wampum.[1]

436 In Delaware phraseology "wampum is our heart." In exchanges of
425 vendable property, even extending to gifts between friends, there
751 lurked a potency for evil that might develop in who knows what quarter, producing malice or resentment among the parties concerned. It could even result in bodily poison to one or both. It is strictly correct to state that in the attitude of the eastern Indians toward such affairs the transfer of shell money from the hands of the receiver of a gift or a purchase to those of the giver performed the function of medicine.

436 The wampum protected them against spiritual infection and its
755 manifestation in the body in the form of sickness. Wampum was a purifier, purging the transaction from latent evil force. And should evil have leaked through the transaction the wampum would function as a purgative for its keeper. The same wampum was a spiritual emblem believed by them to have come originally from supernatural sources and embodying within it profound supernatural dynamics.

436 We can understand why a compact sealed with the transfer of
439 wampum was as sacred as one sworn to under oath by Europeans. It was such an attitude toward exchange and currency that our colonial forebears encountered when they bartered for land and peltry with the aborigines of New England and the Middle Atlantic States. The colonists handed out their exchange with the European notion of in-

[1] I am of course speaking of Delaware therapeutics exclusively, although something along the same line may be said, by those who are inclined toward a critical attitude, of civilized medical practices.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

these spirit-forces are beginning to touch those who carry on this our prayer-ceremony.[1]

Now the Attendants sweep the Big House clean. Now the leading Attendants make fire and burn cedar.[2]

"I am thankful, Oh thou Great Spirit, that we have been spared to live until now to purify with cedar smoke this our House, because that has always been the rule in the ancient world since the beginning of creation. When anyone thinks of his children how fortunate it is to see them enjoying good health. And this is the cause of a feeling of happiness when we consider how greatly we are blessed by the benevolence of our father, the Great Spirit. And we can also feel the great strength of him our grandfather Fire for which we cause him pleasure when we purify and take care with it, and when we feed him this cedar. All of this together we offer in esteem to him, our grandfather, because he has compassion when he sees how pitifully we behave while we are pleading with all the spirit-forces above as they were created and with all those here on earth. Give us everything, our father, that we ask of you Great Spirit even the Creator."[3]

Now the leading Attendant shall carry around a wooden bowl of wampum beads. To every person he shall give equally three wampum beads.[4] But the Following Attendant, a woman Attendant, shall carry a bark bowl containing paint and bloodroot so that everyone shall be anointed with paint.[5]

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[1] At the conclusion of these rites on the ninth evening the recitation of visions and the dancing around the White Path is resumed by the reciters as on the preceding nights. When the last reciter has completed his round the ceremony proceeds as announced in the ensuing paragraph with the burning of cedar.

[2] At this juncture the Leader goes to the fire at the east of the center post while the cedar is burning and then to the west fire, and delivers the following prayer in a low tone.

[3] With the ending of his prayer the Leader has timed his movements so that his time was divided before each of the two fires of the Big House while the cedar incense had been burning.

[4] Those receiving the beads can keep them if desired. But it was customary for them to return the wampum to the common fund by putting them in a little bowl standing on one of the hominy mortars outside after the meeting is over for that night. It was only by redonation of this nature that the supply of wampum necessary for conducting the ceremony could be assured.

[5] Some notes on the use of blood-root (Sanguinaria canadensis) as a red stain, or an anointment administered to the faces of all the worshippers, have been included in the introduction. A point, however, arises in the matter of ceremonial usage here as recorded in Harrington's study (I, pp. 105-6). He mentions that a bowl of grease is carried around from which the attendants anoint the skin of those to be painted. It might be inferred that some religious significance is attached to the use of grease in this act. And especially so in view of the similar function of grease among the far northern Algonkian who use grease rubbed on the face as "feeding the soul-spirit." Questioning the informant on this interesting point, however, only brings out the simple statement that the grease is put on to protect the skin from the effects of the paint, or pe'kon, which tends to be irritating. The grease is also put on the carved faces in this case to make the paint, put on after, sink in better. One might imagine, nevertheless, that at some former time the putting on of the grease was more of a rite than it is now.

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worth much more are their services, because exceedingly heavy is this which we are doing.[1] 539X 796

Hardly, for example, can I tell how precious it is. But, however, we have heard our deceased ancestors as they were speaking about it say, according to the custom, that the labor of the Attendant, when he makes fire, when he feeds us, when he provides plenty of fire wood, and when he sweeps the House clean;—all of this purification is the cause of bringing joy to the One who created us.[2] For now we have moved along toward where the ceremony closes. Let us consider, my kindred, if it would not bring us good health if again next year right here once more we perform the ceremony.

And besides, my kindred, there remains one more matter, something I want to say for you to bear well in mind. It is said traditionally, when any one on Good meditates in his heart, there is formed the thought. And when he thinks of good it is easy to behave well, but when he misbehaves it is the Evil that a person seriously thinks about as concerns his life. It is exceedingly hard because it is necessary that we prepare the soul-spirit in order that we shall be able to take it back home again to where it belongs, to Our Father, when its use is finished here where we live. Here in this place it is the body that shall remain here because here is where it belongs in the ground.[3]

Indeed, my kindred, that is why, as it is said, I plead with you that everyone take part and help me, or call it to my attention if sometimes I forget something. Always have I seen it this way since long ago. Yet at times, as it is said, I feel not to have grasped it sufficiently in mind. That is why, as it is said, I feel well pleased when any one calls my attention to something.

The Attendants must prepare wampum in a wooden bowl and every person shall be given three beads, and every person who wishes to, when he is now leaving to go outdoors, there where sets the hominy mortar may deposit them, whoever has been given these wampum beads. [425]

And now, my kindred, here when for the last time we are touched by these our grandfathers the turtle-rattles, that is the beginning of our concluding act. Now here at last we are ready to end this Our Father's service. And, my kindred, now from hence as we are going

[1] The master of ceremonies having now brought the worship to its close now makes his final bow with an eloquent declaration of humility, a summary of the spiritual force of what has been done and an appeal to the loyalty of his tribesmen.

[2] Another designation for the Great Spirit; as the explanation runs, "We are his children." [776]

[3] Mention has already been made, in the introduction, of Delaware eschatology, how it is believed that the heart is the seat of one soul, the blood of another remaining on earth after burial. [775]

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

426 672 If a debtor is unable to pay, the creditor duns his friends, who must pay and rarely refuse to do so. Occasionally, the debts of friends must be paid years after they were contracted, even after the death of the debtor, if only the debt can be proven.

685 A purchaser, dissatisfied with what he has bought or the price paid, is allowed to return what he has purchased and recover what was paid. One who has done an injury, killed a hog or chicken or occasioned loss in some other way, and obstinately refuses to make good the injury, cannot be touched. His friends may make good the loss. Should the offender, in the long run, not heed the admonitions of his friends, they will drive him away.

721 Hence, it is that in wars with whites practically all the tribes have been involved more or less. If the nation, as such, has taken no part in the war, these unmanageable offenders have gone with the fighting peoples, despite the warnings and threats of the chiefs. The same is true of the present conflict.[258] The Delaware chiefs had determined at its beginning to remain neutral, daily admonishing their people not to allow themselves to be persuaded to go into the war. The nation as such remained true to the determination of the chiefs, being constantly and earnestly watched, but obstinate offenders took part against all order and command.

619 Though the Indians are a free people and not subject to the rule of any one, each nation, considering itself a unit, has a kind of government of its own choosing, imperfect as it may be. This holds good of all the North American nations. A nation is constituted of three principal Tribes, the first or leading tribe is called *Packoango*, i. e., the tribe of the great Tortoise, the second, *Blem*, the Turkey Tribe, the third, *Ptucksit*, the Wolf 622 Tribe. Each of the tribes has its chief and each chief his coun- 623 sellors. The chief of the Tortoise Tribe is the first in rank and, together with the other two chiefs, deals with all matters of national interest, particularly, such as have reference to nations with whom, according to treaty, friendly relations are to be cultivated. A chief may not presume to rule over the people, as in that case he would immediately be forsaken by the whole tribe, and his counsellors would refuse to assist him. He must

	Williams	Van der Donck	Lindeström	Zeisberger	Heckewelder	Johnston	Pipe	Chippa	J. W.	W. T.	E. R.	W. L.
	633	627	623	586	585	583	627	627	623	586	623	781
Chiefs—Continued												
237. War chief chosen through vision power				+	+				+	+	+	+
238. Body of counselors †	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
239. Name *upwaenowuk							+		(+)	+	•	+
240. Chosen by people						+	+	•	+	+	+	+
241. Consider all matters of importance to tribe		+		+	+	+	+	+	s	s	s	s
242. Counselors and chiefs only present at council meetings		S?		s	s	+	+	+	s	s	s	s
243. All adults except women admitted				s				+	+	s	s	s
Justice												
244. Any mode of compelling payment of debt				+		—	—	—	—	—	—	—
245. Relatives of debtor make restitution				+	+		s		+		+	+
246. Creditor uses force							s	+	•+		+	—
247. Redress for civil injuries (theft)	•+	+	+	+	+	—	—	—	+	—	+	+
248. Injured party applies to chief		+			—		+		+		+	+
249. Any punishment inflicted by nation if restitution is made		—		—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
250. Injured party has right to kill thief on second offense		—			+			+	+		+	+
251. Murder punished	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
252. By nation	+	—	+	—	—	—	—	—	+	•	—	+
253. Breach closed by presents		+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•	+
254. Amount of wampum as presents †				+	•	+	+	+	+	+	•	+
255. Lacking presents, revenge by relatives	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
256. Revenge duty of any individual		•+			—	—	—	—	•+	—	—	•+
257. Any one interfere from duty		•+				—	•	—	—	•	•	•
258. Guilty submits	+	•—				+	+	+	+	+	•	s
259. Feud arise from revenge		•+					—	—	—	—	•	—
260. Revenge approved by nation	+		+	+		+			+	+	•	+
261. Crimes. Theft	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
262. Rape		+					+		+	+	+	+
263. Adultery	+	+		+			+	+	+	+	+	+
264. Desertion of children								+	+	(+)	•+	
265. Drunkenness and slander	+							+	+	(+)		

+ = element present
— = element denied
(+) or (—) = source ambiguous
• = informant could not or would not say
s = some, sometimes, or several
† or * = see Ethnographic Notes, pp. 79-137 for additional information

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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crease or decrease in population, although the Delaware had increased some three hunderd in number.[1]

Most of the Delaware are living on their allotments scattered through the territory originally reserved for the Cherokee. Few of their allotments are contiguous, due to the exigencies of the allotting and to the fact that many of the farms have been sold when restrictions were removed. Very few of them were fortunate enough to have oil on their lands. They either farm their fields or cash rent them. Judging from the state of repair of the houses, those that farm their own fields are more prosperous than those who rent them out. This distinction is also recognized by the Indians. The majority probably rent their fields and subsist on the small cash return, aided by the produce from their gardens, old age pensions, and other occasional sources of income. There is very little in the appearance of their houses to distinguish them from their white neighbors. Clothes and automobiles also reflect their economic status in the same way that these items do for their white neighbors.

After their incorporation with the Cherokee, the Delaware maintained their own chieftainships for a time. As the functions of these clan heads ceased, so did the rules for the filling of the offices and the need for keeping them filled. The last of the clan chiefs died about 1900. Since that time only chiefs for the entire Delaware group in northeastern Oklahoma have been elected. These were elected mostly for business purposes—to have an official representative to treat with the Federal Government on annuities and other money matters. In the election each of the three tribal divisions, Turtle, Wolf, and Turkey nominated a candidate. The man getting the most votes was elected chief and the one getting the next highest number became assistant chief. The last election was held about 1917. The chief who was elected then died about 1935, and since that time there has been no recognized chief.

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[1] Pratt, John G., to J. R. Doolittle, September 15, 1865, in *Condition of the Indian Tribes. Report of the Joint Special Committee . . .* (*Senate Reports*, 39 Congress, 2 session, No. 156, Washington, D. C., 1867), Appendix, p. 483.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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[114]

R. H. Lowie[109] and others who at this time (*ca.* 1920) were attempting to demonstrate that private ownership was the rule and not the exception in primitive society. I do not deny that the Delawares shared in the Eastern Algonkian trait of family-held hunting grounds. I do deny, however, that the early historic concept of land ownership was analogous to the European one. Wallace, who has made the most penetrating study of early Delaware land tenure, summed up their concept by saying:

> To the Delaware Indian, land was an element, a medium of existence, like the air and the sunlight and the rivers. To him, "ownership" of land meant, not exclusive personal title to the soil itself, but occupation of a certain position of responsibility in the social unit which exploited the soil. The "sale" of land (to use the white man's term) might, to the Delaware, be almost any mutually satisfactory change in the relationship of two groups of persons subsisting on the land. In the earliest sales, the Indians seem to have intended only to give the whites freedom to use the land in conjunction with the native population.[109]

MacLeod in a footnote tacitly agreed with this point of view, saying: "The selling of land of course was a notion foreign, so far as we know, to native ideas or practice."[110]

There are no seventeenth-century sources which, to my knowledge, described directly and in straightforward fashion the hunting territories. On the basis of the records of early land transactions, however, both MacLeod and Wallace have reconstructed the system which must have existed. The smallest unit of land was a named "hunting territory covering up to two hundred square miles of land."[111] Their boundaries were often vague, and territories overlapped, although natural landmarks were used as boundaries. "Such territories are often associated in European documents with the names of individual Indians, who are called 'owners.'"[112] Most of these territories were, however, sold by groups of Indians. In short, the so-called "owners" were simply representatives of the social units who used this land.[113] It also appears that disposition of these territories did not rest solely in the hands of these individuals, but was the privilege of the community.[114] Wallace has demonstrated that a number of individual hunting territories made up a larger unit which he terms "communal territories" of "up to 1500 square miles."[115]

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Inheritance of hunting territory right is but vaguely understood. MacLeod has suggested that the inheritance of hunting territory was through the paternal line, since it was used primarily by males. If this was true it would suggest either that matrilineal reckoning of kinship was a historic accretion to Delaware culture, or that the two systems existed side by side.[116] Wallace has concluded, as have I, that the maternal lineage was the social unit that "owned" or perhaps more aptly

[109] Lowie, 1920, pp. 210 ff.
[110] Wallace, 1947, p. 2; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 102, agreed with this concept of land possession.
[111] MacLeod, 1922, p. 463.
[112] Wallace, 1947, p. 3.
[113] *Ibid.*, p. 3; MacLeod, 1922, p. 463.
[114] Wallace, 1947, p. 4.
[115] *Ibid.*, p. 5.
[116] *Ibid.*, p. 6.
[117] MacLeod, 1922, p. 453.

2:Newcomb E-4,5 (1951-1952) 1956
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428 "belonged to" the "individual" hunting territory.[117] The lineage, clan, 423 and phratry are discussed in the next chapter. There is nothing incompatible in the existence of maternal lineages (or clans) and male-used hunting territories.

Material Culture

361 Villages.— There is little information concerning the villages and 621 general settlement pattern of the early historic Delawares. Villages, or perhaps they might better be termed hamlets, were situated in bottom lands near the gardens or along the shores of bays.[118] These dispersed settlements were not palisaded.[119] Eighteenth-century and later information seems to reflect the original condition in that these settlements had no regular plan or arrangement, and that houses were not built close together.[120] There is no information concerning the length of time these villages were inhabited. If their garden plots were fertilized, residence in the villages may have been relatively permanent, but the fertilizer issue is in doubt. By the eighteenth century, after extensive migrations, villages were occupied until it became "troublesome to se- 364 cure wood for fuel" and, implicitly, until they became overburdened with filth.[121] The Evelin paper of 1648 described twenty-three communities in New Jersey, ranging in population from fourteen to six hundred persons.[122] Lindestrom noted community size as "several hundred men strong, under each chief, counting women and children, some being stronger, some weaker."[123]

342 Dwellings.— There seems to have been some diversity in the type of 171 dwellings of the early seventeenth-century Delawares. A circular wigwam and a long house identical with the Iroquoian type have been described, although the latter seems to represent a late prehistoric diffusion. De Laet and Van der Donck depicted Delawares using a circular bark dwelling with vaulted ceiling.[124] In another place De Laet stated that the dwelling was oven-shaped, but large enough for several related families.[125] Penn and Pastorius also alluded to this style of dwelling, whereas Holm and Lindestrom mentioned what seems to be the Iroquoian long house.[126] Zeisberger in the eighteenth century distinguished between house types of the Iroquois and the Delawares, describing a "rounded, arched roof" for the Iroqouis and a "high-pitched, peaked roof" for the Delawares.[127] Harrington in 1913 characterized the house type current a few years previously as being similar to the Iroquois type.[128] The evidence, then, is not conclusive, but it seems probable

[117] Wallace, 1947, p. 18.
[118] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 87; Wallace, 1947, p. 18.
[119] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 241.
[120] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 87; O. A., J. T.
[121] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 87.
[122] Smith, 1877, p. 11.
[123] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 170.
[124] De Laet, 1909, p. 57; Van der Donck, 1909, p. 302.
[125] De Laet, 1909, p. 57.
[126] Penn, 1912, p. 232; Pastorius, 1912, p. 425; Holm, 1834, p. 123; Lindestrom, 1925, p. 211.
[127] Zeisberger, 1910, pp. 17-18.
[128] Harrington, 1913, pp. 217-18.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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often dyed red with cinnabar about the neck. Such a shirt may be worn unwashed until it is torn. More careful women, however wash their clothing. Men and women paint their faces almost daily, especially if they go out to a dance in the evening. Men, particularly, think it is proper to paint and often their whole head is colored vermillion.[255] Here and there black spots may be introduced, or they paint one-half of their head and face black, the other red. Figures are added according to taste.[256] Indian women never paint their faces with a variety of figures, but rather make a round red spot upon each cheek and redden the eyelids, the tops of their heads and, in some cases, the rims of the ears and the temples.[257] Older women adorn themselves but rarely, usually appearing in old cast-off garments. Even if the husband of such a woman provides new clothing, she will rarely put it on, especially if she has a daughter to whom she gives the new clothing in exchange for old garments.

Their towns are generally laid out near a lake, river or brook, yet sufficiently elevated to escape the danger of inundations, which are very common in spring. In building towns no regular plan is observed but every one builds according to his fancy. The houses are not built close together. Some years ago, when the Delawares planned Gochachgünk, they wished to imitate the Christian Indians and build their town in orderly fashion but they did not succeed, even though they had laid it out. When they have lived long in one place, it at last becomes troublesome to secure wood for fuel because all the wood in the neighborhood has been used. This causes them to leave the place and plan a new village for the sake of the wood and other conveniences. Although they have horses that roam about and are rarely used except when they wish to ride, it is too troublesome for them to break these to work and, furthermore, since fetching wood is the work of the women, the men do not concern themselves about it.

Of inheritances they know nothing. Every Indian knows that whatever he leaves at his death is divided among his friends. If a woman becomes a widow, no matter how long she may have lived with her husband, friends come, take everything that be-

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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428 longed to the man, and bring it to one place. The friends do not keep a single article, for they wish to forget the dead and are afraid lest the smallest part of the property of the deceased should remind them of him. They give what the deceased has left to their friends and no one of his friends receives anything; even though he should wish to take something he will not do it through fear of the others. If a dying Indian leaves his gun or any other trifle to a particular friend the legatee is immediately put in possession and no one disputes his right. The widow gets nothing, yet whatever the husband has given to his wife during his life-time remains her property. Therefore we need not wonder that a married Indian pair should not have their goods in common, for otherwise the wife would be left wholly destitute after her husband's death. In like manner the husband inherits nothing when his wife dies.

768 587 According to ancient custom a widow should not marry again within a year after the death of her husband, for the Indians say that he does not forsake her before that time. At the end of this period, however, they believe that his soul goes to its place. A widow must endeavor to live by her own industry. She is not permitted to purchase any meat, for the Indians are superstitiously persuaded that their guns fail if a widow should eat of the game they have killed. Now and then a kind friend will venture to transgress the rule and give her some meat secretly. As soon as the first year of her widowhood is passed, the friends of the deceased husband clothe and provide for her and her children. They also propose another husband if they know of a desirable party, or, at least, tell her that she is now at liberty to choose for herself. If, however, she has not attended to the prescribed rule but married within the year, they never trouble themselves about her again except, perhaps, to speak evil of her.

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If a man's wife die, her relatives pretend to have some claim upon him until a year has passed. If he has remained a widower during that time they generally secure him a wife, preferring a sister of the departed, if one be living.

764 The burying places are at some distance from the towns. Before they had hatchets and other tools they used to line the

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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622 are moved neither by fear of men nor of God; fortunately there are few such.

[273] Strong drink occasions much disorder in the Indian towns.[266] If a chief is himself an abstainer, he may accomplish much against this evil, but he must be ever watchful and not tire in his efforts.

[428] At the death of a chief neither his children, wife, nor relatives inherit his possessions. Everything is distributed among the people except the wampum and belts, which belong to the chief in his official capacity, and the Council Bag. These are preserved and turned over to his successor in office. In general, some person who lived in intimacy with the deceased chief, and is well acquainted with the affairs of state is chosen to be his successor. It is generally agreed that such and such an one is the right person to assume the dignity of chief. If he is discreet and wins the favor of the captains and the people, the former in particular, will support him in every possible 624 way. A captain, such as White Eye[267] was, is the Chief's right hand. He must undertake everything ordered of him by the chief, even at the hazard of his life. To show fear would not be in harmony with his dignity and a disgrace. If he is wounded or killed by the enemy, the whole nation joins in avenging his death, taking injury done him as seriously as if it concerned the person of the chief. This the captains are aware of and it gives them courage.

728 A captain has no more right to conclude peace than a chief to begin war.[268] If peace is offered to a captain, when he is in the enemy's country, he can give no other answer than that he will bring the proposal to the notice of the chief, for as a warrior he cannot make peace, and that in due time reply will be given. If the chief inclines to peace, he, as it were, assumes his office again, exerts his power, takes the matter out of the hands of the captain and desires him to sit down, which signifies declaring a truce. The hatchet is taken out of the captain's hand and he is obliged to cease from hostilities and keep his men quiet. The chief knowing that inactivity is not agreeable to the captain, asks his assistance in the negotiations and generally chooses him to be the messenger of peace to the

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
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CHAPTER X.

Concerning the Marriage of the American People and the Treatment [Used] by the Savage Females Against Birth Pangs.

These Indians are a bestial people and have their intercourse together with father, mother, brother and sister like irrational brutes, no one knowing rightly who is the father of the child;[1] but their sachem or chief he must take a wife to himself, not because he intends to conceive children with her alone, but because his government and household exists as under a family,[2] about which we shall obtain further [details] hereafter. This his wife, she must manage his entire household like a matron who always, in the absence of the sachem, must guard his property, which becomes her possession after his death.

When she has thus been wooed by him, the bride must bedeck [herself] for a year and a day,[3] although they do not know what a year means, yet

[1] Lindeström's religious zeal led him astray; besides he did not understand the family life of the Indians. Some early writers state that Indians of this district had but one wife, except the chiefs, who had many. Their ideas of morality were of course different from those of the white settlers. De Vries tells us that an Indian would lend his wife to a friend, and that jealousy did not exist among them.

[2] *Hans undherhafwande Regiment och Hwshåldningh bestådr lijka som undher een familia.* In other words, according to Lindeström, the government is patriarchal, the chief being like the father of a household, hence it is necessary to have a mother of the household. Cf. in this connection a summary on "The Chief of the Indian Clan," by Rudolf Elander (Gothenburg, 1909).

[3] "A year and a day," see above, *Dedication*, note 23.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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574 make themselves acceptable to the head of the universal family, the great and good Mannitto. Let me be permitted to illustrate this by an example.

Some travelling Indians having in the year 1777, put their horses over night to pasture in my little meadow, at Gnadenhutten on the Muskingum, I called on them in the morning to learn why they had done so. I endeavoured to make them sensible of the injury they had done me, especially as I intended to mow the meadow in a day or two. Having finished my complaint, one of them replied: "My friend, it seems you lay claim to the grass "my horses have eaten, because you had enclosed it with "a fence: now tell me, who caused the grass to grow? "Can you make the grass grow? I think not, and no "body can except the great Mannitto. He it is "who causes it to grow both for my horses and for "yours! See, friend! the grass which grows out of the "earth is common to all; the game in the woods is com-"mon to all. Say, did you never eat venison and bear's "meat?—"Yes, very often."—Well, and did you ever "hear me or any other Indian complain about that? "No; then be not disturbed at my horses having eaten "only once, of what you call *your* grass, though the "grass my horses did eat, in like manner as the meat "you did eat, was given to the Indians by the Great "Spirit. Besides, if you will but consider, you will find "that my horses did not eat *all* your grass. For friend-"ship's sake, however, I shall never put my horses in "your meadow again."

735 The Indians are not only just, they are also in many respects a generous people, and cannot see the sick and the aged suffer for want of clothing. To such they will give a blanket, a shirt, a pair of leggings, mocksens, &c. 431 Otherwise, when they make presents, it is done with a view to receive an equivalent in return, and the receiver is given to understand what that ought to be. In making presents to strangers, they are content with some trifle

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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in token of remembrance; but when they give any thing to a trader, they at least expect double the value in return, saying that he can afford to do it, since he had cheated them so often.

They treat each other with civility, and shew much affection on meeting after an absence. When they meet in the forenoon, they will compliment one another with saying, "a good morning to you!" and in the afternoon "a good evening." In the act of shaking hands with each other, they strictly attend to the distinguishing names of relations, which they utter at the time; as for instance, "a good morning, father, grandfather, uncle, aunt, cousin," and so down to a small grandchild. They are also in the habit of saluting old people no ways related to them, by the names of grandfather and grandmother, not in a tone of condescending superiority or disguised contempt, but as a genuine mark of the respect which they feel for age. The common way of saluting where no relationship exists, is that of "friend;" when, however, the young people meet, they make use of words suitable to their years or stage in life; they will say "a good morning, comrade, favourite, beloved, &c." Even the children salute each other affectionately. "I am glad to see you," is the common way in which the Indians express themselves to one another after a short absence; but on meeting after a long absence, on the return of a messenger or a warrior from a critical or dangerous expedition, they have more to say; the former is saluted in the most cordial manner with some such expression: "I thank the Great Spirit, that he has pre-"served our lives to this time of our happily meeting "again. I am, indeed, very glad to see you." To which the other will reply: "you speak the truth; it is through "the favour of the great and good Spirit that we are "permitted to meet. I am equally glad to see you." To the latter will be said: "I am glad that the Great "Spirit has preserved your life and granted you a safe "return to your family."

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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422 cat, kitten and little chicken. Parents make presents
[431] to their children, and they in return to their parents. A father will sometimes ask his wife or one of his children for the loan of his horse to go out a hunting. For a litter of kittens or brood of chickens, there are often as many different owners as there are individual animals. In purchasing a hen with her brood, one frequently has to deal for it with several children. Thus, while
[421] the principle of community of goods prevails in the state, the rights of property are acknowledged among the members of a family. This is attended with a very good effect; for by this means every living creature is properly taken care of. It also promotes liberality among the children, which becomes a habit with them by the time they are grown up.

593 An Indian loves to see his wife well clothed, which is a proof that he is fond of her; at least, it is so considered. While his wife is bartering the skins and peltry he has taken in his hunt, he will seat himself at some distance, to observe her choice, and how she and the traders agree together. When she finds an article which she thinks will suit or please her husband, she never fails to purchase it for him; she tells him that it is *her* choice, and he is never dissatisfied.

The more a man does for his wife, the more he is esteemed, particularly by the women, who will say: "This
[517 man surely loves his wife." Some men at their leisure
322] hours make bowls and ladles, which, when finished, are at their wives' disposal.

593 If a sick or pregnant woman longs for any article of
843 food, be it what it may, and however difficult to be procured, the husband immediately sets out to endeavour to get it. I have known a man to go forty or fifty miles for a mess of cranberries to satisfy his wife's longing. In the year 1762, I was witness to a remarkable instance of the disposition of Indians to indulge their wives. There was a famine in the land, and a sick Indian woman ex-

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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we might be permitted to go home, as we wished to do, particularly as we saw a thundergust from the west fast approaching; but the Indians, suspecting our design, soon came forward with poles and blankets, and in a few minutes erected a shelter for us.

The storm, though of short duration, was tremendous; the water, produced by the rain, flowing in streams; yet all had found means to secure themselves during its continuance, and being on prairie ground, we were out of all danger of trees being torn up or blown down upon us. Our encampment now appeared like a village, or rather like a military camp, such was the number of places of shelter that had been erected.

Fortunately, the husband of the deceased had reached the camp in good time, and now the gust being over, every one was served with victuals that had been cooked at some distance from the spot. After the repast was over, the articles of merchandise which had been brought by the two men in the rear, having been made up in parcels, were distributed among all present. No one from the oldest to the youngest, was excepted, and every one partook of the liberal donation. This difference only was made, that those who had rendered the greatest services received the most valuable presents, and we were much pleased to see the female mourners well rewarded, as they had, indeed, a very hard task to perform. Articles of little value, such as gartering, tape, needles, beads, and the like, were given to the smaller girls; the older ones received a pair of scissars, needles and thread, and a yard or two of riband. The boys had a knife, jews-harp, awl-blades, or something of similar value. Some of the grown persons received a new suit of clothes, consisting of a blanket, shirt, breech-cloth and leggings, of the value in the whole of about eight dollars; and the women, (I mean those who had rendered essential services) a blanket, ruffled shirts, stroud and leggings, the whole worth from ten to twelve dollars. Mr. Calhoon

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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and myself were each presented with a silk cravat and a pair of leggings. The goods distributed on this occasion, were estimated by Mr. Calhoon at two hundred dollars; the greatest part of them had, the same morning, been taken out of his store.

After we had thus remained, in a manner, under confinement, for more than six hours, the procession ended, and Mr. Calhoon and myself retired with the rest to our homes. At dusk a kettle of victuals was carried to the grave and placed upon it, and the same was done every evening for the space of three weeks, at the end of which it was supposed that the traveller had found her place of residence. During that time the lamentations of the women-mourners were heard on the evenings of each day, though not so loud nor so violent as before.

I have thus described, from minutes which I took at the time, the ceremonies which take place among the Delaware Indians on the death of a person of high rank and consideration among them. The funerals of persons of an inferior station are conducted with less pomp and with less expense. When the heirs of the deceased cannot afford to hire female mourners, the duty is performed by their own immediate relations and friends. But "mourning over the corpse," is a ceremony that cannot be dispensed with.

It is always customary, when an Indian dies, of whatever rank or condition he may be, to put a number of the articles which belonged to the deceased in the coffin or grave, that he may have them when wanted. I have seen a bottle of rum or whiskey placed at the coffin head, and the reason given for it was, that the deceased was fond of liquor while living, and he would be glad of a dram when he should feel fatigued on his journey to the world of spirits.

When an Indian dies at a distance from his home, great care is taken that the grave be well fortified with posts and logs laid upon it, that the wolves may be

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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627 If peace could not be restored through the payment of "blood money," the interested kin, in case of murder, resolved the case by the murder of the guilty party or one of his kin.[163] From the scanty evidence available it would appear that only in the case of unresolved murders which were upsetting internal peace would society step in to halt the conflict.

576 Little is known about etiquette and the customary ways in which people behaved towards one another. Penn, however, said:

431 In liberality they excel. Nothing is too good for their friend. Give them a fine gun, coat, or other thing, it may pass twenty hands before it sticks: light of heart, strong affections, but soon spent: the most merry creatures that live: they feast and dance perpetually; they never have much, nor want much. Wealth circulateth like the blood. All parts partake; and though none shall want what another hath, yet exact observers of property.[164]

Denton in the same vein said:

They are extraordinary charitable one to another, one having nothing to spare, but he freely imparts it to his friends & whatsoever they get by gaming or any other way, they share one to another leaving themselves commonly the least share.[165]

571 This sort of behavior is, of course, to be expected in a society organized upon a kinship basis. Society was predicated, not on the competition between individuals, but upon mutual assistance and the unity of action of the kin group. Respect for, and solicitous care of, the aged has also been noted.[166]

War

726 174 Small-scale, probably infrequent raiding by a few warriors was the typical form of warfare in early historic times and undoubtedly in the pre-European period. This type of conflict was a personal, usually non-economic feuding. An apt designation for it might be primitive war, since it seems to be characteristic of many cultures at this and lower technological levels of development. A special term for it is necessary since it generally differs in its causation, purpose, and form from total, modern warfare. There is little evidence that chronic, full-scale, economically caused warfare existed aboriginally in what is now northeastern United States. Hunt shared this point of view in writing of the Iroquois, generally considered to have been the most warlike of peoples in this area! He said:

In the beginning intertribal rivalries were not keen, and intertribal war was purely private and social interprise. But before long the European trade was to create new rivalries, and whet old ones to the point where the issue became one of survival.[167]

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[163] Van der Donck, 1909, p. 303.
[164] Penn, 1882, p. 243.
[165] Denton, 1845, p. 9. Also see Zeisberger, 1910, pp. 115-16.
[166] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 123; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 103.
[167] Hunt, 1939, p. 22.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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736 given assistance. A poor widow, even though she have children, finds it possible to make a living if she is willing to work. They pay her above the worth of her services in food and clothing; if it is summer she may work on the plantations; in winter she may prepare wood for fire. They are willing to help the poor but always expect them to render some service in return. It has been known that good has been done to prisoners condemned to death, even to whites, though this had to be done secretly.

829 A few negroes are found among the Indians having been
144 either bought from the whites or secured as prisoners. These are looked upon as of their own kind and allowed full liberty. Indians and negroes intermarry and their mulatto children are as much loved as children of pure Indian blood.

431 They are fond of giving when they can expect something in return and of doing good which they have reason to hope may be returned. They easily forget the good that has been done, but if they have been cheated they never forget it. If a white has done them ever so many favors, helped them in need, or given them presents, and omits an opportunity to do the like only once, then all he may have done is forgotten. If an Indian takes a wife and dresses her generously from head to foot in new garments she will indeed be glad and proud; but she will more readily leave him than if he had given her little or nothing, for in that case she would still be in expectation of receiving something.

One may even make enemies of Indians through presents if these make them proud and one does not continue giving. Occasionally when a respectable present has been given the donor is slandered in order that he may not expect something in return from the recipient.

152 They are able to control their desires and passions, but once given free rein these are the more violent. Overcome with wrath, they at once think upon murder, and may, in the heat of passion, do something for which they will later feel remorse.

521 The women are much given to lying and gossiping. They carry evil report from house to house. As long as they are observed they appear modest and without guile. All the wrongs

Marriage arrangements were always simple, but it was definitely considered better form for the negotiations to take place between the two sets of parents rather than between the individuals concerned. In this type of negotiation, the man's mother took animal food which he had killed to the girl's mother; according to some sources, a return gift was made of corn food prepared by the girl (Harrington, 1908, p.215; Heckewelder, 1881, pp.161-72; Zeisberger, 1910, p.78). It was not unusual, however, for the agreement to take place directly between the boy and girl in which case they might or might not go through these formalities. Loskiel, who is the only author who mentions the subject of residence after marriage, says that the newly married couple often lived with friends for a short time until they built their own house (Loskiel, p.56).

The man was responsible for building the house and providing axes, hoes, canoes, dishes and household equipment although the girl might supply some things. The man was expected to support the family by hunting, trapping and fishing, and the game which he brought home was the property of his wife to use as she saw fit. She was equally responsible, however, for agricultural produce and cooking; and if she were remiss, might be reminded of her neglect by her husband's taking to the woods without telling her he planned to do so. She also carried packs in traveling, tanned skins and fetched wood (Penn, p.30; Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 155-160; G.Thomas, p.341).

There was apparently no strong pressure put upon the couple to remain together after they were married. Although later writers state that marriages were formerly more stable, they present no evidence to substantiate this. Polygyny was permitted but infrequent (Heckewelder, 1881, p.154; Harrington, 1913, p.215; Zeisberger, 1910, pp.78-9; Loskiel, p.57). After the death of a spouse, the widow or widower, but more particularly the former, was expected to remain single for a year, but it is clear that this was frequently not done (Brickell, p.49; Loskiel, p.121).

Social Life and Organization

Most of Delaware social behavior is a closed book to us as the early observers did not usually have long contacts with them in their villages. The early writers were aware, however, that the Indian expected to be fed when he visited them, and that they were always offered food when they visited him. Likewise they noted that gifts passed readily from hand to hand among the Indians although property rights were clearly understood (Lindstrom p.233; Danckaerts, pp.80 and 159; Penn, p.32).

The following games were probably played in this early period: footraces (Lindstrom, p.191); a gambling game in which flat bones,

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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436 sweeping, and general order of the premises receive their pay in
796 wampum beads; the pecuniary value of which amounts to hardly more than a few cents. The drummers, the singers, the dance leaders, the reciters of visions are in their turn rewarded with small donations of wampum at the conclusion of their performances. This is a purifying gift rather than a pecuniary payment, one entirely out of proportion to the worth of service rendered.

The worshipers of the Big House also offer their donations toward the ceremony in strings of wampum, giving them to the Master-of-Ceremonies, saying; ce·la'yu'ni· ndeli·' wi·teinge'n·note''ha'n "This here is how much I help from my heart!" The sacrosanctity of wampum is furthermore emphasized by the religious rule that wampum should always be given when something has been received, even when only a gift from a friend. In the esteem of the natives it becomes a most potent medicine. Failure to carry out the rules governing the bestowing of wampum would bring sickness upon the receiver of property through exchange or the receiver of a gift. This is especially
[167] true in connection with the Delaware practice of medicine, because medicine although destined to heal can double upon itself and become a poison when not sanctified by the conveyance of wampum.[1]

436 In Delaware phraseology "wampum is our heart." In exchanges of
425 vendable property, even extending to gifts between friends, there
751 lurked a potency for evil that might develop in who knows what quarter, producing malice or resentment among the parties concerned. It could even result in bodily poison to one or both. It is strictly correct to state that in the attitude of the eastern Indians toward such affairs the transfer of shell money from the hands of the receiver of a gift or a purchase to those of the giver performed the function of medicine.

436 The wampum protected them against spiritual infection and its
755 manifestation in the body in the form of sickness. Wampum was a purifier, purging the transaction from latent evil force. And should evil have leaked through the transaction the wampum would function as a purgative for its keeper. The same wampum was a spiritual emblem believed by them to have come originally from supernatural sources and embodying within it profound supernatural dynamics.

436 We can understand why a compact sealed with the transfer of
439 wampum was as sacred as one sworn to under oath by Europeans. It was such an attitude toward exchange and currency that our colonial forebears encountered when they bartered for land and peltry with the aborigines of New England and the Middle Atlantic States. The colonists handed out their exchange with the European notion of in-

[1] I am of course speaking of Delaware therapeutics exclusively, although something along the same line may be said, by those who are inclined toward a critical attitude, of civilized medical practices.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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tion it lies extended. And the doors are opposite each other. Right here in the direction of the sun-set, it is the rule that the Bringer-in come, bringing the ceremony into the House. 539X 773 796

Everything was provided for the Delawares in the Gamwing. There was also wampum supplied by rule, it is said. Each person gives one shoulder-length for helping to prepare this food and also for when they pay the Attendants. And, so it is said, the Attendant is pleasing to him our father the Great Spirit, even the Creator. 539X 773 796 436

When the workers[1] purify everything,[2] these women with the Attendants, it can not be conceived how sacredly valuable those labors are. It has been destined for the Delaware that that very wampum he uses becomes his heart. And moreover when purchasing food, or when anything of value is bought, he employs wampum. And then a quantity is gathered. Here at the left side of the House where the Bringer-in sits, at a certain height above the ground, there a white cloth is hung along the wall. There is suspended all the wampum, as much as has been gathered together each day over again.[3] [783]

[1] The word means "to labor" in the sense of doing something for oneself. Corresponding to the term alo'tke (Penobscot, Wabanaki) meaning "work," the Delaware denotes working for someone else by naloka'tke "I am hired by someone to work.

[2] The clean, pure character of the Attendants or "workers" diffuses spiritual purity over all those attending the ceremony inside the Big House and strengthens them for the ensuing year.

[3] The supply of wampum is renewed each day by those who through spiritual impulses contribute their treasure. They are blessed in proportion. It should be noted that no one is allowed to sell anything at the festival except the Attendants. Outside on the grounds at a distance from the Big House refreshments can be sold for money. But inside the Big House wampum must be used for exchange. In the present ceremonial transactions between the Attendants and the worshippers two or three beads pass for five cents. Some thirty or more years ago, however, when wampum was more plentiful it passed at one bead for a cent. [431]

And it was said, long ago in the beginning at the Gamwing, inside the Big House, they built a great sweat-house. They heated rock and put it inside that sweat-house. There the shamans[1] crawled in. And water was used here for pouring upon the rocks. That was called testing with heat. Everyone going in there and staying for any length of time was said to be a great man. Some person would be exhausted in a little while for which reason they took him out. Those enduring it for a considerable length of time, those are the great men.[2] 539X 773 796 554 785

[1] There were two classes of shamans. Some had healing power and are called nenpi'kewa "sweating doctor." The men who recite their visions in the Big House are also mete'lau in the Delaware classification, their description being kaci'lae·u webendji·k ane'yo "great men who perform in a single file [like the vertebral articulation of men and animals]." See page 54.

[2] Amounting to a title denoting "prophet, reciter of vision, healer, priest all in one.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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these spirit-forces are beginning to touch those who carry on this our prayer-ceremony.[1]

Now the Attendants sweep the Big House clean. Now the leading Attendants make fire and burn cedar.[2]

"I am thankful, Oh thou Great Spirit, that we have been spared to live until now to purify with cedar smoke this our House, because that has always been the rule in the ancient world since the beginning of creation. When anyone thinks of his children how fortunate it is to see them enjoying good health. And this is the cause of a feeling of happiness when we consider how greatly we are bleased by the benevolence of our father, the Great Spirit. And we can also feel the great strength of him our grandfather Fire for which we cause him pleasure when we purify and take care with it, and when we feed him this cedar. All of this together we offer in esteem to him, our grandfather, because he has compassion when he sees how pitifully we behave while we are pleading with all the spirit-forces above as they were created and with all those here on earth. Give us everything, our father, that we ask of you Great Spirit even the Creator."[3]

Now the leading Attendant shall carry around a wooden bowl of wampum beads. To every person he shall give equally three wampum beads.[4] But the Following Attendant, a woman Attendant, shall carry a bark bowl containing paint and bloodroot so that everyone shall be anointed with paint.[5]

[1] At the conclusion of these rites on the ninth evening the recitation of visions and the dancing around the White Path is resumed by the reciters as on the preceding nights. When the last reciter has completed his round the ceremony procedes as announced in the ensuing paragraph with the burning of cedar.

[2] At this juncture the Leader goes to the fire at the east of the center post while the cedar is burning and then to the west fire, and delivers the following prayer in a low tone.

[3] With the ending of his prayer the Leader has timed his movements so that his time was divided before each of the two fires of the Big House while the cedar incense had been burning.

[4] Those receiving the beads can keep them if desired. But it was customary for them to return the wampum to the common fund by putting them in a little bowl standing on one of the hominy mortars outside after the meeting is over for that night. It was only by redonation of this nature that the supply of wampum necessary for conducting the ceremony could be assured.

[5] Some notes on the use of blood-root (Sanguinaria canadensis) as a red stain, or an anointment administered to the faces of all the worshippers, have been included in the introduction. A point, however, arises in the matter of ceremonial usage here as recorded in Harrington's study (I, pp. 105-6). He mentions that a bowl of grease is carried around from which the attendants anoint the skin of those to be painted. It might be inferred that some religious significance is attached to the use of grease in this act. And especially so in view of the similar function of grease among the far northern Algonkian who use grease rubbed on the face as "feeding the soul-spirit." Questioning the informant on this interesting point, however, only brings out the simple statement that the grease is put on to protect the skin from the effects of the paint, or pe·kɔn, which tends to be irritating. The grease is also put on the carved faces in this case to make the paint, put on after, sink in better. One might imagine, nevertheless, that at some former time the putting on of the grease was more of a rite than it is now.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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crease or decrease in population, although the Delaware had increased some three hunderd in number.[1]

Most of the Delaware are living on their allotments scattered through the territory originally reserved for the Cherokee. Few of their allotments are contiguous, due to the exigencies of the allotting and to the fact that many of the farms have been sold when restrictions were removed. Very few of them were fortunate enough to have oil on their lands. They either farm their fields or cash rent them. Judging from the state of repair of the houses, those that farm their own fields are more prosperous than those who rent them out. This distinction is also recognized by the Indians. The majority probably rent their fields and subsist on the small cash return, aided by the produce from their gardens, old age pensions, and other occasional sources of income. There is very little in the appearance of their houses to distinguish them from their white neighbors. Clothes and automobiles also reflect their economic status in the same way that these items do for their white neighbors.

After their incorporation with the Cherokee, the Delaware maintained their own chieftainships for a time. As the functions of these clan heads ceased, so did the rules for the filling of the offices and the need for keeping them filled. The last of the clan chiefs died about 1900. Since that time only chiefs for the entire Delaware group in northeastern Oklahoma have been elected. These were elected mostly for business purposes—to have an official representative to treat with the Federal Government on annuities and other money matters. In the election each of the three tribal divisions, Turtle, Wolf, and Turkey nominated a candidate. The man getting the most votes was elected chief and the one getting the next highest number became assistant chief. The last election was held about 1917. The chief who was elected then died about 1935, and since that time there has been no recognized chief.

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[1] Pratt, John G., to J. R. Doolittle, September 15, 1865, in *Condition of the Indian Tribes. Report of the Joint Special Committee . . .* (*Senate Reports*, 39 Congress, 2 session, No. 156, Washington, D. C., 1867), Appendix, p. 483.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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"among us; you are to return to that former happy
"state, in which we lived in peace and plenty, before
"these strangers came to disturb us, and above all, you
"must abstain from drinking their deadly *beson*, which
"they have forced upon us, for the sake of increasing
"their gains and diminishing our numbers. Then will
"the great Spirit give success to our arms; then he will
"give us strength to conquer our enemies, to drive them
"from hence, and recover the passage to the heavenly
"regions which they have taken from us."

Such was in general the substance of his discourses. After having dilated more or less on the various topics which I have mentioned, he commonly concluded in this manner: "And now, my friends, in order that what I "have told you may remain firmly impressed on your "minds, and to refresh your memories from time to time, "I advise you to preserve, in every family, at least, "such a book or writing as this, which I will finish off "for you, provided you bring me the price, which is only "one buck-skin or two doe-skins a piece."* The price was of course bought, and the book purchased. In some of those maps, the figure of a deer or turkey, or both, was placed in the heavenly regions, and also in the dreary region of the evil spirit; the former, however, appeared fat and plump, while the latter seemed to have nothing but skin and bones.

I was also well acquainted with another noted preacher, named *Wangomend*, who was of the Monsey tribe. He began to preach in the year 1766, much in the same manner as the one I have just mentioned. When Mr. Zeisberger first came to *Goschgoschink* town, on the Allegheny river, this Indian prophet became one of his hearers, but finding that the Missionary's doctrine did not agree with his own, he became his enemy. This man also pretended that his call as a preacher was not of his own choice, but that he had been moved to it by

* Of the value of one dollar.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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With the white walnut bark, [145]

used externally and internally, they effect many cures. Laid upon flesh wounds this relieves pain at once, prevents swelling and accelerates healing. Applied externally in case of tooth-ache, head-ache or pain in the limbs, this brings speedy relief.

Beyond question there are many roots and herbs not found in Europe; perhaps it would be safe to say that this is true of most here found, but as I am no authority in this subject and know no names, except perhaps the Indian designations, I will add nothing further about roots and herbs. Doubtless, there are books from which one might get more information than it is in my power to give.

The following quadrupeds are to be found along the Ohio: In the first place, there are the deer,[146] whose skins are much used in barter and trade by the Indians. Their horns are not straight, but bent toward each other and have prongs. From May until September they are red, after that they lose the red hair and their hide is covered with long, gray hair, which is their winter coat. At about the beginning of the year they shed their horns; new ones grow in spring. These are at first and until they attain their full size, covered with a thin skin, which peels off when the horns harden. The tail is about a foot long and stands up straight when they run. As the under side of the tail is white it is possible to see them running at a great distance. The young are born in June or about that time, are red, spotted with white, until in the fall when they become gray. Deer have young each spring, sometimes two. As, however, they are hunted so persistently at the call of trade, their numbers diminish with each year, even though the forests are of vast extent, for the hunters are many. A large buckskin is valued at a Spanish dollar; two doeskins are regarded as equal in value to one buckskin.[147]

The bear is quite black, has short ears, a thick head and quite a sharp snout.[148] It has but a very short tail and great strong claws on his feet. It can easily climb the trees and bring down chestnuts and acorns. This is done, however, only when these are not ripe and do not, therefore, fall down. They generally break off the branches, throw them down and then climb

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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treaties that have been made with the governors of the provinces and other documents, although they are not able to read. These constitute the archives, where all messages and reports are kept. With each message or speech there are one or more strings or belts of wampum. These, with the message or speech after the latter have been properly considered and answered, are deposited in the archives.[260] In connection with such a message there may be a string or belt to each point, for as soon as the deliverer of a message has finished with a point he gives over a string or belt to the chief, gets out another and continues to speak until his message has been fully delivered when he announces that he has done. If the strings and belts are handed about from one to another in the council this is an indication that the message is being favorably received. It may happen, however, that the chief does not take the belt into his hands but pushes it to one side with a stick, in which case no one will touch it. The messenger who has brought it must in this case take it back. This signifies that his message does not find approbation and it is accounted a disgrace. Such a rejected belt may be a war belt summoning the people to war, or it may be a belt admonishing them to maintain peace, or something else that is not agreeable may be required.

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[434]
The wampum which Europeans make and barter to the Indians is made of sea-mussel shells. One variety is quite white, the other dark violet, a quarter of an inch in length, an eighth of an inch in thickness and round. A hole is bored lengthwise through each shell, large enough to admit a heavy cord. They are strung like beads. Wampum constitutes the money of the Indians. Two hundred shells cost a buck hide, or a Spanish dollar.[261] Before the white people came they had no such wampum for want of proper instruments to make it.[262] The white are a little less in value than the dark.

[435]

Strings are made of the beads that have been strung as described. Two, four or six placed side by side and properly fastened form a string. A string is usually half a yard long, sometimes longer. Upon delivery of a string a long speech may be made and much said upon the subject under consideration.

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3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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110. *Podophyllum peltatum* L., the root of which is still a staple medicinal herb. 137

110a. *Quercus alba* L., the white oak.

110b. *Quercus velutina* Lam., the black or quercitron oak.

110c. *Quercus rubra* L., red oak.

110d. *Quercus falcata* Michx., Spanish oak.

110e. *Quercus palustris* Muench., the swamp Spanish or pinoak.

111. Doubtless more than three!

112. *Fraxinus americana* L., is the most common one, though other species occur in the region.

113. *Fagus grandifolia* Ehrh. There is but one beech though the wood in some is quite different in color from that of others.

114. *Sassafras variifolium* (Salisb.)

115. *Liriodendron tulipifera* L., the tulip tree, commonly called poplar.

116. *Castanea dentata* (Marsh).

117. *Tilia americana* L., basswood or linden.

118. *Acer saccharinum* L., the silver maple is most abundant near the water, though *Acer saccharum* Marsh, the sugar maple, and var. *nigrum* (Mx) also occur in the bottom lands.

119. *Carpinus caroliniana* Walt., the American hornbeam, is usually known as water beech but this description evidently refers to the sycamore, *Platanus occidentalis* L., sometimes called water beech. There is no other reference which could apply to the sycamore and it was then as now, a conspicuous tree of the river banks.

120. *Crataegus* species (?) Several of the 65(!) species accepted by the seventh edition of Gray's *Manual* occur here.

121. *Pyrus coronaria* L., and *Pyrus angustifolia* Ait.

122. *Fraxinus nigra* Marsh., the black ash.

123. *Gleditsia triacanthos* L.

124. *Cornus florida* L.

125. The bark of *Cinchona succirubra* and other species of *Cinchona* from which quinine is prepared. The Cinchonas grow wild in the Andes Mountains.

126. *Juniperus virginiana* L.

127. *Picea mariana* (Mill.) Black or log spruce.

128. *Pinus rigida* Mill. Pitch pine.

129. *Pinus strobus* L. White pine.

130. *Abies balsamea* (L.)

131. *Pinus pungens* Lamb, the table mountain pine, presumably.

132. *Ulmus americana* L., and V. *racemosa* Thomas.

133. *Betula nigra* L., the river birch.

134. *Populus tremuloides* Michx., the American aspen.

135. *Cladrastis lutea* (Michx.).

136. Loskiel records that Indians sold oil to the whites "at four guineas a quart." *History*, 118. 435

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
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them with the merchandise of the Christians, one can make an excessively large gain and profit in trading with the savages. Now there is a value on the merchandise of the savages as follows: 1 beaver [skin] is valued according to size from 7 to 8 florins in sewan (thus the money of the savages is called, concerning the manufacture and nature of which money we shall be informed in the following chapter). But the trade with the money of the savages is mostly reckoned in Holland florins and *styvers*, 1 Holland florin being 20 *styvers*.

An otter [skin] is valued at 4 to 6 florins, according to the number of silver hairs it has. A lynx [skin is valued at] 4 florins; fisher, 24 *styvers;* raccoon, 1 florin; mink, 1 florin; wild-cat, 10 *styvers;* elk-skin, 6 to 9 florins; bear-hides, pitch black, looking like gluttons,[7] 3 to 4 florins; a wolf-skin, 2 to 3 florins; a wolf-lynx, 6 to 9 florins; a 36-checkered fox-skin, 1 florin; a lion-skin, 6 florins; deer-skin, 24 *styvers;* muskrat-skin, 1 florin, and so on. [A] quilt of Turkey feathers [is worth] 1 ell of white *sewan*, a quilt of painted feathers, 2 ells of white sewan, or 1 ell of blue *sewan*. Indeed the savages understand how to value their pelts, but the beavers and otters with silver hairs, that these should be so valuable, as compared to the others, that they have no knowledge of. Otherwise in the case of the elk-skins [80] and other skins the savages indeed sell according to their sizes and heaviness, but they know nothing of weight.[8] This valuation is only an approxima-

[7] *Beendes uth som ierfvar*, the glutton, wolverine or carcajou.
[8] That is: they have no scales by which they can compute the exact weight of articles

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
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tion, but one gives more or less for the skins, according to their size or quality.

Maize, beans and fruits are sold by means of bags, nor [do they] know of any definite measure. But birds [they sell as follows]: a turkey, for 4 *styvers;* swan, for 6 *styvers;* goose, for 4 *styvers;* a wood-grouse, for 4 *styvers;* a black-grouse, for 2 *styvers;* a duck, for 2 *styvers;* a partridge, for 2 *styvers;* a hazel-grouse, for 1 *styver;* a pigeon, for 1 *styver, etc. Sic ulterius,* about. A mat [is sold for] 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 florins; bags for 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 florins, according to their size and quality, as well as according to their beauty and skill of workmanship.

But if these, often mentioned savage merchandise, are bought with the goods of the Christians, then these[9] are: red and blue Holland frieze an ell in breadth, guns, powder, lead, copper and brass kettles, axes, hoes, picks, spades, shovels, glass beads (of all colors, large and small), awls, bodkins, small common scissors, knives, small mirrors, needles and such things; and from these things, one can have a very large profit, as has been said, for our goods are placed high enough [in price] to the savages. But the savages really do not understand this trade, for they hold frieze in as high esteem as the finest scarlet.

The savage really does not buy more than an ell's length at the time, for he does not need more in the piece, which he wraps around himself. If it is a piece of cloth to hide his nakedness with, then he takes an ell for it, [and] they really do not

[9] The goods of the Christians.

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
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know of any other measure than an ell's length at the time, for he needs no more in the piece he wraps around himself.

When the Christians measure the frieze for the savage, they measure it for the savage on the edge, the savage taking hold of a corner of the frieze and the Christians on the edge, whereupon they pull the hardest they are able, stretching thus the ell for the savage, so that he for three ells barely gets more than two; which the savage thinks should be thus, and does not understand himself cheated in this.

[135] Tobacco is worth 2 *styvers* a pound.

Velvet, silk, broadcloth, apple juice[10] and all such things which one may want, come to New Sweden with ships from Virginia, New Holland, New England, the Carribean Islands, and from many other places; which merchandise the Swedes buy through the exchange of pelts and the money of the savages. Linen is very expensive there.[11]

[80] The savages also allow themselves to be greatly cheated in the sale of powder. The savage knows of no other measure than the handful.[12] When the Christians measure the powder with the hand for the savage he draws his hand together that the savage hardly gets more than ½ handful for a whole, and thus the savage is cheated, for he has in this no better understanding.

Valuations of the merchandise of the Christians is as follows: an ell of frieze [is valued at] 9 florins, one handful of powder, 3 florins. According to this measurement and valuation, 1 ell of

[10] Apple Cider.
[11] As it was bought from the English and Dutch.
[12] *Inn medh göpen. Göpen*, handful, gripe, gowpen.

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
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Holland frieze will cost the savage 1 *riksdaler* and 42 *öre* silver money and ½ handful of powder 1 *riksdaler* and 12 *öre* silver money, at 6 *daler* silver money apiece. One axe is worth 3 florins; a hoe, 3 florins; a pick, 3 florins; a shovel, 3 florins; a bodkin, 1 florin; a small common pair of scissors, 3 florins; a knife, 1 or 2 florins; a small mirror, which may cost 2 or 3 *öre* copper money in Stockholm, [sells for] 1 florin; 1 pin,[13] 1 florin; a common sewing needle, 1 florin; glass beads, [a string] 3 times around the arm, 1 florin, etc. The aforesaid small wares are placed high enough for the savage [in exchange] for his pelts, but if the trade is done in the money of the savages, then it will cost the Christians more.

Formerly it was indeed forbidden, and agreed[14] among the Christian nations, that no guns, powder or lead should be sold to the savages; but after the English in Virginia had broken the law and first began to sell guns to the savages (which they have raised in value according to their quality, the cheapest [they sold] at 10 beaver [skins] and up to 20 beaver [skins] apiece for the dearest, so that one gun which is of some value, may cost the savages over 40, 50 and 60 *riksdaler*, at 6 *daler* silver money), therefore the Swedes began to sell powder and lead for them.[15] So much for the mutual trade of the Christians and the savages.

[13] *En stammendål*, perhaps a large pin with a head (often of glass).

[14] *Förbudit och afsagt*, perhaps forbidden and renounced.

[15] For the guns. The settlers in the various colonies accused each other of selling firearms to the natives against the law of nations, but it was a case of the pot calling the pan black. They all sold what they could and made profits in any way they were able.

[p. 228 is blank]

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¶36 a thick straw, and the length in proportion to their thickness; larger or smaller, they are not used. [They are] very smooth and even at the ends. There is also a streak on them like copper color, which the kernel by nature contains, from which the stones are made; namely of the kernel which runs whirl-like inside of the whooping cough bowls, which the wet nurses use to scrape off and give the little children for whooping cough, which is found in great abundance in New Sweden, both white, black and red.[5] Of this mentioned kernel [321] the savages turn and grind these stones and money, and special savages are designated and appointed for this, who make this money, and one person is not able to make more than about 6 to 8 *styvers* a day.[6]

● ¶35 In valuing these moneys we also count an ell of red, black-blue sewan for 1 ducat and 1 ell white sewan for one *riksdaler*. But otherwise they are mostly reckoned in Dutch florins and *styvers*, as stated above, one florin at 20 *styvers*.[7] These[8] moneys are as well made as any glass cutter could cut them of glass, cut and drilled through at their edges.[9] When the money through old use has been

[5] A nature medicine based on the superstitious belief that these scrapings will "cure the cough."

[6] Cf. Hodge, *Handbook*, II, 905.

[7] See Johnson, *Swedish Settlements*, I, 41.

[8] Lindeström has *hucilke*, which.

[9] *Uthi sijne kanter afskiärande och genomdrillande.* The passage is obscure. *Afskiärande* and *genomdrillande* are present participles and perhaps Lindeström means *af skärande och genom drillande*, in which case the passage would read: These moneys are as well made as any glass cutter could cut them of glass at the edges, through cutting and drilling.

In this connection Williams says: "Before they had awle blades from Europe, they made shift to bore this their shell money with stones." *Key*, 130.

8:Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
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worn at the edges, that they do not, like glass, fall close together[10] on the cord, then the savages will not accept them for good; wherefore he tests them thus, that he takes the whole cord on which the money is threaded and strokes them over his nose. If nothing obstructs the nose,[11] but glides over like smooth glass, then he accepts the money as good. But if something offers obstruction, he rejects them. Now all the money is not equally large and thick, but some larger and some smaller, and is, in buying, variously collected, especially when one exchanges and trades in *styver* quantities; wherefore the one who owns them must closely see to it, that in threading them again he arranges those [together] which are able to neatly and well correlate on the cord, in case he wants to get rid of them.[12] 435 ●

When we want to count them by *styvers* by means of the thumb, which is indeed the manner of the savages, we have for this a certain measure from the end of the thumb nail to the first joint of the thumb. Thus the money is divided and separated according to this [method], that on this length go exactly 6 stones [of] white [sewan], that is as much as one *styver* or one *öre* silver money, and 6 stones [of] red or black-blue [sewan which], are worth 2 *styvers* or 2 *öre* silver money. 436 [204]

The money hanks the Christians carry in bags.[13] When he[14], wishes to trade and has counted the

[10] *Falla tätt tillhopa.*
[11] *Tager då inthet emoth näsan.* The meaning is: if no obstruction is felt as the money passes over the nose, etc.
[12] In case he is to be able to use them in trading.
[13] *byxsäckier*, poke, pocket, bag.
[14] Lindeström uses the singular, *han*.

[750 (c)]

291 who speak our language and have the man-
[191] ners and address of gentlemen. Some of the
old men and some of the young men had on
colored calico frock coats of the most gaudy
[302] colors. Many had vermilion on their faces,
thus giving them a low appearance, and I
saw a few girls with spots of it in their
[301] cheeks. One man I saw with a silver orna-
ment in his nose, which covered part of his
mouth. Many of the men wore leggings with
a wide side projection, ornamented, and
the breech cloth, over which they wore a
vest or shirt, and perhaps one of the frock
coats of calico above named, with head
bands of bead work over the shoulder and
meeting in a large bead work pocket on the
right hand side. As a body I should think
the men inferior to the women.

454 The Delawares have a million and up-
648 wards in the national treasury at five per
cent interest. Their regular annuity is
[659] $50,000. The present is a part of two pay-
ments, I understand, and is larger than
usual. There were several stores full of
443 goods, and a great many stands out in the
open air with the protection of canvas. The
492 great show of all was in saddles and bridles,
of which I presume I saw of saddles alone
[435] 150; the price ranges from $15 to 50 dol-
lars, the ordinary being $22 to $25. They
are the Mexican saddle, made at Westport,
Mo., and the kind usually used in Kansas
and this part of the west. It has a high pom-
mel, wooden stirrups usually, which are
easier than metal for long journeys, and a
well stuffed and quilted seat, with a high
rear plate. They are far superior to our
eastern saddle for riding.

439 The assortment of goods was creditable
to the good sense of the Delawares, as the
supply was adapted to the demand. Grains
of all kinds, tin wares of all kinds and at
reasonable prices, in fact they could not

3: Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780) 1910
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their wives and children when the enemies approached and attacked them, the men ranging themselves round the mound for defensive action. Their weapons were the bow and arrow and a wooden club, this last a piece of wood of not quite arm's length, having at the end a round knob about the size of a small child's head and made of very hard wood. Shields they bore made of hardened buffalo leather and presenting a convex surface without, while being hollow within. The curved outer surface they held toward the enemy and before their own breasts and faces in order that arrows discharged at them, striking the curved surface, would glance off and go to the side. With the left hand they held both shield and bow and with the right they drew the bow and held the arrow. On the above named hills they always had great blocks lying all about, in order that should the enemies attempt to storm the heights these might be rolled upon and among them so as to keep them off. In such attacks both sides usually lost many men, which were often buried in one pit and a great mound of earth raised above them, such as may even now be seen bearing in these days great and mighty trees."

Dogs they likewise possessed in former days, of a kind still to be found in considerable numbers among them. These may be readily distinguished from European dogs, which are now most commonly found among the Indians, especially the Delawares. The ears of Indian dogs rise rigidly from the head and the animals have something of a wolfish nature, for they show their teeth immediately when roused. They will never attack a wolf in the forest, though set on to do so, in this respect, also differing from European dogs. Of their origin their masters can give as little information as of that of the Indians themselves.

The wampum strings of the Indians were formerly made of bits of wood, some white, some black, which were used in connection with embassies and speeches. Belts of wampum were also made. Some few were made of mussel-shells, which were held in the same value among them as gold among the Europeans, for much time was consumed in making even one such string of wampum. When whites came into the country these contrived to make wampum strings which they bartered to the Indians, who used them in place of their wooden wampum, as

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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436 is even now the case, though they are not accounted as valuable as at one time. Formerly they sometimes used in the place of the belts the wing of some large bird, which is still done among the nations living in remoter regions, where wampum is rare or not to be had at all, where there is no trade with Europeans and some have not even seen wampum. Occasionally, though not often, embassies from such distant people come to the Delawares.[43]

211 212 648 A belt is given in confirmation of a message or speech, as they know nothing of writing; an answer given is similarly ratified by a belt of the same size. An alliance or league is hardly arranged by two peoples with less than twenty belts of wampum. Often thirty or more are required.

175 As I have digressed from the main matter, viz., the character and nature of the land, I must yet in passing notice how it came about that the Delawares, who had lived near the sea and along the Delaware River, came to Alleghene,[44] where they were strangers and had no claim to the land. Some eighty years ago, more or less, the whites being already in the country and many of the Delawares having moved far up the Delaware River, a party of these Indians, with the cousin of a chief as captain, went on a hunt. They were attacked by Cherokees, at that time dwelling along the Allegheny and its branches, and some of them were killed, the captain, a cousin of the chief, among the rest. The survivors fled to their homes, related to the chief what had happened and suggested that he give them more men in order that they might avenge themselves on their enemies. The chief, however, put them off and did not let them go, even though he sorrowed over the loss they had suffered. After the lapse of a year the chief sent out several hundred men to avenge themselves on the Cherokees (the Delawares at that time already having European arms). When they arrived at the enemies' first towns along the Allegheny, they found no one, for all had fled at the news of the Delawares' approach. The latter pursued, the Cherokees constantly retreating until they were overtaken at the great island[45] at the fork where Pittsburg is now situated. Perceiving that the Delawares were strong in num-

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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080 253. The reader will not fail to note that Zeisberger, writing at the beginning of the last quarter of the eighteenth century continually pictures the Indian as he once was; his tenses are largely past tenses and he shows the contemporary Indian as a degenerate. It will be remembered that Pontiac's appeal to the red race in 1763 was for regeneration, for the abandonment of the practices learned of the white man and readoption of the lost arts of forest life which were rapidly being forgotten. Lack of respect for old age was one of the important signs of racial degeneration. Does this apply to the red race only? Heckewelder's chapter on "Respect for the Aged," pictures the red man in the primitive state but his tenses are present tenses, though writing at the beginning of the nineteenth century. *History*, 152-158.

254. Heckewelder states that when parents negotiate a marriage the bridegroom's mother acts as negotiatrix. The latter "begins her duties by taking a good leg of venison, or bear's meat . . to the house where the bride dwells, not forgetting to mention, that her son has killed it." The bride's mother soon brings in return some fruit or handiwork produced by her daughter. If both the children expressed themselves favorably towards the respective gifts, the matter was quickly arranged; if not, the affair was at an end.

386 255. A Yellow ochre, found near the Muskingum, when burnt, made a rich red paint, which Indians came many miles to obtain. Vermillion River in Ohio derived its name from the clay there obtained for painting; the same was true of Paint Creek.

256. Figures of animals being most commonly used, especially the turtle, deer, bear and wolf.

257. Heckewelder records: "The women make use of vermillion in painting themselves for dances, but they are very careful and circumspect in applying the paint, so that it does not offend or create suspicion in their husbands; there is a mode of painting which is left entirely to loose women and prostitutes." *History*, 190.

080 258. The Revolutionary war.

259. The Delaware leader often called King Newcomer, from his capital Newcomerstown or Gekelemukpechunk, Ohio, who refused to attend Bouquet's treaty in 1764 at Coshocton. A generous friend of the Moravians. See De Schweinitz, *Life and Times of Zeisberger*, 366, *seq.*

260. The writer speaks from notable experience, the archives of the Six Nations, than which no Indian archives were of equal moment, were deposited in Zeisberger's house at Onondaga during his residence at that mission. See *Bethlehem Diary*, Aug. 2, 1755.

261. 4 s. 4 d.

● [436] 262. The primitive wampum was made of pieces of wood variously stained with different colors.

263. Containing four, eight or twelve fathoms of wampum.

264. A most interesting fact perhaps noted by no other authority.

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
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distributed, and the speaker says, "We will now pray twelve times," so twelve times they cry "*Ho-o-o!*" as a prayer. Then they feast, using musselshells from the river as spoons, and finally the speaker dismisses them with the words, "This is all for tonight; tomorrow night we will meet again."

264
796x

DEPARTURE OF THE HUNTERS

When the next night arrives, approximately the same performance is repeated; and the same the next, with little of interest occurring during the day; but on the fourth morning, the leader who has selected a man for chief hunter, gives him a yard of wampum as pay. This master of the hunt then selects as many assistants as he wants, and he and his crew all gather in the Big House, where they are served about noon with a feast prepared for the occasion by the women of the camp, and the attendants tie sacks of the food to the hunters' saddles.

224
796x
[436]

When they have finished eating, they

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
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go back to their seats and cry "*Ho-o-o!*" twelve times. Then the attendants serve the last feast. Two women then go around with wampum in a wooden bowl, giving everyone two or three beads.

796*

PAYMENT OF ATTENDANTS

Then the attendants, three men and three women, stand in a row and receive six yards of wampum on one string, which they hold in their hands, the first in the row holding the end of the string, which stretches along from one to the other. Then the chief says: "We thank you attendants of this meeting for your kindness in sweeping our Temple for these twelve nights, and the attention and care you have given. We have heard our old parents say that, if you sweep this Meeting House twelve different times, you will sweep up to where our great Father is, as he is up in the twelfth Heaven above the earth."

[436]

The attendants then circle about the fires and go out to the cooking fireplace, where they divide the wampum, taking

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
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The attendants have a table near the tent of one of the woman *a'ckas*, and here they eat.

VALUATION OF WAMPUM

For ceremonial purposes the wampum (white) is held at one cent a bead, one hundred to the dollar. Before the meeting the people give a yard or so apiece, if they are able, to show their appreciation and to be prayed for, or subscribe money for its purchase and for the other things needed at the meeting. The wampum is afterward redeemed at the same rate and is kept to use again.

INDIAN COMMENTS ON THE CEREMONY

Some explanations and remarks concerning the annual ceremony, as furnished by the Indians themselves, may prove of interest here.

Julius Fouts (or Fox), the interpreter, remarks:

"When the Delawares complete this meeting, then they claim they have worshiped everything on this earth. God gave the Powers Above authority to

8:Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
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CHAPTER XXI.

Concerning the Nature of the Coins and Money of the Savage People, What They Are Made of and What They Are Worth.

The moneys of the savages are of three kinds of oblong stones, with holes drilled through them, and threaded on strings, that they can be measured by fathoms according to their value and use.[1] The sewan of the Renappies, that is the money of our river savages, [is of 2 kinds]; one kind black-blue,[2] the other kind white. But the third kind, which comes from the Black and White Minquas,[3] is red. These red stones and the black-blue are valued in the place of gold; three of these stones are worth one *styver* or one *öre* silver money. But the white stones are counted as silver, and 6 pieces of them are worth one *styver* or 1 *öre* silver money.[4] In size they are about the length of a wheat kernel and somewhat thicker; but the largest, as thick as

[1] Cf. Hodge, *Handbook*, II, 904 ff.

[2] *Swartblåa*, black-blue, dark blue. "Their white they call *Wompam* (which signifies white): their black *Suckauhock* (*Sucki* signifying blacke)." Williams, *Key*, 130.

[3] See above, Chapt. V, note 40.

[4] "The Indians are ignorant of Europes Coyne; yet they have given a name to ours, and call it Moneash from the English money.

"Their owne is of two sorts; one white, which they make of the stem or stocke of the Periwincle, which they call, *Meteauhock*, when all the shell is broken off: and of this sort six of their small Beads (which they make with holes to string the bracelets) are currant with the English for a Peny.

"The second is black, inclining to blew, which is made of the shell of a fish, which some English call Hens, *Poquauhock*, and of this sort three make an English peny.

"They that live upon the Sea side generally make of it, and as many make as will." Williams, *Key*, 128.

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
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436 a thick straw, and the length in proportion to their thickness; larger or smaller, they are not used. [They are] very smooth and even at the ends. There is also a streak on them like copper color, which the kernel by nature contains, from which the stones are made; namely of the kernel which runs whirl-like inside of the whooping cough bowls, which the wet nurses use to scrape off and give the little children for whooping cough, which is found in great abundance in New Sweden, both white, black and red.[5] Of this mentioned kernel [327] the savages turn and grind these stones and money, and special savages are designated and appointed for this, who make this money, and one person is not able to make more than about 6 to 8 *styvers* a day.[6]

435 In valuing these moneys we also count an ell of red, black-blue sewan for 1 ducat and 1 ell white sewan for one *riksdaler*. But otherwise they are mostly reckoned in Dutch florins and *styvers*, as stated above, one florin at 20 *styvers*.[7] These[8] moneys are as well made as any glass cutter could cut them of glass, cut and drilled through at their edges.[9] When the money through old use has been

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[7] See Johnson, *Swedish Settlements*, I, 41.

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In this connection Williams says: "Before they had awle blades from Europe, they made shift to bore this their shell money with stones." *Key*, 130.

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worn at the edges, that they do not, like glass, fall close together[10] on the cord, then the savages will not accept them for good; wherefore he tests them thus, that he takes the whole cord on which the money is threaded and strokes them over his nose. If nothing obstructs the nose,[11] but glides over like smooth glass, then he accepts the money as good. But if something offers obstruction, he rejects them. Now all the money is not equally large and thick, but some larger and some smaller, and is, in buying, variously collected, especially when one exchanges and trades in *styver* quantities; wherefore the one who owns them must closely see to it, that in threading them again he arranges those [together] which are able to neatly and well correlate on the cord, in case he wants to get rid of them.[12] 435

When we want to count them by *styvers* by means of the thumb, which is indeed the manner of the savages, we have for this a certain measure from the end of the thumb nail to the first joint of the thumb. Thus the money is divided and separated according to this [method], that on this length go exactly 6 stones [of] white [sewan], that is as much as one *styver* or one *öre* silver money, and 6 stones [of] red or black-blue [sewan which], are worth 2 *styvers* or 2 *öre* silver money. 436 [804]

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[12] In case he is to be able to use them in trading.

[13] *byxsäckier*, poke, pocket, bag.

[14] Lindeström uses the singular, *han*.

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
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money off the string and then makes a knot on the string; the purse is thereby tied up.[15] Ducats and *riksdaler* are not valid among the savages,[16] but [are accepted] among the Christians and on the foreign merchant vessels.

The Hollander in this as well as in other [things] has shown his [desire of] profit and greediness, thinking that he would, through the money of the savages, acquire a large capital and riches, began to export the whooping-cough shell to Holland and had these monies made in the savage manner. Accordingly [a quantity valued at] a barrel of gold[17] was made of it, which they brought to the West Indies to trade with. When the savages examined these monies, they recognized that it was not their handiwork and would not accept and take them for good and valid. Thus the Hollanders have done all their work and labor in vain.

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[15] *Så är penningepungen der medh igenknuten.* The idea seems to be this: when the Christian has counted a certain number of "stones" and removed them from the string to pay for certain articles, a knot is made on the string to keep the rest of the money from coming off,—the purse is thereby tied up. Lindeström considers the string as the purse, rather than the bag in which the money hanks are carried.

[16] Swedish money never became general among the Indians.

[17] *Tunna guld* (ton of gold), barrel of gold, was a definite measure of value, and was worth about $30,000 in our money of today. In Portuguese West Africa the natives speak of a sack of money (30 *Escudos*).

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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son, the same form (*illuun*) occurs.[1] The same term for the decimal occurs in cognate form throughout practically all the northern and eastern Algonkian tongues.[2] Is it reasonable then to consider the form ata'x as an Algonkian numeral so ancient as to antedate the dispersion of the Algonkian languages? 801 192

WAMPUM AS A SYMBOL.—In Delaware ceremonial, social and even economic procedure, wampum played an outstanding part. It is referred to in the text as "our heart." The subject, however, calls for more extended treatment than will be given it here. Wampum is designated by the term ke'k^{w}, a vocable which is peculiar to Delaware and which does not submit to philological analysis. Despite the uniformity of beliefs and practices involving the use of wampum beads throughout the eastern and central portions of the Algonkian area of distribution, the Delawares seem to have aberrated from employing the generic term wəba'bi[3] that we find in the speech of the other Wabanaki populations. The economic and symbolic functions of the peculiarly portentious medium of exchange I have dealt with in separate publication, to which I shall refer, as far as it deals with the Algonkian peoples of the northeast.[4] And the pecuniary aspect of wampum has been exaggerated in early writings dealing with the eastern Indians. To the Delawares wampum stood forth in the light of a covenant. It represented, and still does, a magical power capable of annulling the affects of latent poisonous influences that might pass between persons who exchange gifts or who enter into the transfer of property. I might even use the terms spiritual antiseptic in referring to the agency of the sacred beads in transactions of a personal nature as well as in negotiations between political bodies. Going a step further we see how the Indians regarded the belts and strings of wampum which were transferred between parties entering into negotiations as the necessary pledges of sincerity of spirit and purity of purpose.[5] 436

In the account of the annual ceremony a glance at the procedures shows how step by step wampum is brought into use as a medium of compensation carrying a spiritual valuation. But its monetary exchange value in Delaware culture is extremely low, hence the statements of the Indians themselves concerning its non-intrinsic rating are more clearly understood. The attendants we observe, whose office is to prepare the Big House, attend to materials such as food, fire, 436 796

[1] Manuscript in Archives of the American Philosophical Society of Phila., Indian Vocabularies p. 17.

[2] The wide diffusion of the cognates of tɛlɔn is shown in the following instances, Wabanaki, mɔdɔ'la, Montagnais-Naskapi, kɔtɔ'l.nu.

[3] Literally "white string," the source of English "wampum."

[4] F. G. Speck, "The Functions of Wampum among the Northeastern Algonkian." Mem. Amer. Anth. Ass., vol. vi, No. 1, (1919).

[5] F. G. Speck, "The Penn Wampum Belts" Leaflet No. 3, Mus. Amer. Ind., (Heye Foundation), New York (1925).

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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436 sweeping, and general order of the premises receive their pay in
796 wampum beads; the pecuniary value of which amounts to hardly more than a few cents. The drummers, the singers, the dance leaders, the reciters of visions are in their turn rewarded with small donations of wampum at the conclusion of their performances. This is a purifying gift rather than a pecuniary payment, one entirely out of proportion to the worth of service rendered.

[431] The worshipers of the Big House also offer their donations toward the ceremony in strings of wampum, giving them to the Master-of-Ceremonies, saying; ce·la'yu'ni· ndeli·' wi·teinge'n note''ha'n "This here is how much I help from my heart!" The sacrosanctity of wampum is furthermore emphasized by the religious rule that wampum should always be given when something has been received, even when only a gift from a friend. In the esteem of the natives it becomes a most potent medicine. Failure to carry out the rules governing the bestowing of wampum would bring sickness upon the receiver of property through exchange or the receiver of a gift. This is especially
[757] true in connection with the Delaware practice of medicine, because medicine although destined to heal can double upon itself and become a poison when not sanctified by the conveyance of wampum.[1]

436 In Delaware phraseology "wampum is our heart." In exchanges of
425 vendable property, even extending to gifts between friends, there
751 lurked a potency for evil that might develop in who knows what quarter, producing malice or resentment among the parties concerned. It could even result in bodily poison to one or both. It is strictly correct to state that in the attitude of the eastern Indians toward such affairs the transfer of shell money from the hands of the receiver of a gift or a purchase to those of the giver performed the function of medicine.

436 The wampum protected them against spiritual infection and its
755 manifestation in the body in the form of sickness. Wampum was a purifier, purging the transaction from latent evil force. And should evil have leaked through the transaction the wampum would function as a purgative for its keeper. The same wampum was a spiritual emblem believed by them to have come originally from supernatural sources and embodying within it profound supernatural dynamics.

436 We can understand why a compact sealed with the transfer of
439 wampum was as sacred as one sworn to under oath by Europeans. It was such an attitude toward exchange and currency that our colonial forebears encountered when they bartered for land and peltry with the aborigines of New England and the Middle Atlantic States. The colonists handed out their exchange with the European notion of in-

[1] I am of course speaking of Delaware therapeutics exclusively, although something along the same line may be said, by those who are inclined toward a critical attitude, of civilized medical practices.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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trinsic value, receiving the return with the native idea of spiritual and supernatural interplay. 436 439

The Dutch in buying Manhattan for 60 guilders worth of trinkets undoubtedly drove a shrewd bargain with the Delawares. But who has told us that in the eyes of these same Delawares the currency was the symbol not the value equivalent of the relinquishment of their hereditary rights to the land as well as its products? This ridiculous price was to them a symbol over which they transferred their goodwill and spiritual power over forces dormant in the land, clearing away the poison that might have been engendered by the inequality of value in the transfer. Here lay the basis of conflict unreconcilable between the two culture spheres that met, bartered, and quarreled, in the settlement of the Atlantic seaboard. The one backed by unnumbered, metal-armed, aggressive and adventurous men from a tumultous old world as against a few thousand stone-age, passive, hunter-farmers.

There are deep associative meanings here underlying Algonkian and Iroquois wampum institutions. The problems of their origin, development and inter-relation are to be considered as a research problem of the future.

CEREMONIAL EQUIPMENT.—The material equipment of the Big House ceremony is mentioned with some detail in that part of the text which deals with preparation. The objects whose use is called for in various stages of the rite have a particular sacredness in the eyes of the Delawares. Between the occasions when the ceremony is performed they are carefully kept in the charge of some responsible chiefs or members of the council. Some of the objects required in the performance have been attached to it for lengthy periods of time. It has even been thought that they might have been brought from the east during the course of migration. This attitude of reverence, however, has not prevented the escape of specimens, representing practically all of the objects whose use is prescribed in the performance, from the hands of their custodians to find their way into the collections of eastern museums, even into the possession of private collectors.[1] In some cases faithful reproductions of the cherished articles have been made by the Indians to serve the purposes of demonstration. Therefore, utilizing the materials in the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, New York City, and the American Museum of Natural History, New York City, who have generally pro- 178 796

[1] The temptation to professional curio-hunters to sweep Indian reservations clean of native manufactures results in turning topsy-turvy their cultural life. It even comes from experts whose desire for the possession of rare specimens is sometimes greater than their desire for the advancement of knowledge. The existence of such bitter and senseless rivalries among collectors is responsible for the demolition of creeds and ceremonies now too far gone to study or to understand.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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tion it lies extended. And the doors are opposite each other. Right here in the direction of the sun-set, it is the rule that the Bringer-in come, bringing the ceremony into the House. 539X 773 796

Everything was provided for the Delawares in the Gamwing. There was also wampum supplied by rule, it is said. Each person gives one shoulder-length for helping to prepare this food and also for when they pay the Attendants. And, so it is said, the Attendant is pleasing to him our father the Great Spirit, even the Creator. 539X 773 796 436

When the workers[1] purify everything,[2] these women with the Attendants, it can not be conceived how sacredly valuable those labors are. It has been destined for the Delaware that that very wampum he uses becomes his heart. And moreover when purchasing food, or when anything of value is bought, he employs wampum. And then a quantity is gathered. Here at the left side of the House where the Bringer-in sits, at a certain height above the ground, there a white cloth is hung along the wall. There is suspended all the wampum, as much as has been gathered together each day over again.[3] [783]

[1] The word means "to labor" in the sense of doing something for oneself. Corresponding to the term alo'ke (Penobscot, Wabanaki) meaning "work," the Delaware denotes working for someone else by nalokas'tke "I am hired by someone to work.

[2] The clean, pure character of the Attendants or "workers" diffuses spiritual purity over all those attending the ceremony inside the Big House and strengthens them for the ensuing year.

[3] The supply of wampum is renewed each day by those who through spiritual impulses contribute their treasure. They are blessed in proportion. It should be noted that no one is allowed to sell anything at the festival except the Attendants. Outside on the grounds at a distance from the Big House refreshments can be sold for money. But inside the Big House wampum must be used for exchange. In the present ceremonial transactions between the Attendants and the worshippers two or three beads pass for five cents. Some thirty or more years ago, however, when wampum was more plentiful it passed at one bead for a cent. [431]

And it was said, long ago in the beginning at the Gamwing, inside the Big House, they built a great sweat-house. They heated rock and put it inside that sweat-house. There the shamans[1] crawled in. And water was used here for pouring upon the rocks. That was called testing with heat. Everyone going in there and staying for any length of time was said to be a great man. Some person would be exhausted in a little while for which reason they took him out. Those enduring it for a considerable length of time, those are the great men.[2] 539X 773 796 554 785

[1] There were two classes of shamans. Some had healing power and are called nenpi·'kes "sweating doctor." The men who recite their visions in the Big House are also ·mete·'i·nu in the Delaware classification, their description being kaci·'lae·u wehendji·k·an·'yo "great men who perform in a single file [like the vertebral articulation of men and animals]." See page 54.

[2] Amounting to a title denoting "prophet, reciter of vision, healer, priest all in one.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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Two Attendants sweep clean the House.[1] The man goes to the far end from whence he begins to sweep, while the woman begins to sweep from the door. Turkey wings are used when sweeping. Both Attendants finish sweeping at the same time when they arrive at the door and then for a while put away the wings.

Now it is permissible for anyone to go out, and quickly to come back inside because in a little while then again[2] will begin to stir those tortoise shell rattles, our Grandfathers.[3]

When they have come to where sits the next following Reciter-leader, or to anyone else feeling able to recite a vision and lead, it is permitted by the rule that he shake the rattle and, if desired, recite and lead.[4]

Recitation of Vision by Wi·ta'panoχwe[5]

"You, my kindred, are all acquainted with where I spent my childhood, at Raccoon[6] Creek, where lived my defunct parents. Once upon a time, then, my deceased mother scolded me. She drove me away because I was continually looking at books. That is why she scolded me. She told me, "Go away somewhere into the wilderness, since it seems that all you do, you look at books." And she said, "For all the days to come you will be poor because the book stands in your way. Never will anything be revealed to you in a vision because you live like a white man."

Truly, my kindred, very greatly this matter impressed me concerning my deceased parents. And thereupon I began walking slowly there towards the direction where the sun sets, toward the timber. More

[1] Performing the symbolical rite of clearing away obstacles from the floor of the White Path or dancing path along which the worshippers are traveling to the abode of the Great Spirit.

[2] It is not permitted at other times during the performance to leave the Big House (see also Harrington I, p. 90).

[3] This expressive phrase represents the simile, previously mentioned, of the tortoise carrying the earth, the ceremony, and life on a west-ward course. As the tortoise rattles are passed from one Reciter to another as an invitation to perform they go the entire length of the White Path. When they have been around the building and all the Reciters have carried out their programs the session of the ceremony is over for the night. The tortoise figures as the "moving spirit" in the Big House.

[4] This is the occasion to be seized by someone who has had a spirit-revelation but who has not recited it before.

[5] The narrator of the text is here anticipating himself in the rôle he is to play at the next Annual Ceremony to be attended. He had recited and led the singers on former occasions of worship, but only in that part of the ceremony, during the twelfth night, known as A·tehow'muwi·n. This stage of the ceremony, which will be described in its proper place (pages 155, 160), is the occasion provided for women reciters and men who have not arrived at spiritual maturity. Within the last year or so Wi·ta'panoxwe, as his hair has begun to show signs of gray, feels himself called upon to advance into taking an active major part in the ceremony. After much thought and mental preparation on his part we see here the results of his composition in the relation that follows.

[6] The Raccoon, na'hanam, figures in the economic life of the tribe in a way never to be forgotten, for the term kwut·i· na'hanam, "one raccoon," denotes twenty-five cents in currency in Delaware, a reminder of the time back in the east when in the fur trade a raccoon skin was worth a shilling. Other tribes in the north traded the beaver (Cree, Montagnais) and the skunk skin (Mistassini) on the same basis.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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from ice, must be an obstacle to the hunter, when in pursuit of a wounded deer, bear, or other animal, as is often the case. Nor has he then leisure to think on the state of his body, and to consider whether his blood is not too much heated to plunge without danger into the cold stream, since the game he is in pursuit of is running off from him with full speed. Many dangerous accidents often befal him, both as a hunter and a warrior, (for he is both) and are seldom unattended with painful consequences, such as rheumatism or consumption of the lungs, for which the sweat-house, on which they so much depend, and to which they often resort for relief, especially after a fatiguing hunt or warlike excursion, is not always a sure preservative or an effectual remedy.

The husband generally leaves the skins and peltry which he has procured by hunting to the care of his wife, who sells or barters them away to the best advantage for such necessaries as are wanted in the family; not forgetting to supply her husband with what he stands in need of, who, when he receives it from her hands never fails to return her thanks in the kindest manner. If debts had been previously contracted, either by the woman, or by her and her husband jointly, or if a horse should be wanted, as much is laid aside as will be sufficient to pay the debts or purchase the horse.

When a woman has got in her harvest of corn, it is considered as belonging to her husband, who, if he has suffering friends, may give them as much of it as he pleases, without consulting his wife, or being afraid of her being displeased; for she is in the firm belief that he is able to procure that article whenever it is wanted. The sugar which she makes out of the maple tree is also considered as belonging to her husband.

There is nothing in an Indian's house or family without its particular owner. Every individual knows what belongs to him, from the horse or cow down to the dog, cat, kitten and little chicken.

3: Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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with the white walnut bark,[145]
used externally and internally, they effect many cures. Laid upon flesh wounds this relieves pain at once, prevents swelling and accelerates healing. Applied externally in case of tooth-ache, head-ache or pain in the limbs, this brings speedy relief.

Beyond question there are many roots and herbs not found in Europe; perhaps it would be safe to say that this is true of most here found, but as I am no authority in this subject and know no names, except perhaps the Indian designations, I will add nothing further about roots and herbs. Doubtless, there are books from which one might get more information than it is in my power to give.

The following quadrupeds are to be found along the Ohio: In the first place, there are the deer,[146] whose skins are much used in barter and trade by the Indians. Their horns are not straight, but bent toward each other and have prongs. From May until September they are red, after that they lose the red hair and their hide is covered with long, gray hair, which is their winter coat. At about the beginning of the year they shed their horns; new ones grow in spring. These are at first and until they attain their full size, covered with a thin skin, which peels off when the horns harden. The tail is about a foot long and stands up straight when they run. As the under side of the tail is white it is possible to see them running at a great distance. The young are born in June or about that time, are red, spotted with white, until in the fall when they become gray. Deer have young each spring, sometimes two. As, however, they are hunted so persistently at the call of trade, their numbers diminish with each year, even though the forests are of vast extent, for the hunters are many. A large buckskin is valued at a Spanish dollar; two doeskins are regarded as equal in value to one buckskin.[147]

The bear is quite black, has short ears, a thick head and quite a sharp snout.[148] It has but a very short tail and great strong claws on his feet. It can easily climb the trees and bring down chestnuts and acorns. This is done, however, only when these are not ripe and do not, therefore, fall down. They generally break off the branches, throw them down and then climb

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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Trade with Europeans is carried on usually on the basis of fixed price, both as concerns goods and pelts. The Indians trade their deer, beaver, otter, raccoon, fox-skins, wild-cat-skins and others for goods which the traders often take a considerable distance into the Indian country. If they can deceive the whites, they do so with pleasure, for it is not easily done. They are delighted, also, if they succeed in purloining something. They are fond of buying on credit, promising to pay when they return from the chase. The traders may be willing to take the risk, hoping to control all that they catch. But if the Indians, on their return, find other traders in the country, they barter with them and trouble themselves no longer over their creditors. If the latter remind them of their debts, they are offended, for to pay old debts seems to them to be giving goods away for nothing. Usually traders learn from their losses to give nothing or but little on credit. This is the safest course and there is no danger in arousing the enmity of the Indians. When war breaks out the traders are the first in danger, not only of losing their property but also for their lives. When the Indians suspect a war approaching, they keep it secret and take as many goods upon credit as they can get; as soon as the war breaks out all debts are cancelled.

The Indians trade much among themselves, especially the women, who deal in rum, which they sell at exorbitant prices, which occasions much disorder. Indian traders usually demand high prices, knowing well that unless the buyer were in great distress, or fully intent upon closing the bargain, he would rather not deal with them. Indians when really anxious to obtain anything will pay almost any price. If they are in need of corn they will give goods or pelts in exchange for it. Frequently, the chiefs have prohibited the sale of strong drink in their towns, but it is always brought in in some manner, against which the chiefs are powerless to protest. For instance, they may appoint a sacrifice of rum, in which nothing but rum is used. This the chiefs cannot hinder owing to established custom. When once the Indians, who gather in large numbers for such a sacrifice, have tasted the strong drink but have not satisfied themselves, they will go to the old women who deal in liquor.

3;Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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273 438 The latter will often obtain everything that an Indian owns except his Breech-clout. For their skins the Indians get from the traders powder, lead, rifle-barrelled guns—for other weapons they do not value—blankets, strouds, linen, shirts, cotton, 439 callemanco,[297] knives, needles, thread, woolen and silken ribbon, wire and kettles of brass, silver buckles,—these are considered as valuable as gold and with them they can purchase almost anything—bracelets, thimbles, rings, combs, mirrors, axes, hatchets and other tools.

535 If the young are at home and not on the chase hardly a night passes without a dance. The women, who always follow the men, dancing in a circle, act with decency and becoming modesty, as if they were engaged in the most serious business. Neither laughing nor levity are to be noticed and they never speak a word to a man, for this would injure their character. They neither jump nor skip, but move one foot after the other slightly forwards then backwards, yet so as to advance gradually. The men shout and leap and stamp with such violence that the ground trembles under their feet. Whatever man acts in the oddest and most ridiculous manner is the most regarded. They dance in a circle around the fire. Often in the midst of the dance they will all hold their heads forward over the fire, stand bowed or leap and stamp, singing all the time; suddenly they stand erect again and move forward. They make all manner of unusual movements to show their agility and skill. They have no other music than the drum. When one dance has been finished the one who beats the drum sings and beats until another begins. There is always a leader whom all watch carefully and follow. They have various kinds of dances, some acquired from the other nations.

525 The young men often wrestle to test their strength. The one thrown is not angered but admits the other to be his master. Another mode of testing strength is in trying to lift some large stone, or throwing a stone of considerable size the greatest distance possible.

525 Nine-pins, ball-playing and cards they have learned from the whites. The Indian game of dice is the most popular of

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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The Delawares

traded to the Europeans and presumably they themselves utilized "otters, lynxes, fishes, minks, wild-cats, elk-hides. . .wolf skins, lion-hides, martins, and musk rat."[31] Neither the elk nor the bison formed an important part in Delaware subsistence in the eighteenth century, because their hides were "thick and heavy and of no value."[32] Neither animal was abundant in their habitat. Various birds formed a welcome addition to the diet and included "wild swans" (geese?), wild turkeys, wild pigeons, and partridges.[33] One seventeenth-century source described a method of pigeon hunting; trees which were favorite roosts for these birds were chopped nearly through, so that when a flock of pigeons settled down in the tree it would topple, killing a number of the birds.[34]

Individual hunting seems to have been confined primarily to the winter months; communal hunts, however, took place in the spring, summer, and fall.[35] One method of collective hunting, the "fire surround," was described by Lindestrom:

> When now the sachem wants to arrange his hunt, then he commands his people (to take a position) close together in a circle of 1/2, 1 or 2 miles, according to the number of people at his command. . . each one roots up the grass about 3 or 4 ells, so that the fire will not be able to run back, each one then beginning to set fire to the grass, which is mightily ignited, so that the fire travels away, in towards the center of the circle, which the Indians follow with great noise, and all the animals which are found within the circle, flee from the fire and the cries of the Indians. . . . When now the Indians have surrounded the center with a small circle, so that they mutually cannot do each other any harm, then they break loose with guns and bows on the animals.[36]

De Vries described a "surround" in which the game was driven into an enclosure and shot with a bow and arrow, and also a variant type in which the game was driven into a river and lassoed.[37] An informant told Kinietz that "four hunters were as many as ever hunted together," but this is contrary to what informants told me and surely did not hold true in early times.[38] Communal hunts were led by "the oldest or most expert, particularly if he be a member of the council."[39] Zeisberger related that there was a strictly formalized hunting etiquette:

> It is not considered good form for one to leave the party before the end of the hunt. If one has wounded a deer and another followed and killed it, the skin belongs to the first and either the half or the whole of the meat to the latter. If several take aim at once and they cannot determine which of them made the best shot, the skin is given to the oldest of the party, or, if he happened to be one of those taking aim, he is said to have killed the animal. Old men, therefore, no longer able to shoot well, generally get their share of the skins, if they only aim now and then with the others though they do not hit the mark.

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[31] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 223.
[32] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 59; Loskiel, p. 79.
[33] Zeisberger, 1910, pp. 65-66.
[34] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 218.
[35] *Ibid.*, p. 213; De Vries, 1909, p. 220; Zeisberger, 1910, pp. 58, 91, 126; Loskiel, 1794, p. 79.
[36] Lindestrom, 1925, pp. 213-14.
[37] De Vries, 1909, p. 220; Brinton, 1890, p. 184.
[38] Kinietz, 1946, p. 64; J. T., M. B.
[39] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 91; Kinietz, 1946, p. 64.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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were sometimes impounded by driving them with a brush roll, a technique widespread in the Southeast and among the Iroquois.[58]

Wild plant food.—The beans of the groundnut or wild bean, (*Apios americana*), were eaten, and its roots were boiled and eaten "instead of bread."[59] Kalm also said the Indians boiled, or roasted in ashes, a root which he called Katniss, apparently *Sagittaria latifolia* (Wapato, Water Nut, Swamp Potato). The roots of "Tawho," probably *Arisaema triphyllum* or jack-in-the-pulpit, were utilized "when bread and grain gave out."[60] They were placed in a pit, covered with earth, and baked by building a fire over the pit.[61] The dried and boiled seeds of the golden club (*Orontium aquaticum*) were eaten.[62]

From the eighteenth century on wild potatoes (*Ipomoea pandurata*) were frequently mentioned in the documents. They were baked into bread and were especially used in time of famine.[63] One informant (O.A.) also said that the wild potato, if boiled and mashed, was particularly useful as food for young children. Ginseng was gathered in the Ohio Valley during the eighteenth century and seems to have been sold to traders.[64] Other wild roots and tubers, utilized at least in later times, were wild onions, wild cabbage, "greens" (otherwise unidentified by O.A., M.B.), and water lily roots.[65] Zeisberger wrote of a time when his Christian Indians "industriously brought roots here from down the creek, of which they got many loads to town, which they cut thin, dry in the sun, pound and bake bread from, and this is now their principal food."[66] The Delawares utilized many varieties of wild fruits, including wild grapes, strawberries, gooseberries, blackberries, raspberries, wild plums, huckleberries, and cranberries.[67] The "Indians," probably including Delawares, ate the fruit of the May apple (*Podophyllum peltatum*).[68] They also made use of many nuts, chief among them being hickory (Skinner found them in archaeological deposits), hazelnut, and chestnut.[69] In Oklahoma the post-oak acorn (*Quercus stellata*) was eaten with hominy (J.T., O.A.).

The most important wild plant food of the eighteenth century was the sap of the sugar maple. Sugaring was not just an occasional pastime, for even in a bad year an individual made as much as one hundred pounds.[70] If a man owned several kettles, it was possible in good years to make several hundred pounds of sugar and some syrup.[71] This trait, however, was not mentioned by any of the seventeenth-century sources and was undoubtedly of less importance in pre-European times. As

[58] Zeisberger, 1778, p. 38; Fenton, 1942.
[59] Kalm, 1937, I: 259; De Vries, 1909, p. 219.
[60] Lindestrom, 1925, pp. 158-59.
[61] Kalm, 1937, I: 261; Zeisberger, 1887, p. 161, calls the Jack Maksaweek, "it causes purging," however.
[62] Kalm, 1937, I: 261.
[63] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 47; M. B., O. A.
[64] Zeisberger, 1885, II: 47.
[65] *Ibid.*, p. 109.
[66] *Ibid.*, pp. 109-10.
[67] Juet, 1909, p. 18; Kalm, 1937, I: 261; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 46; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 286; Loskiel, 1794, pp. 88-89; Skinner, 1909, p. 43; O. A., M. B., J. T.
[68] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 47.
[69] De Vries, 1909, p. 219; Brinton, 1890, p. 185; Skinner, 1909, p. 46.
[70] Zeisberger, 1885, II: 349.
[71] Zeisberger, 1910, pp. 50-51.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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135 are, for the most part, of a gray, fine sand and make as good whetstones as one might wish. Rocks you meet occasionally along the Ohio, but away from the river and here along the Muskingum very few, even most of, the mountains and hills are not rocky.

Pit-coal is found in abundance, but as there is no lack of wood it is little used and hardly thought of by the Indians. In Pittsburg the coal is used in fire-places and by blacksmiths.

[324] [276] A kind of stone, black in color, is found here, that is easily worked and cut. It has no sand in its composition and the Indians make tobacco pipes of it, some doing very neat work.

There is also a kind of stone, blue in color, which is very hard. It somewhat resembles the limestone of Pensilvanien, but examination has shown it to be different. Limestone has not yet been found in this region.

A mineralogist would find many more varieties to describe, to which I am unable to give even the names, especially along the shores of the river, where all kinds may be seen, green, yellow, blue, red and black. About ore I know little or nothing concerning this region. The Indians believed themselves to have found gold and silver, but what they produced as precious ore, because it resembled this somewhat, on the test and examination of whites was found to be sulphurous substance.[138] Whatever glitters, the Indians are apt to look upon at once as being gold or silver.

317 276 [439] The Cherokees, who through the years have had much intercourse with the Delawares, brought with them many tobacco pipes for trade. These they made of quite white stone, probably white marble.[139] When completed they blackened the pipes and in such a way that they retained their color. These pipes are made so neatly that they are no heavier than the European pipes.

From the Mississippi the Indians bring red marble, whenever they come from that direction. Of this pipes are also made. [213] Such pipes, however, are as a rule to be seen only in the possession of chiefs or captains, for not many of them are to be had. A pipe of this sort is generally used in council or on solemn occasions. This is carried about by the chief counsellor, each

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136 by men. The animals are of a dark brown color, have short legs and broad feet, adapted to swimming and armed with short claws. The tail is broad and flat. At the end it is broadest, smooth, without any hair, and looks as though covered with fish scales. The tail furnshes the best flesh and is much liked by the Indians. It has an appearance different from the rest of the animal's flesh, being more like fish meat. As the skins always bring a good price, the Indians hunt these animals constantly. [439]

The opossum is about as large as a small dog, of grayish white color and carnivorous.[101] If it finds a dead deer, it strikes into the carcass, lives there and devours it gradually. It climbs the trees and sleeps hanging to a branch by its tail,[102] which is bare of hair and quite round. Should one approach it unawares, it never attempts to escape but lies down as dead and makes no motion, though handled and turned. If one leaves it, the animal watches and creeps off slyly as soon as the enemy has retired some distance. It is not able to run swiftly. The female has a bag under her belly, in which she carries her young until they are too large for this receptacle, when they follow the mother. If she meets with a fallen tree in her passage, she either walks around or lifts her young, one by one, over the trunk and then proceeds on her journey. The flesh of the creature tastes like pork and is eaten by the English, rarely by the Indians. [262]

The pole-cat[103] has white and black markings, a gentle and mild countenance. It goes out of the way for no one, and whoever approaches too near is ill rewarded for his curiosity. It has a special gland containing a fluid intolerably foetid. If one approaches too closely, the fluid is discharged and thrown in all directions with the tail. The offensive odor no one can bear and one is ready enough to get away. If one's person or clothes has been infected by the moisture, it is necessary to bathe and change before returning into company. Even dogs, when they kill the animal, find the stench unbearable. Yet the flesh of the creature is eaten by the Indians. It is said to be very good and not to have any offensive odor. [262]

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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D 1765 morning to the grave and weeps over it. This is repeated daily for some time but gradually less and less till the mourning period is over. Sometimes they place victuals on the grave that the deceased may not suffer hunger. The food thus left is generally consumed by dogs.

N 1764 The Nantikoks [Nantikokes] of whom more in another place, have this singular custom that about three or four months after the funeral they open the grave, take out the bones, clean them of the flesh and dry them, wrap them up in new linen and inter them again. A feast is usually provided for the occasion, consisting of the best they can afford. Only the bones of the arms and legs of the corpse are thus treated. All the rest is buried or burned.

D 626 181 The Indians are a free people, knowing neither law nor restraint. They may not be prevailed on in any matter that does not please them, much less forced. If they cannot be persuaded with gentle words, further effort is in vain.

D 361 Each of them may settle where he pleases. Not satisfied with one place, an Indian may move to a town with which he is better pleased and no one offers any objection; or he may retire to a solitary place. Rarely will a family move far away from all society, though they frequently live apart from the towns to avoid being annoyed by drunkards; or they live thus alone in order to carry on the profitable traffic in rum more to their advantage. Many engage in rum traffic, especially women, who fetch it from the white people and sell at a considerable profit to the Indians, often taking from the latter everything they have, sometimes even their rifles on which they depend for subsistence. Chiefs and counsellors have often considered what might be done to stop this ruinous trade, and have often determined that no one should ever bring spirituous liquors into their towns again; for a time such a resolution would be kept, and then be broken, perhaps by the very ones who had counselled the prohibition. Since the Indians have taken so much to drinking rum, murders are more frequent. Murder committed in drunkenness is not severely punished. Hence, it is that one harboring hatred for another will, on the occasion of a drinking

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treaties that have been made with the governors of the provinces and other documents, although they are not able to read. These constitute the archives, where all messages and reports are kept. With each message or speech there are one or more strings or belts of wampum. These, with the message or speech after the latter have been properly considered and answered, are deposited in the archives.[200] In connection with such a message there may be a string or belt to each point, for as soon as the deliverer of a message has finished with a point he gives over a string or belt to the chief, gets out another and continues to speak until his message has been fully delivered when he announces that he has done. If the strings and belts are handed about from one to another in the council this is an indication that the message is being favorably received. It may happen, however, that the chief does not take the belt into his hands but pushes it to one side with a stick, in which case no one will touch it. The messenger who has brought it must in this case take it back. This signifies that his message does not find approbation and it is accounted a disgrace. Such a rejected belt may be a war belt summoning the people to war, or it may be a belt admonishing them to maintain peace, or something else that is not agreeable may be required.

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[439]
The wampum which Europeans make and barter to the Indians is made of sea-mussel shells. One variety is quite white, the other dark violet, a quarter of an inch in length, an eighth of an inch in thickness and round. A hole is bored lengthwise through each shell, large enough to admit a heavy cord. They are strung like beads. Wampum constitutes the money of the Indians. Two hundred shells cost a buck hide, or a Spanish dollar.[201] Before the white people came they had no such wampum for want of proper instruments to make it.[202] The white are a little less in value than the dark.

[435]

Strings are made of the beads that have been strung as described. Two, four or six placed side by side and properly fastened form a string. A string is usually half a yard long, sometimes longer. Upon delivery of a string a long speech may be made and much said upon the subject under consideration.

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Trade with Europeans is carried on usually on the basis of fixed price, both as concerns goods and pelts. The Indians trade their deer, beaver, otter, raccoon, fox-skins, wild-cat-skins and others for goods which the traders often take a considerable distance into the Indian country. If they can deceive the whites, they do so with pleasure, for it is not easily done. They are delighted, also, if they succeed in purloining something. They are fond of buying on credit, promising to pay when they return from the chase. The traders may be willing to take the risk, hoping to control all that they catch. But if the Indians, on their return, find other traders in the country, they barter with them and trouble themselves no longer over their creditors. If the latter remind them of their debts, they are offended, for to pay old debts seems to them to be giving goods away for nothing. Usually traders learn from their losses to give nothing or but little on credit. This is the safest course and there is no danger in arousing the enmity of the Indians. When war breaks out the traders are the first in danger, not only of losing their property but also for their lives. When the Indians suspect a war approaching, they keep it secret and take as many goods upon credit as they can get; as soon as the war breaks out all debts are cancelled.

The Indians trade much among themselves, especially the women, who deal in rum, which they sell at exorbitant prices, which occasions much disorder. Indian traders usually demand high prices, knowing well that unless the buyer were in great distress, or fully intent upon closing the bargain, he would rather not deal with them. Indians when really anxious to obtain anything will pay almost any price. If they are in need of corn they will give goods or pelts in exchange for it. Frequently, the chiefs have prohibited the sale of strong drink in their towns, but it is always brought in in some manner, against which the chiefs are powerless to protest. For instance, they may appoint a sacrifice of rum, in which nothing but rum is used. This the chiefs cannot hinder owing to established custom. When once the Indians, who gather in large numbers for such a sacrifice, have tasted the strong drink but have not satisfied themselves, they will go to the old women who deal in liquor.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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273 438 The latter will often obtain everything that an Indian owns except his Breech-clout. For their skins the Indians get from the traders powder, lead, rifle-barrelled guns—for other weapons they do not value — blankets, strouds, linen, shirts, cotton, ●439 callemanco,[297] knives, needles, thread, woolen and silken ribbon, wire and kettles of brass, silver buckles, — these are considered as valuable as gold and with them they can purchase almost anything — bracelets, thimbles, rings, combs, mirrors, axes, hatchets and other tools.

535 If the young are at home and not on the chase hardly a night passes without a dance. The women, who always follow the men, dancing in a circle, act with decency and becoming modesty, as if they were engaged in the most serious business. Neither laughing nor levity are to be noticed and they never speak a word to a man, for this would injure their character. They neither jump nor skip, but move one foot after the other slightly forwards then backwards, yet so as to advance gradually. The men shout and leap and stamp with such violence that the ground trembles under their feet. Whatever man acts in the oddest and most ridiculous manner is the most regarded. They dance in a circle around the fire. Often in the midst of the dance they will all hold their heads forward over the fire, stand bowed or leap and stamp, singing all the time; suddenly they stand erect again and move forward. They make all manner of unusual movements to show their agility and skill. They have no other music than the drum. When one dance has been finished the one who beats the drum sings and beats until another begins. There is always a leader whom all watch carefully and follow. They have various kinds of dances, some acquired from the other nations.

526 The young men often wrestle to test their strength. The one thrown is not angered but admits the other to be his master. Another mode of testing strength is in trying to lift some large stone, or throwing a stone of considerable size the greatest distance possible.

525 Nine-pins, ball-playing and cards they have learned from the whites. The Indian game of dice is the most popular of

escape. In the summer and on trips shelter was not considered necessary (Johnson, p. 281; Lindstrom, p. 211). Most villages also contained a "Big House" which served as a place for religious assemblies and council meetings, but both of these functions were sometimes performed outdoors or in the chief's house.

As aids to transportation the Delaware used the carrying straps, pack baskets (used by both men and women) and canoes. Their bark canoes were of birch or chestnut. They also used a dugout made by first burning a suitable log and then scraping the charred portions out with sharp stones and shells (Johnson, p. 280). Vessels capable of ocean travel were constructed by fastening two large dugout canoes together and using mats for sails.[7] In these, journeys were made as far as New England and Virginia (Johnson, p. 280; Lindstrom, p. 237).

Nineteenth century writers were of the opinion that the Lenape used large amounts of copper and perhaps even worked it themselves (Brinton, 1885, p. 52; Abbott, 1885, pp. 774-77). More recent evidence, however, indicates that copper was not abundantly used, the most common form in which it is found being tubular beads, and that it was received solely in trade (Skinner, 1909, p. 28).

Clothing

The clothing of the Indian men consisted in summer of a leather girdle from which hung a flap of leather.[8] At this time of year the Delaware frequently went without footwear (Pastorius, 1700, p. 384; 1698, p. 433; Danckaerts, pp. 169 and 280; Lindstrom, pp. 191-92 and 197). The women's dress consisted of a square piece of leather fringed at the bottom which was bound around the waist as a short skirt (Skinner, 1915, p. 5; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 29). In winter, both sexes added leather leggings, moccasins and robes of animal skins or turkey feathers to this costume. Apparently the skins of bear, deer and raccoon were most commonly used for clothing. All of the clothing was decorated with colored designs of dyed porcupine quills or wampum (Pastorius, 1698, p. 433; Johnson, p. 280; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 202; Skinner, 1915, pp. 3 and 5).

Both sexes decorated themselves with numerous ornaments, the women, however, outdoing the men. Wampum was hung in chains around the neck and from the ears, and woven in bands which were worn around the head, sometimes with a single feather set in them (Pastorius, 1698, p. 434; Lindstrom, p. 196). Around the neck were also worn necklaces of dyed deer hair and native copper, stone and shell pendants and breast plates (Abbott, 1875, p. 327; Heye, pp. 32-42). In addition, men were seldom without their pipe, tobacco pouch and bag of food also hung about the neck (Lindstrom, p. 197). For festive occasions the ornamentation was greatly increased and face paint of various designs added. Hair and skin shining with bear grease was

8:Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
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CHAPTER XX.

Concerning the Commerce, Trade and Dealings of the American Savages and How Their Goods Are Sold to the Christians, Also How the Merchandise of the Christians Is Disposed for Them to the Savages.

Concerning the merchandise of the savages [it is to be said] that they[1] sell to the Christians all kinds of fur goods, such as beavers, otters, lynxes, fishers,[2] raccoons,[3] minks, wild-cats, elk-hides, bear-hides, wolf-skins, lion-hides,[4] deer-hides, checkered foxskins,[5] martins, musk-skins[6] and other kinds [of furs]. The savages also sell to the Christians foodstuffs, such as Indian corn of all kinds, Turkish beans, deer, elk and bear meat, fresh fish of all kinds; also all kinds of birds, such as wild turkeys, wood-grouse, black-grouse, partridges, swans, geese, hazel-grouse, and pigeons, etc. [They also sell] all kinds of fruits, peaches or skinless apples, watermelons, chestnuts, walnuts, plums, bullace-plums, grapes and wild hops. [They] likewise [sell] what they produce by the work of their hands.

If one should buy the aforesaid articles from the savages with the cash money of the savages they are expensive enough, but when one pays for

[1] The Indians. "Of their Bying and Selling," see Williams, *Key*, 133 ff.
[2] Cf. above, Chapt. VIII, note 5a.
[3] Cf. above, Chapt. VIII, note 5b.
[4] See above, Chapt. VIII, note 1.
[5] *Isprängde räfskins.*
[6] See above, Chapt. VIII, note 6.

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
NM7 Delaware NM7

them with the merchandise of the Christians, one can make an excessively large gain and profit in trading with the savages. Now there is a value on the merchandise of the savages as follows: 1 beaver [skin] is valued according to size from 7 to 8 florins in sewan (thus the money of the savages is called, concerning the manufacture and nature of which money we shall be informed in the following chapter). But the trade with the money of the savages is mostly reckoned in Holland florins and *styvers*, 1 Holland florin being 20 *styvers*.

An otter [skin] is valued at 4 to 6 florins, according to the number of silver hairs it has. A lynx [skin is valued at] 4 florins; fisher, 24 *styvers;* raccoon, 1 florin; mink, 1 florin; wild-cat, 10 *styvers;* elk-skin, 6 to 9 florins; bear-hides, pitch black, looking like gluttons,[1] 3 to 4 florins; a wolf-skin, 2 to 3 florins; a wolf-lynx, 6 to 9 florins; a 36-checkered fox-skin, 1 florin; a lion-skin, 6 florins; deer-skin, 24 *styvers;* muskrat-skin, 1 florin, and so on. [A] quilt of Turkey feathers [is worth] 1 ell of white *sewan*, a quilt of painted feathers, 2 ells of white sewan, or 1 ell of blue *sewan*. Indeed the savages understand how to value their pelts, but the beavers and otters with silver hairs, that these should be so valuable, as compared to the others, that they have no knowledge of. Otherwise in the case of the elk-skins [80] and other skins the savages indeed sell according to their sizes and heaviness, but they know nothing of weight.[2] This valuation is only an approxima-

[1] *Beendes uth som ierfwar*, the glutton, wolverine or carcajou.
[2] That is: they have no scales by which they can compute the exact weight of articles

8:Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
NM7 Delaware NM7

tion, but one gives more or less for the skins, according to their size or quality.

Maize, beans and fruits are sold by means of bags, nor [do they] know of any definite measure. But birds [they sell as follows]: a turkey, for 4 *styvers;* swan, for 6 *styvers;* goose, for 4 *styvers;* a wood-grouse, for 4 *styvers;* a black-grouse, for 2 *styvers;* a duck, for 2 *styvers;* a partridge, for 2 *styvers;* a hazel-grouse, for 1 *styver;* a pigeon, for 1 *styver, etc. Sic ulterius,* about. A mat [is sold for] 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 florins; bags for 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 florins, according to their size and quality, as well as according to their beauty and skill of workmanship.

But if these, often mentioned savage merchandise, are bought with the goods of the Christians, then these[9] are: red and blue Holland frieze an ell in breadth, guns, powder, lead, copper and brass kettles, axes, hoes, picks, spades, shovels, glass beads (of all colors, large and small), awls, bodkins, small common scissors, knives, small mirrors, needles and such things; and from these things, one can have a very large profit, as has been said, for our goods are placed high enough [in price] to the savages. But the savages really do not understand this trade, for they hold frieze in as high esteem as the finest scarlet.

The savage really does not buy more than an ell's length at the time, for he does not need more in the piece, which he wraps around himself. If it is a piece of cloth to hide his nakedness with, then he takes an ell for it, [and] they really do not

[9] The goods of the Christians.

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
NM7 Delaware NM7

know of any other measure than an ell's length at the time, for he needs no more in the piece he wraps around himself.

When the Christians measure the frieze for the savage, they measure it for the savage on the edge, the savage taking hold of a corner of the frieze and the Christians on the edge, whereupon they pull the hardest they are able, stretching thus the ell for the savage, so that he for three ells barely gets more than two; which the savage thinks should be thus, and does not understand himself cheated in this.

Tobacco is worth 2 *styvers* a pound.

Velvet, silk, broadcloth, apple juice[10] and all such things which one may want, come to New Sweden with ships from Virginia, New Holland, New England, the Carribean Islands, and from many other places; which merchandise the Swedes buy through the exchange of pelts and the money of the savages. Linen is very expensive there.[11]

The savages also allow themselves to be greatly cheated in the sale of powder. The savage knows of no other measure than the handful.[12] When the Christians measure the powder with the hand for the savage he draws his hand together that the savage hardly gets more than ½ handful for a whole, and thus the savage is cheated, for he has in this no better understanding.

Valuations of the merchandise of the Christians is as follows: an ell of frieze [is valued at] 9 florins, one handful of powder, 3 florins. According to this measurement and valuation, 1 ell of

[10] Apple Cider.
[11] As it was bought from the English and Dutch.
[12] *Ann medh giöpen. Göpen*, handful, gripe, gowpen.

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
NM7 Delaware NM7

Holland frieze will cost the savage 1 *riksdaler* and 42 *öre* silver money and ¼ handful of powder 1 *riksdaler* and 12 *öre* silver money, at 6 *daler* silver money apiece. One axe is worth 3 florins; a hoe, 3 florins; a pick, 3 florins; a shovel, 3 florins; a bodkin, 1 florin; a small common pair of scissors, 3 florins; a knife, 1 or 2 florins; a small mirror, which may cost 2 or 3 *öre* copper money in Stockholm, [sells for] 1 florin; 1 pin,[13] 1 florin; a common sewing needle, 1 florin; glass beads, [a string] 3 times around the arm, 1 florin, etc. The aforesaid small wares are placed high enough for the savage [in exchange] for his pelts, but if the trade is done in the money of the savages, then it will cost the Christians more.

Formerly it was indeed forbidden, and agreed[14] among the Christian nations, that no guns, powder or lead should be sold to the savages; but after the English in Virginia had broken the law and first begun to sell guns to the savages (which they have raised in value according to their quality, the cheapest [they sold] at 10 beaver [skins] and up to 20 beaver [skins] apiece for the dearest, so that one gun which is of some value, may cost the savages over 40, 50 and 60 *riksdaler*, at 6 *daler* silver money), therefore the Swedes began to sell powder and lead for them.[15] So much for the mutual trade of the Christians and the savages.

[13] *En stammenål*, perhaps a large pin with a head (often of glass).

[14] *Förbudit och afsagt*, perhaps forbidden and renounced.

[15] For the guns. The settlers in the various colonies accused each other of selling firearms to the natives against the law of nations, but it was a case of the pot calling the pan black. They all sold what they could and made profits in any way they were able.

[p. 228 is blank]

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
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the root, in the stump of which they dig out a round hole and thus make a mortar which is suited for the purpose and in which they pound all their grain to meal.[4] And then they bake their meal into small loaves as large as a small cheese,[5] in which they use a kind of berry like currants. Nor do they use any other bake-oven than the embers. The ashes they use according to the manner of the birds, to clean their stomach with, as the birds do with sand instead of salt, therefore they are not so particular, if their bread gets to be a little ashy. They have just recently begun to buy a little salt of the Christians, but they do not know how to use it otherwise than to chew a little of it at a time, like other costly spices.[6]

To brew ale or distill brandy, that they cannot turn their hand to. In reference to the frying by the savages [it is to be noted] that they know no other manner of doing it than to cut for themselves slender spits of wood, pass them through the meat or the fish, stick the spits down into the ground, and turn the meat or the fish near the fire.[7] When it now may be about half fried on the one side, then he turns the other side to the fire and when it is half fried on both sides, so that the blood still remains in it, then he considers it most wholesome and best to eat. In reference to the cooking of the savages [it may be stated] that they have

[4] Cf. Van der Donck and other Dutch writers of the early 17th Century, *N. Y. Col.*, 2, I, II, III.

[5] Perhaps six or eight inches in diameter.

[6] The natives apparently did not season their food with salt. Cf. Hodge, *Handbook*, II, 418 ff.

[7] See illustration facing page 253. The natives of Africa smoke and roast their fish in the same way.

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
NM7 Delaware NM7

a full [supply] of copper and brass kettles for the purpose, large and small, which the savages buy from the Christians, hanging on a pole[8] along their hut or house from the one door to the other, below which the fire is made up, as has been stated before. And the savage woman whom the sachem owns for a wife, she is the housekeeper for the whole crowd. She selects for the cooking and determines which one of the savage women then and then,[9] each in her turn, shall look after the cooking. When now they think that the food is cooked, which indeed they use half cooked, then the kettles are carried forth to the housekeeper who pours out the food and divides it around for the people, 6 and 6 to a kettle. The vessels used for this purpose are small copper and brass kettles and cut-off calibashes like cups.[10]

As far as their drink is concerned [it may be said] that they drink with the goose.[11]

But when the Christians bake bread of this maize or Indian wheat, they also do it with hot embers in the fireplace. They make and knead the whole dough into one loaf, as wide as the bottom of the oven, raised like a loaf of rye bread. Then they sweep the fireplace clean and lay a couple of layers of large leaves next to the stones upon which they place the bread, then some layers [of leaves] on top and around the bread, and then

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[8] *Hängandes på en åås.* *Ås* in this connection would usually mean the ridge (ridge-pole) of a house, but Lindeström apparently uses the word in the sense of a pole.

[9] *Då och då*, *i.e.*, from time to time.

[10] See above, Chapt. VII, note 13. It seems strange that Lindeström does not mention clay pots.

[11] See above, p. 234, note 4.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

the same time, there is no reason to suspect that the several 252
cooking modes reported in all subsequent periods were the result of European introduction. On the other hand, Lindeström's statement that the Delaware preferred their fish only half fried finds no support in the information from the following periods (305). Zeisberger and all the modern informants said that meats were preferred well done. In this connection J. W. expressed the opinion of all the modern informants when he said that foods from the open air (not canned), cooked in clean water or well done in an open fire were clean and best.

When the Delaware were living on the Atlantic Coast, fish 262
formed an important part of their diet, according to Van der Donck and Lindeström (307). Apparently every kind available in any particular locality was eaten. The reports of all subsequent periods also show an absence of taboo on particular kinds of fish, with the exception of J. W., and he could not name the varieties not eaten. Captain Chipps reported that some did not eat sturgeon, others catfish, but more as a matter of individual taste than because of a taboo.

Hunting

The bow and arrow was, of course, the common weapon used 411
in hunting in prehistoric times and well remembered even today, although its utility as a meat-procuring arm has long been lost (308).

The surprising item in the list of arms used by the Delaware [439]
is the firearm (309). Even though every European colony on the Atlantic Coast protested the sale of firearms to the natives by the other colonies, and subordination of the Delaware to the Iroquois in the early eighteenth century was attributed to the fact that the latter were supplied earlier with firearms, we find two references to the rather common use of guns in hunting by the Delaware in the middle of the seventeenth century.

The blowgun was reported among the Canadian Delaware or Munsee of 1824 by Captain Chipps (310). At that time it was used by hunters to kill small game and birds. Poisoned darts were not mentioned. The three older informants among the

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

436 sweeping, and general order of the premises receive their pay in
796 wampum beads; the pecuniary value of which amounts to hardly more than a few cents. The drummers, the singers, the dance leaders, the reciters of visions are in their turn rewarded with small donations of wampum at the conclusion of their performances. This is a purifying gift rather than a pecuniary payment, one entirely out of proportion to the worth of service rendered.

[431] The worshipers of the Big House also offer their donations toward the ceremony in strings of wampum, giving them to the Master-of-Ceremonies, saying; ce·la·'yu'ni· ndeli·' wi·tcinge·'n note·'ha·'n "This here is how much I help from my heart!" The sacrosanctity of wampum is furthermore emphasized by the religious rule that wampum should always be given when something has been received, even when only a gift from a friend. In the esteem of the natives it becomes a most potent medicine. Failure to carry out the rules governing the bestowing of wampum would bring sickness upon the receiver of property through exchange or the receiver of a gift. This is especially
[767] true in connection with the Delaware practice of medicine, because medicine although destined to heal can double upon itself and become a poison when not sanctified by the conveyance of wampum.[1]

436 In Delaware phraseology "wampum is our heart." In exchanges of
425 vendable property, even extending to gifts between friends, there
751 lurked a potency for evil that might develop in who knows what quarter, producing malice or resentment among the parties concerned. It could even result in bodily poison to one or both. It is strictly correct to state that in the attitude of the eastern Indians toward such affairs the transfer of shell money from the hands of the receiver of a gift or a purchase to those of the giver performed the function of medicine.

436 The wampum protected them against spiritual infection and its
755 manifestation in the body in the form of sickness. Wampum was a purifier, purging the transaction from latent evil force. And should evil have leaked through the transaction the wampum would function as a purgative for its keeper. The same wampum was a spiritual emblem believed by them to have come originally from supernatural sources and embodying within it profound supernatural dynamics.

436 We can understand why a compact sealed with the transfer of
439 wampum was as sacred as one sworn to under oath by Europeans. It was such an attitude toward exchange and currency that our colonial forebears encountered when they bartered for land and peltry with the aborigines of New England and the Middle Atlantic States. The colonists handed out their exchange with the European notion of in-

[1] I am of course speaking of Delaware therapeutics exclusively, although something along the same line may be said, by those who are inclined toward a critical attitude, of civilized medical practices.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

trinsic value, receiving the return with the native idea of spiritual and supernatural interplay. 436 439

The Dutch in buying Manhattan for 60 guilders worth of trinkets undoubtedly drove a shrewd bargain with the Delawares. But who has told us that in the eyes of these same Delawares the currency was the symbol not the value equivalent of the relinquishment of their hereditary rights to the land as well as its products? This ridiculous price was to them a symbol over which they transferred their goodwill and spiritual power over forces dormant in the land, clearing away the poison that might have been engendered by the inequality of value in the transfer. Here lay the basis of conflict unreconcilable between the two culture spheres that met, bartered, and quarreled, in the settlement of the Atlantic seaboard. The one backed by unnumbered, metal-armed, aggressive and adventurous men from a tumultous old world as against a few thousand stone-age, passive, hunter-farmers.

There are deep associative meanings here underlying Algonkian and Iroquois wampum institutions. The problems of their origin, development and inter-relation are to be considered as a research problem of the future.

CEREMONIAL EQUIPMENT.—The material equipment of the Big House ceremony is mentioned with some detail in that part of the text which deals with preparation. The objects whose use is called for in various stages of the rite have a particular sacredness in the eyes of the Delawares. Between the occasions when the ceremony is performed they are carefully kept in the charge of some responsible chiefs or members of the council. Some of the objects required in the performance have been attached to it for lengthy periods of time. It has even been thought that they might have been brought from the east during the course of migration. This attitude of reverence, however, has not prevented the escape of specimens, representing practically all of the objects whose use is prescribed in the performance, from the hands of their custodians to find their way into the collections of eastern museums, even into the possession of private collectors.[1] In some cases faithful reproductions of the cherished articles have been made by the Indians to serve the purposes of demonstration. Therefore, utilizing the materials in the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, New York City, and the American Museum of Natural History, New York City, who have generally pro- 178 796

[1] The temptation to professional curio-hunters to sweep Indian reservations clean of native manufactures results in turning topsy-turvy their cultural life. It even comes from experts whose desire for the possession of rare specimens is sometimes greater than their desire for the advancement of knowledge. The existence of such bitter and senseless rivalries among collectors is responsible for the demolition of creeds and ceremonies now too far gone to study or to understand.

[P. 35, A]

584 marriage would furthermore be congenial to the parents of both parties.[15] In practice
586 these marriages usually broke up quickly, both spouses quickly being unfaithful to one another.[16] Occasionally a man, his
[762] pride wounded by a wife's infidelity, directed his helpless anger inward and committed suicide by taking poison. Women too killed themselves out of jealousy.[17] The shifting romantic attachments of both sexes seem to represent an unending striving to find the all-satisfying parent: a striving continually doomed to frustration.

787 The guardian spirit relationship (which was sought by both men and women) seems also to be built upon the prototype of the search for the all-satisfying (but not authoritarian) parent.[18]

572 Among men there was an institution of "friendship" which focused considerable emotion upon a relationship of formally recognized mutual dependency, in war, in
[521] the chase, and in various other life-crises.[19] Men were more at ease with one another
[562] in conversation than with women and, according to Zeisberger, would automatically suspect as a lie any tale which they
[593] heard from a woman.[20] It was a common saying, "My wife is not my friend."[21] Old
988 women were accused by the men of being
●439 the middlemen who carried the socially disrupting rum from white settlements to the villages.[22]

562 Implicit in all this was the assumption
571 on the part of all Delawares—men and women alike—that relationships with women, while they could be satisfying, were not likely to be; and the further assumption on the part of men that they had less to fear from other men than from

15. Heckewelder, 1819, p. 161; Zeisberger, 1778, p. 79.
16. Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 82-83.
17. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 83.
18. Lindestrom, 1656, pp. 207-209; Heckewelder, 1819, pp. 245-246; Zeisberger, 1778, p. 127.
19. Heckewelder, 1819, p. 278; Lindestrom, 1656, p. 233; Zeisberger, 1778, p. 116.
20. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 116.
21. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 99.
22. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 117.

14:Leslie A-4.8 (no date) 1951
NM7 Delaware NM7
[P.14, A]

172 the writer has found that these implements
324 occur generally on Minsi sites. It is pos-
412 sible that they deserve more significance than Ritchie's tables would indicate. Ritchie (op. cit., p. 236) lists five types: expanded base, expanded side-notched base, expanded scraper base, T-shaped base, and Y-shaped base. Presently available statistics do not permit a selection of the most common form or forms (Plate 11, Nos. 2, 3, 4, 6).

Trade Goods

172 Any trade goods found in the upper
439 Delaware area are almost certainly surviving evidence of the period of Minsi-Caucasian contact. In general, trade material is extremely rare, evidencing the fact that the contact period was of very short duration in this area. One notable exception to this general paucity of trade material is that part of the Bell Site excavated by Heye and Pepper early in the second decade of the present century. In their exploration, Heye and Pepper found numerous articles of European or Colonial origin, including beads, metal kettles, etc. (See their "Exploration of a Munsee Cemetery near Montague, N. J.", 1915.)

The writer has found only two artifacts evidencing Caucasian contact: a sheet brass triangular arrowpoint from the Davenport Site across the Delaware from Milford, Pa., found on the surface in 1934, and a small perforated triangular ornament of catlinite from near Cocheton, Sullivan Co., N. Y. (Plate 11, No. 10, shows the brass arrowpoint; Plate 1, No. 6, is the catlinite ornament.)

Summary

172 With the exception of numerous pottery decorative patterns within the framework of certain Owasco and Iroquoian ceramic techniques, it is evident that Minsi material culture is not characterized by variety. This is, of course, an example of a cultural

15:Morgan E-5 (1859)1959
NM? Delaware NM?

[450 (A)]

[*Payment Day*]

657 The place of payment was centrally located
527 but a most inconvenient place in itself, as it was upon a side hill with very rough ground all around it. The only recommendation was the eight or ten houses which made up the settlement, and furnished shelter for
[439] the goods of the traders, who are inseparable from all payments. The number present was large, just as many of the Delawares as could possibly leave their homes, with a single one behind in some cases to watch the premises. About 800 were present and some Shawnees from the opposite side and perhaps 100 white people, including traders and spectators. I arrived about 10 A.M. and the paying out commenced about 1 P.M.

291 The Indian women were all dressed out
177 in their best attire, as this is the only occa-
[527] sion that ever brings them together as a
[657] people. We saw the fruits of the sales of
[439] previous years, and some of the present, in advance a few hours of the time of payment, as the traders are eager to commence their work at once. In the first place the Delaware women have usually dropped the Indian skirt, and put on the long dress of the white female. I thought I saw a skirt upon an elderly woman, although it was covered up with a gown. Their dresses are of all colors, and some of them of rich materials. A few were dressed in colored muslin with silk shawls, and looked quite becomingly, but the most of them were, strange to say, dressed in silk gowns, some of which were brocade patterns of rich brocade silk, some were black, these looked the best. Some were crimson and black, some fiery plaid; the most of them were in bright colors. Over these they wore silk shawls of every color and shade, most of them fringed. They were expensive silk shawls of good

[750 (c)]

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[451(A)]

D
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Shawnees Uncles to the Chippeways, etc.

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648 Buraseau told me that years ago the Ojibwas, Pottawatamies and Ottawas took the

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

Indians sing and pray. They deny that they pay any adoration to the buck, declaring that God alone is worshipped through this medium and is so worshipped at his will. 796 [343]

At these feasts there are never less than four servants, to each of whom a fathom of wampum is given that they may care for all necessary things. During the three or four days they have enough to do by day and by night. They have leave, also, to secure the best of provisions, such as sugar, bilberries, molasses, eggs, butter and to sell these things at a profit to guests and spectators. Festivals are usually closed with a general drinking bout. There are always rum-sellers present on such occasions who make large profits. As a result of the drinking there are generally several fatalities, for, among the Indians that gather from various places, such as wish to work off an old score are ready to make use of the opportunity afforded by these occasions. [443] [273]

Besides these solemn feasts of sacrifice there are many of less importance, for individuals arrange them on their own account. They invite guests and prepare a feast of deer or bear's flesh. The guests consume the whole meal, the host and his family being mere spectators. At the great feasts all who are present partake of the food. Each individual may offer sacrifice for himself when engaged in the chase, in order that he may be successful. Having cut up a deer and divided it into many small pieces he scatters them about for the birds and crows that sit about on the trees waiting. Retiring to some distance the Indian will then amuse himself by observing in what manner they devour the prey. Another may offer to his *Manitto* for some other reason. Corn is said to be the wife of the Indian and to it they sacrifice bear's flesh. To the deer and bear they offer corn. To the fishes they bring an offering of small pieces of bread shaped in the form of fishes. If an Indian hunter hears an owl screech in the night he immediately throws some tobacco into the fire, muttering a few words at the same time. Then they promise themselves success for the next day for the owl is said to be a powerful spirit. In dreams, they claim, it has been made known to them what creatures to regard as their *manittos* and what offerings to bring to them. Such 796 782 [825]

[750 (c)]

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Trade with Europeans is carried on usually on the basis of fixed price, both as concerns goods and pelts. The Indians trade their deer, beaver, otter, raccoon, fox-skins, wild-cat-skins and others for goods which the traders often take a considerable distance into the Indian country. If they can deceive the whites, they do so with pleasure, for it is not easily done. They are delighted, also, if they succeed in purloining something. They are fond of buying on credit, promising to pay when they return from the chase. The traders may be willing to take the risk, hoping to control all that they catch. But if the Indians, on their return, find other traders in the country, they barter with them and trouble themselves no longer over their creditors. If the latter remind them of their debts, they are offended, for to pay old debts seems to them to be giving goods away for nothing. Usually traders learn from their losses to give nothing or but little on credit. This is the safest course and there is no danger in arousing the enmity of the Indians. When war breaks out the traders are the first in danger, not only of losing their property but also for their lives. When the Indians suspect a war approaching, they keep it secret and take as many goods upon credit as they can get; as soon as the war breaks out all debts are cancelled.

The Indians trade much among themselves, especially the women, who deal in rum, which they sell at exorbitant prices, which occasions much disorder. Indian traders usually demand high prices, knowing well that unless the buyer were in great distress, or fully intent upon closing the bargain, he would rather not deal with them. Indians when really anxious to obtain anything will pay almost any price. If they are in need of corn they will give goods or pelts in exchange for it. Frequently, the chiefs have prohibited the sale of strong drink in their towns, but it is always brought in in some manner, against which the chiefs are powerless to protest. For instance, they may appoint a sacrifice of rum, in which nothing but rum is used. This the chiefs cannot hinder owing to established custom. When once the Indians, who gather in large numbers for such a sacrifice, have tasted the strong drink but have not satisfied themselves, they will go to the old women who deal in liquor.

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from ice, must be an obstacle to the hunter, when in pursuit of a wounded deer, bear, or other animal, as is often the case. Nor has he then leisure to think on the state of his body, and to consider whether his blood is not too much heated to plunge without danger into the cold stream, since the game he is in pursuit of is running off from him with full speed. Many dangerous accidents often befal him, both as a hunter and a warrior, (for he is both) and are seldom unattended with painful consequences, such as rheumatism or consumption of the lungs, for which the sweat-house, on which they so much depend, and to which they often resort for relief, especially after a fatiguing hunt or warlike excursion, is not always a sure preservative or an effectual remedy.

The husband generally leaves the skins and peltry which he has procured by hunting to the care of his wife, who sells or barters them away to the best advantage for such necessaries as are wanted in the family; not forgetting to supply her husband with what he stands in need of, who, when he receives it from her hands never fails to return her thanks in the kindest manner. If debts had been previously contracted, either by the woman, or by her and her husband jointly, or if a horse should be wanted, as much is laid aside as will be sufficient to pay the debts or purchase the horse.

When a woman has got in her harvest of corn, it is considered as belonging to her husband, who, if he has suffering friends, may give them as much of it as he pleases, without consulting his wife, or being afraid of her being displeased; for she is in the firm belief that he is able to procure that article whenever it is wanted. The sugar which she makes out of the maple tree is also considered as belonging to her husband.

There is nothing in an Indian's house or family without its particular owner. Every individual knows what belongs to him, from the horse or cow down to the dog, cat, kitten and little chicken.

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off with them to Sandusky, under the protection of the British Government. We have seen in a former chapter that he afterwards saw how impolitic his conduct had been, and probably wished to retrace his steps, but it was too late. He had suffered himself to be misled by his passions, excited by the remembrance of former wrongs, and thus was betrayed into his injudicious conduct. Perhaps also his jealousy of Captain White Eyes, whose superiority his proud mind could not bear, did not in a small degree contribute to it. Pipe was certainly a great man, but White Eyes was, in my opinion, the greatest of the two. I was present when he made the speech which I have related, and never shall forget the impression it made upon me.

Thus Indian politicians work and manage matters against each other without newspaper wrangles, abuse of character, personal quarrels, or open insults. Their ingenuity, when joined to a good cause, generally makes them come off victorious. In a bad cause, on the contrary, they are sure to meet with detection and defeat, as Captain Pipe, for his misfortune, sadly experienced.

CHAPTER XVI.

MARRIAGE AND TREATMENT OF THEIR WIVES.

THERE are many persons who believe, from the labour that they see the Indian women perform, that they are in a manner treated as slaves. These labours, indeed, are hard, compared with the tasks that are imposed upon females in civilised society; but they are no more than their fair share, under every consideration

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and due allowance, of the hardships attendant on savage life. Therefore they are not only voluntarily, but cheerfully submitted to; and as women are not obliged to live with their husbands any longer than suits their pleasure or convenience, it cannot be supposed that they would submit to be loaded with unjust or unequal burdens.

Marriages among the Indians are not, as with us, contracted for life; it is understood on both sides that the parties are not to live together any longer than they shall be pleased with each other. The husband may put away his wife whenever he pleases, and the woman may in like manner abandon her husband. Therefore the connexion is not attended with any vows, promises or ceremonies of any kind. An Indian takes a wife as it were on trial, determined, however, in his own mind not to forsake her if she behaves well, and particularly if he has children by her. The woman, sensible of this, does on her part every thing in her power to please her husband, particularly if he is a good hunter or trapper, capable of maintaining her by his skill and industry, and protecting her by his strength and courage.

When a marriage takes place, the duties and labours incumbent on each party are well known to both. It is understood that the husband is to build a house for them to dwell in, to find the necessary implements of husbandry, as axes, hoes, &c. to provide a canoe, and also dishes, bowls, and other necessary vessels for house-keeping. The woman generally has a kettle or two, and some other articles of kitchen furniture, which she brings with her. The husband, as master of the family, considers himself bound to support it by his bodily exertions, as hunting, trapping, &c.; the woman, as his *help-mate*, takes upon herself the labours of the field, and is far from considering them as more important than those to which her husband is subjected, being well satisfied that with his gun and traps he can maintain a family in any place where game is to be found: nor do they think it any hardship imposed upon them; for they themselves say, that

l:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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462 hunt for a length of time, and she will be sure to have
224 provisions and every thing else that is necessary in complete readiness, and well packed up to carry to the spot; for the man, as soon as he enters the woods, has to be looking out and about for game, and therefore cannot be encumbered with any burden; after wounding a deer, he may have to pursue it for several miles, often running it fairly down. The woman, therefore, takes charge
462 of the baggage, brings it to the place of encampment,
251 and there, immediately enters on the duties of housekeeping, as if they were at home; she moreover takes pains to dry as much meat as she can, that none may be lost; she carefully puts the tallow up, assists in drying the skins, gathers as much wild hemp as possible for the
222 283 purpose of making strings, carrying bands, bags and other necessary articles, collects roots for dyeing; in short does every thing in her power to leave no care to her husband but the important one of providing meat for the family.

After all, the fatigue of the women is by no means to
461 be compared to that of the men. Their hard and dif-
462 ficult employments are periodical and of short duration, while their husband's labours are constant and severe in the extreme. Were a man to take upon himself a part of his wife's duty, in addition to his own, he must necessarily sink under the load, and of course his family must suffer with him. On his exertions as a hunter, their existence depends; in order to be able to follow that rough employment with success, he must keep his limbs as supple as he can, he must avoid hard labour as much as possible, that his joints may not become stiffened, and that he may preserve the necessary strength and agility of body to enable him to pursue the chase, and bear the unavoidable hardships attendant on it; for the fatigues of hunting wear out the body and constitution far more than manual labour. Neither creeks nor rivers, whether shallow or deep, frozen or free

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from ice, must be an obstacle to the hunter, when in pursuit of a wounded deer, bear, or other animal, as is often the case. Nor has he then leisure to think on the state of his body, and to consider whether his blood is not too much heated to plunge without danger into the cold stream, since the game he is in pursuit of is running off from him with full speed. Many dangerous accidents often befal him, both as a hunter and a warrior, (for he is both) and are seldom unattended with painful consequences, such as rheumatism or consumption of the lungs, for which the sweat-house, on which they so much depend, and to which they often resort for relief, especially after a fatiguing hunt or warlike excursion, is not always a sure preservative or an effectual remedy.

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1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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"me to count up what I have lost by going to the treaty. 648
"Put down eighty deer; say twenty of them were bucks,
"each buckskin one dollar; then sixty does and young
"bucks at two skins for a dollar; thirty dollars, and
"twenty for the old bucks, make fifty dollars lost to me
"in deer skins. Add, then, twenty dollars more to this
"for racoon, beaver, wild cat, black fox, and otter
"skins, and what does the whole amount to?"

HECKEW. "Seventy dollars."

INDIAN. "Well, let it be only seventy dollars, but
"how much might I have bought of the traders for this
"money! How well we might have lived, I and my fa-
"mily in the woods during that time! How much meat
"would my wife have dried! how much tallow saved
"and sold or exchanged for salt, flour, tea and choco- [593]
"late! All this is now lost to us; and had I not such a
"good wife (stroking her under the chin) who planted
"so much corn, and so many beans, pumpkins, squashes,
"and potatoes last summer, my family would now live
"most wretchedly. I have learned to be wise by going
"to treaties, I shall never go there again to sell my land
"and lose my time."

I shall conclude this desultory chapter with another 461
anecdote which is strongly characteristic of the good sense of the Indians, and shews how much their minds are capable of thought and reflection.

Seating myself once upon a log, by the side of an Indian, who was resting himself there, being at that time actively employed in fencing in his corn field, I observed to him that he must be very fond of working, as I never saw him idling away his time, as is so common with the Indians. The answer which he returned made considerable impression on my mind; I have remembered it ever since, and I shall try to relate it as nearly in his own words as possible.

"My friend!" said he, "the fishes in the water and the
"birds in the air and on the earth have taught me to

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"work; by their examples I have been convinced of the "necessity of labour and industry. When I was a young "man I loitered a great deal about, doing nothing, just "like the other Indians, who say that working is only "for the whites and the negroes, and that the Indians "have been ordained for other purposes, to hunt the "deer, and catch the beaver, otter, racoon and such other "animals. But it one day so happened, that while a "hunting, I came to the bank of the Susquehannah, where "I sat down near the water's edge to rest a little, and "casting my eye on the water, I was forcibly struck "when I observed with what industry the *Meechgalingus** "heaped small stones together, to make secure places "for their spawn, and all this labour they did with their "mouths and bodies without hands! Astonished as well "as diverted, I lighted my pipe, sat a while smoking "and looking on, when presently a little bird not far "from me raised a song which enticed me to look "that way; while I was trying to distinguish who the "songster was, and catch it with my eyes, its mate, with "as much grass as with its bill it could hold, passed "close by me and flew into a bush, where I perceived "them together busy building their nest and singing as "they went along. I entirely forgot that I was a hunt-"ing, in order to contemplate the objects I had before "me. I saw the birds of the air and the fishes in the "water working diligently and cheerfully, and all this "without hands! I thought it was strange, and became "lost in contemplation! I looked at myself, I saw two "long arms, provided with hands and fingers besides, "with joints that might be opened and shut at pleasure. "I could, when I pleased take up any thing with these "hands, hold it fast or let it loose, and carry it "along with me as I walked. I observed moreover that "I had a strong body capable of bearing fatigue, and "supported by two stout legs, with which I could climb

* Sun-fish.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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"to the top of the highest mountains and descend at plea- 461
"sure into the vallies. And is it possible, said I, that
"a being so formed as I am, was created to live in idle-
"ness, while the birds who have no hands, and nothing
"but their little bills to help them, work with cheerful-
"ness and without being told to do so? Has then the
"great Creator of man and of all living creatures given
"me all these limbs for no purpose? It cannot be; I
"will try to go to work. I did so and went away from the
"village to a spot of good land, built a cabin, enclosed
"ground, planted corn, and raised cattle. Ever since that
"time I have enjoyed a good appetite and sound sleep;
"while the others spend their nights in dancing and are
"suffering with hunger, I live in plenty; I keep horses,
"cows, hogs and fowls; I am happy. See! my friend;
"the birds and fishes have brought me to reflection and
"taught me to work!"

CHAPTER XLIII.

ADVICE TO TRAVELLERS.

NOTHING is so common as the indiscriminate 114
charge laid upon travellers of relating strange and wonderful things for the mere purpose of exciting admiration and raising themselves into consequence. I believe for my part that this accusation is in general unjust as well as unfair, and that travellers seldom impose upon others except when they have been imposed upon themselves. The discredit which they have fallen into is more owing to their errors and mistakes than to wilful imposition and falsehood. It is therefore rendering them and the world

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and due allowance, of the hardships attendant on savage life. Therefore they are not only voluntarily, but cheerfully submitted to; and as women are not obliged to live with their husbands any longer than suits their pleasure or convenience, it cannot be supposed that they would submit to be loaded with unjust or unequal burdens.

Marriages among the Indians are not, as with us, contracted for life; it is understood on both sides that the parties are not to live together any longer than they shall be pleased with each other. The husband may put away his wife whenever he pleases, and the woman may in like manner abandon her husband. Therefore the connexion is not attended with any vows, promises or ceremonies of any kind. An Indian takes a wife as it were on trial, determined, however, in his own mind not to forsake her if she behaves well, and particularly if he has children by her. The woman, sensible of this, does on her part every thing in her power to please her husband, particularly if he is a good hunter or trapper, capable of maintaining her by his skill and industry, and protecting her by his strength and courage.

When a marriage takes place, the duties and labours incumbent on each party are well known to both. It is understood that the husband is to build a house for them to dwell in, to find the necessary implements of husbandry, as axes, hoes, &c. to provide a canoe, and also dishes, bowls, and other necessary vessels for house-keeping. The woman generally has a kettle or two, and some other articles of kitchen furniture, which she brings with her. The husband, as master of the family, considers himself bound to support it by his bodily exertions, as hunting, trapping, &c.; the woman, as his *help-mate*, takes upon herself the labours of the field, and is far from considering them as more important than those to which her husband is subjected, being well satisfied that with his gun and traps he can maintain a family in any place where game is to be found: nor do they think it any hardship imposed upon them; for they themselves say, that

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

while their field labour employs them at most six weeks in the year, that of the men continues the whole year round.

When a couple is newly married, the husband (without saying a single word upon the subject) takes considerable pains to please his wife, and by repeated proofs of his skill and abilities in the art of hunting, to make her sensible that she can be happy with him, and that she will never want while they live together. At break of day he will be off with his gun, and often by breakfast time return home with a deer, turkey, or some other game. He endeavours to make it appear that it is in his power to bring provisions home whenever he pleases, and his wife, proud of having such a good hunter for her husband, does her utmost to serve and make herself agreeable to him.

The work of the women is not hard or difficult. They are both able and willing to do it, and always perform it with cheerfulness. Mothers teach their daughters those duties which common sense would otherwise point out to them when grown up. Within doors, their labour is very trifling; there is seldom more than one pot or kettle to attend to. There is no scrubbing of the house, and but little to wash, and that not often. Their principal occupations are to cut and fetch in the fire wood, till the ground, sow and reap the grain, and pound the corn in mortars for their pottage, and to make bread which they bake in the ashes. When going on a journey, or to hunting camps with their husbands, if they have no horses, they carry a pack on their backs which often appears heavier than it really is; it generally consists of a blanket, a dressed deer skin for mocksons, a few articles of kitchen furniture, as a kettle, bowl or dish, with spoons and some bread, corn, salt, &c. for their nourishment. I have never known an Indian woman complain of the hardship of carrying this burden, which serves for their own comfort and support as well as of their husbands.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

The tilling of the ground at home, getting of the fire wood, and pounding of corn in mortars, is frequently done by female parties, much in the manner of those husking, quilting and other *frolics* (as they are called,) which are so common in some parts of the United States, particularly to the eastward. The labour is thus quickly and easily performed; when it is over, and sometimes in intervals, they sit down to enjoy themselves by feasting on some good victuals, prepared for them by the person or family for whom they work, and which the man has taken care to provide before hand from the woods; for this is considered a principal part of the business, as there are generally more or less of the females assembled who have not, perhaps for a long time, tasted a morsel of meat, being either widows, or orphans, or otherwise in straitened circumstances. Even the chat which passes during their joint labours is highly diverting to them, and so they seek to be employed in this way as long as they can, by going round to all those in the village who have ground to till.

When the harvest is in, which generally happens by the end of September, the women have little else to do than to prepare the daily victuals, and get fire wood, until the latter end of February or beginning of March, as the season is more or less backward, when they go to their sugar camps, where they extract sugar from the maple tree. The men having built or repaired their temporary cabin, and made all the troughs of various sizes, the women commence making sugar, while the men are looking out for meat, at this time generally fat bears, which are still in their winter quarters. When at home, they will occasionally assist their wives in gathering the sap, and watch the kettles in their absence, that the syrup may not boil over.

A man who wishes his wife to be with him while he is out hunting in the woods, needs only tell her, that on such a day they will go to such a place, where he will

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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462 224 hunt for a length of time, and she will be sure to have provisions and every thing else that is necessary in complete readiness, and well packed up to carry to the spot; for the man, as soon as he enters the woods, has to be looking out and about for game, and therefore cannot be encumbered with any burden; after wounding a deer, he may have to pursue it for several miles, often running it fairly down. The woman, therefore, takes charge 462 251 of the baggage, brings it to the place of encampment, and there, immediately enters on the duties of housekeeping, as if they were at home; she moreover takes pains to dry as much meat as she can, that none may be lost; she carefully puts the tallow up, assists in drying the skins, gathers as much wild hemp as possible for the 222 283 purpose of making strings, carrying bands, bags and other necessary articles, collects roots for dyeing; in short does every thing in her power to leave no care to her husband but the important one of providing meat for the family.

After all, the fatigue of the women is by no means to 461 be compared to that of the men. Their hard and diffi- 462 cult employments are periodical and of short duration, while their husband's labours are constant and severe in the extreme. Were a man to take upon himself a part of his wife's duty, in addition to his own, he must necessarily sink under the load, and of course his family must suffer with him. On his exertions as a hunter, their existence depends; in order to be able to follow that rough employment with success, he must keep his limbs as supple as he can, he must avoid hard labour as much as possible, that his joints may not become stiffened, and that he may preserve the necessary strength and agility of body to enable him to pursue the chase, and bear the unavoidable hardships attendant on it; for the fatigues of hunting wear out the body and constitution far more than manual labour. Neither creeks nor rivers, whether shallow or deep, frozen or free

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

from ice, must be an obstacle to the hunter, when in pursuit of a wounded deer, bear, or other animal, as is often the case. Nor has he then leisure to think on the state of his body, and to consider whether his blood is not too much heated to plunge without danger into the cold stream, since the game he is in pursuit of is running off from him with full speed. Many dangerous accidents often befal him, both as a hunter and a warrior, (for he is both) and are seldom unattended with painful consequences, such as rheumatism or consumption of the lungs, for which the sweat-house, on which they so much depend, and to which they often resort for relief, especially after a fatiguing hunt or warlike excursion, is not always a sure preservative or an effectual remedy.

The husband generally leaves the skins and peltry which he has procured by hunting to the care of his wife, who sells or barters them away to the best advantage for such necessaries as are wanted in the family; not forgetting to supply her husband with what he stands in need of, who, when he receives it from her hands never fails to return her thanks in the kindest manner. If debts had been previously contracted, either by the woman, or by her and her husband jointly, or if a horse should be wanted, as much is laid aside as will be sufficient to pay the debts or purchase the horse.

When a woman has got in her harvest of corn, it is considered as belonging to her husband, who, if he has suffering friends, may give them as much of it as he pleases, without consulting his wife, or being afraid of her being displeased; for she is in the firm belief that he is able to procure that article whenever it is wanted. The sugar which she makes out of the maple tree is also considered as belonging to her husband.

There is nothing in an Indian's house or family without its particular owner. Every individual knows what belongs to him, from the horse or cow down to the dog, cat, kitten and little chicken.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7

journeys in which corn was crushed into a meal, "or roasted in hot ashes, then crushed." To this maple sugar was added. This mixture could be stirred in water and boiled or could be eaten dry without cooking.[65] Adams, a Delaware and historian of his people, added that "they carried very simple food," parched corn pounded into a brown meal, sweetened with maple sugar, and mixed together with bear's lard.[66]

Water was the principal drink although various fruits and nuts were sometimes added. They "prepared a kind of liquor like milk by gathering a great number of hickory and black walnuts, dried and crushed them. Then they took out the kernels, pounded them as fine as flour, and mixed this with water so that it looked like milk and was almost as sweet."[67] Both Kinietz' and my informants (O.A., M.B.) held that their ancestors had regular meal times. Penn said that "they eat twice a day, Morning and Evening."[68] Men and women apparently ate together but children ate separately (O.A.). All of my informants stressed the fact that in the past an individual could eat anywhere in the village, and that everybody shared what food was available.

Food taboos. — It is unlikely that there were any general, culture-wide food taboos in early historic times. Certain foods may have been denied to an individual by his guardian spirit, but this is merely a supposition. Not even the animals symbolic of the phratries were taboo. Heckewelder, however, noted a taboo on the rabbit, identified with a culture-hero. He said that the Delawares, among other tribes, avoided the horse, dog, wildcat, ground hog, panther, fox, muskrat, and wolf;[69] De Laet, however, quoting Henry Hudson, described a "fat dog" which was butchered for a feast.[70] Rather than emphasize the few things that were not eaten by the Delawares, it would be more in keeping with the facts to state that the Delawares made relatively complete use of the edibles available to them, except rabbit and ground hog. Their tastes were catholic and were only slightly blunted by socioreligious proscriptions.

Delaware Economics

Although the methods by which and the persons by whom the need-serving goods were processed, distributed, and consumed are properly an aspect of social organization, it probably contributes more to an understanding of Delaware technology to discuss them under the heading of economics.

Division of Labor

The division of labor among the Delawares, as is true of cultures with analogous means of production, was predominantly sexual in

[65] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 22.
[66] Adams, 1905, p. 8.
[67] Kalm, 1937, I: 269.
[68] Penn, 1912, p. 233; Luckenbach, 1938, p. 599, agreed on this point.
[69] Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 251-52, 198; Zeisberger, 1910, pp. 132, 140.
[70] De Laet, 1909, p. 49.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7

character. Hunting was the primary occupation of men and gardening that of women. Although game did not form a preponderant part of the diet, it was extremely important in that wild animals provided clothing and other nonedible essentials.[91] The game which a man brought home was the property of his wife to do with as she saw fit; conversely, the woman's harvest of corn was "considered as belonging to the husband, who, if he has suffering friends, may give them as much of it as he pleases. . . ."[92] Men also built the dwellings, obtained or made the necessary axes, hoes, canoes, dishes, bowls, and other artifacts.[93] They were also supposed to keep in a constant state of readiness in case of attack, and they appear to have helped clear the land for gardens.[94] The women, in addition to planting, cultivating, harvesting, and storing the garden produce, bore the burden of all the household tasks. They cut and carried the firewood and made the carrying straps and bags, as well as the family clothing, and tanned the skins.[95] The women also carried the household goods when a family was on the trail.[96] De Vries said: ". . .the women are compelled to work like asses, and when they travel, to carry the baggage on their backs, together with their infants. . . ."[97] Mary Jemison said, however:

> Our labor was not severe; and that of one year was exactly similar, in almost every respect, to that of all others, without that endless variety [of white people]. Notwithstanding the Indian women have all the fuel and bread to procure, and the cooking to perform, their task is probably not harder than that of white women. . . .[98]

It should also be added that many of the tasks of the women were accomplished by a co-operative group of relatives, who lightened their labors with feasts and gaiety; the men, on the other hand, were frequently alone when hunting.[99] There were a few individuals who were part-time specialists; these were the wampum makers, other artisans, shamans, and sachems. All of these individuals took part in the basic subsistence activities of their sex.

Annual Round

Important to the understanding of the subsistence activities and the general economy of the Delawares is a discussion of the subsistence cycle or annual round. A. F. C. Wallace has recently investigated this phase of their culture and his conclusions correspond closely to mine, though based on slightly different evidence.[100] In the spring and summer

[91] Pastorius, 1912, p. 385; Van der Donck, 1909, p. 302; Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 155-57.

[92] Heckewelder, 1881, p. 158; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 16, agrees on this point.

[93] Van der Donck, 1909, p. 302; Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 155-57.

[94] Denton, 1845, p. 6; O. A., M. B.

[95] Van der Donck, 1909, p. 302; Brickell, 1842, p. 47; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 16; M. B.

[96] Heckewelder, 1881, p. 156; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 24.

[97] De Vries, 1909, p. 218.

[98] Jemison, 1918, pp. 46-47; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 156, echoed this point of view.

[99] Heckewelder, 1881, p. 156; M. B., J. T., O. A.

[100] Wallace, 1947, pp. 16-18.

3: Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7
Iroquois NM9

hundred pounds of sugar in a season and a quantity of molasses, besides.

Sugar boiling is chiefly the employment of women. Even widows are able to earn enough by it to secure clothing and whatever else they may need. While the women are thus engaged, the men hunt and supply meat. As the deer skins are of little value at that season of the year, they generally hunt bear, which they seek in the rocks, hollow trees or thickets in their winter quarters. Bears are at this time generally fat.

Dog-wood[124] is also found in these parts. The rind of the root is used in the apothecary shops in place of Jesuit-Bark.[125] This tree grows to be neither large nor high.

Red Cedars[126] are found along the Muskingum finer and larger than I have seen elsewhere in North America. They do not grow on the mountains as in Pensilvanien, where they are stunted and scrubby, but in the bottoms.

The spruce tree[127] is neither a fir nor a pine, according to my view, but something between the two. In this region the tree is found only occasionally along the creeks and rivers. In more northerly districts, however, there are great spruce forests and swamps.

Pitch-pine[128] is rarely found here and white pine[129] not at all; a hundred miles to the south one may see many specimens of either variety. Fir-trees[130] I have seen near the source of the Ohio and pines[131] not far from Bethlehem, across the Blue Mountains in the great swamp.

Vines are very numerous, especially in the bottoms. They climb up the trees and look like anchor strands, often being thicker than these. The grapes they bear have a sour taste. Those which grow on the highlands and only have short, tender shoots, being frequently disturbed in their growth by brush-fires, have the best grapes. These have a good taste. Experience has taught that good wine may be made of both kinds.

The elm tree,[132] already noticed above, is of no particular use, for the wood rots quickly, except that the Mingoes make bast canoes and kettles for sugar boiling of the bark, which is very tough.

Marriage arrangements were always simple, but it was definitely considered better form for the negotiations to take place between the two sets of parents rather than between the individuals concerned. In this type of negotiation, the man's mother took animal food which he had killed to the girl's mother; according to some sources, a return gift was made of corn food prepared by the girl (Harrington, 1908, p.215; Heckewelder, 1881, pp.161-72; Zeisberger, 1910, p.78). It was not unusual, however, for the agreement to take place directly between the boy and girl in which case they might or might not go through these formalities. Loskiel, who is the only author who mentions the subject of residence after marriage, says that the newly married couple often lived with friends for a short time until they built their own house (Loskiel, p.56).

The man was responsible for building the house and providing axes, hoes, canoes, dishes and household equipment although the girl might supply some things. The man was expected to support the family by hunting, trapping and fishing, and the game which he brought home was the property of his wife to use as she saw fit. She was equally responsible, however, for agricultural produce and cooking; and if she were remiss, might be reminded of her neglect by her husband's taking to the woods without telling her he planned to do so. She also carried packs in traveling, tanned skins and fetched wood (Penn, p.30; Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 155-160; G.Thomas, p.341).

There was apparently no strong pressure put upon the couple to remain together after they were married. Although later writers state that marriages were formerly more stable, they present no evidence to substantiate this. Polygyny was permitted but infrequent (Heckewelder, 1881, p.154; Harrington, 1913, p.215; Zeisberger, 1910, pp.78-9; Loskiel, p.57). After the death of a spouse, the widow or widower, but more particularly the former, was expected to remain single for a year, but it is clear that this was frequently not done (Brickell, p.49; Loskiel, p.121).

Social Life and Organization

Most of Delaware social behavior is a closed book to us as the early observers did not usually have long contacts with them in their villages. The early writers were aware, however, that the Indian expected to be fed when he visited them, and that they were always offered food when they visited him. Likewise they noted that gifts passed readily from hand to hand among the Indians although property rights were clearly understood (Lindstrom p.233; Danckaerts, pp.89 and 159; Penn, p.32).

The following games were probably played in this early period: footraces (Lindstrom, p.191); a gambling game in which flat bones,

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9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

885 individual prowess, it is doubtful if a definite age was observed before the introduction of the concept of a legal age by the whites.

Family Government

593 Questions dealing with the display of tenderness and affection between husband and wife were framed by Cass to be answered by observers outside the group under consideration (271, 285). The opinions of the Delaware themselves were, of course, in the affirmative for the existence and display of these emotions, but they agreed with the information of the writers of the earlier periods who were only observers.

462 In seeking information on the elements dealing with the occupations of the husband and wife, it was emphasized that we were concerned with earlier conditions as well as with present practices. Although the methods may have changed, the responsibilities of the husband have remained the same from the earliest times known. He is still the provider of meat, clothing, and other necessities whether as the direct or indirect result of hunting or other activity (272-74).

593 462 562 The wife was expected in the old days to obey her husband, make clothing and moccasins of material provided by her spouse, tend the garden or fields, cook meals, and provide fuel (275-80). These duties were reported for women throughout the first three periods. It is interesting to note that three of the modern informants, J. W., W. T., and E. R., denied the agricultural responsibilities of women. It is a tossup whether they were uninformed of conditions in the past or answered as they did because these are not the sole responsibility of the women now and they interpreted the past in terms of their present customary division of labor which is similar to that of the whites. This chivalrous attitude is maintained on the question of manual labor falling on the wife (281). On all these elements the information of W. L. reflected the earlier conditions.

[224] [484] According to Heckewelder, when hunting was of great importance, the husband could not be encumbered with any burden when moving camp but must of necessity leave all that to his wife and himself be on the lookout for game (282). In the

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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next period, however, Johnston and Chipps said that the men and women shared the labor of moving and pitching camp. In the fourth period W. L. was again the only one to place the responsibility on the women.

The husband did not strike his wife frequently, if at all, according to all the information gathered (283). Johnston and Chipps said that he might do so if she were ill-tempered or refractory (284). The modern informants denied this as a just cause, although E. R. said that it was up to the husband to punish his wife if she broke a rule.

Food, Mode of Living, etc.

Heckewelder said that the Delaware, Mahicans, and Shawnee were all very particular in their choice of meats and that nothing short of the most pressing hunger could induce them to eat of certain animals, such as the horse, dog, wildcat, panther, fox, muskrat, or wolf, all of which he had several times seen the Chippewa eat with a good appetite (288-91)." J. W. said that opossum, wolf, dog, woodchuck, snake, crow, hawk, owl, eagle, and, in fact, most fowls were not eaten. W. L. also said that opossum, muskrat, and several kinds of birds were not eaten. Apparently the symbols of the three tribal divisions, turtle, turkey and wolf, were not taboo for that reason, for only the last one was included on any list. The totems of the extinct subdivisions may have been taboo. This is true of the opossum which was most frequently mentioned as not being eaten and it was the name of one of the subdivisions. However, the Delaware regard the opossum as endowed with supernatural powers and in the nature of a trickster and have many stories that evince this attitude.

There seems to have been no taboos on vegetables eaten (292-98). Corn was the principal item cultivated. It was supplemented by the usual beans and squashes, and later vegetables introduced by the whites were also cultivated. Wild or ground potatoes and other less important wild products were gathered. The

"Heckewelder, *History, Manners, and Customs of the Indian Nations*, p. 196.

156 787 received a serpent or a buffalo, another the sun or the moon, another an owl or some other bird, another a fish, some even ridiculously insignificant creatures such as ants. These are considered their spirits or *Manittos*. If an Indian has no Manitto to be his friend he considers himself forsaken, has nothing upon which he may lean, has no hope of any assistance and is small in his own eyes. On the other hand those who have been thus favored possess a high 154 and proud spirit."[32] We shall have further occasion to remark how many institutions were mobilized to prevent such casual wounds to self-esteem. We shall also see how much aggression such blows to self-esteem could arouse. Heckewelder and [762] Zeisberger both mention that suicide was a common way of expressing the enormous but disorganized hostility aroused by slights such as marital infidelity or public shaming.[33]

Absence of Authoritarianism

861 Zeisberger and Heckewelder agreed that Delaware parents avoided corporal punishment, scolding, threatening, or otherwise disciplining children. Growing boys were left pretty much to their own devices. Little homilies on moral values were addressed to them and the child's pride was appealed to in efforts to induce approved social behavior.[34] The father spent 593 much of his time away from home in the employments of the chase (especially when the fur trade added to the importance of [462] hunting); the mother was responsible for the fundamental subsistence activities. In general the male was peripheral, the female central in cultural role.[35] Delaware women 562 were described as being given to petty [157] meanness, malicious gossip, and lying; but they were not "matriarchs" in the sense of being the recognized arbiters of the home or society. Their evidently enlarged spite

32. Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 132-133.
33. Heckewelder, 1819, pp. 258-260; Zeisberger, 1778, p. 83.
34. Heckewelder, 1819, pp. 113-117; Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 16, 81.
35. Heckewelder, 1819, pp. 154-162; Zeisberger, 1778, p. 13-14.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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[100] Wallace, 1947, pp. 16-18.

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463 about 1913. The Delaware women and a few men are yet skilled workers in beads, 531 both in sewed-on designs and in bead weaving. The women are expert in the art of working out intricate designs in ribbon applique on robes, leggings, breech cloths and moccasins. Some wood carving is also 322 done by the modern Delawares and a few 285 make splint baskets.

Designs and Symbolism

531 In the study of Delaware art motifs we find that they fall into two groups. In group A are the ancient earth symbols, floral and geometric (angular) patterns; in group B, the religious symbols of the Peyote Cult. This is a religious teaching and ceremony that arose in the tribe about 50 years ago. Animal and human figures rarely occur in Delaware art. In archeo- [172] logical finds, representations of the human face in stone frequently occur but those are said to have been the charms owned and worn by certain individuals who had dreamed of the mask spirit and had the right to use its likeness as representative of the great spiritual force or guardian spirit. [178?] If a person saw an animal during his dream quest he would have the right to use the likeness of that particular animal on his wearing apparel. [614] It is also permissible to have representations of clan animal totems on one's vest or tobacco pouch.

The earth symbols and the "trails" shown in plate 1 are said to be ancient, as well as figures A and B called "clasps" in plate 2. The earth symbols in plate 1 illustrate the [821] native Delaware belief that the earth rests on the back of a tortoise and that the sun in its daily round goes under the tortoise and comes up on the opposite side the next day. Figure C, plate 1, symbolizes the power of the Creator which is felt in the four corners of the earth. These symbols [171] occur in the ancient art designs of other Algonkian peoples in northeastern North America from Labrador to southern New England. Floral patterns for moccasin tops or vamps, breech cloths, robes and bags fall into this grouping (plates 3 and 4).

[P. 25, A]

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
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they now dwell while the winter lasts, and if the Christians then[4] had in mind to exterminate them, it could then be readily done; but that would be of no value or advantage to the Christians, for they are the slaves of the Christians which they themselves cannot know or observe. And the trade, traffic and commerce of the Christians would be of small value in that place, if the savages would not be [there]. The savages are ever willing and anxious to serve the Christians; [they] allow themselves to be commanded by the Christians, as if they were their subjects, but through good words; with dictation we get nowheres with them. If we should desire to prepare a feast, or if one otherwise may need [something] for the household, be it deer, turkeys, wild geese, wood-grouse, black-grouse, pigeons, etc., or whatever kind of game or fresh fish it may be, and one will command the savage to procure it, on that or that day for good pay, one may indeed be sure that he will get that which is desired, at the promised time. Thus in all other things which we may command, one may surely believe that it will be followed.

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don, 1788), 44-72; *Mss. 1412, yi*, Ridgway Library. Williams says: "Most commonly there houses are open, their doore is a hanging *Mat*, which being lift up, falls downe of itselfe; yet many of them get *English* boards and nailes, and make artificiall doores and bolts themselves, and others make slighter doores of *Burch* or *Chesinut* barke, which they make fast with a cord in the night time, or when they go out of town, and then the last (that makes fast) goes out at the Chimney, which is a large opening in the middle of their house, called: *Wunnauchicomock*, a chimney." *Key*, 51.

The long house with two fires was called *accquattow;* with three fires, *shicuhcuttow*, etc. The round house was called *putuckakaun*, *Key* 47.

[4] During the winter.

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

PAYMENT OF OFFICERS

All the officers of the meeting receive pay in wampum for their services, except, of course, the leader—the man who has caused the meeting to be held. The speaker receives a yard for every night of the meeting; the drummers get a yard between them each night; there are also the payments to the attendants, hunters, and others, already mentioned. The attendants have other sources of profit, too, for they serve meals three times a day in the Big House to the leader of the meeting and all his near relatives, also to the speaker and the drummers.

When they have finished feasting, the leader calls the attendants to come and get their dishes and pans. Each has a cup in which he brings coffee, and the leader puts twenty-five wampum beads in each cup for every meal. Moreover, when any one in the outside camps is hungry, he may go to an *a'ckas* and obtain a meal for twenty-five wampum beads. The attendants have a table

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

×796 To prepare for a Mask Ceremony the owner of the mask must arrange for the same by setting a certain day and announcing the time when such a dance is to be held. He must have the maize (*xɔskwi·'m*) and flour-corn (*pu'he·m*) [1] to make Indian bread and hominy for the feast after the dance.

A young active and experienced dancer is chosen to do the dancing with the *mɔs·i'ŋg* (mask) outfit. He performs his antics and dances alone. As to the wearer of the mask during the dance only those who have charge of the ceremony know [781] his identity. It is deliberately kept a secret from the younger people in order to impress them with awe for supernatural forces and to restrain them from unruliness or boisterousness.

Any clan chief or an old man accustomed to speaking may act, by invitation of the mask owner, as master of ceremony. He is generally a member of one of the two ceremonial groups other than that of the mask owner. He [465] receives one Indian "yard" of wampum beads for his services. The dance, which is usually held at night time, is begun about midnight, and as soon as the performances are over with they have the feast. First of all the master of ceremony announces the purpose of the gathering. The owner of the mask in the wind-up says, "We have now finished dancing with our grandfather, and shared with him in this hominy. So, should we have the good fortune to be living next year, we may have another dance. But now when we are through eating we may dance long as we please with all good intent and purpose providing we keep good order, which is very pleasing to the mask spirit as well as to the owner of the mask."

[535] The mask performance is followed by a night of social dancing as is usual with the Delaware feasting ceremonies. The masking clownish pantomime is brought to a conclusion about midnight by a more or less set speech by the master of ceremony and the feast of hominy.

×796 533 The musical accompaniment consists in the singing of the

the large Snapping Turtle rattle, the rough staff, the whinnying utterances, the offering of tobacco, the association with illness and so on. For further particulars reference should be made to the Big House Ceremony study at the pages cited.

[1] A variety of white maize with a long slender cob.

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

796 oval, seated upon a log between two assistant singers who
533 shook rattles.

The movements of this dance followed the procedure of the serious recitations in the Big House Ceremony. The owner or leader, as we understand the term, sang a stanza of her song, then stopped singing while the drummer and his assistants repeated the stanza as the leader danced on about the circle, stopping again when the musicians had finished their repetition. Whereupon she took up the second stanza and the same procedure was repeated as for the first stanza. Other women, we are told, formed a line of followers behind her, and there is no mention of men in the column. The dance was thus divided into stations, after the Big House recitation pattern. The movement was contraclockwise.

796 At the termination of the songs, which may be inferred to have taken an hour or so to repeat, an address of the sermon type was made by the chief of one of the other two groups (Wolf, Turkey or Tortoise) who had made the opening speech.
[465] For this address he received from the owner a compensation of an arm-length of wampum. At the conclusion of his speech he instructed the company to assemble at the feast after which they were told to proceed with social dances of an informal nature which they might enjoy until morning. The selection of the latter dances and amusements was left to the pleasure of the company.

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

764 k'wutohe''pi· pən·d'ha't·o"n puhe"xɔ'k·uŋg. ɔk we·'mi·
539 body will be put in into box. And all

me'hmi·'tciŋg ga'xta gi·''səm·a"n e·'li· al·a'p·at'
food must be cooked because [must] hurry

we'ndji· te'p·i· gi·cəna'k·ɔt' ne'n·i ɔ'lak'".
so that enough time ready made the hole [grave].

ɔk cəmu'tc' yu'ni· me'hmi·'tciŋg tc'pa"ta"'s·u
And also this food is separated

me''həmi·kəmɔs·i·'tci·k mi·tci·''ti·t' ɔk yu'ki·k
by those who wait [on the dead person] eat and these

e·'laŋgo"ma''ti·t' ɔk nahəli·'' ci·'kwi·ne''ti·t'. ɔk
his kindred and also the orphans [bereaved]." And

nahəli·' tə't·a awe·'n witci·mi·'tsu. me·'tci· ə'n·da
also any person may eat with [them]. Now when

i'ka pe"t·a's·i·k' yu'ni· kwut·ohe·'p·i· kətəma"'-
there they bring this here body to the graves

ksowa'kan·i·ke·'k ɔk yu'ni· ɔ'lak'" ki·'cən·a'k·wut'.
[group of pitiful bodies] and here hole [grave] made ready.

natc' pəndha't·o"n ne'kwut·ohe·'pi· natc' laha'p·a
Then they lower, put in the body then afterward

awe·'n ki·'ci·ma"n pəmat·o"'nhe"t'.
someone is selected speaker.

The Burial Ceremony and Sermon (by Wi·tapano'xwe)

The person chosen to perform the ceremony of address in the following account is an old person well versed in the rites. He is usually a family head in the same family and group of the deceased. It will be noted that he receives the ceremonial payment of the yard ("shoulder-length") of wampum. The rite described is understood to be of Munsee origin assimilated in ancient times to the Delaware rite.

[465]

Yu'kwe elaŋgu'ndieŋg" me·'tci· ki·cəna'k·wut'
"Here our kindred now is ready

yu'ni· k'təma"'ksowa'kan. ki·''cəna'k·wut' yu'kwe
this grave. Made ready here

we·'mi· la'tce"s·owa'k·ana ne'hel·ata'ŋgup' wa'k·a
all his belongings which belonged deceased

" This refers to the collateral relatives of the deceased and his children.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

VII

THIRTEENTH MORNING OF THE CEREMONY
FINAL DANCE AROUND THE CENTER POST

539X
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'Here now the time has come for all these our sisters to join and dance, and join in a single file outdoors.[1] And all the men and children besides, everybody may wear Delaware garb and go into the Big House. Yet whatever anyone wears it is the rule to go in. But women, from right here next the door, shall begin to form in single file. When they have formed a line then the assistant Concluder[2] should shake the Leading Tortoise-Rattles. Ten and two times he shall shake them and shall say when shaking them, 'kwi·ya+!' And all of the women from the leading one through to the end of the row shall answer, all of them, and say 'hu·+[3]!'

I am thankful, my kindred, that again I address you all as brothers, men, young men, our sisters and also all those our children. It is truly fine that we have good weather this morning, that we are so well blessed by him our elder brother, the day moon, when his coming illuminates all the earth. For now it is ten and two days since we have performed here while we were pleading earnestly with our father, the Great Spirit, as we all know. It is truly fine and I am glad when we are helping each other, and when this our prayer-worship is given such great consideration, and for the marvelousness of the service of those our Attendants now soon to be finished. And there is here for [465] each one, one shoulder-length of wampum that we pay them, although

[1] After the trying out dances of the minor participants on the twelfth evening the scene has closed for the night and the master of ceremonies is giving the opening address, with instructions for the procedure of the thirteenth morning. The final dance now to be ordered takes place around the center post of the Big House beneath the images of the Great Spirit before which a serious prayer-call is given. It bears the name of Təmas'hama, "conclusion."

[2] The master of ceremonies is so designated now.

[3] As the leader cries kwi.ya+ the first woman in the line answers with hu·+ followed by the next until all have been heard from consecutively as they "count off."

As the cry hu· hu· hu· resounds in turn down the line of women, they form inside the Big House in the manner indicated by the diagram (fig. 13) and proceed around the dance ring as shown by the double black lines, dancing to the points marked, and stopping. Then so on until they circle four times around the center posts. As they circle around the 'grandfather' they raise their heads to touch the images as on the previous occasions during the night dances. This time, however, some of them are carrying the prayer-sticks. Those having them touch the images with them; this being what [782] we might term a more intense form of prayer since the prayer sticks are employed. It might be noted that the six decorated prayer sticks symbolize the six ho·+ cries of the prayer-call, the six plain ones the six hü·+ cries, given each time they pray.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

The tilling of the ground at home, getting of the fire wood, and pounding of corn in mortars, is frequently done by female parties, much in the manner of those husking, quilting and other *frolics* (as they are called,) which are so common in some parts of the United States, particularly to the eastward. The labour is thus quickly and easily performed; when it is over, and sometimes in intervals, they sit down to enjoy themselves by feasting on some good victuals, prepared for them by the person or family for whom they work, and which the man has taken care to provide before hand from the woods; for this is considered a principal part of the business, as there are generally more or less of the females assembled who have not, perhaps for a long time, tasted a morsel of meat, being either widows, or orphans, or otherwise in straitened circumstances. Even the chat which passes during their joint labours is highly diverting to them, and so they seek to be employed in this way as long as they can, by going round to all those in the village who have ground to till.

When the harvest is in, which generally happens by the end of September, the women have little else to do than to prepare the daily victuals, and get fire wood, until the latter end of February or beginning of March, as the season is more or less backward, when they go to their sugar camps, where they extract sugar from the maple tree. The men having built or repaired their temporary cabin, and made all the troughs of various sizes, the women commence making sugar, while the men are looking out for meat, at this time generally fat bears, which are still in their winter quarters. When at home, they will occasionally assist their wives in gathering the sap, and watch the kettles in their absence, that the syrup may not boil over.

A man who wishes his wife to be with him while he is out hunting in the woods, needs only tell her, that on such a day they will go to such a place, where he will

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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728 If the supposed enemy is peaceably inclined, he will in such case send a deputation to the aggrieved nation, with a suitable apology. In general the chief sends word, that the act complained of was committed without his knowledge, by some of "his foolish young men;" that it was altogether unauthorised and unwarranted; that it was highly reprobated by himself and his council, and that he would be sorry that on that account a breach should be made between the two nations, but, on the contrary, wishes for peace; that he is willing to make reparation for the offence by condoling with the relations of the person slain and otherwise satisfying them. Such an offer is generally accepted, and in this manner all differences are adjusted between the parties, and they are friends again as they were before. But should the offending nation refuse to apologise and sue for peace, war is then immediately declared and is carried on with the greatest vigour.

CHAPTER XX.

MANNER OF SURPRISING THEIR ENEMIES.

726 COURAGE, art, and circumspection, are the essential and indispensable qualifications of an Indian warrior. When war is once begun, each one strives to excel in displaying them, by stealing upon his enemy unawares, and deceiving and surprising him in various ways. On drawing near to an enemy's country, they endeavour as much as possible to conceal their tracks;

[48]

|:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800) 1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

sometimes they scatter themselves, marching at proper distances from each other for a whole day and more, meeting, however, again at night, when they keep a watch; at other times they march in what is called *Indian file*, one man behind the other, treading carefully in each other's steps, so that their number may not be ascertained by the prints of their feet. The nearer they suppose themselves to be to the enemy, the more attentive they are to choosing hard, stony and rocky ground, on which human footsteps leave no impression; soft, marshy and grassy soils are particularly avoided, as in the former the prints of the feet would be easily discovered, and in the latter the appearance of the grass having been trodden upon might lead to detection; for if the grass or weeds are only bent, and have the least mark of having been walked upon, it will be almost certainly perceived, in which the sharpness and quickness of the Indians' sight is truly astonishing.

In some instances they deceive their enemies by imitating the cries or calls of some animal, such as the fawn, or turkey. They do this so admirably well, that they even draw the dam of the one and the mate of the other to the spot to which they want them to come. In this manner they often succeed in decoying the enemies to the place where they are lying in ambush, or get an opportunity of surrounding them. Such stratagems, however, cannot be resorted to in all seasons; with the turkey, it only answers in the spring, and with the fawn's dam until about midsummer. In the same manner, when scattered about in the woods, they easily find each other by imitating the song of some birds, such as the quail and the rook, and at evening and morning, and particularly in the night, the cry of the owl. By this means they all join each other, though not at the same time, as they are not, perhaps, all within hearing; but the cry of the owl is repeated from time to time until they are all assembled.

l:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

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266 ed a temporary relief, and that she might be able to support herself and her surviving children until a change in the weather should take place, so that they could be able to proceed on their journey; but the wolves getting the scent of the slaughtered child, became more furious than before, her danger every moment became more imminent. She now filled the air with her cries and supplications to the Great Spirit that he would look down with compassion on their awful condition, and save them by his almighty power.—But still the danger increased, the horrid food was almost exhausted, and no relief came. Already she contemplated sacrificing another child; she looked at each of them again and again with a mother's eye, now resolving on killing the one, then changing her mind, and endeavouring to determine on the destruction of the other; she hesitated, wept, despaired, and the children, well understanding what she meant, prayed that they might all die together. While in this situation, her hand already lifted to strike the fatal stroke, the yell of two approaching Indians strikes her ear, and the murderous weapon falls from her hand. The men with rackets to their feet now appear and the dreadful scene is at once closed. They had provisions with them. They made a pair of rackets for the woman to walk on, and brought her and her children along in safety to the Big Island, where my informants resided at the time. I cannot remember whether they told me that they had gone to that spot in consequence of a dream, or of some strong presentiment that they should find human creatures in distress; certain I am, however, that it was owing to one or other of these causes.

[103] The place where this awful event took place was since called *Enda Mohátink*, which means "where human flesh was eaten." This name has been very familiar to the Indians who resided in that part of the country.

156
184 There is a spot of land at the edge of the great Pine or Beech Swamp, precisely where it is crossed by the

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7

Such old men, accompanying a hunting party, get both meat and skins, for the good hunters will not let them return empty-handed. They have, in general, and the Unami in particular, the custom that when a huntsman has shot a deer, and another Indian joins him or only looks on at a distance, he immediately gives him the whole animal and goes in pursuit of another.[39]

The blowgun was in use among the Munsi by 1824, but was apparently present earlier; it was never of any great economic importance.[41] "Calls" were made to attract deer and turkeys. The deer call or "bleat" was made of cedar and was used primarily during the spring and early summer before the fawns had been weaned.[42] Harrington mentioned that "the deadfall and the 'twitchup' snare seem to have been the most popular varieties of traps."[43] The Delawares were also reported to be excellent stalkers of game and pursued wounded animals until their prey dropped from exhaustion.[44] If a hunter could not at first get within range of a deer he would chase it until he could, this procedure perhaps consuming an entire day.[45] One eighteenth-century author mentioned that deer were hunted by torchlight at night.[46]

Fishing.—Van der Donck said that Delawaran peoples "use all kinds of fish, which they commonly cook without removing the entrails, and snakes, frogs and the like."[47] Specifically, they caught and ate rock fish, shad, yellow perch, trout, eels, catfish, sunfish, sturgeon, and undoubtedly others, from both fresh and salt water. In 1756 two harbor seals were shot and eaten, but this was an unusual incident.[48] Tortoises were caught, and shellfish in large quantities must have been taken, if Skinner was correct in attributing shell mounds of the area to the Delawares.[49] Juet stated that the natives brought out quantities of oysters to trade to the crew of Hudson's Half Moon.[50]

Methods of fishing varied somewhat; Lindestrom described a method in which a stream was dammed when the water was high, so that fish were stranded behind the dam when the water was low. The fish were caught with bare hands or shot with the bow and arrow.[51] De Rasieres said that the Indians around Manhattan caught fish with "a drag-net they themselves knit very neatly, of the wild hemp, from which the women and men spin the thread."[52] Brinton mentioned fishhooks of bone and dried claws of birds, and Pastorius reported the use of hooks.[53] Harrington mentioned several methods of fishing. These may not be aboriginal since they do not appear elsewhere. He stated that fish were stupefied by large quantities of crushed green walnuts thrown into ponds. He also noted spearing and shooting of fish at night by torchlight.[54] Fish

[39] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 91.
[41] Harrington, 1913, p. 221; Kinietz, 1946, p. 63; Ketchum, 1865, II: 190 (1798).
[42] Foreman, 1937, p. 107; J. T., F. W.
[43] Harrington, 1913, p. 223.
[44] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 23.
[45] *Ibid.*, p. 23.
[46] Brickell, 1842, p. 47.
[47] Van der Donck, 1909, p. 363.
[48] Holm, 1834, p. 48; De Rasieres, 1909, p. 105; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 37.
[49] Holm, 1834, p. 48; Denton, 1845, p. 7; Skinner, 1909, pp. 5-17, 45-46; J. T.
[50] Juet, 1909, p. 20.
[51] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 219; Berlin, 1887, pp. 167-69.
[52] De Rasieren, 1909, p. 105.
[53] Brinton, 1885, p. 52; Pastorius, 1912, p. 434.
[54] Harrington, 1913, p. 222

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7
Eastern Woodland Indians NM14

E 484 On their journeys they are never in haste, for they are everywhere at home and whithersoever they wander they find sustenance in the forest. Therefore, if a white man travels with them it is wisest that he be content not to hasten but accommodate himself to their movements. In the morning they do not break camp early, not until they have eaten heartily, by which time the sun has usually been above the horizon two or three hours. Thereafter, they proceed very steadily until near sundown, when they go into camp. In rainy weather they peel E 343 bast from the trees and speedily build a hut, that is, a roof supported by four posts, under which they remain comfortably dry. This they do not only in summer but also in winter, at which time they know what trees to peel. In more northerly regions, as near Goschgosching[20] and the Mingoe country, where the snow is apt to be deep in winter, they go on snowshoes over the deepest snow. Here along the Muskingum, however, where the snow D is never deep, this is not necessary; hence, in this means of loco- 481 motion the Delawares are not as skilled as the Mingoes. These snowshoes are like a heavy barrel-hoop, curved and very narrow in front, pointed behind and broad in the middle. This hoop is mostly interlaced with deerskin, something like a coarse sieve, so that the snow may not gather on it, but fall through. A little to the front of the middle there is a wooden crosspiece and a small opening upon which the foot is placed and bound with leathern thongs in such a fashion that the snowshoes seem to be dragged along behind on the snow. As to D 484 provisions for the journey, they take corn crushed to a meal or 251 roasted in hot ashes, then crushed, with which they mix a little sugar; of this, in the heat of summer, a refreshing and at the same time, nourishing drink may be prepared, if a little is stirred in water. This mixture may also be boiled in water or eaten dry. These two kinds of meal are the usual provisions. Cornbread does not keep long, in the summertime, particularly, becoming unwholesome in three or four days. Meat they can procure anywhere in the forest, as game is always to be found. In the securing of it they lose little time, for when they contemplate pitching a camp, the Indians plunge into the woods and shoot a deer, a turkey-cock or something else.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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while their field labour employs them at most six weeks in the year, that of the men continues the whole year round.

When a couple is newly married, the husband (without saying a single word upon the subject), takes considerable pains to please his wife, and by repeated proofs of his skill and abilities in the art of hunting, to make her sensible that she can be happy with him, and that she will never want while they live together. At break of day he will be off with his gun, and often by breakfast time return home with a deer, turkey, or some other game. He endeavours to make it appear that it is in his power to bring provisions home whenever he pleases, and his wife, proud of having such a good hunter for her husband, does her utmost to serve and make herself agreeable to him.

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The work of the women is not hard or difficult. They are both able and willing to do it, and always perform it with cheerfulness. Mothers teach their daughters those duties which common sense would otherwise point out to them when grown up. Within doors, their labour is very trifling; there is seldom more than one pot or kettle to attend to. There is no scrubbing of the house, and but little to wash, and that not often. Their principal occupations are to cut and fetch in the fire wood, till the ground, sow and reap the grain, and pound the corn in mortars for their pottage, and to make bread which they bake in the ashes. When going on a journey, or to hunting camps with their husbands, if they have no horses, they carry a pack on their backs which often appears heavier than it really is; it generally consists of a blanket, a dressed deer skin for mocksons, a few articles of kitchen furniture, as a kettle, bowl or dish, with spoons and some bread, corn, salt, &c. for their nourishment. I have never known an Indian woman complain of the hardship of carrying this burden, which serves for their own comfort and support as well as of their husbands.

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[482]

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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larly of the old, who delight in such work, and indeed, in any work which shews that they are able to do their parts and be useful to society. It requires great patience, being the most tedious kind of work I have ever seen them perform, yet they do it in a most ingenious manner. The feathers, generally those of the turkey and goose, are so curiously arranged and interwoven together with thread or twine, which they prepare from the rind or bark of the wild hemp and nettle, that ingenuity and skill cannot be denied them. They shew the same talent and much forethought in making their *Happis*, the bands with which they carry their bags and other burdens; they make these very strong and lasting.

The present dress of the Indians is well known to consist in blankets, plain or ruffled shirts and leggings for the men, and petticoats for the women, made of cloth, generally red, blue, or black. The wealthy adorn themselves besides with ribands or gartering of various colours, beads, and silver broaches. These ornaments are arranged by the women, who, as well as the men, know how to dress themselves in style. Those of the men principally consist in the painting of themselves, their head and face principally, shaving or good clean garments, silver arm spangles and breast plates, and a belt or two of wampum hanging to their necks. The women, at the expense of their husbands or lovers, line their petticoat and blue or scarlet cloth blanket or covering with choice ribands of various colours, or with gartering, on which they fix a number of silver broaches or small round buckles. They adorn their leggings in the same manner; their mocksens, (properly *Maxen*, or according to the English pronunciation *Moxen*), are embroidered in the neatest manner, with coloured porcupine quills, and are besides, almost entirely covered with various trinkets; they have, moreover, a number of little bells and brass thimbles fixed round their ancles, which, when they walk, make a tinkling noise, which is heard

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800) 1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

CHAPTER XXVIII.

BODILY CONSTITUTION AND DISEASES.

147 THE Indians are in general a strong race of men.
●482 It is very common to see a hunter come in with a whole deer on his back, fastened with a *Happis*, a kind of band with which they carry loads; it rests against the breast, that which the women use rests against the forehead. In this manner they will carry a load which many a white man would not have strength enough to raise from the ground. An Indian, named Samuel, once took the flour which was ground out of a bushel of wheat upon his back at sun-rise within two miles from Nazareth, and arrived with it in the evening of the same day at his camp at Wyoming. When the Indians build houses, they carry large logs on their shoulders from the place where the tree is cut down to where they are building.

147 Nevertheless, when put to agricultural or other manual labour, the Indians do not appear so strong as the whites; at least, they cannot endure it so long. Many reasons may be given for this, besides their not being accustomed to that kind of work. It is probably in part
[261] to be ascribed to their want of substantial food, and their intemperate manner of living; eating, when they have it, to excess, and at other times being days and weeks in a state of want. Those who have been brought up to regular labour, like ourselves, become robust and strong and enjoy good health. Such was the case with the Christian Indians in the Moravian settlements.

So late as about the middle of the last century, the Indians were yet a hardy and healthy people, and many

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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living. The lid was then fastened on the coffin with three straps, and three handsome round poles, five or six feet long, were laid across it, near each other, and one in the middle, which were also fastened with straps cut up from a tanned elk hide; and a small bag of vermilion paint, with some flannel to lay it on, was then thrust into the coffin through the hole cut out at the head of it. This hole, the Indians say, is for the spirit of the deceased to go in and out at pleasure, until it has found the place of its future residence.

Every thing being in order, the bearers of the corpse were desired to take their places. Mr. Calhoon and myself were placed at the foremost pole, two women at the middle and two men at the pole in the rear. Several women from a house about thirty yards off, now started off, carrying large kettles, dishes, spoons, and dried elk meat in baskets, for the burial place, and the signal being given for us to move with the body, the women who acted as chief mourners made the air resound with their shrill cries. The order of the procession was as follows: first a leader or guide, from the spot where we were to the place of interment. Next followed the corpse, and close to it *Shingask*, the husband of the deceased. He was followed by the principal war chiefs and counsellors of the nation, after whom came men of all ranks and descriptions. Then followed the women and children, and lastly two stout men carrying loads of European manufactured goods upon their backs. The chief mourners on the women's side, not having joined in the ranks, took their own course to the right, at the distance of about fifteen or twenty yards from us, but always opposite to the corpse. As the corpse had to be carried by the strength of our arms to the distance of about two hundred yards, and hung low between the bearers, we had to rest several times by the way, and whenever we stopped, every body halted until we moved on again.

Being arrived at the grave, we were told to halt, then

3: Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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D 411

The Delaware Indians use no other than rifle-barrelled guns, having satisfied themselves that these are the best for shooting at long range, in which they are very skillful and shooting accurately. They have acquired considerable skill in making minor repairs when their weapons get out of order. Some have even learned to furnish them with stocks, neatly and well made. An Indian really intent on making something will not spare pains or time in accomplishing his purpose even when he has not seen the thing made and takes great pride in the work of his hands. Among nations living farther inland the rifle-barrelled guns are rare and muskets are more commonly found, often in very poor condition, except among the Shawanose [Shawanese] who know and value the rifle-barrelled gun. S [411]

D 586

It occurs to me to add that when a man and his wife have no children, they generally separate before long, each believing the other to be the guilty cause, and attributing it to the other. There are also women who never have children. Such a one goes from one man to another until some man who has children already takes her. There are men also who never have children. In both sexes, however, these cases are rare.

D 578

Cursing and swearing are never heard among the Indians; they have no words of this character in their language. If women or men would berate one another — rarely the case among men, except in case of the younger, more frequent among women — they direct words and speeches at one another which would not be considered terrible by other people but are very seriously taken by the Indians. If they would revile one another in extremest fashion, they use some obscene expressions.

D 854 [482]

Mothers carry the children on their backs under the blanket. They do this even when the children are five years old and over, for they love their children. In former days it was the custom to bind the child upon a board which was carried by means of a band fastened round the head in such a way that the child was suspended on the back in an upright position. This practice gets more and more out of fashion, for the reason that it has been the cause of miserable death of the children. It was customary that children thus fastened were placed against a bench or elsewhere,

escape. In the summer and on trips shelter was not considered necessary (Johnson, p. 281; Lindstrom, p. 211). Most villages also contained a "Big House" which served as a place for religious assemblies and council meetings, but both of these functions were sometimes performed outdoors or in the chief's house.

As aids to transportation the Delaware used the carrying strape, pack baskets (used by both men and women) and canoes. Their bark canoes were of birch or chestnut. They also used a dugout made by first burning a suitable log and then scraping the charred portions out with sharp stones and shells (Johnson, p. 280). Vessels capable of ocean travel were constructed by fastening two large dugout canoes together and using mats for sails.[7] In these, journeys were made as far as New England and Virginia (Johnson, p. 280; Lindstrom, p. 237).

Nineteenth century writers were of the opinion that the Lenape used large amounts of copper and perhaps even worked it themselves (Brinton, 1885, p. 52; Abbott, 1885, pp. 774-77). More recent evidence, however, indicates that copper was not abundantly used, the most common form in which it is found being tubular beads, and that it was received solely in trade (Skinner, 1909, p. 28).

Clothing

The clothing of the Indian men consisted in summer of a leather girdle from which hung a flap of leather.[8] At this time of year the Delaware frequently went without footwear (Pastorius, 1700, p. 384; 1698, p. 433; Danckaerts, pp. 169 and 280; Lindstrom, pp. 191-92 and 197). The women's dress consisted of a square piece of leather fringed at the bottom which was bound around the waist as a short skirt (Skinner, 1915, p. 5; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 29). In winter, both sexes added leather leggings, moccasins and robes of animal skins or turkey feathers to this costume. Apparently the skins of bear, deer and raccoon were most commonly used for clothing. All of the clothing was decorated with colored designs of dyed porcupine quills or wampum (Pastorius, 1698, p. 433; Johnson, p. 280; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 202; Skinner, 1915, pp. 3 and 5).

Both sexes decorated themselves with numerous ornaments, the women, however, outdoing the men. Wampum was hung in chains around the neck and from the ears, and woven in bands which were worn around the head, sometimes with a single feather set in them (Pastorius, 1698, p. 434; Lindstrom, p. 196). Around the neck were also worn necklaces of dyed deer hair and native copper, stone and shell pendants and breast plates (Abbott, 1875, p. 327; Heye, pp. 32-42). In addition, men were seldom without their pipe, tobacco pouch and bag of food also hung about the neck (Lindstrom, p. 197). For festive occasions the ornamentation was greatly increased and face paint of various designs added. Hair and skin shining with bear grease was

302 also considered a mark of beauty (Lindstrom, pp. 193, 194, and 196; Pastorius, 1698, p. 433).

The Delaware women had the distinctive custom of wearing their hair in a large bun at the back rather than in braids. Men plucked all body hair and that of the head except for one tuft which was allowed to grow long (Smith, p. 137; Harrington, 1913, p. 220; Pastorius, 1700, p. 384; Lindstrom, pp. 195 and 200). Men were
301 permitted to tattoo themselves as marks of distinction, the designs
304 suggesting the deed which they commemorated. The operation was performed by breaking the skin in the desired pattern with a flint knife or sharp fish tooth. When the blood had been drawn, a powder of burned poplar bark was laid in the wound. Apparently the tattoo lasted a lifetime (Heckewelder, 1881, p. 206).

291 Children were allowed to go about with little or no clothing until
302 eight or ten years of age, being protected from the sun by a liberal coating of bear grease (Johnson, p. 280; Pastorius, 1700, p. 384).

Family Organization and Customs

843 Starting at the beginning of life, we find that the birth process was accompanied by certain special customs. Penn says that "...when with Child, they [the women] know their Husbands no more, till delivered..." (Penn, p. 33). Harrington tells us that a prospective father who had bad luck at hunting attributed it to the spirit of his child playing about and scaring the game away. He would accordingly wear a miniature bow and arrow to keep the child's spirit amused while he hunted, or if this did not work he would try a small mortar and pestle assuming that the baby was a girl (1913, p. 212).

844 Birth itself occurred in the small hut which was also used during
[841] menstrual periods. The child was immediately immersed in water, then wrapped in a skin and bound to a cradle board. This was softened with
854 a moss covering and had curved side pieces. The child stayed in the cradleboard most of the time until it could walk (Pastorius, 1698,
482 p.434; Penn, pp.29-30; Lindstrom, p.201). Then, when it had to be carried, it was placed in a blanket and carried on the mother's back (Lindstrom, p.201).

861 Almost all of the writers were impressed with the quiet and respectful behavior of Delaware children. Only later writers, however, had much to say about the means used to educate them. These writers noted that children, especially the boys, seldom were punished (Brickell, p.47; Zeisberger, 1870, p.86). Brickell, who was brought up by a Delaware family, says that honesty, bravery and hospitality were cardinal virtues with them and that much of the training received was directed toward developing these virtues (pp.47-48). Also, of course, boys were taught woodcraft, fishing
[815] and hunting, and girls were taught the household duties including
[865] the care of the younger children.

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
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[142] By nature they indeed get whiskers, but they do
302 not wish to have any, because they think it is shameful, wherefore, when the first hairs appear they sit and always pull and pluck out the hair with the roots, so that it never gets to grow,[6] but they look smooth on the chin as the women. They paint themselves in all kinds of ways in the face with all kinds of colors, so that they look inexpressibly horrible, when they think themselves to be adorned in the best manner. In their ears they have brass and tin rings and small bunches of money hanging. On their heads they have sit-
301 ting long and large painted bird feathers. Around their necks they have strung much money, hanging down like a lot of chains on their breasts. And among these they have their *Pââhra* or idol hanging, concerning which more will be said hereafter, in the chapter about their faith and religion. On
162 their backs they have their *notasser*[7] or bags
301 hanging, very skillfully and neatly made, in which
41

[6] *När kuldkåren utkæprioka, sittia the alltydh [ooh] ryckia och plocka uth hårr[en] medh rötterne.* Cf. *Doc.*, I, 281.

[7] The bags were made of corn husks, hemp and bast, often beautifully decorated. Cf. De Vries, *N. Y. Col.*, 2, III, 95, 107 ff., 269. The Lenapé (and possibly general Algonkian) word for bag, in this case with Swedish plural ending *-er*. Lindeström often used Indian words with the Swedish plural ending. The early settlers of all nationalities adopted many words from the Indians, some of which have become part of the English, French, Spanish or Portuguese languages in America of today. The Dutch and Swedes likewise borrowed many such words, but these forms died out with the elimination of the Dutch and Swedish languages. Only in a small district in New Jersey has a Dutch Dialect survived to our day, and this is greatly mixed with Indian words. In Dutch documents the word occurs as "*denotas*, bags," *Doc.*, I, 284. De Vries calls them *notassen*. Cf. Brinton, *Dict.*, 81. For Indian Bags, see Hodge, *Handbook*, I, 125.

As to the decorations of the Indians Williams says: "They hang these strings of money about their necks and wrists; as also upon the necks and wrists of their wives and children." *Key*, 131.

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
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they have their things, such as food, money, to-
bacco, tobacco pipes, very artistically and well
made; also bows and quarrels[8] (like those of the
Poles) and helmets made of hard wooden pins and
strong wood, that no arrow can go through them.
Around their arms at the hands[9] they have brass
and tin rings and threaded money, hanging like
chains. In their hands they have tobacco pipes an
ell in length, which are screwed together with
leather, to lean on, and in these pipe-heads will go
a handful of tobacco.[10] Around their waists they
have tied a broad belt of money, strung in the form
of figures, from which their pieces of cloth hang,[11]

[8] *Bågar och skiäcktor (skäckta)*, scutcher, swingle.

[9] *Om armarne wced händerne;* that is the wrist.

[10] *En godh näfwe*, a good handful. "*Hurit Siscko Hopockan*, a beautiful clay pipe. The Barbarians make tobacco-pipes of red, yellow and blue clay, which is found there in the country of fine quality.

Hurit Assacun Hopockan, a beautiful stone pipe. For the Barbarians also make tobacco pipes of white, grey, green, brown, black and blue stones, which are found so soft (*blöta*), that they can be cut with a knife, and from this, pipes half an ell in length are made." Campanius, *Cate.*, 143.

Williams says: "Generally all the Men throughout the Countrey have a Tobacco-bag with a pipe in it, hanging at their back; sometimes they make such great pipes, both of wood and stone, that they are two foot long, with men or beasts carved, so big or massie, that a Man may be hurt mortally by one of them; but these commonly come from *Mauquauuogs*, or the men eaters, three or four hundred miles from us. They have an excellent Art to cast our Pewter and Brasse into very neate and artificiall Pipes. They take their *Wuttamauog* (that is, a weake Tobacco) which the Men plant themselves, very frequently; yet I never see any take so excessively, as I have seene Men in Europe; and yet excesse were more tolerable in them, because they want the refreshing of Beare and Wine, which God hath vouchsafed Europe." *Key*, 55. Cf. also Smith, p. 24; De Vries and other early Dutch writers, *N. Y. Col.*, 2, III, 23, etc.

[11] "*Machequoce*, a Girdle; which they make curiously of one, two, three, foure and five inches thicknesse and more, of this money which (sometimes to the value of ten pounds and more) they weare about their middle and as a scarfe about their shoulders and breasts." Williams, *Key*, 131.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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they consisted of; of what nation or tribe their captain was, &c.; all which, at a single glance, is perfectly well understood by them. In the same manner they describe a chase: all Indian nations can do this, although they have not all the same marks; yet I have seen the Delawares read with ease the drawings of the Chippeways, Mingoes, Shawanos, and Wyandots, on similar subjects.

While Indians are travelling to the place of their destination, whether it be on a journey to their distant hunting grounds or on a war excursion, some of the young men are sent out to hunt by the way, who, when they have killed a deer, bear, or other animal, bring it to the path, ready to be taken away by those who are coming along, (often with horses) to the place of encampment, when they all meet at night. Having hung up the meat by the side of the path, these young men make a kind of sun-dial, in order to inform those who are coming of the time of day it was at the time of their arrival and departure. A clear place in the path is sought for, and if not readily found, one is made by the side of it, and a circle or ring being drawn on the sand or earth, a stick of about two or three feet in length is fixed in the centre, with its upper end bent towards that spot in the horizon where the sun stood at the time of their arrival or departure. If both are to be noted down, two separate sticks are set; but generally one is sufficient, namely, for the time of departure.

Hunters have particular marks, which they make on the trees, where they strike off from the path to their hunting grounds or place of encampment, which is often at the distance of many miles; yet the women, who come from their towns to fetch meat from these camps, will as readily find them as if they were conducted to the spot.

I shall conclude this chapter with an anecdote, which will at once shew how expressive and energetic is this hieroglyphic writing of the Indians. A white man in the

l:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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593 578 repented, though neither speak to each other a single word on the subject of what has passed. And as his children, if he has any, will on his return hang about him and soothe him with their caresses, he is, on their account, ready to forgive, or at least to say nothing unpleasant to their mother. She has, however, received by this a solemn warning, and must take care how she behaves in future, lest the next time her husband should stay away altogether and take another wife. It is very probable, that if at this time they had had no children, he would have left her, but then he would have taken his property with him at the same time.

593 576 484 On the return of an Indian from a journey, or long absence, he will on entering the house, say, "I am returned!" to which his wife will reply, "I rejoice!" and having cast his eyes around, he will enquire, whether all the children are well, when being answered in the affirmative, he replies, "I am glad!" which for the present is all the conversation that passes between them; nor does he relate any thing at this present time that occurred on his journey, but holds himself in readiness to partake of the nourishment which his wife is preparing for him. After a while, when the men of the village have assembled at his house, his wife, with the rest, hears his story at full length.

584 *Marriages* are proposed and concluded in different ways. The parents on both sides, having observed an attachment between two young persons, negotiate for them. This generally commences from the house where the bridegroom lives, whose mother is the negotiatrix for him, and begins her duties by taking a good leg of venison, or bear's meat, or something else of the same kind, to the house where the bride dwells, not forgetting to mention, that her son has killed it: in return for this the mother of the bride, if she otherwise approves of the match, which she well understands by the presents to be intended, will prepare a good dish of victuals, the pro-

9 [Lenaelan. See cat. 116, p. 348. —Analyst]

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either pounded or mashed, is put in broad green corn blades, generally filled in with a ladle, well wrapped up, and baked in the ashes, like the other. They consider this as a very delicate morsel, but to me it is too sweet.

Their *Psindamócan* or *Tassmanáne*, as they call it, is the most nourishing and durable food made out of the Indian corn. The blue sweetish kind is the grain which they prefer for that purpose. They parch it in clean hot ashes, until it bursts, it is then sifted and cleaned, and pounded in a mortar into a kind of flour, and when they wish to make it very good, they mix some sugar with it. When wanted for use, they take about a table spoonful of this flour in their mouths, then stooping to the river or brook, drink water to it. If, however, they have a cup or other small vessel at hand, they put the flour in it and mix it with water, in the proportion of one table spoonful to a pint. At their camps they will put a small quantity in a kettle with water and let it boil down, and they will have a thick pottage. With this food, the traveller and warrior will set out on long journeys and expeditions, and as a little of it will serve them for a day, they have not a heavy load of provisions to carry. Persons who are unacquainted with this diet ought to be careful not to take too much at a time, and not to suffer themselves to be tempted too far by its flavour; more than one or two spoonfuls at most at any one time or at one meal is dangerous; for it is apt to swell in the stomach or bowels, as when heated over a fire.

Their meat they either boil, roast, or broil. Their roasting is done by running a wooden spit through the meat, sharpened at each end, which they place near the fire, and occasionally turn. They broil on clean coals, drawn off from the fire for that purpose. They often laugh at the white hunters, for baking their bread in dirty ashes, and being alike careless of cleanliness when they broil their meat. They are fond of dried venison, pounded in a mortar and dipped in bear's oil. The Delawares, Mohicans, and Shawanos are very particular in their

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when they find a white man inclined to listen to their tales of wonder, or credulous enough to believe their superstitious notions, *there are* always some among them ready to entertain him with tales of that description, as it gives them an opportunity of diverting themselves in their leisure hours, by relating such fabulous stories, while they laugh at the same time at their being able to deceive a people who think themselves so superior to them in wisdom and knowledge. They are fond of trying white men who come among them, in order to see whether they can act upon them in this way with success. Travellers who cannot speak their language, and are not acquainted with their character, manners and usages, should be more particularly careful not to ask them questions that touch in any manner upon their superstitious notions, or, as they are often considered even by themselves "fabulous amusements." Nor should a stranger ever display an anxiety to witness scenes of this kind, but rather appear indifferent about them. In this manner he cannot be misled by interested persons or those who have formed a malicious design to deceive him. Whenever such a disposition appears (and it is not difficult to be discovered) questions of this kind should be reserved for another time, and asked in a proper manner before other persons, or of those who would be candid and perhaps let the enquirer into the secret.

I have been led to consider Carver, who otherwise is deserving of credit for the greatest part of what he has written on the character of the Indians, to have been imposed upon in the story which he relates of having learned by means of a conjurer (the chief priest of the Killistenoes, as he calls him) who pretended to have had a conversation with the great Spirit, the precise time when a canoe should come, and certain traders who had been long expected should arrive.* Had Carver resided a longer time among the Indians, so as to have acquired a

* Carver's Travels, Introduction, p. 72. Boston Edit, 1797.

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more intimate acquaintance with their customs,* he would have known that they have one in particular (which I understand is universal among all the tribes), which would have easily explained to him what he thought so mysterious. Whenever they go out on a journey, whether far or near, and even sometimes when they go out on hunting parties, they always fix a day, on which they either will return, or their friends at home shall hear from them. They are so particular and punctual in "making their word true," as they call it, that when they find that at the rate they are travelling, they would probably be at home a day or so sooner than the time appointed, they will rather lay by for that time than that their word should not be precisely made good. I have known instances when they might have arrived in very good time the day preceding that which they had appointed, but they rather chose to encamp for the night, though but a few miles distant from their home. They urge a variety of reasons for this conduct. In the first place, they are anxious not to occasion disappointment in any case when they can avoid it. They consider punctuality as an essential virtue, because, say they, much often depends upon it, particularly when they are engaged in wars. Besides, when the day of their return is certainly known, every thing is prepared for their reception, and the family are ready with the best that they can provide to set before them on their arrival. If, however, unforeseen circumstances should prevent them from coming all on the same day, one, at least, or more of them, will be sure to arrive, from whom those at home will learn all that they wish to know.

On all important occasions, in which a tribe or body of Indians are concerned or interested, whether they are looking out for the return of an embassy sent to a dis-

* Carver was only 14 months in the Indian country, during which time he says he travelled near 4000 miles and visited twelve different nations of Indians.

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tant nation, for messengers with an answer on some matter of consequence, for runners despatched by their spies who are watching an enemy's motions, or for traders who at stated periods every year are sure to meet them at certain places, they always take proper and efficacious measures to prevent being surprised.

The case which appears to have excited so much astonishment in Captain Carver, I believe to have been simply this. The Indians had at the season that he speaks of failed to arrive at the trading place at the time appointed. The Indians who had assembled there for the purpose of meeting them could not be ignorant of the cause of their delay, as they had, no doubt, learned it by the return of some of their runners sent out for that purpose, who, as is their custom, probably informed them that another set of runners would be in the next day with further advices. The priest must have known all this, and the precise spot where those fresh runners were to encamp the night preceding their arrival, which is always well known and understood by means of the regular chain of communication that is kept up. These runners say to each other, pointing to the heavens: "When the sun stands there, I will be here or at such "a particular spot," which they clearly designate. The information thus given is sure to reach in time the chiefs of the nation.

The manner in which this priest spoke to Captain Carver of his pretended intercourse with the great Spirit, clearly shews the deception that he was practising upon him. "The great Spirit," said he, "has not indeed "told me when the persons we expect will be here, but "to-morrow, soon after the sun has reached his highest "point in the heavens, a canoe will arrive, and the peo- "ple in that will inform us when the traders will come." The question, then, which he had put to the great Spirit, "when the traders would come?" was not answered, and there was no need of asking the Mannitto when the *ca-*

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nocs should come, for that must have been known already, and that the people in it would tell them where the traders were, and when they might be expected to arrive. 114 484

As in or about the year 1774, I was travelling with some Christian Indians, two Indians of the same nation, but strangers to us, fell in with us just as we were going to encamp, and joined us for the night. One of them was an aged grave looking man, whom I was pleased to see in our company, and I flattered myself with obtaining some information from him, as, according to the Indian custom, age always takes the lead in conversation. I soon, however, perceived, to my great mortification, that he dwelt on subjects which I had neither a taste for nor an ear to hear; for his topic was the supernatural performances of Indians through the agency of an unseen Mannitto. I did not pay any attention to what he said, nor did any of our Christian Indians shew marks of admiration or astonishment at the stories he was telling, but sat in silence smoking their pipes. The speaker having, after an hour's time, finished his relations, the oldest Indian in my company addressed himself to me and said: "Now you have heard what some Indians can "perform. Have you ever heard the like before, and do "you believe all you have heard?" "There are," I answered, "many things that I have heard of the Indians, "and which I believe to be true, and such things I like to "hear; but there are also things which they relate "which I do not believe, and therefore do not wish to "know them. While our friend here was just now telling us stories of this kind, which I cannot believe, I "was wishing all the time that he might soon have finished and tell us something better." The Indian, taking the hint in good part, asked me then what things I should like to hear? On which I made him this reply: "As you are a man already in years, and much older "than myself, you must have seen many things that I 124

2: Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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much trouble, but make dishes of the bark or bast of a tree, which serve quite as well.... Besides the smaller troughs and dishes, there must be several of larger size in which the sap is collected.... The sap, which is of a brownish color and becomes darker the longer it boils, is boiled until it gets to be of the consistency of molasses, is then poured off and kept. When a sufficient quantity of this consistency has been secured, it is boiled over a slow fire until it becomes sugar.... As the Indians lack the dishes and do not care to take the time to prepare it in this way, they usually form it into cakes, put it in a kettle or dish, or in default of these, on a stone and let it cool, when it becomes hard and may be easily preserved in baskets.[79]

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Preservation of food. — Corn, beans, and other agricultural produce were stored in mat-lined pits.[80] De Rasieres said that the dried grain was placed in "baskets woven of rushes or wild hemp" and then buried.[81] The grain was buried after the harvest or stored in the house for use after the return from the winter hunt.[82] Pit storage seems to have disappeared after the seventeenth century, at least there is no mention of it in the later documents. Modern information casts more specific light on methods of food preservation, which are probably similar to those of early historic times. Informants (O.A., M.B., J.T.) claimed that virtually every type of food was preserved by drying; ears of corn were braided in strings and stored in a specially made crude shelter or in the house. Green corn was boiled, cut off the cob, dried, and stored away. Corn was not ordinarily ground until ready for use, but sometimes dry corn was grated, the meal cooked in ovens, then crumbled and further dried in the sun, and stored. Pumpkins were sliced in rings as thick as a finger, sticks were run through these rings, and they were then dried in the sun. After drying they were stored away in sacks for winter use. Beans were boiled for a few minutes and then dried. Fruits and berries were sun dried, the smaller berries being mashed before drying.

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Meat was preserved by jerking, that is, the flesh was cut into thin strips and dried. Venison, which formed the bulk of jerked meat, was dried by placing it over poles in the hot sun or over a fire. When ready to eat, the jerked meat was boiled with corn or vegetables or was simply pounded and eaten raw. Bear lard was preserved by rendering the lard and pouring it into the stomach or intestine of a bear. This lard was used in cooking, as was the oil from hickory nuts. The latter was produced by roasting the nuts, pounding the kernels to a fine consistency, boiling them in water, then skimming off the oil which came to the surface.[83]

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Holm was the only one who mentioned a type of ration for journeys in the seventeenth century. He said: ". . .they take with them a kind of bread, made of Indian corn and tobacco juice, which is very good to allay hunger and quench thirst...."[84] Zeisberger mentioned a ration for

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[79] Zeisberger, 1910, pp. 48-50.
[80] De Vries, 1909, pp. 219-20; Lindestrom, 1925, p. 253; Jemison, 1918, p. 52.
[81] De Rasieres, 1909, p. 108.
[82] Johnson, 1917, p. 379; Harrington, 1913, p. 218.
[83] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 46.
[84] Holm, 1834, p. 121.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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journeys in which corn was crushed into a meal, "or roasted in hot ashes, then crushed." To this maple sugar was added. This mixture could be stirred in water and boiled or could be eaten dry without cooking.[85] Adams, a Delaware and historian of his people, added that "they carried very simple food," parched corn pounded into a brown meal, sweetened with maple sugar, and mixed together with bear's lard.[86]

Water was the principal drink although various fruits and nuts were sometimes added. They "prepared a kind of liquor like milk by gathering a great number of hickory and black walnuts, dried and crushed them. Then they took out the kernels, pounded them as fine as flour, and mixed this with water so that it looked like milk and was almost as sweet."[87] Both Kinietz' and my informants (O.A., M.B.) held that their ancestors had regular meal times. Penn said that "they eat twice a day, Morning and Evening."[88] Men and women apparently ate together but children ate separately (O.A.). All of my informants stressed the fact that in the past an individual could eat anywhere in the village, and that everybody shared what food was available.

Food taboos. — It is unlikely that there were any general, culture-wide food taboos in early historic times. Certain foods may have been denied to an individual by his guardian spirit, but this is merely a supposition. Not even the animals symbolic of the phratries were taboo. Heckewelder, however, noted a taboo on the rabbit, identified with a culture-hero. He said that the Delawares, among other tribes, avoided the horse, dog, wildcat, ground hog, panther, fox, muskrat, and wolf;[89] De Laet, however, quoting Henry Hudson, described a "fat dog" which was butchered for a feast.[90] Rather than emphasize the few things that were not eaten by the Delawares, it would be more in keeping with the facts to state that the Delawares made relatively complete use of the edibles available to them, except rabbit and ground hog. Their tastes were catholic and were only slightly blunted by socioreligious proscriptions.

Delaware Economics

Although the methods by which and the persons by whom the need-serving goods were processed, distributed, and consumed are properly an aspect of social organization, it probably contributes more to an understanding of Delaware technology to discuss them under the heading of economics.

Division of Labor

The division of labor among the Delawares, as is true of cultures with analogous means of production, was predominantly sexual in

[85] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 22.
[86] Adams, 1905, p. 8.
[87] Kalm, 1937, I: 269.
[88] Penn, 1912, p. 233; Luckenbach, 1938, p. 599, agreed on this point.
[89] Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 251-52, 196; Zeisberger, 1910, pp. 132, 140.
[90] De Laet, 1909, p. 49.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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On their journeys they are never in haste, for they are everywhere at home and whithersoever they wander they find sustenance in the forest. Therefore, if a white man travels with them it is wisest that he be content not to hasten but accommodate himself to their movements. In the morning they do not break camp early, not until they have eaten heartily, by which time the sun has usually been above the horizon two or three hours. Thereafter, they proceed very steadily until near sundown, when they go into camp. In rainy weather they peel bast from the trees and speedily build a hut, that is, a roof supported by four posts, under which they remain comfortably dry. This they do not only in summer but also in winter, at which time they know what trees to peel. In more northerly regions, as near Goschgoschink[25] and the Mingoe country, where the snow is apt to be deep in winter, they go on snowshoes over the deepest snow. Here along the Muskingum, however, where the snow is never deep, this is not necessary; hence, in this means of locomotion the Delawares are not as skilled as the Mingoes. These snowshoes are like a heavy barrel-hoop, curved and very narrow in front, pointed behind and broad in the middle. This hoop is mostly interlaced with deerskin, something like a coarse sieve, so that the snow may not gather on it, but fall through. A little to the front of the middle there is a wooden crosspiece and a small opening upon which the foot is placed and bound with leathern thongs in such a fashion that the snowshoes seem to be dragged along behind on the snow. As to provisions for the journey, they take corn crushed to a meal of roasted in hot ashes, then crushed, with which they mix a little sugar; of this, in the heat of summer, a refreshing and at the same time, nourishing drink may be prepared, if a little is stirred in water. This mixture may also be boiled in water or eaten dry. These two kinds of meal are the usual provisions. Cornbread does not keep long, in the summertime, particularly, becoming unwholesome in three or four days. Meat they can procure anywhere in the forest, as game is always to be found. In the securing of it they lose little time, for when they contemplate pitching a camp, the Indians plunge into the woods and shoot a deer, a turkey-cock or something else.

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3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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were generally careful to keep burning. On journeys they were accustomed to carry fire with them from one lodging-place to another, for which purpose they used a certain kind of fungus,[40] that grows upon trees. With such a glowing piece of fungus they could travel from morning to evening. This custom has to the present day not ceased among the Indians, nor has the method of making fire described above, some still employing it on special occasions and in connection with their sacrifices, in order to remind themselves of former customs and usages. Firewood they did not split in former days nor could they have done so with their hatchets of stone. They burned it into pieces of such length that could be carried home. They built a fire against the trunks of standing trees and kept it burning until they fell, which method still obtains among them, especially the older ones, for whom it is difficult to fell trees and split wood and who, perhaps, do not even own a hatchet. These may not burn a piece of split wood during a whole winter, but provide fuel for themselves in the manner described, which is quite easy and convenient for them.

Canows made of wood as well as bast, they also had in earlier days, fashioning the former out of a whole tree trunk, which they burned out and only used their hatchets to chop off glowing coals, lest they should burn in deeper in one place than another or even burn a hole through.

Their dwellings were huts of bark, which they lined with rushes in order to keep out the cold, roofed they were with bark, even as is the case now, though sometimes rushes or long, dry reed-grass served the purpose.

Underground dwellings there were, also, of which here and there traces may be found, particularly along the Muskingum, in which region one may yet see many places, where embankments, still to be seen, were thrown up around a whole town.[41] Here and there, furthermore, near the sites of such towns there are mounds, not natural, but made by the hand of man, for in those days the natives carried on great wars with one another, Indians being formerly, according to their own testimony, far more numerous than at the present time. At the top of these mounds there was a hollow place, to which the Indians brought

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7
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amusements. They may devote days in succession to it, always gambling on the throwing. Among the Mingoes I have observed that two towns brought together goods, blankets, strowds, shirts, linen and played for them. In this case the game lasted eight days. The dice are placed in a dish, lifted up and thrown forcibly on the ground. The people of the two towns met daily during the period named and every inhabitant of each town threw the dice once. This done they parted for the day and each party separately offered a sacrifice in the evening. In connection with the sacrifice they had their special ceremonies, consisting in a man going several times 'round a fire, throwing tobacco into it and singing a song. Afterwards the whole company danced. This continued for eight days. When the winners bore away the spoil in triumph.

The boys exercise by shooting at a mark with bow and arrow. They may throw something into the air and shoot at it, the one hitting the object being regarded as a good marksman. As soon as they are able to run about they learn to use the bow and arrow. When they grow older they shoot pigeons, squirrels, birds and even raccoon with their bows and arrows.

Two comrades who have been reared together or have become attached to one another will be very close and constant companions. If one goes on a journey or to hunt the other will, if possible, accompany him. It seems almost impossible for either of them to live without the other, and for one to give up his companion, as may be necessary when one becomes a Christian, is very hard. Often such friends will make a covenant with one another to remain together and share alike possessions and knowledge.[209] If they go to war together and one perishes the other will fight desperately to avenge him, accounting his own life as nothing.

In traveling in companies they are very companionable and follow some recognized leader. The younger element, on such journeys, engages in the hunt and if deer or bear is shot, the carcass is brought to camp and laid at the fire of the one who is held to be leader. He divides the meat among all, share and share alike. No complaint is ever heard that one has received more than another. If the chiefs have a journey to make, they

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

484 usually take some of the younger men along, who supply the larder during the journey by engaging in the chase. A journey is rarely hurried for usually it makes little difference whether they arrive at their destination a day late or not, and they are everywhere at home in the woods. They rarely leave camp early in the morning, wishing always to have a good meal before starting and sometimes they delay to mend their shoes. This inconveniences Europeans, who may be obliged to use the Indians as guides very much, especially when they are anxious to reach a certain place at a certain time. It is best policy, however, to accommodate oneself to the Indians, for admonition or remonstrance easily offends them and makes them act in a very contrary manner.

577 Indians dislike having their evil conduct or acts uncovered and held up to them. They are able, however, in subtle fashion so to touch upon such subjects that the parties concerned will understand. This method they prefer, not wishing to offer an open affront. It has happened that one openly accused of an evil deed, murder or the like, has, in desperation, ended his life. They sometimes reveal secret things by means of dreams they pretend to have had when they do not wish to show from what source they have their information. Their desires and inclinations, likewise, they will reveal through pretended dreams, when they are ashamed to make these known directly; often they achieve their purposes in this manner. Chiefs occasionally receive a secret message which must be made known. They will say that at night, while sitting by the fire, some one rose out of the earth, handed over a string or belt of wampum and, whispering the message in their ears, disappeared again in the earth. In this fashion a message may go a hundred miles or more under the earth, coming to the surface where it was intended that it should, often at the fire of a chief of another nation. This happens when war is to be made but kept secret for the time being, the message, therefore, being very difficult to understand for any but the chief.

574 They are desirous of retaining the favor and friendship of other nations. When they receive visitors, therefore, the latter are shown all honor and entertained in the best possible way, in

7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

MISCELLANEOUS RITES

The Scratching Rite for Warriors

In the nature of an ordeal by which the man of strength showed his courage when preparing to go to war or to enter one of the physical contests, we learn that he scratched himself on the body. In the same operation he purified himself. Tradition is vague on the details, but in this rite we meet with one that is of apparently southern origin in view of its almost universal observance among the Indians of the southeastern or Gulf area. Our information does not permit of much discussion of the spiritual or physical qualities of this heroic practice, therefore it will have to stand simply as an occurrence to be noted in the study of distribution of the scratching rite as one of therapeusis and purification. It is called *le'həli·k'ci·'k·an*, "scratching."

The rite is mentioned by Lindeström as practiced medicinally by the Delawares in the middle of the seventeenth century for the purpose of relieving pain and fatigue after a strenuous journey, and also as a means of preventing them before one.[1] A piece of flint was the scarifying agent. *Wi·tapano'xwe* had heard that a fish bone had also been used, but there were no particulars given as to how the instrument was constructed.[2]

In 1756 John McCullough was held captive by the Delawares and adopted by them. During his captivity he observed many customs of importance. Among them he writes of being subjected to a punishment intended for mischievous boys in which the miscreant was scratched on the thighs and legs with the bill of a gar-fish wrapped in a thin rag so that the teeth projected through. Sometimes, he added, if punishment were merited a second or third time, the corrector would score the boys from the top of the shoulder down to the wrists and again from each shoulder to the hip, forming a

[1] Lindeström, *op. cit.*, 244. (Ed. A. Johnson, Philadelphia, 1925.)
[2] Bone scarifiers are known to the Cherokee and Catawba of the Carolinas.

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
NM7 Delaware NM7
Iroquois NM9

to the bundles and told them to run home again, where they had come from, and relate to their countrymen, how well they had been treated and entertained among the Black Minquas. They also sent good guides with them, whom the boys followed with a great noise,[14] shot at them with their quarrels until the one fell here and the other there. Such a miserable departure and end these poor people had, from which we can observe the awful cruelty of the Minquas. These Minquas are of two kinds, Black and White Minquas.[15]

Besides I further want to relate about the bloodletting of the savages and their wonderful medicines, which I have seen at least a hundred times among these savages. When the savage undertake to march a long journey, the first day he has marched, in the evening, when he strikes camp, he makes up a fire, takes a piece of flint as long as a finger which he has prepared and fitted for this purpose, sharp as a razor, with this he cuts himself all over his body into the deepest flesh, on his arms, thighs and legs, the depth of a finger, according to the depth of the flesh, deeper or less, standing then before the fire to shake off the blood, which runs off him, as if one had butchered an ox. When he now has allowed as much blood to run off as he thinks proper, then he takes a kind of ointment, which he smears over his body, wherever he has cut himself. Before morning, it is healed and run together, and blue streaks remain after it just as when one burns oneself with

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[14] *Poickarne medh stoort anskry efterfölgde.*
[15] An atrocity story Lindeström had heard from the English.

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
NM7 Delaware NM7

powder,[16] wherefore the savages appear entirely striped and streaky[17] and especially the Minquas. This is now [something about] the blood letting and cutting of the savages, from which one can observe that they are patient and not tender-skinned. When now the savage has thus removed some blood, he may march and run as fast and as far as he wants to, he will not tire. This is a brief description of the wonderful medicines, blood letting, cruelty and patience of the Indians, because we must avoid details.

[16] *När en brünner sigh medh kruth.*

[17] *Renötte*, mod. Swed. *randig* (cf. ränna), striped or streaky. Lindeström's description is exaggerated. Cf. Heckewelder, *Indian Nations*, 225–6.

[p. 246 is blank]

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9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

885 individual prowess, it is doubtful if a definite age was observed before the introduction of the concept of a legal age by the whites.

Family Government

593 Questions dealing with the display of tenderness and affection between husband and wife were framed by Cass to be answered by observers outside the group under consideration (271, 285). The opinions of the Delaware themselves were, of course, in the affirmative for the existence and display of these emotions, but they agreed with the information of the writers of the earlier periods who were only observers.

462 In seeking information on the elements dealing with the occupations of the husband and wife, it was emphasized that we were concerned with earlier conditions as well as with present practices. Although the methods may have changed, the responsibilities of the husband have remained the same from the earliest times known. He is still the provider of meat, clothing, and other necessities whether as the direct or indirect result of hunting or other activity (272-74).

593 462 562 The wife was expected in the old days to obey her husband, make clothing and moccasins of material provided by her spouse, tend the garden or fields, cook meals, and provide fuel (275-80). These duties were reported for women throughout the first three periods. It is interesting to note that three of the modern informants, J. W., W. T., and E. R., denied the agricultural responsibilities of women. It is a tossup whether they were uninformed of conditions in the past or answered as they did because these are not the sole responsibility of the women now and they interpreted the past in terms of their present customary division of labor which is similar to that of the whites. This chivalrous attitude is maintained on the question of manual labor falling on the wife (281). On all these elements the information of W. L. reflected the earlier conditions.

[224] [484] According to Heckewelder, when hunting was of great importance, the husband could not be encumbered with any burden when moving camp but must of necessity leave all that to his wife and himself be on the lookout for game (282). In the

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

Their belts of wampum are of different dimensions, both as to the length and breadth. White and black wampum are the kinds they use; the former denoting that which is *good*, as peace, friendship, good will &c., the latter the reverse; yet occasionally the black also is made use of on peace errands, when the white cannot be procured; but previous to its being produced for such purpose, it must be daubed all over with chalk, white clay, or any thing which changes the colour from black to white. The pipe of peace, being either made of a black or red stone, must also be whitened before it is produced and smoked out of on such occasions.

Roads from one friendly nation to another, are generally marked on the belt, by one or two rows of white wampum interwoven in the black, and running through the middle, and from end to end. It means that they are on good terms, and keep up a friendly intercourse with each other.

A black belt with the mark of a hatchet made on it with red paint, is a war belt, which when sent to a nation together with a twist or roll of tobacco, is an invitation to join in a war. If the nation so invited smoke of this tobacco and say it smokes well, they have given their consent, and are from that moment allies. If however they decline smoking, all further persuasion would be of no effect; yet it once happened, that war messengers endeavoured to persuade and compel a nation to accept the belt, by laying it on the shoulders or thigh of the chief, who, however, after shaking it off without touching it with his hands, afterwards, with a stick, threw it after them, as if he threw a snake or toad out of his way.

Although at their councils they do not seat themselves after the manner of the white people, yet the attitude they place themselves in is not chargeable to them as a want of respect. Faithful to the trust committed to them, they are careless of ceremonies, from which the

[erratum. See cat. 116, p. 348. -Analyst]

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

in our first chapter, he found the MĪsi'ng$^{w^t}$ and Big House in use, as among the Unami today, as early as May, 1745, while traveling among the Delawares living at that time on Susquehanna river.

MĪsi'ng$^{w^t}$ DANCE

Besides the part taken by the MĪsi'ng$^{w^t}$ in the Annual Ceremony, he has certain rites peculiar to himself which were held every spring. As the Indians put it:

"When spring comes, the Delawares are glad, and they are thankful that their helper, the MĪsi'ng$^{w^t}$, is still among them. For this reason they give a feast and dance to make him happy too."

Notification.—So at the time of the full moon (about May), the keeper of the mask gives another Indian a yard of wampum to ride around to all the Delaware houses, wearing the mask and bearskin costume (pl. II) to let the people know that the time for the MĪsi'ng$^{w^t}$ dance (*MĪsingki'nīkā*) is at hand. The MĪsi'ng$^{w^t}$ rides horseback, and another man, also mounted, follows him to see that

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291 who speak our language and have the man-
[191] ners and address of gentlemen. Some of the
old men and some of the young men had on
colored calico frock coats of the most gaudy
[302] colors. Many had vermilion on their faces,
thus giving them a low appearance, and I
saw a few girls with spots of it in their
[301] cheeks. One man I saw with a silver orna-
ment in his nose, which covered part of his
mouth. Many of the men wore leggings with
a wide side projection, ornamented, and
the breech cloth, over which they wore a
vest or shirt, and perhaps one of the frock
coats of calico above named, with head
bands of bead work over the shoulder and
meeting in a large bead work pocket on the
right hand side. As a body I should think
the men inferior to the women.

454 The Delawares have a million and up-
648 wards in the national treasury at five per
cent. interest. Their regular annuity is
[657] $50,000. The present is a part of two pay-
ments, I understand, and is larger than
usual. There were several stores full of
443 goods, and a great many stands out in the
open air with the protection of canvas. The
492 great show of all was in saddles and bridles,
of which I presume I saw of saddles alone
[435] 150; the price ranges from $15 to 50 dol-
lars, the ordinary being $22 to $25. They
are the Mexican saddle, made at Westport,
Mo., and the kind usually used in Kansas
and this part of the west. It has a high pom-
mel, wooden stirrups usually, which are
easier than metal for long journeys, and a
well stuffed and quilted seat, with a high
rear plate. They are far superior to our
eastern saddle for riding.

439 The assortment of goods was creditable
to the good sense of the Delawares, as the
supply was adapted to the demand. Grains
of all kinds, tin wares of all kinds and at
reasonable prices, in fact they could not

2;Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7

stamp ornamentation of basketry in historic times, possibly a diffusion from the Europeans.[180]

Boats.—Canoes were of two types, a solid dugout canoe and one of birch or other bark. The dugouts were made of tulip poplar, cedar, sycamore, and probably other suitable woods, which were hollowed out by fire.[181] When they wished to venture out to sea or into rough water, two canoes were lashed together. Sails on these vessels were reported, but seem to be post-European.[182] Zeisberger described the manufacture of the eighteenth-century bark canoe, which probably represented the earlier technique:

> These canows are fashioned of one piece of bast, the outer side of which is turned inward, both ends sharply pointed and securely sewn with bast, the inside being stretched out by a ribbing of bent wooden rods, which keeps the canow in its proper form. These canows are so light upon the water that they easily glide away from under the feet of one unaccustomed to them when attempting to stand. ... To make one they choose a tree according to the size of canow desired and peel the bark off carefully so that there may be no rent. If a canow gets out of repair or is punctured...the latter know how to repair it by securing a patch of bast over any opening. Besides, there is a kind of elm-wood bast which they crush or pound fine and which is of a sticky consistency, serving them in place of tar, to keep their canows water-tight so that they do not leak.[183]

These canoes were made of elm, black oak, and hickory bark.[184] Harrington said that for temporary use "six or more logs lashed together in the form of a raft with bark withes carried people and baggage across waters or down streams as required."[185]

Wampum.—The subject of wampum comes up in several different contexts, since its uses ranged all the way from individual ornamentation to negotiatory belts in peace and war. I shall merely examine its form and manufacture since its sociopolitical implications have been discussed fully by Speck and Snyderman.[186] Virtually all the early documents mentioned the possession and use of wampum (often called zeewan or sewan) by the Delawares. Lindestrom, for example, said they had "oblong stones, with holes drilled through them, and threaded on strings. . .one kind [is] black-blue, the other kind white.... In size they are about the length of a wheat kernel and somewhat thicker."[187] He added that it was made by specialists, but says no more on the subject.[188] Fortunately, however, Burggraf has reconstructed the manufacture of wampum from knowledge gained through the material found in Indian workshops on Long Island. The white wampum was made solely from "the central stock of both *F. carica* and *F. canaliculatas*".[189]

[180]Speck, 1947, pp. 17-19.
[181]Holm, 1834, p. 130; De Laet, 1909, pp. 38, 57; Van der Donck, 1909, p. 301; Mahr, 1954, pp. 382-83.
[182]Lindestrom, 1925, p. 237.
[183]Zeisberger, 1910, p. 23.
[184]Zeisberger, 1776, p. 33; Brinton, 1890, p. 185; Harrington, 1913, p. 223; Mahr, 1954, p. 382.
[185]Harrington, 1913, p. 223.
[186]Speck, 1919; Snyderman, 1955.
[187]Lindestrom, 1925, p. 229.
[188]*Ibid.*, p. 230.
[189]Burggraf, 1938, p. 54.

3;Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

Middle West of pre-Revolutionary and Revolutionary days are written with the care and scholarly accuracy of this *Life of Zeisberger*, as we shall call it in our numerous references. It is a book of very great merit.

26. Canoes were often buried in the sand to preserve them through the winter.

27. Heckewelder records that he has seen boys of ten and twelve whose limbs were so contracted by colds or "fits of sickness" that they were useless. *History*, 217. By all accounts pneumonia and consumption were exceedingly common among the Indians; cf. McClure, *Diary*, 67.

28. Heckewelder calls these bands *Happis;* by them, he asserts, Indians will carry a load "which many a white man would not have strength enough to raise from the ground"—*History*, 214.

29. Probably boils; possibly syphilitic sores.

30. It is of passing interest to note some of the remedies used by the Indians as given by the late Dr. Zina Pitcher, U. S. A., in Schoolcraft *History*, Pt. IV, pp. 502, *seq.*:

Disease.	Herb.	Remarks.
Fever	Eupatorium, cambium of horse chestnut, butternut, etc.	Carthartics.
Pleurisy	*Asclepias decumbens, Anthemis cotula and Polygonum prescoris.*	
Consumption	Poltices of mucilinge of the *Ulmus americanus, etc.*	Consumption was treated as an ulcer and little understood.
Asthma	Saururus, benzoin, sassafras and *Istodes foetida.*	Palliative remedies.
Dyspepsia	Cambium of the *Desculus glabra, inglans,* etc.	Little known save among tribes somewhat civilized.
Liver complaint and gravel	Arbutus-uva-ursi, spice-wood, gooseberry root, etc.	
Dysentery and Diarrhea	Blackberry, *Geranium maculatum, Spirea tomentosa, Quercus alba,* etc.	
Dropsy	Prickly ash (*Zanthoxylum americanum*) wild gooseberry (*Ribes trifolium*).	
Amenorrhoea	Sassafras, spice-wood, worm-wood.	

escape. In the summer and on trips shelter was not considered necessary (Johnson, p. 281; Lindstrom, p. 211). Most villages also contained a "Big House" which served as a place for religious assemblies and council meetings, but both of these functions were sometimes performed outdoors or in the chief's house.

As aids to transportation the Delaware used the carrying straps, pack baskets (used by both men and women) and canoes. Their bark canoes were of birch or chestnut. They also used a dugout made by first burning a suitable log and then scraping the charred portions out with sharp stones and shells (Johnson, p. 280). Vessels capable of ocean travel were constructed by fastening two large dugout canoes together and using mats for sails.[7] In these, journeys were made as far as New England and Virginia (Johnson, p. 280; Lindstrom, p. 237).

Nineteenth century writers were of the opinion that the Lenape used large amounts of copper and perhaps even worked it themselves (Brinton, 1885, p. 52; Abbott, 1885, pp. 774-77). More recent evidence, however, indicates that copper was not abundantly used, the most common form in which it is found being tubular beads, and that it was received solely in trade (Skinner, 1909, p. 28).

Clothing

The clothing of the Indian men consisted in summer of a leather girdle from which hung a flap of leather.[8] At this time of year the Delaware frequently went without footwear (Pastorius, 1700, p. 384; 1698, p. 433; Danckaerts, pp. 169 and 280; Lindstrom, pp. 191-92 and 197). The women's dress consisted of a square piece of leather fringed at the bottom which was bound around the waist as a short skirt (Skinner, 1915, p. 5; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 29). In winter, both sexes added leather leggings, moccasins and robes of animal skins or turkey feathers to this costume. Apparently the skins of bear, deer and raccoon were most commonly used for clothing. All of the clothing was decorated with colored designs of dyed porcupine quills or wampum (Pastorius, 1698, p. 433; Johnson, p. 280; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 202; Skinner, 1915, pp. 3 and 5).

Both sexes decorated themselves with numerous ornaments, the women, however, outdoing the men. Wampum was hung in chains around the neck and from the ears, and woven in bands which were worn around the head, sometimes with a single feather set in them (Pastorius, 1698, p. 434; Lindstrom, p. 196). Around the neck were also worn necklaces of dyed deer hair and native copper, stone and shell pendants and breast plates (Abbott, 1875, p. 327; Heye, pp. 32-42). In addition, men were seldom without their pipe, tobacco pouch and bag of food also hung about the neck (Lindstrom, p. 197). For festive occasions the ornamentation was greatly increased and face paint of various designs added. Hair and skin shining with bear grease was

FOOTNOTES

000 1. The reports of Butler and Heye are based on an identification of bones found in old feast pits.

2. According to Waugh's report on Iroquois foods, the Onondaga had names for starchy, flint, sweet, starchy-sweet and pop corn, five of the seven generally recognized varieties of Zea mays (Waugh, pp. 74-77).

[241] 3. To these Brinton adds the sweet potato, but no early sources confirm him in this opinion (1885, p. 48).

4. Delaware sources do not indicate which types of beans were grown aboriginally, but Waugh in his report on the Iroquois states that they knew over sixty varieties. The natives described them according to use, i.e. bread or soup beans (Waugh, pp. 104-107).

5. The identifications are made by Kalm himself.

[171] 6. Brinton specifically denies that the Delaware had this type of house, but it is described in Lindstrom as translated by Johnson (p. 281). According to Skinner, Dankers and Sluyter described this longhouse for the Canarsie, a Mohegan group living also in New Jersey (1909, p. 47). In Geographia Americanae, Lindstrom says: "In the Fall every sachem has built a house in which he and his subjects can live." (p. 221). As can be seen the problem is closely related to that of whether more than one conjugal family ever resided together. Support for the belief that they did comes from Beatty who visited a Delaware town in Ohio and noted that several families sometimes lived in one house. (p. 37).

[501] 7. There is no evidence to indicate whether or not sails were used in pre-contact times.

[286] 8. Several early writers noted cloth garments worn by the Indians, but Harrington has said of the Canadian reservation Indians in 1908: "The nearest approach to the weaving of aboriginal fabrics is seen in the pack strap...They were made of fibres of Indian hemp, the milkweed or the inner bark of the slippery elm, boiled soft and rolled or twisted into cord with the hand on the bare thigh. The cords were then tightly woven into a strap two or three inches wide and a little more than two feet long..." No mention is made of any kind of weaving apparatus. It seems most likely that even though cloth is mentioned by some of the earliest writers, it is a borrowed trait although pack straps may have been aboriginal manufactures.

9. Ruth Benedict says that there generally is a correlation between painful inducement of visions and receiving the vision because of being pitied by the spirits (pp. 27-28).

8:Linestrom T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
NM7 Delaware NM7

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25. "LATER IN THE YEAR, WHEN THE GRASS HAS BEEN BURNT OFF THE LAND . . . THEY SHOOT THE ANIMALS WHEREVER THEY CAN FIND THEM IN THE WOODS." SEE P. 215. THE METHOD OF DISGUISE PICTURED ABOVE WAS CLEVERLY EMPLOYED BY THE INDIANS IN A VARIETY OF FORMS.

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26. FISHING. SEE PP. 219–20. "THEY USE NO OTHER VESSELS . . . THAN CANOES." THEY ALSO MASON FOR THEMSELVES A LITTLE FIREPLACE." (NOTICE THE SMOKE BETWEEN THE TWO SITTING FIGURES.) SEE P. 238.

[FACING p. 219]

8:Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
NM7 Delaware NM7

CHAPTER XXIII.

Concerning the Navigation and Vessels of the American Savage People.

In this connection [it can be said] that they used no other vessels in the river than canoes.[1] [These] are such as our punts in Sweden,[1] large and small.[2] But when they want [to go] a distance over the sea, as for instance to Virginia or New Holland, then they fasten two punts together broadwise[3] with timbers over them, right strongly put together, the deck made completely tight and side boards of planks; sails of rugs and frieze joined together;[4] ropes and tackle made of bast

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[1] *Ökestockar*, wooden canoes, not unlike those of the Indians, were used in Scandinavia in olden times. The Indian canoe in the East was made of "one log" or of bark. The log canoes, often made of a species of poplar, were sometimes very large (see note 2, below). De Vries had a canoe which could carry 225 bushels of maize. Cf. *Doc.*, I, 276; De Vries, Van der Donck; *N. Y. Col.*, 2, II, 269; III, 26–7, 94–5, etc. Cf. Brinton, *Dict.*, 20

[2] "*Mishoon*, an Indian Boat, or Canow made of a Pine or Oake, or Chestnut-tree: I have seene a Native goe into the woods with his hatchet carrying onely a Basket of Corne with him, and stones to strike fire when he had felled his tree (being a Chesnut) he made him a little House or shed of the bark of it, he puts fire and followes the burning of it with fire, in the midst of many places: his corne he boyles and hath the Brook by him, and sometimes angles for a little fish: but so hee continues burning and hewing untill he hath within ten or twelve dayes (lying there at his worke alone) finished, and (getting hands), launched his Boate; with which afterwards hee ventures out to fish in the Ocean."

Mishoonemese, A little Canow.

"Some of them will not well carry above three or foure: but some of them twenty, thirty, forty men." Williams, *Key* 98.

[3] *På bredden.*

[4] "Their owne reason hath taught them to pull off a Coat or two and set it up on a small pole, with which they will saile before a wind ten, or twenty mile, &c." Williams, *Key*, 99.

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
NM7 Delaware NM7

and slender spruce roots; [and they] also mason for themselves a little fireplace on deck, where they can thus make a fire, when necessary. These miserable vessels look like large sloops[5] in the sea, and thus they scrape themselves along with these [ships] the best they can. Compasses or other instruments of navigation they have no knowledge of how to use, to direct their course. But they find their way through experience, which is very risky and perilous. Although their journey over the sea cannot be very long, it may nevertheless be subjected to many misfortunes and accidents, with such miserable vessels.

[5] *Skutor*, gabbards, sloops, flatboats.

8:Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
NM7 Delaware NM7

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NM7 Delaware NM7

and slender spruce roots; [and they] also mason for themselves a little fireplace on deck, where they can thus make a fire, when necessary. These miserable vessels look like large sloops[a] in the sea, and thus they scrape themselves along with these [ships] the best they can. Compasses or other instruments of navigation they have no knowledge of how to use, to direct their course. But they find their way through experience, which is very risky and perilous. Although their journey over the sea cannot be very long, it may nevertheless be subjected to many misfortunes and accidents, with such miserable vessels.

[a] *Skutor*, gabbards, sloops, flatboats.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

The hunter prefers going out with his gun on an empty stomach; he says, that hunger stimulates him to exertion by reminding him continually of his wants, whereas a full stomach makes a hunter easy, careless and lazy, over thinking of his home and losing his time to no purpose. With all their industry, nevertheless, and notwithstanding this strong stimulant, many a day passes over their heads that they have not met with any kind of game, nor consequently tasted a morsel of victuals; still they go on with their chase, in hopes of being able to carry some provisions home, and do not give up the pursuit until it is so dark that they can see no longer.

The morning and evening, they say, are the precious hours for the hunter. They lose nothing by sleeping in the middle of the day, that is to say, between ten o'clock in the morning and four in the afternoon, except in dark, cloudy and rainy weather, when the whole day is nearly equally good for hunting. Therefore the hunter, who happens to have no meat in the house, will be off and in the woods before day-light, and strive to be in again for breakfast with a deer, turkey, goose, bear, or racoon, or some other game then in season. Meanwhile, his wife has pounded her corn, now boiling on the fire, and baked her bread, which gives them a good breakfast. If, however, the husband is not returned by ten o'clock in the forenoon, the family take their meal by themselves, and his share is put aside for him when he comes home.

The Indians have a number of manners of preparing their corn. They make an excellent pottage of it, by boiling it with fresh or dried meat (the latter pounded), dried pumpkins, dry beans, and chesnuts. They sometimes sweeten it with sugar or molasses from the sugar-maple tree. Another very good dish is prepared by boiling with their corn or maize, the washed kernels of the shell-bark or hickory-nut. They pound the nuts in a block or mortar, pouring a little warm water on them, and gradually a little more as they become dry,

3;Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

136 down to consume the nuts. Where there is food and mast they are found. It is as if they knew that in this or that region it would be good for them to live. In the fall, when the Indians hunt the deer, they take no notice of the bears; otherwise they would spoil their fall hunting. They do, however, notice their tracks and whither they lead. At the end of December the bears, having fattened, seek their winter quarters, which they prepare in the trunks of hollow trees or in caves or the thickest part of the forest, where many old trees lie piled up. They leave their winter quarters in early spring, if they have young, of which there are generally two, not until May. During this period they are said to eat nothing, but to live on their own fat. When the deer hunt of the fall, at which season skins are
136 best, is over, the Indians immediately prepare for the bear hunt.
224 They are remarkably expert in finding out the haunts of these animals. If the bears are in hollow trees, it is frequently necessary to cut down the tree, as the bear will not leave his retreat otherwise. In case the bear comes out when they hammer on the tree and make a noise, they stand prepared with their guns to kill him as soon as most of his bulk is emerged. Their skins
[513] are no great object for trade, hence the Indians prefer to use them for their sleeping places, for which the long hair makes them peculiarly useful. There is likewise a kind of bear, much larger than the common bear, with much hair on the legs, but little on the bodies, which appear quite smooth.[149] The Indians call it the king of bears, for they have found by experience that many bears will willingly follow it. While all the bears are carnivorous, and, therefore, flesh of game kept by the Indians hanging on trees forms for them a welcome repast, or they are fond of feeding on swine they catch in the forest, this kind of bear is particularly voracious. Many instances are known where they have seized upon even defenseless Indian women and children. In more northerly regions, as, e. g., in the country of the Mingoes, these are more frequently found and they have killed many Indians.

136 Elk are in my estimation most like the European stag,[150] and I have often thought that they must be the same species and that what is here called the stag is the European fallow deer,

15:Morgan E-5 (1859)1959
NM7 Delaware NM7

[p209 (A)]
[pp 205-208 not processed]

000 81. In *Systems* (p. 289) Morgan acknowledges the assistance of William Adams, "a young Delaware, educated at Delaware Mission in Kansas," in obtaining the kinship system of the Delawares.

121 82. Morgan was much interested in the method of bestowing names upon individuals in Indian society. Upon his return from this trip he read a paper, "Indian Mode of Bestowing Names," at the 13th meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science in Springfield, Massachusetts, in August; it was published in the *Proceedings*, pp. 340–43. It seems probable that he suspected that he might find here a distinctive characteristic of Indian culture—as he apparently regarded the custom of sleeping nude and wearing the breechcloth, frequently mentioned in *Systems*—that could be used for purposes of historical reconstruction.

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000 83. Charles Johnny Cake (or Journeycake, as he signed his name, as a representative of the Delawares, to agreements with the United States in 1854) was a chief and prominent leader of the Delawares in Kansas. He was baptized in 1833, and later became "the

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7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

THE CORN HARVEST CEREMONY

xaskwi·'mi· la"keyɔ'k·an, "CORN CEREMONY"

The Delawares celebrated the conclusion of the corn or maize bearing season with a festival of thanksgiving in which acknowledgement was made to mother Corn for the blessings of abundance, and an appeal made for the continuation of health, a form of blessing never forgotten for a moment by Delaware supplicants. The ceremony has analogies among all the eastern tribes, the underlying elements of worship being much the same all over the area of the maize complex. The Delaware festival is not preserved for us in rich detail unfortunately. The following notes on its procedures and the religious sentiments involved seem to be all that we have on record. Wi·tapano'xwe expresses himself in the text to the full extent of his knowledge on this important celebration. 796x

While the speech-making and feasting seem to follow the usual Delaware type of feasting rite, a particular feature appears in the manner in which the Corn anniversary is announced among the people a week or so before it takes place. This feature amounts to a formalistic procedure. In this performance two messengers dressed in suits of corn-husk clothing and wearing masks with corn husk "hair" ride through the Delaware settlements as a signal that the ceremony will soon occur. But they enact a strange symbol. Carrying a small quantity of excrement in a side pouch they smear the substance upon the persons of those they encounter en route who do not offer them at once a gift no matter how trifling. We shall hear of the strange practice in the texts to follow. The purpose of this punishment for disregard of the obligation toward the messengers seems to lie in the motive of enforcing obedience and even fear in case of refusal to comply with the exacting demands of tradition in regard to religious duties among the Delawares. This note of fidelity to ancient customs is dominant in the minds of the conserva- 796x 514●

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

tives, and the founders of these rites, whoever they were, seem to have made suitable provision against public indifference. In the words of the informant, no one is apt to disregard the call to obey religious custom in view of the consequences. And there may have been some idea of making an offering to mother Corn as well in this rite. Its origin dates from the first conception of the corn ceremony as the text relates.[1] The individuals whose duty it is to enact this part are hence called "excrement daubers," and their identity is, as might naturally be expected, kept in the dark. The rite itself is called *we'mui·ha'lɔwe's* "excrement daubing."

Of the masks used in this rite we have mention of several specimens obtained from *Ni·ka'ni·paxoxwe*, "Leading walker" (Joe Washington) of the same band in Oklahoma (Fig. 1, *A* and *B*).[2] They represent the features of masks requisitioned in the rites of the Corn Harvest Ceremony as celebrated by the Wolf division. According to the memory of Joe Washington, from whom they were obtained, the mask (*A*) with black on the forehead and chin part and the middle face-portion of red, was employed by the mask messenger and dancer of the Wolf division in his *midday* appearances. The dark upper and lower bands of color represent darkness before dawn and after sunset; the lighter center, the middle of the day. The other (*B*) with the upper face area black and the lower red was worn in the rites of the *early morning and evening*.

The corn ceremony itself seems to be known only through general description on the part of our informant who had the account of it from his mother. She had seen the rite when she was young. As will be seen its characteristics are those of the usual Delaware feasting festivals. There are the addresses by the speaker chosen for the occasion, the women having prepared beforehand the amount of hominy

[1] One of the Delaware authorities, J. A. Parks, states in recent correspondence that he thinks the "excrement dauber" rite belonged originally to the Shawnee. Joe Washington, who had witnessed the rite when a young man, attributes the custom to the Seneca "introduced a long time ago to the Delawares."

[2] Specimen *A* (model, 4½ x 5½ inches) is of oak with cap portion, over top and back, of trimmed deer skin, with shredded corn stalk "hair." *B* is similar in construction, 6 x 8 inches. Unlike Iroquois masks there are no little bags of tobacco offering attached to Delaware images.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

as the white and black oak, the white walnut, of which they make pills, the cherry, dogwood, maple, birch, and several others. They prepare and compound these medicines in different ways, which they keep a profound secret. Those preparations are frequently mixed with superstitious practices, calculated to guard against the powers of witchcraft, in which, unfortunately they have a strong fixed belief. Indeed, they are too apt to attribute the most natural deaths to the arts and incantations of sorcerers, and their medicine is, in most cases, as much directed against those as against the disease itself. There are, however, practitioners among them who are free from these prejudices, or at least do not introduce them into their practice of the medical art. Still there is a superstitious notion, in which all their physicians participate, which is, that when an emetic is to be administered, the water in which the potion is mixed must be drawn up a stream, and if for a cathartic downwards. This is, at least, innocent, and not more whimsical perhaps, nor more calculated to excite a smile, than some theories of grave and learned men in civilised countries.

In fevers the Indians usually administer emetics which are made up and compounded in various ways. I saw an emetic once given to a man who had poisoned himself with the root of the May Apple.* It consisted of a piece of racoon skin burned with the hair on and finely powdered, pounded dry beans and gunpowder. These three ingredients were mixed with water and poured down the patient's throat. This brought on a severe vomiting, the poisonous root was entirely discharged and the man cured.

In other complaints, particularly in those which proceed from rheumatic affections, bleeding and sweating are always the first remedies applied. The sweat oven is the first thing that an Indian has recourse to when he

* Podophyllum peltatum.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

feels the least indisposed; it is the place to which the wearied traveller, hunter, or warrior looks for relief from the fatigues he has endured, the cold he has caught, or the restoration of his lost appetite. 757 515

This oven is made of different sizes, so as to accommodate from two to six persons at a time, or according to the number of men in the village, so that they may be all successively served. It is generally built on a bank or slope, one half of it within and the other above ground. It is well covered on the top with split plank and earth, and has a door in front, where the ground is level to go or rather to creep in. Here, on the outside, stones, generally of about the size of a large turnip, are heated by one or more men appointed each day for that purpose. While the oven is heating, decoctions from roots or plants are prepared either by the person himself who intends to sweat, or by one of the men of the village, who boils a large kettleful for the general use, so that when the public cryer going his rounds calls out *Pimook!* "go to sweat!" every one brings his small kettle, which is filled for him with the potion, which at the same time serves him as a medicine, promotes a profuse perspiration, and quenches his thirst. As soon as a sufficient number have come to the oven, a number of the hot stones are rolled into the middle of it, and the sweaters go in, seating themselves or rather squatting round those stones, and there they remain until the sweat ceases to flow; then they come out, throwing a blanket or two about them that they may not catch cold; in the mean while, fresh heated stones are thrown in for those who follow them. While they are in the oven, water is now and then poured on the hot stones to produce a steam, which they say, increases the heat, and gives suppleness to their limbs and joints. In rheumatic complaints, the steam is produced by a decoction of boiled roots, and the patient during the operation is well wrapped up in blankets, to keep the cold air from him, and promote perspiration at the same time. 757 515 343

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

Those sweat ovens are generally at some distance from an Indian village, where wood and water is always at hand. The best order is preserved at those places. The women have their separate oven in a different direction from that of the men, and subjected to the same rules. The men generally sweat themselves once and sometimes twice a week; the women have no fixed day for this exercise, nor do they use it as often as the men.

In the year 1784, a gentleman whom I had been acquainted with at Detroit, and who had been for a long time in an infirm state of health, came from thence to the village of the Christian Indians on the Huron river, in order to have the benefit of the sweat oven. It being in the middle of winter, when there was a deep snow on the ground, and the weather was excessively cold, I advised him to postpone his sweating to a warmer season; but he persisting in his resolution, I advised him by no means to remain in the oven longer than fifteen or at most twenty minutes. But when he once was in it, feeling himself comfortable, he remained a full hour, at the end of which he fainted, and was brought by two strong Indians to my house, in very great pain and not able to walk. He remained with me until the next day, when we took him down in his sleigh to his family at Detroit. His situation was truly deplorable; his physicians at that place gave up all hopes of his recovery, and he frequently expressed his regret that he had not followed my advice. Suddenly, however, a change took place for the better, and he not only recovered his perfect health, but became a stout corpulent man, so that he would often say, that his going into the sweat oven was the best thing he had ever done in his life for the benefit of his health. He said so to me fifteen years afterwards when I saw him in the year 1798. He had not had the least indisposition since that time. He died about the year 1814, at an advanced age.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7

although they have many Indian friends of other tribes. Any Indian can participate in peyote meetings, and a few people can hold one, whereas the Big House Ceremony requires a large co-operative group of people. Associated with the advantages of peyotism is the fact that the Delawares are even more scattered than they were during the war and would have a difficult time getting together for a twelve-day Big House Ceremony. The disintegration of the Big House Ceremony is regretted by many Delawares, but nothing is being done, or can be done, to revive it.

It is not entirely clear when most other elements of Delaware religion disappeared or were replaced. The reason for this is that no other ceremonies were as universal or as well known as the Big House Ceremony. Nevertheless, it is possible to make estimates which probably are reliable.

Vision quest.—The Delawares no longer seek visions, and apparently few people have unsolicited visions. Informants frequently claim that "no one can have visions because the earth is no longer clean" (M.B.), or that one has to be "morally clean" to obtain a vision (N.D.). Few people living in a white man's world can claim these virtues, informants add. No young people were encountered who had had visions, solicited or otherwise. Several middle-aged and old people claimed to have had visions, but their visions had not been solicited. The guardian spirit of one informant (R.W.), for instance, was the Mask Being. This deity had appeared when the man was in delirium following an automobile accident. The vision quest was probably declining in popularity before the Cherokee-Delawares reached Oklahoma and shortly thereafter disappeared entirely. Supernatural beings encountered in a peyote trance are not regarded as guardian spirits.

Sweat bathing, Shamanism.—Sweat bathing disappeared among the Cherokee-Delawares during the early decades of this century. O.A. was given a sweat bath as a child, as a cure for some childhood illness. Shamans often presided over sweat bathing, and the last Cherokee-Delaware shaman (Chief Elkhair) died almost two decades ago. M.B. of the Anadarko Delawares claimed that sweat baths were in vogue there until "a few years ago."

Curing.—Although shamans and sweat bathing have passed into oblivion there is still secular knowledge and perhaps use of native medicines and cures. These are useful in love, for fevers, hiccoughs, colic in children, and the like. One informant (N.D.), for example, had inherited from her mother some sort of animal foot plus rules and ritual which were used as "love medicine." N.D. used this magical device once successfully, but is reluctant to use it again. It is doubtful if she will pass these secrets along to her daughter. Peyote, government doctors, and hospitals seem to have supplemented native therapy — medicinal and supernatural — for more important illnesses.

Doll Dance.—According to Kinietz, "The Doll Dance which was a family responsibility has not been held since 1929."[9] This agrees with my information, although the last remaining doll owner had vowed to

[9] Kinietz, 1946, p. 14.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7
Eastern Woodland Indians NM4
Iroquois NM9

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are as cleanly as one could expect it. The Monsys[14] and the Mingoes, however, far excel the Delawares in uncleanliness, and, since the dogs are constantly in the houses or lying about the fires, there are generally many fleas and other insects.

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Their britchen,[13] made of boards and arranged about the fire, serve as table, bench and bedstead. The underbedding upon which they lie, is either an untanned deer or bear skin or a mat of rushes, which grow in ponds or stagnant water; these the women are clever enough to decorate in red, black or other colors, finding the materials for the latter in the forest. These mats they also fasten about the walls of their lodges, keeping out the cold of winter as well as for ornamentation. Blankets worn during the day as part of the clothing serve at night as covering.

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Boys and girls sleep apart. As soon as girls walk a little frock is fastened about them in order that they may accustom themselves to wear their clothing in a modest manner, the garments of the women being short, for the reason that long gowns would seriously inconvenience them in their movements through the forests. In this particular the boys are neglected, wearing little or nothing until at the age of five or six years, when a flap of cloth is fastened to a leathern band or girdle that has been worn from early in infancy in order that they might become accustomed to it.

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Houses of the Indians were formerly only huts and for the most part remain such humble structures, particularly in regions far removed from the habitation of whites. These huts are built either of bast (tree-bark peeled off in the summer) or the walls are made of boards covered with bast. They are low structures. Fire is made in the middle of the hut under an opening whence the smoke escapes. Among the Mingoes and the Six Nations[14] one rarely sees houses other than such huts built entirely of bast, which, however, are frequently very long, having at least from two to four fire-places; as many families inhabiting such a house as there are fire-places, the families being related. Among the Delawares each family prefers to have its own house, hence they are small. The Mingoes make a rounded,

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776 power. Besides its specific name, the term, "our Grandfather," is ap-
778 plied ceremonially to fire. Rocks are also known as "our Grandfathers." Water is regarded as a powerful spiritual force and is known as "our Mother."

757 Some cases of illness can be cured in one treatment while in others it is necessary to hold several meetings in the sweat lodge. The latter is known by a term meaning "temporary sweating." New stones are secured for each treatment. It is considered advisable to let one or more days elapse between treatments, as determined by the physical condition of the patient. The latter is occasionally massaged by the doctor, who first warms his hands upon a hot stone before rubbing the affected area. Often it is necessary also for the healer to [755] blow hot or cold air upon the patient. For the first the shaman's breath is warmed by means of a hot drink. In Delaware terminology this is known as "warm breath." In case of fever or exhaustion the "cooling breath" is used. One doctor had so much supernatural power in this respect that his breath would cause a swelling wherever it struck the body. It was therefore necessary for him to exercise great care in this type of treatment to avoid bringing undue discomfort to the patient.

795 Following the ritual performance in one of the Delaware peyote
515 cults, it is customary at the present time for the participants, both men and women, to go into the sweat house (Petrullo, 1934, p. 95). This usually occurs before sunrise. The sweat house for this assemblage accommodates about twenty persons. The equipment is precisely the same as for the performance previously described, but there is no ritual connected with this performance. Men and women enter together and drink hot water to induce perspiration. In case of nausea, they chew "Osage tobacco" (wild sage) and swallow the juice. This plant, according to my informant, has a very strong taste together with astringent qualities. The sweating period is followed by a plunge.[81]

[81] This is comparable to the semi-social aspect of the rite as described by Heckewelder, *op. cit.*, pp. 225-226. "These sweat ovens are generally at some distance from an Indian village where wood and water are always at hand. The best order is preserved at those places. The women have their separate oven in a different direction from that of the men, and are subjected to the same rules. The men generally sweat themselves once and sometimes twice a week; the women have no fixed day for this exercise, nor do they use it as often as the men." He also states: ". . . A cryer goes his rounds calling *pimook*, 'go to sweat.' Everyone brings his small kettle which is filled for him with the potion which at the same time serves him as a medicine, promotes profuse perspiration, quenches his thirst."

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

mixed with tallow. The reason given for this action was to impress the Great Spirit with the fact that his people were up and about and observant of cleanliness and good appearance as they went about their tasks,—in short, that they were consciously alive and mindful of their obligations toward the rules of life taught by him.

Children were awakened about sunrise and instructed to wash their faces at once so that the Great Spirit would see that they were not lazy but ready and prepared for the day's duties. Young people were, moreover, advised to lift their feet nicely when they walked, and to find constantly something to do to engage their time in occupations that would be helpful to their parents and others. These monitions were also backed by the instructions that the Great Spirit would find them meritorious in conduct and reward them with a long and happy life. The present members of the nation who were brought up in such practices lament deeply the indifference of members of the present generation in such matters, attributing the decline of their people to failure in observing the teachings which made their ancestors powerful and respected.

A rite recorded of the Delawares of former times was the washing of youths each morning in clear running water, preferably that of streams, both in winter and summer, suggestive of a "river-cult." We hear of this habit frequently in the narratives of Delaware history when the tribe resided in the East. It seems to have been insisted upon generally for youths,[6] even enforced upon white boys who had been taken captive and adopted in the Nation, as we see in the following narrative.

To have spoken of personal purification by immersion in the water of streams leads to a more formal method of washing away defilement by the same means. Referring to John McCullough, who in 1776 wrote of his experiences while living as a captive with the then hostile Delawares, we are told of his enforced "conversion" to paganism at the hands

[6] An interesting resume of Delaware practices in the training of youths and warriors is given in the account of a Delaware author who describes the daily plunge into the river by boys undergoing the course of training in pairs. Cf. R. C. Adams, "Legends of the Delaware Indians," Washington, D. C., 1905, p. 26.

8:Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
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CHAPTER XXVIII.

Concerning the Vapor Baths of the American Savage People.

The bathhouse of the savages is made of stone and clay and arched like a bake oven with a hole above, large enough to crawl through.[1] [For bathing] they make a large pile of stones red hot, which they place in the centre of the bath house, and the bath house is [made] so large that they can lie lengthwise around the hot stone pile. When they now want to bathe, as many as can get room at a time will crawl in and then they stop up the hole well with frieze cloth. Then the savages within the bath house begin to pour water upon the stones, accompanying this with an unspeakable crying and noise, that one may really be fearful of it, each one imitating the animal from which his *Pddhra* or idol has been taken, upon which they believe, the one [crying] like a lion, the one

[1] "This Hot-house is a kind of little Cell, six or eight foot over, round, made on the side of a hill (commonly by some Rivulet or Brooke) into this frequently the Men enter after they have exceedingly heated it with store of wood, laid upon an heape of stones in the middle. When they have taken out the fire, the stones keepe still a great heat: Ten, twelve, twenty more or lesse, enter at once starke naked, leaving their Coats, small breeches, (or aprons) at the doore, with one to keepe all: here doe they sit round those hot stones an houre or more, taking tobacco, discoursing and sweating together, which sweating they use for two ends: First, to cleanse their skin: Secondly, to purge their bodies, which doubtlesse is a great meanes of preserving them, and recovering them from diseases, especially from the French disease, which by sweating and some potions, they perfectly and speedily cure: when they came forth (which is matter of admiration) I have seen them runne (Summer and Winter) into the brookes to coole them, without the least hurt." Williams, *Key*, 158; cf. Hodge, *Handbook*, 660 ff.; Johnson, *Swedish Settlements*, I, 357 ff.

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
NM7 Delaware NM7

515 like a bear, another like a bull,[2] a third like a wild boar, wolf, dog, goose, rooster,[3] etc. And when they now have finished bathing, and are not able to endure any more heat, then they crawl out of the bath house one after another, and run towards the stream into the cold water, being as agile to swim in the water as a goose. Then another crowd crawls into the bath house and makes the same noise, until each one has had his turn.[4]

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[2] *Den som en tiur*, that one like a bull.

[3] *Wargh, hundh, gåds, tupp.*

[4] *Till thes kwarffwet är omgånget.* The description of Lindeström refers to the ceremonial vapor bath. He seems to have been unfamiliar with the vapor bath for medicinal purposes. Heckewelder says: "In those [complaints] which proceed from rheumatic affections bleeding and sweating are always the first remedies applied." *Indian Nations*, 225.

The Indian word for the bath-house was *piåmoakan* (German orth.), from root *piåm* (pēm), to sweat, hence sweat house. Cf. Brinton, *Dict.*, 115–16; also Montanus, *Beschr.*, etc. (Amsterdam, 1671).

The employment of heat in the form of hot water or vapor to counteract certain disorders or cure various diseases is apparently common among all peoples that have reached a certain stage of development. In Central West Africa I found the practice among several tribes. (See my forthcoming book, *The Ethnography of Certain Bantu Tribes, etc.*)

It is interesting to note in this connection, that modern science is giving increased attention to the thermogenic reaction of the body against infectional diseases, and the application of heat to certain parts of the body, externally and internally, as a means of counteracting disorders or removing parasites lodged in the small or large intestine. Dr. D. Rivas, of the University of Pennsylvania, who has developed a new treatment for tape worm, dysentery, etc., based on a novel application of the principles of thermotherapy, has effected some remarkable cures without medicine of amebic dysentery and the removal of hook worms and the entire tape worm, head and all. Cf. Rivas, *The Thermogenic Reaction*, etc., The New Orleans Medical and Surgical Journal, Vol. 69, No. 2; *The Effect of Temperature on Protozoan and Metazoan Parasites and the Devise of a New Procedure—the "Hydro-Thermic Method"—for the Treatment of Parasitic and other Affections of the Intestine.* (In print.)

[pp. 259 ff not processed.]

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796[x]
[516]

When they have finished eating they arrange themselves in a row, each hunter standing on his left foot and barely touching the ground with the toes of his right, an action whose meaning I have not yet been able to determine.

Then the speaker rises and talks to them, and the MIsi'ng^{w} who has been seen about the camp from time to time, is in the Big House listening to his words. "When you hunt," says the speaker, "think of nothing but luck to kill deer." As he speaks he goes to the west fire and throws into it, six times, an offering of native tobacco; then to the east fire, where he sacrifices six more pinches of the sacred herb—twelve in all. While sacrificing tobacco, he prays to the MIsi'ng^{w} to drive the deer up, so that the hunters can kill them. As he drops the last tobacco into the flames, he says, "If you kill a deer right away, bring it [illegible]onight; if not, bring in all you kill day after tomorrow."

[276]
[782]

What tobacco is left is given to the chief hunter with the words, "When you camp tonight, burn this and ask MIsinghâli'kŭn

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
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THE PEYOTE RITE AMONG THE I
Native Painting by Earnest Spybuck, a Sha

[Following p. 186 (A)] [IN COLOR]

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
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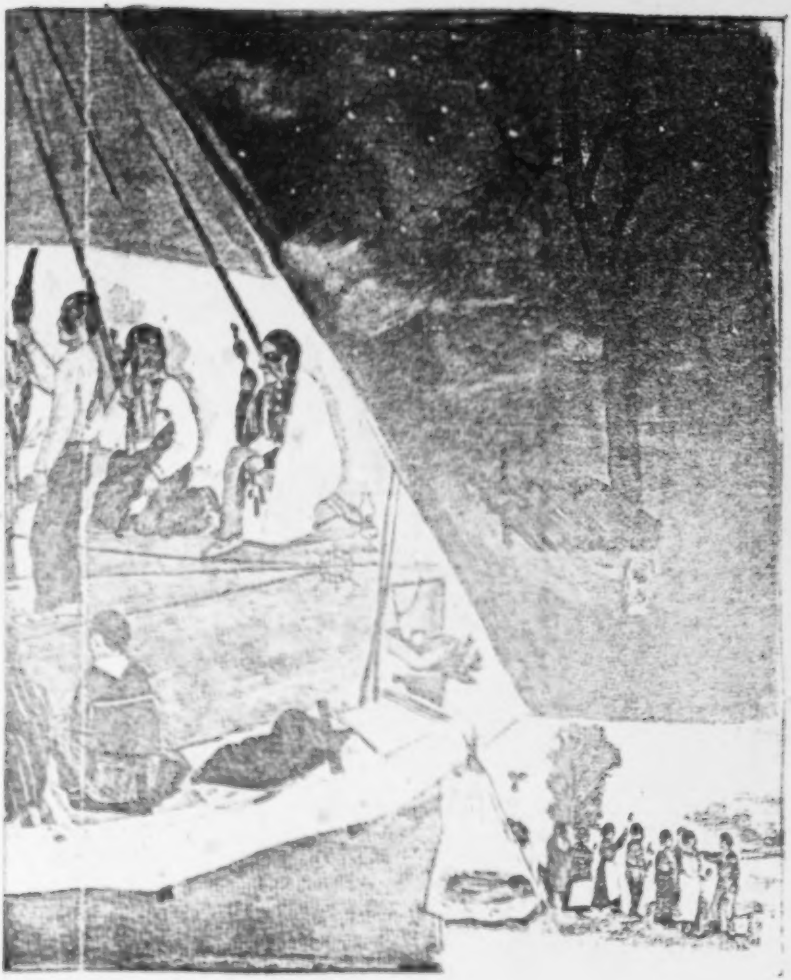

RITE AMONG THE LENAPE
r by Earnest Spybuck, a Shawnee

[Following p. 186 (B)] [IN color]

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
NM7 Delaware NM7

CHAPTER XXII

Concerning the Liberality, Confidence and Conversation and Intercourse With the Christians and How the Christians Are Received When They Visit the Savages.

The savages are honorable enough in their conversation with the Christians, after their manner. When they know that they have among them a *nittappi*[1] or a good friend who wishes them well, entertains him with food and drink, when he comes [to visit them], and also presents him with some little [thing], like an awl point, a mirror, glass beads and such things, which he recognizes as a great act of kindness.[2] When later the savage comes again to the Christian then he shows his generosity again in 20, 30 to 40 fold value in pelts and other things. Then the savage comes with it so proud and puffed up, throwing it on the floor before the Christian and puffs and blows, with it, as though he wanted to say: "Take this which I bring thee in good faith for the good thou hast done unto me." In such cases one must always have the table uncovered at the lower end, for when the savage comes to his good friend, where he knows he has his free condition,[3] he climbs up and seats himself with feet and everything on the

[1] *Nittappi*, friend. A general Algonkian word, appearing in many forms, and still in use. *Cf. nitis*, friend, companion, Brinton, *Diot.*, 99.

[2] Lindeström's construction is poor but the meaning is clear. *And also presents him*, etc.; means of course, that the Nittappi or friend presents something to the Indian, such as a mirror, etc.

[3] Freedom of the place.

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
NM7 Delaware NM7

table and crosses his legs and requests then of the food on the table which he fancies. But when one gives strong drinks to the savage, either wine or brandy, which he desires greatly, one must take care not to give him too much, for then he becomes as though he were quite raving, throws and rolls himself into the burning fire, with a loud cry, and may then easily strike his good friend to death or otherwise set fire to the house, not knowing what he does; for he is not accustomed to such strong drinks. His daily drink is with the goose,[4] which holds his five senses together.

But when now the Christians come to the savages in their dwellings then the savages spread frieze and beautiful rugs on the ground, requesting them to sit down to rest. Then they bring forth such food as they have [on hand], namely a bag full of their bread, deer meat, elk meat and bear meat, fresh fish, bear pork and bear fat,[5] instead of butter; but this[6] is mostly raw, for they do not fry it any other way than on the coals (about which we shall learn further hereafter in the chapter concerning the household economy of the savages). This present one must not disdain, but accept with all thankfulness and praise, otherwise the savages will become very raving and impatient, so that their friendship is thereby turned into the greatest revenge and enmity. If one has any horse along, then the savages place the same kind of food before it also, which one must steal away from the horse, and thank the savage for

[4] His daily drink is the same as that of the goose, that is water.
[5] *Biörneister.*
[6] Food, i.e., meat and fish.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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The tilling of the ground at home, getting of the fire wood, and pounding of corn in mortars, is frequently done by female parties, much in the manner of those husking, quilting and other *frolics* (as they are called,) which are so common in some parts of the United States, particularly to the eastward. The labour is thus quickly and easily performed; when it is over, and sometimes in intervals, they sit down to enjoy themselves by feasting on some good victuals, prepared for them by the person or family for whom they work, and which the man has taken care to provide before hand from the woods; for this is considered a principal part of the business, as there are generally more or less of the females assembled who have not, perhaps for a long time, tasted a morsel of meat, being either widows, or orphans, or otherwise in straitened circumstances. Even the chat which passes during their joint labours is highly diverting to them, and so they seek to be employed in this way as long as they can, by going round to all those in the village who have ground to till.

When the harvest is in, which generally happens by the end of September, the women have little else to do than to prepare the daily victuals, and get fire wood, until the latter end of February or beginning of March, as the season is more or less backward, when they go to their sugar camps, where they extract sugar from the maple tree. The men having built or repaired their temporary cabin, and made all the troughs of various sizes, the women commence making sugar, while the men are looking out for meat, at this time generally fat bears, which are still in their winter quarters. When at home, they will occasionally assist their wives in gathering the sap, and watch the kettles in their absence, that the syrup may not boil over.

A man who wishes his wife to be with him while he is out hunting in the woods, needs only tell her, that on such a day they will go to such a place, where he will

l:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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422 cat, kitten and little chicken. Parents make presents
[431] to their children, and they in return to their parents. A father will sometimes ask his wife or one of his children for the loan of his horse to go out a hunting. For a litter of kittens or brood of chickens, there are often as many different owners as there are individual animals. In purchasing a hen with her brood, one frequently has to deal for it with several children. Thus, while
[421] the principle of community of goods prevails in the state, the rights of property are acknowledged among the members of a family. This is attended with a very good effect; for by this means every living creature is properly taken care of. It also promotes liberality among the children, which becomes a habit with them by the time they are grown up.

593 An Indian loves to see his wife well clothed, which is a proof that he is fond of her; at least, it is so considered. While his wife is bartering the skins and peltry he has taken in his hunt, he will seat himself at some distance, to observe her choice, and how she and the traders agree together. When she finds an article which she thinks will suit or please her husband, she never fails to purchase it for him; she tells him that it is *her* choice, and he is never dissatisfied.

The more a man does for his wife, the more he is esteemed, particularly by the women, who will say: "This
[517 man surely loves his wife." Some men at their leisure
322] hours make bowls and ladles, which, when finished, are at their wives' disposal.

593 If a sick or pregnant woman longs for any article of
843 food, be it what it may, and however difficult to be procured, the husband immediately sets out to endeavour to get it. I have known a man to go forty or fifty miles for a mess of cranberries to satisfy his wife's longing. In the year 1762, I was witness to a remarkable instance of the disposition of Indians to indulge their wives. There was a famine in the land, and a sick Indian woman ex-

2;Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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*177 178 S27

are of considerable importance to Cherokee-Delaware Pan-Indianism. They not only serve as a common meeting ground for Indians, but their effect reinforces membership and consciousness of membership in Indian society.

*177 178 S27

Contrary to what I had supposed, social clubs of various types were not an important factor in the development of Pan-Indianism among the Cherokee-Delawares. Not one person was ever found who belonged to any national Indian organization, such as the National Congress of American Indians. In fact, many people professed complete ignorance of such organizations. For this reason these formal Indian groups, which in a sense may be said to be lobbying for Indianism, have been disregarded here. In passing, it might be noted that these organizations are possibly some sort of concrete expression of this acculturative trend among other Indian groups. Informal social clubs have some bearing upon Cherokee-Delaware Pan-Indianism. A number of women at one time belonged to the Indian Women's Club, an intertribal extension club of Washington County, which holds monthly meetings, has rummage sales, luncheons, and the like. Significantly, proceeds of one rummage sale were sent to the Navaho. Membership in this organization has declined since the war and none of the women interviewed belonged to it. It should be emphasized that this organization was Indian in character and not tribal. There has never been a men's club.

*177

Extratribal marriage is an important factor in Cherokee-Delaware Pan-Indianism and assimilation. The Cherokee-Delawares are at the present time tribally exogamous. The youngest all-Delaware marriage I could find was between a man of thirty-eight and a woman of thirty-five, and this seems to have been somewhat exceptional. Only three living couples were found in which both partners claimed to be entirely Delaware, although a number of old widows and widowers had had Delaware spouses. Marriage to Indians of other tribes is the usual custom, but marriage to whites is not uncommon. Cherokee-Delawares have married Comanches, Senecas, Shawnees, Cherokees, Creeks, Yuchis, Peorias, and undoubtedly Indians of other tribes. How the Indian parents in these mixed marriages classify their children is indicative of the feelings about Pan-Indianism. If parents are questioned about tribal affiliation of their children, they may simply reply without much thought, "Indian," or with a little thought they may say, "Yuchi-Creek-Delaware," or something similarly artificial. Occasionally, they will skirt the question by giving the tribe in which the children are enrolled by the government. The wholesale marriage of the younger generation of Delawares to Indians of other tribes must be considered an important influence in the growth of Pan-Indianism. On the other hand, the marriage of Delawares to whites naturally, perhaps inevitably, results in further culture loss and completed assimilation. This would be particularly true of the individual who marries a white person and moves to an all-white community. Those individuals who marry whites but remain in an Indian community have, of course, a much better opportunity to retain Indian ways, and white marriage partners may become participants in Indian

painted a different color on each side, were thrown up and caught, the goal being to get as many of a particular color as possible; and another in which an object was hidden under one of several moccasins and the players attempted to guess which one it was under (Denny, p.265; Brinton, 1888, p.40; Loskiel, p.105). The vigorous dances engaged in by the Delaware were also noted although no early writer mentions (as Zeisberger, writing in the eighteenth century does) that dances were held most evenings that the men were not out hunting (Penn, p.38; Zeisberger, 1870, p.90). Later writers all agree that the Delaware were a sociable people given to frequent visiting and communal games and dances (Zeisberger, 1870, p.87; Heckewelder, 1881, pp.101-3 and 149).

This may be the most suitable place to mention the dogs kept by the Delaware since it seems most likely that they were kept merely as pets. Their remains have not been found in great abundance and in most cases where they were found they appear to have been deliberately buried. There is only one instance where there is some question whether the animal had been used as a sacrifice (Skinner, 1915, p.48; Heye, p.59).

At the time of contact, the Lenape were living in villages composed of several groups of families in the summer and hunting in single family groups in winter. The associations of families constituted bands, the names of which generally had some reference to the territory which they occupied.[10] In the eighteenth century Heckewelder reported a double division of the tribe into three sub-tribes, called Unami, Unalachtigo and Munsee, and into three genealogical "totems" which I will call phratries. The phratries were named Turtle, Turkey and Wolf, and Heckewelder equated them with the sub-tribes. He believed that the divisions had existed in the contact period also (Heckewelder, 1881, pp.51-2). Morgan, in the late nineteenth century, found that the Munsee, who are generally called the "Wolf Tribe", actually had members belonging to all three phratries, and Harrington found the same situation in the twentieth century (Morgan, 1912, p.177; Harrington, 1913, p.209). The Munsee had a tradition, however, that the three phratries formerly occupied separate villages.

Both Harrington and Morgan found the modern Delaware phratries divided into matrilineal clans, the names of which were not totemic (Harrington, p.210; Morgan, 1912, p.177). The only evidence of totemic beliefs is a vague association between the turtle phratry and the mythical turtle in the creation myth and, of course, the phratry names themselves. The only evidence for the regulation of marriage by any social unit is found in Zeisberger who says that no Indian will marry within his own tribe as he considers himself too closely related to the other individuals in it. But his use of the word "tribe" is not clear so that the problem of which

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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and left halves, respectively. The one also has carved representations of the female breasts. Harrington secured information explaining that these drum-beaters symbolized the male and female worshipers, but we cannot be so certain of this in view of the possibility that they may be representations of male and female deities, the "grandfathers" and "grandmothers" of the Delawares. The sacred drumsticks are also cut to have forked ends as the illustrations show. For this morphological feature Wi·tapano'xwe knew of no positive explanation unless it represents the forks in the pathway of the soul. Harrington suggested that it was to make a louder sound. Specimens made by the informant are shown in fig. 20. Pin oak was the wood used. The faces are designed to bring out male and female lineaments.

Reverting for a moment to a consideration of the drum it is worth noting that the Delawares use neither the hollow log-drum nor the water-drum in the Big House ceremony although both are known in connection with other dance performances in the tribe.

The prayer sticks (ma·mendahi·'k·ana·, plural) "means of earnest supplication" (fig. 24) are peeled wands about 18 inches long, twelve in number, six decorated with spirals encircling them burnt on their surface, six undecorated. On the ninth night likewise these wands are introduced into the prayer feature of the ceremony. The worshipers, who up until this night have simply raised their hands when giving voice to the prayer call when grouped around the center post, now raise their hands pointing toward the images of the great spirit on this post with the prayer wands. Here again we learn that the extra reach afforded by the sticks is symbolical of the greater height in the heaven-strata that has been reached in the progress of the worship.

The fire drill sang·hi·'k·an),[1] figs. 14, 16, the wooden corn mortar (kaho'k·an) and pestle, or "long pounder" (kwən·u'sən·e·k·w), fig. 23, the paint, ola·'man)[2] the "paint dishes" (ola'manələ'k·e·s), fig. 21, the feathers, (fig. 18), and other articles whose use is called for as the ceremony advances, are to be mentioned with explanatory observations in the footnotes accompanying the translation. These objects have a positive sanctified value as they function in the ceremony. The Delawares hold them in high esteem as symbols of the natural culture with which they were endowed by the Great Spirit before the coming of Europeans with their sacrilegious mechanisms, which latter are as far as possible held as taboo within the Big House itself and even on the premises. The same exclusive principle is carried out in respect to European foods. Even mussel shells are used as spoons.

A partly sanctified character is also ascribed to certain games which are permitted during the course of the ceremony. While the mem-

[1] sa'ngowe, "something that makes a ringing noise," denoting the sound of the fire-drill when in use.

[2] A generic term for "red paint" known everywhere among northern and eastern Algonkians with little variation.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

bers of the group are convened for the Big House ceremony the day intervals between the nightly performances are passed in taking rest and in pastimes of a native character. The Delawares have various games (li·nalə'ti·n) of a non-formal nature. Among these are horse racing (hᵊwtaᵊme'laxtaŋ, "trying out horses), and the dice and bowl game (maᵊma'ndi·n, "gathering [dice]") consisting of five dice, cut out of mussle shell carved into forms of button, horsehead, tortoise, tossed in a wooden bowl, the counters being kernels of corn or coffee beans. Other amusements, some obviously of European origin, are checkers, pitching quoits, cards, broad-jumping and jack-straws, it might be added that the Delawares are addicted to the well known moccasin-game but reserve it for the funeral ceremony.[1]

CEREMONIAL IMAGE AND FACE-PAINTING.—The application of pigment to the face has, in Delaware thought, the value of an anointment. The sanctity of the act of face-painting in connection with the performance is displayed in the formality of the rite on the ninth night in which the carved images in the Big House, the face images on the forked drum-sticks, and the faces of the worshipers themselves are given an application of red color. The images, however, receive an application of black and red on each half of the face, while the people receive a rubbing of red only on the cheeks and forehead. The proper native source of red for face painting, which the Delawares believe to have been created for their use by the Great Spirit, is Blood-root (Sanguinaria canadensis). Of this we hear occasionally in the text. In the accounts dealing with Indian customs in the east, Blood-root under the name pukoon is mentioned as an article of much importance. The term *pukoon* became adopted into English and the root became a color substance sought for in the commerce of the colonies. The Delawares still preserve a feeling of its importance and, although considered rare in the present habitat of the tribe in Oklahoma, it is locally present in quantities sufficient to supply an orange-red stain for them in their ceremonies. They call it pe''kɔn.[2]

Black painting is also important in significance. Black (sɔk·a'χtai, "black charcoal") is a means of summoning ghosts and so it is worn only when such associations are desired.[3]

In an account of early Pennsylvania and New Jersey, Gabriel Thomas (1698)[4] tells us that the Delawares upon decease made their faces black all over, and when their affairs went well they painted

[1] To be dealt with in a later memoir of this series.

[2] The identity of the above term with Sanguinaria was ascertained during a trip with the informant in the Pennsylvania woods where the plant was found and named.

[3] The informant remembers when a child being told by his mother to go wash the black paint from his face before night came on, after he had been playing dancing, lest it attract a ghost.

[4] Gabriel Thomas' Account, etc., in Narratives of Early Pennsylvania, West New Jersey, and Delaware, N. Y. (1912), edited by Albert Cook Myers, p. 341.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

council in a solemn speech. If the subjects are of great importance all who take part in the discussion stand as they speak. Each counsellor has the liberty to utter his sentiments and having made his speech, sits down. No one interrupts the speaker but all sit silent and attentive as if engaged in an act of devotion. The speeches are delivered in a pleasing manner and the words of the speakers flow as readily as if they were read from a manuscript. Whoever visits such an assembly, whether white man or savage Indian, cannot but be profoundly impressed.

A subject is often very thoroughly and extendedly discussed. The chiefs and counsellors in turn give their opinions and suggestions. When all have spoken, one of them is called upon to sum up the principal parts of all the speeches in a concise manner. This is done extempore and the necessary amendments proposed, every subject being brought into as short and comprehensive statement as possible. Before deliberations begin, the strings and belts of wampum must be placed in due order, for whatever is said without being confirmed by them is considered vain and without effect. They are so accustomed to this that when they communicate the contents of a message, merely in private conversation, they cannot do so without something in their hands, a strap, a ribbon or a blade of grass. Holding some such thing in his hand the speaker will recount the points in proper order as with the strings or belts of wampum thereto belonging.

When chiefs are compelled to give answer to a proposition of which they do not approve, but which they have consented to consider because they did not wish openly to offer an affront, they are able to frame their reply in so figurative and equivocal a style as to allow of almost any desired interpretation or application. Those who receive such an answer, know as little after the reply has been given as before, but are ashamed to ask further, lest they should be regarded as stupid and because chiefs are supposed to understand everything.

When treaty of peace is made with another nation it is determined that it shall last as long as sun and moon shine or rise and set, as long as the stars are in the heavens and the rivers

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

pouch or a beaver-pouch or one decorated with coral, made by the women. Sometimes they have a buffalo horn, from which a pouch, made possibly of tanned deer-skin, depends. In the pouches they carry tobacco, fire materials, knife and pipe. Sumac is generally mixed with tobacco or sumac smoked without tobacco, for but few can stand smoking pure tobacco. Their common conversation turns upon hunting or the news of the day. Matter that has no foundation in fact may be drawn into conversation, and even though all may be aware of this, the narration continues uninterrupted. They may laugh now and again but they will listen attentively. No one interrupts another. When one has finished another begins. They never put any one publicly to blush; they are polite to each other and enjoy being politely treated. They like to be regarded as worthy people even though they may be the opposite. They are pleased to know that they are liked. When a guest comes into a house, food is placed before him; that comes before anything else. If the guests are from a distance and very good friends, the whole kettle of food is set before them, they are given dishes and spoons and allowed to help themselves first to as much as they wish. The guests having partaken of the food, pass the kettle back to the people of the house. They live very simply. Meat, corn, gruel, corn-bread, are the principal articles of diet.[298] In lieu of meat, various dishes are prepared with corn, or Sopan, milk and butter are used. They like to discuss affairs of state and communicate their opinions. In fact they are more ready to discuss such matters in course of visits than in the Council House, for there they prefer to let the older people speak. Occasionally visits are made with the purpose of discovering the opinions of others; in a chief's home all manner of reports, true and false, furnish material for discussion. The women speak of their work, their plantations, the pouches, bags, baskets, carrying bands they have made, many of them though not all smoking tobacco. Stories are carried by women from house to house; they are so often manufactured that if men, having listened attentively to some tale, hear that it originated with a woman they will give it no credit until confirmed by some more reliable authority.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

736 given assistance. A poor widow, even though she have children, finds it possible to make a living if she is willing to work. They pay her above the worth of her services in food and clothing; if it is summer she may work on the plantations; in winter she may prepare wood for fire. They are willing to help the poor but always expect them to render some service in return. It has been known that good has been done to prisoners condemned to death, even to whites, though this had to be done secretly.

829 A few negroes are found among the Indians having been either bought from the whites or secured as prisoners. These 144 are looked upon as of their own kind and allowed full liberty. Indians and negroes intermarry and their mulatto children are as much loved as children of pure Indian blood.

431 They are fond of giving when they can expect something in return and of doing good which they have reason to hope may be returned. They easily forget the good that has been done, but if they have been cheated they never forget it. If a white has done them ever so many favors, helped them in need, or given them presents, and omits an opportunity to do the like only once, then all he may have done is forgotten. If an Indian takes a wife and dresses her generously from head to foot in new garments she will indeed be glad and proud; but she will more readily leave him than if he had given her little or nothing, for in that case she would still be in expectation of receiving something.

One may even make enemies of Indians through presents if these make them proud and one does not continue giving. Occasionally when a respectable present has been given the donor is slandered in order that he may not expect something in return from the recipient.

152 They are able to control their desires and passions, but once given free rein these are the more violent. Overcome with wrath, they at once think upon murder, and may, in the heat of passion, do something for which they will later feel remorse.

● 521 The women are much given to lying and gossiping. They carry evil report from house to house. As long as they are observed they appear modest and without guile. All the wrongs

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

of which they are guilty are done in secret. That adultery, theft, lying, cheating are terrible vices they know, having learned it from their ancestors as well as from whites. Fear of disgrace keeps them from open wrong-doing for they do not wish to have a bad name. Secretly, however, they are given to all manner of vice. Some are no longer sensitive to shame. There are traces of unnatural sins among them, hardly known to any except to those such as missionaries who have learned to understand the people well. Virtue one must not seek among the savages, but the grace of God is able to accomplish wonders among them. Not all are equally bad. Some among them are sensible people and considerate, who act reasonably and have an eye to right and justice.

I had no faith concerning sorcery attributed to them, though I have lived many years among them, thinking it all to be boasting and lying on their part. I believed the Indians were too stupid for such satanic practices, but I have been persuaded otherwise. I know for a certainty that witchcraft is common among them. Those who make great pretention to skill in the dark arts know the least about them. The adepts do not boast of their knowledge for fear of their lives. They are very careful, even under the influence of strong drink, not to draw suspicion upon themselves. There seem to be Indians who have the ability to bring about the death of any one by other than ordinary means, even in the short space of twenty-four hours. This they do without the use of poison, which, if used, might be discovered and for which an antidote might be administered. Usually two or three or more agree that a certain person shall die. While he is asleep or in the presence of others they somehow exert their evil influence upon him. The effects are various. Sometimes the victim falls to the ground immediately in convulsions, lies for a time as dead, then recovers consciousness but soon dies. Sometimes the effects are not noticeable for several days. Occasionally the unfortunate individuals are afflicted with diseases, from which there is no recovery for years. Hence, it is that when illness cannot be accounted for on natural grounds, the Indians are apt to believe themselves to have been bewitched.

[P. 35, A]

584 marriage would furthermore be congenial to the parents of both parties.[15] In practice
586 these marriages usually broke up quickly, both spouses quickly being unfaithful to one another.[16] Occasionally a man, his
[762] pride wounded by a wife's infidelity, directed his helpless anger inward and committed suicide by taking poison. Women too killed themselves out of jealousy.[17] The shifting romantic attachments of both sexes seem to represent an unending striving to find the all-satisfying parent: a striving continually doomed to frustration.

787 The guardian spirit relationship (which was sought by both men and women) seems also to be built upon the prototype of the search for the all-satisfying (but not authoritarian) parent.[18]

572 Among men there was an institution of "friendship" which focused considerable emotion upon a relationship of formally recognized mutual dependency, in war, in
[521] the chase, and in various other life-crises.[19] Men were more at ease with one another
[562] in conversation than with women and, according to Zeisberger, would automatically suspect as a lie any tale which they
[543] heard from a woman.[20] It was a common saying, "My wife is not my friend."[21] Old
888 women were accused by the men of being
439 the middlemen who carried the socially disrupting rum from white settlements to the villages.[22]

562 Implicit in all this was the assumption
571 on the part of all Delawares—men and women alike—that relationships with women, while they could be satisfying, were not likely to be; and the further assumption on the part of men that they had less to fear from other men than from

15. Heckewelder, 1819, p. 161; Zeisberger, 1778, p. 79.
16. Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 82-83.
17. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 83.
18. Lindestrom, 1656, pp. 207-209; Heckewelder, 1819, pp. 245-246; Zeisberger, 1778, p. 127.
19. Heckewelder, 1819, p. 278; Lindestrom, 1656, p. 233; Zeisberger, 1778, p. 116.
20. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 116.
21. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 99.
22. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 117.

[P.37, B]

626 ness was accomplished, not by a fear of authority, but by everyone's fear of wounding someone else's self-esteem and thereby laying himself open to aggression. In order not to antagonize another, the individual had to be very circumspect in his behavior and avoid showing his own aggressive motives. There were a variety of institutionalized techniques which functioned to forestall possible antagonism-arousing situations. "They are not quarrelsome, and are always on their guard, so as not to offend each other," said Heckewelder, and Zeisberger made similar observations.[39] Swearing was unknown (although obscenity was not tabooed).[40] Persons suspected of ill-doing were not accused openly; public or private disapproval was communicated by subtle allusions or by the recital of a "dream."[41] Strangers and visitors were always treated politely; and negative replies to embassies from other communities were couched in ambiguous terms so that the matter was shelved rather than contended over.[42] An elaborate code of etiquette governed the men's talk. "Their common conversation turns upon hunting or the news of the day. Matter that has no foundation in fact may be drawn into conversation, and even though all may be aware of this, the narration continues uninterrupted. They may laugh now and again but they will listen attentively. No one interrupts another. When one has finished another begins. They never put any one publicly to blush; they are polite to each other and enjoy being politely treated. They like to be regarded as worthy people even though they may be the opposite. They are pleased to know that they are liked."[43] Religious observances (such as the periodic obligation to give a dance for a sacred mask) were performed under an almost obsessive fear that negligence, by offending the supernatural owner, would call down an indefinite but

[831] [609] 576 ● 521 796 776

39. Heckewelder, 1819, pp. 145-146; Zeisberger 1778, p. 115-116.
40. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 85.
41. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 120.
42. Heckewelder, 1819, p. 150.
43. Heckewelder, 1819, pp. 103-104; Zeisberger 1778, 115-116.

[P. 38, B]

154 rein these are the more violent."[51] Warfare
[721] provided a socially approved way of bleeding off some of these aggressions, for the warriors; and the institution of torture
154 gave the rest of the community a similar
727 opportunity. "The Indians flock to these executions as to some great solemnity, with a view to reeking on the unfortunate captive their cruel and revengeful dis-
154 position."[52] The institution of blood-
627 revenge[53] (which sometimes led to prolonged vendetta) was also an outlet for aggression; but the fear of its exercise no doubt served also to inhibit it. In
154 hunting, males could work off aggression
224 on animals, which were conceptualized as quasi-human. It is worth noting that among women, who had a more restricted
154 childhood and who at the same time had
● 521 fewer socially sanctioned outlets for aggression, the overflow dribbled off in
562 unpleasant gossip and slander, which the men, who had other means of catharsis, professed to scorn.[54]

154 All observers agreed that liquor dis-
273 solved the inhibitions against aggression.
578 "The effects which intoxication produces upon the Indians are dreadful," lamented Heckewelder. "It has been the cause of an infinite number of murders among them, besides biting off noses and otherwise disfiguring each other, which are the least consequences of the quarrels which inebriation produces between them."[55] As might be expected, therefore, Indian spokesmen frequently—and in vain—implored the whites to cease bringing liquor into their settlements.

Summary

127 From an examination of the early ethnological literature concerning the Delaware Indians, we have been able to discover some of their psychological
855 characteristics. The Delawares would seem in general to have been a people among whom the children grew up

51. Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 124-125.
52. Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 106-107.
53. Penn, 1683.
54. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 116.
55. Heckewelder, 1819, p. 263.

[453(B)]

773 and lonely in her absence, started to make
821 her a visit. As he travelled southward he carried the cold with him and wherever he went it became winter, or rather winter followed his footsteps. After he had concluded his visit he returned and carried back the winter with him as he advanced to the north. From the most ancient times this visit has been annually renewed.

Indian Persistency

157 Mr. Pratt mentioned as a recent occurrence
224 among the Delawares, that while a party
521 were out on a Buffalo hunt a few years since, one of them said one day that before he returned he would take a three year old bull buffalo alive. His companions rather laughed at his suggestion as an impossibility, and thought no more about it. This is the age when they are the most ferocious and unmanageable. A few days afterwards this hunter rode up to a herd of buffalo and having singled out a two or three year old bull, he managed to detach him from the

797
115

John Gill Pratt was a dedicated Baptist missionary, working in turn with the Shawnees, the Stockbridge, and finally the Delawares. Morgan regarded him highly.

15:Morgan E-5 (1859)1559
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[p 53 (C)]

herd and gave him a chase. He followed until the buffalo was about tired out, with his tongue hanging out, and hardly able to move, while his own horse was in the same condition. Leaving his horse and his gun, the hunter, fresh and strong, took the buffalo by the tail and drove him on. He then went up an ascent and down on the other side until they came into a wet place where the buffalo stuck in the mud from weakness and exhaustion. He had thus taken his buffalo, in one sense. He was powerless, and still, except as he made slight efforts to fight. After spending some little time in this situation during which the buffalo was gaining strength and he was losing his, he was so fortunate as to espy and signal one of his party, who came to his aid, and the two, with a rope tied to his horns so as to keep at a safe distance from each of them and between both, they led or drove him to camp and thus the Indian maintained or made good his boast.

Delaware Baptist Mission School[86]

This school, under the supervision of Rev. John G. Pratt,[87] a matron, Mrs. Muse, and a teacher, Miss Morse,[88] is in a very flourishing condition and superior to any I have seen in the territory. It has accommodations for 78 Indian scholars as boarders and lodgers. The number last term was 64, the number the present term is about 50, as they have held back for the payment, and will soon come in now.

The buildings consist of a two and a half story farm house large on the ground, designed for the sleeping and clothing rooms of the school; another of the same size with a wing for a kitchen, designed for the residence of the superintendent and teachers, and is the eating and cooking place for all.[89] Also a large school house with folding doors

[For footnote, See category 116, p. 209 (C)--Analyst]

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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578 They are not quarrelsome, and are always on their guard, so as not to offend each other. When one supposes himself hurt or aggrieved by a word which has inadvertently fallen from the mouth of another, he will say to him: "Friend, you have caused me to become jealous of you," (meaning that he begins to doubt the sincerity of his friendship,) when the other explaining and saying that he had no bad intention, all is done away again.

They do not fight with each other; they say that fighting is only for dogs and beasts. They are, however, 522 fond of play, and passing a joke, yet very careful that they do not offend.

They are ingenious in making satirical observations, which though they create laughter, do not, or but seldom give offence. For instance, seeing a bad hunter going out into the woods with his gun, they will ask him if he is going out for meat? or say to one another: "now we shall have meat, for such a one is gone a hunting," (not believing any such thing.) If they see a coward joining a war party, they will ask him ironically at what time he intends to come back again? (knowing that he will return before he has met the enemy,) or they will say to one another: "will he return this way with his scalps?"

Genuine wit, which one would hardly expect to find in a savage people, is not unfrequent among them. I have heard them, for instance, compare the English and 522 American nations to a pair of scissors, an instrument 648 composed of two sharp edged knives exactly alike, working against each other for the same purpose, that of *cutting*. By the construction of this instrument, they said, it would appear as if in shutting, these two sharp knives would strike together and destroy each other's edges; but no such thing: they only cut *what comes between them*. And thus the English and Americans do when they go to war against one another. It is not each

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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other that they want to destroy, but us, poor Indians, that are between them. By this means they get our lan and, when that is obtained, the scissors are closed again, and laid by for further use.

They are remarkable for the particular respect which they pay to old age. In all their meetings, whether public or private, they pay the greatest attention to the observations and advice of the aged; no one will attempt to contradict them, nor to interfere in any manner or even to speak, unless he is specially called upon. "The aged," they say, "have lived through the whole period of our "lives, and long before we were born; they have not "only all the knowledge we possess, but a great deal "more. We, therefore, must submit our limited views "to their experience."

'In travelling, one of the oldest will always take the lead, unless another is specially appointed for that purpose.' If such a one stops to hunt, or in order to stay and encamp at the place for some time, all halt together, all are pleased with the spot and declare it to be judiciously chosen.

I shall expatiate further on this interesting part of the Indian character, in the sequel of this work.

They have a strong innate sense of justice, which will lead them sometimes to acts which some men will call heroic, others romantic; and not a few, perhaps, will designate by the epithet *barbarous;* a vague indefinite word, which if it means any thing, might, perhaps, be best explained by *something not like ourselves.* However that may be, this feeling certainly exists among the Indians, and as I cannot describe it better than by its effects, I shall content myself with relating on this subject a characteristic anecdote which happened in the year 1793, at an Indian village called *La Chine,* situated nine miles above Montreal, and was told me in the same year by Mr. La Ramée, a French Canadian inhabitant of that place, whom I believe to be a person of strict veracity.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

son is present, or even accidentally comes by before the skin is taken off, he presents it to him, saying, "Friend, "skin your deer," and immediately walks off. William Wells, whom I have before spoken of, once paid me this compliment, and when I asked him the reason, he answered that it was the custom among the Indians on the Wabash.

In the year 1792, I travelled with a number of Indian chiefs of various tribes from Post Vincennes to Marietta, and I found in most instances that their usages and customs were the same that I had observed among the Delawares.

The Indians in general, although they understand and speak our language, yet prefer speaking to a white man through an interpreter. For this they give various reasons. With some it is a matter of pride; as their chiefs deliver their public speeches through interpreters, they think that they appear with more dignity when they do the same. Others imagine that their words will have greater weight and effect when expressed in proper grammatical language, while some are afraid of committing mistakes when speaking in an idiom not their own. Particularly when they have a joke to pass, a hint to give, or a shrewd remark to make, they wish it to have all the advantages of a good translation, and that their wit may not be spoiled by a foreign accent, improper expression, or awkward delivery.

Though the Indian is naturally serious, he does not dislike a jest on proper occasions, and will, sometimes even descend to a pun. Once at a dinner given at Marietta by the late colonel Sproat, to a number of gentlemen and Indian chiefs of various tribes, a Delaware chief, named George Washington, asked me what the name of our good friend, the Colonel, meant in the Lenape language? It should be observed that Colonel Sproat was remarkably tall. I told him that *Sprout* (for so the name is pronounced) meant in English a shoot, or twig of a

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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522 tree. "No, no," replied the Indian, "no shoot or twig, "but the *tree* itself."

648 609 I have spoken before* of the wit of the Indians, and the shrewd and pointed remarks which they occasionally make, but passed rather lightly on the subject. A few characteristic anecdotes will best supply this deficiency.

An Indian who spoke good English, came one day to a house where I was on business, and desired me to ask a man who was there and who owed him some money, to give an order in writing for him to get a little salt at the store, which he would take in part payment of his debt. The man, after reproving the Indian for speaking through an interpreter when he could speak such good English, told him that he must call again in an hour's time, for he was then too much engaged. The Indian went out and returned at the appointed time, when he was put off again for another hour, and when he came the third time, the other told him he was still engaged and he must come again in half an hour. My Indian friend's patience was now exhausted, he turned to me and addressed me thus in his own language: "Tell this man," said he, "that while I have been waiting for his conve- "nience to give me an order for a little salt, I have had "time to think a great deal. I *thought* that when we "Indians want any thing of one another, we serve each "other on the spot, or if we cannot, we say so at once, "but we never say to any one 'call again! call again! "call again! three times call again!' Therefore when "this man put me off in this manner, I *thought* that, to "be sure, the white people were very ingenious, and "probably he was able to do what no body else could. "I *thought* that as it was afternoon when I first came, "and he knew I had seven miles to walk to reach my "camp, he had it in his power to stop the sun in "its course, until it suited him to give me the order that I "wanted for a little salt. So *thought* I, I shall still have "day light enough, I shall reach my camp before night,

* Ch. 6. p. 88.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7

773 **Origin of Dolls of the Doll Dances**

The informant J.T. told the following stories:

In early times there was a girl who liked to play with dolls. She would pick up all sorts of things and pretend that they were dolls. Even after she was grown she continued to play with dolls. Then she became very ill. During her illness a voice spoke to her. The voice told her that in order to get well she would have to make a doll such as she would see in the dream. She opened her eyes and saw the doll she was to make, and the voice told her how to take care of the doll, to give it feasts. The voice went on to tell her that dolls were not things to play with when you are grown. You don't play with them because dolls take care of the crops. When the girl awoke she went to the woods and carved a doll like the one she saw in her vision. She got well.

Once when the old folks had gone to a doll dance and left their kids at home, the kids got together and decided to make their own doll and have a dance. A girl made a doll and they had their dance, even though they didn't know the proper songs. It was wrong to make a doll, this was dangerous. One spring these children didn't dance this doll and the next spring a child got "bad sick." The phratry chief, who was also a medicine man, came to treat her. He knew that it was the doll that was causing this child to be sick. So the child's parents had the children give the doll a dance. They did and the sick child recovered.[169]

522 539 **The purely secular tales, which have nothing to do with supernatural forces, are not well remembered today, and perhaps always formed only a small part of the folklore. The following tale was considered extremely hilarious by informants.**

There once was a woman who intensely disliked her son-in-law. This worried the son-in-law and finally he decided to do something about it. He went down to the pond from which his mother-in-law was accustomed to draw water. He tied all the lily pads together so that he could make them vibrate by pulling on a string. Then he hid himself in some bushes that were near by. Soon his mother-in-law came down to draw water. He vibrated the lily pads and disguised his voice saying: "Your son-in-law is going to die, your son-in-law is going to die." She, of course, thought the lily pads were speaking to her. She started back to the wigwam, but her son-in-law took a short cut and beat her back. He was sitting within when the tearful woman arrived. She started being very nice to him, she combed and brushed his clothes and softened his buckskin clothes, and was nice to him afterwards because she thought he was going to die. (J.T., M.B.)

[169] Harrington, 1921, pp. 162-63, described a myth which was very similar to this one.

3: Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

sistency of a strong lye stops the flow of blood when applied to a fresh wound, even though an artery may have been ruptured, prevents swelling and heals the wound rapidly. After this solution has been used for one or two days other roots must be applied, such as the great sassaparilla and others that have healing powers.

Epilepsy is not very common among the Indians. It does not often happen that an Indian becomes mad, and madness among these people is not as violent as among the whites, probably, for the reason that they are not possessed of equal power with the whites, and even their bodies are weaker because they have not the abundance and variety of nourishing food. Blood letting is supposed to help the epileptics.

Of small-pox they knew nothing until some of them caught the contagion from the Europeans. Most of them died before the small-pox properly appeared. They are much inclined to boils and sores. Upon these they lay a warm poultice made of the flour of Indian corn; when the boils are ripe they are lanced. Broken arms and legs they are able to set very well, though limbs are not broken often, dislocated joints they are also able to correct. If an Indian has dislocated his foot or knee, when hunting alone, he creeps to the next tree and tying one end of his strap to it, fastens the other to the dislocated limb and, lying on his back, continues to pull until it is reduced. For tooth-ache the Indians use roots also, placing a little piece in the hollow tooth, which sometimes affords relief though not always. Sometimes teeth are extracted if a pair of pincers can be secured. It is not for lack of skill but for lack of proper instruments that they do not treat external injuries more successfully. Such instruments as they have are not used in the most careful manner. If one who is being operated on cries out, those present laugh. Misfortunes of almost any kind trouble them little; if house and goods have been burned, the unfortunate owners may even relate the experience in a humorous manner.

Many of them suffer from diarrhoea, particularly, in the fall of the year. The evil is aggravated because they know nothing of dieting and continue to eat whatever they wish. For

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

Now, the first thing that the Leading Attendant is to do is to take one shoulder-length of wampum, carefully and properly to measure those turtle-rattles so everyone will be given wampum beads in accordance with the length of the backs of his turtle-rattle.[1] And, my kindred, we have been permitted to see right here how, as it is said, the Attendants call by name those persons whom they send for.

[Repeat the procedure of first paragraph page 143, in which certain men are called by name to enter the big house and pray as was done on the fourth night.]

Ye my brothers, here now is one shoulder-length of wampum.[2] My kindred go give the prayer-call out doors. When twelve times the supplication shall have been lifted up then you shall divide the wampum equally among you. Attendants, build up a bright fire. Now everyone who owns turtle-rattles go take them and shake them, these turtle-rattles, as should be done. When everything is ready, including those forked drumsticks, do you scatter all those prayer sticks in an even number on each side[3] of the Big House. Now my kindred again

[1] This rite has the significance of a symbol—or spiritual compensation for the service of vision recitation, and the blessing it brings to the people, of those who have so performed. Harrington (f, pp. 103-4) makes mention of this rite, and speaks of the owners of the rattles, when reclaiming the rattles and the wampum placed with them, shaking the rattle several times to test its sound. He adds that if it does not sound well the owner, abashed, takes his property out of sight as soon as possible. Our informant corrected this impression by pointing out that the owners shook these rattles intentionally as though to say thanks, and that there was a spirit of drollery in the pass which caused sometimes a ripple of mirth, not as serious in mien as Harrington understood it to be.

[2] There is an interval here. The speaker has turned to those chosen to give the prayer call. He has given to the owners of the rattles, those who have reciting their visions during the ceremony, the amount of wampum measured off on their shells. They accept this by taking the rattle and shaking them a few times. Some mirth may be aroused among those present if the sound of the rattles is not clear.

[3] In the distribution of the Prayer Sticks among the spectators, the first and second attendants go from one end of the Big House to the other, going in opposite directions (east to west, and west to east). They lay the sticks in front of the people at reasonable distances apart, placing them so that the decorated sticks are opposite each other and the plain ones opposite each other. If the sticks do not come opposite each other, it must be done over again. The singers chant a certain song while this distribution is taking place. I should add that each Attendant distributes three plain and three decorated sticks. The symbolism of the six (spotted) or decorated sticks represents the cry of ho+ in the prayer call, the plain sticks the cry of hä+, although all the prayers mingle in the calls, irrespective of whether they have been bestowed with the decorated or plain sticks. The informants words were added, "There has to be a way of showing the difference between the beginning cries of ho+ and the ending cries of hä+, so it is shown on the sticks by the marks."

(Specimens of the prayer sticks made by the informant, are 14 inches in length, made of red maple and sassafras, fig. 14).

7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

CEREMONIAL GAMES

The Moccasin Game Ceremony

Tci·pa'zkwi nal·ə't·i·n "Moccasin Game."—Within recent 524 ●
generations, probably since the Delawares have resided in the west, as tradition notes, the Moccasin Game was played in this Nation as a pastime. But since the memory of the now living older people its performance as an amusement has stopped and the game has become associated only with the rites performed upon the occasion of funerals. Again disintegration of old customs has relegated its performance to nothing more than a memory, as we are told by Joe Washington that to his knowledge the last time this game had been carried out in connection with the funeral ceremony was about 1910. The Delaware form of this widespread Indian game ceremony is described from his memory in the following terms.

The Delawares played a moccasin game under the management of two men as leaders who were not members of the same ceremonial group (Tortoise, Wolf, Turkey) as the deceased person at whose funeral rite the performance took place. These men were usually the pall-bearers, and against them as opponents were two women of a similar classification. These pairs did the guessing for their respective sides. They built a fire in the stove and played the game all night. In the game four moccasins were provided by each side, and the object, a cartridge, small bone or a bullet, was hidden beneath the moccasins by each side in turn, the whereabouts of which was guessed at by the opposite side. The players, male and female, sat on opposite sides of the room in the house where the corpse lay. Each side had the four moccasins spread out side by side on the floor in front of its chief player. To one side sat the drummers who sang the moccasin game songs during the performance using the water-drum. Each side had its own songs which were sung by the drummers during

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

●524 the time when it held the guessing hand. There was also a man appointed on each side to keep score by means of counter sticks. When the cartridge, bone or bullet was hidden by the leaders of one party, the leader of the opposite side had to guess under which moccasin it was concealed. The guessing was indicated by means of finger signs, a wave of the open hand to the right or to the left meant either of the end moccasins, by lowering the third finger of the pointing hand the third moccasin from the left was denoted, by lowering the first finger the second was indicated. The leaders, when the opposite side was guessing, endeavored to confuse their opponents by deceptive motions. Every time a successful guess was made as to the whereabouts of a hidden object, that is, under which of the four moccasins it had been concealed by the party holding the guess, a stick was placed on a pile by the score-keeper totaling the number of successful guesses of his party. The number of counters required to win is not now remembered. Every time that one side guessed successfully the particular moccasin under which the object was concealed, the turn to hide it reverted to the opposite side. And, with each inning completed, the men of the winning side rose and danced around the room once or twice to the tune of a victory song to celebrate its achievement. We have to note, however, that after the moccasin game had ceased to be an independent form of winter and spring amusement and had become attached to funeral celebrations, the dancing, after each winning period, was discontinued out of respect for the deceased. In the arrangement of the parties forming the two opposite sides of the game, one group faced east, the other west. It seems as though the game were a symbol of contest between the two opposing quarters and
[763] that an element of divination belonged to it. We are told in this connection that if the east side defeated the west side in the evening's performance it was a sign of coming misfortune; that some one in the company would die within the year. Washington added that this portent associated with the game was one of the causes for its discontinuation about twenty years ago. Some other details of the moccasin game

7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

among the Delawares are provided from his memory. They may serve as a base of comparison with the type of performance recorded among other tribes of the same cultural group when time comes to consider the history of the game. We learn, for instance, that the players started with four moccasins on each side but that towards morning the women took away one moccasin, leaving them three under which to hide the cartridge or bullet. Later, in the early hours of the morning another moccasin was taken away, later another until only one remained on each side and the players were unable to continue. One of the older women, Mrs. Minnie Fouts, who had taken part in this rite, corroborated the information of Joe Washington and added some of the details put on record. As the moccasins were taken away one by one during the course of the night, it was a signal for a change in the repertoire of songs in the series. It was added in explanation of taking away the moccasins that the men were induced to cease the game by this gradual method, lest they play too long. The element of wagering on the outcome of the moccasin game was stricken out when the game came to be used in the funeral rite, though previously betting was carried on by the Delawares when the game was an independent celebration for amusement. The reason for introducing the moccasin game into the funeral program was to provide a means of keeping the party awake and in good spirits while they were sitting up with the dead person during the nights between the time of decease and burial. Levity was customary during the playing of the game, yet this did not seem to interfere with the spirit of the funeral, it being intended to lighten the grief of those who were paying their last duties to the deceased.[1]

524 ● [525] [764] [781]

THE RING AND PIN GAME

Koko'lac (meaning not clear).—The following game, the name of which is not as descriptive as it might be although

[1] In the account of the Moccasin Game given by R. C. Adams ("Legends of the Delaware Indians," Washington, 1905, p. 47), some of the songs accompanying the rite are transcribed. It is doubtful whether any more of these scores could be secured at the present time.

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To a sharpened stick or bone is fastened a leather string some twenty inches long at the other end of which is fixed the tail of a rabbit. On the string are threaded five hollow cones, the wider ends open toward the stick. For the want of sufficient native material the Delawares make these cones by hollowing out and tapering common spools. In former times they were the phalanges of the deer. In the specimens figured one is constructed with spools, the other with sections of some animals' leg bones. The object of the play is to swing the cones in the air, catching as many as possible on the end of the pointed stick. Each player repeats the attempt to impale these cones until he misses three times. For each cone caught on the stick he receives a count of one. The players keep count of their totals by memory. The winning total is decided upon at the beginning of the game, it may be 15, 25, 50 or 100 points. Small wagers are laid upon the [525] outcome, the player to reach the total first taking the stakes. To catch the rabbit's tail counts nothing.

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CEREMONIAL DOLLS

778 *Oxta's*, "Doll or Plaything."—The privilege of making dolls as toys out of cornhusks is denied children. The reason [777 753] is that corn is too sacred to be trifled with. To violate this would bring on bad luck in the form of sickness. Only those in whose family inheritance the obligation to make and to perform in ceremony with such creations are permitted to

+ = element present
− = element denied
(+) or (−) = source ambiguous
• = informant could not or would not say
§ = some, sometimes, or several
† or * = see Ethnographic Notes, pp. 79-137 for additional information

	Williams	Van der Donck	Lindestrom	Zeisberger	Heckewelder	Johnston	Pipe	Chipps	J. W.	W. T.	E. R.	W. L.
									524	525	526	738
419. War chief leaves war club at house of enemy chief to show desire for peace						−	−	+	•+	•	−	•
420. Delaware act part of mediators between other tribes						+	+	•	+	•	•	+
421. Terms of peace negotiated				+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Peace—Continued												
422. By village chiefs							+	+	+	+	+	+
423. By council							+				+	+
424. By persons appointed					+	+						
425. Ceremonies at conclusion of peace: Dancing		+				+	+	−	+	−	+	+
426. Feasts						−	•(+)	−	+	•+	+	+
427. Belts exchanged				+			+	+	+		+	+
428. Pipe smoked				+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+
429. Anything like flags of truce before whites					−	−	−		•+	•	+	•
430. Flags or armorial bearings					−	−	−	•	•	•	−	•
Games												
431. Ball play				+		•	+	+	−	+	−	−
432. Football	+					+	•	•	•+	•+	+	•+
433. Dice game	+			+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+
434. Number of colors				2		2	2	2	2	2	2	2
435. Number of dice				6		5-6	6	6	7	6	8	12
436. Cards	•+	•+		+		+		+	−	+	−	•+
437. Quoits				+					−	−	+	+
438. Wrestling				+		+		+	+	+	+	+
439. Racing	+					+		+	+	+	+	+
440. Jumping						+		+	+	+	+	+
441. Hopping						+			+	•+	+	+
442. Lifting stones				+					−	•+	+	+
443. Throwing stones				+					+	+	+	+
444. Shooting and throwing arrows									+	+	+	+
445. Fond of gambling	+	+		+		−		+	s	s	+	+

| | | |

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

411 Oklahoma Delaware said that they had used the blowgun as boys and that, although the targets were usually birds or small [524] game, the blowgun was more of a toy than anything else. Since the sojourn of the ancestors of the Oklahoma Delaware in Ohio [171] and Indiana in the first decades of the nineteenth century is rather well documented and accounts of that period fail to record the possession of the blowgun then, it is more than probable that two sources of diffusion are here indicated. The Canadian Munsee or Delaware undoubtedly received the blowgun from the Southeast through the Iroquois, whereas the Oklahoma Delaware probably received it direct from the southeastern tribes with whom they have been neighbors in Oklahoma.

227 It is strange that in two years on the Delaware River Lindeström did not see spears, nets, or hooks used to take fish (313-15). All these were mentioned by Roger Williams as being used by the Narragansets and all but the spears were listed by Van der Donck in addition to weirs. These last, according to Lindeström, were the principal means used by the Delaware to take fish. Weirs were not mentioned by the second- or third-period sources and were unknown to the modern Delaware.

224 Large hunting parties were reported periodically for the Delaware in every period (316). However, there was considerable variation as to the number constituting a large party (317). E. R. said four hunters were as many as ever hunted together. This is quite diverse from the hundreds reported in the first period. The parties were formed for their mutual advantage and were under the guidance of the oldest or most expert hunter (319). Williams, Van der Donck, and Lindeström mentioned the driving of deer by large parties. Subsequent accounts did not mention game drives, and the report of smaller parties probably indicate that they were no longer made. Group hunting in the later periods was described by Johnston as a party of several families going together directed by a head man who encouraged the young men to pursue their hunting every morning and directed them where and when to move their camps. The ceremonies observed [796] in connection with group hunting were rather elaborate as described by Lindeström (see *post*, pp. 127-28). In the second and

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

W. T.—Originally there was no war, hence no peace rules until after whites introduced war. William Penn made a treaty with the Delaware. The delegates (chief, assistant chief, war chief, and councilors) at this and later treaties, met, and talked things over, smoked just like businessmen do today. The white delegates were given food just like Indians always feed any visitors. At the Penn treaty they ate turkey. Thanksgiving day among the whites commemorates this first turkey feast. 721 728

429. Flag of truce

J. W. said that a flag of truce was something blue. 728

GAMES

432. Football

J. W. and W. T. said football was taken over recently from Shawnee. 526

W. L. said that the football game was played with the women against the men. There were two goal posts on the east side and two on the west. Each side tried to send the ball between the posts of the other side. The men had to kick the ball but the women could throw it. Once they appointed a man to help the women. He was mobbed and that was not tried again.

436. Cards

ROGER WILLIAMS reported a game like English cards in which rushes were used instead of cards. 525

VAN DER DONCK said that they played a game with pieces of reeds, resembling our card playing.

W. L. said that seven-up was the favorite game.

441. Hopping

W. T. stated that the game was to see who could cover the most ground in three hops. 524

442. Lifting stones

W. T. said that contests of lifting stones in the old days were really trials of the vision power of the different individuals, for 781 526

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

781 in those days some through their power were able to lift stones
526 weighing over a thousand pounds with one hand.

447. Moccasin game

●524 JOHN JOHNSTON described the moccasin game as follows with-
525 out any mention of its connection with the wake of a deceased person:

Moccasin is commenced by placing a blanket or two upon the ground, placing four moccasins upon the blankets. A small ball is made use of. They draw cuts to know which party has the ball first. One of the party that it falls to hides it under one of those moccasins and one of the other party looks for it, if the ball is under the moccasin he first draws, he had found it, if not one of the same party hides it again and it counts one in their tally, or if he turns over last he has found it and one of his party hides it, but if it is not under the one he first draws or if he turns them up and it is not under the one that he turns up last, it is considered not found and the same party hides it. The party that has the ball to hide sings and the other party is silent. For their tally they use three balls or sticks and every time the ball is hid and not found by the other party, one of those balls or sticks is given to the party that hid it until the three come together which is game and the party that has the balls has beat. They agree how many games they will play for the property that is at stake. They frequently make large bets upon this kind of game especially when one tribe plays against another.

All the modern informants reported this game being played only the night before a funeral.

DANCES

448 and 449. Worshiping and common or corn dance

535 JOHN JOHNSTON—They had originally but two and one of them has been described in their mode of worship the other is conducted in similar manner, but they think of less consequence. At this dance the men all dance in front, the women in the rear in a single file at this dance. They have two that sing and beat

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

273 438 The latter will often obtain everything that an Indian owns except his Breech-clout. For their skins the Indians get from the traders powder, lead, rifle-barrelled guns—for other weapons they do not value — blankets, strouds, linen, shirts, cotton, 439 callemanco,[297] knives, needles, thread, woolen and silken ribbon, wire and kettles of brass, silver buckles, — these are considered as valuable as gold and with them they can purchase almost anything — bracelets, thimbles, rings, combs, mirrors, axes, hatchets and other tools.

535 If the young are at home and not on the chase hardly a night passes without a dance. The women, who always follow the men, dancing in a circle, act with decency and becoming modesty, as if they were engaged in the most serious business. Neither laughing nor levity are to be noticed and they never speak a word to a man, for this would injure their character. They neither jump nor skip, but move one foot after the other slightly forwards then backwards, yet so as to advance gradually. The men shout and leap and stamp with such violence that the ground trembles under their feet. Whatever man acts in the oddest and most ridiculous manner is the most regarded. They dance in a circle around the fire. Often in the midst of the dance they will all hold their heads forward over the fire, stand bowed or leap and stamp, singing all the time; suddenly they stand erect again and move forward. They make all manner of unusual movements to show their agility and skill. They have no other music than the drum. When one dance has been finished the one who beats the drum sings and beats until another begins. There is always a leader whom all watch carefully and follow. They have various kinds of dances, some acquired from the other nations.

526 The young men often wrestle to test their strength. The one thrown is not angered but admits the other to be his master. Another mode of testing strength is in trying to lift some large stone, or throwing a stone of considerable size the greatest distance possible.

● 525 Nine-pins, ball-playing and cards they have learned from the whites. The Indian game of dice is the most popular of

3: Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7
Iroquois NM9

amusements. They may devote days in succession to it, always gambling on the throwing. Among the Mingoes I have observed that two towns brought together goods, blankets, strowds, shirts, linen and played for them. In this case the game lasted eight days. The dice are placed in a dish, lifted up and thrown forcibly on the ground. The people of the two towns met daily during the period named and every inhabitant of each town threw the dice once. This done they parted for the day and each party separately offered a sacrifice in the evening. In connection with the sacrifice they had their special ceremonies, consisting in a man going several times 'round a fire, throwing tobacco into it and singing a song. Afterwards the whole company danced. This continued for eight days. When the winners bore away the spoil in triumph.

The boys exercise by shooting at a mark with bow and arrow. They may throw something into the air and shoot at it, the one hitting the object being regarded as a good marksman. As soon as they are able to run about they learn to use the bow and arrow. When they grow older they shoot pigeons, squirrels, birds and even raccoon with their bows and arrows.

Two comrades who have been reared together or have become attached to one another will be very close and constant companions. If one goes on a journey or to hunt the other will, if possible, accompany him. It seems almost impossible for either of them to live without the other, and for one to give up his companion, as may be necessary when one becomes a Christian, is very hard. Often such friends will make a covenant with one another to remain together and share alike possessions and knowledge.[208] If they go to war together and one perishes the other will fight desperately to avenge him, accounting his own life as nothing.

In traveling in companies they are very companionable and follow some recognized leader. The younger element, on such journeys, engages in the hunt and if deer or bear is shot, the carcass is brought to camp and laid at the fire of the one who is held to be leader. He divides the meat among all, share and share alike. No complaint is ever heard that one has received more than another. If the chiefs have a journey to make, they

584 Marriage arrangements were always simple, but it was definitely considered better form for the negotiations to take place between the two sets of parents rather than between the individuals concerned. In this type of negotiation, the man's mother took animal food which he had killed to the girl's mother; according to some sources, a [431] return gift was made of corn food prepared by the girl (Harrington, 1908, p.215; Heckewelder, 1881, pp.161-72; Zeisberger, 1910, p.78). It was not unusual, however, for the agreement to take place directly between the boy and girl in which case they might or might not go through these formalities. Loskiel, who is the only author 591 who mentions the subject of residence after marriage, says that the newly married couple often lived with friends for a short time until they built their own house (Loskiel, p.56).

462 The man was responsible for building the house and providing axes, hoes, canoes, dishes and household equipment although the girl might supply some things. The man was expected to support the family by hunting, trapping and fishing, and the game which he brought home was the property of his wife to use as she saw fit. She was equally responsible, however, for agricultural produce and cooking; and if she were remiss, might be reminded of her neglect by her husband's taking to the woods without telling her he planned to do so. She also carried packs in traveling, tanned skins and fetched wood (Penn, p.30; Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 155-160; G.Thomas, p.341).

586 There was apparently no strong pressure put upon the couple to remain together after they were married. Although later writers [595] state that marriages were formerly more stable, they present no evidence to substantiate this. Polygyny was permitted but infre- 768 quent (Heckewelder, 1881, p.154; Harrington, 1913, p.215; Zeisberger, 587 1910, pp.78-9; Loskiel, p.57). After the death of a spouse, the widow or widower, but more particularly the former, was expected to remain single for a year, but it is clear that this was frequently not done (Brickell, p.49; Loskiel, p.121).

Social Life and Organization

648 Most of Delaware social behavior is a closed book to us as 431 the early observers did not usually have long contacts with them 574 in their villages. The early writers were aware, however, that the Indian expected to be fed when he visited them, and that they were always offered food when they visited him. Likewise they noted that gifts passed readily from hand to hand among the Indians although property rights were clearly understood (Lindstrom p.233; Danckaerts, pp.80 and 159; Penn, p.32).

525 The following games were probably played in this early period: [524] footraces (Lindstrom, p.191); a gambling game in which flat bones

painted a different color on each side, were thrown up and caught, the goal being to get as many of a particular color as possible; and another in which an object was hidden under one of several moccasins and the players attempted to guess which one it was under (Denny, p.265; Brinton, 1888, p.40; Loskiel, p.105). The vigorous dances engaged in by the Delaware were also noted although no early writer mentions (as Zeisberger, writing in the eighteenth century does) that dances were held most evenings that the men were not out hunting (Penn, p.38; Zeisberger, 1870, p.90). Later writers all agree that the Delaware were a sociable people given to frequent visiting and communal games and dances (Zeisberger, 1870, p.87; Heckewelder, 1881, pp.101-3 and 149).

This may be the most suitable place to mention the dogs kept by the Delaware since it seems most likely that they were kept merely as pets. Their remains have not been found in great abundance and in most cases where they were found they appear to have been deliberately buried. There is only one instance where there is some question whether the animal had been used as a sacrifice (Skinner, 1915, p.48; Heye, p.59).

At the time of contact, the Lenape were living in villages composed of several groups of families in the summer and hunting in single family groups in winter. The associations of families constituted bands, the names of which generally had some reference to the territory which they occupied.[10] In the eighteenth century Heckewelder reported a double division of the tribe into three sub-tribes, called Unami, Unalachtigo and Munsee, and into three genealogical "totems" which I will call phratries. The phratries were named Turtle, Turkey and Wolf, and Heckewelder equated them with the sub-tribes. He believed that the divisions had existed in the contact period also (Heckewelder, 1881, pp.51-2). Morgan, in the late nineteenth century, found that the Munsee, who are generally called the "Wolf Tribe", actually had members belonging to all three phratries, and Harrington found the same situation in the twentieth century (Morgan, 1912, p.177; Harrington, 1913, p.209). The Munsee had a tradition, however, that the three phratries formerly occupied separate villages.

Both Harrington and Morgan found the modern Delaware phratries divided into matrilineal clans, the names of which were not totemic (Harrington, p.210; Morgan, 1912, p.177). The only evidence of totemic beliefs is a vague association between the turtle phratry and the mythical turtle in the creation myth and, of course, the phratry names themselves. The only evidence for the regulation of marriage by any social unit is found in Zeisberger who says that no Indian will marry within his own tribe as he considers himself too closely related to the other individuals in it. But his use of the word "tribe" is not clear so that the problem of which

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

× 796 feet apart. To score a goal the ball must go between these
526 poles. The opponents are allowed to throw and wrestle with each other, but must not hurt one another intentionally. The game is played for a score of twelve or twenty goals. The record of goals secured is kept by a score-keeper who is provided with a number of sharp sticks one of which he sticks into the ground as each goal is won by the sides. Wagering
● 525 is customary, and ribbons, beads, breastpins, bracelets or money are placed in a pile on the outcome of the contest.

Mention should be made of the ball. It is composed of a bundle of deer hair sewed in buckskin cover and is about eight inches in diameter.

When the ball season has reached its end about the close of June, the chief orders the discontinuation of the game. And after the final game he takes the ball and makes a speech saying that the season is now to be closed until the next year. At the conclusion of his speech he takes the deer-hair filling out of the ball and cuts the cover in halves. This is the sign to all that the football festival season is over.[1]

SPRING PRAYER

× 796 Elaŋgu'ndieŋg" wani'ci· yu'kwe ki·'ckwi·k tɔli·'
782 My kindred I am thankful now this day that
539 mɔca"'tamɔne"n elki·'kwi· wɔle"lɔm·u'k·weŋg ɔ'nda
we are thinking how the blessings when

ko'xɔn·a ke"tan'to'wi·t' mɔca"'lkweŋg ɔk kɔne"'mɔne"n
our father Great Spirit remembers us and we can see

tɔli·' i·'ka pe"te"'lɔmuk·o"'ne"n ɔ'nda si·'kwunami·'eŋg"
that so to now we live to see when it is spring time we see together

wu'ndji· wɔle"te"'nami·'ne"n ɔ'nda ne"'meŋg" we"'mi·
that is why we are thankful rejoice when we see every

ke'ko li' sa'k·ɑn ɔk kɔmuxo"'mɔna"'nɑk hi·'t'kuk
thing how coming up and our grandfathers trees

sa"'k·ali·'yɔk yu'kwe we"'mi· elɑma"'kami·k' wɔli·na"'-
they send out bud now all over the universe looks

[1] Later information states that the ball is not destroyed at the end of the game except when it was conducted upon the principle of the Shawnee ruling which prevailed in Delaware tradition through the influence of this tribe.

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construct likenesses of the human figure. This belief is illus- 778
trated in the rite of the Doll Dance. When figures of corn-
husk are to be made they should be made by a person born
in summer, the season of growing corn, such an individual
being known as *si'kwan mi'mqs*, "spring child." Persons, 778
however, who are born in winter may make toys in the image 821
of the emblem of their ceremonial group, though to do so is
apt to bring on cold weather. It is believed that such action
is apt to anger the spirit controlling the winter, namely,
Lowane'ke's, "Winter Spirit." As an example of the opera-
tion of privilege and restriction in such matters we have the
case of a person of the Turkey group born in winter, who
could make the image of a turkey, chicken, duck or goose
out of cornstalks or cornhusks decorating it in correspondence
with its nature as a bird by attaching feathers to it. This
may be suspended in the dwelling by means of a string so
that the wind will blow the image about. Those who observe
it would remark, "Oh, you are trying to break the weather."
In short, those born in summer can only exert influence [844]
through the making of images upon the creatures of the
summer, for winter-born persons to make them is pernicious.

DICE AND BOWL GAME

Mama'n'di'n, "Gathering Dice Together." — Another 525
amusement which among the Delawares took on the sig-
nificance of a minor ceremony, was the game in which a
wooden bowl and seven dice cut out of bone, mussel shells
or peach seeds to produce outlines of turtles, horses' heads,
one side in natural color, the other stained black, and
other forms not well remembered as to detail. For some
reason the Delawares have abandoned this pastime, although
it has continued strongly among tribes whose native culture
has become more thoroughly disintegrated. Even the details
of the counting have been forgotten. Men and women in-
dulged in the Dice and Bowl game for the purpose of wagering,
the stakes being placed at one side before the opening of the
game. The players sat in a circle around the bowl which
rested on a folded blanket, each taking his turn by lifting the
bowl off the blanket and bringing it down violently to cause

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the dice to fall at hasard. The counts depended upon the number of dice that fell with the same color up. We might imagine that the scoring color combination would be similar to those of related tribes who retain the game, yet lacking direct testimony on the point these particulars cannot be reconstructed. The number of counts gained by each player was recorded by his accumulating a pile of beans representing his total. Brinton records some particulars of the Canadian Delaware phase of the game.[1]

GAME OF JACK STRAWS

Sela'zti'k·ana (*sela''ta·n*), "Scattering Straws."—The following game so closely resembles the European game of jack-straws that at first glance it might be summarily concluded to be of this derivation, nevertheless I would hesitate to speak too positively on this point in view of a number of distinct features connected with it which seem to belong in the realm of native thought. The furnishings of the game are fifty plain straws, smooth sections of bog grass about eight inches in length obtained by cutting the stems between the joints. To this number are fifteen additional straws marked by being burnt with a hot iron to produce dots, spirals and dashes. The count value of the marked straws begins at 5 and ends at 75. The devices which indicate their values seem to have formal character and I have indicated in the accompanying sketch the values assigned to them according to the advice of several informants in the Nation who still play the game, and with whom I engaged in it. The object of the game is to throw the straws upon a blanket folded to form a playing table in the middle of the habitation, and to remove the sticks one by one by means of a quill, the thick end of which has been bent into a hook. In removing the straws from the pile the player must avoid stirring the other straws in the slightest degree, to do so causes him to miss and the next player to the right takes his turn. All the straws obtained by each player are kept in a pile, the plain straws counting one point and the marked ones adding their

[1] D. G. Brinton, "Folk-Lore of the Modern Lenape," Essays of an Americanist, Philadelphia, 1890, p. 186.

7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

combined values. The winning score is decided upon at the beginning of the game, 100 being the usual goal. The manner of holding the straws is interesting. The entire bundle in which the plain and marked straws are shuffled is held between

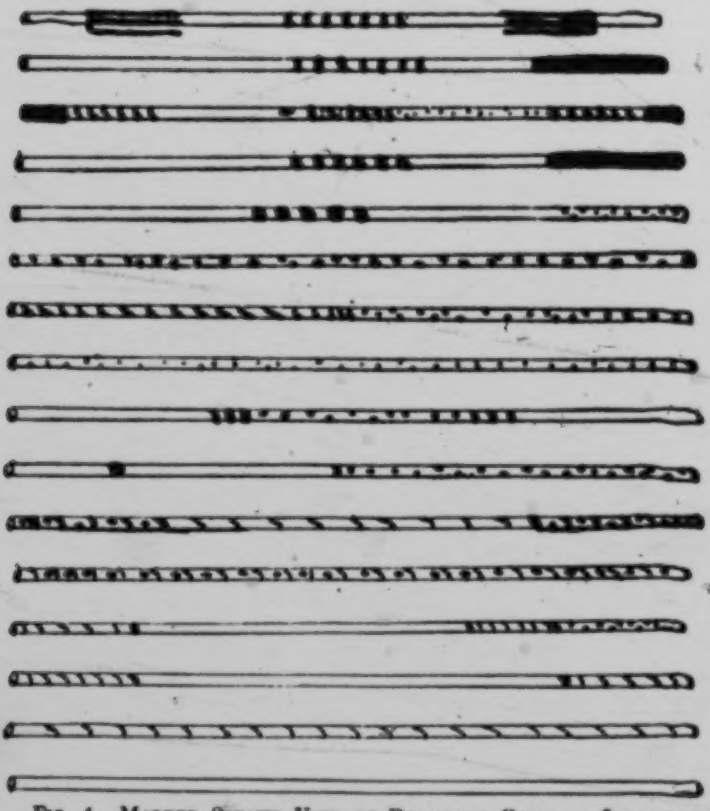

FIG. 4. MARKED STRAWS USED IN DELAWARE GAME OF JACKSTRAWS. From bottom up plain straw counts one, marked straws from five to seventy-five, by quinary and quindecimal symbols.

the palms a little above the blanket then dropped. They fall in confusion and the picking out then begins by the one who cast them, each player casting his own straws. Wagering may be indulged in and men and women may take part.

The person securing the lowest score forfeits a blanket or

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

525 money, or as a minor stake the penalty is to cut wood for the owner of the house where it is played or for the winner, or to go on an errand, or to butcher a hog for him the next day, as the case may be.

844 777 821 This game has its limitations of performance inasmuch as it is proper only for those born in winter to engage in it and it is only played in the winter time, with the result that it brings on storms of sleet and blizzards. For these preferences to be violated would bring on bad luck.

The markings on the straws valued from 5 to 75, are indicated in the accompanying sketch.

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

764 of the person departed, if he or she made any statement as to what way he wanted the burial conducted.

● [525] "All who wish to may come and sit up with the corpse. The men pall-bearers sit up and others who wish to play a hand game,[*] using usually a coffee bean or buckeye bean or a bullet for ball hiding—first under 764 a glove or moccasin—and the other persons guess which moccasin he hides the bean or bullet under. This is kept up until daybreak. At night be- 775 fore the "wake," the men pall-bearers discharge three (another says two) musket shots toward the sunset, then everyone must rise and give attention. The shots symbolize the departure of the soul of the deceased. Everyone must be awakened, especially the children, so that they may not become frightened. The widowed person or the bereaved parents stay awake all night. And just before sunrise another volley of two or three shots is fired which symbolizes lifting the soul upward. The relatives of the deceased stand in front of the shooters. With the echo of the discharge the soul departs.

764 "Now an elderly person, who has been chosen to officiate at the ceremony, must offer thanks to the Great Spirit at breakfast time and [761] perform the ceremony before the body leaves the house. During the funeral procession no one must look back,—if they do it indicates another of the immediate members of the family will follow soon. The speaker must be given one 'Indian yard of wampum beads' for his services, which do not end until after the feast on the eleventh day noon hour.

"One of the pall-bearers must go to the grave each day and build a little fire at the head of the grave for four consecutive evenings and the people must leave the house in charge of someone, for it must not be left alone for twelve days, and a light must be kept burning at the main entrance of the house for four nights after the death of a person.

768 "And note, the widowed person must also be painted when the face 764 of the 'departed' body has been painted. Four days after, 'divorcement' proceeding takes place in the form of a ceremony. That is, they must burn cedar in the house to 'fumigate' and the cedar water is used to wash the widow's or widower's head. If a woman, she is told that she is now no longer obligated to her deceased husband's family. She is furnished with new clothes throughout. With this ceremony she is 'divorced,' but the relationship terminology remains the same to the family she formerly was married into.

775 "Now the burial hole is prepared on the day following the sitting up 826 with the body at night—it is not considered a grave until the body is in 772 it,—and even now, in the modern times, we do not believe in taking the body to be embalmed, as we believe the life blood is the spirit that remains on earth until the deceased is admitted to the abode of the Great Spirit, which is the twelfth level of the Heaven.

[*] This is the common moccasin game of North America. For description see S. Culin, "Games of the North American Indians," 24th Annual Report, Bureau American Ethnology 1906, and page 99 of this study.

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536
525
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+ = element present
− = element denied
(+) or (−) = source ambiguous
• = informant could not or would not say
S = some, sometimes, or several
† or * = see Ethnographic Notes, pp. 79-137 for additional information

	Williams	Van der Donck	Lindeström	Zeisberger	Heckewelder	Johnston	Pipe	Chipps	J. W.	W. T.	E. R.	W. L.
419. War chief leaves war club at house of enemy chief to show desire for peace						−	−	+	•+	•	−	•
420. Delaware act part of mediators between other tribes						+	+	•	+	•	•	+
421. Terms of peace negotiated				+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Peace—Continued												
422. By village chiefs							+	+	+	+	+	+
423. By council							+				+	+
424. By persons appointed					+	+						
425. Ceremonies at conclusion of peace: Dancing		+				+	+	−	+	−	+	+
426. Feasts						−	•(+)	−	+	•+	+	+
427. Belts exchanged				+			+	+	+		+	+
428. Pipe smoked				+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+
429. Anything like flags of truce before whites					−	−	−		•+	•	+	•
430. Flags or armorial bearings					−	−	−	•	•	•	−	•
Games												
431. Ball play				+		•	+	+	−	+	−	−
432. Football	+					+	•	•	•+	•+	+	•+
433. Dice game	+			+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+
434. Number of colors				2		2	2	2	2	2	2	2
435. Number of dice				6		5-6	6	6	7	6	8	12
436. Cards	•+	•+		+		+		+	−	+	−	•+
437. Quoits				+					−	+	+	+
438. Wrestling				+		+		+	+	+	+	+
439. Racing	+					+		+	+	+	+	+
440. Jumping						+		+	+	+	+	+
441. Hopping						+			+	•+	+	+
442. Lifting stones				+					−	•+	+	+
443. Throwing stones				+					+	+	+	+
444. Shooting and throwing arrows									+	+	+	+
445. Fond of gambling	+	+		+		−		+	s	s	+	+

9: Kinietz E-4,5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

and, of course, many accounts not used here (431). Three of the fourth-period informants, J. W., E. R. and W. L., all denied most emphatically that the Delaware ever had ball play. They knew the game and said that the Creeks and others played it but never the Delaware. W. T. of the Washita Delaware did not join in the denial. Repeated inquiries directed at J. W. and W. L. failed to shake their determination that the Delaware had never played the game. A similar reticence about this game among the Shawnee was finally broken down by Erminie W. Voegelin and found to spring from the prohibition of the game imposed by the government in 1874. Her informant stated that the Creek, Yuchi, Delaware, and Choctaw, all played the shinny game. The Shawnee played it until about 1874; after that little boys played it only, just for fun. The Shawnee played so much they neglected their crops. Then the government made them quit playing it.

Details of the various games were so seldom given that comparisons between the different periods are impossible. Usually only the presence or absence of a game can be noted. One exception is the dice game, in describing which all narrators mentioned two colors for the dice.

Reports of the number of dice used varied from five to twelve, with six being the number most frequently given. There was only one report, that of W. L., of twelve, and the suspicion arose that this might have been an extension by the informant of the sacred number twelve to the game and not the true case. Although no record of the connection between the dice game and the Big House Ceremony where the number twelve predominates is found, nor any memory of such a connection is recalled by the Oklahoma Delaware, the fact that Brinton collected in 1887 an account of this game played with twelve flat bones, and that it was said to have had, in the old days, a place in the native religious rites of the Delaware in Ontario,[11] furnishes corroboration of the authenticity of W. L.'s account.

[11] Brinton, Daniel G., "Lenâpé Conversations," in *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, 1(1888), 40.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

764 At the head of a warrior it is common for them to place a white post, upon which is represented in hieroglyphics the tribe to which he belonged, the number of engagements in which he had been engaged, of scalps which he had taken, etc.; but no post is placed at the graves of women.

763 It is very customary among them to take leave of their friends when death approaches. In this they generally exhort them to good conduct, to live in harmony with each other and thus to procure the favor of the Great Spirit, and success in their undertakings. Some of them who have led improper and dissolute [761] lives dread very much the approach of death, but others die in perfect reconciliation to their fate. They generally die in possession of their mental faculties to the last moment, but to this many exceptions are found, resulting from the nature of the disease or the impression which the idea of death may have upon their minds.

764 J. W.—Two men and two women not related to deceased were chosen to take care of things relating to funeral. In the death of a man, the men prepared the body while the women cooked; the women prepared the body of a woman while the men cooked. [768] The relatives divided and distributed good articles left by the deceased among the persons who served. Old, much used articles were put in the grave.

The face of the deceased was painted as in life. The body was dressed in Indian clothes which had to be new. If the deceased did not have new clothes, they made them.

The corpse was kept until noon of the day after death before burial. It was placed in bark house outside of dwelling. Moccasin game played on south side of fire. Two pairs of moccasins were used but only one bullet. Towards morning (three o'clock) one pair was taken away. Points in the game were counted with about one hundred little sticks. After the one pair of moccasins [525] was taken away the winner of a counter threw it into the fire. The game is not played now but some one, usually one of the attendants, sits up all night with the corpse. No feast accompanied the game but food was available for all visitors.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

and dressed in best clothes. There was no payment to persons performing these services. The corpse was kept until noon of the day after death. During this time the relatives and others played moccasin game with four moccasins and two bullets. The grave was dug about four feet deep with the head to the East. Never put anything into the grave. After the grave was filled in the folks of the deceased who took care of the bereaved spouse led him or her once around the grave, clockwise, natural steps, not holding hands, but spouse was careful to step in the tracks of the leader. Twelve sticks were thrown away during this circuit. Spouse was then led away from the grave. He or she then visited the grave every evening about six or seven o'clock for four nights, made a little fire, just lighted it and immediately blew it out. Talked to deceased at this time. During these four days relict did not wash, comb or paint. Was attended by the kin folks of the deceased. At the end of this period he or she was washed, combed and dressed in new clothes—sometimes offered new spouse in the person of the sister or brother of the deceased to take care of him or her. Always accepted. Formerly, two years passed before relict was told to go free if not given a new spouse at the end of the four-day period. Two years was too long, so about one or two hundred years ago the time was reduced to one year. Relict did not attend games, dances, etc. for one- or two-year period. Other relatives observed same mourning as relict for four-day period.

764 767 [525] 765

Preacher prayed after death and also at burial—talked to deceased and told him to forget those who were left and to go home and be happy. Graves were surrounded by trees laid in a crib about three feet high and then covered with boards. Posts were erected at head of graves of both men and women. The posts might be painted or not. Diamond-shaped figures carved on posts were not Delaware but Shawnee, as were the painted figures or crosses. The post for men carried a crosspiece, whereas that for women was an upright with a pointed top. Said that the only feast offered the deceased was before burial.

764 782

E. R.—After death fix bark house outside of dwelling in which corpse was placed with head to East. In the house there were fires

764

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

W. T.—Originally there was no war, hence no peace rules until after whites introduced war. William Penn made a treaty with the Delaware. The delegates (chief, assistant chief, war chief, and councilors) at this and later treaties, met, and talked things over, smoked just like businessmen do today. The white delegates were given food just like Indians always feed any visitors. At the Penn treaty they ate turkey. Thanksgiving day among the whites commemorates this first turkey feast. 721 728

429. Flag of truce 728

J. W. said that a flag of truce was something blue.

GAMES

432. Football

J. W. and W. T. said football was taken over recently from Shawnee. 526

W. L. said that the football game was played with the women against the men. There were two goal posts on the east side and two on the west. Each side tried to send the ball between the posts of the other side. The men had to kick the ball but the women could throw it. Once they appointed a man to help the women. He was mobbed and that was not tried again.

436. Cards

ROGER WILLIAMS reported a game like English cards in which rushes were used instead of cards. 525

VAN DER DONCK said that they played a game with pieces of reeds, resembling our card playing.

W. L. said that seven-up was the favorite game.

441. Hopping

W. T. stated that the game was to see who could cover the most ground in three hops. 524

442. Lifting stones

W. T. said that contests of lifting stones in the old days were really trials of the vision power of the different individuals, for 781 526

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

781 in those days some through their power were able to lift stones
526 weighing over a thousand pounds with one hand.

447. Moccasin game

524 JOHN JOHNSTON described the moccasin game as follows with-
525 out any mention of its connection with the wake of a deceased person:

Moccasin is commenced by placing a blanket or two upon the ground, placing four moccasins upon the blankets. A small ball is made use of. They draw cuts to know which party has the ball first. One of the party that it falls to hides it under one of those moccasins and one of the other party looks for it, if the ball is under the moccasin he first draws, he had found it, if not one of the same party hides it again and it counts one in their tally, or if he turns over last he has found it and one of his party hides it, but if it is not under the one he first draws or if he turns them up and it is not under the one that he turns up last, it is considered not found and the same party hides it. The party that has the ball to hide sings and the other party is silent. For their tally they use three balls or sticks and every time the ball is hid and not found by the other party, one of those balls or sticks is given to the party that hid it until the three come together which is game and the party that has the balls has beat. They agree how many games they will play for the property that is at stake. They frequently make large bets upon this kind of game especially when one tribe plays against another.

All the modern informants reported this game being played only the night before a funeral.

DANCES

448 and 449. Worshiping and common or corn dance

535 JOHN JOHNSTON—They had originally but two and one of them has been described in their mode of worship the other is conducted in similar manner, but they think of less consequence. At this dance the men all dance in front, the women in the rear in a single file at this dance. They have two that sing and beat

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

273 438 The latter will often obtain everything that an Indian owns except his Breech-clout. For their skins the Indians get from the traders powder, lead, rifle-barrelled guns—for other weapons they do not value — blankets, strouds, linen, shirts, cotton, 439 callemanco,[297] knives, needles, thread, woolen and silken ribbon, wire and kettles of brass, silver buckles, — these are considered as valuable as gold and with them they can purchase almost anything — bracelets, thimbles, rings, combs, mirrors, axes, hatchets and other tools.

535 If the young are at home and not on the chase hardly a night passes without a dance. The women, who always follow the men, dancing in a circle, act with decency and becoming modesty, as if they were engaged in the most serious business. Neither laughing nor levity are to be noticed and they never speak a word to a man, for this would injure their character. They neither jump nor skip, but move one foot after the other slightly forwards then backwards, yet so as to advance gradually. The men shout and leap and stamp with such violence that the ground trembles under their feet. Whatever man acts in the oddest and most ridiculous manner is the most regarded. They dance in a circle around the fire. Often in the midst of the dance they will all hold their heads forward over the fire, stand bowed or leap and stamp, singing all the time; suddenly they stand erect again and move forward. They make all manner of unusual movements to show their agility and skill. They have no other music than the drum. When one dance has been finished the one who beats the drum sings and beats until another begins. There is always a leader whom all watch carefully and follow. They have various kinds of dances, some acquired from the other nations.

526 The young men often wrestle to test their strength. The one thrown is not angered but admits the other to be his master. Another mode of testing strength is in trying to lift some large stone, or throwing a stone of considerable size the greatest distance possible.

525 Nine-pins, ball-playing and cards they have learned from the whites. The Indian game of dice is the most popular of

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7
Iroquois NM9

amusements. They may devote days in succession to it, always gambling on the throwing. Among the Mingoes I have observed that two towns brought together goods, blankets, strowds, shirts, linen and played for them. In this case the game lasted eight days. The dice are placed in a dish, lifted up and thrown forcibly on the ground. The people of the two towns met daily during the period named and every inhabitant of each town threw the dice once. This done they parted for the day and each party separately offered a sacrifice in the evening. In connection with the sacrifice they had their special ceremonies, consisting in a man going several times 'round a fire, throwing tobacco into it and singing a song. Afterwards the whole company danced. This continued for eight days. When the winners bore away the spoil in triumph.

The boys exercise by shooting at a mark with bow and arrow. They may throw something into the air and shoot at it, the one hitting the object being regarded as a good marksman. As soon as they are able to run about they learn to use the bow and arrow. When they grow older they shoot pigeons, squirrels, birds and even raccoon with their bows and arrows.

Two comrades who have been reared together or have become attached to one another will be very close and constant companions. If one goes on a journey or to hunt the other will, if possible, accompany him. It seems almost impossible for either of them to live without the other, and for one to give up his companion, as may be necessary when one becomes a Christian, is very hard. Often such friends will make a covenant with one another to remain together and share alike possessions and knowledge.[***] If they go to war together and one perishes the other will fight desperately to avenge him, accounting his own life as nothing.

In traveling in companies they are very companionable and follow some recognized leader. The younger element, on such journeys, engages in the hunt and if deer or bear is shot, the carcass is brought to camp and laid at the fire of the one who is held to be leader. He divides the meat among all, share and share alike. No complaint is ever heard that one has received more than another. If the chiefs have a journey to make, they

Marriage arrangements were always simple, but it was definitely considered better form for the negotiations to take place between the two sets of parents rather than between the individuals concerned. In this type of negotiation, the man's mother took animal food which he had killed to the girl's mother; according to some sources, a return gift was made of corn food prepared by the girl (Harrington, 1908, p.215; Heckewelder, 1881, pp.161-72; Zeisberger, 1910, p.78). It was not unusual, however, for the agreement to take place directly between the boy and girl in which case they might or might not go through these formalities. Loskiel, who is the only author who mentions the subject of residence after marriage, says that the newly married couple often lived with friends for a short time until they built their own house (Loskiel, p.56).

The man was responsible for building the house and providing axes, hoes, canoes, dishes and household equipment although the girl might supply some things. The man was expected to support the family by hunting, trapping and fishing, and the game which he brought home was the property of his wife to use as she saw fit. She was equally responsible, however, for agricultural produce and cooking; and if she were remiss, might be reminded of her neglect by her husband's taking to the woods without telling her he planned to do so. She also carried packs in traveling, tanned skins and fetched wood (Penn, p.30; Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 155-160; G.Thomas, p.341).

There was apparently no strong pressure put upon the couple to remain together after they were married. Although later writers state that marriages were formerly more stable, they present no evidence to substantiate this. Polygyny was permitted but infrequent (Heckewelder, 1881, p.154; Harrington, 1913, p.215; Zeisberger, 1910, pp.78-9; Loskiel, p.57). After the death of a spouse, the widow or widower, but more particularly the former, was expected to remain single for a year, but it is clear that this was frequently not done (Brickell, p.49; Loskiel, p.121).

Social Life and Organization

Most of Delaware social behavior is a closed book to us as the early observers did not usually have long contacts with them in their villages. The early writers were aware, however, that the Indian expected to be fed when he visited them, and that they were always offered food when they visited him. Likewise they noted that gifts passed readily from hand to hand among the Indians although property rights were clearly understood (Lindstrom p.233; Danckaerts, pp.80 and 159; Penn, p.32).

The following games were probably played in this early period: footraces (Lindstrom, p.191); a gambling game in which flat bones,

painted a different color on each side, were thrown up and caught, the goal being to get as many of a particular color as possible; and another in which an object was hidden under one of several moccasins and the players attempted to guess which one it was under (Denny, p.265; Brinton, 1888, p.40; Loskiel, p.105). The vigorous dances engaged in by the Delaware were also noted although no early writer mentions (as Zeisberger, writing in the eighteenth century does) that dances were held most evenings that the men were not out hunting (Penn, p.38; Zeisberger, 1870, p.90). Later writers all agree that the Delaware were a sociable people given to frequent visiting and communal games and dances (Zeisberger, 1870, p.67; Heckewelder, 1881, pp.101-3 and 149).

This may be the most suitable place to mention the dogs kept by the Delaware since it seems most likely that they were kept merely as pets. Their remains have not been found in great abundance and in most cases where they were found they appear to have been deliberately buried. There is only one instance where there is some question whether the animal had been used as a sacrifice (Skinner, 1915, p.48; Heye, p.59).

At the time of contact, the Lenape were living in villages composed of several groups of families in the summer and hunting in single family groups in winter. The associations of families constituted bands, the names of which generally had some reference to the territory which they occupied.[18] In the eighteenth century Heckewelder reported a double division of the tribe into three sub-tribes, called Unami, Unalachtigo and Munsee, and into three genealogical "totems" which I will call phratries. The phratries were named Turtle, Turkey and Wolf, and Heckewelder equated them with the sub-tribes. He believed that the divisions had existed in the contact period also (Heckewelder, 1881, pp.51-2). Morgan, in the late nineteenth century, found that the Munsee, who are generally called the "Wolf Tribe", actually had members belonging to all three phratries, and Harrington found the same situation in the twentieth century (Morgan, 1912, p.171; Harrington, 1913, p.209). The Munsee had a tradition, however, that the three phratries formerly occupied separate villages.

Both Harrington and Morgan found the modern Delaware phratries divided into matrilineal clans, the names of which were not totemic (Harrington, p.210; Morgan, 1912, p.177). The only evidence of totemic beliefs is a vague association between the turtle phratry and the mythical turtle in the creation myth and, of course, the phratry names themselves. The only evidence for the regulation of marriage by any social unit is found in Zeisberger who says that no Indian will marry within his own tribe as he considers himself too closely related to the other individuals in it. But his use of the word "tribe" is not clear so that the problem of which

7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

THE SPRING PRAYER AND FOOTBALL CEREMONY TO ADVANCE VEGETATION

An important rite took place in the spring at a time coinciding with the first appearance and growth of vegetation. The rite has lost most of its former strictness, and its performance in recent times is apparently of shorter duration. Without going into speculation upon its original character, we have certain particulars to place on record, of which the following text and description of a football ceremony as part of the celebration are of considerable interest. In describing the festival the text of the annual spring prayer will be given then a sketch of the football ceremony. The prayer is the formal prelude to the occasion and seems to embody the dominant spirit of thanksgiving and supplication in behalf of a vigorous growth of vegetation upon which the Delawares placed such stress in their economic existence. The prayer contains some finely worded passages and shows perhaps more than other declamations the power of expression of which the native mind is capable when stimulated to religious emotion by the contemplation of the blessings brought to man by the heat of the sun, moisture and the glorious realm of plant life.

There is reason to trace much of the ceremonial make-up of this festival to the Shawnee with whom the Delawares were, and still are, so closely associated. Until we have the results of the painstaking study of Shawnee ethnology in course of preparation by Dr. and Mrs. Voegelin it is wiser not to draw conclusions on this point.

The concept that trees are capable of breathing utterances has not died out in human letters among modern European poets [1] whose muse is of a much later birth than that of the

[1] For instance, among the latest; Stephen Vincent Benét ("John Brown's Body," N. Y., 1928),

> "I heard the song of breath . . .
> Solemn harps of the fir. .
> And the vast, tiny grass
> Blown by a breath and speaking."

7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

The Spring Dance may be called to performance by a chief of any one of the three ceremonial social groups, Wolf, Turkey or Tortoise. It is he who is responsible for the prayer which opens the event. Besides the prayer or invocation, he is expected to deliver a sermon before the dancing begins, the text of which follows the general pattern of such declamations among the more devout Indians over the whole Algonkian-speaking area, as I have had occasion to observe it. In this talk he tells the people that they must conduct themselves as is proper in a ceremonial dance, to show respect to the aged, to reverence the purpose of the dance and game and at the same time to extract as much good and enjoyment out of it as possible because the Creator intends for them to have it as a period of enjoyment. He sagely observes in closing that the Creator looks upon his people as his children and wishes for them to enjoy themselves as such without causing trouble.

In recent times the reduction of the rite to a mere football game seems to have been the tendency among the Oklahoma Delawares. The main officer is the fire guardian and dance promoter known by his office as *pu'tcəl*, who lectures the participants cautioning them against drinking, violence, scuffling or the leveling off of grudges during the game and dance. The dance song is accompanied by the water-drum. There are both women's dances and the ordinary "Stomp" or leading dances, and then mixed dances continuing through the night. The concluding dance is the parting dance, the so-called Drunken Dance, which terminates all Delaware social dance gatherings and takes place just before the break of dawn (see p. 98).

After the first night of the dance it is held over again for several nights, usually taking place the last of each week, the dance lasting over Saturday night.

The general details of the football game are as follows. The opposite sides are composed of an equal number of men and women. There are two goals, one at each end of the smooth area known as the football ground. The goal poles are two uprights eight or nine feet in height set about four

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

feet apart. To score a goal the ball must go between these poles. The opponents are allowed to throw and wrestle with each other, but must not hurt one another intentionally. The game is played for a score of twelve or twenty goals. The record of goals secured is kept by a score-keeper who is provided with a number of sharp sticks one of which he sticks into the ground as each goal is won by the sides. Wagering is customary, and ribbons, beads, breastpins, bracelets or money are placed in a pile on the outcome of the contest.

Mention should be made of the ball. It is composed of a bundle of deer hair sewed in buckskin cover and is about eight inches in diameter.

When the ball season has reached its end about the close of June, the chief orders the discontinuation of the game. And after the final game he takes the ball and makes a speech saying that the season is now to be closed until the next year. At the conclusion of his speech he takes the deer-hair filling out of the ball and cuts the cover in halves. This is the sign to all that the football festival season is over.[1]

SPRING PRAYER

Elaŋgu'ndieŋg"	wani'ci·	yu'kwe	ki·'ckwi·k	təli·'	
My kindred	I am thankful	now	this day	that	
məca"'taməne"n	elki·'kwi·	wəle"ləm·u'k·weŋg	ə'nda		
we are thinking	how	the blessings	when		
ko'xən·a	ke"tan'to'wi·t'	məca"'kweŋg	ək	kəne"'məne"n	
our father	Great Spirit	remembers us	and	we can see	
təli·'	i·'ka	pe"te"'ləmuk·o"'ne"n	ə'nda	si·'kwunami·'eŋg"	
that	so to now	we live to see	when	it is spring time we see together	
wu'ndji·	wəla"te"'nami·'ne"n	ə'nda	ne"'meŋg"	we"'mi·	
that is why	we are thankful rejoice	when	we see	every	
ke'ko	li'	sa'k·an	ək	kəmuxo"'məna"'nak	hi·'t'kuk
thing	how	coming up	and	our grandfathers	trees
sa"'k·ali·'yək	yu'kwe	we"'mi·	elama"'kami·k'	wəli·na"'-	
they send out bud	now	all	over the universe	looks	

[1] Later information states that the ball is not destroyed at the end of the game except when it was conducted upon the principle of the Shawnee ruling which prevailed in Delaware tradition through the influence of this tribe.

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
NM7 Delaware NM7

they through this later will get in their hunt so much the greater blessing. Then they sing and dance and when they become jolly and happy then they cry and sing thus namely:[7] *Hägginj, hä, hä, hä; Hägginj hä; Hägginj hä; Hägginj hä, hä, hä, hä*, etc. Thus repeating and continuing so long a time, so that it reaches well over the forest.[8]

In this their convention[9] they [also] practice shooting. He who is sachem has a turkey placed very high in the air, whose entrails are removed and [the body] filled again with their money.[10] And the one who then can shoot it down, he receives the money, *et talia*, etc.

In the meantime later in the year, when the grass has thus been burnt off the land, they do not care to arrange any more such hunts,[11] but shoot the animals wherever they find them in the woods, which they have no difficulty in doing, because they have scent of the animals like the dogs; for often the savages say to the Christians, when they follow them in the woods: "Indeed I now feel the scent of deer, if I wanted to bother to go after them." This the Christians did not believe in the beginning, before they followed them, and got to see that they were right. Otherwise they are so perfect in shooting that they do not miss.

And the savage is so armstrong that he is able to shoot with a bow so far, that no gun can carry

[7] *Tå roopa the och sunga sådedes, nämbl.*
[8] So that it can be heard far over the forest. *Hegginj*, etc., the final *j* is used for *i*. Cf. Holm, *Kort Beskrifning*, 153 ff.; above, p. XL.
[9] *Uthi detta sitt consent.*
[10] Wampum.
[11] Like the one described above.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946 NM7 Delaware NM7
728 276 526 525 524

+ = element present
− = element denied
(+) or (−) = source ambiguous
• = informant could not or would not say
S = some, sometimes, or several
? or * = see Ethnographic Notes, pp. 79-137 for additional information

	Williams	Van der Donck	Lindeström	Zeisberger	Heckewelder	Johnston	Pipe	Chipps	J. W.	W. T.	E. R.	W. L.
419. War chief leaves war club at house of enemy chief to show desire for peace						−	−	+	•+	•	−	•
420. Delaware act part of mediators between other tribes						+	+	•	+	•	•	+
421. Terms of peace negotiated				+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Peace—Continued												
422. By village chiefs							+	+	+	+	+	+
423. By council							+				+	+
424. By persons appointed					+	+						
425. Ceremonies at conclusion of peace: Dancing		+				+	+	−	+	−	+	+
426. Feasts						−	•(+)	−	+	•+	+	+
427. Belts exchanged				+			+	+	+		+	+
428. Pipe smoked				+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+
429. Anything like flags of truce before whites					−	−	−		•+	•	+	•
430. Flags or armorial bearings					−	−	−	•	•	•	−	•
Games												
431. Ball play				+		•	+	+	−	+	−	−
432. Football	+					+	•	•	•+	•+	+	•+
433. Dice game	+			+		+	•	+	+	+	+	+
434. Number of colors				2		2	2	2	2	2	2	2
435. Number of dice				6		5-6	6	6	7	6	8	12
436. Cards	•+	•+		+		+		+	−	+	−	•+
437. Quoits				+					−	−	+	+
438. Wrestling				+		+		+	+	+	+	+
439. Racing	+					+		+	+	+	+	+
440. Jumping						+		+	+	+	+	+
441. Hopping						+			+	•+	+	+
442. Lifting stones				+						•+	+	+
443. Throwing stones				+					−	+	+	+
444. Shooting and throwing arrows									+	+	+	+
445. Fond of gambling	+	+		+		−		+	S	S	+	+

| | | |

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

728 by one party (421). On the other hand, there was no agreement as to how the desire for peace was broached or who the negotiators or ambassadors were (419, 422-24). No changes are indicated in these elements; rather, it seems that a variety of customs were permissible at any period.

The ambassadors were probably appointed by the civil chiefs, by the council of wisemen, or both. Their mission many times was preceded by the showing of a desire for peace by a war chief while in enemy territory. Heckewelder was the only one to throw any doubt on the sanctity with which the person of the ambassador was held, and he blamed all violations on the whites.

[535] Dancing at the conclusion of a peace was affirmed and denied in both the third and fourth period, with the majority reporting its practice (425). On the basis of the first copy of Pipe's account, the third-period sources denied the connection of feasts with peace ceremonies, whereas the fourth-period informants all maintained that feasts were given (426). However, Pipe's account was changed in the second and third copies to vouch for the feasts that had been definitely denied in the first copy, and thus this clear cut division between the information of the two periods does not exist. I suspect that the data of the fourth period reflect precontact and early contact customs that had been dropped as a general practice by the third period when most of the treaty negotiations were between whites and Indians rather than between different tribes of Indians. Pipe's reversal may be explained and correlated with this hypothesis by assuming that his first account related the contemporaneous practice and his revised accounts the custom in the past. The exchange of belts was unquestioned and the smoking of a pipe almost so (427-28). Pipe's statement that the Delaware "never used the pipe as the northern nations do" contradicts both previous and subsequent accounts and is most incomprehensible.

Games

526 The ball play, sometimes known as la crosse, usually indulged in by the tribes of the eastern United States was common among the Delaware according to the second- and third-period sources

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

and, of course, many accounts not used here (431). Three of the fourth-period informants, J. W., E. R. and W. L., all denied most emphatically that the Delaware ever had ball play. They knew the game and said that the Creeks and others played it but never the Delaware. W. T. of the Washita Delaware did not join in the denial. Repeated inquiries directed at J. W. and W. L. failed to shake their determination that the Delaware had never played the game. A similar reticence about this game among the Shawnee was finally broken down by Erminie W. Voegelin and found to spring from the prohibition of the game imposed by the government in 1874. Her informant stated that the Creek, Yuchi, Delaware, and Choctaw, all played the shinny game. The Shawnee played it until about 1874; after that little boys played it only, just for fun. The Shawnee played so much they neglected their crops. Then the government made them quit playing it.

Details of the various games were so seldom given that comparisons between the different periods are impossible. Usually only the presence or absence of a game can be noted. One exception is the dice game, in describing which all narrators mentioned two colors for the dice.

Reports of the number of dice used varied from five to twelve, with six being the number most frequently given. There was only one report, that of W. L., of twelve, and the suspicion arose that this might have been an extension by the informant of the sacred number twelve to the game and not the true case. Although no record of the connection between the dice game and the Big House Ceremony where the number twelve predominates is found, nor any memory of such a connection is recalled by the Oklahoma Delaware, the fact that Brinton collected in 1887 an account of this game played with twelve flat bones, and that it was said to have had, in the old days, a place in the native religious rites of the Delaware in Ontario," furnishes corroboration of the authenticity of W. L.'s account.

"Brinton, Daniel G., "Lenâpé Conversations," in *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, 1(1888), 40.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

526 177 Games show no change of any significance aside from denial of ball play. Every game reported in earlier periods was remembered in the fourth period. Moccasin game undoubtedly was restricted to play in connection with funeral ceremonies in the fourth but not in earlier periods.

Dances

535 Dances, like games, show remarkably little change. The begging dance, reported in the third period, drew two definite denials in the fourth, while two informants did not even recognize the [721] dance (451). As this dance was usually held in connection with the outfitting of a war party, a fact of which none of the informants were aware (459), the two denials should more properly be classed as lack of information.

The two most important dances from the point of view of the Delaware were the *engomxeen* and the *linkaokon* (448-49). [796] These were their only dances with a religious significance (456-57). The *engomxeen* or worshiping dance was a part of the Big House Ceremony. The *linkaokon* was recognized by most of the informants by that name but is better known as the doll dance. The first has not been held since 1924 and the other since 1929. The only dances that have been held in recent years have been social dances which are not represented in the element list.

Music

533 The elements listed under music are, of course, closely related [796] to dances. The statement of Johnston that there was no ceremonial music except solo singing was refuted by all the informants who felt qualified to answer (475). Johnston's further statement that only nonsense or insignificant words were used in songs, even though corroborated by Chipps, is likewise denied by the same three informants and also by Heckewelder (476). In both these cases the informants are undoubtedly right. The error of Johnston is an understandable one when it is realized that songs were mostly of words carrying allusions, that many of them were archaic forms used only in songs, and that meaningless syllables were added to complete the rhythm, with the results that only an instructed person could understand them.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Dolaware NM7

W. T.—Originally there was no war, hence no peace rules until after whites introduced war. William Penn made a treaty with the Delaware. The delegates (chief, assistant chief, war chief, and councilors) at this and later treaties, met, and talked things over, smoked just like businessmen do today. The white delegates were given food just like Indians always feed any visitors. At the Penn treaty they ate turkey. Thanksgiving day among the whites commemorates this first turkey feast. 721 728

429. Flag of truce

J. W. said that a flag of truce was something blue. 728

GAMES

432. Football

J. W. and W. T. said football was taken over recently from Shawnee. 526

W. L. said that the football game was played with the women against the men. There were two goal posts on the east side and two on the west. Each side tried to send the ball between the posts of the other side. The men had to kick the ball but the women could throw it. Once they appointed a man to help the women. He was mobbed and that was not tried again.

436. Cards

ROGER WILLIAMS reported a game like English cards in which rushes were used instead of cards. 525

VAN DER DONCK said that they played a game with pieces of reeds, resembling our card playing.

W. L. said that seven-up was the favorite game.

441. Hopping

W. T. stated that the game was to see who could cover the most ground in three hops. 524

442. Lifting stones

W. T. said that contests of lifting stones in the old days were really trials of the vision power of the different individuals, for 781 526

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

781 in those days some through their power were able to lift stones
526 weighing over a thousand pounds with one hand.

447. Moccasin game

524 JOHN JOHNSTON described the moccasin game as follows with-
525 out any mention of its connection with the wake of a deceased person:

Moccasin is commenced by placing a blanket or two upon the ground, placing four moccasins upon the blankets. A small ball is made use of. They draw cuts to know which party has the ball first. One of the party that it falls to hides it under one of those moccasins and one of the other party looks for it, if the ball is under the moccasin he first draws, he had found it, if not one of the same party hides it again and it counts one in their tally, or if he turns over last he has found it and one of his party hides it, but if it is not under the one he first draws or if he turns them up and it is not under the one that he turns up last, it is considered not found and the same party hides it. The party that has the ball to hide sings and the other party is silent. For their tally they use three balls or sticks and every time the ball is hid and not found by the other party, one of those balls or sticks is given to the party that hid it until the three come together which is game and the party that has the balls has beat. They agree how many games they will play for the property that is at stake. They frequently make large bets upon this kind of game especially when one tribe plays against another.

All the modern informants reported this game being played only the night before a funeral.

DANCES

448 and 449. Worshiping and common or corn dance

535 JOHN JOHNSTON—They had originally but two and one of them has been described in their mode of worship the other is conducted in similar manner, but they think of less consequence. At this dance the men all dance in front, the women in the rear in a single file at this dance. They have two that sing and beat

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7

Pan-Indianism and promote continued participation in the Pan-Indian society. Included here are the various powwows,[28] stomp dances,[29] and Indian associations of different sorts, from national organizations to the more or less informal Indian clubs, including women's clubs, sewing circles, and the like.

Powwows illustrate vividly the extent of Cherokee-Delaware Pan-Indianism. They are Indian fairs and in many respects are similar to the traditional county fair. Ordinarily, they are sponsored by inter-tribal Indian clubs. A powwow generally lasts from several days to a week, the participants camping on the premises. Social dancing is the principal activity, and many of the dances are modern syntheses of tribal and American elements. Dance costumes can seldom be identified with a specific tribe, as they have rapidly evolved during this century, with free borrowing going on between tribes.[30] Even the music of the powwow and of other similar gatherings has taken on a Pan-Indian flavor. Rhodes, commenting on Plains music, has said that "through the Dakotas and westward to Oregon, where social and ceremonial life function rather weakly in an acculturated pattern, there is to be observed a trend toward uniformization of musical style."[31] A list of the various tribes that attend these Indian fairs is impressive evidence of the extent of Indianism. The "Devils Promenade," a fair held annually over the fourth of July near Quapaw, attracts Indians from virtually every tribe in Oklahoma and sizable contingents of Indians from other states as well. A number of Sac and Fox from Tama, Iowa, for example, were present during the 1952 dance. The Oklahoma powwows are climaxed by the annual American Indian Exposition held at Anadarko in August; it attracts Indians from every quarter of the United States.

A number of powwows were attended in the second summer's field work and the presence of two families at these affairs was recorded. Both families in one month attended five powwows, for periods of time ranging from one to three days. Included were powwows in Tulsa, Pawhuska, Sperry, Quapaw, and Pawnee, some as far as eighty miles, from the Dewey area. In no instance was a Cherokee-Delaware found who was not an avid fan of powwows, despite the fact that neither the dances, the music, nor the costumes were Delaware, or were derived from Delaware culture. The Delawares do not hold any powwow of their own, or any in conjunction with other Indians. Moreover, their last stomp dance, which was held early in the summer of 1951, was unsuccessful. They are not even very active as dancers in the powwows which they attend, being interested spectators rather than active participants. The magnetism which these powwows have for the Cherokee-Delawares lies in the opportunity afforded them to be with others whom they consider to be like themselves, and the chance it gives them to act as "Indians," or at least to act as they think Indians should act. These Indian fairs, then,

[28] This term is used in Oklahoma for social gatherings; I use it in this sense.

[29] I am using this term for the smaller, more informal, less commercialized dances.

[30] See Gunther, 1950, pp. 174-79, for a detailed description of this diffusion.

[31] Rhodes, 1952, p. 132.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7

are of considerable importance to Cherokee-Delaware Pan-Indianism. They not only serve as a common meeting ground for Indians, but their effect reinforces membership and consciousness of membership in Indian society.

Contrary to what I had supposed, social clubs of various types were not an important factor in the development of Pan-Indianism among the Cherokee-Delawares. Not one person was ever found who belonged to any national Indian organization, such as the National Congress of American Indians. In fact, many people professed complete ignorance of such organizations. For this reason these formal Indian groups, which in a sense may be said to be lobbying for Indianism, have been disregarded here. In passing, it might be noted that these organizations are possibly some sort of concrete expression of this acculturative trend among other Indian groups. Informal social clubs have some bearing upon Cherokee-Delaware Pan-Indianism. A number of women at one time belonged to the Indian Women's Club, an intertribal extension club of Washington County, which holds monthly meetings, has rummage sales, luncheons, and the like. Significantly, proceeds of one rummage sale were sent to the Navaho. Membership in this organization has declined since the war and none of the women interviewed belonged to it. It should be emphasized that this organization was Indian in character and not tribal. There has never been a men's club.

Extratribal marriage is an important factor in Cherokee-Delaware Pan-Indianism and assimilation. The Cherokee-Delawares are at the present time tribally exogamous. The youngest all-Delaware marriage I could find was between a man of thirty-eight and a woman of thirty-five, and this seems to have been somewhat exceptional. Only three living couples were found in which both partners claimed to be entirely Delaware, although a number of old widows and widowers had had Delaware spouses. Marriage to Indians of other tribes is the usual custom, but marriage to whites is not uncommon. Cherokee-Delawares have married Comanches, Senecas, Shawnees, Cherokees, Creeks, Yuchis, Peorias, and undoubtedly Indians of other tribes. How the Indian parents in these mixed marriages classify their children is indicative of the feelings about Pan-Indianism. If parents are questioned about tribal affiliation of their children, they may simply reply without much thought, "Indian," or with a little thought they may say, "Yuchi-Creek-Delaware," or something similarly artificial. Occasionally, they will skirt the question by giving the tribe in which the children are enrolled by the government. The wholesale marriage of the younger generation of Delawares to Indians of other tribes must be considered an important influence in the growth of Pan-Indianism. On the other hand, the marriage of Delawares to whites naturally, perhaps inevitably, results in further culture loss and completed assimilation. This would be particularly true of the individual who marries a white person and moves to an all-white community. Those individuals who marry whites but remain in an Indian community have, of course, a much better opportunity to retain Indian ways, and white marriage partners may become participants in Indian

[P. 35, B]

562 571 women, and might safely therefore be more "friendly" with them.

Oral Fixation

153 There is some evidence to suggest a preoccupation, which had a large component of aggressiveness, with oral needs. This concern with eating (and with other oral phenomena, such as ritualistic pipe-smoking, naming, and oratory), which reached far beyond subsistence requirements, can hardly be ascribed to a realistic subsistence anxiety since the Delawares had ample supplies of animal and vegetable foods at their disposal, and adequate techniques for cultivating, gathering, preserving, and storing them. It is worth [787] mentioning that the pubescent Delaware solicited the favor of a guardian spirit by self imposed fasting; the spirit was supposed to pity him and appear in a vision; later the spirit would be important to him in helping to secure food.[23] Oral rituals, often with a compulsive quality, were a [527] recurrent institutional theme: almost all social gatherings involved eating, smoking, and oratory, and some were frankly eating-orgies—the famous "eat-all" feasts, for example; the fondness for liquor may be regarded as an oral trait of compulsive [757] character;[24] internal medicines were usually [758] taken as liquid herbal infusions, usually in large doses;[25] the sick lived on a liquid [754 762] diet;[26] suicide and witchcraft were both accomplished in most cases by poison taken by mouth;[27] tortured prisoners were some- [727 266] times ceremonially eaten, and hunger cannibalism was reported;[28] war parties made a ceremonial feast the night before their departure;[29] emetics were extensively [757 777] used in the treatment of disease, and vomiting was thought to relieve a sense of guilt, and also to bring luck.[30]

23 Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 132-133.
24 Zeisberger, 1778, p. 116; Heckewelder, 1819, p. 263.
25 Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 24-25; Tantaquidgeon.
26 Zeisberger, 1778, p. 24.
27 Zeisberger, 1778, p. 125; Heckewelder, 1819, p. 259.
28 Heckewelder, 1819, p. 199; Zeisberger, 1778, p. 101-108.
29 Zeisberger, 1778, p. 103.
30 Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 84, 133-134.

15 Morgan 1-7 (1859) 1358
N517 Delaware 1859

[p 49]
[pp 29-48 not processed]

PART IV

114

Baptist Delaware Mission,
Kansas T. June 9, 1859

I left the Shawnee Mission (Friends) yesterday morning and reached here the same evening. I crossed Kansas River at the Delaware Crossing, about twelve miles above its mouth; and was so fortunate in point of time as to be there on Payment Day, which is the annual gala day of the nation. As I had never seen a government payment of Indian annuities I was, of course, very glad that it happened as it did. After spending about four hours as a spectator of this curious scene, I went on to the Mission. Today Mr. Pratt and myself went down again, and spent a few hours, the payment still going on, but so near completed that they expected to finish tonight. We have just returned somewhat fatigued by the ride, as the day is warm. Some account of the payment must be given, although it is one of those scenes which should be seen to be appreciated. The amount paid was universally large, it being no less a sum than $78,000 to something less than 1000 people all told, men, women and children, and was paid in gold and silver. In January 1858 the Delawares numbered by census 988. At the present June census their number is but 941. These figures were given me by Mr. Ford, a merchant of Lawrence, who stops here and is looking after the accounts with the Delawares. I supposed the nation was not diminishing, but rather on the increase

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[527]
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[648]

[450 (A)]

[*Payment Day*]

657 The place of payment was centrally located
527 but a most inconvenient place in itself, as it was upon a side hill with very rough ground all around it. The only recommendation was the eight or ten houses which made up the settlement, and furnished shelter for
[439] the goods of the traders, who are inseparable from all payments. The number present was large, just as many of the Delawares as could possibly leave their homes, with a single one behind in some cases to watch the premises. About 800 were present and some Shawnees from the opposite side and perhaps 100 white people, including traders and spectators. I arrived about 10 A.M. and the paying out commenced about 1 P.M.

291 The Indian women were all dressed out
177 in their best attire, as this is the only occa-
[527] sion that ever brings them together as a
[657] people. We saw the fruits of the sales of
[439] previous years, and some of the present, in advance a few hours of the time of payment, as the traders are eager to commence their work at once. In the first place the Delaware women have usually dropped the Indian skirt, and put on the long dress of the white female. I thought I saw a skirt upon an elderly woman, although it was covered up with a gown. Their dresses are of all colors, and some of them of rich materials. A few were dressed in colored muslin with silk shawls, and looked quite becomingly, but the most of them were, strange to say, dressed in silk gowns, some of which were brocade patterns of rich brocade silk, some were black, these looked the best. Some were crimson and black, some fiery plaid; the most of them were in bright colors. Over these they wore silk shawls of every color and shade, most of them fringed. They were expensive silk shawls of good

12:Tantaquidgeon E-5 (no date)1950
NM7 Delaware NM7

Delaware Indian Art Designs

GLADYS TANTAQUIDGEON

Introduction

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in Kansas, and from there they moved to Oklahoma and became incorporated with the Cherokee. Other bands found their way to Canada in the Province of Ontario, where they are now known as Delawares, Munsee and Moravians.

161

The present population of the Delawares is estimated to be about 1,400. Of this number, 1,000 are in Oklahoma and the remainder in the province of Ontario, Canada.

Field of Art

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Until about 1890 the Delawares practiced many of their native arts and crafts but among the modern descendants of the tribe only a few of the older arts have survived. Pottery making, work in stone, bone, horn, antler, silver and the use of quills and hair in embroidery; twined basketry made from certain roots, and woven bags and girdles of Indian hemp (*Apocynum cannabium*) are now only vaguely remembered by some of the older members of the groups in Oklahoma and Ontario. Work in silver persisted until

[324]

[326]

[P 24, 8] About 1913.

2:Newcomb E-4,5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7

cold weather and outside in warmer weather.[138] Perhaps the most exotic garments in the eyes of Europeans were the feather mantles which were used both as robes and as bedding.[139] Lindestrom said: "They also make very fine and beautiful quilts of painted bird feathers. In the first place they tie them with meshes like nets, yet very fine, then fasten the feathers in the meshes, so neat and strong that not one feather can come loose from it; it would sooner go clear off."[140] Besides robes, leggings that extended almost to the hips and moccasins were worn.[141] For winter wear "they say that shoes made of dressed bears skins, with the hair on and turned inside, are very warm, and in dry weather, durable."[142] One source mentioned cornhusk moccasins.[143] Women's dress differed from male attire in that a short skin skirt of a square wrap-around style was worn.[144] Clothing was highly decorated with colored designs of dyed porcupine quills, or it was painted.[145] Hats were not used, although one source mentioned "helmets of hard sticks and strong wood" used for defensive purposes in war.[146] Denton said: "They wear no Hats, but commonly wear about their Heads a Snake's skin, or a belt of their money, or a kind of a Ruff made with Deer's hair & died of a scarlet colour, which they esteem very rich."[147] Children wore little or no clothing in warm weather, but by the eighteenth century girls donned, as soon as they could walk, "a little frock" resembling their mother's costume. Boys at about the age of six began wearing the breech cloth.[148]

Adornment and ornamentation.— Men wore a scalp lock, that is, one tuft of hair was allowed to grow long. Other body and facial hair, if any, was plucked out.[149] "They root out the hair from the forehead backward so that the head is bald up to the crown, and only a hand-breadth of it in circular form is suffered to remain. . . ."[150] Women wore their hair in a bun at the back of the head; it was not cut and sometimes hung to the knees.[151] Face and hair of both sexes were smeared with grease.[152] There was no mention of tattooing during the seventeenth century, but since in the next century it was well established, it probably was an ancient custom:

> The process of tattooing, which I once saw performed, is quickly done, and does not seem to give much pain. They have poplar bark in readiness burnt and reduced to a powder, the figures that are to be tattooed are marked or designed

[138] De Vries, 1909, p. 217; Holm, 1834, p. 119; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 202.
[139] De Vries, 1909, p. 217; Juet, 1909, p. 18; Van der Donck, 1909, p. 301; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 203.
[140] Lindestrom, 1925, pp. 221-22.
[141] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 15; Lindestrom, 1925, p. 199.
[142] Heckewelder, 1881, p. 202.
[143] Van der Donck, 1909, p. 301.
[144] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 15; Skinner, 1947, p. 5.
[145] Heckewelder, 1881, p. 202; Skinner, 1947, pp. 3-4.
[146] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 222.
[147] Denton, 1845, p. 10; Holm, 1834, p. 120, noted the same customs.
[148] Johnson, 1917, p. 280; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 17.
[149] Thomas, 1912, p. 340; Lindestrom, 1925, pp. 195-96; Van der Donck, 1909, p. 300.
[150] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 12.
[151] Smith, 1877, p. 137; Lindestrom, 1925, p. 195.
[152] Van der Donck, 1909, p. 301; De Rasieres, 1909, p. 108; Pastorius, 1912, p. 433.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7

from archaeological sites attributed to the Delawares. Copper tobacco pipes were recorded early in the seventeenth century by Juet who said: "They had red Copper Tabacco pipes, and other things of Copper they did weare about their neckes."[167] Lindestrom described the pipes as painted and said that there were some "an ell in length, which are screwed together with leather, to lean on. . .and in these pipe-heads will go a handful of tobacco."[168] In another place he indicated that pipe heads were decorated with birds and animals "very beautifully painted and glazed."[169] Holm said that the pipes were "a fathom long, which they lean upon as a stick."[170] The pottery pipes found in archaeological sites were plainer, being "straight conical tubes, plain or stamped, to elbow-shaped forms decorated with incised or stamped lines."[171] De Laet said they had ". . .tubes for smoking tobacco formed. . .of flint stone ingeniously perforated."[172] Stone pipes, however, are relatively rare in archaeological sites.[173]

Agricultural implements of the women were simple; short-handled hoes were fashioned with a blade of dogwood, stone, tortoise shell, or the scapula of a deer (later bison).[174] The scapula hoe is remembered by living Delawares. The Delawares had pottery vessels, and according to archaeological information the paste varied from fine to medium coarse, grit temper was more common than shell temper, and sherds are usually gray or brown. Vessels had "conical and rounded bottoms" and were "straight walled or rounded." Shoulders were often absent, although some had pronounced shoulders when associated with a collared rim. Decoration, if present, was by roughening with a cord-wrapped paddle. Incised decorative designs were frequent.[175] Containers and other utensils were fashioned of wood, shell, bark, gourds, and tortoise shell.[176] Stone tools are common in archaeological deposits and include "plain or pitted hammerstones, anvil stones, abrading stones, sinew stones, pestles, shallow mortars, choppers (or hoes), picks, netsinkers, paint stones and amorphous pieces of mica."[177] They possessed "stone hatchets" that were hafted to a handle, and another type which was neither grooved nor hafted.[178] The women and old men manufactured the mats, ropes, tump lines, and baskets, which were made from wild hemp, nettle, silkweed, spruce roots, cornhusks, ash splints, papaw bark, elm bast, and rushes. Wooden bowls, dishes, and mortars were made of maple, buckeye, and elm wood.[179] Speck has described fully the block

[167] Juet, 1909, pp. 18-19; De Laet, 1909, p. 49.
[168] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 197.
[169] *Ibid.*, p. 221.
[170] Holm, 1834, p. 120.
[171] Smith, 1950, p. 119.
[172] De Laet, 1909, p. 57.
[173] Butler, 1947, p. 253.
[174] Johnson, 1917, p. 279; Jemison, 1918, p. 47; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 38; Mahr, 1954, pp. 385-86.
[175] Smith, 1950, pp. 117-18.
[176] Pastorius, 1912, p. 384; Lindestrom, 1925, p. 255; Johnson, 1917, p. 281; Speck, 1941, pp. 47, 76-79; Smith, 1950, p. 119.
[177] Smith, 1950, p. 119.
[178] Kalm, 1937, I: 229.
[179] Thomas, 1912, p. 341; Lindestrom, 1925, p. 221; De Laet, 1909, p. 57; Harrington, 1913, p. 224.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7

stamp ornamentation of basketry in historic times, possibly a diffusion from the Europeans.[180]

Boats.—Canoes were of two types, a solid dugout canoe and one of birch or other bark. The dugouts were made of tulip poplar, cedar, sycamore, and probably other suitable woods, which were hollowed out by fire.[181] When they wished to venture out to sea or into rough water, two canoes were lashed together. Sails on these vessels were reported, but seem to be post-European.[182] Zeisberger described the manufacture of the eighteenth-century bark canoe, which probably represented the earlier technique:

> These canows are fashioned of one piece of bast, the outer side of which is turned inward, both ends sharply pointed and securely sewn with bast, the inside being stretched out by a ribbing of bent wooden rods, which keeps the canow in its proper form. These canows are so light upon the water that they easily glide away from under the feet of one unaccustomed to them when attempting to stand. ... To make one they choose a tree according to the size of canow desired and peel the bark off carefully so that there may be no rent. If a canow gets out of repair or is punctured...the latter know how to repair it by securing a patch of bast over any opening. Besides, there is a kind of elm-wood bast which they crush or pound fine and which is of a sticky consistency, serving them in place of tar, to keep their canows water-tight so that they do not leak.[183]

These canoes were made of elm, black oak, and hickory bark.[184] Harrington said that for temporary use "six or more logs lashed together in the form of a raft with bark withes carried people and baggage across waters or down streams as required."[185]

Wampum.—The subject of wampum comes up in several different contexts, since its uses ranged all the way from individual ornamentation to negotiatory belts in peace and war. I shall merely examine its form and manufacture since its sociopolitical implications have been discussed fully by Speck and Snyderman.[186] Virtually all the early documents mentioned the possession and use of wampum (often called zeewan or sewan) by the Delawares. Lindestrom, for example, said they had "oblong stones, with holes drilled through them, and threaded on strings. . .one kind [is] black-blue, the other kind white.... In size they are about the length of a wheat kernel and somewhat thicker."[187] He added that it was made by specialists, but says no more on the subject.[188] Fortunately, however, Burggraf has reconstructed the manufacture of wampum from knowledge gained through the material found in Indian workshops on Long Island. The white wampum was made solely from "the central stock of both *F. carica* and *F. canaliculatas*":[189]

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[180] Speck, 1947, pp. 17-19.
[181] Holm, 1834, p. 130; De Laet, 1909, pp. 38, 57; Van der Donck, 1909, p. 301; Mahr, 1954, pp. 382-83.
[182] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 237.
[183] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 23.
[184] Zeisberger, 1778, p. 33; Brinton, 1890, p. 185; Harrington, 1913, p. 223; Mahr, 1954, p. 382.
[185] Harrington, 1913, p. 223.
[186] Speck, 1919; Snyderman, 1955.
[187] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 229.
[188] *Ibid.*, p. 230.
[189] Burggraf, 1938, p. 54.

escape. In the summer and on trips shelter was not considered necessary (Johnson, p. 281; Lindstrom, p. 211). Most villages also contained a "Big House" which served as a place for religious assemblies and council meetings, but both of these functions were sometimes performed outdoors or in the chief's house.

As aids to transportation the Delaware used the carrying straps, pack baskets (used by both men and women) and canoes. Their bark canoes were of birch or chestnut. They also used a dugout made by first burning a suitable log and then scraping the charred portions out with sharp stones and shells (Johnson, p. 280). Vessels capable of ocean travel were constructed by fastening two large dugout canoes together and using mats for sails.[7] In these, journeys were made as far as New England and Virginia (Johnson, p. 280; Lindstrom, p. 237).

Nineteenth century writers were of the opinion that the Lenape used large amounts of copper and perhaps even worked it themselves (Brinton, 1885, p. 52; Abbott, 1885, pp. 774-77). More recent evidence, however, indicates that copper was not abundantly used, the most common form in which it is found being tubular beads, and that it was received solely in trade (Skinner, 1909, p. 28).

Clothing

The clothing of the Indian men consisted in summer of a leather girdle from which hung a flap of leather.[8] At this time of year the Delaware frequently went without footwear (Pastorius, 1700, p. 384; 1698, p. 433; Danckaerts, pp. 169 and 200; Lindstrom, pp. 191-92 and 197). The women's dress consisted of a square piece of leather fringed at the bottom which was bound around the waist as a short skirt (Skinner, 1915, p. 5; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 29). In winter, both sexes added leather leggings, moccasins and robes of animal skins or turkey feathers to this costume. Apparently the skins of bear, deer and raccoon were most commonly used for clothing. All of the clothing was decorated with colored designs of dyed porcupine quills or wampum (Pastorius, 1698, p. 433; Johnson, p. 280; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 202; Skinner, 1915, pp. 3 and 5).

Both sexes decorated themselves with numerous ornaments, the women, however, outdoing the men. Wampum was hung in chains around the neck and from the ears, and woven in bands which were worn around the head, sometimes with a single feather set in them (Pastorius, 1698, p. 434; Lindstrom, p. 196). Around the neck were also worn necklaces of dyed deer hair and native copper, stone and shell pendants and breast plates (Abbott, 1875, p. 327; Heye, pp. 32-42). In addition, men were seldom without their pipe, tobacco pouch and bag of food also hung about the neck (Lindstrom, p. 197). For festive occasions the ornamentation was greatly increased and face paint of various designs added. Hair and skin shining with bear grease was

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

PLATE 3

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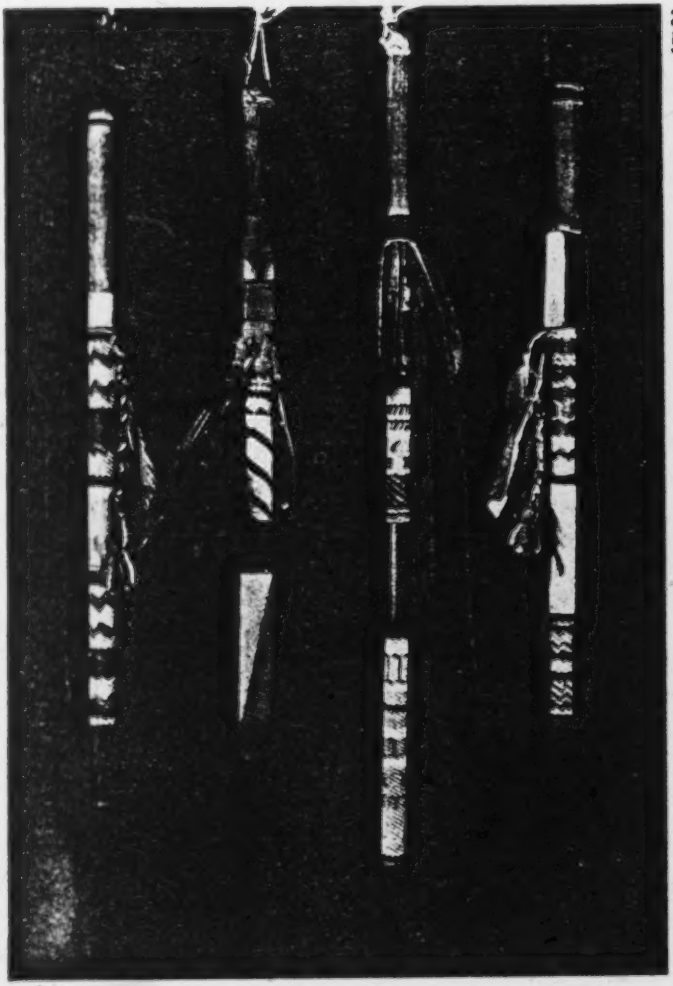

DECORATED WANDS USED BY LEADERS IN SOCIAL DANCES. (Eighteen to twenty inches in length, decorated with bead covering, paint and feather and yarn pendants.) (Photo by F. S. Speck.)

[Facing p. 93]

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

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FIG. 2. DELAWARE DANCE LEADER'S STAFF, decorated with symbolical beadwork, feather pendants and yarn (length, eighteen inches).

PLATE 4

[Facing p. 97]

Poses Showing Manner of Using Rattles in Rites.

Left, Turtle shell hand rattle as held in Dream Recitation Rite. Right, Deer hoof knee or garter rattles as worn in Social Dances.
(Photo by F. S. Speck.)

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7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

8:Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
NM7 Delaware NM7

CHAPTER XIX.

Concerning the Manufacture of the Attractive and the Artistic Wares of the American Savage People.

Write or read the savages cannot, nor do any other work like the Christians, such as spin, weave, sew, *et talia, etc.* But their work consists[1] in neatly working [various things] by drawing, painting and glazing, as for instance their bags,[2] which they make so large that 1 quart, ½ gallon, yes 1, 1½, 2, 2½, 3 up to 6 gallons can go into them, to keep grain and all kinds of other such [things] in. These they elaborate with all kinds of figures of painted pine roots and also split,[3] painted sticks, unspeakably strong.[4]

They also make very neat tobacco pipes with all kinds of birds and animals on the pipe head, very beautifully painted and glazed.[5] There are also found beautiful colors of all kinds, which we can see by their neat and artistically painted work of bird feathers, tobacco pipes and more such [things]. They also make very fine and beautiful quilts[6] of painted bird feathers. In the first place they tie them with meshes like nets, yet very fine;[7]

[1] *Uthan deres arbete gådr uth på.* Cf. *Vertoogh, N. Y. Col.*, 2, II, 270; *Doc.*, I, 282; Williams, *Key*, 133.
[2] *Notasser.* See above, Chapt. XI, note 7.
[3] *Uppläcka*, to tear up (?); cf. *fläcka sönder*, tear asunder.
[4] Cf. Hodge, *Handbook*, I, 125, 132; above Chapt. XI, note 7.
[5] Cf. Chapt. IX, note 10; Hodge, *Handbook*, II, 257 ff.
[6] *Skiöna fällar. Fäll* usually means skins with the fur, fell.
[7] *Dock mycket grannc.*

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

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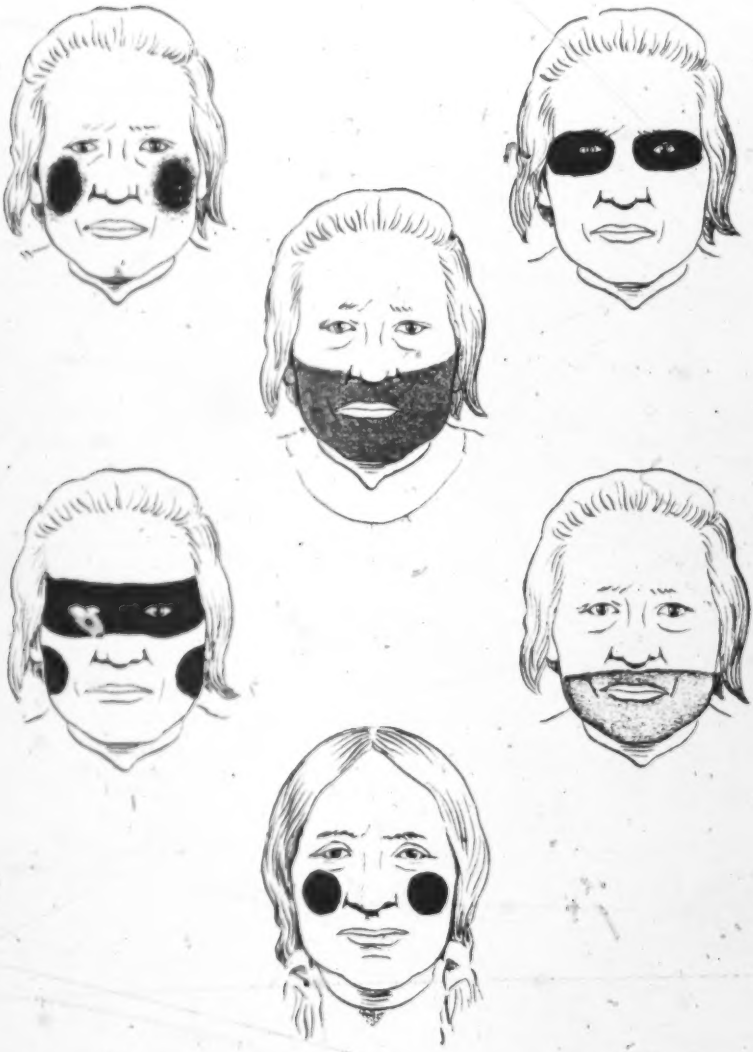

Plate 1—Face paintings of persons taking part in the Delaware Big House Ceremony. [Upper five designs worn by men, (upper center by Samuel Anderson, lower right hand pattern by Little Stout), upper center commonly used by drummers, lower center worn by women.]

p. 78 (A)]

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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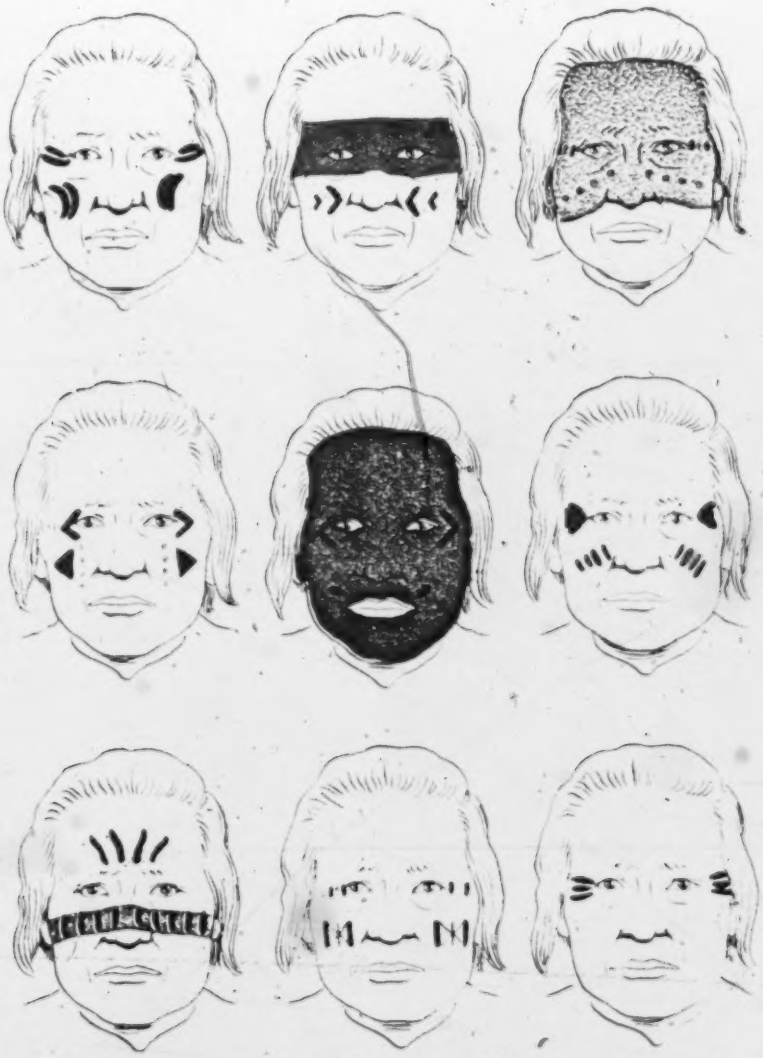

Plate II—Face paintings worn by men taking part in social dances, and only permitted to the drummers in the Big House Ceremony. These are commonly known as warriof's or fancy dress paintings.

[Facing p. 78(B)]

10: Speck, E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

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Plate III—Face paintings worn by men taking part in Social dances, and only permitted to the drummers in the Big House Ceremony. These are commonly known as warrior's or fancy dress paintings.

[Facing p. 78 (c)]

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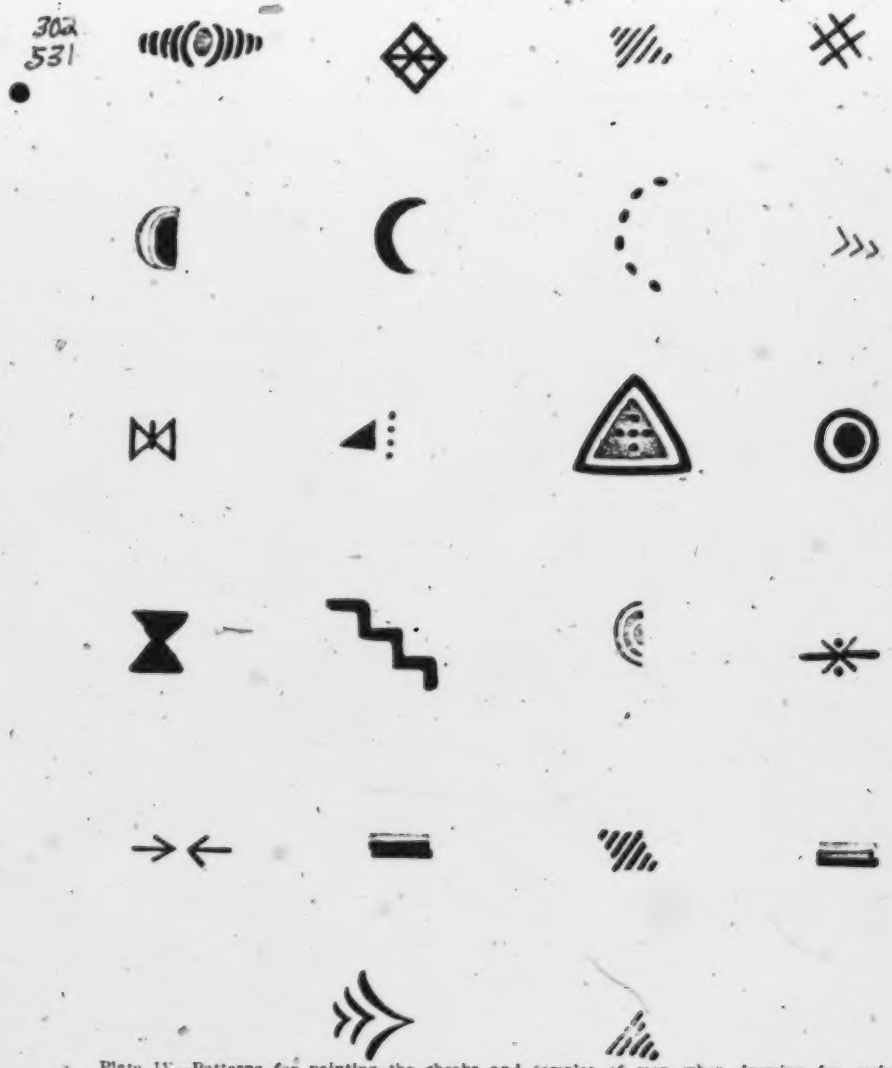

Plate IV—Patterns for painting the cheeks and temples of men when dressing for social dances, but not to be worn in the Big House Ceremony.

[Facing p. 78 (D)]

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463 about 1913. The Delaware women and a few men are yet skilled workers in beads,
531 both in sewed-on designs and in bead weaving. The women are expert in the art of working out intricate designs in ribbon applique on robes, leggings, breech cloths
322 and moccasins. Some wood carving is also
285 done by the modern Delawares and a few make splint baskets.

Designs and Symbolism

531 In the study of Delaware art motifs we find that they fall into two groups. In group A are the ancient earth symbols, floral and geometric (angular) patterns; in group B, the religious symbols of the Peyote Cult. This is a religious teaching and ceremony that arose in the tribe about 50 years ago. Animal and human figures
[172] rarely occur in Delaware art. In archeological finds, representations of the human face in stone frequently occur but those are said to have been the charms owned and worn by certain individuals who had dreamed of the mask spirit and had the right to use its likeness as representative of
[787] the great spiritual force or guardian spirit. If a person saw an animal during his dream quest he would have the right to use the likeness of that particular animal on his
[614] wearing apparel. It is also permissible to have representations of clan animal totems on one's vest or tobacco pouch.

The earth symbols and the "trails" shown in plate 1 are said to be ancient, as well as figures A and B called "clasps" in plate 2. The earth symbols in plate 1 illustrate the
[821] native Delaware belief that the earth rests on the back of a tortoise and that the sun in its daily round goes under the tortoise and comes up on the opposite side the next day. Figure C, plate 1, symbolizes the power of the Creator which is felt in the four corners of the earth. These symbols
[171] occur in the ancient art designs of other Algonkian peoples in northeastern North America from Labrador to southern New England. Floral patterns for moccasin tops or vamps, breech cloths, robes and bags fall into this grouping (plates 3 and 4).

[P. 25, A]

531 also the angular patterns in plate 1 which are used in ribbon applique. The floral [751] patterns are protective, representing the plants which the Creator gave to mankind to cure diseases. It will be noted (plate 3) [291] that the patterns for women's moccasin vamps are plain and narrow in contrast to the wider patterns for men's moccasins.

Techniques

The bead workers and silk ribbon-workers have series of cut-out paper patterns which they use as guides. Typical patterns are shown in plates 1, 3 and 4. In making bead designs the paper pattern is cut out and tacked with thread in position on the article to be decorated. The entire pattern is outlined with white or light colored beads such as blue or pale yellow. The middle portion of the figure is then filled in and in turn bordered with light-colored beads. Then rows of dark beads are filled in to suit the taste of the individual. The paper patterns for silk-work are laid on the ribbon or cloth and the cut-out silk figures are arranged in place on the legging-strips or robes and hemmed down, the stitches being very fine.

286 In weaving the belts, headbands, garters and other ornaments, wool is used for the warp and coarse thread for the weft. Sometimes in constructing the long sashes, which frequently average five feet, the warp strands are attached to a bed post and the worker sits on the bed and weaves. For the shorter articles a cardboard box serves as a loom across which the warp is arranged according to the width desired. This is held on the lap of the weaver.

531 The modern Delaware bead and silk ribbon-workers do not limit the use of colors in their art work but select carefully, and combine a number of colors with very pleasing results.

Geometric and highly conventionalized floral patterns were stamped or engraved on silver brooches, bracelets and other ornaments. Dots, circles, straight and curved lines were used in combinations to form the designs. Small buttons and

[P.25, B]

Small buttons and

531 brooches ranging from ½ to ¾ of an inch
[291] in diameter were used in decorating the capes on women's over-waists. These capes were made to fall over the shoulders covering the upper arm. The silver buttons and brooches were arranged in various patterns sometimes covering the entire cape or collar. Several very old specimens are now extant in private and museum collections.

531 The use of Peyote[1] for ceremonial and
795 medicinal purposes was introduced among
[278 the Delawares about 1880. With the
177] growth of this religious creed a new

[P.26, A]

531
795 sybmolism in art motifs has developed among its followers. Ceremonial wands, prayer staffs and feather fans as well as headbands, arm bands, belts and garters bear geometric figures done in beads (woven or sewed on) symbolizing the Peyote or cactus "button," mind, sky, water, fire and sun's rays. (Typical Peyote designs in plate 1.)

[278] (1) A small species of cactus (**Lophophora Williamsii**) used for ceremonial and religious purposes by certain groups in all tribes between the Rocky Mountains and the Gulf of Mexico, from the Arkansas River southward almost to the City of Mexico. (Bureau of American Ethnology, Bull. 30, **Handbook of American Indians**, Washington, 1910.)

[P. 26, B]

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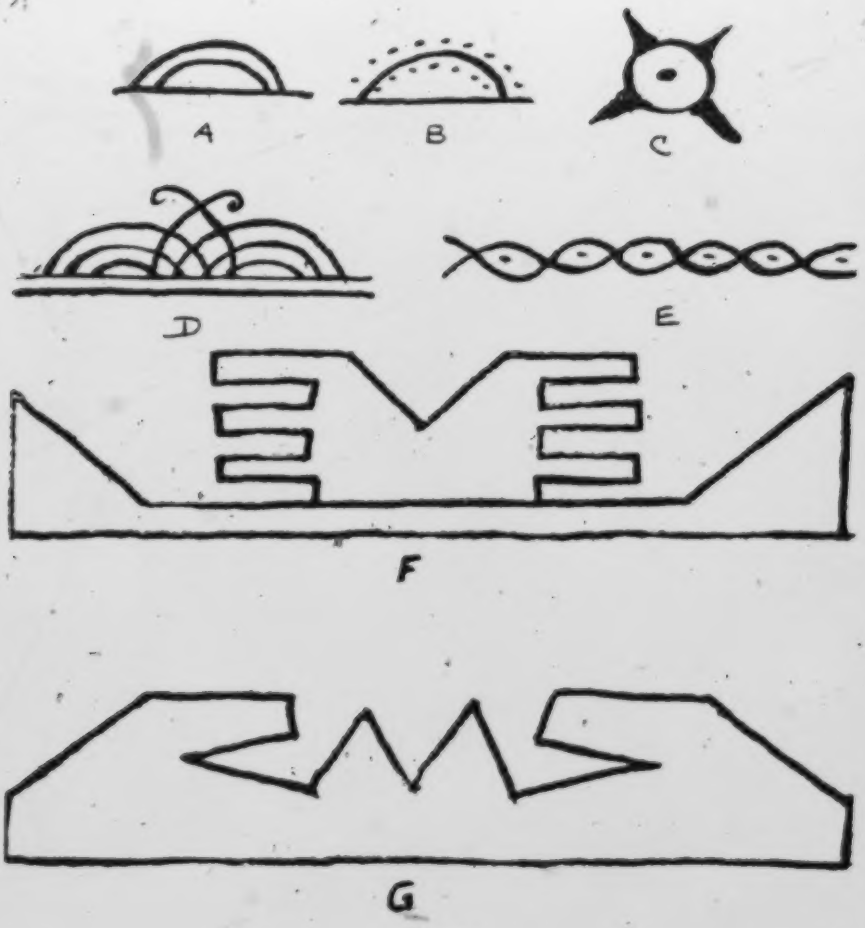

PLATE 1

Cut-out patterns in silk work for leggings and robes

[P.27]

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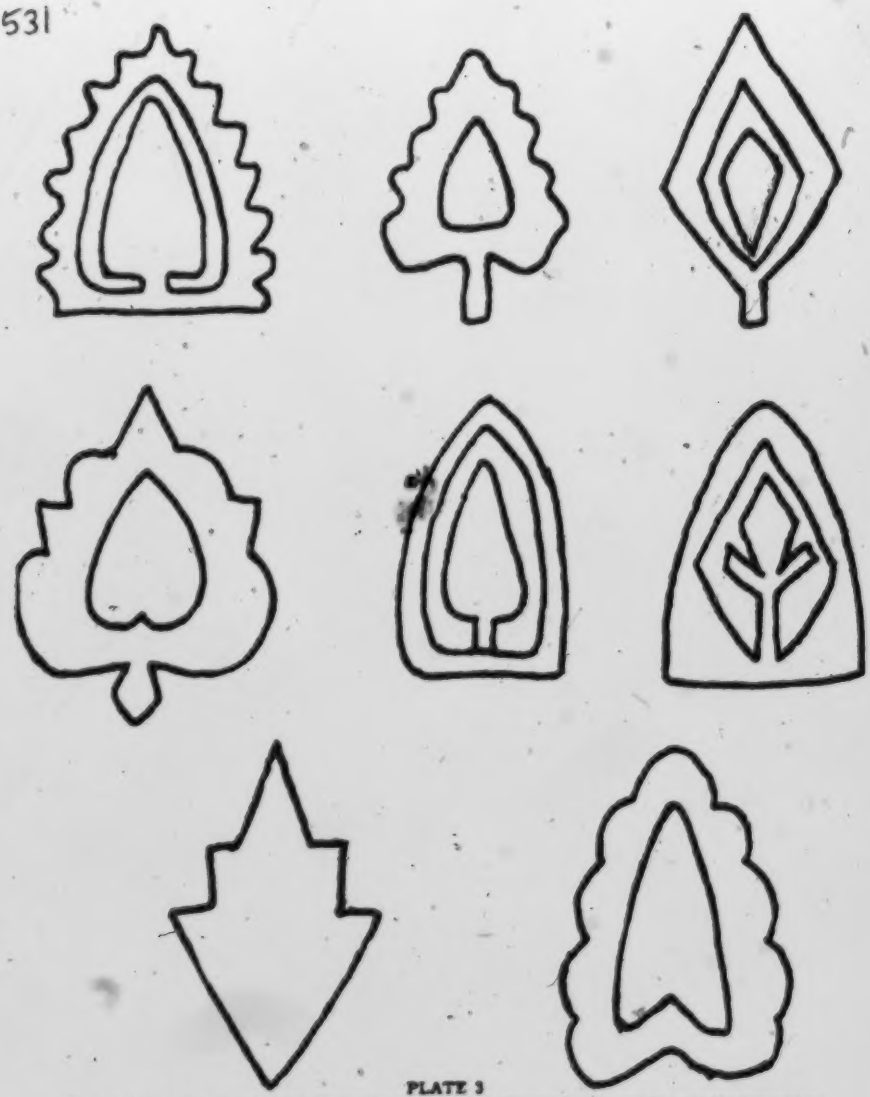

PLATE 3

Toe designs for moccasins derived from leaves. [Two upper rows for men's moccasins, lower row for womens.'] All in beadwork.

[P.29]

[P. 10, B]

121 zon in order that Minsi material may be separated from artifacts pertaining to earlier occupations. The writer herewith presents what he considers to be a reasonably valid list of elements pertaining to Minsi material culture. This list cannot in the light of our present knowledge pretend to anything approaching final inclusiveness or conclusiveness. It is the 1951 model and all rights to make subsequent changes are reserved.

127 In this list I have, of course, leaned heavily upon Ritchie's Bell-Philhower report as well as my own researches both prior to and following the Bell-Philhower "dig". I would also like to acknowledge much valuable assistance derived from access to the splendid collection of material from Minisink Island in the collection of Mr. Rudolph Ludwig, Milford, Pa.

Ceramics

Pipes

172 So far as the writer has been able to
276 determine, no stone pipes attributable to
323 the Minsi have been found in the upper Delaware area or elsewhere. Pipes of pottery occur, but are not numerous. These pottery pipes may be tubular, effigy, or obtuse—angle elbow. (Plate 1, No. 2). [531] Decoration may consist of pointillé, incised lines, corded stick impressions, or may be absent. (Plate 1, Nos. 1 and 3, shows pointillé-decorated pipe sherds.)

Vessels

172 Pottery may be of various Owasco types
415 (Castle Creek Epigonus is rather promi-
323 nent) with punctuate, corded, platted, and beaded designs of several forms, or of Iroquoian types with incised designs in herringbone and other patterns. Rims often exhibit castellations. (See Plate 2. The sherds in the top row and the sherd at the left in the bottom row exhibit Owasco features. The remainder are primarily Iroquoian in motif.) An excellent description

[P. 15, C]

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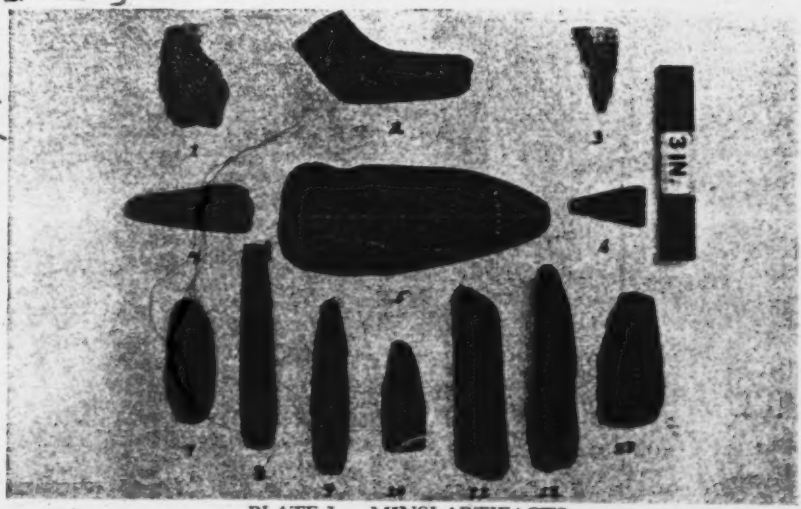

PLATE I. MINSI ARTIFACTS

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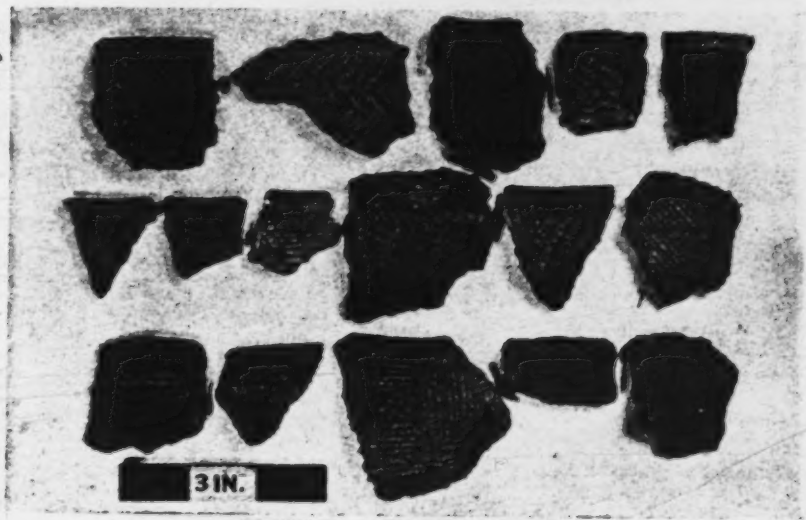

PLATE II. MINSI ARTIFACTS

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

them pluck out their beards, with tweezers made expressly for that purpose. Before the Europeans came into the country, their apparatus for performing this work, consisted of a pair of muscle shells, sharpened on a gritty stone, which answered very well, being somewhat like pincers; but since they can obtain wire, of which that of brass is preferred, they make themselves tweezers, which they always carry with them in their tobacco-pouch, wherever they go, and when at leisure, they pluck out their beards or the hair above their foreheads. This they do in a very quick manner, much like the plucking of a fowl, and the oftener they pluck out their hair, the finer it grows afterwards, so that at last there appears hardly any, the whole having been rooted out. The principal reasons which they give for thus plucking out their beards and the hair next to their foreheads, are that they may have a clean skin to lay the paint on, when they dress for their festivals or dances, and to facilitate the *tattooing* themselves, a custom formerly much in use among them, especially with those who had distinguished themselves by their valour, and acquired celebrity. They say that either painting or tattooing on a hairy face or body would have a disgusting appearance.

As late as the year 1762, when I resided at Tuscorawas on the Muskingum, tattooing was still practised by some Indians: a valiant chief of that village, named *Wawundochwalend*, desirous of having another name given him, had the figure of a water-lizard engraved or tattooed on his face, above the chin, when he received the name *Twakachshawsu*, the water-lizard. The process of tattooing, which I once saw performed, is quickly done, and does not seem to give much pain. They have poplar bark in readiness burnt and reduced to a powder, the figures that are to be tattooed are marked or designed on the skin; the operator with a small stick, rather larger than a common match, to the end of which some sharp

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

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mals, is evident from various customs still preserved among them, and from the names of those animals which they have collectively, as well as individually, assumed. It might, indeed, be supposed that those animals' names which they have given to their several tribes were mere badges of distinction, or "coats of arms" as Pyrlæus calls them; but if we pay attention to the reasons which they give for those denominations, the idea of a supposed family connexion is easily discernible. The Tortoise, or as it is commonly called, the *Turtle* tribe, among the Lenape, claims a superiority and ascendency over the others, because their *relation*, the great Tortoise, a fabled monster, the Atlas of their mythology, bears according to their traditions this great *island* on his back, and also because he is amphibious, and can live both on land and in the water, which neither of the heads of the other tribe can do. The merits of the *Turkey*, which gives its name to the second tribe, are that he is stationary, and always remains with or about them. As to the *Wolf*, after whom the third tribe is named, he is a rambler by nature, running from one place to another in quest of his prey; yet they consider him as their benefactor, as it was by his means that the Indians got out of the interior of the earth. It was he, they believe, who by the appointment of the Great Spirit, killed the deer whom the Monsey found who first discovered the way to the surface of the earth, and which allured them to come out of their damp and dark residence. For that reason, the wolf is to be honoured, and his name preserved for ever among them. Such are their traditions, as they were related to me by an old man of this tribe, more than fifty years ago.

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These animals' names, it is true, they all use as national badges, in order to distinguish their tribes from each other at home and abroad. In this point of view Mr. Pyrlæus was right in considering them as "coats of arms." The Turtle warrior draws either with a coal or

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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paint here and there on the trees along the war path, the whole animals carrying a gun with the muzzle projecting forward, and if he leaves a mark at the place where he has made a stroke on his enemy, it will be the picture of a tortoise. Those of the Turkey tribe paint only one foot of a turkey, and the Wolf tribe, sometimes a wolf at large with one leg and foot raised up to serve as a hand, in which the animal also carries a gun with the muzzle forward. They, however, do not generally use the word "wolf," when speaking of their tribe, but call themselves *Pauk-sit*,[2] which means *round-foot*, that animal having a round foot like a dog.

The Indians, in their hours of leisure, paint their different marks or badges on the doors of their respective houses, that those who pass by may know to which tribe the inhabitants belong. Those marks also serve them for signatures to treaties and other documents. They are as proud of their origin from the tortoise, the turkey, and the wolf, as the nobles of Europe are of their descent from the feudal barons of ancient times, and when children spring from intermarriages between different tribes, their genealogy is carefully preserved by tradition in the family, that they may know to which tribe they belong.

I have often reflected on the curious connexion which appears to subsist in the mind of an Indian between man and the brute creation, and found much matter in it for curious observation. Although they consider themselves superior to all other animals and are very proud of that superiority; although they believe that the beasts of the forest, the birds of the air, and the fishes of the waters, were created by the Almighty Being for the use of man; yet it seems as if they ascribe the difference between themselves and the brute kind, and the dominion which they have over them, more to their superior bodily strength and dexterity than to their immortal souls. All beings endowed by the Creator with the power of volition and self-motion, they view in a manner as a great society of

[2] [Erratum. See cat. 116, p. 348. - Analyst]

2;Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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that the Delaware groups nearest to the Iroquois had been influenced by them. The Munsi were nearest to the Iroquois, and Harrington's informants were predominantly of this group. The various house styles, on the other hand, are possibly related to the seasonal movements of the Delawares, who, like the central Algonkians, may have utilized the rectangular, bark-covered long house in summer and the dome-shaped lodge in winter.[129]

The dome-shaped lodges were simple structures built by placing pieces of bark, preferably of linden or elm, over a sapling framework. The bark was stripped from the trees in summer in as large sheets as possible and dried. It then provided a watertight house.[130] House furnishings were rather meager. "They. . .make very fine, strong and artistic mats of finely painted spruce roots and strong straw, with all kinds of figures, to decorate and cover the walls with, and to place below their bed clothes."[131] Rush mats were painted and fastened to the walls in winter to keep out the cold. Some houses had "portraits and pictures somewhat rudely carved."[132] By the eighteenth century platforms made of poles, which encircled the walls and served as tables, benches, and beds, were mentioned.[133] The platform was covered by an untanned skin of bear or deer, or else with a mat.

Near each village was one or more sweat houses:

> When they wish to cleanse themselves of their foulness, they go in the autumn, when it begins to grow cold, and make, away off, near a running brook, a small oven, large enough for three or four men to lie in it. In making it they first take twigs of trees, and then cover them tight with clay, so that smoke cannot escape. This being done, they take a parcel of stones, which they heat in a fire, and then put in the oven, and when they think that it is sufficiently hot, they take the stones out again, and go and lie in it, men and women, boys and girls.[134]

Informants (O.A., J.T.) recalled small sweat lodges of this type. Skinner found "small beds of cracked stones and pebbles, without relics, often at some distance from other remains. . ."[135] Thus, archaeological remains tend to confirm the existence of this trait for the prehistoric people of Staten Island.

Clothing.—The amount of clothing worn by the Delawares varied with the season. In summer men wore only a leather breech cloth and women only a short skirt, and they frequently did without moccasins.[136] In colder seasons the principal garment was a skin of beaver, fox, deer, bear, elk, or raccoon.[137] The hair side was worn next to the body in

[129] Wissler, 1917, p. 221; Denton, 1845, p. 7.

[130] Thomas, 1912, p. 341; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 401; Muhr, 1954, pp. 381-83; O. A.

[131] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 222.

[132] O'Callaghan, 1850, I: 262; Hayes, 1954, p. 77.

[133] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 17.

[134] De Vries, 1909, pp. 217-18; Lindestrom, 1925, p. 257, described the sweat lodge in similar terms.

[135] Skinner, 1909, p. 48.

[136] Pastorius, 1912, p. 384; Lindestrom, 1925, pp. 191-92.

[137] De Laet, 1909, p. 57; De Rasieres, 1909, p. 106; Thomas, 1912, p. 341; Juet, 1909, p. 18; Van der Donck, 1909, p. 301.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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on the skin; the operator with a small stick, rather larger than a common match, to the end of which some sharp needles are fastened, quickly pricks over the whole so that blood is drawn, then a coat of this powder is laid and left on to dry. Before the whites came into this country, they scarified themselves for this purpose with flint stones, or pricked themselves with the sharp teeth of a fish.[153]

The men tatooed their arms, legs, and faces with figures of snakes, birds, and other animals. These were marks of distinction and commemorated some worthy deed or heroic action. Occasionally the women tattooed themselves.[154]

Both sexes painted their thighs, legs, breast, and face with streaks, lines, or circles. The usual colors were red, black, blue, and yellow.[155] Painting was mostly for festive occasions or for warfare. Women were more circumspect than men in the amount of paint used, since excessive or immodest painting was regarded as indicative of a wanton woman.[156] Both men and women wore numerous ornaments. Wampum in particular was a favorite; it was used as necklaces and wristlets and was hung from the ears. Sometimes it was woven in bands and worn on the head or clothing.[157] The helixes of men's ears were often pierced for wampum, metal, and other ornaments:

> They frequently cut the helix of the ear,[158] leaving the upper and lower ends intact and then hang bits of lead to it so that it is stretched. Then this curved border of the auricle is bound with brass wire, distending it considerably, and decorated with silver ornaments.[159]

Besides wampum, necklaces of dyed deer hair, stone, native copper, and shell gorgets were worn.[160] One source depicted men wearing "the thumbs of enemies they have killed."[161] Men carried tobacco pouches, often made from the whole skin of a loon, large enough to hold a pipe, tobacco, knife, a pair of depilatory shells, and other objects.[162]

Manufactures.—The bow and arrow, the war club or tomahawk, and the spear were the principal implements of the men.[163] The type of bow used is unknown, except for one vague reference to wooden bows and arrows.[164] The triangular stone projectile points were fastened to the shaft by means of resin.[165] Projectile points were usually made of quartz, but chert, slate, shale, granite, sandstone, and argillite points have been found. Some may even have been made of fish bones.[166] Stone, pottery, and copper pipes were noted, both from early documents and

[153] Heckewelder, 1881, p. 206.
[154] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 12.
[155] De Vries, 1909, p. 217; Holm, 1834, p. 119; Van der Donck, 1909, p. 301; Denton, 1845, p. 10.
[156] Heckewelder, 1881, p. 203.
[157] Van der Donck, 1909, p. 301; Pastorius, 1912, p. 434; Lindestrom, 1925, pp. 196-97.
[158] Heckewelder, 1881, p. 207; Luckenbach, 1838, p. 107.
[159] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 12.
[160] Abbott, 1875, p. 327; Heye and Pepper, 1915, pp. 32-42; Holm, 1834, p. 119.
[161] Holm, 1834, p. 119; Van der Donck, 1909, p. 301.
[162] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 68; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 204.
[163] Brinton, 1885, p. 53.
[164] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 29.
[165] De Laet, 1909, p. 48; Holm, 1834, p. 129; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 29.
[166] Smith, 1950, p. 119; De Laet, 1909, p. 57.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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weather.[8] The Mask Being was the only deity who was made concrete by human impersonation. Brainerd saw this deity impersonated and gave a vivid description:

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> He made his appearance in his pontifical garb, which was a coat of boar [bear] skins, dressed with the hair on, and hanging down to his toes; a pair of bearskin stockings; and a great wooden face painted, the one half black, and the half tawny, about the color of an Indian's skin, with an extravagant mouth, cut very much awry; the face fastened to a bearskin cap, which was drawn over his head. He advanced towards me with the instrument in his hand, which he used for music in his idolatrous worship; which was a dry tortoise-shell with some corn in it, and the neck of it drawn on to a piece of wood, which made a very convenient handle. As he came forward, he beat his tune with the rattle, and danced with all his might, but did not suffer any part of his body, not so much as his fingers, to be seen. No one would have imagined from his oppearance (sic) or actions, that he could have been a human creature, if they had not had some intimation of it otherwise. When he came near me, I could not but shrink away from him although it was then noonday, and I knew who it was: his appearance and gestures were so prodigiously frightful.[9]

The Mask Being was the guardian of animals and in recent times took part in the Big House Ceremony. It was this masked figure with which children were threatened.[10] The stone faces found in archaeological sites attributed to the Delawares bear a striking resemblance to it.[11] Speck said that they "may be thought of as prototypes of the small wooden and corn-husk masks still serving the Iroquois as 'guardians of health' and the Delawares as personal charms."[12] A multitude of lesser deities included Doll Beings, Tornado, Mother Corn, Snow Boy, Comet, animal spirits, plant spirits, and local genii.[13]

Approaches to the Supernatural

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The principal means by which an individual got in contact with supernatural powers was in a dream or vision:

> Such dream no doubt has great effect during the life of its subject, and in his private worship all his songs are descriptive of some of the events which he saw in his dream. He often repeats them and does not fail to attribute his success to the deity whose wonderful appearance had foretold his good fortune, or any mishap to his own bad conduct which incensed his guardian.[14]

Not only was the guardian spirit the guiding force in an individual's life, the secret of whatever success he had, and aid in time of trouble, but the public recitation of visions was the basis for the major religious

[8] Harrington, 1921, p. 25.

[9] Brainerd, 1884, pp. 184-85. Luckenbach, 1938, p. 451, also described this masked figure.

[10] Harrington, 1921, pp. 31-34; Speck, 1931, pp. 61-62; 1950, pp. 32-34; L.F., O.A.

[11] Skinner, 1920, p. 5; Harrington, 1921, p. 38.

[12] Speck, 1950, p. 45.

[13] Harrington, 1921, pp. 43-51.

[14] Trowbridge MS.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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796 "a whole buck-skin with the head and antlers is raised upon a pole, head and antlers resting on the pole, before which the Indians sing and pray."[62] Speck noted that the sweat lodge was erected in the Big House in the Wolf phratry ceremony and that "the sweating rite was held as a test of endurance for the men who had spiritual guidance."[63] Zeisberger also stated that there was a number of less important ceremonies arranged by individuals.[64]

A minor ceremony, continued until the twentieth century but unrecorded in the earlier literature except for a casual reference by Zeisberger, was the "Otter-Hog Dance."[65] This rite had to be given every [777] few years by a certain family or else bad luck ensued (O.A.). The leader of this dance wore an otter hide which stretched from his head down his back to the ground. Special songs were sung, and the meat of the largest procurable hog was consumed during the dance. The hog's head was carried around in a pan by the leader during the dance and at the conclusion of the ceremony was consigned to the flames (O.A.). Harrington mentioned this ceremony and gave an origin myth for it, but his informants did not remember the dance itself.[66] Speck has also described this "Grease Drinking, or Otter Ceremony."[67]

● [532] Another series of minor ceremonies consisted of the Doll Dances. These dances probably originated in prehistoric times, but were not recorded in the early documents. The dolls seem to have had their origin in the visions of women and were passed down through the maternal line.[68] Doll owners had to give their dolls annual dances, usually in the spring. The doll was tied to a stick and the dancers carried it during the all-night ceremony. Both sexes participated; men danced in an inner circle, the women in an outer. They danced around a fire on either side of which two poles had been raised. The drum used in this ceremony was the "package" drum used in the Big House Ceremony (O.A., M.B., J.T., J.W.). Twelve songs were sung in the course of the ceremony, followed by a pause for a feast in which various corn dishes prepared by the owner of the doll were eaten. After this meal the songs were repeated, and just before dawn cornbread was scattered on the ground and was picked up and eaten by the dancers. Speck said that a Doll Dance "embodies the idea of appeasing the latent ill-will of the Spirit of Corn, aroused through innocent familiarity incurred in the past between the children of certain families and this sensitive Manitto."[69] Harrington described the Doll dances, but his description varies somewhat from mine.[70]

There were undoubtedly other dances and feasts, including first fruits rites,[71] given at different seasons by various family or other kin

[62] *Ibid.*, pp. 138-39; Kenny, 1913, pp. 196-97.
[63] Speck, 1937, p. 21.
[64] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 140.
[65] Zeisberger, 1871, p. 344.
[66] Harrington, 1921, pp. 178-82.
[67] Speck, 1937, pp. 44-48.
[68] The section on Mythology describes several origin tales for the Doll Dances.
[69] Speck, 1937, p. 61.
[70] Harrington, 1921, pp. 184-71.
[71] Hayes, 1954, p. 70 (first deer killed after an annual ceremony, on June 9, 1760); Loskiel, 1794, p. 40; Brickell, 1842, p. 49.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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reprimand, and must promise to fulfill his duty better in the future.

The name Delawares undoubtedly has its origin with the Europeans, for neither they themselves nor other nations use this name. They call themselves the Lenni-Lenape Indians or *W'oapanachke*, that is people living towards the rising of the sun, having formerly inhabited the eastern coast of North America. It is possible that the word Delawares should have been applied to the nation; because the Unami Tribe, which lived nearest the sea, uses the word *'udellowen* very much. This word, meaning "I say," being a verb, appears frequently and in many forms in the conversation of the people. The first Europeans, not understanding the language and hearing this word very often may have made Delaware out of it and called the people thus. The Indians themselves believe this to be the explanation, though it is possible that the Europeans have another, of which I am not aware.[201]

If a party of Indians have spent a night in the woods, it may be easily known, not only by the structure of their sleeping huts but also by their marks on the trees, to what tribe they belong. For they always leave a mark behind made either with red pigment or charcoal. Such marks are understood by the Indians who know how to read their meaning. Some markings point out the places where a company of Indians have been hunting, showing the number of nights they spent there, the number of deer, bears and other game killed during the hunt. The warriors sometimes paint their own deeds and adventures, the number of prisoners or scalps taken, the number of troops they commanded and how many fell in battle.

If two nations are engaged in war and the warriors of one commit some murderous act, it is not uncommon that they leave the hatchet in the head of the victim who has been scalped or lay a war-club, painted red, upon the body of the victim. This is a formal challenge, in consequence of which, a captain of the insulted party takes up the weapon of the murderers and hastens into their country to be avenged. He will do much the same thing, leaving his weapon upon the murdered, and

3: Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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The only idol which the Indians have, and which may properly be called an idol, is their *W'sinkhoalican*, that is image. It is an image cut in wood, representing a human head, in miniature, which they always carry about them either on a string around their neck or in a bag. They often bring offerings to it. In their houses of sacrifice they have a head of this idol as large as life put upon a pole in the middle of the room.

Their ornaments are partly round shields and half moons of silver, partly the same forms made in wampum. These are usually worn upon the breast for adornment. They also have great belts of wampum made of the violet, not the white, wampum. Men as well as women wear silver crosses upon the breast and in the ears which custom comes from the French. The *W'sinkhoalican* they like also to hang about their children to preserve them from illness and insure them success.

They are very fond of white children. Hence Indian women run after white men and, when they have white children, make much of them, although they do not like the white people. Twins are regarded as particularly fortunate, being looked upon as favored people who have a great spirit.

Their language resembles various other languages, some more, some less. When one remembers how near or how far they have lived from one another it will appear that the differences in the languages have come about through the separation of the peoples and the little contact they have had with one another.

The Unami and the Wunalachtico both lived along the sea in Pennsylvania and in Jersey, a short distance from one another. Their languages differ very little. That of the Monsys[306] who lived on the other side of the Blue Mountains in Minnissink is very different from these, so that had they not dwelt nearer together and been in constant contact in recent times they would hardly understand each other. Yet the speech of each of these peoples is but a dialect of one and the same language. The language of the Mahikanders[307] bears much resemblance to that of the Monsys, the former having lived in New York and the Woapeno not far from them in New England. The language of the Nantikoks, formerly residing on the seacoast in Maryland, very much resembles the Delaware, differing only in pronunciation

The Gods of the Delaware

The Delaware believed in a supreme first power, "who had not only produced or made all things, but produces every day...Everything he makes and does is good." (Danckaerts, p. 174). This does not mean that the creator necessarily creates everything himself, but what ever being creates (as, for example, the tortoise in the creation myth) does so as his agent; Brainerd noted that although the Indians paid reverential attention to birds, beasts, fishes and reptiles, "...they do not indeed suppose a divine power essential to, or inhering in, these creatures; but that some invisible beings ...communicate to these animals a great power; ...and so make these creatures the immediate authors of good to certain persons." (Brainerd, pp. 344-45). Likewise the guardian spirits and all other beings with unusual power derive it from the Great Spirit (Penn, p. 37; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 128)

In addition to granting objects of nature special power on certain occasions, the Great Spirit is believed to have given more or less permanent control over certain aspects of nature to lesser beings. From this arises their concept of the lesser deities such as the four directions, the Sun, the Moon, Thunders, Living Solid Face or Mask Being (Harrington, 1913, pp. 226-27; Brainerd, p. 345: Heckwelder, 1881; pp. 212-213). We know from later sources that this last being is the guardian of the animals. He is the only deity whose appearance is specifically designated and represented by a costume. The face is a wooden mask painted half red and half black; its body, which was supposed to have been hairy, is represented by a suit of bearskin (Harrington, 1921, p. 33). Apparently Brainerd saw a shaman dressed to represent this being for his description coincides in all details (Brainerd, p. 237). The only other known images of the Delaware were faces, also painted red and black, which were carved on the Big House posts and miniature stone faces which were worn around the neck. Present day Delwares think of the former as representing the spirits in charge of each of the twelve heavens, and consider them related to the Living Solid Face (Beatty, p. 22; Harrington, 1921, p. 31). The latter were according to Harrington, worn as good luck or good health charms (Harrington, 1921, p. 36). An example of one found in an east coast site is shown in Skinner (1920, p. 5).

The Delaware also told of a super-human man who had come in the remote past and taught them how to live. In Lindstrom's version, a Lenape woman became pregnant and gave birth to a son although no man had any connection with her. This boy, "...had so much to say that it was a great wonder and performed many miracles and wonders. When he now became somewhat large he departed from us and went up into the air... 'He promised to come back to us, but he never came back to us again,' they say." (Lindstrom, p. 208). In other accounts these same features are combined with a more specific refer-

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
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this belief, or have included it loosely under the worship of "gods" representing the elements.

KEEPERS OF THE HEAVENS

The Lenape now in Oklahoma believe that each of the twelve heavens, in the highest of which lives the Great Spirit, is presided over by a *mani'to* who serves as a messenger to repeat the prayers of men until they reach the ear of the Creator. They are represented by the carved faces upon the posts inside the temple, and are mentioned in the ritual of the Annual Ceremony. I can find no mention of them in early accounts of the Lenape, however, unless the twelve gods mentioned by Loskiel,[24] most of whom have already been spoken of in this chapter, may represent the same concept. The Lenape today speak of these as being related to the Living Solid Face, who will now claim our attention.

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
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MĬSINGHÂLI'KŬN, OR LIVING SOLID FACE

The most remarkable deity of the Lenape is the Mask Being, called by the

FIG. 1.—Mask of the Oklahoma Lenape. (Height, 14.5 in.)

Unami *Mĭsinghâli'kŭn*, which was interpreted as "Living Mask," or "Living Solid Face." According to the Unami,

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
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this being was made guardian by the Creator of all the wild animals of the forest, and is sometimes seen riding about on the back of a buck, herding the deer; but he lives in a range of rocky mountains above the earth. His face is large and round, the right half being painted red, the left black, while his body is covered with long dark hair like that of a bear. Unlike most of the deities in the Lenape pantheon, he is represented by a "graven image," a huge wooden mask, painted half red and half black (fig. 1); which is left in charge of some family who

FIG. 2.—Rattle of turtle-shell used by Misi'ngw. (Length, 16.7 in.)

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will take good care of it, and burn Indian tobacco for it from time to time. With the mask is kept a coat and leggings of bear-skin to represent the being's hairy body, a peculiar rattle of turtleshell (fig. 2), a stick, and a bag made of bear-skin, all used by the man selected to impersonate Mĭsinghâli'kŭn at the various ceremonies when he is supposed to appear, and which will be described later. To the back of the mask is fastened the skin of the bear's head, which effectually conceals the head and neck of the impersonator (pl. 11), while the bear's ears, projecting, add to the uncanny effect.

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If any Lenape had a child who was weak, sickly, or disobedient, he would send word to the keeper of the mask that he wanted Mĭsinghâli'kŭn to "attend his child." It is said that it did not take the impersonator long to frighten the weakness, sickness, or laziness out of the child, so that thenceforth it would be strong and well, and would obey on the instant when asked to do anything. This effect was probably strengthened by

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
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COSTUME WORN BY IMPERSONATOR OF MĬSINGHÂLI'KŬN

[Facing p. 34]

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MASKS OF THE MINSI (AFTER PETER JONES)

[Facing p. 38]

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6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
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FIG. 4.—Mask from the Canadian Lenape. E. T. Tefft collection, American Museum of Natural History. (Height of head, 14 in.)

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
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FIG. 5.—Stone head or Misi'ngw from Ohio. (Height, 13.9 in.)

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STONE HEAD OR MĬSI'NGʷ, FROM STATEN ISLAND, N. Y.
(Staten Island Institute of Arts and Sciences)

[Facing p. 42]

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
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6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
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pl. v, vi, but in former days the roof was of bark. The length is about 40 ft. from east to west, with a height at the eaves of about 6 ft., at the ridge 14 ft., and a width of 24.5 ft. Aside from certain ingenuities of construction which can not be discussed here, its chief interest lies in the two large carvings of the human face, one facing east (fig. 6) and one west, which adorn the great central post supporting the ridge-pole. Similar carvings, but smaller, may be seen upon each of the six posts which support the logs forming the sides (fig. 7), and still smaller ones, one upon each of the four door-posts. All twelve faces are painted, the right side of each red, the left black. The building is used only for the Annual Ceremony.

FIG. 6.—Central post of Ceremonial House, showing carved face.

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
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OFFICERS

[796] [202] The messenger sent to assemble the people is one of three male attendants chosen by the leader, and these three men appoint three women to serve also. To these six attendants, known as *a'ckas*,

[346] [532]

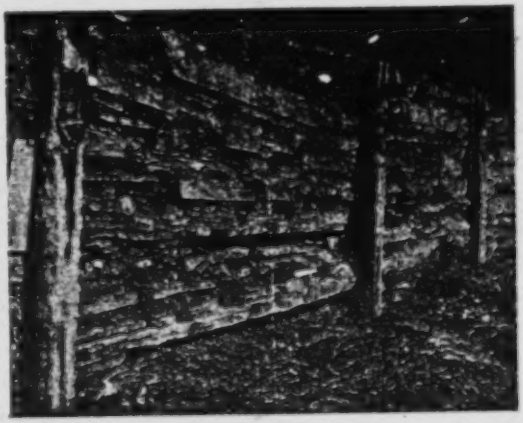

FIG. 7.—Side posts of Ceremonial House, showing carved faces.

[554] falls all the laborious work of the meeting. Although the duties are menial, it is considered quite an honor to be selected as *a'ckas*. The attendants camp on the north and south sides of the little open

6;Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
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pole (shown in frontispiece), east of the Big House, and are used in the feasts at the close of every night's meeting until the gathering disbands.

NEW FIRE

Every night the usual program is repeated until the ninth. On this night a new fire is kindled with the sacred pump-drill called *tu"da'i wähe"'ji manĭ'towŭk* or "Fire maker of the Manĭ'tos" (fig. 8), and the ashes of the old are carried out through the west door of the Big House, which is used only for this purpose (among the Unami), and is usually kept closed. The new fire seems to symbolize a fresh start in all the affairs of life.

USE OF CARVED DRUMSTICKS

Also on the ninth night, before the singing begins, they bring out the two ancient drumsticks (*pa kŭ"di'gŭn*), carved with tiny human heads, one male and one female (fig. 11), to use in place of the cruder sticks used before, which are marked only with a rude cross (fig. 12, *a*).

[Text continues on page 103]

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
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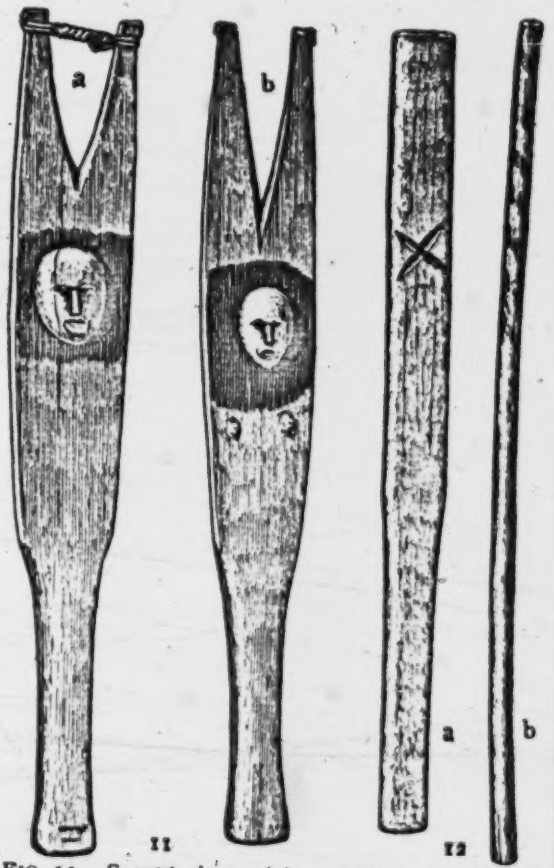

FIG. 11.—Sacred drumsticks, used at the Annual Ceremony in Oklahoma. (Length of *a*, 18.6 in.)

FIG. 12.—*a*, Plain drumstick used at the Annual Ceremony; *b*, Prayerstick. (Length of *b*, 18.9 in.)

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
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own first article[47] the writer has seen of the Annual Ceremony among the Lenape in Oklahoma, is that written by Adams,[48] which reads as follows:

"The peculiar steps which they use in this dance have caused the name 'stomp' or 'stamp' to be applied to it.

"In regard to the stomp dances of our people, we have several kinds of dances; the most important one is the 'worship dance' which is carried on in a large building called a temple, which is rectangular and ranges from 60 to 80 feet long, from 30 to 40 feet wide, and is about 10 feet high. It is built of wood with 2 doors. The main entrance is at the eastern door, and it has only a dirt floor.

"On each post is carved a human face. On the center post or one in the center of the building four faces are carved; each face is painted one-half red and one-half black. All the people enter at the east and go out the same way. When they come in they pass to the right of the fire, and each of the three clans of the Delawares take seats next to the wall, the Turtle clan on the south, the Turkey on the west, and the Wolf on the north. In no case can any one pass between the center post and east door, but must go around the center post, even to go to the north side of the temple.

"This dance is held once each year, in the fall,

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
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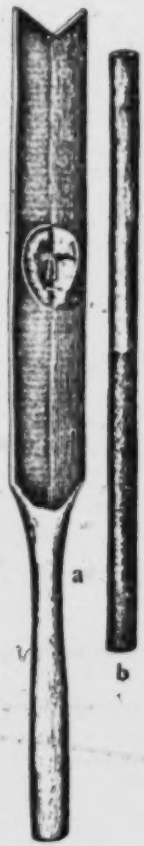

top. This feature, however, corresponds with the second form of the Annual Ceremony noted among the Lenape in Oklahoma and also recorded by Zeisberger in Pennsylvania. Near this central post the singers sat, and beat with four carved sticks upon a dry deerhide folded into a square, in lieu of a drum (fig. 14), differing from the Unami form, which is a rolled dry deerskin upon which are tied several slats of wood (fig. 8). The drumsticks are flat, resembling those of the Unami, as each bears a face carved upon one side, but differ from them in the form of the forked end, and in width. Some, it is said, represented women, the breasts being indicated as

FIG. 15.—*a*, Drumstick, Minsi type; *b*, Prayer-stick. E. T. Tefft collection, American Museum of Natural History. (Length of *a*, 19 in.)

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
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among the Unami, but this feature does not appear in the set collected by the writer at Grand River reserve (fig. 15,*a*), which the Indians said were representative of the Minsi type.

There were two poles laid along on each side from end to end of the Big House to divide the dancing place in the center from the sitting places on the side, which were covered with a special kind of leaves. Along these poles twelve little sumach sticks (fig. 15, *b*), peeled and painted, were laid for twelve people to hold in their hands, and tap on the poles in time to the music. There were also provided a turtle rattle, which was placed at the foot of the central pole; a fire-drill which Nellis Timothy thinks was worked on the "pump-drill" principle, like that of the Unami, and a lot of entirely new and unused bowls and spoons of bark. Unlike the Unami custom, both doors of the Big House were used, the people always going in at the east door and coming out at the west, and here also (like the Unami) the ashes

hearsay testimony) a man stood up and recited, in a rythmical sing-song tone, his dream—the vision of power seen by him in his youth. Na'nkŭma'oxa remembered how one old man was accustomed to tell about a duck, half black and half white, which had appeared to him. Between the verses of the dream four musicians kneeling at the drum (*pe'awahe'gŭn*) began a plaintive song, beating time with the carved sticks (*pe'awahe'gŭnŭk*). As they sang, the reciter swayed his body to and fro, while a group of dancers gathered on the floor behind him danced with a sidewise step. Before the ceremony, poles were laid lengthwise along both sides of the council house, and against these, at intervals, three on a side, the painted sticks, called *mkäähi'gŭn*, were laid. If anyone in the crowd felt 'especially happy' he was privileged to strike with one of these sticks upon one of the poles in time to the music. The carved heads on the drumsticks meant that human beings were giving thanks; the lengthwise

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
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painting of the sticks, half black and half red, implied that men and women were together in thanksgiving, the black representing the warriors, the red the women. The fork at the striking end of the sticks was to give a sharper sound. The dyes for producing the colors were made by boiling bark, the black being soft maple (*sexi'kiminsi*), and the red, red alder bark (*xito"pi*).

"In another part of the same ceremony wampum was used in the form of strings and bunches, both of which were represented in my collection from the Delawares. At least thirteen of the strings were used, each one made different by different combinations of the white and purple beads. These thirteen, it is said, represented respectively (1) Earth; (2) Plants; (3) Streams and Waters; (4) Corn, Beans, and Vegetables; (5) Wild Birds and Beasts; (6) Winds; (7) Sun; (8) Moon; (9) Sky; (10) Stars; (11) Thunder and Rain; (12) Spirits; and (13) Great Spirit. At the ceremony these strings were laid upon a bench before a

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
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"He helps the people with their hunting, and also helps in the Big House while the ceremonies are in progress. If he finds anyone there who has not done right, he informs the three guards of the meeting, who take that person and put him out. In all these ways the MIsi'ng^{w} helps the Delawares."

MASKS OF THE MINSI

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The Minsi Mizi'nk (cognate with the Unami *Mĭsi'ng^{w}*) was a mask made of wood with copper or brass eyes and a crooked nose, according to my informants at Munceytown; and judging by Peter Jones' drawings (pl. III) they were provided also with hair, tufts of feathers, and jingling copper cones or deer-hoofs. The Mizink at Grand river was of Minsi type, judging by the specimen obtained by the writer (fig. 4).

Such masks were made to represent Mizinkhâli'kŭn, who was "something like a person, but different from the Indians, and was powerful. They saw him first among the rocks on a hill, and he spoke to

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
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them and told them what to do to get his power. When a man put on a Mizink he received the power of this person or spirit; he could even see behind him, and could cure diseases."

The Mask Society.—The men who owned these masks formed a kind of society which Nellis Timothy says originally had twelve members, but which, before it disbanded, dwindled to about five. Sometimes only two appeared in costume.

The society had a meeting-house of its own where its dances, *Mizinkĭ'ntĭka*, were held, for, unlike the Unami custom, no Mizink ever appeared in the Big House. The members appeared wearing their masks and clad in rough bearskin and deerskin costumes, while some, at least, where provided with a turtleshell rattle which they would rub on a long pole, crying "*O*^{n}-*o*^{n}-*o*^{n}*!*" the while.

Ceremonies.—While no consecutive account of their ceremonies is now remembered, it was said that they sometimes put down their rattles, heaped up

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
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794 the ashes from the two fires, then threw
796 the ashes all over the house to prevent
751 the people assembled from having disease.

755 Should any sick person appear, he or
794 she would be especially treated with
796 ashes. Sometimes the performers would pick up live coals and throw them about, frightening the people. At other times the whole company of them would go around to the different houses begging for tobacco, and would dance in any house where someone was willing to sing for them.

Nothing was said among the Minsi about the Mizink bringing back stray
●532 stock or driving deer, characteristic at-
778 tributes of the Mask Being of the Unami.
[126] The writer obtained but one mask among the Canadian Lenape, and this was from the Grand River band (fig. 4); it has been described by him[84] in the following words:

"But one mask (*mizink*) was obtained. It differed from those of the Iroquois chiefly in being cruder, and also in decoration, the lines being burnt into the wood instead of being

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
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painted or curved. The original use of the mask had to do, in part at least, with healing the sick, but Isaac Montour (*Kapyâ'hâm*), from whom I bought it, failed to make himself clear as to the details."

It will be seen that the Minsi beliefs and practices noted above resemble those of the False Face Company of the Iroquois tribes much more than they do the customs connected with Misi'ng^{w} among the Unami.

In fact, a vague tradition exists to the effect that the False Face Company of the Cayuga once put a stop to an epidemic of cholera among the Minsi. While this was not given to account for the origin of the society among the Minsi, it at least shows that they were familiar with the Iroquois practices in this line.

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
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She hired a man especially to hunt a yearling doe for the ceremony, which took place in her own dwelling. The details are lost, but it is remembered that a man beat a little drum and sang while she, as owner, danced around, carrying the doll in her hands, followed by such of the other women present as wished to participate. Said Wolf, "The Nani'tis helped the Indians, that's why they fed it."

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An Old Minsi "Doll."—The writer was able to obtain but one old specimen of this type (pl. VIII), which was procured at the Grand River reserve, Ontario, for the E. T. Tefft collection, now in the American Museum of Natural History, and was described in the writer's article,[55] before cited, as follows:

"Perhaps the most interesting Delaware specimen of all is the little wooden image, about eight inches high, bought of Dr. Jones, which his father, Rev. Peter Jones, described and illustrated in his book under the name 'Nahmeetis, the Guardian of Health.' He says:

[776] "'I have in my possession two family gods. One is called *Pahookowaih*—the god that crushes

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
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"NAHNEETIS THE GUARDIAN OF HEALTH"
(E. T Tefft Collection, American Museum of Natural History)

[facing p. 168]

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

or breaks down diseases. The other is a goddess named *Nahneetis*, the guardian of health. This goddess was delivered up to me by Eunice Hank, a Muncey Indian woman, who with her friends used to worship it in their sacred dances, making a feast to it every year, when a fat doe was sacrificed as an offering, and many presents were given by the friends assembled. She told me she was now restored to worship the Christian's God, and therefore had no further use for it.'

"There can be no doubt in this case concerning the identity of this specimen with the one illustrated in the book quoted. It will be noticed however by those who are familiar with Peter Jones' illustration that Nahneetis, like many humans, has lost her hair in her old age. An interesting featureof the specimen is the primitive skirt, which is made apparently by belting a blanket-like bit of cloth, bound at the edges, around Nahneetis' waist. A vestige of this method of making a skirt survives, I think, in the form of the beaded strip running up one of the vertical seams of the more modern Indian skirt, among both the Delawares and the Iroquois."

The writer afterward found such skirts still in use among the Lenape in Oklahoma (pl. 1, *b*).

An Early Account of Nani'tĭs.—Another early account of the Nani'tĭs among the Minsi may be found in the

7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
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PLATE 1

DELAWARE CEREMONIAL LEADERS IN DANCE COSTUME.

Left, Wi'tapano'xwe, "Walks by Daylight," C. J. Webber, and right, Kwutcpagi'kamen, "Rustling Leaves (when Walking)," George T. Anderson, of Dewey, Oklahoma. (Courtesy of Philadelphia *Public Ledger*, 1932, and Allen S. Fisher, "Lutheranism in Bucks County, 1734–1934," Tinicum, Pa., 1935.)

[facing p. 4]

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
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PLATE 2

GREASE DUSKING CEREMONY, OTTER RITE.
(Painting by J. A. Parks, Delaware Indian, Wann, Okla., 1931.)

[FACING p. 44]

7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
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FIG. 1. DELAWARE RED AND BLACK WOODEN MASKS WITH CORN-HUSK "HAIR" WORN BY OFFICER IN MASK CEREMONY (p. 80). *A*. Worn during mid-day performances (reproduction 5½ inches in length). *B*. Worn during morning and evening performances. The spacing of the red and black colors represents the proportion of light and dark, morning and evening (*B*), and in mid-day (*A*). (Sketch by M. H. Wheeler.)

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7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
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535 the Cherokee Dance, others the Shawnee Dance, the Woman's Dance and so on, differentiated chiefly through their songs, all falling under the classification of Stomp, Social, or Round Dances, the favorites of the various tribes now domiciled in Oklahoma.

STOMP DANCE, *Ni·ka·'n'ka·n*, "LEADING DANCE"

534 The procedure normally among the Delawares in carrying
535 out the features of the widespread Lead, or Stomp Dance, seems to be for the leader to head the column of dancers without shaking time with the hand rattle. The drum is not called for. Despite the supposition that these dances emanated from the cultural influence of the Creeks, it appears that, unlike the latter, the Delawares did not show the feature of having the women, who dance immediately behind the leader, wear the cluster of tortoise shell leg-rattles. Nevertheless a specimen of Box Tortoise shell (Plate 4), arranged to be tied to the leg of a dancer was obtained in Oklahoma from Tom Long Bone who indicated that it had been worn attached to the leg of a dance-leader in social dances.

The garter rattle of deer hoofs attached to a leather strip tied below each knee around the leg is shown in Fig. 3. The hoofs are strung around the leather on thongs, two or three in each cluster. This jingler is asserted to have been worn only in Social dances by Joe Washington who owned it. Another specimen, from Wi·tapano'xwe, has a cluster of thirty pendant deer hoofs strung in the center half of the leather leg band eight inches long and three wide with double tie strings (Pl. 4).

535 The major personage of these dances is the *ne'ni·ka·'nka·s*, "dance leader," whose function is to head the line of dancers of both sexes and all ages who follow him in single file as he leads in a circle turning from right to left. The Delaware dance leader may also employ a short decorated stick or wand
293 held upward in the hand to accent his movements. Some
535 six or seven specimens of the leaders' wands, obtained from
532 the Washington family, are interesting and beautiful. They range between two and two and a half feet in length, decorated

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
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293 with carving, paint, tightly woven diagonal-technique bead-
535 work, and feather pendants, single or in small clusters, as
532 the illustrations show (Fig. 2). The carving is usually in block form, the exposed wood painted blue, yellow, or red, and the beadwork designed as it is on staffs used in the Peyote rites, all showing the influence of Peyote symbolism in their decoration. The feathers attached are usually those of the flicker (yellow shafted woodpecker) to denote the sacred power invested in this bird which has a black moon-marked breast, and sometimes parrot feathers obtained from the traders. On one specimen a strip of soft muskrat fur around the staff represented an admonition to "be polite," at the dance, avoiding loudness and vulgarity which might cause trouble.

535 According to the occasion, his musical equipment may be
178 a hand-rattle. His lead songs are of the type in which a measure is sung by him alone when the dancers respond with a corresponding shorter measure in which the syllables vary only somewhat. These dances are most popular and seem to be growing in favor among the Indians of Oklahoma. In fact, within the last four or five years Delaware dance leaders have introduced them among the Osage, as is the case of Tom Half Moon himself.

535 While we have as yet no detailed accounts of such social-
171 ceremonial pastimes among the still practicing groups to serve as a basis for comparative treatment, I can testify to having observed them over a wide area in the east, indeed from the Penobscot, and other Wabanaki of the northeast, and the Iroquois and Shawnee to the Cherokee, Creek and Yuchi of the Gulf area. The purpose, however, is not to discuss them here. The known history of many of these dances throughout the area proves a case of diffusion from tribe to tribe as they are deliberately carried by visiting dance leaders. We have knowledge of a number of introductions among the Iroquois from colonial times to the present.

8: Linestrom T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
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21. TWO SMALL FETISH MASKS OF WOOD, AND WHAT WAS POSSIBLY A POWDER MEASURE, MADE FROM AN ANTLER, CARVED WITH A HUMAN FACE AND APPARENTLY THE TAIL OF A RATTLESNAKE. THIS WAS UNDOUBTEDLY CARRIED ON THE SAME STRAP AS THE MASK TO THE LEFT, PROBABLY BY A LENAPE CHIEF. "THE *Pddâra* . . . IS HUNG ON A CHAIN OF THEIR MONEY ON THEIR BREAST." (SEE P. 207.) FROM ORIGINAL IN UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA MUSEUM. PHOTOGRAPH KINDLY SUPPLIED BY DR. GORDON, DIRECTOR OF THE MUSEUM.

[FACING p. 207]

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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648 Neither time nor closer association with Europeans has caused this feeling to disappear among the Delawares.[1] We observe the persistence of the same spirit in the sentiments conveyed in the text, the reverence for the *mores* of the past, the attitude of adoration toward their ancestors who, although ignorant pagans, possessed a mystic wisdom and intelligence which, they are willing to concede, surpassed the endowments and knowledge of the present generation.[2]

Yet notwithstanding the attitude of the Delawares toward the whites, we must not be misled, by consideration of the antipathy and distrust expressed since colonial times, into regarding the same spirit to have characterized their religious motives. For several authorities besides the narrator of the text coincide in telling us that the ceremonies of placation performed by the tribe are maintained for the benefit of all mankind. The white man is to be blamed for the existence in the mind of the Delaware of the feeling in favor of segregation. Yet the Delaware is willing to extend over his enemies the blessings resulting from his devotions.

771 The informant's own attitude is interesting as expressed in his own words.

"The Big House is regarded by the Delawares as the supreme religion among all forms of worship on the Continent. The center post [778 532] with the carved faces of the two sides is the foundation, whose topmost

[1] J. Morse (Rep. to the Secretary of War on the Indian Tribes, New Haven, 1822, p. 110) alludes to the Delawares of 1818 as "having a peculiar aversion to white people." Heckewelder still earlier had much to say about the causes of dissension, op. cit., p. 191.

[2] Note the spirit manifested in a communication from the Delaware Council to the Historical Commission (June 1929) "We are proud to have such a wonderful opportunity, so that our children will take pride in the work of their fathers to preserve our sacred Delaware tradition." While the hold of the old doctrine may be losing its grasp upon the younger generation of Delawares, we have some evidence of a reactionary trend in sentiment towards its rationalization. Not so long ago one of the Christian Delawares, [182] moved by a zealous, evangelistic impulse, arose and advised the conservatives to abandon once and for all the Big House ceremony on the ground that it was part of an age of superstition and ignorance. The opposition accorded this appeal was surprising and unexpected. The individuals behind the move for abandonment were, as it happened, uneducated themselves. Some of the defenders of the old faith, women who possessed good education in government schools, responded by accusing the intruders of incompetency to pass judgment on the merits of the contending creeds, by reason of their own ignorance; in not being able to read the testaments of one nor grasp the meaning of the other. Religious conservatism is a marked characteristic of the nationalistic element in the Nation. It is even asserted that they regard their migration from the east to have been in part prompted by a desire to preserve their religion. Dr. Michelson, who visited the tribe in 1912, was impressed by their tenacity of creed, (Smithsonian Misc. Collec., vol. 60, No. 30, p. 35) upon which Harrington also makes comments (I, op. cit., p. 200).

In an unpublished note to the original manuscript of Rafinesque's Walamolum (1833) now in the Brinton Library of the University of Pennsylvania Museum, the author gives a handwritten fragment of Delaware history from 1600. It is a bitter native lament voiced over the decline of the tribe, pronounced by a chief and translated by a John Burns, with mention of the removal from the east to west of the Mississippi and finally to the Osage country.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. ~~1925~~) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

end pierces the sky extending to the throne of the Great Spirit, whose right hand is resting on top of it as a staff to hold a great power given to the red man. All other Indian worship is a branch of this belief. When the rules are faithfully carried out in accordance with the ways of the primitive Delawares, it governs even the religion of our white brothers, perpetuating happiness, health, and prosperity among all nations the world over. In regard to the center post which is said to link the Creator with his chosen people; it is considered a very important feature of the religion. There should be a special authority to explain the significance of the center post in order that its real value in the Indian world be brought out. This being done the other Indian nations would be able to understand this great worship which now only the Delawares know."

A word or two of comment on my own estimate of the character of Delaware religion may not be amiss. If the student of the religious systems of pre-literate peoples feels inclined to disparage the quality of thought and the symbolism of the rituals of other North American forms of worship, I imagine that his objections, on the basis perhaps of their fetishistic traits and their lack of spiritual refinement, would be removed in weighing the qualities of Delaware concepts and acts of reverence toward the powers beyond. Close attention during the two years of study to the intricacies of the Delaware doctrines has impressed me with the conviction that we have here a real religion in a simple form. Inculcated in its followers are virtues (we'lhik) that no one would question as being of an ennobling nature, for instance humility of spirit and conduct,[1] dependence[2] upon the benevolence of the spirit forces, gratitude[3] for the blessings they bestow, supplication[4] for the continuation of blessings, the exemplariness of "clean" sincere behavior toward man and spirit,[5] altruism,[6] consideration of the afflicted and the aged,[7] the apostrophe against violence and war,[8] the value of concentrated spiritual unity in worship, the assumed dignity and barbaric grandeur[9] of the rites, and in particular the endeavor to insure and promote human health and welfare[10] irrespective of tribe or race. All are well worthy it would seem of respectful consideration, to which should be added that the procedures of the paramount

[1] tamak·e·'landamowa'k·an, "pitifulness in attitude."
[2] liyɔ'ndowak·an.
[3] ɔwe·'landamowa'k·an, "thankful satisfaction of mind."
[4] ma·'mendowa'k·an, "earnest pleading."
[5] pi·'tsowa'k·an.
[6] lape·'mkwus·i·n "act of making oneself useful."
[7] wi'mbendowa'k·an, "sympathy."
[8] wɔlangɔsowa'k·an, "peacefulness." (aspale·'tamowak·an)
[9] wɔli·'nake·wsowa'k·an, "fine appearance."
[10] kwe'namowa'k·an, "universal blessedness."

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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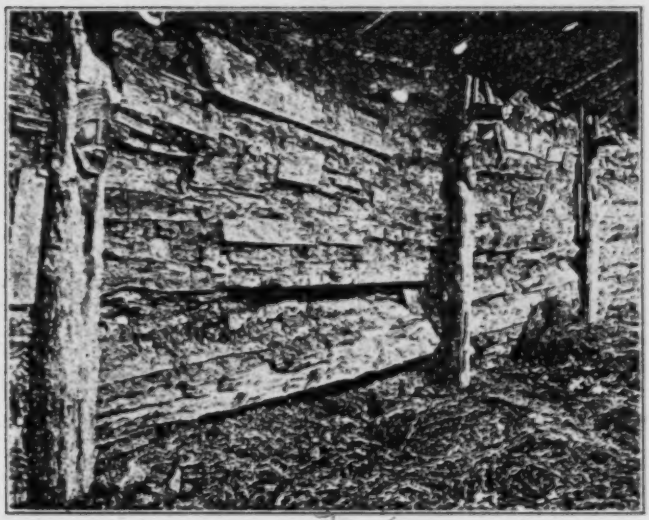

Fig. 1—Side posts of Ceremonial House showing carved faces. After Harrington.

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Fig. 2—Delaware Tortoise shell rattles carried by reciters and dance leaders in the ceremony. (Hist. Com. of Pa.)

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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required. These I propose to deal with in the following section as man-i'tu deserving of particular mention, since this seems to represent their standing in the minds of devout Delawares.

Not only is the principle of consanquinity applied to deities and nature-forces, but to tribes and nations as well. Indeed the application of term of relationship to bodies of extra-biological classification is interesting enough to call for the inclusion of information given as a commentary on this point by Wi·tapano'xwe. With more detail to be secured it promises a fruitful problem for sociological interpretation. The informant's notes on the quasi-consanguinity of tribes are as follows. The Delawares believe that they are the oldest of the Indians. They call the following tribes "grand children," Shawnee, Potawatomi, Sauk and Fox, Ioway, Tonkawa, Sioux, Ottawa, Kickapoo, Miami, Peoria, Chippewa, Menomini, Winnebago. And these, in turn, call the Delawares, Wabanaki, Lenape, or else "Grandfathers,"—but, adds Wi·tapano'xwe, we are all "brothers," i. e. Indians. There are the Nanticoke, Mahikan, Munsee and Iroquois who are called brothers, relative age not specified, in spite of the fact that the Delawares assume to be older than they. There are other tribes which have different relationship with the Delawares, for example the Wyandots, Seneca and Cherokee are called "nephews" (either filial or sororal) and the Mexicans are called "uncles." To white people the general term, meaning "brothers" is applied, while negroes are termed "elder brothers," being considered the strongest of all races.[1]

THE CARVED IMAGES.—The concepts involved in the use of carved images in the likeness of the human face represent a phase of religious thought that has developed some exceptional prominence among the

[1] Zeisberger, (op. cit., p. 109) gives information corresponding to that of our informant, when he says that the "Shawnose" call the Delaware "grandfather." In regard to the "Mahikanders" we find a contradiction, and so are not able to compare the author's remarks with those in the text. Zeisberger also says that the Wiandots (Wyandots) and the Cherokees call the Delaware "grandfather," which differs from the information brought forward by our informant who considers them to be "nephews" of the Delaware. One infers from Zeisberger that the Delawares called the Twitchtwes (Miami), Wawiachtanos (a group of Mahikan), Kikapus, Chipuways, Ottawas, Putewoatalmen (Potawatomi) "brothers," differing from our information which states that the above tribes are known as "grandchildren," except when they were termed "brothers," implying that they were Indians similar to the Delawares. Zeisberger gives no kinship term as being applied to the negroes by the Delaware. He says: "These (the negroes) are looked upon as of their own kind and allowed full liberty. Indians and negroes intermarry and their mulatto children are as much loved as children of pure Indian blood."

Heckewelder, op. cit., notes the Shawnee (p. 86) and the Chipewa (p. 124) as being grandchildren of the Delaware, which is similar to the information given us by Wi·tapano'xwe, but in the case of the Chippewa he differs from Zeisberger. Heckewelder notes (page 122) that the Nanticoke and Mahican call the Delaware "grandfather" which differs from the information in our text where they are said to be "brothers." Again a difference is observed between Heckewelder and our informant in regard to the Wyandot and Cherokee who are, according to Heckewelder, "grandchildren" of the Delawares, yet, according to our informant are "nephews."

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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Fig. 5—View of the center post with carved face above. Looking toward the west door.

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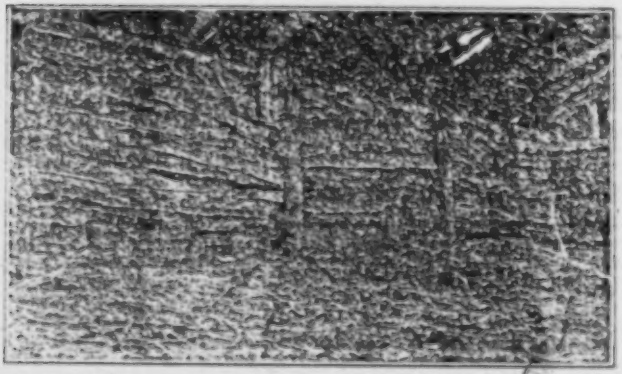

Fig. 6—View inside the Big House, showing support-posts, side logs and three of the false-face images on the side posts. The straw upon which the worshippers sit is also on the ground.

(Photos by Dr. Truman Michelson, Bur. Am. Ethnology, Wash., D. C.)

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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532 778 Delawares.[1] The term applied to them is mas-i'ŋg" (singular) "face." The concept defined for us in several sources of information, including the living teachers, shows that the carved representations are portrayals of the spirit-forces (man-i't-owak (plural)). They are not worshiped as objects. They stand as concrete representations of the spirit-forces as something to look at, to focus attention upon while the mind is centered upon the abstraction. The attitude is comparable to what is intended by the religious term iconolatry. The spirit forces are felt to be present where their likenesses are.

The images themselves when regarded as being separated from the domination of the function they serve are not treated with adoration. Hence when images are being made to replace old ones, in the occasional reconstruction of the Big House, the old images are laid aside, their meaning transferred to the new. Wi-tapano'xwe has himself, on one of the occasions when the Big House was rebuilt some years ago, carved one of the images on the side posts. This duty was assigned to the members of the council, each assuming the responsibility of carving one. His mental attitude is interesting in this connection. He made the post and carved the face on it, the second from the door on the west side of the Big House. He says, very naïvely, that he copied for his reproduction the one from the old post that he replaced, trying to reproduce as accurately as he could the technique and proportions of the original. He thought it best not to attempt any improvement in sculpture as he did not desire to deviate from established pattern. Some of the other artists, however, in making their reproductions attempted to do their best in sculptural representation. This shows us that the Delawares permit the play of individual motive in religious conduct, a fact which stands out in greater prominence among other Algonkian tribes where the organization of cult is not so strong. In short while there is undoubtedly much to learn from further experience with this sort of religious attitude among the Delawares it may be said that the images are strictly mediums for thought in the worship of the spirit-forces. The images are not the forces themselves. In the words of Wi-tapano'xwe, "You have the figure there in sight but the unseen spirit is back of it."

[1] Mask cults and image rituals of different degrees of importance are known only from certain parts of eastern North America; from the Middle Atlantic States southward (Iroquois, Delaware, Munsee, and Cherokee). The explorers' narratives, however, show the use of carved faces among the Algonkian peoples of Virginia and the Carolinas. The images formed posts standing at the places where ceremonies were performed (De Bry, Hariot). The use of carved masks (gourds) is indicated in the early 18th century for the Catawba by Lawson, while remains of wooden masks occur in an archaeological site in Florida (F. H. Cushing. Exploration of Ancient Key Dwellers Remains on the Gulf Coast of Florida. Proc. Amer. Phil. Soc., Phila. vol. 35, 1896, p. 388); and Harrington, (Cherokee and Earlier Remains on Upper Tennessee River, Indian Notes and Monographs, Mus. Amer. Ind., N. Y. 1922, p. 112), found a shell mask in Tennessee, in which state and Virginia almost a score are described by G. G. MacCurdy, xixth Internat. Cong. of Americanists, Wash. 1915, pp. 83-3, 64-5, 73; and W. H. Holmes 2nd Ann. Rep. Bur. Amer. Ethn. 1880-1, pp. 294-7, Pls. LXVII-IX.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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Several technical details in the make-up of the images are important. 532 ●
One is the carved lines suggestive of wrinkles on the foreheads of the carved faces of the Big House posts. These are indeed wrinkles; the symbols of their age.

The black painting of the left side and the red painting of the right side of the images, as well as of the false face to be mentioned subsequently, and on the carved drum-sticks, has been given some discussion by Harrington[1] and was made the subject of questioning with Wi·tapano'xwe. It is evident that the dual color scheme, black and red, is based upon some very ancient and deeply symbolical native concept common throughout the east, the complete understanding of which has not been retained in Delaware tradition. We meet with the same color arrangement in designs of face painting in various connections among the Iroquois and tribes as remote from affinity with the Delawares as the Creek and Yuchi for instance.

Indications from the several sources available point to a fairly 778
uniform assumption that in the case of the Delaware the images or 532
icons are venerated as the symbols of deity, serving not as an object of worship (as the accepted definition of idolatry implies) but as channels for worship. It would seem that the icons bear an analogy to those functioning in Christian worship. Likenesses of the manitus in human-face form also appear in abnormal growths upon trees, and often in natural formations in ledges of rock. The latter have given rise to varied legends of stone faces familiar in the lore of the countryside. To the Delaware it is taboo to look much at them lest they speak to one, which might be for evil. And he imagines these nature-grown effigies to have the red and black coloration characteristic of the spirit itself.

In dealing next with the masks there seems to exist an attitude somewhat different from that which we find associated with the stationary images just mentioned. The Delawares, in recent times at least, possessed a mask cult. There is, however, so far as the annual ceremony is concerned, the single spiritual force, anthropomorphic in character, whose province in native theurgy lies in the custodianship of the game animals. This being is represented by a carved mask-fetish known as mɔs·i'ŋk'hɔli·'kan, signifying "mask spirit." More will be said of this "master of the game" shortly. The personification of this creature, who is represented in the ceremonial drama by some individual who wears not only the mask but a garb simulating the traditional hairy body-covering of the being, seems to enter into the performance of the Big House as an extraneous feature. Aside from several remarks to follow concerning the masked

[1] Harrington, (pp. 83, 140-141) I. learned that the "length-wise" painting of the sticks, half black and half red, implied that men and women were joined together in Thanksgiving, the black representing the warriors, the red the women.

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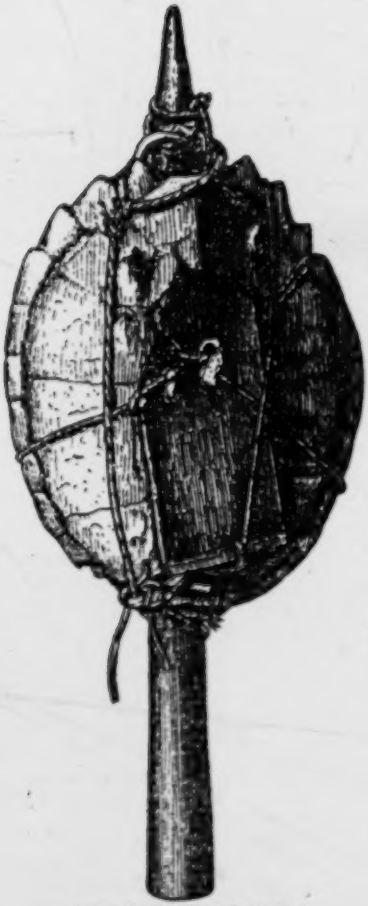

Fig. 7—Rattle of turtle-shell used by Mad'ngw. (Length, 16.7 in.). After Harrington.

Fig. 8—Central post of Ceremonial House showing carved face. After Harrington.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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being, taken from the discussions of Zeisberger and Harrington, I will let Wi·tapano'xwe place forth in his own words the pertinent remarks relative to it which he dictated to me. 1778 532

THE MASK DANCE.—The False Face, or Mask, performance seems to possess indications of being an archaic mask-ceremony admitted into the annual Big House ritual during some phase of its later development. It bears some analogies suggestive at once of the game-owner concept that is met with among the Algonkian hunter-nomads of the far north, the Montagnais-Naskapi. In particular we note that the mask and bear-hide clothing are kept away from the precincts of the Big House until the time assigned for their appearance by permission of the master-of-ceremony. The Mask dancer does not remain long in the Big House, nor is his action there in any sense an obligation. Occasionally no one volunteers for the dance and then it is omitted. The informant himself had assumed the rôle several times and he seemed to regard it as lacking in theological significance from the point of view of the Big House doctrine. He related in this connection, how the chief function of the Mask dancer was to frighten children before and after his appearance in the Big House. The songs accompanying the Mask-Spirit dance (mæ·ingkə'n·t'kə') were not completely known to him. In one of these the words refer to the Mask-Spirit riding on the back of the deer.[1] 796

The Mask-Spirit seems to hold potency of both good and evil influence. There is the narrative of a man (Ben Horse) who had come under the power of the Mask-Spirit to such a degree that he was occasionally subjected to its control and fell to performing the antics of the Mask dancer to the point of dementia. A medicine-doctor called upon to free him from this influence ordered him to make a mask and perform the dance at certain times. This eventually cured him and he became the custodian of his mask and developed into a Mask-dancer. An insight into the function of this rite is also given by the narrative of another, a woman, terrified by the Mask-Spirit requiring similar remedial treatment of the mask. And we also hear of some children once so frightened that they ran several miles from the camp and were overtaken with difficulty by their parents whom they took also to be masked pursuers in their confusion of flight.

The Mask-Spirit as a potentially malicious spirit is clearly totally different in conception from six carved faces, "our grandfathers," appearing on the posts of the Big House.

We are taught in the text that the mæ·i'ŋk'həli'kan is like the other man·i't·u deserving of adoration for the blessing he bestows upon hunters in allowing them to kill the deer, over whom he seems to act 796 776

[1] Another reflection of the tale known as Caribou-Man among the Naskapi of the north.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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Fig. 9—Costume worn by impersonator of Misinghalil'kun. After Harrington.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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the part of custodian.[1] Harrington felt that this was the "most remarkable deity of the Lenape," who was "made guardian by the creator of all the wild animals of the forest, and was sometimes seen riding on the back of a buck, herding the deer; but he lived in a range of rocky mountains. His face is large and round, the right half being painted red, the left black, while his body is covered with long black hair like that of a bear."[2]

A certain amount of supernatural ability seems to be required of the individual who is to wear properly and display the mask. One who has this spiritual quality to a high degree finds himself able to see as well when wearing the mask, despite the smallness of the eye-openings, as though he were bare-eyed. His spiritual power, we are told, is thus tested; he partakes of the qualities of the prophet, kacila'su "great man." Other notes on the wearing of the mask are to be found in the text, page 93.

Before passing on, however, reference should be made to customs concerned with the mask recorded by the authors mentioned above. Zeisberger describes this as follows:

"The only idol which the Indians have, and which may properly be called an idol, is their Wainkhoalican, that is image. It is an image cut in wood, representing a human head, in miniature, which they always carry about them either on a string around their neck or in a bag. They often bring offerings to it. In their houses of sacrifice they have a head of this idol as large as life put upon a pole in the middle of the room.[3]

Brainerd had occasion to observe the performance of the Mask-Spirit in 1745, on the upper Susquehanna, and wrote of the appearance of the Mask Dancer with "a coat of bear skins, dressed with the hair on, and hanging down to his toes; a pair of bear skin stockings; and a great wooden mask painted, the one half black, the other half tawny, about the color of an Indian's skin, with an extravagant mouth, cut very much awry; the face fastened to a bear skin cap, which was drawn over his head. He advanced toward me with the instrument in his hand, which he used for music, in his idolatrous worship, which was a dry tortoise shell with some corn in it, and the neck of it drawn on to a piece of wood, which made a very convenient handle."[4]

There seems, however, to be something omitted in recording these facts. A much more intimate connection between the mask itself and

[1] A hunter's taboo, founded supposedly upon some ancient principle of altruism, is that the first deer or other animal killed by the hunter be not eaten. The meat is given to some older person. The slayer never gets even a bite. Some phase of this rule is to be noted for every northern Algonkian tribe, though in no case have I as yet been fortunate enough to elicit a religious reason for it among the hunters who follow the practice.

[2] Harrington, I, p. 32-33.

[3] Zeisberger, op. cit., p. 141.

[4] Brainerd, op. cit., p. 237.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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Fig. 10—Mask of Oklahoma Lenape. (Height 14.5 in.). After Harrington.

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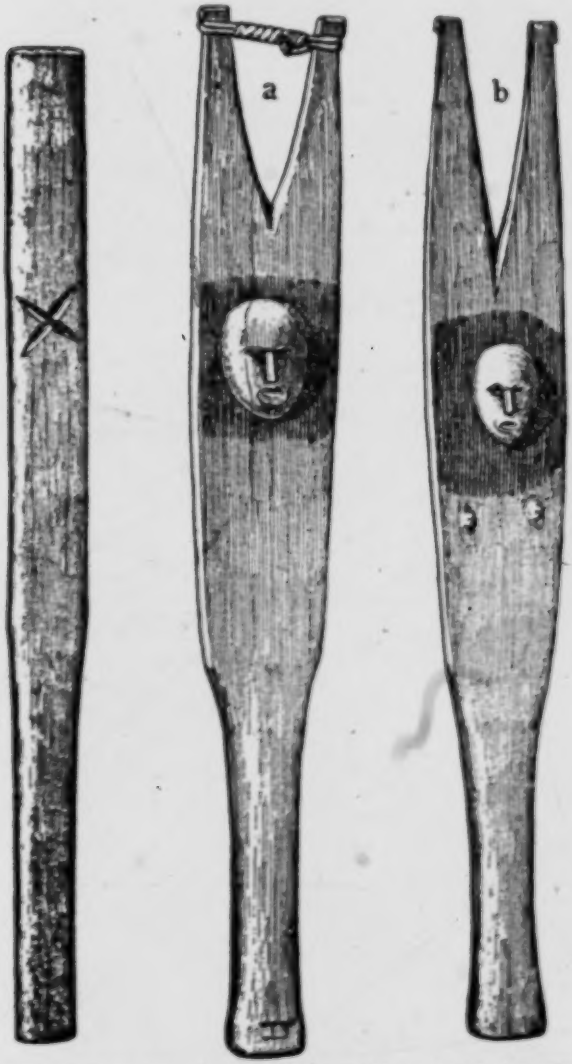

Fig. 22—Plain and Sacred (a and b) drumsticks used at the Big House ceremony in Oklahoma (Length, 18.6 in.). After Harrington.

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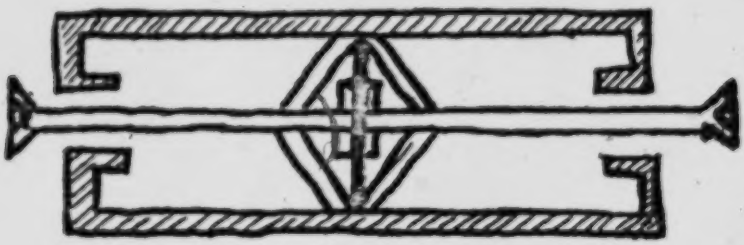
A



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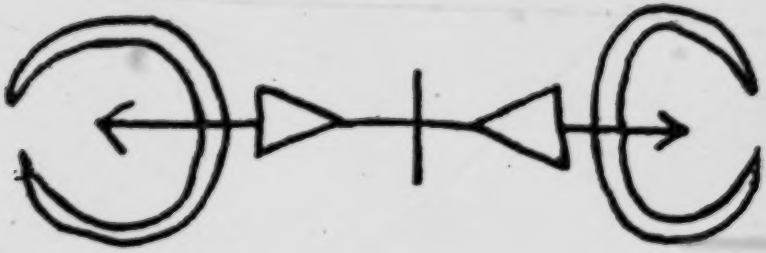

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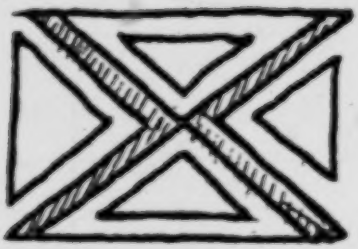

C

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PLATE 2

A, B—Old designs in woven beadwork representing "clasps."
C—Peyote ceremony design representing "to be in good associations."
D—Meaning "Safe now, danger is past."

[P.28]

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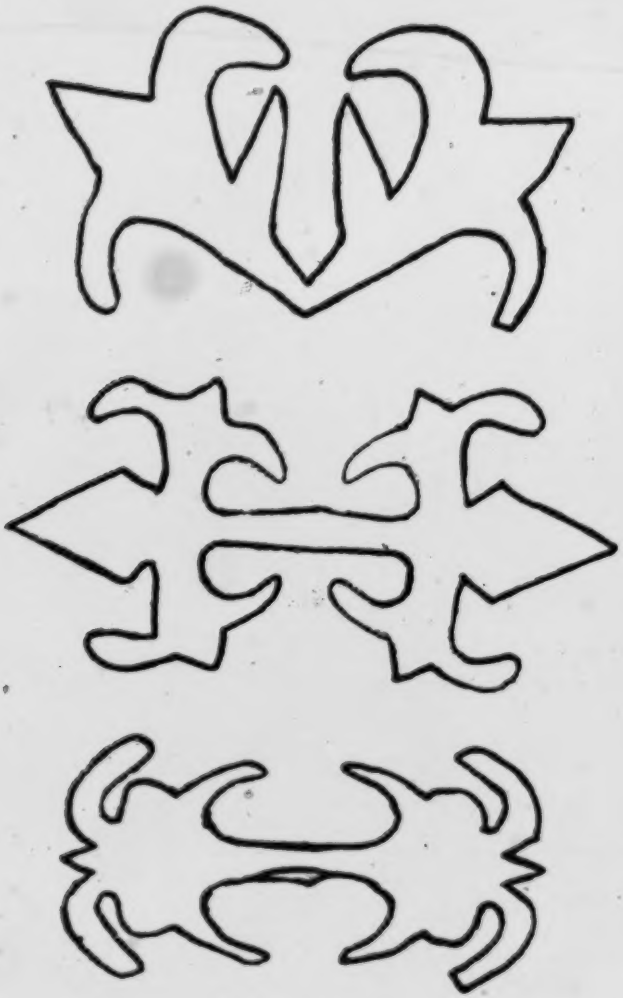

PLATE 4

Bead and silk work designs representing "flower" and "plants," reproduced on breechcloths, leggings, blankets, pouches.

[P.30]

[P. 11, A]

An excellent description

172 323 415 [114] of Owasco ceramics is contained in Ritchie's "Pre-Iroquoian Occupations of New York State". A reading of this should precede any serious approach to the study of what we presently believe to be Minsi pottery.

The bodies of Minsi vessels ordinarily are corded in some fashion. Ritchie assigns the greatest frequency to a finely corded body treatment with smoothed-over cord second, smooth third, and coarsely corded fourth. It is to be noted that other body techniques occur on occasion such as corded stick imprinted and brushed-over cord.

Miniature vessels occur in this culture. The writer has never seen any from the Milford area which were not crude, including one, partially complete, excavated by him from the Bell-Philhower Site late in 1947. (Plate 3).

It may be remarked in connection with this all too brief description of 'Minsi' pottery vessels that one of the stumbling blocks in the path of a final and conclusive acceptance of the Owasco-cum-Iroquois explanation of the ultimate Minsi Culture is the fact that to the best of my knowledge no sherd or vessel has yet been found on a presumed Minsi site embodying an indeniable combination of pronounced Owasco and Iroquoian decorative techniques. This statement is made with full awareness, however, that the so-called Castle Creek Epigonus pottery may represent a combination of decorative motifs.

Pottery Effigies

172 323 532 In the light of the finding by the writer of the pottery effigy of an animal head on the Bell site in 1949, there can be little doubt that objects of this type must be included in the material culture of the Minsi.

The object in question (Plate 4. Nos. 1 and 2) is complete with the exception of the ears and a small part of the lower por-

[P. 11, B]

172 tion of the face. The hole in the dorsal
323 surface (shown in Plate 4, No. 2) is con-
532 nected with the holes indicating the eyes. No explanation for the purpose of this dorsal hole or indeed of the entire specimen can be attempted at this time.

Bone

172 Bone and antler artifacts do not appear
321 to be abundant on Minsi sites. On occa-
41 sion, the bone awl, antler flakers of cylindrical form, combs, turtle-shell cups, perforated deer phalanges, perforated needles, antler picks, beaming tools, and short bone tubes, probably used as ornaments, are found.

Shell

At the present time, because of an almost total lack of evidence, (the Bell-Philhower Site report lists one shell bead found by Mr. Charles A. Philhower in a pit of the historical period and worked fragments of conch) the writer is not prepared to discuss the possible incidence of shell artifacts in the prehistoric Minsi Culture. In common with Ritchie ("Bell-Philhower Site", p. 178) he refers the interested reader to the Heye-Pepper report, "Exploration of a Munsee Cemetery" for a description of numerous shell ornaments, etc., from the *historic* Minsi site adjacent to the Bell-Philhower component.

ROUGH STONE

172 Net sinkers are of two well-defined
324 types: flat pebbles with two opposed
227 notches, and sinkers made of thin sheets of stone chipped into circular or rectangular shape with two opposed notches. These 'trimmed sinkers' may have notches formed by chipping, or rarely, by grinding. (Plate 5, No. 3, shows notched flat pebble; Plate 5, No. 1, shows trimmed sinker with chipped notches; No. 3 of the same plate is a trimmed ground-notch sinker.)

Sinkers of both types may range in size from an inch to six or seven inches in

[P. 12, B]

Sinew Stones

172 324 412 In the Milford area it is possible on occasion to recover egg-shaped (and sized) pebbles almost completely encircled by shallow pecked grooves. Ritchie in the Bell-Philhower report, p. 175, refers to them as "partly grooved thick pebble sinkers". The present writer has never found this explanation of their use to be entirely satisfactory (Plate 7, Nos. 1 and 3.)

Stone Faces

172 324 532 Under the category of rough stone it is proper to include the stone faces which now and then turn up on Minsi sites. To the writer's knowledge, at least five of these have been found in the Milford area, one splendid specimen from Minisink Island (Plate 10) being presently in the collection of Mr. Rudolph Ludwig. According to [796] numerous authorities, these rough-tone effigies were used in the Lenni-Lenapé Big House Ceremony.

Polished Stone Artifacts

Celts

172 324 412 The inventory of Minsi polished stone artifacts is not large. Most prominent in this category is the so-called 'thick-polled celt' (Plate 9, Nos. 1 and 3). It is to be observed that some of these are almost restagular in cross-section, others more nearly oval.

Small Chisels

Well made "miniature celts" in the form of small narrow chisels or of small pebbles with a celt-like edge are among the most interesting and unusual Minsi artifacts. Some (Plate 1, No. 8) are beautifully made. In my opinion, this type of implement is important in the identification of Minsi-occupied sites. Several years ago the writer published in the "Pennsylvania Archaeologist" (Vol. IX, No. 3) a brief discussion of the possible use of these small tools. In that article it was suggested

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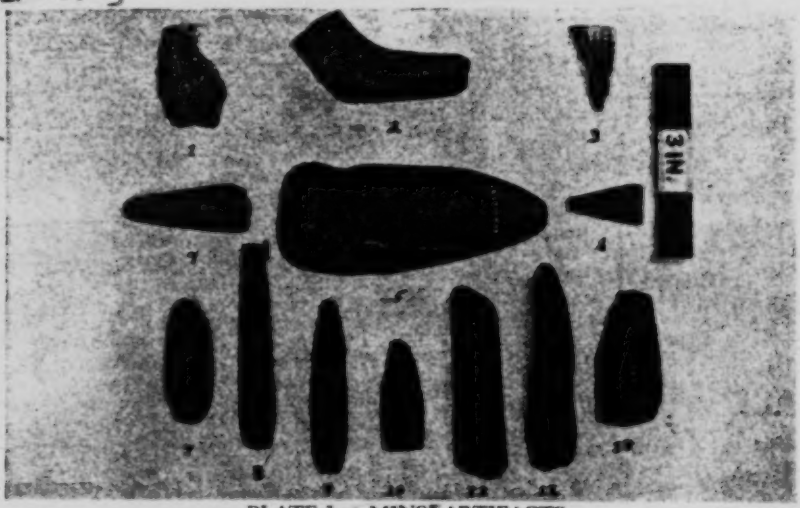

PLATE I. MINSI ARTIFACTS

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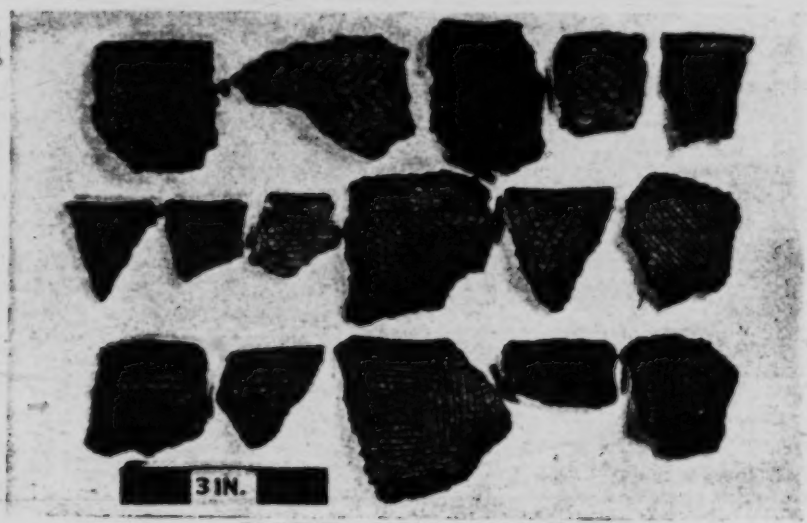

PLATE II. MINSI ARTIFACTS

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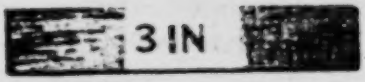

PLATE III. MINSI ARTIFACT

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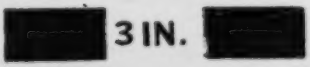

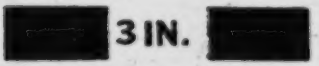

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PLATE IV. MINSI ARTIFACT

[P. 19]

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PLATE IX. MINSI ARTIFACTS

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PLATE X. MINSI ARTIFACT

Comanche NO6
Delaware NM7

165. De 1: Ashes formed into an eagle in one small-moon variant (Petrullo, 78). De 2: Ashes piled on each side of fire to represent the lungs of Jesus. Also formed into a heart (Petrullo, 101, 181). Win: Ashes formed into a moon twice during the ritual and, in addition, formed into a heart twice, the "Morning Star" twice (the second time with lines across two points), a cross (by filling with embers the interspaces of the cross incised on floor), and finally a sun (Praus).

169. De 2: See note 163. Cr 2: By cedarman (Voget).

170. Cr 2: Four blasts on the whistle; then two songs are sung, the first being "fixed" (Voget).

171. WRS: Sometimes twice (Shimkin).

172. De 2: Special water song used to call for fresh water in morning (Petrullo, 93).

173-174: Com and No C: Water handed into lodge by women; put in position by fire chief (Hoebel). Kio: Woman once observed blessing water at midnight (Noon).

176. W-P: Cedarman only sprinkles cedar on fire; no prayer.

177. Ab S: Swings water bucket four times over fire on which cedar has been sprinkled (Voegelin).

180. Cr 1: Drummer both smokes and prays (Voget).

182. Gos: To moisten "mother earth" (Malouf).

186. Cr 2: Makes circuit of room after removing water (Voget).

187. Ab S: Drum and staff were lying beside the leader; he picks up staff at this point and hands it to man on his left, while he goes outside with whistle (Voegelin). Win: During drinking of water at midnight, staff placed upright in hole just west of incised horseshoe, in front of leader (Praus).

188. Win: Drummer goes outside after paraphernalia placed (Praus).

193. Win: Only individual fans used after midnight (Praus). Kio: Only fans (Noon).

194. K-A: No urging; each is expected to be his own judge (McAllister). Kio: Depends on leader and age of those to whom he is talking (La Barre). Cr 1: "Chief tells them to eat all they wish, but it is up to the individual. Free will, you know. He does not coax to fill them up, or not to" (Voget). Gos: Urged to eat as much as desired (Malouf).

195. Kio: Depends on leader and age of those to whom he is talking (La Barre). Ute: In "old Sioux way" devotees urged not to eat too much; usually eat only four buttons.

196. Kio: As designated by leader (La Barre). De 2: Road man usually announces that anyone wishing to pray through a cigarette may do so after midnight, but some leaders do not approve of individual prayers (Webber).

197. Kio: As designated by leader (La Barre). Kio: Exceptional. Only when woman is close friend of family of person being treated. Spiritual value of prayers of friends is greater (Noon).

198. W-P: For special individual prayers, leader rolls the cigarettes, to which he adds ground sage leaves. See note 57 Ab S.

201. De 2: Road chief lighted and puffed cigarette before handing it to individual for his prayer; then this chief puffed it and prayed following individual (Petrullo, 93). Cr 2: It might be handed to anyone (Voget).

202. No C: Instead of to cedarman, butt handed to fire chief, who blows four puffs toward altar (Hoebel).

205. Kio: Procedure not rigid. Leader may run this differently at each meeting (La Barre). W-P: Leader occasionally but not usually prays following individual prayers.

206. Kio: May leave between a man's four songs, if gets leader's permission. Prescribed etiquette for passing before smokers and eaters (La Barre). Cr 1 and 2: Permissible to leave any time, if necessary (Voget). Gos: No one left during songs, but several went outside during prayers in early morning (Malouf).

207. De 2: Fixed water call in morning for fire chief to bring pail of fresh water, replacing that which had been in meeting all night. (Petrullo, 93, 102). All blessings by road chief in Big Moon variant (Webber; Petrullo, 102). Win: No water brought into meeting in morning (Praus). Gos: See note 263a.

209. De 2: See note 207.

210. De 2: Road chief blesses water (Webber).

212-213. De 2: No peyote breakfast (Petrullo, 94). Peyote breakfast present in all Big Moon variants (Petrullo, 157). As a rule, at "Wilson way" meeting no peyote breakfast served; instead candy, refreshments served, especially if among rich Oklahoma Indians (Webber). Win:

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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lieved them to be celestial beings, began a solemn dance, in order to propitiate them. It is not uncommon for men who are deprived of the light of revealed religion, to believe that the divinity will be pleased with the same things from which they themselves receive pleasure.

It is a pleasing spectacle to see the Indian dances, when intended merely for social diversion and innocent amusement. I acknowledge I would prefer being present at them for a full hour, than a few minutes only at such dances as I have witnessed in our country taverns among the white people. Their songs are by no means unharmonious. They sing in chorus; first the men and then the women. At times the women join in the general song, or repeat the strain which the men have just finished. It seems like two parties singing in questions and answers, and is upon the whole very agreeable and enlivening. After thus singing for about a quarter of an hour, they conclude each song with a loud yell, which I must confess is not in concord with the rest of the music; it is not unlike the cat-bird which closes its pretty song with mewing like a cat. I do not admire this *finale*. The singing always begins by one person only, but others soon fall in successively until the general chorus begins, the drum beating all the while to mark the time. The voices of the women are clear and full, and their intonations generally correct.

Their war dances have nothing engaging; their object, on the contrary, is to strike terror in the beholders. They are dressed and painted, or rather bedaubed with paint, in a manner suitable to the occasion. They hold the murderous weapon in their hand, and imitate in their dance all the warlike attitudes, motions and actions which are usual in an engagement with the enemy, and strive to excel each other by their terrific looks and gestures. They generally perform round a painted post set up for that purpose, in a large room or place

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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first, then they go on in rotation and in order of seniority, the drum beating all the time, as it were to give to the relation the greater appearance of reality. After each has made a short recital in his turn, they begin again in the same order, and so continue going the rounds, in a kind of alternate chaunting, until every one has concluded. On these occasions, great care must be taken not to give offence by affecting superiority over the others, for every warrior feels his own consequence, and is ready, if insulted, to shew by his actions, what he has performed in war and is still able to do. I well remember an instance of the kind, when an insulted warrior stepped out of the circle in which he was dancing, and struck dead the impudent boaster who had offended him.

Their songs are in general of the warlike or of the tender and pathetic kind. They are sung in short sentences, not without some kind of measure, harmonious to an Indian ear. The music is well adapted to the words, and to me is not unpleasing. I would not attempt to give an idea of it by means of our musical notes, as has been done by other writers, lest I should be as unsuccessful as those who have tried in the same manner to describe the melodies of the ancient Greeks. It would be well if I could describe at one and the same time the whole combination of effects which acted upon my ear, but it is vain to endeavour to do it partially. It is, indeed, much the same with their poetry; yet I cannot resist the temptation of translating as well as I can, the words of the Lenape's song, when they go out to war. They sing it, as I give it here, in short lines or sentences, not always the whole at one time, but most generally in detached parts, as time permits and as the occasion or their feelings prompt them. Their accent is very pathetic, and the whole, in their language, produces considerable effect.

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The Song of the Lenape Warriors going against the Enemy.

O poor me!
Whom am going out to fight the enemy,
And know not whether I shall return again,
To enjoy the embraces of my children
And my wife.
O poor creature!
Whose life is not in his own hands,
Who has no power over his own body,
But tries to do his duty
For the welfare of his nation.
O! thou Great Spirit above!
Take pity on my children
And on my wife!
Prevent their mourning on my account!
Grant that I may be successful in this attempt—
That I may slay my enemy,
And bring home the trophies of war
To my dear family and friends,
That we may rejoice together.
O! take pity on me!
Give me strength and courage to meet my enemy,
Suffer me to return again to my children,
To my wife
And to my relations!
Take pity on me and preserve my life
And I will make to thee a sacrifice.

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The song of the Wyandot warriors, as translated to me by an Indian trader, would read thus: "Now I am going "on an errand of pleasure—O! God, take pity on me, "and throw good fortune in my way—grant that I may "be successful."

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
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776 787 [789] usually worn on the person in the form of a charm.

● 533 554 776 787 FAVORED INDIVIDUALS.—Persons favored with a guardian spirit usually became prominent among their people and were held in high esteem. They composed rythmic chants referring to their visions for use at the Annual Ceremony (which will be discussed in the next chapter), and dance songs to accompany them. Rarely were the words of either chants or songs at all definite: as a rule they merely mentioned attributes of the singer's guardian, or incidents of their first meeting, without stating outright what the guardian spirit was, or telling a consecutive story of the vision.

787 Most Lenape who have had such visions can not be induced to tell the details; but the following examples of such experiences, imperfect in many points, were finally obtained. Incomplete though they are, they will give some idea of this class of beliefs and in this way may prove of value.

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
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UNAMI EXAMPLES.—One old man named Pokite'hemun ("Breaker"), known to the whites in Oklahoma as George Wilson, saw in his vision what seemed to be a man who held out to him a white round object like a boy's marble, then tossed it to him. Pokite'-hemun caught it and swallowed it. Then as it turned to go, the being cried "*Kwank! kwank! kwank!* The ducks have a praying meeting in the fall of the year!" As it turned, Pokite'hemun noticed that it was really a duck instead of a man, and was colored half black and half white.[39]

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Pokite'hemun could pound on his chest at any time and apparently cough up a round marble-like object, which he would show in his hand and then appear to swallow again. This he claimed was the *opi'na* given by his guardian spirit.

He seemed to regard the words of the duck spirit as an admonition to do all he could to keep up the tribal Annual Ceremony, which was held in the fall; while the "blessing" gave him good

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fortune. The chant he composed for use at this ceremony is as follows:

Lawulĕnjei
Wŭⁿjegŭk loxweyu
Kwĕⁿnanowagŭⁿ
Wailaⁿgomaⁿole
Lĕnape, eli nanŭⁿ
Telowaⁿ, lowaⁿ
Nuⁿni, ĕndageko
Lowael, lowa nŭⁿni.

The interpreter's translation, which is a somewhat free one, follows:

"When he opened his hand
Something came out of the center
That's his blessing
(For?) our kinfolks, the

Lenape; because that
Is what he said, he did say
This, when
He spoke, he said this."

Then came the dance song:

He-e-e-e nehani
Latamaⁿne
Nehani lámaⁿne
Kwĕⁿnanowagŭn, nowagŭn
Hayelaⁿgomaⁿ
Gweheyeha
Gehe!

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
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This, according to the interpreter, means simply, when stripped of its superfluous syllables, "We own a temple—his blessing —our kinfolks." 533 ● 539 787

Another man saw in his boyhood vision the Mĭsinghâli'kŭn, or Living Solid Face, riding on a deer. I was unable to get the details of their meeting, or the chant, but this is the dance song:

Hehotawege'na
Hotowege'na
Xingâlo'pai awhe'wani
Mĭsinghâli'kŭn
Hâli'kŭne
A-he'-he-he'!

This, the interpreter said, means "Riding it, riding it, big buck deer, this one, Mĭsinghâli'kŭn!" Seldom do the songs or chants refer so definitely to the protector as does this.

A third Lenape, when a boy, was sent out to the corn-field to drive away the crows. As he stood by the field he saw them flying around to light on a tree near by. Suddenly someone spoke to him, and among the things said (which

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were not revealed to me) were the words "I like this Lenape food," referring to the corn. The boy thought a man was addressing him, until the person suddenly flew away in the form of a crow, crying "*Ha! Ha! Ha!*" I failed to get the Indian words for the song, and my informant did not remember the chant, but the translation of the song was given as follows:

"I like this Lenape food:"
I never knew a crow said that
Till the crow was cawing
"Ha! Ha! Ha!"

A fourth had seen some kind of an animal in his vision, but never told any of his tribesmen what it was. His song, as now remembered, was translated thus:

Come, follow me,
I am going
Out into the country.

A fifth had "Mother Corn" (the Corn Spirit) for a guardian, but only part of his song is remembered.

"All my children
Are glad when I come out!"

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
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the edge of the water had been, while the boy ran on down to his pool. The river-bed seemed dry to him, but his father would not come, saying that the river was full of water. The boy then came out and they started for home, but before they were out of sight, the lad looked back. To his surprise, the river was full as usual. 787

The father, who was Flying Wolf, a noted Minsi warrior, had been favored himself, when a boy, with a rather unusual sort of vision, which James Wolf related to me, as nearly as possible the way the old man used to tell it at the Annual Ceremony.

"When I was a boy, I was once fast asleep on a hill near a little creek. Someone said, 'Wake up! Let us go where our friends are!' So I got up and followed him across the little creek and up a hill, where I saw six men sitting on a log. Then I went up and shook hands with them all. After they had shaken hands with me they all danced around in a ring." At this point he used to sing one verse of his dance song— [533] [539]

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
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[539]

Wčmi wango"towak kewiha
All greet one another
Yoki lčnape witci.
Now Lenape at the same time
E-ye-he-ye-čl

"They told me, 'We will go to see our friends,' so I went with them. Every now and then they stopped and danced around as they had done before. After a while one of them told me to look toward the south, and there I saw a black cloud in which the lightning flashed. 'Would you like to go there?' they asked me. I answered 'No.' Then one asked if I wanted to go *that* way, pointing to the northeast, where the sky was blue and bright, to which I answered that I would rather go in that direction toward the clear sky. A little farther on they said: 'We will now leave you. Watch us as we go.' They went to the east a little way, and then I saw them trotting. They were wolves, and I had thought all the while that they were human beings."

[776] Verses of the dance song were sung at intervals during this speech. From analogy with other visions, such as are

6:Harrington E-6 (1907-1910)1921
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square just east of the Big House (pl. VII), an area where no one is allowed to pitch a tent. 796x

Other officers selected for the meeting are a speaker (usually at the time of the writer's visit, Chief Charley Elkhair), two singers, called *Tale'gunilk*, "Cranes," whose duty it is to beat the dry deerskin drum and sing the necessary songs, and a chief hunter who is supposed to provide venison for the feast. [533]

PREPARATIONS

Arrived at the Big House, the attendants begin at once to prepare the building for use after its year of idleness. The first act of the men is to make mortar of mud, in the old style, and stop the cracks between the logs of the house. 346 796x

Then they cut two forked saplings, and set them in the ground about ten feet apart, some distance in front of the Big House (see pl. VII); upon these is laid a pole, running east and west, to support the twenty-gallon kettle used in preparing hominy for the feast. After this they 354 796x 372 796x

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
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deerskin called *powūni'gŭn* which serves as a drum (fig. 10), ample time to repeat the same word in the same tone, which produces an extraordinary effect. When he finishes, the drummers beat rapidly on the dry hide, repeating "*Ho-o-o!*" a number of times.

Then the celebrant repeats a verse of his song in the same way, and the drummers, having learned the words, sing them to a dance tune, beating the drum in slower time. After dancing awhile, the celebrator whoops, and they stop; then another similar verse, if not the same, is recited and then sung,

When the leader dances, he circles about the two fires contra-clockwise, and those who wish may join in the dance and follow him (pl. VI).

His dance finished, the leader passes the turtleshell to the next man who has been blessed with a vision. This one has the privilege of singing his vision if he wishes; if not, it is handed to the next "dreamer." After a celebrant has taken his seat, it is customary for those

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
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who desire it to smoke until the next man is ready to commence. At this time also it is considered proper for the people to enter or leave the Big House, which is not permitted while the actual ceremony is in progress. When the turtle rattle has thus made the round of the building and gets back to its starting point, the meeting is brought to a close. This is usually along toward morning, the exact time of course being dependent on the number who have sung their visions, and on the length of the intermissions.

CONCLUSION OF RITES

Now, when the man who started the ceremonies begins to dance, that is a signal for two of the women *a'ckas*, or attendants, to go out and pound corn for hominy or meal, and two of their men colleagues cook it in the kettle hanging on the pole, so that it is ready when the turtle has made its rounds and the meeting is about to close. Then the repast of hominy or corn mush called *sä'pan* is

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
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796 same way the twelve Mĭsi'ng$^{w^t}$ faces carved upon the posts of the building, also the drumsticks, the prayersticks, the deerskin drum, and the turtles. A variant has it that both bark vessels contain paint, the customs differing according to phratry.

[224] Each woman who takes part on this night receives a share of the venison, if there is any,—the biggest and fattest buck the hunters kill,—and the attendants cook it for them at the fire outside.

CONCLUSION OF CEREMONY

Next morning the men resume the ceremony and continue until the sun is high. Two men are then appointed to close the meeting, for which each receives one yard of wampum. Their duty is to [533] [535] sing twelve times while the people dance about the central post, the women in a circle next to the post, the men in another circle outside that of the women. These two singers stop dancing in front of where the chief is sitting, and announce, "We will now pray twelve times." They

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
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A translated example of a Minsi vision chant and dance song has already been given. When the dream-teller finished the first verse of his dance song, he exclaimed, "*E-ye-he-ye-e!*" whereupon the singers took up the strain and sang the verse several times, for the benefit of those who wished to dance, omitting, however, the final exclamation, but those who had bought the privilege rose and danced where they stood, instead of circling around, as among the Unami. Each "set" ended with a whoop, "*kwi!*".

796x
[57]

When the vision-teller finished dancing, he went around the house and shook hands with everyone; then the turtle rattle was passed to another man who had been blessed with a vision, and so on, until all those qualified, who wished to recite their visions, had done so.

OTHER FEATURES

The Prayer Cry.—From time to time during the night the prayer cry "*Ho-o-o!*" was repeated twelve times, and the

796 x
[787]

hearsay testimony) a man stood up and recited, in a rythmical sing-song tone, his dream—the vision of power seen by him in his youth. Na'nkŭma'oxa remembered how one old man was accustomed to tell about a duck, half black and half white, which had appeared to him. Between the verses of the dream four musicians kneeling at the drum (*pic'awahe'găn*) began a plaintive song, beating time with the carved sticks (*pic'awahe'gănŭk*). As they sang, the reciter swayed his body to and fro, while a group of dancers gathered on the floor behind him danced with a sidewise step. Before the ceremony, poles were laid lengthwise along both sides of the council house, and against these, at intervals, three on a side, the painted sticks, called *mkäähi'găn*, were laid. If anyone in the crowd felt 'especially happy' he was privileged to strike with one of these sticks upon one of the poles in time to the music. The carved heads on the drumsticks meant that human beings were giving thanks; the lengthwise

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7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
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796 To prepare for a Mask Ceremony the owner of the mask must arrange for the same by setting a certain day and announcing the time when such a dance is to be held. He must have the maize (*xɑskwi·'m*) and flour-corn (*pu'he·m*) [1] to make Indian bread and hominy for the feast after the dance.

A young active and experienced dancer is chosen to do the dancing with the *mɔs·i'ŋg* (mask) outfit. He performs his antics and dances alone. As to the wearer of the mask during the dance only those who have charge of the ceremony know [781] his identity. It is deliberately kept a secret from the younger people in order to impress them with awe for supernatural forces and to restrain them from unruliness or boisterousness.

Any clan chief or an old man accustomed to speaking may act, by invitation of the mask owner, as master of ceremony. He is generally a member of one of the two ceremonial groups other than that of the mask owner. He [765] receives one Indian "yard" of wampum beads for his services. The dance, which is usually held at night time, is begun about midnight, and as soon as the performances are over with they have the feast. First of all the master of ceremony announces the purpose of the gathering. The owner of the mask in the wind-up says, "We have now finished dancing with our grandfather, and shared with him in this hominy. So, should we have the good fortune to be living next year, we may have another dance. But now when we are through eating we may dance long as we please with all good intent and purpose providing we keep good order, which is very pleasing to the mask spirit as well as to the owner of the mask."

[535] The mask performance is followed by a night of social dancing as is usual with the Delaware feasting ceremonies. The masking clownish pantomime is brought to a conclusion about midnight by a more or less set speech by the master of ceremony and the feast of hominy.

796 The musical accompaniment consists in the singing of the
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the large Snapping Turtle rattle, the rough staff, the whinnying utterances, the offering of tobacco, the association with illness and so on. For further particulars reference should be made to the Big House Ceremony study at the pages cited.

[1] A variety of white maize with a long slender cob.

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
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stated songs for the mask dance by selected men who beat time upon the flat deer-hide drum of the same type as that used in the Big House Ceremony. (See Fig. 19, I, of the "Big House Ceremony.")

It should be noted that the Mask Spirit is important enough among the spirit-forces to be admitted to the annual ceremony of the Big House. There, we learn, on the fourth morning of the festival the mask is admitted to the scene and the same dance as that just described is gone through.

See pp. 39–44, and figs. 9, 10 of the volume referred to for particulars and illustrations of the mask spirit concept, p. 139 for description of this intercession during the Big House Ceremony when the Mask-Spirit is introduced as a performer.

MASK DANCE ADDRESSES

Announcement by the Speaker

Elaŋgu'ndieŋg	kexa'p'tun	ke'ko	ŋga't·a	lo'we.	
Our kindred	few words	something	I want	to say.	
wa'ni	ce•	ni·'ma'tɔs	ga'xta	wehoma's·u	tɔli'	ga'xta
This	there	my brother	wants	to announce	that	he is going
kɑnt'ke'ohe•n	mɔs·i'ŋgoma.	me'tci	paxka'ndji	ki·cɔ-
to make dance	his mask.	Now	all ready	pre-
na'k·ut	we•'mi·	ke'ko	nekałkɔ't·uk	e'nda	wi·'huŋge•t'
pared	all	things	used	when	he feasts[4]
wa'ni	kɔmuxo"'mɔna	mɔs·i'ŋg.	kowa'to"ne•n	elaŋ-
that	our grandfather	mask.	You know	my
gu'ndieŋg	lɔmwe''kami	nɔ'tci·	ki·ci·'mkɔt	elaehɔ's·i·t'
kindred	ancient world	since	has been the rule	the manner
awe•'n	nehel·a'la•t'	mɔs·i'ŋgɔ	e'nxɑn	acɔwi·ga'xtiŋg
anyone	owning	a mask	each	every year
na'ni·	lak'hi'kwi·	taxkɔkani·'i·	lak'hi'kwi·	sa'psoha'la•
that	time	in the fall	time	made hominy for
mɔs·i'ŋg	wi·sa'pa•n	nani	kɔmuxo"'mɔna.
mask	hominy	that	our grandfather.
yu'kwe	ki·ci· wunda'su	e'nda	pale'nɑxk	la'k·i·m-
Now	has been set	when	fifth	day of the

[4] Referring to both the mask and its owner.

THE OPOSSUM DANCE CEREMONY

Another family feast rite was *op·i'ɣk·a"n*, "Opossum Dance," also known by a sobriquet *suk'ce'p'ti·e'zk·a"n*, literally "black rump dance." For the latter designation no definite reason is given beyond stating that the woman who "owned" the dance and who took the leading part went through bodily movements supposed to represent the motions of an opossum in the throes of death. This was an inherited dream-revelation ceremony, owned by the descendants in the female line, of a woman who had long ago experienced a dream manifestation which imposed upon her and her posterity the obligation to perform the rite as an expiation for the benevolence of the animal that had appeared to her in vision form. Its procedure follows, as we shall see, the manner of the Big House Ceremony, in conformity with the definite Delaware pattern of religious performance.

The woman in this case was also a dame of tradition. The last time the ceremony was celebrated was during the early life of Wi·tapano'xwe's mother by a certain Mi·ma'ndi·, "Little Child," who had the distinction of being the last owner of the rite. Wi·tapano'xwe's mother had seen the ceremony enough to have been able to imitate in part the songs sung by Mi·ma'ndi·.

The Opossum Dance was, as previously noted, one of spiritual significance. It was opened with an address by a chief of another group and concluded with a feast. It was not known particularly as a ceremonial group- or clan-feast, although it was the possession of women in a definite family, and so may be said to be restricted to "clan" proprietorship. The singers were invited by the owner and chosen from members of the group with which she stood in a joking relationship, the group of her father. The accompaniment was provided by the water-drum, said to have been a clay pot with a hide stretched over its mouth. The singers occupied the usual place for musicians at one side of the dance area or

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
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oval, seated upon a log between two assistant singers who shook rattles.

The movements of this dance followed the procedure of the serious recitations in the Big House Ceremony. The owner or leader, as we understand the term, sang a stanza of her song, then stopped singing while the drummer and his assistants repeated the stanza as the leader danced on about the circle, stopping again when the musicians had finished their repetition. Whereupon she took up the second stanza and the same procedure was repeated as for the first stanza. Other women, we are told, formed a line of followers behind her, and there is no mention of men in the column. The dance was thus divided into stations, after the Big House recitation pattern. The movement was contraclockwise.

At the termination of the songs, which may be inferred to have taken an hour or so to repeat, an address of the sermon type was made by the chief of one of the other two groups (Wolf, Turkey or Tortoise) who had made the opening speech. For this address he received from the owner a compensation of an arm-length of wampum. At the conclusion of his speech he instructed the company to assemble at the feast after which they were told to proceed with social dances of an informal nature which they might enjoy until morning. The selection of the latter dances and amusements was left to the pleasure of the company.

8:Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
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they through this later will get in their hunt so much the greater blessing. Then they sing and dance and when they become jolly and happy then they cry and sing thus namely:[7] *Hägginj, hä, hä, hä; Hägginj hä; Hägginj hä; Hägginj hä, hä, hä, hä*, etc. Thus repeating and continuing so long a time, so that it reaches well over the forest.[8]

In this their convention[9] they [also] practice shooting. He who is sachem has a turkey placed very high in the air, whose entrails are removed and [the body] filled again with their money.[10] And the one who then can shoot it down, he receives the money, *et talia*, etc.

In the meantime later in the year, when the grass has thus been burnt off the land, they do not care to arrange any more such hunts,[11] but shoot the animals wherever they find them in the woods, which they have no difficulty in doing, because they have scent of the animals like the dogs; for often the savages say to the Christians, when they follow them in the woods: "Indeed I now feel the scent of deer, if I wanted to bother to go after them." This the Christians did not believe in the beginning, before they followed them, and got to see that they were right. Otherwise they are so perfect in shooting that they do not miss.

And the savage is so armstrong that he is able to shoot with a bow so far, that no gun can carry

[7] *Tå roopa the och sunga sådedes, nämbl.*
[8] So that it can be heard far over the forest. *Hegginj*, etc., the final *j* is used for *i*. Cf. Holm, *Kort Beskrifning*, 153 ff.; above, p. XL.
[9] *Uthi detta sitt concent.*
[10] Wampum.
[11] Like the one described above.

| | | |

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

526 177 Games show no change of any significance aside from denial of ball play. Every game reported in earlier periods was remembered in the fourth period. Moccasin game undoubtedly was restricted to play in connection with funeral ceremonies in the fourth but not in earlier periods.

Dances

535 Dances, like games, show remarkably little change. The begging dance, reported in the third period, drew two definite denials in the fourth, while two informants did not even recognize the [721] dance (451). As this dance was usually held in connection with the outfitting of a war party, a fact of which none of the informants were aware (459), the two denials should more properly be classed as lack of information.

The two most important dances from the point of view of the Delaware were the *engomween* and the *linkaokon* (448-49). [796] These were their only dances with a religious significance (456-57). The *engomween* or worshiping dance was a part of the Big House Ceremony. The *linkaokon* was recognized by most of the informants by that name but is better known as the doll dance. The first has not been held since 1924 and the other since 1929. The only dances that have been held in recent years have been social dances which are not represented in the element list.

Music

● 533 [796] The elements listed under music are, of course, closely related to dances. The statement of Johnston that there was no ceremonial music except solo singing was refuted by all the informants who felt qualified to answer (475). Johnston's further statement that only nonsense or insignificant words were used in songs, even though corroborated by Chipps, is likewise denied by the same three informants and also by Heckewelder (476). In both these cases the informants are undoubtedly right. The error of Johnston is an understandable one when it is realized that songs were mostly of words carrying allusions, that many of them were archaic forms used only in songs, and that meaningless syllables were added to complete the rhythm, with the results that only an instructed person could understand them.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

CAPTAIN CHIPPS—They believe there are no greater wizards 754
or witches than knaves or drunkards.

All the modern informants confirmed the belief in witches and wizards, but J. W., his wife and son were especially vehement in their current existence.

41. National Worshiping Society (Big House)

JOHN JOHNSTON—They have a national worship which they 794
think keeps the world from coming to an end. It is attended with very great expense in procuring wampum and provisions, etc. This meeting is continued for 12 days and twelve nights successively. They have a large building prepared for that pur- [346]
pose about 25 feet in width and 50 or 60 feet in length according to the number that is expected will attend, with a door in each end, notice is given at what time their worship will commence. When they are collected and seated in a row round the outside 796
of the building the men by themselves and the women by themselves a man and woman at each door the man for a doorkeeper and the women to sweep between every exercise, the fires are made in the middle of the building which they make by rubbing two dry sticks together that it may be pure, the fire they put out every day and make new lest it should become adulterated, they make it by rubbing two dry sticks together as at the first. Thus prepared the one that made preparation for the meeting gets up with a turtle shell in his hand (containing pebbles) and he gives it a shake and the whole assembly arise with him he then begins telling a dream which he says he dreamt in his childhood [787]
and the whole congregation repeats it after him in one voice word by word till he says he heard a voice singing to him and begins to sing immediately upon which two men commence beating with flat sticks upon skins folded together then he stops singing and he with the whole assembly jump ten or twelve jumps in the form of a dance then he makes a sudden halt and goes on with his dream as before repeated by the whole in one voice until he commences singing again as before and the players commence beating and the whole jump or dance in the form above mentioned thus they continue for the space of half an hour or more [533 535]

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

do so in pretty regular succession, the worship is annual, or perhaps more frequent. The time and place of meeting is designated by this family, the principal male of which sends a messenger to the chief or head man of each village, who in his turn disseminates the information through the families of those under him. At the time appointed the nation, as well males as females assemble at a large lodge prepared for the purpose, where the females are placed in rear of the men. Here with grave and downcast looks they sit and receive from one of the old men an address upon the importance of a due observance of the ceremonies of the worship, and of abstinence from all unlawful pleasures during the continuance of them, among which any connection with women is counted a polluting sin. After describing at length the customs of their ancestors, among which this worship is placed in the foreground, the principal man of those who prepared the place of worship, having in his hand a small turtle shell containing a few gravel stones, gives it a sudden shake, and at the signal the worshipers all rise. He then commences a history of his early dream, repeating it in short sentences, in a natural tone of voice and being followed in the repetition of each sentence by all who are in the house. At length he commences to sing his dream, being followed by the company as before, and relieved between the sentences by a chorus of singers who are seated apart from the other worshipers, and have a kind of tambourin composed of a deer skin stretched across four sticks, upon which they beat the time. The music is said to be agreeable and very soft.

After this person has finished the tale of his dream, in which is described minutely every circumstance connected with the appearance of his tutelar deity, as well as those events of his life, which being foretold, have *of course* come to pass, each person in the lodge takes him by the hand in a mystical manner and they all seat themselves. The men then smoke for a short time, preserving the utmost silence and gravity of deportment, during which occupation the speaker takes occasion to push the shell under his legs in a secret manner, to the next on his right, who declares his intention to speak by giving it a slight shake, or pushes it in the same secret way to the next. When one has

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

No iron or nail is used when building the House, and no wooden floor. It has a dirt floor inside the House. Deerhide is used when the drum is tied together and two drum-sticks are cut forked. And small faces are carved on one side, alike in appearance. Another different pair of sticks are made plain and these are used when the cranes[1] are singing. And a wooden bowl is made ready when they mix up the tobacco and kinnickinnick[2]. Another different wooden bowl is provided when they carry the red paint and puccoon[3] and also there they put cedar.

And ten and two sticks are made, called "means of earnest prayer." And some are marked with spots. Whoever wishes to sing in company shall also use this when helping to lift up the prayer, it is said, with concentration of spiritual force far above to the ten and two sky-levels where dwells the Creator.

And now this Big House when first built, they say of it, was the one great prayer-creed, that this carved post in the middle of the House, standing there reaches to the above through as many as ten and two strata. And the strata of sky light are as high as that post, it is said, this being the fastener. That is the Creator's staff. From that very staff, branch off all prayer-creeds of the red-people given to them, whence come all other prayer-creeds of the world.

[1] Meaning the drummers. There being two drummers, one of them sings in a tone which the other repeats immediately after him, in imitation of the manner in which wild cranes cry when flying in response to the call of their leader. The result in tone is similar to an echo. The crane is the Sand-hill crane (Grus Mexicana), daleka'ok, (plural) whence the drummers derive their sobriquet. ni-'kanasos "the leader" is the singer who takes the leading part in the song; the other singer is oxteggi-'xsous "after-time." See page 57.

[2] See footnote 6, page 127.

[3] See page 71.

[4] mas'mendahl-'k an. This denotes prayer-sticks used in serious address to the Great Spirit. mas'mendawa'mal "I beg the Great Spirit to do my bidding." Specimens of the plain and decorated prayer-sticks made by the informant are shown (fig. 24).

The bearers of the twelve prayer-sticks give all their spiritual-force to lift the prayer being given by the speaker or the singers to the highest, or twelfth heaven,—the instrumental symbol of raising the word.

And there was given to the Delawares something which is used when they make fire. It is called "ringing noise-instrument"[1]. Whomever they chose as fire-maker, any of the Attendants, was of moral habits or spiritually clean, for that one shall drill for fire in the House. Sometimes flint is used when they make fire in the House and pith is used when they make fire with flint.

Now therefore in the beginning the Delawares came to be blessed with religion together with the Munsee; so the prayer worship proceeds for ten and two days. Now that very log-house itself is called Big House. Right here toward the dawn-direction and sun-set direc-

[1] See page 69.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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not behold her again until a time when she would be seen in a dream precisely one year before death would remove her from the world, by which sign she would know that she had a year to live. Mawa'te's verily grew old with full confidence in her vision and lived for almost a century to chant her song of the "mermaid" visitation every year at the woman's part of the ceremony. On her one hundred and eighth year as was thought, she declared that the "mermaid" appeared to her as preordained and announced to her family the meaning of the event. Precisely one year from that day, having settled her affairs in the meantime, she lay down peacefully and died.

We have every reason to regard this experience and narrative as being typical of the old Delaware psychic life.

Several other minor experiences, the recitation of which fell into the final stage of the annual ceremony, are given in the following abstracts.

Wi·tapano'xwe's mother, Hannah E. Big Deer (Armstrong) or Yu'ti·n (from Justina, a German name), of the Pəle' group, when a small child was treated by her parents in a manner to evoke sympathy. They often called her Sa'ki·s, or "Sauk," a term of derision, because she was so dark. This was done, following custom, to cause her to have a vision. She went about grieving, finally wandering to the river bank where she stopped under a tree-root which hung over the bank. She pulled at the earth under the tree until it was about to fall over and kill her, when pe'tha'kowe, "Thunder," came and, holding the tree up led her to safety and promised to help her. She never said much about it except that the Thunder took her up into the clouds to show her his power.

William Brown (Tu'k"si·t group) also had Thunder for a helper. He never recited his vision in the main ceremony, but during the a"teho'mwi·n he told how "Those Beings," without mentioning their names, took him up above. He said that they had nice feathers in their hair which they waved to make lightning.

Wi·tapano'xwe for his part, like many of the younger men who did not consider themselves quite capable nor mature enough to lead (wendji·kane"i·) in the serious part of the ceremony, has been accustomed to take part in the dance-leading (a"teho'mwi·n) on the twelfth night. This performance was merely a dance, the song accompaniment to which is a brief composition hinting at the event connected with his vision. As noted in connection with the a"teho'mwi·n dances, the performers do not carry on the protracted sermon recitations and the procession intervals around the White Path.

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Wi·tapano'xwe's rehearsal composition is as follows:[1]

[1] Dictophone record H. State Museum collection. The kindness of Mr. Harold MacGuffin should be acknowledged here for his loan of a dictophone in the process of recording the Delaware chants.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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X 539 nata nek tele'ləm·u'k·un
796 wani· lə'n·ape e·'lelomu'k·uk
533 awi·'tape naχpe'ləmuk·uk
we·'mi· ne·'χpe'ləmu'kɔ wani ləna'pe
kwe·'na'mowi·

Free translation.

Brought to you are those same blessings
That the Delaware is blessed with,
As to one of the tribe, the blessing is extended;
All the Delaware is blessed with
Through his religion.

He repeats this song over and over again until he has completed the circuit of the White Path, and returned with his line of dancers to the point where he arose to lead.

The informant also happened to remember the song of Joe Washington (Ni·ka·'nipaχo·'xwe "Leading-Man")[1]

di·hiləna'mən a'we·'moχweya'ne
yu'ni· el·'ma'kami·k
wa'ni· ləna'pe pa·'tamweo'k·an
di·hiləna'mən a'we·'moχweya'ne
ayaya·'ne el·'ma'kami·k
awi·ta'peok·an·o'wa

Free translation.

This is how I do,
When I travel over this earth,
The Delaware religion!
This is how I do when I travel
When traveling over the universe.
Their tribal relationship!
Kwi·'ya kwi·[2]
Hu·'[3]

[1] Dictophone record H, State Museum collection.
[2] The first, or leading dancer's, ending cry.
[3] The second, or assistant dancer's ending cry.

11:Newcomb E-5 (1952) 1956 NM7 Delaware NM7

made a full circuit of the tepee. Many of the participants pressed the sage lightly to various parts of their bodies before passing it along. The road-chief then passed corn husks and Bull Durham tobacco in the same direction, everyone rolling a cigarette. These cigarettes were lit from the smoldering stick which was kept in readiness to the east of the fire. After the cigarettes had been smoked in silence, they were collected by the fire-chief. The butts were placed on the altar. Peyote was then passed in the same clockwise fashion; the road-chief directed that four buttons be taken, either two dried and two green, or four of a kind. Peyote tea was also passed, some individuals smearing their body, face, and hair with the tea, as well as drinking it.

When the peyote had completed the clockwise circuit, and as the participants were going through the ordeal of eating it, the road-chief prayed. He then began the opening song, holding a gourd rattle in his right hand and the peyote staff in his left, the drum-chief accompanying him on the drum. After four songs were sung the road-chief passed the staff and gourd rattle to the man on his left, accepted the drum from the drum-chief, and drummed for the man on his left, who sang four songs. After each set of four songs, the gourd rattle and staff were passed in a clockwise direction to the next man who sang a set of four songs, the previous singer becoming the drummer. The singing and drum accompaniment continued until midnight. Between sets of songs some individuals asked for peyote and others asked for water. The water was kept by the fire-chief's side in an ordinary bucket. Occasionally someone would leave the tepee, first getting permission from the road-chief. On re-entering, which was only permissible between sets of songs, the fire-chief cleansed and purified these people by brushing them from the head and shoulders down the arms to the fingers with an eagle feather fan. They then went around the north side of the fire to the altar, where they touched "Father Peyote," and the road-chief brushed them in a similar manner with another eagle feather fan. Then they returned to their places.

About midnight the fire-chief raked the ashes from the fire for the first time. He did this by moving the burning sticks eastward, taking a special peeled stick about six feet long and smoothing out the embers. After they were smoothed, another stick, somewhat longer than the first, was used to divide the ashes along the long axis of the cross, the ashes being formed into two neat piles on either side of the fire. After this was accomplished the fire was returned to its original position, built up, and the whole depression was swept from west to east

11:Newcomb E-5 (1952)1956 NM7 Delaware NM7

with an ordinary kitchen broom. After midnight the ashes were removed from the fire whenever a considerable quantity had accumulated.

The road-chief prayed, peyote was passed, and the songs began again. The throb of the drum and the songs were interrupted only occasionally; someone would ask for peyote, a person would mumble, and once one of the Winnebagos (No. 16, Fig. 1) asked the road-chief for permission to attempt a cure of his wife's swollen feet. This request was granted. The Winnebago walked around the fireplace and altar in a clockwise direction and cedar needles were thrown on the fire. He "caught" the smoke in a feather and dipped it into a cup of water which he had in readiness. He then brushed the feather over the woman's legs, concentrating on her feet. He drew a faintly glowing ember from the fire, took the ash into his mouth, and spit the ash into the ash pile nearest him. He then vigorously sucked the patient's feet.

Also early in the morning the Delaware sponsor asked the road-chief if she could pray for herself and her family. He assented. Standing next to the altar, she smoked a corn husk cigarette and, with tears streaming down her cheeks, related first in English and then in Delaware the story of her illness, her unhappiness, and her desire for the good health of her family. A little later a woman (No. 10 in Fig. 1) asked if she might be allowed to sing. Permission being given, she sang the customary four songs, her husband drumming for her.

At dawn the road-chief announced that the drum was going around for the last time. Following this last round the sponsor, her husband and young daughter (who had awakened and come into the tepee) stood up. The road-chief cast cedar needles upon the fire and brushed the entire bodies of the family with his eagle feather fan in the customary way. He then prayed. After they had resumed their seats the road-chief prayed again, following which candy and crackers were passed. The meeting was closed by the assemblage reciting the Lord's Prayer. The fire-chief rose and went around the tepee in the clockwise direction shaking everyone's hand and congratulating them on a successful meeting. The person on his left followed him in a like manner, and so on until everybody had shaken hands with everyone else and the tepee was emptied. Coffee was made and the participants relaxed in the yard and talked until the noon meal, after which the group dispersed.

It is difficult, perhaps impossible, to convey the attitude of peyotists and the atmosphere of a peyote meeting by means of a description of what happens during the course of the night. Perhaps the general

[#57(A)]

796 Spirit. It lasts 6 days. It may be repeated by another person or family for a second 6 days, and so on until the feelings are satisfied. It has been known to last a month. The meeting is called by one of a certain class, who I presume correspond with the Keepers of the Faith of the Iroquois. They are called A-la-pa-cte, meaning *Dreamers*. The [346] people meet in a large house erected on purpose for this worship and used for nothing else. They build two council fires in the [614] house, and the people assemble by tribes, the Turtles by themselves, the Wolves by themselves and the Turks by themselves. They use belts of wampum and have many ceremonies. It would seem that this council or religious meeting was called by some one [346] person. The door of the house of worship must open to the east.

796 When they are assembled two singers [?] sit down to two dried and rolled up deer ● 533 skins, with sticks in their hands to beat time. The leader, who is stationed on the right hand side of the door, gets up and [534] shaking a turtle shell rattle, comes in extemporizing verses which are adapted to the set tune of his choosing, to relate his dream. As he relates his dream in music, he dances, they sing the same time and beat time, and all who enter the dance, dance [535] the religious dance which altogether is called the Gum-mween. This is repeated day by day for six days. But the leaders change. When one has told his dream, he hands his rattle to the next one, who in like singing relates his dream in words of his own making, but sung in an old well known tune of his own choosing.

796 Before the festival 12 hunters are sent [262] out for deer's meat, as no other meat is allowed. About 9 each morning this meat is served to all. At sundown each day they have an exhortation from the oldest wise

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR 13 Northern Paiute
Comanche ND6
Delaware NM7
C
D
171
P85
P96
[533]

Element	Occurrence																							
	LIT	K-A	K-B	Com	Kio	S-W	S-E	Pai	Pa2	Wa	Cha	Ute	Ot2	Ot3	Ot4	Ote	Ow	Ow2	K-P	Tew	
151. 4 times	+		+	–			+																	
152. Whistle placed near altar	+		+	+	+		+	+	–	–														
153. Leader starts singing, 4 songs	+	+	+	+			+	+																
154. Sings fixed opening song	+	+	+				+	+	+															
155. Holds staff in front of him	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+															
156. Another beats drum	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+															
157. Chief drummer beats drum	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+															
158. Drum, rattle, etc., passed round clockwise	+	+	+	+			+	+	+															
159. Each man sings 4 songs	+	+	+	+			•	+	+	+														
160. Each man drums for 4 songs of man to his left	+		+	+			+	•	+	+														
161. Rule against women singing	+	•	–	+			(+)	+	+	–														
162. Drumming, singing all night (except for midnight water call)	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	•	+														
163. Midnight water call and recess	+	+	+	+	+		•	+	–	+														
164. Leader recalls drum, staff, etc.	+	+	+	+	+		•	+	•	+														
165. Fire chief forms ashes into crescent	+	+	+	+				•	–	•														
166. Fire replenished	+	+	+	+				+	–	+														
167. 4 sticks added																								
168. Altar and floor carefully cleaned by fire chief	+	+	+	+	+			–	+	+														
169. Cedar sprinkled on fire	+	+	+	+	+		+	–	•	+														
170. Whistle blown by leader	+		+	–	+		+	–	–	–														
171. 4 times	+		+	–	+		+	–	–	–														
172. Leader sings fixed water song	+	+	+				+	–	•	+														
173. Bucket of water brought in by fire chief	+	+	+	•	+		+	–	–	+														
174. By women		–	–	•	•		–	–	–	–														
175. Water bearer kneels east of bucket	+		+	+	+		+	–	–	+														
176. Cedarman prays, sprinkles cedar on fire	+		+	+	+		+	–	–	+														
177. Water bearer draws incense to water	+		+	+	+		•	–	–	–														
178. Water bearer prays, blesses water	+		+	+	+		+	–	–	–														
179. While smoking cigarette	+		+	+	+		+	–	–	–														
180. Leader given butt of same cigarette, smokes, prays	+		+	+	+		+	–	–	–														

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute
Crow NQ10
Delaware NM7

NOTES TO ELEMENT LIST

C D 1. Cr 2: Straight stick of any kind or collapsible cane, beaded at joints (Voget).

1971 2. Ab S: "The staff represents a walking cane" (Voegelin). Gos: Made of mountain mahogany by leader himself (Malouf).

795 796 3. K-A: Not necessarily (McAllister). Ab S: Deer's tail dyed red (Voegelin). De 1: Staff decorated with feathers, ribbon, and otter skins (Petrullo, 49). Win: Tufts of hair around two joints about a foot from each end of cane. An oval celloluid device 5 inches long with feathers attached around its edge was suspended from the upper joint. Staff was walking stick with crook (Praus). Cr 2: Horsehair among the Crow. Sometimes hair of different animals is used. "People wish for the same type of animal as the hair. It is a sort of wishbone." Crow prefer white horsehair to black. "The old-time Indians say white is the cleanest thing on earth; that is why they use that" (Voget).

C [237] 4. Ab S: Held by person giving the meeting, at opening of meeting only (Voegelin). Cr 2: Four pieces of sage used; held along with staff. Silvery wide-leafed variety of sage is employed (Voget). WRS: Four pieces of *Artemisia* are tied on (Shimkin).

5. Ab S: Bunch of sage passed around separately at beginning of meeting (Voegelin). WRS: Clockwise, "the same as the world" (Shimkin).

C [533] 9. Cr 2: Man who has his own rattle which suits the pitch of his voice holds leader's rattle in his left hand and rattles his own with his right hand. "Each man does as he wishes in worship." But note that individual rattles not employed until after midnight, apparently out of deference to position of leader. That would be impolite (Voget).

10. Kio: Decoration of gourd proper doubtful. But I have seen "Jesus talk" written on a Comanche gourd (La Barre). Ab S: Gourd itself is stained dark brown with walnut-bark (sic) dye; undecorated otherwise. But handle and projecting end are beaded, tasseled, etc. (Voegelin).

12. Gos: White horsehair at end of handle is not dyed (Malouf). W-P: Feathers also used.

D 13. Cr 1: "Passed with cane" (Voget).

D [533] 16. De 2: In "Wilson way" meeting members can rattle own rattles any time (Webber). Prohibition on using rattles other than ones used by road chief until midnight (Petrullo, 90, 158). WBS: After drum goes around once, individual rattles may be used (Shimkin).

18. Ab S: Eagle, chicken hawk, parrot, "any kind of bird." Leader did not have special fan that was passed around; each person, including leader, brought and used own fan all night (Voegelin). De 2: Fans and single feathers used in meeting (Webber). See note 3. Cr 2: Any feathers used. Usually eagle tail feathers come out in set of twelve; that is, twelve good feathers found naturally in tail of each bird. "The twelve-feather set represents months of the year; we do not change that" (Voget). WRS: Eagle-wing fan with feathers bound toegether is most common. Fan is of same style as other ceremonial fans (Shimkin).

20. Kio: Buckskin feather sockets not decorated or beaded, but handle is beaded (La Barre).

21. W-P: Leader's fan passed only after midnight.

22. Kio: Leader holds own fan with staff when singing; other men do likewise with their fans when singing (La Barre).

D [534] 24. De 2: Anyone having single feathers or fan can use them any time they wish (Webber).

25. Cr 1: "Used to draw smoke to inhale" (Voget).

D [782] [823] 26. De 2: Whistle not used in "Wilson way" meeting (Webber). Cr 2: Sometimes used four times in course of meeting. Midnight; strong, sharp, long blasts four times. "We make these four long calls in order that the Creator might hear us. That is the way I understand it among the Crows." Right after the water call, leader goes outside tipi, usually whistles in order toward east, south, west, and north, the four parts of the earth. Four blasts are given to each direction, and a prayer is offered. Type of prayer depends upon the leader, "but each corner has something of its own." East: prayer to rising sun, which brings daylight, and to wind, which comes from east, about which all peoples, Indian and white, know. "I do not know what other countries have, but the Montana east wind is harmless." South: prayers offered to those things of the south, for instance, warmth and food. West: setting of the sun brings darkness. Also, certain foods come from the west. "Whatever property is needed from the west [the leader asks for]." North: the same holds for the north; but north wind usually cold, so leader usually asks Creator to control it, keep it not too cold so that animals will not die (Voget).

14: Stewart E-5 (1936-1938) 1944 NR 13 Northern Paiute

Comanche NO6
Delaware NM7

C
D
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795
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D
[276]
[782]

125. Ab S: Sage underneath blankets (Voegelin). WRS: Sage formerly required (Shimkin).

127. Cr 2: Instructions first as to teaching or belief, followed by prayer (Voget).

128. De 2: Leader prepares first prayer cigarette, which is passed around to all (Webber). Cr 2: Cigarette rolled before prayer (Voget). Gos: See note 265a.

130. Ab S: Leader prayed silently while smoking (Voegelin). Cr 1: Tells about purpose of meeting so they may pray (Voget).

132. Cr 1: To "peyote chief," but "just the same as moon" (Voget). Cr 2: Blown toward "chief peyote" (Voget).

133. Ab S: Prayed with bowed heads, eyes closed, men must kneel (Voegelin).

134. De 2: In original Wilson Moon, cigarette butts placed at left side of altar, in front of road chief, but in other Big Moon ceremonies left in front of smoker to be gathered by fire chief (Webber). Cr 2: Those sitting facing convex surface of moon place their cigarette butts against moon; those facing concave side place their butts at point of horns of moon; those north of line between leader and entrance place theirs on north side of altar, and vice versa (Voget). WRS: Butts placed against moon by fire chief and assistant (Shimkin).

135. Cr 1: "Some take sage from seat and rub this on hands" (Voget).

136. K-A: Sage leaves placed under blankets and each person uses his own (McAllister).

137. Cr 2: Informant did not remember any chewing, but it may have happened a long time ago (Voget).

141. K-A: Yes, but at the meetings I attended they "cut the dose," as they termed it, to two, out of consideration for my presence, for they thought I would find it difficult to eat four; and I would have at one time (McAllister). Ab S: At the meeting we attended each was told to take two buttons (Voegelin). WRS: Some take two (Shimkin).

142. K-A: Optional: some do, most do not. Kio: Mode of eating depends on each individual (La Barre). Cr 1: Some. Most simply take it and eat (Voget). WRS: As special sign of respect to Creator (Shimkin).

143. Kio: Mode of eating depends on each individual (La Barre). Cr 1 and 2: Optional (Voget).

144. Cr 1: Four eaten; then they sing. When meeting starts, outfit has to be going [around] all the time (Voget). Cr 2: First four peyote buttons eaten before singing starts (Voget).

145. Gos: See note 265a.

146. Ab S: Leader held paraphernalia in hands; drum chief likewise (Voegelin).

147. Ab S: Leader sprinkled cedar (Voegelin). Cr 2: Chief does the incensing at this point (Voget).

148. Gos: See note 265a.

149. WRS: More than once; number not fixed (Shimkin).

150. K-A: When cedar is placed on the fire, each person symbolically washes himself with it (McAllister).

151. Cr 1: "Just once, so everyone can smell the smoke" (Voget). WRS: Number not fixed (Shimkin).

152. Cr 1: In front of leader (Voget).

154. WRS: Either Shoshone or Arapaho starting song may be used (Shimkin). Gos: See note 265a.

159. Ab S: "The usual number is four, but sometimes men feel so good that they may sing as many as twelve songs" (Voegelin).

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[533]

160. De 2: Each man sings, then drums for his neighbor (Petrullo, 91). In Wilson Moon the drum chief and different fire chiefs do all the drumming (Webber). See note 83. W-P: See note 83.

161. K-A: Women attend, but I never saw them participate. I do not know if there is a rule; probably merely a feeling that they should not (McAllister). Cr 2: No rule against women singing (Voget). Gos: I inquired about this especially and they said women used to sing but do not do so any more (Malouf). W-P: Women hold staff, lead singing, drum.

163. De 2: No midnight recess (Petrullo, 42). Midnight water call and recess present in Big Moon cult (Petrullo, 158). Recess only to burn cedar incense for everyone to fan over themselves while standing. Water in meeting all night and can be used any time, but is used with restraint (Webber; Petrullo, 93). Gos: See note 265a. W-P: No fixed song for water calls, or any time.

164. Ab S: Recalls and lays them down (Voegelin). Cr 1: "Chief has to put outfit in front of himself" (Voget).

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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with his execution, and having his looking-glass with him, he contemplated his work, seemingly with great pride and exultation. He asked me how I liked it? I answered that if he had done the work on a piece of board, bark, or any thing else, I should like it very well and often look at it. But, asked he, why not so as it is? Because I cannot see the face that is hidden under these colours, so as to know who it is. Well, he replied, I must go now, and as you cannot know me to-day, I will call to-morrow morning before you leave this place. He did so, and when he came back, he was washed clean again.

Thus, for a single night's *frolic*, a whole day is spent in what they call dressing, in which each strives to outdo the other.

When the men paint their thighs, legs and breast, they, generally, after laying on a thin shading coat of a darkish colour, and sometimes of a whitish clay, dip their fingers' ends in black or red paint, and drawing it on with their outspread fingers, bring the streaks to a serpentine form. The garments of some of their principal actors are singular, and decorated with such a number of gewgaws and trinkets, that it is impossible to give a precise description of them. Neither are they all alike in taste, every one dressing himself according to his fancy, or the custom of the tribe to which he belongs. While the women, as I have already said, have thimbles and little bells rattling at their ancles, the men have deers' claws fixed to their braced garters or knee bands, and also to their shoes, for the same purpose; for they consider jingling and rattling as indispensably necessary to their performances in the way of dancing.

The notion formerly entertained that the Indians are beardless by nature and have no hair on their bodies, appears now to be exploded and entirely laid aside. I cannot conceive how it is possible for any person to pass three weeks only among those people, without seeing

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lieved them to be celestial beings, began a solemn dance, in order to propitiate them. It is not uncommon for men who are deprived of the light of revealed religion, to believe that the divinity will be pleased with the same things from which they themselves receive pleasure.

It is a pleasing spectacle to see the Indian dances, when intended merely for social diversion and innocent amusement. I acknowledge I would prefer being present at them for a full hour, than a few minutes only at such dances as I have witnessed in our country taverns among the white people. Their songs are by no means unharmonious. They sing in chorus; first the men and then the women. At times the women join in the general song, or repeat the strain which the men have just finished. It seems like two parties singing in questions and answers, and is upon the whole very agreeable and enlivening. After thus singing for about a quarter of an hour, they conclude each song with a loud yell, which I must confess is not in concord with the rest of the music; it is not unlike the cat-bird which closes its pretty song with mewing like a cat. I do not admire this *finale*. The singing always begins by one person only, but others soon fall in successively until the general chorus begins, the drum beating all the while to mark the time. The voices of the women are clear and full, and their intonations generally correct.

Their war dances have nothing engaging; their object, on the contrary, is to strike terror in the beholders. They are dressed and painted, or rather bedaubed with paint, in a manner suitable to the occasion. They hold the murderous weapon in their hand, and imitate in their dance all the warlike attitudes, motions and actions which are usual in an engagement with the enemy, and strive to excel each other by their terrific looks and gestures. They generally perform round a painted post set up for that purpose, in a large room or place

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
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this being was made guardian by the Creator of all the wild animals of the forest, and is sometimes seen riding about on the back of a buck, herding the deer; but he lives in a range of rocky mountains above the earth. His face is large and round, the right half being painted red, the left black, while his body is covered with long dark hair like that of a bear. Unlike most of the deities in the Lenape pantheon, he is represented by a "graven image," a huge wooden mask, painted half red and half black (fig. 1); which is left in charge of some family who

FIG. 2.—Rattle of turtle-shell used by Misi'ngw. (Length, 16.7 in.)

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tawny, about the color of an Indian's skin, with an extravagant mouth, cut very much awry; the face fastened to a bear skin cap, which was drawn over his head. He advanced toward me with the instrument in his hand, which he used for music, in his idolatrous worship, which was a dry *tortoise shell* with some corn in it, and the neck of it drawn on to a piece of wood, which made a very convenient handle. As he came forward, he beat his tune with the rattle, and danced with all his might, but he did not suffer any part of his body, not so much as his fingers, to be seen."

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With the exception of one minor point, the "wry mouth," this would be a good description of the MIsi'ng^{w} outfit used until recently by the Lenape in Oklahoma (pl. II). On the following page, Brainerd mentions "images" which seem to be the MIsi'ng^{w} faces carved on the posts of the Big House.

Zeisberger[20] also refers to the masks in these words:

"The only idol which the Indians have, and which may properly be called an idol, is their *Wsinkhoalican*, that is Image. It is an Image cut in wood, representing a human head in miniature, which they always carry about them either on a

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When the people file into the Big House, the few that still have them dressed in their best Indian costumes carefully preserved for such occasions (pl. I), the members of this leader's clan always take their seats on the north side, the other

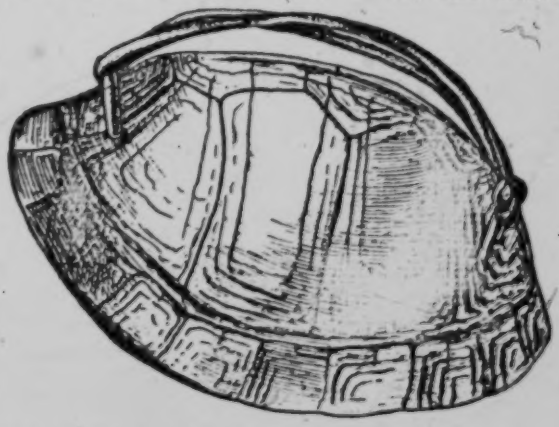

FIG. 9.—Rattle of land-tortoise shell, used by celebrants at the Annual Ceremony. (Length, 4.2 in.)

two clans in the west end and the south side. Men and women, however, do not mingle, but sit separately in the space allotted to their common clan. The diagram (pl. VII) shows the seating of the clans when the ceremony is

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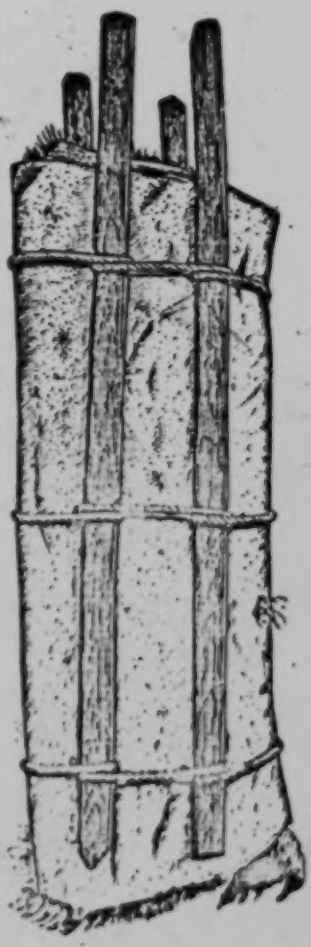

"brought in" by a member of the Wolf division.

After the chief's speech, the leader arises from his place just north of the central post, and, rapidly shaking a rattle (*taxo'xi cowŭni'-gŭn*) made of a box-tortoise shell (fig. 9), recites his vision in a high monotone, word by word. After he utters each word, he pauses an instant to give the singers sitting at the rolled dry

FIG. 10.—Drum made of dried deerskin used at the Annual Ceremony. (Length 38.2 in.)

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pole (shown in frontispiece), east of the Big House, and are used in the feasts at the close of every night's meeting until the gathering disbands.

NEW FIRE

Every night the usual program is repeated until the ninth. On this night a new fire is kindled with the sacred pump-drill called *tu^{n}da'i wăhe^{n}'ji manĭ'towŭk* or "Fire maker of the Manĭ'tos" (fig. 8), and the ashes of the old are carried out through the west door of the Big House, which is used only for this purpose (among the Unami), and is usually kept closed. The new fire seems to symbolize a fresh start in all the affairs of life.

USE OF CARVED DRUMSTICKS

Also on the ninth night, before the singing begins, they bring out the two ancient drumsticks (*pa kŭ^{n}di'gŭn*), carved with tiny human heads, one male and one female (fig. 11), to use in place of the cruder sticks used before, which are marked only with a rude cross (fig. 12, *a*).

[Text continues on page 103]

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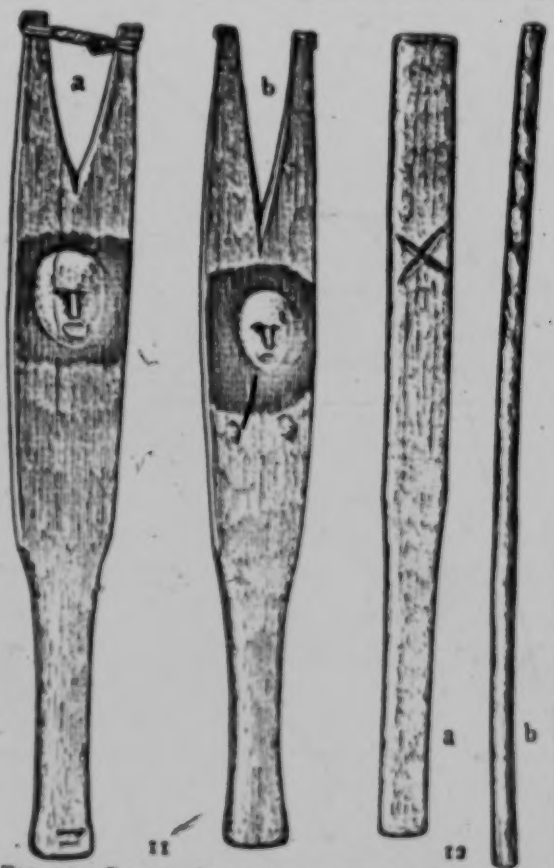

FIG. 11.—Sacred drumsticks, used at the Annual Ceremony in Oklahoma. (Length of *a*, 18.6 in.)

FIG. 12.—*a*, Plain drumstick used at the Annual Ceremony; *b*, Prayerstick. (Length of *b*, 18.9 in.)

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At this time, also, twelve prayersticks (*ma'tehi'gun*) are distributed—six plain and six striped ones (fig. 12, *b*)—by two of the male attendants, each with six, one man starting from each end of the Big House and proceeding in a trot to distribute the sticks while the drum is beaten, and the people, holding up their hands, cry the prayer word "*Ho-o-o!*"

Both drumsticks and prayersticks are used every night from this time on. If t so happens that the plain sticks do not fall opposite each other (or on opposite sides of the house), they must all be picked up again and redistributed. After this, those who have received a stick raise that instead of their hand, when they repeat the prayer word "*Ho-o-o!*" and carry it when they dance.

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TURTLE RATTLES

At this time, too, all who own turtle rattles such as are used in singing the visions (fig. 9), are requested to bring them in to the meeting, when they are placed in a row on the north side, in

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front of the man who, as the Indians phrase it, "brought on the meeting." The backs of the turtleshells are all measured with strings of wampum, which are cut off in lengths corresponding with the lengths of the backs.

Then the owners are called to get their turtles and wampum, which is supposed to be their pay for bringing them to the meeting. As each takes up his turtle, he shakes it, and if it does not sound well, then the people laugh, and the owner, abashed, takes his property out of sight as soon as possible.

PHRATRY PRAYERS

Then they call up six men, two from each of the three phratries—Turtle, Turkey, and Wolf. Each goes outside and cries the prayer word "*Ho-o-o!*" twelve times, holding up his left hand. When the first one returns, he is given one yard of wampum, and divides it with the other five. This is done each night until the end.

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and generally in October, in the full moon, and lasts not less than 12 days for each part. The tribe is divided into three clans, and each clan has to go through the same part, so the dance is sometimes 36 days long, but sometimes the second and third clans do not dance more than 6 days each.

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"The Turtle clan usually lead or begin the dance. A tortoise shell, dried and beautifully polished and containing several small pebbles, is placed in the southeast corner near the door in front of the first person. If he has anything to say he takes the shell and rattles it, and an answer comes from the south side of the temple from the singers, who strike on a dried deer's hide: then the party who has the tortoise shell makes an address or talk to the people, and thanks the Great Spirit for blessings, and then proceeds to dance, going to the right and around the fire, followed by all who wish to take part, and finally coming to the center post he stops there; then all the dancers shake hands and return to their seats. Then the shell is passed to the next person, who dances or passes it on, as he chooses.

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"On the third day of the dance all men, both married and single, are required to keep out of the company of women for 3 days at least. They have a doorkeeper, a leader, and 2 or 3 parties who sweep the ground floor with turkey wings, and who also serve as deacons. The

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ARRANGEMENT OF THE BIG HOUSE

Like the Unami Big House, that of the Minsi had a large central post bearing carved faces; but, unlike that of the Unami, there was a second short post,

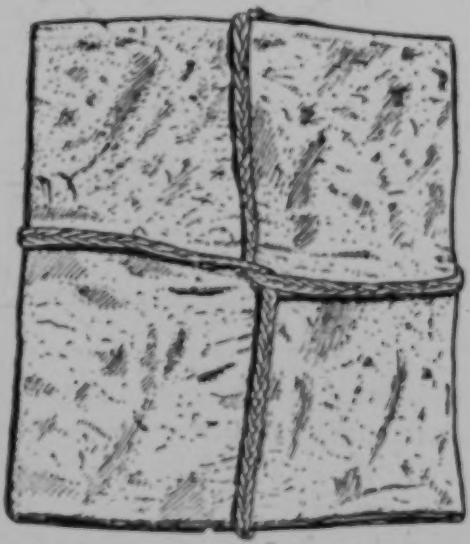

FIG. 14.—Drum of dried deerskin, Minsi type. E. T. Tefft collection, American Museum of Natural History. (Length 16.7 in.)

near the central one, upon which was hung, for each ceremony, a raw fresh deerskin with the head and horns at the

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top. This feature, however, corresponds with the second form of the Annual Ceremony noted among the Lenape in Oklahoma and also recorded by Zeisberger in Pennsylvania. Near this central post the singers sat, and beat with four carved sticks upon a dry deerhide folded into a square, in lieu of a drum (fig. 14), differing from the Unami form, which is a rolled dry deerskin upon which are tied several slats of wood (fig. 8). The drumsticks are flat, resembling those of the Unami, as each bears a face carved upon one side, but differ from them in the form of the forked end, and in width. Some, it is said, represented women, the breasts being indicated as

FIG. 15.—*a*, Drumstick, Minsi type; *b*, Prayer-stick. E. T. Tefft collection, American Museum of Natural History. (Length of *a*, 19 in.)

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among the Unami, but this feature does not appear in the set collected by the writer at Grand River reserve (fig. 15,*a*), which the Indians said were representative of the Minsi type.

There were two poles laid along on each side from end to end of the Big House to divide the dancing place in the center from the sitting places on the side, which were covered with a special kind of leaves. Along these poles twelve little sumach sticks (fig. 15, *b*), peeled and painted, were laid for twelve people to hold in their hands, and tap on the poles in time to the music. There were also provided a turtle rattle, which was placed at the foot of the central pole; a fire-drill which Nellis Timothy thinks was worked on the "pump-drill" principle, like that of the Unami, and a lot of entirely new and unused bowls and spoons of bark. Unlike the Unami custom, both doors of the Big House were used, the people always going in at the east door and coming out at the west, and here also (like the Unami) the ashes

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RECITAL OF VISIONS

The first man to relate his vision (my informant did not remember whether he was the one who "brought in" the meeting or not) took up the turtle rattle from its place at the foot of the post and began to shake it rapidly, while the singers struck the drum of dry hide. He then recited the story of his vision of power, still keeping the rattle shaking, following this with his dance song, at the same time dancing and rattling the turtle-shell.

Any one who wished to dance was supposed to give wampum to the vision-teller for the privilege. Some who were well off would give him an entire string, others merely a few beads. These the vision-teller would take, when he had quite a handful, to two officers who sat in a corner of the building, whose duty it was to count the wampum, after which it was kept by the chief or leader. Sometimes if a poor person who had no wampum wished to dance, they would give him some to pay the vision-teller.

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"In the old religious ceremonies of the Delawares at Grand River a very peculiar drum was used, a dry skin folded in rectangular form and beaten with four sticks, each bearing a tiny human head carved in relief (fig. 15, *a*). I secured the set of four original sticks from Michael Anthony (*Na'ukŭma'oxa*), and employed him to make me a reproduction of the drum (fig. 14) as the original had been destroyed. This he did, and in addition made six painted sticks (fig. 15, *b*) also used in the ceremony. The description of how these articles were used, pieced together from several Indian accounts, may prove of interest here.

"It appears that the Delawares of Six Nations Reserve formerly held what was known as a 'General Thanksgiving' ceremony called in Lenapé *Gitctla'kan*, twice a year, once in the spring and again in the fall. At these times it was customary to meet in the Cayuga long-house, borrowed for the occasion. At a certain point in the proceedings (I shall not attempt a consecutive description from

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those known to be 'sober and honest' among the crowd in the long-house. If any person wishing to dance failed to get invitation wampum, it was his privilege to ask for one of the bunches, which was given him if he was considered qualified. The first man receiving wampum arose first; then the others, until the dancers were all on the floor. It is said that this dance, which sometimes lasted all night, did not circle around like most of the Iroquois dances, but each performer remained in about the same spot.

"I was told that in this dance a small rattle without a handle and made of turtleshell was used, probably like the box-turtle rattle still used in the Annual Planting Dance by the Seneca and Cayuga."

WAUBUNO'S VERSION

The only extended account in print, known to the writer, of the great ceremonies of the Minsi, beside his own, quoted above, is that furnished by John Wampum, known as Chief Waubuno,[81] which reads as follows:

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shaking the turtle rattle (fig. 18), which resembles those used in the Big House, while the audience kept time to his song by uttering "*Hu-hu-hu-hu!*" The nature of the song the writer was unable to learn, but, like the chants of the Bear

FIG. 18.—Rattle of land-tortoise shell used in the Otter Rite. (Length, 3.9 in.)

Ceremony, it probably was concerned with the singer's "dream helper." When he had finished, another man put on the skin and took up the chant, and so on until noon the next day, when the ceremony was brought to a close and all

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end to end, representing the spirit road. A small water-drum made of a piece of deerskin stretched over a crock, as seen in pl. IX, a nicely carved drumstick, an eagle-feather fan for brushing all evil influence away from each devotee as he enters or leaves the ceremony, and a supply of dried peyote, dampened and crushed in a mortar, are all necessary for the ceremony. Each devotee, moreover, must be supplied with a decorated gourd rattle of his own.

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Officers.—The only officers needed for this rite are a "Road-man" or speaker, who sits in the west, just opposite the door, and a fire guard stationed at the door, whose duty it is to keep the fire burning, and to brush with the feather fan the devotees as they enter. This is illustrated in the colored plate (pl. IX), which represents also the "Road-man" guiding a newcomer to a seat.

Conduct of the Ceremony.—When all are gathered in the tipi, the leader first passes around a fragment herb which the people chew and rub over hands and

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THE OPOSSUM DANCE CEREMONY

Another family feast rite was *op·i′ɣk·a*n*, "Opossum Dance," also known by a sobriquet *suk'ce′p'ti·e′zk·a*n*, literally "black rump dance." For the latter designation no definite reason is given beyond stating that the woman who "owned" the dance and who took the leading part went through bodily movements supposed to represent the motions of an opossum in the throes of death. This was an inherited dream-revelation ceremony, owned by the descendants in the female line, of a woman who had long ago experienced a dream manifestation which imposed upon her and her posterity the obligation to perform the rite as an expiation for the benevolence of the animal that had appeared to her in vision form. Its procedure follows, as we shall see, the manner of the Big House Ceremony, in conformity with the definite Delaware pattern of religious performance.

The woman in this case was also a dame of tradition. The last time the ceremony was celebrated was during the early life of Wi·tapano′xwe's mother by a certain Mi·mɑ′ndi·, "Little Child," who had the distinction of being the last owner of the rite. Wi·tapano′xwe's mother had seen the ceremony enough to have been able to imitate in part the songs sung by Mi·mɑ′ndi·.

The Opossum Dance was, as previously noted, one of spiritual significance. It was opened with an address by a chief of another group and concluded with a feast. It was not known particularly as a ceremonial group- or clan-feast, although it was the possession of women in a definite family, and so may be said to be restricted to "clan" proprietorship. The singers were invited by the owner and chosen from members of the group with which she stood in a joking relationship, the group of her father. The accompaniment was provided by the water-drum, said to have been a clay pot with a hide stretched over its mouth. The singers occupied the usual place for musicians at one side of the dance area or

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
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by saying that it is a pleasure dance and is given before starting on the chase. The informant regards it as a special rite not falling into the series of devotional or medicine performances in which visions are recited. The dance is a dramatic pantomime of the buffalo in their wallow, intended to procure success in the hunt.

The equipment for the dance is the pot drum or kettle drum. Adams refers to a drum consisting of a dried skin, stretched over poles, upon which to beat. The performers wear a special dress for the head, known as the horned fur-headband, a wide band of fur, otter or buffalo preferably, having short polished horns attached to each side over the ears of the wearer. The male performers smear the forelock and the parting of their hair with moistened clay. This is to symbolize the bulls disporting themselves in the mud wallow which I imagine needs no further description to readers. They also paint their faces yellow and smear clay on their bodies as far down as the belt. The informant also added that the men could wear the feather bonnet of the Plains type with buffalo horns attached to the sides. Both informants, Wi'tapano'xwe and Adams, mention the cleared and hard beaten dance-space, the preparing of a fire in the center, the erection of a cross-pole upon two forked posts driven into the earth at each side of the fire, from which are suspended two large kettles full of boiled hominy. The drummers and singers are seated on a log bench on the north side of the dancing space.

The personnel of the dance consists first of all in having a sponsor for the occasion in the form of some man who assumes responsibility for its proper conduct. He then selects his assistants, male and female, from members of his own ceremonial group (Turkey, Wolf or Tortoise). One of the men selected is to be the singer and he may have a couple of helpers. We are told that other men also who know the songs or those who may wish to learn them would be permitted to sit with the musicians and rehearse with them.

The procedure in the Buffalo Dance is to emulate the behavior of the buffalo as the animals are conceived as con-

7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
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The Spring Dance may be called to performance by a chief of any one of the three ceremonial social groups, Wolf, Turkey or Tortoise. It is he who is responsible for the prayer which opens the event. Besides the prayer or invocation, he is expected to deliver a sermon before the dancing begins, the text of which follows the general pattern of such declamations among the more devout Indians over the whole Algonkian-speaking area, as I have had occasion to observe it. In this talk he tells the people that they must conduct themselves as is proper in a ceremonial dance, to show respect to the aged, to reverence the purpose of the dance and game and at the same time to extract as much good and enjoyment out of it as possible because the Creator intends for them to have it as a period of enjoyment. He sagely observes in closing that the Creator looks upon his people as his children and wishes for them to enjoy themselves as such without causing trouble.

In recent times the reduction of the rite to a mere football game seems to have been the tendency among the Oklahoma Delawares. The main officer is the fire guardian and dance promoter known by his office as *pu'tcəl*, who lectures the participants cautioning them against drinking, violence, scuffling or the leveling off of grudges during the game and dance. The dance song is accompanied by the water-drum. There are both women's dances and the ordinary "Stomp" or leading dances, and then mixed dances continuing through the night. The concluding dance is the parting dance, the so-called Drunken Dance, which terminates all Delaware social dance gatherings and takes place just before the break of dawn (see p. 98).

After the first night of the dance it is held over again for several nights, usually taking place the last of each week, the dance lasting over Saturday night.

The general details of the football game are as follows. The opposite sides are composed of an equal number of men and women. There are two goals, one at each end of the smooth area known as the football ground. The goal poles are two uprights eight or nine feet in height set about four

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535 the Cherokee Dance, others the Shawnee Dance, the Woman's Dance and so on, differentiated chiefly through their songs, all falling under the classification of Stomp, Social, or Round Dances, the favorites of the various tribes now domiciled in Oklahoma.

STOMP DANCE, *Ni·ka°'n'ka°n*, "LEADING DANCE"

534 The procedure normally among the Delawares in carrying
535 out the features of the widespread Lead, or Stomp Dance, seems to be for the leader to head the column of dancers without shaking time with the hand rattle. The drum is not called for. Despite the supposition that these dances emanated from the cultural influence of the Creeks, it appears that, unlike the latter, the Delawares did not show the feature of having the women, who dance immediately behind the leader, wear the cluster of tortoise shell leg-rattles. Nevertheless a specimen of Box Tortoise shell (Plate 4), arranged to be tied to the leg of a dancer was obtained in Oklahoma from Tom Long Bone who indicated that it had been worn attached to the leg of a dance-leader in social dances.

The garter rattle of deer hoofs attached to a leather strip tied below each knee around the leg is shown in Fig. 3. The hoofs are strung around the leather on thongs, two or three in each cluster. This jingler is asserted to have been worn only in Social dances by Joe Washington who owned it. Another specimen, from Wi·tapano'xwe, has a cluster of thirty pendant deer hoofs strung in the center half of the leather leg band eight inches long and three wide with double tie strings (Pl. 4).

535 The major personage of these dances is the *ne'ni·ka°'nka°s*, "dance leader," whose function is to head the line of dancers of both sexes and all ages who follow him in single file as he leads in a circle turning from right to left. The Delaware
293 dance leader may also employ a short decorated stick or wand
535 held upward in the hand to accent his movements. Some
532 six or seven specimens of the leaders' wands, obtained from the Washington family, are interesting and beautiful. They range between two and two and a half feet in length, decorated

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PLATE 4

[Facing p. 96]

POSES SHOWING MANNER OF USING RATTLES IN RITES.

Left, Turtle shell hand rattle as held in Dream Recitation Rite. Right, Deer hoof knee or garter rattles as worn in Social Dances.
(Photo by F. S. Speck.)

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FIG. 3. DEER HOOF KNEE OR GARTER RATTLES WORN BY MEN IN SOCIAL DANCES (length, twelve inches). (Collection of S. W. Pennypacker.)

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9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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The only other apparent change in the tabulation of the accounts of the different periods is the possession of the drum (466). Roger Williams stated that the Indians had no drums but that he had known one to make a good drum in imitation of the English. This may have been true, but it is most improbable that the spread of the drum over the entire continent can be attributed to its introduction by Europeans, especially in view of its known prehistoric use by certain tribes of Indians. The aboriginal possession of the flute is more questionable than that of the drum (470). This wind instrument was not reported before the third period.

Summary

Before summarizing the analysis of the culture chronology of the Delaware it may be well to state that no one is more keenly aware than I am of the unsatisfactory nature of some of the source material. This material must be utilized, however, in a study of cultural change extending over the number of years that this one does. I have endeavored to avoid the many pitfalls engendered by the use of this material. Items that had to be watched particularly were the subjective nature of some of the elements and the diverse use of terms by different authors. Four hundred and thirty-eight elements were considered cultural and comparable. This total eliminates elements on which there is information from only one period, elements on constitution, and elements giving ages within limits.

One of the first things to be observed in a perusal of the tabulation of accounts is the relatively small number of elements on which there is a complete disagreement between sources and informants. There are only twenty-three cases out of 438 elements in which the statements of one of the informants is not in agreement with at least one of the sources. Fifteen of the twenty-three elements represent changes. The remaining eight cases, or approximately two per cent of the total, are the only elements on which the informants' accounts as a whole deviate from those of the sources. This correspondence validates the use of data remembered by informants even though they may have

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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Fig. 7—Rattle of turtle-shell used by Mesl'ngw. (Length, 16.7 in.). After Harrington.

Fig. 8—Central post of Ceremonial House showing carved face. After Harrington.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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the part of custodian.[1] Harrington felt that this was the "most remarkable deity of the Lenape," who was "made guardian by the creator of all the wild animals of the forest, and was sometimes seen riding on the back of a buck, herding the deer; but he lived in a range of rocky mountains. His face is large and round, the right half being painted red, the left black, while his body is covered with long black hair like that of a bear."[2]

A certain amount of supernatural ability seems to be required of the individual who is to wear properly and display the mask. One who has this spiritual quality to a high degree finds himself able to see as well when wearing the mask, despite the smallness of the eye-openings, as though he were bare-eyed. His spiritual power, we are told, is thus tested; he partakes of the qualities of the prophet, kaci·la'·u "great man." Other notes on the wearing of the mask are to be found in the text, page 93.

Before passing on, however, reference should be made to customs concerned with the mask recorded by the authors mentioned above. Zeisberger describes this as follows:

"The only idol which the Indians have, and which may properly be called an idol, is their Wainkhoalican, that is image. It is an image cut in wood, representing a human head, in miniature, which they always carry about them either on a string around their neck or in a bag. They often bring offerings to it. In their houses of sacrifice they have a head of this idol as large as life put upon a pole in the middle of the room.[3]

Brainerd had occasion to observe the performance of the Mask-Spirit in 1745, on the upper Susquehanna, and wrote of the appearance of the Mask Dancer with "a coat of bear skins, dressed with the hair on, and hanging down to his toes; a pair of bear skin stockings; and a great wooden mask painted, the one half black, the other half tawny, about the color of an Indian's skin, with an extravagant mouth, cut very much awry; the face fastened to a bear skin cap, which was drawn over his head. He advanced toward me with the instrument in his hand, which he used for music, in his idolatrous worship, which was a dry tortoise shell with some corn in it, and the neck of it drawn on to a piece of wood, which made a very convenient handle."[4]

There seems, however, to be something omitted in recording these facts. A much more intimate connection between the mask itself and

[1] A hunter's taboo, founded supposedly upon some ancient principle of altruism, is that the first deer or other animal killed by the hunter be not eaten. The meat is given to some older person. The slayer never gets even a bite. Some phase of this rule is to be noted for every northern Algonkian tribe, though in no case have I as yet been fortunate enough to elicit a religious reason for it among the hunters who follow the practice.

[2] Harrington, I, p. 32-33.

[3] Zeisberger, op. cit., p. 141.

[4] Brainerd, op. cit., p. 237.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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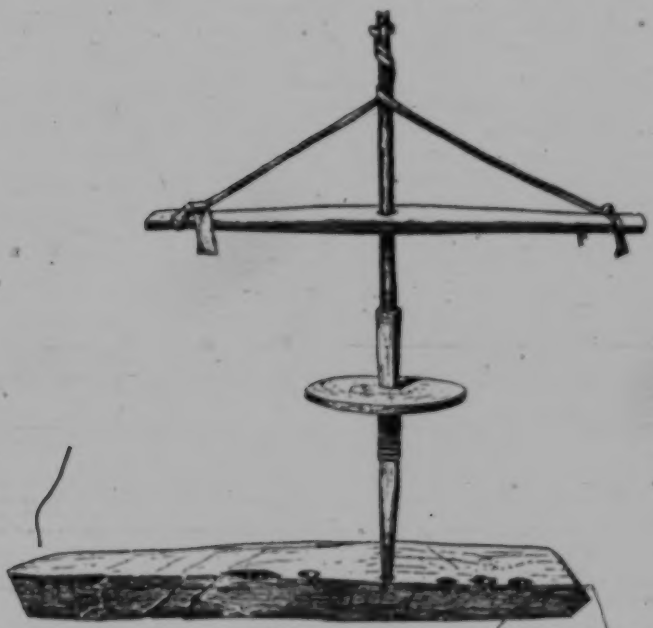

Fig. 14—Ceremonial fire drill used at the Big House Ceremony. (Length of shaft, 29.5 in.). After Harrington.

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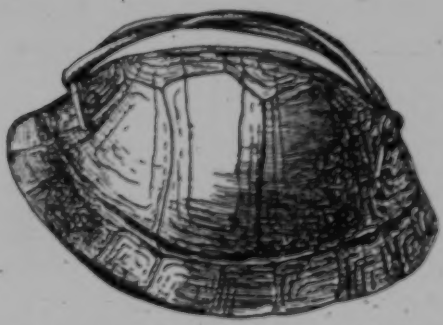

Fig. 15—Rattle of land-tortoise shell, used by celebrants of the Big House Ceremony. (Lenth 4.2 in.). After Harrington.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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vided illustration and granted access to the specimens for description, the accompanying plates and figures are made possible for our study. Other reproductions are from specimens being acquired in the Delaware collections in the State Museum at Harrisburg.[1]

The articles constituting the material equipment of the ceremony require some comment since reference is so frequently made to them in the text, although their proper description would fall under treatment in a study of Delaware material culture. Wi·tapano'xwe has, moreover, given us some additions to knowledge regarding these objects which I shall refer to briefly now, while reserving some explanatory remarks pertaining to them for the footnotes accompanying the translation.

The shell rattles (taxko'xk^{e}) (figs. 2, 15) with which the men who recite their visions accompany themselves by sidewise motion of the arm are constructed of the dried shell of the box tortoise (Cistudo). A leather thong is fastened through holes in the top shell, beneath which the fingers pass so that the curve of the shell fits the palm of the hand. Both the dance leader who is reciting his vision and the man close by his side, who chants the responses to the song of the leader, carry the handrattles. The leader's rattle is, by traditional ruling, smaller than that of his associate.

The peculiar Delaware hide-drum (po$_{\chi}$on·i'k·an), (fig. 19), which was also known to the Munsee, has called forth some attention from Harrington. This instrument of percussion is simply a dried deer-skin folded and bound with cordage that fastens two long wooden slats to opposite sides, its length is thirty-two inches. The beaters are more interesting as ceremonial objects. During the nights of the annual performance up till the ninth, the drum batons (pa$_{\chi}$kandi'k·an) are plain bars of oak 16 inches in length with no other mark on them than a figure X carved on the upper side. The figure is said to symbolize the crossroads on the pathway of the soul (see page 174 and figs. 17, 22, 26). On the ninth night, however, the plain drum-beaters are put aside and their place is taken in the subsequent acts of the ceremony by the sacred beaters (pa$_{\chi}$kandi'k·an la$_{\chi}$a'uai·tci·k "forked-ones").[2] This substitution is an allegory of the increasing sanctity of the rites as they progress from the beginning, until reaching the ninth night the worship has approached so near the seat of the Great Spirit in his twelfth tier of heaven that the ceremony assumes a more formal phase, and appears with its equipment in ceremonial full-dress. The sacred batons (fig. 22, a, b) bear on their upper sides carvings of the human face in high relief with the symbolical red and black paint on the right

[1] Mention should be given to the illustrations of most of these objects in Harrington's study of Lenape religion and ceremonies.

[2] These sacramental objects are kept in the custody of the chiefs of the Tu'kwa·it (Wolf) group.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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and left halves, respectively. The one also has carved representations of the female breasts. Harrington secured information explaining that these drum-beaters symbolized the male and female worshipers, but we cannot be so certain of this in view of the possibility that they may be representations of male and female deities, the "grandfathers" and "grandmothers" of the Delawares. The sacred drumsticks are also cut to have forked ends as the illustrations show. For this morphological feature Witapano'xwe knew of no positive explanation unless it represents the forks in the pathway of the soul. Harrington suggested that it was to make a louder sound. Specimens made by the informant are shown in fig. 20. Pin oak was the wood used. The faces are designed to bring out male and female lineaments.

Reverting for a moment to a consideration of the drum it is worth noting that the Delawares use neither the hollow log-drum nor the water-drum in the Big House ceremony although both are known in connection with other dance performances in the tribe.

The prayer sticks (ma'mendahi'k ana', plural) "means of earnest supplication" (fig. 24) are peeled wands about 18 inches long, twelve in number, six decorated with spirals encircling them burnt on their surface, six undecorated. On the ninth night likewise these wands are introduced into the prayer feature of the ceremony. The worshipers, who up until this night have simply raised their hands when giving voice to the prayer call when grouped around the center post, now raise their hands pointing toward the images of the great spirit on this post with the prayer wands. Here again we learn that the extra reach afforded by the sticks is symbolical of the greater height in the heaven-strata that has been reached in the progress of the worship.

The fire drill sang"hi'k an),[1] figs. 14, 16, the wooden corn mortar (k'ho'k an) and pestle, or "long pounder" (kwon u'son e'k"), fig. 23, the paint, ola"man)[2] the "paint dishes" (ola'manalo'k e's), fig. 21, the feathers, (fig. 18), and other articles whose use is called for as the ceremony advances, are to be mentioned with explanatory observations in the footnotes accompanying the translation. These objects have a positive sanctified value as they function in the ceremony. The Delawares hold them in high esteem as symbols of the natural culture with which they were endowed by the Great Spirit before the coming of Europeans with their sacrilegious mechanisms, which latter are as far as possible held as taboo within the Big House itself and even on the premises. The same exclusive principle is carried out in respect to European foods. Even mussel shells are used as spoons.

A partly sanctified character is also ascribed to certain games which are permitted during the course of the ceremony. While the mem-

[1] sa'ggowe, "something that makes a ringing noise," denoting the sound of the fire-drill when in use.

[2] A generic term for "red paint" known everywhere among northern and eastern Algonkians with little variation.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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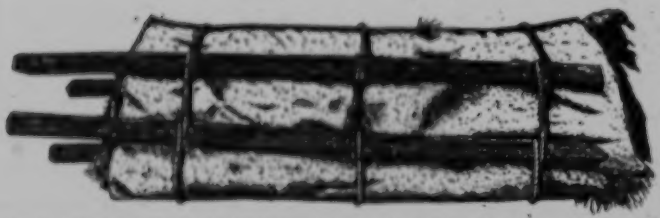

Fig. 19—Drum made of dried deerskin used at the Big House Ceremony. (Length, 26.2). After Harrington.

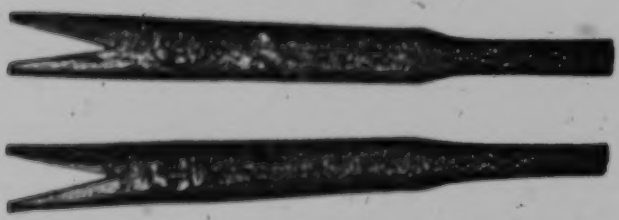

Fig. 20—Delaware drum beaters used on ninth night of ceremony. (Hist. Com. of Pa.)

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Fig. 21—Paint-dish of bark, used at the Big House Ceremony. (Length, 2.2 in.). After Harrington.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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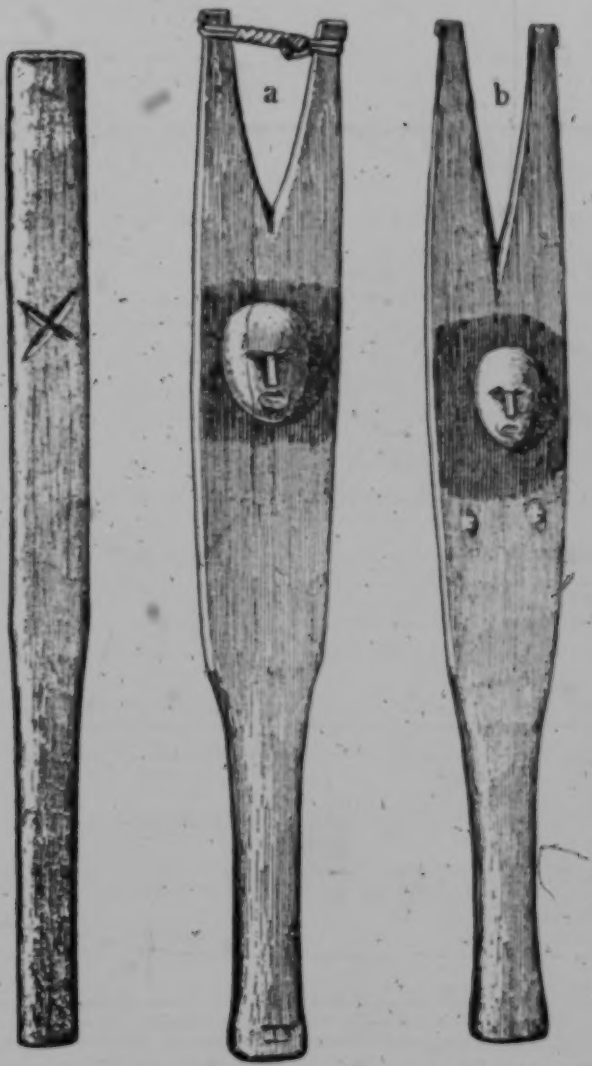

Fig. 22—Plain and Sacred (a and b) drumsticks used at the Big House ceremony in Oklahoma (Length, 18.6 in.). After Harrington.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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Here on each side three tents[1] are provided. In the first[2] there camps the leading Attendant, from here outwards the rest of the Attendants. When any one of these Attendants does not serve, he can hire a substitute to provide fire-wood or to sweep in the Big House, and occasionally to cook.[3] 539X 796

[1] hemsi·k as'wona', "cloth houses" (plural).
[2] Meaning nearest to the door of the Big House.
[3] For the service he pays in wampum.

The Delawares were given the Mask-Image[1] so it became the rule that whoever owns that mask should take it into the Big House each year, that mask, because it is he who has complete control over all the wild animals. And it is said that our grandfather[2] is believed to walk around early each morning. Now here he goes about frightening unruly children. When the "one who is our grandfather begs," the child is taught that he shall pay a plug of tobacco so that he will not scare them. 539X 796 778 [176]

If the person who assumes to wear the mask is able to see clearly[3] for a long distance it is said that he is a man of power. He carries a turtle-rattle[4] and a staff of twisted wood.[5] When the mask makes his utterance it resembles a horse whinnying, and when he makes signals using his turtle-rattle, then they give him tobacco. Customarily he kicks at persons. Here in a pouch he carries that tobacco. Every child customarily is taught that he gathers snakes and throws them into that pouch in order that no one may steal our grandfather's tobacco. And it is also said that our grandfather keeps guard over all so that no one may be overcome by disease. That also is the teaching in reference to the spiritual doctrine of the Mask-Image. [293]

[1] The following passage refers to the mask image mo·l'gholi·k an about which something has been said in the introduction. The composite character of the annual ceremony is shown by the admission of this rite into the ceremony complex in honor of the one who "has control over all the wild game."
[2] The spirit represented by the mask also falls into the classification of consanguinity, and is so addressed.
[3] This evidence of personal power has already been dealt with (page 41).
[4] The rattle referred to is not the small hand rattle carried by the reciter of visions but a large instrument made of a snapping-turtle shell provided with a wooden handle (16.7 in. in length) suggestive of the rattle employed in Iroquois dance accompaniments. Harrington describes and illustrates one of these Delaware instruments (1, pp. 32, 36; fig. 2). (See fig. 7, p. 38). [534]
[5] The distribution of the walking staff as a ceremonial baton and its function in the ethnology of the eastern tribes has been generally overlooked by investigators yet we find evidence of its use over a wide area in the formalities of native behavior among both the Algonkian and Iroquois,—not to overlook the fact that the Delawares imagine the Great Spirit to possess one, the same being symbolized by the center post in the Big House. The Delaware designate the staff by alaehoan (cp. Malecite, abato'won). [293]

When the worship ceremony begins everyone is instructed to wear things conforming strictly to Delaware style, such for instance as the 539X 796

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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Two shell-rattles they make of a wild creature.[1] One they call the leading rattle and the other, greater in size, is called, traditionally, timber-terrapin. And those are used when they pray every night. Here just at the right hand side of the door they place these shell-rattles. When the Master of Ceremonies arrives he says, "Now then, my brothers and my sisters, now as we begin we are approached and touched by those man-i't-u who are carrying this ceremony of worship."[2] That is how they employ them there. And both the dance-leader and his follower each hold in their hands these shell-rattles when they are dance-leading. The leading shell-rattle does not have a great sound, but that of the follower has a great sound, it is said traditionally, for he does answer when they are rattling.[3]

[1] It has been mentioned how reverential it is to put to the service of man, the body parts of wild creatures—the native wild fauna which are "pure" by contrast with the defiled animals of a domestic nature. The rattles used by the dance-leaders who sing the recitatives of their visions are shells of (Cistudo) the Box Turtle.

[2] This is a synonym for the usual term, pa·tamwe·'k·an.

[3] For illustrations of these large and small rattles see figs. 2, 15.

Every year the old men hold a council. The day is named, it is talked over, and they decide who shall bring in the ceremony.[1] And they name the person who shall carry the six yards of wampum. And generally they name three men and three women Attendants going to see them.[2] They select the one who is willing to act as leading Attendant for the two Turkey group representatives, and the two Turtle clan representatives and the two Wolf group representatives are chosen.[3]

These leading Attendants, one and the same, belonging in the group of the Master-of-Ceremonies, he who opens the ceremony. Now when the Attendants have accepted the call, forthwith a shoulder-length of wampum they are given as a symbol of being blessed.[4] And announcement is made of what day in the future they shall go into camp at the Big House. When they finish cleaning this House[5] they also plaster it with clay and all then about outside rake it clean. Then

[1] This is the sacred duty of assuming full responsibility for the performance, the term temi·ke being a formal one.

[2] To inform them of appointment and secure their acceptance.

[3] In these terms denoting the triple social subdivisions of the Delawares (see discussion on p. 75), we encounter metaphorical conceptions of the animals designated. Thus pele' denotes a bird of the order Gallinae, typified in Delaware by the turkey cognate throughout northern and eastern Algonkian (bineo, Ojibwa, peleo. Montagnais-Naskapi, "partridge") l'uk owa'pgo, ' denoting the tortoise group (Testudinata) literally means "sticky heels," in allusion to the dragging motion of the curious, ponderous creature in lifting his hind feet from the ground. Tu'kewal·t, literally "round foot" is figurative for the quadrupeds which seem according to my information to include any of the mammalia.

[4] The term used is a formal religious phrase naxpango'ma·n not translated by a single word, but which I have rendered "being given as a symbol of blessing."

[5] The informant was undecided whether or not to use the term menda'en for the Big House, which is considered to be an old Munsee term.

11:Newcomb E-5 (1952)1956 NM7 Delaware NM7

My purposes in this article are to describe a fairly typical peyote meeting of the Delawares which I attended in the summer of 1952, and to discuss the changes which have occurred in this cult since 1930 when Petrullo made his study of Delaware peyotism (Petrullo, 1934).

THE BIG MOON PEYOTE CEREMONY

The Big Moon ceremonies of the Delawares are normally held in canvas covered tepees, generally in the cooler months of the year, but occasionally in hot weather. The reason for their seasonal nature is said to be in the interests of comfort; a tepee with a fire burning in it on a hot Oklahoma night is almost unbearable. Big Moon ceremonies are held on Saturday nights and last until Sunday noon. The peyote meeting I am about to describe was held on the farm of a Delaware, about ten miles east of the small town of Dewey, Washington County, Oklahoma. A tepee, about twenty feet in diameter, had been erected a few steps from the back door of the farm house. A bale of hay had been scattered about near the inside walls of the tepee; tarpaulins and quilts had then been spread over the hay, upon which the participants were to sit. In the center of the tepee was an oval depression, or fireplace, excavated to a depth of about six inches (Fig. 1). Extending from the fireplace were twelve lines or rays, made by scoring the hard ground to a depth of about half an inch. Within the fireplace, also scored in the earth, was a cross and at the intersection of its arms a heart-shaped figure. The fire, which was built over this heart, was made of twelve sticks interlaced in a V-shaped pattern with the open end towards the tepee entrance.

Just east of the fire, and lying along the long axis of the cross, was a stick of soft wood. One end was kept smoldering during the ceremony and was used to light corn husk-Bull Durham cigarettes. At the east end of the fireplace was a raised circular mound of hard packed earth. On the center of this mound, symbolic of the Sun, another heart had been scratched. On the opposite, or west side of the fireplace was the altar. This was an oblong, slightly raised, earthen area, on which was placed the ritual paraphernalia. In its center on a beaded cloth was a large, green peyote, or "Father Peyote." Just behind it a feathered and beaded peyote staff had been thrust into the ground. On the altar to the south of these objects was a glass bowl of green peyote, a kettle of peyote tea, and a leather bag of dried peyote buttons. To the north of "Father Peyote" on the altar was the drum used to accompany the singers (an old fashioned cast iron kettle, partly water-filled, and covered with a tightly drawn, wet, buckskin cover), and a bunch of sage

11:Newcomb E-5 (1952) 1956 NM7 Delaware NM7

made a full circuit of the tepee. Many of the participants pressed the sage lightly to various parts of their bodies before passing it along. The road-chief then passed corn husks and Bull Durham tobacco in the same direction, everyone rolling a cigarette. These cigarettes were lit from the smoldering stick which was kept in readiness to the east of the fire. After the cigarettes had been smoked in silence, they were collected by the fire-chief. The butts were placed on the altar. Peyote was then passed in the same clockwise fashion; the road-chief directed that four buttons be taken, either two dried and two green, or four of a kind. Peyote tea was also passed, some individuals smearing their body, face, and hair with the tea, as well as drinking it.

When the peyote had completed the clockwise circuit, and as the participants were going through the ordeal of eating it, the road-chief prayed. He then began the opening song, holding a gourd rattle in his right hand and the peyote staff in his left, the drum-chief accompanying him on the drum. After four songs were sung the road-chief passed the staff and gourd rattle to the man on his left, accepted the drum from the drum-chief, and drummed for the man on his left, who sang four songs. After each set of four songs, the gourd rattle and staff were passed in a clockwise direction to the next man who sang a set of four songs, the previous singer becoming the drummer. The singing and drum accompaniment continued until midnight. Between sets of songs some individuals asked for peyote and others asked for water. The water was kept by the fire-chief's side in an ordinary bucket. Occasionally someone would leave the tepee, first getting permission from the road-chief. On re-entering, which was only permissible between sets of songs, the fire-chief cleansed and purified these people by brushing them from the head and shoulders down the arms to the fingers with an eagle feather fan. They then went around the north side of the fire to the altar, where they touched "Father Peyote," and the road-chief brushed them in a similar manner with another eagle feather fan. Then they returned to their places.

About midnight the fire-chief raked the ashes from the fire for the first time. He did this by moving the burning sticks eastward, taking a special peeled stick about six feet long and smoothing out the embers. After they were smoothed, another stick, somewhat longer than the first, was used to divide the ashes along the long axis of the cross, the ashes being formed into two neat piles on either side of the fire. After this was accomplished the fire was returned to its original position, built up, and the whole depression was swept from west to east

796 Spirit. It lasts 6 days. It may be repeated by another person or family for a second 6 days, and so on until the feelings are satisfied. It has been known to last a month. The meeting is called by one of a certain class, who I presume correspond with the Keepers of the Faith of the Iroquois. They are called A-la-pa-cte, meaning *Dreamers*. The [346] people meet in a large house erected on purpose for this worship and used for nothing else. They build two council fires in the [614] house, and the people assemble by tribes, the Turtles by themselves, the Wolves by themselves and the Turks by themselves. They use belts of wampum and have many ceremonies. It would seem that this council or religious meeting was called by some one [346] person. The door of the house of worship must open to the east.

796 533 When they are assembled two singers [?] sit down to two dried and rolled up deer skins, with sticks in their hands to beat time. The leader, who is stationed on the right hand side of the door, gets up and [534] shaking a turtle shell rattle, comes in extemporizing verses which are adapted to the set tune of his choosing, to relate his dream. As he relates his dream in music, he dances, they sing the same time and beat time, and all who enter the dance, dance [535] the religious dance which altogether is called the Gum-mween. This is repeated day by day for six days. But the leaders change. When one has told his dream, he hands his rattle to the next one, who in like singing relates his dream in words of his own making, but sung in an old well known tune of his own choosing.

796 [262] Before the festival 12 hunters are sent out for deer's meat, as no other meat is allowed. About 9 each morning this meat is served to all. At sundown each day they have an exhortation from the oldest wise

Element	Occurrence																		
	12 T	K-A	Kio	Cum	Kit	Ab S	De 1	De 2	Win	No C	Cr 1	Cr 2	WRS	Ute	Gos	dPW	Tam
1. Staff of authority of leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
2. "Cane" 3–5 feet long	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+
3. Tufts of hair at top	+	•+	+	+	+	•+	•+		•–	+	+	•+	+	+	–	–	+
4. *Artemisia* tied near top or held along with cane	+	+	+	+	–	•+	–	+	–	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+
5. Passed around	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+
6. Always passed between drum and altar	+	(+)	+		(–)	+						(+)	(+)	+	+	+	+
7. Person holding staff leads singing	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
8. Rattle of leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
9. Gourd	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
10. Decorated	+	+	•+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
11. Handle beaded	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
12. Tufts of hair on top	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+
13. Rattle passed around	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+
14. Person singing shakes rattle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
15. Individual rattle also used	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+
16. Only after midnight	+		+	+	–	–	+	•–	–	–	+	+	•–	+	–	+	+
17. To accompany singer holding staff			+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+
18. Fan of leader (eagle tail feathers)	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+
19. Each feather tied separately	+	+	+	+	(–)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+		+	+
20. Binding decorated		+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	•+	+
21. Passed around	+		–	+	(–)	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
22. Held with staff while singing	+		•+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
23. Individual fans also used	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
24. Only after midnight	+		+	–	(+)	–	+	•–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
25. All fans used to draw smoke over head, body	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+
26. Eagle-wingbone whistle of leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•–	–	+	+	•+	+	+	+	–	+
27. Used at special midnight ritual	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	•+	–	+
28. At special morning ritual	+	+	+	+	(+)	+		–	–	+	+	+	+	+	•+	–	+
29. Placed near altar in front of leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	•–	+	+	–	
30. Only leader uses whistle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+				+	+	–	

For Notes to Element List see p. 114.

(Continued on next page)

14: Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute
Crow NQ AD
Delaware NM7
Winnebago NP12
Stewart: Washo-Northern Paiute Peyotism 105[9]
C D W 171 795 796 [534]

14: Stewart E-5 (1936-1938) 1944 NR 13 Northern Paiute
Comanche No 6
Delaware NM 7
C D 171 795 796 [534] [576]

PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST—(*Continued*)

Element	Occurrence																				
	13 T	K-A	Kio	Com	Kio	Ats B	Dat 1	Dat 2	Wis	No C	Cr 1	Cr 2	SBR	Ute	Gos	P-W	Tem				
31. Paraphernalia satchel	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+					
32. Cloth upon which to place paraphernalia	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+					
33. Drum of leader (or chief drummer)	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+					
34. Water drum	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
35. Iron kettle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	•+	+	+				
36. Pottery jar	•+		−	−		−	+	+		−	−	−		+		−					
37. Charcoal in water	+	+	+	+	(−)	+	+	+		−	+	•+	+	+	•+	+					
38. Head of deerskin	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	(+)	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+					
39. Skin tied on before meeting	+	+	+	+		+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+					
40. 7 stones or sticks used in tie	+	+	+	+	•−	•−	•+	−	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+				
41. 7 stones represent days			+	−		−	−	−		−	+	+	+	+	+	−					
42. Rope forms star on bottom of drum	+	+	+	+	+	+				+	+	+	+	+	+	+					
43. Star significant	+	+	+			•(+)					•+	•+	+	+	•+	+					
44. Skin removed at end of meeting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+				
45. Only one drum used	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
46. Drumstick of leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+•	(+)	+	+	+	+	+					
47. Individual drumsticks also used	+	+	+	+	(−)	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+					
48. Only after midnight	+		+	+		•−	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	+					
49. Drum and drumstick passed around	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
50. Separate drummer accompanies singer	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+					
51. Drummer usually at right of singer	+	•−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+					
52. Only men drum	+	+	+	+	−	•−	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+					
53. Bag of cedar (juniper) leaves of leader	+	+	+	+	•	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+					
54. Cedar sprinkled on fire	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+					
55. Usually by cedarman	+	•−	+	+	+	•−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+					
56. Only one bag of cedar used	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+					
57. Tobacco furnished by leader	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	−	+	+	+	•+	+	•+	+					
58. Rolled in maize husks	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	•	−					
59. In oak leaves	+	−	+	+	−•(+)		−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−					
60. In paper	−	−	−	−	−		−	−	−	+	+	•+		+		+					

14: Stewart E-5 (1936-1938) 1944 NR 13 Northern Paiute
Crow NQ10
Delaware NM7

NOTES TO ELEMENT LIST

C D 1. Cr 2: Straight stick of any kind or collapsible cane, beaded at joints (Voget).

2. Ab S: "The staff represents a walking cane" (Voegelin). Gos: Made of mountain mahogany by leader himself (Malouf). 171

795 796 3. K-A: Not necessarily (McAllister). Ab S: Deer's tail dyed red (Voegelin). De 1: Staff decorated with feathers, ribbon, and otter skins (Petrullo, 49). Win: Tufts of hair around two joints about a foot from each end of cane. An oval celloluid device 5 inches long with feathers attached around its edge was suspended from the upper joint. Staff was walking stick with crook (Praus). Cr 2: Horsehair among the Crow. Sometimes hair of different animals is used. "People wish for the same type of animal as the hair. It is a sort of wishbone." Crow prefer white horsehair to black. "The old-time Indians say white is the cleanest thing on earth; that is why they use that" (Voget).

C [237] 4. Ab S: Held by person giving the meeting, at opening of meeting only (Voegelin). Cr 2: Four pieces of sage used; held along with staff. Silvery wide-leafed variety of sage is employed (Voget). WRS: Four pieces of *Artemisia* are tied on (Shimkin).

5. Ab S: Bunch of sage passed around separately at beginning of meeting (Voegelin): WRS: Clockwise, "the same as the world" (Shimkin).

C [533] 9. Cr 2: Man who has his own rattle which suits the pitch of his voice holds leader's rattle in his left hand and rattles his own with his right hand. "Each man does as he wishes in worship." But note that individual rattles not employed until after midnight, apparently out of deference to position of leader. That would be impolite (Voget).

10. Kio: Decoration of gourd proper doubtful. But I have seen "Jesus talk" written on a Comanche gourd (La Barre). Ab S: Gourd itself is stained dark brown with walnut-bark (sic) dye; undecorated otherwise. But handle and projecting end are beaded, tasseled, etc. (Voegelin).

12. Gos: White horsehair at end of handle is not dyed (Malouf). W-P: Feathers also used.

D [533] 13. Cr 1: "Passed with cane" (Voget).

16. De 2: In "Wilson way" meeting members can rattle own rattles any time (Webber). Prohibition on using rattles other than ones used by road chief until midnight (Petrullo, 90, 158). WRS: After drum goes around once, individual rattles may be used (Shimkin).

18. Ab S: Eagle, chicken hawk, parrot, "any kind of bird." Leader did not have special fan that was passed around; each person, including leader, brought and used own fan all night (Voegelin). De 2: Fans and single feathers used in meeting (Webber). See note 3. Cr 2: Any feathers used. Usually eagle tail feathers come out in set of twelve; that is, twelve good feathers found naturally in tail of each bird. "The twelve-feather set represents months of the year; we do not change that" (Voget). WRS: Eagle-wing fan with feathers bound toegether is most common. Fan is of same style as other ceremonial fans (Shimkin).

20. Kio: Buckskin feather sockets not decorated or beaded, but handle is beaded (La Barre).

21. W-P: Leader's fan passed only after midnight.

22. Kio: Leader holds own fan with staff when singing; other men do likewise with their fans when singing (La Barre).

D [534] 24. De2: Anyone having single feathers or fan can use them any time they wish (Webber).

25. Cr 1: "Used to draw smoke to inhale" (Voget).

D [782] [823] 26. De 2: Whistle not used in "Wilson way" meeting (Webber). Cr 2: Sometimes used four times in course of meeting. Midnight: strong, sharp, long blasts four times. "We make these four long calls in order that the Creator might hear us. That is the way I understand it among the Crows." Right after the water call, leader goes outside tipi, usually whistles in order toward east, south, west, and north, the four parts of the earth. Four blasts are given to each direction, and a prayer is offered. Type of prayer depends upon the leader, "but each corner has something of its own." East: prayer to rising sun, which brings daylight, and to wind, which comes from east, about which all peoples, Indian and white, know. "I do not know what other countries have, but the Montana east wind is harmless." South: prayers offered to those things of the south, for instance, warmth and food. West: setting of the sun brings darkness. Also, certain foods come from the west. "Whatever property is needed from the west [the leader asks for]." North: the same holds for the north; but north wind usually cold, so leader usually asks Creator to control it, keep it not too cold so that animals will not die (Voget).

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

with his execution, and having his looking-glass with him, he contemplated his work, seemingly with great pride and exultation. He asked me how I liked it? I answered that if he had done the work on a piece of board, bark, or any thing else, I should like it very well and often look at it. But, asked he, why not so as it is? Because I cannot see the face that is hidden under these colours, so as to know who it is. Well, he replied, I must go now, and as you cannot know me to-day, I will call to-morrow morning before you leave this place. He did so, and when he came back, he was washed clean again.

Thus, for a single night's *frolic*, a whole day is spent in what they call dressing, in which each strives to outdo the other.

When the men paint their thighs, legs and breast, they, generally, after laying on a thin shading coat of a darkish colour, and sometimes of a whitish clay, dip their fingers' ends in black or red paint, and drawing it on with their outspread fingers, bring the streaks to a serpentine form. The garments of some of their principal actors are singular, and decorated with such a number of gewgaws and trinkets, that it is impossible to give a precise description of them. Neither are they all alike in taste, every one dressing himself according to his fancy, or the custom of the tribe to which he belongs. While the women, as I have already said, have thimbles and little bells rattling at their ancles, the men have deers' claws fixed to their braced garters or knee bands, and also to their shoes, for the same purpose; for they consider jingling and rattling as indispensably necessary to their performances in the way of dancing.

The notion formerly entertained that the Indians are beardless by nature and have no hair on their bodies, appears now to be exploded and entirely laid aside. I cannot conceive how it is possible for any person to pass three weeks only among those people, without seeing

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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797 which happened on the 24th of July 1756. He led the life of a true Christian, and was always ready and willing to relate the history of his conversion, which I heard myself from his own mouth. His age, when he died, was supposed to be about eighty years.

304 The cutting of the ears, which formerly was practised among the Indians, is now no longer so common with them. Their reasons for laying this custom aside, are that the operation is painful, not only when performed, but until the ears are perfectly healed, which takes a long time, and that they often lose that part of their ears which is separated from the solid part, by its being torn off by the the bushes, or falling off when frost-bitten. I once heard of a gay Indian setting off on a severe cold morning for a neighbouring village not more than three miles distant, whose ears had been touched by the frost, and dropped off before he arrived at the place to which he was going. He had not even felt that he had lost them, and when told of it, he was so chagrined that he was going to destroy himself. I have seen a great many Indians with torn ears; but now the custom of cutting them is nearly if not entirely disused.

CHAPTER XXVI.

DANCES, SONGS, AND SACRIFICES.

535 782 THE dances of the Indians vary according to the purposes for which they are intended. We have seen, in the second chapter of this work, that when the Dutch first landed on New York island, the inhabitants who be-

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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lieved them to be celestial beings, began a solemn dance, in order to propitiate them. It is not uncommon for men who are deprived of the light of revealed religion, to believe that the divinity will be pleased with the same things from which they themselves receive pleasure.

It is a pleasing spectacle to see the Indian dances, when intended merely for social diversion and innocent amusement. I acknowledge I would prefer being present at them for a full hour, than a few minutes only at such dances as I have witnessed in our country taverns among the white people. Their songs are by no means unharmonious. They sing in chorus; first the men and then the women. At times the women join in the general song, or repeat the strain which the men have just finished. It seems like two parties singing in questions and answers, and is upon the whole very agreeable and enlivening. After thus singing for about a quarter of an hour, they conclude each song with a loud yell, which I must confess is not in concord with the rest of the music; it is not unlike the cat-bird which closes its pretty song with mewing like a cat. I do not admire this *finale*. The singing always begins by one person only, but others soon fall in successively until the general chorus begins, the drum beating all the while to mark the time. The voices of the women are clear and full, and their intonations generally correct.

Their war dances have nothing engaging; their object, on the contrary, is to strike terror in the beholders. They are dressed and painted, or rather bedaubed with paint, in a manner suitable to the occasion. They hold the murderous weapon in their hand, and imitate in their dance all the warlike attitudes, motions and actions which are usual in an engagement with the enemy, and strive to excel each other by their terrific looks and gestures. They generally perform round a painted post set up for that purpose, in a large room or place

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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535 721

enclosed or surrounded with posts, and roofed with the bark of trees; sometimes also this dance is executed in the open air. There every man presents himself in warrior's array, contemptuously looking upon the painted post, as if it was the enemy whom he is about to engage; as he passes by it he strikes, stabs, grasps, pretends to scalp, to cut, to run through; in short, endeavours to shew what he would do to a real enemy, if he had him in his power.

535 72

It was an ancient custom among the Indians to perform this dance round a prisoner, and as they danced, to make him undergo every kind of torture, previous to putting him to death. The prisoner appeared to partake in the merriment, contemptuously scoffing at his executioner, as being unskilled in the art of inflicting torments: strange as this conduct may appear, it was not without a sufficient motive. The object of the unfortunate sufferer was to rouse his relentless tormenters to such a pitch of fury, that some of them might, at an unguarded moment, give him the finishing stroke and put him out of his pain.

535 72

Previous to going out on a warlike campaign, the war-dance is always performed round the painted post. It is the Indian mode of recruiting. Whoever joins in the dance is considered as having enlisted for the campaign, and is obliged to go out with the party.

727

After returning from a successful expedition, a dance of *thanksgiving* is always performed, which partakes of the character of a religious ceremony. It is accompanied with singing and chorusses, in which the women join. But they take no part in the rest of the performance. At the end of every song, the *scalp-yell* is shouted as many times as there have been scalps taken from the enemy.

The Indians also meet occasionally for the purpose of recounting their warlike exploits, which is done in a kind of half-singing or *recitative*. The oldest warrior recites

2;Newcomb E-4,5 (1951-1952) 1956
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The ceremonies commenced, at least in historic times, when the caretakers lighted the fires in the Big House with a fire drill. Kinietz has suggested that this act became sacred in post-European times.[49] Sometime after dark the chief of the sponsoring phratry delivered a sermon in which the Great Spirit was thanked for success during the preceding year, and he also explained the rules of the meeting.[50] The meeting was then turned over to the "bringer-in":

> [Standing] by the great central post with its weird carved faces, [he] begins to shake a little rattle of box-turtle shell and chant, in a high monotone, the story of his vision. Meanwhile two drummers have taken their places before a peculiar drum made by rolling up a dry deer-hide and stuffing it with grass. As the chanter utters each word the drummers repeat it in the same tone, producing a very peculiar effect. Finally the recital is finished, and he starts his dance-song, which the drummers take up, beating time with flat drumsticks and dances about the fires, still shaking his rattle, followed by as many of the people as care to join.[51]

The dance was in a counterclockwise direction, and the dancer stopped at twelve spots in this circuit, each time reciting a verse of the song he had composed from his vision. The path that was followed by all those who recited their visions represented allegorically the White Path or the Great Spirit's road, the road of human existence, and the stages the soul took to the abode of the Great Spirit.[52] As was noted previously, the number twelve and perhaps the inferred idea of heaven may have represented diffusions from Christianity.

After the leader had finished his recitation, two caretakers symbolically swept the chamber with turkey feathers and built up the fire. There was then a brief recess in which people could go outside (R.W.). Following the recess, the rattle was passed from hand to hand in a counterclockwise direction until it reached another man who desired to recite his vision.[53] Toward morning, when the rattle had made a complete circuit of the Big House, twelve cries or calls were uttered. The twelfth cry was thought to be heard by the Great Spirit.[54] A feast was then held, and afterwards the throng dispersed until the following evening. (Trowbridge alone among the sources said that the worshippers remained throughout the day in the Big House, preserving silence.) On each of the succeeding nights the ritual was the same, although there may have been some variation in the persons who recited their visions, and on the fourth day deer were hunted to supply venison for a feast to be held on the seventh day.[55] At noon on the final day of the ceremony the participants filed out and formed a line facing the east. They raised their hands and twelve times called out the prayer word to the Great Spirit. The caretakers then swept the ashes from the fires out the west

[49] Kinietz, 1940, p. 121; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 30.
[50] Speck, 1931, p. 23.
[51] Harrington, 1913, pp. 228-29.
[52] Speck, 1931, p. 23.
[53] Harrington, 1921, p. 95; R. W.
[54] Harrington, 1913, p. 229.
[55] Harrington, 1921, pp. 97-100; O.A., R.W.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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door of the Big House, the leader paid them in wampum for their services, and thus the ceremony was concluded.[56]

Minor Ceremonies

There must have been a host of minor family and other kin-group religious ceremonies in early times, but unfortunately the seventeenth-century sources are for the most part silent about them. Denton, however, said:

> At their *Canticas* or dancing matches, where all persons that come are freely entertained, it being a Festival time: Their custom is when they dance, every one but the Dancers to have a short stick in their hands & to knock the ground & sing altogether, whilst they that dance sometimes act war-like postures, & then they come in painted for War with their faces black & red, with some streaks of white under their eyes, & so jump & leap up & down without any order, uttering many expressions of their intended valour. For other dances they only shew what Antick tricks their ignorance will lead them to, swinging of their bodies & faces after a strange manner, sometimes jumping into the fire, sometimes catching up a Firebrand, & biting off a live coal, with many such tricks, that will affright....[57]

Zeisberger described a number of minor religious ceremonies which probably are similar to those of the earlier period. Of the five ceremonials he mentioned, the first was a description of the Big House Ceremony; in the second, men danced in a breech clout and were "daubed all over with white clay."[58] In the third, tanned deerskins were given to ten or more old men and women, who wrapped themselves in these skins, stood in front of the Big House, faced east, and prayed. In this ceremony wampum was thrown on the ground, and the children scrambled for it.[59] The fourth was a feast of bear's flesh and melted fat, in which the large quantities consumed brought on vomiting and indigestion. Speck mentioned this ceremony "as a definite rite intended for the placation of the bear," and recounted the mythological tale responsible for its origin.[60] The fifth ceremony was a sweat bath held in the Big House. A sweat house, framed with twelve poles of diverse woods, was set up inside the Big House and was covered with blankets. "These twelve poles represent twelve Manittos, some of these being creatures, others plants."[61] After a meal a fire was built in the entrance of the sweat lodge, and twelve stones were heated and placed inside. Twelve pipes full of tobacco were thrown on the hot stones; twelve people then entered and remained as long as they were able. During this ceremony

[56] Harrington, 1913, pp. 228-30; 1921, p. 85; Trowbridge MS.

[57] Denton, 1845, p. 9.

[58] Zeisberger, 1910, pp. 137-38.

[59] *Ibid.*, p. 138; Harrington, 1921, p. 109, and the Trowbridge MS. stated that this ceremony concluded the Big House Ceremony; Post and Hayes noted these details in the observance of an annual ceremony on May 24-27, 1760 (Hayes, 1954, pp. 74-76).

[60] Speck, 1937, pp. 30-43.

[61] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 138.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

the command of the captains, especially in times of war, and do nothing without their consent. They neither leave the troop nor go hunting, as they know that their life and honor in a great measure depends upon the prudent conduct of their captains, and they obey them with pleasure. The night previous to the march of the army is spent in feasting, at which the chiefs are present, a hog, if procurable, being killed for the occasion. After the feast the captain and his people begin the war dance and continue till daybreak when they are quite hoarse and weary. Sometimes they dance in turn, each taking the head of the hog in his hand; again all dance together. Spectators are admitted, and may even join in the dance. Sometimes instead of a hog a couple of dogs are killed, not because dog's flesh is a delicacy, for the Indian dogs are very lean, but because it is said to inspire them with the true spirit of war and murder. I have even seen women partake of this feast, eating the dog's flesh with great greediness. I have steadily and courteously refused to partake when invited. The war dance having been completed, they march out on the following day. The captain leads and his men follow in single file. When they reach the end of the street, they fire their pieces one after another and the captain begins the war song. As both their friends and the women generally accompany them to the first night's encampment, they halt about two or three miles from the town, dance the war dance once more, and the day following begin the march proper.

As they commonly have a long and tedious journey into the enemies' land their provisions are soon exhausted. They are then obliged to spend some days in hunting. No one enjoys any precedence during the march, not even the captain. They divide their provisions in equal shares, even if each man should get only a mouthful of bread or spoonful of meat. When they reach Indian towns with which they are at peace provisions are given them. They never go out in large parties but usually in small companies of ten or twenty, in order that they may not suffer so much for want of provisions. The captain is very attentive to the condition of his troop being answerable for all his men. If but a few are weary he orders all to halt till they

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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273 438 The latter will often obtain everything that an Indian owns except his Breech-clout. For their skins the Indians get from the traders powder, lead, rifle-barrelled guns—for other weapons they do not value — blankets, strouds, linen, shirts, cotton, 439 callemanco,[207] knives, needles, thread, woolen and silken ribbon, wire and kettles of brass, silver buckles, — these are considered as valuable as gold and with them they can purchase almost anything — bracelets, thimbles, rings, combs, mirrors, axes, hatchets and other tools.

535 If the young are at home and not on the chase hardly a night passes without a dance. The women, who always follow the men, dancing in a circle, act with decency and becoming modesty, as if they were engaged in the most serious business. Neither laughing nor levity are to be noticed and they never speak a word to a man, for this would injure their character. They neither jump nor skip, but move one foot after the other slightly forwards then backwards, yet so as to advance gradually. The men shout and leap and stamp with such violence that the ground trembles under their feet. Whatever man acts in the oddest and most ridiculous manner is the most regarded. They dance in a circle around the fire. Often in the midst of the dance they will all hold their heads forward over the fire, stand bowed or leap and stamp, singing all the time; suddenly they stand erect again and move forward. They make all manner of unusual movements to show their agility and skill. They have no other music than the drum. When one dance has been finished the one who beats the drum sings and beats until another begins. There is always a leader whom all watch carefully and follow. They have various kinds of dances, some acquired from the other nations.

526 The young men often wrestle to test their strength. The one thrown is not angered but admits the other to be his master. Another mode of testing strength is in trying to lift some large stone, or throwing a stone of considerable size the greatest distance possible.

525 Nine-pins, ball-playing and cards they have learned from the whites. The Indian game of dice is the most popular of

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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order that at home they may have nothing but good to report. As hospitality is generally practiced, strangers are everywhere well received and suffer no want, even though they may remain for days, or weeks or months. It is recognized as a duty to care for the wants of a guest as long as he may choose to remain and even to give him provisions for the journey when he does make up his mind to go.

On the occasion of making or renewing a treaty with another nation a dance very different from the ordinary dance is engaged in. The dancers join hands and leap in a circle for some time. Suddenly the leader lets the hand of one of his partners go, springs forward and turns around several times, by which he draws the whole company round so as to be enclosed by them, when they stand close together. They disengage themselves as suddenly, yet keeping hold of hands during all the different evolutions and changes in the dance; this, as they explain it, represents the chain of friendship; a song, used only at such a solemnity, is sung by all.

The War Dance is very wild and dreadful to behold. One dancer carries his hatchet, another a long knife, another a large club, a fourth a cudgel. These they brandish in the air, to signify how they intend to treat or have treated their enemies, affecting all the while an air of anger and fury. The Mingoes use the war dance even in times of peace with a view to celebrate their heroic deeds.

They regard the Europeans as a peaceable people, created of God to live according to their own manners and customs, even as the Indians have been created to live in their fashion, especially to sustain themselves by means of the chase. They think it contrary to the will of the deity to adopt, themselves, the manner of living peculiar to Europeans, pointing to fish, animals and birds as each having their characteristic habits. Each creature, bear, deer or other animal, continues to live in its own way, and it has never yet been observed that an animal had adopted the habits of another. The same principle, they hold, applies to Indians and Europeans. They recognize that the Europeans are industrious and clever, that without oppor-

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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535 17. The Rev. David McClure states that such was the desire for dancing among the Delaware Indians that "they are building a dancing house in this small village, [the capital of the Delawares near the present site of Newcomerstown, O.] which will cost them more labour than one-half of the houses in it" — *Diary*, 77. This is one of the most valuable volumes of early travel (1770-1790) in the Middle West and will often be quoted.

114 18. It is interesting to compare the accounts of Zeisberger and Heckewelder, the former a jotter down of facts, the latter a formal historian. "The Indians are proud but not vain," write Heckewelder; "They consider vanity as degrading and unworthy the character of a man. This passion of the Indians which I have called *pride*, but which might perhaps, be better denominated *highmindedness*, is generally combined with a great sense of honour, and not seldom produces actions of the most heroic kind" — *History*, 159, 161. The plain, unpretentious words of Zeisberger, often derogatory of the Indians, have a ring of accuracy that is found in almost no other record.

000 19. The length of space to which a man can extend his arms.

20. "Courage, art and circumspection, are the essential and indispensable qualifications of an Indian warrior" — Heckewelder, *History*, 166. According to Zeisberger's notion, how appropriate the first lines of the Delaware's chant on going to war: "O poor me!" *Id.* 204.

21. Pontiac's Rebellion.

22. Ottawas.

23. Revolutionary war.

837 24. Heckewelder's descriptions of Indian abhorrence of marital infidelity are not borne out by Zeisberger or Loskiel. David McClure, writing at Coshocton, in 1772, records: "Several of the aged Councillors had lived with one wife from their youth; but a great part of husbands and wives at Kekalemahpehoong [Delaware capital], had separated and taken others. I was astonished at the profligate description which young Killbuck (whose father had directed him to lodge in my house, and to wait on me), gave me of himself. He slept in a loft, which was ascended by a ladder at the farther end of the house. He conducted a squaw up the ladder every night. I asked him one day, if it was his wife? He said no. I admonished him for his conduct. He said he was nineteen years old, and had had several wives, and that he wanted one more, and he should be happy. It is natural to expect that but few children can be the fruit of such unbounded licentiousness. On an average there are about two or three to a family" — *Diary*, 81.

000 24½. The distinction here between "Indians" and "savages" implies that the former are Christian and the latter non-christian.

25. Goschgoschünk, in Venango County, Pennsylvania, a Delaware (Monsey) town on the Allegheny River — Edmund De Schweinitz, *Life and Times of David Zeisberger*, 324, *seq.* Few volumes relating to the

painted a different color on each side, were thrown up and caught, the goal being to get as many of a particular color as possible; and another in which an object was hidden under one of several moccasins and the players attempted to guess which one it was under (Denny, p.265; Brinton, 1888, p.40; Loskiel, p.105). The vigorous dances engaged in by the Delaware were also noted although no early writer mentions (as Zeisberger, writing in the eighteenth century does) that dances were held most evenings that the men were not out hunting (Penn, p.38; Zeisberger, 1870, p.90). Later writers all agree that the Delaware were a sociable people given to frequent visiting and communal games and dances (Zeisberger, 1870, p.87; Heckewelder, 1881, pp.101-3 and 149).

This may be the most suitable place to mention the dogs kept by the Delaware since it seems most likely that they were kept merely as pets. Their remains have not been found in great abundance and in most cases where they were found they appear to have been deliberately buried. There is only one instance where there is some question whether the animal had been used as a sacrifice (Skinner, 1915, p.48; Heye, p.59).

At the time of contact, the Lenape were living in villages composed of several groups of families in the summer and hunting in single family groups in winter. The associations of families constituted bands, the names of which generally had some reference to the territory which they occupied.[10] In the eighteenth century Heckewelder reported a double division of the tribe into three sub-tribes, called Unami, Unalachtigo and Munsee, and into three genealogical "totems" which I will call phratries. The phratries were named Turtle, Turkey and Wolf, and Heckewelder equated them with the sub-tribes. He believed that the divisions had existed in the contact period also (Heckewelder, 1881, pp.51-2)., Morgan, in the late nineteenth century, found that the Munsee, who are generally called the "Wolf Tribe", actually had members belonging to all three phratries, and Harrington found the same situation in the twentieth century (Morgan, 1912, p.177; Harrington, 1913, p.209). The Munsee had a tradition, however, that the three phratries formerly occupied separate villages.

Both Harrington and Morgan found the modern Delaware phratries divided into matrilineal clans, the names of which were not totemic (Harrington, p.210; Morgan, 1912, p.177). The only evidence of totemic beliefs is a vague association between the turtle phratry and the mythical turtle in the creation myth and, of course, the phratry names themselves. The only evidence for the regulation of marriage by any social unit is found in Zeisberger who says that no Indian will marry within his own tribe as he considers himself too closely related to the other individuals in it. But his use of the word "tribe" is not clear so that the problem of which

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deerskin called *powūni'gŭn* which serves as a drum (fig. 10), ample time to repeat the same word in the same tone, which produces an extraordinary effect. When he finishes, the drummers beat rapidly on the dry hide, repeating "*Ho-o-o!*" a number of times.

Then the celebrant repeats a verse of his song in the same way, and the drummers, having learned the words, sing them to a dance tune, beating the drum in slower time. After dancing awhile, the celebrator whoops, and they stop; then another similar verse, if not the same, is recited and then sung.

When the leader dances, he circles about the two fires contra-clockwise, and those who wish may join in the dance and follow him (pl. VI).

His dance finished, the leader passes the turtleshell to the next man who has been blessed with a vision. This one has the privilege of singing his vision if he wishes; if not, it is handed to the next "dreamer." After a celebrant has taken his seat, it is customary for those

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same way the twelve Mĭsi'ng$^{w^t}$ faces carved upon the posts of the building, also the drumsticks, the prayersticks, the deerskin drum, and the turtles. A variant has it that both bark vessels contain paint, the customs differing according to phratry.

Each woman who takes part on this night receives a share of the venison, if there is any,—the biggest and fattest buck the hunters kill,—and the attendants cook it for them at the fire outside.

CONCLUSION OF CEREMONY

Next morning the men resume the ceremony and continue until the sun is high. Two men are then appointed to close the meeting, for which each receives one yard of wampum. Their duty is to sing twelve times while the people dance about the central post, the women in a circle next to the post, the men in another circle outside that of the women. These two singers stop dancing in front of where the chief is sitting, and announce, "We will now pray twelve times." They

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poured into the fire. The bones are burnt, so that the dogs may not get any of them. After the meal the men and women dance, every rule of decency being observed. It is not a dance for pleasure or exercise, as is the ordinary dance engaged in by the Indians. One singer only performs during the dance, walking up and down, rattling a small tortoise shell filled with pebbles. He sings of the dreams the Indians have had, naming all the animals, elements and plants they hold to be spirits. None of the spirits of things that are useful to the Indians may be omitted. By worshipping all the spirits named they consider themselves to be worshipping God, who has revealed his will to them in dreams. When the first singer has finished he is followed by another. Between dances the guests may stop to eat again. There are four or five kinds of feasts, the ceremonies of which differ much from one another.

"At these feasts there are never less than four servants, to each of whom a fathom of wampum is given that they may care for all necessary things. During the three or four days they have enough to do by day and by night. They have leave, also, to secure the best of provisions, such as sugar, bilberries, molasses, eggs, butter and to sell these things at a profit to guests and spectators."

Adams' Account.—The best and, in fact, the only late account previous to his

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own first article[47] the writer has seen of the Annual Ceremony among the Lenape in Oklahoma, is that written by Adams,[48] which reads as follows:

"The peculiar steps which they use in this dance have caused the name 'stomp' or 'stamp' to be applied to it.

"In regard to the stomp dances of our people, we have several kinds of dances; the most important one is the 'worship dance' which is carried on in a large building called a temple, which is rectangular and ranges from 60 to 80 feet long, from 30 to 40 feet wide, and is about 10 feet high. It is built of wood with 2 doors. The main entrance is at the eastern door, and it has only a dirt floor.

"On each post is carved a human face. On the center post or one in the center of the building four faces are carved; each face is painted one-half red and one-half black. All the people enter at the east and go out the same way. When they come in they pass to the right of the fire, and each of the three clans of the Delawares take seats next to the wall, the Turtle clan on the south, the Turkey on the west, and the Wolf on the north. In no case can any one pass between the center post and east door, but must go around the center post, even to go to the north side of the temple.

"This dance is held once each year, in the fall,

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535 796^ and generally in October, in the full moon, and lasts not less than 12 days for each part. The tribe is divided into three clans, and each clan has to go through the same part, so the dance is sometimes 36 days long, but sometimes the second and third clans do not dance more than 6 days each.

[534] "The Turtle clan usually lead or begin the dance. A tortoise shell, dried and beautifully polished and containing several small pebbles, is placed in the southeast corner near the door in front of the first person. If he has anything to say he takes the shell and rattles it, and an answer comes from the south side of the temple from the singers, who strike on a dried deer's hide: then the party who has the tortoise shell makes an address or talk to the people, and thanks the Great Spirit for blessings, and then proceeds to dance, going to the right and around the fire, followed by all who wish to take part, and finally coming to the center post he stops there; then all the dancers shake hands and return to their seats. Then the shell is passed to the next person, who dances or passes it on, as he chooses.

796^x [834] "On the third day of the dance all men, both married and single, are required to keep out of the company of women for 3 days at least. They have a doorkeeper, a leader, and 2 or 3 parties who sweep the ground floor with turkey wings, and who also serve as deacons. The

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RECITAL OF VISIONS

The first man to relate his vision (my informant did not remember whether he was the one who "brought in" the meeting or not) took up the turtle rattle from its place at the foot of the post and began to shake it rapidly, while the singers struck the drum of dry hide. He then recited the story of his vision of power, still keeping the rattle shaking, following this with his dance song, at the same time dancing and rattling the turtle-shell.

Any one who wished to dance was supposed to give wampum to the vision-teller for the privilege. Some who were well off would give him an entire string, others merely a few beads. These the vision-teller would take, when he had quite a handful, to two officers who sat in a corner of the building, whose duty it was to count the wampum, after which it was kept by the chief or leader. Sometimes if a poor person who had no wampum wished to dance, they would give him some to pay the vision-teller.

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A translated example of a Minsi vision chant and dance song has already been given. When the dream-teller finished the first verse of his dance song, he exclaimed, "*E-ye-he-ye-ĕ!*" whereupon the singers took up the strain and sang the verse several times, for the benefit of those who wished to dance, omitting, however, the final exclamation, but those who had bought the privilege rose and danced where they stood, instead of circling around, as among the Unami. Each "set" ended with a whoop, "*kwi!*".

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When the vision-teller finished dancing, he went around the house and shook hands with everyone; then the turtle rattle was passed to another man who had been blessed with a vision, and so on, until all those qualified, who wished to recite their visions, had done so.

OTHER FEATURES

The Prayer Cry.—From time to time during the night the prayer cry "*Ho-o-o!*" was repeated twelve times, and the

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hearsay testimony) a man stood up and recited, in a rythmical sing-song tone, his dream—the vision of power seen by him in his youth. Na'nkŭma'oxa remembered how one old man was accustomed to tell about a duck, half black and half white, which had appeared to him. Between the verses of the dream

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four musicians kneeling at the drum (*pa'awahe'gănŭ*) began a plaintive song, beating time with the carved sticks (*pa'awahe'gănŭk*). As they sang, the

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reciter swayed his body to and fro, while a group of dancers gathered on the floor behind him danced with a sidewise step. Before the ceremony, poles were laid lengthwise along both sides of the council house, and against these, at intervals, three on a side, the painted sticks, called *mkăăhi'gŭn*, were laid. If anyone in the crowd felt 'especially happy' he was privileged to strike with one of these sticks upon one of the poles in time to the music. The carved heads on the drumsticks meant that human beings were giving thanks; the lengthwise

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those known to be 'sober and honest' among the crowd in the long-house. If any person wishing to dance failed to get invitation wampum, it was his privilege to ask for one of the bunches, which was given him if he was considered qualified. The first man receiving wampum arose first; then the others, until the dancers were all on the floor. It is said that this dance, which sometimes lasted all night, did not circle around like most of the Iroquois dances, but each performer remained in about the same spot.

"I was told that in this dance a small rattle without a handle and made of turtleshell was used, probably like the box-turtle rattle still used in the annual Planting Dance by the Seneca and Cayuga."

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WAUBUNO'S VERSION

The only extended account in print, known to the writer, of the great ceremonies of the Minsi, beside his own, quoted above, is that furnished by John Wampum, known as Chief Waubuno,[61] which reads as follows:

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gather firewood and to clean up the dance-ground used every year, and to engage a speaker and two singers, paying each of them with a yard of wampum. The dance-ground is square, similar to that used for the MIsi'ng$^{w^t}$ dance, with logs ranged about for seats, in some pleasant place out in the woods. A hunter is then selected, who calls on several to help him get a deer, which, when brought in, is hung on poles prepared for it at the dance-ground, where it remains over night. The next morning they cook the deer and a kettle of hominy, and are then ready for the ceremony.

THE DOLL DANCE

About the middle of the afternoon the speaker rises and addresses the people, telling them the story of the doll's origin and explaining its function; then he addresses the doll, which has now been fastened on a pole, calling it "grandmother" and notifying it that they are about to hold a dance in its honor, at the same time asking it to insure good health

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to the family of its owner. When he finishes, the dance leader, who should be a relative of the family owning it, takes the doll on its pole, and then, as the drummers sitting in the center of the dance-ground begin to strike the dry hide stuffed with grass that serves as a drum, and to sing the song of the Doll dance, he commences to dance, circling round the drummers, still carrying the doll, the people falling in behind him, forming two circles, the men inside, next to the drummers, and the women outside. When the leader finishes his "set," he passes the doll pole to the man behind him, who repeats the process, and so on until the men dancers have carried it six times, when it is transferred to the women, who, in their turn, dance six sets, making twelve in all, the Lenape sacred number.

The twelve sets, or "changes," lengthen the ceremony far into the night, and this necessitates a large fire to give light. This is built near the center of the dance-ground. Sometimes, if the crowd in

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attendance is large, two such fires are built. Between the changes the doll pole is stuck into the ground near the fire. When the twelfth set is finished, the speaker announces, "The Doll Dance is over," and the feast of hominy and venison is served to everyone. Then the speaker says: "If you want to dance the rest of the night, you may do so, for many of you have come a long way from home and should have a chance for more enjoyment. We will hold another Doll Dance next year." Then they put the doll away and amuse themselves with various social dances until morning.

Minsi Doll Ceremony

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Among the Minsi the beliefs concerning the Doll Being were similar, but differed in detail. As to origin, Wolf told the writer that one time a man lay ill, likely to die, and his family called in a medicine-man, or "witch-doctor." The shaman finally announced that the family must make one of these dolls and care for it, and that the sick man would then get

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Ceremony	Function	Spirit Force Addressed
1. Grease Drinking Ceremony; Bear Rite	To immunize against sickness caused by Bear	Bear
2. Grease Drinking Ceremony; Otter Rite	To immunize against sickness caused by Otter	Otter
3. Mask Dance Ceremony	To avert sickness caused by Face-Image spirit and to aid deer hunting and agriculture	Mask Spirit, Corn (mother or grandmother)
4. Opossum Dance	To satisfy the guardian spirit of opossums	Opossum
5. Doll Dance	To appease ill-will of spirit of corn and avert sickness	Human Images (dolls)
6. Buffalo Dance	To overcome buffalo	Buffalo
7. Spring Football Ceremony	To promote and protect growth of crops	Creator (father), Sun (elder brother) and Thunders (grandfathers)
8. Corn Harvest Ceremony	Thanksgiving, appeal for health and abundance	Creator (Father), Corn (mother or grandmother)
9. Social, or "Stomp" Dances	Amusement, social assembly	None specified
10. Big House Ceremony (Ga'mwin)	To avert, (a) destruction of world; (b) national catastrophe and sickness; (c) to unify the people	Creator and entire pantheon

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ORCE ADDRESSED	ORIGIN	PROCEDURE
	From release of captive Bear (myth)	Recitation of visions, drinking grease and fea meat
	From release of captive Otter (myth)	Recitation of visions, drinking of grease and hog meat
it, Corn (mother or ther)	Obligation imposed by Spirit (myth)	Solo mask dance, eating corn foods
	Dream injunction (myth)	Imitative of opossum, and recitation of d hostess
nages (dolls)	Children's familiarity with corn mask dolls causing illness (myth)	Six men's, six women's dance songs, feast and corn foods, prayer-call facing east, t corn-bread images of human being and bear, offering
	None specified	Imitative of buffalo, circling, shoving
(father), Sun (elder and Thunders thers)	Mandatory by custom	Prayer, thanksgiving followed by dance, fol football game between men and women
(Father), Corn or grandmother)	Mythical corn famine, rite mandatory by custom	Day: Thanksgiving address by leader, d masked men, alternating with women's dan Night: Social dances, feast of corn foods, fi around drummers and singers
ified	None specified	Circling column in trot, contraclockwis motions, varied mimicry
nd entire pantheon	Ceremony revealed to tribe after mythical earthquake, tornado and volcano,—destruction of world	Recitation of visions with dancing aroun and praying, discourses and feasting fo nights; ceremonial hunt and mask dance morning; ninth night, new fire made, an call to creator, incense burned, wampum con and sacrifice, repainting images, corn-f meat feast; twelfth night "beginners" and rehearsal of vision recitation, fire allowed t ninth morning, dance around center-post prayer-call with prayer-sticks; wampum sa

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SUMMARY OF DELAW

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CEDURE	CEREMONIAL HOST	PARTICIPANTS	
aking grease and feast of bear	Wolf division, head of family, self-appointed	Family of legendary hero and guests, no women	Bi
nking of grease and feast of	Oldest survivor of family concerned with legend	Family of legendary originator and guests, men and women	Sp
corn foods	Owner of maak, or person calling for rite as cure for sickness or scared after dreaming of maak	No restrictions	Ar n
and recitation of dream by	Female who inherits obligation	Female dance volunteers, singers, members of hostess's father's group	W.
dance songs, feast of meat -call facing east, tossing up nan being and bear, wampum	Families owning dolls descended from original children doll-makers; leader an invited chief with male and female assistants	Families owning dolls; unrestricted guests	Ar
ing, shoving	Not specified	Volunteers, no limitations	Wl
owed by dance, followed by nen and women	Chief of ceremonial group, Wolf, Tortoise, Turkey	No restrictions	An s
tress by leader, dance by g with women's dance st of corn foods, final dance ingers	Chosen (hereditary?)	No restrictions	An
ot, contraclockwise; hand	Appointed leaders	No limitations; free attendance	Co in
ith dancing around images s and feasting for twelve t and mask dance, fourth new fire made, and prayer-urned, wampum consecration ng images, corn-food and it "beginners" and women's ation, fire allowed to go out; around center-post images, sticks; wampum sacrifice	Individual of Wolf, Turkey or Tortoise group who assumes sponsorship, supported by his group and twelve "attendants"	Sponsor's group, and other two groups as collaborators	An n n

[facing p. 26(C)]

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ARY OF DELAWARE RITES AND FEASTS

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IPANTS	TIME HELD	DURATION	LOCA
dary hero and nen	Biennial	One night	Rectangular bri
dary originator en and women	Spring, biennial	One or more days	Outdoors on pre
	Annually in autumn at beginning of hunting season	One night	Not specified
olunteers, sing- of hostess's	When called annually (?)	One night	Outdoor (?) dan
g dolls; unre-	Annually in fall	One night until sunrise	Outdoors on pre
imitations	When decided and called	All day	Outdoor dance c
	Annually in spring until midsummer end of June	Dancing several nights at end of each week, football game day following	Outdoors on pre
	Annually at corn harvest time	Day and night	Outdoors on pre
ree attendance	Conclusion of formal rites, or informally when called	All or part of night	Indoor or outdoo
and other two borators	Annually in fall (Oct.) (formerly by tradition every month)	Twelve nights, with rites on fourth and thirteenth days	In permanent cen ture (the Big E images of Creat lesser deities, an adjacent

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Location	Musical Accompaniment	Supplies and Para
Rectangular brush house	Turtle hand-rattle	Wampum string for bear's ment, and bear's head (now
Outdoors on prepared ground	Turtle hand-rattle	Otter skin pendant on back o and steel fire tools
Not specified	Deer-hide drum, snapping turtle rattle by mask dancer	Red and black wooden mas leggings, bag, staff, corn payment
Outdoor (?) dance oval	Water-drum and rattle	Wampum paid to singer
Outdoors on prepared ground	Deer-hide drum with turtle-rattles	Dressed male and female de red, wampum to pay leade beef and hog meat, hominy,
Outdoor dance circle	Deer-hide drum	Buffalo horn head band, hom
Outdoors on prepared ground	(?)	Football of deer-hair and goal
Outdoors on prepared ground	Drums and rattles	Masks, corn husk covering, e
Indoor or outdoor circle	None required	Native costume urged
In permanent ceremonial structure (the Big House), before images of Creator and twelve lesser deities, and on grounds adjacent	Hide-drum, turtle hand-rattles	Wooden mask, corn-mortar mussel-shell spoons, red strings and beads, prayer-sti sticks, turkey-wing fans, fire corn foods, cedar incense

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Supplies and Paraphernalia	Ceremonial Units
m string for bear's head, baskets of and bear's head (now hog's head)	Eat-all feast of bear's meat, vision recitation
in pendant on back of song leader, flint el fire tools	Dream recitation, kindling new fire, feasting on hog flesh and grease
l black wooden mask, bear-skin coat, s, bag, staff, corn foods, wampum nt	Mask-clown dance, sermon, supplication, feast, social dances (mask-dancer also admitted to Big House Ceremony)
m paid to singer	Dream recitation, feast, sermon, social dances
male and female dolls, faces painted ampum to pay leader and assistants, d hog meat, hominy, cornbread	Song-dance, feast, sermon, social dances, extinguishing fire, cornbread image sacrifices
horn head band, hominy pot for feast	Imitative dancing
of deer-hair and goals	Round dances, prayer, thanksgiving; football game between sexes with wagering
orn husk covering, corn foods	Prayer, thanksgiving, masked dance, corn-food feast, social dances, Drunken dances
ostume urged	No ritual
mask, corn-mortar, bark dishes, shell spoons, red paint, wampum and beads, prayer-sticks, carved drum turkey-wing fans, fire-drill, deer meat, ods, cedar incense	Capitulates events of annual ceremonial cycle; vision recitation, sermons and prayers; corn-food and meat feasting, sacred hunt, mask-clown dancing; new fire rite; formerly sweat-bath rite; wampum sacrifice; purification,—sweeping of white-path; painting rite; cedar incense rite; paint annointment rite; no social dances; informal games during day intervals

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×796 To prepare for a Mask Ceremony the owner of the mask must arrange for the same by setting a certain day and announcing the time when such a dance is to be held. He must have the maize (*xaskwi·'m*) and flour-corn (*pu'he·m*) [1] to make Indian bread and hominy for the feast after the dance.

A young active and experienced dancer is chosen to do the dancing with the *mɔɔ·i'ɣg* (mask) outfit. He performs his antics and dances alone. As to the wearer of the mask during the dance only those who have charge of the ceremony know [781] his identity. It is deliberately kept a secret from the younger people in order to impress them with awe for supernatural forces and to restrain them from unruliness or boisterousness.

Any clan chief or an old man accustomed to speaking may act, by invitation of the mask owner, as master of ceremony. He is generally a member of one of the two ceremonial groups other than that of the mask owner. He [765] receives one Indian "yard" of wampum beads for his services. The dance, which is usually held at night time, is begun about midnight, and as soon as the performances are over with they have the feast. First of all the master of ceremony announces the purpose of the gathering. The owner of the mask in the wind-up says, "We have now finished dancing with our grandfather, and shared with him in this hominy. So, should we have the good fortune to be living next year, we may have another dance. But now when we are through eating we may dance long as we please with all good intent and purpose providing we keep good order, which is very pleasing to the mask spirit as well as to the owner of the mask."

●[535] The mask performance is followed by a night of social dancing as is usual with the Delaware feasting ceremonies. The masking clownish pantomime is brought to a conclusion about midnight by a more or less set speech by the master of ceremony and the feast of hominy.

×796 The musical accompaniment consists in the singing of the
533 the large Snapping Turtle rattle, the rough staff, the whinnying utterances, the offering of tobacco, the association with illness and so on. For further particulars reference should be made to the Big House Ceremony study at the pages cited.

[1] A variety of white maize with a long slender cob.

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×796 by saying that it is a pleasure dance and is given before starting on the chase. The informant regards it as a special rite not falling into the series of devotional or medicine performances in which visions are recited. The dance is a dramatic pantomime of the buffalo in their wallow, intended to procure success in the hunt.

[534] The equipment for the dance is the pot drum or kettle drum. Adams refers to a drum consisting of a dried skin, stretched over poles, upon which to beat. The performers wear a special dress for the head, known as the horned fur-
[292] headband, a wide band of fur, otter or buffalo preferably, having short polished horns attached to each side over the ears of the wearer. The male performers smear the forelock and the parting of their hair with moistened clay. This is to symbolize the bulls disporting themselves in the mud wallow which I imagine needs no further description to readers. They also paint their faces yellow and smear clay
[302] on their bodies as far down as the belt. The informant also added that the men could wear the feather bonnet of the Plains type with buffalo horns attached to the sides. Both informants, Wi·tapano'xwe and Adams, mention the cleared and hard beaten dance-space, the preparing of a fire in the center, the erection of a cross-pole upon two forked posts driven into the earth at each side of the fire, from which are suspended two large kettles full of boiled hominy. The drummers and singers are seated on a log bench on the north side of the dancing space.

The personnel of the dance consists first of all in having a sponsor for the occasion in the form of some man who assumes responsibility for its proper conduct. He then selects his assistants, male and female, from members of his own ceremonial group (Turkey, Wolf or Tortoise). One of the men selected is to be the singer and he may have a couple of helpers. We are told that other men also who know the songs or those who may wish to learn them would be permitted to sit with the musicians and rehearse with them.

×796 The procedure in the Buffalo Dance is to emulate the
535 behavior of the buffalo as the animals are conceived as con-

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

gregated around their wallow, shoving and pushing the weaker bulls and cows aside as they attempt to feed. The men dancers personify the bulls, the women performers the cows. The dance is begun by the men, who have gone off some distance from the dancing space to prepare themselves with headdress and clay coating. They come charging up to the dance-ring where they form in line on the south side, opposite the drummers and singers. Throughout the performance they grunt and snort like bulls. When the men are in the formation to begin, the women to take part form another line outside that of the men. There is a leader for the men, or bulls, and one for the women, or cows. When the accompaniment has begun, both lines commence to move contra-clockwise around the posts supporting the hominy pots. The men gallop and stamp like bulls. Suddenly, while circling the enclosure as they come near the hominy pots, one of the men will attempt to help himself to a portion of the hominy, using either his hands or a mussel-shell spoon. This is the moment for one of his neighboring dancers to charge to his side and using the horns of his headgear as the buffalo does his horns to thrust and try to push the feeder away from the food, as the jealous bulls are described as doing when crowding around the feeding place. All the time they are grunting hu" hu" hu"! This act typifies the attempt of the strongest bull to ward off the herd while he gets his fill. This action is repeated each time that one of the bulls attempts to feed. The women, or cows, also try to get a taste of the hominy. At this moment one of the bulls comes charging up to drive her away from the pot, thrusting at her with his horns, whereupon another bull to protect her will attack the first and attempt to horn him to one side that the cow may feed. Thus the Buffalo Dance progresses amid great excitement and confusion among the dancers, though all the time some semblance of order of dance is maintained while the assigned songs are being rendered.

7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
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The Spring Dance may be called to performance by a chief of any one of the three ceremonial social groups, Wolf, Turkey or Tortoise. It is he who is responsible for the prayer which opens the event. Besides the prayer or invocation, he is expected to deliver a sermon before the dancing begins, the text of which follows the general pattern of such declamations among the more devout Indians over the whole Algonkian-speaking area, as I have had occasion to observe it. In this talk he tells the people that they must conduct themselves as is proper in a ceremonial dance, to show respect to the aged, to reverence the purpose of the dance and game and at the same time to extract as much good and enjoyment out of it as possible because the Creator intends for them to have it as a period of enjoyment. He sagely observes in closing that the Creator looks upon his people as his children and wishes for them to enjoy themselves as such without causing trouble.

In recent times the reduction of the rite to a mere football game seems to have been the tendency among the Oklahoma Delawares. The main officer is the fire guardian and dance promoter known by his office as *pu'tcəl*, who lectures the participants cautioning them against drinking, violence, scuffling or the leveling off of grudges during the game and dance. The dance song is accompanied by the water-drum. There are both women's dances and the ordinary "Stomp" or leading dances, and then mixed dances continuing through the night. The concluding dance is the parting dance, the so-called Drunken Dance, which terminates all Delaware social dance gatherings and takes place just before the break of dawn (see p. 98).

After the first night of the dance it is held over again for several nights, usually taking place the last of each week, the dance lasting over Saturday night.

The general details of the football game are as follows. The opposite sides are composed of an equal number of men and women. There are two goals, one at each end of the smooth area known as the football ground. The goal poles are two uprights eight or nine feet in height set about four

7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
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SOCIAL OR "STOMP" DANCES

No treatment of Delaware ceremonies and dances could 535 ●
be considered complete without mention of the Social or 174
Round Dances, even allowing for the inevitable ignorance which will always exist in matters so intimate in the life of preliterate peoples. The performances are inseparable from many of the more serious rites as an aftermath to the devotional period for which the assemblies are specifically called. The Round Dances seem to be general properties of the eastern and southeastern tribes. One gets the impression from observing their performance that there has been extensive informal diffusion of this type of dance from some older center of ceremonial development in which they were once symbol rites of a more serious nature. I would hazard a guess that they may have arisen from the ceremonial institutions of some groups in the southeastern culture area and been carried far and wide to those sections of the country where we now find them. In recent times the Delawares indulged extensively in these dances, and when questioned as to their possible earlier history, they profess to know no more than that they are early acquired property of the Nation supposedly from the Creeks and Shawnee. Analysis of the song types by Dr. Herzog may afford a clue. My 535
study has not included more detailed treatment of social dances than plain description. At present they cannot be considered as possessing ulterior religious motives. Whatever they are, more specific attention as a group is called for. They are circular in movement, contra-clockwise, in single and double lines conducted by a leader. The particulars are given under the title headings. The names that the separate dances of this category possess are possibly indicative of southeastern sources, for instance there is the Stirrup Dance in which at a given period the woman side-partner of the man places one foot upon his instep as he dances next to her, both hopping along for an interval on one foot. Another is

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

535 the Cherokee Dance, others the Shawnee Dance, the Woman's Dance and so on, differentiated chiefly through their songs, all falling under the classification of Stomp, Social, or Round Dances, the favorites of the various tribes now domiciled in Oklahoma.

STOMP DANCE, *Ni·ka^{a}'n'ka^{a}n*, "LEADING DANCE"

534 The procedure normally among the Delawares in carrying
535 out the features of the widespread Lead, or Stomp Dance, seems to be for the leader to head the column of dancers without shaking time with the hand rattle. The drum is not called for. Despite the supposition that these dances emanated from the cultural influence of the Creeks, it appears that, unlike the latter, the Delawares did not show the feature of having the women, who dance immediately behind the leader, wear the cluster of tortoise shell leg-rattles. Nevertheless a specimen of Box Tortoise shell (Plate 4), arranged to be tied to the leg of a dancer was obtained in Oklahoma from Tom Long Bone who indicated that it had been worn attached to the leg of a dance-leader in social dances.

The garter rattle of deer hoofs attached to a leather strip tied below each knee around the leg is shown in Fig. 3. The hoofs are strung around the leather on thongs, two or three in each cluster. This jingler is asserted to have been worn only in Social dances by Joe Washington who owned it. Another specimen, from Wi·tapano'xwe, has a cluster of thirty pendant deer hoofs strung in the center half of the leather leg band eight inches long and three wide with double tie strings (Pl. 4).

535 The major personage of these dances is the *ne'ni·ka^{a}'nka^{a}s*, "dance leader," whose function is to head the line of dancers of both sexes and all ages who follow him in single file as he leads in a circle turning from right to left. The Delaware
293 dance leader may also employ a short decorated stick or wand
535 held upward in the hand to accent his movements. Some
532 six or seven specimens of the leaders' wands, obtained from the Washington family, are interesting and beautiful. They range between two and two and a half feet in length, decorated

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
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with carving, paint, tightly woven diagonal-technique beadwork, and feather pendants, single or in small clusters, as the illustrations show (Fig. 2). The carving is usually in block form, the exposed wood painted blue, yellow, or red, and the beadwork designed as it is on staffs used in the Peyote rites, all showing the influence of Peyote symbolism in their decoration. The feathers attached are usually those of the flicker (yellow shafted woodpecker) to denote the sacred power invested in this bird which has a black moon-marked breast, and sometimes parrot feathers obtained from the traders. On one specimen a strip of soft muskrat fur around the staff represented an admonition to "be polite," at the dance, avoiding loudness and vulgarity which might cause trouble.

According to the occasion, his musical equipment may be a hand-rattle. His lead songs are of the type in which a measure is sung by him alone when the dancers respond with a corresponding shorter measure in which the syllables vary only somewhat. These dances are most popular and seem to be growing in favor among the Indians of Oklahoma. In fact, within the last four or five years Delaware dance leaders have introduced them among the Osage, as is the case of Tom Half Moon himself.

While we have as yet no detailed accounts of such social-ceremonial pastimes among the still practicing groups to serve as a basis for comparative treatment, I can testify to having observed them over a wide area in the east, indeed from the Penobscot, and other Wabanaki of the northeast, and the Iroquois and Shawnee to the Cherokee, Creek and Yuchi of the Gulf area. The purpose, however, is not to discuss them here. The known history of many of these dances throughout the area proves a case of diffusion from tribe to tribe as they are deliberately carried by visiting dance leaders. We have knowledge of a number of introductions among the Iroquois from colonial times to the present.

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

TURKEY DANCE

535 One of the performances of the Stomp Dance complex is remembered as bearing the name *Tci·kənə'm'ka^{a}n*, "Turkey Dance." In this the leader, while going around, waves his hands as a sign that it is time for the women desiring to enter to join in with the men whom they have selected as partners. There seem to be no other particulars worthy of mention in connection with this as a special feature of a social dance as described by Joe Washington.

BEAN DANCE

Another specific performance in the Stomp Dance series was described as *Ma^{a}lax^{w}si·'lka^{a}n*, "Bean Dance," in which the leader carried a gourd rattle, while those who formed the dance line linked themselves by holding hands from the beginning throughout the dance.

DRUNKEN DANCE

The last dance of a night series is one in which the assembly, after circling around the fire as in the usual manner of the lead-dances, follows the leader (outdoors) to disband in view of the first streaks of light as the dawn approaches. Its movement is to bunch up in a cluster. The action is for two leaders to carry water-drums followed by two singers with gourd rattles circling the fire. As the song proceeds the men close in around the drummers forming in a bunch. The women dancers form a circle outside the men and join in the song. The movement of the dance and the song slows down. It is to be noted that some of the song stanzas are "rather sarcastic or saucy, sort of scornful between the sexes in a playful way" in the quaint phraseology of the informant.

This dance is the formal termination of a succession of social dances. The drums are thus formally "carried out," their service concluded for the night. I am not able to explain why it is called by the specific name that it bears.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

535 Social dances not restricted to Delaware are held whenever a person who can afford to play host feels the urge to do so.
796 Gatherings with a religious motive may be said to have practically ceased. The Doll Dance which was a family responsibility has not been held since 1929. The Big House Ceremony has not been held since 1924, and since the ceremonial structure has been demolished, there is dim possibility that it will be revived. There are still a score or so who have participated in the Big House, but some of them will make no move toward revival. The hereditary leader of the Wolf clan in the Big House, who is probably the staunchest adherent of the ceremony, is now a leader
[795] of a peyote group in which several tribes are represented. The most tangible evidence of a community spirit still extant among
[764] the Delaware is the use of a Delaware cemetery.

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9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

728 by one party (421). On the other hand, there was no agreement as to how the desire for peace was broached or who the negotiators or ambassadors were (419, 422-24). No changes are indicated in these elements; rather, it seems that a variety of customs were permissible at any period.

The ambassadors were probably appointed by the civil chiefs, by the council of wisemen, or both. Their mission many times was preceded by the showing of a desire for peace by a war chief while in enemy territory. Heckewelder was the only one to throw any doubt on the sanctity with which the person of the ambassador was held, and he blamed all violations on the whites.

[535] Dancing at the conclusion of a peace was affirmed and denied in both the third and fourth period, with the majority reporting its practice (425). On the basis of the first copy of Pipe's account, the third-period sources denied the connection of feasts with peace ceremonies, whereas the fourth-period informants all maintained that feasts were given (426). However, Pipe's account was changed in the second and third copies to vouch for the feasts that had been definitely denied in the first copy, and thus this clear cut division between the information of the two periods does not exist. I suspect that the data of the fourth period reflect precontact and early contact customs that had been dropped as a general practice by the third period when most of the treaty negotiations were between whites and Indians rather than between different tribes of Indians. Pipe's reversal may be explained and correlated with this hypothesis by assuming that his first account related the contemporaneous practice and his revised accounts the custom in the past. The exchange of belts was unquestioned and the smoking of a pipe almost so (427-28). Pipe's statement that the Delaware "never used the pipe as the northern nations do" contradicts both previous and subsequent accounts and is most incomprehensible.

Games

526 The ball play, sometimes known as la crosse, usually indulged in by the tribes of the eastern United States was common among the Delaware according to the second- and third-period sources

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

526 177 Games show no change of any significance aside from denial of ball play. Every game reported in earlier periods was remembered in the fourth period. Moccasin game undoubtedly was restricted to play in connection with funeral ceremonies in the fourth but not in earlier periods.

Dances

●535 Dances, like games, show remarkably little change. The begging dance, reported in the third period, drew two definite denials in the fourth, while two informants did not even recognize the [721] dance (451). As this dance was usually held in connection with the outfitting of a war party, a fact of which none of the informants were aware (459), the two denials should more properly be classed as lack of information.

The two most important dances from the point of view of the Delaware were the *engomxeen* and the *linkaokon* (448-49). [796] These were their only dances with a religious significance (456-57). The *engomxeen* or worshiping dance was a part of the Big House Ceremony. The *linkaokon* was recognized by most of the informants by that name but is better known as the doll dance. The first has not been held since 1924 and the other since 1929. The only dances that have been held in recent years have been social dances which are not represented in the element list.

Music

533 [796] The elements listed under music are, of course, closely related to dances. The statement of Johnston that there was no ceremonial music except solo singing was refuted by all the informants who felt qualified to answer (475). Johnston's further statement that only nonsense or insignificant words were used in songs, even though corroborated by Chipps, is likewise denied by the same three informants and also by Heckewelder (476). In both these cases the informants are undoubtedly right. The error of Johnston is an understandable one when it is realized that songs were mostly of words carrying allusions, that many of them were archaic forms used only in songs, and that meaningless syllables were added to complete the rhythm, with the results that only an instructed person could understand them.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

CAPTAIN CHIPPS—They believe there are no greater wizards 764
or witches than knaves or drunkards.

All the modern informants confirmed the belief in witches and wizards, but J. W., his wife and son were especially vehement in their current existence.

41. National Worshiping Society (Big House)

JOHN JOHNSTON—They have a national worship which they 794
think keeps the world from coming to an end. It is attended with very great expense in procuring wampum and provisions, etc. This meeting is continued for 12 days and twelve nights successively. They have a large building prepared for that pur- [346]
pose about 25 feet in width and 50 or 60 feet in length according to the number that is expected will attend, with a door in each end, notice is given at what time their worship will commence. When they are collected and seated in a row round the outside 796
of the building the men by themselves and the women by themselves a man and woman at each door the man for a doorkeeper and the women to sweep between every exercise, the fires are made in the middle of the building which they make by rubbing two dry sticks together that it may be pure, the fire they put out every day and make new lest it should become adulterated, they make it by rubbing two dry sticks together as at the first. Thus prepared the one that made preparation for the meeting gets up with a turtle shell in his hand (containing pebbles) and he gives it a shake and the whole assembly arise with him he then begins telling a dream which he says he dreamt in his childhood [787]
and the whole congregation repeats it after him in one voice word by word till he says he heard a voice singing to him and begins to sing immediately upon which two men commence beat- [533
ing with flat sticks upon skins folded together then he stops sing- 535]
ing and he with the whole assembly jump ten or twelve jumps in the form of a dance then he makes a sudden halt and goes on with his dream as before repeated by the whole in one voice until he commences singing again as before and the players commence beating and the whole jump or dance in the form above mentioned thus they continue for the space of half an hour or more

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

781 in those days some through their power were able to lift stones
526 weighing over a thousand pounds with one hand.

447. Moccasin game

524 John Johnston described the moccasin game as follows with-
525 out any mention of its connection with the wake of a deceased person:

Moccasin is commenced by placing a blanket or two upon the ground, placing four moccasins upon the blankets. A small ball is made use of. They draw cuts to know which party has the ball first. One of the party that it falls to hides it under one of those moccasins and one of the other party looks for it, if the ball is under the moccasin he first draws, he had found it, if not one of the same party hides it again and it counts one in their tally, or if he turns over last he has found it and one of his party hides it, but if it is not under the one he first draws or if he turns them up and it is not under the one that he turns up last, it is considered not found and the same party hides it. The party that has the ball to hide sings and the other party is silent. For their tally they use three balls or sticks and every time the ball is hid and not found by the other party, one of those balls or sticks is given to the party that hid it until the three come together which is game and the party that has the balls has beat. They agree how many games they will play for the property that is at stake. They frequently make large bets upon this kind of game especially when one tribe plays against another.

All the modern informants reported this game being played only the night before a funeral.

Dances

448 and 449. Worshiping and common or corn dance

● 535 John Johnston—They had originally but two and one of them has been described in their mode of worship the other is conducted in similar manner, but they think of less consequence. At this dance the men all dance in front, the women in the rear in a single file at this dance. They have two that sing and beat

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

upon their folded skins. They are very exact and expert in these dances. The first dance they call *En, gom, ween* and the other *Lin, ka, o, kon* all other dances which they have they say are borrowed from other nations and they will not own them to be theirs. 535

Captain Pipe—In the Engomween, or worshiping assembly, where ancient customs are said to prevail altogether, they always use the left hand. This dance, (for it may be so called,) and the Lēñkaun, or common dance, are the only dances which they claim as original among them. All others are said to be borrowed. [796]

In the first copy of Pipe's relation, "common dance" might be read "corn dance." This latter interpretation is entirely plausible in view of the fact that all the modern informants immediately recognized the name and the dance as the Doll Dance which involves corn.

450. Buffalo dance

J. W. stated that he had never seen the Buffalo dance but had heard his uncle (probably great-grandfather) tell about it. He thought it probably the property of the Turtle clan.

453. War dance

J. W. said that the Peace dance was formerly the war dance and that the Delaware had not had a real War dance for some time. He had seen it performed however. It was usually given along in August. J. W.'s wife's uncle had a vision that he must take part in a War dance and went among the Shawnee and danced. Took tobacco and made talk; told what happened on warpath, what he had to do even if he did not want to. Showed scalp. Danced in daytime from three o'clock to pretty near sundown. Bad dance. Real ones (warriors or brave men) painted themselves and dressed only in breechclouts and moccasins. 721 535

W. T. said the Delaware had formerly had a war dance but that he had never seen it.

E. R. said that War dance was also known as Man dance.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

454. Co-coze-kon dance

535 CAPTAIN CHIPPS described this dance as different from the others. In it they all joined hands and stood in a ring, performing the usual motion of leaping up. He also said that when both sexes united in this amusement, they danced promiscuously.

None of the modern Delaware recognized this dance although W. L. thought that he had heard the name.

It is possible that this is the same dance that Zeisberger described as follows: On the occasion of making or renewing a treaty [648] with another nation a dance very different from the ordinary dance is engaged in. The dancers join hands and leap in a circle for some time. Suddenly the leader lets the hand of one of his partners go, springs forward and turns around several times, by which he draws the whole company round so as to be enclosed by them, when they stand close together. They disengage themselves as suddenly, yet keeping hold of hands during all the different evolutions and changes in the dance; this, as they explain it, represents the chain of friendship; a song, used only at such a solemnity, is sung by all.

462. Women excluded from war dance

721 562 535 CAPTAIN CHIPPS in treating of war said that women were allowed to share in the great dance given just before setting out on an expedition. In speaking of dances, he said that the Delaware had many different ones, the most important of which was the War dance, which was celebrated immediately after the declaration of war and from which the women were excluded, although they joined all the other dances. This is a contradiction unless one assumes that "to share in the great dance" referred to singing but not dancing. Evidence that such was sometimes the case is found in the following account of HECKEWELDER: After [127] returning from a successful expedition, a dance of *thanksgiving* is always performed, which partakes of the character of a religious ceremony. It is accompanied with singing and choruses, in which the women join. But they take no part in the rest of the performance. At the end of every song, the *scalp-yell* is shouted as many times as there have been scalps taken from the enemy.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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W. L. said that somtimes women joined the war dance, but usually only if they had lost relatives. 721 562 535

463. Dance in circle

W. T. described all dances as being done in a circle with all motion counterclockwise.

E. R. said the dancers moved around the circle clockwise.

W. L. stated that some dances were in circles but there might be several concentric circles. The men always danced in front of the women but in the cases of more than two concentric circles, the innermost formed of men, the next of women, the next of men and the outermost of women. In some dances the women danced on one spot while the men danced all around in pairs or in small groups.

[p 51 (C)]

614 611 so now where the father and mother were of different tribes. This is a very interesting fact, as it is the first exception, if true, in the Algonquin race which I have found. Mr. Pratt informs me that he understands the children are of the tribe of the mother, [797] and he has been their missionary for twelve years and for 22 years an Indian missionary. I shall verify this perfectly before I leave. The young man also says that the 677 office of chief was hereditary in the tribe, as he thought, and that a brother or nephew succeeded as frequently as a son, but he was not quite sure on this subject. He gave me 535 the names of 16 of the dances, all he could remember, which will be given later.

602 He said the Delawares thought a good deal more of their relationships than we did, and if there was the least particle of relationship they were glad to find it. He says that in old times near relatives could [582] not marry, but now they married as near as our cousins.

Family Names

551 We took up this inquiry. He says one tribe has no right to use the names of another tribe, as he thinks, and he also says the names can be readily distinguished from one another, but I must inquire further about this. He seemed to think the same name might be used by another tribe, in which case it would be slightly varied. The real truth about the distinctness of the Indian names constantly eludes me.[57A] I shall soon think there is nothing in it.

57A [For footnote see category 116, p. 209 (A) - Analyst]

15:Morgan E-5 (1859)1959
NM7 Delaware NM7

[p 52(A)]

535 *Dances of the Delawares*

1. Old Religious Dance	10. Dog Dance
2. Wolf Dance	11. War Dance
3. Turtle Dance	12. Feasting Dance
4. Chicken Dance	13. Dance for the Dead
5. Buffalo Dance	14. Striking the Stick Dance
6. Bear Dance	15. Buzzard Dance
7. Doll Baby Dance	16. Turkey Dance
8. Horse Dance	17. Duck Dance
9. False Face Dance	18. [left blank]
	19. Shuffle Dance

773 829 *Origin of the Three Varieties of the Human Race*

Mr. Pratt mentioned to me a Delaware explanation of the creation of the Negro, Indian and White man, to the effect that the Negro was created first, and was, as we say, a mistake or failure; it was the first attempt at man's creation. The Great Spirit next created the Indian, who was admitted to be a great improvement upon the negro; and last of all he created the white man.

The Good Spirit and the Boil

776 753 Mr. Pratt had a boil come on his arm. A Delaware told him he had a good friend, and in explanation said to him that the Evil Spirit had intended to destroy him; that he was followed in his rounds to do mischief to men by a small but good spirit, who continued in various ways to defeat the evil spirit of his purpose, when it was a case in which he wished to save the person from harm. That as the evil spirit was about to put forth his power upon him, the little spirit stepped forward and said to the evil one, "you let me deal with this person," whereupon he took or drew on his invisible bow a small and invisible arrow, and shot

[757(A)]

796 Spirit. It lasts 6 days. It may be repeated by another person or family for a second 6 days, and so on until the feelings are satisfied. It has been known to last a month. The meeting is called by one of a certain class, who I presume correspond with the Keepers of the Faith of the Iroquois. They are called A-la-pa-cte, meaning *Dreamers*. The
[346] people meet in a large house erected on purpose for this worship and used for nothing else. They build two council fires in the
[614] house, and the people assemble by tribes, the Turtles by themselves, the Wolves by themselves and the Turks by themselves. They use belts of wampum and have many ceremonies. It would seem that this council or religious meeting was called by some one
[346] person. The door of the house of worship must open to the east.

796 When they are assembled two singers [?]
533 sit down to two dried and rolled up deer skins, with sticks in their hands to beat time. The leader, who is stationed on the right hand side of the door, gets up and
[534] shaking a turtle shell rattle, comes in extemporizing verses which are adapted to the set tune of his choosing, to relate his dream. As he relates his dream in music, he dances, they sing the same time and beat time, and all who enter the dance, dance
[535] the religious dance which altogether is called the Gum-mween. This is repeated day by day for six days. But the leaders change. When one has told his dream, he hands his rattle to the next one, who in like singing relates his dream in words of his own making, but sung in an old well known tune of his own choosing.

796 Before the festival 12 hunters are sent
[262] out for deer's meat, as no other meat is allowed. About 9 each morning this meat is served to all. At sundown each day they have an exhortation from the oldest wise

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

CHAPTER X.

SIGNS AND HIEROGLYPHICS.

IT has been asserted by many persons that the languages of the Indians are deficient in words, and that, in order to make themselves understood, they are obliged to resort to motions and signs with their hands. This is entirely a mistake. I do not know a nation of whom foreigners do not say the same thing. The fact is, that in every country, signs and motions with the hands more or less accompany discourse, particularly when delivered with a certain degree of earnestness and warmth. Foreigners, who are not very conversant with a language, pay in general as much and sometimes more attention to these motions than to the words of the speaker, in order the better to be able to understand what falls from him. Hence, almost every nation charges the others with too much gesticulation in speaking. For a similar reason, a foreign language is generally thought to be spoken quicker than our own, while the truth is, that it is our ear which is slow in distinguishing the words, not the voice which speaks that is too quick in uttering them.

The Indians do not gesticulate more when they speak than other nations do. In their public speeches they will, like our preachers and lawyers, enforce what they say by gestures and motions of the body and hands, in order to give greater weight to their observations, or to represent the subject they speak of in a more lively manner than can be done by words alone; but in common conversation they make few of those motions, and not more, I believe, than we do ourselves; even the wo-

1;Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

men, who every where speak more than the men, never want words to express themselves, but rather seem to have too many, and they do not oftener employ gestures in aid of their conversation than the vivacity of their sex induces them to do every where else.

It is true that the Indians have a language of signs, by which they communicate with each other on occasions when speaking is not prudent or proper, as, for instance, when they are about to meet an enemy, and by speaking they would run the risk of being discovered. By this means they also make themselves understood to those nations of Indians whose languages they are not acquainted with, for all the Indian nations understand each other in this way. It is also, in many cases, a saving of words which the Indians are much intent on, believing that too much talking disgraces a man. When, therefore, they will relate something extraordinary in a few words, they make use of corresponding signs, which is very entertaining to those who listen and attend to them, and who are acquainted both with the language and the signs, being very much as if somebody were to explain a picture set before them. But they never make use of signs to supply any deficiency of language, as they have words and phrases sufficient to express every thing.

I have frequently questioned Indians who had been educated at our schools, and could understand, read, write, and speak both English and German, whether they could express their ideas better in either of those languages than in their own, and they have always and uniformly answered that they could express themselves with far the greatest ease in their own Indian, and that they never were at a loss for words or phrases in which to clothe every idea that occurred to them, without being in any case obliged to gesticulate or make motions with their hands or otherwise. From the knowledge which I have acquired of their language, I have

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7
Shawnee NM17

Indian country, met a Shawanos riding a horse which he recognised for his own, and claimed it from him as his property. The Indian calmly answered "Friend! "after a little while, I will call on you at your house, "when we shall talk of this matter." A few days afterwards, the Indian came to the white man's house, who insisting on having his horse restored, the other then told him: "Friend! the horse which you claim belonged to "my uncle who lately died; according to the Indian cus- "tom, I have become heir to all his property." The white man not being satisfied, and renewing his demand, the Indian immediately took a coal from the fire-place, and made two striking figures on the door of the house, the one representing the white man taking the horse, and the other, himself, in the act of scalping him; then he coolly asked the trembling claimant "whether he could read this Indian writing?" The matter thus was settled at once, and the Indian rode off.

[Penata See cat. title, p. 378. Analyst]

CHAPTER XI.

ORATORY.

THE eloquence of the Indians is natural and simple; they speak what their feelings dictate without art and without rule; their speeches are forcible and impressive, their arguments few and pointed, and when they mean to persuade as well as convince, they take the shortest way to reach the heart. I know that their oratorical powers have been strongly controverted, and this is not astonishing, when we consider the prejudice that ex-

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

537 ists against their languages, which are in general believed to be poor, and inadequate to the expression of any but the most common ideas. Hence all the specimens that have been given to the world of their oratory have been viewed with a suspicious eye; the celebrated speech of Logan, authenticated as it is by the respectable authority of Col. John Gibson, has been denied to be genuine even in this country. For my part, I am convinced that it was delivered precisely as it is related to us, with this only difference, that it possessed a force and expression in the Indian language which it is impossible to transmit into our own.

I hope the exertions and researches of the Historical Committee will make the character and genius of the Indian languages better known than they have hitherto been. The world will then be better able to judge of their extent and powers, and to decide whether or not they are adequate to the purposes of oratory. In the mean time, I shall content myself with presenting another specimen of Indian eloquence; one which I did not receive at second hand, but at the delivery of which I was present in person. The translation which I offer will give but a faint idea of the strength and spirit of the original; I vouch, however, for its being as correct as it has been in my power to make it.

537 This speech was spoken at Detroit,* on the frontier of
648 Canada, on the 9th of December, 1801, by captain Pipe, a chief of the Delaware nation, and was addressed to the commanding officer of that post, then in possession of the British. The Delawares, it will be recollected, had been the stedfast friends of the French, in the war of 1756. The peace which was concluded in 1763, between the two great nations who then contended for the supremacy of this continent, was not for several years regarded by the Indians, and they continued their hostilities

a Errata. See cat. 116, p. 348. - Andy 47

* Loskiel, part III. ch 9.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

against the subjects and government of Great Britain. They were obliged, however, to submit to superior force; not without hopes that their father, the king of France, would soon send over a powerful army to retake Canada. They were in this situation when the war of the revolution broke out. It is well known that it was a part of the system of the British administration to employ the savages to subdue those whom they called their revolted subjects. The Delawares, in general, as I have before related, having in vain endeavoured to remain neutral, took part with the Americans. Captain Pipe, however, with a party of the Wolf tribe, joined the English in the beginning of the war, and soon after repented it. But it was too late. He was now reluctantly compelled to go out against the Americans with the men under his command. On his return from one of those expeditions, he went to make his report to the British commandant at Detroit,* by whom he was received in state at the council house, in the presence of a great number of Indians, British officers and others. There were several Missionaries present, among which I was. The chief was seated in front of his Indians, facing the commandant. He held in his left hand an human scalp tied to a short stick. After a pause of some minutes, he rose, and addressing the governor, delivered the following speech:

"FATHER!" (Here the orator stopped, and turning round to the audience, with a face full of meaning, and a sarcastic look, which I should in vain attempt to describe, he went on in a lower tone of voice, as addressing himself to them:)—"I have said *father*, although, indeed, I "do not know why I am to call *him* so, having never "known any other father than the French, and consi- "dering the English only as *brothers*. But as this "name is also *imposed* upon us, I shall make use of it

* See Loskiel, P. III. ch. 9. p. 704, German text, and p. 165, Eng. Trans.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

537 "and say: (Here he fixed his eyes on the command-
ant.)

"FATHER! Some time ago you put a war hatchet into "my hands, saying: Take this weapon and try it on the "heads of my enemies the *long knives*, and let me after- "wards know if it was sharp and good.

"FATHER! At the time when you gave me this wea- "pon, I had neither cause nor inclination to go to war "against a people who had done me no injury; yet in "obedience to you, who say you are my father and call "me your child, I received the hatchet; well knowing "that if I did not obey, you would withhold from me* "the necessaries of life, without which I could not sub- "sist, and which are not elsewhere to be procured but at "the house of my father.

"FATHER! You may, perhaps, think me a fool, for "risking my life at your bidding, in a cause too, by "which I have no prospect of gaining any thing; for it "is *your* cause and not mine. It is *your* concern to "fight the *long knives*; *you* have raised a quarrel amongst "yourselves, and *you* ought yourselves to fight it out. "You should not compel your children, the Indians, to "expose themselves to danger for *your sakes*.

"FATHER! Many lives have already been lost on *your* "account!—Nations have suffered and been weakened! "—Children have lost parents, brothers and relatives! "—Wives have lost husbands!—It is not known how "many more may perish before *your* war will be at an "end!

"FATHER! I have said that you may, perhaps, think "me a fool, for thus thoughtlessly rushing on *your* ene- "my!—Do not believe this, Father! Think not that I "want sense to convince me, that although you *now* pre-

[195] * It will be understood that he speaks here throughout for himself and his nation or tribe, though always in the first person of the singular, according to the Indian mode.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

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"tend to keep up a perpetual enmity to the long knives,
"you may, before long, conclude a peace with them.

"FATHER! You say you love your children, the In-
"dians.—This you have often told them; and indeed it
"is your interest to say so to them, that you may have
"them at your service.

"But, FATHER! who of us can believe that you can
"love a people of a different colour from your own,
"better than those who have a *white* skin, like your-
"selves?

"FATHER! Pay attention to what I am going to say.
"While you, Father, are setting me* on your enemy,
"much in the same manner as a hunter sets his dog on
"the game; while I am in the act of rushing on that
"enemy of yours, with the bloody destructive weapon
"you gave me, I may, perchance, happen to look back
"to the place from whence you started me, and what
"shall I see? Perhaps, I may see my father shaking
"hands with the *long knives*; yes, with those very peo-
"ple he now calls his enemies. I may, then, see him
"laugh at my folly for having obeyed his orders; and
"yet I am now risking my life at his command! Fa-
"ther! keep what I have said in remembrance.

"Now, FATHER! here is what has been done with
"the hatchet you gave me." (Handing the stick with the scalp on it.) "I have done with the hatchet what
"you ordered me to do, and found it sharp. Never-
"theless, I did not do *all* that I *might* have done. No,
"I did not. My heart failed within me. I felt compas-
"sion for your enemy. *Innocence*† had no part in your
"quarrels; therefore I distinguished—I spared. I took
"some *live flesh*,‡ which, while I was bringing to you,
"I spied one of your large canoes, on which I put it for

* Meaning his nation, and speaking, as usual, in the first person.
† Meaning women and children. ‡ Prisoners.

l:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

"you. In a few days you will receive this *flesh*, and "*find that the skin is of the same colour with your own.*

"FATHER! I hope you will not destroy *what** I have "saved. You, father! have the means of preserving "that which with me would perish for want. The war- "rior is poor and his cabin is always empty; but your "house, father! is always full."

Here we see boldness, frankness, dignity and humanity happily blended together and most eloquently displayed. I am much mistaken if the component parts of this discourse are not put together much according to the rules of oratory which are taught in the schools, and which were certainly unknown to this savage. The peroration at the end is short, but truly pathetic, and I would even say, sublime; and then the admirable way in which it is prepared! I wish I could convey to the reader's mind only a small part of the impression which this speech made on me and on all present when it was delivered.

It is but justice here to say, that Capt. Pipe was well acquainted with the noble and generous character of the British officer to whom this speech was addressed. He is still living in his own country, an honour to the British name. He obeyed the orders of his superiors in employing the Indians to fight against us, but he did it with reluctance and softened as much as was in his power the horrors of that abominable warfare. He esteemed Captain Pipe, and I have no doubt, was well pleased with the humane conduct of this Indian chief, whose sagacity in this instance is no less deserving of praise than his eloquence. It is thus that great minds understand each other, and even in the most difficult and trying situations, find the means of making the cause of humanity triumph.

* To make his language agree with the expression *live flesh*.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

197 and accent. The language of the Shawanose is also related to the Monsy and Delaware but, more particularly, to the Mahikander, only the former generally place the accent upon the last syllable of a word. The reason for this is that they originally lived in Florida and whether their language changed very much since they were driven out and lived first in the Forks of the Delaware, then along the Susquehannah, then along the Ohio and finally here among the Delawares, I am not able to determine, except it be, that in Florida the language of some other nations bore a resemblance to this. The language of the Twichtwees and Wawiachtanos resembles the Shawanose and consequently, also, the Delaware. The dialects of the Kikapus, Tuckachschas, Moshkos, Kaskaski the further away they lived resembles the Delawares less and less. Yet the Delawares have much intercourse with them, for many of them live along the Wabash where the Kikapus have given them hunting grounds. Every year Delaware hunters go thither for the chase and return. The language of the Ottawas is related somewhat to that of the Shawanose, Chipuways and the Delawares. The language of the Cherokees is a mixture of other languages. It has a little of the Shawanose, the Mingoes and a great deal of the Wiondats. The speech of the last named people and that of the Six Nations are again dialects of one and the same language, differing from one another yet easily understood by either of the nations named. It appears, therefore, safe to affirm that there are two principal languages spoken by the Indians of North America, namely the Mingoes and the Delaware.[208] Concerning the nations who live along the Mississippi I have no certain knowledge. They are not usually counted among the northern nations. Their language has an agreeable sound both in com-
●537 mon conversation and in public delivery. The Monsy is much rougher. In their public delivery they speak with a very pompous and boastful tone, in which the Iroquois excel all the other Indians. There are, indeed, no rules of oratory laid down in the Indian language, yet the speakers must be well versed in matters relating to their own nation as well as those of others, and they must know what title to apply to each of the other nations, whether brother or nephew or uncle. The same holds good of the

3: Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

various branches of their own nation. The Monsys and Unamis call one another Nitgochk, "my companion [feminine] in play," for the reason that the whole nation has become the women. The several tribes, also, have special names and titles, which the speaker must know. These titles are not generally used but only in their councils when something of importance is to be communicated, which is done with great solemnity. They are able to express themselves with great clearness and precision, and so concisely that much circumlocution is required to convey the full meaning of their expressions in an European language. In spiritual things, of which they are totally ignorant, there was utter lack of expressions. But since the gospel has been preached among them, their language has gained much in this respect. If they intend to speak in an obscure manner, they can speak so cleverly and with so much circumstance that even Indians must puzzle out the true sense of their allusions. They are able to convey an account of a bad action so skillfully that it appears not to be a bad but a virtuous deed. The chiefs are not particularly well versed in this art of dissembling, and, therefore, very strict attention must be paid to every word of their discourse, especially, if an answer is required, and great caution is necessary in order that one may not be caught.

A speaker in council must be able to deliver his speech without hesitation. Often he has no time to prepare his subject, the different heads are only briefly named or left for him to collect from the conversation of the chiefs. He must, then, be able to comprise the whole in a speech, well arranged and uninterrupted, which requires a clear and open understanding, a faithful memory and experience in matters of state. Young men are being constantly trained for such duty. They are admitted as hearers to the council, to familiar intercourse with the chiefs, who instruct them faithfully, and are employed as ambassadors to give them an opportunity to exercise themselves in public speaking.

The pronunciation of their language is easy, only the Ch is a very deep gutteral. The greatest difficulty is presented by the compounding of words with verbs, substantives and adjectives, which is very difficult for a European to learn. They have few

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

this only, may be used in the temple, and no one is permitted to take it outside for any purpose.

CEREMONY COMMENCED

Two of the attendants, a man and a woman, then build the two fires in the temple, so that there may be plenty of light, and sweep the floor with turkey-wings for brushes. The men attendants take turns so that one of them, at least, is always on guard outside the building. When the temple is clean, the fires are burning bright, and the *a'ckas* have called the people in and all are assembled, the chief arises and delivers a speech.

CHIEF'S SPEECH

First he states the rules of the meeting, then he speaks along some such line as the following, which was dictated by Chief Elkhair, who frequently made these speeches:

"We are thankful that so many of us are alive to meet together here once more, and that we are ready to hold our

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
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ceremonies in good faith. Now we shall meet here twelve nights in succession to pray to Gicelĕmû''kaong, who has directed us to worship in this way. And these twelve Mɪsi'ng^{w} faces [carved on the posts of the house] are here to watch and to carry our prayers to Gicelĕmû''-kaong in the highest heaven. The reason why we dance at this time is to raise our prayers to him. Our attendants here, three women and three men, have the task of keeping everything about our Temple in good order, and of trying to keep peace, if there is trouble. They must haul wood and build fires, cook and sweep out the Big House.

"When they sweep, they must sweep both sides of the fire twelve times, which sweeps a road to Heaven, just as they say that it takes twelve years to reach it. Women in their menses must not enter this house.

"When we come into this house of ours we are glad, and thankful that we are well, and for everything that makes us feel good which the Creator has placed

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

here for our use. We come here to pray Him to have mercy on us for the year to come and to give us everything to make us happy; may we have good crops, and no dangerous storms, floods nor earthquakes. We all realize what He has put before us all through life, and that He has given us a way to pray to Him and thank Him. We are thankful to the East because everyone feels good in the morning when they awake, and see the bright light coming from the East, and when the Sun goes down in the West we feel good and glad we are well; then we are thankful to the West. And we are thankful to the North, because when the cold winds come we are glad to have lived to see the leaves fall again; and to the South, for when the south wind blows and everything is coming up in the spring, we are glad we live to see the grass growing and everything green again. We thank the Thunders, for they are the *manĭtowŭk* that bring the rain, which the Creator has given them power to rule over. And we thank our mother, the

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Earth, whom we claim as mother because the Earth carries us and everything we need. When we eat and drink and look around, we know it is Gicelĕmû''kaong that makes us feel good that way. He gives us the purest thoughts that can be had. We should pray to Him every morning.

"Man has a spirit, and the body seems to be a coat for that spirit. That is why people should take care of their spirits, so as to reach Heaven and be admitted to the Creator's dwelling. We are given some length of time to live on earth, and then our spirits must go. When anyone's time comes to leave this earth, he should go to Gicelĕmû''kaong, feeling good on the way. We all ought to pray to Him, to prepare ourselves for days to come so that we can be with Him after leaving the earth.

"We must all put our thoughts to this meeting, so that Gicelĕmû''kaong will look upon us and grant what we ask. You all come here to pray; you have a way to reach Him all through life. Do

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
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not think of evil; strive always to think of the good which He has given us.

"When we reach that place, we shall not have to do anything or worry about anything, only live a happy life. We know there are many of our fathers who have left this earth and are now in this happy place in the Land of Spirits. When we arrive we shall see our fathers, mothers, children, and sisters there. And when we have prepared ourselves so that we can go to where our parents and children are, we feel happy.

"Everything looks more beautiful there than here, everything looks new, and the waters and fruits and everything are lovely.

"No sun shines there, but a light much brighter than the sun, the Creator makes it brighter by his power. All people who die here, young or old, will be of the same age there; and those who are injured, crippled, or made blind will look as good as the rest of them. It is nothing but the flesh that is injured: the spirit is as good as ever. That is the

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6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
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537 539 796x

reason that people are told to help always the cripples or the blind. Whatever you do for them will surely bring its reward. Whatever you do for anybody will bring you credit hereafter. Whenever we think the thoughts that Gicelĕmû"kaong has given us, it will do us good.

"This is all I can think of to say along this line. Now we will pass the Turtle around, and all that feel like worshiping may take it and perform their ceremonies."

Some nights the speaker says more, sometimes less, just as he feels, but he always tries to tell it as he heard it from the old people who came before him.

RECITAL OF VISIONS

787 796x

Now, as was stated, these meetings are "brought in" by individuals; that is a certain person, usually a man, undertakes to arrange for the meeting and to lead the ceremonies. This person must be one of those gifted by a vision or dream of power in their youth, and hence, according to Lenape belief, one in communication with the supernatural world.

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
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none of it could be taken outside during the ceremony.

Purification.—When the two fires had been built, but before the crowd had gathered, the house was purified by the smoke of hemlock boughs thrown on the flames, and by sweeping the floor with turkey-wing fans, which cleared away both dirt and evil influences.

OPENING OF THE CEREMONY

Chief's Speech.—The next step was for the attendants to call in all the people from their camps except the women in their menses who were not allowed to enter. When all were seated, the speaker rose and addressed those assembled in terms like the following:

"We are now gathered here, our house is purified and clean, and Pa''tûmawas is with us, ready to hear our worship. We must thank Him for all the things that we enjoy, for He made them every one." Then he proceeded to tell the people not to drink liquor, nor to do anything wrong in the Big House or in

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
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537 796^x

the camp about it, and advised them to be always honest and kind and hospitable. He held virtue as something to be followed, at the same time condemning evil, every vice that he could think of being mentioned.

537 782 796^x

The chief then gave thanks for everything he could remember, from the heavenly bodies to the animals, trees, and herbs of the earth, not forgetting corn, beans, and squashes; and prayer for successful hunting and good health for all the people. At the summer meeting he prayed for good crops also. When he had finished, bear's fat was thrown on the two fires, and the smoke rose and filled the place with its odor.

CEREMONIAL DRINK

272 796^x

At this point it was customary to pass around a vessel of drink made of crushed wild strawberries, from which each person present swallowed about a spoonful, a drink made at the Summer Ceremony of fresh fruit, but in winter necessarily of berries dried for the purpose.

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
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twelfth cry, they say, was heard by the Great Manĭ'to. 796x

Feast.—The people were accustomed to eat a light supper before going into the meeting; then about midnight the four attendants carried around baskets with boiled meat and corn bread, and in the morning, before leaving the Big House, a regular feast of venison was served in new bark bowls and eaten with new bark spoons especially made for the purpose. [264]

Final Address.—Before the meeting closed, the speaker again addressed the people, telling them to do right, and prayed that the hunters about to leave for the winter hunt might be successful, and that all might live to meet again. [537]

CONCLUSION OF RITES

In the morning after the ceremonies in the Big House were finished, the people filed out through the west door, circled about the building, and lined up, facing eastward, to the east of it. Then they raised their hands and cried "*Ho-o-o!*"

7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

stated songs for the mask dance by selected men who beat time upon the flat deer-hide drum of the same type as that used in the Big House Ceremony. (See Fig. 19, I, of the "Big House Ceremony.")

It should be noted that the Mask Spirit is important enough among the spirit-forces to be admitted to the annual ceremony of the Big House. There, we learn, on the fourth morning of the festival the mask is admitted to the scene and the same dance as that just described is gone through.

See pp. 39–44, and figs. 9, 10 of the volume referred to for particulars and illustrations of the mask spirit concept, p. 139 for description of this intercession during the Big House Ceremony when the Mask-Spirit is introduced as a performer.

MASK DANCE ADDRESSES

Announcement by the Speaker

Elaŋgu'ndieŋg	kexa'p'tun	ke'ko	ŋga't·a	lo'we.
Our kindred	few words	something	I want	to say.

wa'ni	ᵓce•	ni·'ma'tɔs	ga'xta	wehoma's·u	tɔli'	ga'xta
This	there	my brother	wants	to announce	that	he is going

kɑnt'ke'ohe•n	mɔs·i'ŋgoma.	me'tci	paxka'ndji	ki·cɔ-
to make dance	his mask.	Now	all ready	pre-

na'k·ut	we•'mi·	ke'ko	nekałkɔ't·uk	e'nda	wi·'huŋge•t'
pared	all	things	used	when	he feasts[1]

wa'ni	kɔmuxo•'mɔna	mɔs·i'ŋg.	kowa'to•ne•n'		elaŋ-
that	our grandfather	mask.	You know		my

gu'ndieŋg	lɔmwe''kami	nɔ'tci·	ki·ci·'mkɔt	elaehɔ's·i·t'	
kindred	ancient world	since	has been the rule	the manner	

awe•'n	nehel·a'la•t'	mɔs·i'ŋgɔ	e'nxɑn	sɔwi·ga'xtiŋg
anyone	owning	a mask	each	every year

na'ni·	lɑk'hi'kwi·	taxkɔkɔni·'i·	lɑk'hi'kwi·	sa'psoha'la•
that	time	in the fall	time	made hominy for

mɔs·i'ŋg	wi·sa'pa•n	nani	kɔmuxo•'mɔna.	
mask	hominy	that	our grandfather.	

yu'kwe	ki·ci· wunda'su	e'nda	pale'nɑxk	la'k·i·m-	
Now	has been set	when	fifth	day of the	

[1] Referring to both the mask and its owner.

796 539 kwu'ɜ·i·t taxkokənə·'wi· gi·'cux li·' wunda'su təli'tc
month fall moon[1] as set for

537 kə'nt'ka"n nani·' məs·i'ŋg. we"'mi· awe"'n ga'xta
the dance that mask. Every one must

kəlelə'ndamuk elaŋgu'ndieŋg ga't·a wi·tcəma'mənа
remember my kindred must help

wa'ni· elaŋgo"'meŋ e"'li· me'tci· k'təm·a"'kat' wa'ni·
this our relative because now pitiful this

lənа"'pe endala'us·i·t. me'tci· a'hət' təli·' ke'ko
Delaware way of living. Now it is hard that anything

k'tcuk·wənəmə'ne"n wa'ni· lənа"'pe mi·kəməs·uwa'k·an
for us to move the Delaware his performances

ɔk mo"howa'k·an ɔk la"keyɔ'k·an. yu lahə'p·a
and his dances and his ceremonies. Now for the present

te'pi· e'nxap'to"ne"'ya cuk' i·ya'p'tci· ndaya'ndəmа"n
it is enough what I have said but however I wish

tə'li· we"'mi· ik·a pe'tci· wəlamalsi·'ne"n endə'
that all up till then are well when

taxkɔ'ka na'mieŋg ɔk k'tə'li· wi·'t'ke"manе"'n
autumn we see and to we dance with

muxo"'məna ne' lak'hi'kwi·.
our grandfather that time.

wa'ni·ci· elaŋgu'ndieŋg yu'kwe petci·lak'hwi·'eŋg
Thanks my kindred now here this evening

we"'mi· ce" ni·max'tə's·tuk ɔk udaxkwe"'mat·uk ɔk
all those our brothers and our sisters and

we"'mi· ne"k' tami·'məsəmənа'nak pe'tci· we"'mi·
all those our children including all

enxənauga't·ɔk laŋgo"s·owa'tuk, me'tci· i·'k·a
every one my relations, now has

maxte"'xan tə'li· wi·'t·auhi·ma"'ue"n wa'ni· muxo"'-
come that we dance with him our grand-

məna məs·i'ŋg. ɔk gahə'ni· wani'ci· e'nda ne"'meŋg
father mask. And very thankful when we see

we"'mi· ke'ko paxkandji·'k·an. yu'kwe pe'tci· wi·'kwi·
every thing has matured. Now comes ending of

[1] October.

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

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taxkɔ'kiŋ li' we·'mi· ke'ko na'xpən·e uli·'nak·ɔt' ɔk
in fall as all things even look good and

kole'ləmuk'ho'məna we·'mi awe·'n. yu'kwe gat·a't·i·
we are glad all persons. Now do your utmost

we·'mi· awe·'n wi·tcəma·'me·n muxo·'məna i'k·a'
every one to help our grandfather up

petci· tə'li· təma''həma·n e'ləmi· t'pa·'kwi·k'. me'tci·
until that he finish (his dance) during the night. Now

e'nda təma'həma·t natc' laha'p·a wi·po·ma·'ne·n
when he finishes his dance then we will eat with him

ne'ni· musa·'p'sowak·an. me'tci· e'nda we·'mi· awe·'n
this his hominy. Now when every one

ki·'ci· xa'm·ənd' natc' la'p·i· ke·'xap'tun ke'ko
has been fed then again a few words things

e·lowe·'ya natc kandj ta'ləmi· lən·auhi·'ne·n.
I want to say, then we will begin our common dances.

ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER

Free Translation.

Our kindred, there are a few words that I wish to say. This brother of mine wants to announce that he is going to make a dance for his mask. Now, all the things that are to be used when he gives the feast to our grandfather the Mask are ready and prepared. You know, kindred, ever since ancient times the rule has told that anyone owning a mask, each year in the fall of the year, shall make hominy for that mask our grandfather.

Now, the time has been set for the fifth day of the fall moon as decided upon for dancing the Mask. Everyone must remember it, kindred, and must help this relative of ours, because now these Delaware customs have become pitiful. Now, it has become difficult for us to move anything in the way of Delaware ceremonies and dances. Now, for the present it is enough what I have said, but nevertheless I wish that all will have good health until then, that we shall see the autumn and dance with our grandfather at that time.

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

OPENING ADDRESS

796 539 537 Thanks kindred, now here this evening all our brothers, sisters, our children and each and every one of our relations, it has happened that we have danced with our grandfather the Mask. And we are very thankful when we see how everything has matured. Now comes the conclusion in the fall as all things look so well, and we all of us are glad. Now, do your utmost everyone to help our grandfather along until he finishes his dance during the night. Now, when he finishes his dance then we will feast with him on this hominy which is his. Now, when everyone has been fed then again I want to say a few words, after which we will begin our common dances.

796 537 The speeches delivered at these ceremonies may vary somewhat according to the mood of the chief invited to give them. They all follow the general pattern which has been demonstrated in connection with the various rites so far described as to have become familiar to the reader. Several formulistic thoughts, we are informed, should not be overlooked, such as voicing the feeling of enjoyment experienced by all present to have had the pleasure of feasting in company with the spirit of the occasion, in this case the Mask-Spirit, the fact that "no doubt exists but that the Mask-Spirit is well pleased with the devotion paid him, and that the outcome will be successful in bringing health and prosperity to the mask owner and all those present." The speaker should not forget to say his thanks for the good order prevailing at the ceremony and to ask that all those present will go home in harmony and with benefit after the general social dances, which invariably conclude the feasts, are finished.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

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Fig. 1—Side posts of Ceremonial House showing carved faces. After Harrington.

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Fig. 2—Delaware Tortoise shell rattles carried by reciters and dance leaders in the ceremony. (Hist. Com. of Pa.)

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

796 the common duties and ceremonial cohesion of their members.
182 The tendency to make Delaware ceremonies esoteric is also present.

796 The personages of the ceremony may be listed under the following titles, which apply to all the rites performed. The ceremony itself is *tel·ha'k·en*, "that which is brought in," the idea being that someone sponsors and produces it by bringing forth the occasion. The leader or master of ceremonies is *elha'k·et*, "one who brings it in"; *pəm'tu'nhet*, "the speaker" of the occasion; *a'cka^{a}s*, "attendant," the waiter or helper; *exhaŋge'tcik*, "those who give away food," the cooks and feast attendants; *naxko'hak·e'tcik*, "followers" being the drummers whose rôle it is to follow the singers, repeating their verses; *pu'tcəl*, equivalent to officer who has charge of keeping order.

538 A word or two concerning the distinctions in character between narrations which pass among the Delawares as epics having a mythical explanatory origin and those which are mere chronicles of happenings in past or present experiences of life. The traditional legend explanatory of some of the phenomena of nature is termed *ati·loha'k·an*, the ordinary narrative story *la'tci·molsuwa'k·an*. The distinction between these categories is something like what differentiates a saga from a narrative. The former is a legend concerning characters and events which do not change in the telling, partaking of the nature of gospels. A biography, on the other hand, falls under the latter term. Similar distinctions, it is interesting to note, have been recorded in respect to the traditional lore of other Algonkian-speaking peoples so well defined in the case of the Menomini by Dr. Bloomfield.[1] The texts in the ensuing collection are of the saga type and as such form an individual version of certain important teachings concerning the spiritual and physical universe which have formed without change the body of sacred learning acquired from some remote sources and handed down among the religious leaders of the tribe for ages.

171 The foregoing summary is arranged and offered as a

[1] L. Bloomfield, "Menomini Texts," *Publications Amer. Ethnological Society*, XII, 1928, p. xii.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946 NM7 Delaware NM7

+ = element present
− = element denied
(+) or (−) = source ambiguous
• = informant could not or would not say
S = some, sometimes, or several
† or * = see Ethnographic Notes, pp. 79-137 for additional information

	Williams	Van der Donck	Lindeström	Zeisberger	Heckewelder	Johnston	Pipe	Chipps	J. W.	W. T.	E. R.	W. L.
Medicine—Continued												
52. Perform surgical operation				(−)		−		−	−	−	−	−
53. Unite profession with priesthood	(+)		(+)			−		−	−	−	−	−
54. Always use juggling tricks †	+	S	S	S	S	−		−	S		S	S
55. Beat on own breast	+		(+)		+	+			+	+	+	+
56. Blow in hands	+		(+)		H	+			+	−	+	+
57. Make rumbling noise	+		+	+		+			+	+	+	+
58. Blow on patient	+		+	+	+	+			+	+	+	+
59. Rub the part affected						+			+	+	+	+
60. Have effect on patient's confidence						+			+	+	+	+
General Manners and Customs												
61. Eat human flesh			•(−)	−	−	−	•	−	−	−	−	−
62. Shake hands on meeting; inquire about health and express gladness to see	(±)			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
64. Great respect paid age or rank				+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
65. Visit one another for purpose of conversation	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
66. Regular parties at which they entertain				+		+	•	•	+	+	+	+
67. Practice of telling stories				+		+	+	•	+	+	+	+
68. In winter and at night only						+	•	•	+	+	+	•+
69. Use words equivalent to swearing		−		−		+	−	−	−	−	−	−
70. Exhibit strong feelings of love, friendship and affection to same sex					+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
71. to opposite sex						+	−	+	+	−	+	•
72. common to try to suppress to same sex						+	−	+	+	−	−	+•
73. common to try to suppress to opposite sex						+	+	+	+	−	−	•
74. Matter of pride to suppress feelings or excitement, especially fear and shame				+		+	•	+	+	(+)	+	+
75. On return home men treat wives with indifference					+	+	+	•	−	+	−	+
76. On return home men treat children with indifference					−	−	•	•	−	−	−	−
77. Powers of recollection strong			+		+	+	•	+	+	+	+	+
78. Any peculiarities in encampments (except war) or building of huts that distinguish from others				+		•+	•	•	•	+	•+	+

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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W. T. and E. R. say that right was always used. 576

68. Story telling: in winter and at night only

W. L. said that one rule was that no one could sit up during the telling of stories as it might make them humpbacked. 538 784

78. Peculiarities in encampments

JOHN JOHNSTON—There is no [peculiarity] in their moving from place to place or in their hunting encampments, but they are very particular in the mode of erecting their war encampments. 361 726

E. R.—Camp site was fixed so that allied tribes would know who had been there, and which direction they went. The way they fixed the fire and ashes would tell who made the camp. [202]

79. Identification of makers of encampment

JOHN JOHNSTON—They can [identify them] because every tribe has a different mode of encamping and by the size of the camp or camps they can calculate very nigh the number that were in them. 361 202

CAPTAIN CHIPPS—They can tell the camps of the Cayugas and Massisagas, by their peculiar manner of encamping. Generally speaking, it is impossible for them to tell from a deserted camp, what particular tribe has occupied it.

83. Differences from other tribes in sociability, etc.

J. W.—Delaware are more friendly and sociable than other tribes even though they cannot trust others. The Delaware way of raising is to have children grow up to be friendly and pleasant so that other people will like them and they may do big things—get places on council, in Big House, and be a credit to parents. 181

W. T.—Sociability, friendliness, and hospitality are marked characteristics that distinguish Delaware from other tribes and should be rated first.

88. Spare lives of snakes

HECKEWELDER stated that Delaware spared the lives of snakes because killing one would bring other creeping things to bite them. 784 825

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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did not know it, but I had begun to rise up half-way attempting to look toward it in the north.

Pitiful me, I saw nothing although I could well hear the person right over the ridge. As I listened he said, "Do not think that no thing cares for you, my friend!" Then and there I walked about. Indeed truly the thing overcame me with surprise, that person, when I came to the point of looking toward him. When I saw his form it seemed as though there in the direction of north, it lay extended like the appearance of red. And he said, "My friend, observe me carefully! Look at me, how I do when I walk about in this place!" Every little while he would start running. When he started running he sounded like tom+, tom+!" [Here the cranes beat the drum three times with the drum sticks, and they respond when he speaks in succession, tom+, tom+]. "Not small but great he looked, did that person.

When I thought it over, when I looked at it way over there, at the edge of the southern land[1] did it come to ground. And it sounded so, every time that creature started running, it sounded every time like o o+ o o+![2] And he said when he landed there, "And that besides is what I do here, when I pass by bestowing my spiritual blessing." For he spoke and he sounded like, that person, speaking when he alighted;[3]

'Going by fanning the air, glory of him, the worship of man, all over the earth, glory of him. Cease,[1] ya hwi-![2]

[1] Denoting the horizon where the earth island meets the surrounding water.

[2] At this point the "cranes" (drummers) strike the deer-hide drum rapidly.

[3] This is a set form in the ritual recitation when the reciter of visions is about to quote the man.i't.u. As he commences dancing he changes to motion of the rattle from a sideways to an up-and-down vigorous stroke, keeping it up while he is dancing and the drummers accompany him. The performer holds the rattle in his right hand before his body at waist-level, the head of the shell to the left, the tail to the right.

[1] Addressed to the drummers.

[2] Conceived by the visionary almost with the rapture of the Psalmist, the spiritual presence of the "red-appearing" man.i't.u is chanted. The sonorous swish-swish of the pebbles inside the dry tortoise shell rattle adds a peculiar dramatic quality to the recitation.

As to the text of the chant, the words are warped from their ordinary form into a lyric measure in conformity with the usual pattern of such compositions. It might be rendered in the following roughly corresponding lines of free-verse for those who will accept an approximate transfer of meter from one language to another so far from it in grammatical form.

Wind of spirit
Rushing by me,
Magic Power
Gives me vision,
Exaltation
Caused by him.
Supplication
Of the people,
Universal
Exaltation
Caused by him.
Cease!
Yahwi-!.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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Huron NG5

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The Song of the Lenape Warriors going against the Enemy.

O poor me!
Whom am going out to fight the enemy,
And know not whether I shall return again,
To enjoy the embraces of my children
And my wife.
O poor creature!
Whose life is not in his own hands,
Who has no power over his own body,
But tries to do his duty
For the welfare of his nation.
O! thou Great Spirit above!
Take pity on my children
And on my wife!
Prevent their mourning on my account!
Grant that I may be successful in this attempt—
That I may slay my enemy,
And bring home the trophies of war
To my dear family and friends,
That we may rejoice together.
O! take pity on me!
Give me strength and courage to meet my enemy,
Suffer me to return again to my children,
To my wife
And to my relations!
Take pity on me and preserve my life
And I will make to thee a sacrifice.

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The song of the Wyandot warriors, as translated to me by an Indian trader, would read thus: "Now I am going "on an errand of pleasure—O! God, take pity on me, "and throw good fortune in my way—grant that I may "be successful."

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7

773 Origin of Dolls of the Doll Dances

The informant J.T. told the following stories:

In early times there was a girl who liked to play with dolls. She would pick up all sorts of things and pretend that they were dolls. Even after she was grown she continued to play with dolls. Then she became very ill. During her illness a voice spoke to her. The voice told her that in order to get well she would have to make a doll such as she would see in the dream. She opened her eyes and saw the doll she was to make, and the voice told her how to take care of the doll, to give it feasts. The voice went on to tell her that dolls were not things to play with when you are grown. You don't play with them because dolls take care of the crops. When the girl awoke she went to the woods and carved a doll like the one she saw in her vision. She got well.

Once when the old folks had gone to a doll dance and left their kids at home, the kids got together and decided to make their own doll and have a dance. A girl made a doll and they had their dance, even though they didn't know the proper songs. It was wrong to make a doll, this was dangerous. One spring these children didn't dance this doll and the next spring a child got "bad sick." The phratry chief, who was also a medicine man, came to treat her. He knew that it was the doll that was causing this child to be sick. So the child's parents had the children give the doll a dance. They did and the sick child recovered.[100]

522 539 The purely secular tales, which have nothing to do with supernatural forces, are not well remembered today, and perhaps always formed only a small part of the folklore. The following tale was considered extremely hilarious by informants.

There once was a woman who intensely disliked her son-in-law. This worried the son-in-law and finally he decided to do something about it. He went down to the pond from which his mother-in-law was accustomed to draw water. He tied all the lily pads together so that he could make them vibrate by pulling on a string. Then he hid himself in some bushes that were near by. Soon his mother-in-law came down to draw water. He vibrated the lily pads and disguised his voice saying: "Your son-in-law is going to die, your son-in-law is going to die." She, of course, thought the lily pads were speaking to her. She started back to the wigwam, but her son-in-law took a short cut and beat her back. He was sitting within when the tearful woman arrived. She started being very nice to him, she combed and brushed his clothes and softened his buckskin clothes, and was nice to him afterwards because she thought he was going to die. (J.T., M.D.)

[100] Harrington, 1921, pp. 162-63, described a myth which was very similar to this one.

of the variety required, he does not gather it [11] but performs a ritual to appease the Spirit of the plant. A small hole is dug towards the east near its base and a small quantity of native tobacco [12] placed within. The herbalist then lights his pipe and smokes, meanwhile making the following appeal to the Creator and to the Spiritual forces which govern vegetation. The songs and properties are regarded as personal property and the accompanying medicine-gathering prayer of Wi·tapanóxwe is regarded as typical.

MEDICINE GATHERING PRAYER (free translation)

"Grandfather, I come now for medical treatment. Your grandson (name of suppliant) needs your aid. He is giving you a smoke-offering here of tobacco. He implores you that he will get well because he, your child, is pitiful. And I myself earnestly pray that you take pity on him the sick one, I wish for him to get well forever of that which is causing pain in his body. For with you alone rests the spiritual power sufficient to bless anyone with, and hear now him our Grandfather tobacco, I beg of him that he will help me when we plead with earnest heart that you will take pity on your grandchild and that you will accept this appeal. I am thankful, Grandfather, also Creator, that you grant our appeal this day for all that we ask.[13] I am thankful, Grandfather. That is enough for this time."

Upon the conclusion of this propitiatory rite the medicine person searches out another plant of the same species, which if clean and healthy-looking, is then gathered. It is now ready to be treated in accordance with the rules governing the preparation of roots and herbs in the accompanying pharmacopeia. If the root of a plant is to be used in making medicine, it is gathered at the season when the vital properties are present; similarly the stalk or leaves each are gathered at the proper seasons.

[11] Harrington (1921, p. 26) in reference to the manitowuck to whom the Indians pray, says, "These are mentioned in the ritual of the Annual Ceremony and the people often pray to them when gathering herbs or preparing medicines, at the same time offering tobacco." He also says (p. 51) that, ". . . Some seem to have prayed to the four directions, other to the presiding genius of the species of the plants they sought or to the spirit of the individual plant itself."

[12] "Real tobacco" (Nicotiana rustica), to which a Delaware term meaning, "our grandfather," is also given.

[13] The proper phrase in full is, "give us what we ask for." It is abbreviated here to suit the formula.

Love Charms

832 Certain peoples, however, learned long ago to employ medicine of this nature for evil purposes, frequently to gain influence over women. In such instances it was called "love medicine for gaining influence," [16] or "witchcraft." [17] The following test and prayer were given by Wi·tapanóxwe as characteristic examples of the correct procedure to bring about the reconciliation of an estranged marital couple.

At the present time the "love-doctor," usually a woman, employs two varieties of roots for the magical rite. One is known by the term "flower hangs down";[18] the other merely as "pull-up." A portion of the first variety is broken into three small pieces which are laid upon the outstretched palm of the practitioner's hand. These represent the three individuals involved in the ordinary triangular affair, the petitioner in the center, the spouse or sweetheart to the right, and the third party to the left. The other palm of the practitioner is then rubbed lightly over the roots and their movements closely observed. The side towards which the middle piece is seen to move, indicates the person with whom the petitioner is in love. The test may not be made more than once a day, "one test a day," but successive attempts over three or four days are permissible. The "love-doctor," after offering some of the tobacco given by the petitioner, attempts through her supernatural power, aided by prayer, to bring about the reconciliation of husband and wife, or true lovers. She can however be employed to separate a married couple, or two lovers, a practice designed by the informant as "bad." The practice is only employed in the case of serious misunderstanding between husband and wife, one of whom strives in this way to effect a reconciliation. The other is not informed of the trial.

Prayer Used in Preparing the Love Charm (free translation)

832 "Grandmother, I beg of you that you will help your grandchildren to
● 539 reconsider each other. They are in trouble so I sacrifice to you this tobacco, our Grandfather, in order that you will help that man, Big

[16] Zeisberger (p. 126) refers to the introduction of a poison (witchcraft) called "*mattapassigan*" by the Nanticoke. See witchcraft, p. 38ff.

[17] According to Wi·tapanóxwe this term applies to the act of attempting to gain influence for legal or illegal purposes by means of the medicine which is said to have magic qualities. The shaman who practices his profession for evil is also referred to as one "who practices for evil."

[18] *Podophyllum peltatum*, May apple.

4: Tantaquidgeon E-5 (1930) 1942
NM7 Delaware NM7

Bear and that woman, Small Person, to forget their troubles.[19] Because, Grandmother, it has been many years that they have been together. Again, Grandmother, I implore you because it is right that they should love each other henceforth. If you accept my plea, in two days from this time the woman will go back."

The second variety of magical root, termed "pull up," is employed in the following manner. The informant's maternal grandfather transferred to him the secret of such a medicine gift in order to control human beings or animals. Although the root is intended primarily for use in hunting, it could also be employed to coerce or in general, influence people favorably. I was unable to secure a specimen of this "rare" plant for scientific identification.[20] Wi·tapanóxwe describes the plant root as having "five prongs." After securing several of the plants, the roots are prepared by cleansing them thoroughly in running water, to the accompaniment of songs and prayers. Three branches of the plant root are then broken off and another, taken from the root of a plant of the same species, attached to the remaining two, to make three. In this connection it may be noted that the emphasis upon the number three in this and the previously decribed love charm represents a symbolism for which the informant could offer no explanation.

In use, a small quantity of the prepared root is chewed three times a day. The juice resulting from the first mastication is rubbed on the hair, that from the second and third is swallowed. Such a procedure will bring about the desired result in a short time. To lure game animals some of the root is chewed while hunting. Wi·tapanóxwe related an incident of holding some of these roots in his hand while singing his medicine song, and thus luring a squirrel very close to him. The root is so powerful that if an excessive amount of juice is swallowed, the person's mind will become affected.

Food Taboos

After he has diagnosed the case, the practitioner prescribes a curative diet[21] for the patient, the food restrictions being determined by the

[19] "Being in trouble."

[20] This is probably due to the supposed magical properties attributed to this plant, making it dangerous, according to Delaware belief, for persons other than practitioners to handle it. This applies to all other plants used for magical purposes.

[21] Barber (1856, p. 538) quotes the following from William Penn's letters: ". . . if they eat flesh it must be from the female of any creature." Also see Zeisberger, *op. cit.* p. 24.

4:Tantaquidgeon E-5 (1930) 1942
NM7 Delaware NM7

APPENDIX III

THREE OKLAHOMA DELAWARE MYTHS

The Boy Who Lived With a Bear

●539 "Once a small boy was lost in the woods. A woman with two children came along and took him with her to her house in the woods. But the boy soon discovered that this friend was a bear with two cubs and that the house was a great hollow tree trunk. One day a young hunter was out in the woods and he saw the little boy in a tree with the two cubs so he went back and told his people. The mother bear knew that soon they would come to take the boy away from her and she felt very badly because she had grown to like him as her own. And she knew, too, that when they came for the boy she would probably lose her life. So she cried and begged him to take his little bow and arrow and hold them near the entrance of the den so that the hunters might know that he was in there, but the boy would not do as she bid. Finally, the hunters came and called the boy, but he would not come out. The bear came out and the hunters killed her and took the boy and two cubs. The boy was returned to his family, but living in a house was strange to him after living with the bears in their den, and he had queer ways. The cubs were raised until they were full grown and then they were released by performing a ceremony with wampum which is always done when pets are to be no longer kept by a family." (See p. 36.)

The Woods Dwarf

"*Maté-kanis*, 'woods dwarf,' lived in the forest. He was kind and was always helping people, but only a few were known to have seen him. He was discovered by a little boy who went to play alone in the woods one day. The little boy liked *Maté-kanis* so much that he went to play with him often. When the other children asked him where he had been he would say, 'I have been to play with my little friend who lives in the woods.' Sometimes he could see *Maté-kanis* near where the other children were playing and would point to him but his playmates could not see the little brown creature. He is said to look like a small boy but is strong and powerful. Only certain people were known to

4:Tantaquidgeon E-5 (1930) 1942
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have seen *Maté-kanis* and they usually became noted for their physical strentgh. *Maté-kanis* is not seen any more because the Indians have changed their mode of living and are not clean enough to be visited by such spiritual beings. The white man's ways are so far removed from the ways of the Indian that if we adopt any of them we cannot expect to see many of the things which were commonly seen before we knew of his strange ways." [1]

The Seven Wise Men

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"Years ago there were seven wise men among the Indians. So great was their pride that they did not wish to associate with the common people. Because they were so wise and great, they had to find a way to conceal themselves from the people. After thinking over the matter very seriously they said, 'We will turn into rocks of odd shapes.' Now there happened to be a young man who was gifted [1] and he went out to walk on a hillside. As he walked along he noticed the seven peculiarly shaped rocks and as he stopped to look at them, one of them spoke to him. The young man recognized them at once as being the seven prophets and they conversed together. They told him not to tell where they were, but someone noticed his frequent visits to the spot, and soon they were again sought by curious people. Now they must leave the quiet hillside and go elsewhere. After a while there appeared in the forest seven stately cedar trees. More perfectly formed trees were never before seen and they were greatly admired. It was not long before someone discovered that they were the seven prophets and they again had to change their form and depart. The Creator thought that it was of no use to place them on earth as they were being constantly bothered by earthly things so he placed them in the heavens. There we see the seven stars [2] as they were placed there so long ago by the Creator."

[1] According to Wi-tapanóxwe every individual is "gifted" or has some supernatural power. In some it is developed early in life, while in other individuals it remains a latent undeveloped force.

[2] The Pleiades.

their Wampum, which is proportioned to the quality of the Offense or Person injured, or of the Sex they are of: for in case they kill a woman, they pay double, and the reason they render is , That she breedeth Children, which men cannot do." (Penn, p. 43). Except for the concept of different recompense according to the sex of the person injured, the above statements are confirmed by other writers. More common than recompense in the case of murder or rape, however, was the death of the offender at the hands of the injured person's family [12] (Brainerd, p. 356; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 329; Huttenber, p. 48; Harrington, 1913, p. 217).

Religion

All of the Delaware accounts of the origin of the world and of the tribe center around a giant mythical tortoise related in some way to the Turtle phratry and the occasion of that phratry's pre-eminance over the other two. The most complete version is found in the writings of Danckaerts whose visit to this region dates back to 1679. He asked an old Indian where the first of his race came from.

> "He was silent for a little while as if unable to climb up at once so high with his thoughts, or to express them without help, and then took a piece of coal out of the fire where he sat, and began to write upon the floor. He first drew a circle, a little oval to which he made four paws or feet, a head and a tail; 'This', said he, 'is a tortoise, lying in the water around it', and he moved his hand around the figure continuing, 'This was or is all water, and so at first was the world or the earth, when the tortoise gradually raised its round back up high, and the water ran off of it, and thus the earth became dry.' He then took a little straw and placed it on end in the middle of the figure and proceeded, 'The earth was now dry, and there grew a tree in the middle of the earth, and the root of this tree sent forth a sprout beside it, and there grew upon it a man, who was the first male; This man was then alone, and would have remained alone, but the tree bent over until its top touched the earth, and there shot therein another root from which came forth another sprout, and there grew upon it the woman, and from these two are all men produced...'" (Danckaerts, pp. 77-80).

The following writers also refer to the turtle as the earth and the agent of the creation of man: Heckewelder (1901, p. 250); Kalm (p. 606); Ziesberger (1870, p. 218). Other creation myths have the general theme that the people lived under the earth before they came up to live on the surface (Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 249-50).

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UNAMI EXAMPLES.—One old man named Pokite'hemun ("Breaker"), known to the whites in Oklahoma as George Wilson, saw in his vision what seemed to be a man who held out to him a white round object like a boy's marble, then tossed it to him. Pokite'-hemun caught it and swallowed it. Then as it turned to go, the being cried "*Kwank! kwank! kwank!* The ducks have a praying meeting in the fall of the year!" As it turned, Pokite'hemun noticed that it was really a duck instead of a man, and was colored half black and half white.[39] 787

Pokite'hemun could pound on his chest at any time and apparently cough up a round marble-like object, which he would show in his hand and then appear to swallow again. This he claimed was the *opi'na* given by his guardian spirit.

He seemed to regard the words of the duck spirit as an admonition to do all he could to keep up the tribal Annual Ceremony, which was held in the fall; while the "blessing" gave him good 533 539 787

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fortune. The chant he composed for use at this ceremony is as follows:

Lowulčnjei
Wû^{n}jegûk loxweyu
Kwč^{n}nanowagû^{n}
Wailu^{n}goma^{n}ole
Lěnape, eli nanû^{n}
Telowa^{n}, lowa^{n}
Nu^{n}ni, čndageko
Lowaet, lowa nû^{n}ni.

The interpreter's translation, which is a somewhat free one, follows:

"When he opened his hand
Something came out of the center
That's his blessing
(For?) our kinfolks, the

Lenape; because that
Is what he said, he did say
This, when
He spoke, he said this."

Then came the dance song:

He-e-e-e nehani
Latama^{n}ne
Nehani lama^{n}ne
Kwe^{n}nawowagûn, nowagûn
Hayela^{n}goma^{n}
Gweheycha
Gehe!

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This, according to the interpreter, means simply, when stripped of its superfluous syllables, "We own a temple—his blessing —our kinfolks." 533 539 787

Another man saw in his boyhood vision the Mĭsinghâli'kŭn, or Living Solid Face, riding on a deer. I was unable to get the details of their meeting, or the chant, but this is the dance song:

Hehotawege'na
Hotowege'na
Xingâlo'pai awhe'wani
Mĭsinghâli'kŭn
Hâli'kŭne
A-he'-he-he'!

This, the interpreter said, means "Riding it, riding it, big buck deer, this one, Mĭsinghâli'kŭn!" Seldom do the songs or chants refer so definitely to the protector as does this.

A third Lenape, when a boy, was sent out to the corn-field to drive away the crows. As he stood by the field he saw them flying around to light on a tree near by. Suddenly someone spoke to him, and among the things said (which

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were not revealed to me) were the words "I like this Lenape food," referring to the corn. The boy thought a man was addressing him, until the person suddenly flew away in the form of a crow, crying "*Ha! Ha! Ha!*" I failed to get the Indian words for the song, and my informant did not remember the chant, but the translation of the song was given as follows:

"I like this Lenape food:"
I never knew a crow said that
Till the crow was cawing
"Ha! Ha! Ha!"

A fourth had seen some kind of an animal in his vision, but never told any of his tribesmen what it was. His song, as now remembered, was translated thus:

Come, follow me,
I am going
Out into the country.

A fifth had "Mother Corn" (the Corn Spirit) for a guardian, but only part of his song is remembered.

"All my children
Are glad when I come out!"

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the edge of the water had been, while the boy ran on down to his pool. The river-bed seemed dry to him, but his father would not come, saying that the river was full of water. The boy then came out and they started for home, but before they were out of sight, the lad looked back. To his surprise, the river was full as usual.

The father, who was Flying Wolf, a noted Minsi warrior, had been favored himself, when a boy, with a rather unusual sort of vision, which James Wolf related to me, as nearly as possible the way the old man used to tell it at the Annual Ceremony.

"When I was a boy, I was once fast asleep on a hill near a little creek. Someone said, 'Wake up! Let us go where our friends are!' So I got up and followed him across the little creek and up a hill, where I saw six men sitting on a log. Then I went up and shook hands with them all. After they had shaken hands with me they all danced around in a ring." At this point he used to sing one verse of his dance song—

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Wčmi wango"towak kewiha
All greet one another
Yoki lčnape witci.
Now Lenape at the same time
E-ye-he-ye-čl

"They told me, 'We will go to see our friends,' so I went with them. Every now and then they stopped and danced around as they had done before. After a while one of them told me to look toward the south, and there I saw a black cloud in which the lightning flashed. 'Would you like to go there?' they asked me. I answered 'No.' Then one asked if I wanted to go *that* way, pointing to the northeast, where the sky was blue and bright, to which I answered that I would rather go in that direction toward the clear sky. A little farther on they said: 'We will now leave you. Watch us as we go.' They went to the east a little way, and then I saw them trotting. They were wolves, and I had thought all the while that they were human beings."

[776] Verses of the dance song were sung at intervals during this speech. From analogy with other visions, such as are

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this only, may be used in the temple, and no one is permitted to take it outside for any purpose.

CEREMONY COMMENCED

Two of the attendants, a man and a woman, then build the two fires in the temple, so that there may be plenty of light, and sweep the floor with turkey-wings for brushes. The men attendants take turns so that one of them, at least, is always on guard outside the building. When the temple is clean, the fires are burning bright, and the *a'ckas* have called the people in and all are assembled, the chief arises and delivers a speech.

CHIEF'S SPEECH

First he states the rules of the meeting, then he speaks along some such line as the following, which was dictated by Chief Elkhair, who frequently made these speeches:

"We are thankful that so many of us are alive to meet together here once more, and that we are ready to hold our

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ceremonies in good faith. Now we shall meet here twelve nights in succession to pray to Gicelĕmû''kaong, who has directed us to worship in this way. And these twelve Mɪsi'ngʷ faces [carved on the posts of the house] are here to watch and to carry our prayers to Gicelĕmû''-kaong in the highest heaven. The reason why we dance at this time is to raise our prayers to him. Our attendants here, three women and three men, have the task of keeping everything about our Temple in good order, and of trying to keep peace, if there is trouble. They must haul wood and build fires, cook and sweep out the Big House.

"When they sweep, they must sweep both sides of the fire twelve times, which sweeps a road to Heaven, just as they say that it takes twelve years to reach it. Women in their menses must not enter this house.

"When we come into this house of ours we are glad, and thankful that we are well, and for everything that makes us feel good which the Creator has placed

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here for our use. We come here to pray Him to have mercy on us for the year to come and to give us everything to make us happy; may we have good crops, and no dangerous storms, floods nor earthquakes. We all realize what He has put before us all through life, and that He has given us a way to pray to Him and thank Him. We are thankful to the East because everyone feels good in the morning when they awake, and see the bright light coming from the East, and when the Sun goes down in the West we feel good and glad we are well; then we are thankful to the West. And we are thankful to the North, because when the cold winds come we are glad to have lived to see the leaves fall again; and to the South, for when the south wind blows and everything is coming up in the spring, we are glad to live to see the grass growing and everything green again. We thank the Thunders, for they are the *manĭ'towŭk* that bring the rain, which the Creator has given them power to rule over. And we thank our mother, the

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Earth, whom we claim as mother because the Earth carries us and everything we need. When we eat and drink and look around, we know it is Gicelĕmû''kaong that makes us feel good that way. He gives us the purest thoughts that can be had. We should pray to Him every morning.

"Man has a spirit, and the body seems to be a coat for that spirit. That is why people should take care of their spirits, so as to reach Heaven and be admitted to the Creator's dwelling. We are given some length of time to live on earth, and then our spirits must go. When anyone's time comes to leave this earth, he should go to Gicelĕmû''kaong, feeling good on the way. We all ought to pray to Him, to prepare ourselves for days to come so that we can be with Him after leaving the earth.

"We must all put our thoughts to this meeting, so that Gicelĕmû''kaong will look upon us and grant what we ask. You all come here to pray; you have a way to reach Him all through life. Do

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not think of evil; strive always to think of the good which He has given us.

"When we reach that place, we shall not have to do anything or worry about anything, only live a happy life. We know there are many of our fathers who have left this earth and are now in this happy place in the Land of Spirits. When we arrive we shall see our fathers, mothers, children, and sisters there. And when we have prepared ourselves so that we can go to where our parents and children are, we feel happy.

"Everything looks more beautiful there than here, everything looks new, and the waters and fruits and everything are lovely.

"No sun shines there, but a light much brighter than the sun, the Creator makes it brighter by his power. All people who die here, young or old, will be of the same age there; and those who are injured, crippled, or made blind will look as good as the rest of them. It is nothing but the flesh that is injured: the spirit is as good as ever. That is the

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reason that people are told to help always the cripples or the blind. Whatever you do for them will surely bring its reward. Whatever you do for anybody will bring you credit hereafter. Whenever we think the thoughts that Gicelĕmû"kaong has given us, it will do us good.

"This is all I can think of to say along this line. Now we will pass the Turtle around, and all that feel like worshiping may take it and perform their ceremonies."

Some nights the speaker says more, sometimes less, just as he feels, but he always tries to tell it as he heard it from the old people who came before him.

RECITAL OF VISIONS

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Now, as was stated, these meetings are "brought in" by individuals; that is a certain person, usually a man, undertakes to arrange for the meeting and to lead the ceremonies. This person must be one of those gifted by a vision or dream of power in their youth, and hence, according to Lenape belief, one in communication with the supernatural world.

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ORIGIN OF THE MASK, AND OF THE BIG HOUSE

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This is the way the Lenape found out that there is a living Mĭsinghâli'kŭn above us. Many years ago, when the Delawares lived in the East, there were three boys who were not treated very well. Their relatives did not take care of them, and it seemed as if it made no difference whether the children died or not. These boys were out in the woods thinking about their troubles, when they saw the Mĭsinghâli'kŭn or Living Solid Face. He came and spoke to them, and gave them strength so that nothing could hurt them again. To one of these boys he said, "You come along with me and I will show you the country I come from." So he took the boy up in the air to the place whence he came, which is rocky mountains above us, reaching out from the north and extending toward the south. It is not the place where people go when they die, for it is not very far from this earth. A long time ago people

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● 539 could see this country of Mĭsinghâli'kŭn, but none can see it now.

While he was showing the boy his country, the Mĭsinghâli'kŭn promised him that he would become stout and strong, and would have the power to get anything he wished. Then he brought the boy back.

Afterward, when the boy grew up and went hunting, he used to see the Mĭsinghâli'kŭn riding a buck around among the other deer, herding them together. Thus it happened that there were three men in the tribe, who knew that there is a Mĭsinghâli'kŭn, because they had seen him with their own eyes.

The Delawares had always kept a Big House (*xi'ngwikan*) to worship in, but in those days it was built entirely of bark and had no faces of the Mĭsi'ng^{w} carved upon the posts as it has now. Here they used to sing about their dreams (visions of power); but some time after the three boys talked with the Mĭsinghâli'kŭn, the people gave up this worship, and for ten years had none.

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Then there came a great earthquake, which lasted twelve months and gave great trouble to the Lenape. It came because they had abandoned the worship their fathers had taught them. In those times the tribe lived in towns, not scattered about the country as they are now; and in one of these towns a chief had a big bark house, and here the people met to worship, hoping to stop the earthquake, while they were building a new Big House. When it was finished, they began to worship there, and sang and prayed all winter for relief. After spring came, they were holding a meeting one night when they heard the Mĭsinghâli'kŭn making a noise, "*Ho*^{n}-*ho*^{n}-*ho*^{n}," right east of the Big House. The chief, who did not know what was making the noise, called for somebody to go and see what it was. Then these three men offered to go, because, as they said, they knew what was making the noise and could find out what he wanted. So they went out and found Mĭsinghâli'kŭn, and asked him what he wanted. He answered:

● 539 "Go back and tell the others to stop holding meetings and attend to their crops. Do not meet again until fall, when I will come and live with you, and help in the Big House. You must take wood and carve a face (MIsi'ng^{w}) just like mine, painted half black and half red, as mine is, and I will put my power in it, so that it will do what you ask. When the man who takes my part puts the face on, I will be there, and this is how I will live among you. This man must carry a turtle rattle and a stick, just as I do now." Then he told them how to fix the twelve carved faces on the posts of the Big House, and the faces on the drumsticks, and taught them how to hold the ceremony.

Then he said:

"You must also give me hominy every year in the spring. I take care of the deer and other game, that is what I am for. Wherever you build the Big House, I will keep the deer close by, so that you can get them when you need them.

"Never give up the Big House. If you

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do, there will be another earthquake, or something else just as bad.

"The earthquake stopped that time; that is why the Delawares have kept the MIsi'ng$^{w^t}$ and the Big House ever since. The Mask is left in charge of some family who will take good care of it, and burn Indian tobacco for it from time to time."

It will be seen that, according to the above tradition, the MIsi'ng$^{w^t}$ was, first of all, a personal helper, or guardian Spirit, that afterward became more or less of a tribal deity, and that his cult became engrafted on the Annual Ceremony among the Unami, the rites of which were already ancient among them. That this engrafting really took place seems possible from the fact that among the Minsi there were no masked performers at the Big House ceremonies, and that, while the central post of the temple was provided with carved faces, the masks had an entirely different function among this people. The innovation, if it took place at all, must have been before Brainerd's[82] time, however, for, as related

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ORIGIN LEGEND OF BEAR OR BRUSH ARBOR CEREMONY

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Lo'mwe nɔtci· wendausi·'eŋgʷ kwut·enau''ki la•'ke-
Long ago since beginning of our life one kind cere-

yɔk·ɑn lowe•'nhaŋgʷ e'nda wi·hi'ɬtiŋg ɔk
mony is said, so said when named [by the people] and

xa'n·e• lowenda'ɜ·u axkɑ'ce·i·k·a'wɑn. Yu'kwe kɑn-
accordingly is called brush-shed. Now recent-

dju'kwe e'nda la'xauɔ'xɔn·e•k' yu·'li·ɬ keni·i·'
ly when at the forks these [rivers] Caney

si·'powa' na'ne' ta'li· taɔ'ŋgan e•'li· ne•'ki·k'
creeks there where was lost [the rite] because these

e•lhake''ti·t' ne'k·e lɑk'hi·'k·wi· pɔlɑ'ci·ma•'na
conducting the ceremony at that time [it seems] Frenchman

wi·'tnema't·tci· tɔl·ha'k·e•n. me•'tci· yu'kwe we•kwi·'-
his wife it was her ceremony. Now then they are

ne•yu'ŋga. Yu'kwe yu'ni· la•k·eyɔ'k·ɑn ni'·cenau''kat'
all dead now. Now this ceremony is divided into two parts

we'ndji·ki:ci·mgɔ't·ɔk. a'lɔnde lɔ'mwe awe•ni'ŋgaxke
from which it originated. Some long time ago persons now dead

i·'yap'tci· e'nda awe•'n ke'ko liŋgwe-
caused when creature-thing [appearing] in form

hel·alu'k·uk te•'kɔnaye'ɜ·a'. ɔk xa'ne• kwu't·en-
of vision as a wild animal. And although one kind

au''ki· e'nda oxtca'nɔnd' ma'xk'ʷtɔt'. me•'tci· e'nda
or form. when having a pet little bear. Now when

ki·ci·'ki·t' na'lu'we•n pɑ'k·i·tanehi·'ne•n wa'ni· talɔ-
full grown then it was said "Let us turn it free this our

mu·'s·ɔna tɔ't·a te•'kɔne. me•'tci· ke•xu'k·wɔnak·e't·e
pet somewhere in the wilds." Now when it was full-grown

na' wi·xka'ɻtci· tɔ'hi·'pa'ɬsi·n kwu't·i· mi·'mɑs
then suddenly became sick one child

xkwe'tcɔtc. nace•' nen'pi·'k·e•s wendji·'mɑn. e'nda
young woman, girl. Then sweat-doctor sent for. When

pɔ'n·dji·t' pi·mowa'k·aniŋ na' mɔ'xkamɔn tɔli·'
he entered sweat-house then it was discovered that

maiŋga'lkwun ne•'li·ɬ ɔ'xtcana'ɜ·a' na'
there was sympathetic relation between these pet, and then

' Caney Creek; name borrowed from English.

lu'we·n yu'kwe hwtɑk·i·'i· pa·'t·ɔtc nɑtc' pɔmɑ't·un-
it was said from here backward he came then to plead-

ha·'lan. ɔk ke'ko naxpa·'p'tunha·'lan na'li''
spiritually. And whatever thing they offer with prayer they then

paxki·'tanehi·'n te·'kɔne.
turn [the animal] free in the woods.

Ce·'la hyu'ni· la·p'tu'naxgat' e'nda pɔmɑ't·un-
Because that here are the instructions when pleading spirit-

ha·'lɔnd' te·kɔna'yes ge't·a paxki·'lɔnd'
ually with wild animal in order to prepare to secure aid from him

lo·'we·n. ɔk na li· wi·'hil·a·n e·lowe'si·t'. "me·'tci·ta'
they say. And then call him by name. "Now then

i'k·amaxte·'xɑn tɔli·' me·'tci· paxkandji·'ki·n. me·'tci·
the time has come that now you are full-grown. Now

kɔni·'hi·l·a't'amɑ ce·'lahɔne'n·i· pe·'mi·te·'kɔne·k.
you are at your maturity this is what your life has come to.

ngwi·s nam·e'' kwu'ndji·ai·n nane'' tɔ'p·i·n ki·t'ha'k·e.
My son there you belong where dwells your fellow tribesman.

yu'kwe ce·la'yu'ki·k' ke·'kɔk k'naxpo·'xwe·n.
Here now there these wampum you shall carry with you as you walk.

ɔk tɔ'li· kenaxki·'xkwun tɔ't·a e·'lɔmuk·wɔna'k·a
And because it will protect you for time to come

se·'kausi·yan. pɔ'nae·'lɔndamɔn yu'kwe yu'ni· ni·'lo·na
as long as you live. Consider now now this given to us

mi·lkwu's·ieŋg· wi·'ki·eŋg· ɔk pɔ'nae·lɔma'ɔk yu'ki·k
our gift our home and think about them these

ce· xi·'s·ɔmus·ɑk' ɔk xɑ's·ak. kɑ'tci· na't·e·lɔ-
those younger brothers and elder brothers. Do not worry

mi·'heŋg· wu'ndji· ma't·a pe·'xosi·kako·'ne·n ke'ko
about us that if not we might be overcome thing

mat·awe·'ltɑk cuk' pɔ'nae'lɔma k'ha'k·ai·' tɔli·'te
not good but evil but think of yourself, that will

ke·'p·e' ik·ali'tci· pe'tci· ɔlama'lsi·n. me·'tci·
yourself in time to come you will enjoy health. Now

te'p·i·laha'p'a e'nxa·p'tune·ya.
sufficient for now what I have to say this time.

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THE LOST BOY ADOPTED BY A SHE-BEAR

e'nda pi·laye'tcəte' taɔ'ŋgaləkʻ ma'xko· nəno·'nakʻ.
When boy lost bear adopted.

ak cəm'utcʻ lɔ'mwe mi·'mɑs taɔ'ŋgał lowe·'nhaŋg·
And also by the way long ago child lost it was said,

pi·laye'tcətcʻ i·ya'p'tci· e'nda papi'xti·tʻ mi·mɑ'sak
boy during while playing with children

te·'kəneʻ. nanakwu't·i· wi·xka'utci· nama·'la·n tə'li·
in woods. Then one suddenly they noticed that

ma't·a wi·tcʻkəne·'wən te'xi· ma't·a nəte·'ləmayuwa'o
not with the rest of them really not pay attention to him

ne·'ki·kʻ mi·mɑ's·ak. me·'tci· e'nda lɔ'kwi·kʻ na'kɔ-
those children. Now when evening it was

nəndj hwi·'kayo'yəma to'ləmatu'ni·ke·ne·'ya kwu't·i
then his elders [parents] they began to hunt one

t'pu'kwe la'p·i· ɔ'p·aŋge kwut·i·gi·'ckwe.
night next morning all day.

xa'n·kiʻ ke·xu'kwuni· nalowe·'n "me·'tci· nu'tckwe
Finally several days it was said "Now useless

nat·ona'wəna'. me·'tci· etʻ awe·'n aye's·əs·[1] wuni'-
to search for him. Now evidently creature animal he has been

hilaɔ'ŋgan." mat·a kwun·i·'i· ne·'li· nut'xani·k·we·tʻ
killed by." Not long afterward while hunting squirrels

kwu't·i·ski·'n·u wi·xka'utci· ne·lo'xwe·tʻ la·mci'ŋge naʻ
one young man suddenly while walking in woods then

wun·e·'yən awe·'ni·kʻ pe·'pa·p'hat·i'xti·t'. ahaləwi·'i·
saw some creatures playing about. More and more

ki·'xki· li·ʻ ki·mhɔ'k·e. me·'tci· ki·'xkitci· pa't·e
closely secretly crept up. Now close by coming

kekota'l·a kwu't·i· awe·'n ləna·'p·e. na təli·' nɑna'ɔn
here the thing was one person human. There as he recognized him

nale't'ma na'ni· pi·'lətcətcʻ kən·dju'k·we· e·'loweŋg
that it was that boy recently as said

taɔ'ŋgał. me·'tci· e'nda ap·a'tci·tʻ wi·'ki·tʻ nani·'
was lost. Now when he returned home then

ski·'n·u na təl·atci·'mwi·n. lo'we· "i'k·ali· e'nda
young man then he spread the news. He said "Down there where

[1] Note that the animal is spoken of as a human being.

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
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xi'ŋgwi· ci'ŋge·k ne·'yɔ pe·wi'tci·pa·'pi·t' na'ni·
big forest I saw playing with him [a bear] that

pi·'laye'tcɔtc' e·'loweŋg taɔ'ŋgɑl." e'nda we·'ta'kɔn-
boy who was said to be lost." When he told his story

u't·iŋg lo'we· "xi'ŋgwi· nani· hi't·uk ɔk pohe·'s·u
and explained he said "Big the tree and hollow

a'hi· hukwe·'yuŋg na'ne kɑ'a·da p'ɣwu's·i·n." lowe·'
very high up there up where hole in tree." He said

"ngi·'mhɔla'wɔk' na'ne nɔwu'ndji· ga'ski· wuli·'ne·yɔn
"I crept up on him that is why I could well see him

cuk' nama·'lkuk' ɔk ca·'i· pɔndji·hil·e·'yuk
but they noticed me and right away they ran into the hole

hi't·'kuŋg." na' ca·'i· we·hɔm·a'ɔn kwi·'kayo'yɔma.
the tree." Then right away they notified his old man [parent].

me·'tci· e'nda we·'mi· awe·'n we'u's·i·t' na' maye·'-
Now when every body knew of it then they called

ma·n lɔ'n·owak. na' ca·'e ik·alo'lti·n
together the men. Then right away there they all went

sɛka'kɔnd. na'lowe·n "me·'tci·ta wei·'tɔt'
last time seen at that spot. Then it was said, "Now it is expected that

kɔnup'ho'mɔna e·'li· kowato·'ne·n na'ni· nu'cae'hɔme [a]
we are in danger because we know that female bear with cubs

ma'xta·pe·'yɔ e'nda nuce·'i·t'."
very mean when she has young."

Me'tci· e'nda nama·'s·i·t' nani·' nu·caye'hɔme
Now when he noticed that female bear with cubs

na' ca·'e ika' wu'ndji a'lɔmi li·xaxku·'s·i·n. e'nda
at once there from began to climb down. When

m'i·tci·'hi·l·a·t na' ca·'e ik·a'wundji pɑs·kwul·a'ɔn.
she came in sight right away from there shot her off the tree.

nace·' awe·'n aloka·'lan tɔ'li· kɔn·da'ku's·i·n hi't'-
And then some one they appointed to climb up on

kuŋg ɔk tɔli·' li·'xɔna·n ne'li·l pi·layetcɔ'tca'. ɔk
tree and to take down that boy. And

[a] *e'hɔme* generic term for "bear kind," or genus Ursus; *xi'ŋgwe'hɔme* "big bear," or male bear.

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ənahəli·′ we·′mi· enxu′ce·t maxtə′t·a· na′ka ne′heland 796x
also all the litter little bears deceased killed 539
nu′cae·′me·′yu. 773
mother bear.

e′nda hwtəki·i·′ pe·′cəwənd na′ni mi·′mqs na·
When back home they brought that child and

a′ləmi·· ɔxtca·′na·n ne·′ki·k maxk··tə′tak. mat·ak-
began to pet those little bears. Not so very

wəni·i·′ na· tələmi·′ atci·′mwi·n na′ni· pi·laye′tcətc.
long after then began telling his story the boy.

lowe·′hund "ni· ni·hila′tci də′l·s·i·n da′tc·iŋ xe·yɔ′k·an
He said they say "I myself was cause my disobedience

wundji· nhi·′lənd na′ka ma′xko gahe′s·ənə′na."
why was killed defunct bear our mother."

lo′we· "ke·xu′k·wuni· nəwi·′nowa′muk na′ka ma′xko
He said, "Several days she pleaded with me defunct bear

lo′we· na′nen ,sɔ′k·i· məli·′mwi·n. də′luk· 'ni·′tcan
she said that all the while cried. She said 'my child

me′tci· ma′t·a kwun·i·′i· kənə·′pənałke′hən·a cuk·
now not long before they are coming upon us but

yu′kwea·′ sa′kənəmɑ′ni· yu′ni skwɔ′nde ne′ni· ki·p·
now if you raise up in sight in this entrance that your arrow

na· yu′kwe ma′t·a ni·łke·′wən.' də′luk 'ələ′p·a·
and here now not would kill me.' She said, 'tomorrow

ne·′sko paxa′k·we·k nɑtc pe·lti·n' lowe·′. ako′·
before noon then they will be here,' she said. Did not

ha′ci· djəp·i·na′o na′ni gahe′s·ənə ɔk ne·′ki·k
never I discover what they were that one our mother and those

·nəxi·′səmə′s·ɑk kəndj nayu′ ki·′ckwi·k nɑtc nəmɑ′-
my brothers younger until this very day then they

xka·ke·nen. ge′hel·a haŋg· ci·elə′ndam e·′li ŋu′lax-
found us. Certainly as said I am sorry because I was well

tca·′huk ɔk nu′li·pənda′o e′nda ke′ko li·t· gahe·′s·ə-
treated and I understood when something said our

na′na."
mother."

Nane· ki·′ckwi·k e′nda· t·ho′nənd nain·′ pi·laye′-
That day when captured the boy

x 796 539 773

tcɔtc hwtɔk·i·'i· pe·cowa·' wi·'ki·t ɔk naholi·'
back home brought him his home and besides

ne·'ki·k' maxk'ʷtɔ'tak nace·' a'lɔmi· oxtca·'na·n
the little bears right away began to pet them

ne·'ki·k ma'xkɔk. xa'nt'ki· tɔli·' gi·ci·ki·ne·'yo.
the bears. And finally until full grown they were.

nalowe·'n me'tci· gi·'ci·kohaulana'nak yu'kwe kowa·-
And it was said, "Now we have raised them now you

to·'nen ci·kwi·ne·'yɔk takuu·' wɔli·xɔnou·'wi· tɔ'li·
know they are orphans it is not right that

pa'xki·tanihi·'ne·n kandj hi'tami· pɔmɔto'nha·lɔ'nde.
we turn them loose until first we must perform a ceremony.

ɔk li·'xɔn tɔli'tc naxpaŋgoma·'ne·n na'ni·
And it is the rule that also we give with ceremony something of worth the

te·kɔna'yes· ke'ko." nace·' hukweni·hou·'la·n we·'mi·
wild animal something." And then they put around his neck all

enxi'xti·ti ne·'ki·k ma'xkɔk ke·'k'ʷ.
in number as the bears wampum.

"Metci· elaŋgou·'mɔleŋg i'k·a pe·te·'lɔmukou·'ne·n
"Now" our relation it has come our time

tɔ'li· mi·'lkwus·i·n ɔk hwtɔk·i·'i· mi·'l·ɔn·e·n ɔ'nda
to you to be given and back we give you when

ni·'hilatci· ni·hi·lat·ɔma·'n. cuk' wa'ni· ce· xa'sowa
yourself your freedom. But this that your brother

pi·laye'tcɔtc nayu'ni· wundji·'aii·n. ki·lo'wa xan·e·'
boy here he belongs. But you yourselves

muxomsa'xtuk' hwtɔki·'i· te·'kone kta'ham·u e·'li·
our grandfathers back in wilderness you are going because

na'ne wundji·a'yu k'ha'k·ai. ɔk kɔnaxpaŋgou·'mɔlɔ'-
that is where you belong yourselves. And we give this ceremonially

n·e·n ni·lu'na lɔna·pe·'yɔk yu'ni· ke·'k'ʷ kut·e·'ha·n
to you we the Delawares this wampum your heart

ma·'mca·li·e'ŋgwɔtc k'te'p·i· lu'we· yutɔ'c·e· do''pi·n
when you think of us you can say back here live

elaŋgo·'mak. cuk ma't·ɔtc' tci·tc' pe·'xus·hi'k·ae-
my relatives. But do not any more approach us

[1] This address is to the bears.

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ho'mɔna e·'li· na'lən·e kɔna'xpe·ləmu'k·un təli·'tc 796 539 773
because that [wampum] will take care of you that

te·'kɔne tala'usi·. ɔk ne'ni·ce· ke·'k'· ke·'naxki·'-
in wilderness you must live. And that wampum will take care of

xpun ik·ali'tci· pe·'tci· ɔ'lamalsi·'tun. ɔk
you [in sorrow] if you in future comes your guardian of health. And

ɔne·'pena wu'ndji ma't·a pe·xo'si·hik·ako'wɔne·n
we also henceforth not be overcome by

ke'ko ma't·a we'ltuk. me'tci· laha'p·a muxo'·msa
anything not good. Now again grandfather

te'p·i· enxa'p'to·ne'ya wɔlaŋgo'sɔwi· li·'. wani'ci·."
enough I have to say in friendship way. Thanks."

Free Translation.

A long time ago, in the beginning of our existence, there was one kind of ceremony, it is said, named by the people and called Brush Arbor. Now, in recent times, when the Delawares were living at the forks of Caney Creek, it was lost because of the master of ceremony who at the time was the wife of Frenchman whose ceremony it was. Now, they are all dead. Now, this ceremony is divided into two parts whence it originated. One being, long time ago, caused by persons, now dead, to whom a creature appeared in the form of a vision as a wild animal. And the other kind resulted from having a pet, a little bear. Now, when it was full grown it was said, "Let us turn our pet loose somewhere in the wilds." And when it was grown up suddenly a child, a young woman, became sick. Then the sweat doctor was sent for. When he entered the sweat-house it was discovered that there was a sympathetic relation between the two, the pet and the child and it was said that the pet was spiritually pleading with her. And that they should offer something with a prayer as a sacrifice and liberate the animal in the woods. For these are the instructions when pleading spiritually with a wild animal in order to secure aid from him, it is said, and then call him by name saying, "Now then the time has come when you are full grown. Now you are at your maturity which is what your life has developed into.

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796 My son, you belong there in the wilderness, where dwell
539 your kind. Now you shall carry this wampum as you go
773 along and that will protect you in the future as long as you live. Consider well now that our home is given to us as a natural gift and think about these younger and older brothers. Do not worry about us that we might be overcome by evil, but think of yourself that you yourself may in the future enjoy health. Now this is all I have to say at this time."

THE LOST BOY ADOPTED BY A SHE-BEAR

When the lost boy was adopted by a bear. And also long ago a child, it is said, was lost. It was a boy, while playing with children in the woods. Then one, they suddenly noticed was not with the rest of them. The other children had really paid no attention to him. Now, when it was evening his parents began to hunt for him, all night and the next day. Finally after several days it was said, "Now it is vain to search for him. Evidently some wild animal has killed him." Not long afterward, while hunting squirrels, a young man suddenly walking in the woods saw some creatures playing about. Closer and closer he crept up secretly. Now coming close by, there was the creature -a human being. There as he recognized him, seeing that it was the boy who was recently said to have been lost. Now when he returned home the young man spread the news. He said, "Down there where the big forest is, I saw playing together a bear and the boy said to have been lost." When he told his story and explained it he said, "There is a big tree there and a hollow very high up, a hole up there in the tree." Said he, "I crept up on him, that is how I could see him well. But they noticed me and ran back into the hole in the tree right away." Then at once they notified his parents. And when everybody knew of it they called the men together. Then they all went at once to the spot where he was seen the last time. Then it was said, "Now we expect to be in danger because we know that a female bear with cubs is very savage when she has young." Now, when the female bear noticed them, she at once began to climb down from where she was. When she came in sight they shot her off the tree at once and then

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someone was induced to climb up into the tree that he might bring down the boy, and also the litter of little bears of the now dead mother bear they had killed.

Then they brought the child back home and made pets of the little bears. Not long after, then the boy proceeded to tell his story. It is told that he said, "I myself, through my disobedience, was the cause of the bear, our mother, being killed." He said, "Several times she pleaded with me, the dead bear, speaking while she cried. She said, 'My child, it will not be long before they come upon us. But now if you raise up your arrow in sight in the entrance here, they will not kill me.' She said, 'Tomorrow, before noon, they will be here.' I did not discover what they were, our mother and brothers (the bears) until the very day that they found us. Certainly, as one would say, I am sorry because I was well treated and I could understand when our mother (the bear) said anything."

From the day that the boy was captured and brought back to his home where he lived, together with the little bears, they began right away to make pets of the bears, and thenceforth until they were full grown. And then, it was said, "Now we have raised them, yet you know they are orphans and it is no right to turn them loose until first a ceremony of pleading has been performed. And it is the rule that we offer a worthy sacrifice to the wild animal with something. And then they put wampum around their necks, each one of the bears.

"Now, our relation, it has come to be our time that you be given back, when you yourself we give you freedom. But this boy, your brother, belongs here, but as for you yourselves, grandfathers, back into the wilderness you are going by yourselves. And we, the Delawares, offer this wampum to you ceremonially as your heart. When you think of us you can say, 'Back there live our relations.' But do not approach us any more because that wampum will take care of you in the future, in case sorrow comes, as your guardian of health. And henceforth, we also shall not be overcome by anything evil. Now, once again, grandfather, I have said enough in the way of friendship. Thanks!"

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stated songs for the mask dance by selected men who beat time upon the flat deer-hide drum of the same type as that used in the Big House Ceremony. (See Fig. 19, I, of the "Big House Ceremony.")

It should be noted that the Mask Spirit is important enough among the spirit-forces to be admitted to the annual ceremony of the Big House. There, we learn, on the fourth morning of the festival the mask is admitted to the scene and the same dance as that just described is gone through.

See pp. 39–44, and figs. 9, 10 of the volume referred to for particulars and illustrations of the mask spirit concept, p. 139 for description of this intercession during the Big House Ceremony when the Mask-Spirit is introduced as a performer.

MASK DANCE ADDRESSES

Announcement by the Speaker

Elaŋgu'ndieŋg	kexa'p'tun	ke'ko	ŋga't·a	lo'we.	
Our kindred	few words	something	I want	to say.	
wa'ni	ce•	ni·'ma'tɔs	ga'xta	wehoma's·u	təli'	ga'xta
This	there	my brother	wants	to announce	that	he is going
kɑnt'ke'ohe•n	mɔs·i'ŋgoma.	me'tci	paxka'ndji	ki·cə-
to make dance	his mask.	Now	all ready	pre-
na'k·ut	we•'mi·	ke'ko	nekałkɔ't·uk	e'nda	wi·'huŋge•t'
pared	all	things	used	when	he feasts[4]
wa'ni	kɔmuxo•'mɔna	mɔs·i'ŋg.	kowa'to•ne•n	elaŋ-
that	our grandfather	mask.	You know	my
gu'ndieŋg	lɔmwe''kami	nɔ'tci·	ki·ci·'mkɔt	elaehɔ's·i·t'
kindred	ancient world	since	has been the rule	the manner
awe•'n	nehel·a'la•t'	mɔs·i'ŋgɔ	e'nxɑn	acɔwi·ga'xtiŋg
anyone	owning	a mask	each	every year
na'ni·	lɑk'hi'kwi·	taxkɔkəni·'i·	lɑk'hi'kwi·	sa'psoha'la•
that	time	in the fall	time	made hominy for
mɔs·i'ŋg	wi·sa'pa•n	nɑni	kɔmuxo•'mɔna.
mask	hominy	that	our grandfather.
yu'kwe	ki·ci·wunda'su	e'nda	pale'nɑxk	la'k·i·m-
Now	has been set	when	fifth	day of the

[4] Referring to both the mask and its owner.

796 kwu'ɜ·i·t taxkokənɔ·'wi· gi·'cux li·' wunda'su təli'tc
539 month fall moon[1] as set for

537 kə'nt'ka"n ɜnani·' məɜ·i'ŋg. we"'mi· awe"'n ga'xta
the dance that mask. Every one must

kəlelə'ndamuk elaŋgu'ndieŋg ga't·a wi·tcəma'mənа
remember my kindred must help

wa'ni· elaŋgo"'meŋ e"'li· me'tci· k'təm·a'''kat' wa'ni·
this our relative because now pitiful this

ləna"'pe endala'us·i·t. me'tci· a'hət' təli·' ke'ko
Delaware way of living. Now it is hard that anything

k'tcuk·wənəmə'ne"n wa'ni· ləna"'pe mi·kəmɔɜ·uwa'k·an
for us to move the Delaware his performances

ɔk mo"howa'k·an ɔk la"keyɔ'k·an. yu laha'p·a
and his dances and his ceremonies. Now for the present

te'pi· e'nxap'to"ne"'ya cuk' i·ya'p'tci· ndayɑ'ndama"n
it is enough what I have said but however I wish

tə'li· we"'mi· ik·a pe'tci· wəlamalsi·'ne"n enda·
that all up till then are well when

taxkɔ'ka na'mieŋg ɔk k'tə'li· wi·'t'ke"mane"'n
autumn we see and to we dance with

muxo"'məɜna ne' lak'hi'kwi·.
our grandfather that time.

wa'ni·ci· elaŋgu'ndieŋg yu'kwe petci·lak'hwi·'eŋg
Thanks my kindred now here this evening

we"'mi· ce" ni·max'tə'ɜ·tuk ɔk udaxkwe"'mɑt·uk ɔk
all those our brothers and our sisters and

we"'mi· ne"k' tami·'mɵɜəmɔna'nɑk pe'tci· we"'mi·
all those our children including all

enxənauga't·ək laŋgo"ɜ·owa'tuk, me'tci· i·'k·a
every one my relations, now has

maxte"'xɑn tə'li· wi·'t·auhi·ma"'ue"n wa'ni· muxo"'-
come that we dance with him our grand-

məɜna məɜ·i'ŋg. ɔk gahə'ni· wani'ci· e'nda ne"'meŋg
father mask. And very thankful when we see

we"'mi· ke'ko paxkandji·'k·an. yu'kwe pe'tci· wi·'kwi·
every thing has matured. Now comes ending of

[1] October.

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taxko'kiŋ li' we·'mi· ke'ko na'xpən·e uli·'nak·ɔt' ɔk 796x
in fall as all things even look good and 539
kole'ləmuk'ho'məna we·'mi awe·'n. yu'kwe gat·a't·i· 537
we are glad all persons. Now do your utmost

we·'mi· awe·'n wi·tcəma·'me·n muxo·'məəna i'k·a'
every one to help our grandfather up

petci· tə'li· təma''həma·n e'ləmi· t'pa·'kwi·k'. me'tci·
until that he finish (his dance) during the night. Now

e'nda təma'həma·t natc' laha'p·a wi·po·ma·'ne·n
when he finishes his dance then we will eat with him

ne'ni· musa·'p'sowak·an. me'tci· e'nda we·'mi· awe·'n
this his hominy. Now when every one

ki·'ci· xa'm·ənd' natc' la'p·i· ke·'xap'tun ke'ko
has been fed then again a few words things

e·'lowe·'ya natc kandj ta'ləmi· lən·auhi·'ne·n.
I want to say, then we will begin our common dances.

ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER

Free Translation.

Our kindred, there are a few words that I wish to say. This brother of mine wants to announce that he is going to make a dance for his mask. Now, all the things that are to be used when he gives the feast to our grandfather the Mask are ready and prepared. You know, kindred, ever since ancient times the rule has told that anyone owning a mask, each year in the fall of the year, shall make hominy for that mask our grandfather.

Now, the time has been set for the fifth day of the fall moon as decided upon for dancing the Mask. Everyone must remember it, kindred, and must help this relative of ours, because now these Delaware customs have become pitiful. Now, it has become difficult for us to move anything in the way of Delaware ceremonies and dances. Now, for the present it is enough what I have said, but nevertheless I wish that all will have good health until then, that we shall see the autumn and dance with our grandfather at that time.

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OPENING ADDRESS

796 Thanks kindred, now here this evening all our brothers,
539 sisters, our children and each and every one of our relations,
537 it has happened that we have danced with our grandfather the Mask. And we are very thankful when we see how everything has matured. Now comes the conclusion in the fall as all things look so well, and we all of us are glad. Now, do your utmost everyone to help our grandfather along until he finishes his dance during the night. Now, when he finishes his dance then we will feast with him on this hominy which is his. Now, when everyone has been fed then again I want to say a few words, after which we will begin our common dances.

796 The speeches delivered at these ceremonies may vary
537 somewhat according to the mood of the chief invited to give them. They all follow the general pattern which has been demonstrated in connection with the various rites so far described as to have become familiar to the reader. Several formulistic thoughts, we are informed, should not be overlooked, such as voicing the feeling of enjoyment experienced by all present to have had the pleasure of feasting in company with the spirit of the occasion, in this case the Mask-Spirit, the fact that "no doubt exists but that the Mask-Spirit is well pleased with the devotion paid him, and that the outcome will be successful in bringing health and prosperity to the mask owner and all those present." The speaker should not forget to say his thanks for the good order prevailing at the ceremony and to ask that all those present will go home in harmony and with benefit after the general social dances, which invariably conclude the feasts, are finished.

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relationship, but of this we are still at a loss to form an idea. The references to pagan family feasts sketchily provided in the narratives of the early missionaries among the Delawares, would definitely point to the existence of a rite of this type in the tribe when it was still resident in the east.

The following is Wi·tapano'xwe's outline of the origin tale referred to just previously accounting for the acquisition of the ceremony in the family of his grandmother, Mawa't·e·s, a Munsee woman who was the owner of a doll image and ceremony.

"A little girl of long ago was in the habit of playing with the corn. She would take the shucks and the end of a corncob with its silk and fashion a doll, the silk forming the hair, baring part of the cob to represent the face, and arranging the shucks to represent its dress, in the likeness of a human being. Several children imitated her action and took up playing with similar dolls. The first child was taken sick and became very ill. They sent for a medicine man. He pronounced her illness as being a result of violating laws imposed upon man's behavior in relation to the Spirit of Corn by the Great Spirit. He then told the parents of these children that the sickness could be cured by performing a feast once a year during the child's lifetime and transmitting it down through posterity to prevent return of the malady. The particulars governing the conduct of the feast and ceremony, as well as the details of construction and dress of the doll images to be used in the celebration, were all prescribed in the vision of the medicine man. The families were told to watch closely over the condition of the dolls, to keep their clothing in good repair and well decorated, and to renew it each year on the occasion of the feast. The songs of the ceremony were revealed in detail, there being six for the men participants and six for the women. They were told to provide the feast by killing a beef and a hog for the guests. Also to clear up a large dance ground at some suitable place in the open, likewise to provide at one end of the clearing a seat for the singers and a tent nearby to serve as a lodge for the master of ceremonies. A chief preferably but not necessarily of the same ceremonial group was to be invited to act as master of ceremonies, or *elha'k·e·l*, 'one who brings it in.' His aides were to be a woman invited to lead the dancers of her sex, a man to lead the men, and a fire-keeper, called *pu'lcal*, whose duty included the cooking of hominy and meat for the feast. Each of these attendants was to receive a yard ('shoulder to tip of finger length') of wampum for his services. Two drummers were also to be invited to sing and beat upon the folded deer-hide drum. They, too, were to receive the same amount of wampum. The chief invited to act as master of ceremonies would open the occasion with an address of instruction

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x 796 and admonition and close it with another. His duties also were to
773 include the enforcement of order during the night of the ceremony, to
● 539 encourage the people to participate in the dancing, and to see that all went smoothly and reverently until after midnight when the twelve formal chants of the men and women dancers had been completed, after which those present could spend the rest of the night until sunrise in the enjoyment of social dances of their own selection. His ceremonial pay was also a yard of wampum. The master of ceremonies was expected to refer in his opening address to the great event of the year as fall approaches, of the ripening of the corn, to the expectation on the part of the owners of 'our grandmothers,'[1] the dolls, that the dolls be fed with sacred food, hominy and meat. He was to recite how they were going to dance the twelve ceremonial dances representing the twelve months of the year, beginning about seven o'clock and ending at midnight. He was to instruct them how the dances were to alternate between the men and the women, the women having the first dance, how the appointed woman was to lead her participants and the man his. And how the man leader was to dance around the circle carrying one of the images and the women around another circle outside the line of the men dancers behind their leader carrying another of the dolls. Between dances the dolls were to be fastened on poles about five feet high placed in front of the tent that was the headquarters of the master of ceremonies. The prescribed musical instrument for the ceremony was to be the deer-hide drum, and turtle rattles for the leaders. A pole was to be supported upon props over the fire and the feasting kettle hung from it. At one end of the pole was also to be hung the drum when it was being beaten. The next speech of the master of ceremonies, to be given about midnight, was to include thanks to the Great Spirit for the blessing brought them by the ceremony, admonishing those present to conduct their behavior properly, to avoid drunkenness and irreverence. He was to render thanks likewise to the sun, 'our brother,' for his light, to the stars for theirs, and to all the spirits on earth for their blessings and care over us in life, to our grandmothers, the cornhusk dolls, the guardians of health who must be paid once a year by the ceremony for their spiritual aid. His instructions in closing his address were also to refer to the duties of the six selected male and six female leaders (these being relatives of the leader both by blood and within the ceremonial grouping) who should stand at sunrise facing the east with the dishes of food in their hands. They were also to sweep away the ashes from the fireplace and carry all to one side, then put the fire out. In his final address he was to refer to the twelve, male and female, dance leaders who are holding the dishes of food toward the sunrise, as rever-

[1] To explain the use of the relationship terms, grandmother and mother, the informant stated that the food, corn, is older than the dolls, whence the abstraction of grandmother in some cases.

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oneed attendants inspired by the Great Spirit whose duty is to help the leader in the interest of their family ceremony. He was to tell them that when he had said 'ready' the holders of the dishes of food should make a sideways swinging motion with the dishes saying, '*Hyu'*, *Ayu'*, *he e,*' twelve times. At the last time of the utterance they were to lay down the dishes of food making motions as if they were going to throw the food upon a tarpaulin spread nearby upon the dance ground for the people standing waiting to receive it. The bread was so to be thrown for the people to try to catch it if they could. The corn bread (*zuskwi'a'pan*) was to be made in representation of a human form; in the shape of a man complete with arms, legs and head symbolising the Corn Spirit. Another was to be made in the form of a bear about a foot in length, symbolising the stars and constellations to bring to mind the myth relative to the sky bear and the end of the world.[4] Upon each of the corn bread figures, the man and the bear, was to be placed a yard of wampum tied about the neck. Then as the twelve attendants stood in a row, the one standing on the south end of the line facing the sun was to hold the bear figure, the one on the north the human figure. The rest of the people do not know who are to hold these figures. They were instructed to throw the two figures of corn bread so as to cross each other in the air for the spectators to try and catch them. Those who did were to keep the wampum tied about the images, the successful ones thus receiving a yard of wampum as a ceremonial act. This last event was to take place just before the sun made its appearance on the horizon. Then all fell upon the food consuming it, except members of families owning the dolls. This was to end the ceremony after which all should go home and live properly until the ceremony is called for the next year. The rules required that in the case of death in the family the oldest in line next takes up the responsibility of the ceremony. Should he not wish to continue it it should be buried with him including the dolls which were to be referred to in such a case as 'orphans' since they have no one to care for them."

Harrington has also treated the Doll Dance. The tale accounting for its origin which he recorded differs in some details from the version given. It is as follows:[5]

"Long ago, the Lenape say, some children, playing with sticks, decided to cut faces upon them, and were then very much surprised to notice that the little dolls which they had thus made seemed to have life. Their parents made them throw the dolls away when they dis-

[4] A Delaware belief: when the bear (Ursa major) catches up with his severed head (a constellation not identified, corona borealis or Boötes) the earth will come to an end. Indeed, a prophetic truism.

[5] Harrington, I, pp. 162–3.

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covered this, and most of the children soon forgot what had happened. One little girl, however, grieved for her doll; it bothered her all the time, and finally she began to dream of it every night. Then she told her parents of her trouble, and they realized that they should not have compelled her to throw the doll away. One night the doll appeared to the child and spoke to her, saying, 'Find me and keep me always, and you and your family will ever enjoy good health. You must give me new clothing and hold a dance for me every spring,'[6] and then told her exactly what to do. The girl reported this to her parents, who immediately looked for the doll and found it, then dressed it, made some hominy, killed a deer, and held a dance in its honor as they were instructed, and this rite has been continued to the present day."

The description which he gives of the dance corresponds in most of its details with what has been previously set down. He mentions, however, a few additional features of the procedure which do not appear in my own. In preparation for the ceremony we are told "a hunter is then selected who calls on several to help him get a deer which, when brought in, is hung on poles prepared for it at the dance ground where it remains over night. The next morning they cook the deer and a kettle of hominy, and are then ready for the ceremony."

Furthermore he adds a point or two in regard to the carrying of the dolls during the dance. "When the leader finishes his 'set,' he passes the doll pole to the man behind him, who repeats the process, and so on until the men dancers [801] have carried it six times, when it is transferred to the women, who, in their turn, dance six sets, making twelve in all, the Lenape sacred number."

[6] My information implies that it was a fall rite.

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his messenger the weasel as the sources from which relief is hoped to come. The rain spirit is believed to repose in the thunder cloud that is soon expected to appear, and which is addressed as "grandfather." Wi·tapano'xwe added that the sacred animal is offered as a token of the good faith of the people in following the traditions of their ancestors as to how to pray when a drought had come upon them. The skin is held forth in the four directions, north, east, south and west. There is also, he added, an appeal to the running stream, "our mother," to aid in bringing about a rainfall for her suffering children on earth, "that all things we depend upon for our living and existence, vegetation and animal life, may grow in abundance."

Harrington has recorded a note on the occurrence of mink and weasel skin medicine sacks among the Munsee-Delawares of Moraviantown, Ontario, but he did not secure explanations of use.[1]

RAIN MAKING PRAYER

Wa'nici·	muxo^{u}'msa.	yu'kwe	ki·'ckwi·k	ndayα'-	
Thanks	grandfather.	This	day	I	
ndama^{a}n	təli·a'	wi·tcɔmi·'ne^{a}n	ko'xwi·sak.	kone^{e}'man	
wish	that	you help us	your grandchildren.	You see	
elki·'kwi·	itəma'k·a·	we^{e}'mi·	ke'ko	da'ɔt·.	gwi·'la li·
how	pitiful	every	thing	scarce.	No place for
lama'hon·a	e^{e}'li	kaha'p·ang	we^{e}'mi·	yutali·'	
drinking water source	because	drought	all	here about	
eləma^{a}'kami·.	na'xpon·ama^{a}n	wa'ni·	saŋgwe'axe^{a}s.		
on the earth.	I hold and ask with	that	weasel hide.		
e^{e}'li·	na'ni·	li·'xαn	lɔ'mwe	no'tci·	wa'ni· lən·a'p·e
Because	that is	rule	long ago	since	the Delaware
təli·	wa^{a}'to^{u}n	e^{e}'li·	mi·lkwus·u'	e^{e}laehɔ'si·t	e'nda
because	he knew	because	he was given	how to perform	when
wi·'nowe^{e}t	na^{a}'ta	hukwe'yuŋg	e'nda	leləmu'k·ən	
begging in earnest	to you	above	when	where you abide	
se's·ukəla^{a}'nhe^{a}s	muxo^{u}'msa	pe^{e}t'hak'ho'we.	e^{e}'li·	ki·	
rain maker	grandfather	thunder.	Because	you	

[1] M. R. Harrington, "Vestiges of Material Culture Among the Canadian Delawares," *Amer. Anth.*, N.S., Vol. 10, No. 3, 1908, p. 417.

782 xo'xa mi·'lkwus·in. ɔk kəni·'hi·la·tamən we·'mi· mbi·'
789 alone is given the power. And you control all water
539 ki· ma'n'towak·an tə'li· kəna'mənə·n. wu'ndjitc
your spiritual power that we look for. Therefore

təma·'keləmi·e'ŋgwe ɔk ənа'ni· saŋgwe'oxe·s na'lən·a
you have pity on us, and the weasel skin that

kwu't·i· te·kəna'yes i'k·a wundji·a'yu man'towa'k·an
one wild animal there belongs his spiritual power

wehendji·'hil·a·k sukəla·'naming. yu'kwe e'nda tcɔ'p·-
where it comes from rain fall. Now when I dip

onak yu'ni· pe·mi·'tan·i·k ndəla·'p'tona'la wa'ni·
into water this in the stream I invoke by addressing that

aye's·as təli·' wi·tci·'lae'mhone·n e'nda i'k·a laŋgo·'si·-
animal that he might intercede for us when toward we appeal to

eŋg· hukwe'yuŋg lema'ta'p·i·yan. yuk wani'ci·
you above where you sit. Now thanks

moxo·'msa na'li·hi·'ne·n we·'mi· enxoxto·'leŋg'. wani'ci·
grandfather give us everything we ask of you. Thanks,

te'pi·laha'p·a.
this is all for now.

Free Translation.

Thanks, grandfather. This day I wish that you help us, your grandchildren. You see how pitiful it is, everything is growing scarce. There is indeed even no place to get drinking water because drought rules all about over the earth. I hold this weasel skin and plead with you. For that is the custom since long ago, as the Delaware knew, because the knowledge was given to him to know how to perform when supplicating you up there above where you abide, oh rain-maker, grandfather Thunder. For to you is given the power. And you control by your spiritual power all the water that we are craving. Therefore do you have pity on us, and also the weasel skin, the one wild animal from whose spiritual power comes the rainfall which belongs to him. Now when I dip it into the water of this stream, I call upon you by addressing this animal that he may intercede for us when we appeal to you up above where you sit. Now thanks, grandfather, do give us everything that we ask of you. Thanks, that is all for now.

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×796 feet apart. To score a goal the ball must go between these
526 poles. The opponents are allowed to throw and wrestle with each other, but must not hurt one another intentionally. The game is played for a score of twelve or twenty goals. The record of goals secured is kept by a score-keeper who is provided with a number of sharp sticks one of which he sticks into the ground as each goal is won by the sides. Wagering
[525] is customary, and ribbons, beads, breastpins, bracelets or money are placed in a pile on the outcome of the contest.

Mention should be made of the ball. It is composed of a bundle of deer hair sewed in buckskin cover and is about eight inches in diameter.

When the ball season has reached its end about the close of June, the chief orders the discontinuation of the game. And after the final game he takes the ball and makes a speech saying that the season is now to be closed until the next year. At the conclusion of his speech he takes the deer-hair filling out of the ball and cuts the cover in halves. This is the sign to all that the football festival season is over.[1]

SPRING PRAYER

×796 Elaŋgu'ndieŋg" waŋi'ci· yu'kwe ki·'ckwi·k tɔli·'
782 My kindred I am thankful now this day that

●539 mɔca"'tamɔne"n eɬki·'kwi· wɔle"lɔm·u'k·weŋg ɔ'nda
we are thinking how the blessings when

ko'xən·a ke"tan'to'wi·t' mɔca"'lkweŋg ɔk kɔne"'mɔne"n
our father Great Spirit remembers us and we can see

tɔli·' i·'ka pe"te"'lɔmuk·o"'ne"n ɔ'nda si·'kwunami·'eŋg"
that so to now we live to see when it is spring time we are together

wu'ndji· wɔla"te"'nami·'ne"n ɔ'nda ne"'meŋg" we"'mi·
that is why we are thankful rejoice when we see every

ke'ko li' sa'k·an ɔk kɔmuxo"'mɔna"'nak hi·'t'kuk
thing how coming up and our grandfathers trees

sa"'k·ali·'yɔk yu'kwe we"'mi· elɑma"'kami·k' wɔli·na"'-
they send out bad now all over the universe looks

[1] Later information states that the ball is not destroyed at the end of the game except when it was conducted upon the principle of the Shawnee ruling which prevailed in Delaware tradition through the influence of this tribe.

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kwot' we·'mi· ski·'k'·ᵛ ɔk na'xpɔn·e ki·lawu's·ɔna
fine all vegetation and also our grain

ɔk me'hɔmawɑ's·iŋg ne·'xkɔt' pe'a'lɔmi· ki·ci·'k·iŋ
and our fruit ["what we pick"] It shows being begins growing.

na'xpɔn·e k'tama'ndamɔne·n e'nda pe'tci· k'cɔt·e'kaŋg
And also we feel it when as puts forth heat,

na'ni· t'xą'sɔna ki·'cux wimbɔne'm'ko·ᵛna ɔk nahali·'
he our elder brother the sun. He sympathises with us and besides

ne·'ki·k moxo·'mɔn·a'nɑk pe·t'ha'k·owe·yɔk ɔ'nda
these our grandfathers thunders when

mi·'lkweŋg·ᵛ te'p·i· m'bi·'' we·'mi· da' ne'ni· tɔ'li·xtun
they give us plenty of water. All is that created

ko·'xɔna gi·'ce·lɔmu'kɔŋg'. i·'l·i·haŋg·ᵛ we·'mi· ma'nitu
by our father the Creator even it is said every spirit

pa·'tamą kɔ'ha ta'm'se pɔn·da'wɔna·'nɑk moxo·'-
prays because sometimes we hear our

mɔna·'nɑk hit'kuk tɔ'li· me'mendɔwe·ne·'yɔ ɔ'n·da
grandfathers trees, that they pray earnestly when

wani·' ke·'cxiŋg i'ka pɔmi·'hil·a·t' tepi·a' wundji·-
the wind there go by that is enough for [to make]

awe·'n pɔna'elɔ'ndamɔn ɔk wundji· wɔla·te·'nami·n
anyone thinking and on account of it to bring happiness

ɔ'n·da neŋg ko·'xɔna mwi·'kɔmɔ·uwa'k·an elki·'kwi·
when he sees our father his works of wonder how

wɔli·'ka'k·uŋg ki·'kaxtiŋge. Cela'hɔn·e elaŋgu'ndieŋg·ᵛ
well it affects us all the year. This is my kindred

lap'tu'naxgat' ale·pɔ'ndowa'k·an yu'kwe yu'ni·
the formula of prayer this here

e·lim'kɔ't·ɑk.
of this kind.

Free Translation.

My kindred, I am thankful now as we are thinking upon the blessings received when our Father, the Great Spirit, remembers us. And we can see how up until now we have lived along so that we can all together observe the coming of springtime. Wherefore we rejoice when we see how every-

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thing is coming forth, and how our grandfather's trees are sending out their buds. And now everywhere throughout the land appears in beauty all the green growth and likewise our grains, while also the fruits that we gather show forth the beginnings of growth. And we also feel it as he is coming to send forth heat, that one our elder brother the sun. He has sympathy for us. And then, besides, those grandfathers of ours the Thunders as they give us an abundance of water. Everything is the doing of our Father the Creator. And it is even said that all the Spirit forces (manitu) pray, because sometimes we hear them, our grandfathers, the trees, as they earnestly commune in prayer when the wind passes by through them. It is enough to set anyone thinking and should be a cause for happiness when he beholds the marvelous works of our Father, and how well they work for our benefit all the year through. And that now, my kindred, is the formula of prayer for this kind of traditional rite here.

[erratum - Analyst]

[p. 78]

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ORIGIN OF THE CORN HARVEST CEREMONY

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Lɔ'mwe we'sk'hak·ami·'k·e k'ti·'hilɔs·taohən·a*'nɑk
Long ago in beginning of the world we have heard

ki·'kagoyəmən·a*ni'ŋgɑ təli·' lowe*ne*'yɔ wa'ni· xaskwi·'m
our ancient dead how they said the corn

lɔ'mwe ngat'ha'k·e. wi·xka'utci hund' ka'it·i a'ləmi·
long ago migrated went away. All of a sudden it was slowly began

xi·'hi·l·e* aha'ləwi· k'təma'k·e*lən·dɑmowa'k·an·u. ka'heli·
to lessen more and more it grew pitiful. Many

awe*'n nunde'həl·e me'hmi·'tciŋ e*'li· lɔ'mwe nə'tci·
people were in need of food because long ago since

na'lowan xaskwi·'m tə'n·da ni·'kani·xi·'nɑn we*'mi·
this corn it was was leading food all

wi·'lawəs· na'wundji· me'hmawə'nsiŋg ɔk wi·yu's.
grain from that fruit and meat.

Ge'həl·a me*tci·'gai k'təma*'ksu et'
Very deplorable pitiful evidently it must have been

we*'mi· awe*'n. ə'nda me'tci· hwi·'la
all persons. When now in perplexity baffled

le*lən·dami·'t·i·t' ki·kago'yəmən·ani'ŋga na' lo'we*n
as to what to think of to do our ancient ancestors then it was said,

"ma'ema'"t·am we*'mi· awe*'ni·k a'kɔnutəmu't·am
"Let us gather all persons to council

tət·a a*' e*laehɔ's·ieŋg wu'ndji· kɑ'ski· wi·nowa'meŋg
what could we take action so that can we plead with

gahe's·ən·a təli·'tc ma't·a tci·mi·!' ngałko*'ne*n."
our mother so that will not forever leave us".

Nanə'ce* wundji·'xɑn təli·' aləmi·' mani·'ha*n
That is whence the beginning that beginning the making

wani lən·a'pe yu'li·l mwe'mui·haləwes·a'. lo'we*n
the Delawares these excrement-rubbers. It is said

tcani·'laeha'wɔna wa'ni· gahe's·ɔna nane'' wu'ndji·
we have offended this our mother that is reason

alɔ'mska*n. yu'kwe elaŋgu'ndieŋg yu'kwe ce*'
she is leaving. Now my kindred this is

ha't·e e*laehɔ'sieŋg pi·pi·'li· awe*'n
how a way here we can take action first one person and another

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796 ba'·t·e e'lowe·t' yu'ni· a· ·alɔwi·l'. cuk' kwun·a'eke
539 a plan here to say "This here is better." But at last
773 ə'nda ki·ca'kenuta'ɛ·i·k lo'we·n mani·ha'wɔna ni·'ca'
when it was considered in council, it was said we will make two

ɔp'akwi·' wucki'ŋgɔ ɔk naɦɔli·' cakhukwi·'yan ɔk
corn shucks face-masks and including coat and

kako·'nɑn we·'mi ɔp'akwi·l·'. yu'kwe e'nxɑn a'cɔwi·
leggings all corn husks. Now each change of

ga'xtiŋg mae'hel·a·n ɔk ha't·e·tc ɔk ki·'ci·ma·n
year we will gather and there will be a plan and they will be selected

awe·'ni·k' nenu'nami''ti·t' yu'ni· la·'ke·yɔ'kan.
people who will own and control this ceremony.

Ni·ca' lə'n·owak pi·pi·'nawɔn i'k·a eɬhala''ti·t'
Two men are chosen who shall wear

ne·'li·ɬ mwe'hɔmwi·ha'lɔwe·s eɦaɬkwi·'tci· kexu'k·wɔni·
the excrement rubbers clothes, costume for a few days

a'pa·ma·'mehel·e·'yɔk e·li·'k'hat·iŋ. we·hɔma·'s·uwɑk
they go about neighborhood. They notify the people

li·' me·'tci· gici·'m'kɔt' ehel·ɑk'hi'k·wi·· la·'k·e·t'
that now is arranged by rule the time for ceremony

nani·awe·'n ne·nɔnu·'nɑŋg neni·' xaskwi·'mi·
by that person who controls that corn

la·k'eyɔ'k·an. ɔk ə'nda tɔ't·a awe·'n ngi·'skaɔt'
festival celebration. And when any one meet with

ne·'li·ɬ mwe''hɔmwi·ha·lɔwe's·a' e·'li· mhi't·aɔŋge's·axpu
that excrement rubber because he rides horseback

ma't·a awe·'n ke'ko mi·'lat·e kwi·la'elek' we·'mi·
no one anything gives him without a doubt all

eɬki·'k'·si·t' cahu'k·u mwi·' e·'li· na'ni·-
over his person will be rubbed with excrement because that

ci·'xkandj li·'xan.
established rule.

me·'tci· a'pa'mi·ta ə'nda kwu't·ɔt·sa'nd·e·k na'
Now about when one week then

mae'hɔl·a·n nalɔn·e'' wani·' lɔn·a'pe elɔwe'ldaŋg
they gather that is what the Delaware call

mɣe'hɔmwi·halɔwe's kant'ke'uhe·n. lɔ'mwe a''powak
excrement-rubber made him dance. Long ago there were

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lə'n·owak we'ɔtu'xti·t' ne·li·'l asuwa'k·ɑn·a ne'n' 796 X
men who knew those songs that 539 ●
hakałkɔ't·ɑk. ɔk a'po·w'pan·i·k pu'tɛəl·ɑk yu'kwe 773
were used. And used to have ushers.[1] Here

we·'mi· me'hmi·'tciŋg n'haka'łkɔt cuk' sa'p·a·n
all kinds of food is used but hominy

pi·'pe·'k·a sa·'psi·n na'lənen naxpále·'tama·n ɔ'nda
very thin hominy is cooked that is what is raised up the prayer when

wi·'nowa'mənd' na'ni· kahe·'s·ɔna xa'skwi·m. tɔ't·a
they are pleading that our mother corn. As long

se·ka'usi·t' wa'ni· elha'k·e·t' wunɔ·'xtun. me·'tci
as he is living the controller (of the ceremony) will carry it on. Now

ɔ'nda wi·ka'usi·t' nɑte' tami·'mɑsɔm·a tɔ'nhuk·-
when the end of life (died) these his children handed

ɔma'ɔn wu'ndji· ekala'mi· e'laŋgoma'tci·'
down from that on according to relationship

yukwe' me·'tci ɔ'nda alɔmi·' ma'ɔhiŋg a'po'wɑk
Here now when beginning the dance there are

xkwe·'yɑk ɔk lə'n·ɔwɑk wi·'xɑni'xti·t·'. ɔ'nda me·'tci·
women and men who do cooking. When now

laet'pu·'kwi·k' na' laha'p·a xa'n·di·n wa'ni·
midnight then stop they pass food to eat the

elha'k·e·t' ɔk elaŋgo·'matci· ɔk nah·el·i·' ne·'ki·k'
master-of-ceremony and his kindred and also those

pu'tcelɑk təli·' xaŋge·ne·'yɔ'. me·'tci· e'nda ki'ci·
ushers for they pass the food around. Now when finished

mi·tsa''tiŋg na' la'p·i· alɔma'ɔhi·n e·'li· naneli·'xɑn
eating then again they begin dancing because it is rule

li·' ɔ'p·an·aohi·n.
to dance till morning.

Nace·' wa'ni· kikwi·awe·'n pe·m'tu'nhe·t' lo'we·
There the old person to do talking says

me·'tci· kɔ'p·an·axi·nho'm·ɔn·a ge'həl·a wani'ci· ɔ'nda
"Now we see daylight very indeed thankful because

[1] The same as the office of *a'cka·s*, attendant, in the Big House ceremony. The ushers belong to the same ceremonial group (Wolf, Turkey or Tortoise) as the controller or master of ceremonies. They are generally men who are not capable of taking more serious parts in the dances.

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ne'eŋg xa'sən·a təli·' la'p·i· ɔxe·'tam·ako·'ne·n
we see our brother [the sun] because again he gives us light

we·'mi· elama·'kami·k. ɔk ci·'ki· e'nda wəla·'tena-
all over the world. And very nice when we are in good

mi·'eŋg wuni·t'pu·'kwe e'nda wi·'tauhi·'meŋg· wa'ni·
spirits all night long when we dance with that

gahe's·ənа xa'skwi·m. ɔk la'p·i· gaxti'ŋge aye'ma-
our mother corn. And again in a year if we should

pe·'tci· wəlama'ksi·e'ŋgwe pe·'tci· ma'e wimbəne·'-
come we are well arriving come to we shall

mawəna na'ni· elha'k·e·t' ɔk kwi·'tci· wi·nowe'hən·a
sympathise that master-of-ceremony and with help we beg a blessing

we'ndji·aik mehemi·'tciŋg ɔk yu'ni· lən·a'p·eyɔ'k·an
where belongs food and this Delaware soul

ɔk ənahal·e·' we·'mi· ke'ko gi·'celəmu'kuk. te'pi·
and also all things created. This will

laha'p·a wəla·'ha xa'n·e· kahe·'li· ke'ko ge·'ski·
be all for now although there is yet many things I could

a· lowe·'ya cuk' kə'təmaksi·'hənа. na'ne ci·'xkandj
to say but we are pitiful, poor. That is all

me·'tci· gaski·' ləs·i·'ne·n. yu wani'ci·.
now can do under the circumstances. Now I thank you.

Free Translation.

Long ago in the beginning of the world we have heard from our ancient deceased how they said the corn went away. All of a sudden it gradually began to lessen and things grew more and more miserable. Many people were in need of food because for a long time the corn was the principal nourishment among all the grains, fruits and even meat.

Deplorable indeed and pitiful were all the people. Whereupon in perplexity as to what might be thought of to do, it was said among our ancient ancestors, "Let us gather together all the people into council as to what can be done to plead with our mother so that she will not leave us forever." From this originated in the beginning the custom among the Delawares of the excrement-daubers. It was said, we have offended our "mother," that is the reason why she is leaving

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us. Now, kindred, this is the way in which we can take action, first one person's idea then another's saying "This one is better." But at last when it had been pondered in council it was declared that we should make two corn husk face-masks, and a coat and leggings all of cornhusks. Now at each change of the years we shall gather and carry out a way so that certain people will be selected who will own and control this ceremony. 796x 539 773

Two men are chosen who shall wear the excrement-daubers' costume, to go through the neighborhood for a few days. They notify the people that now according to the rulings is the time for the ceremony by that individual who has charge of the Corn Festival ceremony, and when anyone is encountered, as they ride about on horseback, who shall give nothing to them infallibly he shall be rubbed over with excrement because that is the established ruling. 796x 539

Now in about one week they gather together for what the Delawares call the Excrement-dauber dance. Long ago there were men who knew these songs that were required. And they used to have ushers. Here all kinds of food were used, but especially hominy made very thin; cooked hominy is what was offered with the prayer when they were pleading with our "mother" Corn. As long as he was living the controller of the ceremony would carry it out. Then when he reached the end of his life his children handed it down from then on according to relationship. [262]

Here now when the dance was beginning there were women and men who did the cooking. And now when it was midnight they would stop and pass around the food to eat, the master of the ceremony his kindred and also the ushers passing the food around. So when they had finished eating then they began dancing again, because it was the rule to dance until morning.

Then the old person appointed to do the talking would say, "Now that we see daylight we are very thankful indeed because we see our elder brother (the sun) as he again gives us light all over the world. And it is grand when we are in good spirits after dancing all night long with her who is our

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"mother," Corn. And again in a year if we should come together and if we are well as we come, we shall sympathize with the controller of the ceremony and help him beg a blessing from whence comes the source of food and the soul of the Delaware and all created things. This is all for now although there are yet many things that I could say, but we are so pitiful. This is all that I can do now under the circumstances. Now I thank you."

THE MESSENGERS OF THE CORN HARVEST FEAST

lɔ'mwe wunda''kwi· wehe'ndji·ɔ'p·aŋg e·lai·'k·e·t·e
Long ago back in the east dwelt when

wa'ni· lən·a'p·e ahi·' xe·lənau''ki· ha't·e·p' e·lha'k·e·t'.
the Delawares very were many kinds as to their ceremonies.

yukwe' me·'tci· tɔma·'ksu e·'li· a'hi· me·'tci· hunda''-
Here now miserable because very now lacking

hɔma·. cu'kwund di·'hilale·'pwɔm'p'ke·'nen lɔ'mwenɔ'tci·
in strength. But then we have been cautioned long ago since

ki·kayo'yəmɔna'niŋga lowe'yɔkhaŋg kwɔn·a'e·k·ete'
our ancestors past who said it is said, finally we will be

kwi·lalə's·u wa'ni· lɔna'p·e na'lən·e e·lowe'si·k
unable the Delaware, that is what they called

kwi·łko·''na wa'ni· weɔ'p·si·t'.
we are being swallowed, overcome the white men.

kwut·enau''ki· e·lhak·e·'tɔp' wani·' lɔnap·e lowe'su
One kind ceremony that was the Delawares called

mwe'hɔmwi·ha·'lɔwe·s. mɔ'ohowa'k·an alɔwi·'haŋg
Excrement Rubber. His dance ceremony more than said

kwu't·ɔnsa'nde· pɔma'mehɔl·e·'yɔk ni·'ca mwe'hɔmwi·-
one week[1] they travel about two Excrement

ha·'lɔwe·s·ɑk. we·'hɔm·a's·uwɑk we·'mi· e·'li·k'ha't·iŋg
Rubbers. They notify them all the neighborhood

tɔli·'' me·'tci· we'ndja'ki·ne·'yo ɔk wunda's·u ki·'-
that now they prepare and set the

ckwi·k e·lki·'kwi· alɔmi·'hil·a·k' ne'ni· e·lhak·e·''ti·t'.
day how when begin that the ceremony.

[1] Literally "one Sunday."

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ɔk m'hi·'t·e hnaɔ'ŋge·ɜa'po'wak haŋg· ɔ'n·da
And they go on horseback it was said. When

pɔmɔe·ka'·t·i·t' we·'mi· yu'li·ł eha'kwi·'t·tci· wa'ni·
traveling all these his garments that

mwe'hɔmwi·ha·'lɔwe·s ɔ'p'skɔ' wundji·ta'wanu'. ɔk
Excrement-Rubber corn shucks made of. And

a'cɔwi·luŋgho'ɜ·u xe·ɜ·i·nu'·t·e nane'ni· tɔ'ndalɔ'n·ɔmɔn
across his shoulder skin pouch in that he carries

mwi·'. awe·'ni· e'n·da gi·'skaɔt' enha'o ta'k'ta
excrement. Anyone when he meets he must be paid anything

ke'ko i·'l·i· taŋgi't·i· ɔk awe·'n ciŋge·'nhe·t·e
something even a small amount, and the person if he refuses to pay

mwi·ha·'la e·'li· na'ni· ci·'xkandj la·ko·''wi· ne'ni·
excrement rubbed with because that is the rule that

la·k·eyɔ'k·an. ɔk a'pa·'mi·ta naxo'k·wuni· a'pa·ma'·
performance. And about three days they run

mehel·e·'yɔk ne·'ki·k' mwe'hɔmwi·ha·'lɔwe·s·ak natc'
about those Excrement-Rubbers that

kandj alɔmi·ma'ohi·n. ge'hel·a ke·'tɔmakawe'ni·ya
before [they] begin to dance. Surely I am pitiful

akw· ga'·s·ki· mayaɔ'xkanu·''t·amu'wan wɔl·a'haxa'ne·
not can I am unable to relate correctly the detail although

eli·hilɔs·ta'o ·gi·kayo'yɔma lowe·'haŋg· ɔ'n·da·
I have heard my ancient parent always say, said when

taxkɔ'k·iŋg di·'hilak'hi'k·wi· ka'nt'ka·'n na'ni·
in the fall is the time how they dance that

mwe'hɔmwi·ha·'lɔwe·s e·'li· na'neni·' di'hilak'hi'kwi·
Excrement-Rubber because that there is the time

ki·'ci·k·ɔnami·'n awe·'n wi·'lawɔ's·a. cela'hanen
they raise anyone his grain, individual crop. That is what

i·'hilak·ɔno't·asu ne' la·ke·'yɔn.
they related about that performance.

Free Translation.

Long ago back in the east where dwelt the Delawares there were many different kinds of ceremony but here it is pitiful because now strength is sadly lacking. But never-

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796 theless we have been cautioned for a long time by our deceased
539 fore-parents who declared, it is said, that finally the Delawares will become incompetent, that is, as they called it, we are being swallowed by the white man.

One kind of ceremony there was, called by the Delawares, Excrement Rubbing Dance. For more than a week, it is said, two Excrement Rubbers travel about to notify all those in the neighborhood that now they are preparing and the day is set upon which will begin that ceremony. And they go on horseback, it is said, when traveling. All that they [292] wear, these Excrement-daubers, is made of corn shucks. And across his shoulder is a skin-pouch in which he carries excrement. When he meets any one he must be paid with something even though it be a small amount [8] and any one refusing to pay is rubbed with excrement because that is the rule for that performance. And for about three days they run about, those Excrement-daubers, before they begin to dance. Truly am I pitiful that I cannot narrate correctly the details although I have heard my old parent always say, in the autumn, is the time when the Excrement-daubers dance because that is the time when the people harvest their grain crop. That is how the performance was described.

[8] A ribbon, a pin, or a piece of tobacco would serve.

PRAYER TO AVERT THUNDER

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The appearance of a menacing storm cloud approaching causes the resort to prayer and the performance of a simple rite to avert danger from wind and lightning. The individual takes an ax, marks it with a cross on the blade by means of mud or paint, or anything at hand that shows up, and sticks [788] the handle in the ground or stands it upright so that the blade will then, he believes, split the body of the storm cloud and cause it to divide and pass by on each side harmlessly.[1] When the act is performed he prays and if there is time smokes a pipe of tobacco as a "sacrifice."

Thunder Prayer

Wani'ci	moxo^{u}'msa^{a}	pe't'hak'o'we	ɔk	ke^{e}'pi·
I thank you	Grandfather	Thunder	and	you also
mani'tú	kek'ca'xən·ɑ^{u}'ke^{e}s	kɔwi·'nowa'mał	təli·'	
Spirit	Wind	I beg of you	that	
pal·i·'i·	pəmɑ's·ka^{a}ne^{e}'yɔ	təma'ke^{e}ləmi·'ne^{e}n	k'tami·'-	
somewhere else	you walk (go by, pass).	have pity on us	your	
mɑsəm	ka't·ci·	ap'hi'k·ai·'heŋg	kəne'i·hinɑ	
children.	Do not	run over us (to go over one's land).	You see us	
kət·əmak'si·'hinɑ	moxo^{u}'msa^{a}	naxpaŋgo^{u}'mələn	wa'ni·	
we are pitiful	Grandfather.	we sacrifice	him	
nəmoxo^{u}'msəna	k'ca^{a}'ta'	ɔk	kəne^{e}'mən	yu'ni· pe^{e}
our grandfather	tobacco.	And	you see	this being
ki·ci·'xiŋ	təm·hi·'k·an	na'ni	li·'m'kət'	təli·' paxsi·-
prepared	ax	the	custom	because it will split
taho'k·wūn	ma't·a	paxke^{e}'yane	ce^{e}la'han·en	
you in two	if not	you turn your course, go some other way	that is	
təli·'xto^{u}n	ki·ce^{e}ləmu'k·ɔŋg	wu'ndji	wata^{a}'k'^{w}	
how it was ordained by	Creator	whence	it is known	

[1] I hardly need refer to the wide diffusion of this custom in eastern North America. Without having made a definite search for it I may refer to having heard it mentioned from the Naskapi (Mistassini) of the Labrador peninsula, through the Iroquois (also F. W. Waugh) and Mohegan, southward to the Catawba. It is known also among the negro freedmen of the Cherokee Nation. [171]

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782 tami·'mǫsǝm e'laehɔ's·i·t' ǝ'nda hwi·'t·aŋg maxta'n'to
539 your children what to do when he is in fear of Evil Spirit

mu't·aehɔs·uwa'k·an. kǝlǝs·tai·'ne·n tami·'mǫsǝm
destructiveness. You listen to our pleading your children

moxo··msa'tuk na'ne ci·'xkandj nga'ski·lǝ's·i·n
Grandfathers. That is all I can do

ke·'tomakawe·'ni·ya. la'p·i· ndǝ'lǝwe' wani'ci·.
poor me. Again I say thanks.

Free Translation.

I thank you, Grandfather Thunder, and you also, Spirit-Force Wind. I beg of you that you pass by and go somewhere else. Have pity on us your children. Do not run over our land. You see us how pitiful we are, Grandfather. We offer to you, him our Grandfather Tobacco. And you see this ax being prepared according to the custom. It will split you in two if you do not go another way. That is how it was ordained by the Creator wherefore it is known among your children, Grandfathers. That is all I can do, poor me. Again I say, I thank you.

861 cross on the back. We can see in this rite a parallel to the information we already have concerning the practice of scratching the body with the teeth of some kind of fish.[1]

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THE SCRATCHING CEREMONY

yu'kwe nda'yaxkənu't·əmən e·'hele·k lə'mwe
Now I am relating how those performances long ago

ə'nda e·lowę'si·k' do"'p·ali·n ni·kani·'xiŋgi·k' i·la·'ɔk'
when it was called scouting. The leading warriors

maeŋge·'yɔk' a'kənu't·as·u e·'loweŋg pənahɔ'k·i·en
called together a council, they talked about what is called exploring

ci·'takɔ do"'p·ali·n ɔk a'kəni·ma'n ski·no'wak'
or scouting and they talked to young men

kę'ci·ləs·i·'tci·k ke'ko e·hel·a'ci·mwi·''ti·t'
those who "great men" are in something who had had visions in dreams

wuska'ti·la'ɔk hi·ta'n·dəl·a·n ɔk wu'ndji· ki·ki·'namən
the young warriors are trained and so are acquainted with

we·'mi· yu'ta li·' te·'kəne. wa'ni· ni·kani·'xiŋ ɔk
all this the wilderness. The leader and

məte·'inowak kələ'n·əmuk' i·laopa's·i·'kan ne·'sko
the medicine men "doctors" carry with them warrior's medicine before

a'ləm'ska'ti·t' i·la'o'keyɔk haŋg tamseha'ŋg. wu'ska'-
they go off They have a war dance said sometimes. The young

ti·la'ɔk' wəli·'hil'i·k'cə'mən awe·'n hɔ'k·ae wu'ndji
warriors scratch themselves a person's body that is why

we·'i·tci·lae'ŋge·n təli·' te'pi·lə's·i·n a'hi· xahe'len·a'u'ki·
to convince that they are able very many are

ha't·e· ehela'ehɔs·i·'t·up' wa'ni· lən·a'p·e. ə'n·da
they had the performances tho Delawares. When

we'ndja'ki·t' təli·' do"'pali·n ci·'takɔ i·la'o'k·an
they are prepared to scout or have war dance

ɔk cəmu'tc' lə'mwe ə'n·da pa'sa''həmaŋg
and also long time ago when they played Indian football

a'hi· təmi·'ki· awe·'n wəli·'hil·i·k'can hɔ'k·ayə
very ofttimes anyone scratch himself [until bleeds] on body

[1] Archibald Loudon, "A Collection of Some of the Most Interesting Narratives of the Outrages Committed by Indians in the Wars with the White People." 2 vols., Carlisle, 1808, reprinted 1888, containing Narrative of the Captivity of John McCullough, written by himself, 1776, pp. 269–70. See also for Shawnee

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ta'msehaŋg	awe·'n	ə'nda	we·'i·tci·na'k'·si·t'	təli·'	726 539
sometimes	a person	when	he looked the part	that	
kąci·lə'ə·i·n	ɔk	ni·hi·l·a't·aŋge		elki·'kwi·	
he was powerful	and	could win [the game]		how in any way	
si·'hiwe·t'	lowe·'nhaŋg	api·'laxta·.			
as he wished	is called, said	used supernatural power.			

Free Translation.

Now, I am relating what was done long ago when scouting, as it was called. The leading warriors called a council. They talked about what is called exploring, or scouting. And the great men talked to the young men about the thing they possessed in their dream vision. The young warriors are trained and hence are acquainted with all this for the wilderness. The leader and the conjurors carry with them warrior's medicine. Before they start off they have a war dance, according to custom. Sometimes the young warriors scratch themselves,[4] each one on his body, in order to convince them that they have ability. Very many were the different rites the Delawares had, when they prepared for scouting or in the war dance, and also long ago when they played football. Very frequently a person would scratch himself to bleed his body. Sometimes when a person showed proof that he was powerful and could win out in any way he wished, it was said he used spiritual power.[5]

CEREMONIAL TRAINING AND PERSONAL CONDUCT

In a category somewhat by itself may be placed some rites 302 788
which seem to bear upon the ceremonial appearance of the individual as he presents himself for a day's program in life.

It was customary for the Delawares to apply fresh red paint to the face each day, coloring the cheeks and forehead. A line of red paint was also marked in the part of the hair from the forehead up. The coloring matter was ordinarily

analogy, T. W. Alford, "Civilization," University of Oklahoma Press, 1936, pp. 21-2.

[4] This weakened rite seems to be the only manifestation in Delaware ethnology of the ceremonial scarification that assumed such intensive force to the southward.

[5] The young men were advised by their elders not to use supernatural power unless there were serious need for it. This seems to be a common Algonkian opinion.

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For it to be more consistently expressed would imply possession of an historical sense which we know is lacking in the native rôle of life. So before a meaning to this trait of eastern culture can be approached we shall have to record corresponding lists from other tribes checking them up with tradition and actual history.

The Delaware versions of tribal synonymy throw some interesting side-lights on early names and associations in the East which I shall not attempt to discuss in this paper.

CONSANGUINITY OF TRIBES

wa'ni·	lən·a'p·e	li·pəna·'ɔn	we·'mi·	enxake·'i·t'[9]	
The	Delaware	are looked upon	all	different tribes	
wa'ni	me·'xkeɔ'xkus·i·t	tə'l·i·	ne'ka	ki·'k'hai·'n.	ahi·-
the	red men	that	he	is oldest.	Great
kahe·'li·	xt'oxwi·'s·u.	wəla'haxa'ne	a'ləndе	awe·'nhak·e	
many	his grandchildren.	Although besides	some	wild Indians	
ha't·e	e·laŋgo·'mənd	pəna'[11]	wa'ni·	Ca·'wəno'[11]	
special	relationship	such as	the	Shawnee	
na'lən·a	ne·tami'xiŋg	noxwi·'s·əna.	nawu'ndji	ekala·'mi·	
that is	first	grandchild.	From that	on down	
wa'ni	Pote'ɔt·am,[12]	Sa·'ki·a,[13]	Aya'howe,[14]	Ta'ŋgowe,[15]	
the	Pottawatomi,	Sauk and Fox,	Ioway,	Tonkawa,	
Ca'hax,[16]	Pi·'kaxca',[17]	ɔk	Ki·'kapu,[18]	Maya'hame',[19]	
Sioux,	Ottawa,	and	Kickapoo,	Miami,	

[11] Literally "southerner," a name of general distribution among the eastern tribes. (For discussion of term see Bulletin 30, Bureau American Ethnology, 2, p. 530.)

[12] Literally "half-witted, or not having good sense." (Potatawatamiñk or Potawagamiñk, "People of place of fire." *Ibid.*, p. 289.)

[13] The informant offered no analysis for this title. (Osā'kiwūg, "people of the outlet." *Ibid.*, p. 471.)

[14] The informant associated the name with the Delaware term a'howe, "thicket." ("Sleepy ones." *Ibid.*, 1, p. 612.)

[15] Associated with the Delaware stem taŋg—"little." (Tonkawe'ya, "they all stay together." *Ibid.*, 2, p. 778.)

[16] Literally, "shy, afraid, retreating in manner." (Chippewa term, Nadowe-is-iw, meaning, snake, adder. *Ibid.*, p. 577.)

[17] Literally, "smart, intelligent but having a shabby appearance." It also denotes, "wearing a tooth or claw necklace." It is more probable that the term denotes the Piankasha of Illinois and Indiana with whom the Delawares were associated before their removal across the Mississippi. (Ă dă we, "to trade, to buy and sell." *Ibid.*, p. 167.)

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Pe·yɔ·'le,[19] Peoria, ɔk and ən·ahəl·i·' besides Tci·'pɔwe,[21] Chippewa, Mənaᵉ·'mɔni·',[22] Menominee,

Ci·li·ti·'xka,[23] Comanche, Caᵉcpu'ci·',[24] Nez Percé, Patu'xka,[25] Apache, Win·i·peᵉ·'ga,[26] Winnebago,

Wɔcaᵉ·'ce,[27] Osage, Kąsi·a,[28] Kaw, or Kansa Paŋka,[29] Ponca, Oka'xpa.[30] Quapaw. Weᵉ·'mi All

yu'kwe these yu'ki·k here ɔnxi·' each different wi·xk'wus·i·'xti·t. named. yu'kwe Now yu'tali here

[18] "Travelling or visiting people." (Kiwigapawᵉ, "he stands about," or "he moves about, standing now here, now there." *Ibid.*, 1, p. 684.)

[19] Literally, "people living affiliated in settlements." (Chippewa term, omaumeg, "people who live on the peninsula." *Ibid.*, p. 852.) A more appropriate name for the Miami, given by Chief Fall Leaf in Oklahoma is *Tuweᵉ'tuwe*. The closest analysis he could give for the term was "salamander larva" (*tuweᵉ'kɔk*, "salamander"). The name takes us to the synonym Twightwee as denoting the Miami in Indiana and Illinois. How such an epithet came to be applied to them was beyond the tradition of the informants, their only suggestion being that at some early time upon first seeing members of the group, their appearance, perhaps painting, suggested to the Delawares the animal named. This was said to have been a basis for first names of groups and individuals.

[20] No explanation offered by informant but by Chief Fall Leaf analyzed to "people who have spiritual helpers." Tradition among the Delaware he asserted says that one of the first of natives met with had so much spiritual power that they gave them this name. (Piwareᵉ, "he comes carrying a pack on his back." *Ibid.* 1, p. 228.)

[21] The term is suggestive of, "whistling people." (From ojib, "to pucker up," and ub-way, "to roast." *Ibid.*, p. 277.) The Missisauga (Ojibwa) of Ontario, while not known to the Delawares of Oklahoma, are ranked as "grandchildren" by the Delaware-Munsee of the Six Nations Reserve.

[22] A proper name for which the informant gave no specific meaning. (Menominiwuk ininiwuk, "they are men." *Ibid.*, p. 842.)

[23] No explanation offered, but said to sound like "fast runner." (Padouca, Siouan name for Comanche. *Ibid.*, p. 327.)

[24] Evidently a derivation of Nez Percé as it sounded to Delaware ears.

[25] Literally, "someone coming and someone going, not permanently located." Evidently confused in identity in the mind of informants. Paducah might be a survival of the Illinois designation. (A'pachu, "enemy." *Ibid.*, p. 163.)

[26] No explanation offered. (Chippewa term, winipig, "filthy water," and Sauk and Fox, 'winipyągohag', "people of the filthy water." *Ibid.*, 2, p. 958.)

[27] Delaware pronunciation of the tribal eponym.

[28] Literally, "coward." The Delaware feel that this is the proper meaning.

[29] No explanation given.

[30] No explanation offered by informant. (U'gakpa, "downstream people." *Ibid.*, p. 333.)

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təlɔwi·'hi·la·wa'o	yuli·'l	lɔna'p'eyo	Wa·'panaxki [31]	ɔk	619
they call	the	Delawares	Wabanaki	also	648
muxomsɔ'n·a.	ka't·tci	we·'mi	ni:'maxtɔna	dɔl·ɔ-	539
"our grandfather."	But	all	our brothers	they	
wi·'lpo·na	lɔna'·pe.[32]				
call us	Lenape.				

Yu'kwe nɔwe'i·taxkɔnu'tɔmɔn wani·' lɔna·'pe
Now I shall talk about, explain the Delaware

wei·maxtɔ'si·t' awe·'ni· ako·'ta nanhe·'li· ge'ski·a'
their brothers whom not much I say as many

wi'hil·ɔk' wani·' Wɔne·'tɔko' [33] ɔk Mahi·'kan·i· [34] ɔk
can name the Nanticoke and Mahican and

Mu'nai [35] ɔk ke·xa·'kei· ɔ'pan·u' [36] ce·la'han·e de'nxi·
Munsee and several nations Iroquois and those as many

mɔca·'la·n ni·'maxtɔs·ɔna·'nuk. cuk' ke'nowi· a'p'tci·
I think of our brothers. But nevertheless always

wa'ni· lɔn·a'p·e tɔ'n·da ki'k'hayi'n. nawu'ndji·
the Delawares the very oldest. And thence

[31] A general appelation for the Delawares of long standing, meaning "easterners." The antiquity of this term points, with evidence not to be ignored, to the early affinity of the Delawares with the peoples of New England in general who were and are known by dialectic forms of the same classifying term.

[32] Literally, "common people." (See 2, p. 14, of this series, also Zeisberger, *op. cit.*, p. 114; Brinton and Anthony, "A Lenape-English Dictionary," The Pennsylvania Students Series. Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1889, 1, p. 63; Bulletin 30, Bureau American Ethnology, 1, p. 385.)

[33] Despite serious attempts to seek explanation of this term for Nanticoke as well as in cognate sources it remains incapable of precise analysis. The Canadian Delaware-Munsee informant (Nick Peters) thinks it alludes to great waves. ("Tidewater people." *Ibid.*, 2, p. 25.)

[34] No specific analysis offered. ("Wolf." *Ibid.*, 2, p. 786.)

[35] No analysis offered. (Min-asin-ink, "at the place where stones are gathered together." *Ibid.*, p. 957.)

[36] Literally, "eastern sunrise people." This term strangely includes both the Iroquois and the Brothertown Indians (Algonkian) which the Delawares fail to distinguish. Another term pask'ɔca'si t', "wearing a natural crest or roach on the head," was thought to be recalled by the informant as a synonym for the Mohawk. He thought the Iroquois originated the "roach" head-dress, which agrees with tradition among the Penobscot, who describe a term me'gwaimo'suma'si t, "Mohawk hair-cut," as denoting the hair shaved from the head leaving only a dorsal crest on the crown from front to rear. (For a short discussion of the distribution of the roach headdress see "The Big House Ceremony," p. 97.)

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619 ha'·t·e pi·'li· laŋgundowa'k·an. axpo'wak et' ik·ali'tci·
648 also existing other relationships. There must be older persons

539 elki·k'ᵛsi·'tci·k' weɔtu'xti·t' we°'mi· e'nxenaxga't·uk
living longer than I who know all different degrees

laŋgo°sowa'k·an. yukwe'' tci·tc kexa'p'tun wa'ni·
relationship. Now then few words, the

Te°lma't·ən·u [37] luŋgɔxs·ə's·ənа nahəli·' wa'ni·
Wyandot our nephews (brothers' or sisters' sons) and also the

Katu''hɔ.[38] ka't·tci· wa'ni Me'ŋgwe,[39] spa'nayu' [40]
Cherokee. But the Seneca Mexicans

no°ci·si·'nen kat·tci· wa'ni· weɔ'p'si·t' [41]
our uncles, "mother's brother" but the white person

ni·maxtə'ə·ən·a ɔk wa' sɔka'xkwu'le°s a'lənde awe°'n
our brothers and the black color person some people

lo'we° ane°skə's·i·t nɔxq°'sənа ɔk nalən·a'n tə'n·da
say "he has a high color" our older brother, and he is the very

tci·tanə's·i·n we°'mi· enxake·'i·t' awe°'n.
stoutest of all different nations persons.

Free Translation.

The Delawares are looked upon by all the different tribes of Indians as being the oldest. A great many of them are their "grandchildren." And besides some of the "wild" Indians had special relationships, such as the Shawnee which are the first grandchildren. Thence on down in the following

[37] Literally, "along a mountain range."

[38] Meaning, "chilly, shivering with cold," suggested for this term in Delaware, disregarding its correct Cherokee source of origin. (For summary see Cherokee, *ibid.*, 1, p. 246.) The application of this term is definitely to the Seneca by the Delawares of Oklahoma and those in Canada. The latter call the Seneca "uncles," and the Seneca reciprocate by calling them "nephews."

[39] A term for various Iroquoian peoples reported in the earliest documents on Delaware history, given in the forms Mengwe, Minqua and their variants. The word is evidently too archaic for etyimological explanation. It is current in recognizable form among all Wabanaki peoples south of the St. Lawrence. The informant also applied the term *mea'zkati'no* "red person or man," to the Seneca, but he did not give an historic reason for the name.

[40] Literally "Spaniard."

[41] A less respectful term used by the tribe to denote Europeans is *a'piyy* "opossum," the likeness arising through the pale face and slobbering laugh characteristic of both in Delaware opinion. (See 2, of this series, p. 101.)

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order (the grandchildren) are, the Potowatomi, Sauk and Fox, Ioway, Tonkawa, Sioux, Ottawa, and Kickapoo, Miami, Peoria, and besides these the Chippewa, Menomini, Comanche, Nez Percé, Apache, Winnebago, Osage, Kaw, Ponca, Quapaw. All these here are differently named. Now here all these call the Delawares Wapanachki, or "Our Grandfather." But all our "brothers" call us by the name Lenape.

Now, I shall explain about the brothers of the Delawares, about whom I can not say much, but as many as I can name are the Nanticoke and Mahʔkan, and Munsee and several nations of the Iroquois are as many as I can think of as being our brothers. But nevertheless the Delawares are always considered the oldest. There must be older persons than I am who know all the different degrees of tribal relationship. Now then, a few more words, the Wyandot are our nephews, and also the Seneca and Cherokee. But the Mexicans are our uncles and the whites in general our brothers, and black people, some say "He who has a high color," our elder brothers, and it is he who is the strongest of all the different nations of people.

To the above list of tribal names several more may be added; maʻckos, the Muskogi or Creek, a derivation of the term for swamp, and Taǫ'gale'wi·, the Yuchi, meaning a people inferentially lost or wandering. The latter revives an old designation, Tahogale, Hogloge and variants (see discussion in J. R. Swanton, Early History of the Creek Indians, Bulletin 73, Bureau American Ethnology, 1922, pp. 286–312) for this mysterious and important people with whom the Delawares appear to have had contact.

MORTUARY CEREMONIES AND PROCEDURES

The customs concerned with death and interment of the Delawares are traced to a fusion of the rites of the tribe proper with those of the Munsee. We even have evidence that for a portion of the Delaware group certain mortuary rites of the Nanticoke [42] were assimilated during one period of time, as Harrington's account reveals.[43] Without attempting to un-

[42] Harrington, *op. cit.*, 183–4.

[43] An account of the Nanticoke independent burial customs, which were maintained by members of this tribe living among the Delawares as late as 1870, will be given shortly (p. 142).

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In a subsequent chapter an account will be given of the mortuary practices of those Nanticoke who followed the Delawares to the west. These rites were carried out by the Nanticoke descendants among the Delawares as late as approximately 1860. From this case we learn the extent of assimilation of rites among the tribes which gradually joined together and formed the Delaware Nation of historic times. An interpretative summary of mortuary rites of the eastern tribes has appeared by MacLeod in which the southern origin of the bone cleaning complex is discussed.[44]

Preparations for the Burial

yu'kwe And now	elaŋgu'ndieŋ my kindred	yu'ni· this	awe·'n person	ə'n·da when
wi·k·a'ɔe·i·t'. is dead.	a'hɔt It is hard	ə'n·da when	wei·ta'k·ən·u't·əma' interpret	e·li·'xiŋg the customs
wəl·a·'haxane·' although	awe·'n person	wi·ka'ɔe·i·t. is dead.		hi·'t·ami· First
ɔp·ha't·i·n they sitting-up (wake) all night	ta'm·'se sometimes	haŋg·. said.	ne·'wa Four	lə'n·owak men
n'hak·a'łkwus·owak are used	ə'n·da when	li·'nalə't·iŋ in the game	e·'li· because	tci·'- they
p·axkwi·nalə't·i·n play moccasin-game	kwu't·i· all	t'pu'kowe. night.	me·'tci· Now	ə'n·da when
pet·a'p·aŋg almost dawn	na' then	yu'ki·k' these	kwe·'tc'kun·a'xti·t' who dressed up	ma't·a- not
e·p·i·li·'tci· here [corpse]	naxa'n' three	kwuta·'+he·'yɔk times shoot	wehe'ndji·ɔ'p·aŋg east	
wundaxkwi·'i· toward	naxa'n' three times	kwut·a·'he·n. they discharge guns.	na'tc'pənə'hanen And then afterwards,	
we·'mi·awe·'n every body	tu·'kənə·. they awaken.	ni·'calənowa'k Two men	ɔk and	ni·'cax- two
kwe·'yɔk women	a'ləmi· begin	we'ndjaxki·n to prepare food	gi'ci·mi·təaxti'ŋ·ge after they had eaten	
natc' and then	we·'mi·ke'ko everything	ki·cəna'k·wət' made ready	natc' then	yu'ni· this

[44] W. C. MacLeod, "Priests, Temples and Practice of Mummification in Southeastern North America," XXII Congresso Internazionale degli Americanisti, Roma, 21-30, 1926, pp. 207-9.

764 k'wutohe''pi· pən·d'ha't·o"n puhe"xɔ'k·uŋg. ɔk we°'mi·
●539 body will be put in into box. And all

me'hmi·''tciŋg ga'xta gi·''səm·a"n e°'li· al·a'p·at'
food must be cooked because [must] hurry

we'ndji· te'p·i· gi·cəna'k·ɔt' ne'n·i ɔ'lak'".
so that enough time ready made the hole [grave].

ɔk cəmu'tc' yu'ni· me'hmi·''tciŋg te'pa"ta°'s·u
And also this food is separated

me''həmi·kəmɔs·i·''tci·k mi·tci''ti·t' ɔk yu'ki·k
by those who wait [on the dead person] eat and these

e°'laŋgo"ma''ti·t' ɔk nahəli·'' ci·'kwi·ne''ti·t'. ɔk
his kindred and also the orphans [bereaved].[a] And

nahəli·'' tə't·a awe°'n witci·mi·'tsu. me°'tci· ə'n·da
also any person may eat with [them]. Now when

j'ka pe"t·a's·i·k' yu'ni· kwut·ohe°'p·i· kətəma°'-
there they bring this here body to the graves

ksowa'kan·i·ke·'k ɔk yu'ni· ɔ'lak'" ki·'cən·a'k·wut'.
[group of pitiful bodies] and here hole [grave] made ready.

natc' pəndha't·o"n ne'kwut·ohe°'pi· natc' laha'p·a
Then they lower, put in the body then afterward

awe°'n ki·'ci·ma"n pəmat·o°'nhe°t'.
someone is selected speaker.

The Burial Ceremony and Sermon (by Wi·tapano'xwe)

The person chosen to perform the ceremony of address in the following account is an old person well versed in the rites. He is usually a family head in the same family and group of the deceased. It will be noted that he receives the ceremonial [#65] payment of the yard ("shoulder-length") of wampum. The rite described is understood to be of Munsee origin assimilated in ancient times to the Delaware rite.

Yu'kwe elaŋgu'ndieŋg" me°'tci· ki·cəna'k·wut'
"Here our kindred now is ready

yu'ni· k'təma°'ksowa'kan. ki·''cəna'k·wut' yu'kwe·
this grave. Made ready here

we°'mi· la'tce"s·owa'k·ana ne'hel·ata'ŋgup' wa'k·a
all his belongings which belonged deceased

[a] This refers to the collateral relatives of the deceased and his children.

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ne·k·a'lkweŋg a''kahəm·awəne·'yo yu'ki·k mi·'kəm-764
who departed to divide these the pall-bearers 539

ɔ·s·i·'tci·k. [48] ndəl·a'ŋgo·s·da'wɑn ga'hən·e wani'ci·
[attendants] [laborers]. My kinsman very thankful

təl·i·' ɔ·ngo·'məl·an e·'li· me·'tci· i'k·a mɑxte·'xɑn
that I address you because now has come the occasion, [has been]

ni·cu'kwəni· kti·'hil·i· a'la le·'həl·e·'xe·n.
two days since when this life you departed.

yu'kwe e'n·da we·'tən·oma' yu'ni· kwu'tai·'k·ane
Here when I accept this one shoulder-length

ke·k' də'l·i· ke·xa'p'ton ke'ko e'n·da l·ə'l·an
wampum for me to say a little something when I speak to you

yu'kwe elaŋgo·'məlan. me·'tci· k'po·ne·'ləndaməɔn
now my kinsman. Now you must forget

yu'ni· endalausi·'eŋg· ɔk we·'mi· yu'ki· ce·
this our home [earthly existence] and all these here

e'laŋgo·'mɑ't'. kɑ't·ci· nate·'ləndɑ'ŋhan ke'ko h·tɑk·i·'l
related [ones]. Don't think anything of the past

e·'li· me·'tci· kwe'ndjaxki· təl·i·' wi·taŋgo·'s·i·n
because now you are prepared for to join the existence

ɔ's·i·l we'ndji·ai·k' ne'n·i· lən·apeɔ'k·an. e·'li·
of the deceased where belong the soul-spirit. As

kowa·'ton we·'mi·tc' awe·'n tɔ'penshik·a·'k·un tə'l·i
you know everybody will have this experience for to

a'la taɬa'us·i·n yu'ni· e'ndale·'ləmu'k·weŋg·. nanen-
depart this existence, life now in this our earthly home. That

wu'ndji· ha't·e kwi·'tələt·owakan kwi·n pi·'pɔ'n·daməɔn
is why indeed the teaching many times you have heard

təl·i·'tc' awe·'n wendja''kənan ɔk pi·'li·ba·'n na'ni·
that will a person prepare and purify that

lənɑ'p·eɔ'k·an təl·i·'tc' ma·'tco·'xwen cɔxaxki·'l·
soul-spirit that it will go homeward straightforwardly, directly

wendji·'ni·k' ko·'xəna·'niŋg· kic·e·'ləmu'k·ɑŋ. yu'
where belong our father the creator. Now

[48] The following is a solemn monologue by the master-of-ceremony kneeling over the grave. He is addressing the deceased.

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764 wani'ci·. tep·i·'laha'p·a wəli·' kəle·'ləndə enxa'p'to·-
539 thanks. It is sufficient well to remember what I have

ne·'ya.
said.

The master-of-ceremony now turns to and addresses the people present who are standing before the grave. [No ceremonial grouping is here required.]

elaŋgundieng· kəne·'məne·n elki·'kwi· k'təma'k·a
Our kindred we can see how pitiful

ək ci·'eləndamowa'k·an·u ə'ndə ci·'kwi·ne·'eŋg.
and its sadness when we are orphaned.

kəne·'məne·n elki·'kwi· po·tci·hil·a'eŋg· wa'ka
We can see how we miss the deceased

wi·kə'si·t' elaŋgo·'meŋg. ək ke·pe'n·a te·'ka wə'li·
departed our relative. And we be careful well

kəle·'ləndamu't·am təli·'te' ga'xta' mi'ŋgaxse·'i·
to think so that will must better

lə·i·'ne·n. pi·''pəndə'wəna ki·'kayo'yəmənaniŋga
we do. We have heard our deceased ancestors

elki·'kwi· haŋg· wi·nowa'm'kweŋg tə'li·
how said they begged us, plead with us that

kitci·'t·e·he·'l· pəna'elən·damone·'n e·'lau'si·'eŋg· e·'li·
with all our heart we consider our own life how

ha't·e ale·pə'ndowa'k·an pi·'ci· [17] wa'ni· lən·a'p·e
indeed exists the teaching in reality the Delaware

mi·lkwu'si·t'. nanowu'ndji awe·'n pi'ci· a·' wə'li·
handed down. That is why a person there should in reality carefully

ke·'naxke·lə'n·damən pəmau''sowa'k·an təli·'te' wəli·'
study [his] life so that carefully

wendja''kona·'n ne·'li·l h'·t·on·apeə'k·ana. pi·''pəndə'-
prepare that his soul-spirit. We have

mənen lə'm·we nə'tci· we'sk'hakam·i·'k·e nə'tci
heard a long time ago in the beginning of the earth since has been

wa''kut' elki·'kwi· aho·'hə'ltuk mə't·omak·an na'n'i·
known how hard to travel his road that

[17] If someone should contradict a speaker he would exclaim pi'ci·, "It's a fact," "It's so!";—e· "there should," a mild imperative.

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ko·ˣ'xəna pi·'lsi·t' mani't·o. cukwɑ'nd awe·'n we·lau·'
our father the pure spirit. But any person cleanly

si·t' mi'ŋgaxso top·owe·'ləndaməŋ
living less handicap, advantageous easy he feels it to be

mu't·əmé·n ne'n·i·təma'k·an. awe·'n paxki·'skitcila'u'si·t'
to follow, to tread in the path. Anyone heedless, careless life living

a'hohɔ'lkut' mət·oma'k·an. e·'li· ko·ˣ'xəna ·tahɔ'l·au
his is hard road. Because our father loves

we·'mi· təmi·mǫ'səma wu'ndjitc awe·'n ula·te·'nami·n
all his children that is why a person will enjoy life

ə'n·da wə'li· ɔk nala'i· le'hele·'xe·t'. ən·da'neŋg
when properly and quietly he lives. When he sees

we·'mi ke'ko na'xpən·e yu'ni· pe·mi·gɑ'xtiŋg pəna'
every thing including the the year even

yu'kwe ə'n·da ta'xkɔkəna'mi·eŋg we·'mi· ke'ko
now this time when it is fall every thing

ki·ci·'kɑn ɔk ə'nda wuski·si·'kɔŋ we·'mi· ke'ko
has matured and when early spring-time every thing

sak·a'lkɔt ɔk ki·'ki·ckwi·'k·e k'təma'n·dəməne·n təli·'
grows, buds out and day by day we feel that

pe'tci· k'cəte·'kaməŋ na'ni xɑ'sənɑ ki·'cux
the coming heat that he our brother the sun

ki·'ckwun·o·ˣ'ke·s ɔk ke'naxke·ləmuk·o·ˣ'nɑ ko·ˣ'xəna
day-moon and he takes care of us our father

ge·tan'to'wi·t ti·t'pukwi·'k·e ɔk naholi·' na'ni·
Creator during the night and including him

xɑ'sənɑ ni·'pai·ki·'cux. nawu'ndji we·'mi· ek·ala·'mi·
our brother night-moon. From this all according

pe'tci· mi·lkwu'si·t' 'tci·'tan·ɔ·owa'k·an manitu'wɑk
coming their given power, strength spirits

hukwe·'yuŋg o'nda le·ləmu'k·uk ɔk naholi·' ne·'ki·k'
above where dwell, and including these

wi·'t·au'su'm'kweŋg[a] yu'tali· endalau'si·'eŋg· ce·'lə-
who live among us here . where we live [on earth]. That is

hanəni·' elaŋgu'ndieŋg pi·''pənda'mənə·n ə'nda alə·-
that our kindred we have heard when we

[a] Referring to tree, water, vegetable, fruit, animals, deer, birds, spirits, who live on earth among us.

764 po'm'kweŋg" ki·'kayoyɔma"n·i'ŋga. yu'kwɔtci·tc'
539 were being taught by our deceased ancestors. Now then yet

k"t·en·au"'ki· yu'kwe wu'ndji· te'l·ən ɔk kwu't·i·
one other thing. This [day] hence ten and one

t'xo'k·wɔnak'ha'k·e kowato'"ne"n eli·'xiŋg tɔli'tc'
days you know the rule that

we"'mi· awe"'n ga'xta pot·o"'n ki·'ɔmaɔ'k·an e"'li·
every body must bring feast "cooked food" because

na'n·e lak·hi'k·wi· da"'kwi·p'hɔ't·i·n."
at that time a feast, we shall have ["eating together"].

e"'li· pi·'"pon·da'wɔna ki·kayoyɔmɔna"n·i'ŋga ɔhela"'-
because we have heard our dead ancestors what

kɔnɔtɔmi'xti·t' lowe"'yɔk haŋg ɔ'n·da te'l·ən ɔk
they said about it they said [said] when ten and

kwu't·i t'xo'k'wɔni ɔ'n·da le"la'ɔhɔk pa"t· na'ni·
one days when mid-sky [zenith] comes the

txa'sɔna gi·ckwuni·' gi·'cux nɑtc' me"k·ɔni·'hil·a"k'
our brother day moon [sun] and then the last time

kwi·pɔma"'nen wa'ni· wi·kɑɔ's·i·t. ɔk kɔwa"tɔ"'nen
we eat together, feast that departed. And we know

we"'mi· awe"'n a'pi·'lɔwa wi·'kɔɔ·i·'li·t' e"laŋgɔma"'tci
everybody there is deceased relative

naneki·'ckwi·k kwi·pɔma'wɔna elaŋgo'meŋ a'lande
that day we eat with our relations some

lɔmwe"'kami·k kɔni'm'kalgo"'nɑ lowe"'nhaŋg paxkɑ'ndji·
times long ago left us it is also said extremely

wɔle"'lɔndamowa'k·an. ɔ'nda awe"'n ma't·a pe't·a"k'"
gladness, joy. When anyone does not bring

me'hmi·'tciŋg ci'xkuŋdj me't·aelɔ'ndam elaŋgo"'meŋ
food very disappointed, grieved [are] our relative

tɔliŋgɔ's·i·n pe'mi·'tsaxtiŋg lo'we"" k'tɔma'k·elɔ'mwi·
they look on those eating he says sadly, pitifully

ne"'pehɑtc' pet·a'k·e mi·'tci·n. cela'hɔnen elaŋ-
"Did anybody for me bring me food?" Now then my,

" The feast usually given to the deceased one year after his death is called wi·ho"'mwi·n, the feast to the individual deceased, only a few relatives taking part. In the da'kwi·'p'hɔ't·i·n, both the living and the dead are believed to be feasting together.

"" Referring to the neglected spirit, who now speaks.

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gu'ndieŋg lak'hi'k·wi· a'hɔt' tɔli·' awɔ"'n wɔli·'
kindred how difficult [it is] for anyone carefully

n'ha'ɔ'tun eli·'xiŋg alepondowa'k·an. yu'kwelap·i·
to follow the rule teaching. Now again

kɔmi·'kɔ"lae'mał ndɔla'ŋgundɔ"'stuk' tɔ"'k·a wɔli·'
I call to your memory my kindred (vocative) be cautious carefully

kɔ"'naxki·to"'tam ga't·a we'ndjaxkɔna'wɔna na'n·i·
you observe we must we prepare the

lɔna'p·ɔɔk·an nɔ"'li· kwi·ya"'gwi· wɔlamaɔi·'ɔŋg" ɔk'
soul-spirit while still in good health we are and

wɔlɔ'lɔm·uk·wɔŋg na'ni· kɔ'xɔna gɔ"tan'tɔ'wi·t'. ɔ"'li·
the blessings of him our father the Creator, Because

ɔlaŋgu'ndieŋg ako' kowa"tɔ"'nen wi·xka'utɔl·a"' kwu't·i·
my kindred not we know how suddenly in one

ɔpa'ŋgwɔɔk·an nɑtc' alaha't·ɔ yu'ni· ɔndalausi·'ɔŋg".
winking of an eye besides then the end this our earthly home.

ɔ"'li· kɔ"'xɔna tɔli·' gi·cɔ"'lɔmi·n ɔk' wuni·'hil·a'tamɔn
Because our father so created and he has the power

ɔlki·'kwi· kwɔ"tɔnɔma'k·wɔŋg klɔ'hɔl·ɔ"'xɔyɔk·anɔ'na.
sufficient to take from us our life.

ɔ"laŋgu'ndieŋg a'hi· k'hahɔ"lɔn·a'uk·i· kɔ'ko gɔ"'ski·a'
Our kindred very many are things which I could

kweita'kɔnu'tɔmu'lan cuk'" ɔlaŋgu'ndieŋg mɔ"'tɔi·
explain to you [interpet to you] but my kindred now

tɑ'hi·hwu'ska k'tɔma"k'si·'hɔna. ni·'p·ɔna nda'hi·
very greatly we are weak and unable. I myself very

kɔ'ko li·'laɔm·a n'ha'k·ai ɔ"'li· haŋg" ma't·a
matter grieved myself because it is said not

tɔ"p·i·'hi·lɔ"'i· pɔna'ɔlɔndamowa'k·an. cuk'" wani'ci·
broad enough. my mind [mentality]. But I am thankful,

kɔ"'pɔn·ɔ mɔca"'tamɔnɔ"n ɔli·'xiŋg yu'ni· alɔ'pon-
however, we remember the rule and this teach-

dowa'k·an ɔk' wu'ndji kwɔla"'tɔ"nami·'nen ɔ'nda
ing and on account of it it brings us joyous feeling when

nɔɔk'"ti·'yeŋg kwi·ya'k·wi· ɔsɔ'i·k'tɔnxi'ŋhɔna. ɔk'
we see each other we being still quite a number [of us] many of us. And

naxpo'xkwɔ"nen ɔ'nda pɔ'ndamɔŋg kɔ'xɔna tɔ'p'-
we take with us when we hear our father his

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764-539 tona'k·an e·'li· ke·'ski· lə'si·eŋgʷ ga't·a wəli·'laeha'-
word because our best we do to try to

wən·a na'ni· ke·'tan'to'wi·t' pe·'tci ki·ce'ləmuk·oŋ.
please the Great Spirit even our Creator.

wani'ci· te·'p·i·lahap·a.[61]
I thank you, this is all for now.

Preparations For The Burial

Free Translation.

And now, my kindred, this person is dead. It is hard to explain how things should be done when a person is dead. First is the sitting up (wake), as is sometimes said. Four men are employed for the game because they play the moccasin game all night. Now when it is almost dawn, then those who dressed up the deceased shoot three times towards the east. Thrice they discharge guns. And then afterwards they awaken everybody. Two men and two women begin to prepare food and after they have eaten everything is made ready to put the body into the box. And the food must be cooked in a hurry so that there will be time enough to make the hole (grave). And also the food is separated by those who are in attendance who eat and those his kindred, and the orphans and relatives. And also anyone else may eat with them. Now when they bring this body to the group of pitiful bodies (graves), the hole is made ready. Then they lower the body and someone next is selected as speaker.

Address By An Invited Speaker

"Here now, my kindred, now this grave is ready. All his belongings are ready to be divided among the laborers (pallbearers). Now, my kinsman,[62] I am indeed thankful that I can address you because the time of two days has elapsed since you departed this life. Here when I accept this one shoulder length of wampum as an inducement for me to say something when I address you, now, my kinsman. Now you must forget this our earthly existence and all these here

[61] This terminates the address of the speaker at the grave.

[62] This solemn monologue is addressed to the deceased by the master-of-ceremony as he kneels over the grave.

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related ones. Do not think anything of the past, because you are now prepared to join the existence of the deceased where the soul spirit belongs. As you know, everybody will have the experience to depart this life. This is our earthly home, that is why, indeed, you have heard many times that a person should prepare and purify the soul-spirit so that it will go homeward directly where dwells Our Father, our Creator. Now, thanks. It is required to remember well what I have said."

[The Master-of-Ceremony now turns and addresses the people present who are standing before the grave.]

"Our kindred, we can see how pitiful it is and its sadness when we are orphaned. We can see how we miss the departed deceased, our relative, and we must be careful to think well upon it so that we may do better. We have heard our deceased ancestors how, it is said, they begged and pleaded with us that we should consider our own life earnestly as it stands in the teaching of reality handed down to the Delaware. That is why a person should positively and carefully study his life to prepare properly his soul-spirit. We have heard, a long time ago in the beginning of the earth, since it was known, how to travel the road of Our Father, the Pure Spirit. But any person living cleanly has less handicap and feels it easy to tread in the path. Anyone living a careless life has a difficult road. Because Our Father loves all of his children that is why a person can enjoy life when he lives properly and quietly. When he sees everything, even the passage of the year, even now at this time when fall is coming on, everything has matured; or in the early springtime when everything is budding out, day by day we feel the coming on of the heat which he, our Elder Brother, the Day Moon (sun) gives it, and as he, our Father, the Creator, takes care of us during the night along with him our Elder Brother, the Night Moon. Wherefore all is according to the strength given them by the spirits above, where they dwell, and also those who live among us here where we live on earth. It is that, our kindred, which we have heard when we were being taught by our deceased ancestors. Now, there is yet one

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other thing. Ten and one days from this day, you know it is the rule that everybody must bring cooked food because at that time we celebrate the feast.

"As we have heard our deceased ancestors, as they spoke about it, saying as we are told, when ten and one days, when in mid-sky (noon) comes our Elder Brother, the Day Moon (sun), then we eat together for the last time with the departed. And we know, all of us, that on that day our deceased relative is there as we eat with our relations, some having left us in the ancient days, as is said, bringing us extreme joy and gladness. When anyone does not bring food our relative is disappointed and grieved as he beholds those who are eating and says sadly, 'Did anyone bring food for me?' Now then, my kindred, how difficult it is for a person to follow the teaching and the rules properly. Now again, I call to your memory, kindred, how difficult it is for a person to follow the teaching and rules properly. Now again, I call to your memory, kindred, to be cautious and carefully observe how we must prepare the soul-spirit while we are still in good health and enjoying the blessings of him Our Father, the Creator, because kindred, we do not know how suddenly in one wink of an eye, even then the end may be of this our earthly home, because Our Father so created our life and he has sufficient power to take it from us.

"Kindred, very many are the things which I could explain to you, but kindred, now we have become very weak and pitiful. I, myself, am very much grieved over the matter because, as it is said, my mind is not sufficient for it but I am, nevertheless, thankful that we remember the rule and this teaching, from which we derive a feeling of joy as we see each other, there being quite a number of us. And we take away with us Our Father's word when we hear it as we do our utmost to try and please the Great Spirit, even Our Creator. I thank you. This is all for now."

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by it. Its use is rendered efficacious by a company of murderous sorcerers uniting in the samé design. Its effects are the more terrible, because it is used not only in connection with individuals but whole communities. In their practices the sorcerers, except in case of the poison described, seem to use no Beson (*pi·'sun*, medicine) but a little piece of an old blanket or something else. This they rub in their hands until formed into a little ball. Naming the one who is marked for death, they throw this ball at him, saying that he shall die. They call this shooting the witchball. Any person wishing to get another whom he hates out of the way will hire a sorcerer or several of them to do it, paying them in wampum. The Indians say that their poison and witchcraft have no effect upon white people because they use so much salt in their victuals. But this is merely a pretense, as there are instances of Europeans having fallen victims to their skill in poisoning.

"It is remarkable that Indians of such character have been led to lead a new life and turn from all deceitful practices. From them it has been learned that most of their dark practices grow out of imagination and superstition. Of those, however, who seem versed in the use of *Mattapassigan* none have to the present time been converted, though some with whom I came into contact were inclined to better themselves but were unable to refrain from their evil practices, being afraid, apparently, that their lives would be endangered." [6]

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NƆ'TCI·'HWE°YƆ'K·AN, *Origin of Witchcraft*

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Lɔ'mwe wi·əxka'utci wa'ni· lən·a°'pe wi·əxka'-
Long time ago all at once these Lenápe suddenly

undaola'o yu'li·ł une°t'ko°'wi· lɔ'n·owak. gąci·ləs·i·'tci·k
discovered a secret [of] these Nanticoke people. Great wise men

maxkama'o ne°li·'ł awenhake°'yo təli·' e't'ma
discovered of those uncivilized that were

xe°lunalu'k·un.
killing them in numbers.

kwu't·i· xkwe° ahi·pa°'lsu' e'nxɯn lɔ'kwi·k'
One woman taken very sick every evening

əndama'lsu. ge'hel·α me°tci·'gai [7] ką°ce'ləndamowa°'-
and got worse. Indeed now it was very greatly astonishing

[6] Zeisberger, *op. cit.*, pp. 126–8.

[7] Used to denote the "feeling of weakness, yet with the ability to try to do the thing desired." It is always used by chiefs in addressing their people, *Me°'tcka*—"try hard." The expression denotes deep humility of the speaker, yet a sincere devotion to the cause, and solicitude for its accomplishment. *nda°'hi·*

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k·anu enxu'nalund lən·a'pe. ki·ci·'ma·n ni·'ca
phenomenon the many lives which they had taken Indians. They engaged two

gącil·əs·i·''tci·k l·ə'n·owak tə'l·i ke·na'gi·'to·n we·'mi·
wise men men so that to guard all

ɔka'i· e·'pi't na' pa'lsi·t. t·ət·a''se·gi· təbu'kwi·k
around the place where lay that sick person. Sometime in the night

wi·əxka'utci na' pən·da'wən də'l·i kuk·ɑndji·'mwi·n
suddenly then they heard so like hooting

k'o'k·o·s.[3] mąt·anak'ge' na'lapi·pi·l·'li· k'o'k·o·s
owl. In a little while then again another owl

naxk·u't·ɑm. nayu'' xkwi·'tanaxkwe' dwe'tci· na'u-
answered. Right there top of the tree they came and

həlane·'yo el·i·' nayu'ni· tə'l·i kəl·i·'p·ama·n yu'li·l
alighted as right here that fixed their gaze this

pa·lsi·'li·t·tci. ne'k·ex nane'' pe·xu'tci· tə'n·dagą'ci·p'-
the sick person. These there near by there

ha·'ne·'yo' ne·k' gąci·l·əs·i·'tci·k lə'n·owak. ni·ka'ni·
hiding those wise powerful men. Beforehand

gi·ci·'xto·ne·yo təl·i·' li·tc'ni·l'la·n na'kɔ'wi· awe·'n
they had fixed it so that they kill any person

ci·'t·a'kɔ t·'u'na·n nani·'awe·n ne''hel·a·t'
or else capture that person [or thing] the one who killed

lən·ape'ɔx. na'xpən·a'nen yu'ki·k' k'ok''os·ɑk
the people [Delawares]. And then these owls

nayu'li· nax'ko'laən. ə'n·dɑ pəni·'hi·la'di·t kek·ula''
they these were shot off where they sat. And when they fell discovered

yuk pi·li·awe·'ni·k ni·'·n' awe·'·nake·'·yɔk'. ɔk
these something else two persons uncivilized (savages). And

su·'su·psuwɑk a'cowi·luŋg'hu·'sowak' xo·'s·a'[4]
naked They wore across the breast skin

nundeka'k·wun, "I am unable to do the thing even to express myself as my forefathers did, but I'll do the best I can," is another formal expression of humility with devotion used by the trained speaker. To use these phrases is an accomplishment of the experienced Delaware orator.

[3] Great horned owl.

[4] Refers to a piece of undressed skin with hair on.

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ɔk pə'n·da's·ən·a''k·an nə't·ət' nalən·e' tci·p'i·e''le·k' 754
and pouch small that besides bad destructive 539

pi·''su·n ne'notci·we·'i·t·uŋg talən·a's·u. ə'n·da 754
medicine the witchcraft was carried in. When

ɔ·'p·ɑŋg we·'mi· awe·'n we·homa'o mae'hel·a·n
next morning everybody was notified they gathered

pən·a'ɔn ne·'ki·k' ne'həl·ə'n·dji·k' lə'n·owak:
and examined those killed men [the two owl-men].

akuawe·'n maxgao'wi· we·ɔ'ha·t'. na'xpən·e nan·e'n
Nobody was found that knew them. And then those very

e·kao'k·we ta'l·i· p'sən·d'hak·e''hən. ni·ci·'-
under the trees there were covered up in the ground [buried]. Two

k·e·t·i'ŋ·ge wi·əxka'utci na' pe'tci ki·i·'ke·yɑk' ni·'ca
years afterward suddenly that came visiting two

xkwe·'yɑk. we·'mi·yu'tali· kwi·''la''ta' oxəm·e'yɔk
women. All everywhere inquired in vain

wi·t·aye'matai·tci·. napən·ahən·e'n la'p·imaehel·a·'n
their husbands. Again gathered together

ɔk wendji·'ma·n ne·'ki·k xkwe·'yɔk. we·'hom·aɔ'k
and with sent for those women. They informed them

lo·''we·n tce·la''' ne' ekaɔ'k·we pɔ'k·hak·ehən ni·'ca'
it was said right over there those trees under are buried two

awe·'ni·k no't'huk·'kɔ·n·a'n·ɑk ni'ci· gaxtə'n' pętci-
people they came among us two years ago brought

na'x'poxwe'yɔk tci'p'i·e·'l·e·k' ko'ko. ce·'la hɑn·e·k'
with them bad thing. There are [pointing out, motion]

ku't·act'xi·ŋx'ge de'n·xu·na'luk·unanɔk'. lowe·'·yɔk'ne·k
sixty [persons] of us they have killed that many of us. They said

ne·'ki·k' xkwe·'yɔk to'l·i ne'k'·tən·pi·s·gok·e' lo·''we·
these women that one night they said

e·li·' lɔ'n·owak ma't·a' wa'kwu's·i·i· to't·a e·ya''t·i·.
both men no one knew where they went.

ɔ'n·da' wei't·a'kən·utɑma'und' lowe·'yɔk nalən·e·'-
When they explained it to them they said they were the

ki·''k. ɔ'nda'lɔ'n·d' yu'kwe' ki·''lo·''wa' one't'ko·''wak'
same ones. When they told these you Nanticokes

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xu"ha kowa"'tone"yo' ne'n·i· tci'p·i·e"'l·e"k' pi·'sun.
alone you know that bad medicine.

lowe"'yɔk ne'k' aku'ta' ne'n·i li·'m'k·ɔt·u"'wi· tɔ'l·i
They said that is not what it was intended for that

awe"'n 'ni·'la"we"tun. cuk yu'ni· li·'mkɔt' li·
anybody kill [take life]. But this it is intended to be

naka"'lkɔt ɔ'nda' kok'ʷsa'p·iŋ li· naka"'lkɔt'
used for to searching out, seeking to learn [to test out circumstances]. So it is to be used.

ɔ'nda' ka'tawa"'taoŋg ke'kɔ e"laehɔ's·i·t'
When we want to know something how they conduct themselves

awe"'n ci·t·ak·ɔ' tə't·a' pe"mai·'ke"t'. ə'nda'
anyone, or where they may be camped. When

a"'lamwe"yɔ'k·an·i·k' nda' maxta"'geŋg' do''pali·'
in time of fear in war-time scouting

lə'n·owɑk aloke"'man' tə'li we"'mi· li· ɔka'e
men they send out to all for around

ke"'na'gi·tone"yɔx tə'li a" ma't·a wi·xkołko'wɑn
they guard that to not surprise them

awe"'ni·k' ma't·a we"liam'go'm'kweŋg.
any persons not on friendly terms with us.

naxpa'ən·e'n ku't·i· ke"'ptca"t ski··i'no'
Afterwards one foolish (in selfish sense) young man

ə'nda' ki·i'·k·e"t' one"'t'ko wi·i'·ke"i· unak'hi'k·ayi·n
when visiting Nanticoke visited he borrowed

ne'n·i· ne'hno''tci·we"i·'tuŋg npi·'sun. yu'kwe pe'tci
that witchcraft medicine. To this [day] coming

ako"' ha'c·i kwu't·'goxɔx'to'wɑn. neke'x ke"k'ʷ
not ever brought it back. So there was wampum

nhaka'lkwɔt' ə'nda' gi·'kai·'hand'.
used when borrowing.

e"'li' yu'ni·li·wa'xkut ɔnda"we"'n ma't·a
So this is a known fact when anyone not

maya"o'pe"i·'tut [10] ne·'k·ɑtc x'ʷtɔn·ape"'ma· ci·tak·ɔ'
observe the strict rules he himself his family or

[10] Meaning that the wampum should be given as a binding obligation when something has been received, as in the case of the medicine. The wampum makes

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e·ˈlaŋgomaˈtci	ci·kaˑˈkokˑ	kaˈŋgamiˑ	keˈko,	
his relatives	an affliction	mysterious	thing.	
nan·ekiˑˈckwiˑˈkˑ		wuˈn·djiˑ	al·emiˑˈxan	
That very day		from	was beginning	
ahaˑnhuˈkˑwiˑ		piˑˈliˑ	awe·nhak·eˑˈyakˑ	
it was [introduced] handed from one to another		other	uncivilised peoples	
waˑˈtəlaˑn	weˑˈmi	eləmaˈkamiˑˈk	e·laiˑˈkˑeˑtˑ	waˈni
to instruct them	all	over the earth	where dwell	these
meˑxkeˑˈyaxgɔˈsˑiˑtˑ		yuˑ	manateˑˈyuŋg.	ceˑlaˈˈ-
red flesh men [red men]		this	continent on.	That is
hən·en	təliˑˈ	waˑˈtoˑn	waˈniˑ	lən·aˈpˑe
the way	how	understand	the	Delaware [the beginning of witchcraft].

Free Translation.

A long time ago all at once the Delawares suddenly discovered a secret of the Nanticoke people. The men of power discovered of those who were barbarous that they were killing them in numbers. One woman was taken very ill; every evening she became worse. Indeed it was most astonishing how many lives were taken among the people. They engaged two men of power to guard the dwelling all around where the sick person was. Some time in the night there they heard the hooting of an owl. Shortly after then another owl answered. Right there in a tree-top they came and alighted as they fixed their gaze straight upon the sick person. There close by were hiding those men of power. Beforehand they had arranged it so that they could kill anyone or else capture the creature who had killed the people. And then these owls were shot down where they sat, and when they fell it was discovered that these were transformations of two barbarians. And they were naked. They wore across the breast a skin and a small pouch in which evil medicine was carried for purposes of witchcraft. When everyone was notified next morning, they assembled and examined those dead men. No one was found who knew them. And then those same ones

the exchange innocuous. If he failed to carry out the rules it would bring the sickness back to him converting the medicine from a curative agent to a poison. For further discussion see chapter on Wampum, p. 63, "Big House Ceremony."

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were buried in the ground. Two years later there came suddenly to visit there two women. All about they inquired in vain for their husbands. Again they assembled and sent for these women. They informed them saying that right over there under those trees were buried two creatures who came among us two years ago, bringing with them a bad thing. And behold there were sixty of us as many as they had killed. They then decided, these women, that one night, as said, no one knew where these men had gone. When it was explained to them they said they were the same men. Whereupon they were told, "You Nanticoke alone know of the evil-medicine." They replied, "That is not what it was intended for, namely that anyone should take life. But it is intended to be used for divination. Thus it is to be used when we wish to know how anyone is, or where they may be camped. When in time of fear during war-time they send out scouting men to guard all around in order that no one may surprise them, anybody not on peaceful terms with us."

Afterwards one foolish young man while visiting among the Nanticoke borrowed that witchcraft medicine. Down to this day it was never taken back. And there was wampum used when borrowing. So this is a known fact that if anyone does not rightly observe the custom he himself, his family or his relatives would suffer affliction from some mysterious cause. From that day it originated and was introduced to mankind, among the barbarous tribes all over the earth where dwell the red-skinned people on this continent. That is how the Delawares knew of it.

NANTICOKE SKELETON DANCE

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A few words of explanation may make clearer the symbolism of this strange rite. The feast of the dead possesses features to be remarked upon as characteristic of tribes of the southeastern area who perform a reburial of the bones of the deceased, after which the soul is permanently dismissed from association with kindred living upon earth.

The Nanticoke have long been notorious for the custom,

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tied a cross piece of wood and dressed up the figure of the man or woman like a doll, upon it (beneath the skull). And they put the bones of the deceased right opposite each of the posts. Now, when it has become dark, they begin their dance. Everybody who is to take part in the dance is named, also those who do the singing. And each performer is ceremonially presented with wampum, also the leader of the dance. They dance (in a circle in front of the posts, bearing the skulls and effigies moving counter-clockwise) all night. And when it is beginning to be daylight, they sing the last song, these drummers and singers. This is what they say in the song, according to tradition, "You said before you died, 'I will come when you call me!' Now here I am calling you."

Some additional notes on the procedure of the Skeleton Dance were recorded in Oklahoma from Mrs. Minnie Fouts, an aged Delaware, whose mother had taken part in the ceremony and who had mentioned some of the details to her when a young girl. We learn that the ceremony was performed near a fire, but far enough away so that there was no light. They had to dance around the effigies in the dark. The men who attended each of the skeletons lay down near them and shook the bones when the dancers went by. The dancers each had a gourd rattle. A kettle-drum was also used by the singers at one side. At midnight a feast of beans, bread, pumpkins, and meat was partaken of by the dancers and all smoked the pipe. Then in the morning all the food left over was gathered up and divided among the guests.

[p. 150 is blank]

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121. Cradle put in hammock 854

W. L. said that a cradleboard was formerly used but that 352
his children were all raised in a cradle hammock, consisting of a cloth or piece of blanket, two ropes and two sticks. The ropes were suspended parallel, the edges of the blanket fastened to or around the ropes, and the sticks placed at the ends of the blanket to keep the ropes apart.

123. Any difference in treatment of legitimate and illegitimate children 848 [836]

W. T.—No difference because Delaware never had latter. Young folks did not play around—old folks watched them too close.

Marriage and Its Incidents

131. Courtship

Captain Chipps—Courtships are brief. If a man sees a 584
woman whom he likes, he gives her presents, and persuades her [836]
to sleep with him. Should they be mutually pleased, they afterwards live together as man and wife. The consent of parents on the subject is seldom asked—although it is considered proper [585]
to consult parents on the subject. If a marriage is consummated as above, and the parents are displeased, they use their exertions to separate the young couple—they fail, however, for the newmarried couple elope, when the alarm is sounded. There is no ceremony of marriage but the above.

E. R.—Both girls and boys were told to accept the first pro- 584
posal they received. The old people kept telling them this and 577
to show what might happen to them if they did not do this they 539
told the following story. Once there was a girl who was very pretty, one boy after another wanted to marry her but she did not care much for any of them and would not listen to her old folks. Then one day when she was out in the woods she met a very handsome young stranger. She fell for him, and when he said he wanted to take her home with him, she agreed. He took her into a nearby hollow where he had a very nice home. He told his mother he had brought home a wife and she was very

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584 glad. They settled down there and the girl was very contented.
577 She had a nice home, a handsome husband who was an excellent
539 hunter, bringing in lots of game every day. Things went along like that for about a year. Then one morning when she woke up her husband was not there. She went outside and asked the old lady, who was cleaning up around the fire, sweeping the yard and so forth, if she knew where her son was. The old lady thought he was home and the girl went back in the house to look again. In the middle of the bed a great big bull snake was curled up. She screamed and ran outside and told the old lady. The old lady was mad and said, "So he is playing tricks again," and grabbing a stick of firewood, went inside and began to beat the snake saying "get up you lazy fellow." Her son came out of the house laughing and began to tease his wife, asking her if she was scared. She was so scared she could hardly talk to him. After breakfast during which he continued to tease her, he went ~~off~~. The old lady then talked to the girl and told her that while she had been there a year, she would not be happy there any longer and that it would be better if she went home to her own people. She went back home after being away almost a year. Her folks were glad to see her. She was pregnant and after a while got sick. She went off in the wood by herself and was very sick. Two little boys were playing in the woods and saw her lie down by a big log. They watched her die and going near her saw little snakes crawling out of her mouth, nose, eyes and ears. When the boys told the old folks what they had seen, they went out and looked at the body. They did not know what to make of it all but thought that that was what came from rejecting the first proposal the girl received.

[754] His old folks told E. R. that they did not know just how it all happened but thought that one of the fellows the girl had turned down had used power to get the snake to marry the girl and also used power to deceive the girl's eyes into thinking she was seeing a man. E. R. says the old folks were glad the old days were gone and that there were no longer people who could do things like that. Also they were glad that the days were gone when a person had to do things according to rules whether they were right or wrong.

10: Speck NM7 Delaware
539

[For the native text pertinent to the Delaware Big House Ceremony and its free translation by the author, see category 116 pp. 80-163, 168, 170-173.]

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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at some distance; this is intended to draw the attention of those who pass by, that they may look at and admire them.

The women make use of vermilion in painting themselves for dances, but they are very careful and circumspect in applying the paint, so that it does not offend or create suspicion in their husbands; there is a mode of painting which is left entirely to loose women and prostitutes.

As I was once resting in my travels at the house of a trader who lived at some distance from an Indian town, I went in the morning to visit an Indian acquaintance and friend of mine. I found him engaged in plucking out his beard, preparatory to painting himself for a dance which was to take place the ensuing evening. Having finished his head dress, about an hour before sun-set, he came up, as he said, to see me, but I and my companions judged that he came *to be seen*. To my utter astonishment, I saw three different paintings or figures on one and the same face. He had, by his great ingenuity and judgment in laying on and shading the different colours, made his nose appear, when we stood directly in front of him, as if it were very long and narrow, with a round knob at the end, much like the upper part of a pair of tongs. On one cheek there was a red round spot, about the size of an apple, and the other was done in the same manner with black. The eye-lids, both the upper and lower ones, were reversed in the colouring. When we viewed him in profile on one side, his nose represented the beak of an eagle, with the bill rounded and brought to a point, precisely as those birds have it, though the mouth was somewhat open. The eye was astonishingly well done, and the head, upon the whole, appeared tolerably well, shewing a great deal of fierceness. When we turned round to the other side, the same nose now resembled the snout of a pike, with the mouth so open, that the teeth could be seen. He seemed much pleased

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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881 and guards her so that none may see her . . . she is also kept within the hut the whole of the menstrual period, with the blanket over her head. . . .[46]

De Vries also noted that these girls hid behind a garment "which they throw over their body drawing it over the head so that one can barely [783] see their eyes."[47] The emphasis during menstruation was on uncleanliness and the necessity of isolation from society.[48] A girl could not touch her hair during her first isolation, food was eaten with a stick, and no meat was eaten.[49] In the last century, and perhaps earlier, a girl could not look in a mirror or talk to people (N.D.). At the end of the seclusion the girl's mother washed her hair, bathed her, and gave her new clothes. The idea was impressed upon the girl that she was now a woman and was henceforth to give up the toys and activities of childhood.[50] The same general restrictions applied to menstruating women.[51]

836 Little is known about premarital chastity in early historic times.
548 Denton said, however: "Any maid before she is married doth lie with whom she please for money without any scandal, or the least aspersion to be cast upon her it being so customary, & their laws tolerating it."[52]

Marriage

582 After the boys had proved themselves to be adequate hunters and the girls had passed through their first seclusion, they were considered
884 ready for marriage. This took place at about the age of seventeen or eighteen for boys and thirteen or fourteen for girls.[53] A girl showed her marriageability by wearing some sort of headpiece and by modestly covering the face with a portion of clothing when in public.[54] De Vries [301] said further that girls "deck themselves with a quantity of zeewan [wampum] upon the body, head and neck; they then go and sit in some place, in company with some squaws, showing that they are up for a bargain."[55]

584 Several different ways of arranging marriages and several types of marriage ceremony have been recorded for the Delawares. Some of this variety was probably due to diffusion from other Indian cultures or from Euro-American civilization, but it was also possible that there were variations among the diverse Delawaran peoples. Four seventeenth-century sources stated that girls were courted with wampum.[56] In later times, at least, relatives or go-betweens arranged the marriage. According to Heckewelder the prospective bridegroom's mother usually initiated the negotiations; according to Trowbridge the father of the

[46] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 77.
[47] De Vries, 1909, p. 218; also Loskiel, 1794, p. 56.
[48] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 77; N.D., O.A.
[49] Penn, 1912, p. 232.
[50] N.D. See section on Mythology in Chap. IV for an account of a girl who refused to part with her dolls.
[51] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 77.
[52] Denton, 1845, p. 9.
[53] Penn, 1912, p. 231; Holm, 1834, pp. 127-28; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 75; Loskiel, 1794, p. 63.
[54] De Vries, 1909, p. 218; Pastorius, 1912, p. 434; Penn, 1912, p. 231.
[55] De Vries, 1909, p. 218.
[56] *Ibid.*; De Rasieres, 1909, p. 108; Denton, 1845, p. 9; Van der Donck, 1909, p. 302.

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48. "*To bury the hatchet beneath the root of a tree.*"—To put it quite out of sight. 195

49. "*To bury deep in the earth,*" (an injury done)—To consign it to oblivion.

CHAPTER XIII.

INDIAN NAMES.

THE proper names of Indians are in general given to them after animals of various kinds, and even fishes and reptiles. Thus they are called the *Beaver, Otter, Sun-fish, Black-fish, Rattle-snake, Black-snake,* &c. They have also other descriptive names, from their personal qualities or appearances, and sometimes from fancy or caprice; but many of those are given them by the whites, such as *Pipe, White-eyes, Kill-buck,* &c. which are not real Indian names. They do not always preserve the names first given to them, but often assume a new one after they have come to man's estate. 551

Indians, who have particularly distinguished themselves by their conduct, or by some meritorious act, or who have been the subjects of some remarkable occurrence, have names given to them in allusion to those circumstances. Thus, I have known a man whose name would signify in our language *the beloved lover,* and one who was named *Met by love.* Another, a great warrior, who had been impatiently waiting for day-light to engage the enemy, was afterwards called *Cause day-light,* or *Make day-light appear.* So, one who had come in with a heavy load of turkies on his back, was called *The Carrier of Turkies,* and another whose shoes were gone- 553

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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553 rally torn or patched, was called *Bad Shoes*. All those names are generally expressed in one single word, in compounding which the Indians are very ingenious. Thus, the name they had for the place where Philadelphia now [103] stands, and which they have preserved notwithstanding the great change which has taken place, is *Kúequenáku*,* which means, *The grove of the long pine trees*.

103 They have proper names, not only for all towns, villages, mountains, valleys, rivers, and streams, but for all remarkable spots, as for instance, those which are particularly infested with gnats or musquitoes, where snakes have their dens, &c. Those names always contain an allusion to such particular circumstance, so that foreigners, even though acquainted with their language, will often be at a loss to understand their discourse.

829 To strangers, white men for instance, they will give
648 names derived from some remarkable quality which they
551 have observed in them, or from some circumstance which remarkably strikes them. When they were told the meaning of the name of William Penn, they translated it into their own language by *Miquon*, which means a feather or quill. The Iroquois called him *Onas*, which in their idiom means the same thing.

The first name given by the Indians to the Europeans who landed in Virginia was *Wapsid Lenape* (white people;) when, however, afterwards they began to commit murders on the red men, whom they pierced with swords, they gave to the Virginians the name *Mechanschicau*, (long knives,) to distinguish them from others of the same colour.

In New England, they at first endeavoured to imitate the sound of the national name of the *English*, which they pronounced *Yengees*. They also called them *Chauquaquock*, (men of knives) for having imported those instruments into the country, which they gave in presents

* According to the powers of the English alphabet, it should Be written Koo-ek-wen-aw-koo

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca.1800) 1819
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829 648 551 to the natives.* They thought them better men than the Virginians; but when they were afterwards cruelly treated by them, and their men shipped off to sea, the Mohicans of that country called them *Tschachgoos*; and when next the people of the middle colonies began to murder them, and called on the Iroquois to insult them and assist in depriving them of their lands, they then dropped that name, and called the whites by way of derision, *Schwannack*, which signifies *salt beings*, or *bitter beings*; for in their language the word *Schwan*, is in general applied to things that have a salt, sharp, bitter, or sour taste. The object of this name, as well as of that which the Mohicans gave to the eastern people, was to express contempt as well as hatred or dislike, and to hold out the white inhabitants of the country as hateful and despicable beings. I have, however, in many instances observed that the Indians are careful not to apply this opprobrious name to any white person whom they know to be amicably disposed towards them, and whom they are sure to be a good, honest, well-meaning man. I have heard them charge their children not to call a particular white man *Schwannack*. but *Friend*. This name was first introduced about the year 1730. They never apply it to the *Quakers*, whom they greatly love and respect since the first arrival of William Penn into the country. They call them *Quækels*, not having in their language the sound expressed by our letter R. They say they have always found them good, honest, affable and peaceable men, and never have had reason to complain of them.

[194]

648 551 These were the names which the Indians gave to the whites, until the middle of the revolutionary war, when they were reduced to the following three:

1. *Mechanschican* or *Chanschican*, (long knives.) This

* Rogers's Key into the Language of the Indians of New England, ch. vi.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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they no longer applied to the Virginians exclusively, but also to those of the people of the middle states, whom they considered as hostilely inclined towards them, particularly those who wore swords, dirks, or knives at their sides.

2. *Yengees.* This name they now exclusively applied to the people of New England, who, indeed, appeared to have adopted it, and were, as they still are, generally through the country called *Yankees*, which is evidently the same name with a trifling alteration. They say they know the *Yengees*, and can distinguish them by their dress and personal appearance, and that they were considered as less cruel than the Virginians or *long knives*. The proper English they call *Saggenash*.

3. *Quækels.* They do not now apply this name exclusively to the members of the Society of Friends, but to all the white people whom they love or respect, and whom they believe to have good intentions towards them.

Not only the Delawares, but all the nations round them, make use of these names, and with the same relative application. I have myself, in 1782, while at Detroit, witnessed the Chippeways, who on meeting an American prisoner, who was walking about, called out *Messamochkemaan*, (long knife) though he had no knife, sword, or dirk at his side. I was one day about the same time hailed in that manner as I was walking up the river, and apprehending that I might be seized as a runaway prisoner, I immediately answered: *Kau! Saggenash;* No! an Englishman; and they passed on. I might with great propriety make this answer, as I was born in England.

In the year 1808, while I was riding with a number of gentlemen through Greentown (an Indian town in the state of Ohio), I heard an Indian in his house, who through a crevice saw us passing, say in his language to his family: "See! what a number of people are coming "along!—What! and among all these not one *long knife!*

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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"All *Yengees!*"—Then, probably observing me, he said correcting himself, "No! one *Quækel.*"

Such are the observations which the Indians make on the white people, and the names which they give to them. They may sometimes be in the wrong; but, as they make it their particular study to become acquainted with the actions, motions, deportment and dress of the different nations, they seldom commit mistakes, and in general, they apply their different names precisely to those whom they are meant to designate or describe.

CHAPTER XIV.

INTERCOURSE WITH EACH OTHER.

IT is a striking fact, that the Indians, in their uncivilised state, should so behave towards each other as though they were a civilised people! I have in numerous instances witnessed their meeting together, their doing business and conversing with each other for hours, their labouring together, and their hunting and fishing in bodies or parties; I have seen them divide their game, venison, bear's meat, fish, &c. among themselves, when they sometimes had many shares to make, and cannot recollect a single instance of their falling into a dispute or finding fault with the distribution, as being unequal, or otherwise objectionable. On the contrary, on such occasions they even receive what is allotted to them with thanks; they say "*anischi,*" I am thankful! as if it was a present given to them.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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whether he will be a valiant warrior, a mighty hunter, a doctor, a conjurer, or a prophet. There are even those who learn or pretend to learn in this way the time and manner of their death.

When a boy has been thus initiated, a name is given to him analogous to the visions that he has seen, and to the destiny that is supposed to be prepared for him. The boy, imagining all that happened to him while under preturbation, to have been real, sets out in the world with lofty notions of himself, and animated with courage for the most desperate undertakings.

The belief in the truth of those visions is universal among the Indians. I have spoken with several of their old men, who had been highly distinguished for their valour, and asked them whether they ascribed their achievements to natural or supernatural causes, and they uniformly answered, that as they knew beforehand what they could do, they did it of course. When I carried my questions farther, and asked them how they know what they could do? they never failed to refer to the dreams and visions which they had while under perturbation, in the manner I have above mentioned.

I always found it vain to attempt to undeceive them on this subject. They never were at a loss for examples to shew that the dreams they had had were not the work of a heated imagination, but that they came to them through the agency of a mannitto. They could always cite numerous instances of valiant men, who, in former times, in consequence of such dreams, had boldly attacked their enemy with nothing but the *Tumahican** in their hand, had not looked about to survey the number of their opponents, but had gone straight forward, striking all down before them; some, they said, in the French wars, had entered houses of the English filled with people, who, before they had time to look about, were all killed and laid in a heap. Such was the strength, the power and

* War-hatchet; from which we have made *tomahawk*.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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prevented from getting at the corpse; when time and circumstances do not permit this, as, for instance, when the Indians are travelling, the body is enclosed in the bark of trees and thus laid in the grave. When a death takes place at their hunting camps, they make a kind of coffin as well as they can, or put a cover over the body, so that the earth may not sink on it, and then enclose the grave with a fence of poles. 764 766

Warriors that are slain in battle, are, if possible, drawn aside and buried, so that the enemy may not get their scalps, and also that he may not know the number of the slain. In such cases, they will turn an old log out of its bed, and dig a grave so deep, that the log, when replaced, may not press too hard upon the body. If any of the fresh earth be seen, they cover it with rotten wood, brush or leaves, that its place may not be found. If they have not sufficient time for this, or the number of their dead is too great, they throw the bodies on the top of each other between large logs, and place any kind of rotten wood or other rubbish upon them. They never, when they can help it, leave their dead to be devoured by wild beasts. 729 766

When the Indians have to speak of a deceased person, they never mention him or her by name, lest they should renew the grief of the family or friends. They say, "He who was our counsellor or chief," "She who was "the wife of our friend;" or they will allude to some particular circumstance, as that of the deceased having been with them at a particular time or place, or having done some particular act or spoken particular words which they all remember, so that every body knows who is meant. I have often observed with emotion this remarkable delicacy, which certainly does honour to their hearts, and shews that they are naturally accessible to the tenderest feelings of humanity. 55 769 152

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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until they were "pretty well grown,"[17] or until they were old enough to hunt.[18] Trowbridge in the nineteenth century said:

> Children are named at one of the grand worshipping councils, and as opportunities do not occur regularly, there is no particular age at which they are formally named. The child when about to be named is taken to the assembly . . . and there presented to one of the old men of the same tribe [phratry?] together with a fathom of wampum for his services.[19]

Information from the eighteenth century suggests that temporary childhood names were also given. These names were often derived from dreams:

> If it is left to the mother to give the child a name, she used little ceremony and calls it after some peculiar mark or character in it, for instance the Beautiful, the Good Child, the Great-Eye, sometimes giving it a name of unsavory meaning. If the father gives the child a name he pretends that it has been suggested to him in a dream.[20]

Van der Donck in the seventeenth century specified the mother as name-giver, but Loskiel in 1794 indicated the father in that capacity.[21] Kinietz has suggested that "part of the diversity may be accounted for by the fact that often two or more old people including the child's grandparents, dreamed a name, and on being presented with these the parents made a selection."[22] The shift away from a matrilineal, matrilocal emphasis in society may also have led to the naming of children by the father. According to informants, a friend of the parents, usually an aged person, was asked to give the child a name. This person was given a present; in the last century the present was dress goods or the like (M.B., O.A., J.T.). The name-giver did not name the child immediately, but waited until an auspicious dream had occurred.[23] Names for girls were "feminine sounding" and those for boys were "masculine sounding." "Coming into Full Bloom" was given as an example of a girl's name, and "Stands Before the Wind" was given as a boy's name (N.D.). One of Kinietz's informants said that animal names were used, and another said that children were named for the month in which they were born.[24] Masculine names could be feminized by adding an appropriate suffix.[25]

The use of an adult's name was restricted to the Big House Ceremony and analogous rites: childhood names did not have this restriction.[26] It was not uncommon for a person to select a new name upon becoming an adult. This might be because the old name no longer fitted, or the individual might merit a new name because of some worthy deed which he had performed. Denton said that "every one invents a name to himself, which he likes best. Some calling themselves *Rattlesnake*, *Skunk*,

[17] Holm, 1834, p. 127.
[18] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 202.
[19] Trowbridge MS.
[20] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 80
[21] Loskiel, 1794, p. 62.
[22] Kinietz, 1946, p. 45.
[23] Harrington, 1913, p. 213; Kinietz, 1946, p. 101; M.B., O.A., J.T.
[24] Kinietz, 1946, p. 101.
[25] Harrington, 1913, p. 213.
[26] Trowbridge MS; J.T., O.A.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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Bucks-horn, or the like."[27] In everyday life kinship terms were used rather than personal names.[28] Denton also said:

> Any Indian being dead, his name dies with him, no person daring ever after to mention his name, it being not only a breach of their Law, but an abuse to his friends & relations present, as if it were done on purpose to renew their grief: And any other person whatsoever that is named after that name doth incontinently change his name & takes a new one.[29]

Education and Training of Children

Children were nursed until they were three or four years old, but were increasingly fed meat and other specially prepared foods. Holm said they were taught to walk when they were nine months old.[30] When boys were four or five years old, they were given their first instruction in hunting, warfare, and woodcraft, as well as in other phases of a man's life.[31] Girls at the same age were initiated into the duties of housekeeping and the planting and cultivating of gardens. Old people, particularly grandparents, played an important role in instructing the children in tradition, religion, and correct behavior (O.A., N.D.). According to Trowbridge, men took upon themselves the duty of instructing the young of their phratry.[32] The earlier documents are silent on these points, but there seems to be no reason why these more modern data do not represent the customs of a former period.

In earlier times physical punishment was seldom if ever used on the children; explanation, ridicule, exhortation, and threats took its place.[33] Obedience was sometimes enforced by threats of punishment by the Mask Being. If a child was slow to rise in the morning, for instance, the recalcitrant one was told that this supernatural creature would visit him and poke him with a stick (N.D.). It was also believed that the supernatural powers punished disobedient children by causing them to become weak and sickly (N.D.). The myth of a great, naked bear was frequently used, since disobedient children were said to be its particular victims.[34] Children were described as being well behaved; a captive brought up by the Delawares said that "honesty, bravery and hospitality are cardinal virtues with them. . . .Their young, in a remarkable degree, reverence and honor the aged, especially their parents."[35] Not only were the old respected, but game and various other presents were often given to them.[36]

As children grew older, the boys in particular were more and more exposed to a toughening program. Training was one of increasing hardship, up to and including the puberty rituals. Children were forced to

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[27] Denton, 1845, p. 8.
[28] Trowbridge MS.
[29] Denton, 1845, p. 8.
[30] Holm, 1834, p. 127.
[31] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 202; Harrington, 1913, p. 213; Trowbridge MS.
[32] Trowbridge MS.
[33] Brickell, 1842, p. 47; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 81.
[34] Heckewelder, 1799, pp. 260-62.
[35] Brickell, 1842, p. 48.
[36] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 76.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

Of writing they know nothing, except the painting of hieroglyphics, already referred to, which they know very well how to interpret. These drawings in red by the warriors may be legible for fifty years. After a hero has died, his deeds may, therefore, be kept in mind for many years by these markings. A letter, especially, if it is sealed, is considered a very important thing. If any treaties, contracts or deeds are required to be delivered to the Europeans, signed by their chiefs, captains or counsellors, they make their mark and get others to subscribe their names. The mark may be a hook, or the foot of a turkey or a turtle or represent something else. They are very generally ashamed of their Indian names and prefer the names given them by the whites. Some have learned to write the initial letters of their new names.

In reckoning time they do not count the days but the nights. An Indian says, "I have travelled so many nights." Only if the entire journey has been accomplished in one day, will he speak of a day's journey. Most of them determine a number of years by so many winters, springs, summers or autumns. They say, "In spring when we boil sugar," that is March, or "when we plant," that is May, so and so will be of such an age. Few know their age when they get to be over thirty. Some reckon from the time of a hard frost or a deep fall of snow in such a year, from an Indian war, or from the founding of Pittsburg or Philadelphia, when they were so or so old. They divide the year into winter, spring, summer, autumn, and these periods are divided according to the moons, though, it must be said, that their reckoning is not very accurate. They cannot agree just when to begin the new year. Most of them begin the year with the spring, that is with March, which they call Chwoame Gischuch, that is the Shad month, because at this season this fish goes up the rivers and creeks in great numbers. True, these fish are not found here, but the name was brought from the Susquehanna region. April they call Hackihewi Gischuch, that is Planting month, though they rarely begin to plant before May or the end of April. May has a name signifying the month in which the hoe is used for Indian corn, though this is usually not

Death

Early burials which have been excavated reveal few objects buried with the body although Penn indicates that it was customary among the Lenape to place objects in the graves (p. 37). Skinner is of the opinion that this may have been a custom which was coming into more common practice during the period we are dealing with (Skinner, 1909, p. 50). Of about equal occurrence are flexed and secondary bone burials. A Delaware burial has been described by Lindstrom: "...a round pit is dug in the ground and a stool is placed in the hole upon which the dead man shall sit. Then the dead man's money is placed upon him and he is set down in the pit upon the stool with a tobacco pipe a fathom long in his mouth...". After the hole is filled up, "...they dig down in the corners of a square four very long poles upon which they make three shelves, and decorate the poles with long stripe of blue, red or green frieze,[16] hanging like fringes." The bones were later dug up and the flesh cut from them after which they were wrapped in chestnut bark and placed on the bottom shelf where the bundle was allowed to stand until it rotted. (Lindstrom, pp. 249-250).

Above the body there has frequently been found a layer of shells which has been interpreted as evidence of a feast of the dead (Skinner, 1909, p. 50). Other features of the death ceremonies noted by early writers are: the use of charcoal on the face as a sign of mourning (Penn, p. 37; Danckaerts, p. 159), the sending of a messenger to all friends to announce a person's decease and loud lamentations at the grave. The name of the deceased was not mentioned (Lindstrom, pp. 249-250). Many of these features are incorporated in Heckewelder's excellent description of the funeral of a chief's wife (Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 269-276).

Disease

Disease was classified into natural illness and sickness caused by witchcraft and spirits of the dead. This classification is reflected in the many different types of cures which the Delaware practiced. Curing was one of the few activities placed in the hands of professional people, the shamans, although purely medicinal cures were also performed by laymen. The shamans used a combination of medicines, magic, sweating, bleeding and psychotherapy to effect their cures for which they were paid. Penn says that the Delaware will give anything to be cured and this is echoed by later writers (Penn, p. 36; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 232).

Medicines which were taken internally were made from bark and roots mixed with water (Penn, p. 36; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 224-231); likewise, plants with medicinal properties were made into poultices for wounds, boils and snake bite (Heckewelder, 1881, p. 229; Loskiel, p. 115). The shaman might also breathe on the patient or blow his remedy over the patient's body. In addition to making and giving these [illegible], the shaman frequently put on a performance in which he grimaced and acted in such a way as to frighten away the evil spirit which

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
NM7 Delaware NM7

764 this is done they dig down in the corners of a square four very long poles upon which they make three shelves, and decorate the poles with long stripe of blue, red or green frieze, hanging like fringes.[1] Then those who have been the dead
765 man's relatives and best friends set themselves down for about the period of a month to lament the departure of the dead one, singing, crying, howling and lamenting, so that it is heard for a long distance. Now when this time is past they dig up the dead one and take all his money off him, which they put in a box and place on the lowest rack or shelf, then each one takes a knife and thus cuts the flesh off the bones of the dead one, wrapping the flesh in chestnut bark, which they place on the second shelf or rack, wrapping in like manner the bones into chestnut bark [and] placing them on the upper shelf or rack; but the entrails they dig down in the hole. Afterwards they still set themselves down for about the period of 14 days and further lament the departure of the dead, and when now that time is over, then their sorrow and lamentation are gone. Those who then are the
[766] relatives and best friends of the dead take the money-chest, dividing it between themselves, and therewith go their way; but the scaffolding together with the other [things] remains standing as a monument until it falls and rots away. When
● 151 now the savage is thus buried the savages do not
784 wish to hear him mentioned by name again or to speak further about him. If the Christian should

[1] *Som buldaner Adngiandes. Buldon* really means sail cloth or duck, but Lindeström apparently means stripe or fringes.

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
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happen to do this,[6] who does not know of their manner, then they hang their heads and sigh and puff severely, on account of it, not desiring to hear it mentioned.[7]

During these their burials there is often robbery committed by some of the Christians. Some scoundrels go to the savages and help them to mourn, pretending to be very sorrowful and sad, lamenting and weeping much worse and more miserably than the savages, saying that the [deceased] also had been their good friend, which the savages think is well, that they get company. These scoundrels watching their time, in the night when the savages sleep, steal away their money chest, so that the sorrow and lamentation for the savages become through this, deeper and greater.

[6] See above Chapt. II, note 27. Cf. also Van der Donck, etc.

[7] "Which bewailing is very solemne amongst them morning and evening, and sometimes in the Night they bewaile their lost husbands, wives, children, brethren, or sisters &c. Sometimes a quarter, halfe, yea, a whole yeare, and longer if it be for a great Prince. In this time (unlesse a dispensation be given) they count it a prophane thing either to play (as they much use to doe) or to paint themselves for beauty, but for mourning; or to be angry and fall out with any &c." Williams, *Key*, 54.

[p. 252 is blank]

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9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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Birth and Its Incidents

553 551 The ceremony of naming a child (89) appears to have been an adjunct of the Big House Ceremony in the nineteenth century and probably in the eighteenth century, although Zeisberger's remarks are not very clear. He reported: "The name is given at a sacrifice, on which occasion the Indian brings to some aged person, who performs the offering, a string of wampum, and tells him that he wishes his child's name to be named thus and so. During the sacrifice some other person sings a song in Indian fashion at a public gathering and makes known the child's name. This is called praying over the child. The same ceremony is performed when an adult person receives a name, even although he may already have been named."[1]

Captain Pipe stated that the name-giving ceremony was performed at a meeting of the national worshiping society.[2] Johnston reported that there was no ceremony; but so did Chipps, who then proceeded to describe one, although not in connection with the Big House Ceremony. Among the modern Delaware opinion was divided, and, oddly enough, divided according to the presence or absence of the Big House, even though they all disclaimed any knowledge of the connection of the naming ceremony with it as related by Pipe. J. W. said that the only connection that he knew of was that the native names were used exclusively in the Big House in recent years.

Lindeström reported that boys were not given names until they were large enough to shoot guns. All later sources and informants said that there was no particular age at which names were given, but all placed the time within two years of birth.

Very diverse accounts are given of the means of selecting a name (91-96). If there was a change within historic times, the sources included in this study fail to show it. The first period is not very well reported, but in each of the last three, names were chosen by the parents or dreamed by either parents or grandparents or some other elderly person. Zeisberger said that if it.

[1] Hulbert and Schwarze (eds.), "David Zeisberger's History," in *Ohio Archæological and Historical Publications*, XIX, 80.

[2] See *post*, p. 100.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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was left to the mother to select a name, she did so with little ceremony, but that the father pretended to receive a name in a dream. Pipe said that a child might take its name from its father, Van der Donck said from its mother, Chipps said sometimes from one of its parents but usually from one of its grandparents. Part of the diversity may be accounted for by the fact that often two or more old people including the child's grandparents, dreamed a name, and on being presented with these the parents made a selection. W. L., however, said that the power to name was derived from dreams and the names bestowed by an individual so empowered were usually related to his dream but that no dreaming was done for any particular child. None of the accounts indicate whether or not the name given an individual reflected his clan affiliation.

Whatever the origin of his name, the individual never had more than one, according to all informants and all the sources except Johnston, and apparently he had in mind the number of names an individual bore during life rather than at one time (97). In the changing of names during life the tabulation shows a clean break between the fourth and previous periods (98). The reason for this is not so clear, but it seems very reasonable to assign it to white influence and particularly the establishment of tribal rolls used in making annuity payments.

According to Williams, the Indian parents with whom he was acquainted did not use corporeal punishment for the correction of their children (105). He convinced one Narraganset father of the benefit of such correction. If corporeal punishment did not exist among the coastal Algonquain tribes before his time, the introduction of this element might be traced to him, for all of the subsequent writers with the exception of Heckewelder and all the informants affirmed the practice of it. However, the punishments listed by the other sources and informants were not very severe in most cases and indicate that, as among most tribes, the principal means of restraint with Delaware children were persuasion and example.

The education of Indian youth was frequently characterized as being entirely without system (103). It is true that formal

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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553 being descriptive may be more appropriate for children; at others because the subject has performed some remarkable feat of bravery or is otherwise deserving of a favorite name.

[551] E. R. and W. L. said that there were no second names except English ones and nicknames.

103. Education

867 869 CAPTAIN PIPE—Each man considers it his duty to advise the children of the same tribe with himself, and to instruct them by precept the way they should go, and to this kind of advice the father, though he may be never so great a scoundrel, is very particular, always enforcing the duty of correctness in their moral conduct. There is no system of education among them.

The account of the way J. W. was raised was recorded, practically verbatim, as follows:

When I was a baby they took good care of me—raise me so I could walk. When I was little my mother had to be awfully [262] careful. There was a certain food she must not eat. Not any side meat, or inside (liver, etc.) while nursing. Ham and shoulders all right—gave her strength. Any kind of vegetables, fruits, were all right. Anything cracked like nuts must not be eaten. Hominy all right. Must be careful about going [784] places, seeing things that surprise you which might get inside and affect child through milk. No cradles—wrap up in nice little clean cloths.

262 869 When I can eat: must not eat lots of different foods; such as like egg, inside meat; only outside but just good meat—none close to joint or head. Corn, vegetables all right, fruits all right but just so much.

When I can help myself—so I can see, eat by myself, well then any food, nuts or meat must not be eaten first, but give to either father, mother or other old folks, and then eat and as much as I want. Then they tell me certain parts I must not eat from then on until I am a man. They say don't ever eat egg, no liver, don't drink soup, unless you tell me, then I tell you what to do before you take, to give you strength. I say I want soup—they say run about a quarter of a mile (after taking).

[p 51 (c)]

614 so now where the father and mother were
611 of different tribes. This is a very interesting fact, as it is the first exception, if true, in the Algonquin race which I have found. Mr. Pratt informs me that he understands the children are of the tribe of the mother,
[797] and he has been their missionary for twelve years and for 22 years an Indian missionary. I shall verify this perfectly before I leave. The young man also says that the
672 office of chief was hereditary in the tribe, as he thought, and that a brother or nephew succeeded as frequently as a son, but he was not quite sure on this subject. He gave me
535 the names of 16 of the dances, all he could remember, which will be given later.

602 He said the Delawares thought a good deal more of their relationships than we did, and if there was the least particle of relationship they were glad to find it. He
[582] says that in old times near relatives could not marry, but now they married as near as our cousins.

Family Names

551 We took up this inquiry. He says one tribe has no right to use the names of another tribe, as he thinks, and he also says the names can be readily distinguished from one another, but I must inquire further about this. He seemed to think the same name might be used by another tribe, in which case it would be slightly varied. The real truth about the distinctness of the Indian names constantly eludes me.[57A] I shall soon think there is nothing in it.

[57A] [For footnote see category 116, p.209 (A) — Analyst]

15:Morgan E-8.(1859)1952
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[#209(B)]

most noted Baptist preacher" among the Delawares. Charles' brother, Isaac Journeycake, was quite prominent, also. One of Charles Journeycake's daughters, Nannie, married the eldest son of Mr. Pratt, Lucius, in the spring of 1860: "the bride was dressed in white muslin, with veil and orange blossoms, and looked very pretty" (Clara Gowing, "Life Among the Delaware Indians," *Collections of the Kansas State Historical Society, 1911–12*, XII, 186–87; *Home Mission Monthly*, Vol. 14, 1892).

In *Report on Indians Taxed and Indians Not Taxed in the United States* (Washington, D. C., 1894) there are three pictures dealing with Journeycake: (1) a portrait of him alone, 1890 and (2) a photograph of his residence, 1890 (both following p. 296), and (3) photograph of Journeycake with a delegation of Indians in Washington in 1867 (following p. 298).

84. There were many Ketchums among the Indians, not only among the Delawares, from 1830 to 1880 or later. "Captain" Ketchum is listed as a signatory of agreements with white organizations in 1832, 1843, and 1844 (*Transactions of the Kansas State Historical Society*, IX, 204; *Collections of the Kansas State Historical Society*, Vol. 16, pp. 755, 761). John Ketchum, Que-sha-to-wha, along with Charles Journeycake and other Delawares signed an agreement with Commissioner George W. Mannypenney in 1854, ceding lands. A James Ketchum was a member of the delegation of Delawares—which included Charles Journeycake and Agent Pratt, also—that went to Washington in 1867; he appears in the group picture mentioned in the previous footnote. In April, 1860, Mr. Pratt and a teacher at the mission drove out "to see chief Ketchum, who was sick." The teacher has left us a vivid picture of Ketchum's residence (Clara Gowing, *op. cit.*, p. 188).

85. From Algonquian Mingwe, "stealthy, treacherous." Used also by whites during the late

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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cover Delaware phrases. In the section giving the Delaware text 121
have been included footnotes explaining and analyzing terms which seem to require elucidation, or which through their idiomatic meanings seem to call for special notation in the eyes of the linguistic student.

In the free translation I have attempted to preserve the order, 128
emphasis, terms of thought and wording characteristic of native speech. It is obvious, however, that the translator can not adhere faithfully in his rendering to native traits of syntax and thought composition in all cases; the result would be in English quite unintelligible.[1] Even to attempt this as much as I have, may seem to some readers, not familiar with thought-processes in other than Indo-European tongues, to create confusion in idea, or at least to present some peculiarly twisted expressions. I may remark, however, that both points of view have been given careful and prolonged consideration before the translations have been released.

The text, as the informant dictated it, in the course of the four months during which we were engaged, seemed to unfold almost in the character of a canon. He showed a very thoughtful manner in arranging its parts and the wording, conveying the impression that certain sections or chapters had a formal sequence, that certain topics belonged inseparably with it, and that other matters which came in for discussion as we proceeded did not belong to it.

HISTORICAL OUTLINE OF THE BIG HOUSE CEREMONY.—The ceremony 796
which is the object of our study has borne several proper names in 552
historical literature. The formal designation seems to have been Gamwing, a designation for the ceremony used by several of the earlier writers, and still recognized by the Delawares as being a proper term. Yet no explanation of its meaning, to be relied upon, is forthcoming from any of our sources.[2] Of equal prominence is the designation Xiŋwika'on, "Big House," which in the tongue of the Delawares is a favorite term of reference to both the edifice, or temple, in which the ceremony is performed, and the ceremony itself. This designation predominates in our text. The Delawares are not

[1] Compare Zeisberger's remarks on the language (op. cit., p. 143). "They are able to express themselves with great clearness and precision, and so concisely that much circumlocution is required to convey the full meaning of their expressions in an European language."

That the language in the middle of the 17th century, even when only approximately recorded, is still intelligible to the Delawares, appears from the following. In David de Vries Notes (1632) (Narratives of Early Pennsylvania, West New Jersey, and Delaware, 1630-1707, Ed. by Albert Cook Myers (1912), p. 16), it is recorded on the 8th of December, that while moored in the lower Delaware River, the Indians declared they would "make a firm peace which they call *raconiyn marenit*." This is the equivalent of ma'wanilwolaŋgu'ndi·n, "all agree to make peace."

[2] The term was no more capable of explanation in Zeisberger's day (1780), it would seem, than it is among the Delawares of today. He says, "This feast is called ŋgammuin, the meaning of which they themselves are unable to give. (op. cit., p. 138).

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

786 552 destitute of terms in their own language suitable for denoting religious concepts. We find such formal terms as pa·'tamweo'k·an, an abstract term derived from pa·'tam- signifying "to pray."[1] This I have translated in the text by variations of its free meaning, as "worship," "religion," "prayer ceremony" to suit the context. Again we find the abstract term kena·'mwi·n employed as a synonymous title for the ceremony, for which I have been obliged to give the same rendering in English. And even another which was likewise noted by the missionaries of a century ago, ka'ntika, (kan·t'ka·· "he is dancing),[2] a composite term with the meaning of persons dancing in a line and pushing something forward, occurs in reference to the great ceremony as well as to other performances of a like nature in Delaware sacred conduct. And again we encounter the term menda'wən, with the meaning of "House of Earnest Pleading," employed in the text to denote the ceremony. The informant thought that this term might be of Munsee derivation.

779 192 These terms point to a theosophical system and practice among the Delawares possessing considerable maturity of form and content. Indeed it impresses one, in meeting with the various religious terms employed in reference to the creed and practices of the tribe, that a well-rounded ecclesiastical system exists therein. There is little impoverishment of expression and much order and mature thought in the picturesque symbols developed within the complicated framework of figurative speech.

Such terms as "imploring in earnest," "sadness of mind," "blessed with fortune," "religious commandment," "customary teaching," "religious inspiration," "humility," "reverence," "ritual," appear with full voice of religious thought that we are accustomed to expect in religious forms of a relatively advanced character. They evince a

[1] Terms of similar derivation occur in Algonkian dialects south of the St. Lawrence and the Great Lakes (paba't·am, Wabanaki dialects). Northward the designation is related to forms of Cree-Montagnais alamie'win, "prayer" comparable with Delaware aya'ndamən "to wish for, implore."

[2] A term denoting a ceremonial dance, with an interesting history. Chamberlain (Handbook Amer. Inds. Bull. 30, Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 202) reviews the term Cantico, as employed by the Dutch and English, tracing reference to it to 1664 as designating a death dance, to 1653 (Van der Donck), describing it as singing and dancing of the young, Dankers (1679) as conjuring the devil, Denton (1670) as a festival time. Nelson (Indians of New Jersey, 1894, p. 79) cites Hesselius as calling *Kinticka* a sacrifice or a festive gathering of the New Jersey Indians. The Munsee form of the verb is *ginikaan* (Brinton, Lenape Dict. p. 40) while in Zeisberger's vocabulary it appears as *genigeen*. *Cantica*, or dancing matches at festival time in which the spectators beat time with a stick upon the ground and sing (Daniel Denton's Description of New York formerly New Netherland, 1670, quoted by A. B. Skinner, Indians of Greater New York, 1915, p. 34) while *Kintika*, mentioned by Gov. Printz of New Sweden, as a means of serving Satan among the Delawares (erroneously rendered by Johnson, as "holy man or medicine man," Amandus Johnson, The Swedes in Delaware. N. Y. 1911, p. 379, fn.,) may be the first appearance in European sources of the word as denoting ceremonial dancing. The stem occurs in dialects as far away as the Wabanaki (Malecite, *ginte'kmuk*, "dance hard").

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

48. "*To bury the hatchet beneath the root of a tree.*"—To put it quite out of sight. 195

49. "*To bury deep in the earth,*" (an injury done)—To consign it to oblivion.

CHAPTER XIII.

INDIAN NAMES.

THE proper names of Indians are in general given to them after animals of various kinds, and even fishes and reptiles. Thus they are called the *Beaver, Otter, Sun-fish, Black-fish, Rattle-snake, Black-snake,* &c. They have also other descriptive names, from their personal qualities or appearances, and sometimes from fancy or caprice; but many of those are given them by the whites, such as *Pipe, White-eyes, Kill-buck,* &c. which are not real Indian names. They do not always preserve the names first given to them, but often assume a new one after they have come to man's estate. 551

Indians, who have particularly distinguished themselves by their conduct, or by some meritorious act, or who have been the subjects of some remarkable occurrence, have names given to them in allusion to those circumstances. Thus, I have known a man whose name would signify in our language *the beloved lover,* and one who was named *Met by love.* Another, a great warrior, who had been impatiently waiting for day-light to engage the enemy, was afterwards called *Cause day-light,* or *Make day-light appear.* So, one who had come in with a heavy load of turkies on his back, was called *The Carrier of Turkies,* and another whose shoes were gene- 553

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

553 rally torn or patched, was called *Bad Shoes*. All those names are generally expressed in one single word, in compounding which the Indians are very ingenious. Thus, the name they had for the place where Philadelphia now [103] stands, and which they have preserved notwithstanding the great change which has taken place, is *Kúequenáku*,* which means, *The grove of the long pine trees*.

103 They have proper names, not only for all towns, villages, mountains, valleys, rivers, and streams, but for all remarkable spots, as for instance, those which are particularly infested with gnats or musquitoes, where snakes have their dens, &c. Those names always contain an allusion to such particular circumstance, so that foreigners, even though acquainted with their language, will often be at a loss to understand their discourse.

829 To strangers, white men for instance, they will give
648 names derived from some remarkable quality which they
551 have observed in them, or from some circumstance which remarkably strikes them. When they were told the meaning of the name of William Penn, they translated it into their own language by *Miquon*, which means a feather or quill. The Iroquois called him *Onas*, which in their idiom means the same thing.

The first name given by the Indians to the Europeans who landed in Virginia was *Wapsid Lenape* (white people;) when, however, afterwards they began to commit murders on the red men, whom they pierced with swords, they gave to the Virginians the name *Mechanschicau*, (long knives,) to distinguish them from others of the same colour.

In New England, they at first endeavoured to imitate the sound of the national name of the *English*, which they pronounced *Yengees*. They also called them *Chauquaquock*, (men of knives) for having imported those instruments into the country, which they gave in presents

* According to the powers of the English alphabet, it should be written Koo-ek-wen-aw-koo

2;Newcomb E-4,5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7

844 to a Delaware) gave birth in a small "shed" on a riverbank, attended by two women.[7] Informants said that old experienced women who had gone through childbirth themselves assisted in delivering a woman. Immediately after birth the infant was washed by its mother.[8] Lindestrom alone among the early sources said:

[825] When the savage females bear their children, they tie around their waists a snake skin of the most poisonous kind of snakes, which are found in New Sweden and are called rattlesnakes, which has such an effect that they do not know of the least pain in their child birth, and are as healthy in an hour, as if they had never been through it.[9]

Immediately after the child was washed it was placed upon a cradleboard. Lindestrom said:

[The mother] binds it . . . with three long and broad braids, and does not place the smallest particle of clothing under or above the child. The first braid she wraps over the forehead and around the board; the second braid, right over the arms and the board; the third braid, right over the knees and the board, tying it right strongly to the board.[10]

854 The child was kept bound to the cradleboard most of the time, including nursing periods, until it could walk.[11] Moss was used as an agent to absorb the child's excreta.[12] If it was necessary to carry the child after the cradleboard had been discarded, he was borne on the mother's back wrapped in a blanket.[13]

Harrington was told that a newborn child was not felt to be securely in the world, and that to ensure life it was disguised from the supernatural beings by being attired in adult clothing. According to Harrington:

. . . deerskin strings or strips of corn-husk were tied on the wrists of children so that the ghosts would think they were tied fast to the earth; and holes were cut in their little moccasins so that they could not follow the spirit trail. If the child's mother died shortly after its birth, these precautions were redoubled.[14]

844 The umbilical cord was specially treated; it was buried in the woods if a boy's, and near the lodge if a girl's. It was considered to be closely connected with a child's disposition, and hence if buried in the woods would ensure a boy's liking for the woods and the hunt; if buried near a lodge it would ensure the girl's attachment to womanly occupations.[15]

● 553 Naming.— Personal names were bestowed upon children or announced to the public during religious ceremonials, particularly the Big House Ceremony.[16] The meager information derived from the seventeenth-century sources indicates that these names were not given the children

[7] Jemison, 1918, p. 45.
[8] Penn, 1912, p. 231; Penn, 1882, p. 342; Holm, 1834, p. 126; O.A., M.B.
[9] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 194.
[10] *Ibid.*, p. 201.
[11] Penn, 1912, p. 231; Pastorius, 1912, p. 434; Lindestrom, 1925, p. 201; Trowbridge MS.
[12] Loskiel, 1794, p. 61.
[13] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 201.
[14] Harrington, 1913, p. 212; J.T. mentioned defacing moccasins for this purpose.
[15] Harrington, 1913, pp. 212-13.
[16] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 80; Loskiel, 1794, p. 62; Harrington, 1913, p. 213; Kinietz, 1946, p. 44; O.A., M.B.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7

until they were "pretty well grown,"[17] or until they were old enough to hunt.[18] Trowbridge in the nineteenth century said:

> Children are named at one of the grand worshipping councils, and as opportunities do not occur regularly, there is no particular age at which they are formally named. The child when about to be named is taken to the assembly . . . and there presented to one of the old men of the same tribe [phratry?] together with a fathom of wampum for his services.[19]

Information from the eighteenth century suggests that temporary childhood names were also given. These names were often derived from dreams:

> If it is left to the mother to give the child a name, she used little ceremony and calls it after some peculiar mark or character in it, for instance the Beautiful, the Good Child, the Great-Eye, sometimes giving it a name of unsavory meaning. If the father gives the child a name he pretends that it has been suggested to him in a dream.[20]

Van der Donck in the seventeenth century specified the mother as name-giver, but Loskiel in 1794 indicated the father in that capacity.[21] Kinietz has suggested that "part of the diversity may be accounted for by the fact that often two or more old people including the child's grandparents, dreamed a name, and on being presented with these the parents made a selection."[22] The shift away from a matrilineal, matrilocal emphasis in society may also have led to the naming of children by the father. According to informants, a friend of the parents, usually an aged person, was asked to give the child a name. This person was given a present; in the last century the present was dress goods or the like (M.B., O.A., J.T.). The name-giver did not name the child immediately, but waited until an auspicious dream had occurred.[23] Names for girls were "feminine sounding" and those for boys were "masculine sounding." "Coming into Full-Bloom" was given as an example of a girl's name, and "Stands Before the Wind" was given as a boy's name (N.D.). One of Kinietz's informants said that animal names were used, and another said that children were named for the month in which they were born.[24] Masculine names could be feminized by adding an appropriate suffix.[25]

The use of an adult's name was restricted to the Big House Ceremony and analogous rites: childhood names did not have this restriction.[26] It was not uncommon for a person to select a new name upon becoming an adult. This might be because the old name no longer fitted, or the individual might merit a new name because of some worthy deed which he had performed. Denton said that "every one invents a name to himself, which he likes best. Some calling themselves *Rattlesnake*, *Skunk*,

[17]Holm, 1834, p. 127.
[18]Lindestrom, 1925, p. 202.
[19]Trowbridge MS.
[20]Zeisberger, 1910, p. 80
[21]Loskiel, 1794, p. 62.
[22]Kinietz, 1946, p. 45.
[23]Harrington, 1913, p. 213; Kinietz, 1946, p. 101; M.B., O.A., J.T.
[24]Kinietz, 1946, p. 101.
[25]Harrington, 1913, p. 213.
[26]Trowbridge MS; J.T., O.A.

3;Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

177 among the Indians as long as there were no Indian wars. Through the examples of the traders, also the Indians acquired the habit of drinking to excess. Secondly, the Indians had formerly great respect for the aged and the chiefs, from whom they learned that unfaithfulness in the marriage relationship was a great crime and that whoever was guilty of such evil would live neither long nor happily. At the present time they show little reverence to the aged and each one thinks himself to be wise in his own conceits.

147 844 The Indian women are in general of a very strong bodily constitution. There are generally clever and experienced women enough who are able to give assistance and advice in time of labor; generally, women will remain in the house at this time. Some go into the woods by themselves and bring their children to the house when they have seen the light of day. Most mothers nurse their children until they are two or more years [595] old. During this time many husbands have concubines, though not in the house.

●553 852 If it is left to the mother to give the child a name, she uses little ceremony and calls it after some peculiar mark or character in it, for instance the Beautiful, the Good Child, the Great-Eye, sometimes giving it a name of unsavory meaning. If the father gives the child a name he pretends that it has been suggested to him in a dream. The name is given at a sacrifice, on which occasion the Indian brings to some aged person, who performs the offering, a string of wampum, and tells him that he wishes his child's name to be named thus and so. During the sacrifice some other person sings a song in Indian fashion at a public gathering and makes known the child's name. This is called praying over the child. The same ceremony is performed when an adult person receives a name, even although he may already have been named. It is not common to call an adult by his name, for they are ashamed of their own names. If the attention of any one is to be attracted it is done in some other fashion than by the use of the name. In case of children, the names are used. In assemblies and in discourses they do not use the name of any one who is present, though absent persons are referred to by their names.

787
[553]

It is customary for the Delaware to learn in dreams names suitable for their children. During the later stages of pregnancy, the mid-wife or an old man is asked to think of a name and that revealed in a dream is later given to the child. Such a person need not necessarily be of the child's immediate relatives. Occasionally a gift is made him for this service.

To dream of catching fish in clear water is an indication that the dreamer will soon receive a sum of money. To dream of muddy water, on the other hand, is a sign of approaching illness or domestic difficulty.

To avert unpleasant dreams, a person smokes and prays to the Creator, appealing to him for aid in propitiating the supernatural powers responsible for such dreams. Cedar is also burned in the house to cleanse it. If a child is troubled by dreams at night, cedar boughs are soaked in water which is sprinkled over his person and the bed. This is believed to keep evil spirits away.

The more conservative Delaware have always been dependent upon dreams, and the appearance of certain celestial phenomena to warn them of impending danger. The appearance of a comet, "war spirit," in the heavens, is a sign of war. The "war dragon" flies through the air at night and appears like a streak of fire. The direction towards which its course is bent, is noted as the source of trouble. My informant reminded me of the appearance of such (Halley's comet) before the outbreak of the first World War. A falling star is also significant in war time. A fugitive attempting to escape may be located by means of a falling star, which the Delaware believe points to the spot of concealment. To point to a falling star will bring bad luck to a person.

NATURAL SIGNS AND OMENS

A FEW BELIEFS of miscellaneous character are noted for other natural phenomena. The two ends of the rainbow are believed to point to water. A snowfall late in the spring, with the wind to the north, indicates that the snow spirit is returning to his abode in the north. In the fall an abundance of berries and nuts, thick foliage and heavy corn husks all point to a long and severe winter.

[821]

A ringing or buzzing sound in the ear is a sign of impending death or bad news. The ear in which the sound is heard indicates the direction from which the news may be expected.

[761]

| | | |

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

Birth and Its Incidents

553 551 The ceremony of naming a child (89) appears to have been an adjunct of the Big House Ceremony in the nineteenth century and probably in the eighteenth century, although Zeisberger's remarks are not very clear. He reported: "The name is given at a sacrifice, on which occasion the Indian brings to some aged person, who performs the offering, a string of wampum, and tells him that he wishes his child's name to be named thus and so. During the sacrifice some other person sings a song in Indian fashion at a public gathering and makes known the child's name. This is called praying over the child. The same ceremony is performed when an adult person receives a name, even although he may already have been named."[1]

Captain Pipe stated that the name-giving ceremony was performed at a meeting of the national worshiping society.[2] Johnston reported that there was no ceremony; but so did Chipps, who then proceeded to describe one, although not in connection with the Big House Ceremony. Among the modern Delaware opinion was divided, and, oddly enough, divided according to the presence or absence of the Big House, even though they all disclaimed any knowledge of the connection of the naming ceremony with it as related by Pipe. J. W. said that the only connection that he knew of was that the native names were used exclusively in the Big House in recent years.

Lindeström reported that boys were not given names until they were large enough to shoot guns. All later sources and informants said that there was no particular age at which names were given, but all placed the time within two years of birth.

Very diverse accounts are given of the means of selecting a name (91-96). If there was a change within historic times, the sources included in this study fail to show it. The first period is not very well reported, but in each of the last three, names were chosen by the parents or dreamed by either parents or grandparents or some other elderly person. Zeisberger said that if it

[1] Hulbert and Schwarze (eds.), "David Zeisberger's History," in *Ohio Archæological and Historical Publications*, XIX, 80.
[2] See *post*, p. 100.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

was left to the mother to select a name, she did so with little ceremony, but that the father pretended to receive a name in a dream. Pipe said that a child might take its name from its father, Van der Donck said from its mother, Chipps said sometimes from one of its parents but usually from one of its grandparents. Part of the diversity may be accounted for by the fact that often two or more old people including the child's grandparents, dreamed a name, and on being presented with these the parents made a selection. W. L., however, said that the power to name was derived from dreams and the names bestowed by an individual so empowered were usually related to his dream but that no dreaming was done for any particular child. None of the accounts indicate whether or not the name given an individual reflected his clan affiliation.

Whatever the origin of his name, the individual never had more than one, according to all informants and all the sources except Johnston, and apparently he had in mind the number of names an individual bore during life rather than at one time (97). In the changing of names during life the tabulation shows a clean break between the fourth and previous periods (98). The reason for this is not so clear, but it seems very reasonable to assign it to white influence and particularly the establishment of tribal rolls used in making annuity payments.

According to Williams, the Indian parents with whom he was acquainted did not use corporeal punishment for the correction of their children (105). He convinced one Narraganset father of the benefit of such correction. If corporeal punishment did not exist among the coastal Algonquain tribes before his time, the introduction of this element might be traced to him, for all of the subsequent writers with the exception of Heckewelder and all the informants affirmed the practice of it. However, the punishments listed by the other sources and informants were not very severe in most cases and indicate that, as among most tribes, the principal means of restraint with Delaware children were persuasion and example.

The education of Indian youth was frequently characterized as being entirely without system (103). It is true that formal

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

784 825 JOHN JOHNSTON—Their principal reason is that the snake is such a malicious and spiteful animal that if they should kill them the rest would know it and would bite them.

CAPTAIN CHIPPS—They sometimes avoid killing snakes, on a march, because they say, "that if they kill one, the rest will be madder."

J. W.—Snakes were not killed unless necessary—"don't kill for nothing." Besides could tell good from bad snakes.

E. R. said that there were no rules against the killing of snakes and that he feared no retribution.

BIRTH AND ITS INCIDENTS

89. Naming of child

553 [796] CAPTAIN PIPE—Children are named at one of the grand worshiping councils, and as opportunities do not occur regularly, there is no particular age at which they are formerly [*sic.* formally?] named. (Children at times do not receive their names until they are quite large, at others while they are infants.) The child when about to be named is taken to the assembly and there presented to one of the old men (who is an orator and) of the same tribe with the father, together with a fathom of wampum for his services. This old man taking the child by the hand, rises and proclaims aloud his name, requesting all who hear him to [776] recollect. He then proffers a short prayer to the Great spirit in supplication for his blessing on the child during life; after which it is returned to its parents.

[846] CAPTAIN CHIPPS—There are no christenings—or ceremonies at the birth of their children. After the birth, a year or two, 851 sometimes less, the child is taken into council, and named. The 553 father names and the preacher announces the name to the assembly in a speech of some length—in which, he congratulates the parents of the child—hopes the child may become a good boy and "prays to God" to make him a good man, a good hunter and a good warrior.

J. W.—Has never seen or heard of naming in Big House. Parents take child to grandparents, either side. They give him

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

name by the month in which he was born. Three or four days after birth, not over five months. They set a day on which relatives and friends bring things, grub, give it to baby—glad there are new folks, kin to us, who have come to live with us. Then every birthday give big feast. 851 553 858

E. R. and W. L. said names might be given immediately after birth or not until several days had passed.

90. Particular age of naming child

LINDESTRÖM says when they become large enough to shoot a gun.

91. Descriptive names

J. W.—Names in keeping with month of birth. 553
W. L.—Animal names are used but not exclusively.

93. Names from dreams

E. R.—All names come from dreams. Child might go several days without a name. Chaff each other in the family about not being able to give a newborn child a name. Finally one of the parents or grandparents, going to bed with this on his mind so much, would awake with a dream of a name. 553 787

JOHN JOHNSTON—It is generally from dreams dreamt by the parent or some relation, relative to the agility or faculty of some animal, which they say appears to them and tells a pretty story.

97 and 98. Individual has more than one name; changed later in life

JOHN JOHNSTON—They have [more than one name] sometimes but the second one is one of their own choosing when they arise to years of discretion. 553

CAPTAIN PIPE—Although they never have more than one name at a time it is not uncommon for them when grown up, to change their name, in which case the same ceremonies at the grand council take place. This subsequent naming (it sometimes goes as far as a third) is sometime because the original appellation,

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

553 being descriptive may be more appropriate for children; at others because the subject has performed some remarkable feat of bravery or is otherwise deserving of a favorite name.

[551] E. R. and W. L. said that there were no second names except English ones and nicknames.

103. Education

867 869 CAPTAIN PIPE—Each man considers it his duty to advise the children of the same tribe with himself, and to instruct them by precept the way they should go, and to this kind of advice the father, though he may be never so great a scoundrel, is very particular, always enforcing the duty of correctness in their moral conduct. There is no system of education among them.

The account of the way J. W. was raised was recorded, practically verbatim, as follows:

When I was a baby they took good care of me—raise me so I could walk. When I was little my mother had to be awfully [262] careful. There was a certain food she must not eat. Not any side meat, or inside (liver, etc.) while nursing. Ham and shoulders all right—gave her strength. Any kind of vegetables, fruits, were all right. Anything cracked like nuts must not be eaten. Hominy all right. Must be careful about going [784] places, seeing things that surprise you which might get inside and affect child through milk. No cradles—wrap up in nice little clean cloths.

262 869 When I can eat: must not eat lots of different foods; such as like egg, inside meat; only outside but just good meat—none close to joint or head. Corn, vegetables all right, fruits all right but just so much.

When I can help myself—so I can see, eat by myself, well then any food, nuts or meat must not be eaten first, but give to either father, mother or other old folks, and then eat and as much as I want. Then they tell me certain parts I must not eat from then on until I am a man. They say don't ever eat egg, no liver, don't drink soup, unless you tell me, then I tell you what to do before you take, to give you strength. I say I want soup—they say run about a quarter of a mile (after taking).

[53(A)]

622 tain Ketchum, and of the Turtle Tribe. His
[611] name was Ta-ta-ne-aha. Here we have a practical illustration of descent in the female line, as with the Iroquois. She says each of the three tribes have one hereditary chief, called the Head Chief; that this chief never goes out to war, but stays at home while the Braves go out to fight.

648 The Delawares call the Senecas Mingwa-o, hence I think the historical word Mingoes,[85] a name for the Iroquois. The Delawares call the Iroquois and Wyandottes nephews, and thus assume the name
[186] of uncles, which is a way to express their seniority as well as original superiority.

553 I inquired of her about the family names, and was again put at fault. She says the father and mother can name their children as they please; that they ask some one for a list of old names of persons dead, and choose such ones as they like. She thought the names of the three tribes were kept dis-
[614] tinct, and then that they were used by these tribes indiscriminately. She said her husband named her children, and gave them all Turtle names, which was his tribe, then followed this up by stating that she did not know as it made any difference, that all used the same names. She referred to the
[171] Seneca practice of making a feast when a child was named, but said the Delawares did not do that way.

Winter

773 Mr. Pratt mentioned a Delaware tradition
821 about the origin of cold and heat and the change of the seasons as follows. In ancient times a married pair fell into disagreement. They lived in the far north region of cold. The wife, finding it impossible to live with her husband, or in resentment for some injury, travelled into the far south, into the region of heat. The husband became weary

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

the manner in which his favour could be most surely obtained, and they are directed to look up for instruction to those who know all this, to learn from them, and revere them for their wisdom and the knowledge which they possess; this creates in the children a strong sentiment of respect for their elders, and a desire to follow their advice and example. Their young ambition is then excited by telling them that they were made the superiors of all other creatures, and are to have power over them; great pains are taken to make this feeling take an early root, and it becomes in fact their ruling passion through life; for no pains are spared to instil into them that by following the advice of the most admired and extolled hunter, trapper or warrior, they will at a future day acquire a degree of fame and reputation, equal to that which he possesses; that by submitting to the counsels of the aged, the chiefs, the men superior in wisdom, they may also rise to glory, and be called *Wisemen*, an honourable title, to which no Indian is indifferent. They are finally told that if they respect the aged and infirm, and are kind and obliging to them, they will be treated in the same manner when their turn comes to feel the infirmities of old age.

When this first and most important lesson is thought to be sufficiently impressed upon children's minds, the parents next proceed to make them sensible of the distinction between good and evil; they tell them that there are good actions and bad actions, both equally open to them to do or commit; that good acts are pleasing to the good Spirit which gave them their existence, and that on the contrary, all that is bad proceeds from the bad spirit who has given them nothing, and who cannot give them any thing that is good, because he has it not, and therefore he envies them that which they have received from the good Spirit, who is far superior to the bad one.

This introductory lesson, if it may be so called, natu-

l:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

CHAPTER XXVII.

SCALPING—WHOOPS OR YELLS—PRISONERS.

726 727 **SCALPING** is a practice which the Indians say has obtained with their nations for ages. I need not describe the manner in which the operation is performed, it has been sufficiently done by others.* Indian warriors think it necessary to bring home the scalps of those they have killed or disabled, as visible proofs of their valour; otherwise they are afraïd that their relations of the combat and the account they give of their individual prowess might be doubted or disbelieved. Those scalps are dried up, painted and preserved as trophies, and a warrior is esteemed in proportion to the number of them that he can shew. 554

726 302 It is well known fact that the Indians pluck out all their hair except one tuft on the crown of their heads, but the reason of this exception is not, perhaps, so well understood, which is no other than to enable themselves to take off each others' scalps in war with greater facility. "When we go to fight an enemy," say they, "we "meet on equal ground; and we take off each other's "scalps, if we can. The conqueror, whoever he may be, "is entitled to have something to shew to prove his bra- "very and his triumph, and it would be *ungenerous* in a "warrior to deprive an enemy of the means of acqui- "ring that glory of which he himself is in pursuit. A "warrior's conduct ought to be *manly*, else he is *no man*." As this custom prevails among all the Indian nations, it

* See Loskiel, p. 1. ch. 11.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

done until June. The name given to June signifies the month in which the deer become red. That of July, the time of raising the earth about the corn, and of August, Winu Gischuch, the time when the corn is in the milk and ready to eat and roast. September is called the first autumn month, October the harvest month, November the hunting month, most of the Indians going out to shoot bucks. The name December shows the time when the bucks cast their antlers. January is the month in which the ground squirrels come out of their holes, and February they call Squalle Gischuch, the month of frogs, the month when the frogs begin to croak, though this again does not usually occur until later. At the present time the most of them begin the year with the Europeans, if they have come into frequent contact with them.

They are well versed in their genealogies and are able to describe every branch of the family with the greatest precision. They also add concerning the character of their forefathers, such an one was a wise and intelligent man, a great chief or captain or an Achewilens, that is a rich man and seems to signify as much as the word, gentleman, for the rich among them are highly respected. These make themselves prominent by giving the chiefs great quantities of wampum, when the chiefs are in need, and they are regarded as the main supports of the chiefs.

Concerning remoter ancestors they know nothing more than that they were great warriors and accomplished many heroic deeds, that in the war with the Six Nations, when they still lived along the sea-coast, the former were unable to do them much harm and after attacks on Delaware towns had fled in such haste that the Delawares had not been able to catch them, though they had got to the mountains as swiftly as turkeys, that, however, in spite of the ability of the Six Nations to get away the Delawares had caught and killed many of their enemies. They, also, relate concerning their ancestors that the Six Nations regarded them as mighty magicians, feared them and at last concluded a peace with them in the manner already described. Further, they relate how in times past the Delawares made attacks on towns of the Cherokees and killed many of the inhabitants; how, on occasion, they visited them at night during the dance, mingled

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

776 787 [789] usually worn on the person in the form of a charm.

533 554 776 787 FAVORED INDIVIDUALS.—Persons favored with a guardian spirit usually became prominent among their people and were held in high esteem. They composed rythmic chants referring to their visions for use at the Annual Ceremony (which will be discussed in the next chapter), and dance songs to accompany them. Rarely were the words of either chants or songs at all definite: as a rule they merely mentioned attributes of the singer's guardian, or incidents of their first meeting, without stating outright what the guardian spirit was, or telling a consecutive story of the vision.

787 Most Lenape who have had such visions can not be induced to tell the details; but the following examples of such experiences, imperfect in many points, were finally obtained. Incomplete though they are, they will give some idea of this class of beliefs and in this way may prove of value.

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

OFFICERS

[796] [202] The messenger sent to assemble the people is one of three male attendants chosen by the leader, and these three men appoint three women to serve also. To these six attendants, known as *a'ckas*,

[346] [532]

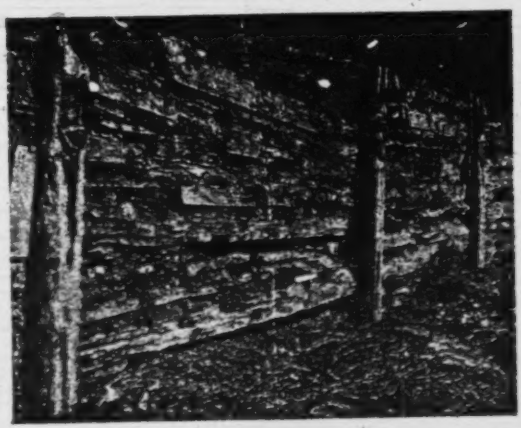

FIG. 7.—Side posts of Ceremonial House, showing carved faces.

falls all the laborious work of the meeting. [554] Although the duties are menial, it is considered quite an honor to be selected as *a'ckas*. The attendants camp on the north and south sides of the little open

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

who gave him some power or blessing that was his main dependence through life, his aid in time of trouble, the secret of his success. No wonder, then, that visions and helpers form the basis of Lenape belief and worship. Among the guardian spirits figured not only such great powers as the Sun and the Thunder Beings, the personified powers of nature, but the spirits representing various species of animals and birds, such as the Wolf or the Owl, of plants, as "Mother Corn," as well as the Mask Being, and even the spirits of the dead which some Lenape claimed as helpers. 771 787

Those favored by such visions were considered the leading people of their community. They usually composed rythmic chants referring to their visions, and appropriate dance songs to go with them, to recite at the Annual Ceremony. [554]

Belief in a soul or spirit surviving the death of the body formed an integral part of Lenape philosophy. The soul is supposed to linger for eleven days after death, 771 775

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

tion it lies extended. And the doors are opposite each other. Right here in the direction of the sun-set, it is the rule that the Bringer-in come, bringing the ceremony into the House. 539X 773 796

Everything was provided for the Delawares in the Gamwing. There was also wampum supplied by rule, it is said. Each person gives one shoulder-length for helping to prepare this food and also for when they pay the Attendants. And, so it is said, the Attendant is pleasing to him our father the Great Spirit, even the Creator. 539X 773 796 436

When the workers[1] purify everything,[2] these women with the Attendants, it can not be conceived how sacredly valuable those labors are. [783] It has been destined for the Delaware that that very wampum he uses becomes his heart. And moreover when purchasing food, or when anything of value is bought, he employs wampum. And then a quantity is gathered. Here at the left side of the House where the Bringer-in sits, at a certain height above the ground, there a white cloth is hung along the wall. There is suspended all the wampum, as much as has been gathered together each day over again.[3]

[1] The word means "to labor" in the sense of doing something for oneself. Corresponding to the term alo'ke (Penobscot, Wabanaki) meaning "work," the Delaware denotes working for someone else by naloka'tke "I am hired by someone to work.

[2] The clean, pure character of the Attendants or "workers" diffuses spiritual purity over all those attending the ceremony inside the Big House and strengthens them for the ensuing year.

[3] The supply of wampum is renewed each day by those who through spiritual impulses contribute their treasure. They are blessed in proportion. [431] It should be noted that no one is allowed to sell anything at the festival except the Attendants. Outside on the grounds at a distance from the Big House refreshments can be sold for money. But inside the Big House wampum must be used for exchange. In the present ceremonial transactions between the Attendants and the worshippers two or three beads pass for five cents. Some thirty or more years ago, however, when wampum was more plentiful it passed at one bead for a cent.

And it was said, long ago in the beginning at the Gamwing, inside the Big House, they built a great sweat-house. They heated rock and put it inside that sweat-house. There the shamans[1] crawled in. And water was used here for pouring upon the rocks. That was called testing with heat. Everyone going in there and staying for any length of time was said to be a great man. Some person would be exhausted in a little while for which reason they took him out. Those enduring it for a considerable length of time, those are the great men.[2] 539X 773 796 534 785

[1] There were two classes of shamans. Some had healing power and are called nenpi'kess "sweating doctor." The men who recite their visions in the Big House are also mete'lnu in the Delaware classification, their description being kaci'las-u wehendji-k-an'yo "great men who perform in a single file [like the vertebral articulation of men and animals]." See page 54.

[2] Amounting to a title denoting "prophet, reciter of vision, healer, priest all in one.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

These are the three ways in which a person is endowed that he becomes useful, or a magician.[1] And a person can become a warleader; that also is called greatness. 539X 787 554

[1] The term mat-o'-au in Delaware signifying "shaman" introduces a term recognized throughout the Algonkian range with identical force.

II

FIRST NIGHT OF THE CEREMONY

The Master of Ceremony[1] says when he goes into[2] the Big House, when rising to his feet, he speaks saying, "Truly I am thankful, my kindred. It is exceedingly good that we have lived on through to see each other, that we are in good health. I am truly thankful to bring forth[3] the blessing, my brothers and sisters and those there, our children. I bless you all with every kind of blessing. Truly it is unbecoming to me because I feel incompetent when instructing you what to do. Pitiful am I, indeed, as it is said. It rests very heavily upon my mind when I see each year how at present this our way of living has become pitiful. But nevertheless we must all try, my brothers and sisters and also even those children. Let everyone use his mind earnestly when we lift up our prayer of appeal to that one, our father, the Great Spirit and Our Creator. Indeed it is with great sadness of mind that we look back and see the past of our cultural-life as it is said to have been. Formerly, but a few years ago, it is said, here the seating space in the Big House[4] was overcrowded with our now deceased relations. Indeed it brings sadness of mind when we see here now how few of our relatives are seated around that space. It is enough to make anyone ponder over the cause of it. I myself never did think that I would live long enough, as a survivor, living as I am right here, instructing in sacred things where other sacred-teachers, our deceased ancestors,[5] so thoroughly inspired in worship, taught. 539X 796

[1] A proper name in the ceremonial sense, elha'k·ets·
[2] By this figure the formal opening of the ceremony is denoted, tami·'ka, "to go in."
[3] The Master of Ceremony is regarded as the sponsor for all the blessings that result from the performance not only to the participants themselves, and to the tribe, but to the whole of mankind.
[4] He refers to the covering of straw laid around inside the walls of the Big House where the participants are sitting. No chairs or benches are permitted here. They are not of the ancient days. [352]
[5] How little the Delawares have changed in their mental attitude since 1742 is shown by comparison of the above reverential discourse with a declaration made by the missionary David Brainerd who labored, and finally succumbed to the effort, to swerve the same tribe from loyalty toward the beliefs of their ancestors. His lament was that they were so much attached "to the traditions and fabulous notions of their fathers, which they firmly believe, and thence look upon their ancestors to have been the best of men." (Life and Journal of the Rev. David Brainerd, pp. 397-425 (Edinburgh 1826) quoted by Brinton op. cit., p. 137).

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

When all is ready then shall either one of these Attendants paint every Carved Image in the Big House. For that, my kindred, since ancient days is the rule and conduct of the Delaware when they intended to place our father, the Great Spirit.

Attendants, bring into the House your cooking and your dishes. Each and everybody who brings a dish give him to eat some hominy and meat. When eating is finished, then shall everybody who desires to sleep in the House bring whatever things to use he may choose such as bed clothes.[1] Here now it is nine evenings since we have camped.[2]

[1] This is to be noted as a privilege accorded for this time to the worshippers who are attending the ceremony—a sanctification.

[2] The Delawares are widely scattered over Washington County, of the Cherokee Nation, hence in congregating for the ceremony they are obliged to domicile themselves in tents.

[#52(c)]

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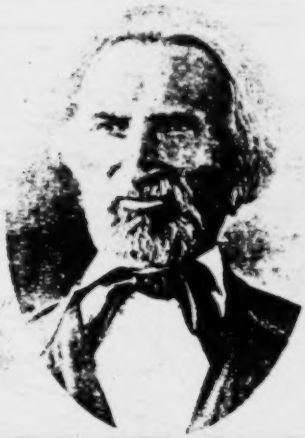

Charles Journeycake (Johnny Cake) was a chief, and a prominent leader of the Delawares in Kansas, as well as being a widely known Baptist minister. His mother gave Morgan information about the Delawares.

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[115]
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"Yellow Tree," as the name of one of the Bands. She appeared to be about 70 years old. She was of the Wolf tribe and her husband Turtle. She said the son did not necessarily succeed the father in the office of chief, but could not explain the succession fully. A brother or a sister's son often succeeded. Captain Ketchum[84] at the time of his death was head chief, a principal chief of the Turtle Tribe of the Delawares. This title or office is hereditary as she thought in the tribe, for she said the Turtles could not have a man of the Wolf or Turkey Tribe for their chief. Ketchum's name was Ta-whe-la-na (Catch Me). He died leaving a son; but was succeeded by John Konner, the present principal or hereditary chief who was the son of the youngest sister of Cap-

15:Morgan E-5 (1859)1959
NM7 Delaware NM7
Shawnee NN17
[p 54(B)]

D 797 worth, and went from there to the Shawnee Baptist Mission now closed, and from there to this Mission about 12 years ago. His wife is still young looking [she was forty-five at the time, ed.] and must have been beautiful as a girl. They are very worthy, refined and agreeable, and my short stay with them has been very pleasant indeed. Mr. Pratt is a well educated and superior man.

S 797 872 The Friends Shawnee Mission has done a good work among the Shawnees, but was never, I fancy, a very large school. There are but two boys there at present, but no doubt they have done as much good in proportion to the means employed as any other missionaries. The Friends are well adapted to gain the confidence of the Indian.

D 555 [*Delaware: Succession of Chiefs*]

In a brief conversation with Charles Johnny Cake, he informs me that the son never succeeds the father in the office of chief, but that the office goes either to a brother or the son of a sister. But strange to say the Turtle, the Wolf and the Turkey tribes each have several subdivisions, and while it was the ancient law that Turtle must always intermarry with Turtle, Wolf with Wolf and Turkey with Turkey, yet the subdivisions were not allowed to intermarry and in these the children were of the tribe of the mother. Mrs. Johnny Cake, the mother of Charles, would not or could not tell me the names of the subdivisions. Charles would not today under the pretence that it was important to be right and he doubted his recollection of these subdivisions, although he said there were a number of each.

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D [611]

D 124 614 582

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

larly of the old, who delight in such work, and indeed, in any work which shows that they are able to do their parts and be useful to society. It requires great patience, being the most tedious kind of work I have ever seen them perform, yet they do it in a most ingenious manner. The feathers, generally those of the turkey and goose, are so curiously arranged and interwoven together with thread or twine, which they prepare from the rind or bark of the wild hemp and nettle, that ingenuity and skill cannot be denied them. They shew the same talent and much forethought in making their *Happis*, the bands with which they carry their bags and other burdens; they make these very strong and lasting.

The present dress of the Indians is well known to consist in blankets, plain or ruffled shirts and leggings for the men, and petticoats for the women, made of cloth, generally red, blue, or black. The wealthy adorn themselves besides with ribands or gartering of various colours, beads, and silver broaches. These ornaments are arranged by the women, who, as well as the men, know how to dress themselves in style. Those of the men principally consist in the painting of themselves, their head and face principally, shaving or good clean garments, silver arm spangles and breast plates, and a belt or two of wampum hanging to their necks. The women, at the expense of their husbands or lovers, line their petticoat and blue or scarlet cloth blanket or covering with choice ribands of various colours, or with gartering, on which they fix a number of silver broaches or small round buckles. They adorn their leggings in the same manner; their mocksens, (properly *Ma.xen*, or according to the English pronunciation *Moxen*), are embroidered in the neatest manner, with coloured porcupine quills, and are besides, almost entirely covered with various trinkets; they have, moreover, a number of little bells and brass thimbles fixed round their ancles, which, when they walk, make a tinkling noise, which is heard

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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But when a belt is given few words are spoken, and they must be words of great importance, frequently requiring an explanation. Belts are of pure wampum worked in all manner of clever forms by the Indian women, they being informed in each case what the figures must be, inasmuch as the figures must correspond with the message. A belt is three or four inches broad and about a yard long.[203] Neither color nor the other quantities of wampum are matters of indifference, but have an immediate reference to those things which they are meant to confirm. A white string of belt signifies a good message and such a belt may have figures in dark wampum. If a treaty is [648] to be made or renewed with another nation the message is commonly accompanied by a Road Belt. This is a white belt with two rows of black wampum running the entire length with a white row between the two black rows also running the entire length of the belt. This signifies that the way from one nation to another has been cleared of all brush, trees and stones. At the ends of the belt the two nations are likewise represented by two small dark spots. If a string or belt of wampum is intended to confirm a warning against evil or an earnest reproof the belt delivered is in black. When a nation is called upon to go to war or war declared against it the belt is black or marked with red, having in the middle the figure of an hatchet in white wampum. A peace belt is quite white, a fathom long and a hand broad and of not inconsiderable value.

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A chief has more use for the white wampum than the black. In particular cases and upon extraordinary occasions a voluntary contribution of wampum is made by the whole tribe or nation. The rich are considered as principal supporters of the chiefs and furnish them with wampum in an emergency, which rarely occurs more than once in three years. The usual expenses are defrayed from the treasury chest of the council, which is never empty, because when wampum is paid out usually an equal amount comes in. In general the chief does not speak in council, but has his speaker to whom he communicates his sentiments briefly and leaves him to expatiate on them. The latter must be able to put the whole matter in a speech well arranged, which requires a clear and open understanding, a faithful mem-

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[p 55 (B)]

614 have expressed themselves in favor of the
622 person nominated. If they disagree, I have
623 not ascertained how it is adjusted. After the person is agreed upon, then all the chiefs meet in council and perform the ceremony of investing him with his office.

622 The war chiefs are selected and made such by the Head Chief without consulting the people, but not so with the Head Chief.

241 The Delawares are very well advanced as agriculturalists. When Mr. Pratt came
342 among them 12 years ago, as he informs me,
177 they were living in bark houses. Now many of them are living in frame houses two stories and 2½ stories high, some with a veranda in front the whole length, and they have good barns and outbuildings. Some of
231 them have herds of cattle from 25 to 100
422 and have from 5 to 20 swine, sheep, wagons, and all kinds of farming implements. Their future prospects are certainly very flattering if they push on as they have here. Their
648 women are interfered with a good deal by
563 the whites, and they are quick to marry
● 557 white husbands, as they seem to regard that as advancing. It would be so were their husbands respectable.

657 With their large annuity of $50,000 per annum, the best timbered lands in the state, and sufficient of them to give them all large farms, there is no reason why they should not become both agriculturalists and respectable citizens of the state. When they
000 become wealthy farmers as some of them now are, their children will intermarry respectably with our white people, and thus the children will become respectable and, if educated, in the second and third generations will become beautiful and attractive. This is to be the end of the Indian absorption of a small portion, which will improve and toughen our race, and the residue run out or forced into the regions of the mountains.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

men, who every where speak more than the men, never want words to express themselves, but rather seem to have too many, and they do not oftener employ gestures in aid of their conversation than the vivacity of their sex induces them to do every where else.

It is true that the Indians have a language of signs, by which they communicate with each other on occasions when speaking is not prudent or proper, as, for instance, when they are about to meet an enemy, and by speaking they would run the risk of being discovered. By this means they also make themselves understood to those nations of Indians whose languages they are not acquainted with, for all the Indian nations understand each other in this way. It is also, in many cases, a saving of words which the Indians are much intent on, believing that too much talking disgraces a man. When, therefore, they will relate something extraordinary in a few words, they make use of corresponding signs, which is very entertaining to those who listen and attend to them, and who are acquainted both with the language and the signs, being very much as if somebody were to explain a picture set before them. But they never make use of signs to supply any deficiency of language, as they have words and phrases sufficient to express every thing.

I have frequently questioned Indians who had been educated at our schools, and could understand, read, write, and speak both English and German, whether they could express their ideas better in either of those languages than in their own, and they have always and uniformly answered that they could express themselves with far the greatest ease in their own Indian, and that they never were at a loss for words or phrases in which to clothe every idea that occurred to them, without being in any case obliged to gesticulate or make motions with their hands or otherwise. From the knowledge which I have acquired of their language, I have

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

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orgy, put him out of the way, pretending to be very drunk and not capable of judging of the nature of his deed. Under such circumstances, according to ancient usage, the murderer must pay a hundred fathoms of wampum for the murder of a man and two hundred for that of a woman. If he is too poor to raise the amount, which is commonly the case, his friends help to raise it and turn it over to the relatives of the slain, at the same time delivering a speech. If any one has murdered his own relative, he usually escapes without difficulty, for the family can easily find reason for the deed, not wishing to lose two of their friends at once. Should a murderer not feel himself safe, he goes to another region or town where he is a stranger.

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In case of theft, which is held as a disgrace among them, nothing further is required than that the thief must restore what he has stolen, pay for it or give something in exchange. If justice cannot be satisfied in one of these ways, because the thief has nothing, loss falls on the party robbed, or the friends of the thief, if such he has, must make good the loss.

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When a whole party goes out to hunt, they govern themselves according to the wishes of the oldest or the most expert, particularly if he be a member of the council. It is not considered good form for one to leave the party before the end of the hunt. If one has wounded a deer and another followed and killed it, the skin belongs to the first and either the half or the whole of the meat to the latter. If several take aim at once and they cannot determine which of them made the best shot, the skin is given to the oldest of the party, or, if he happened to be one of those taking aim, he is said to have killed the animal. Old men, therefore, no longer able to shoot well, generally get their share of the skins, if they only aim now and then with the others though they do not hit the mark.

Such old men, accompanying a hunting party, get both meat and skins, for the good hunters will not let them return empty-handed. They have, in general, and the Unami in particular, the custom that when a huntsman has shot a deer, and another Indian joins him or only looks on at a distance, he immediately gives him the whole animal and goes in pursuit of another.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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On every occasion, and in every situation through life, age takes the lead among the Indians. Even little boys, when going on parties of pleasure, were it only to catch butterflies, strictly adhere to this rule, and submit to the direction of the oldest in their company, who is their chief, leader and spokesman; if they are accosted on the way by any person, and asked whither they are going, or any other question, no one will presume to answer but their *speaker*. The same rule is observed when they are grown up, and in no case whatever will one of a party, club or meeting, attempt to assume authority over the leader, or even to set him right if he should mistake the road or take a wrong course; much less will any one contradict what he says, unless his opinion should be particularly asked, in which case, and no other, he will give his advice, but with great modesty and diffidence.

And yet there have been travellers who have ventured to assert that old people among the Indians are not only neglected and suffered to perish for want, but that they are even, when no longer able to take care of themselves, *put out of the way of all trouble*. I am free to declare, that among all the Indian nations that I have become acquainted with, if any one should kill an old man or woman for no other cause than that of having become useless or burdensome to society, it would be considered as an unpardonable crime, the general indignation would be excited, and the murderer instantly put to death. I cannot conceive any act that would produce such an universal horror and detestation, such is the veneration which is every where felt for old age.

Indeed, I have had sufficient reason to be convinced that this principle, excellent as it is in itself, is even carried too far by the Indians, and that not a little inconvenience is occasioned by it. A few instances will make this better understood than any explanations that I could give.

In the year 1765, the great body of Christian Indians,

[erratum. See vol. 116, p. 348. - Am. Ed.]

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

off with them to Sandusky, under the protection of the British Government. We have seen in a former chapter that he afterwards saw how impolitic his conduct had been, and probably wished to retrace his steps, but it was too late. He had suffered himself to be misled by his passions, excited by the remembrance of former wrongs, and thus was betrayed into his injudicious conduct. Perhaps also his jealousy of Captain White Eyes, whose superiority his proud mind could not bear, did not in a small degree contribute to it. Pipe was certainly a great man, but White Eyes was, in my opinion, the greatest of the two. I was present when he made the speech which I have related, and never shall forget the impression it made upon me.

Thus Indian politicians work and manage matters against each other without newspaper wrangles, abuse of character, personal quarrels, or open insults. Their ingenuity, when joined to a good cause, generally makes them come off victorious. In a bad cause, on the contrary, they are sure to meet with detection and defeat, as Captain Pipe, for his misfortune, sadly experienced.

CHAPTER XVI.

MARRIAGE AND TREATMENT OF THEIR WIVES.

THERE are many persons who believe, from the labour that they see the Indian women perform, that they are in a manner treated as slaves. These labours, indeed, are hard, compared with the tasks that are imposed upon females in civilised society; but they are no more than their fair share, under every consideration

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

and due allowance, of the hardships attendant on savage life. Therefore they are not only voluntarily, but cheerfully submitted to; and as women are not obliged to live with their husbands any longer than suits their pleasure or convenience, it cannot be supposed that they would submit to be loaded with unjust or unequal burdens.

Marriages among the Indians are not, as with us, contracted for life; it is understood on both sides that the parties are not to live together any longer than they shall be pleased with each other. The husband may put away his wife whenever he pleases, and the woman may in like manner abandon her husband. Therefore the connexion is not attended with any vows, promises or ceremonies of any kind. An Indian takes a wife as it were on trial, determined, however, in his own mind not to forsake her if she behaves well, and particularly if he has children by her. The woman, sensible of this, does on her part every thing in her power to please her husband, particularly if he is a good hunter or trapper, capable of maintaining her by his skill and industry, and protecting her by his strength and courage.

When a marriage takes place, the duties and labours incumbent on each party are well known to both. It is understood that the husband is to build a house for them to dwell in, to find the necessary implements of husbandry, as axes, hoes, &c. to provide a canoe, and also dishes, bowls, and other necessary vessels for house-keeping. The woman generally has a kettle or two, and some other articles of kitchen furniture, which she brings with her. The husband, as master of the family, considers himself bound to support it by his bodily exertions, as hunting, trapping, &c.; the woman, as his *help-mate*, takes upon herself the labours of the field, and is far from considering them as more important than those to which her husband is subjected, being well satisfied that with his gun and traps he can maintain a family in any place where game is to be found: nor do they think it any hardship imposed upon them; for they themselves say, that

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

These honours of "mourning over the corpse" are paid to all; the poor and humble, as well as the rich, great, and powerful; the difference consists only in the number of mourners, the undistinguished Indian having few besides his immediate relations and friends, and sometimes only those. Women, (notwithstanding all that has been said of their supposed inferior station and of their being reduced to the rank of slaves) are not treated after their death with less respect than the men, and the greatest honours are paid to the remains of the wives of renowned warriors or veteran chiefs, particularly if they were descended themselves of a high family, which, however strange it may appear, is not an indifferent thing among the Indians, who love to honour the merit of their great men in their relatives. I was present in the year 1762, at the funeral of a woman of the highest rank and respectability, the wife of the valiant Delaware chief *Shingask*; as all the honours were paid to her at her interment that are usual on such occasions, I trust a particular description of the ceremony will not be unacceptable.

At the moment that she died, her death was announced through the village by women specially appointed for that purpose, who went through the streets crying, "*She is no more! she is no more!*" The place on a sudden exhibited a scene of universal mourning; cries and lamentations were heard from all quarters; it was truly the expression of the general feeling for a general loss.

The day passed in this manner amidst sorrow and desolation. The next morning, between nine and ten o'clock, two counsellors came to announce to Mr. Thomas Calhoon, the Indian trader, and myself, that we were desired to attend and assist at the funeral which was soon to take place. We, in consequence, proceeded to the house of the deceased, where we found her corpse lying in a coffin, (which had been made by Mr. Calhoon's carpenter) dressed and painted in the most superb Indian style. Her gar-

2;Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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Delaware Technology

Subsistence

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At the beginning of historic times all of the Middle Atlantic Slope cultures subsisted by means of hoe-gardening, fishing, and hunting. The relative importance of each of these subsistence methods has long been disputed for the area as a whole. Kroeber has maintained that agriculture was not basic to life in the Eastern Area, that "there is little to argue that the culture was leaning very fundamentally on agriculture."[6] He is almost certainly in error in minimizing agriculture and in the reasons he gives for its unimportance, at least so far as the Delawares were concerned. Among the more inland groups agriculture definitely was of paramount importance. In 1654 Lindestrom described a group on the Schuylkill who had ". . . . their dwellings side by side one another, wherefore this land is thereby being cleared and cultivated with great power."[7] Juet before 1610 described a group in the neighborhood of Sandy Hook as having a "great store of Maiz,"[8] and De Vries, De Laet, and William Penn all said that the principal food was maize.[9] Krieger in 1663, in an expedition against some New Jersey Delawares, cut down two hundred and fifteen acres of maize and burned over one hundred pits of corn and beans.[10] Wallace recently contended that agriculture was basic in the economy and added that the high status of women was a function of their basically important agricultural activities.[11] Hunting, gathering, and fishing were also important activities, and seasonally they may well have rivaled agricultural activity.

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Gardening.—The principal crop plant was corn or maize (*Zea mays*), raised by the women.[12] They had several varieties ". . . .white, red, blue, flesh-colored, brown, yellow and spotted ears."[13] Holm in the early decades of the seventeenth century said the Delawares grew ". . . black maize of the colour of tar. . ."[14] Harrington in his field work among the Oklahoma Delawares noted six varieties that had been handed down from the early days and were still grown. There were "three soft and three hard" varieties.[15] The Delawares today remember or possess a white-flour corn used principally in bread;[16] red corn, a flint variety; Osage corn, a soft variety; blue corn; and Deer corn, a striped variety (J.T.). There is no assurance that these varieties have not been borrowed by the Delawares in recent times. The cultivated fields seem to have been rather small in extent. Kalm stated that an Indian's garden took up no more ground "than a farmer in our country takes to plant cabbage for his family. At least, a farmer's cabbage and turnip ground,

[6]Kroeber, 1947, p. 148.
[7]Lindestrom, 1925, p. 170.
[8]Juet, 1909, p. 18.
[9]De Vries, 1909, p. 218; De Laet, 1909, p. 57; Penn, 1912, p. 232.
[10]O'Callaghan, 1851, IV: 39.
[11]Wallace, 1947, pp. 9-10.
[12]De Laet, 1909, p. 49; Denton, 1845, p. 6; Van der Donck, 1909, p. 302; Thomas, 1912, p. 341; Penn, 1912, p. 232.
[13]Lindestrom, 1925, p. 179; see also De Rasieres, 1909, p. 107; Kalm, 1937, I: 74.
[14]Holm, 1834, p. 49.
[15]Harrington, 1913, p. 221.
[16]Lindestrom, 1925, p. 180, said bread was baked from white and yellow corn.

3;Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

624 ory, experience in the affairs of the state and a knowledge of the formal language employed in council, which differs as much from the common language as does the language used by the whites in legal procedure, from the language of ordinary intercourse.

202 When a message is to be sent, this is entrusted to two or more messengers. One of these is to be the speaker, the others being ready to remind him of anything he might forget. A message is formally entrusted to ambassadors at a meeting of the Council. It is repeated a number of times and the one appointed speaker of the messengers must in turn repeat it several times, until he is able to deliver the message with facility and in proper form. The messengers are then fitted out with necessaries for the journey and dispatched. As the whole of a message is to be delivered verbally, a speaker must be a sensible and reliable man. Young men, destined for such service, are admitted as hearers to the council, where they may learn much. Any one employed as messenger is held in high regard. They must be young men, of great endurance on the march, who will not be stopped by bad weather or high waters. On occasions of extreme importance, as in time of war, messengers may have to be on the march night and day, finding their way in the darkest night on paths that a white man could scarce follow in daytime.

623 The council meetings are as quiet and orderly as if they were acts of devotion. Noises, talking and laughing are not heard, even though the young may be present. All pay strict attention to the speaker. The counsellors are called together by a servant and when they appear, they welcome one another, [276] shake hands and express their joy at meeting. Each brings pouch, pipe and they smoke a considerable amount of tobacco that has been mixed with dried and crushed sumac leaves. Women are never admitted to the council; in matters of public [562] interest they may stand about the house and listen, and they account it an honor when they are admitted, to hand victuals and keep up the fire. Provisions must always be in plenty in the council-house, for eating and deliberating alternate.

The principal chief, either himself or through a speaker, sets forth the subjects that shall engage the attention of the

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
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Lenape

THE RITES

When night came, the leader entered the brush house, taking with him a turtle rattle similar to that used in the Annual Ceremony, followed by the men who were to participate (no women being allowed), and then made a speech, telling of the men who had "brought in" this meeting, and explaining its origin, but making no prayers to the Great Spirit or to any of the *manĭ'towĭk*, his helpers. He then threw half of the hog-fat upon the fire, and placed a string of wampum around his own neck. At this juncture the cook brought him the hog's head in its bowl, and then, first announcing, "I am now going to carry the head around," the leader began to chant and to walk about the house, making false motions to everyone as if to give him the head, then withdrawing it and proceeding to the next. The burden of the chant, the Indians say, was "what his dream helper told him," very much as in the Big House, but here the people kept time to his chant orally, saying "*Hu-hu-hu!*" until he

+ = element present
− = element denied
(+) or (−) = source ambiguous
* = informant could not or would not say
S = some, sometimes, or several
† or * = see Ethnographic Notes, pp. 79-137 for additional information

	Williams	Van der Donck	Lindeström	Zeisberger	Heckewelder	Johnston	Pipe	Chippe	J. W.	W. T.	E. R.	T. W.
												342
												756
												155
												621
												765
												766
												574
												538
												191
												912
												895
												858
Medicine—Continued												
52. Perform surgical operation				(−)		−		−	−	−	−	−
53. Unite profession with priesthood	(+)		(+)			−		−	−	−	−	−
54. Always use juggling tricks †	+	S	S	S	S	−		−	S		S	S
55. Beat on own breast	+		(+)			+			+	+	+	+
56. Blow in hands	+		(+)		±	+			+	−	+	+
57. Make rumbling noise	+		+	+		+			+	+	+	+
58. Blow on patient	+		+	+	+	+			+	+	+	+
59. Rub the part affected						+			+	+	+	+
60. Have effect on patient's confidence						+			+	+	+	+
General Manners and Customs												
61. Eat human flesh			•(−)	−	−	−	•	−	−	−	−	−
62. Shake hands on meeting; inquire about health and express gladness to see	(±)			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
64. Great respect paid age or rank				+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
65. Visit one another for purpose of conversation	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
66. Regular parties at which they entertain				+		+	•	•	+	+	+	+
67. Practice of telling stories				+		+	+	•	+	+	+	+
68. In winter and at night only						+	•	•	+	+	+	•+
69. Use words equivalent to swearing		−		−		+	−	−	−	−	−	−
70. Exhibit strong feelings of love, friendship and affection to same sex					+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
71. to opposite sex						+	−	+	+	−	+	•
72. common to try to suppress to same sex						+	−	+	+	−	−	+
73. common to try to suppress to opposite sex						+	+	+	+	−	−	•
74. Matter of pride to suppress feelings or excitement, especially fear and shame				+		+	•	+	+	(+)	+	+
75. On return home men treat wives with indifference					+	+	+	•	−	+	−	+
76. On return home men treat children with indifference					−	−	•	•	−	−	−	−
77. Powers of recollection strong			+		+	+	•	+	+	+	+	+
78. Any peculiarities in encampments (except war) or building of huts that distinguish from others				+		•+	•	•	•	+	•+	+

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9: Kinietz E-4,5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

+ = element present
− = element denied
(+) or (−) = source ambiguous
• = informant could not or would not say
S = some, sometimes, or several
† or * = see Ethnographic Notes, pp. 79-137 for additional information

	Williams	Van der Donck	Lindeström	Zeisberger	Heckewelder	Johnston	Pipe	Chippa	J. W.	W. T.	E. R.	W. L.
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584												454
158												252
846												858
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Birth and its incidents—Continued

113. Parents exercise any control over mature children
114. Age children are expected to maintain themselves
115. Child given daily bath †
116. Cradle used
117. Consists of board
118. with cushion
119. with hoop over head
120. hoop decorated
121. Cradle put in hammock
122. Boys and girls treated with equal care and affection
123. Any difference in treatment of legitimate and illegitimate
124. Mother takes care of illegitimate
125. Father not compelled to contribute but may do so
126. Birth of twins frequent
127. Number of instances of triplets
128. Are parental feelings strong
129. Are filial feelings strong
130. Do they (128 and 129) continue through life

Marriage and its incidents

131. Courtship
132. Marriage arranged by parents
133. Consent of either party asked
134. Any ceremony of marriage †
135. Presents for bride
136. Presents for family of bride
137. Presents exchanged
138. Time served by boy
139. Polygamy common †
140. Only rich or chiefs have more than one

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9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

266 727 inating the torture of prisoners, burning at the stake, and eating of their flesh. These elements were considered to have been adopted by other tribes in retaliation. Hence it is difficult to understand how the Delaware could have escaped or withstood this influence. The only explanation that seems at all plausible is that when the Delaware were subjugated by the Iroquois early in the eighteenth century, they lost the prime reason for the practice and soon lost even the memory of it.

576 According to information from the eighteenth century and later, the Indian mode of greeting was shaking hands (62). The three manuscripts of the early nineteenth century claimed that shaking hands was a very old Indian custom and one in existence before white contact. In the national worshiping society or Big House where an effort was made to preserve ancient customs, the left hand was used. This was the hand nearer the heart and so considered to be a more direct conveyance of friendship. It is interesting to note that the two modern informants who have participated in the Big House confirmed this use of the left hand, whereas the two who have had no firsthand information of this ceremony claimed the right hand was always used by the Delaware. None of the seventeenth-century sources, including accounts not used in the tabulation, referred to hand shaking. This absence of mention is not surprising as many details were ignored by the early writers, but in the case of Williams who gave many different expressions for greetings and included a description of an Indian stroking a sachem upon both shoulders, the suggestion is strong that hand shaking was not in use until learned from the whites. Early accounts of customs at the time of contact between other tribes and whites also indicate that hand shaking was not an Indian custom. Hence, we have a custom that was borrowed from the whites some time before the accounts of the second period.

576 562 There seems to have been a change in the freedom with which emotions toward the same and the opposite sex were exhibited (70-73). Part of the responsibility for the apparent change may be assigned to a lack of information or understanding. It is doubtful if any conclusions are warranted on the basis of the

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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information available. On the other hand, the expression of feelings between men and their wives and children, which is a closely related subject, definitely shows a change in the fourth period (75, 76). In the second and third periods indifference on the part of the men to their wives on returning home was reported, whereas, in the fourth period, the two younger informants disclaimed such indifference. Paternal indifference to children is denied throughout. The behavior of the older men toward their wives was in accordance with the old ways, they said, whereas that of the younger men was apparently influenced by white standards of behavior.

Captain Chipps and two of the informants, W. T. and W. L., considered the Delaware to differ from other tribes in color (80). Among the informants the matter was one of personal opinion unwarranted by the color of the individual informants. The opinion is also unwarranted from a comparison of skin, hair, and eye color with members of neighboring tribes who have approximately the same percentage of Indian blood. The greater degree of sociability, friendship, and hospitality among the Delaware and all the informants is to be attributed, in part, at least, to their religion and their feeling of superiority to other tribes (82-84). They believe their Big House or Delaware "church" to be superior to the religious beliefs of other tribes, but they are tolerant of the shortcomings of the others and attempt no missionary work. Friendship with all mankind is preached in the Big House and practiced by all believers.

The elements concerned with the physical duties of the woman in the home are of doubtful value from a psychological and terminological viewpoint (85-87). The terms "easy," "contented," and "drudgery" all carry connotations beyond their strict meanings that are so divergent in their use by different observers or informants that comparison is impossible. It is interesting to note, however, that Heckewelder and Johnston agree with the statements of the modern Delaware that the position of women was easy and contented and that they were not considered menial servants of the men. The only dissenting voice was that of Captain Chipps. Nowhere is there any evidence that the women considered themselves imposed upon by the men.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

885 individual prowess, it is doubtful if a definite age was observed before the introduction of the concept of a legal age by the whites.

Family Government

593 Questions dealing with the display of tenderness and affection between husband and wife were framed by Cass to be answered by observers outside the group under consideration (271, 285). The opinions of the Delaware themselves were, of course, in the affirmative for the existence and display of these emotions, but they agreed with the information of the writers of the earlier periods who were only observers.

462 In seeking information on the elements dealing with the occupations of the husband and wife, it was emphasized that we were concerned with earlier conditions as well as with present practices. Although the methods may have changed, the responsibilities of the husband have remained the same from the earliest times known. He is still the provider of meat, clothing, and other necessities whether as the direct or indirect result of hunting or other activity (272-74).

593 462 562 The wife was expected in the old days to obey her husband, make clothing and moccasins of material provided by her spouse, tend the garden or fields, cook meals, and provide fuel (275-80). These duties were reported for women throughout the first three periods. It is interesting to note that three of the modern informants, J. W., W. T., and E. R., denied the agricultural responsibilities of women. It is a tossup whether they were uninformed of conditions in the past or answered as they did because these are not the sole responsibility of the women now and they interpreted the past in terms of their present customary division of labor which is similar to that of the whites. This chivalrous attitude is maintained on the question of manual labor falling on the wife (281). On all these elements the information of W. L. reflected the earlier conditions.

[224] [484] According to Heckewelder, when hunting was of great importance, the husband could not be encumbered with any burden when moving camp but must of necessity leave all that to his wife and himself be on the lookout for game (282). In the

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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next period, however, Johnston and Chipps said that the men and women shared the labor of moving and pitching camp. In the fourth period W. L. was again the only one to place the responsibility on the women.

The husband did not strike his wife frequently, if at all, according to all the information gathered (283). Johnston and Chipps said that he might do so if she were ill-tempered or refractory (284). The modern informants denied this as a just cause, although E. R. said that it was up to the husband to punish his wife if she broke a rule.

Food, Mode of Living, etc.

Heckewelder said that the Delaware, Mahicans, and Shawnee were all very particular in their choice of meats and that nothing short of the most pressing hunger could induce them to eat of certain animals, such as the horse, dog, wildcat, panther, fox, muskrat, or wolf, all of which he had several times seen the Chippewa eat with a good appetite (288-91)." J. W. said that opossum, wolf, dog, woodchuck, snake, crow, hawk, owl, eagle, and, in fact, most fowls were not eaten. W. L. also said that opossum, muskrat, and several kinds of birds were not eaten. Apparently the symbols of the three tribal divisions, turtle, turkey and wolf, were not taboo for that reason, for only the last one was included on any list. The totems of the extinct subdivisions may have been taboo. This is true of the opossum which was most frequently mentioned as not being eaten and it was the name of one of the subdivisions. However, the Delaware regard the opossum as endowed with supernatural powers and in the nature of a trickster and have many stories that evince this attitude.

There seems to have been no taboos on vegetables eaten (292-98). Corn was the principal item cultivated. It was supplemented by the usual beans and squashes, and later vegetables introduced by the whites were also cultivated. Wild or ground potatoes and other less important wild products were gathered. The

"Heckewelder, *History, Manners, and Customs of the Indian Nations*, p. 196.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

454. Co-coze-kon dance

535 CAPTAIN CHIPPS described this dance as different from the others. In it they all joined hands and stood in a ring, performing the usual motion of leaping up. He also said that when both sexes united in this amusement, they danced promiscuously.

None of the modern Delaware recognized this dance although W. L. thought that he had heard the name.

It is possible that this is the same dance that Zeisberger described as follows: On the occasion of making or renewing a treaty
[648] with another nation a dance very different from the ordinary dance is engaged in. The dancers join hands and leap in a circle for some time. Suddenly the leader lets the hand of one of his partners go, springs forward and turns around several times, by which he draws the whole company round so as to be enclosed by them, when they stand close together. They disengage themselves as suddenly, yet keeping hold of hands during all the different evolutions and changes in the dance; this, as they explain it, represents the chain of friendship; a song, used only at such a solemnity, is sung by all.

462. Women excluded from war dance

721 CAPTAIN CHIPPS in treating of war said that women were al-
562 lowed to share in the great dance given just before setting out
535 on an expedition. In speaking of dances, he said that the Delaware had many different ones, the most important of which was the War dance, which was celebrated immediately after the declaration of war and from which the women were excluded, although they joined all the other dances. This is a contradiction unless one assumes that "to share in the great dance" referred to singing but not dancing. Evidence that such was sometimes the case is found in the following account of HECKEWELDER: After
[127] returning from a successful expedition, a dance of *thanksgiving* is always performed, which partakes of the character of a religious ceremony. It is accompanied with singing and choruses, in which the women join. But they take no part in the rest of the performance. At the end of every song, the *scalp-yell* is shouted as many times as there have been scalps taken from the enemy.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

W. L. said that somtimes women joined the war dance, but usually only if they had lost relatives. 721 562 535

463. Dance in circle

W. T. described all dances as being done in a circle with all motion counterclockwise.

E. R. said the dancers moved around the circle clockwise.

W. L. stated that some dances were in circles but there might be several concentric circles. The men always danced in front of the women but in the cases of more than two concentric circles, the innermost formed of men, the next of women, the next of men and the outermost of women. In some dances the women danced on one spot while the men danced all around in pairs or in small groups.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

The mask rite, says Wi·tapano'xwe, is an individual or family, not a group rite. The record of the change of hands through which it passed, going into each of the three groups at different times, brings out this act.

Since it happened that the custody of the mask fell to Delaware women as well as to men, there seems to have been no restriction as to sex in the office of keeping the masks as reported for the Iroquois. The same is true of the corn-husk masks. As among the Iroquois the Delaware wooden mask was kept face down when not in use, but only, the informant added, because the cloth covering at the back would make this position more convenient. We are impressed with the ruling that the mask could not be played with nor worn for social masquerading.

To the ethnologist, however, the significance of the Mask-Spirit is deep. The whole question of the trait which it represents in the customs of the Delawares is fraught with the possibilities of an archaic northern background, into which fits a series of beliefs and practices extending across boreal North America through northeastern Asia. The game owner concept, in short, stands forth in high relief among the far northern Algonkian. Its most intense development appears among the Montagnais-Naskapi of the Labrador peninsula.[1] For the region of the Great Lakes among the Central Algonkian we have as yet no records to substantiate the existence of the Game Owner concept so far south. The Delaware case is accordingly one of noteworthy bearing. Before passing by what Delaware belief has to contribute to the Game Owner concept in general the information pertaining to the mask spirits to be given in a text reserved for the later publication should be considered.[2] Here an account is recorded in which masks made of corn-husks are worn by messengers who go about announcing the occasion of a corn ceremony. The personification of the spirit of corn seems intended in the wearing of such a mask.

THE TORTOISE AS A SYMBOL.—Outlined in particularly high relief is the tortoise. In the latter creature we have the symbol of life, of perseverence, longevity and steadfastness. As the Delaware patriarch says, "The tortoise is the earth; is life." In the procession of time and among the elemental nature forces the direction of movement is from east to west, according to Delaware belief. So moves the tortoise with measured pace across the earth and through the Big House, carrying out the mythical allegory. At the end of his journey at the "western door," meaning where the sun sets at the edge of the

[1] Extended treatment of the religious beliefs and philosophy of the northern peoples, so far as the Game Owner concept is concerned, will be available for the students of religious customs of pre-literate peoples when manuscript now in course of preparation shall have been published.

[2] To form another volume of this series.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

A turkey's [1] wing is used when they sweep out in the Big House. And besides, the Attendant carries a long stick as a poker and that is used when they stir up the fire, and it is the rule that they shall light a good bright fire every night as long as they perform the ceremony. And the Attendant-leader every evening walks around all over where they are camped about this Big House, holding a whip. And any person that they find that is causing unnecessary noise they correct. And the children are instructed. And he notifies them, telling them thrice "Come in! Come in! Come in!" And just recently they selected an officer from the Delaware Agency who is on guard all the time here while they are assembled, so that no one brings in liquor.[2]

[1] The specific term for the Wild Turkey (Meleagris gallipavo) is tel'kanam, a term derived from the habit of this bird of scratching or "cleaning" the floor of the forest. In native Delaware ornithology, the order Gallinae is denoted by the generic term pale' which denotes any of the birds of the group, though writers on Delaware social organization have occasionally rendered the term by "turkey." Happily no natural history obsequies are called for in the case of this splendid bird for it still survives in its original range where the Delawares knew it.

[2] The imformant pointed to this as an indication of the lack of reverence, and indecency of behavior in the tribe under the influence of the white man's ways. Zeisberger (op. cit. p. 139) commented on the same thing as regards disorder at the feasts.

When any one of us considers the rule with all the obligations and instructions as these are properly carried out, it should be forbidden for one thing that those of our women who when they cannot cook[1] are not pure, be allowed to trouble about the cooking. And should not come in the Big House as long as they are affected with the sickness, because some pure children might be much contaminated, especially when they perform the Gamwing. And it is the rule that persons should abstain from bringing into the Big House any animals of whatever kind they may be which are domesticated.[2]

[1] Being in their catamenial periods.

[2] This has special reference to dogs, pigs, etc. Some discussion has previously been given concerning the status of the wild animals of the forest and those domesticated by man. The Attendants are expected to attack any such animals that come into the Big House and drive them away with their staffs.

And right here opposite from the door on the outside over there at a certain distance they make the fire. Two forked poles are set upright and a pole laid across, upon which they hang the big buckets in which they cook. Near here standing upright is a many-forked tree where meat is hung. And a big shelf is there at one side of the fireplace with two floors where they put the corn that is used. When hominy is made the female Attendants have for their duty every morning and evening to grind and make corn flour and hominy. Sometimes two or four mortars are used together with those long pounders.

11:Newcomb E-5 (1952)1956 NM7 Delaware NM7

form." Despite the differences in locale and in the inherent variability of the cult, there is a surprising correspondence between the Big Moon meeting of 1930 in Anadarko and the one held in 1952 near Dewey. The similarity between the arrangement of the tepee I have described and the eight variants of the Big Moon altar and tepee which Petrullo diagrams is striking; the same is true of the conduct of the meetings. The principal differences between the meetings are presented in Table I (Petrullo, 1934: 87–95). The differences are minor; for the most part they are well within the range of variation of the cult, and of course in most respects the meetings are similar or identical. The principal change seems to be that women are allowed a much greater part in the

TABLE I

Differences in Big Moon Peyotism
1930 and 1952

1930—Anadarko	1952—Dewey
1. Quiet period in afternoon prior to ceremony.	1. Participants gather just before ceremony.
2. Road-chief seated people; women on south.	2. Sit where you like. Women seated on north and south.
3. Oil lamp near altar.	3. No light other than fire.
4. Personal paraphernalia permitted after midnight.	4. No personal paraphernalia in evidence at any time.
5. Crucifix on altar.	5. No crucifix.
6. Only road-chief smoked Indian tobacco cigarette to open meeting.	6. Everybody smokes corn husk-Bull Durham cigarette.
7. Women given only the peyote tea.	7. Women eat green or dried peyote; men drink tea.
8. "Fanning" with eagle-feather fan after sets of songs.	8. Absent.
9. Drum-chief sang after road-chiefs' opening song.	9. Drum-chief is last to sing; clockwise circuit followed without exception.
10. Women did not sing.	10. Woman sang, but permission had to be given by road-chief.
11. No midnight intermission.	11. Midnight intermission.
12. No shamanistic curing (possibly permitted).	12. Winnebago performed cure on wife.
13. At dawn road-chief sang "morning water-song"; each person drank water.	13. Negative.
14. Filed outside, washed faces, faced rising sun, returned to tepee, etc.	14. Meeting closed with Lord's Prayer.
15. No breakfast.	15. Breakfast.
16. Candy, etc., distributed at noon meal.	16. Candy passed before leaving tepee.

11:Newcomb E-5 (1952) 1956 NM7 Delaware NM7

meeting than they were two decades ago. In this respect peyotists seem to be merely following the general trend of White society.

Big Moon peyotism diffused to the Delawares as a substitute for an outmoded religious system, but its replacement of the traditional religion has been slow and incomplete. The peyote cult is still regarded by many Delawares as a somewhat inferior replacement for the traditional ceremonies. What is more, during World War II the Big House Ceremony, the major, annual religious rite of the Delawares, was revived and held three times, albeit in abbreviated form. The Delawares would continue the old rites today, but because of expense, cultural decay, and other factors, they have been finally abandoned. It is doubtful whether the traditional rites, even if abbreviated and vestigial, can ever again be held. Petrullo (1934: 175) underestimated their strength when he said more than two decades ago that they were "No longer able to perform the ancient ceremonies. . . ." Neither Petrullo nor I found out what proportion of the Delawares were peyotists, Christians, or adherents to the old religion, so that changes in religious affiliation are largely a matter of conjecture. It is known, however, that many of the proponents of the abandoned religion have become peyotists, but at least a few have become Christians. In short, the peyote cult has never completely replaced the traditional religion, nor has it gained universal approval. The most that can be said by way of comparison is that the Big Moon cult was a covert, lively, and popular one in the thirties; it remains so today.

Probably the greatest changes which have occurred in Delaware Big Moon peyotism within the past twenty-five years have been in the reasons why people are drawn to it. There is not space here to discuss this topic in detail, but it should be pointed out that the peyote cult originally diffused to the Delawares, and was still attractive to them in the early thirties because:

> . . it teaches acceptance of the new world, and makes possible an attitude of resignation in the face of the probable disappearance of the Indian groups as distinct peoples, culturally and racially, by insisting on the necessity of emancipation from mundane aspirations. . . . [The peyote cult] is the natural but final recourse of a subjugated people who fully realize the inadequacy of their material means to restore their former world-state (Petrullo, 1934: 1).

The appeal of modern peyotism is, at least in part, of a different nature. Briefly, the Delawares are no longer a cohesive cultural or social entity; they are geographically scattered and socially atomized. There is no tribal activity which draws them together as Delawares, and every year there are fewer distinctive customs which set them apart from

[P. 35, A]

584 marriage would furthermore be congenial to the parents of both parties.[15] In practice
586 these marriages usually broke up quickly, both spouses quickly being unfaithful to one another.[16] Occasionally a man, his
[562] pride wounded by a wife's infidelity, directed his helpless anger inward and committed suicide by taking poison. Women too killed themselves out of jealousy.[17] The shifting romantic attachments of both sexes seem to represent an unending striving to find the all-satisfying parent: a striving continually doomed to frustration.

787 The guardian spirit relationship (which was sought by both men and women) seems also to be built upon the prototype of the search for the all-satisfying (but not authoritarian) parent.[18]

572 Among men there was an institution of "friendship" which focused considerable emotion upon a relationship of formally recognized mutual dependency, in war, in
[521] the chase, and in various other life-crises.[19] Men were more at ease with one another
[562] in conversation than with women and, according to Zeisberger, would automati-
[593] cally suspect as a lie any tale which they heard from a woman.[20] It was a common saying, "My wife is not my friend."[21] Old
888 women were accused by the men of being
439 the middlemen who carried the socially disrupting rum from white settlements to the villages.[22]

562 Implicit in all this was the assumption
571 on the part of all Delawares—men and women alike—that relationships with women, while they could be satisfying, were not likely to be; and the further assumption on the part of men that they had less to fear from other men than from

15. Heckewelder, 1819, p. 161; Zeisberger, 1778, p. 79.
16. Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 82-83.
17. Zeisberger, 1378, p. 83.
18. Lindestrom, 1656, pp. 207-209; Heckewelder, 1819, pp. 245-246; Zeisberger, 1778, p. 127.
19. Heckewelder, 1819, p. 278; Lindestrom, 1656, p. 233; Zeisberger, 1778, p. 116.
20. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 116.
21. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 99.
22. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 117.

[P. 35, B]

562
571 women, and might safely therefore be more "friendly" with them.

Oral Fixation

153 There is some evidence to suggest a preoccupation, which had a large component of aggressiveness, with oral needs. This concern with eating (and with other oral phenomena, such as ritualistic pipe-smoking, naming, and oratory), which reached far beyond subsistence requirements, can hardly be ascribed to a realistic subsistence anxiety since the Delawares had ample supplies of animal and vegetable foods at their disposal, and adequate techniques for cultivating, gathering, preserving, and storing them. It is worth
[787] mentioning that the pubescent Delaware solicited the favor of a guardian spirit by self-imposed fasting; the spirit was supposed to pity him and appear in a vision; later the spirit would be important to him in helping to secure food.[23] Oral rituals, often with a compulsive quality, were a
[527] recurrent institutional theme: almost all social gatherings involved eating, smoking, and oratory, and some were frankly eating-orgies—the famous "eat-all" feasts, for example; the fondness for liquor may be regarded as an oral trait of compulsive
[757] character;[24] internal medicines were usually
[758] taken as liquid herbal infusions, usually in large doses;[25] the sick lived on a liquid
[754] diet;[26] suicide and witchcraft were both
762] accomplished in most cases by poison taken by mouth;[27] tortured prisoners were some-
[727] times ceremonially eaten, and hunger
266] cannibalism was reported;[28] war parties made a ceremonial feast the night before their departure;[29] emetics were extensively
[757] used in the treatment of disease, and vomit-
777] ing was thought to relieve a sense of guilt, and also to bring luck.[30]

23. Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 132-133.
24. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 116; Heckewelder, 1819, p. 263.
25. Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 24-25; Tantaquidgeon.
26. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 24.
27. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 125; Heckewelder, 1819, p. 258.
28. Heckewelder, 1819, p. 199; Zeisberger, 1778, p. 107-108.
29. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 103.
30. Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 84, 133-134.

[P. 36, B]

156 received a serpent or a buffalo, another the sun or the moon, another an owl or some
787 other bird, another a fish, some even ridiculously insignificant creatures such as ants. These are considered their spirits or *Manittos*. If an Indian has no Manitto to be his friend he considers himself forsaken, has nothing upon which he may lean, has no hope of any assistance and is small in his own eyes. On the other hand those who have been thus favored possess a high
154 and proud spirit."[32] We shall have further occasion to remark how many institutions were mobilized to prevent such casual wounds to self-esteem. We shall also see how much aggression such blows to self-esteem could arouse. Heckewelder and
[762] Zeisberger both mention that suicide was a common way of expressing the enormous but disorganized hostility aroused by slights such as marital infidelity or public shaming.[33]

Absence of Authoritarianism

861 Zeisberger and Heckewelder agreed that Delaware parents avoided corporal punishment, scolding, threatening, or otherwise disciplining children. Growing boys were left pretty much to their own devices. Little homilies on moral values were addressed to them and the child's pride was appealed to in efforts to induce ap-
593 proved social behavior.[34] The father spent much of his time away from home in the employments of the chase (especially when the fur trade added to the importance of
[462] hunting); the mother was responsible for the fundamental subsistence activities. In general the male was peripheral, the female
●562 central in cultural role.[35] Delaware women were described as being given to petty
[157] meanness, malicious gossip, and lying; but they were not "matriarchs" in the sense of being the recognized arbiters of the home or society. Their evidently enlarged spite-

32. Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 132-133.
33. Heckewelder, 1819, pp. 258-260; Zeisberger, 1778, p. 83.
34. Heckewelder, 1819, pp. 113-117; Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 16, 81.
35. Heckewelder, 1819, pp. 154-162; Zeisberger, 1778, p. 13-14.

[P. 37, A]

562 fulness, in comparison with the men, may
157 have been owing to the fact that they were much more restricted in childhood than their brothers. Nowhere in Delaware society was there the model of anyone
542 with coercive authority; neither mother nor
622 father ruled the roost at home in an
625 authoritarian sense, the sachems had no power to enforce their wishes, and there was no conception of a state with police
586 powers. Divorce was easy and frequent and could be initiated by either party simply leaving the other.[36] Supernatural
776 beings were not Jehovah-like Gods who regularly punished the wicked and rewarded the good; the Delaware reckoned rather with a supernatural guardian spirit who acted as a comrade and friend who would assist his mortal protege in critical passes. Shame and pride are more frequent themes than guilt and self-righteousness.
577 Speck (referring to twentieth-century Oklahoma Delawares) says, "Spiritual purity . . . is not conditioned by ethical conduct, but rather . . . through the observance of taboo regulations prescribed by ancient rulings.[37]

155 It would seem to be a fair inference that
577 the Delaware often did not develop a strong authoritarian, coercive conscience; moral values (which certainly were recognized) did not possess an awesome, mosaic character; "good" and "bad" had a light affective tone.

114 Zeisberger, who as a Moravian believed
626 in less discipline and autocracy than was fashionable in eighteenth century Europe, was still puzzled as to how a society without authority could hold together. "Judged by the mere appearance of the Indians," he wrote, "one is surprised how modest and careful they are in relation to each other and imagines that the whites, if they were as free a people and had neither government nor punishment to fear, would not
626 be as united and peaceable as the Indians appear to be."[38] This superficial smooth-

36 Heckewelder, 1819, p. 154; Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 20-21.
37 Speck, 1931, p. 51.
38 Zeisberger, 1778, p. 122.

[P. 38, B]

154 rein these are the more violent."[51] Warfare
[721] provided a socially approved way of bleeding off some of these aggressions, for the warriors; and the institution of torture
154 gave the rest of the community a similar
727 opportunity. "The Indians flock to these executions as to some great solemnity, with a view to reeking on the unfortunate
154 captive their cruel and revengeful dis-
627 position."[52] The institution of blood-revenge[53] (which sometimes led to prolonged vendetta) was also an outlet for aggression; but the fear of its exercise no doubt served also to inhibit it. In
154 hunting, males could work off aggression
224 on animals, which were conceptualized as quasi-human. It is worth noting that among women, who had a more restricted
154 childhood and who at the same time had
521 fewer socially sanctioned outlets for aggression, the overflow dribbled off in
562 unpleasant gossip and slander, which the men, who had other means of catharsis, professed to scorn.[54]

154 All observers agreed that liquor dis-
273 solved the inhibitions against aggression.
578 "The effects which intoxication produces upon the Indians are dreadful," lamented Heckewelder. "It has been the cause of an infinite number of murders among them, besides biting off noses and otherwise disfiguring each other, which are the least consequences of the quarrels which inebriation produces between them."[55] As might be expected, therefore, Indian spokesmen frequently—and in vain—implored the whites to cease bringing liquor into their settlements.

Summary

127 From an examination of the early ethnological literature concerning the Delaware Indians, we have been able to discover some of their psychological
855 characteristics. The Delawares would seem in general to have been a people among whom the children grew up

51. Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 124-125.
52. Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 106-107.
53. Penn, 1683.
54. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 116.
55. Heckewelder, 1819, p. 263.

[P.39, A]

855 receiving from their mothers adequate physical care, especially in early infancy, but that the child did not receive much of what we would call "affection" or "love" and from time to time was neglected and subjected to petty meanness. The father had only intermittent contact with the mother-child nexus, and to the child appeared as a distant potentially loving (and perhaps also potentially threatening), but practically [861] remote figure. Neither parent made use of systematic punishment as an educative technique. The male child grew up into an adult who saw women both as 86 romantic ideals and as untrustworthy •562 and malicious, potentially witches, while men were regarded as potential comrades, toward whom nevertheless highly polite, circumspect behavior was required in order to avoid giving offense. Women grew up to be discreet but covertly malicious wives and mothers. No individual of either sex was conceived as [571] the possessor of unquestioned authority, and social relations hence were very individualistic and fissionable. There is 155 evidence to suggest that the individual remained somewhat fixed, on an unconscious level, to infantile patterns of "oral" reaction, of a dependent, aggressively demanding nature, although these dependency patterns were masked by a superficial individualism and self-sufficiency, and by careful inhibition of any openly aggressive behavior. The conflict between the dependent and aggressive impulses, on the one hand, and the conscientious efforts to be self-sufficient and unaggressive on the other, was partially resolved by the guardian spirit complex, a technique of personality integration which allowed the adolescent to collect his dependency wishes and displace them onto the fantasy figure of an all-powerful parent. Further relief was afforded by various institutionalized ritual or semi-ritual institutions, such as warfare, feasting, and religion. Liquor, however, was a severe threat to the integrity of the society, since it allowed repressed and sublimated im-

[54(c)]

124 I am very anxious to know. I asked an old
614 Delaware this morning, and he very coolly
582 told me that these questions were too small, by which he meant, I suppose, that it was prying into family matters rather impertinently.

614 It is by means of these subdivisions with
582 the prohibition of intermarriage that des-
611 cent in the female line is secured.

Lemuel R. Ketchum 90 A says:

622 The Delawares have three Heads or great chiefs, one for each tribe. This chief is called Sa-ke-ma. It means Principal Chief. It is the name of the office, or the title of the person equivalent to President or King. They also have two subordinate chiefs. These chiefs together are called Ka-ke-um-ha-suk, or the chiefs. The term also includes the three
[623] head chiefs, and is used in contradistinction to councillors. The office has no special name. These two are inferior. If the three head chiefs decide upon a measure the two inferior must submit, but if two of the head chiefs and the two inferior chiefs should agree and the third head chief should stand out, the thing could not be done. The principal power is with the head chiefs. The three head chiefs can never go out to war, but the two inferior chiefs may. They are not, however, called war chiefs. Besides
623 these three the wise and experienced men of the nation are called councillors or Ha-ha-che-nowl-se-chick, which means simply councillors. These have a right to speak in a council of the chiefs. They can speak of their own motion without waiting to be
• [562] asked by the chiefs. Women cannot speak in council.

Religious System

771 The Delawares believe in a Great Spirit,
[770] and in an Evil Spirit. They also believe in
[775] the immortality of the soul, and that they all went to heaven.

90 A [For footnote, see category 116, p. 209 (C)-- Analyst]

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7

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society. In one instance a Delaware woman's white husband has become a peyotist; he sings peyote songs and has served as fire chief in meetings.

The minority role and the consciousness of this standing on the part of the Cherokee-Delawares has also promoted Pan-Indianism. Discrimination against the Indians would presumably lead to feelings of isolation, persecution, and difference, perhaps greater than actually existed, and hence strengthen Pan-Indian society.[32] It is difficult, however, to assess the extent of discrimination against the Cherokee-Delawares. It is becoming increasingly difficult to recognize an Indian, whether on a racial or social basis. With the high incidence of past miscegenation, the high frequency of present-day mixed marriages, and the assimilation in dress, speech, and manners, a race bigot must have a high degree of perception to recognize and act against this minority. A number of tales of alleged discrimination were current in the community, but only one of these incidents (in rental housing) could be substantiated. Actual discrimination of any sort is probably rare, but there is a fairly widespread knowledge or belief that it exists. A universal awareness of past discrimination and exploitation and a knowledge of discrimination against Indians elsewhere are factors which encourage Pan-Indianism.

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There are several other conditions which set the Cherokee-Delawares and other Indians apart as a minority group, and so contribute to Pan-Indianism. The Cherokee-Delawares have access to free services of government hospitals and schools, which in itself sets them apart from the whites. It also provides an opportunity for the Cherokee-Delawares to become well acquainted with Indians of other tribes. This is particularly true in schools where the association may be continued over a number of years. Government schools, however, are attended by the Cherokee-Delawares less frequently than formerly. Some of the attitudes of whites toward the Indian minority also serve to foster Pan-Indianism. To many an Oklahoman an Indian is an Indian, not a Cherokee, Kickapoo, or Delaware. The movies, the magazines, and other outlets of public information are constantly impressing upon him that he is an American Indian; no public agency impresses upon him the fact that he is a Delaware.[33] Many whites in Washington County were totally unaware that such a tribe as the Delaware existed. They were well aware, however, that there were many Indians in the county.

There are forces which hinder and oppose the development of Pan-Indianism, but it is difficult to assess many of them because they are of a negative and subjective nature. It is difficult to estimate, for instance, the pressure exerted by the dominant society for complete conformity. Whatever the extent of pressure for "100 per cent Americanism," it is not at present particularly noticeable; it seems instead that the Delawares are sufficiently assimilated linguistically, economically, and in

[32] Wirth, 1945, pp. 348-49, contains a pertinent discussion of this subject.

[33] Mead, 1932, pp. 67-68, noted these factors more than two decades ago.

15:Morgan E-5 (1859):1955
NM7 Delaware NM7
Shawnee NN17
[+50(B)]

D 291 177 materials. Some of them had on two shawls, and some a third arranged as a neck drape. They appeared to have put on all they had, to show it, the quantity of dress being of more importance in their sight than its style, or quality.

Of course their appearance as a whole was fantastic and ludicrous. The dresses were made without taste from scant patterns, and worn without hoops or petticoats, thus giving to the skirt an appearance not to be compared for a moment with the Indian female skirt of cloth and blanket of the same, but these would be too warm for Kansas. I was glad to see the gown upon them, as it is a move in the right direction. At home they may wear the Indian gown, but I doubt it. The Shawnee women, all [S 291] that I saw, wore the gown. On their heads they tie a silk handkerchief universally. I did not see a bonnet among them.

D 142 144 The color of the Indian women is quite uniform, and is light. It shows that the white blood infused into them in the East has been well diffused throughout. The next cross with the white will make a pretty white child, of which I saw a few and but a few specimens, as the Delawares are quite [D 563] vigorous against intermarriage with the whites, and also against unlawful intercourse. As a whole, the expression on the D 142 face of the women was pleasant and healthful. They look strong, literally cleanly and [D 164] healthy, although I am told by Mr. Ford that syphilis is among their women to an alarming extent. Their faces would not lead to such a suspicion.

D 291 The men were more fantastically dressed than the women, and did not appear half as well. Their fancy dresses were cheap and absurd, rendering their general appearance ridiculous. There were many good faces [D 191] among them, and also well dressed Indians

[455 (B)]

614 have expressed themselves in favor of the
622 person nominated. If they disagree, I have
623 not ascertained how it is adjusted. After the person is agreed upon, then all the chiefs meet in council and perform the ceremony of investing him with his office.

622 The war chiefs are selected and made such by the Head Chief without consulting the people, but not so with the Head Chief.

241 The Delawares are very well advanced as agriculturalists. When Mr. Pratt came
342 among them 12 years ago, as he informs me,
177 they were living in bark houses. Now many of them are living in frame houses two stories and 2½ stories high, some with a veranda in front the whole length, and they have good barns and outbuildings. Some of
231 them have herds of cattle from 25 to 100
422 and have from 5 to 20 swine, sheep, wagons, and all kinds of farming implements. Their future prospects are certainly very flattering if they push on as they have here. Their
648 women are interfered with a good deal by
563 the whites, and they are quick to marry
557 white husbands, as they seem to regard that as advancing. It would be so were their husbands respectable.

657 With their large annuity of $50,000 per annum, the best timbered lands in the state, and sufficient of them to give them all large farms, there is no reason why they should not become both agriculturalists and respectable citizens of the state. When they
000 become wealthy farmers as some of them now are, their children will intermarry respectably with our white people, and thus the children will become respectable and, if educated, in the second and third generations will become beautiful and attractive. This is to be the end of the Indian absorption of a small portion, which will improve and toughen our race, and the residue run out or forced into the regions of the mountains.

31: Snyderman E-5 (ca. 1948) 1951
NM9 Iroquois NM9
Delaware NM7
Miami NP9

F D M 423 574 648 563 [682]

when the Delaware tried to exact "blood money" from the Miami to "cover the bones" of several of their people who had been murdered by the Miami, they were reminded firmly that they had been allowed to keep the money for the sales of Miami lands and that this should suffice. Joseph Richardville speaking for the Miami stated:

> Grand Fathers: You must recollect when you passed over the great mountains, & came to our country, that you were poor and destitute; you placed yourselves under our protection; we gave you lands, & at the Treaty of St. Mary's you sat in council with us. These we considered enough to satisfy you for all the injury our bad young men had done you; but it appears otherwise, for you continue to beg for more nothwithstanding all that has been told to you by our old chief who now lies sick in his wigwam. [Tipton, 1942, p. 764.]

When it was politic, the Iroquois assumed responsibility for their "dependents" to the point of pressing their claims. Thus Canassatego speaking to Representatives of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia at Lancaster on July 2, 1744, pressed the case of the Canoy who had been defrauded by the Whites (Lowrie and Clarke, 1832–34, vol. 1, pp. 724–725).

On July 1, 1749, the Iroquois Assuchquay spoke for the Canoy as follows:

I [694]

> As we were coming here the Canoy Indians gave us this string of Wampum, thereby putting their case into our Hands, which we undertook to Speak to. It seems when the Proprietories bought the Land between Delaware and Susquehanna from us, the Tract, as they told us, on which the Canoy Town stood was reserv'd out of the Grant on account of those Indians living there, & when they should quit it they were to have a Consideration paid them for it. This we think they are entitled to, as they have left the Land & Live among other Nations at Juniata; and as they tell us that they never receiv'd anything for their Land, we recommend it to you to see them paid. [Prov. Council Pa., Minutes, vol. 5, p. 390.]

And when it suited their purposes, dependents were allowed to share the presents. There is on record an actual agreement between the chiefs of the Six Nations and the Commissioners of Pennsylvania dated January 1, 1789, which contains a clause noting that, "Two Munseys signed as being residenters on the land, but not owners" (Prov. Council Pa., Minutes, vol. 5, p. 512).

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In the foregoing, we have described how the League functioned for its tenants, dependents, guests, and colonists. When the League began to sell the land from under dependent peoples, friction developed which was not to be resolved by the dictates of Onondaga. The attempt of the League authorities to prevent the Iroquois on the Ohio from receiving "presents from the Governor of Virginia" by labeling them "Hunters and no Counselors or Chief Men" (ibid., p. 478) convinced neither the Governor of Virginia nor the Indian frontiersmen of the League's power to enforce its decision. Likewise the state-

31: Snyderman E-5 (ca. 1948) 1951
NM9 Iroquois NM9
Delaware NM7

The new and alien philosophy, however, soon spread to the neighbors of the Iroquois and caused these onetime "subjects" to adopt the white man's vehicles and guarantees of ownership. The sorry experience of the Delaware beginning with the Walking Purchase induced them to demand a guarantee of title:

> The Land which we now inhabit was granted by the Miamies and Potawatomies which they have renewed last September in great council held at Fort Wayne in the presence of Captain Wells and the commanding officer of the Fort.
>
> They granted to us to occupy and possess said land for the benefit of our tribes & their prosperity. But prohibited the right of selling the same. But took us in as joint owners of Said Land or Country—lest the grant should in future day fall into the hands of the white people, wherefore they gave us no writing at the time this took place. But for security they gave us Wampum instead of a written Deed. Our chiefs are doubtful with regard of such pledges—and indeed experience ought to teach us the weakness of such a measure. By observation the population of the United States, it appears to us that all Indian claims will be extinguished by the white people before long. The Land in which we wish to dwell all our days will inevitably be sold from under the feet of our poor children after us. In that case what will become of them . . . They will be compelled to dispossess once more. We dread that evil very much in spite of the pledges of Wampum which was given to us.

The chiefs went on to ask for "assistance" as they and their people (the Delaware) were "poor and have no sure habitation." They pointed out that they now found themselves in the "same situation as the first Whites whom they befriended." They asked for "pity" and a "writing" so that they would not be dispossessed by the Whites, who now claimed almost the "entire country" (Parker, Daniel, n. d.).

The quoted plea of the Delaware summarizes the basic changes in Indian philosophy toward land; it is symbolic of the fears and tensions shared by the Iroquois and all their Indian neighbors. It seems certain that prior to white contact, land was given (though not deeded in our sense), and wampum was used as a promise in perpetuity providing the new owner behaved.

The translation of land to a salable economic commodity blurred tribal boundaries. In times prior to the arrival of the Whites, tracts of land were claimed and even occupied by several tribes who seemed to have lived peaceably together. A band which moved from a piece of land and neither occupied it for a number of years nor hunted on it, in fact relinquished its claim. The only recollections of its former residence remained in the folklore. The new and, to the Indian's way of thinking, "artificial" values placed on land by the Whites destroyed these principles. We now find them claiming land long after they moved away. This is also indicative of the fact that all Indian philosophy was foundering in the whirlpool created by the impact of crass materialistic motives against an idealistic and natural ideology.

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1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7
Huron NG5

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duct of this chief, and by his manly and resolute appearance, that they had not time to reflect upon what they should do, and before their astonishment was well over, the prisoner was out of their reach.

CHAPTER XIX.

WARS AND THE CAUSES WHICH LEAD TO THEM.

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IT is a fixed principle with the Indians, that evil cannot come out of good, that no friend will injure a friend, and, therefore, that whoever wrongs or does harm to another, is his ENEMY. As it is with individuals, so it is with nations, tribes and other independent associations of men. If they commit murder on another people, encroach on their lands, by making it a practice to come within their bounds and take the game from them, if they rob or steal from their hunting camps, or, in short, are guilty of any act of unjust aggression, they cannot be considered otherwise than as ENEMIES; they are declared to be such, and the aggrieved nation think themselves justifiable in punishing them. If murder has been perpetrated, revenge is taken in the same way. If a lesser injury has been done, a message is sent to the chief of the nation to which the wrong-doers belong, to enquire whether the act complained of was authorised, if not to give them warning not to permit the like thing to be done again. If theft or some other like offence has been committed, restitution is at the same time demanded, or such reparation as the case admits of, and the chiefs are de-

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7

627 If peace could not be restored through the payment of "blood money," the interested kin, in case of murder, resolved the case by the murder of the guilty party or one of his kin.[183] From the scanty evidence available it would appear that only in the case of unresolved murders which were upsetting internal peace would society step in to halt the conflict.

576 431 Little is known about etiquette and the customary ways in which people behaved towards one another. Penn, however, said:

> In liberality they excel. Nothing is too good for their friend. Give them a fine gun, coat, or other thing, it may pass twenty hands before it sticks: light of heart, strong affections, but soon spent: the most merry creatures that live: they feast and dance perpetually; they never have much, nor want much. Wealth circulateth like the blood. All parts partake; and though none shall want what another hath, yet exact observers of property.[184]

Denton in the same vein said:

> They are extraordinary charitable one to another, one having nothing to spare, but he freely imparts it to his friends & whatsoever they get by gaming or any other way, they share one to another leaving themselves commonly the least share.[185]

● 571 This sort of behavior is, of course, to be expected in a society organized upon a kinship basis. Society was predicated, not on the competition between individuals, but upon mutual assistance and the unity of action of the kin group. Respect for, and solicitous care of, the aged has also been noted.[186]

War

726 174 Small-scale, probably infrequent raiding by a few warriors was the typical form of warfare in early historic times and undoubtedly in the pre-European period. This type of conflict was a personal, usually non-economic feuding. An apt designation for it might be primitive war, since it seems to be characteristic of many cultures at this and lower technological levels of development. A special term for it is necessary since it generally differs in its causation, purpose, and form from total, modern warfare. There is little evidence that chronic, full-scale, economically caused warfare existed aboriginally in what is now northeastern United States. Hunt shared this point of view in writing of the Iroquois, generally considered to have been the most warlike of peoples in this area! He said:

> In the beginning intertribal rivalries were not keen, and intertribal war was purely private and social interprise. But before long the European trade was to create new rivalries, and whet old ones to the point where the issue became one of survival.[187]

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[183] Van der Donck, 1909, p. 303.
[184] Penn, 1882, p. 243.
[185] Denton, 1845, p. 9. Also see Zeisberger, 1910, pp. 115-18.
[186] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 123; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 103.
[187] Hunt, 1939, p. 22.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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No pottery was manufactured in
1777 Oklahoma by the Delawares, although some of the aged Delawares re-
28 member that their grandmothers made undecorated utility pottery.
32 Dress and adornment had approximated that of the neighboring whites by the turn of the century. Men of the Cherokee-Delaware band, however, continued to wear their hair long until about 1920. Today, the only distinctive dress of the Delawares is worn at social and religious gatherings, and on these occasions it is of a miscellaneous Indian type rather than being specifically Delaware.

In sum, Delaware technology and material culture since 1867 have increasingly approximated the American pattern, particularly that of the poorer, rural, white groups. There are virtually no outward signs in subsistence, housing, or dress, which distinguish the Delawares from other Oklahomans.

Sociological Assimilation

X177 It has already been noted that the social organization of the Dela-
● 571 wares had undergone considerable alteration before the final flight to
619 Indian Territory. Perhaps the most important change to take place after 1867 was the complete surrender of political authority. It should be recalled that the contract between the Cherokees and the Delawares provided for the admittance of the Delawares into the Cherokee tribe. Delaware chieftainship continued for a time, the last principal chief being Charles Journeycake, who served in this capacity from 1861 until he died in 1895.[3] After 1900 tribal chiefs were elected. Each of the three phratries nominated one candidate, the one who received the most votes became the chief. The principal duty of the chief was to act as a representative of the tribe in business dealings with the government. The last chief, Charles Elkhair, died in 1935 and has not been officially replaced. A business committee is the only formal governmental organization that continues in existence. It serves in an advisory capacity when there are claims against the government.[4]

The Delawares no longer have a society which is based upon ties of kinship. Outside of the immediate family there are no economic activities which depend upon the mutual aid of the clan, phratry, or other kinship groups. They have been completely assimilated into the American economic system. There is no feeling that care or assistance should be extended to other Delawares; in fact, in both Delaware communities there is a good deal of friction, jealousy, and antagonism between different individuals and family groups. This friction extends to all levels of organization, even to the business committee, with which there is always dissatisfaction. "They can't agree on a chief, they pull in different ways: if one person suggests something, somebody knocks him down" (O.A.). Probably this constant friction is a result of the heterogeneous degree of acculturation; some individuals are old, nearly illiterate, very

[3] Mitchell, 1895, pp. 7, 45. (This is a biography of the chief.)
[4] Wright, 1951, p. 153; J.T., O.A.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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conservative, distrustful of whites, and, in general, less acculturated than others who are young, literate, moderately educated, progressive, and well assimilated. There is an antipeyote faction, and even within the peyote faction there is a schism between the Big Moon and Little Moon adherents. These various factions promote discord, so much so that any unified tribal activity is virtually impossible. The Delawares are, then, no longer a distinct social group. Delaware society has disappeared, although allegiance to a number of the ancient culture traits lingers.

The most notable remnant of socioreligious organization still perpetuated by both Oklahoma Delaware communities is the phratry. Adults still acknowledge membership in one or more of the phratries. Membership was originally determined by descent in the female line, but this is no longer true; a person inherits membership in both his mother's and father's phratry, so that many individuals consider themselves to be "half and half." An individual can belong to no more than two of the three phratries. Consequently, it is apparent that if this method of reckoning membership is carried on for many generations most people will belong to two of the three phratries. There is no memory of any other system of reckoning membership. Obviously, the shift in the method of determining phratry membership has been caused by the emphasis on the paternal line in American society. At least among the Cherokee-Delawares the pressure has not been strong enough to shift the system from simple matrilineal reckoning all the way to patrilineal, as in our patronymics; it has gone but an illogical part way. Phratry membership originally depended upon clan ties, but there is no knowledge of them today in either Delaware community. The conclusion is inescapable that the clan organization disappeared before the Delawares left Kansas.

An interesting factor contributing to the eventual extinction of Delaware culture and also to social heterogeneity is found in present marriage restrictions. It is considered incestuous for a person to marry anyone to whom he is related, however remotely. This means that in both Oklahoma communities the young Delaware boys and girls cannot marry other Delawares, since everybody is considered to be related to everyone else. Some of the feelings about this point were: "The young people are disgusted, can't find anybody they're not kin to" (O.A.). "We're disappearing as fast as we can 'cause we got nobody to marry" (O.A.). "It's awful when you marry kinfolks" (M.B.). Briefly, one generation hence there will be no person who is more than half Delaware biologically, and probably none more than half sociologically. (This subject is taken up more fully under Pan-Indianism.) Within the last several decades the Delawares have taken to marrying legally and are completely assimilated in this respect.

Religious Assimilation

Big House Ceremony.—Without a doubt the most tenacious and unchanging elements in Delaware culture, aside from language, have been

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584 marriage would furthermore be congenial to the parents of both parties.[15] In practice
586 these marriages usually broke up quickly, both spouses quickly being unfaithful to one another.[16] Occasionally a man, his
[762] pride wounded by a wife's infidelity, directed his helpless anger inward and committed suicide by taking poison. Women too killed themselves out of jealousy.[17] The shifting romantic attachments of both sexes seem to represent an unending striving to find the all-satisfying parent: a striving continually doomed to frustration.

787 The guardian spirit relationship (which was sought by both men and women) seems also to be built upon the prototype of the search for the all-satisfying (but not authoritarian) parent.[18]

572 Among men there was an institution of "friendship" which focused considerable emotion upon a relationship of formally recognized mutual dependency, in war, in
[521] the chase, and in various other life-crises.[19] Men were more at ease with one another
[562] in conversation than with women and, according to Zeisberger, would automatically suspect as a lie any tale which they
[593] heard from a woman.[20] It was a common saying: "My wife is not my friend."[21] Old
888 women were accused by the men of being
439 the middlemen who carried the socially disrupting rum from white settlements to the villages.[22]

562 Implicit in all this was the assumption on the part of all Delawares—men and
● 571 women alike—that relationships with women, while they could be satisfying, were not likely to be; and the further assumption on the part of men that they had less to fear from other men than from

15. Heckewelder, 1819, p. 161; Zeisberger, 1778, p. 79.
16. Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 82-83.
17. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 83.
18. Lindestrom, 1656, pp. 207-209; Heckewelder, 1819, pp. 245-246; Zeisberger, 1778, p. 127.
19. Heckewelder, 1819, p. 278; Lindestrom, 1656, p. 233; Zeisberger, 1778, p. 116.
20. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 116.
21. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 99.
22. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 117.

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571 women, and might safely therefore be more "friendly" with them.

Oral Fixation

153 There is some evidence to suggest a preoccupation, which had a large component of aggressiveness, with oral needs. This concern with eating (and with other oral phenomena, such as ritualistic pipe-smoking, naming, and oratory), which reached far beyond subsistence requirements, can hardly be ascribed to a realistic subsistence anxiety since the Delawares had ample supplies of animal and vegetable foods at their disposal, and adequate techniques for cultivating, gathering, preserving, and storing them. It is worth
[787] mentioning that the pubescent Delaware solicited the favor of a guardian spirit by self-imposed fasting; the spirit was supposed to pity him and appear in a vision; later the spirit would be important to him in helping to secure food.[23] Oral rituals, often with a compulsive quality, were a
[527] recurrent institutional theme: almost all social gatherings involved eating, smoking, and oratory, and some were frankly eating-orgies—the famous "eat-all" feasts, for example; the fondness for liquor may be regarded as an oral trait of compulsive
[757] character;[24] internal medicines were usually
[758] taken as liquid herbal infusions, usually in large doses;[25] the sick lived on a liquid
[754] diet;[26] suicide and witchcraft were both
762] accomplished in most cases by poison taken by mouth;[27] tortured prisoners were some-
[727] times ceremonially eaten, and hunger
266] cannibalism was reported;[28] war parties made a ceremonial feast the night before their departure;[29] emetics were extensively
[757] used in the treatment of disease, and vomit-
777] ing was thought to relieve a sense of guilt, and also to bring luck.[30]

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23. Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 132-133.
24. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 116; Heckewelder, 1819, p. 263.
25. Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 24-25; Tantaquidgeon.
26. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 24.
27. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 125; Heckewelder, 1819, p. 258.
28. Heckewelder, 1819, p. 199; Zeisberger, 1778, p. 107-108.
29. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 103.
30. Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 84, 133-134.

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355 receiving from their mothers adequate physical care, especially in early infancy, but that the child did not receive much of what we would call "affection" or "love" and from time to time was neglected and subjected to petty meanness. The father had only intermittent contact with the mother-child nexus, and to the child appeared as a distant potentially loving (and perhaps also potentially threatening), but practically [861] remote figure. Neither parent made use of systematic punishment as an educative technique. The male child grew up into an adult who saw women both as 86 romantic ideals and as untrustworthy 562 and malicious, potentially witches, while men were regarded as potential comrades, toward whom nevertheless highly polite, circumspect behavior was required in order to avoid giving offense. Women grew up to be discreet but covertly malicious wives and mothers. No individual of either sex was conceived as [571] the possessor of unquestioned authority, and social relations hence were very individualistic and fissionable. There is 155 evidence to suggest that the individual remained somewhat fixed, on an unconscious level, to infantile patterns of "oral" reaction, of a dependent, aggressively demanding nature, although these dependency patterns were masked by a superficial individualism and self-sufficiency, and by careful inhibition of any openly aggressive behavior. The conflict between the dependent and aggressive impulses, on the one hand, and the conscientious efforts to be self-sufficient and unaggressive on the other, was partially resolved by the guardian spirit complex, a technique of personality integration which allowed the adolescent to collect his dependency wishes and displace them onto the fantasy figure of an all-powerful parent. Further relief was afforded by various institutionalized ritual or semi-ritual institutions, such as warfare, feasting, and religion. Liquor, however, was a severe threat to the integrity of the society, since it allowed repressed and sublimated im-

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duce of the labour of *woman*, such as beans, Indian corn, or the like, and then taking it to the house where the bridegroom lives, will say, "This is the produce of my daugh-"ter's field;" and she also prepared it. If afterwards the mothers of the parties are enabled to tell the good news to each other, that the young people have pronounced that which was sent them *very good*, the bargain is struck. It is as much as if the young man had said to the girl, "I am able to provide you at all times with meat "to eat!" and she had replied, "and such good victuals "from the field, you shall have from me!" From this time not only presents of this kind are continued on both sides, but articles of clothing are presented to the parents by each party, by way of return for what they have received, of which the young people always have a share. The friendship between the two families daily increasing, they do their domestic and field work jointly, and when the young people have agreed to live together, the parents supply them with necessaries, such as a kettle, dishes or bowls, and also what is required for the kitchen, and with axes, hoes, &c. to work in the field.

The men who have no parents to negotiate for them, or otherwise choose to manage the matter for themselves, have two simple ways of attaining their object. The first is: by stepping up to the woman whom they wish to marry, saying: "If you are willing I will take you as "wife!" when if she answer in the affirmative, she either goes with him immediately, or meets him at an appointed time and place.

The other mode of celebrating marriage will appear from the following anecdote.

An aged Indian, who for many years had spent much of his time among the white people both in Pennsylvania and New Jersey, one day about the year 1770 observed, that the Indians had not only a much easier way of getting a wife than the whites, but were also more certain of getting a *good* one; "For," (said he in his bro-

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CHAPTER XXXVIII.

FRIENDSHIP.

572 152 THOSE who believe that no faith is to be placed in the friendship of an Indian are egregiously mistaken, and know very little of the true character of those men of nature. They are, it is true, revengeful to their enemies, to those who wilfully do them an injury, who insult, abuse, or treat them with contempt. It may be said, indeed, that the passion of revenge is so strong in them that it knows no bounds. This does not, however, proceed from a bad or malicious disposition, but from the violence of natural feelings, unchecked by social institutions, and unsubdued by the force of revealed religion. The tender and generous passions operate no less powerfully on them than those of an opposite character, and they are as warm and sincere in their friendship, as vindictive in their enmities. Nay, I will venture to assert that there 572 648 are those among them who on an emergency would lay down their lives for a friend: I could fill many pages with examples of Indian friendship and fidelity, not only to each other, but to men of other nations and of a different colour than themselves. How often, when wars were impending between them and the whites, have they not forewarned those among our frontier settlers whom they thought well disposed towards them, that dangerous times were at hand, and advised them to provide for their own safety, regardless of the jealousy which such conduct might excite among their own people? How often did they not even guard and escort them through the most dangerous places until they had reached a secure spot?

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How often did they not find means to keep an enemy from striking a stroke, as they call it, that is to say from proceeding to the sudden indiscriminate murder of the frontier whites, until their friends or those whom they considered as such were out of all danger? 572 ● 648

These facts are familiar to every one who has lived among Indians or in their neighbourhood, and I believe it will be difficult to find a single case in which they betrayed a real friend or abandoned him in the hour of danger, when it was in their power to extricate or relieve him. The word "Friend" to the ear of an Indian does not convey the same vague and almost indefinite meaning that it does with us; it is not a mere complimentary or social expression, but implies a resolute determination to stand by the person so distinguished on all occasions, and a threat to those who might attempt to molest him; the mere looking at two persons who are known or declared friends, is sufficient to deter any one from offering insult to either. When an Indian believes that he has reason to suspect a man of evil designs against his friend, he has only to say emphatically: "This is "*my friend*, and if any one tries to hurt him, I will do "to him *what is in my mind*." It is as much as to say that he will stand in his defence at the hazard of his own life. This language is well understood by the Indians, who know that they would have to combat with a spirited warrior, were they to attempt any thing against his friend. By this means much bloodshed is prevented; for it is sufficiently known that an Indian never proffers his friendship in vain. Many white men and myself among others have experienced the benefit of their powerful as well as generous protection.

When in the spring of the year 1774, a war broke out between the Virginians and the Shawanese and Mingoes, on account of murders committed by the former on the the latter people, and the exasperated friends of those

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who had suffered had determined to kill every white man in their country, the Shawano chief *Silver-heels*,* taking another Indian with him, undertook out of friendship to escort several white traders from thence to Albany, a distance of near two hundred miles; well knowing at the time that he was running the risk of his own life, from exasperated Indians and vagabond whites, if he should meet with such on the road, as in fact he did on his return. I have already said how he was rewarded for this noble act of friendship and self devotion.

In the year 1779, the noted Girty with his murdering party of Mingoes, nine in number, fell in with the Missionary Zeisberger, on the path leading from Goschacking to Gnadenhütten; their design was to take that worthy man prisoner, and if they could not seize him alive, to murder him and take his scalp to Detroit. They were on the point of laying hold of him, when two young spirited Delawares providentially entered the path at that critical moment and in an instant presented themselves to defend the good Missionary at the risk of their lives. Their determined conduct had the desired success, and his life was saved. His deliverers afterwards declared that they had no other motive for thus exposing themselves for his sake than that he was a friend to their nation and was considered by them as a good man.

But why should I speak of others when I have myself so often experienced the benefits of Indian protection and friendship. Let me be permitted to corroborate my assertions on this subject by my own personal testimony.

In the year 1777, while the revolutionary war was raging, and several Indian tribes had enlisted on the British side, and were spreading murder and devastation along our unprotected frontier, I rather rashly determined to take a journey into the country on a visit to my friends. Captain White Eyes, the Indian hero, whose

* The same whom I have spoken of above, page 174, No. 4.

[Erratum. See at. 116, p. 348. Analyst]

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character I have already described,* resided at that time at the distance of seventeen miles from the place where I lived. Hearing of my determination, he immediately hurried up to me, with his friend Captain Wingenund, (whom I shall presently have occasion further to mention) and some of his young men, for the purpose of escorting me to Pittsburg, saying, "that he would not "suffer me, to go, while the Sandusky warriors were out "on war excursions, without a proper escort and *himself* "at my side." He insisted on accompanying me and we set out together. One day, as we were proceeding along, our spies discovered a suspicious track. White Eyes, who was riding before me, enquired whether I felt afraid? I answered that while he was with me, I entertained no fear. On this he immediately replied, "You "are right; for until I am laid prostrate at your feet, no "one shall hurt you." "And even not then," added Wingenund, who was riding behind me; "before this "happens, I must be also overcome, and lay by the side "of our friend *Koguethagechton.*"† I believed them, and I believe at this day that these great men were sincere, and that if they had been put to the test, they would have shewn it, as did another Indian friend by whom my life was saved in the spring of the year 1781. From behind a log in the bushes where he was concealed, he espied a hostile Indian at the very moment he was levelling his piece at me. Quick as lightning he jumped between us, and exposed his person to the musket shot just about to be fired, when fortunately the aggressor desisted, from fear of hitting the Indian whose body thus effectually protected me, at the imminent risk of his own life. Captain White Eyes, in the year 1774, saved in the same manner the life of David Duncan, the peace-messenger, whom he was escorting. He rushed, regardless of his own life, up to an inimical Shawanese, who was aiming

* See ch. xv. p. 139 † The Indian name of Capt. White Eyes.

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at our ambassador from behind a bush, and forced him to desist.

I could enumerate many other similar acts, but I think I have shown enough for my purpose. Mr. Zeisberger fully agreed with me in the opinion, that it is impossible to deny to the Indians the praise of firm attachment and sincere friendship. It is not meant to say, that all will carry that feeling to the same pitch of heroism; but it is certain that there are many among them, whose strong attachments and a manly pride will induce to risk their lives in the defence of their friends. And, indeed, there is no Indian, who would not blush at being reproached that after boasting that a particular person was his friend, he had acted the coward when his friendship was put to the test, and had shrunk from venturing his own life, when there was even a chance of saving that of the man whom he professed to love.

It is not true, as some have supposed, that an Indian's friendship must be purchased by presents, and that it lasts only so long as gifts continue to be lavished upon them. Their attachments, on the contrary, are perfectly disinterested. I admit that they receive with pleasure a present from a friend's hand. They consider presents as marks of the giver's good disposition towards them. They cannot, in their opinion, proceed from an enemy, and he who befriends them, they think must love them. Obligations to them are not burdensome, they love to acknowledge them, and whatever may be their faults, ingratitude is not among the number.

Indeed, the friendship of an Indian is easily acquired, provided it is sought in good faith. But whoever chooses to obtain it must be sure to treat them on a footing of perfect equality. They are very jealous of the whites, who, they think affect to consider themselves as beings of a superior nature and too often treat them with rude undeserved contempt. This they seldom forgive, while on the

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other hand, they feel flattered when a white man does not disdain to treat them as children of the same Creator. Both reason and humanity concur in teaching us this conduct, but I am sorry to say that reason and humanity are in such cases too little attended to. I hope I may be permitted to expatiate a little on this subject; perhaps it may be beneficial to some white persons hereafter.

The Indians are, as I have already observed before,* excellent physiognomists. If they are accosted by or engaged in business with a number of whites, though they may not understand the language that is spoken, they will pretty accurately distinguish by the countenance, those who despise their colour from those who are under the influence of a more generous feeling, and in this they are seldom mistaken. They fix their eyes on the whole party round, and read as it were in the souls of the individuals who compose it. They mark those whom they consider as their friends, and those whom they think to be their enemies, and are sure to remember them ever after. But what must those expect, if a war or some other circumstance should put them into the power of the Indians, who, relying on their supposed ignorance of our idiom, do not scruple even in their presence to apply to them the epithets of *dogs*, *black d—ls*, and the like? Will not these poor people be in some degree justifiable in considering those persons as decidedly hostile to their race? such cases have unfortunately too frequently happened, and the savages have been blamed for treating as enemies those who had so cruelly wounded their most delicate feelings! many white men have been thus put to death, who had brought their fate on themselves by their own imprudence. On the other hand the Indians have not failed to mark those who at the time reprobated such indecent behaviour and reproached their companions for using such improper language. In the midst of war these

* Page 180.

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benevolent Christians have been treated as friends, when perhaps, they had forgotten the humane conduct to which they were indebted for this kind usage.

Their reasoning in such cases is simple, but to them always conclusive. They merely apply their constant maxim, which I believe I have already noticed, that "good can never proceed from evil or evil from good, "and that good and evil, like heterogeneous substances, "can never combine or coalesce together." How far this maxim is founded in a profound knowledge of human nature, it is not my business to determine; what is certain is that they adhere to it in almost every occasion. If a person treats them ill, they ascribe it invariably to his bad heart; it is the bad spirit within him that operates; he is, therefore, a bad man. If on the contrary one shews them kindness, they say he is prompted so to act by "the good spirit within him," and that he has a *good heart*; for if he had not, he would not do good. It is impossible to draw them out of this circle of reasoning, and to persuade them that the friendship shewn to them may be dissembled and proceed from motions of interest; so convinced are they of the truth of their general principle "that good cannot proceed from an evil source."

The conduct of the Europeans towards them, particularly within the last fifty or sixty years, has, however, sufficiently convinced them that men may dissemble, and that kind speeches and even acts of apparent friendship do not always proceed from friendly motives, but that the bad spirit will sometimes lurk under the appearance of the good. Hence, when they speak of the whites in general, they do not scruple to designate them as a false, deceitful race; but it is nevertheless true that with individuals, they frequently forget this general impression, and revert to their own honest principle; and if a white man only behaves to them with common humanity, it is still easy to get access to their simple hearts. Such are those brutes, those savages, from whom, according to

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some men, no faith is to be expected, and with whom no faith is to be kept; such are those *barbarous* nations, as they are called, whom God, nevertheless, made the lawful owners and masters of this beautiful country; but who, at no very remote time, will probably live, partially live, only in its history.

My object in this chapter is to prove that those men are susceptible of the noblest and finest feelings of genuine friendship. It is not enough that by a long residence among them, I have acquired the most complete conviction of this truth; facts and not opinions, I know, are expected from me. Perhaps I might rest satisfied with the proofs that I have already given, but I have only shewn the strength and have yet to display the *constancy* of their attachments; and although in the story which I am going to relate, a friend was forced to see his friend perish miserably without having it in his power to save him from the most terrible death that vengeance and cruelty could inflict, we shall not be the less astonished to see him persevere in his friendly sentiments, under circumstances of all others the most calculated, (particularly to an Indian) not only to have entirely extinguished, but converted those sentiments into feelings of hatred and revenge.

I am sorry to be so often obliged to revert to the circumstance of the cruel murder of the Christian Indians on the Sandusky river* in the year 1782, by a gang of banditti, under the command of one Williamson. Not satisfied with this horrid outrage, the same band, not long afterwards marched to Sandusky, where it seems they had been informed that the remainder of that unfortunate congregation had fled, in order to perpetrate upon them the same indiscriminate murder. But Providence had so ordered it that they had before left that place, where they had found that they could not remain in safety, their ministers having been taken from them and carried to

[erratum. See cat. 116, p. 348, - Analyst]

* See above, pages 65. 174.

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Detroit by order of the British government, so that they had been left entirely unprotected. The murderers, on their arrival, were much disappointed in finding nothing but empty huts. They then shaped their course towards the hostile Indian villages, where being, contrary to their expectations, furiously attacked, Williamson and his band took the advantage of a dark night and ran off, and the whole party escaped, except one Colonel Crawford and another, who being taken by the Indians, were carried in triumph to their village, where the former was condemned to death by torture, and the punishment was inflicted with all the cruelty that rage could invent. The latter was demanded by the Shawanese and sent to them for punishment.

While preparations were making for the execution of this dreadful sentence, the unfortunate Crawford recollected that the Delaware chief Wingenund,* of whom I have spoken in the beginning of this chapter, had been his friend in happier times; he had several times entertained him at his house, and shewed him those marks of attention which are so grateful to the poor despised Indians. A ray of hope darted through his soul, and he requested that Wingenund, who lived at some distance from the village, might be sent for. His request was granted, and a messenger was despatched for the chief, who, reluctantly, indeed, but without hesitation, obeyed the summons, and immediately came to the fatal spot.

This great and good man was not only one of the bravest and most celebrated warriors, but one of the most amiable men of the Delaware nation. To a firm undaunted mind, he joined humanity, kindness and universal benevolence; the excellent qualities of his heart had obtained for him the name of *Wingenund*, which in the Lenape language signifies *the well beloved*. He had kept away

* This name, according to the English orthography, should be written *Winganeond* or *Winguyneond*, the second syllable accented and long, and the last syllable short.

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from the tragical scene about to be acted, to mourn in silence and solitude over the fate of his guilty friend, which he well knew it was not in his power to prevent. He was now called upon to act a painful as well as difficult part: the eyes of his enraged countrymen were fixed upon him; he was an Indian and a Delaware; he was a leader of that nation, whose defenceless members had been so cruelly murdered without distinction of age or sex, and whose innocent blood called aloud for the most signal revenge. Could he take the part of a chief of the base murderers? Could he forget altogether the feelings of ancient fellowship and give way exclusively to those of the Indian and the patriot? Fully sensible that in the situation in which he was placed the latter must, in appearance, at least, predominate, he summoned to his aid the firmness and dignity of an Indian warrior, approached Colonel Crawford and waited in silence for the communications he had to make. The following dialogue now took place between them.

CRAWF. Do you recollect me, Wingenund?

WINGEN. I believe I do; are you not Colonel Crawford?

CRAWF. I am. How do you do? I am glad to see you, Captain.

WINGEN. (embarrassed) So! yes, indeed.

CRAWF. Do you recollect the friendship that always existed between us, and that we were always glad to see each other?

WINGEN. I recollect all this. I remember that we have drunk many a bowl of punch together. I remember also other acts of kindness that you have done me.

CRAWF. Then I hope the same friendship still subsists between us.

WINGEN. It would, of course, be the same, were you in your proper place and not here.

CRAWF. And why not here, Captain? I hope you would not desert a friend in time of need. Now is the

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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time for you to exert yourself in my behalf, as I should do for you, were you in my place.

WINGEN. Colonel Crawford! you have placed yourself in a situation which puts it out of my power and that of others of your friends to do any thing for you.

CRAWF. How so, Captain Wingenund?

WINGEN. By joining yourself to that execrable man, Williamson and his party; the man, who, but the other day murdered such a number of the Moravian Indians, knowing them to be friends; knowing that he ran no risk in murdering a people who would not fight, and whose only business was praying.

CRAWF. Wingenund, I assure you, that had I been with him at the time, this would not have happened; not I alone but all your friends and all good men, wherever they are, reprobate acts of this kind.

WINGEN. That may be; yet these friends, these good men did not prevent him from going out again, to kill the remainder of those inoffensive, yet *foolish* Moravian Indians! I say *foolish*, because they believed the whites in preference to us. We had often told them that they would be one day so treated by those people who called themselves their friends! We told them that there was no faith to be placed in what the white men said; that their fair promises were only intended to allure us, that they might the more easily kill us, as they have done many Indians before they killed these Moravians.

CRAWF. I am sorry to hear you speak thus; as to Williamson's going out again, when it was known that he was determined on it, I went out with him to prevent him from committing fresh murders.

WINGEN. This, Colonel, the Indians would not believe, were even I to tell them so.

CRAWF. And why would they not believe it?

WINGEN. Because it would have been out of your power to prevent his doing what he pleased.

CRAWF. Out of my power! Have any Moravian Indians been killed or hurt since we came out?

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WINGEN. None; but you went first to their town, and finding it empty and deserted you turned on the path towards us? If you had been in search of warriors only, you would not have gone thither. Our spies watched you closely. They saw you while you were embodying yourselves on the other side of the Ohio; they saw you cross that river; they saw where you encamped at night; they saw you turn off from the path to the deserted Moravian town; they knew you were going out of your way; your steps were constantly watched, and you were suffered quietly to proceed until you reached the spot where you were attacked.

CRAWF. What do they intend to do with me? Can you tell me?

WINGEN. I tell you with grief, Colonel. As Williamson and his whole cowardly host, ran off in the night at the whistling of our warrior's balls, being satisfied that now he had no Moravians to deal with, but men who could fight, and with such he did not wish to have any thing to do; I say, as he escaped, and they have taken you, they will take revenge on you in his stead.

CRAWF. And is there no possibility of preventing this? Can you devise no way to get me off? You shall, my friend, be well rewarded if you are instrumental in saving my life.

WINGEN. Had Williamson been taken with you, I and some friends, by making use of what you have told me, might perhaps, have succeeded to save you, but as the matter now stands, no man would dare to interfere in your behalf. The king of England himself, were he to come to this spot, with all his wealth and treasures could not effect this purpose. The blood of the innocent Moravians, more than half of them women and children, cruelly and wantonly murdered calls aloud for *revenge*. The relatives of the slain, who are among us, cry out and stand ready for *revenge*. The nation to which they belonged will have *revenge*. The Shawanese, our grand-

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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children, have asked for your fellow prisoner; on him they will take *revenge*. All the nations connected with us cry out *Revenge! revenge!* The Moravians whom you went to destroy having fled, instead of avenging their brethren, the offence is become national, and the nation itself is bound to take REVENGE!

CRAWF. Then it seems my fate is decided, and I must prepare to meet death in its worst form?

WINGEN. Yes, Colonel!—I am sorry for it; but cannot do any thing for you. Had you attended to the Indian principle, that as good and evil cannot dwell together in the same heart, so a good man ought not to go into evil company; you would not be in this lamentable situation. You see, now, when it is too late, after Williamson has deserted you, what a bad man he must be! Nothing now remians for you but to meet your fate like a brave man. Farewel, Colonel Crawford! they are coming;* I will retire to a solitary spot.

I have been assured by respectable Indians that at the close of this conversation, which was related to me by Wingenund himself as well as by others, both he and Crawford burst into a flood of tears; they then took an affectionate leave of each other, and the chief immediately *hid himself in the bushes*, as the Indians express it, or in his own language, retired to a solitary spot. He never, afterwards, spoke of the fate of his unfortunate friend without strong emotions of grief, which I have several times witnessed. Once, it was the first time that he came into Detroit after Crawford's sufferings, I heard him censured in his own presence by some gentlemen who were standing together for not having saved the life of so valuable a man, who was also his particular friend, as he had often told them. He listened calmly to their censure, and first turning to me, said in his own language: "These men talk like fools," then turning to

* The people were at that moment advancing, with shouts and yells, to torture and put him to death.

l:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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them, he replied in English: "If king George himself, "if your king had been on the spot with all his ships "laden with goods and treasures, he could not have ran- "somed my friend, nor saved his life from the rage of a "*justly* exasperated multitude." He made no further allusion to the act that had been the cause of Crawford's death, and it was easy to perceive that on this melancholy subject, grief was the feeling that predominated in his mind. He felt much hurt, however, at this unjust accusation, from men who, perhaps, he might think, would have acted very differently in his place. For, let us consider in what a situation he found himself, at that trying and critical moment. He was a Delaware Indian and a highly distinguished character among his nation. The offence was national, and of the most atrocious kind, as it was wanton and altogether unprovoked. He might have been expected to partake with all the rest of his countrymen in the strong desire which they felt for *revenge*. He had been Crawford's friend, it is true, and various acts of sociability and friendship had been interchanged between them. But, no doubt, at that time, he believed him, at least, not to be an enemy, to his nation and colour, and if he was an enemy, he might have expected him to be, like himself, a fair, open generous foe. But when he finds him enlisted with those who are waging a war of extermination against the Indian race, murdering in cold blood, and without distinction of age or sex, even those who had united their fate to that of the whites, and had said to the Christians: "Your people shall be *our* people, and your God *our* "God,"* was there not enough here to make him disbelieve all the former professions of such a man, and to turn his abused friendship into the most violent enmity and the bitterest rage. Instead of this we see him persevering to the last in his attachment to a person, who, to say the least, had ceased to be deserving of it; we see him in the face of his enraged countrymen avow that

* Ruth, i. 16.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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friendship, careless of the jealousy that he might excite; we see him not only abstain from participating in the national revenge, but deserting his post, as it were, seek a solitary spot to bewail the death of him, whom, in spite of all, he still loved, and felt not ashamed to call his *friend*.

It is impossible for friendship to be put to a severer test, and the example of Wingenund proves how deep a root this sentiment can take in the mind of an Indian, when even such circumstances as those under which the chief found himself, fail to extinguish it.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

PREACHERS AND PROPHETS.

THERE was a time when the preachers and prophets of the Indians, by properly exerting the unbounded influence which the popular superstitions gave them, might have excited among those nations such a spirit of general resistance against the encroachments of the Europeans, as would have enabled them, at least, to make a noble stand against their invaders, and perhaps to recover the undisturbed possession of their country. Instead of following the obvious course which reason and nature pointed out; instead of uniting as one nation in defence of their natural rights, they gave ear to the artful insinuations of their enemies, who too well understood the art of sowing unnatural divisions among them. It was not until Canada, after repeated struggles, was finally conquered from the French by the united arms of Great Bri-

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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amusements. They may devote days in succession to it, always gambling on the throwing. Among the Mingoes I have observed that two towns brought together goods, blankets, strowds, shirts, linen and played for them. In this case the game lasted eight days. The dice are placed in a dish, lifted up and thrown forcibly on the ground. The people of the two towns met daily during the period named and every inhabitant of each town threw the dice once. This done they parted for the day and each party separately offered a sacrifice in the evening. In connection with the sacrifice they had their special ceremonies, consisting in a man going several times 'round a fire, throwing tobacco into it and singing a song. Afterwards the whole company danced. This continued for eight days. When the winners bore away the spoil in triumph.

The boys exercise by shooting at a mark with bow and arrow. They may throw something into the air and shoot at it, the one hitting the object being regarded as a good marksman. As soon as they are able to run about they learn to use the bow and arrow. When they grow older they shoot pigeons, squirrels, birds and even raccoon with their bows and arrows.

Two comrades who have been reared together or have become attached to one another will be very close and constant companions. If one goes on a journey or to hunt the other will, if possible, accompany him. It seems almost impossible for either of them to live without the other, and for one to give up his companion, as may be necessary when one becomes a Christian, is very hard. Often such friends will make a covenant with one another to remain together and share alike possessions and knowledge.[289] If they go to war together and one perishes the other will fight desperately to avenge him, accounting his own life as nothing.

In traveling in companies they are very companionable and follow some recognized leader. The younger element, on such journeys, engages in the hunt and if deer or bear is shot, the carcass is brought to camp and laid at the fire of the one who is held to be leader. He divides the meat among all, share and share alike. No complaint is ever heard that one has received more than another. If the chiefs have a journey to make, they

8:Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
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CHAPTER XXII

Concerning the Liberality, Confidence and Conversation and Intercourse With the Christians and How the Christians Are Received When They Visit the Savages.

The savages are honorable enough in their conversation with the Christians, after their manner. When they know that they have among them a *nittappi*[1] or a good friend who wishes them well, entertains him with food and drink, when he comes [to visit them], and also presents him with some little [thing], like an awl point, a mirror, glass beads and such things, which he recognizes as a great act of kindness.[2] When later the savage comes again to the Christian then he shows his generosity again in 20, 30 to 40 fold value in pelts and other things. Then the savage comes with it so proud and puffed up, throwing it on the floor before the Christian and puffs and blows, with it, as though he wanted to say: "Take this which I bring thee in good faith for the good thou hast done unto me." In such cases one must always have the table uncovered at the lower end, for when the savage comes to his good friend, where he knows he has his free condition,[3] he climbs up and seats himself with feet and everything on the

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572 574 516

[1] *Nittappi*, friend. A general Algonkian word, appearing in many forms, and still in use. *Cf. nitis*, friend, companion, Brinton, *Diet.*, 99.

[2] Lindeström's construction is poor but the meaning is clear. *And also presents him*, etc.; means of course, that the Nittappi or friend presents something to the Indian, such as a mirror, etc.

[3] Freedom of the place.

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
NM7 Delaware NM7

572 table and crosses his legs and requests then of the
574 food on the table which he fancies. But when one
516 gives strong drinks to the savage, either wine or
[271] brandy, which he desires greatly, one must take
273] care not to give him too much, for then he becomes as though he were quite raving, throws and rolls himself into the burning fire, with a loud cry, and may then easily strike his good friend to death or otherwise set fire to the house, not knowing what he does; for he is not accustomed to such strong drinks. His daily drink is with the goose,[4] which holds his five senses together.

572 But when now the Christians come to the sav-
574 ages in their dwellings then the savages spread frieze and beautiful rugs on the ground, requesting them to sit down to rest. Then they bring forth such food as they have [on hand], namely a
[262] bag full of their bread, deer meat, elk meat and bear meat, fresh fish, bear pork and bear fat,[5] instead of butter; but this[6] is mostly raw, for they do not fry it any other way than on the coals (about which we shall learn further hereafter in the chapter concerning the household economy of the savages). This present one must not disdain, but accept with all thankfulness and praise, otherwise the savages will become very raving and impatient, so that their friendship is thereby turned into the greatest revenge and enmity. If one has any horse along, then the savages place the same kind of food before it also, which one must steal away from the horse, and thank the savage for

[4] His daily drink is the same as that of the goose, that is water.
[5] *Biorneister.*
[6] Food, i.e., meat and fish.

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
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the feeding and feasting of the horse, just as if it had consumed and eaten the same; otherwise they would kill the horse, thinking that it would scorn them; for they have no horses or cattle; wherefore the savages do not know their nature, but they think that they eat the same food as the people eat.[1]

And above all things we must extol and praise the savages, for the one by whom they are extolled and praised that one they consider their most faithful, good and best friend, but not having sense enough to consider, whether such [actions] come from the heart or not. They are also so simple, that they cannot simulate, nor do they know of any deceit, but do not imagine that anything could pass from a man's tongue, without coming from the heart.

The one who knows how to associate rightly with the savages [will find that they] are a trustworthy and good-hearted folk,[2] when they are not angered, and even brave-hearted [enough] to risk death for their good friends, to whom they have professed their friendship and faithfulness, as they did in the year 1655.[3] When the Hollanders surprised us Swedes in New Sweden with hostility, then our river savages showed their friendship and faithfulness towards us. Now this intention of the Hollanders was known to our river savages, wherefore they betook themselves (unknown to us) and went to Manhattan City, in New Holland, to exact revenge on our behalf, doing

[1] Lindeström had heard this from some colonist.
[2] *Itt troget och godh hiärtat folck.*
[3] See Johnson, *The Swedes in America*, I, 330-31.

8:Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
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372 great damage to the Hollander[s]. And the women, whom they succeeded in taking prisoners, they outraged. If the Hollanders in Manhattan City had not in a hurry sprung to arms and improved their fortifications, then the savages would have surprised them altogether and played master over the city. Which [fact] the Holland General Steyvesandt severely flung at us, saying that we had incited these tyrannical and heathenish enemies against them, which we did not even know had taken place, before it was related to us and thrown at us.[10]

From this as well as from more and other such [things], which space and time do not allow to expound, the faithfulness of the savages can be observed; but if they are angered then their loyalty is at an end, and revenge follows upon it.

[10] Peter Stuyvesant accused the Swedes of stirring up the Indians against New Amsterdam.

[P. 35, A]

584 marriage would furthermore be congenial to the parents of both parties.[15] In practice 586 these marriages usually broke up quickly, both spouses quickly being unfaithful to one another.[16] Occasionally a man, his [762] pride wounded by a wife's infidelity, directed his helpless anger inward and committed suicide by taking poison. Women too killed themselves out of jealousy.[17] The shifting romantic attachments of both sexes seem to represent an unending striving to find the all-satisfying parent: a striving continually doomed to frustration.

787 The guardian spirit relationship (which was sought by both men and women) seems also to be built upon the prototype of the search for the all-satisfying (but not authoritarian) parent.[18]

● 572 Among men there was an institution of "friendship" which focused considerable emotion upon a relationship of formally recognized mutual dependency, in war, in [521] the chase, and in various other life-crises.[19] Men were more at ease with one another [562] in conversation than with women and, according to Zeisberger, would automatically suspect as a lie any tale which they [593] heard from a woman.[20] It was a common saying, "My wife is not my friend."[21] Old 888 women were accused by the men of being 439 the middlemen who carried the socially disrupting rum from white settlements to the villages.[22]

562 Implicit in all this was the assumption 571 on the part of all Delawares—men and women alike—that relationships with women, while they could be satisfying, were not likely to be; and the further assumption on the part of men that they had less to fear from other men than from

15. Heckewelder, 1819, p. 161; Zeisberger, 1778, p. 79.
16. Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 82-83.
17. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 83.
18. Lindestrom, 1656, pp. 207-209; Heckewelder, 1819, pp. 245-246; Zeisberger, 1778, p. 127.
19. Heckewelder, 1819, p. 278; Lindestrom, 1656, p. 233; Zeisberger, 1778, p. 116.
20. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 116.
21. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 99.
22. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 117.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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Not satisfied with paying this first of duties to the Lord of all, in the best manner they are able, the Indians also endeavour to fulfil the views which they suppose he had in creating the world. They think that he made the earth and all that it contains for the common good of mankind; when he stocked the country that he gave them with plenty of game, it was not for the benefit of a few, but of all. Every thing was given in common to the sons of men. Whatever liveth on the land, whatsoever groweth out of the earth, and all that is in the rivers and waters flowing through the same, was given jointly to all, and every one is entitled to his share. From this principle, hospitality flows as from its source. With them it is not a virtue but a strict duty. Hence they are never in search of excuses to avoid giving, but freely supply their neighbour's wants from the stock prepared for their own use. They give and are hospitable to all, without exception, and will always share with each other and often with the stranger, even to their last morsel. They rather would lie down themselves on an empty stomach, than have it laid to their charge that they had neglected their duty, by not satisfying the wants of the stranger, the sick or the needy. The stranger has a claim to their hospitality, partly on account of his being at a distance from his family and friends, and partly because he has honoured them by his visit, and ought to leave them with a good impression upon his mind; the sick and the poor because they have a right to be helped out of the common stock: for if the meat they have been served with, was taken from the woods, it was common to all before the hunter took it; if corn or vegetables, it had grown out of the common ground, yet not by the power of man, but by that of the Great Spirit. Besides, on the principle, that all are descended from one parent, they look upon themselves as but one great family, who therefore ought at all times and on all occasions, to be serviceable and kind to each other, and by that means

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

make themselves acceptable to the head of the universal family, the great and good Mannitto. Let me be permitted to illustrate this by an example.

Some travelling Indians having in the year 1777, put their horses over night to pasture in my little meadow, at Guadenhutten on the Muskingum, I called on them in the morning to learn why they had done so. I endeavoured to make them sensible of the injury they had done me, especially as I intended to mow the meadow in a day or two. Having finished my complaint, one of them replied: "My friend, it seems you lay claim to the grass "my horses have eaten, because you had enclosed it with "a fence: now tell me, who caused the grass to grow? "Can *you* make the grass grow? I think not, and no "body can except the great Mannitto. He it is "who causes it to grow both for my horses and for "yours! See, friend! the grass which grows out of the "earth is common to all; the game in the woods is com- "mon to all. Say, did you never eat venison and bear's "meat?—"Yes, very often."—Well, and did you ever "hear me or any other Indian complain about that? "No; then be not disturbed at my horses having eaten "only once, of what you call *your* grass, though the "grass my horses did eat, in like manner as the meat "you did eat, was given to the Indians by the Great "Spirit. Besides, if you will but consider, you will find "that my horses did not eat *all* your grass. For friend- "ship's sake, however, I shall never put my horses in "your meadow again."

The Indians are not only just, they are also in many respects a generous people, and cannot see the sick and the aged suffer for want of clothing. To such they will give a blanket, a shirt, a pair of leggings, mocksens, &c. Otherwise, when they make presents, it is done with a view to receive an equivalent in return, and the receiver is given to understand what that ought to be. In making presents to strangers, they are content with some trifle

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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the nature of their crimes, if not publicly, still privately, for they are considered as a nuisance, and a disgrace to the nation, and so much so were persons of this description considered and despised in former times among the Delawares, before the white people came, that it was a rare thing to hear of any such being among them. This I have repeatedly been told, between the years 1770 and 1780, by Indians of that nation; one of whom, when a boy, resided on the spot where Philadelphia now stands, when the first house was building there, and assisted in furnishing the workmen with fish, and caught rabbits for them; the other, who was still older, lived with his parents on the spot where afterwards was built Perth Amboy in New Jersey: both were respectable men, highly esteemed by all who knew them.

I do not believe that there exists a people, more attentive to paying common civilities to each other, than the Indians are; but this, from a want of understanding their language, as well as their customs and manners, generally escapes the notice of travellers, although some of them, better observers than the rest, have touched upon this subject. In more than one hundred instances, I have with astonishment and delight witnessed the attention paid to a person entering the house of another, where, in the first instance, he is desired to seat himself, with the words, "sit down my friend!" if he is a stranger, or no relation; but if a relation, the proper title is added. A person is never left standing, there are seats for all; and if a dozen should follow each other in succession, all are provided with seats, and the stranger, if a white person, with the best. The tobacco pouch next is handed round; it is the first treat, as with us a glass of wine or brandy. Without a single word passing between the man and his wife, she will go about preparing some victuals for the company, and having served the visiters, will retire to a neighbour's house, to inform the family of the visit

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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with which her husband is honoured, never grumbling on account of their eating up the provisions, even if it were what she had cooked for her own family, considering the friendly visit well worth this small trouble and expense.

It is true, that among themselves, they expect the same attention and hopitality paid to them in return; yet that is not their main object, for I have seen a number of instances in which a return was out of the question, where poverty would not admit of it, or distance of abode put it out of the power of the visiter to return the same civilities to his host: when white people are treated in this way, with the best entertainment the house affords, they may be sure it is nothing else than a mark of respect paid to them, and that the attentions they receive do not proceed from any interested view.

CHAPTER XV.

POLITICAL MANŒUVRES.

IN the management of their national affairs, the Indians display as much skill and dexterity, perhaps, as any people upon earth. When a political message is sent to them from a neighbouring nation, they generally contrive to send an answer so ambiguously worded, that it is difficult to come at their real meaning; they conceive this to be the best way of getting rid of a proposal which they do not like, because those who sent them the message are for some time, at least, at a loss

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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593 everything to his wife and never interferes in things committed to her. She cooks victuals regularly twice a day. If she neglects to do it in proper time, or even altogether, the husband never says a word but goes to a friend, being assured that he [574] will find something to eat, for when a stranger comes into the house the first attention shown is to put food before him, if there is anything in the house. The husband never offers to put wood on the fire, except it be that he has guests or some other extraordinary call to do it, for the woman cuts the wood and brings it to the house and is, therefore, the proper person to take care of the fire.

If his wife longs for meat, and gives him a hint of it, the husband goes out early in the morning without victuals and seldom returns without some game, should he even be obliged to stay out till late in the evening. When he returns with a deer, he throws it down before the door of the hut and walks in, saying nothing. But his wife, who has heard him lay down his burden, gives him something to eat, dries his clothes and then goes out to bring in the game. She may then do what she pleases with it. He says nothing, if she even gives the greatest [223] part of it to her friends, which is a very common custom. A woman generally remembers her friends when meat has been secured, or when her husband has brought flour from the whites.

If the husband intends to take a journey or go hunting, he gives his wife notice, and then she knows that it is her business to furnish him with proper provisions. If any dissatisfaction arises between them, the husband commonly takes his gun and walks off into the woods, without telling his wife whither he is going. Sometimes he does not return for some days, when both parties have generally forgotten their quarrels and live again in peace.

586 Young people who marry rarely remain faithful to each
837 other, but join themselves to others and again separate, continuing such disorderly living until they are older and more sensible. Then it not infrequently happens that they find one another again, or the husband may join himself permanently to some
582 other woman and settle down to housekeeping. Marriages are contracted early in life, when men are from eighteen to twenty years of age and women fourteen or fifteen.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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854 the mother going to fetch water or on some other errand. The children by pushing and kicking not infrequently tumbled themselves into the fire or other danger and thus miserably perished, or were severely burned. For this reason the custom is in disfavor.

372 Their houses are fairly clean, some being superior in this respect and affording a comfortable night's lodging for a [574] European. In case a guest is expected, especially if it be a white [356] person, they prepare as comfortable a bed as possible. They sweep the bunk, that serves as seat and table in the daytime and as bed at night, and spread a mat with one or more deer or bear [362] skins upon it. Though usually a comfortable couch in summer time it may be made very uncomfortable by the fleas brought in by dogs. Their kettles, dishes and spoons are not kept in good order; sometimes they are only licked by the dogs in lieu of washing. Dishes and spoons they make themselves of wood, [415 sometimes of tree knots or growths, often very neatly. The 322 spoons are generally large and round shaped. Occasionally, a spoon will be used by several people, turn about, at a meal. Brass kettles, to be found in most houses because very necessary for sugar boiling, are bought from the whites.

20 The Indians are lovers of finery and dress, the women more than the men; the latter take care that the women adorn themselves in proper manner. The men clothe themselves rather meanly, regarding it as a disgrace to be better appareled than their wives. The dress which particularly distinguishes the women is a petticoat or strowd, blue, red or black, made of a piece of cloth about two yards long, adorned with red, blue or yellow bands laid double and bound about the body. Many women wear a white shirt over the strowd, decorated with silver buckles, the more the better. Red or blue leggings are worn, made of fine cloth joined by a broad band of silk bordered with coral. These leggings reach only to the feet. Shoes are made very neatly. Over the first strowd they may wear another, not decorated with ribbons, which if it inconveniences them in their movements may be easily laid aside. Thus clad a woman is well dressed. In [296] place of the white shirts, blue linen or cotton may be worn. When [386] they wear a white shirt, which is preferably of fine linen, it is often decked with cinnabar about the neck.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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it raw. When an Indian nation wishes to excite another to war, it sometimes happens that they send one or more prisoners to such a nation with the words, "We send you this prisoner to make some broth," and frequently gain their aim in this fashion. The prisoner, however, is not devoured but executed without mercy. There is no rescuing him from horrible death.

Captains, when about to go to war, send to the captains of nations or towns who are in league with them a piece of tobacco to smoke, thus notifying them that they themselves will soon follow. By this they intend that the captains shall smoke their pipes and consider seriously whether they will take part in the war or not. One chief about to visit another will, similarly, send him a piece of tobacco with the message that he shall smoke, look in a certain direction and in due time he will see the sender coming. This is done to make sure that the visitor will find the chief whom he wishes to visit at home.

The last war of the nations was between the Six Nations, the Delawares and Shawanose and the Cherokees, the latter pitted against the rest. This war continued many years until peace was concluded in 1768,[272] as, a few years before, peace had been made between the Six Nations and the Catabe-Nation[273] through the mediation of Sir William Johnson at Albany. Concerning earlier Indian wars nothing is known and since that time war with the whites has engaged the attention of all the Indian nations.

With the Delawares the following nations are in league: The Mahikander,[274] the Shawanose, the Cherokees, the Twichtwes,[275] the Wawiachtanos,[276] the Kikapus,[277] the Wiondats, the Tuckachschas,[278] the Chipuways, Ottawas, the Putewoatamen[279] and the Kaskaski.[280] The two last named dwell along the Wabash.[281]

The Shawanose, who formerly lived in Florida and have ever been a warlike people, had a war with the Moshkos.[282] The latter were the stronger and the Shawanose were reduced to a few remnants. The survivors left their country, came as fugitives up the Ohio to the Susquehanna. [Susquehannah]. They moved from place to place until they fell in with a strong party of Delawares. With these they entered into negotiations, stat-

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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pouch or a beaver-pouch or one decorated with coral, made by the women. Sometimes they have a buffalo horn, from which a pouch, made possibly of tanned deer-skin, depends. In the pouches they carry tobacco, fire materials, knife and pipe. Sumac is generally mixed with tobacco or sumac smoked without tobacco, for but few can stand smoking pure tobacco. Their common conversation turns upon hunting or the news of the day. Matter that has no foundation in fact may be drawn into conversation, and even though all may be aware of this, the narration continues uninterrupted. They may laugh now and again but they will listen attentively. No one interrupts another. When one has finished another begins. They never put any one publicly to blush; they are polite to each other and enjoy being politely treated. They like to be regarded as worthy people even though they may be the opposite. They are pleased to know that they are liked. When a guest comes into a house, food is placed before him; that comes before anything else. If the guests are from a distance and very good friends, the whole kettle of food is set before them, they are given dishes and spoons and allowed to help themselves first to as much as they wish. The guests having partaken of the food, pass the kettle back to the people of the house. They live very simply. Meat, corn, gruel, corn-bread, are the principal articles of diet.[398] In lieu of meat, various dishes are prepared with corn, or Sopan, milk and butter are used. They like to discuss affairs of state and communicate their opinions. In fact they are more ready to discuss such matters in course of visits than in the Council House, for there they prefer to let the older people speak. Occasionally visits are made with the purpose of discovering the opinions of others; in a chief's home all manner of reports, true and false, furnish material for discussion. The women speak of their work, their plantations, the pouches, bags, baskets, carrying bands they have made, many of them though not all smoking tobacco. Stories are carried by women from house to house; they are so often manufactured that if men, having listened attentively to some tale, hear that it originated with a woman they will give it no credit until confirmed by some more reliable authority.

3;Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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484 usually take some of the younger men along, who supply the larder during the journey by engaging in the chase. A journey is rarely hurried for usually it makes little difference whether they arrive at their destination a day late or not, and they are everywhere at home in the woods. They rarely leave camp early in the morning, wishing always to have a good meal before starting and sometimes they delay to mend their shoes. This inconveniences Europeans, who may be obliged to use the Indians as guides very much, especially when they are anxious to reach a certain place at a certain time. It is best policy, however, to accommodate oneself to the Indians, for admonition or remonstrance easily offends them and makes them act in a very contrary manner.

577 Indians dislike having their evil conduct or acts uncovered and held up to them. They are able, however, in subtle fashion so to touch upon such subjects that the parties concerned will understand. This method they prefer, not wishing to offer an open affront. It has happened that one openly accused of an evil deed, murder or the like, has, in desperation, ended his life. They sometimes reveal secret things by means of dreams they pretend to have had when they do not wish to show from what source they have their information. Their desires and inclinations, likewise, they will reveal through pretended dreams, when they are ashamed to make these known directly; often they achieve their purposes in this manner. Chiefs occasionally receive a secret message which must be made known. They will say that at night, while sitting by the fire, some one rose out of the earth, handed over a string or belt of wampum and, whispering the message in their ears, disappeared again in the earth. In this fashion a message may go a hundred miles or more under the earth, coming to the surface where it was intended that it should, often at the fire of a chief of another nation. This happens when war is to be made but kept secret for the time being, the message, therefore, being very difficult to understand for any but the chief.

● 574 They are desirous of retaining the favor and friendship of other nations. When they receive visitors, therefore, the latter are shown all honor and entertained in the best possible way, in

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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order that at home they may have nothing but good to report. As hospitality is generally practiced, strangers are everywhere well received and suffer no want, even though they may remain for days, or weeks or months. It is recognized as a duty to care for the wants of a guest as long as he may choose to remain and even to give him provisions for the journey when he does make up his mind to go.

On the occasion of making or renewing a treaty with another nation a dance very different from the ordinary dance is engaged in. The dancers join hands and leap in a circle for some time. Suddenly the leader lets the hand of one of his partners go, springs forward and turns around several times, by which he draws the whole company round so as to be enclosed by them, when they stand close together. They disengage themselves as suddenly, yet keeping hold of hands during all the different evolutions and changes in the dance; this, as they explain it, represents the chain of friendship; a song, used only at such a solemnity, is sung by all.

The War Dance is very wild and dreadful to behold. One dancer carries his hatchet, another a long knife, another a large club, a fourth a cudgel. These they brandish in the air, to signify how they intend to treat or have treated their enemies, affecting all the while an air of anger and fury. The Mingoes use the war dance even in times of peace with a view to celebrate their heroic deeds.

They regard the Europeans as a peaceable people, created of God to live according to their own manners and customs, even as the Indians have been created to live in their fashion, especially to sustain themselves by means of the chase. They think it contrary to the will of the deity to adopt, themselves, the manner of living peculiar to Europeans, pointing to fish, animals and birds as each having their characteristic habits. Each creature, bear, deer or other animal, continues to live in its own way, and it has never yet been observed that an animal had adopted the habits of another. The same principle, they hold, applies to Indians and Europeans. They recognize that the Europeans are industrious and clever, that without oppor-

Marriage arrangements were always simple, but it was definitely considered better form for the negotiations to take place between the two sets of parents rather than between the individuals concerned. In this type of negotiation, the man's mother took animal food which he had killed to the girl's mother; according to some sources, a return gift was made of corn food prepared by the girl (Harrington, 1908, p.215; Heckewelder, 1881, pp.161-72; Zeisberger, 1910, p.78). It was not unusual, however, for the agreement to take place directly between the boy and girl in which case they might or might not go through these formalities. Loskiel, who is the only author who mentions the subject of residence after marriage, says that the newly married couple often lived with friends for a short time until they built their own house (Loskiel, p.56).

The man was responsible for building the house and providing axes, hoes, canoes, dishes and household equipment although the girl might supply some things. The man was expected to support the family by hunting, trapping and fishing, and the game which he brought home was the property of his wife to use as she saw fit. She was equally responsible, however, for agricultural produce and cooking; and if she were remiss, might be reminded of her neglect by her husband's taking to the woods without telling her he planned to do so. She also carried packs in traveling, tanned skins and fetched wood (Penn, p.30; Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 155-160; G.Thomas, p.341).

There was apparently no strong pressure put upon the couple to remain together after they were married. Although later writers state that marriages were formerly more stable, they present no evidence to substantiate this. Polygyny was permitted but infrequent (Heckewelder, 1881, p.154; Harrington, 1913, p.215; Zeisberger, 1910, pp.78-9; Loskiel, p.57). After the death of a spouse, the widow or widower, but more particularly the former, was expected to remain single for a year, but it is clear that this was frequently not done (Brickell, p.49; Loskiel, p.121).

Social Life and Organization

Most of Delaware social behavior is a closed book to us as the early observers did not usually have long contacts with them in their villages. The early writers were aware, however, that the Indian expected to be fed when he visited them, and that they were always offered food when they visited him. Likewise they noted that gifts passed readily from hand to hand among the Indians although property rights were clearly understood (Lindstrom p.233; Danckaerts, pp.80 and 159; Penn, p.32).

The following games were probably played in this early period: footraces (Lindstrom, p.191); a gambling game in which flat bones,

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
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CHAPTER XXII

CONCERNING THE LIBERALITY, CONFIDENCE AND CONVERSATION AND INTERCOURSE WITH THE CHRISTIANS AND HOW THE CHRISTIANS ARE RECEIVED WHEN THEY VISIT THE SAVAGES.

The savages are honorable enough in their con- 572a 574
versation with the Christians, after their manner. When they know that they have among them a *nittappi*[1] or a good friend who wishes them well, entertains him with food and drink, when he comes [to visit them], and also presents him with some little [thing], like an awl point, a mirror, glass beads and such things, which he recognizes as a great act of kindness.[2] When later the savage comes again to the Christian then he shows his generosity again in 20, 30 to 40 fold value in pelts and other things. Then the savage comes with it so proud and puffed up, throwing it on the floor before the Christian and puffs and blows, with it, as though he wanted to say: "Take this which I bring thee in good faith for the good thou hast done unto me." In such cases one must always 572 574 have the table uncovered at the lower end, for 516 when the savage comes to his good friend, where he knows he has his free condition,[3] he climbs up and seats himself with feet and everything on the

[1] *Nittappi*, friend. A general Algonkian word, appearing in many forms, and still in use. Cf. *nittis*, friend, companion, Brinton, *Diet.*, 99.

[2] Lindeström's construction is poor but the meaning is clear. *And also presents him*, etc.; means of course, that the Nittappi or friend presents something to the Indian, such as a mirror, etc.

[3] Freedom of the place.

8; Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
NM7 Delaware NM7

table and crosses his legs and requests then of the food on the table which he fancies. But when one gives strong drinks to the savage, either wine or brandy, which he desires greatly, one must take care not to give him too much, for then he becomes as though he were quite raving, throws and rolls himself into the burning fire, with a loud cry, and may then easily strike his good friend to death or otherwise set fire to the house, not knowing what he does; for he is not accustomed to such strong drinks. His daily drink is with the goose,[4] which holds his five senses together.

But when now the Christians come to the savages in their dwellings, then the savages spread frieze and beautiful rugs on the ground, requesting them to sit down to rest. Then they bring forth such food as they have [on hand], namely a bag full of their bread, deer meat, elk meat and bear meat, fresh fish, bear pork and bear fat,[5] instead of butter; but this[6] is mostly raw, for they do not fry it any other way than on the coals (about which we shall learn further hereafter in the chapter concerning the household economy of the savages). This present one must not disdain, but accept with all thankfulness and praise, otherwise the savages will become very raving and impatient, so that their friendship is thereby turned into the greatest revenge and enmity. If one has any horse along, then the savages place the same kind of food before it also, which one must steal away from the horse, and thank the savage for

[4] His daily drink is the same as that of the goose, that is water.
[5] *Biörneister.*
[6] Food, i.e., meat and fish.

8:Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
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the feeding and feasting of the horse, just as if it had consumed and eaten the same; otherwise they would kill the horse, thinking that it would scorn them; for they have no horses or cattle; wherefore the savages do not know their nature, but they think that they eat the same food as the people eat.[7]

And above all things we must extol and praise the savages, for the one by whom they are extolled and praised that one they consider their most faithful, good and best friend, but not having sense enough to consider, whether such [actions] come from the heart or not. They are also so simple, that they cannot simulate, nor do they know of any deceit, but do not imagine that anything could pass from a man's tongue, without coming from the heart.

The one who knows how to associate rightly with the savages [will find that they] are a trustworthy and good-hearted folk,[8] when they are not angered, and even brave-hearted [enough] to risk death for their good friends, to whom they have professed their friendship and faithfulness, as they did in the year 1655.[9] When the Hollanders surprised us Swedes in New Sweden with hostility, then our river savages showed their friendship and faithfulness towards us. Now this intention of the Hollanders was known to our river savages, wherefore they betook themselves (unknown to us) and went to Manhattan City, in New Holland, to exact revenge on our behalf, doing

[7] Lindeström had heard this from some colonist.
[8] *Itt troget och godh hiärtat folck.*
[9] See Johnson, *The Swedes in America*, I, 330–31.

+ = element present
− = element denied
(+) or (−) = source ambiguous
• = informant could not or would not say
s = some, sometimes, or several
† or * = see Ethnographic Notes, pp. 79-137 for additional information

	Williams	Van der Donck	Lindeström	Zeisberger	Heckewelder	Johnston	Pipe	Chippa	J. W.	W. T.	E. R.	W. L.
342						629	574	858	2965	181	538	576	244	793	155	756
Medicine—Continued												
52. Perform surgical operation				(−)		−		−	−	−	−	−
53. Unite profession with priesthood	(+)		(+)			−		−	−	−	−	−
54. Always use juggling tricks †	+	s	s	s	s	−		−	s		s	s
55. Beat on own breast	+		(+)		+	+			+	+	+	+
56. Blow in hands	+		(+)		±	+			+	−	+	+
57. Make rumbling noise	+		+	+		+			+	+	+	+
58. Blow on patient	+		+	+	+	+			+	+	+	+
59. Rub the part affected						+			+	+	+	+
60. Have effect on patient's confidence						+			+	+	+	+
General Manners and Customs												
61. Eat human flesh			*(−)	−	−	−	•	−	−	−	−	−
62. Shake hands on meeting; inquire about health and express gladness to see	(±)			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
64. Great respect paid age or rank				+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
65. Visit one another for purpose of conversation	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
66. Regular parties at which they entertain				+		+	•	•	+	+	+	+
67. Practice of telling stories				+		+	+	•	+	+	+	+
68. In winter and at night only						+	•	•	+	+	+	*+
69. Use words equivalent to swearing		−		−		+	−	−	−	−	−	−
70. Exhibit strong feelings of love, friendship and affection to same sex					+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
71. to opposite sex						+	−	+	+	−	+	•
72. common to try to suppress to same sex						+	−	+	+	−	−	+
73. common to try to suppress to opposite sex						+	+	+	+	−	−	•
74. Matter of pride to suppress feelings or excitement, especially fear and shame				+		+	•	+	+	(+)	+	+
75. On return home men treat wives with indifference					+	+	+	•	−	+	−	+
76. On return home men treat children with indifference					−	−	•	•	−	−	−	−
77. Powers of recollection strong			+		+	+	•	+	+	+	+	+
78. Any peculiarities in encampments (except war) or building of huts that distinguish from others				+		*+	•	•	•	+	*+	+

Crow NQ1D
Delaware NM7 ●

| Element | Occurrence | | |

31: Snyderman E-5 (ca. 1948) 1951
NM9 Iroquois NM9
Delaware NM7
Miami NP9

I D M 423 574 648 563 [685]

when the Delaware tried to exact "blood money" from the Miami to "cover the bones" of several of their people who had been murdered by the Miami, they were reminded firmly that they had been allowed to keep the money for the sales of Miami lands and that this should suffice. Joseph Richardville speaking for the Miami stated:

> Grand Fathers: You must recollect when you passed over the great mountains, & came to our country, that you were poor and destitute; you placed yourselves under our protection; we gave you lands, & at the Treaty of St. Mary's you sat in council with us. These we considered enough to satisfy you for all the injury our bad young men had done you; but it appears otherwise, for you continue to beg for more nothwithstanding all that has been told to you by our old chief who now lies sick in his wigwam. [Tipton, 1942, p. 764.]

When it was politic, the Iroquois assumed responsibility for their "dependents" to the point of pressing their claims. Thus Canassatego speaking to Representatives of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia at Lancaster on July 2, 1744, pressed the case of the Canoy who had been defrauded by the Whites (Lowrie and Clarke, 1832–34, vol. 1, pp. 724–725).

On July 1, 1749, the Iroquois Assuchquay spoke for the Canoy as follows:

I [694]

> As we were coming here the Canoy Indians gave us this string of Wampum, thereby putting their case into our Hands, which we undertook to Speak to. It seems when the Proprietories bought the Land between Delaware and Susquehanna from us, the Tract, as they told us, on which the Canoy Town stood was reserv'd out of the Grant on account of those Indians living there, & when they should quit it they were to have a Consideration paid them for it. This we think they are entitled to, as they have left the Land & Live among other Nations at Juniata; and as they tell us that they never receiv'd anything for their Land, we recommend it to you to see them paid. [Prov. Council Pa., Minutes, vol. 5, p. 390.]

And when it suited their purposes, dependents were allowed to share the presents. There is on record an actual agreement between the chiefs of the Six Nations and the Commissioners of Pennsylvania dated January 1, 1789, which contains a clause noting that, "Two Munseys signed as being residenters on the land, but not owners" (Prov. Council Pa., Minutes, vol. 5, p. 512).

I 423 648 563

In the foregoing, we have described how the League functioned for its tenants, dependents, guests, and colonists. When the League began to sell the land from under dependent peoples, friction developed which was not to be resolved by the dictates of Onondaga. The attempt of the League authorities to prevent the Iroquois on the Ohio from receiving "presents from the Governor of Virginia" by labeling them "Hunters and no Counselors or Chief Men" (ibid., p. 478) convinced neither the Governor of Virginia nor the Indian frontiersmen of the League's power to enforce its decision. Likewise the state-

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

in token of remembrance; but when they give any thing to a trader, they at least expect double the value in return, saying that he can afford to do it, since he had cheated them so often. 431

They treat each other with civility, and shew much affection on meeting after an absence. When they meet in the forenoon, they will compliment one another with saying, "a good morning to you!" and in the afternoon "a good evening." In the act of shaking hands with each other, they strictly attend to the distinguishing names of relations, which they utter at the time; as for instance, "a good morning, father, grandfather, uncle, aunt, cousin," and so down to a small grandchild. They are also in the habit of saluting old people no ways related to them, by the names of grandfather and grandmother, not in a tone of condescending superiority or disguised contempt, but as a genuine mark of the respect which they feel for age. The common way of saluting where no relationship exists, is that of "friend;" when, however, the young people meet, they make use of words suitable to their years or stage in life; they will say "a good morning, comrade, favourite, beloved, &c." Even the children salute each other affectionately. "I am glad to see you," is the common way in which the Indians express themselves to one another after a short absence; but on meeting after a long absence, on the return of a messenger or a warrior from a critical or dangerous expedition, they have more to say; the former is saluted in the most cordial manner with some such expression: "I thank the Great Spirit, that he has pre-"served our lives to this time of our happily meeting "again. I am, indeed, very glad to see you." To which the other will reply: "you speak the truth; it is through "the favour of the great and good Spirit that we are "permitted to meet. I am equally glad to see you." To the latter will be said: "I am glad that the Great "Spirit has preserved your life and granted you a safe "return to your family." 576 [888]

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

the nature of their crimes, if not publicly, still privately, for they are considered as a nuisance, and a disgrace to the nation, and so much so were persons of this description considered and despised in former times among the Delawares, before the white people came, that it was a rare thing to hear of any such being among them. This I have repeatedly been told, between the years 1770 and 1780, by Indians of that nation; one of whom, when a boy, resided on the spot where Philadelphia now stands, when the first house was building there, and assisted in furnishing the workmen with fish, and caught rabbits for them; the other, who was still older, lived with his parents on the spot where afterwards was built Perth Amboy in New Jersey: both were respectable men, highly esteemed by all who knew them.

I do not believe that there exists a people, more attentive to paying common civilities to each other, than the Indians are; but this, from a want of understanding their language, as well as their customs and manners, generally escapes the notice of travellers, although some of them, better observers than the rest, have touched upon this subject. In more than one hundred instances, I have with astonishment and delight witnessed the attention paid to a person entering the house of another, where, in the first instance, he is desired to seat himself, with the words, "sit down my friend!" if he is a stranger, or no relation; but if a relation, the proper title is added. A person is never left standing, there are seats for all; and if a dozen should follow each other in succession, all are provided with seats, and the stranger, if a white person, with the best. The tobacco pouch next is handed round; it is the first treat, as with us a glass of wine or brandy. Without a single word passing between the man and his wife, she will go about preparing some victuals for the company, and having served the visiters, will retire to a neighbour's house, to inform the family of the visit

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

with which her husband is honoured, never grumbling on account of their eating up the provisions, even if it were what she had cooked for her own family, considering the friendly visit well worth this small trouble and expense.

It is true, that among themselves, they expect the same attention and hopitality paid to them in return; yet that is not their main object, for I have seen a number of instances in which a return was out of the question, where poverty would not admit of it, or distance of abode put it out of the power of the visiter to return the same civilities to his host: when white people are treated in this way, with the best entertainment the house affords, they may be sure it is nothing else than a mark of respect paid to them, and that the attentions they receive do not proceed from any interested view.

CHAPTER XV.

POLITICAL MANŒUVRES.

IN the management of their national affairs, the Indians display as much skill and dexterity, perhaps, as any people upon earth. When a political message is sent to them from a neighbouring nation, they generally contrive to send an answer so ambiguously worded, that it is difficult to come at their real meaning; they conceive this to be the best way of getting rid of a proposal which they do not like, because those who sent them the message are for some time, at least, at a loss

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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593 578 repented, though neither speak to each other a single word on the subject of what has passed. And as his children, if he has any, will on his return hang about him and soothe him with their caresses, he is, on their account, ready to forgive, or at least to say nothing unpleasant to their mother. She has, however, received by this a solemn warning, and must take care how she behaves in future, lest the next time her husband should stay away altogether and take another wife. It is very probable, that if at this time they had had no children, he would have left her, but then he would have taken his property with him at the same time.

593 576 484 On the return of an Indian from a journey, or long absence, he will on entering the house, say, "I am returned!" to which his wife will reply, "I rejoice!" and having cast his eyes around, he will enquire, whether all the children are well, when being answered in the affirmative, he replies, "I am glad!" which for the present is all the conversation that passes between them; nor does he relate any thing at this present time that occurred on his journey, but holds himself in readiness to partake of the nourishment which his wife is preparing for him. After a while, when the men of the village have assembled at his house, his wife, with the rest, hears his story at full length.

584 *Marriages* are proposed and concluded in different ways. The parents on both sides, having observed an attachment between two young persons, negotiate for them. This generally commences from the house where the bridegroom lives, whose mother is the negotiatrix for him, and begins her duties by taking a good leg of venison, or bear's meat, or something else of the same kind, to the house where the bride dwells, not forgetting to mention, that her son has killed it: in return for this the mother of the bride, if she otherwise approves of the match, which she well understands by the presents to be intended, will prepare a good dish of victuals, the pro-

9 [Iroquian. See cat. 116, p. 348. —Analyst]

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7

627 If peace could not be restored through the payment of "blood money," the interested kin, in case of murder, resolved the case by the murder of the guilty party or one of his kin.[163] From the scanty evidence available it would appear that only in the case of unresolved murders which were upsetting internal peace would society step in to halt the conflict.

576 431 Little is known about etiquette and the customary ways in which people behaved towards one another. Penn, however, said:

> In liberality they excel. Nothing is too good for their friend. Give them a fine gun, coat, or other thing, it may pass twenty hands before it sticks: light of heart, strong affections, but soon spent: the most merry creatures that live: they feast and dance perpetually; they never have much, nor want much. Wealth circulateth like the blood. All parts partake; and though none shall want what another hath, yet exact observers of property.[164]

Denton in the same vein said:

> They are extraordinary charitable one to another, one having nothing to spare, but he freely imparts it to his friends & whatsoever they get by gaming or any other way, they share one to another leaving themselves commonly the least share.[165]

571 This sort of behavior is, of course, to be expected in a society organized upon a kinship basis. Society was predicated, not on the competition between individuals, but upon mutual assistance and the unity of action of the kin group. Respect for, and solicitous care of, the aged has also been noted.[166]

War

726 174 Small-scale, probably infrequent raiding by a few warriors was the typical form of warfare in early historic times and undoubtedly in the pre-European period. This type of conflict was a personal, usually non-economic feuding. An apt designation for it might be primitive war, since it seems to be characteristic of many cultures at this and lower technological levels of development. A special term for it is necessary since it generally differs in its causation, purpose, and form from total, modern warfare. There is little evidence that chronic, full-scale, economically caused warfare existed aboriginally in what is now northeastern United States. Hunt shared this point of view in writing of the Iroquois, generally considered to have been the most warlike of peoples in this area! He said:

> In the beginning intertribal rivalries were not keen, and intertribal war was purely private and social interprise. But before long the European trade was to create new rivalries, and whet old ones to the point where the issue became one of survival.[167]

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[163] Van der Donck, 1909, p. 303.
[164] Penn, 1882, p. 243.
[165] Denton, 1845, p. 9. Also see Zeisberger, 1910, pp. 115-16.
[166] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 123; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 103.
[167] Hunt, 1939, p. 22.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7
Dakota NQ11

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endeavor to bring back a scalp or several scalps to show that he has avenged the rights of his nation.

Across the Mississippi there lives a nation called the Su.[111] They live along the river Su far beyond the Illinois, where there are vast plains without trees and on which wild goats, buffalo and other game graze. As there is no wood, the Indians burn dried buffalo manure. For the winter they provide themselves with peat, which they dry with grass. Their utensils they make of clay and burn them, wherever they may be, for they travel from place to place following game. Their weapons are the bow and arrow. Water being scarce on the plains, they catch the dew for cooking and drinking purposes. For this purpose they use large sponges that grow on the rocks in the rivers. This I have been told by an Englishman who lived sometime in that country. These Indians trade with the Spaniards. I have heard from various sources that the further west one goes the more extensive are the plains.

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Indians usually treat one another with kindness and civility and in their bearing toward one another are modest. They are communicative but thoughtful. Of empty compliments they know nothing. In meeting it is customary to shake hands, greet one another with the friendly title of Father, Older or Younger Brother, Uncle, Cousin, Grand Son, Grandfather and say "I am glad to see you." Sometimes all this is repeated when the guests have been sometime in the house. Expression of greeting through others is hardly customary, occasionally a gift is sent by way of greeting. Greetings are expressed in all sincerity. If sentiments do not correspond to words and forms, the latter are dispensed with. If warriors, going to war or coming from war, when the murderous spirit is on them greet one (I will not say an Indian, for that were nothing unusual, but a white person) one may certainly believe to possess their favor and good grace and need fear no harm, for if they have the least feeling against anyone, they will use no form of greeting. This I know from frequent experience. An Indian carries pouch and pipe with him wherever he goes, for they are indispensable. For state occasions they may have an otter skin

De 576

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3;Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

pouch or a beaver-pouch or one decorated with coral, made by the women. Sometimes they have a buffalo horn, from which a pouch, made possibly of tanned deer-skin, depends. In the pouches they carry tobacco, fire materials, knife and pipe. Sumac is generally mixed with tobacco or sumac smoked without tobacco, for but few can stand smoking pure tobacco. Their common conversation turns upon hunting or the news of the day. Matter that has no foundation in fact may be drawn into conversation, and even though all may be aware of this, the narration continues uninterrupted. They may laugh now and again but they will listen attentively. No one interrupts another. When one has finished another begins. They never put any one publicly to blush; they are polite to each other and enjoy being politely treated. They like to be regarded as worthy people even though they may be the opposite. They are pleased to know that they are liked. When a guest comes into a house, food is placed before him; that comes before anything else. If the guests are from a distance and very good friends, the whole kettle of food is set before them, they are given dishes and spoons and allowed to help themselves first to as much as they wish. The guests having partaken of the food, pass the kettle back to the people of the house. They live very simply. Meat, corn, gruel, corn-bread, are the principal articles of diet.[206] In lieu of meat, various dishes are prepared with corn, or Sopan, milk and butter are used. They like to discuss affairs of state and communicate their opinions. In fact they are more ready to discuss such matters in course of visits than in the Council House, for there they prefer to let the older people speak. Occasionally visits are made with the purpose of discovering the opinions of others; in a chief's home all manner of reports, true and false, furnish material for discussion. The women speak of their work, their plantations, the pouches, bags, baskets, carrying bands they have made, many of them though not all smoking tobacco. Stories are carried by women from house to house; they are so often manufactured that if men, having listened attentively to some tale, hear that it originated with a woman they will give it no credit until confirmed by some more reliable authority.

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

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A translated example of a Minsi vision chant and dance song has already been given. When the dream-teller finished the first verse of his dance song, he exclaimed, "*E-ye-he-ye-ĕ!*" whereupon the singers took up the strain and sang the verse several times, for the benefit of those who wished to dance, omitting, however, the final exclamation, but those who had bought the privilege rose and danced where they stood, instead of circling around, as among the Unami. Each "set" ended with a whoop, "*kwi!*".

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When the vision-teller finished dancing, he went around the house and shook hands with everyone; then the turtle rattle was passed to another man who had been blessed with a vision, and so on, until all those qualified, who wished to recite their visions, had done so.

OTHER FEATURES

The Prayer Cry.—From time to time during the night the prayer cry "*Ho-o-o!*" was repeated twelve times, and the

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
NM7 Delaware NM7

the feeding and feasting of the horse, just as if it had consumed and eaten the same; otherwise they would kill the horse, thinking that it would scorn them; for they have no horses or cattle; wherefore the savages do not know their nature, but they think that they eat the same food as the people eat.[1]

And above all things we must extol and praise the savages, for the one by whom they are extolled and praised that one they consider their most faithful, good and best friend, but not having sense enough to consider, whether such [actions] come from the heart or not. They are also so simple, that they cannot simulate, nor do they know of any deceit, but do not imagine that anything could pass from a man's tongue, without coming from the heart.

The one who knows how to associate rightly with the savages [will find that they] are a trustworthy and good-hearted folk,[2] when they are not angered, and even brave-hearted [enough] to risk death for their good friends, to whom they have professed their friendship and faithfulness, as they did in the year 1655.[3] When the Hollanders surprised us Swedes in New Sweden with hostility, then our river savages showed their friendship and faithfulness towards us. Now this intention of the Hollanders was known to our river savages, wherefore they betook themselves (unknown to us) and went to Manhattan City, in New Holland, to exact revenge on our behalf, doing

[1] Lindeström had heard this from some colonist.
[2] *Nit troget och godh hiärtat folck.*
[3] See Johnson, *The Swedes in America*, I, 330–31.

+ = element present
− = element denied
(+) or (−) = source ambiguous
• = informant could not or would not say
S = some, sometimes, or several
† or * = see Ethnographic Notes, pp. 79-137 for additional information

	Williams	Van der Donck	Lindeström	Zeisberger	Heckewelder	Johnston	Pipe	Chipps	J. W.	W. T.	E. R.	W. L.
	E342					629	574	558	5295	538	576	2196	2735	7556
Medicine—Continued												
52. Perform surgical operation				(−)		−		−	−	−	−	−
53. Unite profession with priesthood	(+)		(+)			−		−	−	−	−	−
54. Always use juggling tricks †	+	S	S	S	S	−		−	S		S	S
55. Beat on own breast	+		(+)		+	+			+	+	+	+
56. Blow in hands	+		(+)		+	+			+	−	+	+
57. Make rumbling noise	+		+	+		+			+	+	+	+
58. Blow on patient	+		+	+	+	+			+	+	+	+
59. Rub the part affected						+			+	+	+	+
60. Have effect on patient's confidence						+			+	+	+	+
General Manners and Customs												
61. Eat human flesh			*(−)	−	−	−	•	−	−	−	−	−
62. Shake hands on meeting; inquire about health and express gladness to see	(±)			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
64. Great respect paid age or rank				+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
65. Visit one another for purpose of conversation	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
66. Regular parties at which they entertain				+		+	•	•	+	+	+	+
67. Practice of telling stories				+		+	+	•	+	+	+	+
68. In winter and at night only						+	•	•	+	+	+	•+
69. Use words equivalent to swearing		−		−		+	−	−	−	−	−	−
70. Exhibit strong feelings of love, friendship and affection to same sex					+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
71. to opposite sex						+	−	+	+	−	+	•
72. common to try to suppress to same sex						+	−	+	+	−	−	+
73. common to try to suppress to opposite sex						+	+	+	+	−	−	•
74. Matter of pride to suppress feelings or excitement, especially fear and shame				+		+	•	+	+	(+)	+	+
75. On return home men treat wives with indifference					+	+	+	•	−	+	−	+
76. On return home men treat children with indifference					−	−	•	•	−	−	−	−
77. Powers of recollection strong			+		+	+	•	+	+	+	+	+
78. Any peculiarities in encampments (except war) or building of huts that distinguish from others				+		•+	•	•	•	+	•+	+

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9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

266 727 inating the torture of prisoners, burning at the stake, and eating of their flesh. These elements were considered to have been adopted by other tribes in retaliation. Hence it is difficult to understand how the Delaware could have escaped or withstood this influence. The only explanation that seems at all plausible is that when the Delaware were subjugated by the Iroquois early in the eighteenth century, they lost the prime reason for the practice and soon lost even the memory of it.

576 According to information from the eighteenth century and later, the Indian mode of greeting was shaking hands (62). The three manuscripts of the early nineteenth century claimed that shaking hands was a very old Indian custom and one in existence before white contact. In the national worshiping society or Big House where an effort was made to preserve ancient customs, the left hand was used. This was the hand nearer the heart and so considered to be a more direct conveyance of friendship. It is interesting to note that the two modern informants who have participated in the Big House confirmed this use of the left hand, whereas the two who have had no firsthand information of this ceremony claimed the right hand was always used by the Delaware. None of the seventeenth-century sources, including accounts not used in the tabulation, referred to hand shaking. This absence of mention is not surprising as many details were ignored by the early writers, but in the case of Williams who gave many different expressions for greetings and included a description of an Indian stroking a sachem upon both shoulders, the suggestion is strong that hand shaking was not in use until learned from the whites. Early accounts of customs at the time of contact between other tribes and whites also indicate that hand shaking was not an Indian custom. Hence, we have a custom that was borrowed from the whites some time before the accounts of the second period.

576 562 There seems to have been a change in the freedom with which emotions toward the same and the opposite sex were exhibited (70-73). Part of the responsibility for the apparent change may be assigned to a lack of information or understanding. It is doubtful if any conclusions are warranted on the basis of the

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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information available. On the other hand, the expression of feelings between men and their wives and children, which is a closely related subject, definitely shows a change in the fourth period (75, 76). In the second and third periods indifference on the part of the men to their wives on returning home was reported, whereas, in the fourth period, the two younger informants disclaimed such indifference. Paternal indifference to children is denied throughout. The behavior of the older men toward their wives was in accordance with the old ways, they said, whereas that of the younger men was apparently influenced by white standards of behavior.

Captain Chipps and two of the informants, W. T. and W. L., considered the Delaware to differ from other tribes in color (80). Among the informants the matter was one of personal opinion unwarranted by the color of the individual informants. The opinion is also unwarranted from a comparison of skin, hair, and eye color with members of neighboring tribes who have approximately the same percentage of Indian blood. The greater degree of sociability, friendship, and hospitality among the Delaware and all the informants is to be attributed, in part, at least, to their religion and their feeling of superiority to other tribes (82-84). They believe their Big House or Delaware "church" to be superior to the religious beliefs of other tribes, but they are tolerant of the shortcomings of the others and attempt no missionary work. Friendship with all mankind is preached in the Big House and practiced by all believers.

The elements concerned with the physical duties of the woman in the home are of doubtful value from a psychological and terminological viewpoint (85-87). The terms "easy," "contented," and "drudgery" all carry connotations beyond their strict meanings that are so divergent in their use by different observers or informants that comparison is impossible. It is interesting to note, however, that Heckewelder and Johnston agree with the statements of the modern Delaware that the position of women was easy and contented and that they were not considered menial servants of the men. The only dissenting voice was that of Captain Chipps. Nowhere is there any evidence that the women considered themselves imposed upon by the men.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

third periods no ceremonies were reported. In the fourth period the ceremonies were said to be prayers at the beginning and conclusion of the expedition. 224 [796]

From the sequence of questions I understand that the one relating to "peculiar laws" in hunting concerned the rights of various members of a group hunting—the division of the game, the taboos to be observed, etc. (320). Most of the sources and all of the informants stated or indicated the existence of laws or rules from this standpoint. Johnston, however, understood the question differently, for he answered, "They have not, every one kills as much as he can." While he gave no information on the subject desired, his answer does show that the Indians with whom he was acquainted were not practicing conservation of game. There seems to have been a certain etiquette observed whenever a successful hunter was approached by an unsuccessful one at the scene of the kill (322-26). The sharing of the game killed was as generally observed as if the two had been hunting together (321), but the detail of the division depended upon the individual hunter and his mood of the moment. Deer was the principal animal sought in hunting, and often the term hunting was used synonymously with deer hunting, and in speaking of the divisions of game killed, the deer is always taken as the example. The fact that deer was the staple meat and hunted most often in the autumn is also shown in the more frequent reports of hunting in the autumn than in any other season (328-31). [579]

A ceremony celebrating the killing of the first game animal by a youthful hunter is well affirmed in every period (332). The details of the ceremony, however, are not always given. Zeisberger reported that the youth presented a male animal to an old man and a female animal to an old woman (337). This was denied by all the modern informants. The third- and fourth-period reports related that the selection of the recipient of the kill was not based on the sex of the animal (336). This contradiction may represent a change in custom between the second and third periods, but the fact that there is only one authority for the earlier period casts some doubt on the uniformity of 332

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

57. Rumbling noise made by jugglers

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[756] The rumbling noise made by jugglers mentioned in the earlier accounts was replaced by singing in the accounts of J. W., W. T., and W. L., all of whom said that the sweat doctor sang or talked about his vision which gave him his power to see into the vitals of the patient and determine the nature of his illness.

GENERAL MANNERS AND CUSTOMS

61. Eating of human flesh

266 There is no statement about the eating of human flesh in LINDESTRÖM, but there is a description of torture by fire among
[727] the Minquas, and the inference is that such was not practiced among the Delaware and, also, that the eating of human flesh was not common if present at all.

62. Handshaking

● 576 JOHN JOHNSTON—[Salutation is] by shaking each other by the left hand as token of friendship considering the left hand to be the nighest to the heart. They say but little, except I am glad to see you your looks are familiar the countenance expressed gladness. (Shaking hands is an Indian, and they say an ancient custom.)

CAPTAIN PIPE—Their mode of salutation in meeting is not peculiar. They sometimes express a pleasure in seeing each other, at others the simple *Anishee*, (I am thankful,) is the only expression. They do not as with us, inquire after the health of their families, but of their business, route, etc. It is believed that shaking hand is an Indian custom, but before their knowledge of the whites they used the left hand. In the Engŏmween, or wor-
[796] shiping assembly, where ancient customs are said to prevail altogether, they always use the left hand.

CAPTAIN CHIPPS—The mode of salutation is by shaking hands:—inquiries after healths succeed. The shaking of hands (say they) "was in use from the time they were created."

J. W. and W. L. say that using left hand was formerly Delaware custom.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

W. T. and E. R. say that right was always used. 576

68. Story telling: in winter and at night only

W. L. said that one rule was that no one could sit up during the telling of stories as it might make them humpbacked. 538 784

78. Peculiarities in encampments

JOHN JOHNSTON—There is no [peculiarity] in their moving from place to place or in their hunting encampments, but they are very particular in the mode of erecting their war encampments. 361 726

E. R.—Camp site was fixed so that allied tribes would know who had been there, and which direction they went. The way they fixed the fire and ashes would tell who made the camp. [202]

79. Identification of makers of encampment

JOHN JOHNSTON—They can [identify them] because every tribe has a different mode of encamping and by the size of the camp or camps they can calculate very nigh the number that were in them. 361 202

CAPTAIN CHIPPS—They can tell the camps of the Cayugas and Massisagas, by their peculiar manner of encamping. Generally speaking, it is impossible for them to tell from a deserted camp, what particular tribe has occupied it.

83. Differences from other tribes in sociability, etc.

J. W.—Delaware are more friendly and sociable than other tribes even though they cannot trust others. The Delaware way of raising is to have children grow up to be friendly and pleasant so that other people will like them and they may do big things—get places on council, in Big House, and be a credit to parents. 181

W. T.—Sociability, friendliness, and hospitality are marked characteristics that distinguish Delaware from other tribes and should be rated first.

88. Spare lives of snakes

HECKEWELDER stated that Delaware spared the lives of snakes because killing one would bring other creeping things to bite them. 784 825

626 ness was accomplished, not by a fear of authority, but by everyone's fear of wounding someone else's self-esteem and thereby laying himself open to aggression. In order not to antagonize another, the individual had to be very circumspect in his behavior and avoid showing his own aggressive motives. There were a variety of institutionalized techniques which functioned to forestall possible antagonism-arousing situations. "They are not quarrelsome, and are always on their guard, so as not to offend each other," said Heckewelder, and Zeisberger made similar observations.[39] [831] Swearing was unknown (although obscenity was not tabooed).[40] Persons suspected of ill-doing were not accused openly; public or private disapproval was communicated by subtle allusions or by the [609] recital of a "dream."[41] Strangers and visitors were always treated politely; and negative replies to embassies from other communities were couched in ambiguous terms so that the matter was shelved rather than 576 contended over.[42] An elaborate code of 521 etiquette governed the men's talk. "Their common conversation turns upon hunting or the news of the day. Matter that has no foundation in fact may be drawn into conversation, and even though all may be aware of this, the narration continues uninterrupted. They may laugh now and again but they will listen attentively. No one interrupts another. When one has finished another begins. They never put any one publicly to blush; they are polite to each other and enjoy being politely treated. They like to be regarded as worthy people even though they may be the opposite. They are pleased to know that 796 they are liked."[43] Religious observances 776 (such as the periodic obligation to give a dance for a sacred mask) were performed under an almost obsessive fear that negligence, by offending the supernatural owner, would call down an indefinite but

39. Heckewelder, 1819, pp. 145-146; Zeisberger 1778, p. 115-116.
40. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 85.
41. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 120.
42. Heckewelder, 1819, p. 150.
43. Heckewelder, 1819, pp. 103-104; Zeisberger 1778, 115-116.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7
Iroquois NM9

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or tribes, were at war with each other, the latter not being willing to permit that the French should establish themselves in that country. At last the Iroquois, finding themselves between two fires, and without any prospect of conquering the Lenape by arms, and seeing the necessity of withdrawing with their families, from the shores of the St. Lawrence, to the interior of the country, where the French could not easily reach them, fell upon a stratagem, which they flattered themselves would, if successful, secure to them not only a peace with the Lenape, but also with all the other tribes connected with them; so that they would then have but one enemy (the French) to contend with.

This plan was very deeply laid, and was calculated to deprive the Lenape and their allies, not only of their power but of their military fame, which had exalted them above all the other Indian nations. They were to be persuaded to abstain from the use of arms, and assume the station of mediators and umpires among their warlike neighbours. In the language of the Indians, they were to be made *women*.* It must be understood that among these nations wars are never brought to an end but by the interference of the weaker sex. The men, however tired of fighting, are afraid of being considered as cowards if they should intimate a desire for peace. It is not becoming, say they, for a warrior, with the bloody weapon in his hand, to hold pacific language to his enemy. He must shew to the end a determined courage, and appear as ready and willing to fight as at the beginning of the contest. Neither, say they, is it proper, to threaten and to sue in the same breath, to hold the peace belt in one hand, and the tomahawk in the other; men's words, as well as their actions, should be of a piece, all good or all bad; for it is a fixed maxim of theirs, which they apply on all occasions, that good can

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* Loskiel, part I. ch. 10.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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never dwell with evil. They also think that a treaty produced by threats or by force, cannot be binding. With these dispositions, war would never have ceased among Indians, until the extermination of one or the other party, if the tender and compassionate sex had not come forward, and by their moving speeches persuaded the enraged combatants to bury their hatchets, and make peace with each other. On these occasions they were very eloquent, they would lament with great feeling the losses suffered on both sides, when there was not a warrior, perhaps, who had not lost a son, a brother or a friend. They would describe the sorrows of widowed wives, and, above all, of bereaved mothers. The pains of child-birth, the anxieties attending the progress of their sons from infancy to manhood, they had willingly and even cheerfully suffered; but after all these trials, how cruel was it for them to see those promising youths whom they had reared with so much care, fall victims to the rage of war, and a prey to a relentless enemy; to see them slaughtered on the field of battle, or put to death, as prisoners, by a protracted torture, in the midst of the most exquisite torments. The thought of such scenes made them curse their own existence, and shudder at the idea of bearing children. Then they would conjure the warriors by every thing that was dear to them, to take pity on the sufferings of their wives and helpless infants, to turn their faces once more towards their homes, families and friends, to forgive the wrongs suffered from each other, to lay aside their deadly weapons, and smoke together the pipe of amity and peace. They had given on both sides sufficient proofs of their courage; the contending nations were alike high minded and brave, and they must now embrace as friends those whom they had learned to respect as enemies. Speeches like these seldom failed of their intended effect, and the women, by this honourable function of peace-makers, were placed in a situation by no means undignified. It would

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

181 They certainly (I am here speaking of the men) show
577 a reverence for each other, which is visible on all occasions; they often meet for the purpose of conversation, and their sociability appears to be a recreation to them, a renewal of good fellowship. Their general principle, that good and bad cannot mingle or dwell together in one heart, and therefore must not come into contact, seems to be their guide on all occasions. So, likewise, when travelling, whether they are few, or many, they are cheerful, and resigned to the accidents which may befal them; never impatient, quarrelsome, or charging any one, or one another, with being in fault, or the occasion of what had happened; even though one should lose his all by the neglect or carelessness of the other, yet they will not fly into a passion, but patiently bear with the loss, thinking within themselves that such a one feels sorry enough already, and therefore it would be unreasonable to add to his pain. They judge with calmness
672 on all occasions, and decide with precision, or endeavour so to do, between an accident and a wilful act;—the *first* (they say) they are all liable to commit, and therefore it ought not to be noticed, or punished;—the *second* being a wilful or premeditated act, committed with a bad design, ought on the contrary to receive due punishment.

672 To illustrate this subject, I shall relate a few of the
682 cases of this description which have come within my knowledge. One morning early, an Indian came into the house of another who was yet abed, asking for the loan of his gun for a morning hunt, his own being out of repair; the owner readily consented, and said: "as my "gun is not loaded, you will have to take a few balls out "of your pouch!" In taking the gun down, it, however, by some accident went off, and lodged the contents in the owner's head, who was still lying on the bed, and now expired. The gun, it appeared, was loaded, though unknown to him, and the lock left in such a condition that by a touch it went off. A cry was heard from all sides

1 [Lenapian. See ca'l. 116/p. 348. - Aug 4st]

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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duct of this chief, and by his manly and resolute appearance, that they had not time to reflect upon what they should do, and before their astonishment was well over, the prisoner was out of their reach.

CHAPTER XIX.

WARS AND THE CAUSES WHICH LEAD TO THEM.

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IT is a fixed principle with the Indians, that evil cannot come out of good, that no friend will injure a friend, and, therefore, that whoever wrongs or does harm to another, is his ENEMY. As it is with individuals, so it is with nations, tribes and other independent associations of men. If they commit murder on another people, encroach on their lands, by making it a practice to come within their bounds and take the game from them, if they rob or steal from their hunting camps, or, in short, are guilty of any act of unjust aggression, they cannot be considered otherwise than as ENEMIES; they are declared to be such, and the aggrieved nation think themselves justifiable in punishing them. If murder has been perpetrated, revenge is taken in the same way. If a lesser injury has been done, a message is sent to the chief of the nation to which the wrong-doers belong, to enquire whether the act complained of was authorised, if not to give them warning not to permit the like thing to be done again. If theft or some other like offence has been committed, restitution is at the same time demanded, or such reparation as the case admits of, and the chiefs are de-

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

484 usually take some of the younger men along, who supply the larder during the journey by engaging in the chase. A journey is rarely hurried for usually it makes little difference whether they arrive at their destination a day late or not, and they are everywhere at home in the woods. They rarely leave camp early in the morning, wishing always to have a good meal before starting and sometimes they delay to mend their shoes. This inconveniences Europeans, who may be obliged to use the Indians as guides very much, especially when they are anxious to reach a certain place at a certain time. It is best policy, however, to accommodate oneself to the Indians, for admonition or remonstrance easily offends them and makes them act in a very contrary manner.

●577 Indians dislike having their evil conduct or acts uncovered and held up to them. They are able, however, in subtle fashion so to touch upon such subjects that the parties concerned will understand. This method they prefer, not wishing to offer an open affront. It has happened that one openly accused of an evil deed, murder or the like, has, in desperation, ended his life. They sometimes reveal secret things by means of dreams they pretend to have had when they do not wish to show from what source they have their information. Their desires and inclinations, likewise, they will reveal through pretended dreams, when they are ashamed to make these known directly; often they achieve their purposes in this manner. Chiefs occasionally receive a secret message which must be made known. They will say that at night, while sitting by the fire, some one rose out of the earth, handed over a string or belt of wampum and, whispering the message in their ears, disappeared again in the earth. In this fashion a message may go a hundred miles or more under the earth, coming to the surface where it was intended that it should, often at the fire of a chief of another nation. This happens when war is to be made but kept secret for the time being, the message, therefore, being very difficult to understand for any but the chief.

574 They are desirous of retaining the favor and friendship of other nations. When they receive visitors, therefore, the latter are shown all honor and entertained in the best possible way, in

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The herbalist, before using herbs previously gathered and dried, performs the same rite of smoking and prayer. If the plants are being gathered for future rather than for immediate use, an appeal is made to the Creator to bless the plants and render the remedies effective in curing the future ills of his grandchildren.

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The custom of offering prayers before the gathering and preparation of medicinal plants is not observed exclusively by the medicine men but is known to every Delaware. However, it was remarked that many fail to adhere to the ancient rite.

In observing Wi·tapanóxwe I was charmed by the delicate and reverential manner in which he handled the plants secured and arranged for this study. At this time he emphasized the idea of conservation, stating that one should gather only what was needed, and that vegetation in general should not be subjected to ruthless treatment.

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Purity means much to the conservative Delaware and so the pure plants, as taken from Mother Earth, must not be defiled. It is therefore important that in order to avoid contamination no metal should come in contact with plants that are to be used in the treatment of disease. Roots and plants are allowed to dry in the sun, its rays lending them added potency. In this connection it is considered highly beneficial for a convalescing person to lie directly in the sun, so that its strengthenings qualities may be transferred to him. After the process of curing, roots and leaves are prepared by crushing them in a non-metallic receptacle, a stone basin or a wooden mortar being used for the purpose.

[758]

[823]

The herbalist smokes and offers a prayer while the medicine is being prepared and is always careful to stir it in the same direction—from left to right. One should never blow upon the concoction to cool it; to do so would represent an affront to the spirit of the plant.

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The most able practioner will not treat himself when ill, nor a sick member of his family, but always calls upon the service of another.[14]

If an herbalist or sweat doctor, after diagnosing a case, feels that it is beyond his power to effect a cure, he will send the patient to another more capable of treating him successfully. Sometimes a sick person

[14] Zeisberger *(op. cit.* p. 25) "If one should know enough to help himself, being able to prepare *Beson*, and became ill, he will rarely treat himself, having the superstitious belief that what is prepared by himself will be of no benefit. Using what has been prepared by another, he believes, will bring relief."

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

10. Eclipses

JOHN JOHNSTON—The eclipses they suppose to be caused by one of the twelve subordinate Deities as an indication of war or some other calamity which they think will shortly come. 821

CAPTAIN PIPE—Eclipses are thus accounted for. Every man as he grows up is visited in his dreams by his tutelar deity in the form of a Bear, Wolf, Dog, Tree, Cornstalk, or any thing else which the imagination can conceive, and by the deity he is protected and governed through life. When he dies his protector assumes the mourning garb common to deities, and through his influence the eclipse of the Sun or Moon takes place in token of the excess of his grief. 787 776 765

CAPTAIN CHIPPS—In an eclipse, they suppose, the moon gets between the Sun and the Earth.

J. W. said that eclipses had meaning but would not say what. Likewise W. T.

14. Four cardinal points

Both J. W. and W. T. named the four cardinal points but thought of up and down as equivalent to them.

16. Meteors as indication of evil

JOHN JOHNSTON—Meteors: They suppose them to be ominous of something bad especially if any person takes notice of them and says see that star they think that person will not live long, but they suppose that if they fall to the ground they turn into that substance or ball generally known by the puffball which will by pressing emit a smoke, they are afraid of those balls. 821 787 [824]

CAPTAIN PIPE—The Meteors called shooting stars are thus described. Like the Sun and Moon the stars are brothers to the Indians, human beings, and subject to the frailties of man. When one of them begins to practice lying and fraud he is rejected by the others and obliged to fly from his companions to seek a place of refuge. [577]

J. W.—Meteors are a warning, forecast war etc. The place where the comet goes is the place where the battle or other catastrophe is going to occur. F. W.'s grandmother heard a great

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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During the intervals between the songs, or at least once every night, the principal rises from his seat and calls before him six or twelve persons (male) (generally the latter number) from the worshipers. He then delivers to the male servants a quantity of wampum in strings, corresponding to the number of persons called. With these the servants precede the chosen, who go out of the lodge and with their faces turned to the east, seat themselves upon their hams and commence a kind of howl, which they repeat in the same tone twelve times. They then return to the lodge with great solemnity, and take their places as usual. —As a kind of relaxation from the severer duties of the worship, these chosen men are directed by the principal to scatter a quantity of wampum in grains, upon the ground within the lodge. This is for the benefit of the servants, who are obliged to stand upon one leg and take it up with the thumb and finger, a slow method, affording amusement to the spectators. But this only occurs at the close of the night's worship and would be considered improper at any other time. Dancing is sometimes practiced at these assemblages and besides the employment of relating their dreams they are frequently addressed by the old men in exhortations to preserve these customs in their purity, to prolong their own existence by continuing the meetings, and to adore the author, the Great spirit.

Medicine

42. Diseases

To the list on the table Roger Williams adds toothache as one of the greatest afflictions of the Indians (Narragansets); J. W., mumps; W. L., small pox. E. R. said that rheumatism was introduced only recently.

54. Juggling tricks.

The so-called juggling tricks were used only when the patient was dangerously ill, according to John Johnston. These tricks, according to J. W., W. T., and W. L., were used only by the sweat doctors in diagnosing a complaint.

9: Kinietz E-4,5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

121. Cradle put in hammock 854

W. L. said that a cradleboard was formerly used but that his children were all raised in a cradle hammock, consisting of a cloth or piece of blanket, two ropes and two sticks. The ropes were suspended parallel, the edges of the blanket fastened to or around the ropes, and the sticks placed at the ends of the blanket to keep the ropes apart. 352

123. Any difference in treatment of legitimate and illegitimate children 848 [836]

W. T.—No difference because Delaware never had latter. Young folks did not play around—old folks watched them too close.

Marriage and Its Incidents

131. Courtship

Captain Chipps—Courtships are brief. If a man sees a woman whom he likes, he gives her presents, and persuades her to sleep with him. Should they be mutually pleased, they afterwards live together as man and wife. The consent of parents on the subject is seldom asked—although it is considered proper to consult parents on the subject. If a marriage is consummated as above, and the parents are displeased, they use their exertions to separate the young couple—they fail, however, for the newmarried couple elope, when the alarm is sounded. There is no ceremony of marriage but the above. 584 [936] [585]

E. R.—Both girls and boys were told to accept the first proposal they received. The old people kept telling them this and to show what might happen to them if they did not do this they told the following story. Once there was a girl who was very pretty, one boy after another wanted to marry her but she did not care much for any of them and would not listen to her old folks. Then one day when she was out in the woods she met a very handsome young stranger. She fell for him, and when he said he wanted to take her home with him, she agreed. He took her into a nearby hollow where he had a very nice home. He told his mother he had brought home a wife and she was very 584 577 539

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

584 glad. They settled down there and the girl was very contented.
●577 She had a nice home, a handsome husband who was an excellent
539 hunter, bringing in lots of game every day. Things went along like that for about a year. Then one morning when she woke up her husband was not there. She went outside and asked the old lady, who was cleaning up around the fire, sweeping the yard and so forth, if she knew where her son was. The old lady thought he was home and the girl went back in the house to look again. In the middle of the bed a great big bull snake was curled up. She screamed and ran outside and told the old lady. The old lady was mad and said, "So he is playing tricks again," and grabbing a stick of firewood, went inside and began to beat the snake saying "get up you lazy fellow." Her son came out of the house laughing and began to tease his wife, asking her if she was scared. She was so scared she could hardly talk to him. After breakfast during which he continued to tease her, he went off. The old lady then talked to the girl and told her that while she had been there a year, she would not be happy there any longer and that it would be better if she went home to her own people. She went back home after being away almost a year. Her folks were glad to see her. She was pregnant and after a while got sick. She went off in the wood by herself and was very sick. Two little boys were playing in the woods and saw her lie down by a big log. They watched her die and going near her saw little snakes crawling out of her mouth, nose, eyes and ears. When the boys told the old folks what they had seen, they went out and looked at the body. They did not know what to make of it all but thought that that was what came from rejecting the first proposal the girl received.

[754] His old folks told E. R. that they did not know just how it all happened but thought that one of the fellows the girl had turned down had used power to get the snake to marry the girl and also used power to deceive the girl's eyes into thinking she was seeing a man. E. R. says the old folks were glad the old days were gone and that there were no longer people who could do things like that. Also they were glad that the days were gone when a person had to do things according to rules whether they were right or wrong.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

643 and upright course of conduct, of good examples from the heads
666 of the nation etc. During the speech the speaker holds in his hand a belt of wampum, which he places around the neck of the chief, telling him, "now you have the speech, see that you keep it, and adhere to the advice contained in it."

CAPTAIN CHIPPS said that all the tribes elected the chief for the others, excluding from the election the tribe for whom the election is held. He also said that the principal chief was always from the Wolf tribe, but was elected by the other tribes. In view of his statements that the brother must be chosen over the nephew or son, and the nephew over the son, and that the chief could name his successor, it is possible that here he means the other tribes installed the new chief.

All four modern informants said that the council and the people in joint session elected the new chief.

ZEISBERGER said the election of a new chief was made by "the captains," by which it may be assumed that he meant the war chiefs.

225. Civil chief can be removed

643 CAPTAIN PIPE—As chiefs are elected by the will of the people, in the same manner they are removed from office. Not by direct accusation and trial however, for they are careful not to
● [577] arraign an individual publicly before the nation whether he be great or low, but by neglecting to invite him to councils or refusal to listen to or execute his orders. This being done by the aged and influential, whose motives are made known at proper times, the neglect becomes general, the people contemn his authority and he is gradually lowered down to the private station, whence he does not attempt to rise but by a long course of good conduct or by some extraordinary effort of genius or political intrigue by which he can overpower his enemies at a single movement.

228. Age of succession of chief

JOHN JOHNSTON—No particular age, it depends on the ability, information and qualifications of the persons.

[P. 37; A]

562 fulness, in comparison with the men, may
157 have been owing to the fact that they were much more restricted in childhood than their brothers. Nowhere in Delaware society was there the model of anyone
592 with coercive authority; neither mother nor
622 father ruled the roost at home in an
625 authoritarian sense, the sachems had no power to enforce their wishes, and there was no conception of a state with police
586 powers. Divorce was easy and frequent and could be initiated by either party simply leaving the other.[36] Supernatural
776 beings were not Jehovah-like Gods who regularly punished the wicked and rewarded the good; the Delaware reckoned rather with a supernatural guardian spirit who acted as a comrade and friend who would assist his mortal protege in critical passes. Shame and pride are more frequent themes than guilt and self-righteousness;
●577 Speck (referring to twentieth-century Oklahoma Delawares) says, "Spiritual purity . . . is not conditioned by ethical conduct, but rather . . . through the observance of taboo regulations prescribed by ancient rulings."[37]

155 It would seem to be a fair inference that
597 the Delaware often did not develop a strong authoritarian, coercive conscience; moral values (which certainly were recognized) did not possess an awesome, mosaic character; "good" and "bad" had a light affective tone.

114 Zeisberger, who as a Moravian believed
626 in less discipline and autocracy than was fashionable in eighteenth century Europe, was still puzzled as to how a society without authority could hold together. "Judged by the mere appearance of the Indians," he wrote, "one is surprised how modest and careful they are in relation to each other and imagines that the whites, if they were as free a people and had neither government nor punishment to fear, would not
626 be as united and peaceable as the Indians appear to be."[38] This superficial smooth-

36. Heckewelder, 1819, p. 134; Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 20-21.
37. Speck, 1931, p. 51.
38. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 122.

[+ 56(B)]

775 have a bodily form. It is a journey of 12 days from earth to Heaven after death.
[177] They believe as do the Iroquois, that the soul does not leave the body finally at death, but that it revisits the body for a few days before it takes its final departure. For this
[764] reason, as Adams says, they bury on scaffolds in the trees, and in a sitting position near the surface of the earth. Last year he made a coffin for an Indian, and his friends made him bore a hole in the head of the coffin, the object of which being to allow the spirit free egress and regress to and from the body.

Heaven is a place of rest. They follow up the path, and the first stopping place is a place where they find a supply of vermilion or red paint. They cannot pass this place without painting their faces. If they have been accustomed to paint on earth, the paint will readily adhere, unless they have been very wicked, and then they pass on without delay. But if not used to painting, or if they have been very wicked, the paint will not adhere, and thus they are detained at this place until the Evil Spirit removes them to a place of punishment.

775 They say there are seven points of good
577 and evil. If the deceased has four of the points of good in his favor, or more, he is sure to pass on to heaven, but if there [are] four or more bad, he cannot go to heaven but must be placed in a place of misery and unhappiness where he is punished according to his evil deeds. If he was accustomed to paint, it will be more apt to stick, and that is all that is claimed for this meritorious act. There is a second stopping place on the way where the selfish and covetous are surrounded and burned up in the article [on which] they set their store upon earth, and thus are kept out of heaven. They
775 825 have a belief that mosquitoes sprang up out

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

578 They are not quarrelsome, and are always on their guard, so as not to offend each other. When one supposes himself hurt or aggrieved by a word which has inadvertently fallen from the mouth of another, he will say to him: "Friend, you have caused me to become jealous of you," (meaning that he begins to doubt the sincerity of his friendship,) when the other explaining and saying that he had no bad intention, all is done away again.

They do not fight with each other; they say that fighting is only for dogs and beasts. They are, however, 522 fond of play, and passing a joke, yet very careful that they do not offend.

They are ingenious in making satirical observations, which though they create laughter, do not, or but seldom give offence. For instance, seeing a bad hunter going out into the woods with his gun, they will ask him if he is going out for meat? or say to one another: "now we shall have meat, for such a one is gone a hunting," (not believing any such thing.) If they see a coward joining a war party, they will ask him ironically at what time he intends to come back again? (knowing that he will return before he has met the enemy,) or they will say to one another: "will he return this way with his scalps?"

Genuine wit, which one would hardly expect to find in a savage people, is not unfrequent among them. I have heard them, for instance, compare the English and 522 American nations to a pair of scissors, an instrument 648 composed of two sharp edged knives exactly alike, working against each other for the same purpose, that of *cutting*. By the construction of this instrument, they said, it would appear as if in shutting, these two sharp knives would strike together and destroy each other's edges; but no such thing: they only cut *what comes between them*. And thus the English and Americans do when they go to war against one another. It is not each

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

"All *Pengees!*"—Then, probably observing me, he said correcting himself, "No! one *Quækel.*" 648 551

Such are the observations which the Indians make on the white people, and the names which they give to them. They may sometimes be in the wrong; but, as they make it their particular study to become acquainted with the actions, motions, deportment and dress of the different nations, they seldom commit mistakes, and in general, they apply their different names precisely to those whom they are meant to designate or describe.

CHAPTER XIV.

INTERCOURSE WITH EACH OTHER.

IT is a striking fact, that the Indians, in their uncivilised state, should so behave towards each other as though they were a civilised people! I have in numerous instances witnessed their meeting together, their doing business and conversing with each other for hours, their labouring together, and their hunting and fishing in bodies or parties; I have seen them divide their game, venison, bear's meat, fish, &c. among themselves, when they sometimes had many shares to make, and cannot recollect a single instance of their falling into a dispute or finding fault with the distribution, as being unequal, or otherwise objectionable. On the contrary, on such occasions they even receive what is allotted to them with thanks; they say "*anischi,*" I am thankful! as if it was a present given to them. 181 [578]

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

pressed a great desire for a mess of Indian corn. Her husband having heard that a trader at Lower Sandusky had a little, set off on horseback for that place, one hundred miles distant, and returned with as much corn as filled the crown of his hat, for which he gave his horse in exchange, and came home on foot, bringing his saddle back with him. Squirrels, ducks, and other like delicacies, when most difficult to be obtained, are what women in the first stage of their pregnancy generally long for. The husband in every such case will go out and spare no pains nor trouble until he has procured what is wanted.

In other cases, the men and their wives do not in general trouble themselves with each other's business; but the wife, knowing that the father is very fond of his children, is always prepared to tell him some diverting anecdote of one or the other of them, especially if he has been absent for some time.

It very seldom happens that a man condescends to quarrel with his wife, or abuse her, though she has given him just cause. In such a case the man, without replying, or saying a single word, will take his gun and go into the woods, and remain there a week or perhaps a fortnight, living on the meat he has killed, before he returns home again; well knowing that he cannot inflict a greater punishment on his wife for her conduct to him than by absenting himself for a while; for she is not only kept in suspense, uncertain whether he will return again, but is soon reported as a bad and quarrelsome woman; for, as on those occasions, the man does not tell his wife on what day or at what time he will be back again, which he otherwise, when they are on good terms, never neglects to do, she is at once put to shame by her neighbours, who soon suspecting something, do not fail to put such questions to her, as she either cannot, or is ashamed to answer. When he at length does return, she endeavours to let him see by her attentions, that she has

l:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

593 repented, though neither speak to each other a single
578 word on the subject of what has passed. And as his children, if he has any, will on his return hang about him and soothe him with their caresses, he is, on their account, ready to forgive, or at least to say nothing unpleasant to their mother. She has, however, received by this a solemn warning, and must take care how she behaves in future, lest the next time her husband should stay away altogether and take another wife. It is very probable, that if at this time they had had no children, he would have left her, but then he would have taken his property with him at the same time.

593 On the return of an Indian from a journey, or long ab-
576 sence, he will on entering the house, say, "I am return-
484 ed!" to which his wife will reply, "I rejoice!" and having cast his eyes around, he will enquire, whether all the children are well, when being answered in the affirmative, he replies, "I am glad!" which for the present is all the conversation that passes between them; nor does he relate any thing at this present time that occurred on his journey, but holds himself in readiness to partake of the nourishment which his wife is preparing for him. After a while, when the men of the village have assembled at his house, his wife, with the rest, hears his story at full length.

584 *Marriages* are proposed and concluded in different ways. The parents on both sides, having observed an attachment between two young persons, negotiate for them. This generally commences from the house where the bridegroom lives, whose mother is the negotiatrix for him, and begins her duties by taking a good leg of venison, or bear's meat, or something else of the same kind, to the house where the bride dwells, not forgetting to mention, that her son has killed it: in return for this the mother of the bride, if she otherwise approves of the match, which she well understands by the presents to be intended, will prepare a good dish of victuals, the pro-

9 [Lenaelan. See cat. 116, p. 348, —Analyst]

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7
Huron NG5
Shawnee NN17

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for in a few words, and in less than five minutes, he shewed him at once the contrast between great actions briefly and modestly told, and every day occurrences related and dwelt on with pompous minuteness. This contrast, indeed, was particularly striking, the more so as the modest warrior did not seem to enjoy his triumph, nor to be even conscious of the accession to his fame which must result from the publicity of the account which he had given. As both parties spoke the Shawano language, I well understood every thing they said, and I paid the most particular attention to their discourse, which was of itself sufficiently interesting.

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This passion of the Indians, which I have called *pride*, but which might, perhaps, be better denominated *high-mindedness*, is generally combined with a great sense of honour, and not seldom produces actions of the most heroic kind. I am now going to relate an instance of this honourable pride, which I have also witnessed. An Indian of the Lenape nation, who was considered as a very dangerous person, and was much dreaded on that account, had publicly declared that as soon as another Indian, who was then gone to Sandusky, should return from thence, he would certainly kill him. This dangerous Indian called in one day at my house on the Muskingum to ask me for some tobacco. While this unwelcome guest was smoking his pipe by my fire, behold! the other Indian whom he had threatened to kill, and who at that moment had just arrived, also entered the house. I was much frightened, as I feared the bad Indian would take that opportunity to carry his threat into execution, and that my house would be made the scene of a horrid murder. I walked to the door, in order not to witness a crime that I could not prevent, when to my great astonishment I heard the Indian whom I thought in danger, address the other in these words: "Uncle, you have "threatened to kill me—you have declared that you

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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"would do it the first time we should meet. Now I am "here, and we are together. Am I to take it for granted that you are in earnest, and that you are really determined to take my life as you have declared? Am "I now to consider you as my avowed enemy, and in "order to secure my own life against your murderous "designs, to be the first to strike you and embrue "my hands in your blood?—I will not, I cannot do it. "Your heart is bad, it is true, but still you appear to be "a generous foe, for you gave me notice of what you "intended to do; you have put me on my guard, and did "not attempt to assassinate me by surprise; I, therefore, will spare you until you lift up your arm to strike, "and then, uncle, it will be seen which of us shall fall!" The murderer was thunderstruck, and without replying a word, slunk off and left the house.

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The anecdote with which I am going to conclude this chapter, will display an act of heroism produced by this elevation of mind which I have called *pride*, which, perhaps, may have been equalled, but, I dare say, was hardly ever surpassed. In the spring of the year 1782, the war chief of the Wyandots of Lower Sandusky sent a white prisoner (a young man whom he had taken at Fort M'Intosh) as a present to another chief, who was called the *Half-king* of Upper Sandusky, for the purpose of being adopted into his family, in the place of one of his sons, who had been killed the preceding year, while at war with the people on the Ohio. The prisoner arrived, and was presented to the Half-king's wife, but she refused to receive him, which, according to the Indian rule, was, in fact, a sentence of death. The young man was, therefore, taken away, for the purpose of being tortured and burnt on the pile. While the dreadful preparations were making near the village, the unhappy victim being already tied to the stake, and the Indians arriving from all quarters to join in the cruel act or to witness it, two

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7

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final day of the ceremony. At the time of the wartime meetings there were no women left who had had visions. Perhaps this is why they were called upon to offer prayers instead.

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There was friction in at least one of the meetings since the leader, J.W., sold the scarce, virtually sacred wampum donated by other Delawares. The people who purchased the wampum were frequently strangers or curiosity seekers; they were seldom donors. Friction also occurred when some peyotists prayed in their fashion. One individual said of this friction:

> Ben Hill asked people to get up and pray — to pray to the fire. Nobody did for awhile so I got up. I prayed like a white preacher does, but in Indian. I prayed to the fire, and asked that all the boys be returned safely. I prayed that my boy would come back safe. I went on praying and I got to crying. Then I sat down. Then E. J. got up and prayed the same way, then a man. After that T.M. got up and said he didn't believe you could pray that way in this meeting. I felt so funny, I was crushed. I didn't go back after that. (O.A.)

[206]

The form of prayer that O.A. described is common in the local version of the Big Moon peyote cult, with the exception that in the peyote ceremony the prayer is accompanied by the smoking of a Bull Durham cornhusk cigarette.

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Even with what little is known about the wartime Big House ceremonies it is plain that they were more a reflection of the old rites than a faithful duplication of them. They lasted twelve days, visions were recited, some venison was eaten, but in almost every other respect they were changed. The few young people who attended did not know where to sit; even if they knew their phratry membership they probably did not know where that phratry belonged in the meeting house. The arbor was a poor substitute for the log Big House; there was room for only one fire, and the carved heads were missing. There could be no hunt for deer, because there were no deer. In one meeting O.A. persuaded a rancher to contribute a deer, but it was impossible to feed the participants for twelve days with one deer.

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After 1924 the Big House Ceremony withered away. It was briefly revived because of the stimulus of the second world war, but this revival was only a dim reflection of the original ceremony. Joe Washington and Ben Hill, the spark plugs of the wartime meetings, are dead. The few remaining participants who are familiar with the ritual are old and are not imparting their knowledge to others; and many Delawares who formerly participated have focused their attentions on the peyote cult. Informants gave two reasons why they preferred peyotism to the traditional religious forms: first, peyotism is cheap, but in the Big House Ceremony the "Bringer-in" is primarily responsible for the cost which in 1930 was one hundred and fifty dollars.[8] In a peyote meeting the cost is negligible in comparison and is often shared by the participants. Second, only Delawares can participate in the Big House Ceremony, and individual Delawares often have only a few Delaware friends,

[8]Speck, 1931, p. 24.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7
Shawnee NN17

D 411

The Delaware Indians use no other than rifle-barrelled guns, having satisfied themselves that these are the best for shooting at long range, in which they are very skillful and shooting accurately. They have acquired considerable skill in making minor repairs when their weapons get out of order. Some have even learned to furnish them with stocks, neatly and well made. An Indian really intent on making something will not spare pains or time in accomplishing his purpose even when he has not seen the thing made and takes great pride in the work of his hands. Among nations living farther inland the rifle-barrelled guns are rare and muskets are more commonly found, often in very poor condition, except among the Shawanose [Shawanese] who know and value the rifle-barrelled gun. S [411]

D 586

It occurs to me to add that when a man and his wife have no children, they generally separate before long, each believing the other to be the guilty cause, and attributing it to the other. There are also women who never have children. Such a one goes from one man to another until some man who has children already takes her. There are men also who never have children. In both sexes, however, these cases are rare.

D 578

Cursing and swearing are never heard among the Indians; they have no words of this character in their language. If women or men would berate one another — rarely the case among men, except in case of the younger, more frequent among women — they direct words and speeches at one another which would not be considered terrible by other people but are very seriously taken by the Indians. If they would revile one another in extremest fashion, they use some obscene expressions.

D 854 [482]

Mothers carry the children on their backs under the blanket. They do this even when the children are five years old and over, for they love their children. In former days it was the custom to bind the child upon a board which was carried by means of a band fastened round the head in such a way that the child was suspended on the back in an upright position. This practice gets more and more out of fashion, for the reason that it has been the cause of miserable death of the children. It was customary that children thus fastened were placed against a bench or elsewhere,

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

next period, however, Johnston and Chipps said that the men and women shared the labor of moving and pitching camp. In the fourth period W. L. was again the only one to place the responsibility on the women.

The husband did not strike his wife frequently, if at all, according to all the information gathered (283). Johnston and Chipps said that he might do so if she were ill-tempered or refractory (284). The modern informants denied this as a just cause, although E. R. said that it was up to the husband to punish his wife if she broke a rule.

Food, Mode of Living, etc.

Heckewelder said that the Delaware, Mahicans, and Shawnee were all very particular in their choice of meats and that nothing short of the most pressing hunger could induce them to eat of certain animals, such as the horse, dog, wildcat, panther, fox, muskrat, or wolf, all of which he had several times seen the Chippewa eat with a good appetite (288-91)." J. W. said that opossum, wolf, dog, woodchuck, snake, crow, hawk, owl, eagle, and, in fact, most fowls were not eaten. W. L. also said that opossum, muskrat, and several kinds of birds were not eaten. Apparently the symbols of the three tribal divisions, turtle, turkey and wolf, were not taboo for that reason, for only the last one was included on any list. The totems of the extinct subdivisions may have been taboo. This is true of the opossum which was most frequently mentioned as not being eaten and it was the name of one of the subdivisions. However, the Delaware regard the opossum as endowed with supernatural powers and in the nature of a trickster and have many stories that evince this attitude.

There seems to have been no taboos on vegetables eaten (292-98). Corn was the principal item cultivated. It was supplemented by the usual beans and squashes, and later vegetables introduced by the whites were also cultivated. Wild or ground potatoes and other less important wild products were gathered. The

"Heckewelder, *History, Manners, and Customs of the Indian Nations*, p. 196.

[P. 38, 8]

154 rein these are the more violent."[51] Warfare
[721] provided a socially approved way of bleeding off some of these aggressions, for the warriors; and the institution of torture
154 gave the rest of the community a similar
727 opportunity. "The Indians flock to these executions as to some great solemnity, with a view to reeking on the unfortunate
154 captive their cruel and revengeful dis-
627 position."[52] The institution of blood-revenge[53] (which sometimes led to prolonged vendetta) was also an outlet for aggression; but the fear of its exercise no doubt served also to inhibit it. In
154 hunting, males could work off aggression
224 on animals, which were conceptualized as quasi-human. It is worth noting that among women, who had a more restricted
154 childhood and who at the same time had
521 fewer socially sanctioned outlets for
562 aggression, the overflow dribbled off in unpleasant gossip and slander, which the men, who had other means of catharsis, professed to scorn.[54]

154 All observers agreed that liquor dis-
273 solved the inhibitions against aggression. "The effects which intoxication produces
578 upon the Indians are dreadful," lamented Heckewelder. "It has been the cause of an infinite number of murders among them, besides biting off noses and otherwise disfiguring each other, which are the least consequences of the quarrels which inebriation produces between them."[55] As might be expected, therefore, Indian spokesmen frequently—and in vain—implored the whites to cease bringing liquor into their settlements.

Summary

127 From an examination of the early ethnological literature concerning the Delaware Indians, we have been able to discover some of their psychological
855 characteristics. The Delawares would seem in general to have been a people among whom the children grew up

51. Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 124-125.
52. Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 106-107.
53. Penn, 1683.
54. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 116.
55. Heckewelder, 1819, p. 263.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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first, then they go on in rotation and in order of seniority, the drum beating all the time, as it were to give to the relation the greater appearance of reality. After each has made a short recital in his turn, they begin again in the same order, and so continue going the rounds, in a kind of alternate chaunting, until every one has concluded. On these occasions, great care must be taken not to give offence by affecting superiority over the others, for every warrior feels his own consequence, and is ready, if insulted, to shew by his actions, what he has performed in war and is still able to do. I well remember an instance of the kind, when an insulted warrior stepped out of the circle in which he was dancing, and struck dead the impudent boaster who had offended him.

Their songs are in general of the warlike or of the tender and pathetic kind. They are sung in short sentences, not without some kind of measure, harmonious to an Indian ear. The music is well adapted to the words, and to me is not unpleasing. I would not attempt to give an idea of it by means of our musical notes, as has been done by other writers, lest I should be as unsuccessful as those who have tried in the same manner to describe the melodies of the ancient Greeks. It would be well if I could describe at one and the same time the whole combination of effects which acted upon my ear, but it is vain to endeavour to do it partially. It is, indeed, much the same with their poetry; yet I cannot resist the temptation of translating as well as I can, the words of the Lenape's song, when they go out to war. They sing it, as I give it here, in short lines or sentences, not always the whole at one time, but most generally in detached parts, as time permits and as the occasion or their feelings prompt them. Their accent is very pathetic, and the whole, in their language, produces considerable effect.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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and due allowance, of the hardships attendant on savage life. Therefore they are not only voluntarily, but cheerfully submitted to; and as women are not obliged to live with their husbands any longer than suits their pleasure or convenience, it cannot be supposed that they would submit to be loaded with unjust or unequal burdens.

Marriages among the Indians are not, as with us, contracted for life; it is understood on both sides that the parties are not to live together any longer than they shall be pleased with each other. The husband may put away his wife whenever he pleases, and the woman may in like manner abandon her husband. Therefore the connexion is not attended with any vows, promises or ceremonies of any kind. An Indian takes a wife as it were on trial, determined, however, in his own mind not to forsake her if she behaves well, and particularly if he has children by her. The woman, sensible of this, does on her part every thing in her power to please her husband, particularly if he is a good hunter or trapper, capable of maintaining her by his skill and industry, and protecting her by his strength and courage.

When a marriage takes place, the duties and labours incumbent on each party are well known to both. It is understood that the husband is to build a house for them to dwell in, to find the necessary implements of husbandry, as axes, hoes, &c. to provide a canoe, and also dishes, bowls, and other necessary vessels for house-keeping. The woman generally has a kettle or two, and some other articles of kitchen furniture, which she brings with her. The husband, as master of the family, considers himself bound to support it by his bodily exertions, as hunting, trapping, &c.; the woman, as his *help-mate*, takes upon herself the labours of the field, and is far from considering them as more important than those to which her husband is subjected, being well satisfied that with his gun and traps he can maintain a family in any place where game is to be found: nor do they think it any hardship imposed upon them; for they themselves say, that

[P.34, 8]

581 Divorce and family instability were
586 common; many children were raised by
mother surrogates. "Owing to instability
of the family relationship, children are
581 often neglected."[9] The father was absent,
855 hunting, fishing, fighting, trading, or
attending treaties during most of the year;
what discipline there was fell to the hand
of the mother, who was considered to
796 "own" the children.[10] During one of the
861 annual calendar of ceremonies, young
children were chased by a man dressed in
a bear-skin, who threatened to punish them
for misdeeds (of which the parents kept
him informed from year to year) by carry-
ing them away in a bag full of snakes.[11]
[776] This "Mask Spirit" was considered to be
the "Guardian of the Game" and also
promoted the fertility of the corn; in other
words, was the symbol of the food pro-
955 vider.[12] The boys were able to escape from
the mother's supervision as soon as they
were able to get about to play at hunting
and fighting; but the girls were kept around
754 the house to help the mother at work.[13]
When a child died, an old woman was
often accused of having bewitched it.[14]

155 It would seem that the mother-figure
593 remained a symbol of possible delights
which could not be secured on demand, a
symbol of diffused frustration, of withheld
benefits and hidden hostility, to the
Delaware, and the source of his generalized,
if inhibited, aggressiveness; and that the
father-figure stood on the horizon, so to
speak, as a powerful, friendly being, but
one too remote and too aloof to be depended
upon.

Emotional Attachments in Maturity

584 The ideal in marriage was for a young
man to fall in love with a girl. His family
would present his suit; she would accept
[585] him by accepting the presents he sent, and
come to live with him; and they would live
happily and faithfully ever after. The

9. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 21.
10. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 14.
11. Harrington, 1938, pp. 52-53, 113.
12. Ibid.; Harrington, 1921.
13. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 16.
14. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 128.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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very aged men and women were seen among them, some of whom thought they had lived about one hundred years. They frequently told me and others that when they were young men, their people did not marry so early as they did since, that even at twenty they were called boys and durst not wear a breech-cloth, as the men did at that time, but had only a small bit of a skin hanging before them. Neither, did they say, were they subject to so many disorders as in later times, and many of them calculated on dying of old age. But since that time a great change has taken place in the constitution of those Indians who live nearest to the whites. By the introduction of ardent spirits among them, they have been led into vices which have brought on disorders which they say were unknown before; their blood became corrupted by a shameful complaint, which the Europeans pretend to have received from the original inhabitants of America, while these say they had never known or heard of it until the Europeans came among them. Now the Indians are infected with it to a great degree; children frequently inherit it from their parents, and after lingering for a few years at last die victims to this poison.

Those Indians who have not adopted the vices of the white people live to a good age, from 70 to 90. Few arrive at the age of one hundred years. The women, in general, live longer than the men.

The Indians do not appear to be more or less exempt than the whites from the common infirmities of old age. I have known old men among them who had lost their memory, their sight, and their teeth. I have also seen them at eighty in their second childhood and not able to help themselves.

The Indian women are not in general so prolific as those of the white race. I imagine this defect is owing to the vicious and dissolute life they lead since the introduction of spirituous liquors. Among our Christian Indians, we have had a couple who had been

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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881 and guards her so that none may see her... she is also kept within the hut the whole of the menstrual period, with the blanket over her head...,[46]

De Vries also noted that these girls hid behind a garment "which they throw over their body drawing it over the head so that one can barely [783] see their *eyes*."[47] The emphasis during menstruation was on uncleanliness and the necessity of isolation from society.[48] A girl could not touch her hair during her first isolation, food was eaten with a stick, and no meat was eaten.[49] In the last century, and perhaps earlier, a girl could not look in a mirror or talk to people (N.D.). At the end of the seclusion the girl's mother washed her hair, bathed her, and gave her new clothes. The idea was impressed upon the girl that she was now a woman and was henceforth to give up the toys and activities of childhood.[50] The same general restrictions applied to menstruating women.[51]

836 Little is known about premarital chastity in early historic times.
548 Denton said, however: "Any maid before she is married doth lie with whom she please for money without any scandal, or the least aspersion to be cast upon her it being so customary, & their laws tolerating it."[52]

Marriage

582 After the boys had proved themselves to be adequate hunters and the girls had passed through their first seclusion, they were considered
884 ready for marriage. This took place at about the age of seventeen or eighteen for boys and thirteen or fourteen for girls.[53] A girl showed her marriageability by wearing some sort of headpiece and by modestly covering the face with a portion of clothing when in public.[54] De Vries [301] said further that girls "deck themselves with a quantity of zeewan [wampum] upon the body, head and neck; they then go and sit in some place, in company with some squaws, showing that they are up for a bargain."[55]

584 Several different ways of arranging marriages and several types of marriage ceremony have been recorded for the Delawares. Some of this variety was probably due to diffusion from other Indian cultures or from Euro-American civilization, but it was also possible that there were variations among the diverse Delawaran peoples. Four seventeenth-century sources stated that girls were courted with wampum.[56] In later times, at least, relatives or go-betweens arranged the marriage. According to Heckewelder the prospective bridegroom's mother usually initiated the negotiations; according to Trowbridge the father of the

[46] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 77.
[47] De Vries, 1909, p. 218; also Loskiel, 1794, p. 56.
[48] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 77; N.D., G.A.
[49] Penn, 1912, p. 232.
[50] N.D. See section on Mythology in Chap. IV for an account of a girl who refused to part with her dolls.
[51] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 77.
[52] Denton, 1845, p. 9.
[53] Penn, 1912, p. 231; Holm, 1834, pp. 127-28; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 75; Loskiel, 1794, p. 63.
[54] De Vries, 1909, p. 218; Pastorius, 1912, p. 434; Penn, 1912, p. 231.
[55] De Vries, 1909, p. 218.
[56] *Ibid.*; De Rasieres, 1909, p. 106; Denton, 1845, p. 9; Van der Donck, 1909, p. 202.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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The clans seem to have been territorial units of a loose sort. The family hunting territories were grouped together (See Chap. II) into larger "communal territories." These larger geographical units should probably be equated with the clans. The numerous small settlements were probably inhabited by subdivisions of the clans, either maternal lineages or extended families. It is possible that several different clan units, or subunits, inhabited these settlements, but it seems more likely, on the basis of their size, that this was not so. Men probably sought wives in nearby villages. If this was true, or if there was village endogamy because several clans occupied one village, then men could continue to hunt in their maternally inherited hunting territories. Even if this was not so, it seems entirely possible that in a relatively short space of time men could become well enough acquainted with a wife's hunting territory to be able to hunt there effectively.

Matrilineally related women communally tilled their outlying garden plots. In addition to co-operation in subsistence activities and mutual aid in general, clan members "were theoretically supposed to avenge the death of one of their number, or, in case of a kinsman's forfeiting his right to live through the murder of a member of another lineage, to buy back his life by the payment of blood money."[130] The leading matron of the clan was termed "chiefmaker,"[131] since it was she who could remove and appoint, within the rules of inheritance, the clan chief or sachem. Clans were not totemic, but were named for some "peculiarity of their ancestors or from some locality once frequented by them."[132] L.H. Morgan, the first investigator to list them, said that each clan was "composed of twelve subgentes, each having some of the attributes of a gens."[133] Morgan's "subgentes" are herein reproduced:[134]

1. Wolf. Took'-seat

1. Mĭ-an'-greet, Big Feet
2. Wee-sow-het'-ko, Yellow Tree
3. Pĭ-sa-kun-ĭ'-mon, Pulling Corn
4. We-yar-nih'-kĭ-to, Care Enterer
5. Toosh-war-ka'-ma, Across the River
6. O-lum'-a-ne, Vermilion
7. Pun-ar'-you, Dog standing by Fireside
8. Kwin-eek'cha, Long Body
9. Moon-har-tar'ne, Digging
10. Non-har'-min, Pulling up Stream
11. Long-ush-har-kar'-to, Brush Log
12. Maw-soo-toh', Bringing Along

2. Turtle. Poke-koo-un'go

1. O-ka-ho'-ki, Ruler
2. Ta-ko-ong'-o-to, High Bank Shore
3. See-har-ong'-o-to, Drawing down Hill
4. Ole-har-kar-me'kar-to, Elector
5. Mĭ-har-o-luk'-ti, Brave
6. Toosh-ki-pa-kwis-i, Green Leaves
7. Tung-ul-ung'-si, Smallest Turtle
8. We-lun-ĭng-sil, Little Turtle
9. Lee-kwin-ĭ-i', Snapping Turtle
10. Kwis-aese-kees'-to, Deer

The two remaining subgentes are extinct.

3. Turkey. Pul-is'-ook

1. Mo-har-ĭ'-lĭ, Big Bird
7. Tong-o-nĭ'-o-to, Drift Log

[130] Wallace, 1949, p. 8
[131] *Ibid.*
[132] Harrington, 1913, p. 210.
[133] Morgan, 1877, p. 171.
[134] *Ibid.*, p. 172.

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614 2. Le-le-wa'-you, Bird's Cry
3. Moo-kwung-wa-ho'-ki, Eye Pain
4. Moo-har-mo-wi-kar'-au, Scratch the Path
5. O-ping-ho'-ki, Opossum Ground
6. Muh-ho-we-ki'-ken, Old Skin
8. Nool-i-mar-lar'-mo, Living in Water
9. Muh-krent-har'-ne, Root Digger
10. Mur-karm-huk-se, Red Face
11. Koo-wi-ho'ke, Pine Region
12. Oo-ckuk'-ham, Ground Scratcher

Harrington in 1913 found some of these clans still in existence in Canada. He added two that could not be associated with any of Morgan's. They were Mun'hat ko wi of the Turkey phratry and All 'ke, of the Wolf phratry.[133] There is no knowledge or memory of the clans today in Oklahoma.

614 615 Each clan was a member of one of the three phratries (Morgan's gentes), and phratry membership was a consequence of clan membership. Many of the clan names were obviously associated in meaning with their phratry: "Ground Scratcher" with Turkey phratry, "Snapping Turtle" with Turtle phratry, to give but two examples. No mention was made of the three phratries in the literature of the seventeenth century. Since the phratries had no political functions in the early period, Europeans probably did not come in contact with them. It seems unlikely that the association of every clan with a phratry in historic times represented the early pattern, when the social diversity and the spatial dispersion of the pretribal Delawares is considered. What it was like is unknown, although a looser, more informal association, probably with fewer clans in a phratry, might be postulated. As remnant peoples joined the tribe, they probably were considered kinship units, thus swelling the number of clans. In some fashion they became associated with one or another of the phratries.

615 [622] [582] In the eighteenth century phratry heads became political leaders of the Delaware tribe. This development is discussed further under Acculturation. The phratries were exogamous, at least in later historic times, since Morgan said that "in old times no man was allowed to marry a woman of his own tribe [phratry] and it was the law until within the last generation...."[134] The three phratries were totemic units named for qualities of animals rather than for the animals themselves. The Tuksit were named for a quality of the wolf, "round foot," the Pilsa for a quality or attribute of the turkey, "don't chew," and the Pokuwango for the slow characteristics of the turtle, "crawling" or "dragging along."[135] For the sake of brevity, however, I shall continue the usage initiated by Morgan and refer to these groups as Wolf, Turkey, and Turtle.

The primary function of the phratries was ceremonial: "In ceremonial rites they each enjoy special privileges, have allotted duties to perform, segregated places of seating, the animal emblem as a name signature in common, and their own chiefs and council of three."[136] According to Harrington each phratry had a paramount leader, who had rather limited

[133] Harrington, 1913, p. 210.
[134] Morgan, 1859, MS.
[135] Harrington, 1913, p. 210; O.A., J.T.
[136] Speck, 1931, p. 76.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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conservative, distrustful of whites, and, in general, less acculturated than others who are young, literate, moderately educated, progressive, and well assimilated. There is an antipeyote faction, and even within the peyote faction there is a schism between the Big Moon and Little Moon adherents. These various factions promote discord, so much so that any unified tribal activity is virtually impossible. The Delawares are, then, no longer a distinct social group. Delaware society has disappeared, although allegiance to a number of the ancient culture traits lingers.

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The most notable remnant of socioreligious organization still perpetuated by both Oklahoma Delaware communities is the phratry. Adults still acknowledge membership in one or more of the phratries. Membership was originally determined by descent in the female line, but this is no longer true; a person inherits membership in both his mother's and father's phratry, so that many individuals consider themselves to be "half and half." An individual can belong to no more than two of the three phratries. Consequently, it is apparent that if this method of reckoning membership is carried on for many generations most people will belong to two of the three phratries. There is no memory of any other system of reckoning membership. Obviously, the shift in the method of determining phratry membership has been caused by the emphasis on the paternal line in American society. At least among the Cherokee-Delawares the pressure has not been strong enough to shift the system from simple matrilineal reckoning all the way to patrilineal, as in our patronymics; it has gone but an illogical part way. Phratry membership originally depended upon clan ties, but there is no knowledge of them today in either Delaware community. The conclusion is inescapable that the clan organization disappeared before the Delawares left Kansas.

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An interesting factor contributing to the eventual extinction of Delaware culture and also to social heterogeneity is found in present marriage restrictions. It is considered incestuous for a person to marry anyone to whom he is related, however remotely. This means that in both Oklahoma communities the young Delaware boys and girls cannot marry other Delawares, since everybody is considered to be related to everyone else. Some of the feelings about this point were: "The young people are disgusted, can't find anybody they're not kin to" (O.A.). "We're disappearing as fast as we can 'cause we got nobody to marry" (O.A.). "It's awful when you marry kinfolks" (M.B.). Briefly, one generation hence there will be no person who is more than half Delaware biologically, and probably none more than half sociologically. (This subject is taken up more fully under Pan-Indianism.) Within the last several decades the Delawares have taken to marrying legally and are completely assimilated in this respect.

Religious Assimilation

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Big House Ceremony.—Without a doubt the most tenacious and unchanging elements in Delaware culture, aside from language, have been

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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are of considerable importance to Cherokee-Delaware Pan-Indianism. They not only serve as a common meeting ground for Indians, but their effect reinforces membership and consciousness of membership in Indian society.

Contrary to what I had supposed, social clubs of various types were not an important factor in the development of Pan-Indianism among the Cherokee-Delawares. Not one person was ever found who belonged to any national Indian organization, such as the National Congress of American Indians. In fact, many people professed complete ignorance of such organizations. For this reason these formal Indian groups, which in a sense may be said to be lobbying for Indianism, have been disregarded here. In passing, it might be noted that these organizations are possibly some sort of concrete expression of this acculturative trend among other Indian groups. Informal social clubs have some bearing upon Cherokee-Delaware Pan-Indianism. A number of women at one time belonged to the Indian Women's Club, an intertribal extension club of Washington County, which holds monthly meetings, has rummage sales, luncheons, and the like. Significantly, proceeds of one rummage sale were sent to the Navaho. Membership in this organization has declined since the war and none of the women interviewed belonged to it. It should be emphasized that this organization was Indian in character and not tribal. There has never been a men's club.

Extratribal marriage is an important factor in Cherokee-Delaware Pan-Indianism and assimilation. The Cherokee-Delawares are at the present time tribally exogamous. The youngest all-Delaware marriage I could find was between a man of thirty-eight and a woman of thirty-five, and this seems to have been somewhat exceptional. Only three living couples were found in which both partners claimed to be entirely Delaware, although a number of old widows and widowers had had Delaware spouses. Marriage to Indians of other tribes is the usual custom, but marriage to whites is not uncommon. Cherokee-Delawares have married Comanches, Senecas, Shawnees, Cherokees, Creeks, Yuchis, Peorias, and undoubtedly Indians of other tribes. How the Indian parents in these mixed marriages classify their children is indicative of the feelings about Pan-Indianism. If parents are questioned about tribal affiliation of their children, they may simply reply without much thought, "Indian," or with a little thought they may say, "Yuchi-Creek-Delaware," or something similarly artificial. Occasionally, they will skirt the question by giving the tribe in which the children are enrolled by the government. The wholesale marriage of the younger generation of Delawares to Indians of other tribes must be considered an important influence in the growth of Pan-Indianism. On the other hand, the marriage of Delawares to whites naturally, perhaps inevitably, results in further culture loss and completed assimilation. This would be particularly true of the individual who marries a white person and moves to an all-white community. Those individuals who marry whites but remain in an Indian community have, of course, a much better opportunity to retain Indian ways, and white marriage partners may become participants in Indian

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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society. In one instance a Delaware woman's white husband has become a peyotist; he sings peyote songs and has served as fire chief in meetings.

The minority role and the consciousness of this standing on the part of the Cherokee-Delawares has also promoted Pan-Indianism. Discrimination against the Indians would presumably lead to feelings of isolation, persecution, and difference, perhaps greater than actually existed, and hence strengthen Pan-Indian society.[32] It is difficult, however, to assess the extent of discrimination against the Cherokee-Delawares. It is becoming increasingly difficult to recognize an Indian, whether on a racial or social basis. With the high incidence of past miscegenation, the high frequency of present-day mixed marriages, and the assimilation in dress, speech, and manners, a race bigot must have a high degree of perception to recognize and act against this minority. A number of tales of alleged discrimination were current in the community, but only one of these incidents (in rental housing) could be substantiated. Actual discrimination of any sort is probably rare, but there is a fairly widespread knowledge or belief that it exists. A universal awareness of past discrimination and exploitation and a knowledge of discrimination against Indians elsewhere are factors which encourage Pan-Indianism.

There are several other conditions which set the Cherokee-Delawares and other Indians apart as a minority group, and so contribute to Pan-Indianism. The Cherokee-Delawares have access to free services of government hospitals and schools, which in itself sets them apart from the whites. It also provides an opportunity for the Cherokee-Delawares to become well acquainted with Indians of other tribes. This is particularly true in schools where the association may be continued over a number of years. Government schools, however, are attended by the Cherokee-Delawares less frequently than formerly. Some of the attitudes of whites toward the Indian minority also serve to foster Pan-Indianism. To many an Oklahoman an Indian is an Indian, not a Cherokee, Kickapoo, or Delaware. The movies, the magazines, and other outlets of public information are constantly impressing upon him that he is an American Indian; no public agency impresses upon him the fact that he is a Delaware.[33] Many whites in Washington County were totally unaware that such a tribe as the Delaware existed. They were well aware, however, that there were many Indians in the county.

There are forces which hinder and oppose the development of Pan-Indianism, but it is difficult to assess many of them because they are of a negative and subjective nature. It is difficult to estimate, for instance, the pressure exerted by the dominant society for complete conformity. Whatever the extent of pressure for "100 per cent Americanism," it is not at present particularly noticeable; it seems instead that the Delawares are sufficiently assimilated linguistically, economically, and in

[32] Wirth, 1945, pp. 348-49, contains a pertinent discussion of this subject.

[33] Mead, 1932, pp. 67-68, noted these factors more than two decades ago.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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Shawnee NM17

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regard them but little. They do not seem to be ashamed of their vices. For this reason, Indians themselves declare that their condition grows worse from year to year. As there is neither law nor legal penalty among them, they have nothing to fear, except that an injured one may avenge himself in the manner in which he has been injured. If one has seduced the wife of another, the offended party will seek to seduce the wife of the offender. He will keep his purpose a secret and not rest until he has obtained satisfaction, when he makes known to others what he has done, so that the original offender may hear of it.

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D 881 [841] [145]

When, in a young female, the first menstrual discharge occurs, generally between the twelfth and sixteenth year, the Delawares generally separate such daughters from all companionship, the Monsies [Monseys] being more strict and having more ceremonies in the observance of the custom than the Miamis. They build for such a girl, separate hut, apart from the rest, where her mother or some old female acquaintance cares for her and guards her so that none may see her. Wherefore, she is also kept within the hut the whole of the menstrual period, with the blanket over her head. She is given little to eat, but regularly dosed with emetics. She is not allowed to do any work during the whole time, which generally lasts twelve days. At the end of the time, they bring her into her home, looking black, grimy and dishevelled, because she has been lying about in dust and ashes the whole time. Washed and dressed in new garments, she is allowed to be in the home, but required to wear a cap with a long shield, so that she can neither see any one readily, nor be seen. Such a covering she must wear for two months, at the end of which time she is informed that she may marry.

D [582] 292

I S 881 262

The Shavanose [Shawanese] and Mingoes, however, who observe much the same custom, follow a different course in this matter. The young woman in question is allowed to remain in the house. She prepares food for those in the house, of the corn and fruits she has raised. Of such food she does not, however, herself partake, but goes to her hut, apart from the others, and there prepares and eats her food.

D 841

Every month, during her menstrual period, a Delaware woman lives by herself in a separate hut, which is usually very

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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The children have entirely their own will and never do anything by compulsion. Told to do something they do not care about, the children let it go by default and are not reprimanded for it. Yet many wellbred children are found among them who pay great attention and respect to parents and do things to please them. They are courteous, even to strangers. They respond to mild treatment. The contrary generally produces bitterness, hatred and contempt. The women are frequently guilty of thus raising their children to anger, for the women are often ill-tempered. By way of punishment, they will pour water on the children or thrust them into the water. The parents are careful not to beat their children, lest the children might remember it and revenge themselves on some future occasion. Instances are not wanting where children when grown have reproached their parents for corporal punishment received in youth and have threatened to return the indignity.

Rarely does an Indian have two or more wives, being fearful of strife in the house. Blood relations do not marry; in this particular they are even more strict than the whites. They claim that division of the race into tribes came about in order to make it more readily certain that a man in taking a wife was not marrying a near relative. Concerning the tribes, however, more will be said in another connection. An instance of an Indian having married a mother and her daughter at the same time was a most extraordinary thing.

Families have from four to six children. More than this number is unusual. Birth of twins is rarely heard of. In many cases children who have become motherless after birth have been reared by careful old women. Sometimes children are given to such women. Then they spare no pains in rearing them. Soup made of Indian corn, pounded very fine, is given by them to infants of tender age, that may have come into their possession. Ordinarily, orphans, even if they have lost but the mother, meet with hard experience and often suffer want. Children who have been given or bequeathed, on the contrary, are almost without exception well cared for.

In the management of household affairs the husband leaves

3;Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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593 everything to his wife and never interferes in things committed to her. She cooks victuals regularly twice a day. If she neglects to do it in proper time, or even altogether, the husband never says a word but goes to a friend, being assured that he [574] will find something to eat, for when a stranger comes into the house the first attention shown is to put food before him, if there is anything in the house. The husband never offers to put wood on the fire, except it be that he has guests or some other extraordinary call to do it, for the woman cuts the wood and brings it to the house and is, therefore, the proper person to take care of the fire.

If his wife longs for meat, and gives him a hint of it, the husband goes out early in the morning without victuals and seldom returns without some game, should he even be obliged to stay out till late in the evening. When he returns with a deer, he throws it down before the door of the hut and walks in, saying nothing. But his wife, who has heard him lay down his burden, gives him something to eat, dries his clothes and then goes out to bring in the game. She may then do what she pleases with it. He says nothing, if she even gives the greatest [224] part of it to her friends, which is a very common custom. A woman generally remembers her friends when meat has been secured, or when her husband has brought flour from the whites.

If the husband intends to take a journey or go hunting, he gives his wife notice, and then she knows that it is her business to furnish him with proper provisions. If any dissatisfaction arises between them, the husband commonly takes his gun and walks off into the woods, without telling his wife whither he is going. Sometimes he does not return for some days, when both parties have generally forgotten their quarrels and live again in peace.

586 Young people who marry rarely remain faithful to each other, but join themselves to others and again separate, continu- 837 ing such disorderly living until they are older and more sensible. Then it not infrequently happens that they find one another again, or the husband may join himself permanently to some other woman and settle down to housekeeping. Marriages are ● 582 contracted early in life, when men are from eighteen to twenty years of age and women fourteen or fifteen.

the care of the younger children. Although physical punishment was seldom resorted to, exhortation and explanation were commonly used. One mythical story which was evidently used as a threat was that of the great naked bear. This was a creature, larger than most bears and naked except for a white spot. The only way to kill it was to break its back as its heart was so small that an arrow would seldom find it. The last of the species was reputed to have been killed on the east side of the Hudson River, but before that time it was said that recalcitrant children were particularly likely to be its victims (Heckewelder, 1799, pp.260-62).

A boy's life was not burdened with many chores until he was twelve or older, his time being spent in fishing and playing (Penn, p.30; Pastorius, 1698, p.434; Zeisberger, 1870, p.86; Harrington, 1913, p.213). When he reached this age, it was desirable for him to have a vision and receive a guardian spirit (Lindstrom, p.207). To promote this, the parents mistreated him, fed him sparingly and finally drove him into the woods. It was felt that this would cause a spirit to feel sorry for the boy and present itself to him.9 The nature of the vision which a youth had was sometimes taken as a sign of his future profession, and training in such a case would start immediately to prepare the boy to become a shaman or warrior as the case might be (Harrington, 1913, pp. 214-15; Zeisberger, 1910, p.101). At about fifteen the boys began hunting and at this they had to become proficient before considering marriage.

The girls stayed with their mothers and began helping to hoe the ground, plant corn and carry burdens as soon as they were able (Penn, p.30; Zeisberger, 1870, p.87). At a girl's first menstruation she went to a small hut some distance from the house where she stayed at least seven days. Here meals were brought to her by her mother or an old woman-friend, but she could not be touched. She used a sharpened stick in eating to prevent the food from touching her hands. At the end of her seclusion, the girl washed herself and all her clothing and dishes before returning home. She was then considered ready for marriage (Penn, pp.33-4; Beatty, p.43; Brickell, p.49; Harrington, 1913, p.215).

Marriage

"When the Young Women are fit for Marriage, they wear something upon their Heads for an Advertisement, but so as their Faces are hardly to be seen..."(Penn, p.31). Other descriptions tell us that this covering was made of worked mats decorated with alternate rows of white and black wampum and was worn pulled down to the middle of the forehead (Smith, p.138; Zeisberger, 1910, p.77). Girls married between the ages of thirteen and fourteen; boys, at seventeen or eighteen (Penn, p.31). According to Zeisberger, the Delaware had the tradition that individuals must always marry outside the local group, but no seventeenth century writer has commented on this point (Zeisberger, 1910, p.78).

141.	Any superiority among wives					+	+	−			+	−
142.	strongest					+						
143.	oldest										+	
144.	youngest						+					
145.	Polyandry					−	−	−	−	−	−	−
146.	Sororate — polygynous					+	+	+	−	−	−	+
147.	Sororate — successive			+		+	+	−	−	+	−	+
148.	Sororate — obligatory			+		•+	−			•+	−	−
149.	Marriage of man to woman and daughter			+		+	+	+	−	−	−	−
150.	Adultery criminal in the woman	+	+	+		+	+	•	−	+	+	•
151.	Equally so in the man		+	+		+	+			+	+	+
152.	Punished only by separation	+	−	(−)		+	+			(+)	+	+
153.	Divorce on grounds of infidelity	+	+	+	+	+	+	•	+	+	+	+
154.	Without any particular cause	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+
155.	May be limited by husband		+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+
156.	by wife		+	+	+		+	+	+		+	+
157.	Women seldom get divorce				+	+	+	+	+		−	−
158.	Children stay with mother until able to choose for themselves		+	+	+	+	+	•	+		+	•+
159.	Marriage with near relatives prohibited to very remote degree of relationship						+	+				
160.	to any known degree			+		+			+	+	+	+
161.	Cohabitation without marriage common		+			+	•	•	−	−	−	+
162.	Do individuals live to advanced age without being married					+	+	+	+	•	+	+
163.	Commonly					−	−	−	−	−	−	−
164.	Common for unmarried women to have children		+			+	+	+	−	−	−	+
165.	Injurious to their reputations		+			+	•+	+	−		−	−
166.	Are they punished		−				−	−	+		−	−
167.	Affect chances of marriage		−			−	−		+		+	+
168.	Proportion of married women without children †											
169.	Average number of children in family			•	*4-5	3	•	12	12	12	4-5	8-10
170.	Average interval between births (yrs.)					2-3	•	2	2	1	2-3	2+
171.	Age women generally begin to bear children					16	•	16	30	21	18-20	20
172.	Age to cease					40	•	40	50+	70	•	50
173.	Age that men commonly get married		•	18-20		15-25	F30	20	25	25	18-21	17+ F20
174.	Age that women commonly get married		•	14-16		•	F24	20	20	20	16-21	17+ F20

BRS 587 857 586 582 836 538 848 886 885

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9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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588 the same pattern: uniformity of affirmation among the sources
848 and denial by all the informants except W. L. The remarks of W. L. show rather conclusively that the extension of the legal code of the whites over the Indians was largely responsible for this fourth-period change. He said that these elements were common "before the law came and then the women got mean and objected when their husbands went to see other girls." The changes indicated in the reputations of unmarried mothers and their chances of marriage (165, 167) are, of course, related to each other and derive from white contact.

582 The age of marriage was formerly much older, according to both Captain Pipe and W. L., than it was at the time of their accounts (173, 174). There is little evidence for this alleged relaxation of restrictions upon the marriageable age to be found in the source material. One might expect that the introduction
885 of firearms made some difference in the age at which a youth could support himself and hence a wife, but a bow and a supply of arrows were more easily obtained than a gun. The explanation for the comments on the independence of youth probably lies in the principle of "faith in former good times" or, to put it the other way around for this case, the principle of "present degeneration of youth." This principle of human nature is of widespread application and is found not only among many other Indian tribes but also in the beliefs of other races for the past five thousand years and more.

Death and Its Incidents

764 The treatment of their dead by the Delaware appears to have undergone little change in the time for which we have records. The preparation of the corpse shows no change with the exception of the substitution of European clothes for furs (175-79). Even now, however, moccasins and other items of Indian manufacture are used to dress the corpse when obtainable. There are two dissenters on the subject of the preparation of the corpse by unrelated persons only, one early and one modern (180). Probably there was no hard and fast rule, but nonrelatives were

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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connection with the dread of death and the restoration of the body thereafter, but all the reports on these two elements also expressed a belief in the immortality of the soul.

Lineage

There is no change indicated by a consideration of matters of lineage with the exception of the endogamy vouched for by W. T. (214). He said that originally and until recently Delaware clans were endogamous, that each had to be kept clean and pure; but that now there are lots of half- and quarter-breeds. This statement of endogamy is not supported by other historic or contemporaneous evidence.

On the division of the Delaware into three groups, Turtle, Wolf and Turkey, there have been many conflicting opinions (209). Heckewelder called them tribes coinciding with the Unamis or Delaware, Munsee, and Unalachtigo.[1] Morgan considered them gens in the nature of phratries.[2] The modern Delaware frequently refer to these divisions as clans. Since Morgan's conclusion of phratries was based on the functionless and only vaguely remembered subdivisions called subgentes, it is important to have the result of Trowbridge's inquiries on this subject. He wrote:

"The Delaware nation is divided into three tribes, the *Tōōkseet* or Wolf (Round foot; from *Tōōkwaa* round & *oozēēt* foot) the *Tshēēkunum* or Turkey, called by the Munsees and sometimes by the Delawares *Pelāāooh*, and the *Tōōlpas* or Turtle, (in Munsee *Skēēhkee*).

"They say that anciently each of these three tribes was divided into four, making twelve tribes, but they do not recollect the names of those subdivisions.

"Mr. Heckewelder has strangely mistaken himself when he said that Unamis (*Woonāūmee*) meant Turtle, or Turtle tribe, and Unalachtigo (*Woonalāūhtekoo*) the Turkey tribe. The term *Woonāūmee* was given by the Munsees to the Turtle tribe of

[1] Heckewelder, *History, Manners, and Customs of the Indians*, pp. 51-52.
[2] Morgan, Lewis H., *Ancient Society . . .* (Chicago, Henry Holt and Company, 1907), p. 172.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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WELDER and JOHN JOHNSTON said that the proportion was rather more than among the whites, the former attributing the cause to the introduction of liquor.

W. T. denied that there were any sterile Indian women. W. L. said that he knew of two cases.

169. Number of Children

ZEISBERGER gave the usual number of children as 4 to 6 in one place, whereas in another he said 8 to 12.

HECKEWELDER said that generally there were 4 to 5 children in a family, while some families had 6 to 9, and a few had as many as thirteen.

173 and 174. Age of marriage

VAN DER DONCK said that both men and women commonly got married only when they were fit to do so.

DEATH AND ITS INCIDENTS

The following accounts touch on so many points not treated by the others or each other that they are given here in their entirety.

CAPTAIN PIPE—As soon as life leaves the body some distant relative of the deceased takes upon himself the charge of paying the last offices. Two men and two women, not related, are employed in washing and dressing the body, (now in a white cloth; anciently in a newly dressed skin,) which is laid upon a kind of platform where it is kept one day previous to the interment. This time was formerly three days in summer and seven days in winter, because they supposed that the tutelar deity of the deceased might restore them to life; but at this day they seem to have little faith and are apparently anxious to get the corpse out of sight as soon as decency will permit. The two male attendants prepare a coffin in which they place the body, and it is borne by them to the grave, preceded by the relatives and succeeded by the more distant friends. The grave is dug about three feet deep and the coffin is covered with earth as among the whites. Before they knew the use of boards the grave was lined with bark and the body pro-

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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202. Relatives observe mourning

765 JOHN JOHNSTON—All the relatives and some times more [observe mourning], according to the rank sustained by the deceased person.

206. Belief that bodies will be restored

775 CAPTAIN PIPE said that formerly the Delaware believed that bodies would be restored.

CAPTAIN CHIPPS—Thinks that he lived on the earth in "the olden time," from the circumstance of his being born with his ears bored, he thinks also, that if his spirit should go to Heaven, after death, he may be again restored to life.

207 and 208. Disposition of property of deceased

768 In the cases where an answer appears in only one alternative it means that the property of the deceased went first to that group and the other group had second choice.

LINEAGE

209. Nations divided into tribes

619 Whereas all the others said the Delaware had three divisions, Turtle, Turkey, and Wolf, CAPTAIN CHIPPS appears to have considered the question in a little different light, for his eight tribes are, *Oo-nóm-ma-u* or Delaware, *Mùn-see*, *Mo-hi-ga-ny* or Stockbridge, *Waù-pon-no* or Mohekan, *Waùb-ping* or Opossum, *U-sópe-see* or Esopus, *Oo-nàh-ti-co* or Nanticoke, and *Scàh-ti-co*.

213. Tribes are exogamous

[582] See [illegible] W.'s autobiography in notes under 103, *ante*, p. 104. The rul[illegible] talked about the old folks having were concerned with family and division relationships. He could not give any of the rules, but it is apparent that one of the things talked over by the old folks was the propriety of the proposed marriage as to blood lines and clan affiliations. Marriage might be either within the clan (as they call each of the three divisions) or without.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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required. These I propose to deal with in the following section as man-i'-tu deserving of particular mention, since this seems to represent their standing in the minds of devout Delawares.

Not only is the principle of consanquinity applied to deities and nature-forces, but to tribes and nations as well. Indeed the application of term of relationship to bodies of extra-biological classification is interesting enough to call for the inclusion of information given as a commentary on this point by Wi-tapano'xwe. With more detail to be secured it promises a fruitful problem for sociological interpretation. The informant's notes on the quasi-consanguinity of tribes are as follows. The Delawares believe that they are the oldest of the Indians. They call the following tribes "grand children," Shawnee, Potawatomi, Sauk and Fox, Ioway, Tonkawa, Sioux, Ottawa, Kickapoo, Miami, Peoria, Chippewa, Menomini, Winnebago. And these, in turn, call the Delawares, Wabanaki, Lenape, or else "Grandfathers,"—but, adds Wi-tapano'xwe, we are all "brothers," i. e. Indians. There are the Nanticoke, Mahikan, Munsee and Iroquois who are called brothers, relative age not specified, in spite of the fact that the Delawares assume to be older than they. There are other tribes which have different relationship with the Delawares, for example the Wyandots, Seneca and Cherokee are called "nephews" (either filial or sororal) and the Mexicans are called "uncles." To white people the general term, meaning "brothers" is applied, while negroes are termed "elder brothers," being considered the strongest of all races.[1]

THE CARVED IMAGES.—The concepts involved in the use of carved images in the likeness of the human face represent a phase of religious thought that has developed some exceptional prominence among the

[1] Zeisberger, (op. cit., p. 109) gives information corresponding to that of our informant, when he says that the "Shawnose" call the Delaware "grandfather." In regard to the "Mahikanders" we find a contradiction, and so are not able to compare the author's remarks with those in the text. Zeisberger also says that the Wiandots (Wyandots) and the Cherokees call the Delaware "grandfather," which differs from the information brought forward by our informant who considers them to be "nephews" of the Delaware. One infers from Zeisberger that the Delawares called the Twitchtwes (Miami), Wawiachtanos (a group of Mahikan), Kikapus, Chipuways, Ottawas, Putewoatalmen (Potawatomi) "brothers," differing from our information which states that the above tribes are known as "grandchildren," except when they were termed "brothers," implying that they were Indians similar to the Delawares. Zeisberger gives no kinship term as being applied to the negroes by the Delaware. He says: "These (the negroes) are looked upon as of their own kind and allowed full liberty. Indians and negroes intermarry and their mulatto children are as much loved as children of pure Indian blood."

Heckewelder, op. cit., notes the Shawnee (p. 86) and the Chipewa (p. 124) as being grandchildren of the Delaware, which is similar to the information given us by Wi-tapano'xwe, but in the case of the Chippewa he differs from Zeisberger. Heckewelder notes (page 122) that the Nanticoke and Mahican call the Delaware "grandfather" which differs from the information in our text where they are said to be "brothers." Again a difference is observed between Heckewelder and our informant in regard to the Wyandot and Cherokee who are, according to Heckewelder, "grandchildren" of the Delawares, yet, according to our informant are "nephews."

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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bility and maturity comes to the individual he feels that he is called to take his place in the annual ceremony. A new vision of life dawns upon him. He realizes that he has been brought into the world for a purpose and permitted to live to middle-age to raise children, take care of the aged relatives, help the people to health and comfort. Then there is also the feeling that others are observing him as an example of conduct. So he assumes his responsibility and prepares to appear in the Big House ceremony.[1]

We are told that the Big House performances were originally esoteric. Whites were excluded from it during the ceremonies, though in recent years the objection to their presence has been withdrawn due to intermarriage between Delaware women and white men.

The virtue of humility, so extolled and propogated in the philosophy of the Delawares, and the Iroquois[2] as well is one to which too little emphasis has been given by students. Historians, in particular those contrasting the humility of the evangelists with the contemptuousness of the natives, have ignored the declarations of ethnologists in this respect.[3]

THE SYMBOL OF TWELVE.—Allusion has previously been made in several places in our discussion, to the sanctity of the concept of twelve, the reason for which among the Delawares seems not to be objectively expressed.[4] Twelve is nevertheless a fundamental symbolical number. Throughout the text we hear of the Great Spirit residing in the twelfth stratum of the sky; of the prayer-call addressed to him uttered twelve times in succession; of the twelve prayer sticks or wands which lift the prayer to the twelfth heaven. The Big House ceremony itself is of twelve days' duration. The belief being that each day's performance lifts the worship a stage higher in the series of twelve successive sky levels until on the final day it reaches the Great Spirit himself.

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[1] Maturity is an important consideration with the Delawares. Among many facts still to be obtained in regard to restrictions of boys under the age of puberty, for instance, it may be interesting to note that these when they become old enough to take part in the hunt, are not allowed to eat soup lest their testicles rattle so warning game animals ahead of them, or to eat the heart of the animal lest they lose courage; or the animal's head, eyes, or ears lest they be bothered with gnats.

[2] A. C. Parker, The Code of Handsome Lake, Bull. 163. New York State Museum, Albany, 1912.

[3] For example Rev. T. J. Campbell, S. J.[2] tells his readers, "The red man had never much respect for the virtue of humility, and the young missionary (referring to Marquette among the Illinois) was treated rather contemptuously by many of the degraded wretches whom he was trying to regenerate." Pioneer Priests of North Amer. N. Y. 1911, Vol. III, p. 169.

[4] The importance of seven in Delaware thought has been stressed by A. L. Kroeber (Anthropology, N. Y. p. 252, f. n. 1) without giving the source. There seems to be no evidence of this in the material at hand.

S 648 Shawnees into their alliance, or perhaps what is nearer the truth, recognised an ancient connection still preserved by tradition, and acknowledged the Shawnees their uncles, by which they admit them to be the older stock.

Tribes [Clans] of the Delawares and Descent in the Female Line

D 115 Was introduced by Mr. Pratt to William Adams,[81] Wa-le-oak-se, (White man), a very intelligent young man and an Indian. We went out under a tree and talked an
P 681 hour. I found that the children of two tribes are brothers and sisters to each other, and the children of his sisters the same, and that the children of a brother and of a sister are nephew, and something else to each
D 614 other, but he thought not uncle. He says the Delawares are now and were anciently divided into three tribes: 1. the Wolf, "round paw"; 2. the Turtle, "unfeathered animal"; 3. the Turkey or fowl, "feathered animal."

That this was a sort of generalization; that the Wolf separated the animals having hair, the Turtle animals without hair, including fish, and Turkey or Fowl, as this means any fowl, the animals with feathers, and these he says are subdivided into a number of others, but he could not give me the names. He said his tribe was that of the Mud Turtle, the turtle that muds himself and then lies in the sun. This was as far as he could go on this head. He says that in
D [582] [183] old times no man was allowed to marry a woman of his own tribe, and it was the law until within the last generation, but that now is broken over constantly. That he was of the turtle tribe, and so were both his father and mother. He also said that he was
D [611] entirely certain that in old times *the children followed the tribe of the mother*, and that it is

[p 51 (C)]

614 so now where the father and mother were
611 of different tribes. This is a very interesting fact, as it is the first exception, if true, in the Algonquin race which I have found. Mr. Pratt informs me that he understands the children are of the tribe of the mother,
[797] and he has been their missionary for twelve years and for 22 years an Indian missionary. I shall verify this perfectly before I
672 leave. The young man also says that the office of chief was hereditary in the tribe, as he thought, and that a brother or nephew succeeded as frequently as a son, but he was not quite sure on this subject. He gave me
535 the names of 16 of the dances, all he could remember, which will be given later.

602 He said the Delawares thought a good deal more of their relationships than we did, and if there was the least particle of relationship they were glad to find it. He
• [582] says that in old times near relatives could not marry, but now they married as near as our cousins.

Family Names

551 We took up this inquiry. He says one tribe has no right to use the names of another tribe, as he thinks, and he also says the names can be readily distinguished from one another, but I must inquire further about this. He seemed to think the same name might be used by another tribe, in which case it would be slightly varied. The real truth about the distinctness of the Indian names constantly eludes me.[52 A] I shall soon think there is nothing in it.

[52 A] [For footnote see category 116, p. 209 (A) — Analyst]

[p 52(B)]

776 Mr. Pratt on the arm, and hence the boil.
753 In the meantime, the evil spirit, seeing the little spirit about to deal with him, passed on, and was thus diverted from his purpose. After doing this friendly act the little spirit at once passed on upon the track of the evil one to arrest and avert as many of his evil deeds as he could by persuasion, cunning or artifice. Thus the Indian said Mr. Pratt had a friend, and this boil was the result of his friendly interposition to save him from a greater evil.

[*Delaware Clans*]

115 Conversation with [Morgan's blank], the mother of Charles Johnny Cake.[83] She is sub. 1 Wolf Tribe. Her husband was Turtle. Her children are Wolf.

614 She confirms the division into Wolf, Turtle and Turkey Tribes, and says these are subdivided. The Wolf has the Bear, the Turtle the Big and Little Turtle, and the Turkey has the Crow. Those belonging to
[582] each subdivision to this day refuse to intermarry; but Little Turtle intermarries with Big Turtle, Bear with Wolf, Crow with Turkey. The children of ancient times and
[611] now are of the tribe of the mother in all cases. The terms Wolf, Turtle and Turkey are general ones, the word Took-seat, the name of the Wolf Tribe means "a round foot." There is another name for Wolf, Tam-me. The word for Turtle, Poke-koo-rin-go, does not mean any particular kind of Turtle, and so the name of the Turkey, Pal-la-ooh, means any kind of fowl. It appears to be a generalization for haired, non-haired and feathered animals. The subdivisions I must learn from her son.

She mentioned the We-loon-see Tribe as that of the Little Turtle, and also the Crow and the Bear, but could not remember their names. She gave We-saw-hut-ko, meaning

15:Morgan E-5 (1859)1969
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[p.54(B)]

D 797 worth, and went from there to the Shawnee Baptist Mission now closed, and from there to this Mission about 12 years ago. His wife is still young looking [she was forty-five at the time, ed.] and must have been beautiful as a girl. They are very worthy, refined and agreeable, and my short stay with them has been very pleasant indeed. Mr. Pratt is a well educated and superior man.

S 797 872 The Friends Shawnee Mission has done a good work among the Shawnees, but was never, I fancy, a very large school. There are but two boys there at present, but no doubt they have done as much good in proportion to the means employed as any other missionaries. The Friends are well adapted to gain the confidence of the Indian.

D 555 [*Delaware: Succession of Chiefs*]

In a brief conversation with Charles Johnny Cake, he informs me that the son never succeeds the father in the office of chief, but that the office goes either to a brother or the son of a sister. But strange to say the Turtle, the Wolf and the Turkey tribes each have several subdivisions, and while it was the ancient law that Turtle must always intermarry with Turtle, Wolf with Wolf and Turkey with Turkey, yet the subdivisions were not allowed to intermarry and in these the children were of the tribe of the mother. Mrs. Johnny Cake, the mother of Charles, would not or could not tell me the names of the subdivisions. Charles would not today under the pretence that it was important to be right and he doubted his recollection of these subdivisions, although he said there were a number of each.

D 614 582

D [611]

D 124 614 582

[¶ 54(c)]

124 I am very anxious to know. I asked an old
614 Delaware this morning, and he very coolly
582 told me that these questions were too small,
by which he meant, I suppose, that it was prying into family matters rather impertinently.

614 It is by means of these subdivisions with
582 the prohibition of intermarriage that des-
611 cent in the female line is secured.

Lemuel R. Ketchum[90] says:

622 The Delawares have three Heads or great chiefs, one for each tribe. This chief is called Sa-ke-ma. It means Principal Chief. It is the name of the office, or the title of the person equivalent to President or King. They also have two subordinate chiefs. These chiefs together are called Ka-ke-um-ha-suk, or the chiefs. The term also includes the three
[623] head chiefs, and is used in contradistinction to councillors. The office has no special name. These two are inferior. If the three head chiefs decide upon a measure the two inferior must submit, but if two of the head chiefs and the two inferior chiefs should agree and the third head chief should stand out, the thing could not be done. The principal power is with the head chiefs. The three head chiefs can never go out to war, but the two inferior chiefs may. They are not, however, called war chiefs. Besides
623 these three the wise and experienced men of the nation are called councillors or Ha-ha-che-nowl-se-chick, which means simply councillors. These have a right to speak in a council of the chiefs. They can speak of their own motion without waiting to be
[562] asked by the chiefs. Women cannot speak in council.

Religious System

771 The Delawares believe in a Great Spirit,
[770] and in an Evil Spirit. They also believe in
[775] the immortality of the soul, and that they all went to heaven.

[90] [For footnote, see category 116, p. 209(c)-- Analyst]

[p 55 (A)]

000 796 all went to heaven. They have one religious festival at which the Gum-win Dance is performed. This is the great religious dance. This is held once a year every fall, after the corn harvest is gathered. The festival lasts seven days. At this festival they have a number of old dances, which are still maintained among the Delawares. This Festival is called the Gum-win, from the dance. This is held for the purpose of returning thanks to the Great Spirit. They have a feast. Men, about 12, go out beforehand to hunt, and get game for the feast, particularly the deer. There is a class of persons 624 796 whose business it is to appoint the time for holding this council, to prepare the feast, and supervise the business of the festival. They are both men and women, but Lemuel could not give me the name by which they are distinguished.

Marriage

● 582 Near relatives are not allowed to marry. First and second cousins are within the forbidden degrees; but third cousins under our system are allowed to marry. The names used by the several tribes are used in common. This seems to be the preferable conclusion. A young lad at the Mission told me [614] that those of the same subdivision of the same tribe can intermarry if not too near of kin, but the fact is that they are all of near kin.

Succession of [Head] Chiefs

614 622 623 Upon the death of a head chief of the Turtle Tribe, the three other subdivisions meet in council to agree upon a successor who must be of the same subdivision of the tribe with the deceased, and is either a brother of the deceased or a sister's son. The second chief has the first speech, and the War Chief last, and enumerates the persons who

15:Morgan E-5 (1859)1959
NM? Delaware NM?
Munsee

[p 59]
[p 58 not processed]

Munsees

101 The Munsees are closely allied to the Dela-
614 wares. They have the three tribes, Wolf,
Turtle and Turkey, with the prohibition of
● [582] intermarriage in the tribe, and with descent
[611] in the female line. This Toucey told me who
101 has lived among them. They are old Con-
162 necticut Indians. There are about 50 near
131 Fort Leavenworth, and some I think near
Green Bay.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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and due allowance, of the hardships attendant on savage life. Therefore they are not only voluntarily, but cheerfully submitted to; and as women are not obliged to live with their husbands any longer than suits their pleasure or convenience, it cannot be supposed that they would submit to be loaded with unjust or unequal burdens.

Marriages among the Indians are not, as with us, contracted for life; it is understood on both sides that the parties are not to live together any longer than they shall be pleased with each other. The husband may put away his wife whenever he pleases, and the woman may in like manner abandon her husband. Therefore the connexion is not attended with any vows, promises or ceremonies of any kind. An Indian takes a wife as it were on trial, determined, however, in his own mind not to forsake her if she behaves well, and particularly if he has children by her. The woman, sensible of this, does on her part every thing in her power to please her husband, particularly if he is a good hunter or trapper, capable of maintaining her by his skill and industry, and protecting her by his strength and courage.

When a marriage takes place, the duties and labours incumbent on each party are well known to both. It is understood that the husband is to build a house for them to dwell in, to find the necessary implements of husbandry, as axes, hoes, &c. to provide a canoe, and also dishes, bowls, and other necessary vessels for house-keeping. The woman generally has a kettle or two, and some other articles of kitchen furniture, which she brings with her. The husband, as master of the family, considers himself bound to support it by his bodily exertions, as hunting, trapping, &c.; the woman, as his *help-mate*, takes upon herself the labours of the field, and is far from considering them as more important than those to which her husband is subjected, being well satisfied that with his gun and traps he can maintain a family in any place where game is to be found: nor do they think it any hardship imposed upon them; for they themselves say, that

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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duce of the labour of *woman*, such as beans, Indian corn, or the like, and then taking it to the house where the bridegroom lives, will say, "This is the produce of my daughter's field;" and she also prepared it. If afterwards the mothers of the parties are enabled to tell the good news to each other, that the young people have pronounced that which was sent them *very good*, the bargain is struck. It is as much as if the young man had said to the girl, "I am able to provide you at all times with meat "to eat!" and she had replied, "and such good victuals "from the field, you shall have from me!" From this time not only presents of this kind are continued on both sides, but articles of clothing are presented to the parents by each party, by way of return for what they have received, of which the young people always have a share. The friendship between the two families daily increasing, they do their domestic and field work jointly, and when the young people have agreed to live together, the parents supply them with necessaries, such as a kettle, dishes or bowls, and also what is required for the kitchen, and with axes, hoes, &c. to work in the field.

The men who have no parents to negotiate for them, or otherwise choose to manage the matter for themselves, have two simple ways of attaining their object. The first is: by stepping up to the woman whom they wish to marry, saying: "If you are willing I will take you as "wife!" when if she answer in the affirmative, she either goes with him immediately, or meets him at an appointed time and place.

The other mode of celebrating marriage will appear from the following anecdote.

An aged Indian, who for many years had spent much of his time among the white people both in Pennsylvania and New Jersey, one day about the year 1770 observed, that the Indians had not only a much easier way of getting a wife than the whites, but were also more certain of getting a *good* one; "For," (said he in his bro-

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

593 repented, though neither speak to each other a single
578 word on the subject of what has passed. And as his children, if he has any, will on his return hang about him and soothe him with their caresses, he is, on their account, ready to forgive, or at least to say nothing unpleasant to their mother. She has, however, received by this a solemn warning, and must take care how she behaves in future, lest the next time her husband should stay away altogether and take another wife. It is very probable, that if at this time they had had no children, he would have left her, but then he would have taken his property with him at the same time.

593 On the return of an Indian from a journey, or long ab-
576 sence, he will on entering the house, say, "I am return-
484 ed!" to which his wife will reply, "I rejoice!" and having cast his eyes around, he will enquire, whether all the children are well, when being answered in the affirmative, he replies, "I am glad!" which for the present is all the conversation that passes between them; nor does he relate any thing at this present time that occurred on his journey, but holds himself in readiness to partake of the nourishment which his wife is preparing for him. After a while, when the men of the village have assembled at his house, his wife, with the rest, hears his story at full length.

584 *Marriages* are proposed and concluded in different ways. The parents on both sides, having observed an attachment between two young persons, negotiate for them. This generally commences from the house where the bridegroom lives, whose mother is the negotiatrix for him, and begins her duties by taking a good leg of venison, or bear's meat, or something else of the same kind, to the house where the bride dwells, not forgetting to mention, that her son has killed it: in return for this the mother of the bride, if she otherwise approves of the match, which she well understands by the presents to be intended, will prepare a good dish of victuals, the pro-

9 [Lecaudan. See cat. 116, p. 348. —Analyst]

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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duce of the labour of *woman*, such as beans, Indian corn, or the like, and then taking it to the house where the bridegroom lives, will say, "This is the produce of my daughter's field;" and she also prepared it. If afterwards the mothers of the parties are enabled to tell the good news to each other, that the young people have pronounced that which was sent them *very good*, the bargain is struck. It is as much as if the young man had said to the girl, "I am able to provide you at all times with meat "to eat!" and she had replied, "and such good victuals "from the field, you shall have from me!" From this time not only presents of this kind are continued on both sides, but articles of clothing are presented to the parents by each party, by way of return for what they have received, of which the young people always have a share. The friendship between the two families daily increasing, they do their domestic and field work jointly, and when the young people have agreed to live together, the parents supply them with necessaries, such as a kettle, dishes or bowls, and also what is required for the kitchen, and with axes, hoes, &c. to work in the field.

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1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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584 586 ken English,) "White man court,—court,—may be one "whole year!—may be two year before he marry!—well! "—may be then got very good wife—but may be *not!*— "may be *very* cross!—Well now, suppose cross! scold "so soon as get awake in the morning! scold all day! "scold until sleep!—all one; he must keep *him!** White "people have law forbidding throwing away wife, be "*he* ever so cross! must keep *him* always! Well! "how does Indian do?—Indian when he see industrious "Squaw, which he like, he go to *him*, place his two fore- "fingers close aside each other, make two look like one "—look Squaw in the face—see *him* smile—which is all "one *he* say, *Yes!* so he take *him* home—no danger *he* "be cross! no! no! Squaw know too well what Indian "do if *he* cross!—throw *him* away and take another! "Squaw love to eat meat! no husband! no meat! Squaw "do every thing to please husband! he do the same to "please Squaw! live happy!"

CHAPTER XVII.

RESPECT FOR THE AGED.

889 THERE is no nation in the world who pay greater respect to old age than the American Indians. From their infancy they are taught to be kind and attentive to aged persons, and never to let them suffer for want of necessaries or comforts. The parents spare no pains to impress upon the minds of their children the conviction

* The pronouns in the Indian language have no feminine gender.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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881 and guards her so that none may see her . . . she is also kept within the hut the whole of the menstrual period, with the blanket over her head. . . .[45]

De Vries also noted that these girls hid behind a garment "which they throw over their body drawing it over the head so that one can barely [783] see their eyes."[47] The emphasis during menstruation was on uncleanliness and the necessity of isolation from society.[48] A girl could not touch her hair during her first isolation, food was eaten with a stick, and no meat was eaten.[49] In the last century, and perhaps earlier, a girl could not look in a mirror or talk to people (N.D.). At the end of the seclusion the girl's mother washed her hair, bathed her, and gave her new clothes. The idea was impressed upon the girl that she was now a woman and was henceforth to give up the toys and activities of childhood.[50] The same general restrictions applied to menstruating women.[51]

836 Little is known about premarital chastity in early historic times.
548 Denton said, however: "Any maid before she is married doth lie with whom she please for money without any scandal, or the least aspersion to be cast upon her it being so customary, & their laws tolerating it."[52]

Marriage

582 After the boys had proved themselves to be adequate hunters and the girls had passed through their first seclusion, they were considered
884 ready for marriage. This took place at about the age of seventeen or eighteen for boys and thirteen or fourteen for girls.[53] A girl showed her marriageability by wearing some sort of headpiece and by modestly covering the face with a portion of clothing when in public.[54] De Vries [301] said further that girls "deck themselves with a quantity of zeewan [wampum] upon the body, head and neck; they then go and sit in some place, in company with some squaws, showing that they are up for a bargain."[55]

● 584 Several different ways of arranging marriages and several types of marriage ceremony have been recorded for the Delawares. Some of this variety was probably due to diffusion from other Indian cultures or from Euro-American civilization, but it was also possible that there were variations among the diverse Delawaran peoples. Four seventeenth-century sources stated that girls were courted with wampum.[56] In later times, at least, relatives or go-betweens arranged the marriage. According to Heckewelder the prospective bridegroom's mother usually initiated the negotiations; according to Trowbridge the father of the

[45] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 77.
[47] De Vries, 1909, p. 218; also Loskiel, 1794, p. 56.
[48] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 77; N.D., O.A.
[49] Penn, 1912, p. 232.
[50] N.D. See section on Mythology in Chap. IV for an account of a girl who refused to part with her dolls.
[51] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 77.
[52] Denton, 1845, p. 9.
[53] Penn, 1912, p. 231; Holm, 1834, pp. 127-28; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 75; Loskiel, 1794, p. 63.
[54] De Vries, 1909, p. 218; Pastorius, 1912, p. 434; Penn, 1912, p. 231.
[55] De Vries, 1909, p. 218.
[56] *Ibid.*; De Rasieres, 1909, p. 106; Denton, 1845, p. 9; Van der Donck, 1909, p. 302.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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bridegroom carried out negotiations with the father of the bride.[57] My informants said that either parent of the prospective bridegroom could make wedding arrangements (N.D., O.A., M.B.). The prospective bridegroom, or the go-between seems to have taken some produce of the hunt, usually a choice cut of deer or bear, to the dwelling of the prospective bride and presented it to the girl's mother. If the match was favored, the girl's mother reciprocated with a gift of beans or corn. Both go-betweens, whether relatives or friends, emphasized in their negotiations that their respective children, or clients, had themselves procured the gifts. If, after this exchange, the couple signified that the gifts were acceptable, the bargain was considered concluded, although subsequent exchanges of food and clothing were made. The period of time between the betrothal and the marriage was fairly lengthy in the seventeenth century: "If she be a young virgin, he must wait six weeks more before he can sleep with her...all this time she sits with a blanket over her head, without wishing to look at any one, or any one being permitted to look at her...."[58] Heckewelder added:

> The friendship between the two families daily increasing, they do their domestic and field work jointly, and when the young people have agreed to live together, the parents supply them with necessaries, such as a kettle, dishes or bowls, and also what is required for the kitchen, and with axes, hoes, etc. to work in the field.[59]

De Rasieres rather cryptically said that in the marriage ceremony they "...eat together with friends, and sing and dance together...."[60] An even more informal ceremony was mentioned in this and subsequent centuries, in which a man simply asked a woman if she wanted to live with him. If she assented, they lived together and were considered to be married.[61] Trowbridge described the marriage ceremony of the nineteenth century by saying:

> The female was conducted by her relatives to the lodge of her intended husband and there delivered to him. The day succeeding was taken up by the relatives of the bride in carrying to those of the groom large presents of corn, squashes, etc., together with pouches and other ornaments, the products of female labor, and they also gave her a kettle for cooking. This was the conclusion of the ceremony.[62]

Other data from this century add that the couple, dressed in their finest and most elaborate clothing, appeared before a shaman, who made an offering of tobacco to the supernatural powers and sacrificed a beaver skin. He then addressed the bridal couple telling them to be good and not to mistreat each other. This was followed by a feast and dance sponsored by the friends and relatives of the bridal pair.[63] He might

[57] Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 161-62; De Smet, 1859, p. 238; Trowbridge MS.
[58] De Rasieres, 1909, p. 107.
[59] Heckewelder, 1881, p. 161.
[60] De Rasieres, 1909, p. 107.
[61] Van der Donck, 1909, p. 302; J.T., O.A.
[62] Trowbridge MS.
[63] De Smet, 1859, p. 239; Adams, 1905, pp. 17-19; M.B.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7
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D 841 poorly built, and remains there two or three days, food being taken to her. When the time is over they bathe and wash their clothes and are allowed to return to their husbands. During the D 784 menstrual period, they are not permitted to do any cooking or 262 domestic work. None will eat what a woman in this condition 841 prepares, for food prepared under such circumstances is said to be unwholesome and to cause pain in the abdomen. The women do not go into company, but keep to their huts until their time is over. Hence, it occasionally happens that a woman engaged in baking will leave everything and go to her hut. This custom I [841] does not obtain among the Mingoes; their women continue their usual work and remain in the house.

In the wooing of a bride, custom demands that if an Indian would proceed honorably and at the same time have assurance D ●584 that his wife when married will remain with him, he first sends a present of blankets, strouds, linen and whatever else the Indians commonly use for clothing and perhaps a few belts or fathoms of wampum. If he has no cloth, wampum alone will do. These things he gives to an Indian to whom he has declared his purpose and who hands them to a friend of the person fixed upon, speaks for him and presses his suit. Thereupon, the friends assemble, examine the present, propose the matter to the girl, who generally decides agreeably to the wish of her parents and relations. The suitor is then informed that his proposal has been accepted. If it is decided to decline the proposal, the present is simply returned and understood to be a friendly negative. In case the match is agreeable, the girl is led to the dwelling of the groom, without further ceremony. After the bride has joined her husband, the things constituting the present are divided among the friends and the belts of wampum cut and a piece given to each. The friends return the civility by a present of Indian corn, beans, kettles, dishes, spoons, sieves, baskets, hatchets, brought in solemn procession into the hut of the newly D married couple. Commonly, the latter lodge in a friend's house [591] until they can erect a dwelling of their own.

This custom still obtains among the Indians. Within the last years, however, disorderly living and evil have become so common that faith is not kept and many of the usages, that were

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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D 584

good and preserved a certain decency, have fallen into disuse. At the present time, even if the Indian would take a wife in honorable fashion and proceed in accordance with the above described custom, the parties concerned will not deny his suit in view of the presents, even though the friends and the girl are not willing to accept him. The friends will urge the girl to live with the man a short time, and tell her that if she is not pleased, to leave him again. Thus it happens that women will go from one to another for the sake of the gifts. Yet there are many cases where husband and wife are faithful to one another throughout life.

Occasionally, parents who have a son will agree with parents who have a daughter that in due time their children shall marry. As, however, they can neither persuade nor compel their children against their wishes, it in the end depends upon the children whether the match shall be consummated.[251]

I 584

Among the Mingoes it is not unusual to fix upon children of four or five years of age, with a view to future marriage. In this case the mother of the girl is obliged to bring a basket of bread every week into the house of the boy and to furnish him with firewood. The parents of the boy must supply the girl with meat and clothes, till they are both of a proper age. Their marriage, however, solely depends upon their own free will, for there is never any compulsion. If either man or woman is unwilling to follow up the engagement entered into by parents, no marriage results.

D 586 837

Although there are many Indians who live peaceably with their wives, especially if they have children for whom they care (for if a man has several children he will try to get along with his wife) the younger Indians at the present time generally live together only a very short time after a marriage. Hence, fornication is very common among them, Satan's influence in this respect being very strong.

D 177

If it is asked why the Indians at the present time are more given to vice and disorderly living than formerly, when they were as ignorant heathen as they are now, two reasons may be given. First, much evil unquestionably has been taught them by white people, especially the traders, who were content to live

Marriage arrangements were always simple, but it was definitely considered better form for the negotiations to take place between the two sets of parents rather than between the individuals concerned. In this type of negotiation, the man's mother took animal food which he had killed to the girl's mother; according to some sources, a return gift was made of corn food prepared by the girl (Harrington, 1908, p.215; Heckewelder, 1881, pp.161-72; Zeisberger, 1910, p.78). It was not unusual, however, for the agreement to take place directly between the boy and girl in which case they might or might not go through these formalities. Loskiel, who is the only author who mentions the subject of residence after marriage, says that the newly married couple often lived with friends for a short time until they built their own house (Loskiel, p.56).

The man was responsible for building the house and providing axes, hoes, canoes, dishes and household equipment although the girl might supply some things. The man was expected to support the family by hunting, trapping and fishing, and the game which he brought home was the property of his wife to use as she saw fit. She was equally responsible, however, for agricultural produce and cooking; and if she were remiss, might be reminded of her neglect by her husband's taking to the woods without telling her he planned to do so. She also carried packs in traveling, tanned skins and fetched wood (Penn, p.30; Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 155-160; G.Thomas, p.341).

There was apparently no strong pressure put upon the couple to remain together after they were married. Although later writers state that marriages were formerly more stable, they present no evidence to substantiate this. Polygyny was permitted but infrequent (Heckewelder, 1881, p.154; Harrington, 1913, p.215; Zeisberger, 1910, pp.78-9; Loskiel, p.57). After the death of a spouse, the widow or widower, but more particularly the former, was expected to remain single for a year, but it is clear that this was frequently not done (Brickell, p.49; Loskiel, p.121).

Social Life and Organization

Most of Delaware social behavior is a closed book to us as the early observers did not usually have long contacts with them in their villages. The early writers were aware, however, that the Indian expected to be fed when he visited them, and that they were always offered food when they visited him. Likewise they noted that gifts passed readily from hand to hand among the Indians although property rights were clearly understood (Lindstrom p.233; Danckaerts, pp.80 and 159; Penn, p.32).

The following games were probably played in this early period: footraces (lindstrom, p.191); a gambling game in which flat bones,

+ = element present
− = element denied
(+) or (−) = source ambiguous
* = informant could not or would not say
s = some, sometimes, or several
† or * = see Ethnographic Notes, pp. 79-137 for additional information

	Williams	Van der Donck	Lindeström	Zeisberger	Heckewelder	Johnson	Pipe	Chippe	J. W.	W. T.	E. R.	W. L.
Birth and its incidents—Continued												
113. Parents exercise any control over mature children						+	+	+	+	+	*+	*+
114. Age children are expected to maintain themselves					20+	15-25		20	21	25	16-17+	20-22
115. Child given daily bath †		+				+	·	+	+	+	+	*+
116. Cradle used	+	(−)	+	+		+	+	+	−	+	+	+
117. Consists of board	+		+	+		+	+	+		·	·	+
118. with cushion			+			+	+	+		·	·	+
119. with hoop over head			+			+	+	+		·	·	+
120. hoop decorated						+	+	+		·	·	+
121. Cradle put in hammock						·	·	·		·	+	+
122. Boys and girls treated with equal care and affection						+	+	+	+	+	s	+
123. Any difference in treatment of legitimate and illegitimate	(−)	−				−	−	−	·	*−	−	−
124. Mother takes care of illegitimate	+	+				+	+	+	+	·	+	+
125. Father not compelled to contribute but may do so						+	+	·	+	+	−	+
126. Birth of twins frequent	+			−		−	+	−	+	+	o	+
127. Number of instances of triplets						o	+	+	o	+	+	+
128. Are parental feelings strong	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
129. Are filial feelings strong	−			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
130. Do they (128 and 129) continue through life				+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Marriage and its incidents												
131. Courtship				−	−	−	−	*(+)	−	−	*−	−
132. Marriage arranged by parents	(+)	+	−	s	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+
133. Consent of either party asked	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	−	+	+
134. Any ceremony of marriage †		+	+	−	−	+	+	·	+	−	+	+
135. Presents for bride	(+)	+		+		+	+	·	+	−	+	+
136. Presents for family of bride	(+)			+	+	·	+	·	·	−	+	+
137. Presents exchanged				+		·	+	·	·	−	−	−
138. Time served by boy						−	−	−	·	−	−	−
139. Polygamy common †	−	−		−		−	−	+			+	+
140. Only rich or chiefs have more than one		+		+*		+	+					

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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(116). While three of them had heard of the former use of cradleboards, one, J. W., denied ever hearing of them among the Delaware, although he was familiar with their use by other tribes.

Marriage and Its Incidents

From the majority of the accounts denying courtship between the principals of a marriage it appears that Chipps's description of a brief courtship which was also a marriage ceremony was not typical of the Delaware (131).[4] Lindeström's record of fantastic promiscuity of all the people except the chiefs need not be considered one way or the other. Such a condition would not be reasonable for any people and certainly could not have existed among the Delaware in 1654 without many more than Lindeström having been aware of it. Chipps and Lindeström are also the only dissenters to the statement that marriages were arranged by the parents (132). As already mentioned, Lindeström's statements are not trustworthy on the subject of marriage and Chipps was reporting a Canadian Munsee group that differed in many respects from the Delaware group in this country. His remarks on marriage are applicable to the Chippewa with whom the Canadian Munsee were in contact and with whom they intermarried. In the light of Pipe's remark about the ignoring of formality,[5] it is probable that Chipps's statements reflect a condition in the third period not wholly attributable to the Chippewa or confined to the Canadian Delaware.

According to the tabulation of remarks on the asking of the consent of either party, parents in the first two periods were much more considerate of the wishes of their children than parents in the last two periods (133). The explanation probably lies in the statements of Zeisberger and Pipe that refusals to comply with the wishes of parents were rare. The story told by F. R. is an example of the means used by parents and other elders to keep the young folks in line.[6]

[4] See *post*, p. 107.
[5] See *post*, p. 109.
[6] See *post*, pp. 107-8.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

121. Cradle put in hammock 854

W. L. said that a cradleboard was formerly used but that 352
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Marriage and Its Incidents

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9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

584 glad. They settled down there and the girl was very contented.
577 She had a nice home, a handsome husband who was an excellent
539 hunter, bringing in lots of game every day. Things went along like that for about a year. Then one morning when she woke up her husband was not there. She went outside and asked the old lady, who was cleaning up around the fire, sweeping the yard and so forth, if she knew where her son was. The old lady thought he was home and the girl went back in the house to look again. In the middle of the bed a great big bull snake was curled up. She screamed and ran outside and told the old lady. The old lady was mad and said, "So he is playing tricks again," and grabbing a stick of firewood, went inside and began to beat the snake saying "get up you lazy fellow." Her son came out of the house laughing and began to tease his wife, asking her if she was scared. She was so scared she could hardly talk to him. After breakfast during which he continued to tease her, he went off. The old lady then talked to the girl and told her that while she had been there a year, she would not be happy there any longer and that it would be better if she went home to her own people. She went back home after being away almost a year. Her folks were glad to see her. She was pregnant and after a while got sick. She went off in the wood by herself and was very sick. Two little boys were playing in the woods and saw her lie down by a big log. They watched her die and going near her saw little snakes crawling out of her mouth, nose, eyes and ears. When the boys told the old folks what they had seen, they went out and looked at the body. They did not know what to make of it all but thought that that was what came from rejecting the first proposal the girl received.

[754] His old folks told E. R. that they did not know just how it all happened but thought that one of the fellows the girl had turned down had used power to get the snake to marry the girl and also used power to deceive the girl's eyes into thinking she was seeing a man. E. R. says the old folks were glad the old days were gone and that there were no longer people who could do things like that. Also they were glad that the days were gone when a person had to do things according to rules whether they were right or wrong.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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EMOTIONAL ATTACHMENTS IN MATURITY

584 The ideal in marriage was for a young man to fall in love with a girl. His family would present his suit; she would accept
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[P. 35, A]

584 marriage would furthermore be congenial to the parents of both parties.[15] In practice
586 these marriages usually broke up quickly, both spouses quickly being unfaithful to one another.[16] Occasionally a man, his
[762] pride wounded by a wife's infidelity, directed his helpless anger inward and committed suicide by taking poison. Women too killed themselves out of jealousy.[17] The shifting romantic attachments of both sexes seem to represent an unending striving to find the all-satisfying parent: a striving continually doomed to frustration.

787 The guardian spirit relationship (which was sought by both men and women) seems also to be built upon the prototype of the search for the all-satisfying (but not authoritarian) parent.[18]

572 Among men there was an institution of "friendship" which focused considerable emotion upon a relationship of formally recognized mutual dependency, in war, in
[521] the chase, and in various other life-crises.[19] Men were more at ease with one another
[562] in conversation than with women and, according to Zeisberger, would automatically suspect as a lie any tale which they
[593] heard from a woman.[20] It was a common saying, "My wife is not my friend."[21] Old
888 women were accused by the men of being
439 the middlemen who carried the socially disrupting rum from white settlements to the villages.[22]

562 Implicit in all this was the assumption
571 on the part of all Delawares—men and women alike—that relationships with women, while they could be satisfying, were not likely to be; and the further assumption on the part of men that they had less to fear from other men than from

15. Heckewelder, 1819, p. 161; Zeisberger, 1778, p. 79.
16. Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 82-83.
17. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 83.
18. Lindestrom, 1656, pp. 207-209; Heckewelder, 1819, pp. 245-246; Zeisberger, 1778, p. 127.
19. Heckewelder, 1819, p. 278; Lindestrom, 1656, p. 233; Zeisberger, 1778, p. 116.
20. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 116.
21. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 99.
22. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 117.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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and due allowance, of the hardships attendant on savage life. Therefore they are not only voluntarily, but cheerfully submitted to; and as women are not obliged to live with their husbands any longer than suits their pleasure or convenience, it cannot be supposed that they would submit to be loaded with unjust or unequal burdens.

Marriages among the Indians are not, as with us, contracted for life; it is understood on both sides that the parties are not to live together any longer than they shall be pleased with each other. The husband may put away his wife whenever he pleases, and the woman may in like manner abandon her husband. Therefore the connexion is not attended with any vows, promises or ceremonies of any kind. An Indian takes a wife as it were on trial, determined, however, in his own mind not to forsake her if she behaves well, and particularly if he has children by her. The woman, sensible of this, does on her part every thing in her power to please her husband, particularly if he is a good hunter or trapper, capable of maintaining her by his skill and industry, and protecting her by his strength and courage.

When a marriage takes place, the duties and labours incumbent on each party are well known to both. It is understood that the husband is to build a house for them to dwell in, to find the necessary implements of husbandry, as axes, hoes, &c. to provide a canoe, and also dishes, bowls, and other necessary vessels for house-keeping. The woman generally has a kettle or two, and some other articles of kitchen furniture, which she brings with her. The husband, as master of the family, considers himself bound to support it by his bodily exertions, as hunting, trapping, &c.; the woman, as his *help-mate*, takes upon herself the labours of the field, and is far from considering them as more important than those to which her husband is subjected, being well satisfied that with his gun and traps he can maintain a family in any place where game is to be found: nor do they think it any hardship imposed upon them; for they themselves say, that

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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bridegroom carried out negotiations with the father of the bride.[57] My informants said that either parent of the prospective bridegroom could make wedding arrangements (N.D., O.A., M.B.). The prospective bridegroom, or the go-between seems to have taken some produce of the hunt, usually a choice cut of deer or bear, to the dwelling of the prospective bride and presented it to the girl's mother. If the match was favored, the girl's mother reciprocated with a gift of beans or corn. Both go-betweens, whether relatives or friends, emphasized in their negotiations that their respective children, or clients, had themselves procured the gifts. If, after this exchange, the couple signified that the gifts were acceptable, the bargain was considered concluded, although subsequent exchanges of food and clothing were made. The period of time between the betrothal and the marriage was fairly lengthy in the seventeenth century: "If she be a young virgin, he must wait six weeks more before he can sleep with her...all this time she sits with a blanket over her head, without wishing to look at any one, or any one being permitted to look at her...."[58] Heckewelder added:

> The friendship between the two families daily increasing, they do their domestic and field work jointly, and when the young people have agreed to live together, the parents supply them with necessaries, such as a kettle, dishes or bowls, and also what is required for the kitchen, and with axes, hoes, etc. to work in the field.[59]

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De Rasieres rather cryptically said that in the marriage ceremony they "...eat together with friends, and sing and dance together...."[60] An even more informal ceremony was mentioned in this and subsequent centuries, in which a man simply asked a woman if she wanted to live with him. If she assented, they lived together and were considered to be married.[61] Trowbridge described the marriage ceremony of the nineteenth century by saying:

> The female was conducted by her relatives to the lodge of her intended husband and there delivered to him. The day succeeding was taken up by the relatives of the bride in carrying to those of the groom large presents of corn, squashes, etc., together with pouches and other ornaments, the products of female labor, and they also gave her a kettle for cooking. This was the conclusion of the ceremony.[62]

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Other data from this century add that the couple, dressed in their finest and most elaborate clothing, appeared before a shaman, who made an offering of tobacco to the supernatural powers and sacrificed a beaver skin. He then addressed the bridal couple telling them to be good and not to mistreat each other. This was followed by a feast and dance sponsored by the friends and relatives of the bridal pair.[63] He might

[57] Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 181-82; De Smet, 1859, p. 238; Trowbridge MS.
[58] De Rasieres, 1909, p. 107.
[59] Heckewelder, 1881, p. 181.
[60] De Rasieres, 1909, p. 107.
[61] Van der Donck, 1909, p. 302; J.T., O.A.
[62] Trowbridge MS.
[63] De Smet, 1850, p. 239; Adams, 1905, pp. 17-19; M.B.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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also speak to the couple on subsequent occasions, perhaps on the birth of a child (M.B.).

The place of residence of a newly married couple is something of a puzzle. In the nineteenth century it was temporarily patrilocal or matrilocal (bilocal), with friends, or by themselves (neolocal).[64] This was probably not true in early historic times; the evidence favors matrilocality. All sources are agreed that the Delawares were polygynous.[65] Polygyny seems to have been more frequent in the early days. "An *Indian* may have two wives or more if he please, but it is not much in use as it was since the English came amongst them they being ready in some measure to imitate the *English* in things both good & bad."[66] Van der Donck said that "ordinarily they have but one wife, sometimes two or three, but this is generally among the chiefs."[67] The sororate was sometimes practiced, and informants added that the levirate was known.[68] Trowbridge said that "many instances have been known where a man having married a widow also married her daughter, and this has sometimes been at the suggestion of the mother herself."[69]

Divorce.— Divorce was easy among the Delawares; either member of a marriage partnership could break the union.[70] Reasons for divorce were sterility, adultery, and any other type of incompatibility.[71] Divorce was not frequent when there were children, and in this event small children remained with the mother.[72] Heckewelder quoted a Delaware on marriage and divorce, and the account is both enlightening and entertaining:

> The Indians had not only a much easier way of getting a wife than the whites, but were also more certain of getting a good one; "For" (said he in his broken English), "White man court, — court, — may be one whole year! O may be two year before he marry! — well! — may be then got very good wife — but may be not! — may be very cross! — Well now, suppose cross! scold so soon as get awake in morning! scold all day! scold until sleep! — all one; he must keep him! White people have law forbidding throwing away wife, be he ever so cross! ho! no! Squaw know too well what Indian do if he cross! — throw him away and take another! Squaw love to eat meat! no husband! no meat! Squaw do every thing to please husband! he do the same to please Squaw! live happy!"[73]

Marital fidelity on the part of men does not seem to have been a major social goal, particularly during a woman's pregnancy, menstruation, and lactation, when marital relations were forbidden.[74] During this period many husbands apparently had concubines. There is one report of the social sanction of a woman's divorce from an adulterous husband. In this isolated case the husband was accused before the chief; he was

[64] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 78; O.A., N.D.
[65] Holm, 1834, p. 128; Loskiel, 1794, p. 58; Trowbridge MS., O.A., M.B., N.D.
[66] Denton, 1845, p. 9.
[67] Van der Donck, 1909, p. 302.
[68] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 88; O.A., M.B.
[69] Trowbridge MS.
[70] De Vries, 1909, p. 218; Holm, 1834, p. 128; Brainerd, 1884, pp. 171-72; Trowbridge MS.
[71] Denton, 1845, p. 9; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 85; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 154; Trowbridge MS.
[72] De Rasieres, 1909, p. 108; Trowbridge MS; O.A.
[73] Heckewelder, 1881, p. 161.
[74] Penn, 1912, p. 232; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 80.

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
NM7 Delaware NM7

CHAPTER X.

Concerning the Marriage of the American People and the Treatment [Used] by the Savage Females Against Birth Pangs.

These Indians are a bestial people and have their intercourse together with father, mother, brother and sister like irrational brutes, no one knowing rightly who is the father of the child;[1] but their sachem or chief he must take a wife to himself, not because he intends to conceive children with her alone, but because his government and household exists as under a family,[2] about which we shall obtain further [details] hereafter. This his wife, she must manage his entire household like a matron who always, in the absence of the sachem, must guard his property, which becomes her possession after his death.

When she has thus been wooed by him, the bride must bedeck [herself] for a year and a day,[3] although they do not know what a year means, yet

[1] Lindeström's religious zeal led him astray; besides he did not understand the family life of the Indians. Some early writers state that Indians of this district had but one wife, except the chiefs, who had many. Their ideas of morality were of course different from those of the white settlers. De Vries tells us that an Indian would lend his wife to a friend, and that jealousy did not exist among them.

[2] *Hans undherhafwande Regiment och Hwshåldningh beståår lijka som undher een familia.* In other words, according to Lindeström, the government is patriarchal, the chief being like the father of a household, hence it is necessary to have a mother of the household. Cf. in this connection a summary on "The Chief of the Indian Clan," by Rudolf Elander (Gothenburg, 1909).

[3] "A year and a day," see above, *Dedication*, note 23.

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585 a period of about that length is designated, during which she must go the whole time in her bridal attire, completely covered with their money, strung into the form of all kinds of figures, with which the ears, the arms and the body, down to the knees, are ornamented; with oiled hair, and face painted with all kinds of colors like a fearful scare-crow face.[4] Then she is decorated in the very best manner according to their views. Now when this said period is over then there is an end to their bridal ceremony.

824 825 When the savage females bear their children, they tie around their waists a snake skin of the most poisonous kind of snakes, which are found in New Sweden and are called rattlesnakes, which has such an effect that they do not know of the least pain in their child birth, and are as healthy in an hour, as if they had never been through it.[5]

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[4] *Skrädbukeansichte (Skrädpukansigte)*, mask, scarecrow. 'The Indians carry small bags of paint with them, keeping the colors separate as red, blue, green, brown, white, black, yellow. They esteem brilliant colors most, which shine like pure metal.' Van der Donck, *N. Y. Col.*, 2, I, 161–2, 163–4; cf. also, *N. Y. Col.*, 2, II, 269, De Vries, *N. Y. Col.*, 2, III, 106.

[5] It is the opinion of some medical men that the reports about the easy childbirth of primitive women are more or less fictitious; but that is probably not the case. Dr. Mjöberg, a Swedish explorer, relates that he saw women who bore children on the march and continued their journey without interruption.

9t Kinkeds E-4,5 (1938) 1946 NM7 Delaware NM7

+ = element present
− = element denied
(+) or (−) = source ambiguous
• = informant could not or would not say
s = some, sometimes, or several
† or* = see Ethnographic Notes, pp. 79-137 for additional information

| | Williams | Van der Donck | Lindestrom | Zeisberger | Mechtenbider | Johnson 575 | Pipe 585 | Chippe 554 | J.W. 151 | W.T. 848 | E.R. 848 | W.L. 225 | | |

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

585 The reports of lack of ceremony attending a marriage are quite evidently based on a misunderstanding of what constitutes a ceremony (134). Considered in its meaning of any form, rittal, or custom established for the observance of joining in marriage, there was a ceremony for even the type of marriage described by Chipps. The Delaware ceremony, however, was not a complicated one to judge from the one described by Pipe for former times and appears to have been simplified even further at that time, 1824. The form of marriage of the Delaware then may safely be said to have undergone a lessening of formality by the third period even though most of the former practices were still remembered in the fourth. One of the customs connected with marriage that was not remembered in the fourth period, the exchange of presents, aids in establishing the time of the change in marriage forms (137). Whereas the giving of presents to the bride or the family of the bride (135, 136) was reported in all four periods, the exchange of presents was recorded as a custom in the second period, but one no longer practiced, according to Pipe, in the third period, and completely forgotten in the fourth.

595 Polygyny was not common in any period and was principally confined to chiefs and rich men. There is no consensus among either the sources or the informants as to whether any superiority was observed among the multiple wives or on what quality such a superiority might have been based (141-44). Polyandry was not mentioned in the first two periods, but was emphatically denied in the last two (145). Information on the operation of the levirate is too scanty to warrant any conclusions, but the sororate attracted attention in all but the first period (146-48). Polygynous sororate was reported by all three sources of the third period but denied by all the informants except W. L. His information applied to only one family. Successive sororate was reported in each of the last three periods and the only denial was that of the Canadian Chipps. There may have been a change in the feeling toward polygynous sororate in the last period, but as polygyny was not common in any period and opportunities for polygynous sororal marriages were fewer in the scattered

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and due allowance, of the hardships attendant on savage life. Therefore they are not only voluntarily, but cheerfully submitted to; and as women are not obliged to live with their husbands any longer than suits their pleasure or convenience, it cannot be supposed that they would submit to be loaded with unjust or unequal burdens.

Marriages among the Indians are not, as with us, contracted for life; it is understood on both sides that the parties are not to live together any longer than they shall be pleased with each other. The husband may put away his wife whenever he pleases, and the woman may in like manner abandon her husband. Therefore the connexion is not attended with any vows, promises or ceremonies of any kind. An Indian takes a wife as it were on trial, determined, however, in his own mind not to forsake her if she behaves well, and particularly if he has children by her. The woman, sensible of this, does on her part every thing in her power to please her husband, particularly if he is a good hunter or trapper, capable of maintaining her by his skill and industry, and protecting her by his strength and courage.

When a marriage takes place, the duties and labours incumbent on each party are well known to both. It is understood that the husband is to build a house for them to dwell in, to find the necessary implements of husbandry, as axes, hoes, &c. to provide a canoe, and also dishes, bowls, and other necessary vessels for house-keeping. The woman generally has a kettle or two, and some other articles of kitchen furniture, which she brings with her. The husband, as master of the family, considers himself bound to support it by his bodily exertions, as hunting, trapping, &c.; the woman, as his *help-mate*, takes upon herself the labours of the field, and is far from considering them as more important than those to which her husband is subjected, being well satisfied that with his gun and traps he can maintain a family in any place where game is to be found: nor do they think it any hardship imposed upon them; for they themselves say, that

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

duce of the labour of woman, such as beans, Indian corn, 584
or the like, and then taking it to the house where the bride-
groom lives, will say, "This is the produce of my daugh-
"ter's field;" and she also prepared it. If afterwards
the mothers of the parties are enabled to tell the good
news to each other, that the young people have pronoun-
ced that which was sent them *very good*, the bargain is
struck. It is as much as if the young man had said to the
girl, "I am able to provide you at all times with meat
"to eat!" and she had replied, "and such good victuals
"from the field, you shall have from me!" From this
time not only presents of this kind are continued on both
sides, but articles of clothing are presented to the parents
by each party, by way of return for what they have re-
ceived, of which the young people always have a share. [572]
The friendship between the two families daily increasing,
they do their domestic and field work jointly, and when
the young people have agreed to live together, the pa-
rents supply them with necessaries, such as a kettle, dishes
or bowls, and also what is required for the kitchen, and
with axes, hoes, &c. to work in the field.

The men who have no parents to negotiate for them,
or otherwise choose to manage the matter for themselves,
have two simple ways of attaining their object. The
first is: by stepping up to the woman whom they wish
to marry, saying: "If you are willing I will take you as [583]
"wife!" when if she answer in the affirmative, she
either goes with him immediately, or meets him at an
appointed time and place.

The other mode of celebrating marriage will appear 584
from the following anecdote. 586

An aged Indian, who for many years had spent much
of his time among the white people both in Pennsylva-
nia and New Jersey, one day about the year 1770 ob-
served, that the Indians had not only a much easier
way of getting a wife than the whites, but were also more
certain of getting a good one; "For," (said he in his bro-

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

584 586 ken English,) "White man court,—court,—may be one "whole year!—may be two year before he marry!—well! "—may be then got *very good* wife—but may be *not!*— "may be *very* cross!—Well now, suppose cross! scold "so soon as get awake in the morning! scold all day! "scold until sleep!—all one; he must keep *him!** White "people have law forbidding throwing away wife, be "*he* ever so cross! must keep *him* always! Well! "how does Indian do?—Indian when he see industrious "Squaw, which he like, he go to *him*, place his two fore- "fingers close aside each other, make two look like one "—look Squaw in the face—see *him* smile—which is all "one *he* say, *Yes!* so he take *him* home—no danger *he* "be cross! no! no! Squaw know too well what Indian "do if *he* cross!—throw *him* away and take another! "Squaw love to eat meat! no husband! no meat! Squaw "do every thing to please husband! he do the same to "please Squaw! live happy!"

CHAPTER XVII.

RESPECT FOR THE AGED.

888 THERE is no nation in the world who pay greater respect to old age than the American Indians. From their infancy they are taught to be kind and attentive to aged persons, and never to let them suffer for want of necessaries or comforts. The parents spare no pains to impress upon the minds of their children the conviction

* The pronouns in the Indian language have no feminine gender.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

Between the years 1771 and 1780, four Indians of my acquaintance took
762 the root of the may-apple, which is commonly used on
[278] such occasions, in order to poison themselves, in which they all succeeded, except one. Two of them were young men, who had been disappointed in love, the girls on whom they had fixed their choice, and to whom they were engaged, having changed their minds and married other lovers. They both put an end to their existence. The two others were married men. Their stories, as pictures of Indian manners, will not, perhaps, be thought uninteresting.

One of those unfortunate men was a person of an excellent character, respected and esteemed by all who knew him. He had a wife whom he was very fond of and two children, and they lived very happily together at the distance of about half a mile from the place where I resided. He often came to visit me, and as he was of a most amiable disposition, I was pleased with his visits, and always gave him a hearty welcome. When I thought he was too long without coming, I went myself to the delightful spot which he had judiciously selected for his dwelling. Here I always found the family cheerful, sociable and happy, until some time before the fatal catastrophe happened, when I observed that my friend's countenance bore the marks of deep melancholy, of which I afterwards learned the cause. His wife had received the visits of another man; he foresaw that he would soon be obliged to separate from her, and he shuddered when he thought that he must also part from his two lovely children; for it is the
[286] custom of the Indians, that when a divorce takes place between husband and wife, the children remain with their mother, until they are of a proper age to choose for themselves. One hope, however, still remained. The sugar-making season was at hand, and they were shortly to remove to their sugar camp, where he flattered himself his wife would not be followed by the disturber of his peace, whose residence was about ten miles from thence. But this hope was of short duration. They had hardly been

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7

585 also speak to the couple on subsequent occasions, perhaps on the birth of a child (M.B.).

591 The place of residence of a newly married couple is something of a puzzle. In the nineteenth century it was temporarily patrilocal or matrilocal (bilocal), with friends, or by themselves (neolocal).[64] This was probably not true in early historic times; the evidence favors matrilocality. All sources are agreed that the Delawares were polygynous.[65]

595 Polygyny seems to have been more frequent in the early days. "An *Indian* may have two wives or more if he please, but it is not much in use as it was since the English came amongst them they being ready in some measure to imitate the *English* in things both good & bad."[66] Van der Donck said that "ordinarily they have but one wife, sometimes two or three, but this is generally among the chiefs."[67] The sororate [587] was sometimes practiced, and informants added that the levirate was known.[68] Trowbridge said that "many instances have been known where a man having married a widow also married her daughter, and this has sometimes been at the suggestion of the mother herself."[69]

586 Divorce.— Divorce was easy among the Delawares; either member of a marriage partnership could break the union.[70] Reasons for divorce were sterility, adultery, and any other type of incompatibility.[71] Divorce was not frequent when there were children, and in this event small children remained with the mother.[72] Heckewelder quoted a Delaware on marriage and divorce, and the account is both enlightening and entertaining:

> The Indians had not only a much easier way of getting a wife than the whites, but were also more certain of getting a good one; "For" (said he in his broken English), "White man court, — court, — may be one whole year! O may be two year before he marry! — well! — may be then got very good wife — but may be not! — may be very cross! — Well now, suppose cross! scold so soon as get awake in morning! scold all day! scold until sleep! — all one; he must keep him! White people have law forbidding throwing away wife, be he ever so cross! no! no! Squaw know too well what Indian do if he cross! — throw him away and take another! Squaw love to eat meat! no husband! no meat! Squaw do every thing to please husband! he do the same to please Squaw! live happy!"[73]

684 837 [834] Marital fidelity on the part of men does not seem to have been a major social goal, particularly during a woman's pregnancy, menstruation, and lactation, when marital relations were forbidden.[74] During this period many husbands apparently had concubines. There is one report of the social sanction of a woman's divorce from an adulterous husband. In this isolated case the husband was accused before the chief; he was

[64] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 78; O.A., N.D.
[65] Holm, 1834, p. 126; Loskiel, 1794, p. 58; Trowbridge MS., O.A., M.B., N.D.
[66] Denton, 1845, p. 9.
[67] Van der Donck, 1909, p. 302.
[68] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 88; O.A., M.B.
[69] Trowbridge MS.
[70] De Vries, 1909, p. 218; Holm, 1834, p. 126; Brainerd, 1884, pp. 171-72; Trowbridge MS.
[71] Denton, 1845, p. 9; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 85; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 154; Trowbridge MS.
[72] De Rasieres, 1909, p. 108; Trowbridge MS; O.A.
[73] Heckewelder, 1881, p. 181.
[74] Penn, 1913, p. 232; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 80.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7
Iroquois NM9

D 584

good and preserved a certain decency, have fallen into disuse. At the present time, even if the Indian would take a wife in honorable fashion and proceed in accordance with the above described custom, the parties concerned will not deny his suit in view of the presents, even though the friends and the girl are not willing to accept him. The friends will urge the girl to live with the man a short time, and tell her that if she is not pleased, to leave him again. Thus it happens that women will go from one to another for the sake of the gifts. Yet there are many cases where husband and wife are faithful to one another throughout life.

Occasionally, parents who have a son will agree with parents who have a daughter that in due time their children shall marry. As, however, they can neither persuade nor compel their children against their wishes, it in the end depends upon the children whether the match shall be consummated.[251]

I 584

Among the Mingoes it is not unusual to fix upon children of four or five years of age, with a view to future marriage. In this case the mother of the girl is obliged to bring a basket of bread every week into the house of the boy and to furnish him with firewood. The parents of the boy must supply the girl with meat and clothes, till they are both of a proper age. Their marriage, however, solely depends upon their own free will, for there is never any compulsion. If either man or woman is unwilling to follow up the engagement entered into by parents, no marriage results.

D 586 837

Although there are many Indians who live peaceably with their wives, especially if they have children for whom they care (for if a man has several children he will try to get along with his wife) the younger Indians at the present time generally live together only a very short time after a marriage. Hence, fornication is very common among them, Satan's influence in this respect being very strong.

D 177

If it is asked why the Indians at the present time are more given to vice and disorderly living than formerly, when they were as ignorant heathen as they are now, two reasons may be given. First, much evil unquestionably has been taught them by white people, especially the traders, who were content to live

3;Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

593 everything to his wife and never interferes in things committed to her. She cooks victuals regularly twice a day. If she neglects to do it in proper time, or even altogether, the husband never says a word but goes to a friend, being assured that he [574] will find something to eat, for when a stranger comes into the house the first attention shown is to put food before him, if there is anything in the house. The husband never offers to put wood on the fire, except it be that he has guests or some other extraordinary call to do it, for the woman cuts the wood and brings it to the house and is, therefore, the proper person to take care of the fire.

If his wife longs for meat, and gives him a hint of it, the husband goes out early in the morning without victuals and seldom returns without some game, should he even be obliged to stay out till late in the evening. When he returns with a deer, he throws it down before the door of the hut and walks in, saying nothing. But his wife, who has heard him lay down his burden, gives him something to eat, dries his clothes and then goes out to bring in the game. She may then do what she pleases with it. He says nothing, if she even gives the greatest [224] part of it to her friends, which is a very common custom. A woman generally remembers her friends when meat has been secured, or when her husband has brought flour from the whites.

If the husband intends to take a journey or go hunting, he gives his wife notice, and then she knows that it is her business to furnish him with proper provisions. If any dissatisfaction arises between them, the husband commonly takes his gun and walks off into the woods, without telling his wife whither he is going. Sometimes he does not return for some days, when both parties have generally forgotten their quarrels and live again in peace.

586 Young people who marry rarely remain faithful to each
837 other, but join themselves to others and again separate, continuing such disorderly living until they are older and more sensible. Then it not infrequently happens that they find one another again, or the husband may join himself permanently to some
582 other woman and settle down to housekeeping. Marriages are contracted early in life, when men are from eighteen to twenty years of age and women fourteen or fifteen.

3: Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7
Shawnee NN17

D 411

The Delaware Indians use no other than rifle-barrelled guns, having satisfied themselves that these are the best for shooting at long range, in which they are very skillful and shooting accurately. They have acquired considerable skill in making minor repairs when their weapons get out of order. Some have even learned to furnish them with stocks, neatly and well made. An Indian really intent on making something will not spare pains or time in accomplishing his purpose even when he has not seen the thing made and takes great pride in the work of his hands. Among nations living farther inland the rifle-barrelled guns are rare and muskets are more commonly found, often in very poor condition, except among the Shawanose [Shawanese] who know and value the rifle-barrelled gun. S [411]

D 586

It occurs to me to add that when a man and his wife have no children, they generally separate before long, each believing the other to be the guilty cause, and attributing it to the other. There are also women who never have children. Such a one goes from one man to another until some man who has children already takes her. There are men also who never have children. In both sexes, however, these cases are rare.

D 578

Cursing and swearing are never heard among the Indians; they have no words of this character in their language. If women or men would berate one another — rarely the case among men, except in case of the younger, more frequent among women — they direct words and speeches at one another which would not be considered terrible by other people but are very seriously taken by the Indians. If they would revile one another in extremest fashion, they use some obscene expressions.

D 854 [482]

Mothers carry the children on their backs under the blanket. They do this even when the children are five years old and over, for they love their children. In former days it was the custom to bind the child upon a board which was carried by means of a band fastened round the head in such a way that the child was suspended on the back in an upright position. This practice gets more and more out of fashion, for the reason that it has been the cause of miserable death of the children. It was customary that children thus fastened were placed against a bench or elsewhere,

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

648 and waters flow. In this connection, nations who make the treaty, or are allies, exchange a pipe between them which is called the pipe of peace. Such a pipe is carefully preserved and
276 generally lighted in council by a captain or chief, whenever any-
648 thing occurs relating to the ally and each member smokes a little out of it. The one who carries about the pipe reminds the members of the council of the covenant and the time of its establishment. The head of the pipe is commonly of stone, the stem of wood wound with a fine ribbon neatly decorated with white corals, the latter the work of the women.

It is the duty of the chief to maintain peace, to advise peace
622 as long as possible. It is not in his power to begin war as long
721 as the captains are averse to this. Without their consent he may not accept a war belt. If it is received this is on condition that he will turn it over to the captains for consideration. The chief must endeavor to preserve peace to the utmost of his power. If the captains are unanimous in declaring war he is obliged, as it were, to deliver the care of his people for the time being into their hands, for they are the warriors.

622 In the matter of choice of a chief various things are to be observed. The principal captain may choose a chief and inaugurate him, and it is also in his power to take him out of office if the chief proves a poor regent, acts contrary to the customs, does according to his own wishes and refuses to accept counsel. The captains, who always have the people on their side may thus forsake a chief, not only refusing to support him but even publicly announcing that they do not agree with him, and thus his power is at an end. The chief must always be a member of that tribe in which he presides. The sons of a chief cannot inherit their father's dignity, for the reason that they are not and cannot be, according to established usages, members of the tribe,
611 inasmuch as children do not inherit tribal rights from the father but from the mother.[265] No Indian will marry a person in his own tribe, as he is too closely related to all in it. Herein, the Indians allege, is to be found the reason for the existence of the tribes. Were it not for these, they could not be quite sure whether persons to be married are near relatives or not. Hence,
586 it is, also, that children are considered the property of the wife.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

If a divorce takes place they follow the mother. Those that are grown up may stay with the father if they please. Herein again is to be found reason for the conduct of parents towards their children. They never oppose their inclinations in order not to lose their affection. Parents never know how soon they may be separated, and both parties, in that event, fearing desertion by their children, are very desirous of gaining and retaining their love and affection. The Indians, therefore, regard their wives as strangers. It is a common saying among them, "My wife is not my friend," that is, she is not related to me and I am not concerned about her, she is only my wife. This satanic notion it is very difficult to uproot.

To return again to the matter of selection of a chief; as his sons cannot, for the reasons named, succeed him, a great grandchild or nephew may become chief, that is, either his daughter's daughter's son or his sister's son, so that the privilege of becoming Chief cannot be confined to too intimate relationship.

The principal duty of the first chief is to maintain the peace and covenants made between his people and the other Indian nations and the Europeans as also to carry on a kind of correspondence with them, all of which is generally done with the advice and consent of the chiefs of the Turkey and Wolf tribes, unless they are absent. It is further the particular duty of the principal chief to see to it that nothing is neglected and when necessary to send embassies. Finding that it is necessary to take action in some matter he summons the council, submits the subject and lets them deliberate which often demands of them much thought and attention. Another of his duties is that of keeping the people together and preventing any unnecessary dispersion. Much depends, therefore, on whether a chief is beloved of his people. Where this is lacking the Indians are like a swarm of bees without a queen bee. A chief must prevent all disorders in his town, have an eye to justice, and seek to do away with strife with the aid of his counsellors. But he may not seek to do this by force or severity but only by calm reasoning and friendly exhortation. Usually, the Indians are amenable to good words. In a general way the Indians pay due honor and respect to their chiefs, though there are some who

Marriage arrangements were always simple, but it was definitely considered better form for the negotiations to take place between the two sets of parents rather than between the individuals concerned. In this type of negotiation, the man's mother took animal food which he had killed to the girl's mother; according to some sources, a return gift was made of corn food prepared by the girl (Harrington, 1908, p.215; Heckewelder, 1881, pp.161-72; Zeisberger, 1910, p.78). It was not unusual, however, for the agreement to take place directly between the boy and girl in which case they might or might not go through these formalities. Loskiel, who is the only author who mentions the subject of residence after marriage, says that the newly married couple often lived with friends for a short time until they built their own house (Loskiel, p.56).

The man was responsible for building the house and providing axes, hoes, canoes, dishes and household equipment although the girl might supply some things. The man was expected to support the family by hunting, trapping and fishing, and the game which he brought home was the property of his wife to use as she saw fit. She was equally responsible, however, for agricultural produce and cooking; and if she were remiss, might be reminded of her neglect by her husband's taking to the woods without telling her he planned to do so. She also carried packs in traveling, tanned skins and fetched wood (Penn, p.30; Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 155-160; G.Thomas, p.341).

There was apparently no strong pressure put upon the couple to remain together after they were married. Although later writers state that marriages were formerly more stable, they present no evidence to substantiate this. Polygyny was permitted but infrequent (Heckewelder, 1881, p.154; Harrington, 1913, p.215; Zeisberger, 1910, pp.78-9; Loskiel, p.57). After the death of a spouse, the widow or widower, but more particularly the former, was expected to remain single for a year, but it is clear that this was frequently not done (Brickell, p.49; Loskiel, p.121).

Social Life and Organization

Most of Delaware social behavior is a closed book to us as the early observers did not usually have long contacts with them in their villages. The early writers were aware, however, that the Indian expected to be fed when he visited them, and that they were always offered food when they visited him. Likewise they noted that gifts passed readily from hand to hand among the Indians although property rights were clearly understood (Lindstrom p.233; Danckaerts, pp.80 and 159; Penn, p.32).

The following games were probably played in this early period: footraces (Lindstrom, p.191); a gambling game in which flat bones,

| | | |

9: Kinietz / E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

condition of the smaller population of the last century, it is more likely that the custom simply ceased to be active. 595 587

In the same way marriage of a man to a woman and her daughter, either simultaneously or successively, was probably never very common and disappeared completely in the fourth period (149). The tabulated information shows a complete break between the sources and the informants. As the latter simply deny knowing of any such cases, now or in the past, and have no knowledge of any rule prohibiting such marriages, lack of opportunity is probably as much responsible as any change in viewpoint.

Divorce and allied considerations apparently have undergone little change in recent years from the point of view of the Delaware even with the superimposition of the legal code of the whites (153-58). W. T. in his very idealistic view of Delaware customs said children were brought up to mind their parents and that this behavior continued through life. Hence, in marriage a boy and girl had no choice but to do what parents decided. A girl then could not leave her husband because her parents had given her to the man in exchange for presents. He implied that the husband was not bound quite as much to continue a distasteful marriage, and, also, that after the death of the parents the girl could act more according to choice. E. R. and W. L. said that women seldom obtained a divorce, but according to J. W., whose son was recently divorced, the woman was chivalrously allowed to do the divorcing even if the husband was the wronged party. In his son's case the Delaware customs were observed as well as the legal steps. The wife had been running around with other men and drinking. After several of her protracted absences from home, Fred decided upon a divorce. He waited until she came home, asked her to pack up her belongings, and then took them and her to her father's home. Her father was already acquainted with the circumstances, but Fred repeated them and announced that he was through with her. Then he instituted legal action but both families already considered the divorce to be in effect. 586 [867]

Information on the two elements, cohabitation without marriage and children born out of wedlock (161 and 164), follows 588 848

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

592 who generally form the same family, the youngest having the
595 husband's preference. But if they cannot agree to live together they reside in separate cabins and receive the visits of the husband when he deigns to make them.

CAPTAIN CHIPPS—Polygamy is common with the rich—but "one woman is generally a match for a man," and with the poor, there is never more than one. If a man has several wives, he treats them equally well—they compose one family.

J. W. refused to comment on polygamy, while W. T. denied that there were ever any cases.

W. L. said that a person might have two or three wives but did not do so commonly. Reported that Sam White Turkey had three. Children by each were considered members of one family.

148. Polygynous sororate obligatory

595 JOHN JOHNSTON—If the man appears to regret the loss of his
587 wife and shuns the intercourse of women for a number of months, the relatives of the deceased will present him a suit of new clothes and give him to wife a sister or some other relative of his former wife, the same mode is adopted with regard to the women.

W. T. said both sororate and levirate if the relatives of the deceased insisted, but not otherwise.

158. Following divorce children stay with mother

586 CAPTAIN CHIPPS—If they have children, the parent to whom they are most attached takes and provides for them—there is no equal division of children.

W. L.—Children might stay with mother although father often kept boys.

165. Illegitimate children injurious to reputation of mother

848 CAPTAIN PIPE—So far as regards the reputation of women who have children without being married it is affected much as that of the whites. They secure to themselves a good deal of contempt and worthless fellows for their husbands.

168. Proportion of married women without children

842 ZEISBERGER, CAPTAIN CHIPPS, J. W., and E. R. all said the proportion of women without children was unknown. HECKE-

[P.34, B]

581 Divorce and family instability were common; many children were raised by
●586 mother surrogates. "Owing to instability of the family relationship, children are
581 often neglected."[9] The father was absent, hunting, fishing, fighting, trading, or
855 attending treaties during most of the year; what discipline there was fell to the hand of the mother, who was considered to
796 "own" the children.[10] During one of the annual calendar of ceremonies, young
861 children were chased by a man dressed in a bear-skin, who threatened to punish them for misdeeds (of which the parents kept him informed from year to year) by carrying them away in a bag full of snakes.[11]
[776] This "Mask Spirit" was considered to be the "Guardian of the Game" and also promoted the fertility of the corn; in other words, was the symbol of the food pro-
955 vider.[12] The boys were able to escape from the mother's supervision as soon as they were able to get about to play at hunting and fighting; but the girls were kept around
754 the house to help the mother at work.[13] When a child died, an old woman was often accused of having bewitched it.[14]

155 It would seem that the mother-figure
593 remained a symbol of possible delights which could not be secured on demand, a symbol of diffused frustration, of withheld benefits and hidden hostility, to the Delaware, and the source of his generalized, if inhibited, aggressiveness; and that the father-figure stood on the horizon, so to speak, as a powerful, friendly being, but one too remote and too aloof to be depended upon.

Emotional Attachments in Maturity

584 The ideal in marriage was for a young man to fall in love with a girl. His family would present his suit; she would accept
[585] him by accepting the presents he sent, and come to live with him; and they would live happily and faithfully ever after. The

9. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 21.
10. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 14.
11. Harrington, 1938, pp. 52-53, 113.
12. Ibid.; Harrington, 1921.
13. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 16.
14. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 128.

[P. 35, A]

584 marriage would furthermore be congenial to the parents of both parties.[15] In practice
● 586 these marriages usually broke up quickly, both spouses quickly being unfaithful to one another.[16] Occasionally a man, his
[1762] pride wounded by a wife's infidelity, directed his helpless anger inward and committed suicide by taking poison. Women too killed themselves out of jealousy.[17] The shifting romantic attachments of both sexes seem to represent an unending striving to find the all-satisfying parent: a striving continually doomed to frustration.

787 The guardian spirit relationship (which was sought by both men and women) seems also to be built upon the prototype of the search for the all-satisfying (but not authoritarian) parent.[18]

572 Among men there was an institution of "friendship" which focused considerable emotion upon a relationship of formally recognized mutual dependency, in war, in
[521] the chase, and in various other life crises.[19] Men were more at ease with one another
[562] in conversation than with women and, according to Zeisberger, would automatically suspect as a lie any tale which they
[593] heard from a woman.[20] It was a common saying, "My wife is not my friend."[21] Old
888 women were accused by the men of being
439 the middlemen who carried the socially disrupting rum from white settlements to the villages.[22]

562 Implicit in all this was the assumption
571 on the part of all Delawares—men and women alike—that relationships with women, while they could be satisfying, were not likely to be; and the further assumption on the part of men that they had less to fear from other men than from

15. Heckewelder, 1819, p. 161; Zeisberger, 1778, p. 79.
16. Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 82-83.
17. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 83.
18. Lindestrom, 1656, pp. 207-209; Heckewelder, 1819, pp. 245-246; Zeisberger, 1778, p. 127.
19. Heckewelder, 1819, p. 278; Lindestrom, 1656, p. 233; Zeisberger, 1778, p. 116.
20. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 116.
21. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 99.
22. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 117.

[P. 37, A]

562 fulness, in comparison with the men, may
157 have been owing to the fact that they were much more restricted in childhood than their brothers. Nowhere in Delaware society was there the model of anyone
592 with coercive authority; neither mother nor
622 father ruled the roost at home in an
625 authoritarian sense, the sachems had no power to enforce their wishes, and there was no conception of a state with police
586 powers. Divorce was easy and frequent and could be initiated by either party simply leaving the other.[36] Supernatural
776 beings were not Jehovah-like Gods who regularly punished the wicked and rewarded the good; the Delaware reckoned rather with a supernatural guardian spirit who acted as a comrade and friend who would assist his mortal protege in critical passes. Shame and pride are more frequent themes than guilt and self-righteousness;
577 Speck (referring to twentieth-century Oklahoma Delawares) says, "Spiritual purity . . . is not conditioned by ethical conduct, but rather . . . through the observance of taboo regulations prescribed by ancient rulings."[37]

155 It would seem to be a fair inference that
577 the Delaware often did not develop a strong authoritarian, coercive conscience; moral values (which certainly were recognized) did not possess an awesome, mosaic character; "good" and "bad" had a light affective tone.

114 Zeisberger, who as a Moravian believed
626 in less discipline and autocracy than was fashionable in eighteenth century Europe, was still puzzled as to how a society without authority could hold together. "Judged by the mere appearance of the Indians," he wrote, "one is surprised how modest and careful they are in relation to each other and imagines that the whites, if they were as free a people and had neither government nor punishment to fear, would not
626 be as united and peaceable as the Indians appear to be."[38] This superficial smooth-

36. Heckewelder, 1819, p. 154; Zeisberger, 1776, pp. 20-21.
37. Speck, 1931, p. 51.
38. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 122.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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585 also speak to the couple on subsequent occasions, perhaps on the birth of a child (M.B.).

591 The place of residence of a newly married couple is something of a puzzle. In the nineteenth century it was temporarily patrilocal or matrilocal (bilocal), with friends, or by themselves (neolocal).[66] This was probably not true in early historic times; the evidence favors matrilocality. All sources are agreed that the Delawares were polygynous.[65]

595 Polygyny seems to have been more frequent in the early days. "An *Indian* may have two wives or more if he please, but it is not much in use as it was since the English came amongst them they being ready in some measure to imitate the *English* in things both good & bad."[66] Van der Donck said that "ordinarily they have but one wife, sometimes two or three, but this is generally among the chiefs."[67] The sororate [587] was sometimes practiced, and informants added that the levirate was known.[68] Trowbridge said that "many instances have been known where a man having married a widow also married her daughter, and this has sometimes been at the suggestion of the mother herself."[69]

586 Divorce.— Divorce was easy among the Delawares; either member of a marriage partnership could break the union.[70] Reasons for divorce were sterility, adultery, and any other type of incompatibility.[71] Divorce was not frequent when there were children, and in this event small children remained with the mother.[72] Heckewelder quoted a Delaware on marriage and divorce, and the account is both enlightening and entertaining:

> The Indians had not only a much easier way of getting a wife than the whites, but were also more certain of getting a good one; "For" (said he in his broken English), "White man court, — court, — may be one whole year! O may be two year before he marry! — well! — may be then got very good wife — but may be not! — may be very cross! — Well now, suppose cross! scold so soon as get awake in morning! scold all day! scold until sleep! — all one; he must keep him! White people have law forbidding throwing away wife, be he ever so cross! no! no! Squaw know too well what Indian do if he cross! — throw him away and take another! Squaw love to eat meat! no husband! no meat! Squaw do every thing to please husband! he do the same to please Squaw! live happy!"[73]

684 837 [834] Marital fidelity on the part of men does not seem to have been a major social goal, particularly during a woman's pregnancy, menstruation, and lactation, when marital relations were forbidden.[74] During this period many husbands apparently had concubines. There is one report of the social sanction of a woman's divorce from an adulterous husband. In this isolated case the husband was accused before the chief; he was

[66] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 78; O.A., N.D.
[67] Holm, 1834, p. 126; Loskiel, 1794, p. 58; Trowbridge MS., O.A., M.B., N.D.
[68] Denton, 1845, p. 9.
[69] Van der Donck, 1909, p. 202.
[70] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 88; O.A., M.B.
[71] Trowbridge MS.
[72] De Vries, 1909, p. 218; Holm, 1834, p. 126; Brainerd, 1884, pp. 171-72; Trowbridge MS.
[73] Denton, 1845, p. 9; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 85; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 154; Trowbridge MS.
[74] De Rasieres, 1909, p. 108; Trowbridge MS; O.A.
[75] Heckewelder, 1881, p. 161.
[76] Penn, 1912, p. 232; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 80.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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428 longed to the man, and bring it to one place. The friends do not keep a single article, for they wish to forget the dead and are afraid lest the smallest part of the property of the deceased should remind them of him. They give what the deceased has left to their friends and no one of his friends receives anything; even though he should wish to take something he will not do it through fear of the others. If a dying Indian leaves his gun or any other trifle to a particular friend the legatee is immediately put in possession and no one disputes his right. The widow gets nothing, yet whatever the husband has given to his wife during his life-time remains her property. Therefore we need not wonder that a married Indian pair should not have their goods in common, for otherwise the wife would be left wholly destitute after her husband's death. In like manner the husband inherits nothing when his wife dies.

768 According to ancient custom a widow should not marry again within a year after the death of her husband, for the In-
● 587 dians say that he does not forsake her before that time. At the end of this period, however, they believe that his soul goes to its place. A widow must endeavor to live by her own industry. She is not permitted to purchase any meat, for the Indians are superstitiously persuaded that their guns fail if a widow should eat of the game they have killed. Now and then a kind friend will venture to transgress the rule and give her some meat secretly. As soon as the first year of her widowhood is passed, the friends of the deceased husband clothe and provide for her and her children. They also propose another husband if they know of a desirable party, or, at least, tell her that she is now at liberty to choose for herself. If, however, she has not attended to the prescribed rule but married within the year, they never trouble themselves about her again except, perhaps, to speak evil of her.

626

If a man's wife die, her relatives pretend to have some claim upon him until a year has passed. If he has remained a widower during that time they generally secure him a wife, preferring a sister of the departed, if one be living.

764 The burying places are at some distance from the towns. Before they had hatchets and other tools they used to line the

584 Marriage arrangements were always simple, but it was definitely considered better form for the negotiations to take place between the two sets of parents rather than between the individuals concerned. In this type of negotiation, the man's mother took animal food which he had killed to the girl's mother; according to some sources, a [431] return gift was made of corn food prepared by the girl (Harrington, 1908, p.215; Heckewelder, 1881, pp.161-72; Zeisberger, 1910, p.78). It was not unusual, however, for the agreement to take place directly between the boy and girl in which case they might or might not go through these formalities. Loskiel, who is the only author who mentions the subject of residence after marriage, says that the 591 newly married couple often lived with friends for a short time until they built their own house (Loskiel, p.56).

462 The man was responsible for building the house and providing axes, hoes, canoes, dishes and household equipment although the girl might supply some things. The man was expected to support the family by hunting, trapping and fishing, and the game which he brought home was the property of his wife to use as she saw fit. She was equally responsible, however, for agricultural produce and cooking; and if she were remiss, might be reminded of her neglect by her husband's taking to the woods without telling her he planned to do so. She also carried packs in traveling, tanned skins and fetched wood (Penn, p.30; Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 155-160; G.Thomas, p.341).

586 There was apparently no strong pressure put upon the couple to remain together after they were married. Although later writers state that marriages were formerly more stable, they present no [595] evidence to substantiate this. Polygyny was permitted but infrequent (Heckewelder, 1881, p.154; Harrington, 1913, p.215; Zeisberger, 1910, pp.78-9; Loskiel, p.57). After the death of a spouse, the 768 widow or widower, but more particularly the former, was expected 587 to remain single for a year, but it is clear that this was frequently not done (Brickell, p.49; Loskiel, p.121).

Social Life and Organization

648 Most of Delaware social behavior is a closed book to us as 431 the early observers did not usually have long contacts with them in their villages. The early writers were aware, however, that the 574 Indian expected to be fed when he visited them, and that they were always offered food when they visited him. Likewise they noted that gifts passed readily from hand to hand among the Indians although property rights were clearly understood (Lindstrom p.233; Danckaerts, pp.80 and 159; Penn, p.32).

525 The following games were probably played in this early period: [526] footraces (lindstrom, p.191); a gambling game in which flat bones,

141.	Any superiority among wives				+	+	−			+	−	
142.	strongest				+							
143.	oldest									+		
144.	youngest					+						
145.	Polyandry				−	−	−			−	−	
146.	Sororate — polygynous				+	+	−	−	−	−	+	
147.	Sororate — successive			+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	
148.	Sororate — obligatory				*+	−	+	*+	−	−	+	
149.	Marriage of man to woman and daughter				+	+	+	−	−	−	·	
150.	Adultery criminal in the woman	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
151.	Equally so in the man		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
152.	Punished only by separation	+	−	(−)	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	−	
153.	Divorce on grounds of infidelity	+	+		+	+	+		−			
154.	Without any particular cause	+	+		+	+	+					
155.	May be limited by husband		+		+	+	+					
156.	by wife		+		+	+	+					
157.	Women seldom get divorce				+	+	+			−		
158.	Children stay with mother until able to choose for themselves		+	+	+	+	•	+		+	*+	
159.	Marriage with near relatives prohibited to very remote degree of relationship					+	+					
160.	to any known degree			+	+	·	·	+	+	+	+	
161.	Cohabitation without marriage common		+		+	·	·	−	−	−	+	
162.	Do individuals live to advanced age without being married				+	+	+	−	·	−	+	
163.	Commonly				−	−	−		−	−	−	
164.	Common for unmarried women to have children		+		+	+	+	−	−	−	+	
165.	Injurious to their reputations		+		+	*+	+			−	−	
166.	Are they punished		−			−	−	+		−	−	
167.	Affect chances of marriage		−		−	−		+		+	+	
168.	Proportion of married women without children †			•	*4-5	3	·	12	12	12	4-5	8-10
169.	Average number of children in family					2-3	·	2	2	1	2-3	2+
170.	Average interval between births (yrs.)										18-	
171.	Age women generally begin to bear children					16	·	16	30	21	20	20
172.	Age to cease					40	·	40	50+	70	·	50
					18-	15-					18-	17+
173.	Age that men commonly get married		•	•	20	25	F30	20	25	25	21	F20
					14-						16-	17+
174.	Age that women commonly get married		•		16	·	F24	20	20	20	21	F20

585 886 844 588 536 582 837 517 585

+ = element present
− = element denied
(+) or (−) = source ambiguous
* = informant could not or would not say
§ = some, sometimes, or several
† or * = see Ethnographic Notes, pp. 79-137 for additional information

	Williams	Van der Donck	Lindeström	Zeisberger	Heckewelder	Johnston	Pipe	Chippe	J. W.	W. T.	E. R.	W. L.
Death and its incidents †												
175. Treatment of corpse. Eyes closed		+				+	(+)		+	+	+	+
176. Limbs straightened		+				+	(+)		+	+	+	+
177. Washed						+	+	+	+	+	+	+
178. Dressed				+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
179. Painted				+	+				+	+	+	*+
180. By unrelated persons		−			(+)	·	+	·	+	−	+	*+
181. Kept ___ nights before burial		8	8	(1)	1	1	1	*1-4	1	1	1	1-3
182. Burial	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
183. Extended		*−	*−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
184. Grave depth ___ feet						3-4	3	5	5-6	4	4-5	3½-4
185. Grave lined with bark		+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
186. Grave goods of clothes only required	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+
187. Post at head of graves of males only				−	−	·	+	·	−	−	−	−
188. Cremation					−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
189. Take up bones and reinter			•		−	5	−	−	−	−	−	−
190. Collection of people at burial, thanks to bystanders for assistance		+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
191. Chief prays that soul may go happy						·	·	+	+	+	+	+
192. Feast at the grave							+		+			
193. Feast and moccasin game night before burial									+	+	+	+
194. Mourning. Widow or widower observes for ___ months	3-12	12	*12	12		·	*9	9	*12	*12	12	·
195. Lets hair grow loose and unkempt		*−		+			+		+	+	+	+
196. Wears black	+	+					−	+	·	−	·	−
197. Abstains from games, dances and amusement	+						+		+	+	+	+
198. Does not remarry during mourning	·	+		+		+	+	+	+	*+	+	+
199. Terminated by relatives of deceased washing, giving new clothes, etc.				+		·	+	·	·	+	5	*+
200. Visits grave ___ nights				365	21	6-7	6	·	3	4	·	4
201. Visits grave ___ dawns				365		—	6		—	—	—	—

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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585 The reports of lack of ceremony attending a marriage are quite evidently based on a misunderstanding of what constitutes a ceremony (134). Considered in its meaning of any form, rittal, or custom established for the observance of joining in marriage, there was a ceremony for even the type of marriage described by Chipps. The Delaware ceremony, however, was not a complicated one to judge from the one described by Pipe for former times and appears to have been simplified even further at that time, 1824. The form of marriage of the Delaware then may safely be said to have undergone a lessening of formality by the third period even though most of the former practices were still remembered in the fourth. One of the customs connected with marriage that was not remembered in the fourth period, the exchange of presents, aids in establishing the time of the change in marriage forms (137). Whereas the giving of presents to the bride or the family of the bride (135, 136) was reported in all four periods, the exchange of presents was recorded as a custom in the second period, but one no longer practiced, according to Pipe, in the third period, and completely forgotten in the fourth.

595 Polygyny was not common in any period and was principally confined to chiefs and rich men. There is no consensus among either the sources or the informants as to whether any superiority was observed among the multiple wives or on what quality such a superiority might have been based (141-44). Polyandry was not mentioned in the first two periods, but was emphatically denied in the last two (145). Information on the operation of the levirate is too scanty to warrant any conclusions, but the sororate attracted attention in all but the first period (146-48). Polygynous sororate was reported by all three sources of the third period but denied by all the informants except W. L. His information applied to only one family. Successive sororate was reported in each of the last three periods and the only denial was that of the Canadian Chipps. There may have been a change in the feeling toward polygynous sororate in the last period, but as polygyny was not common in any period and opportunities for polygynous sororal marriages were fewer in the scattered

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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condition of the smaller population of the last century, it is more likely that the custom simply ceased to be active.

In the same way marriage of a man to a woman and her daughter, either simultaneously or successively, was probably never very common and disappeared completely in the fourth period (149). The tabulated information shows a complete break between the sources and the informants. As the latter simply deny knowing of any such cases, now or in the past, and have no knowledge of any rule prohibiting such marriages, lack of opportunity is probably as much responsible as any change in viewpoint.

Divorce and allied considerations apparently have undergone little change in recent years from the point of view of the Delaware even with the superimposition of the legal code of the whites (153-58). W. T. in his very idealistic view of Delaware customs said children were brought up to mind their parents and that this behavior continued through life. Hence, in marriage a boy and girl had no choice but to do what parents decided. A girl then could not leave her husband because her parents had given her to the man in exchange for presents. He implied that the husband was not bound quite as much to continue a distasteful marriage, and, also, that after the death of the parents the girl could act more according to choice. E. R. and W. L. said that women seldom obtained a divorce, but according to J. W., whose son was recently divorced, the woman was chivalrously allowed to do the divorcing even if the husband was the wronged party. In his son's case the Delaware customs were observed as well as the legal steps. The wife had been running around with other men and drinking. After several of her protracted absences from home, Fred decided upon a divorce. He waited until she came home, asked her to pack up her belongings, and then took them and her to her father's home. Her father was already acquainted with the circumstances, but Fred repeated them and announced that he was through with her. Then he instituted legal action but both families already considered the divorce to be in effect.

Information on the two elements, cohabitation without marriage and children born out of wedlock (161 and 164), follows

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592 who generally form the same family, the youngest having the
595 husband's preference. But if they cannot agree to live together they reside in separate cabins and receive the visits of the husband when he deigns to make them.

CAPTAIN CHIPPS—Polygamy is common with the rich—but "one woman is generally a match for a man," and with the poor, there is never more than one. If a man has several wives, he treats them equally well—they compose one family.

J. W. refused to comment on polygamy, while W. T. denied that there were ever any cases.

W. L. said that a person might have two or three wives but did not do so commonly. Reported that Sam White Turkey had three. Children by each were considered members of one family.

148. Polygynous sororate obligatory

595 JOHN JOHNSTON—If the man appears to regret the loss of his
587 wife and shuns the intercourse of women for a number of months, the relatives of the deceased will present him a suit of new clothes and give him to wife a sister or some other relative of his former wife, the same mode is adopted with regard to the women.

W. T. said both sororate and levirate if the relatives of the deceased insisted, but not otherwise.

158. Following divorce children stay with mother

586 CAPTAIN CHIPPS—If they have children, the parent to whom they are most attached takes and provides for them—there is no equal division of children.

W. L.—Children might stay with mother although father often kept boys.

165. Illegitimate children injurious to reputation of mother

848 CAPTAIN PIPE—So far as regards the reputation of women who have children without being married it is affected much as that of the whites. They secure to themselves a good deal of contempt and worthless fellows for their husbands.

168. Proportion of married women without children

842 ZEISBERGER, CAPTAIN CHIPPS, J. W., and E. R. all said the proportion of women without children was unknown. HECKE-

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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The children have entirely their own will and never do anything by compulsion. Told to do something they do not care about, the children let it go by default and are not reprimanded for it. Yet many wellbred children are found among them who pay great attention and respect to parents and do things to please them. They are courteous, even to strangers. They respond to mild treatment. The contrary generally produces bitterness, hatred and contempt. The women are frequently guilty of thus raising their children to anger, for the women are often ill-tempered. By way of punishment, they will pour water on the children or thrust them into the water. The parents are careful not to beat their children, lest the children might remember it and revenge themselves on some future occasion. Instances are not wanting where children when grown have reproached their parents for corporal punishment received in youth and have threatened to return the indignity.

Rarely does an Indian have two or more wives, being fearful of strife in the house. Blood relations do not marry; in this particular they are even more strict than the whites. They claim that division of the race into tribes came about in order to make it more readily certain that a man in taking a wife was not marrying a near relative. Concerning the tribes, however, more will be said in another connection. An instance of an Indian having married a mother and her daughter at the same time was a most extraordinary thing.

Families have from four to six children. More than this number is unusual. Birth of twins is rarely heard of. In many cases children who have become motherless after birth have been reared by careful old women. Sometimes children are given to such women. Then they spare no pains in rearing them. Soup made of Indian corn, pounded very fine, is given by them to infants of tender age, that may have come into their possession. Ordinarily, orphans, even if they have lost but the mother, meet with hard experience and often suffer want. Children who have been given or bequeathed, on the contrary, are almost without exception well cared for.

In the management of household affairs the husband leaves

141.	Any superiority among wives				+	+	–			+	–
142.	strongest				+						
143.	oldest									+	
144.	youngest					+					
145.	Polyandry				–	–	–			–	–
146.	Sororate — polygynous				+	+	+			–	+
147.	Sororate — successive				+	+	–			–	+
148.	Sororate — obligatory				•+	–	•+			–	+
149.	Marriage of man to woman and daughter				+	+	–			–	+
150.	Adultery criminal in the woman	+	+	+	+	+	+			+	•
151.	Equally so in the man		+	+	+	+	+			+	+
152.	Punished only by separation	+	–	(–)	+	+	+			+	+
153.	Divorce on grounds of infidelity	+	+	+	+	+	+			+	+
154.	Without any particular cause	+	+	+	+	+	+			+	+
155.	May be limited by husband		+	+	+	+	+			+	+
156.	by wife		+	+	+	+	+			+	+
157.	Women seldom get divorce			+	+	+	+			–	+
158.	Children stay with mother until able to choose for themselves		+	+	+	+	•	+		+	•+
159.	Marriage with near relatives prohibited to very remote degree of relationship					+	+				
160.	to any known degree			+	+	+	+	+		+	+
161.	Cohabitation without marriage common		+		+	•	•	–		–	+
162.	Do individuals live to advanced age without being married				+	+	+	+		+	+
163.	Commonly				–	–	–	–		–	–
164.	Common for unmarried women to have children		+		+	+	+	–		–	+
165.	Injurious to their reputations		+		+	•+	+	–		–	–
166.	Are they punished		–			–		+		–	–
167.	Affect chances of marriage		–		–	–		+		+	+
168.	Proportion of married women without children †										
169.	Average number of children in family			•	•4-5	3	•	12	12	4-5	8-10
170.	Average interval between births (yrs.)					2-3	•	2	2	2-3	2+
171.	Age women generally begin to bear children					16	•	16	30	18-20	20
172.	Age to cease					40	•	40	50+	•	50
173.	Age that men commonly get married		•	18-20		15-25	F30	20	25	18-21	17+ F20
174.	Age that women commonly get married		•	14-16		•	F24	20	20	16-21	17+ F20

585 557 837 588 558 836 558 ● 848 886 885

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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condition of the smaller population of the last century, it is more likely that the custom simply ceased to be active.

In the same way marriage of a man to a woman and her daughter, either simultaneously or successively, was probably never very common and disappeared completely in the fourth period (149). The tabulated information shows a complete break between the sources and the informants. As the latter simply deny knowing of any such cases, now or in the past, and have no knowledge of any rule prohibiting such marriages, lack of opportunity is probably as much responsible as any change in viewpoint.

Divorce and allied considerations apparently have undergone little change in recent years from the point of view of the Delaware even with the superimposition of the legal code of the whites (153-58). W. T. in his very idealistic view of Delaware customs said children were brought up to mind their parents and that this behavior continued through life. Hence, in marriage a boy and girl had no choice but to do what parents decided. A girl then could not leave her husband because her parents had given her to the man in exchange for presents. He implied that the husband was not bound quite as much to continue a distasteful marriage, and, also, that after the death of the parents the girl could act more according to choice. E. R. and W. L. said that women seldom obtained a divorce, but according to J. W., whose son was recently divorced, the woman was chivalrously allowed to do the divorcing even if the husband was the wronged party. In his son's case the Delaware customs were observed as well as the legal steps. The wife had been running around with other men and drinking. After several of her protracted absences from home, Fred decided upon a divorce. He waited until she came home, asked her to pack up her belongings, and then took them and her to her father's home. Her father was already acquainted with the circumstances, but Fred repeated them and announced that he was through with her. Then he instituted legal action but both families already considered the divorce to be in effect.

Information on the two elements, cohabitation without marriage and children born out of wedlock (161 and 164), follows

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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588 848 the same pattern: uniformity of affirmation among the sources and denial by all the informants except W. L. The remarks of W. L. show rather conclusively that the extension of the legal code of the whites over the Indians was largely responsible for this fourth-period change. He said that these elements were common "before the law came and then the women got mean and objected when their husbands went to see other girls." The changes indicated in the reputations of unmarried mothers and their chances of marriage (165, 167) are, of course, related to each other and derive from white contact.

582 The age of marriage was formerly much older, according to both Captain Pipe and W. L., than it was at the time of their accounts (173, 174). There is little evidence for this alleged relaxation of restrictions upon the marriageable age to be found in the source material. One might expect that the introduction [885] of firearms made some difference in the age at which a youth could support himself and hence a wife, but a bow and a supply of arrows were more easily obtained than a gun. The explanation for the comments on the independence of youth probably lies in the principle of "faith in former good times" or, to put it the other way around for this case, the principle of "present degeneration of youth." This principle of human nature is of widespread application and is found not only among many other Indian tribes but also in the beliefs of other races for the past five thousand years and more.

Death and Its Incidents

764 The treatment of their dead by the Delaware appears to have undergone little change in the time for which we have records. The preparation of the corpse shows no change with the exception of the substitution of European clothes for furs (175-79). Even now, however, moccasins and other items of Indian manufacture are used to dress the corpse when obtainable. There are two dissenters on the subject of the preparation of the corpse by unrelated persons only, one early and one modern (180). Probably there was no hard and fast rule, but nonrelatives were

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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764 on the north and south sides. Men assembled on the south side and the women on the north. They sang with drum accompaniment and played the moccasin game with two pairs of moccasins and one bullet. There was a feast before sundown. Burial was before sunup the day after death. The chief or some old man prayed and talked to deceased. All circled the grave clockwise, each [782] throwing in a little dirt. The chief then talked to the widow and [587] told her not to get married for a year. She must not attend dances or games for a year. The widow and immediate relatives did not wash, comb their hair or change their clothes for four days after a death. A widow visited grave irregularly and left food the same way. A crib of logs, four to six feet high, was placed around the grave and then covered over. A stick two to three inches thick was placed at the head of every grave. The point of the stick was six to seven inches long and painted red. There was a difference in the sticks for men and women but not sure just what, believed that women had a cross which was painted.

179 and 180. Corpse painted by unrelated person

W. L.—Body was prepared by two men and two women appointed from nonrelatives. One man marked the face of the deceased with paint and then one of the women came along and added some marks.

181. Corpse kept—nights before burial

Captain Chipps—The funeral in warm weather is attended the day after death. In winter the body is kept three or four days.

183. Burials extended.

Both Van der Donck and Lindeström said that a corpse was buried in a sitting position and placed either on a wooden block or a stool.

189. Take up bones and reinter

765 Lindeström said that the body was buried a few days after death, then for a period of about a month the departed was mourned, at the end of which time the body was disinterred and

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7

585 also speak to the couple on subsequent occasions, perhaps on the birth of a child (M.B.).

591 The place of residence of a newly married couple is something of a puzzle. In the nineteenth century it was temporarily patrilocal or matrilocal (bilocal), with friends, or by themselves (neolocal).[64] This was probably not true in early historic times; the evidence favors matrilocality. All sources are agreed that the Delawares were polygynous.[65]

595 Polygyny seems to have been more frequent in the early days. "An *Indian* may have two wives or more if he please, but it is not much in use as it was since the English came amongst them they being ready in some measure to imitate the *English* in things both good & bad."[66] Van der Donck said that "ordinarily they have but one wife, sometimes two or three, but this is generally among the chiefs."[67] The sororate [587] was sometimes practiced, and informants added that the levirate was known.[68] Trowbridge said that "many instances have been known where a man having married a widow also married her daughter, and this has sometimes been at the suggestion of the mother herself."[69]

586 Divorce.— Divorce was easy among the Delawares; either member of a marriage partnership could break the union.[70] Reasons for divorce were sterility, adultery, and any other type of incompatibility.[71] Divorce was not frequent when there were children, and in this event small children remained with the mother.[72] Heckewelder quoted a Delaware on marriage and divorce, and the account is both enlightening and entertaining:

> The Indians had not only a much easier way of getting a wife than the whites, but were also more certain of getting a good one; "For" (said he in his broken English), "White man court, — court, — may be one whole year! O may be two year before he marry! — well! — may be then got very good wife — but may be not! — may be very cross! — Well now, suppose cross! scold so soon as get awake in morning! scold all day! scold until sleep! — all one; he must keep him! White people have law forbidding throwing away wife, be he ever so cross! no! no! Squaw know too well what Indian do if he cross! — throw him away and take another! Squaw love to eat meat! no husband! no meat! Squaw do every thing to please husband! he do the same to please Squaw! live happy!"[73]

684 Marital fidelity on the part of men does not seem to have been a major
837 social goal, particularly during a woman's pregnancy, menstruation,
[834] and lactation, when marital relations were forbidden.[74] During this period many husbands apparently had concubines. There is one report of the social sanction of a woman's divorce from an adulterous husband. In this isolated case the husband was accused before the chief; he was

[64] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 78; O.A., N.D.
[65] Holm, 1834, p. 126; Loskiel, 1794, p. 58; Trowbridge MS., O.A., M.B., N.D.
[66] Denton, 1845, p. 9.
[67] Van der Donck, 1909, p. 302.
[68] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 88; O.A., M.B.
[69] Trowbridge MS.
[70] De Vries, 1909, p. 218; Holm, 1834, p. 126; Brainerd, 1884, pp. 171-72; Trowbridge MS.
[71] Denton, 1845, p. 9; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 85; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 154; Trowbridge MS.
[72] De Rasieres, 1909, p. 108; Trowbridge MS; O.A.
[73] Heckewelder, 1881, p. 161.
[74] Penn, 1912, p. 232; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 80.

2:Newcomb E-4,5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7

8. All grandchildren and kin of the second descending generation, irrespective of sex, were called by one term, grandchild.
9. If Ego was male, the children of male cousins were son and daughter, whereas children of female cousins were nephew and niece. If Ego was female, the children of siblings and cousins, irrespective of sex, were son and daughter.

Modern Kinship Terms

My data agree in the main with Morgan's, although there are some curious differences. (For comparative purposes the modern kinship terms are discussed here rather than under Acculturation.) The changes may be due to Munsi influence, since the modern system is like that of the Munsi, although the Unami dialect is employed. The changes may also be regarded as a further deterioration, particularly as the kinship society is no longer functional.

In terminology the major alteration has been in the classification of cousins. All cousins are now put in the sibling category, being termed older brother, older sister, or younger sibling. (Fig. 3, p. 47.) The children of those individuals whom Ego terms sibling are son and daughter, with the exception that male Ego calls a sister's son nephew. Male Ego does not call sister's daughter niece, as was true in Morgan's time, but calls her daughter. When cousins became brothers and sisters, it was only logical to extend the son and daughter term to their offspring. It might be noted that women in Morgan's time used the son and daughter terminology for all offspring of cousins. All of my informants were vague about the proper term for father's sister's husband and mother's sister's husband. It was given as "my little stepfather," but also as "my little father."

A Reconstruction of the Early Historic Kinship Terminology

Despite the lack of any early historic description of the Delaware kinship terminology, an attempt to reconstruct it is profitable. There is fairly extensive information concerning the other facts of social existence in early historic times, and, given these facts, only certain conditions were possible for the kinship structure. The kinds of forces that affected Delaware society between the time of first contact and 1859 are also known, as are the results that these forces generally have upon kinship systems. Moreover, Morgan's description of the kinship system in 1859 provides a point of departure.

There are strong indications that most if not all of the seventeenth-century peoples who were to become the Delaware tribe reckoned descent in the maternal line and practiced matrilocal residence.[121] It has been seen that horticulture was in the hands of women, a fact which emphasizes

[121] Wallace, 1947, pp. 1-35.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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Delaware Kinship Terminology
Consanguineal

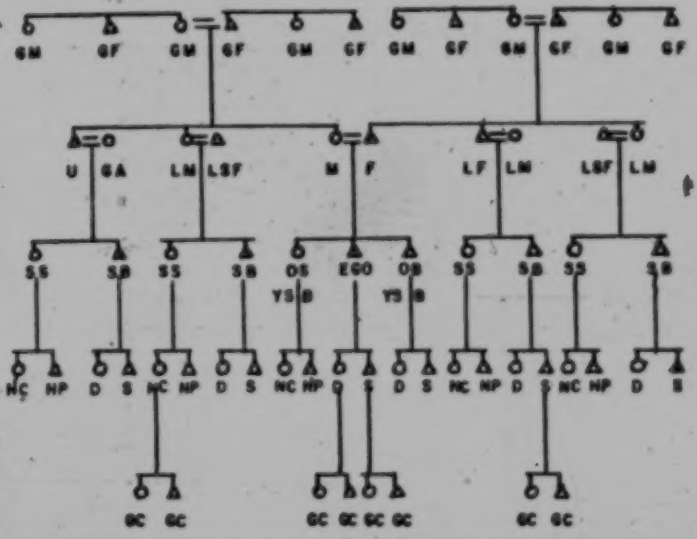

Fig. 1. Delaware terminological structure, consanguineal terms, male speaking (1859). The abbreviations are GF, grandfather; GM, grandmother; U, uncle; GA, great aunt, LM, little mother, LSF, little stepfather; M, mother; F, father; LF, little father; SS, stepsister; SB, stepbrother; OS, older sister; OB, older brother; YSB, younger sibling; NC, niece; NP, nephew; D, daughter; S, son, GC, grandchild. Δ = male; O = female. With Ego female, the only difference in terms is found for nephew and niece. They are called son and daughter, so that all kin of the first descending generation are son and daughter.

the maternal line.[122] There were other cultural traits which point to a maternal emphasis: avuncular succession of sachemship is one, as are the facts that orphaned children were cared for by maternal grandparents, that a widower had to reimburse the wife's family before remarriage, and possibly that childhood names were given by mothers rather than by fathers. The occasional polygyny of the early period did not favor either matrilocality or matrilineal descent, although if it was of a sororal type it was then compatible with matrilocality.

As has been noted, by the nineteenth century residence of a newly married couple was neolocal or bilocal, although probably it was matrilocal in early historic times. If a pre-European matrilocal society is assumed, what would cause an alteration to a neo- or bilocal rule? Murdock has said: "Rules of residence reflect general economic, social and cultural conditions. When underlying conditions change, rules of

[122]Murdock, 1949, pp. 204-5.

2;Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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Delaware Kinship Terminology
Affinal

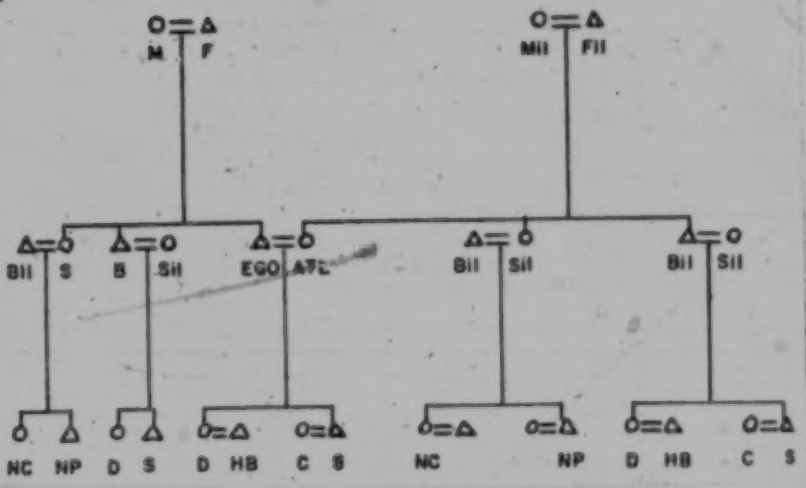

Fig. 2. Delaware terminological structure, affinal terms (1859). The abbreviations are Mil, mother-in-law; Fil, father-in-law; Bil, brother-in-law; Sil, sister-in-law; ATL, aid through life (spouse); HB, hunter for my benefit (son-in-law); C, cook (daughter-in-law). With Ego female, terms are the same. Other abbreviations as in Figure 1.

residence tend to be modified accordingly."[123] As he has pointed out further, the isolation and emphasis placed upon nuclear families, the decrease in polygyny, the scattering of kinsmen, and the individualistic emphasis placed upon economic activity, all favor the development of neolocal residence.[124] Bilocal residence is favored by "the adoption of a migratory life in unstable bands," and by the "approximate equality in status of the two sexes, especially with regard to the ownership and inheritance of property and privileges."[125] Almost all of the conditions which Murdock mentioned were prominent factors in Delaware life between 1600 and 1859. These forces are discussed at length under Acculturation; suffice it to say here that contact with Euro-American civilization caused extensive migrations, a new economic system emphasizing individual initiative, a decline in polygyny, breakup and decimation of geographically associated kinsmen, a decline in the importance of female-dominated horticulture, and increasing importance of men in subsistence. In short, residence rules of the Delawares in all probability altered from matrilocal to neolocal or bilocal.

The kinship terminology which Morgan described was in most of its

[123] Murdock, 1949, p. 17.
[124] *Ibid.*, p. 204.
[125] *Ibid.*

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7

Modern Delaware Kinship Terminology

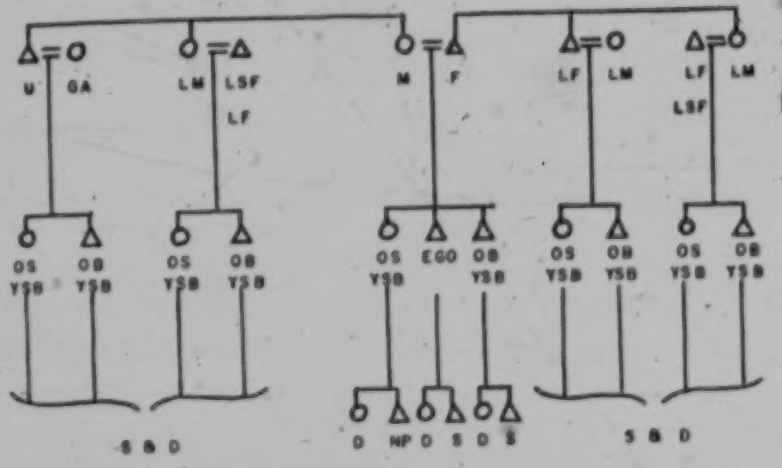

Fig. 3. Abbreviations are the same as for Figures 1 and 2. All cousins are called older brother or sister, or younger sibling. Sister's son is nephew, Ego male. Ego female, all kin of first descending generation are son or daughter. Mother's sister's husband and father's sister's husband may be called either little father, or little stepfather. A complete diagram is not given since there has been no change in other terms. Informants: O.A., M.B., J.T., F.W.

features in accord with the type which Murdock terms "Matri-Hawaiian."[120] It is apparent, however, that the early historic terminology was not Hawaiian, since descent must have been matrilineal instead of bilateral, as is required by a Hawaiian system. If an early historic system is now considered, with matrilineal descent and a matrilocal rule of residence, which by Morgan's time had evolved to a bilateral, Matri-Hawaiian type, is it possible to suggest the form of the early historic terminology? The most likely form would seem to be one of the "Iroquois" type, since the generation principle is not violated in either, and the other differences are relatively minor.[121] In an Iroquoian system cross-cousins are called by the same terms, which differ from those used for parallel cousins. Parallel cousins may or may not be called by the same terms which are used for siblings. The term applied to mother and mother's sister is different from the one applied to father's sister. If it is assumed that the Delawares had this system, with matrilocal residence and matrilineal descent, how would this alteration to the Hawaiian type take place? It may be postulated, for example, that Ego's

[120] Murdock, 1949, p. 229.
[121] White, 1939, pp. 568-70.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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mother's brother upon marriage violates the traditional rule of matrilocal residence and brings his wife back to the group in which Ego is growing up. If this becomes a common occurrence, it is readily seen that a mother's brother's children might soon be confused, or aligned in Ego's mind with his parallel cousins, leading eventually to an alteration in cousin terminology. Or, if the rule of residence becomes neolocal, the same sort of alteration might take place. In this instance the reason for distinguishing between various kinds of cousins disappears, as with our own system. Neither paternal or maternal cross- or parallel cousins would in this case consistently be more familiar with Ego because of residence; they would be equals, receiving an equal emphasis in the kinship terminology. A logical accompaniment to this sort of alteration would be a change in Ego's terms for the first ascending generation. It is plain that a father's sister, who under an Iroquoian system had a special term, would now be the mother of children whom in a Hawaiian system Ego calls siblings, and hence she is called mother. It should be noted that the terminology employed in Morgan's time retained at least one feature of a previously unilateral system. This was the term for mother's brother, who was called uncle, instead of little father, as the logic of a bilateral system would lead one to expect. It may also be noted that the offspring of this uncle were placed in the sibling category by Ego. It may well be that the special, asymmetrical term for a mother's brother is a vestige of the once important avuncular relationship. It is difficult to arrive at a reasonable hypothesis for the similarly non-bilateral terminology applied to nepotic relatives in Morgan's time. First, there may have been no change in the terms employed for the children of siblings, for this is still a common Iroquoian type of terminology. I have not been able, however, to state the most probable terminology for the offspring of cousins; that the terms were different from the ones used in Morgan's time seems likely.

Clan and Phratry

The early historic Delawares seem to have had a rather weakly developed clan system. These named units probably consisted of a woman, her descendants, and collateral kin unilaterally reckoned in the maternal line. It cannot be determined whether these units should more properly be termed lineages, that is, unilateral descent groups tracing descent to a known ancestress, or clans, which may be defined as named, unilateral, exogamous descent groups, tracing ancestry to a mythically, or at least genetically, remote ancestor. Morgan termed these groups subgentes, since they were not totemic.[138] Wallace termed them lineages, and Harrington has called them clans.[139] Because of the diverse nature of the peoples who were to become the Delaware tribe any single characterization may be inaccurate.

[138] Morgan, 1877, p. 171.
[139] Wallace, 1947, p. 6; Harrington, 1913, p. 210.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7
Iroquois NM9

D 841 poorly built, and remains there two or three days, food being taken to her. When the time is over they bathe and wash their clothes and are allowed to return to their husbands. During the D 784 menstrual period, they are not permitted to do any cooking or 262 domestic work. None will eat what a woman in this condition 841 prepares, for food prepared under such circumstances is said to be unwholesome and to cause pain in the abdomen. The women do not go into company, but keep to their huts until their time is over. Hence, it occasionally happens that a woman engaged in baking will leave everything and go to her hut. This custom I [841] does not obtain among the Mingoes; their women continue their usual work and remain in the house.

In the wooing of a bride, custom demands that if an Indian would proceed honorably and at the same time have assurance D 584 that his wife when married will remain with him, he first sends a present of blankets, strouds, linen and whatever else the Indians commonly use for clothing and perhaps a few belts or fathoms of wampum. If he has no cloth, wampum alone will do. These things he gives to an Indian to whom he has declared his purpose and who hands them to a friend of the person fixed upon, speaks for him and presses his suit. Thereupon, the friends assemble, examine the present, propose the matter to the girl, who generally decides agreeably to the wish of her parents and relations. The suitor is then informed that his proposal has been accepted. If it is decided to decline the proposal, the present is simply returned and understood to be a friendly negative. In case the match is agreeable, the girl is led to the dwelling of the groom, without further ceremony. After the bride has joined her husband, the things constituting the present are divided among the friends and the belts of wampum cut and a piece given to each. The friends return the civility by a present of Indian corn, beans, kettles, dishes, spoons, sieves, baskets, hatchets, brought in solemn procession into the hut of the newly D married couple. Commonly, the latter lodge in a friend's house [591] until they can erect a dwelling of their own.

This custom still obtains among the Indians.[3] Within the last years, however, disorderly living and evil have become so common that faith is not kept and many of the usages, that were

Marriage arrangements were always simple, but it was definitely considered better form for the negotiations to take place between the two sets of parents rather than between the individuals concerned. In this type of negotiation, the man's mother took animal food which he had killed to the girl's mother; according to some sources, a return gift was made of corn food prepared by the girl (Harrington, 1908, p.215; Heckewelder, 1881, pp.161-72; Zeisberger, 1910, p.78). It was not unusual, however, for the agreement to take place directly between the boy and girl in which case they might or might not go through these formalities. Loskiel, who is the only author who mentions the subject of residence after marriage, says that the newly married couple often lived with friends for a short time until they built their own house (Loskiel, p.56).

The man was responsible for building the house and providing axes, hoes, canoes, dishes and household equipment although the girl might supply some things. The man was expected to support the family by hunting, trapping and fishing, and the game which he brought home was the property of his wife to use as she saw fit. She was equally responsible, however, for agricultural produce and cooking; and if she were remiss, might be reminded of her neglect by her husband's taking to the woods without telling her he planned to do so. She also carried packs in traveling, tanned skins and fetched wood (Penn, p.30; Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 155-160; G.Thomas, p.341).

There was apparently no strong pressure put upon the couple to remain together after they were married. Although later writers state that marriages were formerly more stable, they present no evidence to substantiate this. Polygyny was permitted but infrequent (Heckewelder, 1881, p.154; Harrington, 1913, p.215; Zeisberger, 1910, pp.78-9; Loskiel, p.57). After the death of a spouse, the widow or widower, but more particularly the former, was expected to remain single for a year, but it is clear that this was frequently not done (Brickell, p.49; Loskiel, p.121).

Social Life and Organisation

Most of Delaware social behavior is a closed book to us as the early observers did not usually have long contacts with them in their villages. The early writers were aware, however, that the Indian expected to be fed when he visited them, and that they were always offered food when they visited him. Likewise they noted that gifts passed readily from hand to hand among the Indians although property rights were clearly understood (Lindstrom p.233; Danckaerts, pp.80 and 159; Penn, p.32).

The following games were probably played in this early period: footraces (Lindstrom, p.191); a gambling game in which flat bones,

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
NM7 Delaware NM7

a full [supply] of copper and brass kettles for the purpose, large and small, which the savages buy from the Christians, hanging on a pole[8] along their hut or house from the one door to the other, below which the fire is made up, as has been stated before. And the savage woman whom the sachem owns for a wife, she is the housekeeper for the whole crowd. She selects for the cooking and determines which one of the savage women then and then,[9] each in her turn, shall look after the cooking. When now they think that the food is cooked, which indeed they use half cooked, then the kettles are carried forth to the housekeeper who pours out the food and divides it around for the people, 6 and 6 to a kettle. The vessels used for this purpose are small copper and brass kettles and cut-off calibashes like cups.[10]

As far as their drink is concerned [it may be said] that they drink with the goose.[11]

But when the Christians bake bread of this maize or Indian wheat, they also do it with hot embers in the fireplace. They make and knead the whole dough into one loaf, as wide as the bottom of the oven, raised like a loaf of rye bread. Then they sweep the fireplace clean and lay a couple of layers of large leaves next to the stones upon which they place the bread, then some layers [of leaves] on top and around the bread, and then

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[8] *Hängandes på en åhs.* *Ås* in this connection would usually mean the ridge (ridge-pole) of a house, but Lindeström apparently uses the word in the sense of a pole.

[9] *Då och då*, i.e., from time to time.

[10] See above, Chapt. VII, note 13. It seems strange that Lindeström does not mention clay pots.

[11] See above, p. 234, note 4.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

134. Any ceremony of marriage 585

LINDESTRÖM says that only chiefs had anything considered a marriage or any ceremony of marriage, the common people mating promiscuously.

JOHN JOHNSTON—The young couple have nothing to say to each other till the bargain is made by the parents then the young man gives a present of goods to the parents of the young woman and they are considered married. [584]

CAPTAIN PIPE—There is no ceremony of courtship and marriage in these degenerate days. Anciently, when the father ascertained that his son desired to marry, if he was of proper age, he sought for him a suitable partner in the person of some female of his acquaintance, and carried to her father a bundle of presents, making known to him at the same time the object of his visit. If the father of the female accepted the present, it was a signal of his consent to the union and the visitor returned to declare the result of his visit to his son. On the following night the female was conducted by her relatives to the lodge of her intended husband and there delivered to him. The day succeeding was taken up by the relatives of the bride in carrying to those of the groom large presents of corn, squashes, etc., together with pouches and other ornaments, the produce of female labour, and they also gave her a kettle for cooking. This was the conclusion of the ceremony, and the new married couple then set themselves at work to provide for their future subsistence. Instances of refusal to comply with the wishes of the parents have seldom been known. 584 585

J. W.—(See last paragraph of his autobiography under discussion of element 103, *ante*, p. 104.)

139-144. Polygamy

JOHN JOHNSTON—They generally have but one [wife] for they consider it wrong yet they some times have more. The one that can exercise the most bodily strength is considered superior. They (form one family) when the women can agree but if they cannot agree they live separate. 592 595

CAPTAIN PIPE—Formerly each man had but one wife, but now they are permitted to marry as many as they can maintain,

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

592 595 who generally form the same family, the youngest having the husband's preference. But if they cannot agree to live together they reside in separate cabins and receive the visits of the husband when he deigns to make them.

CAPTAIN CHIPPS—Polygamy is common with the rich—but "one woman is generally a match for a man," and with the poor, there is never more than one. If a man has several wives, he treats them equally well—they compose one family.

J. W. refused to comment on polygamy, while W. T. denied that there were ever any cases.

W. L. said that a person might have two or three wives but did not do so commonly. Reported that Sam White Turkey had three. Children by each were considered members of one family.

148. Polygynous sororate obligatory

595 587 JOHN JOHNSTON—If the man appears to regret the loss of his wife and shuns the intercourse of women for a number of months, the relatives of the deceased will present him a suit of new clothes and give him to wife a sister or some other relative of his former wife, the same mode is adopted with regard to the women.

W. T. said both sororate and levirate if the relatives of the deceased insisted, but not otherwise.

158. Following divorce children stay with mother

586 CAPTAIN CHIPPS—If they have children, the parent to whom they are most attached takes and provides for them—there is no equal division of children.

W. L.—Children might stay with mother although father often kept boys.

165. Illegitimate children injurious to reputation of mother

848 CAPTAIN PIPE—So far as regards the reputation of women who have children without being married it is affected much as that of the whites. They secure to themselves a good deal of contempt and worthless fellows for their husbands.

168. Proportion of married women without children

842 ZEISBERGER, CAPTAIN CHIPPS, J. W., and E. R. all said the proportion of women without children was unknown. HECKE-

[P. 37, A]

562 fulness, in comparison with the men, may
157 have been owing to the fact that they were much more restricted in childhood than their brothers. Nowhere in Delaware society was there the model of anyone
592 with coercive authority; neither mother nor
622 father ruled the roost at home in an
625 authoritarian sense, the sachems had no power to enforce their wishes, and there was no conception of a state with police
586 powers. Divorce was easy and frequent and could be initiated by either party simply leaving the other.[36] Supernatural
776 beings were not Jehovah-like Gods who regularly punished the wicked and rewarded the good; the Delaware reckoned rather with a supernatural guardian spirit who acted as a comrade and friend who would assist his mortal protege in critical passes. Shame and pride are more frequent themes than guilt and self-righteousness;
577 Speck (referring to twentieth-century Oklahoma Delawares) says, "Spiritual purity . . . is not conditioned by ethical conduct, but rather . . . through the observance of taboo regulations prescribed by antient rulings."[37]

155 It would seem to be a fair inference that
597 the Delaware often did not develop a strong authoritarian, coercive conscience; moral values (which certainly were recognized) did not possess an awesome, mosaic character; "good" and "bad" had a light affective tone.

114 Zeisberger, who as a Moravian believed
626 in less discipline and autocracy than was fashionable in eighteenth century Europe, was still puzzled as to how a society without authority could hold together. "Judged by the mere appearance of the Indians," he wrote, "one is surprised how modest and careful they are in relation to each other and imagines that the whites, if they were as free a people and had neither government nor punishment to fear, would not
626 be as united and peaceable as the Indians appear to be."[38] This superficial smooth-

36. Heckewelder, 1819, p. 154; Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 20-21.
37. Speck, 1931, p. 51.
38. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 122.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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off with them to Sandusky, under the protection of the British Government. We have seen in a former chapter that he afterwards saw how impolitic his conduct had been, and probably wished to retrace his steps, but it was too late. He had suffered himself to be misled by his passions, excited by the remembrance of former wrongs, and thus was betrayed into his injudicious conduct. Perhaps also his jealousy of Captain White Eyes, whose superiority his proud mind could not bear, did not in a small degree contribute to it. Pipe was certainly a great man, but White Eyes was, in my opinion, the greatest of the two. I was present when he made the speech which I have related, and never shall forget the impression it made upon me.

Thus Indian politicians work and manage matters against each other without newspaper wrangles, abuse of character, personal quarrels, or open insults. Their ingenuity, when joined to a good cause, generally makes them come off victorious. In a bad cause, on the contrary, they are sure to meet with detection and defeat, as Captain Pipe, for his misfortune, sadly experienced.

CHAPTER XVI.

MARRIAGE AND TREATMENT OF THEIR WIVES.

THERE are many persons who believe, from the labour that they see the Indian women perform, that they are in a manner treated as slaves. These labours, indeed, are hard, compared with the tasks that are imposed upon females in civilised society; but they are no more than their fair share, under every consideration

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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and due allowance, of the hardships attendant on savage life. Therefore they are not only voluntarily, but cheerfully submitted to; and as women are not obliged to live with their husbands any longer than suits their pleasure or convenience, it cannot be supposed that they would submit to be loaded with unjust or unequal burdens.

Marriages among the Indians are not, as with us, contracted for life; it is understood on both sides that the parties are not to live together any longer than they shall be pleased with each other. The husband may put away his wife whenever he pleases, and the woman may in like manner abandon her husband. Therefore the connexion is not attended with any vows, promises or ceremonies of any kind. An Indian takes a wife as it were on trial, determined, however, in his own mind not to forsake her if she behaves well, and particularly if he has children by her. The woman, sensible of this, does on her part every thing in her power to please her husband, particularly if he is a good hunter or trapper, capable of maintaining her by his skill and industry, and protecting her by his strength and courage.

When a marriage takes place, the duties and labours incumbent on each party are well known to both. It is understood that the husband is to build a house for them to dwell in, to find the necessary implements of husbandry, as axes, hoes, &c. to provide a canoe, and also dishes, bowls, and other necessary vessels for house-keeping. The woman generally has a kettle or two, and some other articles of kitchen furniture, which she brings with her. The husband, as master of the family, considers himself bound to support it by his bodily exertions, as hunting, trapping, &c.; the woman, as his *help-mate*, takes upon herself the labours of the field, and is far from considering them as more important than those to which her husband is subjected, being well satisfied that with his gun and traps he can maintain a family in any place where game is to be found: nor do they think it any hardship imposed upon them; for they themselves say, that

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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while their field labour employs them at most six weeks in the year, that of the men continues the whole year round.

When a couple is newly married, the husband (without saying a single word upon the subject) takes considerable pains to please his wife, and by repeated proofs of his skill and abilities in the art of hunting, to make her sensible that she can be happy with him, and that she will never want while they live together. At break of day he will be off with his gun, and often by breakfast time return home with a deer, turkey, or some other game. He endeavours to make it appear that it is in his power to bring provisions home whenever he pleases, and his wife, proud of having such a good hunter for her husband, does her utmost to serve and make herself agreeable to him.

The work of the women is not hard or difficult. They are both able and willing to do it, and always perform it with cheerfulness. Mothers teach their daughters those duties which common sense would otherwise point out to them when grown up. Within doors, their labour is very trifling; there is seldom more than one pot or kettle to attend to. There is no scrubbing of the house, and but little to wash, and that not often. Their principal occupations are to cut and fetch in the fire wood, till the ground, sow and reap the grain, and pound the corn in mortars for their pottage, and to make bread which they bake in the ashes. When going on a journey, or to hunting camps with their husbands, if they have no horses, they carry a pack on their backs which often appears heavier than it really is; it generally consists of a blanket, a dressed deer skin for mocksons, a few articles of kitchen furniture, as a kettle, bowl or dish, with spoons and some bread, corn, salt, &c. for their nourishment. I have never known an Indian woman complain of the hardship of carrying this burden, which serves for their own comfort and support as well as of their husbands.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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cat, kitten and little chicken. Parents make presents to their children, and they in return to their parents. A father will sometimes ask his wife or one of his children for the loan of his horse to go out a hunting. For a litter of kittens or brood of chickens, there are often as many different owners as there are individual animals. In purchasing a hen with her brood, one frequently has to deal for it with several children. Thus, while the principle of community of goods prevails in the state, the rights of property are acknowledged among the members of a family. This is attended with a very good effect; for by this means every living creature is properly taken care of. It also promotes liberality among the children, which becomes a habit with them by the time they are grown up.

An Indian loves to see his wife well clothed, which is a proof that he is fond of her; at least, it is so considered. While his wife is bartering the skins and peltry he has taken in his hunt, he will seat himself at some distance, to observe her choice, and how she and the traders agree together. When she finds an article which she thinks will suit or please her husband, she never fails to purchase it for him; she tells him that it is *her* choice, and he is never dissatisfied.

The more a man does for his wife, the more he is esteemed, particularly by the women, who will say: "This man surely loves his wife." Some men at their leisure hours make bowls and ladles, which, when finished, are at their wives' disposal.

If a sick or pregnant woman longs for any article of food, be it what it may, and however difficult to be procured, the husband immediately sets out to endeavour to get it. I have known a man to go forty or fifty miles for a mess of cranberries to satisfy his wife's longing. In the year 1762, I was witness to a remarkable instance of the disposition of Indians to indulge their wives. There was a famine in the land, and a sick Indian woman ex-

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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pressed a great desire for a mess of Indian corn. Her husband having heard that a trader at Lower Sandusky had a little, set off on horseback for that place, one hundred miles distant, and returned with as much corn as filled the crown of his hat, for which he gave his horse in exchange, and came home on foot, bringing his saddle back with him. Squirrels, ducks, and other like delicacies, when most difficult to be obtained, are what women in the first stage of their pregnancy generally long for. The husband in every such case will go out and spare no pains nor trouble until he has procured what is wanted.

In other cases, the men and their wives do not in general trouble themselves with each other's business; but the wife, knowing that the father is very fond of his children, is always prepared to tell him some diverting anecdote of one or the other of them, especially if he has been absent for some time.

It very seldom happens that a man condescends to quarrel with his wife, or abuse her, though she has given him just cause. In such a case the man, without replying, or saying a single word, will take his gun and go into the woods, and remain there a week or perhaps a fortnight, living on the meat he has killed, before he returns home again; well knowing that he cannot inflict a greater punishment on his wife for her conduct to him than by absenting himself for a while; for she is not only kept in suspense, uncertain whether he will return again, but is soon reported as a bad and quarrelsome woman; for, as on those occasions, the man does not tell his wife on what day or at what time he will be back again, which he otherwise, when they are on good terms, never neglects to do, she is at once put to shame by her neighbours, who soon suspecting something, do not fail to put such questions to her, as she either cannot, or is ashamed to answer. When he at length does return, she endeavours to let him see by her attentions, that she has

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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repented, though neither speak to each other a single word on the subject of what has passed. And as his children, if he has any, will on his return hang about him and soothe him with their caresses, he is, on their account, ready to forgive, or at least to say nothing unpleasant to their mother. She has, however, received by this a solemn warning, and must take care how she behaves in future, lest the next time her husband should stay away altogether and take another wife. It is very probable, that if at this time they had had no children, he would have left her, but then he would have taken his property with him at the same time.

On the return of an Indian from a journey, or long absence, he will on entering the house, say, "I am returned!" to which his wife will reply, "I rejoice!" and having cast his eyes around, he will enquire, whether all the children are well, when being answered in the affirmative, he replies, "I am glad!" which for the present is all the conversation that passes between them; nor does he relate any thing at this present time that occurred on his journey, but holds himself in readiness to partake of the nourishment which his wife is preparing for him. After a while, when the men of the village have assembled at his house, his wife, with the rest, hears his story at full length.

Marriages are proposed and concluded in different ways. The parents on both sides, having observed an attachment between two young persons, negotiate for them. This generally commences from the house where the bridegroom lives, whose mother is the negotiatrix for him, and begins her duties by taking a good leg of venison, or bear's meat, or something else of the same kind, to the house where the bride dwells, not forgetting to mention, that her son has killed it: in return for this the mother of the bride, if she otherwise approves of the match, which she well understands by the presents to be intended, will prepare a good dish of victuals, the pro-

9 [examen. See cat. 116, p. 348. —Archivist]

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca.1800) 1819
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that they would draw down upon themselves the anger of the Great Spirit, were they to neglect those whom, in his goodness, he had permitted to attain such an advanced age, whom he had protected with his almighty power through all the perils and dangers of life, while so many had perished by wars, accidents and sickness in various forms, by the incantations of the wizzard or the stroke of the murderer, and not a few by the consequences of their own imprudent conduct. 888

It is a sacred principle among the Indians, and one of those moral and religious truths which they have always before their eyes, that the Great Spirit who created them, and provided them so abundantly with the means of subsistence, made it the duty of parents to maintain and take care of their children until they should be able to provide for themselves, and that having while weak and helpless received the benefits of maintenance, education and protection, they are bound to repay them by a similar care of those who are labouring under the infirmities of old age, and are no longer able to supply their own wants. [593] [183]

Thus, a strong feeling of gratitude towards their elders, inculcated and cherished from their earliest infancy, is the solid foundation on which rests that respect for old age for which Indians are so remarkable, and it is further supported by the well-founded hope of receiving the like succours and attentions in their turn, when the heavy hand of time shall have reduced them to the same helpless situation which they now commiserate in others, and seek by every means in their power to render more tolerable. Hence, they do not confine themselves to acts of absolute necessity; it is not enough for them that the old are not suffered to starve with hunger or perish with cold, but they must be made as much as possible to share in the pleasures and comforts of life. It is, indeed, a moving spectacle to see the tender and delicate attentions which, on every occasion, they lavish upon

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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"me to count up what I have lost by going to the treaty. 648
"Put down eighty deer; say twenty of them were bucks,
"each buckskin one dollar; then sixty does and young
"bucks at two skins for a dollar; thirty dollars, and
"twenty for the old bucks, make fifty dollars lost to me
"in deer skins. Add, then, twenty dollars more to this
"for racoon, beaver, wild cat, black fox, and otter
"skins, and what does the whole amount to?"

HECKEW. "Seventy dollars."

INDIAN. "Well, let it be only seventy dollars, but
"how much might I have bought of the traders for this
"money! How well we might have lived, I and my fa-
"mily in the woods during that time! How much meat
"would my wife have dried! how much tallow saved
"and sold or exchanged for salt, flour, tea and choco- [593]
"late! All this is now lost to us; and had I not such a
"good wife (stroking her under the chin) who planted
"so much corn, and so many beans, pumpkins, squashes,
"and potatoes last summer, my family would now live
"most wretchedly. I have learned to be wise by going
"to treaties, I shall never go there again to sell my land
"and lose my time."

I shall conclude this desultory chapter with another 461
anecdote which is strongly characteristic of the good sense of the Indians, and shews how much their minds are capable of thought and reflection.

Seating myself once upon a log, by the side of an Indian, who was resting himself there, being at that time actively employed in fencing in his corn field, I observed to him that he must be very fond of working, as I never saw him idling away his time, as is so common with the Indians. The answer which he returned made considerable impression on my mind; I have remembered it ever since, and I shall try to relate it as nearly in his own words as possible.

"My friend!" said he, "the fishes in the water and the
"birds in the air and on the earth have taught me to

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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The children have entirely their own will and never do anything by compulsion. Told to do something they do not care about, the children let it go by default and are not reprimanded for it. Yet many wellbred children are found among them who pay great attention and respect to parents and do things to please them. They are courteous, even to strangers. They respond to mild treatment. The contrary generally produces bitterness, hatred and contempt. The women are frequently guilty of thus raising their children to anger, for the women are often ill-tempered. By way of punishment, they will pour water on the children or thrust them into the water. The parents are careful not to beat their children, lest the children might remember it and revenge themselves on some future occasion. Instances are not wanting where children when grown have reproached their parents for corporal punishment received in youth and have threatened to return the indignity.

Rarely does an Indian have two or more wives, being fearful of strife in the house. Blood relations do not marry; in this particular they are even more strict than the whites. They claim that division of the race into tribes came about in order to make it more readily certain that a man in taking a wife was not marrying a near relative. Concerning the tribes, however, more will be said in another connection. An instance of an Indian having married a mother and her daughter at the same time was a most extraordinary thing.

Families have from four to six children. More than this number is unusual. Birth of twins is rarely heard of. In many cases children who have become motherless after birth have been reared by careful old women. Sometimes children are given to such women. Then they spare no pains in rearing them. Soup made of Indian corn, pounded very fine, is given by them to infants of tender age, that may have come into their possession. Ordinarily, orphans, even if they have lost but the mother, meet with hard experience and often suffer want. Children who have been given or bequeathed, on the contrary, are almost without exception well cared for.

In the management of household affairs the husband leaves

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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593 everything to his wife and never interferes in things committed to her. She cooks victuals regularly twice a day. If she neglects to do it in proper time, or even altogether, the husband never says a word but goes to a friend, being assured that he will find something to eat, for when a stranger comes into the house the first attention shown is to put food before him, if there is anything in the house. The husband never offers to put wood on the fire, except it be that he has guests or some other extraordinary call to do it, for the woman cuts the wood and brings it to the house and is, therefore, the proper person to take care of the fire.

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If his wife longs for meat, and gives him a hint of it, the husband goes out early in the morning without victuals and seldom returns without some game, should he even be obliged to stay out till late in the evening. When he returns with a deer, he throws it down before the door of the hut and walks in, saying nothing. But his wife, who has heard him lay down his burden, gives him something to eat, dries his clothes and then goes out to bring in the game. She may then do what she pleases with it. He says nothing, if she even gives the greatest part of it to her friends, which is a very common custom. A woman generally remembers her friends when meat has been secured, or when her husband has brought flour from the whites.

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If the husband intends to take a journey or go hunting, he gives his wife notice, and then she knows that it is her business to furnish him with proper provisions. If any dissatisfaction arises between them, the husband commonly takes his gun and walks off into the woods, without telling his wife whither he is going. Sometimes he does not return for some days, when both parties have generally forgotten their quarrels and live again in peace.

586 Young people who marry rarely remain faithful to each other, but join themselves to others and again separate, continu-
837 ing such disorderly living until they are older and more sensible. Then it not infrequently happens that they find one another again, or the husband may join himself permanently to some other woman and settle down to housekeeping. Marriages are
582 contracted early in life, when men are from eighteen to twenty years of age and women fourteen or fifteen.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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years of age and women fourteen or fifteen. There is in general no very strong tie between married people, not even between the older. A mere trifle furnishes ground for separation. Not every Indian, however, is indifferent to the light behavior of his wife. Many a one takes her unfaithfulness so to heart that in the height of his despair he swallows a poisonous root, which generally causes death in two hours, unless an antidote be administered in good time; this is often done, the Indians knowing that the properties of certain herbs counteract each other and being able to judge from the effects, what poison has been taken. Women, also, have been known to destroy themselves on account of a husband's unfaithfulness. To prevent such a calamity, they make use of a Beson, a love-charm, prepared by the old people and sold at a good price. This is constantly carried about by one or the other of the parties and is believed to keep man or woman faithful. Such a charm is even declared to have had the effect of making a woman run always and everywhere after her husband, until weary of life she has destroyed herself, or of similarly affecting a man. For this Beson, also, the Indians have their antidote. All this converted Indians have related to me.

Older men and women, particularly, have another Beson, supposed to have the magic power of bringing many presents to them. This charm they guard jealously among their most precious belongings, and is said to have the effect of bringing them food, clothing and whatever else they may need. It is prepared of roots pounded very fine, incantations being murmured meanwhile. A little of this preparation, about the size of a pea, is sold with a white and black wampum shell for a considerable price, often for a belt of wampum with several pounds in money. The love charm and others are similarly prepared. Usually, this is done by old women, who thus support themselves and promote superstition among the young.

The men have a Beson for the chase. This beson is a preparation made by old men, who are no more able to hunt, consisting of roots and herbs or made of the seeds of a certain plant. This is sold by them at a high price. They may earn much in this way, for every huntsman carries such a charm about in his

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9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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information available. On the other hand, the expression of feelings between men and their wives and children, which is a closely related subject, definitely shows a change in the fourth period (75, 76). In the second and third periods indifference on the part of the men to their wives on returning home was reported, whereas, in the fourth period, the two younger informants disclaimed such indifference. Paternal indifference to children is denied throughout. The behavior of the older men toward their wives was in accordance with the old ways, they said, whereas that of the younger men was apparently influenced by white standards of behavior.

Captain Chipps and two of the informants, W. T. and W. L., considered the Delaware to differ from other tribes in color (80). Among the informants the matter was one of personal opinion unwarranted by the color of the individual informants. The opinion is also unwarranted from a comparison of skin, hair, and eye color with members of neighboring tribes who have approximately the same percentage of Indian blood. The greater degree of sociability, friendship, and hospitality among the Delaware and all the informants is to be attributed, in part, at least, to their religion and their feeling of superiority to other tribes (82-84). They believe their Big House or Delaware "church" to be superior to the religious beliefs of other tribes, but they are tolerant of the shortcomings of the others and attempt no missionary work. Friendship with all mankind is preached in the Big House and practiced by all believers.

The elements concerned with the physical duties of the woman in the home are of doubtful value from a psychological and terminological viewpoint (85-87). The terms "easy," "contented," and "drudgery" all carry connotations beyond their strict meanings that are so divergent in their use by different observers or informants that comparison is impossible. It is interesting to note, however, that Heckewelder and Johnston agree with the statements of the modern Delaware that the position of women was easy and contented and that they were not considered menial servants of the men. The only dissenting voice was that of Captain Chipps. Nowhere is there any evidence that the women considered themselves imposed upon by the men.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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885 individual prowess, it is doubtful if a definite age was observed before the introduction of the concept of a legal age by the whites.

Family Government

593 Questions dealing with the display of tenderness and affection between husband and wife were framed by Cass to be answered by observers outside the group under consideration (271, 285). The opinions of the Delaware themselves were, of course, in the affirmative for the existence and display of these emotions, but they agreed with the information of the writers of the earlier periods who were only observers.

462 In seeking information on the elements dealing with the occupations of the husband and wife, it was emphasized that we were concerned with earlier conditions as well as with present practices. Although the methods may have changed, the responsibilities of the husband have remained the same from the earliest times known. He is still the provider of meat, clothing, and other necessities whether as the direct or indirect result of hunting or other activity (272-74).

593 462 562 The wife was expected in the old days to obey her husband, make clothing and moccasins of material provided by her spouse, tend the garden or fields, cook meals, and provide fuel (275-80). These duties were reported for women throughout the first three periods. It is interesting to note that three of the modern informants, J. W., W. T., and E. R., denied the agricultural responsibilities of women. It is a tossup whether they were uninformed of conditions in the past or answered as they did because these are not the sole responsibility of the women now and they interpreted the past in terms of their present customary division of labor which is similar to that of the whites. This chivalrous attitude is maintained on the question of manual labor falling on the wife (281). On all these elements the information of W. L. reflected the earlier conditions.

[224] [484] According to Heckewelder, when hunting was of great importance, the husband could not be encumbered with any burden when moving camp but must of necessity leave all that to his wife and himself be on the lookout for game (282). In the

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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593
next period, however, Johnston and Chipps said that the men 462
and women shared the labor of moving and pitching camp. In 562
the fourth period W. L. was again the only one to place the
responsibility on the women.

The husband did not strike his wife frequently, if at all, ac- 593
cording to all the information gathered (283). Johnston and 578
Chipps said that he might do so if she were ill-tempered or
refractory (284). The modern informants denied this as a just
cause, although E. R. said that it was up to the husband to punish
his wife if she broke a rule.

Food, Mode of Living, etc.

Heckewelder said that the Delaware, Mahicans, and Shawnee 262
were all very particular in their choice of meats and that nothing
short of the most pressing hunger could induce them to eat of
certain animals, such as the horse, dog, wildcat, panther, fox,
muskrat, or wolf, all of which he had several times seen the
Chippewa eat with a good appetite (288-91)." J. W. said that
opossum, wolf, dog, woodchuck, snake, crow, hawk, owl, eagle,
and, in fact, most fowls were not eaten. W. L. also said that
opossum, muskrat, and several kinds of birds were not eaten. [619]
Apparently the symbols of the three tribal divisions, turtle,
turkey and wolf, were not taboo for that reason, for only the last
one was included on any list. The totems of the extinct sub-
divisions may have been taboo. This is true of the opossum which
was most frequently mentioned as not being eaten and it was the
name of one of the subdivisions. However, the Delaware re-
gard the opossum as endowed with supernatural powers and [776]
in the nature of a trickster and have many stories that evince
this attitude.

There seems to have been no taboos on vegetables eaten (292- 243
98). Corn was the principal item cultivated. It was supplemented [262]
by the usual beans and squashes, and later vegetables introduced 244
by the whites were also cultivated. Wild or ground potatoes
and other less important wild products were gathered. The 232
262

"Heckewelder, *History, Manners, and Customs of the Indian Nations*, p. 196.

[P.34, B]

581 Divorce and family instability were
586 common; many children were raised by mother surrogates. "Owing to instability of the family relationship, children are
581 often neglected."[9] The father was absent, hunting, fishing, fighting, trading, or
855 attending treaties during most of the year; what discipline there was fell to the hand of the mother, who was considered to
796 "own" the children.[10] During one of the
861 annual calendar of ceremonies, young children were chased by a man dressed in a bear-skin, who threatened to punish them for misdeeds (of which the parents kept him informed from year to year) by carrying them away in a bag full of snakes.[11]
[776] This "Mask Spirit" was considered to be the "Guardian of the Game" and also promoted the fertility of the corn; in other words, was the symbol of the food pro-
955 vider.[12] The boys were able to escape from the mother's supervision as soon as they were able to get about to play at hunting and fighting; but the girls were kept around
754 the house to help the mother at work.[13] When a child died, an old woman was often accused of having bewitched it.[14]

155 It would seem that the mother-figure
593 remained a symbol of possible delights which could not be secured on demand, a symbol of diffused frustration, of withheld benefits and hidden hostility, to the Delaware, and the source of his generalized, if inhibited, aggressiveness; and that the father-figure stood on the horizon, so to speak, as a powerful, friendly being, but one too remote and too aloof to be depended upon.

Emotional Attachments in Maturity

584 The ideal in marriage was for a young man to fall in love with a girl. His family would present his suit; she would accept
[585] him by accepting the presents he sent, and come to live with him; and they would live happily and faithfully ever after. The

9. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 21.
10. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 14.
11. Harrington, 1938, pp. 52-53, 113.
12. Ibid.; Harrington, 1921.
13. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 16.
14. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 128.

[P. 35, A]

584 marriage would furthermore be congenial to the parents of both parties.[15] In practice
586 these marriages usually broke up quickly, both spouses quickly being unfaithful to one another.[16] Occasionally a man, his
[762] pride wounded by a wife's infidelity, directed his helpless anger inward and committed suicide by taking poison. Women too killed themselves out of jealousy.[17] The shifting romantic attachments of both sexes seem to represent an unending striving to find the all-satisfying parent: a striving continually doomed to frustration.

787 The guardian spirit relationship (which was sought by both men and women) seems also to be built upon the prototype of the search for the all-satisfying (but not authoritarian) parent.[18]

572 Among men there was an institution of "friendship" which focused considerable emotion upon a relationship of formally recognized mutual dependency, in war, in
[521] the chase, and in various other life-crises.[19] Men were more at ease with one another
[562] in conversation than with women and, according to Zeisberger, would automatically suspect as a lie any tale which they
● [593] heard from a woman.[20] It was a common saying, "My wife is not my friend."[21] Old
888 women were accused by the men of being
439 the middlemen who carried the socially disrupting rum from white settlements to the villages.[22]

562 Implicit in all this was the assumption on the part of all Delawares—men and
571 women alike—that relationships with women, while they could be satisfying, were not likely to be; and the further assumption on the part of men that they had less to fear from other men than from

15. Heckewelder, 1819, p. 161; Zeisberger, 1778, p. 79.
16. Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 82-83.
17. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 83.
18. Lindestrom, 1656, pp. 207-209; Heckewelder, 1819, pp. 245-246; Zeisberger, 1778, p. 127.
19. Heckewelder, 1819, p. 278; Lindestrom, 1656, p. 233; Zeisberger, 1778, p. 116.
20. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 116.
21. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 99.
22. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 117.

[P. 36, B]

156 received a serpent or a buffalo, another the sun or the moon, another an owl or some
787 other bird, another a fish, some even ridiculously insignificant creatures such as ants. These are considered their spirits or *Manittos*. If an Indian has no Manitto to be his friend he considers himself forsaken, has nothing upon which he may lean, has no hope of any assistance and is small in his own eyes. On the other hand those who have been thus favored possess a high
154 and proud spirit."[32] We shall have further occasion to remark how many institutions were mobilized to prevent such casual wounds to self-esteem. We shall also see how much aggression such blows to self-esteem could arouse. Heckewelder and
[762] Zeisberger both mention that suicide was a common way of expressing the enormous but disorganized hostility aroused by slights such as marital infidelity or public shaming.[33]

Absence of Authoritarianism

861 Zeisberger and Heckewelder agreed that Delaware parents avoided corporal punishment, scolding, threatening, or otherwise disciplining children. Growing boys were left pretty much to their own devices. Little homilies on moral values were addressed to them and the child's pride was appealed to in efforts to induce ap-
● 593 proved social behavior.[34] The father spent much of his time away from home in the employments of the chase (especially when the fur trade added to the importance of
[462] hunting); the mother was responsible for the fundamental subsistence activities. In general the male was peripheral, the female
562 central in cultural role.[35] Delaware women were described as being given to petty
[157] meanness, malicious gossip, and lying; but they were not "matriarchs" in the sense of being the recognized arbiters of the home or society. Their evidently enlarged spite-

32. Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 132-133.
33. Heckewelder, 1819, pp. 258-260; Zeisberger, 1778, p. 83.
34. Heckewelder, 1819, pp. 113-117; Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 16, 81.
35. Heckewelder, 1819, pp. 154-162; Zeisberger, 1778, p. 13-14.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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585 also speak to the couple on subsequent occasions, perhaps on the birth of a child (M.B.).

591 The place of residence of a newly married couple is something of a puzzle. In the nineteenth century it was temporarily patrilocal or matrilocal (bilocal), with friends, or by themselves (neolocal).[64] This was probably not true in early historic times; the evidence favors matrilocality. All sources are agreed that the Delawares were polygynous.[65] 595 Polygyny seems to have been more frequent in the early days. "An *Indian* may have two wives or more if he please, but it is not much in use as it was since the English came amongst them they being ready in some measure to imitate the *English* in things both good & bad."[66] Van der Donck said that "ordinarily they have but one wife, sometimes two or three, but this is generally among the chiefs."[67] The sororate [587] was sometimes practiced, and informants added that the levirate was known.[68] Trowbridge said that "many instances have been known where a man having married a widow also married her daughter, and this has sometimes been at the suggestion of the mother herself."[69]

586 Divorce.— Divorce was easy among the Delawares; either member of a marriage partnership could break the union.[70] Reasons for divorce were sterility, adultery, and any other type of incompatibility.[71] Divorce was not frequent when there were children, and in this event small children remained with the mother.[72] Heckewelder quoted a Delaware on marriage and divorce, and the account is both enlightening and entertaining:

> The Indians had not only a much easier way of getting a wife than the whites, but were also more certain of getting a good one; "For" (said he in his broken English), "White man court, — court, — may be one whole year! O may be two year before he marry! — well! — may be then got very good wife — but may be not! — may be very cross! — Well now, suppose cross! scold so soon as get awake in morning! scold all day! scold until sleep! — all one; he must keep him! White people have law forbidding throwing away wife, be he ever so cross! no! no! Squaw know too well what Indian do if he cross! — throw him away and take another! Squaw love to eat meat! no husband! no meat! Squaw do every thing to please husband! he do the same to please Squaw! live happy!"[73]

684 837 [834] Marital fidelity on the part of men does not seem to have been a major social goal, particularly during a woman's pregnancy, menstruation, and lactation, when marital relations were forbidden.[74] During this period many husbands apparently had concubines. There is one report of the social sanction of a woman's divorce from an adulterous husband. In this isolated case the husband was accused before the chief; he was

[64] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 78; O.A., N.D.
[65] Holm, 1834, p. 126; Loskiel, 1794, p. 58; Trowbridge MS., O.A., M.B., N.D.
[66] Denton, 1845, p. 9.
[67] Van der Donck, 1909, p. 302.
[68] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 88; O.A., M.B.
[69] Trowbridge MS.
[70] De Vries, 1909, p. 218; Holm, 1834, p. 126; Brainerd, 1884, pp. 171-72; Trowbridge MS.
[71] Denton, 1845, p. 9; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 85; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 154; Trowbridge MS.
[72] De Rasieres, 1909, p. 108; Trowbridge MS; O.A.
[73] Heckewelder, 1881, p. 161.
[74] Penn, 1912, p. 232; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 80.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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among the Indians as long as there were no Indian wars. Through the examples of the traders, also the Indians acquired the habit of drinking to excess. Secondly, the Indians had formerly great respect for the aged and the chiefs, from whom they learned that unfaithfulness in the marriage relationship was a great crime and that whoever was guilty of such evil would live neither long nor happily. At the present time they show little reverence to the aged and each one thinks himself to be wise in his own conceits.

The Indian women are in general of a very strong bodily constitution. There are generally clever and experienced women enough who are able to give assistance and advice in time of labor; generally, women will remain in the house at this time. Some go into the woods by themselves and bring their children to the house when they have seen the light of day. Most mothers nurse their children until they are two or more years old. During this time many husbands have concubines, though not in the house.

If it is left to the mother to give the child a name, she uses little ceremony and calls it after some peculiar mark or character in it, for instance the Beautiful, the Good Child, the Great-Eye, sometimes giving it a name of unsavory meaning. If the father gives the child a name he pretends that it has been suggested to him in a dream. The name is given at a sacrifice, on which occasion the Indian brings to some aged person, who performs the offering, a string of wampum, and tells him that he wishes his child's name to be named thus and so. During the sacrifice some other person sings a song in Indian fashion at a public gathering and makes known the child's name. This is called praying over the child. The same ceremony is performed when an adult person receives a name, even although he may already have been named. It is not common to call an adult by his name, for they are ashamed of their own names. If the attention of any one is to be attracted it is done in some other fashion than by the use of the name. In case of children, the names are used. In assemblies and in discourses they do not use the name of any one who is present, though absent persons are referred to by their names.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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The children have entirely their own will and never do anything by compulsion. Told to do something they do not care about, the children let it go by default and are not reprimanded for it. Yet many wellbred children are found among them who pay great attention and respect to parents and do things to please them. They are courteous, even to strangers. They respond to mild treatment. The contrary generally produces bitterness, hatred and contempt. The women are frequently guilty of thus raising their children to anger, for the women are often ill-tempered. By way of punishment, they will pour water on the children or thrust them into the water. The parents are careful not to beat their children, lest the children might remember it and revenge themselves on some future occasion. Instances are not wanting where children when grown have reproached their parents for corporal punishment received in youth and have threatened to return the indignity.

Rarely does an Indian have two or more wives, being fearful of strife in the house. Blood relations do not marry; in this particular they are even more strict than the whites. They claim that division of the race into tribes came about in order to make it more readily certain that a man in taking a wife was not marrying a near relative. Concerning the tribes, however, more will be said in another connection. An instance of an Indian having married a mother and her daughter at the same time was a most extraordinary thing.

Families have from four to six children. More than this number is unusual. Birth of twins is rarely heard of. In many cases children who have become motherless after birth have been reared by careful old women. Sometimes children are given to such women. Then they spare no pains in rearing them. Soup made of Indian corn, pounded very fine, is given by them to infants of tender age, that may have come into their possession. Ordinarily, orphans, even if they have lost but the mother, meet with hard experience and often suffer want. Children who have been given or bequeathed, on the contrary, are almost without exception well cared for.

In the management of household affairs the husband leaves

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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those within dwelling happily but not able to enter. They would receive nothing but poisonous wood and poisonous roots to eat, holding them ever near the brink of a bitter death but not suffering them to die.

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While these preachers admonished the Indians to lead a good and virtuous life their own walk and conduct altogether disagreed with their exhortation. They introduced polygamy, and during their sermons had several of their wives sitting 'round about them. They even pretended that it was a charitable and meritorious act in them, as men living upon terms of intimacy with God, to take these poor ignorant women and lead them in the way to God and to the enjoyment of eternal felicity.

This part of their doctrine was greatly relished by the Indians, and it is a lamentable truth that since that period adultery, fornication and other such abominations have been more frequent among the Indians. The young began to despise the counsel of the aged and endeavored to get into favor with these preachers whose followers multiplied very fast. Some of the preachers went even so far as to make themselves equal with God. They affirmed that the weal and woe of the Indians depended upon their will and pleasure. Their deluded followers, possessing the highest veneration for them, brought them many presents. Even some of the most sensible and respected Indians assented to their doctrines, punctually following their prescriptions even at the hazard of health and life. Some of the latter we now have in the congregation, who have learned that nothing avails to deliver from the servitude of sin save the blood of Jesus Christ.

One of these preachers often proclaimed openly to the Indians that he was quite at home at the side of God, went in and out of his presence where neither sin nor Satan could do him harm; he stated, however, that he had never heard of the God on the cross preached by the Moravians, and did not believe him to be the real God for his God had no wounds and gave him whenever he appeared a little piece of bread, white as snow. On another occasion, having prepared a drink of bilberries he announced that this was the blood of the Son of

584 Marriage arrangements were always simple, but it was definitely considered better form for the negotiations to take place between the two sets of parents rather than between the individuals concerned. In this type of negotiation, the man's mother took animal food which he had killed to the girl's mother; according to some sources, a [431] return gift was made of corn food prepared by the girl (Harrington, 1908, p.215; Heckewelder, 1881, pp.161-72; Zeisberger, 1910, p.78). It was not unusual, however, for the agreement to take place directly between the boy and girl in which case they might or might not go through these formalities. Loskiel, who is the only author 591 who mentions the subject of residence after marriage, says that the newly married couple often lived with friends for a short time until they built their own house (Loskiel, p.56).

462 The man was responsible for building the house and providing axes, hoes, canoes, dishes and household equipment although the girl might supply some things. The man was expected to support the family by hunting, trapping and fishing, and the game which he brought home was the property of his wife to use as she saw fit. She was equally responsible, however, for agricultural produce and cooking; and if she were remiss, might be reminded of her neglect by her husband's taking to the woods without telling her he planned to do so. She also carried packs in traveling, tanned skins and fetched wood (Penn, p.30; Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 155-160; G.Thomas, p.341).

586 There was apparently no strong pressure put upon the couple to remain together after they were married. Although later writers state that marriages were formerly more stable, they present no [595] evidence to substantiate this. Polygyny was permitted but infrequent (Heckewelder, 1881, p.154; Harrington, 1913, p.215; Zeisberger, 1910, pp.78-9; Loskiel, p.57). After the death of a spouse, the 768 widow or widower, but more particularly the former, was expected 587 to remain single for a year, but it is clear that this was frequently not done (Brickell, p.49; Loskiel, p.121).

Social Life and Organization

648 Most of Delaware social behavior is a closed book to us as 431 the early observers did not usually have long contacts with them in their villages. The early writers were aware, however, that the 574 Indian expected to be fed when he visited them, and that they were always offered food when they visited him. Likewise they noted that gifts passed readily from hand to hand among the Indians although property rights were clearly understood (Lindstrom p.233; Danckaerts, pp.80 and 159; Penn, p.32).

525 The following games were probably played in this early period: [526] footraces (lindstrom, p.191); a gambling game in which flat bones,

+ = element present
− = element denied
(+) or (−) = source ambiguous
• = informant could not or would not say
§ = some, sometimes, or several
† or* = see Ethnographic Notes, pp. 79-137 for additional information

	Williams	Van der Donck	Lindeström	Zeisberger	Heckewelder	Johnston	Pipe	Chipps	J. W.	W. T.	E. R.	W. L.
565 585 584 851 848 848 512 856 352 854 816 858												
Birth and its incidents—Continued												
113. Parents exercise any control over mature children						+	+	+	+	+	*+	*+
114. Age children are expected to maintain themselves						15-25		20	25	25	16-17+	20-22
115. Child given daily bath †		+			20+	+	•	•	+	+	+	+
116. Cradle used	+	(−)	+	+		+	+	+	−	+	+	*+
117. Consists of board	+		+	+		+	+	+		+	•	+
118. with cushion			−			+	+	+		•	•	+
119. with hoop over head			+			+	•	+		•	•	+
120. hoop decorated						+	•	•			•	+
121. Cradle put in hammock						•	+	•			+	+
122. Boys and girls treated with equal care and affection						+	+	+	+	+	§	−
123. Any difference in treatment of legitimate and illegitimate	(−)	−				−	−	−	•	*−	−	+
124. Mother takes care of illegitimate	+	+				+	+	+	+	•	+	+
125. Father not compelled to contribute but may do so						+	+	•	+	•	+	+
126. Birth of twins frequent	+			−		−	+	−	+	+	−	+
127. Number of instances of triplets						0	1	1	0	0	0	0
128. Are parental feelings strong	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
129. Are filial feelings strong	−			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
130. Do they (128 and 129) continue through life				+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Marriage and its incidents												
131. Courtship						−	−	*(+)	−	−	*−	−
132. Marriage arranged by parents	(+)	+	−	§	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+
133. Consent of either party asked	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	−
134. Any ceremony of marriage †		+	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+
135. Presents for bride	(+)	+		+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+
136. Presents for family of bride	(+)					+	+	•	+	−	+	−
137. Presents exchanged				+	+	•	−	•	•	−	−	−
138. Time served by boy												
139. Polygamy common †	−	−		−		−	−	−	•	−	−	−
140. Only rich or chiefs have more than one		+		+		+	+	+			+	+

141.	Any superiority among wives				+	+	−			+	−		
142.	strongest				+								
143.	oldest									+			
144.	youngest					+							
145.	Polyandry				−	−	−	−	−	−	−		
146.	Sororate — polygynous				+	+	+	−	−	−	+		
147.	Sororate — succesive			+	+	+	−	+		+	+		
148.	Sororate — obligatory			•+	+	−		•+		−	+		
149.	Marriage of man to woman and daughter			+	+	+	+	+	−	−	•		
150.	Adultery criminal in the woman	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	•		
151.	Equally so in the man		+	+	+	+	•	+	+	+	•		
152.	Punished only by separation	+	−	(−)	+	+		+	(+)	+	+		
153.	Divorce on grounds of infidelity	+	+	+	+	+	•	+	+	+	+		
154.	Without any particular cause	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+		
155.	May be limited by husband		+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+		
156.	by wife		+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+		
157.	Women seldom get divorce				+	+	+	+		−	−		
158.	Children stay with mother until able to choose for themselves		+	+	+	+	•	+		+	•+		
159.	Marriage with near relatives prohibited to very remote degree of relationship					+	+						
160.	to any known degree			+		+		+	+	+	+		
161.	Cohabitation without marriage common		+			+	•	−	−	−	+		
162.	Do individuals live to advanced age without being married					+	+	+	•	+	+		
163.	Commonly					−	−	−	−	−	−		
164.	Common for unmarried women to have children		+			+	+	+	−	−	+		
165.	Injurious to their reputations		+			+	•+	+			−		
166.	Are they punished		−				−	−	+		−		
167.	Affect chances of marriage		−			−	−		+		+		
168.	Proportion of married women without children †				•	*4-5	3	•	12	12	12	4-5	8-10
169.	Average number of children in family						2-3	•	2	2	1	2-3	2+
170.	Average interval between births (yrs.)											18-	
171.	Age women generally begin to bear children						16	•	16	30	21	20	20
172.	Age to cease						40	•	40	50+	70	•	50
173.	Age that men commonly get married		•	18-			15-					18-	17+
			•	20			25	F30	20	25	25	21	F20
174.	Age that women commonly get married			14-								16-	17+
			•	16			•	F24	20	20	20	21	F20

585 587 857 586 582 836 511 844 886 885

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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585 The reports of lack of ceremony attending a marriage are quite evidently based on a misunderstanding of what constitutes a ceremony (134). Considered in its meaning of any form, ritual, or custom established for the observance of joining in marriage, there was a ceremony for even the type of marriage described by Chipps. The Delaware ceremony, however, was not a complicated one to judge from the one described by Pipe for former times and appears to have been simplified even further at that time, 1824. The form of marriage of the Delaware then may safely be said to have undergone a lessening of formality by the third period even though most of the former practices were still remembered in the fourth. One of the customs connected with marriage that was not remembered in the fourth period, the exchange of presents, aids in establishing the time of the change in marriage forms (137). Whereas the giving of presents to the bride or the family of the bride (135, 136) was reported in all four periods, the exchange of presents was recorded as a custom in the second period, but one no longer practiced, according to Pipe, in the third period, and completely forgotten in the fourth.

595 Polygyny was not common in any period and was principally confined to chiefs and rich men. There is no consensus among either the sources or the informants as to whether any superiority was observed among the multiple wives or on what quality such a superiority might have been based (141-44). Polyandry was not mentioned in the first two periods, but was emphatically denied in the last two (145). Information on the operation of the levirate is too scanty to warrant any conclusions, but the sororate attracted attention in all but the first period (146-48). Polygynous sororate was reported by all three sources of the third period but denied by all the informants except W. L. His information applied to only one family. Successive sororate was reported in each of the last three periods and the only denial was that of the Canadian Chipps. There may have been a change in the feeling toward polygynous sororate in the last period, but as polygyny was not common in any period and opportunities for polygynous sororal marriages were fewer in the scattered

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9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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condition of the smaller population of the last century, it is more likely that the custom simply ceased to be active. 595 587

In the same way marriage of a man to a woman and her daughter, either simultaneously or successively, was probably never very common and disappeared completely in the fourth period (149). The tabulated information shows a complete break between the sources and the informants. As the latter simply deny knowing of any such cases, now or in the past, and have no knowledge of any rule prohibiting such marriages, lack of opportunity is probably as much responsible as any change in viewpoint.

Divorce and allied considerations apparently have undergone little change in recent years from the point of view of the Delaware even with the superimposition of the legal code of the whites (153-58). W. T. in his very idealistic view of Delaware customs said children were brought up to mind their parents and that this behavior continued through life. Hence, in marriage a boy and girl had no choice but to do what parents decided. A girl then could not leave her husband because her parents had given her to the man in exchange for presents. He implied that the husband was not bound quite as much to continue a distasteful marriage, and, also, that after the death of the parents the girl could act more according to choice. E. R. and W. L. said that women seldom obtained a divorce, but according to J. W., whose son was recently divorced, the woman was chivalrously allowed to do the divorcing even if the husband was the wronged party. In his son's case the Delaware customs were observed as well as the legal steps. The wife had been running around with other men and drinking. After several of her protracted absences from home, Fred decided upon a divorce. He waited until she came home, asked her to pack up her belongings, and then took them and her to her father's home. Her father was already acquainted with the circumstances, but Fred repeated them and announced that he was through with her. Then he instituted legal action but both families already considered the divorce to be in effect. 586 [967]

Information on the two elements, cohabitation without marriage and children born out of wedlock (161 and 164), follows 588 848

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

134. Any ceremony of marriage 585

LINDESTRÖM says that only chiefs had anything considered a marriage or any ceremony of marriage, the common people mating promiscuously.

JOHN JOHNSTON—The young couple have nothing to say to [584] each other till the bargain is made by the parents then the young man gives a present of goods to the parents of the young woman and they are considered married.

CAPTAIN PIPE—There is no ceremony of courtship and mar- 584 riage in these degenerate days. Anciently, when the father as- 585 certained that his son desired to marry, if he was of proper age, he sought for him a suitable partner in the person of some female of his acquaintance, and carried to her father a bundle of presents, making known to him at the same time the object of his visit. If the father of the female accepted the present, it was a signal of his consent to the union and the visitor returned to declare the result of his visit to his son. On the following night the female was conducted by her relatives to the lodge of her intended husband and there delivered to him. The day succeeding was taken up by the relatives of the bride in carrying to those of the groom large presents of corn, squashes, etc., together with pouches and other ornaments, the produce of female labour, and they also gave her a kettle for cooking. This was the conclusion of the ceremony, and the new married couple then set themselves at work to provide for their future subsistence. Instances of refusal to comply with the wishes of the parents have seldom been known.

J. W.—(See last paragraph of his autobiography under discussion of element 103, *ante*, p. 104.)

139-144. Polygamy

JOHN JOHNSTON—They generally have but one [wife] for 592 they consider it wrong yet they some times have more. The one 595 that can exercise the most bodily strength is considered superior. They (form one family) when the women can agree but if they cannot agree they live separate.

CAPTAIN PIPE—Formerly each man had but one wife, but now they are permitted to marry as many as they can maintain,

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

592 595 who generally form the same family, the youngest having the husband's preference. But if they cannot agree to live together they reside in separate cabins and receive the visits of the husband when he deigns to make them.

CAPTAIN CHIPPS—Polygamy is common with the rich—but "one woman is generally a match for a man," and with the poor, there is never more than one. If a man has several wives, he treats them equally well—they compose one family.

J. W. refused to comment on polygamy, while W. T. denied that there were ever any cases.

W. L. said that a person might have two or three wives but did not do so commonly. Reported that Sam White Turkey had three. Children by each were considered members of one family.

148. Polygynous sororate obligatory

595 587 JOHN JOHNSTON—If the man appears to regret the loss of his wife and shuns the intercourse of women for a number of months, the relatives of the deceased will present him a suit of new clothes and give him to wife a sister or some other relative of his former wife, the same mode is adopted with regard to the women.

W. T. said both sororate and levirate if the relatives of the deceased insisted, but not otherwise.

158. Following divorce children stay with mother

586 CAPTAIN CHIPPS—If they have children, the parent to whom they are most attached takes and provides for them—there is no equal division of children.

W. L.—Children might stay with mother although father often kept boys.

165. Illegitimate children injurious to reputation of mother

848 CAPTAIN PIPE—So far as regards the reputation of women who have children without being married it is affected much as that of the whites. They secure to themselves a good deal of contempt and worthless fellows for their husbands.

168. Proportion of married women without children

842 ZEISBERGER, CAPTAIN CHIPPS, J. W., and E. R. all said the proportion of women without children was unknown. HECKE-

15:Morgan E-5 (1859)1969
NM7 Delaware NM7

[55(c)]

000 tains. There are two cases of *polygamy* here.
595 Two well known Indians have two wives
183 each. The Delawares are opposed to it, and are inclined to make a fuss about it. But I suppose it is an old Indian institution and they cannot make a law against it. If it was contrary to Indian law they would not admit the children of both mothers to annuities. As it now stands, their annuity is a
657 bounty on children. I think the Delawares are tempted by their annuities.

Religious System of the Delawares[91]

776 William Adams, Del.

The Delawares believe in a Great and in an Evil Spirit. They also believe in a number of subordinate spirits, some of whom are waiting or ministering spirits of the Good and some of the Evil One. Among the waiting spirits of the former are the following.

776 821 1. Kaka-sha-ha-no-hase, the Spirit of the Whirlwind. He is represented as having the form of a man and is called Grand Father.

2. O-we-ya-la-so, the Spirit of the Wind. He is represented as having the form of a man, with long streaming hair, so long that it sometimes gets entangled in the trees as he rides along. He is called Grand Father.

3. Pate-hoc-hoo-weh, the Spirit of Thun-
[825] der. He is represented as having the form of a bird, an Eagle, called Grand Father.

776 823 4. Wa-o-tun-oo-wase, the Spirit of Water. She is represented as having the hands of a woman, and the body, but ending in a fish's tail. She is supposed to dwell in every drop of water as well as in every river, creek, lake and stream, and sometimes to be a punishing spirit. She it is in cases of drowning who pulls the person under the water. Hence her name means "Pulling Down far Under."

776 [824] 5. Has-gueme, the Spirit of Corn. She is represented as having the form of a woman, and is called our Mother. She can foretell

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7

727

They cut and slash them alive, cutting off their ears, their noses, their tongues, and their lips, and also their fingers and toes; they also cut off pieces of flesh from different parts of their bodies, and then they strew ashes over the wounds in order to prevent the blood from flowing.[180]

Charles Stuart, captured in the mid-eighteenth century, recounted the torture, motivated by revenge, through which he was to go. It bears a striking resemblance to Holm's account:

The Deaths we were to Suffer were as Follows, First our Fingers were To be Cut off and we were To Be Forced to eat them, then our Eyes pulld out wch we were also to Eat, after wch we were To Be Put on a Scaffold and Burnt, the Manner of Scaffolding is first To Tie Them To a Post or Tree with so much Length of Rope as will allow them ab^t 3 Foot to move about the Tree, then they raise them a little from the Ground on a Logg or what Else happens to be Most Convenient to Set them on then Puts Wood about them and burns them up-After the Council in Genl had agreed To Put us to this Death.[181]

Colonel William Crawford, who was tortured to death by the Delawares, underwent more or less the same rigors.[182] In general, torture was prolonged as long as was possible and was motivated entirely by revenge, particularly so in a case like Crawford's, since he had with him on his expedition men responsible for the Gnadenhutten massacre. Captives who escaped and were recaptured probably suffered the most ingenious tortures.[183]

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Prisoners were adopted if they were not killed. One late source stated that a family might request a leader of a war party to bring back "a prisoner who shall fill the place of some deceased relative." Trowbridge went on to say that "in the adoption of prisoners no particular distinction is made on account of age, save that the person adopted must be youthful to supply the place of a son or daughter, and aged for a father or uncle."[184] According to Zeisberger, if white prisoners were intended for adoption, their hair was cut Indian fashion immediately after capture and their faces were painted red. These adopted individuals were well treated, but if they ran away they were liable to be tortured and killed.[185]

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Prisoners were forced to run the gauntlet, whether they were to be killed or adopted. When the returning warriors approached a village, Indian prisoners were forced to dance while the warriors paraded booty and red painted scalps on poles. For white prisoners the dance was apparently not held.[186] The prisoners were made to pass through two lines of the general multitude to a hut or a painted post.[187] The men, women, and children were equipped with axes, sticks, clubs, and whatever else came to hand and would attempt to strike the prisoner as he passed by. Charles Stuart, who "ran the gauntlet," went through what is probably a typical experience:

[180]Holm, p. 138.
[181]Stuart, 1926, pp. 61-62.
[182]Butterfield, 1883, p. 293.
[183]Schweinitz, 1905, p. 410.
[184]Trowbridge MS.
[185]Zeisberger, 1910, p. 106.
[186]*Ibid.*, p. 105; Trowbridge MS.
[187]Zeisberger, 1910, p. 105.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

The children have entirely their own will and never do anything by compulsion. Told to do something they do not care about, the children let it go by default and are not reprimanded for it. Yet many wellbred children are found among them who pay great attention and respect to parents and do things to please them. They are courteous, even to strangers. They respond to mild treatment. The contrary generally produces bitterness, hatred and contempt. The women are frequently guilty of thus raising their children to anger, for the women are often ill-tempered. By way of punishment, they will pour water on the children or thrust them into the water. The parents are careful not to beat their children, lest the children might remember it and revenge themselves on some future occasion. Instances are not wanting where children when grown have reproached their parents for corporal punishment received in youth and have threatened to return the indignity.

Rarely does an Indian have two or more wives, being fearful of strife in the house. Blood relations do not marry; in this particular they are even more strict than the whites. They claim that division of the race into tribes came about in order to make it more readily certain that a man in taking a wife was not marrying a near relative. Concerning the tribes, however, more will be said in another connection. An instance of an Indian having married a mother and her daughter at the same time was a most extraordinary thing.

Families have from four to six children. More than this number is unusual. Birth of twins is rarely heard of. In many cases children who have become motherless after birth have been reared by careful old women. Sometimes children are given to such women. Then they spare no pains in rearing them. Soup made of Indian corn, pounded very fine, is given by them to infants of tender age, that may have come into their possession. Ordinarily, orphans, even if they have lost but the mother, meet with hard experience and often suffer want. Children who have been given or bequeathed, on the contrary, are almost without exception well cared for.

In the management of household affairs the husband leaves

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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a man he must secure a prisoner in his place. Should he lose more than one, responsibility weighs the more heavily upon him, and in default of showing an equal number of prisoners, his authority is at an end and he dare not think of continuing in the office. If an Indian loses his son, or one of his near relatives in war, whom he has highly valued, he gives a belt of wampum to a captain and desires him to go and take a prisoner to supply the place of the deceased. He takes his company into the enemy's country, and if he is fortunate in his exploit, immediately hangs the belt around the prisoner's neck to denote that he shall be received into a family and that his life is safe. Upon delivering the prisoner to his employer, the captain receives the belt as a reward, and the prisoner is adopted by the family as a son or near relative. But if he is unsuccessful or has been so unfortunate as to lose a man, the captain's standing is destroyed and he is disgraced. It depends, therefore, in large degree upon good fortune whether a man becomes or remains captain. There are never very many captains in one tribe, but always some.

Although a chief is not supposed to have much to do with war, his influence tends greatly either to prevent or encourage the commencement of a war, for the Indians believe that a war cannot be successful without the consent of the chief, and the captains endeavor on that account to live in harmony with him. It is not a light matter for the Indians to begin a war, as it might be among the Europeans, for a war having been begun it is not easy to bring it to an end nor to be reconciled to the enemies. The chief reason for this is that a certain number are killed on both sides and these, according to ancient custom, must be replaced by prisoners. War with the whites is a different matter, for the Indians usually secure more than enough of scalps and prisoners to make up their losses, and they may sue for peace at any time even while continuing hostilities. But with the nations of their own color they cannot do this, for they know that they will be punished by enemies who will avenge themselves in the cruelest manner.

The warriors consist of the young men, among whom, however, are those of fifty years and over. The warriors are under

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9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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861 classes and text books were not a basic part of the system, but the descriptions of the teaching of Indian children show that they were definitely educated to fill their places in the society of which they were members. At a very early age children were given as
868 toys models of implements they would use in earnest in later life.
867 These were different for each sex. For example, a boy would be given a tiny bow with straws for arrows; then, as he grew up, the size and effectiveness of the weapons would be increased until he was able to kill every sort of game as a full-fledged hunter. Girls were given dolls and very early instructed in the fundamentals of making baskets and pots. A considerable amount of the instruction given to children was by example and explanation incidental to actual practices by the parents or other elders, and by the relation of stories and myths. Therein lies the explanation of the failure of many early writers to find a "system" of education among the Indians. As a matter of fact, the reports of the age at which childhood was considered to cease show that the training of youths among the Indians was completed while they were still quite young (106).

597 Johnston and Chipps definitely stated that orphaned children were never adopted by relatives, although the care of orphans usually devolved upon the nearest relations in the absence of adoption (107-12). Zeisberger's statement that orphans were often given or bequeathed to old women may be construed the same way. Among the sources only Pipe gave relatives a prior claim on orphans. He said that maternal grandparents were bound by custom to take care of children on the death of the parents, but that, if they too were dead, other relatives or friends might take them. All of the modern informants agree that relatives of orphans could and did adopt them, although childless friends or neighbors who desired them often were given the orphans if they made their desires known. From the available information it looks as if there was a change in customs regarding the adoption of orphans within the fourth period.

854 The cradleboard must have been discarded by the Delaware
352 early in the fourth period, for of the modern informants not even the oldest had ever seen one in use among the Delaware

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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CAPTAIN PIPE—In the days of yore children were considered as bound to obey their parents, and were not suffered to marry until the age of thirty if males or twenty-four if females; but to use their own language, they have so degenerated that in these days, when a boy begins to grow hoarse he assumes the practices of a man, declares himself independent and marries. 884

CAPTAIN CHIPPS—At the age of 12, children cease to be such. They are considered young men, but are subject to the usual family punishments for offenses, until they become of age.

E. R.—Childhood generally considered to end at 14 to 15 years of age but in backward cases was later.

W. L.—About 20 years of age depending on individual.

107. Adoption of children by near relatives

ZEISBERGER—In many cases children who have become motherless after birth have been reared by careful old women. Sometimes children are given to such women. Then they spare no pains in rearing them. Soup made of Indian corn, pounded very fine, is given by them to infants of tender age, that may have come into their possession. Ordinarily, orphans, even if they have lost but the mother, meet with hard experience and often suffer want. Children who have been given or bequeathed, on the contrary, are almost without exception well cared for. 597 [853]

JOHN JOHNSTON—They are not [adopted by near relatives], but when they adopt it is from a family that is not connected and when adopted are considered members of the family that they are adopted into. On death of parents care of child devolves upon nearest relation.

CAPTAIN PIPE—Orphans and sometimes neglected children, are often adopted by good men in the nation, and are in such case considered as the children of the adopting person subject to the same privileges which his own children enjoy. In case of the death of the parents, the maternal grandfather or mother is bound by custom to take the children under protection; but if they also be dead the children are adopted by such relatives or friends as may be inclined to take charge of them.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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597 CAPTAIN CHIPPS—Children are never adopted by their relatives—adoption is confined to those who have been taken prisoners. If both parents die the charge of the children devolves on the nearest relative. Orphans are not provided for—but seldom suffer, and it is considered "a good thing" to administer to their wants.

J. W.—Orphan taken care of by some one close to orphan or family—some one who knows about it and has watched it—is given the orphan to raise in preference to a near relative. Some one who has heard of the child's predicament is given the child if he makes his wishes known.

113. Control of parents over mature children

885 JOHN JOHNSTON—They [parents] do [have control over mature children] for they consider them better able to receive the counsels of the parents.

CAPTAIN PIPE—Parental feelings are very strong and generally continue during life, in consequence of which, aged relatives consider it their duty to advise the young and deter them from the commission of wrong. But no compulsory means are used after their arrival at years of discretion.

CAPTAIN CHIPPS—Attachment of parents to children continues through life. And parental authority is exercised at all ages.

E. R.—Children stayed under supervision of parents even after they were married and until first child was born. After that they might ask for advice but it was seldom given otherwise.

W. L.—Parents exercise control over children until they are married. (He was adopted by paternal grandparents when he was about 22 years of age.)

115. Daily bath given child

854 JOHN JOHNSTON—for one year.

[863] J. W.—for five years.

W. T.—for four years.

E. R.—twice daily for ten days, then daily for three to four months.

W. L.—for four to five years.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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paint here and there on the trees along the war path, the whole animals carrying a gun with the muzzle projecting forward, and if he leaves a mark at the place where he has made a stroke on his enemy, it will be the picture of a tortoise. Those of the Turkey tribe paint only one foot of a turkey, and the Wolf tribe, sometimes a wolf at large with one leg and foot raised up to serve as a hand, in which the animal also carries a gun with the muzzle forward. They, however, do not generally use the word "wolf," when speaking of their tribe, but call themselves *Pauk-sit*,[9] which means *round-foot*, that animal having a round foot like a dog.

The Indians, in their hours of leisure, paint their different marks or badges on the doors of their respective houses, that those who pass by may know to which tribe the inhabitants belong. Those marks also serve them for signatures to treaties and other documents. They are as proud of their origin from the tortoise, the turkey, and the wolf, as the nobles of Europe are of their descent from the feudal barons of ancient times, and when children spring from intermarriages between different tribes, their genealogy is carefully preserved by tradition in the family, that they may know to which tribe they belong.

I have often reflected on the curious connexion which appears to subsist in the mind of an Indian between man and the brute creation, and found much matter in it for curious observation. Although they consider themselves superior to all other animals and are very proud of that superiority; although they believe that the beasts of the forest, the birds of the air, and the fishes of the waters, were created by the Almighty Being for the use of man; yet it seems as if they ascribe the difference between themselves and the brute kind, and the dominion which they have over them, more to their superior bodily strength and dexterity than to their immortal souls. All beings endowed by the Creator with the power of volition and self-motion, they view in a manner as a great society of

9 [Erratum. See cat. 116, p 348. - Analyst]

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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not uncommon: "Mr. Conner knows of many instances of it having been committed, sometimes by shooting, but generally by eating the root of the may apple. It proceeds most frequently from excess of gref (sic) or from disappointment in love."[117] There are indications, then, of a pattern of sex-oriented suicide in Delaware culture at least as early as the eighteenth century.

Kin Groups

There is no way of knowing exactly how much Delaware kinship structure and terminology changed in the two and a half centuries following European invasion. That it did change during this period is virtually certain, since factors which induce change were present, such as altered rules of residence, decreased polygyny, and increased economic and political importance of men. The literature of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries gives no description of the kinship structure. L. H. Morgan was the first investigator to furnish information on the subject, obtaining his data in 1859 on the Kansas reservation of the Delawares. Even at this time Morgan termed the system "deteriorated."[118] I shall first describe the system found by Morgan, then compare it with the modern one, and finally turn to a reconstruction of the early historic system. Kinship terms given by Zeisberger and other earlier authors are too scant to yield any information; these nuclear terms agree with Morgan's lists.

Nineteenth-Century Kinship Terms and Principles

The kinship system of both the Munsi and Unami has been called the "Mackenzie Basin" type by Spier, and would be termed Hawaiian by Murdock.[119] According to Morgan, the essential features of the Delaware (Unami) system (Fig. 1, p. 45: Fig. 2, p. 46) were:

1. A brother's son and daughter, whether Ego was male or female, were termed son and daughter.
2. A sister's son and daughter, Ego a male, were nephew and niece. Ego a female, they were son and daughter.
3. Parallel and cross-cousins were termed stepbrother and stepsister, "the males and females using different terms."[120]
4. A father's brother was termed little father.
5. A mother's brother was termed uncle.
6. Mother's sister, father's sister, and father's brother's wife were termed little mother.
7. All grandparents and all kin of the second ascending generation were called grandmother or grandfather.

[117] Trowbridge MS.
[118] Morgan, 1871, p. 221.
[119] Spier, 1925, p. 76; Murdock, 1949, pp. 223, 228.
[120] Morgan, 1871, pp. 221-22.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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8. All grandchildren and kin of the second descending generation, irrespective of sex, were called by one term, grandchild.
9. If Ego was male, the children of male cousins were son and daughter, whereas children of female cousins were nephew and niece. If Ego was female, the children of siblings and cousins, irrespective of sex, were son and daughter.

Modern Kinship Terms

My data agree in the main with Morgan's, although there are some curious differences. (For comparative purposes the modern kinship terms are discussed here rather than under Acculturation.) The changes may be due to Munsi influence, since the modern system is like that of the Munsi, although the Unami dialect is employed. The changes may also be regarded as a further deterioration, particularly as the kinship society is no longer functional.

In terminology the major alteration has been in the classification of cousins. All cousins are now put in the sibling category, being termed older brother, older sister, or younger sibling. (Fig. 3, p. 47.) The children of those individuals whom Ego terms sibling are son and daughter, with the exception that male Ego calls a sister's son nephew. Male Ego does not call sister's daughter niece, as was true in Morgan's time, but calls her daughter. When cousins became brothers and sisters, it was only logical to extend the son and daughter term to their offspring. It might be noted that women in Morgan's time used the son and daughter terminology for all offspring of cousins. All of my informants were vague about the proper term for father's sister's husband and mother's sister's husband. It was given as "my little stepfather," but also as "my little father."

A Reconstruction of the Early Historic Kinship Terminology

Despite the lack of any early historic description of the Delaware kinship terminology, an attempt to reconstruct it is profitable. There is fairly extensive information concerning the other facts of social existence in early historic times, and, given these facts, only certain conditions were possible for the kinship structure. The kinds of forces that affected Delaware society between the time of first contact and 1859 are also known, as are the results that these forces generally have upon kinship systems. Moreover, Morgan's description of the kinship system in 1859 provides a point of departure.

There are strong indications that most if not all of the seventeenth-century peoples who were to become the Delaware tribe reckoned descent in the maternal line and practiced matrilocal residence.[121] It has been seen that horticulture was in the hands of women, a fact which emphasizes

[121] Wallace, 1947, pp. 1-35.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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Delaware Kinship Terminology
Consanguineal

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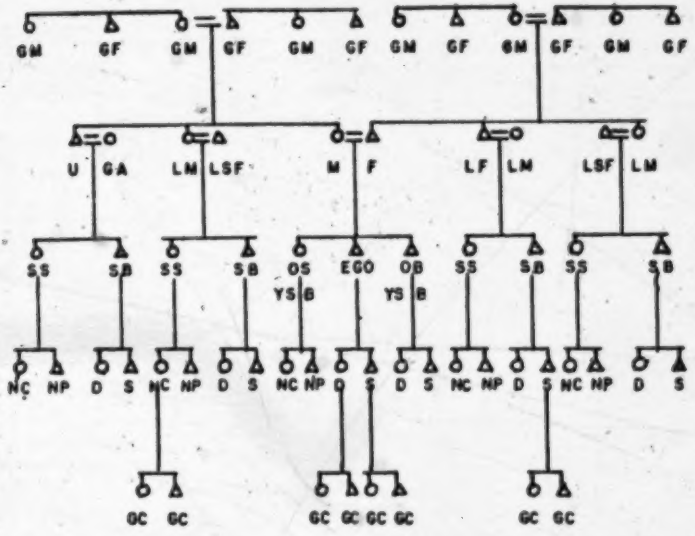

Fig. 1. Delaware terminological structure, consanguineal terms, male speaking (1859). The abbreviations are GF, grandfather; GM, grandmother; U, uncle; GA, great aunt, LM, little mother, LSF, little stepfather; M, mother; F, father; LF, little father; SS, stepsister; SB, stepbrother; OS, older sister; OB, older brother; YSB, younger sibling; NC, niece; NP, nephew; D, daughter; S, son, GC, grandchild. Δ = male; O = female. With Ego female, the only difference in terms is found for nephew and niece. They are called son and daughter, so that all kin of the first descending generation are son and daughter.

the maternal line.[122] There were other cultural traits which point to a maternal emphasis: avuncular succession of sachemship is one, as are the facts that orphaned children were cared for by maternal grandparents, that a widower had to reimburse the wife's family before remarriage, and possibly that childhood names were given by mothers rather than by fathers. The occasional polygyny of the early period did not favor either matrilocality or matrilineal descent, although if it was of a sororal type it was then compatible with matrilocality.

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As has been noted, by the nineteenth century residence of a newly married couple was neolocal or bilocal, although probably it was matrilocal in early historic times. If a pre-European matrilocal society is assumed, what would cause an alteration to a neo- or bilocal rule? Murdock has said: "Rules of residence reflect general economic, social and cultural conditions. When underlying conditions change, rules of

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[122] Murdock, 1949, pp. 204-5.

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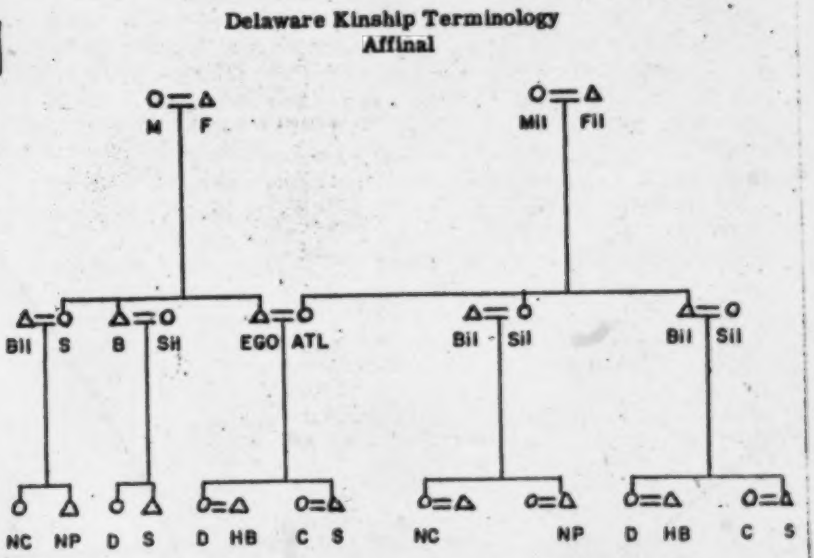

Fig. 2. Delaware terminological structure, affinal terms (1859). The abbreviations are Mil, mother-in-law; Fil, father-in-law; Bil, brother-in-law; Sil, sister-in-law; ATL, aid through life (spouse); HB, hunter for my benefit (son-in-law); C, cook (daughter-in-law). With Ego female, terms are the same. Other abbreviations as in Figure 1.

residence tend to be modified accordingly."[123] As he has pointed out further, the isolation and emphasis placed upon nuclear families, the decrease in polygyny, the scattering of kinsmen, and the individualistic emphasis placed upon economic activity, all favor the development of neolocal residence.[124] Bilocal residence is favored by "the adoption of a migratory life in unstable bands," and by the "approximate equality in status of the two sexes, especially with regard to the ownership and inheritance of property and privileges."[125] Almost all of the conditions which Murdock mentioned were prominent factors in Delaware life between 1600 and 1859. These forces are discussed at length under Acculturation; suffice it to say here that contact with Euro-American civilization caused extensive migrations, a new economic system emphasizing individual initiative, a decline in polygyny, breakup and decimation of geographically associated kinsmen, a decline in the importance of female-dominated horticulture, and increasing importance of men in subsistence. In short, residence rules of the Delawares in all probability altered from matrilocal to neolocal or bilocal.

The kinship terminology which Morgan described was in most of its

[123] Murdock, 1949, p. 17.
[124] *Ibid.*, p. 204.
[125] *Ibid.*

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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Modern Delaware Kinship Terminology

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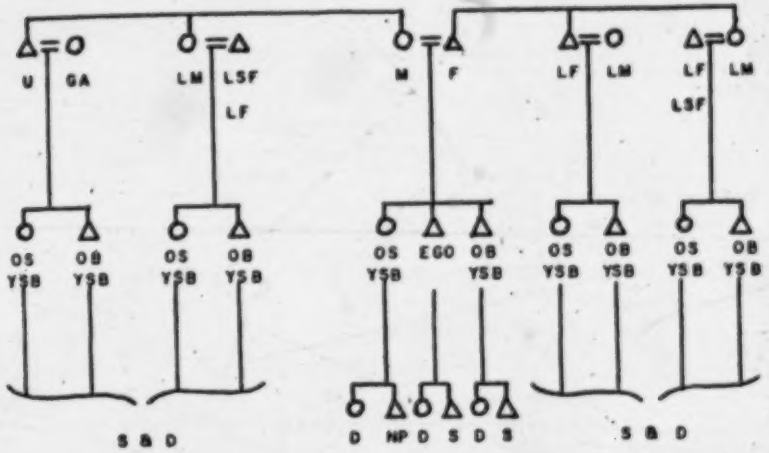

Fig. 3. Abbreviations are the same as for Figures 1 and 2. All cousins are called older brother or sister, or younger sibling. Sister's son is nephew, Ego male. Ego female, all kin of first descending generation are son or daughter. Mother's sister's husband and father's sister's husband may be called either little father, or little stepfather. A complete diagram is not given since there has been no change in other terms. Informants: O.A., M.B., J.T., F.W.

features in accord with the type which Murdock terms "Matri-Hawaiian."[126] It is apparent, however, that the early historic terminology was not Hawaiian, since descent must have been matrilineal instead of bilateral, as is required by a Hawaiian system. If an early historic system is now considered, with matrilineal descent and a matrilocal rule of residence, which by Morgan's time had evolved to a bilateral, Matri-Hawaiian type, is it possible to suggest the form of the early historic terminology? The most likely form would seem to be one of the "Iroquois" type, since the generation principle is not violated in either, and the other differences are relatively minor.[127] In an Iroquoian system cross-cousins are called by the same terms, which differ from those used for parallel cousins. Parallel cousins may or may not be called by the same terms which are used for siblings. The term applied to mother and mother's sister is different from the one applied to father's sister. If it is assumed that the Delawares had this system, with matrilocal residence and matrilineal descent, how would this alteration to the Hawaiian type take place? It may be postulated, for example, that Ego's

[126] Murdock, 1949, p. 229.
[127] White, 1939, pp. 568-70.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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done until June. The name given to June signifies the month in which the deer become red. That of July, the time of raising the earth about the corn, and of August, Winu Gischuch, the time when the corn is in the milk and ready to eat and roast. September is called the first autumn month, October the harvest month, November the hunting month, most of the Indians going out to shoot bucks. The name December shows the time when the bucks cast their antlers. January is the month in which the ground squirrels come out of their holes, and February they call Squalle Gischuch, the month of frogs, the month when the frogs begin to croak, though this again does not usually occur until later. At the present time the most of them begin the year with the Europeans, if they have come into frequent contact with them.

They are well versed in their genealogies and are able to describe every branch of the family with the greatest precision. They also add concerning the character of their forefathers, such an one was a wise and intelligent man, a great chief or captain or an Achewilens, that is a rich man and seems to signify as much as the word, gentleman, for the rich among them are highly respected. These make themselves prominent by giving the chiefs great quantities of wampum, when the chiefs are in need, and they are regarded as the main supports of the chiefs.

Concerning remoter ancestors they know nothing more than that they were great warriors and accomplished many heroic deeds, that in the war with the Six Nations, when they still lived along the sea-coast, the former were unable to do them much harm and after attacks on Delaware towns had fled in such haste that the Delawares had not been able to catch them, though they had got to the mountains as swiftly as turkeys, that, however, in spite of the ability of the Six Nations to get away the Delawares had caught and killed many of their enemies. They, also, relate concerning their ancestors that the Six Nations regarded them as mighty magicians, feared them and at last concluded a peace with them in the manner already described. Further, they relate how in times past the Delawares made attacks on towns of the Cherokees and killed many of the inhabitants; how, on occasion, they visited them at night during the dance, mingled

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last she told her friend that she wished to confess. She said, "Now I am going to die and I want to tell you something. You must never reveal it or you will die also. I was out travelling (sic) one night and someone shot me." After her death, the other woman one day revealed the secret to some friends and soon after died.

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One of the last of the Delaware witches is said to have joined the church, but continued to practice witchcraft. She believed that she could not find salvation because she had sold her soul to the Devil, but by joining the Church, thought she could secure some peace of mind.

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The unnatural behaviour of birds or animals, as observed in dreams or waking life, has led people to regard them as transformed witches. Once a man saw a hog which, as he looked at it, seemed to grow longer and longer. He started towards the animal, but it retreated into the bushes. Thereupon he knew that it was a transformed person.

A second incident involved a young man returning home from a dance early in the morning. The path led through the woods and over a hill, at the foot of which stood a small cabin occupied by two old women. As he rode along, an owl flew quite low over his head towards the cabin where it disappeared. The young man told his people of the unusual flight of the owl and every one agreed that it was one of the old women returning home. Both had previously been suspected of witchcraft.

Another person had a similar experience with a boar. The man lived alone and one night, while lying on his bed, the door opened and in walked a large boar. The Indian, quite surprised by this, picked up a poker from the fireplace and attempted to drive out the animal. The boar ran around the table several times, without the man succeeding in striking it. Finally it escaped through the door. The man hurried outside and looked around, but the animal had disappeared entirely.

Many years ago a man about forty years old married a woman who was over seventy. My grandfather's brother lived with this couple. He was a powerful medicine man. After some years the old woman took sick and died. Her husband, a very vain, boastful individual, did not conceal his pleasure over her death. He was heard to say, "Now, I am the boss. See what I will do." My grandfather[9] soon after left the house. He walked away down the hill, frequently looking back at the house. After a while he returned. He had left to

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[9] In the Delaware kinship terminology one's grandfather's brothers are called by the same term as the grandfather.

15:Morgan E-5 (1859)1959
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S 648 Shawnees into their alliance, or perhaps what is nearer the truth, recognized an ancient connection still preserved by tradition, and acknowledged the Shawnees their uncles, by which they admit them to be the older stock.

Tribes [Clans] of the Delawares and Descent in the Female Line

D 115 Was introduced by Mr. Pratt to William Adams,[81] Wa-le-oak-se, (White man), a very intelligent young man and an Indian. We went out under a tree and talked an hour. I found that the children of two tribes are brothers and sisters to each other, and the children of his sisters the same, and that the children of a brother and of a sister are nephew, and something else to each other, but he thought not uncle. He says the Delawares are now and were anciently divided into three tribes: 1. the Wolf, "round paw"; 2. the Turtle, "unfeathered animal"; 3. the Turkey or fowl, "feathered animal."

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D 614

That this was a sort of generalization; that the Wolf separated the animals having hair, the Turtle animals without hair, including fish, and Turkey or Fowl, as this means any fowl, the animals with feathers, and these he says are subdivided into a number of others, but he could not give me the names. He said his tribe was that of the Mud Turtle, the turtle that muds himself and then lies in the sun. This was as far as he could go on this head. He says that in old times no man was allowed to marry a woman of his own tribe, and it was the law until within the last generation, but that now is broken over constantly. That he was of the turtle tribe, and so were both his father and mother. He also said that he was entirely certain that in old times *the children followed the tribe of the mother*, and that it is

D [582] [183]

D [611]

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

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God. Thus it appeared that through him Satan endeavored to rob the gospel of its power over the Indians.

As long as the preachers did not proclaim things evidently untrue they were held in great regard and had a considerable following withersoever they went, for they never remained long in one place, else their deception would have been revealed the sooner. They still preached in Gekelemukpechünk [304] when the Moravians came to the Muskingum. Soon thereafter they began to be too coarse, seeking to establish their teaching in opposition to the gospel. This brought about the end of their influence. One has since heard little of them and the most have died. For at the last they preached that whoever would believe in them and follow their direction would be happy in the chase and in all other undertakings, would be able to cross sea and land, would reap plenteous harvests even though little had been planted. The Indians who trusted in them soon saw that they had been deceived and that they had been brought to starvation by the treacherous preachers. Then the power of the latter was at an end.

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Worship and sacrifices have obtained among them from the earliest times, being usages handed down from their ancestors. Though in the detail of ceremony there has been change, as the Indians are more divided now than at that time, worship and sacrifice have continued as practiced in the early days, for the Indians believe that they would draw all manner of disease and misfortune upon themselves if they omitted to observe the ancestral rites.

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In the matter of sacrifice, relationship, even though distant, is of significance, legitimate or illegitimate relationship being regarded without distinction. A sacrifice is offered by a family, with its entire relationship, once in two years. Others, even the inhabitants of other towns, are invited. Such sacrifices are commonly held in autumn, rarely in winter. As their connections are large, each Indian will have opportunity to attend more than one family sacrifice a year. The head of the family knows the time and he must provide for everything. When the head of such a family is converted, he gets into difficulty because his

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

79% x trouble to look more closely, a dried hide; the word *cantico* which resembles the modern Lenape words for "dance"—*kĭ'nĭkă* among the Unami and *kĭ'ntika* among the Minsi; and finally the use of the sacred number twelve.

Zeisberger's Account.—The earliest detailed account, however, of the great Lenape ceremonies is given by Zeisberger,[46] who, writing about 1779, says:

782
79% x "Worship and sacrifices have obtained among them from the earliest times, being usages handed down from their ancestors. Though in the detail of ceremony there has been change, as the Indians are more divided now than at that time, worship and sacrifice have continued as practiced in the early days, for the Indians believe that they would draw all manner of disease and misfortune upon themselves if they omitted to observe the ancestral rites.

• [602] "In the matter of sacrifice, relationship, even though distant, is of significance, legitimate or illegitimate relationship being regarded without distinction. A sacrifice is offered by a family, with its entire relationship, once in two years. Others, even the inhabitants of other towns, are invited. Such sacrifices are commonly held in autumn, rarely in winter. As their connections are large, each Indian will have opportunity to

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

to the family of its owner. When he finishes, the dance leader, who should be a relative of the family owning it, takes the doll on its pole, and then, as the drummers sitting in the center of the dance-ground begin to strike the dry hide stuffed with grass that serves as a drum, and to sing the song of the Doll dance, he commences to dance, circling round the drummers, still carrying the doll, the people falling in behind him, forming two circles, the men inside, next to the drummers, and the women outside. When the leader finishes his "set," he passes the doll pole to the man behind him, who repeats the process, and so on until the men dancers have carried it six times, when it is transferred to the women, who, in their turn, dance six sets, making twelve in all, the Lenape sacred number.

The twelve sets, or "changes," lengthen the ceremony far into the night, and this necessitates a large fire to give light. This is built near the center of the dance-ground. Sometimes, if the crowd in

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796 x
[602] •

THE OPOSSUM DANCE CEREMONY

Another family feast rite was *op·i′ŋk·a^n*, "Opossum Dance," also known by a sobriquet *suk′ce′p′ti·e′xk·a^n*, literally "black rump dance." For the latter designation no definite reason is given beyond stating that the woman who "owned" the dance and who took the leading part went through bodily movements supposed to represent the motions of an opossum in the throes of death. This was an inherited dream-revelation ceremony, owned by the descendants in the female line, of a woman who had long ago experienced a dream manifestation which imposed upon her and her posterity the obligation to perform the rite as an expiation for the benevolence of the animal that had appeared to her in vision form. Its procedure follows, as we shall see, the manner of the Big House Ceremony, in conformity with the definite Delaware pattern of religious performance.

The woman in this case was also a dame of tradition. The last time the ceremony was celebrated was during the early life of Wi·tapano′xwe's mother by a certain Mi·ma′ndi·, "Little Child," who had the distinction of being the last owner of the rite. Wi·tapano′xwe's mother had seen the ceremony enough to have been able to imitate in part the songs sung by Mi·ma′ndi·.

The Opossum Dance was, as previously noted, one of spiritual significance. It was opened with an address by a chief of another group and concluded with a feast. It was not known particularly as a ceremonial group- or clan-feast, although it was the possession of women in a definite family, and so may be said to be restricted to "clan" proprietorship. The singers were invited by the owner and chosen from members of the group with which she stood in a joking relationship, the group of her father. The accompaniment was provided by the water-drum, said to have been a clay pot with a hide stretched over its mouth. The singers occupied the usual place for musicians at one side of the dance area or

[p 51 (c)]

614 so now where the father and mother were
611 of different tribes. This is a very interesting fact, as it is the first exception, if true, in the Algonquin race which I have found. Mr. Pratt informs me that he understands the children are of the tribe of the mother,
[797] and he has been their missionary for twelve years and for 22 years an Indian missionary. I shall verify this perfectly before I leave. The young man also says that the
672 office of chief was hereditary in the tribe, as he thought, and that a brother or nephew succeeded as frequently as a son, but he was not quite sure on this subject. He gave me
535 the names of 16 of the dances, all he could remember, which will be given later.

● 602 He said the Delawares thought a good deal more of their relationships than we did, and if there was the least particle of relationship they were glad to find it. He
[582] says that in old times near relatives could not marry, but now they married as near as our cousins.

Family Names

551 We took up this inquiry. He says one tribe has no right to use the names of another tribe, as he thinks, and he also says the names can be readily distinguished from one another, but I must inquire further about this. He seemed to think the same name might be used by another tribe, in which case it would be slightly varied. The real truth about the distinctness of the Indian names constantly eludes me.[52 A] I shall soon think there is nothing in it.

52 A [For footnote see category 116, p. 209 (A) — Analyst]

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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776 abbreviated composite term, "Spirit-force"[1] as an equivalent in the translations. Man·i'·t·u is applied to both supreme and the subordinate deities, the symbols of deities, the elements of nature, animals, trees, herbs, the force that dominates them and which transcends to man as a motive agent, and, we may feel assured, many other manifestations of a sort recognized in the inner linguistic and religious consciousness of the Delawares that are quite beyond their capacity to express in English. My idea of the rendering "Spirit-force" for the term is not to adopt an equivalent that is definitive but rather one that suggests the vagueness of the idea we have of it, and yet emphasizes some of the properties implied in the term. Hence I am willing to concede that it might be advisable simply to carry over the native term itself into the translations and discussion. In the choice of the two courses, however, the more economical and unilingual English designation has seemed preferable. It will be time enough later, I believe, to theorize upon the totality of the natural philosophy of the man·i'·t·u concept when we obtain further specific information so much needed from Algonkian groups as yet unstudied.

Returning to consideration of the Delaware term, we find in the anonymous manuscript of Moravian authorship edited by Brinton,[2] manitto, "maker, creator, God," with an emendation by Anthony, the Munsee collaborator, "properly spirit, not maker," (manitou to make.)[3] Harrington[4] ascribes the meaning of "invisible beings," to the term in its plural form (manitowuk) some great, others of lesser influence, who control the phenomena of nature, the affairs of mankind, the entire world as we know it, in some of which good predominates, in other evil.

Zeisberger has some discussion of the man·it·u as a personal guardian spirit revealed to the individual who appeals to its mercy (see p. 52) but he has little to say pertinent to the man·i'·t·u concept as we are considering it here.

In the present text we are taught, as the followers of the native religion in the Big House, are that the man·i'·t·u are in most cases "grandfathers" in others "elder brothers," and include the wild animals, trees, sun, moon, stars, thunders and other natural forces with deistic traits. The carved faces in the Big House represent them collectively, except for the larger images on the center post which represent the Supreme man·i'·t·u, the Creator. All are esteemed in a mental attitude of combined worship and prayer, in Delaware pa"taman.

776 608 TERMS OF CONSANGUINITY APPLIED TO SPIRITUAL FORCES.—The designation of individual dieties of a native pantheon by terms of human

[1] While the verb man·i·to'·wak, "they make" occurs in the text, it is not admitted as sufficient for an equivalent in full.
[2] Brinton II, p. 74.
[3] Ibid, II, p. 73.
[4] Harrington I, p. 17.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

776 consanguinity is to be noted widely in native American religious sys-
608 tems. The Delawares share this phenomenon. The relationship classification of the various spiritual forces recognized is given in the following grouping.

muxo"məən·a, "our grandfather."
Eagle, ai'xam, and feathers mi'kwəna.
Air, ge"exiŋ
Planets and heavenly bodies as revealed in dreams and visions, moca'pan·o'k·e's (lit. "sky-creators")
Thunders, pe't'hak'owe'yok
Trees, hi't'kuk'
Vegetation, pe"mi·alomi'sa"'aka'
Carved Faces in the Big House, mae·i'ŋgok
Turtle-rattles, eux'əni'k·an·ak
Water, "bi·
Fire, to'n·dai
Tobacco, k""ca"'taj'
ko'xəmən·a, "our grandmother."
Herb medicines, pi'sun
Corn, χe'akwi·m
ni·ma'xtəən·a, "our brother," or xa"'əna "our elder brother."
Turtle, ta'xkoxk'
Snow, ku"n
Bear, ma'xk""
Animals (ae'ə·ə·ak) in general considered as existing in clan relationship with humans. The latter are "kings" among animals.
Night sun, moon (male), ni'pai· gi'eux
Day sun (male), gi'ekwəni·i· gi'eux
Stars, lighting system, portion of the moon; ala'ŋgok
gahe'əna, "our mother."
Sea, bodies of water, mən·a'pe'k
Running Water, "bi· pe'mi'tan·i·k'
Earth, hak·iŋ
ko'xən·a, "our father."
Great Spirit, ke'tan'to'wi·t'

776 These deistic relatives of the Delawares all have their special functions to pursue under the surveillance of the "Great Spirit even the Creator." The missionary accounts and contemporary information from the living native worshipers coincide nicely in regard to the attributes of the graded spirit-forces. For some of them we have but a few remarks which will be found inserted as footnotes in the English translation of the text, for others, however, concerning which Witapano'xwe had explicit information to offer accumulating more than could well be condensed in such short space, separate treatment seems

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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required. These I propose to deal with in the following section as man-i'tu deserving of particular mention, since this seems to represent their standing in the minds of devout Delawares.

Not only is the principle of consanquinity applied to deities and nature-forces, but to tribes and nations as well. Indeed the application of term of relationship to bodies of extra-biological classification is interesting enough to call for the inclusion of information given as a commentary on this point by Wi-tapano'xwe. With more detail to be secured it promises a fruitful problem for sociological interpretation. The informant's notes on the quasi-consanguinity of tribes are as follows. The Delawares believe that they are the oldest of the Indians. They call the following tribes "grand children," Shawnee, Potawatomi, Sauk and Fox, Ioway, Tonkawa, Sioux, Ottawa, Kickapoo, Miami, Peoria, Chippewa, Menomini, Winnebago. And these, in turn, call the Delawares, Wabanaki, Lenape, or else "Grandfathers,"—but, adds Wi-tapano'xwe, we are all "brothers," i. e. Indians. There are the Nanticoke, Mahikan, Munsee and Iroquois who are called brothers, relative age not specified, in spite of the fact that the Delawares assume to be older than they. There are other tribes which have different relationship with the Delawares, for example the Wyandots, Seneca and Cherokee are called "nephews" (either filial or sororal) and the Mexicans are called "uncles." To white people the general term, meaning "brothers" is applied, while negroes are termed "elder brothers," being considered the strongest of all races.[1]

THE CARVED IMAGES.—The concepts involved in the use of carved images in the likeness of the human face represent a phase of religious thought that has developed some exceptional prominence among the

[1] Zeisberger, (op. cit., p. 109) gives information corresponding to that of our informant, when he says that the "Shawnose" call the Delaware "grandfather." In regard to the "Mahikanders" we find a contradiction, and so are not able to compare the author's remarks with those in the text. Zeisberger also says that the Wiandots (Wyandots) and the Cherokees call the Delaware "grandfather," which differs from the information brought forward by our informant who considers them to be "nephews" of the Delaware. One infers from Zeisberger that the Delawares called the Twitchtwes (Miami), Wawiachtanos (a group of Mahikan), Kikapus, Chipuways, Ottawas, Putewontaimen (Potawatomi) "brothers," differing from our information which states that the above tribes are known as "grandchildren," except when they were termed "brothers," implying that they were Indians similar to the Delawares. Zeisberger gives no kinship term as being applied to the negroes by the Delaware. He says: "These (the negroes) are looked upon as of their own kind and allowed full liberty. Indians and negroes intermarry and their mulatto children are as much loved as children of pure Indian blood."

Heckewelder, op. cit., notes the Shawnee (p. 86) and the Chipewa (p. 124) as being grandchildren of the Delaware, which is similar to the information given us by Wi-tapano'xwe, but in the case of the Chippewa he differs from Zeisberger. Heckewelder notes (page 122) that the Nanticoke and Mahican call the Delaware "grandfather" which differs from the information in our text where they are said to be "brothers." Again a difference is observed between Heckewelder and our informant in regard to the Wyandot and Cherokee who are, according to Heckewelder, "grandchildren" of the Delawares, yet, according to our informant are "nephews."

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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"not believe in it. They told us a great many things, "which they said were written in the good Book, and "wanted us to believe it all. We would probably have "done so, if we had seen them practise what they pre- "tended to believe, and act according to the *good words* "which they told us. But no! while they held their big "Book in one hand, in the other they had murderous "weapons, guns and swords, wherewith to kill us, poor "Indians! Ah! and they did so too, they killed those "who believed in their Book, as well as those who did "not. They made no distinction!"

They, nevertheless, are sensible that they have many friends among the white people, and only regret that from their being scattered and at a distance, they cannot be useful to them and to each other. Of those whom they know to be their friends, they always speak with warmth and affection. They also speak of the *Gentellemann* (gentlemen) as a particular class among the whites which deserves to be distinguished; but they never apply that descriptive title to a person whom they know to be their enemy, or believe to be ill disposed towards them.

The Indians have a keen eye; by looking at a person, they think that they can judge of his friendly or unfriendly disposition to their race; and, indeed, it has been allowed by many whites who have lived among them, that they are, in general, pretty good physiognomists. They are very quick among themselves in giving a name to a stranger or person of note that comes to them, and that name is always significant or descriptive of something remarkable which they have observed about his person, which serves them to remember him as a friend or otherwise, as the case may be: when they believe a person to be their friend, they will do every thing in their power to oblige him, it being their principle that "good ought always to be rewarded with good." They prefer a plain man, simple in his manners and who treats them with frankness and familiarity. Such a man, they

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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say, loves them. From a proud haughty man they do not expect friendship, whatever may be his professions, they think him incapable of loving any body but himself, or perhaps, at most, his equal, and that, they think, an Indian can, in his opinion, never be.

They sometimes amuse themselves by passing in review those customs of the white people which appear to them most striking. They observe, amongst other things, that when the whites meet together, many of them, and sometimes all, speak at the same time, and they wonder how they can thus hear and understand each other. "Among us," they say, "only one person speaks at a "time, and the others listen to him until he has done, "after which, and not before, another begins to speak." They say also that the whites speak too much, and that much talk disgraces a man and is fit only for women. On this subject they shrewdly observe, that it is well for the whites that they have the art of writing, and can write down their words and speeches; for had they, like themselves, to transmit them to posterity by means of strings and belts of wampum, they would want for their own use all the wampum that could be made, and none would be left for the Indians.

They wonder that the white people are striving so much to get rich, and to heap up treasures in this world which they cannot carry with them to the next. They ascribe this to pride and to the desire of being called rich and great. They say that there is enough in this world to live upon, without laying any thing by, and as to the next world, it contains plenty of every thing, and they will find all their wants satisfied when they arrive there. They, therefore, do not lay up any stores, but merely take with them when they die as much as is necessary for their journey to the world of spirits.

They believe, or, at least, pretend to believe, that the white people have weak eyes, or are near-sighted. "For," say they, "when we Indians come among them,

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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"they crowd quite close up to us, stare at us, and almost "tread upon our heels to get nearer. We, on the con- "trary, though, perhaps, not less curious than they are, "to see a new people or a new object, keep at a reason- "able distance, and yet see what we wish to see." They also remark, that when the white people meet together, they speak very loud, although near to each other, from whence they conclude that they must be hard of hearing. "As to us," they say, "we never speak loud "when we come together, and yet we understand each "other distinctly; we only speak in a high tone of voice "before a public audience, in council, at the head of our "warriors, or when we are met together for some im- "portant purpose."

The Indians also observe, that the white people must have a great many thieves among them, since they put locks to their doors, which shews great apprehension that their property otherwise would not be safe: "As to us," say they, "we entertain no such fears; thieves are very "rare among us, and we have no instance of any person "breaking into a house. Our Indian lock is, when we "go out, to set the corn pounder or a billet of wood "against the door, so that it may be seen that no body "is within, and there is no danger that any Indian would "presume to enter a house thus secured." Let me be permitted to illustrate this by an anecdote.

In the year 1771, while I was residing on the Big Beaver, I passed by the door of an Indian, who was a trader, and had consequently a quantity of goods in his house. He was going with his wife to Pitts- burg, and they were shutting up the house, as no per- son remained in it during their absence. This shut- ting up was nothing else than putting a large hominy pounding-block with a few sticks of wood outside against the door, so as to keep it closed. As I was looking at this man with attention while he was so employed, he ad- dressed me in these words: "See my friend, this is an

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

685 "Indian lock that I am putting to my door." I an-
829 swered, "Well enough; but I see you leave much pro-
"perty in the house, are you not afraid that those arti-
609 "cles will be stolen while you are gone?"—"Stolen! by
"whom?—"Why, by Indians, to be sure." "No, no,"
replied he, "no Indian would do such a thing, and unless
"a white man or white people should happen to come
"this way, I shall find all safe on my return."

829 The Indians say, that when the white people en-
609 camp in the woods they are sure to lose something; that
when they are gone, something or another is always
found which they have lost, such as a knife, flints, bul-
lets, and sometimes even money. They also observe that
the whites are not so attentive as they are to choosing
an open dry spot for their encampment; that they will
at once set themselves down in any dirty and wet place,
provided they are under large trees; that they never
look about to see which way the wind blows, so as to be
able to lay the wood for their fires in such a position
that the smoke may not blow on them; neither do they
look up the trees to see whether there are not dead limbs
that may fall on them while they are asleep; that any
wood will do for them to lay on their fires, whether it be
dry or wet, and half rotten, so that they are involved du-
ring the whole night in a cloud of smoke; or they take
such wood as young green oak, walnut, cherry, chesnut,
&c. which throws sparks out to a great distance, so that
their blankets and clothes get holes burned in them, and
sometimes their whole camp takes fire. They also re-
mark that the whites hang their kettles and pots over a
fire just kindled, and before the great body of smoke has
passed away.

829 They, however, acknowledge that the whites are inge-
609 nious, that they make axes, guns, knives, hoes, shovels,
177 pots and kettles, blankets, shirts, and other very conve-
nient articles, to which they have now became accustom-
ed, and which they can no longer do without. "Yet,"

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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say they, "our forefathers did without all these things, 829
"and we have never heard, nor has any tradition in- 609
"formed us that they were at a loss for the want of them; 177
"therefore we must conclude that they also were inge-
"nious; and, indeed, we know that they were; for they
"made axes of stone to cut with, and bows and arrows
"to kill the game; they made knives and arrows' points
"with sharp flint stones and bones, hoes and shovels
"from the shoulder blade of the elk and buffaloe; they
"made pots of clay, garments of skin, and ornaments
"with the feathers of the turkey, goose and other birds.
"They were not in want of any thing, the game was
"plenty and tame, the dart shot from our arrows did not
"frighten them as the report of the gun now does; we
"had therefore every thing that we could reasonably re-
"quire; we lived happy!"

Finally, they think, that the white people have learned 829
much of them in the art of war; for when they first be- 609
gan to fight the Indians, they stood all together in a cluster and suffered themselves to be shot down like turkies. They also make a distinction between a *warrior* and a *murderer*, which, as they explain it, is not much to our advantage. "It is not," say they, "the number "of scalps alone which a man brings with him that prove "him to be a brave warrior. Cowards have been "known to return, and bring scalps home, which they "had taken where they knew there was no danger, "where no attack was expected and no opposition made. "Such was the case with those who killed the Conesto-"goes at and near Lancaster, the Christian Indians on "the Muskingum, the friendly Indians near Pittsburg, "and a great number of scattered, peaceable men of our "nation, who were all murdered by *cowards*. It was "not thus that the *Black Snake*,* the great General

* The Indians gave this name to General Wayne, because they say that he had all the cunning of this animal, who is superior to all other snakes in the manner of procuring his food. He hides himself in [825]

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

829 "Wayne acted; he was a true warrior and a brave man;
"he was equal to any of the chiefs that we have, equal
609 "to any that we ever had."

Thus, the Indians, while they deeply resent the wrongs and injuries which they have suffered, yet pay due homage to worth, bravery and military skill, even in an enemy. Strong as their feelings are, they do not extinguish their sense of justice, and they are still generously disposed to allow that there are great and good individuals among a race of men, who, they believe, have doomed them to utter destruction.

CHAPTER XXIV.

FOOD AND COOKERY.

262 THE principal food of the Indians consists of the game which they take or kill in the woods, the fish out of the waters, and the maize, potatoes, beans, pumpkins, squashes, cucumbers, melons, and occasionally cabbages and turnips, which they raise in their fields; they make use also of various roots of plants, fruits, nuts and berries out of the woods, by way of relish or as a seasoning to their victuals, sometimes also from necessity.

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264 They commonly make two meals every day, which, they say, is enough. If any one should feel hungry between meal-times, there is generally something in the house ready for him.

[825] the grass with his head only above it, watching all around to see where the birds are building their nests, that he may know where to find the young ones when they are hatched.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

522 tree. "No, no," replied the Indian, "no shoot or twig, "but the *tree* itself."

648 609 I have spoken before* of the wit of the Indians, and the shrewd and pointed remarks which they occasionally make, but passed rather lightly on the subject. A few characteristic anecdotes will best supply this deficiency.

An Indian who spoke good English, came one day to a house where I was on business, and desired me to ask a man who was there and who owed him some money, to give an order in writing for him to get a little salt at the store, which he would take in part payment of his debt. The man, after reproving the Indian for speaking through an interpreter when he could speak such good English, told him that he must call again in an hour's time, for he was then too much engaged. The Indian went out and returned at the appointed time, when he was put off again for another hour, and when he came the third time, the other told him he was still engaged and he must come again in half an hour. My Indian friend's patience was now exhausted, he turned to me and addressed me thus in his own language: "Tell this man," said he, "that while I have been waiting for his conve- "nience to give me an order for a little salt, I have had "time to think a great deal. I *thought* that when we "Indians want any thing of one another, we serve each "other on the spot, or if we cannot, we say so at once, "but we never say to any one 'call again! call again! "call again! three times call again!' Therefore when this man put me off in this manner, I *thought* that, to "be sure, the white people were very ingenious, and "probably he was able to do what no body else could. "I *thought* that as it was afternoon when I first came, "and he knew I had seven miles to walk to reach my "camp, he had it in his power to stop the sun in "its course, until it suited him to give me the order that I "wanted for a little salt. So *thought* I, I shall still have "day light enough, I shall reach my camp before night,

* Ch. 6. p. 88.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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"and shall not be obliged to walk in the dark, at the "risk of falling and hurting myself by the way. But "when I saw that the sun did not wait for him, and I "had at least to walk seven miles in an obscure night, I "*thought* then, that it would be better if the white people "were to learn something of the Indians."

I once asked an old Indian acquaintance of mine, who had come with his wife to pay me a visit, where he had been, that I had not seen him for a great while? "Don't "you know," he answered, "that the white people some "time ago summoned us to a treaty, to buy land of "them?"—"That is true," replied I, "I had indeed for- "gotten it; I thought you was just returned from your "fall hunt."—"No, no," replied the Indian, "my fall "hunt has been lost to me this season; I had to go and "get my share of the purchase money for the land we "sold."—"Well then," said I, "I suppose you got "enough to satisfy you?"

INDIAN. "I can shew you all that I got. I have recei- "ved such and such articles, (naming them and the "quantity of each), do you think that is enough?"

HECKEW. "That I cannot know, unless you tell me "how much of the land which was sold came to your "share."

INDIAN. (after considering a little) "Well, you, my "friend! know who I am, you know I am a kind of chief. "I am, indeed, one, though none of the greatest. Nei- "ther am I one of the lowest grade, but I stand about in "the middle rank. Now, as such, I think I was enti- "tled to as much land in the tract we sold as would lie "within a day's walk from this spot to a point due "north, then a day's walk from that point to another "due west, from thence another day's walk due south, "then a day's walk to where we now are. Now you "can tell me if what I have shewn you is enough for all "the land lying between these four marks?"

HECKEW. "If you have made your bargain so with

[ERRATUM. See cat. 116, p. 348. Analyst]

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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A sharp distinction is drawn between that group of animals considered pure and undefiled in the spiritual sense and the group that has become contaminated through the modification of its diet and behavior brought about by domestication, in brief, wild animals as against the domesticated. The wild creatures are defined as being pure, clean, undefiled, the term used to describe them being pi'lsi·. It is these which the Delaware observant may resort to for food, and for materials required in his economic life, and with them he has spiritual associations.[1] The domestic animals belonging to the white man's realm do not fit in his scheme of things, as they have not been fashioned by the Great Spirit to suit the needs of his red people.[2] It has been difficult indeed for the Delaware doctrinists to adjust the sweeping changes brought about in the economic life of the tribe, in the process of Europeanization, to a creed which pronounces the innovations from an alien world to be defilements. The disappearance of the wild animals, the compulsion of substituting their meat, their materials with those of a pastoral-agricultural civilization have, in the belief of the people, been the cause of their social and physical decline. They consider themselves to be losing vitality in proportion to their departure from old and natural or wilderness ways.[3] Accordingly we find the statement made that the deer, the elk, the bison, the antelope, and other wild animals are not only clean and "pure," but that they are man·i't·u. This we may note, in brief, is a most positive characteristic of Delaware belief.

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This distinction is supported by evidence well expressed by Zeisberger. "They regard the Europeans as a peaceable people, created of God to live according to their own manners and customs, even as the Indians have been created to live in their fashion, especially to sustain themselves by means of the chase. They think it contrary to the will of the deity to adopt, themselves, the manner of living peculiar to Europeans, pointing to fish, animals and birds as each having their characteristic habits. Each creature, bear, deer, or other animals, continues to live in its own way, and it has never yet been observed that an animal has adopted the habits of another. The same principle, they hold, applies to Indians and Europeans."[4]

for the realm of undefiled Nature the Delaware has a definite abstract term, te'koneau'suwak·an literally "wilderness life."

[1] Heckewelder, op. cit., p. 196. In his account we note that the Mohican and Shawnee are very particular in their choice of meat.

[2] The preordained destiny of the Delawares to live as hunters and that of the whites to farm and domesticate is brought out in matter well presented by Heckewelder (op. cit., p. 187).

[3] It may be added that a corresponding idea of clean versus unclean animals is predominant among other Algonkian groups. Correspondence to the Delaware term pilsi may be noted with the same significance in Wabanaki, pils-, Algonquin pi'nsi-.

[4] Zeisberger, op. cit., p. 121.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

and there preparation is made for beginning the Gamwing. And besides, everyone who is to relate a vision and lead a dance, if he has prepared his rattle of turtle shell, shall see to it to bring it with him for the ceremony.

There, in the ancient times the beginning of their worship the Delawares went into camp every month. They worshipped in the Big House for a ten and two day period. But then in a few years a different rule made it every three months. And again it was changed. It was said, "We are hindered in our labor," because of our ceremony. Whereupon for the last time they changed it. It was said, "From now on every six months," the Gamwing will be." But indeed it was discovered that they had become by now too much like the white man in their life.[1] The young Delawares were ashamed, seeing what their elders did. And so by this time it is very difficult for the Delawares to assemble when ready to perform the ceremony.[2]

[1] Among the Delawares, and the affiliated Nanticoke as well, the term cowa'na, denoting "salt water" came to be used in a dignified sense referring to Europeans, since they first appeared from the sea. In the vernacular, less respectful in its sense, the white man was also known as o'ping "white face" also denoting "opossum." This is more of a sobriquet in Delaware. The allusions to Europeans in other Eastern Algonkian languages did not follow the principle of Delaware usage, for the Munsee, awe'nik the plural of "who?" (Brinton, The Lenape and their Traditions), the Mohegan-Pequot, wa'naks, derives also from awa'n, "who"; Wabanaki, awa'nute, awe'nute of similar derivation.

[2] It would appear that the weakening of devotion has been a characteristic modern tendency among the native pagan groups as well as among Christians.

Such was the ruling long ago how several different kinds of spiritual-forces were existent, how, it was said, all the wild animals and birds as well as the creeping wild creatures are the ones to be mentioned[1] in the Big House.

The pure[2] animals and birds only are used when they prepare meat. This is the reason why every one of them, even that Mask-Spirit, and all their kind including the Tortoise,[3] are called man-i't-u. It is because he it is who carries our mother's body.[4] And the bird is used there to be eaten. And these feathers of him are ceremonially used when they sweep clean[5] the beautiful-pure White Path, our father's, the Great Spirit's road.[6] Wherefore a person will appear fine when dress-

[1] This means ceremonially; mention by symbolical references to pay them respect and to acknowledge their rule in the departments of nature.

[2] For further details concerning the "pure, clean" creatures see the outline discussion page 50.

[3] Note the use of the same term (ta'xkoxke) for both the creature itself and the tortoise-rattle. The latter is regarded as being the actual living creature in its ceremonial guise.

[4] The Delaware metaphor referring to the earth.

[5] The term used denotes, "they purify by sweeping clean," meaning to clear away latent malific spiritual forces that might lie in the White Path. This symbolically removes possible spiritual pollution from the course of the wor-

11:Newcomb E-5 (1952) 1956 NM7 Delaware NM7

sage. The fireplace and the altar had been made many years previously, showing much use by being smooth and hard packed.

While the man who was to tend the fire and guard the door (fire-chief) and several helpers were arranging the tepee, several women were preparing peyote in the farmhouse kitchen. Peyote tea was made by chopping up dried peyote buttons and dropping them in boiling water. After steeping for a few minutes the tea was strained. Green peyote was prepared by peeling off the leathery skin, only the tops being left intact. A little before ten o'clock the fire-chief lit the fire in the tepee with flint and steel. As soon as he came out of the tepee the leader (or road-chief) entered, followed by the drum-chief, the fourteen other participants, and finally the fire-chief. This meeting was somewhat atypical in the small number of participants; attendance usually averaged about twenty-five. After everyone was seated the drum-chief, a Sioux from the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota, announced that several people had prayers and announcements to make. The road-chief, a Winnebago, then prayed in his own language. As translated next day, this prayer welcomed the participants and asked for divine assistance in the conduct of the meeting. This meeting had been initiated by a Delaware woman who was ill (No. 14 in Fig. 1), and she stood up and thanked everyone for coming and assisting her in regaining her health. Another Delaware (No. 3 in Fig. 1) then said a few words, principally to the effect that the "Native American Church" was not "idolatry" and that he was glad to welcome a white couple (the writer and his wife) to a meeting "to see what it really was like."

The road-chief then prayed again in Winnebago. When this prayer was concluded, he passed the peyote staff and a bunch of sage to the man on his left, who passed it on in a clockwise direction until it had

[text continues on p. 206]

(Explanation of Figure 1)

A. Altar
B. Fire. To some peyotists the heart represents the soul of the Fire Spirits.
C. Sun Mound. The heart symbolizes the soul of the Sun.
D. Ash Piles. Petrullo noted that in some versions of the rite these symbolize the lungs of Christ. I could not confirm this.
E. Water bucket and dipper.
F. Smoldering stick used to light cigarettes.
G. Tepee entrance.
H. Cross. Long axis symbolizes peyote road.
1. Road-chief, Winnebago
2. Delaware man
3. Delaware man
4. Shawnee man
5. Shawnee woman (4's wife)
6. Delaware man
7. Ego
8. Ego's wife
9. Sioux man
10. Sioux woman (9's wife)
11. Fire-chief, Delaware
12. Delaware man
13. Delaware man
14. Delaware sponsor
15. Winnebago woman (16's wife)
16. Winnebago man
17. Drum-chief, Sioux

626 ness was accomplished, not by a fear of authority, but by everyone's fear of wounding someone else's self-esteem and thereby laying himself open to aggression. In order not to antagonize another, the individual had to be very circumspect in his behavior and avoid showing his own aggressive motives. There were a variety of institutionalized techniques which functioned to forestall possible antagonism-arousing situations. "They are not quarrelsome, and are always on their guard, so as not to offend each other," said Heckewelder, and Zeisberger made similar observations.[39]

[831] Swearing was unknown (although obscenity was not tabooed).[40] Persons suspected of ill-doing were not accused openly; public or private disapproval was communicated by subtle allusions or by the

●[609] recital of a "dream."[41] Strangers and visitors were always treated politely; and negative replies to embassies from other communities were couched in ambiguous terms so that the matter was shelved rather than

576 contended over.[42] An elaborate code of
521 etiquette governed the men's talk. "Their common conversation turns upon hunting or the news of the day. Matter that has no foundation in fact may be drawn into conversation, and even though all may be aware of this, the narration continues uninterrupted. They may laugh now and again but they will listen attentively. No one interrupts another. When one has finished another begins. They never put any one publicly to blush; they are polite to each other and enjoy being politely treated. They like to be regarded as worthy people even though they may be the opposite. They are pleased to know that

796 they are liked."[43] Religious observances
776 (such as the periodic obligation to give a dance for a sacred mask) were performed under an almost obsessive fear that negligence, by offending the supernatural owner, would call down an indefinite but

39. Heckewelder, 1819, pp. 145-146; Zeisberger 1779, p. 115-116.
40. Zeisberger, 1779, p. 85.
41. Zeisberger, 1779, p. 120.
42. Heckewelder, 1819, p. 150.
43. Heckewelder, 1819, pp. 103-104; Zeisberger 1779, 115-116.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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8. All grandchildren and kin of the second descending generation, irrespective of sex, were called by one term, grandchild.
9. If Ego was male, the children of male cousins were son and daughter, whereas children of female cousins were nephew and niece. If Ego was female, the children of siblings and cousins, irrespective of sex, were son and daughter.

Modern Kinship Terms

My data agree in the main with Morgan's, although there are some curious differences. (For comparative purposes the modern kinship terms are discussed here rather than under Acculturation.) The changes may be due to Munsi influence, since the modern system is like that of the Munsi, although the Unami dialect is employed. The changes may also be regarded as a further deterioration, particularly as the kinship society is no longer functional.

In terminology the major alteration has been in the classification of cousins. All cousins are now put in the sibling category, being termed older brother, older sister, or younger sibling. (Fig. 3, p. 47.) The children of those individuals whom Ego terms sibling are son and daughter, with the exception that male Ego calls a sister's son nephew. Male Ego does not call sister's daughter niece, as was true in Morgan's time, but calls her daughter. When cousins became brothers and sisters, it was only logical to extend the son and daughter term to their offspring. It might be noted that women in Morgan's time used the son and daughter terminology for all offspring of cousins. All of my informants were vague about the proper term for father's sister's husband and mother's sister's husband. It was given as "my little stepfather," but also as "my little father."

A Reconstruction of the Early Historic Kinship Terminology

Despite the lack of any early historic description of the Delaware kinship terminology, an attempt to reconstruct it is profitable. There is fairly extensive information concerning the other facts of social existence in early historic times, and, given these facts, only certain conditions were possible for the kinship structure. The kinds of forces that affected Delaware society between the time of first contact and 1859 are also known, as are the results that these forces generally have upon kinship systems. Moreover, Morgan's description of the kinship system in 1859 provides a point of departure.

There are strong indications that most if not all of the seventeenth-century peoples who were to become the Delaware tribe reckoned descent in the maternal line and practiced matrilocal residence.[121] It has been seen that horticulture was in the hands of women, a fact which emphasizes

[121] Wallace, 1947, pp. 1-35.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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Delaware Kinship Terminology
Consanguineal

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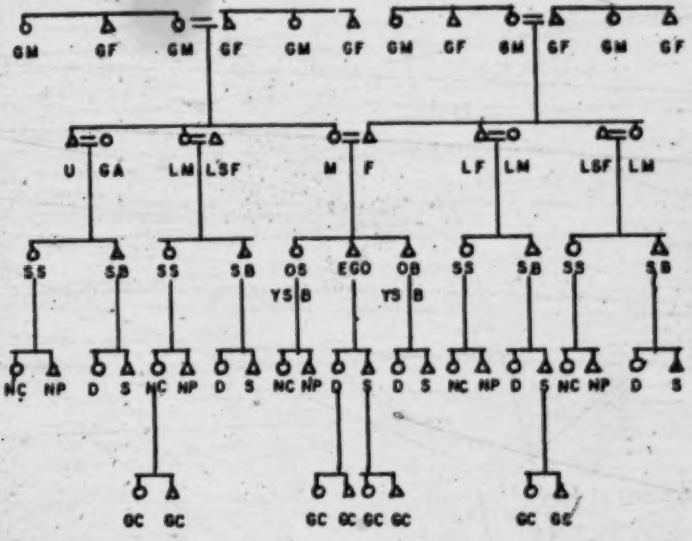

Fig. 1. Delaware terminological structure, consanguineal terms, male speaking (1859). The abbreviations are GF, grandfather; GM, grandmother; U, uncle; GA, great aunt, LM, little mother, LSF, little stepfather; M, mother; F, father; LF, little father; SS, stepsister; SB, stepbrother; OS, older sister; OB, older brother; YSB, younger sibling; NC, niece; NP, nephew; D, daughter; S, son, GC, grandchild. Δ = male; O = female. With Ego female, the only difference in terms is found for nephew and niece. They are called son and daughter, so that all kin of the first descending generation are son and daughter.

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the maternal line.[122] There were other cultural traits which point to a maternal emphasis: avuncular succession of sachemship is one, as are the facts that orphaned children were cared for by maternal grandparents, that a widower had to reimburse the wife's family before remarriage, and possibly that childhood names were given by mothers rather than by fathers. The occasional polygyny of the early period did not favor either matrilocality or matrilineal descent, although if it was of a sororal type it was then compatible with matrilocality.

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As has been noted, by the nineteenth century residence of a newly married couple was neolocal or bilocal, although probably it was matrilocal in early historic times. If a pre-European matrilocal society is assumed, what would cause an alteration to a neo- or bilocal rule? Murdock has said: "Rules of residence reflect general economic, social and cultural conditions. When underlying conditions change, rules of

[122]Murdock, 1949, pp. 204-5.

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Delaware Kinship Terminology
Affinal

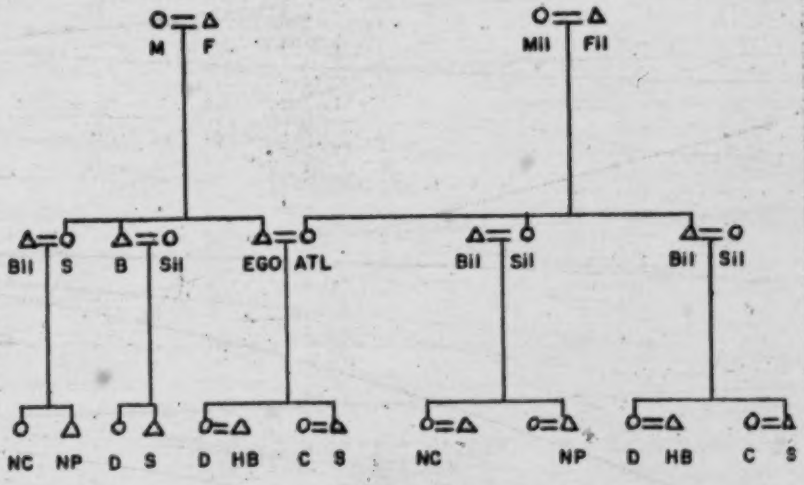

Fig. 2. Delaware terminological structure, affinal terms (1859). The abbreviations are Mil, mother-in-law; Fil, father-in-law; Bil, brother-in-law; Sil, sister-in-law; ATL, aid through life (spouse); HB, hunter for my benefit (son-in-law); C, cook (daughter-in-law). With Ego female, terms are the same. Other abbreviations as in Figure 1.

residence tend to be modified accordingly."[123] As he has pointed out further, the isolation and emphasis placed upon nuclear families, the decrease in polygyny, the scattering of kinsmen, and the individualistic emphasis placed upon economic activity, all favor the development of neolocal residence.[124] Bilocal residence is favored by "the adoption of a migratory life in unstable bands," and by the "approximate equality in status of the two sexes, especially with regard to the ownership and inheritance of property and privileges."[125] Almost all of the conditions which Murdock mentioned were prominent factors in Delaware life between 1600 and 1859. These forces are discussed at length under Acculturation; suffice it to say here that contact with Euro-American civilization caused extensive migrations, a new economic system emphasizing individual initiative, a decline in polygyny, breakup and decimation of geographically associated kinsmen, a decline in the importance of female-dominated horticulture, and increasing importance of men in subsistence. In short, residence rules of the Delawares in all probability altered from matrilocal to neolocal or bilocal.

The kinship terminology which Morgan described was in most of its

[123] Murdock, 1949, p. 17.
[124] *Ibid.*, p. 204.
[125] *Ibid.*

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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Modern Delaware Kinship Terminology

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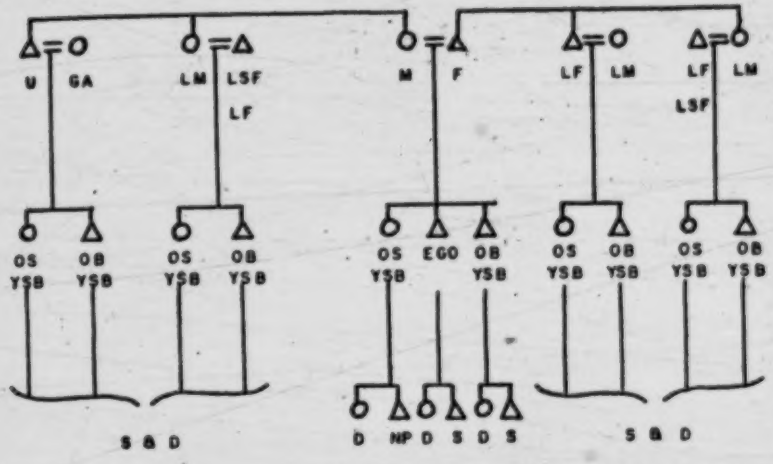

Fig. 3. Abbreviations are the same as for Figures 1 and 2. All cousins are called older brother or sister, or younger sibling. Sister's son is nephew, Ego male. Ego female, all kin of first descending generation are son or daughter. Mother's sister's husband and father's sister's husband may be called either little father, or little stepfather. A complete diagram is not given since there has been no change in other terms. Informants: O.A., M.B., J.T., F.W.

features in accord with the type which Murdock terms "Matri-Hawaiian."[126] It is apparent, however, that the early historic terminology was not Hawaiian, since descent must have been matrilineal instead of bilateral, as is required by a Hawaiian system. If an early historic system is now considered, with matrilineal descent and a matrilocal rule of residence, which by Morgan's time had evolved to a bilateral, Matri-Hawaiian type, is it possible to suggest the form of the early historic terminology? The most likely form would seem to be one of the "Iroquois" type, since the generation principle is not violated in either, and the other differences are relatively minor.[127] In an Iroquoian system cross-cousins are called by the same terms, which differ from those used for parallel cousins. Parallel cousins may or may not be called by the same terms which are used for siblings. The term applied to mother and mother's sister is different from the one applied to father's sister. If it is assumed that the Delawares had this system, with matrilocal residence and matrilineal descent, how would this alteration to the Hawaiian type take place? It may be postulated, for example, that Ego's

[126] Murdock, 1949, p. 229.
[127] White, 1939, pp. 568-70.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7

174 59 611 mother's brother upon marriage violates the traditional rule of matrilocal residence and brings his wife back to the group in which Ego is growing up. If this becomes a common occurrence, it is readily seen that a mother's brother's children might soon be confused, or aligned in Ego's mind with his parallel cousins, leading eventually to an alteration in cousin terminology. Or, if the rule of residence becomes neolocal, the same sort of alteration might take place. In this instance the reason for distinguishing between various kinds of cousins disappears, as with our own system. Neither paternal or maternal cross- or parallel cousins would in this case consistently be more familiar with Ego because of residence; they would be equals, receiving an equal emphasis in the kinship terminology. A logical accompaniment to this sort of alteration would be a change in Ego's terms for the first ascending generation. It is plain that a father's sister, who under an Iroquoian system had a special term, would now be the mother of children whom in a Hawaiian system Ego calls siblings, and hence she is called mother. It should be noted that the terminology employed in Morgan's time retained at least one feature of a previously unilateral system. This was the term for mother's brother, who was called uncle, instead of little father, as the logic of a bilateral system would lead one to expect. It may also be noted that the offspring of this uncle were placed in the sibling category by Ego. It may well be that the special, asymmetrical term for a mother's brother is a vestige of the once important avuncular relationship. It is difficult to arrive at a reasonable hypothesis for the similarly nonbilateral terminology applied to nepotic relatives in Morgan's time. First, there may have been no change in the terms employed for the children of siblings, for this is still a common Iroquoian type of terminology. I have not been able, however, to state the most probable terminology for the offspring of cousins; that the terms were different from the ones used in Morgan's time seems likely.

Clan and Phratry

613 614 The early historic Delawares seem to have had a rather weakly developed clan system. These named units probably consisted of a woman, her descendants, and collateral kin unilaterally reckoned in the maternal line. It cannot be determined whether these units should more properly be termed lineages, that is, unilateral descent groups tracing descent to a known ancestress, or clans, which may be defined as named, unilateral, exogamous descent groups, tracing ancestry to a mythically, or at least genetically, remote ancestor. Morgan termed these groups subgentes, since they were not totemic.[128] Wallace termed them lineages, and Harrington has called them clans.[129] Because of the diverse nature of the peoples who were to become the Delaware tribe any single characterization may be inaccurate.

[128] Morgan, 1877, p. 171.
[129] Wallace, 1947, p. 6; Harrington, 1913, p. 210.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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and waters flow. In this connection, nations who make the treaty, or are allies, exchange a pipe between them which is called the pipe of peace. Such a pipe is carefully preserved and generally lighted in council by a captain or chief, whenever anything occurs relating to the ally and each member smokes a little out of it. The one who carries about the pipe reminds the members of the council of the covenant and the time of its establishment. The head of the pipe is commonly of stone, the stem of wood wound with a fine ribbon neatly decorated with white corals, the latter the work of the women.

It is the duty of the chief to maintain peace, to advise peace as long as possible. It is not in his power to begin war as long as the captains are averse to this. Without their consent he may not accept a war belt. If it is received this is on condition that he will turn it over to the captains for consideration. The chief must endeavor to preserve peace to the utmost of his power. If the captains are unanimous in declaring war he is obliged, as it were, to deliver the care of his people for the time being into their hands, for they are the warriors.

In the matter of choice of a chief various things are to be observed. The principal captain may choose a chief and inaugurate him, and it is also in his power to take him out of office if the chief proves a poor regent, acts contrary to the customs, does according to his own wishes and refuses to accept counsel. The captains, who always have the people on their side may thus forsake a chief, not only refusing to support him but even publicly announcing that they do not agree with him, and thus his power is at an end. The chief must always be a member of that tribe in which he presides. The sons of a chief cannot inherit their father's dignity, for the reason that they are not and cannot be, according to established usages, members of the tribe, inasmuch as children do not inherit tribal rights from the father but from the mother.[265] No Indian will marry a person in his own tribe, as he is too closely related to all in it. Herein, the Indians allege, is to be found the reason for the existence of the tribes. Were it not for these, they could not be quite sure whether persons to be married are near relatives or not. Hence, it is, also, that children are considered the property of the wife.

202.	Other relatives observe mourning ___ days	90-365				•	12	0	365	4	4	3-4		
203.	Dread the approach of death	+			+	+	+	S	+	−	−	+		
204.	Die in full possession of faculties (generally)						−	+	•	+	•	•	+	
205.	Take leave of friends						S	+	+	+	S	+	•	
206.*	Believe bodies will be restored						+	*+	*+	−	−	−	+	
207.	Disposition of property—to nearest kin †				−			•	+		+	+	+	
208.	to others †				+	+	+	•		+			+	
Lineage														
209.	Nation divided into ___ tribes †				3	3	3	3	8	3	3	3	3	
210.	Division for purposes of government				−		+	+	−	+		+	−	
211.	On religious grounds				−		•	•	+•	−			−	
212.	Attended by good effect						+	+	•	+•			•	
213.	Tribes are exogamous				+	+								
214.	Tribes are endogamous										+			
215.	Matrilineal descent		+		+	+		+		+	+	(+)	+	
Chiefs														
216.	Civil chieftainship hereditary		−	(+)	−		−	−	*+	−	−	*(+)	−	
217.	Son succeeds		−	(+)	−		−	−	−	−	−	(+)	−	
218.	Brother first choice		−		−		+		+	−	−	(+)	−	
219.	Nephew (sister's son) next		−		+		+		+	−	−	(+)	−	
220.	Woman could be				−		−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
221.	Election of civil chief		+	−	+		+	*+	*+	+	+	+	+	
222.	By people		+		−		−	−	−	+	+	+	+	
223.	By counselors				*+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
224.	Installed by other tribes				+		•	•	(+)	~	−	−	+	
225.	Can be removed				+		+	*+	+	+	−	+	+	
226.	Chief names successor			−					+	+	−	+	+	
227.	Can dismiss successor								+	+	−	•	•	
228.	Any particular age at succession †						−		+	+	+	+	−	
229.	Both civil and war chiefs				+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
230.	Number of civil chiefs per tribe						1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
231.	Number of war chiefs per tribe						1	1	2	1	1	1	1	
232.	Boundary between civil and war chiefs		+		+		+	*+	+	+	+	+	+	
233.	Civil chief has authority superior to war chief in peace	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
234.	Stops on declaration of war		+				+	+	+	+			+	
235.	War chief hereditary				−								−	
236.	War chief elected				−			+					+	

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S 648 Shawnees into their alliance, or perhaps what is nearer the truth, recognized an ancient connection still preserved by tradition, and acknowledged the Shawnees their uncles, by which they admit them to be the older stock.

Tribes [Clans] of the Delawares and Descent in the Female Line

D 115 Was introduced by Mr. Pratt to William Adams,[81] Wa-le-oak-se, (White man), a very intelligent young man and an Indian. We went out under a tree and talked an D 681 hour. I found that the children of two tribes are brothers and sisters to each other, and the children of his sisters the same, and that the children of a brother and of a sister are nephew, and something else to each other, but he thought not uncle. He says D 614 the Delawares are now and were anciently divided into three tribes: 1. the Wolf, "round paw"; 2. the Turtle, "unfeathered animal"; 3. the Turkey or fowl, "feathered animal."

That this was a sort of generalization; that the Wolf separated the animals having hair, the Turtle animals without hair, including fish, and Turkey or Fowl, as this means any fowl, the animals with feathers, and these he says are subdivided into a number of others, but he could not give me the names. He said his tribe was that of the Mud Turtle, the turtle that muds himself and then lies in the sun. This was as far as he could go on this head. He says that in D [582] [183] old times no man was allowed to marry a woman of his own tribe, and it was the law until within the last generation, but that now is broken over constantly. That he was of the turtle tribe, and so were both his father and mother. He also said that he was entirely certain that in old times *the children followed the tribe of the mother*, and that it is D [611]

[p 51 (c)]

614 611 so now where the father and mother were of different tribes. This is a very interesting fact, as it is the first exception, if true, in the Algonquin race which I have found. Mr. Pratt informs me that he understands the children are of the tribe of the mother, [797] and he has been their missionary for twelve years and for 22 years an Indian missionary. I shall verify this perfectly before I leave. The young man also says that the 622 office of chief was hereditary in the tribe, as he thought, and that a brother or nephew succeeded as frequently as a son, but he was not quite sure on this subject. He gave me 535 the names of 16 of the dances, all he could remember, which will be given later.

602 He said the Delawares thought a good deal more of their relationships than we did, and if there was the least particle of relationship they were glad to find it. He [582] says that in old times near relatives could not marry, but now they married as near as our cousins.

Family Names

551 We took up this inquiry. He says one tribe has no right to use the names of another tribe, as he thinks, and he also says the names can be readily distinguished from one another, but I must inquire further about this. He seemed to think the same name might be used by another tribe, in which case it would be slightly varied. The real truth about the distinctness of the Indian names constantly eludes me.[57A] I shall soon think there is nothing in it.

57A [For footnote see category 116, p. 209 (A) — Analyst]

[p 52(B)]

776 Mr. Pratt on the arm, and hence the boil.
753 In the meantime, the evil spirit, seeing the little spirit about to deal with him, passed on, and was thus diverted from his purpose. After doing this friendly act the little spirit at once passed on upon the track of the evil one to arrest and avert as many of his evil deeds as he could by persuasion, cunning or artifice. Thus the Indian said Mr. Pratt had a friend, and this boil was the result of his friendly interposition to save him from a greater evil.

[*Delaware Clans*]

115 Conversation with [Morgan's blank], the mother of Charles Johnny Cake.[83] She is sub. 1 Wolf Tribe. Her husband was Turtle. Her children are Wolf.

614 She confirms the division into Wolf, Turtle and Turkey Tribes, and says these are subdivided. The Wolf has the Bear, the Turtle the Big and Little Turtle, and the Turkey has the Crow. Those belonging to
[582] each subdivision to this day refuse to intermarry; but Little Turtle intermarries with Big Turtle, Bear with Wolf, Crow with Turkey. The children of ancient times and
[611] now are of the tribe of the mother in all cases. The terms Wolf, Turtle and Turkey are general ones, the word Took-seat, the name of the Wolf Tribe means "a round foot." There is another name for Wolf, Tam-me. The word for Turtle, Poke-koo-rin-go, does not mean any particular kind of Turtle, and so the name of the Turkey, Pal-la-ooh, means any kind of fowl. It appears to be a generalization for haired, non-haired and feathered animals. The subdivisions I must learn from her son.

She mentioned the We-loon-see Tribe as that of the Little Turtle, and also the Crow and the Bear, but could not remember their names. She gave We-saw-hut-ko, meaning

15:Morgan [-5 (1859)1959
NM7 Delaware NM7

[52(c)]

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302
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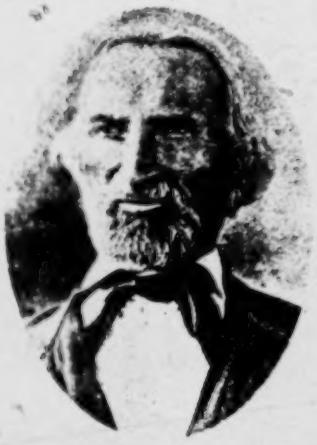

Charles Journeycake (Johnny Cake) was a chief, and a prominent leader of the Delawares in Kansas, as well as being a widely known Baptist minister. His mother gave Morgan information about the Delawares.

614 "Yellow Tree," as the name of one of the
[115] Bands. She appeared to be about 70 years
555 old. She was of the Wolf tribe and her husband Turtle. She said the son did not necessarily succeed the father in the office of chief, but could not explain the succession fully. A brother or a sister's son often succeeded. Captain Ketchum[44] at the time of
622 his death was head chief, a principal chief
[614] of the Turtle Tribe of the Delawares. This title or office is hereditary as she thought in the tribe, for she said the Turtles could not have a man of the Wolf or Turkey Tribe for their chief. Ketchum's name was Ta-whe-la-na (Catch Me). He died leaving a son; but was succeeded by John Konner, the
• [611] present principal or hereditary chief who was the son of the youngest sister of Cap-

[p 53 (A)]

622 tain Ketchum, and of the Turtle Tribe. His
[611] name was Ta-ta-ne-sha. Here we have a practical illustration of descent in the female line, as with the Iroquois. She says each of the three tribes have one hereditary chief, called the Head Chief; that this chief never goes out to war, but stays at home while the Braves go out to fight.

648 The Delawares call the Senecas Mingwa-o, hence I think the historical word Mingoes,[55] a name for the Iroquois. The Delawares call the Iroquois and Wyandottes nephews, and thus assume the name
[186] of uncles, which is a way to express their seniority as well as original superiority.

553 I inquired of her about the family names, and was again put at fault. She says the father and mother can name their children as they please; that they ask some one for a list of old names of persons dead, and choose such ones as they like. She thought the names of the three tribes were kept dis-
[614] tinct, and then that they were used by these tribes indiscriminately. She said her husband named her children, and gave them all Turtle names, which was his tribe, then followed this up by stating that she did not know as it made any difference, that all used the same names. She referred to the
[171] Seneca practice of making a feast when a child was named, but said the Delawares did not do that way.

Winter

773 Mr. Pratt mentioned a Delaware tradition
821 about the origin of cold and heat and the change of the seasons as follows. In ancient times a married pair fell into disagreement. They lived in the far north region of cold. The wife, finding it impossible to live with her husband, or in resentment for some injury, travelled into the far south, into the region of heat. The husband became weary

15:Morgan E-5 (1859)1969
NM7 Delaware NM7
Shawnee NN17
[p 54(B)]

D 797 worth, and went from there to the Shawnee Baptist Mission now closed, and from there to this Mission about 12 years ago. His wife is still young looking [she was forty-five at the time, ed.] and must have been beautiful as a girl. They are very worthy, refined and agreeable, and my short stay with them has been very pleasant indeed. Mr. Pratt is a well educated and superior man.

S 797 872 The Friends Shawnee Mission has done a good work among the Shawnees, but was never, I fancy, a very large school. There are but two boys there at present, but no doubt they have done as much good in proportion to the means employed as any other missionaries. The Friends are well adapted to gain the confidence of the Indian.

D 555 [*Delaware: Succession of Chiefs*]

In a brief conversation with Charles Johnny Cake, he informs me that the son never succeeds the father in the office of chief, but that the office goes either to a brother or the son of a sister. But strange to say the Turtle, the Wolf and the Turkey tribes each have several subdivisions, and while it was the ancient law that Turtle must always intermarry with Turtle, Wolf with Wolf and Turkey with Turkey, yet the subdivisions were not allowed to intermarry and in these the children were of the tribe of the mother. Mrs. Johnny Cake, the mother of Charles, would not or could not tell me the names of the subdivisions. Charles would not today under the pretence that it was important to be right and he doubted his recollection of these subdivisions, although he said there were a number of each.

D 614 582

D [611]

D 124 614 582

[54(c)]

124 I am very anxious to know. I asked an old
614 Delaware this morning, and he very coolly
582 told me that these questions were too small, by which he meant, I suppose, that it was prying into family matters rather impertinently.

614 It is by means of these subdivisions with
582 the prohibition of intermarriage that des-
611 cent in the female line is secured.

Lemuel R. Ketchum[90A] says:

622 The Delawares have three Heads or great chiefs, one for each tribe. This chief is called Sa-ke-ma. It means Principal Chief. It is the name of the office, or the title of the person equivalent to President or King. They also have two subordinate chiefs. These chiefs together are called Ka-ke-um-ha-suk, or the chiefs. The term also includes the three
[623] head chiefs, and is used in contradistinction to councillors. The office has no special name. These two are inferior. If the three head chiefs decide upon a measure the two inferior must submit, but if two of the head chiefs and the two inferior chiefs should agree and the third head chief should stand out, the thing could not be done. The principal power is with the head chiefs. The three head chiefs can never go out to war, but the two inferior chiefs may. They are not, however, called war chiefs. Besides
623 these three the wise and experienced men of the nation are called councillors or Ha-ha-che-nowl-se-chick, which means simply councillors. These have a right to speak in a council of the chiefs. They can speak of their own motion without waiting to be
[562] asked by the chiefs. Women cannot speak in council.

Religious System

771 The Delawares believe in a Great Spirit,
[770] and in an Evil Spirit. They also believe in
[775] the immortality of the soul, and that they all went to heaven.

90A [For footnote, see category 116, P. 209(C)-- Analyst]

15:Morgan E-5 (1859)1969
NM7 Delaware NM7
Munsee

[#59]
[#58 not processed]

Munsees

101 The Munsees are closely allied to the Dela-
614 wares. They have the three tribes, Wolf,
Turtle and Turkey, with the prohibition of
[582] intermarriage in the tribe, and with descent
● [611] in the female line. This Toucey told me who
101 has lived among them. They are old Con-
162 necticut Indians. There are about 50 near
131 Fort Leavenworth, and some I think near
Green Bay.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7

mother's brother upon marriage violates the traditional rule of matrilocal residence and brings his wife back to the group in which Ego is growing up. If this becomes a common occurrence, it is readily seen that a mother's brother's children might soon be confused, or aligned in Ego's mind with his parallel cousins, leading eventually to an alteration in cousin terminology. Or, if the rule of residence becomes neolocal, the same sort of alteration might take place. In this instance the reason for distinguishing between various kinds of cousins disappears, as with our own system. Neither paternal or maternal cross- or parallel cousins would in this case consistently be more familiar with Ego because of residence; they would be equals, receiving an equal emphasis in the kinship terminology. A logical accompaniment to this sort of alteration would be a change in Ego's terms for the first ascending generation. It is plain that a father's sister, who under an Iroquoian system had a special term, would now be the mother of children whom in a Hawaiian system Ego calls siblings, and hence she is called mother. It should be noted that the terminology employed in Morgan's time retained at least one feature of a previously unilateral system. This was the term for mother's brother, who was called uncle, instead of little father, as the logic of a bilateral system would lead one to expect. It may also be noted that the offspring of this uncle were placed in the sibling category by Ego. It may well be that the special, asymmetrical term for a mother's brother is a vestige of the once important avuncular relationship. It is difficult to arrive at a reasonable hypothesis for the similarly nonbilateral terminology applied to nepotic relatives in Morgan's time. First, there may have been no change in the terms employed for the children of siblings, for this is still a common Iroquoian type of terminology. I have not been able, however, to state the most probable terminology for the offspring of cousins; that the terms were different from the ones used in Morgan's time seems likely.

Clan and Phratry

The early historic Delawares seem to have had a rather weakly developed clan system. These named units probably consisted of a woman, her descendants, and collateral kin unilaterally reckoned in the maternal line. It cannot be determined whether these units should more properly be termed lineages, that is, unilateral descent groups tracing descent to a known ancestress, or clans, which may be defined as named, unilateral, exogamous descent groups, tracing ancestry to a mythically, or at least genetically, remote ancestor. Morgan termed these groups subgentes, since they were not totemic.[128] Wallace termed them lineages, and Harrington has called them clans.[129] Because of the diverse nature of the peoples who were to become the Delaware tribe any single characterization may be inaccurate.

[128]Morgan, 1877, p. 171.
[129]Wallace, 1947, p. 6; Harrington, 1913, p. 210.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7

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[128] Morgan, 1877, p. 171.
[129] Wallace, 1947, p. 6; Harrington, 1913, p. 210.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7

The clans seem to have been territorial units of a loose sort. The family hunting territories were grouped together (See Chap. II) into larger "communal territories." These larger geographical units should probably be equated with the clans. The numerous small settlements were probably inhabited by subdivisions of the clans, either maternal lineages or extended families. It is possible that several different clan units, or subunits, inhabited these settlements, but it seems more likely, on the basis of their size, that this was not so. Men probably sought wives in nearby villages. If this was true, or if there was village endogamy because several clans occupied one village, then men could continue to hunt in their maternally inherited hunting territories. Even if this was not so, it seems entirely possible that in a relatively short space of time men could become well enough acquainted with a wife's hunting territory to be able to hunt there effectively.

Matrilineally related women communally tilled their outlying garden plots. In addition to co-operation in subsistence activities and mutual aid in general, clan members "were theoretically supposed to avenge the death of one of their number, or, in case of a kinsman's forfeiting his right to live through the murder of a member of another lineage, to buy back his life by the payment of blood money."[130] The leading matron of the clan was termed "chiefmaker,"[131] since it was she who could remove and appoint, within the rules of inheritance, the clan chief or sachem. Clans were not totemic, but were named for some "peculiarity of their ancestors or from some locality once frequented by them."[132] L. H. Morgan, the first investigator to list them, said that each clan was "composed of twelve subgentes, each having some of the attributes of a gens."[133] Morgan's "subgentes" are herein reproduced:[134]

1. Wolf. Took'-seat

1. Mĭ-an'-greet, Big Feet
2. Wee-sow-het'-ko, Yellow Tree
3. Pĭ-sa-kun-ĭ'-mon, Pulling Corn
4. We-yar-nih'-kĭ-to, Care Enterer
5. Toosh-war-ka'-ma, Across the River
6. O-lum'-a-ne, Vermilion
7. Pun-ar'-you, Dog standing by Fireside
8. Kwin-eek'cha, Long Body
9. Moon-har-tar'ne, Digging
10. Non-har'-mis, Pulling up Stream
11. Long-ush-har-kar'-to, Brush Log
12. Maw-soo-toh', Bringing Along

2. Turtle. Poke-koo-un'go

1. O-ka-ho'-ki, Ruler
2. Ta-ko-ong'-o-to, High Bank Shore
3. See-har-ong'-o-to, Drawing down Hill
4. Ole-har-kar-me'kar-to, Elector
5. Mĭ-har-o-luk'-ti, Brave
6. Toosh-ki-pa-kwis-i, Green Leaves
7. Tung-ul-ung'-si, Smallest Turtle
8. We-lun-ĭng-sii, Little Turtle
9. Lee-kwin-ĭ-i', Snapping Turtle
10. Kwis-aese-kees'-to, Deer

The two remaining subgentes are extinct.

3. Turkey. Pul-la'-ook

1. Mo-har-ĭ'-ĭĭ, Big Bird
7. Tong-o-nĭ'-o-to, Drift Log

[130] Wallace, 1949, p. 8
[131] *Ibid.*
[132] Harrington, 1913, p. 210.
[133] Morgan, 1877, p. 171.
[134] *Ibid.*, p. 172.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7

2. Le-le-wa'-you, Bird's Cry
3. Moo-kwung-wa-ho'-ki, Eye Pain
4. Moo-har-mo-wi-kar'-nu, Scratch the Path
5. O-ping-ho'-ki, Opossum Ground
6. Muh-ho-we-ki'-ken, Old Shin
8. Nool-I-mar-lar'-mo, Living in Water
9. Muh-krest-har'-ne, Root Digger
10. Mur-karm-huk-se, Red Face
11. Koo-wĕ-ho'ke, Pine Region
12. Co-ckuk'-ham, Ground Scratcher

Harrington in 1913 found some of these clans still in existence in Canada. He added two that could not be associated with any of Morgan's. They were Mun'hat ko wi of the Turkey phratry and All 'ke, of the Wolf phratry.[135] There is no knowledge or memory of the clans today in Oklahoma.

Each clan was a member of one of the three phratries (Morgan's gentes), and phratry membership was a consequence of clan membership. Many of the clan names were obviously associated in meaning with their phratry: "Ground Scratcher" with Turkey phratry, "Snapping Turtle" with Turtle phratry, to give but two examples. No mention was made of the three phratries in the literature of the seventeenth century. Since the phratries had no political functions in the early period, Europeans probably did not come in contact with them. It seems unlikely that the association of every clan with a phratry in historic times represented the early pattern, when the social diversity and the spatial dispersion of the pretribal Delawares is considered. What it was like is unknown, although a looser, more informal association, probably with fewer clans in a phratry, might be postulated. As remnant peoples joined the tribe, they probably were considered kinship units, thus swelling the number of clans. In some fashion they became associated with one or another of the phratries.

In the eighteenth century phratry heads became political leaders of the Delaware tribe. This development is discussed further under Acculturation. The phratries were exogamous, at least in later historic times, since Morgan said that "in old times no man was allowed to marry a woman of his own tribe [phratry] and it was the law until within the last generation...."[136] The three phratries were totemic units named for qualities of animals rather than for the animals themselves. The Tuknit were named for a quality of the wolf, "round foot," the Pilca for a quality or attribute of the turkey, "don't chew," and the Pokuwango for the slow characteristics of the turtle, "crawling" or "dragging along."[137] For the sake of brevity, however, I shall continue the usage initiated by Morgan and refer to these groups as Wolf, Turkey, and Turtle.

The primary function of the phratries was ceremonial: "In ceremonial rites they each enjoy special privileges, have allotted duties to perform, segregated places of seating, the animal emblem as a name signature in common, and their own chiefs and council of three."[138] According to Harrington each phratry had a paramount leader, who had rather limited

[135] Harrington, 1913, p. 210.
[136] Morgan, 1859, MS.
[137] Harrington, 1913, p. 210; O.A., J.T.
[138] Speck, 1931, p. 76.

painted a different color on each side, were thrown up and caught, the goal being to get as many of a particular color as possible; and another in which an object was hidden under one of several moccasins and the players attempted to guess which one it was under (Denny, p.265; Brinton, 1888, p.40; Loskiel, p.105). The vigorous dances engaged in by the Delaware were also noted although no early writer mentions (as Zeisberger, writing in the eighteenth century does) that dances were held most evenings that the men were not out hunting (Penn, p.38; Zeisberger, 1870, p.90). Later writers all agree that the Delaware were a sociable people given to frequent visiting and communal games and dances (Zeisberger, 1870, p.87; Heckewelder, 1881, pp.101-3 and 149).

This may be the most suitable place to mention the dogs kept by the Delaware since it seems most likely that they were kept merely as pets. Their remains have not been found in great abundance and in most cases where they were found they appear to have been deliberately buried. There is only one instance where there is some question whether the animal had been used as a sacrifice (Skinner, 1915; p.48; Heye, p.59).

At the time of contact, the Lenape were living in villages composed of several groups of families in the summer and hunting in single family groups in winter. The associations of families constituted bands, the names of which generally had some reference to the territory which they occupied.10 In the eighteenth century Heckewelder reported a double division of the tribe into three sub-tribes, called Unami, Unalachtigo and Munsee, and into three genealogical "totems" which I will call phratries. The phratries were named Turtle, Turkey and Wolf, and Heckewelder equated them with the sub-tribes. He believed that the divisions had existed in the contact period also (Heckewelder, 1881, pp.51-2). Morgan, in the late nineteenth century, found that the Munsee, who are generally called the "Wolf Tribe", actually had members belonging to all three phratries, and Harrington found the same situation in the twentieth century (Morgan, 1912, p.177; Harrington, 1913, p.209). The Munsee had a tradition, however, that the three phratries formerly occupied separate villages.

Both Harrington and Morgan found the modern Delaware phratries divided into matrilineal clans, the names of which were not totemic (Harrington, p.210; Morgan, 1912, p.177). The only evidence of totemic beliefs is a vague association between the turtle phratry and the mythical turtle in the creation myth and, of course, the phratry names themselves. The only evidence for the regulation of marriage by any social unit is found in Zeisberger who says that no Indian will marry within his own tribe as he considers himself too closely related to the other individuals in it. But his use of the word "tribe" is not clear so that the problem of which

614 social unit was exogamous remains indeterminate; in the nineteenth century the clans, but not the phratries, were found to be exogamous.

615 For the seventeenth century there is no evidence that the phratries functioned as sub-tribes and it seems safer for the present to assume that this was a later development.

Political Organization

622 Heads of families, warriors and aged men from all the local groups made up the councils of the bands and tribe. They were
623 consultants of a chief whose position was hereditary through the female line (Penn, p. 39; Lindstrom, p. 205). In the following description of a conference between Penn and the Delaware, the relationship between the council and chief as well as their method of conducting such a meeting are elucidated:

> "Every King hath his Council, and that consists of all the Old and Wise men of his Nation, which perhaps is two hundred People: nothing of Moment is undertaken, be it War, Peace, Selling of Land or Traffick, without advising with them; and which is more, with the Young Men too...
>
> I have had occasion to be in Council with them upon Treaties for Land, and to adjust the terms of Trade; their Order is thus: The King sits in the middle of an half Moon, and hath his Council, the Old and Wise on each hand; behind them, or at a little distance, sit the younger Fry, in the same figure. Having consulted and resolved their business, the King ordered one of them to speak to me, he stood up, came to me, and in the Name of his King saluted me, then took me by the hand, and told me, That he was ordered by his King to speak to me, and that now it was not he, but the King that spoke, becausewhat he should say, was the King's mind...
>
> During the time that this Person spoke, not a man of them was observed to whisper or smile; the Old, Grave, the Young, Reverend in their Deportment; they do speak little, but fervently, and with Elegancy..."

The points made here by Penn are all confirmed by later writers (Penn, pp. 40-42; Harrington, 1913, p. 211; Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 107-11; Ziesberger, 1910, pp. 92-93.).

622 The most important duties of these chiefs, before the advent of the whites, were probably to help settle quarrels among their people, be official host to all outside visitors and to confer with the council of the whole tribe which met under a head chief, who was always of the Turtle phratry. The position of this head chief and the constituency and duties of his council were the same as that of the band chiefs in relation to their members. In addition, he officially represented

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

When the people file into the Big House, the few that still have them dressed in their best Indian costumes carefully preserved for such occasions (pl. I), the members of this leader's clan always take their seats on the north side, the other

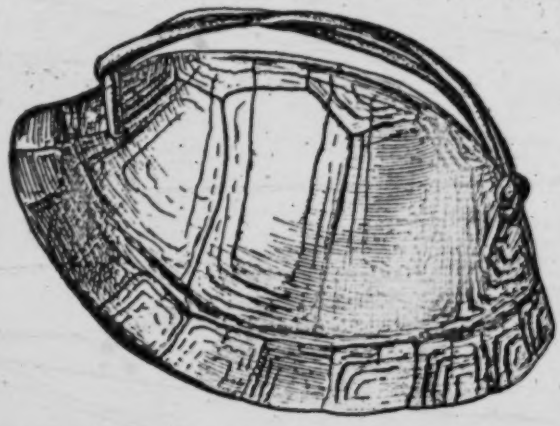

FIG. 9.—Rattle of land-tortoise shell, used by celebrants at the Annual Ceremony. (Length, 4.2 in.)

two clans in the west end and the south side. Men and women, however, do not mingle, but sit separately in the space allotted to their common clan. The diagram (pl. VII) shows the seating of the clans when the ceremony is

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

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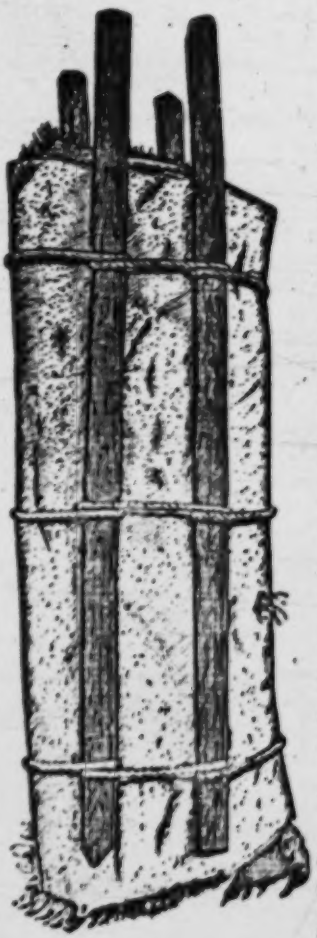
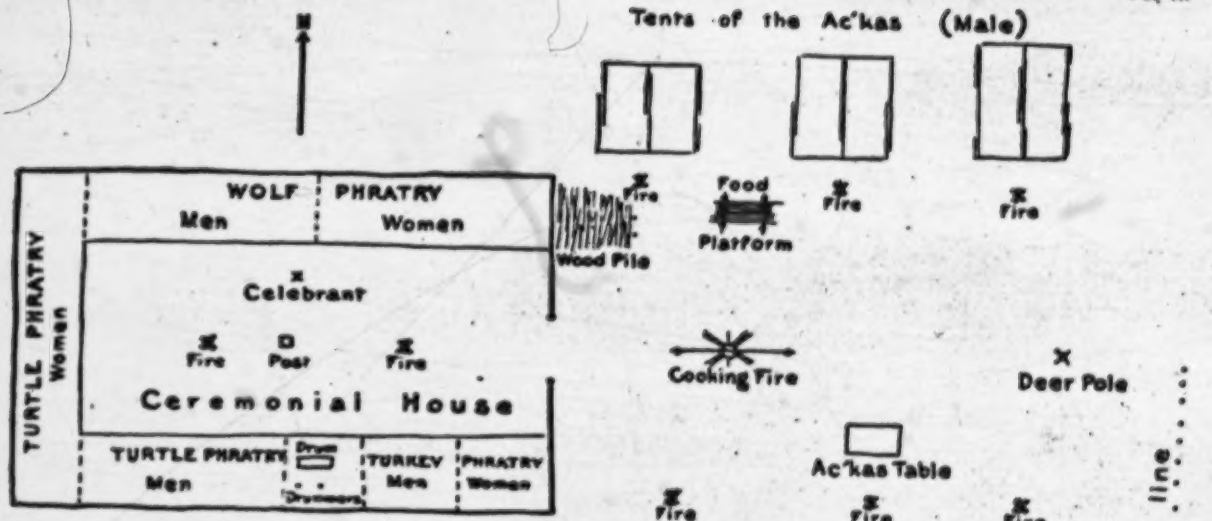


"brought in" by a member of the Wolf division.

After the chief's speech, the leader arises from his place just north of the central post, and, rapidly shaking a rattle (*taxo'xi cowŭni'-gŭn*) made of a box-tortoise shell (fig. 9), recites his vision in a high monotone, word by word. After he utters each word, he pauses an instant to give the singers sitting at the rolled dry

FIG. 10.—Drum made of dried deerskin used at the Annual Ceremony. (Length 38.2 in.)



PLAN OF LENAPE CEREMONIAL HOUSE AND GROUNDS NEAR DEWEY, OKLAHOMA

Facing p. 64

x 796
519
● 414
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6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

deerskin called *powŭni'gŭn* which serves as a drum (fig. 10), ample time to repeat the same word in the same tone, which produces an extraordinary effect. When he finishes, the drummers beat rapidly on the dry hide, repeating "*Ho-o-o!*" a number of times.

Then the celebrant repeats a verse of his song in the same way, and the drummers, having learned the words, sing them to a dance tune, beating the drum in slower time. After dancing awhile, the celebrator whoops, and they stop; then another similar verse, if not the same, is recited and then sung,

When the leader dances, he circles about the two fires contra-clockwise, and those who wish may join in the dance and follow him (pl. VI).

His dance finished, the leader passes the turtleshell to the next man who has been blessed with a vision. This one has the privilege of singing his vision if he wishes; if not, it is handed to the next "dreamer." After a celebrant has taken his seat, it is customary for those

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
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Lenape

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796x

front of the man who, as the Indians phrase it, "brought on the meeting." The backs of the turtleshells are all measured with strings of wampum, which are cut off in lengths corresponding with the lengths of the backs.

Then the owners are called to get their turtles and wampum, which is supposed to be their pay for bringing them to the meeting. As each takes up his turtle, he shakes it, and if it does not sound well, then the people laugh, and the owner, abashed, takes his property out of sight as soon as possible.

PHRATRY PRAYERS

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796x

Then they call up six men, two from each of the three phratries—Turtle, Turkey, and Wolf. Each goes outside and cries the prayer word "*Ho-o-o!*" twelve times, holding up his left hand. When the first one returns, he is given one yard of wampum, and divides it with the other five. This is done each night until the end.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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crease or decrease in population, although the Delaware had increased some three hunderd in number.[1]

Most of the Delaware are living on their allotments scattered through the territory originally reserved for the Cherokee. Few of their allotments are contiguous, due to the exigencies of the allotting and to the fact that many of the farms have been sold when restrictions were removed. Very few of them were fortunate enough to have oil on their lands. They either farm their fields or cash rent them. Judging from the state of repair of the houses, those that farm their own fields are more prosperous than those who rent them out. This distinction is also recognized by the Indians. The majority probably rent their fields and subsist on the small cash return, aided by the produce from their gardens, old age pensions, and other occasional sources of income. There is very little in the appearance of their houses to distinguish them from their white neighbors. Clothes and automobiles also reflect their economic status in the same way that these items do for their white neighbors.

After their incorporation with the Cherokee, the Delaware maintained their own chieftainships for a time. As the functions of these clan heads ceased, so did the rules for the filling of the offices and the need for keeping them filled. The last of the clan chiefs died about 1900. Since that time only chiefs for the entire Delaware group in northeastern Oklahoma have been elected. These were elected mostly for business purposes—to have an official representative to treat with the Federal Government on annuities and other money matters. In the election each of the three tribal divisions, Turtle, Wolf, and Turkey nominated a candidate. The man getting the most votes was elected chief and the one getting the next highest number became assistant chief. The last election was held about 1917. The chief who was elected then died about 1935, and since that time there has been no recognized chief.

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[1] Pratt, John G., to J. R. Doolittle, September 15, 1865, in *Condition of the Indian Tribes. Report of the Joint Special Committee . . .* (*Senate Reports*, 39 Congress, 2 session, No. 156, Washington, D. C., 1867), Appendix, p. 483.

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9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

his successor but the council had to approve his choice (226). 643
Captain Chipps said that the council determined the successor when the chief died, by which he probably meant when he died without naming a successor. On the other hand, he said that all the tribes elected the chief for the others, excluding from the election the tribe for whom the election was held. It may be conjectured that by this he referred to the installation rather than the election of the chief, for such a procedure is out of line with the other accounts of the same period and even the rest of Chipps's own account. Zeisberger's account for the previous period also used the term election for a ceremony described as an installation. Some of the comments of Captain Chipps and Zeisberger also suggest the possibility that it was only the elevation of an ordinary chief to the head chieftainship of one division that was done by the other divisions or tribes (224). This is most likely the true explanation and its acceptance would explain some of the seeming contradictions in the accounts of these two writers. The modern Delaware have no knowledge of the custom, and since in recent years only one chief has been elected for all divisions, there could be no installation by the chiefs of two divisions for the other one.

Two other changes in the fourth period are significant and 643
indicate the almost complete breakdown of the old political 177
organization after continued white contact. These are the non-inheritance of chieftainship and the full participation of the people in the election (216-19, 221).

A reconstruction of the old system would be something very 621
close to the following. The three divisions of the Delaware, 614
Turtle, Wolf, and Turkey, were more or less separated from one another in place of residence and perhaps originally developed from such separation. Even into the nineteenth century certain towns were known as Turtle or Wolf towns. Each of these divisions was subdivided into twelve gentes or subgentes. These were undoubtedly exogamous, and possibly the divisions were also. Chieftainship in the subgentes or in the villages was hereditary in the extended family. Descent was matrilineal; hence, a chief was not succeeded by his son but by a brother, by

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

621 a nephew, his sister's son, or sister's daughter's son. The se-
614 lection of a successor might be made by an incumbent with the approval of the people. Each of the three divisions had a chief who was chosen by a general council of chiefs and wisemen, possibly with the exclusion of the tribal chiefs and wisemen of the division involved. The installation of the tribal chief was conducted by the head chiefs of the other two divisions.

643 The various sources and informants were unanimous in saying that there was a boundary between the authority of the civil chief and that of the war chief (232). The superiority of the civil chief in peace time was also affirmed by all (233). The reversal of the relative power of each in war was likewise maintained without dissent (234). Power received through visions
[781] was a prerequisite to the office of war chief (237). Captain Pipe's account made no mention of vision power, but his statement of an election similar to that of a civil chief did not preclude this requirement. W. L. stated that a man must have received power through a vision to become eligible for election as a war chief.

623 The existence of a body of wisemen or counselors was reported in every period (238). These men were chosen by the people, according to the information from the third and fourth periods (240). The accounts of the earlier periods did not touch upon this matter. The council or body of wisemen was reported throughout all periods to consider all matters of importance to the tribe (241). The functions of the council were evidently considerable; although called only by the chief, their decision after due deliberation determined the course of action of the chief (238). Women had no voice in council and were only admitted at certain times (243).

Justice

681 According to the idealistic retrospect of W. T., originally, when the Delaware had things their own way, there was no theft, murder, rape, adultery, or any other crime or misdemeanor and hence no punishments or ways of handling such matters were
006 necessary. Since debts were not discussed in detail in the first

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

THE SOCIAL GROUPS IN THE CEREMONY.—In the text frequent reference is made to the three group-subdivisions of the tribe. Inasmuch as no satisfactory conclusions have yet been reached in the classification of the subdivisions of Delaware social organization, I have been obliged to refer to the groupings under captions serviceable for present needs in our discussion of the Big House ceremony. My use of classifying terms for the groups is accordingly not to be considered as definitive. The social grouping that stands out with great prominence in the ceremonial organization of the tribe is the three-fold division of the people into zoonymic septs namely, the Pəlɛ̃, the Pukowa'ŋgo, and Tu'kʷsi·t. These having been translated by other writers as Turkey, Tortoise, and Wolf "clans" respectively, although Harrington, who uses these terms, has realized the difficulty of classifying Delaware society, and after sounding a note of caution has adopted the designation of "phratry" or totemic group as applicable to them. The concepts of association between the human members of these groups and the animals whose classification they bear are far from being clear at present. One point of importance to be brought out, however, is that the translations given above do not properly represent the meanings the terms are intended to convey. The terms in question are generic not specific; Pəlɛ̃, denoting any bird classified as belonging to the fowls or scratchers; Pukowa'ŋgo denoting the reptilians of the group testudinata (the term having the literal meaning of "sticky heels," derived from the habit of slowly lifting the foot when walking, characteristic of the turtles) and Tu'kʷsi·t, "round foot," denoting the quadrupeds. In the basis of this classification of mankind a religious rather than social symbolism may be detected. The term in Delaware denoting these divisions is la'ke'i·n, "manner of doing." These groups are not exogamous. Descent is through the mother. In ceremonial rites they each enjoy special privileges, have allotted duties to perform, segregated places of seating, the animal emblem as a name signature in common, and their own chiefs and council of three. Throughout the account of the ceremony reference will be made to these groups under their native designations.

Concerning the other groupings of Delaware society, upon which Harrington has published some discussion, there is no pressing reason for treatment at present from the point of view of the annual ceremony. In all, Harrington lists eighteen of these and refers to them as "clans" composing his "phratries."[1] Their names are not totemic. Since they do not function as social units in the ceremony to which we are giving attention they need not be treated further.

[1] Harrington I, pp. 81-82, 109; II, pp. 209-11. L. H. Morgan (Ancient Society, N. Y. 1877, pp. 171-3), using first hand Delaware sources in Kansas, first founded this classification.

[2] Harrington II, pp. 210-11. His group nomenclature follows that of Morgan (op. cit., p. 172).

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

We may dismiss for the present, the problem of their origin after giving the opinion of our informant, with which Harrington coincides, that they were local groups, district populations in an older habitat, which had accumulated the characteristic of sib groupings with maternal descent and exogany. Heckewelder,[1] over a century ago, who knew the Delawares so well, had sound reasons for his opinion on the character of the triple "totemic" groupings as being geographical divisions, originally tribal subdivisions. These, he continues to say in his discussion, again developed local sub-groupings that took name from localities, the eighteen so-called "clans" of Morgan and Harrington. The Delaware designation for these groups is wihil·a'i·n, "name or title."[1]

EXPLANATION OF CHARACTERS USED IN THE TEXT

In general conformity with the suggestions of the committee on the transcription of Indian languages, I have employed the following characters in the transcription of the text. Occasional variation in the spelling of native terms will be found in the narrative, due to variability of pronunciation by the informant. This it has been thought wiser to retain until a more detailed study of sounds and phonetic laws can be made.

The Oklahoma dialect does not abound in the voiceless final vowels and syllables which, according to Sapir,[2] characterize the dialect spoken by the Delawares of the Grand River reserve in Ontario.

There is no indication whatever in Delaware of an *r*, or *tl* (*θ*) recorded by Brinton for instance, (in Lenape Dictionary), as in Munsee and Mahikan, and by Campanius (1645-96).[3]

p, *b* bilabials, occasionally intermediate when preceding the dark vowels, *a*, *o*, *u*.

p, a true, slightly aspirated, surd

m bilabial similar to English *m*.

t surd, as *t* in English ten.

d intermediate alveolar sonant between surd and sonant quality.

t' a pure slightly aspirated surd.

s surd, sibilant, corresponding to English *s* when followed or preceded by *i*, otherwise with slightly deflected tongue tip bringing it closer to *θ*, *(tl)* with which it corresponds in Munsee.

n alveolar, not differing from English *n*.

ŋ post-palatal, corresponding to English *ng* in king.

k somewhat intermediate surd stop, medial palatal similar to English *k* in lock. Often not distinguishable from *g*.

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[1] Heckewelder, op. cit., pp. 81-82, 250.

[2] E. Sapir, Geol. Survey of Canada, Summary Report, 1912, p. 6.

[3] The supposed change from *r* to *l* in later Delaware is discussed by Heckewelder, Trans. Amer. Philos. Soc. IV, 1834, pp. 351-96.

DDD

463 531 about 1913. The Delaware women and a few men are yet skilled workers in beads, both in sewed-on designs and in bead weaving. The women are expert in the art of working out intricate designs in ribbon applique on robes, leggings, breech cloths and moccasins. Some wood carving is also done by the modern Delawares and a few make splint baskets.

322 285

Designs and Symbolism

531 In the study of Delaware art motifs we find that they fall into two groups. In group A are the ancient earth symbols, floral and geometric (angular) patterns; in group B, the religious symbols of the Peyote Cult. This is a religious teaching and ceremony that arose in the tribe about 50 years ago. Animal and human figures rarely occur in Delaware art. In archeological finds, representations of the human face in stone frequently occur but those are said to have been the charms owned and worn by certain individuals who had dreamed of the mask spirit and had the right to use its likeness as representative of the great spiritual force or guardian spirit. If a person saw an animal during his dream quest he would have the right to use the likeness of that particular animal on his wearing apparel. It is also permissible to have representations of clan animal totems on one's vest or tobacco pouch.

[172] [787] [614]

The earth symbols and the "trails" shown in plate 1 are said to be ancient, as well as figures A and B called "clasps" in plate 2. The earth symbols in plate 1 illustrate the native Delaware belief that the earth rests on the back of a tortoise and that the sun in its daily round goes under the tortoise and comes up on the opposite side the next day. Figure C, plate 1, symbolizes the power of the Creator which is felt in the four corners of the earth. These symbols occur in the ancient art designs of other Algonkian peoples in northeastern North America from Labrador to southern New England. Floral patterns for moccasin tops or vamps, breech cloths, robes and bags fall into this grouping (plates 3 and 4).

[821] [171]

[P. 25, A]

S 648 Shawnees into their alliance, or perhaps what is nearer the truth, recognized an ancient connection still preserved by tradition, and acknowledged the Shawnees their uncles, by which they admit them to be the older stock.

Tribes [Clans] of the Delawares and Descent in the Female Line

D 115 Was introduced by Mr. Pratt to William Adams,[81] Wa-le-oak-se, (White man), a very intelligent young man and an Indian. We went out under a tree and talked an D 601 hour. I found that the children of two tribes are brothers and sisters to each other, and the children of his sisters the same, and that the children of a brother and of a sister are nephew, and something else to each other, but he thought not uncle. He says D 614 the Delawares are now and were anciently divided into three tribes: 1. the Wolf, "round paw"; 2. the Turtle, "unfeathered animal"; 3. the Turkey or fowl, "feathered animal."

That this was a sort of generalization; that the Wolf separated the animals having hair, the Turtle animals without hair, including fish, and Turkey or Fowl, as this means any fowl, the animals with feathers, and these he says are subdivided into a number of others, but he could not give me the names. He said his tribe was that of the Mud Turtle, the turtle that muds himself and then lies in the sun. This was as far as he could go on this head. He says that in D [582] old times no man was allowed to marry a [183] woman of his own tribe, and it was the law until within the last generation, but that now is broken over constantly. That he was of the turtle tribe, and so were both his father and mother. He also said that he was D [611] entirely certain that in old times *the children followed the tribe of the mother*, and that it is

[p 51 (C)]

614 611 so now where the father and mother were of different tribes. This is a very interesting fact, as it is the first exception, if true, in the Algonquin race which I have found. Mr. Pratt informs me that he understands the children are of the tribe of the mother, [797] and he has been their missionary for twelve years and for 22 years an Indian missionary. I shall verify this perfectly before I leave. The young man also says that the 672 office of chief was hereditary in the tribe, as he thought, and that a brother or nephew succeeded as frequently as a son, but he was not quite sure on this subject. He gave me 535 the names of 16 of the dances, all he could remember, which will be given later.

602 He said the Delawares thought a good deal more of their relationships than we did, and if there was the least particle of relationship they were glad to find it. He [582] says that in old times near relatives could not marry, but now they married as near as our cousins.

Family Names

551 We took up this inquiry. He says one tribe has no right to use the names of another tribe, as he thinks, and he also says the names can be readily distinguished from one another, but I must inquire further about this. He seemed to think the same name might be used by another tribe, in which case it would be slightly varied. The real truth about the distinctness of the Indian names constantly eludes me. [52/A] I shall soon think there is nothing in it.

52/A [For footnote see category 116, p.209 (A) — Analyst]

[p52(B)]

776 Mr. Pratt on the arm, and hence the boil.
753 In the meantime, the evil spirit, seeing the little spirit about to deal with him, passed on, and was thus diverted from his purpose. After doing this friendly act the little spirit at once passed on upon the track of the evil one to arrest and avert as many of his evil deeds as he could by persuasion, cunning or artifice. Thus the Indian said Mr. Pratt had a friend, and this boil was the result of his friendly interposition to save him from a greater evil.

[*Delaware Clans*]

115 Conversation with [Morgan's blank], the mother of Charles Johnny Cake.[83] She is sub. 1 Wolf Tribe. Her husband was Turtle. Her children are Wolf.

• 614 She confirms the division into Wolf, Turtle and Turkey Tribes, and says these are subdivided. The Wolf has the Bear, the Turtle the Big and Little Turtle, and the Turkey has the Crow. Those belonging to
[582] each subdivision to this day refuse to intermarry; but Little Turtle intermarries with Big Turtle, Bear with Wolf, Crow with Turkey. The children of ancient times and
[611] now are of the tribe of the mother in all cases. The terms Wolf, Turtle and Turkey are general ones, the word Took-seat, the name of the Wolf Tribe means "a round foot." There is another name for Wolf, Tam-me. The word for Turtle, Poke-koo-rin-go, does not mean any particular kind of Turtle, and so the name of the Turkey, Pal-la-ooh, means any kind of fowl. It appears to be a generalization for haired, non-haired and feathered animals. The subdivisions I must learn from her son.

She mentioned the We-loon-see Tribe as that of the Little Turtle, and also the Crow and the Bear, but could not remember their names. She gave We-saw-hut-ko, meaning

[52(c)]

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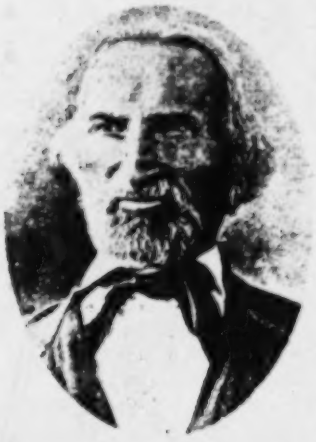

Charles Journeycake (Johnny Cake) was a chief, and a prominent leader of the Delawares in Kansas, as well as being a widely known Baptist minister. His mother gave Morgan information about the Delawares.

614
[115]
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[614]
[611]

"Yellow Tree," as the name of one of the Bands. She appeared to be about 70 years old. She was of the Wolf tribe and her husband Turtle. She said the son did not necessarily succeed the father in the office of chief, but could not explain the succession fully. A brother or a sister's son often succeeded. Captain Ketchum[44] at the time of his death was head chief, a principal chief of the Turtle Tribe of the Delawares. This title or office is hereditary as she thought in the tribe, for she said the Turtles could not have a man of the Wolf or Turkey Tribe for their chief. Ketchum's name was Ta-whe-la-na (Catch Me). He died leaving a son; but was succeeded by John Konner, the present principal or hereditary chief who was the son of the youngest sister of Cap-

[p 53 (A)]

622 tain Ketchum, and of the Turtle Tribe. His
[611] name was Ta-ta-ne-sha. Here we have a practical illustration of descent in the female line, as with the Iroquois. She says each of the three tribes have one hereditary chief, called the Head Chief; that this chief never goes out to war, but stays at home while the Braves go out to fight.

648 The Delawares call the Senecas Mingwa-o, hence I think the historical word Mingoes,[55] a name for the Iroquois. The Delawares call the Iroquois and Wyandottes nephews, and thus assume the name
[186] of uncles, which is a way to express their seniority as well as original superiority.

553 I inquired of her about the family names, and was again put at fault. She says the father and mother can name their children as they please; that they ask some one for a list of old names of persons dead, and choose such ones as they like. She thought the names of the three tribes were kept dis-
[614] tinct, and then that they were used by these tribes indiscriminately. She said her husband named her children, and gave them all Turtle names, which was his tribe, then followed this up by stating that she did not know as it made any difference, that all used the same names. She referred to the
[171] Seneca practice of making a feast when a child was named, but said the Delawares did not do that way.

Winter

773 Mr. Pratt mentioned a Delaware tradition
821 about the origin of cold and heat and the change of the seasons as follows. In ancient times a married pair fell into disagreement. They lived in the far north region of cold. The wife, finding it impossible to live with her husband, or in resentment for some injury, travelled into the far south, into the region of heat. The husband became weary

15:Morgan E-5 (1859)1959
NM7 Delaware NM7
Shawnee NN17

[p 54(B)]

D 797 worth, and went from there to the Shawnee Baptist Mission now closed, and from there to this Mission about 12 years ago. His wife is still young looking [she was forty-five at the time, ed.] and must have been beautiful as a girl. They are very worthy, refined and agreeable, and my short stay with them has been very pleasant indeed. Mr. Pratt is a well educated and superior man.

S 797 872 The Friends Shawnee Mission has done a good work among the Shawnees, but was never, I fancy, a very large school. There are but two boys there at present, but no doubt they have done as much good in proportion to the means employed as any other missionaries. The Friends are well adapted to gain the confidence of the Indian.

D 555 [*Delaware: Succession of Chiefs*]

In a brief conversation with Charles Johnny Cake, he informs me that the son never succeeds the father in the office of chief, but that the office goes either to a brother or the son of a sister. But strange to say the D 614 582 Turtle, the Wolf and the Turkey tribes each have several subdivisions, and while it was the ancient law that Turtle must always intermarry with Turtle, Wolf with Wolf and Turkey with Turkey, yet the subdivisions were not allowed to intermarry and in these the children were of the tribe of the mother. Mrs. Johnny Cake, the mother of Charles, would not or could not tell me the names of the subdivisions. Charles would not today under the pretence that it was important to be right and he doubted his recollection of these subdivisions, although he said there were a number of each.

[54(c)]

124 I am very anxious to know. I asked an old
614 Delaware this morning, and he very coolly
582 told me that these questions were too small, by which he meant, I suppose, that it was prying into family matters rather impertinently.

614 It is by means of these subdivisions with
582 the prohibition of intermarriage that des-
611 cent in the female line is secured.

Lemuel R. Ketchum[10] says:

622 The Delawares have three Heads or great chiefs, one for each tribe. This chief is called Sa-ke-ma. It means Principal Chief. It is the name of the office, or the title of the person equivalent to President or King. They also have two subordinate chiefs. These chiefs together are called Ka-ke-um-ha-suk, or the chiefs. The term also includes the three
[623] head chiefs, and is used in contradistinction to councillors. The office has no special name. These two are inferior. If the three head chiefs decide upon a measure the two inferior must submit, but if two of the head chiefs and the two inferior chiefs should agree and the third head chief should stand out, the thing could not be done. The principal power is with the head chiefs. The three head chiefs can never go out to war, but the two inferior chiefs may. They are not, however, called war chiefs. Besides
623 these three the wise and experienced men of the nation are called councillors or Ha-ha-che-nowl-se-chick, which means simply councillors. These have a right to speak in a council of the chiefs. They can speak of their own motion without waiting to be
[562] asked by the chiefs. Women cannot speak in council.

Religious System

771 The Delawares believe in a Great Spirit,
[776] and in an Evil Spirit. They also believe in
[775] the immortality of the soul, and that they all went to heaven.

[10] [For footnote, see category 116, p. 209(c)--Analyst]

[4 55 (A)]

all went to heaven. They have one religious festival at which the Gum-win Dance is performed. This is the great religious dance. This is held once a year every fall, after the corn harvest is gathered. The festival lasts seven days. At this festival they have a number of old dances, which are still maintained among the Delawares. This Festival is called the Gum-win, from the dance. This is held for the purpose of returning thanks to the Great Spirit. They have a feast. Men, about 12, go out beforehand to hunt, and get game for the feast, particularly the deer. There is a class of persons whose business it is to appoint the time for holding this council, to prepare the feast, and supervise the business of the festival. They are both men and women, but Lemuel could not give me the name by which they are distinguished.

Marriage

Near relatives are not allowed to marry. First and second cousins are within the forbidden degrees; but third cousins under our system are allowed to marry. The names used by the several tribes are used in common. This seems to be the preferable conclusion. A young lad at the Mission told me that those of the same subdivision of the same tribe can intermarry if not too near of kin, but the fact is that they are all of near kin.

Succession of [Head] Chiefs

Upon the death of a head chief of the Turtle Tribe, the three other subdivisions meet in council to agree upon a successor who must be of the same subdivision of the tribe with the deceased, and is either a brother of the deceased or a sister's son. The second chief has the first speech, and the War Chief last, and enumerates the persons who

[455 (B)]

614 have expressed themselves in favor of the
622 person nominated. If they disagree, I have
623 not ascertained how it is adjusted. After the person is agreed upon, then all the chiefs meet in council and perform the ceremony of investing him with his office.

622 The war chiefs are selected and made such by the Head Chief without consulting the people, but not so with the Head Chief.

241 The Delawares are very well advanced as agriculturalists. When Mr. Pratt came
342 among them 12 years ago, as he informs me,
177 they were living in bark houses. Now many of them are living in frame houses two stories and 2½ stories high, some with a veranda in front the whole length, and they have good barns and outbuildings. Some of
231 them have herds of cattle from 25 to 100
422 and have from 5 to 20 swine, sheep, wagons, and all kinds of farming implements. Their future prospects are certainly very flattering if they push on as they have here. Their
648 women are interfered with a good deal by
563 the whites, and they are quick to marry
557 white husbands, as they seem to regard that as advancing. It would be so were their husbands respectable.

657 With their large annuity of $50,000 per annum, the best timbered lands in the state, and sufficient of them to give them all large farms, there is no reason why they should not become both agriculturalists and respectable citizens of the state. When they
000 become wealthy farmers as some of them now are, their children will intermarry respectably with our white people, and thus the children will become respectable and, if educated, in the second and third generations will become beautiful and attractive. This is to be the end of the Indian absorption of a small portion, which will improve and toughen our race, and the residue run out or forced into the regions of the mountains.

[757(A)]

796 Spirit. It lasts 6 days. It may be repeated by another person or family for a second 6 days, and so on until the feelings are satisfied. It has been known to last a month. The meeting is called by one of a certain class, who I presume correspond with the Keepers of the Faith of the Iroquois. They are called A-la-pa-cte, meaning *Dreamers*. The [346] people meet in a large house erected on purpose for this worship and used for nothing else. They build two council fires in the [614] house, and the people assemble by tribes, the Turtles by themselves, the Wolves by themselves and the Turks by themselves. They use belts of wampum and have many ceremonies. It would seem that this council or religious meeting was called by some one [346] person. The door of the house of worship must open to the east.

796 533 When they are assembled two singers [?] sit down to two dried and rolled up deer skins, with sticks in their hands to beat time. The leader, who is stationed on the right hand side of the door, gets up and [534] shaking a turtle shell rattle, comes in extemporizing verses which are adapted to the set tune of his choosing, to relate his dream. As he relates his dream in music, he dances, they sing the same time and beat time, and all who enter the dance, dance [535] the religious dance which altogether is called the Gum-mween. This is repeated day by day for six days. But the leaders change. When one has told his dream, he hands his rattle to the next one, who in like singing relates his dream in words of his own making, but sung in an old well known tune of his own choosing.

796 [262] Before the festival 12 hunters are sent out for deer's meat, as no other meat is allowed. About 9 each morning this meat is served to all. At sundown each day they have an exhortation from the oldest wise

15:Morgan E-5 (1859)1959
NM7 Delaware NM7
Munsee

[p 59]
[p 58 not processed]

Munsees

101 The Munsees are closely allied to the Dela-
● 614 wares. They have the three tribes, Wolf,
Turtle and Turkey, with the prohibition of
[582] intermarriage in the tribe, and with descent
[611] in the female line. This Toucey told me who
has lived among them. They are old Con-
101 necticut Indians. There are about 50 near
162 Fort Leavenworth, and some I think near
131 Green Bay.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7

3. Le-le-wa'-you, Bird's Cry
3. Moo-kwung-wa-ho'-ki, Eye Pain
4. Moo-har-mo-wi-kar'-nu, Scratch the Path
5. O-ping-ho'-ki, Opossum Ground
6. Muh-ho-we-kil'-ken, Old Shin
8. Nool-i-mar-lar'-mo, Living in Water
9. Muh-kre[illegible]har'-ne, Root Digger
10. Mur-karm-huk-se, Red Face
11. Koo-wi-ho'ke, Pine Region
12. Oo-ckuk'-ham, Ground Scratcher

Harrington in 1913 found some of these clans still in existence in Canada. He added two that could not be associated with any of Morgan's. They were Mun'hat ko wi of the Turkey phratry and All 'ke, of the Wolf phratry.[133] There is no knowledge or memory of the clans today in Oklahoma.

Each clan was a member of one of the three phratries (Morgan's gentes), and phratry membership was a consequence of clan membership. Many of the clan names were obviously associated in meaning with their phratry: "Ground Scratcher" with Turkey phratry, "Snapping Turtle" with Turtle phratry, to give but two examples. No mention was made of the three phratries in the literature of the seventeenth century. Since the phratries had no political functions in the early period, Europeans probably did not come in contact with them. It seems unlikely that the association of every clan with a phratry in historic times represented the early pattern, when the social diversity and the spatial dispersion of the pretribal Delawares is considered. What it was like is unknown, although a looser, more informal association, probably with fewer clans in a phratry, might be postulated. As remnant peoples joined the tribe, they probably were considered kinship units, thus swelling the number of clans. In some fashion they became associated with one or another of the phratries.

In the eighteenth century phratry heads became political leaders of the Delaware tribe. This development is discussed further under Acculturation. The phratries were exogamous, at least in later historic times, since Morgan said that "in old times no man was allowed to marry a woman of his own tribe [phratry] and it was the law until within the last generation...."[134] The three phratries were totemic units named for qualities of animals rather than for the animals themselves. The Tuknit were named for a quality of the wolf, "round foot," the Pilos for a quality or attribute of the turkey, "don't chew," and the Pokuwango for the slow characteristics of the turtle, "crawling" or "dragging along."[135] For the sake of brevity, however, I shall continue the usage initiated by Morgan and refer to these groups as Wolf, Turkey, and Turtle.

The primary function of the phratries was ceremonial: "In ceremonial rites they each enjoy special privileges, have allotted duties to perform, segregated places of seating, the animal emblem as a name signature is common, and their own chiefs and council of three."[136] According to Harrington each phratry had a paramount leader, who had rather limited

[133] Harrington, 1913, p. 310.
[134] Morgan, 1859, MS.
[135] Harrington, 1913, p. 310; O.A., J.T.
[136] Speck, 1931, p. 78.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7

powers, serving primarily in the capacity of adviser.[139] This position was gained through inheritance.[140] Morgan agreed with him, saying:

> A Delaware woman, after stating to the author that she, with her children, belonged to the Wolf gens, and her husband to the Turtle, remarked that when Captain Ketchum . . . late head chief or sachem of the Turtle gens, died, he was succeeded by his nephew, John Conner . . . a son of one of the sisters of the deceased sachem, who was also of the Turtle gens. The decedent left a son, but he was of another gens and consequently incapable of succeeding. With the Delawares, as with the Iroquois, the office passed from brother to brother, or from uncle to nephew, because descent was in the female line.[141]

The three phratries have frequently been confused with the three geographical divisions of the Delawares. Heckewelder was the first to make this association, and his copyists have continued his correlation.[142] The association was Turtle with Unami, Turkey with Unalachtigo, and Wolf with Munsi.[143] Harrington dissented from this viewpoint on the basis that phratry members could be found among any of the geographical divisions.[144] As early as 1824 Trowbridge specifically denied this association and said that members of all three phratries were found in the Munsi group.[145] There can be little doubt that Heckewelder was mistaken in associating the geographical divisions with the phratries.

Social Control

Government

Relatively more information exists dealing with political organization and government of the early historic Delawares than concerning the kinship system. Europeans had an opportunity to observe the governmental machinery, participating in councils and the like, but their contact with the kinship system was so slight that they could not understand it.

Each social unit, or clan, had a leader, usually termed "sachem" in the literature, who had inherited his position through the maternal line. "When a king dies it is not his children who succeed him, but his brother by the same mother, or his sister's, or her daughter's male children."[146] Penn, who has given the clearest description of government, said:

> Their government is by kings, which they call sachama, and those by succession; but always of the mother's side. For instance, the children of him who is now king will not succeed, but his brother by the mother, or the children of his sister, whose sons (and after them the children of her daughters) will reign, for no woman inherits. The reason they render for this way of descent is, that their issue may not be spurious.[147]

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[139] Harrington, 1913, p. 211.
[140] *Ibid.*
[141] Morgan, 1877, p. 173.
[142] Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 51-52; Brinton, 1885, p. 39.
[143] Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 51-52.
[144] Harrington, 1913, p. 209.
[145] Trowbridge MS.
[146] Holm, 1834, p. 133.
[147] Penn, 1683, p. 244; Thomas, 1913, p. 338, and Zeisberger, 1910, p. 98, agreed on the matriarchal succession of sachems.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7

For their worship which is diabolical, it is performed usually but once or twice a year, unless upon some extraordinary occasion, as upon making of war or the like; their usual time is about *Michaelmass*, when their corn is first ripe, the day being appointed by their chief Priest or pawaw, most of them go a hunting for venison: When they are all congregated, their priest tells them if he want money, their God will accept of no other offering, which the people believing, every one gives money according to their ability.[42]

This is the sort of description of a pretribal ceremony which one would expect from a seventeenth-century writer. The hunt for venison and the use of wampum were, for example, integral features of the later Big House Ceremony. Speck has suggested that the historic form of the ceremony developed from "rites managed by the ceremonial group (Turkey, Tortoise, Wolf)" which, in turn, developed from family or individual rites.[43] In historic times each phratry varied somewhat from the others in the performance of the ceremony; that of the Wolf phratry, for instance, lasted only eight days, whereas the ceremony of the Turkey phratry lasted twelve days.[44] In a sense, then, the ceremony never attained complete tribal integration. Since Speck's studies of the Big House Ceremony are relatively complete and are complemented by those of Zeisberger, Trowbridge, and Harrington, and by the eyewitness account by Luckenbach, it is not necessary here to give a detailed description of the historic ceremony; a brief synopsis taken from the accounts of these writers and from the descriptions given by my own informants should suffice.

After the Big House Ceremony became a tribal affair, it was held but once a year. It took place in a "big house," a building which also served as a council house and was similar in structure to the Iroquoian Long House. In the center of this structure was a pole, on the north and south sides of which were carved faces;[45] ten other identical faces were placed around the walls. Apparently this was the practice before 1763.[46] The participants camped near the Big House for the duration of the ceremony, the women to the north and the men to the south (M.B.). Throughout this period celibacy was practiced, participants were supposed to be in a pure and clean frame of mind, and menstruating women were not allowed inside the Big House. Offenders were removed from the building by the Mask Being or other officials.[47] One individual, known as the "bringer-in," sponsored and led the ceremony, and the phratry to which he belonged determined the exact form the ceremony was to take. One source stated that in each phratry there was a family which inherited the right to sponsor the annual ceremony;[48] possibly this was a vestige of the individual or family rites from which it evolved.

[42] Denton, 1845, p. 7.
[43] Speck, 1950, p. 27.
[44] *Ibid.*, p. 16; Harrington, 1913, p. 230.
[45] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 141.
[46] Kinietz, 1940, p. 116, dates this feature after 1824, but Bartram and Kenny apparently saw such a ceremonial structure in August, 1761 (Kenny, 1913, p. 23).
[47] Trowbridge MS; M.B.
[48] Trowbridge MS.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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conservative, distrustful of whites, and, in general, less acculturated than others who are young, literate, moderately educated, progressive, and well assimilated. There is an antipeyote faction, and even within the peyote faction there is a schism between the Big Moon and Little Moon adherents. These various factions promote discord, so much so that any unified tribal activity is virtually impossible. The Delawares are, then, no longer a distinct social group. Delaware society has disappeared, although allegiance to a number of the ancient culture traits lingers.

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The most notable remnant of socioreligious organization still perpetuated by both Oklahoma Delaware communities is the phratry. Adults still acknowledge membership in one or more of the phratries. Membership was originally determined by descent in the female line, but this is no longer true; a person inherits membership in both his mother's and father's phratry, so that many individuals consider themselves to be "half and half." An individual can belong to no more than two of the three phratries. Consequently, it is apparent that if this method of reckoning membership is carried on for many generations most people will belong to two of the three phratries. There is no memory of any other system of reckoning membership. Obviously, the shift in the method of determining phratry membership has been caused by the emphasis on the paternal line in American society. At least among the Cherokee-Delawares the pressure has not been strong enough to shift the system from simple matrilineal reckoning all the way to patrilineal, as in our patronymics; it has gone but an illogical part way. Phratry membership originally depended upon clan ties, but there is no knowledge of them today in either Delaware community. The conclusion is inescapable that the clan organization disappeared before the Delawares left Kansas.

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An interesting factor contributing to the eventual extinction of Delaware culture and also to social heterogeneity is found in present marriage restrictions. It is considered incestuous for a person to marry anyone to whom he is related, however remotely. This means that in both Oklahoma communities the young Delaware boys and girls cannot marry other Delawares, since everybody is considered to be related to everyone else. Some of the feelings about this point were: "The young people are disgusted, can't find anybody they're not kin to" (O.A.). "We're disappearing as fast as we can 'cause we got nobody to marry" (O.A.). "It's awful when you marry kinfolks" (M.B.). Briefly, one generation hence there will be no person who is more than half Delaware biologically, and probably none more than half sociologically. (This subject is taken up more fully under Pan-Indianism.) Within the last several decades the Delawares have taken to marrying legally and are completely assimilated in this respect.

Religious Assimilation

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Big House Ceremony.—Without a doubt the most tenacious and unchanging elements in Delaware culture, aside from language, have been

painted a different color on each side, were thrown up and caught, the goal being to get as many of a particular color as possible; and another in which an object was hidden under one of several moccasins and the players attempted to guess which one it was under (Denny, p.265; Brinton, 1888, p.40; Loskiel, p.105). The vigorous dances engaged in by the Delaware were also noted although no early writer mentions (as Zeisberger, writing in the eighteenth century does) that dances were held most evenings that the men were not out hunting (Penn, p.38; Zeisberger, 1870, p.90). Later writers all agree that the Delaware were a sociable people given to frequent visiting and communal games and dances (Zeisberger, 1870, p.87; Heckewelder, 1881, pp.101-3 and 149). 525 [526] 535 517

This may be the most suitable place to mention the dogs kept by the Delaware since it seems most likely that they were kept merely as pets. Their remains have not been found in great abundance and in most cases where they were found they appear to have been deliberately buried. There is only one instance where there is some question whether the animal had been used as a sacrifice (Skinner, 1915, p.48; Heye, p.59). 23

At the time of contact, the Lenape were living in villages composed of several groups of families in the summer and hunting in single family groups in winter. The associations of families constituted bands, the names of which generally had some reference to the territory which they occupied.[10] In the eighteenth century Heckewelder reported a double division of the tribe into three sub-tribes, called Unami, Unalachtigo and Munsee, and into three genealogical "totems" which I will call phratries. The phratries were named Turtle, Turkey and Wolf, and Heckewelder equated them with the sub-tribes. He believed that the divisions had existed in the contact period also (Heckewelder, 1881, pp.51-2). Morgan, in the late nineteenth century, found that the Munsee, who are generally called the "Wolf Tribe", actually had members belonging to all three phratries, and Harrington found the same situation in the twentieth century (Morgan, 1912, p.177; Harrington, 1913, p.209). The Munsee had a tradition, however, that the three phratries formerly occupied separate villages. 621 619 619 615

Both Harrington and Morgan found the modern Delaware phratries divided into matrilineal clans, the names of which were not totemic (Harrington, p.210; Morgan, 1912, p.177). The only evidence of totemic beliefs is a vague association between the turtle phratry and the mythical turtle in the creation myth and, of course, the phratry names themselves. The only evidence for the regulation of marriage by any social unit is found in Zeisberger who says that no Indian will marry within his own tribe as he considers himself too closely related to the other individuals in it. But his use of the word "tribe" is not clear so that the problem of which 614

614 social unit was exogamous remains indeterminate; in the nineteenth century the clans, but not the phratries, were found to be exogamous.

615 For the seventeenth century there is no evidence that the phratries functioned as sub-tribes and it seems safer for the present to assume that this was a later development.

Political Organization

622 623 Heads of families, warriors and aged men from all the local groups made up the councils of the bands and tribe. They were consultants of a chief whose position was hereditary through the female line (Penn, p. 39; Lindstrom, p. 205). In the following description of a conference between Penn and the Delaware, the relationship between the council and chief as well as their method of conducting such a meeting are elucidated:

> "Every King hath his Council, and that consists of all the Old and Wise men of his Nation, which perhaps is two hundred People: nothing of Moment is undertaken, be it War, Peace, Selling of Land or Traffick, without advising with them; and which is more, with the Young Men too...
>
> I have had occasion to be in Council with them upon Treaties for Land, and to adjust the terms of Trade; their Order is thus: The King sits in the middle of an half Moon, and hath his Council, the Old and Wise on each hand; behind them, or at a little distance, sit the younger Fry, in the same figure. Having consulted and resolved their business, the King ordered one of them to speak to me, he stood up, came to me, and in the Name of his King saluted me, then took me by the hand, and told me, That he was ordered by his King to speak to me, and that now it was not he, but the King that spoke, becausewhat he should say, was the King's mind...
>
> During the time that this Person spoke, not a man of them was observed to whisper or smile; the Old, Grave, the Young, Reverend in their Deportment; they do speak little, but fervently, and with Elegancy..."

The points made here by Penn are all confirmed by later writers (Penn, pp. 40-42; Harrington, 1913, p. 211; Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 107-11; Ziesberger, 1910, pp. 92-93.).

622 The most important duties of these chiefs, before the advent of the whites, were probably to help settle quarrels among their people, be official host to all outside visitors and to confer with the council of the whole tribe which met under a head chief, who was always of the Turtle phratry. The position of this head chief and the constituency and duties of his council were the same as that of the band chiefs in relation to their members. In addition, he officially represented

their Wampum, which is proportioned to the quality of the Offense or Person injured, or of the Sex they are of: for in case they kill a woman, they pay double, and the reason they render is , That she breedeth Children, which men cannot do." (Penn, p. 43). Except for the concept of different recompense according to the sex of the person injured, the above statements are confirmed by other writers. More common than recompense in the case of murder or rape, however, was the death of the offender at the hands of the injured person's family [12] (Brainerd, p. 356; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 329; Ruttenber, p. 48; Harrington, 1913, p. 217).

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Religion

All of the Delaware accounts of the origin of the world and of the tribe center around a giant mythical tortoise related in some way to the Turtle phratry and the occasion of that phratry's pre-eminence over the other two. The most complete version is found in the writings of Danckaerts whose visit to this region dates back to 1679. He asked an old Indian where the first of his race came from.

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> "He was silent for a little while as if unable to climb up at once so high with his thoughts, or to express them without help, and then took a piece of coal out of the fire where he sat, and began to write upon the floor. He first drew a circle, a little oval to which he made four paws or feet, a head and a tail; 'This', said he, 'is a tortoise, lying in the water around it', and he moved his hand around the figure continuing, 'This was or is all water, and so at first was the world or the earth, when the tortoise gradually raised its round back up high, and the water ran off of it, and thus the earth became dry.' He then took a little straw and placed it on end in the middle of the figure and proceeded, 'The earth was now dry, and there grew a tree in the middle of the earth, and the root of this tree sent forth a sprout beside it, and there grew upon it a man, who was the first male; This man was then alone, and would have remained alone, but the tree bent over until its top touched the earth, and there shot therein another root from which came forth another sprout, and there grew upon it the woman, and from these two are all men produced...'" (Danckaerts, pp. 77-80).

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The following writers also refer to the turtle as the earth and the agent of the creation of man: Heckewelder (1881, p. 230); Kalm (p. 606); Zeisberger (1870, p. 218). Other creation myths have the general theme that the people lived under the earth before they came up to live on the surface (Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 249-50).

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6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

CHAPTER V

UNAMI ANNUAL CEREMONY

THE LEADER

THE great Annual Ceremony of the Lenape now in Oklahoma was and is held when the leaves turn yellow in the fall of the year, usually, according to the "pale face" reckoning, some time between the tenth and twentieth of October. It is not exactly a tribal affair, although the whole tribe participates, but must be undertaken by some certain individual of the proper qualifications who takes the responsibility of "bringing in" the meeting and acting as a leader.

The phratry to which this leader belongs determines the exact form of the ceremonies to be held; for each totemic group has a ritual of its own, that of the Wolf, which is

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6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
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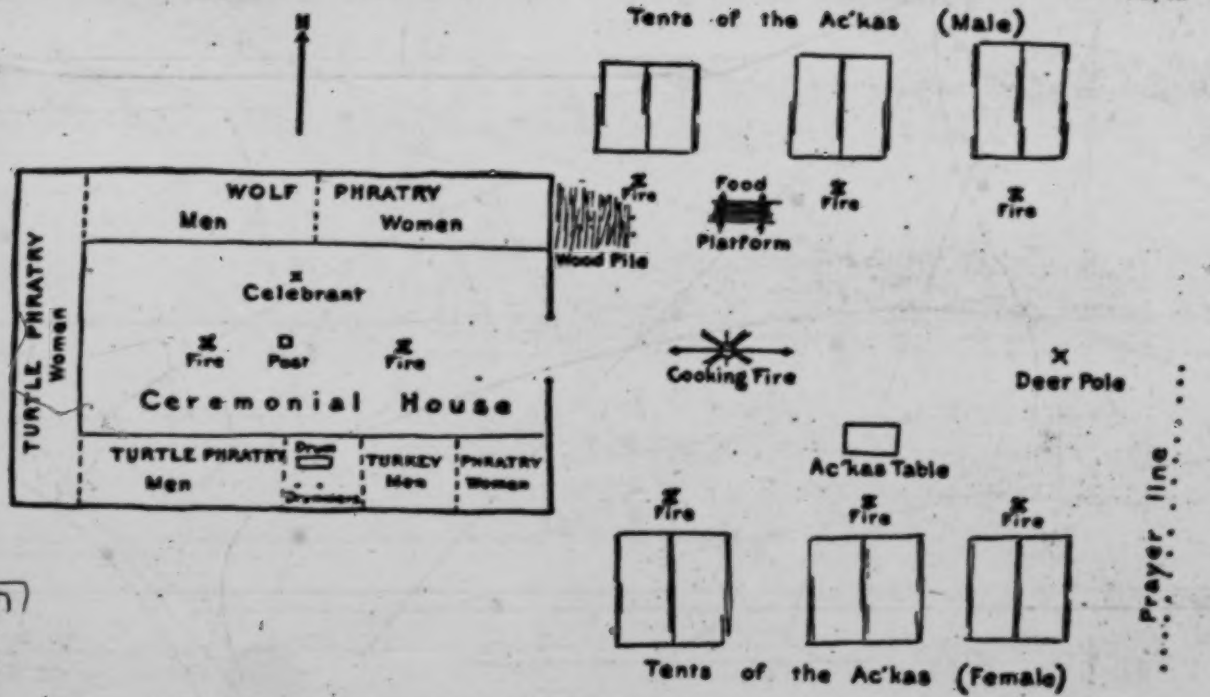
Lenape

here related, differing in some particulars from the ceremonies as practised by the Turtle or Turkey people. In former times, it is said, when one phratry had finished its twelve days of ceremonies, another would enact theirs, followed by the third; but at present qualified leaders are so few that it seldom if ever happens that more than one of them feels able to accept such exacting duties in any one year.

This leader it is who sends a messenger forth to notify the people what day the ceremonies are to commence and to invite them all to attend.

Several days before the date the wagons begin to roll in and a white village of tents springs up about the gray walls of the old Big House, temple, or *xi'ngwikan* (pl. v), standing on the banks of Little Caney river, north of Dewey in northern Oklahoma, far from any human habitation.

Built of rough logs, the Big House is now provided with a roof of hand-split shingles pierced by two great smoke-holes, as shown in the frontispiece and in



PLAN OF LENAPE CEREMONIAL HOUSE AND GROUNDS NEAR DEWEY, OKLAHOMA

[Facing p. 94]

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6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

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front of the man who, as the Indians phrase it, "brought on the meeting." The backs of the turtleshells are all measured with strings of wampum, which are cut off in lengths corresponding with the lengths of the backs.

Then the owners are called to get their turtles and wampum, which is supposed to be their pay for bringing them to the meeting: As each takes up his turtle, he shakes it, and if it does not sound well, then the people laugh, and the owner, abashed, takes his property out of sight as soon as possible.

PHRATRY PRAYERS

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Then they call up six men, two from each of the three phratries—Turtle, Turkey, and Wolf. Each goes outside and cries the prayer word "*Ho-o-o!*" twelve times, holding up his left hand. When the first one returns, he is given one yard of wampum, and divides it with the other five. This is done each night until the end.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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THE SOCIAL GROUPS IN THE CEREMONY.—In the text frequent reference is made to the three group-subdivisions of the tribe. Inasmuch as no satisfactory conclusions have yet been reached in the classification of the subdivisions of Delaware social organization, I have been obliged to refer to the groupings under captions serviceable for present needs in our discussion of the Big House ceremony. My use of classifying terms for the groups is accordingly not to be considered as definitive. The social grouping that stands out with great prominence in the ceremonial organization of the tribe is the three-fold division of the people into zoonymic septs namely, the Pele', the Pukowa'ŋgo, and Tu'k"si·t. These having been translated by other writers as Turkey, Tortoise, and Wolf "clans" respectively, although Harrington, who uses these terms, has realized the difficulty of classifying Delaware society, and after sounding a note of caution has adopted the designation of "phratry" or totemic group as applicable to them. The concepts of association between the human members of these groups and the animals whose classification they bear are far from being clear at present. One point of importance to be brought out, however, is that the translations given above do not properly represent the meanings the terms are intended to convey. The terms in question are generic not specific; Pele', denoting any bird classified as belonging to the fowls or scratchers; Pukowa'ŋgo denoting the reptilians of the group testudinata (the term having the literal meaning of "sticky heels," derived from the habit of slowly lifting the foot when walking, characteristic of the turtles) and Tu'k"si·t, "round foot," denoting the quadrupeds. In the basis of this classification of mankind a religious rather than social symbolism may be detected. The term in Delaware denoting these divisions is la'ke'i·n, "manner of doing." These groups are not exogamous. Descent is through the mother. In ceremonial rites they each enjoy special privileges, have allotted duties to perform, segregated places of seating, the animal emblem as a name signature in common, and their own chiefs and council of three. Throughout the account of the ceremony reference will be made to these groups under their native designations.

Concerning the other groupings of Delaware society, upon which Harrington has published some discussion, there is no pressing reason for treatment at present from the point of view of the annual ceremony. In all, Harrington lists eighteen of these and refers to them as "clans" composing his "phratries."[1] Their names are not totemic. Since they do not function as social units in the ceremony to which we are giving attention they need not be treated further.

[1] Harrington I, pp. 81-82, 100; II, pp. 209-11. L. H. Morgan (Ancient Society, N. Y. 1877, pp. 171-3), using first hand Delaware sources in Kansas, first founded this classification.

[1] Harrington II, pp. 210-11. His group nomenclature follows that of Morgan (op. cit., p. 172).

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

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mals, is evident from various customs still preserved among them, and from the names of those animals which they have collectively, as well as individually, assumed. It might, indeed, be supposed that those animals' names which they have given to their several tribes were mere badges of distinction, or "coats of arms" as Pyrlæus calls them; but if we pay attention to the reasons which they give for those denominations, the idea of a supposed family connexion is easily discernible. The Tortoise, or as it is commonly called, the *Turtle* tribe, among the Lenape, claims a superiority and ascendency over the others, because their *relation*, the great Tortoise, a fabled monster, the Atlas of their mythology, bears according to their traditions this great *island* on his back, and also because he is amphibious, and can live both on land and in the water, which neither of the heads of the other tribe can do. The merits of the *Turkey*, which gives its name to the second tribe, are that he is stationary, and always remains with or about them. As to the *Wolf*, after whom the third tribe is named, he is a rambler by nature, running from one place to another in quest of his prey; yet they consider him as their benefactor, as it was by his means that the Indians got out of the interior of the earth. It was he, they believe, who by the appointment of the Great Spirit, killed the deer whom the Monsey found who first discovered the way to the surface of the earth, and which allured them to come out of their damp and dark residence. For that reason, the wolf is to be honoured, and his name preserved for ever among them. Such are their traditions, as they were related to me by an old man of this tribe, more than fifty years ago.

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These animals' names, it is true, they all use as national badges, in order to distinguish their tribes from each other at home and abroad. In this point of view Mr. Pyrlæus was right in considering them as "coats of arms." The Turtle warrior draws either with a coal or

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7

of their kin who had moved there directly from northern New York. They, therefore, united with the Hurons (Talamatans) to drive out the Talega (Tsalaki, Cherokees) from the upper Ohio. This they only succeeded in accomplishing finally in the historic period. But they did clear the road and reached the Delaware valley, though neither forgetting nor giving up their claims to their western territories.[30]

It is not my purpose to go into the authenticity of the Walam Olum or the accuracy of its migration account. Suffice it to say that the Walam Olum was probably a product of the Delawares during their phase of revivalistic nativism and that it seems "to be an account, by a despairing person unable to gain his customary satisfactions from a life that no longer existed, of a Golden Age which never was. . . . Indeed the Walam Olum plainly appears to be the mirror image of a nativistically oriented people, rather than an authentic account of their history."[31]

The Location and Divisions of the Early Historic Delawares

It is impossible, for the following reasons, to know precisely the name, location, and affiliations of all the peoples who at the end of the seventeenth century joined forces and became known as the Delawares. First, the Delawaran peoples were aboriginally and during most of the seventeenth century unorganized politically and composed of a large number of subdivisions. Second, three different European nations were in contact with Delawaran peoples during this century. Their names for various groups often differed, and their interest in the relationships and locations of the various divisions was often slight. Third, these natives were soon displaced geographically and much reduced in numbers. Lastly, an unknown number of non-Delawaran peoples were incorporated into the Delaware tribe at the end of the seventeenth century. I have not undertaken the prodigious task of locating the Delawaran peoples by investigating all of the primary sources, although such a study is sorely needed; instead, a synthesis of previous investigations and two seventeenth-century maps is presented. This discussion is, therefore, liable to inaccuracies of various kinds.

For convenience the Delawares at the opening of historic times may be described as being composed of three geographical groups, traditionally called the Munsi, Unami, and Unalachtigo. The people who were to become the core of the tribe composed the division which became known in the mid-eighteenth century as the Unami. According to Brinton, the term Unami means "people down the river."[33] Zeisberger used the term

[30] Brinton, 1885, pp. 165-66.
[31] Newcomb, 1955, p. 63.
[32] The following discussion and Map 1 are based on Ruttenber, 1872, pp. 89-93; Hrdlicka, 1902, pp. 33-37; Skinner, 1909, pp. 30-32; Bolton, 1920, pp. 226-60; Swanton, 1952, pp. 48-55; Van der Donck's map of New Netherland, 1656, opposite p. 294 in Jameson, 1909; and N. J. Visscher's Map of New Netherland, New England . . . about 1655, opposite p. 170 in Myers, 1912.
[33] Brinton, 1885, p. 36.

[text continues on p. 7]

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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Unalachtigo and Nanticoke were closely related in culture and had a common origin.[56] For convenience the term Unalachtigo is used for the natives of southern New Jersey who in later times became part of the Delaware tribe.

The southern tip of Cape May was inhabited by a people known as the Kechemeche, and in the same area Swanton located a group he termed the Tirans.[58] In the valleys of the rivers and creeks emptying into Delaware Bay were many small groups of Delawares. On Maurice Creek were the Sewaposee (or Sewapois), and above them on Cohansey Creek the Siconesse (or Sikonesses). The Mantese (or Manta, Mante) inhabited the vicinity of Salem Creek, and north of them on Raccoon Creek were the Narraticon (or Naraticon). A group termed Asomoche has also been mentioned for this vicinity. To the north of the Narraticon in New Jersey, in the neighborhood of Pensaukin Creek, were found the Eromiex (or Ermonex, Eriwonec, Eriwoneck, Armewaxes). Near Camden was a group called the Yacomanshaghking, and extending up the east bank of the Delaware River to Burlington were several poorly known bands. Opposite the Narraticon in the vicinity of Wilmington, Delaware, were the Chikelacki (Chikohoki?), as well as the Amimenipaty, Hopokohacking, Memankitonna, and Passayank.

In sum, the people who were to comprise the Delaware tribe of the eighteenth century were drawn from a large number of small, dispersed, and essentially autonomous groups. At the dawn of historic times they were not a tribe in the political sense, and since they differed somewhat from one another in other aspects of culture, it is perhaps unwise to think of them as a tribe. It was not until these groups had become consolidated in the early decades of the eighteenth century that the term Delaware is properly applicable to them. The English name Delaware was given to these people because they were concentrated near the Delaware River in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Modern Delawares sometimes say that the term is derived from a Delaware expression meaning "I said" or "I meant." There is a phonetic similarity between this Delaware expression and the English name, but it is probably a rationalization.[57] The Delawares' term for themselves is "Lenape" which means "people."[59] They also occasionally refer to themselves as the "lenni lenape" which means the "real" or the "original people,"[60] or something similar to "we, the people."[60]

Linguistic Affiliations

The term Delaware has been used to refer to a language of the Central type of Eastern-Central Algonkin.[61] Eastern-Central Algonkin

[56] Philhower, 1931, p. 4. Weslager, 1950, pp. 48-54, 57-58, presents strong evidence against this identification, however.

[58] Swanton, 1952, p. 50.

[57] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 114, agrees on this point.

[59] Brinton, 1885, p. 34.

[60] Wallace, 1949, p. 7.

[60] Wissler, 1941, pp. 70-71.

[61] Michelson, 1912, pp. 221-90; Bloomfield, 1946, p. 85.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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622 In the seventeenth century sachems had limited power and authority and, incredibly in the eyes of Europeans, had no special servants, prerogatives, or the like.[118] Pastorius, for instance, in a letter written in 1694 said:

> These very kings go forth with the others to hunt, shoot the wild animals, and support themselves by the work of their own hands. They have neither servants nor lacqueys, neither housemaids nor court-ladies, and what use has one for a master of horse who keeps no horse, but always goes on foot? In like manner, no court-steward is needed, where there is no one to be cared for besides one's self and one's wife and children.[119]

In the seventeenth century these clan leaders owed allegiance to no higher authority; there were no tribal chiefs.[120] By the eighteenth century leaders had appeared who wielded much more power over larger groups. [619]

623 Despite the little real authority which sachems had, their councils were solemn, ceremonial occasions. Penn and Denton provide early and clear descriptions of how these men governed; their accounts are confirmed by a number of other investigators:[121]

> Every king hath his council; and that consists of all the old and wise men of his nation, which perhaps is two hundred people. Nothing of moment is undertaken, be it war, peace, selling of land, or traffic, without advising with them, and, which is more, with the young men too. It is admirable to consider how powerful the kings are, and yet how they move by the breath of their people. I have had occasion to be in council with them upon treaties for land, and to adjust the terms of trade. Their order is thus: The king sits in the middle of an half-moon, and has his council, the old and wise, on each hand. Behind them, or at a little distance, sit the younger *fry* in the same figure.[122]

Denton said:

> When their King or Sachem sits in Council he hath a company of armed men to guard his person, great respect being shown him by the People, which is principally manifested by their silence: After he hath declared the cause of their convention he demands their opinion, ordering who shall begin: The person ordered to speak, after he hath declared his minde tells them he hath done: no man ever interrupting any person in his speech, nor offering to speak though he make never so many or long stops, till he says he hath no more to say: the Council 623
> having all declared their opinion, the King after some pause gives the definitive
> sentence, which is commonly seconded with a shout from the people, every one 681
> seeming to applaud & manifest their assent to what is determined: If any person be condemned to die, which is seldom, unless for Murder or Incest, the King himself goes in person (for you must understand they have no prisons, and the guilty person flies into the Woods) when they go in quest of him, & having found him, the King shoots *first*, though at never such a distance, & thes happy is the man can shoot him down, & cut off his — which they commonly wear, who for his pains is made some Captain or other military officer.[123]

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[118] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 205; Thomas, 1912, p. 335; De Laet, 1909, pp. 57-58; Van der Donck, 1909, p. 302.

[119] Pastorius, 1912, pp. 423-28.

[120] Lindestrom, 1925, pp. 128-38.

[121] Holm, 1834, p. 133; Thomas, 1912, p. 335; Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 107-11; Zeisberger, 1910, pp. 92-93; Harrington, 1913, p. 211.

[122] Penn, 1882, pp. 244-45.

[123] Denton, 1845, p. 18.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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No pottery was manufactured in
177 Oklahoma by the Delawares, although some of the aged Delawares re-
28 member that their grandmothers made undecorated utility pottery.
32 Dress and adornment had approximated that of the neighboring whites by the turn of the century. Men of the Cherokee-Delaware band, however, continued to wear their hair long until about 1920. Today, the only distinctive dress of the Delawares is worn at social and religious gatherings, and on these occasions it is of a miscellaneous Indian type rather than being specifically Delaware.

In sum, Delaware technology and material culture since 1867 have increasingly approximated the American pattern, particularly that of the poorer, rural, white groups. There are virtually no outward signs in subsistence, housing, or dress, which distinguish the Delawares from other Oklahomans.

Sociological Assimilation

177 It has already been noted that the social organization of the Dela-
571 wares had undergone considerable alteration before the final flight to
619 Indian Territory. Perhaps the most important change to take place after 1867 was the complete surrender of political authority. It should be recalled that the contract between the Cherokees and the Delawares provided for the admittance of the Delawares into the Cherokee tribe. Delaware chieftainship continued for a time, the last principal chief being Charles Journeycake, who served in this capacity from 1861 until he died in 1895.[3] After 1900 tribal chiefs were elected. Each of the three phratries nominated one candidate; the one who received the most votes became the chief. The principal duty of the chief was to act as a representative of the tribe in business dealings with the government. The last chief, Charles Elkhair, died in 1935 and has not been officially replaced. A business committee is the only formal governmental organization that continues in existence. It serves in an advisory capacity when there are claims against the government.[4]

The Delawares no longer have a society which is based upon ties of kinship. Outside of the immediate family there are no economic activities which depend upon the mutual aid of the clan, phratry, or other kinship groups. They have been completely assimilated into the American economic system. There is no feeling that care or assistance should be extended to other Delawares; in fact, in both Delaware communities there is a good deal of friction, jealousy, and antagonism between different individuals and family groups. This friction extends to all levels of organization, even to the business committee, with which there is always dissatisfaction. "They can't agree on a chief, they pull in different ways: if one person suggests something, somebody knocks him down" (O.A.). Probably this constant friction is a result of the heterogeneous degree of acculturation; some individuals are old, nearly illiterate, very

[3] Mitchell, 1895, pp. 7, 45. (This is a biography of the chief.)
[4] Wright, 1951, p. 153; J.T., O.A.

2;Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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conservative, distrustful of whites, and, in general, less acculturated than others who are young, literate, moderately educated, progressive, and well assimilated. There is an antipeyote faction, and even within the peyote faction there is a schism between the Big Moon and Little Moon adherents. These various factions promote discord, so much so that any unified tribal activity is virtually impossible. The Delawares are, then, no longer a distinct social group. Delaware society has disappeared, although allegiance to a number of the ancient culture traits lingers.

The most notable remnant of socioreligious organization still perpetuated by both Oklahoma Delaware communities is the phratry. Adults still acknowledge membership in one or more of the phratries. Membership was originally determined by descent in the female line, but this is no longer true; a person inherits membership in both his mother's and father's phratry, so that many individuals consider themselves to be "half and half." An individual can belong to no more than two of the three phratries. Consequently, it is apparent that if this method of reckoning membership is carried on for many generations most people will belong to two of the three phratries. There is no memory of any other system of reckoning membership. Obviously, the shift in the method of determining phratry membership has been caused by the emphasis on the paternal line in American society. At least among the Cherokee-Delawares the pressure has not been strong enough to shift the system from simple matrilineal reckoning all the way to patrilineal, as in our patronymics; it has gone but an illogical part way. Phratry membership originally depended upon clan ties, but there is no knowledge of them today in either Delaware community. The conclusion is inescapable that the clan organization disappeared before the Delawares left Kansas.

An interesting factor contributing to the eventual extinction of Delaware culture and also to social heterogeneity is found in present marriage restrictions. It is considered incestuous for a person to marry anyone to whom he is related, however remotely. This means that in both Oklahoma communities the young Delaware boys and girls cannot marry other Delawares, since everybody is considered to be related to everyone else. Some of the feelings about this point were: "The young people are disgusted, can't find anybody they're not kin to" (O.A.). "We're disappearing as fast as we can 'cause we got nobody to marry" (O.A.). "It's awful when you marry kinfolks" (M.B.). Briefly, one generation hence there will be no person who is more than half Delaware biologically, and probably none more than half sociologically. (This subject is taken up more fully under Pan-Indianism.) Within the last several decades the Delawares have taken to marrying legally and are completely assimilated in this respect.

Religious Assimilation

Big House Ceremony.—Without a doubt the most tenacious and unchanging elements in Delaware culture, aside from language, have been

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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426 If a debtor is unable to pay, the creditor duns his friends,
672 who must pay and rarely refuse to do so. Occasionally, the debts of friends must be paid years after they were contracted, even after the death of the debtor, if only the debt can be proven.

685 A purchaser, dissatisfied with what he has bought or the price paid, is allowed to return what he has purchased and recover what was paid. One who has done an injury, killed a hog or chicken or occasioned loss in some other way, and obstinately refuses to make good the injury, cannot be touched. His friends may make good the loss. Should the offender, in the long run, not heed the admonitions of his friends, they will drive him away.

721 Hence, it is that in wars with whites practically all the tribes have been involved more or less. If the nation, as such, has taken no part in the war, these unmanageable offenders have gone with the fighting peoples, despite the warnings and threats of the chiefs. The same is true of the present conflict.[328] The Delaware chiefs had determined at its beginning to remain neutral, daily admonishing their people not to allow themselves to be persuaded to go into the war. The nation as such remained true to the determination of the chiefs, being constantly and earnestly watched, but obstinate offenders took part against all order and command.

619 Though the Indians are a free people and not subject to the rule of any one, each nation, considering itself a unit, has a kind of government of its own choosing, imperfect as it may be. This holds good of all the North American nations. A nation is constituted of three principal Tribes, the first or leading tribe is called *Packoango*, i. e., the tribe of the great Tortoise, the second, *Blem*, the Turkey Tribe, the third, *Ptucksit*, the Wolf
622 Tribe. Each of the tribes has its chief and each chief his coun-
623 sellors. The chief of the Tortoise Tribe is the first in rank and, together with the other two chiefs, deals with all matters of national interest, particularly, such as have reference to nations with whom, according to treaty, friendly relations are to be cultivated. A chief may not presume to rule over the people, as in that case he would immediately be forsaken by the whole tribe, and his counsellors would refuse to assist him. He must

painted a different color on each side, were thrown up and caught, the goal being to get as many of a particular color as possible; and another in which an object was hidden under one of several moccasins and the players attempted to guess which one it was under (Denny, p.265; Brinton, 1888, p.40; Loskiel, p.105). The vigorous dances engaged in by the Delaware were also noted although no early writer mentions (as Zeisberger, writing in the eighteenth century does) that dances were held most evenings that the men were not out hunting (Penn, p.38; Zeisberger, 1870, p.90). Later writers all agree that the Delaware were a sociable people given to frequent visiting and communal games and dances (Zeisberger, 1870, p.87; Heckewelder, 1881, pp.101-3 and 149).

This may be the most suitable place to mention the dogs kept by the Delaware since it seems most likely that they were kept merely as pets. Their remains have not been found in great abundance and in most cases where they were found they appear to have been deliberately buried. There is only one instance where there is some question whether the animal had been used as a sacrifice (Skinner, 1915, p.48; Heye, p.59).

At the time of contact, the Lenape were living in villages composed of several groups of families in the summer and hunting in single family groups in winter. The associations of families constituted bands, the names of which generally had some reference to the territory which they occupied.[10] In the eighteenth century Heckewelder reported a double division of the tribe into three sub-tribes, called Unami, Unalachtigo and Munsee, and into three genealogical "totems" which I will call phratries. The phratries were named Turtle, Turkey and Wolf, and Heckewelder equated them with the sub-tribes. He believed that the divisions had existed in the contact period also (Heckewelder, 1881, pp.51-2). Morgan, in the late nineteenth century, found that the Munsee, who are generally called the "Wolf-Tribe", actually had members belonging to all three phratries, and Harrington found the same situation in the twentieth century (Morgan, 1912, p.177; Harrington, 1913, p.209). The Munsee had a tradition, however, that the three phratries formerly occupied separate villages.

Both Harrington and Morgan found the modern Delaware phratries divided into matrilineal clans, the names of which were not totemic (Harrington, p.210; Morgan, 1912, p.177). The only evidence of totemic beliefs is a vague association between the turtle phratry and the mythical turtle in the creation myth and, of course, the phratry names themselves. The only evidence for the regulation of marriage by any social unit is found in Zeisberger who says that no Indian will marry within his own tribe as he considers himself too closely related to the other individuals in it. But his use of the word "tribe" is not clear so that the problem of which

7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

of his masters. Two young men take him into a canoe, 727
seising him by the wrists, plunging him over head and ears 783
under the water and holding him down until he was almost smothered before letting him get breath. After repeating this treatment several times they took him out, dressed him in a ruffed shirt, shaved his head, provided him with a "roach," painted him, and told him he was then an Indian. Later his Indian "uncle" would waken him at daylight and make him sit down in the creek up to his chin. This was to make him hardy. He was, moreover, not allowed to go near the fire until he became dry.[7]

They followed the habit of securing a prosperous future 844
for the young hunter by placing his umbilicus in the tracks 789
of a deer, a magical observance based on a widespread native concept of spiritual sympathy. Again, the umbilicus would be placed in the water to cause the growing youth to acquire power as a swimmer.

THE CONSANGUINITY OF TRIBES

The Delawares, like other eastern peoples,[8] consider them- 619
selves to stand in certain genealogical relationships with 648
neighboring tribes, as though they all constituted a great family,—some members older, some younger, lineal and collateral, and some in between as respects age and maturity. These relationships function in ceremonial gatherings wherein other tribes are concerned, and they are accepted without dispute among themselves. In the older accounts much stress was laid upon this feature of native life, and it seemed to form an important consideration in treaty negotiations that took place among the eastern and central tribes, giving precedence in authority to certain ones over others. From various sources we learn that the Delawares held a position of seniority among them. This fact may develop into one of some value in coördinating the position of the different groups and perhaps in throwing light on the historical sequence

[7] Loudon, *op. cit.*, pp. 260–261.

[8] The Wabanaki peoples, for instance, entertain a similar concept of tribal consanquinity, in which system they consider the Ottawa to be their grandfathers and among themselves the Micmac as their younger brothers (F. G. Speck, The Eastern Algonkian Confederacy, American Anthropologist, vol. 17, no. 3, 1915, pp. 499, 505).

7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

in tribal migrations which led to the settlement of the tribes in their proper locations. For, as we glance eastward from the Delawares and southward, likewise we discover the tribes to rate as nephews and grandsons of the patriarchal stem. I should not like, however, to stress the force of the traditional assumption of paternity that the Delawares lay claim to as being proof in any sense of the tribe being sire to those it regards as lineal or collateral descendants. The belief nevertheless has much ethnological value and has been disregarded by ethnologists without good reason. And since other tribes seem not to have retained extensive knowledge of these matters it has seemed important to record the text presenting the Delaware opinion of the matter. I have made some comment on tribal beliefs of consanguinity in the study of the Big House Ceremony and now the occasion seems ripe for the recording of the informant's own version of the situation with a comparison of the facts as written down a century ago by Zeisberger.[9]

In the following narration the information's tradition of the Delaware's imaginary relationship to other groups is placed on record. In the footnotes are included quotations from older authorities on the subject and comments by other living Delaware informants. The testimony before us brings out discrepancies, as might be expected when amassing data on a situation so involved with a tribal ego and the perpetuation of which is so dependent upon negotiations between the groups, associations which have long ceased to function.[10]

[9] Zeisberger, *op. cit.*, p. 109. See also Consanguinity of Tribes, in the "Big House Ceremony," p. 33. In the latter passage cited, an error evidently crept in, as the informant notes the Iroquois considered as "brothers" and the Seneca "nephews," while I find the Delaware chiefs designate the Seneca, at least, as "uncles."

[10] That these discrepancies have prevailed for a long time is shown by the observations of McKenney almost a century ago that the Wyandot claimed to be uncles of all other tribes, and the Delawares their grandfathers. But, he adds, the Delawares acknowledge themselves nephews of the Wyandots. J. L. McKenney and J. Hall, "History of the Indian Tribes of North America," Philadelphia, 1844, III, p. 7. After comparing Wi'tapano'xwe's authority ("Big House Ceremony," p. 33) that the Wyandots are "nephews" of the Delawares it may be gathered that the Indians themselves have now, as well as in the past, been responsible for the existing confusion. Their inaccuracy is either a trait in itself or an aberration of one.

7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

For it to be more consistently expressed would imply possession of an historical sense which we know is lacking in the native rôle of life. So before a meaning to this trait of eastern culture can be approached we shall have to record corresponding lists from other tribes checking them up with tradition and actual history.

The Delaware versions of tribal synonymy throw some interesting side-lights on early names and associations in the East which I shall not attempt to discuss in this paper.

CONSANGUINITY OF TRIBES

wa'ni·	lən·a'p·e	li·pəna·'ən	we·'mi·	enxake·'i·t'
The	Delaware	are looked upon	all	different tribes

wa'ni	me·'xkeɔ'xku·i·t	tə'l·i·	ne'ka	ki·'k'hai·'n.	ahi·-
the	red men	that	he	is oldest.	Great

kahe·'li·	xt'oxwi·'s·u.	wəla'haxa'ne	a'ləndе	awe·'nhak·e	
many	his grandchildren.	Although besides	some	wild Indians	

ha't·e	e·laŋgo·'mənd	pəna''	wa'ni·	Ca·'wəno·[11]
special	relationship	such as	the	Shawnee

na'lən·a	ne·tami'xiŋg	noxwi·'s·ənа.	nawu'ndji	ekala·'mi·
that is	first	grandchild.	From that	on down

wa'ni	Pote'ət·am,[12]	Sa·'ki·a,[13]	Aya'howe,[14]	Ta'ŋgowe,[15]
the	Pottawatomi,	Sauk and Fox,	Ioway,	Tonkawa,

Ca'hax,[16]	Pi·'kaxca',[17]	ɔk	Ki·'kapu,[18]	Maya'hame',[19]	
Sioux,	Ottawa,	and	Kickapoo,	Miami,	

[11] Literally "southerner," a name of general distribution among the eastern tribes. (For discussion of term see Bulletin 30, Bureau American Ethnology, 2, p. 530.)

[12] Literally "half-witted, or not having good sense." (Potatawatamiñk or Potawagamiñk, "People of place of fire." *Ibid.*, p. 289.)

[13] The informant offered no analysis for this title. (Osā'kiwūg, "people of the outlet." *Ibid.*, p. 471.)

[14] The informant associated the name with the Delaware term a'howe, "thicket." ("Sleepy ones." *Ibid.*, 1, p. 612.)

[15] Associated with the Delaware stem taŋg—"little." (Tonkawo'ya, "they all stay together." *Ibid.*, 2, p. 778.)

[16] Literally, "shy, afraid, retreating in manner." (Chippewa term, Nadowe-is-iw, meaning, snake, adder. *Ibid.*, p. 577.)

[17] Literally, "smart, intelligent but having a shabby appearance." It also denotes, "wearing a tooth or claw necklace." It is more probable that the term denotes the Piankasha of Illinois and Indiana with whom the Delawares were associated before their removal across the Mississippi. (Ă dă we, "to trade, to buy and sell." *Ibid.*, p. 167.)

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

619 Pe·yɔ'le,[20] ɔk ən·ahəl·i·' Tci·'pɔwe,[21] Mɔna·'mɔni·,[22]
648 Peoria, and besides Chippewa, Menomini,
539

Ci·li·ti·'xka,[23] Ca·epu'ci·,[24] Patu'xka,[25] Win·i·pe·'ga,[26]
Comanche, Nez Percé, Apache, Winnebago,

Wɔca·'ce,[27] Kąai·a,[28] Paŋka,[29] Oka'xpa.[30] We·'mi
Osage, Kaw, or Kansa Ponca, Quapaw. All

yu'kwe yu'ki·k ənxi·' wi·xk'wusi·'xti·t. yu'kwe yu'tali
these here each different named. Now here

[19] "Travelling or visiting people." (Kiwigapaw·, "he stands about," or "he moves about, standing now here, now there." *Ibid.*, 1, p. 684.)

[20] Literally, "people living affiliated in settlements." (Chippewa term, omaumeg, "people who live on the peninsula." *Ibid.*, p. 852.) A more appropriate name for the Miami, given by Chief Fall Leaf in Oklahoma is *Tuwe'tuwe*. The closest analysis he could give for the term was "salamander larva" (*tuwe'kuk*, "salamander"). The name takes us to the synonym Twightwee as denoting the Miami in Indiana and Illinois. How such an epithet came to be applied to them was beyond the tradition of the informants, their only suggestion being that at some early time upon first seeing members of the group, their appearance, perhaps painting, suggested to the Delawares the animal named. This was said to have been a basis for first names of groups and individuals.

[21] No explanation offered by informant but by Chief Fall Leaf analyzed to "people who have spiritual helpers." Tradition among the Delaware he asserted says that one of the first of natives met with had so much spiritual power that they gave them this name. (Piwar·, "he comes carrying a pack on his back." *Ibid.* 1, p. 228.)

[22] The term is suggestive of, "whistling people." (From ojib, "to pucker up," and ub-way, "to roast." *Ibid.*, p. 277.) The Missisauga (Ojibwa) of Ontario, while not known to the Delawares of Oklahoma, are ranked as "grandchildren" by the Delaware-Munsee of the Six Nations Reserve.

[23] A proper name for which the informant gave no specific meaning. (Menominiwok ininiwok, "they are men." *Ibid.*, p. 842.)

[24] No explanation offered, but said to sound like "fast runner." (Padouca, Siouan name for Comanche. *Ibid.*, p. 327.)

[25] Evidently a derivation of Nez Perce' as it sounded to Delaware ears.

[26] Literally, "someone coming and someone going, not permanently located." Evidently confused in identity in the mind of informants. Paducah might be a survival of the Illinois designation. (A'pachu, "enemy." *Ibid.*, p. 163.)

[27] No explanation offered. (Chippewa term, winipig, "filthy water," and Sauk and Fox, 'winipyägohag', "people of the filthy water." *Ibid.*, 2, p. 958.)

[28] Delaware pronunciation of the tribal eponym.

[29] Literally, "coward." The Delaware feel that this is the proper meaning.

[30] No explanation given.

[31] No explanation offered by informant. (U'gakpa, "downstream people." *Ibid.*, p. 333.)

7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

tələwi·'hi·la·wa'o yuli·'l lənа'p·eyo Wa·'panaxki [31] ək 619
they call the Delawares Wabanaki also 648 539

muxomsə'n·a. ka't·tci we·'mi ni·'maxtəna dəl·ə-
"our grandfather." But all our brothers they

wi·'lpo·na lənа'·pe.[32]
call us Lenape.

Yu'kwe nəwe'i·taxkənu'təmən wani·' lənа·'pe
Now I shall talk about, explain the Delaware

wei·maxtə'ə·i·t' awe·'ni· ako·'ta nanhe·'li· ge'ski·a'
their brothers whom not much I say as many

wi'hil·ak' wani·' Wəne'·'təko' [33] ək Mahi·'kan·i· [34] ək
can name the Nanticoke and Mahican and

Mu'nsi [35] ək ke·xa·'kei· O'pan·u' [36] ce·la'han·e de'nxi·
Munsee and several nations Iroquois and those as many

məca·'la·n ni·'maxtəs·əna·'nuk. cuk' ke'nowi· a'p'tci·
I think of our brothers. But nevertheless always

wa'ni· lən·a'p·e tə'n·da ki'k'hayi'n. nawu'ndji·
the Delawares the very oldest. And thence

[31] A general appelation for the Delawares of long standing, meaning "easterners." The antiquity of this term points, with evidence not to be ignored, to the early affinity of the Delawares with the peoples of New England in general who were and are known by dialectic forms of the same classifying term.

[32] Literally, "common people." (See 2, p. 14, of this series, also Zeisberger, *op. cit.*, p. 114; Brinton and Anthony, "A Lenape-English Dictionary," The Pennsylvania Students Series. Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1889, 1, p. 63; Bulletin 30, Bureau American Ethnology, 1, p. 385.)

[33] Despite serious attempts to seek explanation of this term for Nanticoke as well as in cognate sources it remains incapable of precise analysis. The Canadian Delaware-Munsee informant (Nick Peters) thinks it alludes to great waves. ("Tidewater people." *Ibid.*, 2, p. 25.)

[34] No specific analysis offered. ("Wolf." *Ibid.*, 2, p. 780.)

[35] No analysis offered. (Min-asin-ink, "at the place where stones are gathered together." *Ibid.*, p. 957.)

[36] Literally, "eastern sunrise people." This term strangely includes both the Iroquois and the Brothertown Indians (Algonkian) which the Delawares fail to distinguish. Another term posk'oca·'a i·t', "wearing a natural crest or roach on the head," was thought to be recalled by the informant as a synonym for the Mohawk. He thought the Iroquois originated the "roach" head-dress, which agrees with tradition among the Penobscot, who describe a term me'gwaimo'sunas'si·t, "Mohawk hair-cut," as denoting the hair shaved from the head leaving only a dorsal crest on the crown from front to rear. (For a short discussion of the distribution of the roach headdress see "The Big House Ceremony," p. 97.)

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

619 ha'·t·e pi·'li· laŋgundowa'k·an. axpo'wak et' ik·ali'tci·
648 also existing other relationships. There must be older persons
539 elki·k'·ai·'tci·k' weotu'xti·t' we·'mi· e'nxenaxga't·uk
living longer than I who know all different degrees

laŋgǫ·'sowa'k·an. yukwe'' tci·tc kexa'p'tun wa'ni·
relationship. Now then few words, the

Te·lma't·ən·u [37] luŋgɔxs·ə's·əna nahəli·' wa'ni·
Wyandot our nephews (brothers' or sisters' sons) and also the

Katu''hɔ.[38] ka't·tci· wa'ni Me'ŋgwe,[39] spa'nayu' [40]
Cherokee. But the Seneca Mexicans

no·'ci·ni·'nen kat·tci· wa'ni· weɔ'p'si·t' [41]
our uncles, "mother's brother" but the white person

ni·maxtə's·ən·a ɔk wa' səka'xkwu'le·'s a'lənde awe·'n
our brothers and the black color person some people

lo'we· ane·'skə's·i·t nəxq·'səna ɔk nalən·a'n tə'n·da
say "he has a high color" our older brother, and he is the very

tci·tanə's·i·n we·'mi· enxake·'i·t' awe·'n.
stoutest of all different nations persons.

Free Translation.

The Delawares are looked upon by all the different tribes of Indians as being the oldest. A great many of them are their "grandchildren." And besides some of the "wild" Indians had special relationships, such as the Shawnee which are the first grandchildren. Thence on down in the following

[37] Literally, "along a mountain range."

[38] Meaning, "chilly, shivering with cold," suggested for this term in Delaware, disregarding its correct Cherokee source of origin. (For summary see Cherokee, *ibid.*, 1, p. 246.) The application of this term is definitely to the Seneca by the Delawares of Oklahoma and those in Canada. The latter call the Seneca "uncles," and the Seneca reciprocate by calling them "nephews."

[39] A term for various Iroquoian peoples reported in the earliest documents on Delaware history, given in the forms Mengwe, Minqua and their variants. The word is evidently too archaic for etymological explanation. It is current in recognizable form among all Wabanaki peoples south of the St. Lawrence. The informant also applied the term *mea'xkati'ne* "red person or man," to the Seneca, but he did not give an historic reason for the name.

[40] Literally "Spaniard."

[41] A less respectful term used by the tribe to denote Europeans is *s'pigg* "opossum," the likeness arising through the pale face and slobbering laugh characteristic of both in Delaware opinion. (See 2, of this series, p. 101.)

7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

order (the grandchildren) are, the Potowatomi, Sauk and Fox, Ioway, Tonkawa, Sioux, Ottawa, and Kickapoo, Miami, Peoria, and besides these the Chippewa, Menomini, Comanche, Nez Percé, Apache, Winnebago, Osage, Kaw, Ponca, Quapaw. All these here are differently named. Now here all these call the Delawares Wapanachki, or "Our Grandfather." But all our "brothers" call us by the name Lenape.

Now, I shall explain about the brothers of the Delawares, about whom I can not say much, but as many as I can name are the Nanticoke and Mahikan, and Munsee and several nations of the Iroquois are as many as I can think of as being our brothers. But nevertheless the Delawares are always considered the oldest. There must be older persons than I am who know all the different degrees of tribal relationship. Now then, a few more words, the Wyandot are our nephews, and also the Seneca and Cherokee. But the Mexicans are our uncles and the whites in general our brothers, and black people, some say "He who has a high color," our elder brothers, and it is he who is the strongest of all the different nations of people.

To the above list of tribal names several more may be added; ma'ckos, the Muskogi or Creek, a derivation of the term for swamp, and Taǫ'gale'wi', the Yuchi, meaning a people inferentially lost or wandering. The latter revives an old designation, Tahogale, Hogloge and variants (see discussion in J. R. Swanton, Early History of the Creek Indians, Bulletin 73, Bureau American Ethnology, 1922, pp. 286–312) for this mysterious and important people with whom the Delawares appear to have had contact.

MORTUARY CEREMONIES AND PROCEDURES

The customs concerned with death and interment of the Delawares are traced to a fusion of the rites of the tribe proper with those of the Munsee. We even have evidence that for a portion of the Delaware group certain mortuary rites of the Nanticoke [42] were assimilated during one period of time, as Harrington's account reveals.[43] Without attempting to un-

[42] Harrington, *op. cit.*, 183–4.

[43] An account of the Nanticoke independent burial customs, which were maintained by members of this tribe living among the Delawares as late as 1870, will be given shortly (p. 142).

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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connection with the dread of death and the restoration of the body thereafter, but all the reports on these two elements also expressed a belief in the immortality of the soul.

Lineage

There is no change indicated by a consideration of matters of lineage with the exception of the endogamy vouched for by W. T. (214). He said that originally and until recently Delaware clans were endogamous, that each had to be kept clean and pure; but that now there are lots of half- and quarter-breeds. This statement of endogamy is not supported by other historic or contemporaneous evidence.

On the division of the Delaware into three groups, Turtle, Wolf and Turkey, there have been many conflicting opinions (209). Heckewelder called them tribes coinciding with the Unâmis or Delaware, Munsee, and Unalachtigo.[1] Morgan considered them gens in the nature of phratries.[2] The modern Delaware frequently refer to these divisions as clans. Since Morgan's conclusion of phratries was based on the functionless and only vaguely remembered subdivisions called subgentes, it is important to have the result of Trowbridge's inquiries on this subject. He wrote:

"The Delaware nation is divided into three tribes, the *Tŏŏkseet* or Wolf (Round foot; from *Tŏŏkwaa* round & *oozĕĕt* foot) the *Tshĕĕkunum* or Turkey, called by the Munsees and sometimes by the Delawares *Pelăăooh*, and the *Tŏŏlpaa* or Turtle, (in Munsee *Shĕĕhkee*).

"They say that anciently each of these three tribes was divided into four, making twelve tribes, but they do not recollect the names of those subdivisions.

"Mr. Heckewelder has strangely mistaken himself when he said that Unamis (*Woondămee*) meant Turtle, or Turtle tribe, and Unalachtigo (*Woonalăăhtekoo*) the Turkey tribe. The term *Woondămee* was given by the Munsees to the Turtle tribe of

[1] Heckewelder, *History, Manners, and Customs of the Indians*, pp. 51-52.
[2] Morgan, Lewis H., *Ancient Society . . .* (Chicago, Henry Holt and Company, 1907), p. 172.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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619 Delawares because they resided at a place of that name; and *Woonalāūhtekos* is the name of one of the twelve divisions just mentioned. (One of the four divisions of the Wolf tribe.) Mr. H. made a similar mistake when he distinguished the Munsees as one of the tribes of the Delaware nation. There are descendants of each of the three tribes among them as well as among the Delawares themselves.

. . . . . .

"They know nothing of a nation of Taleekāāee, Aleekāāee or Allegewi, of which Mr. Heckewelder speaks as the possessors of the country east of the Mississippi before the arrival of the Delawares. But Pipe says that one of the twelve tribes of the Delawares, before mentioned, was called Aleekāāee, and that they resided on the Allegheny River. That when he was a boy he saw one of their men at the house of his father, at or near Cape Girardeau and that his father pointed him out to Pipe as one of the Aleekāāee, but at that time they were but very few, and are supposed to be now extinct."

[184] It should be noted in connection with the divisions of the tribe or the tribal divisions of the nation that they have frequently been rated according to their importance. Captain Chipps said that the Wolf tribe was the first. Zeisberger said Turtle was first." Among the modern Delaware the tribe placed first depended upon the tribal affinity of the informant: a Wolf always placed his tribe first and a Turtle placed the Turtle tribe first. Informants of these two groups named the other one second, and Turkey last. I was not able to find a Turkey informant.

Chiefs

643 The succession of chiefs among the Delaware has not been well or consistently described in the historic accounts. Many different ways of becoming chief have been reported. Lindeström implied that chieftainship was hereditary in an extended family, with the brother of the chief or his sister's son having preference over the son of the chief (218, 219). The chief might name

"Hulbert and Schwarze (eds.), "David Zeisberger's History," in *Ohio Archæological and Historical Publications*, XIX, 131-32.

9: Kinietz E-4,5 (1938) 1946
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next period, however, Johnston and Chipps said that the men and women shared the labor of moving and pitching camp. In the fourth period W. L. was again the only one to place the responsibility on the women.

The husband did not strike his wife frequently, if at all, according to all the information gathered (283). Johnston and Chipps said that he might do so if she were ill-tempered or refractory (284). The modern informants denied this as a just cause, although E. R. said that it was up to the husband to punish his wife if she broke a rule.

Food, Mode of Living, etc.

Heckewelder said that the Delaware, Mahicans, and Shawnee were all very particular in their choice of meats and that nothing short of the most pressing hunger could induce them to eat of certain animals, such as the horse, dog, wildcat, panther, fox, muskrat, or wolf, all of which he had several times seen the Chippewa eat with a good appetite (288-91)." J. W. said that opossum, wolf, dog, woodchuck, snake, crow, hawk, owl, eagle, and, in fact, most fowls were not eaten. W. L. also said that opossum, muskrat, and several kinds of birds were not eaten. Apparently the symbols of the three tribal divisions, turtle, turkey and wolf, were not taboo for that reason, for only the last one was included on any list. The totems of the extinct subdivisions may have been taboo. This is true of the opossum which was most frequently mentioned as not being eaten and it was the name of one of the subdivisions. However, the Delaware regard the opossum as endowed with supernatural powers and in the nature of a trickster and have many stories that evince this attitude.

There seems to have been no taboos on vegetables eaten (292-98). Corn was the principal item cultivated. It was supplemented by the usual beans and squashes, and later vegetables introduced by the whites were also cultivated. Wild or ground potatoes and other less important wild products were gathered. The

[1] Heckewelder, *History, Manners, and Customs of the Indian Nations*, p. 196.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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202. Relatives observe mourning

765 JOHN JOHNSTON—All the relatives and some times more [observe mourning], according to the rank sustained by the deceased person.

206. Belief that bodies will be restored

775 CAPTAIN PIPE said that formerly the Delaware believed that bodies would be restored.

CAPTAIN CHIPPS—Thinks that he lived on the earth in "the olden time," from the circumstance of his being born with his ears bored, he thinks also, that if his spirit should go to Heaven, after death, he may be again restored to life.

207 and 208. Disposition of property of deceased

768 In the cases where an answer appears in only one alternative it means that the property of the deceased went first to that group and the other group had second choice.

LINEAGE

209. Nations divided into tribes

619 Whereas all the others said the Delaware had three divisions, Turtle, Turkey, and Wolf, CAPTAIN CHIPPS appears to have considered the question in a little different light, for his eight tribes are, *Oo-nóm-ma-u* of Delaware, *Mùn-see*, *Mo-hi-ga-ny* or Stockbridge, *Waù-pon-no* or Mohekan, *Waùb-ping* or Opossum, *U-sópe-see* or Esopus, *Oo-nàh-ti-co* or Nanticoke, and *Scàh-ti-co*.

213. Tribes are exogamous

[582] See J. W.'s autobiography in notes under 103, *ante*, p. 104. The rules he talked about the old folks having were concerned with family and division relationships. He could not give any of the rules, but it is apparent that one of the things talked over by the old folks was the propriety of the proposed marriage as to blood lines and clan affiliations. Marriage might be either within the clan (as they call each of the three divisions) or without.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

of the combined tribes from Kansas about 1867. While the Delawares in Oklahoma are undoubtedly of the Unami division, as it was called by the Munsee, I have decided against the use of an alien term as a name for them. It is worth noting, at this point, as a possible aid to a future student of Delaware ethnography that Zeisberger employed the term "Unami Tribe" to designate that division of the people "which lived nearest to the sea."[1]

The Delawares of Colonial times were described as including three affiliated nations; besides the "Unami," just alluded to, the Munsee, and the so-called Unalachtigo. Whereas the Munsee had from the early period continued to exist as a group under their own name, separately from the Delawares both in Canada and the United States, and the "Unami" have been identified with the main body of the Delawares, we are not so fortunate with respect to the fate and identity of the Unalachtigo. While I am not urged to discuss the probability in full, it seems to me that evidence stands in favor of the conclusion that the people called Unalachtigo, whose identity has puzzled most of the writers applying themselves to Delaware ethnographical problems, are none other than the "Naraticons" of southern New Jersey under the guise of a dialectic name.

The Naraticons, to begin with, are given a prominent position as occupying an extensive territory in southern New Jersey. There is, in addition, a village called Naraticonk given a location on the Jersey side of the Delaware River opposite "Fort Cristina" near the mouth of a creek of the same name, now transformed into Raccoon Creek. These locations are given in a map of the region referring to a period about 1655.[2]

Acrelius (1759) also mentions "Narraticon's or Raccon's Kihl."[3] Lindeström (1656) and DeLaet (1633) mention the same name and place.[4] Brinton[5] produces further evidence on the name and says that the Unalachtigo (properly W'nalachtko for which he offers the meaning, "people who live near the ocean," from wunalawat,[6] "to go towards," and t'kow or t'kŏu, "wave"). He believed that this geographical division had its seat on the affluents of the Delaware, near Wilmington. Brinton moreover, refers to Lindstrom and Vander

[1] Zeisberger, op. cit., p. 114.
[2] Map of N. J. Visscher, in New York Public Library, reproduced in Narratives of Early Pennsylvania, West New Jersey and Delaware (1630-1707) Edited by Albert Cook Myers, N. Y. (1912). For a series of local native place names of this district see also the record of the Court at Upland, Pa., 1676-81, Pub. Hist. Soc. of Pa. 1860, and Peter Lindeström (1654-6), Geographia Americae, with an account of the Delaware Indians. Ed. by Amandus Johnson, Swedish Colonial Society, Phila., 1925; and Amandus Johnson, The Swedish Settlements in Delaware, 1638-64, N. Y. 1911.
[3] Rev. I. Acrelius' account of Swedish churches in New Sweden. Albert Cook Myers, op. cit. p. 66.
[4] De Laet (1633) N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll. 2nd, S. I., p. 303 (1843).
[5] Brinton, I., pp. 36-7.
[6] Delaware, na'wolast', "to follow."

10: Speck. E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

619 Donck locating the Naraticons as the southermost tribe in New Jersey
101 on Raccoon Creek, and adds the supposition that Naraticon, "is simply a translation of the Delaware nachenum,[1] raccoon." Evidence seems sufficiently strong to assign a location in southern New Jersey for a branch of the Delawares called Naraticons. We may, however disregard Brinton's attempt to explain the term, in favor of an attempt based upon this interesting term coming from native sources. The prominence of the name Naraticon on the map referred to and the extent of territory would seem to accord with its position as one of the three tribal constituents of the old Delaware nation. The term itself has interesting possibilties under analysis. In Delaware its correspondent nala'tᵉkaŋg, "up stream where they live," (abbreviation of nalaha'təkaŋg, compare also nahi'təkaŋg, "down stream where they live."

Harrington thought that the "Unala'tko" had lost their identity and merged with the Delawares in Oklahoma, since he was unable to locate survivors there under the name.[2] Heckewelder[3] refers to the Unami and Unalachtigo as the divisions of the Delawares that settled nearest to the sea. This author is responsible for recording the information that created the discussion arising since his time over "totemic affiliations" of the three geographical subdivisions of the Delawares with the Tortoise (Unami) Turkey (Unalachtigo) and Wolf (Munsee).

To the Delawares the Nanticoke are known as Wəneᵉtᵉko (plural wəneᵉtᵉkowak).[4] Some families of them migrated westward with the Delawares and kept up a distinctive form of burial as well as their language until about 1875. No information through living sources or printed records discloses testimony to indicate that this tribe performed the Big House ceremony. The informant had, however, heard the older Delawares in Oklahoma discuss the question of Nanticoke participation in the Big House. It is known that the Nanticoke performed in company with them, but it was not thought that the Nanticoke themselves had ever had the full ceremony.

796 Zeisberger has treated the ceremonies of the Delawares of his day
114 in a section covering some five pages of his book.[5] It would seem, however, if his narration is an accurate one and if his descriptions of the six or seven separate ceremonies were correctly observed and so separated in the religious practices of the tribe, that composition has taken place since his time. For the independent "feasts" which he describes are recognizable parts of the Big House ceremony and ritual of subsequent times. This nevertheless is an inference which further

[1] Brinton I, op. cit. p. 42.
[2] Harrington I, pp. 13, 124-5, and II, pp. 208-9.
[3] Heckewelder op. cit. pp. 51-3 and 250.
[4] The meaning of the term in Delaware is obscure.
[5] Zeisberger, pp. 136-141.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7

428 "belonged to" the "individual" hunting territory.[117] The lineage, clan,
423 and phratry are discussed in the next chapter. There is nothing incompatible in the existence of maternal lineages (or clans) and male-used hunting territories.

Material Culture

361 Villages.— There is little information concerning the villages and
621 general settlement pattern of the early historic Delawares. Villages, or perhaps they might better be termed hamlets, were situated in bottom lands near the gardens or along the shores of bays.[118] These dispersed settlements were not palisaded.[119] Eighteenth-century and later information seems to reflect the original condition in that these settlements had no regular plan or arrangement, and that houses were not built close together.[120] There is no information concerning the length of time these villages were inhabited. If their garden plots were fertilized, residence in the villages may have been relatively permanent, but the fertilizer issue is in doubt. By the eighteenth century, after extensive
364 migrations, villages were occupied until it became "troublesome to secure wood for fuel" and, implicitly, until they became overburdened with filth.[121] The Evelin paper of 1648 described twenty-three communities in New Jersey, ranging in population from fourteen to six hundred persons.[122] Lindestrom noted community size as "several hundred men strong, under each chief, counting women and children, some being stronger, some weaker."[123]

342 Dwellings.— There seems to have been some diversity in the type of
171 dwellings of the early seventeenth-century Delawares. A circular wigwam and a long house identical with the Iroquoian type have been described, although the latter seems to represent a late prehistoric diffusion. De Laet and Van der Donck depicted Delawares using a circular bark dwelling with vaulted ceiling.[124] In another place De Laet stated that the dwelling was oven-shaped, but large enough for several related families.[125] Penn and Pastorius also alluded to this style of dwelling, whereas Holm and Lindestrom mentioned what seems to be the Iroquoian long house.[126] Zeisberger in the eighteenth century distinguished between house types of the Iroquois and the Delawares, describing a "rounded, arched roof" for the Iroquois and a "high-pitched, peaked roof" for the Delawares.[127] Harrington in 1913 characterized the house type current a few years previously as being similar to the Iroquois type.[128] The evidence, then, is not conclusive, but it seems probable

[117] Wallace, 1947, p. 18.
[118] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 87; Wallace, 1947, p. 18.
[119] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 241.
[120] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 87; O. A., J. T.
[121] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 87.
[122] Smith, 1877, p. 11.
[123] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 170.
[124] De Laet, 1909, p. 57; Van der Donck, 1909, p. 302.
[125] De Laet, 1909, p. 57.
[126] Penn, 1912, p. 232; Pastorius, 1912, p. 425; Holm, 1834, p. 123; Lindestrom, 1925, p. 211.
[127] Zeisberger, 1910, pp. 17-18.
[128] Harrington, 1913, pp. 217-18.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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The clans seem to have been territorial units of a loose sort. The family hunting territories were grouped together (See Chap. II) into larger "communal territories." These larger geographical units should probably be equated with the clans. The numerous small settlements were probably inhabited by subdivisions of the clans, either maternal lineages or extended families. It is possible that several different clan units, or subunits, inhabited these settlements, but it seems more likely, on the basis of their size, that this was not so. Men probably sought wives in nearby villages. If this was true, or if there was village endogamy because several clans occupied one village, then men could continue to hunt in their maternally inherited hunting territories. Even if this was not so, it seems entirely possible that in a relatively short space of time men could become well enough acquainted with a wife's hunting territory to be able to hunt there effectively.

Matrilineally related women communally tilled their outlying garden plots. In addition to co-operation in subsistence activities and mutual aid in general, clan members "were theoretically supposed to avenge the death of one of their number, or, in case of a kinsman's forfeiting his right to live through the murder of a member of another lineage, to buy back his life by the payment of blood money."[130] The leading matron of the clan was termed "chiefmaker,"[131] since it was she who could remove and appoint, within the rules of inheritance, the clan chief or sachem. Clans were not totemic, but were named for some "peculiarity of their ancestors or from some locality once frequented by them."[132] L.H. Morgan, the first investigator to list them, said that each clan was "composed of twelve subgentes, each having some of the attributes of a gens."[133] Morgan's "subgentes" are herein reproduced:[134]

1. Wolf. Took'-seat

1. Mă-an'-greet, Big Feet
2. Wee-sow-het'-ko, Yellow Tree
3. Pă-sa-kun-ă'-mon, Pulling Corn
4. We-yar-nih'-kă-to, Care Enterer
5. Toosh-war-ka'-ma, Across the River
6. O-lum'-a-ne, Vermilion
7. Pun-ar'-you, Dog standing by Fireside
8. Kwin-eek'cha, Long Body
9. Moon-har-tar'ne, Digging
10. Non-har'-min, Pulling up Stream
11. Long-ush-har-kar'-to, Brush Log
12. Maw-soo-toh', Bringing Along

2. Turtle. Poke-koo-un'go

1. O-ka-ho'-ki, Ruler
2. Ta-ko-ong'-o-to, High Bank Shore
3. See-har-ong'-o-to, Drawing down Hill
4. Ole-har-kar-me'kar-to, Elector
5. Mă-har-o-luk'-ti, Brave
6. Toosh-ki-pa-kwis-i, Green Leaves
7. Tung-ul-ung'-si, Smallest Turtle
8. We-lun-ŭng-sil, Little Turtle
9. Lee-kwin-ă-i', Snapping Turtle
10. Kwis-aese-kees'-to, Deer

The two remaining subgentes are extinct.

3. Turkey. Pul-la'-ook

1. Mo-har-ă'-lă, Big Bird
7. Tong-o-nă'-o-to, Drift Log

[130] Wallace, 1949, p. 8
[131] *Ibid.*
[132] Harrington, 1913, p. 210.
[133] Morgan, 1877, p. 171.
[134] *Ibid.*, p. 172.

painted a different color on each side, were thrown up and caught, the goal being to get as many of a particular color as possible; and another in which an object was hidden under one of several moccasins and the players attempted to guess which one it was under (Denny, p.265; Brinton, 1888, p.40; Loskiel, p.105). The vigorous dances engaged in by the Delaware were also noted although no early writer mentions (as Zeisberger, writing in the eighteenth century does) that dances were held most evenings that the men were not out hunting (Penn, p.38; Zeisberger, 1870, p.90). Later writers all agree that the Delaware were a sociable people given to frequent visiting and communal games and dances (Zeisberger, 1870, p.87; Heckewelder, 1881, pp.101-3 and 149).

This may be the most suitable place to mention the dogs kept by the Delaware since it seems most likely that they were kept merely as pets. Their remains have not been found in great abundance and in most cases where they were found they appear to have been deliberately buried. There is only one instance where there is some question whether the animal had been used as a sacrifice (Skinner, 1915, p.48; Heye, p.59).

At the time of contact, the Lenape were living in villages composed of several groups of families in the summer and hunting in single family groups in winter. The associations of families constituted bands, the names of which generally had some reference to the territory which they occupied.[10] In the eighteenth century Heckewelder reported a double division of the tribe into three sub-tribes, called Unami, Unalachtigo and Munsee, and into three genealogical "totems" which I will call phratries. The phratries were named Turtle, Turkey and Wolf, and Heckewelder equated them with the sub-tribes. He believed that the divisions had existed in the contact period also (Heckewelder, 1881, pp.51-2). Morgan, in the late nineteenth century, found that the Munsee, who are generally called the "Wolf Tribe", actually had members belonging to all three phratries, and Harrington found the same situation in the twentieth century (Morgan, 1912, p.177; Harrington, 1913, p.209). The Munsee had a tradition, however, that the three phratries formerly occupied separate villages.

Both Harrington and Morgan found the modern Delaware phratries divided into matrilineal clans, the names of which were not totemic (Harrington, p.210; Morgan, 1912, p.177). The only evidence of totemic beliefs is a vague association between the turtle phratry and the mythical turtle in the creation myth and, of course, the phratry names themselves. The only evidence for the regulation of marriage by any social unit is found in Zeisberger who says that no Indian will marry within his own tribe as he considers himself too closely related to the other individuals in it. But his use of the word "tribe" is not clear so that the problem of which

+ = element present
− = element denied
(+) or (−) = source ambiguous
• = informant could not or would not say
§ = some, sometimes, or several
† or * = see Ethnographic Notes, pp. 79-137 for additional information

	Williams	Van der Donck	Lindeström	Zeisberger	Heckewelder	Johnston	Pipe	Chippe	J. W.	W. T.	E. R.	W. L.
						342						
						756						
						55						
						761						
						538						
						576						
						969						
						191						
						574						
						858						
						595						
Medicine—Continued												
52. Perform surgical operation				(−)				−	−	−	−	−
53. Unite profession with priesthood	(+)		(+)			−		−	−	−	−	−
54. Always use juggling tricks †	+	§	§	§	§	−		−	§		§	§
55. Beat on own breast	+		(+)		+	+			+	+	+	+
56. Blow in hands	+		(+)		±	+			+	−	+	+
57. Make rumbling noise	+		+	+		+			+	+	+	+
58. Blow on patient	+		+	+	+	+			+	+	+	+
59. Rub the part affected						+			+	+	+	+
60. Have effect on patient's confidence						+			+	+	+	+
General Manners and Customs												
61. Eat human flesh			*(−)	−	−	−	•	−	−	−	−	−
62. Shake hands on meeting; inquire about health and express gladness to see	(±)			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
64. Great respect paid age or rank				+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
65. Visit one another for purpose of conversation	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
66. Regular parties at which they entertain				+		+	•	•	+	+	+	+
67. Practice of telling stories				+		+	+	•	+	+	+	+
68. In winter and at night only						+	•	•	+	+	+	*+
69. Use words equivalent to swearing		−		−		+	−	−	−	−	−	−
70. Exhibit strong feelings of love, friendship and affection to same sex					+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+•
71. to opposite sex						+	−	+	+	−	+	+•
72. common to try to suppress to same sex						+	−	+	+	−	−	•
73. common to try to suppress to opposite sex						+	+	+	+	−	−	
74. Matter of pride to suppress feelings or excitement, especially fear and shame				+		+	•	+	+	(+)	+	+
75. On return home men treat wives with indifference					+	+	+	•	−	+	−	+
76. On return home men treat children with indifference					−	−	•	•	−	−	−	−
77. Powers of recollection strong			+		+	+	•	+	+	+	+	+
78. Any peculiarities in encampments (except war) or building of huts that distinguish from others				+		*+	•	•	•	+	*+	+

| | | |

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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his successor but the council had to approve his choice (226). 643
Captain Chipps said that the council determined the successor when the chief died, by which he probably meant when he died without naming a successor. On the other hand, he said that all the tribes elected the chief for the others, excluding from the election the tribe for whom the election was held. It may be conjectured that by this he referred to the installation rather than the election of the chief, for such a procedure is out of line with the other accounts of the same period and even the rest of Chipps's own account. Zeisberger's account for the previous period also used the term election for a ceremony described as an installation. Some of the comments of Captain Chipps and Zeisberger also suggest the possibility that it was only the elevation of an ordinary chief to the head chieftainship of one division that was done by the other divisions or tribes (224). This is most likely the true explanation and its acceptance would explain some of the seeming contradictions in the accounts of these two writers. The modern Delaware have no knowledge of the custom, and since in recent years only one chief has been elected for all divisions, there could be no installation by the chiefs of two divisions for the other one.

Two other changes in the fourth period are significant and 643
indicate the almost complete breakdown of the old political 177
organization after continued white contact. These are the non-inheritance of chieftainship and the full participation of the people in the election (216-19, 221).

A reconstruction of the old system would be something very 621
close to the following. The three divisions of the Delaware, 614
Turtle, Wolf, and Turkey, were more or less separated from one another in place of residence and perhaps originally developed from such separation. Even into the nineteenth century certain towns were known as Turtle or Wolf towns. Each of these divisions was subdivided into twelve gentes or subgentes. These were undoubtedly exogamous, and possibly the divisions were also. Chieftainship in the subgentes or in the villages was hereditary in the extended family. Descent was matrilineal; hence, a chief was not succeeded by his son but by a brother, by

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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621 a nephew, his sister's son, or sister's daughter's son. The se-
614 lection of a successor might be made by an incumbent with the approval of the people. Each of the three divisions had a chief who was chosen by a general council of chiefs and wisemen, possibly with the exclusion of the tribal chiefs and wisemen of the division involved. The installation of the tribal chief was conducted by the head chiefs of the other two divisions.

643 The various sources and informants were unanimous in saying that there was a boundary between the authority of the civil chief and that of the war chief (232). The superiority of the civil chief in peace time was also affirmed by all (233). The reversal of the relative power of each in war was likewise maintained without dissent (234). Power received through visions
[781] was a prerequisite to the office of war chief (237). Captain Pipe's account made no mention of vision power, but his statement of an election similar to that of a civil chief did not preclude this requirement. W. L. stated that a man must have received power through a vision to become eligible for election as a war chief.

623 The existence of a body of wisemen or counselors was reported in every period (238). These men were chosen by the people, according to the information from the third and fourth periods (240). The accounts of the earlier periods did not touch upon this matter. The council or body of wisemen was reported throughout all periods to consider all matters of importance to the tribe (241). The functions of the council were evidently considerable; although called only by the chief, their decision after due deliberation determined the course of action of the chief (238). Women had no voice in council and were only admitted at certain times (243).

Justice

681 According to the idealistic retrospect of W. T., originally, when the Delaware had things their own way, there was no theft, murder, rape, adultery, or any other crime or misdemeanor and hence no punishments or ways of handling such matters were
000 necessary. Since debts were not discussed in detail in the first

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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615 621

THE SOCIAL GROUPS IN THE CEREMONY.—In the text frequent reference is made to the three group-subdivisions of the tribe. Inasmuch as no satisfactory conclusions have yet been reached in the classification of the subdivisions of Delaware social organization, I have been obliged to refer to the groupings under captions serviceable for present needs in our discussion of the Big House ceremony. My use of classifying terms for the groups is accordingly not to be considered as definitive. The social grouping that stands out with great prominence in the ceremonial organization of the tribe is the three-fold division of the people into zoonymic septs namely, the Pəlɛ̃, the Pukowa'ŋgo, and Tu'kʷsi·t. These having been translated by other writers as Turkey, Tortoise, and Wolf "clans" respectively, although Harrington, who uses these terms, has realized the difficulty of classifying Delaware society, and after sounding a note of caution has adopted the designation of "phratry" or totemic group as applicable to them. The concepts of association between the human members of these groups and the animals whose classification they bear are far from being clear at present. One point of importance to be brought out, however, is that the translations given above do not properly represent the meanings the terms are intended to convey. The terms in question are generic not specific; Pəlɛ̃, denoting any bird classified as belonging to the fowls or scratchers; Pukowa'ŋgo denoting the reptilians of the group testudinata (the term having the literal meaning of "sticky heels," derived from the habit of slowly lifting the foot when walking, characteristic of the turtles) and Tu'kʷsi·t, "round foot," denoting the quadrupeds. In the basis of this classification of mankind a religious rather than social symbolism may be detected. The term in Delaware denoting these divisions is la'ke'i·n, "manner of doing." These groups are not exogamous. Descent is through the mother. In ceremonial rites they each enjoy special privileges, have allotted duties to perform, segregated places of seating, the animal emblem as a name signature in common, and their own chiefs and council of three. Throughout the account of the ceremony reference will be made to these groups under their native designations.

614 621

Concerning the other groupings of Delaware society, upon which Harrington has published some discussion, there is no pressing reason for treatment at present from the point of view of the annual ceremony. In all, Harrington lists eighteen of these and refers to them as "clans" composing his "phratries."[1] Their names are not totemic. Since they do not function as social units in the ceremony to which we are giving attention they need not be treated further.

[1] Harrington I, pp. 81-82, 109; II, pp. 209-11. L. H. Morgan (Ancient Society, N. Y. 1877, pp. 171-3), using first hand Delaware sources in Kansas, first founded this classification.

[1] Harrington II, pp. 210-11. His group nomenclature follows that of Morgan (op. cit., p. 172).

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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We may dismiss for the present, the problem of their origin after giving the opinion of our informant, with which Harrington coincides, that they were local groups, district populations in an older habitat, which had accumulated the characteristic of sib groupings with maternal descent and exogany. Heckewelder,[1] over a century ago, who knew the Delawares so well, had sound reasons for his opinion on the character of the triple "totemic" groupings as being geographical divisions, originally tribal subdivisions. These, he continues to say in his discussion, again developed local sub-groupings that took name from localities, the eighteen so-called "clans" of Morgan and Harrington. The Delaware designation for these groups is wihil-a'i·n, "name or title."

EXPLANATION OF CHARACTERS USED IN THE TEXT

In general conformity with the suggestions of the committee on the transcription of Indian languages, I have employed the following characters in the transcription of the text. Occasional variation in the spelling of native terms will be found in the narrative, due to variability of pronunciation by the informant. This it has been thought wiser to retain until a more detailed study of sounds and phonetic laws can be made.

The Oklahoma dialect does not abound in the voiceless final vowels and syllables which, according to Sapir,[2] characterize the dialect spoken by the Delawares of the Grand River reserve in Ontario.

There is no indication whatever in Delaware of an *r*, or *th* (*θ*) recorded by Brinton for instance, (in Lenape Dictionary), as in Munsee and Mahikan, and by Campanius (1645-96).[3]

p, *b* bilabials, occasionally intermediate when preceding the dark vowels, *a*, *o*, *u*.

p, a true, slightly aspirated, surd

m bilabial similar to English *m*.

t surd, as *t* in English ten.

d intermediate alveolar sonant between surd and sonant quality.

t' a pure slightly aspirated surd.

s surd, sibilant, corresponding to English *s* when followed or preceded by *i*, otherwise with slightly deflected tongue tip bringing it closer to *θ*, *(th)* with which it corresponds in Munsee.

n alveolar, not differing from English *n*.

ŋ post-palatal, corresponding to English *ng* in king.

k somewhat intermediate surd stop, medial palatal similar to English *k* in lock. Often not distinguishable from *g*.

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[1] Heckewelder, op. cit., pp. 51-53, 250.

[2] E. Sapir, Geol. Survey of Canada, Summary Report, 1912, p. 6.

[3] The supposed change from *r* to *l* in later Delaware is discussed by Heckewelder, Trans. Amer. Philos. Soc. IV, 1834, pp. 351-96.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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CHAPTER VII.

GOVERNMENT.

622 623 624 ALTHOUGH the Indians have no code of laws for their government, their chiefs find little or no difficulty in governing them. They are supported by able experienced counsellors; men who study the welfare of the nation, and are equally interested with themselves in its prosperity. On them the people rely entirely, believing that what they do, or determine upon, must be right and for the public good.

623 Proud of seeing such able men conduct the affairs of their nation, the Indians are little troubled about what they are doing, knowing that the result of their deliberations will be made public in due time, and sure that it will receive their approbation. This result is made known to them by the chief through the orator, for which purpose they are called together and assemble at the council house; and if it be found necessary, to require a contribution of *wampum*, for carrying the decision of the chiefs into effect, it is cheerfully complied with by the whole assembly.

622 217 The chiefs are very careful in preserving for their own information, and that of future generations, all important deliberations and treaties made at any time between them and other nations. Thus, between the years 1770 and 1780, they could relate very minutely, what had passed between William Penn and their forefathers, at their first meeting and afterwards, and also the transactions which took place with the governors who succeeded him. For the purpose of refreshing their own memories, and of instructing one or more of their most capable and promi-

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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sing young men in these matters, they assemble once or twice a year. On these occasions they always meet at a chosen spot in the woods, at a small distance from the town, where a fire is kindled, and at the proper time provisions are brought out to them: there, on a large piece of bark or on a blanket, all the documents are laid out in such order, that they can at once distinguish each particular speech, the same as we know the principal contents of an instrument of writing by the endorsement on it. If any paper or parchment writings are connected with the belts, or strings of wampum, they apply to some trusty white man (if such can be had,) to read the contents to them. Their speaker then, who is always chosen from among those who are endowed with superior talents, and has already been trained up to the business, rises, and in an audible voice delivers, with the gravity that the subject requires, the contents, sentence after sentence, until he has finished the whole on one subject. On the manner in which the belts or strings of wampum are handled by the speaker, much depends; the *turning** of the belt which takes place when he has finished one half of his speech, is a material point, though this is not common in *all* speeches with belts; but when it is the case, and is done properly, it may be as well known by it how far the speaker has advanced in his speech, as with us on taking a glance at the pages of a book or pamphlet while reading; and a good speaker will be able to point out the exact place on a belt which is to answer

* When, between the years 1760 and 1768, the noted war-chief Pontiac had concerted a plan of surprising and cutting off the garrison and town of Detroit, while in the act of delivering an impressive peace oration, to the then commandant Major Gladwyn, the *turning of the belt* was to have been the signal of the attack by his forces, who all had their guns, which previously had been cut off to large pistol length, hidden under their blankets. So I have been informed by some of the most respectable inhabitants of Detroit, and by the Indians themselves.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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622 217 to each particular sentence, the same as we can point out a passage in a book. Belts and strings, when done with by the speaker, are again handed to the chief, who puts them up carefully in the speech bag or pouch.

202 A message of importance is generally sent on to the place of its destination, by an inferior chief, by a counsellor, or by the speaker, especially when an immediate answer is expected. In other cases, where for instance only an answer to a speech is to be sent, two capable young men are selected for the purpose, the one to deliver the message or answer, and the other to pay attention while his companion is delivering it, that no part be forgotten or omitted. If the message be of a private nature, they are charged to draw or take it *under ground*, that is, not to make it known to any person whatsoever, except to him to whom it is directed. If they are told to enter *into the earth* with the message or speech, and rise again at the place where they are to deliver it, it is to desire them to be careful not to be seen by the way by any person, and for that purpose to avoid all paths, and travel through the woods.

622 202 No chief pays any attention to *reports*, though they may carry with them the marks of truth. Until he is *officially* and in due form apprised of the matter, he will, if questioned on the subject, reply that he had *not heard it*. It will, until then, be considered by him as the *song of a bird which had flown by*; but as soon as he is officially informed, through a string of wampum from some distant chief or leading man of the nation, whose situation entitles him to receive credit, he then will say: "I *have* heard it;" and acts accordingly.

202 195 The Indians generally, but their chiefs more particularly, have many figurative expressions in use, to understand which requires instruction. When a nation, by message or otherwise, speaks to another nation in this way, it is well understood; but when they speak to white people after this manner, who have not been accustomed to such language, explanations are necessary.

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CHAPTER XL.

SHORT NOTICE OF THE INDIAN CHIEFS TAMANEND AND TADEUSKUND.

622 THE name of TAMANEND is held in the highest veneration among the Indians. Of all the chiefs and great men which the Lenape nation ever had, he stands foremost on the list. But although many fabulous stories are circulated about him among the whites, but little of his real history is known. The misfortunes which have befallen some of the most beloved and esteemed personages among the Indians since the Europeans came among them, prevent the survivors from indulging in the pleasure of recalling to mind the memory of their virtues. No white man who regards their feelings, will introduce such subjects in conversation with them.

All we know, therefore, of Tamanend is, that he was an ancient Delaware chief, who never had his equal. He was in the highest degree endowed with wisdom, virtue, prudence, charity, affability, meekness, hospitality, in short with every good and noble qualification that a human being may possess. He was supposed to have had an intercourse with the great and good Spirit; for he was a stranger to every thing that is bad.

When Colonel George Morgan, of Princeton in New Jersey, was, about the year 1776, sent by Congress as an agent to the western Indians, the Delawares conferred on him the name of Tamanend in honour and remembrance of their ancient chief, and as the greatest

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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mark of respect which they could shew to that gentleman, who, they said, had the same address, affability and meekness as their honoured chief, and therefore, ought to be named after him. 622

The fame of this great man extended even among the whites, who fabricated numerous legends respecting him, which I never heard, however, from the mouth of an Indian, and therefore believe to be fabulous. In the revolutionary war, his enthusiastic admirers dubbed him a saint, and he was established under the name of *St. Tammany*, the Patron Saint of America. His name was inserted in some calendars, and his festival celebrated on the first day of May in every year. On that day a numerous society of his votaries walked together in procession through the streets of Philadelphia, their hats decorated with buck's tails, and proceeded to a handsome rural place out of town which they called the *Wigwam*, where after a *long talk* or Indian speech had been delivered, and the *Calumet* of peace and friendship had been duly smoked, they spent the day in festivity and mirth. After dinner, Indian dances were performed on the green in front of the wigwam, the calumet was again smoked, and the company separated. This association lasted until some years after the peace, when the public spirited owner of the wigwam, who generously had lent it every year for the honour of his favourite saint, having fallen under misfortune, his property was sold to satisfy his creditors, and this truly American festival ceased to be observed. Since that time, other societies have been formed in Philadelphia, New York, and I believe in other towns in the union, under the name of Tammany; but the principal object of these associations being party-politics, they have lost much of the charm which was attached to the original society of St. Tammany, which appeared to be established only for pleasure and innocent diversion. These political societies, however, affect to preserve Indian forms in their organisation and meetings. They

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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● 622 are are presided over by a Grand Sachem, and their other officers are designated by Indian titles. They meet at their "wigwam," at the "going down of the sun," in the months of snows, plants, flowers, &c. Their distinguishing appellation is always "The *Tammany* Society."

TADEUSKUND, or *Tedeuskung*, was the last Delaware chief in these parts east of the Allegheny mountains. His name makes a conspicuous figure in the history of Pennsylvania previous to the revolution, and particularly towards the commencement of the war of 1756. Before he was raised to the station of a chief, he had signalised himself as an able counsellor in his nation. In the year 1749, he joined the Christian Indian congregation, and the following year, at his earnest desire, was christened by the name of *Gideon*. He had been known before under that of *Honest John*. It was not until the year 1754, that his nation called upon him to assume a military command. The French were then stirring up the Indians, particularly the Delawares, to aid them in fighting the English, telling them that if they suffered them to go on as they before had done, they would very soon not have a foot of land to live on. The Susquehannah and Fork Indians (Delawares) were then in want of a leading character to advise and govern them, their great, good, beloved and peaceable chief *Tudeme*, (commonly called *Tuttemi*) having some time before been murdered in the Forks settlement by a foolish young white man. They, therefore, called upon Tadeuskund to take upon himself the station of a chief, which, having accepted, he repaired to Wyoming, whither many of the Forks Indians followed him.

Whatever might have been Tadeuskund's disposition towards the English at that time, it is certain that it was a difficult task for him, and would have been such for any other chief, to govern an exasperated people, entirely devoted to the opposite interest. This may account for

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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his not having always succeeded in gratifying our government to the extent of their wishes. Yet he did much towards lessening the cruelties of the enemy, by keeping up an intercourse with the governor of Pennsylvania, and occasionally drawing many from the theatre of war and murder, to meet the colonial authorities at Easton or Philadelphia for the negotiation of treaties, by which means fewer cruelties were committed than would otherwise have been. 622 ●

His frequent visits to the governor, and to the people called Quakers (to whom he was much attached, because they were known to be friendly to the Indians) excited much jealousy among some of his nation, especially the Monseys, who believed that he was carrying on some underhand work at Philadelphia detrimental to the nation at large; on which account, and as they wished the continuation of the war, they became his enemies.

From the precarious situation Tadeuskund was placed in, it was easy to foresee that he would come to an untimely end. Perhaps no Indian chief before him ever found himself so delicately situated; mistrusted and blamed by our government and the English people generally, because he did not use his whole endeavours to keep his nation at peace, or compel them to lay down the hatchet; and accused by his own people of having taken a bribe from the English, or entered into some secret agreement with them that would be of benefit to himself alone, as he would not suffer them to inflict just punishment on that nation for the wrongs they had done them, but was constantly calling upon them to make peace. The Five Nations, on the other hand, (the enemies of the Delawares and in alliance with England,) blamed him for doing too much for the cause which they themselves supported, for making himself too busy, and assuming an authority, which did not belong to him the leader of a band of *women*, but to them, the Five Nations alone.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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622 To do justice to this injured chief, the true secret of his apparently contradictory conduct must be here disclosed. It is said by those Indians who knew him best, and who at that time had the welfare of their own nation much at heart, that his great and sole object was to recover for the *Lenni Lenape* that dignity which the Iroquois had treacherously wrested from them; thence flowed the bitterness of the latter against him, though he seemed to be promoting the same interest which they themselves supported. He had long hoped that by shewing friendship and attachment to the English, he would be able to convince them of the justice of his nation's cause, who were yet powerful enough to make their alliance an object to the British government, but here he was greatly mistaken. No one would examine into the grounds of the controversy between the Delawares and the Five Nations; the latter, on the contrary, were supported in their unjust pretensions as theretofore, and even called upon to aid in compelling the Lenape to make peace. This unjust and at the same time impolitic conduct, of which I have before taken sufficient notice,* irritated to the utmost the spirited nation of the Delawares, they felt themselves insulted and degraded, and were less disposed than ever from complying with the wishes of a government which sported in this manner with their national feelings, and called in question even their right to exist as an independent people.

Surrounded as he was with enemies, Tadeuskund could not escape the fate that had long been intended for him. In the spring of 1763, when the European nations had made peace, but the Indians were still at war, he was burnt up, together with his house, as he was lying in his bed asleep. It was supposed and believed by many who were present, that this dreadful event was not accidental,

* See above page 50. and see the Errata with reference to that page.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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but had been maturely resolved on by his enemies, whoever they were, and that the liquor which was brought to Wyoming at the time, was intended by them for the purpose of enticing him to drink, that they might the more easily effect their purpose. A number of Indians were witnesses to the fact that the house was set on fire from the outside. Suspicion fell principally upon the Mingoes, who were known to be jealous of him, and fearful of his resentment, if he should succeed in insinuating himself into the favour of the English and making good terms with them for his nation. It is said that those Indians were concerned in bringing the fatal liquor which is believed to have been instrumental to the execution of the design.

While Tadeuskund was at the head of his nation, he was frequently distinguished by the title of "King of the Delawares." While passing and repassing to and from the enemy with messages, many people called him the "War Trumpet." In his person he was a portly well-looking man, endowed with good natural sense, quick of comprehension, and very ready in answering the questions put to him. He was rather ambitious, thought much of his rank and abilities, liked to be considered as the king of his country, and was fond of having a retinue with him when he went to Philadelphia on business with the government. His greatest weakness was a fondness for strong drinks, the temptation of which he could not easily resist, and would sometimes drink to excess. This unfortunate propensity is supposed to have been the cause of his cruel and untimely death.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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3. Le-le-wa'-you, Bird's Cry
3. Moo-kwung-wa-ho'-ki, Eye Pain
4. Moo-har-mo-wi-kar'-nu, Scratch the Path
5. O-ping-ho'-ki, Opossum Ground
6. Muh-ho-we-ki'-kan, Old Shin
8. Nool-i-mar-lar'-mo, Living in Water
9. Muh-krent-har'-ne, Root Digger
10. Mur-karm-huk-se, Red Face
11. Koo-wi-ho'ke, Pine Region
12. Oo-ckuk'-ham, Ground Scratcher

Harrington in 1913 found some of these clans still in existence in Canada. He added two that could not be associated with any of Morgan's. They were Mun'hat ko wi of the Turkey phratry and All 'ke, of the Wolf phratry.[138] There is no knowledge or memory of the clans today in Oklahoma.

614 615 Each clan was a member of one of the three phratries (Morgan's gentes), and phratry membership was a consequence of clan membership. Many of the clan names were obviously associated in meaning with their phratry: "Ground Scratcher" with Turkey phratry, "Snapping Turtle" with Turtle phratry, to give but two examples. No mention was made of the three phratries in the literature of the seventeenth century. Since the phratries had no political functions in the early period, Europeans probably did not come in contact with them. It seems unlikely that the association of every clan with a phratry in historic times represented the early pattern, when the social diversity and the spatial dispersion of the pretribal Delawares is considered. What it was like is unknown, although a looser, more informal association, probably with fewer clans in a phratry, might be postulated. As remnant peoples joined the tribe, they probably were considered kinship units, thus swelling the number of clans. In some fashion they became associated with one or another of the phratries.

615 In the eighteenth century phratry heads became political leaders of the Delaware tribe. This development is discussed further under Acculturation. [622] The phratries were exogamous, at least in later historic times, since Morgan said that "in old times no man was allowed to marry a woman of his own tribe [phratry] and it was the law until within the last generation...."[139] The three phratries were totemic units named for qualities of animals rather than for the animals themselves. The Tukait were named for a quality of the wolf, "round foot," the Pilea for a quality or attribute of the turkey, "don't chew," and the Pokuwango for the slow characteristics of the turtle, "crawling" or "dragging along."[140] For the sake of brevity, however, I shall continue the usage initiated by Morgan and refer to these groups as Wolf, Turkey, and Turtle.

[582] The primary function of the phratries was ceremonial: "In ceremonial rites they each enjoy special privileges, have allotted duties to perform, segregated places of seating, the animal emblem as a name signature is common, and their own chiefs and council of three."[139] According to Harrington each phratry had a paramount leader, who had rather limited

[138] Harrington, 1913, p. 210.
[139] Morgan, 1859, MS.
[140] Harrington, 1913, p. 210; O.A., J.T.
[139] Speck, 1931, p. 78.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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powers, serving primarily in the capacity of adviser.[139] This position was gained through inheritance.[140] Morgan agreed with him, saying:

> A Delaware woman, after stating to the author that she, with her children, belonged to the Wolf gens, and her husband to the Turtle, remarked that when Captain Ketchum ... late head chief or sachem of the Turtle gens, died, he was succeeded by his nephew, John Conner ... a son of one of the sisters of the deceased sachem, who was also of the Turtle gens. The decedent left a son, but he was of another gens and consequently incapable of succeeding. With the Delawares, as with the Iroquois, the office passed from brother to brother, or from uncle to nephew, because descent was in the female line.[141]

The three phratries have frequently been confused with the three geographical divisions of the Delawares. Heckewelder was the first to make this association, and his copyists have continued his correlation.[142] The association was Turtle with Unami, Turkey with Unalachtigo, and Wolf with Munsi.[143] Harrington dissented from this viewpoint on the basis that phratry members could be found among any of the geographical divisions.[144] As early as 1824 Trowbridge specifically denied this association and said that members of all three phratries were found in the Munsi group.[145] There can be little doubt that Heckewelder was mistaken in associating the geographical divisions with the phratries.

Social Control

Government

Relatively more information exists dealing with political organization and government of the early historic Delawares than concerning the kinship system. Europeans had an opportunity to observe the governmental machinery, participating in councils and the like, but their contact with the kinship system was so slight that they could not understand it.

Each social unit, or clan, had a leader, usually termed "sachem" in the literature, who had inherited his position through the maternal line. "When a king dies it is not his children who succeed him, but his brother by the same mother, or his sister's, or her daughter's male children."[146] Penn, who has given the clearest description of government, said:

> Their government is by kings, which they call sachama, and those by succession; but always of the mother's side. For instance, the children of him who is now king will not succeed, but his brother by the mother, or the children of his sister, whose sons (and after them the children of her daughters) will reign, for no woman inherits. The reason they render for this way of descent is, that their issue may not be spurious.[147]

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[139] Harrington, 1913, p. 211.
[140] *Ibid.*
[141] Morgan, 1877, p. 173.
[142] Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 51-53; Brinton, 1888, p. 39.
[143] Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 51-53.
[144] Harrington, 1913, p. 209.
[145] Trowbridge MS.
[146] Holm, 1834, p. 133.
[147] Penn, 1882, p. 244; Thomas, 1913, p. 335, and Zeisberger, 1910, p. 98, agreed on the matriarchal succession of sachems.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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622 In the seventeenth century sachems had limited power and authority and, incredibly in the eyes of Europeans, had no special servants, prerogatives, or the like.[146] Pastorius, for instance, in a letter written in 1694 said:

> These very kings go forth with the others to hunt, shoot the wild animals, and support themselves by the work of their own hands. They have neither servants nor lacqueys, neither housemaids nor court-ladies, and what use has one for a master of horse who keeps no horse, but always goes on foot? In like manner, no court-steward is needed, where there is no one to be cared for besides one's self and one's wife and children.[147]

In the seventeenth century these clan leaders owed allegiance to no higher authority; there were no tribal chiefs.[148] By the eighteenth century leaders had appeared who wielded much more power over larger groups. [619]

623 Despite the little real authority which sachems had, their councils were solemn, ceremonial occasions. Penn and Denton provide early and clear descriptions of how these men governed; their accounts are confirmed by a number of other investigators:[149]

> Every king hath his council; and that consists of all the old and wise men of his nation, which perhaps is two hundred people. Nothing of moment is undertaken, be it war, peace, selling of land, or traffic, without advising with them, and, which is more, with the young men too. It is admirable to consider how powerful the kings are, and yet how they move by the breath of their people. I have had occasion to be in council with them upon treaties for land, and to adjust the terms of trade. Their order is thus: The king sits in the middle of an half-moon, and has his council, the old and wise, on each hand. Behind them, or at a little distance, sit the younger fry in the same figure.[150]

Denton said:

> When their King or Sachem sits in Council he hath a company of armed men to guard his person, great respect being shown him by the People, which is principally manifested by their silence: After he hath declared the cause of their convention he demands their opinion, ordering who shall begin: The person ordered to speak, after he hath declared his minde tells them he hath done: no man ever interrupting any person in his speech, nor offering to speak though he make never so many or long stops, till he says he hath no more to say: the Council having all declared their opinion, the King after some pause gives the definitive sentence, which is commonly seconded with a shout from the people, every one seeming to applaud & manifest their assent to what is determined: If any person be condemned to die, which is seldom, unless for Murder or Incest, the King himself goes in person (for you must understand they have no prisons, and the guilty person flies into the Woods) when they go in quest of him, & having found him, the King shoots first, though at never such a distance, & then happy is the man can shoot him down, & cut off his — which they commonly wear, who for his pains is made some Captain or other military officer.[151]

623 681

[146] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 208; Thomas, 1912, p. 335; De Laet, 1909, pp. 57-58; Van der Donck, 1909, p. 202.

[147] Pastorius, 1912, pp. 425-26.

[148] Lindestrom, 1925, pp. 128-30.

[149] Holm, 1834, p. 133; Thomas, 1912, p. 335; Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 107-11; Zeisberger, 1910, pp. 92-93; Harrington, 1913, p. 211.

[150] Penn, 1882, pp. 244-45.

[151] Denton, 1845, p. 10.

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It should be noted, then, that a sachem's duties were administrative, legislative, and judicial. The duties of these chiefs were on the whole fairly simple; their power was in no sense autocratic. They carried out the wishes of the people directly through the council and indirectly through informal pressure. To retain their position they had to be "...gracious, hospitable, communicative, affable, and their house is open to every Indian."[154] It appears that incompetent chiefs could be deposed.[155]

Morgan stated that there were two war chiefs, subordinate to the principal chiefs in peacetime. War chiefs gained their rank through leading a number of successful war parties, and were often those individuals who had had visions indicating that war was their vocation.[156] By this time (1859) the phratry heads were the political leaders, and one of these men was the principal chief.[157] If the war chiefs unanimously favored war, the civil chief had to give his consent.[158] Political as well as military power was then in the hands of the war chiefs.

Informal Controls

Individual behavior was controlled primarily by family and kinship groups, rather than by special institutions. Europeans were surprised to learn that Indian behavior was so well regulated:

> Judged by the mere appearance of the Indians one is surprised how modest and careful they are in relation to each other and imagines that the whites, if they were as free a people and had neither government nor punishment to fear, would not be as united and peaceable as the Indians appear to be.[159]

Penn said:

> The justice they have is pecuniary. In case of any wrong or evil fact, be it murder itself, they atone by feasts and presents of their wampum, which is proportioned to the quality of the offence or person injured, or of the sex they are of. For, in case they kill a woman, they pay double; and the reason they render is, "that she breedeth children, which men cannot do." It is rare that they fall out if sober; and if drunk they forgive, saying, "It was the drink, and not the man, that abused them."[160]

A number of other sources have noted that the laws of the wergild were enforced.[161] Denton said:

> The friends of the murdered person do revenge upon the murderer unless he purchase his life with money, which they sometimes do: This money is made of a Periwinkle shell of which there is black & white, made much like unto beads & put upon strings.[162]

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[154] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 93.
[155] Ruttenber, 1872, pp. 47-48; Zeisberger, 1910, pp. 93-95; Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 107-11; Harrington, 1913, p. 211.
[156] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 101; Loskiel, 1794, p. 142.
[157] Morgan, 1859, MS.
[158] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 98; Ruttenber, 1872, p. 48.
[159] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 122.
[160] Penn, 1683, p. 245.
[161] Pastorius, 1912, p. 434; De Rasieres, 1909, p. 109; Lindestrom, 1925, p. 205; Wallace, 1947, pp. 10-11.
[162] Denton, 1845, p. 7.

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426 If a debtor is unable to pay, the creditor duns his friends,
672 who must pay and rarely refuse to do so. Occasionally, the debts of friends must be paid years after they were contracted, even after the death of the debtor, if only the debt can be proven.

685 A purchaser, dissatisfied with what he has bought or the price paid, is allowed to return what he has purchased and recover what was paid. One who has done an injury, killed a hog or chicken or occasioned loss in some other way, and obstinately refuses to make good the injury, cannot be touched. His friends may make good the loss. Should the offender, in the long run, not heed the admonitions of his friends, they will drive him away.

721 Hence, it is that in wars with whites practically all the tribes have been involved more or less. If the nation, as such, has taken no part in the war, these unmanageable offenders have gone with the fighting peoples, despite the warnings and threats of the chiefs. The same is true of the present conflict.[223] The Delaware chiefs had determined at its beginning to remain neutral, daily admonishing their people not to allow themselves to be persuaded to go into the war. The nation as such remained true to the determination of the chiefs, being constantly and earnestly watched, but obstinate offenders took part against all order and command.

619 Though the Indians are a free people and not subject to the rule of any one, each nation, considering itself a unit, has a kind of government of its own choosing, imperfect as it may be. This holds good of all the North American nations. A nation is constituted of three principal Tribes, the first or leading tribe is called *Packoango*, i. e., the tribe of the great Tortoise, the second, *Blem*, the Turkey Tribe, the third, *Ptucksit*, the Wolf
622 Tribe. Each of the tribes has its chief and each chief his coun-
623 sellors. The chief of the Tortoise Tribe is the first in rank and, together with the other two chiefs, deals with all matters of national interest, particularly, such as have reference to nations with whom, according to treaty, friendly relations are to be cultivated. A chief may not presume to rule over the people, as in that case he would immediately be forsaken by the whole tribe, and his counsellors would refuse to assist him. He must

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ingratiate himself with the people and stand by his counsellors. Hence, it is that the chiefs are generally friendly, gracious, hospitable, communicative, affable and their house is open to every Indian. Even strangers who come on business put up in the chief's house and are accommodated with the best it affords. The ambassadors of other nations generally lodge with the chief and they are well cared for. If their number is too great, and it has happened in connection with weighty affairs concerning several nations that ten or twenty men of other nations have arrived at the principal chief's house, they are put into a separate house and provided with every thing at the public expense, the counsellors taking care that they are entertained most hospitably in order that the nation may be in good repute amongst other nations.

In externals a chief has no advantages above others. He must provide for his own maintenance, for no one is under any obligation to supply his wants. His wife, whose duty it is to provide sufficient corn for the year, is usually assisted by other women in her plantations, for much corn is required in such a house. If the chief is young and able to hunt he will, his official duties permitting, occasionally join the chase. He will even secure his own firewood as far as possible. In case he is old his friends, of whom there are usually many, and other Indians will furnish him with game, especially if he be popular.

The council house is either the house of the chief, which is commonly large and roomy, or a building erected for that purpose. Here public councils are held, that is, such where messages which have arrived from whites or other Indians are published. Every one may listen and the messages are also discussed. In case there is something of particular importance to consider, only the chief and the counsellors assemble and determine upon the matter. The old chief Netawatwes[259] used to lay all affairs of state before his council for consideration. When they gave him their opinion, he either approved of it or indicated what was missing or not correct in the speech, upon which they would make the necessary amendments. Thus he kept them active and was held in great esteem.

The chief has the council bag in his possession, as also the

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211
217 treaties that have been made with the governors of the provinces and other documents, although they are not able to read. These
622 constitute the archives, where all messages and reports are kept. With each message or speech there are one or more strings or belts of wampum. These, with the message or speech after the latter have been properly considered and answered, are deposited
202 in the archives.[200] In connection with such a message there
211 may be a string or belt to each point, for as soon as the deliverer
623 of a message has finished with a point he gives over a string or belt to the chief, gets out another and continues to speak until his message has been fully delivered when he announces that he has done. If the strings and belts are handed about from one to another in the council this is an indication that the message is being favorably received. It may happen, however, that the chief does not take the belt into his hands but pushes it to one side with a stick, in which case no one will touch it. The messenger who has brought it must in this case take it back. This signifies that his message does not find approbation and it is accounted a disgrace. Such a rejected belt may be a war belt summoning the people to war, or it may be a belt admonishing them to maintain peace, or something else that is not agreeable may be required.

211
[439] The wampum which Europeans make and barter to the Indians is made of sea-mussel shells. One variety is quite white, the other dark violet, a quarter of an inch in length, an eighth of an inch in thickness and round. A hole is bored lengthwise through each shell, large enough to admit a heavy cord. They are strung like beads. Wampum constitutes the
[435] money of the Indians. Two hundred shells cost a buck hide, or a Spanish dollar.[201] Before the white people came they had no such wampum for want of proper instruments to make it.[202] The white are a little less in value than the dark.

Strings are made of the beads that have been strung as described. Two, four or six placed side by side and properly fastened form a string. A string is usually half a yard long,
202 sometimes longer. Upon delivery of a string a long speech may
211 be made and much said upon the subject under consideration.

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648 and waters flow. In this connection, nations who make the treaty, or are allies, exchange a pipe between them which is called the pipe of peace. Such a pipe is carefully preserved and
276 generally lighted in council by a captain or chief, whenever any-
648 thing occurs relating to the ally and each member smokes a little out of it. The one who carries about the pipe reminds the members of the council of the covenant and the time of its establishment. The head of the pipe is commonly of stone, the stem of wood wound with a fine ribbon neatly decorated with white corals, the latter the work of the women.

It is the duty of the chief to maintain peace, to advise peace
622 as long as possible. It is not in his power to begin war as long
721 as the captains are averse to this. Without their consent he may not accept a war belt. If it is received this is on condition that he will turn it over to the captains for consideration. The chief must endeavor to preserve peace to the utmost of his power. If the captains are unanimous in declaring war he is obliged, as it were, to deliver the care of his people for the time being into their hands, for they are the warriors.

622 In the matter of choice of a chief various things are to be observed. The principal captain may choose a chief and inaugurate him, and it is also in his power to take him out of office if the chief proves a poor regent, acts contrary to the customs, does according to his own wishes and refuses to accept counsel. The captains, who always have the people on their side may thus forsake a chief, not only refusing to support him but even publicly announcing that they do not agree with him, and thus his power is at an end. The chief must always be a member of that tribe in which he presides. The sons of a chief cannot inherit their father's dignity, for the reason that they are not and can-
611 not be, according to established usages, members of the tribe, inasmuch as children do not inherit tribal rights from the father but from the mother.[265] No Indian will marry a person in his own tribe, as he is too closely related to all in it. Herein, the Indians allege, is to be found the reason for the existence of the tribes. Were it not for these, they could not be quite sure whether persons to be married are near relatives or not. Hence,
586 it is, also, that children are considered the property of the wife.

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If a divorce takes place they follow the mother. Those that are grown up may stay with the father if they please. Herein again is to be found reason for the conduct of parents towards their children. They never oppose their inclinations in order not to lose their affection. Parents never know how soon they may be separated, and both parties, in that event, fearing desertion by their children, are very desirous of gaining and retaining their love and affection. The Indians, therefore, regard their wives as strangers. It is a common saying among them, "My wife is not my friend," that is, she is not related to me and I am not concerned about her, she is only my wife. This satanic notion it is very difficult to uproot. 586

To return again to the matter of selection of a chief; as his sons cannot, for the reasons named, succeed him, a great grandchild or nephew may become chief, that is, either his daughter's daughter's son or his sister's son, so that the privilege of becoming Chief cannot be confined to too intimate relationship. 622

The principal duty of the first chief is to maintain the peace and covenants made between his people and the other Indian nations and the Europeans as also to carry on a kind of correspondence with them, all of which is generally done with the advice and consent of the chiefs of the Turkey and Wolf tribes, unless they are absent. It is further the particular duty of the principal chief to see to it that nothing is neglected and when necessary to send embassies. Finding that it is necessary to take action in some matter he summons the council, submits the subject and lets them deliberate which often demands of them much thought and attention. Another of his duties is that of keeping the people together and preventing any unnecessary dispersion. Much depends, therefore, on whether a chief is beloved of his people. Where this is lacking the Indians are like a swarm of bees without a queen bee. A chief must prevent all disorders in his town, have an eye to justice, and seek to do away with strife with the aid of his counsellors. But he may not seek to do this by force or severity but only by calm reasoning and friendly exhortation. Usually, the Indians are amenable to good words. In a general way the Indians pay due honor and respect to their chiefs, though there are some who

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622 are moved neither by fear of men nor of God; fortunately there are few such.

[273] Strong drink occasions much disorder in the Indian towns.[266] If a chief is himself an abstainer, he may accomplish much against this evil, but he must be ever watchful and not tire in his efforts.

[428] At the death of a chief neither his children, wife, nor relatives inherit his possessions. Everything is distributed among the people except the wampum and belts, which belong to the chief in his official capacity, and the Council Bag. These are preserved and turned over to his successor in office. In general, some person who lived in intimacy with the deceased chief, and is well acquainted with the affairs of state is chosen to be his successor. It is generally agreed that such and such an one is the right person to assume the dignity of chief. If he is discreet and wins the favor of the captains and the people, the former in particular, will support him in every possible
624 way. A captain, such as White Eye[267] was, is the Chief's right hand. He must undertake everything ordered of him by the chief, even at the hazard of his life. To show fear would not be in harmony with his dignity and a disgrace. If he is wounded or killed by the enemy, the whole nation joins in avenging his death, taking injury done him as seriously as if it concerned the person of the chief. This the captains are aware of and it gives them courage.

728 A captain has no more right to conclude peace than a chief to begin war.[268] If peace is offered to a captain, when he is in the enemy's country, he can give no other answer than that he will bring the proposal to the notice of the chief, for as a warrior he cannot make peace, and that in due time reply will be given. If the chief inclines to peace, he, as it were, assumes his office again, exerts his power, takes the matter out of the hands of the captain and desires him to sit down, which signifies declaring a truce. The hatchet is taken out of the captain's hand and he is obliged to cease from hostilities and keep his men quiet. The chief knowing that inactivity is not agreeable to the captain, asks his assistance in the negotiations and generally chooses him to be the messenger of peace to the

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the message was not welcome. The refusal is considered a great affront and no one of the chiefs or counsellors will touch the rejected wampum belt or string. This lies on the floor, the men of the Council leaving the place, until some old woman removes it.

Concerning usages and ceremonies connected with the election of a chief the following should have been added. If a chief of the Turtle Tribe is to be elected his own tribe does not choose him but the chiefs of the other two tribes do this. Similarly, if a chief of the Wolf or Turkey Tribe were to be elected, the tribe concerned would have no part in the election. The election is conducted in the following manner. As each tribe lives in a town of its own, the two chiefs, upon whom the election devolves, meet with their counsellors and people at an appointed place, and after all necessary preparations have been made — some thirty belts of wampum are required and a number of speeches arranged for — they move in a procession toward the town where the election is to take place. The two chiefs head the procession and one of them sings along the whole way the speeches that are to be made to the chief about to be elected, singing in a tone used on this and no other occasion. Thus they, still singing, enter the town where the chief is to be elected. They find everything prepared for the occasion, enter the council house at the east end, pass on one side the two or three fires that have been made and sit down on the other side. Next the inhabitants of the town enter, welcome the guests by shaking their hands and sit down on the other side of the fire. One of the two chiefs, in a singing tone, opens the proceedings by explaining the object of the meeting, condoling with the chief elect, wipes the tears from his eyes, clears his ears and throat, removes all sorrow on account of the departed chief from his heart and comforts him. Next he declares him to be chief and formally fills the office made vacant by the death of the former chief. He then exhorts the young people to be obedient to their new chief, whenever he shall require their assistance, and explains to them how they are to conduct themselves toward the chief. The speech is confirmed by means of two belts of

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wampum and the speaker receives an answer, a solemn promise, from the young people that they will fulfill their obligation. He likewise addresses the wife of the new chief, who is present attended by several women, and admonishes her to be obedient to the chief. This is confirmed by means of a belt and the woman, in the name of all the women, promises obedience. Finally, he lays before the chief the duties of his office, regarding the preservation or re-establishment of peace, admonishing him not to meddle in the affairs of war and to keep his people from it, to continually attend to the welfare of his nation and to hear willingly the remonstrances of the people in case he should commit a fault. All this is intoned and the belts given in confirmation are laid before the chief. He promises to act in strict conformity to these injunctions. 622

The new chief thus enters upon his office by consent of the tribe and whole nation. He is placed, therefore, in a position of influence. He is loved and honored of his people and aided by them in his undertakings. Whoever obtains the office of chief in any other way is not respected. This is the case with the successor of Netawatwes, who was chosen by Europeans prominent in Pittsburg.[223] Such a one amounts to nothing and is held in no greater esteem than any other Indian. He can accomplish nothing, for neither the other chiefs nor the counsellors nor the people are with him. Thus the Delawares at present have no real ruler, to whom they are devoted and from whom they are willing to take counsel. This state of affairs will continue until they elect a chief in accordance with their own usages.

If a chief has made mistakes, he may be admonished by the whole people and is obliged to give attention to them. For any grave fault, which may prove injurious to the commonwealth — for instance if he suffers the young people to commit outrages or murders, which may be laid to the charge of the whole nation and involve it in war, or if he should not do anything to prevent such misdemeanors in the first instance — he is reprimanded by the two other chiefs, with the same ceremonious solemnity used at his installation, must be willing to take the

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reprimand, and must promise to fulfill his duty better in the future.

The name Delawares undoubtedly has its origin with the Europeans, for neither they themselves nor other nations use this name. They call themselves the Lenni-Lenape Indians or *Woapanachke*, that is people living towards the rising of the sun, having formerly inhabited the eastern coast of North America. It is possible that the word Delawares should have been applied to the nation; because the Unami Tribe, which lived nearest the sea, uses the word *'ndelloteen* very much. This word, meaning "I say," being a verb, appears frequently and in many forms in the conversation of the people. The first Europeans, not understanding the language and hearing this word very often may have made Delaware out of it and called the people thus. The Indians themselves believe this to be the explanation, though it is possible that the Europeans have another, of which I am not aware."[1]

If a party of Indians have spent a night in the woods, it may be easily known, not only by the structure of their sleeping huts but also by their marks on the trees, to what tribe they belong. For they always leave a mark behind made either with red pigment or charcoal. Such marks are understood by the Indians who know how to read their meaning. Some markings point out the places where a company of Indians have been hunting, showing the number of nights they spent there, the number of deer, bears and other game killed during the hunt. The warriors sometimes paint their own deeds and adventures, the number of prisoners or scalps taken, the number of troops they commanded and how many fell in battle.

If two nations are engaged in war and the warriors of one commit some murderous act, it is not uncommon that they leave the hatchet in the head of the victim who has been scalped or lay a war-club, painted red, upon the body of the victim. This is a formal challenge, in consequence of which, a captain of the insulted party takes up the weapon of the murderers and hastens into their country to be avenged. He will do much the same thing, leaving his weapon upon the murdered, and

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moving from one place to another according to inclination, yet they generally dwell together for the sake of the help they can render each other in building and in fencing up the great field where all may plant and be sure that their pieces of ground will not be molested by cattle. If they have a good chief he may be very useful to the people, for under him they believe themselves to dwell in safety as it is his business to keep the peace with other nations and order among his own people in so far as this may be secured among the Indians who are a free people recognizing neither compulsion nor authority to punish. By means of discretion and diplomacy a chief may accomplish much. At times he may not tell his counsellors, much less the people, what his ultimate purposes are, for fear of not attaining them. Moving forward step by step he may gain his end. Of violence, murder (except in drunkenness), robbery, theft, one rarely hears among the Indians. They may leave all they have caught in the chase and their utensils in the forest, secured indeed against wild animals such as wolves and bear, but not hidden from the Indians. They often hang their things to trees in the woods where everyone passing by may see them and leave them there for days and weeks, yet they are never molested. Stolen goods may not be easily concealed among them, and whoever has been guilty of theft must restore or repay lest a horse or two or even his gun, which is an Indian's means of sustenance, be taken from him or his friends summoned to make good the injury, even years after the theft has been committed. The latter will rather pay than be much and often called upon to do so.

Few houses are locked when the people go out. A stick is placed against the door on the outside and the passerby sees that no one is at home and does not enter. Each one is free to do as he pleases without let or hindrance, yet he will rarely do another injury.

Their old people, even though they are only able to crawl about and are a source of trouble and have nothing to bequeath to anyone, are faithfully cared for by their friends who seem to wish that their lives should be prolonged. That they are unmerciful and insensible towards the poor and needy may not be said of them. Even strangers who have no friends are

614 social unit was exogamous remains indeterminate; in the *nineteenth* century the clans, but not the phratries, were found to be exogamous.

615 For the seventeenth century there is no evidence that the phratries functioned as sub-tribes and it seems safer for the present to assume that this was a later development.

Political Organization

622 623 Heads of families, warriors and aged men from all the local groups made up the councils of the bands and tribe. They were consultants of a chief whose position was hereditary through the female line (Penn, p. 39; Lindstrom, p. 205). In the following description of a conference between Penn and the Delaware, the relationship between the council and chief as well as their method of conducting such a meeting are elucidated:

> "Every King hath his Council, and that consists of all the Old and Wise men of his Nation, which perhaps is two hundred People: nothing of Moment is undertaken, be it War, Peace, Selling of Land or Traffick, without advising with them; and which is more, with the Young Men too...
>
> I have had occasion to be in Council with them upon Treaties for Land, and to adjust the terms of Trade; their Order is thus: The King sits in the middle of an half Moon, and hath his Council, the Old and Wise on each hand; behind them, or at a little distance, sit the younger Fry, in the same figure. Having consulted and resolved their business, the King ordered one of them to speak to me, he stood up, came to me, and in the Name of his King saluted me, then took me by the hand, and told me, That he was ordered by his King to speak to me, and that now it was not he, but the King that spoke, becausewhat he should say, was the King's mind...
>
> During the time that this Person spoke, not a man of them was observed to whisper or smile; the Old, Grave, the Young, Reverend in their Deportment; they do speak little, but fervently, and with Elegancy..."

The points made here by Penn are all confirmed by later writers (Penn, pp. 40-42; Harrington, 1913, p. 211; Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 107-11; Ziesberger, 1910, pp. 92-93.).

622 The most important duties of these chiefs, before the advent of the whites, were probably to help settle quarrels among their people, be official host to all outside visitors and to confer with the council of the whole tribe which met under a head chief, who was always of the Turtle phratry. The position of this head chief and the constituency and duties of his council were the same as that of the band chiefs in relation to their members. In addition, he officially represented

the Lenape in dealings with other tribes and was entrusted with the protection of the tribal bag of records or mementoes. Interestingly enough, succession to this post was only partially hereditary, being the result of selection by the chiefs of the other two divisions from within a certain prescribed range of the male relatives of the old chief. Any chief might be deposed for improper or incompetent handling of affairs (Ruttenber, pp. 47-48; Harrington, 1913, p. 211; Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 107-11; Zeisberger, 1910, pp. 93-95). 622

Use of pictographic symbols and colored wampum to express meaning were two methods by which the chief could communicate with the bands in tangible form [11] (Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 109 and 130-31). One author also credits them with a special language used only in wartime to prevent their enemies from understanding their communications (Lindstrom, p. 204). 212 198

War

The powers of civil government were suspended in time of war and direction fell into the hands of the "captains", as they were usually called by the old writers. Little was written of Lenape customs in warfare during the early colonial period when most of the Delaware wars were against other tribes and seldom against the white settlers. The following section based on eighteenth century material is inserted th give a more complete picture of Delaware life rather than for comparative purposes. 721 648

The position of captain was achieved through leading several successful missions against enemy forces; that is, missions in which greater amounts of goods, prisoners and scalps were brought back than were lost. Most frequently, boys who aimed at the achievement of this status did so as the result of an adolescent vision. Those who succeeded were usually those who had had such a vision, which is not surprising as they would be likely to be fortified with greater assurance and more assiduous training (Ziesberger, 1910, p. 101; Loskiel, p. 142). 726

A chief could not declare war without the unanimous consent of his warrior chiefs; if they were unanimous in favoring war, he could not refuse to "accept the hatchet" (Loskiel, p. 144; Ruttenber, p. 48; Ziesberger, 1910, p. 98). Peace, on the other hand, could only be made effective by the chief whose decision in this matter had to be accepted by the warriors. 721

War, according to a partisan of the Delawares, was declared as a result of other tribes hunting in their territory, murder of a member of their tribe by an outsider, or robbery from a Delaware camp (Heckewelder, 1881, p. 175). Add to these causes the desire to confiscate property of other tribes for glory, and the list would be more complete (Loskiel, p.143).

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
NM7 Delaware NM7

CHAPTER X.

Concerning the Marriage of the American People and the Treatment [Used] by the Savage Females Against Birth Pangs.

These Indians are a bestial people and have their intercourse together with father, mother, brother and sister like irrational brutes, no one knowing rightly who is the father of the child;[1] but their sachem or chief he must take a wife to himself, not because he intends to conceive children with her alone, but because his government and household exists as under a family,[2] about which we shall obtain further [details] hereafter. This his wife, she must manage his entire household like a matron who always, in the absence of the sachem, must guard his property, which becomes her possession after his death.

When she has thus been wooed by him, the bride must bedeck [herself] for a year and a day,[3] although they do not know what a year means, yet

[1] Lindeström's religious zeal led him astray; besides he did not understand the family life of the Indians. Some early writers state that Indians of this district had but one wife, except the chiefs, who had many. Their ideas of morality were of course different from those of the white settlers. De Vries tells us that an Indian would lend his wife to a friend, and that jealousy did not exist among them.

[2] *Hans undherhafwande Regiment ock Hwshåldningh bestådr lijka som undher een familia.* In other words, according to Lindeström, the government is patriarchal, the chief being like the father of a household, hence it is necessary to have a mother of the household. Cf. in this connection a summary on "The Chief of the Indian Clan," by Rudolf Elander (Gothenburg, 1909).

[3] "A year and a day," see above, *Dedication*, note 23.

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
NM7 Delaware NM7

CHAPTER XIV

Concerning the Origin, Warfare, Government and Guns of the American Savage People.

Concerning this,[1] [it can be said that] those who 622
are the sachems of the Indians do not know how to take such into observation; but those who are rulers retain the mastery and command, children after children, those who are male persons, whose subjects are to be submissive and obedient, which they [also] are,[2] attempting nothing else than to live up to that [which] they are commanded [to do], and in case they do otherwise, then he who is sachem holds them to strict justice that he without pardon,[3] when [someone is] caught in the act, consigns the same to death. And if any savage 628
of one nation kills one of another, immediately he[4] sends one of his subjects to the same nation and stealthily has one of them killed, whereby at once war is caused between them. Further, they follow 671
no other law or justice, but in whatever manner anyone unjustly suffers from the other, they immediately revenge on one another, like for like.[5]

[1] Concerning the origin of the government, *i.e.*, the chiefship of the Indians. The idea is that the sachems do not know anything about the origin of the people or of their own families, or how their families at first were raised to the rank of rulers.

[2] *Thet the och äro.* "This word and the next, are words of great flattery which they use each to other, but constantly to their Princes at their speeches, for which, if they be eloquent, they esteeme them Gods as Herod among the *Jewes.*" Williams, *Key*, 63.

[3] *Uthan pardon.*

[4] The chief.

[5] "If any robbery fall out in Travell, between Persons of diverse States, the offended State sends for Justice; if no Justice bee

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
NM7 Delaware NM7

In military matters and warfare these Indians are brave, using no other arms but rifles, bows, spears, arrows and quarrels, which are set with sharp flint [stones], and they use helmets which are made of sticks and wood, so strong that no quarry is able to go through it. They show no reverence or honor to their ruler, which their sachem does not require of them, but their sachem may come to sit just as soon last as first, thus and in other such things [they show no preference for their sachems].[6]

They know nothing of taxation and they are entirely ignorant of architecture and fortifications.[7]

Since I in this chapter have mentioned something about muskets, I will not neglect to say that in the year 1380 the art to shoot with guns was invented in Germany by a monk and alchemist by the name of Bartholdh Schwartz.[8]

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granted and recompence made, they grant out a kind of Letter of Mart to take satisfaction themselves, yet they are carefull not to exceed in taking from others, beyond the proportion of their owne losse." Williams, *Key*, 76–7.

[6] Perhaps my copy is defective here.

[7] *Medh Architecteurer ooh Fortificationer att umgådz är them aldeeles okunnigt.* Cf. Hodge, *Handbook*, I, 77 ff.

[8] Berthold Schwarz (Constantin Anklitzen(?)) of Freiburg(?), inventor of artillery and probably of gunpowder.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

crease or decrease in population, although the Delaware had increased some three hunderd in number.[1]

Most of the Delaware are living on their allotments scattered through the territory originally reserved for the Cherokee. Few of their allotments are contiguous, due to the exigencies of the allotting and to the fact that many of the farms have been sold when restrictions were removed. Very few of them were fortunate enough to have oil on their lands. They either farm their fields or cash rent them. Judging from the state of repair of the houses, those that farm their own fields are more prosperous than those who rent them out. This distinction is also recognized by the Indians. The majority probably rent their fields and subsist on the small cash return, aided by the produce from their gardens, old age pensions, and other occasional sources of income. There is very little in the appearance of their houses to distinguish them from their white neighbors. Clothes and automobiles also reflect their economic status in the same way that these items do for their white neighbors.

After their incorporation with the Cherokee, the Delaware maintained their own chieftainships for a time. As the functions of these clan heads ceased, so did the rules for the filling of the offices and the need for keeping them filled. The last of the clan chiefs died about 1900. Since that time only chiefs for the entire Delaware group in northeastern Oklahoma have been elected. These were elected mostly for business purposes—to have an official representative to treat with the Federal Government on annuities and other money matters. In the election each of the three tribal divisions, Turtle, Wolf, and Turkey nominated a candidate. The man getting the most votes was elected chief and the one getting the next highest number became assistant chief. The last election was held about 1917. The chief who was elected then died about 1935, and since that time there has been no recognized chief.

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[1] Pratt, John G., to J. R. Doolittle, September 15, 1865, in *Condition of the Indian Tribes. Report of the Joint Special Committee . . .* (*Senate Reports*, 39 Congress, 2 session, No. 156, Washington, D. C., 1867), Appendix, p. 483.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

J. W. said twelve yards was the required amount of wampum. 681
W. T. said four feet was all that was necessary. 682
W. L. said fifty yards for a man, but one hundred for a woman.

256 to 259. Revenge of murder

VAN DER DONCK—Murder or personal injuries are not attended to by the chief, or friends, except for the purpose of reconciling the parties, for which they use all possible means, and give liberally to effect their object when the offender is deficient in means, which is usually the case. A murder among them is never atoned for without heavy payment. The nearest relative by blood is always the avenger, and if he finds the murderer within twenty-four hours after the act, he is slain instantly, but if the murderer can save himself until one day is past, and the avenger slays him afterwards, then he is liable to be pursued and slain in like manner. A murderer seldom is killed after the first twenty-four hours are past, but he must flee and remain concealed; when the friends endeavour to reconcile the parties, which is frequently agreed to, on condition, that the nearest relatives of the murderer, be they men, women, or children, on meeting the relatives of the person murdered, must give way to them. 627 682

J. W. and W. L. said revenge might not be taken by relatives but by two or three men appointed by chief.

264. Desertion of children

E. R. said that desertion of children was settled in the family. 682

HUNTING

318. Ceremonies

LINDESTRÖM—Now as soon as the winter bids good night, they begin with their hunts, which is done with a fine innovation. Now at that time of the year the grass which grows there, as has been said, is as dry as hay. When now the sachem wants to arrange his hunt, then commands his people [to take a position] close together in a circle of ½, or 1 or 2 miles, according to the number of people at his command. In the first place each one 224 622

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

224 roots up the grass in the position, [assigned to him] in the cir-
622 cumference, to the width of about 3 or 4 ells, so that the fire will not be able to run back, each one then beginning to set fire to the grass, which is mightily ignited, so that the fire travels away, in towards the center of the circle, which the Indians follow with great noise, and all the animals which are found within the circle, flee from the fire and the cries of the Indians, traveling away, whereby the circle through its decreasing is more and more contracted towards the center. When now the Indians have surrounded the center with a small circle, so that they mutually cannot do each other any harm, then they break loose with guns and bows on the animals which they then have been blessed with, that not one can escape and thus they get a great multitude of all kinds of animals which are found there.

[782 776] 796 The first hunt of the year which they thus obtain (they consecrate to Manitto). When they first have eaten their fill of it and enjoyed their feast they make a burnt offering of the remaining, which they sacrifice to Manitto, i. e., the Devil, but not one animal of it do [they] sell, believing that they through this later will get in their hunt so much the greater blessing. Then they sing and dance and when they become jolly and happy then they cry and sing thus namely: *Hägginj, hä, hä, hä; Häggінj hä; Häggінj hä, Häggінj hä, hä, hä, hä,* etc. Thus repeating and continuing so long a time, so that it reaches well over the forest.

338. Celebration on returning from hunting

[782 776] W. T. said that prayers to the Great Spirit were made at this time, desiring that the favors shown the people be continued as they were appreciated.

CONSTITUTION, PERSONAL APPEARANCE, DRESS, ETC.

342. Extirpation of beard

302 J. W. said that formerly the beard was pulled out but that
[142] recently the occasional use of a razor was all that was necessary. W. T. and E. R. said that they never had any beards.

[P. 37, A]

562 fulness, in comparison with the men, may
157 have been owing to the fact that they were much more restricted in childhood than their brothers. Nowhere in Delaware society was there the model of anyone
592 with coercive authority; neither mother nor
622 father ruled the roost at home in an
625 authoritarian sense, the sachems had no power to enforce their wishes, and there was no conception of a state with police
586 powers. Divorce was easy and frequent and could be initiated by either party simply leaving the other.[36] Supernatural
776 beings were not Jehovah-like Gods who regularly punished the wicked and rewarded the good; the Delaware reckoned rather with a supernatural guardian spirit who acted as a comrade and friend who would assist his mortal protege in critical passes. Shame and pride are more frequent themes than guilt and self-righteousness;
577 Speck (referring to twentieth-century Oklahoma Delawares) says, "Spiritual purity . . . is not conditioned by ethical conduct, but rather . . . through the observance of taboo regulations prescribed by ancient rulings.[37]

155 It would seem to be a fair inference that
577 the Delaware often did not develop a strong authoritarian, coercive conscience; moral values (which certainly were recognized) did not possess an awesome, mosaic character; "good" and "bad" had a light affective tone.

114 Zeisberger, who as a Moravian believed
626 in less discipline and autocracy than was fashionable in eighteenth century Europe, was still puzzled as to how a society without authority could hold together. "Judged by the mere appearance of the Indians," he wrote, "one is surprised how modest and careful they are in relation to each other and imagines that the whites, if they were as free a people and had neither government nor punishment to fear, would not be as united and peaceable as the Indians
626 appear to be."[38] This superficial smooth-

36. Heckewelder, 1819, p. 154; Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 20-21.
37. Speck, 1931, p. 51.
38. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 122.

[p 51 (C)]

614 611 so now where the father and mother were of different tribes. This is a very interesting fact, as it is the first exception, if true, in the Algonquin race which I have found. Mr. Pratt informs me that he understands the children are of the tribe of the mother, [797] and he has been their missionary for twelve years and for 22 years an Indian missionary. I shall verify this perfectly before I leave. The young man also says that the 622 office of chief was hereditary in the tribe, as he thought, and that a brother or nephew succeeded as frequently as a son, but he was not quite sure on this subject. He gave me 535 the names of 16 of the dances, all he could remember, which will be given later.

602 He said the Delawares thought a good deal more of their relationships than we did, and if there was the least particle of relationship they were glad to find it. He [582] says that in old times near relatives could not marry, but now they married as near as our cousins.

Family Names

551 We took up this inquiry. He says one tribe has no right to use the names of another tribe, as he thinks, and he also says the names can be readily distinguished from one another, but I must inquire further about this. He seemed to think the same name might be used by another tribe, in which case it would be slightly varied. The real truth about the distinctness of the Indian names constantly eludes me.[82A] I shall soon think there is nothing in it.

[82A] [For footnote see category 116, p. 209 (A) — Analyst]

15:Morgan E-5 (1859)1959
NM7 Delaware NM7

[#52(c)]

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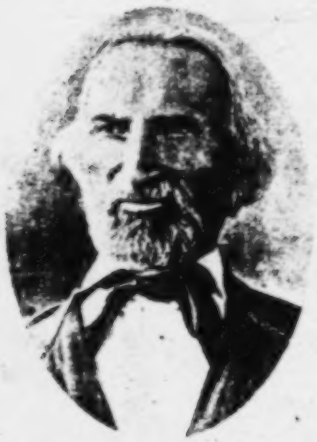

Charles Journeycake (Johnny Cake) was a chief, and a prominent leader of the Delawares in Kansas, as well as being a widely known Baptist minister. His mother gave Morgan information about the Delawares.

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[115]
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"Yellow Tree," as the name of one of the Bands. She appeared to be about 70 years old. She was of the Wolf tribe and her husband Turtle. She said the son did not necessarily succeed the father in the office of chief, but could not explain the succession fully. A brother or a sister's son often succeeded. Captain Ketchum[84] at the time of his death was head chief, a principal chief of the Turtle Tribe of the Delawares. This title or office is hereditary as she thought in the tribe, for she said the Turtles could not have a man of the Wolf or Turkey Tribe for their chief. Ketchum's name was Ta-whe-la-na (Catch Me). He died leaving a son; but was succeeded by John Konner, the present principal or hereditary chief who was the son of the youngest sister of Cap-

622
[614]
[611]

[p 53 (A)]

622 tain Ketchum, and of the Turtle Tribe. His
[611] name was Ta-ta-ne-sha. Here we have a practical illustration of descent in the female line, as with the Iroquois. She says each of the three tribes have one hereditary chief, called the Head Chief; that this chief never goes out to war, but stays at home while the Braves go out to fight.

648 The Delawares call the Senecas Mingwa-o, hence I think the historical word Mingoes,[85] a name for the Iroquois. The Delawares call the Iroquois and Wyandottes nephews, and thus assume the name
[186] of uncles, which is a way to express their seniority as well as original superiority.

553 I inquired of her about the family names, and was again put at fault. She says the father and mother can name their children as they please; that they ask some one for a list of old names of persons dead, and choose such ones as they like. She thought the names of the three tribes were kept dis-
[614] tinct, and then that they were used by these tribes indiscriminately. She said her husband named her children, and gave them all Turtle names, which was his tribe, then followed this up by stating that she did not know as it made any difference, that all used the same names. She referred to the
[171] Seneca practice of making a feast when a child was named, but said the Delawares did not do that way.

Winter

773 Mr. Pratt mentioned a Delaware tradition
921 about the origin of cold and heat and the change of the seasons as follows. In ancient times a married pair fell into disagreement. They lived in the far north region of cold. The wife, finding it impossible to live with her husband, or in resentment for some injury, travelled into the far south, into the region of heat. The husband became weary

[54(c)]

124 I am very anxious to know. I asked an old
614 Delaware this morning, and he very coolly
582 told me that these questions were too small, by which he meant, I suppose, that it was prying into family matters rather impertinently.

614 It is by means of these subdivisions with
582 the prohibition of intermarriage that des-
611 cent in the female line is secured.

Lemuel R. Ketchum[90A] says:

622 The Delawares have three Heads or great chiefs, one for each tribe. This chief is called Sa-ke-ma. It means Principal Chief. It is the name of the office, or the title of the person equivalent to President or King. They also have two subordinate chiefs. These chiefs together are called Ka-ke-um-ha-suk, or the chiefs. The term also includes the three
[623] head chiefs, and is used in contradistinction to councillors. The office has no special name. These two are inferior. If the three head chiefs decide upon a measure the two inferior must submit, but if two of the head chiefs and the two inferior chiefs should agree and the third head chief should stand out, the thing could not be done. The principal power is with the head chiefs. The three head chiefs can never go out to war, but the two inferior chiefs may. They are not, however, called war chiefs. Besides
623 these three the wise and experienced men of the nation are called councillors or Ha-ha-che-nowlase-chick, which means simply councillors. These have a right to speak in a council of the chiefs. They can speak of their own motion without waiting to be
[562] asked by the chiefs. Women cannot speak in council.

Religious System

771 The Delawares believe in a Great Spirit,
[770] and in an Evil Spirit. They also believe in
[775] the immortality of the soul, and that they all went to heaven.

90A [For footnote, see category 116, P. 209(C)-- Analyst]

[p 55 (A)]

all went to heaven. They have one religious festival at which the Gum-win Dance is performed. This is the great religious dance. This is held once a year every fall, after the corn harvest is gathered. The festival lasts seven days. At this festival they have a number of old dances, which are still maintained among the Delawares. This Festival is called the Gum-win, from the dance. This is held for the purpose of returning thanks to the Great Spirit. They have a feast. Men, about 12, go out beforehand to hunt, and get game for the feast, particularly the deer. There is a class of persons whose business it is to appoint the time for holding this council, to prepare the feast, and supervise the business of the festival. They are both men and women, but Lemuel could not give me the name by which they are distinguished.

Marriage

Near relatives are not allowed to marry. First and second cousins are within the forbidden degrees; but third cousins under our system are allowed to marry. The names used by the several tribes are used in common. This seems to be the preferable conclusion. A young lad at the Mission told me that those of the same subdivision of the same tribe can intermarry if not too near of kin, but the fact is that they are all of near kin.

Succession of [Head] Chiefs

Upon the death of a head chief of the Turtle Tribe, the three other subdivisions meet in council to agree upon a successor who must be of the same subdivision of the tribe with the deceased, and is either a brother of the deceased or a sister's son. The second chief has the first speech, and the War Chief last, and enumerates the persons who

[455 (B)]

614 have expressed themselves in favor of the
622 person nominated. If they disagree, I have
623 not ascertained how it is adjusted. After the person is agreed upon, then all the chiefs meet in council and perform the ceremony of investing him with his office.

622 The war chiefs are selected and made such by the Head Chief without consulting the people, but not so with the Head Chief.

241 The Delawares are very well advanced as agriculturalists. When Mr. Pratt came
342 among them 12 years ago, as he informs me,
177 they were living in bark houses. Now many of them are living in frame houses two stories and 2½ stories high, some with a veranda in front the whole length, and they have good barns and outbuildings. Some of
231 them have herds of cattle from 25 to 100
422 and have from 5 to 20 swine, sheep, wagons, and all kinds of farming implements. Their future prospects are certainly very flattering if they push on as they have here. Their
648 women are interfered with a good deal by
563 the whites, and they are quick to marry
557 white husbands, as they seem to regard that as advancing. It would be so were their husbands respectable.

657 With their large annuity of $50,000 per annum, the best timbered lands in the state, and sufficient of them to give them all large farms, there is no reason why they should not become both agriculturalists and respectable citizens of the state. When they
000 become wealthy farmers as some of them now are, their children will intermarry respectably with our white people, and thus the children will become respectable and, if educated, in the second and third generations will become beautiful and attractive. This is to be the end of the Indian absorption of a small portion, which will improve and toughen our race, and the residue run out or forced into the regions of the mountains.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

CHAPTER VII.

GOVERNMENT.

ALTHOUGH the Indians have no code of laws for their government, their chiefs find little or no difficulty in governing them. They are supported by able experienced counsellors; men who study the welfare of the nation, and are equally interested with themselves in its prosperity. On them the people rely entirely, believing that what they do, or determine upon, must be right and for the public good.

Proud of seeing such able men conduct the affairs of their nation, the Indians are little troubled about what they are doing, knowing that the result of their deliberations will be made public in due time, and sure that it will receive their approbation. This result is made known to them by the chief through the orator, for which purpose they are called together and assemble at the council house; and if it be found necessary, to require a contribution of *wampum*, for carrying the decision of the chiefs into effect, it is cheerfully complied with by the whole assembly.

The chiefs are very careful in preserving for their own information, and that of future generations, all important deliberations and treaties made at any time between them and other nations. Thus, between the years 1770 and 1780, they could relate very minutely, what had passed between William Penn and their forefathers, at their first meeting and afterwards, and also the transactions which took place with the governors who succeeded him. For the purpose of refreshing their own memories, and of instructing one or more of their most capable and promi-

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

Their belts of wampum are of different dimensions, both as to the length and breadth. White and black wampum are the kinds they use; the former denoting that which is *good*, as peace, friendship, good will &c., the latter the reverse; yet occasionally the black also is made use of on peace errands, when the white cannot be procured; but previous to its being produced for such purpose, it must be daubed all over with chalk, white clay, or any thing which changes the colour from black to white. The pipe of peace, being either made of a black or red stone, must also be whitened before it is produced and smoked out of on such occasions.

Roads from one friendly nation to another, are generally marked on the belt, by one or two rows of white wampum interwoven in the black, and running through the middle, and from end to end. It means that they are on good terms, and keep up a friendly intercourse with each other.

A black belt with the mark of a hatchet made on it with red paint, is a war belt, which when sent to a nation together with a twist or roll of tobacco, is an invitation to join in a war. If the nation so invited smoke of this tobacco and say it smokes well, they have given their consent, and are from that moment allies. If however they decline smoking, all further persuasion would be of no effect; yet it once happened, that war messengers endeavoured to persuade and compel a nation to accept the belt, by laying it on the shoulders or thigh of the chief, who, however, after shaking it off without touching it with his hands, afterwards, with a stick, threw it after them, as if he threw a snake or toad out of his way.

Although at their councils they do not seat themselves after the manner of the white people, yet the attitude they place themselves in is not chargeable to them as a want of respect. Faithful to the trust committed to them, they are careless of ceremonies, from which the

[erratum. See cat. 116, p. 378. Analyst]

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

623 nation cannot derive any benefit. They seat themselves promiscuously around a council fire, some leaning one way, some another, so that a stranger on viewing them, might be led to conclude they were inattentive to what was said, or had become tired of attending. Not so! even sitting in this posture gives them the opportunity of being intent on what is said, and attentive to the subject under their consideration. They have no object to look at, which might draw off their attention. They are all ears, though they do not stare at the speaker! The fact is, that nothing can draw their attention from the subject they are deliberating on, unless the house they are sitting in should take fire, or be attacked by an enemy.

To prove the correctness of the above assertion, I shall relate the following fact, which happened at Detroit in the winter of 1785 and 1786.

When two most audacious murderers of the Chippeway nation, who, for many months, had put the town and whole country in fear, by their threats and the daring murders they had committed in the settlement, were taken, and brought before the commandant, (their chiefs having been previously sent for, and being now assembled in the council house,) heard him pronounce the words; "that according to the laws of their Father (the "English) they should be punished with death," the younger of the two, who was the son of the other, sprang from his seat, and having forced his way to the door, endeavoured with a knife or dagger he had hidden under his blanket, to work his way through the strong guard placed outside of the door and in the street to prevent their escape; in this attempt, however, he was stabbed and fell; all which occasioned much noise and commotion without, and not a little fear and uneasiness within, among the spectators and officers of government; yet, not one of the chiefs, who were many in number, either moved from his

[recede. See cat. 116, p. 348. - Ana'lyst]

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7

622 In the seventeenth century sachems had limited power and authority and, incredibly in the eyes of Europeans, had no special servants, prerogatives, or the like.[148] Pastorius, for instance, in a letter written in 1694 said:

> These very kings go forth with the others to hunt, shoot the wild animals, and support themselves by the work of their own hands. They have neither servants nor lacqueys, neither housemaids nor court-ladies, and what use has one for a master of horse who keeps no horse, but always goes on foot? In like manner, no court-steward is needed, where there is no one to be cared for besides one's self and one's wife and children.[149]

In the seventeenth century these clan leaders owed allegiance to no [69] higher authority; there were no tribal chiefs.[150] By the eighteenth century leaders had appeared who wielded much more power over larger groups.

● 623 Despite the little real authority which sachems had, their councils were solemn, ceremonial occasions. Penn and Denton provide early and clear descriptions of how these men governed; their accounts are confirmed by a number of other investigators:[151]

> Every king hath his council; and that consists of all the old and wise men of his nation, which perhaps is two hundred people. Nothing of moment is undertaken, be it war, peace, selling of land, or traffic, without advising with them, and, which is more, with the young men too. It is admirable to consider how powerful the kings are, and yet how they move by the breath of their people. I have had occasion to be in council with them upon treaties for land, and to adjust the terms of trade. Their order is thus: The king sits in the middle of an half-moon, and has his council, the old and wise, on each hand. Behind them, or at a little distance, sit the younger fry in the same figure.[152]

Denton said:

> When their King or Sachem sits in Council he hath a company of armed men to guard his person, great respect being shown him by the People, which is principally manifested by their silence: After he hath declared the cause of their convention he demands their opinion, ordering who shall begin: The person ordered to speak, after he hath declared his minde tells them he hath done: no man ever interrupting any person in his speech, nor offering to speak though he make never so many or long stops, till he says he hath no more to say: the Council
> 623 having all declared their opinion, the King after some pause gives the definitive
> 681 sentence, which is commonly seconded with a shout from the people, every one seeming to applaud & manifest their assent to what is determined: If any person be condemned to die, which is seldom, unless for Murder or Incest, the King himself goes in person (for you must understand they have no prisons, and the guilty person flies into the Woods) when they go in quest of him, & having found him, the King shoots first, though at never such a distance, & then happy is the man can shoot him down, & cut off his — which they commonly wear, who for his pains is made some Captain or other military officer.[153]

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[148]Lindestrom, 1925, p. 208; Thomas, 1912, p. 335; De Laet, 1909, pp. 57-58; Van der Donck, 1909, p. 202.

[149]Pastorius, 1912, pp. 425-26.

[150]Lindestrom, 1925, pp. 138-50.

[151]Holm, 1834, p. 133; Thomas, 1912, p. 335; Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 107-11; Zeisberger, 1910, pp. 93-93; Harrington, 1913, p. 211.

[152]Penn, 1882, pp. 364-65.

[153]Denton, 1845, p. 10.

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426 672 If a debtor is unable to pay, the creditor duns his friends, who must pay and rarely refuse to do so. Occasionally, the debts of friends must be paid years after they were contracted, even after the death of the debtor, if only the debt can be proven.

685 A purchaser, dissatisfied with what he has bought or the price paid, is allowed to return what he has purchased and recover what was paid. One who has done an injury, killed a hog or chicken or occasioned loss in some other way, and obstinately refuses to make good the injury, cannot be touched. His friends may make good the loss. Should the offender, in the long run, not heed the admonitions of his friends, they will drive him away.

721 Hence, it is that in wars with whites practically all the tribes have been involved more or less. If the nation, as such, has taken no part in the war, these unmanageable offenders have gone with the fighting peoples, despite the warnings and threats of the chiefs. The same is true of the present conflict.[223] The Delaware chiefs had determined at its beginning to remain neutral, daily admonishing their people not to allow themselves to be persuaded to go into the war. The nation as such remained true to the determination of the chiefs, being constantly and earnestly watched, but obstinate offenders took part against all order and command.

619 Though the Indians are a free people and not subject to the rule of any one, each nation, considering itself a unit, has a kind of government of its own choosing, imperfect as it may be. This holds good of all the North American nations. A nation is constituted of three principal Tribes, the first or leading tribe is called *Packgango*, i. e., the tribe of the great Tortoise, the second, *Blem*, the Turkey Tribe, the third, *Ptucksit*, the Wolf 622 Tribe. Each of the tribes has its chief and each chief his coun- ● 623 sellors. The chief of the Tortoise Tribe is the first in rank and, together with the other two chiefs, deals with all matters of national interest, particularly, such as have reference to nations with whom, according to treaty, friendly relations are to be cultivated. A chief may not presume to rule over the people, as in that case he would immediately be forsaken by the whole tribe, and his counsellors would refuse to assist him. He must

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ingratiate himself with the people and stand by his counsellors. 622
Hence, it is that the chiefs are generally friendly, gracious, hos- 623
pitable, communicative, affable and their house is open to every Indian. Even strangers who come on business put up in the chief's house and are accommodated with the best it affords. The ambassadors of other nations generally lodge with the chief 648
and they are well cared for. If their number is too great, and it 622
has happened in connection with weighty affairs concerning 623
several nations that ten or twenty men of other nations have arrived at the principal chief's house, they are put into a separate house and provided with every thing at the public expense, the counsellors taking care that they are entertained most hospitably in order that the nation may be in good repute amongst other nations.

In externals a chief has no advantages above others. He 622
must provide for his own maintenance, for no one is under any obligation to supply his wants. His wife, whose duty it is to provide sufficient corn for the year, is usually assisted by other women in her plantations, for much corn is required in such a house. If the chief is young and able to hunt he will, his official duties permitting, occasionally join the chase. He will even secure his own firewood as far as possible. In case he is old his friends, of whom there are usually many, and other Indians will furnish him with game, especially if he be popular.

The council house is either the house of the chief, which is 623
commonly large and roomy, or a building erected for that pur- 344
pose. Here public councils are held, that is, such where messages which have arrived from whites or other Indians are published. Every one may listen and the messages are also discussed. In case there is something of particular importance to consider, only the chief and the counsellors assemble and determine upon the matter. The old chief Netawatwes[259] used to lay all affairs of state before his council for consideration. When they gave him their opinion, he either approved of it or indicated what was missing or not correct in the speech, upon which they would make the necessary amendments. Thus he kept them active and was held in great esteem. 211

The chief has the council bag in his possession, as also the 217
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treaties that have been made with the governors of the provinces and other documents, although they are not able to read. These constitute the archives, where all messages and reports are kept. With each message or speech there are one or more strings or belts of wampum. These, with the message or speech after the latter have been properly considered and answered, are deposited in the archives.[200] In connection with such a message there may be a string or belt to each point, for as soon as the deliverer of a message has finished with a point he gives over a string or belt to the chief, gets out another and continues to speak until his message has been fully delivered when he announces that he has done. If the strings and belts are handed about from one to another in the council this is an indication that the message is being favorably received. It may happen, however, that the chief does not take the belt into his hands but pushes it to one side with a stick, in which case no one will touch it. The messenger who has brought it must in this case take it back. This signifies that his message does not find approbation and it is accounted a disgrace. Such a rejected belt may be a war belt summoning the people to war, or it may be a belt admonishing them to maintain peace, or something else that is not agreeable may be required.

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[439]
The wampum which Europeans make and barter to the Indians is made of sea-mussel shells. One variety is quite white, the other dark violet, a quarter of an inch in length, an eighth of an inch in thickness and round. A hole is bored lengthwise through each shell, large enough to admit a heavy cord. They are strung like beads. Wampum constitutes the money of the Indians. Two hundred shells cost a buck hide, [435] or a Spanish dollar.[201] Before the white people came they had no such wampum for want of proper instruments to make it.[202] The white are a little less in value than the dark.

Strings are made of the beads that have been strung as described. Two, four or six placed side by side and properly fastened form a string. A string is usually half a yard long, sometimes longer. Upon delivery of a string a long speech may be made and much said upon the subject under consideration.

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But when a belt is given few words are spoken, and they must be words of great importance, frequently requiring an explanation. Belts are of pure wampum worked in all manner of clever forms by the Indian women, they being informed in each case what the figures must be, inasmuch as the figures must correspond with the message. A belt is three or four inches broad and about a yard long.[263] Neither color nor the other quantities of wampum are matters of indifference, but have an immediate reference to those things which they are meant to confirm. A white string of belt signifies a good message and such a belt may have figures in dark wampum. If a treaty is to be made or renewed with another nation the message is commonly accompanied by a Road Belt. This is a white belt with two rows of black wampum running the entire length with a white row between the two black rows also running the entire length of the belt. This signifies that the way from one nation to another has been cleared of all brush, trees and stones. At the ends of the belt the two nations are likewise represented by two small dark spots. If a string or belt of wampum is intended to confirm a warning against evil or an earnest reproof the belt delivered is in black. When a nation is called upon to go to war or war declared against it the belt is black or marked with red, having in the middle the figure of an hatchet in white wampum. A peace belt is quite white, a fathom long and a hand broad and of not inconsiderable value.

A chief has more use for the white wampum than the black. In particular cases and upon extraordinary occasions a voluntary contribution of wampum is made by the whole tribe or nation. The rich are considered as principal supporters of the chiefs and furnish them with wampum in an emergency, which rarely occurs more than once in three years. The usual expenses are defrayed from the treasury chest of the council, which is never empty, because when wampum is paid out usually an equal amount comes in. In general the chief does not speak in council, but has his speaker to whom he communicates his sentiments briefly and leaves him to expatiate on them. The latter must be able to put the whole matter in a speech well arranged, which requires a clear and open understanding, a faithful mem-

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624 ory, experience in the affairs of the state and a knowledge of the formal language employed in council, which differs as much from the common language as does the language used by the whites in legal procedure, from the language of ordinary intercourse.

202 When a message is to be sent, this is entrusted to two or more messengers. One of these is to be the speaker, the others being ready to remind him of anything he might forget. A message is formally entrusted to ambassadors at a meeting of the Council. It is repeated a number of times and the one appointed speaker of the messengers must in turn repeat it several times, until he is able to deliver the message with facility and in proper form. The messengers are then fitted out with necessaries for the journey and dispatched. As the whole of a message is to be delivered verbally, a speaker must be a sensible and reliable man. Young men, destined for such service, are admitted as hearers to the council, where they may learn much. Any one employed as messenger is held in high regard. They must be young men, of great endurance on the march, who will not be stopped by bad weather or high waters. On occasions of extreme importance, as in time of war, messengers may have to be on the march night and day, finding their way in the darkest night on paths that a white man could scarce follow in daytime.

●623 The council meetings are as quiet and orderly as if they were acts of devotion. Noises, talking and laughing are not heard, even though the young may be present. All pay strict attention to the speaker. The counsellors are called together by a servant and when they appear, they welcome one another, [276] shake hands and express their joy at meeting. Each brings pouch, pipe and they smoke a considerable amount of tobacco that has been mixed with dried and crushed sumac leaves. [562] Women are never admitted to the council; in matters of public interest they may stand about the house and listen, and they account it an honor when they are admitted, to hand victuals and keep up the fire. Provisions must always be in plenty in the council-house, for eating and deliberating alternate.

The principal chief, either himself or through a speaker, sets forth the subjects that shall engage the attention of the

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council in a solemn speech. If the subjects are of great importance all who take part in the discussion stand as they speak. Each counsellor has the liberty to utter his sentiments and having made his speech, sits down. No one interrupts the speaker but all sit silent and attentive as if engaged in an act of devotion. The speeches are delivered in a pleasing manner and the words of the speakers flow as readily as if they were read from a manuscript. Whoever visits such an assembly, whether white man or savage Indian, cannot but be profoundly impressed.

A subject is often very thoroughly and extendedly discussed. The chiefs and counsellors in turn give their opinions and suggestions. When all have spoken, one of them is called upon to sum up the principal parts of all the speeches in a concise manner. This is done extempore and the necessary amendments proposed, every subject being brought into as short and comprehensive statement as possible. Before deliberations begin, the strings and belts of wampum must be placed in due order, for whatever is said without being confirmed by them is considered vain and without effect. They are so accustomed to this that when they communicate the contents of a message, merely in private conversation, they cannot do so without something in their hands, a strap, a ribbon or a blade of grass. Holding some such thing in his hand the speaker will recount the points in proper order as with the strings or belts of wampum thereto belonging.

When chiefs are compelled to give answer to a proposition of which they do not approve, but which they have consented to consider because they did not wish openly to offer an affront, they are able to frame their reply in so figurative and equivocal a style as to allow of almost any desired interpretation or application. Those who receive such an answer, know as little after the reply has been given as before, but are ashamed to ask further, lest they should be regarded as stupid and because chiefs are supposed to understand everything.

When treaty of peace is made with another nation it is determined that it shall last as long as sun and moon shine or rise and set, as long as the stars are in the heavens and the rivers

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were too powerful for them, they pretended that it would not be good for the nations to wage war continually and that one nation ought to be the woman and that nation must be the Delawares, as they were the greatest warriors. Afterward they alleged that they had conquered the Delawares. In the war which began in 1755 and lasted until the sixties the Delawares challenged the Six Nations on the occasion of a Treaty in Pittsburg, but the latter returned no answer."[22] 648

Of late years the Delawares have amazingly increased in reputation through the wise management of the Chief Netawatwes. This man spared no pains to gain the friendship of all the nations. He sent frequent embassies to the grandchildren, and showed himself a true grandfather. When the Delawares sent a message to the allied nations, the speech began with each string or belt of wampum, "Grand-children;" the nations address the Delawares, "Grandfather." The Wyondats and Six Nations are addressed "Uncle," and the Europeans, "Brother." The speech is generally addressed directly to the chief, though meant for the whole nation.

The nations generally addressed the French as "Father," when the latter were in possession of Canada and had intercourse with them. The same appellation was transferred to the English when they conquered Canada. In the other colonies Europeans and Indians called one another "Brothers." This practice was followed by Sir William Johnson.

Indians explain the origin of Nations and their names by saying, and this not unlikely, that the inhabitants of towns or districts named themselves according to the places where they dwelt. Thus even at the present time Delawares who live in Goschachgünk are commonly called Goschachgiwak, that is Goschachgühlser — "people of Goschachgünk." [773]

A message sent or a speech in council goes or is delivered in the name of the three tribes, signifying the three chiefs. The Turtle tribe is named first, next the Wolf Tribe and the Turkey Tribe last. 202 623 648

When a message is returned, not having been accepted, the belt or string of wampum that has been rejected is thrown on the floor of the council house, after it has been announced why

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202 the message was not welcome. The refusal is considered a great
●623 affront and no one of the chiefs or counsellors will touch the
648 rejected wampum belt or string. This lies on the floor, the men of the Council leaving the place, until some old woman removes it.

622 Concerning usages and ceremonies connected with the election of a chief the following should have been added. If a chief of the Turtle Tribe is to be elected his own tribe does not choose him but the chiefs of the other two tribes do this. Similarly, if a chief of the Wolf or Turkey Tribe were to be elected, the tribe concerned would have no part in the election. The election is conducted in the following manner. As each tribe lives in a town of its own, the two chiefs, upon whom the election devolves, meet with their counsellors and people at an appointed place, and after all necessary preparations have been made — some thirty belts of wampum are required and a number of speeches arranged for — they move in a procession toward the town where the election is to take place. The two chiefs head the procession and one of them sings along the whole way the speeches that are to be made to the chief about to be elected, singing in a tone used on this and no other occasion. Thus they, still singing, enter the town where the chief is to be elected. They find everything prepared for the occasion, enter the council house at the east end, pass on one side the two or three fires that have been made and sit down on the other side. Next the inhabitants of the town enter, welcome the guests by shaking their hands and sit down on the other side of the fire. One of the two chiefs, in a singing tone, opens the proceedings by explaining the object of the meeting, condoling with the chief elect, wipes the tears from his eyes, clears his ears and throat, removes all sorrow on account of the departed chief from his heart and comforts him. Next he declares him to be chief and formally fills the office made vacant by the death of the former chief. He then exhorts the young people to be obedient to their new chief, whenever he shall require their assistance, and explains to them how they are to conduct themselves toward the chief. The speech is confirmed by means of two belts of

614 social unit was exogamous remains indeterminate; in the nineteenth century the clans, but not the phratries, were found to be exogamous.

615 For the seventeenth century there is no evidence that the phratries functioned as sub-tribes and it seems safer for the present to assume that this was a later development.

Political Organization

622 623 Heads of families, warriors and aged men from all the local groups made up the councils of the bands and tribe. They were consultants of a chief whose position was hereditary through the female line (Penn, p. 39; Lindstrom, p. 205). In the following description of a conference between Penn and the Delaware, the relationship between the council and chief as well as their method of conducting such a meeting are elucidated:

> "Every King hath his Council, and that consists of all the Old and Wise men of his Nation, which perhaps is two hundred People: nothing of Moment is undertaken, be it War, Peace, Selling of Land or Traffick, without advising with them; and which is more, with the Young Men too...
>
> I have had occasion to be in Council with them upon Treaties for Land, and to adjust the terms of Trade; their Order is thus: The King sits in the middle of an half Moon, and hath his Council, the Old and Wise on each hand; behind them, or at a little distance, sit the younger Fry, in the same figure. Having consulted and resolved their business, the King ordered one of them to speak to me, he stood up, came to me, and in the Name of his King saluted me, then took me by the hand, and told me, That he was ordered by his King to speak to me, and that now it was not he, but the King that spoke, becausewhat he should say, was the King's mind...
>
> During the time that this Person spoke, not a man of them was observed to whisper or smile; the Old, Grave, the Young, Reverend in their Deportment; they do speak little, but fervently, and with Elegancy..."

The points made here by Penn are all confirmed by later writers (Penn, pp. 40-42; Harrington, 1913, p. 211; Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 107-11; Ziesberger, 1910, pp. 92-93.).

622 The most important duties of these chiefs, before the advent of the whites, were probably to help settle quarrels among their people, be official host to all outside visitors and to confer with the council of the whole tribe which met under a head chief, who was always of the Turtle phratry. The position of this head chief and the constituency and duties of his council were the same as that of the band chiefs in relation to their members. In addition, he officially represented

	Williams	Van der Donck	Lindeström	Zeisberger	Heckewelder	Johnston	Pipe	Chippa	J. W.	W. T.	E. R.	W. L.
+ = element present									1623	1645	1781	1843
− = element denied						1683	1694	1827	1858	1789		
(+) or (−) = source ambiguous												
• = informant could not or would not say												
s = some, sometimes, or several												
† or * = see Ethnographic Notes, pp. 79-137 for additional information												
Chiefs—Continued												
237. War chief chosen through vision power				+	+				+	+	+	+
238. Body of counselors †	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
239. Name ᵛupwaenowuk							+		(+)	+	•	+
240. Chosen by people						+	+	•	+	+	+	+
241. Consider all matters of importance to tribe		+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
242. Counselors and chiefs only present at council meetings		S?		s	s	+	+	.	s	s	s	s
243. All adults except women admitted				s				+	+	s	s	s
Justice												
244. Any mode of compelling payment of debt				+		−	−	−	−	−	−	−
245. Relatives of debtor make restitution				+	+		s		+		+	+
246. Creditor uses force							s	+	*+		−	−
247. Redress for civil injuries (theft)	*+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	+
248. Injured party applies to chief		+			−		+		+		+	+
249. Any punishment inflicted by nation if restitution is made		−		−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
250. Injured party has right to kill thief on second offense		−			+			+	+		+	+
251. Murder punished	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
252. By nation	+	−	+		−		−	−	+		−	+
253. Breach closed by presents		+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
254. Amount of wampum as presents †				+	•	+	+	+	+	+	•	+
255. Lacking presents, revenge by relatives	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+
256. Revenge duty of any individual		*+			−	−	−	−	*+	•	−	*+
257. Any one interfere from duty		*+				−	•	−	−	•	•	•
258. Guilty submits	+	*−				+	+	+	+	+	•	s
259. Feud arise from revenge		*+					−	−	−	−	•	−
260. Revenge approved by nation	+		+	+		+			+	+	+	+
261. Crimes. Theft	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
262. Rape		+					+		+	+	+	+
263. Adultery	+	+		+			+	+	+	+	+	+
264. Desertion of children								+	+	(+)	*+	
265. Drunkenness and slander	+							+	+	(+)		

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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621 a nephew, his sister's son, or sister's daughter's son. The se-
614 lection of a successor might be made by an incumbent with the approval of the people. Each of the three divisions had a chief who was chosen by a general council of chiefs and wisemen, possibly with the exclusion of the tribal chiefs and wisemen of the division involved. The installation of the tribal chief was conducted by the head chiefs of the other two divisions.

643 The various sources and informants were unanimous in saying that there was a boundary between the authority of the civil chief and that of the war chief (232). The superiority of the civil chief in peace time was also affirmed by all (233). The reversal of the relative power of each in war was likewise maintained without dissent (234). Power received through visions
[781] was a prerequisite to the office of war chief (237). Captain Pipe's account made no mention of vision power, but his statement of an election similar to that of a civil chief did not preclude this requirement. W. L. stated that a man must have received power through a vision to become eligible for election as a war chief.

623 The existence of a body of wisemen or counselors was reported in every period (238). These men were chosen by the people, according to the information from the third and fourth periods (240). The accounts of the earlier periods did not touch upon this matter. The council or body of wisemen was reported throughout all periods to consider all matters of importance to the tribe (241). The functions of the council were evidently considerable; although called only by the chief, their decision after due deliberation determined the course of action of the chief (238). Women had no voice in council and were only admitted at certain times (243).

Justice

681 According to the idealistic retrospect of W. T., originally, when the Delaware had things their own way, there was no theft, murder, rape, adultery, or any other crime or misdemeanor and hence no punishments or ways of handling such matters were
000 necessary. Since debts were not discussed in detail in the first

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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Chiefs

216. Civil chieftainship hereditary 643

Captain Chipps said that the brother of a chief, if he behaves well, must be named as chief in preference to the son and that the sister's son also succeeded in preference to his own son, all of which was determined by the council.

E. R. thought that the chieftainship was hereditary but was not certain of the succession.

221. Election of civil chief

Captain Pipe—At the creation of the world the Great Spirit 643 himself resided with the Indians and regulated their intercourse 666 with each other. When he left the earth he told them that he would depute a person possessing all his own virtues, at whose death they should choose a successor having as nearly as possible the same qualifications. Since that period the office of chief has been elective, yet the election is not made by the people. Merit alone ensures to a man this distinguished honour. There is among them a body of men called *Lupwaaeenõãwuk* or Wise Men, (the [623] plural, from *Lupwaaõãkum* wisdom and *Lũnnoa* a man). These men from their conduct in early life receive the attention and respect of the aged and as they grow in years they gradually assume the power which is attached to the wise men or counselors. At length they are received as members of that powerful body and become officially interested in the proper regulation of national affairs. All civil affairs are conducted and ordered by them and when the office of chief becomes vacant they assemble and in the presence of the *people* they consult together upon the qualifications of the aspirants and having decided they appoint another meeting for his inauguration, to which, as to the first, they invite the nation generally. At the appointed time the *Lupwaaeenõãwuk* together with the elected chief and such spectators as choose to attend, assemble at a grand lodge prepared for the purpose, and one of the body in a speech adapted to the occasion declares to the people their choice and then turning to the chief addresses him on the importance of a firm, independent

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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CAPTAIN CHIPPS—They cannot be *principal chiefs* until they are 50 years old. 643

J. W.—35 to 40.

W. T.—Formerly, when Delaware lived to age of 300 years, a man had to be 70 to become a chief.

E. R.—Over 25.

W. L.—No particular age.

232. Boundary line between civil and war chief

CAPTAIN PIPE—Formerly the authority of the War and Council chiefs was distinctly defined. To use their expression, in a time of peace the war chief sat in the ashes, but upon the declaration of war the village or council chiefs took his place, and the movements of the war depended solely upon him. At this day however they have equal authority in treaties and the like, that is to say, according to their influence as men.

238. Body of counselors

JOHN JOHNSTON—The Counselors are appointed or chosen by the people according to their merit. Their duty is to assist in any good work that they are doing and to promulgate and cherish order. 623

CAPTAIN PIPE—The ceremonies attending the appointment of chief are practiced also at the reception of one of the wise men into that formidable body, excepting the placing a belt around the neck, which is not used at all. The Lupwaaeenõãwuk are not restricted to any particular number, but accessions are made of such as merit an admission from the general tenor of their lives. The members of this body, or some one of them as occasion may require, are appointed to carry into effect the orders of the chiefs, and any employment, however degrading, is considered by them an honour under such circumstances. In the distribution of annuities and of presents their services are indispensible, and while young they carry the kettles of the war parties while on the march. 643 666

Unimportant or ordinary occurrences are considered as within the superintendence of the Chiefs without consultation or advice; such as regulating the internal affairs of their villages, settling disputes, etc.; but affairs of consequence are never acted upon

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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Two shell-rattles they make of a wild creature.[1] One they call the leading rattle and the other, greater in size, is called, traditionally, timber-terrapin. And those are used when they pray every night. Here just at the right hand side of the door they place these shell-rattles. When the Master of Ceremonies arrives he says, "Now then, my brothers and my sisters, now as we begin we are approached and touched by those man-i't-u who are carrying this ceremony of worship."[2] That is how they employ them there. And both the dance-leader and his follower each hold in their hands these shell-rattles when they are dance-leading. The leading shell-rattle does not have a great sound, but that of the follower has a great sound, it is said traditionally, for he does answer when they are rattling.[3]

[1] It has been mentioned how reverential it is to put to the service of man, the body parts of wild creatures—the native wild fauna which are "pure" by contrast with the defiled animals of a domestic nature. The rattles used by the dance-leaders who sing the recitatives of their visions are shells of (Cistudo) the Box Turtle.

[2] This is a synonym for the usual term, pa·tamwe·'k·an.

[3] For illustrations of these large and small rattles see figs. 2, 15.

Every year the old men hold a council. The day is named, it is talked over, and they decide who shall bring in the ceremony.[1] And they name the person who shall carry the six yards of wampum. And generally they name three men and three women Attendants going to see them.[2] They select the one who is willing to act as leading Attendant for the two Turkey group representatives, and the two Turtle clan representatives and the two Wolf group representatives are chosen.[3]

These leading Attendants, one and the same, belonging in the group of the Master-of-Ceremonies, he who opens the ceremony. Now when the Attendants have accepted the call, forthwith a shoulder-length of wampum they are given as a symbol of being blessed.[4] And announcement is made of what day in the future they shall go into camp at the Big House. When they finish cleaning this House[5] they also plaster it with clay and all then about outside rake it clean. Then

[1] This is the sacred duty of assuming full responsibility for the performance, the term temi·ke being a formal one.

[2] To inform them of appointment and secure their acceptance.

[3] In these terms denoting the triple social subdivisions of the Delawares (see discussion on p. 75), we encounter metaphorical conceptions of the animals designated. Thus pele·' denotes a bird of the order Gallinae, typified in Delaware by the turkey cognate throughout northern and eastern Algonkian (bineo, Ojibwa, peleo. Montagnais-Naskapi, "partridge") Puk·owa'ŋgo, denoting the tortoise group (Testudinata) literally means "sticky heels," in allusion to the dragging motion of the curious, ponderous creature in lifting his hind feet from the ground. Tu'k·wal·t, literally "round foot" is figurative for the quadrupeds which seem according to my information to include any of the mammalia.

[4] The term used is a formal religious phrase naxpango·'ma·n not translated by a single word, but which I have rendered "being given as a symbol of blessing."

[5] The informant was undecided whether or not to use the term menda·'en for the Big House, which is considered to be an old Munsee term.

[454(c)]

124 I am very anxious to know. I asked an old
614 Delaware this morning, and he very coolly
582 told me that these questions were too small, by which he meant, I suppose, that it was prying into family matters rather impertinently.

614 It is by means of these subdivisions with
582 the prohibition of intermarriage that des-
611 cent in the female line is secured.

Lemuel R. Ketchum[90A] says:

622 The Delawares have three Heads or great chiefs, one for each tribe. This chief is called Sa-ke-ma. It means Principal Chief. It is the name of the office, or the title of the person equivalent to President or King. They also have two subordinate chiefs. These chiefs together are called Ka-ke-um-ha-suk, or the chiefs. The term also includes the three
[623] head chiefs, and is used in contradistinction to councillors. The office has no special name. These two are inferior. If the three head chiefs decide upon a measure the two inferior must submit, but if two of the head chiefs and the two inferior chiefs should agree and the third head chief should stand out, the thing could not be done. The principal power is with the head chiefs. The three head chiefs can never go out to war, but the two inferior chiefs may. They are not, however, called war chiefs. Besides
623 these three the wise and experienced men of the nation are called councillors or Ha-ha-che-nowl-se-chick, which means simply councillors. These have a right to speak in a council of the chiefs. They can speak of their own motion without waiting to be
[562] asked by the chiefs. Women cannot speak in council.

Religious System

771 The Delawares believe in a Great Spirit,
[770] and in an Evil Spirit. They also believe in
[775] the immortality of the soul, and that they all went to heaven.

90A [For footnote, see category 116, p. 209(C)-- Analyst]

[p 55 (A)]

all went to heaven. They have one religious festival at which the Gum-win Dance is performed. This is the great religious dance. This is held once a year every fall, after the corn harvest is gathered. The festival lasts seven days. At this festival they have a number of old dances, which are still maintained among the Delawares. This Festival is called the Gum-win, from the dance. This is held for the purpose of returning thanks to the Great Spirit. They have a feast. Men, about 12, go out beforehand to hunt, and get game for the feast, particularly the deer. There is a class of persons whose business it is to appoint the time for holding this council, to prepare the feast, and supervise the business of the festival. They are both men and women, but Lemuel could not give me the name by which they are distinguished.

Marriage

Near relatives are not allowed to marry. First and second cousins are within the forbidden degrees; but third cousins under our system are allowed to marry. The names used by the several tribes are used in common. This seems to be the preferable conclusion. A young lad at the Mission told me that those of the same subdivision of the same tribe can intermarry if not too near of kin, but the fact is that they are all of near kin.

Succession of [Head] Chiefs

Upon the death of a head chief of the Turtle Tribe, the three other subdivisions meet in council to agree upon a successor who must be of the same subdivision of the tribe with the deceased, and is either a brother of the deceased or a sister's son. The second chief has the first speech, and the War Chief last, and enumerates the persons who

[p 55 (B)]

614 have expressed themselves in favor of the
622 person nominated. If they disagree, I have
not ascertained how it is adjusted. After the
623 person is agreed upon, then all the chiefs
meet in council and perform the ceremony
of investing him with his office.

622 The war chiefs are selected and made
such by the Head Chief without consulting
the people, but not so with the Head Chief.

241 The Delawares are very well advanced
as agriculturalists. When Mr. Pratt came
342 among them 12 years ago, as he informs me,
177 they were living in bark houses. Now many
of them are living in frame houses two
stories and 2½ stories high, some with a
veranda in front the whole length, and they
have good barns and outbuildings. Some of
231 them have herds of cattle from 25 to 100
422 and have from 5 to 20 swine, sheep, wagons,
and all kinds of farming implements. Their
future prospects are certainly very flatter-
ing if they push on as they have here. Their
648 women are interfered with a good deal by
563 the whites, and they are quick to marry
557 white husbands, as they seem to regard that
as advancing. It would be so were their hus-
bands respectable.

657 With their large annuity of $50,000 per
annum, the best timbered lands in the state,
and sufficient of them to give them all large
farms, there is no reason why they should
not become both agriculturalists and re-
spectable citizens of the state. When they
000 become wealthy farmers as some of them
now are, their children will intermarry re-
spectably with our white people, and thus
the children will become respectable and,
if educated, in the second and third gener-
ations will become beautiful and attractive.
This is to be the end of the Indian absorp-
tion of a small portion, which will improve
and toughen our race, and the residue run
out or forced into the regions of the moun-
tains.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

CHAPTER VII.

GOVERNMENT.

622 623 624 ALTHOUGH the Indians have no code of laws for their government, their chiefs find little or no difficulty in governing them. They are supported by able experienced counsellors; men who study the welfare of the nation, and are equally interested with themselves in its prosperity. On them the people rely entirely, believing that what they do, or determine upon, must be right and for the public good.

623 Proud of seeing such able men conduct the affairs of their nation, the Indians are little troubled about what they are doing, knowing that the result of their deliberations will be made public in due time, and sure that it will receive their approbation. This result is made known to them by the chief through the orator, for which purpose they are called together and assemble at the council house; and if it be found necessary, to require a contribution of *wampum*, for carrying the decision of the chiefs into effect, it is cheerfully complied with by the whole assembly.

622 217 The chiefs are very careful in preserving for their own information, and that of future generations, all important deliberations and treaties made at any time between them and other nations. Thus, between the years 1770 and 1780, they could relate very minutely, what had passed between William Penn and their forefathers, at their first meeting and afterwards, and also the transactions which took place with the governors who succeeded him. For the purpose of refreshing their own memories, and of instructing one or more of their most capable and promi-

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7

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It should be noted, then, that a sachem's duties were administrative, legislative, and judicial. The duties of these chiefs were on the whole fairly simple; their power was in no sense autocratic. They carried out the wishes of the people directly through the council and indirectly through informal pressure. To retain their position they had to be "...gracious, hospitable, communicative, affable, and their house is open to every Indian."[154] It appears that incompetent chiefs could be deposed.[155]

624

Morgan stated that there were two war chiefs, subordinate to the principal chiefs in peacetime. War chiefs gained their rank through leading a number of successful war parties, and were often those individuals who had had visions indicating that war was their vocation.[156] By this time (1859) the phratry heads were the political leaders, and one of these men was the principal chief.[157] If the war chiefs unanimously favored war, the civil chief had to give his consent.[158] Political as well as military power was then in the hands of the war chiefs.

627

Informal Controls

Individual behavior was controlled primarily by family and kinship groups, rather than by special institutions. Europeans were surprised to learn that Indian behavior was so well regulated:

> Judged by the mere appearance of the Indians one is surprised how modest and careful they are in relation to each other and imagines that the whites, if they were as free a people and had neither government nor punishment to fear, would not be as united and peaceable as the Indians appear to be.[159]

Penn said:

> The justice they have is pecuniary. In case of any wrong or evil fact, be it murder itself, they atone by feasts and presents of their wampum, which is proportioned to the quality of the offence or person injured, or of the sex they are of. For, in case they kill a woman, they pay double; and the reason they render is, "that she breedeth children, which men cannot do." It is rare that they fall out if sober; and if drunk they forgive, saying, "It was the drink, and not the man, that abused them."[160]

A number of other sources have noted that the laws of the wergild were enforced.[161] Denton said:

> The friends of the murdered person do revenge upon the murderer unless he purchase his life with money, which they sometimes do: This money is made of a Periwinkle shell of which there is black & white, made much like unto beads & put upon strings.[162]

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[154] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 93.

[155] Ruttenber, 1872, pp. 47-48; Zeisberger, 1910, pp. 93-95; Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 107-11; Harrington, 1913, p. 211.

[156] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 101; Loskiel, 1794, p. 142.

[157] Morgan, 1859, MS.

[158] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 98; Ruttenber, 1872, p. 48.

[159] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 122.

[160] Penn, 1882, p. 245.

[161] Pastorius, 1912, p. 434; De Rasieres, 1909, p. 109; Lindestrom, 1925, p. 205; Wallace, 1947, pp. 10-11.

[162] Denton, 1845, p. 7.

3: Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

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But when a belt is given few words are spoken, and they must be words of great importance, frequently requiring an explanation. Belts are of pure wampum worked in all manner of clever forms by the Indian women, they being informed in each case what the figures must be, inasmuch as the figures must correspond with the message. A belt is three or four inches broad and about a yard long.[283] Neither color nor the other quantities of wampum are matters of indifference, but have an immediate reference to those things which they are meant to confirm. A white string of belt signifies a good message and such a belt may have figures in dark wampum. If a treaty is [648] to be made or renewed with another nation the message is commonly accompanied by a Road Belt. This is a white belt with two rows of black wampum running the entire length with a white row between the two black rows also running the entire length of the belt. This signifies that the way from one nation to another has been cleared of all brush, trees and stones. At the ends of the belt the two nations are likewise represented by two small dark spots. If a string or belt of wampum is intended to confirm a warning against evil or an earnest reproof the belt delivered is in black. When a nation is called upon to go to war or war declared against it the belt is black or marked with red, having in the middle the figure of an hatchet in white wampum. A peace belt is quite white, a fathom long and a hand broad and of not inconsiderable value.

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A chief has more use for the white wampum than the black. In particular cases and upon extraordinary occasions a voluntary contribution of wampum is made by the whole tribe or nation. The rich are considered as principal supporters of the chiefs and furnish them with wampum in an emergency, which rarely occurs more than once in three years. The usual expenses are defrayed from the treasury chest of the council, which is never empty, because when wampum is paid out usually an equal amount comes in. In general the chief does not speak in council, but has his speaker to whom he communicates his sentiments briefly and leaves him to expatiate on them. The latter must be able to put the whole matter in a speech well arranged, which requires a clear and open understanding, a faithful mem-

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3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

624 ory, experience in the affairs of the state and a knowledge of the formal language employed in council, which differs as much from the common language as does the language used by the whites in legal procedure, from the language of ordinary intercourse.

202 When a message is to be sent, this is entrusted to two or more messengers. One of these is to be the speaker, the others being ready to remind him of anything he might forget. A message is formally entrusted to ambassadors at a meeting of the Council. It is repeated a number of times and the one appointed speaker of the messengers must in turn repeat it several times, until he is able to deliver the message with facility and in proper form. The messengers are then fitted out with necessaries for the journey and dispatched. As the whole of a message is to be delivered verbally, a speaker must be a sensible and reliable man. Young men, destined for such service, are admitted as hearers to the council, where they may learn much. Any one employed as messenger is held in high regard. They must be young men, of great endurance on the march, who will not be stopped by bad weather or high waters. On occasions of extreme importance, as in time of war, messengers may have to be on the march night and day, finding their way in the darkest night on paths that a white man could scarce follow in daytime.

623 The council meetings are as quiet and orderly as if they were acts of devotion. Noises, talking and laughing are not heard, even though the young may be present. All pay strict attention to the speaker. The counsellors are called together by a servant and when they appear, they welcome one another, [276] shake hands and express their joy at meeting. Each brings pouch, pipe and they smoke a considerable amount of tobacco that has been mixed with dried and crushed sumac leaves. [562] Women are never admitted to the council; in matters of public interest they may stand about the house and listen, and they account it an honor when they are admitted, to hand victuals and keep up the fire. Provisions must always be in plenty in the council-house, for eating and deliberating alternate.

The principal chief, either himself or through a speaker, sets forth the subjects that shall engage the attention of the

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

622 are moved neither by fear of men nor of God; fortunately there are few such.

[273] Strong drink occasions much disorder in the Indian towns.[266] If a chief is himself an abstainer, he may accomplish much against this evil, but he must be ever watchful and not tire in his efforts.

[428] At the death of a chief neither his children, wife, nor relatives inherit his possessions. Everything is distributed among the people except the wampum and belts, which belong to the chief in his official capacity, and the Council Bag. These are preserved and turned over to his successor in office. In general, some person who lived in intimacy with the deceased chief, and is well acquainted with the affairs of state is chosen to be his successor. It is generally agreed that such and such an one is the right person to assume the dignity of chief. If he is discreet and wins the favor of the captains and the people, the former in particular, will support him in every possible
624 way. A captain, such as White Eye[267] was, is the Chief's right hand. He must undertake everything ordered of him by the chief, even at the hazard of his life. To show fear would not be in harmony with his dignity and a disgrace. If he is wounded or killed by the enemy, the whole nation joins in avenging his death, taking injury done him as seriously as if it concerned the person of the chief. This the captains are aware of and it gives them courage.

728 A captain has no more right to conclude peace than a chief to begin war.[268] If peace is offered to a captain, when he is in the enemy's country, he can give no other answer than that he will bring the proposal to the notice of the chief, for as a warrior he cannot make peace, and that in due time reply will be given. If the chief inclines to peace, he, as it were, assumes his office again, exerts his power, takes the matter out of the hands of the captain and desires him to sit down, which signifies declaring a truce. The hatchet is taken out of the captain's hand and he is obliged to cease from hostilities and keep his men quiet. The chief knowing that inactivity is not agreeable to the captain, asks his assistance in the negotiations and generally chooses him to be the messenger of peace to the

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

nations. By such a commission an accession of honor and respect is acquired by the captain. So soon as he gives up the tomahawk, his men must cease from hostile acts and demonstrations. 728

The rank of captain is neither elective nor hereditary. First intimation of this honor comes usually in a dream, early in life, one or another having seen a buffalo, a bear or other ferocious animal, or he has seen in a vision an Indian who spoke with him and gave him the necessary gifts. Such a dream is pondered over and related to friends and usually interpreted as destiny for the office of Captain. The dreamer's imagination leads him to believe that nothing may injure him and that no bullet can harm him. He, therefore, endeavors to attain to the necessary qualifications for this dignity and prove his powers for he must be tested, as will appear presently. Occasionally, boys are prepared and instructed for this position. These are given little to eat, are made to fast often and long, so that their bodies become emaciated, their minds deranged and their dreams wild and extravagant. Frequent questions are put to them when in this condition as to the dreams they have had. So long as they have not dreamt or not dreamt the right thing, the process is continued until they have been reduced to skin and bones, when they usually have or pretend to have a fantastic dream, declared to be ominous. The subject being minutely considered and interpreted by their teachers, they are solemnly informed what will be their future destination. By virtue of these extraordinary revelations they become physicians, great hunters, rich men, *Mantewits*, that is, sorcerers, or captains. The impression thus made on their minds is lasting, and as they grow older they earnestly strive to fulfill their destination, believing themselves to be men of peculiar gifts, far in advance of the others. It is not enough to profess to be destined for the dignity of a captain. The claim must be made good. The candidate must be resolute, brave, fearless, even in greatest danger. If a leader, who has not the rank of captain, has the good fortune not to lose a man of his troop in six or seven engagements and to bring scalps and prisoners to the camp, he is recognized and honored as a captain forthwith. If he loses

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3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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624 a man he must secure a prisoner in his place. Should he lose more than one, responsibility weighs the more heavily upon him, and in default of showing an equal number of prisoners, his authority is at an end and he dare not think of continuing in the office. If an Indian loses his son, or one of his near relatives in war, whom he has highly valued, he gives a belt of wampum to a captain and desires him to go and take a prisoner to supply the place of the deceased. He takes his company into the enemy's country, and if he is fortunate in his exploit, immediately hangs the belt around the prisoner's neck to denote that he shall be received into a family and that his life is safe. Upon delivering the prisoner to his employer, the captain receives the belt as a reward, and the prisoner is adopted by the family as a son or near relative. But if he is unsuccessful or has been so unfortunate as to lose a man, the captain's standing is destroyed and he is disgraced. It depends, therefore, in large degree upon good fortune whether a man becomes or remains captain. There are never very many captains in one tribe, but always some.

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Although a chief is not supposed to have much to do with war, his influence tends greatly either to prevent or encourage the commencement of a war, for the Indians believe that a war cannot be successful without the consent of the chief, and the captains endeavor on that account to live in harmony with him. It is not a light matter for the Indians to begin a war, as it might be among the Europeans, for a war having been begun it is not easy to bring it to an end nor to be reconciled to the enemies. The chief reason for this is that a certain number are killed on both sides and these, according to ancient custom, must be replaced by prisoners. War with the whites is a different matter, for the Indians usually secure more than enough of scalps and prisoners to make up their losses, and they may sue for peace at any time even while continuing hostilities. But with the nations of their own color they cannot do this, for they know that they will be punished by enemies who will avenge themselves in the cruelest manner.

728

701 The warriors consist of the young men, among whom, however, are those of fifty years and over. The warriors are under

[p 55 (A)]

all went to heaven. They have one religious festival at which the Gum-win Dance is performed. This is the great religious dance. This is held once a year every fall, after the corn harvest is gathered. The festival lasts seven days. At this festival they have a number of old dances, which are still maintained among the Delawares. This Festival is called the Gum-win, from the dance. This is held for the purpose of returning thanks to the Great Spirit. They have a feast. Men, about 12, go out beforehand to hunt, and get game for the feast, particularly the deer. There is a class of persons whose business it is to appoint the time for holding this council, to prepare the feast, and supervise the business of the festival. They are both men and women, but Lemuel could not give me the name by which they are distinguished.

Marriage

Near relatives are not allowed to marry. First and second cousins are within the forbidden degrees; but third cousins under our system are allowed to marry. The names used by the several tribes are used in common. This seems to be the preferable conclusion. A young lad at the Mission told me that those of the same subdivision of the same tribe can intermarry if not too near of kin, but the fact is that they are all of near kin.

Succession of [Head] Chiefs

Upon the death of a head chief of the Turtle Tribe, the three other subdivisions meet in council to agree upon a successor who must be of the same subdivision of the tribe with the deceased, and is either a brother of the deceased or a sister's son. The second chief has the first speech, and the War Chief last, and enumerates the persons who

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

A turkey's [1] wing is used when they sweep out in the Big House. And besides, the Attendant carries a long stick as a poker and that is used when they stir up the fire, and it is the rule that they shall light a good bright fire every night as long as they perform the ceremony. And the Attendant-leader every evening walks around all over where they are camped about this Big House, holding a whip. And any person that they find that is causing unnecessary noise they correct. And the children are instructed. And he notifies them, telling them thrice "Come in! Come in! Come in!" And just recently they selected an officer from the Delaware Agency who is on guard all the time here while they are assembled, so that no one brings in liquor.[2]

[1] The specific term for the Wild Turkey (Meleagris gallipavo) is tel-'kanem, a term derived from the habit of this bird of scratching or "cleaning" the floor of the forest. In native Delaware ornithology, the order Gallinae is denoted by the generic term palew which denotes any of the birds of the group, though writers on Delaware social organization have occasionally rendered the term by "turkey." Happily no natural history obsequies are called for in the case of this splendid bird for it still survives in its original range where the Delawares knew it.

[2] The imformant pointed to this as an indication of the lack of reverence, and indecency of behavior in the tribe under the influence of the white man's ways. Zeisberger (op. cit. p. 130) commented on the same thing as regards disorder at the feasts.

When any one of us considers the rule with all the obligations and instructions as these are properly carried out, it should be forbidden for one thing that those of our women who when they cannot cook[1] are not pure, be allowed to trouble about the cooking. And should not come in the Big House as long as they are affected with the sickness, because some pure children might be much contaminated, especially when they perform the Gamwing. And it is the rule that persons should abstain from bringing into the Big House any animals of whatever kind they may be which are domesticated.[2]

[1] Being in their catamenial periods.

[2] This has special reference to dogs, pigs, etc. Some discussion has previously been given concerning the status of the wild animals of the forest and those domesticated by man. The Attendants are expected to attack any such animals that come into the Big House and drive them away with their staffs.

And right here opposite from the door on the outside over there at a certain distance they make the fire. Two forked poles are set upright and a pole laid across, upon which they hang the big buckets in which they cook. Near here standing upright is a many-forked tree where meat is hung. And a big shelf is there at one side of the fireplace with two floors where they put the corn that is used. When hominy is made the female Attendants have for their duty, every morning and evening to grind and make corn flour and hominy. Sometimes two or four mortars are used together with those long pounders.

562 fulness, in comparison with the men, may
157 have been owing to the fact that they were much more restricted in childhood than their brothers. Nowhere in Delaware society was there the model of anyone
592 with coercive authority; neither mother nor
622 father ruled the roost at home in an
625 authoritarian sense, the sachems had no power to enforce their wishes, and there was no conception of a state with police
586 powers. Divorce was easy and frequent and could be initiated by either party simply leaving the other.[36] Supernatural
776 beings were not Jehovah-like Gods who regularly punished the wicked and rewarded the good; the Delaware reckoned rather with a supernatural guardian spirit who acted as a comrade and friend who would assist his mortal protege in critical passes. Shame and pride are more frequent themes than guilt and self-righteousness;
577 Speck (referring to twentieth-century Oklahoma Delawares) says, "Spiritual purity . . . is not conditioned by ethical conduct, but rather . . . through the observance of taboo regulations prescribed by ancient rulings.[37]

155 It would seem to be a fair inference that
597 the Delaware often did not develop a strong authoritarian, coercive conscience; moral values (which certainly were recognized) did not possess an awesome, mosaic character; "good" and "bad" had a light affective tone.

114 Zeisberger, who as a Moravian believed
626 in less discipline and autocracy than was fashionable in eighteenth century Europe, was still puzzled as to how a society without authority could hold together. "Judged by the mere appearance of the Indians," he wrote, "one is surprised how modest and careful they are in relation to each other and imagines that the whites, if they were as free a people and had neither government nor punishment to fear, would not
626 be as united and peaceable as the Indians appear to be."[38] This superficial smooth-

36. Heckewelder, 1819, p. 154; Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 20-21.
37. Speck, 1931, p. 51.
38. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 122.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca.1800) 1819
NM7 Delaware NM7
Iroquois NM9

seat, nor looked around, or even at one another; but they all remained sitting in the same posture as before, smoking their pipes as if nothing had happened.

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Though there are sometimes individuals in a nation, who disregard the counsel and good advice given by the chiefs, yet they do not meet with support so as to be able to oppose the measures of government. They are generally looked upon as depraved beings, who not daring to associate with the others, lurk about by themselves, generally bent on mischief of a minor kind, such as pilfering small articles of goods and provisions. As soon, however, as they go a step further, and become known thieves and murderers, they are considered a disgrace to the nation, and being in a manner disowned by it, they are no longer entitled to their protection.

In the year 1785, an Indian of this description, murdered a Mr. Evans at Pittsburg; when, after a confinement of several months, his trial was to be brought on, the chiefs of his (the Delaware nation,) were invited to come to be present at the proceedings and see how the trial would be conducted, and also, if they chose, to speak in behalf of the accused. These chiefs, however, instead of coming, as wished for, sent to the civil officers of that place the following laconic answer: "Brethren! You "inform us that N. N. who murdered one of your men "at Pittsburg, is shortly to be tried by the laws of your "country, at which trial you request that some of us "may be present! Brethren! knowing N. N. to have "been always a very bad man, we do not wish to see "him! We, therefore, advise you to try him by your "laws, and to hang him, so that he may never return to "us again."

I shall conclude this subject with another anecdote. When in the winter of 1788 and 1789, the Indian nations were assembling at Fort Harmer, at the mouth of the Muskingum, where a treaty was to be held, an Indian of the Seneca nation was one morning found dead on the

l:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

672 685 shore. The question being put and fully discussed, whether those men with the canoe, who had taken charge of the property of the others, and by this neglect lost the whole, were not liable to pay for the loss? it was decided in the negative, on the following grounds:

1. That the canoe men had taken the articles on board, with the pleasing hope that they thereby would oblige their fellow men, and did not expect any recompense for that service.

2. That although they might have avoided the danger and the loss, by unloading the canoe at the head of the fall, and carrying the cargo by land below it, (which was but a short distance,) as was customary, when the river was not in a proper state to run through, yet that, had those who travelled by land been in the place of those in the canoe, they might, like them, have attempted to have run through, as is sometimes done with success, and been equally unfortunate.

3. That the canoe men having had all their own property on board, which was all lost at the same time, and was equally valuable to them, it was clear that they had expected to run safely through, and could not have intentionally or designedly brought on themselves and others the misfortune which had happened, and therefore the circumstance must be ascribed entirely to *accident*.

672 Such is the disposition of the Indians with regard to those who inadvertently meet with a disaster, whereby others are injured. They are ready to overlook a fault, and more disposed in such cases to commiserate, than to punish; but with those who wilfully and intentionally commit aggressions and injure others, they think and act quite differently; a malicious person is generally despised, and if he intrudes himself into good company, they will, without saying a word, steal off one by one, and leave him alone to suffer the mortification which it is intended he should feel. For murderers and thieves they have no compassion, and punish them according to

[626]

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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428 longed to the man, and bring it to one place. The friends do not keep a single article, for they wish to forget the dead and are afraid lest the smallest part of the property of the deceased should remind them of him. They give what the deceased has left to their friends and no one of his friends receives anything; even though he should wish to take something he will not do it through fear of the others. If a dying Indian leaves his gun or any other trifle to a particular friend the legatee is immediately put in possession and no one disputes his right. The widow gets nothing, yet whatever the husband has given to his wife during his life-time remains her property. Therefore we need not wonder that a married Indian pair should not have their goods in common, for otherwise the wife would be left wholly destitute after her husband's death. In like manner the husband inherits nothing when his wife dies.

768 587 According to ancient custom a widow should not marry again within a year after the death of her husband, for the Indians say that he does not forsake her before that time. At the end of this period, however, they believe that his soul goes to its place. A widow must endeavor to live by her own industry. She is not permitted to purchase any meat, for the Indians are superstitiously persuaded that their guns fail if a widow should eat of the game they have killed. Now and then a kind friend will venture to transgress the rule and give her some meat secretly. As soon as the first year of her widowhood is passed, the friends of the deceased husband clothe and provide for her and her children. They also propose another husband if they know of a desirable party, or, at least, tell her that she is now at liberty to choose for herself. If, however, she has not attended to the prescribed rule but married within the year, they never trouble themselves about her again except, perhaps, to speak evil of her.

626

If a man's wife die, her relatives pretend to have some claim upon him until a year has passed. If he has remained a widower during that time they generally secure him a wife, preferring a sister of the departed, if one be living.

764 The burying places are at some distance from the towns. Before they had hatchets and other tools they used to line the

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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D 1765 morning to the grave and weeps over it. This is repeated daily for some time but gradually less and less till the mourning period is over. Sometimes they place victuals on the grave that the deceased may not suffer hunger. The food thus left is generally consumed by dogs.

N 1764 The Nantikoks [Nantikokes] of whom more in another place, have this singular custom that about three or four months after the funeral they open the grave, take out the bones, clean them of the flesh and dry them, wrap them up in new linen and inter them again. A feast is usually provided for the occasion, consisting of the best they can afford. Only the bones of the arms and legs of the corpse are thus treated. All the rest is buried or burned.

D 626 181 The Indians are a free people, knowing neither law nor restraint. They may not be prevailed on in any matter that does not please them, much less forced. If they cannot be persuaded with gentle words, further effort is in vain.

D 361 Each of them may settle where he pleases. Not satisfied with one place, an Indian may move to a town with which he is better pleased and no one offers any objection; or he may retire to a solitary place. Rarely will a family move far away from all society, though they frequently live apart from the towns to avoid being annoyed by drunkards; or they live thus alone in order to carry on the profitable traffic in rum more to their advantage. Many engage in rum traffic, especially women, D 439 who fetch it from the white people and sell at a considerable profit to the Indians, often taking from the latter everything they have, sometimes even their rifles on which they depend for subsistence. Chiefs and counsellors have often considered what might be done to stop this ruinous trade, and have often determined that no one should ever bring spirituous liquors into their towns again; for a time such a resolution would be kept, and then be broken, perhaps by the very ones who had counselled the prohibition. Since the Indians have taken so much to drinking rum, murders are more frequent. Murder committed in D 682 drunkenness is not severely punished. Hence, it is that one 672 harboring hatred for another will, on the occasion of a drinking

[P. 37, A]

562 fulness, in comparison with the men, may
157 have been owing to the fact that they were much more restricted in childhood than their[a] brothers. Nowhere in Delaware society was there the model of anyone
592 with coercive authority; neither mother nor
622 father ruled the roost at home in an
625 authoritarian sense, the sachems had no power to enforce their wishes, and there was no conception of a state with police
586 powers. Divorce was easy and frequent and could be initiated by either party simply leaving the other.[36] Supernatural
776 beings were not Jehovah-like Gods who regularly punished the wicked and rewarded the good; the Delaware reckoned rather with a supernatural guardian spirit who acted as a comrade and friend who would assist his mortal protege in critical passes. Shame and pride are more frequent themes than guilt and self-righteousness;
577 Speck (referring to twentieth-century Oklahoma Delawares) says, "Spiritual purity . . . is not conditioned by ethical conduct, but rather . . . through the observance of taboo regulations prescribed by ancient rulings."[37]

155 It would seem to be a fair inference that
597 the Delaware often did not develop a strong authoritarian, coercive conscience; moral values (which certainly were recognized) did not possess an awesome, mosaic character; "good" and "bad" had a light affective tone.

114 Zeisberger, who as a Moravian believed
626 in less discipline and autocracy than was fashionable in eighteenth century Europe, was still puzzled as to how a society without authority could hold together. "Judged by the mere appearance of the Indians," he wrote, "one is surprised how modest and careful they are in relation to each other and imagines that the whites, if they were as free a people and had neither government nor punishment to fear, would not
626 be as united and peaceable as the Indians appear to be."[38] This superficial smooth-

36. Heckewelder, 1819, p. 154; Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 20-21.
37. Speck, 1931, p. 51.
38. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 122.

626 ness was accomplished, not by a fear of authority, but by everyone's fear of wounding someone else's self-esteem and thereby laying himself open to aggression. In order not to antagonize another, the individual had to be very circumspect in his behavior and avoid showing his own aggressive motives. There were a variety of institutionalized techniques which functioned to forestall possible antagonism-arousing situations. "They are not quarrelsome, and are always on their guard, so as not to offend each other," said Heckewelder, and Zeisberger made similar observations.[39] [831] Swearing was unknown (although obscenity was not tabooed).[40] Persons suspected of ill-doing were not accused openly; public or private disapproval was communicated by subtle allusions or by the [609] recital of a "dream."[41] Strangers and visitors were always treated politely; and negative replies to embassies from other communities were couched in ambiguous terms so that the matter was shelved rather than 576 contended over.[42] An elaborate code of 521 etiquette governed the men's talk. "Their common conversation turns upon hunting or the news of the day. Matter that has no foundation in fact may be drawn into conversation, and even though all may be aware of this, the narration continues uninterrupted. They may laugh now and again but they will listen attentively. No one interrupts another. When one has finished another begins. They never put any one publicly to blush; they are polite to each other and enjoy being politely treated. They like to be regarded as worthy people even though they may be the opposite. They are pleased to know that 796 they are liked."[43] Religious observances 776 (such as the periodic obligation to give a dance for a sacred mask) were performed under an almost obsessive fear that negligence, by offending the supernatural owner, would call down an indefinite but

39. Heckewelder, 1819, pp. 145-146; Zeisberger 1778, p. 115-116.
40. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 85.
41. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 120.
42. Heckewelder, 1819, p. 150.
43. Heckewelder, 1819, pp. 103-104; Zeisberger 1778, 115-116.

[P.38,A]

776
[796] crippling revenge.[44] Even animals, (for
[325] example, the bear) had to be conceptualized as quasi-human beings engaged in war with the Indians to legitimize their killing.[45]

Anticipation of Aggression

626 In view of these elaborate cultural devices for avoiding situations where aggressions might come to the surface, either in one's own self or in others, we might expect to find considerable anxiety in everyone over the suspicion that through some slip he might have aroused the hostility of an unknown enemy, especially since in every person there seems to have been a large amount of diffused aggression which could easily be projected onto other [754] people. The fear of witchcraft, for instance, was universal and demoralizing.[46] Lindestrom described the Delawares as "mistrustful;"[47] and both Zeisberger and [154] Heckewelder remarked on the elaborate institutions which functioned to deflect possible aggression.[48] Parents explained their reluctance to discipline children by [861] saying that "the children might remember it against them and avenge themselves when they have attained to maturity."[49] (Zeisberger said that he knew of some cases where children *did* threaten to punish their parents for indignities suffered in childhood.)[50]

Techniques for Expressing Aggression

154 All these mechanisms indicate that the typical Delaware individual harbored within himself exceptionally uncomfortable aggressive impulses which he was afraid to focus on anyone for fear of counter-aggression. The eruption of these aggressions periodically shattered the equable facade of social behavior. "They are able to control their desires and passions," observed Zeisberger, "but once given free

44. Speck, 1931, pp. 39-44.
45. Wallace, 1949.
46. Heckewelder, 1819, pp. 239-240.
47. Lindestrom, 1656, pp. 191-192.
48. Heckewelder, 1819, pp. 103-104; Zeisberger 1778, pp. 115-116.
49. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 81.
50. Ibid.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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It should be noted, then, that a sachem's duties were administrative, legislative, and judicial. The duties of these chiefs were on the whole fairly simple; their power was in no sense autocratic. They carried out the wishes of the people directly through the council and indirectly through informal pressure. To retain their position they had to be "...gracious, hospitable, communicative, affable, and their house is open to every Indian."[154] It appears that incompetent chiefs could be deposed.[155]

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Morgan stated that there were two war chiefs, subordinate to the principal chiefs in peacetime. War chiefs gained their rank through leading a number of successful war parties, and were often those individuals who had had visions indicating that war was their vocation.[156] By this time (1659) the phratry heads were the political leaders, and one of these men was the principal chief.[157] If the war chiefs unanimously favored war, the civil chief had to give his consent.[158] Political as well as military power was then in the hands of the war chiefs.

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Informal Controls

Individual behavior was controlled primarily by family and kinship groups, rather than by special institutions. Europeans were surprised to learn that Indian behavior was so well regulated:

> Judged by the mere appearance of the Indians one is surprised how modest and careful they are in relation to each other and imagines that the whites, if they were as free a people and had neither government nor punishment to fear, would not be as united and peaceable as the Indians appear to be.[159]

Penn said:

> The justice they have is pecuniary. In case of any wrong or evil fact, be it murder itself, they atone by feasts and presents of their wampum, which is proportioned to the quality of the offence or person injured, or of the sex they are of. For, in case they kill a woman, they pay double; and the reason they render is, "that she breedeth children, which men cannot do." It is rare that they fall out if sober; and if drunk they forgive, saying, "It was the drink, and not the man, that abused them."[160]

A number of other sources have noted that the laws of the wergild were enforced.[161] Denton said:

> The friends of the murdered person do revenge upon the murderer unless he purchase his life with money, which they sometimes do: This money is made of a Periwinkle shell of which there is black & white, made much like unto beads & put upon strings.[162]

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[154] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 93.
[155] Ruttenber, 1872, pp. 47-48; Zeisberger, 1910, pp. 93-95; Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 107-11; Harrington, 1913, p. 211.
[156] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 101; Loskiel, 1794, p. 142.
[157] Morgan, 1859, MS.
[158] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 98; Ruttenber, 1872, p. 48.
[159] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 122.
[160] Penn, 1683, p. 345.
[161] Pastorius, 1912, p. 434; De Rasieres, 1909, p. 109; Lindestrom, 1925, p. 205; Wallace, 1947, pp. 10-11.
[162] Denton, 1845, p. 7.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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627 If peace could not be restored through the payment of "blood money," the interested kin, in case of murder, resolved the case by the murder of the guilty party or one of his kin.[163] From the scanty evidence available it would appear that only in the case of unresolved murders which were upsetting internal peace would society step in to halt the conflict.

576 Little is known about etiquette and the customary ways in which people behaved towards one another. Penn, however, said:

431 In liberality they excel. Nothing is too good for their friend. Give them a fine gun, coat, or other thing, it may pass twenty hands before it sticks: light of heart, strong affections, but soon spent: the most merry creatures that live: they feast and dance perpetually; they never have much, nor want much. Wealth circulateth like the blood. All parts partake; and though none shall want what another hath, yet exact observers of property.[164]

Denton in the same vein said:

They are extraordinary charitable one to another, one having nothing to spare, but he freely imparts it to his friends & whatsoever they get by gaming or any other way, they share one to another leaving themselves commonly the least share.[165]

571 This sort of behavior is, of course, to be expected in a society organized upon a kinship basis. Society was predicated, not on the competition between individuals, but upon mutual assistance and the unity of action of the kin group. Respect for, and solicitous care of, the aged has also been noted.[166]

War

726 Small-scale, probably infrequent raiding by a few warriors was the typical form of warfare in early historic times and undoubtedly in the 174 pre-European period. This type of conflict was a personal, usually non-economic feuding. An apt designation for it might be primitive war, since it seems to be characteristic of many cultures at this and lower technological levels of development. A special term for it is necessary since it generally differs in its causation, purpose, and form from total, modern warfare. There is little evidence that chronic, full-scale, economically caused warfare existed aboriginally in what is now northeastern United States. Hunt shared this point of view in writing of the Iroquois, generally considered to have been the most warlike of peoples in this area! He said:

In the beginning intertribal rivalries were not keen, and intertribal war was purely private and social interprise. But before long the European trade was to create new rivalries, and whet old ones to the point where the issue became one of survival.[167]

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[163] Van der Donck, 1909, p. 303.
[164] Penn, 1882, p. 243.
[165] Denton, 1845, p. 9. Also see Zeisberger, 1910, pp. 115-16.
[166] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 123; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 103.
[167] Hunt, 1939, p. 23.

be more complete (Loskiel, p. 143). The typical pre-white type of conflict was one in which a captain took a group of eight or ten warriors on a raid of the enemy camp, from which they carried off what goods they could, a few scalps and prisoners. If the chief of the raiding tribe did not denounce the raiding party and make recompense to the other tribe, war would be declared (Heckewelder, 1881, p. 176; Loskiel, p. 148). The warriors were recruited at a dance in which they signified their desire to participate by joining the warriors already dancing. This was a festive occasion at which women were present and it was repeated at the first night's camping ground to which the women followed the warriors (Heckewelder, 1881, p. 210; Loskiel, p. 146).

Prisoners were taken primarily to replace men of the tribe who had been killed in battle or died a natural death since the last war. On the march home prisoners received the same fare as the warriors themselves, but at each Delaware town they passed they were forced to perform for the amusement of the townspeople and run the gauntlet. This ordeal consisted in running between two parallel lines in which the townspeople were drawn up and suffering the blows of the double file until a specified pole was reached which guaranteed their safety. When the home village was reached, the same procedure occurred except that those who were to be adopted were sometimes protected by their foster families. Those who were not adopted were tortured in most of the ways the human mind has been able to devise, but gradual dismemberment and slow burning seem to have been the most common. A prisoner who remained impassive under this treatment was held in high esteem.

Women and children were not usually injured and the peace messenger was also granted immunity, indeed hospitality. Two essential ceremonies of the peace conference were the smoking of the peace pipe and the exchanging of strings of wampum to confirm the covenant (Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 215-18; Loskiel, pp. 143-156; Hill, pp. 53-55; Zeisberger, 1910, pp. 102-03 and 151).

The weapons used were the bow and arrow, the stone axe and a club with a rounded knob on the end. For defense they had a shield and helmet made of wooden sticks bound together with leather or hemp cord (Johnson, 1915, pp. 281-82; Koskiel, p. 141). Some of the east coast villages were palisaded for protection (Krieger, p. 51; Brinton, 1885, p. 51; Skinner, 1915, p. 7; Heye, p. 11).

Crime

Offenses against members of the group became a concern of the chief only when they could not be settled by the families concerned. "The Justice they have is Pecuniary: In case of any Wrong or evil Fact, be it Murther it self, they Attone by Feasts and Presents of

their Wampum, which is proportioned to the quality of the Offense or Person injured, or of the Sex they are of: for in case they kill a woman, they pay double, and the reason they render is , That she breedeth Children, which men cannot do." (Penn, p. 43). Except for the concept of different recompense according to the sex of the person injured, the above statements are confirmed by other writers. More common than recompense in the case of murder or rape, however, was the death of the offender at the hands of the injured person's family 12 (Brainerd, p. 356; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 329; Ruttenber, p. 48; Harrington, 1913, p. 217).

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Religion

All of the Delaware accounts of the origin of the world and of the tribe center around a giant mythical tortoise related in some way to the Turtle phratry and the occasion of that phratry's pre-eminance over the other two. The most complete version is found in the writings of Danckaerts whose visit to this region dates back to 1679. He asked an old Indian where the first of his race came from.

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> "He was silent for a little while as if unable to climb up at once so high with his thoughts, or to express them without help, and then took a piece of coal out of the fire where he sat, and began to write upon the floor. He first drew a circle, a little oval to which he made four paws or feet, a head and a tail; 'This', said he, 'is a tortoise, lying in the water around it', and he moved his hand around the figure continuing, 'This was or is all water, and so at first was the world or the earth, when the tortoise gradually raised its round back up high, and the water ran off of it, and thus the earth became dry.' He then took a little straw and placed it on end in the middle of the figure and proceeded, 'The earth was now dry, and there grew a tree in the middle of the earth, and the root of this tree sent forth a sprout beside it, and there grew upon it a man, who was the first male; This man was then alone, and would have remained alone, but the tree bent over until its top touched the earth, and there shot therein another root from which came forth another sprout, and there grew upon it the woman, and from these two are all men produced...'" (Danckaerts, pp. 77-80).

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The following writers also refer to the turtle as the earth and the agent of the creation of man: Heckewelder (1881, p. 250); Kalm (p. 606); Ziesberger (1870, p. 218). Other creation myths have the general theme that the people lived under the earth before they came up to live on the surface (Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 249-50).

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+ = element present
− = element denied
(+) or (−) = source ambiguous
* = informant could not or would not say
S = some, sometimes, or several
† or * = see Ethnographic Notes, pp. 79-137 for additional information

	Williams	Van der Donck	Lindeström	Zeisberger	Heckewelder	Johnston	Pipe	Chippa	J. W.	W. T.	E. R.	W. L.
	583	584	585	586	587	588	589	590	591	592	593	594
Chiefs—Continued												
237. War chief chosen through vision power				+	+					+	+	+
238. Body of counselors †	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
239. Name *apwaenowak							+		(+)	+	•	+
240. Chosen by people						+	+	•	+	+	+	+
241. Consider all matters of importance to tribe		+		+	+	+	+	•	+	+	+	+
242. Counselors and chiefs only present at council meetings		S?		S	S	+			S	S	S	S
243. All adults except women admitted				S				+	+	S	S	S
Justice												
244. Any mode of compelling payment of debt				+		−	−	−	−	−	−	−
245. Relatives of debtor make restitution				+	+		S		+		+	+
246. Creditor uses force							S	+	•+		+	−
247. Redress for civil injuries (theft)	•+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	+
248. Injured party applies to chief		+			−		+		+		+	−
249. Any punishment inflicted by nation if restitution is made		−		−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
250. Injured party has right to kill thief on second offense		−			+			+	+		+	−
251. Murder punished	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
252. By nation	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	•	−	+
253. Breach closed by presents		+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•	+
254. Amount of wampum as presents †				+	•	+	+	+	+	+	•	+
255. Lacking presents, revenge by relatives	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	−	•	+
256. Revenge duty of any individual		•+			−	−	−	−	•+	•	•	•
257. Any one interfere from duty		•+				−	•	−	−	•	•	•
258. Guilty submits	+	•−				+	+	−	+	+	•	•
259. Feud arise from revenge		•+					−		−	−	•	•
260. Revenge approved by nation	+		+	+		+	+		+	+	+	+
261. Crimes. Theft	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
262. Rape		+					+		+	+	+	+
263. Adultery	+	+		+			+	+	+	+	+	+
264. Desertion of children								+	+	(+)	•	
265. Drunkenness and slander	+							+	+	(+)		

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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682 tempted to reconcile the parties involved and often gave liberally of their own means if those of the offender were deficient in order to settle the difficulty. Most breaches caused by murder were closed by presents (253). The reports of the amount of wampum, the usual compensation, varied; Zeisberger said one hundred fathoms for a man, double for a woman; Johnston and Chipps said two hundred fathoms; and Pipe reported one hundred and twenty fathoms for a man, one hundred and thirty for a woman (254). In the fourth period the discrepancies between the accounts show the effects of the lapse of time since this mode of appeasing bereaved relatives was used. J. W. said twelve yards of wampum was required, W. L. said fifty yards for a man and double for a woman, and W. T. said four feet was all that was necessary; whereas, E. R. did not think that a murder could ever be compensated for in this way and disclaimed all knowledge of wampum as a medium of exchange. E. R. said that blood vengeance was the only means of punishing a murderer.

682 627 Revenge, according to the rest of the accounts except Zeisberger and Johnston, was only resorted to in case presents were not offered or offered in insufficient amounts. Johnston said that no amount of wampum was sufficient to settle a second offense. Zeisberger did not explicitly refer to revenge but, in saying that a murderer who did not feel safe went to another village where he was a stranger, he implied that revenge was not unknown.

Revenge was the duty of the nearest relative of the slain person, according to Van der Donck, but no subsequent writer ascribed the responsibility to any particular person (256). In the later periods any of the relatives who were brave enough might undertake to obtain revenge but there was said to be no duty connected with it. In the fourth period, J. W. and W. L. said that relatives were not supposed to take revenge but that the chief appointed two or three men to do so. This element shows two changes from the first to the last period. In view of the established custom of giving presents to maintain peace disturbed by a murder it is probable that revenge was seldom taken within the nation. However, revenge as a method of

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settling such an affair was approved by the nation (260), and it did not give rise to a feud between the two families involved unless there was some violation of the established customs by the injured family as reported by Van der Donck (259).

Besides murder and theft, rape, adultery, desertion of children, drunkenness, and slander were considered crimes (262-65). Apparently the conception of what constituted punishment varied among the sources, for some did not regard the payment of wampum as such (266). This was the only retribution levied on the offender recorded by Van der Donck, Heckewelder, Chipps, and Pipe. Zeisberger agreed, except that in the case of adultery he said a man whose wife had been seduced awaited his opportunity and seduced the wife of the seducer. J. W. and W. L. said that failing presents, whipping and even death might be meted out in cases of persistent offenders. J. W. seemed to think that rape was always punished by death.

Another element that shows an increasingly rigorous enforcement of law and order with the passage of time is that involving the murder of a woman by her husband (269). In the first two periods this received no mention, but in the third there are statements by Johnston and Pipe that the husband would not be punished (270). Johnston said that the wife's relatives might take revenge if they considered the act unwarranted. According to the modern informants, such a murderer would be punished anyway, and there might be revenge in addition if her relatives thought the deed unwarranted.

References to the age at which adult status was reached were infrequently given by the earlier sources (267). Van der Donck and Johnston said that the matter was determined by the ability of the individual (268). Chipps said that a youth was considered a man at twenty years and was then his own master even though he could marry before that. None of the modern informants said that coming into adult status was determined by the ability of the individual, although W. L. implied as much by saying that the age was between twenty and twenty-four years. Two of the others placed the age at twenty-five years and the fourth at twenty-one. In a society that placed so much emphasis upon

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J. W. said twelve yards was the required amount of wampum. 681
W. T. said four feet was all that was necessary. 682
W. L. said fifty yards for a man, but one hundred for a woman.

256 to 259. Revenge of murder

VAN DER DONCK—Murder or personal injuries are not attended to by the chief, or friends, except for the purpose of reconciling the parties, for which they use all possible means, and give liberally to effect their object when the offender is deficient in means, which is usually the case. A murder among them is never atoned for without heavy payment. The nearest relative by blood is always the avenger, and if he finds the murderer within twenty-four hours after the act, he is slain instantly, but if the murderer can save himself until one day is past, and the avenger slays him afterwards, then he is liable to be pursued and slain in like manner. A murderer seldom is killed after the first twenty-four hours are past, but he must flee and remain concealed; when the friends endeavour to reconcile the parties, which is frequently agreed to, on condition, that the nearest relatives of the murderer, be they men, women, or children, on meeting the relatives of the person murdered, must give way to them. 627 682

J. W. and W. L. said revenge might not be taken by relatives but by two or three men appointed by chief.

264. Desertion of children

E. R. said that desertion of children was settled in the family. 682

HUNTING

318. Ceremonies

LINDESTRÖM—Now as soon as the winter bids good night, they begin with their hunts, which is done with a fine innovation. Now at that time of the year the grass which grows there, as has been said, is as dry as hay. When now the sachem wants to arrange his hunt, then commands his people [to take a position] close together in a circle of ½, or 1 or 2 miles, according to the number of people at his command. In the first place each one 224 622

154 rein these are the more violent."[51] Warfare
[721] provided a socially approved way of bleeding off some of these aggressions, for the warriors; and the institution of torture
154 gave the rest of the community a similar
727 opportunity. "The Indians flock to these executions as to some great solemnity, with a view to reeking on the unfortunate
154 captive their cruel and revengeful dis-
627 position."[52] The institution of blood-revenge[53] (which sometimes led to prolonged vendetta) was also an outlet for aggression; but the fear of its exercise no doubt served also to inhibit it. In
154 hunting, males could work off aggression
224 on animals, which were conceptualized as quasi-human. It is worth noting that among women, who had a more restricted
154 childhood and who at the same time had
521 fewer socially sanctioned outlets for
562 aggression, the overflow dribbled off in unpleasant gossip and slander, which the men, who had other means of catharsis, professed to scorn.[54]

154 All observers agreed that liquor dis-
273 solved the inhibitions against aggression.
578 "The effects which intoxication produces upon the Indians are dreadful," lamented Heckewelder. "It has been the cause of an infinite number of murders among them, besides biting off noses and otherwise disfiguring each other, which are the least consequences of the quarrels which inebriation produces between them."[55] As might be expected, therefore, Indian spokesmen frequently—and in vain—implored the whites to cease bringing liquor into their settlements.

Summary

127 From an examination of the early ethnological literature concerning the Delaware Indians, we have been able to discover some of their psychological
855 characteristics. The Delawares would seem in general to have been a people among whom the children grew up

51. Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 124-125.
52. Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 106-107.
53. Penn, 1683.
54. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 116.
55. Heckewelder, 1819, p. 263.

8:Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
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CHAPTER XIV

Concerning the Origin, Warfare, Government and Guns of the American Savage People.

Concerning this,[1] [if can be said that] those who 622
are the sachems of the Indians do not know how to take such into observation; but those who are rulers retain the mastery and command, children after children, those who are male persons, whose subjects are to be submissive and obedient, which they [also] are,[2] attempting nothing else than to live up to that [which] they are commanded [to do], and in case they do otherwise, then he who is sachem holds them to strict justice that he without pardon,[3] when [someone is] caught in the act, consigns the same to death. And if any savage 628
of one nation kills one of another, immediately he[4] sends one of his subjects to the same nation and stealthily has one of them killed, whereby at once war is caused between them. Further, they follow 671
no other law or justice, but in whatever manner anyone unjustly suffers from the other, they immediately revenge on one another, like for like.[5]

[1] Concerning the origin of the government, *i.e.*, the chiefship of the Indians. The idea is that the sachems do not know anything about the origin of the people or of their own families, or how their families at first were raised to the rank of rulers.

[2] *Thet the ock äro.* "This word and the next, are words of great flattery which they use each to other, but constantly to their Princes at their speeches, for which, if they be eloquent, they esteeme them Gods as Herod among the *Jewes.*" Williams, *Key*, 63.

[3] *Uthan pardon.*

[4] The chief.

[5] "If any robbery fall out in Travell, between Persons of diverse States, the offended State sends for Justice; if no Justice bee

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

177 reservation and with the proceeds bought rights as members of the Cherokee Nation. They were soon encroached upon in their new location, and by 1890 there were approximately twice as many whites as Indians in the Cherokee territory. There does not appear to have been any great variation in the rate of culture change until this great influx of white settlers.

In this period of assimilation there was a rapid breakdown of Delaware culture preceded by the loss of control of internal affairs which was the last vestige of political autonomy. The memories of the fourth-period informants cover most of this period of assimilation. I have explained previously that their accounts reflect only inadvertently any of the changes that have taken place recently.

Throughout their checkered historical career, then, the Delaware underwent acculturation at a fairly uniform rate. Their history reveals no correlation between the content of acculturation and the type of white contact. The different aspects of culture showing acculturation are correlated with length of contact rather than with type of contact.

Comparisons between the rate of change in acculturation and the rate of change in assimilation are unwarranted in the case of the Delaware, for with them the assimilation followed a long period of acculturation. It should be pointed out that the control of internal affairs was surrendered to the Cherokee and not to the whites although by that time there was no question of their subordination to the latter. When they failed to receive equitable treatment from the Cherokee, they sought justice from the United States Government and submitted to the rule that they had so long rejected.

[448 636]

Most of the changes in the culture of the Delaware are the result of white influence. This was both direct and indirect. Contact with whites was directly responsible for the introduction of many elements such as the rifle and the idea of hell. White contact was indirectly responsible for other changes, such as the discontinuance of use of fish as a staple, use of weirs, and use of single file on the march. These cultural changes followed a change in habitat induced by the whites. Contact with other

l:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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to comprehend the meaning, and not knowing whether the answer is favourable or unfavourable, their proceedings are necessarily suspended until they can discover its true sense; in this manner have operations been sometimes entirely prevented, and matters have remained in the same situation that they were in before. 648

It may be supposed, perhaps, that such an artful manner of treating each other might be thought provoking, and cause jealousies and disputes among the different parties; such is not, however, the case, as nothing insulting is ever contained in those messages; and as offence is not meant, it is not taken. The Indians consider it on all sides as a kind of diplomatic proceeding, an exercise which tends to invigorate the mind, of which they are very fond. It gives them opportunities to reflect and think deeply on matters of importance, and of displaying their genius, when they have found or discovered the secret of an answer sent to them, or hit upon the true meaning of an ambiguous message.

At the time of the Revolutionary war I witnessed a curious scene of diplomatic manœuvres between two great men of the Delaware nation, both of whom had in their time signalised themselves as brave and courageous men, and had acquired the character of two great war chiefs. The war that I speak of, which had but lately begun, had made it necessary for the Indians to consult their present and future safety. Captain White Eyes, of the Turtle tribe, who was placed at the head of his nation, had its welfare much at heart. He was in favour of their following the advice given them by the American Congress, which was to remain neutral, and not to meddle in the quarrel between the Americans and the parent country. He advised his people, therefore, to remain in friendship with both sides, and not to take up arms against either, as it might bring them into trouble, and perhaps, in the end, effect their ruin. 662 649 [643]

On the other hand, Captain Pipe, of the Wolf tribe,

202.	Other relatives observe mourning ___ days	90-365			•	12	0	365	4	4	3-4		765
203.	Dread the approach of death	+		+	+	S	+	–	–	–	+		761
204.	Die in full possesion of faculties (generally)				–	+	+	+	+	•	•		775
205.	Take leave of friends				S	+	+	+	+	S	+		768
206.*	Believe bodies will be restored				+	•+	•+	–	–	–	–		614
207.	Disposition of property—to nearest kin †			–		•	+		+	+	+		562
208.	to others †			+	+	•		+			+		611
Lineage													643
209.	Nation divided into ___ tribes †			3	3	3	8	3	3	3	3		
210.	Division for purposes of government			–		+	–	+		+	–		
211.	On religious grounds			–		•	+•	–			•		
212.	Attended by good effect					+	•	+					
213.	Tribes are exogamous			+	+			•					
214.	Tribes are endogamous								+				
215.	Matrilineal descent		+	+		+		+	+	(+)	+		
Chiefs													
216.	Civil chieftainship hereditary		–	(+)	–	–	•+	–	–	•(+)	–		
217.	Son succeeds		–	(+)	–	–	–	–	–	(+)	–		
218.	Brother first choice		–		–		+	–	–	(+)	–		
219.	Nephew (sister's son) next		–		+		+	–	–	(+)	–		
220.	Woman could be				–	–	–	–	–	–	–		
221.	Election of civil chief		+	–	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+		
222.	By people		+		–	–	–	+	+	+	+		
223.	By counselors				•+	+	+	+	+	–	+		
224.	Installed by other tribes				+	•	(+)	~		–	+		
225.	Can be removed				+	•+	+	+	–	–	+		
226.	Chief names successor			–			+	+	–	–	•		
227.	Can dismiss successor						+	+	–	–	+		
228.	Any particular age at succesion †				–		+	+	+	+	–		
229.	Both civil and war chiefs				+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
230.	Number of civil chiefs per tribe					1	2	1	1	1	1		
231.	Number of war chiefs per tribe					1		1	1	1	1		
232.	Boundary between civil and war chiefs		+		+	•+	+	+	+	+	+		
233.	Civil chief has authority superior to war chief in peace	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
234.	Stops on declaration of war		+				+	+	+	+	+		
235.	War chief hereditary				–						–		
236.	War chief elected				–	+					+		

+ = element present
— = element denied
(+) or (—) = source ambiguous
• = informant could not or would not say
§ = some, sometimes, or several
† or * = see Ethnographic Notes, pp. 79-137 for additional information

	Williams	Van der Donck	Lindeström	Zeisberger	Heckewelder	Johnston	Pipe	Chippe	J. W.	W. T.	E. R.	W. L.
Chiefs—Continued												
237. War chief chosen through vision power				+	+		+		+	+	+	+
238. Body of counselors †	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
239. Name *upwaenowuk							+	(+)	+	+	•	+
240. Chosen by people						+	+	•	+	+	+	+
241. Consider all matters of importance to tribe		+		+	+	+	+	+	§	§	§	§
242. Counselors and chiefs only present at council meetings		§		§	§	+	+	+	§	§	§	§
243. All adults except women admitted				§				+	+	§	§	§
Justice												
244. Any mode of compelling payment of debt				+		—	—	—	—	—	—	—
245. Relatives of debtor make restitution				+	+		§		+		+	+
246. Creditor uses force							§	+	•+		+	—
247. Redress for civil injuries (theft)	•+	+	+	+	+	—	—	—	+	—	+	+
248. Injured party applies to chief		+			—		+		+		+	+
249. Any punishment inflicted by nation if restitution is made		—		—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
250. Injured party has right to kill thief on second offense		—			+			+	+		+	+
251. Murder punished	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
252. By nation	+	—	+	—	—	—	—	—	+	•	—	+
253. Breach closed by presents		+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	—	+
254. Amount of wampum as presents †				+	•	+	+	+	+	+	•	+
255. Lacking presents, revenge by relatives	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
256. Revenge duty of any individual		•+			—	—	—	—	•+	—	—	•+
257. Any one interfere from duty		•+				—	•	—	—	•	•	•
258. Guilty submits	+	•—				+	+	+	+	+	•	§
259. Feud arise from revenge		•+					—	—	—	—	•	—
260. Revenge approved by nation	+		+	+		+			+	+	+	+
261. Crimes. Theft	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
262. Rape		+					+			+		
263. Adultery	+	+		+			+	+	+	+	•	+
264. Desertion of children								+	+	(+)	+	
265. Drunkenness and slander	+							+	+	(+)		

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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619 Delawares because they resided at a place of that name; and *Woonalāāhtekoo* is the name of one of the twelve divisions just mentioned. (One of the four divisions of the Wolf tribe.) Mr. H. made a similar mistake when he distinguished the Munsees as one of the tribes of the Delaware nation. There are descendants of each of the three tribes among them as well as among the Delawares themselves.

. . . . . .

"They know nothing of a nation of Taleekāāee, Aleekāāee or Allegewi, of which Mr. Heckewelder speaks as the possessors of the country east of the Mississippi before the arrival of the Delawares. But Pipe says that one of the twelve tribes of the Delawares, before mentioned, was called Aleekāāee, and that they resided on the Allegheny River. That when he was a boy he saw one of their men at the house of his father, at or near Cape Girardeau and that his father pointed him out to Pipe as one of the Aleekāāee, but at that time they were but very few, and are supposed to be now extinct."

[184] It should be noted in connection with the divisions of the tribe or the tribal divisions of the nation that they have frequently been rated according to their importance. Captain Chipps said that the Wolf tribe was the first. Zeisberger said Turtle was first.[1] Among the modern Delaware the tribe placed first depended upon the tribal affinity of the informant: a Wolf always placed his tribe first and a Turtle placed the Turtle tribe first. Informants of these two groups named the other one second, and Turkey last. I was not able to find a Turkey informant.

Chiefs

● 643 The succession of chiefs among the Delaware has not been well or consistently described in the historic accounts. Many different ways of becoming chief have been reported. Lindeström implied that chieftainship was hereditary in an extended family, with the brother of the chief or his sister's son having preference over the son of the chief (218, 219). The chief might name

[1] Hulbert and Schwarze (eds.), "David Zeisberger's History," in *Ohio Archæological and Historical Publications*, XIX, 131-32.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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his successor but the council had to approve his choice (226). 643 Captain Chipps said that the council determined the successor when the chief died, by which he probably meant when he died without naming a successor. On the other hand, he said that all the tribes elected the chief for the others, excluding from the election the tribe for whom the election was held. It may be conjectured that by this he referred to the installation rather than the election of the chief, for such a procedure is out of line with the other accounts of the same period and even the rest of Chipps's own account. Zeisberger's account for the previous period also used the term election for a ceremony described as an installation. Some of the comments of Captain Chipps and Zeisberger also suggest the possibility that it was only the elevation of an ordinary chief to the head chieftainship of one division that was done by the other divisions or tribes (224). This is most likely the true explanation and its acceptance would explain some of the seeming contradictions in the accounts of these two writers. The modern Delaware have no knowledge of the custom, and since in recent years only one chief has been elected for all divisions, there could be no installation by the chiefs of two divisions for the other one.

Two other changes in the fourth period are significant and 643 indicate the almost complete breakdown of the old political 177 organization after continued white contact. These are the non-inheritance of chieftainship and the full participation of the people in the election (216-19, 221).

A reconstruction of the old system would be something very 621 close to the following. The three divisions of the Delaware, 614 Turtle, Wolf, and Turkey, were more or less separated from one another in place of residence and perhaps originally developed from such separation. Even into the nineteenth century certain towns were known as Turtle or Wolf towns. Each of these divisions was subdivided into twelve gentes or subgentes. These were undoubtedly exogamous, and possibly the divisions were also. Chieftainship in the subgentes or in the villages was hereditary in the extended family. Descent was matrilineal; hence, a chief was not succeeded by his son but by a brother, by

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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621 a nephew, his sister's son, or sister's daughter's son. The se-
614 lection of a succe sor might be made by an incumbent with the approval of the people. Each of the three divisions had a chief who was chosen by a general council of chiefs and wisemen, possibly with the exclusion of the tribal chiefs and wisemen of the division involved. The installation of the tribal chief was conducted by the head chiefs of the other two divisions.

643 The various sources and informants were unanimous in saying that there was a boundary between the authority of the civil chief and that of the war chief (232). The superiority of the civil chief in peace time was also affirmed by all (233). The reversal of the relative power of each in war was likewise maintained without dissent (234). Power received through visions
[781] was a prerequisite to the office of war chief (237). Captain Pipe's account made no mention of vision power, but his statement of an election similar to that of a civil chief did not preclude this requirement. W. L. stated that a man must have received power through a vision to become eligible for election as a war chief.

623 The existence of a body of wisemen or counselors was reported in every period (238). These men were chosen by the people, according to the information from the third and fourth periods (240). The accounts of the earlier periods did not touch upon this matter. The council or body of wisemen was reported throughout all periods to consider all matters of importance to the tribe (241). The functions of the council were evidently considerable; although called only by the chief, their decision after due deliberation determined the course of action of the chief (238). Women had no voice in council and were only admitted at certain times (243).

Justice

681 According to the idealistic retrospect of W. T., originally, when the Delaware had things their own way, there was no theft, murder, rape, adultery, or any other crime or misdemeanor and hence no punishments or ways of handling such matters were
006 necessary. Since debts were not discussed in detail in the first

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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Chiefs

216. Civil chieftainship hereditary

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Captain Chipps said that the brother of a chief, if he behaves well, must be named as chief in preference to the son and that the sister's son also succeeded in preference to his own son, all of which was determined by the council.

E. R. thought that the chieftainship was hereditary but was not certain of the succession.

221. Election of civil chief

Captain Pipe—At the creation of the world the Great Spirit himself resided with the Indians and regulated their intercourse with each other. When he left the earth he told them that he would depute a person possessing all his own virtues, at whose death they should choose a successor having as nearly as possible the same qualifications. Since that period the office of chief has been elective, yet the election is not made by the people. Merit alone ensures to a man this distinguished honour. There is among them a body of men called *Lupwaaeenõãwuk* or Wise Men, (the plural, from *Lupwaaõãkum* wisdom and *Lünnos* a man). These men from their conduct in early life receive the attention and respect of the aged and as they grow in years they gradually assume the power which is attached to the wise men or counselors. At length they are received as members of that powerful body and become officially interested in the proper regulation of national affairs. All civil affairs are conducted and ordered by them and when the office of chief becomes vacant they assemble and in the presence of the *people* they consult together upon the qualifications of the aspirants and having decided they appoint another meeting for his inauguration, to which, as to the first, they invite the nation generally. At the appointed time the *Lupwaaeenõãwuk* together with the elected chief and such spectators as choose to attend, assemble at a grand lodge prepared for the purpose, and one of the body in a speech adapted to the occasion declares to the people their choice and then turning to the chief addresses him on the importance of a firm, independent

643 666 [623]

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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643 666 and upright course of conduct, of good examples from the heads of the nation etc. During the speech the speaker holds in his hand a belt of wampum, which he places around the neck of the chief, telling him, "now you have the speech, see that you keep it, and adhere to the advice contained in it."

Captain Chipps said that all the tribes elected the chief for the others, excluding from the election the tribe for whom the election is held. He also said that the principal chief was always from the Wolf tribe, but was elected by the other tribes. In view of his statements that the brother must be chosen over the nephew or son, and the nephew over the son, and that the chief could name his successor, it is possible that here he means the other tribes installed the new chief.

All four modern informants said that the council and the people in joint session elected the new chief.

Zeisberger said the election of a new chief was made by "the captains," by which it may be assumed that he meant the war chiefs.

225. Civil chief can be removed

643 Captain Pipe—As chiefs are elected by the will of the people, in the same manner they are removed from office. Not by direct accusation and trial however, for they are careful not to [571] arraign an individual publicly before the nation whether he be great or low, but by neglecting to invite him to councils or refusal to listen to or execute his orders. This being done by the aged and influential, whose motives are made known at proper times, the neglect becomes general, the people contemn his authority and he is gradually lowered down to the private station, whence he does not attempt to rise but by a long course of good conduct or by some extraordinary effort of genius or political intrigue by which he can overpower his enemies at a single movement.

228. Age of succession of chief

John Johnston—No particular age, it depends on the ability, information and qualifications of the persons.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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CAPTAIN CHIPPS—They cannot be *principal chiefs* until they are 50 years old. 643

J. W.—35 to 40.

W. T.—Formerly, when Delaware lived to age of 300 years, a man had to be 70 to become a chief.

E. R.—Over 25.

W. L.—No particular age.

232. Boundary line between civil and war chief

CAPTAIN PIPE—Formerly the authority of the War and Council chiefs was distinctly defined. To use their expression, in a time of peace the war chief sat in the ashes, but upon the declaration of war the village or council chiefs took his place, and the movements of the war depended solely upon him. At this day however they have equal authority in treaties and the like, that is to say, according to their influence as men.

238. Body of counselors

JOHN JOHNSTON—The Counselors are appointed or chosen by the people according to their merit. Their duty is to assist in any good work that they are doing and to promulgate and cherish order. 623

CAPTAIN PIPE—The ceremonies attending the appointment of chief are practiced also at the reception of one of the wise men into that formidable body, excepting the placing a belt around the neck, which is not used at all. The Lupwaaeenŏăwuk are not restricted to any particular number, but accessions are made of such as merit an admission from the general tenor of their lives. The members of this body, or some one of them as occasion may require, are appointed to carry into effect the orders of the chiefs, and any employment, however degrading, is considered by them an honour under such circumstances. In the distribution of annuities and of presents their services are indispensible, and while young they carry the kettles of the war parties while on the march. 643 666

Unimportant or ordinary occurrences are considered as within the superintendence of the Chiefs without consultation or advice; such as regulating the internal affairs of their villages, settling disputes, etc.; but affairs of consequence are never acted upon

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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643 without the concurrence of the Lupwaaeenõãwuk, from whom in
666 fact all important transactions emanate. The consultations of these men precede all treaties, declarations of War, etc., and after expressing their opinion as a body each member considers himself individually bound to assist and obey the Chief in the execution of it.

CAPTAIN CHIPPS—There is no particular body of counselors, except the chiefs—they have no stated times of holding councils, and meet only when business requires.

The young men are entitled to sit in Council at the age of 20, and are *then* "their own masters"—they can marry before that period, but are not entitled to the rights and privileges of men until they reach that age.

Councils are seldom called—except on matters relating to war —"the administration of law" is not known. The Council is opened by prayers to the Great Spirit, to give them wisdom. One man is appointed to make speeches, who is to be under the guidance and direction of the chiefs. No others have a right to address the Council—the orator is generally "the smartest man" —*"the best man."* After the speaker has done, the chiefs make up their decisions,—which are immediately reported to all the people. Prayer closes the proceedings and the Council breaks up. Women are not admitted to the Councils.

J. W.—Council consisted of ten councilors, chief and assistant chief. All were elected by clan (later only for nation) and could be removed. Lately called only for business. Committees were appointed by council for term of two years. Meetings of council every two years. Many committees continued to function past terms if no new council. Speaker was supposed to be the voice of chief and council. (J. W. is now the speaker.) Young men were sometimes admitted to council for training. If council and people could not decide on some matter, the chief had the final voice, it was up to him to determine what the majority seemed to feel.

W. T. said that the council consisted of two chiefs and four other men.

W. L. reported that there were always twelve men elected by the people of the council.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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them, but on the contrary have greatly subserved their national interest, if the Europeans had not afterwards come into the country in such great numbers, and multiplied so rapidly as they did. For their neutral position would greatly have favoured their increase, while the numbers of the other Indian nations would have been reduced by the wars in which they were continually engaged. But unfortunately for them, it happened, that the Europeans successively invaded the country which they occupied and now forms what are called the middle states, and as they advanced from the Atlantic into the interior, drove before them the Lenape and their allies, and obtained possession of their lands; while the Iroquois, who happened to be placed in the neighbourhood of Canada, between the French and English, who were frequently at war with each other, had an enemy, it is true, in the French nation, but had strong protectors in the English, who considered them as a check upon their enemies, and, being the most numerous people, were best able to afford them protection; thus they were suffered to increase and become powerful, while the Lenape, having no friend near them, the French being then at too great a distance, were entirely at the mercy of their English neighbours, who, advancing fast on their lands, gradually dispersed them, and other causes concurring, produced at last their almost entire destruction. Among those causes the treacherous conduct of the Five Nations may be considered as the principal one.

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Before that strange metamorphosis took place, of a great and powerful nation being transformed into a band of defenceless women, the Iroquois had never been permitted to visit the Lenape, even when they were at peace with each other. Whenever a Mengwe appeared in their country, he was hunted down as a beast of prey, and it was lawful for every one to destroy him. But now, *the woman* could not, consistently with her new station and her engagements, make use of destructive

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weapons, and she was bound to abstain from all violence against the human species. Her late enemies, therefore, found no difficulty in travelling, under various pretences, through her country, and those of her allies, and leaving here and there a few of their people to remain among them as long as they pleased, for the purpose, as they said, of keeping up a good understanding, and assisting them in the preservation of the general peace. But while they were amusing the Lenape with flattering language, they were concerting measures to disturb their quiet by involving them in difficulties with the neighbouring nations. I shall relate one among many instances of a similar conduct. They once sent their men into the Cherokee country, who were instructed secretly to kill one of that nation, and to leave a war club near the person murdered, which had been purposely made after the manner and in the shape of those of the Delawares. Now leaving a war club in an Indian country, is considered by those nations as a formal challenge or declaration of war. The Cherokees, deceived by appearances, and believing that their grandfather the Lenape had committed the murder, collected a large party to go into their country and take their revenge. Meanwhile, the Iroquois sent a messenger to the Lenape, to inform them of the approach of an enemy, who, they had learned from their hunters, was coming towards their settlement, and to advise them to send a number of their men immediately to a certain place, where they would be met by a large body of the Five Nations, who would take the lead, march in front, and fight their battles, so that they would have little else to do than to look on, and see how well their friends fought for them. The Lenape, being in no wise prepared to meet a powerful foe, assembled in haste a few of their men, and repaired to the place of rendezvous, where they were disappointed by not meeting any of their pretended protectors. The enemy, however, was close upon them; the Lenape fought with great

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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courage, but were overpowered by an immense superiority of numbers, and defeated with considerable loss. Now the Iroquois made their appearance, and instead of attacking or pursuing the Cherokees, loaded the Delawares with reproaches, for their temerity, as they called it, in having dared, being *women*, to take the lead in attacking *men*. They told them that the Five Nations being their superiors, they ought to have waited for them before they attacked the Cherokees, that then their protectors would have fought and defeated them, but that as they had thought proper to act by themselves, they had received the punishment justly due to their presumption.

It was thus that the Five Nations rewarded the confidence that the Delawares had placed in them. Their treachery was not, however, suspected for a long time; but it was at last discovered; it was even found out that in this last engagement, a number of the Iroquois had joined in fight against them with their enemies. The Lenape then determined to unite their forces, and by one great effort to destroy entirely that perfidious nation. This, they say, they might easily have done, as they were then yet as numerous as the grasshoppers at particular seasons, and as destructive to their enemies as these insects are to the fruits of the earth; while they described the Mengwe as a number of croaking frogs in a pond, which make a great noise when all is quiet, but at the first approach of danger, nay, at the very rustling of a leaf, immediately plunge into the water and are silent.

But their attention was now diverted by other scenes. The whites were again landing in great numbers on their coast, in the east and south, and this spectacle once more engaged all the capacity of their minds. They were lost in admiration at what they saw, and were consulting and deliberating together on what they should do. The Five Nations, who lived out of the reach of all danger, never-

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theless also came; but bent on their own interest, while they were instigating the other nations to fall upon the new comers, or drive them off from their shores, by which they caused useless hostilities, in which they did not appear to participate, they were insinuating themselves into the favour of the powerful strangers, professing great friendship for them, persuading them that they were superior to the other Indian nations, that they had controul over them all, and would chastise those who should disturb their peace.

William Penn came, with his train of pacific followers. Never will the Delawares forget their elder brother *Miquon*, as they affectionately and respectfully call him. From his first arrival in their country, a friendship was formed between them which was to last as long as the sun should shine, and the rivers flow with water. That friendship would undoubtedly have continued to the end of time, had their good brother always remained among them, but in his absence, mischievous people, say they, got into power, who, not content with the land which had been given to them, contrived to get all that they wanted; and when the Lenape looked round for the friends of their brother Miquon, to hear their just complaints, and redress their wrongs, they could not discover them, and had the misfortune to see their greatest enemies the Mengwe, brought on for the purpose of shutting their mouths, and compelling them to submit to the injustice done them.

They cannot conceive how the English could turn from the people by whom they had been so kindly received and welcomed with open arms; from those who had permitted them to sit down upon their lands in peace, and without fear of being molested by them; who had taken delight in supplying all their wants,* and who were hap-

* Mr. Proud, in his History of Pennsylvania, relates that some time after the establishment of William Penn's government, the In-

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py in smoking the pipe of friendship with them at one and the same fire; how they could not only see them degraded and injured by a base and perfidious nation, but join with that nation in sinking them still lower. For to the countenance of the English, they say, is entirely owing the great preponderance which the Iroquois at last attained: they complain that the English did support that enemy against them, that they even sanctioned their insolence, by telling them to make use of their authority as men, and bring these women (the Lenape) to their senses. That they were even insulted and treated in a degrading manner, in treaties to which the English were parties, and particularly in that which took place at Easton in Pennsylvania, in July 1742, when the Six Nations were publicly called on to compel the Delawares to give up the land taken from them by the long day's walk. But for these repeated outrages, they would not have taken part with the French in the memorable war of 1755. Nor, perhaps, would they have done so, had not they been seduced into the measure by the perfidious Iroquois. At the commencement of that war, they brought the war belt with a piece of tobacco to the Delawares, and told them: "Remember that the English have unjustly de-
"prived you of much of your land, which they took from

[Erratum. See cat. 116, p. 348. - Aug'ust]

dians used to supply the family of one John Chapman, whose descendants still reside in Bucks County, with all kinds of provisions, and mentions an affecting instance of their kindness to that family. Abraham and John Chapman, twin children about nine or ten years old, going out one evening to seek their cattle, met an Indian in the woods, who told them to go back, else they would be lost. They took his advice and went back, but it was night before they got home, where they found the Indian, who had repaired thither out of anxiety for them. And their parents, about that time, going to the yearly meeting at Philadelphia, and leaving a young family at home, the Indians came every day to see whether any thing was amiss among them. Such (says Proud) in many instances was the kind treatment of the Aborigines of this country to the English, in their first and early settlement. Proud's Hist. vol. I. p. 223, 224.

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"you by force. Your cause is just; therefore smoke of "this tobacco, and arise; join with us our fathers the "French, and take your revenge. You are women, it "is true, but we will shorten your petticoats, and though "you may appear by your dress to be women, yet by "your conduct and language you will convince your "enemies that you are determined not tamely to suffer "the wrongs and injuries inflicted upon you."

Yielding to these solicitations, the Delawares and their connexions took up arms against the English in favour of the French, and committed many hostilities, in which the Iroquois appeared to take no part. Sir William Johnson requested them to use their ascendancy and to persuade the hostile Indians to lay down the hatchet, instead of which, instead of conforming to the ancient custom of Indian nations, which was simply to take the war hatchet back from those to whom they had given it, they fell on a sudden on the unsuspecting Lenape, killed their cattle, and destroyed their town on the Susquehannah, and having taken a number of them prisoners, carried them to Sir William Johnson, who confined and put them in irons. This cruel act of treachery, the Delawares say, they will never forget nor forgive.

Thus the Lenape, whose principal settlements were then on the frontier of Pennsylvania, took part with the French, and acted hostilely against the English during the whole of the war of 1755. The animosity which mutual hostilities produced between them and the white settlers concurred, no doubt, with other causes, in producing the murder of the Conestogo Indians, which took place at the close of that war, in December 1763, and is feelingly related by Loskiel, Part I. ch. 14 and 15.

The revolutionary war put an end to the exorbitant power of the Iroquois. They were, indeed, still supported by the British government, but the Americans were now the strongest party, and of course against them. They endeavoured to persuade the other Indian nations

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to join them, but their expectations were deceived. At a meeting which took place at Pittsburg in 1775, for the express purpose of deliberating on the part which it became Indians to take in the disturbances which had arisen between the King of Great Britain and his subjects, Capt. White Eyes, a sensible and very spirited warrior of the Lenape, boldly declared to a select body of the Senecas, that his Indians would never join any nation or power, for the purpose of destroying a people who were born on the same soil with them. That the Americans were his friends and brothers, and that no nation should dictate to him what part he should take in the existing war. Anticipating the measure which the American Congress took in the succeeding year, he declared *himself*,* in behalf of his nation, free and independent of the Iroquois; they had pretended that they had conquered him, they had made a woman of him and dressed him in woman's apparel, but now he was again a man, he stood before them as a man, and with the weapons of a man he would assert his claim to all yonder country, pointing to the land on the west side of the Allegheny river; for to him it belonged, and not to the Six Nations, who falsely asserted that they had acquired it by conquest. In the year 1778 or 1779, the Lenape bravely asserted their national independence by joining Col. Brodhead's troops in an expedition against the Senecas. If they did not do as much in that war as might have been expected of them, and took only a partial revenge, it was owing to the death of their brave chief White Eyes, who died of the small pox at Pittsburg, I think, in the year 1780. He was a christian in his heart, but did not live to make a public profession of our

* Indian chiefs in their public speeches, always speak on behalf of their nation in the singular number and in the first person, considering themselves, in a manner, as its representatives.

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religion, though it is well known that he persuaded many Indians to embrace it.*

Although the Lenape acted independently in the war of 1755, and made a formal declaration of their independence at the beginning of the revolutionary war, yet the Six Nations persevered in their pretensions, and still affected to consider them as women. Finding, however, that this obsolete claim was no longer acknowledged, and that it was useless to insist upon it any longer, they came forward of their own accord, about the time of Wayne's treaty, and formally declared that the Lenape and their allies were no longer women, but MEN.

The Delawares and Mohicans agree in saying, that from the time of the fatal treaty in which they were persuaded to assimilate themselves to women, and, indeed, ever since the Europeans first came into the country, the conduct of the Iroquois was treacherous and perfidious in the extreme. That it was their constant practice to sally out secretly and commit depredations on the neighbouring nations, with intent to involve them in wars with each other. That they would also commit murders on the frontier settlers, from Virginia to New England, and charge the tribes who were settled in the neighbourhood with the commission of those crimes. That they would then turn negotiators, and effect a peace, always at the expense of the nation whom they had injured. They would sell the lands of other nations to the English and receive the money, pretending to a paramount right to the whole territory, and this, say the Lenape, was their manner of CONQUERING NATIONS!

* Loskiel, part II. ch. 8.

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higher up the Mahicanittuck, until the Indians began to believe that they would soon want all their country, which in the end proved true.

CHAPTER III.

INDIAN RELATIONS OF THE CONDUCT OF THE EUROPEANS TOWARDS THEM.

LONG and dismal are the complaints which the Indians make of European ingratitude and injustice. They love to repeat them, and always do it with the eloquence of nature, aided by an energetic and comprehensive language, which our polished idioms cannot imitate. Often I have listened to these descriptions of their hard sufferings, until I felt ashamed of being a *white man*.

They are, in general, very minute in these recitals, and proceed with a great degree of order and regularity. They begin with the Virginians, whom they call the *long knives*, and who were the first European settlers in this part of the American continent. "It was we," say the Lenape, Mohicans, and their kindred tribes, "who "so kindly received them on their first arrival into our "country. We took them by the hand, and bid them "welcome to sit down by our side, and live with us as "brothers, but how did they requite our kindness? "They at first asked only for a little land on which to "raise bread for themselves and their families, and pas- "ture for their cattle, which we freely gave them. They "soon wanted more, which we also gave them. They "saw the game in the woods, which the Great Spi- "rit had given us for our subsistence, and they want-

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"ed that too. They penetrated into the woods, in quest "of game, they discovered spots of land which pleased "them; that land they also wanted, and because we "were loth to part with it, as we saw they had already "more than they had need of, they took it from us by "force and drove us to a great distance from our ancient "homes."

"By and by the *Dutchemaan** arrived at *Manahach-* "*tánienk*,"† (here they relate with all its details what has been said in the preceding chapter.) "The great man "wanted only a little, little land, on which to raise "greens for his soup, just as much as a bullock's "hide would cover. Here we first might have observed "their deceitful spirit. The bullock's hide was cut "up into little strips, and did not cover, indeed, but en- "circled a very large piece of land, which we foolishly "granted to them. They were to raise *greens* on it, in- "stead of which they planted *great guns*; afterwards they "built strong houses, made themselves masters of the "Island, then went up the river to our enemies, the "Mengwe, made a league with them, persuaded us by "their wicked arts to lay down our arms, and at last "drove us entirely out of the country." Here, of course, is related at full length, the story which we have told in the first chapter. Then the Delawares proceed.

"When the *Yengeese*‡ arrived at *Machtitschwanne*,§ "they looked about every where for good spots of land, "and when they found one, they immediately and with- "out ceremony possessed themselves of it; we were as-

* The Hollanders.

† Manhattan, or New York Island.

‡ An Indian corruption of the word *English*, whence probably the nickname *Yankees*.

§ This word means "a cluster of Islands with channels every way, "so that it is in no place shut up or impassable for craft." The Indians think that the white people have corrupted this word into *Massachusetts*. It deserves to be remarked as an example of the comprehensiveness of the Indian languages.

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"tonished, but still we let them go on, not thinking it 173
"worth while to contend for a little land. But when at 648
"last they came to our favourite spots, those which lay
"most convenient to our fisheries, then bloody wars en-
"sued: we would have been contented that the white
"people and we should have lived quietly beside each
"other; but these white men encroached so fast upon us,
"that we saw at once we should lose all, if we did not
"resist them. The wars that we carried on against
"each other, were long and cruel. We were enraged
"when we saw the white people put our friends and
"relatives whom they had taken prisoners on board of
"their ships, and carry them off to sea, whether to drown
"or sell them as slaves, in the country from which they
"came, we knew not, but certain it is that none of them
"have ever returned or even been heard of. At last
"they got possession of the whole of the country which
"the Great Spirit had given us. One of our tribes was
"forced to wander far beyond Quebec; others dispersed
"in small bodies, and sought places of refuge where they
"could; some came to Pennsylvania; others went far to
"the westward and mingled with other tribes.

"To many of those, Pennsylvania was a last, de-
"lightful asylum. But here, again, the Europeans dis-
"turbed them, and forced them to emigrate, although
"they had been most kindly and hospitably received.
"On which ever side of the *Lenapewihittuck*,* the white [103]
"people landed, they were welcomed as brothers by our
"ancestors, who gave them lands to live on, and even
"hunted for them, and furnished them with meat out of
"the woods. Such was our conduct to the white men,†
"who inhabited this country, until our elder brother, the

* The Delaware river. I have said above, p. 33. that *Hittuck* means a rapid stream. I should have added that it means so only when placed at the end of another word, and used as a compound. Singly, it signifies a *tree*. [192]

† The Swedes and Dutch

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.173 .648 "great and good MIQUON,* came and brought us words "of peace and good will. We believed his words, and "his memory is still held in veneration among us. But "it was not long before our joy was turned into sor- "row: our brother Miquon died, and those of his good "counsellors who were of his mind, and knew what "had passed between him and our ancestors, were no "longer listened to; the strangers† who had taken their "places, no longer spoke to us of sitting down by the "side of each other as brothers of one family, they for- "got that friendship which their great man had esta- "blished with us, and was to last to the end of time; "they now only strove to get all our land from us by "fraud or by force, and when we attempted to remind them "of what our good brother had said, they became angry, "and sent word to our enemies the Mengwe, to meet [103] "them at a great concil which they were to hold with us "at *Læhauwake*,‡ where they should take us by the hair "of our heads, and shake us well. The Mengwe came, "the council was held, and in the presence of the white "men, who did not contradict them, they told us that we "were women, and that they had made us such; that we "had no right to any land, because it was all theirs; that "we must be gone; and that as a great favour they permit- "ted us to go and settle further into the country, at the "place which they themselves pointed out at Wyoming."§

Thus these good Indians, with a kind of melancholy pleasure, recite the long history of their sufferings. After having gone through these painful details, they seldom fail to indulge in bitter, but too just reflections upon the men of Europe. "We and our kindred tribes," say they, "lived in peace and harmony with each other,

* William Penn.

† Land traders and speculators.

‡ Easton.

§ This actually took place at a treaty held at Easton, in July and November, 1756.

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"before the white people came into this country; our 173
"council house* extended far to the north and far to the 648 ●
"south. In the middle of it we would meet from all parts
"to smoke the pipe of peace together. When the white
"men arrived in the south, we received them as friends;
"we did the same when they arrived in the east. It was
"we, it was our forefathers, who made them welcome, and
"let them sit down by our side. The land they settled on
"was ours. We knew not but the Great Spirit had sent
"them to us for some good purpose, and therefore we
"thought they must be a good people. We were mista-
"ken; for no sooner had they obtained a footing on our
"lands, than they began to pull our council house down†
"first at one end and then at the other, and at last meeting
"each other at the centre, where the council fire was yet
"burning bright, they put it out,‡ and extinguished it with
"our own blood!§ with the blood of those‖ who with us
"had received them! who had welcomed them in our land!
"Their blood ran in streams into our fire, and extinguished
"it so entirely, that not one spark was left us whereby to

* *Council house* here means, "Connexion District."

† *Pulling the council house down.* Destroying, dispersing the community, preventing their further intercourse with each other, by settling between them on their land. [195]

‡ *Putting the fire out.* Murdering them or their people, where they assemble for pacific purposes, where treaties are held &c. [195]

§ *Our own blood.* The blood flowing from the veins of some of our community. [195]

‖ Alluding to the murder of the Conestogo Indians, who though of another tribe, yet had joined them in welcoming the white people to their shores.

In a narrative of this lamentable event, supposed to have been written by the late Dr. Franklin, it is said: "On the first arrival of "the English in Pennsylvania, messengers from this tribe came to "welcome them with presents of venison, corn and skins, and the "whole tribe entered into a treaty of friendship with the first propri-"etor, William Penn, which was to last as long as the sun should "shine, or the waters run in the rivers."

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173 648 "kindle a new fire;* we were compelled to withdraw our-
"selves beyond the great swamp,† and to fly to our good
"uncle the *Delamattenes*,‡ who kindly gave us a tract of
"land to live on. How long we shall be permitted to re-
"main in this asylum, the Great Spirit only knows. The
"whites will not rest contented until they shall have de-
"stroyed the last of us, and made us disappear entirely
"from the face of the earth."

I have given here only a brief specimen of the charges which they exhibit against the white people. There are men among them, who have by heart the whole history of what took place between the whites and the Indians, since the former first came into their country; and relate the whole with ease and with an eloquence not to be imitated. On the tablets of their memories they preserve this record for posterity. I, at one time, in April 1787, was astonished when I heard one of their orators, a great chief of the Delaware nation, go over this ground, recapitulating the most extraordinary events which had before happened, and concluding in these words: "I
"admit there are good white men, but they bear no pro-
"portion to the bad; the bad must be the strongest, for
"they rule. They do what they please. They enslave
"those who are not of their colour, although created by
"the same Great Spirit who created us. They would
"make slaves of us if they could, but as they cannot do

[erratum. Should read 1781. - Auct'or]

* *The fire was entirely extinguished by the blood of the murdered running into it; not a spark was left to kindle a new fire.* This alludes to the last fire that was kindled by the Pennsylvania government and themselves at Lancaster, where the last treaty was held with them in 1762, the year preceding this murder, which put an end to all business of the kind in the province of Pennsylvania.

† *The great Swamp.* The Glades on the Alleghany mountains.

‡ *Delamattenes.* The Hurons or Wyandots, whom they call their uncle. These, though speaking a dialect of the Iroquois language, are in connexion with the Lenape.

[erratum. Should Read "them." - Auct'or]

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"it, they kill us! There is no faith to be placed in their
"words. They are not like the Indians, who are only
"enemies, while at war, and are friends in peace. They
"will say to an Indian, "my friend! my brother!"
"They will take him by the hand, and at the same mo-
"ment destroy him. And so you (addressing himself to
"the Christian Indians) will also be treated by them be-
"fore long. Remember! that this day I have warned
"you to beware of such friends as these. I know the *long*
"*knives*; they are not to be trusted."

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Eleven months after this speech was delivered by this prophetic chief, ninety six of the same Christian Indians, about sixty of them women and children, were murdered at the place where these very words had been spoken, by the same men he had alluded to, and in the same manner that he had described. See Loskiel's History, Part III. ch. 10.

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the spot where Philadelphia now stands; others were conducted by the Mohicans into their own country, where they intermarried with them and became one people. When those settled near the Delaware had multiplied, they returned to Wyoming on the Susquehannah, where they resided for a great number of years.

In the mean while, those who had remained on the Ohio increased in numbers, and in process of time began again to be troublesome to their neigbours. At last, they crossed the Allegheny mountains, and falling upon the camps of the Lenape on Juniata river, they committed several murders and went off with their plunder. It was soon discovered who were the aggressors; but the Lenape had now assumed the station of "the woman," and could not engage in wars. They could only apply for protection to the Five Nations, which they did, expecting that they would immediately pursue the offenders and inflict an exemplary punishment upon them, but the Five Nations found means to evade their demand for the present. They told the Delawares that the season was too far advanced to commence a war; that it was better to put off their intended expedition until the ensuing spring; that in the mean time, both nations should put themselves in readiness, and keep their preparations secret, and that as soon as the season should open, they would march off separately and meet together at an appointed time and place on the Allegheny, then push on together for the Shawano towns below the confluence of that river and the Monongahela, where they could fall together unawares on the aggressors and punish them. The Iroquois promised, as usual, that they would place themselves in the front of the battle, so that the Delawares would have nothing to do but to look on and see how bravely their protectors would fight for them, and if they were not satisfied with that, they might take their revenge themselves.

Agreeably to this plan, the Lenape remained quiet till

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the spring, when, with a body of their most valiant men, they marched to the appointed spot; but how great was their surprise when their pretended champions did not make their appearance? They suspected treachery, and were not mistaken; for having immediately marched forward to the Shawano towns, bent on taking an exemplary revenge, they had the disappointment to see on their arrival their enemies pushing off as fast as they could down the Ohio river in their canoes. Some of them were flying by land, as probably they had not a sufficient number of canoes to convey their whole number; these they pursued and attacked, beat them severely, and took several prisoners. Here they had a striking instance of the treachery of the Mengwe, who had warned the Shawanos of their approach. Some time after this, the Shawanos who resided on the north branch of the Susquehannah, began to draw off by degrees, first to the west branch of that river and the Juniata, and then to the Ohio; so that at the commencement of the French war in 1755, they had all, except a few families, with whom was their chief Paxnos, retired to the Ohio, where they joined their countrymen in the war against the English.*

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* While these people lived at Wyoming and in its vicinity, they were frequently visited by missionaries of the Society of the United Brethren, who knowing them to be the most depraved and ferocious tribe of all the Indian nations they had heard of, sought to establish a friendship with them, so as not to be interrupted in their journies from one Indian Mission to another. Count Zinzendorff being at that time in the country, went in 1742 with some other Missionaries to visit them at Wyoming, stayed with them 20 days, and endeavoured to impress the gospel truths upon their minds; but these hardened people, suspecting his views, and believing that he wanted to purchase their land, on which it was reported there were mines of silver, conspired to murder him, and would have effected their purpose, but that Conrad Weiser, the Indian interpreter, arrived fortunately in time to prevent it. (Loskiel part II. ch. 1.) Notwithstanding this, the brethren frequently visited them, and Shehellemus, a

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578 They are not quarrelsome, and are always on their guard, so as not to offend each other. When one supposes himself hurt or aggrieved by a word which has inadvertently fallen from the mouth of another, he will say to him: "Friend, you have caused me to become jealous of you," (meaning that he begins to doubt the sincerity of his friendship,) when the other explaining and saying that he had no bad intention, all is done away again.

They do not fight with each other; they say that fighting is only for dogs and beasts. They are, however, 522 fond of play, and passing a joke, yet very careful that they do not offend.

They are ingenious in making satirical observations, which though they create laughter, do not, or but seldom give offence. For instance, seeing a bad hunter going out into the woods with his gun, they will ask him if he is going out for meat? or say to one another: "now we shall have meat, for such a one is gone a hunting," (not believing any such thing.) If they see a coward joining a war party, they will ask him ironically at what time he intends to come back again? (knowing that he will return before he has met the enemy,) or they will say to one another: "will he return this way with his scalps?"

Genuine wit, which one would hardly expect to find in a savage people, is not unfrequent among them. I have heard them, for instance, compare the English and 522 American nations to a pair of scissors, an instrument 648 composed of two sharp edged knives exactly alike, working against each other for the same purpose, that of *cutting*. By the construction of this instrument, they said, it would appear as if in shutting, these two sharp knives would strike together and destroy each other's edges; but no such thing: they only cut *what comes between them*. And thus the English and Americans do when they go to war against one another. It is not each

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other that they want to destroy, but us, poor Indians, that are between them. By this means they get our lan and, when that is obtained, the scissors are closed again, and laid by for further use.

They are remarkable for the particular respect which they pay to old age. In all their meetings, whether public or private, they pay the greatest attention to the observations and advice of the aged; no one will attempt to contradict them, nor to interfere in any manner or even to speak, unless he is specially called upon. "The aged," they say, "have lived through the whole period of our "lives, and long before we were born; they have not "only all the knowledge we possess, but a great deal "more. We, therefore, must submit our limited views "to their experience."

'In travelling, one of the oldest will always take the lead, unless another is specially appointed for that purpose.' If such a one stops to hunt, or in order to stay and encamp at the place for some time, all halt together, all are pleased with the spot and declare it to be judiciously chosen.

I shall expatiate further on this interesting part of the Indian character, in the sequel of this work.

They have a strong innate sense of justice, which will lead them sometimes to acts which some men will call heroic, others romantic; and not a few, perhaps, will designate by the epithet *barbarous*; a vague indefinite word, which if it means any thing, might, perhaps, be best explained by *something not like ourselves*. However that may be, this feeling certainly exists among the Indians, and as I cannot describe it better than by its effects, I shall content myself with relating on this subject a characteristic anecdote which happened in the year 1793, at an Indian village called *La Chine*, situated nine miles above Montreal, and was told me in the same year by Mr. La Ramée, a French Canadian inhabitant of that place, whom I believe to be a person of strict veracity.

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537 lists against their languages, which are in general believed to be poor, and inadequate to the expression of any but the most common ideas. Hence all the specimens that have been given to the world of their oratory have been viewed with a suspicious eye; the celebrated speech of Logan, authenticated as it is by the respectable authority of Col. John Gibson, has been denied to be genuine even in this country. For my part, I am convinced that it was delivered precisely as it is related to us, with this only difference, that it possessed a force and expression in the Indian language which it is impossible to transmit into our own.

I hope the exertions and researches of the Historical Committee will make the character and genius of the Indian languages better known than they have hitherto been. The world will then be better able to judge of their extent and powers, and to decide whether or not they are adequate to the purposes of oratory. In the mean time, I shall content myself with presenting another specimen of Indian eloquence; one which I did not receive at second hand, but at the delivery of which I was present in person. The translation which I offer will give but a faint idea of the strength and spirit of the original; I vouch, however, for its being as correct as it has been in my power to make it.

537 This speech was spoken at Detroit,* on the frontier of
648 Canada, on the 9th of December, 1801, by captain Pipe, a chief of the Delaware nation, and was addressed to the commanding officer of that post, then in possession of the British. The Delawares, it will be recollected, had been the stedfast friends of the French, in the war of 1756. The peace which was concluded in 1763, between the two great nations who then contended for the supremacy of this continent, was not for several years regarded by the Indians, and they continued their hostilities

3 Iroquois See ca 1.116 | p. 348. - Analyst

* Loskiel, part III. ch 9.

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against the subjects and government of Great Britain. They were obliged, however, to submit to superior force; not without hopes that their father, the king of France, would soon send over a powerful army to retake Canada. They were in this situation when the war of the revolution broke out. It is well known that it was a part of the system of the British administration to employ the savages to subdue those whom they called their revolted subjects. The Delawares, in general, as I have before related, having in vain endeavoured to remain neutral, took part with the Americans. Captain Pipe, however, with a party of the Wolf tribe, joined the English in the beginning of the war, and soon after repented it. But it was too late. He was now reluctantly compelled to go out against the Americans with the men under his command. On his return from one of those expeditions, he went to make his report to the British commandant at Detroit,* by whom he was received in state at the council house, in the presence of a great number of Indians, British officers and others. There were several Missionaries present, among which I was. The chief was seated in front of his Indians, facing the commandant. He held in his left hand an human scalp tied to a short stick. After a pause of some minutes, he rose, and addressing the governor, delivered the following speech:

"FATHER!" (Here the orator stopped, and turning round to the audience, with a face full of meaning, and a sarcastic look, which I should in vain attempt to describe, he went on in a lower tone of voice, as addressing himself to them:)—"I have said *father*, although, indeed, I "do not know why I am to call *him* so, having never "known any other father than the French, and consi- "dering the English only as *brothers*. But as this "name is also *imposed* upon us, I shall make use of it

* See Loskiel, P. III. ch. 9. p. 704, German text, and p. 165, Eng. Trans.

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537 "you. In a few days you will receive this *flesh*, and "*find that the skin is of the same colour with your own.*

"FATHER! I hope you will not destroy *what** I have "saved. You, father! have the means of preserving "that which with me would perish for want. The war- "rior is poor and his cabin is always empty; but your "house, father! is always full."

Here we see boldness, frankness, dignity and humanity happily blended together and most eloquently displayed. I am much mistaken if the component parts of this discourse are not put together much according to the rules of oratory which are taught in the schools, and which were certainly unknown to this savage. The peroration at the end is short, but truly pathetic, and I would even say, sublime; and then the admirable way in which it is prepared! I wish I could convey to the reader's mind only a small part of the impression which this speech made on me and on all present when it was delivered.

537 648 It is but justice here to say, that Capt. Pipe was well acquainted with the noble and generous character of the British officer to whom this speech was addressed. He is still living in his own country, an honour to the British name. He obeyed the orders of his superiors in employing the Indians to fight against us, but he did it with reluctance and softened as much as was in his power the horrors of that abominable warfare. He esteemed Captain Pipe, and I have no doubt, was well pleased with the humane conduct of this Indian chief, whose sagacity in this instance is no less deserving of praise than his eloquence. It is thus that great minds understand each other, and even in the most difficult and trying situations, find the means of making the cause of humanity triumph.

* To make his language agree with the expression *live flesh*.

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553 rally torn or patched, was called *Bad Shoes*. All those names are generally expressed in one single word, in compounding which the Indians are very ingenious. Thus, the name they had for the place where Philadelphia now [103] stands, and which they have preserved notwithstanding the great change which has taken place, is *Kúequenáku*,* which means, *The grove of the long pine trees.*

103 They have proper names, not only for all towns, villages, mountains, valleys, rivers, and streams, but for all remarkable spots, as for instance, those which are particularly infested with gnats or musquitoes, where snakes have their dens, &c. Those names always contain an allusion to such particular circumstance, so that foreigners, even though acquainted with their language, will often be at a loss to understand their discourse.

829 To strangers, white men for instance, they will give
● 648 names derived from some remarkable quality which they
551 have observed in them, or from some circumstance which remarkably strikes them. When they were told the meaning of the name of William Penn, they translated it into their own language by *Miquon*, which means a feather or quill. The Iroquois called him *Onas*, which in their idiom means the same thing.

The first name given by the Indians to the Europeans who landed in Virginia was *Wapsid Lenape* (white people;) when, however, afterwards they began to commit murders on the red men, whom they pierced with swords, they gave to the Virginians the name *Mechanschicau*, (long knives,) to distinguish them from others of the same colour.

In New England, they at first endeavoured to imitate the sound of the national name of the *English*, which they pronounced *Yengees*. They also called them *Chauquaquock*, (men of knives) for having imported those instruments into the country, which they gave in presents

* According to the powers of the English alphabet, it should Be written Koo-ek-wen-aw-koo

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829 to the natives.* They thought them better men than the
648 Virginians; but when they were afterwards cruelly treat-
551 ed by them, and their men shipped off to sea, the Mohi-
cans of that country called them *Tschachgoos*; and when next the people of the middle colonies began to murder them, and called on the Iroquois to insult them and assist in depriving them of their lands, they then dropped that name, and called the whites by way of derision, *Schwannack*, which signifies *salt beings*, or *bitter beings*; for in their language the word *Schwan*, is in general applied to things that have a salt, sharp, bitter, or sour taste. The object of this name, as well as of that which the Mohicans gave to the eastern people, was to express contempt as well as hatred or dislike, and to hold out the white inhabitants of the country as hateful and despicable beings. I have, however, in many instances observed that the Indians are careful not to apply this opprobrious name to any white person whom they know to be amicably disposed towards them, and whom they are sure to be a good, honest, well-meaning man. I have heard them charge their children not to call a particular white man *Schwannack*. but *Friend*. This name was first introduced about the year 1730. They never apply it to the *Quakers*, whom they greatly love and respect since the first arrival of William Penn into the
[194] country. They call them *Quækels*, not having in their language the sound expressed by our letter R. They say they have always found them good, honest, affable and peaceable men, and never have had reason to complain of them.

648 These were the names which the Indians gave to the
551 whites, until the middle of the revolutionary war, when they were reduced to the following three:

1. *Mechanschican* or *Chanschican*, (long knives.) This

* Rogers's Key into the Language of the Indians of New England, ch. vi.

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they no longer applied to the Virginians exclusively, but also to those of the people of the middle states, whom they considered as hostilely inclined towards them, particularly those who wore swords, dirks, or knives at their sides.

2. *Yengees.* This name they now exclusively applied to the people of New England, who, indeed, appeared to have adopted it, and were, as they still are, generally through the country called *Yankees*, which is evidently the same name with a trifling alteration. They say they know the *Yengees*, and can distinguish them by their dress and personal appearance, and that they were considered as less cruel than the Virginians or *long knives*. The proper English they call *Saggenash*.

3. *Quækels.* They do not now apply this name exclusively to the members of the Society of Friends, but to all the white people whom they love or respect, and whom they believe to have good intentions towards them.

Not only the Delawares, but all the nations round them, make use of these names, and with the same relative application. I have myself, in 1782, while at Detroit, witnessed the Chippeways, who on meeting an American prisoner, who was walking about, called out *Messamochkemaan*, (long knife) though he had no knife, sword, or dirk at his side. I was one day about the same time hailed in that manner as I was walking up the river, and apprehending that I might be seized as a runaway prisoner, I immediately answered: *Kin! Saggenash*; No! an Englishman; and they passed on. I might with great propriety make this answer, as I was born in England.

In the year 1808, while I was riding with a number of gentlemen through Greentown (an Indian town in the state of Ohio), I heard an Indian in his house, who through a crevice saw us passing, say in his language to his family: "See! what a number of people are coming "along!—What! and among all these not one *long knife!*

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"All *Yengees!*"—Then, probably observing me, he said correcting himself, "No! one *Quækel.*" 648 551

Such are the observations which the Indians make on the white people, and the names which they give to them. They may sometimes be in the wrong; but, as they make it their particular study to become acquainted with the actions, motions, deportment and dress of the different nations, they seldom commit mistakes, and in general, they apply their different names precisely to those whom they are meant to designate or describe.

CHAPTER XIV.

INTERCOURSE WITH EACH OTHER.

IT is a striking fact, that the Indians, in their uncivilised state, should so behave towards each other as though they were a civilised people! I have in numerous instances witnessed their meeting together, their doing business and conversing with each other for hours, their labouring together, and their hunting and fishing in bodies or parties; I have seen them divide their game, venison, bear's meat, fish, &c. among themselves, when they sometimes had many shares to make, and cannot recollect a single instance of their falling into a dispute or finding fault with the distribution, as being unequal, or otherwise objectionable. On the contrary, on such occasions they even receive what is allotted to them with thanks; they say "*anischi,*" I am thankful! as if it was a present given to them. 181 [578]

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with which her husband is honoured, never grumbling on account of their eating up the provisions, even if it were what she had cooked for her own family, considering the friendly visit well worth this small trouble and expense.

It is true, that among themselves, they expect the same attention and hopitality paid to them in return; yet that is not their main object, for I have seen a number of instances in which a return was out of the question, where poverty would not admit of it, or distance of abode put it out of the power of the visiter to return the same civilities to his host: when white people are treated in this way, with the best entertainment the house affords, they may be sure it is nothing else than a mark of respect paid to them, and that the attentions they receive do not proceed from any interested view.

CHAPTER XV.

POLITICAL MANŒUVRES.

IN the management of their national affairs, the Indians display as much skill and dexterity, perhaps, as any people upon earth. When a political message is sent to them from a neighbouring nation, they generally contrive to send an answer so ambiguously worded, that it is difficult to come at their real meaning; they conceive this to be the best way of getting rid of a proposal which they do not like, because those who sent them the message are for some time, at least, at a loss

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to comprehend the meaning, and not knowing whether the answer is favourable or unfavourable, their proceedings are necessarily suspended until they can discover its true sense; in this manner have operations been sometimes entirely prevented, and matters have remained in the same situation that they were in before. 648

It may be supposed, perhaps, that such an artful manner of treating each other might be thought provoking, and cause jealousies and disputes among the different parties; such is not, however, the case, as nothing insulting is ever contained in those messages; and as offence is not meant, it is not taken. The Indians consider it on all sides as a kind of diplomatic proceeding, an exercise which tends to invigorate the mind, of which they are very fond. It gives them opportunities to reflect and think deeply on matters of importance, and of displaying their genius, when they have found or discovered the secret of an answer sent to them, or hit upon the true meaning of an ambiguous message.

At the time of the Revolutionary war I witnessed a curious scene of diplomatic manœuvres between two great men of the Delaware nation, both of whom had in their time signalised themselves as brave and courageous men, and had acquired the character of two great war chiefs. The war that I speak of, which had but lately begun, had made it necessary for the Indians to consult their present and future safety. Captain White Eyes, of the Turtle tribe, who was placed at the head of his nation, had its welfare much at heart. He was in favour of their following the advice given them by the American Congress, which was to remain neutral, and not to meddle in the quarrel between the Americans and the parent country. He advised his people, therefore, to remain in friendship with both sides, and not to take up arms against either, as it might bring them into trouble, and perhaps, in the end, effect their ruin. 662 648 [643]

On the other hand, Captain Pipe, of the Wolf tribe,

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who resided at the distance of fifteen miles, where he had his council fire, was of a different opinion, and leaned on the side of the British. He was an artful, ambitious man, yet not deficient in greatness of mind, as I have shewn in a preceding chapter. But his head at that time was full of the wrongs which the Indians had suffered from the Americans, from their first coming into the country; his soul panted for revenge, and he was glad to seize the opportunity that now offered. He professed his readiness to join in proper measures to save the nation, but not such measures as his antagonist proposed; what his real object was he did not openly declare, but privately endeavoured to counteract all that was done and proposed by the other. White Eyes, however, was a sensible upright man, and never was deficient in means to support his own measures, and extricate himself from the snares with which he was on all sides surrounded by Captain Pipe. Thus they went on for upwards of two years, Pipe working clandestinely, and keeping his spies continually on the watch upon the other, while White Eyes acted openly and publicly, as though he knew nothing of what was machinating against him.

At last, a circumstance took place which apparently justified Captain Pipe in the measures he wished to pursue. In March 1778, a number of white people, of those whom we called *Tories*, among whom were M'Kee, Eliott, Girty, and several others, having escaped from Pittsburg, told the Indians wherever they came, "that they must arm "and be off immediately, and kill all the Americans where-"ever they found them, for they had determined to de-"stroy all the Indians, and possess themselves of their "country." White Eyes, not believing what these men said, advised his people to remain quiet, for this report could not be true. Pipe, on the contrary, called his men together, and in a speech which he addressed to them, pronounced every man an enemy to his country who endeavoured to dissuade them from going out against the Ame-

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ricans, and said that all such ought to be put to death. Captain White Eyes was not disconcerted; he immediately assembled his warriors, and told them "that if they "meant in earnest to go out, as he observed some of them "were preparing to do, they should not go without him. "He had taken peace measures in order to save the "nation from utter destruction. But if they believed "that he was in the wrong, and gave more credit to va- "gabond fugitives, whom he knew to be such, than to "himself, who was best acquainted with the real state of "things; if they had determined to follow their advice, "and go out against the Americans, he would go out "with them; he would lead them on, place himself in the "front, and be the first who should fall. They only "had to determine on what they meant to do; for his "own mind was fully made up not to survive his nation, "and he would not spend the remainder of a misera- "ble life, in bewailing the total destruction of a brave "people, who deserved a better fate."

This spirited, and at the same time pathetic, speech of Captain White Eyes, made such an impression on the minds of the audience, that they unanimously declared that they would obey his orders, and listen to no person but himself, either white or of their own colour. Indeed, there was too much force, too much majesty in this address to be resisted; when this was reported to Pipe by his emissaries, he was absolutely confounded, and knew not what to do. A few days afterwards, the council of the Delaware nation received the most friendly and flattering messages from the commandant and Indian agent at Pittsburg, cautioning them, "not to listen to "those worthless men who had run off from them in the "night, and to be assured of the steady friendship of the "Government of the United States." Pipe was so put to the blush, and took this matter so much to heart, that he soon after threw off the mask, permitted his men to go out and murder the Americans, and afterwards went

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off with them to Sandusky, under the protection of the British Government. We have seen in a former chapter that he afterwards saw how impolitic his conduct had been, and probably wished to retrace his steps, but it was too late. He had suffered himself to be misled by his passions, excited by the remembrance of former wrongs, and thus was betrayed into his injudicious conduct. Perhaps also his jealousy of Captain White Eyes, whose superiority his proud mind could not bear, did not in a small degree contribute to it. Pipe was certainly a great man, but White Eyes was, in my opinion, the greatest of the two. I was present when he made the speech which I have related, and never shall forget the impression it made upon me.

Thus Indian politicians work and manage matters against each other without newspaper wrangles, abuse of character, personal quarrels, or open insults. Their ingenuity, when joined to a good cause, generally makes them come off victorious. In a bad cause, on the contrary, they are to meet with detection and defeat, as Captain Pipe, for his misfortune, sadly experienced.

CHAPTER XVI.

MARRIAGE AND TREATMENT OF THEIR WIVES.

THERE are many persons who believe, from the labour that they see the Indian women perform, that they are in a manner treated as slaves. These labours, indeed, are hard, compared with the tasks that are imposed upon females in civilised society; but they are no more than their fair share, under every consideration

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duct of this chief, and by his manly and resolute appearance, that they had not time to reflect upon what they should do, and before their astonishment was well over, the prisoner was out of their reach.

CHAPTER XIX.

WARS AND THE CAUSES WHICH LEAD TO THEM.

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IT is a fixed principle with the Indians, that evil cannot come out of good, that no friend will injure a friend, and, therefore, that whoever wrongs or does harm to another, is his ENEMY. As it is with individuals, so it is with nations, tribes and other independent associations of men. If they commit murder on another people, encroach on their lands, by making it a practice to come within their bounds and take the game from them, if they rob or steal from their hunting camps, or, in short, are guilty of any act of unjust aggression, they cannot be considered otherwise than as ENEMIES; they are declared to be such, and the aggrieved nation think themselves justifiable in punishing them. If murder has been perpetrated, revenge is taken in the same way. If a lesser injury has been done, a message is sent to the chief of the nation to which the wrong-doers belong, to enquire whether the act complained of was authorised, if not to give them warning not to permit the like thing to be done again. If theft or some other like offence has been committed, restitution is at the same time demanded, or such reparation as the case admits of, and the chiefs are de-

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aired to forbid their "young people" to do so any more, or that they will have to abide by the consequence.

There are tribes among the Indians, who claim the exclusive right of hunting within certain bounds, and will not suffer others to intrude and take *their* game from them, as they call it; and there have been instances, when such intruders, being found trespassing after a fair warning, have had their ears and noses cut off, and have been sent home to tell their chiefs that the next time they came again, they should be sent home *without their scalps*. While the Christian Indians of the Lenape nation were settled for a few years on the land of the Chippeways beyond Detroit, where they had taken refuge and were permitted to remain for their safety; though the Chippeways professed reverence for them, and called them *Grandfather*, yet they were continually complaining of their killing their game. They had no objection to their tilling the ground, but every deer, racoon, or other animal which they killed or took, was a cause of displeasure to their hosts; and in consequence of that, they pressed them so often to remove from their lands, that they at last went off.

When the Indians have determined to take revenge for a murder committed by another nation, they generally endeavour to make at once a bold stroke, so as to strike their enemies with terror; for which purpose, they penetrate into the hostile country as far as they can without being discovered, and when they have made their stroke, they leave a war club near the body of the person murdered, and make off as quick as possible. This war club is purposely left that the enemy may know to what nation the act is to be ascribed, and that they may not wreak their vengeance on an innocent tribe. It is meant also to let them know that unless they take measures to discover and punish the author of the original aggression, this instrument will be the means of revenging the injury, or, in other words, war will be forthwith declared against them.

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CHAPTER XXI.

PEACE MESSENGERS.

WHILE the American Indians remained in the free and undisturbed possession of the land which God gave to them, and even for a long time after the Europeans had settled themselves in their territory, there was no people upon earth who paid a more religious respect than they did to the sacred character of ambassadors, or (as they call them) *Messengers of peace*. It is too well known that since about the middle of the last century a great change has taken place, the cause of which, I am sorry to say, the Indians lay entirely to our charge.

The inviolability of the person of an ambassador is one of those sacred fundamental principles of the law of nature which the Almighty Creator has imprinted upon the heart of every living man. History teaches us that the most barbarous and savage nations have at all times admitted and carried it into practice. It is a lamentable truth that all the violations of it that stand upon record, are to be ascribed to civilised man or to his contagious example.

It is certain that among our Indians the person of an ambassador was formerly held most sacred and inviolable. All the nations and tribes were agreed upon this point, that a messenger, though sent by the most hostile people, was entitled not only to respect but to protection. To have, I will not say murdered, but knowingly ill treated a person of this description, was with them an unpardonable crime. War parties were always instructed, if they should find a messenger on his way from one

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nation to another, not only to give him protection but hospitality, and see him safely conducted to the people to whom he was sent.

In the same manner, when a messenger was sent to them by a nation with whom they were at war or at variance, though they might be ever so much exasperated against them, and even though they had firmly determined *not to listen*, that is to say, not to consent to their propositions, whatever they might be, still they would grant their protection to the man of peace, and tell him in their expressive language "that they had taken him "under their wings, or placed him under their arm pits, "where he was perfectly safe." It was with them a point of religious belief, that pacific messengers were under the special protection of the Great Spirit, that it was unlawful to molest them, and that the nation which should be guilty of so enormous a crime would surely be punished by being unsuccessful in war, and perhaps, by suffering a total defeat. Therefore, frequent instances happened of such messengers being sent back with the most threatening messages, such as, that it was determined to wage a war of blood and destruction, and that no quarters would be given, yet the ambassadors themselves did not meet with the least insult or disrespect; they were protected during all the time that they remained in the hostile country, and were safely conducted to their own nation, or at least, so far on their way as to be out of danger from the enemy's warriors, leaving them a sufficient time to reach their houses, before a fresh stroke was made, to give notice that the truce was at an end or that the war was begun. I have heard of messengers being sent back with a message to this effect: "I return "to your bosom, safe and unmolested, the messengers "you sent me. The answer to the speech they brought "me from you, you will learn from my young warriors, "who are gone to *see* you." The nature of the *visit* thus announced may be easily guessed at. The message

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was in fact a declaration of war, with a fair notice that an invasion of the enemy's country was immediately to take place.

Such were the principles, such was the manly conduct of the Indians in former times. How different it is at present I need not say. We yet remember the unhappy fate of Messrs. *Trueman*, *Freeman*, and *Hardin*. These three respectable American gentlemen, were in the year 1792, sent to the Indians with flags of truce and peace proposals, and were all wantonly murdered. To whom is this horrid state of things to be attributed? I will not pretend to judge, but let us hear what the Indians say.

The principal reasons which they assign as having brought about this great change, are comprised under the following general heads.

I. That the white people have intermeddled with their national concerns, by dictating to one nation how they should treat another, and even how they should speak and what they should say to them, and by this means have entirely destroyed their national independence. That they have even encouraged and supported one Indian nation in not only affecting but actually exercising dominion and supremacy over all the others.

II. That the whites have treated the Indians as a contemptible race and paid no regard themselves to the sacred character of messengers, but murdered them as well as their chiefs in numerous instances without distinction. That they even polluted what among them is esteemed most holy and inviolable, their *council fires*, extinguishing them (as they express themselves) with streams of the best blood of their nation, in violation of their professions and most solemn promises! That their whole conduct in short has appeared as if they would say to them: "we "do not care for you; we despise you—all we want is "your lands, and those we will have."

Nor are they at a loss when called upon to specify the particular injuries of which they complain. Amidst a

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a long list of similar grievances, I shall select a few of the most prominent.

1. The protection given against them to the Iroquois, encouraging that nation to insult them, to treat them as women made such by conquest, and to exercise a tyrannical superiority over them.

2. The murder of the Conestogo Indians, at the very place where a *council fire* was burning at the time; where treaties had been held with them in early times, and where even a treaty had been concluded in 1762, the year preceding the murder; and that too, in the country of their brother *Miquon*, in the *Quaker* country, in Pennsylvania.

3. The horrid murder committed between the years 1776 and 1779, on the great and much valued Shawano chief *Cornstalk*, at Kanhawa, where it was known that he was on a friendly and interesting errand.

4. The firing upon and severely wounding a noted Shawano in the year 1774, while on his return from Pittsburg, to which place he had, out of friendship and humanity, conducted several white traders and protected them against an enraged body of Indians, on whose relations the white people had committed most horrid murders.

5. The attacking the peaceable encampment of the Delaware chiefs on the island at Pittsburgh, where one *Messenger* and several others were murdered.

6. The murder of the Christian Indians on Muskingum, by Williamson's party, together with the chief from *Achsinning* (the standing stone,) although the persons thus murdered were known to be friends to the whites.

The Indians relate many more outrages committed on *messengers*, *visiters*, and other *friendly* Indians, of which I shall spare the painful recital to my readers. From this series of unjust and cruel acts, the Indian nations have at last come to the conclusion, that the Americans are in their hearts inimical to them, and that when they

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send them messengers of peace, they only mean to lull them into a fancied security, that they may the easier fall upon and destroy them. It was in consequence of this conviction that the three respectable gentlemen whom I have already mentioned, met with their unhappy fate.

CHAPTER XXII.

TREATIES.

IN early times, when Indian nations, after long and bloody wars, met together for the purpose of adjusting their differences, or concluding a peace with each other, it was their laudable custom, as a token of their sincerity, to remove out of the place where the peace-makers were sitting, all warlike weapons and instruments of destruction, of whatever form or shape. "For," said they, "when we are engaged in a good work, nothing that is "bad must be visible. We are met together to forgive "and forget, to *bury* the destructive weapon, and put it "quite out of sight; we cast away from us the fatal in- "strument that has caused so much grief to our wives "and children, and has been the source of so many tears. "It is our earnest hope and wish that it may never be "dug up again." So particular were they on this point, that if a single weapon had been in sight, while a treaty was negotiating, it would have disturbed their minds by recalling the memory of past events, and instead, (as they say) of gladdening their hearts, by the prospect of

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a speedy peace, would, on the contrary, have filled them with sorrow.

Nor would they even permit any warlike weapons to remain within the limits of their *council fire*, when assembled together about the ordinary business of government. It might, they said, have a bad effect, and defeat the object for which they had met. It might be a check on some of the persons assembled, and perhaps, prevent those who had a just complaint or representation to make, from speaking their minds freely. William Penn, said they, when he treated with them, adopted this ancient mode of their ancestors, and convened them under a grove of shady trees, where the little birds on their boughs were warbling their sweet notes. In commemoration of these conferences (which are always to Indians a subject of pleasing remembrance) they frequently assembled together in the woods, in some shady spot as nearly as possible similar to those where they used to meet their brother *Miquon*, and there lay all his "*words*" or speeches, with those of his descendants, on a blanket or clean piece of bark, and with great satisfaction go successively over the whole. This practice (which I have repeatedly witnessed) continued until the year 1780, when the disturbances which then took place put an end to it, probably for ever.

These pleasing remembrances, these sacred usages are no more. "When we treat with the white people," do the Indians now say, "we have not the choice of the spot "where the messengers are to meet. When we are "called upon to conclude a peace, (and what a peace?) "the meeting no longer takes place in the shady "grove, where the innocent little birds with their cheer-"ful songs, seem as if they wished to soothe and en-"liven our minds, tune them to amity and concord "and take a part in the good work for which we "are met. Neither is it at the sacred council house, "that we are invited to assemble. No!—It is at

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"some of those horrid places, surrounded with mounds "and ditches, where the most destructive of all weapons, "where *great guns*, are gaping at us with their wide "mouths, as if ready to devour us; and thus we are "prevented from speaking our minds freely, as brothers "ought to do!"

How then, say they, can there be any sincerity in such councils? how can a treaty of this kind be binding on men thus forced to agree to what is dictated to them in a strong prison and at the cannon's mouth; where all the stipulations are on one side, where all is concession on the one part and no friendship appears on the other? From these considerations, which they urge and constantly dwell upon, the treaties which they make with the white men have lost all their force, and they think themselves no longer bound by them than they are compelled by superior power. Are they right in this or are they wrong? The impartial reader must decide.

CHAPTER XXIII.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS OF THE INDIANS ON THE WHITE PEOPLE.

THE Indians believe that the Whites were made by the same Great Spirit who created them, and that he assigned to each different race of men a particular employment in this world, but not the same to all. To the whites the great Mannitto gave it in charge to till the ground and raise by cultivation the fruits of the earth;

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CHAPTER XXXVIII.

FRIENDSHIP.

572 152 THOSE who believe that no faith is to be placed in the friendship of an Indian are egregiously mistaken, and know very little of the true character of those men of nature. They are, it is true, revengeful to their enemies, to those who wilfully do them an injury, who insult, abuse, or treat them with contempt. It may be said, indeed, that the passion of revenge is so strong in them that it knows no bounds. This does not, however, proceed from a bad or malicious disposition, but from the violence of natural feelings, unchecked by social institutions, and unsubdued by the force of revealed religion. The tender and generous passions operate no less powerfully on them than those of an opposite character, and they are as warm and sincere in their friendship, as vindictive in their enmities. Nay, I will venture to assert that there 572 are those among them who on an emergency would lay 648 down their lives for a friend: I could fill many pages with examples of Indian friendship and fidelity, not only to each other, but to men of other nations and of a different colour than themselves. How often, when wars were impending between them and the whites, have they not forewarned those among our frontier settlers whom they thought well disposed towards them, that dangerous times were at hand, and advised them to provide for their own safety, regardless of the jealousy which such conduct might excite among their own people? How often did they not even guard and escort them through the most dangerous places until they had reached a secure spot?

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How often did they not find means to keep an enemy from striking a stroke, as they call it, that is to say from proceeding to the sudden indiscriminate murder of the frontier whites, until their friends or those whom they considered as such were out of all danger? 572 648

These facts are familiar to every one who has lived among Indians or in their neighbourhood, and I believe it will be difficult to find a single case in which they betrayed a real friend or abandoned him in the hour of danger, when it was in their power to extricate or relieve him. The word "Friend" to the ear of an Indian does not convey the same vague and almost indefinite meaning that it does with us; it is not a mere complimentary or social expression, but implies a resolute determination to stand by the person so distinguished on all occasions, and a threat to those who might attempt to molest him; the mere looking at two persons who are known or declared friends, is sufficient to deter any one from offering insult to either. When an Indian believes that he has reason to suspect a man of evil designs against his friend, he has only to say emphatically: "This is "*my friend*, and if any one tries to hurt him, I will do "to him *what is in my mind*." It is as much as to say that he will stand in his defence at the hazard of his own life. This language is well understood by the Indians, who know that they would have to combat with a spirited warrior, were they to attempt any thing against his friend. By this means much bloodshed is prevented; for it is sufficiently known that an Indian never proffers his friendship in vain. Many white men and myself among others have experienced the benefit of their powerful as well as generous protection.

When in the spring of the year 1774, a war broke out between the Virginians and the Shawanese and Mingoes, on account of murders committed by the former on the the latter people, and the exasperated friends of those

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●648 who had suffered had determined to kill every white man in their country, the Shawano chief *Silver-heels*,* taking another Indian with him, undertook out of friendship to escort several white traders from thence to Albany, a distance of near two hundred miles; well knowing at the time that he was running the risk of his own life, from exasperated Indians and vagabond whites, if he should meet with such on the road, as in fact he did on his return. I have already said how he was rewarded for this noble act of friendship and self devotion.

In the year 1779, the noted Girty with his murdering party of Mingoes, nine in number, fell in with the Missionary Zeisberger, on the path leading from Goschacking to Gnadenhütten; their design was to take that worthy man prisoner, and if they could not seize him alive, to murder him and take his scalp to Detroit. They were on the point of laying hold of him, when two young spirited Delawares providentially entered the path at that critical moment and in an instant presented themselves to defend the good Missionary at the risk of their lives. Their determined conduct had the desired success, and his life was saved. His deliverers afterwards declared that they had no other motive for thus exposing themselves for his sake than that he was a friend to their nation and was considered by them as a good man.

But why should I speak of others when I have myself so often experienced the benefits of Indian protection and friendship. Let me be permitted to corroborate my assertions on this subject by my own personal testimony.

In the year 1777, while the revolutionary war was raging, and several Indian tribes had enlisted on the British side, and were spreading murder and devastation along our unprotected frontier, I rather rashly determined to take a journey into the country on a visit to my friends. Captain White Eyes, the Indian hero, whose

* The same whom I have spoken of above, page 174, No. 4.

[Loc. cit. See cat. 116, p. 348. Analyst]

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character I have already described,* resided at that time at the distance of seventeen miles from the place where I lived. Hearing of my determination, he immediately hurried up to me, with his friend Captain Wingenund, (whom I shall presently have occasion further to mention) and some of his young men, for the purpose of escorting me to Pittsburg, saying, "that he would not "suffer me, to go, while the Sandusky warriors were out "on war excursions, without a proper escort and *himself* "at my side." He insisted on accompanying me and we set out together. One day, as we were proceeding along, our spies discovered a suspicious track. White Eyes, who was riding before me, enquired whether I felt afraid? I answered that while he was with me, I entertained no fear. On this he immediately replied, "You "are right; for until I am laid prostrate at your feet, no "one shall hurt you." "And even not then," added Wingenund, who was riding behind me; "before this "happens, I must be also overcome, and lay by the side "of our friend *Koguethagechton*."† I believed them, and I believe at this day that these great men were sincere, and that if they had been put to the test, they would have shewn it, as did another Indian friend by whom my life was saved in the spring of the year 1781. From behind a log in the bushes where he was concealed, he espied a hostile Indian at the very moment he was levelling his piece at me. Quick as lightning he jumped between us, and exposed his person to the musket shot just about to be fired, when fortunately the aggressor desisted, from fear of hitting the Indian whose body thus effectually protected me, at the imminent risk of his own life. Captain White Eyes, in the year 1774, saved in the same manner the life of David Duncan, the peace-messenger, whom he was escorting. He rushed, regardless of his own life, up to an inimical Shawanese, who was aiming

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* See ch. xv. p. 139 † The Indian name of Capt. White Eyes.

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at our ambassador from behind a bush, and forced him to desist.

I could enumerate many other similar acts, but I think I have shewn enough for my purpose. Mr. Zeisberger fully agreed with me in the opinion, that it is impossible to deny to the Indians the praise of firm attachment and sincere friendship. It is not meant to say, that all will carry that feeling to the same pitch of heroism; but it is certain that there are many among them, whose strong attachments and a manly pride will induce to risk their lives in the defence of their friends. And, indeed, there is no Indian, who would not blush at being reproached that after boasting that a particular person was his friend, he had acted the coward when his friendship was put to the test, and had shrunk from venturing his own life, when there was even a chance of saving that of the man whom he professed to love.

It is not true, as some have supposed, that an Indian's friendship must be purchased by presents, and that it lasts only so long as gifts continue to be lavished upon them. Their attachments, on the contrary, are perfectly disinterested. I admit that they receive with pleasure a present from a friend's hand. They consider presents as marks of the giver's good disposition towards them. They cannot, in their opinion, proceed from an enemy, and he who befriends them, they think must love them. Obligations to them are not burdensome, they love to acknowledge them, and whatever may be their faults, ingratitude is not among the number.

Indeed, the friendship of an Indian is easily acquired, provided it is sought in good faith. But whoever chooses to obtain it must be sure to treat them on a footing of perfect equality. They are very jealous of the whites, who, they think affect to consider themselves as beings of a superior nature and too often treat them with rude undeserved contempt. This they seldom forgive, while on the

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other hand, they feel flattered when a white man does not disdain to treat them as children of the same Creator. Both reason and humanity concur in teaching us this conduct; but I am sorry to say that reason and humanity are in such cases too little attended to. I hope I may be permitted to expatiate a little on this subject; perhaps it may be beneficial to some white persons hereafter.

The Indians are, as I have already observed before,* excellent physiognomists. If they are accosted by or engaged in business with a number of whites, though they may not understand the language that is spoken, they will pretty accurately distinguish by the countenance, those who despise their colour from those who are under the influence of a more generous feeling, and in this they are seldom mistaken. They fix their eyes on the whole party round, and read as it were in the souls of the individuals who compose it. They mark those whom they consider as their friends, and those whom they think to be their enemies, and are sure to remember them ever after. But what must those expect, if a war or some other circumstance should put them into the power of the Indians, who, relying on their supposed ignorance of our idiom, do not scruple even in their presence to apply to them the epithets of *dogs*, *black d—ls*, and the like? Will not these poor people be in some degree justifiable in considering those persons as decidedly hostile to their race? such cases have unfortunately too frequently happened, and the savages have been blamed for treating as enemies those who had so cruelly wounded their most delicate feelings! many white men have been thus put to death, who had brought their fate on themselves by their own imprudence. On the other hand the Indians have not failed to mark those who at the time reprobated such indecent behaviour and reproached their companions for using such improper language. In the midst of war these

* Page 190.

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572 benevolent Christians have been treated as friends, when
648 perhaps, they had forgotten the humane conduct to which they were indebted for this kind usage.

Their reasoning in such cases is simple, but to them always conclusive. They merely apply their constant maxim, which I believe I have already noticed, that "good can never proceed from evil or evil from good, "and that good and evil, like heterogeneous substances, "can never combine or coalesce together." How far this maxim is founded in a profound knowledge of human nature, it is not my business to determine; what is certain is that they adhere to it in almost every occasion. If a person treats them ill, they ascribe it invariably to his bad heart; it is the bad spirit within him that operates; he is, therefore, a bad man. If on the contrary one shews them kindness, they say he is prompted so to act by "the good spirit within him," and that he has a *good heart;* for if he had not, he would not do good. It is impossible to draw them out of this circle of reasoning, and to persuade them that the friendship shewn to them may be dissembled and proceed from motions of interest; so convinced are they of the truth of their general principle "that good cannot proceed from an evil source."

The conduct of the Europeans towards them, particularly within the last fifty or sixty years, has, however, sufficiently convinced them that men may dissemble, and that kind speeches and even acts of apparent friendship do not always proceed from friendly motives, but that the bad spirit will sometimes lurk under the appearance of the good. Hence, when they speak of the whites in general, they do not scruple to designate them as a false, deceitful race; but it is nevertheless true that with individuals, they frequently forget this general impression, and revert to their own honest principle; and if a white man only behaves to them with common humanity, it is still easy to get access to their simple hearts. Such are those brutes, those savages, from whom, according to

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some men, no faith is to be expected, and with whom no faith is to be kept; such are those *barbarous* nations, as they are called, whom God, nevertheless, made the lawful owners and masters of this beautiful country; but who, at no very remote time, will probably live, partially live, only in its history.

My object in this chapter is to prove that those men are susceptible of the noblest and finest feelings of genuine friendship. It is not enough that by a long residence among them, I have acquired the most complete conviction of this truth; facts and not opinions, I know, are expected from me. Perhaps I might rest satisfied with the proofs that I have already given, but I have only shewn the strength and have yet to display the *constancy* of their attachments; and although in the story which I am going to relate, a friend was forced to see his friend perish miserably without having it in his power to save him from the most terrible death that vengeance and cruelty could inflict, we shall not be the less astonished to see him persevere in his friendly sentiments, under circumstances of all others the most calculated, (particularly to an Indian) not only to have entirely extinguished, but converted those sentiments into feelings of hatred and revenge.

I am sorry to be so often obliged to revert to the circumstance of the cruel murder of the Christian Indians on the Sandusky river* in the year 1782, by a gang of banditti, under the command of one Williamson. Not satisfied with this horrid outrage, the same band, not long afterwards marched to Sandusky, where it seems they had been informed that the remainder of that unfortunate congregation had fled, in order to perpetrate upon them the same indiscriminate murder. But Providence had so ordered it that they had before left that place, where they had found that they could not remain in safety, their ministers having been taken from them and carried to

[erratum. See vol. 116, p. 348, - Analyst]

* See above, pages 65. 174.

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Detroit by order of the British government, so that they had been left entirely unprotected. The murderers, on their arrival, were much disappointed in finding nothing but empty huts. They then shaped their course towards the hostile Indian villages, where being, contrary to their expectations, furiously attacked, Williamson and his band took the advantage of a dark night and ran off, and the whole party escaped, except one Colonel Crawford and another, who being taken by the Indians, were carried in triumph to their village, where the former was condemned to death by torture, and the punishment was inflicted with all the cruelty that rage could invent. The latter was demanded by the Shawanese and sent to them for punishment.

While preparations were making for the execution of this dreadful sentence, the unfortunate Crawford recollected that the Delaware chief Wingenund,* of whom I have spoken in the beginning of this chapter, had been his friend in happier times; he had several times entertained him at his house, and shewed him those marks of attention which are so grateful to the poor despised Indians. A ray of hope darted through his soul, and he requested that Wingenund, who lived at some distance from the village, might be sent for. His request was granted, and a messenger was despatched for the chief, who, reluctantly, indeed, but without hesitation, obeyed the summons, and immediately came to the fatal spot.

This great and good man was not only one of the bravest and most celebrated warriors, but one of the most amiable men of the Delaware nation. To a firm undaunted mind, he joined humanity, kindness and universal benevolence; the excellent qualities of his heart had obtained for him the name of *Wingenund*, which in the Lenape language signifies *the well beloved*. He had kept away

* This name, according to the English orthography, should be written *Wingaonend* or *Wingaynoend*, the second syllable accented and long, and the last syllable short.

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from the tragical scene about to be acted, to mourn in silence and solitude over the fate of his guilty friend, which he well knew it was not in his power to prevent. He was now called upon to act a painful as well as difficult part: the eyes of his enraged countrymen were fixed upon him; he was an Indian and a Delaware; he was a leader of that nation, whose defenceless members had been so cruelly murdered without distinction of age or sex, and whose innocent blood called aloud for the most signal revenge. Could he take the part of a chief of the base murderers? Could he forget altogether the feelings of ancient fellowship and give way exclusively to those of the Indian and the patriot? Fully sensible that in the situation in which he was placed the latter must, in appearance, at least, predominate, he summoned to his aid the firmness and dignity of an Indian warrior, approached Colonel Crawford and waited in silence for the communications he had to make. The following dialogue now took place between them.

CRAWF. Do you recollect me, Wingenund?

WINGEN. I believe I do; are you not Colonel Crawford?

CRAWF. I am. How do you do? I am glad to see you, Captain.

WINGEN. (embarrassed) So! yes, indeed.

CRAWF. Do you recollect the friendship that always existed between us, and that we were always glad to see each other?

WINGEN. I recollect all this. I remember that we have drunk many a bowl of punch together. I remember also other acts of kindness that you have done me.

CRAWF. Then I hope the same friendship still subsists between us.

WINGEN. It would, of course, be the same, were you in your proper place and not here.

CRAWF. And why not here, Captain? I hope you would not desert a friend in time of need. Now is the

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time for you to exert yourself in my behalf, as I should do for you, were you in my place.

WINGEN. Colonel Crawford! you have placed yourself in a situation which puts it out of my power and that of others of your friends to do any thing for you.

CRAWF. How so, Captain Wingenund?

WINGEN. By joining yourself to that execrable man, Williamson and his party; the man, who, but the other day murdered such a number of the Moravian Indians, knowing them to be friends; knowing that he ran no risk in murdering a people who would not fight, and whose only business was praying.

CRAWF. Wingenund, I assure you, that had I been with him at the time, this would not have happened; not I alone but all your friends and all good men, wherever they are, reprobate acts of this kind.

WINGEN. That may be; yet these friends, these good men did not prevent him from going out again, to kill the remainder of those inoffensive, yet *foolish* Moravian Indians! I say *foolish*, because they believed the whites in preference to us. We had often told them that they would be one day so treated by those people who called themselves their friends! We told them that there was no faith to be placed in what the white men said; that their fair promises were only intended to allure us, that they might the more easily kill us, as they have done many Indians before they killed these Moravians.

CRAWF. I am sorry to hear you speak thus; as to Williamson's going out again, when it was known that he was determined on it, I went out with him to prevent him from committing fresh murders.

WINGEN. This, Colonel, the Indians would not believe, were even I to tell them so.

CRAWF. And why would they not believe it?

WINGEN. Because it would have been out of your power to prevent his doing what he pleased.

CRAWF. Out of my power! Have any Moravian Indians been killed or hurt since we came out?

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WINGEN. None; but you went first to their town, and finding it empty and deserted you turned on the path towards us? If you had been in search of warriors only, you would not have gone thither. Our spies watched you closely. They saw you while you were embodying yourselves on the other side of the Ohio; they saw you cross that river; they saw where you encamped at night; they saw you turn off from the path to the deserted Moravian town; they knew you were going out of your way; your steps were constantly watched, and you were suffered quietly to proceed until you reached the spot where you were attacked.

CRAWF. What do they intend to do with me? Can you tell me?

WINGEN. I tell you with grief, Colonel. As Williamson and his whole cowardly host, ran off in the night at the whistling of our warrior's balls, being satisfied that now he had no Moravians to deal with, but men who could fight, and with such he did not wish to have any thing to do; I say, as he escaped, and they have taken you, they will take revenge on you in his stead.

CRAWF. And is there no possibility of preventing this? Can you devise no way to get me off? You shall, my friend, be well rewarded if you are instrumental in saving my life.

WINGEN. Had Williamson been taken with you, I and some friends, by making use of what you have told me, might perhaps, have succeeded to save you, but as the matter now stands, no man would dare to interfere in your behalf. The king of England himself, were he to come to this spot, with all his wealth and treasures could not effect this purpose. The blood of the innocent Moravians, more than half of them women and children, cruelly and wantonly murdered calls aloud for *revenge*. The relatives of the slain, who are among us, cry out and stand ready for *revenge*. The nation to which they belonged will have *revenge*. The Shawanese, our grand-

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children, have asked for your fellow prisoner; on him they will take *revenge*. All the nations connected with us cry out *Revenge! revenge!* The Moravians whom you went to destroy having fled, instead of avenging their brethren, the offence is become national, and the nation itself is bound to take REVENGE!

CRAWF. Then it seems my fate is decided, and I must prepare to meet death in its worst form?

WINGEN. Yes, Colonel!—I am sorry for it; but cannot do any thing for you. Had you attended to the Indian principle, that as good and evil cannot dwell together in the same heart, so a good man ought not to go into evil company; you would not be in this lamentable situation. You see, now, when it is too late, after Williamson has deserted you, what a bad man he must be! Nothing now remians for you but to meet your fate like a brave man. Farewel, Colonel Crawford! they are coming;* I will retire to a solitary spot.

I have been assured by respectable Indians that at the close of this conversation, which was related to me by Wingenund himself as well as by others, both he and Crawford burst into a flood of tears; they then took an affectionate leave of each other, and the chief immediately *hid himself in the bushes*, as the Indians express it, or in his own language, retired to a solitary spot. He never, afterwards, spoke of the fate of his unfortunate friend without strong emotions of grief, which I have several times witnessed. Once, it was the first time that he came into Detroit after Crawford's sufferings, I heard him censured in his own presence by some gentlemen who were standing together for not having saved the life of so valuable a man, who was also his particular friend, as he had often told them. He listened calmly to their censure, and first turning to me, said in his own language: "These men talk like fools," then turning to

* The people were at that moment advancing, with shouts and yells, to torture and put him to death.

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them, he replied in English: "If king George himself, "if your king had been on the spot with all his ships "laden with goods and treasures, he could not have ran- "somed my friend, nor saved his life from the rage of a "*justly* exasperated multitude." He made no further allusion to the act that had been the cause of Crawford's death, and it was easy to perceive that on this melancholy subject, grief was the feeling that predominated in his mind. He felt much hurt, however, at this unjust accusation, from men who, perhaps, he might think, would have acted very differently in his place. For, let us consider in what a situation he found himself, at that trying and critical moment. He was a Delaware Indian and a highly distinguished character among his nation. The offence was national, and of the most atrocious kind, as it was wanton and altogether unprovoked. He might have been expected to partake with all the rest of his countrymen in the strong desire which they felt for *revenge*. He had been Crawford's friend, it is true, and various acts of sociability and friendship had been interchanged between them. But, no doubt, at that time, he believed him, at least, not to be an enemy, to his nation and colour, and if he was an enemy, he might have expected him to be, like himself, a fair, open generous foe. But when he finds him enlisted with those who are waging a war of extermination against the Indian race, murdering in cold blood, and without distinction of age or sex, even those who had united their fate to that of the whites, and had said to the Christians: "Your people shall be *our* people, and your God *our* "God,"* was there not enough here to make him disbelieve all the former professions of such a man, and to turn his abused friendship into the most violent enmity and the bitterest rage. Instead of this we see him persevering to the last in his attachment to a person, who, to say the least, had ceased to be deserving of it; we see him in the face of his enraged countrymen avow that

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* Ruth, i. 16.

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572 friendship, careless of the jealousy that he might excite; we see him not only abstain from participating in the national revenge, but deserting his post, as it were, seek a solitary spot to bewail the death of him, whom, in spite of all, he still loved, and felt not ashamed to call his *friend*.

It is impossible for friendship to be put to a severer test, and the example of Wingenund proves how deep a root this sentiment can take in the mind of an Indian, when even such circumstances as those under which the chief found himself, fail to extinguish it.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

PREACHERS AND PROPHETS.

THERE was a time when the preachers and prophets of the Indians, by properly exerting the unbounded influence which the popular superstitions gave them, might have excited among those nations such a spirit of general resistance against the encroachments of the Europeans, as would have enabled them, at least, to make a noble stand against their invaders, and perhaps to recover the undisturbed possession of their country. Instead of following the obvious course which reason and nature pointed out; instead of uniting as one nation in defence of their natural rights, they gave ear to the artful insinuations of their enemies, who too well understood the art of sowing unnatural divisions among them. It was not until Canada, after repeated struggles, was finally conquered from the French by the united arms of Great Bri-

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tain and her colonies, that they began to be sensible of their desperate situation—this whole northern continent being now in the possession of one great and powerful nation, against whom it was vain to attempt resistance. Yet it was at this moment that their prophets, impelled by ambitious motives, began to endeavour by their eloquence to bring them back to independent feelings, and create among them a genuine national spirit; but it was too late. The only rational resource that remained for them to prevent their total annihilation was to adopt the religion and manners of their conquerors, and abandon savage life for the comforts of civilised society; but of this but a few of them were sensible; in vain Missionaries were sent among them, who, through the greatest hardships and dangers exerted themselves to soften their misfortunes by the consolations of the Christian faith, and to point out to them the way of salvation in this world and the next; the banner of Christ was comparatively followed but by small numbers, and these were persecuted by their friends, or, at least, those who ought to have been such, as well as by their enemies. Among the obstacles which the Missionaries encountered, the strong opposition which was made to them by the prophets of the Indian nations was by no means the least.

I have known several of these preachers and prophets during my residence in the Indian country, and have had sufficient opportunities to observe the means which they took to operate on the minds of their hearers. I shall content myself with taking notice here of a few of the most remarkable among them.

In the year 1762, there was a famous preacher of the Delaware nation, who resided at *Cayahaga*, near Lake Erie, and travelled about the country, among the Indians, endeavouring to persuade them that he had been appointed by the great Spirit to instruct them in those things that were agreeable to him, and point out to them the offences by which they had drawn his displeasure on

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son is present, or even accidentally comes by before the skin is taken off, he presents it to him, saying, "Friend, "skin your deer," and immediately walks off. William Wells, whom I have before spoken of, once paid me this compliment, and when I asked him the reason, he answered that it was the custom among the Indians on the Wabash.

In the year 1792, I travelled with a number of Indian chiefs of various tribes from Post Vincennes to Marietta, and I found in most instances that their usages and customs were the same that I had observed among the Delawares.

The Indians in general, although they understand and speak our language, yet prefer speaking to a white man through an interpreter. For this they give various reasons. With some it is a matter of pride; as their chiefs deliver their public speeches through interpreters, they think that they appear with more dignity when they do the same. Others imagine that their words will have greater weight and effect when expressed in proper grammatical language, while some are afraid of committing mistakes when speaking in an idiom not their own. Particularly when they have a joke to pass, a hint to give, or a shrewd remark to make, they wish it to have all the advantages of a good translation, and that their wit may not be spoiled by a foreign accent, improper expression, or awkward delivery.

Though the Indian is naturally serious, he does not dislike a jest on proper occasions, and will, sometimes even descend to a pun. Once at a dinner given at Marietta by the late colonel Sproat, to a number of gentlemen and Indian chiefs of various tribes, a Delaware chief, named George Washington, asked me what the name of our good friend, the Colonel, meant in the Lenape language? It should be observed that Colonel Sproat was remarkably tall. I told him that *Sprout* (for so the name is pronounced) meant in English a shoot, or twig of a

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522 tree. "No, no," replied the Indian, "no shoot or twig, "but the *tree* itself."

648 609 I have spoken before* of the wit of the Indians, and the shrewd and pointed remarks which they occasionally make, but passed rather lightly on the subject. A few characteristic anecdotes will best supply this deficiency.

An Indian who spoke good English, came one day to a house where I was on business, and desired me to ask a man who was there and who owed him some money, to give an order in writing for him to get a little salt at the store, which he would take in part payment of his debt. The man, after reproving the Indian for speaking through an interpreter when he could speak such good English, told him that he must call again in an hour's time, for he was then too much engaged. The Indian went out and returned at the appointed time, when he was put off again for another hour, and when he came the third time, the other told him he was still engaged and he must come again in half an hour. My Indian friend's patience was now exhausted, he turned to me and addressed me thus in his own language: "Tell this man," said he, "that while I have been waiting for his conve- "nience to give me an order for a little salt, I have had "time to think a great deal. I *thought* that when we "Indians want any thing of one another, we serve each "other on the spot, or if we cannot, we say so at once, "but we never say to any one 'call again! call again! "call again! three times call again!' Therefore when "this man put me off in this manner, I *thought* that, to "be sure, the white people were very ingenious, and "probably he was able to do what no body else could. "I *thought* that as it was afternoon when I first came, "and he knew I had seven miles to walk to reach my "camp, he had it in his power to stop the sun in "its course, until it suited him to give me the order that I "wanted for a little salt. So *thought* I, I shall still have "day light enough, I shall reach my camp before night,

* Ch. 6. p. 88.

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"and shall not be obliged to walk in the dark, at the "risk of falling and hurting myself by the way. But "when I saw that the sun did not wait for him, and I "had at least to walk seven miles in an obscure night, I "*thought* then, that it would be better if the white people "were to learn something of the Indians."

I once asked an old Indian acquaintance of mine, who had come with his wife to pay me a visit, where he had been, that I had not seen him for a great while? "Don't "you know," he answered, "that the white people some "time ago summoned us to a treaty, to buy land of "them?"—"That is true," replied I, "I had indeed for- "gotten it; I thought you was just returned from your "fall hunt."—"No, no," replied the Indian, "my fall "hunt has been lost to me this season; I had to go and "get my share of the purchase money for the land we "sold."—"Well then," said I, "I suppose you got "enough to satisfy you?"

INDIAN. "I can shew you all that I got. I have recei- "ved such and such articles, (naming them and the "quantity of each), do you think that is enough?"

HECKEW. "That I cannot know, unless you tell me "how much of the land which was sold came to your "share."

INDIAN. (after considering a little) "Well, you, my "friend! know who I am, you know I am a kind of chief. "I am, indeed, one, though none of the greatest. Nei- "ther am I one of the lowest grade, but I stand about in "the middle rank. Now, as such, I think I was enti- "tled to as much land in the tract we sold as would lie "within a day's walk from this spot to a point due "north, then a day's walk from that point to another "due west, from thence another day's walk due south, "then a day's walk to where we now are. Now you "can tell me if what I have shewn you is enough for all "the land lying between these four marks?"

HECKEW. "If you have made your bargain so with

[ERRATUM. See cat. 116, p. 348. Analyst]

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●648 "the white people, it is all right, and you probably have "received your share."

INDIAN. "Ah! but the white people made the bar- "gain by themselves, without consulting us. They told "us that they would give us so much, and no more."

HECKEW. "Well, and you consented thereto?"

INDIAN. "What could we do, when they told us that "they must have the land, and for such a price? Was "it not better to take something than nothing? for they "would have the land, and so we took what they gave "us."

HECKEW. "Perhaps the goods they gave you came "high in price. The goods which come over the great "salt water lake sometimes vary in their prices."

INDIAN. "The traders sell their goods for just the "same prices that they did before, so that I rather think "it is the *land* that has fallen in value. We, Indians, "do not understand selling lands to the white people; "for, when we sell, the price of land is always low; land "is then cheap, but when the white people sell it out "among themselves, it is always dear, and they are sure "to get a high price for it. I had done much better if "I had staid at home and minded my fall hunt. You "know I am a pretty good hunter and might have killed "a great many deer, sixty, eighty, perhaps a hundred, "and besides caught many racoons, beavers, otters, "wild cats, and other animals, while I was at this treaty. "I have often killed five, six, and seven deer in one day. "Now I have lost nine of the best hunting weeks in the "season by going to get what you see! We were told "the precise time when we must meet. We came at the "very day, but the great white men did not do so, and "without them nothing could be done. When after some "weeks they at last came, we traded, we sold our lands "and received goods in payment, and when that was over, "I went to my hunting grounds, but the best time, the "rutting time, being over, I killed but a few. Now, help

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"me to count up what I have lost by going to the treaty. 648
"Put down eighty deer; say twenty of them were bucks,
"each buckskin one dollar; then sixty does and young
"bucks at two skins for a dollar; thirty dollars, and
"twenty for the old bucks, make fifty dollars lost to me
"in deer skins. Add, then, twenty dollars more to this
"for racoon, beaver, wild cat, black fox, and otter
"skins, and what does the whole amount to?"

HECKEW. "Seventy dollars."

INDIAN. "Well, let it be only seventy dollars, but
"how much might I have bought of the traders for this
"money! How well we might have lived, I and my fa-
"mily in the woods during that time! How much meat
"would my wife have dried! how much tallow saved
"and sold or exchanged for salt, flour, tea and choco- [593]
"late! All this is now lost to us; and had I not such a
"good wife (stroking her under the chin) who planted
"so much corn, and so many beans, pumpkins, squashes,
"and potatoes last summer, my family would now live
"most wretchedly. I have learned to be wise by going
"to treaties, I shall never go there again to sell my land
"and lose my time."

I shall conclude this desultory chapter with another 461
anecdote which is strongly characteristic of the good sense of the Indians, and shews how much their minds are capable of thought and reflection.

Seating myself once upon a log, by the side of an Indian, who was resting himself there, being at that time actively employed in fencing in his corn field, I observed to him that he must be very fond of working, as I never saw him idling away his time, as is so common with the Indians. The answer which he returned made considerable impression on my mind; I have remembered it ever since, and I shall try to relate it as nearly in his own words as possible.

"My friend!" said he, "the fishes in the water and the
"birds in the air and on the earth have taught me to

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But if the Indians, after all, are really those horrid monsters which they are alleged to be, two solemn serious questions have often occurred to my mind, to which I wish the partisans of that doctrine would give equally serious answers. 648●

1. Can civilised nations, can nations which profess Christianity, be justified in employing people of that description to aid them in fighting their battles against their enemies, Christians like themselves?

2. When such nations offer up their prayers to the throne of the most High, supplicating the divine Majesty to grant success to their arms, can they, ought they to expect that those prayers will be heard?

I have done. Let me only be permitted, in conclusion, to express my firm belief, the result of much attentive observation and long experience while living among the Indians, that if we would only observe towards them the first and most important precept of our holy religion, "to do to others as we would be done to;" if instead of employing them to fight our battles, we encouraged them to remain at peace with us and with each other, they might easily be brought to a state of civilisation, and become CHRISTIANS.

I still indulge the hope that this work will be accomplished by a wise and benevolent government. Thus we shall demonstrate the falsity of the prediction of the Indian prophets, who say: "That when the whites shall have "ceased killing the red men, and got all their lands from "them, the great tortoise which bears this island upon "his back, shall dive down into the deep and drown "them all, as he once did before, a great many years "ago; and that when he again rises, the Indians shall "once more be put in possession of the whole country."

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1. What is the name of your tribe? Is it its original name; if not, how was it formerly called? 124

2. Have you a tradition of your lineal descent as a nation or tribe?

3. To what tribes are you related by blood, and where do they reside?

4. What is your character or rank in the national family?

5. Which among the tribes connected with you is that which you call *grandfather?*

6. Where is the great council fire of all the nations or tribes connected with yours?

7. How do you address the chiefs and council of such a nation or tribe?

8. What is the badge of your tribe?

From these and other similar questions, much valuable information will probably result. The nation whom another tribe calls *grandfather*, is certainly the head of the family to which they both belong. At his door burns the "great national council fire," or, in other words, at the place where he resides with his counsellors, as the great or supreme chief of the national family, the heads of the tribes in the connexion occasionally assemble to deliberate on their common interests; any tribe may have a council fire of its own, but cannot dictate to the other tribes, nor compel any of them to take up the hatchet against an enemy; neither can they conclude a peace for the whole; this power entirely rests with the great national chief, who presides at the council fire of their *grandfather.* 648

Indian nations or tribes connected with each other are not always connected by blood or descended from the same original stock. Some are admitted into the connexion by adoption. Such are the Tuscaroras among the Six Nations; such the Cherokees among the Lenni Lenape. Thus, in the year 1779, a deputation of fourteen men came from the Cherokee nation to the council

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fire of the Delawares, to condole with their *grandfather* on the loss of their head chief. There are tribes, on the other hand, who have wandered far from the habitations of those connected with them by blood or relationship. It is certain that they can no longer be benefited by the general council fire. They, therefore, become a people by themselves, and pass with us for a separate nation, if they only have a name; nevertheless, (if I am rightly informed) they well know to what stock or nation they originally belonged, and if questioned on that subject, will give correct answers. It is therefore very important to make these enquiries of any tribe or nation that a traveller may find himself among. The analogy of languages is the best and most unequivocal sign of connexion between Indian tribes; yet the absence of that indication should not always be relied upon.

It may not be improper also to mention in this place that the purity or correctness with which a language is spoken, will greatly help to discover who is the head of the national family. For no where is the language so much cultivated as in the vicinity of the great national council fire, where the orators have the best opportunity of displaying their talents. Thus the purest and most elegant dialect of the Lenape language, is that of the Unami or Turtle tribe.

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are neither reasons nor positive facts. I am not prepared to enter into a discussion with you on the comparative merits or demerits of the Indians and whites; for I am unskilled in argument, and profess only to be a plain *matter of fact* man. To facts, therefore, I will appeal. I admit that the Indians have sometimes revenged, cruelly revenged, the accumulated wrongs which they have suffered from unprincipled white men; the love of revenge is a strong passion which their imperfect religious notions have not taught them to subdue. But how often have they been the aggressors in the unequal contests which they have had to sustain with the invaders of their country? In how many various shapes have they not been excited and their passions roused to the utmost fury by acts of cruelty and injustice on the part of the whites, who have made afterwards the country ring with their complaints against the lawless savages, who had not the means of being heard in their defence? I shall not pursue these questions any farther, but let the facts that I am going to relate speak for themselves.

In the summer of the year 1763, some friendly Indians from a distant place, came to Bethlehem to dispose of their peltry for manufactured goods and necessary implements of husbandry. Returning home well satisfied, they put up the first night at a tavern, eight miles distant from this place.* The landlord not being at home, his wife took the liberty of encouraging the people who frequented her house for the sake of drinking to abuse those Indians, adding, "That she would freely give a gal-"lon of rum to any one of them that should kill one of "these black d——ls." Other white people from the neighbourhood came in during the night, who also drank freely, made a great deal of noise, and increased

* This relation is authentic; I have received it from the mouth of the chief of the injured party, and his statement was confirmed by communications made at the time by two respectable magistrates of the county.

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the fears of those poor Indians, who, for the greatest part, understanding English, could not but suspect that something bad was intended against their persons. They were not, however, otherwise disturbed: but in the morning, when, after a restless night they were preparing to set off, they found themselves robbed of some of the most valuable articles they had purchased, and on mentioning this to a man who appeared to be the bar-keeper, they were ordered to leave the house. Not being willing to lose so much property, they retired to some distance into the woods, where, some of them remaining with what was left them, the others returned to Bethlehem and lodged their complaint with a justice of the peace. The magistrate gave them a letter to the landlord, pressing him without delay to restore to the Indians the goods that had been taken from them. But behold! when they delivered that letter to the people at the inn, they were told in answer: "that if they set any value on their "lives, they must make off with themselves immediate-"ly." They well understood that they had no other alternative, and prudently departed without having received back any of their goods. Arrived at Nescopeck on the Susquehannah, they fell in with some other Delawares, who had been treated much in the same manner, one of them having had his rifle stolen from him. Here the two parties agreed to take revenge in their own way, for those insults and robberies for which they could obtain no redress; and that they determined to do as soon as war should be again declared by their nation against the English. 648

Scarcely had these Indians retired, when in another place, about fourteen miles distant from the former, one man, two women and a child, all quiet Indians, were murdered in a most wicked and barbarous manner, by drunken militia officers and their men, for the purpose of getting their horse and the goods they had just purchas-

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ed.* One of the women, falling on her knees, begged in vain for the life of herself and her child, while the other woman, seeing what was doing, made her escape to the barn, where she endeavoured to hide herself on the top of the grain. She however was discovered, and inhumanly thrown down on the threshing floor with such force that her brains flew out.

Here, then, were insults, robberies and murders, all committed within the short space of three months, unatoned for and unrevenged. There was no prospect of obtaining redress; the survivors were therefore obliged to seek some other means to obtain revenge. They did so; the Indians, already exasperated against the English in consequence of repeated outrages, and considering the nation as responsible for the injuries which it did neither prevent nor punish, and for which it did not even offer to make any kind of reparation, at last declared war, and then the injured parties were at liberty to redress themselves for the wrongs they had suffered. They immediately started against the objects of their hatred, and finding their way, unseen and undiscovered, to the inn which had been the scene of the first outrage, they attacked it at day break, fired into it on the people within, who were lying in their beds. Strange to relate! the murderers of the man, two women, and child, were among them. They were mortally wounded, and died of their wounds shortly afterwards. The Indians, after leaving this house, murdered by accident an innocent family, having mistaken the house that they meant to attack, after which they returned to their homes.

Now a violent hue and cry was raised against the Indians—no language was too bad, no crimes too black to brand them with. No faith was to be placed in those savages; treaties with them were of no effect; they ought to be cut off from the face of the earth! Such was the

* Justice Geiger's letter to Justice Horsefield proves this fact.

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language at that time in every body's mouth; the newspapers were filled with accounts of the cruelties of the Indians, a variety of false reports were circulated in order to rouse the people against them, while they, the really injured party, having no printing presses among them, could not make known the story of their grievances. 648●

"No faith can be placed in what the Indians promise "at treaties; for scarcely is a treaty concluded than they "are again murdering us." Such is our complaint against these unfortunate people; but they will tell you that it is the white men in whom no faith is to be placed. They will tell you, that there is not a single instance in which the whites have not violated the engagements that they had made at treaties. They say that when they had ceded lands to the white people, and boundary lines had been established—"firmly established!" beyond which no whites were to settle; scarcely was the treaty signed, when white intruders again were settling and hunting on their lands! It is true that when they prefered their complaints to the government, the government gave them many fair promises and assured them that men would be sent to remove the intruders by force from the usurped lands. The men, indeed, came, but with chain and compass in their hands, taking surveys of the tracts of good land, which the intruders, from their knowledge of the country, had pointed out to them!

What was then to be done, when those intruders would not go off from the land, but, on the contrary, increased in numbers? "Oh!" said those people, (and I have myself frequently heard this language in the Western country,) "a new treaty will soon give us all this land; no-"thing is now wanting but a pretence to pick a quarrel "with them!" Well, but in what manner is this quarrel to be brought about? A *David Owen*, a *Walker*, and many others, might, if they were alive, easily answer this question. A precedent, however, may be found, on perusing Mr. Jefferson's Appendix to his Notes on Vir-

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ginia. On all occasions, when the object is to murder Indians, strong liquor is the main article required; for when you have them dead drunk, you may do to them as you please, without running the risk of losing your life. And should you find that the laws of your country may reach you where you are, you have only to escape or conceal yourself for a while, until the storm has blown over! I well recollect the time when thieves and murderers of Indians fled from impending punishment across the Susquehannah, where they considered themselves safe; on which account this river had the name given to it of "*the rogue's river.*" I have heard other rivers called by similar names.

In the year 1742, the Reverend Mr. Whitefield offered the Nazareth Manor (as it was then called) for sale to the United Brethren. He had already begun to build upon it a spacious stone house, intended as a school house for the education of negro children. The Indians, in the meanwhile, loudly exclaimed against the white people for settling in this part of the country, which had not yet been legally purchased of them, but, as they said, had been obtained by fraud.* The Brethren declined purchasing any lands on which the Indian title had not been properly extinguished, wishing to live in peace with all the Indians around them. Count Zinzendorff happened at that time to arrive in the country; he found that the agents of the proprietors would not pay to the Indians the price which they asked for that tract of land; he paid them out of his private purse the whole of the demand which they made in the height of their ill temper, and moreover gave them permission to abide on the land, at their village, (where, by the bye, they had a fine large peach orchard) as long as they should think proper. But among those white men, who afterwards came and settled in the neighbourhood of their tract, there

* Alluding to what was at that time known by the name of the *long day's walk*.

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were some who were enemies to the Indians, and a young Irishman, without cause or provocation, murdered their good and highly respected chief *Tudemi*,* a man of such an easy and friendly address, that he could not but be loved by all who knew him. This, together with the threats of other persons, ill disposed towards them, was the cause of their leaving their settlement on this manor, and removing to places of greater safety. 648

It is true, that when flagrant cases of this description occurred, the government, before the revolution, issued proclamations offering rewards for apprehending the offenders, and in later times, since the country has become more thickly settled, those who had been guilty of such offences were brought before the tribunals to take their trials. But these formalities have proved of little avail. In the first case, the criminals were seldom, if ever, apprehended; in the second, no jury could be found to convict them; for it was no uncommon saying among many of the men of whom juries in the frontier countries were commonly composed, that no man should be put to death for killing an Indian; for it was the same thing as killing a wild beast!

But what shall I say of the conduct of the British agents, or deputy agents, or by whatsoever other name they may be called, who, at the commencement of the American revolution, openly excited the Indians to kill and destroy all the rebels without distinction? "Kill "all the rebels," they would say, "put them all to death, "and spare none." A veteran chief of the Wyandot nation, who resided near Detroit, observed to one of them that surely it was meant that they should kill men only, and not women and children. "No, no," was the answer, "kill all, destroy all; "*nits breed lice!*" The brave veteran† was so disgusted with this reply, that he refused to go out at all; wishing however to see and 648 727

* See above, p. 300.

† The same of whom I have spoken above, p. 160.

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converse with his old brother soldiers of the Delaware nation, with whom he had fought against the English in the French war, he took the command of a body of ninety chosen men, and being arrived at the seat of the government of the Delawares, on the Muskingum, he freely communicated to his old comrades (among whom was Glikhican, whom I shall presently have occasion further to mention) what had taken place, and what he had resolved on; saying that he never would be guilty of killing women and children; that this was the first and would be the last of his going out this war; that in ten days they should see him come back with one prisoner only, no scalp to a pole, and no life lost. He kept his word. The sixteen chiefs under him, from respect and principle, agreed to all his proposals and wishes.

How different the conduct of the Indians from that of their inhuman employers! I have already related the noble speech of Captain Pipe to the British Commandant at Detroit, and I have done justice to the character of that brave officer, who surely ought not to be confounded with those Indian agents that I have spoken of. But what said Pipe to him? "Innocence had no part "in your quarrels; and therefore I distinguished—I spa- "red. Father! I hope you will not destroy what I "have saved!"* I have also told the conduct of the two young spirited Delawares† who saved the life of the venerable Missionary Zeisberger, at the risk of their own. But it is not only against their own people that Indians have afforded their protection to white men, but against the whites themselves.

In the course of the revolutionary war, in which (as in all civil commotions) brother was seen fighting against brother, and friend against friend, a party of Indian warriors, with whom one of those white men, who, under colour of attachment to their king, indulged in every sort of crimes, was going out against the settlers on the Ohio,

* See above, pp. 123, 124. † Above, p. 274.

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to kill and destroy as they had been ordered. The chief of the expedition had given strict orders not to molest any of the white men who lived with their friends the Christian Indians; yet, as they passed near a settlement of these converts, the white man, unmindful of the orders he had received, attempted to shoot two of the Missionaries who were planting potatoes in their field, and though the Captain warned him to desist, he still obstinately persisted in his attempt. The chief, in anger, immediately took his gun from him, and kept him under guard until they had reached a considerable distance from the place. I have received this account from the chief himself, who on his return sent word to the Missionaries that they would do well not to go far from home, as they were in too great danger from the *white people*.

Another white man of the same description, whom I well knew, related with a kind of barbarous exultation, on his return to Detroit from a war excursion with the Indians in which he had been engaged, that the party with which he was, having taken a woman prisoner who had a sucking babe at her breast, he tried to persuade the Indians to kill the child, lest its cries should discover the place where they were; the Indians were unwilling to commit the deed, on which the white man at once jumped up, tore the child from its mother's arms, and taking it by the legs dashed its head against a tree, so that the brains flew out all around. The monster in relating this story said "The little dog "all the time was making *wee!*" He added, that if he were sure that his old father, who some time before had died in Old Virginia, would, if he had lived longer, have turned rebel, he would go all the way into Virginia, raise the body, and take off his scalp!

Let us now contrast with this the conduct of the Indians. Carver tells us in his travels with what moderation, humanity and delicacy they treat female prisoners,

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and particularly pregnant women.* I refer the reader to the following fact, as an instance of their conduct in such cases. If his admiration is excited by the behaviour of the Indians, I doubt not that his indignation will be raised in an equal degree by that of a white man who unfortunately acts a part in the story.

A party of Delawares, in one of their excursions during the revolutionary war, took a white female prisoner. The Indian chief, after a march of several days, observed that she was ailing, and was soon convinced (for she was far advanced in her pregnancy) that the time of her delivery was near. He immediately made a halt on the bank of a stream, where at a proper distance from the encampment, he built for her a close hut of peeled barks, gathered dry grass and fern to make her a bed, and placed a blanket at the opening of the dwelling as a substitute for a door. He then kindled a fire, placed a pile of wood near it to feed it occasionally, and placed a kettle of water at hand where she might easily use it. He then took her into her little infirmary, gave her Indian medicines, with directions how to use them, and told her to rest easy and she might be sure that nothing should disturb her. Having done this, he returned to his men, forbade them from making any noise, or disturbing the sick woman in any manner, and told them that he himself should guard her during the night. He did so, and the whole night kept watch before her door, walking backward and forward, to be ready at her call at any moment, in case of extreme necessity. The night passed quietly, but in the morning, as he was walking by on the bank of the stream, seeing him through the crevices, she called to him and presented her babe. The good chief, with tears in his eyes, rejoiced at her safe delivery; he told her not to be uneasy, that he should lay by for a few days and would soon bring her some nourishing food, and some medicines to take. Then going to his encamp-

* Carver's Travels, ch. 9. p. 196. Edit. above cited.

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ment, he ordered all his men to go out a hunting, and remained himself to guard the camp. 698 727

Now for the reverse of the picture. Among the men whom this chief had under his command, was one of those white vagabonds whom I have before described. The captain was much afraid of him, knowing him to be a bad man; and as he had expressed a great desire to go a hunting with the rest, he believed him gone, and entertained no fears for the woman's safety. But it was not long before he was undeceived. While he was gone to a small distance to dig roots for his poor patient, he heard her cries, and running with speed to her hut, he was informed by her that the white man had threatened to take her life if she did not immediately throw her child into the river. The captain, enraged at the cruelty of this man, and the liberty he had taken with his prisoner, hailed him as he was running off, and told him "That the moment he should miss the child, the tomo-"hawk should be in his head." After a few days this humane chief placed the woman carefully on a horse, and they went together to the place of their destination, the mother and child doing well. I have heard him relate this story, to which he added, that whenever he should go out on an excursion, he never would suffer a white man to be of his party.

Yet I must acknowledge that I have known an Indian chief who had been guilty of the crime of killing the child of a female prisoner. It was Glikhican, of whom I have before spoken, as one of the friends of the brave Wyandot who expressed so much horror at the order given to him by the Indian agents to murder women and children.* In the year 1770, he joined the congregation of the Christian Indians; the details of his conversion are related at large by Loskiel in his History of the Missions.† Before that time he had been conspicuous as a warrior and a counsellor, and in oratory it is said he

* See above, p. 338. † Loskiel, p. 3. ch. 3.

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never was surpassed. This man, having joined the French, in the year 1754, or 1755, in their war against the English, and being at that time out with a party of Frenchmen, took, among other prisoners, a young woman, named *Rachel Abbott*, from the Conegocheague settlement, who had at her breast a sucking babe. The incessant cries of the child, the hurry to get off, but above all, the persuasions of his *white* companions, induced him, much against his inclination, to kill the innocent creature; while the mother, in an agony of grief, and her face suffused with tears, begged that its life might be spared. The woman, however, was brought safe to the Ohio, where she was kindly treated and adopted, and some years afterwards was married to a Delaware chief of respectability, by whom she had several children, who are now living with the Christian Indians in Upper Canada.

Glikhican never forgave himself for having committed this crime, although many times, and long before his becoming a Christian, he had begged the woman's pardon with tears in his eyes, and received her free and full forgiveness. In vain she pointed out to him all the circumstances that he could have alleged to excuse the deed; in vain she reminded him of his unwillingness at the time, and his having been in a manner compelled to it by his French associates; nothing that she did say could assuage his sorrow or quiet the perturbation of his mind; he called himself a wretch, a monster, a *coward* (the proud feelings of an Indian must be well understood to judge of the force of this self-accusation), and to the moment of his death the remembrance of this fatal act preyed like a canker worm upon his spirits. I ought to add, that from the time of his conversion he lived the life of a Christian, and died as such.

The Indians are cruel to their enemies!—In some cases they are, but perhaps not more so than white men have sometimes shewn themselves. There have been in-

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stances of white men flaying or taking off the skin of Indians who had fallen into their hands, then tanning those skins or cutting them in pieces, making them up into razor-straps, and exposing those for sale, as was done at or near Pittsburg sometime during the revolutionary war. Those things are abominations in the eyes of the Indians, who, indeed, when strongly excited, inflict torments on their prisoners and put them to death by cruel tortures, but never are guilty of acts of barbarity in cold blood. Neither do the Delawares and some other Indian nations, ever on any account disturb the ashes of the dead.

The custom of torturing prisoners is of ancient date, and was first introduced as a trial of courage. I have been told, however, that among some tribes it has never been in use; but it must be added that those tribes gave no quarter. The Delawares accuse the Iroquois, of having been the inventors of this piece of cruelty, and charge them further with eating the flesh of their prisoners after the torture was over. Be this as it may, there are now but few instances of prisoners being put to death in this manner.

Rare as these barbarous executions now are, I have reason to believe that they would be still less frequent, if proper pains were taken to turn the Indians away from this heathenish custom. Instead of this, it is but too true that they have been excited to cruelty by unprincipled white men, who have joined in their war-feasts and even added to the barbarity of the scene. Can there be a more brutal act than, after furnishing those savages, as they are called, with implements of war and destruction, to give them an ox to kill and to roast whole, to dance the war dance with them round the slaughtered animal, strike at him, stab him, telling the Indians at the same time: "Strike, stab! Thus you must do to your "enemy!" Then taking a piece of the meat and tearing it with their teeth: "So you must eat his flesh!" and

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sucking up the juices: "Thus you must drink his "blood!" and at last devour the whole as wolves do a carcass. This is what is known to have been done by some of those Indian agents that I have mentioned.

Is this possible? the reader will naturally exclaim. Yes, it is possible, and every Indian warrior will tell you that it is true. It has come to me from so many credible sources that I am forced to believe it. How can the Indians now be reproached with acts of cruelty to which they have been excited by those who pretended to be Christians and civilised men, but who were worse savages than those whom, no doubt, they were ready to brand with that name.

When hostile governments give directions to employ the Indians against their enemies, they surely do not know that such is the manner in which their orders are to be executed; but let me tell them and every government who will descend to employing these auxiliaries, that this is the only way in which their subaltern agents will and can proceed to make their aid effectual. The Indians are not fond of interfering in quarrels not their own, and will not fight with spirit for the mere sake of a livelihood which they can obtain in a more agreeable manner by hunting and their other ordinary occupations. Their passions must be excited, and that is not easily done when they themselves have not received any injury from those against whom they are desired to fight. Behold, then, the abominable course which must unavoidably be resorted to—to induce them to do what?—to lay waste the dwelling of the peaceable cultivator of the land, and to murder his innocent wife and his helpless children! I cannot pursue this subject farther, although I am far from having exhausted it. I have said enough to enable the impartial reader to decide which of the two classes of men, the Indians and the whites, are most justly entitled to the epithets of brutes, barbarians and savages. It is not for me to anticipate his decision.

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built in front of the opening before they go in and hot stones placed in the middle of the inclosed area. Not long after they have entered, they are covered with perspiration, then they crawl out and cool off, returning to repeat the same thing three or four times. Women have their own sweating ovens though they do not use them as commonly as do the men.[34]

Blood-letting and cupping are also in vogue among them. For blood-letting they use flint or glass. Of either they break off little fragments until a piece is secured that suits the purpose. This is fixed to a short stick, placed upon the artery and struck. In case of cupping, they open the skin with a knife, put a little calabash over the opening, burning birch-bast instead of a lamp.

The Delaware Nation, consisting of three tribes, the Unamis,[35] Wunalachticos[36] and Monsys,[37] formerly lived in the region about Philadelphia, also in Jersey about Trenton, Brunswick and Amboy. The Unamis are the chief people of the nation; their language, differing but little from that of the Wunalachtico, is the most melodious. The Monsy tongue is quite different, even though the three grew out of one parent language. The last named tribe lived in Minnissing[38] along the Delaware, behind the Blue Mountains.

Among Indians belonging to the Moravian Congregation on the Muskingum River there are some old people, who were in Philadelphia when the first houses were built there. They are able to relate how peaceably and agreeably the whites and Indians dwelt together, as if they had been one people, being ever ready each to serve the other. Even among the savages there are old people, who tell the following, as I have heard it from various individuals.

Before the whites had come into the land, there had been Indians who foretold that someone would come to them across the great sea. This they had repeated on various occasions in the hearing of other Indians, at the last even indicating the day when this should come to pass, the event making good their words. How these Indians could have foretold it, no one professes to know, the only explanation offered being that there

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436 is even now the case, though they are not accounted as valuable as at one time. Formerly they sometimes used in the place of the belts the wing of some large bird, which is still done among the nations living in remoter regions, where wampum is rare or not to be had at all, where there is no trade with Europeans and some have not even seen wampum. Occasionally, though not often, embassies from such distant people come to the Delawares.[43]

211 A belt is given in confirmation of a message or speech, as
212 they know nothing of writing; an answer given is similarly ratified by a belt of the same size. An alliance or league is hardly
● 648 arranged by two peoples with less than twenty belts of wampum. Often thirty or more are required.

175 As I have digressed from the main matter, viz., the character and nature of the land, I must yet in passing notice how it came about that the Delawares, who had lived near the sea and along the Delaware River, came to Alleghene,[44] where they were strangers and had no claim to the land. Some eighty years ago, more or less, the whites being already in the country and many of the Delawares having moved far up the Delaware River, a party of these Indians, with the cousin of a chief as captain, went on a hunt. They were attacked by Cherokees, at that time dwelling along the Allegheny and its branches, and some of them were killed, the captain, a cousin of the chief, among the rest. The survivors fled to their homes, related to the chief what had happened and suggested that he give them more men in order that they might avenge themselves on their enemies. The chief, however, put them off and did not let them go, even though he sorrowed over the loss they had suffered. After the lapse of a year the chief sent out several hundred men to avenge themselves on the Cherokees (the Delawares at that time already having European arms). When they arrived at the enemies' first towns along the Allegheny, they found no one, for all had fled at the news of the Delawares' approach. The latter pursued, the Cherokees constantly retreating until they were overtaken at the great island[45] at the fork where Pittsburg is now situated. Perceiving that the Delawares were strong in num-

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which the Delawares were enticed by the Six Nations. The woman's dress of the Delaware nation was shortened so as to reach only to the knees and a hatchet was given into their hands for defense. More than this, on the occasion of a council held during the same war, near Pittsburg, the Six Nations proposed to take the woman's dress away altogether and clothe them with the breech-clout, saying they could well see that the dress was a hindrance, inasmuch as the Delawares did not enter heartily into the war, being well aware that the Six Nations only sought their ruin. This, therefore, was not approved of by the Delawares, one of their chiefs rising to say to the Six Nations, "Why do you wish to rob the woman of her dress? I tell you that if you do, you will find creatures in it that are ready to bite you."

The Six Nations who had betrayed the Delawares into a war with the white people, at the last fell upon them themselves at the instigation of Sir William Johnson, taking many captives, especially of the Monsy [Monsey] tribe, whom they delivered over to Johnson, destroying and ravaging their towns on the Susquehanna and killing their cattle.[48½] The Delawares will not easily forget this piece of treachery and there is and remains a national hostility between these nations. In this present war the Delawares have done much to avenge themselves.

With the Mohicanders and Woapanose[49] the Six Nations also carried on wars for a long time; through the instrumentality of white people peace was eventually declared between them at Albanien.[50]

Concerning the country in which the Delawares formerly lived, viz., in Pennsylvania and Jersey, it is unnecessary to add anything, as these regions are well known. Along the Susquehanna, where our Indians lived, that is, at Friedenshütten,[51] the country is beautiful and the soil good along the river, but away from the river in the heart of the country it is very mountainous and of no use to the Indians except for the chase. Where the Indians would prepare land and plant, the soil must be of the best. In many cases where the Europeans would think it possible to have fine farms, the Indians would not look at the soil.

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ingratiate himself with the people and stand by his counsellors. Hence, it is that the chiefs are generally friendly, gracious, hospitable, communicative, affable and their house is open to every Indian. Even strangers who come on business put up in the chief's house and are accommodated with the best it affords. The ambassadors of other nations generally lodge with the chief and they are well cared for. If their number is too great, and it has happened in connection with weighty affairs concerning several nations that ten or twenty men of other nations have arrived at the principal chief's house, they are put into a separate house and provided with every thing at the public expense, the counsellors taking care that they are entertained most hospitably in order that the nation may be in good repute amongst other nations.

In externals a chief has no advantages above others. He must provide for his own maintenance, for no one is under any obligation to supply his wants. His wife, whose duty it is to provide sufficient corn for the year, is usually assisted by other women in her plantations, for much corn is required in such a house. If the chief is young and able to hunt he will, his official duties permitting, occasionally join the chase. He will even secure his own firewood as far as possible. In case he is old his friends, of whom there are usually many, and other Indians will furnish him with game, especially if he be popular.

The council house is either the house of the chief, which is commonly large and roomy, or a building erected for that purpose. Here public councils are held, that is, such where messages which have arrived from whites or other Indians are published. Every one may listen and the messages are also discussed. In case there is something of particular importance to consider, only the chief and the counsellors assemble and determine upon the matter. The old chief Netawatwes[259] used to lay all affairs of state before his council for consideration. When they gave him their opinion, he either approved of it or indicated what was missing or not correct in the speech, upon which they would make the necessary amendments. Thus he kept them active and was held in great esteem.

The chief has the council bag in his possession, as also the

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But when a belt is given few words are spoken, and they must be words of great importance, frequently requiring an explanation. Belts are of pure wampum worked in all manner of clever forms by the Indian women, they being informed in each case what the figures must be, inasmuch as the figures must correspond with the message. A belt is three or four inches broad and about a yard long.[283] Neither color nor the other quantities of wampum are matters of indifference, but have an immediate reference to those things which they are meant to confirm. A white string of belt signifies a good message and such a belt may have figures in dark wampum. If a treaty is to be made or renewed with another nation the message is commonly accompanied by a Road Belt. This is a white belt with two rows of black wampum running the entire length with a white row between the two black rows also running the entire length of the belt. This signifies that the way from one nation to another has been cleared of all brush, trees and stones. At the ends of the belt the two nations are likewise represented by two small dark spots. If a string or belt of wampum is intended to confirm a warning against evil or an earnest reproof the belt delivered is in black. When a nation is called upon to go to war or war declared against it the belt is black or marked with red, having in the middle the figure of an hatchet in white wampum. A peace belt is quite white, a fathom long and a hand broad and of not inconsiderable value.

A chief has more use for the white wampum than the black. In particular cases and upon extraordinary occasions a voluntary contribution of wampum is made by the whole tribe or nation. The rich are considered as principal supporters of the chiefs and furnish them with wampum in an emergency, which rarely occurs more than once in three years. The usual expenses are defrayed from the treasury chest of the council, which is never empty, because when wampum is paid out usually an equal amount comes in. In general the chief does not speak in council, but has his speaker to whom he communicates his sentiments briefly and leaves him to expatiate on them. The latter must be able to put the whole matter in a speech well arranged, which requires a clear and open understanding, a faithful mem-

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council in a solemn speech. If the subjects are of great importance all who take part in the discussion stand as they speak. Each counsellor has the liberty to utter his sentiments and having made his speech, sits down. No one interrupts the speaker but all sit silent and attentive as if engaged in an act of devotion. The speeches are delivered in a pleasing manner and the words of the speakers flow as readily as if they were read from a manuscript. Whoever visits such an assembly, whether white man or savage Indian, cannot but be profoundly impressed. 623

A subject is often very thoroughly and extendedly discussed. The chiefs and counsellors in turn give their opinions and suggestions. When all have spoken, one of them is called upon to sum up the principal parts of all the speeches in a concise manner. This is done extempore and the necessary amendments proposed, every subject being brought into as short and comprehensive statement as possible. Before deliberations begin, the strings and belts of wampum must be placed in due order, for whatever is said without being confirmed by them is considered vain and without effect. They are so accustomed to this that when they communicate the contents of a message, merely in private conversation, they cannot do so without something in their hands, a strap, a ribbon or a blade of grass. Holding some such thing in his hand the speaker will recount the points in proper order as with the strings or belts of wampum thereto belonging. 623 211 [521]

When chiefs are compelled to give answer to a proposition of which they do not approve, but which they have consented to consider because they did not wish openly to offer an affront, they are able to frame their reply in so figurative and equivocal a style as to allow of almost any desired interpretation or application. Those who receive such an answer, know as little after the reply has been given as before, but are ashamed to ask further, lest they should be regarded as stupid and because chiefs are supposed to understand everything. 623 195

When treaty of peace is made with another nation it is determined that it shall last as long as sun and moon shine or rise and set, as long as the stars are in the heavens and the rivers 648

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648 and waters flow. In this connection, nations who make the treaty, or are allies, exchange a pipe between them which is called the pipe of peace. Such a pipe is carefully preserved and generally lighted in council by a captain or chief, whenever anything occurs relating to the ally and each member smokes a little out of it. The one who carries about the pipe reminds the members of the council of the covenant and the time of its establishment. The head of the pipe is commonly of stone, the stem of wood wound with a fine ribbon neatly decorated with white corals, the latter the work of the women.

It is the duty of the chief to maintain peace, to advise peace as long as possible. It is not in his power to begin war as long as the captains are averse to this. Without their consent he may not accept a war belt. If it is received this is on condition that he will turn it over to the captains for consideration. The chief must endeavor to preserve peace to the utmost of his power. If the captains are unanimous in declaring war he is obliged, as it were, to deliver the care of his people for the time being into their hands, for they are the warriors.

In the matter of choice of a chief various things are to be observed. The principal captain may choose a chief and inaugurate him, and it is also in his power to take him out of office if the chief proves a poor regent, acts contrary to the customs, does according to his own wishes and refuses to accept counsel. The captains, who always have the people on their side may thus forsake a chief, not only refusing to support him but even publicly announcing that they do not agree with him, and thus his power is at an end. The chief must always be a member of that tribe in which he presides. The sons of a chief cannot inherit their father's dignity, for the reason that they are not and cannot be, according to established usages, members of the tribe, inasmuch as children do not inherit tribal rights from the father but from the mother.[265] No Indian will marry a person in his own tribe, as he is too closely related to all in it. Herein, the Indians allege, is to be found the reason for the existence of the tribes. Were it not for these, they could not be quite sure whether persons to be married are near relatives or not. Hence, it is, also, that children are considered the property of the wife.

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it raw. When an Indian nation wishes to excite another to war, it sometimes happens that they send one or more prisoners to such a nation with the words, "We send you this prisoner to make some broth," and frequently gain their aim in this fashion. The prisoner, however, is not devoured but executed without mercy. There is no rescuing him from horrible death.

Captains, when about to go to war, send to the captains of nations or towns who are in league with them a piece of tobacco to smoke, thus notifying them that they themselves will soon follow. By this they intend that the captains shall smoke their pipes and consider seriously whether they will take part in the war or not. One chief about to visit another will, similarly, send him a piece of tobacco with the message that he shall smoke, look in a certain direction and in due time he will see the sender coming. This is done to make sure that the visitor will find the chief whom he wishes to visit at home.

The last war of the nations was between the Six Nations, the Delawares and Shawanose and the Cherokees, the latter pitted against the rest. This war continued many years until peace was concluded in 1768,[272] as, a few years before, peace had been made between the Six Nations and the Catabe-Nation[273] through the mediation of Sir William Johnson at Albany. Concerning earlier Indian wars nothing is known and since that time war with the whites has engaged the attention of all the Indian nations.

With the Delawares the following nations are in league: The Mahikander,[274] the Shawanose, the Cherokees, the Twichtwes,[275] the Wawiachtanos,[276] the Kikapus,[277] the Wiondats, the Tuckachschas,[278] the Chipuways, Ottawas, the Putewoatamen[279] and the Kaskaski.[280] The two last named dwell along the Wabash.[281]

The Shawanose, who formerly lived in Florida and have ever been a warlike people, had a war with the Moshkos.[282] The latter were the stronger and the Shawanose were reduced to a few remnants. The survivors left their country, came as fugitives up the Ohio to the Susquehanna. [Susquehannah]. They moved from place to place until they fell in with a strong party of Delawares. With these they entered into negotiations, stat-

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ing that they were fugitives and wished to settle in the country of the Delawares and under their protection. The Delawares adopted them as grandchildren, even as had been done with the Mahikanders. The Shawanose now call the Delawares grandfather.[283] They lived for some time in the Forks of the Delaware and then moved to Wajomick[284] on the Susquehanna. Having increased considerably in numbers they moved to the western branch of that river and, later, as they deemed themselves secure in the alliance with the Delawares and sufficiently strong to venture it, to the Ohio above Great Island.[285] Here they commenced hostilities against the Cherokees. The latter pursued often following the Shawanose into the country of the Delawares. Unwittingly they killed some of the latter. This brought on a new war between the Delawares and the Cherokees, beginning, as indicated, by the Shawanose and not ended until the year 1768. The Shawanose lived for several years on the Ohio near Kittannünk,[286] whence they moved to Logstown,[287] twenty miles below Pittsburg, and from there to the Sioto, whence the Americans drove them and entirely destroyed their settlements, for the reason that they were guilty of constant attack on the settlements of the whites and of many murderous acts.[288] After this the Shawanose turned westward.

The Delawares have not engaged in war with any of the nations named except the Cherokees. Because these nations were in league with the Delawares, and called each other brothers (the Shawanose excepted), the Cherokees made peace with the Delawares, calling them grandfather, all these nations followed them and entered into alliance with them, and the Shawanose, having been adopted by the Delawares are so secure that no nation will venture to attack them, even though they are a cruel, warlike people.

It appears from what has been stated that the Delawares have powerful connections, being in league with most nations. Had the Delawares allowed themselves to be enticed in the present war, America's experiences would have been different. As these remained neutral, the nations in league with them did the same, except the Shawanose, who have nearly cut off their relations with "the grandfather." The Delawares are grand-

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father to all these nations and they are the grandchildren. The Cherokees live on the east side of the Ohio, in the mountains opposite North Carolina. The Chipuways[199] are a numerous people on the north coast of Lake Erie. The Ottawas and the Putewoataimen live to the west of Lake Erie, but a great way beyond it. The Twichttwees and the Wawiachtanos dwell between the Sioto and the Wabash and the Kikapus, the Moshkos and Tuckachschas on both sides of the Wobash, yet a considerable distance from one another.

The country through which the Wobash [Wabash] flows is very level. Here are great plains producing nothing but grass as in the flats of Wajomik.[200] In a journey of some days you meet with neither hill, tree nor thicket. Upon these plains herds of buffalo are seen grazing, comprising sometimes of hundreds of head. The banks of the Ohio are subject to frequent inundation, especially in the spring when the snow melts in the north. For several miles on either side of the river the country will at such a time be under water. Should Indians be hunting at this time, they find it necessary to be careful of their canoes, lest they should suffer want or death, for once the water overflows the banks, it runs out many miles and there is no escape without a canoe. Buffalo and other game perish in large numbers in such floods. Where there is a slight elevation animals gather by the hundreds, until the waters recede. In that region there is a great salt-lick, much visited by buffalo and other game.[201] There bones and teeth of elephants of considerable size have been found, both by whites and Indians. In earlier times there must have been elephants in this region. Whether they were exterminated by the Indians or perished in some other way, it is not easy to determine.

The (Wiondats), or Hurons, have been given the latter name because formerly they lived near Lake Huron, (the Delawares call them Delamattenos),[202] they call the Delaware nation their cousin, and the latter in turn call them uncle. With these the Delawares have never had a war but have always been good friends. Between the Delawares and the Six Nations there has never been real friendship, because the latter secured peace in no straight-forward manner. Recognizing that the Delawares

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were too powerful for them, they pretended that it would not be good for the nations to wage war continually and that one nation ought to be the woman and that nation must be the Delawares, as they were the greatest warriors. Afterward they alleged that they had conquered the Delawares. In the war which began in 1755 and lasted until the sixties the Delawares challenged the Six Nations on the occasion of a Treaty in Pittsburg, but the latter returned no answer.[192] 648

Of late years the Delawares have amazingly increased in reputation through the wise management of the Chief Netawatwes. This man spared no pains to gain the friendship of all the nations. He sent frequent embassies to the grandchildren, and showed himself a true grandfather. When the Delawares sent a message to the allied nations, the speech began with each string or belt of wampum, "Grand-children;" the nations address the Delawares, "Grandfather." The Wyondats and Six Nations are addressed "Uncle," and the Europeans, "Brother." The speech is generally addressed directly to the chief, though meant for the whole nation.

The nations generally addressed the French as "Father," when the latter were in possession of Canada and had intercourse with them. The same appellation was transferred to the English when they conquered Canada. In the other colonies Europeans and Indians called one another "Brothers." This practice was followed by Sir William Johnson.

Indians explain the origin of Nations and their names by saying, and this not unlikely, that the inhabitants of towns or districts named themselves according to the places where they dwelt. Thus even at the present time Delawares who live in Goschachgünk are commonly called Goschachgiwak, that is Goschachgühlser — "people of Goschachgünk." [773]

A message sent or a speech in council goes or is delivered in the name of the three tribes, signifying the three chiefs. The Turtle tribe is named first, next the Wolf Tribe and the Turkey Tribe last. 202 623 648

When a message is returned, not having been accepted, the belt or string of wampum that has been rejected is thrown on the floor of the council house, after it has been announced why

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the message was not welcome. The refusal is considered a great affront and no one of the chiefs or counsellors will touch the rejected wampum belt or string. This lies on the floor, the men of the Council leaving the place, until some old woman removes it.

Concerning usages and ceremonies connected with the election of a chief the following should have been added. If a chief of the Turtle Tribe is to be elected his own tribe does not choose him but the chiefs of the other two tribes do this. Similarly, if a chief of the Wolf or Turkey Tribe were to be elected, the tribe concerned would have no part in the election. The election is conducted in the following manner. As each tribe lives in a town of its own, the two chiefs, upon whom the election devolves, meet with their counsellors and people at an appointed place, and after all necessary preparations have been made — some thirty belts of wampum are required and a number of speeches arranged for — they move in a procession toward the town where the election is to take place. The two chiefs head the procession and one of them sings along the whole way the speeches that are to be made to the chief about to be elected, singing in a tone used on this and no other occasion. Thus they, still singing, enter the town where the chief is to be elected. They find everything prepared for the occasion, enter the council house at the east end, pass on one side the two or three fires that have been made and sit down on the other side. Next the inhabitants of the town enter, welcome the guests by shaking their hands and sit down on the other side of the fire. One of the two chiefs, in a singing tone, opens the proceedings by explaining the object of the meeting, condoling with the chief elect, wipes the tears from his eyes, clears his ears and throat, removes all sorrow on account of the departed chief from his heart and comforts him. Next he declares him to be chief and formally fills the office made vacant by the death of the former chief. He then exhorts the young people to be obedient to their new chief, whenever he shall require their assistance, and explains to them how they are to conduct themselves toward the chief. The speech is confirmed by means of two belts of

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order that at home they may have nothing but good to report. As hospitality is generally practiced, strangers are everywhere well received and suffer no want, even though they may remain for days, or weeks or months. It is recognized as a duty to care for the wants of a guest as long as he may choose to remain and even to give him provisions for the journey when he does make up his mind to go.

On the occasion of making or renewing a treaty with another nation a dance very different from the ordinary dance is engaged in. The dancers join hands and leap in a circle for some time. Suddenly the leader lets the hand of one of his partners go, springs forward and turns around several times, by which he draws the whole company round so as to be enclosed by them, when they stand close together. They disengage themselves as suddenly, yet keeping hold of hands during all the different evolutions and changes in the dance; this, as they explain it, represents the chain of friendship; a song, used only at such a solemnity, is sung by all.

The War Dance is very wild and dreadful to behold. One dancer carries his hatchet, another a long knife, another a large club, a fourth a cudgel. These they brandish in the air, to signify how they intend to treat or have treated their enemies, affecting all the while an air of anger and fury. The Mingoes use the war dance even in times of peace with a view to celebrate their heroic deeds.

They regard the Europeans as a peaceable people, created of God to live according to their own manners and customs, even as the Indians have been created to live in their fashion, especially to sustain themselves by means of the chase. They think it contrary to the will of the deity to adopt, themselves, the manner of living peculiar to Europeans, pointing to fish, animals and birds as each having their characteristic habits. Each creature, bear, deer or other animal, continues to live in its own way, and it has never yet been observed that an animal had adopted the habits of another. The same principle, they hold, applies to Indians and Europeans. They recognize that the Europeans are industrious and clever, that without oppor-

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829 tunity to trade with them their position would be without many of the advantages they now enjoy. They admit that the whites are very ingenious, because of their ability to manufacture a great variety of things, but regard their manner of living as wearisome and slavish as compared with their own. Their own skill as hunters and woodsmen, they hold, excels that of the whites. Towards these they harbor a secret enmity which they disguise in their presence, for they suspect that they will deprive them of their land and drive them within narrower confines. This suspicion is not without foundation. Among the Delawares this dislike has been moderated through long intercourse with the whites, yet they show that they have no particular love towards them, in that they will sell their lands to them and after these have become inhabited will seek to drive them off by starting war.

● 648 The French seem to possess a greater share of the goodwill of the Indians than the English, being regarded by the Indians as being more akin to themselves, probably because they enter more easily into the Indian manner of living and appear always good-humored. Indians have more faith in the French than in other Europeans. Since the late war with England all the Americans except the English in Canada, otherwise called by the Indians Virginians, are known as Big Knives by the nations because, from the beginning, the Indians saw them and the Governor of Virginia on all occasions of negotiations with the Indians wearing long swords. Hence, they called them Choanschican and the Six Nations named them Assarigoa that is Big Knives, which name has been applied to all Virginians and has been extended from it to all Americans because the Virginians in this war negotiated most of the treaties with the Indians.[299]

361 Judged by the mere appearance of the Indians one is sur-
181 prised how modest and careful they are in relation to each other and imagines that the whites, if they were as free a people and had neither government nor punishment to fear, would not be as united and peaceable as the Indians appear to be. The towns and villages of the latter are not indeed governed by force or
361 law. Each individual is at liberty to live where he pleases,

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with the dancers, and when the amusement was at its height killed many of them with short weapons they had concealed under their blankets, escaping, after the deed was done, before their treachery had been discovered.

The land was never formally divided among the nations, whatever region was settled by a nation was recognized as property of that nation, and no one disputed its title, until, in course of war, one nation overpowered another and drove it out of its territory. In such cases, however, the conquering nation did not always settle on the conquered territory; for example, the Moshkos drove the Shawanose from their land in Florida but did not themselves settle there, still living on the west side of the Ohio in the region of the Wabash. The Delawares conquered the territory in which they live, having been driven out of the region they once inhabited by the white people. The Wiondats adjudged this region as belonging to them; and the Kikapus have given them a district along the Wabash and bordering on the country they inhabit for the chase. A part of the Delaware nation has lived in the Wabash region these many years, and of those living here many go thither every year. The boundaries of Indian countries are fixed along rivers and creeks or in a straight line from one river to another or along the mountain ranges, where there are mountains.

Of the spherical form of the earth they have no conception. Some declare that the earth floats upon the sea and that an enormous tortoise bears it on its back. The sky, they say, rests upon the water probably because it appears so to do when they look out upon the sea. Others declare that there is a place where the sky strikes the earth, rises again and continues moving up and down, smiting a rock, which causes such a report that it may be heard many days' journey. Two great captains once visited that place, and one of them risked going through the opening when the sky rose. He succeeded in getting into heaven and coming back. Yet where this place is they know as little as they do the location of Tschipey Hacki, the land of the spirits. The sun, they think, sinks into the water when it sets. Thunder is a mighty spirit dwelling in the mountains and sometimes issuing from their fastnesses suffers himself to be heard. Others imag-

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757 this and for other troubles they have roots and herbs, which generally prove efficient remedies. Knowledge of these remedies may be confined to a very few, who demand payment for any prescription they make and keep their secrets to themselves. One common mistake made by all Indian practitioners is overdosing the patients. Fortunately, the Indians have strong constitutions, and usually do not suffer permanent injury from the unwise treatment of their doctors.

765 Concerning mourning for the dead it might be added that a widow is expected to observe in externals the following rules during the period of mourning which lasts a year. She must lay aside all ornaments, wash but little, for as soon as she makes pretensions at cleanliness, combs and dresses her hair, it is reported that she is anxious to marry. Men who are in mourning have no such regulations to observe.

Should a chief have lost a child or near relative, no complaint may be brought before him, nor may his advice be asked on any affairs of state. Even important embassies from other nations cannot be attended to by him until comfort has been formally offered. This is commonly done by delivering a string or fathom of wampum and addressing to him a speech, in which figuratively the remains of the deceased are buried, the grave covered with bark that neither dew of heaven nor rain may fall upon it, the tears are wiped from the chief's eyes, the sorrow of burial taken from his heart and his heart made cheerful. This done, it is possible to confer with him on the matters of state that need consideration.

When Europeans, who are in more comfortable circumstances than the Indians, wish to comfort a chief, they not only give a string of wampum but wrap the corpse of the deceased in a large piece of fine linen, laying another piece on the grave and wipe the tears from his eyes with silk handkerchiefs. Both the linen and the silks are given him as a present.

766 When a chief dies sympathy is expressed with the whole nation. I will give a brief description of the ceremonies observed when the Cherokees sent a formal and numerous embassy to the Delawares in Goschachgünk to renew their alliance with

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them after their Chief Netawatwes had died. The ambassadors halted several miles below the town and sent word that they had arrived. The day after some Delaware Captains went down to welcome them and delivered a speech, in which they expressed joy on their arrival, extracted the thorns they had gotten on the journey from their feet, took the sand and gravel from between their toes, and anointed the wounds and bruises made by the briars and brushwod with oil, wiped the perspiration from their faces and the dust from their eyes, cleansed their ears, throats and hearts of all evil they had seen, heard or which had entered their hearts. A string of wampum was delivered in confirmation of this speech and then the Captains, accompanied by a large number of Indians, conducted the embassadors to the town. On entering the Cherokees saluted the inhabitants by firing their pieces, which was answered in the same manner by the Delawares. Next, the Captain of the Cherokees began a song, during which they proceeded to the Council-house, where everything had been prepared for the reception of the visitors. All having been seated, the Cherokee Captain comforted the grandfather, the Delaware nation, over the loss of the Chief. Continuing he wrapped the remains in a cloth, buried them, covered the grave with bark, wiped the tears from the eyes of the weeping nation, cleansed their ears and throats and took away all the sorrow from their hearts. He confirmed his speech by delivering a string of wampum. Then the peace-pipe was stuffed, lighted and in turn smoked by several Captains of the Delawares and Cherokees.

The peace-pipe is held in high regard among the Indians. It is brought out at certain solemn occasions, as when peace is concluded or renewed. The head is six or eight inches long and three inches high. It is made of stone or marble. A pipe made of red marble, as was the one used on the occasion described above, is particularly valued. The pipe-stem is made of wood and blackened, it is strong and durable and may be four feet long. It is wound around with fine ribbon and decorated with ornaments made of porcupine quills of various colors. It may be further ornamented with green, yellow and white feathers. If the pipe is made of red marble it is whitened with white clay

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[822]

or chalk, for red is the color of war, even though the red marble pipe is most highly valued. For the same reason nothing red may appear on a string of wampum. A war-belt is smeared with red paint or cinnabar. If for want of a white wampum belt, one made of the violet colored shells has to be used, this is whitened with clay and then has the same signficance as a white belt. The dark wampum belts are used, whenever they wish to give some one a severe lesson or a reproof. After the ceremonies described above had been completed, and all had partaken of a feast, the exercises for that day were at an end. On the next day they approached the chief matters of interest and exchanged belts of friendship, this part of the negotiations lasting several days, as each belt was presented in connection with a formal speech.

136 A few words should be added concerning animals.

1) Swallows[210] are found, generally near some body of water. Snipe[211] are gray in color and have a bill almost as long as the body of the bird. The gull[212] is frequently seen near rivers and lakes. Two kinds of plover[213] may be seen in these parts, both found near water. The one variety is about the size of a blackbird,[214] which is sometimes found away from water, the other much smaller.

The whippoorwill[215] is a night bird, of gray color, somewhat smaller than a turtledove.[216] It has a thick head, a short bill and a wide mouth. It has received its name from its note, which may be heard all night long.

The Mosquito-hawk[217] gets its name from catching mosquitoes and flies while on the wing. It is about the size of turtledove, has a round white spot on each of its wings, which seem, when the animal flies, like holes in the wings. It will dart up and down very swiftly in its efforts to catch insects.

Of bees[218] nothing was known when we came here in '72, now they are to be found in large numbers in hollow trees in the woods.

Wasps[21] °are found in large numbers.

2) Among the quadrupeds the flying squirrel[220] should be noted. This animal is about the size of a rat, has a thin mem-

584 Marriage arrangements were always simple, but it was definitely considered better form for the negotiations to take place between the two sets of parents rather than between the individuals concerned. In this type of negotiation, the man's mother took animal food which he had killed to the girl's mother; according to some sources, a [431] return gift was made of corn food prepared by the girl (Harrington, 1908, p.215; Heckewelder, 1881, pp.161-72; Zeisberger, 1910, p.78). It was not unusual, however, for the agreement to take place directly between the boy and girl in which case they might or might not go through these formalities. Loskiel, who is the only author 591 who mentions the subject of residence after marriage, says that the newly married couple often lived with friends for a short time until they built their own house (Loskiel, p.56).

462 The man was responsible for building the house and providing axes, hoes, canoes, dishes and household equipment although the girl might supply some things. The man was expected to support the family by hunting, trapping and fishing, and the game which he brought home was the property of his wife to use as she saw fit. She was equally responsible, however, for agricultural produce and cooking; and if she were remiss, might be reminded of her neglect by her husband's taking to the woods without telling her he planned to do so. She also carried packs in traveling, tanned skins and fetched wood (Penn, p.30; Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 155-160; G.Thomas, p.341).

586 There was apparently no strong pressure put upon the couple to remain together after they were married. Although later writers [595] state that marriages were formerly more stable, they present no evidence to substantiate this. Polygyny was permitted but infrequent (Heckewelder, 1881, p.154; Harrington, 1913, p.215; Zeisberger, 1910, pp.78-9; Loskiel, p.57). After the death of a spouse, the 768 widow or widower, but more particularly the former, was expected 587 to remain single for a year, but it is clear that this was frequently not done (Brickell, p.49; Loskiel, p.121).

Social Life and Organization

648 Most of Delaware social behavior is a closed book to us as 431 the early observers did not usually have long contacts with them 574 in their villages. The early writers were aware, however, that the Indian expected to be fed when he visited them, and that they were always offered food when they visited him. Likewise they noted that gifts passed readily from hand to hand among the Indians although property rights were clearly understood (Lindstrom p.233; Danckaerts, pp.80 and 159; Penn, p.32).

525 The following games were probably played in this early period: [526] footraces (Lindstrom, p.191); a gambling game in which flat bones,

the Lenape in dealings with other tribes and was entrusted with the protection of the tribal bag of records or mementoes. Interestingly enough, succession to this post was only partially hereditary, being the result of selection by the chiefs of the other two divisions from within a certain prescribed range of the male relatives of the old chief. Any chief might be deposed for improper or incompetent handling of affairs (Ruttenber, pp. 47-48; Harrington, 1913, p. 211; Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 107-11; Zeisberger, 1910, pp. 93-95). 622

Use of pictographic symbols and colored wampum to express meaning were two methods by which the chief could communicate with the bands in tangible form [11] (Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 109 and 130-31). One author also credits them with a special language used only in wartime to prevent their enemies from understanding their communications (Lindstrom, p. 204). 512 198

War

The powers of civil government were suspended in time of war and direction fell into the hands of the "captains", as they were usually called by the old writers. Little was written of Lenape customs in warfare during the early colonial period when most of the Delaware wars were against other tribes and seldom against the white settlers. The following section based on eighteenth century material is inserted th give a more complete picture of Delaware life rather than for comparative purposes. 721 648

The position of captain was achieved through leading several successful missions against enemy forces; that is, missions in which greater amounts of goods, prisoners and scalps were brought back than were lost. Most frequently, boys who aimed at the achievement of this status did so as the result of an adolescent vision. Those who succeeded were usually those who had had such a vision, which is not surprising as they would be likely to be fortified with greater assurance and more assiduous training (Ziesberger, 1910, p. 101; Loskiel, p. 142). 726

A chief could not declare war without the unanimous consent of his warrior chiefs; if they were unanimous in favoring war, he could not refuse to "accept the hatchet" (Loskiel, p. 144; Ruttenber, p. 48; Ziesberger, 1910, p. 98). Peace, on the other hand, could only be made effective by the chief whose decision in this matter had to be accepted by the warriors. 721

War, according to a partisan of the Delawares, was declared as a result of other tribes hunting in their territory, murder of a member of their tribe by an outsider, or robbery from a Delaware camp (Heckewelder, 1881, p. 175). Add to these causes the desire to confiscate property of other tribes for glory, and the list would be more complete (Loskiel, p.143).

10. The evidence available on this subject in printed form plus what can be found in deeds has been admirably summarized by Ruttenber (p.89ff.).

11. A pre-contact "history" of the Delaware, which is supposed to have been painted originally on sticks was acquired by Rafinesque in 1820. This man was a natural scientist and antiquarian of questionable repute, but the symbols in the document which he brought to light and their translation were pronounced authentic by several modern Delaware to whom it was shown by Brinton. The document, "The Walam Olum", with a translation of the Delaware text into English is reproduced by Brinton (1885).

12. One instance of the operation of this custom took place during the Dutch-Indian wars. The Dutch put a price on the heads of the Raritans, a Delaware band, for supposed offenses against them, but the only immediate result was a revenge murder by a neighboring band for an old injury (O'Callaghan, Vol. I, 1846, p. 240).

The following discussion of capturing two Indians who had murdered a white man also indicates the existence of this custom: "...only the Difficulty was, that there were seven of these Indyans, Men of the same Stock, that if two should be seised, the other five would seek to bee Revenged; soe it was unsafe." (Documents Relating to the Colonial History of New Jersey, Vol. I, p. 73).

13. Frank Speck (1931, p. 17): "The Big House capitulates the elements of certain minor feast ceremonies held on special occasions by families. The great annual ceremony seems to stand as an entity, one that does not submit to any assumption of recent origin in its present form of organization." This he feels is verified by its part-for-part resemblance to the Munsee ceremony in Canada, which would indicate that it must have been a national ceremony before 1700 when the groups began to separate.

In my opinion, however, there is not sufficient evidence that the "Annual Ceremony" of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries existed in all its complexity in the seventeenth century although most of its parts were probably contained in various different ceremonies which were performed. One important difference between the ceremonies mentioned by Penn and Lindstrom and the "Annual Ceremony" is that in the former the sacrificial meat consisted of the first of the season's kill and in the latter it consisted of game taken on a special communal hunt.

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of his masters. Two young men take him into a canoe, seizing him by the wrists, plunging him over head and ears under the water and holding him down until he was almost smothered before letting him get breath. After repeating this treatment several times they took him out, dressed him in a ruffed shirt, shaved his head, provided him with a "roach," painted him, and told him he was then an Indian. Later his Indian "uncle" would waken him at daylight and make him sit down in the creek up to his chin. This was to make him hardy. He was, moreover, not allowed to go near the fire until he became dry.[7]

They followed the habit of securing a prosperous future for the young hunter by placing his umbilicus in the tracks of a deer, a magical observance based on a widespread native concept of spiritual sympathy. Again, the umbilicus would be placed in the water to cause the growing youth to acquire power as a swimmer.

THE CONSANGUINITY OF TRIBES

The Delawares, like other eastern peoples,[8] consider themselves to stand in certain genealogical relationships with neighboring tribes, as though they all constituted a great family,—some members older, some younger, lineal and collateral, and some in between as respects age and maturity. These relationships function in ceremonial gatherings wherein other tribes are concerned, and they are accepted without dispute among themselves. In the older accounts much stress was laid upon this feature of native life, and it seemed to form an important consideration in treaty negotiations that took place among the eastern and central tribes, giving precedence in authority to certain ones over others. From various sources we learn that the Delawares held a position of seniority among them. This fact may develop into one of some value in coördinating the position of the different groups and perhaps in throwing light on the historical sequence

[7] Loudon, *op. cit.*, pp. 260–261.

[8] The Wabanaki peoples, for instance, entertain a similar concept of tribal consanguinity, in which system they consider the Ottawa to be their grandfathers and among themselves the Micmac as their younger brothers (F. G. Speck, The Eastern Algonkian Confederacy, American Anthropologist, vol. 17, no. 3, 1915, pp. 490, 505).

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in tribal migrations which led to the settlement of the tribes in their proper locations. For, as we glance eastward from the Delawares and southward, likewise we discover the tribes to rate as nephews and grandsons of the patriarchal stem. I should not like, however, to stress the force of the traditional assumption of paternity that the Delawares lay claim to as being proof in any sense of the tribe being sire to those it regards as lineal or collateral descendants. The belief nevertheless has much ethnological value and has been disregarded by ethnologists without good reason. And since other tribes seem not to have retained extensive knowledge of these matters it has seemed important to record the text presenting the Delaware opinion of the matter. I have made some comment on tribal beliefs of consanguinity in the study of the Big House Ceremony and now the occasion seems ripe for the recording of the informant's own version of the situation with a comparison of the facts as written down a century ago by Zeisberger.[9]

In the following narration the informant's tradition of the Delaware's imaginary relationship to other groups is placed on record. In the footnotes are included quotations from older authorities on the subject and comments by other living Delaware informants. The testimony before us brings out discrepancies, as might be expected when amassing data on a situation so involved with a tribal ego and the perpetuation of which is so dependent upon negotiations between the groups, associations which have long ceased to function.[10]

[9] Zeisberger, *op. cit.*, p. 109. See also Consanguinity of Tribes, in the "Big House Ceremony," p. 33. In the latter passage cited, an error evidently crept in, as the informant notes the Iroquois considered as "brothers" and the Seneca "nephews," while I find the Delaware chiefs designate the Seneca, at least, as "uncles."

[10] That these discrepancies have prevailed for a long time is shown by the observations of McKenney almost a century ago that the Wyandot claimed to be uncles of all other tribes, and the Delawares their grandfathers. But, he adds, the Delawares acknowledge themselves nephews of the Wyandots. J. L. McKenney and J. Hall, "History of the Indian Tribes of North America," Philadelphia, 1844, III, p. 7. After comparing Wi'tapano'xwe's authority ("Big House Ceremony," p. 33) that the Wyandots are "nephews" of the Delawares it may be gathered that the Indians themselves have now, as well as in the past, been responsible for the existing confusion. Their inaccuracy is either a trait in itself or an aberration of one.

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For it to be more consistently expressed would imply possession of an historical sense which we know is lacking in the native rôle of life. So before a meaning to this trait of eastern culture can be approached we shall have to record corresponding lists from other tribes checking them up with tradition and actual history.

The Delaware versions of tribal synonymy throw some interesting side-lights on early names and associations in the East which I shall not attempt to discuss in this paper.

CONSANGUINITY OF TRIBES

wa'ni·	lən·a'p·e	li·pəna·'ən	we·'mi·	enxake·'i·t'[11]
The	Delaware	are looked upon	all	different tribes

wa'ni	me·'xkeɔ'xkus·i·t	tə'l·i·	ne'ka	ki·'k'hai·'n.	ahi·-
the	red men	that	he	is oldest.	Great

kahe·'li·	xt'oxwi·'s·u.	wəla'haxa'ne	a'ləndə	awe·'nhak·e
many	his grandchildren.	Although besides	some	wild Indians

ha't·e	e·ləŋgo·'məndə	pəna'[t]	wa'ni·	Ca·'wəno'[11]
special	relationship	such as	the	Shawnee

na'lən·a	ne·tami'xiŋg	noxwi·'s·əna.	nawu'ndji	ekala·'mi·
that is	first	grandchild.	From that	on down

wa'ni	Pote'ɔt·am,[12]	Sa·'ki·a,[13]	Aya'howe,[14]	Ta'ŋgowe,[15]
the	Pottawatomi,	Sauk and Fox,	Ioway,	Tonkawa,

Ca'hax,[16]	Pi·'kaxca',[17]	ɔk	Ki·'kapu,[18]	Maya'hame',[19]
Sioux,	Ottawa,	and	Kickapoo,	Miami,

[11] Literally "southerner," a name of general distribution among the eastern tribes. (For discussion of term see Bulletin 30, Bureau American Ethnology, 2, p. 530.)

[12] Literally "half-witted, or not having good sense." (Potatawatamiñk or Potawagamiñk, "People of place of fire." *Ibid.*, p. 289.)

[13] The informant offered no analysis for this title. (Osa'kiwūg, "people of the outlet." *Ibid.*, p. 471.)

[14] The informant associated the name with the Delaware term a'howe, "thicket." ("Sleepy ones." *Ibid.*, 1, p. 612.)

[15] Associated with the Delaware stem taŋg—"little." (Tonkawe'ya, "they all stay together." *Ibid.*, 2, p. 778.)

[16] Literally, "shy, afraid, retreating in manner." (Chippewa term, Nadowe-is-iw, meaning, snake, adder. *Ibid.*, p. 577.)

[17] Literally, "smart, intelligent but having a shabby appearance." It also denotes, "wearing a tooth or claw necklace." It is more probable that the term denotes the Piankasha of Illinois and Indiana with whom the Delawares were associated before their removal across the Mississippi. (Ă dă we, "to trade, to buy and sell." *Ibid.*, p. 167.)

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619 Pe·yɔ'le,[20] ɔk ən·ahəl·i·' Tci·'pəwe,[21] Mənaᵃ'məni·,[22]
● 648 Peoria, and besides Chippewa, Menomini,
539

Ci·li·ti·'xka,[23] Caᵃcpu'ci·,[24] Patu'xka,[25] Win·i·peᵉ'ga,[26]
Comanche, Nez Percé, Apache, Winnebago,

Wəcaᵃ'ce,[27] Kąsi·a,[28] Paŋka,[29] Oka'xpa.[30] Weᵉ'mi
Osage, Kaw, or Kansa Ponca, Quapaw. All

yu'kwe yu'ki·k ənxi·' wi·xk'wus·i·'xti·t. yu'kwe yu'tali
these here each different named. Now here

[18] "Travelling or visiting people." (Kiwigapawᵃ, "he stands about," or "he moves about, standing now here, now there." *Ibid.*, 1, p. 684.)

[19] Literally, "people living affiliated in settlements." (Chippewa term, omaumeg, "people who live on the peninsula." *Ibid.*, p. 852.) A more appropriate name for the Miami, given by Chief Fall Leaf in Oklahoma is *Tuweᵉ'tuwe*. The closest analysis he could give for the term was "salamander larva" (*tuweᵉ'kɔk*, "salamander"). The name takes us to the synonym Twightwee as denoting the Miami in Indiana and Illinois. How such an epithet came to be applied to them was beyond the tradition of the informants, their only suggestion being that at some early time upon first seeing members of the group, their appearance, perhaps painting, suggested to the Delawares the animal named. This was said to have been a basis for first names of groups and individuals.

[20] No explanation offered by informant but by Chief Fall Leaf analyzed to "people who have spiritual helpers." Tradition among the Delaware he asserted says that one of the first of natives met with had so much spiritual power that they gave them this name. (Piwareᵉ, "he comes carrying a pack on his back." *Ibid.* 1, p. 228.)

[21] The term is suggestive of, "whistling people." (From ojib, "to pucker up," and ub-way, "to roast." *Ibid.*, p. 277.) The Mississauga (Ojibwa) of Ontario, while not known to the Delawares of Oklahoma, are ranked as "grandchildren" by the Delaware-Munsee of the Six Nations Reserve.

[22] A proper name for which the informant gave no specific meaning. (Menominiwok ininiwok, "they are men." *Ibid.*, p. 842.)

[23] No explanation offered, but said to sound like "fast runner." (Padouca, Siouan name for Comanche. *Ibid.*, p. 327.)

[24] Evidently a derivation of Nez Perce' as it sounded to Delaware ears.

[25] Literally, "someone coming and someone going, not permanently located." Evidently confused in identity in the mind of informants. Paducah might be a survival of the Illinois designation. (A'pachu, "enemy." *Ibid.*, p. 163.)

[26] No explanation offered. (Chippewa term, winipig, "filthy water," and Sauk and Fox, 'winipyägohag', "people of the filthy water." *Ibid.*, 2, p. 958.)

[27] Delaware pronunciation of the tribal eponym.

[28] Literally, "coward." The Delaware feel that this is the proper meaning.

[29] No explanation given.

[30] No explanation offered by informant. (U'gakpa, "downstream people." *Ibid.*, p. 333.)

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Lenape

təlowi·'hi·la·wa'o	yuli·'l	ləna'p·eyo	Wa·'panaxki [31]	ɔk	619
they call	the	Delawares	Wabanaki	also	648
muxomsə'n·a.	ka't·tci	we·'mi	ni·'maxtəna	dəl·ə-	539
"our grandfather."	But	all	our brothers	they	
wi·'lpo·na	ləna'·pe.[32]				
call us	Lenape.				

Yu'kwe	nəwe'i·taxkənu'təmən	wani·'	lənaw'pe
Now	I shall talk about, explain	the	Delaware
wei·maxtə'wi·t'	awe·'ni·	ako·'ta	nanhe·'li·
their brothers	whom	not	much I say
ge'ski·a'			
as many			
wi'hil·ak'	wani·'	Wəne·'təko' [33]	ɔk
can name	the	Nanticoke	and
Mahi·'kan·i· [34]	ɔk	Mu'nsi [35]	ɔk
Mahican	and	Munsee	and
ke·xa·'kei·	ɔ'pan·u' [36]	ce·la'han·e	de'nxi·
several nations	Iroquois	and those	as many
məca·'la·n	ni·'maxtəs·əna·'nuk.	cuk'	ke'nowi·
I think of	our brothers.	But	nevertheless
a'p'tci·			
always			
wa'ni·	lən·a'p·e	tə'n·da	ki'k'hayi'n.
the	Delawares	the very	oldest.
nawu'ndji·			
And thence			

[31] A general appelation for the Delawares of long standing, meaning "easterners." The antiquity of this term points, with evidence not to be ignored, to the early affinity of the Delawares with the peoples of New England in general who were and are known by dialectic forms of the same classifying term.

[32] Literally, "common people." (See 2, p. 14, of this series, also Zeisberger, *op. cit.*, p. 114; Brinton and Anthony, "A Lenape-English Dictionary," The Pennsylvania Students Series. Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1889, 1, p. 63; Bulletin 30, Bureau American Ethnology, 1, p. 385.)

[33] Despite serious attempts to seek explanation of this term for Nanticoke as well as in cognate sources it remains incapable of precise analysis. The Canadian Delaware-Munsee informant (Nick Peters) thinks it alludes to great waves. ("Tidewater people." *Ibid.*, 2, p. 25.)

[34] No specific analysis offered. ("Wolf." *Ibid.*, 2, p. 786.)

[35] No analysis offered. (Min-asin-ink, "at the place where stones are gathered together." *Ibid.*, p. 957.)

[36] Literally, "eastern sunrise people." This term strangely includes both the Iroquois and the Brothertown Indians (Algonkian) which the Delawares fail to distinguish. Another term posk'oca·'si·t', "wearing a natural crest or roach on the head," was thought to be recalled by the informant as a synonym for the Mohawk. He thought the Iroquois originated the "roach" head-dress, which agrees with tradition among the Penobscot, who describe a term me'gwaimo'suma'si·t, "Mohawk hair-cut," as denoting the hair shaved from the head leaving only a dorsal crest on the crown from front to rear. (For a short discussion of the distribution of the roach headdress see "The Big House Ceremony," p. 97.)

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619 ha't·e pi·'li· laŋgundowa'k·an. axpo'wak et' ik·ali'tci·
648 also existing other relationships. There must be older persons
539 ełki·k'ᵘsi·'tci·k' weɔtu'xti·t' we·'mi· e'nxenaxga't·uk
living longer than I who know all different degrees

laŋgǫᵘsowa'k·an. yukwe'' tci·tc kexa'p'tun wa'ni·
relationship. Now then few words, the

Te·ᵘlma't·ən·u [37] luŋgɔxs·ə's·ənə nahəli·' wa'ni·
Wyandot our nephews (brothers' or sisters' sons) and also the

Katu''hɔ.[38] ka't·tci· wa'ni Me'ŋgwe,[39] spa'nayu' [40]
Cherokee. But the Seneca Mexicans

noᵘci·si·'nen kat·tci· wa'ni· weɔ'p'si·t' [41]
our uncles, "mother's brother" but the white person

ni·maxtə's·ən·a ɔk wa' sɔka'xkwu'leᵘs a'ləndə awe·'n
our brothers and the black color person some people

lo'we· aneᵘskə's·i·t nəxą·'sənə ɔk nalən·a'n tə'n·da
say "he has a high color" our older brother, and he is the very

tci·tanə's·i·n we·'mi· enxake·'i·t' awe·'n.
stoutest of all different nations persons.

Free Translation.

The Delawares are looked upon by all the different tribes of Indians as being the oldest. A great many of them are their "grandchildren." And besides some of the "wild" Indians had special relationships, such as the Shawnee which are the first grandchildren. Thence on down in the following

[37] Literally, "along a mountain range."

[38] Meaning, "chilly, shivering with cold," suggested for this term in Delaware, disregarding its correct Cherokee source of origin. (For summary see Cherokee, *ibid.*, 1, p. 246.) The application of this term is definitely to the Seneca by the Delawares of Oklahoma and those in Canada. The latter call the Seneca "uncles," and the Seneca reciprocate by calling them "nephews."

[39] A term for various Iroquoian peoples reported in the earliest documents on Delaware history, given in the forms Mengwe, Minqua and their variants. The word is evidently too archaic for etymological explanation. It is current in recognizable form among all Wabanaki peoples south of the St. Lawrence. The informant also applied the term *mea'xkəti·'no* "red person or man," to the Seneca, but he did not give an historic reason for the name.

[40] Literally "Spaniard."

[41] A less respectful term used by the tribe to denote Europeans is *o'pigg* "opossum," the likeness arising through the pale face and slobbering laugh characteristic of both in Delaware opinion. (See 2, of this series, p. 101.)

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order (the grandchildren) are, the Potowatomi, Sauk and Fox, Ioway, Tonkawa, Sioux, Ottawa, and Kickapoo, Miami, Peoria, and besides these the Chippewa, Menomini, Comanche, Nez Percé, Apache, Winnebago, Osage, Kaw, Ponca, Quapaw. All these here are differently named. Now here all these call the Delawares Wapanachki, or "Our Grandfather." But all our "brothers" call us by the name Lenape.

Now, I shall explain about the brothers of the Delawares, about whom I can not say much, but as many as I can name are the Nanticoke and Mahikan, and Munsee and several nations of the Iroquois are as many as I can think of as being our brothers. But nevertheless the Delawares are always considered the oldest. There must be older persons than I am who know all the different degrees of tribal relationship. Now then, a few more words, the Wyandot are our nephews, and also the Seneca and Cherokee. But the Mexicans are our uncles and the whites in general our brothers, and black people, some say "He who has a high color," our elder brothers, and it is he who is the strongest of all the different nations of people.

To the above list of tribal names several more may be added; ma'ckos, the Muskogi or Creek, a derivation of the term for swamp, and Taǫ'gale'wi', the Yuchi, meaning a people inferentially lost or wandering. The latter revives an old designation, Tahogale, Hogloge and variants (see discussion in J. R. Swanton, Early History of the Creek Indians, Bulletin 73, Bureau American Ethnology, 1922, pp. 286–312) for this mysterious and important people with whom the Delawares appear to have had contact.

MORTUARY CEREMONIES AND PROCEDURES

The customs concerned with death and interment of the Delawares are traced to a fusion of the rites of the tribe proper with those of the Munsee. We even have evidence that for a portion of the Delaware group certain mortuary rites of the Nanticoke [42] were assimilated during one period of time, as Harrington's account reveals.[43] Without attempting to un-

[42] Harrington, *op. cit.*, 183–4.

[43] An account of the Nanticoke independent burial customs, which were maintained by members of this tribe living among the Delawares as late as 1870, will be given shortly (p. 142).

8:Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
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CHAPTER XIII.

Concerning the Language of the American Savage People.

There is not much in particular to write about this, except that it is a poor language,[1] that a word may have many meanings, yet is spoken with a high pronunciation. As for instance when the savage says: *Ita kire,* that is to say, God's peace, welcome, how are you? *kire,* thou; *nir,* I; *tanckomen kire,* whence comest thou? *kecko hatte marrama,* what hast thou to sell? *punck,* powder; *aruns,* lead; *pickon,* gun; *makirick pickon,* a cannon or a large gun; *orit kire,* thou art beautiful and handsome; *mâkij,* yes indeed; *kicksj ita,* that's so; *nittappe kire,* thou art my good friend; *sewan,* money; *pâdhra,* God; *manitto,* the evil one.[2]

Besides this we may also observe [something about the language] by the savage words and names, both here in the relation concerning New Sweden as well as from the map of New Sweden, whose lands, islands and creeks are all given and designated in the Indian language. Besides this these Indians or savage people are so clever, that when they see and observe that they have any dispute[3] with any of the surrounding nations, then he who is sachem or chief calls together all his people and instructs them saying: "Now we have

[1] *Itt fattigt sprâk,* not rich in words. This erroneous opinion has often been expressed even by modern writers. Cf. *Doc.,* I, 281.
[2] Cf. Campanius, *Cate;* Holm, *Kort Beskrifning,* 144 ff.
[3] *Någon fiendskap,* really enmity, warfare.

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enemies of that or that nation, therefore we must make up a new language. This is now hereafter to be called thus and that this, so that our enemies who understand our language, used up to this time, may not be able to find out in the present times of war, what we have in mind to carry on against them; which none of our Renappi dare on pain of death disclose to our enemies;[4] and from this we can observe what a strong memory they have, that those who are neither able to read or write, are able to memorize such a lot in a hurry.[5]

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[4] It appears from this that the Indian had a kind of code language. Cf. Hodge, *Handbook*, II, 567 ff. See also *Doc.*, I, 281.

[5] "Their Braines are quick, their hands,
Their feet, their tongues, their eyes;
God may fit objects in his time,
To those quicke faculties."
Williams, *Key*, 43.

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they now dwell while the winter lasts, and if the Christians then[4] had in mind to exterminate them, it could then be readily done; but that would be of no value or advantage to the Christians, for they are the slaves of the Christians which they themselves cannot know or observe. And the trade, traffic and commerce of the Christians would be of small value in that place, if the savages would not be [there]. The savages are ever willing and anxious to serve the Christians; [they] allow themselves to be commanded by the Christians, as if they were their subjects, but through good words; with dictation we get nowheres with them. If we should desire to prepare a feast, or if one otherwise may need [something] for the household, be it deer, turkeys, wild geese, wood-grouse, black-grouse, pigeons, etc., or whatever kind of game or fresh fish it may be, and one will command the savage to procure it, on that or that day for good pay, one may indeed be sure that he will get that which is desired, at the promised time. Thus in all other things which we may command, one may surely believe that it will be followed.

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don, 1788), 44-72; *Mss. 1412, yi*, Ridgway Library. Williams says: "Most commonly there houses are open, their doore is a hanging *Mat*, which being lift up, falls downe of itselfe; yet many of them get *English* boards and nailes, and make artificiall doores and bolts themselves, and others make slighter doores of *Burch* or *Chestnut* barke, which they make fast with a cord in the night time, or when they go out of town, and then the last (that makes fast) goes out at the Chimney, which is a large opening in the middle of their house, called: *Wunnauchicomock*, a chimney." *Key*, 51.

The long house with two fires was called *accaquttow;* with three fires, *shiwshcuttow*, etc. The round house was called *puttuckakaun, Key* 47.

[4] During the winter.

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then they fasten the feathers in the meshes, so neat and strong that not one feather can come loose from it; it would sooner go clear off.[8] They also make very fine, strong and artistic mats of finely painted spruce roots and strong straw, with all kinds of figures, to decorate and cover the walls with, and to place below their bed clothes.[9]

They also make helmets of hard sticks and strong wood, so that no arrow or swingle can go through it.[10]

The late Governor Printz had the savages make and thread up for him a suit of clothes, with coat, trousers and sword belt, entirely of their money, which was very artistic, threaded and worked with all kinds of animals, which came to a few thousand florins.[11] And [there is] much more, which could be described about their artistic manufacture, if space and time would allow. In fine if they were trained and kept at it, they would become very expert, for they are by nature capable to grasp and comprehend immediately what they see.[12]

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[8] The feather would sooner break off than come loose.
[9] Cf. Williams, *Key*, 47 ff.
[10] Repetition, see above.
[11] Williams says: "*Neyhommaussáunck*, a coat or Mantle, curiously made of the fairest feathers of their *Neyhommauog* or Turkies, which commonly their old Men make; and is with them as velvet with us." *Key*, 107.
[12] Cf. Williams, *Key*, 43.

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happen to do this,[6] who does not know of their manner, then they hang their heads and sigh and puff severely, on account of it, not desiring to hear it mentioned.[7]

During these their burials there is often robbery committed by some of the Christians. Some scoundrels go to the savages and help them to mourn, pretending to be very sorrowful and sad, lamenting and weeping much worse and more miserably than the savages, saying that the [deceased] also had been their good friend, which the savages think is well, that they get company. These scoundrels watching their time, in the night when the savages sleep, steal away their money chest, so that the sorrow and lamentation for the savages become through this, deeper and greater.

[6] See above Chapt. II, note 27. Cf. also Van der Donck, etc.

[7] "Which bewailing is very solemne amongst them morning and evening, and sometimes in the Night they bewaile their lost husbands, wives, children, brethren, or sisters &c. Sometimes a quarter, halfe, yea, a whole yeare, and longer if it be for a great Prince. In this time (unlesse a dispensation be given) they count it a prophane thing either to play (as they much use to doe) or to paint themselves for beauty, but for mourning; or to be angry and fall out with any &c." Williams, *Key*, 54.

[p. 252 is blank]

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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II. THE DELAWARE TRIBE

HISTORICAL SKETCH

The Delaware call themselves Lenape or Lenni Lenape. Their common name is derived from the fact that their first known residence was on the river so named by the English. Lindeström gives their location in 1656 as in the vicinity of Philadelphia on the west side of the Delaware River, and their kindred, the Munsee, were located on the east side. The territory that they occupied was probably much more extensive than Lindeström indicated, but little beyond the water courses had been explored in those days. The Delaware were still in possession of the river when William Penn entered into his first treaty with them in 1682.

The British administration after Penn's time was aligned with the Iroquois who assumed domination over the Delaware. It is practically impossible to determine the exact time or circumstances of the Iroquois "making women" of the Delaware, but about 1720 they denied the Delaware the right to make war or to dispose of land. Very soon the Delaware were being crowded out of their old locations by the Iroquois and the whites. They moved to various sites farther west in Pennsylvania, and by 1751 began to settle in eastern Ohio. Within a few years the majority of them were in Ohio and Indiana. The Moravian missionaries who followed them from the East established themselves in Ohio and worked with great success until the Revolution.

Distrusted by both the British and the colonists, the Delaware and particularly the Moravian converts, were harried from both sides. The Gnadenhütten Massacre in 1782 was the greatest blow dealt by the colonists, but while demoralizing, it was not as devastating as were the moves forced upon the Indians by the British the year before. The famine and other hardships resulting from these forced emigrations scattered and decimated the Christian Delaware and also created the opportunity for the

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These may be characterized by relative size in the following chronological order. 177

1. Until 1638. Contacts with only occasional trading ships.
2. 1638 to about 1700. Entire Delaware communities in contact with smaller white communities.
3. 1700 to 1750. Entire Delaware communities in contact with larger white communities.
4. 1751 to 1821. Contacts mainly with missionaries and traders.
5. 1821 to about 1850. Reservation life, contacts with government officials, missionaries, traders, and smaller white communities. [657]
6. 1850 to 1938. Delaware families on individual tracts and allotments, no longer in communities, in contact with white communities, and after 1890 surrounded by them.

At only rare and brief intervals, like the French and Indian War and the Revolution, were the whites openly and militantly hostile to the Delaware. Their contacts aside from these exterminating expeditions were responsible for the following types of effect. 648 177

1. Introduction of new ideas, materials, and techniques, with possible supplanting of the old ideas.
2. Introduction of other Indian elements through traders.
3. New tribal contacts through moves forced upon the Delaware whether by administrative action or otherwise. [167]
4. Change in habitat, due to destruction of game, forests, etc., and settlement on reservations and allotments.

It should be pointed out that not only did the white contact range through various nationalities—Swedish, Dutch, English, French, German, and American, but white culture as a whole was also changing through the centuries of contact. The most striking aspect of this evolution was probably in technology, but the changes in attitude towards the Indians and the changes in administrative policy were also important.

In their first historical habitat the Delaware were almost surrounded by closely related tribes—the Munsee, Mahican, Nanticokes, Conoy, Manhattan, and other members of the Wap- 133 177

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177 reservation and with the proceeds bought rights as members of the Cherokee Nation. They were soon encroached upon in their new location, and by 1890 there were approximately twice as many whites as Indians in the Cherokee territory. There does not appear to have been any great variation in the rate of culture change until this great influx of white settlers.

In this period of assimilation there was a rapid breakdown of Delaware culture preceded by the loss of control of internal affairs which was the last vestige of political autonomy. The memories of the fourth-period informants cover most of this period of assimilation. I have explained previously that their accounts reflect only inadvertently any of the changes that have taken place recently.

Throughout their checkered historical career, then, the Delaware underwent acculturation at a fairly uniform rate. Their history reveals no correlation between the content of acculturation and the type of white contact. The different aspects of culture showing acculturation are correlated with length of contact rather than with type of contact.

Comparisons between the rate of change in acculturation and the rate of change in assimilation are unwarranted in the case of the Delaware, for with them the assimilation followed a long period of acculturation. It should be pointed out that the control of internal affairs was surrendered to the Cherokee and not to the whites although by that time there was no question of their subordination to the latter. When they failed to receive equitable treatment from the Cherokee, they sought justice from the United States Government and submitted to the rule that they had so long rejected.

[448 636]

Most of the changes in the culture of the Delaware are the result of white influence. This was both direct and indirect. Contact with whites was directly responsible for the introduction of many elements such as the rifle and the idea of hell. White contact was indirectly responsible for other changes, such as the discontinuance of use of fish as a staple, use of weirs, and use of single file on the march. These cultural changes followed a change in habitat induced by the whites. Contact with other

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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454. Co-coze-kon dance

535 CAPTAIN CHIPPS described this dance as different from the others. In it they all joined hands and stood in a ring, performing the usual motion of leaping up. He also said that when both sexes united in this amusement, they danced promiscuously.

None of the modern Delaware recognized this dance although W. L. thought that he had heard the name.

It is possible that this is the same dance that Zeisberger described as follows: On the occasion of making or renewing a treaty [649] with another nation a dance very different from the ordinary dance is engaged in. The dancers join hands and leap in a circle for some time. Suddenly the leader lets the hand of one of his partners go, springs forward and turns around several times, by which he draws the whole company round so as to be enclosed by them, when they stand close together. They disengage themselves as suddenly, yet keeping hold of hands during all the different evolutions and changes in the dance; this, as they explain it, represents the chain of friendship; a song, used only at such a solemnity, is sung by all.

462. Women excluded from war dance

721 CAPTAIN CHIPPS in treating of war said that women were al-
562 lowed to share in the great dance given just before setting out
535 on an expedition. In speaking of dances, he said that the Delaware had many different ones, the most important of which was the War dance, which was celebrated immediately after the declaration of war and from which the women were excluded, although they joined all the other dances. This is a contradiction unless one assumes that "to share in the great dance" referred to singing but not dancing. Evidence that such was sometimes the cas[illegible] found in the following account of HECKEWELDER: After [127] retu[illegible] from a successful expedition, a dance of *thanksgiving* is always performed, which partakes of the character of a religious ceremony. It is accompanied with singing and choruses, in which the women join. But they take no part in the rest of the performance. At the end of every song, the *scalp-yell* is shouted as many times as there have been scalps taken from the enemy.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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796 346 Who is Carried Around." Their descendents still carry the burden of the worship. They belonged to the "Wolf" group (Tu'k^{m}si't). For this reason the Wolf group claims the right to sponsor these exercises now, and holds the majority rule in the present Big House deliberations. And in my judgment they will always rule hereafter. The present house was built three or four hundred yards to the southwest of the present spot but on account of its inconvenience it was moved to where it now stands, and one acre was set aside by the Dawes Commission. It was remodeled by us after a deliberation in September 1913.

796 [735] "The ceremony has not been "taken in" for four years,[1] the last one being led by Frank Wilson (E'm·a'). Poverty has driven them to neglect it. And also the loss of the wampum beads which one time numbered about one hundred and twenty-eight Indian yards, all of which has nearly disappeared for it has been sold to other Indian tribes, to white people or to Museums as relics."

796 171 Speculations upon the origin of the ceremony would be quite out of order from the ethno-historical point of view, but Delaware traditional history has no such hesitant attitude. As the myth develops we observe how the inception of the idea of the ceremony is laid to the revelation made in dreams to chosen leaders among the Munsee. Opinion seems quite general among the Delawares that the original conception of the ceremony is a Munsee one. This is interesting because it locates the ceremony in the northerly group of the three tribes forming the so-called Delaware Nation. It is fortunate that we have, from the pen of Harrington,[2] a treatise on the Munsee form of the Big House ceremony for the purpose of comparison and evaluation as far as the material provided in the several accounts will permit us to go. At present there seems little to point toward proof of priority for the Munsee phase of the worship, except for the quasi-historical estimate of the Delawares themselves. A feeling of respect for the Munsee is general among the Delawares. They are held in high esteem for their former bravery and, strange to say though natural enough in the regard held by Indians for such matters, for their indifference to economic and material affairs and devotion to those of a spiritual nature.[3]

648 797 ESOTERISM OF DELAWARE RELIGION.—In the missionary descriptions of 170 years ago, chiefly from the pen of John Heckewelder, we hear constantly of the inner spirit of aversion held toward the whites, and the distrust felt by the natives concerning the motives of all Euro-

[1] This was written in October 1928.

[2] Harrington I, pp. 127-161.

[3] Illustrative of this sentiment several Delaware observations may be recalled in reference to the Munsee. The latter, it would seem, are held in high esteem for their bravery and ability in spiritual matters, yet were noted for an indifference to dress and economic properties, in which respect the Delawares think they stood out in contrast with them.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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peans. The Moravian missionary brothers laid some stress on this situation as it affected their own interests and those of the colonies at large. They saw ample reason for such feelings in the occasion of the atrocities committed upon the Indians by the border whites culminating in the massacre of the defenseless converts at Gnädenhütten by Pennsylvania militia (1782).

Heckewelder, knowing the Delaware through fifteen years residence in their midst (1771-1786), words the following brief expressing his own view of the matter. "Long and dismal are the complaints which the Indians make of European ingratitude and injustice. They love to repeat them, and always do it with the eloquence of nature, aided by an energetic and comprehensive language, which our polished idioms cannot imitate. Often I have listened to these descriptions of their hard sufferings, until I felt ashamed of being a white man."[1]

As for the testimony of the Delawares themselves, Heckewelder quotes the speech of a war-chief Pachgantschihilas,[2] delivered in 1781 to the Moravian converts at Gnädenhütten. After recapitulating the events which had happened before in their relationship with the whites, he concluded, saying, "I admit that there are good white men, but they bear no proportion to the bad; the bad must be the strongest for they rule. They do what they please. They enslave those who are not of their own color, although created by the same Great Spirit who created them. They would make us slaves if they could, but as they cannot do it, they kill us! There is no faith to be placed in their words. They will take him by the hand, and at the same moment destroy him. And so you (addressing himself to the Christian Indians) will also be treated by them before long. Remember! that this day I have warned you to beware of such friends as these. I know the long knives; they are not to be trusted."

Eleven months after this speech was delivered by this prophetic chief, ninety-six of the same Christian Indians, about sixty of them women and children, were murdered at the place where these very words were spoken, by the same men he has alluded to.

There seems to be little need of going further with details of this topic since it is so thoroughly covered in the manuscripts of the earlier writers who had opportunities of observing the transition period of Delaware contact with civilization. In the treatises of two missionaries alone, fifteen pages are devoted to the interracial problem.[3]

[1] Heckewelder, op. cit., p. 76.

[2] Paxkandji-'hi-la-xa, "Person Running with Body and Soul."

[3] Zeisberger, p. 121-2; Heckewelder, pp. 71-85; Loskiel, pt. III, chap. 10. See also de Schweinitz, "The Life and Times of David Zeisberger, Phila. (1870).

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

● 648 Neither time nor closer association with Europeans has caused this feeling to disappear among the Delawares.[1] We observe the persistence of the same spirit in the sentiments conveyed in the text, the reverence for the *mores* of the past, the attitude of adoration toward their ancestors who, although ignorant pagans, possessed a mystic wisdom and intelligence which, they are willing to concede, surpassed the endowments and knowledge of the present generation.[2]

Yet notwithstanding the attitude of the Delawares toward the whites, we must not be misled, by consideration of the antipathy and distrust expressed since colonial times, into regarding the same spirit to have characterized their religious motives. For several authorities besides the narrator of the text coincide in telling us that the ceremonies of placation performed by the tribe are maintained for the benefit of all mankind. The white man is to be blamed for the existence in the mind of the Delaware of the feeling in favor of segregation. Yet the Delaware is willing to extend over his enemies the blessings resulting from his devotions.

771 The informant's own attitude is interesting as expressed in his own words.

"The Big House is regarded by the Delawares as the supreme re-
[778 ligion among all forms of worship on the Continent. The center post
532] with the carved faces of the two sides is the foundation, whose topmost

[1] J. Morse (Rep. to the Secretary of War on the Indian Tribes, New Haven, 1822, p. 110) alludes to the Delawares of 1818 as "having a peculiar aversion to white people." Heckewelder still earlier had much to say about the causes of dissension, op. cit., p. 191.

[2] Note the spirit manifested in a communication from the Delaware Council to the Historical Commission (June 1929) "We are proud to have such a wonderful opportunity, so that our children will take pride in the work of their fathers to preserve our sacred Delaware tradition." While the hold of the old doctrine may be losing its grasp upon the younger generation of Delawares, we have some evidence of a reactionary trend in sentiment towards its rationalization. Not so long ago one of the Christian Delawares,
[182] moved by a zealous, evangelistic impulse, arose and advised the conservatives to abandon once and for all the Big House ceremony on the ground that it was part of an age of superstition and ignorance. The opposition accorded this appeal was surprising and unexpected. The individuals behind the move for abandonment were, as it happened, uneducated themselves. Some of the defenders of the old faith, women who possessed good education in government schools, responded by accusing the intruders of incompetency to pass judgment on the merits of the contending creeds, by reason of their own ignorance; in not being able to read the testaments of one nor grasp the meaning of the other. Religious conservatism is a marked characteristic of the nationalistic element in the Nation. It is even asserted that they regard their migration from the east to have been in part prompted by a desire to preserve their religion. Dr. Michelson, who visited the tribe in 1912, was impressed by their tenacity of creed, (Smithsonian Misc. Collec., vol. 60, No. 30, p. 35) upon which Harrington also makes comments (I, op. cit., p. 200).

In an unpublished note to the original manuscript of Rafinesque's Walamolum (1833) now in the Brinton Library of the University of Pennsylvania Museum, the author gives a handwritten fragment of Delaware history from 1600. It is a bitter native lament voiced over the decline of the tribe, pronounced by a chief and translated by a John Burns, with mention of the removal from the east to west of the Mississippi and finally to the Osage country.

11:Newcomb E-5 (1952)1956 NM7 Delaware NM7

other people. Yet the individual Delaware is not an ordinary American; he is thought of by the public as an Indian, and he thinks of himself as an Indian. One way in which he can express this Indianness and feel that he is a part of a larger group is to be a peyotist. The peyote cult gives him an opportunity to participate in ceremonies with others who occupy a similar position in American life, and it provides him with an opportunity to express his Indian cultural heritage, however slight it may be. In the meeting just described there were Winnebagos, Sioux, and Shawnees, in addition to the Delawares. This is normal for a Delaware peyote meeting; in fact, their meetings always include members of other tribes. They also frequently attend meetings with the Osage, Quapaw, and others. In short, in earlier times the Delaware Big Moon peyote cult was a religious expression of assimilation and an attempt to preserve something from the shattered cultural past. Today it functions more as a religious symbol of the Indian minority and a rallying point for what has been termed a Pan-Indian society (Newcomb, 1955).

SUMMARY

The arrangement of the tepee and the conduct of Delaware Big Moon peyote meetings has remained essentially constant since 1930. Over this span of time the Big Moon cult has not succeeded in completely replacing the traditional religion, nor has it apparently become any more popular. Probably the greatest changes have occurred in the reasons for the cults' appeal to the Delawares. The modern attractions of the peyote cult are particularly strong in its aspects as an *Indian* ceremony and as a rallying point for Pan-Indianism, rather than in the solace it offers to "a subjugated people."

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12:Tantaquidgeon E-5 (no date)1950
NM7 Delaware NM7

Delaware Indian Art Designs

GLADYS TANTAQUIDGEON

Introduction

101 THE DELAWARES belong to the Algonkian linguistic stock. When referring to themselves they use the term Lenape or Lenni Lenape, which denotes "real" or "native men." The original 131 habitat of the Delawares was in southeastern New York, eastern Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Delaware. In this territory they were first visited by the Dutch, 648 Swedish and English voyagers in the 16th 175 and 17th centuries. About 1720, trouble began owing in part to pressure brought upon the Delawares by the Iroquois. This marked the beginning of a series of 167 migrations in which bands of Delawares 175 left their ancestral homes in the east and moved westward. Their first move took them to the valley of the Susquehanna, where they settled at Wyoming about 1742. By 1751 they had reached eastern Ohio and formed settlements. Another move brought numbers of them into Indiana. In 1789 they were granted permission by the Spanish government to settle in Missouri and Arkansas. Later most of the tribe was brought together on a reservation

[P.24, A]

15:Morgan E-5 (1859)1959
NM7 Delaware NM7
Shawnee NN17
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Along the Kansas River are the Indian Reservations. First we have at the mouth on the north side the Wyandottes, a branch of the Iroquois family. Next west of them are the Delawares, and above them are the Pottawatamies; on the south side are the Shawnees, whose lands extend from Kansas City to near Lawrence. There are short breaks between the reservations between which the white settlers have got in, but the settlers are excluded from nearly the whole of the splendid land along this river. They have continued to lease some of it and to marry Indian wives and get adopted into the tribes and thus some few have gained farms, or the possession at least of valuable land. The whites of course are anxious for the further removal of these Indians, and their wiser men will see the necessity of their removal if they would save them from extermination by the usual process.

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I understand the Shawnees have by treaty with the government[11] divided up their lands as to give to each man, woman and child 200 acres of land, to be owned in fee by each but without the power of sale for eight years, after which each may sell. The

15:Morgan E-5 (1859)1959
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[p28 (B)]

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balance of these lands they have sold to the government for 60 cents per acre. Upon these last lands the settlers have entered.

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The Delawares have also made a new treaty, by which after reserving a portion of their splendid reserve, they have agreed that the Government may sell the remainder for their benefit at public sale by auction, and that after deducting the expenses of the survey and sale, they are to have the remainder.[12] If the Indians located in this territory manage their property rights well, they will become well off, every individual, from the proceeds of their lands. They have possessed themselves of the finest part of Kansas under the treaties which provided for their removal.

15:Morgan E-5 (1859)1959
NM7 Delaware NM7

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PART IV

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Baptist Delaware Mission,
Kansas T. June 9, 1859

I left the Shawnee Mission (Friends) yesterday morning and reached here the same evening. I crossed Kansas River at the Delaware Crossing, about twelve miles above its mouth; and was so fortunate in point of time as to be there on Payment Day, which is the annual gala day of the nation. As I had never seen a government payment of Indian annuities I was, of course, very glad that it happened as it did. After spending about four hours as a spectator of this curious scene, I went on to the Mission. Today Mr. Pratt and myself went down again, and spent a few hours, the payment still going on, but so near completed that they expected to finish tonight. We have just returned somewhat fatigued by the ride, as the day is warm. Some account of the payment must be given, although it is one of those scenes which should be seen to be appreciated. The amount paid was universally large, it being no less a sum than $78,000 to something less than 1000 people all told, men, women and children, and was paid in gold and silver. In January 1858 the Delawares numbered by census 988. At the present June census their number is but 941. These figures were given me by Mr. Ford, a merchant of Lawrence, who stops here and is looking after the accounts with the Delawares. I supposed the nation was not diminishing, but rather on the increase

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291 who speak our language and have the man-
[191] ners and address of gentlemen. Some of the
old men and some of the young men had on
colored calico frock coats of the most gaudy
[302] colors. Many had vermilion on their faces,
thus giving them a low appearance, and I
saw a few girls with spots of it in their
[301] cheeks. One man I saw with a silver orna-
ment in his nose, which covered part of his
mouth. Many of the men wore leggings with
a wide side projection, ornamented, and
the breech cloth, over which they wore a
vest or shirt, and perhaps one of the frock
coats of calico above named, with head
bands of bead work over the shoulder and
meeting in a large bead work pocket on the
right hand side. As a body I should think
the men inferior to the women.

454 The Delawares have a million and up-
● 648 wards in the national treasury at five per
cent interest. Their regular annuity is
[657] $50,000. The present is a part of two pay-
ments, I understand, and is larger than
usual. There were several stores full of
443 goods, and a great many stands out in the
open air with the protection of canvas. The
492 great show of all was in saddles and bridles,
of which I presume I saw of saddles alone
[435] 150; the price ranges from $15 to 50 dol-
lars, the ordinary being $22 to $25. They
are the Mexican saddle, made at Westport,
Mo., and the kind usually used in Kansas
and this part of the west. It has a high pom-
mel, wooden stirrups usually, which are
easier than metal for long journeys, and a
well stuffed and quilted seat, with a high
rear plate. They are far superior to our
eastern saddle for riding.

439 The assortment of goods was creditable
to the good sense of the Delawares, as the
supply was adapted to the demand. Grains
of all kinds, tin wares of all kinds and at
reasonable prices, in fact they could not

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622 tain Ketchum, and of the Turtle Tribe. His
[611] name was Ta-ta-ne-aha. Here we have a practical illustration of descent in the female line, as with the Iroquois. She says each of the three tribes have one hereditary chief, called the Head Chief; that this chief never goes out to war, but stays at home while the Braves go out to fight.

• 648 The Delawares call the Senecas Mingwa-o, hence I think the historical word Mingoes,[55] a name for the Iroquois. The Delawares call the Iroquois and Wyandottes nephews, and thus assume the name
[186] of uncles, which is a way to express their seniority as well as original superiority.

553 I inquired of her about the family names, and was again put at fault. She says the father and mother can name their children as they please; that they ask some one for a list of old names of persons dead, and choose such ones as they like. She thought the names of the three tribes were kept dis-
[614] tinct, and then that they were used by these tribes indiscriminately. She said her husband named her children, and gave them all Turtle names, which was his tribe, then followed this up by stating that she did not know as it made any difference, that all used the same names. She referred to the
[171] Seneca practice of making a feast when a child was named, but said the Delawares did not do that way.

Winter

773 Mr. Pratt mentioned a Delaware tradition
921 about the origin of cold and heat and the change of the seasons as follows. In ancient times a married pair fell into disagreement. They lived in the far north region of cold. The wife, finding it impossible to live with her husband, or in resentment for some injury, travelled into the far south, into the region of heat. The husband became weary

[p 55 (B)]

614 have expressed themselves in favor of the
622 person nominated. If they disagree, I have
623 not ascertained how it is adjusted. After the person is agreed upon, then all the chiefs meet in council and perform the ceremony of investing him with his office.

622 The war chiefs are selected and made such by the Head Chief without consulting the people, but not so with the Head Chief.

241 The Delawares are very well advanced as agriculturalists. When Mr. Pratt came
342 among them 12 years ago, as he informs me,
177 they were living in bark houses. Now many of them are living in frame houses two stories and 2½ stories high, some with a veranda in front the whole length, and they have good barns and outbuildings. Some of
231 them have herds of cattle from 25 to 100
422 and have from 5 to 20 swine, sheep, wagons, and all kinds of farming implements. Their future prospects are certainly very flattering if they push on as they have here. Their
648 women are interfered with a good deal by
563 the whites, and they are quick to marry
557 white husbands, as they seem to regard that as advancing. It would be so were their husbands respectable.

657 With their large annuity of $50,000 per annum, the best timbered lands in the state, and sufficient of them to give them all large farms, there is no reason why they should not become both agriculturalists and respectable citizens of the state. When they
000 become wealthy farmers as some of them now are, their children will intermarry respectably with our white people, and thus the children will become respectable and, if educated, in the second and third generations will become beautiful and attractive. This is to be the end of the Indian absorption of a small portion, which will improve and toughen our race, and the residue run out or forced into the regions of the mountains.

15:Morgan E-5 (1859)1959
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Shawnee NN17
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11. By treaty in 1854, the Shawnees surrendered 1,600,000 acres of land to the government and received "one-eighth of it back for distribution among the tribe . . . Voluntary allotment in severalty was a prominent feature of the treaty, and the division of the diminished reserve was to be made upon the basis of 200 acres for every individual . . . In the winter of 1856–57, Lot Coffman, a surveyor, was appointed by the federal government to take a census of the Shawnees and to distribute the land in accordance therewith" (Anna Heloise Abel, "Indian Reservations in Kansas and the Extinguishment of Their Title," in *Transactions of the Kansas Historical Society, 1903–04*, VIII, 93).

000 12. See *ibid.*, pp. 88–90.

15:Morgan E-5 (1859)1969
NM7 Delaware NM7

[p.209 (A)]
[pp 205-208 not processed]

000 81. In *Systems* (p. 289) Morgan acknowledges the assistance of William Adams, "a young Delaware, educated at Delaware Mission in Kansas," in obtaining the kinship system of the Delawares.

121 82. Morgan was much interested in the method of bestowing names upon individuals in Indian society. Upon his return from this trip he read a paper, "Indian Mode of Bestowing Names," at the 13th meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science in Springfield, Massachusetts, in August; it was published in the *Proceedings*, pp. 340–43. It seems probable that he suspected that he might find here a distinctive characteristic of Indian culture—as he apparently regarded the custom of sleeping nude and wearing the breechcloth, frequently mentioned in *Systems*—that could be used for purposes of historical reconstruction.

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000 83. Charles Johnny Cake (or Journeycake, as he signed his name, as a representative of the Delawares, to agreements with the United States in 1854) was a chief and prominent leader of the Delawares in Kansas. He was baptized in 1833, and later became "the

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15:Morgan E-5 (1859)1959
NM7 Delaware NM7
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most noted Baptist preacher" among the Delawares. Charles' brother, Isaac Journeycake, was quite prominent, also. One of Charles Journeycake's daughters, Nannie, married the eldest son of Mr. Pratt, Lucius, in the spring of 1860: "the bride was dressed in white muslin, with veil and orange blossoms, and looked very pretty" (Clara Gowing, "Life Among the Delaware Indians," *Collections of the Kansas State Historical Society, 1911–12*, XII, 186–87; *Home Mission Monthly*, Vol. 14, 1892).

In *Report on Indians Taxed and Indians Not Taxed in the United States* (Washington, D. C., 1894) there are three pictures dealing with Journeycake: (1) a portrait of him alone, 1890 and (2) a photograph of his residence, 1890 (both following p. 296), and (3) photograph of Journeycake with a delegation of Indians in Washington in 1867 (following p. 298).

84. There were many Ketchums among the Indians, not only among the Delawares, from 1830 to 1880 or later. "Captain" Ketchum is listed as a signatory of agreements with white organizations in 1832, 1843, and 1844 (*Transactions of the Kansas State Historical Society*, IX, 204; *Collections of the Kansas State Historical Society*, Vol. 16, pp. 755, 761). John Ketchum, Que-sha-to-wha, along with Charles Journeycake and other Delawares signed an agreement with Commissioner George W. Mannypenney in 1854, ceding lands. A James Ketchum was a member of the delegation of Delawares—which included Charles Journeycake and Agent Pratt, also—that went to Washington in 1867; he appears in the group picture mentioned in the previous footnote. In April, 1860, Mr. Pratt and a teacher at the mission drove out "to see chief Ketchum, who was sick." The teacher has left us a vivid picture of Ketchum's residence (Clara Gowing, *op. cit.*, p. 188).

85. From Algonquian Mingwe, "stealthy, treacherous." Used also by whites during the late

31: Snyderman E-5 (ca. 1948) 1951
NM9 Iroquois NM9
Delaware NM7
Miami NP9

F D M 423 574 648 563 [682] When the Delaware tried to exact "blood money" from the Miami to "cover the bones" of several of their people who had been murdered by the Miami, they were reminded firmly that they had been allowed to keep the money for the sales of Miami lands and that this should suffice. Joseph Richardville speaking for the Miami stated:

> Grand Fathers: You must recollect when you passed over the great mountains, & came to our country, that you were poor and destitute; you placed yourselves under our protection; we gave you lands, & at the Treaty of St. Mary's you sat in council with us. These we considered enough to satisfy you for all the injury our bad young men had done you; but it appears otherwise, for you continue to beg for more nothwithstanding all that has been told to you by our old chief who now lies sick in his wigwam. [Tipton, 1942, p. 764.]

When it was politic, the Iroquois assumed responsibility for their "dependents" to the point of pressing their claims. Thus Canassatego speaking to Representatives of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia at Lancaster on July 2, 1744, pressed the case of the Canoy who had been defrauded by the Whites (Lowrie and Clarke, 1832–34, vol. 1, pp. 724–725).

On July 1, 1749, the Iroquois Assuchquay spoke for the Canoy as follows:

I [694] > As we were coming here the Canoy Indians gave us this string of Wampum, thereby putting their case into our Hands, which we undertook to Speak to. It seems when the Proprietories bought the Land between Delaware and Susquehanna from us, the Tract, as they told us, on which the Canoy Town stood was reserv'd out of the Grant on account of those Indians living there, & when they should quit it they were to have a Consideration paid them for it. This we think they are entitled to, as they have left the Land & Live among other Nations at Juniata; and as they tell us that they never receiv'd anything for their Land, we recommend it to you to see them paid. [Prov. Council Pa., Minutes, vol. 5, p. 390.]

And when it suited their purposes, dependents were allowed to share the presents. There is on record an actual agreement between the chiefs of the Six Nations and the Commissioners of Pennsylvania dated January 1, 1789, which contains a clause noting that, "Two Munseys signed as being residenters on the land, but not owners" (Prov. Council Pa., Minutes, vol. 5, p. 512).

I 423 648 563 In the foregoing, we have described how the League functioned for its tenants, dependents, guests, and colonists. When the League began to sell the land from under dependent peoples, friction developed which was not to be resolved by the dictates of Onondaga. The attempt of the League authorities to prevent the Iroquois on the Ohio from receiving "presents from the Governor of Virginia" by labeling them "Hunters and no Counselors or Chief Men" (ibid., p. 478) convinced neither the Governor of Virginia nor the Indian frontiersmen of the League's power to enforce its decision. Likewise the state-

31: Snyderman E-5 (ca. 1948) 1951
NM9 Iroquois NM9
Delaware NM7

I D 648 423 [177] 563

The new and alien philosophy, however, soon spread to the neighbors of the Iroquois and caused these onetime "subjects" to adopt the white man's vehicles and guarantees of ownership. The sorry experience of the Delaware beginning with the Walking Purchase induced them to demand a guarantee of title:

> The Land which we now inhabit was granted by the Miamies and Potawatomies which they have renewed last September in great council held at Fort Wayne in the presence of Captain Wells and the commanding officer of the Fort.
>
> They granted to us to occupy and possess said land for the benefit of our tribes & their prosperity. But prohibited the right of selling the same. But took us in as joint owners of Said Land or Country—lest the grant should in future day fall into the hands of the white people, wherefore they gave us no writing at the time this took place. But for security they gave us Wampum instead of a written Deed. Our chiefs are doubtful with regard of such pledges—and indeed experience ought to teach us the weakness of such a measure. By observation the population of the United States, it appears to us that all Indian claims will be extinguished by the white people before long. The Land in which we wish to dwell all our days will inevitably be sold from under the feet of our poor children after us. In that case what will become of them . . . They will be compelled to dispossess once more. We dread that evil very much in spite of the pledges of Wampum which was given to us.

The chiefs went on to ask for "assistance" as they and their people (the Delaware) were "poor and have no sure habitation." They pointed out that they now found themselves in the "same situation as the first Whites whom they befriended." They asked for "pity" and a "writing" so that they would not be dispossessed by the Whites, who now claimed almost the "entire country" (Parker, Daniel, n. d.).

I 423 173 [436]

The quoted plea of the Delaware summarizes the basic changes in Indian philosophy toward land; it is symbolic of the fears and tensions shared by the Iroquois and all their Indian neighbors. It seems certain that prior to white contact, land was given (though not deeded in our sense), and wampum was used as a promise in perpetuity providing the new owner behaved.

The translation of land to a salable economic commodity blurred tribal boundaries. In times prior to the arrival of the Whites, tracts of land were claimed and even occupied by several tribes who seemed to have lived peaceably together. A band which moved from a piece of land and neither occupied it for a number of years nor hunted on it, in fact relinquished its claim. The only recollections of its former residence remained in the folklore. The new and, to the Indian's way of thinking, "artificial" values placed on land by the Whites destroyed these principles. We now find them claiming land long after they moved away. This is also indicative of the fact that all Indian philosophy was foundering in the whirlpool created by the impact of crass materialistic motives against an idealistic and natural ideology.

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8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
NM7 Delaware NM7

In military matters and warfare these Indians are brave, using no other arms but rifles, bows, spears, arrows and quarrels, which are set with sharp flint [stones], and they use helmets which are made of sticks and wood, so strong that no quarry is able to go through it. They show no reverence or honor to their ruler, which their sachem does not require of them, but their sachem may come to sit just as soon last as first, thus and in other such things [they show no preference for their sachems].[6]

They know nothing of taxation and they are entirely ignorant of architecture and fortifications.[7]

Since I in this chapter have mentioned something about muskets, I will not neglect to say that in the year 1380 the art to shoot with guns was invented in Germany by a monk and alchemist by the name of Bartholdh Schwartz.[8]

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granted and recompence made, they grant out a kind of Letter of Mart to take satisfaction themselves, yet they are carefull not to exceed in taking from others, beyond the proportion of their owne losse." Williams, *Key*, 76–7.

[6] Perhaps my copy is defective here.

[7] *Medh Architecteurer och Fortificationer att umgåås är them aldeeles okunnigt.* Cf. Hodge, *Handbook*, I, 77 ff.

[8] Berthold Schwarz (Constantin Anklitzen(?)) of Freiburg(?), inventor of artillery and probably of gunpowder.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

731 Gnadenhütten affair. A score or so of families settled on the
167 Clinton River northwest of the site of Mount Clemens on land belonging to the Chippewa. They lived there from 1782 to 1786. In the latter year they moved to Pilgerruh near Pittsburgh, then to Pettquotting, and finally in 1791 to Canada. A few families returned to the Tuscarawas in 1798.

167 In the meantime the "heathen" Delaware were settling in
657 western Indiana, principally along the White River. In 1821 these were moved across the Mississippi by the Federal Government to a reservation near Leavenworth, Kansas. There they were joined about 1835 by a band of Delaware which had removed to Missouri in 1789 with the permission of the Spanish Government, and by 1820, after a sojourn in Arkansas, had moved to Texas with a Shawnee band. In 1867 the Delaware sold their lands in Kansas and bought rights as members of the Cherokee Nation in Oklahoma. A small party was living among the Caddo and Wichita in south-central Oklahoma when the "general severalty act" authorizing allotments was passed in 1887. This group received allotments as members of the Caddo and Wichita groups with which they have since been incorporated, while the majority in northeastern Oklahoma received allotments as members of the Cherokee Nation.

161 We have no estimates of the number of Delaware at the time
162 of their first contacts with the whites when they were living in a fairly compact body. Since then they have been scattered and connected with other tribes, with only an occasional village composed solely of Delaware. In 1824 their number was estimated as 1,500 in Kansas and 650 in Canada and scattered through New York and Ohio. In 1910 their population including the Munsee was about 1,850, of whom 895 were in Oklahoma, 55 in Kansas, about 250 Munsee with Stockbridge in Wisconsin, and 619 on three different reserves in Ontario. The 1930 figures show a slight decline, with 874 in Oklahoma.

CONTACTS

177 In their original habitat and during their migrations, the Delaware have been exposed to different types of white contact.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

These may be characterized by relative size in the following chronological order. 177

1. Until 1638. Contacts with only occasional trading ships.
2. 1638 to about 1700. Entire Delaware communities in contact with smaller white communities.
3. 1700 to 1750. Entire Delaware communities in contact with larger white communities.
4. 1751 to 1821. Contacts mainly with missionaries and traders.
5. 1821 to about 1850. Reservation life, contacts with government officials, missionaries, traders, and smaller white communities. [657]
6. 1850 to 1938. Delaware families on individual tracts and allotments, no longer in communities, in contact with white communities, and after 1890 surrounded by them.

At only rare and brief intervals, like the French and Indian War and the Revolution, were the whites openly and militantly hostile to the Delaware. Their contacts aside from these exterminating expeditions were responsible for the following types of effect. 648 177

1. Introduction of new ideas, materials, and techniques, with possible supplanting of the old ideas.
2. Introduction of other Indian elements through traders.
3. New tribal contacts through moves forced upon the Delaware whether by administrative action or otherwise. [167]
4. Change in habitat, due to destruction of game, forests, etc., and settlement on reservations and allotments.

It should be pointed out that not only did the white contact range through various nationalities—Swedish, Dutch, English, French, German, and American, but white culture as a whole was also changing through the centuries of contact. The most striking aspect of this evolution was probably in technology, but the changes in attitude towards the Indians and the changes in administrative policy were also important.

In their first historical habitat the Delaware were almost surrounded by closely related tribes—the Munsee, Mahican, Nanticokes, Conoy, Manhattan, and other members of the Wap- 133 177

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PART IV

114

Baptist Delaware Mission,
Kansas T. June 9, 1859

I left the Shawnee Mission (Friends) yesterday morning and reached here the same evening. I crossed Kansas River at the Delaware Crossing, about twelve miles above its mouth; and was so fortunate in point of time as to be there on Payment Day, which is the annual gala day of the nation. As I had never seen a government payment of Indian annuities I was, of course, very glad that it happened as it did. After spending about four hours as a spectator of this curious scene, I went on to the Mission. Today Mr. Pratt and myself went down again, and spent a few hours, the payment still going on, but so near completed that they expected to finish tonight. We have just returned somewhat fatigued by the ride, as the day is warm. Some account of the payment must be given, although it is one of those scenes which should be seen to be appreciated. The amount paid was universally large, it being no less a sum than $78,000 to something less than 1000 people all told, men, women and children, and was paid in gold and silver. In January 1858 the Delawares numbered by census 988. At the present June census their number is but 941. These figures were given me by Mr. Ford, a merchant of Lawrence, who stops here and is looking after the accounts with the Delawares. I supposed the nation was not diminishing, but rather on the increase

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[527]
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[648]

[450 (A)]

[*Payment Day*]

657 527 The place of payment was centrally located but a most inconvenient place in itself, as it was upon a side hill with very rough ground all around it. The only recommendation was the eight or ten houses which made up the settlement, and furnished shelter for [439] the goods of the traders, who are inseparable from all payments. The number present was large, just as many of the Delawares as could possibly leave their homes, with a single one behind in some cases to watch the premises. About 800 were present and some Shawnees from the opposite side and perhaps 100 white people, including traders and spectators. I arrived about 10 A.M. and the paying out commenced about 1 P.M.

291 177 The Indian women were all dressed out in their best attire, as this is the only occasion that ever brings them together as a [527] people. We saw the fruits of the sales of [657] previous years, and some of the present, in advance a few hours of the time of pay- [439] ment, as the traders are eager to commence their work at once. In the first place the Delaware women have usually dropped the Indian skirt, and put on the long dress of the white female. I thought I saw a skirt upon an elderly woman, although it was covered up with a gown. Their dresses are of all colors, and some of them of rich materials. A few were dressed in colored muslin with silk shawls, and looked quite becomingly, but the most of them were, strange to say, dressed in silk gowns, some of which were brocade patterns of rich brocade silk, some were black, these looked the best. Some were crimson and black, some fiery plaid; the most of them were in bright colors. Over these they wore silk shawls of every color and shade, most of them fringed. They were expensive silk shawls of good

[750 (c)]

291 who speak our language and have the man-
[191] ners and address of gentlemen. Some of the
old men and some of the young men had on
colored calico frock coats of the most gaudy
[302] colors. Many had vermilion on their faces,
thus giving them a low appearance, and I
saw a few girls with spots of it in their
[301] cheeks. One man I saw with a silver orna-
ment in his nose, which covered part of his
mouth. Many of the men wore leggings with
a wide side projection, ornamented, and
the breech cloth, over which they wore a
vest or shirt, and perhaps one of the frock
coats of calico above named, with head
bands of bead work over the shoulder and
meeting in a large bead work pocket on the
right hand side. As a body I should think
the men inferior to the women.

454 The Delawares have a million and up-
648 wards in the national treasury at five per
cent interest. Their regular annuity is
[657] $50,000. The present is a part of two pay-
ments, I understand, and is larger than
usual. There were several stores full of
443 goods, and a great many stands out in the
open air with the protection of canvas. The
492 great show of all was in saddles and bridles,
of which I presume I saw of saddles alone
[435] 150; the price ranges from $15 to 50 dol-
lars, the ordinary being $22 to $25. They
are the Mexican saddle, made at Westport,
Mo., and the kind usually used in Kansas
and this part of the west. It has a high pom-
mel, wooden stirrups usually, which are
easier than metal for long journeys, and a
well stuffed and quilted seat, with a high
rear plate. They are far superior to our
eastern saddle for riding.

439 The assortment of goods was creditable
to the good sense of the Delawares, as the
supply was adapted to the demand. Grains
of all kinds, tin wares of all kinds and at
reasonable prices, in fact they could not

[#51(A)]

D
439 make anything on this article, wash tubs and washboards, coffee mills and household articles, calico and muslin goods. The chief take in was in the jewelry of which large and flashy assortments were exhibited, some of it looking extremely well; salt pork, flour and bacon were also offered. The trading, however, was not brisk, and I think was pretty much a failure, the reason being that Wyandotte and Kansas City are within easy reach, where they can buy cheaper and at their convenience. The
D
[181] trader's chance lies in the weakness of the Indian before temptation, and his slight
D
452 regard for money. As the payment was de-
443 layed more than a day beyond the time, I noticed some of the Indians commenced moving up to book account in advance, which the traders favored. I saw two of them this afternoon arranging [?] payment in the Indian tents, and getting it, and I have no doubt doubling the amount in footing it up, or increasing it largely. They have to pay for a trader's license $25 to the agent, and unless they speculate in some way, they must make a failure on their sales.

D
273 I saw no whisky nor ardent spirits of any
657 kind, and consequently no drunkenness or quarrelling. After it is all over tonight and the payment is over, and the government strikes its tent and moves off with the wagon marked U. S. and the small file of soldiers sent to protect the specie, the whisky will show itself, and the pockets of the remaining Indians who have any money will be picked. There were more white men around today than looked well for the Indian women.

Shawnees Uncles to the Chippeways, etc.

S
648 Buraseau told me that years ago the Ojibwas, Pottawatamies and Ottawas took the

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[54(A)]

D 346 in the center so as to separate the boys and girls, although they are as yet all together. There are numerous outbuildings, as a farm is carried on in connection with the school of about two hundred acres. The buildings D 872 were erected a few years ago with school money belonging to the Delawares, and is [657] supported with funds in the hands of the government reserved for that purpose.

D [797] The children are clothed, boarded and [657] taught by the Mission, and the government allows $75 per annum per scholar. They have two terms of five months each, and the children are kept in school about seven hours per day. They study reading, writing, and spelling, geography, arithmetic, with blackboard exercises. The scholars are mostly young, those now at school ranging from 6 to 18 years. They look well and healthy and free from sore eyes, and are decently and comfortably clad. This is the true system of Indian education, beyond a doubt, and this school is by far in the best condition of any I have seen. We see here New England cleanliness, system and good management. I did not visit the Mission S 872 School of the Methodist Southern Board 797 among the Shawnees. It is a large and flourishing school, I believe, but complaints are made of the principal of unfairness, of avarice, etc. He has made himself rich and also the Mission, they having secured by treaty between about 2000 acres of land, and at the same time he was active to prevent Friend Harvey from selling his Mission farm of 200 acres, evidently desiring to break up the Friends Mission.

D Mr. Pratt commenced his missionary life 797 22 years ago with his present wife then 20 years of age. He was accepted as a missionary to Burma, but was requested to fill temporarily an Indian Mission then vacant among the Stockbridges near Fort Leaven-

[455 (B)]

614 have expressed themselves in favor of the
622 person nominated. If they disagree, I have
623 not ascertained how it is adjusted. After the person is agreed upon, then all the chiefs meet in council and perform the ceremony of investing him with his office.

622 The war chiefs are selected and made such by the Head Chief without consulting the people, but not so with the Head Chief.

241 The Delawares are very well advanced as agriculturalists. When Mr. Pratt came
342 among them 12 years ago, as he informs me,
177 they were living in bark houses. Now many of them are living in frame houses two stories and 2½ stories high, some with a veranda in front the whole length, and they have good barns and outbuildings. Some of
231 them have herds of cattle from 25 to 100
422 and have from 5 to 20 swine, sheep, wagons, and all kinds of farming implements. Their future prospects are certainly very flattering if they push on as they have here. Their
648 women are interfered with a good deal by
563 the whites, and they are quick to marry
557 white husbands, as they seem to regard that as advancing. It would be so were their husbands respectable.

657 With their large annuity of $50,000 per annum, the best timbered lands in the state, and sufficient of them to give them all large farms, there is no reason why they should not become both agriculturalists and respectable citizens of the state. When they
000 become wealthy farmers as some of them now are, their children will intermarry respectably with our white people, and thus the children will become respectable and, if educated, in the second and third generations will become beautiful and attractive. This is to be the end of the Indian absorption of a small portion, which will improve and toughen our race, and the residue run out or forced into the regions of the mountains.

15:Morgan E-5 (1859)1959
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[8 55(c)]

000 595 183 tains. There are two cases of *polygamy* here. Two well known Indians have two wives each. The Delawares are opposed to it, and are inclined to make a fuss about it. But I suppose it is an old Indian institution and they cannot make a law against it. If it was contrary to Indian law they would not admit the children of both mothers to annuities. As it now stands, their annuity is a bounty on children. I think the Delawares are tempted by their annuities.

● 657

Religious System of the Delawares[91]

776 William Adams, Del.

The Delawares believe in a Great and in an Evil Spirit. They also believe in a number of subordinate spirits, some of whom are waiting or ministering spirits of the Good and some of the Evil One. Among the waiting spirits of the former are the following.

776 821 1. Kaka-sha-ha-no-hase, the Spirit of the Whirlwind. He is represented as having the form of a man and is called Grand Father.

2. O-we-ya-la-so, the Spirit of the Wind. He is represented as having the form of a man, with long streaming hair, so long that it sometimes gets entangled in the trees as he rides along. He is called Grand Father.

3. Pate-hoc-hoo-weh, the Spirit of Thunder. He is represented as having the form [825] of a bird, an Eagle, called Grand Father.

776 823 4. Wa-o-tun-oo-wase, the Spirit of Water. She is represented as having the hands of a woman, and the body, but ending in a fish's tail. She is supposed to dwell in every drop of water as well as in every river, creek, lake and stream, and sometimes to be a punishing spirit. She it is in cases of drowning who pulls the person under the water. Hence her name means "Pulling Down far Under."

776 [824] 5. Has-gueme, the Spirit of Corn. She is represented as having the form of a woman, and is called our Mother. She can foretell

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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to comprehend the meaning, and not knowing whether the answer is favourable or unfavourable, their proceedings are necessarily suspended until they can discover its true sense; in this manner have operations been sometimes entirely prevented, and matters have remained in the same situation that they were in before. 648

It may be supposed, perhaps, that such an artful manner of treating each other might be thought provoking, and cause jealousies and disputes among the different parties; such is not, however, the case, as nothing insulting is ever contained in those messages; and as offence is not meant, it is not taken. The Indians consider it on all sides as a kind of diplomatic proceeding, an exercise which tends to invigorate the mind, of which they are very fond. It gives them opportunities to reflect and think deeply on matters of importance, and of displaying their genius, when they have found or discovered the secret of an answer sent to them, or hit upon the true meaning of an ambiguous message.

At the time of the Revolutionary war I witnessed a curious scene of diplomatic manœuvres between two great men of the Delaware nation, both of whom had in their time signalised themselves as brave and courageous men, and had acquired the character of two great war chiefs. The war that I speak of, which had but lately begun, had made it necessary for the Indians to consult their present and future safety. Captain White Eyes, of the Turtle tribe, who was placed at the head of his nation, had its welfare much at heart. He was in favour of their following the advice given them by the American Congress, which was to remain neutral, and not to meddle in the quarrel between the Americans and the parent country. He advised his people, therefore, to remain in friendship with both sides, and not to take up arms against either, as it might bring them into trouble, and perhaps, in the end, effect their ruin. 662 648 [643]

On the other hand, Captain Pipe, of the Wolf tribe,

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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who resided at the distance of fifteen miles, where he had his council fire, was of a different opinion, and leaned on the side of the British. He was an artful, ambitious man, yet not deficient in greatness of mind, as I have shewn in a preceding chapter. But his head at that time was full of the wrongs which the Indians had suffered from the Americans, from their first coming into the country; his soul panted for revenge, and he was glad to seize the opportunity that now offered. He professed his readiness to join in proper measures to save the nation, but not such measures as his antagonist proposed; what his real object was he did not openly declare, but privately endeavoured to counteract all that was done and proposed by the other. White Eyes, however, was a sensible upright man, and never was deficient in means to support his own measures, and extricate himself from the snares with which he was on all sides surrounded by Captain Pipe. Thus they went on for upwards of two years, Pipe working clandestinely, and keeping his spies continually on the watch upon the other, while White Eyes acted openly and publicly, as though he knew nothing of what was machinating against him.

At last, a circumstance took place which apparently justified Captain Pipe in the measures he wished to pursue. In March 1778, a number of white people, of those whom we called *Tories*, among whom were M'Kee, Eliott, Girty, and several others, having escaped from Pittsburg, told the Indians wherever they came, "that they must arm "and be off immediately, and kill all the Americans where-"ever they found them, for they had determined to de-"stroy all the Indians, and possess themselves of their "country." White Eyes, not believing what these men said, advised his people to remain quiet, for this report could not be true. Pipe, on the contrary, called his men together, and in a speech which he addressed to them, pronounced every man an enemy to his country who endeavoured to dissuade them from going out against the Ame-

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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ricans, and said that all such ought to be put to death. 648
Captain White Eyes was not disconcerted; he immediately assembled his warriors, and told them "that if they 662
"meant in earnest to go out, as he observed some of them
"were preparing to do, they should not go without him.
"He had taken peace measures in order to save the
"nation from utter destruction. But if they believed
"that he was in the wrong, and gave more credit to va-
"gabond fugitives, whom he knew to be such, than to
"himself, who was best acquainted with the real state of
"things; if they had determined to follow their advice,
"and go out against the Americans, he would go out
"with them; he would lead them on, place himself in the
"front, and be the first who should fall. They only
"had to determine on what they meant to do; for his
"own mind was fully made up not to survive his nation,
"and he would not spend the remainder of a misera-
"ble life, in bewailing the total destruction of a brave
"people, who deserved a better fate."

This spirited, and at the same time pathetic, speech of Captain White Eyes, made such an impression on the minds of the audience, that they unanimously declared that they would obey his orders, and listen to no person but himself, either white or of their own colour. Indeed, there was too much force, too much majesty in this address to be resisted; when this was reported to Pipe by his emissaries, he was absolutely confounded, and knew not what to do. A few days afterwards, the council of the Delaware nation received the most friendly and flattering messages from the commandant and Indian agent at Pittsburg, cautioning them, "not to listen to
"those worthless men who had run off from them in the
"night, and to be assured of the steady friendship of the
"Government of the United States." Pipe was so put to the blush, and took this matter so much to heart, that he soon after threw off the mask, permitted his men to go out and murder the Americans, and afterwards went

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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off with them to Sandusky, under the protection of the British Government. We have seen in a former chapter that he afterwards saw how impolitic his conduct had been, and probably wished to retrace his steps, but it was too late. He had suffered himself to be misled by his passions, excited by the remembrance of former wrongs, and thus was betrayed into his injudicious conduct. Perhaps also his jealousy of Captain White Eyes, whose superiority his proud mind could not bear, did not in a small degree contribute to it. Pipe was certainly a great man, but White Eyes was, in my opinion, the greatest of the two. I was present when he made the speech which I have related, and never shall forget the impression it made upon me.

Thus Indian politicians work and manage matters against each other without newspaper wrangles, abuse of character, personal quarrels, or open insults. Their ingenuity, when joined to a good cause, generally makes them come off victorious. In a bad cause, on the contrary, they are sure to meet with detection and defeat, as Captain Pipe, for his misfortune, sadly experienced.

CHAPTER XVI.

MARRIAGE AND TREATMENT OF THEIR WIVES.

THERE are many persons who believe, from the labour that they see the Indian women perform, that they are in a manner treated as slaves. These labours, indeed, are hard, compared with the tasks that are imposed upon females in civilised society; but they are no more than their fair share, under every consideration

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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crease or decrease in population, although the Delaware had increased some three hunderd in number.[1]

Most of the Delaware are living on their allotments scattered through the territory originally reserved for the Cherokee. Few of their allotments are contiguous, due to the exigencies of the allotting and to the fact that many of the farms have been sold when restrictions were removed. Very few of them were fortunate enough to have oil on their lands. They either farm their fields or cash rent them. Judging from the state of repair of the houses, those that farm their own fields are more prosperous than those who rent them out. This distinction is also recognized by the Indians. The majority probably rent their fields and subsist on the small cash return, aided by the produce from their gardens, old age pensions, and other occasional sources of income. There is very little in the appearance of their houses to distinguish them from their white neighbors. Clothes and automobiles also reflect their economic status in the same way that these items do for their white neighbors.

After their incorporation with the Cherokee, the Delaware maintained their own chieftainships for a time. As the functions of these clan heads ceased, so did the rules for the filling of the offices and the need for keeping them filled. The last of the clan chiefs died about 1900. Since that time only chiefs for the entire Delaware group in northeastern Oklahoma have been elected. These were elected mostly for business purposes—to have an official representative to treat with the Federal Government on annuities and other money matters. In the election each of the three tribal divisions, Turtle, Wolf, and Turkey nominated a candidate. The man getting the most votes was elected chief and the one getting the next highest number became assistant chief. The last election was held about 1917. The chief who was elected then died about 1935, and since that time there has been no recognized chief.

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[1] Pratt, John G., to J. R. Doolittle, September 15, 1865, in *Condition of the Indian Tribes. Report of the Joint Special Committee . . .* (*Senate Reports*, 39 Congress, 2 session, No. 156, Washington, D. C., 1867), Appendix, p. 483.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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Chiefs

216. Civil chieftainship hereditary

643

Captain Chipps said that the brother of a chief, if he behaves well, must be named as chief in preference to the son and that the sister's son also succeeded in preference to his own son, all of which was determined by the council.

E. R. thought that the chieftainship was hereditary but was not certain of the succession.

221. Election of civil chief

Captain Pipe—At the creation of the world the Great Spirit himself resided with the Indians and regulated their intercourse with each other. When he left the earth he told them that he would depute a person possessing all his own virtues, at whose death they should choose a successor having as nearly as possible the same qualifications. Since that period the office of chief has been elective, yet the election is not made by the people. Merit alone ensures to a man this distinguished honour. There is among them a body of men called *Lupwaaeenōāwuk* or Wise Men, (the plural, from *Lupwaaōākum* wisdom and *Lūnnoa* a man). These men from their conduct in early life receive the attention and respect of the aged and as they grow in years they gradually assume the power which is attached to the wise men or counselors. At length they are received as members of that powerful body and become officially interested in the proper regulation of national affairs. All civil affairs are conducted and ordered by them and when the office of chief becomes vacant they assemble and in the presence of the *people* they consult together upon the qualifications of the aspirants and having decided they appoint another meeting for his inauguration, to which, as to the first, they invite the nation generally. At the appointed time the *Lupwaaeenōāwuk* together with the elected chief and such spectators as choose to attend, assemble at a grand lodge prepared for the purpose, and one of the body in a speech adapted to the occasion declares to the people their choice and then turning to the chief addresses him on the importance of a firm, independent

643 666 [623]

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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643 and upright course of conduct, of good examples from the heads
666 of the nation etc. During the speech the speaker holds in his hand a belt of wampum, which he places around the neck of the chief, telling him, "now you have the speech, see that you keep it, and adhere to the advice contained in it."

CAPTAIN CHIPPS said that all the tribes elected the chief for the others, excluding from the election the tribe for whom the election is held. He also said that the principal chief was always from the Wolf tribe, but was elected by the other tribes. In view of his statements that the brother must be chosen over the nephew or son, and the nephew over the son, and that the chief could name his successor, it is possible that here he means the other tribes installed the new chief.

All four modern informants said that the council and the people in joint session elected the new chief.

ZEISBERGER said the election of a new chief was made by "the captains," by which it may be assumed that he meant the war chiefs.

225. Civil chief can be removed

643 CAPTAIN PIPE—As chiefs are elected by the will of the people, in the same manner they are removed from office. Not by direct accusation and trial however, for they are careful not to
[571] arraign an individual publicly before the nation whether he be great or low, but by neglecting to invite him to councils or refusal to listen to or execute his orders. This being done by the aged and influential, whose motives are made known at proper times, the neglect becomes general, the people contemn his authority and he is gradually lowered down to the private station, whence he does not attempt to rise but by a long course of good conduct or by some extraordinary effort of genius or political intrigue by which he can overpower his enemies at a single movement.

228. Age of succession of chief

JOHN JOHNSTON—No particular age, it depends on the ability, information and qualifications of the persons.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

CAPTAIN CHIPPS—They cannot be *principal chiefs* until they are 50 years old. 643

J. W.—35 to 40.

W. T.—Formerly, when Delaware lived to age of 300 years, a man had to be 70 to become a chief.

E. R.—Over 25.

W. L.—No particular age.

232. Boundary line between civil and war chief

CAPTAIN PIPE—Formerly the authority of the War and Council chiefs was distinctly defined. To use their expression, in a time of peace the war chief sat in the ashes, but upon the declaration of war the village or council chiefs took his place, and the movements of the war depended solely upon him. At this day however they have equal authority in treaties and the like, that is to say, according to their influence as men.

238. Body of counselors

JOHN JOHNSTON—The Counselors are appointed or chosen by the people according to their merit. Their duty is to assist in any good work that they are doing and to promulgate and cherish order. 623

CAPTAIN PIPE—The ceremonies attending the appointment of chief are practiced also at the reception of one of the wise men into that formidable body, excepting the placing a belt around the neck, which is not used at all. The Lupwaaeenōāwuk are not restricted to any particular number, but accessions are made of such as merit an admission from the general tenor of their lives. The members of this body, or some one of them as occasion may require, are appointed to carry into effect the orders of the chiefs, and any employment, however degrading, is considered by them an honour under such circumstances. In the distribution of annuities and of presents their services are indispensible, and while young they carry the kettles of the war parties while on the march. 643 666

Unimportant or ordinary occurrences are considered as within the superintendence of the Chiefs without consultation or advice; such as regulating the internal affairs of their villages, settling disputes, etc.; but affairs of consequence are never acted upon

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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643 without the concurrence of the Lupwaaeenõãwuk, from whom in
666 fact all important transactions emanate. The consultations of these men precede all treaties, declarations of War, etc., and after expressing their opinion as a body each member considers himself individually bound to assist and obey the Chief in the execution of it.

CAPTAIN CHIPPS—There is no particular body of counselors, except the chiefs—they have no stated times of holding councils, and meet only when business requires.

The young men are entitled to sit in Council at the age of 20, and are *then* "their own masters"—they can marry before that period, but are not entitled to the rights and privileges of men until they reach that age.

Councils are seldom called—except on matters relating to war —"the administration of law" is not known. The Council is opened by prayers to the Great Spirit, to give them wisdom. One man is appointed to make speeches, who is to be under the guidance and direction of the chiefs. No others have a right to address the Council—the orator is generally "the smartest man" —"*the best man.*" After the speaker has done, the chiefs make up their decisions,—which are immediately reported to all the people. Prayer closes the proceedings and the Council breaks up. Women are not admitted to the Councils.

J. W.—Council consisted of ten councilors, chief and assistant chief. All were elected by clan (later only for nation) and could be removed. Lately called only for business. Committees were appointed by council for term of two years. Meetings of council every two years. Many committees continued to function past terms if no new council. Speaker was supposed to be the voice of chief and council. (J. W. is now the speaker.) Young men were sometimes admitted to council for training. If council and people could not decide on some matter, the chief had the final voice, it was up to him to determine what the majority seemed to feel.

W. T. said that the council consisted of two chiefs and four other men.

W. L. reported that there were always twelve men elected by the people of the council.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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tain and her colonies, that they began to be sensible of their desperate situation—this whole northern continent being now in the possession of one great and powerful nation, against whom it was vain to attempt resistance. Yet it was at this moment that their prophets, impelled by ambitious motives, began to endeavour by their eloquence to bring them back to independent feelings, and create among them a genuine national spirit; but it was too late. The only rational resource that remained for them to prevent their total annihilation was to adopt the religion and manners of their conquerors, and abandon savage life for the comforts of civilised society; but of this but a few of them were sensible; in vain Missionaries were sent among them, who, through the greatest hardships and dangers exerted themselves to soften their misfortunes by the consolations of the Christian faith, and to point out to them the way of salvation in this world and the next; the banner of Christ was comparatively followed but by small numbers, and these were persecuted by their friends, or, at least, those who ought to have been such, as well as by their enemies. Among the obstacles which the Missionaries encountered, the strong opposition which was made to them by the prophets of the Indian nations was by no means the least.

I have known several of these preachers and prophets during my residence in the Indian country, and have had sufficient opportunities to observe the means which they took to operate on the minds of their hearers. I shall content myself with taking notice here of a few of the most remarkable among them.

In the year 1762, there was a famous preacher of the Delaware nation, who resided at *Cayahaga*, near Lake Erie, and travelled about the country, among the Indians, endeavouring to persuade them that he had been appointed by the great Spirit to instruct them in those things that were agreeable to him, and point out to them the offences by which they had drawn his displeasure on

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themselves, and the means by which they might recover his favour for the future. He had drawn, as he pretended, by the direction of the great Spirit, a kind of map on a piece of deer skin, somewhat dressed like parchment, which he called "the great Book or Writing." This, he said, he had been ordered to shew to the Indians, that they might see the situation in which the Mannitto had originally placed them, the misery which they had brought upon themselves by neglecting their duty, and the only way that was now left them to regain what they had lost. This map he held before him while preaching, frequently pointing to particular marks and spots upon it, and giving explanations as he went along.

The size of this map was about fifteen inches square, or, perhaps, something more. An inside square was formed by lines drawn within it, of about eight inches each way, two of those lines, however, were not closed by about half an inch at the corners. Across these inside lines, others of about an inch in length were drawn with sundry other lines and marks, all which was intended to represent a strong inaccessible barrier, to prevent those without from entering the space within, otherwise than at the place appointed for that purpose. When the map was held as he directed, the corners which were not closed lay at the left hand side, directly opposite to each other, the one being at the south-east by south, and the nearest at the north-east by north. In explaining or describing the particular points on this map, with his fingers always pointing to the place he was describing, he called the space within the inside lines "the heavenly regions," or the place destined by the great Spirit for the habitation of the Indians in future life; the space left open at the south east corner, he called the "avenue," which had been intended for the Indians to enter into this heaven, but which was now in the possession of the white people; wherefore the great Spirit had since caused another "avenue" to be made on the opposite side, at

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which, however, it was both difficult and dangerous for them to enter, there being many impediments in their way, besides a large ditch leading to a gulf below, over which they had to leap; but the evil spirit kept at this very spot a continual watch for Indians, and whoever he laid hold of, never could get away from him again, but was carried to his regions, where there was nothing but extreme poverty; where the ground was parched up by the heat for want of rain, no fruit came to perfection, the game was almost starved for want of pasture, and where the evil spirit, at his pleasure, transformed men into horses and dogs, to be ridden by him and follow him in his hunts and wherever he went.

The space on the outside of this interior square, was intended to represent the country given to the Indians to hunt, fish and dwell in while in this world; the east side of it was called the ocean or "great salt water Lake." Then the preacher, drawing the attention of his hearers particularly to the south east avenue, would say to them. "Look here! See what we have lost by neglect and dis-"obedience; by being remiss in the expression of our "gratitude to the great Spirit, for what he has bestowed "upon us; by neglecting to make to him sufficient sacri-"fices; by looking upon a people of a different colour "from our own, who had come across a great lake, as if "they were a part of ourselves; by suffering them to sit "down by our side, and looking at them with indiffer-"ence, while they were not only taking our country from "us, but this, (pointing to the spot) this, our own "avenue, leading into those beautiful regions which were "destined for us. Such is the sad condition to which "we are reduced. What is now to be done, and what "remedy is to be applied? I will tell you, my friends. "Hear what the great Spirit has ordered me to tell you! "You are to make sacrifices, in the manner that I shall "direct; to put off entirely from yourselves the customs "which you have adopted since the white people came

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"among us; you are to return to that former happy "state, in which we lived in peace and plenty, before "these strangers came to disturb us, and above all, you "must abstain from drinking their deadly *beson*, which "they have forced upon us, for the sake of increasing "their gains and diminishing our numbers. Then will "the great Spirit give success to our arms; then he will "give us strength to conquer our enemies, to drive them "from hence, and recover the passage to the heavenly "regions which they have taken from us."

Such was in general the substance of his discourses. After having dilated more or less on the various topics which I have mentioned, he commonly concluded in this manner: "And now, my friends, in order that what I "have told you may remain firmly impressed on your "minds, and to refresh your memories from time to time, "I advise you to preserve, in every family, at least, "such a book or writing as this, which I will finish off "for you, provided you bring me the price, which is only [435] "one buck-skin or two doe-skins a piece."* The price was of course bought, and the book purchased. In some of those maps, the figure of a deer or turkey, or both, was placed in the heavenly regions, and also in the dreary region of the evil spirit; the former, however, appeared fat and plump, while the latter seemed to have nothing but skin and bones.

I was also well acquainted with another noted preacher, named *Waugomend*, who was of the Monsey tribe. He began to preach in the year 1766, much in the same manner as the one I have just mentioned. When Mr. [103] Zeisberger first came to *Goschgoschink* town, on the Allegheny river, this Indian prophet became one of his hearers, but finding that the Missionary's doctrine did not agree with his own, he became his enemy. This man also pretended that his call as a preacher was not of his own choice, but that he had been moved to it by

* Of the value of one dollar.

[Errata. See cat. 116, p. 348. - Anal ed.]

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the great and good Spirit, in order to teach his countrymen, who were on the way to perdition, how they could become reconciled to their God. He would make his followers believe that he had once been taken so near to heaven, that he could distinctly hear the crowing of the cocks, and that at another time he had been borne by unseen hands to where he had been permitted to take a peep into the heavens, of which there were three, one for the Indians, one for the negroes and another for the white people. That of the Indians he observed to be the happiest of the three, and that of the whites the unhappiest; for they were under chastisement for their ill treatment of the Indians and for possessing themselves of the land which God had given to them. They were also punished for making beasts of the negroes, by selling them as the Indians do their horses and dogs, and beating them unmercifully, although God had created them as well as the rest of mankind.

The novelty of these visions procured him hearers for a time; he found, however, at last, that the Indians became indifferent to his doctrines, particularly as he frequently warned them not to drink the *poison* brought to them by the white people, of which his congregations were very fond. Then he bethought himself of a more popular and interesting subject, and began to preach against witchcraft and those who dealt in the black art. Here he had all the passions and prejudices of the poor Indians on his side, and he did not fail to meet with the general approbation, when he declared to them that wizzards were getting the upper hand, and would destroy the nation, if they were not checked in their career. He travelled in 1775, to *Goschachking*, at the forks of Muskingum, to lay this business before the great council of the Delawares, and take their opinion upon it. The first report which the Missionaries on the Muskingum heard on this subject, was that the chiefs had at first united in having every conjurer and witch in

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the nation brought to an account and punished with death, that, however, on a more mature consideration, they had thought proper in the first place to ascertain the number and names not only of those who were known, but even of those who were suspected of dealing in sorcery, and Wangomend was appointed to cause the enumeration to be made. He accordingly hastily set off for his home, and on his arrival immediately entered on the duties of his mission; when behold! it was discovered that the number of offenders was much greater than had been at first imagined, and he found himself in danger of having his own name inserted in the black list. His zeal, in consequence, became considerably cooled, and by the time when he returned the chiefs were no longer disposed to meddle with this dangerous subject, justly fearing that it could not but terminate in the ruin of their nation. Wangomend, therefore, returned to his former mode of preaching, recommending to his hearers to purge themselves from sin by taking certain prescribed medicines, and making frequent sacrifices to the great Spirit.

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The last whom I shall take notice of is the Prophet-warrior *Tecumseh*, lately so celebrated among us, and who lost his life in the last war at the battle of the Thames, on the 30th of September, 1813, at the age, it is said, of 43 years. The details of his military life have been made sufficiently known through the medium of journals and newspapers, and his famous speech to the British general Proctor delivered at Amherstburg a short time before the battle which decided his fate, is in every body's hands.* But his character as a prophet and the means that he took to raise himself to power and fame are not so well nor so particularly understood, although it is, in general, admitted that he was admirably skilled in the art of governing Indians through the medium of

* See Niles's Weekly Register, vol. i. p. 141. vol. v p. 174. and vol. vi. p. 111.

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of their kin who had moved there directly from northern New York. They, therefore, united with the Hurons (Talamatans) to drive out the Talega (Tsalaki, Cherokees) from the upper Ohio. This they only succeeded in accomplishing finally in the historic period. But they did clear the road and reached the Delaware valley, though neither forgetting nor giving up their claims to their western territories.[30]

It is not my purpose to go into the authenticity of the Walam Olum or the accuracy of its migration account. Suffice it to say that the Walam Olum was probably a product of the Delawares during their phase of revivalistic nativism and that it seems "to be an account, by a despairing person unable to gain his customary satisfactions from a life that no longer existed, of a Golden Age which never was. . . . Indeed the Walam Olum plainly appears to be the mirror image of a nativistically oriented people, rather than an authentic account of their history."[31]

The Location and Divisions of the Early Historic Delawares

It is impossible, for the following reasons, to know precisely the name, location, and affiliations of all the peoples who at the end of the seventeenth century joined forces and became known as the Delawares. First, the Delawaran peoples were aboriginally and during most of the seventeenth century unorganized politically and composed of a large number of subdivisions. Second, three different European nations were in contact with Delawaran peoples during this century. Their names for various groups often differed, and their interest in the relationships and locations of the various divisions was often slight. Third, these natives were soon displaced geographically and much reduced in numbers. Lastly, an unknown number of non-Delawaran peoples were incorporated into the Delaware tribe at the end of the seventeenth century. I have not undertaken the prodigious task of locating the Delawaran peoples by investigating all of the primary sources, although such a study is sorely needed; instead, a synthesis of previous investigations and two seventeenth-century maps is presented. This discussion is, therefore, liable to inaccuracies of various kinds.

For convenience the Delawares at the opening of historic times may be described as being composed of three geographical groups, traditionally called the Munsi, Unami, and Unalachtigo. The people who were to become the core of the tribe composed the division which became known in the mid-eighteenth century as the Unami. According to Brinton, the term Unami means "people down the river."[32] Zeisberger used the term

[30] Brinton, 1885, pp. 165-66.
[31] Newcomb, 1955, p. 63.
[32] The following discussion and Map 1 are based on Ruttenber, 1872, pp. 89-93; Hrdlicka, 1903, pp. 33-37; Skinner, 1909, pp. 30-32; Bolton, 1920, pp. 226-86; Swanton, 1952, pp. 48-55; Van der Donck's map of New Netherland, 1656, opposite p. 294 in Jameson, 1909; and N. J. Visscher's Map of New Netherland, New England . . . about 1655, opposite p. 170 in Myers, 1912.
[33] Brinton, 1885, p. 36.

[text continues on p. 7]

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774 lameness.[33] For fear of this soul nobody ever eats in the dark or allows a sick person to be in a dark room (J.T., N.D.).

775 The Delawares believed in an after life, but what this existence was like is only vaguely described in the early literature and probably was only vaguely envisaged by them. De Vries said that "when they die they sing like the ravens; but this singing is entirely different from the singing of angels."[34] One source stated that "some" believed that after a soul had been in the other world for a time it might be reborn on earth in another individual.[35] Harrington said that on the twelfth day after death the spirit made its way to the twelfth or highest home, a beautiful place, without pain or sorrow, where there were magnificent dwellings, beautiful streams, and fertile lands. This paradise was only for the good; where bad or evil spirits went is unknown.[36] This concept was in all likelihood a diffusion from Christianity.

The Big House Ceremony

114 The Big House or Annual Ceremony has been the principal ceremony
668 and the focal point of Delaware religious observances at least since the second half of the eighteenth century. Prior to the tribal consolidation
796 of the Delawares (in the early decades of the eighteenth century), this Ceremony could not have existed as it is now known, since in its modern form it is a tribal or national religious event. I do not agree with Kinietz that the Big House Ceremony came into existence as an adjunct of the revivalistic nativism of the Delawares after 1762.[37] It seems much more likely that it was synthesized during the early decades of the century at the time when other parts of the culture were being unified and the tribal society was emerging. As far as I have been able to determine, the import and the meaning of this ceremony have not been nativistic as would be required by Kinietz's hypothesis. Its general purpose was to give thanks for past blessings and to ensure good for-
796 tune for the coming year.[38] Morgan said: "They believe unless they
177 observe it once a year their crops will fail, and they will loose (sic) the favor of the Great Spirit."[39] I agree with Kinietz that "European civilization in contact with that of the Delawares was unconsciously responsible for the integration of the Big House Ceremony, the dropping and addition of many features . . . ,"[40] but I set the date for this integration half a century earlier than he does. The addition of the symbolic number twelve (from the twelve Apostles of Christianity?), the sacred number of the sweat lodge, and the appearance of the Mask Being during the ceremony are but two examples of historic additions to the ceremony.[41]

796 Unfortunately, the seventeenth-century documents contain little more than hints concerning the nature of the religious rites from which the the Big House Ceremony was synthesized. Denton, however, said:

[33] Speck, 1931, p. 25; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 131; J.T.
[34] De Vries, 1909, p. 224.
[35] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 131.
[36] Harrington, 1921, pp. 52-54.
[37] Kinietz, 1940, pp. 117-21.
[38] Speck, 1931, p. 21; R.W., O.A.
[39] Morgan, 1859, MS.
[40] Kinietz, 1940, p. 121.
[41] *Ibid.*, p. 118.

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and immorality, even gross sensuality and unnatural vice flourish among them, according to the testimony of the Indians themselves, more than was the case formerly."[80]

About 1750 prophets began to appear among the Delawares, and these individuals continued to appear sporadically until 1812.[81] The Shawnee prophet of the early nineteenth century, although of another tribe, may be regarded as representing the end of this phase of acculturation. No prophets appeared before 1750 and none after 1812, if exception is made of the initiators of peyotism in the late nineteenth century. This anti-acculturative movement and the wars of this period were closely associated: some of the messages of the prophets fostered war, and, conversely, military defeats probably furthered their appearance. During this phase of acculturation the Delawares were desperately trying to save what was left of their cultural and social integrity and to turn back the clock to a mythical age when war, personal demoralization, and cultural chaos were unknown. One way of attaining this end was to follow the dictates of the supernatural powers as revealed by prophets. This the Delawares did in nativistic movements of a type which has been described as "revivalistic nativism."[82] This form of nativism is defined as "an attempt to revive extinct or at least moribund elements of culture . . . ."[83] All of these prophets taught that by following supernatural injunctions as revealed to them, acculturation could be halted and even reversed. The most successful was known as the Delaware Prophet or the Imposter, whose career reached its zenith about 1762.[84] In a vision this man received instructions from the Great Spirit on how to restore his people to their former state. His message was made concrete by a number of symbolic devices painted on a tanned deer hide or on a wooden stick. Copies of the deer-hide map were made, some on paper, and were sold by the Delaware Prophet. Some of the purchasers, in turn, seem to have become minor prophets. Heckewelder's description of this symbolic device is the most detailed:

> The size of this map was about fifteen inches square, or, perhaps, something more. An inside square was formed by lines drawn within it, of about eight inches each way, two of those lines, however, were not closed by about half an inch at the corners. Across these inside lines, others of about an inch in length were drawn with sundry other lines and marks, all which was intended to represent a strong inaccessible barrier, to prevent those without from entering the space within, otherwise than at the place appointed for that purpose. When the map was held as he directed, the corners which were not closed lay at the left hand side, directly opposite to each other, the one being at the south-east by south, and the nearest at the north-east by north. In explaining or describing the particular points on this map, with his fingers always pointing to "the heavenly re-

[80] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 20.

[81] Zeisberger, 1871, p. 265, gives this date, but the Delaware prophet did not appear until a decade later, in 1760. (Hayes, 1954, pp. 76-77, said, however, that Papunhang, the christianized Delaware preacher, had established his religious group before 1752).

[82] Linton, 1943, pp. 230-40.

[83] *Ibid.*, p. 231.

[84] Peckham, 1947, p. 98; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 291.

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gions," or the place destined by the great Spirit for the habitation of the Indians in future life; the space left open at the south-east corner, he called the "avenue," which had been intended for the Indians to enter into this heaven, but which was now in the possession of the white people, wherefore the great Spirit had since caused another "avenue" to be made on the opposite side, at which, however, it was both difficult and dangerous for them to enter, there being many impediments in their way.... The space on the outside of this interior square was intended to represent the country given to the Indians to hunt, fish and dwell in while in this world; the east side of it was called the ocean or "great salt water Lake."[95]

The prophet discussed before his public this representation of the supernatural world and pointed out that through neglect and disobedience the Great Spirit had turned his benevolent attention to the whites. He had allowed the whites to usurp Indian land and to bar passage of the Indian to the spirit world.[96] To correct this state of affairs the prophet advocated several courses of action:

Hear what the great Spirit has ordered me to tell you! You are to make sacrifices, in the manner that I shall direct; to put off entirely from yourselves the customs which you have adopted since the white people came among us; you are to return to that former happy state, in which we lived in peace and plenty, before these strangers came to disturb us, and above all, you must abstain from drinking their deadly *beson* [poison, alcohol], which they have forced upon us, for the sake of increasing their gains and diminishing our numbers. Then will the great Spirit give success to our arms; then he will give us strength to conquer our enemies, to drive them from hence, and recover the passage to the heavenly regions which they have taken from us.[97]

James Kenny, a Pittsburgh trader, emphasized that the prophet advocated the cessation of trade with whites, and said:

...its agree'd to by their Whole Nation, to follow their new Plan of Religion, & all their Boys are to be Train'd to yeuse of the Bow & Arrow for Seven Years Then to Live entirely on dry'd Meat & a Sort of Bitter Drink made of Roots & Plants & Water ye Women & Antient Men may Raise & Eat Corn at ye Expiration of ye Seven Years, to quit all Commerce with ye White People & Clothe themselves with Skins.[98]

Another prophet, a Munsi called Wangomend, appeared in 1766 and met Zeisberger in 1767. Relatively little is known about this man, although Heckewelder mentioned him:

This man also pretended that his call as a preacher was not of his own choice, but that he had been moved to it by the great and good Spirit, in order to teach

[95] Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 291-92; Loudon published a purported reproduction of the prophet's book along with McCullough's description of the prophet and his works (Loudon, 1808, pp. 324-25, and tipped-in engraving). Hayes, 1954, pp. 76-77, saw the "old priest's" book in 1760. Zeisberger, 1910, p. 133, and Kenny, 1913, p. 171, also described the prophet's symbolic world portrait.

[96] Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 292-93.

[97] *Ibid.*, p. 293.

[98] Kenny, 1913, p. 188; also see pp. 171-72.

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his countrymen, who were on the way to perdition, how they could become reconciled to their God. He would make his followers believe that he had once been taken so near to heaven, that he could distinctly hear the crowing of the cocks, and that at another time he had been borne by unseen hands to where he had been permitted to take a peep into the heavens, of which there were three, one for the Indians, one for the negroes, and another for the white people.[99]

The last of the prophets associated with the Delawares was Tenskawatawa, a Shawnee and brother of Tecumseh. These two Shawnees had established their headquarters and lived for several years, beginning in 1798, at one of the Delaware villages on White River in present-day Indiana.[100] The prophet preached against drunkenness, racial intermarriage, "release of Indian lands to the whites by sale, and the sin of witchcraft."[101] Luckenbach in 1805 said of him:

> We heard that a Schawano Indian had arisen among the heathen as teacher, and that a large number of Delawares and Schawanos had come together in Woapicamikunk to hear what this heathen teacher had to say. As usual his teaching consists of all sorts of ancient heathenism. In addition he forbids all sins, and insists that parents should not strike their children. He also urges most strongly that the Indians should sacrifice; that they should do away with their cattle and keep horses only; that the heathen should shave their heads and live as did the Indians in olden days. He assured the Indians that God had shown him the deer were half a tree's length under the ground and that these would soon appear again on earth if the Indians did what he told them to do, and then there would be an abundance of deer once more. He also related in an address that God had shown him a crab whose claws were quite full of seaweeds; that the spirit had told him, "Look! this crab is from Boston and has brought with it something of the land there. If you Indians will do everything I tell you I will turn over the land so that the white people are covered and you alone shall possess the land."[102]

Some diffusion from Christianity had occurred, although the prophets vehemently rejected Christianity and most of Euro-American civilization. The idea of a heaven and a hell, common in the messages of the prophets, is a case in point, as is the symbolic number twelve, which has been mentioned. Other traits of this sort may have diffused about this time. It seems certain that the revivalistic nativism did much to strengthen the Big House Ceremony, and, as Kinietz has shown, many minor elements seem to have been added to it by the prophets. Shaking hands with the left hand and the addition of ten carved heads in the Big House, bringing the total to twelve, are examples which he mentioned.[103] These changes in religion do not mean that any of the native ceremonies lost their force or vitality. According to Zeisberger:

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[99] Heckewelder, 1881, p. 294.
[100] Thompson, 1937, p. 45.
[101] *Ibid.*
[102] Luckenbach, 1938, p. 392; also see p. 282.
[103] Kinietz, 1940, pp. 118-19.

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Though in the detail of the ceremony there has been change, as the Indians are more divided now than at that time [i.e., prehistorically] worship and sacrifice have continued as practiced in the early days, for the Indians believe that they would draw all manner of disease and misfortune upon themselves if they omitted to observe the ancestral rites.[106]

By the time the Shawnee prophet appeared the Delawares seem to have passed somewhat beyond the nativistic phase of acculturation.

Decadent Period (1814-1867)

The military defeats of the Delawares during the Nativistic Period and the disillusionment following the unsuccessful religious revivals set the stage for a phase of acculturation which is best described as one of decadence. By the second decade of the nineteenth century the Delawares were no longer an independent tribe, but were politically and militarily dominated by, and at the mercy of, the United States. In a social sense the tendencies towards dispersal first noted in the preceding period persisted, as small groups continued to desert the main body of the tribe. In other respects cultural decay and disintegration continued, although further acculturation is best described as halting. From this time on the Delawares underwent continuous, overt pressure to become "civilized" Americans.

History

In 1814 the British and Americans concluded a treaty of peace, one article of which stipulated that the Indian allies of the British would have their rights, privileges, and property restored.[105] In compliance with this treaty, in 1816 "A Treaty of Peace and Friendship" was entered into with the Delawares, as well as with other tribes.[106] This treaty did not long prevent the alienation of Indian lands, however, for during the administration of Monroe (1817-25) "a policy was inaugurated looking to increased westward emigration of Indians from east of the Mississippi."[107] Before the War of 1812 the Delawares had bitterly opposed the cession of land, but after the war they did not have the strength to resist the demands of the United States.[108]

In the Treaty of St. Mary's of 1818 the Delawares, including remnants of the Mahicans and Nanticokes, sold their land in Indiana to the government "without reserve." The government agreed to remove them to the west side of the Mississippi and give them land there, although no location or emigration date was set.[109] In 1820 Delawares from the

[104]Zeisberger, 1910, p. 136. Mahr, 1952, has documented the community responsibility of ritual leaders, as demonstrated in the experience of a Moravian convert of 1772.

[105]Thompson, 1937, p. 81; G. Foreman, 1946, pp. 27-23.

[106]G. Foreman, 1946, p. 29.

[107]*Ibid.*, pp. 32-47.

[108]Thompson, 1937, p. 81.

[109]Brinton, 1885, pp. 124-25; Mooney, 1911, p. 337; G. Foreman, 1946, p. 37.

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and is small in his own eyes. On the other hand those who have been thus favored possess a high and proud spirit.

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About thirty years ago[100] preachers appeared among the Indians. They pretended to have received revelations from above, to have traveled into heaven and conversed with God. They gave different accounts of their journey, but all agreed in this: that no one could enter heaven without great danger, for the road, say they, runs close by the gates of hell. Here the devil lies in ambush and snatches at every one who is going to God. They came first to the Son of God and through him to God himself, with whom they pretend to have conversed concerning the Indians and by whom they were commanded to instruct their people. Thus the Indians were for the first time informed that there was a heaven where was the dwelling of God and a hell that of the devil. Presumably they got this knowledge from the whites. Some of the preachers confessed that they had not reached the dwelling of God but had approached near enough to hear the cocks crow and see the smoke of the chimneys in heaven. Others that they had approached the Son of God and then returned.

These teachers marked off on a piece of parchment made of deerskin two roads, both leading to heaven, one designated by God for the Indians, the other for the white people. They claim that the latter had to go a great way round about and the road for the Indians was at that time the shortest, but now, since the white people had blocked up the road for the Indians, they were obliged to make a long circuit to come to God. Further, there were paintings of heaven and hell upon the parchment as also the figure of a balance to represent the deceitful traffic carried on by the white people with the Indians. This rude parchment is, as it were, their Bible, and lies spread before them when they preach for the Indians. They then explain every mark and figure to their hearers and it is very evident that their chief aim is to influence the minds of the Indians against the white people. It is certain that their preaching has had this effect, for about this time war broke out between Indians and whites there having been no such war before.

They declared to the Indians that God had commanded their

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cleansing from sin and to this end they gave them twelve different kinds of Beson to drink, supposed by causing vomiting to free them of sinful taint. Some Indians, following these injunctions, vomited so often that their lives were endangered by it.[***] They were, further, strictly ordered to fast, and to take nothing but Beson. Few persevered in this absurd practice the required length of time.

Other teachers pretended that stripes were the most effectual means to purge away sin. They advised their hearers to suffer themselves to be beaten with twelve different sticks from the soles of their feet to their necks, that their sins might pass from them through their throats. They preached a system of morals, very severe for the savages, insisting that the Indians abstain from fornication, adultery, murder, theft and practice virtuous living as the condition to their attaining after death the place of the good spirits, which they call *Tschipeghacki*, the "land of spirits," where the life is happy and deer, bear and all manner of game are abundant and the water is like crystal. There nought was to be heard save singing, dancing and merry making. Formerly the Indians only knew of a good place promised to the virtuous, but they did not know where the place was. The preachers pretend to have found the place, which lies to the south. The passage thither is the milky way which may be seen in the heavens on a clear night. They venture also to describe the appearance of the place for there are Indians who have been dead for several days and returned to life who have been there and have told of the things seen. Whoever reaches that place will find a city of beautiful houses and clean streets. Entering a house he will see no one but have good things to eat placed before him, a fire made and a bed prepared — all of which is done by spirits invisible to him. Others assert that such an one will see the women coming with baskets on their backs full of strawberries and bilberries, large as apples, and will observe that the inhabitants daily appear in fine raiment and live a life of rejoicing.

In this they all agree that the bad Indians, who have not lived as these preachers exhorted them, will not reach the place, *Tschipeghacki*, but must remain some distance away, able to see

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those within dwelling happily but not able to enter. They would receive nothing but poisonous wood and poisonous roots to eat, holding them ever near the brink of a bitter death but not suffering them to die.

While these preachers admonished the Indians to lead a good and virtuous life their own walk and conduct altogether disagreed with their exhortation. They introduced polygamy, and during their sermons had several of their wives sitting 'round about them. They even pretended that it was a charitable and meritorious act in them, as men living upon terms of intimacy with God, to take these poor ignorant women and lead them in the way to God and to the enjoyment of eternal felicity.

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This part of their doctrine was greatly relished by the Indians, and it is a lamentable truth that since that period adultery, fornication and other such abominations have been more frequent among the Indians. The young began to despise the counsel of the aged and endeavored to get into favor with these preachers whose followers multiplied very fast. Some of the preachers went even so far as to make themselves equal with God. They affirmed that the weal and woe of the Indians depended upon their will and pleasure. Their deluded followers, possessing the highest veneration for them, brought them many presents. Even some of the most sensible and respected Indians assented to their doctrines, punctually following their prescriptions even at the hazard of health and life. Some of the latter we now have in the congregation, who have learned that nothing avails to deliver from the servitude of sin save the blood of Jesus Christ.

One of these preachers often proclaimed openly to the Indians that he was quite at home at the side of God, went in and out of his presence where neither sin nor Satan could do him harm; he stated, however, that he had never heard of the God on the cross preached by the Moravians, and did not believe him to be the real God for his God had no wounds and gave him whenever he appeared a little piece of bread, white as snow. On another occasion, having prepared a drink of bilberries he announced that this was the blood of the Son of

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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668 T94 God. Thus it appeared that through him Satan endeavored to rob the gospel of its power over the Indians.

As long as the preachers did not proclaim things evidently untrue they were held in great regard and had a considerable following withersoever they went, for they never remained long in one place, else their deception would have been revealed the sooner. They still preached in Gekelemukpechünk [304] when the Moravians came to the Muskingum. Soon thereafter they began to be too coarse, seeking to establish their teaching in opposition to the gospel. This brought about the end of their influence. One has since heard little of them and the most have died. For at the last they preached that whoever would believe in them and follow their direction would be happy in the chase and in all other undertakings, would be able to cross sea and land, would reap plenteous harvests even though little had been planted. The Indians who trusted in them soon saw that they had been deceived and that they had been brought to starvation by the treacherous preachers. Then the power of the latter was at an end.

T82 T96 Worship and sacrifices have obtained among them from the earliest times, being usages handed down from their ancestors. Though in the detail of ceremony there has been change, as the Indians are more divided now than at that time, worship and sacrifice have continued as practiced in the early days, for the Indians believe that they would draw all manner of disease and misfortune upon themselves if they omitted to observe the ancestral rites.

[848] [1602] In the matter of sacrifice, relationship, even though distant, is of significance, legitimate or illegitimate relationship being regarded without distinction. A sacrifice is offered by a family, with its entire relationship, once in two years. Others, even the inhabitants of other towns, are invited. Such sacrifices are commonly held in autumn, rarely in winter. As their connections are large, each Indian will have opportunity to attend more than one family sacrifice a year. The head of the family knows the time and he must provide for everything. When the head of such a family is converted, he gets into difficulty because his

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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174 this culture area as the Osage, Kansa, Ioway and Quapaw. Then with their final repose under the wing of the Cherokee Nation they felt
[668] the touch of the northward-moving Peyote cult; this time an influence affecting the religious fibre of the tribe to a greater degree than had any of the preceding associations with other religious forms, not even excepting Christianity. The span of transition is apparently complete. Its angles are numerous enough to confuse the most systematic ethnologist, even if he had the properties of the various culture-periods blocked out for him. Things, however, are not so fortunate. We have no clear or specific knowledge of the first-contact Delaware and Munsee civilization; only scraps of the post-Iroquoian and post-European periods and almost nothing covering the century of migration from Pennsylvania to Kansas and Indian Territory. Amid the obscurity of our knowledge of the famous tribe through these eras the curtain is now raised for us in the twentieth century. And the ethnologist with methodical equipment and the resources afforded him by the present knowledge of human sciences enters the scene to grapple with the long neglected task. Happily for him, some of the Delawares, faithful to their traditions, are still practising their culture. They have retained their tribal organization, their language, their religious creed and rites, their philosophy of life, their psychological content and some vestiges of their industrial and economic past, handed down either through tradition or usage in remote districts among conservative families. Much of their past culture has indeed been fostered through sentiment and love.
121 This is the background out of which we are to construct our picture, to unravel the twisted elements woven into the Delaware culture fabric. From one point of view we are obliged to take the Delawares as they are now, to handle with delicacy the venture in research to discriminate between leather and cloth, sinew and thread, porcupine quills and glass beads and ribbon, stone and iron, in illustrating their processes of ornament and manufacture. Fortunately, equal difficulty does not confront us in dealing with the beliefs and practices of religion, since this is the realm in which man is most conservative; the truth of which statement challenges and astounds us in modern European as well as in modern Indian religions.

A few words of explanation seem to be called for in regard to my plan of arrangement in presenting the material in hand. A general discussion of some fundamental concepts and practices, I feel, is required, preceding the body of the text dictated by Wi'tapano'xwe, though footnote references accompanying the texts will find their connection with the theme. Other notes of an explanatory nature are needed to guide the sense of description through phrases and terms obscure to one not familiar with Delaware culture and the language, and to explain where English idioms have been called into use to

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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and it is increased by the reflection that the same respect will be paid to them at a future day, when young persons will be attentive to what they shall relate. 868

This method of conveying instruction is, I believe, common to most Indian nations; it is so, at least, amongst all those that I have become acquainted with, and lays the foundation for that voluntary submission to their chiefs, for which they are so remarkable. Thus has been maintained for ages, without convulsions and without civil discords, this traditional government, of which the world, perhaps, does not offer another example; a government in which there are no positive laws, but only long established habits and customs, no code of jurisprudence, but the experience of former times, no magistrates, but advisers, to whom the people, nevertheless, pay a willing and implicit obedience, in which age confers rank, wisdom gives power, and moral goodness secures a title to universal respect. All this seems to be effected by the simple means of an excellent mode of education, by which a strong attachment to ancient customs, respect for age, and the love of virtue are indelibly impressed upon the minds of youth, so that these impressions acquire strength as time pursues its course, and as they pass through successive generations. 867 671

8:Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
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CHAPTER XIV

Concerning the Origin, Warfare, Government and Guns of the American Savage People.

Concerning this,[1] [it can be said that] those who are the sachems of the Indians do not know how to take such into observation; but those who are rulers retain the mastery and command, children after children, those who are male persons, whose subjects are to be submissive and obedient, which they [also] are,[2] attempting nothing else than to live up to that [which] they are commanded [to do], and in case they do otherwise, then he who is sachem holds them to strict justice that he without pardon,[3] when [someone is] caught in the act, consigns the same to death. And if any savage of one nation kills one of another, immediately he[4] sends one of his subjects to the same nation and stealthily has one of them killed, whereby at once war is caused between them. Further, they follow no other law or justice, but in whatever manner anyone unjustly suffers from the other, they immediately revenge on one another, like for like.[5]

[1] Concerning the origin of the government, *i.e.*, the chiefship of the Indians. The idea is that the sachems do not know anything about the origin of the people or of their own families, or how their families at first were raised to the rank of rulers.

[2] *That the ook åro.* "This word and the next, are words of great flattery which they use each to other, but constantly to their Princes at their speeches, for which, if they be eloquent, they esteeme them Gods as Herod among the *Jewes.*" Williams, *Key*, 63.

[3] *Uthan pardon.*

[4] The chief.

[5] "If any robbery fall out in Travell, between Persons of diverse States, the offended State sends for Justice; if no Justice bee

l:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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They certainly (I am here speaking of the men) show a reverence for each other, which is visible on all occasions; they often meet for the purpose of conversation, and their sociability appears to be a recreation to them, a renewal of good fellowship. Their general principle, that good and bad cannot mingle or dwell together in one heart, and therefore must not come into contact, seems to be their guide on all occasions. So, likewise, when travelling, whether they are few, or many, they are cheerful, and resigned to the accidents which may befal them; never impatient, quarrelsome, or charging any one, or one another, with being in fault, or the occasion of what had happened; even though one should lose his all by the neglect or carelessness of the other, yet they will not fly into a passion, but patiently bear with the loss, thinking within themselves that such a one feels sorry enough already, and therefore it would be unreasonable to add to his pain. They judge with calmness on all occasions, and decide with precision, or endeavour so to do, between an accident and a wilful act;—the *first* (they say) they are all liable to commit, and therefore it ought not to be noticed, or punished;—the *second* being a wilful or premeditated act, committed with a bad design, ought on the contrary to receive due punishment.

To illustrate this subject, I shall relate a few of the cases of this description which have come within my knowledge. One morning early, an Indian came into the house of another who was yet abed, asking for the loan of his gun for a morning hunt, his own being out of repair; the owner readily consented, and said: "as my "gun is not loaded, you will have to take a few balls out "of your pouch!" In taking the gun down, it, however, by some accident went off, and lodged the contents in the owner's head, who was still lying on the bed, and now expired. The gun, it appeared, was loaded, though unknown to him, and the lock left in such a condition that by a touch it went off. A cry was heard from all sides

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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In the house: O! the *accident!* for such it was always considered to have been, and was treated as such.

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A hunter went out to kill a bear, some of those animals having been seen in the neighbourhood. In an obscure part of a wood, he saw at a distance something black moving, which he took for a bear, the whole of the animal not being visible to him; he fired, and found he had shot a black horse. Having discovered the mistake, he informed the owner of what had happened, expressing at the same time his regret that he was not possessed of a single horse, with which he could replace the one he had shot. What! replied the Indian whose horse had been killed, do you think I would accept a horse from you, though you had one to give, after you have satisfied me that you killed mine *by accident?* No, indeed! for the same misfortune might also happen to me.

An aged Indian who had gone out to shoot a turkey, mistook a black hog in the bushes for one of those birds, and shot him; finding out by enquiry to whom the hog belonged, he informed the owner of the mistake he had made, offering to pay for the hog; which the other, however, not only would not accept of, but having brought the meat in, gave him a leg of the animal, because he thought that the unfortunate man, as well on account of his disappointment, in not feasting on turkey as he expected soon to do when he shot the hog, as for his honesty in informing of what he had done, was *entitled* to a share of what he had killed.

Two Indians with a large canoe, going down the Muskingum river to a certain distance, were accosted by others going by land to the same place, who requested them to take their heavy articles, as kettles, axes, hoes, &c. into their canoe, which they freely did, but unfortunately were shipwrecked at the rocks of White Eyes's falls (as the place is called,) where the whole cargo was lost, and the men saved themselves by swimming to the

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

673 685 shore. The question being put and fully discussed, whether those men with the canoe, who had taken charge of the property of the others, and by this neglect lost the whole, were not liable to pay for the loss? it was decided in the negative, on the following grounds:

1. That the canoe men had taken the articles on board, with the pleasing hope that they thereby would oblige their fellow men, and did not expect any recompense for that service.

2. That although they might have avoided the danger and the loss, by unloading the canoe at the head of the fall, and carrying the cargo by land below it, (which was but a short distance,) as was customary, when the river was not in a proper state to run through, yet that, had those who travelled by land been in the place of those in the canoe, they might, like them, have attempted to have run through, as is sometimes done with success, and been equally unfortunate.

3. That the canoe men having had all their own property on board, which was all lost at the same time, and was equally valuable to them, it was clear that they had expected to run safely through, and could not have intentionally or designedly brought on themselves and others the misfortune which had happened, and therefore the circumstance must be ascribed entirely to *accident*.

672 Such is the disposition of the Indians with regard to those who inadvertently meet with a disaster, whereby others are injured. They are ready to overlook a fault, and more disposed in such cases to commiserate, than to punish; but with those who wilfully and intentionally commit aggressions and injure others, they think and [626] act quite differently; a malicious person is generally despised, and if he intrudes himself into good company, they will, without saying a word, steal off one by one, and leave him alone to suffer the mortification which it is intended he should feel. For murderers and thieves they have no compassion, and punish them according to

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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the nature of their crimes, if not publicly, still privately, for they are considered as a nuisance, and a disgrace to the nation, and so much so were persons of this description considered and despised in former times among the Delawares, before the white people came, that it was a rare thing to hear of any such being among them. This I have repeatedly been told, between the years 1770 and 1780, by Indians of that nation; one of whom, when a boy, resided on the spot where Philadelphia now stands, when the first house was building there, and assisted in furnishing the workmen with fish, and caught rabbits for them; the other, who was still older, lived with his parents on the spot where afterwards was built Perth Amboy in New Jersey: both were respectable men, highly esteemed by all who knew them.

I do not believe that there exists a people, more attentive to paying common civilities to each other, than the Indians are; but this, from a want of understanding their language, as well as their customs and manners, generally escapes the notice of travellers, although some of them, better observers than the rest, have touched upon this subject. In more than one hundred instances, I have with astonishment and delight witnessed the attention paid to a person entering the house of another, where, in the first instance, he is desired to seat himself, with the words, "sit down my friend!" if he is a stranger, or no relation; but if a relation, the proper title is added. A person is never left standing, there are seats for all; and if a dozen should follow each other in succession, all are provided with seats, and the stranger, if a white person, with the best. The tobacco pouch next is handed round; it is the first treat, as with us a glass of wine or brandy. Without a single word passing between the man and his wife, she will go about preparing some victuals for the company, and having served the visiters, will retire to a neighbour's house, to inform the family of the visit

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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D 1765 morning to the grave and weeps over it. This is repeated daily for some time but gradually less and less till the mourning period is over. Sometimes they place victuals on the grave that the deceased may not suffer hunger. The food thus left is generally consumed by dogs.

N 1764 The Nantikoks [Nantikokes] of whom more in another place, have this singular custom that about three or four months after the funeral they open the grave, take out the bones, clean them of the flesh and dry them, wrap them up in new linen and inter them again. A feast is usually provided for the occasion, consisting of the best they can afford. Only the bones of the arms and legs of the corpse are thus treated. All the rest is buried or burned.

D 626 181 The Indians are a free people, knowing neither law nor restraint. They may not be prevailed on in any matter that does not please them, much less forced. If they cannot be persuaded with gentle words, further effort is in vain.

D 361 Each of them may settle where he pleases. Not satisfied with one place, an Indian may move to a town with which he is better pleased and no one offers any objection; or he may retire to a solitary place. Rarely will a family move far away from all society, though they frequently live apart from the towns to avoid being annoyed by drunkards; or they live thus alone in order to carry on the profitable traffic in rum more to their advantage. Many engage in rum traffic, especially women, who fetch it from the white people and sell at a considerable profit to the Indians, often taking from the latter everything they have, sometimes even their rifles on which they depend for subsistence. Chiefs and counsellors have often considered what might be done to stop this ruinous trade, and have often determined that no one should ever bring spirituous liquors into their towns again; for a time such a resolution would be kept, and then be broken, perhaps by the very ones who had counselled the prohibition. Since the Indians have taken so much to drinking rum, murders are more frequent. Murder committed in drunkenness is not severely punished. Hence, it is that one harboring hatred for another will, on the occasion of a drinking

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3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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orgy, put him out of the way, pretending to be very drunk and not capable of judging of the nature of his deed. Under such circumstances, according to ancient usage, the murderer must pay a hundred fathoms of wampum for the murder of a man and two hundred for that of a woman. If he is too poor to raise the amount, which is commonly the case, his friends help to raise it and turn it over to the relatives of the slain, at the same time delivering a speech. If any one has murdered his own relative, he usually escapes without difficulty, for the family can easily find reason for the deed, not wishing to lose two of their friends at once. Should a murderer not feel himself safe, he goes to another region or town where he is a stranger.

In case of theft, which is held as a disgrace among them, nothing further is required than that the thief must restore what he has stolen, pay for it or give something in exchange. If justice cannot be satisfied in one of these ways, because the thief has nothing, loss falls on the party robbed, or the friends of the thief, if such he has, must make good the loss.

When a whole party goes out to hunt, they govern themselves according to the wishes of the oldest or the most expert, particularly if he be a member of the council. It is not considered good form for one to leave the party before the end of the hunt. If one has wounded a deer and another followed and killed it, the skin belongs to the first and either the half or the whole of the meat to the latter. If several take aim at once and they cannot determine which of them made the best shot, the skin is given to the oldest of the party, or, if he happened to be one of those taking aim, he is said to have killed the animal. Old men, therefore, no longer able to shoot well, generally get their share of the skins, if they only aim now and then with the others though they do not hit the mark.

Such old men, accompanying a hunting party, get both meat and skins, for the good hunters will not let them return empty-handed. They have, in general, and the Unami in particular, the custom that when a huntsman has shot a deer, and another Indian joins him or only looks on at a distance, he immediately gives him the whole animal and goes in pursuit of another.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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426 If a debtor is unable to pay, the creditor duns his friends,
●672 who must pay and rarely refuse to do so. Occasionally, the debts of friends must be paid years after they were contracted, even after the death of the debtor, if only the debt can be proven.

685 A purchaser, dissatisfied with what he has bought or the price paid, is allowed to return what he has purchased and recover what was paid. One who has done an injury, killed a hog or chicken or occasioned loss in some other way, and obstinately refuses to make good the injury, cannot be touched. His friends may make good the loss. Should the offender, in the long run, not heed the admonitions of his friends, they will drive him away.

721 Hence, it is that in wars with whites practically all the tribes have been involved more or less. If the nation, as such, has taken no part in the war, these unmanageable offenders have gone with the fighting peoples, despite the warnings and threats of the chiefs. The same is true of the present conflict.[258] The Delaware chiefs had determined at its beginning to remain neutral, daily admonishing their people not to allow themselves to be persuaded to go into the war. The nation as such remained true to the determination of the chiefs, being constantly and earnestly watched, but obstinate offenders took part against all order and command.

619 Though the Indians are a free people and not subject to the rule of any one, each nation, considering itself a unit, has a kind of government of its own choosing, imperfect as it may be. This holds good of all the North American nations. A nation is constituted of three principal Tribes, the first or leading tribe is called *Packoango*, i. e., the tribe of the great Tortoise, the second, *Blem*, the Turkey Tribe, the third, *Ptucksit*, the Wolf
622 Tribe. Each of the tribes has its chief and each chief his coun-
623 sellors. The chief of the Tortoise Tribe is the first in rank and, together with the other two chiefs, deals with all matters of national interest, particularly, such as have reference to nations with whom, according to treaty, friendly relations are to be cultivated. A chief may not presume to rule over the people, as in that case he would immediately be forsaken by the whole tribe, and his counsellors would refuse to assist him. He must

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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settling such an affair was approved by the nation (260), and it did not give rise to a feud between the two families involved unless there was some violation of the established customs by the injured family as reported by Van der Donck (259).

Besides murder and theft, rape, adultery, desertion of children, drunkenness, and slander were considered crimes (262-65). Apparently the conception of what constituted punishment varied among the sources, for some did not regard the payment of wampum as such (266). This was the only retribution levied on the offender recorded by Van der Donck, Heckewelder, Chipps, and Pipe. Zeisberger agreed, except that in the case of adultery he said a man whose wife had been seduced awaited his opportunity and seduced the wife of the seducer. J. W. and W. L. said that failing presents, whipping and even death might be meted out in cases of persistent offenders. J. W. seemed to think that rape was always punished by death.

Another element that shows an increasingly rigorous enforcement of law and order with the passage of time is that involving the murder of a woman by her husband (269). In the first two periods this received no mention, but in the third there are statements by Johnston and Pipe that the husband would not be punished (270). Johnston said that the wife's relatives might take revenge if they considered the act unwarranted. According to the modern informants, such a murderer would be punished anyway, and there might be revenge in addition if her relatives thought the deed unwarranted.

References to the age at which adult status was reached were infrequently given by the earlier sources (267). Van der Donck and Johnston said that the matter was determined by the ability of the individual (268). Chipps said that a youth was considered a man at twenty years and was then his own master even though he could marry before that. None of the modern informants said that coming into adult status was determined by the ability of the individual, although W. L. implied as much by saying that the age was between twenty and twenty-four years. Two of the others placed the age at twenty-five years and the fourth at twenty-one. In a society that placed so much emphasis upon

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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622 In the seventeenth century sachems had limited power and authority and, incredibly in the eyes of Europeans, had no special servants, prerogatives, or the like.[148] Pastorius, for instance, in a letter written in 1694 said:

> These very kings go forth with the others to hunt, shoot the wild animals, and support themselves by the work of their own hands. They have neither servants nor lacqueys, neither housemaids nor court-ladies, and what use has one for a master of horse who keeps no horse, but always goes on foot? In like manner, no court-steward is needed, where there is no one to be cared for besides one's self and one's wife and children.[149]

In the seventeenth century these clan leaders owed allegiance to no higher authority; there were no tribal chiefs.[150] By the eighteenth century leaders had appeared who wielded much more power over larger groups. [619]

623 Despite the little real authority which sachems had, their councils were solemn, ceremonial occasions. Penn and Denton provide early and clear descriptions of how these men governed; their accounts are confirmed by a number of other investigators:[151]

> Every king hath his council; and that consists of all the old and wise men of his nation, which perhaps is two hundred people. Nothing of moment is undertaken, be it war, peace, selling of land, or traffic, without advising with them, and, which is more, with the young men too. It is admirable to consider how powerful the kings are, and yet how they move by the breath of their people. I have had occasion to be in council with them upon treaties for land, and to adjust the terms of trade. Their order is thus: The king sits in the middle of an half-moon, and has his council, the old and wise, on each hand. Behind them, or at a little distance, sit the younger fry in the same figure.[152]

Denton said:

> When their King or Sachem sits in Council he hath a company of armed men to guard his person, great respect being shown him by the People, which is principally manifested by their silence: After he hath declared the cause of their convention he demands their opinion, ordering who shall begin: The person ordered to speak, after he hath declared his minde tells them he hath done: no man ever interrupting any person in his speech, nor offering to speak though he make never so many or long stops, till he says he hath no more to say: the Council
623 having all declared their opinion, the King after some pause gives the definitive
● 681 sentence, which is commonly seconded with a shout from the people, every one seeming to applaud & manifest their assent to what is determined: If any person be condemned to die, which is seldom, unless for Murder or Incest, the King himself goes in person (for you must understand they have no prisons, and the guilty person flies into the Woods) when they go in quest of him, & having found him, the King shoots first, though at never such a distance, & then happy is the man can shoot him down, & cut off his — which they commonly wear, who for his pains is made some Captain or other military officer.[153]

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[148] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 205; Thomas, 1912, p. 335; De Laet, 1909, pp. 57-58; Van der Donck, 1909, p. 303.

[149] Pastorius, 1912, pp. 425-26.

[150] Lindestrom, 1925, pp. 128-38.

[151] Holm, 1834, p. 133; Thomas, 1912, p. 335; Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 107-11; Zeisberger, 1910, pp. 92-93; Harrington, 1913, p. 211.

[152] Penn, 1882, pp. 244-45.

[153] Denton, 1845, p. 18.

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be more complete (Loskiel, p. 143). The typical pre-white type of conflict was one in which a captain took a group of eight or ten warriors on a raid of the enemy camp, from which they carried off what goods they could, a few scalps and prisoners. If the chief of the raiding tribe did not denounce the raiding party and make recompense to the other tribe, war would be declared (Heckewelder, 1881, p. 176; Loskiel, p. 148). The warriors were recruited at a dance in which they signified their desire to participate by joining the warriors already dancing. This was a festive occasion at which women were present and it was repeated at the first night's camping ground to which the women followed the warriors (Heckewelder, 1881, p. 210; Loskiel, p. 146).

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Prisoners were taken primarily to replace men of the tribe who had been killed in battle or died a natural death since the last war. On the march home prisoners received the same fare as the warriors themselves, but at each Delaware town they passed they were forced to perform for the amusement of the townspeople and run the gauntlet. This ordeal consisted in running between two parallel lines in which the townspeople were drawn up and suffering the blows of the double file until a specified pole was reached which guaranteed their safety. When the home village was reached, the same procedure occurred except that those who were to be adopted were sometimes protected by their foster families. Those who were not adopted were tortured in most of the ways the human mind has been able to devise, but gradual dismemberment and slow burning seem to have been the most common. A prisoner who remained impassive under this treatment was held in high esteem.

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Women and children were not usually injured and the peace messenger was also granted immunity, indeed hospitality. Two essential ceremonies of the peace conference were the smoking of the peace pipe and the exchanging of strings of wampum to confirm the covenant (Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 215-18; Loskiel, pp. 143-156; Hill, pp. 53-55; Zeisberger, 1910, pp. 102-03 and 151).

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The weapons used were the bow and arrow, the stone axe and a club with a rounded knob on the end. For defense they had a shield and helmet made of wooden sticks bound together with leather or hemp cord (Johnson, 1915, pp. 281-82; Loskiel, p. 141). Some of the east coast villages were palisaded for protection (Krieger, p. 51; Brinton, 1885, p. 51; Skinner, 1915, p. 7; Heye, p. 11).

Crime

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Offences against members of the group become a concern of the chief only when they could not be settled by the families concerned. "The Justice they have is Pecuniary: In case of any Wrong or evil Fact, be it Murther it self, they Attone by Feasts and Presents of

their Wampum, which is proportioned to the quality of the Offense or Person injured, or of the Sex they are of: for in case they kill a woman, they pay double, and the reason they render is , That she breedeth Children, which men cannot do." (Penn, p. 43). Except for the concept of different recompense according to the sex of the person injured, the above statements are confirmed by other writers. More common than recompense in the case of murder or rape, however, was the death of the offender at the hands of the injured person's family [12] (Brainerd, p. 356; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 329; Ruttenber, p. 48; Harrington, 1913, p. 217).

Religion

All of the Delaware accounts of the origin of the world and of the tribe center around a giant mythical tortoise related in some way to the Turtle phratry and the occasion of that phratry's preeminance over the other two. The most complete version is found in the writings of Danckaerts whose visit to this region dates back to 1679. He asked an old Indian where the first of his race came from.

> "He was silent for a little while as if unable to climb up at once so high with his thoughts, or to express them without help, and then took a piece of coal out of the fire where he sat, and began to write upon the floor. He first drew a circle, a little oval to which he made four paws or feet, a head and a tail; 'This', said he, 'is a tortoise, lying in the water around it', and he moved his hand around the figure continuing, 'This was or is all water, and so at first was the world or the earth, when the tortoise gradually raised its round back up high, and the water ran off of it, and thus the earth became dry.' He then took a little straw and placed it on end in the middle of the figure and proceeded, 'The earth was now dry, and there grew a tree in the middle of the earth, and the root of this tree sent forth a sprout beside it, and there grew upon it a man, who was the first male; This man was then alone, and would have remained alone, but the tree bent over until its top touched the earth, and there shot therein another root from which came forth another sprout, and there grew upon it the woman, and from these two are all men produced...'" (Danckaerts, pp. 77-80).

The following writers also refer to the turtle as the earth and the agent of the creation of man: Heckewelder (1881, p. 250); Kalm (p. 606); Zieseberger (1870, p. 210). Other creation myths have the general theme that the people lived under the earth before they came up to live on the surface (Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 249-50).

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9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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621 a nephew, his sister's son, or sister's daughter's son. The se-
614 lection of a successor might be made by an incumbent with the approval of the people. Each of the three divisions had a chief who was chosen by a general council of chiefs and wisemen, possibly with the exclusion of the tribal chiefs and wisemen of the division involved. The installation of the tribal chief was conducted by the head chiefs of the other two divisions.

643 The various sources and informants were unanimous in saying that there was a boundary between the authority of the civil chief and that of the war chief (232). The superiority of the civil chief in peace time was also affirmed by all (233). The reversal of the relative power of each in war was likewise maintained without dissent (234). Power received through visions
[781] was a prerequisite to the office of war chief (237). Captain Pipe's account made no mention of vision power, but his statement of an election similar to that of a civil chief did not preclude this requirement. W. L. stated that a man must have received power through a vision to become eligible for election as a war chief.

623 The existence of a body of wisemen or counselors was reported in every period (238). These men were chosen by the people, according to the information from the third and fourth periods (240). The accounts of the earlier periods did not touch upon this matter. The council or body of wisemen was reported throughout all periods to consider all matters of importance to the tribe (241). The functions of the council were evidently considerable; although called only by the chief, their decision after due deliberation determined the course of action of the chief (238). Women had no voice in council and were only admitted at certain times (243).

Justice

681 According to the idealistic retrospect of W. T., originally, when the Delaware had things their own way, there was no theft, murder, rape, adultery, or any other crime or misdemeanor and hence no punishments or ways of handling such matters were
006 necessary. Since debts were not discussed in detail in the first

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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Justice

246. Use of force by creditor

J. W. said that a creditor or victim of a theft did not use force himself to get restitution but applied to the chief. Failing restitution, the chief appointed a man to punish the offender by whipping. On a second or third offense, the chief appointed two men who tied offender to a tree and whipped him with twelve sticks, using one at a time until all were broken. Whipped him to death, was J. W.'s way of putting it. This he was quite sure was the punishment formerly used. Rape was also punished in the same way. 685 686

247. Redress of civil injuries

Roger Williams said force was used for restitution in case of theft involving different tribes. 681

254. Amount of wampum paid by murderer

Zeisberger said one hundred fathoms of wampum for the murder of a man and two hundred for that of a woman. A person who murdered a relative usually went free. 681 682

John Johnston reported that two hundred fathoms was the amount necessary to close the breach on the first offense, no amount being satisfactory for later offenses of this nature.

Captain Pipe—If a murder is committed the friends and relatives of the murderer collect by their own means and the contributions of others a quantity of wampum, which they deposit with the Chief of their own tribe from time to time until the stock amounts to an hundred and twenty fathoms if the murdered person be a man or an hundred and thirty fathoms if a woman. When this is effected the Chiefs call a council at which the nation, or as many as are so inclined, with the friends of the deceased and the murderer assemble. Here, after a few remarks by way of consolation to the afflicted relatives the acceptance of the wampum is proposed to them, and if they refuse eight fathoms are added to it and the presentation is repeated. If they persist in their refusal eight fathoms more are added and should they still reject the offer the connexions of the murderer [696]

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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681 pronounce themselves ready to meet the opposite party in any
682 way they may propose to avenge themselves. The fear of the anger of the nation always induces them at last to accept the wampum and compromise the matter. Great difficulties sometimes occur in procuring the quantity of wampum required by law. Seven or eight years have been thus employed. In such cases twelve fathoms are presented immediately after the commission of the offense, as an earnest of the desire of the aggressors to settle the difference in an amicable manner. The acceptance of this first offering is a pledge on the part of the injured relatives to receive the balance. No other presents accompany the wampum, as is the case among the northern Indians.

The guilty person if he be a worthless man, not respected by his own relatives or by the nation will generally effect his escape if possible, for he cannot hope for assistance in obtaining the quantity of wampum necessary. If he be poor but reputable he will probably "deliver his body" as they say, to the relatives of the murdered, and his life being in their hands they have an opportunity to show their generosity which they frequently seize upon.

Offenses of this nature are very often settled by a much smaller quantity of wampum than that mentioned, but as the law requires the one hundred and twenty or thirty fathoms a refusal to accept less does not meet the displeasure of the nation as would be the case if the legal quantity were rejected.

The murder of an individual belonging to a different tribe in the nation of the murder, is considered as a more heinous crime than if the parties were of the same parent stock, and is treated accordingly.

Captain Chipps—The punishment of death, however, is not sanctioned. The ordinary method of settling a difficulty, is by giving presents of wampum to the person injured—this is by judgment of the Council.

If one kills another, a council is called. The chiefs order the murderer to give to the relatives of the deceased, 200 fathoms of wampum—if he cannot do it, the relatives have the right to kill him, in any manner they please. If the relations do not take up the quarrel, the chiefs do nothing about it.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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J. W. said twelve yards was the required amount of wampum. 681
W. T. said four feet was all that was necessary. 682
W. L. said fifty yards for a man, but one hundred for a woman.

256 to 259. Revenge of murder

VAN DER DONCK—Murder or personal injuries are not attended to by the chief, or friends, except for the purpose of reconciling the parties, for which they use all possible means, and give liberally to effect their object when the offender is deficient in means, which is usually the case. A murder among them is never atoned for without heavy payment. The nearest relative by blood is always the avenger, and if he finds the murderer within twenty-four hours after the act, he is slain instantly, but if the murderer can save himself until one day is past, and the avenger slays him afterwards, then he is liable to be pursued and slain in like manner. A murderer seldom is killed after the first twenty-four hours are past, but he must flee and remain concealed; when the friends endeavour to reconcile the parties, which is frequently agreed to, on condition, that the nearest relatives of the murderer, be they men, women, or children, on meeting the relatives of the person murdered, must give way to them. 627 682

J. W. and W. L. said revenge might not be taken by relatives but by two or three men appointed by chief.

264. Desertion of children

E. R. said that desertion of children was settled in the family. 682

HUNTING

318. Ceremonies

LINDESTRÖM—Now as soon as the winter bids good night, they begin with their hunts, which is done with a fine innovation. Now at that time of the year the grass which grows there, as has been said, is as dry as hay. When now the sachem wants to arrange his hunt, then commands his people [to take a position] close together in a circle of ½, or 1 or 2 miles, according to the number of people at his command. In the first place each one 224 622

l:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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They certainly (I am here speaking of the men) show a reverence for each other, which is visible on all occasions; they often meet for the purpose of conversation, and their sociability appears to be a recreation to them, a renewal of good fellowship. Their general principle, that good and bad cannot mingle or dwell together in one heart, and therefore must not come into contact, seems to be their guide on all occasions. So, likewise, when travelling, whether they are few, or many, they are cheerful, and resigned to the accidents which may befal them; never impatient, quarrelsome, or charging any one, or one another, with being in fault, or the occasion of what had happened; even though one should lose his all by the neglect or carelessness of the other, yet they will not fly into a passion, but patiently bear with the loss, thinking within themselves that such a one feels sorry enough already, and therefore it would be unreasonable to add to his pain. They judge with calmness on all occasions, and decide with precision, or endeavour so to do, between an accident and a wilful act;—the *first* (they say) they are all liable to commit, and therefore it ought not to be noticed, or punished;—the *second* being a wilful or premeditated act, committed with a bad design, ought on the contrary to receive due punishment.

To illustrate this subject, I shall relate a few of the cases of this description which have come within my knowledge. One morning early, an Indian came into the house of another who was yet abed, asking for the loan of his gun for a morning hunt, his own being out of repair; the owner readily consented, and said: "as my "gun is not loaded, you will have to take a few balls out "of your pouch!" In taking the gun down, it, however, by some accident went off, and lodged the contents in the owner's head, who was still lying on the bed, and now expired. The gun, it appeared, was loaded, though unknown to him, and the lock left in such a condition that by a touch it went off. A cry was heard from all sides

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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In the house: O! the *accident!* for such it was always considered to have been, and was treated as such.

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A hunter went out to kill a bear, some of those animals having been seen in the neighbourhood. In an obscure part of a wood, he saw at a distance something black moving, which he took for a bear, the whole of the animal not being visible to him; he fired, and found he had shot a black horse. Having discovered the mistake, he informed the owner of what had happened, expressing at the same time his regret that he was not possessed of a single horse, with which he could replace the one he had shot. What! replied the Indian whose horse had been killed, do you think I would accept a horse from you, though you had one to give, after you have satisfied me that you killed mine *by accident?* No, indeed! for the same misfortune might also happen to me.

An aged Indian who had gone out to shoot a turkey, mistook a black hog in the bushes for one of those birds, and shot him; finding out by enquiry to whom the hog belonged, he informed the owner of the mistake he had made, offering to pay for the hog; which the other, however, not only would not accept of, but having brought the meat in, gave him a leg of the animal, because he thought that the unfortunate man, as well on account of his disappointment, in not feasting on turkey as he expected soon to do when he shot the hog, as for his honesty in informing of what he had done, was *entitled* to a share of what he had killed.

Two Indians with a large canoe, going down the Muskingum river to a certain distance, were accosted by others going by land to the same place, who requested them to take their heavy articles, as kettles, axes, hoes, &c. into their canoe, which they freely did, but unfortunately were shipwrecked at the rocks of White Eyes's falls (as the place is called,) where the whole cargo was lost, and the men saved themselves by swimming to the

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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such things in nature as virtue on the one hand and crime on the other.

But nothing is so false as this picture of the Indians. The worst that can be said of them is, that the passion of revenge is so strong in their minds that it carries them beyond all bounds. But set this aside, and their character is noble and great. They have no written laws, but they have usages founded on the most strict principles of equity and justice. Murder with them is punished with death. It is true, that as was the case not many centuries ago among the most civilised nations of Europe, the death of a man may be compounded for with his surviving relations; if, however, they do not choose to accept of the terms offered, any one of them may become the executioner of the murderer.

Thieves are compelled to restore what they have stolen, or to make satisfactory amends to the injured party; in their default, their nearest relations are obliged to make up the loss. If the thief, after sufficient warning, continues his bad practices, he is disowned by his nation, and any one may put him to death the next time that he is caught in the act of stealing, or that it can be clearly proved to have been committed by him. I have given two instances of the kind in a former chapter,* and I recollect another which will put what I have said in the strongest light. I once knew an Indian chief, who had a son of a vicious disposition, addicted to stealing, and who would take no advice. His father tired and unable to satisfy all the demands which were made upon him for the restitution of articles stolen by his son, at last issued his orders for shooting him the next time he should be guilty of a similar act.

As to crimes and offences of an inferior nature to murder and theft, they are left to the injured party to punish in such manner as he thinks proper. Such are personal insults and threats, which, among those people are not

* Ch. 7. p. 97.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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Nantikoke NM11

D 1765 morning to the grave and weeps over it. This is repeated daily for some time but gradually less and less till the mourning period is over. Sometimes they place victuals on the grave that the deceased may not suffer hunger. The food thus left is generally consumed by dogs.

N 1764 The Nantikoks [Nantikokes] of whom more in another place, have this singular custom that about three or four months after the funeral they open the grave, take out the bones, clean them of the flesh and dry them, wrap them up in new linen and inter them again. A feast is usually provided for the occasion, consisting of the best they can afford. Only the bones of the arms and legs of the corpse are thus treated. All the rest is buried or burned.

D 626 181 The Indians are a free people, knowing neither law nor restraint. They may not be prevailed on in any matter that does not please them, much less forced. If they cannot be persuaded with gentle words, further effort is in vain.

D 361 Each of them may settle where he pleases. Not satisfied with one place, an Indian may move to a town with which he is better pleased and no one offers any objection; or he may retire to a solitary place. Rarely will a family move far away from all society, though they frequently live apart from the towns to avoid being annoyed by drunkards; or they live thus alone in order to carry on the profitable traffic in rum more to their advantage. Many engage in rum traffic, especially women, D 439 who fetch it from the white people and sell at a considerable profit to the Indians, often taking from the latter everything they have, sometimes even their rifles on which they depend for subsistence. Chiefs and counsellors have often considered what might be done to stop this ruinous trade, and have often determined that no one should ever bring spirituous liquors into their towns again; for a time such a resolution would be kept, and then be broken, perhaps by the very ones who had counselled the prohibition. Since the Indians have taken so much to drinking rum, murders are more frequent. Murder committed in D 622 drunkenness is not severely punished. Hence, it is that one 672 harboring hatred for another will, on the occasion of a drinking

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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orgy, put him out of the way, pretending to be very drunk and not capable of judging of the nature of his deed. Under such circumstances, according to ancient usage, the murderer must pay a hundred fathoms of wampum for the murder of a man and two hundred for that of a woman. If he is too poor to raise the amount, which is commonly the case, his friends help to raise it and turn it over to the relatives of the slain, at the same time delivering a speech. If any one has murdered his own relative, he usually escapes without difficulty, for the family can easily find reason for the deed, not wishing to lose two of their friends at once. Should a murderer not feel himself safe, he goes to another region or town where he is a stranger.

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In case of theft, which is held as a disgrace among them, nothing further is required than that the thief must restore what he has stolen, pay for it or give something in exchange. If justice cannot be satisfied in one of these ways, because the thief has nothing, loss falls on the party robbed, or the friends of the thief, if such he has, must make good the loss.

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When a whole party goes out to hunt, they govern themselves according to the wishes of the oldest or the most expert, particularly if he be a member of the council. It is not considered good form for one to leave the party before the end of the hunt. If one has wounded a deer and another followed and killed it, the skin belongs to the first and either the half or the whole of the meat to the latter. If several take aim at once and they cannot determine which of them made the best shot, the skin is given to the oldest of the party, or, if he happened to be one of those taking aim, he is said to have killed the animal. Old men, therefore, no longer able to shoot well, generally get their share of the skins, if they only aim now and then with the others though they do not hit the mark.

Such old men, accompanying a hunting party, get both meat and skins, for the good hunters will not let them return empty-handed. They have, in general, and the Unami in particular, the custom that when a huntsman has shot a deer, and another Indian joins him or only looks on at a distance, he immediately gives him the whole animal and goes in pursuit of another.

		Williams	Van der Donck	Lindeström	Zeisberger	Heckewelder	Johnston	Pipe	Chipps	J. W.	W. T.	E. R.	W. L.
	+ = element present									683	444	633	444
	— = element denied									444	444	444	444
	(+) or (—) = source ambiguous									685	444	444	444
	* = informant could not or would not say									444	444	444	444
	§ = some, sometimes, or several									444	444	444	444
	† or * = see Ethnographic Notes, pp. 79-137 for additional information									444	444	444	444
	Chiefs—Continued												
237.	War chief chosen through vision power				+	+			+	+	+	+	+
238.	Body of counselors †	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+
239.	Name *apwsenowuk							+		(+)	+	+	+
240.	Chosen by people						+	+		+	+	+	+
241.	Consider all matters of importance to tribe		+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
242.	Counselors and chiefs only present at council meetings		§?		§	§	+	+	+	§	§	§	§
243.	All adults except women admitted				§				+	§	§	§	§
	Justice												
244.	Any mode of compelling payment of debt				+		—	—	—	—	—	—	—
245.	Relatives of debtor make restitution				+	+		§		+		+	+
246.	Creditor uses force							§	+	*+		+	+
247.	Redress for civil injuries (theft)	*+	+	+	+	+	—	—	—	+	—	+	+
248.	Injured party applies to chief		+		—	—	+	+	—	+		+	+
249.	Any punishment inflicted by nation if restitution is made		—		—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
250.	Injured party has right to kill thief on second offense		—			+			+	+		+	+
251.	Murder punished	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
252.	By nation	+	—	+	—	—	—	—	+	+	+	—	+
253.	Breach closed by presents		+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
254.	Amount of wampum as presents †				+	•	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
255.	Lacking presents, revenge by relatives	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	*+	—	•	*+
256.	Revenge duty of any individual		*+			—	—	—	—	+	+	+	+
257.	Any one interfere from duty		*+				+	+	+	—	—	—	—
258.¹	Guilty submits	+	*—							+	+	+	+
259.	Feud arise from revenge		*+							—	—	—	—
260.	Revenge approved by nation	+		+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+
261.	Crimes. Theft	+	+		+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+
262.	Rape		+					+		+	+	+	+
263.	Adultery	+	+		+				+	+	(+)	•	
264.	Desertion of children								+	+	(+)		
265.	Drunkenness and slander	+											

266.	Any of these punished	+	−		−	+		−	+	+	(−)	+	+	
267.	Age of youth becoming a man								20	25	25	21	20-24	
268.	Determined by own ability		+				+		−	−	−	−	−	
269.	Murder of wife by husband punished						−	−	−	+	?	S	+	
270.	Her relatives might revenge if they considered act unwarranted						+			−		+	+	
	Family Government													
271.	Husband treats wife with tenderness and respect				+	+	+			+	+	+	+	
272.	Provides meat	+	+			+	+			+	+	+	+	
273.	Provides clothing					+	+			+	+	+	+	
274.	Provides other necessities					+	+			+	+	+	+	
275.	Wife obeys husband					+	+				+	+	+	
276.	Makes clothing	+	+			+	+		+	+	+	+	+	
277.	Makes and mends moccasins	+	+			+	+		+	+	+	+	+	
278.	Raises corn and other crops	+	+		+	+	+		+	−	−	−	+	
279.	Cooks	+	+		+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	
280.	Provides fuel		+		+	+	+		+	−	−	−	+	
281.	Manual labor falls on wife		+		+	S	+		+	−	−	−	+	
282.	Moving camp devolves upon women					+	−		−	−	−	−	−	
283.	Husband frequently strikes wife					−	−		−	−	−	−		
284.	If she is ill-tempered or refractory						+		+	−	−	−		
285.	Same affection and unreserved intercourse between spouses as in civilized life				+		+		+	+	+	+	+	
286.	Woman ever exercise government over children				+	+	+			+	+	+	+	
287.	Woman ever at the head of the establishment				+		+			+	+	+	+	
	Food, mode of living, etc.													
288.	Animals which are not used for food: several kinds					+	+			+	·		+	
289.	Very few	(+)		(+)					+		·	+		
290.	Opossum								+	+	+	•	+	
291.	Otter								+					
292.	Vegetable products eaten: All kinds								+		+	·	+	
293.	Number of kinds					+	+			+				
294.	Wild or ground potatoes				+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	
295.	Corn	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
296.	Beans	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	
297.	Pumpkins (squash)	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	

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Since debts were not discussed in detail in the first 686
period, we cannot tell whether their treatment was the same as Zeisberger recorded in the second period or not (244). Zeisberger said that if a debtor was unable to pay, the creditor dunned his friends who had to pay and rarely refused to do so. He thus implied that if a debtor was able to pay he was forced to do so. In the third and fourth periods the consensus was that there was no mode of compelling the payment of a debt, but that relatives or friends usually made restitution (245). Force might be used to get restitution, or, failing that, as a punishment (246). On this last element W. L. was the only dissenter. He said that force was never used because it was unnecessary, that anything borrowed was a gift and did not have to be returned unless a promise to do so was made by the borrower, and that a promise of this sort was always kept.

In spite of W. T.'s view of conditions among the Indians and 686
particularly the Delaware before much contact with the whites 177
had occurred, all of the first and second period accounts give evidence of a native mode of dealing with theft (247). It should be stated, however, that examples were said to be much more infrequent than among contemporaneous Europeans. No punishment except restitution was reported for the first offense (249). In default of restitution, J. W. said that a whipping was ordered 685
by the chief in cases of debt and theft and also as a punishment [684]
for rape. W. L. said that if wampum presents were not forthcoming from a detected thief, the chief ordered him to a whipping log where twenty-five strokes were administered for the first offense, fifty for the second, and other increases up to one hundred. Execution was not sanctioned as a punishment in default of presents, but in each of the last three periods the victim of a theft was said to have the right of killing such a defaulting thief on a subsequent offense, if caught in the act (250). This was denied by Van der Donck in the first period.

All the sources and informants were agreed that murder was 682
punished (251). Williams and Lindeström in the first period and J. W. and W. L. in the fourth were the only ones to report that the nation took any part in administering the punishment (252). However, according to Van der Donck, the chief or friends at-

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682 tempted to reconcile the parties involved and often gave liberally of their own means if those of the offender were deficient in order to settle the difficulty. Most breaches caused by murder were closed by presents (253). The reports of the amount of wampum, the usual compensation, varied; Zeisberger said one hundred fathoms for a man, double for a woman; Johnston and Chipps said two hundred fathoms; and Pipe reported one hundred and twenty fathoms for a man, one hundred and thirty for a woman (254). In the fourth period the discrepancies between the accounts show the effects of the lapse of time since this mode of appeasing bereaved relatives was used. J. W. said twelve yards of wampum was required, W. L. said fifty yards for a man and double for a woman, and W. T. said four feet was all that was necessary; whereas, E. R. did not think that a murder could ever be compensated for in this way and disclaimed all knowledge of wampum as a medium of exchange. E. R. said that blood vengeance was the only means of punishing a murderer.

682 627 Revenge, according to the rest of the accounts except Zeisberger and Johnston, was only resorted to in case presents were not offered or offered in insufficient amounts. Johnston said that no amount of wampum was sufficient to settle a second offense. Zeisberger did not explicitly refer to revenge but, in saying that a murderer who did not feel safe went to another village where he was a stranger, he implied that revenge was not unknown.

Revenge was the duty of the nearest relative of the slain person, according to Van der Donck, but no subsequent writer ascribed the responsibility to any particular person (256). In the later periods any of the relatives who were brave enough might undertake to obtain revenge but there was said to be no duty connected with it. In the fourth period, J. W. and W. L. said that relatives were not supposed to take revenge but that the chief appointed two or three men to do so. This element shows two changes from the first to the last period. In view of the established custom of giving presents to maintain peace disturbed by a murder it is probable that revenge was seldom taken within the nation. However, revenge as a method of

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settling such an affair was approved by the nation (260), and it did not give rise to a feud between the two families involved unless there was some violation of the established customs by the injured family as reported by Van der Donck (259). 682 627

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9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

Justice

246. Use of force by creditor

J. W. said that a creditor or victim of a theft did not use force himself to get restitution but applied to the chief. Failing restitution, the chief appointed a man to punish the offender by whipping. On a second or third offense, the chief appointed two men who tied offender to a tree and whipped him with twelve sticks, using one at a time until all were broken. Whipped him to death, was J. W.'s way of putting it. This he was quite sure was the punishment formerly used. Rape was also punished in the same way. 685 686

247. Redress of civil injuries

Roger Williams said force was used for restitution in case of theft involving different tribes. 681

254. Amount of wampum paid by murderer

Zeisberger said one hundred fathoms of wampum for the murder of a man and two hundred for that of a woman. A person who murdered a relative usually went free. 681 682

John Johnston reported that two hundred fathoms was the amount necessary to close the breach on the first offense, no amount being satisfactory for later offenses of this nature.

Captain Pipe—If a murder is committed the friends and relatives of the murderer collect by their own means and the contributions of others a quantity of wampum, which they deposit with the Chief of their own tribe from time to time until the stock amounts to an hundred and twenty fathoms if the murdered person be a man or an hundred and thirty fathoms if a woman. When this is effected the Chiefs call a council at which the nation, or as many as are so inclined, with the friends of the deceased and the murderer assemble. Here, after a few remarks by way of consolation to the afflicted relatives the acceptance of the wampum is proposed to them, and if they refuse eight fathoms are added to it and the presentation is repeated. If they persist in their refusal eight fathoms more are added and should they still reject the offer the connexions of the murderer [696]

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

681 pronounce themselves ready to meet the opposite party in any
682 way they may propose to avenge themselves. The fear of the anger of the nation always induces them at last to accept the wampum and compromise the matter. Great difficulties sometimes occur in procuring the quantity of wampum required by law. Seven or eight years have been thus employed. In such cases twelve fathoms are presented immediately after the commission of the offense, as an earnest of the desire of the aggressors to settle the difference in an amicable manner. The acceptance of this first offering is a pledge on the part of the injured relatives to receive the balance. No other presents accompany the wampum, as is the case among the northern Indians.

The guilty person if he be a worthless man, not respected by his own relatives or by the nation will generally effect his escape if possible, for he cannot hope for assistance in obtaining the quantity of wampum necessary. If he be poor but reputable he will probably "deliver his body" as they say, to the relatives of the murdered, and his life being in their hands they have an opportunity to show their generosity which they frequently seize upon.

Offenses of this nature are very often settled by a much smaller quantity of wampum than that mentioned, but as the law requires the one hundred and twenty or thirty fathoms a refusal to accept less does not meet the displeasure of the nation as would be the case if the legal quantity were rejected.

The murder of an individual belonging to a different tribe in the nation of the murder, is considered as a more heinous crime than if the parties were of the same parent stock, and is treated accordingly.

Captain Chipps—The punishment of death, however, is not sanctioned. The ordinary method of settling a difficulty, is by giving presents of wampum to the person injured—this is by judgment of the Council.

If one kills another, a council is called. The chiefs order the murderer to give to the relatives of the deceased, 200 fathoms of wampum—if he cannot do it, the relatives have the right to kill him, in any manner they please. If the relations do not take up the quarrel, the chiefs do nothing about it.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

J. W. said twelve yards was the required amount of wampum. 681
W. T. said four feet was all that was necessary.
W. L. said fifty yards for a man, but one hundred for a woman. 682

256 to 259. Revenge of murder

VAN-DER DONCK—Murder or personal injuries are not attended to by the chief, or friends, except for the purpose of reconciling the parties, for which they use all possible means, and give liberally to effect their object when the offender is deficient in means, which is usually the case. A murder among them is never atoned for without heavy payment. The nearest relative by blood is always the avenger, and if he finds the murderer within twenty-four hours after the act, he is slain instantly, but if the murderer can save himself until one day is past, and the avenger slays him afterwards, then he is liable to be pursued and slain in like manner. A murderer seldom is killed after the first twenty-four hours are past, but he must flee and remain concealed; when the friends endeavour to reconcile the parties, which is frequently agreed to, on condition, that the nearest relatives of the murderer, be they men, women, or children, on meeting the relatives of the person murdered, must give way to them. 627 682

J. W. and W. L. said revenge might not be taken by relatives but by two or three men appointed by chief.

264. Desertion of children

E. R. said that desertion of children was settled in the family. 682

HUNTING

318. Ceremonies

LINDESTRÖM—Now as soon as the winter bids good night, they begin with their hunts, which is done with a fine innovation. Now at that time of the year the grass which grows there, as has been said, is as dry as hay. When now the sachem wants to arrange his hunt, then commands his people [to take a position] close together in a circle of ½, or 1 or 2 miles, according to the number of people at his command. In the first place each one 224 622

31: Snyderman E-5 (ca. 1948) 1951
NM9 Iroquois NM9
Delaware NM7
Miami NP9

I D M 423 574 648 563 [682]

when the Delaware tried to exact "blood money" from the Miami to "cover the bones" of several of their people who had been murdered by the Miami, they were reminded firmly that they had been allowed to keep the money for the sales of Miami lands and that this should suffice. Joseph Richardville speaking for the Miami stated:

> Grand Fathers: You must recollect when you passed over the great mountains, & came to our country, that you were poor and destitute; you placed yourselves under our protection; we gave you lands, & at the Treaty of St. Mary's you sat in council with us. These we considered enough to satisfy you for all the injury our bad young men had done you; but it appears otherwise, for you continue to beg for more notwithstanding all that has been told to you by our old chief who now lies sick in his wigwam. [Tipton, 1942, p. 764.]

When it was politic, the Iroquois assumed responsibility for their "dependents" to the point of pressing their claims. Thus Canassatego speaking to Representatives of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia at Lancaster on July 2, 1744, pressed the case of the Canoy who had been defrauded by the Whites (Lowrie and Clarke, 1832–34, vol. 1, pp. 724–725).

On July 1, 1749, the Iroquois Assuchquay spoke for the Canoy as follows:

I [694]

> As we were coming here the Canoy Indians gave us this string of Wampum, thereby putting their case into our Hands, which we undertook to Speak to. It seems when the Proprietories bought the Land between Delaware and Susquehanna from us, the Tract, as they told us, on which the Canoy Town stood was reserv'd out of the Grant on account of those Indians living there, & when they should quit it they were to have a Consideration paid them for it. This we think they are entitled to, as they have left the Land & Live among other Nations at Juniata; and as they tell us that they never receiv'd anything for their Land, we recommend it to you to see them paid. [Prov. Council Pa., Minutes, vol. 5, p. 390.]

And when it suited their purposes, dependents were allowed to share the presents. There is on record an actual agreement between the chiefs of the Six Nations and the Commissioners of Pennsylvania dated January 1, 1789, which contains a clause noting that, "Two Munseys signed as being residenters on the land, but not owners" (Prov. Council Pa., Minutes, vol. 5, p. 512).

I 423 648 563

In the foregoing, we have described how the League functioned for its tenants, dependents, guests, and colonists. When the League began to sell the land from under dependent peoples, friction developed which was not to be resolved by the dictates of Onondaga. The attempt of the League authorities to prevent the Iroquois on the Ohio from receiving "presents from the Governor of Virginia" by labeling them "Hunters and no Counselors or Chief Men" (ibid., p. 478) convinced neither the Governor of Virginia nor the Indian frontiersmen of the League's power to enforce its decision. Likewise the state-

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

such things in nature as virtue on the one hand and crime on the other.

But nothing is so false as this picture of the Indians. The worst that can be said of them is, that the passion of revenge is so strong in their minds that it carries them beyond all bounds. But set this aside, and their character is noble and great. They have no written laws, but they have usages founded on the most strict principles of equity and justice. Murder with them is punished with death. It is true, that as was the case not many centuries ago among the most civilised nations of Europe, the death of a man may be compounded for with his surviving relations; if, however, they do not choose to accept of the terms offered, any one of them may become the executioner of the murderer.

Thieves are compelled to restore what they have stolen, or to make satisfactory amends to the injured party; in their default, their nearest relations are obliged to make up the loss. If the thief, after sufficient warning, continues his bad practices, he is disowned by his nation, and any one may put him to death the next time that he is caught in the act of stealing, or that it can be clearly proved to have been committed by him. I have given two instances of the kind in a former chapter,* and I recollect another which will put what I have said in the strongest light. I once knew an Indian chief, who had a son of a vicious disposition, addicted to stealing, and who would take no advice. His father tired and unable to satisfy all the demands which were made upon him for the restitution of articles stolen by his son, at last issued his orders for shooting him the next time he should be guilty of a similar act.

As to crimes and offences of an inferior nature to murder and theft, they are left to the injured party to punish in such manner as he thinks proper. Such are personal insults and threats, which, among those people are not

* Ch. 7. p. 97.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

considered as slight matters. If the will and intention of the aggressor appears to be *bad;* if the insult offered is considered as the forerunner of something worse; or, as the Indians express themselves, if the "*murdering spirit*" is "*alive*" within him who offers or threatens violence to another, they think themselves justified in preventing the act meditated against them; in such a case, they consider killing the aggressor as an act of necessity and self defence. Yet it is very rarely, indeed, that such punishments are inflicted.* The Indians, in general, avoid giving offence as much as possible. They firmly believe that bad thoughts and actions proceed from the evil spirit, and carefully avoid every thing that is *bad.*

Every person who is well acquainted with the true character of the Indians will admit that they are peaceable, sociable, obliging, charitable and hospitable among themselves, and that those virtues are, as it were, a part of their nature. In their ordinary intercourse, they are studious to oblige each other. They neither wrangle nor fight; they live, I believe, as peaceably together as any people on earth, and treat one another with the greatest respect. That they are not devoid of tender feelings has been sufficiently shewn in the course of this work. I do not mean to speak of those whose manners have been corrupted by a long intercourse with the worst class of white men; they are a degenerate race, very different from the true genuine Indians whom I have attempted to describe.

If any one should be disposed to think that I have exaggerated in the picture which I have drawn of these *original people,* as they call themselves, I appeal to the numerous impartial writers who have given the same testimony respecting them. What says Christopher Columbus himself of the American Indians in his letters to

* See above, ch. 18 p. 161.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

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9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946 NM7 Delaware NM7

	Williams	Van der Donck	Lindeström	Zeisberger	Heckewelder	Johnston	Pipe	Chippa	J. W.	W. T.	E. R.	W. L.
Chiefs—Continued												
237. War chief chosen through vision power				+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+
238. Body of counselors †	+	+		+	+	+	+	·	+	+	+	+
239. Name *upwaenowuk							+	+	(+)	+	·	+
240. Chosen by people							+		+	+	+	+
241. Consider all matters of importance to tribe		+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
242. Counselors and chiefs only present at council meetings		S?		S	S	+	+		S	S	S	S
243. All adults except women admitted				S				+	+	S	S	S
Justice												
244. Any mode of compelling payment of debt				+		−	−	−	−	−	−	−
245. Relatives of debtor make restitution				+	+		S		+		+	+
246. Creditor uses force							S	+	•+	−	+	−
247. Redress for civil injuries (theft)	•+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+
248. Injured party applies to chief		+		−	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	+
249. Any punishment inflicted by nation if restitution is made		−		−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
250. Injured party has right to kill thief on second offense		−			+			+	+	+	+	+
251. Murder punished	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
252. By nation	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
253. Breach closed by presents		+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
254. Amount of wampum as presents †				+	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
255. Lacking presents, revenge by relatives	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
256. Revenge duty of any individual		•+			−	−	−	+	•+	−	−	−
257. Any one interfere from duty		•+										
258. Guilty submits	+	•−				+	+	+	−	+	+	+
259. Feud arise from revenge		•+										
260. Revenge approved by nation	+		+	+		+	−	+	+	+	·	−
261. Crimes. Theft	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
262. Rape		+					+					
263. Adultery	+	+		+			+	+	+	+	+	+
264. Desertion of children									(+)			
265. Drunkenness and slander	+							+	(+)			

+ = element present
− = element denied
(+) or (−) = source ambiguous
· = informant could not or would not say
S = some, sometimes, or several
† or * = see Ethnographic Notes, pp. 79-137 for additional information

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

774 been left undone, when the ghost ceases the visits.
775 CAPTAIN CHIPPS—Ghosts are not known—have not been heard of.

J. W.—Ghosts are really shades or shadows of spirits, often seen before or after death, they are signs or warnings and can be seen by human eyes. There is much paralysis among the Delaware which is often caused by being struck with a shadow or crossing it or paying any attention to it if one sees it coming. Stopping [822] [753] to look at it, turning around after passing, even innocently, has evil effects. There is no cure for it. Preventive by rubbing [751] streak of ashes on left cheek under eye before going out in the evening. Often marked children as safeguard.

W. T. attributed to the soul the actions of the shadow reported by J. W.

40. Witches and wizards

754 JOHN JOHNSTON—They are very firm in the belief of witchcraft and suppose that there is many among them that can appear [753] in the shape of any animal they please and have power to cause sickness. They believe this to be a supernatural power invested in them by some one of the Deities for the purpose of good that they might have power to heal the sick etc. But that in their present degenerated state they have made a bad use of it, that instead of healing they inflict with sickness and other calamities.

754 CAPTAIN PIPE—They believe in witches and wizards and 756 attribute their powers to the use of certain medicine, said to have been procured of the Nanticokes who had it from a naked infant found by them on the Sea Shore. In 1810, the prophet when [792] preaching against the use of this medicine pointed out five or six men and women on white river as the possessors of it. These [683] persons protested their innocence and were put to the torture, where they were exhorted to save themselves by delivering the means of destruction which they possessd. Seeing no other prospect of escape from death, they professed a knowledge of the arts and promised compliance, but after release they were not able to produce the cause of the difficulty, and they were by common consent condemned to death by burning.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7

585 also speak to the couple on subsequent occasions, perhaps on the birth of a child (M.B.).

591 The place of residence of a newly married couple is something of a puzzle. In the nineteenth century it was temporarily patrilocal or matrilocal (bilocal), with friends, or by themselves (neolocal).[64] This was probably not true in early historic times; the evidence favors matrilocality. All sources are agreed that the Delawares were polygynous.[65]

595 Polygyny seems to have been more frequent in the early days. "An *Indian* may have two wives or more if he please, but it is not much in use as it was since the English came amongst them they being ready in some measure to imitate the *English* in things both good & bad."[66] Van der Donck said that "ordinarily they have but one wife, sometimes two or three, but this is generally among the chiefs."[67] The sororate [587] was sometimes practiced, and informants added that the levirate was known.[68] Trowbridge said that "many instances have been known where a man having married a widow also married her daughter, and this has sometimes been at the suggestion of the mother herself."[69]

586 Divorce.— Divorce was easy among the Delawares; either member of a marriage partnership could break the union.[70] Reasons for divorce were sterility, adultery, and any other type of incompatibility.[71] Divorce was not frequent when there were children, and in this event small children remained with the mother.[72] Heckewelder quoted a Delaware on marriage and divorce, and the account is both enlightening and entertaining:

> The Indians had not only a much easier way of getting a wife than the whites, but were also more certain of getting a good one; "For" (said he in his broken English), "White man court, — court, — may be one whole year! O may be two year before he marry! — well! — may be then got very good wife — but may be not! — may be very cross! — Well now, suppose cross! scold so soon as get awake in morning! scold all day! scold until sleep! — all one; he must keep him! White people have law forbidding throwing away wife, be he ever so cross! no! no! Squaw know too well what Indian do if he cross! — throw him away and take another! Squaw love to eat meat! no husband! no meat! Squaw do every thing to please husband! he do the same to please Squaw! live happy!"[73]

684 837 [834] Marital fidelity on the part of men does not seem to have been a major social goal, particularly during a woman's pregnancy, menstruation, and lactation, when marital relations were forbidden.[74] During this period many husbands apparently had concubines. There is one report of the social sanction of a woman's divorce from an adulterous husband. In this isolated case the husband was accused before the chief; he was

[64] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 78; O.A., N.D.
[65] Holm, 1834, p. 128; Loskiel, 1794, p. 58; Trowbridge MS., O.A., M.B., N.D.
[66] Denton, 1845, p. 9.
[67] Van der Donck, 1909, p. 202.
[68] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 88; O.A., M.B.
[69] Trowbridge MS.
[70] De Vries, 1909, p. 218; Holm, 1834, p. 128; Brainerd, 1884, pp. 171-72; Trowbridge MS.
[71] Denton, 1845, p. 9; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 85; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 154; Trowbridge MS.
[72] De Rasieres, 1909, p. 108; Trowbridge MS; O.A.
[73] Heckewelder, 1881, p. 161.
[74] Penn, 1912, p. 232; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 80.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7

found guilty and the wife was "permitted to draw off his right shoe and left stocking...she then tears off the lappet that covers his private parts, gives him a kick behind, and so drives him out of the house...."[75] Husbands could punish adulterous wives by thrashing them, or could obtain a divorce by bringing them before the chief or sachem. The woman's hair was cut off, she was deprived of her property, and perhaps even of her life, if found guilty by the sachem.[76] But Denton remarked: "It is no offense for their married women to lie with another man provided she acquaint her husband, or some of her nearest Relations with it, but if not it is accounted such a fault that they sometimes punish it with death."[77] One of the culturally sanctioned mechanisms for obtaining revenge upon an adulterous spouse was suicide.[78] A man's retaliation for adultery could also be seduction of the adulterer's wife. If and when the injured husband was successful in this venture, he made the fact public so that the original adulterer would be held up for public scorn.[79]

A widow, prior to remarriage, whether his wife had died of natural or other causes, had to recompense her relatives for her loss.[80] The duration of mourning was about a year.[81] A widow during this time had to support herself; she could not be given meat since a hunter's weapons were supposed to fail if he had given meat to a widow.[82] When the year had passed, the deceased one's soul left the earth and remarriage could follow.

Death

As soon as a person died the fact of death was spread throughout the community by a crier. The crier was a woman especially appointed and paid for her services.[83] This announcement evoked loud outcrys and lamentations from the general populace. These lamentations were continued intermittently in the house where the deceased lay until burial.[84] In recent times and perhaps earlier the moccasin game was played in the dwelling where the corpse lay.[85] The body was not buried at once because it was necessary to give the supernatural forces an opportunity to restore life to the corpse.[86] The length of time the body was kept varied with the season; it was three days in summer and seven in winter.[87] During this interval the corpse was dressed in new clothes and richly adorned and painted. Before noon on the day of burial a number

[75] De Rasieres, 1909, p. 108.
[76] *Ibid.*; see also Pastorius, 1912, p. 421.
[77] Denton, 1845, p. 9.
[78] Penn, 1912, p. 232; Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 258-59; Loskiel, 1794, p. 58.
[79] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 77.
[80] Penn, 1912, p. 232.
[81] Pastorius, 1912, p. 435; Holm, 1834, p. 143; Brickell, 1842, p. 49; Trowbridge MS.
[82] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 88; Loskiel, 1794, p. 64.
[83] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 249; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 269.
[84] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 89; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 269.
[85] Harrington, 1913, p. 215; Kinietz, 1946, p. 72.
[86] Trowbridge MS; Kinietz, 1946, p. 51; J.T.
[87] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 249; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 269; Trowbridge MS; Kinietz, 1946, p. 51; M.B.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7
Iroquois NM9
Shawnee NM17

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regard them but little. They do not seem to be ashamed of their vices. For this reason, Indians themselves declare that their condition grows worse from year to year. As there is neither law nor legal penalty among them, they have nothing to fear, except that an injured one may avenge himself in the manner in which he has been injured. If one has seduced the wife of another, the offended party will seek to seduce the wife of the offender. He will keep his purpose a secret and not rest until he has obtained satisfaction, when he makes known to others what he has done, so that the original offender may hear of it.

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When, in a young female, the first menstrual discharge occurs, generally between the twelfth and sixteenth year, the Delawares generally separate such daughters from all companionship, the Monsies [Monseys] being more strict and having more ceremonies in the observance of the custom than the Miamis. They build for such a girl, separate hut, apart from the rest, where her mother or some old female acquaintance cares for her and guards her so that none may see her. Wherefore, she is also kept within the hut the whole of the menstrual period, with the blanket over her head. She is given little to eat, but regularly dosed with emetics. She is not allowed to do any work during the whole time, which generally lasts twelve days. At the end of the time, they bring her into her home, looking black, grimy and dishevelled, because she has been lying about in dust and ashes the whole time. Washed and dressed in new garments, she is allowed to be in the home, but required to wear a cap with a long shield, so that she can neither see any one readily, nor be seen. Such a covering she must wear for two months, at the end of which time she is informed that she may marry.

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The Shavanose [Shawanese] and Mingoes, however, who observe much the same custom, follow a different course in this matter. The young woman in question is allowed to remain in the house. She prepares food for those in the house, of the corn and fruits she has raised. Of such food she does not, however, herself partake, but goes to her hut, apart from the others, and there prepares and eats her food.

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Every month, during her menstrual period, a Delaware woman lives by herself in a separate hut, which is usually very

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	683	684	627	632	685	686	624	623	711	643		
Chiefs—Continued												
237. War chief chosen through vision power				+	+				+	+	+	+
238. Body of counselors †	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
239. Name *Tupwaenowuk							+		(+)	+	•	+
240. Chosen by people						+	+	•	+	+	+	+
241. Consider all matters of importance to tribe		+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
242. Counselors and chiefs only present at council meetings		S?		S	S	+	+		S	S	S	S
243. All adults except women admitted				S				+	S	S	S	S
Justice												
244. Any mode of compelling payment of debt				+		−	−	−	−	−	−	−
245. Relatives of debtor make restitution				+	+		S		+		+	+
246. Creditor uses force							S	+	•+		+	−
247. Redress for civil injuries (theft)	•+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	+
248. Injured party applies to chief		+			−		+		+		+	+
249. Any punishment inflicted by nation if restitution is made		−		−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
250. Injured party has right to kill thief on second offense		−			+			+	+		+	+
251. Murder punished	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
252. By nation	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	•	−	+
253. Breach closed by presents		+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
254. Amount of wampum as presents †				+	•	+	+	+	+	+	•	+
255. Lacking presents, revenge by relatives	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
256. Revenge duty of any individual		•+			−	−	−	−	•+	−	−	•+
257. Any one interfere from duty		•+				−	•	−	−	•	•	•
258. Guilty submits	+	•−				+	+	+	−	+	•	S
259. Feud arise from revenge		•+					−	−	−	−	•	−
260. Revenge approved by nation	+		+	+		+			+	+	•	+
261. Crimes: Theft	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
262. Rape		+					+		+	+	+	+
263. Adultery	+	+		+			+	+	+	+	+	+
264. Desertion of children								+	+	(+)	•+	
265. Drunkenness and slander	+							+	+	(+)		

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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settling such an affair was approved by the nation (260), and it did not give rise to a feud between the two families involved unless there was some violation of the established customs by the injured family as reported by Van der Donck (259).

Besides murder and theft, rape, adultery, desertion of children, drunkenness, and slander were considered crimes (262-65). Apparently the conception of what constituted punishment varied among the sources, for some did not regard the payment of wampum as such (266). This was the only retribution levied on the offender recorded by Van der Donck, Heckewelder, Chipps, and Pipe. Zeisberger agreed, except that in the case of adultery he said a man whose wife had been seduced awaited his opportunity and seduced the wife of the seducer. J. W. and W. L. said that failing presents, whipping and even death might be meted out in cases of persistent offenders. J. W. seemed to think that rape was always punished by death.

Another element that shows an increasingly rigorous enforcement of law and order with the passage of time is that involving the murder of a woman by her husband (269). In the first two periods this received no mention, but in the third there are statements by Johnston and Pipe that the husband would not be punished (270). Johnston said that the wife's relatives might take revenge if they considered the act unwarranted. According to the modern informants, such a murderer would be punished anyway, and there might be revenge in addition if her relatives thought the deed unwarranted.

References to the age at which adult status was reached were infrequently given by the earlier sources (267). Van der Donck and Johnston said that the matter was determined by the ability of the individual (268). Chipps said that a youth was considered a man at twenty years and was then his own master even though he could marry before that. None of the modern informants said that coming into adult status was determined by the ability of the individual, although W. L. implied as much by saying that the age was between twenty and twenty-four years. Two of the others placed the age at twenty-five years and the fourth at twenty-one. In a society that placed so much emphasis upon

Since debts were not discussed in detail in the first 686
period, we cannot tell whether their treatment was the same as Zeisberger recorded in the second period or not (244). Zeisberger said that if a debtor was unable to pay, the creditor dunned his friends who had to pay and rarely refused to do so. He thus implied that if a debtor was able to pay he was forced to do so. In the third and fourth periods the consensus was that there was no mode of compelling the payment of a debt, but that relatives or friends usually made restitution (245). Force might be used to get restitution, or, failing that, as a punishment (246). On this last element W. L. was the only dissenter. He said that force was never used because it was unnecessary, that anything borrowed was a gift and did not have to be returned unless a promise to do so was made by the borrower, and that a promise of this sort was always kept.

In spite of W. T.'s view of conditions among the Indians and 686
particularly the Delaware before much contact with the whites 177
had occurred, all of the first and second period accounts give evidence of a native mode of dealing with theft (247). It should be stated, however, that examples were said to be much more infrequent than among contemporaneous Europeans. No punishment except restitution was reported for the first offense (249). In default of restitution, J. W. said that a whipping was ordered 685
by the chief in cases of debt and theft and also as a punishment [684]
for rape. W. L. said that if wampum presents were not forthcoming from a detected thief, the chief ordered him to a whipping log where twenty-five strokes were administered for the first offense, fifty for the second, and other increases up to one hundred. Execution was not sanctioned as a punishment in default of presents, but in each of the last three periods the victim of a theft was said to have the right of killing such a defaulting thief on a subsequent offense, if caught in the act (250). This was denied by Van der Donck in the first period.

All the sources and informants were agreed that murder was 682
punished (251). Williams and Lindeström in the first period and J. W. and W. L. in the fourth were the only ones to report that the nation took any part in administering the punishment (252). However, according to Van der Donck, the chief or friends at-

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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In the house: O! the *accident!* for such it was always considerrd to have been, and was treated as such.

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A hunter went out to kill a bear, some of those animals having been seen in the neighbourhood. In an obscure part of a wood, he saw at a distance something black moving, which he took for a bear, the whole of the animal not being visible to him; he fired, and found he had shot a black horse. Having discovered the mistake, he informed the owner of what had happened, expressing at the same time his regret that he was not possessed of a single horse, with which he could replace the one he had shot. What! replied the Indian whose horse had been killed, do you think I would accept a horse from you, though you had one to give, after you have satisfied me that you killed mine *by accident?* No, indeed! for the same misfortune might also happen to me.

An aged Indian who had gone out to shoot a turkey, mistook a black hog in the bushes for one of those birds, and shot him; finding out by enquiry to whom the hog belonged, he informed the owner of the mistake he had made, offering to pay for the hog; which the other, however, not only would not accept of, but having brought the meat in, gave him a leg of the animal, because he thought that the unfortunate man, as well on account of his disappointment, in not feasting on turkey as he expected soon to do when he shot the hog, as for his honesty in informing of what he had done, was *entitled* to a share of what he had killed.

Two Indians with a large canoe, going down the Muskingum river to a certain distance, were accosted by others going by land to the same place, who requested them to take their heavy articles, as kettles, axes, hoes, &c. into their canoe, which they freely did, but unfortunately were shipwrecked at the rocks of White Eyes's falls (as the place is called,) where the whole cargo was lost, and the men saved themselves by swimming to the

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

672 685 shore. The question being put and fully discussed, whether those men with the canoe, who had taken charge of the property of the others, and by this neglect lost the whole, were not liable to pay for the loss? it was decided in the negative, on the following grounds:

1. That the canoe men had taken the articles on board, with the pleasing hope that they thereby would oblige their fellow men, and did not expect any recompense for that service.

2. That although they might have avoided the danger and the loss, by unloading the canoe at the head of the fall, and carrying the cargo by land below it, (which was but a short distance,) as was customary, when the river was not in a proper state to run through, yet that, had those who travelled by land been in the place of those in the canoe, they might, like them, have attempted to have run through, as is sometimes done with success, and been equally unfortunate.

3. That the canoe men having had all their own property on board, which was all lost at the same time, and was equally valuable to them, it was clear that they had expected to run safely through, and could not have intentionally or designedly brought on themselves and others the misfortune which had happened, and therefore the circumstance must be ascribed entirely to *accident*.

672 Such is the disposition of the Indians with regard to those who inadvertently meet with a disaster, whereby others are injured. They are ready to overlook a fault, and more disposed in such cases to commiserate, than to punish; but with those who wilfully and intentionally commit aggressions and injure others, they think and [626] act quite differently; a malicious person is generally despised, and if he intrudes himself into good company, they will, without saying a word, steal off one by one, and leave him alone to suffer the mortification which it is intended he should feel. For murderers and thieves they have no compassion, and punish them according to

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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"they crowd quite close up to us, stare at us, and almost "tread upon our heels to get nearer. We, on the con- "trary, though, perhaps, not less curious than they are, "to see a new people or a new object, keep at a reason- "able distance, and yet see what we wish to see." They also remark, that when the white people meet together, they speak very loud, although near to each other, from whence they conclude that they must be hard of hearing. "As to us," they say, "we never speak loud "when we come together, and yet we understand each "other distinctly; we only speak in a high tone of voice "before a public audience, in council, at the head of our "warriors, or when we are met together for some im- "portant purpose."

The Indians also observe, that the white people must have a great many thieves among them, since they put locks to their doors, which shews great apprehension that their property otherwise would not be safe: "As to us," say they, "we entertain no such fears; thieves are very "rare among us, and we have no instance of any person "breaking into a house. Our Indian lock is, when we "go out, to set the corn pounder or a billet of wood "against the door, so that it may be seen that no body "is within, and there is no danger that any Indian would "presume to enter a house thus secured." Let me be permitted to illustrate this by an anecdote.

In the year 1771, while I was residing on the Big Beaver, I passed by the door of an Indian, who was a trader, and had consequently a quantity of goods in his house. He was going with his wife to Pitts- burg, and they were shutting up the house, as no per- son remained in it during their absence. This shut- ting up was nothing else than putting a large hominy pounding-block with a few sticks of wood outside against the door, so as to keep it closed. As I was looking at this man with attention while he was so employed, he ad- dressed me in these words: "See my friend, this is an

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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685 "Indian lock that I am putting to my door." I an-
829 swered, "Well enough; but I see you leave much pro-
609 "perty in the house, are you not afraid that those arti-
"cles will be stolen while you are gone?"—"Stolen! by
"whom?—"Why, by Indians, to be sure." "No, no,"
replied he, "no Indian would do such a thing, and unless
"a white man or white people should happen to come
"this way, I shall find all safe on my return."

829 The Indians say, that when the white people en-
609 camp in the woods they are sure to lose something; that
when they are gone, something or another is always
found which they have lost, such as a knife, flints, bul-
lets, and sometimes even money. They also observe that
the whites are not so attentive as they are to choosing
an open dry spot for their encampment; that they will
at once set themselves down in any dirty and wet place,
provided they are under large trees: that they never
look about to see which way the wind blows, so as to be
able to lay the wood for their fires in such a position
that the smoke may not blow on them; neither do they
look up the trees to see whether there are not dead limbs
that may fall on them while they are asleep; that any
wood will do for them to lay on their fires, whether it be
dry or wet, and half rotten, so that they are involved du-
ring the whole night in a cloud of smoke; or they take
such wood as young green oak, walnut, cherry, chesnut,
&c. which throws sparks out to a great distance, so that
their blankets and clothes get holes burned in them, and
sometimes their whole camp takes fire. They also re-
mark that the whites hang their kettles and pots over a
fire just kindled, and before the great body of smoke has
passed away.

829 They, however, acknowledge that the whites are inge-
609 nious, that they make axes, guns, knives, hoes, shovels,
177 pots and kettles, blankets, shirts, and other very conve-
nient articles, to which they have now became accustom-
ed, and which they can no longer do without. "Yet,"

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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680 such things in nature as virtue on the one hand and crime on the other.

682 But nothing is so false as this picture of the Indians. The worst that can be said of them is, that the passion of revenge is so strong in their minds that it carries them beyond all bounds. But set this aside, and their character is noble and great. They have no written laws, but they have usages founded on the most strict principles of equity and justice. Murder with them is punished with death. It is true, that as was the case not many centuries ago among the most civilised nations of Europe, the death of a man may be compounded for with his surviving relations; if, however, they do not choose to accept of the terms offered, any one of them may become the executioner of the murderer.

685 Thieves are compelled to restore what they have stolen, or to make satisfactory amends to the injured party; in their default, their nearest relations are obliged to make up the loss. If the thief, after sufficient warning, continues his bad practices, he is disowned by his nation, and any one may put him to death the next time that he is caught in the act of stealing, or that it can be clearly proved to have been committed by him. I have given two instances of the kind in a former chapter,* and I recollect another which will put what I have said in the strongest light. I once knew an Indian chief, who had a son of a vicious disposition, addicted to stealing, and who would take no advice. His father tired and unable to satisfy all the demands which were made upon him for the restitution of articles stolen by his son, at last issued his orders for shooting him the next time he should be guilty of a similar act.

683 As to crimes and offences of an inferior nature to murder and theft, they are left to the injured party to punish in such manner as he thinks proper. Such are personal insults and threats, which, among those people are not

* Ch. 7. p. 97.

3:Zeisberger, M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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orgy, put him out of the way, pretending to be very drunk and not capable of judging of the nature of his deed. Under such circumstances, according to ancient usage, the murderer must pay a hundred fathoms of wampum for the murder of a man and two hundred for that of a woman. If he is too poor to raise the amount, which is commonly the case, his friends help to raise it and turn it over to the relatives of the slain, at the same time delivering a speech. If any one has murdered his own relative, he usually escapes without difficulty, for the family can easily find reason for the deed, not wishing to lose two of their friends at once. Should a murderer not feel himself safe, he goes to another region or town where he is a stranger.

In case of theft, which is held as a disgrace among them, nothing further is required than that the thief must restore what he has stolen, pay for it or give something in exchange. If justice cannot be satisfied in one of these ways, because the thief has nothing, loss falls on the party robbed, or the friends of the thief, if such he has, must make good the loss.

When a whole party goes out to hunt, they govern themselves according to the wishes of the oldest or the most expert, particularly if he be a member of the council. It is not considered good form for one to leave the party before the end of the hunt. If one has wounded a deer and another followed and killed it, the skin belongs to the first and either the half or the whole of the meat to the latter. If several take aim at once and they cannot determine which of them made the best shot, the skin is given to the oldest of the party, or, if he happened to be one of those taking aim, he is said to have killed the animal. Old men, therefore, no longer able to shoot well, generally get their share of the skins, if they only aim now and then with the others though they do not hit the mark.

Such old men, accompanying a hunting party, get both meat and skins, for the good hunters will not let them return empty-handed. They have, in general, and the Unami in particular, the custom that when a huntsman has shot a deer, and another Indian joins him or only looks on at a distance, he immediately gives him the whole animal and goes in pursuit of another.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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426 672 If a debtor is unable to pay, the creditor duns his friends, who must pay and rarely refuse to do so. Occasionally, the debts of friends must be paid years after they were contracted, even after the death of the debtor, if only the debt can be proven.

685 A purchaser, dissatisfied with what he has bought or the price paid, is allowed to return what he has purchased and recover what was paid. One who has done an injury, killed a hog or chicken or occasioned loss in some other way, and obstinately refuses to make good the injury, cannot be touched. His friends may make good the loss. Should the offender, in the long run, not heed the admonitions of his friends, they will drive him away.

721 Hence, it is that in wars with whites practically all the tribes have been involved more or less. If the nation, as such, has taken no part in the war, these unmanageable offenders have gone with the fighting peoples, despite the warnings and threats of the chiefs. The same is true of the present conflict.[258] The Delaware chiefs had determined at its beginning to remain neutral, daily admonishing their people not to allow themselves to be persuaded to go into the war. The nation as such remained true to the determination of the chiefs, being constantly and earnestly watched, but obstinate offenders took part against all order and command.

619 Though the Indians are a free people and not subject to the rule of any one, each nation, considering itself a unit, has a kind of government of its own choosing, imperfect as it may be. This holds good of all the North American nations. A nation is constituted of three principal Tribes, the first or leading tribe is called *Packoango*, i. e., the tribe of the great Tortoise, the second, *Blem*, the Turkey Tribe, the third, *Ptucksit*, the Wolf 622 Tribe. Each of the tribes has its chief and each chief his coun- 623 sellors. The chief of the Tortoise Tribe is the first in rank and, together with the other two chiefs, deals with all matters of national interest, particularly, such as have reference to nations with whom, according to treaty, friendly relations are to be cultivated. A chief may not presume to rule over the people, as in that case he would immediately be forsaken by the whole tribe, and his counsellors would refuse to assist him. He must

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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moving from one place to another according to inclination, yet they generally dwell together for the sake of the help they can render each other in building and in fencing up the great field where all may plant and be sure that their pieces of ground will not be molested by cattle. If they have a good chief he may be very useful to the people, for under him they believe themselves to dwell in safety as it is his business to keep the peace with other nations and order among his own people in so far as this may be secured among the Indians who are a free people recognizing neither compulsion nor authority to punish. By means of discretion and diplomacy a chief may accomplish much. At times he may not tell his counsellors, much less the people, what his ultimate purposes are, for fear of not attaining them. Moving forward step by step he may gain his end. Of violence, murder (except in drunkenness), robbery, theft, one rarely hears among the Indians. They may leave all they have caught in the chase and their utensils in the forest, secured indeed against wild animals such as wolves and bear, but not hidden from the Indians. They often hang their things to trees in the woods where everyone passing by may see them and leave them there for days and weeks, yet they are never molested. Stolen goods may not be easily concealed among them, and whoever has been guilty of theft must restore or repay lest a horse or two or even his gun, which is an Indian's means of sustenance, be taken from him or his friends summoned to make good the injury, even years after the theft has been committed. The latter will rather pay than be much and often called upon to do so.

Few houses are locked when the people go out. A stick is placed against the door on the outside and the passerby sees that no one is at home and does not enter. Each one is free to do as he pleases without let or hindrance, yet he will rarely do another injury.

Their old people, even though they are only able to crawl about and are a source of trouble and have nothing to bequeath to anyone, are faithfully cared for by their friends who seem to wish that their lives should be prolonged. That they are unmerciful and insensible towards the poor and needy may not be said of them. Even strangers who have no friends are

9: Kinietz E-4,5 (1938) 1946
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	Williams	Van der Donck	Lindeström	Zeisberger	Heckewelder	Johnston	Pipe	Chipps	J. W.	W. T.	E. R.	W. L.
+ = element present − = element denied (+) or (−) = source ambiguous • = informant could not or would not say S = some, sometimes, or several † or * = see Ethnographic Notes, pp. 79-137 for additional information												
Chiefs—Continued												
237. War chief chosen through vision power				+	+				+	+	+	+
238. Body of counselors †	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+(+)	+	+•+	+
239. Name *upwaenowuk							+		(+)	+	+	+
240. Chosen by people						+	+	•	+	+	+	+
241. Consider all matters of importance to tribe		+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
242. Counselors and chiefs only present at council meetings		S?		S	S	+	+		S	S	S	S
243. All adults except women admitted				S				+	+	S	S	S
Justice												
244. Any mode of compelling payment of debt				+		−	−	−	−	−	−	−
245. Relatives of debtor make restitution				+	+		S		+(+)		+	+
246. Creditor uses force							S	+	•+		+	−
247. Redress for civil injuries (theft)	•+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	+
248. Injured party applies to chief		+			−		+		+		+	+
249. Any punishment inflicted by nation if restitution is made		−		−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
250. Injured party has right to kill thief on second offense		−			+			+	+		+	+
251. Murder punished	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
252. By nation	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	•	−	+
253. Breach closed by presents		+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
254. Amount of wampum as presents †				+	•	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
255. Lacking presents, revenge by relatives	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+
256. Revenge duty of any individual		•+				−	−	−	•+	•	−	•+
257. Any one interfere from duty		•+									•	
258. Guilty submits	+	•−				+	+	+	−	+	•	s
259. Feud arise from revenge		•+					−	−	−	−	•	−
260. Revenge approved by nation	+		+	+		+		+	+	+	•	+
261. Crimes. Theft	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
262. Rape		+					+		+	+	+	+
263. Adultery	+	+		+			+	+	+	+	+	•+
264. Desertion of children								+	+	(+)		
265. Drunkenness and slander	+							+	+	(+)		

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period, we cannot tell whether their treatment was the same as Zeisberger recorded in the second period or not (244). Zeisberger said that if a debtor was unable to pay, the creditor dunned his friends who had to pay and rarely refused to do so. He thus implied that if a debtor was able to pay he was forced to do so. In the third and fourth periods the consensus was that there was no mode of compelling the payment of a debt, but that relatives or friends usually made restitution (245). Force might be used to get restitution, or, failing that, as a punishment (246). On this last element W. L. was the only dissenter. He said that force was never used because it was unnecessary, that anything borrowed was a gift and did not have to be returned unless a promise to do so was made by the borrower, and that a promise of this sort was always kept.

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9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

Justice

246. Use of force by creditor

J. W. said that a creditor or victim of a theft did not use force himself to get restitution but applied to the chief. Failing restitution, the chief appointed a man to punish the offender by whipping. On a second or third offense, the chief appointed two men who tied offender to a tree and whipped him with twelve sticks, using one at a time until all were broken. Whipped him to death, was J. W.'s way of putting it. This he was quite sure was the punishment formerly used. Rape was also punished in the same way. 685 686

247. Redress of civil injuries

Roger Williams said force was used for restitution in case of theft involving different tribes. 681

254. Amount of wampum paid by murderer

Zeisberger said one hundred fathoms of wampum for the murder of a man and two hundred for that of a woman. A person who murdered a relative usually went free. 681 682

John Johnston reported that two hundred fathoms was the amount necessary to close the breach on the first offense, no amount being satisfactory for later offenses of this nature.

Captain Pipe—If a murder is committed the friends and relatives of the murderer collect by their own means and the contributions of others a quantity of wampum, which they deposit with the Chief of their own tribe from time to time until the stock amounts to an hundred and twenty fathoms if the murdered person be a man or an hundred and thirty fathoms if a woman. When this is effected the Chiefs call a council at which the nation, or as many as are so inclined, with the friends of the deceased and the murderer assemble. Here, after a few remarks by way of consolation to the afflicted relatives the acceptance of the wampum is proposed to them, and if they refuse eight fathoms are added to it and the presentation is repeated. If they persist in their refusal eight fathoms more are added and should they still reject the offer the connexions of the murderer [696]

9: Kinietz E-4,5 (1938) 1946 NM7 Delaware NM7

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− = element denied
(+) or (−) = source ambiguous
• = informant could not or would not say
S = some, sometimes, or several
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	Williams	Van der Donck	Lindeström	Zeisberger	Heckewelder	Johnston	Pipe	Chipps	J. W.	W. T.	E. R.	W. L.
443 781												
623												
436												
586												
685												
632												
627												
684												
683												
Chiefs—Continued												
237. War chief chosen through vision power				+	+				+	+	+	+
238. Body of counselors †	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
239. Name *upwaenowuk							+		(+)	+	•	+
240. Chosen by people						+	+		+	+	+	+
241. Consider all matters of importance to tribe		+		+	+	+	+	•	+	+	+	+
242. Counselors and chiefs only present at council meetings		S?		S	S	+	+		S	S	S	S
243. All adults except women admitted				S				+	+	S	S	S
Justice												
244. Any mode of compelling payment of debt				+		−	−	−	−	−	−	−
245. Relatives of debtor make restitution				+	+		S		+		+	+
246. Creditor uses force							S	+	•+		+	−
247. Redress for civil injuries (theft)	•+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	+
248. Injured party applies to chief		+			−		+		+		+	+
249. Any punishment inflicted by nation if restitution is made		−		−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
250. Injured party has right to kill thief on second offense		−			+			+	+		+	+
251. Murder punished	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
252. By nation	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	•	−	+
253. Breach closed by presents		+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
254. Amount of wampum as presents †				+	•	+	+	+	+	+	•	+
255. Lacking presents, revenge by relatives	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
256. Revenge duty of any individual		•+			−	−	−	−	•+	−	•	•+
257. Any one interfere from duty		•+				−	•	−	−	•	•	•
258. Guilty submits	+	•−				+	+	+	+	+	•	s
259. Feud arise from revenge		•+					−	−	−	−	•	−
260. Revenge approved by nation	+		+	+		+			+	+	•	+
261. Crimes. Theft	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
262. Rape		+					+		+	+	+	+
263. Adultery	+	+		+			+	+	+	+	+	+
264. Desertion of children								+	+	(+)	•	
265. Drunkenness and slander	+							+	+	(+)		

9: Kinietz E-4,5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

Since debts were not discussed in detail in the first 686
period, we cannot tell whether their treatment was the same as Zeisberger recorded in the second period or not (244). Zeisberger said that if a debtor was unable to pay, the creditor dunned his friends who had to pay and rarely refused to do so. He thus implied that if a debtor was able to pay he was forced to do so. In the third and fourth periods the consensus was that there was no mode of compelling the payment of a debt, but that relatives or friends usually made restitution (245). Force might be used to get restitution, or, failing that, as a punishment (246). On this last element W. L. was the only dissenter. He said that force was never used because it was unnecessary, that anything borrowed was a gift and did not have to be returned unless a promise to do so was made by the borrower, and that a promise of this sort was always kept.

In spite of W. T.'s view of conditions among the Indians and 686
particularly the Delaware before much contact with the whites 177
had occurred, all of the first and second period accounts give evidence of a native mode of dealing with theft (247). It should be stated, however, that examples were said to be much more infrequent than among contemporaneous Europeans. No punishment except restitution was reported for the first offense (249). In default of restitution, J. W. said that a whipping was ordered 685
by the chief in cases of debt and theft and also as a punishment [684]
for rape. W. L. said that if wampum presents were not forthcoming from a detected thief, the chief ordered him to a whipping log where twenty-five strokes were administered for the first offense, fifty for the second, and other increases up to one hundred. Execution was not sanctioned as a punishment in default of presents, but in each of the last three periods the victim of a theft was said to have the right of killing such a defaulting thief on a subsequent offense, if caught in the act (250). This was denied by Van der Donck in the first period.

All the sources and informants were agreed that murder was 682
punished (251). Williams and Lindeström in the first period and J. W. and W. L. in the fourth were the only ones to report that the nation took any part in administering the punishment (252). However, according to Van der Donck, the chief or friends at-

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

Justice

246. Use of force by creditor

J. W. said that a creditor or victim of a theft did not use force himself to get restitution but applied to the chief. Failing restitution, the chief appointed a man to punish the offender by whipping. On a second or third offense, the chief appointed two men who tied offender to a tree and whipped him with twelve sticks, using one at a time until all were broken. Whipped him to death, was J. W.'s way of putting it. This he was quite sure was the punishment formerly used. Rape was also punished in the same way. 685 686

247. Redress of civil injuries

Roger Williams said force was used for restitution in case of theft involving different tribes. 681

254. Amount of wampum paid by murderer

Zeisberger said one hundred fathoms of wampum for the murder of a man and two hundred for that of a woman. A person who murdered a relative usually went free. 681 682

John Johnston reported that two hundred fathoms was the amount necessary to close the breach on the first offense, no amount being satisfactory for later offenses of this nature.

Captain Pipe—If a murder is committed the friends and relatives of the murderer collect by their own means and the contributions of others a quantity of wampum, which they deposit with the Chief of their own tribe from time to time until the stock amounts to an hundred and twenty fathoms if the murdered person be a man or an hundred and thirty fathoms if a woman. When this is effected the Chiefs call a council at which the nation, or as many as are so inclined, with the friends of the deceased and the murderer assemble. Here, after a few remarks by way of consolation to the afflicted relatives the acceptance of the wampum is proposed to them, and if they refuse eight fathoms are added to it and the presentation is repeated. If they persist in their refusal eight fathoms more are added and should they still reject the offer the connexions of the murderer [696]

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
NM7 Delaware NM7

CHAPTER XV.

Concerning the Paahra, Idolatry, Faith and Religion and Sacrifices to Manitto: the Devil, Also Whether the Indians Have a Knowledge of Christ.

With reference to the religion of the Indians [it is to be observed] that they adopt their *Pâdhra*[1] or idol when they are about 15 years old. Thus the one makes for himself a child of skin with head, body, arms, hands, legs and feet to believe in. The other selects a lion claw, that one, a bear claw, this one, an eagle claw, that one, a lion tooth, this one, a bear tooth, this one, a bird bill, etc. In fine, whatever limb of any animal, bird, fish or other [living thing] they desire to choose for their god or *Pâdhra*, as they call [it], which is hung on a chain of their money on their breast, they consider this their god, so sacred that no one is allowed to touch it,—the one who attempts it, he becomes his chief enemy.[2] In this their god they have such a

[1] ***Pâdhra (pôra).*** This is a cognate of ***boshigan*** (Penobscot), stem ***bos (pos)***, which Prof. Speck says "denotes the concept of mystery." It is found in most dialects of the northeastern tribes, ***bug-, pu-, bao-, pow-***, etc. ***Boshigan***, which Speck says means "instrument of mystery," and Lindeström's ***pâdhra (pôra, bôla)*** possibly denote the same concept,—"object through which or by which mysterious power is obtained and practiced." Cf. Speck, *Penobscot Shamanism, Mem. of Am. Anth. Ass.*, VI, 249 ff.

Cf. Heckewelder, *Indian Nations*, 239 ff. For Dutch accounts, see De Vries, Van der Donck, etc., *N. Y. Col.*, 2, I, 138, 213, 227, etc.; II, 203; III, 956, 159, etc. Cf. also Brainerd, Journal (*Mirabilia Dei*, etc.); Hesselius, *Kort Beretteise* (1725), 2 ff.

[2] The *taboo* of charms and fetishes is common among primitive peoples. Even the natives of Cape Verde Islands will not allow their charms to be touched. They are civilized, call themselves

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

visible noticing all their actions, which he communicates to the next deity and so from one to the other until it is communicated to the Supreme being. 776

CAPTAIN PIPE—With the Indian (these Indians) all animals, and even animated nature, Trees, plants, etc., are considered as beings having supernatural powers. This is proved to be a serious belief by the great distinction in the language, which included trees, plants and some vegetables in the class of animated beings, and by the superstitious notions of these men, who having been prepared by excessive fatigue, long fasting and harsh treatment [783] from parents, for some unnatural excitement of the mind, dream, or fancy that they dream of seeing their guardian god coming [781] to them in the form of a Bear, Wolf, the Sun, the Moon, a Tree, etc., and directing them about their future conduct. Such [787] dream no doubt has great effect during the life of its subject, and in his private worship all his songs are descriptive of some of the events which he saw in his dream. He often repeats them and does not fail to attribute his success to the deity whose wonderful appearance had foretold his good fortune, or any mishap [688] to his own bad conduct which incensed his guardian.

23. Evil spirits

JOHN JOHNSTON—They believe in but one evil spirit which is the devil. They suppose him to have been created holy, but he being proud spirited was not willing to acknowledge the creation of all things to the supreme being but contended that he had created the bad and the dispute arose to such a degree that the devil took a disgust and plunged himself from heaven into the earth where he remains to this day and that is the reason (they say) why guilty folk always look down. 776 773

CAPTAIN PIPE—Much of their unhappiness and misfortune is attributed to the evil spirits of which there are many. They are called *Maatseetseet Maunutoowuk*, (Those who are bad Spirits) but are not distinguished by particular appellations. 776

CAPTAIN CHIPPS—They believe that "there is a devil, or there would not be so many wicked in the world,"—where he lives they cannot determine.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

Justice

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1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

CHAPTER XVIII.

PRIDE AND GREATNESS OF MIND.

THE Indians are proud but not vain; they consider vanity as degrading and unworthy the character of a man. The hunter never boasts of his skill or strength, nor the warrior of his prowess. It is not right, they say, that one should value himself too much for an action which another may perform as well as himself, and when a man extols his own deeds, it seems as if he doubted his own capability to do the like again when he pleased. Therefore, they prefer in all cases to let their actions speak for themselves. The skins and peltry which the hunter brings home, the deer's horns on the roof of his cabin, the horses, furniture and other property that he possesses, his apparel and that of his family, the visits with which he is honoured by the first and best men among his nation; all these things shew what he is and what he has done, and with this he rests satisfied.

So with the warrior; it is enough for him that he is known to be a man of spirit and courage by the scalps and prisoners that he brings home; he never is seen going about boasting of his warlike exploits, and when questioned on the subject, he makes his answer as short as possible. Even when he is entering a town with his prisoners and scalps, he does not stare about to see whether the people are looking at him, but walks his usual steady pace and marches straight forward without appearing to see any body. When at some of their particular festivals, every warrior is called upon to relate his feats of arms, they make it a point to be as brief as pos-

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7
Huron NG5
Shawnee NN17

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701 sible, leaving it to those who have done but little, to
727 swell their actions into importance, and give themselves credit for what they have done. I cannot illustrate this subject better than by a few anecdotes.

H In the year 1779, two war chiefs, the one a young man
S of the Shawano tribe, and the other an old warrior of the
701 Wyandots, living near Detroit, much celebrated for his
727 great actions, but who during the whole of the revolutionary war, could not be persuaded to take the field against the Americans, met accidentally at my house on Muskingum, where they had separately come to pay me a friendly visit. The Shawano (whose nation, by the bye, are noted for much talk,) entered upon the subject of war, and with much earnestness in words and gestures, related the actions he had been engaged in, shewing at the same time on his arm the mark of a bullet wound. During all this time, the Wyandot, smoking his pipe, listened with great attention and apparent surprise; and having afterwards to answer, according to custom, by relating what he had done, he laid down his pipe, and deliberately drawing off his clothes, except the breech-cloth, rose up and said: "I have been in upwards "of twenty engagements with the enemy and fought with "the French against the English; I have warred against "the southern nations, and my body shews that I have "been struck and wounded by nine balls. These two "wounds I received at the same moment, from two Che-"rokees, who, seeing me fall, rested their guns against "a tree, and ran up with their tomohawks to dispatch "me, and take off my scalp. With the aid of the Great "Spirit, I jumped up, just at the moment when they "were about to give me the stroke. I struck them and "they both fell at my feet. I took their scalps, and re-"turned home." Thus this grave and respectable veteran gave a lesson to the young Shawano, which, if he well understood, he, no doubt, ever after remembered;

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

a man he must secure a prisoner in his place. Should he lose more than one, responsibility weighs the more heavily upon him, and in default of showing an equal number of prisoners, his authority is at an end and he dare not think of continuing in the office. If an Indian loses his son, or one of his near relatives in war, whom he has highly valued, he gives a belt of wampum to a captain and desires him to go and take a prisoner to supply the place of the deceased. He takes his company into the enemy's country, and if he is fortunate in his exploit, immediately hangs the belt around the prisoner's neck to denote that he shall be received into a family and that his life is safe. Upon delivering the prisoner to his employer, the captain receives the belt as a reward, and the prisoner is adopted by the family as a son or near relative. But if he is unsuccessful or has been so unfortunate as to lose a man, the captain's standing is destroyed and he is disgraced. It depends, therefore, in large degree upon good fortune whether a man becomes or remains captain. There are never very many captains in one tribe, but always some.

Although a chief is not supposed to have much to do with war, his influence tends greatly either to prevent or encourage the commencement of a war, for the Indians believe that a war cannot be successful without the consent of the chief, and the captains endeavor on that account to live in harmony with him. It is not a light matter for the Indians to begin a war, as it might be among the Europeans, for a war having been begun it is not easy to bring it to an end nor to be reconciled to the enemies. The chief reason for this is that a certain number are killed on both sides and these, according to ancient custom, must be replaced by prisoners. War with the whites is a different matter, for the Indians usually secure more than enough of scalps and prisoners to make up their losses, and they may sue for peace at any time even while continuing hostilities. But with the nations of their own color they cannot do this, for they know that they will be punished by enemies who will avenge themselves in the cruelest manner.

The warriors consist of the young men, among whom, however, are those of fifty years and over. The warriors are under

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

the command of the captains, especially in times of war, and do nothing without their consent. They neither leave the troop nor go hunting, as they know that their life and honor in a great measure depends upon the prudent conduct of their captains, and they obey them with pleasure. The night previous to the march of the army is spent in feasting, at which the chiefs are present, a hog, if procurable, being killed for the occasion. After the feast the captain and his people begin the war dance and continue till daybreak when they are quite hoarse and weary. Sometimes they dance in turn, each taking the head of the hog in his hand; again all dance together. Spectators are admitted, and may even join in the dance. Sometimes instead of a hog a couple of dogs are killed, not because dog's flesh is a delicacy, for the Indian dogs are very lean, but because it is said to inspire them with the true spirit of war and murder. I have even seen women partake of this feast, eating the dog's flesh with great greediness. I have steadily and courteously refused to partake when invited. The war dance having been completed they march out on the following day. The captain leads and his men follow in single file. When they reach the end of the street, they fire their pieces one after another and the captain begins the war song. As both their friends and the women generally accompany them to the first night's encampment, they halt about two or three miles from the town, dance the war dance once more, and the day following begin the march proper.

As they commonly have a long and tedious journey into the enemies' land, their provisions are soon exhausted. They are then obliged to spend some days in hunting. No one enjoys any precedence during the march, not even the captain. They divide their provisions in equal shares, even if each man should get only a mouthful of bread or spoonful of meat. When they reach Indian towns with which they are at peace provisions are given them. They never go out in large parties but usually in small companies of ten or twenty, in order that they may not suffer so much for want of provisions. The captain is very attentive to the condition of his troop being answerable for all his men. If but a few are weary he orders all to halt till they

4: Tantaquidgeon E-5 (1930) 1942
NM7 Delaware NM7

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The Medicine Bundle

The existence of the medicine bundle complex [33] among the Delaware has apparently escaped the notice of recent investigators in the field of Delaware ethnology. Both Harrington (1921, pp. 36, 42, 49, 65-66) and Speck (1931, p. 42) mention the use of personal and tribal fetishes but omit any reference to the bundle concept, as such. This is doubtless due to the deeply religious convictions of the informants who regard such objects as too sacred to be displayed or discussed in the unclean environment in which they must perforce live. It was not until the conclusion of the work that I learned of my informant's ownership of a medicine bundle. He was reticent about speaking in detail of its contents, but inferred that it was made up of personal charms and medicines.

While the use of the medicine bundle among the Delaware is not accompanied by the highly developed ritualism observed by the Medicine Bundle societies [33] of the central Algonkian tribes and others in adjacent areas, there is a simple code, characteristic of the trend of Delaware religious thought, to which the owners of the bundles adhere.

The Delaware bundle is said to contain sacred articles which are assembled in accordance with injunctions laid down by one's spiritual guardian in a dream vision. In addition to pieces of roots for use in concocting secret formulæ, a bundle usually contains personal tokens such as a bird claw, a feather, a piece of bone or horn, an animal tooth, a magic stone, or emergency gift.[34] One man may have several or all of the articles enumerated while others possess only one. Each case is of course determined by the supernatural experience of the individual. For example, men of the warrior class carry, besides their individual charms, some particular medicine prepared for the exclusive use of warriors.[35] Hunters carry an animal lure also prepared from a formula handed down from older generations, and carefully preserved. The bundles of the herbal practitioners and sweat doctors contain portions of rare roots and plants used in their healing practices. These different

[33] A term meaning "gathered together," used in speaking of the Medicine Bundle, refers to objects forming a collection intended for magical practices.

[33] This engrossing subject has been dealt with in detail by Skinner, 1913, p. 91; 1920, pp. 168, 266; Hoffman, 1893, p. 75; Kroeber, 1907, p. 418; Densmore, 1929, p. 93; Wissler, 1912, and 1916; Lowie, 1924 a, p. 335 ff.

[34] See medicine stone, p. 23.

[35] See warrior medicine, pp. 34-35.

be more complete (Loskiel, p. 143). The typical pre-white type of conflict was one in which a captain took a group of eight or ten warriors on a raid of the enemy camp, from which they carried off what goods they could, a few scalps and prisoners. If the chief of the raiding tribe did not denounce the raiding party and make recompense to the other tribe, war would be declared (Heckewelder, 1881, p. 176; Loskiel, p. 148). The warriors were recruited at a dance in which they signified their desire to participate by joining the warriors already dancing. This was a festive occasion at which women were present and it was repeated at the first night's camping ground to which the women followed the warriors (Heckewelder, 1881, p. 210; Loskiel, p. 146).

Prisoners were taken primarily to replace men of the tribe who had been killed in battle or died a natural death since the last war. On the march home prisoners received the same fare as the warriors themselves, but at each Delaware town they passed they were forced to perform for the amusement of the townspeople and run the gauntlet. This ordeal consisted in running between two parallel lines in which the townspeople were drawn up and suffering the blows of the double file until a specified pole was reached which guaranteed their safety. When the home village was reached, the same procedure occurred except that those who were to be adopted were sometimes protected by their foster families. Those who were not adopted were tortured in most of the ways the human mind has been able to devise, but gradual dismemberment and slow burning seem to have been the most common. A prisoner who remained impassive under this treatment was held in high esteem.

Women and children were not usually injured and the peace messenger was also granted immunity, indeed hospitality. Two essential ceremonies of the peace conference were the smoking of the peace pipe and the exchanging of strings of wampum to confirm the covenant (Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 215-16; Loskiel, pp. 143-156; Hill, pp. 53-55; Zeisberger, 1910, pp. 102-03 and 151).

The weapons used were the bow and arrow, the stone axe and a club with a rounded knob on the end. For defense they had a shield and helmet made of wooden sticks bound together with leather or hemp cord (Johnson, 1915, pp. 201-02; Loskiel, p. 141). Some of the east coast villages were palisaded for protection (Krieger, p. 51; Brinton, 1885, p. 51; Skinner, 1915, p. 7; Heye, p. 11).

Crime

Offenses against members of the group became a concern of the chief only when they could not be settled by the families concerned. "The Justice they have is Pecuniary: In case of any Wrong or evil fact, be it murther it self, they Attone by Feasts and Presents of

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
NM7 Delaware NM7

In military matters and warfare these Indians are brave, using no other arms but rifles, bows, spears, arrows and quarrels, which are set with sharp flint [stones], and they use helmets which are made of sticks and wood, so strong that no quarry is able to go through it. They show no reverence or honor to their ruler, which their sachem does not require of them, but their sachem may come to sit just as soon last as first, thus and in other such things [they show no preference for their sachems].[6]

They know nothing of taxation and they are entirely ignorant of architecture and fortifications.[7]

Since I in this chapter have mentioned something about muskets, I will not neglect to say that in the year 1380 the art to shoot with guns was invented in Germany by a monk and alchemist by the name of Bartholdh Schwartz.[8]

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granted and recompence made, they grant out a kind of Letter of Mart to take satisfaction themselves, yet they are carefull not to exceed in taking from others, beyond the proportion of their owne losse." Williams, *Key*, 76–7.

[6] Perhaps my copy is defective here.

[7] *Medh Architecteurer och Fortificationer att umgådo är them aldeeles okunnigt.* Cf. Hodge, *Handbook*, I, 77 ff.

[8] Berthold Schwarz (Constantin Anklitzen(?)) of Freiburg(?), inventor of artillery and probably of gunpowder.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7

726 Daniel Denton's description of the Delawares' primitive war complex is the earliest one I have found. Most of the material is derived from later sources. It may be assumed that the customs of war in these later periods were largely derived from, or were elaborations upon, the earlier primitive war complex. Denton said of their warfare:

> In their wars they fight no pitcht fields; but when they have notice of an enemies approach, they endeavour to secure their wives and children upon some island, or in some thick swamp, & then with their guns & hatchet they waylay their enemies, some lying behind one, some another & it is a great fight where seven or eight is slain.[175]

721 Warriors were recruited at a dance, those wishing to join the war party taking part in the dance:

> When those invited have assembled at the appointed place, one of the war chiefs holding the great belt in his hands, which is now covered with vermilion, rises and dances the war dance around the circle formed by the warriors. The council thus opened he explains to them the circumstances which occasion the meeting and with all his eloquence enforces the necessity of resorting to war for a redress of their injuries. He then repeats the dance and seats himself, when each one who chooses to declare his intention to join the party takes the belt and dances around the circle as his chief had done.[176]

This dance was repeated at the war party's first camp, the women having followed the expedition.[176] Trowbridge stated that cooks were taken along and added:

> Formerly no man joined a war party until he was twenty four winters old, as they were thought to be too imprudent at an earlier age; but of late years this custom has not obtained among them. The aged often continue to bear arms so long as their strength permits, and some have been known to join warparties when from their advanced age they were obligated to ride on horseback; but in these cases they did not approach the field of battle.[175]

713 The bow and arrow constituted the principal weapon; shields of elkhide or bark and helmets constructed of sticks were used.[176] War parties may have worn special regalia; Holm said that they wore red turkey feathers when going to war.[177]

725 War parties even when directed at Europeans were small in size. With perhaps a few exceptions, their size never exceeded two dozen men. This was in keeping with their military tactics in that a successful war party consisted of a rapid raid without loss and the capture of 727 prisoners or plunder. A big battle was considered to have occurred if ten or eleven warriors were killed.[178] The taking of scalps was mentioned in the seventeenth century,[179] and prisoners were taken:

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[175] Denton, 1845, p. 8; Van der Donck, 1909, pp. 300-301.
[176] Trowbridge MS.
[177] Heckewelder, 1881, p. 310.
[178] Trowbridge MS.
[179] Johnson, 1917, pp. 281-82; Holm, 1834, p. 138; Lindestrom, 1925, p. 197; Loskiel, 1794, p. 141.
[177] Holm, 1834, p. 137.
[178] *Ibid.*, pp. 137-38; Van der Donck, 1909, pp. 300-301.
[176] Holm, p. 138.

3: Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

their wives and children when the enemies approached and attacked them, the men ranging themselves round the mound for defensive action. Their weapons were the bow and arrow and a wooden club, this last a piece of wood of not quite arm's length, having at the end a round knob about the size of a small child's head and made of very hard wood. Shields they bore made of hardened buffalo leather and presenting a convex surface without, while being hollow within. The curved outer surface they held toward the enemy and before their own breasts and faces in order that arrows discharged at them, striking the curved surface, would glance off and go to the side. With the left hand they held both shield and bow and with the right they drew the bow and held the arrow. On the above named hills they always had great blocks lying all about, in order that should the enemies attempt to storm the heights these might be rolled upon and among them so as to keep them off. In such attacks both sides usually lost many men, which were often buried in one pit and a great mound of earth raised above them, such as may even now be seen bearing in these days great and mighty trees.[18]

Dogs they likewise possessed in former days, of a kind still to be found in considerable numbers among them. These may be readily distinguished from European dogs, which are now most commonly found among the Indians, especially the Delawares. The ears of Indian dogs rise rigidly from the head and the animals have something of a wolfish nature, for they show their teeth immediately when roused. They will never attack a wolf in the forest, though set on to do so, in this respect, also differing from European dogs. Of their origin their masters can give as little information as of that of the Indians themselves.

The wampum strings of the Indians were formerly made of bits of wood, some white, some black, which were used in connection with embassies and speeches. Belts of wampum were also made. Some few were made of mussel-shells, which were held in the same value among them as gold among the Europeans, for much time was consumed in making even one such string of wampum. When whites came into the country these contrived to make wampum strings which they bartered to the Indians, who used them in place of their wooden wampum, as

386. War chief determines question of battle						+	+	•+	+		+		
387. Plan of operations previously arranged						+	+	+	–		+		
388. If victorious, any ceremonies on field					•+	–	–	–	–	(+)	(+)		
389. If defeated, a rallying point fixed						+	+	–	+	+	•		
390. Ceremonies on return if victorious						–	+	+	+	+	+		
391. Dance					+			+	+	+	+		
392. Report to council and given feast							+		(+)				
393. Ceremonies on return if defeated						–	–	–	(+)	–	•(+)		
394. Prisoners run the gantlet				+	+		+		•	–	•		
395. Burned		+	(–)	+	(+)	–	•+	–	–	–	•		
396. Generally adopted		+		+	+	+	+	+	+	•	(+)		
397. Prisoners of mature age adopted					+	+	+	+	+	+	•		
398. Considered members of adopting family		+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•		
399. Age of beginning to bear arms						12-15	24	16	•14	15	14		
400. Age of ceasing to bear arms				50+				70					
401. As long as physically able						+	+		+	+	+		
402. Defensive armor		+	+	+	–	–		–	+	–	+		
403. War caused only by injuries—retaliation	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+		
404. Disputed boundaries only after coming of whites					+	+		+	+	+	+		
405. Principal chief states injuries, and calls for volunteers, no arguments used	–					+	+	+	+	+	+		
406. Feasts precede march				+		–	+		+	+	+		
407. Fasts precede march							–		+				
408. Consultation of jugglers before march						–	–	•–	+	+	+		
409. Provision made for care of wounded	+			+		–	+	+	+	–	+		
410. Women accompany war party						–	•–	•–	–	–	–		
411. Any actions fought in canoes	+					–	–	–	+	–	–		
412. Sieges prosecuted or defended		–				–	–	–	+	–	+		
413. Large parties go to war		–		–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		
414. Small parties depending upon surprise		+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
415. Scalps taken	•–			+	+			+	+	+	+	+	
Peace													
416. Ambassadors sent to negotiate					+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	
417. Persons of ambassadors sacred					•+	+	+	•	+		+		
418. Carry belt of white wampum to manifest desire for peace, delivered with speech					(+)	+	+	–	•+		+	+	

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9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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721 their success were reported (413, 414). According to the sources, the council decided the question of going to war against a certain tribe (361), but the specific destination of a war party was determined by the war chief leading it. The informants' disagreement is undoubtedly in error.

726 The commander of a war party was appointed by the civil chiefs and he in turn appointed his supporting officers (369-72). There is some disagreement on these matters among the sources but the informants agree with the majority. A party usually marched in single file behind the chief, according to the sources, but this custom was practically unknown to the informants (381). Their information probably reflects a change in custom caused by the change in habitat from the eastern woodlands to the plains. The narrow forest trails that enforced a single file were left behind. It is possible that the change in the form of encampment from a line to a circle is also to be attributed to the change in residence (382).

727 It is surprising that two of the informants should recall the ceremonies on the field of victory reported by Heckewelder in the second period and denied by all the third-period sources (388). Ceremonies on the return home of a defeated party were similarly denied by the third-period sources and affirmed, although vaguely, by two of the fourth-period informants (393). As I have said before, conclusions based on statements of this sort are rather unsound because of lack of uniformity in what is meant by ceremony.

Although some of the earliest historic accounts report the burning of prisoners by various Indian tribes, the Delaware did not do so according to the implications of Lindeström (395). In the second period burning was reported, but in the third period it was denied, although Pipe said it was an ancient practice. The fourth-period informants knew nothing of the practice.

713 Defensive armor was reported by the first-period sources and by Zeisberger in the second period (402). Heckewelder and the third-period accounts denied the use of armor. Then in the fourth period two of three informants again reported it. The explanation of this contradiction seems to be that the use

9: Kinietz E-4,5 (1938) 1946
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of defensive armor stopped in the second period, perhaps as the result of the introduction of firearms against which it was ineffective, but the memory of it continued into the fourth period. The third-period accounts were based on the practice of that time, whereas the last period accounts reflected the custom of the earliest period. 713

A similar situation seems to exist in regard to the consultation of jugglers before the march of a war party (408). We have no information on this point from the first or second period and such consultation is denied in the third period, but Chipps reported in 1824 that fifty years and more before it had been customary for the chiefs to consult the jugglers. The three informants in the fourth period were unanimous in reporting the reliance upon jugglers for determining the omens concerning a war party. 726 787

Sieges were not a war practice of the Delaware according to the early accounts (412). The sieges reported in the fourth period were of comparatively recent occurrence. 723

Roger Williams reported that enemy heads were taken as trophies and he made no mention of scalps (415). Other New England accounts of the same period related that hands were also cut off as trophies. We have no information on this point for the Delaware of the same period. In the next period Heckewelder said the Indians took scalps as trophies but that they referred to them as heads. About the same time accounts of other tribes stated that heads were taken if possible, but if pressed by pursuit or too encumbered by heads, a warrior would reduce his load by saving only the scalps. It is doubtful if the practice of taking scalps instead of heads originated in historic times, but it is certain that it completely replaced the latter, probably in the second period. 727

Peace

The elements entering into peace negotiations suffered a fate very similar to those of war. The sources and informants uniformly stated that ambassadors were sent to negotiate a peace (416), and that peace terms were negotiated and not dictated 728

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be more complete (Loskiel, p. 143). The typical pre-white type of conflict was one in which a captain took a group of eight or ten warriors on a raid of the enemy camp, from which they carried off what goods they could, a few scalps and prisoners. If the chief of the raiding tribe did not denounce the raiding party and make recompense to the other tribe, war would be declared (Heckewelder, 1881, p. 176; Loskiel, p. 148). The warriors were recruited at a dance in which they signified their desire to participate by joining the warriors already dancing. This was a festive occasion at which women were present and it was repeated at the first night's camping ground to which the women followed the warriors (Heckewelder, 1881, p. 210; Loskiel, p. 146).

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Prisoners were taken primarily to replace men of the tribe who had been killed in battle or died a natural death since the last war. On the march home prisoners received the same fare as the warriors themselves, but at each Delaware town they passed they were forced to perform for the amusement of the townspeople and run the gauntlet. This ordeal consisted in running between two parallel lines in which the townspeople were drawn up and suffering the blows of the double file until a specified pole was reached which guaranteed their safety. When the home village was reached, the same procedure occurred except that those who were to be adopted were sometimes protected by their foster families. Those who were not adopted were tortured in most of the ways the human mind has been able to devise, but gradual dismemberment and slow burning seem to have been the most common. A prisoner who remained impassive under this treatment was held in high esteem.

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Women and children were not usually injured and the peace messenger was also granted immunity, indeed hospitality. Two essential ceremonies of the peace conference were the smoking of the peace pipe and the exchanging of strings of wampum to confirm the covenant (Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 215-18; Loskiel, pp. 143-156; Hill, pp. 53-55; Zeisberger, 1910, pp. 102-03 and 151).

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The weapons used were the bow and arrow, the stone axe and a club with a rounded knob on the end. For defense they had a shield and helmet made of wooden sticks bound together with leather or hemp cord (Johnson, 1915, pp. 281-82; Loskiel, p. 141). Some of the east coast villages were palisaded for protection (Krieger, p. 51; Brinton, 1885, p. 51; Skinner, 1915, p. 7; Heye, p. 11).

Crime

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Offences against members of the group became a concern of the chief only when they could not be settled by the families concerned. "The Justice they have is Pecuniary: In case of any Wrong or evil Fact, be it murther it self, they Attone by Feasts and Presents of

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
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In military matters and warfare these Indians are brave, using no other arms but rifles, bows, spears, arrows and quarrels, which are set with sharp flint [stones], and they use helmets which are made of sticks and wood, so strong that no quarry is able to go through it. They show no reverence or honor to their ruler, which their sachem does not require of them, but their sachem may come to sit just as soon last as first, thus and in other such things [they show no preference for their sachems].[6]

They know nothing of taxation and they are entirely ignorant of architecture and fortifications.[7]

Since I in this chapter have mentioned something about muskets, I will not neglect to say that in the year 1380 the art to shoot with guns was invented in Germany by a monk and alchemist by the name of Bartholdh Schwartz.[8]

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granted and recompence made, they grant out a kind of Letter of Mart to take satisfaction themselves, yet they are carefull not to exceed in taking from others, beyond the proportion of their owne losse." Williams, *Key*, 76–7.

[6] Perhaps my copy is defective here.

[7] *Medh Architecteurer och Fortificationer att umgås är them aldeeles okunnigt.* Cf. Hodge, *Handbook*, I, 77 ff.

[8] Berthold Schwarz (Constantin Anklitzen(?)) of Freiburg(?), inventor of artillery and probably of gunpowder.

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
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then they fasten the feathers in the meshes, so neat and strong that not one feather can come loose from it; it would sooner go clear off.[8] They also make very fine, strong and artistic mats of finely painted spruce roots and strong straw, with all kinds of figures, to decorate and cover the walls with, and to place below their bed clothes.[9]

They also make helmets of hard sticks and strong wood, so that no arrow or swingle can go through it.[10]

The late Governor Printz had the savages make and thread up for him a suit of clothes, with coat, trousers and sword belt, entirely of their money, which was very artistic, threaded and worked with all kinds of animals, which came to a few thousand florins.[11] And [there is] much more, which could be described about their artistic manufacture, if space and time would allow. In fine if they were trained and kept at it, they would become very expert; for they are by nature capable to grasp and comprehend immediately what they see.[12]

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[8] The feather would sooner break off than come loose.
[9] Cf. Williams, *Key*, 47 ff.
[10] Repetition, see above.
[11] Williams says: "*Neyhommaussaunck*, a coat or Mantle, curiously made of the fairest feathers of their *Neyhommauog* or Turkies, which commonly their old Men make; and is with them as velvet with us." *Key*, 107.
[12] Cf. Williams, *Key*, 43.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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"it is true; but still he was thine, and his life was "valuable to thee. I, therefore, now surrender my- "self up to thy will. Direct as thou wilt have it, "and relieve me speedily from misery." To which the woman answered: "Thou hast, indeed, killed my son "who was dear to me, and the only supporter I had in "my old age. One life is already lost, and to take "thine on that account, cannot be of any service to "me, nor better my situation. Thou hast, however, "a son, whom if thou wilt give me in the place of my "son whom thou hast slain, all shall be wiped away." The murderer then replied: "Mother, my son is yet but "a child, ten years old, and can be of no service to thee, "but rather a trouble and charge; but here am I, truly "capable of supporting and maintaining thee: if thou "wilt receive me as thy son, nothing shall be wanting "on my part to make thee comfortable while thou "livest." The woman approving of the proposal, forth- with adopted him as her son, and took the whole family to her house.

But we must now look to the other side of the picture. It cannot but be acknowledged that the Indians are in general revengeful and cruel to their enemies. That even after the battle is over, they wreak their deliberate revenge on their defenceless prisoners; that in their wars, they are indifferent about the means which they pursue for the annoyance and destruction of their adversaries, and that surprise and stratagem are as often employed by them as open force. This is all true. Deprived of the light of the only true Christian Religion, unchecked by the precepts and unswayed by the example of the God of peace, they indulge too much, sometimes, the violence of their passions, and commit actions which force the tear from the eye of humanity. But upon the whole, are we better than they are? I reserve this question for a sepa- rate chapter.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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Their belts of wampum are of different dimensions, both as to the length and breadth. White and black wampum are the kinds they use; the former denoting that which is *good*, as peace, friendship, good will &c., the latter the reverse; yet occasionally the black also is made use of on peace errands, when the white cannot be procured; but previous to its being produced for such purpose, it must be daubed all over with chalk, white clay, or any thing which changes the colour from black to white. The pipe of peace, being either made of a black or red stone, must also be whitened before it is produced and smoked out of on such occasions.

Roads from one friendly nation to another, are generally marked on the belt, by one or two rows of white wampum interwoven in the black, and running through the middle, and from end to end. It means that they are on good terms, and keep up a friendly intercourse with each other.

A black belt with the mark of a hatchet made on it with red paint, is a war belt, which when sent to a nation together with a twist or roll of tobacco, is an invitation to join in a war. If the nation so invited smoke of this tobacco and say it smokes well, they have given their consent, and are from that moment allies. If however they decline smoking, all further persuasion would be of no effect; yet it once happened, that war messengers endeavoured to persuade and compel a nation to accept the belt, by laying it on the shoulders or thigh of the chief, who, however, after shaking it off without touching it with his hands, afterwards, with a stick, threw it after them, as if he threw a snake or toad out of his way.

Although at their councils they do not seat themselves after the manner of the white people, yet the attitude they place themselves in is not chargeable to them as a want of respect. Faithful to the trust committed to them, they are careless of ceremonies, from which the

a [erratum. See cat. 116, p. 348. Analyst]

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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duct of this chief, and by his manly and resolute appearance, that they had not time to reflect upon what they should do, and before their astonishment was well over, the prisoner was out of their reach.

CHAPTER XIX.

WARS AND THE CAUSES WHICH LEAD TO THEM.

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IT is a fixed principle with the Indians, that evil cannot come out of good, that no friend will injure a friend, and, therefore, that whoever wrongs or does harm to another, is his ENEMY. As it is with individuals, so it is with nations, tribes and other independent associations of men. If they commit murder on another people, encroach on their lands, by making it a practice to come within their bounds and take the game from them, if they rob or steal from their hunting camps, or, in short, are guilty of any act of unjust aggression, they cannot be considered otherwise than as ENEMIES; they are declared to be such, and the aggrieved nation think themselves justifiable in punishing them. If murder has been perpetrated, revenge is taken in the same way. If a lesser injury has been done, a message is sent to the chief of the nation to which the wrong-doers belong, to enquire whether the act complained of was authorised, if not to give them warning not to permit the like thing to be done again. If theft or some other like offence has been committed, restitution is at the same time demanded, or such reparation as the case admits of, and the chiefs are de-

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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aired to forbid their "young people" to do so any more, or that they will have to abide by the consequence.

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There are tribes among the Indians, who claim the exclusive right of hunting within certain bounds, and will not suffer others to intrude and take *their* game from them, as they call it; and there have been instances, when such intruders, being found trespassing after a fair warning, have had their ears and noses cut off, and have been sent home to tell their chiefs that the next time they came again, they should be sent home *without their scalps*. While the Christian Indians of the Lenape nation were settled for a few years on the land of the Chippeways beyond Detroit, where they had taken refuge and were permitted to remain for their safety; though the Chippeways professed reverence for them, and called them *Grandfather*, yet they were continually complaining of their killing their game. They had no objection to their tilling the ground, but every deer, racoon, or other animal which they killed or took, was a cause of displeasure to their hosts; and in consequence of that, they pressed them so often to remove from their lands, that they at last went off.

When the Indians have determined to take revenge for a murder committed by another nation, they generally endeavour to make at once a bold stroke, so as to strike their enemies with terror; for which purpose, they penetrate into the hostile country as far as they can without being discovered, and when they have made their stroke, they leave a war club near the body of the person murdered, and make off as quick as possible. This war club is purposely left that the enemy may know to what nation the act is to be ascribed, and that they may not wreak their vengeance on an innocent tribe. It is meant also to let them know that unless they take measures to discover and punish the author of the original aggression, this instrument will be the means of revenging the injury, or, in other words, war will be forthwith declared against them.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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lieved them to be celestial beings, began a solemn dance, in order to propitiate them. It is not uncommon for men who are deprived of the light of revealed religion, to believe that the divinity will be pleased with the same things from which they themselves receive pleasure. 535 782

It is a pleasing spectacle to see the Indian dances, when intended merely for social diversion and innocent amusement. I acknowledge I would prefer being present at them for a full hour, than a few minutes only at such dances as I have witnessed in our country taverns among the white people. Their songs are by no means unharmonious. They sing in chorus; first the men and then the women. At times the women join in the general song, or repeat the strain which the men have just finished. It seems like two parties singing in questions and answers, and is upon the whole very agreeable and enlivening. After thus singing for about a quarter of an hour, they conclude each song with a loud yell, which I must confess is not in concord with the rest of the music; it is not unlike the cat-bird which closes its pretty song with mewing like a cat. I do not admire this *finale*. The singing always begins by one person only, but others soon fall in successively until the general chorus begins, the drum beating all the while to mark the time. The voices of the women are clear and full, and their intonations generally correct. 535 533 [534]

Their war dances have nothing engaging; their object, on the contrary, is to strike terror in the beholders. They are dressed and painted, or rather bedaubed with paint, in a manner suitable to the occasion. They hold the murderous weapon in their hand, and imitate in their dance all the warlike attitudes, motions and actions which are usual in an engagement with the enemy, and strive to excel each other by their terrific looks and gestures. They generally perform round a painted post set up for that purpose, in a large room or place 535 721.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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enclosed or surrounded with posts, and roofed with the bark of trees; sometimes also this dance is executed in the open air. There every man presents himself in warrior's array, contemptuously looking upon the painted post, as if it was the enemy whom he is about to engage; as he passes by it he strikes, stabs, grasps, pretends to scalp, to cut, to run through; in short, endeavours to shew what he would do to a real enemy, if he had him in his power.

It was an ancient custom among the Indians to perform this dance round a prisoner, and as they danced, to make him undergo every kind of torture, previous to putting him to death. The prisoner appeared to partake in the merriment, contemptuously scoffing at his executioner, as being unskilled in the art of inflicting torments: strange as this conduct may appear, it was not without a sufficient motive. The object of the unfortunate sufferer was to rouse his relentless tormenters to such a pitch of fury, that some of them might, at an unguarded moment, give him the finishing stroke and put him out of his pain.

Previous to going out on a warlike campaign, the war-dance is always performed round the painted post. It is the Indian mode of recruiting. Whoever joins in the dance is considered as having enlisted for the campaign, and is obliged to go out with the party.

After returning from a successful expedition, a dance of *thanksgiving* is always performed, which partakes of the character of a religious ceremony. It is accompanied with singing and chorusses, in which the women join. But they take no part in the rest of the performance. At the end of every song, the *scalp-yell* is shouted as many times as there have been scalps taken from the enemy.

The Indians also meet occasionally for the purpose of recounting their warlike exploits, which is done in a kind of half-singing or *recitative*. The oldest warrior recites

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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726 Daniel Denton's description of the Delawares' primitive war complex is the earliest one I have found. Most of the material is derived from later sources. It may be assumed that the customs of war in these later periods were largely derived from, or were elaborations upon, the earlier primitive war complex. Denton said of their warfare:

> In their wars they fight no pitcht fields; but when they have notice of an enemies approach, they endeavour to secure their wives and children upon some Island, or in some thick swamp, & then with their guns & hatchet they waylay their enemies, some lying behind one, some another & it is a great fight where seven or eight is slain.[173]

721 Warriors were recruited at a dance, those wishing to join the war party taking part in the dance:

> When those invited have assembled at the appointed place, one of the war chiefs holding the great belt in his hands, which is now covered with vermilion, rises and dances the war dance around the circle formed by the warriors. The council thus opened he explains to them the circumstances which occasion the meeting and with all his eloquence enforces the necessity of resorting to war for a redress of their injuries. He then repeats the dance and seats himself, when each one who chooses to declare his intention to join the party takes the belt and dances around the circle as his chief had done.[174]

This dance was repeated at the war party's first camp, the women having followed the expedition.[175] Trowbridge stated that cooks were taken along and added:

> Formerly no man joined a war party until he was twenty four winters old, as they were thought to be too imprudent at an earlier age; but of late years this custom has not obtained among them. The aged often continue to bear arms so long as their strength permits, and some have been known to join warparties when from their advanced age they were obligated to ride on horseback; but in these cases they did not approach the field of battle.[176]

723 The bow and arrow constituted the principal weapon; shields of elkhide or bark and helmets constructed of sticks were used.[176] War parties may have worn special regalia; Holm said that they wore red turkey [illegible]s when going to war.[177]

725 War parties even when directed at Europeans were small in size. With perhaps a few exceptions, their size never exceeded two dozen men. This was in keeping with their military tactics in that a successful war party consisted of a rapid raid without loss and the capture of prisoners or plunder. A big battle was considered to have occurred if ten or eleven warriors were killed.[178] The taking of scalps was mentioned in the seventeenth century,[179] and prisoners were taken:

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[173] Denton, 1845, p. 8; Van der Donck, 1909, pp. 300-301.
[174] Trowbridge MS.
[175] Heckewelder, 1881, p. 210.
[176] Trowbridge MS.
[177] Johnson, 1917, pp. 281-82; Holm, 1834, p. 138; Lindestrom, 1925, p. 197; Lookisel, 1794, p. 141.
[178] Holm, 1834, p. 137.
[179] *Ibid.*, pp. 137-38; Van der Donck, 1909, pp. 300-301.
[180] Holm, p. 138.

3;Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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426 If a debtor is unable to pay, the creditor duns his friends,
672 who must pay and rarely refuse to do so. Occasionally, the debts of friends must be paid years after they were contracted, even after the death of the debtor, if only the debt can be proven.

685 A purchaser, dissatisfied with what he has bought or the price paid, is allowed to return what he has purchased and recover what was paid. One who has done an injury, killed a hog or chicken or occasioned loss in some other way, and obstinately refuses to make good the injury, cannot be touched. His friends may make good the loss. Should the offender, in the long run, not heed the admonitions of his friends, they will drive him away.

721 Hence, it is that in wars with whites practically all the tribes have been involved more or less. If the nation, as such, has taken no part in the war, these unmanageable offenders have gone with the fighting peoples, despite the warnings and threats of the chiefs. The same is true of the present conflict.[224] The Delaware chiefs had determined at its beginning to remain neutral, daily admonishing their people not to allow themselves to be persuaded to go into the war. The nation as such remained true to the determination of the chiefs, being constantly and earnestly watched, but obstinate offenders took part against all order and command.

619 Though the Indians are a free people and not subject to the rule of any one, each nation, considering itself a unit, has a kind of government of its own choosing, imperfect as it may be. This holds good of all the North American nations. A nation is constituted of three principal Tribes, the first or leading tribe is called *Packoango*, i. e., the tribe of the great Tortoise, the second, *Blem*, the Turkey Tribe, the third, *Ptucksit*, the Wolf
622 Tribe. Each of the tribes has its chief and each chief his coun-
623 sellors. The chief of the Tortoise Tribe is the first in rank and, together with the other two chiefs, deals with all matters of national interest, particularly, such as have reference to nations with whom, according to treaty, friendly relations are to be cultivated. A chief may not presume to rule over the people, as in that case he would immediately be forsaken by the whole tribe, and his counsellors would refuse to assist him. He must

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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and waters flow. In this connection, nations who make the treaty, or are allies, exchange a pipe between them which is called the pipe of peace. Such a pipe is carefully preserved and generally lighted in council by a captain or chief, whenever anything occurs relating to the ally and each member smokes a little out of it. The one who carries about the pipe reminds the members of the council of the covenant and the time of its establishment. The head of the pipe is commonly of stone, the stem of wood wound with a fine ribbon neatly decorated with white corals, the latter the work of the women.

It is the duty of the chief to maintain peace, to advise peace as long as possible. It is not in his power to begin war as long as the captains are averse to this. Without their consent he may not accept a war belt. If it is received this is on condition that he will turn it over to the captains for consideration. The chief must endeavor to preserve peace to the utmost of his power. If the captains are unanimous in declaring war he is obliged, as it were, to deliver the care of his people for the time being into their hands, for they are the warriors.

In the matter of choice of a chief various things are to be observed. The principal captain may choose a chief and inaugurate him, and it is also in his power to take him out of office if the chief proves a poor regent, acts contrary to the customs, does according to his own wishes and refuses to accept counsel. The captains, who always have the people on their side may thus forsake a chief, not only refusing to support him but even publicly announcing that they do not agree with him, and thus his power is at an end. The chief must always be a member of that tribe in which he presides. The sons of a chief cannot inherit their father's dignity, for the reason that they are not and cannot be, according to established usages, members of the tribe, inasmuch as children do not inherit tribal rights from the father but from the mother.[103] No Indian will marry a person in his own tribe, as he is too closely related to all in it. Herein, the Indians allege, is to be found the reason for the existence of the tribes. Were it not for these, they could not be quite sure whether persons to be married are near relatives or not. Hence, it is, also, that children are considered the property of the wife.

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624 a man he must secure a prisoner in his place. Should he lose more than one, responsibility weighs the more heavily upon him, and in default of showing an equal number of prisoners, his authority is at an end and he dare not think of continuing in the office. If an Indian loses his son, or one of his near relatives in war, whom he has highly valued, he gives a belt of wampum to a captain and desires him to go and take a prisoner to supply the place of the deceased. He takes his company into the enemy's country, and if he is fortunate in his exploit, immediately hangs the belt around the prisoner's neck to denote that he shall be received into a family and that his life is safe. Upon delivering the prisoner to his employer, the captain receives the belt as a reward, and the prisoner is adopted by the family as a son or near relative. But if he is unsuccessful or has been so unfortunate as to lose a man, the captain's standing is destroyed and he is disgraced. It depends, therefore, in large degree upon good fortune whether a man becomes or remains captain. There are never very many captains in one tribe, but always some.

Although a chief is not supposed to have much to do with war, his influence tends greatly either to prevent or encourage the commencement of a war, for the Indians believe that a war cannot be successful without the consent of the chief, and the captains endeavor on that account to live in harmony with him. It is not a light matter for the Indians to begin a war, as it might be among the Europeans, for a war having been begun it is not easy to bring it to an end nor to be reconciled to the enemies. The chief reason for this is that a certain number are killed on both sides and these, according to ancient custom, must be replaced by prisoners. War with the whites is a different matter, for the Indians usually secure more than enough of scalps and prisoners to make up their losses, and they may sue for peace at any time even while continuing hostilities. But with the nations of their own color they cannot do this, for they know that they will be punished by enemies who will avenge themselves in the cruelest manner.

701 The warriors consist of the young men, among whom, however, are those of fifty years and over. The warriors are under

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the command of the captains, especially in times of war, and do nothing without their consent. They neither leave the troop nor go hunting, as they know that their life and honor in a great measure depends upon the prudent conduct of their captains, and they obey them with pleasure. The night previous to the march of the army is spent in feasting, at which the chiefs are present, a hog, if procurable, being killed for the occasion. After the feast the captain and his people begin the war dance and continue till daybreak when they are quite hoarse and weary. Sometimes they dance in turn, each taking the head of the hog in his hand; again all dance together. Spectators are admitted, and may even join in the dance. Sometimes instead of a hog a couple of dogs are killed, not because dog's flesh is a delicacy, for the Indian dogs are very lean, but because it is said to inspire them with the true spirit of war and murder. I have even seen women partake of this feast, eating the dog's flesh with great greediness. I have steadily and courteously refused to partake when invited. The war dance having been completed they march out on the following day. The captain leads and his men follow in single file. When they reach the end of the street, they fire their pieces one after another and the captain begins the war song. As both their friends and the women generally accompany them to the first night's encampment, they halt about two or three miles from the town, dance the war dance once more, and the day following begin the march proper.

As they commonly have a long and tedious journey into the enemies' land their provisions are soon exhausted. They are then obliged to spend some days in hunting. No one enjoys any precedence during the march, not even the captain. They divide their provisions in equal shares, even if each man should get only a mouthful of bread or spoonful of meat. When they reach Indian towns with which they are at peace provisions are given them. They never go out in large parties but usually in small companies of ten or twenty, in order that they may not suffer so much for want of provisions. The captain is very attentive to the condition of his troop being answerable for all his men. If but a few are weary he orders all to halt till they

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it raw. When an Indian nation wishes to excite another to war, it sometimes happens that they send one or more prisoners to such a nation with the words, "We send you this prisoner to make some broth," and frequently gain their aim in this fashion. The prisoner, however, is not devoured but executed without mercy. There is no rescuing him from horrible death.

Captains, when about to go to war, send to the captains of nations or towns who are in league with them a piece of tobacco to smoke, thus notifying them that they themselves will soon follow. By this they intend that the captains shall smoke their pipes and consider seriously whether they will take part in the war or not. One chief about to visit another will, similarly, send him a piece of tobacco with the message that he shall smoke, look in a certain direction and in due time he will see the sender coming. This is done to make sure that the visitor will find the chief whom he wishes to visit at home.

The last war of the nations was between the Six Nations, the Delawares and Shawanose and the Cherokees, the latter pitted against the rest. This war continued many years until peace was concluded in 1768,[272] as, a few years before, peace had been made between the Six Nations and the Catabe-Nation[273] through the mediation of Sir William Johnson at Albany. Concerning earlier Indian wars nothing is known and since that time war with the whites has engaged the attention of all the Indian nations.

With the Delawares the following nations are in league: The Mahikander,[274] the Shawanose, the Cherokees, the Twichtwes,[275] the Wawiachtanos,[276] the Kikapus,[277] the Wiondats, the Tuckachschas,[278] the Chipuways, Ottawas, the Putewoataimen[279] and the Kaskaski.[280] The two last named dwell along the Wabash.[281]

The Shawanose, who formerly lived in Florida and have ever been a warlike people, had a war with the Moshkos.[282] The latter were the stronger and the Shawanose were reduced to a few remnants. The survivors left their country, came as fugitives up the Ohio to the Susquehanna. [Susquehannah]. They moved from place to place until they fell in with a strong party of Delawares. With these they entered into negotiations, stat-

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order that at home they may have nothing but good to report. 574
As hospitality is generally practiced, strangers are everywhere well received and suffer no want, even though they may remain for days, or weeks or months. It is recognized as a duty to care for the wants of a guest as long as he may choose to remain and even to give him provisions for the journey when he does make up his mind to go.

On the occasion of making or renewing a treaty with another nation a dance very different from the ordinary dance is 648
engaged in. The dancers join hands and leap in a circle for 535
some time. Suddenly the leader lets the hand of one of his partners go, springs forward and turns around several times, by which he draws the whole company round so as to be enclosed by them, when they stand close together. They disengage themselves as suddenly, yet keeping hold of hands during all the different evolutions and changes in the dance; this, as they explain it, represents the chain of friendship; a song, used only at such a solemnity, is sung by all.

The War Dance is very wild and dreadful to behold. One 721
dancer carries his hatchet, another a long knife, another a large 535
club, a fourth a cudgel. These they brandish in the air, to signify how they intend to treat or have treated their enemies, affecting all the while an air of anger and fury. The Mingoes use the war dance even in times of peace with a view to celebrate their heroic deeds.

They regard the Europeans as a peaceable people, created 829
of God to live according to their own manners and customs, even as the Indians have been created to live in their fashion, especially to sustain themselves by means of the chase. They think it contrary to the will of the deity to adopt, themselves, the manner of living peculiar to Europeans, pointing to fish, animals and birds as each having their characteristic habits. Each creature, bear, deer or other animal, continues to live in its own way, and it has never yet been observed that an animal had adopted the habits of another. The same principle, they hold, applies to Indians and Europeans. They recognize that the Europeans are industrious and clever, that without oppor-

the Lenape in dealings with other tribes and was entrusted with the protection of the tribal bag of records or mementoes. Interestingly enough, succession to this post was only partially hereditary, being the result of selection by the chiefs of the other two divisions from within a certain prescribed range of the male relatives of the old chief. Any chief might be deposed for improper or incompetent handling of affairs (Ruttenber, pp. 47-48; Harrington, 1913, p. 211; Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 107-11; Zeisberger, 1910, pp. 93-95). 622

Use of pictographic symbols and colored wampum to express meaning were two methods by which the chief could communicate with the bands in tangible form [11] (Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 109 and 130-31). One author also credits them with a special language used only in wartime to prevent their enemies from understanding their communications (Lindstrom, p. 204). 512 198

War

The powers of civil government were suspended in time of war and direction fell into the hands of the "captains", as they were usually called by the old writers. Little was written of Lenape customs in warfare during the early colonial period when most of the Delaware wars were against other tribes and seldom against the white settlers. The following section based on eighteenth century material is inserted th give a more complete picture of Delaware life rather than for comparative purposes. 721 648

The position of captain was achieved through leading several successful missions against enemy forces; that is, missions in which greater amounts of goods, prisoners and scalps were brought back than were lost. Most frequently, boys who aimed at the achievement of this status did so as the result of an adolescent vision. Those who succeeded were usually those who had had such a vision, which is not surprising as they would be likely to be fortified with greater assurance and more assiduous training (Ziesberger, 1910, p. 101; Loskiel, p. 142). 726

A chief could not declare war without the unanimous consent of his warrior chiefs; if they were unanimous in favoring war, he could not refuse to "accept the hatchet" (Loskiel, p. 144; Ruttenber, p. 48; Ziesberger, 1910, p. 98). Peace, on the other hand, could only be made effective by the chief whose decision in this matter had to be accepted by the warriors. 721

War, according to a partisan of the Delawares, was declared as a result of other tribes hunting in their territory, murder of a member of their tribe by an outsider, or robbery from a Delaware camp (Heckewelder, 1881, p. 175). Add to these causes the desire to confiscate property of other tribes for glory, and the list would be more complete (Loskiel, p.143).

		Williams	Van der Donck	Lindeström	Zeisberger	Heckewelder	Johnston	Pipe	Chippa	J. W.	W. T.	E. R.	W. L.
	+ = element present − = element denied (+) or (−) = source ambiguous • = informant could not or would not say s = some, sometimes, or several † or * = see Ethnographic Notes, pp. 79-137 for additional information									1721 1722 1726 1728			
357.	Average height						•	•		5'9"	5'10"	•	5'10"
358.	All have high cheek bones						−		+	+		−	+
Constitution, personal appearance, dress, etc.—Continued													
359.	Constitutions more rugged than that of whites						*+		+	+	+		+
360.	General state of health better than that of whites								+	+	+		+
War and its incidents													
361.	Decided upon by council or civil chiefs	+			*(+)		+	+	+	+	*+	+	•
362.	Declared by killing and scalping enemy				+	+	+	+	+	+	•	+	
363.	Preceded by demand for redress					+	s	+	•	+		+	
364.	Notice of war given					−	−	−		+		*+	
365.	Notify allied tribes				+			+		•	•	•	
366.	War chief determines mode of conducting						+	+		+		+	
367.	Force raised by call for volunteers		+				+	+	+	+	+	+	
368.	Destination determined by war chief						+	+	•	−		−	
369.	Commander appointed by civil chiefs						−	+	+	+		+	
370.	Commander volunteers						+	−	−	−		−	
371.	Inferior officers appointed by commander						−	+	+	+		+	
372.	Inferior officers volunteer						+	−	•	−		−	
373.	Cooks are on permanent appointment							+		(+)		+	
374.	Ceremonies before start of expedition: General assembly				+		+	+	+	+		+	
375.	Feast				*+			*+	*+	*+		+	
376.	Dance				+	+		+	+	−		+	
377.	Civil chief cautions party				+			+		+			
378.	Subdivisions of forces on march	+				s	−	+		+		+	
379.	Each man carries own provisions	+			+		+	+	+	+	−	+	
380.	Discipline preserved	+			+		+	+	+	+	+	+	
381.	March in single file				+	s	+	*+	•	(+)	*−	*−	
382.	Encampment arranged East and West						+	*+	+	*−		*−	
383.	Number of poles parallel to fires						2	2	−	•	•	•	
384.	Guns stacked against poles						+	+	*+	•	•	•	
385.	Exit only at end of poles						+	+	+	•	•	•	

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but two informants, J. W. and W. L., dissented (346). W. T. alone of the informants recalled the former practice of two braids, one forward and the other to the rear (347). He wore his own hair in two braids hanging down beside his cheeks which he said was a custom borrowed from the Caddo among whom he was living.

It is to be regretted that we do not have better estimates of the average and greatest age of the Delaware (355-56). The figures we do have for the average age are not really average length of life of the population but the usual age at which the old people died. Even more extreme than an average age of seventy to eighty years is the three hundred years given by W. T. Earlier estimates, if available, might show a counterpart of this belief. Among the Shawnee of the eighteenth century the span of life set by the creator was believed to be two hundred years. W. T. said that before the coming of the whites all Indians lived an even three centuries. One hundred and forty years was the next greatest age reported in any other account.

War and Its Incidents

The prosecution and ritual of warfare probably consumed a large portion of the time and energies of the Delaware in prehistoric times. The accounts of the first period are very vague or completely silent upon the subject. In the fourth period the occasions or the means for war were mostly gone and the information again rather incomplete. W. T. for instance said that war was introduced to the Indians by the whites and that they had no practices that were not taught them by the latter. W. L. refused to commit himself on anything pertaining to war. The two younger informants gave fairly complete accounts that in general agreed with those of the earlier periods. Where they do not agree, the explanation is more apt to be due to lack of information than because of a change in custom.

Giving notice of war to the enemy except by incursions of a war party was inconsistent with the method of warfare pursued (362, 364). The existence of large war parties was denied by all accounts and only small parties depending upon surprise for

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721 their success were reported (413, 414). According to the sources, the council decided the question of going to war against a certain tribe (361), but the specific destination of a war party was determined by the war chief leading it. The informants' disagreement is undoubtedly in error.

726 The commander of a war party was appointed by the civil chiefs and he in turn appointed his supporting officers (369-72). There is some disagreement on these matters among the sources but the informants agree with the majority. A party usually marched in single file behind the chief, according to the sources, but this custom was practically unknown to the informants (381). Their information probably reflects a change in custom caused by the change in habitat from the eastern woodlands to the plains. The narrow forest trails that enforced a single file were left behind. It is possible that the change in the form of encampment from a line to a circle is also to be attributed to the change in residence (382).

727 It is surprising that two of the informants should recall the ceremonies on the field of victory reported by Heckewelder in the second period and denied by all the third-period sources (388). Ceremonies on the return home of a defeated party were similarly denied by the third-period sources and affirmed, although vaguely, by two of the fourth-period informants (393). As I have said before, conclusions based on statements of this sort are rather unsound because of lack of uniformity in what is meant by ceremony.

Although some of the earliest historic accounts report the burning of prisoners by various Indian tribes, the Delaware did not do so according to the implications of Lindeström (395). In the second period burning was reported, but in the third period it was denied, although Pipe said it was an ancient practice. The fourth-period informants knew nothing of the practice.

713 Defensive armor was reported by the first-period sources and by Zeisberger in the second period (402). Heckewelder and the third-period accounts denied the use of armor. Then in the fourth period two of three informants again reported it. The explanation of this contradiction seems to be that the use

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526 177 Games show no change of any significance aside from denial of ball play. Every game reported in earlier periods was remembered in the fourth period. Moccasin game undoubtedly was restricted to play in connection with funeral ceremonies in the fourth but not in earlier periods.

Dances

535 Dances, like games, show remarkably little change. The begging dance, reported in the third period, drew two definite denials in the fourth, while two informants did not even recognize the [721] dance (451). As this dance was usually held in connection with the outfitting of a war party, a fact of which none of the informants were aware (459), the two denials should more properly be classed as lack of information.

The two most important dances from the point of view of the Delaware were the *engomween* and the *linkaokon* (448-49). [796] These were their only dances with a religious significance (456-57). The *engomween* or worshiping dance was a part of the Big House Ceremony. The *linkaokon* was recognized by most of the informants by that name but is better known as the doll dance. The first has not been held since 1924 and the other since 1929. The only dances that have been held in recent years have been social dances which are not represented in the element list.

Music

533 [796] The elements listed under music are, of course, closely related to dances. The statement of Johnston that there was no ceremonial music except solo singing was refuted by all the informants who felt qualified to answer (475). Johnston's further statement that only nonsense or insignificant words were used in songs, even though corroborated by Chipps, is likewise denied by the same three informants and also by Heckewelder (476). In both these cases the informants are undoubtedly right. The error of Johnston is an understandable one when it is realized that songs were mostly of words carrying allusions, that many of them were archaic forms used only in songs, and that meaningless syllables were added to complete the rhythm, with the results that only an instructed person could understand them.

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347. Hair in two queues, one forward, one to the rear 302

W. T. said that formerly the Delaware men wore their hair in two braids, one to the front, and the other to the rear of the head but that recently he and others of the Anadarko group had worn their hair in two braids, one on each side of the face, in keeping with the Wichita, Kiowa and Caddo among whom they lived.

349. Hair fastened behind the head

W. L. said that women did not fasten hair at all until men began to do so and then women braided theirs. Could not be more definite about men braiding theirs, when or whether they braided all of their hair or only the queue.

357. Average height

JOHN JOHNSTON said [height] same as whites. CAPTAIN PIPE 141 said that the average height was between five feet nine inches and six feet.

359. Constitution more rugged than that of whites

JOHN JOHNSTON—Their strength I think is inferior [to the 142 whites] but more active, their constitutions are firm while in the prime of life, when they begin to decline I think they decline much faster than the whites.

WAR AND ITS INCIDENTS

361. Decided upon by council or civil chiefs 721

ZEISBERGER said war was decided upon by "the captains" presumably referring to the war chiefs.

W. T. said that war was not a part of the Delaware way of [172] life until after the whites came and taught them to make war on each other.

W. L. said that there had been no wars in his time and that he knew nothing about conducting them.

364. Notice of war given

E. R. said that arrows would be sent to the other party after they had tried to settle a dispute by talk, if the other party kept the arrows they knew they had better prepare for war.

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375. Feast

721 ZEISBERGER reported the feast preceding a war party to be of a hog.

CAPTAIN PIPE said it was a bear that was eaten.

CAPTAIN CHIPPS said a bear was eaten if available, otherwise a buck.

J. W. said that the feast was preceded by a fast.

381. March in single file

726 CAPTAIN PIPE—They march in single file so long as they suppose themselves out of danger, but when by their spies they learn that caution is necessary, they separate into smaller bodies and form a solid one, as circumstances and the plan of attack render necessary.

W. T. and E. R. both said that war leader went first and the rest followed "in a herd."

382. Encampment arranged in east-west direction

CAPTAIN PIPE—When the party encamp they cut two long poles which they fasten to stakes at the distance of three or four feet from the ground, on opposite sides. In the centre between these poles two stakes are fastened in the earth from which their cooking kettle is suspended. On each side of the fire the warriors repose themselves having their weapons at their heads, resting against the poles. The leader places himself at the eastern end of this open encampment, the sides of which are generally made to run east and west; and notwithstanding the ease with which a warrior can creep out at the sides, he is compelled by custom to rise and walk in the line between the feet of his companions and go out at the end. Nor is any person permitted to go under the cooking poles in crossing from one side to the other. In the morning they leave the encampment without eating, following the chief, who goes out at the eastern end of the lodge singing his war song as they march.

J. W. and E. R. said war encampments were arranged in a circle.

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408. Consultation of jugglers before march

721 787 CAPTAIN CHIPPS—There are no jugglers now (1824) living—the last that are recollected lived about 50 years ago—it was customary then for the chiefs to consult them, and be guided by their advice.

410. Women accompany war party

726 CAPTAIN PIPE—Anciently the women were never known to accompany a war party, but since booty has been an inducement they have been much in the habit of joining them.

CAPTAIN CHIPPS—The women seldom go into battle—they have however a right to fight, which entitles them to a place in the ranks—if they behave well, they are as much commended as the male warriors.

415. Scalps taken

727 ROGER WILLIAMS said that the whole head was taken as a trophy.

PEACE

728 *418. Ambassadors of peace carry white wampum*

J. W. reported that an ambassador carried "something" but not necessarily a belt of white wampum.

419. War club as emblem of desire for peace

J. W. insisted that chief left "some mark" at home of enemy chief to indicate a desire for peace but that it was not necessarily a war club.

426. Feasts

CAPTAIN PIPE in the first copy of his account said: The party inviting the assemblage of the council always furnish the necessary provisions for the visitors during their stay, but there are no feasts. In second and third copies of his account, he said there was a council after the preliminary negotiations and: At this council a grand feast was prepared and was accompanied with dancing.

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W. T.—Originally there was no war, hence no peace rules until after whites introduced war. William Penn made a treaty with the Delaware. The delegates (chief, assistant chief, war chief, and councilors) at this and later treaties, met, and talked things over, smoked just like businessmen do today. The white delegates were given food just like Indians always feed any visitors. At the Penn treaty they ate turkey. Thanksgiving day among the whites commemorates this first turkey feast.

721 728

429. Flag of truce

J. W. said that a flag of truce was something blue. 728

GAMES

432. Football

J. W. and W. T. said football was taken over recently from Shawnee. 526

W. L. said that the football game was played with the women against the men. There were two goal posts on the east side and two on the west. Each side tried to send the ball between the posts of the other side. The men had to kick the ball but the women could throw it. Once they appointed a man to help the women. He was mobbed and that was not tried again.

436. Cards

ROGER WILLIAMS reported a game like English cards in which rushes were used instead of cards. 525

VAN DER DONCK said that they played a game with pieces of reeds, resembling our card playing.

W. L. said that seven-up was the favorite game.

441. Hopping

W. T. stated that the game was to see who could cover the most ground in three hops. 524

442. Lifting stones

W. T. said that contests of lifting stones in the old days were really trials of the vision power of the different individuals, for 781 526

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upon their folded skins. They are very exact and expert in these dances. The first dance they call *En, gom, ween* and the other *Lin, ka, o, kon* all other dances which they have they say are borrowed from other nations and they will not own them to be theirs. 535

Captain Pipe—In the Engomween, or worshiping assembly, where ancient customs are said to prevail altogether, they always use the left hand. This dance, (for it may be so called,) and the Lĕñkaun, or common dance, are the only dances which they claim as original among them. All others are said to be borrowed. [796]

In the first copy of Pipe's relation, "common dance" might be read "corn dance." This latter interpretation is entirely plausible in view of the fact that all the modern informants immediately recognized the name and the dance as the Doll Dance which involves corn.

450. Buffalo dance

J. W. stated that he had never seen the Buffalo dance but had heard his uncle (probably great-grandfather) tell about it. He thought it probably the property of the Turtle clan.

453. War dance

J. W. said that the Peace dance was formerly the war dance and that the Delaware had not had a real War dance for some time. He had seen it performed however. It was usually given along in August. J. W.'s wife's uncle had a vision that he must take part in a War dance and went among the Shawnee and danced. Took tobacco and made talk; told what happened on warpath, what he had to do even if he did not want to. Showed scalp. Danced in daytime from three o'clock to pretty near sundown. Bad dance. Real ones (warriors or brave men) painted themselves and dressed only in breechclouts and moccasins. 721 ● 535

W. T. said the Delaware had formerly had a war dance but that he had never seen it.

E. R. said that War dance was also known as Man dance.

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454. Co-coze-kon dance

535 CAPTAIN CHIPPS described this dance as different from the others. In it they all joined hands and stood in a ring, performing the usual motion of leaping up. He also said that when both sexes united in this amusement, they danced promiscuously.

None of the modern Delaware recognized this dance although W. L. thought that he had heard the name.

It is possible that this is the same dance that Zeisberger described as follows: On the occasion of making or renewing a treaty [648] with another nation a dance very different from the ordinary dance is engaged in. The dancers join hands and leap in a circle for some time. Suddenly the leader lets the hand of one of his partners go, springs forward and turns around several times, by which he draws the whole company round so as to be enclosed by them, when they stand close together. They disengage themselves as suddenly, yet keeping hold of hands during all the different evolutions and changes in the dance; this, as they explain it, represents the chain of friendship; a song, used only at such a solemnity, is sung by all.

462. Women excluded from war dance

721 CAPTAIN CHIPPS in treating of war said that women were al-
562 lowed to share in the great dance given just before setting out
535 on an expedition. In speaking of dances, he said that the Delaware had many different ones, the most important of which was the War dance, which was celebrated immediately after the declaration of war and from which the women were excluded, although they joined all the other dances. This is a contradiction unless one assumes that "to share in the great dance" referred to singing but not dancing. Evidence that such was sometimes the case is found in the following account of HECKEWELDER: After [127] returning from a successful expedition, a dance of *thanksgiving* is always performed, which partakes of the character of a religious ceremony. It is accompanied with singing and choruses, in which the women join. But they take no part in the rest of the performance. At the end of every song, the *scalp-yell* is shouted as many times as there have been scalps taken from the enemy.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

W. L. said that somtimes women joined the war dance, but usually only if they had lost relatives. 721 562 535

463. Dance in circle

W. T. described all dances as being done in a circle with all motion counterclockwise.

E. R. said the dancers moved around the circle clockwise.

W. L. stated that some dances were in circles but there might be several concentric circles. The men always danced in front of the women but in the cases of more than two concentric circles, the innermost formed of men, the next of women, the next of men and the outermost of women. In some dances the women danced on one spot while the men danced all around in pairs or in small groups.

154 rein these are the more violent."[51] Warfare
● [721] provided a socially approved way of bleeding off some of these aggressions, for the warriors; and the institution of torture
154 gave the rest of the community a similar
727 opportunity. "The Indians flock to these executions as to some great solemnity, with a view to reeking on the unfortunate captive their cruel and revengeful dis-
154 position."[52] The institution of blood-
627 revenge[53] (which sometimes led to prolonged vendetta) was also an outlet for aggression; but the fear of its exercise no doubt served also to inhibit it. In
154 hunting, males could work off aggression
224 on animals, which were conceptualized as quasi-human. It is worth noting that among women, who had a more restricted
154 childhood and who at the same time had
521 fewer socially sanctioned outlets for aggression, the overflow dribbled off in
562 unpleasant gossip and slander, which the men, who had other means of catharsis, professed to scorn.[54]

154 All observers agreed that liquor dis-
273 solved the inhibitions against aggression. "The effects which intoxication produces
578 upon the Indians are dreadful," lamented Heckewelder. "It has been the cause of an infinite number of murders among them, besides biting off noses and otherwise disfiguring each other, which are the least consequences of the quarrels which inebriation produces between them."[55] As might be expected, therefore, Indian spokesmen frequently—and in vain—implored the whites to cease bringing liquor into their settlements.

Summary

127 From an examination of the early ethnological literature concerning the Delaware Indians, we have been able to discover some of their psychological
855 characteristics. The Delawares would seem in general to have been a people among whom the children grew up

51. Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 124-125.
52. Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 106-107.
53. Penn, 1683.
54. Zeisberger, 1776, p. 116.
55. Heckewelder, 1819, p. 263.

776 about the coming crop. When she rises with her hair combed smooth and shining, and is seen in this condition, it is a favorable omen and indicates an abundant crop. When she rises with her hair uncombed and loose, it indicates a bad crop, or a failure of the harvest.

6. Wa-ma-take-a-nese, the Boy Spirit. He is represented as a little boy, with a bow and arrow, and as a constant friend of the Indian. He is everywhere and always at hand in the most impossible places, ready to assist us in our trials and troubles. He is a servant of the Great Spirit.

776 127 7. Ma-mun-da-ase, the Spirit of War. He [824] is represented as having the form of a panther, with a very long tail. He can foretell [821] war about to arise, who will fight, and who succeed. The meteoric stones are dropped by him, and the war will arise in the direction from which the meteor comes, and go in the direction it goes. He is under the control of the Great Spirit, as are all good spirits.

776 773 The Great Spirit has the form of a man (name elsewhere). The Evil Spirit has the form of a man with one leg, the leg of an ox. The tradition is that the Evil Spirit was created by the good and was himself originally good, but he originated a contention among the inferior spirits which resulted in a division and taking of sides. In the midst of this contention they all came into the presence of the Great Spirit, who seized the Evil One and as a mark of his disapprobation and as a punishment, he wrenched off one of his legs and placed in the room of it that of an ox, that he might ever afterwards be known and recognized at once as an evil spirit, and then sent him down to the earth with the evil spirits who followed him.

775 Heaven they consider to be immediately over their heads and a place in which they

+ = element present
− = element denied
(+) or (−) = source ambiguous
• = informant could not or would not say
s = some, sometimes, or several
† or * = see Ethnographic Notes, pp. 79-137 for additional information

	Williams	Van der Donck	Lindeström	Zeisberger	Heckewelder	Johnston	Pipe	Chiyps	J. W.	W. T.	R. R.	W. L.
357. Average height						•	•		5'9"	5'10"	•	5'10"
358. All have high cheek bones						−		+	+		−	+
Constitution, personal appearance, dress, etc.—Continued												
359. Constitutions more rugged than that of whites						•+		+	+	+		+
360. General state of health better than that of whites								+	+	+		+
War and its incidents												
361. Decided upon by council or civil chiefs	+			•(+)		+	+	+	+	•+	+	•
362. Declared by killing and scalping enemy				+	+	+	+	+	+	•	+	
363. Preceded by demand for redress					+	s	+	•	+		+	
364. Notice of war given					−	−	−		+		•+	
365. Notify allied tribes				+			+		•	•	•	
366. War chief determines mode of conducting						+	+		+		+	
367. Force raised by call for volunteers		+				+	+	+	+	+	+	
368. Destination determined by war chief						+	+	•	−		−	
369. Commander appointed by civil chiefs						−	+	+	−		+	
370. Commander volunteers						+	−	−	−		−	
371. Inferior officers appointed by commander						−	+	+	+		+	
372. Inferior officers volunteer						+	−	•	−		−	
373. Cooks are on permanent appointment							+		(+)		+	
374. Ceremonies before start of expedition: General assembly				+		+	+	+	+		+	
375. Feast				•+			•+	•+	•+		+	
376. Dance				+	+		+	+	−			
377. Civil chief cautions party				+		+	+		+			
378. Subdivisions of forces on march	+				s	−	+	+	+		+	
379. Each man carries own provisions	+			+		+	+	+	+	−	+	
380. Discipline preserved	+			+		+	+	+	+	+	+	
381. March in single file				+	s	+	•+	•	(+)	•−	•−	
382. Encampment arranged East and West						+	•+	+	•−		•−	
383. Number of poles parallel to fires						2	2	=	•	•	•	
384. Guns stacked against poles						+	+	•+	•	•	•	
385. Exit only at end of poles						+	+	+	•	•	•	

	Williams	Van der Donck	Lindeström	Zeisberger	Heckewelder	Johnston	Pipe	Chippa	J. W.	W. T.	E. R.	W. L.
357. Average height						•	•		5'9"	5'10"	•	5'10"
358. All have high cheek bones						−		+	+		−	+
Constitution, personal appearance, dress, etc.—Continued												
359. Constitutions more rugged than that of whites						•+		+	+	+		+
360. General state of health better than that of whites								+	+	+		+
War and its incidents												
361. Decided upon by council or civil chiefs	+			•(+)		+	+	+	+	•+	+	•
362. Declared by killing and scalping enemy				+	+	+	+	+	+	•	•	
363. Preceded by demand for redress					+	s	+	•	+		•+	
364. Notice of war given					−	−	−		+		•+	
365. Notify allied tribes				+			+		•	•	•	
366. War chief determines mode of conducting						+	+		+		+	
367. Force raised by call for volunteers		+				+	+	+	+	+	+	
368. Destination determined by war chief						+	+	•	−		−	
369. Commander appointed by civil chiefs						−	+	+	+		+	
370. Commander volunteers						+	−	−	−		−	
371. Inferior officers appointed by commander						−	+	+	+		+	
372. Inferior officers volunteer						+	−	•	−		−	
373. Cooks are on permanent appointment							+		(+)		+	
374. Ceremonies before start of expedition: General assembly				+		+	+	+	+		+	
375. Feast			•+				•+	•+	•+		+	
376. Dance				+	+		+	+	−		+	
377. Civil chief cautions party				+		+	+		+			
378. Subdivisions of forces on march	+				s	−	+		+		+	
379. Each man carries own provisions	++			+		+	+	+	+	−	+	
380. Discipline preserved	++			+		+	+	+	+	+	+	
381. March in single file				+	s	+	•+	•	(+)	•−	•−	
382. Encampment arranged East and West						+	•+	+	•−		•−	
383. Number of poles parallel to fires						2	2	1	•	•	•	
384. Guns stacked against poles						+	+	•+	•	•	•	
385. Exit only at end of poles						+	+	+	•	•	•	

+ = element present
− = element denied
(+) or (−) = source ambiguous
• = informant could not or would not say
s = some, sometimes, or several
† or * = see Ethnographic Notes, pp. 79-137 for additional information

386.	War chief determines question of battle						+	+	•+	+		+		
387.	Plan of operations previously arranged						+	+	+	−		+		
388.	If victorious, any ceremonies on field					•+	−	−	−	−	(+)	(+)		
389.	If defeated, a rallying point fixed						+	+	−	+	+	·		
390.	Ceremonies on return if victorious						−	+	+	+	+	+		
391.	Dance					+			+	+	+	+		
392.	Report to council and given feast							+		(+)				
393.	Ceremonies on return if defeated						−	−	−	(+)	−	•(+)		
394.	Prisoners run the gantlet				+	+		+		·	−	·		
395.	Burned		+	(−)	+	(+)	−	•+	−	−	−	·		
396.	Generally adopted		+		+	+	+	+	+	+	·	(+)		
397.	Prisoners of mature age adopted					+	+	+	+	+	+	·		
398.	Considered members of adopting family		+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	·		
399.	Age of beginning to bear arms						12-15	24	16	•14	15	14		
400.	Age of ceasing to bear arms				50+				70					
401.	As long as physically able						+	+		+	+	+		
402.	Defensive armor		+	+	+	−	−		−	+	−	+		
403.	War caused only by injuries—retaliation	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+		
404.	Disputed boundaries only after coming of whites					+	+		+	+	+	+		
405.	Principal chief states injuries, and calls for volunteers, no arguments used	−					+	+	+	+	+	+		
406.	Feasts precede march				+		−	+		+	+	+		
407.	Fasts precede march							−		+				
408.	Consultation of jugglers before march						−	−	•−	+	+	+		
409.	Provision made for care of wounded	+			+		−	+	+	+	−	+		
410.	Women accompany war party						−	•−	•−	−	−	−		
411.	Any actions fought in canoes	+					−	−	−	+	−	−		
412.	Sieges prosecuted or defended		−				−	−	−	+	−	+		
413.	Large parties go to war		−		−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−		
414.	Small parties depending upon surprise		+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
415.	Scalps taken	•−			+	+			+	+	+	+	+	
	Peace													
416.	Ambassadors sent to negotiate					+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	
417.	Persons of ambassadors sacred					•+	+	+	·	+		+		
418.	Carry belt of white wampum to manifest desire for peace, delivered with speech					(+)	+	+	−	•+		+	+	

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9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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of defensive armor stopped in the second period, perhaps as 713
the result of the introduction of firearms against which it was ineffective, but the memory of it continued into the fourth period. The third-period accounts were based on the practice of that time, whereas the last period accounts reflected the custom of the earliest period.

A similar situation seems to exist in regard to the consulta- 726
tion of jugglers before the march of a war party (408). We 787
have no information on this point from the first or second period and such consultation is denied in the third period, but Chipps reported in 1824 that fifty years and more before it had been customary for the chiefs to consult the jugglers. The three informants in the fourth period were unanimous in reporting the reliance upon jugglers for determining the omens concerning a war party.

Sieges were not a war practice of the Delaware according to 723
the early accounts (412). The sieges reported in the fourth period were of comparatively recent occurrence.

Roger Williams reported that enemy heads were taken as 727
trophies and he made no mention of scalps (415). Other New England accounts of the same period related that hands were also cut off as trophies. We have no information on this point for the Delaware of the same period. In the next period Heckewelder said the Indians took scalps as trophies but that they referred to them as heads. About the same time accounts of other tribes stated that heads were taken if possible, but if pressed by pursuit or too encumbered by heads, a warrior would reduce his load by saving only the scalps. It is doubtful if the practice of taking scalps instead of heads originated in historic times, but it is certain that it completely replaced the latter, probably in the second period.

Peace

The elements entering into peace negotiations suffered a fate 728
very similar to those of war. The sources and informants uniformly stated that ambassadors were sent to negotiate a peace (416), and that peace terms were negotiated and not dictated

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7

726 Daniel Denton's description of the Delawares' primitive war complex is the earliest one I have found. Most of the material is derived from later sources. It may be assumed that the customs of war in these later periods were largely derived from, or were elaborations upon, the earlier primitive war complex. Denton said of their warfare:

> In their wars they fight no pitcht fields; but when they have notice of an enemies approach, they endeavour to secure their wives and children upon some Island, or in some thick swamp, & then with their guns & hatchet they waylay their enemies, some lying behind one, some another & it is a great fight where seven or eight is slain.[172]

721 Warriors were recruited at a dance, those wishing to join the war party taking part in the dance:

> When those invited have assembled at the appointed place, one of the war chiefs holding the great belt in his hands, which is now covered with vermilion, rises and dances the war dance around the circle formed by the warriors. The council thus opened he explains to them the circumstances which occasion the meeting and with all his eloquence enforces the necessity of resorting to war for a redress of their injuries. He then repeats the dance and seats himself, when each one who chooses to declare his intention to join the party takes the belt and dances around the circle as his chief had done.[173]

This dance was repeated at the war party's first camp, the women having followed the expedition.[174] Trowbridge stated that cooks were taken along and added:

> Formerly no man joined a war party until he was twenty four winters old, as they were thought to be too imprudent at an earlier age; but of late years this custom has not obtained among them. The aged often continue to bear arms so long as their strength permits, and some have been known to join warparties when from their advanced age they were obligated to ride on horseback; but in these cases they did not approach the field of battle.[175]

713 The bow and arrow constituted the principal weapon; shields of elkhide or bark and helmets constructed of sticks were used.[176] War parties may have worn special regalia; Holm said that they wore red turkey feathers when going to war.[177]

725 War parties even when directed at Europeans were small in size. With perhaps a few exceptions, their size never exceeded two dozen men. This was in keeping with their military tactics in that a successful war party consisted of a rapid raid without loss and the capture of prisoners or plunder. A big battle was considered to have occurred if ten or eleven warriors were killed.[178] The taking of scalps was mentioned in the seventeenth century,[179] and prisoners were taken:

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[172] Denton, 1845, p. 8; Van der Donck, 1909, pp. 300-301.
[173] Trowbridge MS.
[174] Heckewelder, 1881, p. 210.
[175] Trowbridge MS.
[176] Johnson, 1917, pp. 281-82; Holm, 1834, p. 138; Lindestrom, 1925, p. 197; Loskiel, 1794, p. 141.
[177] Holm, 1834, p. 137.
[178] *Ibid.*, pp. 137-38; Van der Donck, 1909, pp. 300-301.
[179] Holm, p. 138.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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384. Guns stacked against pole

CAPTAIN CHIPPS—In marching against an enemy, they regularly encamp at Sunset—the method pursued, is, for the young men to procure two crotched poles and a cross piece, against which the guns are stacked, being first covered with *skin cases*— a fire is built on each side of this, between which and their guns, they take their rest, with their heads towards the guns, and their feet to the fire. 726

386. War chief determines question of battle

CAPTAIN CHIPPS—The chief decides in most cases, upon the expedience of giving battle—in times of difficulty however, he takes the votes of his warriors on the subject. The order of battle is decided in the same way, subject to be altered by circumstances. [725]

388. Any ceremony of victory on field

HECKEWELDER said that there was a dance of thanksgiving upon the return of a victorious war party. 727

W. T. and E. R. thought that there was a ceremony of some kind but did not know exactly what it was.

393. Ceremonies on return if defeated

E. R. said that the few survivors of a defeat in war returned home, pounded a drum and sang a death song by which the villiagers knew that they had been defeated and came and condoled with them.

395. Prisoners burned

CAPTAIN PIPE—The practice of burning prisoners is said to have been very ancient. It extended particularly to great warriors, whose capture and death was accompanied with loud shouts by the victors.

399. Age of beginning to bear arms

J. W. said boy might begin to bear arms at 14 years and even accompany war parties but could not be considered a warrior until the age of 35. [884]

l:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

728 If the supposed enemy is peaceably inclined, he will in such case send a deputation to the aggrieved nation, with a suitable apology. In general the chief sends word, that the act complained of was committed without his knowledge, by some of "his foolish young men;" that it was altogether unauthorised and unwarranted; that it was highly reprobated by himself and his council, and that he would be sorry that on that account a breach should be made between the two nations, but, on the contrary, wishes for peace; that he is willing to make reparation for the offence by condoling with the relations of the person slain and otherwise satisfying them. Such an offer is generally accepted, and in this manner all differences are adjusted between the parties, and they are friends again as they were before. But should the offending nation refuse to apologise and sue for peace, war is then immediately declared and is carried on with the greatest vigour.

CHAPTER XX.

MANNER OF SURPRISING THEIR ENEMIES.

726 COURAGE, art, and circumspection, are the essential and indispensable qualifications of an Indian warrior. When war is once begun, each one strives to excel in displaying them, by stealing upon his enemy unawares, and deceiving and surprising him in various ways. On drawing near to an enemy's country, they endeavour as much as possible to conceal their tracks;

[481]

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800) 1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

sometimes they scatter themselves, marching at proper distances from each other for a whole day and more, meeting, however, again at night, when they keep a watch; at other times they march in what is called *Indian file*, one man behind the other, treading carefully in each other's steps, so that their number may not be ascertained by the prints of their feet. The nearer they suppose themselves to be to the enemy, the more attentive they are to choosing hard, stony and rocky ground, on which human footsteps leave no impression; soft, marshy and grassy soils are particularly avoided, as in the former the prints of the feet would be easily discovered, and in the latter the appearance of the grass having been trodden upon might lead to detection; for if the grass or weeds are only bent, and have the least mark of having been walked upon, it will be almost certainly perceived, in which the sharpness and quickness of the Indians' sight is truly astonishing.

In some instances they deceive their enemies by imitating the cries or calls of some animal, such as the fawn, or turkey. They do this so admirably well, that they even draw the dam of the one and the mate of the other to the spot to which they want them to come. In this manner they often succeed in decoying the enemies to the place where they are lying in ambush, or get an opportunity of surrounding them. Such stratagems, however, cannot be resorted to in all seasons; with the turkey, it only answers in the spring, and with the fawn's dam until about midsummer. In the same manner, when scattered about in the woods, they easily find each other by imitating the song of some birds, such as the quail and the rook, and at evening and morning, and particularly in the night, the cry of the owl. By this means they all join each other, though not at the same time, as they are not, perhaps, all within hearing; but the cry of the owl is repeated from time to time until they are all assembled.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

726 It is certain that the Indians, by the prints of the feet and by other marks and signs perceivable only to themselves, can readily discover, not only that men have passed through a particular path or line of march, but they can discriminate to what particular nation those men belong, and whether they are their friends or their enemies. They also sometimes make discoveries by examining obscure places, and by that means get informed of an enemy's design. Nay, there are those among them who pretend to be able to discriminate among various marks of human footsteps the different nations of those to whom they respectively belong. I shall not undertake to assert thus far, but I shall relate an anecdote, the truth of which I firmly believe, in proof of their extraordinary sagacity in this respect.

In the beginning of the summer of the year 1755, a most atrocious and shocking murder was unexpectedly committed by a party of Indians, on fourteen white settlers within five miles of Shamokin. The surviving whites, in their rage, determined to take their revenge by murdering a Delaware Indian who happened to be in those parts and was far from thinking himself in any danger. He was a great friend to the whites, was loved and esteemed by them, and in testimony of their regard, had received from them the name of *Duke of Holland*, by which he was generally known. This Indian, satisfied that his nation was incapable of committing such a foul murder in a time of profound peace, told the enraged settlers, that he was sure that the Delawares were not in any manner concerned in it, and that it was the act of some wicked Mingoes or Iroquois, whose custom it was to involve other nations in wars with each other, by clandestinely committing murders, so that they might be laid to the charge of others than themselves. But all his representations were vain; he could not convince exasperated men whose minds were fully bent upon revenge. At last, he offered that if they would give him a

9 [Erratum. See cat. 116, p. 349. - Analyst]

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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party to accompany him, he would go with them in quest of the murderers, and was sure he could discover them by the prints of their feet and other marks well known to him, by which he would convince them that the real perpetrators of the crime belonged to the Six Nations. His proposal was accepted, he marched at the head of a party of whites and led them into the tracks. They soon found themselves in the most rocky parts of a mountain, where not one of those who accompanied him was able to discover a single track, nor would they believe that man had ever trodden upon this ground, as they had to jump over a number of crevices between the rocks, and in some instances to crawl over them. Now they began to believe that the Indian had led them across those rugged mountains in order to give the enemy time to escape, and threatened him with instant death the moment they should be fully convinced of the fraud. The Indian, true to his promise, would take pains to make them perceive that an enemy had passed along the places through which he was leading them; here he would shew them that the moss on the rock had been trodden down by the weight of an human foot, there that it had been torn and dragged forward from its place; further he would point out to them that pebbles or small stones on the rocks had been removed from their beds by the foot hitting against them, that dry sticks by being trodden upon were broken, and even that in a particular place, an Indian's blanket had dragged over the rocks, and removed or loosened the leaves lying there, so that they lay no more flat, as in other places; all which the Indian could perceive as he walked along, without even stopping. At last arriving at the foot of the mountain on soft ground, where the tracks were deep, he found out that the enemy were eight in number, and from the freshness of the foot prints, he concluded that they must be encamped at no great distance. This proved to be the exact truth, for, after gaining the eminence on the other side of the valley, the

1;Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800) 1819
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●726 Indians were seen encamped, some having already laid down to sleep, while others were drawing off their *leggings** for the same purpose, and the scalps they had taken were hanging up to dry. "See!" said Duke Holland to his astonished companions, "there is the enemy! not "of my nation, but Mingoes, as I truly told you. They "are in our power; in less than half an hour they will "all be fast asleep. We need not fire a gun, but go up "and tomohawk them. We are nearly two to one and "need apprehend no danger. Come on, and you will "now have your full revenge!" But the whites, overcome with fear, did not choose to follow the Indian's advice, and urged him to take them back by the nearest and best way, which he did, and when they arrived at home late at night, they reported the number of the Iroquois to have been so great, that they durst not venture to attack them.

726 115 This account is faithfully given as I received it from *Duke Holland* himself, and took it down in writing at the time. I had been acquainted with this Indian for upwards of twenty years, and knew him to be honest, intelligent and a lover of truth. Therefore I gave full credit to what he told me, and as yet have had no reason to disbelieve or even to doubt it. I once employed him to save the life of a respectable gentleman, now residing at Pittsburg, who was in imminent danger of being killed by a war party. Duke Holland conducted him safely through the woods, from the Muskingum to the Ohio settlement. He once found a watch of mine, which had been sent to me from Pittsburg by a man who had got drunk, and lost it in the woods about fifty miles from the place where I lived. Duke Holland went in search of it, and having discovered the tracks of the man to whom it had been entrusted, he pursued them until he found the lost article, which he delivered to me.

* Indian stockings.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca.1800) 1819
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CHAPTER XXI.

PEACE MESSENGERS.

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WHILE the American Indians remained in the free and undisturbed possession of the land which God gave to them, and even for a long time after the Europeans had settled themselves in their territory, there was no people upon earth who paid a more religious respect than they did to the sacred character of ambassadors, or (as they call them) *Messengers of peace*. It is too well known that since about the middle of the last century a great change has taken place, the cause of which, I am sorry to say, the Indians lay entirely to our charge.

The inviolability of the person of an ambassador is one of those sacred fundamental principles of the law of nature which the Almighty Creator has imprinted upon the heart of every living man. History teaches us that the most barbarous and savage nations have at all times admitted and carried it into practice. It is a lamentable truth that all the violations of it that stand upon record, are to be ascribed to civilised man or to his contagious example.

It is certain that among our Indians the person of an ambassador was formerly held most sacred and inviolable. All the nations and tribes were agreed upon this point, that a messenger, though sent by the most hostile people, was entitled not only to respect but to protection. To have, I will not say murdered, but knowingly ill treated a person of this description, was with them an unpardonable crime. War parties were always instructed, if they should find a messenger on his way from one

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nation to another, not only to give him protection but hospitality, and see him safely conducted to the people to whom he was sent.

In the same manner, when a messenger was sent to them by a nation with whom they were at war or at variance, though they might be ever so much exasperated against them, and even though they had firmly determined *not to listen*, that is to say, not to consent to their propositions, whatever they might be, still they would grant their protection to the man of peace, and tell him in their expressive language "that they had taken him "under their wings, or placed him under their arm pits, "where he was perfectly safe." It was with them a point of religious belief, that pacific messengers were under the special protection of the Great Spirit, that it was unlawful to molest them, and that the nation which should be guilty of so enormous a crime would surely be punished by being unsuccessful in war, and perhaps, by suffering a total defeat. Therefore, frequent instances happened of such messengers being sent back with the most threatening messages, such as, that it was determined to wage a war of blood and destruction, and that no quarters would be given, yet the ambassadors themselves did not meet with the least insult or disrespect; they were protected during all the time that they remained in the hostile country, and were safely conducted to their own nation, or at least, so far on their way as to be out of danger from the enemy's warriors, leaving them a sufficient time to reach their houses, before a fresh stroke was made, to give notice that the truce was at an end or that the war was begun. I have heard of messengers being sent back with a message to this effect: "I return "to your bosom, safe and unmolested, the messengers "you sent me. The answer to the speech they brought "me from you, you will learn from my young warriors, "who are gone to *see* you." The nature of the *visit* thus announced may be easily guessed at. The message

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was in fact a declaration of war, with a fair notice that an invasion of the enemy's country was immediately to take place.

Such were the principles, such was the manly conduct of the Indians in former times. How different it is at present I need not say. We yet remember the unhappy fate of Messrs. *Trueman*, *Freeman*, and *Hardin*. These three respectable American gentlemen, were in the year 1792, sent to the Indians with flags of truce and peace proposals, and were all wantonly murdered. To whom is this horrid state of things to be attributed? I will not pretend to judge, but let us hear what the Indians say.

The principal reasons which they assign as having brought about this great change, are comprised under the following general heads.

I. That the white people have intermeddled with their national concerns, by dictating to one nation how they should treat another, and even how they should speak and what they should say to them, and by this means have entirely destroyed their national independence. That they have even encouraged and supported one Indian nation in not only affecting but actually exercising dominion and supremacy over all the others.

II. That the whites have treated the Indians as a contemptible race and paid no regard themselves to the sacred character of messengers, but murdered them as well as their chiefs in numerous instances without distinction. That they even polluted what among them is esteemed most holy and inviolable, their *council fires*, extinguishing them (as they express themselves) with streams of the best blood of their nation, in violation of their professions and most solemn promises! That their whole conduct in short has appeared as if they would say to them: "we "do not care for you; we despise you—all we want is "your lands, and those we will have."

Nor are they at a loss when called upon to specify the particular injuries of which they complain. Amidst a

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a long list of similar grievances, I shall select a few of the most prominent.

1. The protection given against them to the Iroquois, encouraging that nation to insult them, to treat them as women made such by conquest, and to exercise a tyrannical superiority over them.

2. The murder of the Conestogo Indians, at the very place where a *council fire* was burning at the time; where treaties had been held with them in early times, and where even a treaty had been concluded in 1762, the year preceding the murder; and that too, in the country of their brother *Miquon*, in the *Quaker* country, in Pennsylvania.

3. The horrid murder committed between the years 1776 and 1779, on the great and much valued Shawano chief *Cornstalk*, at Kanhawa, where it was known that he was on a friendly and interesting errand.

4. The firing upon and severely wounding a noted Shawano in the year 1774, while on his return from Pittsburg, to which place he had, out of friendship and humanity, conducted several white traders and protected them against an enraged body of Indians, on whose relations the white people had committed most horrid murders.

5. The attacking the peaceable encampment of the Delaware chiefs on the island at Pittsburgh, where one *Messenger* and several others were murdered.

6. The murder of the Christian Indians on Muskingum, by Williamson's party, together with the chief from *Achsinning* (the standing stone,) although the persons thus murdered were known to be friends to the whites.

The Indians relate many more outrages committed on *messengers*, *visiters*, and other *friendly* Indians, of which I shall spare the painful recital to my readers. From this series of unjust and cruel acts, the Indian nations have at last come to the conclusion, that the Americans are in their hearts inimical to them, and that when they

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send them messengers of peace, they only mean to lull them into a fancied security, that they may the easier fall upon and destroy them. It was in consequence of this conviction that the three respectable gentlemen whom I have already mentioned, met with their unhappy fate.

CHAPTER XXII.

TREATIES.

IN early times, when Indian nations, after long and bloody wars, met together for the purpose of adjusting their differences, or concluding a peace with each other, it was their laudable custom, as a token of their sincerity, to remove out of the place where the peace-makers were sitting, all warlike weapons and instruments of destruction, of whatever form or shape. "For," said they, "when we are engaged in a good work, nothing that is "bad must be visible. We are met together to forgive "and forget, to *bury* the destructive weapon, and put it "quite out of sight; we cast away from us the fatal in-"strument that has caused so much grief to our wives "and children, and has been the source of so many tears. "It is our earnest hope and wish that it may never be "dug up again." So particular were they on this point, that if a single weapon had been in sight, while a treaty was negotiating, it would have disturbed their minds by recalling the memory of past events, and instead, (as they say) of gladdening their hearts, by the prospect of

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CHAPTER XXVII.

SCALPING—WHOOPS OR YELLS—PRISONERS.

726 727 **SCALPING** is a practice which the Indians say has obtained with their nations for ages. I need not describe the manner in which the operation is performed, it has been sufficiently done by others.* Indian warriors think it necessary to bring home the scalps of those they have killed or disabled, as visible proofs of their valour; otherwise they are afraid that their relations of the combat and the account they give of their individual prowess might be doubted or disbelieved. Those scalps are dried up, painted and preserved as trophies, and a warrior is esteemed in proportion to the number of them that he can shew. 554

726 302 It is well known fact that the Indians pluck out all their hair except one tuft on the crown of their heads, but the reason of this exception is not, perhaps, so well understood, which is no other than to enable themselves to take off each others' scalps in war with greater facility. "When we go to fight an enemy," say they, "we "meet on equal ground; and we take off each other's "scalps, if we can. The conqueror, whoever he may be, "is entitled to have something to shew to prove his bra-"very and his triumph, and it would be *ungenerous* in a "warrior to deprive an enemy of the means of acqui-"ring that glory of which he himself is in pursuit. A "warrior's conduct ought to be *manly*, else he is *no man*." As this custom prevails among all the Indian nations, it

* See Loskiel, p. 1. ch. 11.

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would seem, as far as I have known, to be the result of a tacit agreement among them, to leave the usual trophies of victory accessible to the contending warriors on all sides; fearing, perhaps, that if a different custom should be adopted by one nation from motives of personal safety, or to destroy the warlike reputation of their rivals or enemies, it might be easily imitated on the other side, and there would be an end to Indian valour and heroism. Indeed, it is certain, that all the weapons which the Indians make use of in war are intended for *offence*; they have no breast-plates, helmets, nor any arms or accoutrements of the defensive kind, and it is not the least remarkable trait in their warlike character, that they make it even a point of honour to offer a hold of their persons to their enemy, by which if he should be possessed of greater skill or courage than themselves, he may not only the more easily destroy them, but is enabled to carry home their bloody spoils as trophies of his victory.

I once remarked to an Indian that if such was their reason for letting a tuft of hair grow on the top of their heads, they might as well suffer the whole to remain, and I could not perceive why they were so careful in plucking it out. To this observation he answered: "My friend! a human being has but one head, "and one scalp from that head is sufficient to shew that "it has been in my power. Were we to preserve a "whole head of hair as the white people do, *several* scalps "might be made out of it, which would be *unfair*. Be- "sides, the coward might thus without danger share in "the trophies of the brave warrior, and dispute with him "the honour of victory."

When the Indians relate their victories they do not say that they have taken so many "*scalps*," but so many "*heads*," in which they include as well those whom they have scalped, but left alive, (which is very often the case) and their prisoners, as those whom they have killed.

[erratum. See cat. 116, p. 348. - Analyst]

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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627 If peace could not be restored through the payment of "blood money," the interested kin, in case of murder, resolved the case by the murder of the guilty party or one of his kin.[163] From the scanty evidence available it would appear that only in the case of unresolved murders which were upsetting internal peace would society step in to halt the conflict.

576 Little is known about etiquette and the customary ways in which peo-
431 ple behaved towards one another. Penn, however, said:

> In liberality they excel. Nothing is too good for their friend. Give them a fine gun, coat, or other thing, it may pass twenty hands before it sticks: light of heart, strong affections, but soon spent: the most merry creatures that live: they feast and dance perpetually; they never have much, nor want much. Wealth circulateth like the blood. All parts partake; and though none shall want what another hath, yet exact observers of property.[164]

Denton in the same vein said:

> They are extraordinary charitable one to another, one having nothing to spare, but he freely imparts it to his friends & whatsoever they get by gaming or any other way, they share one to another leaving themselves commonly the least share.[165]

571 This sort of behavior is, of course, to be expected in a society organized upon a kinship basis. Society was predicated, not on the competition between individuals, but upon mutual assistance and the unity of action of the kin group. Respect for, and solicitous care of, the aged has also been noted.[166]

War

726 Small-scale, probably infrequent raiding by a few warriors was the
174 typical form of warfare in early historic times and undoubtedly in the pre-European period. This type of conflict was a personal, usually non-economic feuding. An apt designation for it might be primitive war, since it seems to be characteristic of many cultures at this and lower technological levels of development. A special term for it is necessary since it generally differs in its causation, purpose, and form from total, modern warfare. There is little evidence that chronic, full-scale, economically caused warfare existed aboriginally in what is now northeastern United States. Hunt shared this point of view in writing of the Iroquois, generally considered to have been the most warlike of peoples in this area! He said:

> In the beginning intertribal rivalries were not keen, and intertribal war was purely private and social interprise. But before long the European trade was to create new rivalries, and whet old ones to the point where the issue became one of survival.[167]

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[163] Van der Donck, 1909, p. 303.
[164] Penn, 1882, p. 243.
[165] Denton, 1845, p. 9. Also see Zeisberger, 1910, pp. 115-16.
[166] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 123; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 103.
[167] Hunt, 1939, p. 22.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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Kroeber, on the other hand, has characterized warfare for the northeast as a whole as being of the modern, total kind:

> It was warfare that was insane, unending, continuously attritional, from our point of view; yet it was so integrated into the whole fabric of Eastern culture, so dominantly emphasized within it, that escape from it was well-nigh impossible.... This warfare, with its attendant unsettlement, confusion, destruction, and famines, was probably the most potent reason why population remained low in the East.[168]

There is no evidence which would support Kroeber's allegations, at least with respect to the prehistoric and early historic Delawares. Whether population density was low or not is conjectural, but even on the assumption that it was low, there is a much more realistic hypothesis available to explain it than the one offered by Kroeber. (See the Summary for this discussion.)

In the face of lack of evidence substantiating chronic and total warfare among the early Delawares, it is necessary to utilize indirect evidence to demonstrate that this type of conflict was minimal. The archaeology of the area offers little of a positive nature. Village sites of the East River Aspect, so far as can be determined, were not fortified or palisaded. They were "situated on or near tidal streams and bays."[169] A few sources mention palisades, but the evidence is not conclusive.[170] In Chapter I it was noted that Delaware villages were small, scattered, and on poorly defensible ground. During part of the year even village units did not exist, since family groups were away hunting. These facts do not suggest a martial atmosphere. If population densities were low, it seems unlikely that competition for agricultural land or for choice fishing locations existed. Disputes over hunting territories might have occurred, but these would have been primarily a family matter rather than of general concern. For chronic, vicious, and total war to exist there has to be a fairly strong motivation. As has been demonstrated elsewhere, cultures do not indulge in full-scale war, in the modern sense of the word, simply as an outlet for "psychological urges" or as a game.[171] As has been shown in the first chapter, Delaware culture in precontact times was in a political sense almost wholly unorganized. There was no tribe and there were apparently no institutions which in the event of invasion or attack could organize the people into an effective unit. It is difficult to believe that a people perilously and unendingly at war (for no apparent reason) would have as rudimentary a political and military organization as had the Delawares. Even in this cursory examination of the problem, it is clear that the precontact Delawares could have had only a small-scale, primitive war complex. This condition rapidly changed with the invasion of Europeans; chronic warfare of the most bitter kind soon came to be the daily pill of the Delawares. (This subject is taken up more fully in Chapter V.)

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[168] Kroeber, 1947, p. 148.

[169] C. S. Smith, 1950, p. 116.

[170] Brinton, 1885, p. 51; Skinner, 1947, p. 7.

[171] Newcomb, 1950, pp. 317-30.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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Daniel Denton's description of the Delawares' primitive war complex is the earliest one I have found. Most of the material is derived from later sources. It may be assumed that the customs of war in these later periods were largely derived from, or were elaborations upon, the earlier primitive war complex. Denton said of their warfare:

> In their wars they fight no pitcht fields; but when they have notice of an enemies approach, they endeavour to secure their wives and children upon some Island, or in some thick swamp, & then with their guns & hatchet they waylay their enemies, some lying behind one, some another & it is a great fight where seven or eight is slain.[173]

Warriors were recruited at a dance, those wishing to join the war party taking part in the dance:

> When those invited have assembled at the appointed place, one of the war chiefs holding the great belt in his hands, which is now covered with vermilion, rises and dances the war dance around the circle formed by the warriors. The council thus opened he explains to them the circumstances which occasion the meeting and with all his eloquence enforces the necessity of resorting to war for a redress of their injuries. He then repeats the dance and seats himself, when each one who chooses to declare his intention to join the party takes the belt and dances around the circle as his chief had done.[174]

This dance was repeated at the war party's first camp, the women having followed the expedition.[175] Trowbridge stated that cooks were taken along and added:

> Formerly no man joined a war party until he was twenty four winters old, as they were thought to be too imprudent at an earlier age; but of late years this custom has not obta ned among them. The aged often continue to bear arms so long as their strength permits, and some have been known to join warparties when from their advanced age they were obligated to ride on horseback; but in these cases they did not approach the field of battle.[176]

The bow and arrow constituted the principal weapon; shields of elkhide or bark and helmets constructed of sticks were used.[178] War parties may have worn special regalia; Holm said that they wore red turkey feathers when going to war.[177]

War parties even when directed at Europeans were small in size. With perhaps a few exceptions, their size never exceeded two dozen men. This was in keeping with their military tactics in that a successful war party consisted of a rapid raid without loss and the capture of prisoners or plunder. A big battle was considered to have occurred if ten or eleven warriors were killed.[178] The taking of scalps was mentioned in the seventeenth century,[179] and prisoners were taken:

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[173] Denton, 1845, p. 8; Van der Donck, 1909, pp. 300-301.
[174] Trowbridge MS.
[175] Heckewelder, 1881, p. 210.
[176] Trowbridge MS.
[177] Johnson, 1917, pp. 281-82; Holm, 1834, p. 138; Lindestrom, 1925, p. 197; Loskiel, 1794, p. 141.
[178] Holm, 1834, p. 137.
[179] *Ibid.*, pp. 137-38; Van der Donck, 1909, pp. 300-301.
[180] Holm, p. 138.

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372 were generally careful to keep burning. On journeys they were accustomed to carry fire with them from one lodging-place [484] to another, for which purpose they used a certain kind of fungus,[40] that grows upon trees. With such a glowing piece of fungus they could travel from morning to evening. This custom has to the present day not ceased among the Indians, nor has the method of making fire described above, some still employing it on special occasions and in connection with their sacrifices, in order to remind themselves of former customs and usages. Fire-
313 wood they did not split in former days nor could they have done so with their hatchets of stone. They burned it into pieces of such length that could be carried home. They built a fire against the trunks of standing trees and kept it burning until they fell, which method still obtains among them, especially the older ones, for whom it is difficult to fell trees and split wood and who, perhaps, do not even own a hatchet. These may not burn a piece of split wood during a whole winter, but provide fuel for themselves in the manner described, which is quite easy and convenient for them.

396 Canows made of wood as well as bast, they also had in earlier days, fashioning the former out of a whole tree trunk, which they burned out and only used their hatchets to chop off glowing coals, lest they should burn in deeper in one place than another or even burn a hole through.

342 Their dwellings were huts of bark, which they lined with rushes in order to keep out the cold, roofed they were with bark, even as is the case now, though sometimes rushes or long, dry reed-grass served the purpose.

Underground dwellings there were, also, of which here and there traces may be found, particularly along the Muskingum, in which region one may yet see many places, where embankments, still to be seen, were thrown up around a whole town.[41] Here and there, furthermore, near the sites of such towns there
361 are mounds, not natural, but made by the hand of man, for in
●726 those days the natives carried on great wars with one another, Indians being formerly, according to their own testimony, far more numerous than at the present time. At the top of these mounds there was a hollow place, to which the Indians brought

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their wives and children when the enemies approached and attacked them, the men ranging themselves round the mound for defensive action. Their weapons were the bow and arrow and a wooden club, this last a piece of wood of not quite arm's length, having at the end a round knob about the size of a small child's head and made of very hard wood. Shields they bore made of hardened buffalo leather and presenting a convex surface without, while being hollow within. The curved outer surface they held toward the enemy and before their own breasts and faces in order that arrows discharged at them, striking the curved surface, would glance off and go to the side. With the left hand they held both shield and bow and with the right they drew the bow and held the arrow. On the above named hills they always had great blocks lying all about, in order that should the enemies attempt to storm the heights these might be rolled upon and among them so as to keep them off. In such attacks both sides usually lost many men, which were often buried in one pit and a great mound of earth raised above them, such as may even now be seen bearing in these days great and mighty trees.[18]

Dogs they likewise possessed in former days, of a kind still to be found in considerable numbers among them. These may be readily distinguished from European dogs, which are now most commonly found among the Indians, especially the Delawares. The ears of Indian dogs rise rigidly from the head and the animals have something of a wolfish nature, for they show their teeth immediately when roused. They will never attack a wolf in the forest, though set on to do so, in this respect, also differing from European dogs. Of their origin their masters can give as little information as of that of the Indians themselves.

The wampum strings of the Indians were formerly made of bits of wood, some white, some black, which were used in connection with embassies and speeches. Belts of wampum were also made. Some few were made of mussel-shells, which were held in the same value among them as gold among the Europeans, for much time was consumed in making even one such string of wampum. When whites came into the country these contrived to make wampum strings which they bartered to the Indians, who used them in place of their wooden wampum, as

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the command of the captains, especially in times of war, and do nothing without their consent. They neither leave the troop nor go hunting, as they know that their life and honor in a great measure depends upon the prudent conduct of their captains, and they obey them with pleasure. The night previous to the march of the army is spent in feasting, at which the chiefs are present, a hog, if procurable, being killed for the occasion. After the feast the captain and his people begin the war dance and continue till daybreak when they are quite hoarse and weary. Sometimes they dance in turn, each taking the head of the hog in his hand; again all dance together. Spectators are admitted, and may even join in the dance. Sometimes instead of a hog a couple of dogs are killed, not because dog's flesh is a delicacy, for the Indian dogs are very lean, but because it is said to inspire them with the true spirit of war and murder. I have even seen women partake of this feast, eating the dog's flesh with great greediness. I have steadily and courteously refused to partake when invited. The war dance having been completed they march out on the following day. The captain leads and his men follow in single file. When they reach the end of the street, they fire their pieces one after another and the captain begins the war song. As both their friends and the women generally accompany them to the first night's encampment, they halt about two or three miles from the town, dance the war dance once more, and the day following begin the march proper.

As they commonly have a long and tedious journey into the enemies' land, their provisions are soon exhausted. They are then obliged to spend some days in hunting. No one enjoys any precedence during the march, not even the captain. They divide their provisions in equal shares, even if each man should get only a mouthful of bread or spoonful of meat. When they reach Indian towns with which they are at peace provisions are given them. They never go out in large parties but usually in small companies of ten or twenty, in order that they may not suffer so much for want of provisions. The captain is very attentive to the condition of his troop being answerable for all his men. If but a few are weary he orders all to halt till they

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726 have recovered. As soon as they enter the enemies' country they can hunt no longer for fear of being betrayed. They provide themselves, therefore, with provisions for several days and watch their opportunity. Occasionally they must lie in hiding many days until their purpose is attained. As soon as the deed has been accomplished, they hurry away, exercising the greatest caution inasmuch as they know that they will be pursued and
727 may themselves suffer injury. Those whom they kill are scalped and the scalps taken home. Prisoners secured are bound and led away and kept bound until they are no more in fear of pursuers. Thereafter the prisoners' fetters are loosed during the day. During the night they are fastened by their feet to a stake so split as to admit one leg, this stake being fastened to another that is driven into the ground. If one of them is wounded the warriors apply remedies which they carry with them on their expeditions and generally succeed in restoring them. Often the wounded must be carried, and if it is at all possible to get them away they are not left to perish. They even carry off their dead, or at least their scalps, or bury the dead lest they should fall into the hands of their enemies. In a skirmish with the whites they generally remove their dead, which makes it hard to determine how many have been killed in action.[289] They generally return from a war in a half-starved state, which is not to be wondered at because of the hard experiences they have gone through, especially on the return. On the return march they are constantly in fear, not knowing which night their enemies may fall upon them, hence they proceed by forced marches until they know themselves to be out of danger. Occasionally, they are attacked at night or at break of day, when they sometimes succeed in saving life by flight, leaving their weapons and everything else behind. Thus deprived, they may be able to travel several hundred miles until they arrive in the territory of peaceful nations where they again find sustenance. They generally suffer excessive hunger and fatigue by the way, living upon the bark of trees, wild herbs and roots. Much of this they do not have to fear when engaged in war with whites, for these will not pursue them for any great distance. Cases have been known where the Indians have attacked

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622 reprimand, and must promise to fulfill his duty better in the future.

The name Delawares undoubtedly has its origin with the Europeans, for neither they themselves nor other nations use this name. They call themselves the Lenni-Lenape Indians or *Il'oapanachke*, that is people living towards the rising of the sun, having formerly inhabited the eastern coast of North America. It is possible that the word Delawares should have been applied to the nation; because the Unami Tribe, which lived nearest the sea, uses the word *'udellowen* very much. This word, meaning "I say," being a verb, appears frequently and in many forms in the conversation of the people. The first Europeans, not understanding the language and hearing this word very often may have made Delaware out of it and called the people thus. The Indians themselves believe this to be the explanation, though it is possible that the Europeans have another, of which I am not aware."[1]

211 If a party of Indians have spent a night in the woods, it may be easily known, not only by the structure of their sleeping huts but also by their marks on the trees, to what tribe they belong. For they always leave a mark behind made either with red pigment or charcoal. Such marks are understood by the Indians who know how to read their meaning. Some markings point out the places where a company of Indians have been hunting, showing the number of nights they spent there, the [532] number of deer, bears and other game killed during the hunt. The warriors sometimes paint their own deeds and adventures, the number of prisoners or scalps taken, the number of troops they commanded and how many fell in battle.

726 If two nations are engaged in war and the warriors of one commit some murderous act, it is not uncommon that they leave the hatchet in the head of the victim who has been scalped or lay a war-club, painted red, upon the body of the victim. This is a formal challenge, in consequence of which, a captain of the insulted party takes up the weapon of the murderers and hastens into their country to be avenged. He will do much the same thing, leaving his weapon upon the murdered, and

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endeavor to bring back a scalp or several scalps to show that he has avenged the rights of his nation.

Across the Mississippi there lives a nation called the Su.[225] They live along the river Su far beyond the Illinois, where there are vast plains without trees and on which wild goats, buffalo and other game graze. As there is no wood, the Indians burn dried buffalo manure. For the winter they provide themselves with peat, which they dry with grass. Their utensils they make of clay and burn them, wherever they may be, for they travel from place to place following game. Their weapons are the bow and arrow. Water being scarce on the plains, they catch the dew for cooking and drinking purposes. For this purpose they use large sponges that grow on the rocks in the rivers. This I have been told by an Englishman who lived sometime in that country. These Indians trade with the Spaniards. I have heard from various sources that the further west one goes the more extensive are the plains.

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Indians usually treat one another with kindness and civility and in their bearing toward one another are modest. They are communicative but thoughtful. Of empty compliments they know nothing. In meeting it is customary to shake hands, greet one another with the friendly title of Father, Older or Younger Brother, Uncle, Cousin, Grand Son, Grandfather and say "I am glad to see you." Sometimes all this is repeated when the guests have been sometime in the house. Expression of greeting through others is hardly customary, occasionally a gift is sent by way of greeting. Greetings are expressed in all sincerity. If sentiments do not correspond to words and forms, the latter are dispensed with. If warriors, going to war or coming from war, when the murderous spirit is on them greet one (I will not say an Indian, for that were nothing unusual, but a white person) one may certainly believe to possess their favor and good grace and need fear no harm, for if they have the least feeling against anyone, they will use no form of greeting. This I know from frequent experience. An Indian carries pouch and pipe with him wherever he goes, for they are indispensable. For state occasions they may have an otter skin

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11. A syrup made by roasting onions is taken for colds. For infants and small children the syrup is sweetened and a few drops taken clear or in milk.

12. Mutton tallow is an emollient for chapped and irritated skin. It is used to make ointment.

13. Muscular cramps may be relieved by bathing the affected parts with urine.

14. A tea made from roasted, charred pig hoofs is beneficial for colds.

15. For snake bite suck the venom from the wound with a hollow piece of deer antler.

16. Treatment of sick horses. Years ago, after their migration westward, the Delaware used horses for travel. Often their animals would become ill during hunting activities on the Western plains. This was believed due to unsuitable drinking water or from eating poisonous weeds. Other disabilities were due to "bots"[6] or colic. For colic, strong tobacco juice, or gun-powder dissolved in hot water was administered. The most effective treatment was to throw a bucket of very hot water containing finely chopped bits of weasel hide[7] over the horse. Then the owner would force his weight up and down on the animal's abdomen or occasionally, beat it with a wet, heavy blanket for ten or fifteen minutes. The horse soon recovered and was again on his feet.

Warrior's Medicine

Warriors long ago also received gifts from supernatural agencies which enabled them to excell in feats of bravery. Their power came in dream-visions in which the identity of the supernatural was made known. Sometimes a power-song was granted at the same time. Certain men were appointed as leaders of the warriors and custodians of the secret formulæ, from which a particular preparation called "warrior medi-

[6] The larvæ of certain flies. Eggs are laid on the inside of the animal's foreleg, gain entrance into the blood stream and are carried to the alimentary tract where incubation takes place.

[7] The hide of the so-called "spotted weasel" is used for this purpose. My informant had never seen this animal but it had been described to him by his mother. It may refer to the ordinary weasel at the period of seasonal pilage change from brown to white. The species known to the Delaware are the Bonaparte (*Mustela cicognani*), and New York weasel (*M. noveboracensis*), Anthony, 1928, p. 102.

4: Tantaquidgeon E-5 (1930) 1942
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cine,"[8] was prepared. Such formulæ were transferred from the warriors of one generation to another, in native theory only those known to live clean, pure lives being the recipients. A warrior carried a bundle which contained medicine and personal charms. The medicine stone[9] was used only in times of crisis.

Use of Wampum in Healing

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Shell wampum is used in treating cases of paralysis or similar afflictions believed due to failure of parents to fulfill certain ceremonial obligations or to breaking certain taboos. Before receiving treatment the patient presents one yard of wampum[10] to the medicine man. Potency is added to the herbal medicines by the wampum and enables the doctor to diagnose the case in a brief time.[11]

[756]

The Otter Medicine

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The Otter[12] was regarded as the most sacred of all water animals. It figured in a ceremony described by Harrington[13] in which the spirit of the Otter was propitiated. In order to capture the animal a special lure was made. The formula for preparing such medicine[14] was in the custody of an old man of sufficient spiritual purity to withstand its great power. Certain roots,[15] cleaned by the old man in running water to the accompaniment of a song, were used. In doing so he was obliged to walk against the current, throwing water upon his tracks to conceal them. A secluded place was sought out for this preparatory rite. The medicine was hidden away from his dwelling lest it lose potency through the proximity of a woman. The medicine was considered very effective in luring other water animals, since it was a gift from the Otter, the most powerful of such creatures.

[8] According to Zeisberger *(op. cit.,* p. 127) "The captains and others secure a *beson* (medicine) to preserve themselves from arrow and ball." Converse (1910, p. 168) notes the use of medicine made from the roots of corn, which the men drank. It afforded them such supernatural protection that "they could not be shot even though they were shot at seven times."

[9] See page 23.

[10] Measured from the shoulder to the wrist.

[11] The function of wampum in healing and in the ceremony of the Big House is discussed by Speck, 1931, pp. 52-53.

[12] *Lutra canadensis.*

[13] 1921, p. 176.

[14] Known as "otter medicine."

[15] The same plant, "pull up" *(Sp.?)* is also used in preparation of love charms (see p. 13).

the Lenape in dealings with other tribes and was entrusted with the protection of the tribal bag of records or mementoes. Interestingly enough, succession to this post was only partially hereditary, being the result of selection by the chiefs of the other two divisions from within a certain prescribed range of the male relatives of the old chief. Any chief might be deposed for improper or incompetent handling of affairs (Ruttenber, pp. 47-48; Harrington, 1913, p. 211; Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 107-11; Zeisberger, 1910, pp. 93-95).

Use of pictographic symbols and colored wampum to express meaning were two methods by which the chief could communicate with the bands in tangible form [11] (Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 109 and 130-31). One author also credits them with a special language used only in wartime to prevent their enemies from understanding their communications (Lindstrom, p. 204).

War

The powers of civil government were suspended in time of war and direction fell into the hands of the "captains", as they were usually called by the old writers. Little was written of Lenape customs in warfare during the early colonial period when most of the Delaware wars were against other tribes and seldom against the white settlers. The following section based on eighteenth century material is inserted th give a more complete picture of Delaware life rather than for comparative purposes.

The position of captain was achieved through leading several successful missions against enemy forces; that is, missions in which greater amounts of goods, prisoners and scalps were brought back than were lost. Most frequently, boys who aimed at the achievement of this status did so as the result of an adolescent vision. Those who succeeded were usually those who had had such a vision, which is not surprising as they would be likely to be fortified with greater assurance and more assiduous training (Ziesberger, 1910, p. 101; Loskiel, p. 142).

A chief could not declare war without the unanimous consent of his warrior chiefs; if they were unanimous in favoring war, he could not refuse to "accept the hatchet" (Loskiel, p. 144; Ruttenber, p. 48; Ziesberger, 1910, p. 98). Peace, on the other hand, could only be made effective by the chief whose decision in this matter had to be accepted by the warriors.

War, according to a partisan of the Delawares, was declared as a result of other tribes hunting in their territory, murder of a member of their tribe by an outsider, or robbery from a Delaware camp (Heckewelder, 1881, p. 175). Add to these causes the desire to confiscate property of other tribes for glory, and the list would be more complete (Loskiel, p.143).

be more complete (Loskiel, p. 143). The typical pre-white type of conflict was one in which a captain took a group of eight or ten warriors on a raid of the enemy camp, from which they carried off what goods they could, a few scalps and prisoners. If the chief of the raiding tribe did not denounce the raiding party and make recompense to the other tribe, war would be declared (Heckewelder, 1881, p. 176; Loskiel, p. 148). The warriors were recruited at a dance in which they signified their desire to participate by joining the warriors already dancing. This was a festive occasion at which women were present and it was repeated at the first night's camping ground to which the women followed the warriors (Heckewelder, 1881, p. 210; Loskiel, p. 146).

Prisoners were taken primarily to replace men of the tribe who had been killed in battle or died a natural death since the last war. On the march home prisoners received the same fare as the warriors themselves, but at each Delaware town they passed they were forced to perform for the amusement of the townspeople and run the gauntlet. This ordeal consisted in running between two parallel lines in which the townspeople were drawn up and suffering the blows of the double file until a specified pole was reached which guaranteed their safety. When the home village was reached, the same procedure occurred except that those who were to be adopted were sometimes protected by their foster families. Those who were not adopted were tortured in most of the ways the human mind has been able to devise, but gradual dismemberment and slow burning seem to have been the most common. A prisoner who remained impassive under this treatment was held in high esteem.

Women and children were not usually injured and the peace messenger was also granted immunity, indeed hospitality. Two essential ceremonies of the peace conference were the smoking of the peace pipe and the exchanging of strings of wampum to confirm the covenant (Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 215-18; Loskiel, pp. 143-156; Hill, pp. 53-55; Zeisberger, 1910, pp. 102-03 and 151).

The weapons used were the bow and arrow, the stone axe and a club with a rounded knob on the end. For defense they had a shield and helmet made of wooden sticks bound together with leather or hemp cord (Johnson, 1915, pp. 201-02; Loskiel, p. 141). Some of the east coast villages were palisaded for protection (Krieger, p. 51; Brinton, 1885, p. 51; Skinner, 1915, p. 7; Heye, p. 11).

Crime

Offenses against members of the group became a concern of the chief only when they could not be settled by the families concerned. "The Justice they have is Pecuniary: In case of any Wrong or evil Fact, be it Murther it self, they Attone by Feasts and Presents of

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
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cross on the back. We can see in this rite a parallel to the information we already have concerning the practice of scratching the body with the teeth of some kind of fish.[1]

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THE SCRATCHING CEREMONY

yu'kwe nda'yaxkənu't·əmən e·'hele·k lə'mwe
Now I am relating how these performances long ago

ə'nda e·lowę'si·k' do·'p·ali·n ni·kani·'xiŋgi·k' i·la·'ək'
when it was called scouting. The leading warriors

maeŋge·'yək' a'kənu't·aa·u e·'loweŋg pənahɔ'k·i·en
called together a council, they talked about what is called exploring

ci·'takɔ do·'p·ali·n ək a'kəni·ma'n ski·no'wək'
or scouting and they talked to young men

kę'ci·lɔ·i·'tci·k ke'ko e·hel·ɑ'ci·mwi·'"ti·t'
those who "great men" are in something who had had visions in dreams

wuska'ti·la'ək hi·ta'n·dəl·a·n ək wu'ndji· ki·ki·'naməŋ
the young warriors are trained and so are acquainted with

we·'mi· yu'ta li·' te·'kane. wa'ni· ni·kani·'xiŋ ək
all this the wilderness. The leader and

məte·'inowək kələ'n·əmuk' i·laopa'ə·i·'kan ne·'ako
the medicine men "doctors" carry with them warrior's medicine before

a'ləm'ska'ti·t' i·la'o'keyək haŋg tamaeha'ŋg. wu'ska'-
they go off They have a war dance said sometimes. The young

ti·la'ək' wəli·'hil·i·k'cə'mən awe·'n hɔ'k·ae wu'ndji
warriors scratch themselves a person's body that is why

we·'i·tci·lae'ŋge·n təli·' te'pi·lə'ə·i·n a'hi· xahe'len·a'u'ki·
to convince that they are able very many are

ha't·e· ehela'ehɔə·i·'t·up' wa'ni· lən·a'p·e. ə'n·da
they had the performances the Delawares. When

we'ndja'ki·t' təli·' do·'pali·n ci·'takɔ i·la'o'k·an
they are prepared to scout or have war dance

ək cəmu'tc' lə'mwe ə'n·da pa'sa''hɔmaŋg
and also long time ago when they played Indian football

a'hi· təmi·'ki· awe·'n wəli·'hil·i·k'can hɔ'k·ayə
very ofttimes anyone scratch himself [until bleeds] on body

[1] Archibald Loudon, "A Collection of Some of the Most Interesting Narratives of the Outrages Committed by Indians in the Wars with the White People." 2 vols., Carlisle, 1808, reprinted 1888, containing Narrative of the Captivity of John McCullough, written by himself, 1776, pp. 269-70. See also for Shawnee

7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
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ta'mæhaŋg	awe·'n	ə'nda	we·'i·tci·na'k'·si·t'	təli·'
sometimes	a person	when	he looked the part	that

kąci·lə'ə·i·n	ɔk	ni·hi·l·a't·aŋge	elki·'kwi·
he was powerful	and	could win [the game]	how in any way

ai·'hiwe·t'	lowe·'nhaŋg	api·'laxta·.
as he wished	is called, said	used supernatural power.

Free Translation.

Now, I am relating what was done long ago when scouting, as it was called. The leading warriors called a council. They talked about what is called exploring, or scouting. And the great men talked to the young men about the thing they possessed in their dream vision. The young warriors are trained and hence are acquainted with all this for the wilderness. The leader and the conjurors carry with them warrior's medicine. Before they start off they have a war dance, according to custom. Sometimes the young warriors scratch themselves,[4] each one on his body, in order to convince them that they have ability. Very many were the different rites the Delawares had, when they prepared for scouting or in the war dance, and also long ago when they played football. Very frequently a person would scratch himself to bleed his body. Sometimes when a person showed proof that he was powerful and could win out in any way he wished, it was said he used spiritual power.[5]

CEREMONIAL TRAINING AND PERSONAL CONDUCT

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In a category somewhat by itself may be placed some rites which seem to bear upon the ceremonial appearance of the individual as he presents himself for a day's program in life.

It was customary for the Delawares to apply fresh red paint to the face each day, coloring the cheeks and forehead. A line of red paint was also marked in the part of the hair from the forehead up. The coloring matter was ordinarily

analogy, T. W. Alford, "Civilization," University of Oklahoma Press, 1936, pp. 21-2.

[4] This weakened rite seems to be the only manifestation in Delaware ethnology of the ceremonial scarification that assumed such intensive force to the southward.

[5] The young men were advised by their elders not to use supernatural power unless there were serious need for it. This seems to be a common Algonkian opinion.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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II. THE DELAWARE TRIBE

HISTORICAL SKETCH

The Delaware call themselves Lenape or Lenni Lenape. Their common name is derived from the fact that their first known residence was on the river so named by the English. Lindeström gives their location in 1656 as in the vicinity of Philadelphia on the west side of the Delaware River, and their kindred, the Munsee, were located on the east side. The territory that they occupied was probably much more extensive than Lindeström indicated, but little beyond the water courses had been explored in those days. The Delaware were still in possession of the river when William Penn entered into his first treaty with them in 1682.

The British administration after Penn's time was aligned with the Iroquois who assumed domination over the Delaware. It is practically impossible to determine the exact time or circumstances of the Iroquois "making women" of the Delaware, but about 1720 they denied the Delaware the right to make war or to dispose of land. Very soon the Delaware were being crowded out of their old locations by the Iroquois and the whites. They moved to various sites farther west in Pennsylvania, and by 1751 began to settle in eastern Ohio. Within a few years the majority of them were in Ohio and Indiana. The Moravian missionaries who followed them from the East established themselves in Ohio and worked with great success until the Revolution.

Distrusted by both the British and the colonists, the Delaware and particularly the Moravian converts, were harried from both sides. The Gnadenhütten Massacre in 1782 was the greatest blow dealt by the colonists, but while demoralizing, it was not as devastating as were the moves forced upon the Indians by the British the year before. The famine and other hardships resulting from these forced emigrations scattered and decimated the Christian Delaware and also created the opportunity for the

	Williams	Van der Donck	Lindeström	Zeisberger	Heckewelder	Johnston	Pipe	Chipps	J. W.	W. T.	E. R.	W. L.
357. Average height						•	•		5'9"	5'10"	•	5'10"
358. All have high cheek-bones						—		+	+		—	+
Constitution, personal appearance, dress, etc.—Continued												
359. Constitutions more rugged than that of whites						•+		+	+	+		+
360. General state of health better than that of whites								+	+	+		+
War and its incidents												
361. Decided upon by council or civil chiefs	+			•(+)		+	+	+	+	•+	+	•
362. Declared by killing and scalping enemy				+	+	+	+	+	+	•	•	
363. Preceded by demand for redress					+	s	+	•	+		+	
364. Notice of war given					—	—	—		+		•+	
365. Notify allied tribes				+			+		•	•	•	
366. War chief determines mode of conducting						+	+		+		+	
367. Force raised by call for volunteers		+				+	+	+	+	+	+	
368. Destination determined by war chief						+	+	•	—		—	
369. Commander appointed by civil chiefs						—	+	+	+		+	
370. Commander volunteers						+	—	—	—		—	
371. Inferior officers appointed by commander						—	+	+	+		+	
372. Inferior officers volunteer						+	—	•	—		—	
373. Cooks are on permanent appointment							+		(+)		+	
374. Ceremonies before start of expedition: General assembly				+		+	+	+	+		+	
375. Feast				•+			•+	•+	•+		+	
376. Dance				+	+		+	+	—		+	
377. Civil chief cautions party				+		+	+		+			
378. Subdivisions of forces on march	+				s	—	+		+		+	
379. Each man carries own provisions	+			+		+	+	+	+	—	+	
380. Discipline preserved	+			+		+	+	+	+	+	+	
381. March in single file				+	s	+	•+	•	(+)	•—	•—	
382. Encampment arranged East and West						+	•+	+	•—		•—	
383. Number of poles parallel to fires						2	2	1	•	•	•	
384. Guns stacked against poles						+	+	•+	•	•	•	
385. Exit only at end of poles						+	+	+	•	•	•	

+ = element present
— = element denied
(+) or (—) = source ambiguous
• = informant could not or would not say
s = some, sometimes, or several
† or * = see Ethnographic Notes, pp. 79-137 for additional information

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721 their success were reported (413, 414). According to the sources, the council decided the question of going to war against a certain tribe (361), but the specific destination of a war party was determined by the war chief leading it. The informants' disagreement is undoubtedly in error.

726 The commander of a war party was appointed by the civil chiefs and he in turn appointed his supporting officers (369-72). There is some disagreement on these matters among the sources but the informants agree with the majority. A party usually marched in single file behind the chief, according to the sources, but this custom was practically unknown to the informants (381). Their information probably reflects a change in custom caused by the change in habitat from the eastern woodlands to the plains. The narrow forest trails that enforced a single file were left behind. It is possible that the change in the form of encampment from a line to a circle is also to be attributed to the change in residence (382).

727 It is surprising that two of the informants should recall the ceremonies on the field of victory reported by Heckewelder in the second period and denied by all the third-period sources (388). Ceremonies on the return home of a defeated party were similarly denied by the third-period sources and affirmed, although vaguely, by two of the fourth-period informants (393). As I have said before, conclusions based on statements of this sort are rather unsound because of lack of uniformity in what is meant by ceremony.

Although some of the earliest historic accounts report the burning of prisoners by various Indian tribes, the Delaware did not do so according to the implications of Lindeström (395). In the second period burning was reported, but in the third period it was denied, although Pipe said it was an ancient practice. The fourth-period informants knew nothing of the practice.

713 Defensive armor was reported by the first-period sources and by Zeisberger in the second period (402). Heckewelder and the third-period accounts denied the use of armor. Then in the fourth period two of three informants again reported it. The explanation of this contradiction seems to be that the use

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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of defensive armor stopped in the second period, perhaps as the result of the introduction of firearms against which it was ineffective, but the memory of it continued into the fourth period. The third-period accounts were based on the practice of that time, whereas the last period accounts reflected the custom of the earliest period. 713

A similar situation seems to exist in regard to the consultation of jugglers before the march of a war party (408). We have no information on this point from the first or second period and such consultation is denied in the third period, but Chipps reported in 1824 that fifty years and more before it had been customary for the chiefs to consult the jugglers. The three informants in the fourth period were unanimous in reporting the reliance upon jugglers for determining the omens concerning a war party. 726 787

Sieges were not a war practice of the Delaware according to the early accounts (412). The sieges reported in the fourth period were of comparatively recent occurrence. 723

Roger Williams reported that enemy heads were taken as trophies and he made no mention of scalps (415). Other New England accounts of the same period related that hands were also cut off as trophies. We have no information on this point for the Delaware of the same period. In the next period Heckewelder said the Indians took scalps as trophies but that they referred to them as heads. About the same time accounts of other tribes stated that heads were taken if possible, but if pressed by pursuit or too encumbered by heads, a warrior would reduce his load by saving only the scalps. It is doubtful if the practice of taking scalps instead of heads originated in historic times, but it is certain that it completely replaced the latter, probably in the second period. 727

Peace

The elements entering into peace negotiations suffered a fate very similar to those of war. The sources and informants uniformly stated that ambassadors were sent to negotiate a peace (416), and that peace terms were negotiated and not dictated 728

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W. T. and E. R. say that right was always used. 576

68. Story telling: in winter and at night only

W. L. said that one rule was that no one could sit up during the telling of stories as it might make them humpbacked. 538 784

78. Peculiarities in encampments

JOHN JOHNSTON—There is no [peculiarity] in their moving from place to place or in their hunting encampments, but they are very particular in the mode of erecting their war encampments. 361 726

E. R.—Camp site was fixed so that allied tribes would know who had been there, and which direction they went. The way they fixed the fire and ashes would tell who made the camp. [202]

79. Identification of makers of encampment

JOHN JOHNSTON—They can [identify them] because every tribe has a different mode of encamping and by the size of the camp or camps they can calculate very nigh the number that were in them. 361 202

CAPTAIN CHIPPS—They can tell the camps of the Cayugas and Massisagas, by their peculiar manner of encamping. Generally speaking, it is impossible for them to tell from a deserted camp, what particular tribe has occupied it.

83. Differences from other tribes in sociability, etc.

J. W.—Delaware are more friendly and sociable than other tribes even though they cannot trust others. The Delaware way of raising is to have children grow up to be friendly and pleasant so that other people will like them and they may do big things—get places on council, in Big House, and be a credit to parents. 181

W. T.—Sociability, friendliness, and hospitality are marked characteristics that distinguish Delaware from other tribes and should be rated first.

88. Spare lives of snakes

HECKEWELDER stated that Delaware spared the lives of snakes because killing one would bring other creeping things to bite them. 784 825

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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375. Feast

721 ZEISBERGER reported the feast preceding a war party to be of a hog.

CAPTAIN PIPE said it was a bear that was eaten.

CAPTAIN CHIPPS said a bear was eaten if available, otherwise a buck.

J. W. said that the feast was preceded by a fast.

381. March in single file

726 CAPTAIN PIPE—They march in single file so long as they suppose themselves out of danger, but when by their spies they learn that caution is necessary, they separate into smaller bodies and form a solid one, as circumstances and the plan of attack render necessary.

W. T. and E. R. both said that war leader went first and the rest followed "in a herd."

382. Encampment arranged in east-west direction

CAPTAIN PIPE—When the party encamp they cut two long poles which they fasten to stakes at the distance of three or four feet from the ground, on opposite sides. In the centre between these poles two stakes are fastened in the earth from which their cooking kettle is suspended. On each side of the fire the warriors repose themselves having their weapons at their heads, resting against the poles. The leader places himself at the eastern end of this open encampment, the sides of which are generally made to run east and west; and notwithstanding the ease with which a warrior can creep out at the sides, he is compelled by custom to rise and walk in the line between the feet of his companions and go out at the end. Nor is any person permitted to go under the cooking poles in crossing from one side to the other. In the morning they leave the encampment without eating, following the chief, who goes out at the eastern end of the lodge singing his war song as they march.

J. W. and E. R. said war encampments were arranged in a circle.

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384. Guns stacked against pole

CAPTAIN CHIPPS—In marching against an enemy, they regularly encamp at Sunset—the method pursued, is, for the young men to procure two crotched poles and a cross piece, against which the guns are stacked, being first covered with *skin cases*— a fire is built on each side of this, between which and their guns, they take their rest, with their heads towards the guns, and their feet to the fire. 726

386. War chief determines question of battle

CAPTAIN CHIPPS—The chief decides in most cases, upon the expedience of giving battle—in times of difficulty however, he takes the votes of his warriors on the subject. The order of battle is decided in the same way, subject to be altered by circumstances. [725]

388. Any ceremony of victory on field

HECKEWELDER said that there was a dance of thanksgiving upon the return of a victorious war party. 727

W. T. and E. R. thought that there was a ceremony of some kind but did not know exactly what it was.

393. Ceremonies on return if defeated

E. R. said that the few survivors of a defeat in war returned home, pounded a drum and sang a death song by which the villiagers knew that they had been defeated and came and condoled with them.

395. Prisoners burned

CAPTAIN PIPE—The practice of burning prisoners is said to have been very ancient. It extended particularly to great warriors, whose capture and death was accompanied with loud shouts by the victors.

399. Age of beginning to bear arms

J. W. said boy might begin to bear arms at 14 years and even accompany war parties but could not be considered a warrior until the age of 35. [884]

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408. Consultation of jugglers before march

721 787 CAPTAIN CHIPPS—There are no jugglers now (1824) living—the last that are recollected lived about 50 years ago—it was customary then for the chiefs to consult them, and be guided by their advice.

410. Women accompany war party

726 CAPTAIN PIPE—Anciently the women were never known to accompany a war party, but since booty has been an inducement they have been much in the habit of joining them.

CAPTAIN CHIPPS—The women seldom go into battle—they have however a right to fight, which entitles them to a place in the ranks—if they behave well, they are as much commended as the male warriors.

415. Scalps taken

727 ROGER WILLIAMS said that the whole head was taken as a trophy.

PEACE

728 *418. Ambassadors of peace carry white wampum*

J. W. reported that an ambassador carried "something" but not necessarily a belt of white wampum.

419. War club as emblem of desire for peace

J. W. insisted that chief left "some mark" at home of enemy chief to indicate a desire for peace but that it was not necessarily a war club.

426. Feasts

CAPTAIN PIPE in the first copy of his account said: The party inviting the assemblage of the council always furnish the necessary provisions for the visitors during their stay, but there are no feasts. In second and third copies of his account, he said there was a council after the preliminary negotiations and: At this council a grand feast was prepared and was accompanied with dancing.

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CHAPTER XVIII.

PRIDE AND GREATNESS OF MIND.

THE Indians are proud but not vain; they consider vanity as degrading and unworthy the character of a man. The hunter never boasts of his skill or strength, nor the warrior of his prowess. It is not right, they say, that one should value himself too much for an action which another may perform as well as himself, and when a man extols his own deeds, it seems as if he doubted his own capability to do the like again when he pleased. Therefore, they prefer in all cases to let their actions speak for themselves. The skins and peltry which the hunter brings home, the deer's horns on the roof of his cabin, the horses, furniture and other property that he possesses, his apparel and that of his family, the visits with which he is honoured by the first and best men among his nation; all these things shew what he is and what he has done, and with this he rests satisfied.

So with the warrior; it is enough for him that he is known to be a man of spirit and courage by the scalps and prisoners that he brings home; he never is seen going about boasting of his warlike exploits, and when questioned on the subject, he makes his answer as short as possible. Even when he is entering a town with his prisoners and scalps, he does not stare about to see whether the people are looking at him, but walks his usual steady pace and marches straight forward without appearing to see any body. When at some of their particular festivals, every warrior is called upon to relate his feats of arms, they make it a point to be as brief as pos-

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sible, leaving it to those who have done but little, to swell their actions into importance, and give themselves credit for what they have done. I cannot illustrate this subject better than by a few anecdotes.

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In the year 1779, two war chiefs, the one a young man of the Shawano tribe, and the other an old warrior of the Wyandots, living near Detroit, much celebrated for his great actions, but who during the whole of the revolutionary war, could not be persuaded to take the field against the Americans, met accidentally at my house on Muskingum, where they had separately come to pay me a friendly visit. The Shawano (whose nation, by the bye, are noted for much talk,) entered upon the subject of war, and with much earnestness in words and gestures, related the actions he had been engaged in, shewing at the same time on his arm the mark of a bullet wound. During all this time, the Wyandot, smoking his pipe, listened with great attention and apparent surprise; and having afterwards to answer, according to custom, by relating what he had done, he laid down his pipe, and deliberately drawing off his clothes, except the breech-cloth, rose up and said: "I have been in upwards "of twenty engagements with the enemy and fought with "the French against the English; I have warred against "the southern nations, and my body shews that I have "been struck and wounded by nine balls. These two "wounds I received at the same moment, from two Che-"rokees, who, seeing me fall, rested their guns against "a tree, and ran up with their tomohawks to dispatch "me, and take off my scalp. With the aid of the Great "Spirit, I jumped up, just at the moment when they "were about to give me the stroke. I struck them and "they both fell at my feet. I took their scalps, and re-"turned home." Thus this grave and respectable veteran gave a lesson to the young Shawano, which, if he well understood, he, no doubt, ever after remembered;

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535 721 enclosed or surrounded with posts, and roofed with the bark of trees; sometimes also this dance is executed in the open air. There every man presents himself in warrior's array, contemptuously looking upon the painted post, as if it was the enemy whom he is about to engage; as he passes by it he strikes, stabs, grasps, pretends to scalp, to cut, to run through; in short, endeavours to shew what he would do to a real enemy, if he had him in his power.

535 721 725 It was an ancient custom among the Indians to perform this dance round a prisoner, and as they danced, to make him undergo every kind of torture, previous to putting him to death. The prisoner appeared to partake in the merriment, contemptuously scoffing at his executioner, as being unskilled in the art of inflicting torments: strange as this conduct may appear, it was not without a sufficient motive. The object of the unfortunate sufferer was to rouse his relentless tormenters to such a pitch of fury, that some of them might, at an unguarded moment, give him the finishing stroke and put him out of his pain.

535 721 Previous to going out on a warlike campaign, the war-dance is always performed round the painted post. It is the Indian mode of recruiting. Whoever joins in the dance is considered as having enlisted for the campaign, and is obliged to go out with the party.

727 After returning from a successful expedition, a dance of *thanksgiving* is always performed, which partakes of the character of a religious ceremony. It is accompanied with singing and chorusses, in which the women join. But they take no part in the rest of the performance. At the end of every song, the *scalp-yell* is shouted as many times as there have been scalps taken from the enemy.

The Indians also meet occasionally for the purpose of recounting their warlike exploits, which is done in a kind of half-singing or *recitative*. The oldest warrior recites

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first, then they go on in rotation and in order of seniority, the drum beating all the time, as it were to give to the relation the greater appearance of reality. After each has made a short recital in his turn, they begin again in the same order, and so continue going the rounds, in a kind of alternate chaunting, until every one has concluded. On these occasions, great care must be taken not to give offence by affecting superiority over the others, for every warrior feels his own consequence, and is ready, if insulted, to shew by his actions, what he has performed in war and is still able to do. I well remember an instance of the kind, when an insulted warrior stepped out of the circle in which he was dancing, and struck dead the impudent boaster who had offended him.

Their songs are in general of the warlike or of the tender and pathetic kind. They are sung in short sentences, not without some kind of measure, harmonious to an Indian ear. The music is well adapted to the words, and to me is not unpleasing. I would not attempt to give an idea of it by means of our musical notes, as has been done by other writers, lest I should be as unsuccesaful as those who have tried in the same manner to describe the melodies of the ancient Greeks. It would be well if I could describe at one and the same time the whole combination of effects which acted upon my ear, but it is vain to endeavour to do it partially. It is, indeed, much the same with their poetry; yet I cannot resist the temptation of translating as well as I can, the words of the Lenape's song, when they go out to war. They sing it, as I give it here, in short lines or sentences, not always the whole at one time, but most generally in detached parts, as time permits and as the occasion or their feelings prompt them. Their accent is very pathetic, and the whole, in their language, produces considerable effect.

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their solemn sacrifices. These religious ceremonies are not always performed in the same manner. I had intended to have given some details upon this subject, but I find that it has been almost exhausted by other writers,* although I will not pretend to say that they are correct on every point. But I do not wish to repeat things which have already been told to the world over and over. Therefore, if on some subjects, relating to the manners and customs of the Indians, I should be thought to have passed over too quickly, and not to have sufficiently entered into particulars, let it be understood that I have done so to avoid the repetition of what others have said, although I am afraid I have been inadvertently guilty of it in more than one instance. I would not presume to communicate my little stock of knowledge, if I did not think that it will add something to what is already known.

I do not recollect that it has already been mentioned, that previous to entering upon the solemnity of their sacrifices, the Indians prepare themselves by vomiting, fasting, and drinking decoctions from certain prescribed plants. This they do to expel the evil which is within them, and that they may with a pure conscience attend to the *sacred performance*, for such they consider it. Nor is the object of those sacrifices always the same; there are sacrifices of prayer and sacrifices of thanksgiving, some for all the favours received by them and their ancestors from the great Being, others for special or particular benefits. After a successful war they never fail to offer up a sacrifice to the great Being, to return him thanks for having given them courage and strength to destroy or conquer their enemies.

* See Loskiel, part 1. ch. 3.

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CHAPTER XXVII.

SCALPING—WHOOPS OR YELLS—PRISONERS.

726 **SCALPING** is a practice which the Indians say has obtained with their nations for ages. I need not describe
727 the manner in which the operation is performed, it has been sufficiently done by others.* Indian warriors think it necessary to bring home the scalps of those they have killed or disabled, as visible proofs of their valour; otherwise they are afraid that their relations of the combat and the account they give of their individual prowess might be doubted or disbelieved. Those scalps are dried
554 up, painted and preserved as trophies, and a warrior is esteemed in proportion to the number of them that he can shew.

726 It is well known fact that the Indians pluck out all their hair except one tuft on the crown of their heads,
302 but the reason of this exception is not, perhaps, so well understood, which is no other than to enable themselves to take off each others' scalps in war with greater facility. "When we go to fight an enemy," say they, "we "meet on equal ground; and we take off each other's "scalps, if we can. The conqueror, whoever he may be, "is entitled to have something to shew to prove his bra- "very and his triumph, and it would be *ungenerous* in a "warrior to deprive an enemy of the means of acqui- "ring that glory of which he himself is in pursuit. A "warrior's conduct ought to be *manly*, else he is *no man*." As this custom prevails among all the Indian nations, it

* See Loskiel, p. 1. ch. 11.

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would seem, as far as I have known, to be the result of a tacit agreement among them, to leave the usual trophies of victory accessible to the contending warriors on all sides; fearing, perhaps, that if a different custom should be adopted by one nation from motives of personal safety, or to destroy the warlike reputation of their rivals or enemies, it might be easily imitated on the other side, and there would be an end to Indian valour and heroism. Indeed, it is certain, that all the weapons which the Indians make use of in war are intended for *offence*; they have no breast-plates, helmets, nor any arms or accoutrements of the defensive kind, and it is not the least remarkable trait in their warlike character, that they make it even a point of honour to offer a hold of their persons to their enemy, by which if he should be possessed of greater skill or courage than themselves, he may not only the more easily destroy them, but is enabled to carry home their bloody spoils as trophies of his victory.

I once remarked to an Indian that if such was their reason for letting a tuft of hair grow on the top of their heads, they might as well suffer the whole to remain, and I could not perceive why they were so careful in plucking it out. To this observation he answered: "My friend! a human being has but one head, "and one scalp from that head is sufficient to shew that "it has been in my power. Were we to preserve a "whole head of hair as the white people do, *several* scalps "might be made out of it, which would be *unfair*. Be- "sides, the coward might thus without danger share in "the trophies of the brave warrior, and dispute with him "the honour of victory."

When the Indians relate their victories they do not say that they have taken so many "*scalps*," but so many "*heads*," in which they include as well those whom they have scalped, but left alive, (which is very often the case) and their prisoners, as those whom they have killed.

2 [erratum. See cat. 116, p. 348. - Amherst]

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Nor does it follow, when they reckon or number the heads of their prisoners, that they have been or are to be put to death.

It is an awful spectacle to see the Indian warriors return home from a successful expedition with their prisoners and the scalps taken in battle. It is not unlike the return of a victorious army from the field, with the prisoners and *colours*, taken from the enemy, but the appearance is far more frightful and terrific. The scalps are carried in front, fixed on the end of a thin pole, about five or six inches in length; the prisoners follow, and the warriors advance shouting the dreadful *scalp-yell*, which has been called by some the *death-halloo*, but improperly, for the reasons which I have already mentioned. For every *head* taken, dead or alive, a separate shout is given. In this yell or whoop, there is a mixture of triumph and terror; its elements, if I may so speak, seem to be *glory* and *fear*, so as to express at once the feelings of the shouting warriors, and those with which they have inspired to their enemies.

Different from this yell is the *alarm-whoop*, which is never sounded but when danger is at hand. It is performed in quick succession, much as with us the repeated cry of *Fire! Fire!* when the alarm is very great and lives are known or believed to be in danger. Both this and the scalp-yell consist of the sounds *aw* and *oh*, successively uttered, the last more accented, and sounded higher than the first; but in the *scalp-yell*, this last sound is drawn out at great length, as long indeed, as the breath will hold, and is raised about an octave higher than the former; while in the *alarm-whoop*, it is rapidly struck on as it were, and only a few notes above the other. These yells or whoops are dreadful indeed, and well calculated to strike with terror, those whom long habit has not accustomed to them. It is difficult to describe the impression which the *scalp-yell*, particularly, makes on a person who hears it for the first time.

[Decedan. Should read "feet." Analyst]

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I am now come to a painful part of my subject; the manner in which the Indians treat the prisoners whom they take in war. It must not be expected that I shall describe here the long protracted tortures which are inflicted on those who are doomed to the fatal pile, nor the constancy and firmness which the sufferers display, singing their death songs and scoffing all the while at their tormentors. Enough of other writers have painted these scenes with all their disgusting horrors; nor shall I, a Christian, endeavour to excuse or palliate them. But I may be permitted to say, that those dreadful executions are by no means so frequent as is commonly imagined. The prisoners are generally adopted by the families of their conquerors in the place of lost or deceased relations or friends, where they soon become domesticated and are so kindly treated that they never wish themselves away again. I have seen even white men, who, after such adoption, were given up by the Indians in compliance with the stipulations of treaties, take the first opportunity to escape from their own countrymen and return with all possible speed to their Indian homes; I have seen the Indians, while about delivering them up, put them at night in the stocks, to prevent their escaping and running back to them.

It is but seldom that prisoners are put to death by burning and torturing. It hardly ever takes place except when a nation has suffered great losses in war, and it is thought necessary to revenge the death of their warriors slain in battle, or when wilful and deliberate murders have been committed by an enemy on their innocent women and children, in which case the first prisoners taken are almost sure of being sacrificed by way of retaliation. But when a war has been successful, or unattended with remarkable acts of treachery or cruelty on the part of the enemy, the prisoners receive a milder treatment, and are incorporated with the nation of their conquerors.

1 [Erratum. Should read "00." - Analyst]

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727 Much has been said on the subject of the preliminary cruelties inflicted on prisoners when they enter an Indian village with the conquering warriors. It is certain that this treatment is very severe when a particular revenge is to be exercised, but otherwise, I can say with truth, that in many instances, it is rather a scene of amusement, than a punishment. Much depends on the courage and presence of mind of the prisoner. On entering the village, he is shown a painted post at the distance of from twenty to forty yards, and told to run to it and catch hold of it as quickly as he can. On each side of him stand men, women and children, with axes, sticks, and other offensive weapons, ready to strike him as he runs, in the same manner as is done in the European armies when soldiers, as it is called, run the gauntlet. If he should be so unlucky as to fall in the way, he will probably be immediately despatched by some person, longing to avenge the death of some relation or friend slain in battle; but the moment he reaches the goal, he is safe and protected from further insult until his fate is determined.

If a prisoner in such a situation shews a determined courage, and when bid to run for the painted post, starts at once with all his might and exerts all his strength and agility until he reaches it, he will most commonly escape without much harm, and sometimes without any injury whatever, and on reaching the desired point, he will have the satisfaction to hear his courage and bravery applauded. But wo to the coward who hesitates, or shews any symptoms of fear! He is treated without much mercy, and is happy, at last, if he escapes with his life.

In the month of April 1782, when I was myself a prisoner at Lower Sandusky, waiting for an opportunity to proceed with a trader to Detroit, I witnessed a scene of this description which fully exemplified what I have above stated. Three American prisoners were one day brought in by fourteen warriors from the garrison of Fort M'In-

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tosh. As soon as they had crossed the Sandusky river to which the village lay adjacent, they were told by the Captain of the party to run as hard as they could to a painted post which was shewn to them. The youngest of the three, without a moment's hesitation, immediately started for it, and reached it fortunately without receiving a single blow; the second hesitated for a moment, but recollecting himself, he also ran as fast as he could and likewise reached the post unhurt; but the third, frightened at seeing so many men, women and children with weapons in their hands, ready to strike him, kept begging the Captain to spare his life, saying he was a mason, and he would build him a fine large stone house, or do any work for him that he should please. "Run for your life," cried the chief to him, "and don't talk now of building houses!" But the poor fellow still insisted, begging and praying to the Captain, who at last finding his exhortations vain, and fearing the consequences, turned his back upon him, and would not hear him any longer. Our mason now began to run, but received many a hard blow, one of which nearly brought him to the ground, which, if he had fallen, would at once have decided his fate. He, however, reached the goal, not without being sadly bruised, and he was besides, bitterly reproached and scoffed at all round as a vile coward, while the others were hailed as brave men, and received tokens of universal approbation.

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prevented from getting at the corpse; when time and circumstances do not permit this, as, for instance, when the Indians are travelling, the body is enclosed in the bark of trees and thus laid in the grave. When a death takes place at their hunting camps, they make a kind of coffin as well as they can, or put a cover over the body, so that the earth may not sink on it, and then enclose the grave with a fence of poles.

Warriors that are slain in battle, are, if possible, drawn aside and buried, so that the enemy may not get their scalps, and also that he may not know the number of the slain. In such cases, they will turn an old log out of its bed, and dig a grave so deep, that the log, when replaced, may not press too hard upon the body. If any of the fresh earth be seen, they cover it with rotten wood, brush or leaves, that its place may not be found. If they have not sufficient time for this, or the number of their dead is too great, they throw the bodies on the top of each other between large logs, and place any kind of rotten wood or other rubbish upon them. They never, when they can help it, leave their dead to be devoured by wild beasts.

When the Indians have to speak of a deceased person, they never mention him or her by name, lest they should renew the grief of the family or friends. They say, "He who was our counsellor or chief," "She who was "the wife of our friend;" or they will allude to some particular circumstance, as that of the deceased having been with them at a particular time or place, or having done some particular act or spoken particular words which they all remember, so that every body knows who is meant. I have often observed with emotion this remarkable delicacy, which certainly does honour to their hearts, and shews that they are naturally accessible to the tenderest feelings of humanity.

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were some who were enemies to the Indians, and a young Irishman, without cause or provocation, murdered their good and highly respected chief *Tademi*,* a man of such an easy and friendly address, that he could not but be loved by all who knew him. This, together with the threats of other persons, ill disposed towards them, was the cause of their leaving their settlement on this manor, and removing to places of greater safety. 648

It is true, that when flagrant cases of this description occurred, the government, before the revolution, issued proclamations offering rewards for apprehending the offenders, and in later times, since the country has become more thickly settled, those who had been guilty of such offences were brought before the tribunals to take their trials. But these formalities have proved of little avail. In the first case, the criminals were seldom, if ever, apprehended; in the second, no jury could be found to convict them; for it was no uncommon saying among many of the men of whom juries in the frontier countries were commonly composed, that no man should be put to death for killing an Indian; for it was the same thing as killing a wild beast!

But what shall I say of the conduct of the British agents, or deputy agents, or by whatsoever other name they may be called, who, at the commencement of the American revolution, openly excited the Indians to kill and destroy all the rebels without distinction? "Kill "all the rebels," they would say, "put them all to death, "and spare none." A veteran chief of the Wyandot nation, who resided near Detroit, observed to one of them that surely it was meant that they should kill men only, and not women and children. "No, no," was the answer, "kill all, destroy all; "*nits breed lice!*" The brave veteran† was so disgusted with this reply, that he refused to go out at all; wishing however to see and 648 727

* See above, p. 300.

† The same of whom I have spoken above, p. 160.

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converse with his old brother soldiers of the Delaware nation, with whom he had fought against the English in the French war, he took the command of a body of ninety chosen men, and being arrived at the seat of the government of the Delawares, on the Muskingum, he freely communicated to his old comrades (among whom was Glikhican, whom I shall presently have occasion further to mention) what had taken place, and what he had resolved on; saying that he never would be guilty of killing women and children; that this was the first and would be the last of his going out this war; that in ten days they should see him come back with one prisoner only, no scalp to a pole, and no life lost. He kept his word. The sixteen chiefs under him, from respect and principle, agreed to all his proposals and wishes.

How different the conduct of the Indians from that of their inhuman employers! I have already related the noble speech of Captain Pipe to the British Commandant at Detroit, and I have done justice to the character of that brave officer, who surely ought not to be confounded with those Indian agents that I have spoken of. But what said Pipe to him? "Innocence had no part "in your quarrels; and therefore I distinguished—I spa- "red. Father! I hope you will not destroy what I "have saved!"* I have also told the conduct of the two young spirited Delawares† who saved the life of the venerable Missionary Zeisberger, at the risk of their own. But it is not only against their own people that Indians have afforded their protection to white men, but against the whites themselves.

In the course of the revolutionary war, in which (as in all civil commotions) brother was seen fighting against brother, and friend against friend, a party of Indian warriors, with whom one of those white men, who, under colour of attachment to their king, indulged in every sort of crimes, was going out against the settlers on the Ohio,

* See above, pp. 123, 124.

† Above, p. 274.

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to kill and destroy as they had been ordered. The chief of the expedition had given strict orders not to molest any of the white men who lived with their friends the Christian Indians; yet, as they passed near a settlement of these converts, the white man, unmindful of the orders he had received, attempted to shoot two of the Missionaries who were planting potatoes in their field, and though the Captain warned him to desist, he still obstinately persisted in his attempt. The chief, in anger, immediately took his gun from him, and kept him under guard until they had reached a considerable distance from the place. I have received this account from the chief himself, who on his return sent word to the Missionaries that they would do well not to go far from home, as they were in too great danger from the *white people*.

Another white man of the same description, whom I well knew, related with a kind of barbarous exultation, on his return to Detroit from a war excursion with the Indians in which he had been engaged, that the party with which he was, having taken a woman prisoner who had a sucking babe at her breast, he tried to persuade the Indians to kill the child, lest its cries should discover the place where they were; the Indians were unwilling to commit the deed, on which the white man at once jumped up, tore the child from its mother's arms, and taking it by the legs dashed its head against a tree, so that the brains flew out all around. The monster in relating this story said "The little dog "all the time was making *wee!*" He added, that if he were sure that his old father, who some time before had died in Old Virginia, would, if he had lived longer, have turned rebel, he would go all the way into Virginia, raise the body, and take off his scalp!

Let us now contrast with this the conduct of the Indians. Carver tells us in his travels with what moderation, humanity and delicacy they treat female prisoners,

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and particularly pregnant women.* I refer the reader to the following fact, as an instance of their conduct in such cases. If his admiration is excited by the behaviour of the Indians, I doubt not that his indignation will be raised in an equal degree by that of a white man who unfortunately acts a part in the story.

A party of Delawares, in one of their excursions during the revolutionary war, took a white female prisoner. The Indian chief, after a march of several days, observed that she was ailing, and was soon convinced (for she was far advanced in her pregnancy) that the time of her delivery was near. He immediately made a halt on the bank of a stream, where at a proper distance from the encampment, he built for her a close hut of peeled barks, gathered dry grass and fern to make her a bed, and placed a blanket at the opening of the dwelling as a substitute for a door. He then kindled a fire, placed a pile of wood near it to feed it occasionally, and placed a kettle of water at hand where she might easily use it. He then took her into her little infirmary, gave her Indian medicines, with directions how to use them, and told her to rest easy and she might be sure that nothing should disturb her. Having done this, he returned to his men, forbade them from making any noise, or disturbing the sick woman in any manner, and told them that he himself should guard her during the night. He did so, and the whole night kept watch before her door, walking backward and forward, to be ready at her call at any moment, in case of extreme necessity. The night passed quietly, but in the morning, as he was walking by on the bank of the stream, seeing him through the crevices, she called to him and presented her babe. The good chief, with tears in his eyes, rejoiced at her safe delivery; he told her not to be uneasy, that he should lay by for a few days and would soon bring her some nourishing food, and some medicines to take. Then going to his encamp-

* Carver's Travels, ch. 9. p. 196. Edit. above cited.

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ment, he ordered all his men to go out a hunting, and remained himself to guard the camp.

Now for the reverse of the picture. Among the men whom this chief had under his command, was one of those white vagabonds whom I have before described. The captain was much afraid of him, knowing him to be a bad man; and as he had expressed a great desire to go a hunting with the rest, he believed him gone, and entertained no fears for the woman's safety. But it was not long before he was undeceived. While he was gone to a small distance to dig roots for his poor patient, he heard her cries, and running with speed to her hut, he was informed by her that the white man had threatened to take her life if she did not immediately throw her child into the river. The captain, enraged at the cruelty of this man, and the liberty he had taken with his prisoner, hailed him as he was running off, and told him "That the moment he should miss the child, the tomo-"hawk should be in his head." After a few days this humane chief placed the woman carefully on a horse, and they went together to the place of their destination, the mother and child doing well. I have heard him relate this story, to which he added, that whenever he should go out on an excursion, he never would suffer a white man to be of his party.

Yet I must acknowledge that I have known an Indian chief who had been guilty of the crime of killing the child of a female prisoner. It was Glikhican, of whom I have before spoken, as one of the friends of the brave Wyandot who expressed so much horror at the order given to him by the Indian agents to murder women and children.* In the year 1770, he joined the congregation of the Christian Indians; the details of his conversion are related at large by Loskiel in his History of the Missions.† Before that time he had been conspicuous as a warrior and a counsellor, and in oratory it is said he

* See above, p. 338.

† Loskiel, p. 3. ch. 3.

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never was surpassed. This man, having joined the French, in the year 1754, or 1755, in their war against the English, and being at that time out with a party of Frenchmen, took, among other prisoners, a young woman, named *Rachel Abbott*, from the Conegocheague settlement, who had at her breast a sucking babe. The incessant cries of the child, the hurry to get off, but above all, the persuasions of his *white* companions, induced him, much against his inclination, to kill the innocent creature; while the mother, in an agony of grief, and her face suffused with tears, begged that its life might be spared. The woman, however, was brought safe to the Ohio, where she was kindly treated and adopted, and some years afterwards was married to a Delaware chief of respectability, by whom she had several children, who are now living with the Christian Indians in Upper Canada.

Glikhican never forgave himself for having committed this crime, although many times, and long before his becoming a Christian, he had begged the woman's pardon with tears in his eyes, and received her free and full forgiveness. In vain she pointed out to him all the circumstances that he could have alleged to excuse the deed; in vain she reminded him of his unwillingness at the time, and his having been in a manner compelled to it by his French associates; nothing that she did say could assuage his sorrow or quiet the perturbation of his mind; he called himself a wretch, a monster, a *coward* (the proud feelings of an Indian must be well understood to judge of the force of this self-accusation), and to the moment of his death the remembrance of this fatal act preyed like a canker worm upon his spirits. I ought to add, that from the time of his conversion he lived the life of a Christian, and died as such.

The Indians are cruel to their enemies!—In some cases they are, but perhaps not more so than white men have sometimes shewn themselves. There have been in-

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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stances of white men flaying or taking off the skin of Indians who had fallen into their hands, then tanning those skins or cutting them in pieces, making them up into razor-straps, and exposing those for sale, as was done at or near Pittsburg sometime during the revolutionary war. Those things are abominations in the eyes of the Indians, who, indeed, when strongly excited, inflict torments on their prisoners and put them to death by cruel tortures, but never are guilty of acts of barbarity in cold blood. Neither do the Delawares and some other Indian nations, ever on any account disturb the ashes of the dead.

The custom of torturing prisoners is of ancient date, and was first introduced as a trial of courage. I have been told, however, that among some tribes it has never been in use; but it must be added that those tribes gave no quarter. The Delawares accuse the Iroquois, of having been the inventors of this piece of cruelty, and charge them further with eating the flesh of their prisoners after the torture was over. Be this as it may, there are now but few instances of prisoners being put to death in this manner.

Rare as these barbarous executions now are, I have reason to believe that they would be still less frequent, if proper pains were taken to turn the Indians away from this heathenish custom. Instead of this, it is but too true that they have been excited to cruelty by unprincipled white men, who have joined in their war-feasts and even added to the barbarity of the scene. Can there be a more brutal act than, after furnishing those savages, as they are called, with implements of war and destruction, to give them an ox to kill and to roast whole, to dance the war dance with them round the slaughtered animal, strike at him, stab him, telling the Indians at the same time: "Strike, stab! Thus you must do to your "enemy!" Then taking a piece of the meat and tearing it with their teeth: "So you must eat his flesh!" and

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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sucking up the juices: "Thus you must drink his "blood!" and at last devour the whole as wolves do a carcass. This is what is known to have been done by some of those Indian agents that I have mentioned.

Is this possible? the reader will naturally exclaim. Yes, it is possible, and every Indian warrior will tell you that it is true. It has come to me from so many credible sources that I am forced to believe it. How can the Indians now be reproached with acts of cruelty to which they have been excited by those who pretended to be Christians and civilised men, but who were worse savages than those whom, no doubt, they were ready to brand with that name.

When hostile governments give directions to employ the Indians against their enemies, they surely do not know that such is the manner in which their orders are to be executed; but let me tell them and every government who will descend to employing these auxiliaries, that this is the only way in which their subaltern agents will and can proceed to make their aid effectual. The Indians are not fond of interfering in quarrels not their own, and will not fight with spirit for the mere sake of a livelihood which they can obtain in a more agreeable manner by hunting and their other ordinary occupations. Their passions must be excited, and that is not easily done when they themselves have not received any injury from those against whom they are desired to fight. Behold, then, the abominable course which must unavoidably be resorted to—to induce them to do what?—to lay waste the dwelling of the peaceable cultivator of the land, and to murder his innocent wife and his helpless children! I cannot pursue this subject farther, although I am far from having exhausted it. I have said enough to enable the impartial reader to decide which of the two classes of men, the Indians and the whites, are most justly entitled to the epithets of brutes, barbarians and savages. It is not for me to anticipate his decision.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7

726 Daniel Denton's description of the Delawares' primitive war complex is the earliest one I have found. Most of the material is derived from later sources. It may be assumed that the customs of war in these later periods were largely derived from, or were elaborations upon, the earlier primitive war complex. Denton said of their warfare:

> In their wars they fight no pitcht fields; but when they have notice of an enemies approach, they endeavour to secure their wives and children upon some Island, or in some thick swamp, & then with their guns & hatchet they waylay their enemies, some lying behind one, some another & it is a great fight where seven or eight is slain.[172]

721 Warriors were recruited at a dance, those wishing to join the war party taking part in the dance:

> When those invited have assembled at the appointed place, one of the war chiefs holding the great belt in his hands, which is now covered with vermilion, rises and dances the war dance around the circle formed by the warriors. The council thus opened he explains to them the circumstances which occasion the meeting and with all his eloquence enforces the necessity of resorting to war for a redress of their injuries. He then repeats the dance and seats himself, when each one who chooses to declare his intention to join the party takes the belt and dances around the circle as his chief had done.[173]

This dance was repeated at the war party's first camp, the women having followed the expedition.[174] Trowbridge stated that cooks were taken along and added:

> Formerly no man joined a war party until he was twenty four winters old, as they were thought to be too imprudent at an earlier age; but of late years this custom has not obtained among them. The aged often continue to bear arms so long as their strength permits, and some have been known to join warparties when from their advanced age they were obligated to ride on horseback; but in these cases they did not approach the field of battle.[175]

[713] The bow and arrow constituted the principal weapon; shields of elkhide or bark and helmets constructed of sticks were used.[176] War parties may have worn special regalia; Holm said that they wore red turkey feathers when going to war.[177]

725 War parties even when directed at Europeans were small in size. With perhaps a few exceptions, their size never exceeded two dozen men. This was in keeping with their military tactics in that a successful war party consisted of a rapid raid without loss and the capture of prisoners or plunder. A big battle was considered to have occurred if ten or eleven warriors were killed.[178] The taking of scalps was mentioned in the seventeenth century,[179] and prisoners were taken:

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[172] Denton, 1845, p. 8; Van der Donck, 1909, pp. 300-301.
[173] Trowbridge MS.
[174] Heckewelder, 1881, p. 210.
[175] Trowbridge MS.
[176] Johnson, 1917, pp. 281-82; Holm, 1834, p. 138; Lindestrom, 1925, p. 197; Loskiel, 1794, p. 141.
[177] Holm, 1834, p. 137.
[178] *Ibid.*, pp. 137-38; Van der Donck, 1909, pp. 300-301.
[179] Holm, p. 138.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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They cut and slash them alive, cutting off their ears, their noses, their tongues, and their lips, and also their fingers and toes: they also cut off pieces of flesh from different parts of their bodies, and then they strew ashes over the wounds in order to prevent the blood from flowing.[125]

Charles Stuart, captured in the mid-eighteenth century, recounted the torture, motivated by revenge, through which he was to go. It bears a striking resemblance to Holm's account:

The Deaths we were to Suffer were as Follows, First our Fingers were To be Cut off and we were To Be Forced to eat them, then our Eyes pull'd out wch we were also to Eat, after wch we were To Be Put on a Scaffold and Burnt, the Manner of Scaffolding is first To Tie Them To a Post or Tree with so much Length of Rope as will allow them ab^t 3 Foot to move about the Tree, then they raise them a little from the Ground on a Logg or what Else happens to be Most Convenient to Set them on then Puts Wood about them and burns them up-After the Council in Genl had agreed To Put us to this Death.[126]

Colonel William Crawford, who was tortured to death by the Delawares, underwent more or less the same rigors.[127] In general, torture was prolonged as long as was possible and was motivated entirely by revenge, particularly so in a case like Crawford's, since he had with him on his expedition men responsible for the Gnadenhutten massacre. Captives who escaped and were recaptured probably suffered the most ingenious tortures.[128]

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Prisoners were adopted if they were not killed. One late source stated that a family might request a leader of a war party to bring back "a prisoner who shall fill the place of some deceased relative." Trowbridge went on to say that "in the adoption of prisoners no particular distinction is made on account of age, save that the person adopted must be youthful to supply the place of a son or daughter, and aged for a father or uncle."[129] According to Zeisberger, if white prisoners were intended for adoption, their hair was cut Indian fashion immediately after capture and their faces were painted red. These adopted individuals were well treated, but if they ran away they were liable to be tortured and killed.[130]

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Prisoners were forced to run the gauntlet, whether they were to be killed or adopted. When the returning warriors approached a village, Indian prisoners were forced to dance while the warriors paraded booty and red painted scalps on poles. For white prisoners the dance was apparently not held.[131] The prisoners were made to pass through two lines of the general multitude to a hut or a painted post.[132] The men, women, and children were equipped with axes, sticks, clubs, and whatever else came to hand and would attempt to strike the prisoner as he passed by. Charles Stuart, who "ran the gauntlet," went through what is probably a typical experience:

[125] Holm, p. 139.
[126] Stuart, 1926, pp. 61-62.
[127] Butterfield, 1882, p. 293.
[128] Schweinitz, 1905, p. 410.
[129] Trowbridge MS.
[130] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 106.
[131] *Ibid.*, p. 105; Trowbridge MS.
[132] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 105.

2: Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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727 It was my Lott to Be Carried to Kittanning with other Prisoners, and on Entring into the Town we were obliged to Pass Between Two Rows of Indians Containing ab[t] 100 on Each Side who were arm[d] with various kind of Weapons such as Axes Tomhawks Cutlasses Hoop Poles, Pieces of Wood etc. But they did not strike wth Axes, and only Used the Heads and Handles of their Tomhawks, But used the Blades of the Cutlasses tho' not with so much Severity as To Kill. I had however the Misfortune to receive a Blow on the Side of my Forehead wth one of them w[ch] Cut me To the Bone & a Billet of Wood Stikeing on the head ab[t] the Same time Between Both. I was Knock[d] down to the Ground – It was only the more elderly People both Male and Female w[ch] rece[d] this Useage – the young prisoners of Both Sexes Escaped without it. . . .[188]

One girl captive (Marie La Roy), intended for adoption, said:

> [We] received our welcome, according to Indian custom. It consisted of three blows each, on the back. They were, however, administered with great mercy. Indeed, we concluded that we were beaten merely in order to keep up an ancient usage, and not with the intention of injuring us.[189]

Whether running the gauntlet was a precontact trait is undetermined.

728 Peace was secured by a defeated group through the agency of an ambassador. This individual bore no arms, traveled openly, and had no distinguishing marks of office other than a white belt of wampum, "containing the speech with which he was entrusted."[190] When he reached the enemy's camp a council was called, and the wishes of the ambassador were made known. If agreement was reached the victors invited the vanquished to a council:

> At this council a grand feast was prepared and was accompanied with dancing. The weaker party made the necessary acknowledgements, the peace belt was delivered to the conquerors as a token of their superiority and the parties returned to their respective homes. They never have used the pipe as is customary among northern nations, nor had they anything like flags or ceremonial bearings before their knowledge of the whites.[191]

[188] Stuart, 1926, p. 66.
[189] Schweinitz, 1905, p. 409.
[190] Trowbridge MS.
[191] *Ibid.*

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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a man he must secure a prisoner in his place. Should he lose more than one, responsibility weighs the more heavily upon him, and in default of showing an equal number of prisoners, his authority is at an end and he dare not think of continuing in the office. If an Indian loses his son, or one of his near relatives in war, whom he has highly valued, he gives a belt of wampum to a captain and desires him to go and take a prisoner to supply the place of the deceased. He takes his company into the enemy's country, and if he is fortunate in his exploit, immediately hangs the belt around the prisoner's neck to denote that he shall be received into a family and that his life is safe. Upon delivering the prisoner to his employer, the captain receives the belt as a reward, and the prisoner is adopted by the family as a son or near relative. But if he is unsuccessful or has been so unfortunate as to lose a man, the captain's standing is destroyed and he is disgraced. It depends, therefore, in large degree upon good fortune whether a man becomes or remains captain. There are never very many captains in one tribe, but always some.

Although a chief is not supposed to have much to do with war, his influence tends greatly either to prevent or encourage the commencement of a war, for the Indians believe that a war cannot be successful without the consent of the chief, and the captains endeavor on that account to live in harmony with him. It is not a light matter for the Indians to begin a war, as it might be among the Europeans, for a war having been begun it is not easy to bring it to an end nor to be reconciled to the enemies. The chief reason for this is that a certain number are killed on both sides and these, according to ancient custom, must be replaced by prisoners. War with the whites is a different matter, for the Indians usually secure more than enough of scalps and prisoners to make up their losses, and they may sue for peace at any time even while continuing hostilities. But with the nations of their own color they cannot do this, for they know that they will be punished by enemies who will avenge themselves in the cruelest manner.

The warriors consist of the young men, among whom, however, are those of fifty years and over. The warriors are under

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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726 have recovered. As soon as they enter the enemies' country they can hunt no longer for fear of being betrayed. They provide themselves, therefore, with provisions for several days and watch their opportunity. Occasionally they must lie in hiding many days until their purpose is attained. As soon as the deed has been accomplished, they hurry away, exercising the greatest caution inasmuch as they know that they will be pursued and may themselves suffer injury. Those whom they kill are scalped
● 727 and the scalps taken home. Prisoners secured are bound and led away and kept bound until they are no more in fear of pursuers. Thereafter the prisoners' fetters are loosed during the day. During the night they are fastened by their feet to a stake so split as to admit one leg, this stake being fastened to another that is driven into the ground. If one of them is wounded the warriors apply remedies which they carry with them on their expeditions and generally succeed in restoring them. Often the wounded must be carried, and if it is at all possible to get them away they are not left to perish. They even carry off their dead, or at least their scalps, or bury the dead lest they should fall into the hands of their enemies. In a skirmish with the whites they generally remove their dead, which makes it hard to determine how many have been killed in action.[269] They generally return from a war in a half-starved state, which is not to be wondered at because of the hard experiences they have gone through, especially on the return. On the return march they are constantly in fear, not knowing which night their enemies may fall upon them, hence they proceed by forced marches until they know themselves to be out of danger. Occasionally, they are attacked at night or at break of day, when they sometimes succeed in saving life by flight, leaving their weapons and everything else behind. Thus deprived, they may be able to travel several hundred miles until they arrive in the territory of peaceful nations where they again find sustenance. They generally suffer excessive hunger and fatigue by the way, living upon the bark of trees, wild herbs and roots. Much of this they do not have to fear when engaged in war with whites, for these will not pursue them for any great distance. Cases have been known where the Indians have attacked

3: Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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and stormed a small fort and taken forty or fifty men, women and children prisoners and not lost a man. The prisoners they led into the woods a short distance, divided into two parties preserving the more ablebodied and tomahawking the rest before their eyes. The little children that cried and wailed were dashed against the trees, so that the brains stuck to the bark. They are thus barbarous when victorious, and similar examples have been multiplied in times of war.

Prisoners are not ill-treated as long as they are in the hands of the warriors but fare with them alike. They have so much the more to suffer in the towns of the victorious people. The warriors, upon their approach to the town, repeat the death whoop according to the number of scalps, trophies or prisoners in their possession. Upon this signal, men, women and children run out to meet them, placing themselves in two rows. The warriors with their prisoners, whom they lead bound by their arms, march between the two rows and halt. The scalps they carry on poles held aloft and painted red, and the prisoners are forced to dance for the amusement of the spectators. The dance over they are ordered to go to a house which they see before them in the village. As soon as they set out the people begin to strike at them with switches, clubs, hatchets or their fists. If they gain the house, though ever so bruised and bloody, they are perfectly safe. Indians acquainted with this barbarous custom, if they are not old men, escape a great part of these cruelties by running towards the mark with all their might. Female prisoners are frequently rescued by the women who take them between their ranks and carry them to the town. I have witnessed both practices. As soon as the prisoners have reached the house the warriors take good care of them, wash and dress their wounds and when their meals are ready serve the prisoners first. I cannot think that this is done from compassion but rather that the prisoners may look well and do honor to the triumph they celebrate in passing through all the towns of their nation till they arrive at their own homes. After they have refreshed themselves and rested, the prisoners are led out for the amusement of the inhabitants. They fasten strings of bells or deer-claws to the feet of one of them, to make a

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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rattle for the dance, and present him with a parcel of small sticks. What is meant by the latter, the prisoner knows. He takes as many as he pleases and returns the rest. These determine the number of short dances he has to perform, which he does with great alacrity to the rattling of a calabash,[270] filled with small stones and marking the time. After each round he relates one of his heroic deeds or experiences in war, and delivers a stick to the captain who sits in the circle. Though the spectators may not understand his language, they guess his meaning by his looks and gestures. This ceremony is repeated in every town through which they must pass. With white prisoners the procedure is in some respects different. Commonly these particularly must suffer much beating, because they are not conversant with Indian manners and customs.

When the parties at length arrive at their own homes with their prisoners a council is held to determine what disposition shall be made of them. Many of the prisoners are received into families to supply the places of the slain, tho lately deceased or those who may have perished as a result of a drinking orgy, and are immediately considered as members of the family. Such prisoners are well treated, according to Indian custom, and their lot is bearable if they content themselves with their new surroundings. They are not put to much labor, which in general is little regarded by the Indians. If they run away and are retaken their lives are in danger. If the prisoners are white men their heads are shorn in Indian fashion, only a little hair remaining on the crown, and the face is painted red. This is done as soon as they are taken, so that when the villages are reached it is hardly possible to distinguish whites from Indians. In general they are well treated by the Indians and allowed considerable liberty, provided they conduct themselves properly and do not act in unseemly fashion toward the Indians.

Those unhappy prisoners who are condemned to die must suffer the most excruciating torture, execution of the sentence often being delayed until the prisoners feel themselves safe. The Indians flock to these executions as to some great solemnity, with a view to reeking on the unfortunate captive their cruel and revengeful disposition. A fire is made in the open, irons

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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are heated, and the unfortunate captive is bound to a stake placed at some distance from the fire. He is burned with the irons. Long strips of flesh are cut from his body with knives and salt is rubbed into the raw wounds. He may be half roasted at the fire, then released for a time, with a view to prolonging his tortures, which sometimes last three or four days. At length rendered insensible by pain, death may bring release, or his tormentors put an end to his sufferings and throw the mangled body into the flames. Captives often endure the torture with the greatest fortitude, sing of their heroic deeds accomplished in war, and do not let their captors notice fear or terror of death.

Now and then a condemned prisoner is released by ransom; sometimes release is refused no matter how much is offered. In the year 1779 among the Wiandots a white captive was tortured to death. Several English traders who were there offered goods to the amount of several hundred buckskins, that is so many Spanish dollars but without success. Among the Mingoes and Shawanose this inhuman method of treating captives is particularly in use. In course of the present war[271] they have given several horrid proofs of their cruel disposition.

Some years ago when a party of Shawanose went to war against the Cherokees, a young Shawanose was taken captive by the Cherokees and condemned to die. On the following day the fire was started, he was tied to the stake, and every preparation made for his execution, when a Cherokee woman arrived with a parcel of goods, and throwing them down at the feet of the warrior to whom the prisoner belonged begged for his release, alleging that she was a widow and wished to adopt him as her son. Her request was granted, the captive released and delivered over to her, and on the same day he walked up and down the village well dressed. He was so grateful to his protectress that he remained faithful to her, even returning in due time from a visit he paid to his own people.

The statement that the Indians are cannibals is unfounded in fact. It has happened in some cases that prisoners were devoured, and it may happen now on rare occasions to satisfy vengeful hate. Formerly Indians have been known in the height of their fury to tear an enemy's heart out of his body and devour

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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it raw. When an Indian nation wishes to excite another to war, it sometimes happens that they send one or more prisoners to such a nation with the words, "We send you this prisoner to make some broth," and frequently gain their aim in this fashion. The prisoner, however, is not devoured but executed without mercy. There is no rescuing him from horrible death.

Captains, when about to go to war, send to the captains of nations or towns who are in league with them a piece of tobacco to smoke, thus notifying them that they themselves will soon follow. By this they intend that the captains shall smoke their pipes and consider seriously whether they will take part in the war or not. One chief about to visit another will, similarly, send him a piece of tobacco with the message that he shall smoke, look in a certain direction and in due time he will see the sender coming. This is done to make sure that the visitor will find the chief whom he wishes to visit at home.

The last war of the nations was between the Six Nations, the Delawares and Shawanose and the Cherokees, the latter pitted against the rest. This war continued many years until peace was concluded in 1768,[272] as, a few years before, peace had been made between the Six Nations and the Catabe-Nation[273] through the mediation of Sir William Johnson at Albany. Concerning earlier Indian wars nothing is known and since that time war with the whites has engaged the attention of all the Indian nations.

With the Delawares the following nations are in league: The Mahikander,[274] the Shawanose, the Cherokees, the Twichtwes,[275] the Wawiachtanos,[276] the Kikapus,[277] the Wiondats, the Tuckachschas,[278] the Chipuways, Ottawas, the Putewoataimen[279] and the Kaskaski.[280] The two last named dwell along the Wabash.[281]

The Shawanose, who formerly lived in Florida and have ever been a warlike people, had a war with the Moshkos.[282] The latter were the stronger and the Shawanose were reduced to a few remnants. The survivors left their country, came as fugitives up the Ohio to the Susquehanna. [Susquehannah]. They moved from place to place until they fell in with a strong party of Delawares. With these they entered into negotiations, stat-

be more complete (Loskiel, p. 143). The typical pre-white type of conflict was one in which a captain took a group of eight or ten warriors on a raid of the enemy camp, from which they carried off what goods they could, a few scalps and prisoners. If the chief of the raiding tribe did not denounce the raiding party and make recompense to the other tribe, war would be declared (Heckwelder, 1881, p. 176; Loskiel, p. 148). The warriors were recruited at a dance in which they signified their desire to participate by joining the warriors already dancing. This was a festive occasion at which women were present and it was repeated at the first night's camping ground to which the women followed the warriors (Heckewelder, 1881, p. 210; Loskiel, p. 146).

Prisoners were taken primarily to replace men of the tribe who had been killed in battle or died a natural death since the last war. On the march home prisoners received the same fare as the warriors themselves, but at each Delaware town they passed they were forced to perform for the amusement of the townspeople and run the gauntlet. This ordeal consisted in running between two parallel lines in which the townspeople were drawn up and suffering the blows of the double file until a specified pole was reached which guaranteed their safety. When the home village was reached, the same procedure occurred except that those who were to be adopted were sometimes protected by their foster families. Those who were not adopted were tortured in most of the ways the human mind has been able to devise, but gradual dismemberment and slow burning seem to have been the most common. A prisoner who remained impassive under this treatment was held in high esteem.

Women and children were not usually injured and the peace messenger was also granted immunity, indeed hospitality. Two essential ceremonies of the peace conference were the smoking of the peace pipe and the exchanging of strings of wampum to confirm the covenant (Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 215-18; Loskiel, pp. 143-156; Hill, pp. 53-55; Zeisberger, 1910, pp. 102-03 and 151).

The weapons used were the bow and arrow, the stone axe and a club with a rounded knob on the end. For defense they had a shield and helmet made of wooden sticks bound together with leather or hemp cord (Johnson, 1915, pp. 201-02; Loskiel, p. 141). Some of the east coast villages were palisaded for protection (Krieger, p. 51; Brinton, 1885, p. 51; Skinner, 1915, p. 7; Heye, p. 11).

Crime

Offenses against members of the group became a concern of the chief only when they could not be settled by the families concerned. "The Justice they have is Pecuniary: In case of any Wrong or evil Fact, be it Murther it self, they Attone by Feasts and Presents of

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

mixed with tallow. The reason given for this action was to impress the Great Spirit with the fact that his people were up and about and observant of cleanliness and good appearance as they went about their tasks,—in short, that they were consciously alive and mindful of their obligations toward the rules of life taught by him.

Children were awakened about sunrise and instructed to wash their faces at once so that the Great Spirit would see that they were not lazy but ready and prepared for the day's duties. Young people were, moreover, advised to lift their feet nicely when they walked, and to find constantly something to do to engage their time in occupations that would be helpful to their parents and others. These monitions were also backed by the instructions that the Great Spirit would find them meritorious in conduct and reward them with a long and happy life. The present members of the nation who were brought up in such practices lament deeply the indifference of members of the present generation in such matters, attributing the decline of their people to failure in observing the teachings which made their ancestors powerful and respected.

A rite recorded of the Delawares of former times was the washing of youths each morning in clear running water, preferably that of streams, both in winter and summer, suggestive of a "river-cult." We hear of this habit frequently in the narratives of Delaware history when the tribe resided in the East. It seems to have been insisted upon generally for youths,[1] even enforced upon white boys who had been taken captive and adopted in the Nation, as we see in the following narrative.

To have spoken of personal purification by immersion in the water of streams leads to a more formal method of washing away defilement by the same means. Referring to John McCullough, who in 1776 wrote of his experiences while living as a captive with the then hostile Delawares, we are told of his enforced "conversion" to paganism at the hands

[1] An interesting resume of Delaware practices in the training of youths and warriors is given in the account of a Delaware author who describes the daily plunge into the river by boys undergoing the course of training in pairs. Cf. R. C. Adams, "Legends of the Delaware Indians," Washington, D. C., 1905, p. 26.

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

of his masters. Two young men take him into a canoe, seizing him by the wrists, plunging him over head and ears under the water and holding him down until he was almost smothered before letting him get breath. After repeating this treatment several times they took him out, dressed him in a ruffed shirt, shaved his head, provided him with a "roach," painted him, and told him he was then an Indian. Later his Indian "uncle" would waken him at daylight and make him sit down in the creek up to his chin. This was to make him hardy. He was, moreover, not allowed to go near the fire until he became dry.[7]

They followed the habit of securing a prosperous future for the young hunter by placing his umbilicus in the tracks of a deer, a magical observance based on a widespread native concept of spiritual sympathy. Again, the umbilicus would be placed in the water to cause the growing youth to acquire power as a swimmer.

THE CONSANGUINITY OF TRIBES

The Delawares, like other eastern peoples,[8] consider themselves to stand in certain genealogical relationships with neighboring tribes, as though they all constituted a great family,—some members older, some younger, lineal and collateral, and some in between as respects age and maturity. These relationships function in ceremonial gatherings wherein other tribes are concerned, and they are accepted without dispute among themselves. In the older accounts much stress was laid upon this feature of native life, and it seemed to form an important consideration in treaty negotiations that took place among the eastern and central tribes, giving precedence in authority to certain ones over others. From various sources we learn that the Delawares held a position of seniority among them. This fact may develop into one of some value in coördinating the position of the different groups and perhaps in throwing light on the historical sequence

[7] Loudon, *op. cit.*, pp. 260-261.

[8] The Wabanaki peoples, for instance, entertain a similar concept of tribal consanquinity, in which system they consider the Ottawa to be their grandfathers and among themselves the Micmac as their younger brothers (F. G. Speck, The Eastern Algonkian Confederacy, American Anthropologist, vol. 17, no. 3, 1915, pp. 499, 505).

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
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727 to the bundles and told them to run home again, where they had come from, and relate to their countrymen, how well they had been treated and entertained among the Black Minquas. They also sent good guides with them, whom the boys followed with a great noise,[14] shot at them with their quarrels until the one fell here and the other there. Such a miserable departure and end these poor people had, from which we can observe the awful cruelty of the Minquas. These Minquas are of
D two kinds, Black and White Minquas.[15]

484 Besides I further want to relate about the blood-
304 letting of the savages and their wonderful medi-
● 727 cines, which I have seen at least a hundred times among these savages. When the savage undertake to march a long journey, the first day he has marched, in the evening, when he strikes camp, he makes up a fire, takes a piece of flint as long as a finger which he has prepared and fitted for this purpose, sharp as a razor, with this he cuts himself all over his body into the deepest flesh, on his arms, thighs and legs, the depth of a finger, according to the depth of the flesh, deeper or less, standing then before the fire to shake off the blood, which runs off him, as if one had butchered an ox. When he now has allowed as much blood to run off as he thinks proper, then he takes a kind of ointment, which he smears over his body, wherever he has cut himself. Before morning, it is healed and run together, and blue streaks remain after it just as when one burns oneself with

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[14] *Polckarne medh stoort anskry efterfölgde.*
[15] An atrocity story Lindeström had heard from the English.

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
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powder,[16] wherefore the savages appear entirely striped and streaky[17] and especially the Minquas. This is now [something about] the blood letting and cutting of the savages, from which one can observe that they are patient and not tender-skinned. When now the savage has thus removed some blood, he may march and run as fast and as far as he wants to, he will not tire. This is a brief description of the wonderful medicines, blood letting, cruelty and patience of the Indians, because we must avoid details.

[16] *När en bränner sigh medh kruth.*

[17] *Renotte*, mod. Swed. *randig* (cf. rinna), striped or streaky. Lindeström's description is exaggerated. Cf. Heckewelder, *Indian Nations*, 225–6.

[p. 246 is blank]

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9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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cloth. Doctor gets in on north side of blanket, sits on west side of ~~hole.~~ Has handkerchief tying hair back. Puts water next to hole. Sprinkles water with fingers on rocks, four times with left hand while feeling patient over with right. Then takes mouthful of water which he spits on rock. Makes talk, blows on patient's sternum. Then knows disease. Slaps hands together to make more steam on patient. Then goes out after five or ten minutes, covers himself with blanket for three or four minutes with handkerchief off. Then goes back in with handkerchief on repeats previous performance and begins to sing, slaps hands while singing. Goes out again. Three times is all. Third person sits outside and after third time wraps patient up and takes him home and cleans him up. Doctor then cleans up himself and sweat house and goes to see patient or patient's relatives. Tells him disease and cure which may be sweat treatment for three, four or five days, and certain foods patient cannot eat. For instance, no meat or salt, grease for six days. A little tobacco is put in fire when building it. Just a little fire. Never use rocks again. Sweat house is only for those past five years of age. When younger, doctor places them on a warm rock outside. Tells mother what to eat if baby is nursing. Give baby herbs, maybe twice a day for couple of days. Payment is voluntary."

General Manners and Customs

The practice of eating human flesh even ceremonially has been denied by the Delaware and accounts of the Delaware throughout all the years back to Lindeström (61). This Swedish writer did not explicitly deny that the Delaware ate human flesh, but in describing the practice among the Minqua he implied that it was not true of the Delaware. The Delaware have a tale of cannibalism in the very early days which was the result of famine brought on by violation of a taboo. Aside from this case they admit no knowledge of cannibalism among them. Tribes with whom they were in contact from early historic times and before practiced cannibalism ceremonially and in times of famine. These were principally the Conestoga (the Minqua of Lindeström) and Iroquois. The latter have been credited with orig-

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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266 727 inating the torture of prisoners, burning at the stake, and eating of their flesh. These elements were considered to have been adopted by other tribes in retaliation. Hence it is difficult to understand how the Delaware could have escaped or withstood this influence. The only explanation that seems at all plausible is that when the Delaware were subjugated by the Iroquois early in the eighteenth century, they lost the prime reason for the practice and soon lost even the memory of it.

576 According to information from the eighteenth century and later, the Indian mode of greeting was shaking hands (62). The three manuscripts of the early nineteenth century claimed that shaking hands was a very old Indian custom and one in existence before white contact. In the national worshiping society or Big House where an effort was made to preserve ancient customs, the left hand was used. This was the hand nearer the heart and so considered to be a more direct conveyance of friendship. It is interesting to note that the two modern informants who have participated in the Big House confirmed this use of the left hand, whereas the two who have had no firsthand information of this ceremony claimed the right hand was always used by the Delaware. None of the seventeenth-century sources, including accounts not used in the tabulation, referred to hand shaking. This absence of mention is not surprising as many details were ignored by the early writers, but in the case of Williams who gave many different expressions for greetings and included a description of an Indian stroking a sachem upon both shoulders, the suggestion is strong that hand shaking was not in use until learned from the whites. Early accounts of customs at the time of contact between other tribes and whites also indicate that hand shaking was not an Indian custom. Hence, we have a custom that was borrowed from the whites some time before the accounts of the second period.

576 562 There seems to have been a change in the freedom with which emotions toward the same and the opposite sex were exhibited (70-73). Part of the responsibility for the apparent change may be assigned to a lack of information or understanding. It is doubtful if any conclusions are warranted on the basis of the

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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721 their success were reported (413, 414). According to the sources, the council decided the question of going to war against a certain tribe (361), but the specific destination of a war party was determined by the war chief leading it. The informants' disagreement is undoubtedly in error.

726 The commander of a war party was appointed by the civil chiefs and he in turn appointed his supporting officers (369-72). There is some disagreement on these matters among the sources but the informants agree with the majority. A party usually marched in single file behind the chief, according to the sources, but this custom was practically unknown to the informants (381). Their information probably reflects a change in custom caused by the change in habitat from the eastern woodlands to the plains. The narrow forest trails that enforced a single file were left behind. It is possible that the change in the form of encampment from a line to a circle is also to be attributed to the change in residence (382).

727 It is surprising that two of the informants should recall the ceremonies on the field of victory reported by Heckewelder in the second period and denied by all the third-period sources (388). Ceremonies on the return home of a defeated party were similarly denied by the third-period sources and affirmed, although vaguely, by two of the fourth-period informants (393). As I have said before, conclusions based on statements of this sort are rather unsound because of lack of uniformity in what is meant by ceremony.

Although some of the earliest historic accounts report the burning of prisoners by various Indian tribes, the Delaware did not do so according to the implications of Lindeström (395). In the second period burning was reported, but in the third period it was denied, although Pipe said it was an ancient practice. The fourth-period informants knew nothing of the practice.

713 Defensive armor was reported by the first-period sources and by Zeisberger in the second period (402). Heckewelder and the third-period accounts denied the use of armor. Then in the fourth period two of three informants again reported it. The explanation of this contradiction seems to be that the use

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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of defensive armor stopped in the second period, perhaps as the result of the introduction of firearms against which it was ineffective, but the memory of it continued into the fourth period. The third-period accounts were based on the practice of that time, whereas the last period accounts reflected the custom of the earliest period. 713

A similar situation seems to exist in regard to the consultation of jugglers before the march of a war party (408). We have no information on this point from the first or second period and such consultation is denied in the third period, but Chipps reported in 1824 that fifty years and more before it had been customary for the chiefs to consult the jugglers. The three informants in the fourth period were unanimous in reporting the reliance upon jugglers for determining the omens concerning a war party. 726 787

Sieges were not a war practice of the Delaware according to the early accounts (412). The sieges reported in the fourth period were of comparatively recent occurrence. 723

Roger Williams reported that enemy heads were taken as trophies and he made no mention of scalps (415). Other New England accounts of the same period related that hands were also cut off as trophies. We have no information on this point for the Delaware of the same period. In the next period Heckewelder said the Indians took scalps as trophies but that they referred to them as heads. About the same time accounts of other tribes stated that heads were taken if possible, but if pressed by pursuit or too encumbered by heads, a warrior would reduce his load by saving only the scalps. It is doubtful if the practice of taking scalps instead of heads originated in historic times, but it is certain that it completely replaced the latter, probably in the second period. 727

Peace

The elements entering into peace negotiations suffered a fate very similar to those of war. The sources and informants uniformly stated that ambassadors were sent to negotiate a peace (416), and that peace terms were negotiated and not dictated 728

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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57. Rumbling noise made by jugglers

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[756] The rumbling noise made by jugglers mentioned in the earlier accounts was replaced by singing in the accounts of J. W., W. T., and W. L., all of whom said that the sweat doctor sang or talked about his vision which gave him his power to see into the vitals of the patient and determine the nature of his illness.

General Manners and Customs

61. Eating of human flesh

266 There is no statement about the eating of human flesh in Lindeström, but there is a description of torture by fire among
[727] the Minquas, and the inference is that such was not practiced among the Delaware and, also, that the eating of human flesh was not common if present at all.

62. Handshaking

576 John Johnston—[Salutation is] by shaking each other by the left hand as token of friendship considering the left hand to be the nighest to the heart. They say but little, except I am glad to see you your looks are familiar the countenance expressed gladness. (Shaking hands is an Indian, and they say an ancient custom.)

Captain Pipe—Their mode of salutation in meeting is not peculiar. They sometimes express a pleasure in seeing each other, at others the simple *Anishee*, (I am thankful,) is the only expression. They do not as with us, inquire after the health of their families, but of their business, route, etc. It is believed that shaking hand is an Indian custom, but before their knowledge of the whites they used the left hand. In the Engömween, or wor-
[796] shiping assembly, where ancient customs are said to prevail altogether, they always use the left hand.

Captain Chipps—The mode of salutation is by shaking hands:—inquiries after healths succeed. The shaking of hands (say they) "was in use from the time they were created."

J. W. and W. L. say that using left hand was formerly Delaware custom.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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384. Guns stacked against pole

CAPTAIN CHIPPS—In marching against an enemy, they regularly encamp at Sunset—the method pursued, is, for the young men to procure two crotched poles and a cross piece, against which the guns are stacked, being first covered with *skin cases*— a fire is built on each side of this, between which and their guns, they take their rest, with their heads towards the guns, and their feet to the fire. 726

386. War chief determines question of battle

CAPTAIN CHIPPS—The chief decides in most cases, upon the expedience of giving battle—in times of difficulty however, he takes the votes of his warriors on the subject. The order of battle is decided in the same way, subject to be altered by circumstances. [725]

388. Any ceremony of victory on field

HECKEWELDER said that there was a dance of thanksgiving upon the return of a victorious war party. 727

W. T. and E. R. thought that there was a ceremony of some kind but did not know exactly what it was.

393. Ceremonies on return if defeated

E. R. said that the few survivors of a defeat in war returned home, pounded a drum and sang a death song by which the villiagers knew that they had been defeated and came and condoled with them.

395. Prisoners burned

CAPTAIN PIPE—The practice of burning prisoners is said to have been very ancient. It extended particularly to great warriors, whose capture and death was accompanied with loud shouts by the victors.

399. Age of beginning to bear arms

J. W. said boy might begin to bear arms at 14 years and even accompany war parties but could not be considered a warrior until the age of 35. [884]

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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408. Consultation of jugglers before march

721 CAPTAIN CHIPPS—There are no jugglers now (1824) living—
767 the last that are recollected lived about 50 years ago—it was customary then for the chiefs to consult them, and be guided by their advice.

410. Women accompany war party

726 CAPTAIN PIPE—Anciently the women were never known to accompany a war party, but since booty has been an inducement they have been much in the habit of joining them.

CAPTAIN CHIPPS—The women seldom go into battle—they have however a right to fight, which entitles them to a place in the ranks—if they behave well, they are as much commended as the male warriors.

415. Scalps taken

727 ROGER WILLIAMS said that the whole head was taken as a trophy.

PEACE

728 *418. Ambassadors of peace carry white wampum*

J. W. reported that an ambassador carried "something" but not necessarily a belt of white wampum.

419. War club as emblem of desire for peace

J. W. insisted that chief left "some mark" at home of enemy chief to indicate a desire for peace but that it was not necessarily a war club.

426. Feasts

CAPTAIN PIPE in the first copy of his account said: The party inviting the assemblage of the council always furnish the necessary provisions for the visitors during their stay, but there are no feasts. In second and third copies of his account, he said there was a council after the preliminary negotiations and: At this council a grand feast was prepared and was accompanied with dancing.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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454. Co-coze-kon dance

535 CAPTAIN CHIPPS described this dance as different from the others. In it they all joined hands and stood in a ring, performing the usual motion of leaping up. He also said that when both sexes united in this amusement, they danced promiscuously.

None of the modern Delaware recognized this dance although W. L. thought that he had heard the name.

It is possible that this is the same dance that Zeisberger described as follows: On the occasion of making or renewing a treaty [648] with another nation a dance very different from the ordinary dance is engaged in. The dancers join hands and leap in a circle for some time. Suddenly the leader lets the hand of one of his partners go, springs forward and turns around several times, by which he draws the whole company round so as to be enclosed by them, when they stand close together. They disengage themselves as suddenly, yet keeping hold of hands during all the different evolutions and changes in the dance; this, as they explain it, represents the chain of friendship; a song, used only at such a solemnity, is sung by all.

462. Women excluded from war dance

721 CAPTAIN CHIPPS in treating of war said that women were al-
562 lowed to share in the great dance given just before setting out
535 on an expedition. In speaking of dances, he said that the Delaware had many different ones, the most important of which was the War dance, which was celebrated immediately after the declaration of war and from which the women were excluded, although they joined all the other dances. This is a contradiction unless one assumes that "to share in the great dance" referred to singing but not dancing. Evidence that such was sometimes the case is found in the following account of HECKEWELDER: After [127] returning from a successful expedition, a dance of *thanksgiving* is always performed, which partakes of the character of a religious ceremony. It is accompanied with singing and choruses, in which the women join. But they take no part in the rest of the performance. At the end of every song, the *scalp-yell* is shouted as many times as there have been scalps taken from the enemy.

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571 women, and might safely therefore be more "friendly" with them.

Oral Fixation

153 There is some evidence to suggest a preoccupation, which had a large component of aggressiveness, with oral needs. This concern with eating (and with other oral phenomena, such as ritualistic pipe-smoking, naming, and oratory), which reached far beyond subsistence requirements, can hardly be ascribed to a realistic subsistence anxiety since the Delawares had ample supplies of animal and vegetable foods at their disposal, and adequate techniques for cultivating, gathering, preserving, and storing them. It is worth [787] mentioning that the pubescent Delaware solicited the favor of a guardian spirit by self-imposed fasting; the spirit was supposed to pity him and appear in a vision; later the spirit would be important to him in helping to secure food.[23] Oral rituals, often with a compulsive quality, were a [527] recurrent institutional theme: almost all social gatherings involved eating, smoking, and oratory, and some were frankly eating-orgies—the famous "eat-all" feasts, for example; the fondness for liquor may be regarded as an oral trait of compulsive [757] character;[24] internal medicines were usually [758] taken as liquid herbal infusions, usually in large doses;[25] the sick lived on a liquid [754] diet;[26] suicide and witchcraft were both 762 accomplished in most cases by poison taken by mouth;[27] tortured prisoners were some- [727] times ceremonially eaten, and hunger 266 cannibalism was reported;[28] war parties made a ceremonial feast the night before their departure;[29] emetics were extensively [757] used in the treatment of disease, and vomit- 777 ing was thought to relieve a sense of guilt, and also to bring luck.[30]

23. Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 132-133.
24. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 116; Heckewelder, 1819, p. 263.
25. Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 24-25; Tantaquidgeon.
26. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 24.
27. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 125; Heckewelder, 1819, p. 258.
28. Heckewelder, 1819, p. 199; Zeisberger, 1778, p 107-108.
29. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 103.
30. Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 84, 133-134.

154 rein these are the more violent."[51] Warfare
[721] provided a socially approved way of bleeding off some of these aggressions, for the warriors; and the institution of torture
154 gave the rest of the community a similar
727 opportunity. "The Indians flock to these executions as to some great solemnity, with a view to reeking on the unfortunate
154 captive their cruel and revengeful dis-
627 position."[52] The institution of blood-revenge[53] (which sometimes led to prolonged vendetta) was also an outlet for aggression; but the fear of its exercise no doubt served also to inhibit it. In
154 hunting, males could work off aggression
224 on animals, which were conceptualized as quasi-human. It is worth noting that among women, who had a more restricted
154 childhood and who at the same time had
521 fewer socially sanctioned outlets for
562 aggression, the overflow dribbled off in unpleasant gossip and slander, which the men, who had other means of catharsis, professed to scorn.[54]

154 All observers agreed that liquor dis-
273 solved the inhibitions against aggression.
578 "The effects which intoxication produces upon the Indians are dreadful," lamented Heckewelder. "It has been the cause of an infinite number of murders among them, besides biting off noses and otherwise disfiguring each other, which are the least consequences of the quarrels which inebriation produces between them."[55] As might be expected, therefore, Indian spokesmen frequently—and in vain—implored the whites to cease bringing liquor into their settlements.

Summary

127 From an examination of the early ethnological literature concerning the Delaware Indians, we have been able to discover some of their psychological
855 characteristics. The Delawares would seem in general to have been a people among whom the children grew up

51. Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 124-125.
52. Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 106-107.
53. Penn, 1683.
54. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 116.
55. Heckewelder, 1819, p. 263.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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or tribes, were at war with each other, the latter not being willing to permit that the French should establish themselves in that country. At last the Iroquois, finding themselves between two fires, and without any prospect of conquering the Lenape by arms, and seeing the necessity of withdrawing with their families, from the shores of the St. Lawrence, to the interior of the country, where the French could not easily reach them, fell upon a stratagem, which they flattered themselves would, if successful, secure to them not only a peace with the Lenape, but also with all the other tribes connected with them; so that they would then have but one enemy (the French) to contend with.

This plan was very deeply laid, and was calculated to deprive the Lenape and their allies, not only of their power but of their military fame, which had exalted them above all the other Indian nations. They were to be persuaded to abstain from the use of arms, and assume the station of mediators and umpires among their warlike neighbours. In the language of the Indians, they were to be made *women*.* It must be understood that among these nations wars are never brought to an end but by the interference of the weaker sex. The men, however tired of fighting, are afraid of being considered as cowards if they should intimate a desire for peace. It is not becoming, say they, for a warrior, with the bloody weapon in his hand, to hold pacific language to his enemy. He must shew to the end a determined courage, and appear as ready and willing to fight as at the beginning of the contest. Neither, say they, is it proper, to threaten and to sue in the same breath, to hold the peace belt in one hand, and the tomahawk in the other; men's words, as well as their actions, should be of a piece, all good or all bad; for it is a fixed maxim of theirs, which they apply on all occasions, that good can

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* Loskiel, part I. ch. 10.

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never dwell with evil. They also think that a treaty produced by threats or by force, cannot be binding. With these dispositions, war would never have ceased among Indians, until the extermination of one or the other party, if the tender and compassionate sex had not come forward, and by their moving speeches persuaded the enraged combatants to bury their hatchets, and make peace with each other. On these occasions they were very eloquent, they would lament with great feeling the losses suffered on both sides, when there was not a warrior, perhaps, who had not lost a son, a brother or a friend. They would describe the sorrows of widowed wives, and, above all, of bereaved mothers. The pains of child-birth, the anxieties attending the progress of their sons from infancy to manhood, they had willingly and even cheerfully suffered; but after all these trials, how cruel was it for them to see those promising youths whom they had reared with so much care, fall victims to the rage of war, and a prey to a relentless enemy; to see them slaughtered on the field of battle, or put to death, as prisoners, by a protracted torture, in the midst of the most exquisite torments. The thought of such scenes made them curse their own existence, and shudder at the idea of bearing children. Then they would conjure the warriors by every thing that was dear to them, to take pity on the sufferings of their wives and helpless infants, to turn their faces once more towards their homes, families and friends, to forgive the wrongs suffered from each other, to lay aside their deadly weapons, and smoke together the pipe of amity and peace. They had given on both sides sufficient proofs of their courage; the contending nations were alike high minded and brave, and they must now embrace as friends those whom they had learned to respect as enemies. Speeches like these seldom failed of their intended effect, and the women, by this honourable function of peace-makers, were placed in a situation by no means undignified. It would

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not be a disgrace, therefore; on the contrary, it would be an honour to a powerful nation, who could not be suspected of wanting either strength or courage, to assume that station by which they would be the means, and the only means, of preserving the general peace and saving the Indian race from utter extirpation.

Such were the arguments which the artful Mengwe urged to the Lenape to make them fall into the snare which they had prepared for them. They had reflected, they said, deeply reflected on their critical situation; there remained no resource for them, but that some magnanimous nation should assume the part and situation of the *woman*. It could not be given to a weak or contemptible tribe, such would not be listened to; but the Lenape and their allies would at once possess influence and command respect. As men they had been dreaded; as women they would be respected and honoured, none would be so daring or so base as to attack or insult them; as women they would have a right to interfere in all the quarrels of other nations, and to stop or prevent the effusion of Indian blood. They entreated them, therefore, to become *the woman* in name and in fact, to lay down their arms and all the insignia of warriors, to devote themselves to agriculture and other pacific employments, and thus become the means of preserving peace and harmony among the nations.

The Lenape, unfortunately for themselves, listened to the voice of their enemies. They knew it was too true, that the Indian nations, excited by their own unbridled passions, and not a little by their European neighbours, were in the way of total extirpation by each other's hands. They believed that the Mengwe were sincere, and that their proposal had no object in view but the preservation of the Indian race. In a luckless hour they gave their consent, and agreed to become *women*. This consent was received with great joy. A feast was prepared for the purpose of confirming and proclaiming the

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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728 If the supposed enemy is peaceably inclined, he will in such case send a deputation to the aggrieved nation, with a suitable apology. In general the chief sends word, that the act complained of was committed without his knowledge, by some of "his foolish young men;" that it was altogether unauthorised and unwarranted; that it was highly reprobated by himself and his council, and that he would be sorry that on that account a breach should be made between the two nations, but, on the contrary, wishes for peace; that he is willing to make reparation for the offence by condoling with the relations of the person slain and otherwise satisfying them. Such an offer is generally accepted, and in this manner all differences are adjusted between the parties, and they are friends again as they were before. But should the offending nation refuse to apologise and sue for peace, war is then immediately declared and is carried on with the greatest vigour.

CHAPTER XX.

MANNER OF SURPRISING THEIR ENEMIES.

726 COURAGE, art, and circumspection, are the essential and indispensable qualifications of an Indian warrior. When war is once begun, each one strives to excel in displaying them, by stealing upon his enemy unawares, and deceiving and surprising him in various ways. On drawing near to an enemy's country, they endeavour as much as possible to conceal their tracks;

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1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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send them messengers of peace, they only mean to lull them into a fancied security, that they may the easier fall upon and destroy them. It was in consequence of this conviction that the three respectable gentlemen whom I have already mentioned, met with their unhappy fate.

CHAPTER XXII.

TREATIES.

IN early times, when Indian nations, after long and bloody wars, met together for the purpose of adjusting their differences, or concluding a peace with each other, it was their laudable custom, as a token of their sincerity, to remove out of the place where the peace-makers were sitting, all warlike weapons and instruments of destruction, of whatever form or shape. "For," said they, "when we are engaged in a good work, nothing that is "bad must be visible. We are met together to forgive "and forget, to *bury* the destructive weapon, and put it "quite out of sight; we cast away from us the fatal in-"strument that has caused so much grief to our wives "and children, and has been the source of so many tears. "It is our earnest hope and wish that it may never be "dug up again." So particular were they on this point, that if a single weapon had been in sight, while a treaty was negotiating, it would have disturbed their minds by recalling the memory of past events, and instead, (as they say) of gladdening their hearts, by the prospect of

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a speedy peace, would, on the contrary, have filled them with sorrow.

Nor would they even permit any warlike weapons to remain within the limits of their *council fire*, when assembled together about the ordinary business of government. It might, they said, have a bad effect, and defeat the object for which they had met. It might be a check on some of the persons assembled, and perhaps, prevent those who had a just complaint or representation to make, from speaking their minds freely. William Penn, said they, when he treated with them, adopted this ancient mode of their ancestors, and convened them under a grove of shady trees, where the little birds on their boughs were warbling their sweet notes. In commemoration of these conferences (which are always to Indians a subject of pleasing remembrance) they frequently assembled together in the woods, in some shady spot as nearly as possible similar to those where they used to meet their brother *Miquon*, and there lay all his "*words*" or speeches, with those of his descendants, on a blanket or clean piece of bark, and with great satisfaction go successively over the whole. This practice (which I have repeatedly witnessed) continued until the year 1780, when the disturbances which then took place put an end to it, probably for ever.

These pleasing remembrances, these sacred usages are no more. "When we treat with the white people," do the Indians now say, "we have not the choice of the spot "where the messengers are to meet. When we are "called upon to conclude a peace, (and what a peace?) "the meeting no longer takes place in the shady "grove, where the innocent little birds with their cheer-"ful songs, seem as if they wished to soothe and en-"liven our minds, tune them to amity and concord "and take a part in the good work for which we "are met. Neither is it at the sacred council house, "that we are invited to assemble. No!—It is at

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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"some of those horrid places, surrounded with mounds
"and ditches, where the most destructive of all weapons,
"where *great guns*, are gaping at us with their wide
"mouths, as if ready to devour us; and thus we are
"prevented from speaking our minds freely, as brothers
"ought to do!"

How then, say they, can there be any sincerity in such councils? how can a treaty of this kind be binding on men thus forced to agree to what is dictated to them in a strong prison and at the cannon's mouth; where all the stipulations are on one side, where all is concession on the one part and no friendship appears on the other? From these considerations, which they urge and constantly dwell upon, the treaties which they make with the white men have lost all their force, and they think themselves no longer bound by them than they are compelled by superior power. Are they right in this or are they wrong? The impartial reader must decide.

CHAPTER XXIII.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS OF THE INDIANS ON THE WHITE PEOPLE.

THE Indians believe that the Whites were made by the same Great Spirit who created them, and that he assigned to each different race of men a particular employment in this world, but not the same to all. To the whites the great Mannitto gave it in charge to till the ground and raise by cultivation the fruits of the earth;

2: Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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727 It was my Lott to Be Carried to Kittanning with other Prisoners, and on Entring into the Town we were obliged to Pass Between Two Rows of Indians Containing ab^{t} 100 on Each Side who were arm^{d} with various kind of Weapons such as Axes Tomhawks Cutlasses Hoop Poles, Pieces of Wood etc. But they did not strike wth Axes, and only Used the Heads and Handles of their Tomhawks, But used the Blades of the Cutlasses tho' not with so much Severity as To Kill, I had however the Misfortune to receive a Blow on the Side of my Forehead wth one of them wch Cut me To the Bone & a Billet of Wood Stikeing on the head ab^{t} the Same time Between Both I was Knock^{d} down to the Ground - It was only the more elderly People both Male and Female wch rece^{d} this Useage — the young prisoners of Both Sexes Escaped without it. . . .[188]

One girl captive (Marie Le Roy), intended for adoption, said:

[We] received our welcome, according to Indian custom. It consisted of three blows each, on the back. They were, however, administered with great mercy. Indeed, we concluded that we were beaten merely in order to keep up an ancient usage, and not with the intention of injuring us.[189]

Whether running the gauntlet was a precontact trait is undetermined.

728 Peace was secured by a defeated group through the agency of an ambassador. This individual bore no arms, traveled openly, and had no distinguishing marks of office other than a white belt of wampum, "containing the speech with which he was entrusted."[190] When he reached the enemy's camp a council was called, and the wishes of the ambassador were made known. If agreement was reached the victors invited the vanquished to a council:

At this council a grand feast was prepared and was accompanied with dancing. The weaker party made the necessary acknowledgements, the peace belt was delivered to the conquerors as a token of their superiority and the parties returned to their respective homes. They never have used the pipe as is customary among northern nations, nor had they anything like flags or ceremonial bearings before their knowledge of the whites.[191]

[188]Stuart, 1926, p. 66.
[189]Schweinitz, 1905, p. 409.
[190]Trowbridge MS.
[191]*Ibid.*

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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622 are moved neither by fear of men nor of God; fortunately there are few such.

[273] Strong drink occasions much disorder in the Indian towns.[256] If a chief is himself an abstainer, he may accomplish much against this evil, but he must be ever watchful and not tire in his efforts.

[428] At the death of a chief neither his children, wife, nor relatives inherit his possessions. Everything is distributed among the people except the wampum and belts, which belong to the chief in his official capacity, and the Council Bag. These are preserved and turned over to his successor in office. In general, some person who lived in intimacy with the deceased chief, and is well acquainted with the affairs of state is chosen to be his successor. It is generally agreed that such and such an one is the right person to assume the dignity of chief. If he is discreet and wins the favor of the captains and the people, the former in particular, will support him in every possible 624 way. A captain, such as White Eye [257] was, is the Chief's right hand. He must undertake everything ordered of him by the chief, even at the hazard of his life. To show fear would not be in harmony with his dignity and a disgrace. If he is wounded or killed by the enemy, the whole nation joins in avenging his death, taking injury done him as seriously as if it concerned the person of the chief. This the captains are aware of and it gives them courage.

● 728 A captain has no more right to conclude peace than a chief to begin war.[258] If peace is offered to a captain, when he is in the enemy's country, he can give no other answer than that he will bring the proposal to the notice of the chief, for as a warrior he cannot make peace, and that in due time reply will be given. If the chief inclines to peace, he, as it were, assumes his office again, exerts his power, takes the matter out of the hands of the captain and desires him to sit down, which signifies declaring a truce. The hatchet is taken out of the captain's hand and he is obliged to cease from hostilities and keep his men quiet. The chief knowing that inactivity is not agreeable to the captain, asks his assistance in the negotiations and generally chooses him to be the messenger of peace to the

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

nations. By such a commission an accession of honor and respect is acquired by the captain. So soon as he gives up the tomahawk, his men must cease from hostile acts and demonstrations.

The rank of captain is neither elective nor hereditary. First intimation of this honor comes usually in a dream, early in life, one or another having seen a buffalo, a bear or other ferocious animal, or he has seen in a vision an Indian who spoke with him and gave him the necessary gifts. Such a dream is pondered over and related to friends and usually interpreted as destiny for the office of Captain. The dreamer's imagination leads him to believe that nothing may injure him and that no bullet can harm him. He, therefore, endeavors to attain to the necessary qualifications for this dignity and prove his powers for he must be tested, as will appear presently. Occasionally, boys are prepared and instructed for this position. These are given little to eat, are made to fast often and long, so that their bodies become emaciated, their minds deranged and their dreams wild and extravagant. Frequent questions are put to them when in this condition as to the dreams they have had. So long as they have not dreamt or not dreamt the right thing, the process is continued until they have been reduced to skin and bones, when they usually have or pretend to have a fantastic dream, declared to be ominous. The subject being minutely considered and interpreted by their teachers, they are solemnly informed what will be their future destination. By virtue of these extraordinary revelations they become physicians, great hunters, rich men, *Mantewits*, that is, sorcerers, or captains. The impression thus made on their minds is lasting, and as they grow older they earnestly strive to fulfill their destination, believing themselves to be men of peculiar gifts, far in advance of the others. It is not enough to profess to be destined for the dignity of a captain. The claim must be made good. The candidate must be resolute, brave, fearless, even in greatest danger. If a leader, who has not the rank of captain, has the good fortune not to lose a man of his troop in six or seven engagements and to bring scalps and prisoners to the camp, he is recognized and honored as a captain forthwith. If he loses

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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it raw. When an Indian nation wishes to excite another to war, it sometimes happens that they send one or more prisoners to such a nation with the words, "We send you this prisoner to make some broth," and frequently gain their aim in this fashion. The prisoner, however, is not devoured but executed without mercy. There is no rescuing him from horrible death.

Captains, when about to go to war, send to the captains of nations or towns who are in league with them a piece of tobacco to smoke, thus notifying them that they themselves will soon follow. By this they intend that the captains shall smoke their pipes and consider seriously whether they will take part in the war or not. One chief about to visit another will, similarly, send him a piece of tobacco with the message that he shall smoke, look in a certain direction and in due time he will see the sender coming. This is done to make sure that the visitor will find the chief whom he wishes to visit at home.

The last war of the nations was between the Six Nations, the Delawares and Shawanose and the Cherokees, the latter pitted against the rest. This war continued many years until peace was concluded in 1768,[272] as, a few years before, peace had been made between the Six Nations and the Catabe-Nation[273] through the mediation of Sir William Johnson at Albany. Concerning earlier Indian wars nothing is known and since that time war with the whites has engaged the attention of all the Indian nations.

With the Delawares the following nations are in league: The Mahikander,[274] the Shawanose, the Cherokees, the Twichtwes,[275] the Wawiachtanos,[276] the Kikapus,[277] the Wiondats, the Tuckachschas,[278] the Chipuways, Ottawas, the Putewoataimen[279] and the Kaskaski.[280] The two last named dwell along the Wabash.[281]

The Shawanose, who formerly lived in Florida and have ever been a warlike people, had a war with the Moshkos.[282] The latter were the stronger and the Shawanose were reduced to a few remnants. The survivors left their country, came as fugitives up the Ohio to the Susquehanna. [Susquehannah]. They moved from place to place until they fell in with a strong party of Delawares. With these they entered into negotiations, stat-

be more complete (Loskiel, p. 143). The typical pre-white type of conflict was one in which a captain took a group of eight or ten warriors on a raid of the enemy camp, from which they carried off what goods they could, a few scalps and prisoners. If the chief of the raiding tribe did not denounce the raiding party and make recompense to the other tribe, war would be declared (Heckwelder, 1881, p. 176; Loskiel, p. 148). The warriors were recruited at a dance in which they signified their desire to participate by joining the warriors already dancing. This was a festive occasion at which women were present and it was repeated at the first night's camping ground to which the women followed the warriors (Heckewelder, 1881, p. 210; Loskiel, p. 146).

Prisoners were taken primarily to replace men of the tribe who had been killed in battle or died a natural death since the last war. On the march home prisoners received the same fare as the warriors themselves, but at each Delaware town they passed they were forced to perform for the amusement of the townspeople and run the gauntlet. This ordeal consisted in running between two parallel lines in which the townspeople were drawn up and suffering the blows of the double file until a specified pole was reached which guaranteed their safety. When the home village was reached, the same procedure occurred except that those who were to be adopted were sometimes protected by their foster families. Those who were not adopted were tortured in most of the ways the human mind has been able to devise, but gradual dismemberment and slow burning seem to have been the most common. A prisoner who remained impassive under this treatment was held in high esteem.

Women and children were not usually injured and the peace messenger was also granted immunity, indeed hospitality. Two essential ceremonies of the peace conference were the smoking of the peace pipe and the exchanging of strings of wampum to confirm the covenant (Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 215-18; Loskiel, pp. 143-156; Hill, pp. 53-55; Zeisberger, 1910, pp. 102-03 and 151).

The weapons used were the bow and arrow, the stone axe and a club with a rounded knob on the end. For defense they had a shield and helmet made of wooden sticks bound together with leather or hemp cord (Johnson, 1915, pp. 281-82; Koskiel, p. 141). Some of the east coast villages were palisaded for protection (Krieger, p. 51; Brinton, 1885, p. 51; Skinner, 1915, p. 7; Heye, p. 11).

Crime

Offences against members of the group became a concern of the chief only when they could not be settled by the families concerned. "The Justice they have is Pecuniary: In case of any Wrong or evil Fact, be it further it self, they Attone by Feasts and Presents of

| | | |

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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+ = element present
− = element denied
(+) or (−) = source ambiguous
• = informant could not or would not say
§ = some, sometimes, or several
† or * = see Ethnographic Notes, pp. 79-137 for additional information

	Williams	Van der Donck	Lindeström	Zeisberger	Heckewelder	Johnston	Pipe	Chipps	J. W.	W. T.	E. R.	W. L.
419. War chief leaves war club at house of enemy chief to show desire for peace						−	−	+	•+	•	−	•
420. Delaware act part of mediators between other tribes						+	+	•	+	•	•	+
421. Terms of peace negotiated				+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Peace—Continued												
422. By village chiefs							+	+	+	+	+	+
423. By council							+				+	+
424. By persons appointed					+	+						
425. Ceremonies at conclusion of peace: Dancing		+				+	+	−	+	−	+	+
426. Feasts						−	•(+)	−	+	•+	+	+
427. Belts exchanged				+		+	+	+	+		+	+
428. Pipe smoked				+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+
429. Anything like flags of truce before whites					−	−	−		•+	•	+	•
430. Flags or armorial bearings					−	−	−	•	•	•	−	•
Games												
431. Ball play				+		•	+	+	−	+	−	−
432. Football	+					+	•	•	•+	•+	+	•+
433. Dice game	+			+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+
434. Number of colors				2		2	2	2	2	2	2	2
435. Number of dice				6		5-6	6	6	7	6	8	12
436. Cards	•+	•+		+		+		+	−	+	−	•+
437. Quoits				+					−	−	+	+
438. Wrestling				+		+		+	+	+	+	+
439. Racing	+					+		+	+	+	+	+
440. Jumping						+		+	+	+	+	+
441. Hopping						+			+	•+	+	+
442. Lifting stones				+					−	•+	+	+
443. Throwing stones				+					+	+	+	+
444. Shooting and throwing arrows									§	§	+	+
445. Fond of gambling	+	+		+		−		+	§	§	+	+

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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of defensive armor stopped in the second period, perhaps as the result of the introduction of firearms against which it was ineffective, but the memory of it continued into the fourth period. The third-period accounts were based on the practice of that time, whereas the last period accounts reflected the custom of the earliest period. 713

A similar situation seems to exist in regard to the consultation of jugglers before the march of a war party (408). We have no information on this point from the first or second period and such consultation is denied in the third period, but Chipps reported in 1824 that fifty years and more before it had been customary for the chiefs to consult the jugglers. The three informants in the fourth period were unanimous in reporting the reliance upon jugglers for determining the omens concerning a war party. 726 787

Sieges were not a war practice of the Delaware according to the early accounts (412). The sieges reported in the fourth period were of comparatively recent occurrence. 723

Roger Williams reported that enemy heads were taken as trophies and he made no mention of scalps (415). Other New England accounts of the same period related that hands were also cut off as trophies. We have no information on this point for the Delaware of the same period. In the next period Heckewelder said the Indians took scalps as trophies but that they referred to them as heads. About the same time accounts of other tribes stated that heads were taken if possible, but if pressed by pursuit or too encumbered by heads, a warrior would reduce his load by saving only the scalps. It is doubtful if the practice of taking scalps instead of heads originated in historic times, but it is certain that it completely replaced the latter, probably in the second period. 727

Peace

The elements entering into peace negotiations suffered a fate very similar to those of war. The sources and informants uniformly stated that ambassadors were sent to negotiate a peace (416), and that peace terms were negotiated and not dictated 728

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

728 by one party (421). On the other hand, there was no agreement as to how the desire for peace was broached or who the negotiators or ambassadors were (419, 422-24). No changes are indicated in these elements; rather, it seems that a variety of customs were permissible at any period.

The ambassadors were probably appointed by the civil chiefs, by the council of wisemen, or both. Their mission many times was preceded by the showing of a desire for peace by a war chief while in enemy territory. Heckewelder was the only one to throw any doubt on the sanctity with which the person of the ambassador was held, and he blamed all violations on the whites.

[535] Dancing at the conclusion of a peace was affirmed and denied in both the third and fourth period, with the majority reporting its practice (425). On the basis of the first copy of Pipe's account, the third-period sources denied the connection of feasts with peace ceremonies, whereas the fourth-period informants all maintained that feasts were given (426). However, Pipe's account was changed in the second and third copies to vouch for the feasts that had been definitely denied in the first copy, and thus this clear cut division between the information of the two periods does not exist. I suspect that the data of the fourth period reflect precontact and early contact customs that had been dropped as a general practice by the third period when most of the treaty negotiations were between whites and Indians rather than between different tribes of Indians. Pipe's reversal may be explained and correlated with this hypothesis by assuming that his first account related the contemporaneous practice and his revised accounts the custom in the past. The exchange of belts was unquestioned and the smoking of a pipe almost so (427-28). Pipe's statement that the Delaware "never used the pipe as the northern nations do" contradicts both previous and subsequent accounts and is most incomprehensible.

Games

526 The ball play, sometimes known as la crosse, usually indulged in by the tribes of the eastern United States was common among the Delaware according to the second- and third-period sources

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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408. Consultation of jugglers before march

721 CAPTAIN CHIPPS—There are no jugglers now (1824) living—
787 the last that are recollected lived about 50 years ago—it was customary then for the chiefs to consult them, and be guided by their advice.

410. Women accompany war party

726 CAPTAIN PIPE—Anciently the women were never known to accompany a war party, but since booty has been an inducement they have been much in the habit of joining them.

CAPTAIN CHIPPS—The women seldom go into battle—they have however a right to fight, which entitles them to a place in the ranks—if they behave well, they are as much commended as the male warriors.

415. Scalps taken

727 ROGER WILLIAMS said that the whole head was taken as a trophy.

PEACE

728 *418. Ambassadors of peace carry white wampum*

J. W. reported that an ambassador carried "something" but not necessarily a belt of white wampum.

419. War club as emblem of desire for peace

J. W. insisted that chief left "some mark" at home of enemy chief to indicate a desire for peace but that it was not necessarily a war club.

426. Feasts

CAPTAIN PIPE in the first copy of his account said: The party inviting the assemblage of the council always furnish the necessary provisions for the visitors during their stay, but there are no feasts. In second and third copies of his account, he said there was a council after the preliminary negotiations and: At this council a grand feast was prepared and was accompanied with dancing.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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W. T.—Originally there was no war, hence no peace rules until after whites introduced war. William Penn made a treaty with the Delaware. The delegates (chief, assistant chief, war chief, and councilors) at this and later treaties, met, and talked things over, smoked just like businessmen do today. The white delegates were given food just like Indians always feed any visitors. At the Penn treaty they ate turkey. Thanksgiving day among the whites commemorates this first turkey feast. 721 728

429. Flag of truce 728

J. W. said that a flag of truce was something blue.

Games

432. Football

J. W. and W. T. said football was taken over recently from Shawnee. 526

W. L. said that the football game was played with the women against the men. There were two goal posts on the east side and two on the west. Each side tried to send the ball between the posts of the other side. The men had to kick the ball but the women could throw it. Once they appointed a man to help the women. He was mobbed and that was not tried again.

436. Cards

Roger Williams reported a game like English cards in which rushes were used instead of cards. 525

Van der Donck said that they played a game with pieces of reeds, resembling our card playing.

W. L. said that seven-up was the favorite game.

441. Hopping

W. T. stated that the game was to see who could cover the most ground in three hops. 524

442. Lifting stones

W. T. said that contests of lifting stones in the old days were really trials of the vision power of the different individuals, for 781 526

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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II. THE DELAWARE TRIBE

HISTORICAL SKETCH

The Delaware call themselves Lenape or Lenni Lenape. Their common name is derived from the fact that their first known residence was on the river so named by the English. Lindeström gives their location in 1656 as in the vicinity of Philadelphia on the west side of the Delaware River, and their kindred, the Munsee, were located on the east side. The territory that they occupied was probably much more extensive than Lindeström indicated, but little beyond the water courses had been explored in those days. The Delaware were still in possession of the river when William Penn entered into his first treaty with them in 1682.

The British administration after Penn's time was aligned with the Iroquois who assumed domination over the Delaware. It is practically impossible to determine the exact time or circumstances of the Iroquois "making women" of the Delaware, but about 1720 they denied the Delaware the right to make war or to dispose of land. Very soon the Delaware were being crowded out of their old locations by the Iroquois and the whites. They moved to various sites farther west in Pennsylvania, and by 1751 began to settle in eastern Ohio. Within a few years the majority of them were in Ohio and Indiana. The Moravian missionaries who followed them from the East established themselves in Ohio and worked with great success until the Revolution.

Distrusted by both the British and the colonists, the Delaware and particularly the Moravian converts, were harried from both sides. The Gnadenhütten Massacre in 1782 was the greatest blow dealt by the colonists, but while demoralizing, it was not as devastating as were the moves forced upon the Indians by the British the year before. The famine and other hardships resulting from these forced emigrations scattered and decimated the Christian Delaware and also created the opportunity for the

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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731 Gnadenhütten affair. A score or so of families settled on the
167 Clinton River northwest of the site of Mount Clemens on land belonging to the Chippewa. They lived there from 1782 to 1786. In the latter year they moved to Pilgerruh near Pittsburgh, then to Pettquotting, and finally in 1791 to Canada. A few families returned to the Tuscarawas in 1798.

167 In the meantime the "heathen" Delaware were settling in
657 western Indiana, principally along the White River. In 1821 these were moved across the Mississippi by the Federal Government to a reservation near Leavenworth, Kansas. There they were joined about 1835 by a band of Delaware which had removed to Missouri in 1789 with the permission of the Spanish Government, and by 1820, after a sojourn in Arkansas, had moved to Texas with a Shawnee band. In 1867 the Delaware sold their lands in Kansas and bought rights as members of the Cherokee Nation in Oklahoma. A small party was living among the Caddo and Wichita in south-central Oklahoma when the "general severalty act" authorizing allotments was passed in 1887. This group received allotments as members of the Caddo and Wichita groups with which they have since been incorporated, while the majority in northeastern Oklahoma received allotments as members of the Cherokee Nation.

161 We have no estimates of the number of Delaware at the time
162 of their first contacts with the whites when they were living in a fairly compact body. Since then they have been scattered and connected with other tribes, with only an occasional village composed solely of Delaware. In 1824 their number was estimated as 1,500 in Kansas and 650 in Canada and scattered through New York and Ohio. In 1910 their population including the Munsee was about 1,850, of whom 895 were in Oklahoma, 55 in Kansas, about 250 Munsee with Stockbridge in Wisconsin, and 619 on three different reserves in Ontario. The 1930 figures show a slight decline, with 874 in Oklahoma.

CONTACTS

177 In their original habitat and during their migrations, the Delaware have been exposed to different types of white contact.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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which our aborigines do not hesitate to make, that before the Europeans landed in those parts of the American continent, they were unacquainted with that shameful disorder which attacks generation in its sources. I am well aware that this complaint is generally believed to have been communicated by the new world to the old. I do not know upon what proofs this opinion rests, but I am disposed to give credit to the uniform assertion of our northern Indians, that this contagion was first introduced among them by emigrants from Europe. However it may be, it is a lamentable fact that they are now very generally infected with it, and that their population can not long resist its destructive operation upon their once strong and healthy constitutions, particularly as it is associated with the abuse of strong liquors, now so prevalent among them.

Of the manner in which they have acquired this latter vice, I presume there can be no doubt. They charge us in the most positive manner with being the first who made them acquainted with ardent spirits, and what is worse, with having exerted all the means in our power to induce them to drink to excess. It is very certain that the processes of distillation and fermentation are entirely unknown to the Indians, and that they have among them no intoxicating liquors but such as they receive from us. The Mexicans have their *Pulque*, and other indigenous beverages of an inebriating nature, but the North American Indians, before their intercourse with us commenced, had absolutely nothing of the kind. The smoke of the American weed, tobacco, was the only means that they at that time had in use to produce a temporary exhilaration of their spirits.

I have related in a former chapter,* the curious account given by the Delawares and Mohicans of the scene which took place when they were first made to taste spirituous liquors by the Dutch who landed on New York

* See ch. 2.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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733 Island. I have no doubt that this tradition is substantially founded on fact. Indeed, it is strongly corroborated by the name which, in consequence of this adventure, those people gave at the time to that island, and which it has retained to this day. They called it *Manahachtanienk*, which in the Delaware language, means "*the island where we all became intoxicated.*" We have corrupted this name into *Manhattan*, but not so as to destroy its meaning, or conceal its origin. The last syllable which we have left out is only a termination, implying locality, and in this word signifies as much as *where we*. There are few Indian traditions so well supported as this.

How far from that time the dreadful vice of intoxication has increased among those poor Indians, is well known to many Christian people among us. We may safely calculate on thousands who have perished by the baneful effect of spirituous liquors. The dreadful war which took place in 1774 between the Shawanese, some of the Mingoes, and the people of Virginia, in which so many lives were lost, was brought on by the consequences of drunkenness. It produced murders, which were followed by private revenge, and ended in a most cruel and destructive war.

The general prevalence of this vice among the Indians is in a great degree owing to unprincipled white traders, who persuade them to become intoxicated that they may cheat them the more easily, and obtain their lands or peltries for a mere trifle. Within the last fifty years, some instances have even come to my knowledge of white men having enticed Indians to drink, and when drunk, murdered them. The effects which intoxication produces upon the Indians are dreadful. It has been the cause of an infinite number of murders among them, besides biting off noses and otherwise disfiguring each other, which are the least consequences of the quarrels which inebriation produces between them. I cannot say how many have died of colds and other disorders,

§[Lenapeism. See cat. 116, p. 348. -Analyst]

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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which they have caught by lying upon the cold ground, and remaining exposed to the elements when drunk; others have lingered out their lives, in excruciating rheumatic pains and in wasting consumptions, until death came to relieve them from their sufferings. 133

Reflecting Indians have keenly remarked, "that it was "strange that a people who professed themselves believ- "ers in a religion revealed to them by the great Spirit "himself; who say that they have in their houses the "WORD of God, and his laws and commandments "textually written, could think of making a *beson*,* cal- "culated to bewitch people and make them destroy one "another." I once asked an Indian at Pittsburg, whom I had not before seen, who he was? He answered in broken English: "My name is *Black-fish*; when at home "with my nation, I am a clever fellow, and when here, "a *hog*." He meant that by means of the liquor which the white people gave him, he was sunk down to the level of that beast.

An Indian who had been born and brought up at Minisink, near the Delaware Water Gap, and to whom the German inhabitants of that neighbourhood had given the name of *Cornelius Rosenbaum*, told me near fifty years ago, that he had once, when under the influence of strong liquor, killed the best Indian friend he had, fancying him to be his worst avowed enemy. He said that the deception was complete, and that while intoxicated, the face of his friend presented to his eyes all the features of the man with whom he was in a state of hostility. It is impossible to express the horror with which he was struck when he awoke from that delusion; he was so shocked, that he from that moment resolved never more to taste of the maddening poison, of which he was convinced that the devil was the inventor; for it could only be the evil spirit who made him see his enemy when his friend was

* This word means *liquor*, and is also used in the sense of a medicinal draught, or other compound potion.

l:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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733 before him, and produced so strong a delusion on hi bewildered senses, that he actually killed him. From that time until his death, which happened thirty years afterwards, he never drank a drop of ardent spirits, which he always called "the Devil's blood," and was firmly persuaded that the Devil, or some of his inferior spirits, had a hand in preparing it.

Once in my travels, I fell in with an Indian and his son; the former, though not addicted to drinking, had this time drank some liquor with one of his acquaintances, of which he now felt the effects. As he was walking before me, along the path, he at once flew back and aside, calling out "O! what a monstrous snake!" On my asking him where the snake lay, he pointed to something and said "Why, there, across the path!" "A snake!" said I, "it is nothing but a black-burnt sapling, which "has fallen on the ground." He, however, would not be persuaded; he insisted that it was a snake, and could be nothing else; therefore, to avoid it, he went round the path, and entered it again at some distance further. After we had travelled together for about two hours, during which time he spoke but little, we encamped for the night. Awaking about midnight, I saw him sitting up smoking his pipe, and appearing to be in deep thought. I asked him why he did not lay down and sleep? To which he replied, "O my friend! many things have crowded on my mind; I am quite lost in thought!"

HECKEW. "And what are you thinking about?"

INDIAN. "Did you say it was not a snake of which I was afraid, and which lay across the path?"

HECKEW. "I did say so; and, indeed, it was nothing else but a sapling burnt black by the firing of the woods."

INDIAN. "Are you sure it was that?"

HECKEW. "Yes; and I called to you at the time to "look, how I was standing on it; and if you have yet a "doubt, ask your son, and the two Indians with me, and "they will tell you the same."

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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INDIAN. "O strange! and I took it for an uncommonly large snake, moving as if it intended to bite me!—I cannot get over my surprise, that the liquor I drank, and, indeed, that was not much, should have so deceived me! but I think I have now discovered how it happens that Indians so often kill one another when drunk, almost without knowing what they are doing; and when afterwards they are told of what they have done, they ascribe it to the liquor which was in them at the time, and say the liquor did it. I have thought that as I saw this time a living snake in a dead piece of wood, so I might, at another time, take a human being, perhaps one of my own family, for a bear or some other ferocious beast and kill him. Can you, my friend, tell me what is in the *beson* that confuses one so, and transforms things in that manner? Is it an invisible spirit? It must be something alive; or have the white people sorcerers among them, who put something in the liquor to deceive those who drink it? Do the white people drink of the same liquor that they give to the Indians? Do they also, when drunk, kill people, and bite noses off, as the Indians do? Who taught the white people to make so pernicious a *beson*?"

I answered all these questions, and several others that he put to me, in the best manner that I could, to which he replied, and our conversation continued as follows:

INDIAN. "Well, if, as you say, the bad spirit cannot be the inventor of this liquor; if, in some cases it is moderately used among you as a medicine, and if your doctors can prepare from it, or with the help of a little of it, some salutary *besons*, still, I must believe that when it operates as you have seen, the bad spirit must have some hand in it, either by putting some bad thing into it, unknown to those who prepare it, or you have conjurers who understand how to bewitch it.—Perhaps they only do so to that which is for the Indians; for the devil is not the Indians' friend, because they will

l:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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733 "not worship him, as they do the good spirit, and there-
"fore I believe he puts something into the *beson*, for the
"purpose of destroying them."

HECKEW. "What the devil may do with the li-
"quor, I cannot tell; but I believe that he has a hand in
"every thing that is bad. When the Indians kill one
"another, bite off each other's noses, or commit such
"wicked acts, he is undoubtedly well satisfied; for, as
"God himself has said, he is a destroyer and a mur-
"derer."

INDIAN. "Well, now, we think alike, and henceforth
"he shall never again deceive me, or entice me to drink
"his *beson*."

It is a common saying with those white traders who find it their interest to make the Indians drunk, in order to obtain their peltry at a cheaper rate, that they *will* have strong liquors, and will not enter upon a bargain unless they are sure of getting it. I acknowledge that I have seen some such cases; but I could also state many from my own knowledge, where the Indians not only refused liquor, but resisted during several days all the attempts that were made to induce them even to taste it, being well aware, as well as those who offered it to them, that if they once should put it to their lips, such was their weakness on that score, that intoxication would inevitably follow.

I can, perhaps, offer a plausible reason why the Indians are so fond of spirituous drinks. The cause is, I believe, to be found in their living almost entirely upon fresh meats and green vegetables, such as corns, pumpkins, squashes, potatoes, cucumbers, melons, beans, &c. which causes a longing in their stomachs for some seasoning, particularly (as is often the case) when they have been a long time without salt. They are, on those occasions, 263 222 equally eager for any acid substances; vinegar, if they can get it, they will drink in considerable quantities, and think nothing of going thirty or forty miles in search of

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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cranberries, whether in season or not. They also gather crab-apples, wild-grapes, and other acid and even bitter-tasted fruits, as substitutes for salt, and in the spring they will peel such trees as have a sourish sap, which they lick with great avidity. When for a long time they have been without salt, and are fortunate enough to get some, they will swallow at a time a table-spoonful of that mineral substance, for which they say that they and their horses are equally hungry.

The Indians are very sensible of the state of degradation to which they have been brought by the abuse of strong liquors, and whenever they speak of it, never fail to reproach the whites for having enticed them into that vicious habit. I could easily prove how guilty the whites are in this respect, if I were to relate a number of anecdotes, which I rather wish to consign to oblivion. The following will be sufficient to confute those disingenuous traders, who would endeavour to shift the blame from themselves, in order to fix it upon the poor deluded Indians.

In the year 1769, an Indian from Susquehannah having came to Bethlehem with his sons to dispose of his peltry, was accosted by a trader from a neighbouring town, who addressed him thus: "Well! Thomas, I really believe you have turned Moravian." "Moravian!" answered the Indian, "what makes you think so?"—"Because," replied the other, "you used to come to us "to sell your skins and peltry, and now you trade them "away to the Moravians." "So!" rejoined the Indian, "now I understand you well, and I know what you mean "to say. Now hear me.—See, my friend! when I come "to this place with my skins and peltry to trade, the "people are kind, they give me plenty of good victuals "to eat, and pay me in money or whatever I want, and "no one says a word to me about drinking rum—neither "do I ask for it! When I come to your place with my "peltry, all call to me: 'Come, Thomas! here's rum,

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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"drink heartily, drink! it will not hurt you.' All this
"is done for the purpose of cheating me. When you
"have obtained from me all you want, you call me a
"drunken dog, and kick me out of the room.—See! this
"is the manner in which you cheat the Indians when they
"come to trade with you. So now you know when you
"see me coming to your town again, you may say to
"one another: 'Ah! there is Thomas coming again!
"he is no longer a Moravian, for he is coming to us to
"be made drunk—to be cheated—to be kicked out of the
"house, and be called a *drunken dog!*'"

CHAPTER XXXVII.

FUNERALS.

I BELIEVE that no sufficiently detailed account has yet been given of the manner in which the North American Indians conduct the funerals of their dead. Captain Carver tells us that the Naudowessies, among whom he was, kept those ceremonies a secret, and would not give him an opportunity of witnessing them. Loskiel, although he drew his information from the journals of our Missionaries, has treated this subject rather superficially. I therefore run little risk of repetition in describing what I have myself seen, and I hope that the particulars which I am going to relate will not be thought uninteresting.

It is well known that the Indians pay great respect to the memory of the dead, and commit their remains to the

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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574 make themselves acceptable to the head of the universal family, the great and good Mannitto. Let me be permitted to illustrate this by an example.

Some travelling Indians having in the year 1777, put their horses over night to pasture in my little meadow, at Gnadenhutten on the Muskingum, I called on them in the morning to learn why they had done so. I endeavoured to make them sensible of the injury they had done me, especially as I intended to mow the meadow in a day or two. Having finished my complaint, one of them replied: "My friend, it seems you lay claim to the grass "my horses have eaten, because you had enclosed it with "a fence: now tell me, who caused the grass to grow? "Can *you* make the grass grow? I think not, and no "body can except the great Mannitto. He it is "who causes it to grow both for my horses and for "yours! See, friend! the grass which grows out of the "earth is common to all; the game in the woods is com- "mon to all. Say, did you never eat venison and bear's "meat?—"Yes, very often."—Well, and did you ever "hear me or any other Indian complain about that? "No; then be not disturbed at my horses having eaten "only once, of what you call *your* grass, though the "grass my horses did eat, in like manner as the meat "you did eat, was given to the Indians by the Great "Spirit. Besides, if you will but consider, you will find "that my horses did not eat *all* your grass. For friend- "ship's sake, however, I shall never put my horses in "your meadow again."

735 The Indians are not only just, they are also in many respects a generous people, and cannot see the sick and the aged suffer for want of clothing. To such they will give a blanket, a shirt, a pair of leggings, mocksens, &c. 431 Otherwise, when they make presents, it is done with a view to receive an equivalent in return, and the receiver is given to understand what that ought to be. In making presents to strangers, they are content with some trifle

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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796 346 Who is Carried Around." Their descendents still carry the burden of the worship. They belonged to the "Wolf" group (Tu'k^{w}si^{l}t). For this reason the Wolf group claims the right to sponsor these exercises now, and holds the majority rule in the present Big House deliberations. And in my judgment they will always rule hereafter. The present house was built three or four hundred yards to the southwest of the present spot but on account of its inconvenience it was moved to where it now stands, and one acre was set aside by the Dawes Commission. It was remodeled by us after a deliberation in September 1913.

796 [735] "The ceremony has not been "taken in" for four years,[1] the last one being led by Frank Wilson (E'm·a^{s}). Poverty has driven them to neglect it. And also the loss of the wampum beads which one time numbered about one hundred and twenty-eight Indian yards, all of which has nearly disappeared for it has been sold to other Indian tribes, to white people or to Museums as relics."

796 171 Speculations upon the origin of the ceremony would be quite out of order from the ethno-historical point of view, but Delaware traditional history has no such hesitant attitude. As the myth develops we observe how the inception of the idea of the ceremony is laid to the revelation made in dreams to chosen leaders among the Munsee. Opinion seems quite general among the Delawares that the original conception of the ceremony is a Munsee one. This is interesting because it locates the ceremony in the northerly group of the three tribes forming the so-called Delaware Nation. It is fortunate that we have, from the pen of Harrington,[2] a treatise on the Munsee form of the Big House ceremony for the purpose of comparison and evaluation as far as the material provided in the several accounts will permit us to go. At present there seems little to point toward proof of priority for the Munsee phase of the worship, except for the quasi-historical estimate of the Delawares themselves. A feeling of respect for the Munsee is general among the Delawares. They are held in high esteem for their former bravery and, strange to say though natural enough in the regard held by Indians for such matters, for their indifference to economic and material affairs and devotion to those of a spiritual nature.[3]

648 791 ESOTERISM OF DELAWARE RELIGION.—In the missionary descriptions of 170 years ago, chiefly from the pen of John Heckewelder, we hear constantly of the inner spirit of aversion held toward the whites, and the distrust felt by the natives concerning the motives of all Euro-

[1] This was written in October 1928.

[2] Harrington 1, pp. 127-161.

[3] Illustrative of this sentiment several Delaware observations may be recalled in reference to the Munsee. The latter, it would seem, are held in high esteem for their bravery and ability in spiritual matters, yet were noted for an indifference to dress and economic properties, in which respect the Delawares think they stood out in contrast with them.

2; Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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take baths in streams, even if the water was covered with ice.[37] Trowbridge said "they believe it of the utmost consequence to their children to subject them to hardship in their infancy and youth."[38] If children were orphaned "the maternal grandfather or mother is bound by custom to take the children under protection; but if they also be dead the children are adopted by such relatives or friends as may be inclined to take charge of them."[39] Children born out of wedlock were normally cared for by the mother, but the father might contribute to their support. No stigma attached to illegitimacy.[40]

Puberty: boys.— The vision quest of the young boy was the climax of the more formal aspects of the educational system and served to usher the boy over the threshold into adult life. When a boy was about ten years old,[41] or when his voice began to change (N.D.), he began what can best be called a series of ordeals:

> [A boy] is put under an alternate course of physic and fasting, either taking no food whatever, or swallowing the most powerful and nauseous medicines, and occasionally he is made to drink decoctions of an intoxicating nature, until his mind becomes sufficiently bewildered, so that he sees or fancies that he sees visions, and has extraordinary dreams, for which, of course, he has been prepared beforehand.[42]

Parents insulted their sons, N.D. added, telling them that they were no good and that they should go out and "die." Boys were shamed, ridiculed, insulted, and all but physically driven from the village. It was felt that a humbled, miserable boy had a better opportunity to induce the supernatural spirits to feel sorry for him, and so reveal themselves to him and provide him with a supernatural guardian. Boys inevitably went into a lonely exile filled with despair at their own inadequacy and in the desperate hope of obtaining a supernatural being's assistance in a hostile world. If the vision quest produced a guardian spirit, a boy was restored to the good graces of the community, acquired a good deal of self-confidence, and the course of his life was known. Future occupations, for instance, were decided by these visions, whether a boy was to be a warrior, shaman, or something else.[43] Not all boys, however, were successful in the vision quest. Women frequently had visions, although they were not consciously solicited.[44]

Puberty: girls.— When a girl menstruated for the first time she was secluded in a hut.[45] Zeisberger said of the Munsis:

> ... being the more strict and having more ceremonies in the observance of the custom than the Miamis. They build for such a girl, a separate hut, apart from the rest, where her mother or some old female acquaintance cares for her

[37] Penn, 1912, p. 231; Pastorius, 1912, p. 434; Trowbridge MS; J.T., N.D., O.A.
[38] Trowbridge MS.
[39] *Ibid.*
[40] *Ibid.*
[41] Harrington, 1913, p. 214.
[42] Heckewelder, 1881, p. 245.
[43] *Ibid.*, pp. 245-47. See Chap. IV for a discussion of the supernatural beings encountered in visions.
[44] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 132; N.D.
[45] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 77; Beatty, 1798, pp. 84-85; Loskiel, 1794, p. 56; N.D., O.A.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

moving from one place to another according to inclination, yet they generally dwell together for the sake of the help they can render each other in building and in fencing up the great field where all may plant and be sure that their pieces of ground will not be molested by cattle. If they have a good chief he may be very useful to the people, for under him they believe themselves to dwell in safety as it is his business to keep the peace with other nations and order among his own people in so far as this may be secured among the Indians who are a free people recognizing neither compulsion nor authority to punish. By means of discretion and diplomacy a chief may accomplish much. At times he may not tell his counsellors, much less the people, what his ultimate purposes are, for fear of not attaining them. Moving forward step by step he may gain his end. Of violence, murder (except in drunkenness), robbery, theft, one rarely hears among the Indians. They may leave all they have caught in the chase and their utensils in the forest, secured indeed against wild animals such as wolves and bear, but not hidden from the Indians. They often hang their things to trees in the woods where everyone passing by may see them and leave them there for days and weeks, yet they are never molested. Stolen goods may not be easily concealed among them, and whoever has been guilty of theft must restore or repay lest a horse or two or even his gun, which is an Indian's means of sustenance, be taken from him or his friends summoned to make good the injury, even years after the theft has been committed. The latter will rather pay than be much and often called upon to do so.

Few houses are locked when the people go out. A stick is placed against the door on the outside and the passerby sees that no one is at home and does not enter. Each one is free to do as he pleases without let or hindrance, yet he will rarely do another injury.

Their old people, even though they are only able to crawl about and are a source of trouble and have nothing to bequeath to anyone, are faithfully cared for by their friends who seem to wish that their lives should be prolonged. That they are unmerciful and insensible towards the poor and needy may not be said of them. Even strangers who have no friends are

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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736 given assistance. A poor widow, even though she have children, finds it possible to make a living if she is willing to work. They pay her above the worth of her services in food and clothing; if it is summer she may work on the plantations; in winter she may prepare wood for fire. They are willing to help the poor but always expect them to render some service in return. It has been known that good has been done to prisoners condemned to death, even to whites, though this had to be done secretly.

829 144 A few negroes are found among the Indians having been either bought from the whites or secured as prisoners. These are looked upon as of their own kind and allowed full liberty. Indians and negroes intermarry and their mulatto children are as much loved as children of pure Indian blood.

431 They are fond of giving when they can expect something in return and of doing good which they have reason to hope may be returned. They easily forget the good that has been done, but if they have been cheated they never forget it. If a white has done them ever so many favors, helped them in need, or given them presents, and omits an opportunity to do the like only once, then all he may have done is forgotten. If an Indian takes a wife and dresses her generously from head to foot in new garments she will indeed be glad and proud; but she will more readily leave him than if he had given her little or nothing, for in that case she would still be in expectation of receiving something.

One may even make enemies of Indians through presents if these make them proud and one does not continue giving. Occasionally when a respectable present has been given the donor is slandered in order that he may not expect something in return from the recipient.

152 They are able to control their desires and passions, but once given free rein these are the more violent. Overcome with wrath, they at once think upon murder, and may, in the heat of passion, do something for which they will later feel remorse.

521 The women are much given to lying and gossiping. They carry evil report from house to house. As long as they are observed they appear modest and without guile. All the wrongs

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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moving from one place to another according to inclination, yet they generally dwell together for the sake of the help they can render each other in building and in fencing up the great field where all may plant and be sure that their pieces of ground will not be molested by cattle. If they have a good chief he may be very useful to the people, for under him they believe themselves to dwell in safety as it is his business to keep the peace with other nations and order among his own people in so far as this may be secured among the Indians who are a free people recognizing neither compulsion nor authority to punish. By means of discretion and diplomacy a chief may accomplish much. At times he may not tell his counsellors, much less the people, what his ultimate purposes are, for fear of not attaining them. Moving forward step by step he may gain his end. Of violence, murder (except in drunkenness), robbery, theft, one rarely hears among the Indians. They may leave all they have caught in the chase and their utensils in the forest, secured indeed against wild animals such as wolves and bear, but not hidden from the Indians. They often hang their things to trees in the woods where everyone passing by may see them and leave them there for days and weeks, yet they are never molested. Stolen goods may not be easily concealed among them, and whoever has been guilty of theft must restore or repay lest a horse or two or even his gun, which is an Indian's means of sustenance, be taken from him or his friends summoned to make good the injury, even years after the theft has been committed. The latter will rather pay than be much and often called upon to do so.

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757 278 74. MOTHERWORT *(Leonurus cardiaca)*. A tea is made from the leaves which is effective for female diseases.

75. FALSE SOLOMON'S SEAL *(Smilacina stellata)*. The root is combined with others as a medicine to cleanse the system and stimulate the stomach. A remedy also for leucorrhea.

76. MAY APPLE *(Podophyllum peltatum)*, "flower hangs down." A spring tonic and a laxative are made from the root.

77. BLOODROOT *(Sanguinaria canadensis)*. For general debility, a pea-sized piece of root is taken every morning for thirty days. Combined with other roots for a stomach remedy. The plant root provides the face paint used in the Big House Ceremony of the Delaware. [302 386]

78. DANDELION *(Taraxacum officinale)*. A laxative-tonic obtained from the plant.

79. VIRGINIA SNAKEROOT *(Aristolochia serpentaria)*. Used singly or combined with wintergreen as a tonic.

80. FRINGED GENTIAN *(Gentiana crinita)*. A tea made from the root acts as a blood-purifier and stomach-strengthener.

81. BLACK SNAKEROOT *(Cimicifuge racemosa)*, elecampane and stone root are combined to make a tonic.

82. MILKWEED *(Asclepias sp.)*. A tea made from the pounded and steeped roots of the five species of milkweed is a cure for epileptic fits in those born during certain phases of the moon. Such disturbances periodically occur during a particular moon-phase period.

751 757 278 787 83. PEYOTE *(Lophophora williamsii)*, "Our Father," is known to have been used to treat periodic fits, and is regarded as a sure cure for tuberculosis.[4] Wi·tapanôxwe carries a small, fringed leather bag, tied with deerskin thongs, containing several peyote "beans" or buttons for use in case of emergency. Certain Delaware subscribing to the "Wilson cult," wear a small beaded bag containing peyote, around their necks as a protection against illness. This talisman is even regarded as an advisory agent of approaching

[4] It is said that this highly valued and potent medicine was revealed to a woman in a dream who gave the knowledge of it to her people. It may be eaten with or without the usual ceremonial rites. For a study of the Peyote rites among the Delawares at Dewey and Anadarko, Oklahoma, see Petrullo, 1934. For more details, consult Safford, 1916, pp. 387, 424; Harrington, 1921, pp. 185-190; and the more recent study of LaBarre, 1938.

domestic and tribal crises. Wi·tapanôxwe is not convinced of the truth of this statement, but claims that he merely carries his own supply for medicinal purposes.[8]

84. Cactus *(Opuntia vulgaris)* is called "thorny, useless." Wi·tapanô-xwe remarked that the Oklahoma negroes singe off the spines and apply a sliced portion to their corns to allay pain.

Miscellaneous Beliefs

1. To draw out frost bites, walk in the snow barefooted. Rubbing snow on the ears will bring relief.
2. Frost or dew gathered in late fall and rubbed on the body will prevent skin eruptions.
3. Water that collects in hollow trees or rocks is believed to have medicinal value.
4. Mud applied to a burn will take out "the fire."
5. To cure a child from slobbering, catch a number of minnows and have the child hold them in his mouth. Repeat this several times a week until the cure is effected.
6. To cure a child of bed-wetting, feed him portions of a roasted "timber rat" [9] This is believed to effect a sure cure. My informant and a companion once killed and roasted such a rodent, and both agreed that the flesh was palatable and not unlike that of squirrel. They were reticent, however, as to the therapeutic effects.
7. Relief is obtained in the case of whooping cough, if the mother first suckles a puppy and then her child.
8. A spider web applied to a flesh wound will stop the flow of blood.
9. Excrement of cattle or of poultry is employed as a poultice for boils.
10. Skunk-oil is regarded as a valuable remedy for colds and croup. For children the average dose is from three to five drops. A small quantity may be used externally on the throat and chest. Oil obtained from geese is employed similarly for colds. Skunk scent or rabbit urine is put into the ear to relieve earache. Deer and otter scent are also useful for medicinal purposes.

[8] This practice corresponds to one general among Eastern Algonkian peoples—that of carrying a piece of "muskrat root" *(Acorus calamus)* about the person as a disease preventive. A piece of the root is chewed in case of sudden illness.

[9] Compare use of a white-footed mouse for the same purpose among the Gayhead Indians (Tantaquidgeon, 1930, p. 20).

The Dog as a Vicar of Children

231 751 854 Upon the birth of a Delaware child, it was given a pet [16] to serve as the guardian of its health. If there was sickness about, the Delaware believed that it would be visited upon the dog instead of its little master. The animal was thought to say, "I am only a dog, the child is more precious." A small bag containing charcoal was tied around the pet animal's neck by the child's parents. Frequently they would talk to the dog. If the animal died, it was buried and the child given another pet. However, if the child fell sick and died, a release ceremony was performed [17] by placing a string of wampum about its neck, thus freeing the animal.[18]

Notes on Pregnancy and Child-birth

843 262 784 The prospective mother is advised to eat sparingly. Sour foods should not be eaten during the final stage of pregnancy as they are believed to cause contraction of the muscles. Onions and cabbage are also excluded from the diet. Salt is forbidden both before and after pregnancy, as it is thought to stop the flow of blood. Lifting heavy objects should be avoided during pregnancy and for a period of a month after delivery. A pregnant woman should not gaze at a deformed person or make fun of him, as it might affect her child. Care is also taken to avoid being frightened by dogs and other animals.

844 The woman is usually attended by a midwife who is given gifts of calico, tobacco, etc., from the woman's husband. To women over thirty years of age, a special medicine is given to shorten the period of labor.[19] The delivery is made in a kneeling position. Immediately after, a tea made from "pleurisy root" is administered. The navel cord is cut off about one and a half inches from the body. A piece of lead about two inches in diameter is bound to the body over the navel by a cloth. This bandage is kept in place until healing is complete, to avoid protrusion of the navel.

845 In case of still-birth, special treatment is given the mother. Still-birth is believed due to the child being hurt. "The child-killing sickness of women is hard to overcome." Twins are believed to have been con-

[16] Known by a term meaning "pet given child."

[17] See also p. 67 for release of a bear.

[18] As dictated by Wi-tapanóxwe.

[19] "The women know of certain medicines," according to Zeisberger (*op. cit.*, p. 56), "which usually act quickly in case of hard labor, which sometimes occurs, though not frequently."

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
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776 796 called *Weopĕ'lakis*, to distinguish it from another, kept by a different family, which was not so important, and about which little was known by my informants except that, within their memories, it had never appeared at the Annual Ceremony, but that it probably had a spring dance of its own. There is an indistinct tradition, however, that in former times several masks were seen at the Annual Ceremony, and that half a day was given up to them.

751 777 778 Miniature masks (fig. 3) were often worn on the person as health or good-luck charms, in former days usually suspended from a string about the neck, but in later times carried in the pocket. The two large Unami masks in the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, are shown in pl. II and fig. 1.

776 778 Among the Minsi there are considerable differences in belief and in practice, their masks resembling those of the Iroquois in many particulars. The late James Wolf said that "Mizinkhâli'kŭn" was supposed to live among the rocks

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
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on a hill, where he was first seen, and told the people how to obtain his power. The mask owners formed a society, which

FIG. 3.—Charm representing Mlsinghâli'kûn. (Height, 1.9 in.)

had a special meeting-house and ceremonies, and whose chief function it was to expell disease. This will be discussed further in another paper. Peter Jones[25]

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
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them and told them what to do to get his power. When a man put on a Mizink he received the power of this person or spirit; he could even see behind him, and could cure diseases."

The Mask Society.—The men who owned these masks formed a kind of society which Nellis Timothy says originally had twelve members, but which, before it disbanded, dwindled to about five. Sometimes only two appeared in costume.

The society had a meeting-house of its own where its dances, *Mizinkĭ'ntĭka*, were held, for, unlike the Unami custom, no Mizink ever appeared in the Big House. The members appeared wearing their masks and clad in rough bearskin and deerskin costumes, while some, at least, where provided with a turtleshell rattle which they would rub on a long pole, crying "*O*^{n}-*o*^{n}-*o*^{n}*!*" the while.

Ceremonies.—While no consecutive account of their ceremonies is now remembered, it was said that they sometimes put down their rattles, heaped up

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
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794 the ashes from the two fires, then threw
796 the ashes all over the house to prevent
●751 the people assembled from having disease.

Should any sick person appear, he or
755 she would be especially treated with
794 ashes. Sometimes the performers would
796 pick up live coals and throw them about, frightening the people. At other times the whole company of them would go around to the different houses begging for tobacco, and would dance in any house where someone was willing to sing for them.

Nothing was said among the Minsi about the Mizink bringing back stray
532 stock or driving deer, characteristic at-
778 tributes of the Mask Being of the Unami.
[126] The writer obtained but one mask among the Canadian Lenape, and this was from the Grand River band (fig. 4); it has been described by him[84] in the following words:

"But one mask (*mizink*) was obtained. It differed from those of the Iroquois chiefly in being cruder, and also in decoration, the lines being burnt into the wood instead of being

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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774 been left undone, when the ghost ceases the visits.
775 CAPTAIN CHIPPS—Ghosts are not known—have not been heard of.

J. W.—Ghosts are really shades or shadows of spirits, often seen before or after death, they are signs or warnings and can be seen by human eyes. There is much paralysis among the Delaware which is often caused by being struck with a shadow or crossing it or paying any attention to it if one sees it coming. Stopping [822] 753 to look at it, turning around after passing, even innocently, has evil effects. There is no cure for it. Preventive by rubbing [751] streak of ashes on left cheek under eye before going out in the evening. Often marked children as safeguard.

W. T. attributed to the soul the actions of the shadow reported by J. W.

40. Witches and wizards

754 JOHN JOHNSTON—They are very firm in the belief of witchcraft and suppose that there is many among them that can appear [753] in the shape of any animal they please and have power to cause sickness. They believe this to be a supernatural power invested in them by some one of the Deities for the purpose of good that they might have power to heal the sick etc. But that in their present degenerated state they have made a bad use of it, that instead of healing they inflict with sickness and other calamities.
754 CAPTAIN PIPE—They believe in witches and wizards and
756 attribute their powers to the use of certain medicine, said to have been procured of the Nanticokes who had it from a naked infant found by them on the Sea Shore. In 1810, the prophet when [792] preaching against the use of this medicine pointed out five or six men and women on white river as the possessors of it. These [683] persons protested their innocence and were put to the torture, where they were exhorted to save themselves by delivering the means of destruction which they possessd. Seeing no other prospect of escape from death, they professed a knowledge of the arts and promised compliance, but after release they were not able to produce the cause of the difficulty, and they were by common consent condemned to death by burning.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

436 sweeping, and general order of the premises receive their pay in
796 wampum beads; the pecuniary value of which amounts to hardly more than a few cents. The drummers, the singers, the dance leaders, the reciters of visions are in their turn rewarded with small donations of wampum at the conclusion of their performances. This is a purifying gift rather than a pecuniary payment, one entirely out of proportion to the worth of service rendered.

[431] The worshipers of the Big House also offer their donations toward the ceremony in strings of wampum, giving them to the Master-of-Ceremonies, saying; ce·la·'yu'ni· ndeli·' wi·teinge·'n note·'ha·'n "This here is how much I help from my heart!" The sacrosanctity of wampum is furthermore emphasized by the religious rule that wampum should always be given when something has been received, even when only a gift from a friend. In the esteem of the natives it becomes a most potent medicine. Failure to carry out the rules governing the bestowing of wampum would bring sickness upon the receiver of property through exchange or the receiver of a gift. This is especially
[757] true in connection with the Delaware practice of medicine, because medicine although destined to heal can double upon itself and become a poison when not sanctified by the conveyance of wampum.[1]

436 In Delaware phraseology "wampum is our heart." In exchanges of
425 vendable property, even extending to gifts between friends, there
751 lurked a potency for evil that might develop in who knows what quarter, producing malice or resentment among the parties concerned. It could even result in bodily poison to one or both. It is strictly correct to state that in the attitude of the eastern Indians toward such affairs the transfer of shell money from the hands of the receiver of a gift or a purchase to those of the giver performed the function of medicine.

436 The wampum protected them against spiritual infection and its
755 manifestation in the body in the form of sickness. Wampum was a purifier, purging the transaction from latent evil force. And should evil have leaked through the transaction the wampum would function as a purgative for its keeper. The same wampum was a spiritual emblem believed by them to have come originally from supernatural sources and embodying within it profound supernatural dynamics.

436 We can understand why a compact sealed with the transfer of
439 wampum was as sacred as one sworn to under oath by Europeans. It was such an attitude toward exchange and currency that our colonial forebears encountered when they bartered for land and peltry with the aborigines of New England and the Middle Atlantic States. The colonists handed out their exchange with the European notion of in-

[1] I am of course speaking of Delaware therapeutics exclusively, although something along the same line may be said, by those who are inclined toward a critical attitude, of civilized medical practices.

531 also the angular patterns in plate 1 which are used in ribbon applique. The floral
[751] patterns are protective, representing the plants which the Creator gave to mankind to cure diseases. It will be noted (plate 3)
[291] that the patterns for women's moccasin vamps are plain and narrow in contrast to the wider patterns for men's moccasins.

Techniques

The bead workers and silk ribbon-workers have series of cut-out paper patterns which they use as guides. Typical patterns are shown in plates 1, 3 and 4. In making bead designs the paper pattern is cut out and tacked with thread in position on the article to be decorated. The entire pattern is outlined with white or light colored beads such as blue or pale yellow. The middle portion of the figure is then filled in and in turn bordered with light-colored beads. Then rows of dark beads are filled in to suit the taste of the individual. The paper patterns for silk-work are laid on the ribbon or cloth and the cut-out silk figures are arranged in place on the legging-strips or robes and hemmed down, the stitches being very fine.

286 In weaving the belts, headbands, garters and other ornaments, wool is used for the warp and coarse thread for the weft. Sometimes in constructing the long sashes, which frequently average five feet, the warp strands are attached to a bed post and the worker sits on the bed and weaves. For the shorter articles a cardboard box serves as a loom across which the warp is arranged according to the width desired. This is held on the lap of the weaver.

531 The modern Delaware bead and silk ribbon-workers do not limit the use of colors in their art work but select carefully, and combine a number of colors with very pleasing results.

Geometric and highly conventionalized floral patterns were stamped or engraved on silver brooches, bracelets and other ornaments. Dots, circles, straight and curved lines were used in combinations to form the designs. Small buttons and

[P.25, B]

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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759 the distance of several days' journey from their homes, then they cure or dry them properly, tie them up in small bundles, and preserve them for use. It were to be wished that they were better skilled in the quantity of the medicines which they administer. But they are too apt, in general, to give excessive doses, on the mistaken principle that "*much* of a *good* thing must necessarily do much *good*."

Nevertheless, I must say, that their practice in general succeeds pretty well. I have myself been benefited and cured by taking their emetics and their medicines in fevers, and by being sweated after their manner while labouring under a stubborn rheumatism. I have also known many, both whites and Indians, who have with the same success resorted to Indian physicians while labouring under diseases. The wives of Missionaries, in every instance in which they had to apply to the female physicians, for the cure of complaints peculiar to their sex, experienced good results from their abilities. They are also well skilled in curing wounds and bruises. I once for two days and two nights, suffered the most excruciating pain from a felon or whitlow on one of my fingers, which deprived me entirely of sleep. I had re-
[757] course to an Indian woman, who in less than half an hour relieved me entirely by the simple application of a poultice made of the root of the common blue violet.

752 Indeed, it is in the cure of external wounds that they particularly excel. Not only their professional men and women, but every warrior is more or less acquainted with the healing properties of roots and plants, which is, in a manner, indispensable to them, as they are so often in danger of being wounded in their engagements with the enemy. Hence this branch of knowledge is carried to a great degree of perfection among them. I firmly believe that there is no wound, unless it should be absolutely mortal, or beyond the skill of our own good practitioners, which an Indian surgeon (I mean the best of

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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them) will not succeed in healing. I once knew a noted Shawano, who having, out of friendship, conducted several white traders in safety to Pittsburg, while they were sought for by other Indians who wanted to revenge on them the murders committed by white men of some of their people, was on his return fired at by some white vilains, who had waylaid him for that purpose, and shot in the breast. This man, when I saw him, had already travelled eighty miles, with a wound from which blood and a kind of watery froth issued every time he breathed. Yet he told me he was sure of being cured, if he could only reach *Waketemeki*, a place fifty miles distant, where there were several eminent Indian surgeons. To me and others who examined the wound, it appeared incurable; nevertheless, he reached the place and was perfectly cured. I saw him at Detroit ten years afterwards; he was in sound health and grown to be a corpulent man. Nine years after this I dined with him at the same place.

CHAPTER XXXI.

DOCTORS OR JUGGLERS.

I CALL these men *Doctors*, because it is the name given them by their countrymen who have borrowed it from our language,* and they are themselves very fond of this pompous title.

* They call them *Doctels*; because the Indians cannot pronounce the letter R. The Minsi or Monseys call them "Mĕdéu," which signifies "conjuror."

3: Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

With the white walnut bark,[145] used externally and internally, they effect many cures. Laid upon flesh wounds this relieves pain at once, prevents swelling and accelerates healing. Applied externally in case of tooth-ache, head-ache or pain in the limbs, this brings speedy relief.

Beyond question there are many roots and herbs not found in Europe; perhaps it would be safe to say that this is true of most here found, but as I am no authority in this subject and know no names, except perhaps the Indian designations, I will add nothing further about roots and herbs. Doubtless, there are books from which one might get more information than it is in my power to give.

The following quadrupeds are to be found along the Ohio: In the first place, there are the deer,[146] whose skins are much used in barter and trade by the Indians. Their horns are not straight, but bent toward each other and have prongs. From May until September they are red, after that they lose the red hair and their hide is covered with long, gray hair, which is their winter coat. At about the beginning of the year they shed their horns; new ones grow in spring. These are at first and until they attain their full size, covered with a thin skin, which peels off when the horns harden. The tail is about a foot long and stands up straight when they run. As the under side of the tail is white it is possible to see them running at a great distance. The young are born in June or about that time, are red, spotted with white, until in the fall when they become gray. Deer have young each spring, sometimes two. As, however, they are hunted so persistently at the call of trade, their numbers diminish with each year, even though the forests are of vast extent, for the hunters are many. A large buckskin is valued at a Spanish dollar; two doeskins are regarded as equal in value to one buckskin.[147]

The bear is quite black, has short ears, a thick head and quite a sharp snout.[148] It has but a very short tail and great strong claws on his feet. It can easily climb the trees and bring down chestnuts and acorns. This is done, however, only when these are not ripe and do not, therefore, fall down. They generally break off the branches, throw them down and then climb

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

136 (1) Among the most dangerous reptiles are the rattlesnakes.[221] They are yellow in color, marked with black spots. The largest are about four feet long, sometimes more, and about as thick as an arm. The rattles are at the end of their tails, and often betray the snakes when they are not seen. These rattles appear to be a thin, transparent horny substance, arranged in links. From the number of links it is possible to tell the age of the serpent, one being added every year. It is a rare thing to find one with twenty rattles. When the rattling sound is heard, it is a sign that the serpent is angry, the trembling of the tail causing the rattling. Even when they glide along the rattles make a slight sound which can, however, be detected only by those well acquainted with the ways of the snake. They do not rattle unless something approaches them. Head and mouth are rather broad in proportion to the size. On either side of the mouth they have two very sharp teeth, which lie concealed in a skin sack until they want to bite, when they are able to move these forward with great swiftness. Hence, it is that when anyone has been bitten four little openings close together may be seen in the skin. If a rattlesnake has been killed, which often happens, as they do not seek to escape nor go out of the way for any one, and one draws forward the teeth with a little stick, a clear liquid spurts out of the bag lying at the root of the teeth. This is the poisonous juice. Undoubtedly, the teeth in themselves are also poisonous. Indians [752] who have been bitten, even if they happen to be quite alone in the forest, know what to do. They seek certain herbs and roots that may be found anywhere and cure themselves of the bite, so that one rarely hears of death occasioned by the bite of this serpent. Horses or cattle bitten in the woods, where it is not possible to render immediate assistance, die in a short time. With proper management these animals may recover in twenty-four hours. With human beings a cure is not effected so quickly, and a curious thing is that the part where a human being has been bitten, becomes spotted like the rattlesnake. The fat of the rattlesnake is used by apothecaries. Here along the Muskingum rattlesnakes are not as numerous as in some regions that are stony or mountainous. Along the Susquehanna there

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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are very many, especially along the West Branch up in the mountains. In that country in the spring of the year when the snakes come out of their holes they have been seen in such numbers in certain places that it would have been possible to load up several wagons with them, the air being infected with an intolerable stench. This was seen to be the case by Indians who were coming down the West Branch. At the time many of the reptiles had already crawled up the mountains, which were very steep. As there were many fallen leaves about, they set fire to them and the trees with the result that many of the snakes rolled down the mountains and were burned. When I passed through that region the first time, which was in June, I did, indeed, see unusually many rattlesnakes, but I could hardly have believed that there would be as many as the above incident would indicate. The second time, however, when my travels took me through that country, which happened in July, my companion and I had quite a different experience. Not only did we see them singly and in smaller numbers along the wayside, but in stony places so many around that when we began to kill them there was rattling all about to such a degree that we held it advisable to get out of that region as soon as possible. After this I could believe what I had heard, for in the fall, when they gather at different places, there must be immense number of them.

2) Copperheads,[223] named from the color of the reptiles. Their bite is as venomous as that of rattlesnakes.

3) Vipers[224] have a flat head, are short and thick, black on the back and gray on the belly. When approached, they distend the head and hiss so that it is possible to hear them at quite a distance. Their bite also is venomous.

4) One variety[225] of snake found here I have met with in no other region. The belly is quite red. These serpents may be found in the water and on land. They get to be from five to six feet in length and their bite is poisonous. To cure the bite of this reptile the Indians use a plant that grows in the water. These snakes have teeth all around the mouth, above and below, but no fangs. [752]

5) Hornsnakes[226] are in color and size like the copperheads, except that they have a sharply pointed horn on the tail. They

3;Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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821 ine the thunder to proceed from the crowing of a monstrous turkey-cock in the heavens. For certain stars they have names. The north star is called Lowanen, that is, north, or it is called the star that does not move. The wagon which revolves around the North Star they call the Bear, whom, they say, the Indians pursued with a little dog, that is the star Wilis; the three stars in the form of a triangle, represent the head of a bear, which they cut from the trunk and threw down. Certain stars forming an ellipse they call the beaver-hide, because they describe the form of a beaver hide stretched out. The milky way is the road to Tschipey Hacki. The seven stars[xxvi] they have named Anschisk-tauwewak, that is fire-brands gathered or laid together. The Monsys (Monseys) call these stars Menhangik, the travelling companions. Other nations have yet other names for them. In case of an eclipse of sun or moon, they say that these bodies have fallen into a swoon.

755 In time of illness, they try all manner of remedies, for they have a great fear of death. They not only consult the doctors, but take, also, the medicine that others may prescribe. The doctors must be called in, for if they were slighted, the patient might die. The doctors blow upon the patients, sprinkle a drink of roots and herbs they have taken into the mouth upon them, and murmur incantations over them. They diagnose the disease, tell whence it came and inform them whether recovery is possible or not. They give directions, also, as to what must be done and what kind of sacrifice must be brought. They prescribe some sort of Ileson prepared from herbs and roots, of which they know the properties very well. It has happened that many doctors have been consulted in a single case, have perhaps given up all hope of recovery, and yet the patient became well.

757 [824] For headache they lay a piece of white walnut bark on the temples, toothache is treated by placing the same kind of bark on the cheek over the tooth that gives the trouble. The bark is very heating and burns the skin in a short time, often affording relief. The same bark is applied to any of the limbs that may be afflicted, having the effect at times of driving the pain from one part of the body to another, until there is an eruption ●752 somewhere. This bark pounded fine and boiled to the con-

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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sistency of a strong lye stops the flow of blood when applied to a fresh wound, even though an artery may have been ruptured, prevents swelling and heals the wound rapidly. After this solution has been used for one or two days other roots must be applied, such as the great sassaparilla and others that have healing powers.

Epilepsy is not very common among the Indians. It does not often happen that an Indian becomes mad, and madness among these people is not as violent as among the whites, probably, for the reason that they are not possessed of equal power with the whites, and even their bodies are weaker because they have not the abundance and variety of nourishing food. Blood letting is supposed to help the epileptics.

Of small-pox they knew nothing until some of them caught the contagion from the Europeans. Most of them died before the small-pox properly appeared. They are much inclined to boils and sores. Upon these they lay a warm poultice made of the flour of Indian corn; when the boils are ripe they are lanced. Broken arms and legs they are able to set very well, though limbs are not broken often, dislocated joints they are also able to correct. If an Indian has dislocated his foot or knee, when hunting alone, he creeps to the next tree and tying one end of his strap to it, fastens the other to the dislocated limb and, lying on his back, continues to pull until it is reduced. For tooth-ache the Indians use roots also, placing a little piece in the hollow tooth, which sometimes affords relief though not always. Sometimes teeth are extracted if a pair of pincers can be secured. It is not for lack of skill but for lack of proper instruments that they do not treat external injuries more successfully. Such instruments as they have are not used in the most careful manner. If one who is being operated on cries out, those present laugh. Misfortunes of almost any kind trouble them little; if house and goods have been burned, the unfortunate owners may even relate the experience in a humorous manner.

Many of them suffer from diarrhoea, particularly, in the fall of the year. The evil is aggravated because they know nothing of dieting and continue to eat whatever they wish. For

warrior desires information as to the location of the enemy; the chief seeks for a clearer insight into tribal affairs in general.

So powerful are these agents of the spirit forces that if one speaks to them against his enemies, he will have the power to attack the latter by means of practices of a malevolent character. Such power is considered as basically evil and to be used only as a last resort. Supernatural power, in general, is believed to be given to the Delaware to accomplish good and not for matters of minor importance.

The Medicine Stone

A concretion secreted in the alimentary organs of certain ruminants is known to have been highly prized by the peoples of Europe and the Orient [36] for its alleged magical and medicinal properties. This unusual object is also known to and valued by the natives of the New World.[37] From the present-day Delaware, we have the following information on the medicine stone, one of their most sacred and invaluable possessions. It is comparable to the bezoar stone of Oriental fame and usually has a similar function—as an antidote for poison. Although such objects are known to be present in the digestive organs of different animals, that obtained from the blacktail deer (Odocoileus hemionus) is considered as the most potent variety. The Delaware call such a stone by the term meaning "emergency gift." From its use in rubbing a wound made by a snake or mad dog, it is sometimes known as "mad stone." They are of varying shapes and sizes and serve as protective agents for their owners. One may use such a charm to make medicine for another who is seriously ill or injured. In the case of illness pronounced fatal by others, scrapings from the medicine stone are infused in hot water and administered as a tea. Complete recovery of the patient is expected as a result. Wi·tapanóxwe relates how warriors of the earlier period employed such a stone to heal fatal wounds. If it is not possible to administer it as a tea, the stone is simply rubbed over the body of the wounded person.

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[36] See article *Bezoar* in New International Encyclopedia, Vol. 3. Second Edition, 1924.

[37] I am indebted to Dr. John M. Cooper, Catholic University of Washington, Washington, D. C., for access to his manuscript on *The Bezoar in Aboriginal American Culture.*

4:Tantaquidgeon E-5 (1930) 1942
NM7 Delaware NM7

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11. Cottonwood *(Populus deltoides*, or *Sargentii)*, "tree with moving leaves." Bark from the black haw, wild plum, and cottonwood are combined to make tea for weakness and debility in women.
12. Black Haw *(Viburnum prunifolium)*, "berries-in-sight tree." Bark taken from the root is combined with leaves of bloodroot, wild plum, pearly everlasting, "stone root" and bayberry to make a tonic to strengthen the female generative organs.
13. Elm *(Ulmus americana)*. Inner bark steeped and liquid drunk for colds and severe coughs.
14. Dogwood *(Cornus florida)*. The root is combined with others to make a tonic. In another variety *(C. canadensis)*, "arrow wood," the bark is combined with that of other species to relieve body pains.
15. Peach *(Prunus persica)* leaves are infused to expel pin worms and to stop vomiting in children. A small quantity is sweetened and is drunk occasionally until relief is felt.
16. Holly *(Ilex opaca)* is designated as the "red berry tree." It is believed that holly grows up near the place where a person was frightened. If one became suddenly frightened, he remarks, "I guess holly will grow here because I was scared so badly."
17. Grape *(Vitis rupestris)*. Vine is combined with bloodroot, pearly everlasting, "star root" *(sp.?)*, false spikenard, peppermint, and sarsaparilla to make a tonic for frail women. It is also said to increase fertility.
18. Fox Grape *(V. vulpina)*, "sour berry tree." Sap of the vine valuable in treating leucorrhea and when removed in spring, beneficial for the hair.
19. Elder *(Sambucus canadensis)*, "hollow tree." The leaves and stems act as a blood purifier, also used in the treatment of jaundice. From the elder flower, a tea is made for colic in infants. The bark scrapings are used in making a poultice for sores, swellings, and wounds.

[752]

20. Hops *(Humulus lupulus)*. The blossoms are employed in medicine for nervousness. A small bag filled with hops and heated is useful as an application to relieve earache or toothache. A tea made from the plant acts as a tonic-stimulant.

[752]

21. Dwarf Sumac *(Rhus copallina)*, "kinnikinnick tree." Roots pounded and applied as poultice for sores and skin eruptions. An

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infusion of the leaves is used to cleanse and purify skin eruptions. To treat venereal disease an infusion of the roots is taken. The berries are useful in making a mouth wash.

22. Wild Cherry *(Prunus serotina)*, "excrement tree." Bark used as remedy for diarrhea. Also combined with other roots and bark as a tonic. The fruit is sometimes used to make cough syrup.

23. Ginseng *(Panax quinquefolium)* is named "man and woman," a term descriptive of the human-like form of the root. The terms "Grandmother" and "Grandfather" are also given the plants, because they are usually found growing in pairs. The root is regarded as being very potent by the Delaware and may be used in treating either sex. In treating males, the "male root" is used, and vice versa. Plant is believed to have retreated, like others, before the advance of civilization and hence, is rarely found. It possesses medicinal properties which will, in many cases, effect cures where all others have failed. The root is diced in small particles, a tablespoon of which is added to a cup of hot water to make tea. The root is used with other plant parts as a general tonic.

24. "Frost" or "Ice" Weed *(Helianthemium canadense)*, was revealed to a Delaware in a dream in which the plant said, "I am strong and great. Stronger than any other plant because I remain green later in fall. Use me and you will become strong." Root used in making poultice for sore throat. Tea infused from plant taken at same time.

25. Poke *(Phytolacca decandra)*, "purple berry." The root of this plant is combined with the bark of sarsaparilla and mountain grape to make a remedy for rheumatism. It acts as a stimulant and blood purifier. In preparing the medicine, the root of the poke is first thoroughly roasted and then crushed. To avoid nausea, a small dose is customary.

26. Poison Ivy *(Rhus toxicondrendon)*, "irritating" or "blistering" vine. Not poisonous to everyone. The root contains valuable medicinal properties. A poultice is made from the roasted, crushed root. A salve effective for chronic sores and glandular swellings is made from the roots of poke (roasted), bittersweet, yellow parilla, and the bark of elder. These ingredients are placed in boiling tallow or lard, to which is added a medium-sized piece of beeswax. A more modern formula calls for the addition of one-fourth ounce of carbolic acid and two ounces of menthol crystals.

[152]

made from root for women suffering displacement of womb. Used, together with roots of prairie willow *(Salix humilis)*, little burr *(Dentaria diphylla)* and false Solomon's seal to make a tea to treat scrofula and venereal disease. 757 278

42. Rattle-box *(Crotolaria saggitalis)*, "blown-over weed." A medicine for venereal disease is made from the root. It is a very strong narcotic.
43. Hedge Nettle *(Stachys palustris)*, "smart weed," is combined with common nightshade, "pretty flower," and button snakeroot to make a medicine for venereal disease.
44. Purple Cone-flower *(Brauneria purpurea)*, "white flower." This is called "Yuchi gonorrhea medicine" by my informant. A tea made from this root alone will cure an advanced case of venereal disease in seven days.
45. Ragweed *(Ambrosia artemisiaefolia)*. Plant used in making a poultice to apply as a preventative of blood poison. [757]
46. Button Snakeroot *(Eryngium aquaticum)*, "to vomit." Used as a medicine for intestinal tape and "pin" worms.
47. Horsemint *(Monarda punctata)*. A tea made of the plant for fever, and to bathe face of patient.
48. Bayberry *(Myrica sp.)*. The bark is used as a blood purifier, and for kidney trouble.
49. Sweet Fern *(Myrica asplenifolia)*. Plant is steeped and liquid applied to blisters. Also combined with mallow root, elder flowers and dwarf elder to treat inflammation of the bladder. It is also good for scrofula. Is a blood purifier and useful in removing mucus from the lungs.
50. Pipsissewa *(Chimaphila umbellata)*. The plant is steeped and the liquid is applied to blisters. It is also combined with mallow root (?), elder flowers and dwarf elder bark in medicine for inflammation of the bladder. Also for scrofula. Purifies the blood and tends to aid in removing mucus from the lungs.
51. False Pennyroyal *(Hedeoma pulegioides)*. A tea is made from the leaves to relieve stomach pains.
52. Wild Carrot *(Daucus carota)*. Blossoms picked at full bloom are steeped as tea for diabetics.
53. Yarrow *(Achillea millefolium)*. A tea is made from the plant for disorders of the liver and kidneys.

syrup for catarrh, coughs, and lung trouble. In preparing this remedy, the mullein must be gathered before the plant blooms.

61. Burdock *(Arctium minus)*, "big-leaved burr." A tea made from the root is good for rheumatism. Acts as a stimulant and blood-purifier.
62. Butterfly Weed *(Asclepias tuberosa)*, "where butterflies light." Root used as a remedy for pleurisy and rheumatism. Also administered to women following child-birth. Rattlesnake plantain *(Epipactis pubescens)* has the same term and is used in the same way.
63. Elecampane *(Inula helenium)*, "leaves like Indian cabbage." Root used in making a tonic, useful for strengthening digestive organs and to remove mucus from the intestines.
64. Toothwort *(Dentaria diphylla)*, "little burr." Root combined with other as a stomach remedy.
65. False Indigo *(Baptisia tinctoria)*. Liquid infused from root used in cleansing cuts and ulcers. Also employed as a douche.
66. Jimson Weed *(Datura stramonium)*. The leaves are crushed and applied to fresh wounds as a poultice. A salve for treating piles is made by pounding the seeds and mixing with tallow.
67. Common Plantain *(Plantago major)*, "path weed." Leaves crushed and used as a poultice. Plant combined with other plant parts is useful in treating female diseases.
68. Climbing Bittersweet *(Celastrus scandens)*, "yellow root." Root prepared as a poultice or salve for skin eruptions. Tea made from the root will clear up liver spots.
69. Skunk Cabbage *(Symplocarpus foetidus)*. A tea made from the root is useful in treating whooping cough. The leaves are crushed and used as a poultice to allay pain. People suffering from epilepsy often roll up a small portion of the leaf and chew it.
70. Sweet Flag *(Acorus calamus)*, "bitter." Root used in making tea useful for coughs, colds, and suppressed menses. Combined with sassafras root for intestinal pains.
71. Heal-All *(Prunella vulgaris)*. The plant top is used to make a cooling drink and body wash for fever.
72. Skull-Cap *(Scutellaria galericulata)*. The plant top is a stomach stimulant, and a laxative.
73. Catnip *(Nepeta cataria)*, "smells good." The leaves are prepared with peach seed to make a syrup, very beneficial for children.

domestic and tribal crises. Wi·tapanôxwe is not convinced of the truth of this statement, but claims that he merely carries his own supply for medicinal purposes.[6]

84. Cactus *(Opuntia vulgaris)* is called "thorny, useless." Wi·tapanôxwe remarked that the Oklahoma negroes singe off the spines and apply a sliced portion to their corns to allay pain.

Miscellaneous Beliefs

1. To draw out frost bites, walk in the snow barefooted. Rubbing snow on the ears will bring relief.
2. Frost or dew gathered in late fall and rubbed on the body will prevent skin eruptions.
3. Water that collects in hollow trees or rocks is believed to have medicinal value.
4. Mud applied to a burn will take out "the fire."
5. To cure a child from slobbering, catch a number of minnows and have the child hold them in his mouth. Repeat this several times a week until the cure is effected.
6. To cure a child of bed-wetting, feed him portions of a roasted "timber rat" *. This is believed to effect a sure cure. My informant and a companion once killed and roasted such a rodent, and both agreed that the flesh was palatable and not unlike that of squirrel. They were reticent, however, as to the therapeutic effects.
7. Relief is obtained in the case of whooping cough, if the mother first suckles a puppy and then her child.
8. A spider web applied to a flesh wound will stop the flow of blood.
9. Excrement of cattle or of poultry is employed as a poultice for boils.
10. Skunk-oil is regarded as a valuable remedy for colds and croup. For children the average dose is from three to five drops. A small quantity may be used externally on the throat and chest. Oil obtained from geese is employed similarly for colds. Skunk scent or rabbit urine is put into the ear to relieve earache. Deer and otter scent are also useful for medicinal purposes.

[6] This practice corresponds to one general among Eastern Algonkian peoples—that of carrying a piece of "muskrat root" *(Acorus calamus)* about the person as a disease preventive. A piece of the root is chewed in case of sudden illness.

* Compare use of a white-footed mouse for the same purpose among the Gayhead Indians (Tantaquidgeon, 1930, p. 20).

11. A syrup made by roasting onions is taken for colds. For infants and small children the syrup is sweetened and a few drops taken clear or in milk.

12. Mutton tallow is an emollient for chapped and irritated skin. It is used to make ointment.

13. Muscular cramps may be relieved by bathing the affected parts with urine.

14. A tea made from roasted, charred pig hoofs is beneficial for colds.

15. For snake bite suck the venom from the wound with a hollow piece of deer antler.

16. Treatment of sick horses. Years ago, after their migration westward, the Delaware used horses for travel. Often their animals would become ill during hunting activities on the Western plains. This was believed due to unsuitable drinking water or from eating poisonous weeds. Other disabilities were due to "bots"[1] or colic. For colic, strong tobacco juice, or gun-powder dissolved in hot water was administered. The most effective treatment was to throw a bucket of very hot water containing finely chopped bits of weasel hide[2] over the horse. Then the owner would force his weight up and down on the animal's abdomen or occasionally, beat it with a wet, heavy blanket for ten or fifteen minutes. The horse soon recovered and was again on his feet.

Warrior's Medicine

Warriors long ago also received gifts from supernatural agencies which enabled them to excell in feats of bravery. Their power came in dream-visions in which the identity of the supernatural was made known. Sometimes a power-song was granted at the same time. Certain men were appointed as leaders of the warriors and custodians of the secret formulæ, from which a particular preparation called "warrior medi-

[1] The larvæ of certain flies. Eggs are laid on the inside of the animal's foreleg, gain entrance into the blood stream and are carried to the alimentary tract where incubation takes place.

[2] The hide of the so-called "spotted weasel" is used for this purpose. My informant had never seen this animal but it had been described to him by his mother. It may refer to the ordinary weasel at the period of seasonal pilage change from brown to white. The species known to the Delaware are the Bonaparte *(Mustela cicognani)*, and New York weasel *(M. noveboracensis)*, Anthony, 1928, p. 102.

right. It is never cooled by blowing upon it. Running water should be used, and it was customary in former times to dip the water with or against the current, or to submerge the container and allow the water to flow in from all sides.[1]

The term *"doctol,"* from English doctor, was the only term for an herbalist obtainable from those interviewed. It is also said both men and women could become practitioners. When calling upon a doctor for treatment it is customary to offer him a present of money. In former times, cloth, tobacco, and other gifts were offered.

GREAT MULLEIN *(Verbascum thapsus)*.

The leaves are crushed and applied as a poultice to bruised surfaces to reduce swelling and allay pain.

NANNYBERRY *(Viburnum lentago)* and mullein leaves are steeped and the tea administered in case of measles.

LIVE-FOREVER *(Sedum telephioides)*

The leaves are crushed and used as a poultice to draw out poison. My informant regarded this to be a most powerful and effective application. He stated that he had suffered from a serious case of infection which resulted from stepping on a rusty nail and that the above remedy cured him in a short while.

PLANTAIN *(Plantago major)*.

The leaves are crushed and applied to bruises.

BURDOCK *(Arctium minus)*.

The leaves are bound on the body to reduce pain. The root is used in making medicine for purifying the blood.

HORSERADISH *(Radicula armoracia)*.

The leaves are applied as a poultice in case of neuralgia.

BITTERSWEET *(Celastrus scandens)*.

The root is used for making medicine which is administered to persons suffering from consumption.

TANSY *(Tanacetum vulgare)*.

The plant is used in making medicine which is effective in treating disorders of the stomach.

[1] My informants could not explain this but said that the water must be dipped in different ways according to the nature of the disease to be treated. It is a common belief that water dipped *with* the current acts as a laxative and *against* it acts as an emetic. Allowing the water to flow into the container from all sides suggests the idea that the remedy to be made would tend to benefit the entire system.

278 757 BONESET *(Eupatorium perfoliatum)*.

This is considered to be a very powerful medicinal herb by my informants and it should be used with great precaution according to their belief. Tea made from the leaves is beneficial as a stomach medicine.*

ELECAMPANE *(Inula helenium)* root and poplar *(Populus tremuloides)* bark are steeped together and the liquid drunk to relieve a cold.

CATNIP *(Nepeta cataria)*.

A tea made from the leaves is regarded as a soothing drink for infants.

WHITE PINE *(Pinus strobus)*.

The twigs are steeped to make a medicine which is effective in treating disorders of the kidneys. It is also administered to persons suffering from pulmonary diseases.

[752] The pitch is applied to boils to draw out the poison and reduce the pain.

SWEET FLAG *(Acorus calamus)*.

The root is scraped and hot water poured over it and drunk in case of colds.

BLOODROOT *(Sanguinaria canadensis)*.

A small quantity of the powdered root is added to a half a cup of lukewarm water and a teaspoonful to stop vomiting. The root is also used in combination with other plants in making a blood purifier.

YELLOW OAK *(Quercus muhlenbergii)*.

To stop vomiting, pour water over a piece of the bark and when the water becomes a yellowish tinge drink a small quantity of it.

IRONWOOD or AMERICAN HORNBEAM *(Carpinus caroliniana)* root or bark, and the bark of juniper *(Juniperus communis)*, white oak *(Quercus alba)*, wild cherry *(Prunus serotina)*, and hickory *(Carya ovata)* are steeped together for a tonic. A small bundle of some of each is put into about a pint of water. The mixture is steeped down

*This plant so commonly used by both Indians and whites in those sections of eastern North America where it is indigenous, appears to be regarded as being too powerful to be tampered with by the Six Nations Delaware informants. The Oklahoma Delaware, however, use the plant freely.

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
NM7 Delaware NM7

CHAPTER XXIV.

Concerning the Ailments, Wonderful Medicines, Tyranny, Blood-Letting and Patience of the American Indians.

These savages are by nature a healthy people and are rarely subjected to diseases, before death surprises them, or if it may happen that some contagious disease should come into the country, through which whole nations could die out, as has happened formerly among them here.

The French disease[1] sometimes indeed rages among the savages, because they live in such unchastity and adultery, like irrational brutes; but against this they have a white kind of ointment, and cure themselves, after which it goes its way, as though it were wiped away by the hand.

Whoever is wounded by the poisonous rattlesnake and is not cured and treated by the medical doctor of the savages, who is called the devil-chaser,[2] then there is no hope for the life of that patient any more, but he must die; for the savages have such splendid medicine against it,[3] that they immediately drive away the poison with it and cure it. For this purpose they use a kind of grass

[1] *Morbus frähsman.* Cf. Williams, *Key*, 158. See also *London Chronicle*, Oct. 6, 1757; Peter Kalm, *Journal; Mss. 1\12 Yi, Ridgway Library.* For their remedies, see further Van der Donck, De Vries, *Vertoogh*, etc., *N. Y. Col.*, 2, 1, 156; II, 269, etc.; Heckewelder, *Indian Nations*, 224 ff.; Speck, *Med. Prac. of the North. Algon., Proceed.* of the *Nine. Int. Cong.* of *Ame.* (1917), 303 ff. They even understood the value of mineral water.

[2] *Dyfweliagaren.*

[3] That is: the poison of the rattle snake.

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
NM7 Delaware NM7

roots, which are called snakegrass-roots. These roots grow very much intertwined, like a very fine and close comb. These they chew to pieces and place them with sober spittle[4] on the sore and the bite, which has such a power by its application, as has been stated. But 2 or 3 of the Swedes there in the country, as I know, were wounded by these snakes. They immediately swelled up terribly and were dead within an hour, for they lacked these medicines.

These snakes are spotted, yellow and black, and on the tail they have horn-joints, one joint for each year, according to his age.[5] [They] have scent of a human being far away, [and when the snake scents a person] then he puts his tail in the air to shake and agitate, so that it is heard far away from him, with a sound like children's rattles with pease in them, yet very loud, so that a person can through this guard himself against it. Concerning this I have formerly discussed it somewhat in the chapter concerning the childbirth of the savage women and [stated] that the skin of this rattlesnake is found to be very splendid for pregnant women, that when they tie this around themselves, then they are immediately relieved of their severe childbirth.[6]

Concerning this, as well as many other innumerable[7] [things] one may well marvel at the splendid and miraculous medicines of the savages; so that if it is not a fatal disease, they know a

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[4] *Nychter spått*. Perhaps fresh rather than sober saliva.
[5] Cf. above, Chapt. VIII.
[6] See above, Chapts. VIII, X, note 5. Cf. Williams, *Key*, 125 ff.
[7] *Orecsitterligit*, unrecitable.

4: Tantaquidgeon E-5 (1930) 1942
NM7 Delaware NM7

DELAWARE MEDICAL BELIEFS AND PRACTICES

Theories on the Causes of Disease.

THE DELAWARE, like so many preliterate peoples, share concepts of a similar character concerning the causes of disease (Clements, 1932). Certain maladies are attributed to the presence of some evil spirit in the body, which in turn is believed to be the work of a sorcerer; others are thought due to the patients' iniquities while a few result from an encounter with an apparition. Failure to obey the laws of nature is the reason most frequently cited by Wi·tapanóxwe for the increase of disease among the Delaware. He said, in part, "In ancient times there was but little sickness among the Indians. The Delaware were greatly blessed because we always kept up our ceremonies and observed the rules of right living.[1] The Indian was healthy because he ate only clean, pure food and lived close to nature. Then came the new people with their strange ways and food, and dreadful diseases."

Paraphrasing the statements of the informant, it is implied that with the onset and steady progress of Europeanization, the Indian was obliged to relinquish many of the ways of his accustomed mode of life. He was forced to seek new territories in order to escape the alien influences that were being forced upon him. Like the wild game, the Delaware fled to more remote regions because their former environment had become so thoroughly contaminated. At this time, it is said, the dwarfs and other non-human folk had safety and seclusion in the rocky cliffs. Certain plants no longer reproduced and grew. Those Indians who clung tenaciously to the teachings of their elders were greatly blessed by the Creator who guided them in visions as of old. From the conservative viewpoint of Wi·tapanóxwe, individuals of a weaker "intellect," were unable to cope with such adverse conditions and were swept away by the devastating effects of acculturation.

[1] Reference may be made to a recent paper of A. I. Hallowell (1939) in which he has shown that "sin" is considered a potent causation of disease among the Saulteaux Indians of the Lake Winnipeg region—Editor.

753 The following examples are typical of the ideas which the present-day Oklahoma Delaware express in their rationalization of the causes of various maladies and physical deformities. Rheumatism, which the Delaware call by a term meaning "old people's disease," is attributed to unclean habits of living during youth. Scrofula is described by the Delaware phrase meaning "matter around the neck." If a person indulges in profanity, he may develop this condition.

It is said that congenital malformation rarely occurs among the Indians. Such physical abnormalities are attributed to the power of malevolent spirits which afflicted the child because of his parents' failure to fulfill tribal obligations by keeping up certain ceremonies bequeathed to them. Such a physical handicap, however, did not keep an individual [826] from leading a useful life, for he was otherwise blessed. The informant added, "Sometimes the weakest person is chosen by the Creator to be powerful in mind. He does that as a matter of pity."[2]

753 776 Paralysis is said to be the result of an encounter with an apparition.[3] If a person sees a ghost-like form approaching, he should step aside to avoid being stricken with paralysis. According to Wi·tapanóxwe, "an apparition in passing by is felt as a slight wind. Sometimes what appears to be a cloud is seen floating along the road and if allowed to touch a person, will cause a stroke." Occasionally a fire is observed to start at the bottom of a tree, blaze up to the top, and then disappear. The informant warned against attempting to strike at such a flame inasmuch as it would result in fatal sickness to the person or to a member of his family.

Wi·tapanóxwe relates the following incident of a personal encounter with an apparition. "We were just young boys then, my brother and I, and we were riding home one afternoon just before sundown. As we rode along I noticed something in the middle of the road, and it seemed to be coming toward us. It had the appearance of a large animal but I could not see its form distinctly. Naturally, I was a little bewild-

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[2] Delaware mythology reiterates the theme of the weakling child vanquishing his powerful opponents through the weapon of shrewd wits over brute strength

[3] Zeisberger (no date, p. 131) says in regard to apparitions: "Wandering spirits and ghosts they claim sometimes throw something into a public path and whoever goes over it is bewitched and becomes lame or ill. They even pretend to know where such a thing happened, learning it from the doctors who are thought to be able to effect a cure."

ered but I did not tell my brother what I saw. It seemed to come nearer and nearer to us but as we drew close, the thing disappeared suddenly into the woods. I asked my brother if he had seen the strange object but he replied that he had not. When we reached home I told my mother what I had seen and she warned us never to follow a ghost like that as it would lead us astray and finally to a pile of bones."

It may be of interest to note here that at times several people might see the same ghost and "feel" it pass by. Such an experience is always regarded as a warning, foretelling illness, death, or some sudden event. Children are cautioned against answering the call of an unseen person as it might prove to be a "ghost-whoop." Should a child answer such a call, his jaw would become dislocated or even his entire body paralyzed. Once a hunter answered such a "ghost-whoop" and upon trying to locate it, ran into a stack of bones.*

The cause of insanity is attributed to the failure of a family to perform certain inherited ceremonials. Failure to continue such prescribed rites is punished by misfortune of some kind. Certain individuals are capable of exorcising people afflicted with this malady, the Indian name for which is translated as "lacking good sense." In one incident a young man believed that he saw a "mask" everywhere he went. His relatives finally resorted to a sweat doctor who entered the sweat lodge to ascertain the cause of the illness. After the ritual the doctor announced that it was due to their failure to perform regularly a ceremony which had come down in the family. In order to avert further trouble and to rid the young man of the disease, the doctor advised that the neglected feast and ceremony be performed, after which the patient became normal once more. Could anything be more in conformity with modern psycopathic practice than the preceding case! Other native terms which apply to people similarly affected are translated as "silly" or "half-witted."

I might also note that having in mind the prevalence of the theory that animals are the main causes of disease among the Cherokee (Mooney, 1892, p. 322), and Muskhogean peoples of the Southeast, I failed to find any evidence whatever in the mind of my informant of a similar belief among the Delaware.

* Archaeologists, take note!—Editor.

nature of the disease. The flesh of animals and fowl is excluded from the diet and in the case of fever, red or fox squirrel flesh is not eaten. This food taboo is known to the Delaware by a native word meaning "makes you sick." Corn hominy, however, is administered in most cases, as it is considered to be a nourishing food.

In the case of childbirth, salt is not eaten for ten days. Onions are given the mother to produce milk, but care must be taken not to use a quantity such as to cause nausea for the child and mother.

During the catamenial period a woman is not allowed to prepared food nor taken an active part in domestic affairs.[33] The separate dishes assigned to her at that time, may only be used by her husband. Food cooked by such a woman would produce tuberculosis in others in a short time. A term translated as "gives dirty food," is applied to such a practice and refers to the resultant poisonous effects. During her periodic isolation a woman herbalist must refrain from preparing remedies or participating in any of the ceremonies.

Divinatory Curing Practices

Certain acts of a divinatory nature are performed upon selection and preparation of plants, roots, and bark employed in making medicine. Only plants that are clean and well developed, with the roots free from knotty growths, are taken. When seeking bark, the medicine gatherer selects a sturdy, well-formed tree for the purpose. The bark growing on the east side of a tree is preferred for its greater strength-giving properties received from the morning sun.

In gathering medicinal supplies, the materials are inspected for a clue as to the course of the treatment. Thus, if roots appear rough and knotty, the patient will be difficult to cure; if clean and well-formed, it will be an easy task to restore his health. Another practice is to place some crushed leaves or roots in running water. If the substance sinks to the bottom of the stream, the patient for whom it is prepared, will die; if it floats, a speedy recovery is assured.

When all other remedies have failed, an emergency medicine is sometimes made from scrapings of deer antler. During its preparation a prayer is offered to the animal from which the antler was obtained. Wi·tapanóxwe related an incident in which a trial was made by means

[33] The puberty ceremony for young girls and the periodic isolation of women is described by Zeisberger, *ibid*, pp. 75-77.

4: Tantaquidgeon E-5 (1930) 1942
NM7 Delaware NM7

Loud reports from river ice indicate an early thaw.

A wolf "whinnying" (howling) denotes a change in the weather.

To see a cat washing its face is an indication of an unexpected visitor; sharpening its claws denotes that it will soon receive some meat.

DELAWARE FOOD RESOURCES

IN AN EARLIER section it was pointed out that according to native belief, human health is dependent upon "pure, natural" food. Products of the fields and forests thus acquired a sacred character (Speck, 1931, p. 50), and food and medicine in Delaware conception were not totally unlike. It follows from this that the ailments afflicted the Indians in modern times are considered as being due to a departure from the ancient food regimen provided by the Creator. Investigation of the food supply, and its methods of preparation, was thought worthy of being taken up as part of the present phase of inquiry. The results are embodied in the present section, partly through their bearing upon health as dependent upon food. Except for this interrelation, the subject matter might seem to be more definitely an economic one.

Maize

Among the food products used by the Delaware, Indian maize *(Zea mays)* stands out as the staple vegetable product. Maize is believed to provide nourishment for the soul as well as for the body. The reverence for the Spirit of Maize[1] and for the processes of its preparation, still survives among the Delaware.

Before presenting the data which deals with the preparation of corn foods, it seems appropriate to mention native beliefs concerning the origin of this sacred food.[2] Maize, "original corn" or "common corn," is a gift from the Creator and in former times, according to Harrington *(op. cit.,* pp. 43, 141), was considered as one of the powerful

[1] Harrington, 1921, pp. 43, 193.

[2] For further information dealing with the maize complex in eastern North America, particularly among the Iroquois, see Parker, 1910; Converse, 1910; Waugh, 1916. The writer (1930) has noted the survival of certain traits indicating the presence of a religious rite in the early period among the southern New England tribes. For the Southeastern peoples, consult Swanton, 1928 b, pp. 443-444.

Death

761 Early burials which have been excavated reveal few objects buried with the body although Penn indicates that it was customary among the Lenape to place objects in the graves (p. 37). Skinner is of the opinion that this may have been a custom which was coming into more common practice during the period we are dealing with (Skinner, 1909, p. 50). Of about equal occurrence are flexed and secondary bone burials. A Delaware burial has been described by Lindstrom: "...a round pit is dug in the ground and a stool is placed in the hole upon which the dead man shall sit. Then the dead man's money is placed upon him and he is set down in the pit upon the stool with a tobacco pipe a fathom long in his mouth...". After the hole is filled up, "...they dig down in the corners of a square four very long poles upon which they make three shelves, and decorate the poles with long stripe of blue, red or green frieze[16] hanging like fringes." The bones were later dug up and the flesh cut from them after which they were wrapped in chestnut bark and placed on the bottom shelf where the bundle was allowed to stand until it rotted. (Lindstrom, pp. 249-250).

765 Above the body there has frequently been found a layer of shells which has been interpreted as evidence of a feast of the dead (Skinner, 1909, p. 50). Other features of the death ceremonies noted by early writers are: the use of charcoal on the face as a sign of mourning (Penn, p. 37; Danckaerts, p. 159), the sending of a messenger to all friends to announce a person's decease and loud lamentations at the grave. The name of the deceased was not mentioned (Lindstrom, pp. 249-250) 784 551 Many of these features are incorporated in Heckewelder's excellent description of the funeral of a chief's wife (Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 269-276).

Disease

753 Disease was classified into natural illness and sickness caused by witchcraft and spirits of the dead. This classification is reflected in the many different types of cures which the Delaware practiced. Curing was one of the few activities placed in the hands of professional 755 people, the shamans, although purely medicinal cures were also performed by laymen. The shamans used a combination of medicines, magic, sweating, bleeding and psychotherapy to effect their cures for which they were paid. Penn says that the Delaware will give anything to be cured and this is echoed by later writers (Penn, p. 36; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 232).

757 Medicines which were taken internally were made from bark and roots mixed with water (Penn, p. 36; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 224-231); likewise, plants with medicinal properties were made into poultices for wounds, boils and snake bite (Heckewelder, 1881, p. 229; Loskiel, p. 113). The shaman might also breathe on the patient or blow his remedy over the patient's body. In addition to making and giving these remedies, the shaman frequently put on a performance in which he grimaced and acted in such a way as to frighten away the evil spirit which

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

524 used to denote a game of extremely wide distribution throughout northern North America and retaining a uniform type wherever found, is common among the Delawares. At the present time it is played for amusement by persons of both sexes and all ages during the evenings in winter time. This, too, is regarded as a pastime for those who are born in winter, one that is thought to bring on cold stormy weather the ensuing day. Herein lies its ceremonial character.

To a sharpened stick or bone is fastened a leather string some twenty inches long at the other end of which is fixed the tail of a rabbit. On the string are threaded five hollow cones, the wider ends open toward the stick. For the want of sufficient native material the Delawares make these cones by hollowing out and tapering common spools. In former times they were the phalanges of the deer. In the specimens figured one is constructed with spools, the other with sections of some animals' leg bones. The object of the play is to swing the cones in the air, catching as many as possible on the end of the pointed stick. Each player repeats the attempt to impale these cones until he misses three times. For each cone caught on the stick he receives a count of one. The players keep count of their totals by memory. The winning total is decided upon at the beginning of the game, it may be 15, 25, 50 or 100 points. Small wagers are laid upon the outcome, the player to reach the total first taking the stakes. To catch the rabbit's tail counts nothing.

[525] [171] I hardly need comment upon the wide distribution of this game from the Pacific to the Atlantic and as far south as the Plains unbrokenly across North America, even in archaeological levels of considerable historical depth as Dr. Strong's findings indicate (Strong, op. cit., p. 192).

CEREMONIAL DOLLS

778 *Oxta's*, "Doll or Plaything."—The privilege of making dolls as toys out of cornhusks is denied children. The reason is that corn is too sacred to be trifled with. To violate this would bring on bad luck in the form of sickness. Only those in whose family inheritance the obligation to make and to perform in ceremony with such creations are permitted to

[777] [753]

8:Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
NM7 Delaware NM7

CHAPTER XXV.

Concerning the Devil-Chasing of the American Savage People and the Doctors of Medicine Who Are Called Devil-Chasers.

When the savage sickens and death attacks him 753
he does not believe in any death and resurrection, 755
but that *Manitto*, that is the Devil, is plaguing him;[1] for he knows indeed that the evil one exists,[2] who sends him all evil things; but he will not believe that any good God exists, who gives him both temporal and eternal good. Therefore the savages sacrifice and prepare feasts for the Devil in order to propitiate him that he should do them no harm; this the savages do in their hunting expeditions about which we have related before, and all other things which take place according to their plans.[3]

Now when the savage is tormented on his death- 755
bed, he calls for the doctor of medicine, who is otherwise called the devil-chaser. Then he first makes use of all kinds of medicines and when he finds that they do not help, he pretends to be worse than the Devil himself, intending thus to chase the evil one out of body of the savage, wherefore he is called the devil-chaser. Runs back and forth,

[1] The construction is loose. The idea is: The Indian does not believe that God calls him to his death for a later resurrection, but that a fetish or some unseen power, probably in the service of an enemy, is plaguing him and will eventually cause his death.

[2] *Ty det weet han weill, att tala om den ondha wara till*, for he indeed knows to till [that] the evil one exists.

[3] See above, Chapts. XV, XVII.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

774 beep left undone, when the ghost ceases the visits.
775 CAPTAIN CHIPPS—Ghosts are not known—have not been heard of.

J. W.—Ghosts are really shades or shadows of spirits, often seen before or after death, they are signs or warnings and can be seen by human eyes. There is much paralysis among the Delaware which is often caused by being struck with a shadow or crossing it or paying any attention to it if one sees it coming. Stopping [822] to look at it, turning around after passing, even innocently, has 763 evil effects. There is no cure for it. Preventive by rubbing [751] streak of ashes on left cheek under eye before going out in the evening. Often marked children as safeguard.

W. T. attributed to the soul the actions of the shadow reported by J. W.

40. Witches and wizards

754 JOHN JOHNSTON—They are very firm in the belief of witchcraft and suppose that there is many among them that can appear [753] in the shape of any animal they please and have power to cause sickness. They believe this to be a supernatural power invested in them by some one of the Deities for the purpose of good that they might have power to heal the sick etc. But that in their present degenerated state they have made a bad use of it, that instead of healing they inflict with sickness and other calamities.
754 CAPTAIN PIPE—They believe in witches and wizards and 756 attribute their powers to the use of certain medicine, said to have been procured of the Nanticokes who had it from a naked infant found by them on the Sea Shore. In 1810, the prophet when [792] preaching against the use of this medicine pointed out five or six men and women on white river as the possessors of it. These [683] persons protested their innocence and were put to the torture, where they were exhorted to save themselves by delivering the means of destruction which they possessd. Seeing no other prospect of escape from death, they professed a knowledge of the arts and promised compliance, but after release they were not able to produce the cause of the difficulty, and they were by common consent condemned to death by burning.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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the spiritual force represented by it is apparent. The being itself seems to be incorporated in the mask image. The latter become more truly a fetish than the carved images representing the deities in the Big House. Its presence is a source of active power, for the most part, directed toward maleficence. This I think is brought out in several records which the informant dictated to me, tracing the presence of disease and misfortune to the possession of masks representing the human face, both large and small, in families who had, through some event, come into possession of them. Possession seems not always to have been voluntary and in such cases the owners were obliged through the revelations given them in dreams to perform periodic rites, called feasts, to annul their malefic potencies. I am led to believe that this explanation is a valid phenomenon associated with mask likenesses; one omitted from the explanations given us by the authors cited.

We learn in this connection that once a year, generally in the summer, the mask image was given a dance and feast of hominy by the family in whose custody it remained. The express purpose of this rite was to provide it enjoyment and nourishment as a means of conciliation beyond what was accorded it by being brought out during the performance in the Big House. In such a family the mask must be disposed of in a ceremonial manner should it be desired to discontinue the obligatory rites, or should the family die out. Tradition requires the mask in this case to be buried, as the informant states, lest the effects of neglect of the mask be handed down to relatives. One is reminded, in learning of this reverential attitude toward the masks, of the frequency with which carved stone faces have been exhumed in the territories previously inhabited by the Delawares. The Museums of Pennsylvania, New Jersey and New York possess a number of specimens of the faces, which have been briefly discussed and illustrated by Harrington.[1]

The family in which fell the custody of the False Face was the Pala'ciman "Frenchman," family of the Wolf group. The wife of Frenchman was the person who had hereditary ownership of the mask. Her descendants, the McCartlain family (Turkey group), were next in succession but being inclined toward Christianity the rite was neglected by them. Subsequently Julius Fouts, Pet ane'hing, "Threw Him Here," of the Tortoise group, took charge of the mask. Being afraid that it might be destroyed by worms while in his possession which might have brought sickness to his family as a consequence, Fouts turned it over to Pe'matae'kamən, "Moving-Flowers Man" (George Bullette) of the Fowl group. By the latter it was sold out of the tribe and finally found its errancy terminated in an exhibition case of the Museum of the American Indian (Heye Foundation). (Fig. 10).

[1] Op. cit., I, pp. 32-43.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

The Delawares determine, by the position of the stars, when to gather herbs for medicine, for they believe that the position of the stars and the moon informs them when the medical properties of the herb may be found in the branches or in the roots. The time to plant crops in the spring was likewise determined by the phases of the moon and the position of the stars. At a certain time when the moon and stars are in the correct relation to each other the Delawares know that the wild animals breed and that fish go up-stream. Persons born under certain changes of the moon are said to be affected by certain periodic diseases such as epilepsy and fits. The gathering of material for the making of baskets depends upon the time of year. In order that hides be made into durable leather the animals must be killed at the right time of year. The same is true in regard to killing hogs, for unless the animals are killed in the right quarter of the moon the meat will not keep. Likewise fruit, according to the Delaware must be picked at a certain phase of the moon or else it will rot. Celestial phenomena, the manitu of the skies, rule numerous phases of Delaware life.

THE CONCEPT OF PURITY AND DEFILEMENT.—It is most interesting to note a distinct attitude of reverence toward the phenomena of nature which are uncontaminated by the mechanistic hand of man. Nature itself is denoted by a term which may be recognized universally as an accepted definition: te'kaneo'a·u, "wild life, creation" in the liberal sense. This refers to creatures and phenomena brought into existence and controlled by the power of the Great Spirit. From nature's category the products of human invention are excluded. Thus it is the realm of pure nature with which the Delaware fundamentalist finds himself in accord. It supplies his needs, it satisfies his emotions, engages spiritual concern, becoming literally the element in which his whole life is framed. To deviate from the processes of nature, in thought and act, is sacrilege to him, to limit himself to its sphere is a sacred obligation passed down to him from his forefathers barring him off from the hazards of change and alteration in his conduct of life, and particularly in the performance of his religious duties. The Delaware fundamentalist is truly a conservative. By the mandates of his own creed he ought to be indeed a reactionary. And similar sentiment seems forthcoming from other Algonkian doctrinaries, hence we may assume it to be an ancient property of the race. Its lament is the necessity to depart from the ancient nature-bound practices, through the measure of force exerted by changes which age and time bring about.[1]

[1] This characteristic is often likened by them to the precepts of Christ, to whose example they refer with sympathy, and with the conviction that they are by nature his followers.

15:Morgan E-5 (1859)1959
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[p 52(A)]

535 *Dances of the Delawares*

1. Old Religious Dance	10. Dog Dance
2. Wolf Dance	11. War Dance
3. Turtle Dance	12. Feasting Dance
4. Chicken Dance	13. Dance for the Dead
5. Buffalo Dance	14. Striking the Stick Dance
6. Bear Dance	15. Buzzard Dance
7. Doll Baby Dance	16. Turkey Dance
8. Horse Dance	17. Duck Dance
9. False Face Dance	18. [left blank]
	19. Shuffle Dance

773 829 *Origin of the Three Varieties of the Human Race*

Mr. Pratt mentioned to me a Delaware explanation of the creation of the Negro, Indian and White man, to the effect that the Negro was created first, and was, as we say, a mistake or failure; it was the first attempt at man's creation. The Great Spirit next created the Indian, who was admitted to be a great improvement upon the negro; and last of all he created the white man.

The Good Spirit and the Boil

776 753 Mr. Pratt had a boil come on his arm. A Delaware told him he had a good friend, and in explanation said to him that the Evil Spirit had intended to destroy him; that he was followed in his rounds to do mischief to men by a small but good spirit, who continued in various ways to defeat the evil spirit of his purpose, when it was a case in which he wished to save the person from harm. That as the evil spirit was about to put forth his power upon him, the little spirit stepped forward and said to the evil one, "you let me deal with this person," whereupon he took or drew on his invisible bow a small and invisible arrow, and shot

[p52(B)]

776 Mr. Pratt on the arm, and hence the boil.
753 In the meantime, the evil spirit, seeing the little spirit about to deal with him, passed on, and was thus diverted from his purpose. After doing this friendly act the little spirit at once passed on upon the track of the evil one to arrest and avert as many of his evil deeds as he could by persuasion, cunning or artifice. Thus the Indian said Mr. Pratt had a friend, and this boil was the result of his friendly interposition to save him from a greater evil.

[*Delaware Clans*]

115 Conversation with [Morgan's blank], the mother of Charles Johnny Cake.[83] She is sub. 1 Wolf Tribe. Her husband was Turtle. Her children are Wolf.

614 She confirms the division into Wolf, Turtle and Turkey Tribes, and says these are subdivided. The Wolf has the Bear, the Turtle the Big and Little Turtle, and the Turkey has the Crow. Those belonging to
[582] each subdivision to this day refuse to intermarry; but Little Turtle intermarries with Big Turtle, Bear with Wolf, Crow with Turkey. The children of ancient times and
[611] now are of the tribe of the mother in all cases. The terms Wolf, Turtle and Turkey are general ones, the word Took-seat, the name of the Wolf Tribe means "a round foot." There is another name for Wolf, Tam-me. The word for Turtle, Poke-koo-rin-go, does not mean any particular kind of Turtle, and so the name of the Turkey, Pal-la-ooh, means any kind of fowl. It appears to be a generalization for haired, non-haired and feathered animals. The subdivisions I must learn from her son.

She mentioned the We-loon-see Tribe as that of the Little Turtle, and also the Crow and the Bear, but could not remember their names. She gave We-saw-hut-ko, meaning

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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as the white and black oak, the white walnut, of which they make pills, the cherry, dogwood, maple, birch, and several others. They prepare and compound these medicines in different ways, which they keep a profound secret. Those preparations are frequently mixed with superstitious practices, calculated to guard against the powers of witchcraft, in which, unfortunately they have a strong fixed belief. Indeed, they are too apt to attribute the most natural deaths to the arts and incantations of sorcerers, and their medicine is, in most cases, as much directed against those as against the disease itself. There are, however, practitioners among them who are free from these prejudices, or at least do not introduce them into their practice of the medical art. Still there is a superstitious notion, in which all their physicians participate, which is, that when an emetic is to be administered, the water in which the potion is mixed must be drawn up a stream, and if for a cathartic downwards. This is, at least, innocent, and not more whimsical perhaps, nor more calculated to excite a smile, than some theories of grave and learned men in civilised countries.

In fevers the Indians usually administer emetics which are made up and compounded in various ways. I saw an emetic once given to a man who had poisoned himself with the root of the May Apple.* It consisted of a piece of racoon skin burned with the hair on and finely powdered, pounded dry beans and gunpowder. These three ingredients were mixed with water and poured down the patient's throat. This brought on a severe vomiting, the poisonous root was entirely discharged and the man cured.

In other complaints, particularly in those which proceed from rheumatic affections, *bleeding and sweating* are always the first remedies applied. The sweat oven is the first thing that an Indian has recourse to when he

* Podophyllum peltatum.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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of this pompous title. They are a set of professional impostors, who, availing themselves of the superstitious prejudices of the people, acquire the name and reputation of men of superior knowledge, and possessed of supernatural powers. As the Indians in general believe in witchcraft, and ascribe, as I have already said, to the arts of sorcerers many of the disorders with which they are afflicted in the regular course of nature, this class of men has arisen among them, who pretend to be skilled in a certain occult science, by means of which they are able not only to cure natural diseases, but to counteract or destroy the enchantments of wizzards or witches, and expel evil spirits.

These men are physicians, like the others of whom I have spoken, and like them are acquainted with the properties and virtues of plants, barks, roots, and other remedies. They differ from them only by their pretensions to a superior knowledge, and by the impudence with which they impose upon the credulous. I am sorry that truth obliges me to confess, that in their profession they rank above the honest practitioners. They pretend that there are disorders which cannot be cured by the ordinary remedies, and to the treatment of which the talents of common physicians are inadequate. They say that when a complaint has been brought on by witchcraft, more powerful remedies must be applied, and measures must be taken to defeat the designs of the person who bewitched the unfortunate patient. This can only be done by removing or destroying the deleterious or deadening substance which has been conveyed into them, or, if it is an evil spirit, to confine or expel him, or banish him to a distant region from whence he may never return.

When the juggler has succeeded in persuading his patient that his disorder is such that no common physician has it in his power to relieve, he will next endeavour to convince him of the necessity of making him *very strong*,

1;Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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CHAPTER XXXII.

SUPERSTITION.

GREAT and powerful as the Indian conceives himself to be, firm and undaunted as he really is, braving all seasons and weathers, careless of dangers, patient of hunger, thirst and cold, and fond of displaying the native energy of his character even in the midst of tortures, at the very thought of which our own puny nature revolts and shudders; this Lord of the Creation, whose life is spent in a state of constant warfare against the wild beasts of the forest and the savages of the wilderness, who proud of his independent existence, strikes his breast with exultation and exclaims *"I am a man!"*—the American Indian has one weak side, which sinks him down to the level of the most fearful and timid being, a childish apprehension of an occult and unknown power, which, unless he can summon sufficient fortitude to conquer it, changes at once the hero into a coward. It is incredible to what a degree the Indian's superstitious belief in witchcraft operates upon their minds; the moment that their imagination is struck with the idea that they are bewitched, they are no longer themselves; their fancy is constantly at work in creating the most horrid and distressing images. They see themselves falling a sacrifice to the wicked arts of a vile unknown hand, of one who would not have dared to face them in fair combat; dying a miserable ignominious death; a death, to which they would a thousand times prefer the stake with all its horrors. No tale, no tradition, no memorial of their cou-

1;Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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rage or heroic fortitude will go down with it to posterity; it will be thought that they were not deserving of a better fate. And, (O! dreadful thought to an Indian mind!) that death is to remain for ever unrevenged;—their friends, their relations, the men of their own tribe, will seek the murderer in vain; they will seek him, while, perhaps, he is in the midst of them, unnoticed and unknown, smiling at their impotent rage, and calmly selecting some new victim to his infernal art.

Of this extraordinary power of their conjurers, of the causes which produce it, and the manner in which it is acquired, the Indians, as may well be supposed, have not a very definite idea. All they can say is that the sorcerer makes use of a "deadening substance," which he discharges and conveys to the person that he means to "*strike*," through the air, by means of the wind or of his own breath, or throws at him in a manner which they can neither understand nor describe. The person thus "*stricken*," is immediately seized with an unaccountable terror, his spirits sink, his appetite fails, he is disturbed in his sleep, he pines and wastes away, or a fit of sickness seizes him, and he dies at last a miserable victim to the workings of his own imagination.

Such are their ideas and the melancholy effects of the dread they feel of that supernatural power which they vainly fancy to exist among them. That they can destroy one another by means of poisonous roots and plants, is certainly true, but in this there is no witchcraft. This prejudice that they labour under can be ascribed to no other cause than their excessive ignorance and credulity. I was once acquainted with a white man, a shrewd and correct observer, who had lived long among the Indians, and being himself related to an Indian family, had the best opportunities of obtaining accurate information on this subject. He told me that he had found the means of getting into the confidence of one of their most noted sorcerers, who had frankly confessed to him, that his secret consisted in ex-

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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754 citing fear and suspicion, and creating in the multitude a strong belief in his magical powers, "For," said he, "such is the credulity of many, that if I only pick a little "wool from my blanket, and roll it between my fingers "into a small round ball, not larger than a bean, I am "by that alone believed to be deeply skilled in the magic "art, and it is immediately supposed that I am prepar- "ing the deadly substance with which I mean to strike "some person or other, although I hardly know myself "at the time what my fingers are doing; and if, at that "moment, I happen to cast my eyes on a particular man, "or even throw a side glance at him, it is enough to "make him consider himself as the intended victim; he "is from that instant effectually *struck*, and if he is not "possessed of great fortitude, so as to be able to repel "the thought, and divert his mind from it, or to persuade "himself that it is nothing but the work of a disturbed "imagination, he will sink under the terror thus created, "and at last perish a victim, not indeed, to witchcraft, "but to his own credulity and folly."

But men of such strong minds are not often to be found; so deeply rooted is the belief of the Indians in those fancied supernatural powers. It is vain to endeavour to convince them by argument that they are entirely founded in delusion and have no real existence. The attempt has been frequently made by sensible white men, but always without success. The following anecdote will shew how little hope there is of ever bringing them to a more rational way of thinking.

Sometime about the year 1776, a Quaker trader of the name of John Anderson, who among the Indians was called *the honest Quaker trader*, after vainly endeavouring to convince those people by argument that there was no such thing as witchcraft, took the bold, and I might say the rash, resolution to put their sorcerers to the test, and defy the utmost exertions of their pretended supernatural powers. He desired that two of those magicians

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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might be brought successively before him on different days, who should be at liberty to try their art on his person, and do him all the harm that they could by magical means, in the presence of the chiefs and principal men of the village. The Indians tried at first to dissuade him from so dangerous an experiment; but he persisted, and at last they acceded to his demand; a conjurer was brought to him, who professed himself fully competent to the task for which he was called, but he could not be persuaded to make the attempt. He declared that Anderson was so good and so honest a man, so much his friend and the friend of all the Indians, that he could not think of doing him an injury. He never practised his art but on bad men and on those who had injured him, the great Mannitto forbid that he should use it for such a wicked purpose as that for which he was now called upon.

The Indians found this excuse perfectly good, and retired more convinced than ever of the abilities of their conjurer, whom they now revered for his conscientious scruples.

The one who was brought on the next day was of a different stamp. He was an arch sorcerer, whose fame was extended far and wide, and was much dreaded by the Indians, not only on account of his great powers, but of the wicked disposition of his mind. Every effort was made to dissuade Mr. Anderson from exposing himself to what was considered as certain destruction; but he stood firm to his purpose, and only stipulated that the magician should sit at the distance of about twelve feet from him, that he should not be armed with any weapon, nor carry any poison or any thing else of a known destructive nature, and that he should not even rise from his seat, nor advance towards him during the operation. All this was agreed to, the conjurer boasting that he could effect his purpose even at the distance of one hundred miles. The promised reward was brought and

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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754 placed in full view, and both parties now prepared for the experiment.

The spectators being all assembled, the sorcerer took his seat, arrayed in the most frightful manner that he could devise. Anderson stood firm and composed before him at the stipulated distance. All were silent and attentive while the wizzard began his terrible operation. He began with working with his fingers on his blanket, plucking now and then a little wool and breathing on it, then rolling it together in small rolls of the size of a bean, and went through all the antic tricks to which the the power of bewitching is generally ascribed. But all this had no effect. Anderson remained cool and composed, now and then calling to his antagonist not to be sparing of his exertions. The conjurer now began to make the most horrid gesticulations, and used all the means in his power to frighten the honest quaker, who, aware of his purpose, still remained unmoved. At last, while the eyes of all the spectators were fixed on this brave man, to observe the effects of the sorcerer's craft upon him, this terrible conjurer, finding that all his efforts were vain, found himself obliged to give up the point, and alleged for his excuse "that the Americans "eat too much salt provisions; that salt had a repulsive "effect, which made the powerful invisible substance that "he employed recoil upon him; that the Indians, who "eat but little salt, had often felt the effects of this sub-"stance, but that the great quantity of it which the "white men used effectually protected them against it."

The imposition in this instance was perfectly clear and visible, and nothing was so easy as to see through this sorcerer's miserable pretence, and be convinced that his boasted art was entirely a deception; but it was not so with the Indians, who firmly believed that the salt which the Americans used was the only cause of his failure in this instance, and that if it had not been for the salted meat which Mr. Anderson fed upon, he would have

9 [errata. See cat. 116, p. 348. Am(ms)]

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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fallen a victim as well as others to the incantations of this imposter.

I have received this story from the mouth of Mr. Anderson himself, who was a most respectable gentleman, and also from several credible Indians who were present at the time. After this bold and unsuccessful experiment, it is impossible to expect that the superstitious notions of the Indians on the subject of witchcraft can ever by any means be rooted out of their minds.*

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* The following extract from the Detroit Gazette, shews that this superstitious belief of the Indians in the powers of witchcraft, still continues in full force, even among those who live in the vicinity of the whites, and are in the habit of constant intercourse with them.

From the Detroit Gazette of the 17th of August, 1818.

On the evening of the 22d ult. an Indian of the Wyandot tribe was murdered by some of his relatives, near the mouth of the river Huron on lake Erie. The circumstances, in brief, are as follows:

"It appears that two Wyandots, residing at Malden, and relatives to the deceased, had been informed by Captain Johnny, an Indian living at the Huron river, and also a relative, that a Shawanee Indian had come to his death by the witchcraft of an old Indian woman and her son Mike, and that in order to avert the vengeance of the Shawanee tribe, it would be necessary to kill them—and furthermore, that the death of Walk-in-the-water, who died last June, was caused by the same old woman's witchcraft. It was determined to kill the old woman and her son—and for that purpose they crossed over on the 22d ult. and succeeded in the course of the evening in killing the latter in his cabin. The old woman was not at home. The next day, while endeavouring to persuade her to accompany them into the woods, as they said, to drink whiskey, they were discovered by Dr. William Brown and Mr. Oliver Williams, who had received that morning intimations of their intentions, and owing to the exertions of these gentlemen, the old woman's life was preserved and one of the Indians taken, who is now confined in the jail of this city—the others escaped by swiftness of foot.

"On the examination of the Indian taken, it appeared that the old woman, shortly after the death of the Shawanee, had entered his cabin, and in a voice of exultation, called upon him, saying—"Shawanee man! where are you!—You that mocked me; you thought you would live forever—you are gone and I am here—come—Why do you not come!" &c—She is said to have made use of nearly the same words in the cabin of Walk-in-the-water, shortly after his death."

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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789 Heckewelder described an occasion during a drought in 1799 in which the women of a village paid a shaman to produce a rain. The shaman constructed an enclosure about five feet square of sticks and bark and left an opening on the north side. He then murmured an incantation while facing the north, shutting the opening of the enclosure at the conclusion of the incantation. He "turned in the same manner, still muttering some words, towards the south, as if invoking some superior being, and having cut through the bark on the southwest corner, so as to make an opening of two feet, he said: 'Now we shall have rain enough!'"[80] Zeisberger described the malevolent conjurers and stated that they had 954 learned their black arts from the Nanticokes, and Speck noted that this tradition is still current among the Delawares.[81] These shamans were able to injure and destroy either individuals or entire villages. Zeisberger said:

> [They use] a little piece of an old blanket or something else. This they rub in their hands until formed into a little ball. Naming the one who is marked for death, they throw this ball at him, saying that he shall die. They call this shooting the witchball. Any person wishing to get another whom he hates out of the way will hire a sorcerer or several of them to do it, paying them in wampum.[82]

In another place Zeisberger described an individual who had fallen into the hands of a "wizard" and become paralyzed. The shaman who was responsible had offered to cure the victim, but refrained from doing so since the patient could not afford the treatment.[83] Heckewelder said of these conjurers:

> All they can say is that the sorcerer makes use of a "deadening substance," which he discharges and conveys to the person that he means to "*strike*," throug the air, by means of the wind or of his own breath, or throws at him in a manner which they can neither understand nor describe. The person thus "*stricken*," is immediately seized with an unaccountable terror, his spirits sink, his appetite fails, he is disturbed in his sleep, he pines and wastes away, or a fit of sickness seizes him, and he dies at last a miserable victim to the workings of his own imagination.[84]

This bit of belief has survived more or less in its original form, since at a "stomp dance" an informant (R.W.) blew or threw something at another man (J.W.) and stole his drum. J.W. suffered a stroke that evening from which he never fully recovered. His family attempted to recover the drum, thinking this would effect a cure, but they were never successful. An informant from the Anadarko band (M.B.) said that malevolent sorcerers had killed most of the children and that this was the reason for the decline of the Delawares. She also said that many of the Cherokee-Delawares were "witches" and for this reason the two groups did not maintain closer relations.

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[80] Heckewelder, 1881, p. 237.
[81] Speck, 1937, pp. 135-42.
[82] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 126.
[83] Zeisberger, 1885, p. 94.
[84] Heckewelder, 1881, p. 240.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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of which they are guilty are done in secret. That adultery, theft, lying, cheating are terrible vices they know, having learned it from their ancestors as well as from whites. Fear of disgrace keeps them from open wrong-doing for they do not wish to have a bad name. Secretly, however, they are given to all manner of vice. Some are no longer sensitive to shame. There are traces of unnatural sins among them, hardly known to any except to those such as missionaries who have learned to understand the people well. Virtue one must not seek among the savages, but the grace of God is able to accomplish wonders among them. Not all are equally bad. Some among them are sensible people and considérate, who act reasonably and have an eye to right and justice.

I had no faith concerning sorcery attributed to them, though I have lived many years among them, thinking it all to be boasting and lying on their part. I believed the Indians were too stupid for such satanic practices, but I have been persuaded otherwise. I know for a certainty that witchcraft is common among them. Those who make great pretention to skill in the dark arts know the least about them. The adepts do not boast of their knowledge for fear of their lives. They are very careful, even under the influence of strong drink, not to draw suspicion upon themselves. There seem to be Indians who have the ability to bring about the death of any one by other than ordinary means, even in the short space of twenty-four hours. This they do without the use of poison, which, if used, might be discovered and for which an antidote might be administered. Usually two or three or more agree that a certain person shall die. While he is asleep or in the presence of others they somehow exert their evil influence upon him. The effects are various. Sometimes the victim falls to the ground immediately in convulsions, lies for a time as dead, then recovers consciousness but soon dies. Sometimes the effects are not noticeable for several days. Occasionally the unfortunate individuals are afflicted with diseases, from which there is no recovery for years. Hence, it is that when illness cannot be accounted for on natural grounds, the Indians are apt to believe themselves to have been bewitched.

3;Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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Accounts of illness attributed to this cause are, however, not all to be credited.

By the Nantikoks[300] the Indians have been instructed in the use of a peculiar kind of poison called *Mattapassigan*, meaning poison. The Nantikoks dwelt formerly in Maryland, along the sea, some of them still living there, and later moved to Wajomick along the Susquehannah, finally proceeding further northward. In the late war they were driven out with the Six Nations. They brought knowledge of this poison, which carries many evils with it, to the nations and also to the Delawares. What it is and whereof it is made I am unable to say, as I have never seen it, and the descriptions vary. Possibly it is prepared in different ways. It is said not to be baneful in itself and to receive its power for working injury through witchcraft. It is declared to be capable of infecting whole townships and tribes with disorders as pernicious as the plague. With its use the sorcerers are said to be able to remove a person though he may be several hundred miles away. The Delawares have endeavored to extirpate the shocking evil. Their efforts extending over two years were in vain, for those possessed of the knowledge of its uses kept the knowledge secret. The Nantikoks who were the wretched inventors of this poison and its arts, have nearly destroyed their own nation by it. Its use is rendered efficacious by a company of murderous sorcerers uniting in the same design. Its effects are the more terrible, because it is used not only in connection with individuals but whole communities. In their practices the sorcerers, except in case of the poison described, seem to use no Beson but a little piece of an old blanket or something else. This they rub in their hands until formed into a little ball. Naming the one who is marked for death, they throw this ball at him, saying that he shall die. They call this shooting the witchball.[301] Any person wishing to get another whom he hates out of the way will hire a sorcerer or several of them to do it, paying them in wampum. The Indians say that their poison and witchcraft have no effect upon the white people because they use so much salt in their victuals. But this is merely a pretense as there are instances of Europeans having fallen victims to their skill in poisoning.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7
Shawnee NM7

Warriors, and especially Captains, procure a beson thought to be capable of preserving them from arrow and ball. In the year 1774 when a war had broken out between the Shawanose and the whites, the latter had their war-beson carried about among the ranks upon a pole, in a battle they fought with the whites on the Canhawa.[201½] But the Beson bearer himself was shot, the whole Indian army routed and the Beson fell a pray to the conqueror.

Another sort of deceivers are called by them Kimochne, "night walkers." These people get into the houses at night and steal whatever they can get. The Indians say that they bewitch the family into a profound sleep so as not to be discovered. They are said to be able to go a hundred miles or more and back during a single night, proceeding through the air over hill and dale and river. This seemed to me incredible, but I have been told by various individuals that it is true. We have several converted sorcerers in the congregation.[201½]

Most extraordinary experiences have been met with by boys from twelve to fourteen years of age, when they have been alone in the forest in apprehension and in need. An old man in a gray beard may have appeared and said in soothing tone, "Do not fear, I am a rock and thou shalt call me by this name. I am the Lord of the whole earth and of every living creature therein, of the air and of wind and weather. No one dare oppose me and I will give thee the same power. No one shall do thee harm and thou needest not to fear any man." Such and similar prophecies he makes. Such a boy ruminates upon what he has heard and is confirmed in the opinion as he grows up that a peculiar power has been imparted to him to perform extraordinary exploits, and he imagines that no one can do him injury. As he can receive no further instruction from any one, he must learn from experience how far he can go, his imagination inspiring him to make every effort. Such boys give themselves to the practice of the dark arts, having abundance of time for investigation and practice, because in their youth they are not required to work unless they choose to do so. Such a boy is feared above others, but of these there are very few. Others have been led by dreams to study theory and

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

754 practice of the black art. Most are deceivers who pretend to be able to leap over a river or from one mountain to another. Old women are sometimes accused of being witches. If a child dies suddenly some one will pretend to have seen an old woman with the child at night, who is then believed to have bewitched the little one. Some old woman or another Indian may thus, though quite innocent, be thought guilty of witchcraft and be thus considered to the end of life. Again there are witches supposed to go through the towns at night in the form of an owl or a fox. It is nothing strange that an owl or a fox should get into the town, as many of the towns are surrounded by the forest. Such witches are supposed to kill Indians, bring disease and plague into the town. The worst is said to be that when such animals are shot at they do not die, being able to close up the wound caused by the bullet.

It is remarkable that Indians of such character have been led to lead a new life and turn from all deceitful practices. From them it has been learned that most of their dark practices grow out of imagination and superstition. Of those, however, who seem versed in the use of *Mattapassigan* none have to the present time been converted, though some with whom I came into contact were inclined to better themselves but were unable to refrain from their evil practices, being afraid, apparently, that their lives would be endangered.

771 That the Indians have some sort of religion and mode of worship whereby they endeavor to please the Deity, cannot be denied. Their worship, however, is unreasoning devotion. It is remarkable that savages who have been cut off from association with other nations for no one knows how many centuries should have so much knowledge of Deity that is handed down from generation to generation.

They believe and have from time immemorial believed that there is an Almighty Being who has created heaven and earth and man and all things else. This they have learned from their ancestors, but where the dwelling place of the Deity is they know not. They have always heard that whoever lives a virtuous life, refrains from stealing, murder and immorality,

4: Tantaquidgeon E-5 (1930) 1942
NM7 Delaware NM7

DELAWARE MEDICAL BELIEFS AND PRACTICES

Theories on the Causes of Disease.

THE DELAWARE, like so many preliterate peoples, share concepts of a similar character concerning the causes of disease (Clements, 1932). Certain maladies are attributed to the presence of some evil spirit in the body, which in turn is believed to be the work of a sorcerer; others are thought due to the patients' iniquities while a few result from an encounter with an apparition. Failure to obey the laws of nature is the reason most frequently cited by Wi·tapanóxwe for the increase of disease among the Delaware. He said, in part, "In ancient times there was but little sickness among the Indians. The Delaware were greatly blessed because we always kept up our ceremonies and observed the rules of right living.[1] The Indian was healthy because he ate only clean, pure food and lived close to nature. Then came the new people with their strange ways and food, and dreadful diseases."

Paraphrasing the statements of the informant, it is implied that with the onset and steady progress of Europeanization, the Indian was obliged to relinquish many of the ways of his accustomed mode of life. He was forced to seek new territories in order to escape the alien influences that were being forced upon him. Like the wild game, the Delaware fled to more remote regions because their former environment had become so thoroughly contaminated. At this time, it is said, the dwarfs and other non-human folk had safety and seclusion in the rocky cliffs. Certain plants no longer reproduced and grew. Those Indians who clung tenaciously to the teachings of their elders were greatly blessed by the Creator who guided them in visions as of old. From the conservative viewpoint of Wi·tapanóxwe, individuals of a weaker "intellect," were unable to cope with such adverse conditions and were swept away by the devastating effects of acculturation.

[1] Reference may be made to a recent paper of A. I. Hallowell (1939) in which he has shown that "sin" is considered a potent causation of disease among the Saulteaux Indians of the Lake Winnipeg region—Editor.

4: Tantaquidgeon E-5 (1930) 1942
NM7 Delaware NM7

warrior desires information as to the location of the enemy; the chief seeks for a clearer insight into tribal affairs in general.

So powerful are these agents of the spirit forces that if one speaks to them against his enemies, he will have the power to attack the latter by means of practices of a malevolent character. Such power is considered as basically evil and to be used only as a last resort. Supernatural power, in general, is believed to be given to the Delaware to accomplish good and not for matters of minor importance.

The Medicine Stone

A concretion secreted in the alimentary organs of certain ruminants is known to have been highly prized by the peoples of Europe and the Orient [86] for its alleged magical and medicinal properties. This unusual object is also known to and valued by the natives of the New World.[87] From the present-day Delaware, we have the following information on the medicine stone, one of their most sacred and invaluable possessions. It is comparable to the bezoar stone of Oriental fame and usually has a similar function—as an antidote for poison. Although such objects are known to be present in the digestive organs of different animals, that obtained from the blacktail deer (Odocoileus hemionus) is considered as the most potent variety. The Delaware call such a stone by the term meaning "emergency gift." From its use in rubbing a wound made by a snake or mad dog, it is sometimes known as "mad stone." They are of varying shapes and sizes and serve as protective agents for their owners. One may use such a charm to make medicine for another who is seriously ill or injured. In the case of illness pronounced fatal by others, scrapings from the medicine stone are infused in hot water and administered as a tea. Complete recovery of the patient is expected as a result. Wi·tapanóxwe relates how warriors of the earlier period employed such a stone to heal fatal wounds. If it is not possible to administer it as a tea, the stone is simply rubbed over the body of the wounded person.

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[86] See article *Bezoar* in New International Encyclopedia, Vol. 3. Second Edition, 1924.

[87] I am indebted to Dr. John M. Cooper, Catholic University of Washington, Washington, D. C., for access to his manuscript on *The Bezoar in Aboriginal American Cultures*.

4;Tantaquidgeon E-5 (1930) 1942
NM7 Delaware NM7

WITCHCRAFT

A TRADITION still existing among the Delaware relates of the development of witchcraft among the Nanticoke[1] and its introduction among the former prior to the period of their westward migration. The Nanticoke are said to have possessed a very powerful medicine which certain of them decided to use for malevolent purposes. Thereafter they went among the Delaware causing sickness which in most cases proved fatal. The Delaware people declined in numbers, but although greatly alarmed, were unable to destroy the guilty ones. Finally one night a man saw two large owls in a tree. He shot them. Upon reaching the spot where they had fallen, the bodies of two strange men were found.[2] It was decided that these were responsible for the black magic. Later two women arrived, searching for their husbands. When told the story of the owls and their fate, the women declared these to have been their husbands who had transformed themselves in order to work evil. This, according to the Delaware, marked the introduction of witchcraft into the tribe.

The present-day Delaware consider witchcraft to be an evil practice and the lowest form of shamanistic activity. There are, however, occasions when such power may be, as my informant phrased it, "legitimately used." If necessary to preserve one's life, it's use is not considered evil. This power was of such great force and potency that only the greatest shaman could break the spell inflicted by a witch. It is believed that the last of the witches died many years ago, their evil medicine buried with them.

Those men and women known to be adept in black magic usually received their malevolent power in dreams. Certain of them, however, acquired it of witches who before death transferred their power to others. Such witches who carried on their evil practices at night were called "night travellers." As a rule they did not mingle with other

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[1] A statement by Zeisberger (*op. cit.*, p. 126) runs "By the Nanticokes the Indians have been instructed in the use of a peculiar kind of poison called *mattapassigan* meaning poison." This is probably the term translated here as "medicine for gaining influence," or "witchcraft." See Speck, 1937a, p. 135-142.

[2] This incident is contrary to a current belief among the Delaware and Nanticoke that a transformed person, if wounded, does not die until he reaches his destination and resumes his natural form.

people during the day lest they betray their evil power in some way, and thereby be accused. Their chief activity seems to have been that of annoying people, especially the sick, and of seeking revenge upon their rivals and enemies through use of their powerful medicine. But little is known of the actual nature or content of such medicine since it was always handled with the greatest secrecy. It is said, however, that such magic potions were concealed in small clay vessels, from which a small portion was removed. This was placed in the miniature pouch containing the supernatural token, by which the witch effected his transformation at will. A feather, claw, tooth, hair, or other part of a bird or animal capable of exerting evil influence, formed the medium of transformation. The small skin bag, "witch pouch," was carried suspended from a cord passing over one shoulder and across the body. It is said that a witch was unclothed as he travelled through the air, all the necessary equipment being carried in the pouch.

The clay medicine vessel was left in his dwelling by the witch. When one of the latter was taken and killed, his bowl was always sought and buried with him. Only by such an action could his power be completely destroyed. It was believed that if a witch lit his pipe before setting out upon his nefarious pursuits, he must return before the tobacco had completely burned out. He dares not stay longer lest he be discovered. A witch killed by a person lacking supernatural power will not die until his return home; if slain by a shaman, however, he succumbs immediately and is transformed into his human form. In former days a chief was free to order a witch put to death. The victim was dispatched by a blow from a war club and buried, together with his evil medicine.

My informant differentiated between a witch and a conjurer, indicating that the latter used his power for both good and evil, whereas all the activities of the witch were for malefic purposes. He related the following incidents which involved witchcraft.

> My mother told of the time she was bewitched. When a young girl, an older man wished to marry her. He asked her parents, but my mother refused his proposal. This made him very angry. Soon she became ill and as the cause was not known, a sweat doctor was called. Upon being given some tobacco, he set out to learn the cause of the illness. After a few visits, the doctor said that she was bewitched. Her parents could recall no one who might be responsible except the rejected suitor. After some time, a small bone

•754 came from one of her fingers. It had been sent into her body by the witch. The sweat doctor had cured her.

The same witch wished to marry another girl. She was very young and considered the most beautiful girl on the reservation. As my mother had done, she refused the suitor, saying, "Why, I wouldn't marry that old man, and, besides, I'm too young to marry." When told of her answer, the old man said, "From this time on, if she ever sees her beauty again, it will be a surprise to me." So he set to work on her. In a few days she began to have trouble with her eyes. One night she awakened to see a human form standing over her. She felt peculiarly helpless and couldn't move. The strange person moved his hands across her eyes and disappeared. In a few days her eyes began to get sore and continued to grow worse until at last her sight was completely gone.

Later it was discovered that this blind woman had become a witch. She was married and had one daughter. The husband was of the Seneca tribe. Once she told her cousin, "I am getting old and there is something I wish to show you. Come to my house soon." The cousin became suspicious and delayed the visit as long as possible. Finally she went. The old woman showed her a trunk containing certain personal possessions, of which she was to take charge after her death. In removing them a snake skin was brought out and fell over the side of the trunk. While the visitor looked, the skin moved and as they talked, it wriggled back into the trunk. It seemed very unusual for the old blind woman to have such a snake skin. Finally she said to her visitor, "Now, I am going to die and I don't want this medicine to go out of the tribe. My daughter is old enough to take charge of it and I can't give it to my husband since he comes of a different tribe." The old woman died without anyone knowing what became of her medicine. Her cousin never admitted accepting it, but after her death it was found and buried with her. And that was the end of the witch medicine.

Those who were aware that a certain person was a witch rarely dared expose him lest they or some member of their family would become bewitched. This is clearly brought out in the following incident.

Once a Cherokee woman lived with the Delaware. She was very large and powerful, and was known as "Large-waist Cherokee Woman." Living with her was an adopted Delaware woman called "Day-light Person." Both women were old. Once the Cherokee took sick. Her friend believed that she went away at night, but never succeeded in confirming it. Finally the Cherokee informed her that she had been wounded. There was a bullet hole in her abdomen, in which she had stuffed grass to stop the flow of blood. The grass, however, had caused inflammation, so that she suffered greatly. At

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last she told her friend that she wished to confess. She said, "Now I am going to die and I want to tell you something. You must never reveal it or you will die also. I was out travelling (sic) one night and someone shot me." After her death, the other woman one day revealed the secret to some friends and soon after died.

One of the last of the Delaware witches is said to have joined the church, but continued to practice witchcraft. She believed that she could not find salvation because she had sold her soul to the Devil, but by joining the Church, thought she could secure some peace of mind. [747]

The unnatural behaviour of birds or animals, as observed in dreams or waking life, has led people to regard them as transformed witches. Once a man saw a hog which, as he looked at it, seemed to grow longer and longer. He started towards the animal, but it retreated into the bushes. Thereupon he knew that it was a transformed person. [825]

A second incident involved a young man returning home from a dance early in the morning. The path led through the woods and over a hill, at the foot of which stood a small cabin occupied by two old women. As he rode along, an owl flew quite low over his head towards the cabin where it disappeared. The young man told his people of the unusual flight of the owl and every one agreed that it was one of the old women returning home. Both had previously been suspected of witchcraft.

Another person had a similar experience with a boar. The man lived alone and one night, while lying on his bed, the door opened and in walked a large boar. The Indian, quite surprised by this, picked up a poker from the fireplace and attempted to drive out the animal. The boar ran around the table several times, without the man succeeding in striking it. Finally it escaped through the door. The man hurried outside and looked around, but the animal had disappeared entirely.

Many years ago a man about forty years old married a woman who was over seventy. My grandfather's brother lived with this couple. He was a powerful medicine man. After some years the old woman took sick and died. Her husband, a very vain, boastful individual, did not conceal his pleasure over her death. He was heard to say, "Now, I am the boss. See what I will do." My grandfather[9] soon after left the house. He walked away down the hill, frequently looking back at the house. After a while he returned. He had left to

[9] In the Delaware kinship terminology one's grandfather's brothers are called by the same term as the grandfather. [601]

784 prepare a magical snare by which to entrap the boastful widower. He set the snare at the doorstep of the house and went in and sat down. However, a visitor was heard approaching, and my grandfather quickly removed the snare so that an innocent person would not be harmed. Afterwards the invisible snare was reset and the intended victim stepped over it. Immediately after he suffered a congestive chill and by night, he was dead. His wife's corpse was still unburied and the day after her funeral, her husband's body was laid away. My grandfather did this to show that supernatural forces did exist to punish inhuman boasting. His people regarded this as an act of conjuring rather than witchcraft.

Persons who possessed the power of bewitchment were obliged to take at least the life of one human every year. During their annual meeting, if any witches had failed to do so, they deliberated upon the choice of a victim at that time. The belief was held by the Delaware that failure to do so would result in misfortune for the witch or his family through sudden illness or accident. Before a witch died, he must transfer his medicine to another to prevent the uncontrolled evil power from reacting upon a member of his family.

DREAMS

787 ALL DREAMS are regarded as significant by the Delaware. Some indicate good fortune and long life, while others fortell sickness and death. One type of dream of unusual significance is known by a term translated as "to dream ahead." Thus to dream of berries, fruit, or vegetation during the winter season is a sign that the dreamer will live to see the fruits of many seasons. To dream of snow at any time of the year is an indication of long life.

It is believed that the recurrence of the same dream for several nights is a sign of important news or even impending danger. In one such case, mentioned by Wi'tapanóxwe, his deceased parents appeared to him on six consecutive nights to warn him of an event which occurred a number of years later.

Long ago dreams were particularly significant to the Delaware hunter. Always in search of game animals for food, he was often led by the animal supernaturals in dreams to the secret places of the game. Upon awakening the hunter would offer a prayer and sacrifice a pinch of tobacco in his camp fire. Then he would follow the trail indicated to him in the dream.

was possessing the sick person (Danckaerts, p. 180; Lindstrom, p. 247). Possession by an evil spirit was believed to occur either though an accidental encounter with a human spirit or sorcery. The practice of the latter among the Delaware was largely confined to the curing shamans themselves (Zeisberger, 1910, pp. 125, 128, 131; Spock, 1931, p. 109; Brainerd, p. 347).

Sweating was done regularly, but was also considered beneficial in illness. The sweathouse was made of stone and clay with a hole at the top large enough to crawl through. A large number of stones were heated red hot and then put in the center. The bathers lay around them, water was poured on the stones and the hole stopped up. The sweating was followed by a plunge in the nearest stream (Lindstrom pp. 257-258). Penn witnessed a chief using this cure in the midst of winter, when a path had to be cut through the ice between the sweathouse and the river. (Penn, p. 55).

CONCLUSIONS

From the foregoing, it appears that quite a complete picture of Delaware life at the time of white contact can be reconstructed, based on observations made shortly after contact and supplemented by more complete descriptions of these customs by later observers. The method used in this paper brings out clearly, on the other hand, the fact that there was insufficient recording of the social and political organization of the tribe to permit a reconstruction of those aspects of life with any high degree of probability. By the time the Moravian missionaries came in contact with the Delaware culture, one hundred years had elapsed since initial contact and there is little basis on which to determine whether any trait mentioned by the missionaries represents an old, modified or new situation. This conclusion is in contrast with that of other writers on Delaware culture who have ignored the fact that their material was gathered at widely different times and places.

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

on the fires smothered them and caused a great smoke. In order that the smoke might fill every corner of the temple, each man waved his blanket over the fire; this was done with the idea of purifying the temple and driving out the evil spirits. After the smoke had subsided, the master of ceremonies, an old chief, rose and began to rattle a turtle shell he had in his hand. He delivered a speech to the people telling them the object of the meeting was to thank the great spirit for the growth and ripening of the corn. When he finished his speech he began to dance, sing and rattle the shell, the two singers joining in, beating on their skins. When he took his seat he handed the shell to the next person, who performed in the same way, thus it went from one to the other all night. The purport of their speeches was to recount the mercies of the Great Spirit to them during the past year, and telling any remarkable dreams that they had had. In the course of the night a number of them went out the west door, making a wailing noise to the moon, and came in again the east door. In the morning the meat and soup were divided amongst the people.

"These feasts often lasted twelve days and twelve nights, and the Indians call it nee-shaw-neechk-togho-quanoo-maun, or ween-da-much-teen. No drinking or improper conduct is allowed. The utmost solemnity prevails."

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7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape
Nanticoke NM11

NANTICOKE RITES

Texts Relating to the Nanticoke

N D

It is not surprising that through early association with the Nanticoke of extreme southeastern Pennsylvania and Delaware before the Indian emigration from these regions, the Delawares should have assimilated, or had in common with this interesting tribe, certain practices and beliefs which have survived in tradition. Indeed we learn that as late as the period when the Delawares had settled down in Kansas there were among them a small number of Nanticoke families who at the time retained their peculiar language and some of their distinct customs and ceremonies. Wi·tapano'xwe was, fortunately for us, versed in some of these elements of lore and dictated his knowledge in the following text versions.

101 171 N

Owing to the early disruption of the Nanticoke after the abandonment of the original territory on both sides of upper Chesapeake Bay, the tribe became gradually widely dispersed among the Iroquois in Canada and the West.[1] Some of them clung to their early affiliates the Delawares, whence the memories and traditions of the tribe among the Delawares of today. A short account of Nanticoke history in connection with the Delaware Nation has been presented in the author's study of the Big House Ceremony (*op. cit.*, p. 16) and a series of references to articles on the language and ethnology of the Nanticoke has been included in it.

101

Nanticoke Origin of Witchcraft and Poison

N D 754

An interesting phase in the traditional history of Delaware customs comes out in a tale that attributes the origin of Delaware witchcraft and the administration of poisons to the Nanticoke. The tale in question is an accusation against the Nanticoke implying a degree of innocence on the part of the

[1] F. G. Speck, "The Nanticoke and Conoy Indians, with a Review of Linguistic Material from Manuscript and Living Sources," Historical Society of Delaware, Wilmington, 1927, pp. 1-77.

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape
Nanticoke NM11

Delawares in respect to the arts of black magic that would not be easy to establish for any one tribe in a culture area where similarity is so general throughout. It appears, however, from a scrutiny of data pertaining to the Nanticoke of colonial times that this tribe possessed a reputation for its knowledge of malefic sorcery. And aside from the earlier sources the tradition had survived with force among the Delawares of Zeisberger's time, as we shall see in the ensuing quotations, while it has not by any means died out among the Delawares today, as our texts show. Harrington also has notes on the same belief from the Oklahoma Delawares.[1]

And again, some Seneca assert that witchcraft was introduced among them by an Algonquin tribe which they had adopted. ". . . The *I"dos* company, one of the medicine societies, is said to be the survival of the older witch society introduced among the Seneca by the Nanticoke."[2]

"By the Nantikoks the Indians have been instructed in the use of a peculiar kind of poison called *Muttapassigan*,[4] meaning poison. The Nantikoks dwelt formerly in Maryland, along the sea, some of them still living there, and later moved to Wajomick[5] along the Susquehannah, finally proceeding further northward. In the late war they were driven out with the Six Nations. They brought knowledge of this poison, which carries many evils with it, to the nations and also to the Delawares. What it is and whereof it is made I am unable to say, as I have never seen it, and the descriptions vary. Possibly it is prepared in different ways. It is said not to be baneful in itself and to receive its power for working injury through witchcraft. It is declared to be capable of infecting whole townships and tribes with disorders as pernicious as the plague. With its use the sorcerers are said to be able to remove a person though he may be several hundred miles away. The Delawares have endeavored to extirpate the shocking evil. Their efforts extending over two years were in vain, for those possessed of the knowledge of its uses kept the knowledge secret. The Nantikoks who were wretched inventors of this poison and its arts, have nearly destroyed their own nation

[1] M. R. Harrington, information, 1926, also "Religion and Ceremonies of the Lenape," 1921, p. 124.

[2] A. C. Parker, "Code of Handsome Lake." Bull. 163, N. Y. State Museum, Albany, 1913, pp. 27, 29.

[4] This venerable term is still in use among the Delawares of Oklahoma, who pronounce it *mat apas i'kan*, "evil medicine." They are, moreover, cognizant of all that is baneful in association with the idea.

[5] Evidently intended for *wadjo'wik*, "among the mountains."

7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape
Nanticoke NM11

N 754

by it. Its use is rendered efficacious by a company of murderous sorcerers uniting in the same design. Its effects are the more terrible, because it is used not only in connection with individuals but whole communities. In their practices the sorcerers, except in case of the poison described, seem to use no Beson (*pi·'sun*, medicine) but a little piece of an old blanket or something else. This they rub in their hands until formed into a little ball. Naming the one who is marked for death, they throw this ball at him, saying that he shall die. They call this shooting the witchball. Any person wishing to get another whom he hates out of the way will hire a sorcerer or several of them to do it, paying them in wampum. The Indians say that their poison and witchcraft have no effect upon white people because they use so much salt in their victuals. But this is merely a pretense, as there are instances of Europeans having fallen victims to their skill in poisoning.

"It is remarkable that Indians of such character have been led to lead a new life and turn from all deceitful practices. From them it has been learned that most of their dark practices grow out of imagination and superstition. Of those, however, who seem versed in the use of *Mattapassigan* none have to the present time been converted, though some with whom I came into contact were inclined to better themselves but were unable to refrain from their evil practices, being afraid, apparently, that their lives would be endangered." [1]

D 754 ●

NƆ'TCI·'HWE°YƆ'K·AN, *Origin of Witchcraft*

539 N 754

Lə'mwe wi·əxka'utci wa'ni· lən·a°'pe wi·əxka'-
Long time ago all at once these Lenápe suddenly

undaola'o yu'li·ł une't'ko"'wi· lə'n·owak. gąci·las·i·'tci·k
discovered [of] these Nanticoke people. Great wise men
a secret

maxkama'o ne°li·'l awenhake°'yo təli·' e't'ma
discovered of those uncivilised that were

xe°lunalu'k·un.
killing them in numbers.

kwu't·i· xkwe° ahi·pa°'lsu' e'nxan lə'kwi·k·
One woman taken very sick every evening

əndama'łsu. ge'hel·α me°tci·'gni [2] ką°ce'ləndamowa°'-
and got worse. Indeed now it was very greatly astonishing

[1] Zeisberger, *op. cit.*, pp. 126–8.

[2] Used to denote the "feeling of weakness, yet with the ability to try to do the thing desired." It is always used by chiefs in addressing their people, *Me°'tcku*—"try hard." The expression denotes deep humility of the speaker, yet a sincere devotion to the cause, and solicitude for its accomplishment. *ada"hí·*

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape
Nanticoke NM11

D
754 k·anu enxu'nalund lən·a'pe. ki·ci·'ma·n ni·'ca
539 phenom- the many lives which Indians. They engaged two
N enon they had taken
754 gącil·əs·i·''tci·k l·ə'n·owak tə'l·i ke·na'gi·'to·n we·'mi·
wise men men so that to guard all

ɔka'i· e·'pi·t na· pa'lsi·t. t·ət·a''se·gi· təbu'kwi·k
around the place where lay that sick person. Sometime in the night

wi·axka'utci na· pən·da'wan də'l·i kuk·andji·'mwi·n
suddenly then they heard so like hooting

k·o'k·o·s.[1] mąt·anak'ge' na'lapi·pi·t·'li· k·o'k·o·s
owl. In a little while then again another owl

naxk·u't·am. nayu'' xkwi·'tanaxkwe' dwe'tci· na'u-
answered. Right there top of the tree they came and

həlane·'yo el·i·' nayu'ni· tə'l·i kəl·i·'p·ama·n yu'li·ł
alighted as right here that fixed their gaze this

pa·lsi·'li·t·tci. ne'k·ex nane'' pe·xu'tci· tə'n·dagą'ci·p'-
the sick person. These there near by there

ha·'ne·'yo' ne·k' gąci·l·əs·i·'tci·k lə'n·owak. ni·ka'ni·
hiding those wise powerful men. Beforehand

gi·ci·'xto·ne·yo təl·i·' li·tc'ni·'la·n na'kɔ'wi· awe·'n
they had fixed it so that they kill any person

ci·'t·a'kɔ t·'u'na·n nani·'awe·n ne''hel·a·t'
or else capture that person [or thing] the one who killed

lən·ape'ɔx. na'xpən·a'nen yu'ki·k' k'ok''os·ak
the people [Delawares]. And then these owls

nayu'li· nax'ko'laɔn. ɔ'n·dɑ pəni·'hi·la'di·t kek·ula''
they these were shot off where they sat. And when they fell discovered

yuk pi·li·awe·'ni·k ni·'cn' awe·'nhako·'yɔk'. ɔk
these something else two persons uncivilized (savages). And

su·'su·psuwak a'cowi·lung'hu·'sowak' xo·'s·a'[2]
naked They wore across the breast skin

nundeka'k·wun, "I am unable to do the thing even to express myself as my forefathers did, but I'll do the best I can," is another formal expression of humility with devotion used by the trained speaker. To use these phrases is an accomplishment of the experienced Delaware orator.

[1] Great horned owl.

[2] Refers to a piece of undressed skin with hair on.

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ɔk pə'n·da'ə·ən·a'''k·an nə't·ət' nalən·e' tci·p'i·e·'le·k' ●
and pouch small that besides bad destructive

pi·''su·n ne'notci·we·'i·t·uŋg talən·a'ə·u. ə'n·da
medicine the witchcraft was carried in. When

ɔ·'p'aŋg we·'mi· awe·'n we·homa'o mae'hel·a·n
next morning everybody was notified they gathered

pən·a'ɔn ne·'ki·k' ne'həl·ə'n·dji·k' lə'n·owak.
and examined those killed men [the two owl-men].

akuawe·'n maxgao'wi· we·ɔ'ha·t'. na'xpən·e nan·e'n
Nobody was found that knew them. And then those very

e·kao'k·we ta'l·i· p'sən·d'hak·e''hən. ni·ci·'-
under the trees there were covered up in the ground [buried]. Two

k·e·t·i'ŋ·ge wi·əxka'utci na' pe'tci ki·i·'ke·yak' ni·'ca
years afterward suddenly that came visiting two

xkwe·'yak. we·'mi·yu'tali· kwi·''la''ta' oxəm·e'yɔk
women. All everywhere inquired in vain

wi·t·aye'matai·tci·. napən·ahən·e'n la'p·imaehel·a·'n
their husbands. Again gathered together

ɔk wendji·''ma·n ne·'ki·k xkwe·'yɔk. we·'hom·aɔ'k
and with sent for those women. They informed them

lo·''we·n tce·la''' ne' ekaɔ'k·we pɔ'k·hak·ehən ni·'ca'
it was said right over there those trees under are buried two

awe·'ni·k no't'huk·''kɔ·n·a'n·ak ni'ci· gaxtə'n' petci-
people they came among us two years ago brought

na'x'poxwe'yɔk tci'p·i·e·'l·e·k' ke'ko. ce·'la han·e·k'
with them bad thing. There are [pointing out, motion]

ku't·act'xi·ŋ<'ge de'n·xu·na'luk·unanɔk'. lowe·'·yɔk'ne·k
sixty [persons] of us they have killed that many of us. They said

ne·'ki·k' xkwe·'yɔk to'l·i ne'k'·'ton·pi·ə·gɔk·e' lo·''we·
these women that one night they said

e·li·' lə'n·owak ma't·a' wa'kwu'ə·i·i· tə't·a e·ya''t·i·.
both men no one know where they went.

ə'n·da' wei't·a'kɔn·utama'und' lowe·'yɔk nalən·e·'-
When they explained it to them they said they were the

ki·''k. ə'nda'lə'n·d' yu'kwe' ki·''lo·''wa' one't'ko·''wak'
same ones. When they told these you Nanticokes

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xu·ʰha kowaˑʰtoneˑyoˑ neˑnˑiˑ tciˑpˑiˑeˑʰlˑeˑkˑ piˑʰsun.
alone you know. that bad medicine.

loweˑʰyɔk neˑkˑ akuˑtaˑ neˑnˑi liˑˑmˑkˑɔtˑuˑʰʷiˑ təˑlˑi
They said that is not what it was intended for that

aweˑʰn ˈniˑˈlaˑweˑtun. cuk yuˑniˑ liˑˑʰmkɔtˑ liˑ
anybody kill [take life]. But this it is intended to be

nakaˑʰlkɔt əˑndaˑ kokˑʷsaˑpˑiŋ liˑ nakaˑʰlkɔtˑ
used for to searching out, seeking to learn [to test out circumstances]. So it is to be used.

əˑndaˑ kaˑtawaˑʰtaoŋg keˑkɔ eˑlaehɔˑsˑiˑtˑ
When we want to know something how they conduct themselves

aweˑʰn ciˑtˑakˑɔˑ təˑtˑaˑ peˑmaiˑˈˈkeˑtˑ. əˑndaˑ
anyone, or where they may be camped. When

aˑʰlamweˑyɔˑkˑanˑiˑkˑ ndaˑ maxtaˑʰgeŋgˑ doˑˈpaliˑˑ
in time of fear in war-time scouting

ləˑnˑowɑk aloke·ʰmanˑ təˑli weˑʰmiˑ liˑ ɔkaˑe
men they send out to all for around

keˑʰnaˑgiˑtoneˑyɔx təˑli aˑ maˑtˑa wiˑxkołkoˑwɑn
they guard that to not surprise them

aweˑʰniˑkˑ maˑtˑa weˑliamˑgoˑmˑkweŋg.
any persons not on friendly terms with us.

naxpaˑənˑeˑn kuˑtˑiˑ keˑʰpteaˑt skiˑˑʰnoˑ
Afterwards one foolish (in selfish sense) young man

əˑndaˑ kiˑiˑˑkˑeˑtˑ oneˑʰtˑko wiˑˑkeˑiˑ unakˑhiˑkˑayiˑn
when visiting Nanticoke visited he borrowed

neˑnˑiˑ neˑhnoˑˈtciˑweˑiˑˑtuŋg npiˑʰsun. yuˑkwe peˑtci
that witchcraft medicine. To this [day] coming

akoˑʰ haˑcˑi kwuˑtˑˈgoxɔxˑtoˑwɑn. nekeˑx keˑkˑʷ
not ever brought it back. So there was wampum

nhakaˑʰlkwɔtˑ əˑndaˑ giˑˑkaiˑˑhɑndˑ.
used when borrowing.

eˑʰliˑ yuˑniˑliˑwaˑxkut ɔndaˑweˑʰn maˑtˑa
So this is a known fact when anyone not

mayaˑoˑʰpeˑiˑˑtut [10] neˑˑkˑɑte xˑʷtɔnˑapeˑʰma ciˑtakˑɔˑ
observe the strict rules he himself his family or

[10] Meaning that the wampum should be given as a binding obligation when something has been received, as in the case of the medicine. The wampum makes

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e°'laŋgoma'tci ci·ka°'kok' ka'ŋgami· ke'ko.
his relatives an affliction mysterious thing.

nan·eki·'ckwi·'k' wu'n·dji' al·emi·'xan
That very day from was beginning

aha°nhu'k·wi· pi·'li· awe°nhak·e°'yak'
it was [introduced] handed from one to another other uncivilized peoples

wa°'tola°n we°'mi elɔma'kami·'k e°lai·'k·e°t' wa'ni
to instruct them all over the earth where dwell these

me°xke°'yaxgɔ's·i·t' yu' manate°'yuŋg. ce°la'·
red flesh men [red men] this continent on. That is

hɔn·en tɔli·' wa°'to"n wa'ni· lɔn·a'p·e
the way how understand the Delaware [the beginning of witchcraft].

Free Translation.

A long time ago all at once the Delawares suddenly discovered a secret of the Nanticoke people. The men of power discovered of those who were barbarous that they were killing them in numbers. One woman was taken very ill; every evening she became worse. Indeed it was most astonishing how many lives were taken among the people. They engaged two men of power to guard the dwelling all around where the sick person was. Some time in the night there they heard the hooting of an owl. Shortly after then another owl answered. Right there in a tree-top they came and alighted as they fixed their gaze straight upon the sick person. There close by were hiding those men of power. Beforehand they had arranged it so that they could kill anyone or else capture the creature who had killed the people. And then these owls were shot down where they sat, and when they fell it was discovered that these were transformations of two barbarians. And they were naked. They wore across the breast a skin and a small pouch in which evil medicine was carried for purposes of witchcraft. When everyone was notified next morning, they assembled and examined those dead men. No one was found who knew them. And then those same ones

the exchange innocuous. If he failed to carry out the rules it would bring the sickness back to him converting the medicine from a curative agent to a poison. For further discussion see chapter on Wampum, p. 63, "Big House Ceremony."

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were buried in the ground. Two years later there came suddenly to visit there two women. All about they inquired in vain for their husbands. Again they assembled and sent for these women. They informed them saying that right over there under those trees were buried two creatures who came among us two years ago, bringing with them a bad thing. And behold there were sixty of us as many as they had killed. They then decided, these women, that one night, as said, no one knew where these men had gone. When it was explained to them they said they were the same men. Whereupon they were told, "You Nanticoke alone know of the evil-medicine." They replied, "That is not what it was intended for, namely that anyone should take life. But it is intended to be used for divination. Thus it is to be used when we wish to know how anyone is, or where they may be camped. When in time of fear during war-time they send out scouting men to guard all around in order that no one may surprise them, anybody not on peaceful terms with us."

Afterwards one foolish young man while visiting among the Nanticoke borrowed that witchcraft medicine. Down to this day it was never taken back. And there was wampum used when borrowing. So this is a known fact that if anyone does not rightly observe the custom he himself, his family or his relatives would suffer affliction from some mysterious cause. From that day it originated and was introduced to mankind, among the barbarous tribes all over the earth where dwell the red-skinned people on this continent. That is how the Delawares knew of it.

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NANTICOKE SKELETON DANCE

A few words of explanation may make clearer the symbolism of this strange rite. The feast of the dead possesses features to be remarked upon as characteristic of tribes of the southeastern area who perform a reburial of the bones of the deceased, after which the soul is permanently dismissed from association with kindred living upon earth.

The Nanticoke have long been notorious for the custom,

26. Moral superintendence of Supreme Being over worshipers		−	(+)		+	+	+	−	+	+	+		776
27. Pray to Him for favors or assistance	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		782
28. Deposit tobacco on stones, mountains, etc. for favors					+	+	+	+	+	+	+		775
29. Tobacco sacrificed for success in hunting	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		793
30. Believe in a future state of punishments and rewards	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		754
31. Final judgment						+	+	+	+	+	+		794
32. Mental or corporeal pleasures in future state of existence		+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		164
33. Judgment immediately after death		+[1]				+	+	+	+	+	• +		757
34. Souls of worthy go to place of happiness or abode of Supreme Being	+	+		+		+	+	+	+	+	+		756
35. Souls of bad go to land of bad spirits or hell							+	−	+	+	−		755
left on earth or no good place	+	+		+		+		−	+	−	−		343
36. Tortured or unhappy in either place		+		+		+		−	+	W&	−		
37. Direction of habitation of good souls	SW	S		S		Up	S	•	Up	Up	Up		
bad souls						Up	•	•	Up	Up	Up		
38. Believe in ghosts		+		+		+	+	−	+	+	S		
39. Have priests	+	+		−		−	−	−	−	−	−		
40. Witches and wizards		+		+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+		
41. National worshiping society †				+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+		
Medicine													
42. Diseases to which peculiarly liable †													
Bowel disorders				+	+	+			+		−		
Consumption					+				+	+	+		
Pleurisy						+			−	−			
Chills and fevers	+			+	+			+	+	+	+		
Dysentery				+					+				
Rheumatism				+	+				• +	−	−		
Boils				+									
43. Remedies usually roots and herbs	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+		
44. Bleeding common			+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+		
45. Cupping common				+							−		
46. Sweating common	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+		
47. Medical profession	+	−	+	+	+	−		+	+	+	+		
48. Receive any education					−						−		
49. Called by divine agency in youth											+		
50. Count pulse											−		
51. Inquire into nature of complaint											+		

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774 beep left undone, when the ghost ceases the visits.
775 CAPTAIN CHIPPS—Ghosts are not known—have not been heard of.

J. W.—Ghosts are really shades or shadows of spirits, often seen before or after death, they are signs or warnings and can be seen by human eyes. There is much paralysis among the Delaware which is often caused by being struck with a shadow or crossing it or paying any attention to it if one sees it coming. Stopping [822] 753 to look at it, turning around after passing, even innocently, has evil effects. There is no cure for it. Preventive by rubbing [751] streak of ashes on left cheek under eye before going out in the evening. Often marked children as safeguard.

W. T. attributed to the soul the actions of the shadow reported by J. W.

40. Witches and wizards

● 754 JOHN JOHNSTON—They are very firm in the belief of witchcraft and suppose that there is many among them that can appear [753] in the shape of any animal they please and have power to cause sickness. They believe this to be a supernatural power invested in them by some one of the Deities for the purpose of good that they might have power to heal the sick etc. But that in their present degenerated state they have made a bad use of it, that instead of healing they inflict with sickness and other calamities.

754 CAPTAIN PIPE—They believe in witches and wizards and 756 attribute their powers to the use of certain medicine, said to have been procured of the Nanticokes who had it from a naked infant found by them on the Sea Shore. In 1810, the prophet when [792] preaching against the use of this medicine pointed out five or six men and women on white river as the possessors of it. These [683] persons protested their innocence and were put to the torture, where they were exhorted to save themselves by delivering the means of destruction which they possessd. Seeing no other prospect of escape from death, they professed a knowledge of the arts and promised compliance, but after release they were not able to produce the cause of the difficulty, and they were by common consent condemned to death by burning.

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CAPTAIN CHIPPS—They believe there are no greater wizards 754
or witches than knaves or drunkards.

All the modern informants confirmed the belief in witches and wizards, but J. W., his wife and son were especially vehement in their current existence.

41. National Worshiping Society (Big House)

JOHN JOHNSTON—They have a national worship which they 794
think keeps the world from coming to an end. It is attended with very great expense in procuring wampum and provisions, etc. This meeting is continued for 12 days and twelve nights successively. They have a large building prepared for that pur- [346]
pose about 25 feet in width and 50 or 60 feet in length according to the number that is expected will attend, with a door in each end, notice is given at what time their worship will commence. When they are collected and seated in a row round the outside 796
of the building the men by themselves and the women by themselves a man and woman at each door the man for a doorkeeper and the women to sweep between every exercise, the fires are made in the middle of the building which they make by rubbing two dry sticks together that it may be pure, the fire they put out every day and make new lest it should become adulterated, they make it by rubbing two dry sticks together as at the first. Thus prepared the one that made preparation for the meeting gets up with a turtle shell in his hand (containing pebbles) and he gives it a shake and the whole assembly arise with him he then begins telling a dream which he says he dreamt in his childhood [787]
and the whole congregation repeats it after him in one voice word by word till he says he heard a voice singing to him and begins to sing immediately upon which two men commence beat- [533
ing with flat sticks upon skins folded together then he stops sing- 535]
ing and he with the whole assembly jump ten or twelve jumps in the form of a dance then he makes a sudden halt and goes on with his dream as before repeated by the whole in one voice until he commences singing again as before and the players commence beating and the whole jump or dance in the form above mentioned thus they continue for the space of half an hour or more

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584 glad. They settled down there and the girl was very contented.
577 She had a nice home, a handsome husband who was an excellent
539 hunter, bringing in lots of game every day. Things went along like that for about a year. Then one morning when she woke up her husband was not there. She went outside and asked the old lady, who was cleaning up around the fire, sweeping the yard and so forth, if she knew where her son was. The old lady thought he was home and the girl went back in the house to look again. In the middle of the bed a great big bull snake was curled up. She screamed and ran outside and told the old lady. The old lady was mad and said, "So he is playing tricks again," and grabbing a stick of firewood, went inside and began to beat the snake saying "get up you lazy fellow." Her son came out of the house laughing and began to tease his wife, asking her if she was scared. She was so scared she could hardly talk to him. After breakfast during which he continued to tease her, he went off. The old lady then talked to the girl and told her that while she had been there a year, she would not be happy there any longer and that it would be better if she went home to her own people. She went back home after being away almost a year. Her folks were glad to see her. She was pregnant and after a while got sick. She went off in the wood by herself and was very sick. Two little boys were playing in the woods and saw her lie down by a big log. They watched her die and going near her saw little snakes crawling out of her mouth, nose, eyes and ears. When the boys told the old folks what they had seen, they went out and looked at the body. They did not know what to make of it all but thought that that was what came from rejecting the first proposal the girl received.

[754] His old folks told E. R. that they did not know just how it all happened but thought that one of the fellows the girl had turned down had used power to get the snake to marry the girl and also used power to deceive the girl's eyes into thinking she was seeing a man. E. R. says the old folks were glad the old days were gone and that there were no longer people who could do things like that. Also they were glad that the days were gone when a person had to do things according to rules whether they were right or wrong.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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deliberately, because he carries the whole earth. And he starts out, beginning walking from the direction of sunrise. It is said that when he arrives at the edge of the earth, it will seem like but a short time, namely, for instance we may say like one eye-wink.[1] But because of his slowness of movement afoot; that is why it seems so long before he shall have traversed this world. For, whenever they see him in the wilderness he is going toward the direction of sun-set.[2] And now it shall be, when he has completed his road, then shall come to end this earth.

[1] Meaning that to man's sense of time it seems like a long epoch, but in reality it forms but an instant when the tortoise shall have performed the journey imposed upon him by the Great Spirit. This is quite an unexpected philosophical allusion to the classical problem of relativity in time.

[2] The Delawares entertain the notion that all the tortoises seen in the woods are, unless their movements have been temporarily disturbed, headed westward in their journey across the continent imposed upon their race until the day of doom. Here is something for the naturalist to disprove! [825]

Some persons when endowed with shaman power, it is said, can use it against anyone when they are angry. And that is the cause of some persons' disability[1] or the cause of persons going blind. And he may even decide that he can kill with it. And that is called evil conjuring.[2]

Now the non-beneficent spirit-force has shaman power wherefore a person can employ that Spiritual force for evil purpose. For, it is said by tradition, evil things belong to the Evil Spirit,[3] the cat, panther, or long-tail[4] and the snake, and also the lizard[5] and in-

[1] Literally ɔkteskaʔtan, "crooked leg," in this case meaning rheumatism or other forms of lameness.

[2] The non-benevolent practice of conjuring; witchcraft or black-magic which is as much condemned by the natives as by the mediaeval Europeans. Algonkian shamanistic accounts are fraught with both phases of the practice. So baneful is the recitation even of this information that Wi·tapano·xwe insisted it be kept out of the main body of the text.

[3] maxta·nɔtuw, "Evil Spirit" has its closest analogy in Wabanaki, madaha·n-do, the term being mentioned by Father Rasles (1723) in his manuscript dictionary of Abenaki.

[4] The eastern panther (Felis cougar) only recently considered to be extinct in the Pennsylvania mountains, is known in Delaware by the peculiarity of its length of tail kwe·mi·kwu·n-ayas "long tail." The same descriptive term is applied to the animal by the Wabanaki (pi··ta·lu, "long tail"). An interesting mention of panther hunting in Pennsylvania, but erroneously illustrated, is given by Alexander Wilson, the ornithologist in "The Foresters," published in his Portfolio 1812.

[5] This is a very old term referring to a legendary monster of lizard form, living in trees, running so swiftly as to overtake a man with ease. In early times a portion of its tail was secured by some means, it is related, and kept in possession by some malicious conjurors to work evil to mankind. A portion of the dried tail was scraped and put into the food of the intended victim causing him to die slowly by a wasting malady. The term is most interesting philologically, a variant in Brinton's Lenape Dictionary (p. 38) gegachxs (ch = x), evidently a Munsee cognate, in Nanticoke, oh'kaush-kiss, (Speck, The Nanticoke and Conoy Indians, p. 62) and occurring in Wabanaki (Penobscot) as akada'lak', denoting the salamander in lieu of the lizard which does not occur so far north. A corruption of the word in Penobscot becomes a woman's cry of surprise and fear. The word is evidently a very ancient reptilian designation. I had occasion to observe the application of this word to the

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eastern Fence Lizard (Sceloporus undulatus), at the same time recording the folk-belief from Wi'tapano'xwe that the puny creature is thought by some to be capable of entering the mouth of a person, biting his heart and causing death.

sects, for example, the spider,[1] and also the scorpion,[2] and these birds; the screech owl and horned-owl[3] and also the chicken-killer,[4] the red-tailed hawk.[5]

[1] No specific race of arachnid is indicated by this general term, which means something repulsive.

[2] Literally "big with many legs."

[3] Onomatopoetic names. So the cry of the birds sounds to Delaware ears. Ko'kkoe in some form is general in eastern Algonkian for the Great Horned Owl (Bubo virginianus).

[4] Buteo borealis.

[5] The above baneful creatures represent the agencies used by evil conjurors. The agent, animal or otherwise, used by the conjuror, is called wani pe·y·'lake "the being whose power I possess and control." This is regarded by the informant as the analogue to the term baohl·'gan used commonly throughout the northern Algonkian family as the messenger or agent of the conjuror. (cf. Penobscot Shamanism, F. G. Speck, Mem. Amer. Anth. Assn. Vol. VI, No. 3, 1920) where a summary of pertinent information for the northeast is given.

Now what is called the state of being a clean, pure child is the source of a person acquiring something as his spiritual vision. Anciently there the children, little boys, it is said, were given a bow and taught how to make arrows. Before daylight they obliged him to go in swimming.[1] Now after, when he appears to be older, far off into the wilds he is driven. "Now must you hunt birds!" Food is not eaten until he kills something. And in the evening as well, the person sleeps without being fed, because, it is said, a child lying exposed in a pitiful state would cause some occasional spirit-force to have pity on him when passing by visiting all the children in the world. Because here from the sunrise direction, or from up above and sometimes from the northern direction or the south, are the directions whence they are visited by spirit-forces. On account of this it is called pitiful abuse.[2]

Long ago it was called correction. Some persons when sick in any way, persons in perplexity and distress, would accordingly experience a dream-vision of something, or some would acquire a revelation vision.

It is that which one is blessed, whence one becomes useful[3] or becomes a healer or the reciter of a vision in the Big House.

[1] This drastic custom intended not only to harden but to purify youths. The immersion daily in pure running water is part of the ceremonial bringing-up reported in a number of eastern peoples besides the Delawares.

[2] Here we meet with an important religious phenomena,—ritual abuse to secure a more intense spiritual blessing. The concept has been discussed in the beginning of the study.

[3] Meaning that one who has obtained a spiritual blessing or inspiration is under moral obligation by Delaware ethical standards to devote his gift toward the alleviation of human misery, by healing the sick, by setting the example of purity and unselfishness to others.

[P.34, B]

581 Divorce and family instability were
586 common, many children were raised by mother surrogates. "Owing to instability of the family relationship, children are
581 often neglected."[9] The father was absent,
855 hunting, fishing, fighting, trading, or attending treaties during most of the year; what discipline there was fell to the hand of the mother, who was considered to
796 "own" the children.[10] During one of the annu calendar of ceremonies, young
861 children were chased by a man dressed in a bear skin, who threatened to punish them for misdeeds (of which the parents kept him informed from year to year) by carrying them away in a bag full of snakes.[11]
[776] This "Mask Spirit" was considered to be the "Guardian of the Game" and also promoted the fertility of the corn; in other words, was the symbol of the food pro-
955 vider.[12] The boys were able to escape from the mother's supervision as soon as they were able to get about to play at hunting and fighting; but the girls were kept around
754 the house to help the mother at work.[13] When a child died, an old woman was often accused of having bewitched it.[14]

155 It would seem that the mother-figure
593 remained a symbol of possible delights which could not be secured on demand, a symbol of diffused frustration, of withheld benefits and hidden hostility, to the Delaware, and the source of his generalized, if inhibited, aggressiveness; and that the father-figure stood on the horizon, so to speak, as a powerful, friendly being, but one too remote and too aloof to be depended upon.

Emotional Attachments in Maturity

584 The ideal in marriage was for a young man to fall in love with a girl. His family would present his suit; she would accept
[585] him by accepting the presents he sent, and come to live with him; and they would live happily and faithfully ever after. The

9. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 21.
10. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 14.
11. Harrington, 1938, pp. 52-53, 113.
12. Ibid.; Harrington, 1921.
13. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 16.
14. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 129.

13:Wallace E-4 (no date)1950
NM7 Delaware NM7
[P. 35, B]

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571 women, and might safely therefore be more "friendly" with them.

Oral Fixation

153 There is some evidence to suggest a preoccupation, which had a large component of aggressiveness, with oral needs. This concern with eating (and with other oral phenomena, such as ritualistic pipe-smoking, naming, and oratory), which reached far beyond subsistence requirements, can hardly be ascribed to a realistic subsistence anxiety since the Delawares had ample supplies of animal and vegetable foods at their disposal, and adequate techniques for cultivating, gathering, preserving, and storing them. It is worth [787] mentioning that the pubescent Delaware solicited the favor of a guardian spirit by self-imposed fasting; the spirit was supposed to pity him and appear in a vision; later the spirit would be important to him in helping to secure food.[23] Oral rituals, often with a compulsive quality, were a [527] recurrent institutional theme: almost all social gatherings involved eating, smoking, and oratory, and some were frankly eating-orgies—the famous "eat-all" feasts, for example; the fondness for liquor may be regarded as an oral trait of compulsive [757] character;[24] internal medicines were usually [758] taken as liquid herbal infusions, usually in large doses;[25] the sick lived on a liquid [754] diet;[26] suicide and witchcraft were both 762] accomplished in most cases by poison taken by mouth;[27] tortured prisoners were some-[727] times ceremonially eaten, and hunger 266] cannibalism was reported;[28] war parties made a ceremonial feast the night before their departure;[29] emetics were extensively [757] used in the treatment of disease, and vomit-777] ing was thought to relieve a sense of guilt, and also to bring luck.[30]

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23 Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 132-133.
24 Zeisberger, 1778, p. 116; Heckewelder, 1819, p. 263.
25 Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 24-25; Tantaquidgeon.
26 Zeisberger, 1778, p. 24.
27 Zeisberger, 1778, p. 125; Heckewelder, 1819, p. 258.
28 Heckewelder, 1819, p. 199; Zeisberger, 1778, p. 107-108.
29 Zeisberger, 1778, p. 103.
30 Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 84, 133-134.

[P. 38, A]

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[325]

crippling revenge.[44] Even animals. (for example, the bear) had to be conceptualized as quasi-human beings engaged in war with the Indians to legitimize their killing.[45]

Anticipation of Aggression

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In view of these elaborate cultural devices for avoiding situations where aggressions might come to the surface, either in one's own self or in others, we might expect to find considerable anxiety in everyone over the suspicion that through some slip he might have aroused the hostility of an unknown enemy, especially since in every person there seems to have been a large amount of diffused aggression which could easily be projected onto other people. The fear of witchcraft, for instance, was universal and demoralizing.[46] Lindestrom described the Delawares as "mistrustful,"[47] and both Zeisberger and Heckewelder remarked on the elaborate institutions which functioned to deflect possible aggression.[48] Parents explained their reluctance to discipline children by saying that "the children might remember it against them and avenge themselves when they have attained to maturity."[49] (Zeisberger said that he knew of some cases where children *did* threaten to punish their parents for indignities suffered in childhood.)[50]

[754]
[154]
[861]

Techniques for Expressing Aggression

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All these mechanisms indicate that the typical Delaware individual harbored within himself exceptionally uncomfortable aggressive impulses which he was afraid to focus on anyone for fear of counter-aggression. The eruption of these aggressions periodically shattered the equable facade of social behavior. "They are able to control their desires and passions," observed Zeisberger, "but once given free

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44 Speck, 1931, pp. 39-44.
45 Wallace, 1949.
46 Heckewelder, 1819, pp. 239-240.
47 Lindestrom, 1656, pp. 191-92.
48 Heckewelder, 1819, pp. 103-104. Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 115-16.
49 Zeisberger, 1778, p. 91.
50 Ibid.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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as the white and black oak, the white walnut, of which they make pills, the cherry, dogwood, maple, birch, and several others. They prepare and compound these medicines in different ways, which they keep a profound secret. Those preparations are frequently mixed with superstitious practices, calculated to guard against the powers of witchcraft, in which, unfortunately they have a strong fixed belief. Indeed, they are too apt to attribute the most natural deaths to the arts and incantations of sorcerers, and their medicine is, in most cases, as much directed against those as against the disease itself. There are, however, practitioners among them who are free from these prejudices, or at least do not introduce them into their practice of the medical art. Still there is a superstitious notion, in which all their physicians participate, which is, that when an emetic is to be administered, the water in which the potion is mixed must be drawn up a stream, and if for a cathartic downwards. This is, at least, innocent, and not more whimsical perhaps, nor more calculated to excite a smile, than some theories of grave and learned men in civilised countries.

In fevers the Indians usually administer emetics which are made up and compounded in various ways. I saw an emetic once given to a man who had poisoned himself with the root of the May Apple.* It consisted of a piece of racoon skin burned with the hair on and finely powdered, pounded dry beans and gunpowder. These three ingredients were mixed with water and poured down the patient's throat. This brought on a severe vomiting, the poisonous root was entirely discharged and the man cured.

In other complaints, particularly in those which proceed from rheumatic affections, bleeding and sweating are always the first remedies applied. The sweat oven is the first thing that an Indian has recourse to when he

* Podophyllum peltatum.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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which means, giving him *a large fee*, which he will say, is justly due to a man who, like himself, is able to perform such difficult things. If the patient who applies, is rich, the *Doctor* will never fail, whatever the complaint may be, to ascribe it to the powers of witchcraft, and recommend himself as the only person capable of giving relief in such a hard and complicated case. The poor patient, therefore, if he will have the benefit of the great man's advice and assistance, must immediately give him his *honorarium*, which is commonly either a fine horse, a good rifle-gun, a considerable quantity of wampum, or goods to a handsome amount. When this fee is well secured, and not before, the Doctor prepares for the hard task that he has undertaken, with as much apparent labour as if he was about to remove a mountain. He casts his eyes all round him to attract notice, puts on grave and important looks, appears wrapt in thought and meditation and enjoys for a while the admiration of the spectators. At last he begins his operation. Attired in a frightful dress, he approaches his patient, with a variety of contortions and gestures, and performs by his side and over him all the antic tricks that his imagination can suggest. He breathes on him, blows in his mouth, and squirts some medicines which he has prepared in his face, mouth and nose; he rattles his gourd filled with dry beans or pebbles, pulls out and handles about a variety of sticks and bundles in which he appears to be seeking for the proper remedy, all which is accompanied with the most horrid gesticulations, by which he endeavours, as he says, to frighten the spirit or the disorder away, and continues in this manner until he is quite exhausted and out of breath, when he retires to wait the issue.

The visits of the juggler are, if the patient requires it, repeated from time to time; not, however, without his giving a fresh fee previous to each visit. This continues until the property of the patient is entirely exhaust-

l:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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755 ed, or until he resolves upon calling in another doctor, with whom feeing must begin anew in the same manner that it did with his predecessor.

When at length the art of the juggling tribe has after repeated trials proved ineffectual, the patient is declared *incurable*. The doctors will say, that he applied to them too late, that he did not exactly follow their prescriptions, or sometimes, that he was bewitched by one of the greatest masters of the science, and that unless a professor can be found possessed of superior knowledge, he is doomed to die or linger in pain beyond the power of relief.

Thus these jugglers carry on their deceit, and enrich themselves at the expense of the credulous and foolish. I have known instances in which they declared a patient perfectly cured and out of all danger, who nevertheless died of his disorder a very few days afterwards, although his doctors affirmed that the evil spirit or the effects of witchcraft were entirely removed from him; on the other hand, I have seen cases in which the patient recovered after being pronounced incurable and condemned to die. In those cases, however, he had had the good sense to apply to some of the honest physicians of one or the other sex, who had relieved him by a successful application of their medicines.

756 The jugglers' dress, when in the exercise of their functions, exhibits a most frightful sight. I had no idea of the importance of these men, until by accident I met with one, habited in his full costume. As I was once walking through the street of a large Indian village on the Muskingum, with the chief *Gelelemend*, whom we called *Killbuck*, one of those monsters suddenly came out of the house next to me, at whose sight I was so frightened, that I flew immediately to the other side of the chief, who observing my agitation and the quick strides I made, asked me what was the matter, and what I thought it was that I saw before me. "By its outward appearance,"

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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groups. The Mask Being was "feasted" annually (J.T.). Speck described a number of other feasts and dances including "The Mask Dance Ceremony," an "Opossum Dance Ceremony," the "Buffalo Dance Ceremony" (apparently a recent diffusion to the Delawares), a "Corn Harvest Ceremony," and "The Spring Prayer and Football Ceremony to Advance Vegetation."[72]

Shamans

There were two kinds of shamans, one devoted to curing and the other to divination.[73] Heckewelder distinguished the Medeu, or the individual associated with curing, from the Powwow or Juggler, who was higher in rank and was skilled in divination and magic.[74] The members of the latter group, according to Harrington, were organized into societies, but Trowbridge denied this, and there is no other confirmation to be found for the existence of societies. They probably represent a diffusion from the Iroquois to the Canadian Delawares.[75] Shamans might be of either sex and were generally old. Among their activities were weather forecasting, rain making, the preparation of "medicine" for hunters who were down on their luck, and curing. They also make "philters or love potions for such married persons as either do not, or think they cannot, love each other."[76] Before they performed their services, shamans had to be paid in wampum, tobacco, dressed deerskins, or the like. They wore costumes when treating the sick, and a tortoise shell rattle, dancing, singing, and "mumbling" were always a part of their performance.[77]

Lindestrom in the seventeenth century said that the "curing" shaman "runs back and forth, cries so that he is heard a long way off, rolls himself naked into the burning fire, takes fire brands with which he builds a wall all around the sick one, the sick one enduring such with patience."[78] Denton said of shamans:

> When any person is sick, after the means used by his friend, every one pretending skill in Physick, that proving ineffectual they send for a Pawaw or Priest, who sitting down by the sick person without the least enquiring after the distemper, waits for a gift which he proportions his work accordingly to: that being received, he first begins with a low voice to call upon his God, calling sometimes upon one sometimes on another, raising his voice higher & higher, beating of his naked breasts & sides, till the sweat runneth down, & his breath is almost gone, then that little which is remaining, he evaporates upon the face of the sick person three or four times together & so takes his leave.[79]

[72] Speck, 1937, pp. 49-87.

[73] Brainerd, 1884, p. 131; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 236; Brinton, 1885, pp. 70-71.

[74] Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 228 ff.

[75] Harrington, 1913, p. 217; Trowbridge MS.

[76] Harrington, 1913, p. 232; N.D.

[77] Harrington, 1913, pp. 232-34; M.B.

[78] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 248.

[79] Denton, 1845, pp. 8-9; Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 232-33, described the performance in similar terms.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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821 ine the thunder to proceed from the crowing of a monstrous turkey-cock in the heavens. For certain stars they have names. The north star is called Lowanen, that is, north, or it is called the star that does not move. The wagon which revolves around the North Star they call the Bear, whom, they say, the Indians pursued with a little dog, that is the star Wilis; the three stars in the form of a triangle, represent the head of a bear, which they cut from the trunk and threw down. Certain stars forming an ellipse they call the beaver-hide, because they describe the form of a beaver hide stretched out. The milky way is the road to Tschipey Hacki. The seven stars[***] they have named Anschisktauwewak, that is fire-brands gathered or laid together. The Monsys (Monseys) call these stars Menhangik, the travelling companions. Other nations have yet other names for them. In case of an eclipse of sun or moon, they say that these bodies have fallen into a swoon.

●755 In time of illness, they try all manner of remedies, for they have a great fear of death. They not only consult the doctors, but take, also, the medicine that others may prescribe. The doctors must be called in, for if they were slighted, the patient might die. The doctors blow upon the patients, sprinkle a drink of roots and herbs they have taken into the mouth upon them, and murmur incantations over them. They diagnose the disease, tell whence it came and inform them whether recovery is possible or not. They give directions, also, as to what must be done and what kind of sacrifice must be brought. They prescribe some sort of Beson prepared from herbs and roots, of which they know the properties very well. It has happened that many doctors have been consulted in a single case, have perhaps given up all hope of recovery, and yet the patient became well.

757 [824] For headache they lay a piece of white walnut bark on the temples, toothache is treated by placing the same kind of bark on the cheek over the tooth that gives the trouble. The bark is very heating and burns the skin in a short time, often affording relief. The same bark is applied to any of the limbs that may be afflicted, having the effect at times of driving the pain from one part of the body to another, until there is an eruption 752 somewhere. This bark pounded fine and boiled to the con-

groups although possessing its own ethnic individuality, still overlaps in certain respects. And where the practices and beliefs of many tribes reveal similarity to the folk remedies of Europeans in the New World, the problem of interpretation of properties is made extremely complicated. Realizing that many of the plants and weeds are migrants from Europe to the New World, we shall have to proceed with caution in view of the fact that the Indians had an ample native pharmacology of their own before the period of conquest, and that an experimental spirit was always and everywhere active in revealing new cures among the invading plant hosts. It will, therefore, not be an easy task to distinguish between what is Indian and what is European, until we can assign the concepts and practices to one or the other.

No one, I believe, would deny that there has been much borrowing, as it is called, on the part of the Colonial whites from the Indians as a glance at the voluminous contents of the United States Dispensary (1926) will reveal. In the north this process was initiated by the French who accompanied Cartier (1906, pp. 73, 77) and who would have perished from scurvy, had it not been for the therapeutic knowledge of those Algonquin or Montagnais who supplied them with an effective medicine concocted of white cedar bark. Subsequent to this reference in the early documents many others are encountered indicating a deep-rooted system of primitive medicine which was, as it should be, partly pharmacological and partly psychological.

The Delaware system of health protection and disease curing seems to be a blend of what students of comparative medicine have agreed in calling primitive religion and science. In Delaware the sophistry and the performances of healing are religious while the knowledge applied in these processes is scientific. And yet where the action of the herbs, if not other substances, is mechanical or chemical, there is always the dependence upon the spiritual power of the healer with the deep emotional attributes from which the Delaware mind is never free when operating in these channels of thought. There has been, however, a certain element of hard-headed and non-magical experimentation blended together in the development of the herbal cures, at least from the point of view of native method. For the observation of repeated success with some remedies and failure with others has not escaped the attention of the native doctor. Conversations with Witapanóxwe and the herbalists of other tribes have made me aware frequently that selective judgment was combined with past experience in the profession. To deny this would be to discount the mental stature of these men of thought and study to a degree that would bring a smile to the person who has had intimate associations with the native doctors among any of the eastern tribes. Like students of other professions they comprehend the unlimited bounds of knowledge and are ever seeking for additions to both pharmacopeia and technical or magical theory. And the test of efficacy is present in their disciplines even though the test is

4: Tantaquidgeon E-5 (1930) 1942
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judged by the results of treatment rather than by the science of composition. I might compare it, in some respects, to the tenets of Christian Science without, I hope, doing too much injustice to the basis of this much favored school of reasoning. The Delaware would offer an instance of the powerful influence of religious beliefs upon professional technique, cited by Kirkpatrick (1929, p. 249) and elaborated by Boas (1929), Goldenweiser (1922) and Lowie (1924b) among American students of the subject. Here, however, lies an extended field for investigation which in no manner depends for its development upon Delaware data but in which, I hope, this material will find a place as illustrative of the status of magical science and religion among one of the eastern Algonkian tribes.

That the Delaware of today are not so different from their forebears of two centuries ago as regards ability to treat cases that baffle their rivals of the European profession, is shown by a statement in 1698 of Gabriel Thomas (1912, pp. 323, 340) who said, "The Indians are able doctors and surgeons as any in Europe, performing celebrated cures therewith." From the account written by Heckewelder (1876, p. 229) we have the following testimony. "I, myself, have been benefited and cured by taking their emetics and medicines in fevers, and by being sweated after their manner while laboring under a stubborn rheumatism. I have also known many, both whites and Indians, who have with the same success resorted to the Indian physicians, while laboring under diseases .. . I firmly believe that there is no wound, unless it should be absolutely mortal, or beyond the skill of our own good practitioners, which an Indian surgeon (I mean the best of them) will not succeed in healing." Zeisberger also refers to their ability to treat successfully different maladies, especially diseases peculiar to women. As for the present my informant lays claim to the curing of thirty-two persons during his sojourn in Philadelphia, for which he received no more regular compensation than voluntary gifts from persons of the underprivileged classes.

In assembling the botanic material presented here, specimens of plants were gathered in the wider Philadelphia area in company with my informant who explained at length their medicinal properties and uses. This collection was later supplemented by a few plants sent me by Witapanóxwe from his home in Oklahoma. From time to time such specimens were submitted to Dr. John M. Fogg, Department of Botany, University of Pennsylvania, who very kindly checked their scientific identity. At the conclusion of the investigation a complete list of plant specimens was sent to M. R. Gilmore, University of Michigan, for comment of an ethno-botanical nature.

In the text, bibliographic citations are indicated by the author's name and the date of publication, to permit ready reference to the bibliography.

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776 778 power. Besides its specific name, the term, "our Grandfather," is applied ceremonially to fire. Rocks are also known as "our Grandfathers." Water is regarded as a powerful spiritual force and is known as "our Mother."

757 Some cases of illness can be cured in one treatment while in others it is necessary to hold several meetings in the sweat lodge. The latter is known by a term meaning "temporary sweating." New stones are secured for each treatment. It is considered advisable to let one or more days elapse between treatments, as determined by the physical condition of the patient. The latter is occasionally massaged by the doctor, who first warms his hands upon a hot stone before rubbing the affected area. Often it is necessary also for the healer to [755] blow hot or cold air upon the patient. For the first the shaman's breath is warmed by means of a hot drink. In Delaware terminology this is known as "warm breath." In case of fever or exhaustion the "cooling breath" is used. One doctor had so much supernatural power in this respect that his breath would cause a swelling wherever it struck the body. It was therefore necessary for him to exercise great care in this type of treatment to avoid bringing undue discomfort to the patient.

795 515 Following the ritual performance in one of the Delaware peyote cults, it is customary at the present time for the participants, both men and women, to go into the sweat house (Petrullo, 1934, p. 95). This usually occurs before sunrise. The sweat house for this assemblage accommodates about twenty persons. The equipment is precisely the same as for the performance previously described, but there is no ritual connected with this performance. Men and women enter together and drink hot water to induce perspiration. In case of nausea, they chew "Osage tobacco" (wild sage) and swallow the juice. This plant, according to my informant, has a very strong taste together with astringent qualities. The sweating period is followed by a plunge.[81]

[81] This is comparable to the semi-social aspect of the rite as described by Heckewelder, *op. cit.*, pp. 225-226. "These sweat ovens are generally at some distance from an Indian village where wood and water are always at hand. The best order is preserved at those places. The women have their separate oven in a different direction from that of the men, and are subjected to the same rules. The men generally sweat themselves once and sometimes twice a week; the women have no fixed day for this exercise, nor do they use it as often as the men." He also states: ". . . A crier goes his rounds calling *pimook*, 'go to sweat.' Everyone brings his small kettle which is filled for him with the potion which at the same time serves him as a medicine, promotes profuse perspiration, quenches his thirst."

warrior desires information as to the location of the enemy; the chief seeks for a clearer insight into tribal affairs in general.

So powerful are these agents of the spirit forces that if one speaks to them against his enemies, he will have the power to attack the latter by means of practices of a malevolent character. Such power is considered as basically evil and to be used only as a last resort. Supernatural power, in general, is believed to be given to the Delaware to accomplish good and not for matters of minor importance.

The Medicine Stone

A concretion secreted in the alimentary organs of certain ruminants is known to have been highly prized by the peoples of Europe and the Orient [86] for its alleged magical and medicinal properties. This unusual object is also known to and valued by the natives of the New World.[87] From the present-day Delaware, we have the following information on the medicine stone, one of their most sacred and invaluable possessions. It is comparable to the bezoar stone of Oriental fame and usually has a similar function—as an antidote for poison. Although such objects are known to be present in the digestive organs of different animals, that obtained from the blacktail deer (Odocoileus hemionus) is considered as the most potent variety. The Delaware call such a stone by the term meaning "emergency gift." From its use in rubbing a wound made by a snake or mad dog, it is sometimes known as "mad stone." They are of varying shapes and sizes and serve as protective agents for their owners. One may use such a charm to make medicine for another who is seriously ill or injured. In the case of illness pronounced fatal by others, scrapings from the medicine stone are infused in hot water and administered as a tea. Complete recovery of the patient is expected as a result. Witapanóxwe relates how warriors of the earlier period employed such a stone to heal fatal wounds. If it is not possible to administer it as a tea, the stone is simply rubbed over the body of the wounded person.

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[86] See article *Bezoar* in New International Encyclopedia, Vol. 3. Second Edition, 1924.

[87] I am indebted to Dr. John M. Cooper, Catholic University of Washington, Washington, D. C., for access to his manuscript on *The Bezoar in Aboriginal American Culture.*

cine,"[8] was prepared. Such formulæ were transferred from the warriors of one generation to another, in native theory only those known to live clean, pure lives being the recipients. A warrior carried a bundle which contained medicine and personal charms. The medicine stone[9] was used only in times of crisis.

Use of Wampum in Healing

Shell wampum is used in treating cases of paralysis or similar afflictions believed due to failure of parents to fulfill certain ceremonial obligations or to breaking certain taboos. Before receiving treatment the patient presents one yard of wampum[10] to the medicine man. Potency is added to the herbal medicines by the wampum and enables the doctor to diagnose the case in a brief time.[11]

The Otter Medicine

The Otter[12] was regarded as the most sacred of all water animals. It figured in a ceremony described by Harrington[13] in which the spirit of the Otter was propitiated. In order to capture the animal a special lure was made. The formula for preparing such medicine[14] was in the custody of an old man of sufficient spiritual purity to withstand its great power. Certain roots,[15] cleaned by the old man in running water to the accompaniment of a song, were used. In doing so he was obliged to walk against the current, throwing water upon his tracks to conceal them. A secluded place was sought out for this preparatory rite. The medicine was hidden away from his dwelling lest it lose potency through the proximity of a woman. The medicine was considered very effective in luring other water animals, since it was a gift from the Otter, the most powerful of such creatures.

[8] According to Zeisberger *(op. cit.,* p. 127) "The captains and others secure a *beson* (medicine) to preserve themselves from arrow and ball." Converse (1910, p. 168) notes the use of medicine made from the roots of corn, which the men drank. It afforded them such supernatural protection that "they could not be shot even though they were shot at seven times."

[9] See page 23.

[10] Measured from the shoulder to the wrist.

[11] The function of wampum in healing and in the ceremony of the Big House is discussed by Speck, 1931, pp. 52-53.

[12] *Lutra canadensis.*

[13] 1921, p. 176.

[14] Known as "otter medicine."

[15] The same plant, "pull up" *(Sp.?)* is also used in preparation of love charms (see p. 13).

APPENDIX II

USES OF MEDICINAL PLANTS AMONG THE CANADIAN DELAWARE

114 124 THE following notes on the medicine practices of the Six Nations Delaware, Grand River Reserve, located near Hagersville, in Brant County, Ontario, Canada, were recorded during a visit to the reserve in November, 1931. The group consists of about 150 individuals of mixed Indian and white blood. Only a few, however, have any knowledge of the language and traditions of the Delaware who once inhabited the section of the country now known as Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and New York. To find the identity and location of the predecessors of the band now in question, who migrated to Canada, will be impossible until a comparative study has been made of the various vocabularies.

115 I am indebted to Mrs. Martha Peters Hill, Nicholas Powless, his sister, Mrs. Maracle, Joseph Montour, John Lickers, and Walter Moses for aid in securing the Delaware information herein presented.

222 ●755 [184] In contrast to the ceremonies connected with the various processes of healing as employed by the Oklahoma Delaware, we find only a few traces of such rites among the Delaware of Canada. Plant parts to be used for medicinal purposes should be gathered when the vital properties are in that part of the plant (the flower, root, etc.), to be used. One informant added that plants should be gathered before the fireflies appear. When seeking herbal plants, the first of the desired species should not be plucked. It is customary to pass on to another of the same variety and there dig a small hole beside the plant and in it place an offering of tobacco. If a large quantity of herbs were gathered, they were tied in bundles and allowed to dry in the sun, to prevent mould. Some dried their plants in a warm room.

When bark is used it is taken from the east side of a tree; only the inner bark, which is usually peeled downward, is used. Roots may be scraped or cut into small portions.

278 Medicinal plants are regarded as being sensitive to handling, and when brewing medicine, care must be taken to refrain from stirring the mixture while it is steeping. After being thoroughly steeped, the medicine is removed from the fire, and if necessary, stirred only toward the

Death

764 Early burials which have been excavated reveal few objects buried with the body although Penn indicates that it was customary among the Lenape to place objects in the graves (p. 37). Skinner is of the opinion that this may have been a custom which was coming into more common practice during the period we are dealing with (Skinner, 1909, p. 50). Of about equal occurrence are flexed and secondary bone burials. A Delaware burial has been described by Lindstrom: "...a round pit is dug in the ground and a stool is placed in the hole upon which the dead man shall sit. Then the dead man's money is placed upon him and he is set down in the pit upon the stool with a tobacco pipe a fathom long in his mouth...". After the hole is filled up, "...they dig down in the corners of a square four very long poles upon which they make three shelves, and decorate the poles with long strips of blue, red or green frieze,[16] hanging like fringes." The bones were later dug up and the flesh cut from them after which they were wrapped in chestnut bark and placed on the bottom shelf where the bundle was allowed to stand until it rotted. (Lindstrom, pp. 249-250).

765 Above the body there has frequently been found a layer of shells which has been interpreted as evidence of a feast of the dead (Skinner, 1909, p. 50). Other features of the death ceremonies noted by early writers are: the use of charcoal on the face as a sign of mourning (Penn, p. 37; Danckaerts, p. 159), the sending of a messenger to all friends to announce a person's decease and loud lamentations at the grave. The name of the deceased was not mentioned (Lindstrom, pp. 249-250). 784 551 Many of these features are incorporated in Heckewelder's excellent description of the funeral of a chief's wife (Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 269-276).

Disease

753 Disease was classified into natural illness and sickness caused by witchcraft and spirits of the dead. This classification is reflected in the many different types of cures which the Delaware practiced. Curing was one of the few activities placed in the hands of professional 755 people, the shamans, although purely medicinal cures were also performed by laymen. The shamans used a combination of medicines, magic, sweating, bleeding and psychotherapy to effect their cures for which they were paid. Penn says that the Delaware will give anything to be cured and this is echoed by later writers (Penn, p. 36; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 232).

757 Medicines which were taken internally were made from bark and roots mixed with water (Penn, p. 36; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 224-231); likewise, plants with medicinal properties were made into poultices for wounds, boils and snake bite (Heckewelder, 1881, p. 229; Loskiel, p. 113). The shaman might also breathe on the patient or blow his 755 remedy over the patient's body. In addition to making and giving these remedies, the shaman frequently put on a performance in which he grimaced and acted in such a way as to frighten away the evil spirit which

was possessing the sick person (Danckaerts, p. 180; Lindstrom, p. 247). Possession by an evil spirit was believed to occur either though an accidental encounter with a human spirit or sorcery. The practice of the latter among the Delaware was largely confined to the curing shamans themselves (Zeisberger, 1910, pp. 125, 128, 131; Speck, 1931, p. 109; Brainerd, p. 347).

Sweating was done regularly, but was also considered beneficial in illness. The sweathouse was made of stone and clay with a hole at the top large enough to crawl through. A large number of stones were heated red hot and then put in the center. The bathers lay around them, water was poured on the stones and the hole stopped up. The sweating was followed by a plunge in the nearest stream (Lindstrom pp. 257-258). Penn witnessed a chief using this cure in the midst of winter, when a path had to be cut through the ice between the sweathouse and the river. (Penn, p. 55).

CONCLUSIONS

From the foregoing, it appears that quite a complete picture of Delaware life at the time of white contact can be reconstructed, based on observations made shortly after contact and supplemented by more complete descriptions of these customs by later observers. The method used in this paper brings out clearly, on the other hand, the fact that there was insufficient recording of the social and political organization of the tribe to permit a reconstruction of those aspects of life with any high degree of probability. By the time the Moravian missionaries came in contact with the Delaware culture, one hundred years had elapsed since initial contact and there is little basis on which to determine whether any trait mentioned by the missionaries represents an old, modified or new situation. This conclusion is in contrast with that of other writers on Delaware culture who have ignored the fact that their material was gathered at widely different times and places.

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
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house or tent the man of the house usually gives him a piece of tobacco, which the Messingq smells and puts in his big pouch, after which he turns around and kicks back toward the giver which means 'thank you,' and departs. He never thinks of climbing a fence, but jumps over it every time that one is in his way. The Devil dance is what the white men call it, but the Delawares call it the Messingq, or 'solid face' dance. The Messingq does not represent an evil spirit, but is always considered a peacemaker. I suppose that it is from his hideous appearance that white men call him the devil."

OTHER FUNCTIONS OF MĬSI'NG^{w}

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The MIsi'ng^{w} the Indians claim, "takes care of the children," as well as of the deer, for as before related if any Delaware has a child who is weak, sickly, or disobedient, he sends for the MIsi'ng^{w} and asks him to "attend to" his child, On his arrival it does not take the impersonator long to frighten the weakness, sickness, or laziness out of such children, so that "afterward they are well and strong, and whenever they are told to do a thing, they lose no time in obeying." This is the only trace of the doctoring function of the mask found among the Unami.

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
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794 796 751 the ashes from the two fires, then threw the ashes all over the house to prevent the people assembled from having disease.

•755 794 796 Should any sick person appear, he or she would be especially treated with ashes. Sometimes the performers would pick up live coals and throw them about, frightening the people. At other times the whole company of them would go around to the different houses begging for tobacco, and would dance in any house where someone was willing to sing for them.

532 778 [126] Nothing was said among the Minsi about the Mizink bringing back stray stock or driving deer, characteristic attributes of the Mask Being of the Unami. The writer obtained but one mask among the Canadian Lenape, and this was from the Grand River band (fig. 4); it has been described by him[84] in the following words:

> "But one mask (*mizink*) was obtained. It differed from those of the Iroquois chiefly in being cruder, and also in decoration, the lines being burnt into the wood instead of being

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
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Ceremony	Function	Spirit Force Addressed
1. Grease Drinking Ceremony; Bear Rite	To immunize against sickness caused by Bear	Bear
2. Grease Drinking Ceremony; Otter Rite	To immunize against sickness caused by Otter	Otter
3. Mask Dance Ceremony	To avert sickness caused by Face-Image spirit and to aid deer hunting and agriculture	Mask Spirit, Corn (mother or grandmother)
4. Opossum Dance	To satisfy the guardian spirit of opossums	Opossum
5. Doll Dance	To appease ill-will of spirit of corn and avert sickness	Human Images (dolls)
6. Buffalo Dance	To overcome buffalo	Buffalo
7. Spring Football Ceremony	To promote and protect growth of crops	Creator (father), Sun (elder brother) and Thunders (grandfathers)
8. Corn Harvest Ceremony	Thanksgiving, appeal for health and abundance	Creator (Father), Corn (mother or grandmother)
9. Social, or "Stomp" Dances	Amusement, social assembly	None specified
10. Big House Ceremony (Ga'mwiŋ)	To avert, (a) destruction of world; (b) national catastrophe and sickness; (c) to unify the people	Creator and entire pantheon

[facing p. 26(A)]

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ORCE ADDRESSED	ORIGIN	PROCEDURE
	From release of captive Bear (myth)	Recitation of visions, drinking grease and fea meat——
	From release of captive Otter (myth)	Recitation of visions, drinking of grease and hog meat
it, Corn (mother or ther)	Obligation imposed by Spirit (myth)	Solo mask dance, eating corn foods
	Dream injunction (myth)	Imitative of opossum, and recitation of d hostess
ages (dolls)	Children's familiarity with corn mask dolls causing illness (myth)	Six men's, six women's dance songs, feast and corn foods, prayer-call facing east, t corn-bread images of human being and bear, offering
	None specified	Imitative of buffalo, circling, shoving
(father), Sun (elder and Thunders thers)	Mandatory by custom	Prayer, thanksgiving followed by dance, fol football game between men and women
(Father), Corn or grandmother)	Mythical corn famine, rite mandatory by custom	Day: Thanksgiving address by leader, d masked men, alternating with women's dan Night: Social dances, feast of corn foods, fa around drummers and singers
ified	None specified	Circling column in trot, contraclockwis motions, varied mimicry
nd entire pantheon	Ceremony revealed to tribe after mythical earthquake, tornado and volcano,—destruction of world	Recitation of visions with dancing aroun and praying, discourses and feasting fo nights; ceremonial hunt and mask danc morning; ninth night, new fire made, an call to creator, incense burned, wampum con and sacrifice, repainting images, corn-f meat feast; twelfth night "beginners" and rehearsal of vision recitation, fire allowed t ninth morning, dance around center-post prayer-call with prayer-sticks; wampum sa

[Facing p. 26(B)]

SUMMARY OF DELAW

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CEDURE	CEREMONIAL HOST	PARTICIPANTS	
iking grease and feast of bear	Wolf division, head of family, self-appointed	Family of legendary hero and guests, no women	Bi
nking of grease and feast of	Oldest survivor of family concerned with legend	Family of legendary originator and guests, men and women	Sp
,orn foods	Owner of mask, or person calling for rite as cure for sickness or scared after dreaming of mask	No restrictions	Ar n
ınd recitation of dream by	Female who inherits obligation	Female dance volunteers, singers, members of hostess's father's group	W
dance songs, feast of meat -call facing east, tossing up nan being and bear, wampum	Families owning dolls descended from original children doll-makers; leader an invited chief with male and female assistants	Families owning dolls; unrestricted guests	Ar
ing, shoving	Not specified	Volunteers, no limitations	Wl
owed by dance, followed by nen and women	Chief of ceremonial group, Wolf, Tortoise, Turkey	No restrictions	An s
lress by leader, dance by g with women's dance st of corn foods, final dance ingers	Chosen (hereditary?)	No restrictions	An
ot, contraclockwise; hand	Appointed leaders	No limitations; free attendance	Co in
ith dancing around images s and feasting for twelve t and mask dance, fourth new fire made, and prayer- urned, wampum consecration ng images, corn-food and it "beginners" and women's ation, fire allowed to go out; around center-post images, sticks; wampum sacrifice	Individual of Wolf, Turkey or Tortoise group who assumes sponsorship, supported by his group and twelve "attendants".	Sponsor's group, and other two groups as collaborators	An n n

[facing p. 26(c)]

7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
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ARY OF DELAWARE RITES AND FEASTS

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IPANTS	TIME HELD	DURATION	LOCA
dary hero and nen	Biennial	One night	Rectangular bri
dary originator n and women	Spring, biennial	One or more days	Outdoors on pre
	Annually in autumn at beginning of hunting season	One night	Not specified
olunteers, sing- of hostess's	When called annually (?)	One night	Outdoor (?) dan
g dolls; unre-	Annually in fall	One night until sunrise	Outdoors on pre
imitations	When decided and called	All day	Outdoor dance e
	Annually in spring until midsummer end of June	Dancing several nights at end of each week, football game day following	Outdoors on pre
	Annually at corn harvest time	Day and night	Outdoors on pre
ree attendance	Conclusion of formal rites, or informally when called	All or part of night	Indoor or outdoo
and other two borators	Annually in fall (Oct.) (formerly by tradition every month)	Twelve nights, with rites on fourth and thirteenth days	In permanent cen ture (the Big E images of Creat lesser deities, ar adjacent

[Facing p. 26(D)]

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Location	Musical Accompaniment	Supplies and Paraj
Rectangular brush house	Turtle hand-rattle	Wampum string for bear's meat, and bear's head (now
Outdoors on prepared ground	Turtle hand-rattle	Otter skin pendant on back o and steel fire tools
Not specified	Deer-hide drum, snapping turtle rattle by mask dancer	Red and black wooden mas leggings, bag, staff, corn payment
Outdoor (?) dance oval	Water-drum and rattle	Wampum paid to singer
Outdoors on prepared ground	Deer-hide drum with turtle-rattles	Dressed male and female do red, wampum to pay leads beef and hog meat, hominy,
Outdoor dance circle	Deer-hide drum	Buffalo horn head band, hom
Outdoors on prepared ground	(?)	Football of deer-hair and goal
Outdoors on prepared ground	Drums and rattles	Masks, corn husk covering, e
Indoor or outdoor circle	None required	Native costume urged
In permanent ceremonial structure (the Big House), before images of Creator and twelve lesser deities, and on grounds adjacent	Hide-drum, turtle hand-rattles	Wooden mask, corn-morta mussel-shell spoons, red strings and beads, prayer-sti sticks, turkey-wing fans, fire corn foods, cedar incense

[Facing p. 26(E)]

7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
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Supplies and Paraphernalia	Ceremonial Units
m string for bear's head, baskets of and bear's head (now hog's head)	Eat-all feast of bear's meat, vision recitation
in pendant on back of song leader, flint el fire tools	Dream recitation, kindling new fire, feasting on hog flesh and grease
l black wooden mask, bear-skin coat, s, bag, staff, corn foods, wampum nt	Mask-clown dance, sermon, supplication, feast, social dances (mask-dancer also admitted to Big House Ceremony)
m paid to singer	Dream recitation, feast, sermon, social dances
male and female dolls, faces painted ampum to pay leader and assistants, d hog meat, hominy, cornbread	Song-dance, feast, sermon, social dances, extinguishing fire, cornbread image sacrifices
horn head band, hominy pot for feast	Imitative dancing
of deer-hair and goals	Round dances, prayer, thanksgiving; football game between sexes with wagering
corn husk covering, corn foods	Prayer, thanksgiving, masked dance, corn-food feast, social dances, Drunken dances
ostume urged	No ritual
mask, corn-mortar, bark dishes, shell spoons, red paint, wampum and beads, prayer-sticks, carved drum turkey-wing fans, fire-drill, deer meat, ods, cedar incense	Capitulates events of annual ceremonial cycle; vision recitation, sermons and prayers; corn-food and meat feasting, sacred hunt, mask-clown dancing; new fire rite; formerly sweat-bath rite; wampum sacrifice; purification,—sweeping of white-path; painting rite; cedar incense rite; paint annointment rite; no social dances; informal games during day intervals

[Facing p. 26(F)]

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
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[796] and women, and a man was selected to cook the hog, and another to supply wood and to cut the poles for swinging the kettle, both of whom were paid with a yard of wampum. The fire was kindled with a special flint-and-steel always kept with the outfit.

"It will be observed that the otter-skin has a slit down the middle of the neck, through which the owner thrust his head in such a manner that the otter's nose lay under the wearer's chin, while its body and tail hung down his back. Wearing the skin in this manner himself impersonating the original otter, the owner would open the ceremony by walking about the fire, chanting and shaking the turtle rattle which resembled those used in the Big House, while the audience kept time to his song by uttering 'Hu-hu-hu-hu!' The nature of the song the writer was unable to learn, but, like the chants of the Bear Ceremony, it probably was concerned with the singer's 'dream helper.' When he had finished, another man put on the skin and took up the chant, and so on until noon the next day, when the ceremony was brought to a close and all joined in the feast. At this time the skin is told, 'We will feed you again in two years.'"

In regard to the Grease Drinking, or Otter, Ceremony, we have the following historical notes to add from the testi-
[424] mony of Tom Half Moon. The last time that the ceremony was performed (1898) it was done in behalf of his mother, Lizzie Half Moon of the Turkey group, in whose family the rite was an hereditary one coming down through her father, the previously mentioned Col. Jackson. Jackson acquired the privilege to perform it through his wife whose great-
[755] grandfather is said to have been its originator. His mother, it seems, was at the point of death, whereupon it was decided as a last resort to try a cure through the Otter Ceremony. Shortly after its completion, however, the afflicted woman died. Upon the failure of the rite it was decided to abandon it upon the assumption that it was valuable only to the women of an earlier generation of the Nation's history. Half Moon,
[346] who was present at its performance, corroborated the details previously recorded, affirming that the celebration was carried on within a brush enclosure or fence and not covered over at the top. He recalled how each one among those present took a little drink of grease, throwing the rest of his or her portion into the fire. The portions were offered to the participants by the leader or master of ceremonies.

7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

SACRIFICE FEASTS

For a community, a family or an individual to prepare and conduct a feast accompanied by a more or less formal address as a means of bringing relief from trouble or to secure a spiritual blessing for those concerned, is a Delaware usage that assumes the character of a ceremony. It typifies the formal Delaware ceremonial pattern that prevails in most of the performances of a more impressive character such as the Big House Ceremony, the Doll Dance, the Bear Ceremony, the Otter Ceremony, the Corn Harvest Ceremony, the Buffalo Dance and the Opossum Dance.

The procedure of the feast or sacrifice rite, as it is called in Delaware *wi·hu'ygi·n*, "making an offering [or sacrifice] to someone," is rather simple. The party acting as host, whether it be a community, a family or an individual, provides the materials for the feast from the three kingdoms of life; flesh, vegetables and fruit. It is, moreover, often held upon the first taking of the produce of the chase or the first harvesting of things grown or gathered. Its ancient character is exhibited by the fact of its wide distribution in similar form over the entire territory inhabited by Algonkian-speaking peoples.

To secure relief for a sick member of a family is a common motive for giving a feast of offering. In such a case persons of another ceremonial division of the tribe (Wolf, Tortoise and Turkey groups) are called in as guests. The guests and the hosts eat separately, the guests being served first. A little speech of the following nature is made by the host. "Not having complied with the rules of life in some way which has caused its illness, I feel that I want to give this food in behalf of this child (or other afflicted member of the family as named), and hope that its health will be restored." Implied in this rite of appeal is the feeling that the good-will generated by the feast and the motive for it will cause those

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

796 present to pray and "to wish for"[1] the recovery of the sick
355 one.

It is customary for the food to be divided equally among the guests and it is understood that all must be disposed of, if necessary by the invited ones taking home with them what they cannot eat in vessels or dishes brought with them for that purpose.

[1] The Delaware equivalent of a wide-spread belief in efficacy of the power of "wish" in eastern North America.

8:Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
NM7 Delaware NM7

CHAPTER XXV.

Concerning the Devil-Chasing of the American Savage People and the Doctors of Medicine Who Are Called Devil-Chasers.

When the savage sickens and death attacks him 753
he does not believe in any death and resurrection, 755
but that *Manitto*, that is the Devil, is plaguing him;[1] for he knows indeed that the evil one exists,[2] who sends him all evil things; but he will not believe that any good God exists, who gives him both temporal and eternal good. Therefore the savages sacrifice and prepare feasts for the Devil in order to propitiate him that he should do them no harm; this the savages do in their hunting expeditions about which we have related before, and all other things which take place according to their plans.[3]

Now when the savage is tormented on his death- 755
bed, he calls for the doctor of medicine, who is otherwise called the devil-chaser. Then he first makes use of all kinds of medicines and when he finds that they do not help, he pretends to be worse than the Devil himself, intending thus to chase the evil one out of body of the savage, wherefore he is called the devil-chaser. Runs back and forth,

[1] The construction is loose. The idea is: The Indian does not believe that God calls him to his death for a later resurrection, but that a fetish or some unseen power, probably in the service of an enemy, is plaguing him and will eventually cause his death.

[2] *Ty det weet han wäll, att tale om den ondhe wars till*, for he indeed knows to till [that] the evil one exists.

[3] See above, Chapts. XV, XVII.

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
NM7 Delaware NM7

763 cries so that it is heard a long way off, rolls himself naked into the burning fire, takes fire brands with which he builds a wall[4] all around the sick one, the sick one enduring such with patience, both thinking that the worse the devil-chaser acts, the sooner the Devil will depart. But it is to be feared that his art and labor are in vain, although his medicines are very wonderful, neither they nor the devil-chaser's devil-chasing are undoubtedly able to further help or be of avail in that case.

763 And now when the savage has died then they set themselves down to bawl and howl, weep and lament over their good comrade's deathly departure. But the devil-chaser sits there so terrible and mourns over the fact that the Devil came to be his superior.

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[4] *Bastioncrar den siuka*, bastionates the sick person, i.e., builds a bastion around him. "In sicknesse the Priest comes close to the sick person, and performes many strange Actions about him, and threatens and conjures out the sicknesse." Williams, *Key*, 112.

26. Moral superintendence of Supreme Being over worshipers		−	(+)		+	+	+	+	+	+	+		776
27. Pray to Him for favors or assistance	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		782
28. Deposit tobacco on stones, mountains, etc. for favors					+	+	+	+	+	+	+		775
29. Tobacco sacrificed for success in hunting	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		713
30. Believe in a future state of punishments and rewards	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		754
31. Final judgment						+	+	+	+	+	+		784
32. Mental or corporeal pleasures in future state of existence		+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		164
33. Judgment immediately after death		+?				+	+	+	+	•	+		784
34. Souls of worthy go to place of happiness or abode of Supreme Being	+	+		+		+	+	+	+	+	+		757
35. Souls of bad go to land of bad spirits or hell							+	+	+	+	−		756
left on earth or no good place	+	+		+		+			+	+	−		757
36. Tortured or unhappy in either place		+		+		+			−	•	−		756
37. Direction of habitation of good souls	SW	S		S		Up	S	•	Up	Wk Up	Up		755
bad souls						Up	•	•	Up	Up	Up		343
38. Believe in ghosts		+		+		+	+	−	+	+	+		
39. Have priests	+	+		−		−	−	−	−	−	−		
40. Witches and wizards		+		+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+		
41. National worshiping society †				+	+	+	+		+	+	+		
Medicine													
42. Diseases to which peculiarly liable †													
Bowel disorders				+	+	+			+	+	−		
Consumption					+				−	+	+		
Pleurisy						+			−	+	+		
Chills and fevers	+			+	+			+	+	+	+		
Dysentery				+						+	−		
Rheumatism				+	+				−	+	−		
Boils				+						−	+		
43. Remedies usually roots and herbs	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+		
44. Bleeding common			+	+	+	+		+	−	+	+		
45. Cupping common				+						−	+		
46. Sweating common	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+		
47. Medical profession	+	−	+	+	+	−		−	+	+	+		
48. Receive any education						−			+	+	+		
49. Called by divine agency in youth									+	+	+		
50. Count pulse									−	+	+		
51. Inquire into nature of complaint									+	+	+		

+ = element present
− = element denied
(+) or (−) = source ambiguous
• = informant could not or would not say
S = some, sometimes, or several
† or * = see Ethnographic Notes, pp. 79-137 for additional information

	Williams	Van der Donck	Lindeström	Zeisberger	Heckewelder	Johnston	Pipe	Chipps	J. W.	W. T.	E. R.	W. T.
						342 756 155			263 246 576 538	191 562 858	574	
Medicine—Continued												
52. Perform surgical operation				(−)		−		−	−	−	−	−
53. Unite profession with priesthood	(+)		(+)			−		−	−	−	−	−
54. Always use juggling tricks †	+	S	S	S	S	−		−	S		S	S
55. Beat on own breast	+		(+)		+	+			+	+	+	+
56. Blow in hands	+		(+)		±	+			+	−	+	+
57. Make rumbling noise	+		+	+		+			+	−	+	+
58. Blow on patient	+		+	+	+	+			+	+	+	+
59. Rub the part affected						+			+	+	+	+
60. Have effect on patient's confidence						+			+	+	+	+
General Manners and Customs												
61. Eat human flesh			•(−)	−	−	−	•	−	−	−	−	−
62. Shake hands on meeting; inquire about health and express gladness to see	(±)			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
64. Great respect paid age or rank				+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
65. Visit one another for purpose of conversation	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
66. Regular parties at which they entertain				+		+	•	•	+	+	+	+
67. Practice of telling stories				+		+	+	•	+	+	+	+
68. In winter and at night only						+	•	•	+	+	+	•+
69. Use words equivalent to swearing		−		−		+	−	−	−	−	−	−
70. Exhibit strong feelings of love, friendship and affection to same sex					+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
71. to opposite sex						+	−	+	+	−	+	•
72. common to try to suppress to same sex						+	−	+	+	−	−	+
73. common to try to suppress to opposite sex						+	+	+	+	−	−	•
74. Matter of pride to suppress feelings or excitement, especially fear and shame				+		+	•	+	+	(+)	+	+
75. On return home men treat wives with indifference					+	+	+	•	−	+	−	+
76. On return home men treat children with indifference					−	−	•	•	−	−	−	−
77. Powers of recollection strong			+		+	+	•	+	+	+	+	+
78. Any peculiarities in encampments (except war) or building of huts that distinguish from others				+		•+	•	•	•	+	•+	+

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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757 Since Zeisberger merely listed cupping as a therapeutic device without giving any details, it is impossible to check his statements absolutely. The other element indicating change is in the union 756 793 of the medical profession with the priesthood (53). As suggested previously, shamans may have been meant by priests. If this was so, of course, the two were united, but, if by "priests" was meant the leaders in the ceremonies of the tribe, the later sources and the informants deny such a union. Our information from the earliest accounts of the ceremonies is insufficient to judge whether there has been a change in function or a change in terms.

757 Evidence on the practice of counting the pulse was equally divided in both the third and fourth periods (50). Entire absence of information on this point prior to 1822 and the division of opinion thereafter strongly suggests that this element was borrowed from the whites sometime around the beginning of the nineteenth century but was not completely accepted.

343 Sweat baths were mentioned in every period as a cure or pre- 756 ventive of disease (46). They were also described by Lindeström, 755 but he did not attach any benefits to their use. The three older informants, J. W., W. T., and W. L., reported that there was a separate category of shamans called sweat doctors who used the sweat bath partly for its curative properties but principally as an aid to diagnosis. The fact that use of juggling tricks by medicine men was not uniformly reported by the sources may be explained by the statements of the informants who claimed that only the sweat doctors used them (54). The sweat doctors might effect their cures with sweat baths or they might merely make a diagnosis and leave the cure to some other shaman. A description of a sweat doctor's procedure was given by J. W. as follows:

755 "J. W.'s father was a sweat doctor. Had vision. Only those built houses. Built fire, put in six limestone rocks, dug little hole on north side of sweat house inside for rocks after they were hot. Pallet for patient on south side of hole, head outside (on east side) of blankets covering house. Leaves patient there ten to fifteen minutes while old man is getting ready a gallon of water with weeds of a certain kind immersed in it. Strips to breech

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

cloth. Doctor gets in on north side of blanket, sits on west side of hole. Has handkerchief tying hair back. Puts water next to hole. Sprinkles water with fingers on rocks, four times with left hand while feeling patient over with right. Then takes mouthful of water which he spits on rock. Makes talk, blows on patient's sternum. Then knows disease. Slaps hands together to make more steam on patient. Then goes out after five or ten minutes, covers himself with blanket for three or four minutes with handkerchief off. Then goes back in with handkerchief on repeats previous performance and begins to sing, slaps hands while singing. Goes out again. Three times is all. Third person sits outside and after third time wraps patient up and takes him home and cleans him up. Doctor then cleans up himself and sweat house and goes to see patient or patient's relatives. Tells him disease and cure which may be sweat treatment for three, four or five days, and certain foods patient cannot eat. For instance, no meat or salt, grease for six days. A little tobacco is put in fire when building it. Just a little fire. Never use rocks again. Sweat house is only for those past five years of age. When younger, doctor places them on a warm rock outside. Tells mother what to eat if baby is nursing. Give baby herbs, maybe twice a day for couple of days. Payment is voluntary."

General Manners and Customs

The practice of eating human flesh even ceremonially has been denied by the Delaware and accounts of the Delaware throughout all the years back to Lindeström (61). This Swedish writer did not explicitly deny that the Delaware ate human flesh, but in describing the practice among the Minqua he implied that it was not true of the Delaware. The Delaware have a tale of cannibalism in the very early days which was the result of famine brought on by violation of a taboo. Aside from this case they admit no knowledge of cannibalism among them. Tribes with whom they were in contact from early historic times and before practiced cannibalism ceremonially and in times of famine. These were principally the Conestoga (the Minqua of Lindeström) and Iroquois. The latter have been credited with orig-

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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During the intervals between the songs, or at least once every night, the principal rises from his seat and calls before him six or twelve persons (male) (generally the latter number) from the worshipers. He then delivers to the male servants a quantity of wampum in strings, corresponding to the number of persons called. With these the servants precede the chosen, who go out of the lodge and with their faces turned to the east, seat themselves upon their hams and commence a kind of howl, which they repeat in the same tone twelve times. They then return to the lodge with great solemnity, and take their places as usual. —As a kind of relaxation from the severer duties of the worship, these chosen men are directed by the principal to scatter a quantity of wampum in grains, upon the ground within the lodge. This is for the benefit of the servants, who are obliged to stand upon one leg and take it up with the thumb and finger, a slow method, affording amusement to the spectators. But this only occurs at the close of the night's worship and would be considered improper at any other time. Dancing is sometimes practiced at these assemblages and besides the employment of relating their dreams they are frequently addressed by the old men in exhortations to preserve these customs in their purity, to prolong their own existence by continuing the meetings, and to adore the author, the Great spirit.

Medicine

42. Diseases

To the list on the table Roger Williams adds toothache as one of the greatest afflictions of the Indians (Narragansets); J. W., mumps; W. L., small pox. E. R. said that rheumatism was introduced only recently.

54. Juggling tricks.

The so-called juggling tricks were used only when the patient was dangerously ill, according to John Johnston. These tricks, according to J. W., W. T., and W. L., were used only by the sweat doctors in diagnosing a complaint.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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57. Rumbling noise made by jugglers

755
[756] The rumbling noise made by jugglers mentioned in the earlier accounts was replaced by singing in the accounts of J. W., W. T., and W. L., all of whom said that the sweat doctor sang or talked about his vision which gave him his power to see into the vitals of the patient and determine the nature of his illness.

General Manners and Customs

61. Eating of human flesh

266 There is no statement about the eating of human flesh in Lindeström, but there is a description of torture by fire among
[727] the Minquas, and the inference is that such was not practiced among the Delaware and, also, that the eating of human flesh was not common if present at all.

62. Handshaking

576 John Johnston—[Salutation is] by shaking each other by the left hand as token of friendship considering the left hand to be the nighest to the heart. They say but little, except I am glad to see you your looks are familiar the countenance expressed gladness. (Shaking hands is an Indian, and they say an ancient custom.)

Captain Pipe—Their mode of salutation in meeting is not peculiar. They sometimes express a pleasure in seeing each other, at others the simple *Anishee*, (I am thankful,) is the only expression. They do not as with us, inquire after the health of their families, but of their business, route, etc. It is believed that shaking hand is an Indian custom, but before their knowledge of the whites they used the left hand. In the Engömween, or wor-
[796] shiping assembly, where ancient customs are said to prevail altögether, they always use the left hand.

Captain Chipps—The mode of salutation is by shaking hands:—inquiries after healths succeed. The shaking of hands (say they) "was in use from the time they were created."

J. W. and W. L. say that using left hand was formerly Delaware custom.

10: Speck E-4, 5, (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

436 796 sweeping, and general order of the premises receive their pay in wampum beads; the pecuniary value of which amounts to hardly more than a few cents. The drummers, the singers, the dance leaders, the reciters of visions are in their turn rewarded with small donations of wampum at the conclusion of their performances. This is a purifying gift rather than a pecuniary payment, one entirely out of proportion to the worth of service rendered.

[431] The worshipers of the Big House also offer their donations toward the ceremony in strings of wampum, giving them to the Master-of-Ceremonies, saying; ce·la·'yu'·ni· ndeli·' wi·teinge·'n note·'ha·'n "This here is how much I help from my heart!" The sacrosanctity of wampum is furthermore emphasized by the religious rule that wampum should always be given when something has been received, even when only a gift from a friend. In the esteem of the natives it becomes a most potent medicine. Failure to carry out the rules governing the bestowing of wampum would bring sickness upon the receiver of property through exchange or the receiver of a gift. This is especially [757] true in connection with the Delaware practice of medicine, because medicine although destined to heal can double upon itself and become a poison when not sanctified by the conveyance of wampum.[1]

436 425 751 In Delaware phraseology "wampum is our heart." In exchanges of vendable property, even extending to gifts between friends, there lurked a potency for evil that might develop in who knows what quarter, producing malice or resentment among the parties concerned. It could even result in bodily poison to one or both. It is strictly correct to state that in the attitude of the eastern Indians toward such affairs the transfer of shell money from the hands of the receiver of a gift or a purchase to those of the giver performed the function of medicine.

436 755 The wampum protected them against spiritual infection and its manifestation in the body in the form of sickness. Wampum was a purifier, purging the transaction from latent evil force. And should evil have leaked through the transaction the wampum would function as a purgative for its keeper. The same wampum was a spiritual emblem believed by them to have come originally from supernatural sources and embodying within it profound supernatural dynamics.

436 439 We can understand why a compact sealed with the transfer of wampum was as sacred as one sworn to under oath by Europeans. It was such an attitude toward exchange and currency that our colonial forebears encountered when they bartered for land and peltry with the aborigines of New England and the Middle Atlantic States. The colonists handed out their exchange with the European notion of in-

[1] I am of course speaking of Delaware therapeutics exclusively, although something along the same line may be said, by those who are inclined toward a critical attitude, of civilized medical practices.

11:Newcomb E-5 (1952) 1956 NM7 Delaware NM7

sage. The fireplace and the altar had been made many years previously, showing much use by being smooth and hard packed.

While the man who was to tend the fire and guard the door (fire-chief) and several helpers were arranging the tepee, several women were preparing peyote in the farmhouse kitchen. Peyote tea was made by chopping up dried peyote buttons and dropping them in boiling water. After steeping for a few minutes the tea was strained. Green peyote was prepared by peeling off the leathery skin, only the tops being left intact. A little before ten o'clock the fire-chief lit the fire in the tepee with flint and steel. As soon as he came out of the tepee the leader (or road-chief) entered, followed by the drum-chief, the fourteen other participants, and finally the fire-chief. This meeting was somewhat atypical in the small number of participants; attendance usually averaged about twenty-five. After everyone was seated the drum-chief, a Sioux from the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota, announced that several people had prayers and announcements to make. The road-chief, a Winnebago, then prayed in his own language. As translated next day, this prayer welcomed the participants and asked for divine assistance in the conduct of the meeting. This meeting had been initiated by a Delaware woman who was ill (No. 14 in Fig. 1), and she stood up and thanked everyone for coming and assisting her in regaining her health. Another Delaware (No. 3 in Fig. 1) then said a few words, principally to the effect that the "Native American Church" was not "idolatry" and that he was glad to welcome a white couple (the writer and his wife) to a meeting "to see what it really was like."

The road-chief then prayed again in Winnebago. When this prayer was concluded, he passed the peyote staff and a bunch of sage to the man on his left, who passed it on in a clockwise direction until it had

[text continues on p. 206]

(Explanation of Figure 1)

A. Altar
B. Fire. To some peyotists the heart represents the soul of the Fire Spirits.
C. Sun Mound. The heart symbolizes the soul of the Sun.
D. Ash Piles. Petrullo noted that in some versions of the rite these symbolize the lungs of Christ. I could not confirm this.
E. Water bucket and dipper.
F. Smoldering stick used to light cigarettes.
G. Tepee entrance.
H. Cross. Long axis symbolizes peyote road.
1. Road-chief, Winnebago
2. Delaware man
3. Delaware man
4. Shawnee man
5. Shawnee woman (4's wife)
6. Delaware man
7. Ego
8. Ego's wife
9. Sioux man
10. Sioux woman (9's wife)
11. Fire-chief, Delaware
12. Delaware man
13. Delaware man
14. Delaware sponsor
15. Winnebago woman (16's wife)
16. Winnebago man
17. Drum-chief, Sioux

11:Newcomb E-5 (1952)1956 NM7 Delaware NM7

with an ordinary kitchen broom. After midnight the ashes were removed from the fire whenever a considerable quantity had accumulated.

The road-chief prayed, peyote was passed, and the songs began again. The throb of the drum and the songs were interrupted only occasionally; someone would ask for peyote, a person would mumble, and once one of the Winnebagos (No. 16, Fig. 1) asked the road-chief for permission to attempt a cure of his wife's swollen feet. This request was granted. The Winnebago walked around the fireplace and altar in a clockwise direction and cedar needles were thrown on the fire. He "caught" the smoke in a feather and dipped it into a cup of water which he had in readiness. He then brushed the feather over the woman's legs, concentrating on her feet. He drew a faintly glowing ember from the fire, took the ash into his mouth, and spit the ash into the ash pile nearest him. He then vigorously sucked the patient's feet.

Also early in the morning the Delaware sponsor asked the road-chief if she could pray for herself and her family. He assented. Standing next to the altar, she smoked a corn husk cigarette and, with tears streaming down her cheeks, related first in English and then in Delaware the story of her illness, her unhappiness, and her desire for the good health of her family. A little later a woman (No. 10 in Fig. 1) asked if she might be allowed to sing. Permission being given, she sang the customary four songs, her husband drumming for her.

At dawn the road-chief announced that the drum was going around for the last time. Following this last round the sponsor, her husband and young daughter (who had awakened and come into the tepee) stood up. The road-chief cast cedar needles upon the fire and brushed the entire bodies of the family with his eagle feather fan in the customary way. He then prayed. After they had resumed their seats the road-chief prayed again, following which candy and crackers were passed. The meeting was closed by the assemblage reciting the Lord's Prayer. The fire-chief rose and went around the tepee in the clockwise direction shaking everyone's hand and congratulating them on a successful meeting. The person on his left followed him in a like manner, and so on until everybody had shaken hands with everyone else and the tepee was emptied. Coffee was made and the participants relaxed in the yard and talked until the noon meal, after which the group dispersed.

It is difficult, perhaps impossible, to convey the attitude of peyotists and the atmosphere of a peyote meeting by means of a description of what happens during the course of the night. Perhaps the general

11:Newcomb E-5 (1952) 1956 NM7 Delaware NM7

attitude is best summed up as one of intense emotion and reverence. It could hardly be otherwise, since any individual may come face to face with supernatural powers during the course of the ceremony. Even if he does not, he has come to the ceremony in the sincere belief that he can and will get help in solving the most serious of life's problems. This precludes a profane attitude. I can only echo Petrullo (1934: 88) who said that the atmosphere of the ceremony was "... accompanied by the deepest feeling of reverence and awe and peace that it has been my lot to have witnessed either among primitive people or Christian groups engaged in worshipping their God."

Peyote is of course the focal point of the peyote meeting, but peyote itself is not worshipped. Informants stress this again and again, probably because they have so frequently been attacked by Whites and Christian Indians on this point. Peyote is both a symbol of the supernatural forces being worshipped and a sacrament. For the Delaware peyotist it is a means of establishing contact with the supernatural world and of securing a personally satisfactory working relationship with the spirit forces. While Peyote is the most important supernatural force present, it is not the only one. The spiritual forces of Sun, Moon, Fire, and others are there. Their importance and even their existence depends upon individual interpretation (Fig. 1).

The outward emphasis of Delaware peyote meetings is upon curing. The stated purpose of the meeting I have described was to assist in the cure of the sponsor, and there was a shamanistic curing rite performed during the course of the evening. It should also be pointed out that many peyotists are eager to relate how peyote has cured them of various diseases. It would be a mistake, however, to regard Big Moon peyotism as merely a curing rite, or even to think of it as primarily so. Peyote is regarded as a spirit force through which men can approach the omnipotent supernatural power or powers. Informants sometimes equate peyote with Jesus and say that White men use the "Jesus road to God" while the "Indian takes the Peyote Road."

BIG MOON PEYOTISM—THEN AND NOW

Unfortunately Petrullo did not attend a Big Moon meeting with the Delawares near Dewey, but did participate in a Big Moon meeting of the Delawares at Anadarko. Normally there are many minor divergencies between meetings and tepee arrangements because there is no priesthood or dogmatic creed. As Petrullo (1934: 31) said, "A religion that insists that each individual can learn its doctrines only through personal experience with its gods must necessarily exist in a variable

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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them) will not succeed in healing. I once knew a noted Shawano, who having, out of friendship, conducted several white traders in safety to Pittsburg, while they were sought for by other Indians who wanted to revenge on them the murders committed by white men of some of their people, was on his return fired at by some white vilains, who had waylaid him for that purpose, and shot in the breast. This man, when I saw him, had already travelled eighty miles, with a wound from which blood and a kind of watery froth issued every time he breathed. Yet he told me he was sure of being cured, if he could only reach *Waketemeki*, a place fifty miles distant, where there were several eminent Indian surgeons. To me and others who examined the wound, it appeared incurable; nevertheless, he reached the place and was perfectly cured. I saw him at Detroit ten years afterwards; he was in sound health and grown to be a corpulent man. Nine years after this I dined with him at the same place.

CHAPTER XXXI.

DOCTORS OR JUGGLERS.

I CALL these men *Doctors*, because it is the name given them by their countrymen who have borrowed it from our language,* and they are themselves very fond of this pompous title.

* They call them *Doctels*; because the Indians cannot pronounce the letter R. The Minsi or Monseys call them "Mëdéu," which signifies "conjuror."

l:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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of this pompous title. They are a set of professional impostors, who, availing themselves of the superstitious prejudices of the people, acquire the name and reputation of men of superior knowledge, and possessed of supernatural powers. As the Indians in general believe in witchcraft, and ascribe, as I have already said, to the arts of sorcerers many of the disorders with which they are afflicted in the regular course of nature, this class of men has arisen among them, who pretend to be skilled in a certain occult science, by means of which they are able not only to cure natural diseases, but to counteract or destroy the enchantments of wizzards or witches, and expel evil spirits.

These men are physicians, like the others of whom I have spoken, and like them are acquainted with the properties and virtues of plants, barks, roots, and other remedies. They differ from them only by their pretensions to a superior knowledge, and by the impudence with which they impose upon the credulous. I am sorry that truth obliges me to confess, that in their profession they rank above the honest practitioners. They pretend that there are disorders which cannot be cured by the ordinary remedies, and to the treatment of which the talents of common physicians are inadequate. They say that when a complaint has been brought on by witchcraft, more powerful remedies must be applied, and measures must be taken to defeat the designs of the person who bewitched the unfortunate patient. This can only be done by removing or destroying the deleterious or deadening substance which has been conveyed into them, or, if it is an evil spirit, to confine or expel him, or banish him to a distant region from whence he may never return.

When the juggler has succeeded in persuading his patient that his disorder is such that no common physician has it in his power to relieve, he will next endeavour to convince him of the necessity of making him *very strong*,

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which means, giving him *a large fee*, which he will say, is justly due to a man who, like himself, is able to perform such difficult things. If the patient who applies, is rich, the *Doctor* will never fail, whatever the complaint may be, to ascribe it to the powers of witchcraft, and recommend himself as the only person capable of giving relief in such a hard and complicated case. The poor patient, therefore, if he will have the benefit of the great man's advice and assistance, must immediately give him his *honorarium*, which is commonly either a fine horse, a good rifle-gun, a considerable quantity of wampum, or goods to a handsome amount. When this fee is well secured, and not before, the Doctor prepares for the hard task that he has undertaken, with as much apparent labour as if he was about to remove a mountain. He casts his eyes all round him to attract notice, puts on grave and important looks, appears wrapt in thought and meditation and enjoys for a while the admiration of the spectators. At last he begins his operation. Attired in a frightful dress, he approaches his patient, with a variety of contortions and gestures, and performs by his side and over him all the antic tricks that his imagination can suggest. He breathes on him, blows in his mouth, and squirts some medicines which he has prepared in his face, mouth and nose; he rattles his gourd filled with dry beans or pebbles, pulls out and handles about a variety of sticks and bundles in which he appears to be seeking for the proper remedy, all which is accompanied with the most horrid gesticulations, by which he endeavours, as he says, to frighten the spirit or the disorder away, and continues in this manner until he is quite exhausted and out of breath, when he retires to wait the issue.

The visits of the juggler are, if the patient requires it, repeated from time to time; not, however, without his giving a fresh fee previous to each visit. This continues until the property of the patient is entirely exhaust-

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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755 ed, or until he resolves upon calling in another doctor, with whom feeing must begin anew in the same manner that it did with his predecessor.

When at length the art of the juggling tribe has after repeated trials proved ineffectual, the patient is declared *incurable*. The doctors will say, that he applied to them too late, that he did not exactly follow their prescriptions, or sometimes, that he was bewitched by one of the greatest masters of the science, and that unless a professor can be found possessed of superior knowledge, he is doomed to die or linger in pain beyond the power of relief.

Thus these jugglers carry on their deceit, and enrich themselves at the expense of the credulous and foolish. I have known instances in which they declared a patient perfectly cured and out of all danger, who nevertheless died of his disorder a very few days afterwards, although his doctors affirmed that the evil spirit or the effects of witchcraft were entirely removed from him; on the other hand, I have seen cases in which the patient recovered after being pronounced incurable and condemned to die. In those cases, however, he had had the good sense to apply to some of the honest physicians of one or the other sex, who had relieved him by a successful application of their medicines.

756 The jugglers' dress, when in the exercise of their functions, exhibits a most frightful sight. I had no idea of the importance of these men, until by accident I met with one, habited in his full costume. As I was once walking through the street of a large Indian village on the Muskingum, with the chief *Gelelemend*, whom we called *Killbuck*, one of those monsters suddenly came out of the house next to me, at whose sight I was so frightened, that I flew immediately to the other side of the chief, who observing my agitation and the quick strides I made, asked me what was the matter, and what I thought it was that I saw before me. "By its outward appearance,"

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answered I, "I would think it a bear, or some such fe- 756
"rocious animal, what is *inside* I do not know, but ra-
"ther judge it to be the *evil Spirit.*" My friend Kill-
buck smiled, and replied "O! no, no; don't believe
"that! it is a man you well know, it is our *Doctor.*" "A
"Doctor! said I, what! a human being to transform
"himself so as to be taken for a bear walking on his
"hind legs, and with horns on his head? You will not,
"surely, deceive me; if it is not a bear, it must be some
"other ferocious animal that I have never seen before."
The juggler within the dress hearing what passed be-
tween us, began to act over some of his curious pranks,
probably intending to divert me, as he saw I was looking
at him with great amazement, not unmixed with fear; but [825]
the more he went on with his performance, the more I
was at a loss to decide, whether he was a human be-
ing or a bear; for he imitated that animal in the greatest
perfection, walking upright on his hind legs as I had
often seen it do. At last I renewed my questions to the
chief, and begged him seriously to tell me what that fi-
gure was, and he assured me that although outside it had
the appearance of a bear, yet inside there was a man,
and that it was our doctor going to visit one of his pa-
tients who was bewitched. A dialogue then ensued be-
tween us, which I shall relate, as well as I can recollect
it, in its very words:

HECKEW. But why does he go dressed in that man-
ner? Won't his patient be frightened to death on seeing
him enter the house?

KILLB. No! indeed, no; it is the disorder, the evil spi-
rit, that will be frightened away; as to the sick man, he
well knows that unless the doctor has recourse to the
most powerful means, he cannot be relieved, but must
fall a sacrifice to the wicked will of some evil person.
And, pray, don't your doctors in obstinate and dubious
cases, also recur to powerful means in order to relieve
their patients?

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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HECKEW. To my knowledge, there are no cases where witchcraft is assigned as the cause of a disorder, of course our doctors have nothing to do with that; and though they may sometimes have occasion to apply powerful remedies in obstinate diseases, yet it is not done by dressing themselves like wild beasts, to frighten, as you say, the disorder away. Were our doctors to adopt this mode, they would soon be left without patients and without bread; they would starve.

KILLB. Our doctors are the richest people among us, they have every thing they want; fine horses to ride, fine clothes to wear, plenty of strings and belts of wampum, and silver arm and breast plates in abundance.

HECKEW. And *our* doctors have very fine horses and carriages, fine houses, fine clothes, plenty of good provisions and wines, and plenty of money besides! They are looked upon as gentlemen, and would not suffer your doctor, dressed as he is, to come into their company.

KILLB. You must, my friend! consider that the cases are very different. Had the white people sorcerers among them as the Indians have, they would find it necessary to adopt our practice and apply our remedies in the same manner that our doctors do. They would find it necessary to take strong measures to counteract and destroy the dreadful effects of witchcraft.

HECKEW. The sorcerers that you speak of exist only in your imagination; rid yourselves of this, and you will hear no more of them.

The dress this juggler had on, consisted of an entire garment or outside covering, made of one or more bear skins, as black as jet, so well fitted and sewed together, that the man was not in any place to be perceived. The whole head of the bear, including the mouth, nose, teeth, ears, &c. appeared the same as when the animal was living; so did the legs with long claws; to this were added a huge pair of horns on the head, and behind a large

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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bushy tail, moving as he walked, as though it were on springs; but for these accompaniments, the man, walking on all fours, might have been taken for a bear of an extraordinary size. Underneath, where his hands were, holes had been cut, though not visible to the eye, being covered with the long hair, through which he held and managed his implements, and he saw through two holes set with glass. The whole was a great curiosity, but not to be looked at by every body.

There are jugglers of another kind, in general old men and women, who although not classed among doctors or physicians, yet get their living by pretending to supernatural knowledge. Some pretend that they can bring down rain in dry weather when wanted, others prepare ingredients, which they sell to bad hunters, that they may have good luck, and others make philters or love potions for such married persons as either do not, or think they cannot love each other.

When one of these jugglers is applied to to bring down rain in a dry season, he must in the first instance receive a fee. This fee is made up by the women, who, as cultivators of the land are supposed to be most interested, but the men will slily slip something into their hands in aid of their collection, which consists of wampum beads, tobacco, silver broaches, and a dressed deer skin to make shoes of. If the juggler does not succeed in his experiment, he never is in want of an excuse; either the winds are in opposition to one another, the dry wind or air is too powerful for the moist or south wind, or he has not been made *strong enough*, (that is sufficiently paid) to compel the north to give way to the south from whence the rain is to come, or lastly, he wants time to invoke the great Spirit to aid him on the important occasion.

In the summer of the year 1799, a most uncommon drouth happened in the Muskingum country, so that every thing growing, even the grass and the leaves of the trees, appeared perishing; an old man named *Chenos*, who

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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groups. The Mask Being was "feasted" annually (J.T.). Speck described a number of other feasts and dances including "The Mask Dance Ceremony," an "Opossum Dance Ceremony," the "Buffalo Dance Ceremony" (apparently a recent diffusion to the Delawares), a "Corn Harvest Ceremony," and "The Spring Prayer and Football Ceremony to Advance Vegetation."[72]

Shamans

There were two kinds of shamans, one devoted to curing and the other to divination.[73] Heckewelder distinguished the Medeu, or the individual associated with curing, from the Powwow or Juggler, who was higher in rank and was skilled in divination and magic.[74] The members of the latter group, according to Harrington, were organized into societies, but Trowbridge denied this, and there is no other confirmation to be found for the existence of societies. They probably represent a diffusion from the Iroquois to the Canadian Delawares.[75] Shamans might be of either sex and were generally old. Among their activities were weather forecasting, rain making, the preparation of "medicine" for hunters who were down on their luck, and curing. They also make "philters or love potions for such married persons as either do not, or think they cannot, love each other."[76] Before they performed their services, shamans had to be paid in wampum, tobacco, dressed deerskins, or the like. They wore costumes when treating the sick, and a tortoise shell rattle, dancing, singing, and "mumbling" were always a part of their performance.[77]

Lindestrom in the seventeenth century said that the "curing" shaman "runs back and forth, cries so that he is heard a long way off, rolls himself naked into the burning fire, takes fire brands with which he builds a wall all around the sick one, the sick one enduring such with patience."[78] Denton said of shamans:

> When any person is sick, after the means used by his friend, every one pretending skill in Physick, that proving ineffectual they send for a Pawaw or Priest, who sitting down by the sick person without the least enquiring after the distemper, waits for a gift which he proportions his work accordingly to: that being received, he first begins with a low voice to call upon his God, calling sometimes upon one sometimes on another, raising his voice higher & higher, beating of his naked breasts & sides, till the sweat runneth down, & his breath is almost gone, then that little which is remaining, he evaporates upon the face of the sick person three or four times together & so takes his leave."[79]

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[72] Speck, 1937, pp. 49-87.

[73] Brainerd, 1884, p. 131; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 236; Brinton, 1885, pp. 70-71.

[74] Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 228 ff.

[75] Harrington, 1913, p. 217, Trowbridge MS.

[76] Harrington, 1913, p. 232; N.D.

[77] Harrington, 1913, pp. 232-34; M.B.

[78] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 248.

[79] Denton, 1845, pp. 8-9; Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 232-33, described the performance in similar terms.

cedure within the lodge for the purpose of diagnosing and treating sickness.

The term applied to the sweat house healer is one meaning a "sweat doctor." He always performs within the lodge when asked to examine or treat a patient. It is interesting to note that my informant, Wi·tapanóxwe, and Charley Elkhair, the present head chief of the Oklahoma Delaware, claim the distinction of being the only men among the Oklahoma Delaware who have supernatural sanction to perform in this capacity. The former believes that he is privileged to assume the role which his people consider appropriate only for men whose mind and character have been strengthened by years of experience but that up to the present time (1930) he has not attempted it. The powerful shamans[29] of an earlier period were said to have been able to perform miraculous feats and effect marvelous cures without the aid of the sweat lodge although it was frequently employed in their practices.

Both of the above types of medicinemen receive their power from the Creator through dream-visions, the spiritual visitation occurring usually just before sunrise or sunset. The vision is accompanied by a medicine song which becomes the personal property of the healer, to be sung during performances in the sweat lodge. It is said that women rarely became sweat doctors. Wi·tapanóxwe, since his vision and medicine song were received just before sunrise, considers that as the time of day during which he would be most successful in curing activities within the sweat lodge. Those who received their power at sunset accordingly regarded that as the most suitable time for performances.

Contrary to the herbalist's custom of not accepting gifts or payment for his services, the sweat doctor expects payment from those who approach him for consultation and treatment. In former times trader's trinkets, etc., and somewhat later, horses, blankets, and money were given by those requiring his services.

The construction and equipment of the sweat lodge are matters of considerable importance in this particular type of curing. It is built of twelve poles which represent the twelve levels of heaven (Speck, 1931, p. 74) and according to native belief, lead to the abode of the Creator. For this purpose saplings chosen for their flexibility, are cut

[29] In Delaware the term used means "powerful man," "man who can heal," and refers to a type of shaman, called *medeu* by the Delaware of an earlier period, especially concerned with curing. Among the Chippewa (Densmore, 1929, pp. 86-97) the *mide* were the leaders of the *mide'wiwin* or Grand Medicine Society. See also Hodge, 1912, p. 523.

cine,"[8] was prepared. Such formulæ were transferred from the warriors of one generation to another, in native theory only those known to live clean, pure lives being the recipients. A warrior carried a bundle which contained medicine and personal charms. The medicine stone[9] was used only in times of crisis.

Use of Wampum in Healing

Shell wampum is used in treating cases of paralysis or similar afflictions believed due to failure of parents to fulfill certain ceremonial obligations or to breaking certain taboos. Before receiving treatment the patient presents one yard of wampum[10] to the medicine man. Potency is added to the herbal medicines by the wampum and enables the doctor to diagnose the case in a brief time.[11]

The Otter Medicine

The Otter[12] was regarded as the most sacred of all water animals. It figured in a ceremony described by Harrington[13] in which the spirit of the Otter was propitiated. In order to capture the animal a special lure was made. The formula for preparing such medicine[14] was in the custody of an old man of sufficient spiritual purity to withstand its great power. Certain roots,[15] cleaned by the old man in running water to the accompaniment of a song, were used. In doing so he was obliged to walk against the current, throwing water upon his tracks to conceal them. A secluded place was sought out for this preparatory rite. The medicine was hidden away from his dwelling lest it lose potency through the proximity of a woman. The medicine was considered very effective in luring other water animals, since it was a gift from the Otter, the most powerful of such creatures.

[8] According to Zeisberger *(op. cit.,* p. 127) "The captains and others secure a *beson* (medicine) to preserve themselves from arrow and ball." Converse (1910, p. 168) notes the use of medicine made from the roots of corn, which the men drank. It afforded them such supernatural protection that "they could not be shot even though they were shot at seven times."

[9] See page 23.

[10] Measured from the shoulder to the wrist.

[11] The function of wampum in healing and in the ceremony of the Big House is discussed by Speck, 1931, pp. 52-53.

[12] *Lutra canadensis.*

[13] 1921, p. 176.

[14] Known as "otter medicine."

[15] The same plant, "pull up" *(Sp.?)* is also used in preparation of love charms (see p. 13).

| | | |

+ = element present
− = element denied
(+) or (−) = source ambiguous
• = informant could not or would not say
s = some, sometimes, or several
† or * = see Ethnographic Notes, pp. 79-137 for additional information

	Williams	Van der Donck	Lindeström	Zeisberger	Heckewelder	Johnston	Pipe	Chipps	J. W.	W. T.	E. R.	W. I.
Medicine—Continued												
52. Perform surgical operation				(−)		−		−	−	−	−	−
53. Unite profession with priesthood	(+)		(+)			−		−	−	−	−	−
54. Always use juggling tricks †	+	s	s	s	s	−		−	s		s	s
55. Beat on own breast	+		(+)		+	+			+	+	+	+
56. Blow in hands	+		(+)		±	+			+	−	+	+
57. Make rumbling noise	+		+	+		+			+	−	+	+
58. Blow on patient	+		+	+	+	+			+	+	+	+
59. Rub the part affected						+			+	+	+	+
60. Have effect on patient's confidence						+			+	+	+	+
General Manners and Customs												
61. Eat human flesh			•(−)	−	−	−	•	−	−	−	−	−
62. Shake hands on meeting; inquire about health and express gladness to see	(±)			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
64. Great respect paid age or rank				+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
65. Visit one another for purpose of conversation	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
66. Regular parties at which they entertain				+		+	•	•	+	+	+	+
67. Practice of telling stories				+		+	+	•	+	+	+	+
68. In winter and at night only						+	•	•	+	+	+	•+
69. Use words equivalent to swearing		−		−		+	−	−	−	−	−	−
70. Exhibit strong feelings of love, friendship and affection to same sex					+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
71. to opposite sex						+	−	+	+	−	+	•
72. common to try to suppress to same sex						+	−	+	+	−	−	+
73. common to try to suppress to opposite sex						+	+	+	+	−	−	•
74. Matter of pride to suppress feelings or excitement, especially fear and shame				+		+	•	+	+	(+)	+	+
75. On return home men treat wives with indifference					+	+	+	•	−	+	−	+
76. On return home men treat children with indifference					−	−	•	•	−	−	−	−
77. Powers of recollection strong			+		+	+	•	+	+	+	+	+
78. Any peculiarities in encampments (except war) or building of huts that distinguish from others				+		•+	•	•	•	+	•+	+

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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757 Since Zeisberger merely listed cupping as a therapeutic device without giving any details, it is impossible to check his statements absolutely. The other element indicating change is in the union 756 793 of the medical profession with the priesthood (53). As suggested previously, shamans may have been meant by priests. If this was so, of course, the two were united, but, if by "priests" was meant the leaders in the ceremonies of the tribe, the later sources and the informants deny such a union. Our information from the earliest accounts of the ceremonies is insufficient to judge whether there has been a change in function or a change in terms.

757 Evidence on the practice of counting the pulse was equally divided in both the third and fourth periods (50). Entire absence of information on this point prior to 1822 and the division of opinion thereafter strongly suggests that this element was borrowed from the whites sometime around the beginning of the nineteenth century but was not completely accepted.

343 Sweat baths were mentioned in every period as a cure or pre- 756 ventive of disease (46). They were also described by Lindeström, 755 but he did not attach any benefits to their use. The three older informants, J. W., W. T., and W. L., reported that there was a separate category of shamans called sweat doctors who used the sweat bath partly for its curative properties but principally as an aid to diagnosis. The fact that use of juggling tricks by medicine men was not uniformly reported by the sources may be explained by the statements of the informants who claimed that only the sweat doctors used them (54). The sweat doctors might effect their cures with sweat baths or they might merely make a diagnosis and leave the cure to some other shaman. A description of a sweat doctor's procedure was given by J. W. as follows:

755 "J. W.'s father was a sweat doctor. Had vision. Only those built houses. Built fire, put in six limestone rocks, dug little hole on north side of sweat house inside for rocks after they were hot. Pallet for patient on south side of hole, head outside (on east side) of blankets covering house. Leaves patient there ten to fifteen minutes while old man is getting ready a gallon of water with weeds of a certain kind immersed in it. Strips to breech

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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774 been left undone, when the ghost ceases the visits.
775 CAPTAIN CHIPPS—Ghosts are not known—have not been heard of.

J. W.—Ghosts are really shades or shadows of spirits, often seen before or after death, they are signs or warnings and can be seen by human eyes. There is much paralysis among the Delaware which is often caused by being struck with a shadow or crossing it or paying any attention to it if one sees it coming. Stopping [822] to look at it, turning around after passing, even innocently, has 763 evil effects. There is no cure for it. Preventive by rubbing [751] streak of ashes on left cheek under eye before going out in the evening. Often marked children as safeguard.

W. T. attributed to the soul the actions of the shadow reported by J. W.

40. Witches and wizards

754 JOHN JOHNSTON—They are very firm in the belief of witchcraft and suppose that there is many among them that can appear [753] in the shape of any animal they please and have power to cause sickness. They believe this to be a supernatural power invested in them by some one of the Deities for the purpose of good that they might have power to heal the sick etc. But that in their present degenerated state they have made a bad use of it, that instead of healing they inflict with sickness and other calamities.

754 CAPTAIN PIPE—They believe in witches and wizards and 756 attribute their powers to the use of certain medicine, said to have been procured of the Nanticokes who had it from a naked infant found by them on the Sea Shore. In 1810, the prophet when [792] preaching against the use of this medicine pointed out five or six men and women on white river as the possessors of it. These [683] persons protested their innocence and were put to the torture, where they were exhorted to save themselves by delivering the means of destruction which they possessd. Seeing no other prospect of escape from death, they professed a knowledge of the arts and promised compliance, but after release they were not able to produce the cause of the difficulty, and they were by common consent condemned to death by burning.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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57. Rumbling noise made by jugglers

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[756] The rumbling noise made by jugglers mentioned in the earlier accounts was replaced by singing in the accounts of J. W., W. T., and W. L., all of whom said that the sweat doctor sang or talked about his vision which gave him his power to see into the vitals of the patient and determine the nature of his illness.

General Manners and Customs

61. Eating of human flesh

266 There is no statement about the eating of human flesh in Lindeström, but there is a description of torture by fire among
[727] the Minquas, and the inference is that such was not practiced among the Delaware and, also, that the eating of human flesh was not common if present at all.

62. Handshaking

576 John Johnston—[Salutation is] by shaking each other by the left hand as token of friendship considering the left hand to be the nighest to the heart. They say but little, except I am glad to see you your looks are familiar the countenance expressed gladness. (Shaking hands is an Indian, and they say an ancient custom.)

Captain Pipe—Their mode of salutation in meeting is not peculiar. They sometimes express a pleasure in seeing each other, at others the simple *Anishee*, (I am thankful,) is the only expression. They do not as with us, inquire after the health of their families, but of their business, route, etc. It is believed that shaking hand is an Indian custom, but before their knowledge of the whites they used the left hand. In the Engŏmween, or worshiping assembly, where ancient customs are said to prevail al-
[796] tŏgether, they always use the left hand.

Captain Chipps—The mode of salutation is by shaking hands:—inquiries after healths succeed. The shaking of hands (say they) "was in use from the time they were created."

J. W. and W. L. say that using left hand was formerly Delaware custom.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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informants. He choses to regard this rite as another form of the annual ceremony, and supposes this to have been a tribal variation arising through the incorporation of alien features at the instigation of Munsee or Nanticoke adopted by the Delawares.[1] Zeisberger has an account referring to a sweating ceremony of a similar nature to that described by Harrington. The designation applied to it by Zeisberger is "machtuzin",[2] which he rendered "to perspire."

Witapano'xwe secured the following description of the sweating-ceremony from aged living Indians in the Nation on the occasion of his visit home in 1929, and I give it as a supplement to what has already been published by others concerning it;

"The sweat-house performance does not belong to the regular annual ceremony of the Big House although it was formerly held in the Big House. It was a distinct ceremony lasting eight days held by the tribe when it was living in Kansas, before they moved to their present location in Oklahoma in 1867. When this ceremony was first held it was meant to determine who could withstand the greatest punishment by heat and steam. A large wigwam made of twelve poles bent together at the top and covered with hides. Opposite the door a number of pieces of wood and bark are arranged so that the wigwam will not catch fire. During the eight days of the ceremony hot rocks are placed in the wigwam and twelve men, each having had a vision so receiving supernatural power, are selected from the tribe to enter the wigwam where they sing their songs. Many of the men in the trial become weak and succumb to the heat while others withstand the punishment until the last man has finished his song. These men are always considered as being medicine men or healers. The ceremony is held just before sun set.

"The Lenape or Delawares are looked upon as the doctors and an older tribe, in fact as the "grandfathers" of all other tribes. The Indian doctors are known as *ma-ta-en-no* (mət-e'i-nu) meaning a man who possesses supernatural healing power. Some times these men are warriors as well as healers."

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[1] Harrington I, pp. 122-6.

[2] Zeisberger, p. 138-9. This verb denoting dancing of ceremonial character appears as machtoga, probably the Munsee form (Brinton, p. 69) meaning "to perspire" being a symbolical dance held in honor of the "grandfather," fire. The number twelve appeared as an allegory in the dance. maxta'ken (machtogen, Brinton, Lenape Dict., p. 69) "to fight" is probably the Munsee related form, while Mohegan-Pequot, mata'ga "dance" evidently rounds out the evidence that it denoted among the early eastern Algonkian a superior dance performance associated with fire, struggle, and purification by sweating, and war preparation.

The term machtuzin given by Zeisberger seems to be a shortened equivalent, maxtuw'alqgw, of the expression muxk'xoltuw'alqgw, "staying until one is sweated red." Both terms are intelligible to the speakers of the Delaware language today. Lindeström (1654-6) describes the sweat-bath in familiar terms (A. Johnson, Geographia Americae, 1925, p. 257).

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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from ice, must be an obstacle to the hunter, when in pursuit of a wounded deer, bear, or other animal, as is often the case. Nor has he then leisure to think on the state of his body, and to consider whether his blood is not too much heated to plunge without danger into the cold stream, since the game he is in pursuit of is running off from him with full speed. Many dangerous accidents often befal him, both as a hunter and a warrior, (for he is both) and are seldom unattended with painful consequences, such as rheumatism or consumption of the lungs, for which the sweat-house, on which they so much depend, and to which they often resort for relief, especially after a fatiguing hunt or warlike excursion, is not always a sure preservative or an effectual remedy.

The husband generally leaves the skins and peltry which he has procured by hunting to the care of his wife, who sells or barters them away to the best advantage for such necessaries as are wanted in the family; not forgetting to supply her husband with what he stands in need of, who, when he receives it from her hands never fails to return her thanks in the kindest manner. If debts had been previously contracted, either by the woman, or by her and her husband jointly, or if a horse should be wanted, as much is laid aside as will be sufficient to pay the debts or purchase the horse.

When a woman has got in her harvest of corn, it is considered as belonging to her husband, who, if he has suffering friends, may give them as much of it as he pleases, without consulting his wife, or being afraid of her being displeased; for she is in the firm belief that he is able to procure that article whenever it is wanted. The sugar which she makes out of the maple tree is also considered as belonging to her husband.

There is nothing in an Indian's house or family without its particular owner. Every individual knows what belongs to him, from the horse or cow down to the dog, cat, kitten and little chicken.

l:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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60 to be laid up for weeks and months at a time on this account, and I have seen boys 10 and 12 years of age, who through colds or fits of sickness had become so contracted that they never afterwards recovered the use of their limbs. 164

Worms are a very common disorder among Indian children, and great numbers of them die from that cause. They eat a great deal of green corn when in the milk, with beans, squashes, melons and the like; their bellies become remarkably large, and it is probably in that manner that the worms are generated. I rather think that Indian children suffer less in teething than the whites.

The gout, gravel, and scrophula or king's evil, are not known among the Indians. Nor have I ever known any one that had the disorder called the *Rickets*. Consumptions are very frequent among them since they have become fond of spirituous liquors, and their young men in great numbers fall victims to that complaint. A person who resides among them may easily observe the frightful decrease of their numbers from one period of ten years to another. Our vices have destroyed them more than our swords.

CHAPTER XXIX.

REMEDIES.

THE *Materia Medica* of the Indians consists of various roots and plants known to themselves, the properties of which they are not fond of disclosing to strangers. They make considerable use of the barks of trees, such 757 278

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as the white and black oak, the white walnut, of which they make pills, the cherry, dogwood, maple, birch, and several others. They prepare and compound these medicines in different ways, which they keep a profound secret. Those preparations are frequently mixed with superstitious practices, calculated to guard against the powers of witchcraft, in which, unfortunately they have a strong fixed belief. Indeed, they are too apt to attribute the most natural deaths to the arts and incantations of sorcerers, and their medicine is, in most cases, as much directed against those as against the disease itself. There are, however, practitioners among them who are free from these prejudices, or at least do not introduce them into their practice of the medical art. Still there is a superstitious notion, in which all their physicians participate, which is, that when an emetic is to be administered, the water in which the potion is mixed must be drawn up a stream, and if for a cathartic downwards. This is, at least, innocent, and not more whimsical perhaps, nor more calculated to excite a smile, than some theories of grave and learned men in civilised countries.

In fevers the Indians usually administer emetics which are made up and compounded in various ways. I saw an emetic once given to a man who had poisoned himself with the root of the May Apple.* It consisted of a piece of racoon skin burned with the hair on and finely powdered, pounded dry beans and gunpowder. These three ingredients were mixed with water and poured down the patient's throat. This brought on a severe vomiting, the poisonous root was entirely discharged and the man cured.

In other complaints, particularly in those which proceed from rheumatic affections, bleeding and sweating are always the first remedies applied. The sweat oven is the first thing that an Indian has recourse to when he

* Podophyllum peltatum.

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feels the least indisposed; it is the place to which the wearied traveller, hunter, or warrior looks for relief from the fatigues he has endured, the cold he has caught, or the restoration of his lost appetite. 757 ● 515

This oven is made of different sizes, so as to accommodate from two to six persons at a time, or according to the number of men in the village, so that they may be all successively served. It is generally built on a bank or slope, one half of it within and the other above ground. It is well covered on the top with split plank and earth, and has a door in front, where the ground is level to go or rather to creep in. Here, on the outside, stones, generally of about the size of a large turnip, are heated by one or more men appointed each day for that purpose. While the oven is heating, decoctions from roots or plants are prepared either by the person himself who intends to sweat, or by one of the men of the village, who boils a large kettleful for the general use, so that when the public cryer going his rounds calls out *Pimook!* "go to sweat!" every one brings his small kettle, which is filled for him with the potion, which at the same time serves him as a medicine, promotes a profuse perspiration, and quenches his thirst. As soon as a sufficient number have come to the oven, a number of the hot stones are rolled into the middle of it, and the sweaters go in, seating themselves or rather squatting round those stones, and there they remain until the sweat ceases to flow; then they come out, throwing a blanket or two about them that they may not catch cold; in the mean while, fresh heated stones are thrown in for those who follow them. While they are in the oven, water is now and then poured on the hot stones to produce a steam, which they say, increases the heat, and gives suppleness to their limbs and joints. In rheumatic complaints, the steam is produced by a decoction of boiled roots, and the patient during the operation is well wrapped up in blankets, to keep the cold air from him, and promote perspiration at the same time. 757 515 343

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Those sweat ovens are generally at some distance from an Indian village, where wood and water is always at hand. The best order is preserved at those places. The women have their separate oven in a different direction from that of the men, and subjected to the same rules. The men generally sweat themselves once and sometimes twice a week; the women have no fixed day for this exercise, nor do they use it as often as the men.

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In the year 1784, a gentleman whom I had been acquainted with at Detroit, and who had been for a long time in an infirm state of health, came from thence to the village of the Christian Indians on the Huron river, in order to have the benefit of the sweat oven. It being in the middle of winter, when there was a deep snow on the ground, and the weather was excessively cold, I advised him to postpone his sweating to a warmer season; but he persisting in his resolution, I advised him by no means to remain in the oven longer than fifteen or at most twenty minutes. But when he once was in it, feeling himself comfortable, he remained a full hour, at the end of which he fainted, and was brought by two strong Indians to my house, in very great pain and not able to walk. He remained with me until the next day, when we took him down in his sleigh to his family at Detroit. His situation was truly deplorable; his physicians at that place gave up all hopes of his recovery, and he frequently expressed his regret that he had not followed my advice. Suddenly, however, a change took place for the better, and he not only recovered his perfect health, but became a stout corpulent man, so that he would often say, that his going into the sweat oven was the best thing he had ever done in his life for the benefit of his health. He said so to me fifteen years afterwards when I saw him in the year 1798. He had not had the least indisposition since that time. He died about the year 1814, at an advanced age.

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759 the distance of several days' journey from their homes, then they cure or dry them properly, tie them up in small bundles, and preserve them for use. It were to be wished that they were better skilled in the quantity of the medicines which they administer. But they are too apt, in general, to give excessive doses, on the mistaken principle that "*much* of a *good* thing must necessarily do much *good*."

Nevertheless, I must say, that their practice in general succeeds pretty well. I have myself been benefited and cured by taking their emetics and their medicines in fevers, and by being sweated after their manner while labouring under a stubborn rheumatism. I have also known many, both whites and Indians, who have with the same success resorted to Indian physicians while labouring under diseases. The wives of Missionaries, in every instance in which they had to apply to the female physicians, for the cure of complaints peculiar to their sex, experienced good results from their abilities. They are also well skilled in curing wounds and bruises. I once for two days and two nights, suffered the most excruciating pain from a felon or whitlow on one of my fingers, which deprived me entirely of sleep. I had re-
[757] course to an Indian woman, who in less than half an hour relieved me entirely by the simple application of a poultice made of the root of the common blue violet.

752 Indeed, it is in the cure of external wounds that they particularly excel. Not only their professional men and women, but every warrior is more or less acquainted with the healing properties of roots and plants, which is, in a manner, indispensable to them, as they are so often in danger of being wounded in their engagements with the enemy. Hence this branch of knowledge is carried to a great degree of perfection among them. I firmly believe that there is no wound, unless it should be absolutely mortal, or beyond the skill of our own good practitioners, which an Indian surgeon (I mean the best of

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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Curing

Although most serious ailments were treated magically by shamans, there was a considerable body of knowledge concerning various herbs, roots, and decoctions of one sort or another that did have a beneficial medicinal value. It should also be noted that wounds and external injuries were successfully treated.[85] This practical medicinal knowledge was the property of both ordinary individuals and shamans. Many of the curative practices, both magical and otherwise, were directed at the spirits, rather than derived from a real knowledge of physiology and pathology. This, of course, did not decrease the beneficial (or harmful) effects of the various remedies.[86]

Roots, herbs, and bark, particularly oak, walnut, cherry, dogwood, maple, and birch, were used as medicines.[87] These materials were prepared and compounded in a number of ways, and the knowledge of them was a closely guarded secret, passed on to one's children only when the owner was at death's door.[88] This secrecy remains, and my informants refused to do more than hint at the nature of their medicines. Emetics, blood letting, and perhaps cupping were common remedies in the eighteenth century.[89] The most common medicinal practice was sweat bathing. Men used the village sweat bath more frequently than did the women, who had their own.[90] A sweat bath was taken by an individual when he was tired or had contracted a cold or did not feel well. Men usually took one or two a week; women took them less frequently. Occasionally, a shaman would take a sweat bath while his patient lay outside, and frequently various medicines were taken during or immediately after a sweat bath.[91]

Folklore

Knowledge of Delaware folklore is imperfect and incomplete. The purely secular tales are little known; however, I obtained a few in the field. The mythology dealing with supernatural beings is only slightly better known. R. C. Adams published a number of tales current in the late nineteenth century; none of the stories he related was told to me.[92] The earliest origin story was obtained by Dankers in the seventeenth century, who had directed some questions at an old man of the Hackinsack division of the Unami:

[85] Van der Donck, 1909, p. 301; Thomas, 1912, p. 340; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 15. Tantaquidgeon, 1942, described medical practices and materia medica of the Delawares. Mahr, 1951, has summarized the early data on Delaware herbalism and healing; Mahr, 1955, has studied nonesoteric herb lore.

[86] Heckewelder, 1881, p. 224.

[87] Penn, 1882, p. 244; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 35; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 224; Luckenbach, 1938, p. 376; Tantaquidgeon, 1942, pp. 24-37.

[88] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 24; N.D.

[89] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 26; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 225.

[90] De Vries, 1909, pp. 217-18; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 26; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 226.

[91] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 26; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 225; O.A.

[92] Adams, 1905.

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*177 795 although they have many Indian friends of other tribes. Any Indian can participate in peyote meetings, and a few people can hold one, whereas the Big House Ceremony requires a large co-operative group of people. Associated with the advantages of peyotism is the fact that the Delawares are even more scattered than they were during the war and would have a difficult time getting together for a twelve-day Big House Ceremony. The disintegration of the Big House Ceremony is regretted by many Delawares, but nothing is being done, or can be done, to revive it.

It is not entirely clear when most other elements of Delaware religion disappeared or were replaced. The reason for this is that no other ceremonies were as universal or as well known as the Big House Ceremony. Nevertheless, it is possible to make estimates which probably are reliable.

*177 787 Vision quest.—The Delawares no longer seek visions, and apparently few people have unsolicited visions. Informants frequently claim that "no one can have visions because the earth is no longer clean" (M.B.), or that one has to be "morally clean" to obtain a vision (N.D.). Few people living in a white man's world can claim these virtues, informants add. No young people were encountered who had had visions, solicited or otherwise. Several middle-aged and old people claimed to have had visions, but their visions had not been solicited. The guardian spirit of one informant (R.W.), for instance, was the Mask Being. This deity had appeared when the man was in delirium following an automobile accident. The vision quest was probably declining in popularity before the Cherokee-Delawares reached Oklahoma and shortly thereafter disappeared entirely. Supernatural beings encountered in a peyote trance are not regarded as guardian spirits.

*177 515 Sweat bathing, Shamanism.—Sweat bathing disappeared among the Cherokee-Delawares during the early decades of this century. O.A. was given a sweat bath as a child, as a cure for some childhood illness. Shamans often presided over sweat bathing, and the last Cherokee-Delaware shaman (Chief Elkhair) died almost two decades ago. M.B. of the Anadarko Delawares claimed that sweat baths were in vogue there until "a few years ago."

*177 757 Curing.—Although shamans and sweat bathing have passed into oblivion there is still secular knowledge and perhaps use of native medicines and cures. These are useful in love, for fevers, hiccoughs, colic in children, and the like. One informant (N.D.), for example, had inherited from her mother some sort of animal foot plus rules and ritual which were used as "love medicine." N.D. used this magical device once successfully, but is reluctant to use it again. It is doubtful if she will pass these secrets along to her daughter. Peyote, government doctors, and hospitals seem to have supplemented native therapy — medicinal and supernatural — for more important illnesses.

*177 796 Doll Dance.—According to Kinietz, "The Doll Dance which was a family responsibility has not been held since 1929."[9] This agrees with my information, although the last remaining doll owner had vowed to

[9] Kinietz, 1946, p. 14.

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one present draws a few whiffs of smoke and this is called smoking the peace-pipe. 276

There are four kinds of clay. There is the white, which is almost like chalk and with which, when dry, one can write as with chalk.[140] Another variety is quite black. This, however, becomes quite white when burned. Besides these, gray and yellow clays are found. A sort of yellow earth, rather of an orange tinge is found, of which the Indians, especially the warriors, make a fine color by burning.[141] With this they paint themselves and they are particularly careful that the head shall be always red. It is not too much for the Wiondats to come here to Tuscarawi, a distance of at least a hundred miles, to supply themselves with this red coloring matter. 135 [386] [301]

Concerning plants and roots of medicinal virtue, it would be possible, if one were to devote himself to inquiry, to secure a great deal of information from the Indians, for what one of these does not know another does, each man and woman having some knowledge in this direction, some more, some less. Hence, the custom that a patient who has consulted an Indian and secured a medicine from him without, however, being benefited, will go immediately to another; if no relief is obtained through his advice, the patient goes to a third, a fourth until he finds one whose medicine helps. For many ailments they have very good remedies, e. g., for rheumatism. In respect to this affliction I have witnessed instances where they have effected a thorough cure and not only once or twice. At times they can secure desired results with only two or three kinds of roots, at other times more are required. If a simple remedy does not afford relief, they may use twenty or more kinds of roots. Even in such cases I know of cures having been effected. In treating rheumatism, bathing and sweating play a great part. 757 278

They have remedies even for fevers. When a patient has been given a dose, they are generally able to tell from its workings whether he will recover or die. If he does not retain the medicine, this is regarded as a sign that he will hardly recover. I have paid some attention to this and like cases of treatment and found that the Indians have generally been correct in their

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● 757 278 predictions. In one important respect, according to my opinion, they make mistakes, namely, in not properly measuring doses and often needlessly torturing patients. Hence, it is that in connection with the external hurts, where over-treatment is less likely to occur, they have the better results, as is the case with rheumatism, for which they use only external applications. One Indian knows of good remedies for one disease or kind of injury, another another. Owing to the fact that they rarely reveal their knowledge to each other, much of the practical knowledge is lost.

In the matter of diseases peculiar to women, the women know a number of remedies, which usually act quickly and well, as in the case of hard labor, which sometimes occurs, though not frequently, and in other troubles. If mothers cannot suckle children for want of milk, they are able, by use of a drink, to increase the supply.[142]

278 In the use of poisonous roots the Indians are well versed, and there are many melancholy examples where they have by their use destroyed themselves or others. If a case of poisoning is taken in time, the effect of the poisonous root may be prevented by inducing vomiting. In case assistance is rendered too late, death follows, as a rule, in a few hours. There are poisonous roots that operate by slow degrees, in some cases illness may last a year or longer.

137 The so-called Poison Vine[143] grows plentifully in the bottoms. It climbs up the trees, much as a grape vine will, the main stem becoming as thick as an arm. Some are affected with swelling in the face and body if they touch it, others, even when the wind blows over it upon them. This is very painful until cured. Others do not suffer from the vine at all. This holds good of Indians as of others.

There are some poisonous trees.[144] These do not attain great height. They have a milky juice under the bark which is very poisonous.

278 757 824 The bark of many different kinds of trees is used by the Indians for preparing medicine. Occasionally, you will meet an Indian who has knowledge in this kind of remedies, but knows nothing of roots or herbs. With the white walnut bark,[145]

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With the white walnut bark,[145]
used externally and internally, they effect many cures. Laid upon flesh wounds this relieves pain at once, prevents swelling and accelerates healing. Applied externally in case of tooth-ache, head-ache or pain in the limbs, this brings speedy relief.

Beyond question there are many roots and herbs not found in Europe; perhaps it would be safe to say that this is true of most here found, but as I am no authority in this subject and know no names, except perhaps the Indian designations, I will add nothing further about roots and herbs. Doubtless, there are books from which one might get more information than it is in my power to give.

The following quadrupeds are to be found along the Ohio: In the first place, there are the deer,[146] whose skins are much used in barter and trade by the Indians. Their horns are not straight, but bent toward each other and have prongs. From May until September they are red, after that they lose the red hair and their hide is covered with long, gray hair, which is their winter coat. At about the beginning of the year they shed their horns; new ones grow in spring. These are at first and until they attain their full size, covered with a thin skin, which peels off when the horns harden. The tail is about a foot long and stands up straight when they run. As the under side of the tail is white it is possible to see them running at a great distance. The young are born in June or about that time, are red, spotted with white, until in the fall when they become gray. Deer have young each spring, sometimes two. As, however, they are hunted so persistently at the call of trade, their numbers diminish with each year, even though the forests are of vast extent, for the hunters are many. A large buckskin is valued at a Spanish dollar; two doeskins are regarded as equal in value to one buckskin.[147]

The bear is quite black, has short ears, a thick head and quite a sharp snout.[148] It has but a very short tail and great strong claws on his feet. It can easily climb the trees and bring down chestnuts and acorns. This is done, however, only when these are not ripe and do not, therefore, fall down. They generally break off the branches, throw them down and then climb

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821 ine the thunder to proceed from the crowing of a monstrous turkey-cock in the heavens. For certain stars they have names. The north star is called Lowanen, that is, north, or it is called the star that does not move. The wagon which revolves around the North Star they call the Bear, whom, they say, the Indians pursued with a little dog, that is the star Wilis; the three stars in the form of a triangle, represent the head of a bear, which they cut from the trunk and threw down. Certain stars forming an ellipse they call the beaver-hide, because they describe the form of a beaver hide stretched out. The milky way is the road to Tschipey Hacki. The seven stars[sun] they have named Anschisk-tauwewak, that is fire-brands gathered or laid together. The Monsys (Monseys) call these stars Menhangik, the travelling companions. Other nations have yet other names for them. In case of an eclipse of sun or moon, they say that these bodies have fallen into a swoon.

755 In time of illness, they try all manner of remedies, for they have a great fear of death. They not only consult the doctors, but take, also, the medicine that others may prescribe. The doctors must be called in, for if they were slighted, the patient might die. The doctors blow upon the patients, sprinkle a drink of roots and herbs they have taken into the mouth upon them, and murmur incantations over them. They diagnose the disease, tell whence it came and inform them whether recovery is possible or not. They give directions, also, as to what must be done and what kind of sacrifice must be brought. They prescribe some sort of Beson prepared from herbs and roots, of which they know the properties very well. It has happened that many doctors have been consulted in a single case, have perhaps given up all hope of recovery, and yet the patient became well.

● 757 [824] For headache they lay a piece of white walnut bark on the temples, toothache is treated by placing the same kind of bark on the cheek over the tooth that gives the trouble. The bark is very heating and burns the skin in a short time, often affording relief. The same bark is applied to any of the limbs that may be afflicted, having the effect at times of driving the pain from one part of the body to another, until there is an eruption 752 somewhere. This bark pounded fine and boiled to the con-

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sistency of a strong lye stops the flow of blood when applied to a fresh wound, even though an artery may have been ruptured, prevents swelling and heals the wound rapidly. After this solution has been used for one or two days other roots must be applied, such as the great sassaparilla and others that have healing powers.

Epilepsy is not very common among the Indians. It does not often happen that an Indian becomes mad, and madness among these people is not as violent as among the whites, probably, for the reason that they are not possessed of equal power with the whites, and even their bodies are weaker because they have not the abundance and variety of nourishing food. Blood letting is supposed to help the epileptics.

Of small-pox they knew nothing until some of them caught the contagion from the Europeans. Most of them died before the small-pox properly appeared. They are much inclined to boils and sores. Upon these they lay a warm poultice made of the flour of Indian corn; when the boils are ripe they are lanced. Broken arms and legs they are able to set very well, though limbs are not broken often, dislocated joints they are also able to correct. If an Indian has dislocated his foot or knee, when hunting alone, he creeps to the next tree and tying one end of his strap to it, fastens the other to the dislocated limb and, lying on his back, continues to pull until it is reduced. For tooth-ache the Indians use roots also, placing a little piece in the hollow tooth, which sometimes affords relief though not always. Sometimes teeth are extracted if a pair of pincers can be secured. It is not for lack of skill but for lack of proper instruments that they do not treat external injuries more successfully. Such instruments as they have are not used in the most careful manner. If one who is being operated on cries out, those present laugh. Misfortunes of almost any kind trouble them little; if house and goods have been burned, the unfortunate owners may even relate the experience in a humorous manner.

Many of them suffer from diarrhoea, particularly, in the fall of the year. The evil is aggravated because they know nothing of dieting and continue to eat whatever they wish. For

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757 this and for other troubles they have roots and herbs, which generally prove efficient remedies. Knowledge of these remedies may be confined to a very few, who demand payment for any prescription they make and keep their secrets to themselves. One common mistake made by all Indian practitioners is overdosing the patients. Fortunately, the Indians have strong constitutions, and usually do not suffer permanent injury from the unwise treatment of their doctors.

765 Concerning mourning for the dead it might be added that a widow is expected to observe in externals the following rules during the period of mourning which lasts a year. She must lay aside all ornaments, wash but little, for as soon as she makes pretensions at cleanliness, combs and dresses her hair, it is reported that she is anxious to marry. Men who are in mourning have no such regulations to observe.

Should a chief have lost a child or near relative, no complaint may be brought before him, nor may his advice be asked on any affairs of state. Even important embassies from other nations cannot be attended to by him until comfort has been formally offered. This is commonly done by delivering a string or fathom of wampum and addressing to him a speech, in which figuratively the remains of the deceased are buried, the grave covered with bark that neither dew of heaven nor rain may fall upon it, the tears are wiped from the chief's eyes, the sorrow of burial taken from his heart and his heart made cheerful. This done, it is possible to confer with him on the matters of state that need consideration.

When Europeans, who are in more comfortable circumstances than the Indians, wish to comfort a chief, they not only give a string of wampum but wrap the corpse of the deceased in a large piece of fine linen, laying another piece on the grave and wipe the tears from his eyes with silk handkerchiefs. Both the linen and the silks are given him as a present.

766 When a chief dies sympathy is expressed with the whole
648 nation. I will give a brief description of the ceremonies observed when the Cherokees sent a formal and numerous embassy to the Delawares in Goschachgünk to renew their alliance with

groups although possessing its own ethnic individuality, still overlaps in certain respects. And where the practices and beliefs of many tribes reveal similarity to the folk remedies of Europeans in the New World, the problem of interpretation of properties is made extremely complicated. Realizing that many of the plants and weeds are migrants from Europe to the New World, we shall have to proceed with caution in view of the fact that the Indians had an ample native pharmacology of their own before the period of conquest, and that an experimental spirit was always and everywhere active in revealing new cures among the invading plant hosts. It will, therefore, not be an easy task to distinguish between what is Indian and what is European, until we can assign the concepts and practices to one or the other.

No one, I believe, would deny that there has been much borrowing, as it is called, on the part of the Colonial whites from the Indians as a glance at the voluminous contents of the United States Dispensary (1926) will reveal. In the north this process was initiated by the French who accompanied Cartier (1906, pp. 73, 77) and who would have perished from scurvy, had it not been for the therapeutic knowledge of those Algonquin or Montagnais who supplied them with an effective medicine concocted of white cedar bark. Subsequent to this reference in the early documents many others are encountered indicating a deep-rooted system of primitive medicine which was, as it should be, partly pharmacological and partly psychological.

The Delaware system of health protection and disease curing seems to be a blend of what students of comparative medicine have agreed in calling primitive religion and science. In Delaware the sophistry and the performances of healing are religious while the knowledge applied in these processes is scientific. And yet where the action of the herbs, if not other substances, is mechanical or chemical, there is always the dependence upon the spiritual power of the healer with the deep emotional attributes from which the Delaware mind is never free when operating in these channels of thought. There has been, however, a certain element of hard-headed and non-magical experimentation blended together in the development of the herbal cures, at least from the point of view of native method. For the observation of repeated success with some remedies and failure with others has not escaped the attention of the native doctor. Conversations with Wi·tapanóxwe and the herbalists of other tribes have made me aware frequently that selective judgment was combined with past experience in the profession. To deny this would be to discount the mental stature of these men of thought and study to a degree that would bring a smile to the person who has had intimate associations with the native doctors among any of the eastern tribes. Like students of other professions they comprehend the unlimited bounds of knowledge and are ever seeking for additions to both pharmacopeia and technical or magical theory. And the test of efficacy is present in their disciplines even though the test is

judged by the results of treatment rather than by the science of composition. I might compare it, in some respects, to the tenets of Christian Science without, I hope, doing too much injustice to the basis of this much favored school of reasoning. The Delaware would offer an instance of the powerful influence of religious beliefs upon professional technique, cited by Kirkpatrick (1929, p. 249) and elaborated by Boas (1929), Goldenweiser (1922) and Lowie (1924b) among American students of the subject. Here, however, lies an extended field for investigation which in no manner depends for its development upon Delaware data but in which, I hope, this material will find a place as illustrative of the status of magical science and religion among one of the eastern Algonkian tribes.

That the Delaware of today are not so different from their forebears of two centuries ago as regards ability to treat cases that baffle their rivals of the European profession, is shown by a statement in 1698 of Gabriel Thomas (1912, pp. 323, 340) who said, "The Indians are able doctors and surgeons as any in Europe, performing celebrated cures therewith." From the account written by Heckewelder (1876, p. 229) we have the following testimony. "I, myself, have been benefited and cured by taking their emetics and medicines in fevers, and by being sweated after their manner while laboring under a stubborn rheumatism. I have also known many, both whites and Indians, who have with the same success resorted to the Indian physicians, while laboring under diseases .. . I firmly believe that there is no wound, unless it should be absolutely mortal, or beyond the skill of our own good practitioners, which an Indian surgeon (I mean the best of them) will not succeed in healing." Zeisberger also refers to their ability to treat successfully different maladies, especially diseases peculiar to women. As for the present my informant lays claim to the curing of thirty-two persons during his sojourn in Philadelphia, for which he received no more regular compensation than voluntary gifts from persons of the underprivileged classes.

In assembling the botanic material presented here, specimens of plants were gathered in the wider Philadelphia area in company with my informant who explained at length their medicinal properties and uses. This collection was later supplemented by a few plants sent me by Wi·tapanôxwe from his home in Oklahoma. From time to time such specimens were submitted to Dr. John M. Fogg, Department of Botany, University of Pennsylvania, who very kindly checked their scientific identity. At the conclusion of the investigation a complete list of plant specimens was sent to M. R. Gilmore, University of Michigan, for comment of an ethno-botanical nature.

In the text, bibliographic citations are indicated by the author's name and the date of publication, to permit ready reference to the bibliography.

[p. xii is blank]

Bear and that woman, Small Person, to forget their troubles.[19] Because, Grandmother, it has been many years that they have been together. Again, Grandmother, I implore you because it is right that they should love each other henceforth. If you accept my plea, in two days from this time the woman will go back."

The second variety of magical root, termed "pull up," is employed in the following manner. The informant's maternal grandfather transferred to him the secret of such a medicine gift in order to control human beings or animals. Although the root is intended primarily for use in hunting, it could also be employed to coerce or in general, influence people favorably. I was unable to secure a specimen of this "rare" plant for scientific identification.[20] Wi·tapanóxwe describes the plant root as having "five prongs." After securing several of the plants, the roots are prepared by cleansing them thoroughly in running water, to the accompaniment of songs and prayers. Three branches of the plant root are then broken off and another, taken from the root of a plant of the same species, attached to the remaining two, to make three. In this connection it may be noted that the emphasis upon the number three in this and the previously decribed love charm represents a symbolism for which the informant could offer no explanation.

In use, a small quantity of the prepared root is chewed three times a day. The juice resulting from the first mastication is rubbed on the hair, that from the second and third is swallowed. Such a procedure will bring about the desired result in a short time. To lure game animals some of the root is chewed while hunting. Wi·tapanóxwe related an incident of holding some of these roots in his hand while singing his medicine song, and thus luring a squirrel very close to him. The root is so powerful that if an excessive amount of juice is swallowed, the person's mind will become affected.

Food Taboos

After he has diagnosed the case, the practitioner prescribes a curative diet[21] for the patient, the food restrictions being determined by the

[19] "Being in trouble."

[20] This is probably due to the supposed magical properties attributed to this plant, making it dangerous, according to Delaware belief, for persons other than practitioners to handle it. This applies to all other plants used for magical purposes.

[21] Barber (1856, p. 538) quotes the following from William Penn's letters: ". . . if they eat flesh it must be from the female of any creature." Also see Zeisberger, *op. cit.* p. 24.

nature of the disease. The flesh of animals and fowl is excluded from the diet and in the case of fever, red or fox squirrel flesh is not eaten. This food taboo is known to the Delaware by a native word meaning "makes you sick." Corn hominy, however, is administered in most cases, as it is considered to be a nourishing food.

In the case of childbirth, salt is not eaten for ten days. Onions are given the mother to produce milk, but care must be taken not to use a quantity such as to cause nausea for the child and mother.

During the catamenial period a woman is not allowed to prepared food nor taken an active part in domestic affairs.[11] The separate dishes assigned to her at that time, may only be used by her husband. Food cooked by such a woman would produce tuberculosis in others in a short time. A term translated as "gives dirty food," is applied to such a practice and refers to the resultant poisonous effects. During her periodic isolation a woman herbalist must refrain from preparing remedies or participating in any of the ceremonies.

Divinatory Curing Practices

Certain acts of a divinatory nature are performed upon selection and preparation of plants, roots, and bark employed in making medicine. Only plants that are clean and well developed, with the roots free from knotty growths, are taken. When seeking bark, the medicine gatherer selects a sturdy, well-formed tree for the purpose. The bark growing on the east side of a tree is preferred for its greater strength-giving properties received from the morning sun.

In gathering medicinal supplies, the materials are inspected for a clue as to the course of the treatment. Thus, if roots appear rough and knotty, the patient will be difficult to cure; if clean and well-formed, it will be an easy task to restore his health. Another practice is to place some crushed leaves or roots in running water. If the substance sinks to the bottom of the stream, the patient for whom it is prepared, will die; if it floats, a speedy recovery is assured.

When all other remedies have failed, an emergency medicine is sometimes made from scrapings of deer antler. During its preparation a prayer is offered to the animal from which the antler was obtained. Witapanóxwe related an incident in which a trial was made by means

[11] The puberty ceremony for young girls and the periodic isolation of women is described by Zeisberger, *ibid*, pp. 75-77.

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team of horses which had broken through the ice, were rescued through this same ability, to remain beneath the surface of the water for a considerable period. Power for this ability was given him by a teal duck which appeared to him in a dream. In the informant's words:

> When a boy, my grandfather always went swimming every morning before sun-up, even when there was a thin coating of ice on the river. One time he dreamed of going down to the ice-covered stream very early to bathe as usual. When he jumped into the water the echo could be heard down the river. Then suddenly he heard a voice saying to him, "I am going to make you a strong man. You will be able to go under the water as I do." He did not see anyone around but there close by was a teal. And he could go down under the water and get fish, too.

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So close was the connection of divination with the spiritual realm that the Delaware noted carefully the last words of a person near to death. At such a time the dying one is believed to be in close communication with the souls of the departed, who may impart messages of great importance through this medium to the living. One aged woman while on her death-bed spoke as follows:

> My kindred, we have been wonderfully blessed. We have enjoyed the gifts which the Creator bestowed upon us. That is because we have kept our own religion and observed the teachings of our elders in all things. If you continue to do this in the future, you will not be subjected to the evils which increase as civilization increases. Do not give up your own religion.

Another old woman foretold the coming of the railroad twelve years prior to its appearance, while a third foresaw the granting of citizenship to the Indians twenty years before its occurrence.

The Sweating Rite

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The importance of the sweat lodge ritual, as carried out by the Delaware for the purpose of spiritual and physical purification, is attested both by early observers,[25] and by more recent students.[26] According to Zeisberger, in his discussion of Delaware customs, the practice was attended by rather elaborate rites and was evidently regarded as one of the major ceremonies. It was performed in honor of fire, being called *machtuzin*, a term meaning "to perspire," according to the same writer's translation. A similar rite is described by Harrington, whose informants named it *muxhat'olzing*. This is recorded as a variant of the Annual Ceremony.

[25] Zeisberger, *op. cit.*, p. 138; Heckewelder, *op. cit.*, p. 225; Loskiel, 1794, pt. 1, pp. 108-9.
[26] Harrington, 1921, 122-126; Speck, 1931, pp. 72-74.

In examining the various accounts of this rite, both in published and manuscript form and through correspondence and verbal statements, it is evident that what was originally a highly developed ceremony performed in honor of the Creator, to whom appeals were sent through various media (such as fire, tobacco, water, etc.), has been modified to a great degree by the introduction of alien features and the abandonment of certain elements to meet the requirements of individuals. The latter would apply both to the practitioners and to those who sought treatment for physical and mental ills.

The benefits, according to one early writer (Heckewelder, *op. cit.*, p. 225) which were derived from the sweat lodge ritual, were numerous and varied. He writes: "The sweat oven is the first thing that an Indian has recourse to when he feels indisposed: it is the place to which the wearied traveller, hunter, or warrior looks for relief from the fatigue he has endured, the cold he has caught or the restoration of his lost appetite." Reference to the works of Zeisberger [37] and Loskiel [38] indicate that it was customary for individuals to resort frequently to the public sweat lodges.

Wi·tapanóxwe states that formerly the sweating rite, as a part of the annual Big House Ceremony (Speck, 1931, p. 74), was performed to test the spiritual and physical strength of certain men, usually warriors. A lodge was built within the Big House and the men went in to pray and to recite their visions. Those who could withstand the heat for the longest period, were regarded as possessing the greatest power for war, and for curing. Information (correspondence, November, 1930) of a negative character as to the ceremonial aspects of the rite was obtained from J. A. Parks, of Copan, Oklahoma, who writes, "The sweat lodge was not a ceremony. It was a method of treating the sick with sweat baths and hot breaths of air by the Indian doctors."

This brings us to a consideration of the rite as it is performed by the Delaware sweat doctor today. In the account dictated by Wi·tapanóxwe, there is evidence of the survival of many elements, originally attached to the earlier form but subsequently incorporated into the formal pro-

[37] "It is the custom of the Indians when they are tired or caught cold to go into a sweating oven several times a week. For this purpose every town has on its outskirts a sweating oven." (*op. cit.*, p. 26.)

[38] Similarly, this writer (*op. cit.*, p. 661) states in reference to the Delaware that "In every town an oven situated at some distance from the dwelling is built either of sticks or boards covered with sods, or dug in the side of a hill, and heated with some redhot stones."

757 cedure within the lodge for the purpose of diagnosing and treating sickness.

756 The term applied to the sweat house healer is one meaning a "sweat
757 doctor." He always performs within the lodge when asked to examine or treat a patient. It is interesting to note that my informant, Wi·tapanóxwe, and Charley Elkhair, the present head chief of the Oklahoma Delaware, claim the distinction of being the only men among the Oklahoma Delaware who have supernatural sanction to perform in this capacity. The former believes that he is privileged to assume the role which his people consider appropriate only for men whose mind and character have been strengthened by years of experience but that up to the present time (1930) he has not attempted it. The powerful shamans [29] of an earlier period were said to have been able to perform miraculous feats and effect marvelous cures without the aid of the sweat lodge although it was frequently employed in their practices.

787 Both of the above types of medicinemen receive their power from
756 the Creator through dream-visions, the spiritual visitation occurring
759 usually just before sunrise or sunset. The vision is accompanied by a medicine song which becomes the personal property of the healer, to be sung during performances in the sweat lodge. It is said that women rarely became sweat doctors. Wi·tapanóxwe, since his vision and medicine song were received just before sunrise, considers that as the time of day during which he would be most successful in curing activities within the sweat lodge. Those who received their power at sunset accordingly regarded that as the most suitable time for performances.

Contrary to the herbalist's custom of not accepting gifts or payment for his services, the sweat doctor expects payment from those who approach him for consultation and treatment. In former times trader's trinkets, etc., and somewhat later, horses, blankets, and money were given by those requiring his services.

343 The construction and equipment of the sweat lodge are matters of considerable importance in this particular type of curing. It is built of twelve poles which represent the twelve levels of heaven (Speck, 1931, p. 74) and according to native belief, lead to the abode of the [772] Creator. For this purpose saplings chosen for their flexibility, are cut

[29] In Delaware the term used means "powerful man," "man who can heal," and refers to a type of shaman, called *medeu* by the Delaware of an earlier period, especially concerned with curing. Among the Chippewa (Densmore, 1929, pp. 86-97) the *mide* were the leaders of the *mide'wiwin* or Grand Medicine Society. See also Hodge, 1912, p. 523.

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into lengths averaging from six to eight feet. The end of each of these poles is pushed into the ground to form a circular outline, five or six feet in diameter, with a somewhat wider space marking the entrance towards the north or south. The opposite ends are then bent over and lashed down to form a dome-shaped structure, over which skins, mats or blankets are laid. The fire, located in the lodge center, is built of twelve logs of hard wood. Neither driftwood nor wood obtained from a tree struck by lightning are suitable for this purpose. The use of the former, known as "gathered together by water," would tend to cause a flood. Fuel taken from a tree struck by lightning, is termed "thunder burned wood"; its use in the sweat lodge, thus angering the Lightning Spirit, would cause a severe storm.

The native doctor may employ any person to assist in building the fire, carrying rocks and water, or arranging mats of Indian hemp and bark for the pallet upon which the patient is laid. The latter is covered with skin robes or blankets so that only his head is exposed. After the fire has burned down sufficiently to form a bed of coals, more logs are added and the rocks, usually limestone, brought in. Twelve stones of medium size are placed in the fire. For handling them, a branch of hickory or any hard wood, about five feet long, is split at one end for use as a fork. After the rocks have become thoroughly heated, water is poured over them to produce steam. The doctor prays and sings for a period of time determined by the nature of the sickness and the strength of the patient. His song at this time is the narration of his dream-vision experience made as an appeal to the Creator and his supernatural guardian. Although the emphasis in this type of treatment is upon mental suggestion, in some instances tea made of herbs is administered by the doctor.

In addition to the lodge, poles, fire logs, and steam rocks[89] grouped in units of twelve to conform with the twelve levels of heaven, symbolical significance is also attached to fire, water, and stone. These are regarded as minor deities, often referred to in terms of human consanguinity (Speck, 1931, p. 32), possessed of great healing

[89] Brinton (1888, p. 37) in writing of the survival of curing rites among the Ontario Delaware, states: "I enquired in particular if there are any remnants of the curious adoration of the twelve sacred stones described by Zeisberger. I found that the custom of the sweat lodge still prevails. The steam is generated by pouring water on hot stones. This is done by the medicine man who is known as *Quechksapiet*. He brings in one stone after another and pours water on it until it ceases "to sing" and invariable he uses precisely twelve stones."

776 power. Besides its specific name, the term, "our Grandfather," is ap-
778 plied ceremonially to fire. Rocks are also known as "our Grandfathers." Water is regarded as a powerful spiritual force and is known as "our Mother."

●757 Some cases of illness can be cured in one treatment while in others it is necessary to hold several meetings in the sweat lodge. The latter is known by a term meaning "temporary sweating." New stones are secured for each treatment. It is considered advisable to let one or more days elapse between treatments, as determined by the physical condition of the patient. The latter is occasionally massaged by the doctor, who first warms his hands upon a hot stone before rubbing the affected area. Often it is necessary also for the healer to [755] blow hot or cold air upon the patient. For the first the shaman's breath is warmed by means of a hot drink. In Delaware terminology this is known as "warm breath." In case of fever or exhaustion the "cooling breath" is used. One doctor had so much supernatural power in this respect that his breath would cause a swelling wherever it struck the body. It was therefore necessary for him to exercise great care in this type of treatment to avoid bringing undue discomfort to the patient.

795 Following the ritual performance in one of the Delaware peyote
515 cults, it is customary at the present time for the participants, both men and women, to go into the sweat house (Petrullo, 1934, p. 95). This usually occurs before sunrise. The sweat house for this assemblage accommodates about twenty persons. The equipment is precisely the same as for the performance previously described, but there is no ritual connected with this performance. Men and women enter together and drink hot water to induce perspiration. In case of nausea, they chew "Osage tobacco" (wild sage) and swallow the juice. This plant, according to my informant, has a very strong taste together with astringent qualities. The sweating period is followed by a plunge.[31]

[31] This is comparable to the semi-social aspect of the rite as described by Heckewelder, *op. cit.*, pp. 225-226. "These sweat ovens are generally at some distance from an Indian village where wood and water are always at hand. The best order is preserved at those places. The women have their separate oven in a different direction from that of the men, and are subjected to the same rules. The men generally sweat themselves once and sometimes twice a week; the women have no fixed day for this exercise, nor do they use it as often as the men." He also states: ". . . A cryer goes his rounds calling *pimook*, 'go to sweat.' Everyone brings his small kettle which is filled for him with the potion which at the same time serves him as a medicine, promotes profuse perspiration, quenches his thirst."

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CURATIVE PRACTICES AND HERBAL REMEDIES

HERBAL REMEDIES recorded here may be divided arbitrarily into two groups—the simple and the compound. In the former group, one, two, or three different plant parts are mixed together as contrasted with those remedies of the second group which includes from seven to twenty vegetal substances, according to the specific sickness encountered. My informant stated that "man needs medicine made from many different plants to act upon his bodily organs, afflicted by the ills from which he suffers." Frequently Witapanóxwe uses as many as fourteen different plant substances in making up certain medicines, while other herbalists are said to compound theirs from seven or more elements.[1] Thus we may cite the predominant occurrence of compound remedies among the Delaware in contrast to the simple remedies of the eastern and northeastern Algonkians (Speck, 1917).

The bark preparations noted immediately below are called "single" (simple) remedies by my informant, and are employed as a cathartic. In preparing and administering these medicines, the correct procedure should be carefully followed in each case. To avoid nausea, bark is customarily removed from smaller twigs and branches rather than from those of larger size. In the preparation of 1 b, c, d, and e, the branches are not roasted as in 1 a.

1. (a) BLACK WALNUT *(Juglans nigra)*, "round nut tree." Three slender branches are roasted in the open fire. The bark from each is then removed, by peeling from the tip end[2] and tied in separate bundles. A strong tea is made by boiling these three bundles of bark together and large draughts taken occasionally. To remove bile from the intestines, the treatment is continued for two days. The leaves are scattered about the house to dispel fleas while the sap is a good application for any inflammation. Juice from the green hull of the fruit is rubbed over the infected area to cure ringworm, "contagious skin disease."

[1] The native use of twelve different medicines which cause one to vomit and "thus remove his sins" is mentioned by Zeisberger, *op. cit.*, p. 134. Elsewhere (p. 35) he states that occasionally the Indians are able to effect a cure with only two or three kinds of roots. If a simple remedy does not bring relief, twenty or more are used.

[2] To cause vomiting, the bark is peeled upward on the branch.

(b) MULBERRY *(Morus nigra)*, "surrounding berries tree."
(c) YELLOW BIRCH *(Betula lutea)*, "yellow willow."
(d) WHITE ASH *(Fraxinus americana)*, "brittle tree."
(e) BUCKTHORN *(Rhamnus caroliniana)*, "buckthorn."

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2. HONEY LOCUST *(Gleditsia triacanthos)*, "accidentally thorned." The bark of the following species, honey locust, prickly ash, wild cherry, and sassafras are combined for a general tonic. This medicine is used for a severe cough and to purify the blood.

3. SYCAMORE *(Plantanus occidentalis)*, "shedding bark." The bark of the sycamore and honey locust are steeped for a gargle to relieve hoarseness and sore throat. Three chips taken from the east side of the honey locust and sycamore trees are steeped together with red oak bark and sweet flag root to make a hot drink for colds.

4. CHESTNUT *(Aesculus glabra)*, "big acorn tree." Nuts ground up and mixed with sweet oil or mutton tallow to make poultice for earache. A nut carried in the pocket will relieve rheumatism. Nuts ground up for use as fish poison in streams. This is known as "fish peyote," as it makes them "dizzy" and they can be caught easily.

5. SASSAFRAS *(Sassafras albidum)*. Bark of the root, together with other bark, used as a blood purifier. In spring employed as a beverage.

6. WHITE OAK *(Quercus alba)*, "gray tree." Bark is a valuable substance in Delaware medicine and is used in compounding many remedies. For a severe cough, a tea is steeped from the bark. For sore throat a stronger liquid is used as a gargle. Also makes an excellent douche; liquid used to cleanse bruises and ulcers.

7. PIN OAK *(Q. palustris)*, "black acorn tree." Infusion of inner bark given for intestinal pains. The acorns are edible.

8. RED OAK *(Q. rubra)*, "red oak." Bark is steeped to make a tea for severe cough. Will also relieve hoarseness.

9. BLACK OAK *(Q. velutina)* "bitter tree." Inner bark used for colds and hoarseness. Infused for tea and gargle.

10. REDBUD *(Cercis canadensis)*, "red bud." Bark steeped in cold water for a drink to reduce fever and stop vomiting.

11. Cottonwood *(Populus deltoides*, or *Sargentii)*, "tree with moving leaves." Bark from the black haw, wild plum, and cottonwood are combined to make tea for weakness and debility in women.

12. Black Haw *(Viburnum prunifolium)*, "berries-in-sight tree." Bark taken from the root is combined with leaves of bloodroot, wild plum, pearly everlasting, "stone root" and bayberry to make a tonic to strengthen the female generative organs.

13. Elm *(Ulmus americana)*. Inner bark steeped and liquid drunk for colds and severe coughs.

14. Dogwood *(Cornus florida)*. The root is combined with others to make a tonic. In another variety *(C. canadensis)*, "arrow wood," the bark is combined with that of other species to relieve body pains.

15. Peach *(Prunus persica)* leaves are infused to expel pin worms and to stop vomiting in children. A small quantity is sweetened and is drunk occasionally until relief is felt.

16. Holly *(Ilex opaca)* is designated as the "red berry tree." It is believed that holly grows up near the place where a person was frightened. If one became suddenly frightened, he remarks, "I guess holly will grow here because I was scared so badly."

17. Grape *(Vitis rupestris)*. Vine is combined with bloodroot, pearly everlasting, "star root" *(sp.?)*, false spikenard, peppermint, and sarsaparilla to make a tonic for frail women. It is also said to increase fertility.

18. Fox Grape *(V. vulpina)*, "sour berry tree." Sap of the vine valuable in treating leucorrhea and when removed in spring, beneficial for the hair.

19. Elder *(Sambucus canadensis)*, "hollow tree." The leaves and stems act as a blood purifier, also used in the treatment of jaundice. From the elder flower, a tea is made for colic in infants. The bark scrapings are used in making a poultice for sores, swellings, and wounds.

20. Hops *(Humulus lupulus)*. The blossoms are employed in medicine for nervousness. A small bag filled with hops and heated is useful as an application to relieve earache or toothache. A tea made from the plant acts as a tonic-stimulant.

21. Dwarf Sumac *(Rhus copallina)*, "kinnikinnick tree." Roots pounded and applied as poultice for sores and skin eruptions. An

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[DS2]

infusion of the leaves is used to cleanse and purify skin eruptions. To treat venereal disease an infusion of the roots is taken. The berries are useful in making a mouth wash.

22. Wild Cherry *(Prunus serotina)*, "excrement tree." Bark used as remedy for diarrhea. Also combined with other roots and bark as a tonic. The fruit is sometimes used to make cough syrup.

23. Ginseng *(Panax quinquefolium)* is named "man and woman," a term descriptive of the human-like form of the root. The terms "Grandmother" and "Grandfather" are also given the plants, because they are usually found growing in pairs. The root is regarded as being very potent by the Delaware and may be used in treating either sex. In treating males, the "male root" is used, and vice versa. Plant is believed to have retreated, like others, before the advance of civilization and hence, is rarely found. It possesses medicinal properties which will, in many cases, effect cures where all others have failed. The root is diced in small particles, a tablespoon of which is added to a cup of hot water to make tea. The root is used with other plant parts as a general tonic.

24. "Frost" or "Ice" Weed *(Helianthemium canadense)*, was revealed to a Delaware in a dream in which the plant said, "I am strong and great. Stronger than any other plant because I remain green later in fall. Use me and you will become strong." Root used in making poultice for sore throat. Tea infused from plant taken at same time.

25. Poke *(Phytolacca decandra)*, "purple berry." The root of this plant is combined with the bark of sarsaparilla and mountain grape to make a remedy for rheumatism. It acts as a stimulant and blood purifier. In preparing the medicine, the root of the poke is first thoroughly roasted and then crushed. To avoid nausea, a small dose is customary.

26. Poison Ivy *(Rhus toxicondrendon)*, "irritating" or "blistering" vine. Not poisonous to everyone. The root contains valuable medicinal properties. A poultice is made from the roasted, crushed root. A salve effective for chronic sores and glandular swellings is made from the roots of poke (roasted), bittersweet, yellow parilla, and the bark of elder. These ingredients are placed in boiling tallow or lard, to which is added a medium-sized piece of beeswax. A more modern formula calls for the addition of one-fourth ounce of carbolic acid and two ounces of menthol crystals.

[DS2]

●757 278 27. ANGELICA *(Angelica atropurpurea)*, "to mix with smoking (tobacco)." Root used for stomach disorders; seeds sometimes mixed with smoking tobacco.

28. ANISE *(Pimpinella anisum)*. Root used as a cathartic and stomach tonic.

29. YELLOW JASMINE *(Gelsemium sempervirens)*, "yellow root." Root used as blood purifier.

30. The root of STAGHORN SUMAC *(Rhus typhina)*, "Cherokee sumac" is combined with that of "horse-hobble weed" or purple cone-flower *(Brauneria purpurea)* as a remedy for venereal disease. The patient should refrain from eating sour fruit and greasy foods. Water should be taken freely and often. [262]

31. BONESET *(Eupatorium perfoliatum)*. The root and occasionally the leaves are infused as a treatment for chills and fever.

32. GOLDENROD *(Solidago juncea)*. The green leaves are chewed or infused to cure diarrhea. Also used to reduce fever.

33. WINTERGREEN *(Gaultheria procumbens)*. Entire plant is compounded with poke root, mullein leaves, wild cherry bark, and black cohosh bark *(Sp.?)* to make a tonic. Beneficial also for rheumatism.

34. BLACKBERRY *(Rubus nigrobaccus)*. The vine is combined with wild cherry bark to cure dysentery.

35. DOCK *(Rumex obtusifolius* and *R. crispus)*, "curly leaf." Root used as a blood purifier and remedy for jaundice.

36. BLACK SNAKEROOT *(Cimicifuga racemosa)*, stone root *(Collinsonia?)*, and root of elecampane *(Inula helenium)* are compounded to make a tonic.

37. GOLDEN ASTER *(Chrysopsis mariana)*. Tea made from the root to quiet infants. Also acts as tonic for sickly children.

38. "TURKEY FOOT" *(Sp.?)*, "leaves like turkey foot." Plant tip and root infused as a tea for weak women.

39. PRAIRIE MOSS *(Sp.?)*. Leaves used as poultice for sore throat. Plant infused as tea, called "tonsillitis medicine."

40. CARDINAL FLOWER *(Lobelia cardinalis)*. An important plant for the Delaware herbalist. Tea made from the root used for typhoid. Administered in small quantities because of its strength.

41. SAGE WILLOW or "RED ROOT" *(Salix tristis)*. Contains valuable medicinal properties of importance to Delaware herbalists. Tea

made from root for women suffering displacement of womb. Used, together with roots of prairie willow *(Salix humilis)*, little burr *(Dentaria diphylla)* and false Solomon's seal to make a tea to treat scrofula and venereal disease.

42. Rattle-box *(Crotolaria saggitalis)*, "blown-over weed." A medicine for venereal disease is made from the root. It is a very strong narcotic.
43. Hedge Nettle *(Stachys palustris)*, "smart weed," is combined with common nightshade, "pretty flower," and button snakeroot to make a medicine for venereal disease.
44. Purple Cone-flower *(Brauneria purpurea)*, "white flower." This is called "Yuchi gonorrhea medicine" by my informant. A tea made from this root alone will cure an advanced case of venereal disease in seven days.
45. Ragweed *(Ambrosia artemisiaefolia)*. Plant used in making a poultice to apply as a preventative of blood poison.
46. Button Snakeroot *(Eryngium aquaticum)*, "to vomit." Used as a medicine for intestinal tape and "pin" worms.
47. Horsemint *(Monarda punctata)*. A tea made of the plant for fever, and to bathe face of patient.
48. Bayberry *(Myrica sp.)*. The bark is used as a blood purifier, and for kidney trouble.
49. Sweet Fern *(Myrica asplenifolia)*. Plant is steeped and liquid applied to blisters. Also combined with mallow root, elder flowers and dwarf elder to treat inflammation of the bladder. It is also good for scrofula. Is a blood purifier and useful in removing mucus from the lungs.
50. Pipsissewa *(Chimaphila umbellata)*. The plant is steeped and the liquid is applied to blisters. It is also combined with mallow root (?), elder flowers and dwarf elder bark in medicine for inflammation of the bladder. Also for scrofula. Purifies the blood and tends to aid in removing mucus from the lungs.
51. False Pennyroyal *(Hedeoma pulegioides)*. A tea is made from the leaves to relieve stomach pains.
52. Wild Carrot *(Daucus carota)*. Blossoms picked at full bloom are steeped as tea for diabetics.
53. Yarrow *(Achillea millefolium)*. A tea is made from the plant for disorders of the liver and kidneys.

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54. Prickly Ash *(Xanthoxylum americanum)*. "Bush with briars" or "little thorn bush." Inner bark steeped as medicine for heart trouble. A small quantity is taken each day for three days, and after three days, the treatment is continued.

55. Wintergreen *(Gaultheria procumbens)*. A tea made from entire plant is taken for kidney disorders.

56. Cattail *(Typha latifolia)*. Medicine made from the root to dissolve kidney stone.

57. Partridge Berry *(Mitchella repens)*. A tea is made for suppressed menstruation. This remedy strengthens the female generative organs. In the treatment of rheumatism, the "herbal steam" treatment is considered of great value. A strong infusion is made from the roots or twigs of one of the medicinal plants useful for this type of sickness. The patient is seated with his feet in a basin of the liquid, made very hot, and a blanket then wrapped around the lower part of his body. Cold damp cloths are applied to the head during the steam treatment which lasts an hour or less. The upper portion of the body may also be steamed by raising the level of the blanket. This treatment is effective in reducing muscular swellings and stiff, aching joints. The following vegetal materials are used singly in this way:

58. (a) Bull Thistle *(Cirsium lanceolatum)*, "pretty flower."
(b) Poke.
(c) "Frost Weed."
(d) "Expert remedy," unidentified.
(e) Cedar *(Juniperus virginiana)*[8] particularly the twigs.
(f) Hemlock *(Tsuga canadensis)*.
(g) Dwarf Sumac.
(h) Hop Vine.

59. Blue Flag *(Iris versicolor)*, "blue flower" or "top like calamus." Medicine made from the root is valuable for rheumatism, scrofula and disorders of the liver and kidneys. Combined with the root of sevenbark *(Hydranga aborescens)*, it is used for gall stones.

60. Great Mullein *(Verbascum thapsus)*, "gray leaf." The leaves are heated and applied to the joints and body to allay rheumatism pain and reduce swelling. These leaves are combined with coltsfoot *(Petasites palmata)*, plum root, and glycerine to make a healing

[8] Speck, 1931, pp. 47, 127, 151, 171.

syrup for catarrh, coughs, and lung trouble. In preparing this remedy, the mullein must be gathered before the plant blooms. 757● 278

61. Burdock *(Arctium minus)*, "big-leaved burr." A tea made from the root is good for rheumatism. Acts as a stimulant and blood-purifier.

62. Butterfly Weed *(Asclepias tuberosa)*, "where butterflies light." Root used as a remedy for pleurisy and rheumatism. Also administered to women following child-birth. Rattlesnake plantain *(Epipactis pubescens)* has the same term and is used in the same way.

63. Elecampane *(Inula helenium)*, "leaves like Indian cabbage." Root used in making a tonic, useful for strengthening digestive organs and to remove mucus from the intestines.

64. Toothwort *(Dentaria diphylla)*, "little burr." Root combined with other as a stomach remedy.

65. False Indigo *(Baptisia tinctoria)*. Liquid infused from root used in cleansing cuts and ulcers. Also employed as a douche. [752]

66. Jimson Weed *(Datura stramonium)*. The leaves are crushed and applied to fresh wounds as a poultice. A salve for treating piles is made by pounding the seeds and mixing with tallow. 752 757 278

67. Common Plantain *(Plantago major)*, "path weed." Leaves crushed and used as a poultice. Plant combined with other plant parts is useful in treating female diseases.

68. Climbing Bittersweet *(Celastrus scandens)*, "yellow root." Root prepared as a poultice or salve for skin eruptions. Tea made from the root will clear up liver spots.

69. Skunk Cabbage *(Symplocarpus foetidus)*. A tea made from the root is useful in treating whooping cough. The leaves are crushed and used as a poultice to allay pain. People suffering from epilepsy often roll up a small portion of the leaf and chew it. 757 278

70. Sweet Flag *(Acorus calamus)*, "bitter." Root used in making tea useful for coughs, colds, and suppressed menses. Combined with sassafras root for intestinal pains.

71. Heal-All *(Prunella vulgaris)*. The plant top is used to make a cooling drink and body wash for fever.

72. Skull-Cap *(Scutellaria galericulata)*. The plant top is a stomach stimulant, and a laxative.

73. Catnip *(Nepeta cataria)*, "smells good." The leaves are prepared with peach seed to make a syrup, very beneficial for children.

74. Motherwort *(Leonurus cardiaca)*. A tea is made from the leaves which is effective for female diseases.

75. False Solomon's Seal *(Smilacina stellata)*. The root is combined with others as a medicine to cleanse the system and stimulate the stomach. A remedy also for leucorrhea.

76. May Apple *(Podophylium peltatum)*, "flower hangs down." A spring tonic and a laxative are made from the root.

77. Bloodroot *(Sanguinaria canadensis)*. For general debility, a pea-sized piece of root is taken every morning for thirty days. Combined with other roots for a stomach remedy. The plant root provides the face paint used in the Big House Ceremony of the Delaware.

78. Dandelion *(Taraxacum officinale)*. A laxative-tonic obtained from the plant.

79. Virginia Snakeroot *(Aristolochia serpentaria)*. Used singly or combined with wintergreen as a tonic.

80. Fringed Gentian *(Gentiana crinita)*. A tea made from the root acts as a blood-purifier and stomach-strengthener.

81. Black Snakeroot *(Cimicifuge racemosa)*, elecampane and stone root are combined to make a tonic.

82. Milkweed *(Asclepias sp.)*. A tea made from the pounded and steeped roots of the five species of milkweed is a cure for epileptic fits in those born during certain phases of the moon. Such disturbances periodically occur during a particular moon-phase period.

83. Peyote *(Lophophora williamsii)*, "Our Father," is known to have been used to treat periodic fits, and is regarded as a sure cure for tuberculosis.[4] Wi·tapanôxwe carries a small, fringed leather bag, tied with deerskin thongs, containing several peyote "beans" or buttons for use in case of emergency. Certain Delaware subscribing to the "Wilson cult," wear a small beaded bag containing peyote, around their necks as a protection against illness. This talisman is even regarded as an advisory agent of approaching

[4] It is said that this highly valued and potent medicine was revealed to a woman in a dream who gave the knowledge of it to her people. It may be eaten with or without the usual ceremonial rites. For a study of the Peyote rites among the Delaware at Dewey and Anadarko, Oklahoma, see Petrullo, 1934. For more details, consult Safford, 1916, pp. 387, 424; Harrington, 1921, pp. 185-190; and the more recent study of LaBarre, 1938.

domestic and tribal crises. Wi·tapanôxwe is not convinced of the truth of this statement, but claims that he merely carries his own supply for medicinal purposes.[8]

84. Cactus *(Opuntia vulgaris)* is called "thorny, useless." Wi·tapanó·xwe remarked that the Oklahoma negroes singe off the spines and apply a sliced portion to their corns to allay pain.

Miscellaneous Beliefs

1. To draw out frost bites, walk in the snow barefooted. Rubbing snow on the ears will bring relief.
2. Frost or dew gathered in late fall and rubbed on the body will prevent skin eruptions.
3. Water that collects in hollow trees or rocks is believed to have medicinal value.
4. Mud applied to a burn will take out "the fire."
5. To cure a child from slobbering, catch a number of minnows and have the child hold them in his mouth. Repeat this several times a week until the cure is effected.
6. To cure a child of bed-wetting, feed him portions of a roasted "timber rat" * This is believed to effect a sure cure. My informant and a companion once killed and roasted such a rodent, and both agreed that the flesh was palatable and not unlike that of squirrel. They were reticent, however, as to the therapeutic effects.
7. Relief is obtained in the case of whooping cough, if the mother first suckles a puppy and then her child.
8. A spider web applied to a flesh wound will stop the flow of blood.
9. Excrement of cattle or of poultry is employed as a poultice for boils.
10. Skunk-oil is regarded as a valuable remedy for colds and croup. For children the average dose is from three to five drops. A small quantity may be used externally on the throat and chest. Oil obtained from geese is employed similarly for colds. Skunk scent or rabbit urine is put into the ear to relieve earache. Deer and otter scent are also useful for medicinal purposes.

[8] This practice corresponds to one general among Eastern Algonkian peoples—that of carrying a piece of "muskrat root" *(Acorus calamus)* about the person as a disease preventive. A piece of the root is chewed in case of sudden illness.

* Compare use of a white-footed mouse for the same purpose among the Gayhead Indians (Tantaquidgeon, 1930, p. 20).

11. A syrup made by roasting onions is taken for colds. For infants and small children the syrup is sweetened and a few drops taken clear or in milk.

12. Mutton tallow is an emollient for chapped and irritated skin. It is used to make ointment.

13. Muscular cramps may be relieved by bathing the affected parts with urine.

14. A tea made from roasted, charred pig hoofs is beneficial for colds.

15. For snake bite suck the venom from the wound with a hollow piece of deer antler.

16. Treatment of sick horses. Years ago, after their migration westward, the Delaware used horses for travel. Often their animals would become ill during hunting activities on the Western plains. This was believed due to unsuitable drinking water or from eating poisonous weeds. Other disabilities were due to "bots"[6] or colic. For colic, strong tobacco juice, or gun-powder dissolved in hot water was administered. The most effective treatment was to throw a bucket of very hot water containing finely chopped bits of weasel hide[7] over the horse. Then the owner would force his weight up and down on the animal's abdomen or occasionally, beat it with a wet, heavy blanket for ten or fifteen minutes. The horse soon recovered and was again on his feet.

Warrior's Medicine

Warriors long ago also received gifts from supernatural agencies which enabled them to excell in feats of bravery. Their power came in dream-visions in which the identity of the supernatural was made known. Sometimes a power-song was granted at the same time. Certain men were appointed as leaders of the warriors and custodians of the secret formulæ, from which a particular preparation called "warrior medi-

[6] The larvæ of certain flies. Eggs are laid on the inside of the animal's foreleg, gain entrance into the blood stream and are carried to the alimentary tract where incubation takes place.

[7] The hide of the so-called "spotted weasel" is used for this purpose. My informant had never seen this animal but it had been described to him by his mother. It may refer to the ordinary weasel at the period of seasonal pilage change from brown to white. The species known to the Delaware are the Bonaparte (*Mustela cicognani*), and New York weasel (*M. noveboracensis*), Anthony, 1928, p. 102.

right. It is never cooled by blowing upon it. Running water should be used, and it was customary in former times to dip the water with or against the current, or to submerge the container and allow the water to flow in from all sides.[1]

The term *"doctol,"* from English doctor, was the only term for an herbalist obtainable from those interviewed. It is also said both men and women could become practitioners. When calling upon a doctor for treatment it is customary to offer him a present of money. In former times, cloth, tobacco, and other gifts were offered.

GREAT MULLEIN *(Verbascum thapsus)*.

The leaves are crushed and applied as a poultice to bruised surfaces to reduce swelling and allay pain.

NANNYBERRY *(Viburnum lentago)* and mullein leaves are steeped and the tea administered in case of measles.

LIVE-FOREVER *(Sedum telephioides)*

The leaves are crushed and used as a poultice to draw out poison. My informant regarded this to be a most powerful and effective application. He stated that he had suffered from a serious case of infection which resulted from stepping on a rusty nail and that the above remedy cured him in a short while.

PLANTAIN *(Plantago major)*.

The leaves are crushed and applied to bruises.

BURDOCK *(Arctium minus)*.

The leaves are bound on the body to reduce pain. The root is used in making medicine for purifying the blood.

HORSERADISH *(Radicula armoracia)*.

The leaves are applied as a poultice in case of neuralgia.

BITTERSWEET *(Celastrus scandens)*.

The root is used for making medicine which is administered to persons suffering from consumption.

TANSY *(Tanacetum vulgare)*.

The plant is used in making medicine which is effective in treating disorders of the stomach.

[1] My informants could not explain this but said that the water must be dipped in different ways according to the nature of the disease to be treated. It is a common belief that water dipped *with* the current acts as a laxative and *against* it acts as an emetic. Allowing the water to flow into the container from all sides suggests the idea that the remedy to be made would tend to benefit the entire system.

4:Tantaquidgeon E-5 (1930) 1942
NM7 Delaware NM7

278 BONESET *(Eupatorium perfoliatum)*.
757 This is considered to be a very powerful medicinal herb by my informants and it should be used with great precaution according to their belief. Tea made from the leaves is beneficial as a stomach medicine.*

ELECAMPANE *(Inula helenium)* root and poplar *(Populus tremuloides)* bark are steeped together and the liquid drunk to relieve a cold.

CATNIP *(Nepeta cataria)*.
A tea made from the leaves is regarded as a soothing drink for infants.

WHITE PINE *(Pinus strobus)*.
The twigs are steeped to make a medicine which is effective in treating disorders of the kidneys. It is also administered to persons suffering from pulmonary diseases.
[752] The pitch is applied to boils to draw out the poison and reduce the pain.

SWEET FLAG *(Acorus calamus)*.
The root is scraped and hot water poured over it and drunk in case of colds.

BLOODROOT *(Sanguinaria canadensis)*.
A small quantity of the powdered root is added to a half a cup of lukewarm water and a teaspoonful to stop vomiting. The root is also used in combination with other plants in making a blood purifier.

YELLOW OAK *(Quercus muhlenbergii)*.
To stop vomiting, pour water over a piece of the bark and when the water becomes a yellowish tinge drink a small quantity of it.

IRONWOOD or AMERICAN HORNBEAM *(Carpinus caroliniana)* root or bark, and the bark of juniper *(Juniperus communis)*, white oak *(Quercus alba)*, wild cherry *(Prunus serotina)*, and hickory *(Carya ovata)* are steeped together for a tonic. A small bundle of some of each is put into about a pint of water. The mixture is steeped down

*This plant so commonly used by both Indians and whites in those sections of eastern North America where it is indigenous, appears to be regarded as being too powerful to be tampered with by the Six Nations Delaware informants. The Oklahoma Delaware, however, use the plant freely.

to about half the quantity. An equal part of brandy may be added. This is considered to be a month's treatment for one person and is considered to be effective in treating cases of general debility. It is valuable as a remedy for diseases peculiar to women.

My informant (Nicholas Powless) stated that he had bought the remedy, as is customary, from a Delaware herbalist. After a prolonged illness, during which time he was in the hospital, Mr. Powless was brought home, as he said, apparently to die. He obtained the formula just noted, made up the medicine and is taking it daily. He claims that he has continued to regain his strength and is slowly recovering from a complication of diseases pronounced incurable.

A tea made by pouring hot water over a small quantity of soot is given to babies in case of colic. A stronger tea is beneficial for a sick cow.

A powder obtained from decayed pine *(Pinus strobus)* is used for babies because of its healing properties.

SUMAC *(Rhus typhina)*.

A tea made from the berries is drunk as a remedy for diarrhea.

Skunk oil and molasses is taken for colds and cramp. The oil rubbed on the throat and chest sparingly tends to relieve congestion. Goose and raccoon oil are used similarly.

Rattlesnake oil is valuable in treating stiff joints. It is very powerful and should be used sparingly. Only a few drops on the finger tips and applied to the affected parts. The skin may be bound on the wrists and ankles to strengthen them.[4]

[4] When told of the belief that snake oil, if used alone, "will unjoint you," an idea common among the Wampanoag of Cape Cod, Mass., my informant laughed and said that he knew that it would not because he had used it on his joints with good results. His sister added that if he could obtain some rattlesnake oil, now he might keep in better condition.

Death

761 Early burials which have been excavated reveal few objects buried with the body although Penn indicates that it was customary among the Lenape to place objects in the graves (p. 37). Skinner is of the opinion that this may have been a custom which was coming into more common practice during the period we are dealing with (Skinner, 1909, p. 50). Of about equal occurrence are flexed and secondary bone burials. A Delaware burial has been described by Lindstrom: "...a round pit is dug in the ground and a stool is placed in the hole upon which the dead man shall sit. Then the dead man's money is placed upon him and he is set down in the pit upon the stool with a tobacco pipe a fathom long in his mouth...". After the hole is filled up, "...they dig down in the corners of a square four very long poles upon which they make three shelves, and decorate the poles with long strips of blue, red or green frieze,[16] hanging like fringes." The bones were later dug up and the flesh cut from them after which they were wrapped in chestnut bark and placed on the bottom shelf where the bundle was allowed to stand until it rotted. (Lindstrom, pp. 249-250).

765 Above the body there has frequently been found a layer of shells which has been interpreted as evidence of a feast of the dead (Skinner, 1909, p. 50). Other features of the death ceremonies noted by early writers are: the use of charcoal on the face as a sign of mourning (Penn, p. 37; Danckaerts, p. 159), the sending of a messenger to all friends to announce a person's decease and loud lamentations at the grave. The name of the deceased was not mentioned (Lindstrom, pp. 249-250). Many of these features are incorporated in Heckewelder's excellent description of the funeral of a chief's wife (Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 269-276).

784 551

Disease

753 Disease was classified into natural illness and sickness caused by witchcraft and spirits of the dead. This classification is reflected in the many different types of cures which the Delaware practiced. Curing was one of the few activities placed in the hands of professional people, the shamans, although purely medicinal cures were also performed by laymen. The shamans used a combination of medicines, magic, sweating, bleeding and psychotherapy to effect their cures for which they were paid. Penn says that the Delaware will give anything to be cured and this is echoed by later writers (Penn, p. 36; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 232).

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757 Medicines which were taken internally were made from bark and roots mixed with water (Penn, p. 36; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 224-231); likewise, plants with medicinal properties were made into poultices for wounds, boils and snake bite (Heckewelder, 1881, p. 229; Loskiel, p. 113). The shaman might also breathe on the patient or blow his remedy over the patient's body. In addition to making and giving these remedies, the shaman frequently put on a performance in which he grimaced and acted in such a way as to frighten away the evil spirit which

was possessing the sick person (Danckaerts, p. 180; Lindstrom, p. 247). Possession by an evil spirit was believed to occur either though an accidental encounter with a human spirit or sorcery. The practice of the latter among the Delaware was largely confined to the curing shamans themselves (Zeisberger, 1910, pp. 125, 128, 131; Speck, 1931, p. 109; Brainerd, p. 347).

Sweating was done regularly, but was also considered beneficial in illness. The sweathouse was made of stone and clay with a hole at the top large enough to crawl through. A large number of stones were heated red hot and then put in the center. The bathers lay around them, water was poured on the stones and the hole stopped up. The sweating was followed by a plunge in the nearest stream (Lindstrom pp. 257-258). Penn witnessed a chief using this cure in the midst of winter, when a path had to be cut through the ice between the sweathouse and the river. (Penn, p. 55).

CONCLUSIONS

From the foregoing, it appears that quite a complete picture of Delaware life at the time of white contact can be reconstructed, based on observations made shortly after contact and supplemented by more complete descriptions of these customs by later observers. The method used in this paper brings out clearly, on the other hand, the fact that there was insufficient recording of the social and political organization of the tribe to permit a reconstruction of those aspects of life with any high degree of probability. By the time the Moravian missionaries came in contact with the Delaware culture, one hundred years had elapsed since initial contact and there is little basis on which to determine whether any trait mentioned by the missionaries represents an old, modified or new situation. This conclusion is in contrast with that of other writers on Delaware culture who have ignored the fact that their material was gathered at widely different times and places.

7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

MISCELLANEOUS RITES

The Scratching Rite for Warriors

In the nature of an ordeal by which the man of strength showed his courage when preparing to go to war or to enter one of the physical contests, we learn that he scratched himself on the body. In the same operation he purified himself. Tradition is vague on the details, but in this rite we meet with one that is of apparently southern origin in view of its almost universal observance among the Indians of the southeastern or Gulf area. Our information does not permit of much discussion of the spiritual or physical qualities of this heroic practice, therefore it will have to stand simply as an occurrence to be noted in the study of distribution of the scratching rite as one of therapeusis and purification. It is called *le'həli·k'ci·'k·an*, "scratching."

The rite is mentioned by Lindeström as practiced medicinally by the Delawares in the middle of the seventeenth century for the purpose of relieving pain and fatigue after a strenuous journey, and also as a means of preventing them before one.[1] A piece of flint was the scarifying agent. *Wi·tapano'zwe* had heard that a fish bone had also been used, but there were no particulars given as to how the instrument was constructed.[2]

In 1756 John McCullough was held captive by the Delawares and adopted by them. During his captivity he observed many customs of importance. Among them he writes of being subjected to a punishment intended for mischievous boys in which the miscreant was scratched on the thighs and legs with the bill of a gar-fish wrapped in a thin rag so that the teeth projected through. Sometimes, he added, if punishment were merited a second or third time, the corrector would score the boys from the top of the shoulder down to the wrists and again from each shoulder to the hip, forming a

[1] Lindeström, *op. cit.*, 244. (Ed. A. Johnson, Philadelphia, 1925.)

[2] Bone scarifiers are known to the Cherokee and Catawba of the Carolinas.

8:Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
NM7 Delaware NM7

CHAPTER XXIV.

Concerning the Ailments, Wonderful Medicines, Tyranny, Blood-Letting and Patience of the American Indians.

These savages are by nature a healthy people and are rarely subjected to diseases, before death surprises them, or if it may happen that some contagious disease should come into the country, through which whole nations could die out, as has happened formerly among them here.

The French disease[1] sometimes indeed rages among the savages, because they live in such unchastity and adultery, like irrational brutes; but against this they have a white kind of ointment, and cure themselves, after which it goes its way, as though it were wiped away by the hand.

Whoever is wounded by the poisonous rattlesnake and is not cured and treated by the medical doctor of the savages, who is called the devil-chaser,[2] then there is no hope for the life of that patient any more, but he must die; for the savages have such splendid medicine against it,[3] that they immediately drive away the poison with it and cure it. For this purpose they use a kind of grass

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[1] *Morbus fransman.* Cf. Williams, *Key*, 158. See also *London Chronicle*, Oct. 6, 1757; Peter Kalm, *Journal; Mss. 1§12 Yi, Ridgway Library.* For their remedies, see further Van der Donck, De Vries, *Vertoogh*, etc., *N. Y. Col.*, 2, I, 156; II, 269, etc.; Heckewelder, *Indian Nations*, 224 ff.; Speck, *Med. Prac. of the North. Algon., Proceed. of the Nine. Int. Cong. of Ame.* (1917), 303 ff. They even understood the value of mineral water.

[2] *Dyfweliagarea.*

[3] That is: the poison of the rattle snake.

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
NM7 Delaware NM7

roots, which are called snakegrass-roots. These roots grow very much intertwined, like a very fine and close comb. These they chew to pieces and place them with sober spittle[4] on the sore and the bite, which has such a power by its application, as has been stated. But 2 or 3 of the Swedes there in the country, as I know, were wounded by these snakes. They immediately swelled up terribly and were dead within an hour, for they lacked these medicines.

These snakes are spotted, yellow and black, and on the tail they have horn-joints, one joint for each year, according to his age.[5] [They] have scent of a human being far away, [and when the snake scents a person] then he puts his tail in the air to shake and agitate, so that it is heard far away from him, with a sound like children's rattles with pease in them, yet very loud, so that a person can through this guard himself against it. Concerning this I have formerly discussed it somewhat in the chapter concerning the childbirth of the savage women and [stated] that the skin of this rattlesnake is found to be very splendid for pregnant women, that when they tie this around themselves, then they are immediately relieved of their severe childbirth.[6]

Concerning this, as well as many other innumerable[7] [things] one may well marvel at the splendid and miraculous medicines of the savages; so that if it is not a fatal disease, they know n

[4] *Nychter spått.* Perhaps fresh rather than sober saliva.
[5] Cf. above, Chapt. VIII.
[6] See above, Chapts. VIII, X, note 5. Cf. Williams, *Key*, 125 ff.
[7] *Orecitterligit*, unrecitable.

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
NM7 Delaware NM7
Iroquois NM9

remedy for it immediately, which they keep very secret from the Christians. "*Sed contra vim mortis, non est medicamen in hortis.*[8] p 757

In this connection I also want to mention briefly what happened among the Black Minquas further in the [interior of the] country, with 15 individual Englishmen whom they had taken prisoners; from which one can learn of the horrible cruelty of the Minquas. It happened that the English of Virginia carried on war against these Minquas. When the English now came to these savages, marching 2 or 3 hundred men strong, with a few [small] field cannon,[9] they pitched their camp a short distance from the dwellings of the above-mentioned savages. But these savages are somewhat cleverer in building, than our own river Indians who live closer to us, using palisades around their dwellings. Therefore the English did not run, precipitously upon them, but first fired a few cannon [balls against their fort]. Then the English did not know a word about it, before the savages had surrounded[10] the English, were in their rear and drove them into flight, killing some of them and brought home with them 15 prisoners, whom they later, after the lapse of a few days, martyred to death wretchedly and unchristianlike. Because some of these prisoners were of noble birth and of some importance and value, the English offered for each one of them a few 100 florins I 727

[8] For against the power of death, there is no medicine in gardens.

[9] *Feldtslangor.*

[10] *Hade the engelske berändt.* Beränna usually means to surround, to invest, but here it perhaps means to go around, so as to get to the rear of the enemy.

26. Moral superintendence of Supreme Being over worshipers		−	(+)		+	+	+	−	+	+	+	776
27. Pray to Him for favors or assistance	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	782
28. Deposit tobacco on stones, mountains, etc. for favors					+	+	+		+	+	+	775
29. Tobacco sacrificed for success in hunting	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	793
30. Believe in a future state of punishments and rewards	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	775
31. Final judgment						+	+	+	+	+	+	754
32. Mental or corporeal pleasures in future state of existence		+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	794
33. Judgment immediately after death		+?				+	+	+	+	+	• +	164
34. Souls of worthy go to place of happiness or abode of Supreme Being	+	+		+		+	+	+	+	+	+	757
35. Souls of bad go to land of bad spirits or hell							+	+	+	+	−	756
left on earth or no good place	+	+		+		+			−	+	−	755
36. Tortured or unhappy in either place		+		+		+			−	+	−	343
37. Direction of habitation of good souls	SW	S		S		Up	S	•	Up	Up	W& Up	Up
bad souls						Up	•	•	Up		Up	Up
38. Believe in ghosts		+		+		+	+	−	+	+	+	S
39. Have priests	+	+		−		−	−	−	−	−	−	−
40. Witches and wizards		+		+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+
41. National worshiping society †				+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+
Medicine												
42. Diseases to which peculiarly liable †												
Bowel disorders				+	+	+			+		+	−
Consumption					+				+	−	−	+
Pleurisy						+			−		+	
Chills and fevers	+			+	+			+	−	+	+	+
Dysentery				+					−		+	
Rheumatism				+	+				−	−	• +	−
Boils				+					+		−	
43. Remedies usually roots and herbs	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+
44. Bleeding common			+	+	+	+		+	−	−	+	+
45. Cupping common				+					−		−	−
46. Sweating common	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+
47. Medical profession	+	−	+	+	+	−		+	+	+	+	+
48. Receive any education					−	−		−	+	+	−	−
49. Called by divine agency in youth									+	+	−	−
50. Count pulse						−			+	+	−	−
51. Inquire into nature of complaint						+			+	+	−	+

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

A cogent reason for the survival of religious beliefs of the Delaware was the vehicle by which they were transmitted from generation to generation, the national worshiping society or Big House. The reaction to the introduction of white ways expressed itself in the integration of a number of original ceremonies. Some Christian elements were unconsciously incorporated along the way, but these were principally modifications of, rather than substitutes for, native concepts. The accounts of the national worshiping society given by John Johnston and Captain Pipe are included in the section of ethnographic notes.[1] I have discussed some of the changes in the ceremony itself during historic times in another article.[2]

Medicines

The information on the ailments prevalent at the time of first contact with the whites is very limited. Williams indicates that chills and fevers and toothaches were the most common disturbances to the health of the Narragansets. He and Lindeström mention plagues and the French disease among the Indians of their time. Smallpox was a plague for which Williams gave a native name. From their lack of resistance to many diseases prevalent in Europe, it has often been postulated that the Indians had not been exposed to them before white contact. The evidence compiled in this study neither proves nor disproves this assumption, although, of course, the modern informants say that in ancient times the Indians were very healthy and had no ills until the white man introduced them. This is in accord with the principle of former good times that is universal in its application.

Changes between early and late periods show up in two elements but are open to question as to the reliability of interpretation of the early information. First, Zeisberger, alone of the authors of the sources, reported cupping in practice among the Delaware (45). This was denied by all the modern informants although cupping by sucking was known among other tribes.

[1] See *post*, pp. 93-97.

[2] Kinietz, Vernon, "European Civilization as a Determinant of Native Indian Customs," in *American Anthropologist*, N. S. XLII(1940), 116-21.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

●757 Since Zeisberger merely listed cupping as a therapeutic device without giving any details, it is impossible to check his statements absolutely. The other element indicating change is in the union
756 793 of the medical profession with the priesthood (53). As suggested previously, shamans may have been meant by priests. If this was so, of course, the two were united, but, if by "priests" was meant the leaders in the ceremonies of the tribe, the later sources and the informants deny such a union. Our information from the earliest accounts of the ceremonies is insufficient to judge whether there has been a change in function or a change in terms.

757 Evidence on the practice of counting the pulse was equally divided in both the third and fourth periods (50). Entire absence of information on this point prior to 1822 and the division of opinion thereafter strongly suggests that this element was borrowed from the whites sometime around the beginning of the nineteenth century but was not completely accepted.

343 Sweat baths were mentioned in every period as a cure or pre-
756 ventive of disease (46). They were also described by Lindeström,
755 but he did not attach any benefits to their use. The three older informants, J. W., W. T., and W. L., reported that there was a separate category of shamans called sweat doctors who used the sweat bath partly for its curative properties but principally as an aid to diagnosis. The fact that use of juggling tricks by medicine men was not uniformly reported by the sources may be explained by the statements of the informants who claimed that only the sweat doctors used them (54). The sweat doctors might effect their cures with sweat baths or they might merely make a diagnosis and leave the cure to some other shaman. A description of a sweat doctor's procedure was given by J. W. as follows:

755 "J. W.'s father was a sweat doctor. Had vision. Only those built houses. Built fire, put in six limestone rocks, dug little hole on north side of sweat house inside for rocks after they were hot. Pallet for patient on south side of hole, head outside (on east side) of blankets covering house. Leaves patient there ten to fifteen minutes while old man is getting ready a gallon of water with weeds of a certain kind immersed in it. Strips to breech

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

436 sweeping, and general order of the premises receive their pay in
796 wampum beads; the pecuniary value of which amounts to hardly more than a few cents. The drummers, the singers, the dance leaders, the reciters of visions are in their turn rewarded with small donations of wampum at the conclusion of their performances. This is a purifying gift rather than a pecuniary payment, one entirely out of proportion to the worth of service rendered.

[437] The worshipers of the Big House also offer their donations toward the ceremony in strings of wampum, giving them to the Master-of-Ceremonies, saying; ce·la·'yu'ni· ndeli·' wi·teinge·'n note·'ha·'n "This here is how much I help from my heart!" The sacrosanctity of wampum is furthermore emphasized by the religious rule that wampum should always be given when something has been received, even when only a gift from a friend. In the esteem of the natives it becomes a most potent medicine. Failure to carry out the rules governing the bestowing of wampum would bring sickness upon the receiver of property through exchange or the receiver of a gift. This is especially
● [438] true in connection with the Delaware practice of medicine, because medicine although destined to heal can double upon itself and become a poison when not sanctified by the conveyance of wampum.[1]

436 In Delaware phraseology "wampum is our heart." In exchanges of
425 vendable property, even extending to gifts between friends, there
751 lurked a potency for evil that might develop in who knows what quarter, producing malice or resentment among the parties concerned. It could even result in bodily poison to one or both. It is strictly correct to state that in the attitude of the eastern Indians toward such affairs the transfer of shell money from the hands of the receiver of a gift or a purchase to those of the giver performed the function of medicine.

436 The wampum protected them against spiritual infection and its
755 manifestation in the body in the form of sickness. Wampum was a purifier, purging the transaction from latent evil force. And should evil have leaked through the transaction the wampum would function as a purgative for its keeper. The same wampum was a spiritual emblem believed by them to have come originally from supernatural sources and embodying within it profound supernatural dynamics.

436 We can understand why a compact sealed with the transfer of
439 wampum was as sacred as one sworn to under oath by Europeans. It was such an attitude toward exchange and currency that our colonial forebears encountered when they bartered for land and peltry with the aborigines of New England and the Middle Atlantic States. The colonists handed out their exchange with the European notion of in-

[1] I am of course speaking of Delaware therapeutics exclusively, although something along the same line may be said, by those who are inclined toward a critical attitude, of civilized medical practices.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

NOTE II

THE MYTH OF RED CEDAR AND THE SEVEN STARS

539X 121 [776]

Reference to the stars and to the cedar tree as spirit-forces in the course of the text seems to call for the insertion of the following narrative in the study. It was dictated by Witapano'xwe in explanation of that part of the ceremony in which cedar was given to the fires in the Big House as spiritual 'food.'

RED CEDAR A SACRED TREE

539X 824 [757 783]

Now I am explaining what is the purpose of him our Grandfather Cedar,[1] how in many different ways it is used. When a person has a swelling in his feet or his legs it is good medicine as a steam bath for one to reduce swelling. And when after a recent death anywhere that cedar is used for purifying the house.

And when the Delawares worship in the Big House cedar is always used for purifying the Big House. And that night when the time arrives for its use it is said to be a purification-agency and also all the red men who understand this Medicine-eating[2] know that the cedar is used. Although two other different kinds are used as well for purification when this Medicine-eating is going on.

[776 757]

But that cedar is the leading spirit-force that is given for strength for anyone's healing, when inhaling the smoke. Because that very thing is the purpose intended in treating and healing his grandchild when he begs it of him.

539X 773

A very long time ago in the life of the Delawares we have heard our deceased ancestors how they said, in ancient times when there were living men of great spiritual power; seven of them, it was said, all at once were not seen any more. They had gone those prophets, men departed. But young pure youths[3] blessed with a vision of something all at once while walking about along the ridge among rocky cliffs—all at once a thing upright there, seven stones almost alike. And then it was said that all at once the youth was thence spoken to by one of these stones. Then they came to be known.[4] And more and more

[1] The specific native term for cedar is a derivative of "popping."

[2] This is the proper designation in Delaware for the Peyote ceremony; "Medicine-eating" referring to the eating of the Peyote bean (Lophophora).

[3] One need hardly be reminded that these are the young men ignorant of the ways of the world, of sin and carnality, brought up under the tutelage of solicitous parents, observant of the religious rules and guided in their conduct of life by the spirit-forces which appeared to them; the life ideals of the Delawares.

[4] Indicating that these prophets to escape the importunities of people seeking help from them had concealed their identity by transforming themselves into rock among the mountains.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

widely persons constantly went there because those prophet men were there. All of a sudden when several had gone there to the place where they were, no person was seen there. But again after a very long time some one found them. Here were these seven beautiful appearing pine trees. And some of the individuals appeared as cedars in outward appearance. This very thing there shows evidence that they are closely related, the cedar and the pine, although in a different way gifted with the power of spiritual force when created by the Creator. However, they were placed together as one since both are conjurors.

And there is more than one way otherwise to use the cedar, for the purpose of coloring.

Again they notice that those prophet-men had become trees. Again they went away and it was a very long time afterward before they found them again. As soon as they were known here these had formed in a group up above in the middle of the sky as seven stars[1] and they are called, when they are seen, as though they were great persons, for which reason from then on until now they never stay in one place during the year. That is what was said by our ancestors from whom it was rightly known that the cedar was of medicinal purpose.

[1] The Pleiades.

[P. 35, B]

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571 women, and might safely therefore be more "friendly" with them.

Oral Fixation

153 There is some evidence to suggest a preoccupation, which had a large component of aggressiveness, with oral needs. This concern with eating (and with other oral phenomena, such as ritualistic pipe-smoking, naming, and oratory), which reached far beyond subsistence requirements, can hardly be ascribed to a realistic subsistence anxiety since the Delawares had ample supplies of animal and vegetable foods at their disposal, and adequate techniques for cultivating, gathering, preserving, and storing them. It is worth [787] mentioning that the pubescent Delaware solicited the favor of a guardian spirit by self-imposed fasting; the spirit was supposed to pity him and appear in a vision; later the spirit would be important to him in helping to secure food.[23] Oral rituals, often with a compulsive quality, were a [527] recurrent institutional theme: almost all social gatherings involved eating, smoking, and oratory, and some were frankly eating-orgies—the famous "eat-all" feasts, for example; the fondness for liquor may be regarded as an oral trait of compulsive [757] character;[24] internal medicines were usually [758] taken as liquid herbal infusions, usually in large doses;[25] the sick lived on a liquid [754 diet;[26] suicide and witchcraft were both 762] accomplished in most cases by poison taken by mouth;[27] tortured prisoners were some-[727 times ceremonially eaten, and hunger 266] cannibalism was reported;[28] war parties made a ceremonial feast the night before their departure;[29] emetics were extensively [757 used in the treatment of disease, and vomit-777] ing was thought to relieve a sense of guilt, and also to bring luck.[30]

23. Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 132-133.
24. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 116; Heckewelder, 1819, p. 263.
25. Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 24-25; Tantaquidgeon.
26. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 24.
27. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 125; Heckewelder, 1819, p. 258.
28. Heckewelder, 1819, p. 199; Zeisberger, 1778, p. 107-108.
29. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 103.
30. Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 84, 133-134.

278 759 The herbalist, before using herbs previously gathered and dried, performs the same rite of smoking and prayer. If the plants are being gathered for future rather than for immediate use, an appeal is made to the Creator to bless the plants and render the remedies effective in curing the future ills of his grandchildren.

[184] The custom of offering prayers before the gathering and preparation of medicinal plants is not observed exclusively by the medicine men but is known to every Delaware. However, it was remarked that many fail to adhere to the ancient rite.

In observing Wi·tapanóxwe I was charmed by the delicate and reverential manner in which he handled the plants secured and arranged for this study. At this time he emphasized the idea of conservation, stating that one should gather only what was needed, and that vegetation in general should not be subjected to ruthless treatment.

[577] [823 784] Purity means much to the conservative Delaware and so the pure plants, as taken from Mother Earth, must not be defiled. It is therefore important that in order to avoid contamination no metal should come in contact with plants that are to be used in the treatment of disease. Roots and plants are allowed to dry in the sun, its rays lending them added potency. In this connection it is considered highly beneficial for [758] a convalescing person to lie directly in the sun, so that its strengthenings qualities may be transferred to him. After the process of curing, roots and leaves are prepared by crushing them in a non-metallic receptacle, a stone basin or a wooden mortar being used for the purpose.

[823] The herbalist smokes and offers a prayer while the medicine is being prepared and is always careful to stir it in the same direction—from left to right. One should never blow upon the concoction to cool it; to do so would represent an affront to the spirit of the plant.

159 The most able practioner will not treat himself when ill, nor a sick member of his family, but always calls upon the service of another.[14]

If an herbalist or sweat doctor, after diagnosing a case, feels that it is beyond his power to effect a cure, he will send the patient to another more capable of treating him successfully. Sometimes a sick person

[14] Zeisberger *(op. cit.* p. 25) "If one should know enough to help himself, being able to prepare *Beson*, and became ill, he will rarely treat himself, having the superstitious belief that what is prepared by himself will be of no benefit. Using what has been prepared by another, he believes, will bring relief."

[P. 35, B]

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1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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CHAPTER XXX.

PHYSICIANS AND SURGEONS.

BY these names I mean to distinguish the good and honest practitioners who are in the habit of curing and healing diseases and wounds, by the simple application of natural remedies, without any mixture of superstition in the manner of preparing or administering them. They are very different from the doctors or jugglers, of whom I shall speak in the next chapter. In one point, only, they seem to participate in their ridiculous notions, that is, in the different manner, which I have already noticed, of drawing water up or down the current of a stream, as it is to be respectively employed as a vehicle for an emetic or a cathartic. This singular idea prevails generally among the Indians of all classes. They think that as the one remedy is to work upwards and the other downwards, care should be taken in the preparation to follow the course of nature, so that no confusion should take place in the stomach or bowels of the patient.

With this only exception the Indian physicians are perhaps more free from fanciful theories than those of any other nation upon earth. Their science is entirely founded on observation, experience and the well tried efficacy of remedies. There are physicians of both sexes, who take considerable pains to acquire a correct knowledge of the properties and medical virtues of plants, roots and barks, for the benefit of their fellow men. They are very careful to have at all times a full assortment of their medicines on hand, which they gather and collect at the proper seasons, sometimes fetching them from

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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759 the distance of several days' journey from their homes, then they cure or dry them properly, tie them up in small bundles, and preserve them for use. It were to be wished that they were better skilled in the quantity of the medicines which they administer. But they are too apt, in general, to give excessive doses, on the mistaken principle that "*much of a good* thing must necessarily do much *good*."

Nevertheless, I must say, that their practice in general succeeds pretty well. I have myself been benefited and cured by taking their emetics and their medicines in fevers, and by being sweated after their manner while labouring under a stubborn rheumatism. I have also known many, both whites and Indians, who have with the same success resorted to Indian physicians while labouring under diseases. The wives of Missionaries, in every instance in which they had to apply to the female physicians, for the cure of complaints peculiar to their sex, experienced good results from their abilities. They are also well skilled in curing wounds and bruises. I once for two days and two nights, suffered the most excruciating pain from a felon or whitlow on one of my fingers, which deprived me entirely of sleep. I had re-
[757] course to an Indian woman, who in less than half an hour relieved me entirely by the simple application of a poultice made of the root of the common blue violet.

752 Indeed, it is in the cure of external wounds that they particularly excel. Not only their professional men and women, but every warrior is more or less acquainted with the healing properties of roots and plants, which is, in a manner, indispensable to them, as they are so often in danger of being wounded in their engagements with the enemy. Hence this branch of knowledge is carried to a great degree of perfection among them. I firmly believe that there is no wound, unless it should be absolutely mortal, or beyond the skill of our own good practitioners, which an Indian surgeon (I mean the best of

It was then they came to tell me what my mission on earth was to be. Since everyone has a purpose in life, mine was to heal the sick. Whenever I dreamed a secret I told my mother and she told me to keep this to myself until I became older. Now as I get older, I feel that I shall be better known in years to come. I am confident that my dream-vision power will bring me success throughout life since the Creator does not abandon his children to whom he had entrusted such gifts. By this I have learned to work out my own salvation, knowing that the Indian wholly depends upon the talent allotted to him by the Creator. These experiences fully qualify me to lead in the Big House if I choose to do so. My brothers do not know this but they suspect that I have a vision to relate. Some day they may have the pleasure of hearing it when the opportunity offers.

Delaware Practitioners

Delaware herbalists are of two classes:[6] (1) "one who knows [medicine] well" and (2) "one who uses medicine for magic purposes."[7] It is believed that to the former is entrusted the knowledge of the healing properties of plants as well as the methods of preparing and administering them as medicine. These practitioners are usually women

[6] Heckewelder (1876, p. 228) refers to the herbalists as "physicians and surgeons" and says in part: "By these names I wish to distinguish the good and honest practitioners who are in the habit of curing and healing diseases and wounds, by the simple application of natural remedies, without any mixture of superstition in the manner of preparing them." Zeisberger (*op. cit.* p. 24) does not classify the Indian doctors but writes, "There are Indians who have considerable knowledge of the virtue of roots and herbs, learned from their fathers, and who bring about relief."

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 231. Heckewelder, in discussing this type has chosen to call them "doctors or juggler," for which he gives the following reasons: "These men are physicians, like the others of whom I have spoken, and like them are acquainted with the properties and virtues of plants, barks, roots and other remedies. They differ from them only by their pretensions of a superior knowledge. As the Indians in general believe in witchcraft, and ascribe to the arts of sorcerers many of the disorders with which they are afflicted in the regular course of nature, this class of men has risen up among them who pretend to be skilled in a certain occult science, by means of which they are able not only to cure natural diseases, but to counteract or destroy the enchantments of wizards or witches, and expel evil spirits."

759 but occasionally a man is blessed with a vision [8] in which the Creator bestows upon him this great gift, and like Witapanóxwe, he becomes an herbalist. In addition to the knowledge of healing acquired through his guardian Spirit,[9] the informant has also followed carefully the teachings of his mother who was recognized by Delaware of the older generation as one adept in the art of compounding and administering herbal remedies.

791 The second class is composed of individuals whose supernatural power enables them to perform acts such as reuniting an estranged couple or dispelling a supposedly evil charm. Certain rare plants are employed by them in practices resorted to only in emergencies.

It must be emphasized here that, according to Delaware belief, the practitioners are the medium through whom the Creator sends his healing power to alleviate distress caused by the physical and mental ills which attack the frail bodies of mankind.

Absolute faith in the unfailing power and benevolence of the Creator is the force which inspires the Delaware who has been blessed with a medicine vision and he is ever appealing in prayer to that higher Spiritual Force for aid in his professional undertakings.

824 825 Believing that plants and animals in general are closely related to mankind [10] and that the Creator has endowed them individually with spiritual natures equally as sensitive as our own, the Delaware herbalist is always careful to perform the formal propitiatory rites before gathering a plant or removing part of an animal for use in making medicine.

759 824 782 278 If a practitioner is called upon to treat a person during the growing season in spring or summer, his first move, after the formal acceptance of the case and receipt of a gift of tobacco, is to go out and seek a plant of the desired species to be used in making medicine for the treatment of the particular ailment. After coming upon the first plant

[8] Zeisberger *(op. cit.* p. 25) "Fancied skill and imagined ability to heal the sick are traced to dreams which these individuals may have had in their youth. To the dreams they appeal, for in them they have much faith." See also Speck, 1931, p. 51; Harrington, 1921, p. 61; and Benedict, 1923.

[9] Harrington (1921, p. 80) quoting from the notes of R. C. Adams, "It is believed by the Delaware that every one has a guardian spirit which comes in the form of some bird, animal, or other thing, at times in dreams and tells them what to do and what will happen. The guardian spirit is sent from the Great spirit."

[10] Speck (1931, pp. 28, 29) discusses the principle of consanguinity as applied to deities and nature-forces.

4: Tantaquidgeon E-5 (1930) 1942
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of the variety required, he does not gather it [11] but performs a ritual to appease the Spirit of the plant. A small hole is dug towards the east near its base and a small quantity of native tobacco [12] placed within. The herbalist then lights his pipe and smokes, meanwhile making the following appeal to the Creator and to the Spiritual forces which govern vegetation. The songs and properties are regarded as personal property and the accompanying medicine-gathering prayer of Wi·tapa·nóxwe is regarded as typical.

MEDICINE GATHERING PRAYER (free translation)

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"Grandfather, I come now for medical treatment. Your grandson (name of suppliant) needs your aid. He is giving you a smoke-offering here of tobacco. He implores you that he will get well because he, your child, is pitiful. And I myself earnestly pray that you take pity on him the sick one, I wish for him to get well forever of that which is causing pain in his body. For with you alone rests the spiritual power sufficient to bless anyone with, and hear now him our Grandfather tobacco, I beg of him that he will help me when we plead with earnest heart that you will take pity on your grandchild and that you will accept this appeal. I am thankful, Grandfather, also Creator, that you grant our appeal this day for all that we ask.[13] I am thankful, Grandfather. That is enough for this time."

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Upon the conclusion of this propitiatory rite the medicine person searches out another plant of the same species, which if clean and healthy-looking, is then gathered. It is now ready to be treated in accordance with the rules governing the preparation of roots and herbs in the accompanying pharmacopeia. If the root of a plant is to be used in making medicine, it is gathered at the season when the vital properties are present; similarly the stalk or leaves each are gathered at the proper seasons.

[11] Harrington (1921, p. 26) in reference to the manitowuck to whom the Indians pray, says, "These are mentioned in the ritual of the Annual Ceremony and the people often pray to them when gathering herbs or preparing medicines, at the same time offering tobacco." He also says (p. 51) that, ". . . Some seem to have prayed to the four directions, other to the presiding genius of the species of the plants they sought or to the spirit of the individual plant itself."

[12] "Real tobacco" (Nicotiana rustica), to which a Delaware term meaning, "our grandfather," is also given.

[13] The proper phrase in full is, "give us what we ask for." It is abbreviated here to suit the formula.

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4:Tantaquidgeon E-5 (1930) 1942
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will visit several doctors in succession before finding one who has knowledge of preparing a remedy for his particular illness.[18]

The person, either male or female, known by the term meaning "one who uses medicine for magic purposes," apparently had a larger number of patients in early times than the type of practitioner previously described. Zeisberger *(op. cit.,* p. 25), and Heckewelder *(op. cit.,* p. 231), from whom this impression is obtained, give rather detailed accounts of their seemingly weird practices. Both writers attribute the popularity of this group of healers to their feigned ability of dispelling the charms of evil sorcerers whom the Indians constantly feared. Witapanóxwe clarifies the distorted impressions implicit in these accounts by his interpretation of the procedure employed in treatment. The herbalist was called upon to aid individuals who have experienced difficulty in their marital relations or who have tried unsuccessfully to win the favor of a lover. Others came to him to be freed from malevolent influences. His power was not, however, limited to the control of human beings but extended to animals as well. Such a person was truly a "powerful man." This great power was entrusted with the admonition that it must never be used for malevolent purposes. Like the group of practitioners previously mentioned, the code of such people was based upon profound faith in the Creator, strict observance of the laws of nature and a deep regard for the traditions of their tribe.

The plants employed by such an herbalist were of the rarest and most powerful kind. Their habitat and medicinal properties were not known to ordinary individuals. Such plants were unable to withstand the progress of civilization because, as my informant put it, "they could not live in unclean surroundings." The preparation made from these rare flora was known to the Delaware as "medicine for magic use," or "love medicine" (Zeisberger, *op. cit.,* p. 83). It was regarded as a gift, not to be used upon ordinary occasions but only in cases of emergency.

[18] Zeisberger (*ibid.,* p. 55) states that "Concerning plants and roots of medicinal value, it would be possible, if one were to devote himself to inquiry, to secure a great deal of information from the Indians for what one does not know another does, each man and woman having some knowledge in this direction, some more, some less. Hence, the custom that a patient who has consulted an Indian and secures a medicine from him without, however, being benefited, will go immediately to another; if no relief is obtained through his advice, the patient goes to a third, a fourth, until he finds one whose medicine helps."

757 cedure within the lodge for the purpose of diagnosing and treating sickness.

The term applied to the sweat house healer is one meaning a "sweat 756 doctor." He always performs within the lodge when asked to examine 757 or treat a patient. It is interesting to note that my informant, Wi·tapanóxwe, and Charley Elkhair, the present head chief of the Oklahoma Delaware, claim the distinction of being the only men among the Oklahoma Delaware who have supernatural sanction to perform in this capacity. The former believes that he is privileged to assume the role which his people consider appropriate only for men whose mind and character have been strengthened by years of experience but that up to the present time (1930) he has not attempted it. The powerful shamans[29] of an earlier period were said to have been able to perform miraculous feats and effect marvelous cures without the aid of the sweat lodge although it was frequently employed in their practices.

787 Both of the above types of medicinemen receive their power from 756 the Creator through dream-visions, the spiritual visitation occurring 759 usually just before sunrise or sunset. The vision is accompanied by a medicine song which becomes the personal property of the healer, to be sung during performances in the sweat lodge. It is said that women rarely became sweat doctors. Wi·tapanóxwe, since his vision and medicine song were received just before sunrise, considers that as the time of day during which he would be most successful in curing activities within the sweat lodge. Those who received their power at sunset accordingly regarded that as the most suitable time for performances.

Contrary to the herbalist's custom of not accepting gifts or payment for his services, the sweat doctor expects payment from those who approach him for consultation and treatment. In former times trader's trinkets, etc., and somewhat later, horses, blankets, and money were given by those requiring his services.

343 The construction and equipment of the sweat lodge are matters of considerable importance in this particular type of curing. It is built of twelve poles which represent the twelve levels of heaven (Speck, 1931, p. 74) and according to native belief, lead to the abode of the [772] Creator. For this purpose saplings chosen for their flexibility, are cut

[29] In Delaware the term used means "powerful man," "man who can heal," and refers to a type of shaman, called *medew* by the Delaware of an earlier period, especially concerned with curing. Among the Chippewa (Densmore, 1929, pp. 86-97) the *mide* were the leaders of the *mide'wiwin* or Grand Medicine Society. See also Hodge, 1912, p. 523.

right. It is never cooled by blowing upon it. Running water should be used, and it was customary in former times to dip the water with or against the current, or to submerge the container and allow the water to flow in from all sides.[1] 278

The term *"doctol,"* from English doctor, was the only term for an herbalist obtainable from those interviewed. It is also said both men and women could become practitioners. When calling upon a doctor for treatment it is customary to offer him a present of money. In former times, cloth, tobacco, and other gifts were offered. 759

GREAT MULLEIN *(Verbascum thapsus)*. 278 757

The leaves are crushed and applied as a poultice to bruised surfaces to reduce swelling and allay pain.

NANNYBERRY *(Viburnum lentago)* and mullein leaves are steeped and the tea administered in case of measles.

LIVE-FOREVER *(Sedum telephioides)*. [752]

The leaves are crushed and used as a poultice to draw out poison. My informant regarded this to be a most powerful and effective application. He stated that he had suffered from a serious case of infection which resulted from stepping on a rusty nail and that the above remedy cured him in a short while.

PLANTAIN *(Plantago major)*.

The leaves are crushed and applied to bruises.

BURDOCK *(Arctium minus)*.

The leaves are bound on the body to reduce pain. The root is used in making medicine for purifying the blood.

HORSERADISH *(Radicula armoracia)*.

The leaves are applied as a poultice in case of neuralgia.

BITTERSWEET *(Celastrus scandens)*.

The root is used for making medicine which is administered to persons suffering from consumption.

TANSY *(Tanacetum vulgare)*.

The plant is used in making medicine which is effective in treating disorders of the stomach.

[1] My informants could not explain this but said that the water must be dipped in different ways according to the nature of the disease to be treated. It is a common belief that water dipped *with* the current acts as a laxative and *against* it acts as an emetic. Allowing the water to flow into the container from all sides suggests the idea that the remedy to be made would tend to benefit the entire system.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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as the white and black oak, the white walnut, of which they make pills, the cherry, dogwood, maple, birch, and several others. They prepare and compound these medicines in different ways, which they keep a profound secret. Those preparations are frequently mixed with superstitious practices, calculated to guard against the powers of witchcraft, in which, unfortunately they have a strong fixed belief. Indeed, they are too apt to attribute the most natural deaths to the arts and incantations of sorcerers, and their medicine is, in most cases, as much directed against those as against the disease itself. There are, however, practitioners among them who are free from these prejudices, or at least do not introduce them into their practice of the medical art. Still there is a superstitious notion, in which all their physicians participate, which is, that when an emetic is to be administered, the water in which the potion is mixed must be drawn up a stream, and if for a cathartic downwards. This is, at least, innocent, and not more whimsical perhaps, nor more calculated to excite a smile, than some theories of grave and learned men in civilised countries.

In fevers the Indians usually administer emetics which are made up and compounded in various ways. I saw an emetic once given to a man who had poisoned himself with the root of the May Apple.* It consisted of a piece of racoon skin burned with the hair on and finely powdered, pounded dry beans and gunpowder. These three ingredients were mixed with water and poured down the patient's throat. This brought on a severe vomiting, the poisonous root was entirely discharged and the man cured.

In other complaints, particularly in those which proceed from rheumatic affections, bleeding and sweating are always the first remedies applied. The sweat oven is the first thing that an Indian has recourse to when he

* Podophyllum peltatum.

4:Tantaquidgeon E-5 (1930) 1942
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It is customary for the Delaware to learn in dreams names suitable for their children. During the later stages of pregnancy, the mid-wife or an old man is asked to think of a name and that revealed in a dream is later given to the child. Such a person need not necessarily be of the child's immediate relatives. Occasionally a gift is made him for this service.

To dream of catching fish in clear water is an indication that the dreamer will soon receive a sum of money. To dream of muddy water, on the other hand, is a sign of approaching illness or domestic difficulty.

To avert unpleasant dreams, a person smokes and prays to the Creator, appealing to him for aid in propitiating the supernatural powers responsible for such dreams. Cedar is also burned in the house to cleanse it. If a child is troubled by dreams at night, cedar boughs are soaked in water which is sprinkled over his person and the bed. This is believed to keep evil spirits away.

The more conservative Delaware have always been dependent upon dreams, and the appearance of certain celestial phenomena to warn them of impending danger. The appearance of a comet, "war spirit," in the heavens, is a sign of war. The "war dragon" flies through the air at night and appears like a streak of fire. The direction towards which its course is bent, is noted as the source of trouble. My informant reminded me of the appearance of such (Halley's comet) before the outbreak of the first World War. A falling star is also significant in war time. A fugitive attempting to escape may be located by means of a falling star, which the Delaware believe points to the spot of concealment. To point to a falling star will bring bad luck to a person.

NATURAL SIGNS AND OMENS

A FEW BELIEFS of miscellaneous character are noted for other natural phenomena. The two ends of the rainbow are believed to point to water. A snowfall late in the spring, with the wind to the north, indicates that the snow spirit is returning to his abode in the north. In the fall an abundance of berries and nuts, thick foliage and heavy corn husks all point to a long and severe winter.

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A ringing or buzzing sound in the ear is a sign of impending death or bad news. The ear in which the sound is heard indicates the direction from which the news may be expected.

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787 The twitching of the left eye, in the case of my informant, is a warn-
761 ing of the death of a relative or friend. This takes place two weeks or two months prior to the individual's death.

To see the suddenly disappearing likeness of a person is also a warning of death.

If a wolf barks at a person, it is an indication that he will live long.

Once Witapanóxwe, upon returning from the home of a sick person, saw a rabbit run from the shelter of a grave towards the house he had just left. To him it was a sign of the sick person's death in the near future.

787 Babies and small children are not allowed to cry at night nor older children to play after dark, for fear that their faces will become mis-shapen.

A "double crown" in an individual is an indication of longevity and superior intellect. The larger such features are, the longer is the possession to live and enjoy the blessings bestowed upon him by the Creator. An individual so blessed is assured of spiritual guidance and is likely to excel in his life work.

787 If chickens continue to scratch for food during a rain, it is an indica-
821 tion that the rain will continue for some time. A cock crowing during a storm says, "Going to clear off today." Crowing before midnight by the bird indicates a change of weather. Crowing on the doorstep brings a visitor.

If smoke from a fire rises during a storm, the rain will soon cease; if it hovers near the ground, the weather will continue unsettled.

If the sun casts slanting rays through the clouds, it is "drawing water." Rain will fall the following day.

When the wind blows the leaves "inside out," it is a sign of approaching rain.

A circle around the moon foretells an approaching storm. The number of stars within the circle indicates the time it will arrive.

To hear the sound of talking or cutting wood over a great distance indicates that a storm is brewing.

To see a hog carrying sticks of wood in its mouth is a sign of approaching rain.

"Three foggy mornings bring rain."

Thunder heard late in the winter foretells an early spring.

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

764 of the person departed, if he or she made any statement as to what way he wanted the burial conducted.

[525] "All who wish to may come and sit up with the corpse. The men pall-bearers sit up and others who wish to play a hand game," using usually a coffee bean or buckeye bean or a bullet for ball hiding—first under 764 a glove or moccasin—and the other persons guess which moccasin he hides 775 the bean or bullet under. This is kept up until daybreak. At night before the "wake," the men pall-bearers discharge three (another says two) musket shots toward the sunset, then everyone must rise and give attention. The shots symbolize the departure of the soul of the deceased. Everyone must be awakened, especially the children, so that they may not become frightened. The widowed person or the bereaved parents stay awake all night. And just before sunrise another volley of two or three shots is fired which symbolizes lifting the soul upward. The relatives of the deceased stand in front of the shooters. With the echo of the discharge the soul departs.

764 "Now an elderly person, who has been chosen to officiate at the ceremony, must offer thanks to the Great Spirit at breakfast time and [761] perform the ceremony before the body leaves the house. During the funeral procession no one must look back,—if they do it indicates another of the immediate members of the family will follow soon. The speaker must be given one 'Indian yard of wampum beads' for his services, which do not end until after the feast on the eleventh day noon hour.

"One of the pall-bearers must go to the grave each day and build a little fire at the head of the grave for four consecutive evenings and the people must leave the house in charge of someone, for it must not be left alone for twelve days, and a light must be kept burning at the main entrance of the house for four nights after the death of a person.

768 "And note, the widowed person must also be painted when the face 764 of the 'departed' body has been painted. Four days after, 'divorcement' proceeding takes place in the form of a ceremony. That is, they must burn cedar in the house to 'fumigate' and the cedar water is used to wash the widow's or widower's head. If a woman, she is told that she is now no longer obligated to her deceased husband's family. She is furnished with new clothes throughout. With this ceremony she is 'divorced,' but the relationship terminology remains the same to the family she formerly was married into.

775 "Now the burial hole is prepared on the day following the sitting up 826 with the body at night—it is not considered a grave until the body is in 772 it,—and even now, in the modern times, we do not believe in taking the body to be embalmed, as we believe the life blood is the spirit that remains on earth until the deceased is admitted to the abode of the Great Spirit, which is the twelfth level of the Heaven.

[525] This is the common moccasin game of North America. For description see S. Culin, "Games of the North American Indians," 24th Annual Report, Bureau American Ethnology 1906, and page 99 of this study.

202.	Other relatives observe mourning ___ days	90-365				•	12	0	365	4	4	3-4		765
203.	Dread the approach of death	+		+	+	+	S	+	–	–	–	+		761
204.	Die in full possession of faculties (generally)					–	+	•	+	+	•	+		775
205.	Take leave of friends					S	+	+	+	+	S	+		768
206.*	Believe bodies will be restored					+	•+	•+	–	–	–	+		614
207.	Disposition of property—to nearest kin †			–		+	•	+		+	+	+		582
208.	to others †			+	+	+	•		+			+		611
Lineage														
209.	Nation divided into ___ tribes †			3	3	3	3	8	3	3	3	3		643
210.	Division for purposes of government			–		+	+	–	+		+	–		
211.	On religious grounds			–			•	+	–			–		
212.	Attended by good effect					+	+	•	+			•		
213.	Tribes are exogamous			+	+				•					
214.	Tribes are endogamous									+				
215.	Matrilineal descent		+	+	+		+		+	+	(+)	+		
Chiefs														
216.	Civil chieftainship hereditary		–	(+)	–		–	•+	–	–	•(+)	–		
217.	Son succeeds		–	(+)	–		–	–	–	–	(+)	–		
218.	Brother first choice		–		–		+	+	–	–	(+)	–		
219.	Nephew (sister's son) next		–		+		+	+	–	–	(+)	–		
220.	Woman could be				–		–	–	–	–	–	–		
221.	Election of civil chief		+	–	+		+	•+	+	+	+	+		
222.	By people		+		–		–	–	+	+	+	+		
223.	By counselors				•+		+	+	+	+	+	+		
224.	Installed by other tribes				+		•	(+)	?		–	+		
225.	Can be removed			/	+		+	•+	+	–	+	+		
226.	Chief names successor			–				+	+	–	+	•		
227.	Can dismiss successor							+	+	–	•	–		
228.	Any particular age at succession †						–	+	+	+	+	–		
229.	Both civil and war chiefs				+		+	+	+	+	+	+		
230.	Number of civil chiefs per tribe						1	1	1	1	1	1		
231.	Number of war chiefs per tribe						1	1	2	1	1	1		
232.	Boundary between civil and war chiefs		+		+		+	•+	+	+	+	+		
233.	Civil chief has authority superior to war chief in peace	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+		
234.	Stops on declaration of war		+				+	+	+	+	+	+		
235.	War chief hereditary				–									
236.	War chief elected				–			+			–	+		

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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764 [763] bers of the family before death. Thus, while old articles were required, those possessed by an individual might be so completely disposed of before death that the requirement was impossible of fulfillment and nullified.

The statement of Captain Pipe that posts were erected only at the head of graves containing males apparently was in error, although neither of the other sources of his period reported on this element (187). The sources prior to him and the informants who followed him all reported the erection of posts at the graves of both males and females.

A moccasin game at the side of the corpse the night before burial was reported by all the informants of the fourth period as an important part of the death ceremonies (193). The game was introduced among the Delaware at least as early as the third period (see 447), but apparently did not become associated with death customs until some time after 1824.

765 Mourning observances show two very marked changes; namely, the dropping of wearing black and dawn visits to the grave (196 and 201). The wearing of black was reported definitely in the first period, ignored in the second period, both reported and denied in the third and definitely denied in the fourth. Starting in the second period, reports of the dawn visits to the grave followed the same pattern of affirmation, contradiction, and denial. The length of mourning of widow or widower is reported so differently that one cannot postulate any direction of change (194). Mourning of relatives is also reported with the same variation in length of observance (202).

761 775 Theoretically there should be a connection between the elements dealing with dread of the approach of death and belief that bodies will be restored (203 and 206). That is, one would expect a belief in the restoration of life to be accompanied by a freedom of dread of death and a lack of belief in the restoration accompanied by dread of the approach of death. Instead of this correlation, we find that only one of the four informants who denied a belief that bodies would be restored after death admitted to a dread of the approach of death. Of course, the [774] belief in the separate survival of the soul must be considered in

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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connection with the dread of death and the restoration of the body thereafter, but all the reports on these two elements also expressed a belief in the immortality of the soul.

Lineage

There is no change indicated by a consideration of matters of lineage with the exception of the endogamy vouched for by W. T. (214). He said that originally and until recently Delaware clans were endogamous, that each had to be kept clean and pure; but that now there are lots of half- and quarter-breeds. This statement of endogamy is not supported by other historic or contemporaneous evidence.

On the division of the Delaware into three groups, Turtle, Wolf and Turkey, there have been many conflicting opinions (209). Heckewelder called them tribes coinciding with the Unamis or Delaware, Munsee, and Unalachtigo.[5] Morgan considered them gens in the nature of phratries.[6] The modern Delaware frequently refer to these divisions as clans. Since Morgan's conclusion of phratries was based on the functionless and only vaguely remembered subdivisions called subgentes, it is important to have the result of Trowbridge's inquiries on this subject. He wrote:

"The Delaware nation is divided into three tribes, the *Tôôkseet* or Wolf (Round foot; from *Tôôkwaa* round & *oozêêt* foot) the *Tshêêkunum* or Turkey, called by the Munsees and sometimes by the Delawares *Pelâaooh*, and the *Tôôlpaa* or Turtle, (in Munsee *Skêêhkee*).

"They say that anciently each of these three tribes was divided into four, making twelve tribes, but they do not recollect the names of those subdivisions.

"Mr. Heckewelder has strangely mistaken himself when he said that Unamis (*Woonâûmee*) meant Turtle, or Turtle tribe, and Unalachtigo (*Woonalâûhtekoa*) the Turkey tribe. The term *Woonâûmee* was given by the Munsees to the Turtle tribe of

[5] Heckewelder, *History, Manners, and Customs of the Indians*, pp. 51-52.
[6] Morgan, Lewis H., *Ancient Society . . .* (Chicago, Henry Holt and Company, 1907), p. 172.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

WELDER and JOHN JOHNSTON said that the proportion was rather more than among the whites, the former attributing the cause to the introduction of liquor.

W. T. denied that there were any sterile Indian women. W. L. said that he knew of two cases.

169. Number of Children

ZEISBERGER gave the usual number of children as 4 to 6 in one place, whereas in another he said 8 to 12.

HECKEWELDER said that generally there were 4 to 5 children in a family, while some families had 6 to 9, and a few had as many as thirteen.

173 and 174. Age of marriage

VAN DER DONCK said that both men and women commonly got married only when they were fit to do so.

DEATH AND ITS INCIDENTS

The following accounts touch on so many points not treated by the others or each other that they are given here in their entirety.

CAPTAIN PIPE—As soon as life leaves the body some distant relative of the deceased takes upon himself the charge of paying the last offices. Two men and two women, not related, are employed in washing and dressing the body, (now in a white cloth; anciently in a newly dressed skin,) which is laid upon a kind of platform where it is kept one day previous to the interment. This time was formerly three days in summer and seven days in winter, because they supposed that the tutelar deity of the deceased might restore them to life; but at this day they seem to have little faith and are apparently anxious to get the corpse out of sight as soon as decency will permit. The two male attendants prepare a coffin in which they place the body, and it is borne by them to the grave, preceded by the relatives and succeeded by the more distant friends. The grave is dug about three feet deep and the coffin is covered with earth as among the whites. Before they knew the use of boards the grave was lined with bark and the body pro-

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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764 At the head of a warrior it is common for them to place a white post, upon which is represented in hieroglyphics the tribe to which he belonged, the number of engagements in which he had been engaged, of scalps which he had taken, etc.; but no post is placed at the graves of women.

763 It is very customary among them to take leave of their friends when death approaches. In this they generally exhort them to good conduct, to live in harmony with each other and thus to procure the favor of the Great Spirit, and success in their undertakings. Some of them who have led improper and dissolute [761] lives dread very much the approach of death, but others die in perfect reconciliation to their fate. They generally die in possession of their mental faculties to the last moment, but to this many exceptions are found, resulting from the nature of the disease or the impression which the idea of death may have upon their minds.

764 J. W.—Two men and two women not related to deceased were chosen to take care of things relating to funeral. In the death of a man, the men prepared the body while the women cooked; the women prepared the body of a woman while the men cooked. [768] The relatives divided and distributed good articles left by the deceased among the persons who served. Old, much used articles were put in the grave.

The face of the deceased was painted as in life. The body was dressed in Indian clothes which had to be new. If the deceased did not have new clothes, they made them.

The corpse was kept until noon of the day after death before burial. It was placed in bark house outside of dwelling. Moccasin game played on south side of fire. Two pairs of moccasins were used but only one bullet. Towards morning (three o'clock) one pair was taken away. Points in the game were counted with about one hundred little sticks. After the one pair of moccasins [525] was taken away the winner of a counter threw it into the fire. The game is not played now but some one, usually one of the attendants, sits up all night with the corpse. No feast accompanied the game but food was available for all visitors.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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brought from Albany, was taken by some Indians of the Chippeway nation, and destined to be put to death. A Frenchman, impelled by motives of friendship and humanity, found means to steal the prisoner, and kept him so concealed for some time, that although the most diligent search was made, the place of his confinement could not be discovered. At last, however, the unfortunate man was betrayed by some false friend, and again fell into the power of the Indians, who took him across the river to be burned and tortured. Tied to the stake, and the fire burning by his side, his thirst, from the great heat, became intolerable, and he begged that some drink might be given to him. It is a custom with the Indians, previous to a prisoner being put to death, to give him what they call his last meal; a bowl of pottage or broth was therefore brought to him for that purpose. Eager to quench his thirst, he put the bowl immediately to his lips, and the liquor being very hot, he was dreadfully scalded. Being a man of a very quick temper, the moment he felt his mouth burned, he threw the bowl with its contents full in the face of the man who had handed it to him. "He is mad! He is mad!" resounded from all quarters. The bystanders considered his conduct as an act of insanity, and immediately untied the cords with which he was bound, and let him go where he pleased.

This fact was well known to all the inhabitants of Detroit, from whom I first heard it, and it was afterwards confirmed to me by Mr. Chapman himself, who was established as a merchant at that place.

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[828]

SUICIDE is not considered by the Indians either as an act of heroism or of cowardice, nor is it with them a subject of praise or blame. They view this desperate act as the consequence of mental derangement, and the person who destroys himself is to them an object of pity. Such cases do not frequently occur. Between the years 1771 and 1780, four Indians of my acquaintance took

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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(Acquaintance of mine
Between the years 1771 and 1780, four Indians of my
762 [278] the root of the may-apple, which is commonly used on such occasions, in order to poison themselves, in which they all succeeded, except one. Two of them were young men, who had been disappointed in love, the girls on whom they had fixed their choice, and to whom they were engaged, having changed their minds and married other lovers. They both put an end to their existence. The two others were married men. Their stories, as pictures of Indian manners, will not, perhaps, be thought uninteresting.

One of those unfortunate men was a person of an excellent character, respected and esteemed by all who knew him. He had a wife whom he was very fond of and two children, and they lived very happily together at the distance of about half a mile from the place where I resided. He often came to visit me, and as he was of a most amiable disposition, I was pleased with his visits, and always gave him a hearty welcome. When I thought he was too long without coming, I went myself to the delightful spot which he had judiciously selected for his dwelling. Here I always found the family cheerful, sociable and happy, until some time before the fatal catastrophe happened, when I observed that my friend's countenance bore the marks of deep melancholy, of which I afterwards learned the cause. His wife had received the visits of another man; he foresaw that he would soon be obliged to separate from her, and he shuddered when he thought that he must also part from his two lovely children; for it is the [586] custom of the Indians, that when a divorce takes place between husband and wife, the children remain with their mother, until they are of a proper age to choose for themselves. One hope, however, still remained. The sugar-making season was at hand, and they were shortly to remove to their sugar camp, where he flattered himself his wife would not be followed by the disturber of his peace, whose residence was about ten miles from thence. But this hope was of short duration. They had hardly been

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

a fortnight in their new habitation, when, as he returned one day from a morning's hunt, he found the unwelcome visitor at his home, in close conversation with his faithless wife. This last stroke was more than he could bear; without saying a single word, he took off a large cake of his sugar, and with it came to my house, which was at the distance of eight miles from his temporary residence. It was on a Sunday, at about ten o'clock in the forenoon, that he entered my door, with sorrow strongly depicted on his manly countenance. As he came in he presented me with his cake of sugar, saying, "My friend! you have "many a time served me with a good pipe of tobacco, "and I have not yet done any thing to please you. Take "this as a reward for your goodness, and as an acknow-"ledgment from me as your friend." He said no more, but giving me with both his hands a warm farewel squeeze, he departed and returned to the camp. At about two o'clock in the afternoon a runner from thence passing through the town to notify his death at the village two miles farther, informed us of the shocking event. He had immediately on his return, remained a short time in his house, indulging in the last caresses to his dear innocent children; then retiring to some distance, had eaten the fatal root, and before relief could be administered by some persons who had observed him staggering from the other side of the river, he was on the point of expiring, and all succours were vain.

The last whom I have to mention, was also a married man, but had no children. He had lived happy with his wife, until one day that she fell into a passion and made use to him of such abusive language as he could not endure. Too highminded to quarrel with a woman, he resolved to punish her by putting an end to his existence. Fortunately he was seen in the first stage of his fits, and was brought into a house, where a strong emetic diluted in lukewarm water, the composition of which I have al-

l:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

ready described,* was forcibly poured down his throat. He recovered after some time, but never was again the strong healthy man he had been before; his wife however took warning from this desperate act, and behaved better ever after.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

DRUNKENNESS.

IN treating of this subject, I cannot resist the impression of a melancholy feeling, arising from the comparison which forces itself upon my mind of what the Indians were before the Europeans came into this country, and what they have become since, by a participation in our vices. By their intercourse with us, they have lost much of that original character by which they were once distinguished, and which it is the object of this work to delineate, and the change which has taken place is by no means for the better. I am not one of those wild enthusiasts who would endeavour to persuade mankind that savage life is preferable to a state of civilisation; but I leave it to every impartial person to decide, whether the condition of the healthy sober Indian, pursuing his game through forests and plains, is not far superior to that of the gangrened drunken white man, rioting in debauchery and vice?

I have already before taken notice† of the assertion

* See ch. 29. p. 218.

† See ch. 28. p. 215.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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found guilty and the wife was "permitted to draw off his right shoe and left stocking...she then tears off the lappet that covers his private parts, gives him a kick behind, and so drives him out of the house...."[75] Husbands could punish adulterous wives by thrashing them, or could obtain a divorce by bringing them before the chief or sachem. The woman's hair was cut off, she was deprived of her property, and perhaps even of her life, if found guilty by the sachem.[76] But Denton remarked: "It is no offense for their married women to lie with another man provided she acquaint her husband, or some of her nearest Relations with it, but if not it is accounted such a fault that they sometimes punish it with death."[77] One of the culturally sanctioned mechanisms for obtaining revenge upon an adulterous spouse was suicide.[78] A man's retaliation for adultery could also be seduction of the adulterer's wife. If and when the injured husband was successful in this venture, he made the fact public so that the original adulterer would be held up for public scorn.[79]

A widow, prior to remarriage, whether his wife had died of natural or other causes, had to recompense her relatives for her loss.[80] The duration of mourning was about a year.[81] A widow during this time had to support herself; she could not be given meat since a hunter's weapons were supposed to fail if he had given meat to a widow.[82] When the year had passed, the deceased one's soul left the earth and remarriage could follow.

Death

As soon as a person died the fact of death was spread throughout the community by a crier. The crier was a woman especially appointed and paid for her services.[83] This announcement evoked loud outcrys and lamentations from the general populace. These lamentations were continued intermittently in the house where the deceased lay until burial.[84] In recent times and perhaps earlier the moccasin game was played in the dwelling where the corpse lay.[85] The body was not buried at once because it was necessary to give the supernatural forces an opportunity to restore life to the corpse.[86] The length of time the body was kept varied with the season; it was three days in summer and seven in winter.[87] During this interval the corpse was dressed in new clothes and richly adorned and painted. Before noon on the day of burial a number

[75] De Rasieres, 1909, p. 108.
[76] *Ibid.*; see also Pastorius, 1912, p. 434.
[77] Denton, 1845, p. 9.
[78] Penn, 1912, p. 232; Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 258-59; Loskiel, 1794, p. 58.
[79] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 77.
[80] Penn, 1912, p. 232.
[81] Pastorius, 1912, p. 435; Holm, 1834, p. 143; Brickell, 1842, p. 49; Trowbridge MS.
[82] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 88; Loskiel, 1794, p. 64.
[83] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 249; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 269.
[84] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 89; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 269.
[85] Harrington, 1913, p. 215; Kinietz, 1946, p. 72.
[86] Trowbridge MS; Kinietz, 1946, p. 51; J.T.
[87] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 249; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 269; Trowbridge MS; Kinietz, 1946, p. 51; M.B.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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765 days after burial (J.T.). The modern funerary feast may not be entirely representative of the aboriginal custom but it probably is a fairly accurate reflection of it.[111] These annual feasts are held at the home of the mourning relative and not at the cemetery. Friends and relatives eat, pray, and talk about the departed. Some person, unrelated to the deceased, is especially invited. (Trowbridge also noted this custom.) This guest, who has to be younger than the deceased at the time of death but of the same sex, must sample all the foods which were favorites of the deceased. The feast, it is said, benefits the dead since the food the stand-in eats satisfies the spiritual appetite of the dead. The stand-in is not paid for his services (J.T., O.A.).

765 Another adjunct to funeral customs of the modern period, and perhaps one which existed in an earlier period, consists of rites of purification. 783 Following a funeral, the immediate family burns a handful of sweet grass on the grave (O.A.). The members of the family also purify themselves by washing the arms, hands, and face with water and then symbolically rubbing the smoke from burned cedar leaves over these same parts. With cedar smoke they also purify the rooms of the dwelling where the person died. This is said to repel the soul of the departed if it should attempt to return (O.A., J.T., N.D.).

764 It seems reasonable to assume that prior to European contact the Delawares varied somewhat in their funerary rites. De Vries, for example, alluded to a form of secondary burial, but this cannot be specifically associated with the Delawares.[112] This account mentioned a funeral feast and the erection of four poles and shelves upon the grave. Lindestrom also described a grave upon which four poles were raised:[113]

> The dead man's money is placed upon him and he is set down in the pit upon the stool with a tobacco pipe, a fathom long, in his mouth, screwed together with leather, the head of green or black stone, which is lighted through by the fire in the pipe, so that we can see how the tobacco is consumed, and this pipe-head is so large that a handful of tobacco will go into it, which is to be his food on the journey. This pipe they dig down into the ground from the mouth of the man.[114]

Thomas mentioned that the bones of celebrated persons were carried considerable distances to be reinterred near their homes. Perhaps this is a reference to the well-known secondary burial of the Nanticokes.[115]

762 Suicide.—It has already been noted that suicide was a means of punishing an adulterous spouse. Heckewelder knew of four persons who committed suicide between 1771 and 1780; all were men and all ate the root of the May apple. Three were successful, and the other was given an emetic and survived. Two of the men committed suicide because of thwarted love lives; the other two were married to adulterous women.[116] Trowbridge early in the nineteenth century mentioned that suicide was

[111] Speck, 1937, p. 59, has discussed "Sacrifice Feasts" of which funeral feasts are an example and noted that their "ancient character is exhibited by the fact of [their] wide distribution in similar form over the entire territory inhabited by Algonkin-speaking peoples."

[112] De Vries, 1909, pp. 223-24.

[113] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 250.

[114] *Ibid.*, p. 249.

[115] Thomas, 1912, p. 340.

[116] Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 258-60.

2;Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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not uncommon: "Mr. Conner knows of many instances of it having been committed, sometimes by shooting, but generally by eating the root of the may apple. It proceeds most frequently from excess of gref (sic) or from disappointment in love."[117] There are indications, then, of a pattern of sex-oriented suicide in Delaware culture at least as early as the eighteenth century.

Kin Groups

There is no way of knowing exactly how much Delaware kinship structure and terminology changed in the two and a half centuries following European invasion. That it did change during this period is virtually certain, since factors which induce change were present, such as altered rules of residence, decreased polygyny, and increased economic and political importance of men. The literature of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries gives no description of the kinship structure. L. H. Morgan was the first investigator to furnish information on the subject, obtaining his data in 1859 on the Kansas reservation of the Delawares. Even at this time Morgan termed the system "deteriorated."[118] I shall first describe the system found by Morgan, then compare it with the modern one, and finally turn to a reconstruction of the early historic system. Kinship terms given by Zeisberger and other earlier authors are too scant to yield any information; these nuclear terms agree with Morgan's lists.

Nineteenth-Century Kinship Terms and Principles

The kinship system of both the Munsi and Unami has been called the "Mackenzie Basin" type by Spier, and would be termed Hawaiian by Murdock.[119] According to Morgan, the essential features of the Delaware (Unami) system (Fig. 1, p. 45; Fig. 2, p. 46) were:

1. A brother's son and daughter, whether Ego was male or female, were termed son and daughter.
2. A sister's son and daughter, Ego a male, were nephew and niece. Ego a female, they were son and daughter.
3. Parallel and cross-cousins were termed stepbrother and stepsister, "the males and females using different terms."[120]
4. A father's brother was termed little father.
5. A mother's brother was termed uncle.
6. Mother's sister, father's sister, and father's brother's wife were termed little mother.
7. All grandparents and all kin of the second ascending generation were called grandmother or grandfather.

[117] Trowbridge MS.
[118] Morgan, 1871, p. 221.
[119] Spier, 1925, p. 76; Murdock, 1949, pp. 223, 228.
[120] Morgan, 1871, pp. 221-22.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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years of age and women fourteen or fifteen. There is in general no very strong tie between married people, not even between the older. A mere trifle furnishes ground for separation. Not every Indian, however, is indifferent to the light behavior of his wife. Many a one takes her unfaithfulness so to heart that in the height of his despair he swallows a poisonous root, which generally causes death in two hours, unless an antidote be administered in good time; this is often done, the Indians knowing that the properties of certain herbs counteract each other and being able to judge from the effects, what poison has been taken. Women, also, have been known to destroy themselves on account of a husband's unfaithfulness. To prevent such a calamity, they make use of a Beson, a love-charm, prepared by the old people and sold at a good price. This is constantly carried about by one or the other of the parties and is believed to keep man or woman faithful. Such a charm is even declared to have had the effect of making a woman run always and everywhere after her husband, until weary of life she has destroyed herself, or of similarly affecting a man. For this Beson, also, the Indians have their antidote. All this converted Indians have related to me.

Older men and women, particularly, have another Beson, supposed to have the magic power of bringing many presents to them. This charm they guard jealously among their most precious belongings, and is said to have the effect of bringing them food, clothing and whatever else they may need. It is prepared of roots pounded very fine, incantations being murmured meanwhile. A little of this preparation, about the size of a pea, is sold with a white and black wampum shell for a considerable price, often for a belt of wampum with several pounds in money. The love charm and others are similarly prepared. Usually, this is done by old women, who thus support themselves and promote superstition among the young.

The men have a Beson for the chase; This beson is a preparation made by old men, who are no more able to hunt, consisting of roots and herbs or made of the seeds of a certain plant. This is sold by them at a high price. They may earn much in this way, for every huntsman carries such a charm about in his

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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Recitation of Vision by Ko'kwal·epo'χwe

"I must now come to the point of relating my narrative about Kaw River[1] when I was but a child. When my now deceased father told me, "Now, indeed, for your younger brother life is ended,"[2] my defunct parent was exceedingly grieved over the thing. How sorry I was about my younger brother, because I used to think that sometime later when he grew up it would happen that I could play with that one my younger brother. Truly indeed, my meditations grew very heavy upon my mind. I did not know what to do for solace. Whereupon I wandered away, towards the edge of the timber. In my wandering I did not know that it was coming on night, while more and more was my grief weighing upon my mind. Truly, in my realization of helplessness, seeking for solace, I suddenly made up my mind then and there that whatever might become of me let it come. There under a tree I slowly sank and fell.[3] In a short time I began to feel that my miseries of mind had begun to flow out. It seemed not as though I were asleep because I thought it would make no difference if I should die right there, for my younger brother was now no more. It was not long before I heard something come to the ground close at hand. I

(Grus mexicana) or the Whooping Crane (G. americana) those now almost extinct birds whose wings in colonial times darkened the skies of Pennsylvania. "Cranes came hither along the Delaware by hundreds in the Spring (1700), but at present (1748) there are very few. . . . . Certain old Swedes told me that, in their younger years, as the country was not yet much cultivated, an incredible number of cranes were here every Spring," wrote Peter Kalm (Travels in North America, 1770, Vol. I, p. 290), the Swedish naturalist who visited the Delaware valley in the middle of the 18th century (see C. C. Abbot, A Naturalist's Rambles About Home, (1884), p. 230; and E. H. Forbush, "A History of Game Birds, Wild Fowl, and Shore Birds (1912), p. 478).

The birds are also mentioned for Pennsylvania by Gabriel Thomas (1634), (Narratives of Early Pennsylvania, West New Jersey and Delaware, Ed. by Albert Cook Myers (1912), p. 48). The cranes had disappeared from Eastern Pennsylvania and New Jersey by 1809 (W. P. Turnbull, Birds of Eastern Pennsylvania and New Jersey, (1869), p. 49). What the basis of resemblance was in the minds of the ancients, to have caused this resemblance to be featured between the drummers and cranes seems to be beyond our means of learning although the Delawares trace it to the peculiar cry the drummers utter when they terminate each dance round. We shall also hear more of them as the ceremony proceeds, for they play parts of considerable responsibility, being obliged for one thing, to repeat whatever is chanted by the dance-leader when he pauses in his song, during his vision recitation, to dance while the "cranes" echo his verses. They also have certain privileges in the use of face paint.

[1] ka'ulas is the proper name in Delaware for the Kansa, or Kaw, tribe of the southern Siouan group, from which Kaw river derives its name. This is the scene of the reciter's vision, who is assumed to be, as previously noted, Chief Elkhair.

[2] A reverential way of referring to the death of a kinsman. If an animal were so referred to, the term a'ggelae "he is dead" is used. Still another paraphrase for decease is aemata'xpi.i'yo "he who no longer remains here."

[3] This term has a religious sense, the ordinary verb being nace'ggi.xi., "I lie down."

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[P. 35, A]

584 marriage would furthermore be congenial to the parents of both parties.[15] In practice
586 these marriages usually broke up quickly, both spouses quickly being unfaithful to one another.[16] Occasionally a man, his
[762] pride wounded by a wife's infidelity, directed his helpless anger inward and committed suicide by taking poison. Women too killed themselves out of jealousy.[17] The shifting romantic attachments of both sexes seem to represent an unending striving to find the all-satisfying parent: a striving continually doomed to frustration.

787 The guardian spirit relationship (which was sought by both men and women) seems also to be built upon the prototype of the search for the all-satisfying (but not authoritarian) parent.[18]

572 Among men there was an institution of "friendship" which focused considerable emotion upon a relationship of formally recognized mutual dependency, in war, in
[521] the chase, and in various other life-crises.[19] Men were more at ease with one another
[562] in conversation than with women and, according to Zeisberger, would automatically suspect as a lie any tale which they
[593] heard from a woman.[20] It was a common saying, "My wife is not my friend."[21] Old
888 women were accused by the men of being
439 the middlemen who carried the socially disrupting rum from white settlements to the villages.[22]

562 Implicit in all this was the assumption
571 on the part of all Delawares—men and women alike—that relationships with women, while they could be satisfying, were not likely to be; and the further assumption on the part of men that they had less to fear from other men than from

15. Heckewelder, 1819, p. 161; Zeisberger, 1778, p. 79.
16. Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 92-93.
17. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 53.
18. Lindestrom, 1656, pp. 207-209; Heckewelder, 1819, pp. 245-246; Zeisberger, 1778, p. 127.
19. Heckewelder, 1819, p. 278; Lindestrom, 1656, p. 233; Zeisberger, 1778, p. 116.
20. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 116.
21. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 99.
22. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 117.

[P. 35, B]

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571 women, and might safely therefore be more "friendly" with them.

Oral Fixation

153 There is some evidence to suggest a preoccupation, which had a large component of aggressiveness, with oral needs. This concern with eating (and with other oral phenomena, such as ritualistic pipe-smoking, naming, and oratory), which reached far beyond subsistence requirements, can hardly be ascribed to a realistic subsistence anxiety since the Delawares had ample supplies of animal and vegetable foods at their disposal, and adequate techniques for cultivating, gathering, preserving, and storing them. It is worth
[787] mentioning that the pubescent Delaware solicited the favor of a guardian spirit by self-imposed fasting; the spirit was supposed to pity him and appear in a vision; later the spirit would be important to him in helping to secure food.[23] Oral rituals, often with a compulsive quality, were a
[527] recurrent institutional theme: almost all social gatherings involved eating, smoking, and oratory, and some were frankly eating-orgies—the famous "eat-all" feasts, for example; the fondness for liquor may be regarded as an oral trait of compulsive
[757] character;[24] internal medicines were usually taken as liquid herbal infusions, usually
[758] in large doses;[25] the sick lived on a liquid
[754] diet;[26] suicide and witchcraft were both
762 accomplished in most cases by poison taken
[727] by mouth;[27] tortured prisoners were sometimes ceremonially eaten, and hunger
266 cannibalism was reported;[28] war parties made a ceremonial feast the night before their departure;[29] emetics were extensively
[757] used in the treatment of disease, and vomiting was thought to relieve a sense of guilt,
777 and also to bring luck.[30]

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23. Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 132-133.
24. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 116; Heckewelder, 1819, p. 263.
25. Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 24-25; Tantaquidgeon.
26. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 24.
27. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 125; Heckewelder, 1819, p. 256.
28. Heckewelder, 1819, p. 199; Zeisberger, 1778, p. 107-108.
29. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 103.
30. Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 84, 133-134.

13 Wallace E-4 (no date)1950
NM7 Delaware NM7
[P. 36, B]

156 787 received a serpent or a buffalo, another the sun or the moon, another an owl or some other bird, another a fish, some even ridiculously insignificant creatures such as ants. These are considered their spirits or *Manittos*. If an Indian has no Manitto to be his friend he considers himself forsaken, has nothing upon which he may lean, has no hope of any assistance and is small in his own eyes. On the other hand those who have been thus favored possess a high 154 and proud spirit."[32] We shall have further occasion to remark how many institutions were mobilized to prevent such casual wounds to self-esteem. We shall also see how much aggression such blows to self-esteem could arouse. Heckewelder and ● [762] Zeisberger both mention that suicide was a common way of expressing the enormous but disorganized hostility aroused by slights such as marital infidelity or public shaming.[33]

Absence of Authoritarianism

861 Zeisberger and Heckewelder agreed that Delaware parents avoided corporal punishment, scolding, threatening, or otherwise disciplining children. Growing boys were left pretty much to their own devices. Little homilies on moral values were addressed to them and the child's pride was appealed to in efforts to induce approved social behavior.[34] The father spent 593 much of his time away from home in the employments of the chase (especially when the fur trade added to the importance of [462] hunting); the mother was responsible for the fundamental subsistence activities. In general the male was peripheral, the female central in cultural role.[35] Delaware women 562 were described as being given to petty [157] meanness, malicious gossip, and lying; but they were not "matriarchs" in the sense of being the recognized arbiters of the home or society. Their evidently enlarged spite

32. Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 132-133.
33. Heckewelder, 1819, pp. 258-260; Zeisberger, 1778, p. 83.
34. Heckewelder, 1819, pp. 113-117; Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 16, 81.
35. Heckewelder, 1819, pp. 154-162; Zeisberger, 1778, p. 13-14.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

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These honours of "mourning over the corpse" are paid to all; the poor and humble, as well as the rich, great, and powerful; the difference consists only in the number of mourners, the undistinguished Indian having few besides his immediate relations and friends, and sometimes only those. Women, (notwithstanding all that has been said of their supposed inferior station and of their being reduced to the rank of slaves) are not treated after their death with less respect than the men, and the greatest honours are paid to the remains of the wives of renowned warriors or veteran chiefs, particularly if they were descended themselves of a high family, which, however strange it may appear, is not an indifferent thing among the Indians, who love to honour the merit of their great men in their relatives. I was present in the year 1762, at the funeral of a woman of the highest rank and respectability, the wife of the valiant Delaware chief *Shingask*; as all the honours were paid to her at her interment that are usual on such occasions, I trust a particular description of the ceremony will not be unacceptable.

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At the moment that she died, her death was announced through the village by women specially appointed for that purpose, who went through the streets crying, "*She is no more! she is no more!*" The place on a sudden exhibited a scene of universal mourning; cries and lamentations were heard from all quarters; it was truly the expression of the general feeling for a general loss.

The day passed in this manner amidst sorrow and desolation. The next morning, between nine and ten o'clock, two counsellors came to announce to Mr. Thomas Calhoon, the Indian trader, and myself, that we were desired to attend and assist at the funeral which was soon to take place. We, in consequence, proceeded to the house of the deceased, where we found her corpse lying in a coffin, (which had been made by Mr. Calhoon's carpenter) dressed and painted in the most superb Indian style. Her gar-

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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found guilty and the wife was "permitted to draw off his right shoe and left stocking...she then tears off the lappet that covers his private parts, gives him a kick behind, and so drives him out of the house...."[75] Husbands could punish adulterous wives by thrashing them, or could obtain a divorce by bringing them before the chief or sachem. The woman's hair was cut off, she was deprived of her property, and perhaps even of her life, if found guilty by the sachem.[76] But Denton remarked: "It is no offense for their married women to lie with another man provided she acquaint her husband, or some of her nearest Relations with it, but if not it is accounted such a fault that they sometimes punish it with death."[77] One of the culturally sanctioned mechanisms for obtaining revenge upon an adulterous spouse was suicide.[78] A man's retaliation for adultery could also be seduction of the adulterer's wife. If and when the injured husband was successful in this venture, he made the fact public so that the original adulterer would be held up for public scorn.[79]

A widow, prior to remarriage, whether his wife had died of natural or other causes, had to recompense her relatives for her loss.[80] The duration of mourning was about a year.[81] A widow during this time had to support herself; she could not be given meat since a hunter's weapons were supposed to fail if he had given meat to a widow.[82] When the year had passed, the deceased one's soul left the earth and remarriage could follow.

Death

As soon as a person died the fact of death was spread throughout the community by a crier. The crier was a woman especially appointed and paid for her services.[83] This announcement evoked loud outcrys and lamentations from the general populace. These lamentations were continued intermittently in the house where the deceased lay until burial.[84] In recent times and perhaps earlier the moccasin game was played in the dwelling where the corpse lay.[85] The body was not buried at once because it was necessary to give the supernatural forces an opportunity to restore life to the corpse.[86] The length of time the body was kept varied with the season; it was three days in summer and seven in winter.[87] During this interval the corpse was dressed in new clothes and richly adorned and painted. Before noon on the day of burial a number

[75] De Rasieres, 1909, p. 108.
[76] *Ibid.*; see also Pastorius, 1912, p. 434.
[77] Denton, 1845, p. 9.
[78] Penn, 1912, p. 232; Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 258-59; Loskiel, 1794, p. 58.
[79] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 77.
[80] Penn, 1912, p. 232.
[81] Pastorius, 1912, p. 435; Holm, 1834, p. 143; Brickell, 1842, p. 49; Trowbridge MS.
[82] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 88; Loskiel, 1794, p. 64.
[83] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 249; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 269.
[84] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 89; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 269.
[85] Harrington, 1913, p. 215; Kinietz, 1946, p. 72.
[86] Trowbridge MS; Kinietz, 1946, p. 51; J.T.
[87] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 249; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 269; Trowbridge MS; Kinietz, 1946, p. 51; M.B.

4:Tantaquidgeon E-5 (1930) 1942
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team of horses which had broken through the ice, were rescued through this same ability, to remain beneath the surface of the water for a considerable period. Power for this ability was given him by a teal duck which appeared to him in a dream. In the informant's words:

> When a boy, my grandfather always went swimming every morning before sun-up, even when there was a thin coating of ice on the river. One time he dreamed of going down to the ice-covered stream very early to bathe as usual. When he jumped into the water the echo could be heard down the river. Then suddenly he heard a voice saying to him, "I am going to make you a strong man. You will be able to go under the water as I do." He did not see anyone around but there close by was a teal. And he could go down under the water and get fish, too.

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So close was the connection of divination with the spiritual realm that the Delaware noted carefully the last words of a person near to death. At such a time the dying one is believed to be in close communication with the souls of the departed, who may impart messages of great importance through this medium to the living. One aged woman while on her death-bed spoke as follows:

> My kindred, we have been wonderfully blessed. We have enjoyed the gifts which the Creator bestowed upon us. That is because we have kept our own religion and observed the teachings of our elders in all things. If you continue to do this in the future, you will not be subjected to the evils which increase as civilization increases. Do not give up your own religion.

Another old woman foretold the coming of the railroad twelve years prior to its appearance, while a third foresaw the granting of citizenship to the Indians twenty years before its occurrence.

The Sweating Rite

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The importance of the sweat lodge ritual, as carried out by the Delaware for the purpose of spiritual and physical purification, is attested both by early observers,[25] and by more recent students.[26] According to Zeisberger, in his discussion of Delaware customs, the practice was attended by rather elaborate rites and was evidently regarded as one of the major ceremonies. It was performed in honor of fire, being called *machtuzin*, a term meaning "to perspire," according to the same writer's translation. A similar rite is described by Harrington, whose informants named it *mixhat'olzing*. This is recorded as a variant of the Annual Ceremony.

[25] Zeisberger, *op. cit.*, p. 138; Heckewelder, *op. cit.*, p. 225; Loskiel, 1794, pt. 1, pp. 108-9.

[26] Harrington, 1921, 122-126; Speck, 1931, pp. 72-74.

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

524 the time when it held the guessing hand. There was also a man appointed on each side to keep score by means of counter sticks. When the cartridge, bone or bullet was hidden by the leaders of one party, the leader of the opposite side had to guess under which moccasin it was concealed. The guessing was indicated by means of finger signs, a wave of the open hand to the right or to the left meant either of the end moccasins, by lowering the third finger of the pointing hand the third moccasin from the left was denoted, by lowering the first finger the second was indicated. The leaders, when the opposite side was guessing, endeavored to confuse their opponents by deceptive motions. Every time a successful guess was made as to the whereabouts of a hidden object, that is, under which of the four moccasins it had been concealed by the party holding the guess, a stick was placed on a pile by the score-keeper totaling the number of successful guesses of his party. The number of counters required to win is not now remembered. Every time that one side guessed successfully the particular moccasin under which the object was concealed, the turn to hide it reverted to the opposite side. And, with each inning completed, the men of the winning side rose and danced around the room once or twice to the tune of a victory song to celebrate its achievement. We have to note, however, that after the moccasin game had ceased to be an independent form of winter and spring amusement and had become attached to funeral celebrations, the dancing, after each winning period, was discontinued out of respect for the deceased. In the arrangement of the parties forming the two opposite sides of the game, one group faced east, the other west. It seems as though the game were a symbol of contest between the two opposing quarters and
● [763] that an element of divination belonged to it. We are told in this connection that if the east side defeated the west side in the evening's performance it was a sign of coming misfortune; that some one in the company would die within the year. Washington added that this portent associated with the game was one of the causes for its discontinuation about twenty years ago. Some other details of the moccasin game

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
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cries so that it is heard a long way off, rolls himself naked into the burning fire, takes fire brands with which he builds a wall[4] all around the sick one, the sick one enduring such with patience, both thinking that the worse the devil-chaser acts, the sooner the Devil will depart. But it is to be feared that his art and labor are in vain, although his medicines are very wonderful, neither they nor the devil-chaser's devil-chasing are undoubtedly able to further help or be of avail in that case.

And now when the savage has died then they set themselves down to bawl and howl, weep and lament over their good comrade's deathly departure. But the devil-chaser sits there so terrible and mourns over the fact that the Devil came to be his superior.

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[4] *Bastioncrar den siuke*, bastionates the sick person, *i.e.*, builds a bastion around him. "In sickneese the Priest comes close to the sick person, and performes many strange Actions about him, and threatens and conjures out the sicknesse." Williams, *Key*, 112.

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
NM7 Delaware NM7

CHAPTER XXVI.

How the American and Savage People Treat and Act Towards the Dead Body and How Their Burials Are Celebrated.

Now when the savage is dead, then an Indian is 763
sent out around the country, crying, calling and lamenting, who runs around everywhere and makes this known to the good friends of the dead savage. Then those to whom he makes it known must have compassion with him and present him with something for his trouble. A few days after- 764
wards he is buried, and then a round deep pit[1] is dug in the ground and a stool is placed in the hole upon which the dead man shall sit.[2] Then the dead man's money is placed upon him and he is set down in the pit upon the stool with a tobacco pipe, a fathom long, in his mouth, screwed together with leather, the head of green or black stone, which is lighted through by the fire in the pipe, so that we can see how the tobacco is consumed,[3] and this pipe-head is so large that a handful of tobacco will go into it, which is to be his food on the journey. This pipe they dig down into the ground from the mouth of the man.[4] Afterwards they throw earth upon him and fill up the hole. When

[1] *En trinn, diup groop.* Cf. Williams, *Key*, 160 ff. Van der Donck, De Vries, etc., *N. Y. Col.*, 2, I, 202; III, 95, etc.

[2] *En stool (stol)*, chair, stool, here perhaps a round "log-stool," possibly eight or ten inches high.

[3] This would presuppose a very transparent material. Lindeström of course does not mean that the pipe in the grave was lighted, but that when a pipe was smoked, it could be seen how the tobacco was consumed.

[4] That is, the pipe stem was put into the dead man's mouth.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

764 At the head of a warrior it is common for them to place a white post, upon which is represented in hieroglyphics the tribe to which he belonged, the number of engagements in which he had been engaged, of scalps which he had taken, etc.; but no post is placed at the graves of women.

763 It is very customary among them to take leave of their friends when death approaches. In this they generally exhort them to good conduct, to live in harmony with each other and thus to procure the favor of the Great Spirit, and success in their undertakings. Some of them who have led improper and dissolute [761] lives dread very much the approach of death, but others die in perfect reconciliation to their fate. They generally die in possession of their mental faculties to the last moment, but to this many exceptions are found, resulting from the nature of the disease or the impression which the idea of death may have upon their minds.

764 J. W.—Two men and two women not related to deceased were chosen to take care of things relating to funeral. In the death of a man, the men prepared the body while the women cooked; the women prepared the body of a woman while the men cooked. [768] The relatives divided and distributed good articles left by the deceased among the persons who served. Old, much used articles were put in the grave.

The face of the deceased was painted as in life. The body was dressed in Indian clothes which had to be new. If the deceased did not have new clothes, they made them.

The corpse was kept until noon of the day after death before burial. It was placed in bark house outside of dwelling. Moccasin game played on south side of fire. Two pairs of moccasins were used but only one bullet. Towards morning (three o'clock) one pair was taken away. Points in the game were counted with about one hundred little sticks. After the one pair of moccasins [525] was taken away the winner of a counter threw it into the fire. The game is not played now but some one, usually one of the attendants, sits up all night with the corpse. No feast accompanied the game but food was available for all visitors.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

764 the upright below the crosspiece (also like large X's). The post for a man is a simple upright, the top of which may be carved into an elaborate triple diamond-shaped figure or not, but at any rate the top is cut at an angle so that there is a sharp edge uppermost. Red paint is also put on the top of the man's post, but only four crosses are painted lower down on the post.

Immediately after the burial there was a feast on the east side of the grave. Food was furnished by everybody; that brought by relatives was kept separately on the north side of the grave. Relatives ate the food brought by nonrelatives, while nonrelatives ate food brought by relatives. Man who talked
765 at grave talked again at end of feast, and if the deceased belonged to the Wolf division, announced the coming of another feast twelve days after the death at the home of the deceased. At this second feast there was the same division of food between relatives and nonrelatives as at the feast at the grave. This second feast was not held among the Turtle or Turkey people unless there was some Wolf mixed in.

Every evening for three days after burial the relatives visit the grave and build a little fire which is immediately put out. Just a little fire is all that is necessary—it blazes once and then
[775] is blown out—it sort of liberates the spirit of deceased. Usually only one person visits grave. Do not visit grave after three days.

The widow must not change her clothing until the feast at the twelfth day. She eats off same plate. The woman attendant takes care of her, she must not do anything for herself—must not touch food, touch hair with comb or anything else—wears gloves. Her attendant washes her hair and body just before the feast and dresses her in new clothes, furnished by deceased husband's relatives. She stays home for these twevle days—does not even walk out without her attendant. No other mourning except that she cannot marry for a year. Same thing for widower. Near relatives observe care for a year.

763 A person about to die knows everything going on—reviews his life—knows everything—tries to say it with last breath.

764 W. T.—The body was prepared by two men and two women,
767 who might be related or not. It was washed, painted, combed

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

"drink heartily, drink! it will not hurt you.' All this "is done for the purpose of cheating me. When you "have obtained from me all you want, you call me a "drunken dog, and kick me out of the room.—See! this "is the manner in which you cheat the Indians when they "come to trade with you. So now you know when you "see me coming to your town again, you may say to "one another: 'Ah! there is Thomas coming again! "he is no longer a Moravian, for he is coming to us to "be made drunk—to be cheated—to be kicked out of the "house, and be called a *drunken dog!*'"

CHAPTER XXXVII.

FUNERALS.

I BELIEVE that no sufficiently detailed account has yet been given of the manner in which the North American Indians conduct the funerals of their dead. Captain Carver tells us that the Naudowessies, among whom he was, kept those ceremonies a secret, and would not give him an opportunity of witnessing them. Loskiel, although he drew his information from the journals of our Missionaries, has treated this subject rather superficially. I therefore run little risk of repetition in describing what I have myself seen, and I hope that the particulars which I am going to relate will not be thought uninteresting.

It is well known that the Indians pay great respect to the memory of the dead, and commit their remains to the

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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ground with becoming ceremonies. Those ceremonies, however, are not the same in all cases, but vary according to circumstances, and the condition of the deceased; for rank and wealth receive distinctions even after death, as well among savages as among civilised nations. This, perhaps, may be easily accounted for. When a great chief dies, his death is considered as a national loss; of course all must join in a public demonstration of their sorrow. The rich man, on the other hand, had many friends during his life, who cannot decently abandon him the moment the breath is out of his body; besides, his fortune supplies the means of a rich entertainment at the funeral, of which many, as may well be supposed, are anxious to partake. Thus social distinctions are found even in the state of nature, where perfect equality, if it exists any where, might with the greatest probability be supposed to be found. Though the earth and its fruits are common to all the Indians, yet every man is permitted to enjoy the earnings of his industry, and that produces riches; and though there is no hereditary or even elective rank in their social organization, yet as power follows courage and talents, those who are generally acknowledged to be possessed of those qualities, assume their station above the rest, and the distinction of rank is thus established. Politicians and philosophers may reason on these facts as they please; the descriptions that I give are from nature, and I leave it to abler men than myself to draw the proper inferences from them.

On the death of a principal chief, the village resounds from one end to the other with the loud lamentations of the women, among whom those who sit by the corpse distinguish themselves by the shrillness of their cries and the frantic expression of their sorrow. This scene of mourning over the dead body continues by day and by-night until it is interred, the mourners being relieved from time to time by other women.

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These honours of "mourning over the corpse" are paid to all; the poor and humble, as well as the rich, great, and powerful; the difference consists only in the number of mourners, the undistinguished Indian having few besides his immediate relations and friends, and sometimes only those. Women, (notwithstanding all that has been said of their supposed inferior station and of their being reduced to the rank of slaves) are not treated after their death with less respect than the men, and the greatest honours are paid to the remains of the wives of renowned warriors or veteran chiefs, particularly if they were descended themselves of a high family, which, however strange it may appear, is not an indifferent thing among the Indians, who love to honour the merit of their great men in their relatives. I was present in the year 1762, at the funeral of a woman of the highest rank and respectability, the wife of the valiant Delaware chief *Shingask*; as all the honours were paid to her at her interment that are usual on such occasions, I trust a particular description of the ceremony will not be unacceptable.

At the moment that she died, her death was announced through the village by women specially appointed for that purpose, who went through the streets crying, "*She is no more! she is no more!*" The place on a sudden exhibited a scene of universal mourning; cries and lamentations were heard from all quarters; it was truly the expression of the general feeling for a general loss.

The day passed in this manner amidst sorrow and desolation. The next morning, between nine and ten o'clock, two counsellors came to announce to Mr. Thomas Calhoon, the Indian trader, and myself, that we were desired to attend and assist at the funeral which was soon to take place. We, in consequence, proceeded to the house of the deceased, where we found her corpse lying in a coffin, (which had been made by Mr. Calhoon's carpenter) dressed and painted in the most superb Indian style. Her gar-

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ments, all new, were set off with rows of silver broaches,* one row joining the other. Over the sleeves of her new ruffled shirt were broad silver arm spangles from her shoulder down to her wrist, on which were bands, forming a kind of mittens, worked together of wampum, in the same manner as the belts which they use when they deliver speeches. Her long plaited hair was confined by broad bands of silver, one band joining the other, yet not of the same size, but tapering from the head downwards and running at the lower end to a point. On the neck were hanging five broad belts of wampum tied together at the ends, each of a size smaller than the other, the largest of which reached below her breast, the next largest reaching to a few inches of it, and so on, the uppermost one being the smallest. Her scarlet leggings were decorated with different coloured ribands sewed on, the outer edges being finished off with small beads also of various colours. Her mocksens were ornamented with the most striking figures, wrought on the leather with coloured porcupine quills, on the borders of which, round the ancles, were fastened a number of small round silver bells, of about the size of a musket ball. All these things, together with the vermilion paint, judiciously laid on, so as to set her off in the highest style, decorated her person in such a manner, that perhaps nothing of the kind could exceed it.

The spectators having retired, a number of articles were brought out of the house and placed in the coffin, wherever there was room to put them in, among which were a new shirt, a dressed deer skin for shoes, a pair of scissors, needles, thread, a knife, pewter basin and spoon, pint cup, and other similar things, with a number of trinkets and other small articles which she was fond of while

* A kind of round buckle with a tongue, which the Indians fasten to their shirts. The traders call them *broaches*. They are placed in rows, at the distance of about the breadth of a finger one from the other.

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living. The lid was then fastened on the coffin with three straps, and three handsome round poles, five or six feet long, were laid across it, near each other, and one in the middle, which were also fastened with straps cut up from a tanned elk hide; and a small bag of vermilion paint, with some flannel to lay it on, was then thrust into the coffin through the hole cut out at the head of it. This hole, the Indians say, is for the spirit of the deceased to go in and out at pleasure, until it has found the place of its future residence.

Every thing being in order, the bearers of the corpse were desired to take their places. Mr. Calhoon and myself were placed at the foremost pole, two women at the middle and two men at the pole in the rear. Several women from a house about thirty yards off, now started off, carrying large kettles, dishes, spoons, and dried elk meat in baskets, for the burial place, and the signal being given for us to move with the body, the women who acted as chief mourners made the air resound with their shrill cries. The order of the procession was as follows: first a leader or guide, from the spot where we were to the place of interment. Next followed the corpse, and close to it *Shingask*, the husband of the deceased. He was followed by the principal war chiefs and counsellors of the nation, after whom came men of all ranks and descriptions. Then followed the women and children, and lastly two stout men carrying loads of European manufactured goods upon their backs. The chief mourners on the women's side, not having joined in the ranks, took their own course to the right, at the distance of about fifteen or twenty yards from us, but always opposite to the corpse. As the corpse had to be carried by the strength of our arms to the distance of about two hundred yards, and hung low between the bearers, we had to rest several times by the way, and whenever we stopped, every body halted until we moved on again.

Being arrived at the grave, we were told to halt, then

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the lid of the coffin was again taken off, and the body exposed to view. Now the whole train formed themselves into a kind of semi-lunar circle on the south side of the grave, and seated themselves on the ground. Within this circle, at the distance of about fifteen yards from the grave, a common seat was made for Mr. Calhoon and myself to sit on, while the disconsolate *Shingask* retired by himself to a spot at some distance, where he was seen weeping, with his head bowed to the ground. The female mourners seated themselves promiscuously near to each other, among some low bushes that were at the distance of from twelve to fifteen yards east of the grave.

In this situation we remained for the space of more than two hours; not a sound was heard from any quarter, though the numbers that attended were very great; nor did any person move from his seat to view the body, which had been lightly covered over with a clean white sheet. All appeared to be in profound reflection and solemn mourning. Sighs and sobs were now and then heard from the female mourners, so uttered as not to disturb the assembly; it seemed rather as if intended to keep the feeling of sorrow alive in a manner becoming the occasion. Such was the impression made on us by this long silence.

At length, at about one o'clock in the afternoon, six men stepped forward to put the lid upon the coffin, and let down the body into the grave, when suddenly three of the women mourners rushed from their seats, and forcing themselves between these men and the corpse, loudly called out to the deceased to "arise and go with them and not to forsake them." They even took hold of her arms and legs; at first it seemed as if they were caressing her, afterwards they appeared to pull with more violence, as if they intended to run away with the body, crying out all the while, "Arise, arise! Come with us! Don't leave us! Don't abandon us!" At last they retired, plucking at their garments, pulling their hair, and ut-

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tering loud cries and lamentations, with all the appearance of frantic despair. After they were seated on the ground, they continued in the same manner crying and sobbing and pulling at the grass and shrubs, as if their minds were totally bewildered and they did not know what they were doing.

As soon as these women had gone through their part of the ceremony, which took up about fifteen minutes, the six men whom they had interrupted and who had remained at the distance of about five feet from the corpse, again stepped forward and did their duty. They let down the coffin into the earth, and laid two thin poles of about four inches diameter, from which the bark had been taken off, lengthways and close together over the grave, after which they retired. Then the husband of the deceased advanced with a very slow pace, and when he came to the grave, walked over it on these poles, and proceeded forward in the same manner into an extensive adjoining prairie, which commenced at this spot.

When the widowed chief had advanced so far that he could not hear what was doing at the grave, a painted post, on which were drawn various figures, emblematic of the deceased's situation in life and of her having been the wife of a valiant warrior, was brought by two men and delivered to a third, a man of note, who placed it in such a manner that it rested on the coffin at the head of the grave, and took great care that a certain part of the drawings should be exposed to the East, or rising of the sun; then, while he held the post erect and properly situated, some women filled up the grave with hoes, and having placed dry leaves and pieces of bark over it, so that none of the fresh ground was visible, they retired, and some men, with timbers fitted before hand for the purpose, enclosed the grave about breast-high, so as to secure it from the approach of the wild beasts.

[343] The whole work being finished, which took up about an hour's time, Mr. Calhoon and myself expected that

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we might be permitted to go home, as we wished to do, particularly as we saw a thundergust from the west fast approaching; but the Indians, suspecting our design, soon came forward with poles and blankets, and in a few minutes erected a shelter for us.

The storm, though of short duration, was tremendous; the water, produced by the rain, flowing in streams; yet all had found means to secure themselves during its continuance, and being on prairie ground, we were out of all danger of trees being torn up or blown down upon us. Our encampment now appeared like a village, or rather like a military camp, such was the number of places of shelter that had been erected.

Fortunately, the husband of the deceased had reached the camp in good time, and now the gust being over, every one was served with victuals that had been cooked at some distance from the spot. After the repast was over, the articles of merchandise which had been brought by the two men in the rear, having been made up in parcels, were distributed among all present. No one from the oldest to the youngest, was excepted, and every one partook of the liberal donation. This difference only was made, that those who had rendered the greatest services received the most valuable presents, and we were much pleased to see the female mourners well rewarded, as they had, indeed, a very hard task to perform. Articles of little value, such as gartering, tape, needles, beads, and the like, were given to the smaller girls; the older ones received a pair of scissars, needles and thread, and a yard or two of riband. The boys had a knife, jews-harp, awl-blades, or something of similar value. Some of the grown persons received a new suit of clothes, consisting of a blanket, shirt, breech-cloth and leggings; of the value in the whole of about eight dollars; and the women, (I mean those who had rendered essential services) a blanket, ruffled shirts, stroud and leggings, the whole worth from ten to twelve dollars. Mr. Calhoon

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and myself were each presented with a silk cravat and a pair of leggings. The goods distributed on this occasion, were estimated by Mr. Calhoon at two hundred dollars; the greatest part of them had, the same morning, been taken out of his store.

After we had thus remained, in a manner, under confinement, for more than six hours, the procession ended, and Mr. Calhoon and myself retired with the rest to our homes. At dusk a kettle of victuals was carried to the grave and placed upon it, and the same was done every evening for the space of three weeks, at the end of which it was supposed that the traveller had found her place of residence. During that time the lamentations of the women-mourners were heard on the evenings of each day, though not so loud nor so violent as before.

I have thus described, from minutes which I took at the time, the ceremonies which take place among the Delaware Indians on the death of a person of high rank and consideration among them. The funerals of persons of an inferior station are conducted with less pomp and with less expense. When the heirs of the deceased cannot afford to hire female mourners, the duty is performed by their own immediate relations and friends. But "mourning over the corpse," is a ceremony that cannot be dispensed with.

It is always customary, when an Indian dies, of whatever rank or condition he may be, to put a number of the articles which belonged to the deceased in the coffin or grave, that he may have them when wanted. I have seen a bottle of rum or whiskey placed at the coffin head, and the reason given for it was, that the deceased was fond of liquor while living, and he would be glad of a dram when he should feel fatigued on his journey to the world of spirits.

When an Indian dies at a distance from his home, great care is taken that the grave be well fortified with posts and logs laid upon it, that the wolves may be

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prevented from getting at the corpse; when time and circumstances do not permit this, as, for instance, when the Indians are travelling, the body is enclosed in the bark of trees and thus laid in the grave. When a death takes place at their hunting camps, they make a kind of coffin as well as they can, or put a cover over the body, so that the earth may not sink on it, and then enclose the grave with a fence of poles.

Warriors that are slain in battle, are, if possible, drawn aside and buried, so that the enemy may not get their scalps, and also that he may not know the number of the slain. In such cases, they will turn an old log out of its bed, and dig a grave so deep, that the log, when replaced, may not press too hard upon the body. If any of the fresh earth be seen, they cover it with rotten wood, brush or leaves, that its place may not be found. If they have not sufficient time for this, or the number of their dead is too great, they throw the bodies on the top of each other between large logs, and place any kind of rotten wood or other rubbish upon them. They never, when they can help it, leave their dead to be devoured by wild beasts.

When the Indians have to speak of a deceased person, they never mention him or her by name, lest they should renew the grief of the family or friends. They say, "He who was our counsellor or chief," "She who was "the wife of our friend;" or they will allude to some particular circumstance, as that of the deceased having been with them at a particular time or place, or having done some particular act or spoken particular words which they all remember, so that every body knows who is meant. I have often observed with emotion this remarkable delicacy, which certainly does honour to their hearts, and shews that they are naturally accessible to the tenderest feelings of humanity.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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II. THE RECONSTRUCTION OF DELAWARE CULTURE

Introduction

The most recent reconstruction of early historic Delaware culture by Herman[1] failed to use the data made available by Kinietz[2] from the Trowbridge and Cass papers and minimized contemporary ethnographic data. Herman largely ignored modern ethnographic information because it "had combined material gained from different periods of time."[3] Kinietz used the previously unavailable Trowbridge and Cass data, but took little advantage of the other sources. His work also omitted a discussion of religion and some aspects of social organization. This study has utilized most of the source material of both of these investigators, as well as their results, and has in addition used other documentary materials. I have also used modern ethnographic data more extensively than have others. By using proper controls the ethnography of the Delawares can be made to cast valuable light on some of the less well-illuminated aspects of the early historic culture. The presence of a culture trait, whose existence could not be traced to white culture, to other Indian cultures, or to some sort of synthesis of these, was assumed to be of Delaware origin. It should be noted that some traits found in the field were considered Delaware on the basis of their absence among other groups; documentary materials later confirmed a Delaware provenance for many of these traits. Evidence from the field indicated, for example, that the Delawares possessed the trait of making a hole at the head of a coffin through which the soul could find its exit. Exit and reentrance were eased by the application of red ocher to this aperture. No evidence could be found which would indicate that this trait had been borrowed from other Indian cultures, nor was it derived from white culture, except that wooden coffins were used in place of bark receptacles. Later research substantiated the conclusion that this trait was of Delaware origin. In brief, by using a cautious and judicious approach it is possible to project ethnographic data back to early historic times with a fair degree of probability. Wherever this approach has been utilized, it is so noted in the text. I have also made a more serious effort to reconstruct the kinship terminology and general kinship structure of the early historic Delawares than has been attempted previously. This reconstruction is based mainly upon the recent suggestions of Murdock.[4]

The authorities for the data are given in chronological order, the seventeenth-century sources are given first, then the eighteenth-century, and so on down to the data recorded by myself in the field. When data secured from informants is used, the initials of the informant appear in the text or in a footnote with other references.[5] A discussion of the documentary sources is given in the Appendix.

[1] Herman, 1950, pp. 45-77.
[2] Kinietz, 1946.
[3] Herman, *op. cit.*, p. 48.
[4] Murdock, 1949, pp. 184-259, 323-53.
[5] Initials of informants are: O. A., Ollie Beaver Anderson; M. B., Mary Bob; N. D., Lenora Dean; J. T., Jim Thompson; F. W., Fred Washington; R. W., Reuben Wilson; L. F., Lillian Frenchman.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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found guilty and the wife was "permitted to draw off his right shoe and left stocking...she then tears off the lappet that covers his private parts, gives him a kick behind, and so drives him out of the house...."[75] Husbands could punish adulterous wives by thrashing them, or could obtain a divorce by bringing them before the chief or sachem. The woman's hair was cut off, she was deprived of her property, and perhaps even of her life, if found guilty by the sachem.[76] But Denton remarked: "It is no offense for their married women to lie with another man provided she acquaint her husband, or some of her nearest Relations with it, but if not it is accounted such a fault that they sometimes punish it with death."[77] One of the culturally sanctioned mechanisms for obtaining revenge upon an adulterous spouse was suicide.[78] A man's retaliation for adultery could also be seduction of the adulterer's wife. If and when the injured husband was successful in this venture, he made the fact public so that the original adulterer would be held up for public scorn.[79]

A widow, prior to remarriage, whether his wife had died of natural or other causes, had to recompense her relatives for her loss.[80] The duration of mourning was about a year.[81] A widow during this time had to support herself; she could not be given meat since a hunter's weapons were supposed to fail if he had given meat to a widow.[82] When the year had passed, the deceased one's soul left the earth and remarriage could follow.

Death

As soon as a person died the fact of death was spread throughout the community by a crier. The crier was a woman especially appointed and paid for her services.[83] This announcement evoked loud outcrys and lamentations from the general populace. These lamentations were continued intermittently in the house where the deceased lay until burial.[84] In recent times and perhaps earlier the moccasin game was played in the dwelling where the corpse lay.[85] The body was not buried at once because it was necessary to give the supernatural forces an opportunity to restore life to the corpse.[86] The length of time the body was kept varied with the season; it was three days in summer and seven in winter.[87] During this interval the corpse was dressed in new clothes and richly adorned and painted. Before noon on the day of burial a number

[75] De Rasieres, 1909, p. 108.
[76] *Ibid.*; see also Pastorius, 1912, p. 434.
[77] Denton, 1845, p. 9.
[78] Penn, 1912, p. 232; Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 258-59; Loskiel, 1794, p. 58.
[79] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 77.
[80] Penn, 1912, p. 232.
[81] Pastorius, 1912, p. 435; Holm, 1834, p. 143; Brickell, 1842, p. 49; Trowbridge MS.
[82] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 88; Loskiel, 1794, p. 64.
[83] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 249; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 269.
[84] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 89; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 269.
[85] Harrington, 1913, p. 215; Kinietz, 1946, p. 72.
[86] Trowbridge MS; Kinietz, 1946, p. 51; J.T.
[87] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 249; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 269; Trowbridge MS; Kinietz, 1946, p. 51; M.B.

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of tools and ornaments were placed in the grave (or coffin in later times).[88] "They put into the Ground with them some House-Utensils, and some Money (as Tokens of their Love and Affection) with other Things, expecting they shall have Occasion for them again in the other World."[89] Denton and Lindestrom described burials in which deep circular pits were dug, the corpse being placed "...upright, sitting upon a seat, with his Gun, money, & such goods as he hath with him, that he may be furnished in the other world."[90] As far as can be determined there is no archaeological confirmation for this trait. Voegelin said, however, that this custom was "pan-eastern North American, with the center of distribution in the north."[91] In later centuries the corpse was buried in an extended, or partly flexed, prone position. One source said that the body's hands were tied "one on each side of his head."[92] Heckewelder, who observed the burial of the wife of an important man, gave the clearest discussion of the eighteenth-century mortuary practices. Just prior to burial "a small bag of vermilion paint, with some flannel to lay it on, was then thrust into the coffin through the hole cut out at the head of it. This hole, the Indians say, is for the spirit of the deceased to go in and out at pleasure, until it has found the place of its future residence."[93] J.T. said that the hole is painted with a red paint made from a root.

In the ceremony in which Heckewelder participated, a procession carried the coffin to the cemetery, which was a little way from the village, the female mourners making "the air resound with their shrill cries."[94] The procession consisted of a leader, followed by men carrying the coffin, then the husband of the deceased, war chiefs, counselors, women, and children. Finally came two men bearing loads of European goods, and women with eating utensils and dried elk meat. The chief mourners took their separate way to the grave, on the right side of the procession, about fifteen or twenty yards off. At the grave the corpse was exposed, the multitude arranging themselves in a half circle on the south side of the grave. The bereaved widower retired "to a spot at some distance, where he was seen weeping, with his head bowed to the ground."[95] The female mourners sat down twelve to fifteen yards east of the grave. Two hours were spent without further activity. At about one o'clock six men stepped forward to place the lid on the coffin and lower it into the grave; they were prevented from doing so by the female mourners. These mourners called upon the deceased to return, even trying to pull the corpse from the casket. When these women had returned to their places, continuing their lament, the six men again stepped forward and lowered the coffin into the grave. The head of the

[88] Heckewelder, 1881, p. 271; Trowbridge MS; O.A., M.B.

[89] Thomas, 1912, p. 340; Penn, 1882, p. 244, and Holm, 1834, p. 143, recorded the same custom.

[90] Denton, 1845, p. 8; also Lindestrom, 1925, p. 249.

[91] Voegelin, 1944, pp. 344-45.

[92] Holm, 1834, p. 143.

[93] Heckewelder, 1881, p. 271. J.T., N.D., and O.A. mentioned this trait.

[94] Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 271-72; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 88.

[95] Heckewelder, 1881, p. 272.

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deceased was oriented towards the east.[96] At this time they laid "two thin poles of about four inches (in) diameter, from which the bark had been taken off, lengthways and close together over the grave, after which they retired."[97] The widower then came up to the grave slowly and "walked over it on these poles, and proceeded forward in the same manner into an extensive adjoining prairie."[98] When he was gone, a painted post which signified the position and station of the deceased and her husband was "brought by two men and delivered to a third, a man of note,"[99] who placed it at the head of the coffin in the grave with its symbolism facing east.[100] Holm said, "If he was a good hunter, they put the figure in wood, of some wild animal, and if he was a good fisherman, that of a fish."[101] After the grave was filled with earth, palisades were set up "about breast-high, so as to secure it from...wild beasts."[102] Denton noted that "....they fence their graves with a hedge, & cover the tops with mats, to shelter them from the rain."[103]

A meal, which had been prepared some distance from the grave, and a distribution of presents concluded the funeral rites. Everybody received a gift, although those who had performed various duties received the most valuable presents. Food was placed on the grave at dusk, and this was repeated every evening for three weeks. After this span of time "it was supposed that the traveller had found her place of residence."[104] For three weeks the mourning of the women continued, although it gradually decreased in intensity.

People of less social importance were given less elaborate funerals.[105] No matter how simple the funerary rites, however, the customs of mourning had to be observed. Blackening of the face is one of the few such customs with which we are familiar.[106] Denton's description is the most complete one available for the seventeenth century. He said:

> At his Burial his nearest relations attend the Hearse with their faces painted black, and do visit the grave once or twice a day, where they send forth sad lamentations so long till time hath wore the blackness off their faces, & afterwards every year once they view the grave, make a new mourning for him, trimming up of the Grave, not suffering of a Grass to grow by it....[107]

A number of other sources from all periods confirm the care which was given the grave.[108] Food was occasionally left there, and annual feasts at the grave were common.[109] Trowbridge said that "it is customary among them to offer the first fine products of the hunting season and the first fruits of the earth at the grave of the deceased."[110] My informants said that Munsi feasts were more elaborate and that one was held twelve

[96] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 88; O.A., N.D., J.T., M.B.
[97] Heckewelder, 1881, p. 273.
[98] *Ibid.*
[99] *Ibid.*
[100] McClure, 1899, p. 90; Trowbridge MS.
[101] Holm, 1834, p. 143.
[102] Heckewelder, 1881, p. 274.
[103] Denton, 1845, p. 8.
[104] Heckewelder, 1881, p. 275.
[105] *Ibid.*; Trowbridge MS.
[106] Pastorius, 1912, p. 435; Penn, 1912, p. 234; Holm, 1834, p. 143.
[107] Denton, 1845, p. 8.
[108] Thomas, 1912, p. 340; Penn, 1912, p. 234; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 90; J.T., O.A.
[109] Penn, 1912, p. 234; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 90; J.T., O.A.
[110] Trowbridge MS.

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765 days after burial (J.T.). The modern funerary feast may not be entirely representative of the aboriginal custom but it probably is a fairly accurate reflection of it.[111] These annual feasts are held at the home of the mourning relative and not at the cemetery. Friends and relatives eat, pray, and talk about the departed. Some person, unrelated to the deceased, is especially invited. (Trowbridge also noted this custom.) This guest, who has to be younger than the deceased at the time of death, but of the same sex, must sample all the foods which were favorites of the deceased. The feast, it is said, benefits the dead since the food the stand-in eats satisfies the spiritual appetite of the dead. The stand-in is not paid for his services (J.T., O.A.).

765 Another adjunct to funeral customs of the modern period, and perhaps one which existed in an earlier period, consists of rites of purification. 783 Following a funeral, the immediate family burns a handful of sweet grass on the grave (O.A.). The members of the family also purify themselves by washing the arms, hands, and face with water and then symbolically rubbing the smoke from burned cedar leaves over these same parts. With cedar smoke they also purify the rooms of the dwelling where the person died. This is said to repel the soul of the departed if it should attempt to return (O.A., J.T., N.D.).

764 It seems reasonable to assume that prior to European contact the Delawares varied somewhat in their funerary rites. De Vries, for example, alluded to a form of secondary burial, but this cannot be specifically associated with the Delawares.[112] This account mentioned a funeral feast and the erection of four poles and shelves upon the grave. Lindestrom also described a grave upon which four poles were raised:[113]

> The dead man's money is placed upon him and he is set down in the pit upon the stool with a tobacco pipe, a fathom long, in his mouth, screwed together with leather, the head of green or black stone, which is lighted through by the fire in the pipe, so that we can see how the tobacco is consumed, and this pipe-head is so large that a handful of tobacco will go into it, which is to be his food on the journey. This pipe they dig down into the ground from the mouth of the man.[114]

Thomas mentioned that the bones of celebrated persons were carried considerable distances to be reinterred near their homes. Perhaps this is a reference to the well-known secondary burial of the Nanticokes.[115]

762 Suicide.—It has already been noted that suicide was a means of punishing an adulterous spouse. Heckewelder knew of four persons who committed suicide between 1771 and 1780; all were men and all ate the root of the May apple. Three were successful, and the other was given an emetic and survived. Two of the men committed suicide because of thwarted love lives; the other two were married to adulterous women.[116] Trowbridge early in the nineteenth century mentioned that suicide was

[111] Speck, 1937, p. 59, has discussed "Sacrifice Feasts" of which funeral feasts are an example and noted that their "ancient character is exhibited by the fact of [their] wide distribution in similar form over the entire territory inhabited by Algonkin-speaking peoples."

[112] De Vries, 1909, pp. 223-24.

[113] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 250.

[114] *Ibid.*, p. 249.

[115] Thomas, 1912, p. 340.

[116] Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 258-60.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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428 longed to the man, and bring it to one place. The friends do not keep a single article, for they wish to forget the dead and are afraid lest the smallest part of the property of the deceased should remind them of him. They give what the deceased has left to their friends and no one of his friends receives anything; even though he should wish to take something he will not do it through fear of the others. If a dying Indian leaves his gun or any other trifle to a particular friend the legatee is immediately put in possession and no one disputes his right. The widow gets nothing, yet whatever the husband has given to his wife during his life-time remains her property. Therefore we need not wonder that a married Indian pair should not have their goods in common, for otherwise the wife would be left wholly destitute after her husband's death. In like manner the husband inherits nothing when his wife dies.

768 587 According to ancient custom a widow should not marry again within a year after the death of her husband, for the Indians say that he does not forsake her before that time. At the end of this period, however, they believe that his soul goes to its place. A widow must endeavor to live by her own industry. She is not permitted to purchase any meat, for the Indians are superstitiously persuaded that their guns fail if a widow should eat of the game they have killed. Now and then a kind friend will venture to transgress the rule and give her some meat secretly. As soon as the first year of her widowhood is passed, the friends of the deceased husband clothe and provide for her and her children. They also propose another husband if they know of a desirable party, or, at least, tell her that she is now at liberty to choose for herself. If, however, she has not attended to the prescribed rule but married within the year, they 626 never trouble themselves about her again except, perhaps, to speak evil of her.

If a man's wife die, her relatives pretend to have some claim upon him until a year has passed. If he has remained a widower during that time they generally secure him a wife, preferring a sister of the departed, if one be living.

● 764 The burying places are at some distance from the towns. Before they had hatchets and other tools they used to line the

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inside of a grave with the bark of trees and when the corpse was let down they placed some pieces of wood across, which were again covered with bark and then the earth thrown in. When they were able to split boards they placed them, not, however, joined in any way, in the grave in such a manner that the corpse might be between them. A fourth board was laid over it as a cover. Now they have learned to make proper coffins. The graves are generally dug by old women as the young people abhor this kind of work. The coffin is made by men and placed in the grave. Then the corpse is brought, dressed in new clothing and a white shirt, with the face and shirt painted red, laid upon a new mat and let down into the grave. They cover the body with the strowd and nail up the coffin. Formerly it was the custom to place the pouch, tobacco, pipe, knife, fire material, kettle and hatchet in the grave but this is no longer done. They also fill up the grave with earth, which was not done in former times. The graves are all arranged in such a manner that the head was turned to the east and the feet to the west. At the head of the corpse a tall post is erected, pointing out who is buried. If the deceased was a chief this post is neatly carved but not otherwise decorated. If it was a Captain the post is painted red and his head and glorious deeds are portrayed upon it. The burial post of a physician is hung with a small tortoise shell which he used in his juggling practice. In honor of a great warrior his warlike deeds are exhibited in red color on the burial post.

In the evening soon after sunset and in the morning before daybreak the female relations and friends assemble in the house of the deceased and mourn over the body. This is done until he is buried. All the effects of the deceased are piled up near the body. These are taken to the place of burial and the greater part is distributed among those who assisted in burying the dead. The rest is given to the friends present, each receiving a share. During the letting down of the corpse into the grave the women set up a deafening howl. Men deem it a shame to weep, yet in silence and unobserved they often cannot refrain from tears. After the ceremony is over the mother, grandmother or other near female relative of the deceased goes evening and

Death

Early burials which have been excavated reveal few objects buried with the body although Penn indicates that it was customary among the Lenape to place objects in the graves (p. 37). Skinner is of the opinion that this may have been a custom which was coming into more common practice during the period we are dealing with (Skinner, 1909, p. 50). Of about equal occurrence are flexed and secondary bone burials. A Delaware burial has been described by Lindstrom: "...a round pit is dug in the ground and a stool is placed in the hole upon which the dead man shall sit. Then the dead man's money is placed upon him and he is set down in the pit upon the stool with a tobacco pipe a fathom long, in his mouth...". After the hole is filled up, "...they dig down in the corners of a square four very long poles upon which they make three shelves, and decorate the poles with long strips of blue, red or green frieze,[16] hanging like fringes." The bones were later dug up and the flesh cut from them after which they were wrapped in chestnut bark and placed on the bottom shelf where the bundle was allowed to stand until it rotted. (Lindstrom, pp. 249-250).

Above the body there has frequently been found a layer of shells which has been interpreted as evidence of a feast of the dead (Skinner, 1909, p. 50). Other features of the death ceremonies noted by early writers are; the use of charcoal on the face as a sign of mourning (Penn, p. 37; Danckaerts, p. 159), the sending of a messenger to all friends to announce a person's decease and loud lamentations at the grave. The name of the deceased was not mentioned (Lindstrom, pp. 249-250). Many of these features are incorporated in Heckewelder's excellent description of the funeral of a chief's wife (Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 269-276).

Disease

Disease was classified into natural illness and sickness caused by witchcraft and spirits of the dead. This classification is reflected in the many different types of cures which the Delaware practiced. Curing was one of the few activities placed in the hands of professional people, the shamans, although purely medicinal cures were also performed by laymen. The shamans used a combination of medicines, magic, sweating, bleeding and psychotherapy to effect their cures for which they were paid. Penn says that the Delaware will give anything to be cured and this is echoed by later writers (Penn, p. 36; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 232).

Medicines which were taken internally were made from bark and roots mixed with water (Penn, p. 36; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 224-231); likewise, plants with medicinal properties were made into poultices for wounds, boils and snake bite (Heckewelder, 1881, p. 229; Loskiel, p. 113). The shaman might also breathe on the patient or blow his remedy over the patient's body. In addition to making and giving these [illegible] the shaman frequently put on a performance in which he grimaced and acted in such a way as to frighten away the evil spirit which

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among the Delawares are provided from his memory. They may serve as a base of comparison with the type of performance recorded among other tribes of the same cultural group when time comes to consider the history of the game. We learn, for instance, that the players started with four moccasins on each side but that towards morning the women took away one moccasin, leaving them three under which to hide the cartridge or bullet. Later, in the early hours of the morning another moccasin was taken away, later another until only one remained on each side and the players were unable to continue. One of the older women, Mrs. Minnie Fouts, who had taken part in this rite, corroborated the information of Joe Washington and added some of the details put on record. As the moccasins were taken away one by one during the course of the night, it was a signal for a change in the repertoire of songs in the series. It was added in explanation of taking away the moccasins that the men were induced to cease the game by this gradual method, lest they play too long. The element of wagering on the outcome of the moccasin game was stricken out when the game came to be used in the funeral rite, though previously betting was carried on by the Delawares when the game was an independent celebration for amusement. The reason for introducing the moccasin game into the funeral program was to provide a means of keeping the party awake and in good spirits while they were sitting up with the dead person during the nights between the time of decease and burial. Levity was customary during the playing of the game, yet this did not seem to interfere with the spirit of the funeral, it being intended to lighten the grief of those who were paying their last duties to the deceased.[1]

524 525 764 781

THE RING AND PIN GAME

Koko'lac (meaning not clear).—The following game, the name of which is not as descriptive as it might be although

[1] In the account of the Moccasin Game given by R. C. Adams ("Legends of the Delaware Indians," Washington, 1905, p. 47), some of the songs accompanying the rite are transcribed. It is doubtful whether any more of these scores could be secured at the present time.

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order (the grandchildren) are, the Potowatomi, Sauk and Fox, Ioway, Tonkawa, Sioux, Ottawa, and Kickapoo, Miami, Peoria, and besides these the Chippewa, Menomini, Comanche, Nes Percé, Apache, Winnebago, Osage, Kaw, Ponca, Quapaw. All these here are differently named. Now here all these call the Delawares Wapanachki, or "Our Grandfather." But all our "brothers" call us by the name Lenape.

Now, I shall explain about the brothers of the Delawares, about whom I can not say much, but as many as I can name are the Nanticoke and Mahikan, and Munsee and several nations of the Iroquois are as many as I can think of as being our brothers. But nevertheless the Delawares are always considered the oldest. There must be older persons than I am who know all the different degrees of tribal relationship. Now then, a few more words, the Wyandot are our nephews, and also the Seneca and Cherokee. But the Mexicans are our uncles and the whites in general our brothers, and black people, some say "He who has a high color," our elder brothers, and it is he who is the strongest of all the different nations of people.

To the above list of tribal names several more may be added; ma'ckos, the Muskogi or Creek, a derivation of the term for swamp, and Taǫ'gale'wi', the Yuchi, meaning a people inferentially lost or wandering. The latter revives an old designation, Tahogale, Hogloge and variants (see discussion in J. R. Swanton, Early History of the Creek Indians, Bulletin 73, Bureau American Ethnology, 1922, pp. 286–312) for this mysterious and important people with whom the Delawares appear to have had contact.

MORTUARY CEREMONIES AND PROCEDURES

The customs concerned with death and interment of the Delawares are traced to a fusion of the rites of the tribe proper with those of the Munsee. We even have evidence that for a portion of the Delaware group certain mortuary rites of the Nanticoke [42] were assimilated during one period of time, as Harrington's account reveals.[43] Without attempting to un-

[42] Harrington, *op. cit.*, 183–4.

[43] An account of the Nanticoke independent burial customs, which were maintained by members of this tribe living among the Delawares as late as 1870, will be given shortly (p. 142).

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764 tangle some slightly confused details which are encountered
174 in the various descriptions given by early as well as late authors on Delaware ethnology, the citations from some of them will be presented and those of the informant separately. It is manifest that mortuary rites of the tribe have changed from time to time while the Delawares have been passing through the vicissitudes of their protracted migration from the Atlantic to the Plains.

764 In the text dictated by Wi·tapano'xwe we learn sufficient detail to make a complete summary of burial customs unnecessary as a separate paragraph. Nevertheless several excerpts from explanatory notes made by him to clear up his narration may be introduced. They discuss the treatment of the body of the deceased, duties of the relatives, the arrangements for interment, the sitting-up with the corpse and the playing of the ceremonial moccasin gambling game, the feast at the gathering for interment and its repetition at the end of the first year period after death.

764 With the interest in ceremonial matters that is natural
775 to his mental make-up Wi·tapano'xwe gives us his version of the doctrines and rites appropriate to the ushering of the soul of the defunct Delaware to the "Land of Spirits Above," *manito''kamik hukwe'yuŋ*, from the "Land of Spirits on Earth," *manito''kamik*. His particulars are in accordance with the theory of the journey of the soul explained and illustrated by a sketch of the path of the soul in its progress to the abode of *ke·tan·to'wi·t*, "Great Spirit," as given in the study of the Big House Ceremony. (Op. cit. Fig. 26.)

764 His major contribution to our knowledge of current funereal customs lies in the outline of the sermon and procedure of the Feast for the Dead. The proper name for the feast on the eleventh day after death is *da·kwi·p·hɔ't·i·n* "together eating." The feast that is celebrated one year after the death of the individual, at which only a few of the relatives are present, is called *wi·hoʷ'mwi·n*, "feast of offering to someone." It has already been noted that the latter feast has entered the Delaware system of rites by assimilation from the institutions of the Munsee according to the opinion of our sources.

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The recurrence of this feast is determined by spiritual influences. We are told, for instance, that if it is overlooked and the spirit of the deceased becomes offended, a disturbing dream visitation or an omen of mysterious significance would provide a warning against further neglect. This would cause the family to resort to the feast again. 764

The narrator assumes the rôle of the aged speaker who is invited by the family of the deceased to preside over the obsequies. He expounds the doctrine of immortality so vital and comforting to the bereaved Indians. He betrays the conservative attitude of the tribe which proved such a barrier to the theological arguments of the early Moravian missionaries when they first tried to combat the spiritual convictions of the natives. The ensuing lecture by the speaker should be read with the explanatory text of the Big House Ceremony on the table beside it. Without further comment on this important feast I would call attention only to the instance before us as being an American case of the psychological attitude of the natives toward the event of death, in which emotions that seem conflicting and not harmonized to the European mind are illustrated in the wailing and grief mingled with feasting and gaming during the rites of obsequy. The topic has been discussed continuously by religious theoreticians since the time of Tylor.

We may now take up the preliminary details of information on burial procedures from early as well as present sources. The first is the account of Wi·tapano'xwe.

Delaware Burial Ceremony

"To begin with, in case of one dying, four persons, two men and two women must be selected, usually of one of the two opposite ceremonial groups, to act as pall-bearers. A hog must be procured to provide sufficient meat, and also vegetables and fruit to feed every one who comes to the burial. The three principal food divisions are represented, meat, vegetables and fruits.

"When a man dies his body is dressed by the two men appointed, if a woman, the two women dress the body. A little red paint is used, because they believe this is formal preparation for the body of an 'Indian.'

"An elderly man is selected to talk and conduct the burial, and he must be governed by the wishes of the family, or according to the wishes

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
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764 of the person departed, if he or she made any statement as to what way he wanted the burial conducted.

[525] "All who wish to may come and sit up with the corpse. The men pall-bearers sit up and others who wish to play a hand game,* using usually a coffee bean or buckeye bean or a bullet for ball hiding—first under a glove or moccasin—and the other persons guess which moccasin he hides the bean or bullet under. This is kept up until daybreak. At night before the "wake," the men pall-bearers discharge three (another says two) musket shots toward the sunset, then everyone must rise and give attention. The shots symbolize the departure of the soul of the deceased. Everyone must be awakened, especially the children, so that they may not become frightened. The widowed person or the bereaved parents stay awake all night. And just before sunrise another volley of two or three shots is fired which symbolizes lifting the soul upward. The relatives of the deceased stand in front of the shooters. With the echo of the discharge the soul departs.

764 "Now an elderly person, who has been chosen to officiate at the ceremony, must offer thanks to the Great Spirit at breakfast time and [761] perform the ceremony before the body leaves the house. During the funeral procession no one must look back,—if they do it indicates another of the immediate members of the family will follow soon. The speaker must be given one 'Indian yard of wampum beads' for his services, which do not end until after the feast on the eleventh day noon hour.

"One of the pall-bearers must go to the grave each day and build a little fire at the head of the grave for four consecutive evenings and the people must leave the house in charge of someone, for it must not be left alone for twelve days, and a light must be kept burning at the main entrance of the house for four nights after the death of a person.

768 "And note, the widowed person must also be painted when the face 764 of the 'departed' body has been painted. Four days after, 'divorcement' proceeding takes place in the form of a ceremony. That is, they must burn cedar in the house to 'fumigate' and the cedar water is used to wash the widow's or widower's head. If a woman, she is told that she is now no longer obligated to her deceased husband's family. She is furnished with new clothes throughout. With this ceremony she is 'divorced,' but the relationship terminology remains the same to the family she formerly was married into.

775 "Now the burial hole is prepared on the day following the sitting up 826 with the body at night—it is not considered a grave until the body is in 772 it,—and even now, in the modern times, we do not believe in taking the body to be embalmed, as we believe the life blood is the spirit that remains on earth until the deceased is admitted to the abode of the Great Spirit, which is the twelfth level of the Heaven.

* This is the common moccasin game of North America. For description see S. Culin, "Games of the North American Indians," 24th Annual Report, Bureau American Ethnology 1906, and page 99 of this study.

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"A small wooden post is used in case of a man's grave and placed at the head of the grave on the east end. (The head must always be directed toward the sunrise, feet to the west.) A woman's grave is indicated by placing a cross. (See Fig. 5.) A few logs are placed over the grave to keep out 'varmints.'

"Now at the conclusion of the burial, or just before, a little hole must be left in the casket and one cut in the end opposite the head of the wood box also,[184] and the post placed after covering same, then paint the usual designs on posts. The victuals are separated for the pall-bearers and all the relatives. The latter eat apart from the people in general. Just before the feast at the cemetery the speaker calls all the people to the grave and talks—takes up the life of the person and relates the character of the dead person, and if he lived a nice quiet life and tells his chance or her chance to be born into the spiritual world. The life blood remains, but the body goes back to the mother earth, of which we are a part. The belongings of the dead are divided among those who waited on the body, and the food is divided among the four pall-bearers also.

"Now at the announcement the speaker tells them to remember well the eleventh day at the noon hour, all must be ready to offer thanks for the great opportunity to give victuals to their dead kinfolks, as well as giving the hog and other rations which will be offered to the one who departed. That is, he or she eats the last time with his or her living relatives or tribesmen.

"The latter feature belongs to the Munsee division of the Delawares, but a Delaware proper does not have the eleventh day feast. One of the Munsee division may say, in passing threatening jokes, for instance, 'I am going to kill you.' The Munsee will say, 'Well it will cost you two hogs!' That is, it means one hog at the time of burial and the other at the eleventh day feast."

The grave posts referred to are described as being about two feet in height above the ground, which at the head of a man's grave is a single one painted with crosses, at a woman's grave one with a horizontal cross-bar (Fig. 5, *a* and *b*). The crosses it should be added do not stand for the Christian emblem but represent the "Cross-roads" on the path of the spirit to the abode of souls (see pp. 174–7, "Big House Ceremony").

[184] It is important to note that the Delawares are strongly averse to the use of European materials in mortuary constructions. They will not use iron in nailing, nor will they compromise with the past by adopting metal coffins, out of fear that the spirit would be sealed up and unable to reach the "habitation of spirits above." As noted before, when a wooden casket is bought by the progressive Delawares a square hole is cut in it for the exit of the soul-spirit after the event of the feast.

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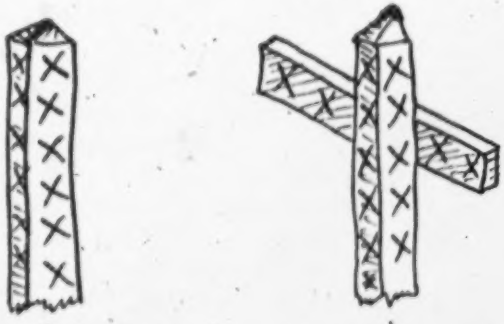
769 The Delawares have assimilated the Munsee custom of the family giving a feast one year from the date of death of its members. One or more deceased members of the same family



a b

FIG. 5. GRAVE POSTS AT HEAD OF MAN'S GRAVE (*a*) AND WOMAN'S (*b*), about two feet high.

may be remembered at this time, each one being represented by an invited person selected from another group (Wolf, Turtle or Turkey) or someone who is not related to the deceased by blood. Those representing the deceased need not necessarily be of corresponding sex. The person who is giving the feast, which is usually held at night, announces that he has invited the guests present to eat in memory of the departed member or members of his family. On such occasions the invited guests are served first. The food, which may be of various sorts, is equally divided and what is left the guests may take home in the vessels which it is customary to bring to such feasts for that purpose. A certain amount of food is set aside for the members of the family who eat after the guests have been served. Sometimes the person who sponsors the ceremony will give one of the guests a pint of liquor (or "sacred wine" as the informant called it) as a sacramental token. This he may dispose of as he chooses.[46]

764 A most complete description of a Delaware funeral is given by the missionary John Heckewelder, eye-witness to the burial of a woman of high rank in 1762, the wife of a war-chief, Shingask. The essential features of the event

[46] G. Tantaquidgeon, "Delaware Notes," 1930.

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described correspond to those of our sources.[47] Heckewelder's account, though somewhat too lengthy to quote here, is indispensable to the student of the history of Delaware institutions, since it gives extended details of burial practices, and in particular the garb and ornamentation of people of high rank during the period of residence in Ohio.

For a still earlier period, before the tribe had left the Atlantic coast, De Vries has a generalized account of burial:

"They make a large grave, and line it with boughs of trees, in which they lay the corpse, so that no earth can touch it. They then cover this with clay, and form the grave, seven or eight feet, in the shape of a sugar loaf, and place palisades around it. . . . They keep a portion of the dead in the house. . . . They then bury the bones in the grave, with a parcel of zeewan, and with arrows, kettles, knives, paper, and other knick-knacks which are held in great esteem by them, and cover them with earth, and place palisades around them. . . . Such is the custom on the coast in regard to the dead." [48]

For a later period we have the outline of burial customs by Zeisberger (1779–1780). The particulars that he gives follow in general those already noted, except that the funeral sermon is not emphasized, and like the modern rites show a change from the custom of burying property with the body to that of giving it away by selected distribution to those present at the ceremonies. Another discrepancy is found in Zeisberger's mention that the corpse is laid with head to west instead of to the east. His account is as follows:

"Formerly the people lined the graves with the bark of trees but now they have learned how to make coffins of boards. After the grave has been dug by the old women the men place the coffin in it. The corpse is brought, dressed in new clothing and a white shirt, with the face and shirt painted red, laid upon a new mat and placed in the coffin. In former times it was the custom to place the pouch, tobacco, pipe, knife, fire material, kettle and hatchet in the grave, leaving the grave open. Now, however, this is not done and the grave is filled with earth. The corpse was laid with the head toward the west. A post was erected at the head of the grave indicating by carvings or articles hung upon it the

[47] John Heckewelder, "History, Manners and Customs of the Indian Nations Who once Inhabited Pennsylvania and the Neighboring States," Publications of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, 1876, pp. 270–6.

[48] David De Vries, "Voyages from Holland to America," New York (translation), 1853, p. 164 et seq.

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764 person buried and his rank in the tribe. In the evening soon after sunset and in the morning before daybreak the female relations and friends assemble in the house of the deceased and mourn over the body. The effects of the deceased are taken to the place of burial, the greater part being distributed among those who assist at the burial. As the corpse is let down into the grave the women set up a deafening howl. After the ceremony the mother, grandmother, or some near female relative goes evening and morning to the grave and weeps over it, this continues, with less and less regularity until the mourning period is over. Sometimes food is placed over the grave." [49]

"To the spirits of the dead they offer both meat and drink. The doctors decide, in the case of a meat offering, which animal is to be sacrificed. When the guests are in the dark with no fire assembled an old man offers the meats to the enraged spirits and begs them to be pacified. The old man then communes with the spirits and tells the guests that they have been appeased.

"In the case of drink to be offered the guests assemble and drink together, then someone speaks with the spirits and pacifies them. The guests walk to the grave and pour some rum on it." [50]

172 764 184 Archaeological evidence is not lacking to show that before the historic period the custom of cleaning the bones of the dead and subsequent burial of the skeleton, sometimes in groups forming ossuaries, had penetrated as far north as the neighborhood of New York.[51] The testimony coincides with the tradition among the modern Delawares, recorded by Harrington, that the "Wolf clan" practiced the rite of removing the flesh from the bones of the deceased and later interred the bones with appropriate ceremonies.[52] Lindeström (1654) makes mention of the Delawares stripping the skeleton, disposing of the bones upon a shelf and distributing the property of the deceased among the relatives.[53] These institutions among the Delawares are unquestionably of southern origin, and their introduction as far north as the domain of the Delawares is clearly attributable to the Nanticoke in 764 whose culture they were firmly established at an early period.

[49] Zeisberger, *op. cit.*, pp. 88–90.

[50] Zeisberger, *op. cit.*, p. 140.

[51] A. B. Skinner, "The Lenape Indians of Staten Island," Anthropological Papers, American Museum of Natural History, III, 1909, pp. 49–51.

[52] Harrington, *op. cit.*, pp. 183–4.

[53] Peter Lindeström, "Geographia Americae, 1654–6," ed. by A. Johnson, Philadelphia, 1926, pp. 249–51.

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In a subsequent chapter an account will be given of the mortuary practices of those Nanticoke who followed the Delawares to the west. These rites were carried out by the Nanticoke descendants among the Delawares as late as approximately 1860. From this case we learn the extent of assimilation of rites among the tribes which gradually joined together and formed the Delaware Nation of historic times. An interpretative summary of mortuary rites of the eastern tribes has appeared by MacLeod in which the southern origin of the bone cleaning complex is discussed.[54]

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Preparations for the Burial

yu'kwe elaŋgu'ndieŋ yu'ni· awe·'n ə'n·da
And now my kindred this person when

wi·k·a'əs·i·t'. a'hət ə'n·da wei·ta'k·ən·u't·əma' e·li·'xiŋg
is dead. It is hard when interpret the customs

wəl·a·'haxane·' awe·'n wi·ka'əs·i·t. hi·'t·ami·
although person is dead. First

əp·ha't·i·n ta'm·'se haŋg·. ne·'wa lə'n·owak
they sitting-up (wake) all night sometimes said. Four men

n'hak·a'lkwus·owak ə'n·da li·'nalə't·iŋ e·'li· tci·'-
are used when in the game because they

p·axkwi·nalə't·i·n kwu't·i· t'pu'kowe. me·'tci· ə'n·da
play moccasin-game all night. Now when

pet·a'p·aŋg na' yu'ki·k' kwe·'tc'kun·a'xti·t' ma't·a-
almost dawn then these who dressed up not

e·p·i·li·'tci· naxa'n' kwuta·'+he·'yək wehe'ndji·ə'p·aŋg
here [corpse] three times shoot east

wundaxkwi·'i· naxa'n' kwut·a·'he·n. na'tc'pəna'hanen
toward three times they discharge guns. And then afterwards,

we·'mi·awe·'n tu·'kəna·. ni·'calənowa'k ək ni·'cax-
every body they awaken. Two men and two

kwe·'yək a'ləmi· we'ndjaxki·n gi'ci·mi·tsaxti'ŋ·ge
women begin to prepare food after they had eaten

nətc' we·'mi·ke'ko ki·cəna'k·wət' nətc' yu'ni·
and then everything made ready then this

[54] W. C. MacLeod, "Priests, Temples and Practice of Mummification in Southeastern North America," XXII Congresso Internazionale degli Americanisti, Roma, 21-30, 1926, pp. 207-9.

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
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764 539 k'wutohe''pi· pən·d'ha't·o"n puhe"xɔ'k·uŋg. ɔk we·'mi·
body will be put in into box. And all

me'hmi·'tciŋg ga'xta gi·'l'səm·a"n e·'li· al·a'p·at'
food must be cooked because [must] hurry

we'ndji· te'p·i· gi·cəna'k·ɔt' ne'n·i ɔ'lak'".
so that enough time ready made the hole [grave].

ɔk cəmu'tc' yu'ni· me'hmi·'tciŋg tc'pa"ta·'s·u
And also this food is separated

me''həmi·kəmɔs·i·'tci·k mi·tci''ti·t' ɔk yu'ki·k
by those who wait [on the dead person] eat and these

e·'laŋgo"ma''ti·t' ɔk naholi·'' ci·'kwi·ne''ti·t'. ɔk
his kindred and also the orphans [bereaved].[11] And

nahəli·'' tə't·a awe·'n witci·mi·'tsu. me·'tci· ə'n·da
also any person may eat with [them]. Now when

i'ka pe"t·a's·i·k' yu'ni· kwut·ohe·'p·i· kətəma·'-
there they bring this here body to the graves

ksowa'kan·i·ke·'k ɔk yu'ni· ɔ'lak'" ki·'cən·a'k·wut'.
[group of pitiful bodies] and here hole [grave] made ready.

natc' pəndha't·o"n ne'kwut·ohe·'pi· natc' laha'p·a
Then they lower, put in the body then afterward

awe·'n ki·'ci·ma"n pəmat·o"'nhe"t'.
someone is selected speaker.

The Burial Ceremony and Sermon (by Wi·tapano'xwe)

The person chosen to perform the ceremony of address in the following account is an old person well versed in the rites. He is usually a family head in the same family and group of the deceased. It will be noted that he receives the ceremonial [465] payment of the yard ("shoulder-length") of wampum. The rite described is understood to be of Munsee origin assimilated in ancient times to the Delaware rite.

Yu'kwe elaŋgu'ndieŋg" me·'tci· ki·cəna'k·wut'
"Here our kindred now is ready

yu'ni· k'təma·'ksowa'kan. ki·'l'cəna'k·wut' yu'kwe
this grave. Made ready here

we·'mi· la'tce"s·owa'k·ana ne'hel·ata'ŋgup' wa'k·a
all his belongings which belonged deceased

[11] This refers to the collateral relatives of the deceased and his children.

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
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ne·k·a'lkweŋg a''kahəm·awəne·'yo yu'ki·k mi·'kəm- 764
who departed to divide these the pall-bearers 539

ɔ·s·i·'tci·k. [46] ndəl·a'ŋgo"s·da'wɑn ga'hən·e wani'ci·
[attendants] [laborers]. My kinsman very thankful

təl·i·' ɔ·ngo"'məl·ən e·'li· me·'tci· i'k·a maxte·'xɑn
that I address you because now has come the occasion, [has been]

ni·cu'kwəni· kti·'hil·i· a'la le·həl·e·'xe·n.
two days since when this life you departed.

yu'kwe e'n·da we·'tən·oma' yu'ni· kwu'tai·'k·ane
Here when I accept this one shoulder-length

ke·k' də'l·i· ke·xa'p'ton ke'ko e'n·da l·ə'l·an
wampum for me to say a little something when I speak to you

yu'kwe elaŋgo"'məlan. me·'tci· k'po"ne·'ləndaməŋ
now my kinsman. Now you must forget

yu'ni· endalausi·'eŋg" ɔk we·'mi· yu'ki· ce·
this our home [earthly existence] and all these here

e'laŋgo"'mɑ't'. ka't·ci· nate·'ləndə'ŋhan ke'ko h"tɑk·i·'
related [ones]. Don't think anything of the past

e·'li· me·'tci· kwe'ndjaxki· təl·i·' wi·taŋgo"'s·i·n
because now you are prepared for to join the existence

ɔ's·i· we'ndji·ai·k' ne'n·i· lən·apeɔ'k·an. e·'li·
of the deceased where belong the soul-spirit. As

kowa·'ton we·'mi·tc' awe·'n tɔ'penshik·a·'k·un tə'l·i
you know everybody will have this experience for to

a'la tala'us·i·n yu'ni· e'ndale·ləmu'k·weŋg". nanen-
depart this existence, life now in this our earthly home. That

wu'ndji· ha't·e kwi·'tələt·owakan kwi·n pi·''pɔ'n·dəmən
is why indeed the teaching many times you have heard

təl·i·'tc' awe·'n wendja''kənan ɔk pi·'li·ha·'n na'ni·
that will a person prepare and purify that

lənə'p·eɔ'k·an təl·i·'tc' ma·tco"'xwen cəxaxki·'i·
soul-spirit that it will go homeward straightforwardly, directly

wendji·'ai·k' ko"xənə·'niŋg kic·e·'ləmu'k·ɑŋ. yu'
where belong our father the creator. Now

[46] The following is a solemn monologue by the master-of-ceremony kneeling over the grave. He is addressing the deceased.

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
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764 539 wani'ci·. tep·i·'laha'p·a wəli·ᵗ kəle·ᵉ'ləndа enxa'p'toᵘ-
thanks. It is sufficient well to remember what I have

neᵉ'ya.
said.

The master-of-ceremony now turns to and addresses the people present who are standing before the grave. [No ceremonial grouping is here required.]

elaŋgundiengᵛ kəneᵉ'məneᵉn ełki·'kwi· k'təma'k·a
Our kindred we can see how pitiful

ɔk ci·'eləndamowa'k·an·u ə'nda ci·'kwi·neᵉ'eŋg.
and its sadness when we are orphaned.

kəneᵉ'məneᵉn ełki·'kwi· poᵘtci·hil·a'eŋgᵛ wa'ka
We can see how we miss the deceased

wi·kɔ's·i·tᵗ elaŋgoᵘ'meŋg. ɔk keᵉpe'n·a teᵉ'ka wə'li·
departed our relative. And be careful well

kəleᵉ'ləndamu't·am təli·'tcᵗ ga'xtaᵗ mi'ŋgaxseᵉ'i·
to think so that will must better

ləs·i·'neᵉn. pi·''pɔnda'wəna ki·'kayo'yəmənaniŋga
we do. We have heard our deceased ancestors

ełki·'kwi· haŋgᵛ wi·nowa'm'kweŋg tə'li·
how said they begged us, plead with us that

kitci·'t·eᵉheᵉ'i· pɔna'elɔn·damɔneᵉ'n eᵉ'lau'si·'eŋgᵛ eᵉ'li·
with all our heart we consider our own life how

ha't·e aleᵉpə'ndowa'k·an pi·'ci· [17] wa'ni· lən·a'p·e
indeed exists the teaching in reality the Delaware

mi·łkwu'ɛ·i·tᵗ. nanewu'ndji aweᵉ'n pi'ci· aᵉ' wə'li·
handed down. That is why a person there should in reality carefully

keᵉ'naxkeᵉlə'n·damɔn pɔmau''sowa'k·an təli·'tcᵗ wəli·'
study [his] life so that carefully

wendja''konaᵃ'n neᵉ'li·l hᵗᵛt·ɔn·apeɔ'k·ana. pi·''pɔndа'-
prepare that his soul-spirit. We have

mɔnen lə'm·we nɔ'tci· we'skᵗhakam·i·'k·e nɔ'tci
heard a long time ago in the beginning of the earth since has been

wa''kutᵗ ełki·'kwi· ahoᵘ'hɔ'ltuk mɔ't·omak·an na'n'i·
known how hard to travel his road that

[17] If someone should contradict a speaker he would exclaim pi'ci·, "It's a fact," "It's so!";—eᵉ "there should," a mild imperative.

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ko^{u}'xəna pi·'ɬsi·t' mani't·o. cukwa'nd awe·'n we·lau''-si·t'
our father the pure spirit. But any person cleanly living

mi'ŋgaxse təp·owe·'ləndaməŋ
less handicap, advantageous easy he feels it to be

mu't·əme·n ne'n·i·təma'k·an. awe·'n paxki·'skitcila'u'si·t'
to follow, to tread in the path. Anyone heedless, careless life living

a'hohɔ'ɬkut' mət·oma'k·an. e·'li· ko^{u}'xəna tahɔ'l·au
his is hard road. Because our father loves

we·'mi· təmi·mq'səma wu'ndjitc awe·'n ula·te·'nami·n
all his children that is why a person will enjoy life

ə'n·da wə'li· ɔk nala'i· le'hele·'xe·t'. ən·da'neŋg
when properly and quietly he lives. When he sees

we·'mi ke'ko na'xpən·e yu'ni· pe·mi·ga'xtiŋg pəna'
every thing including the the year even

yu'kwe ə'n·da ta'xkɔkəna'mi·eŋg we·'mi· ke'ko
now this time when it is fall every thing

ki·ci·'kan ɔk ə'nda wuski·si·'kɔŋ we·'mi· ke'ko
has matured and when early spring-time every thing

sak·a'ɬkɔt ɔk ki·'ki·ckwi·'k·e k't əma'n·daməne·n təli·'
grows, buds out and day by day we feel that

pe'tci· k'cəte·'kamən na'ni xq'səna ki·'cux
the coming heat that he our brother the sun

ki·'ckwun·o^{u}'ke·s ɔk ke'naxke·ləmuk·o^{u}'nɑ ko^{u}'xəna
day-moon and he takes care of us our father

ge·tan't o'wi·t ti·t'pukwi·'k·e ɔk nahəli·' na'ni·
Creator during the night and including him

xq'səna ni·'pai·ki·'cux. nawu'ndji we·'mi· ek·ala·'mi·
our brother night-moon. From this all according

pe'tci· mi·ɬkwu's·i·t' tci·'tan·os·owa'k·an manitu'wak
coming their given power, strength spirits

hukwe·'yuŋg ə'nda le·ləmu'k·uk ɔk nahəli·' ne·'ki·k'
above where dwell, and including those

wi·'t·au'su'm'kweŋg[11] yu'tali· endalau'si·'eŋg· ce·'la-
who live among us here . where we live [on earth]. That is

haneni·' elaŋgu'ndieŋg pi·''pənda'məne·n ə'nda ale·-
that our kindred we have heard when we

[11] Referring to tree, water, vegetable, fruit, animals, deer, birds, spirits, who live on earth among us.

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
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764 po'm'kweŋgʷ ki·'kayoyɔmaⁿn·l'ŋga. yu'kwɔtci·teˈ
539 were being taught by our deceased ancestors. Now then yet

kʷt·en·au''ki· yu'kwe wu'ndji· te'l·ən ɔk kwu't·l·
one other thing. This [day] hence ten and one

t'xo'k·wɔnɑk'ha'k·e kowato'"ne"n eli·'xiŋg tɔli'teˈ
days you know the rule that

we"'mi· awe"'n ga'xta pet·o"'n ki·'ɛɔmaɔ'k·an e"'li·
every body must bring feast "cooked food" because

na'n·e lɑk·hi'k·wi· da''kwi·p'hɔ't·i·n."
at that time a feast, we shall have ["eating together"].

e"'li· pi·''pon·da'wɔna ki·kayoyɔmɔnaⁿn·i'ŋga ehela''-
Because we have heard our dead ancestors what

konotɔmi'xti·t' lowe"'yɔk hɑŋg o'n·da te'l·ən ɔk
they said about it they said [said] when ten and

kwu't·i t'xo'k'wɔni ɔ'n·da le·la'ɔhɔk pa·t' na'ni·
one days when mid-sky [zenith] comes the

txɑ'sɔna gi·ckwuni·' gi·'cux nɑtc' me·k·ɔni·'hil·a·k'
our brother day moon [sun] and then the last time

kwi·pɔma·'nen wa'ni· wi·kaɔ's·i·t. ɔk kowa·to"'nen
we eat together, feast that departed. And we know

we"'mi· awe"'n a'pi·'lowa wi·'kɔs·i·'li·t' e·lɑŋgɔma''tci
everybody there is deceased relative

naneki·'ckwi·k kwi·pɔma'wɔna elɑŋgo'meŋ a'lɑnde
that day we eat with our relations some

lɔmwe''kami·k kɔni'm'kalgo"'nɑ lowe"'nhɑŋg paxkɑ'ndji·
times long ago left us it is also said extremely

wɔle"'lɔndamowa'k·an. ɔ'nda awe"'n ma't·a pe't·a·k'ʷ
gladness, joy. When anyone does not bring

me'hmi·'tciŋg ci'xkuŋdj me't·aelɔ'ndam elɑŋgo"'meŋ
food very disappointed, grieved [are] our relative

tɔliŋgɔ's·i·n pe'mi·'tsaxtiŋg lo'we"[10] k'tɔma'k·elɔ'mwi·
they look on those eating he says sadly, pitifully

ne"'pehɑtc' pet·a'k·e mi·'tci·a. cela'hɔnen elɑŋ-
"Did anybody for me bring me food?" Now then my

[9] The feast usually given to the deceased one year after his death is called *wi·ho"'mwi·n*, the feast to the individual deceased, only a few relatives taking part. In the *da'kwi·'p'hɔt·i·n*, both the living and the dead are believed to be feasting together.

[10] Referring to the neglected spirit, who now speaks.

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gu'ndieŋg lak'hi'k·wi· a'hot' toli·' awe·'n woli·'
kindred how difficult [it is] for anyone carefully

n'ha'o'tun eli·'xiŋg alepondowa'k·an. yu'kwelap·i·
to follow the rule teaching. Now again

kəmi·'ko"lae'məł ndəla'ŋgundo"'stuk' te·'k·a wəli·'
I call to your memory my kindred (vocative) be cautious carefully

ke·'naxki·to"'tam ga't·a we'ndjaxkəna'wəna na'n·i·
you observe we must we prepare the

ləna'p·ɔok·an ne·'li· kwi·ya·'gwi· wəlamałsi·'eŋg" ok'
soul-spirit while still in good health we are and

wəlo'ləm·uk·weŋg na'ni· ko'xəna ge·tan'to'wi·t'. e·'li·
the blessings of him our father the Creator. Because

elaŋgu'ndieŋg ako'· kowa·to"'nen wi·xka'utci·a·' kwu't·i·
my kindred not we know how suddenly in one

spa'ŋgweɔk·an natc' alaha't·e yu'ni· əndalausi·'eŋg".
winking of an eye besides then the end this our earthly home.

e·'li· ko"'xəna təli·' gi·ce·'ləmi·n ɔk' wuni·'hil·a'təmən
Because our father so created and he has the power

elki·'kwi· kwe·tənəma'k·weŋg kle'hel·e·'xeyɔk·anə'na.
sufficient to take from us our life.

e·laŋgu'ndieŋg a'hi· k'hahe·lən·a'uk·i· ke'ko ge·'aki·a'
Our kindred very many are things which I could

kweita'kənu'təmu'lan cuk'" elaŋgu'ndieŋg me·'tci·
explain to you [interpet to you] but my kindred now

ta'hi·hwu'ska k'təma·k'si·'həna. ni·'p·əna nda'hi·
very greatly we are weak and unable. I myself very

ke'ko li·'laem·a n'ha'k·ai e·'li· haŋg" ma't·a
matter grieved myself because it is said not

te·p·i·'hi·le·'i· pəna'eləndämowa'k·an. cuk'" wani'ci·
broad enough my mind [mentality]. But I am thankful,

ko"'pən·e məca·'taməne·n eli·'xiŋg yu'ni· ale'pon-
however, we remember the rule and this teach-

dowa'k·an ɔk' wu'ndji kwəla·'te·nami·'nen ə'nda
ing and on account of it it brings us joyous feeling when

neɔk'"ti·'yeŋg kwi·ya'k·wi· ɔse'i·k'tenxi'ŋhəna. ɔk'
we see each other we being still quite a number [of us] many of us. And

naxpo'xkwe·nen ə'nda pə'ndameŋg ko'xəna tɔ'p'-
we take with us when we hear our father his

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764 539 tona'k·an e·'li· ke·'ski· lə's·i·eŋgw ga't·a wəli·'laeha'-
word because our best we do to try to

wən·a na'ni· ke·'tan'to'wi·t' pe·'tci ki·ce'ləmuk·oŋ.
please the Great Spirit even our Creator.

wani'ci· te·'p·i·lahap·a.[81]
I thank you, this is all for now.

Preparations For The Burial

Free Translation.

And now, my kindred, this person is dead. It is hard to explain how things should be done when a person is dead. First is the sitting up (wake), as is sometimes said. Four men are employed for the game because they play the moccasin game all night. Now when it is almost dawn, then those who dressed up the deceased shoot three times towards the east. Thrice they discharge guns. And then afterwards they awaken everybody. Two men and two women begin to prepare food and after they have eaten everything is made ready to put the body into the box. And the food must be cooked in a hurry so that there will be time enough to make the hole (grave). And also the food is separated by those who are in attendance who eat and those his kindred, and the orphans and relatives. And also anyone else may eat with them. Now when they bring this body to the group of pitiful bodies (graves), the hole is made ready. Then they lower the body and someone next is selected as speaker.

Address By An Invited Speaker

"Here now, my kindred, now this grave is ready. All his belongings are ready to be divided among the laborers (pallbearers). Now, my kinsman,[82] I am indeed thankful that I can address you because the time of two days has elapsed since you departed this life. Here when I accept this one shoulder length of wampum as an inducement for me to say something when I address you, now, my kinsman. Now you must forget this our earthly existence and all these here

[81] This terminates the address of the speaker at the grave.

[82] This solemn monologue is addressed to the deceased by the master-of-ceremony as he kneels over the grave.

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related ones. Do not think anything of the past, because you are now prepared to join the existence of the deceased where the soul spirit belongs. As you know, everybody will have the experience to depart this life. This is our earthly home, that is why, indeed, you have heard many times that a person should prepare and purify the soul-spirit so that it will go homeward directly where dwells Our Father, our Creator. Now, thanks. It is required to remember well what I have said."

[The Master-of-Ceremony now turns and addresses the people present who are standing before the grave.]

"Our kindred, we can see how pitiful it is and its sadness when we are orphaned. We can see how we miss the departed deceased, our relative, and we must be careful to think well upon it so that we may do better. We have heard our deceased ancestors how, it is said, they begged and pleaded with us that we should consider our own life earnestly as it stands in the teaching of reality handed down to the Delaware. That is why a person should positively and carefully study his life to prepare properly his soul-spirit. We have heard, a long time ago in the beginning of the earth, since it was known, how to travel the road of Our Father, the Pure Spirit. But any person living cleanly has less handicap and feels it easy to tread in the path. Anyone living a careless life has a difficult road. Because Our Father loves all of his children that is why a person can enjoy life when he lives properly and quietly. When he sees everything, even the passage of the year, even now at this time when fall is coming on, everything has matured; or in the early springtime when everything is budding out, day by day we feel the coming on of the heat which he, our Elder Brother, the Day Moon (sun) gives it, and as he, our Father, the Creator, takes care of us during the night along with him our Elder Brother, the Night Moon. Wherefore all is according to the strength given them by the spirits above, where they dwell, and also those who live among us here where we live on earth. It is that, our kindred, which we have heard when we were being taught by our deceased ancestors. Now, there is yet one

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764 other thing. Ten and one days from this day, you know it
539 is the rule that everybody must bring cooked food because at that time we celebrate the feast.

"As we have heard our deceased ancestors, as they spoke about it, saying as we are told, when ten and one days, when in mid-sky (noon) comes our Elder Brother, the Day Moon (sun), then we eat together for the last time with the departed. And we know, all of us, that on that day our deceased relative is there as we eat with our relations, some having left us in the ancient days, as is said, bringing us extreme joy and gladness. When anyone does not bring food our relative is disappointed and grieved as he beholds those who are eating and says sadly, 'Did anyone bring food for me?' Now then, my kindred, how difficult it is for a person to follow the teaching and the rules properly. Now again, I call to your memory, kindred, how difficult it is for a person to follow the teaching and rules properly. Now again, I call to your memory, kindred, to be cautious and carefully observe how we must prepare the soul-spirit while we are still in good health and enjoying the blessings of him Our Father, the Creator, because kindred, we do not know how suddenly in one wink of an eye, even then the end may be of this our earthly home, because Our Father so created our life and he has sufficient power to take it from us.

"Kindred, very many are the things which I could explain to you, but kindred, now we have become very weak and pitiful. I, myself, am very much grieved over the matter because, as it is said, my mind is not sufficient for it but I am, nevertheless, thankful that we remember the rule and this teaching, from which we derive a feeling of joy as we see each other, there being quite a number of us. And we take away with us Our Father's word when we hear it as we do our utmost to try and please the Great Spirit, even Our Creator. I thank you. This is all for now."

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were buried in the ground. Two years later there came suddenly to visit there two women. All about they inquired in vain for their husbands. Again they assembled and sent for these women. They informed them saying that right over there under those trees were buried two creatures who came among us two years ago, bringing with them a bad thing. And behold there were sixty of us as many as they had killed. They then decided, these women, that one night, as said, no one knew where these men had gone. When it was explained to them they said they were the same men. Whereupon they were told, "You Nanticoke alone know of the evil-medicine." They replied, "That is not what it was intended for, namely that anyone should take life. But it is intended to be used for divination. Thus it is to be used when we wish to know how anyone is, or where they may be camped. When in time of fear during war-time they send out scouting men to guard all around in order that no one may surprise them, anybody not on peaceful terms with us."

Afterwards one foolish young man while visiting among the Nanticoke borrowed that witchcraft medicine. Down to this day it was never taken back. And there was wampum used when borrowing. So this is a known fact that if anyone does not rightly observe the custom he himself, his family or his relatives would suffer affliction from some mysterious cause. From that day it originated and was introduced to mankind, among the barbarous tribes all over the earth where dwell the red-skinned people on this continent. That is how the Delawares knew of it.

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NANTICOKE SKELETON DANCE

A few words of explanation may make clearer the symbolism of this strange rite. The feast of the dead possesses features to be remarked upon as characteristic of tribes of the southeastern area who perform a reburial of the bones of the deceased, after which the soul is permanently dismissed from association with kindred living upon earth.

The Nanticoke have long been notorious for the custom,

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attributed to them by a number of authorities [11] covering almost three centuries, of removing the flesh from the bones of the dead and preserving them in bundles which were kept for a time by the family of the deceased, finally to be buried together in an ossuary as certain sources tell us, or kept in a building called a "bone house." [12] This strange funeral institution is undoubtedly of far southern origin as MacLeod has independently announced.[13] Quotations from the sources have been so numerous in literature dealing with the Nanticoke that it is not urgent to reproduce them here. There is, however, reason to note an extension of the custom to the Delawares which the latter, as I interpret probabilities, have acquired through association with the Nanticoke. The two tribes appear to have had close association throughout the span of their known history. A Delaware author of 1890, R. C. Adams, gives particulars of a Skeleton Dance practiced by the "Wolf Clan" of the Delawares which traced its origin to the Nanticoke. This description of the dance which I quote, coincides in part with the features of the ceremony described in the following text by Wi'tapano'xwe.

"*Human Skeleton Dance.* Given only by the Wolf Clan of the Delawares. A certain dance given as a memorial to the dead was supposed to clear a way for the spirit of the deceased to the spirit land.

[11] William Vans Murray, "Manuscript Vocabulary of the Nanticoke" (1792), Collections of American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, edited with notes by D. G. Brinton, *Trans. Amer. Phil. Society*, Philadelphia, 1892. See also F. G. Speck "The Nanticoke and Conoy Indians," 1, Historical Society of Delaware, Wilmington, 1927, pp. 32–5; Heckewelder (1819), *op. cit.*, p. 92; D. Brainerd (1745), "Life of Brainerd," Philadelphia, 1838, pp. 169–72; Gabriel Thomas (1698), "An Historical and Geographical Account of Pennsylvania and West Jersey," Narratives of Early Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Delaware. Ed. by A. C. Myers, New York, 1920, p. 340.

[12] Given by Murray as "Chiocason- or awacason- house," a term apparently related to Virginia Powhatan "quiocason" of corresponding meaning. The Nanticoke vocabulary also gives the term "Matzucksumpq." Reconstruction of this strange combination of consonants results apparently in resolving it to something akin to Delaware *ma'tci'kami·k*, denoting "abandoned or condemned ground" or "the house of the abandoned" meaning a grave. The term has been recorded more accurately by Hariot (1588) as "machacomoco" in the dialect of the tidewater Virginia tribes.

[13] W. C. MacLeod, "Priests, Temples and the Practice of Mummification in Southeastern North America." XXII Congresso Internazionale degli Americanisti, Roma, 1926, pp. 228–9.

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When a member of the Wolf Clan died, the flesh was stripped from the bones and buried, and the bones were dried at some private place. At the end of twelve days the skeleton would be wrapped in white buck skin and taken to a place prepared for the dance and there held up by someone. As the singers would sing the men who held the skeleton would shake it and the bones would rattle as the dancers would proceed around it. After the dance the skeleton was buried. Tradition says that in ancient times some of the head men in the Wolf Clan had a dream that they must treat their dead in that way, and the custom has been handed down to them for many centuries. The other clans say the custom does not belong to them. The custom has been long dropped. There has not been a skeleton dance since 1860." [14]

Harrington refers to information collected on the ceremony but prefers Adam's account in his memoir without further comment (Harrington, *op. cit.*, pp. 183–184). There may, however, be some unreliable statements in the Adams description.[15]

Zeisberger's description of the ceremony is also at variance with the others, but in several essential features the versions agree. Thus he observes:

"The Nantikoks (Nantikokes) of whom more in another place, have this singular custom that about three or four months after the funeral they open the grave, take out the bones, clean them of the flesh and dry them, wrap them up in new linen and inter them again. A feast is usually provided for the occasion, consisting of the best they can afford. Only the bones of the arms and legs of the corpse are thus treated. All the rest is buried or burned." [16]

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Archaeological evidence is at hand to extend the Nanticoke practice into the country of the Iroquois who gave them asylum after 1760 in the shelter of the League. The Susquehanna people, whose burial remains were considered by Moorehead to be of the Iroquoian type, show "bundle burial" as

[14] R. C. Adams, "Notes on the Delaware Indians," Report on Indians Taxed and Indians not Taxed, U. S. Census, 1890, p. 299.

[15] The account by Adams is not to be explicitly relied upon as a source. Adams, among other claims, assumed the honor of being the only descendant of Chief Captain White Eyes, and so had himself portrayed. This statement is not accepted without modification by the Delawares, for we are told that his mother was a white woman and his father was scarcely more than one fourth Indian and that of Stockbridge (ɔ'p an u) Mahikan descent adopted by the Delawares. The name ɔ'p an u "easterner" was applied to the Stockbridge and the Iroquois in general.

[16] Zeisberger, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

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far north as Athens, Pa., on the Susquehanna river, where bones were "heaped beside or over the skull." [17] This form of disposal of the dead is by no means limited to the area or disposed of by this single reference.

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That the ceremony described may have been performed by a Nanticoke contingent in the old Delaware Nation is possible in view of the fact that the Nanticoke have been referred to as constituting a "Wolf Clan," one of the ceremonial groupings, whenever we have mention of their social identity.[18]

We cannot, however, decide how and when the Delaware acquired this strange rite diffused from the peoples south of them, yet it is evident from Lindeström (1654–6) that it was known to them in southeastern Pennsylvania, and therefore this locale should be indicated as lying within the area of distribution of the custom of skeleton cleaning and bone burial.

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The interesting and important short text to follow recounts the traditional facts descriptive of the Skeleton Dance as maintained by a small Nanticoke sect among the Delawares as late as 1860, before the Nation had removed from Kansas to Indian Territory.

The Nanticoke of the Delaware Nation kept up the following performances until about 1860. Due then to inter-

[17] W. K. Moorehead, "The Susquehanna Archaeological Expedition," Second Report of Pennsylvania Historical Commission, Harrisburg, 1918, p. 122. From one to seven burials were in the same grave. In one ossuary were bundle burials indicating that the bones had been deposited in a pit subsequent to the disappearance of the flesh, evidence that they had been cleaned of flesh and buried. Also D. S. Davidson, "Burial Customs in the Delmarva Peninsula and the Question of their Chronology," *American Antiquity*, 1, no. 2, 1935, pp. 84–97 shows archaeological evidence of bundle burial and bone cleaning as a recent trait in the Slaughter Creek neighborhood of Maryland. Dr. Davidson also gives a summary of bone-cleaning burial customs in the east and in the southeast from whence the idea had originally spread. See also pertinent discussion by W. B. Marye, *ibid.* II, no. 1, 1936, pp. 40–6.

[18] Among the Nanticoke descendants incorporated with the Six Nations Iroquois at Brantford, Ontario, it was found that the tribe was remembered as a homogeneous group under the title of the "Wolf Clan" (Speck, "Nanticoke and Conoy Indians," *op. cit.*, p. 22) and a similar inference may be made from the statement of Adams (see f. n. 14 above, *op. cit.*, p. 299) who defines the Human Skeleton Dance as a "Wolf Clan" rite.

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tied a cross piece of wood and dressed up the figure of the man or woman like a doll, upon it (beneath the skull). And they put the bones of the deceased right opposite each of the posts. Now, when it has become dark, they begin their dance. Everybody who is to take part in the dance is named, also those who do the singing. And each performer is ceremonially presented with wampum, also the leader of the dance. They dance (in a circle in front of the posts, bearing the skulls and effigies moving counter-clockwise) all night. And when it is beginning to be daylight, they sing the last song, these drummers and singers. This is what they say in the song, according to tradition, "You said before you died, 'I will come when you call me!' Now here I am calling you."

Some additional notes on the procedure of the Skeleton Dance were recorded in Oklahoma from Mrs. Minnie Fouts, an aged Delaware, whose mother had taken part in the ceremony and who had mentioned some of the details to her when a young girl. We learn that the ceremony was performed near a fire, but far enough away so that there was no light. They had to dance around the effigies in the dark. The men who attended each of the skeletons lay down near them and shook the bones when the dancers went by. The dancers each had a gourd rattle. A kettle-drum was also used by the singers at one side. At midnight a feast of beans, bread, pumpkins, and meat was partaken of by the dancers and all smoked the pipe. Then in the morning all the food left over was gathered up and divided among the guests.

[p. 150 is blank]

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
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CHAPTER XXVI.

How the American and Savage People Treat and Act Towards the Dead Body and How Their Burials Are Celebrated.

Now when the savage is dead, then an Indian is 763
sent out around the country, crying, calling and lamenting, who runs around everywhere and makes this known to the good friends of the dead savage. Then those to whom he makes it known must have compassion with him and present him with something for his trouble. A few days after- 764
wards he is buried, and then a round deep pit[1] is dug in the ground and a stool is placed in the hole upon which the dead man shall sit.[2] Then the dead man's money is placed upon him and he is set down in the pit upon the stool with a tobacco pipe, a fathom long, in his mouth, screwed together with leather, the head of green or black stone, which is lighted through by the fire in the pipe, so that we can see how the tobacco is consumed,[3] and this pipe-head is so large that a handful of tobacco will go into it, which is to be his food on the journey. This pipe they dig down into the ground from the mouth of the man.[4] Afterwards they throw earth upon him and fill up the hole. When

[1] *En trinn, diup groop.* Cf. Williams, *Key,* 160 ff. Van der Donck, De Vries, etc., *N. Y. Col.,* 2, I, 202; III, 95, etc.

[2] *En stool (stol),* chair, stool, here perhaps a round "log-stool," possibly eight or ten inches high.

[3] This would presuppose a very transparent material. Lindeström of course does not mean that the pipe in the grave was lighted, but that when a pipe was smoked, it could be seen how the tobacco was consumed.

[4] That is, the pipe stem was put into the dead man's mouth.

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
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this is done they dig down in the corners of a square four very long poles upon which they make three shelves, and decorate the poles with long strips of blue, red or green frieze, hanging like fringes.[5] Then those who have been the dead man's relatives and best friends set themselves down for about the period of a month to lament the departure of the dead one, singing, crying, howling and lamenting, so that it is heard for a long distance. Now when this time is past they dig up the dead one and take all his money off him, which they put in a box and place on the lowest rack or shelf, then each one takes a knife and thus cuts the flesh off the bones of the dead one, wrapping the flesh in chestnut bark, which they place on the second shelf or rack, wrapping in like manner the bones into chestnut bark [and] placing them on the upper shelf or rack; but the entrails they dig down in the hole. Afterwards they still set themselves down for about the period of 14 days and further lament the departure of the dead, and when now that time is over, then their sorrow and lamentation are gone. Those who then are the relatives and best friends of the dead take the money-chest, dividing it between themselves, and therewith go their way; but the scaffolding together with the other [things] remains standing as a monument until it falls and rots away. When now the savage is thus buried the savages do not wish to hear him mentioned by name again or to speak further about him. If the Christian should

[5] *Som buldaner hängiandes.* *Buldan* really means sail cloth or duck, but Lindeström apparently means strips or fringes.

8:Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
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happen to do this,[6] who does not know of their manner, then they hang their heads and sigh and puff severely, on account of it, not desiring to hear it mentioned.[7]

During these their burials there is often robbery committed by some of the Christians. Some scoundrels go to the savages and help them to mourn, pretending to be very sorrowful and sad, lamenting and weeping much worse and more miserably than the savages, saying that the [deceased] also had been their good friend, which the savages think is well, that they get company. These scoundrels watching their time, in the night when the savages sleep, steal away their money chest, so that the sorrow and lamentation for the savages become through this, deeper and greater.

[6] See above Chapt. II, note 27. Cf. also Van der Donck, etc.

[7] "Which bewailing is very solemne amongst them morning and evening, and sometimes in the Night they bewaile their lost husbands, wives, children, brethren, or sisters &c. Sometimes a quarter, halfe, yea, a whole yeare, and longer if it be for a great Prince. In this time (unlesse a dispensation be given) they count it a prophane thing either to play (as they much use to doe) or to paint themselves for beauty, but for mourning; or to be angry and fall out with any &c." Williams, *Key*, 54.

[p. 252 is blank]

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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535 Social dances not restricted to Delaware are held whenever a person who can afford to play host feels the urge to do so.
796 Gatherings with a religious motive may be said to have practically ceased. The Doll Dance which was a family responsibility has not been held since 1929. The Big House Ceremony has not been held since 1924, and since the ceremonial structure has been demolished, there is dim possibility that it will be revived. There are still a score or so who have participated in the Big House, but some of them will make no move toward revival. The hereditary leader of the Wolf clan in the Big House, who is probably the staunchest adherent of the ceremony, is now a leader
[795] of a peyote group in which several tribes are represented. The most tangible evidence of a community spirit still extant among
[764] the Delaware is the use of a Delaware cemetery.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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588 the same pattern: uniformity of affirmation among the sources
848 and denial by all the informants except W. L. The remarks of W. L. show rather conclusively that the extension of the legal code of the whites over the Indians was largely responsible for this fourth-period change. He said that these elements were common "before the law came and then the women got mean and objected when their husbands went to see other girls." The changes indicated in the reputations of unmarried mothers and their chances of marriage (165, 167) are, of course, related to each other and derive from white contact.

582 The age of marriage was formerly much older, according to both Captain Pipe and W. L., than it was at the time of their accounts (173, 174). There is little evidence for this alleged relaxation of restrictions upon the marriageable age to be found in the source material. One might expect that the introduction
885 of firearms made some difference in the age at which a youth could support himself and hence a wife, but a bow and a supply of arrows were more easily obtained than a gun. The explanation for the comments on the independence of youth probably lies in the principle of "faith in former good times" or, to put it the other way around for this case, the principle of "present degeneration of youth." This principle of human nature is of widespread application and is found not only among many other Indian tribes but also in the beliefs of other races for the past five thousand years and more.

Death and Its Incidents

764 The treatment of their dead by the Delaware appears to have undergone little change in the time for which we have records. The preparation of the corpse shows no change with the exception of the substitution of European clothes for furs (175-79). Even now, however, moccasins and other items of Indian manufacture are used to dress the corpse when obtainable. There are two dissenters on the subject of the preparation of the corpse by unrelated persons only, one early and one modern (180). Probably there was no hard and fast rule, but nonrelatives were

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preferred if readily available and in many cases they were not. 764 ●
The length of time the corpse was kept before burial was given as several days by the two first-period sources giving information on this point (181). In the last three periods burial was usually on the day after death, particularly in summer. Pipe said that formerly the corpse was kept three days in summer and seven in winter, because it was supposed that the tutelar deity of the [776] deceased might restore him to life. W. L. gave the same sort of an answer in a little more modern dress. He said that a body was kept one to three days, but that if death was from a serious illness, and there was no chance of his coming back to life, he was buried the next day.

The position of the corpse in burial quite evidently was changed after European contact (183). In the first period both Van der Donck and Lindeström described burials made in a sitting position either on a stool or a block of wood. Without the last detail this might be taken to mean in a flexed position but not necessarily upright. Since both these writers may have mentioned only the unusual and ignored burials in the familiar extended position, we are not sure from the documentary evidence whether the two positions were used contemporaneously or not. It is clear, however, that after some years of white contact, migration westward, and contact with other tribes, there was a change to the use of the extended position alone.

Opinion on the requirement of grave goods is divided in every period except the third (186). All the sources in that period and one or more in each of the others stated that clothes were the only grave goods required although other things might be added. Van der Donck and Lindeström in the first period, Heckewelder in the second, and J. W. in the fourth period all maintained that more than clothes was required to be put in the grave. The details of the latter's statement in connection with the actual 764 cases described by him seem to explain all the discrepancies. He 763 said that good articles left by a deceased person were given to the persons who performed the death and funeral services but that old, much-used articles were put in the grave. However, old cherished articles were frequently if not usually given to mem-

9: Kinietz E.4,5 (1938) 1946
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764 [768] bers of the family before death. Thus, while old articles were required, those possessed by an individual might be so completely disposed of before death that the requirement was impossible of fulfillment and nullified.

The statement of Captain Pipe that posts were erected only at the head of graves containing males apparently was in error, although neither of the other sources of his period reported on this element (187). The sources prior to him and the informants who followed him all reported the erection of posts at the graves of both males and females.

A moccasin game at the side of the corpse the night before burial was reported by all the informants of the fourth period as an important part of the death ceremonies (193). The game was introduced among the Delaware at least as early as the third period (see 447), but apparently did not become associated with death customs until some time after 1824.

765 Mourning observances show two very marked changes; namely, the dropping of wearing black and dawn visits to the grave (196 and 201). The wearing of black was reported definitely in the first period, ignored in the second period, both reported and denied in the third and definitely denied in the fourth. Starting in the second period, reports of the dawn visits to the grave followed the same pattern of affirmation, contradiction, and denial. The length of mourning of widow or widower is reported so differently that one cannot postulate any direction of change (194). Mourning of relatives is also reported with the same variation in length of observance (202).

761 775 Theoretically there should be a connection between the elements dealing with dread of the approach of death and belief that bodies will be restored (203 and 206). That is, one would expect a belief in the restoration of life to be accompanied by a freedom of dread of death and a lack of belief in the restoration accompanied by dread of the approach of death. Instead of this correlation, we find that only one of the four informants who denied a belief that bodies would be restored after death admitted to a dread of the approach of death. Of course, the [774] belief in the separate survival of the soul must be considered in

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+ = element present
− = element denied
(+) or (−) = source ambiguous
• = informant could not or would not say
5 = some, sometimes, or several
† or * = see Ethnographic Notes, pp. 79-137 for additional information

	Williams	Van der Donck	Lindeström	Zeisberger	Heckewelder	Johnston	Pipe	Chipps	J. W.	W. T.	E. R.	W. L.
Death and its incidents †												
175. Treatment of corpse. Eyes closed		+				+	(+)		+	+	+	+
176. Limbs straightened		+				+	(+)		+	+	+	+
177. Washed						+	+		+	+	+	+
178. Dressed				+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
179. Painted				+	+				+	+	+	•+
180. By unrelated persons		−			(+)	•	+	•	+	−	+	•+
181. Kept ___ nights before burial		5	5	(1)	1	1	1	•1-4	1	1	1	1-3
182. Burial	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
183. Extended		•−	•−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
184. Grave depth ___ feet				+	+	3-4	3	5	5-6	4	4-5	3½-4
185. Grave lined with bark		+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
186. Grave goods of clothes only required	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+
187. Post at head of graves of males only				−	−	•	+	•	−	−	−	−
188. Cremation					−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
189. Take up bones and reinter			•		−	5	−	−	−	−	−	−
190. Collection of people at burial, thanks to bystanders for assistance		+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
191. Chief prays that soul may go happy						•	•	+	+	+	+	+
192. Feast at the grave							+		+			
193. Feast and moccasin game night before burial									+	+	+	+
194. Mourning. Widow or widower observes for ___ months	3-12	12	•12	12		•	•9	9	•12	•12	12	•
195. Lets hair grow loose and unkempt		•−		+			+		+	+	+	+
196. Wears black	+	+					−	+	•	−	•	−
197. Abstains from games, dances and amusement	+						+		+	+	+	+
198. Does not remarry during mourning	•	+		+		+	+	+	+	•+	+	+
199. Terminated by relatives of deceased washing, giving new clothes, etc.				+		•	+	•	•	+	5	•+
200. Visits grave ___ nights				365	21	6-7	6	•	3	4	•	4
201. Visits grave ___ dawns				365		−	6		−	−	−	−

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tribes was responsible for few changes. The only one represented in this study is the acquisition of the blowgun. 177

Of course, it is a mistake to assume that the culture of the Delaware would have been without change through these three centuries if not in contact with whites. Some change in Delaware culture may very well have been the result of indigenous development. The stimulus of the culture of the whites, however, was so much stronger that it is only reasonable that native developments should have been overshadowed. Nor was the culture of the whites standing still through this period. The culture of neither of the two groups was static, but as long as the Indian group was being moved westward ahead of the spread of white settlement, a static condition was simulated for that portion of the whites in contact with the Indians. The frontier changed but frontier conditions tended to remain the same. The effect of this contact with the white frontier is obvious among the Oklahoma Delaware today. The standard of living there is roughly that of pioneer agricultural regions fifty to seventy-five years ago and in the submarginal regions today.

The hypothesis that the technological, sociological, and spiritual aspects of a culture are increasingly resistant to change in that order has been shown to accord with the facts in the case of the Delaware. Language should either be included with the last aspect or be placed fourth and last, but has been omitted as outside the scope of this study. It may be said in passing, however, that the Delaware language is used by many who have otherwise retained little of the cultural heritage of the Delaware.

It seems to me that there is a very good reason for the persistence of the elements of the old spiritual life of a people after practically all other aspects of the culture are gone. This is the fact that control of religious and death practices is usually in the hands of the older people. These are the most conservative of the entire group, as a rule, and tend toward the perpetuation of the ways of their ancestors. This conservative attitude is particularly apparent in burial customs. In these matters the younger people seek to honor the practices of their elders on the death of the latter, even if they do not believe them necessary

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otherwise. The tendency to revert in old age to the teaching of one's childhood also serves to perpetuate the older customs, especially when it is the older people in the group that have charge of the ceremonies after death. Certainly this is the case among the Delaware. Every grave in the Delaware cemetery is oriented with the head to the east. Practically every grave bears the evidence of having been marked with a wooden post even though a stone marker was also erected. Many of the graves were enclosed with stone or wood cribs.

I conclude as a result of this study that historical culture change of the Delaware tribe can be indicated qualitatively and quantitatively by the use of an element list co-ordinated with chronology; that changes in different aspects of this culture have occurred as the result of the length of contact rather than the type of contact involved; that an acculturation study involving a single Indian tribe and the entire white civilization is necessarily one sided; that during white contact the influence of the whites upon the Delaware was almost solely responsible for the changes in the culture of the Indian tribe in question, overshadowing the effects of new contacts with other tribes; and that the process of culture change may be called acculturation or assimilation depending on the absence or presence of complete political domination.

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WELDER and JOHN JOHNSTON said that the proportion was rather more than among the whites, the former attributing the cause to the introduction of liquor.

W. T. denied that there were any sterile Indian women. W. L. said that he knew of two cases.

169. Number of Children

ZEISBERGER gave the usual number of children as 4 to 6 in one place, whereas in another he said 8 to 12.

HECKEWELDER said that generally there were 4 to 5 children in a family, while some families had 6 to 9, and a few had as many as thirteen.

173 and 174. Age of marriage

VAN DER DONCK said that both men and women commonly got married only when they were fit to do so.

DEATH AND ITS INCIDENTS

The following accounts touch on so many points not treated by the others or each other that they are given here in their entirety.

CAPTAIN PIPE—As soon as life leaves the body some distant relative of the deceased takes upon himself the charge of paying the last offices. Two men and two women, not related, are employed in washing and dressing the body, (now in a white cloth; anciently in a newly dressed skin,) which is laid upon a kind of platform where it is kept one day previous to the interment. This time was formerly three days in summer and seven days in winter, because they supposed that the tutelar deity of the deceased might restore them to life; but at this day they seem to have little faith and are apparently anxious to get the corpse out of sight as soon as decency will permit. The two male attendants prepare a coffin in which they place the body, and it is borne by them to the grave, preceded by the relatives and succeeded by the more distant friends. The grave is dug about three feet deep and the coffin is covered with earth as among the whites. Before they knew the use of boards the grave was lined with bark and the body pro-

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764 tected by a covering of the same before throwing in the earth. At the grave one of the relatives renders thanks to the bystanders for their assistance and the mourners return home.

765 For six days after the interment the near relatives visit the grave twice in each day; once at the break of day, and again at the going down of the sun. In the latter case they frequently remain until late at night. They seat themselves upon the grave, and not a word is spoken, but each is bowed down to the ground [776] in perfect silence. These visits are said to be made to the deceased who may not have set out upon his journey to the land of spirits and would of course like company during his stay.

They have no particular ceremony of mourning except that they abstain from games, dances and other amusements for twelve days, which by the husband or wife of a deceased person is continued for nine months, at the end of which time the relatives of the partner of this chief mourner make and present to him or her a new suit of clothes and formally pronounce their willingness for another marriage. They never paint themselves during the mourning season, as is the custom among the Chippeway's, but they divest themselves of all unnecessary apparel and of their ornaments, and suffer their hair to flow loosely about their necks.

769 It is customary among them to offer the first fine products of
765 the hunting season and the first fruits of the earth at the grave of the deceased. The meat or vegetables being cooked are carried thither by the relatives and a guest not connected with the deceased, is invited to eat that portion which would have been his if living. Silence is preserved during the feast and when it is finished the guest addresses the deceased in a kind of prayer, assuring him (or her) of the extreme regret of the friends left behind and imploring him to rest satisfied with the great change and not to return for the purpose of taking away any of the remaining relatives. Mr. Conner once saw the sister of a chief buried upon the banks of White River and this prayer was addressed to her by her brother, before the earth was thrown upon the body. They sometimes omit the ceremony of the feast at the grave, after a short time, but it has been known to continue for years, and is often renewed upon the appearance of any mis-

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fortune which can be attributed to the malignant spirit of the 765 deceased.

They never burn the bodies of the deceased persons, nor do 764 they take up the bones for reinterment. They say that the Nanticokes were in the habit of placing the body of the deceased upon a scaffold, where it was suffered to remain until the flesh decayed, when the friends and relatives assembled to pay the last duties to the bones. At this time a dance, called the Spirit dance, took place, in which they had the figure of a human being drawn upon a skin which was stretched over a hoop and suspended in the air. Under this figure sat the singers who continued their songs all the night, for if one of them thro' indolence or excessive fatigue stopped his song, it was an indication of his speedy death. The day succeeding the dance the friends assembled again at the same spot and large presents were distributed by one of the near relatives of the deceased. This man held in his hand a small ball, and placing himself in the midst of a circle formed by the spectators he would pretend to make frequent attempts to throw the ball out of the ring. At length he would throw it where it was least expected, and he who was so fortunate as to catch it received a portion of the presents. This was repeated until all the goods were given out, and at each return of the ball the figure on the skin was made to bow to it. After the distribution of the goods the bones were collected, put into a kind of box and buried in the ground. If a death happened at a distance from the village, as in hunting or on a journey, the flesh was separated from the bones by cutting, the bones were burned until they became perfectly dry and then transported to the place of burial, where the same ceremonies took place.

As Mr. Heckewelder has said, many ceremonies take place at [776] the interment of a distinguished personage, which are not common on other occasions; such are distributing presents, feasting etc.; but the general customs are such as have been here related.

They sometimes put articles of furniture or clothing in the graves, as a gun for a man, a kettle for a woman; but this is not considered necessary, and arises only from the desire of the relatives to express some marked esteem for the deceased.

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764 At the head of a warrior it is common for them to place a white post, upon which is represented in hieroglyphics the tribe to which he belonged, the number of engagements in which he had been engaged, of scalps which he had taken, etc.; but no post is placed at the graves of women.

763 It is very customary among them to take leave of their friends when death approaches. In this they generally exhort them to good conduct, to live in harmony with each other and thus to procure the favor of the Great Spirit, and success in their undertakings. Some of them who have led improper and dissolute [761] lives dread very much the approach of death, but others die in perfect reconciliation to their fate. They generally die in possession of their mental faculties to the last moment, but to this many exceptions are found, resulting from the nature of the disease or the impression which the idea of death may have upon their minds.

764 J. W.—Two men and two women not related to deceased were chosen to take care of things relating to funeral. In the death of a man, the men prepared the body while the women cooked; the women prepared the body of a woman while the men cooked. [768] The relatives divided and distributed good articles left by the deceased among the persons who served. Old, much used articles were put in the grave.

The face of the deceased was painted as in life. The body was dressed in Indian clothes which had to be new. If the deceased did not have new clothes, they made them.

The corpse was kept until noon of the day after death before burial. It was placed in bark house outside of dwelling. Moccasin game played on south side of fire. Two pairs of moccasins were used but only one bullet. Towards morning (three o'clock) one pair was taken away. Points in the game were counted with about one hundred little sticks. After the one pair of moccasins [525] was taken away the winner of a counter threw it into the fire. The game is not played now but some one, usually one of the attendants, sits up all night with the corpse. No feast accompanied the game but food was available for all visitors.

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In the morning all the people lined up east of where the corpse was laid, and one of the male attendants shot a gun eastward over the heads of the assembled friends and relatives, then handed the gun to the other male attendant who also shot it in the same direction. 764

In the case of a deceased man, just before the burial there were two men chosen, who went off and talked about the deceased. Then they got twelve little sticks about three or four inches long which they gave to a woman, not related to the deceased or his widow. This woman conducted the widow once around the grave before the corpse was covered. She proceeded counterclockwise and on each step placed her heel just ahead of the toe of the foot on the ground. She led the widow by joining their left hands. The widow was careful to step in the footsteps of her conductor. After the circuit of the grave, the conductor walked off in the same manner, and putting each stick in her mouth for an instant handed it over her shoulder to the widow whose hand had been released. The widow threw sticks alternately over each shoulder until all twelve were gone. Then while the conductor was leading the widow farther off, the attendants commenced filling the grave. Except for the reverse of the sexes the same procedure was used for a widower.

The corpse was placed in a casket at the head of which there was a hole and also a red painted cross (like a large X). Formerly the chief got down on one knee before the grave was filled and talked to the deceased, telling him to forget those who were left behind and not to bother them. Old Man Hill does it now. He had a vision giving him the power—not every one can do it. No one can do it for his own family. [767 782]

Formerly a house 12′ by 6′ was built over each grave, using six logs on each side and then covering the structure with clapboards. Now only posts are erected at the head of the graves, all of which are headed to the East. The post differs for men and women. That for a woman has a crosspiece like a Christian cross; the ends of the crosspiece and the top of the upright may carry diamond-shaped figures. These figures or the plain ends are outlined with red paint and six crosses are painted in red on

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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764 the upright below the crosspiece (also like large X's). The post for a man is a simple upright, the top of which may be carved into an elaborate triple diamond-shaped figure or not, but at any rate the top is cut at an angle so that there is a sharp edge uppermost. Red paint is also put on the top of the man's post, but only four crosses are painted lower down on the post.

Immediately after the burial there was a feast on the east side of the grave. Food was furnished by everybody; that brought by relatives was kept separately on the north side of the grave. Relatives ate the food brought by nonrelatives, while nonrelatives ate food brought by relatives. Man who talked
765 at grave talked again at end of feast, and if the deceased belonged to the Wolf division, announced the coming of another feast twelve days after the death at the home of the deceased. At this second feast there was the same division of food between relatives and nonrelatives as at the feast at the grave. This second feast was not held among the Turtle or Turkey people unless there was some Wolf mixed in.

Every evening for three days after burial the relatives visit the grave and build a little fire which is immediately put out. Just a little fire is all that is necessary—it blazes once and then
[775] is blown out—it sort of liberates the spirit of deceased. Usually only one person visits grave. Do not visit grave after three days.

The widow must not change her clothing until the feast at the twelfth day. She eats off same plate. The woman attendant takes care of her, she must not do anything for herself—must not touch food, touch hair with comb or anything else—wears gloves. Her attendant washes her hair and body just before the feast and dresses her in new clothes, furnished by deceased husband's relatives. She stays home for these twevle days—does not even walk out without her attendant. No other mourning except that she cannot marry for a year. Same thing for widower. Near relatives observe care for a year.

763 A person about to die knows everything going on—reviews his life—knows everything—tries to say it with last breath.

764 W. T.—The body was prepared by two men and two women,
767 who might be related or not. It was washed, painted, combed

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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and dressed in best clothes. There was no payment to persons 764
performing these services. The corpse was kept until noon of 767
the day after death. During this time the relatives and others
played moccasin game with four moccasins and two bullets. The [525]
grave was dug about four feet deep with the head to the East.
Never put anything into the grave. After the grave was filled
in the folks of the deceased who took care of the bereaved spouse
led him or her once around the grave, clockwise, natural steps,
not holding hands, but spouse was careful to step in the tracks
of the leader. Twelve sticks were thrown away during this cir-
cuit. Spouse was then led away from the grave. He or she then 765
visited the grave every evening about six or seven o'clock for four
nights, made a little fire, just lighted it and immediately blew
it out. Talked to deceased at this time. During these four days
relict did not wash, comb or paint. Was attended by the kin
folks of the deceased. At the end of this period he or she was
washed, combed and dressed in new clothes—sometimes offered
new spouse in the person of the sister or brother of the deceased
o take care of him or her. Always accepted. Formerly, two
years passed before relict was told to go free if not given a new
spouse at the end of the four-day period. Two years was too long,
so about one or two hundred years ago the time was reduced to
one year. Relict did not attend games, dances, etc. for one- or
two-year period. Other relatives observed same mourning as
relict for four-day period.

Preacher prayed after death and also at burial—talked to 764
deceased and told him to forget those who were left and to go 782
home and be happy. Graves were surrounded by trees laid in
a crib about three feet high and then covered with boards. Posts
were erected at head of graves of both men and women. The
posts might be painted or not. Diamond-shaped figures carved
on posts were not Delaware but Shawnee, as were the painted
figures or crosses. The post for men carried a crosspiece, whereas
that for women was an upright with a pointed top. Said that
the only feast offered the deceased was before burial.

E. R.—After death fix bark house outside of dwelling in which 764
corpse was placed with head to East. In the house there were fires

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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764 on the north and south sides. Men assembled on the south side and the women on the north. They sang with drum accompaniment and played the moccasin game with two pairs of moccasins and one bullet. There was a feast before sundown. Burial was before sunup the day after death. The chief or some old man prayed and talked to deceased. All circled the grave clockwise, each throwing in a little dirt. The chief then talked to the widow and told her not to get married for a year. She must not attend dances or games for a year. The widow and immediate relatives did not wash, comb their hair or change their clothes for four days after a death. A widow visited grave irregularly and left food the same way. A crib of logs, four to six feet high, was placed around the grave and then covered over. A stick two to three inches thick was placed at the head of every grave. The point of the stick was six to seven inches long and painted red. There was a difference in the sticks for men and women but not sure just what, believed that women had a cross which was painted.

[782] [584]

179 and 180. Corpse painted by unrelated person

W. L.—Body was prepared by two men and two women appointed from nonrelatives. One man marked the face of the deceased with paint and then one of the women came along and added some marks.

181. Corpse kept—nights before burial

Captain Chipps—The funeral in warm weather is attended the day after death. In winter the body is kept three or four days.

183. Burials extended.

Both Van der Donck and Lindeström said that a corpse was buried in a sitting position and placed either on a wooden block or a stool.

189. Take up bones and reinter

765 Lindeström said that the body was buried a few days after death, then for a period of about a month the departed was mourned, at the end of which time the body was disinterred and

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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It is expected that the announcement be made before the members of the tribal council at one of its meetings prior to the time of notification. In the instance of our text Wi·tapano'xwe decided to recite the ceremony as though it were brought in and sponsored by Chief Elk-Hair, the present head chief of the Oklahoma Delawares whom Harrington referred to as an active ceremonial leader in 1910.[1]

CONCEPT OF THE SOUL.—A distinction observed between the phraseology of the unconverted and the Christian Delawares in referring to the soul, which has already been mentioned, is of some significance in this connection. The former group employs the term lənape·o'k·an "human sign, or evidence of existence." The terminal element, -ok·an appears in combinations le·χ'le·'χe·'yo'k·an "breath of life, actual life" meaning "my life"[2] (le·xe·'yan, "my breathing"), wihila·'ok·an "clan-name emblem." Its obscure abstract meaning, however, seems to lie beyond the scope of any specific English equivalent. The Christian Delawares use the term tci·'teaŋg giving the significance in Delaware of an image, an appearance visible but without substance, an incorporeal image or phantom as an image in a mirror. The same term actually designates a mirror in the language.

The second term, now of the Christian Delaware religious vernacular, has a wide distribution among eastern Algonkian languages indicating that, while the synonomy noted has taken place in Delaware since the introduction of Christianity, the element tci·'teaŋg for soul is an archaic property of the family of tongues.[3]

We are told that the soul leaves the body twelve days after death, that the life blood ("huk") remains as a spirit on the earth, whence arise ghosts or phantoms.

The heart is the seat of one soul, the blood the seat of another spiritual element. The heart and blood should be [illegible] together after death (for which reason the Delawares do not believe in embalming). The blood of the dead is the element from which the dead reappear to the living on earth in the form of ghosts. It is considered as the cause of paralysis and so was curable through appeal to the dead. We might refer to the funeral rites of the tribe which carry the burial customs over twelve days after death when certain feasting and rites are performed at the home of the deceased. And again these are repeated twelve months later in a yearly ceremonial feast to the dead. At the feast the opposite clan group has an important part to play.

[1] Harrington I, pp. 14, 87.

[2] A more general term for "life," in Delaware, is pema'ŋsowak·an, with the sense of "being among the living."

[3] Mitschitschank, Munsee (Brinton, Lenape Dictionary, p. 83); djedja'kew, Wabanaki (St. Francis and Penobscot); atca'kew (Montagnais-Naskapi); tca'tcung (Mohegan-Pequot); (mi)chachunck, (Natick, where the analogy between soul and mirror is also found (Trumbull, Natick Dictionary, pp. 325, 290, 571); and the same in Narragansett, (Roger Williams, Key to the Indian Language, p. 113); and (mit)tachonkq in the Quiripi dialect of western Connecticut.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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bers of the group are convened for the Big House ceremony the day intervals between the nightly performances are passed in taking rest and in pastimes of a native character. The Delawares have various games (li·nalə'ti·n) of a non-formal nature. Among these are horse racing (h'wta'me'laxtaŋ, "trying out horses), and the dice and bowl game (ma'ma'ndi·n, "gathering [dice]") consisting of five dice, cut out of mussle shell carved into forms of button, horsehead, tortoise, tossed in a wooden bowl, the counters being kernels of corn or coffee beans. Other amusements, some obviously of European origin, are checkers, pitching quoits, cards, broad-jumping and jack-straws, it might be added that the Delawares are addicted to the well known moccasin-game but reserve it for the funeral ceremony.[1]

CEREMONIAL IMAGE AND FACE-PAINTING.—The application of pigment to the face has, in Delaware thought, the value of an anointment. The sanctity of the act of face-painting in connection with the performance is displayed in the formality of the rite on the ninth night in which the carved images in the Big House, the face images on the forked drum-sticks, and the faces of the worshipers themselves are given an application of red color. The images, however, receive an application of black and red on each half of the face, while the people receive a rubbing of red only on the cheeks and forehead. The proper native source of red for face painting, which the Delawares believe to have been created for their use by the Great Spirit, is Blood-root (Sanguinaria canadensis). Of this we hear occasionally in the text. In the accounts dealing with Indian customs in the east, Blood-root under the name pukoon is mentioned as an article of much importance. The term *pukoon* became adopted into English and the root became a color substance sought for in the commerce of the colonies. The Delawares still preserve a feeling of its importance and, although considered rare in the present habitat of the tribe in Oklahoma, it is locally present in quantities sufficient to supply an orange-red stain for them in their ceremonies. They call it pe''kɔn.[2]

Black painting is also important in significance. Black (sək·a'χtai, "black charcoal") is a means of summoning ghosts and so it is worn only when such associations are desired.[3]

In an account of early Pennsylvania and New Jersey, Gabriel Thomas (1698)[4] tells us that the Delawares upon decease made their faces black all over, and when their affairs went well they painted

[1] To be dealt with in a later memoir of this series.
[2] The identity of the above term with Sanguinaria was ascertained during a trip with the informant in the Pennsylvania woods where the plant was found and named.
[3] The informant remembers when a child being told by his mother to go wash the black paint from his face before night came on, after he had been playing dancing, lest it attract a ghost.
[4] Gabriel Thomas' Account, etc., in Narratives of Early Pennsylvania, West New Jersey, and Delaware, N. Y. (1912), edited by Albert Cook Myers, p. 341.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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their faces with red, "it being the token of their joy as the other is of their grief."

The dichromatic pattern, black and red, seems to stand out with prominence in the painting of the human face and its carved representations in the whole eastern portion of North America from Maine to the Gulf of Mexico. An explanation, often sought for by direct inquiry among the Indians, and again based upon hypothesis, has never seemed forthcoming. In the preceding remarks on the use of black among the Delawares, and again through implied reasoning, I would venture to suggest, lies a plausible explanation of the pattern of red and black. The red symbolizes living beings, the black dead, both idea and symbol having a deep grounding in the religious philosophy of the eastern part of the continent.

To illustrate some of the color patterns affected by the Delawares during the Big House ceremony, the narrator of the text made the accompanying color sketches (figure). The patterning permissible in the ceremony is normally restricted to black and red put on in larger masses rather than in fine lines. The mass designs are thought to be sombre, dignified; in short, full-dress in character, and, a note of no little significance, more ancient.

The smaller, fine-line designs placed on the cheeks or in the narrow area between the outer corner of the eye and the temple are regarded as being more modern, secular in character. These are considered too profane for the purpose of worship, and to wear them during the Big House ceremony would be out of keeping with the gravity of the occasion. The fine-line designs are regarded as being suitable for dress-up events of a social nature and for social dances. They belong also to the garb of warriors, like the wearing of the roach head-ornament and the feather bonnet. A series of examples of the fine line of warriors' face patterns for cheeks and temples are shown in figures , as observed and remembered by the informant. An analogy exists between the patterns adopted by warriors and the markings on the face of the rattlesnake and even the turtles. In both cases the patterns are thought ominous, which seems to account for their exclusion from the ceremonial category of designs. Painting on the face representing markings on turtles' or rattlesnakes' faces are called aca'co which means "slitting or cutting in the skin," in Delaware.[1]

THE SWEATING RITE.—At an earlier period of Delaware history, it is said in the text, before the evacuation of the tribal haunts in Kansas (1867) the performance of a sweating ceremony seems to have been included in the annual ceremony. Harrington has notes on this procedure for which he received the name muxhatoL'zing from his

[1] In Montagnais-Naskapi, aca'jo denotes tatooing.

[p 52(B)]

775 have a bodily form. It is a journey of 12 days from earth to Heaven after death.
[171] They believe as do the Iroquois, that the soul does not leave the body finally at death, but that it revisits the body for a few days before it takes its final departure. For this
[764] reason, as Adams says, they bury on scaffolds in the trees, and in a sitting position near the surface of the earth. Last year he made a coffin for an Indian, and his friends made him bore a hole in the head of the coffin, the object of which being to allow the spirit free egress and regress to and from the body.

Heaven is a place of rest. They follow up the path, and the first stopping place is a place where they find a supply of vermilion or red paint. They cannot pass this place without painting their faces. If they have been accustomed to paint on earth, the paint will readily adhere, unless they have been very wicked, and then they pass on without delay. But if not used to painting, or if they have been very wicked, the paint will not adhere, and thus they are detained at this place until the Evil Spirit removes them to a place of punishment.

775 They say there are seven points of good
577 and evil. If the deceased has four of the points of good in his favor, or more, he is sure to pass on to heaven, but if there [are] four or more bad, he cannot go to heaven but must be placed in a place of misery and unhappiness where he is punished according to his evil deeds. If he was accustomed to paint, it will be more apt to stick, and that is all that is claimed for this meritorious act. There is a second stopping place on the way where the selfish and covetous are surrounded and burned up in the article [on which] they set their store upon earth, and thus are kept out of heaven. They
775 have a belief that mosquitoes sprang up out
825

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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the lid of the coffin was again taken off, and the body exposed to view. Now the whole train formed themselves into a kind of semi-lunar circle on the south side of the grave, and seated themselves on the ground. Within this circle, at the distance of about fifteen yards from the grave, a common seat was made for Mr. Calhoon and myself to sit on, while the disconsolate *Shingask* retired by himself to a spot at some distance, where he was seen weeping, with his head bowed to the ground. The female mourners seated themselves promiscuously near to each other, among some low bushes that were at the distance of from twelve to fifteen yards east of the grave.

In this situation we remained for the space of more than two hours; not a sound was heard from any quarter, though the numbers that attended were very great; nor did any person move from his seat to view the body, which had been lightly covered over with a clean white sheet. All appeared to be in profound reflection and solemn mourning. Sighs and sobs were now and then heard from the female mourners, so uttered as not to disturb the assembly; it seemed rather as if intended to keep the feeling of sorrow alive in a manner becoming the occasion. Such was the impression made on us by this long silence.

At length, at about one o'clock in the afternoon, six men stepped forward to put the lid upon the coffin, and let down the body into the grave, when suddenly three of the women mourners rushed from their seats, and forcing themselves between these men and the corpse, loudly called out to the deceased to "arise and go with them and not to forsake them." They even took hold of her arms and legs; at first it seemed as if they were caressing her, afterwards they appeared to pull with more violence, as if they intended to run away with the body, crying out all the while, "Arise, arise! Come with us! Don't leave us! Don't abandon us!" At last they retired, plucking at their garments, pulling their hair, and ut-

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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and myself were each presented with a silk cravat and a pair of leggings. The goods distributed on this occasion, were estimated by Mr. Calhoon at two hundred dollars; the greatest part of them had, the same morning, been taken out of his store.

After we had thus remained, in a manner, under confinement, for more than six hours, the procession ended, and Mr. Calhoon and myself retired with the rest to our homes. At dusk a kettle of victuals was carried to the grave and placed upon it, and the same was done every evening for the space of three weeks, at the end of which it was supposed that the traveller had found her place of residence. During that time the lamentations of the women-mourners were heard on the evenings of each day, though not so loud nor so violent as before.

I have thus described, from minutes which I took at the time, the ceremonies which take place among the Delaware Indians on the death of a person of high rank and consideration among them. The funerals of persons of an inferior station are conducted with less pomp and with less expense. When the heirs of the deceased cannot afford to hire female mourners, the duty is performed by their own immediate relations and friends. But "mourning over the corpse," is a ceremony that cannot be dispensed with.

It is always customary, when an Indian dies, of whatever rank or condition he may be, to put a number of the articles which belonged to the deceased in the coffin or grave, that he may have them when wanted. I have seen a bottle of rum or whiskey placed at the coffin head, and the reason given for it was, that the deceased was fond of liquor while living, and he would be glad of a dram when he should feel fatigued on his journey to the world of spirits.

When an Indian dies at a distance from his home, great care is taken that the grave be well fortified with posts and logs laid upon it, that the wolves may be

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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found guilty and the wife was "permitted to draw off his right shoe and left stocking...she then tears off the lappet that covers his private parts, gives him a kick behind, and so drives him out of the house...."[75] Husbands could punish adulterous wives by thrashing them, or could obtain a divorce by bringing them before the chief or sachem. The woman's hair was cut off, she was deprived of her property, and perhaps even of her life, if found guilty by the sachem.[76] But Denton remarked: "It is no offense for their married women to lie with another man provided she acquaint her husband, or some of her nearest Relations with it, but if not it is accounted such a fault that they sometimes punish it with death."[77] One of the culturally sanctioned mechanisms for obtaining revenge upon an adulterous spouse was suicide.[78] A man's retaliation for adultery could also be seduction of the adulterer's wife. If and when the injured husband was successful in this venture, he made the fact public so that the original adulterer would be held up for public scorn.[79]

A widow, prior to remarriage, whether his wife had died of natural or other causes, had to recompense her relatives for her loss.[80] The duration of mourning was about a year.[81] A widow during this time had to support herself; she could not be given meat since a hunter's weapons were supposed to fail if he had given meat to a widow.[82] When the year had passed, the deceased one's soul left the earth and remarriage could follow.

Death

As soon as a person died the fact of death was spread throughout the community by a crier. The crier was a woman especially appointed and paid for her services.[83] This announcement evoked loud outcrys and lamentations from the general populace. These lamentations were continued intermittently in the house where the deceased lay until burial.[84] In recent times and perhaps earlier the moccasin game was played in the dwelling where the corpse lay.[85] The body was not buried at once because it was necessary to give the supernatural forces an opportunity to restore life to the corpse.[86] The length of time the body was kept varied with the season; it was three days in summer and seven in winter.[87] During this interval the corpse was dressed in new clothes and richly adorned and painted. Before noon on the day of burial a number

[75] De Rasieres, 1909, p. 108.
[76] *Ibid.*; see also Pastorius, 1912, p. 434.
[77] Denton, 1845, p. 9.
[78] Penn, 1912, p. 232; Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 258-59; Loskiel, 1794, p. 58.
[79] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 77.
[80] Penn, 1912, p. 232.
[81] Pastorius, 1912, p. 435; Holm, 1834, p. 143; Brickell, 1842, p. 49; Trowbridge MS.
[82] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 88; Loskiel, 1794, p. 84.
[83] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 249; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 269.
[84] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 89; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 269.
[85] Harrington, 1913, p. 215; Kinietz, 1946, p. 72.
[86] Trowbridge MS; Kinietz, 1946, p. 51; J.T.
[87] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 249; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 269; Trowbridge MS; Kinietz, 1946, p. 51; M.B.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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deceased was oriented towards the east.[96] At this time they laid "two thin poles of about four inches (in) diameter, from which the bark had been taken off, lengthways and close together over the grave, after which they retired."[97] The widower then came up to the grave slowly and "walked over it on these poles, and proceeded forward in the same manner into an extensive adjoining prairie."[98] When he was gone, a painted post which signified the position and station of the deceased and her husband was "brought by two men and delivered to a third, a man of note,"[99] who placed it at the head of the coffin in the grave with its symbolism facing east.[100] Holm said, "If he was a good hunter, they put the figure in wood, of some wild animal, and if he was a good fisherman, that of a fish."[101] After the grave was filled with earth, palisades were set up "about breast-high, so as to secure it from...wild beasts."[102] Denton noted that "....they fence their graves with a hedge, & cover the tops with mats, to shelter them from the rain."[103]

A meal, which had been prepared some distance from the grave, and a distribution of presents concluded the funeral rites. Everybody received a gift, although those who had performed various duties received the most valuable presents. Food was placed on the grave at dusk, and this was repeated every evening for three weeks. After this span of time "it was supposed that the traveller had found her place of residence."[104] For three weeks the mourning of the women continued, although it gradually decreased in intensity.

People of less social importance were given less elaborate funerals.[105] No matter how simple the funerary rites, however, the customs of mourning had to be observed. Blackening of the face is one of the few such customs with which we are familiar.[106] Denton's description is the most complete one available for the seventeenth century. He said:

> At his Burial his nearest relations attend the Hearse with their faces painted black, and do visit the grave once or twice a day, where they send forth sad lamentations so long till time hath wore the blackness off their faces, & afterwards every year once they view the grave, make a new mourning for him, trimming up of the Grave, not suffering of a Grass to grow by it....[107]

A number of other sources from all periods confirm the care which was given the grave.[108] Food was occasionally left there, and annual feasts at the grave were common.[109] Trowbridge said that "it is customary among them to offer the first fine products of the hunting season and the first fruits of the earth at the grave of the deceased."[110] My informants said that Munsi feasts were more elaborate and that one was held twelve

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[96] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 88; O.A., N.D., J.T., M.B.
[97] Heckewelder, 1881, p. 273.
[98] *Ibid.*
[99] *Ibid.*
[100] McClure, 1899, p. 90; Trowbridge MS.
[101] Holm, 1834, p. 143.
[102] Heckewelder, 1881, p. 274.
[103] Denton, 1845, p. 8.
[104] Heckewelder, 1881, p. 275.
[105] *Ibid.*; Trowbridge MS.
[106] Pastorius, 1912, p. 435; Penn, 1912, p. 234; Holm, 1834, p. 143.
[107] Denton, 1845, p. 8.
[108] Thomas, 1912, p. 340; Penn, 1912, p. 234; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 90; J.T., O.A.
[109] Penn, 1912, p. 234; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 90; J.T., O.A.
[110] Trowbridge MS.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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765 days after burial (J.T.). The modern funerary feast may not be entirely representative of the aboriginal custom but it probably is a fairly accurate reflection of it.[111] These annual feasts are held at the home of the mourning relative and not at the cemetery. Friends and relatives eat, pray, and talk about the departed. Some person, unrelated to the deceased, is especially invited. (Trowbridge also noted this custom.) This guest, who has to be younger than the deceased at the time of death but of the same sex, must sample all the foods which were favorites of the deceased. The feast, it is said, benefits the dead since the food the stand-in eats satisfies the spiritual appetite of the dead. The stand-in is not paid for his services (J.T., O.A.).

765 783 Another adjunct to funeral customs of the modern period, and perhaps one which existed in an earlier period, consists of rites of purification. Following a funeral, the immediate family burns a handful of sweet grass on the grave (O.A.). The members of the family also purify themselves by washing the arms, hands, and face with water and then symbolically rubbing the smoke from burned cedar leaves over these same parts. With cedar smoke they also purify the rooms of the dwelling where the person died. This is said to repel the soul of the departed if it should attempt to return (O.A., J.T., N.D.).

764 It seems reasonable to assume that prior to European contact the Delawares varied somewhat in their funerary rites. De Vries, for example, alluded to a form of secondary burial, but this cannot be specifically associated with the Delawares.[112] This account mentioned a funeral feast and the erection of four poles and shelves upon the grave. Lindestrom also described a grave upon which four poles were raised:[113]

> The dead man's money is placed upon him and he is set down in the pit upon the stool with a tobacco pipe, a fathom long, in his mouth, screwed together with leather, the head of green or black stone, which is lighted through by the fire in the pipe, so that we can see how the tobacco is consumed, and this pipe-head is so large that a handful of tobacco will go into it, which is to be his food on the journey. This pipe they dig down into the ground from the mouth of the man.[114]

Thomas mentioned that the bones of celebrated persons were carried considerable distances to be reinterred near their homes. Perhaps this is a reference to the well-known secondary burial of the Nanticokes.[115]

762 Suicide.—It has already been noted that suicide was a means of punishing an adulterous spouse. Heckewelder knew of four persons who committed suicide between 1771 and 1780; all were men and all ate the root of the May apple. Three were successful, and the other was given an emetic and survived. Two of the men committed suicide because of thwarted love lives; the other two were married to adulterous women.[116] Trowbridge early in the nineteenth century mentioned that suicide was

[111] Speck, 1937, p. 59, has discussed "Sacrifice Feasts" of which funeral feasts are an example and noted that their "ancient character is exhibited by the fact of [their] wide distribution in similar form over the entire territory inhabited by Algonkin-speaking peoples."

[112] De Vries, 1909, pp. 223-24.

[113] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 250.

[114] *Ibid.*, p. 249.

[115] Thomas, 1913, p. 340.

[116] Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 258-60.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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inside of a grave with the bark of trees and when the corpse was let down they placed some pieces of wood across, which were again covered with bark and then the earth thrown in. When they were able to split boards they placed them, not, however, joined in any way, in the grave in such a manner that the corpse might be between them. A fourth board was laid over it as a cover. Now they have learned to make proper coffins. The graves are generally dug by old women as the young people abhor this kind of work. The coffin is made by men and placed in the grave. Then the corpse is brought, dressed in new clothing and a white shirt, with the face and shirt painted red, laid upon a new mat and let down into the grave. They cover the body with the strowd and nail up the coffin. Formerly it was the custom to place the pouch, tobacco, pipe, knife, fire material, kettle and hatchet in the grave but this is no longer done. They also fill up the grave with earth, which was not done in former times. The graves are all arranged in such a manner that the head was turned to the east and the feet to the west. At the head of the corpse a tall post is erected, pointing out who is buried. If the deceased was a chief this post is neatly carved but not otherwise decorated. If it was a Captain the post is painted red and his head and glorious deeds are portrayed upon it. The burial post of a physician is hung with a small tortoise shell which he used in his juggling practice. In honor of a great warrior his warlike deeds are exhibited in red color on the burial post.

In the evening soon after sunset and in the morning before daybreak the female relations and friends assemble in the house of the deceased and mourn over the body. This is done until he is buried. All the effects of the deceased are piled up near the body. These are taken to the place of burial and the greater part is distributed among those who assisted in burying the dead. The rest is given to the friends present, each receiving a share. During the letting down of the corpse into the grave the women set up a deafening howl. Men deem it a shame to weep, yet in silence and unobserved they often cannot refrain from tears. After the ceremony is over the mother, grandmother or other near female relative of the deceased goes evening and

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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D
1765 morning to the grave and weeps over it. This is repeated daily for some time but gradually less and less till the mourning period is over. Sometimes they place victuals on the grave that the deceased may not suffer hunger. The food thus left is generally consumed by dogs.

N
1764 The Nantikoks [Nantikokes] of whom more in another place, have this singular custom that about three or four months after the funeral they open the grave, take out the bones, clean them of the flesh and dry them, wrap them up in new linen and inter them again. A feast is usually provided for the occasion, consisting of the best they can afford. Only the bones of the arms and legs of the corpse are thus treated. All the rest is buried or burned.

D
626 The Indians are a free people, knowing neither law nor re-
181 straint. They may not be prevailed on in any matter that does not please them, much less forced. If they cannot be persuaded with gentle words, further effort is in vain.

D
361 Each of them may settle where he pleases. Not satisfied with one place, an Indian may move to a town with which he is better pleased and no one offers any objection; or he may retire to a solitary place. Rarely will a family move far away from all society, though they frequently live apart from the towns to avoid being annoyed by drunkards; or they live thus alone in order to carry on the profitable traffic in rum more to their advantage. Many engage in rum traffic, especially women,
D
439 who fetch it from the white people and sell at a considerable profit to the Indians, often taking from the latter everything they have, sometimes even their rifles on which they depend for subsistence. Chiefs and counsellors have often considered what might be done to stop this ruinous trade, and have often determined that no one should ever bring spirituous liquors into their towns again; for a time such a resolution would be kept, and then be broken, perhaps by the very ones who had counselled the prohibition. Since the Indians have taken so much to drinking rum, murders are more frequent. Murder committed in
D
682 drunkenness is not severely punished. Hence, it is that one
672 harboring hatred for another will, on the occasion of a drinking

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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offerings are then regarded by God as rendered to him. It is clear enough that the Indians, professing to worship God and bringing sacrifices to him, serve Satan, who influences their dreams, and keeps them in slavery in this wise, for the Indians consider dreams to be of great importance and nothing less than revelations from God. It is indeed true as the Apostle says, 1 Cor. 10:20, "the things which the Gentiles sacrifice, they sacrifice to the devils and not to God." Those among the Indians who have been converted recognize this and henceforth hold the Indian sacrifices and offerings to be vain and do not care to say much about them.

To the spirits of the dead they offer both meat and drink-offerings. If it is to be a meat offering, which the doctors must decide in case of illness or accident, either a hog or a bear is killed for a feast and guests are invited. The latter assemble in the house where the sacrifice is to be offered. An old man gives part of the meal to the enraged spirits, speaks with them, and begs them to be pacified. All this is done in the dark; there must be neither fire nor light. After the old man has communed with the spirits he tells the guests that they have been appeased.

If it is to be a drink offering rum is required. Guests are invited also. They drink together and some one speaks with the spirits and pacifies them. The guests walk to the grave and pour some rum upon it. Such sacrifices are very common among them, and are arranged even upon very trivial occasions. In case of a tooth-ache or head-ache, they imagine that the spirits are displeased and must be pacified by an offering.

Every woman whose child dies in a foreign land travels, if possible, once a year to the place of its burial, taking another woman with her, and offers a drink-offering upon its grave.

The hare is regarded as a great God and they bring offerings to it. The name of one of the twins born to the woman that was thrown from heaven was *Tschimammus*, that is, hare. He made the land upon which the Indians dwell and was their ancestor. Now he is said to dwell in heaven, for many Indians who have been there have seen him and spoken to him and to them he has declared that he would come again.

3;Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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757 this and for other troubles they have roots and herbs, which generally prove efficient remedies. Knowledge of these remedies may be confined to a very few, who demand payment for any prescription they make and keep their secrets to themselves. One common mistake made by all Indian practitioners is overdosing the patients. Fortunately, the Indians have strong constitutions, and usually do not suffer permanent injury from the unwise treatment of their doctors.

765 Concerning mourning for the dead it might be added that a widow is expected to observe in externals the following rules during the period of mourning which lasts a year. She must lay aside all ornaments, wash but little, for as soon as she makes pretensions at cleanliness, combs and dresses her hair, it is reported that she is anxious to marry. Men who are in mourning have no such regulations to observe.

Should a chief have lost a child or near relative, no complaint may be brought before him, nor may his advice be asked on any affairs of state. Even important embassies from other nations cannot be attended to by him until comfort has been formally offered. This is commonly done by delivering a string or fathom of wampum and addressing to him a speech, in which figuratively the remains of the deceased are buried, the grave covered with bark that neither dew of heaven nor rain may fall upon it, the tears are wiped from the chief's eyes, the sorrow of burial taken from his heart and his heart made cheerful. This done, it is possible to confer with him on the matters of state that need consideration.

When Europeans, who are in more comfortable circumstances than the Indians, wish to comfort a chief, they not only give a string of wampum but wrap the corpse of the deceased in a large piece of fine linen, laying another piece on the grave and wipe the tears from his eyes with silk handkerchiefs. Both the linen and the silks are given him as a present.

766 When a chief dies sympathy is expressed with the whole nation. I will give a brief description of the ceremonies ob-
648 served when the Cherokees sent a formal and numerous embassy to the Delawares in Goschachgünk to renew their alliance with

Death

761 Early burials which have been excavated reveal few objects buried with the body although Penn indicates that it was customary among the Lenape to place objects in the graves (p. 37). Skinner is of the opinion that this may have been a custom which was coming into more common practice during the period we are dealing with (Skinner, 1909, p. 50). Of about equal occurrence are flexed and secondary bone burials. A Delaware burial has been described by Lindstrom: "...a round pit is dug in the ground and a stool is placed in the hole upon which the dead man shall sit. Then the dead man's money is placed upon him and he is set down in the pit upon the stool with a tobacco pipe a fathom long, in his mouth...". After the hole is filled up, "...they dig down in the corners of a square four very long poles upon which they make three shelves, and decorate the poles with long strips of blue, red or green frieze,[16] hanging like fringes." The bones were later dug up and the flesh cut from them after which they were wrapped in chestnut bark and placed on the bottom shelf where the bundle was allowed to stand until it rotted. (Lindstrom, pp. 249-250).

765 Above the body there has frequently been found a layer of shells which has been interpreted as evidence of a feast of the dead (Skinner, 1909, p. 50). Other features of the death ceremonies noted by early writers are: the use of charcoal on the face as a sign of mourning (Penn, p. 37; Danckaerts, p. 159), the sending of a messenger to all friends to announce a person's decease and loud lamentations at the grave. The name of the deceased was not mentioned (Lindstrom, pp. 249-250). 784 551 Many of these features are incorporated in Heckewelder's excellent description of the funeral of a chief's wife (Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 269-276).

Disease

753 Disease was classified into natural illness and sickness caused by witchcraft and spirits of the dead. This classification is reflected in the many different types of cures which the Delaware practiced. Curing was one of the few activities placed in the hands of professional people, the shamans, although purely medicinal cures were also performed by laymen. The shamans used a combination of medicines, magic, sweating, bleeding and psychotherapy to effect their cures for which they were paid. Penn says that the Delaware will give anything to be cured and this is echoed by later writers (Penn, p. 36; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 232).

755

757 Medicines which were taken internally were made from bark and roots mixed with water (Penn, p. 36; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 224-231); likewise, plants with medicinal properties were made into poultices for wounds, boils and snake bite (Heckewelder, 1881, p. 229; Loskiel, p. 113).. The shaman might also breathe on the patient or blow his remedy over the patient's body In addition to making and giving these remedies, the shaman frequently put on a performance in which he grimaced and acted in such a way as to frighten away the evil spirit which

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8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
NM7 Delaware NM7

764 this is done they dig down in the corners of a square four very long poles upon which they make three shelves, and decorate the poles with long strips of blue, red or green frieze, hanging like fringes.[5] Then those who have been the dead
765 man's relatives and best friends set themselves down for about the period of a month to lament the departure of the dead one, singing, crying, howling and lamenting, so that it is heard for a long distance. Now when this time is past they dig up the dead one and take all his money off him, which they put in a box and place on the lowest rack or shelf, then each one takes a knife and thus cuts the flesh off the bones of the dead one, wrapping the flesh in chestnut bark, which they place on the second shelf or rack, wrapping in like manner the bones into chestnut bark [and] placing them on the upper shelf or rack; but the entrails they dig down in the hole. Afterwards they still set themselves down for about the period of 14 days and further lament the departure of the dead, and when now that time is over, then their sorrow and lamentation are gone. Those who then are the
[765] relatives and best friends of the dead take the money-chest, dividing it between themselves, and therewith go their way; but the scaffolding together with the other [things] remains standing as a monument until it falls and rots away. When
151 now the savage is thus buried the savages do not
784 wish to hear him mentioned by name again or to speak further about him. If the Christian should

[5] *Som buldaner hängiandes.* *Buldan* really means sail cloth or duck, but Lindeström apparently means strips or fringes.

Yale
1755
557

+ = element present
− = element denied
(+) or (−) = source ambiguous
* = informant could not or would not say
§ = some, sometimes, or several
† or * = see Ethnographic Notes, pp. 79-137 for additional information

	Williams	Van der Donck	Lindeström	Zeisberger	Heckewelder	Johnston	Pipe	Chipps	J. W.	W. T.	E. R.	W. L.
Death and its incidents †												
175. Treatment of corpse. Eyes closed		+				+	(+)		+	+	+	+
176. Limbs straightened		+				+	(+)		+	+	+	+
177. Washed						+	+	+	+	+	+	+
178. Dressed				+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
179. Painted				+	+				+	+	+	*+
180. By unrelated persons		−			(+)	·	+	·	+	−	+	*+
181. Kept ___ nights before burial		§	§	(1)	1	1	1	*1-4	1	1	1	1-3
182. Burial	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
183. Extended		*−	*−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
184. Grave depth ___ feet						3-4	3	5	5-6	4	4-5	3½-4
185. Grave lined with bark		+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
186. Grave goods of clothes only required	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+
187. Post at head of graves of males only				−	−	·	+	·	−	−	−	−
188. Cremation					−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
189. Take up bones and reinter			•		−	§	−	−	−	−	−	−
190. Collection of people at burial, thanks to bystanders for assistance		+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
191. Chief prays that soul may go happy						·	·	+	+	+	+	+
192. Feast at the grave							+		+			
193. Feast and moccasin game night before burial									+	+	+	+
194. Mourning. Widow or widower observes for ___ months	3-12	12	*12	12		*	*9	9	*12	*12	12	*
195. Lets hair grow loose and unkempt		*−		+			+		+	+	+	+
196. Wears black	+	+					−	+	·	−	·	−
197. Abstains from games, dances and amusement	+						+		+	+	+	+
198. Does not remarry during mourning	·	+		+		+	+	+	+	*+	+	+
199. Terminated by relatives of deceased washing, giving new clothes, etc.				+		•	+	·	·	+	§	*+
200. Visits grave ___ nights				365	21	6-7	6	*	3	4	· 9	4
201. Visits grave ___ dawns				365		−	6		−	−	−	−

202.	Other relatives observe mourning ___ days	90-365				•	12	0	365	4	4	3-4		
203.	Dread the approach of death	+			+	+	+	S	+	−	−	+		
204.	Die in full possession of faculties (generally)						−	+	+	+	•	+		
205.	Take leave of friends						S	+	+	+	S	+		
206.*	Believe bodies will be restored						+	*+	*+	−	−	−		
207.	Disposition of property—to nearest kin †				−			•	+	+	+	+		
208.	to others †				+	+	+	•		+		+		
Lineage														
209.	Nation divided into ___ tribes †				3	3	3	3	8	3	3	3	3	
210.	Division for purposes of government				−		+	+	−	+		+	−	
211.	On religious grounds				−		•	•	+•	−			−	
212.	Attended by good effect						+	+	•	+•			•	
213.	Tribes are exogamous				+	+				•				
214.	Tribes are endogamous										+			
215.	Matrilineal descent		+		+	+		+		+	+	(+)	+	
Chiefs														
216.	Civil chieftainship hereditary		−	(+)	−		−	−	*+	−	−	*(+)	−	
217.	Son succeeds		−	(+)	−		−	−	−	−	−	(+)	−	
218.	Brother first choice		−		−		+		+	−	−	(+)	−	
219.	Nephew (sister's son) next		−		+		+		+	−	−	(+)	−	
220.	Woman could be				−		−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
221.	Election of civil chief		+	−	+		+	*+	*+	+	+	+	+	
222.	By people		+		−		−	−	+	+	+	+	+	
223.	By counselors				*+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
224.	Installed by other tribes				+		•	•	(+)	?		−	−	
225.	Can be removed				+		+	*+	+	+	−	+	+	
226.	Chief names successor			−					+	+	−	+	•	
227.	Can dismiss successor								+	+	−			
228.	Any particular age at succession †						−		+	+	+	+	−	
229.	Both civil and war chiefs				+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
230.	Number of civil chiefs per tribe						1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
231.	Number of war chiefs per tribe						1	1	2	1	1	1	1	
232.	Boundary between civil and war chiefs		+		+		+	*+	+	+	+	+	+	
233.	Civil chief has authority superior to war chief in peace	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
234.	Stops on declaration of war		+				+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
235.	War chief hereditary				−								−	
236.	War chief elected				−			+					+	

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9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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764 bers of the family before death. Thus, while old articles were
[768] required, those possessed by an individual might be so completely disposed of before death that the requirement was impossible of fulfillment and nullified.

The statement of Captain Pipe that posts were erected only at the head of graves containing males apparently was in error, although neither of the other sources of his period reported on this element (187). The sources prior to him and the informants who followed him all reported the erection of posts at the graves of both males and females.

A moccasin game at the side of the corpse the night before burial was reported by all the informants of the fourth period as an important part of the death ceremonies (193). The game was introduced among the Delaware at least as early as the third period (see 447), but apparently did not become associated with death customs until some time after 1824.

765 Mourning observances show two very marked changes; namely, the dropping of wearing black and dawn visits to the grave (196 and 201). The wearing of black was reported definitely in the first period, ignored in the second period, both reported and denied in the third and definitely denied in the fourth. Starting in the second period, reports of the dawn visits to the grave followed the same pattern of affirmation, contradiction, and denial. The length of mourning of widow or widower is reported so differently that one cannot postulate any direction of change (194). Mourning of relatives is also reported with the same variation in length of observance (202).

761 Theoretically there should be a connection between the ele-
775 ments dealing with dread of the approach of death and belief that bodies will be restored (203 and 206). That is, one would expect a belief in the restoration of life to be accompanied by a freedom of dread of death and a lack of belief in the restoration accompanied by dread of the approach of death. Instead of this correlation, we find that only one of the four informants who denied a belief that bodies would be restored after death admitted to a dread of the approach of death. Of course, the
[774] belief in the separate survival of the soul must be considered in

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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10. Eclipses

JOHN JOHNSTON—The eclipses they suppose to be caused by one of the twelve subordinate Deities as an indication of war or some other calamity which they think will shortly come. 821

CAPTAIN PIPE—Eclipses are thus accounted for. Every man as he grows up is visited in his dreams by his tutelar deity in the form of a Bear, Wolf, Dog, Tree, Cornstalk, or any thing else which the imagination can conceive, and by the deity he is protected and governed through life. When he dies his protector assumes the mourning garb common to deities, and through his influence the eclipse of the Sun or Moon takes place in token of the excess of his grief. 787 776 765

CAPTAIN CHIPPS—In an eclipse, they suppose, the moon gets between the Sun and the Earth.

J. W. said that eclipses had meaning but would not say what. Likewise W. T.

14. Four cardinal points

Both J. W. and W. T. named the four cardinal points but thought of up and down as equivalent to them.

16. Meteors as indication of evil

JOHN JOHNSTON—Meteors: They suppose them to be ominous of something bad especially if any person takes notice of them and says see that star they think that person will not live long, but they suppose that if they fall to the ground they turn into that substance or ball generally known by the puffball which will by pressing emit a smoke, they are afraid of those balls. 821 787 824

CAPTAIN PIPE—The Meteors called shooting stars are thus described. Like the Sun and Moon the stars are brothers to the Indians, human beings, and subject to the frailties of man. When one of them begins to practice lying and fraud he is rejected by the others and obliged to fly from his companions to seek a place of refuge. 577

J. W.—Meteors are a warning, forecast war etc. The place where the comet goes is the place where the battle or other catastrophe is going to occur. F. W.'s grandmother heard a great

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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764 tected by a covering of the same before throwing in the earth. At the grave one of the relatives renders thanks to the bystanders for their assistance and the mourners return home.

765 For six days after the interment the near relatives visit the grave twice in each day; once at the break of day, and again at the going down of the sun. In the latter case they frequently remain until late at night. They seat themselves upon the grave, and not a word is spoken, but each is bowed down to the ground [776] in perfect silence. These visits are said to be made to the deceased who may not have set out upon his journey to the land of spirits and would of course like company during his stay.

They have no particular ceremony of mourning except that they abstain from games, dances and other amusements for twelve days, which by the husband or wife of a deceased person is continued for nine months, at the end of which time the relatives of the partner of this chief mourner make and present to him or her a new suit of clothes and formally pronounce their willingness for another marriage. They never paint themselves during the mourning season, as is the custom among the Chippeway's, but they divest themselves of all unnecessary apparel and of their ornaments, and suffer their hair to flow loosely about their necks.

769 It is customary among them to offer the first fine products of 765 the hunting season and the first fruits of the earth at the grave of the deceased. The meat or vegetables being cooked are carried thither by the relatives and a guest not connected with the deceased, is invited to eat that portion which would have been his if living. Silence is preserved during the feast and when it is finished the guest addresses the deceased in a kind of prayer, assuring him (or her) of the extreme regret of the friends left behind and imploring him to rest satisfied with the great change and not to return for the purpose of taking away any of the remaining relatives. Mr. Conner once saw the sister of a chief buried upon the banks of White River and this prayer was addressed to her by her brother, before the earth was thrown upon the body. They sometimes omit the ceremony of the feast at the grave, after a short time, but it has been known to continue for years, and is often renewed upon the appearance of any mis-

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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769
fortune which can be attributed to the malignant spirit of the 765
deceased.

They never burn the bodies of the deceased persons, nor do 764
they take up the bones for reinterment. They say that the Nanticokes were in the habit of placing the body of the deceased upon a scaffold, where it was suffered to remain until the flesh decayed, when the friends and relatives assembled to pay the last duties to the bones. At this time a dance, called the Spirit dance, took place, in which they had the figure of a human being drawn upon a skin which was stretched over a hoop and suspended in the air. Under this figure sat the singers who continued their songs all the night, for if one of them thro' indolence or excessive fatigue stopped his song, it was an indication of his speedy death. The day succeeding the dance the friends assembled again at the same spot and large presents were distributed by one of the near relatives of the deceased. This man held in his hand a small ball, and placing himself in the midst of a circle formed by the spectators he would pretend to make frequent attempts to throw the ball out of the ring. At length he would throw it where it was least expected, and he who was so fortunate as to catch it received a portion of the presents. This was repeated until all the goods were given out, and at each return of the ball the figure on the skin was made to bow to it. After the distribution of the goods the bones were collected, put into a kind of box and buried in the ground. If a death happened at a distance from the village, as in hunting or on a journey, the flesh was separated from the bones by cutting, the bones were burned until they became perfectly dry and then transported to the place of burial, where the same ceremonies took place.

As Mr. Heckewelder has said, many ceremonies take place at [776]
the interment of a distinguished personage, which are not common on other occasions; such are distributing presents, feasting etc.; but the general customs are such as have been here related.

They sometimes put articles of furniture or clothing in the graves, as a gun for a man, a kettle for a woman; but this is not considered necessary, and arises only from the desire of the relatives to express some marked esteem for the deceased.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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764 the upright below the crosspiece (also like large X's). The post for a man is a simple upright, the top of which may be carved into an elaborate triple diamond-shaped figure or not, but at any rate the top is cut at an angle so that there is a sharp edge uppermost. Red paint is also put on the top of the man's post, but only four crosses are painted lower down on the post.

Immediately after the burial there was a feast on the east side of the grave. Food was furnished by everybody; that brought by relatives was kept separately on the north side of the grave. Relatives ate the food brought by nonrelatives, while nonrelatives ate food brought by relatives. Man who talked
765 at grave talked again at end of feast, and if the deceased belonged to the Wolf division, announced the coming of another feast twelve days after the death at the home of the deceased. At this second feast there was the same division of food between relatives and nonrelatives as at the feast at the grave. This second feast was not held among the Turtle or Turkey people unless there was some Wolf mixed in.

Every evening for three days after burial the relatives visit the grave and build a little fire which is immediately put out. Just a little fire is all that is necessary—it blazes once and then
[775] is blown out—it sort of liberates the spirit of deceased. Usually only one person visits grave. Do not visit grave after three days.

The widow must not change her clothing until the feast at the twelfth day. She eats off same plate. The woman attendant takes care of her, she must not do anything for herself—must not touch food, touch hair with comb or anything else—wears gloves. Her attendant washes her hair and body just before the feast and dresses her in new clothes, furnished by deceased husband's relatives. She stays home for these twevle days—does not even walk out [illegible] her attendant. No other mourning except that she cannot marry for a year. Same thing for widower. Near relatives observe care for a year.

763 A person about to die knows everything going on—reviews his life—knows everything—tries to say it with last breath.

764 W. T.—The body was prepared by two men and two women,
767 who might be related or not. It was washed, painted, combed

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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and dressed in best clothes. There was no payment to persons performing these services. The corpse was kept until noon of the day after death. During this time the relatives and others played moccasin game with four moccasins and two bullets. The grave was dug about four feet deep with the head to the East. Never put anything into the grave. After the grave was filled in the folks of the deceased who took care of the bereaved spouse led him or her once around the grave, clockwise, natural steps, not holding hands, but spouse was careful to step in the tracks of the leader. Twelve sticks were thrown away during this circuit. Spouse was then led away from the grave. He or she then visited the grave every evening about six or seven o'clock for four nights, made a little fire, just lighted it and immediately blew it out. Talked to deceased at this time. During these four days relict did not wash, comb or paint. Was attended by the kin folks of the deceased. At the end of this period he or she was washed, combed and dressed in new clothes—sometimes offered new spouse in the person of the sister or brother of the deceased to take care of him or her. Always accepted. Formerly, two years passed before relict was told to go free if not given a new spouse at the end of the four-day period. Two years was too long, so about one or two hundred years ago the time was reduced to one year. Relict did not attend games, dances, etc. for one- or two-year period. Other relatives observed same mourning as relict for four-day period.

764 767 [525] 765

Preacher prayed after death and also at burial—talked to deceased and told him to forget those who were left and to go home and be happy. Graves were surrounded by trees laid in a crib about three feet high and then covered with boards. Posts were erected at head of graves of both men and women. The posts might be painted or not. Diamond-shaped figures carved on posts were not Delaware but Shawnee, as were the painted figures or crosses. The post for men carried a crosspiece, whereas that for women was an upright with a pointed top. Said that the only feast offered the deceased was before burial.

764 782

E. R.—After death fix bark house outside of dwelling in which corpse was placed with head to East. In the house there were fires

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9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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764 on the north and south sides. Men assembled on the south side and the women on the north. They sang with drum accompaniment and played the moccasin game with two pairs of moccasins and one bullet. There was a feast before sundown. Burial was before sunup the day after death. The chief or some old man prayed and talked to deceased. All circled the grave clockwise, each [782] throwing in a little dirt. The chief then talked to the widow and [589] told her not to get married for a year. She must not attend dances or games for a year. The widow and immediate relatives did not wash, comb their hair or change their clothes for four days after a death. A widow visited grave irregularly and left food the same way. A crib of logs, four to six feet high, was placed around the grave and then covered over. A stick two to three inches thick was placed at the head of every grave. The point of the stick was six to seven inches long and painted red. There was a difference in the sticks for men and women but not sure just what, believed that women had a cross which was painted.

179 and 180. Corpse painted by unrelated person

W. L.—Body was prepared by two men and two women appointed from nonrelatives. One man marked the face of the deceased with paint and then one of the women came along and added some marks.

181. Corpse kept—nights before burial

Captain Chipps—The funeral in warm weather is attended the day after death. In winter the body is kept three or four days.

183. Burials extended.

Both Van der Donck and Lindeström said that a corpse was buried in a sitting position and placed either on a wooden block or a stool.

189. Take up bones and reinter

765 Lindeström said that the body was buried a few days after death, then for a period of about a month the departed was mourned, at the end of which time the body was disinterred and

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

the bones cleaned and placed on a shelf on a rack where they were 765
allowed to decay, with no further attention being paid to them.

194. Mourning

LINDESTRÖM said that after the racking of the bones (see under 189) there was a further period of fourteen days of mourning, making the total at least forty-eight days and perhaps longer.

JOHN JOHNSTON—No particular length of time (for mourning).

CAPTAIN PIPE said that widow or widower observed mourning for nine months but practiced elements listed on the table as 195 to 197 inclusive, only during twelve days.

CAPTAIN PIPE, W. T. and E. R. See verbatim accounts given above, pp. 111-14, 116-18.

W. L.—Some terminated the mourning on the fourth day and others on the eleventh or twelfth day. Widow can marry then if she wishes.

195. Widows hair long and unkempt

VAN DER DONCK said that in certain cases the women shaved off their hair when their husbands died.

198. Widows and widowers do not remarry

W. T.—See account given at beginning of this section, p. 117.

199. Termination of mourning

JOHN JOHNSTON—They are affected in the same manner as the whites and their grief wears off by degrees.

W. L.—Widow is attended by some one of the relatives of the deceased up to the fourth, eleventh, or twelfth day and is then washed, dressed in new clothes and turned loose.

200. Visiting of grave.

CAPTAIN CHIPPS said that visits to the graves of deceased [769]
friends were frequent and that prayers were made for the salvation of souls of the deceased, but did not say how long they continued.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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202. Relatives observe mourning

765 JOHN JOHNSTON—All the relatives and some times more [observe mourning], according to the rank sustained by the deceased person.

206. Belief that bodies will be restored

775 CAPTAIN PIPE said that formerly the Delaware believed that bodies would be restored.

CAPTAIN CHIPPS—Thinks that he lived on the earth in "the olden time," from the circumstance of his being born with his ears bored, he thinks also, that if his spirit should go to Heaven, after death, he may be again restored to life.

207 and 208. Disposition of property of deceased

768 In the cases where an answer appears in only one alternative it means that the property of the deceased went first to that group and the other group had second choice.

LINEAGE

209. Nations divided into tribes

619 Whereas all the others said the Delaware had three divisions, Turtle, Turkey, and Wolf, CAPTAIN CHIPPS appears to have considered the question in a little different light, for his eight tribes are, *Oo-nóm-ma-u* or Delaware, *Mùn-see*, *Mo-hi-ga-ny* or Stockbridge, *Waù-pon-no* or Mohekan, *Waùb-ping* or Opossum, *U-sópe-see* or Esopus, *Oo-nàh-ti-co* or Nanticoke, and *Scàh-ti-co*.

213. Tribes are exogamous

[582] See J. W.'s autobiography in notes under 103, *ante*, p. 104. The rules he talked about the old folks having were concerned with family and division relationships. He could not give any of the rules, but it is apparent that one of the things talked over by the old folks was the propriety of the proposed marriage as to blood lines and clan affiliations. Marriage might be either within the clan (as they call each of the three divisions) or without.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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733 "drink heartily, drink! it will not hurt you.' All this "is done for the purpose of cheating me. When you "have obtained from me all you want, you call me a "drunken dog, and kick me out of the room.—See! this "is the manner in which you cheat the Indians when they "come to trade with you. So now you know when you "see me coming to your town again, you may say to "one another: 'Ah! there is Thomas coming again! "he is no longer a Moravian, for he is coming to us to "be made drunk—to be cheated—to be kicked out of the "house, and be called a *drunken dog!*'"

CHAPTER XXXVII.

FUNERALS.

114 I BELIEVE that no sufficiently detailed account
764 has yet been given of the manner in which the North American Indians conduct the funerals of their dead. Captain Carver tells us that the Naudowessies, among whom he was, kept those ceremonies a secret, and would not give him an opportunity of witnessing them. Loskiel, although he drew his information from the journals of our Missionaries, has treated this subject rather superficially. I therefore run little risk of repetition in describing what I have myself seen, and I hope that the particulars which I am going to relate will not be thought uninteresting.

764 It is well known that the Indians pay great respect to
●766 the memory of the dead, and commit their remains to the

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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ground with becoming ceremonies. Those ceremonies, however, are not the same in all cases, but vary according to circumstances, and the condition of the deceased; for rank and wealth receive distinctions even after death, as well among savages as among civilised nations. This, perhaps, may be easily accounted for. When a great chief dies, his death is considered as a national loss; of course all must join in a public demonstration of their sorrow. The rich man, on the other hand, had many friends during his life, who cannot decently abandon him the moment the breath is out of his body; besides, his fortune supplies the means of a rich entertainment at the funeral, of which many, as may well be supposed, are anxious to partake. Thus social distinctions are found even in the state of nature, where perfect equality, if it exists any where, might with the greatest probability be supposed to be found. Though the earth and its fruits are common to all the Indians, yet every man is permitted to enjoy the earnings of his industry, and that produces riches; and though there is no hereditary or even elective rank in their social organization, yet as power follows courage and talents, those who are generally acknowledged to be possessed of those qualities, assume their station above the rest, and the distinction of rank is thus established. Politicians and philosophers may reason on these facts as they please; the descriptions that I give are from nature, and I leave it to abler men than myself to draw the proper inferences from them.

766 [764]

On the death of a principal chief, the village resounds from one end to the other with the loud lamentations of the women, among whom those who sit by the corpse distinguish themselves by the shrillness of their cries and the frantic expression of their sorrow. This scene of mourning over the dead body continues by day and by night until it is interred, the mourners being relieved from time to time by other women.

[152]

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These honours of "mourning over the corpse" are paid to all; the poor and humble, as well as the rich, great, and powerful; the difference consists only in the number of mourners, the undistinguished Indian having few besides his immediate relations and friends, and sometimes only those. Women, (notwithstanding all that has been said of their supposed inferior station and of their being reduced to the rank of slaves) are not treated after their death with less respect than the men, and the greatest honours are paid to the remains of the wives of renowned warriors or veteran chiefs, particularly if they were descended themselves of a high family, which, however strange it may appear, is not an indifferent thing among the Indians, who love to honour the merit of their great men in their relatives. I was present in the year 1762, at the funeral of a woman of the highest rank and respectability, the wife of the valiant Delaware chief *Shingask*; as all the honours were paid to her at her interment that are usual on such occasions, I trust a particular description of the ceremony will not be unacceptable.

At the moment that she died, her death was announced through the village by women specially appointed for that purpose, who went through the streets crying, "*She is no more! she is no more!*" The place on a sudden exhibited a scene of universal mourning; cries and lamentations were heard from all quarters; it was truly the expression of the general feeling for a general loss.

The day passed in this manner amidst sorrow and desolation. The next morning, between nine and ten o'clock, two counsellors came to announce to Mr. Thomas Calhoon, the Indian trader, and myself, that we were desired to attend and assist at the funeral which was soon to take place. We, in consequence, proceeded to the house of the deceased, where we found her corpse lying in a coffin, (which had been made by Mr. Calhoon's carpenter) dressed and painted in the most superb Indian style. Her gar-

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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ments, all new, were set off with rows of silver broaches,* one row joining the other. Over the sleeves of her new ruffled shirt were broad silver arm spangles from her shoulder down to her wrist, on which were bands, forming a kind of mittens, worked together of wampum, in the same manner as the belts which they use when they deliver speeches. Her long plaited hair was confined by broad bands of silver, one band joining the other, yet not of the same size, but tapering from the head downwards and running at the lower end to a point. On the neck were hanging five broad belts of wampum tied together at the ends, each of a size smaller than the other, the largest of which reached below her breast, the next largest reaching to a few inches of it, and so on, the uppermost one being the smallest. Her scarlet leggings were decorated with different coloured ribands sewed on, the outer edges being finished off with small beads also of various colours. Her mocksons were ornamented with the most striking figures, wrought on the leather with coloured porcupine quills, on the borders of which, round the ancles, were fastened a number of small round silver bells, of about the size of a musket ball. All these things, together with the vermilion paint, judiciously laid on, so as to set her off in the highest style, decorated her person in such a manner, that perhaps nothing of the kind could exceed it.

The spectators having retired, a number of articles were brought out of the house and placed in the coffin, wherever there was room to put them in, among which were a new shirt, a dressed deer skin for shoes, a pair of scissors, needles, thread, a knife, pewter basin and spoon, pint cup, and other similar things, with a number of trinkets and other small articles which she was fond of while

* A kind of round buckle with a tongue, which the Indians fasten to their shirts. The traders call them *broaches*. They are placed in rows, at the distance of about the breadth of a finger one from the other.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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living. The lid was then fastened on the coffin with three straps, and three handsome round poles, five or six feet long, were laid across it, near each other, and one in the middle, which were also fastened with straps cut up from a tanned elk hide; and a small bag of vermilion paint, with some flannel to lay it on, was then thrust into the coffin through the hole cut out at the head of it. This hole, the Indians say, is for the spirit of the deceased to go in and out at pleasure, until it has found the place of its future residence.

Every thing being in order, the bearers of the corpse were desired to take their places. Mr. Calhoon and myself were placed at the foremost pole, two women at the middle and two men at the pole in the rear. Several women from a house about thirty yards off, now started off, carrying large kettles, dishes, spoons, and dried elk meat in baskets, for the burial place, and the signal being given for us to move with the body, the women who acted as chief mourners made the air resound with their shrill cries. The order of the procession was as follows: first a leader or guide, from the spot where we were to the place of interment. Next followed the corpse, and close to it *Shingask*, the husband of the deceased. He was followed by the principal war chiefs and counsellors of the nation, after whom came men of all ranks and descriptions. Then followed the women and children, and lastly two stout men carrying loads of European manufactured goods upon their backs. The chief mourners on the women's side, not having joined in the ranks, took their own course to the right, at the distance of about fifteen or twenty yards from us, but always opposite to the corpse. As the corpse had to be carried by the strength of our arms to the distance of about two hundred yards, and hung low between the bearers, we had to rest several times by the way, and whenever we stopped, every body halted until we moved on again.

Being arrived at the grave, we were told to halt, then

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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the lid of the coffin was again taken off, and the body exposed to view. Now the whole train formed themselves into a kind of semi-lunar circle on the south side of the grave, and seated themselves on the ground. Within this circle, at the distance of about fifteen yards from the grave, a common seat was made for Mr. Calhoon and myself to sit on, while the disconsolate *Shingask* retired by himself to a spot at some distance, where he was seen weeping, with his head bowed to the ground. The female mourners seated themselves promiscuously near to each other, among some low bushes that were at the distance of from twelve to fifteen yards east of the grave.

In this situation we remained for the space of more than two hours; not a sound was heard from any quarter, though the numbers that attended were very great; nor did any person move from his seat to view the body, which had been lightly covered over with a clean white sheet. All appeared to be in profound reflection and solemn mourning. Sighs and sobs were now and then heard from the female mourners, so uttered as not to disturb the assembly; it seemed rather as if intended to keep the feeling of sorrow alive in a manner becoming the occasion. Such was the impression made on us by this long silence.

At length, at about one o'clock in the afternoon, six men stepped forward to put the lid upon the coffin, and let down the body into the grave, when suddenly three of the women mourners rushed from their seats, and forcing themselves between these men and the corpse, loudly called out to the deceased to "arise and go with them and not to forsake them." They even took hold of her arms and legs; at first it seemed as if they were caressing her, afterwards they appeared to pull with more violence, as if they intended to run away with the body, crying out all the while, "Arise, arise! Come with us! Don't leave us! Don't abandon us!" At last they retired, plucking at their garments, pulling their hair, and ut-

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

764 tering loud cries and lamentations, with all the appear-
766 ance of frantic despair. After they were seated on the ground, they continued in the same manner crying and sobbing and pulling at the grass and shrubs, as if their minds were totally bewildered and they did not know what they were doing.

As soon as these women had gone through their part of the ceremony, which took up about fifteen minutes, the six men whom they had interrupted and who had remained at the distance of about five feet from the corpse, again stepped forward and did their duty. They let down the coffin into the earth, and laid two thin poles of about four inches diameter, from which the bark had been taken off, lengthways and close together over the grave, after which they retired. Then the husband of the deceased advanced with a very slow pace, and when he came to the grave, walked over it on these poles, and proceeded forward in the same manner into an extensive adjoining prairie, which commenced at this spot.

When the widowed chief had advanced so far that he could not hear what was doing at the grave, a painted post, on which were drawn various figures, emblematic of the deceased's situation in life and of her having been the wife of a valiant warrior, was brought by two men and delivered to a third, a man of note, who placed it in such a manner that it rested on the coffin at the head of the grave, and took great care that a certain part of the drawings should be exposed to the East, or rising of the sun; then, while he held the post erect and properly situated, some women filled up the grave with hoes, and having placed dry leaves and pieces of bark over it, so that none of the fresh ground was visible, they retired, and some men, with timbers fitted before hand for the purpose, enclosed the grave about breast-high, so as to secure it from the approach of the wild beasts.

[343] The whole work being finished, which took up about an hour's time, Mr. Calhoon and myself expected that

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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we might be permitted to go home, as we wished to do, particularly as we saw a thundergust from the west fast approaching; but the Indians, suspecting our design, soon came forward with poles and blankets, and in a few minutes erected a shelter for us.

The storm, though of short duration, was tremendous; the water, produced by the rain, flowing in streams; yet all had found means to secure themselves during its continuance, and being on prairie ground, we were out of all danger of trees being torn up or blown down upon us. Our encampment now appeared like a village, or rather like a military camp, such was the number of places of shelter that had been erected.

Fortunately, the husband of the deceased had reached the camp in good time, and now the gust being over, every one was served with victuals that had been cooked at some distance from the spot. After the repast was over, the articles of merchandise which had been brought by the two men in the rear, having been made up in parcels, were distributed among all present. No one from the oldest to the youngest, was excepted, and every one partook of the liberal donation. This difference only was made, that those who had rendered the greatest services received the most valuable presents, and we were much pleased to see the female mourners well rewarded, as they had, indeed, a very hard task to perform. Articles of little value, such as gartering, tape, needles, beads, and the like, were given to the smaller girls; the older ones received a pair of scissars, needles and thread, and a yard or two of riband. The boys had a knife, jews-harp, awl-blades, or something of similar value. Some of the grown persons received a new suit of clothes, consisting of a blanket, shirt, breech-cloth and leggings, of the value in the whole of about eight dollars; and the women, (I mean those who had rendered essential services) a blanket, ruffled shirts, stroud and leggings, the whole worth from ten to twelve dollars. Mr. Calhoon

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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and myself were each presented with a silk cravat and a pair of leggings. The goods distributed on this occasion, were estimated by Mr. Calhoon at two hundred dollars; the greatest part of them had, the same morning, been taken out of his store.

After we had thus remained, in a manner, under confinement, for more than six hours, the procession ended, and Mr. Calhoon and myself retired with the rest to our homes. At dusk a kettle of victuals was carried to the grave and placed upon it, and the same was done every evening for the space of three weeks, at the end of which it was supposed that the traveller had found her place of residence. During that time the lamentations of the women-mourners were heard on the evenings of each day, though not so loud nor so violent as before.

I have thus described, from minutes which I took at the time, the ceremonies which take place among the Delaware Indians on the death of a person of high rank and consideration among them. The funerals of persons of an inferior station are conducted with less pomp and with less expense. When the heirs of the deceased cannot afford to hire female mourners, the duty is performed by their own immediate relations and friends. But "mourning over the corpse," is a ceremony that cannot be dispensed with.

It is always customary, when an Indian dies, of whatever rank or condition he may be, to put a number of the articles which belonged to the deceased in the coffin or grave, that he may have them when wanted. I have seen a bottle of rum or whiskey placed at the coffin head, and the reason given for it was, that the deceased was fond of liquor while living, and he would be glad of a dram when he should feel fatigued on his journey to the world of spirits.

When an Indian dies at a distance from his home, great care is taken that the grave be well fortified with posts and logs laid upon it, that the wolves may be

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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prevented from getting at the corpse; when time and circumstances do not permit this, as, for instance, when the Indians are travelling, the body is enclosed in the bark of trees and thus laid in the grave. When a death takes place at their hunting camps, they make a kind of coffin as well as they can, or put a cover over the body, so that the earth may not sink on it, and then enclose the grave with a fence of poles.

Warriors that are slain in battle, are, if possible, drawn aside and buried, so that the enemy may not get their scalps, and also that he may not know the number of the slain. In such cases, they will turn an old log out of its bed, and dig a grave so deep, that the log, when replaced, may not press too hard upon the body. If any of the fresh earth be seen, they cover it with rotten wood, brush or leaves, that its place may not be found. If they have not sufficient time for this, or the number of their dead is too great, they throw the bodies on the top of each other between large logs, and place any kind of rotten wood or other rubbish upon them. They never, when they can help it, leave their dead to be devoured by wild beasts.

When the Indians have to speak of a deceased person, they never mention him or her by name, lest they should renew the grief of the family or friends. They say, "He who was our counsellor or chief," "She who was "the wife of our friend;" or they will allude to some particular circumstance, as that of the deceased having been with them at a particular time or place, or having done some particular act or spoken particular words which they all remember, so that every body knows who is meant. I have often observed with emotion this remarkable delicacy, which certainly does honour to their hearts, and shews that they are naturally accessible to the tenderest feelings of humanity.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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764

deceased was oriented towards the east.[96] At this time they laid "two thin poles of about four inches (in) diameter, from which the bark had been taken off, lengthways and close together over the grave, after which they retired."[97] The widower then came up to the grave slowly and "walked over it on these poles, and proceeded forward in the same manner into an extensive adjoining prairie."[98] When he was gone, a painted post which signified the position and station of the deceased and her husband was "brought by two men and delivered to a third, a man of note,"[99] who placed it at the head of the coffin in the grave with its symbolism facing east.[100] Holm said, "If he was a good hunter, they put the figure in wood, of some wild animal, and if he was a good fisherman, that of a fish."[101] After the grave was filled with earth, palisades were set up "about breast-high, so as to secure it from...wild beasts."[102] Denton noted that "....they fence their graves with a hedge, & cover the tops with mats, to shelter them from the rain."[103]

A meal, which had been prepared some distance from the grave, and a distribution of presents concluded the funeral rites. Everybody received a gift, although those who had performed various duties received the most valuable presents. Food was placed on the grave at dusk, and this was repeated every evening for three weeks. After this span of time "it was supposed that the traveller had found her place of residence."[104] For three weeks the mourning of the women continued, although it gradually decreased in intensity.

[766] ● 765

People of less social importance were given less elaborate funerals.[105] No matter how simple the funerary rites, however, the customs of mourning had to be observed. Blackening of the face is one of the few such customs with which we are familiar.[106] Denton's description is the most complete one available for the seventeenth century. He said:

> At his Burial his nearest relations attend the Hearse with their faces painted black, and do visit the grave once or twice a day, where they send forth sad lamentations so long till time hath wore the blackness off their faces, & afterwards every year once they view the grave, make a new mourning for him, trimming up of the Grave, not suffering of a Grass to grow by it....[107]

A number of other sources from all periods confirm the care which was given the grave.[108] Food was occasionally left there, and annual feasts at the grave were common.[109] Trowbridge said that "it is customary among them to offer the first fine products of the hunting season and the first fruits of the earth at the grave of the deceased."[110] My informants said that Munsi feasts were more elaborate and that one was held twelve

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[96]Zeisberger, 1910, p. 88; O.A., N.D., J.T., M.B.
[97]Heckewelder, 1881, p. 273.
[98]*Ibid.*
[99]*Ibid.*
[100]McClure, 1899, p. 90; Trowbridge MS.
[101]Holm, 1834, p. 143.
[102]Heckewelder, 1881, p. 274.
[103]Denton, 1845, p. 8.
[104]Heckewelder, 1881, p. 275.
[105]*Ibid.*; Trowbridge MS.
[106]Pastorius, 1912, p. 435; Penn, 1912, p. 234; Holm, 1834, p. 143.
[107]Denton, 1845, p. 8.
[108]Thomas, 1912, p. 340; Penn, 1912, p. 234; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 90; J.T., O.A.
[109]Penn, 1912, p. 234; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 90; J.T., O.A.
[110]Trowbridge MS.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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inside of a grave with the bark of trees and when the corpse was let down they placed some pieces of wood across, which were again covered with bark and then the earth thrown in. When they were able to split boards they placed them, not, however, joined in any way, in the grave in such a manner that the corpse might be between them. A fourth board was laid over it as a cover. Now they have learned to make proper coffins. The graves are generally dug by old women as the young people abhor this kind of work. The coffin is made by men and placed in the grave. Then the corpse is brought, dressed in new clothing and a white shirt, with the face and shirt painted red, laid upon a new mat and let down into the grave. They cover the body with the strowd and nail up the coffin. Formerly it was the custom to place the pouch, tobacco, pipe, knife, fire material, kettle and hatchet in the grave but this is no longer done. They also fill up the grave with earth, which was not done in former times. The graves are all arranged in such a manner that the head was turned to the east and the feet to the west. At the head of the corpse a tall post is erected, pointing out who is buried. If the deceased was a chief this post is neatly carved but not otherwise decorated. If it was a Captain the post is painted red and his head and glorious deeds are portrayed upon it. The burial post of a physician is hung with a small tortoise shell which he used in his juggling practice. In honor of a great warrior his warlike deeds are exhibited in red color on the burial post.

In the evening soon after sunset and in the morning before daybreak the female relations and friends assemble in the house of the deceased and mourn over the body. This is done until he is buried. All the effects of the deceased are piled up near the body. These are taken to the place of burial and the greater part is distributed among those who assisted in burying the dead. The rest is given to the friends present, each receiving a share. During the letting down of the corpse into the grave the women set up a deafening howl. Men deem it a shame to weep, yet in silence and unobserved they often cannot refrain from tears. After the ceremony is over the mother, grandmother or other near female relative of the deceased goes evening and

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757 this and for other troubles they have roots and herbs, which generally prove efficient remedies. Knowledge of these remedies may be confined to a very few, who demand payment for any prescription they make and keep their secrets to themselves. One common mistake made by all Indian practitioners is overdosing the patients. Fortunately, the Indians have strong constitutions, and usually do not suffer permanent injury from the unwise treatment of their doctors.

765 Concerning mourning for the dead it might be added that a widow is expected to observe in externals the following rules during the period of mourning which lasts a year. She must lay aside all ornaments, wash but little, for as soon as she makes pretensions at cleanliness, combs and dresses her hair, it is reported that she is anxious to marry. Men who are in mourning have no such regulations to observe.

Should a chief have lost a child or near relative, no complaint may be brought before him, nor may his advice be asked on any affairs of state. Even important embassies from other nations cannot be attended to by him until comfort has been formally offered. This is commonly done by delivering a string or fathom of wampum and addressing to him a speech, in which figuratively the remains of the deceased are buried, the grave covered with bark that neither dew of heaven nor rain may fall upon it, the tears are wiped from the chief's eyes, the sorrow of burial taken from his heart and his heart made cheerful. This done, it is possible to confer with him on the matters of state that need consideration.

When Europeans, who are in more comfortable circumstances than the Indians, wish to comfort a chief, they not only give a string of wampum but wrap the corpse of the deceased in a large piece of fine linen, laying another piece on the grave and wipe the tears from his eyes with silk handkerchiefs. Both the linen and the silks are given him as a present.

766 When a chief dies sympathy is expressed with the whole nation. I will give a brief description of the ceremonies ob-
648 served when the Cherokees sent a formal and numerous embassy to the Delawares in Goschachgünk to renew their alliance with

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them after their Chief Netawatwes had died. The ambassadors halted several miles below the town and sent word that they had arrived. The day after some Delaware Captains went down to welcome them and delivered a speech, in which they expressed joy on their arrival, extracted the thorns they had gotten on the journey from their feet, took the sand and gravel from between their toes, and anointed the wounds and bruises made by the briars and brushwod with oil, wiped the perspiration from their faces and the dust from their eyes, cleansed their ears, throats and hearts of all evil they had seen, heard or which had entered their hearts. A string of wampum was delivered in confirmation of this speech and then the Captains, accompanied by a large number of Indians, conducted the embassadors to the town. On entering the Cherokees saluted the inhabitants by firing their pieces, which was answered in the same manner by the Delawares. Next, the Captain of the Cherokees began a song, during which they proceeded to the Council-house, where everything had been prepared for the reception of the visitors. All having been seated, the Cherokee Captain comforted the grandfather, the Delaware nation, over the loss of the Chief. Continuing he wrapped the remains in a cloth, buried them, covered the grave with bark, wiped the tears from the eyes of the weeping nation, cleansed their ears and throats and took away all the sorrow from their hearts. He confirmed his speech by delivering a string of wampum. Then the peace-pipe was stuffed, lighted and in turn smoked by several Captains of the Delawares and Cherokees.

The peace-pipe is held in high regard among the Indians. It is brought out at certain solemn occasions, as when peace is concluded or renewed. The head is six or eight inches long and three inches high. It is made of stone or marble. A pipe made of red marble, as was the one used on the occasion described above, is particularly valued. The pipe-stem is made of wood and blackened, it is strong and durable and may be four feet long. It is wound around with fine ribbon and decorated with ornaments made of porcupine quills of various colors. It may be further ornamented with green, yellow and white feathers. If the pipe is made of red marble it is whitened with white clay

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or chalk, for red is the color of war, even though the red marble pipe is most highly valued. For the same reason nothing red may appear on a string of wampum. A war-belt is smeared with red paint or cinnabar. If for want of a white wampum belt, one made of the violet colored shells has to be used, this is whitened with clay and then has the same signficance as a white belt. The dark wampum belts are used, whenever they wish to give some one a severe lesson or a reproof. After the ceremonies described above had been completed, and all had partaken of a feast, the exercises for that day were at an end. On the next day they approached the chief matters of interest and exchanged belts of friendship, this part of the negotiations lasting several days, as each belt was presented in connection with a formal speech.

136 A few words should be added concerning animals.

1) Swallows[210] are found, generally near some body of water. Snipe[211] are gray in color and have a bill almost as long as the body of the bird. The gull[212] is frequently seen near rivers and lakes. Two kinds of plover[213] may be seen in these parts, both found near water. The one variety is about the size of a blackbird,[214] which is sometimes found away from water, the other much smaller.

The whippoorwill[215] is a night bird, of gray color, somewhat smaller than a turtledove.[216] It has a thick head, a short bill and a wide mouth. It has received its name from its note, which may be heard all night long.

The Mosquito-hawk[217] gets its name from catching mosquitoes and flies while on the wing. It is about the size of turtledove, has a round white spot on each of its wings, which seem, when the animal flies, like holes in the wings. It will dart up and down very swiftly in its efforts to catch insects.

Of bees[218] nothing was known when we came here in '72, now they are to be found in large numbers in hollow trees in the woods.

Wasps[219] are found in large numbers.

2) Among the quadrupeds the flying squirrel[220] should be noted. This animal is about the size of a rat, has a thin mem-

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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In the morning all the people lined up east of where the corpse 764
was laid, and one of the male attendants shot a gun eastward over the heads of the assembled friends and relatives, then handed the gun to the other male attendant who also shot it in the same direction.

In the case of a deceased man, just before the burial there were two men chosen, who went off and talked about the deceased. Then they got twelve little sticks about three or four inches long which they gave to a woman, not related to the deceased or his widow. This woman conducted the widow once around the grave before the corpse was covered. She proceeded counterclockwise and on each step placed her heel just ahead of the toe of the foot on the ground. She led the widow by joining their left hands. The widow was careful to step in the footsteps of her conductor. After the circuit of the grave, the conductor walked off in the same manner, and putting each stick in her mouth for an instant handed it over her shoulder to the widow whose hand had been released. The widow threw sticks alternately over each shoulder until all twelve were gone. Then while the conductor was leading the widow farther off, the attendants commenced filling the grave. Except for the reverse of the sexes the same procedure was used for a widower.

The corpse was placed in a casket at the head of which there was a hole and also a red painted cross (like a large X). For- [767 782]
merly the chief got down on one knee before the grave was filled and talked to the deceased, telling him to forget those who were left behind and not to bother them. Old Man Hill does it now. He had a vision giving him the power—not every one can do it. No one can do it for his own family.

Formerly a house 12′ by 6′ was built over each grave, using six logs on each side and then covering the structure with clapboards. Now only posts are erected at the head of the graves, all of which are headed to the East. The post differs for men and women. That for a woman has a crosspiece like a Christian cross; the ends of the crosspiece and the top of the upright may carry diamond-shaped figures. These figures or the plain ends are outlined with red paint and six crosses are painted in red on

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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764 the upright below the crosspiece (also like large X's). The post for a man is a simple upright, the top of which may be carved into an elaborate triple diamond-shaped figure or not, but at any rate the top is cut at an angle so that there is a sharp edge uppermost. Red paint is also put on the top of the man's post, but only four crosses are painted lower down on the post.

Immediately after the burial there was a feast on the east side of the grave. Food was furnished by everybody; that brought by relatives was kept separately on the north side of the grave. Relatives ate the food brought by nonrelatives, while nonrelatives ate food brought by relatives. Man who talked
765 at grave talked again at end of feast, and if the deceased belonged to the Wolf division, announced the coming of another feast twelve days after the death at the home of the deceased. At this second feast there was the same division of food between relatives and nonrelatives as at the feast at the grave. This second feast was not held among the Turtle or Turkey people unless there was some Wolf mixed in.

Every evening for three days after burial the relatives visit the grave and build a little fire which is immediately put out. Just a little fire is all that is necessary—it blazes once and then
[775] is blown out—it sort of liberates the spirit of deceased. Usually only one person visits grave. Do not visit grave after three days.

The widow must not change her clothing until the feast at the twelfth day. She eats off same plate. The woman attendant takes care of her, she must not do anything for herself—must not touch food, touch hair with comb or anything else—wears gloves. Her attendant washes her hair and body just before the feast and dresses her in new clothes, furnished by deceased husband's relatives. She stays home for these twevle days—does not even walk out without her attendant. No other mourning except that she cannot marry for a year. Same thing for widower. Near relatives observe care for a year.

763 A person about to die knows everything going on—reviews his life—knows everything—tries to say it with last breath.

764 W. T.—The body was prepared by two men and two women,
767 who might be related or not. It was washed, painted, combed

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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and dressed in best clothes. There was no payment to persons performing these services. The corpse was kept until noon of the day after death. During this time the relatives and others played moccasin game with four moccasins and two bullets. The grave was dug about four feet deep with the head to the East. Never put anything into the grave. After the grave was filled in the folks of the deceased who took care of the bereaved spouse led him or her once around the grave, clockwise, natural steps, not holding hands, but spouse was careful to step in the tracks of the leader. Twelve sticks were thrown away during this circuit. Spouse was then led away from the grave. He or she then visited the grave every evening about six or seven o'clock for four nights, made a little fire, just lighted it and immediately blew it out. Talked to deceased at this time. During these four days relict did not wash, comb or paint. Was attended by the kin folks of the deceased. At the end of this period he or she was washed, combed and dressed in new clothes—sometimes offered new spouse in the person of the sister or brother of the deceased to take care of him or her. Always accepted. Formerly, two years passed before relict was told to go free if not given a new spouse at the end of the four-day period. Two years was too long, so about one or two hundred years ago the time was reduced to one year. Relict did not attend games, dances, etc. for one- or two-year period. Other relatives observed same mourning as relict for four-day period.

Preacher prayed after death and also at burial—talked to deceased and told him to forget those who were left and to go home and be happy. Graves were surrounded by trees laid in a crib about three feet high and then covered with boards. Posts were erected at head of graves of both men and women. The posts might be painted or not. Diamond-shaped figures carved on posts were not Delaware but Shawnee, as were the painted figures or crosses. The post for men carried a crosspiece, whereas that for women was an upright with a pointed top. Said that the only feast offered the deceased was before burial.

E. R.—After death fix bark house outside of dwelling in which corpse was placed with head to East. In the house there were fires

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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we might be permitted to go home, as we wished to do, particularly as we saw a thundergust from the west fast approaching; but the Indians, suspecting our design, soon came forward with poles and blankets, and in a few minutes erected a shelter for us.

The storm, though of short duration, was tremendous; the water, produced by the rain, flowing in streams; yet all had found means to secure themselves during its continuance, and being on prairie ground, we were out of all danger of trees being torn up or blown down upon us. Our encampment now appeared like a village, or rather like a military camp, such was the number of places of shelter that had been erected.

Fortunately, the husband of the deceased had reached the camp in good time, and now the gust being over, every one was served with victuals that had been cooked at some distance from the spot. After the repast was over, the articles of merchandise which had been brought by the two men in the rear, having been made up in parcels, were distributed among all present. No one from the oldest to the youngest, was excepted, and every one partook of the liberal donation. This difference only was made, that those who had rendered the greatest services received the most valuable presents, and we were much pleased to see the female mourners well rewarded, as they had, indeed, a very hard task to perform. Articles of little value, such as gartering, tape, needles, beads, and the like, were given to the smaller girls; the older ones received a pair of scissars, needles and thread, and a yard or two of riband. The boys had a knife, jews-harp, awl-blades, or something of similar value. Some of the grown persons received a new suit of clothes, consisting of a blanket, shirt, breech-cloth and leggings, of the value in the whole of about eight dollars; and the women, (I mean those who had rendered essential services) a blanket, ruffled shirts, stroud and leggings, the whole worth from ten to twelve dollars. Mr. Calhoon

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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and myself were each presented with a silk cravat and a pair of leggings. The goods distributed on this occasion, were estimated by Mr. Calhoon at two hundred dollars; the greatest part of them had, the same morning, been taken out of his store.

After we had thus remained, in a manner, under confinement, for more than six hours, the procession ended, and Mr. Calhoon and myself retired with the rest to our homes. At dusk a kettle of victuals was carried to the grave and placed upon it, and the same was done every evening for the space of three weeks, at the end of which it was supposed that the traveller had found her place of residence. During that time the lamentations of the women-mourners were heard on the evenings of each day, though not so loud nor so violent as before.

I have thus described, from minutes which I took at the time, the ceremonies which take place among the Delaware Indians on the death of a person of high rank and consideration among them. The funerals of persons of an inferior station are conducted with less pomp and with less expense. When the heirs of the deceased cannot afford to hire female mourners, the duty is performed by their own immediate relations and friends. But "mourning over the corpse," is a ceremony that cannot be dispensed with.

It is always customary, when an Indian dies, of whatever rank or condition he may be, to put a number of the articles which belonged to the deceased in the coffin or grave, that he may have them when wanted. I have seen a bottle of rum or whiskey placed at the coffin head, and the reason given for it was, that the deceased was fond of liquor while living, and he would be glad of a dram when he should feel fatigued on his journey to the world of spirits.

When an Indian dies at a distance from his home, great care is taken that the grave be well fortified with posts and logs laid upon it, that the wolves may be

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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found guilty and the wife was "permitted to draw off his right shoe and left stocking...she then tears off the lappet that covers his private parts, gives him a kick behind, and so drives him out of the house...."[75] Husbands could punish adulterous wives by thrashing them, or could obtain a divorce by bringing them before the chief or sachem. The woman's hair was cut off, she was deprived of her property, and perhaps even of her life, if found guilty by the sachem.[76] But Denton remarked: "It is no offense for their married women to lie with another man provided she acquaint her husband, or some of her nearest Relations with it, but if not it is accounted such a fault that they sometimes punish it with death."[77] One of the culturally sanctioned mechanisms for obtaining revenge upon an adulterous spouse was suicide.[78] A man's retaliation for adultery could also be seduction of the adulterer's wife. If and when the injured husband was successful in this venture, he made the fact public so that the original adulterer would be held up for public scorn.[79]

A widow, prior to remarriage, whether his wife had died of natural or other causes, had to recompense her relatives for her loss.[80] The duration of mourning was about a year.[81] A widow during this time had to support herself; she could not be given meat since a hunter's weapons were supposed to fail if he had given meat to a widow.[82] When the year had passed, the deceased one's soul left the earth and remarriage could follow.

Death

As soon as a person died the fact of death was spread throughout the community by a crier. The crier was a woman especially appointed and paid for her services.[83] This announcement evoked loud outcrys and lamentations from the general populace. These lamentations were continued intermittently in the house where the deceased lay until burial.[84] In recent times and perhaps earlier the moccasin game was played in the dwelling where the corpse lay.[85] The body was not buried at once because it was necessary to give the supernatural forces an opportunity to restore life to the corpse.[86] The length of time the body was kept varied with the season; it was three days in summer and seven in winter.[87] During this interval the corpse was dressed in new clothes and richly adorned and painted. Before noon on the day of burial a number

[75] De Rasieres, 1909, p. 108.
[76] *Ibid.*; see also Pastorius, 1912, p. 434.
[77] Denton, 1845, p. 9.
[78] Penn, 1912, p. 232; Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 258-59; Loskiel, 1794, p. 58.
[79] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 77.
[80] Penn, 1912, p. 232.
[81] Pastorius, 1912, p. 435; Holm, 1834, p. 143; Brickell, 1842, p. 49; Trowbridge MS.
[82] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 88; Loskiel, 1794, p. 64.
[83] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 249; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 269.
[84] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 89; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 269.
[85] Harrington, 1913, p. 215; Kinietz, 1946, p. 72.
[86] Trowbridge MS; Kinietz, 1946, p. 51; J.T.
[87] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 249; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 269; Trowbridge MS; Kinietz, 1946, p. 51; M.B.

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428 longed to the man, and bring it to one place. The friends do not keep a single article, for they wish to forget the dead and are afraid lest the smallest part of the property of the deceased should remind them of him. They give what the deceased has left to their friends and no one of his friends receives anything; even though he should wish to take something he will not do it through fear of the others. If a dying Indian leaves his gun or any other trifle to a particular friend the legatee is immediately put in possession and no one disputes his right. The widow gets nothing, yet whatever the husband has given to his wife during his life-time remains her property. Therefore we need not wonder that a married Indian pair should not have their goods in common, for otherwise the wife would be left wholly destitute after her husband's death. In like manner the husband inherits nothing when his wife dies.

● 768 587 According to ancient custom a widow should not marry again within a year after the death of her husband, for the Indians say that he does not forsake her before that time. At the end of this period, however, they believe that his soul goes to its place. A widow must endeavor to live by her own industry. She is not permitted to purchase any meat, for the Indians are superstitiously persuaded that their guns fail if a widow should eat of the game they have killed. Now and then a kind friend will venture to transgress the rule and give her some meat secretly. As soon as the first year of her widowhood is passed, the friends of the deceased husband clothe and provide for her and her children. They also propose another husband if they know of a desirable party, or, at least, tell her that she is now at liberty to choose for herself. If, however, she has not attended to the prescribed rule but married within the year, they 626 never trouble themselves about her again except, perhaps, to speak evil of her.

If a man's wife die, her relatives pretend to have some claim upon him until a year has passed. If he has remained a widower during that time they generally secure him a wife, preferring a sister of the departed, if one be living.

764 The burying places are at some distance from the towns. Before they had hatchets and other tools they used to line the

Marriage arrangements were always simple, but it was definitely considered better form for the negotiations to take place between the two sets of parents rather than between the individuals concerned. In this type of negotiation, the man's mother took animal food which he had killed to the girl's mother; according to some sources, a return gift was made of corn food prepared by the girl (Harrington, 1908, p.215; Heckewelder, 1881, pp.161-72; Zeisberger, 1910, p.78). It was not unusual, however, for the agreement to take place directly between the boy and girl in which case they might or might not go through these formalities. Loskiel, who is the only author who mentions the subject of residence after marriage, says that the newly married couple often lived with friends for a short time until they built their own house (Loskiel, p.56).

The man was responsible for building the house and providing axes, hoes, canoes, dishes and household equipment although the girl might supply some things. The man was expected to support the family by hunting, trapping and fishing, and the game which he brought home was the property of his wife to use as she saw fit. She was equally responsible, however, for agricultural produce and cooking; and if she were remiss, might be reminded of her neglect by her husband's taking to the woods without telling her he planned to do so. She also carried packs in traveling, tanned skins and fetched wood (Penn, p.30; Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 155-160; G.Thomas, p.341).

There was apparently no strong pressure put upon the couple to remain together after they were married. Although later writers state that marriages were formerly more stable, they present no evidence to substantiate this. Polygyny was permitted but infrequent (Heckewelder, 1881, p.154; Harrington, 1913, p.215; Zeisberger, 1910, pp.78-9; Loskiel, p.57). After the death of a spouse, the widow or widower, but more particularly the former, was expected to remain single for a year, but it is clear that this was frequently not done (Brickell, p.49; Loskiel, p.121).

Social Life and Organization

Most of Delaware social behavior is a closed book to us as the early observers did not usually have long contacts with them in their villages. The early writers were aware, however, that the Indian expected to be fed when he visited them, and that they were always offered food when they visited him. Likewise they noted that gifts passed readily from hand to hand among the Indians although property rights were clearly understood (Lindstrom p.233; Danckaerts, pp.80 and 159; Penn, p.32).

The following games were probably played in this early period: footraces (Lindstrom, p.191); a gambling game in which flat bones,

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

volved in the act of desecration as long as they existed. Thus originated the ceremony.

At the present time (1932) we are told there are three of these dolls held by Delaware families. They should be, according to the rulings, furnished with a feast and dance annually. The Delawares still do so as occasion permits, this being one of the ceremonies most recently performed in the Nation. Dr. V. M. Petrullo observed the rite in the summer of 1930. The dolls themselves are kept in the families in which they have descended with their ceremonial obligations for so long that they are held in an attitude of combined reverence and fear. That the ceremony has become a burden to the possessor of dolls is evident, but there being no means open to them to dismiss the obligation under which they have fallen without incurring still deeper animosity of Mother Corn, the rites must be maintained until some event warrants the abandoning of them. In several cases it is recalled that individuals who possessed the dolls in the past had the dolls buried with them upon request. In such cases the obligation to perform the dance ceased. In other cases the doll image and the ritual obligation was transferred to the oldest blood relation or to another relative whom the owner regarded as being most worthy of taking charge of the obligation and capable of conducting the ceremony. It is understood that the three images in the Nation at the present time may be accorded the honor of the feast ceremony all at the same time, being brought together by their owners upon the occasion called by the master of ceremonies. Some of these figures are male and some female. They are dressed in cloth as Delaware style requires with bead-work or ribbon-work and the faces painted in red which is rubbed off when the ceremony is over.

As regards the history of the Doll Ceremony we have no succinct facts to go by. Certain of the Indians themselves point out its similarity to the Bread Dance of the Shawnee.[1] What the two rites may be discovered to have in common might subsequently lead to a suggestion as to their earlier

[1] To be tested by data on Shawnee rites obtained by Dr. and Mrs. C. F. Voegelin.

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
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764 of the person departed, if he or she made any statement as to what way he wanted the burial conducted.

[525] "All who wish to may come and sit up with the corpse. The men pall-bearers sit up and others who wish to play a hand game,* using usually a coffee bean or buckeye bean or a bullet for ball hiding—first under a glove or moccasin—and the other persons guess which moccasin he hides 764 the bean or bullet under. This is kept up until daybreak. At night be- 775 fore the "wake," the men pall-bearers discharge three (another says two) musket shots toward the sunset, then everyone must rise and give attention. The shots symbolize the departure of the soul of the deceased. Everyone must be awakened, especially the children, so that they may not become frightened. The widowed person or the bereaved parents stay awake all night. And just before sunrise another volley of two or three shots is fired which symbolizes lifting the soul upward. The relatives of the deceased stand in front of the shooters. With the echo of the discharge the soul departs.

764 "Now an elderly person, who has been chosen to officiate at the ceremony, must offer thanks to the Great Spirit at breakfast time and [761] perform the ceremony before the body leaves the house. During the funeral procession no one must look back,—if they do it indicates another of the immediate members of the family will follow soon. The speaker must be given one 'Indian yard of wampum beads' for his services, which do not end until after the feast on the eleventh day noon hour.

"One of the pall-bearers must go to the grave each day and build a little fire at the head of the grave for four consecutive evenings and the people must leave the house in charge of someone, for it must not be left alone for twelve days, and a light must be kept burning at the main entrance of the house for four nights after the death of a person.

● 768 "And note, the widowed person must also be painted when the face 764 of the 'departed' body has been painted. Four days after, 'divorcement' proceeding takes place in the form of a ceremony. That is, they must burn cedar in the house to 'fumigate' and the cedar water is used to wash the widow's or widower's head. If a woman, she is told that she is now no longer obligated to her deceased husband's family. She is furnished with new clothes throughout. With this ceremony she is 'divorced,' but the relationship terminology remains the same to the family she formerly was married into.

775 "Now the burial hole is prepared on the day following the sitting up 826 with the body at night—it is not considered a grave until the body is in 772 it,—and even now, in the modern times, we do not believe in taking the body to be embalmed, as we believe the life blood is the spirit that remains on earth until the deceased is admitted to the abode of the Great Spirit, which is the twelfth level of the Heaven.

* This is the common moccasin game of North America. For description see S. Culin, "Games of the North American Indians," 24th Annual Report, Bureau American Ethnology 1906, and page 99 of this study.

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
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764 this is done they dig down in the corners of a square four very long poles upon which they make three shelves, and decorate the poles with long strips of blue, red or green frieze, hanging like fringes.[6] Then those who have been the dead
765 man's relatives and best friends set themselves down for about the period of a month to lament the departure of the dead one, singing, crying, howling and lamenting, so that it is heard for a long distance. Now when this time is past they dig up the dead one and take all his money off him, which they put in a box and place on the lowest rack or shelf, then each one takes a knife and thus cuts the flesh off the bones of the dead one, wrapping the flesh in chestnut bark, which they place on the second shelf or rack, wrapping in like manner the bones into chestnut bark [and] placing them on the upper shelf or rack; but the entrails they dig down in the hole. Afterwards they still set themselves down for about the period of 14 days and further lament the departure of the dead, and when now that time is over, then their sorrow and lamentation are gone. Those who then are the
● [766] relatives and best friends of the dead take the money-chest, dividing it between themselves, and therewith go their way; but the scaffolding together with the other [things] remains standing as a monument until it falls and rots away. When
151 now the savage is thus buried the savages do not
784 wish to hear him mentioned by name again or to speak further about him. If the Christian should

[6] *Som buldaner hängiandes.* *Buldan* really means sail cloth or duck, but Lindeström apparently means strips or fringes.

202. Other relatives observe mourning — days	90-365					•	12	0	365	4	4	3-4		
203. Dread the approach of death	+			+	+	+	S	+	–	–	–	+		
204. Die in full possession of faculties (generally)						–	+	•	+	+	•	•		
205. Take leave of friends						S	+	+	+	+	S	+		
206.* Believe bodies will be restored						+	•+	•+	–	–	–	–		
207. Disposition of property—to nearest kin †				–			•	+		+	+	+		
208. to others †				+	+	+	•		+			+		
Lineage														
209. Nation divided into — tribes †				3	3	3	3	8	3	3	3	3		
210. Division for purposes of government				–		+	+	–	+		+	–		
211. On religious grounds				–		•	•	+	–			•		
212. Attended by good effect						+	+	•	+•					
213. Tribes are exogamous				+	+									
214. Tribes are endogamous										+				
215. Matrilineal descent		+		+	+		+		+	+	(+)	+		
Chiefs														
216. Civil chieftainship hereditary		–	(+)	–		–	–	•+	–	–	•(+)	–		
217. Son succeeds		–	(+)	–		–	–	–	–	–	(+)	–		
218. Brother first choice		–		–		+		+	–	–	(+)	–		
219. Nephew (sister's son) next		–		+		+		+	–	–	(+)	–		
220. Woman could be				–		–	–	–	–	–	–	–		
221. Election of civil chief		+	–	+		+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+		
222. By people		+		–		–	–	–	+	+	+	+		
223. By counselors				•+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
224. Installed by other tribes				+		•	•	(+)	?	–	–	–		
225. Can be removed				+		+	•+	+	+	–	+	+		
226. Chief names successor			–					+	+	–	+	•		
227. Can dismiss successor								+	+	–				
228. Any particular age at succession †						–		+	+	+	+	–		
229. Both civil and war chiefs				+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
230. Number of civil chiefs per tribe						1	1	1	1	1	1	1		
231. Number of war chiefs per tribe						1	1	2	1	1	1	1		
232. Boundary between civil and war chiefs		+		+		+	•+	+	+	+	+	+		
233. Civil chief has authority superior to war chief in peace	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
234. Stops on declaration of war		+				+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
235. War chief hereditary				–								–		
236. War chief elected				–			+				–	+		

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9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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preferred if readily available and in many cases they were not. The length of time the corpse was kept before burial was given as several days by the two first-period sources giving information on this point (181). In the last three periods burial was usually on the day after death, particularly in summer. Pipe said that formerly the corpse was kept three days in summer and seven in winter, because it was supposed that the tutelar deity of the deceased might restore him to life. W. L. gave the same sort of an answer in a little more modern dress. He said that a body was kept one to three days, but that if death was from a serious illness, and there was no chance of his coming back to life, he was buried the next day.

The position of the corpse in burial quite evidently was changed after European contact (183). In the first period both Van der Donck and Lindeström described burials made in a sitting position either on a stool or a block of wood. Without the last detail this might be taken to mean in a flexed position but not necessarily upright. Since both these writers may have mentioned only the unusual and ignored burials in the familiar extended position, we are not sure from the documentary evidence whether the two positions were used contemporaneously or not. It is clear, however, that after some years of white contact, migration westward, and contact with other tribes, there was a change to the use of the extended position alone.

Opinion on the requirement of grave goods is divided in every period except the third (186). All the sources in that period and one or more in each of the others stated that clothes were the only grave goods required although other things might be added. Van der Donck and Lindeström in the first period, Heckewelder in the second, and J. W. in the fourth period all maintained that more than clothes was required to be put in the grave. The details of the latter's statement in connection with the actual cases described by him seem to explain all the discrepancies. He said that good articles left by a deceased person were given to the persons who performed the death and funeral services but that old, much-used articles were put in the grave. However, old cherished articles were frequently if not usually given to mem-

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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764 [768] bers of the family before death. Thus, while old articles were required, those possessed by an individual might be so completely disposed of before death that the requirement was impossible of fulfillment and nullified.

The statement of Captain Pipe that posts were erected only at the head of graves containing males apparently was in error, although neither of the other sources of his period reported on this element (187). The sources prior to him and the informants who followed him all reported the erection of posts at the graves of both males and females.

A moccasin game at the side of the corpse the night before burial was reported by all the informants of the fourth period as an important part of the death ceremonies (193). The game was introduced among the Delaware at least as early as the third period (see 447), but apparently did not become associated with death customs until some time after 1824.

765 Mourning observances show two very marked changes; namely, the dropping of wearing black and dawn visits to the grave (196 and 201). The wearing of black was reported definitely in the first period, ignored in the second period, both reported and denied in the third and definitely denied in the fourth. Starting in the second period, reports of the dawn visits to the grave followed the same pattern of affirmation, contradiction, and denial. The length of mourning of widow or widower is reported so differently that one cannot postulate any direction of change (194). Mourning of relatives is also reported with the same variation in length of observance (202).

761 775 Theoretically there should be a connection between the elements dealing with dread of the approach of death and belief that bodies will be restored (203 and 206). That is, one would expect a belief in the restoration of life to be accompanied by a freedom of dread of death and a lack of belief in the restoration accompanied by dread of the approach of death. Instead of this correlation, we find that only one of the four informants who denied a belief that bodies would be restored after death admitted to a dread of the approach of death. Of course, the [774] belief in the separate survival of the soul must be considered in

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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764 At the head of a warrior it is common for them to place a white post, upon which is represented in hieroglyphics the tribe to which he belonged, the number of engagements in which he had been engaged, of scalps which he had taken, etc.; but no post is placed at the graves of women.

763 It is very customary among them to take leave of their friends when death approaches. In this they generally exhort them to good conduct, to live in harmony with each other and thus to procure the favor of the Great Spirit, and success in their undertakings. Some of them who have led improper and dissolute [761] lives dread very much the approach of death, but others die in perfect reconciliation to their fate. They generally die in possession of their mental faculties to the last moment, but to this many exceptions are found, resulting from the nature of the disease or the impression which the idea of death may have upon their minds.

764 J. W.—Two men and two women not related to deceased were chosen to take care of things relating to funeral. In the death of a man, the men prepared the body while the women cooked; the women prepared the body of a woman while the men cooked. [768] The relatives divided and distributed good articles left by the deceased among the persons who served. Old, much used articles were put in the grave.

The face of the deceased was painted as in life. The body was dressed in Indian clothes which had to be new. If the deceased did not have new clothes, they made them.

The corpse was kept until noon of the day after death before burial. It was placed in bark house outside of dwelling. Moccasin game played on south side of fire. Two pairs of moccasins were used but only one bullet. Towards morning (three o'clock) one pair was taken away. Points in the game were counted with about one hundred little sticks. After the one pair of moccasins [525] was taken away the winner of a counter threw it into the fire. The game is not played now but some one, usually one of the attendants, sits up all night with the corpse. No feast accompanied the game but food was available for all visitors.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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202. Relatives observe mourning

765 JOHN JOHNSTON—All the relatives and some times more [observe mourning], according to the rank sustained by the deceased person.

206. Belief that bodies will be restored

775 CAPTAIN PIPE said that formerly the Delaware believed that bodies would be restored.

CAPTAIN CHIPPS—Thinks that he lived on the earth in "the olden time," from the circumstance of his being born with his ears bored, he thinks also, that if his spirit should go to Heaven, after death, he may be again restored to life.

207 and 208. Disposition of property of deceased

768 In the cases where an answer appears in only one alternative it means that the property of the deceased went first to that group and the other group had second choice.

LINEAGE

209. Nations divided into tribes

619 Whereas all the others said the Delaware had three divisions, Turtle, Turkey, and Wolf, CAPTAIN CHIPPS appears to have considered the question in a little different light, for his eight tribes are, *Oo-nóm-ma-u* or Delaware, *Mùn-see*, *Mo-hi-ga-ny* or Stockbridge, *Waù-pon-no* or Mohekan, *Waùb-ping* or Opossum, *U-sópe-see* or Esopus, *Oo-nàh-ti-co* or Nanticoke, and *Scàh-ti-co*.

213. Tribes are exogamous

[582] See J. W.'s autobiography in notes under 103, *ante*, p. 104. The rules he talked about the old folks having were concerned with family and division relationships. He could not give any of the rules, but it is apparent that one of the things talked over by the old folks was the propriety of the proposed marriage as to blood lines and clan affiliations. Marriage might be either within the clan (as they call each of the three divisions) or without.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

prevented from getting at the corpse; when time and circumstances do not permit this, as, for instance, when the Indians are travelling, the body is enclosed in the bark of trees and thus laid in the grave. When a death takes place at their hunting camps, they make a kind of coffin as well as they can, or put a cover over the body, so that the earth may not sink on it, and then enclose the grave with a fence of poles.

Warriors that are slain in battle, are, if possible, drawn aside and buried, so that the enemy may not get their scalps, and also that he may not know the number of the slain. In such cases, they will turn an old log out of its bed, and dig a grave so deep, that the log, when replaced, may not press too hard upon the body. If any of the fresh earth be seen, they cover it with rotten wood, brush or leaves, that its place may not be found. If they have not sufficient time for this, or the number of their dead is too great, they throw the bodies on the top of each other between large logs, and place any kind of rotten wood or other rubbish upon them. They never, when they can help it, leave their dead to be devoured by wild beasts.

When the Indians have to speak of a deceased person, they never mention him or her by name, lest they should renew the grief of the family or friends. They say, "He who was our counsellor or chief," "She who was "the wife of our friend;" or they will allude to some particular circumstance, as that of the deceased having been with them at a particular time or place, or having done some particular act or spoken particular words which they all remember, so that every body knows who is meant. I have often observed with emotion this remarkable delicacy, which certainly does honour to their hearts, and shews that they are naturally accessible to the tenderest feelings of humanity.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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deceased was oriented towards the east.[96] At this time they laid "two thin poles of about four inches (in) diameter, from which the bark had been taken off, lengthways and close together over the grave, after which they retired."[97] The widower then came up to the grave slowly and "walked over it on these poles, and proceeded forward in the same manner into an extensive adjoining prairie."[98] When he was gone, a painted post which signified the position and station of the deceased and her husband was "brought by two men and delivered to a third, a man of note,"[99] who placed it at the head of the coffin in the grave with its symbolism facing east.[100] Holm said, "If he was a good hunter, they put the figure in wood, of some wild animal, and if he was a good fisherman, that of a fish."[101] After the grave was filled with earth, palisades were set up "about breast-high, so as to secure it from...wild beasts."[102] Denton noted that "....they fence their graves with a hedge, & cover the tops with mats, to shelter them from the rain."[103]

A meal, which had been prepared some distance from the grave, and a distribution of presents concluded the funeral rites. Everybody received a gift, although those who had performed various duties received the most valuable presents. Food was placed on the grave at dusk, and this was repeated every evening for three weeks. After this span of time "it was supposed that the traveller had found her place of residence."[104] For three weeks the mourning of the women continued, although it gradually decreased in intensity.

People of less social importance were given less elaborate funerals.[105] No matter how simple the funerary rites, however, the customs of mourning had to be observed. Blackening of the face is one of the few such customs with which we are familiar.[106] Denton's description is the most complete one available for the seventeenth century. He said:

> At his Burial his nearest relations attend the Hearse with their faces painted black, and do visit the grave once or twice a day, where they send forth sad lamentations so long till time hath wore the blackness off their faces, & afterwards every year once they view the grave, make a new mourning for him, trimming up of the Grave, not suffering of a Grass to grow by it....[107]

A number of other sources from all periods confirm the care which was given the grave.[108] Food was occasionally left there, and annual feasts at the grave were common.[109] Trowbridge said that "it is customary among them to offer the first fine products of the hunting season and the first fruits of the earth at the grave of the deceased."[110] My informants said that Munsi feasts were more elaborate and that one was held twelve

[96] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 88; O.A., N.D., J.T., M.B.
[97] Heckewelder, 1881, p. 273.
[98] *Ibid.*
[99] *Ibid.*
[100] McClure, 1899, p. 90; Trowbridge MS.
[101] Holm, 1834, p. 143.
[102] Heckewelder, 1881, p. 274.
[103] Denton, 1845, p. 8.
[104] Heckewelder, 1881, p. 275.
[105] *Ibid.*; Trowbridge MS.
[106] Pastorius, 1913, p. 435; Penn, 1912, p. 234; Holm, 1834, p. 143.
[107] Denton, 1845, p. 8.
[108] Thomas, 1912, p. 340; Penn, 1912, p. 234; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 90; J.T., O.A.
[109] Penn, 1912, p. 234; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 90; J.T., O.A.
[110] Trowbridge MS.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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offerings are then regarded by God as rendered to him. It is clear enough that the Indians, professing to worship God and bringing sacrifices to him, serve Satan, who influences their dreams, and keeps them in slavery in this wise, for the Indians consider dreams to be of great importance and nothing less than revelations from God. It is indeed true as the Apostle says, 1 Cor. 10:20, "the things which the Gentiles sacrifice, they sacrifice to the devils and not to God." Those among the Indians who have been converted recognize this and henceforth hold the Indian sacrifices and offerings to be vain and do not care to say much about them.

To the spirits of the dead they offer both meat and drink-offerings. If it is to be a meat offering, which the doctors must decide in case of illness or accident, either a hog or a bear is killed for a feast and guests are invited. The latter assemble in the house where the sacrifice is to be offered. An old man gives part of the meal to the enraged spirits, speaks with them, and begs them to be pacified. All this is done in the dark; there must be neither fire nor light. After the old man has communed with the spirits he tells the guests that they have been appeased.

If it is to be a drink offering rum is required. Guests are invited also. They drink together and some one speaks with the spirits and pacifies them. The guests walk to the grave and pour some rum upon it. Such sacrifices are very common among them, and are arranged even upon very trivial occasions. In case of a tooth-ache or head-ache, they imagine that the spirits are displeased and must be pacified by an offering.

Every woman whose child dies in a foreign land travels, if possible, once a year to the place of its burial, taking another woman with her, and offers a drink-offering upon its grave.

The hare is regarded as a great God and they bring offerings to it. The name of one of the twins born to the woman that was thrown from heaven was *Tschimammus*, that is, hare. He made the land upon which the Indians dwell and was their ancestor. Now he is said to dwell in heaven, for many Indians who have been there have seen him and spoken to him and to them he has declared that he would come again.

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

no means confined to them. Among the Minsi formerly they were accustomed to hold meetings in the burial grounds at certain times, when some medium, it is said, would communicate with the spirits. 775 787

The late James Wolf, one of the principal Minsi informants, was said to have this power. One time a man was drowned in the Thames river near Munceytown in Ontario, and the body could not be located. Wolf, it is said, walked up and down the river-banks, with a companion, talking to the water. At last a strange sound was heard, and Wolf stopped. "That was the dead man's spirit," he said; "the body lies right over in that hole." Surely enough, when they procured a boat, they found the body in the hole, wedged beneath a sunken log.

Certain regular ceremonies were held by both the Unami and the Minsi in honor of the dead, and will be discussed in a later paper. 769

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
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hide stretched over poles. They do not use the same step in the dance, but gallop like buffaloes and bellow like them, also have horns on their heads and occasionally hook at each other. The dance is usually given before starting on a chase."

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IMPORTED CEREMONIES

Skeleton Dance

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The preceding ceremonies have all been, ostensibly at least, of native Lenape origin, but we now come to several whose outside origin is admitted by the Indians themselves. The most ancient of these is the "Human Skeleton Dance," mentioned by Adams.[50] He calls it a rite belonging to the Wolf clan or phratry of the Delawares, but the writer's informants say that it is not true Lenape at all, but a Nanticoke (One"tko) ceremony introduced among the Lenape by the survivors of that tribe who had joined forces with them. Adams' account, which is better than any the writer was able to obtain, is as follows:

"*Human Skeleton Dance.*—Given only by the Wolf clan of the Delawares. A

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
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•769 certain dance given as a memorial to the dead was supposed to clear a way for the spirit of the deceased to the spirit land. When a member of the Wolf clan died, the flesh was stripped from the bones and buried, and the bones were dried at some private place. At the end of 12 days the skeleton would be wrapped in white buckskin and taken to a place prepared for the dance and there held up by some one. As the singers would sing the men who held the skeleton would shake it and the bones would rattle as the dancers would proceed around it. After the dance the skeleton was buried.

[773] Traditions say that in ancient times some of the head men in the Wolf clan had a dream that they must treat their dead in that way, and the custom has been handed down to them for many centuries. The other clans say the custom does not belong to them. The custom has been long dropped. There has not been a skeleton dance since 1860."

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
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man, who takes his spirit on a wonderful journey along the "peyote road," eastward toward the sun. At daybreak they all file out of the tipi bearing their paraphernalia, as seen in pl. IX, *b*, and when the sun appears they raise their hands in salutation, and then those who are left standing (for some fall as if dead at the sight of the sun) "give thanks to the Great Father in Heaven." Those who fall at sunrise, they say, are the ones who visited the sun in their visions. All sleep, or at least rest, until about noon, when a feast is served, after which everyone tells what he or she saw while "on the peyote road."

The Lenape variant of this ceremony, as related above, differs somewhat from that of other tribes practising the Christian form of the Peyote rite, but in all essentials it is almost identical.

Ghost Dance

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The Ghost dance was also introduced among the Lenape by an Indian named Wilson, about the same time, our infor-

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
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Lenape

mants thought, as the Peyote rite, and, like it, probably from the Washita River region.

Wilson would call a dance every now and then during his lifetime, at which the people appeared in their everyday dress, without such special costumes as were seen, for instance, at such functions among the Kiowa and the Arapaho. At these meetings the participants would dance round and round for a long time, with a sidewise step, to the sound of song and water-drum, sometimes for a considerable period without stopping. Occasionally one would fall and appear to faint, and when revived would claim to have visited Heaven in spirit while his body lay as if dead. When Wilson died, the cult, so far as the Delawares were concerned, perished with him.

Such were the ceremonies surviving until recent times among the Lenape, from which have been omitted only the observances connected with the dead, shamanism, witchcraft, and war, all of which will be discussed in later papers.

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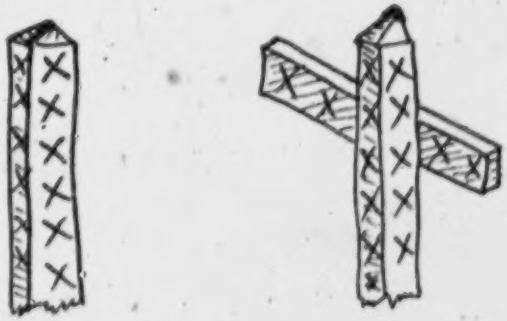
7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

769 The Delawares have assimilated the Munsee custom of the family giving a feast one year from the date of death of its members. One or more deceased members of the same family

[764]



a b

FIG. 5. GRAVE POSTS AT HEAD OF MAN'S GRAVE (*a*) AND WOMAN'S (*b*), about two feet high.

may be remembered at this time, each one being represented by an invited person selected from another group (Wolf, Turtle or Turkey) or someone who is not related to the deceased by blood. Those representing the deceased need not necessarily be of corresponding sex. The person who is giving the feast, which is usually held at night, announces that he has invited the guests present to eat in memory of the departed member or members of his family. On such occasions the invited guests are served first. The food, which may be of various sorts, is equally divided and what is left the guests may take home in the vessels which it is customary to bring to such feasts for that purpose. A certain amount of food is set aside for the members of the family who eat after the guests have been served. Sometimes the person who sponsors the ceremony will give one of the guests a pint of liquor (or "sacred wine" as the informant called it) as a sacramental token. This he may dispose of as he chooses.[16]

764 A most complete description of a Delaware funeral is given by the missionary John Heckewelder, eye-witness to the burial of a woman of high rank in 1762, the wife of a war-chief, Shingask. The essential features of the event

[16] G. Tantaquidgeon, "Delaware Notes," 1930.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

764 tected by a covering of the same before throwing in the earth. At the grave one of the relatives renders thanks to the bystanders for their assistance and the mourners return home.

765 For six days after the interment the near relatives visit the grave twice in each day; once at the break of day, and again at the going down of the sun. In the latter case they frequently remain until late at night. They seat themselves upon the grave, and not a word is spoken, but each is bowed down to the ground [176] in perfect silence. These visits are said to be made to the deceased who may not have set out upon his journey to the land of spirits and would of course like company during his stay.

They have no particular ceremony of mourning except that they abstain from games, dances and other amusements for twelve days, which by the husband or wife of a deceased person is continued for nine months, at the end of which time the relatives of the partner of this chief mourner make and present to him or her a new suit of clothes and formally pronounce their willingness for another marriage. They never paint themselves during the mourning season, as is the custom among the Chippeway's, but they divest themselves of all unnecessary apparel and of their ornaments, and suffer their hair to flow loosely about their necks.

769 It is customary among them to offer the first fine products of 765 the hunting season and the first fruits of the earth at the grave of the deceased. The meat or vegetables being cooked are carried thither by the relatives and a guest not connected with the deceased, is invited to eat that portion which would have been his if living. Silence is preserved during the feast and when it is finished the guest addresses the deceased in a kind of prayer, assuring him (or her) of the extreme regret of the friends left behind and imploring him to rest satisfied with the great change and not to return for the purpose of taking away any of the remaining relatives. Mr. Conner once saw the sister of a chief buried upon the banks of White River and this prayer was addressed to her by her brother, before the earth was thrown upon the body. They sometimes omit the ceremony of the feast at the grave, after a short time, but it has been known to continue for years, and is often renewed upon the appearance of any mis-

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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fortune which can be attributed to the malignant spirit of the deceased.

They never burn the bodies of the deceased persons, nor do they take up the bones for reinterment. They say that the Nanticokes were in the habit of placing the body of the deceased upon a scaffold, where it was suffered to remain until the flesh decayed, when the friends and relatives assembled to pay the last duties to the bones. At this time a dance, called the Spirit dance, took place, in which they had the figure of a human being drawn upon a skin which was stretched over a hoop and suspended in the air. Under this figure sat the singers who continued their songs all the night, for if one of them thro' indolence or excessive fatigue stopped his song, it was an indication of his speedy death. The day succeeding the dance the friends assembled again at the same spot and large presents were distributed by one of the near relatives of the deceased. This man held in his hand a small ball, and placing himself in the midst of a circle formed by the spectators he would pretend to make frequent attempts to throw the ball out of the ring. At length he would throw it where it was least expected, and he who was so fortunate as to catch it received a portion of the presents. This was repeated until all the goods were given out, and at each return of the ball the figure on the skin was made to bow to it. After the distribution of the goods the bones were collected, put into a kind of box and buried in the ground. If a death happened at a distance from the village, as in hunting or on a journey, the flesh was separated from the bones by cutting, the bones were burned until they became perfectly dry and then transported to the place of burial, where the same ceremonies took place.

As Mr. Heckewelder has said, many ceremonies take place at the interment of a distinguished personage, which are not common on other occasions; such are distributing presents, feasting etc.; but the general customs are such as have been here related.

They sometimes put articles of furniture or clothing in the graves, as a gun for a man, a kettle for a woman; but this is not considered necessary, and arises only from the desire of the relatives to express some marked esteem for the deceased.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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the bones cleaned and placed on a shelf on a rack where they were 765
allowed to decay, with no further attention being paid to them.

194. Mourning

LINDESTRÖM said that after the racking of the bones (see under 189) there was a further period of fourteen days of mourning, making the total at least forty-eight days and perhaps longer.

JOHN JOHNSTON—No particular length of time (for mourning).

CAPTAIN PIPE said that widow or widower observed mourning for nine months but practiced elements listed on the table as 195 to 197 inclusive, only during twelve days.

CAPTAIN PIPE, W. T. and E. R. See verbatim accounts given above, pp. 111-14, 116-18.

W. L.—Some terminated the mourning on the fourth day and others on the eleventh or twelfth day. Widow can marry then if she wishes.

195. Widows hair long and unkempt

VAN DER DONCK said that in certain cases the women shaved off their hair when their husbands died.

198. Widows and widowers do not remarry

W. T.—See account given at beginning of this section, p. 117.

199. Termination of mourning

JOHN JOHNSTON—They are affected in the same manner as the whites and their grief wears off by degrees.

W. L.—Widow is attended by some one of the relatives of the deceased up to the fourth, eleventh, or twelfth day and is then washed, dressed in new clothes and turned loose.

200. Visiting of grave.

CAPTAIN CHIPPS said that visits to the graves of deceased [769]
friends were frequent and that prayers were made for the salvation of souls of the deceased, but did not say how long they continued.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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It is expected that the announcement be made before the members of the tribal council at one of its meetings prior to the time of notification. In the instance of our text Wi·tapano'xwe decided to recite the ceremony as though it were brought in and sponsored by Chief Elk-Hair, the present head chief of the Oklahoma Delawares whom Harrington referred to as an active ceremonial leader in 1910.[1]

CONCEPT OF THE SOUL.—A distinction observed between the phraseology of the unconverted and the Christian Delawares in referring to the soul, which has already been mentioned, is of some significance in this connection. The former group employs the term lonapeɔ'k·an "human sign, or evidence of existence." The terminal element, -ɔk·an appears in combinations leχ'leᵉ·'χeᵉyɔ'k·an "breath of life, actual life" meaning "my life"[2] (leᵉxeᵉ'yan, "my breathing"), wihilaᵛ'ɔk·an "clan-name emblem." Its obscure abstract meaning, however, seems to lie beyond the scope of any specific English equivalent. The Christian Delawares use the term tei·'teᵑg giving the significance in Delaware of an image, an appearance visible but without substance, an incorporeal image or phantom as an image in a mirror. The same term actually designates a mirror in the language.

The second term, now of the Christian Delaware religious vernacular, has a wide distribution among eastern Algonkian languages indicating that, while the synonomy noted has taken place in Delaware since the introduction of Christianity, the element tei·'teᵑg for soul is an archaic property of the family of tongues.[3]

We are told that the soul leaves the body twelve days after death, that the life blood (ᵉhukᵉᵛ) remains as a spirit on the earth, whence arise ghosts or phantoms.

The heart is the seat of one soul, the blood the seat of another spiritual element. The heart and blood should be kept together after death (for which reason the Delawares do not believe in embalming). The blood of the dead is the element from which the dead reappear to the living on earth in the form of ghosts. It is considered as the cause of paralysis and so was curable through appeal to the dead. We might refer to the funeral rites of the tribe which carry the burial customs over twelve days after death when certain feasting and rites are performed at the home of the deceased. And again these are repeated twelve months later in a yearly ceremonial feast to the dead. At the feast the opposite clan group has an important part to play.

[1] Harrington I, pp. 14, 87.

[2] A more general term for "life," in Delaware, is pema'usowak·an, with the sense of "being among the living."

[3] Mitschitschank, Munsee (Brinton, Lenape Dictionary, p. 83); djedja'kew, Wabanaki (St. Francis and Penobscot); atca'kew (Montagnais-Naskapi); tca'tcung (Mohegan-Pequot); (mi)chachunck, (Natick, where the analogy between soul and mirror is also found (Trumbull, Natick Dictionary, pp. 325, 290, 571); and the same in Narraganasett, (Roger Williams, Key to the Indian Language, p. 113); and (mit)tachonkq in the Quiripi dialect of western Connecticut.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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muskets by the Europeans, the locks of which, with their effect in striking fire, was a subject of great astonishment to them; and thus they were named, as it were, *the fire-striking people.*

2. *W'Tassone*, the Oneidas. This name means the *stone-pipe makers*, and was given to them on account of their ingenuity in making tobacco pipes of stone.

3. *Onondágoes*, the Onondagoes. This name signifies in their own language *on the top of the hill*, their town being so situated.

4. *Queúgue*, Cayugas, thus called after a lake of the same name.

5. *Mechachtúni*, the Senecas. This name means *Mountaineers*, and was given them because they inhabited the hilly parts of the country.

6. The *Tuscaroras*, the sixth and last tribe in the league, they call by the same name, yet I have never heard the Lenape speak of the *six divisions or tribes*; when they describe them in that manner, it is always by the number *Five*.

CHAPTER VI.

GENERAL CHARACTER OF THE INDIANS.

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THE Indian considers himself as a being created by an all-powerful, wise and benevolent Mannitto;* all that he possesses, all that he enjoys, he looks upon as given to him or allotted for his use by the Great Spirit who gave him life: he therefore believes it to be his duty

* Being, or Spirit.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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to adore and worship his Creator and benefactor; to acknowledge with gratitude his past favours, thank him for present blessings, and solicit the continuation of his good will.*

As beings who have controul over all beasts and living creatures, they feel their importance; before they saw white people or men of a different colour from their own, they considered themselves as God's favourites, and believed that if the Great Mannitto could reside on earth he would associate with them and be their great chief.

The Indian also believes, that he is highly favoured by his Maker, not only in having been created different in shape and in mental and bodily powers from other animals, but in being enabled to controul and master them all, even those of an enormous size and of the most ferocious kinds; and therefore, when he worships his Creator in his way, he does not omit in his supplications to pray that he may be endowed with courage to fight and conquer his enemies, among whom he includes all savage beasts; and when he has performed some heroic act, he will not forget to acknowledge it as a mark of divine favour, by making a sacrifice to the great and good Mannitto, or by publicly announcing that his success was entirely owing to the courage given him by the all-powerful Spirit. Thus, habitual devotion to the great First Cause, and a strong feeling of gratitude for the benefits which he confers, is one of the prominent traits which characterise the mind of the untutored Indian.

* An old Indian told me about fifty years ago, that when he was young, he still followed the custom of his father and ancestors, in climbing upon a high mountain or pinnacle, to thank the Great Spirit for all the benefits before bestowed, and to pray for a continuance of his favour; that they were sure their prayers were heard, and acceptable to the Great Spirit, although he did not himself appear to them.

l:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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Not satisfied with paying this first of duties to the Lord of all, in the best manner they are able, the Indians also endeavour to fulfil the views which they suppose he had in creating the world. They think that he made the earth and all that it contains for the common good of mankind; when he stocked the country that he gave them with plenty of game, it was not for the benefit of a few, but of all. Every thing was given in common to the sons of men. Whatever liveth on the land, whatsoever groweth out of the earth, and all that is in the rivers and waters flowing through the same, was given jointly to all, and every one is entitled to his share. From this principle, hospitality flows as from its source. With them it is not a virtue but a strict duty. Hence they are never in search of excuses to avoid giving, but freely supply their neighbour's wants from the stock prepared for their own use. They give and are hospitable to all, without exception, and will always share with each other and often with the stranger, even to their last morsel. They rather would lie down themselves on an empty stomach, than have it laid to their charge that they had neglected their duty, by not satisfying the wants of the stranger, the sick or the needy. The stranger has a claim to their hospitality, partly on account of his being at a distance from his family and friends, and partly because he has honoured them by his visit, and ought to leave them with a good impression upon his mind; the sick and the poor because they have a right to be helped out of the common stock: for if the meat they have been served with, was taken from the woods, it was common to all before the hunter took it; if corn or vegetables, it had grown out of the common ground, yet not by the power of man, but by that of the Great Spirit. Besides, on the principle, that all are descended from one parent, they look upon themselves as but one great family, who therefore ought at all times and on all occasions, to be serviceable and kind to each other, and by that means

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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754 practice of the black art. Most are deceivers who pretend to be able to leap over a river or from one mountain to another. Old women are sometimes accused of being witches. If a child dies suddenly some one will pretend to have seen an old woman with the child at night, who is then believed to have bewitched the little one. Some old woman or another Indian may thus, though quite innocent, be thought guilty of witchcraft and be thus considered to the end of life. Again there are witches supposed to go through the towns at night in the form of an owl or a fox. It is nothing strange that an owl or a fox should get into the town, as many of the towns are surrounded by the forest. Such witches are supposed to kill Indians, bring disease and plague into the town. The worst is said to be that when such animals are shot at they do not die, being able to close up the wound caused by the bullet.

It is remarkable that Indians of such character have been led to lead a new life and turn from all deceitful practices. From them it has been learned that most of their dark practices grow out of imagination and superstition. Of those, however, who seem versed in the use of *Mattapassigan* none have to the present time been converted, though some with whom I came into contact were inclined to better themselves but were unable to refrain from their evil practices, being afraid, apparently, that their lives would be endangered.

771 That the Indians have some sort of religion and mode of worship whereby they endeavor to please the Deity, cannot be denied. Their worship, however, is unreasoning devotion. It is remarkable that savages who have been cut off from association with other nations for no one knows how many centuries should have so much knowledge of Deity that is handed down from generation to generation.

They believe and have from time immemorial believed that there is an Almighty Being who has created heaven and earth and man and all things else. This they have learned from their ancestors, but where the dwelling place of the Deity is they know not. They have always heard that whoever lives a virtuous life, refrains from stealing, murder and immorality,

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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would at death go to some good place where conditions would be better than here, where there would be a superfluity of everything and a happy life of joy and dancing. On the contrary, whoever lived an evil life would arrive at no good place but have to wander about sad and unhappy. Hence nothing is so terrible and awful to them as death, because they do not know how it will be after this life nor whither they shall go. Whenever they think of death they are filled with anxiety, but rather than consider how they ought to live they seek to rid themselves of thoughts of death. They fear the thunderbolt, because it occasionally strikes and shatters the trees, but they seek to disguise their fear. Yet they believe that the Deity is graciously and mercifully disposed towards men, because he imparts power to the plants to grow, causes the rain to fall and the sun to shine and gives game to man for his support. Indeed, as to fish and deer they imagine them given particularly to the Indians and not so much to the whites for the Indians were created to sustain themselves by the chase and the whites by the work of their hands. There are indeed some among them who pretend to be able to bring rain when there has been drought, and such a person knowing that the women, whose business it is to care for the plantations, are anxious for rain shows his cleverness in deceiving the people. Noticing from cloudy appearances early in the morning that it is likely to rain during the day, he will tell some one, that if tobacco or something else that he wishes is given him he will bring rain. The party so informed will tell the women, who in their joy contribute each a little and bring the fellow what he desires. The latter goes to some lonely place, draws a circle on the ground, makes a cross within it and puts tobacco, a pumpkin and some red coloring into it as well, seats himself, sings and shouts so that he may be heard, continuing if possible until it begins to rain. Even sensible Indians believe that he has brought the rain because under the circumstances it generally rains. In case the rain fails to come he makes promises for another day.

They believe God to be almighty and able to do as he pleases. Hence in times past they brought sacrifices and still do this

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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776 making their offerings not directly to the Deity but to things of his creation, as will later appear. No one has ever heard that they have sacrificed to the devil, whom together with all evil spirits they abhor, believing that all evil comes from them, even as all good comes from God.

[777] They seem to have had no idea of the devil until in modern times preachers arose among them who proclaimed that there was such a being, having secured their knowledge from the whites. They have no very definite conception of him but consider him to be a very powerful spirit, able to work much harm and unable to do any good. Many say also that Indians would never be claimed by the devil, however wicked they might be in the world, because he existed only for the whites who wrought evil. They declare that he is not to be found among the Indians but only among the white people, for if he were among the Indians they would long since have discovered him, and their ancestors would have told them about him. They did know, however, about good and evil spirits which appears from this: when crimes had been committed, the guilty ones laid the blame on an evil spirit who had seduced them. They have also been accustomed to admonish one another in time of war not to give ear to the evil spirit but to the good spirit who counseled peace. They also knew nothing of Hell, believing only that 771 wicked men would go to no good place after this life. They have no proper term for such a place other than *Machtandonwinck* which means, with the devil, *Machtando* meaning the Evil One. They have never had regularly appointed priests, the oldest men having usually performed the sacrifices, admonished the people to good life and conduct, warned them against immorality, murder and violence, if they would be happy, attain to great age and after death get to the good place. How much this meant among blind savages who were dead in sins and had not the ability to withstand evil and vice may be readily imagined. It is possible that the admonitions of the aged availed to the extent of restraining wickedness, so that it did not break forth as it does at the present time. It is undoubtedly true that there were formerly fewer vices than now. Of some forms of indulgence they know nothing, for example of strong drink,

3: Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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through which unquestionably many evils have crept in. They lived in earlier days more simply, perhaps one ought to say more stupidly, and now that they have gained in knowledge and understanding they have become practiced in wickedness. 771

They consider the soul to be an invisible being and a spirit. Formerly, they used the word *W'tellenapetwoagan* to describe it, meaning the "Substance of a Human Being." Savages use this word to the present day. Now they have accepted the word *W'tschitschank*, that is, "Spirit." They believe also in the immortality of the soul. Some likened themselves to corn which when thrown out and buried in the soil comes up and grows. Some believe their souls to be in the sun and only their bodies here. Others say that when they die their souls will go to God and suppose that when they have been some time with God they will be at liberty to return to the world and be born again. Hence, many believe that their souls have come from God and that they have been in the world before. 774

They believe also in the transmigration of the soul. Wandering spirits and ghosts, they claim, sometimes throw something into a public path and whoever goes over it is bewitched and becomes lame or ill. They even pretend to know where such a thing happened, learning it from the doctors who are thought to be able to effect a cure. 775

Concerning the deluge there are some fairly clear traditions among the Indians. According to these, the world was at one time entirely flooded and all men perished. The turtle, however, able to live both on land and sea, had survived and again peopled the world. Hence, the Turtle Tribe is the most important among the Indians. Another tradition is that when the earth was flooded some men and women had seated themselves on the back of a turtle of such great age that moss had already grown on its back. These people commissioned a diver that flew nearby to search for land. After searching in many regions this bird had at last returned with a bit of earth in its mouth. They, then, proceed on the back of the turtle to where this earth had been procured and found a little spot of dry land, where they settled. Gradually more land appeared, and this was, eventually, peopled by the descendants of those 773

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
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CHAPTER IX

SUMMARY

RELIGION

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A STUDY of the material presented shows that the Lenape believed in a Great Spirit, or Creator, whose goodness is acknowledged, who is thanked for past blessings and petitioned for their continuance, but who is not their only god. He is, however, the great chief of all, and dwells in the twelfth, or highest heaven. He created everything, either with his own hands or through agents sent by him, and all the powers of nature were assigned to their duties by his word. That these concepts are not new among the Lenape may be seen from the fact that most of the early writers who treat of this people have noticed such beliefs among them, which can be traced back as far as 1679.

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
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This Great Spirit gave the four quarters of the earth and the winds that come from them to four powerful beings, or *mant'-towûk*, namely, Our Grandfather where daylight begins, Our Grandmother where it is warm, Our Grandfather where the sun goes down, and Our Grandfather where it is winter. To the Sun and the Moon, regarded as persons and addressed as Elder Brothers by the Indians, he gave the duty of providing light, and to our Elder Brothers the Thunders, man-like beings with wings, the task of watering the crops, and of protecting the people against the Great Horned Serpents and other water monsters. To the Living Solid Face, or Mask Being, was given charge of all the wild animals; to the Corn Spirit, control over all vegetation, while Our Mother, the Earth, received the task of carrying and feeding the people.

Besides these powerful personages were many lesser ones, such as the Small People, the Doll Being, the Snow Boy, and the Great Bear. Certain localities,

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
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moreover, were the abode of supernatural beings, while animals and plants were thought to have spirits of their own. Besides these there were, of course, the countless spirits of the human dead who were still supposed to retain some influence in earthly affairs.

This, then, was the supernatural world which, to the mind of the Lenape, controlled all things—on which they must depend for health, for success in all their undertakings, even the daily task of deer-hunting or corn-raising. Benevolent beings must be pleased, and bad spirits combated and overcome, or at least placated.

There was, however, until very lately, no conception of a "devil" in the modern sense of the word.

The main channel of communication between the supernatural world and man was the dream or vision, obtained, as before described, by fasting and consequent purification in youth. Through the vision the young man obtained his guardian spirit or supernatural helper,

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
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who gave him some power or blessing that was his main dependence through life, his aid in time of trouble, the secret of his success. No wonder, then, that visions and helpers form the basis of Lenape belief and worship. Among the guardian spirits figured not only such great powers as the Sun and the Thunder Beings, the personified powers of nature, but the spirits representing various species of animals and birds, such as the Wolf or the Owl, of plants, as "Mother Corn," as well as the Mask Being, and even the spirits of the dead which some Lenape claimed as helpers. 771 ● 787

Those favored by such visions were considered the leading people of their community. They usually composed rythmic chants referring to their visions, and appropriate dance songs to go with them, to recite at the Annual Ceremony. [554]

Belief in a soul or spirit surviving the death of the body formed an integral part of Lenape philosophy. The soul is supposed to linger for eleven days after death, 771 775

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and is addressed and offered food by the surviving relatives, sometimes in a formal "Feast of the Dead;" but on the twelfth day, they say, it leaves the earth and finally makes its way to the twelfth or highest heaven, the home of the Great Spirit, where it leads a happy life in a land where work and worry are unknown. Some persons are thought to have the power of communicating with the departed.

CEREMONIES

Most of the beliefs summarized above were found among the descendants of both Unami and Minsi; but when we consider their great religious ceremonies, we begin to note differences. While it is true that (1) in both cases these rites are based on the recital of the visions seen by the participants, combined with thanksgiving to the Great Spirit and his helpers for past blessings and prayers for their renewal, that (2) the New Fire ceremony figures in both, and that (3) they take place in a building of special

7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
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771 The succession of creed teachings which developed in the course of Delaware recorded religious history after the exodus from the Atlantic seaboard to the Mississippi and the southern plains has followed within a fairly uniform contour. The pattern has remained intact even under the domination of a succession of native revealers and prophets whose "arrogant dogmas" thwarted the efforts of the first Moravian missionaries in the seventeenth century. It has lasted on through the turbulent period of colonial wars and the Revolution, until the adoption of the Peyote worship in the last quarter of the century just passed.

And there are those whose interests are aroused when clearer inspection of the country's aboriginal institutions becomes possible through the efforts of ethnologists exploring the still existent tribes, in recording and interpreting native custom before it is swept away by changes lately going on.

And finally, there are those who see the institutions described here with the eyes of appreciators favored by fortune with a breadth of understanding to sense a realization of sacred antiquity in the limitless vistas environing the past of America's unwritten religions. I wonder if by gaining an insight into religious customs of the tribe he will see how Delaware religion has authentic qualities in that it represents a growth-phase of nature interpretation, sympathetic and rationalized, which causes one to enter into its meanings in reference to the forest world with an awakened understanding.

829 771 Like other aboriginal groups in the east (the Algonquin, Ojibwa, Wabanaki, Montagnais-Naskapi and even the Iroquois—respectively Man-beings, Wise-men, Native-men, Native-born-men and Man-men, literally translated) the Delawares proclaim their self-conscious human status by designating themselves as *Lənaʻpeək*, Common, or Ordinary, Men, as distinct from other creations. It is in their consciousness of possessing human arts and industries bestowed upon them by their creator that they distinguish themselves from the animals and other living forms. But their high relief of distinction from other created beings lies in the endowment of mental attributes, the superiorities which elevate them

7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
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above all non-human life forms, and in particular the endowment of their own system of worship for which they are directly responsible to the Creator himself. Herein is born their tradition of religion, the very center of their culture, denoted by an abstraction, *lənapeɔ'k·an*, literally "human (Delaware) soul, or culture," a term occasionally encountered in the reflections of the speakers quoted in the texts. Upon such criteria of judgment the Lənape rate themselves as creatures far above the emergence level. And we have before us part of the evidence in the religious forms recorded in the preceding pages. To be sure the mass content of rites and ceremonies has been declining before the inroads of European influence. A mere pitiful residue is at hand, as the orator has frequently reiterated in his sermons. The native nations of Indians on the Atlantic seaboard were by no means crude or a primitive people.

That this essay is a sequel and complement to my Big House Ceremony volume (1931) need scarcely be repeated. Where that treats the composite rites whose aims are to invoke, address and thank the Creator, this deals with procedures directed toward influencing the lesser spiritual forces, to afford them satisfaction and to secure immunity from their imaginary persecutions. All is framed in accordance with a native concept of the workings of natural law as put in motion by the will of the Father, the Creator. The rites described are dominated by a constant idea in the minds of the people, to wit: that of being in the midst of a universe of partly-known spiritual beings potentially pernicious. Some among them are approachable by the proper forms of address on the part of man for the removal of harmful influences. When the corrective measures to alleviate the evils of spirit agencies are known they constitute the rites of relief, and here we have them collected; their philosophy of the uncertainties. A far-reaching distinction is observable between the Delaware attitude toward the Creator, who is consistently benign, and the spirits of lower rank addressed in the rites now treated whose attributes are not. These observations bring out the contrast between the ceremonies dealt with here and those

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
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covered in the Big House Ceremony. The infallible Father and Creator seated in the twelfth heaven above, in his beneficence toward man is believed to yearn for the voiced recognition of his creatures as they pay their devoirs to him—his human children gathered to celebrate the twelve day ceremony of the Big House. Even his creatures the trees recognize his all-high benevolence when murmuring their prayers to him in the rustling of leaves, and the birds whose voices are also prayer-calls. We learn again how only the created beings can depart from the rule of goodness and perfection; the lesser spirits, those on earth, mankind, animals, and plants. In man's struggle to avert the evil purposes of his spiritual opponents there have developed the means of checking their evil tendencies and consequent misfortunes. Thus are accounted for the rites and ceremonies. When the source of specific persecution has been discovered, the Delaware discovers the spiritual means for relief through revelation. Thus he has laid his mind open to the accumulation of visions and visitations and to their acceptance as verities. Most typical are the cases where captured and partly tamed animals, friends and pets at first, are imagined to possess lurking potencies of evil. They, like man, combine the opposed natures of good and evil. Caprice, it seems, decides their reactions toward each other. Yet throughout is the realization of the ruling principle of good in the abstract represented by the Creator, invoked through the medium of spirits nearest to him to intercede for the people's good. So we interpret the functions of the ceremonial rites and addresses which form so valuable a part of the material provided here by our informants. The systems revealed are not stupid and "superstitious" but poetical in their undertones of reasoning: poetical mechanisms of escape.

Thus having gone through the data gathered for preservation through some years of study at the feet of native informants, we build up the structure of knowledge providing source material for future students in the field of the humanities. In doing so we anticipate that unhappy time now hastened by the forces of commerce and "mass civilization" when

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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roundness of the earth was denied until the fourth period (3). 821
This definitely dates the emergence of the element in the period 177
of greatest white influence. Since, in this period, the economy of the Delaware closely paralleled that of most of their white neighbors, it is not surprising that a knowledge of arithmetic in the abstract appeared that had been denied in former periods (13). The period three denials of opinions respecting the planetary system are refuted by the statements of Zeisberger and appear to be the result of confusion on the part of the authors between opinions and knowledge (1). The opinions of the Indians may have been erroneous, but they undoubtedly had them, as their names for stars and the myths concerning them show.

The division of the year into twelve months or moons to agree with the European usage appears to have been accomplished very early (7). Roger Williams reported thirteen months in 1643 but did not name them. Heckewelder gives the names of eleven months, omitting what would correspond to our November.

Religion

Religion among the Delaware appears to have been very in- 771
susceptible to change. From the records available, over three hundred years of white contact and more or less continuous missionary efforts have produced only one significant change.

The concept of a Supreme Being, superior to subordinate good 776
and evil deities, who has moral superintendence over worshipers that pray to Him for favors and assistance, is reported from 1643 to the present day, with only occasional dissent and never denial from all sources for any one period. On the belief in a 775
future state of punishments and rewards for which judgment is given immediately after death, there is again complete agreement.

The belief in the whereabouts of the places of habitation of 775
the souls of good and bad, has, however, undergone modification 177
(37). Roger Williams and Van der Donck recorded southwest and south, respectively, as the direction in which lay the land of

(Continued on p. 38)

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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775 abode of the souls of the good. In the second and third periods south is again mentioned as the direction of the land of good souls. However, in the third period the directions up and down for the location of the future abodes of the souls of good and bad persons appear. In the fourth period, the ascension of the souls of the good is unanimously asserted, while only one added that they also went west. This informant, E. R., also said that souls of the bad went down, whereas W. T., also of Anadarko, said that they stayed here on earth. W. L., of Dewey, said that souls of bad persons went to all the places on earth where they had committed their evil actions and were there punished. All this happened in the eleven days between death and the departure of the soul for the celestial abode of the Great Spirit.

775 177 The Delaware have thus approached the popular Christian notions on this point but still retain some of their earlier concepts. The exposition of the modern Delaware clears up the confusion and seeming contradictions that exist in the earlier accounts as to the final disposition of the souls of the bad. There can be little doubt that missionary teaching was responsible for the idea of a hell which cropped up in the third period as a belief of the Delaware (35).

771 177 There are two exceptions to the continuity of concepts otherwise shown by the elements under *Religion*. One is the report of priests in the first period and not thereafter (39). There was probably no change between the first and second periods but merely the discontinuance of the word priest to designate the shamans who were present in all periods. The other exception is the dissenting voice of Captain Chipps on such subjects as subordinate deities, ghosts, witches, and the national worshiping society (22, 38, 40, 41). Chipps was a Canadian Delaware or Munsee and probably the descendant of several generations of Moravian converts, for his account of the religion of the Delaware reflects much greater acceptance of Christian teachings than any of the accounts of the Oklahoma Delaware. The national 794 worshiping society or Big House Ceremony as it is now known, 797 was apparently successfully suppressed by the Moravian missionaries among the Canadian Delaware.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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tribes was responsible for few changes. The only one represented in this study is the acquisition of the blowgun.

Of course, it is a mistake to assume that the culture of the Delaware would have been without change through these three centuries if not in contact with whites. Some change in Delaware culture may very well have been the result of indigenous development. The stimulus of the culture of the whites, however, was so much stronger that it is only reasonable that native developments should have been overshadowed. Nor was the culture of the whites standing still through this period. The culture of neither of the two groups was static, but as long as the Indian group was being moved westward ahead of the spread of white settlement, a static condition was simulated for that portion of the whites in contact with the Indians. The frontier changed but frontier conditions tended to remain the same. The effect of this contact with the white frontier is obvious among the Oklahoma Delaware today. The standard of living there is roughly that of pioneer agricultural regions fifty to seventy-five years ago and in the submarginal regions today.

The hypothesis that the technological, sociological, and spiritual aspects of a culture are increasingly resistant to change in that order has been shown to accord with the facts in the case of the Delaware. Language should either be included with the last aspect or be placed fourth and last, but has been omitted as outside the scope of this study. It may be said in passing, however, that the Delaware language is used by many who have otherwise retained little of the cultural heritage of the Delaware.

It seems to me that there is a very good reason for the persistence of the elements of the old spiritual life of a people after practically all other aspects of the culture are gone. This is the fact that control of religious and death practices is usually in the hands of the older people. These are the most conservative of the entire group, as a rule, and tend toward the perpetuation of the ways of their ancestors. This conservative attitude is particularly apparent in burial customs. In these matters the younger people seek to honor the practices of their elders on the death of the latter, even if they do not believe them necessary

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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otherwise. The tendency to revert in old age to the teaching of one's childhood also serves to perpetuate the older customs, especially when it is the older people in the group that have charge of the ceremonies after death. Certainly this is the case among the Delaware. Every grave in the Delaware cemetery is oriented with the head to the east. Practically every grave bears the evidence of having been marked with a wooden post even though a stone marker was also erected. Many of the graves were enclosed with stone or wood cribs.

I conclude as a result of this study that historical culture change of the Delaware tribe can be indicated qualitatively and quantitatively by the use of an element list co-ordinated with chronology; that changes in different aspects of this culture have occurred as the result of the length of contact rather than the type of contact involved; that an acculturation study involving a single Indian tribe and the entire white civilization is necessarily one sided; that during white contact the influence of the whites upon the Delaware was almost solely responsible for the changes in the culture of the Indian tribe in question, overshadowing the effects of new contacts with other tribes; and that the process of culture change may be called acculturation or assimilation depending on the absence or presence of complete political domination.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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773 stalk was removed and the woman laid by the hole, on her back. As soon as the corn stalk was taken from its place, there was total darkness, at which the Indians were exceedingly vexed—it was then thought best to punish the woman—they accordingly cast the woman with her child into the hole—she fell through child and all and was caught by an infinite number of "big hawks"—the hawks carried her and put her on the back of a great turtle. About this time, a loon dived into the sea, brought up a piece of earth and put it under the woman, between her and the turtle—the woman commenced a career round this particle of earth, which commenced enlarging, until it became [771] the great mass of matter which we inhabit. The earth is supposed to be of an oblong form, and is movable—it often shakes, but does not perform any revolutions. The Sun which now [821] enlightens the earth, is supposed to have been sent from the world above described. The substance of which it is composed is unknown. It performs daily revolutions.

772 *3. Earth is round*

W. T. — Earth was made round just like the sun, moon, and sky.

E. R. — The earth is flat (circle?).

W. L. — The earth is a circle and flat.

805 821 *6. Names of seasons*

The names of the seasons are *sikwon*, spring; *nipen*, summer; *takǫk*,[1] autumn; and *lowen*, winter.

7. Moons or months

The terms for the months and their significance are:

January

ZEISBERGER *Anixi gischuch*—Squirrel month, ground squirrels come out of their holes

ZEISBERGER —Mouse or Squirrel month—for they come out of holes

[1] The character ǫ has the phonetic value of the open "o," pronounced as "aw" in "awk."

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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648 Neither time nor closer association with Europeans has caused this feeling to disappear among the Delawares.[1] We observe the persistence of the same spirit in the sentiments conveyed in the text, the reverence for the *mores* of the past, the attitude of adoration toward their ancestors who, although ignorant pagans, possessed a mystic wisdom and intelligence which, they are willing to concede, surpassed the endowments and knowledge of the present generation.[2]

Yet notwithstanding the attitude of the Delawares toward the whites, we must not be misled, by consideration of the antipathy and distrust expressed since colonial times, into regarding the same spirit to have characterized their religious motives. For several authorities besides the narrator of the text coincide in telling us that the ceremonies of placation performed by the tribe are maintained for the benefit of all mankind. The white man is to be blamed for the existence in the mind of the Delaware of the feeling in favor of segregation. Yet the Delaware is willing to extend over his enemies the blessings resulting from his devotions.

● 771 The informant's own attitude is interesting as expressed in his own words.

"The Big House is regarded by the Delawares as the supreme re-
[778 532] ligion among all forms of worship on the Continent. The center post with the carved faces of the two sides is the foundation, whose topmost

[1] J. Morse (Rep. to the Secretary of War on the Indian Tribes, New Haven, 1822, p. 110) alludes to the Delawares of 1818 as "having a peculiar aversion to white people." Heckewelder still earlier had much to say about the causes of dissension, op. cit., p. 191.

[2] Note the spirit manifested in a communication from the Delaware Council to the Historical Commission (June 1929) "We are proud to have such a wonderful opportunity, so that our children will take pride in the work of their fathers to preserve our sacred Delaware tradition." While the hold of the old doctrine may be losing its grasp upon the younger generation of Delawares, we have some evidence of a reactionary trend in sentiment towards its rationalization. Not so long ago one of the Christian Delawares,
[182] moved by a zealous, evangelistic impulse, arose and advised the conservatives to abandon once and for all the Big House ceremony on the ground that it was part of an age of superstition and ignorance. The opposition accorded this appeal was surprising and unexpected. The individuals behind the move for abandonment were, as it happened, uneducated themselves. Some of the defenders of the old faith, women who possessed good education in government schools, responded by accusing the intruders of incompetency to pass judgment on the merits of the contending creeds, by reason of their own ignorance; in not being able to read the testaments of one nor grasp the meaning of the other. Religious conservatism is a marked characteristic of the nationalistic element in the Nation. It is even asserted that they regard their migration from the east to have been in part prompted by a desire to preserve their religion. Dr. Michelson, who visited the tribe in 1912, was impressed by their tenacity of creed, (Smithsonian Misc. Collec., vol. 60, No. 30, p. 35) upon which Harrington also makes comments (I, op. cit., p. 200).

In an unpublished note to the original manuscript of Rafinesque's Walamolum (1833) now in the Brinton Library of the University of Pennsylvania Museum, the author gives a handwritten fragment of Delaware history from 1600. It is a bitter native lament voiced over the decline of the tribe, pronounced by a chief and translated by a John Burns, with mention of the removal from the east to west of the Mississippi and finally to the Osage country.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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end pierces the sky extending to the throne of the Great Spirit, whose right hand is resting on top of it as a staff to hold a great power given to the red man. All other Indian worship is a branch of this belief. When the rules are faithfully carried out in accordance with the ways of the primitive Delawares, it governs even the religion of our white brothers, perpetuating happiness, health, and prosperity among all nations the world over. In regard to the center post which is said to link the Creator with his chosen people; it is considered a very important feature of the religion. There should be a special authority to explain the significance of the center post in order that its real value in the Indian world be brought out. This being done the other Indian nations would be able to understand this great worship which now only the Delawares know."

A word or two of comment on my own estimate of the character of Delaware religion may not be amiss. If the student of the religious systems of pre-literate peoples feels inclined to disparage the quality of thought and the symbolism of the rituals of other North American forms of worship, I imagine that his objections, on the basis perhaps of their fetishistic traits and their lack of spiritual refinement, would be removed in weighing the qualities of Delaware concepts and acts of reverence toward the powers beyond. Close attention during the two years of study to the intricacies of the Delaware doctrines has impressed me with the conviction that we have here a real religion in a simple form. Inculcated in its followers are virtues (we'lhik) that no one would question as being of an ennobling nature, for instance humility of spirit and conduct,[1] dependence[2] upon the benevolence of the spirit forces, gratitude[3] for the blessings they bestow, supplication[4] for the continuation of blessings, the exemplariness of "clean" sincere behavior toward man and spirit,[5] altruism,[6] consideration of the afflicted and the aged,[7] the apostrophe against violence and war,[8] the value of concentrated spiritual unity in worship, the assumed dignity and barbaric grandeur[9] of the rites, and in particular the endeavor to insure and promote human health and welfare[10] irrespective of tribe or race. All are well worthy it would seem of respectful consideration, to which should be added that the procedures of the paramount

[1] tamak·e·'landamowa'k·an, "pitifulness in attitude."
[2] liuxw'ndowak·an.
[3] owe·'landamowa'k·an, "thankful satisfaction of mind."
[4] ma·'mendowa'k·an, "earnest pleading."
[5] pi·'tsowa'k·an.
[6] lape·'mkwus·i·n "act of making oneself useful."
[7] wi'mbendowa'k·an, "sympathy."
[8] wolangosowa'k·an, "peacefulness." (aspale·'tamowak·an)
[9] woli·'nak·wsowa'k·an, "fine appearance."
[10] kwe'namowa'k·an, "universal blessedness."

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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771 ceremony are framed in richly symbolical acts, impressive to the civ-
114 ilized as well as the uncivilized observer, participated in equally by the congregation of worshipers, young and old, great and humble. That the Delawares produced a religion in the real, almost classical sense, will not, I believe, be strenuously denied even by the proponents of other creeds, at least those of the more liberal type of mind. It might indeed have become a great one of the mediaeval type had it been linked with the destinies of a militant aggressive race, with its native humanitarian ideals, its precepts of altruism and humility, its lyrics, its litanies and mysticism.

But after all, whatever the civilized reader, no doubt himself an adherent to some creed accused of being equally as superstitious if not as picturesque, may call these religions, there they stand as they evolved—lasting symbols of the strange systems of thought that have appeared and almost vanished in the changing pageant of human history.

772 THE DELAWARE COSMOS, THE BEAUTIFUL WHITE PATH.—It is rather
346 difficult to grasp the Delaware scheme of things. The cosmos in terms
778 of the Big House is a dual symbolism; one realm being that of the celestial universe embraced in terms of time and space; the other, the tangible realm of the human in the midst of the concrete. The two are fused in the symbol of the Big House. The term Big House has to the Delaware a symbolical value much deeper than its descriptive one, for we discover that the Big House stands for the universe; its floor, the earth; its four walls, the four quarters; its vault, the sky dome, atop which resides the Creator in his indefinable supremacy. To use Delaware expressions, the Big House being the universe, the center post is the staff of the Great Spirit with its foot upon the earth, its pinnacle reaching to the hand of the Supreme Deity. The floor of the Big House is the flatness of the earth[1] upon which sit the three grouped divisions of mankind, the human social groupings (Pole", Pukowa'ŋgo, Tu'k"si·t) in their appropriate places; the eastern door is the point of sunrise where day begins and at the same time the symbol of the beginning of things; the western door the point of sunset and symbol of termination; the north and south walls assume the meaning of respective horizons; the roof of the temple is the visible sky vault. The ground beneath the Big House is the realm of the underworld while above the roof lie the extended planes or levels, twelve in number, stretched upward to the abode of the "Great Spirit, even the Creator" as Delaware form puts it. Here we might speak of the carved face images, the revereneed masi'ŋgok, the representations on the center pole being the visible symbols of the Supreme Power,

[1] Lamha'k·i·ye "earth here below," so the inhabited world is referred to. The Delawares also know this as kwtchak·i·ye, "great earth" meaning the main body of the earth.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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it is still of equal importance to note that ki'tci-mani'tu is employed among the Delaware only by the Christian converts. I have previously mentioned the habit of the unconverted group of the tribe to avoid using religious terms adopted by their Christian kinsmen.

Radin[1] has expressed an opinion quite generally entertained among American ethnologists, that amid the varied types of disposition exhibited among savage as well as civilized people, it is those individuals of a religious and aesthetic temperament that the population finds its religious leaders, and that such minds are, in different races and regions, the authors of definitely monotheistic systems of thought. This seems applicable to the Delawares, for it is the visionaries who hold the preeminence of leadership in the ceremonies and who are at the same time the leaders of thought. They constitute, indeed, an eclectic priestly group in the tribe, though in ordinary life they are but laymen.

As we have it, the worship of the Supreme Deity and the lesser deities in Delaware offers a noteworthy correspondence to holy adoration in the Roman Church—to latry and dulia. Were it not for the fact that the Delawares were never under the ministrations of Roman Catholic evangelists it might seem that the Indians attempted an interpretation of the forms of Catholicism in their own terms, compromising with Christianity by refusing conversion and baptism but assimilating part of the doctrine.

In regard to this Zeisberger writes, "They believe and have from time immemorial believed that there is an Almighty Being who has created heaven and earth and man and all things else."[2] Heckewelder offers practically the same testimony, while earlier and later authors repeat what we also find in our text, a summary of evidence sufficient to establish the fact for Delaware belief that a Supreme Creative power with indications of anthropopathetic qualities, overtops the pantheism.[3] Heckewelder says, "It is a part of their religious belief, that there are inferior Mannittos, to whom the great and good Being has given the rule and command over the elements; that being so great, he like their chiefs, must have his attendants to execute his supreme behests:[4] these subordinate spirits (something in their nature between God and man) see and report what is doing upon earth; they look down particularly upon the Indians, to see whether they are in need of assistance, and are ready at their call to assist and protect them against danger."[5]

[1] Paul Radin, *Monotheism Among Primitive Peoples*, Lond. (1924) (Arthur Davis Memorial Lecture, v. 7).

[2] Zeisberger, op. cit., p. 128.

[3] The entire range of the Delaware religious phenomena, from secondary sources, has been reviewed and discussed sagely by P. W. Schmidt, S.V.D. (Der Ursprung der Gottesidee, Münster, 1929, II Teil, 408-448). Father Schmidt favors the idea of the aboriginal grasp of the Supreme Being concept among the Delawares.

[4] The term eka'lasme denotes the proportion of supernatural strength possessed by the man-i't-uwak, given them by the Great Spirit.

[5] Heckewelder, op. cit., p. 212.

[¶ 54(c)]

124 I am very anxious to know. I asked an old
614 Delaware this morning, and he very coolly
582 told me that these questions were too small, by which he meant, I suppose, that it was prying into family matters rather impertinently.

614 It is by means of these subdivisions with
582 the prohibition of intermarriage that des-
611 cent in the female line is secured.

Lemuel R. Ketchum[90] says:

622 The Delawares have three Heads or great chiefs, one for each tribe. This chief is called Sa-ke-ma. It means Principal Chief. It is the name of the office, or the title of the person equivalent to President or King. They also have two subordinate chiefs. These chiefs together are called Ka-ke-um-ha-suk, or the chiefs. The term also includes the three
[623] head chiefs, and is used in contradistinction to councillors. The office has no special name. These two are inferior. If the three head chiefs decide upon a measure the two inferior must submit, but if two of the head chiefs and the two inferior chiefs should agree and the third head chief should stand out, the thing could not be done. The principal power is with the head chiefs. The three head chiefs can never go out to war, but the two inferior chiefs may. They are not, however, called war chiefs. Besides
623 these three the wise and experienced men of the nation are called councillors or Ha-ha-che-nowl-se-chick, which means simply councillors. These have a right to speak in a council of the chiefs. They can speak of their own motion without waiting to be
[562] asked by the chiefs. Women cannot speak in council.

Religious System

771 The Delawares believe in a Great Spirit,
[776] and in an Evil Spirit. They also believe in
[775] the immortality of the soul, and that they all went to heaven.

[90] [For footnote, see category 116, p. 209(C)-- Analyst]

26. Moral superintendence of Supreme Being over worshipers	·	−	(+)		+	+	+	−	+	+	+			776
27. Pray to Him for favors or assistance	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			782
28. Deposit tobacco on stones, mountains, etc. for favors					+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
29. Tobacco sacrificed for success in hunting	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
30. Believe in a future state of punishments and rewards	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
31. Final judgment						+	+	+	+	+	+			
32. Mental or corporeal pleasures in future state of existence		+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
33. Judgment immediately after death		+?				+	+	+	+	+	•			
34. Souls of worthy go to place of happiness or abode of Supreme Being	+	+		+		+	+	+	+	+	+			
35. Souls of bad go to land of bad spirits or hell							+	−	+	+	−			
left on earth or no good place	+	+		+		+		−	+	+	−			
36. Tortured or unhappy in either place		+		+		+		−	+	+	−			
37. Direction of habitation of good souls	SW	S		S		Up	S	Up	Up	Up	W& Up			
bad souls						Up	·	·	Up	Up	Up			
38. Believe in ghosts		+		+		+	+	−	+	+	+			
39. Have priests	+	+		−		−	−	−	−	+	−			
40. Witches and wizards		+		+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+			
41. National worshiping society †				+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+			
Medicine														
42. Diseases to which peculiarly liable †														
Bowel disorders				+	+	+			+	−	+			
Consumption					+				−	+	−			
Pleurisy						+			+	+	+			
Chills and fevers	+			+	+			+	+	+	+			
Dysentery				+					−		+			
Rheumatism				+	+				+	−	+			
Boils				+					+		−			
43. Remedies usually roots and herbs	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+			
44. Bleeding common			+	+	+	+		+	+	−	+			
45. Cupping common				+					−		−			
46. Sweating common	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+			
47. Medical profession	+	−	+	+	+	−		+	+	+	+			
48. Receive any education					−	−		−	−	−	−			
49. Called by divine agency in youth								−	+	+	+			
50. Count pulse						−		+	+	+	+			
51. Inquire into nature of complaint						+		+	+	+	+			
						343	755	756	757	164	774	754	775	793

Crow NQ4D
Delaware NM7 ●

Element	Occurrence																		
	HT	K-A	Kio	Com	Ke	Ab S	De 1	De 2	Wa	No C	Cr 1	Cr 2	WRB	Dia	Gos	W-P	Tse		
239. Feast follows meeting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
240. Aligned between leader and door starting at west: Bible		–	–	–	–	•–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–			
241. Staff, rattle, and feathers	+	+	+	+		+	+		+	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	+		
242. Whistle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+		
243. "Chief peyote"	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
244. Crescent of earth	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
245. Crescent of ash	+	+	+	+	+	–	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
246. Fire	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
247. Fire stick	+	+	+	+	+	+			–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
248. Water	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
249. Person blessing water	+	+	+	+	+	+			–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
250. Peyote breakfast	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+		
251. Beliefs connected with peyotism: belief in a Great God (Great Spirit)	+		+	–	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	•+	+	•+	+	+		
252. Belief in spirit forces subservient to the Great God	+		+		(–)	+	+	+	+				+	+	•+	+			
253. Peyote is a spirit force chosen to guide the Indians	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+		+		+	+	+	+	+			
254. Peyote's function is medicinal	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
255. Peyote's function is particularly ethical-religious	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+		
256. Peyote's doctrines can be understood only through peyote intoxication	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	+		+	+	+		+			
257. Ultimate goal of intoxication is enlightenment and physical betterment	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+			
258. Individual can be helped by concerted prayer	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–		+		+		+	+		
259. Individual must attain purity before approaching spirit forces	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+		+		+	+	+			
260. An important function of peyote meeting is to purify	+	+	+	+	(+)	•+	+	+	+	+		+		+	+	•–	+		
261. Modifications permitted by new revelations	+		+				–	+						+		+			
262. Approach to spirit forces should be humble	+	+	•+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+			–	+		+			
263. Concept of the Peyote road as ethical-religious	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			+	+		+			
264. Identification of the Peyote road with the Creator's road		+	•+	–		–	+	+	+	+			+	+	•	+	+		
265. Identification of the Peyote road with Jesus' road		+	•+	+	•+	–	–	+	+	–			+	+	•	+			
265a. (See note)																			

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IM
J45
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[271] ●
[547]
[276]

cedure within the lodge for the purpose of diagnosing and treating sickness.

The term applied to the sweat house healer is one meaning a "sweat doctor." He always performs within the lodge when asked to examine or treat a patient. It is interesting to note that my informant, Wi·tapanóxwe, and Charley Elkhair, the present head chief of the Oklahoma Delaware, claim the distinction of being the only men among the Oklahoma Delaware who have supernatural sanction to perform in this capacity. The former believes that he is privileged to assume the role which his people consider appropriate only for men whose mind and character have been strengthened by years of experience but that up to the present time (1930) he has not attempted it. The powerful shamans[29] of an earlier period were said to have been able to perform miraculous feats and effect marvelous cures without the aid of the sweat lodge although it was frequently employed in their practices.

Both of the above types of medicinemen receive their power from the Creator through dream-visions, the spiritual visitation occurring usually just before sunrise or sunset. The vision is accompanied by a medicine song which becomes the personal property of the healer, to be sung during performances in the sweat lodge. It is said that women rarely became sweat doctors. Wi·tapanóxwe, since his vision and medicine song were received just before sunrise, considers that as the time of day during which he would be most successful in curing activities within the sweat lodge. Those who received their power at sunset accordingly regarded that as the most suitable time for performances.

Contrary to the herbalist's custom of not accepting gifts or payment for his services, the sweat doctor expects payment from those who approach him for consultation and treatment. In former times trader's trinkets, etc., and somewhat later, horses, blankets, and money were given by those requiring his services.

The construction and equipment of the sweat lodge are matters of considerable importance in this particular type of curing. It is built of twelve poles which represent the twelve levels of heaven (Speck, 1931, p. 74) and according to native belief, lead to the abode of the Creator. For this purpose saplings chosen for their flexibility, are cut

[29] In Delaware the term used means "powerful man," "man who can heal," and refers to a type of shaman, called *medeu* by the Delaware of an earlier period, especially concerned with curing. Among the Chippewa (Densmore, 1929, pp. 86-97) the *mide* were the leaders of the *mide'wiwin* or Grand Medicine Society. See also Hodge, 1912, p. 523.

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
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Lenape

closer personal relation, as their actions are seen in every sunrise and thunderstorm, and felt in every wind that blows across woodland and prairie. Moreover, as the Creator lives in the twelfth or highest heaven above the earth, it takes twelve shouts or cries to reach his ear. An account of the worship of the Creator will be given later in connection with the description of the Annual Ceremony. The Minsi had similar beliefs, but the current name for the Great Spirit in that dialect today is *Pa''tŭmawas*, interpreted "He who is petitioned," or *Kĕ''tanito'-wĕt*, "Great Spirit."

It has been frequently stated that the concept of a supreme being or chief of the gods was not known among the American tribes in precolonial times, and that the "Great Spirit" concept, now widely distributed among the Indians, is entirely the result of missionary teaching. This seems to have been the case in some instances, but it is a mistake to assume such a broad statement as a general rule, on *a priori* grounds. To the

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
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this belief, or have included it loosely under the worship of "gods" representing the elements.

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821.

KEEPERS OF THE HEAVENS

The Lenape now in Oklahoma believe that each of the twelve heavens, in the highest of which lives the Great Spirit, is presided over by a *mani'to* who serves as a messenger to repeat the prayers of men until they reach the ear of the Creator. They are represented by the carved faces upon the posts inside the temple, and are mentioned in the ritual of the Annual Ceremony. I can find no mention of them in early accounts of the Lenape, however, unless the twelve gods mentioned by Loskiel,[24] most of whom have already been spoken of in this chapter, may represent the same concept. The Lenape today speak of these as being related to the Living Solid Face, who will now claim our attention.

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7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
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DUALOGY OF SYMBOLISM IN THE BIG HOUSE RITE

In my former study of the Big House Ceremony I did not become aware of the significance that seemed attached to the fact that upon the center-post of the structure there were two faces carved on opposite sides, one facing the east, the other the west, and that also there were two fires, one on the east, the other on the west side of the center-post. These are evident symbols of duality and it becomes plausible to suspect, as did Dr. P. W. Schmidt, that the symbolism of duality in these features of the Big House might refer to sun and moon worship. Dr. Schmidt, in correspondence with me, also suggests that the two fires may represent the luminaries, and the double image representations on the center post a dual personality vested in the Supreme Being idea which in turn he proposes may be a fusion of the male and female concepts as tribal progenitors (Stammeselternpaar). We lack, however, supporting native testimony for the establishment of Dr. Schmidt's elucidation of a historical background for these mysterious symbols so far as the Delawares are specifically concerned.[7]

I was unable to take up this question with Delaware informants before the publication of my earlier study but since that time I have had an opportunity to discuss the point with Anderson. While he was unable to speak in positive terms of the dual symbolism of the two fires, two center-post images, two doors of the Big House, two paints, red and black, on the carved images, he offered a rationalization in attempting to explain the matter. This I consider extremely well worth reproducing as an example of Delaware explanatory thought on a point concerning which tradition in the tribe is not definite enough to be canonical. Our own speculation on the matter, when such fails to coincide with speculative attempts of the natives who themselves *profess* the principles of the religion in question, can hardly be considered as having equal weight with theirs.

[7] See also Dr. P. W. Schmidt, "High Gods in North America, Oxford, 1933," for a scholar's insight into the comparative history of Algonkian concepts of deity and religious systems, summarizing part of Vol. 5 of his earlier monumental contribution; Die Ursprung der Gottesidee, Münster, 1929.

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
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I would accordingly present Anderson's explanation of the dual principle in Delaware ritual as being connected with the division of sex in the realm of life. Anderson pointed out that the balancing of functions between the male and female elements of human society was implied in the Delaware ritual performance. He began by referring to the requirement that there be an equal number of male and female attendants in service during the ceremony; that the duties of the females should coincide with and supplement those of the males; that one fire, theoretically, was in charge of the female attendants and represented their contribution to the worship, the other the males; that a similar division extended through the Big House, one door and the image on the center-post facing that door "belonging" to the men, the other, the opposite to women. He also pointed out in explaining the principle of dualism that when the attendants swept the dancing path encircling the two fires after each dance performance to purify it, with the turkey wing fans, a male attendant starts sweeping from the west door toward the east door and a female from the east door to the west door on the opposite side; that when the east door is reached by the male attendant sweeper and the west door by the female attendant sweeper, each places the fan-sweeper in a crevice in the logs above the door where he or she stops. Furthermore, at the conclusion of the next dance when the sweeping is repeated for the same purpose of purification, the male attendant sweeps his half of the dance path with the fan previously used by the female and leaves this in the logs above the door on her side. She does the same with the fan left over her door by the male attendant the time before. Thus the two fans are relayed by men and women attendants successively on opposite sides of the Big House after each dance. One of the fans, moreover, is associated with male attendants, the other with the female. Anderson used this illustration to bring out his idea as implied from the teaching of the old people that while there was no definite doctrine of sexual duality taught in the Big House, that the same might be implied as a hypothesis. He pointed out another fact in demonstrating this likelihood which is

7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
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clearly evident on the surface, namely that the two forked drum sticks, those of highly ceremonial significance used only from the ninth night of the ceremony to the end, bear carvings of human heads, a male on one, a female on the other, the latter having also the representation of female breasts below the face. This leaves no doubt of latent trend of thought in the basic symbolism of duality based upon sex in Delaware. The two drum sticks in question are definitely designated male and female.

I might mention also another piece of native reasoning along the same line in explanation of the black and red half-painting which is so characteristic of Delaware sacred coloring. It has been assumed and with good reason that these colors represent the states of life and death, respectively red and black. I would not discard this theory since it is one present in the minds of some Delawares, but would rather find an explanation for the confusion in idea of the black and red symbols as an overlapping of several vaguely fused symbolisms; one designating sex, the other life and death. The whole question, as it now stands, amounts to a problem of symbol interpretation in Delaware religion in which the supposition of sexual duality must be given primary consideration.

Reverting for a moment to Anderson's explanation of the two fire, two door, two center-post image peculiarity in the Big House arrangement, it should not be inferred that he intended to point out that these were exclusively or definitely sexual segregations or that they reflected duality in the conception of deity. He also wished especially to avoid fixing the idea that the two center-post images represented the Creator. He tried to make clear that the two branches of service represented by the men and women worshippers were made convenient and kept separate in accordance with the division into male and female functions by the dual arrangements just noted.

The whole question of sex differentiation in Delaware religion and natural thought is one which may have to be worked out through evidences beneath the surface, perhaps in almost forgotten but deeply significant principles of thought,

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since it is only hinted at in deliberate explanation by the people of today, though preserved in the equipment and furnishings of their worship.

An arrangement of symbols and functions associated with sex in Delaware thought could be shown as follows.

MALE	FEMALE
ABSTRACT ASSOCIATIONS	
The color red	The color black
life	death (the beyond)
east	west
day	night
right-hand side	left-hand side
BIG HOUSE ASSOCIATIONS	
East half	West half [1]
east door	west door
east fire	west fire
image of Great Spirit on east side of center post	image of Great Spirit on west side of center post
FUNCTIONS AND PRIVILEGES	
Balanced participation in all rites and dances	
Balanced ritual and dance leadership (approximate)	
Balanced sponsorship of ceremonies	
Balanced performance of offices as "attendants" (a'chsa)	
Balanced dance-path sweeping	
Balanced reception of "payment" (sacrifice) of wampum for ceremonial services	
Balanced control of ceremonial equipment in east and west sides of Big House	
Conducting ceremonial hunt (symbol of animal economy as male sphere)	Preparing ceremonial foods (symbol of plant economy as female sphere)
Singing and praying aloud	Silent supplication
Giving ceremonial prayer-call	Occasionally giving prayer-call
Controling harvest rite (Corn Harvest Ceremony)	
Dancing on outside of dance column in Big House (inside in Doll Dance and Buffalo Dance)	Dancing on inside of dance column in Big House (outside in Doll Dance and Buffalo Dance)
Formal recitation of visions	Recitation allowed only on last day of Big House Ceremony
Use of musical instruments (hide-drum and rattle)	
Moral "purity" during ceremonial periods	Moral and catamenial "purity" during ceremonial periods

[1] Dichotomy of sex in the seating arrangements during ceremonies in the Big House is subordinated to the classified grouping of the ceremonial divisions, Turkey, Wolf, Tortoise, and secondarily to which of the three groups is sponsoring the celebration.

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764 of the person departed, if he or she made any statement as to what way he wanted the burial conducted.

[525] "All who wish to may come and sit up with the corpse. The men pall-bearers sit up and others who wish to play a hand game,* using usually a coffee bean or buckeye bean or a bullet for ball hiding—first under 764 a glove or moccasin—and the other persons guess which moccasin he hides 775 the bean or bullet under. This is kept up until daybreak. At night before the "wake," the men pall-bearers discharge three (another says two) musket shots toward the sunset, then everyone must rise and give attention. The shots symbolize the departure of the soul of the deceased. Everyone must be awakened, especially the children, so that they may not become frightened. The widowed person or the bereaved parents stay awake all night. And just before sunrise another volley of two or three shots is fired which symbolizes lifting the soul upward. The relatives of the deceased stand in front of the shooters. With the echo of the discharge the soul departs.

764 "Now an elderly person, who has been chosen to officiate at the ceremony, must offer thanks to the Great Spirit at breakfast time and [761] perform the ceremony before the body leaves the house. During the funeral procession no one must look back,—if they do it indicates another of the immediate members of the family will follow soon. The speaker must be given one 'Indian yard of wampum beads' for his services, which do not end until after the feast on the eleventh day noon hour.

"One of the pall-bearers must go to the grave each day and build a little fire at the head of the grave for four consecutive evenings and the people must leave the house in charge of someone, for it must not be left alone for twelve days, and a light must be kept burning at the main entrance of the house for four nights after the death of a person.

768 "And note, the widowed person must also be painted when the face 764 of the 'departed' body has been painted. Four days after, 'divorcement' proceeding takes place in the form of a ceremony. That is, they must burn cedar in the house to 'fumigate' and the cedar water is used to wash the widow's or widower's head. If a woman, she is told that she is now no longer obligated to her deceased husband's family. She is furnished with new clothes throughout. With this ceremony she is 'divorced,' but the relationship terminology remains the same to the family she formerly was married into.

775 "Now the burial hole is prepared on the day following the sitting up 826 with the body at night—it is not considered a grave until the body is in ● 772 it,—and even now, in the modern times, we do not believe in taking the body to be embalmed, as we believe the life blood is the spirit that remains on earth until the deceased is admitted to the abode of the Great Spirit, which is the twelfth level of the Heaven.

* This is the common moccasin game of North America. For description see S. Culin, "Games of the North American Indians," 24th Annual Report, Bureau American Ethnology 1906, and page 99 of this study.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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773 stalk was removed and the woman laid by the hole, on her back. As soon as the corn stalk was taken from its place, there was total darkness, at which the Indians were exceedingly vexed—it was then thought best to punish the woman—they accordingly cast the woman with her child into the hole—she fell through child and all and was caught by an infinite number of "big hawks"—the hawks carried her and put her on the back of a great turtle. About this time, a loon dived into the sea, brought up a piece of earth and put it under the woman, between her and the turtle—the woman commenced a career round this particle of earth, which commenced enlarging, until it became [771] the great mass of matter which we inhabit. The earth is supposed to be of an oblong form, and is movable—it often shakes, but does not perform any revolutions. The Sun which now [821] enlightens the earth, is supposed to have been sent from the world above described. The substance of which it is composed is unknown. It performs daily revolutions.

772 *3. Earth is round*

W. T. — Earth was made round just like the sun, moon, and sky.

E. R. — The earth is flat (circle?).

W. L. — The earth is a circle and flat.

805 821 *6. Names of seasons*

The names of the seasons are *sikwon*, spring; *nipen*, summer; *takǫk*,[1] autumn; and *lowen*, winter.

7. Moons or months

The terms for the months and their significance are:

January

ZEISBERGER *Anixi gischuch*—Squirrel month, ground squirrels come out of their holes

ZEISBERGER —Mouse or Squirrel month—for they come out of holes

[1] The character ǫ has the phonetic value of the open "o," pronounced as "aw" in "awk."

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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771 114 ceremony are framed in richly symbolical acts, impressive to the civilized as well as the uncivilized observer, participated in equally by the congregation of worshipers, young and old, great and humble. That the Delawares produced a religion in the real, almost classical sense, will not, I believe, be strenuously denied even by the proponents of other creeds, at least those of the more liberal type of mind. It might indeed have become a great one of the mediaeval type had it been linked with the destinies of a militant aggressive race, with its native humanitarian ideals, its precepts of altruism and humility, its lyrics, its litanies and mysticism.

But after all, whatever the civilized reader, no doubt himself an adherent to some creed accused of being equally as superstitious if not as picturesque, may call these religions, there they stand as they evolved—lasting symbols of the strange systems of thought that have appeared and almost vanished in the changing pageant of human history.

772 346 778 THE DELAWARE COSMOS, THE BEAUTIFUL WHITE PATH.—It is rather difficult to grasp the Delaware scheme of things. The cosmos in terms of the Big House is a dual symbolism; one realm being that of the celestial universe embraced in terms of time and space; the other, the tangible realm of the human in the midst of the concrete. The two are fused in the symbol of the Big House. The term Big House has to the Delaware a symbolical value much deeper than its descriptive one, for we discover that the Big House stands for the universe; its floor, the earth; its four walls, the four quarters; its vault, the sky dome, atop which resides the Creator in his indefinable supremacy. To use Delaware expressions, the Big House being the universe, the center post is the staff of the Great Spirit with its foot upon the earth, its pinnacle reaching to the hand of the Supreme Deity. The floor of the Big House is the flatness of the earth[1] upon which sit the three grouped divisions of mankind, the human social groupings (Pəle", Pukowa'ŋgo, Tu'k"si·t) in their appropriate places; the eastern door is the point of sunrise where day begins and at the same time the symbol of the beginning of things; the western door the point of sunset and symbol of termination; the north and south walls assume the meaning of respective horizons; the roof of the temple is the visible sky vault. The ground beneath the Big House is the realm of the underworld while above the roof lie the extended planes or levels, twelve in number, stretched upward to the abode of the "Great Spirit, even the Creator" as Delaware form puts it. Here we might speak of the carved free images, the revereneed masi'ŋgok, the representations on the center pole being the visible symbols of the Supreme Power,

[1] Lamha'k·i·ye "earth here below," so the inhabited world is referred to. The Delawares also know this as kəthak·i·ye, "great earth" meaning the main body of the earth.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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those on the upright posts, three on the north wall and three on the south wall, the man-i't-u of these respective zones; those on the eastern and western door posts, those of the east and west. Of the man-i't-u or "spirit-forces," both specific and general, more will be said later.

But the most engrossing allegory of all stands forth in the concept of the White Path,[1] the symbol of the transit of life, which is met with in the oval, hard-trodden dancing path outlined on the floor of the Big House, from the east door passing to the right down the north side past the second fire to the west door and doubling back on the south side of the edifice around the eastern fire to its beginning. This is the path of life down which man wends his way to the western door where all ends.[2] Its correspondent exists I assume in the Milky Way, where the passage of the soul after death continues in the spirit realm.[3] As the dancers in the Big House ceremony wend their stately passage following the course of the White Path they "push something along," meaning existence, with their rhythmic tread.[4] Not only the passage of life, but the journey of the soul after death is symbolically figured in the ceremony as will be explained in note III in the appendix.

The ceremony symbolizes the transit of the year period. Its twelve nights of performance represent the figure of the twelve moons, its progress from east to west the course of the sun, its varied symbolical rites the events in the passage of life's orbit from beginning to end.

We learn that the White Path is "our Father's, the Great Spirit's road," upon it human life proceeds in its course, which grand movement is symbolized by the dancers as they tread the "White Path" of the "Big House." By another allegory we have the clearing away of impediments from its surface in the intervals between the dances by the efforts of the Attendants who use the wing feathers of "pure" birds, such as the eagle, with which the "Path" is brushed clean. Here

[1] We'li-ap-ale-xing, "Good or Beautiful White Path." Also weslau'si-t matoma'k-an, "Righteous Path."

[2] The Delaware, like his Christian brother, admits that it is hard for feeble man to walk in this path without erring. The concept has deep possibilities for discussion from the point of view of ethics and life as the pagan sees them.

[3] The symbolical association between the "White Path" and the Milky Way is not definitely proved by Delaware information. By some strange circumstances it seems, the Delawares can not furnish the native name of the Milky Way. Persistent inquiry among the older men both at Dewey and at Anardarko, Oklahoma, by V. M. Petrullo have failed to procure it, likewise correspondence with Joe Washington and J. A. Parks, prominent members of the Delaware Nation. Therefore the association is my own theoretical assumption, an interpretation of our data, and upon the analogy offered by other Algonkian beliefs in which the Milky Way is generally the "Spirit or Ghost Path" over which the soul of the deceased passes to the realm above. The only Delaware equivalents for Milky Way so far obtained are pe'mi-ki-ci-k'tek "across marked" or "across smoky way," and a notion that it is compared with a cowlick of hair, paxtcanhwing, "where the hair is parted," which may be discarded as far as their bearing upon the question here as concerned. This important point calls for solution.

[4] The term ka'ntika implies this figure. (See page 12).

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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796 is the symbol of the function of these noble birds, helpers of man, who
778 with their wings sweep the obstacles of disease and witch-craft from
772 the path which the Delaware treads to his final destiny.[1]

[774 824] Among the many noteworthy poetical concepts of which Delaware imagination is capable is also the thought that the trees, themselves spirit-forces, are calling forth in prayer to the Creator when the wind blowing through their foliage causes a rustling, or sighing as we would say.[2]

As life proceeds on its course under the gaze of the Supreme Power through the entire universe, with his minions posted around about in their respective quarters, so the Delawares performing in the Big House gyrate in their symbolical course in the shadow of the carved images. The symbolism of the harmonized progression of the celestial and terrestrial plane-realms is consistently carried out in thought in every performance and ritual connected with the Big House. Then there are the minor symbols of force, "Grandfathers" likewise; the guardian of the game animals, represented by the Mask Spirit, the məsing'holi·'kan, the tobacco, the cedar, the wampum, the red paint, the feathers, the winds.

796 An essential point to the understanding of the Big House ceremony is that it is conducted under the sponsorship of one of the three subdivisions of the tribe.[3] And while the obligation as well as the honor of conducting the ceremony fall collectively upon the members, there is one among them who has personally assumed the religious duty involved in issuing the invitations, in appointing the officers for the different branches of service, and particularly in defraying the numerous expenses which arise in connection with bringing so many people together for a fortnight.[4] The responsibility of the occasion is voluntarily assumed by the giver, or as he is called in Delaware, təmi·'ke't', the Bringer-in." Men imbued with a desire to acquire a spiritual blessing through their religious attitude, or to recognize some blessing enjoyed, are usually the ones who answer to the inner call of duty.[5]

[1] The significance of using feathers of the nobler birds comes out in Delaware in the carrying of fans made of eagle and hawk feathers, in the wearing of feathers in the hair, and in the use of the decorated feather wand in the recently introduced Peyote ceremony. The feathers dispel evil influences from the umbrage of their wearers, the fans sweep away malevolent agencies.

[2] This passage is contained in the text of a prayer made at the opening of spring-time dictated by Wi·tapano'xwe.

[3] The three sub-divisions of the Delawares, the so-called Tortoise, Turkey, and Wolf groups, have evoked no small amount of discussion (Morgan, Brinton, Harrington). They are, however, not yet thoroughly understood. Some facts connected with these groupings are dealt with farther along, though only so far as they require mention in connection with the Big House.

[4] The informant estimated the cost of performance to be about $150.00.

[5] Since, moreover, there is the conviction that welfare of man at large rests upon the performance of the ceremony, that a world catastrophe is warded off by it, the attitude of the host is one pervaded with generous altruism. (Compare Zeisberger, op. cit., p. 136; and Harrington, I, p. 115).

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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kindred, to cause us happiness of mind when we are given all the things that grow and all which our Father the Great Spirit has so well provided. That is why it is possible for us to see this fulfilled. 539X 796

And it seemed to me that that Person right there at the edge of the south-land seemed to me to possess power over all things. And it sounded so when he started running. ho+ ho+![1]

[Repeat the chant for the ninth time.][2]

Truly indeed, my kindred, once more besides we dance around where he stands, he our Grandfather. And this will be the last time when we shall go around. And then also will everyone twelve times lift up the prayer-worship, up above where belong these adorations[3] of the people[4] to the twelfth level of the sky where dwells our Father, the Great Spirit. [772]

And thus speaking that Person said:

[Repeat the chant for the tenth time.][5]

Truly thankful, my kindred, now here we have come to where he our Grandfather stands.[6] Now the time has come for us to offer up our adoration, to lift up our prayer ten and two times to where dwells he who owns us,[7] the Great Spirit even our Creator.[8]

I am truly thankful that I bring the address of blessing, my brothers, my sisters, and these our children. I give thanks that I bring blessing, all and every kind of spiritual blessings. Truly I am very feeble myself, as it is said, it oppresses my heart when I see how now we are orphans.[9] Many times we have heard from our deceased an-

[1] When giving the prayer-call now, he touches the carved image as before.

[2] He leads the dancers around the post again to the other image, fulfilling his command to encircle the post twice.

[3] The term kwenamowa'k·an occurs here but I have given it another meaning to accord with the context.

[4] The text here might read as well, the Delawares, for, as we have learned, the tribe addresses itself as lon·a·'pe, "common people" as a proper name.

[5] He is now back again before the western-facing carved image.

[6] Meaning that the worshippers have figuratively mounted to the presence of the Great Spirit in his twelfth heaven.

[7] The conception of the Great Spirit as the owner of man, comes out similarly in Wabanaki (F. G. Speck," Wawenock Myths" 43rd Annual Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethnology, 1928, p. 180).

[8] At this point the leader touches the carved face on the center-post and all hold up their hands. Everybody in the Big House stands up (except those too old, deformed, or nursing children), saying ho+ six times, everybody holding up the right hand, and hä+ six times. Then the drummers follow; the leading drummer hits one, second drummer one, the leading drummer the final blow on the hide-drum. This is the signal for all to sit down.

The leader now faces west, with his back to the mosi'ŋgw on the center post and directly under it. He shakes hands with his "followers" first, then with all who were in the line. Then each one goes to his respective place to be seated, observing the rule of going to the north and south sides of the Big House. They must pass westward around the two fires, following the White Path over which they have danced.

When all have seated themselves in their proper places, the Attendants put extra wood on the fires to light up the Big House. The speaker again declaims to the honor of the Creator.

[9] Referring to their bereavement through the generations of deceased ancestors.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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of the air, to avert all danger from them; I have also seen the Chippeways, on the Lakes of Canada, pray to the Mannitto of the waters, that he might prevent the swells from rising too high, while they were passing over them. In both these instances, they expressed their acknowledgment, or shewed their willingness to be grateful, by throwing tobacco in the air, or strewing it on the waters.

There are even some animals, which though they are not considered as invested with power over them, yet are believed to be placed as guardians over their lives; and of course entitled to some notice and to some tokens of gratitude. Thus, when in the night, an owl is heard sounding its note, or calling to its mate, some person in the camp will rise, and taking some *Glicanican*, or Indian tobacco, will strew it on the fire, thinking that the ascending smoke will reach the bird, and that he will see that they are not unmindful of his services, and of his kindness to them and their ancestors. This custom originated from the following incident, which tradition has handed down to them.

It happened at one time, when they were engaged in a war with a distant and powerful nation, that a body of their warriors was in the camp, fast asleep, no kind of danger at that moment being apprehended. Suddenly, the great "Sentinel," over mankind, the *owl*, sounded the alarm; all the birds of the species were alert at their posts, all at once calling out, as if saying: "Up! up! Danger! Danger!" Obedient to their call, every man jumped up in an instant; when, to their surprise, they found that their enemy was in the very act of surrounding them, and they would all have been killed in their sleep, if the owl had not given them this timely warning.

But, amidst all these superstitious notions, the supreme Mannitto, the creator and preserver of heaven and earth, is the great object of their adoration. On him they rest their hopes, to him they address their prayers and make

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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mother's womb; some had foretold that he would be a boy, and others a girl; he had distinctly overheard their discourses, and could repeat correctly every thing that they had said. It would be too long to relate all the wild stories of the same kind which this otherwise intelligent Indian said of himself, with a tone and manner which indicated the most intimate conviction, and left no doubt in my mind that he did not mean to deceive others, but was himself deceived. 787

I have known several other Indians who firmly believed that they knew, by means of these visions, what was to become of them when they should die, how their souls were to retire from their bodies and take their abodes into those of infants yet unborn; in short, there is nothing so wild and so extraordinary that they will not imagine and to which, when once it has taken hold of their imagination, they will not give full credit. In this they are not a little aided by certain general superstitious notions which form a part of their traditionary belief, and of which I shall take notice in the next chapter. [775]

CHAPTER XXXIV.

INDIAN MYTHOLOGY.

THE Indians consider the earth as their universal mother. They believe that they were created within its bosom, where for a long time they had their abode, before they came to live on its surface. They say that the 773

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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•773 great, good, and all powerful Spirit, when he created them, undoubtedly meant at a proper time to put them in the enjoyment of all the good things which he had prepared for them upon the earth, but he wisely ordained that their first stage of existence should be within it, as the infant is formed and takes its first growth in the womb of its natural mother. This fabulous account of the creation of man needs only to be ascribed to the ancient Egyptians or to the Bramins of India, to be admired and extolled for the curious analogy which it observes between the general and individual creation; but as it comes from the American savage, I doubt whether it will even receive the humble praise of ingenuity, to which, however, it appears to me to be justly entitled.

The Indian Mythologists are not agreed as to the form under which they existed while in the bowels of the earth. Some assert that they lived there in the human shape, while others, with greater consistency, contend that their existence was in the form of certain terrestrial animals, such as the ground-hog, the rabbit, and the tortoise. This was their state of preparation, until they were permitted to come out and take their station on this island* as the Lords of the rest of the Creation.

Among the Delawares, those of the *Minsi*, or Wolf tribe, say that in the beginning, they dwelt in the earth under a lake, and were fortunately extricated from this unpleasant abode by the discovery which one of their men made of a hole, through which he ascended to the surface; on which, as he was walking, he found a deer, which he carried back with him into his subterraneous habitation; that there the deer was kill·d, and he and his companions found the meat so good, that they unanimously determined to leave their dark abode, and remove

•9[Radium. See cat. 116, p. 348. - Analyst]

* The Indians call the American continent an island; believing it to be (as in fact, probably, it is) entirely surrounded with water.

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to a place where they could enjoy the light of heaven and have such excellent game in abundance.

The other two tribes, the *Unamis* or Tortoise, and the *Unalachtigos* or Turkey, have much similar notions, but reject the story of the lake, which, seems peculiar to the Minsi tribe.

These notions must be very far extended among the Indians of North America generally, since we find that they prevail also among the Iroquois, a nation so opposed to the Delawares, as has been shewn in the former parts of this work, and whose language is so different from theirs, that not two words, perhaps, similar or even analogous of signification may be found alike in both. On this subject I beg leave to present an extract from the manuscript notes of the late Reverend Christopher Pyrlæus, whom I am always fond of quoting with respect, as he was a man of great truth, and besides well acquainted with the Six Nations and their idioms.* The account that he here gives of the traditions of that people concerning their original existence, was taken down by him in January 1743, from the mouth of a respectable Mohawk chief named *Sganarady*, who resided on the Mohawk river.

The Extract.

"*Traditio.*—That they had dwelt in the earth where "it was dark and where no sun did shine. That though "they followed hunting, they ate mice, which they caught "with their hands. That *Ganawagahha* (one of them) "having accidentally found a hole to get out of the earth

* Mr. Pyrlæus lived long among the Iroquois and was well acquainted with their language. He was instructed in the Mohawk dialect by the celebrated interpreter Conrad Weiser. He has left behind him some manuscript grammatical works on that idiom, one of them is entitled: *Affixa nominum et verborum Linguæ Macquaice*, and another; *Adjectiva, nomina et pronomina Linguæ Macquaicæ*. These MSS. are in the library of the Society of the United Brethren at Bethlehem.

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"at, he went out, and that in walking about on the earth "he found a deer, which he took back with him, and "that both on account of the meat tasting so very good, "and the favourable description he had given them of the "country above and on the earth, their mother, conclu- "ded it best for them all to come out; that accordingly "they did so, and immediately set about planting corn, "&c. That, however, the *Nocharanorsul*, that is, the "*ground-hog*, would not come out, but had remained in "the ground as before."

So far Mr. Pyrlæus. From these traditions of the Iroquois, and those of the Delawares and Mohicans, it seems to follow, that they must have considered their numbers very small, when they dwelt in the earth; perhaps, no more than one family of each tribe, and that the custom of giving to their tribes the names of particular animals, must have been very ancient. The *ground-hog*, say the Mohawks, would not come out. But who was this hog? Might it not formerly have been the name of one of their tribes, who was made the subject of this fable?

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However ridiculous these stories are, the belief of the Indians in them is not to be shaken. When I was a boy between twelve and fifteen years of age, I had often heard of white people conversant with the Indians, who at that time would continually come to this place, (Bethlehem) in great numbers, even by hundreds, that the Indians did not eat rabbits, because they thought them infected with the venereal disease, and that whoever ate of their flesh, was sure to take that disorder. Being then myself fond of catching those animals in traps, I asked questions on this subject of several Mohican Indians, who spoke the German language; but though they said nothing about the disease that rabbits were said to be infected with, yet they advised me by no means to eat of their flesh. They gave me no reason whatever to induce me to abstain from

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this food; but, afterwards, in the year 1768, when I resided at Tuscorawas on the Muskingum, I was told by some of them, that there were some animals which Indians did not eat, and among them were the *rabbit* and the *ground-hog*; for, said they, they did not know but that they might be *related* to them!

I found also that the Indians, for a similar reason, paid great respect to the rattle snake, whom they called their *grandfather*, and would on no account destroy him. One day, as I was walking with an elderly Indian on the banks of the Muskingum, I saw a large rattle-snake lying across the path, which I was going to kill. The Indian immediately forbade my doing so; for, said he, the rattle snake is grandfather to the Indians, and is placed here on purpose to guard us, and to give us notice of impending danger by his rattle, which is the same as if he were to tell us "look about!" Now, added he, if we were to kill one of those, the others would soon know it, and the whole race would rise upon us and bite us. I observed to him that the white people were not afraid of this; for they killed all the rattle snakes that they met with. On this he enquired whether any white man had been bitten by those animals, and of course I answered in the affirmative. "No wonder, then;" replied he, "you have to blame yourselves for that! you did as much "as declaring war against them, and you will find them "in your country, where they will not fail to make fre-"quent incursions. They are a very dangerous enemy; "take care you do not irritate them in *our* country; they "and their grandchildren are on good terms, and neither "will hurt the other."

These ancient notions have, however, in a great measure died away with the last generation, and the Indians at present kill their grandfather the rattle snake without ceremony, whenever they meet with him.

That the Indians, from the earliest times, considered themselves in a manner connected with certain ani-

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mals, is evident from various customs still preserved among them, and from the names of those animals which they have collectively, as well as individually, assumed. It might, indeed, be supposed that those animals' names which they have given to their several tribes were mere badges of distinction, or "coats of arms" as Pyrlæus calls them; but if we pay attention to the reasons which they give for those denominations, the idea of a supposed family connexion is easily discernible. The Tortoise, [619] or as it is commonly called, the *Turtle* tribe, among the Lenape, claims a superiority and ascendency over the others, because their *relation*, the great Tortoise, a fabled monster, the Atlas of their mythology, bears according to their traditions this great *island* on his back, and also because he is amphibious, and can live both on land and in the water, which neither of the heads of the other tribe can do. The merits of the *Turkey*, which gives its name to the second tribe, are that he is stationary, and always remains with or about them. As to the *Wolf*, after whom the third tribe is named, he is a rambler by nature, running from one place to another in quest of his prey; yet they consider him as their benefactor, as it was by his means that the Indians got out of the interior of the earth. It was he, they believe, who by the appointment of the Great Spirit, killed the deer whom the Monsey found who first discovered the way to the surface of the earth, and which allured them to come out of their damp and dark residence. For that reason, the wolf is to be honoured, and his name preserved for ever among them. Such are their traditions, as they were related to me by an old man of this tribe, more than fifty years ago.

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These animals' names, it is true, they all use as national badges, in order to distinguish their tribes from each other at home and abroad. In this point of view Mr. Pyrlæus was right in considering them as "coats of arms." The Turtle warrior draws either with a coal or

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paint here and there on the trees along the war path, the whole animals carrying a gun with the muzzle projecting forward, and if he leaves a mark at the place where he has made a stroke on his enemy, it will be the picture of a tortoise. Those of the Turkey tribe paint only one foot of a turkey, and the Wolf tribe, sometimes a wolf at large with one leg and foot raised up to serve as a hand, in which the animal also carries a gun with the muzzle forward. They, however, do not generally use the word "wolf," when speaking of their tribe, but call themselves *Punk-sit*,[2] which means *round-foot*, that animal having a round foot like a dog.

The Indians, in their hours of leisure, paint their different marks or badges on the doors of their respective houses, that those who pass by may know to which tribe the inhabitants belong. Those marks also serve them for signatures to treaties and other documents. They are as proud of their origin from the tortoise, the turkey, and the wolf, as the nobles of Europe are of their descent from the feudal barons of ancient times, and when children spring from intermarriages between different tribes, their genealogy is carefully preserved by tradition in the family, that they may know to which tribe they belong.

I have often reflected on the curious connexion which appears to subsist in the mind of an Indian between man and the brute creation, and found much matter in it for curious observation. Although they consider themselves superior to all other animals and are very proud of that superiority; although they believe that the beasts of the forest, the birds of the air, and the fishes of the waters, were created by the Almighty Being for the use of man; yet it seems as if they ascribe the difference between themselves and the brute kind, and the dominion which they have over them, more to their superior bodily strength and dexterity than to their immortal souls. All beings endowed by the Creator with the power of volition and self-motion, they view in a manner as a great society of

[2] [Erratum. See cat. 116, p. 348. - Rec'd 7st]

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Curing

Although most serious ailments were treated magically by shamans, there was a considerable body of knowledge concerning various herbs, roots, and decoctions of one sort or another that did have a beneficial medicinal value. It should also be noted that wounds and external injuries were successfully treated.[85] This practical medicinal knowledge was the property of both ordinary individuals and shamans. Many of the curative practices, both magical and otherwise, were directed at the spirits, rather than derived from a real knowledge of physiology and pathology. This, of course, did not decrease the beneficial (or harmful) effects of the various remedies.[86]

Roots, herbs, and bark, particularly oak, walnut, cherry, dogwood, maple, and birch, were used as medicines.[87] These materials were prepared and compounded in a number of ways, and the knowledge of them was a closely guarded secret, passed on to one's children only when the owner was at death's door.[88] This secrecy remains, and my informants refused to do more than hint at the nature of their medicines. Emetics, blood letting, and perhaps cupping were common remedies in the eighteenth century.[89] The most common medicinal practice was sweat bathing. Men used the village sweat bath more frequently than did the women, who had their own.[90] A sweat bath was taken by an individual when he was tired or had contracted a cold or did not feel well. Men usually took one or two a week; women took them less frequently. Occasionally, a shaman would take a sweat bath while his patient lay outside, and frequently various medicines were taken during or immediately after a sweat bath.[91]

Folklore

Knowledge of Delaware folklore is imperfect and incomplete. The purely secular tales are little known; however, I obtained a few in the field. The mythology dealing with supernatural beings is only slightly better known. R. C. Adams published a number of tales current in the late nineteenth century; none of the stories he related was told to me.[92] The earliest origin story was obtained by Dankers in the seventeenth century, who had directed some questions at an old man of the Hackinsack division of the Unami:

[85] Van der Donck, 1909, p. 301; Thomas, 1912, p. 340; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 15. Tantaquidgeon, 1942, described medical practices and materia medica of the Delawares. Mahr, 1951, has summarized the early data on Delaware herbalism and healing; Mahr, 1955, has studied nonesoteric herb lore.

[86] Heckewelder, 1881, p. 224.

[87] Pesa, 1882, p. 244; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 25; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 224; Lockenbach, 1938, p. 376; Tantaquidgeon, 1942, pp. 24-37.

[88] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 24; N.D.

[89] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 26; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 225.

[90] De Vries, 1909, pp. 217-18; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 26; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 226.

[91] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 26; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 225; O.A.

[92] Adams, 1905.

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● 773 He [the old man] took a piece of coal out of the fire where he sat, and began to write upon the floor. He first drew a circle, a little oval, to which he made four paws or feet, a head and a tail. "This," said he, "is a tortoise, lying in the water around it," and he moved his hand round the figure, continuing, "this was or is all water, and so at first was the world or the earth, when the tortoise gradually raised its round back up high, and the water ran off of it, and thus the earth became dry." He then took a little straw and placed it on end in the middle of the figure, and proceeded, "the earth was now dry, and there grew a tree in the middle of the earth, and the root of this tree sent forth a sprout beside it and there grew upon it a man, who was the first male. This man was then alone, and would have remained alone; but the tree bent over until its top touched the earth, and there shot therein another root, from which came forth another sprout, and there grew upon it the woman, and from these two are all men produced."[84]

A number of other writers have said that the turtle was responsible for the creation.[85] The Munsi, however, may have had a slightly different origin myth, as Heckewelder said:

The *Minsi*... say that in the beginning, they dwelt in the earth under a lake, and were fortunately extricated from this unpleasant abode by the discovery which one of their men made of a hole, through which he ascended to the surface; on which, as he was walking, he found a deer, which he carried back with him into his subterraneous habitation; that there the deer was killed, and he and his companions found the meat so good, that they unanimously determined to leave their dark abode, and remove to a place where they could enjoy the light of heaven and have such excellent game in abundance.... The other two tribes... have much similar notions, but reject the story of the lake, which seems peculiar to the Minsi tribe.[86]

Harrington related a divergent tale which included a flood:

Some time after Gicelamukaong [Great Spirit] had created the world it became flooded with water, and it seemed to be a difficult matter to find earth with which to commence a new one. The Great Spirit... began to send down the various water animals which still survived to try to bring earth up from the bottom, but one by one they failed, and floated up to the surface dead. At last the muskrat was sent, and he succeeded in bringing up a little dirt in his paws. This was placed on the back of a turtle, which, with the mud upon it, immediately began to increase in size, until the "great island upon which we live" was formed, round and flat, floating upon the waters.[87]

Several myths and tales were gathered from informants. These show many similarities to those of the Eastern and Central Algonkians,[88] but they may be late historic diffusions. Myths which were intended to be informative about supernatural subjects and also purely secular stories were told by the Delawares only during the winter and hence were called "winter tales" (J.T.). If myths were told out of season "the bugs

[84] Dankers, 1867, pp. 150-51.
[85] Zeisberger, 1910, pp. 131-33; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 250; Trowbridge MS; Brinton, 1885, p. 133.
[86] Heckewelder, 1881, p. 250.
[87] Harrington, 1913, pp. 232-37; M.B. related essentially the same myth.
[88] Fisher, 1946, pp. 226-62.

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would chase you" (M.B.) or "all the worms would take after you" (J.T.). Tales were told by old men and women, and talented story tellers were much in demand. They were paid for their services by the audience who promised before the tales began to perform some service or donate a gift. One person would say, "I'll kill a rabbit for her tomorrow, another would say, "I'll fetch wood for her tomorrow" (O.A.). The stories began about nine in the evening and lasted five or six hours. Trowbridge said in this connection: "And it is said that they will entertain each other a whole night with the ingenious story of a wolf, a raccoon, or of some great hunter, whose deeds have been handed down by their traditions."[88] The audience lay around the fire in the house during the story telling, but the little children could not fall asleep unnoticed, for during the course of many of the stories the audience had to reply to the story-teller in chorus (O.A., M.B.).

Thunder Myths

Stories about thunder deities are common, and several were obtained. M.B. and F.W. both told the following tale, but F.W.'s is used since M.B.'s suffered in translation.[89]

An old woman and her six-year-old grandson lived together. The boy just played around camp with his bows and arrows. He wasn't anything but a little boy. At this time there was a drought, it was hot and dry, the creeks were dry and the crops had burned up. His grandmother was beginning to get after him for being such a worthless little boy.

One day as his grandma was berating him he looked up and said, "I can make it rain." His grandmother replied, "You can't do nothin'." And the other people just laughed at the little boy too. The boy said he was going off and "hope" four times for rain. The boy went off and soon a cloud came up. Soon it was thundering, the lightning flashed, and it started to rain.

The grandmother was in her wigwam bailing out the water when the little boy returned. He said, "I told you it was going to rain." Lightning was still striking every minute.

Then the boy told his grandmother, "I'm going with my friends, but someday I'll come back, although I won't be able to stay. When you hear the lightning cracking around you think of me 'cause it's me."

The old people say that the sharp cracking of thunder is the little boy playing, and that the heavy, rumbling thunder is the old thunder birds.

All the thunder birds live by making soup out of old bones, bones so old "they have holes in them" (J.T.). When the clouds were low or when it was misty, the birds could jump down out of them to earth. The informant J. T. told the following story:

There once was a man who said he could go and live with the thunders. The people asked him how he could go 'cause he didn't have no wings. He said he knew a way and named a day when the people could watch him.

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[88] Trowbridge MS.

[89] All myths and tales are given as nearly as possible in the informants' words.

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●773 The day came, he had a big round rock, "as big as this table" (ordinary enameled kitchen table), and he built a fire on top of this rock on a bluff overlooking a creek. He heated the rock until it was almost red hot, then he pushed it over the bluff into the water. The water was heated and began to steam. The man stepped into the steam and disappeared. He later returned from the sky. (J.T.)

Great Horned Serpent Myths

Water monsters and snakes have their place in Delaware mythology. People are usually protected from these monsters, or are allowed to destroy them, through the agency of the Sun or the Thunder Gods:

While out hunting a man heard the call of a turkey near a large lake. People had been accustomed to get water from this lake, but nevertheless a monster snake lived there. The unwary hunter was attracted to the lake by what he thought was the call of the turkey, but it was the water monster. The monster killed him by drowning, and then ate him. Two or three other people were caught in the same way by this snake.

Several men got together who had power. One of the men had two "clean" (i.e., ritually clean) sons. (In another version by J.T. several little boys tell their elders that they will kill the snake.) The boys go to the Sun. When they approached the Sun, he told them not to come too close because of the heat. Sun told them to stand off to one side.

He then instructed them to take some sweepings (dirt swept to the west end of the Big House) and to sprinkle it around the lake inhabited by the great snake, and that this procedure would kill the snake.

When they returned, this was done. Immediately the water began to boil, the snake could be seen writhing in the water. Soon he floated on his back dead, and so they were rid of the monster. (J.T.)

The Horned Serpent was not always an enemy of the Delawares, although he seems to have been an adversary of the Thunders and some other deities, as the following story related by M.B. shows:

There was a little boy who was different from other little boys. He wouldn't go out to hunt like they did. People told his grandfather that the boy wasn't any good. The grandfather decided that he would take care of the boy. He built a boat of sticks, put the boy on the boat and took him to an island. The old man built a fire on the island and told the boy to go off and kill some birds. This was just a ruse to get rid of the boy. While the boy was gone the grandfather used Indian tobacco and prayed for the little boy in order to make the boy wise.

When the old man was finished he hollered for the little boy to tell him that he was going. The old man left the little boy all alone on the island. The boy was frantic, he cried and he cried. Day after day he cried, but on the fifth day he heard someone talking to him. It was a skunk who said he wanted to take the boy home. But another voice told skunk that he was too small to do this.

The boy began to cry again. The next day, however, another voice said he would take the boy home. This voice came from a large snake with horns. The snake told him to hold tight to his horns and to warn him immediately if he saw a cloud. The boy held on to the horns and they sped toward the shore. They got about halfway and a large black cloud appeared. The boy warned the snake as he

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had been told to do. The snake turned around so violently that the boy almost fell off. They returned to the island and the little boy was again very sad.

The boy decided that next day he would not tell the snake about any clouds. The next day the snake told him to hold tight to his horns and to warn him of any clouds. This time they reached the shore, although the boy neglected to tell the snake about a cloud he had seen. The snake had been going through the water so fast that he ran right up onto the beach. At that moment lightning struck the snake and killed him. The Thunder Gods had been wanting to eat the snake and the seven of them did so. One took the horns, the "least" thunder bird took the tail.

The boy got home, the people met him and doctored him as the lightning had hurt him a little bit. The grandfather told the boy to go to a burned tree and build a fire, then to shoot at a blackened log and he would kill a bear. Then he would have company and they would eat the bear.

The boy did all this, the company came and ate the bear and then the boy was like all other boys.

Another myth about the Horned Serpent, which was not related to me in its entirety, was a tale in which the malevolence of this being was circumvented by marrying an attractive girl to the monster. All the boys of the village were enamored of a beautiful girl, but none of the adults would let any of them marry her. In time the girl was married to the Horned Serpent and he no longer menaced the Delawares (M.B.).

Mythological Giants

Only one story concerned giants; in this the supernatural beings involved were not identified:

A party of women was out gathering firewood when an eagle flew down to them. They abused him by capturing him. He escaped, however, and told the powers of his treatment at the hands of the women.

Within ten days it snowed so much that the houses were covered up. The people soon had nothing to eat or to burn. They finally began to eat one another. The cannibals began to grow until they became vicious giants. It is these giants who are buried in the Indian mounds. Fortunately the giants finally died out.

Once a family was crossing a creek when one of them saw the reflection of one of the giants in the water. The giant was standing on a mountain looking down at them. He had a long walking cane and started coming for them. The family crossed back over the creek because they knew that these giants were afraid of water. The giant came down to the creek and instead of putting his cane vertically in the water to measure its depth he measured it horizontally. After doing this he mistakenly assumed that it was over his head. Actually a normal sized person could wade this creek. The family moved away from where this giant lived. (F.W.)

Certain constellations of stars had myths connected with them. Only one story, however, was given:

During the Big House Ceremony, as the participants were taking a recess, seven boys began to rise in the air. The people began to shout to them and managed to knock two of them back down, by throwing unclean clothing at them. The others rose into the heavens and became those stars (an unidentified group). (J.T.)

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773 Origin of Dolls of the Doll Dances

The informant J.T. told the following stories:

In early times there was a girl who liked to play with dolls. She would pick up all sorts of things and pretend that they were dolls. Even after she was grown she continued to play with dolls. Then she became very ill. During her illness a voice spoke to her. The voice told her that in order to get well she would have to make a doll such as she would see in the dream. She opened her eyes and saw the doll she was to make, and the voice told her how to take care of the doll, to give it feasts. The voice went on to tell her that dolls were not things to play with when you are grown. You don't play with them because dolls take care of the crops. When the girl awoke she went to the woods and carved a doll like the one she saw in her vision. She got well.

Once when the old folks had gone to a doll dance and left their kids at home, the kids got together and decided to make their own doll and have a dance. A girl made a doll and they had their dance, even though they didn't know the proper songs. It was wrong to make a doll, this was dangerous. One spring these children didn't dance this doll and the next spring a child got "bad sick." The phratry chief, who was also a medicine man, came to treat her. He knew that it was the doll that was causing this child to be sick. So the child's parents had the children give the doll a dance. They did and the sick child recovered.[139]

522 539 The purely secular tales, which have nothing to do with supernatural forces, are not well remembered today, and perhaps always formed only a small part of the folklore. The following tale was considered extremely hilarious by informants.

There once was a woman who intensely disliked her son-in-law. This worried the son-in-law and finally he decided to do something about it. He went down to the pond from which his mother-in-law was accustomed to draw water. He tied all the lily pads together so that he could make them vibrate by pulling on a string. Then he hid himself in some bushes that were near by. Soon his mother-in-law came down to draw water. He vibrated the lily pads and disguised his voice saying: "Your son-in-law is going to die, your son-in-law is going to die." She, of course, thought the lily pads were speaking to her. She started back to the wigwam, but her son-in-law took a short cut and beat her back. He was sitting within when the tearful woman arrived. She started being very nice to him, she combed and brushed his clothes and softened his buckskin clothes, and was nice to him afterwards because she thought he was going to die. (J.T., M.B.)

[139] Harrington, 1921, pp. 163-65, described a myth which was very similar to this one.

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were too powerful for them, they pretended that it would not be good for the nations to wage war continually and that one nation ought to be the woman and that nation must be the Delawares, as they were the greatest warriors. Afterward they alleged that they had conquered the Delawares. In the war which began in 1755 and lasted until the sixties the Delawares challenged the Six Nations on the occasion of a Treaty in Pittsburg, but the latter returned no answer.[99]

Of late years the Delawares have amazingly increased in reputation through the wise management of the Chief Netawatwes. This man spared no pains to gain the friendship of all the nations. He sent frequent embassies to the grandchildren, and showed himself a true grandfather. When the Delawares sent a message to the allied nations, the speech began with each string or belt of wampum, "Grand-children;" the nations address the Delawares, "Grandfather." The Wyondats and Six Nations are addressed "Uncle," and the Europeans, "Brother." The speech is generally addressed directly to the chief, though meant for the whole nation.

The nations generally addressed the French as "Father," when the latter were in possession of Canada and had intercourse with them. The same appellation was transferred to the English when they conquered Canada. In the other colonies Europeans and Indians called one another "Brothers." This practice was followed by Sir William Johnson.

Indians explain the origin of Nations and their names by saying, and this not unlikely, that the inhabitants of towns or districts named themselves according to the places where they dwelt. Thus even at the present time Delawares who live in Goschachgünk are commonly called Goschachgiwak, that is Goschachgühlser — "people of Goschachgünk."

A message sent or a speech in council goes or is delivered in the name of the three tribes, signifying the three chiefs. The Turtle tribe is named first, next the Wolf Tribe and the Turkey Tribe last.

When a message is returned, not having been accepted, the belt or string of wampum that has been rejected is thrown on the floor of the council house, after it has been announced why

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through which unquestionably many evils have crept in. They lived in earlier days more simply, perhaps one ought to say more stupidly, and now that they have gained in knowledge and understanding they have become practiced in wickedness. 771

They consider the soul to be an invisible being and a spirit. Formerly, they used the word *Wtellenapewoagan* to describe it, meaning the "Substance of a Human Being." Savages use this word to the present day. Now they have accepted the word *Wtschitschank*, that is, "Spirit." They believe also in the immortality of the soul. Some likened themselves to corn which when thrown out and buried in the soil comes up and grows. Some believe their souls to be in the sun and only their bodies here. Others say that when they die their souls will go to God and suppose that when they have been some time with God they will be at liberty to return to the world and be born again. Hence, many believe that their souls have come from God and that they have been in the world before. 774

They believe also in the transmigration of the soul. Wandering spirits and ghosts, they claim, sometimes throw something into a public path and whoever goes over it is bewitched and becomes lame or ill. They even pretend to know where such a thing happened, learning it from the doctors who are thought to be able to effect a cure. 775

Concerning the deluge there are some fairly clear traditions among the Indians. According to these, the world was at one time entirely flooded and all men perished. The turtle, however, able to live both on land and sea, had survived and again peopled the world. Hence, the Turtle Tribe is the most important among the Indians. Another tradition is that when the earth was flooded some men and women had seated themselves on the back of a turtle of such great age that moss had already grown on its back. These people commissioned a diver that flew nearby to search for land. After searching in many regions this bird had at last returned with a bit of earth in its mouth. They, then, proceed on the back of the turtle to where this earth had been procured and found a little spot of dry land, where they settled. Gradually more land appeared, and this was, eventually, peopled by the descendants of those 773

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7
Iroquois NM9
Nanticoke NM11

D NM3 who had on the back of the turtle escaped the general destruction.

Concerning their origin no trace of tradition is to be found among the Indians. From some old Mingoes I heard that they believed themselves to have come from under the earth, where they had lived before. A badger had worked his way to the surface, seen the beautiful land and returned at once to announce to them what he had seen. They had been so pleased with his account that they left their subterranean abode forthwith and settled in this beautiful land. From their habit of speaking in figure or parable, it may be concluded that by this account they mean to convey the idea that they originally came from the other side of the earth. Others say that they came from under the water, which may mean much the same thing. I NM3

N NM3 The tradition of the Nantikoks is that seven Indians had suddenly seen themselves seated at the sea-side. Whether they had come over the sea or been there created they did not know. Descendants of these Indians peopled the land. Others, again, claim that the first human being fell from heaven. This was a woman, cast out from the upper regions by her husband. Shortly after her fall from heaven she was delivered of twins, from whom the inhabitants of this land are descended. They believe that in the realm above them is a world of men much like this, whence the Indians originally came.

D NM6 787 They believe in numerous spirits or subordinate deities. Almost all animals and the elements are looked upon as spirits, one exceeding the other in dignity and power. There is scarcely an Indian who does not believe that one or more of these spirits has not been particularly given him to assist him and make him prosper. This, they claim, has been made known to them in a dream, even as their religious belief and witchcraft is alleged to have been made known to them in a dream. One has, in a dream, received a serpent or a buffalo, another the sun or the moon, another an owl or some other bird, another a fish, some even ridiculously insignificant creatures such as ants. These are considered their spirits or *Manittos*. If an Indian has no *Manitto* to be his friend he considers himself forsaken, has nothing upon which he may lean, has no hope of any assistance

3;Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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offerings are then regarded by God as rendered to him. It is clear enough that the Indians, professing to worship God and bringing sacrifices to him, serve Satan, who influences their dreams, and keeps them in slavery in this wise, for the Indians consider dreams to be of great importance and nothing less than revelations from God. It is indeed true as the Apostle says, 1 Cor. 10:20, "the things which the Gentiles sacrifice, they sacrifice to the devils and not to God." Those among the Indians who have been converted recognize this and henceforth hold the Indian sacrifices and offerings to be vain and do not care to say much about them.

To the spirits of the dead they offer both meat and drink-offerings. If it is to be a meat offering, which the doctors must decide in case of illness or accident, either a hog or a bear is killed for a feast and guests are invited. The latter assemble in the house where the sacrifice is to be offered. An old man gives part of the meal to the enraged spirits, speaks with them, and begs them to be pacified. All this is done in the dark; there must be neither fire nor light. After the old man has communed with the spirits he tells the guests that they have been appeased.

If it is to be a drink offering rum is required. Guests are invited also. They drink together and some one speaks with the spirits and pacifies them. The guests walk to the grave and pour some rum upon it. Such sacrifices are very common among them, and are arranged even upon very trivial occasions. In case of a tooth-ache or head-ache, they imagine that the spirits are displeased and must be pacified by an offering.

Every woman whose child dies in a foreign land travels, if possible, once a year to the place of its burial, taking another woman with her, and offers a drink-offering upon its grave.

The hare is regarded as a great God and they bring offerings to it. The name of one of the twins born to the woman that was thrown from heaven was *Tschimammus*, that is, hare. He made the land upon which the Indians dwell and was their ancestor. Now he is said to dwell in heaven, for many Indians who have been there have seen him and spoken to him and to them he has declared that he would come again.

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The following examples are typical of the ideas which the present-day Oklahoma Delaware express in their rationalization of the causes of various maladies and physical deformities. Rheumatism, which the Delaware call by a term meaning "old people's disease," is attributed to unclean habits of living during youth. Scrofula is described by the Delaware phrase meaning "matter around the neck." If a person indulges in profanity, he may develop this condition.

It is said that congenital malformation rarely occurs among the Indians. Such physical abnormalities are attributed to the power of malevolent spirits which afflicted the child because of his parents' failure to fulfill tribal obligations by keeping up certain ceremonies bequeathed to them. Such a physical handicap, however, did not keep an individual from leading a useful life, for he was otherwise blessed. The informant added, "Sometimes the weakest person is chosen by the Creator to be powerful in mind. He does that as a matter of pity."[2]

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Paralysis is said to be the result of an encounter with an apparition.[3] If a person sees a ghost-like form approaching, he should step aside to avoid being stricken with paralysis. According to Wi·tapanóxwe, "an apparition in passing by is felt as a slight wind. Sometimes what appears to be a cloud is seen floating along the road and if allowed to touch a person, will cause a stroke." Occasionally a fire is observed to start at the bottom of a tree, blaze up to the top, and then disappear. The informant warned against attempting to strike at such a flame inasmuch as it would result in fatal sickness to the person or to a member of his family.

Wi·tapanóxwe relates the following incident of a personal encounter with an apparition. "We were just young boys then, my brother and I, and we were riding home one afternoon just before sundown. As we rode along I noticed something in the middle of the road, and it seemed to be coming toward us. It had the appearance of a large animal but I could not see its form distinctly. Naturally, I was a little bewild-

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[2] Delaware mythology reiterates the theme of the weakling child vanquishing his powerful opponents through the weapon of shrewd wits over brute strength

[3] Zeisberger (no date, p. 131) says in regard to apparitions: "Wandering spirits and ghosts they claim sometimes throw something into a public path and whoever goes over it is bewitched and becomes lame or ill. They even pretend to know where such a thing happened, learning it from the doctors who are thought to be able to effect a cure."

4: Tantaquidgeon E-5 (1930) 1942
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Loud reports from river ice indicate an early thaw.

A wolf "whinnying" (howling) denotes a change in the weather.

To see a cat washing its face is an indication of an unexpected visitor; sharpening its claws denotes that it will soon receive some meat.

DELAWARE FOOD RESOURCES

IN AN EARLIER section it was pointed out that according to native belief, human health is dependent upon "pure, natural" food. Products of the fields and forests thus acquired a sacred character (Speck, 1931, p. 50), and food and medicine in Delaware conception were not totally unlike. It follows from this that the ailments afflicted the Indians in modern times are considered as being due to a departure from the ancient food regimen provided by the Creator. Investigation of the food supply, and its methods of preparation, was thought worthy of being taken up as part of the present phase of inquiry. The results are embodied in the present section, partly through their bearing upon health as dependent upon food. Except for this interrelation, the subject matter might seem to be more definitely an economic one.

Maize

Among the food products used by the Delaware, Indian maize *(Zea mays)* stands out as the staple vegetable product. Maize is believed to provide nourishment for the soul as well as for the body. The reverence for the Spirit of Maize[1] and for the processes of its preparation, still survives among the Delaware.

Before presenting the data which deals with the preparation of corn foods, it seems appropriate to mention native beliefs concerning the origin of this sacred food.[2] Maize, "original corn" or "common corn," is a gift from the Creator and in former times, according to Harrington *(op. cit.,* pp. 43, 141), was considered as one of the powerful

[1] Harrington, 1921, pp. 43, 193.

[2] For further information dealing with the maize complex in eastern North America, particularly among the Iroquois, see Parker, 1910; Converse, 1910; Waugh, 1916. The writer (1930) has noted the survival of certain traits indicating the presence of a religious rite in the early period among the southern New England tribes. For the Southeastern peoples, consult Swanton, 1928 b., pp. 443-444.

262 Spirit Beings. Zeisberger *(op. cit.,* p. 139) referred to Indian corn as
● 173 the "wife of the Indian," and, in describing certain ceremonial rites, stated that they offered bear's flesh as a sacrifice to the corn. He also said that corn was offered ceremonially to the deer and bear. Apparently, Harrington (*ibid.,* pp. 70, 195) did not learn the details of this Corn-Spirit rite but the plant was, however, mentioned as a guardian spirit, Mother Corn. There is an interesting ceremony recorded by Dr. Speck [3] which the Delaware held to propitiate the spirit of Mother Corn whom they considered to hold protection over all vegetation. It is related that many years ago the corn crops began to decrease, so that people became alarmed. The leading men of the tribe met and agreed that to avert a famine, a ceremony must be performed to appease the Maize Spirit. It was feared that she had become displeased and intended to abandon her children, the Delaware. In this way the Corn Harvest Rite originated and the performance of its ritual made the occasion of a festival.

262 Corn also figured in the ceremonial diet of the participants of the
252 Big House Ceremony. Dr. Speck (1931, p. 73) notes that corn flour and hominy were prepared and served by women attendants.[4] These foods were prepared in wooden mortars kept expressly for ceremonial use.[5] As was previously stated, corn gruel or hominy is considered to be the proper food for sick or convalescing persons.[6]

Indian corn of the variegated variety is known as "common" or "original corn" [7] Another variety, called "hollow corn," is ground into flour for use in making bread.

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[3] 1937a, pp. 79-90. In addition to the Corn Harvest rite and Corn Famine text, Dr. Speck has an account of the Vegetation Ceremony now performed bi-annually in the spring and fall. These gatherings are now called "Bread Dances" and in addition to the performance of a ritual, afford an occasion for recreation. Both men and women take part.

[4] The three men and three women who are responsible for the ceremonial equipment and assist in a ceremonial role in the nightly performances during the period of worship in the Big House. (Speck, 1931, pp. 71, 75.)

[171] [5] A similar observance has been recorded for the Mohegan of Connecticut and the Indians of Wampanoag extraction at Gay Head, Mass. See Tantaquidgeon, 1930, pp. 5-7.

[6] See Diet, p. 14.

[171] [7] I have observed that my own group at Mohegan, Conn., and the people at Gay Head, Mass., regard varied-colored corn to be the original variety and value it very highly.

4: Tantaquidgeon E-5 (1930) 1942
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have seen *Maté-kanis* and they usually became noted for their physical strentgh. *Maté-kanis* is not seen any more because the Indians have changed their mode of living and are not clean enough to be visited by such spiritual beings. The white man's ways are so far removed from the ways of the Indian that if we adopt any of them we cannot expect to see many of the things which were commonly seen before we knew of his strange ways." [1]

The Seven Wise Men

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"Years ago there were seven wise men among the Indians. So great was their pride that they did not wish to associate with the common people. Because they were so wise and great, they had to find a way to conceal themselves from the people. After thinking over the matter very seriously they said, 'We will turn into rocks of odd shapes.' Now there happened to be a young man who was gifted [1] and he went out to walk on a hillside. As he walked along he noticed the seven peculiarly shaped rocks and as he stopped to look at them, one of them spoke to him. The young man recognized them at once as being the seven prophets and they conversed together. They told him not to tell where they were, but someone noticed his frequent visits to the spot, and soon they were again sought by curious people. Now they must leave the quiet hillside and go elsewhere. After a while there appeared in the forest seven stately cedar trees. More perfectly formed trees were never before seen and they were greatly admired. It was not long before someone discovered that they were the seven prophets and they again had to change their form and depart. The Creator thought that it was of no use to place them on earth as they were being constantly bothered by earthly things so he placed them in the heavens. There we see the seven stars [2] as they were placed there so long ago by the Creator."

[1] According to Wi-tapanóxwe every individual is "gifted" or has some supernatural power. In some it is developed early in life, while in other individuals it remains a latent undeveloped force.

[2] The Pleiades.

their Wampum, which is proportioned to the quality of the Offense or Person injured, or of the Sex they are of: for in case they kill a woman, they pay double, and the reason they render is , That she breedeth Children, which men cannot do." (Penn, p. 43). Except for the concept of different recompense according to the sex of the person injured, the above statements are confirmed by other writers. More common than recompense in the case of murder or rape, however, was the death of the offender at the hands of the injured person's family 12 (Brainerd, p. 356; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 329; Huttenber, p. 48; Harrington, 1913, p. 217).

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Religion

All of the Delaware accounts of the origin of the world and of the tribe center around a giant mythical tortoise related in some way to the Turtle phratry and the occasion of that phratry's pre-eminance over the other two. The most complete version is found in the writings of Danckaerts whose visit to this region dates back to 1679. He asked an old Indian where the first of his race came from.

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> "He was silent for a little while as if unable to climb up at once so high with his thoughts, or to express them without help, and then took a piece of coal out of the fire where he sat, and began to write upon the floor. He first drew a circle, a little oval to which he made four paws or feet, a head and a tail; 'This', said he, 'is a tortoise, lying in the water around it', and he moved his hand around the figure continuing, 'This was or is all water, and so at first was the world or the earth, when the tortoise gradually raised its round back up high, and the water ran off of it, and thus the earth became dry.' He then took a little straw and placed it on end in the middle of the figure and proceeded, 'The earth was now dry, and there grew a tree in the middle of the earth, and the root of this tree sent forth a sprout beside it, and there grew upon it a man, who was the first male; This man was then alone, and would have remained alone, but the tree bent over until its top touched the earth, and there shot therein another root from which came forth another sprout, and there grew upon it the woman, and from these two are all men produced...'" (Danckaerts, pp. 77-80).

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The following writers also refer to the turtle as the earth and the agent of the creation of man: Heckewelder (1881, p. 250); Kalm (p. 606); Ziesberger (1870, p. 218). Other creation myths have the general theme that the people lived under the earth before they came up to live on the surface (Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 249-50).

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The Gods of the Delaware

776 The Delaware believed in a supreme first power, "who had not only produced or made all things, but produces every day...Everything he makes and does is good." (Danckaerts, p. 174). This does not mean that the creator necessarily creates everything himself, but what ever being creates (as, for example, the tortoise in the creation myth) does so as his agent; Brainerd noted that although the Indians paid reverential attention to birds, beasts, fishes and reptiles, "...they do not indeed suppose a divine power essential to, or inhering in, these creatures; but that some invisible beings ...communicate to these animals a great power; ...and so make these creatures the immediate authors of good to certain persons." (Brainerd, pp. 344-45). Likewise the guardian spirits and all other beings with unusual power derive it from the Great Spirit (Penn, p. 37; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 128)

In addition to granting objects of nature special power on certain occasions, the Great Spirit is believed to have given more or less permanent control over certain aspects of nature to lesser beings. From this arises their concept of the lesser deities such as the four directions, the Sun, the Moon, Thunders, Living Solid Face or Mask Being (Harrington, 1913, pp. 226-27; Brainerd, p. 345: Heckwelder, 1881, pp. 212-213). We know from later sources that this last being is the guardian of the animals. He is the only deity whose appearance is specifically designated and represented 532 by a costume. The face is a wooden mask painted half red and half [292] black; its body, which was supposed to have been hairy, is represented by a suit of bearskin (Harrington, 1921, p. 33). Apparently Brainerd saw a shaman dressed to represent this being for his description coincides in all details (Brainerd, p. 237). The only other known images of the Delaware were faces, also painted red and black, which were carved on the Big House posts and miniature stone faces which were worn around the neck. Present day Delwares think of the former as representing the spirits in charge of each of the twelve heavens, and consider them related to the Living Solid Face (Beatty, p. 22; Harrington, 1921, p. 31). The latter were ac- [277] cording to Harrington, worn as good luck or good health charms (Harrington, 1921, p. 36). An example of one found in an east coast site is shown in Skinner (1920, p. 5).

773 The Delaware also told of a super-human man who had come in 776 the remote past and taught them how to live. In Lindstrom's version, a Lenape woman became pregnant and gave birth to a son although no man had any connection with her. This boy, "...had so much to say that it was a great wonder and performed many miracles and wonders. When he now became somewhat large he departed from us and went up into the air... 'He promised to come back to us, but he never came back to us again,' they say." (Lindstrom, p. 208). In other accounts these same features are combined with a more specific refer-

ence to this person's having taught them the correct way to live and perform their sacrifices (Brainard, p. 345; Luckenbach, p. 616; Brinton, 1888, p. 38). 773 776

Methods of Worship

The all-pervasive method of worship was sacrifice of burned flesh or tobacco. The correct method for performing these sacrifices, the dances, the order of procedure, method of constructing the house in which they were to be performed and other details were prescribed to the ancestors of the Delaware in the distant past. Most of these details escaped the notice, or at least failed to arouse the interest of our earliest observers, but Penn sketched their ceremonies in the following general terms: 782 796

> "Their Worship consists of two parts, Sacrifice and Cantico. Their Sacrifice is their first Fruits; the first and fattest Buck they kill, goeth to the fire, where he is all burnt with a Mournful Ditty of him that performeth the Ceremony... The other part is their Cantico, performed by round-Dances, sometimes words, sometimes Songs, then Shouts, two being in the middle, that begin, and by Singing and Drumming on a Board direct the Chorus: Their Postures in the Dance are very Antick and differing, but all keep measure..." (p. 38-39; also see Lindstrom, p. 208).

The emphasis on traditionalism in Delaware religion makes it not unlikely that the ceremonies which were witnessed in the eighteenth century were similar to those performed before the white man arrived.13 [177]

The following description of the fall ceremony is taken primarily from an eye witness account of Abraham Luckenbach, but where details are corroborated by other writers the reference is also cited. It coincides in many details with the ceremony described in Frank Speck's A Study of the Delaware Indian Big House Ceremony, which is an annotated account of a recitation of the ceremony as remembered by a Delaware Indian living in Oklahoma. 796

The ceremony was held in the Big House, which also served as council house. "The entrance was at both gable ends and there was neither floor nor ceiling. Near both ends and in the middle, there were three fires over which hung large kettles in which corn and meat were boiled for the guests and always kept in readiness for them to eat, when finished with the dance." The smoke opening left at the ridge of the roof and the bench running around the interior wall were similar to those already described for ordinary houses (also see Beatty, p. 22). 796 344

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
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The whole matter is well summed up by Loskiel[11] where he says: "Besides the Supreme Being, they believe in good and evil spirits, considering them as subordinate deities. . . . They seem to have had no idea of the *Devil*, as the Prince of Darkness, before the Europeans came into the country." This idea is also supported by Zeisberger[12] and Brainerd,[13] although Holm[14] seems to give contrary evidence.

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MANĬ'TOWŬK OF THE FOUR DIRECTIONS

The Lenape now in Oklahoma believe that when the earth was created, and everything finished, the Creator gave the four quarters of the earth to four powerful beings, or *manĭ'towŭk*, whose duty it was to take care of these regions. These personages are the cause of the winds which blow from the different directions, with the exception of the tornado, which is thought to have a different origin. In the winter, it is said that the *manĭ'towŭk* of the north and the south are playing the game of bowl and

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CHAPTER VI

Minsi Big House Ceremonies

HE following account of the great ceremonies of the Minsi, which correspond to the annual ceremony of the Unami, was obtained from Chief James Wolf, now deceased, and his nephew, Chief Nellis Timothy. 796x

Myth of Origin

At first, it appears, the Indians did not know how to worship, so Kĕ'tanĭto'-wĕt, the Great Manĭ'to or God, now called Pa''tŭmawas, came down and told them what to do. After following his instructions, they watched him when he ascended. He carried twelve sumach sticks in his hand, and they could see them shine far up in the air. Every now and then he dropped one, and when he 773 796x

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
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Lenape

dropped the twelfth he disappeared, while they heard the heavens crack like thunder behind him as he went in. After this the Lenape began to hold these meetings according to the instructions he had given them.

NUMBER OF CEREMONIES

There were two of these ceremonies every year, both held in the Minsi Big House (*W'a'takan*), which was quite similar to that of the Unami. One of these, performed about June when the wild strawberries were ripe, lasted only a single night; the other, early in winter, covered twelve days and nights. This latter corresponds to the Annual Ceremony of the Unami.

At the June ceremony fresh strawberries were made into a drink for the people, which reminds one of the Iroquois Strawberry Dance, or Dance of First Fruits, as it is sometimes called. Strawberries were dried at this time to make a drink for the Winter Ceremony.

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
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CHAPTER VII

THE MISI'NG$^{w^1}$ OR MASK

•773 THE Minsi version of the myth explaining the origin of their great ceremonies has been already related, but not that of the Unami, for the latter, which concerns itself with the origin of the Unami rites as now practised, is so intimately interwoven with the story of the *Misi'ng$^{w^1}$*, or mask (fig. 1), that it was thought best to place it in the chapter devoted to that curious being, with whose position in the Lenape pantheon, recorded history, and activities in the Annual Ceremony, we have already become acquainted.

The myth is therefore presented herewith, as related by Chief Charley Elkhair, the Lenape master of ceremonies, with only such additions as later questioning brought forth.

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CHAPTER VIII

Minor Ceremonies

The Doll Being

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THE Doll Being, called by the Unami *O"das* and by the Minsi *Nani'tis*, has been already mentioned as a minor Lenape deity, and it now remains only to relate the ceremonies and beliefs connected with it, beginning with the myth accounting for its origin.

Myth of Origin

Long ago, the Lenape say, some children, playing with sticks, decided to cut faces upon them, and were then very much surprised to notice that the little dolls which they had thus made seemed to have life. Their parents made them throw the dolls away when they discovered this, and most of the children

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
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soon forgot what had happened. One little girl, however, grieved for her doll; it bothered her all the time, and finally she began to dream of it every night. Then she told her parents of her trouble, and they realized that they should not have compelled her to throw the doll away. One night the doll appeared to the child and spoke to her, saying, "Find me and keep me always, and you and your family will ever enjoy good health. You must give me new clothing and hold a dance for me every spring," and then told her exactly what to do. The girl reported this to her parents, who immediately looked for the doll and found it, then dressed it, made some hominy, killed a deer, and held a dance in its honor as they were instructed, and this rite has been continued to the present day.

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PREPARATIONS FOR THE CEREMONY

When the family owning a doll of this kind is ready to conduct the Doll Dance (*O''das-kĭ'nĭkă*), they select two men to

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attendance is large, two such fires are built. Between the changes the doll pole is stuck into the ground near the fire. When the twelfth set is finished, the speaker announces, "The Doll Dance is over," and the feast of hominy and venison is served to everyone. Then the speaker says: "If you want to dance the rest of the night, you may do so, for many of you have come a long way from home and should have a chance for more enjoyment. We will hold another Doll Dance next year." Then they put the doll away and amuse themselves with various social dances until morning.

Minsi Doll Ceremony

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Among the Minsi the beliefs concerning the Doll Being were similar, but differed in detail. As to origin, Wolf told the writer that one time a man lay ill, likely to die, and his family called in a medicine-man, or "witch-doctor." The shaman finally announced that the family must make one of these dolls and care for it, and that the sick man would then get

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
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well. This was done, and the doctor's prediction being realized, the Minsi have ever since made and used these dolls, called in their dialect *nani'tis*, which were transmitted from parents to children. Wolf's own mother had one, carved out of wood in the form of a person, with a woman's dress and moccasins (for as a rule they represent women); and she always cared for it religiously, in the belief that if well treated it would protect the family and give them good health, but if neglected, someone would surely die. Every year, in the fall, when the deer are in their best condition, Wolf's mother held a dance for it, called "Feeding the Nani'tis;" but she did more than feed it: she put new clothes on it, three sets, and new moccasins every year. She believed that the image sometimes went about of its own accord, although she kept it carefully in a box, for the old dresses always seemed worn at the bottom and soiled, and she found burrs clinging to them when she went to put new clothes on "Nani'tis."

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She hired a man especially to hunt a yearling doe for the ceremony, which took place in her own dwelling. The details are lost, but it is remembered that a man beat a little drum and sang while she, as owner, danced around, carrying the doll in her hands, followed by such of the other women present as wished to participate. Said Wolf, "The Nani'tis helped the Indians, that's why they fed it."

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An Old Minsi "Doll."—The writer was able to obtain but one old specimen of this type (pl. VIII), which was procured at the Grand River reserve, Ontario, for the E. T. Tefft collection, now in the American Museum of Natural History, and was described in the writer's article,[a] before cited, as follows:

"Perhaps the most interesting Delaware specimen of all is the little wooden image, about eight inches high, bought of Dr. Jones, which his father, Rev. Peter Jones, described and illustrated in his book under the name 'Nahnestis, the Guardian of Health.' He says:

[776] "'I have in my possession two family gods. One is called *Pahookowaih*—the god that crushes

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
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TRADITIONAL ORIGIN

7%X 5173 The Indians say that a cub bear, kept as a pet by a Lenape family long ago, became a great playmate of one of the little sons of the family, but finally grew so large that the child's parents decided to get rid of it; so they tied a little bag of tobacco around its neck and told it to go away. This it did, but the little boy, its playmate, soon fell ill, and his parents searched in vain for a cure. After a long while one of the Indian doctors told his parents that if they would hold a ceremony of this kind and repeat it every two years, the child would recover and would keep his health. This was done; the boy recovered, and his family, who belong to the Wolf phratry, have continued to practise the rites ever since, believing that it preserves their health.

PREPARATIONS

7%X 346 This ceremony required a special house, which was made new for it every two years, so the first thing the family did, when the time approached, was to find

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
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796 X by Zeisberger[177] may have been of this kind:

"A fourth kind of feast is held in honor of a certain voracious spirit, who, according to their opinions, is never satisfied. The guests are, therefore, obliged to eat all the bear's flesh and drink the melted fat. Though indigestion and vomiting may result they must continue and not leave anything."

OTTER CEREMONY

Similar to the Bear ceremony in many ways, both in traditional origin and in rites, was the observance called *A'ici-gamn'ili*[178], said to mean "compulsory hog-eating," held to propitiate the Otter spirit, a cult whose paraphernalia the writer was fortunate enough to collect for the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation.

[176]

MYTH OF ORIGIN

●773 796 X Many years ago, so runs the story, a little girl about ten years of age was given a young otter for a pet, and this she kept and cared for until it was well grown. About this time she began to feel that she should keep him no longer, for she

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
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had come to realize that he was *pi"lsu"*, meaning "pure" or "sacred," and, like all wild things, belonged to the Powers Above. The old people told her what she must do, so she took her otter down to the creek, and, first tying a little bag of tobacco on his neck, said to him: "Now I shall set you free. I have raised you and cared for you until now you are full grown. Go, then, and follow the ways of your kind."

The otter disappeared into the waters, and the little girl returned to her home, feeling that she had done well. But before a year had passed, a sickness came upon her, which the Indian doctors told her was caused by her pet otter, which wanted something to eat. The only way for the child to get well, they said, was for her to have a hog killed and cooked, and then to invite a number of men to eat it all, in the name of the otter. This was done, and when the men finished eating the hog and the soup, they said that the girl would recover, and so she did. For this ceremony they took an

[Text continues on page 179]

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certain dance given as a memorial to the dead was supposed to clear a way for the spirit of the deceased to the spirit land. When a member of the Wolf clan died, the flesh was stripped from the bones and buried, and the bones were dried at some private place. At the end of 12 days the skeleton would be wrapped in white buckskin and taken to a place prepared for the dance and there held up by some one. As the singers would sing the men who held the skeleton would shake it and the bones would rattle as the dancers would proceed around it. After the dance the skeleton was buried.

[773]

Traditions say that in ancient times some of the head men in the Wolf clan had a dream that they must treat their dead in that way, and the custom has been handed down to them for many centuries. The other clans say the custom does not belong to them. The custom has been long dropped. There has not been a skeleton dance since 1860."

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

796 at the termination of the rite to pray, forming a line at the west door of the Big House. Why they prayed with the wampum beads in their mouth, figuratively with their "heart" in their mouths, is not explicitly known to the informant, but we are told that wampum is the "heart" of the Delaware.

796 773 Reverting to Wi·tapano'xwe's version of the origin of the Turkey group rite, Half Moon added a most interesting supplement to the tradition which I quote as follows as nearly as possible in his words. The origin tale narrates the occasion of the earthquake and bursting forth of black fluid as in a volcanic eruption, as a sign of the anger of the Great Spirit aroused by the evil doings of men, and that the ceremony of the Big House was revealed in a vision to some good men as a means of appeasing the anger of the Supreme One. Half Moon added to this that at the time of the cataclysm the women in terror trying to shelter themselves from the downpour of destruction, took the little children under seven years old and held them in their arms. They knew that children of this age could not be guilty of wrong and so attempted to shield themselves from the Great Spirit's wrath. Finally, we are told, one of the innocents cried out in terror, "Ho, ho; Hă, hă," which became known at once as the revealed prayer-call by which the Great Spirit should be addressed. The distracted people knew that it was the mission of this child to inform them of the means by which the Great Spirit might be invoked in prayer to stay his anger. This most interesting narrative accounts for the origin of the sacred prayer-call so often employed in the procedure of the Big House as recorded in the published work, while for the student of the history of religions we in it have another instance of the ruse of the guilty hiding from wrath behind the shield of innocence.

796 778 773 From Half Moon as a source comes another most significant tradition bearing upon the history of the use of the Mask and the carved images in the Big House Ceremony. According to the Delaware conception of events in the history of their ceremony the images and the Mask Spirit episode (see page 39, "Big House Ceremony") were formally introduced into the rite

7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
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shortly before or about at the time of the arrival of Europeans. 776x 778 773
A transcript of the informant's version is as follows:

"It was relatively late, just about the time when white people were first seen by the Delawares, that they adopted the carved images as part of the ceremonial equipment of the Big House. The images were not made on the posts of the building before. A man of spiritual power had a vision of a monster residing in the East, its body covered with hair, with a face half red and half black. To prove the reality of his vision he induced a companion to accompany him traveling to the East where they finally reached the dwelling place of the monster, proving his existence. Upon this discovery they returned to their people. Having identified the monster and desiring to acquire the power to call upon him for spiritual aid when they desired it, they induced the other Delawares to allow them to carve the likenesses of the monster upon the posts of the Big House. Furthermore they innovated the rite of the False Face or Mask image (Messingk) as personified by an actor who wore the Mask and who was garbed in the bear skin coat and leggings carrying a pouch of the same material and a large snapping turtle shell hand-rattle. Henceforth the Mask Image figured as a potent Spirit Force in the hierarchy of the Manitto assemblage in the Big House celebration. The black- and red-faced hairy monster possessed latent power to effect evil in the lives of men. Hence those to whom he reveals himself in a vision acquire the power to do harm, and since his presence is tolerated among the Big House spirits they may find a place among the worshipers. That is why it is not all for the exercise of the power of good. In the development of Delaware religion as it appears in the Big House, a fault crept in."

What the meaning of this peculiar legend may be as regards the actual history of the Big House Ceremony, one is at a loss to say as yet. It would seem that the position of the Mask Spirit as a canonized Spirit Force amid the benevolent congress of Delaware deities corresponds to that of the Devil's advocate. Before, however, we can admit the tradition as one having historical significance, a wiser analysis and wider comparison of the elements of the major ceremonies of the eastern Indians will have to be invoked. Nevertheless there seems to be a feeling current among some of the religious men with whom I talked that the Big House Ceremony has absorbed some imperfections and that this is one. Half Moon himself even went so far as to declare that the decline of the ceremony as well as of the Delaware Nation, was due to the transgression of accepting an Evil Force as part-sharer of the

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
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worship in the Big House. I might add, as contributing a view-point on the same perplexing question, that early in the eighteenth century the missionary Brainerd, then living with the Delawares on the upper Susquehanna in their village near Sunbury, reported a conversation with a man of the Nation in which was embodied a similar opinion as regards the False Face.

In a section of my study of the Big House Ceremony I indulged in quoting some estimates of the religious spirit among the Delawares adding some of my own impressions in the matter. An opportunity to add to these, since it comes from the writings of a contemporary witness over a century ago when the tribe was resident on the Scioto River, comes from John Brickell. He says: "I know I am influenced to good even at this day more from what I learned among them than what I learned among people of my own color. . . . They worship the Great Spirit whom they call manito, which signifies or conveys to their mind the idea of all strength or rather all sufficiency." [3] This commentary may be adjoined as a supplement to the section in the work referred to, dealing also with the native concept of the Great Spirit, as something corroborative of the early belief of this tribe in the existence of a supreme deity and is intended for the eyes of authorities such as Dr. Schmidt who have devoted so much attention to the nativity of the concept in American culture.

In the study of the Big House Ceremony some space was devoted to the construction of the belief regarding the path taken by the soul in its journey from earth to the spirit realm. The assumption was made that the Milky Way was considered to be the path in question. Yet the inability on the part of several sources to furnish the native term applied to the Milky Way and their uncertainty as to what symbol in the sky represented the path of the spirit left the matter in a state of doubt. The fact that among other Algonkian peoples the Milky Way is "Spirit or Ghost Path" has some bearing on the point that we are trying to clear up in Delaware belief. It remained for inquiry among the Delaware-Munsee of the Six

[3] "Narrative of John Brickell's Captivity among the Delaware Indians," *The American Pioneer*, I, 2d ed., Cincinnati, 1842, pp. 43, 46, 48, 56.

THE GREASE DRINKING CEREMONY, THE BEAR RITE

796 *A·'kq'ce·i·k·a'wan*, "brush shed or arbor". The name is derived from the roofed shed in which several accounts tell us the rite was celebrated. Harrington gives the title "*Papasokwi''lun*", without offering an explanation of the term. Its proper form is *pəpa''suk·wi·'hil·an*, "they rise up and take part", meaning that the men invited to assist the bringer-in of the ceremony do so by reciting their visions, as is done in the Big House. This term is not exclusively applicable to the Bear or Brush Arbor rite but denotes any of the feasts of the usual Delaware pattern in which the men who have had visions take part in the ritual to bring on the spiritual blessings as an aid to the purpose of the owner of the ceremony. Furthermore the term given by Parks for the Bear ceremony, "undah ah-ke wunnumong," properly *e'nda axki·kɔn·u'muwaŋg*, "when they engage in trials of spiritual experiences," also applies, as does the preceding term, to family feasts of the general Delaware pattern emphasized long ago by Zeisberger whose description is quoted in the introductory section.

I am treating this ceremony as a definite rite intended for the placation of the bear. Everything in the several accounts of the rite that we have points to this manifest purpose, yet some uncertainty prevails in the minds of several authorities in regard to discrepancies in the details of performance in the memory of those who have contributed accounts. At present, I should incline to regard the variant descriptions as referring to different phases of the ceremony. In view of the differences, not to force Wi·tapano'xwe's version as having final and exclusive identity, as he records it, I have included in footnotes the quotations of those whose versions differ.[1]

[173]

[1] Harrington (*op. cit.*, p. 172) gives the traditional origin of the ceremony as follows: "The Indians say that a cub bear, kept by a Lenape family long ago, became a great playmate of the little sons of the family, but finally grew so large

7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
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The tale in which a bear figures as the character influencing 796*
the social or religious destinies of a family is common through-
out the eastern Algonkian area. Its present recorded range of

that the child's parents decided to get rid of it; so they tied a little bag of tobacco [773]
around its neck and told it to go away. This it did, but the little boy, its play-
mate, soon fell ill, and his parents searched in vain for a cure. After a long while
one of the Indian doctors told his parents that if they would hold a ceremony of
this kind and repeat it every two years, the child would keep his health. This
was done; the boy recovered, and his family, who belong to the Wolf phratry, have
continued to practise the rites ever since, believing that it preserves their health."

The following version was obtained from Mr. J. A. Parks, Copan, Oklahoma, in 1930, through correspondence.

"The bear ceremony is mentioned by Harrington in his work on the 'Religion and Ceremonies of the Lenape.' Harrington's account is more or less correct. However, in this respect it is wrong: it is the *Otter* Ceremony which is held in the brush arbor, and not the *Bear* Ceremony. The writer saw the bear ceremony held at the home of Colonel Jackson, who was chief of the Turkey Clan, about thirty-five years ago.

"The leader of the ceremony takes the turtle-shell rattle in his hand and walks slowly around the fire (Pl. 2). As he goes along, he shakes the shell rattle and sings or chants an account of some vision he has at some time in his life experienced. At the same time, an attendant goes to the brass kettle hanging on the fire pole, which contains pure grease; he dips up some of the grease with a cup, and pours it into the pail held in his left hand. Then he goes in the opposite direction to that of the man singing and shaking the rattle. When they meet, the attendant hands the singer a cup full of the grease, who drinks a little of it and pours the rest into the fire, or, he may, if he should see some one among those present whose father was or is a member of the same clan as his father, take the cup of grease and give it to her or him, who then must drink a little of the grease and pour the rest in the fire. The party whom he obliges to do that might happen to be some bashful young boy or girl, who is, of course, abashed, which causes amusement and laughter.

"After this, the singer goes on with his walk and chant; the attendant moves in the opposite direction and, when they meet again, the same performance is repeated. When that man has finished, another man takes the shell and goes through the same performance, and so on, one after another, until all of the men who care to take part have taken part."

(A water-color painting of this rite by Mr. Parks, the author of the above notes, is in the University of Pennsylvania Museum. See Pl. 2.)

Unfortunately, Zeisberger (*op. cit.*, p. 138) devotes but little more than a single sentence to what is possibly a reference to the ceremony in question. He writes: "At another feast, a certain voracious spirit who is never satisfied is honored. The guests are required to eat all the bear's flesh and to drink the melted fat. Though indigestion and vomiting may result they must continue and not leave anything."

Heckewelder (*op. cit.*, p. 212) says: "There are even some animals, which though they are not considered as invested with power over them, yet are believed to be placed as guardians over their lives; and of course entitled to some notice and to some tokens of gratitude."

7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
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X 796 distribution embraces the Wabanaki peoples where the bear episode reaches a high point of importance as a social explanatory tale. Here the tale concerns a child, lost by its parents, abducted by a she-bear who nouriahes the foundling for almost a year before traces are found leading to its recovery and to the death of the bear foster-mother, but not until the bear has imposed the taboo of never killing she-bears upon the restored child and his descendants. The Wabanaki peoples seem, however, never to have developed the cult of the bear among the posterity of the hero of the tale. The Delawares did, and this, together with the identical tale of abduction, makes the Delaware case most interesting from the point of view of historical interpretation.[1]

Without attempting to deal with the possibilities of theory in the case of this tale and its associations in the northeast, we may proceed to assemble the Delaware information. It begins with the narrative of the Bear Abductor [2] to account for the association formed between the bear and a certain human family in which is passed down the obligation to perform a rite called the Brush Arbor ceremony by some, the Bear Ceremony by others.

In explanation of the ceremony and its history among the

[1] The distribution of an essentially similar tale throughout Europe and Asia not as a mythical narrative but as an historical event of contemporary reality would make an interesting theme for study. For instance, as late as the Sept. 30, 1931, issue of the *Boston Herald* it is reported as an actual occurrence in Russia.

● [173] [2] A small boy lost in the woods was found by a woman with two children who took him home. She proved to be a bear with cubs who lived in a tree-trunk. When finally discovered and rescued by the people the boy had acquired some ursine habits. The she-bear was killed but the cubs were raised as pets. When they grew large they were released with a wampum string around their necks to dissolve the relationship between owner and pet lest calamity befall. A ceremony of release from possible sickness was thus founded which continued in the family of the little boy.

The first portion of the tale is told by R. C. Adams ("Legends of the Delaware Indians," Washington, 1905, pp. 61–3) in a somewhat embellished form. A full version of this significant tradition is again part of a collection obtained recently from the Delaware-Munsee of the Six Nations, Ontario, during investigation carried out by the writer through a grant of the Faculty Research Fund, Univ. of Penna. Here it is also an important historical myth, though it is not connected with the foundation of a cult festival as in the case under consideration among the Oklahoma Delawares. Where and when did the latter incorporate the feature of a family feast-rite into the ancient narrated event?

7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
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ORIGIN LEGEND OF BEAR OR BRUSH ARBOR CEREMONY

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Lɔ'mwe nɔtci· wendausi·'eŋgʷ kwut·enau''ki la•'ke-
Long ago since beginning of our life one kind cere-

yɔk·ɑn lowe•'nhaŋgʷ e'nda wi·hi'ltiŋg ɔk
mony is said, so said when named [by the people] and

xa'n·e• lowenda's·u axkɑ'ce·i·k·a'wɑn. Yu'kwe kɑn-
accordingly is called brush-shed. Now recent-

dju'kwe e'nda la'xauɔ'xən·e•k' yu·'li·l keni·i·'
ly when at the forks these [rivers] Caney

si·'powa' na'ne' ta'li· taɔ'ŋgan e•'li· ne•'ki·k'
creeks there where was lost [the rite] because these

e•lhake''ti·t' ne'k·e lɑk'hi·'k·wi· pɔlɑ'ci·ma•'nɑ
conducting the ceremony at that time [it seems] Frenchman

wi·'taema't·tci· tɔl·ha'k·e•n. me•'tci· yu'kwe we•kwi·'-
his wife it was her ceremony. Now then they are

ne•yu'ŋga. Yu'kwe yu'ni· la•k·eyɔ'k·ɑn ni'·cenau''kat'
all dead now. Now this ceremony is divided into two parts

we'ndji·ki·ci·mgɔ't·ɔk. a'lande lɔ'mwe awe•ni'ŋgaxke
from which it originated. Some long time ago persons now dead

i·'yap'tci· e'nda awe•'n ke'ko liŋgwe-
caused when creature-thing [appearing] in form

hel·alu'k·uk te•'kɔnaye's·a'. ɔk xa'ne• kwu't·en-
of vision as a wild animal. And although one kind

au''ki· e'nda oxtca'nɔnd' ma'xk'ʷtɔt'. me•'tci· e'nda
or form. when having a pet little bear. Now when

ki·ci·'ki·t' na'lu'we•n pɑ'k·i·tanehi·'ne•n wa'ni· talɔ-
full grown then it was said "Let us turn it free this our

mu·'s·ɔna t'·t·a te•'kɔne. me•'tci· ke•xu'k·wɔnak·e't·e
pet so[illegible]here in the wilds." Now when it was full-grown

na' wi·xka'[illegible] tɔ'hi·'pa'lsi·n kwu't·i· mi·'mɑs
then suddenly became sick one child

xkwe'tcɔtc. nace•' nen'pi·'k·e•s wendji·'mɑn. e'nda
young woman, girl. Then sweat-doctor sent for. When

pɔ'n·dji·t' pi·mowa'k·aniŋ na' mɔ'xkamən tɔli·'
he entered sweat-house then it was discovered that

maiŋga'lkwun ne•'li·l ɔ'xtcana's·a' na'
there was sympathetic relation between these pet, and then

[1] Caney Creek; name borrowed from English.

796 lu'we·n yu'kwe hwtɑk·i·'i· pa·'ṭ·ətc nɑtc' pəmɑ'ṭ·un-
539 it was said from here backward he came then to plead

773 ha·'lan, ɔk ke'ko naxpa·'p'tunha·'lan na'li''
spiritually. And whatever thing they offer with prayer they then

paxki·'tanehi·'n te·'kane.
turn [the animal] free in the woods.

Ce·'la hyu'ni· la·p'tu'naxgat' e'ndɑ pəmɑ'ṭ·un-
Because that here are the instructions when pleading spirit-

ha·'lənd' te·kəna'yes ge't·a paxki·'lənd'
ually with wild animal in order to prepare to secure aid from him

lo·'we·n. ɔk na li· wi·'hil·a·n e·lowe'sí·t'. "me·'tci·ta'
they say. And then call him by name. "Now then

i'k·amaxte·'xɑn təli·' me·'tci· paxkandji·'ki·n. me·'tci·
the time has come that now you are full-grown. Now

kəni·'hi·l·a't'amɑ ce·'lahəne'n·i· pe·'mi·te·'kəne·k.
you are at your maturity this is what your life has come to.

ngwi·s nane'' kwu'ndji·ai·n nane'' tə'p·i·n ki·t'ha'k·e.
My son there you belong where dwells your fellow tribesman.

yu'kwe ce·la'yu'ki·k' ke·'kɔk k'naxpo·'xwe·n.
Here now there these wampum you shall carry with you as you walk.

ɔk tə'li· kenaxki·'xkwun tə't·a e·'ləmuk·wəna'k·a
And because it will protect you for time to come

se·'kausi·yan. pə'nae·'ləndaməŋ yu'kwe yu'ni· ni·'lo·na
as long as you live. Consider now now this given to us

mi·łkwu's·ieŋg· wi·'ki·eŋg· ɔk pə'nae·ləma'ɔk yu'ki·k
our gift our home and think about them these

ce· xi·'s·əmus·ɑk' ɔk xɑ's·ɑk. kɑ'tci· na't·e·lə-
those younger brothers and elder brothers. Do not worry

mi·'heŋg· wu'ndji· ma't·a pe·'xosi·kako·'ne·n ke'ko
about us that if not we might be overcome thing

mat·awe·'łtɑk cuk' pə'nae'ləma k'ha'k·ai·' təli·'te
not good but evil but think of yourself, that will

ke·'p·e' ik·ali'tci· pe'tci· ɔlama'lsi·n. me·'tci·
yourself in time to come you will enjoy health. Now

te'p·i·laha'p'a e'nxa·p'tune·ya.
sufficient for now what I have to say this time.

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
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THE LOST BOY ADOPTED BY A SHE-BEAR

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e'nda pi·laye'tcɑtc' tɑɔ'ŋgalɔk' ma'xko nɔnoʷ'nɑk'.
When boy lost bear adopted.

ɔk cɔm'utc' lɔ'mwe mi·'mǫs tɑɔ'ŋgɑł lowe'ʷ'nhaŋgʷ
And also by the way long ago child lost it was said,

pi·laye'tcɑtc' i·ya'p'tci· e'nda papi'xti·t' mi·mǫ'sɑk
boy during while playing with children

te'ʷ'kɑne'. nanɑkwu't·i· wi·xka'utci· namaʷ'laʷn tɔ'li·
in woods. Then one suddenly they noticed that

ma't·a wi·tc'kɑneʷ'wɑn te'xi· ma't·a nɔteʷ'lɔmayuwa'o
not with the rest of them really not pay attention to him

neʷ'ki·k' mi·mǫ'sɑk. meʷ'tci· e'nda lɔ'kwi·k' na'kɔ-
those children. Now when evening it was

nɔndj hwi·'kayo'yɔma to'lɔmatu'ni·keʷne'ʷyɔ kwu't·i
then his elders [parents] they began to hunt one

t'pu'kwe la'p·i· ɔ'p·ɑŋge kwut·i·gi·'ckwe.
night next morning all day.

xa'n·ki· keʷxu'kwuni· nalowe'ʷn "meʷ'tci· nu'tckwe
Finally several days it was said "Now useless

nat·ona'wɔna'. meʷ'tci· et' awe'ʷn aye's·ɔɔ·[1] wuni'-
to search for him. Now evidently creature animal he has been

hilɑɔ'ŋgan." mat·a kwun·i·'i· neʷ'li· nut'xani·k·we't'
killed by." Not long afterward while hunting squirrels

kwu't·i·ski·'n·u wi·xka'utci· neʷlo'xwe't' laʷmci'ŋge na'
one young man suddenly while walking in woods then

wun·eʷ'yɔn awe'ʷni·k' peʷ'paʷp'hat·i'xti·t'. ahalɔwi·'i·
saw some creatures playing about. More and more

ki·'xki· li·' ki·mhɔ'k·e. meʷ'tci· ki·'xkitci· pa't·e
closely secretly crept up. Now close by coming

kekota'l·a kwu't·i· awe'ʷn lɔnaʷ'p·e. na tɔli·' nɑna'ɔn
here the thing was one person human. There as he recognized him

nale't'ma na'ni· pi·'lɔtcɑtc' kɑn·dju'k·ʷʷ eʷ'loweŋg
that it was that boy recently as said

tɑɔ'ŋgɑł. meʷ'tci· e'nda ap·a'tci·t' wi·'ki·t' nani·'
was lost. Now when he returned home then

aki·'n·u na tɔl·atci·'mwi·n. lo'weʷ "i'k·ali· e'nda
young man then he spread the news. He said "Down there where

[1] Note that the animal is spoken of as a human being.

x 796 539 xi'ŋgwi· ci'ŋge·k ne·'yɔ pe·wi'tci·pa·'pi·t' na'ni·
big forest I saw playing with him [a bear] that

● 773 pi·'laye'tcɔtc' e·'loweŋg tɑɔ'ŋgɑl." e'nda we·'ta'kɔn-
boy who was said to be lost." When he told his story

u't·iŋg lo'we· "xi'ŋgwi· nani· hi't·uk ɔk pohe·'s·u
and explained he said "Big the tree and hollow

a'hi· hukwe·'yuŋg na'ne kɑ'n·da p'kwu's·i·n." lowe·'
very high up there up where hole in tree." He said

"ngi·'mhɔla'wɔk' na'ne nɔwu'ndji· ga'ski· wuli·'ne·yɔn
"I crept up on him that is why I could well see him

cuk' nama·'lkuk' ɔk ca·'i· pɔndji·hil·e·'yuk
but they noticed me and right away they ran into the hole

hi't·'kuŋg." na' ca·'i· we·hɔm·a'ɔn kwi·'kayo'yɔma.
the tree." Then right away they notified his old man [parent].

me·'tci· e'nda we·'mi· awe·'n we'u's·i·t' na' maye·'-
Now when every body knew of it then they called

ma·n lə'n·owak. na' ca·'e ik·alo'lti·n
together the men. Then right away there they all went

seka'kɔnd. na'lowe·n "me·'tci·ta wei·'tɔt'
last time seen at that spot. Then it was said, "Now it is expected that

kɔnup'ho'mɔna e·'li· kowato·'ne·n na'ni· nu'cae'hɔme *
we are in danger because we know that female bear with cubs

ma'xta·pe·'yɔ e'nda nuce·'i·t'."
* very mean when she has young."

Me'tci· e'nda nama·'s·i·t' nani·' nu·caye'hɔme
Now when he noticed that female bear with cubs

na' ca·'e ikɑ́' wu'ndji a'lɔmi li·xaxku·'s·i·n. e'nda
at once there from began to climb down. When

m'i·tci·'hi·l·a·t na' ca·'e ik·a'wundji pas·kwul·a'ɔn.
she came in sight right away from there shot her off the tree.

nace·' awe·'n aloka·'lan tə'li· kɔn·da'ku's·i·n hi't'-
And then some one they appointed to climb up on

kuŋg ɔk təli·' li·'xɔna·n ne'li·l pi·layetcɔ'tca'. ɔk
tree and to take down that boy. And

* *e'hɔme* generic term for "bear kind," or genus Ursus; *xi'ŋgwe'hɔme* "big bear," or male bear.

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ənahəli·' we·'mi· enxu'ce·t maxtə't·a· na'ka ne'heland nu'cae'me·'yu.
also all the litter little bears deceased killed mother bear.

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e'nda hwtəki·i·' pe·'cəwənd na'ni mi·'mqs na'
When back home they brought that child and

a'ləmi·' əxtca·'na·n ne·'ki·k maxk'·tə'tak. mat·ak-
began to pet those little bears. Not so very

wəni·i·' na' təlami·' atci·'mwi·n na'ni· pi·laye'tcətc.
long after then began telling his story the boy.

lowe·'hund "ni· ni·hila'tci da'l'si·n da'tc'iŋ xe·yɔ'k·an
He said they say "I myself was cause my disobedience

wundji· nhi·'land na'ka ma'xko gahe's·əna'na."
why was killed defunct bear our mother."

lo'we· "ke·xu'k·wuni· nəwi·'nowa'muk na'ka ma'xko
He said, "Several days she pleaded with me defunct bear

lo'we· na'nen sɔ'k·i· məli·'mwi·n. də'luk' 'ni·'tcan
she said that all the while cried. She said 'my child

me'tci· ma't·a kwun·i·'i· kəna·'ponałke'hen·a cuk'
now not long before they are coming upon us but

yu'kwea·' sa'kənəma'ni· yu'ni skwə'nde ne'ni· ki·p'
now if you raise up in sight in this entrance that your arrow

na· yu'kwe ma't·a ni·łke·'wan.' də'luk 'alə'p·a'
and here now not would kill me.' She said, 'tomorrow

ne·'sko paxa'k·we·k natc pe·lti·n' lowe·'. ako'·
before noon then they will be here,' she said. Did not

ha'ci· djəp·i·na'o na'ni gahe's·əna ɔk ne·'ki·k
never I discover what they were that one our mother and those

·nəxi·'səmə's·ak kandj nayu' ki·'ekwi·k natc nəma'-
my brothers younger until this very day then they

xka·ke·nen. ge'hel·a haŋg· ci·elə'ndam e·'li nu'lax-
found us. Certainly as said I am sorry because I was well

tca·'huk ɔk nu'li·pəndə'o e'nda ke'ko li·t' gahe·s·ə-
treated and I understood when something said our

na'na."
mother."

Nane' ki·'ekwi·k e'nda t'ho'nand nain·' pi·laye'-
That day when captured the boy

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x 796 539 1773 tcɔtc hwtɔk·i·'i· pe·cowa·' wi·'ki·t ɔk nahɔli·'
back home brought him his home and besides

ne·'ki·k' maxk'wtə'tɔk nace·' a'lɔmi· oxtca·'na·n
the little bears right away began to pet them

ne·'ki·k ma'xkɔk. xa'nt'ki· tɔli·' gi·ci·ki·ne·'yo.
the bears. And finally until full grown they were.

nalowe·'n me'tci· gi·'ci·kohaulana'nɔk yu'kwe kowa·-
And it was said, "Now we have raised them now , you

to·'nen ci·kwi·ne·'yɔk takuw' wɔli·xɔno·'wi· tə'li·
know they are orphans it is not right that

pa'xki·tanihi·'ne·n kandj hi'tami· pɔmɔto'nha·lə'nde.
we turn them loose until first we must perform a ceremony.

ɔk li·'xan tɔli'tc naxpaŋgoma·'ne·n na'ni·
And it is the rule that also we give with ceremony something of worth the

te·kɔna'yes· ke'ko." nace·' hukweni·ho·'la·n we·'mi·
wild animal something." And then they put around his neck all

enxi'xti·ti ne·'ki·k ma'xkɔk ke·'k'w.
in number as the bears wampum.

"Metci· elaŋgo·'mɔleŋg i'k·a pe·te·'lɔmuko·'ne·n
"Now[1] our relation it has come our time

tə'li· mi·'lkwus·i·n ɔk hwtɔk·i·'i· mi·'l·ɔn·e·n ɔ'nda
to you to be given and back we give you when

ni·'hilatci· ni·hi·lat·ɔma·'n. cuk' wa'ni· ce· xa'sowa
yourself your freedom. But this that your brother

pi·laye'tcɔtc nayu'ni· wundji·'aii·n. ki·lo'wa xan·e·'
boy here he belongs. But you yourselves

muxomsa'xtuk' hwtɔki·'i· te·'kɔne kta'ham·u e·'li·
our grandfathers back in wilderness you are going because

na'ne wundji·a'yu k'ha'k·ai. ɔk kɔnaxpaŋgo·'mɔlə'-
that is where you belong yourselves. And we give this ceremonially

n·e·n ni·lu'na lɔna·pe·'yɔk yu'ni· ke·'k'w kut·e·'ha·n
to you we the Delawares this wampum your heart

ma·'mca·li·e'ŋgwɔtc k'te'p·i· lu'we· yutɔ'c·e· do''pi·n
when you think of us you can say back here live

elaŋgo·'mɔk. cuk ma't·ɔtc' tci·tc' pe·'xus·hi'k·ne-
my relatives. But do not any more approach us

[1] This address is to the bears.

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ho'mona e"li· na'lən·e kəna'xpe"ləmu'k·un təli·'tc 796[x] 539 773
because that [wampum] will take care of you that

te"'kone tala'usi·. ok ne'ni·ce" ke"'k'" ke"'naxki·'·
in wilderness you must live. And that wampum will take care of

xpun ik·ali'tci· pe"'tci· o'lamalsi·'tun. ok
you [in sorrow] if you in future comes your guardian of health. And

one"'pena wu'ndji ma't·a pe"xo'si·hik·ako'wone"n
we also henceforth not be overcome by

ke'ko ma't·a we'ltuk. me'tci· laha'p·a muxo'"msa
anything not good. Now again grandfather

te'p·i· enxa'p'to"ne'ya wəlaŋgo'səwi· li·'. wani'ci·."
enough I have to say in friendship way. Thanks."

Free Translation.

A long time ago, in the beginning of our existence, there was one kind of ceremony, it is said, named by the people and called Brush Arbor. Now, in recent times, when the Delawares were living at the forks of Caney Creek, it was lost because of the master of ceremony who at the time was the wife of Frenchman whose ceremony it was. Now, they are all dead. Now, this ceremony is divided into two parts whence it originated. One being, long time ago, caused by persons, now dead, to whom a creature appeared in the form of a vision as a wild animal. And the other kind résulted from having a pet, a little bear. Now, when it was full grown it was said, "Let us turn our pet loose somewhere in the wilds." And when it was grown up suddenly a child, a young woman, became sick. Then the sweat doctor was sent for. When he entered the sweat-house it was discovered that there was a sympathetic relation between the two, the pet and the child and it was said that the pet was spiritually pleading with her. And that they should offer something with a prayer as a sacrifice and liberate the animal in the woods. For these are the instructions when pleading spiritually with a wild animal in order to secure aid from him, it is said, and then call him by name saying, "Now then the time has come when you are full grown. Now you are at your maturity which is what your life has developed into.

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×796 My son, you belong there in the wilderness, where dwell
539 your kind. Now you shall carry this wampum as you go
●773 along and that will protect you in the future as long as you live. Consider well now that our home is given to us as a natural gift and think about these younger and older brothers. Do not worry about us that we might be overcome by evil, but think of yourself that you yourself may in the future enjoy health. Now this is all I have to say at this time."

THE LOST BOY ADOPTED BY A SHE-BEAR

When the lost boy was adopted by a bear. And also long ago a child, it is said, was lost. It was a boy, while playing with children in the woods. Then one, they suddenly noticed was not with the rest of them. The other children had really paid no attention to him. Now, when it was evening his parents began to hunt for him, all night and the next day. Finally after several days it was said, "Now it is vain to search for him. Evidently some wild animal has killed him." Not long afterward, while hunting squirrels, a young man suddenly walking in the woods saw some creatures playing about. Closer and closer he crept up secretly. Now coming close by, there was the creature—a human being. There as he recognized him, seeing that it was the boy who was recently said to have been lost. Now when he returned home the young man spread the news. He said, "Down there where the big forest is, I saw playing together a bear and the boy said to have been lost." When he told his story and explained it he said, "There is a big tree there and a hollow very high up, a hole up there in the tree." Said he, "I crept up on him, that is how I could see him well. But they noticed me and ran back into the hole in the tree right away." Then at once they notified his parents. And when everybody knew of it they called the men together. Then they all went at once to the spot where he was seen the last time. Then it was said, "Now we expect to be in danger because we know that a female bear with cubs is very savage when she has young." Now, when the female bear noticed them, she at once began to climb down from where she was. When she came in sight they shot her off the tree at once and then

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someone was induced to climb up into the tree that he might bring down the boy, and also the litter of little bears of the now dead mother bear they had killed.

Then they brought the child back home and made pets of the little bears. Not long after, then the boy proceeded to tell his story. It is told that he said, "I myself, through my disobedience, was the cause of the bear, our mother, being killed." He said, "Several times she pleaded with me, the dead bear, speaking while she cried. She said, 'My child, it will not be long before they come upon us. But now if you raise up your arrow in sight in the entrance here, they will not kill me.' She said, 'Tomorrow, before noon, they will be here.' I did not discover what they were, our mother and brothers (the bears) until the very day that they found us. Certainly, as one would say, I am sorry because I was well treated and I could understand when our mother (the bear) said anything."

From the day that the boy was captured and brought back to his home where he lived, together with the little bears, they began right away to make pets of the bears, and thenceforth until they were full grown. And then, it was said, "Now we have raised them, yet you know they are orphans and it is no right to turn them loose until first a ceremony of pleading has been performed. And it is the rule that we offer a worthy sacrifice to the wild animal with something. And then they put wampum around their necks, each one of the bears.

"Now, our relation, it has come to be our time that you be given back, when you yourself we give you freedom. But this boy, your brother, belongs here, but as for you yourselves, grandfathers, back into the wilderness you are going by yourselves. And we, the Delawares, offer this wampum to you ceremonially as your heart. When you think of us you can say, 'Back there live our relations.' But do not approach us any more because that wampum will take care of you in the future, in case sorrow comes, as your guardian of health. And henceforth, we also shall not be overcome by anything evil. Now, once again, grandfather, I have said enough in the way of friendship. Thanks!"

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THE DOLL DANCE CEREMONY

Ozta'uska"n, "DOLL DANCE"

The following ceremony is one of major significance among the Delawares. It embodies the idea of appeasing the latent ill-will of the Spirit of Corn, aroused through innocent familiarity incurred in the past between the children of certain families and this sensitive Manitto. It typifies, accordingly, one of the family feast ceremonies corresponding in motive with the grease drinking ceremonies, treated previously, in which the idea of placating an offended nature-force lies at bottom. Like the ceremonies mentioned in connection with the bear and the otter, it is obligatory among the descendants of the families who first formed the baneful associations with these spirit-forces, that the ceremonies be fulfilled according to the traditional regulations [1] to secure for them immunity from sickness and other evils of existence. And in conformity with ceremonies of this type we have a tale of origin explaining the mythological event that brought the condition about. This tale will be given shortly. We are told, for instance, that it was forbidden anciently for persons, especially children, to play with cornhusks or other parts of the sacred grain. As the tale narrates, certain children did so without the knowledge of those who would have prevented them. A disease affected them. When the medicine man had been called upon to ascertain its cause he informed them that the sanctity of "mother corn" had been violated, corn being the principal food supply of man provided by the Great Spirit. Even when unintentionally violated by children, he divined, their parents would have to stand the consequences. To remove the consequences a ceremony was prescribed in which dolls representing the Spirit of Corn were feasted and danced periodically among the families descended from children in-

[1] The formal term in Delaware is *kula'kan*, "restriction," equivalent to the more general designation "taboo."

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volved in the act of desecration as long as they existed. Thus originated the ceremony.

At the present time (1932) we are told there are three of these dolls held by Delaware families. They should be, according to the rulings, furnished with a feast and dance annually. The Delawares still do so as occasion permits, this being one of the ceremonies most recently performed in the Nation. Dr. V. M. Petrullo observed the rite in the summer of 1930. The dolls themselves are kept in the families in which they have descended with their ceremonial obligations for so long that they are held in an attitude of combined reverence and fear. That the ceremony has become a burden to the possessor of dolls is evident, but there being no means open to them to dismiss the obligation under which they have fallen without incurring still deeper animosity of Mother Corn, the rites must be maintained until some event warrants the abandoning of them. In several cases it is recalled that individuals who possessed the dolls in the past had the dolls buried with them upon request. In such cases the obligation to perform the dance ceased. In other cases the doll image and the ritual obligation was transferred to the oldest blood relation or to another relative whom the owner regarded as being most worthy of taking charge of the obligation and capable of conducting the ceremony. It is understood that the three images in the Nation at the present time may be accorded the honor of the feast ceremony all at the same time, being brought together by their owners upon the occasion called by the master of ceremonies. Some of these figures are male and some female. They are dressed in cloth as Delaware style requires with bead-work or ribbon-work and the faces painted in red which is rubbed off when the ceremony is over.

As regards the history of the Doll Ceremony we have no succinct facts to go by. Certain of the Indians themselves point out its similarity to the Bread Dance of the Shawnee.[1] What the two rites may be discovered to have in common might subsequently lead to a suggestion as to their earlier

[1] To be tested by data on Shawnee rites obtained by Dr. and Mrs. C. F. Voegelin.

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relationship, but of this we are still at a loss to form an idea. The references to pagan family feasts sketchily provided in the narratives of the early missionaries among the Delawares, would definitely point to the existence of a rite of this type in the tribe when it was still resident in the east.

The following is Wi·tapano'xwe's outline of the origin tale referred to just previously accounting for the acquisition of the ceremony in the family of his grandmother, Mawa't·e·s, a Munsee woman who was the owner of a doll image and ceremony.

"A little girl of long ago was in the habit of playing with the corn. She would take the shucks and the end of a corncob with its silk and fashion a doll, the silk forming the hair, baring part of the cob to represent the face, and arranging the shucks to represent its dress, in the likeness of a human being. Several children imitated her action and took up playing with similar dolls. The first child was taken sick and became very ill. They sent for a medicine man. He pronounced her illness as being a result of violating laws imposed upon man's behavior in relation to the Spirit of Corn by the Great Spirit. He then told the parents of these children that the sickness could be cured by performing a feast once a year during the child's lifetime and transmitting it down through posterity to prevent return of the malady. The particulars governing the conduct of the feast and ceremony, as well as the details of construction and dress of the doll images to be used in the celebration, were all prescribed in the vision of the medicine man. The families were told to watch closely over the condition of the dolls, to keep their clothing in good repair and well decorated, and to renew it each year on the occasion of the feast. The songs of the ceremony were revealed in detail, there being six for the men participants and six for the women. They were told to provide the feast by killing a beef and a hog for the guests. Also to clear up a large dance ground at some suitable place in the open, likewise to provide at one end of the clearing a seat for the singers and a tent nearby to serve as a lodge for the master of ceremonies. A chief preferably but not necessarily of the same ceremonial group was to be invited to act as master of ceremonies, or *elha'k·e'l*, 'one who brings it in.' His aides were to be a woman invited to lead the dancers of her sex, a man to lead the men, and a fire-keeper, called *pu'lcal*, whose duty included the cooking of hominy and meat for the feast. Each of these attendants was to receive a yard ('shoulder to tip of finger length') of wampum for his services. Two drummers were also to be invited to sing and beat upon the folded deer-hide drum. They, too, were to receive the same amount of wampum. The chief invited to act as master of ceremonies would open the occasion with an address of instruction

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796 773 539 and admonition and close it with another. His duties also were to include the enforcement of order during the night of the ceremony, to encourage the people to participate in the dancing, and to see that all went smoothly and reverently until after midnight when the twelve formal chants of the men and women dancers had been completed, after which those present could spend the rest of the night until sunrise in the enjoyment of social dances of their own selection. His ceremonial pay was also a yard of wampum. The master of ceremonies was expected to refer in his opening address to the great event of the year as fall approaches, of the ripening of the corn, to the expectation on the part of the owners of 'our grandmothers,'[3] the dolls, that the dolls be fed with sacred food, hominy and meat. He was to recite how they were going to dance the twelve ceremonial dances representing the twelve months of the year, beginning about seven o'clock and ending at midnight. He was to instruct them how the dances were to alternate between the men and the women, the women having the first dance, how the appointed woman was to lead her participants and the man his. And how the man leader was to dance around the circle carrying one of the images and the women around another circle outside the line of the men dancers behind their leader carrying another of the dolls. Between dances the dolls were to be fastened on poles about five feet high placed in front of the tent that was the headquarters of the master of ceremonies. The prescribed musical instrument for the ceremony was to be the deer-hide drum, and turtle rattles for the leaders. A pole was to be supported upon props over the fire and the feasting kettle hung from it. At one end of the pole was also to be hung the drum when it was being beaten. The next speech of the master of ceremonies, to be given about midnight, was to include thanks to the Great Spirit for the blessing brought them by the ceremony, admonishing those present to conduct their behavior properly, to avoid drunkenness and irreverence. He was to render thanks likewise to the sun, 'our brother,' for his light, to the stars for theirs, and to all the spirits on earth for their blessings and care over us in life, to our grandmothers, the cornhusk dolls, the guardians of health who must be paid once a year by the ceremony for their spiritual aid. His instructions in closing his address were also to refer to the duties of the six selected male and six female leaders (these being relatives of the leader both by blood and within the ceremonial grouping) who should stand at sunrise facing the east with the dishes of food in their hands. They were also to sweep away the ashes from the fireplace and carry all to one side, then put the fire out. In his final address he was to refer to the twelve, male and female, dance leaders who are holding the dishes of food toward the sunrise, as rever-

[3] To explain the use of the relationship terms, grandmother and mother, the informant stated that the food, corn, is older than the dolls, whence the abstraction of grandmother in some cases.

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enced attendants inspired by the Great Spirit whose duty is to help the leader in the interest of their family ceremony. He was to tell them that when he had said 'ready' the holders of the dishes of food should make a sideways swinging motion with the dishes saying, '*Hyu'*, *hyu'*, *he e*,' twelve times. At the last time of the utterance they were to lay down the dishes of food making motions as if they were going to throw the food upon a tarpaulin spread nearby upon the dance ground for the people standing waiting to receive it. The bread was so to be thrown for the people to try to catch it if they could. The corn bread (*xaskwi'a'pan*) was to be made in representation of a human form; in the shape of a man complete with arms, legs and head symbolising the Corn Spirit. Another was to be made in the form of a bear about a foot in length, symbolising the stars and constellations to bring to mind the myth relative to the sky bear and the end of the world.[4] Upon each of the corn bread figures, the man and the bear, was to be placed a yard of wampum tied about the neck. Then as the twelve attendants stood in a row, the one standing on the south end of the line facing the sun was to hold the bear figure, the one on the north the human figure. The rest of the people do not know who are to hold these figures. They were instructed to throw the two figures of corn bread so as to cross each other in the air for the spectators to try and catch them. Those who did were to keep the wampum tied about the images, the successful ones thus receiving a yard of wampum as a ceremonial act. This last event was to take place just before the sun made its appearance on the horizon. Then all fell upon the food consuming it, except members of families owning the dolls. This was to end the ceremony after which all should go home and live properly until the ceremony is called for the next year. The rules required that in the case of death in the family the oldest in line next takes up the responsibility of the ceremony. Should he not wish to continue it it should be buried with him including the dolls which were to be referred to in such a case as 'orphans' since they have no one to care for them."

Harrington has also treated the Doll Dance. The tale accounting for its origin which he recorded differs in some details from the version given. It is as follows:[5]

"Long ago, the Lenape say, some children, playing with sticks, decided to cut faces upon them, and were then very much surprised to notice that the little dolls which they had thus made seemed to have life. Their parents made them throw the dolls away when they dis-

[4] A Delaware belief: when the bear (Ursa major) catches up with his severed head (a constellation not identified, corona borealis or Boötes) the earth will come to an end. Indeed, a prophetic truism.

[5] Harrington, I, pp. 162–3.

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X 774 covered this, and most of the children soon forgot what had happened.
● 773 One little girl, however, grieved for her doll; it bothered her all the time,
539 and finally she began to dream of it every night. Then she told her parents of her trouble, and they realised that they should not have compelled her to throw the doll away. One night the doll appeared to the child and spoke to her, saying, 'Find me and keep me always, and you and your family will ever enjoy good health. You must give me new clothing and hold a dance for me every spring,'[6] and then told her exactly what to do. The girl reported this to her parents, who immediately looked for the doll and found it, then dressed it, made some hominy, killed a deer, and held a dance in its honor as they were instructed, and this rite has been continued to the present day."

X 796 The description which he gives of the dance corresponds in most of its details with what has been previously set down. He mentions, however, a few additional features of the procedure which do not appear in my own. In preparation for the ceremony we are told "a hunter is then selected who calls on several to help him get a deer which, when brought in, is hung on poles prepared for it at the dance ground where it remains over night. The next morning they cook the deer and a kettle of hominy, and are then ready for the ceremony."

Furthermore he adds a point or two in regard to the carrying of the dolls during the dance. "When the leader finishes his 'set,' he passes the doll pole to the man behind him, who repeats the process, and so on until the men dancers
[801] have carried it six times, when it is transferred to the women, who, in their turn, dance six sets, making twelve in all, the Lenape sacred number."

[6] My information implies that it was a fall rite.

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and corn bread required for the feast, and the first part of the day is spent in dancing to the songs that tradition has bequeathed for the rite, and as with the other feasts the ceremonial dance is terminated in an all-night session of mixed or social dances.

The corn dance is led by the two men wearing the corn husk costumes and masks. These performers take a turn at dancing, then a group of women take a turn. The women too have a pair of leaders but they wear no masks. After the social dances have been enjoyed, to which the night following is given over, the ceremony is concluded with what is called a Drunken dance. The drummers pick up and carry the drum and rattles, and lines of both sexes dance slowly in a circle around them. For this last act there are also specific songs.

So much for the objective aspects of the Corn Ceremony. As the text tells us its origin is believed to have sprung out of a famine, due evidently to some displeasure felt by the mani't·u. For some reason the corn "left" the Indians. When all the leading men had assembled to consider the matter they decided to devise some means by which the corn could be induced to come back. The result was to conceive the ceremony as we learn of it, the announcement of the occasion and the leading of the dance itself to be under the auspices of the men wearing masks of corn-husks. This origin concept reminds one strongly of the stress conditions in some ancient time that gave rise to the Big House ceremony, in the origin of which the displeasure of the world-controlling spirits is a prominent influence.

As a part of the corn complex of North America the ceremonies that received so much attention in the religious development of the Indians are to be considered in the future as an important and absorbing topic for comparative and analytical treatment.

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ORIGIN OF THE CORN HARVEST CEREMONY

Lɔ'mwe we'ak'hak·ami·'k·e k't·i·'hilɔs·taohən·a·''nɑk
Long ago in beginning of the world we have heard

ki·'kagoyəmən·a·ni'ŋga təli·' lowe·ne·''yo wa'ni· xaskwi·'m
our ancient dead how they said the corn

lɔ'mwe ngat'ha'k·e. wi·xka'utci hund' ka'it·i a'ləmi·
long ago migrated went away. All of a sudden it was slowly began

xi·'hi·l·e· aha'ləwi· k'təma'k·e·lən·damowa'k·an·u. ka'heli·
to lessen more and more it grew pitiful. Many

awe·''n nunde''hal·e me'hmi·'tciŋ e·'li· lɔ'mwe nɔ'tci·
people were in need of food because long ago since

na'lowan xaskwi·'m tə'n·da ni·'kani·xi·'nɑn we·''mi·
this corn it was was leading food all

wi·'lawəs· na'wundji· me'hmawə'nsiŋg ɔk wi·yu's.
grain from that fruit and meat.

Ge'hal·a me·tci·'gai k'təma·''ksu et'
Very deplorable pitiful evidently it must have been

we·''mi· awe·''n. ə'nda me'tci· hwi·'la
all persons. When now in perplexity baffled

le·'lən·dami·''t·i·t' ki·kago'yəmən·ani'ŋga na' lo'we·n
as to what to think of to do our ancient ancestors then it was said,

"ma'ema''t·am we·''mi· awe·''ni·k a'kənutəmu't·am
"Let us gather all persons to council

tət·a a·'' e·'lacho's·ieŋg wu'ndji· kə'ski· wi·nowa'meŋg
what could we take action so that can we plead with

gahe's·ən·a təli·'tc ma't·a tci·mi·'' ngałko·''ne·n."
our mother so that will not forever leave us".

Nane'ce· wundji·'xɑn təli·' aləmi·' mani·'ha·n
That is whence the beginning that beginning the making

wani lən·a'pe yu'li·l mwe'mui·haləwes·a'. lo'we·n
the Delawares these excrement-rubbers. It is said

tcani·'lacha'wəna wa'ni· gahe's·ona nane'' wu'ndji·
we have offended this our mother that is reason

alɔ'mska·n. yu'kwe elaŋgu'ndieŋg yu'kwe ce·''
she is leaving. Now my kindred this is

ha't·e e·'lacho'sieŋg pi·pi·'li· awe·''n
how a way here we can take action first one person and another

x 796 ha'·t·e e'lowe·t' yu'ni· a· alowi·'. cuk' kwun·a'eke
539 a plan here to say "This here is better." But at last

● 773 ə'nda ki·ca'kenuta'ə·i·k lo'we·n mani·ha'wəna ni·'ca'
when it was considered in council, it was said we will make two

ɔp'skwi·' wucki'ŋgɔ ɔk nahəli·' cakhukwi·'yan ɔk
corn shucks face-masks and including coat and

kako·"nɑn we·'mi ɔp'skwi·'. yu'kwe e'nxɑn a'cəwi·
leggings all corn husks. Now each change of

ga'xtiŋg mae'hel·a·n ɔk ha't·e·tc ɔk ki·'ci·ma·n
year we will gather and there will be a plan and they will be selected

awe·'ni·k' nenu'nami"ti·t' yu'ni· la·'ke·yɔ'kan.
people who will own and control this ceremony.

Ni·ca' lə'n·owak pi·pi·'nawən· i'k·a elhala"ti·t'
Two men are chosen who shall wear

ne·'li·l mwe'həmwi·ha'ləwe·s ehalkwi·'tci· kexu'k·woni·
the excrement rubbers clothes, costume for a few days

a'pa·ma·'mehel·e·'yɔk e·li·'k'hat·iŋ. we·həma·'s·uwɑk
they go about neighborhood. They notify the people

li·' me·'tci· gici·'m'kɔt' ehel·ɑk'hi'k·wi· la·'k·e·t'
that now is arranged by rule the time for ceremony

nani·awe·'n ne·nənu·"'nɑŋg neni·' xaskwi·'mi·
by that person who controls that corn

la·k'eyɔ'k·an. ɔk ə'nda tɔ't·a awe·'n ŋgi·'skaɔt'
festival celebration. And when any one meet with

ne·'li·l mwe"həmwi·ha·ləwe's·a' e·'li· mhi't·aɔŋge's·axpu
that excrement rubber because he rides horseback

ma't·a awe·'n ke'ko mi·'lat·e kwi·la'elek' we·'mi·
no one anything gives him without a doubt all

elki·'k'·si·t' cahu'k·u mwi·' e·'li· na'ni·-
over his person will be rubbed with excrement because that

ci·'xkandj li·'xɑn.
established rule.

me·'tci· a'pa'mi·ta ə'nda kwu't·ət·sa'nd·e·k na'
Now about when one week then

mae'hel·a·n nalən·e'' wani·' lən·a'pe eləwe'ldaŋg
they gather that is what the Delaware call

mwe'həmwi·haləwe's kant'ke'uhe·n. lɔ'mwe a''powak
excrement-rubber made him dance. Long ago there were

lə'n·owak we'ɔtu'xti·t' ne"li·'l asuwa'k·ɑn·a ne'n' 796x
men who knew those songs that 539
hakałkɔ't·ɑk. ɔk a'po"'pan·i·k pu'tcɔl·ɑk yu'kwe 773
were used. And used to have ushers.[1] Here

we"'mi· me'hmi·'tciŋg n'haka'łkɔt cuk' sa'p·a"n
all kinds of food is used but hominy

pi·'pe"'k·a sa"'pai·n na'lonen naxpale"'tama"n ə'nda
very thin hominy is cooked that is what is raised up the prayer when

wi·'nowa'mond' na'ni· kahe"'s·ɔna xa'skwi·m. tɔ't·a
they are pleading that our mother corn. As long

se"ka'usi·t' wa'ni· elha'k·e"t' wunɔ·'xtun. me"'tci
as he is living the controller (of the ceremony) will carry it on. Now

ə'nda wi·ka'usi·t' nɑtc' tami·'mɑsɔm·a tɔ'nhuk·-
when the end of life (died) these his children handed

ɔma'ɔn wu'ndji· ekala'mi· e'laŋgoma'tci·'
down from that on according to relationship

yukwe' me"'tci ə'nda aləmi·' ma'ohiŋg a'po'wɑk
Here now when beginning the dance there are

xkwe"'yak ɔk lə'n·owak wi·'xɑni'xti·t·'. ə'nda me"'tci·
women and men who do cooking. When now

laet'pu"'kwi·k' na' laha'p·a xa'n·di·n wa'ni·
midnight then stop they pass food to eat the

elha'k·e"t' ɔk elaŋgo"'matci· ɔk nah·el·i·' ne"'ki·k'
master-of-ceremony and his kindred and also those

pu'tcelak təli·' xaŋge"ne"'yɔ'. me"'tci· e'nda ki'ci·
ushers for they pass the food around. Now when finished

mi·tsa'"tiŋg na' la'p·i· aləma'ohi·n e"'li· naneli·'xɑn
eating then again they begin dancing because it is rule

li·' ɔ'p·an·aohi·n.
to dance till morning.

Nace"' wa'ni· kikwi·awe"'n pe"m'tu'nhe"t' lo'we"
There the old person to do talking says

me"'tci· kɔ'p·an·axi·nho'm·ən·a ge'həl·a wani'ci· ə'nda
"Now we see daylight very indeed thankful because

[1] The same as the office of *a'cka"s*, attendant, in the Big House ceremony. The ushers belong to the same ceremonial group (Wolf, Turkey or Tortoise) as the controller or master of ceremonies. They are generally men who are not capable of taking more serious parts in the dances.

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

X 716 539 773

ne'eŋg xą'sən·a təli·' la'p·i· ɔxe·'tam·ako·'ne·n
we see our brother [the sun] because again he gives us light

we·'mi· elama·'kami·k. ɔk ci·'ki· e'nda wəla·'tena-
all over the world. And very nice when we are in good

mi·'eŋg wuni·t'pų·'kwe e'nda wi·'tauhi·'meŋg· wa'ni·
spirits all night long when we dance with that

gahe's·ənа xa'skwi·m. ɔk la'p·i· gaxti'ŋge aye'ma-
our mother corn. And again in a year if we should

pe·'tci· wəlama'ksi·e'ŋgwe pe·'tci· ma'e wimbəne·'-
come we are well arriving come to we shall

mawəna na'ni· elha'k·e·t' ɔk kwi·'tci· wi·nowe'hən·a
sympathise that master-of-ceremony and with help we beg a blessing

we'ndji·aik mehemi·'tciŋg ɔk yu'ni· lən·a'p·eyɔ'k·an
where belongs food and this Delaware soul

ɔk ənahal·e·' we·'mi· ke'ko gi·'celəmu'kuk. te'pi·
and also all things created. This will

laha'p·a wəla·'ha xa'n·e· kahe·'li· ke'ko ge·'ski·
be all for now although there is yet many things I could

a· lowe·'ya cuk' kə'təmaksi·'hənа. na'ne ci·'xkandj
to say but we are pitiful, poor. That is all

me·'tci· gaski·' ləs·i·'ne·n. yu wani'ci·.
now can do under the circumstances. Now I thank you.

Free Translation.

Long ago in the beginning of the world we have heard from our ancient deceased how they said the corn went away. All of a sudden it gradually began to lessen and things grew more and more miserable. Many people were in need of food because for a long time the corn was the principal nourishment among all the grains, fruits and even meat.

Deplorable indeed and pitiful were all the people. Whereupon in perplexity as to what might be thought of to do, it was said among our ancient ancestors, "Let us gather together all the people into council as to what can be done to plead with our mother so that she will not leave us forever." From this originated in the beginning the custom among the Delawares of the excrement-daubers. It was said, we have offended our "mother," that is the reason why she is leaving

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

us. Now, kindred, this is the way in which we can take action, first one person's idea then another's saying "This one is better." But at last when it had been pondered in council it was declared that we should make two corn husk face-masks, and a coat and leggings all of cornhusks. Now at each change of the years we shall gather and carry out a way so that certain people will be selected who will own and control this ceremony. 796x 539 773

Two men are chosen who shall wear the excrement-daubers' costume, to go through the neighborhood for a few days. They notify the people that now according to the rulings is the time for the ceremony by that individual who has charge of the Corn Festival ceremony, and when anyone is encountered, as they ride about on horseback, who shall give nothing to them infallibly he shall be rubbed over with excrement because that is the established ruling. 796x 539

Now in about one week they gather together for what the Delawares call the Excrement-dauber dance. Long ago there were men who knew these songs that were required. And they used to have ushers. Here all kinds of food were used, but especially hominy made very thin; cooked hominy is what was offered with the prayer when they were pleading with our "mother" Corn. As long as he was living the controller of the ceremony would carry it out. Then when he reached the end of his life his children handed it down from then on according to relationship. [262]

Here now when the dance was beginning there were women and men who did the cooking. And now when it was midnight they would stop and pass around the food to eat, the master of the ceremony his kindred and also the ushers passing the food around. So when they had finished eating then they began dancing again, because it was the rule to dance until morning.

Then the old person appointed to do the talking would say, "Now that we see daylight we are very thankful indeed because we see our elder brother (the sun) as he again gives us light all over the world. And it is grand when we are in good spirits after dancing all night long with her who is our

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
NM7 Delaware NM7

strong faith, that the night he dreams about him,[3] he will at once the following day be able to shoot as much game and catch as much fish as ever he wants to,—the evil one, undoubtedly helps him to it.[4]

The first hunt which the savages arrange in the spring [they dedicate to the evil one]; if they then can shoot ever so many animals in their hunt they do not sell a single one of them, but make a burnt offering of it[5] to *Manitto* or the devil; then they will that year have good luck in hunting and shooting.

They do, however, know a little historically about Christ, which they consider a fable. When the old savages are to tell the Christians what passed in former times, they say that it has been told them from times immemorial by their fathers and forefathers, who have said that it was, once in former time, one of our savage women who became pregnant by going and drinking in a brook; and none of our Rennappi had had any connection with her, yet she became pregnant and gave birth to a son. And when that one became somewhat large, something like this,—he measures with his hand in the air, as he knows nothing of age or years. "Yes, that was a pólite[6] and clever

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Portuguese citizens and speak a Portuguese dialect. For *taboo*, see Hodge, *Handbook*, II, 667.

[3] The charm or fetish emblem.

[4] Lindeström believed in the powers of the Indian medicine man; but he attributed this power to influence of the Devil. Cf. Heckewelder, *Indian Nations*, 231 ff.

[5] The game obtained in the hunt. Cf. Hodge, *Handbook*, II, 402 ff., and the literature quoted there.

[6] *Artigh, polite.* Perhaps, however, Lindeström means handsome, fine, splendid. See *artigh invention*, Chapt. XVII, note 3.

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
NM7 Delaware NM7

boy," they say. "His like will never come here again. He had so much to say that it was a great wonder and [he] performed many miracles and wonders. When he now became somewhat large he departed from us and went up into the air, up there," they say, and point to heaven. "He promised to come back to us, but he never came back to us again," they say. "Sometime after him," they said, "a large-mouth with large beard,[7] like your large mouths are," they said, and likened him to our pastors. "He also had much to say for a time.[8] That one also went up there, like the other one," and the [Indians] pointed to heaven. "He promised also," they said, "to come back here to us again, but he never came." And it must surely have been one of the apostles, for the word of God is true, which can never fail us:[9] *Euntes docete omnes Gentes*, etc.[10] So far they know of Christ and his apostles and can relate it from hearsay from their fathers and forefathers.

[7] *Stoort skägg*, large beard, *i.e.*, long beard. The long, thick beard of some of the pastors made a strong impression on the Indians who had seen nothing like it before.

[8] *Han hade och mycket af munnen en tijdh*. *Lit.* he had also much of the mouth for a time.

[9] Perhaps Lindeström refers to the belief prevalent in the middle ages and later, that the apostles had visited all continents and all countries, according to the injunction quoted in Latin from the New Testament.

[10] Go and teach all people. *Cf. Mark*, XVI, 15.

[p. 210 is blank]

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

but two informants, J. W. and W. L., dissented (346). W. T. alone of the informants recalled the former practice of two braids, one forward and the other to the rear (347). He wore his own hair in two braids hanging down beside his cheeks which he said was a custom borrowed from the Caddo among whom he was living.

It is to be regretted that we do not have better estimates of the average and greatest age of the Delaware (355-56). The figures we do have for the average age are not really average length of life of the population but the usual age at which the old people died. Even more extreme than an average age of seventy to eighty years is the three hundred years given by W. T. Earlier estimates, if available, might show a counterpart of this belief. Among the Shawnee of the eighteenth century the span of life set by the creator was believed to be two hundred years. W. T. said that before the coming of the whites all Indians lived an even three centuries. One hundred and forty years was the next greatest age reported in any other account.

War and Its Incidents

The prosecution and ritual of warfare probably consumed a large portion of the time and energies of the Delaware in prehistoric times. The accounts of the first period are very vague or completely silent upon the subject. In the fourth period the occasions or the means for war were mostly gone and the information again rather incomplete. W. T. for instance said that war was introduced to the Indians by the whites and that they had no practices that were not taught them by the latter. W. L. refused to commit himself on anything pertaining to war. The two younger informants gave fairly complete accounts that in general agreed with those of the earlier periods. Where they do not agree, the explanation is more apt to be due to lack of information than because of a change in custom.

Giving notice of war to the enemy except by incursions of a war party was inconsistent with the method of warfare pursued (362, 364). The existence of large war parties was denied by all accounts and only small parties depending upon surprise for

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

IV. ETHNOGRAPHIC NOTES

Astronomy, Mathematics, etc.

1.[1] Planetary system

According to Captain Pipe, the stars were put in the sky for the guidance of the Indians—the whites had the compass. According to John Johnston, the Indians believed that there were four fixed stars in the North, East, South, and West, which were rivets holding up the sky. The seven stars were once seven boys who became such wizards that they could not dwell upon the earth.

2. Origin myth

Captian Pipe—They claim to be descendants of the Wyandots, and relate these circumstances connected with their birth. The Wyandots sprang from a hole in the earth, which is still to be seen on Lake Huron. Not long after their discovery of the world above, which they now inhabit, a virgin of that nation became pregnant from some unnatural cause and in due time was delivered of twins, a son and daughter, who spoke a language entirely different from their parent; to wit, that of the present Delawares. That it was customary at that time to marry very near relatives; that these twins were so united and from this incestuous intercourse sprang the Lenee Lenaupaa, who, by direction of their uncles, the Wyandots, went to the borders of the Ocean and there settled themselves.

They suppose that there was formerly a body like our sun, which they call a great cornstalk with wide spreading branches, planted by "the God" in another world far above us—there, they suppose, lived a tribe of Indians, with a chief at their head—one time, one of the women who had a child was taken sick, and being asked what would cure her, she said, "If this corn stalk was pulled up, and I was laid by the hole, from hence it was taken, I should get well." The chief gave orders, and the corn

[1] Numbers refer to the numbers given to the elements in the table, *ante*, pp. 22-37.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

773 stalk was removed and the woman laid by the hole, on her back. As soon as the corn stalk was taken from its place, there was total darkness, at which the Indians were exceedingly vexed—it was then thought best to punish the woman—they accordingly cast the woman with her child into the hole—she fell through child and all and was caught by an infinite number of "big hawks"—the hawks carried her and put her on the back of a great turtle. About this time, a loon dived into the sea, brought up a piece of earth and put it under the woman, between her and the turtle—the woman commenced a career round this particle of earth, which commenced enlarging, until it became [771] the great mass of matter which we inhabit. The earth is supposed to be of an oblong form, and is movable—it often shakes, but does not perform any revolutions. The Sun which now [821] enlightens the earth, is supposed to have been sent from the world above described. The substance of which it is composed is unknown. It performs daily revolutions.

772 *3. Earth is round*

W. T. — Earth was made round just like the sun, moon, and sky.

E. R. — The earth is flat (circle?).

W. L. — The earth is a circle and flat.

805 821 *6. Names of seasons*

The names of the seasons are *sikwon*, spring; *nipen*, summer; *takŏk*,[1] autumn; and *lowen*, winter.

7. Moons or months

The terms for the months and their significance are:

January

ZEISBERGER *Anixi gischuch*—Squirrel month, ground squirrels come out of their holes

ZEISBERGER —Mouse or Squirrel month—for they come out of holes

[1] The character ŏ has the phonetic value of the open "o," pronounced as "aw" in "awk."

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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805 May *Mo'ksoats kiʔlo*—Deer getting red
821 July *Dai-, Lai-,* or *Kiči-nipen*—Middle of summer
October *Takǫkinikiʔlo*—Fall month when everyone gets together
November *Dailo-wen* or *Luwanikiʔlo*—Changing or winter moon
December *Kičilo-wen*—Winter

8 and 9. Sun and moon as deities

776 [821] John Johnston—They suppose the Sun to be a Deity composed of heat which regulates the day and returns to the East in the night under ground. Which is the cause of vegetation or makes the grass grow. The moon they suppose to be another Deity equal in rank with the sun which regulates the night and divides the year.

776 773 Captain Pipe—The Sun they suppose to be a human being, and they call him their brother. Tradition says that in early days the Sun was in the habit of devouring twelve Indian children each day at noon, as a kind of compensation for his labours; but the inhabitants of the earth becoming incensed at his voraciousness remonstrated. He then proposed to reduce the number to six but they still refused, and at length agreed upon two, which number they suppose he now receives every day. The light of the Sun is occasioned by the brightness of a feathered headdress which he wears. They think that the Indians once possessed the same general character with the Sun, that he has retained his original powers and they have degenerated to their present degraded situation. He is supposed to go under the Island at night for rest. The moon is supposed to be the brother of the Sun, and they formerly had numerous relatives who warred against each other and were all killed, and these wars occasioned the present employment of the younger brother, the moon.

776 All four of the modern informants called the sun "brother." All called the moon "brother," also, except J. W., who said it was known as grandmother, that she takes care of the weather, but is closest to the people.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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visible noticing all their actions, which he communicates to the next deity and so from one to the other until it is communicated to the Supreme being.

CAPTAIN PIPE—With the Indian (these Indians) all animals, and even animated nature, Trees, plants, etc., are considered as beings having supernatural powers. This is proved to be a serious belief by the great distinction in the language, which included trees, plants and some vegetables in the class of animated beings, and by the superstitious notions of these men, who having been prepared by excessive fatigue, long fasting and harsh treatment from parents, for some unnatural excitement of the mind, dream, or fancy that they dream of seeing their guardian god coming to them in the form of a Bear, Wolf, the Sun, the Moon, a Tree, etc., and directing them about their future conduct. Such dream no doubt has great effect during the life of its subject, and in his private worship all his songs are descriptive of some of the events which he saw in his dream. He often repeats them and does not fail to attribute his success to the deity whose wonderful appearance had foretold his good fortune, or any mishap to his own bad conduct which incensed his guardian.

23. Evil spirits

JOHN JOHNSTON—They believe in but one evil spirit which is the devil. They suppose him to have been created holy, but he being proud spirited was not willing to acknowledge the creation of all things to the supreme being but contended that he had created the bad and the dispute arose to such a degree that the devil took a disgust and plunged himself from heaven into the earth where he remains to this day and that is the reason (they say) why guilty folk always look down.

CAPTAIN PIPE—Much of their unhappiness and misfortune is attributed to the evil spirits of which there are many. They are called *Maatseetseet Maunutoowuk*, (Those who are bad Spirits) but are not distinguished by particular appellations.

CAPTAIN CHIPPS—They believe that "there is a devil, or there would not be so many wicked in the world,"—where he lives they cannot determine.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

The mask rite, says Wi·tapano'xwe, is an individual or family, not a group rite. The record of the change of hands through which it passed, going into each of the three groups at different times, brings out this act.

Since it happened that the custody of the mask fell to Delaware women as well as to men, there seems to have been no restriction as to sex in the office of keeping the masks as reported for the Iroquois. The same is true of the corn-husk masks. As among the Iroquois the Delaware wooden mask was kept face down when not in use, but only, the informant added, because the cloth covering at the back would make this position more convenient. We are impressed with the ruling that the mask could not be played with nor worn for social masquerading.

To the ethnologist, however, the significance of the Mask-Spirit is deep. The whole question of the trait which it represents in the customs of the Delawares is fraught with the possibilities of an archaic northern background, into which fits a series of beliefs and practices extending across boreal North America through northeastern Asia. The game owner concept, in short, stands forth in high relief among the far northern Algonkian. Its most intense development appears among the Montagnais-Naskapi of the Labrador peninsula.[1] For the region of the Great Lakes among the Central Algonkian we have as yet no records to substantiate the existence of the Game Owner concept so far south. The Delaware case is accordingly one of noteworthy bearing. Before passing by what Delaware belief has to contribute to the Game Owner concept in general the information pertaining to the mask spirits to be given in a text reserved for the later publication should be considered.[2] Here an account is recorded in which masks made of corn-husks are worn by messengers who go about announcing the occasion of a corn ceremony. The personification of the spirit of corn seems intended in the wearing of such a mask.

THE TORTOISE AS A SYMBOL.—Outlined in particularly high relief is the tortoise. In the latter creature we have the symbol of life, of perseverence, longevity and steadfastness. As the Delaware patriarch says, "The tortoise is the earth; is life." In the procession of time and among the elemental nature forces the direction of movement is from east to west, according to Delaware belief. So moves the tortoise with measured pace across the earth and through the Big House, carrying out the mythical allegory. At the end of his journey at the "western door," meaning where the sun sets at the edge of the

[1] Extended treatment of the religious beliefs and philosophy of the northern peoples, so far as the Game Owner concept is concerned, will be available for the students of religious customs of pre-literate peoples when manuscript now in course of preparation shall have been published.

[2] To form another volume of this series.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

earth, the world will come to an end as does the ceremony after the twelfth night. Thus the tortoise "brings the ceremony." His shell in the form of the rattle[1] is carried in the hands of the participants who take the part of leaders in the recitations and dances and move in the proper westward direction in the Big House. The saying is, as the ceremony is opened, and again after the intervals of pause, "The Tortoise is bringing us the worship and we are now ready to touch it again."

The tortoise, moreover, is "he who carries our mother's body"—the latter being a metaphor for the earth. The tortoise being a "grandfather" thus becomes more ancient than the earth. The prominence of this mysterious creature in Delaware religious belief has long been noted by writers dealing with the tribe.[2]

As early as 1670 the Delawares are recorded as declaring that all things came from the tortoise, that it brought forth the world, that from its back a tree had sprung upon whose branches men had grown, that it had a power and a nature to produce all things such as earth, and the like; that it brought forth what the supreme divinity wished through it to produce.[3]

[1] As early as 1794 the turtle-shell rattles are mentioned by G. H. Loskiel, History of the Missions of the United Brethren; and Ziesberger before him, 1779 (op. cit., p. 89).

[2] The tortoise was regarded in China as a sacred animal imbued with a knowledge of the future. Concerning hunting as well as crop prospects and rainfall the tortoise shell oracle was consulted. (B. Laufer, Scientific Monthly, Vol. XXV, p. 253, (1927). Rather strangely the intervening area between these occurrences does not show forth prominence of the tortoise in religious thought.

[3] This cosmological tale, valuable for its early date and more complete form than we expect from the 17th century writers, is given by Dankers and Sluyter, dated Oct. 16, 1680. (Journal of a Voyage to New York in 1679-80, p. 268) (Translated in vol. 1), Transactions of the Long Island Historical Society, Brooklyn, also Mem. Long Island Hist. Soc., vol. i, 1875, 1867, quoted by Brinton I, p. 133, and A. B. Skinner, the Lenape Indians of Staten Island, Anth. (Papers Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist., N. Y. vol. iii, (1909), p. 53). It seems worth quoting in full:

"16 Oct., 1679. In the morning there came an Indian to our house, a man about 80 years of age, whom our people call Jasper, who lived at Ahakinsack (Hackensack) at Akinon. We asked him where he believed he came from. He answered from his father. "And where did your father come from?" we said, "and your grandfather and great-grandfather, and so to the first of the race?" He was silent for a little while, either as if unable to climb up at once so high with his thoughts, or to express them without help, and then took a piece of coal out of the fire where he sat and began to write upon the floor. He first drew a circle, a little oval, to which he made four paws or feet, a head and a tail. 'This,' said he, 'is a tortoise lying in the water around it,' and he moved his hand round the figure, continuing, 'this was or is all water, and so at first was the world or the earth, when the tortoise gradually raised its round back up high, and the water ran off it, and then the earth became dry.' He then took a little straw and placed it on end in the middle of the figure, and proceeded, 'the earth was now dry, and there grew a tree in the middle of the earth, and the root of this tree sent forth a sprout beside it, and there grew upon it a man, who was the first male. This man was there alone, and would have remained alone but the tree bent over its top and touched the earth and there shot therein another root, from which came forth another sprout, and there grew upon it the woman, and from these two are all men produced."

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825 T13 Zeisberger mentions the world-flood myth in which it is related that some human survivors took refuge on the back of a turtle whose age was so great that his shell was mossy.[1] And the turtle represents the earth. His rounded back is to the Delawares the earth dome.

825 T78 [302] Another indication of a belief in the latent potency of the magical powers of this remarkable creature is met with in the esteem paid to the yellow color-pattern on the upper shell of the animal. Face paint patterns of a dignity appropriate to the men taking part in the Big House ceremony are copied from these markings.[2] The men wearing these patterns are adopting the symbol of the creature who "carries our mother's body."

The creature that typifies the earth-bearer, designated as taxko'xk[4] in Delaware, and whose symbol exists in the form of the shell-rattle, is the Box Turtle (Cistudo Carolina). This reptile is by the rulings of precise taxonymy not a tortoise but a connecting link between the aquatic turtles, or terrapins, and the terrestrial forms, the true tortoises. For the Box Turtles, of the genus Cistudo, deriving their name from the well known structure of the hinged plastron which permits the animal to withdraw the soft parts of its body completely within the protective cover of the shell, have partially webbed feet, which places them nearer to the Turtles than to the Tortoises. Yet to distinguish the reptile of Delaware tradition from the semi-aquatic American turtles, I have adhered to the designation of tortoise in the text and discussion.[3]

Perhaps certain remarks offered by the informant will, in con-

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[1] Zeisberger, op. cit., p. 131. See also E. deSchweinitz, Life and Times of David Zeisberger, pp. 218-19. Also Heckewelder, pp. 250, 308.
Later authors have pointed out the prominence of the tortoise as a symbol of the earth, not only in Delaware cosmology (Brinton I, p. 135) but in other Algonkian mythologies of the central and eastern areas as well.

[2] Considerable variation in the amount of yellow and in the outline of the patterns is observable in the markings of individual specimens of this genus of turtles.

[3] Of the five North American species of Cistudo, *Cistudo Carolina*, the eastern Box Turtle, the original race of Delaware tradition, and the Painted-Box Turtle (*c. ornata*), of the central region, were and are denoted as the proper forms. Possibly the Three-toed Box Turtle (*C. triunguis*) of the South Central states, may have been utilized by the tribe later in the west. The following are the names and identities of turtles mentioned by the informant:
sos-ap'l-p'konas-t' mskske'xkl ta'xkoxk' "spotted back prairie turtle," Box Tortoise (Cistudo (sp)).
c'ingge'k-l ta'xkoxk' "timber turtle," (a large yellow tortoise). This can be used for the "coarse" rattle carried by the "second dancer" or follower."
pombu't-l-s, "stinking turtle" (Aromochelys odoratus, or Cinosternum Pennsylvanicum). Of no importance ceremonially.
pi'sslatog'lha, "wrinkled breast," Soft-shelled turtle. (Trionyx spinifer). These are eaten, but are of no ceremonial importance.
co'xslatow'lha "smooth breast," any water terrapin of genus Chrysemys. Snapping-turtle (Chelydra serpentina). Its shell is used only in the Mask ceremony and in Brush-arbor ceremony. The Delawares are cognizant of the Iroquois' use of the snapping turtle and of their own preference for the Box Tortoise in making rattles for dancing. The term taxko'xk denotes that the animal's shell is "fused together." An obsolete term for turtle is to'lpe.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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I

ORIGIN OF THE CEREMONY AND FORMAL PREPARATIONS

537X
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First of all, whence the beginning of this Big House? It was long ago in the beginning, that worship which is known to the Delawares as Gamwing.[1] It was when there was a period of quaking of the earth throughout where the Delawares inhabited. And even all the animals were frightened, so much that creatures could do nothing because so greatly was the earth shaking. And for great distances came crevices in the earth. Everyone was in great disturbance of mind. And so when such huge gaps appeared, even of unknown depth extending here into the world below, it produced to the utmost, great disturbance of mind. Even the animals were so terrified, it is said, that those animals prayed. And accordingly, it is said, all the creatures came into council to consider about a possible way to proceed so that we might please that Pure[2] Spirit, even the Creator.

[1] Mention of this term as the proper name of the ceremony has been previously made.

[2] For discussion see page 50. pi·itak, "clean" is used to refer to the meat of a wild animal, which, since it is to the Delaware possessed of a spiritual nature, is religiously clean; pi·lsi·t, "clean, pure, undefiled," embodies the entire concept of purity.

Now at the time when the earth quaked, so it is said, a great cracking, rumbling noise arose here from down in the ground below. And there came rising dust and smoke, while here and there came rising something sticky, looking like tar[1], a black fluid. That substance overflowed down into the earth. That was when the great gaps opened in the ground, here where we dwell upon our mother's body.

So even it was not known what purpose was intended for the black fluid substance blown forth from below. There the earth lay gaping open and when the dust and smoke were seen, it was said to be the breath of the Evil Spirit.

[1] *mal'·sci·*, sticky substance," (cp. Shawnee meaning, "sugar"). The narrator added, "The Indians of today do not know what that fluid was. They liken it to the flowing of oil from the newly discovered oil fields."

And then when the men were called together, it was said that the Delawares ought to pray, for it would seem that the Great Spirit was very seriously angry with them. That is why he frightened us. One after another, certain ones arose saying, "This, behold, is my dream,

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"This, behold, is my dreams
and I can thus explain it and sing it in every way just as I saw it."[1] 539 X
And now, it was said, first of all there must be a house built. And 773 ●
also to be planned how that house should look both as to its inside 346
dimensions and height. And also, it was said what would be the size of the door here to be at the direction of the setting sun[2] and at the direction of the sunrise. And there will be jointed sections of the logs, and three posts used at the sides. And two will be on each side of the door reaching to the height of the top of the roof. And in the middle shall be the big post. And it shall be as high as the height of the house. And all posts shall be notched on top. And these at the side where the logs join shall stand as stud-posts facing each other, there held together at the top using short cross-ties.[3] And there shall be on top a larger timber cross-piece. And the ridge rafters in two pieces in the center where they join shall be more than a person's height, there from the beginning of the roof-pitch. And shall be made of various woods. And also the rafters and flat boards shall be used with the bark on, likewise in the roofing.

[1] The Big House, as we learn here, was conceived in a dream-vision revealed to certain persons by the Great Spirit. The recitation of experiences, obtained while in a dream state or in a disturbed emotional condition, has ever continued to form the key note of the ceremony so founded. [787]
[2] The present Big House on Little Caney River, Oklahoma, is set north and south, evidently so placed by mistake, due to the position of the river.
[3] The notched binders fitted into notches of the posts to lock them.

And at both sides where sets the center post, there also shall be built [284]
the fires. Right there opposite and above them, an uncovered place shall be left in the roof. And that will be to force out the smoke. And on all the posts at about a person's height there shall be carved the [778]
mask-image face,[1] and also half the face painted red and the other side blackened.

And around the sides where the people sit, there shall be put dried 539 X
grass. And three men and three women chosen, one shall be of the 773
Pole" group, and of the Pukowa'ŋgo, and of the Tu'k"si't. Their 796
service shall be to labor as long as the Gamwing, it was said, ten and two days[2] praying. All this time they furnish sufficient well-dried wood. It shall be, for those women, obligatory that they grind up corn and cook meat. And the Attendants all together feed in the house. And they pay them one shoulder-length[3] of wampum every time they furnish food. And it is the rule that the people shall use wampum when purchasing food from the Attendants. There everyone who recites visions in the House will eat there with his family three times each day.

[1] These are the sculptured personifications of the spirit-forces.
[2] For the discussion of this archaic style of enumeration in the ceremony see page 62.
[3] Measured from the shoulder point to the tip of finger of the extended arm.

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No iron or nail is used when building the House, and no wooden floor. It has a dirt floor inside the House. Deerhide is used when the drum is tied together and two drum-sticks are cut forked. And small faces are carved on one side, alike in appearance. Another different pair of sticks are made plain and these are used when the cranes[1] are singing. And a wooden bowl is made ready when they mix up the tobacco and kinnickinnick[2]. Another different wooden bowl is provided when they carry the red paint and puccoon[3] and also there they put cedar.

And ten and two sticks are made, called "means of earnest prayer." And some are marked with spots. Whoever wishes to sing in company shall also use this when helping to lift up the prayer, it is said, with concentration of spiritual force far above to the ten and two sky-levels where dwells the Creator.

And now this Big House when first built, they say of it, was the one great prayer-creed, that this carved post in the middle of the House, standing there reaches to the above through as many as ten and two strata. And the strata of sky light are as high as that post, it is said, this being the fastener. That is the Creator's staff. From that very staff, branch off all prayer-creeds of the red-people given to them, whence come all other prayer-creeds of the world.

[1] Meaning the drummers. There being two drummers, one of them sings in a tone which the other repeats immediately after him, in imitation of the manner in which wild cranes cry when flying in response to the call of their leader. The result in tone is similar to an echo. The crane is the Sand-hill crane (Grus Mexicana), daleka'ok, (plural) whence the drummers derive their sobriquet. ni'kanasos "the leader" is the singer who takes the leading part in the song; the other singer is oxteggi'xsos "after-time." See page 57.

[2] See footnote 6, page 127.

[3] See page 71.

[4] mas'mendahi'k-an. This denotes prayer-sticks used in serious address to the Great Spirit. mas'mendawa'mal "I beg the Great Spirit to do my bidding." Specimens of the plain and decorated prayer-sticks made by the informant are shown (fig. 24).

The bearers of the twelve prayer-sticks give all their spiritual-force to lift the prayer being given by the speaker or the singers to the highest, or twelfth heaven,—the instrumental symbol of raising the word.

And there was given to the Delawares something which is used when they make fire. It is called "ringing noise-instrument"[1]. Whomever they chose as fire-maker, any of the Attendants, was of moral habits or spiritually clean, for that one shall drill for fire in the House. Sometimes flint is used when they make fire in the House and pith is used when they make fire with flint.

Now therefore in the beginning the Delawares came to be blessed with religion together with the Munsee; so the prayer worship proceeds for ten and two days. Now that very log-house itself is called Big House. Right here toward the dawn-direction and sun-set direc-

[1] See page 69.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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tion it lies extended. And the doors are opposite each other. Right here in the direction of the sun-set, it is the rule that the Bringer-in come, bringing the ceremony into the House.

Everything was provided for the Delawares in the Gamwing. There was also wampum supplied by rule, it is said. Each person gives one shoulder-length for helping to prepare this food and also for when they pay the Attendants. And, so it is said, the Attendant is pleasing to him our father the Great Spirit, even the Creator.

When the workers[1] purify everything,[2] these women with the Attendants, it can not be conceived how sacredly valuable those labors are. It has been destined for the Delaware that that very wampum he uses becomes his heart. And moreover when purchasing food, or when anything of value is bought, he employs wampum. And then a quantity is gathered. Here at the left side of the House where the Bringer-in sits, at a certain height above the ground, there a white cloth is hung along the wall. There is suspended all the wampum, as much as has been gathered together each day over again.[3]

[1] The word means "to labor" in the sense of doing something for oneself. Corresponding to the term alo'ke (Penobscot, Wabanaki) meaning "work," the Delaware denotes working for someone else by naloka'tke "I am hired by someone to work."

[2] The clean, pure character of the Attendants or "workers" diffuses spiritual purity over all those attending the ceremony inside the Big House and strengthens them for the ensuing year.

[3] The supply of wampum is renewed each day by those who through spiritual impulses contribute their treasure. They are blessed in proportion. It should be noted that no one is allowed to sell anything at the festival except the Attendants. Outside on the grounds at a distance from the Big House refreshments can be sold for money. But inside the Big House wampum must be used for exchange. In the present ceremonial transactions between the Attendants and the worshippers two or three beads pass for five cents. Some thirty or more years ago, however, when wampum was more plentiful it passed at one bead for a cent.

And it was said, long ago in the beginning at the Gamwing, inside the Big House, they built a great sweat-house. They heated rock and put it inside that sweat-house. There the shamans[1] crawled in. And water was used here for pouring upon the rocks. That was called testing with heat. Everyone going in there and staying for any length of time was said to be a great man. Some person would be exhausted in a little while for which reason they took him out. Those enduring it for a considerable length of time, those are the great men.[2]

[1] There were two classes of shamans. Some had healing power and are called nenpi'kees "sweating doctor." The men who recite their visions in the Big House are also mete'lnu in the Delaware classification, their description being kaci'las-u wehendji'k-an'yo "great men who perform in a single file [like the vertebral articulation of men and animals]." See page 54.

[2] Amounting to a title denoting "prophet, reciter of vision, healer, priest all in one.

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Great Star.[1] Again seven stars, it is said, are sometimes at the noon-point[2] seen after dark. Those stars called the Bear;[3] also the head of this one is separate. Now it is said that whenever that Bear shall catch up with his head, then will be the end of the world.[4] And again another group is called Bunched-up,[5] seven is their number. And again here in the direction of sun-down, that evening-star is called kwe'tci-'pon-e'a.[6] Thenceforth are other stars and moons. And there are also these Thunders, our grandfathers, even coming to those clouds, all called spirit-forces. And the sun, our elder brother, is considered a leading spirit-force up above, because he is a great person. By his breath he warms all the universe, and it is he also who lights up the day-time, and the night-sun. It is he who lights up the night-time. And those stars, in accordance with the strength given them, in proportion that serve and aid our father's, the Great Spirit's labors.

[1] ma'xalangw, "Great Star," a variant is ma'xkalangw, "red star."

[2] Meaning at the zenith, regarded in Delaware sky-lore as the point half-way between the earth and the summit of the sky dome, as nearly as can be ascertained.

[3] The constellation Ursus Major has among the Iroquois, the Cherokee, and also the Algonkian south of the St. Lawrence, the same interpretation, as representing the celestial Bear. North of this dividing line of culture, however, the figure is changed to that of the Fisher (Mustela pennanti) or Marten. The explanatory myths are of an entirely different nature in the two areas. The tale in the northern area seems to have a circumpolar distribution in North America from the Athapaskans through the Cree to the Montagnais-Naskapi of the Labrador peninsula, while the Bear legend of explanation traces to the southward. I have given some attention to this myth in a study of Penobscot tradition. (See also S. Hagar, Jour. Amer. Folk-Lore, vol. XIII, No. 49, p. 92; D. G. Brinton, Myths of the New World, Phila., 1896). (See previous discussion of star beliefs, p. 48).

[4] This vision of a celestial catastrophe reminds us again of the Delaware belief that when the Tortoise in his westward journey reaches the edge of the earth the world will come to an end.

[5] The word in the text is asi'-s-k-wtaya'-s-ak, corresponding to Zeisberger's anschiskatawewak which he calls firebrands laid together (op. cit. p. 148). His editor suggests Cassiopeia.

[6] Unfortunately the informant was unable to give a translation for this term.

And so this is what the Delawares understand; namely that some spirit-forces are able to control everything whatsoever, and some are created with less strength. Therefore when a person acquires the strength of a vision of some object or living being, he will obtain it in accordance with the strength imbued in the spiritual power which gives it to him.[1]

And now of the several kinds of spirits when they are spoken of, the tortoise is said to be a powerful being because he is able to bear up this our mother's body. That is why it is said he slowly moves, walking

[1] This difficult passage is an example of the resourcefulness of the Delaware language. Two verbs, carry the much involved dominant ideas, pa>'tang ne<'xpe<lomu'kuk. The former contains the stem pao, universal in Algonkian, as denoting magical functioning (See Speck, Penobscot Shamanism. Mem. Anth. Assn., Vol. VI, No. 3, 1920, pp. 249-54) pa>'lax being the Delaware for "fetish or charm," a spiritual agency; the second implies the meaning to be "born with power." Lindeström (1654-6) (op. cit. 207) discusses the term which he renders päähra.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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deliberately, because he carries the whole earth. And he starts out, beginning walking from the direction of sunrise. It is said that when he arrives at the edge of the earth, it will seem like but a short time, namely, for instance we may say like one eye-wink.[1] But because of his slowness of movement afoot; that is why it seems so long before he shall have traversed this world. For, whenever they see him in the wilderness he is going toward the direction of sun-set.[2] And now it shall be, when he has completed his road, then shall come to end this earth.

[1] Meaning that to man's sense of time it seems like a long epoch, but in reality it forms but an instant when the tortoise shall have performed the journey imposed upon him by the Great Spirit. This is quite an unexpected philosophical allusion to the classical problem of relativity in time.

[2] The Delawares entertain the notion that all the tortoises seen in the woods are, unless their movements have been temporarily disturbed, headed westward in their journey across the continent imposed upon their race until the day of doom. Here is something for the naturalist to disprove!

Some persons when endowed with shaman power, it is said, can use it against anyone when they are angry. And that is the cause of some persons' disability[1] or the cause of persons going blind. And he may even decide that he can kill with it. And that is called evil conjuring.[2]

Now the non-beneficent spirit-force has shaman power wherefore a person can employ that Spiritual force for evil purpose. For, it is said by tradition, evil things belong to the Evil Spirit,[3] the cat, panther, or long-tail[4] and the snake, and also the lizard[5] and in-

[1] Literally ɔkicakaʼtan, "crooked leg," in this case meaning rheumatism or other forms of lameness.

[2] The non-benevolent practice of conjuring; witchcraft or black-magic which is as much condemned by the natives as by the mediaeval Europeans. Algonkian shamanistic accounts are fraught with both phases of the practice. So baneful is the recitation even of this information that Wi·tapanoʼxwe insisted it be kept out of the main body of the text.

[3] maxtaʼneteˑ, "Evil Spirit" has its closest analogy in Wabanaki, madahaʼn·do, the term being mentioned by Father Rasles (1723) in his manuscript dictionary of Abenaki.

[4] The eastern panther (Felis cougar) only recently considered to be extinct in the Pennsylvania mountains, is known in Delaware by the peculiarity of its length of tail kweeʼmi·ckwuʼn·ayas "long tail." The same descriptive term is applied to the animal by the Wabanaki (piˑsiˑtaʼlu, "long tail"). An interesting mention of panther hunting in Pennsylvania, but erroneously illustrated, is given by Alexander Wilson, the ornithologist in "The Foresters," published in his Portfolio 1812.

[5] This is a very old term referring to a legendary monster of lizard form, living in trees, running so swiftly as to overtake a man with ease. In early times a portion of its tail was secured by some means, it is related, and kept in possession by some malicious conjurors to work evil to mankind. A portion of the dried tail was scraped and put into the food of the intended victim causing him to die slowly by a wasting malady. The term is most interesting philologically, a variant in Brinton's Lenape Dictionary (p. 38) gegachxs (ch = x), evidently a Munsee cognate, in Nanticoke, ohʼkaush-kiss, (Speck, The Nanticoke and Conoy Indians, p. 62) and occurring in Wabanaki (Penobscot) as akadaʼlak', denoting the salamander in lieu of the lizard which does not occur so far north. A corruption of the word in Penobscot becomes a woman's cry of surprise and fear. The word is evidently a very ancient reptilian designation. I had occasion to observe the application of this word to the

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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NOTE II

THE MYTH OF RED CEDAR AND THE SEVEN STARS

539X 121 [776]

Reference to the stars and to the cedar tree as spirit-forces in the course of the text seems to call for the insertion of the following narrative in the study. It was dictated by Wi·tapano'xwe in explanation of that part of the ceremony in which cedar was given to the fires in the Big House as spiritual 'food.'

RED CEDAR A SACRED TREE

539X 824 [757 783]

Now I am explaining what is the purpose of him our Grandfather Cedar,[1] how in many different ways it is used. When a person has a swelling in his feet or his legs it is good medicine as a steam bath for one to reduce swelling. And when after a recent death anywhere that cedar is used for purifying the house.

And when the Delawares worship in the Big House cedar is always used for purifying the Big House. And that night when the time arrives for its use it is said to be a purification-agency and also all the red men who understand this Medicine-eating[2] know that the cedar is used. Although two other different kinds are used as well for purification when this Medicine-eating is going on.

[776 757]

But that cedar is the leading spirit-force that is given for strength for anyone's healing, when inhaling the smoke. Because that very thing is the purpose intended in treating and healing his grandchild when he begs it of him.

539X 773

A very long time ago in the life of the Delawares we have heard our deceased ancestors how they said, in ancient times when there were living men of great spiritual power; seven of them, it was said, all at once were not seen any more. They had gone those prophets, men departed. But young pure youths[3] blessed with a vision of something all at once while walking about along the ridge among rocky cliffs—all at once a thing upright there, seven stones almost alike. And then it was said that all at once the youth was thence spoken to by one of these stones. Then they came to be known.[4] And more and more

[1] The specific native term for cedar is a derivative of "popping."

[2] This is the proper designation in Delaware for the Peyote ceremony; "Medicine-eating" referring to the eating of the Peyote bean (Lophophora).

[3] One need hardly be reminded that these are the young men ignorant of the ways of the world, of sin and carnality, brought up under the tutelage of solicitous parents, observant of the religious rules and guided in their conduct of life by the spirit-forces which appeared to them; the life ideals of the Delawares.

[4] Indicating that these prophets to escape the importunities of people seeking help from them had concealed their identity by transforming themselves into rock among the mountains.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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widely persons constantly went there because those prophet men were there. All of a sudden when several had gone there to the place where they were, no person was seen there. But again after a very long time some one found them. Here were these seven beautiful appearing pine trees. And some of the individuals appeared as cedars in outward appearance. This very thing there shows evidence that they are closely related, the cedar and the pine, although in a different way gifted with the power of spiritual force when created by the Creator. However, they were placed together as one since both are conjurors.

And there is more than one way otherwise to use the cedar, for the purpose of coloring.

Again they notice that those prophet-men had become trees. Again they went away and it was a very long time afterward before they found them again. As soon as they were known here these had formed in a group up above in the middle of the sky as seven stars[1] and they are called, when they are seen, as though they were great persons, for which reason from then on until now they never stay in one place during the year. That is what was said by our ancestors from whom it was rightly known that the cedar was of medicinal purpose.

[1] The Pleiades.

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[p 52(1)]

535 *Dances of the Delawares*

1. Old Religious Dance
2. Wolf Dance
3. Turtle Dance
4. Chicken Dance
5. Buffalo Dance
6. Bear Dance
7. Doll Baby Dance
8. Horse Dance
9. False Face Dance
10. Dog Dance
11. War Dance
12. Feasting Dance
13. Dance for the Dead
14. Striking the Stick Dance
15. Buzzard Dance
16. Turkey Dance
17. Duck Dance
18. [left blank]
19. Shuffle Dance

● 773 829 *Origin of the Three Varieties of the Human Race*

Mr. Pratt mentioned to me a Delaware explanation of the creation of the Negro, Indian and White man, to the effect that the Negro was created first, and was, as we say, a mistake or failure; it was the first attempt at man's creation. The Great Spirit next created the Indian, who was admitted to be a great improvement upon the negro; and last of all he created the white man.

The Good Spirit and the Boil

776 753 Mr. Pratt had a boil come on his arm. A Delaware told him he had a good friend, and in explanation said to him that the Evil Spirit had intended to destroy him; that he was followed in his rounds to do mischief to men by a small but good spirit, who continued in various ways to defeat the evil spirit of his purpose, when it was a case in which he wished to save the person from harm. That as the evil spirit was about to put forth his power upon him, the little spirit stepped forward and said to the evil one, "you let me deal with this person," whereupon he took or drew on his invisible bow a small and invisible arrow, and shot

15:Morgan E-5 (1859)1959
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[53(A)]

622 tain Ketchum, and of the Turtle Tribe. His
[611] name was Ta-ta-ne-sha. Here we have a practical illustration of descent in the female line, as with the Iroquois. She says each of the three tribes have one hereditary chief, called the Head Chief; that this chief never goes out to war, but stays at home while the Braves go out to fight.

648 The Delawares call the Senecas Mingwa-o, hence I think the historical word Mingoes,[85] a name for the Iroquois. The Delawares call the Iroquois and Wyandottes nephews, and thus assume the name
[186] of uncles, which is a way to express their seniority as well as original superiority.

553 I inquired of her about the family names, and was again put at fault. She says the father and mother can name their children as they please; that they ask some one for a list of old names of persons dead, and choose such ones as they like. She thought the names of the three tribes were kept dis-
[614] tinct, and then that they were used by these tribes indiscriminately. She said her husband named her children, and gave them all Turtle names, which was his tribe, then followed this up by stating that she did not know as it made any difference, that all used the same names. She referred to the
[171] Seneca practice of making a feast when a child was named, but said the Delawares did not do that way.

Winter

773 Mr. Pratt mentioned a Delaware tradition
821 about the origin of cold and heat and the change of the seasons as follows. In ancient times a married pair fell into disagreement. They lived in the far north region of cold. The wife, finding it impossible to live with her husband, or in resentment for some injury, travelled into the far south, into the region of heat. The husband became weary

15:Morgan E-5 (1859)1959
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[p53(B)]

773 and lonely in her absence, started to make
821 her a visit. As he travelled southward he carried the cold with him and wherever he went it became winter, or rather winter followed his footsteps. After he had concluded his visit he returned and carried back the winter with him as he advanced to the north. From the most ancient times this visit has been annually renewed.

Indian Persistency

157 Mr. Pratt mentioned as a recent occurrence
224 among the Delawares, that while a party
521 were out on a Buffalo hunt a few years since, one of them said one day that before he returned he would take a three year old bull buffalo alive. His companions rather laughed at his suggestion as an impossibility, and thought no more about it. This is the age when they are the most ferocious and unmanageable. A few days afterwards this hunter rode up to a herd of buffalo and having singled out a two or three year old bull, he managed to detach him from the

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715

John Gill Pratt was a dedicated Baptist missionary, working in turn with the Shawnees, the Stockbridge, and finally the Delawares. Morgan regarded him highly.

[p 56 (A)]

776 about the coming crop. When she rises with her hair combed smooth and shining, and is seen in this condition, it is a favorable omen and indicates an abundant crop. When she rises with her hair uncombed and loose, it indicates a bad crop, or a failure of the harvest.

6. Wa-ma-take-a-nese, the Boy Spirit. He is represented as a little boy, with a bow and arrow, and as a constant friend of the Indian. He is everywhere and always at hand in the most impossible places, ready to assist us in our trials and troubles. He is a servant of the Great Spirit.

776 772 7. Ma-mun-da-ase, the Spirit of War. He [824] is represented as having the form of a panther, with a very long tail. He can foretell [821] war about to arise, who will fight, and who succeed. The meteoric stones are dropped by him, and the war will arise in the direction from which the meteor comes, and go in the direction it goes. He is under the control of the Great Spirit, as are all good spirits.

776 The Great Spirit has the form of a man
● 773 (name elsewhere). The Evil Spirit has the form of a man with one leg, the leg of an ox. The tradition is that the Evil Spirit was created by the good and was himself originally good, but he originated a contention among the inferior spirits which resulted in a division and taking of sides. In the midst of this contention they all came into the presence of the Great Spirit, who seized the Evil One and as a mark of his disapprobation and as a punishment, he wrenched off one of his legs and placed in the room of it that of an ox, that he might ever afterwards be known and recognized at once as an evil spirit, and then sent him down to the earth with the evil spirits who followed him.

775 Heaven they consider to be immediately over their heads and a place in which they

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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suggest, and may reproduce, early magical practices. The best-known remaining magical practice is a rain-making device. It is said that a scale from the mythical horned serpent when put in water would make it rain (F.W., J.T.). The scale has disappeared today, but there are a number of tales about its efficacy.[35] Speck noted a rain-making ritual in which a weasel skin was employed.[36]

It was possible to divine future events by magical methods. Whether a wounded warrior was going to die or get well, for example, was foretold by putting a piece of dried liver in a cup of water. If the resulting bloody solution circled the cup before sinking to the bottom, the wounded person would recover (J.T.). A magical procedure similar to this was used for extremely sick persons after all other curing methods had failed. Shavings from a tooth of an animal were dropped into a shell filled with water. If the shavings circled the shell before sinking, it was a good omen. This process was repeated four times; if the shavings circled the shell each time before sinking, the patient would get well. The water of the fourth trial was given to the patient to drink. Love medicines were regarded by one of our informants as being purely magical devices. In the one instance in which data were secured, some type of animal foot was used with herbs. An incantation was spoken and within three days an erring husband or wife returned to a prior love (N.D.). Zeisberger mentioned "love charms" similar to this one and also hunting charms.[37]

Soul Concept

The Delawares believed that every individual possessed two souls. The heart was the locus of one soul which after death remained near the body for eleven days. On the twelfth day it left the earth for a spirit world.[38] It is this soul which was offered food in a "Feast of the Dead" twelve days after death and again twelve months after death.[39] The symbolic number twelve is in all probability a historic diffusion; otherwise these concepts appear to be of Delaware origin.[40] The second soul, a resident of the blood, remained on the earth after death. It was this soul which was apt to become a malevolent ghost especially active at night. "They have an idea that the ghosts of their deceased friends appear to them in the night, particularly after a failure to offer the customary feast at the grave, and they immediately prepare to do what from neglect or disrespect had been left undone, when the ghost ceases the visits."[41] Harrington said that "the blood in the dead body draws up into globular form and floats about in the air as a luminous ball."[42] One informant said: "You see a dark something rolling around at night" (N.D.). This soul was also associated with paralysis, strokes, and

[35] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 83; J.T.
[36] Speck, 1950, pp. 70-72.
[37] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 83; J.T.
[38] Speck, 1931, p. 25; Harrington, 1921, p. 52; J.T., N.D.
[39] Speck, 1931, p. 25; O.A.
[40] Kinietz, 1940, p. 118.
[41] Trowbridge MS.
[42] Harrington, 1913, p. 228.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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lameness.[33] For fear of this soul nobody ever eats in the dark or allows a sick person to be in a dark room (J.T., N.D.).

The Delawares believed in an after life, but what this existence was like is only vaguely described in the early literature and probably was only vaguely envisaged by them. De Vries said that "when they die they sing like the ravens; but this singing is entirely different from the singing of angels."[34] One source stated that "some" believed that after a soul had been in the other world for a time it might be reborn on earth in another individual.[35] Harrington said that on the twelfth day after death the spirit made its way to the twelfth or highest home, a beautiful place, without pain or sorrow, where there were magnificent dwellings, beautiful streams, and fertile lands. This paradise was only for the good; where bad or evil spirits went is unknown.[36] This concept was in all likelihood a diffusion from Christianity.

The Big House Ceremony

The Big House or Annual Ceremony has been the principal ceremony and the focal point of Delaware religious observances at least since the second half of the eighteenth century. Prior to the tribal consolidation of the Delawares (in the early decades of the eighteenth century), this Ceremony could not have existed as it is now known, since in its modern form it is a tribal or national religious event. I do not agree with Kinietz that the Big House Ceremony came into existence as an adjunct of the revivalistic nativism of the Delawares after 1762.[37] It seems much more likely that it was synthesized during the early decades of the century at the time when other parts of the culture were being unified and the tribal society was emerging. As far as I have been able to determine, the import and the meaning of this ceremony have not been nativistic as would be required by Kinietz's hypothesis. Its general purpose was to give thanks for past blessings and to ensure good fortune for the coming year.[38] Morgan said: "They believe unless they observe it once a year their crops will fail, and they will loose (sic) the favor of the Great Spirit."[39] I agree with Kinietz that "European civilization in contact with that of the Delawares was unconsciously responsible for the integration of the Big House Ceremony, the dropping and addition of many features . . . ,"[40] but I set the date for this integration half a century earlier than he does. The addition of the symbolic number twelve (from the twelve Apostles of Christianity?), the sacred number of the sweat lodge, and the appearance of the Mask Being during the ceremony are but two examples of historic additions to the ceremony.[41]

Unfortunately, the seventeenth-century documents contain little more than hints concerning the nature of the religious rites from which the the Big House Ceremony was synthesized. Denton, however, said:

[33] Speck, 1931, p. 25; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 131; J.T.
[34] De Vries, 1909, p. 224.
[35] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 131.
[36] Harrington, 1921, pp. 52-54.
[37] Kinietz, 1940, pp. 117-21.
[38] Speck, 1931, p. 21; R.W., O.A.
[39] Morgan, 1859, MS.
[40] Kinietz, 1940, p. 121.
[41] *Ibid.*, p. 118.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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through which unquestionably many evils have crept in. They lived in earlier days more simply, perhaps one ought to say more stupidly, and now that they have gained in knowledge and understanding they have become practiced in wickedness. 771

They consider the soul to be an invisible being and a spirit. Formerly, they used the word *Wtellenapewoagan* to describe it, meaning the "Substance of a Human Being." Savages use this word to the present day. Now they have accepted the word *Wtschitschank*, that is, "Spirit." They believe also in the immortality of the soul. Some likened themselves to corn which when thrown out and buried in the soil comes up and grows. Some believe their souls to be in the sun and only their bodies here. Others say that when they die their souls will go to God and suppose that when they have been some time with God they will be at liberty to return to the world and be born again. Hence, many believe that their souls have come from God and that they have been in the world before. 774

They believe also in the transmigration of the soul. Wandering spirits and ghosts, they claim, sometimes throw something into a public path and whoever goes over it is bewitched and becomes lame or ill. They even pretend to know where such a thing happened, learning it from the doctors who are thought to be able to effect a cure. 775

Concerning the deluge there are some fairly clear traditions among the Indians. According to these, the world was at one time entirely flooded and all men perished. The turtle, however, able to live both on land and sea, had survived and again peopled the world. Hence, the Turtle Tribe is the most important among the Indians. Another tradition is that when the earth was flooded some men and women had seated themselves on the back of a turtle of such great age that moss had already grown on its back. These people commissioned a diver that flew nearby to search for land. After searching in many regions this bird had at last returned with a bit of earth in its mouth. They, then, proceed on the back of the turtle to where this earth had been procured and found a little spot of dry land, where they settled. Gradually more land appeared, and this was, eventually, peopled by the descendants of those 773

inside the oven, shook a calabash rattle and threw tobacco in the fire while asking the spirits to grant the boy good luck (Loskiel, p. 43).

To these ceremonies each person had to contribute a certain amount of wampum, a feature noted by Penn (p. 39). Of the rationale behind this custom, Frank Speck says: "...the pecuniary aspect of wampum has been exaggerated in the early writings dealing with the eastern Indians. To the Delawares wampum stood forth in the light of a covenant. It represented, and still does, a magical power capable of annulling the effects of latent poisonous influences that might pass between persons who exchange gifts or who enter into the transfer of property." (Speck, 1931, p. 63).

In addition to these more formal ceremonies, Brickell states that "...when they start on a hunting expedition, the first game that is taken they skin and dress whole, breaking not a bone, leaving on the head, ears and hoofs. This they bring to camp and cook whole, and everyone eats of it, and the rest they burn entirely up." (p. 49).

The Delaware communicated with the supernatural by means of visions. "...they give much heed to dreams, because they suppose these invisible powers give them direction at such times about certain affairs, and sometimes inform them what animal they choose to be worshipped in." (Brainerd, pp. 349-350; also see Loskiel, p. 40). In regard to the last, Lindstrom says: "They adopt their Paarka or idol when about fifteen. They may make a human figure, claw of bear or eagle, tooth or bird bill. They hang it about their neck and it is so sacred that no one may touch it." (Lindstrom, p. 207). These animals which became guardian spirits received their power from the great Spirit. Such an animal became sacred to the person to whom it was the author of good, although to others it was the same as any other animal (Zeisberger, 1910, p. 132; Brainerd, pp. 344-345).[15]

The Hereafter

From the earliest sources we find that the Delaware had a concept of an immortal soul, a hereafter which was better than life on earth and that the attainment of this place was linked with good behavior in life. The hereafter was believed to lie to the south, but its location was very vaguely conceived. Likewise although they had the idea of reward for a good life, there was no definite expression of what this good life would involve. The bad were to be punished not by any torture but by the inability to attain the place of bliss (Penn, p. 37; Brainerd, p. 346; Zeisberger, 1910, pp. 128-29; Brickell, p. 49). The greatest difference between the Delaware concept of good and that of the Christian theology of the period lay in the fact that the Delaware concept was completely concerned with man's behavior toward his fellow man. The sacrifices which were made were apparently expected to influence one's immediate fortune but to have little effect on the state of the soul after death. Thus Brainerd says that the bad folk are those who "...lie, steal, quarrel with their neighbors, are unkind to their friends and especially to aged parents, and in a word, such as are a plague to mankind." (p. 346).

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
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Lenape

fighting will take place, and drops the heads on the spot, and the noise of their fall is a roar like thunder. 776 821

EVIL MANĬ'TOWŬK

Both the Great Horned Serpents, monsters living in the rivers and lakes, and the Giant Bear were considered evil *manĭ'towŭk*, the only good derived from them being, in the first case, charms made of the scales, bone, or horn of the monsters, supposed to bring rain; and, in the second case, a medicine made from the tooth said to have the power of healing wounds. Children were accustomed to hunt in the sand for tracks of the Little People, comparable with fairies or elves among the whites. 776

ANIMAL SPIRITS

The concepts regarding the numerous animal spirits who were believed to offer themselves as guardians for mankind, are rather hard to define. Most Indians seem to regard their mysterious animal helper not as the spirit or soul of any 774 776

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
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774 776 particular animal taken as an individual, but as a spirit representing the entire species as a whole and partaking of the nature of the species, at the same time having human and *manI'to* attributes.

776 778 Brainerd[83] makes some interesting remarks on this subject, which are worth quoting:

> "They do not indeed suppose a divine power *essential* to, or *inhering* in, these creatures; but that some invisible beings . . . communicate to these animals a *great power;* . . . and so make these creatures the immediate authors of good to certain persons. Whence such a creature becomes *sacred* to the persons to whom he is supposed to be the immediate author of good, and through him they must worship the invisible powers, though to others he is no more than any other creature."

Certain it is, if a Lenape states that his blessing or power comes from "the otter," he does not mean some particular otter, but a spirit otter whose existence is independent of the life of any particular animal. However, such an animal was supposed, like a man, to have a spirit or soul of its own. [774]

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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764 [768] bers of the family before death. Thus, while old articles were required, those possessed by an individual might be so completely disposed of before death that the requirement was impossible of fulfillment and nullified.

The statement of Captain Pipe that posts were erected only at the head of graves containing males apparently was in error, although neither of the other sources of his period reported on this element (187). The sources prior to him and the informants who followed him all reported the erection of posts at the graves of both males and females.

A moccasin game at the side of the corpse the night before burial was reported by all the informants of the fourth period as an important part of the death ceremonies (193). The game was introduced among the Delaware at least as early as the third period (see 447), but apparently did not become associated with death customs until some time after 1824.

765 Mourning observances show two very marked changes; namely, the dropping of wearing black and dawn visits to the grave (196 and 201). The wearing of black was reported definitely in the first period, ignored in the second period, both reported and denied in the third and definitely denied in the fourth. Starting in the second period, reports of the dawn visits to the grave followed the same pattern of affirmation, contradiction, and denial. The length of mourning of widow or widower is reported so differently that one cannot postulate any direction of change (194). Mourning of relatives is also reported with the same variation in length of observance (202).

761 775 Theoretically there should be a connection between the elements dealing with dread of the approach of death and belief that bodies will be restored (203 and 206). That is, one would expect a belief in the restoration of life to be accompanied by a freedom of dread of death and a lack of belief in the restoration accompanied by dread of the approach of death. Instead of this correlation, we find that only one of the four informants who denied a belief that bodies would be restored after death admitted to a dread of the approach of death. Of course, the ● [774] belief in the separate survival of the soul must be considered in

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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connection with the dread of death and the restoration of the body thereafter, but all the reports on these two elements also expressed a belief in the immortality of the soul.

Lineage

There is no change indicated by a consideration of matters of lineage with the exception of the endogamy vouched for by W. T. (214). He said that originally and until recently Delaware clans were endogamous, that each had to be kept clean and pure; but that now there are lots of half- and quarter-breeds. This statement of endogamy is not supported by other historic or contemporaneous evidence.

On the division of the Delaware into three groups, Turtle, Wolf and Turkey, there have been many conflicting opinions (209). Heckewelder called them tribes coinciding with the Unamis or Delaware, Munsee, and Unalachtigo.[2] Morgan considered them gens in the nature of phratries.[3] The modern Delaware frequently refer to these divisions as clans. Since Morgan's conclusion of phratries was based on the functionless and only vaguely remembered subdivisions called subgentes, it is important to have the result of Trowbridge's inquiries on this subject. He wrote:

"The Delaware nation is divided into three tribes, the *Tööksect* or Wolf (Round foot; from *Tööksaa* round & *oozēēt* foot) the *Tshēēkunum* or Turkey, called by the Munsees and sometimes by the Delawares *Pelāāooh*, and the *Tōōlpaa* or Turtle, (in Munsee *Skēēhkee*).

"They say that anciently each of these three tribes was divided into four, making twelve tribes, but they do not recollect the names of those subdivisions.

"Mr. Heckewelder has strangely mistaken himself when he said that Unamis (*Woonāūmee*) meant Turtle, or Turtle tribe, and Unalachtigo (*Woonalāūhtekoa*) the Turkey tribe. The term *Woonāūmee* was given by the Munsees to the Turtle tribe of

[2] Heckewelder, *History, Manners, and Customs of the Indians*, pp. 51-52.
[3] Morgan, Lewis H., *Ancient Society* . . . (Chicago, Henry Holt and Company, 1907), p. 172.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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and bad souls in the proper courses—the good go to Heaven— 775
the bad are conducted by this armed stranger to Hell, where are prepared kettles of boiling water for their special accommodation. They believe in a day of judgment—that "the world will be at an end, when the whites get into full possession of it,"—that the souls only, after death will be accountable, and punished or rewarded. There are no particular days set apart for worship and no other religious ceremonies, but such as appertain to their festivals, war dance, etc. The soul immediately after death, is supposed to leave the body and absent itself, "traveling backwards and forwards" and occasionally visiting the body until the Great day.

J. W.—Soul stays with body of deceased in ground and decays with it. Resurrected at the final calling of everybody by the Creator. Spirit immediately leaves body and goes to all the places it has been during life and all bad actions are punished on the spot. The spirits of the good go almost directly to the Creator. All are ready to go by the 11th day, or 12th at noon, at which time to help them go, relatives give spirit a feast (in the Wolf division only). Six months or a year afterwards a relative or friend may feel the presence of a spirit and give a feast to remove the effects of spirit. Usually a year after death and then every year thereafter. A friend is called to the feast and given the food which he takes out and eats.

W. T. gave the name of ghost to the soul of J. W. and said [774]
it stayed on earth while the spirit went "home" to heaven.

W. L. did not distinguish between soul and spirit. Said spirit goes eleven places before going to land of Great Spirit. These eleven places were "like Jacob's ladder."

38. Ghosts

John Johnston—They do [believe in ghosts] very much and 774
say that they have often seen them. 775

Captain Pipe—They have an idea that the ghosts of their deceased friends appear to them in the night, particularly after a failure to offer the customary feast at the grave; and they immediately prepare to do what from neglect or disrespect had

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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774 beep left undone, when the ghost ceases the visits.
775 CAPTAIN CHIPPS—Ghosts are not known—have not been heard of.

J. W.—Ghosts are really shades or shadows of spirits, often seen before or after death, they are signs or warnings and can be seen by human eyes. There is much paralysis among the Delaware which is often caused by being struck with a shadow or crossing it or paying any attention to it if one sees it coming. Stopping [822] 763] to look at it, turning around after passing, even innocently, has evil effects. There is no cure for it. Preventive by rubbing [751] streak of ashes on left cheek under eye before going out in the evening. Often marked children as safeguard.

W. T. attributed to the soul the actions of the shadow reported by J. W.

40. Witches and wizards

754 JOHN JOHNSTON—They are very firm in the belief of witchcraft and suppose that there is many among them that can appear [753] in the shape of any animal they please and have power to cause sickness. They believe this to be a supernatural power invested in them by some one of the Deities for the purpose of good that they might have power to heal the sick etc. But that in their present degenerated state they have made a bad use of it, that instead of healing they inflict with sickness and other calamities.

754 CAPTAIN PIPE—They believe in witches and wizards and 756 attribute their powers to the use of certain medicine, said to have been procured of the Nanticokes who had it from a naked infant found by them on the Sea Shore. In 1810, the prophet when [792] preaching against the use of this medicine pointed out five or six men and women on white river as the possessors of it. These [683] persons protested their innocence and were put to the torture, where they were exhorted to save themselves by delivering the means of destruction which they possessd. Seeing no other prospect of escape from death, they professed a knowledge of the arts and promised compliance, but after release they were not able to produce the cause of the difficulty, and they were by common consent condemned to death by burning.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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796 is the symbol of the function of these noble birds, helpers of man, who
778 with their wings sweep the obstacles of disease and witch-craft from
772 the path which the Delaware treads to his final destiny.[1]

[774 824] Among the many noteworthy poetical concepts of which Delaware imagination is capable is also the thought that the trees, themselves spirit-forces, are calling forth in prayer to the Creator when the wind blowing through their foliage causes a rustling, or sighing as we would say.[2]

As life proceeds on its course under the gaze of the Supreme Power through the entire universe, with his minions posted around about in their respective quarters, so the Delawares performing in the Big House gyrate in their symbolical course in the shadow of the carved images. The symbolism of the harmonized progression of the celestial and terrestrial plane-realms is consistently carried out in thought in every performance and ritual connected with the Big House. Then there are the minor symbols of force, "Grandfathers" likewise; the guardian of the game animals, represented by the Mask Spirit, the mosing'hali·'kan, the tobacco, the cedar, the wampum, the red paint, the feathers, the winds.

796 An essential point to the understanding of the Big House ceremony is that it is conducted under the sponsorship of one of the three subdivisions of the tribe.[3] And while the obligation as well as the honor of conducting the ceremony fall collectively upon the members, there is one among them who has personally assumed the religious duty involved in issuing the invitations, in appointing the officers for the different branches of service, and particularly in defraying the numerous expenses which arise in connection with bringing so many people together for a fortnight.[4] The responsibility of the occasion is voluntarily assumed by the giver, or as he is called in Delaware, tomi·'ke'tⁱ, the Bringer-in." Men imbued with a desire to acquire a spiritual blessing through their religious attitude, or to recognize some blessing enjoyed, are usually the ones who answer to the inner call of duty.[5]

[1] The significance of using feathers of the nobler birds comes out in Delaware in the carrying of fans made of eagle and hawk feathers, in the wearing of feathers in the hair, and in the use of the decorated feather wand in the recently introduced Peyote ceremony. The feathers dispel evil influences from the umbrage of their wearers, the fans sweep away malevolent agencies.

[2] This passage is contained in the text of a prayer made at the opening of spring-time dictated by Wi·tapano'xwe.

[3] The three sub-divisions of the Delawares, the so-called Tortoise, Turkey, and Wolf groups, have evoked no small amount of discussion (Morgan, Brinton, Harrington). They are, however, not yet thoroughly understood. Some facts connected with these groupings are dealt with farther along, though only so far as they require mention in connection with the Big House.

[4] The informant estimated the cost of performance to be about $150.00.

[5] Since, moreover, there is the conviction that welfare of man at large rests upon the performance of the ceremony, that a world catastrophe is warded off by it, the attitude of the host is one pervaded with generous altruism. (Compare Zeisberger, op. cit., p. 136; and Harrington, I, p. 115).

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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It is expected that the announcement be made before the members of the tribal council at one of its meetings prior to the time of notification. In the instance of our text Wi·tapano'xwe decided to recite the ceremony as though it were brought in and sponsored by Chief Elk-Hair, the present head chief of the Oklahoma Delawares whom Harrington referred to as an active ceremonial leader in 1910.[1]

CONCEPT OF THE SOUL.—A distinction observed between the phraseology of the unconverted and the Christian Delawares in referring to the soul, which has already been mentioned, is of some significance in this connection. The former group employs the term lənape·ɔ'k·an "human sign, or evidence of existence." The terminal element, -ok·an appears in combinations leχ'le·'χe'yɔ'k·an "breath of life, actual life" meaning "my life"[2] (le'xe'yan, "my breathing"), wihila'ɔk·an "clan-name emblem." Its obscure abstract meaning, however, seems to lie beyond the scope of any specific English equivalent. The Christian Delawares use the term tei·'teaŋg giving the significance in Delaware of an image, an appearance visible but without substance, an incorporeal image or phantom as an image in a mirror. The same term actually designates a mirror in the language.

The second term, now of the Christian Delaware religious vernacular, has a wide distribution among eastern Algonkian languages indicating that, while the synonomy noted has taken place in Delaware since the introduction of Christianity, the element tei·'teaŋg for soul is an archaic property of the family of tongues.[3]

We are told that the soul leaves the body twelve days after death, that the life blood ('huk') remains as a spirit on the earth, whence arise ghosts or phantoms.

The heart is the seat of one soul, the blood the seat of another spiritual element. The heart and blood should be kept together after death (for which reason the Delawares do not believe in embalming). The blood of the dead is the element from which the dead reappear to the living on earth in the form of ghosts. It is considered as the cause of paralysis and so was curable through appeal to the dead. We might refer to the funeral rites of the tribe which carry the burial customs over twelve days after death when certain feasting and rites are performed at the home of the deceased. And again these are repeated twelve months later in a yearly ceremonial feast to the dead. At the feast the opposite clan group has an important part to play.

[1] Harrington I, pp. 14, 87.

[2] A more general term for "life," in Delaware, is pema'nsowak·an, with the sense of "being among the living."

[3] Mitschitschank, Munsee (Brinton, Lenape Dictionary, p. 83); djedja'kew, Wabanaki (St. Francis and Penobscot); atea'kew (Montagnais-Naskapi); tea'teung (Mohegan-Pequot); (mi)chachunck, (Natick, where the analogy between soul and mirror is also found (Trumbull, Natick Dictionary, pp. 325, 290, 571); and the same in Narragansett, (Roger Williams, Key to the Indian Language, p. 113); and (mit)tachonkq in the Quiripi dialect of western Connecticut.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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774 Zeisberger over 150 years ago was attracted sufficiently by the interest attached to these terms to devote attention to them in a paragraph which coincides with and corroborates the testimony of today.

"They consider the soul to be an invisible being and a spirit. Formerly, they used the word *Wtellenapewoagan* to describe it, meaning "Substance of a Human Being." Savages use this word to the present day. Now they have accepted the word *Wtschiltschank*, that is, "Spirit." They believe also in immortality of the soul, some likened themselves to corn which when thrown out and buried in the soil comes up and grows. Some believe their souls to be in the sun and only their bodies here. Others say that when they die their souls will go to [775] God and suppose that when they have been some time with God they will be at liberty to return to the world and be born again. Hence, many believe that their souls have come from God and that they have been in the world before."[1] The journey of the soul from the time of death until it reaches the abode of the Great Spirit has been revealed in a vision to Chief Elkhair and will be found in the appendix, note III.

776 THE SUPREME DEITY.—The concept of a supreme creative force is a well defined property of Delaware belief, denoted by the term ke'tan'to'wit, the close equivalent of which is "Great Power" or "Great Spirit." The same force is denoted as kice'lɔmu'kaɔŋg, "Creator." Herein lies the concept of the authorship of life and creation, but as to details of the character and appearance of the Supreme Power we have here no more to rely upon than we do in the case of other creeds whose notions of the ultimate divinity are equally vague. The Great Spirit, however, is "Father"[2] to the Delawares, whose supplication in all the endeavors of life are constantly directed to him, whose gratitude is constantly expressed to him in endless variety of thoughts recognizing him as the source from which come the blessings of the universe. A realization of the frailty of human power is deeply imbued in the mind of the Delawares. Without the guidance of their "Father," life to them would be hopelessly futile. But the minions of the Great Spirit, the "grandfathers," or man·i't·u of the universe created by him and the elemental forces of Nature are also remembered in the worship of the Great Spirit. As we observe the carved images of the Great Spirit adorning the center post of the Big House at a greater height than the surrounding images on the side posts, so the Great Spirit resides in his abode above the lesser Gods who inhabit the air, the earth, the water, and the underworld. In the topmost of the twelve "levels of light" (pi'tao'pan·e) he dwells. He holds a staff that reaches downward to the earth and is symbolized in

[1] Zeisberger, op. cit., p. 131.

[2] The consanguinity of man and the spirit-forces is to be discussed further on page 32. The only exception, among the eastern nations, to the habit of regarding the Great Spirit as Father, seems to be that of the Shawnee to whom the personage is nocomgon·a "Our Grandmother."

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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mother's womb; some had foretold that he would be a boy, and others a girl; he had distinctly overheard their discourses, and could repeat correctly every thing that they had said. It would be too long to relate all the wild stories of the same kind which this otherwise intelligent Indian said of himself, with a tone and manner which indicated the most intimate conviction, and left no doubt in my mind that he did not mean to deceive others, but was himself deceived. 787

I have known several other Indians who firmly believed that they knew, by means of these visions, what was to become of them when they should die, how their souls were to retire from their bodies and take their abodes into those of infants yet unborn; in short, there is nothing so wild and so extraordinary that they will not imagine and to which, when once it has taken hold of their imagination, they will not give full credit. In this they are not a little aided by certain general superstitious notions which form a part of their traditionary belief, and of which I shall take notice in the next chapter. [775]

CHAPTER XXXIV.

INDIAN MYTHOLOGY.

THE Indians consider the earth as their universal mother. They believe that they were created within its bosom, where for a long time they had their abode, before they came to live on its surface. They say that the 773

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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lameness.[33] For fear of this soul nobody ever eats in the dark or allows a sick person to be in a dark room (J.T., N.D.).

The Delawares believed in an after life, but what this existence was like is only vaguely described in the early literature and probably was only vaguely envisaged by them. De Vries said that "when they die they sing like the ravens; but this singing is entirely different from the singing of angels."[34] One source stated that "some" believed that after a soul had been in the other world for a time it might be reborn on earth in another individual.[35] Harrington said that on the twelfth day after death the spirit made its way to the twelfth or highest home, a beautiful place, without pain or sorrow, where there were magnificent dwellings, beautiful streams, and fertile lands. This paradise was only for the good; where bad or evil spirits went is unknown.[36] This concept was in all likelihood a diffusion from Christianity.

The Big House Ceremony

The Big House or Annual Ceremony has been the principal ceremony and the focal point of Delaware religious observances at least since the second half of the eighteenth century. Prior to the tribal consolidation of the Delawares (in the early decades of the eighteenth century), this Ceremony could not have existed as it is now known, since in its modern form it is a tribal or national religious event. I do not agree with Kinietz that the Big House Ceremony came into existence as an adjunct of the revivalistic nativism of the Delawares after 1762.[37] It seems much more likely that it was synthesized during the early decades of the century at the time when other parts of the culture were being unified and the tribal society was emerging. As far as I have been able to determine, the import and the meaning of this ceremony have not been nativistic as would be required by Kinietz's hypothesis. Its general purpose was to give thanks for past blessings and to ensure good fortune for the coming year.[38] Morgan said: "They believe unless they observe it once a year their crops will fail, and they will loose (sic) the favor of the Great Spirit."[39] I agree with Kinietz that "European civilization in contact with that of the Delawares was unconsciously responsible for the integration of the Big House Ceremony, the dropping and addition of many features . . . ,"[40] but I set the date for this integration half a century earlier than he does. The addition of the symbolic number twelve (from the twelve Apostles of Christianity?), the sacred number of the sweat lodge, and the appearance of the Mask Being during the ceremony are but two examples of historic additions to the ceremony.[41]

Unfortunately, the seventeenth-century documents contain little more than hints concerning the nature of the religious rites from which the Big House Ceremony was synthesized. Denton, however, said:

[33] Speck, 1931, p. 25; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 131; J.T.
[34] De Vries, 1909, p. 234.
[35] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 131.
[36] Harrington, 1921, pp. 53-54.
[37] Kinietz, 1940, pp. 117-21.
[38] Speck, 1931, p. 21; R.W., O.A.
[39] Morgan, 1859, MS.
[40] Kinietz, 1940, p. 121.
[41] *Ibid.*, p. 118.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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through which unquestionably many evils have crept in. They lived in earlier days more simply, perhaps one ought to say more stupidly, and now that they have gained in knowledge and understanding they have become practiced in wickedness. 771

They consider the soul to be an invisible being and a spirit. Formerly, they used the word *W'tellenapewoagan* to describe it, meaning the "Substance of a Human Being." Savages use this word to the present day. Now they have accepted the word *W'tschitschank*, that is, "Spirit." They believe also in the immortality of the soul. Some likened themselves to corn which when thrown out and buried in the soil comes up and grows. Some believe their souls to be in the sun and only their bodies here. Others say that when they die their souls will go to God and suppose that when they have been some time with God they will be at liberty to return to the world and be born again. Hence, many believe that their souls have come from God and that they have been in the world before. 774

They believe also in the transmigration of the soul. Wandering spirits and ghosts, they claim, sometimes throw something into a public path and whoever goes over it is bewitched and becomes laine or ill. They even pretend to know where such a thing happened, learning it from the doctors who are thought to be able to effect a cure. 775

Concerning the deluge there are some fairly clear traditions among the Indians. According to these, the world was at one time entirely flooded and all men perished. The turtle, however, able to live both on land and sea, had survived and again peopled the world. Hence, the Turtle Tribe is the most important among the Indians. Another tradition is that when the earth was flooded some men and women had seated themselves on the back of a turtle of such great age that moss had already grown on its back. These people commissioned a diver that flew nearby to search for land. After searching in many regions this bird had at last returned with a bit of earth in its mouth. They, then, proceed on the back of the turtle to where this earth had been procured and found a little spot of dry land, where they settled. Gradually more land appeared, and this was, eventually, peopled by the descendants of those 773

team of horses which had broken through the ice, were rescued through this same ability, to remain beneath the surface of the water for a considerable period. Power for this ability was given him by a teal duck which appeared to him in a dream. In the informant's words:

> When a boy, my grandfather always went swimming every morning before sun-up, even when there was a thin coating of ice on the river. One time he dreamed of going down to the ice-covered stream very early to bathe as usual. When he jumped into the water the echo could be heard down the river. Then suddenly he heard a voice saying to him, "I am going to make you a strong man. You will be able to go under the water as I do." He did not see anyone around but there close by was a teal. And he could go down under the water and get fish, too.

So close was the connection of divination with the spiritual realm that the Delaware noted carefully the last words of a person near to death. At such a time the dying one is believed to be in close communication with the souls of the departed, who may impart messages of great importance through this medium to the living. One aged woman while on her death-bed spoke as follows:

> My kindred, we have been wonderfully blessed. We have enjoyed the gifts which the Creator bestowed upon us. That is because we have kept our own religion and observed the teachings of our elders in all things. If you continue to do this in the future, you will not be subjected to the evils which increase as civilization increases. Do not give up your own religion.

Another old woman foretold the coming of the railroad twelve years prior to its appearance, while a third foresaw the granting of citizenship to the Indians twenty years before its occurrence.

The Sweating Rite

The importance of the sweat lodge ritual, as carried out by the Delaware for the purpose of spiritual and physical purification, is attested both by early observers,[25] and by more recent students.[26] According to Zeisberger, in his discussion of Delaware customs, the practice was attended by rather elaborate rites and was evidently regarded as one of the major ceremonies. It was performed in honor of fire, being called *machtuzin*, a term meaning "to perspire," according to the same writer's translation. A similar rite is described by Harrington, whose informants named it *muxhat'olzing*. This is recorded as a variant of the Annual Ceremony.

[25] Zeisberger, *op. cit.*, p. 138; Heckewelder, *op. cit.*, p. 225; Loskiel, 1794, pt. 1, pp. 108-9.

[26] Harrington, 1921, 122-126; Speck, 1931, pp. 72-74.

inside the oven, shook a calabash rattle and threw tobacco in the fire while asking the spirits to grant the boy good luck (Loskiel, p. 43).

To these ceremonies each person had to contribute a certain amount of wampum, a feature noted by Penn (p. 39). Of the rationale behind this custom, Frank Speck says: "...the pecuniary aspect of wampum has been exaggerated in the early writings dealing with the eastern Indians. To the Delawares wampum stood forth in the light of a covenant. It represented, and still does, a magical power capable of annulling the effects of latent poisonous influences that might pass between persons who exchange gifts or who enter into the transfer of property." (Speck, 1931, p. 63).

In addition to these more formal ceremonies, Brickell states that "...when they start on a hunting expedition, the first game that is taken they skin and dress whole, breaking not a bone, leaving on the head, ears and hoofs. This they bring to camp and cook whole, and everyone eats of it, and the rest they burn entirely up." (p. 49).

The Delaware communicated with the supernatural by means of visions. "...they give much heed to dreams, because they suppose these invisible powers give them direction at such times about certain affairs, and sometimes inform them what animal they choose to be worshipped in." (Brainerd, pp. 349-350; also see Loskiel, p. 40). In regard to the last, Lindstrom says: "They adopt their Pauxka or idol when about fifteen. They may make a human figure, claw of bear or eagle, tooth or bird bill. They hang it about their neck and it is so sacred that no one may touch it." (Lindstrom, p. 207). These animals which became guardian spirits received their power from the great Spirit. Such an animal became sacred to the person to whom it was the author of good, although to others it was the same as any other animal (Zeisberger, 1910, p. 132; Brainerd, pp. 344-345).[15]

The Hereafter

From the earliest sources we find that the Delaware had a concept of an immortal soul, a hereafter which was better than life on earth and that the attainment of this place was linked with good behavior in life. The hereafter was believed to lie to the south, but its location was very vaguely conceived. Likewise although they had the idea of reward for a good life, there was no definite expression of what this good life would involve. The bad were to be punished not by any torture but by the inability to attain the place of bliss (Penn, p. 37; Brainerd, p. 346; Zeisberger, 1910, pp. 128-29; Brickell, p. 49). The greatest difference between the Delaware concept of good and that of the Christian theology of the period lay in the fact that the Delaware concept was completely concerned with man's behavior toward his fellow man. The sacrifices which were made were apparently expected to influence one's immediate fortune but to have little effect on the state of the soul after death. Thus Brainerd says that the bad folk are those who "...lie, steal, quarrel with their neighbors, are unkind to their friends and especially to aged parents, and in a word, such as are a plague to mankind." (p. 346).

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
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CHAPTER III

Survival of the Soul

THE SOUL

•775 THE doctrine of the survival of the soul or spirit after the death of the body, forms an integral part of Lenape belief. The spirit is supposed to leave the body at the moment of dissolution, but remains in the vicinity eleven days, during which time it subsists on food found in the houses of the living, if none has been placed at the grave. Some say that the actual food is not consumed but that the ghost extracts some essence or nourishment from it.

THE LAND OF SPIRITS

On the twelfth day the spirit leaves the earth and makes its way to the twelfth or highest heaven, the home of the Creator,

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
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where it lives indefinitely in a veritable "Happy Hunting Ground," a beautiful country where life goes on much as it does on earth, except that pain, sickness, and sorrow are unknown, and distasteful work and worry have no place; where children shall meet their parents who have gone before, and parents their children; where everything always looks new and bright. There is no sun in the Land of Spirits, but a brighter light which the Creator has provided. All people who die here, be they young or old, will look the same age there, and the blind, cripples,—anyone who has been maimed or injured,—will be perfect and as good as any there. This is because the flesh only was injured, not the spirit.

This paradise, however, is only for the good, for those who have been kind to their fellows and have done their duty by their people. Little is said of those who have done evil in this world, except that they are excluded from the happy Land of Spirits. Some Unami say that the blood in a dead body draws up into

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
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775 globular form and floats about in the air as a luminous ball, but this is not the true spirit.

The Minsi seem to have retained a more archaic belief, for they say that the Land of Spirits lies to the southwest, in a country of good hunting. Here they say, the wigwams of the spirits are always neat and clean, and happiness prevails. But between our world and the spirit country flows a river which the spirit must cross on a slender foot-log or in a canoe.

GHOSTS AND MEDIUMSHIP

775 787 Ghosts do not seem always to have left the earth at the expiration of the twelve days, or else they have the power of returning, for the Lenape claim that boys, dreaming for power, have sometimes been pitied and given some blessing by the ghosts, who remained their guardian spirits through life. Such people were considered to have the power of talking with the departed and sometimes made a practice of it, but mediumship was by

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
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no means confined to them. Among the Minsi formerly they were accustomed to hold meetings in the burial grounds at certain times, when some medium, it is said, would communicate with the spirits. 775 787

The late James Wolf, one of the principal Minsi informants, was said to have this power. One time a man was drowned in the Thames river near Munceytown in Ontario, and the body could not be located. Wolf, it is said, walked up and down the river-banks, with a companion, talking to the water. At last a strange sound was heard, and Wolf stopped. "That was the dead man's spirit," he said; "the body lies right over in that hole." Surely enough, when they procured a boat, they found the body in the hole, wedged beneath a sunken log.

Certain regular ceremonies were held by both the Unami and the Minsi in honor of the dead, and will be discussed in a later paper. 769

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
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EARLY ACCOUNTS

Penn.—In William Penn's letter,[34] dated August 16, 1683, is the first mention of any details of Lenape beliefs regarding the soul that has been found. He says:

"They say there is a King that made them, who dwells in a glorious Country to the Southward of them, and that the Souls of the Good shall go thither, where they shall live again."

Brainerd.—The same Indian whom Brainerd saw in 1745 dressed in a bear-skin costume and with a wooden mask, told him[35] that—

"departed souls all went *southward*, and that the difference between good and bad was this: that the *former* were admitted into a beautiful town with *spiritual* walls, and that the *latter* would forever hover around these walls, in vain attempts to get in."

Later,[36] Brainerd speaks of the Spirit Land of the Lenape to the southward as being "an unknown and curious place" in which the shadows of the dead "will enjoy some kind of happiness, such as hunting, feasting, dancing, and the like."

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
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One of his Indian informants defined the kind of "bad folks" who would be unhappy in the hereafter as "those who lie, steal, quarrel with their neighbors, are unkind to their friends, and especially to aged parents, and, in a word, such as are a plague to mankind." These would be excluded from the "Happy Hunting Ground," not so much as a punishment to themselves, as to keep them from rendering unhappy the spirits of the good inhabiting the "beautiful town." 775 ●

Zeisberger.—About 1748, according to Zeisberger,[37] a number of preachers appeared among the Indians, who claimed to have traveled in Heaven and conversed with God. Some exhibited charts of deerskin upon which were drawn maps of the Land of Spirits and figures representing other subjects used in their preaching. Some of their ideas concerning the Son of God, the Devil, and Hell, are evidently derived from the whites; others seem more aboriginal in character, such as purification by emetics, twelve different kinds being used. He wrote: 775 794

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
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"Other teachers pretended that stripes were the most effectual means to purge away sin. They advised their hearers to suffer themselves to be beaten with twelve different sticks from the soles of their feet to their necks, that their sins might pass from them through their throats. They preached a system of morals, very severe for the savages, insisting that the Indians abstain from fornication, adultery, murder, theft, and practise virtuous living as the condition to their attaining after death the place of good spirits, which they call Tschipeghacki, the 'land of spirits,' where the life is happy, and deer, bear and all manner of game are abundant and the water is like crystal. There nought was to be heard save singing, dancing and merry making. . . . The passage thither is the Milky Way. . . . Whoever reaches that place will find a city of beautiful houses and clean streets. Entering a house he will see no one, but have good things to eat placed before him, a fire made and a bed prepared—all of which is done by spirits invisible to him. Others assert that such an one will see the women coming with baskets on their backs full of strawberries and bilberries, large as apples, and will observe the inhabitants daily appear in fine raiment and live a life of rejoicing.—The bad Indians . . . will not reach the place, Tschipeghacki, but must remain some distance away, able to see those within dwelling happily, but not able to enter. They would receive nothing

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
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but poisonous wood and poisonous roots to eat, holding them ever near the brink of a bitter death, but not suffering them to die."

775 [794]

Zeisberger usually specifies when his information is derived from tribes other than the Lenape, from whom most of his data were procured; so it is probable that the following quotation applies to them, although in part somewhat at variance with our other knowledge. He says:[38]

"They believe in the immortality of the soul. Some liken themselves to corn which, when thrown out and buried in the soil, comes up and grows. Some believe their souls to be in the sun, and only their bodies here. Others say that when they die their souls will go to God, and suppose that when they have been some time with God they will be at liberty to return to the world and be born again. Hence many believe . . . that they may have been in the world before.

"They believe also in the transmigration of the soul. Wandering spirits and ghosts, they claim, sometimes throw something into a public path and whoever goes over it is bewitched and becomes lame or ill."

Such was the Lenape belief with regard to the powers that control the world, and such were his notions concerning the

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
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souls of men. The main channel of communication between this great supernatural realm and mankind was, to the Lenape as to so many other tribes of Indians, the dream or vision, experienced either while fasting or in natural sleep. This subject will be considered in the next chapter.

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
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Some people were helped by the spirits of the dead in the same way that others received aid from animal or other nature spirits. 775 787

"Old man" Secondine, now dead, a well known Oklahoma Lenape, was one of these. When a boy his parents drove him out in the woods, as was the custom, in the hope that he might receive a supernatural helper. After wandering about for a time, he took refuge in a large hollow tree, and made that his camping place. Before long he was visited by apparitions of persons he knew to be dead, who took pity on his starving condition, and brought him food which they had taken at night from the houses of the living, this being the way that disembodied spirits are supposed to get nourishment when visiting the scenes of their earthly life. In the meantime his parents were unable to find him, and searched for him without avail until the ghosts finally revealed to them his camping place, and then he was brought safely home. Ever afterward he claimed the

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
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775 787 ghosts as his guardians, and like others blessed with this kind of helpers, was said to hold some kind of communication with the departed.

787 MINSI EXAMPLES.—The late James Wolf, my principal Minsi informant, was said to possess this power, as was stated in the preceding chapter. He had, moreover, received another vision when a boy, but had made little, if any, use of it, because of his profession of Christianity. One time in his boyhood days, he told me, he thought or dreamed (he was not asleep at the time) that there was no water in the river, and that he went down into its bed and found only one little hole containing water. In this was a creature resembling a catfish, yet somewhat different, and near it was an ordinary crayfish, while on the surface of the water walked a number of little flies. The boy thinking what he had seen was real, ran home in haste to tell his father. The father walked down with him to see, but stopped on the bank where

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
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346 796[1] [775] were carried out. "The Sun and everything else goes toward the west," say the Minsi, in explanation, "even the dead when they die."

PRELIMINARIES

796[x] [787] [202] The first act remembered by the informants preparatory to holding a meeting was to send to each man in the tribe who had been blessed by a "vision of power," a little stick which represented an invitation to the ceremony, the time of which the messenger gave out, before which date the people leaving their scattered homes gathered and camped about the Big House. Meanwhile hunters were sent out, appointed before, not during the meeting as among the Unami, to bring in for the Winter Ceremony, if possible, exactly twelve deer, which were cooked by four young men who served as attendants in a small separate house, built for the purpose.

372 796[x] *Fire.*—The fire was made with a fire-drill by a group of old men for use in the Big House, but, as among the Unami,

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
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who gave him some power or blessing that was his main dependence through life, his aid in time of trouble, the secret of his success. No wonder, then, that visions and helpers form the basis of Lenape belief and worship. Among the guardian spirits figured not only such great powers as the Sun and the Thunder Beings, the personified powers of nature, but the spirits representing various species of animals and birds, such as the Wolf or the Owl, of plants, as "Mother Corn," as well as the Mask Being, and even the spirits of the dead which some Lenape claimed as helpers. 771 787

Those favored by such visions were considered the leading people of their community. They usually composed rythmic chants referring to their visions, and appropriate dance songs to go with them, to recite at the Annual Ceremony. [554]

Belief in a soul or spirit surviving the death of the body formed an integral part of Lenape philosophy. The soul is supposed to linger for eleven days after death, 771 775

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
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775 and is addressed and offered food by the surviving relatives, sometimes in a formal "Feast of the Dead;" but on the twelfth day, they say, it leaves the earth and finally makes its way to the twelfth or highest heaven, the home of the Great Spirit, where it leads a happy life in a land where work and worry are unknown. Some persons are thought to have the power of communicating with the departed.

CEREMONIES

796 x Most of the beliefs summarized above were found among the descendants of both Unami and Minsi; but when we consider their great religious ceremonies, we begin to note differences. While it is true that (1) in both cases these rites are based on the recital of the visions seen by the participants, combined with thanksgiving to the Great Spirit and his helpers for past blessings and prayers for their renewal, that (2) the New Fire ceremony figures in both, and that (3) they take place in a building of special

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
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worship in the Big House. I might add, as contributing a view-point on the same perplexing question, that early in the eighteenth century the missionary Brainerd, then living with the Delawares on the upper Susquehanna in their village near Sunbury, reported a conversation with a man of the Nation in which was embodied a similar opinion as regards the False Face.

In a section of my study of the Big House Ceremony I indulged in quoting some estimates of the religious spirit among the Delawares adding some of my own impressions in the matter. An opportunity to add to these, since it comes from the writings of a contemporary witness over a century ago when the tribe was resident on the Scioto River, comes from John Brickell. He says: "I know I am influenced to good even at this day more from what I learned among them than what I learned among people of my own color. . . . They worship the Great Spirit whom they call manito, which signifies or conveys to their mind the idea of all strength or rather all sufficiency." [3] This commentary may be adjoined as a supplement to the section in the work referred to, dealing also with the native concept of the Great Spirit, as something corroborative of the early belief of this tribe in the existence of a supreme deity and is intended for the eyes of authorities such as Dr. Schmidt who have devoted so much attention to the nativity of the concept in American culture.

In the study of the Big House Ceremony some space was devoted to the construction of the belief regarding the path taken by the soul in its journey from earth to the spirit realm. The assumption was made that the Milky Way was considered to be the path in question. Yet the inability on the part of several sources to furnish the native term applied to the Milky Way and their uncertainty as to what symbol in the sky represented the path of the spirit left the matter in a state of doubt. The fact that among other Algonkian peoples the Milky Way is "Spirit or Ghost Path" has some bearing on the point that we are trying to clear up in Delaware belief. It remained for inquiry among the Delaware-Munsee of the Six

[3] "Narrative of John Brickell's Captivity among the Delaware Indians," *The American Pioneer*, I, 2d ed., Cincinnati, 1842, pp. 43, 46, 48, 56.

7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
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Nations Reserve, Canada, to furnish a Delaware appellation for the Milky Way, which turned out to be *ane'i*, "path." This determination would seem to bridge the gap in the previously obtained data. As a corroboration, likewise, of the Delaware belief that the Milky Way is the path of ghosts, we discover in the confessions of belief of the Delawares while residing in the Ohio region that the Milky Way was the path over which souls traveled; after the teachings of several native prophets who in about 1762 stirred religious revivals in the tribe.[4] Whether or not this belief was derived in that time from a still older native concept is not said, yet something of this sort is implied. Thus the Delawares coincide in belief with kindred peoples in the East to establish the antiquity of the concept just dealt with.

George Anderson, *Kwu'tcpagi·'kamen*, "Rustling Leaves (when Walking)," also of the Wolf ceremonial group, offered the following details of information on the procedure of his group when celebrating in the Big House.[5] The Wolf group rite may be conducted within an eight-day period. He had heard that the sweat lodge had formerly been erected in the Big House at a point just to the left of the drummers. As noted in the volume on the Big House Ceremony, the sweating rite was held as a test of endurance for the men who had spiritual guidance. Anderson also added that he had heard of deer skins as offerings being hung up inside the Big House during the Ceremony near the east door. Several additions were made by him to the information recorded in the volume referred to among which may be noted that when the fires are removed from the Big House the ashes from both are thrown out through the west door. Furthermore, he emphasized the regulation that no women or children were allowed to be present within the Big House when the new fire was being made. He said that the rite of making new fire performed by the male attendants was one of spiritual tensity, that some-

[4] Zeisberger, pp. 133–4. Heckewelder, pp. 291–3. For a summary of data in the epoch of the Delaware prophet see James Mooney, "The Ghost-Dance Religion," Fourteenth Annual Report, Bureau American Ethnology, 1896, pp. 662–9.

[5] Funds were available for the task through a Faculty Research Grant, University of Pennsylvania, Grant no. 93.

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764 tangle some slightly confused details which are encountered
174 in the various descriptions given by early as well as late authors on Delaware ethnology, the citations from some of them will be presented and those of the informant separately. It is manifest that mortuary rites of the tribe have changed from time to time while the Delawares have been passing through the vicissitudes of their protracted migration from the Atlantic to the Plains.

764 In the text dictated by Wi·tapano'xwe we learn sufficient detail to make a complete summary of burial customs unnecessary as a separate paragraph. Nevertheless several excerpts from explanatory notes made by him to clear up his narration may be introduced. They discuss the treatment of the body of the deceased, duties of the relatives, the arrangements for interment, the sitting-up with the corpse and the playing of the ceremonial moccasin gambling game, the feast at the gathering for interment and its repetition at the end of the first year period after death.

764 With the interest in ceremonial matters that is natural
775 to his mental make-up Wi·tapano'xwe gives us his version of the doctrines and rites appropriate to the ushering of the soul of the defunct Delaware to the "Land of Spirits Above," *manito''kamik hukwe'yuŋ*, from the "Land of Spirits on Earth," *manito''kamik*. His particulars are in accordance with the theory of the journey of the soul explained and illustrated by a sketch of the path of the soul in its progress to the abode of *ke·tan'to'wi·t*, "Great Spirit," as given in the study of the Big House Ceremony. (Op. cit. Fig. 26.)

764 His major contribution to our knowledge of current funereal customs lies in the outline of the sermon and procedure of the Feast for the Dead. The proper name for the feast on the eleventh day after death is *da'kwi·p'hɔ'ti·n* "together eating." The feast that is celebrated one year after the death of the individual, at which only a few of the relatives are present, is called *wi·ho''mwi·n*, "feast of offering to someone." It has already been noted that the latter feast has entered the Delaware system of rites by assimilation from the institutions of the Munsee according to the opinion of our sources.

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764 of the person departed, if he or she made any statement as to what way he wanted the burial conducted.

[525] "All who wish to may come and sit up with the corpse. The men pall-bearers sit up and others who wish to play a hand game,* using usually a coffee bean or buckeye bean or a bullet for ball hiding—first under 764 a glove or moccasin—and the other persons guess which moccasin he hides the bean or bullet under. This is kept up until daybreak. At night be- 775 fore the "wake" the men pall-bearers discharge three (another says two) musket shots toward the sunset, then everyone must rise and give attention. The shots symbolise the departure of the soul of the deceased. Everyone must be awakened, especially the children, so that they may not become frightened. The widowed person or the bereaved parents stay awake all night. And just before sunrise another volley of two or three shots is fired which symbolises lifting the soul upward. The relatives of the deceased stand in front of the shooters. With the echo of the discharge the soul departs.

764 "Now an elderly person, who has been chosen to officiate at the ceremony, must offer thanks to the Great Spirit at breakfast time and [761] perform the ceremony before the body leaves the house. During the funeral procession no one must look back,—if they do it indicates another of the immediate members of the family will follow soon. The speaker must be given one 'Indian yard of wampum beads' for his services, which do not end until after the feast on the eleventh day noon hour.

"One of the pall-bearers must go to the grave each day and build a little fire at the head of the grave for four consecutive evenings and the people must leave the house in charge of someone, for it must not be left alone for twelve days, and a light must be kept burning at the main entrance of the house for four nights after the death of a person.

768 "And note, the widowed person must also be painted when the face 764 of the 'departed' body has been painted. Four days after, 'divorcement' proceeding takes place in the form of a ceremony. That is, they must burn cedar in the house to 'fumigate' and the cedar water is used to wash the widow's or widower's head. If a woman, she is told that she is now no longer obligated to her deceased husband's family. She is furnished with new clothes throughout. With this ceremony she is 'divorced,' but the relationship terminology remains the same to the family she formerly was married into.

775 "Now the burial hole is prepared on the day following the sitting up 826 with the body at night—it is not considered a grave until the body is in 772 it,—and even now, in the modern times, we do not believe in taking the body to be embalmed, as we believe the life blood is the spirit that remains on earth until the deceased is admitted to the abode of the Great Spirit, which is the twelfth level of the Heaven.

* This is the common moccasin game of North America. For description see S. Culin, "Games of the North American Indians," 24th Annual Report, Bureau American Ethnology 1906, and page 90 of this study.

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"A small wooden post is used in case of a man's grave and placed at the head of the grave on the east end. (The head must always be directed toward the sunrise, feet to the west.) A woman's grave is indicated by placing a cross. (See Fig. 5.) A few logs are placed over the grave to keep out 'varminta.'

"Now at the conclusion of the burial, or just before, a little hole must be left in the casket and one cut in the end opposite the head of the wood box also,[46] and the post placed after covering same, then paint the usual designs on posts. The victuals are separated for the pall-bearers and all the relatives. The latter eat apart from the people in general. Just before the feast at the cemetery the speaker calls all the people to the grave and talks—takes up the life of the person and relates the character of the dead person, and if he lived a nice quiet life and tells his chance or her chance to be born into the spiritual world. The life blood remains, but the body goes back to the mother earth, of which we are a part. The belongings of the dead are divided among those who waited on the body, and the food is divided among the four pall-bearers also.

"Now at the announcement the speaker tells them to remember well the eleventh day at the noon hour, all must be ready to offer thanks for the great opportunity to give victuals to their dead kinfolks, as well as giving the hog and other rations which will be offered to the one who departed. That is, he or she eats the last time with his or her living relatives or tribesmen.

"The latter feature belongs to the Munsee division of the Delawares, but a Delaware proper does not have the eleventh day feast. One of the Munsee division may say, in passing threatening jokes, for instance, 'I am going to kill you.' The Munsee will say, 'Well it will cost you two hogs!' That is, it means one hog at the time of burial and the other at the eleventh day feast."

The grave posts referred to are described as being about two feet in height above the ground, which at the head of a man's grave is a single one painted with crosses, at a woman's grave one with a horizontal cross-bar (Fig. 5, *a* and *b*). The crosses it should be added do not stand for the Christian emblem but represent the "Cross-roads" on the path of the spirit to the abode of souls (see pp. 174–7, "Big House Ceremony").

[46] It is important to note that the Delawares are strongly averse to the use of European materials in mortuary constructions. They will not use iron in nailing, nor will they compromise with the past by adopting metal coffins, out of fear that the spirit would be sealed up and unable to reach the "habitation of spirits above." As noted before, when a wooden casket is bought by the progressive Delawares a square hole is cut in it for the exit of the soul-spirit after the event of the feast.

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roundness of the earth was denied until the fourth period (3). 821
This definitely dates the emergence of the element in the period 177
of greatest white influence. Since, in this period, the economy of the Delaware closely paralleled that of most of their white neighbors, it is not surprising that a knowledge of arithmetic in the abstract appeared that had been denied in former periods (13). The period three denials of opinions respecting the planetary system are refuted by the statements of Zeisberger and appear to be the result of confusion on the part of the authors between opinions and knowledge (1). The opinions of the Indians may have been erroneous, but they undoubtedly had them, as their names for stars and the myths concerning them show.

The division of the year into twelve months or moons to agree with the European usage appears to have been accomplished very early (7). Roger Williams reported thirteen months in 1643 but did not name them. Heckewelder gives the names of eleven months, omitting what would correspond to our November.

Religion

Religion among the Delaware appears to have been very in- 771
susceptible to change. From the records available, over three hundred years of white contact and more or less continuous missionary efforts have produced only one significant change.

The concept of a Supreme Being, superior to subordinate good 776
and evil deities, who has moral superintendence over worshipers that pray to Him for favors and assistance, is reported from 1643 to the present day, with only occasional dissent and never denial from all sources for any one period. On the belief in a 775
future state of punishments and rewards for which judgment is given immediately after death, there is again complete agreement.

The belief in the whereabouts of the places of habitation of 775
the souls of good and bad, has, however, undergone modification 177
(37). Roger Williams and Van der Donck recorded southwest and south, respectively, as the direction in which lay the land of

(Continued on p. 38)

		90-												
202.	Other relatives observe mourning ___ days	365				•	12	0	365	4	4	3-4		
203.	Dread the approach of death	+		+	+	+	s	+	−	−	−	+		
204.	Die in full possession of faculties (generally)					−	+	•	+	+	•	+		
205.	Take leave of friends					s	+	+	+	+	s	+		
206.*	Believe bodies will be restored					+	•+	•+	−	−	−	+		
207.	Disposition of property—to nearest kin †			−			•	+		+	+	+		
208.	to others †			+	+	+	•		+			+		
Lineage														
209.	Nation divided into ___ tribes †			3	3	3	3	8	3	3	3	3		
210.	Division for purposes of government			−		+	+	−	+		+	−		
211.	On religious grounds			−		•	•	+	−			•		
212.	Attended by good effect					+	+	•	+					
213.	Tribes are exogamous			+	+				•					
214.	Tribes are endogamous									+				
215.	Matrilineal descent		+	+	+		+		+	+	(+)	+		
Chiefs														
216.	Civil chieftainship hereditary		−	(+)	−		−	•+	−	−	•(+)	−		
217.	Son succeeds		−	(+)	−		−	−	−	−	(+)	−		
218.	Brother first choice		−		−			−	−	−	(+)	−		
219.	Nephew (sister's son) next		−		+			+	−	−	(+)	−		
220.	Woman could be				−		−	−	−	−	−	−		
221.	Election of civil chief		+	−	+		•+	•+	+	+	+	+		
222.	By people		+		−		−	−	+	+	+	+		
223.	By counselors				•+		+	+	+	+	−	+		
224.	Installed by other tribes				+		+	+	?		+	+		
225.	Can be removed				+		+	•+	+	−	−	+		
226.	Chief names successor			−				+	+	−	+	+		
227.	Can dismiss successor							+	+	−	•	−		
228.	Any particular age at succession †						−	+	+	+	+	−		
229.	Both civil and war chiefs				+		+	+	+	+	+	+		
230.	Number of civil chiefs per tribe						1	1	1	1	1	−		
231.	Number of war chiefs per tribe						1	2	1	1	1	−		
232.	Boundary between civil and war chiefs		+		+		•+	+	+	+	+	+		
233.	Civil chief has authority superior to war chief in peace	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+		
234.	Stops on declaration of war		+				+	+	+	+	+	−		
235.	War chief hereditary				−									
236.	War chief elected				−		+					−		

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775 abode of the souls of the good. In the second and third periods south is again mentioned as the direction of the land of good souls. However, in the third period the directions up and down for the location of the future abodes of the souls of good and bad persons appear. In the fourth period, the ascension of the souls of the good is unanimously asserted, while only one added that they also went west. This informant, E. R., also said that souls of the bad went down, whereas W. T., also of Anadarko, said that they stayed here on earth. W. L., of Dewey, said that souls of bad persons went to all the places on earth where they had committed their evil actions and were there punished. All this happened in the eleven days between death and the departure of the soul for the celestial abode of the Great Spirit.

775 177 The Delaware have thus approached the popular Christian notions on this point but still retain some of their earlier concepts. The exposition of the modern Delaware clears up the confusion and seeming contradictions that exist in the earlier accounts as to the final disposition of the souls of the bad. There can be little doubt that missionary teaching was responsible for the idea of a hell which cropped up in the third period as a belief of the Delaware (35).

771 177 There are two exceptions to the continuity of concepts otherwise shown by the elements under *Religion*. One is the report of priests in the first period and not thereafter (39). There was probably no change between the first and second periods but merely the discontinuance of the word priest to designate the shamans who were present in all periods. The other exception is the dissenting voice of Captain Chipps on such subjects as subordinate deities, ghosts, witches, and the national worshiping society (22, 38, 40, 41). Chipps was a Canadian Delaware or Munsee and probably the descendant of several generations of Moravian converts, for his account of the religion of the Delaware reflects much greater acceptance of Christian teachings than any of the accounts of the Oklahoma Delaware. The national 794 worshiping society or Big House Ceremony as it is now known, 797 was apparently successfully suppressed by the Moravian missionaries among the Canadian Delaware.

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764 bers of the family before death. Thus, while old articles were
[768] required, those possessed by an individual might be so completely disposed of before death that the requirement was impossible of fulfillment and nullified.

The statement of Captain Pipe that posts were erected only at the head of graves containing males apparently was in error, although neither of the other sources of his period reported on this element (187). The sources prior to him and the informants who followed him all reported the erection of posts at the graves of both males and females.

A moccasin game at the side of the corpse the night before burial was reported by all the informants of the fourth period as an important part of the death ceremonies (193). The game was introduced among the Delaware at least as early as the third period (see 447), but apparently did not become associated with death customs until some time after 1824.

765 Mourning observances show two very marked changes; namely, the dropping of wearing black and dawn visits to the grave (196 and 201). The wearing of black was reported definitely in the first period, ignored in the second period, both reported and denied in the third and definitely denied in the fourth. Starting in the second period, reports of the dawn visits to the grave followed the same pattern of affirmation, contradiction, and denial. The length of mourning of widow or widower is reported so differently that one cannot postulate any direction of change (194). Mourning of relatives is also reported with the same variation in length of observance (202).

761 Theoretically there should be a connection between the ele-
715 ments dealing with dread of the approach of death and belief that bodies will be restored (203 and 206). That is, one would expect a belief in the restoration of life to be accompanied by a freedom of dread of death and a lack of belief in the restoration accompanied by dread of the approach of death. Instead of this correlation, we find that only one of the four informants who denied a belief that bodies would be restored after death
[774] admitted to a dread of the approach of death. Of course, the belief in the separate survival of the soul must be considered in

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connection with the dread of death and the restoration of the body thereafter, but all the reports on these two elements also expressed a belief in the immortality of the soul.

Lineage

There is no change indicated by a consideration of matters of lineage with the exception of the endogamy vouched for by W. T. (214). He said that originally and until recently Delaware clans were endogamous, that each had to be kept clean and pure; but that now there are lots of half- and quarter-breeds. This statement of endogamy is not supported by other historic or contemporaneous evidence.

On the division of the Delaware into three groups, Turtle, Wolf and Turkey, there have been many conflicting opinions (209). Heckewelder called them tribes coinciding with the Unamis or Delaware, Munsee, and Unalachtigo.[1] Morgan considered them gens in the nature of phratries.[2] The modern Delaware frequently refer to these divisions as clans. Since Morgan's conclusion of phratries was based on the functionless and only vaguely remembered subdivisions called subgentes, it is important to have the result of Trowbridge's inquiries on this subject. He wrote:

"The Delaware nation is divided into three tribes, the *Tööksеet* or Wolf (Round foot; from *Tööksuaa* round & *oozêêt* foot) the *Tshêêkunum* or Turkey, called by the Munsees and sometimes by the Delawares *Pelâãooh*, and the *Tööl'paa* or Turtle, (in Munsee *Skêêhkee*).

"They say that anciently each of these three tribes was divided into four, making twelve tribes, but they do not recollect the names of those subdivisions.

"Mr. Heckewelder has strangely mistaken himself when he said that Unamis (*Woonãũmee*) meant Turtle, or Turtle tribe, and Unalachtigo (*Woonalãũhtekoa*) the Turkey tribe. The term *Woonãũmee* was given by the Munsees to the Turtle tribe of

[1] Heckewelder, *History, Manners, and Customs of the Indians*, pp. 51-52.
[2] Morgan, Lewis H., *Ancient Society . . .* (Chicago, Henry Holt and Company, 1907), p. 172.

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30-37. Concept of future state

775 John Johnston—They generally believe in future rewards and punishments. They believe if a person is honest and upright in his deportment that immediately after leaving this world he will enter into another equally as good or better and those of the opposite character will be secluded and they think will be unhappy. They appear to (believe in a final judgment) and expect to be judged. They expect to enjoy those pleasures, amusements and all things which were the most agreeable to them on earth in the greatest perfections. They believe that the souls of those who are worthy are immediately after leaving the body conducted by their Deities to a place of happiness, and those who are judged unworthy are left on this earth to wander to and fro and are unhappy, and finally sink into the earth where they deposit their dead bodies there to receive eternal punishment.

Captain Pipe—They have no doubt that good or bad conduct in this life has an effect upon their future happiness or misery, and they suppose that the punishment or reward commences as soon as life leaves the body. If they have led good lives in this world, their souls are transported to the land of the Great spirit in the south, where they find magnificent dwellings, beautiful streams and fertile lands. There they are employed in worshiping the great author of their existence, through whose means they are furnished with all necessary food, together with many luxuries, living eternally in the enjoyment of the same corporeal pleasures which constituted their happiness on earth, though more refined and not alloyed by pain. Those on the contrary who have led a wicked life, are met at death by some of the evil spirits, by whom they are tormented by different species of torture (among which is fire) eternally. Sometimes they are sent by them again to earth, where they roam about in perfect misery.

Captain Chipps—They believe that men will be happy or miserable after death, according as their actions in this life are good or bad. After death, they suppose the soul to be traveling along a road which after some space branches off in two directions. At the forks, stands a being with a sword, who directs the good

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and bad souls in the proper courses—the good go to Heaven—the bad are conducted by this armed stranger to Hell, where are prepared kettles of boiling water for their special accommodation. They believe in a day of judgment—that "the world will be at an end, when the whites get into full possession of it,"—that the souls only, after death will be accountable, and punished or rewarded. There are no particular days set apart for worship and no other religious ceremonies, but such as appertain to their festivals, war dance, etc. The soul immediately after death, is supposed to leave the body and absent itself, "traveling backwards and forwards" and occasionally visiting the body until the Great day.

J. W.—Soul stays with body of deceased in ground and decays with it. Resurrected at the final calling of everybody by the Creator. Spirit immediately leaves body and goes to all the places it has been during life and all bad actions are punished on the spot. The spirits of the good go almost directly to the Creator. All are ready to go by the 11th day, or 12th at noon, at which time to help them go, relatives give spirit a feast (in the Wolf division only). Six months or a year afterwards a relative or friend may feel the presence of a spirit and give a feast to remove the effects of spirit. Usually a year after death and then every year thereafter. A friend is called to the feast and given the food which he takes out and eats.

W. T. gave the name of ghost to the soul of J. W. and said it stayed on earth while the spirit went "home" to heaven.

W. L. did not distinguish between soul and spirit. Said spirit goes eleven places before going to land of Great Spirit. These eleven places were "like Jacob's ladder."

38. Ghosts

John Johnston—They do [believe in ghosts] very much and say that they have often seen them.

Captain Pipe—They have an idea that the ghosts of their deceased friends appear to them in the night, particularly after a failure to offer the customary feast at the grave; and they immediately prepare to do what from neglect or disrespect had

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774 beep left undone, when the ghost ceases the visits.
775 CAPTAIN CHIPPS—Ghosts are not known—have not been heard of.

J. W.—Ghosts are really shades or shadows of spirits, often seen before or after death, they are signs or warnings and can be seen by human eyes. There is much paralysis among the Delaware which is often caused by being struck with a shadow or crossing it or paying any attention to it if one sees it coming. Stopping [822 753] to look at it, turning around after passing, even innocently, has evil effects. There is no cure for it. Preventive by rubbing [751] streak of ashes on left cheek under eye before going out in the evening. Often marked children as safeguard.

W. T. attributed to the soul the actions of the shadow reported by J. W.

40. Witches and wizards

754 JOHN JOHNSTON—They are very firm in the belief of witchcraft and suppose that there is many among them that can appear [753] in the shape of any animal they please and have power to cause sickness. They believe this to be a supernatural power invested in them by some one of the Deities for the purpose of good that they might have power to heal the sick etc. But that in their present degenerated state they have made a bad use of it, that instead of healing they inflict with sickness and other calamities.

754 CAPTAIN PIPE—They believe in witches and wizards and 756 attribute their powers to the use of certain medicine, said to have been procured of the Nanticokes who had it from a naked infant found by them on the Sea Shore. In 1810, the prophet when [792] preaching against the use of this medicine pointed out five or six men and women on white river as the possessors of it. These [683] persons protested their innocence and were put to the torture, where they were exhorted to save themselves by delivering the means of destruction which they possessd. Seeing no other prospect of escape from death, they professed a knowledge of the arts and promised compliance, but after release they were not able to produce the cause of the difficulty, and they were by common consent condemned to death by burning.

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764 tected by a covering of the same before throwing in the earth. At the grave one of the relatives renders thanks to the bystanders for their assistance and the mourners return home.

765 For six days after the interment the near relatives visit the grave twice in each day; once at the break of day, and again at the going down of the sun. In the latter case they frequently remain until late at night. They seat themselves upon the grave, and not a word is spoken, but each is bowed down to the ground [176] in perfect silence. These visits are said to be made to the deceased who may not have set out upon his journey to the land of spirits and would of course like company during his stay.

They have no particular ceremony of mourning except that they abstain from games, dances and other amusements for twelve days, which by the husband or wife of a deceased person is continued for nine months, at the end of which time the relatives of the partner of this chief mourner make and present to him or her a new suit of clothes and formally pronounce their willingness for another marriage. They never paint themselves during the mourning season, as is the custom among the Chippeway's, but they divest themselves of all unnecessary apparel and of their ornaments, and suffer their hair to flow loosely about their necks.

769 It is customary among them to offer the first fine products of 765 the hunting season and the first fruits of the earth at the grave of the deceased. The meat or vegetables being cooked are carried thither by the relatives and a guest not connected with the deceased, is invited to eat that portion which would have been his if living. Silence is preserved during the feast and when it is finished the guest addresses the deceased in a kind of prayer, assuring him (or her) of the extreme regret of the friends left behind and imploring him to rest satisfied with the great change and not to return for the purpose of taking away any of the remaining relatives. Mr. Conner once saw the sister of a chief buried upon the banks of White River and this prayer was addressed to her by her brother, before the earth was thrown upon the body. They sometimes omit the ceremony of the feast at the grave, after a short time, but it has been known to continue for years, and is often renewed upon the appearance of any mis-

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764 the upright below the crosspiece (also like large X's). The post for a man is a simple upright, the top of which may be carved into an elaborate triple diamond-shaped figure or not, but at any rate the top is cut at an angle so that there is a sharp edge uppermost. Red paint is also put on the top of the man's post, but only four crosses are painted lower down on the post.

Immediately after the burial there was a feast on the east side of the grave. Food was furnished by everybody; that brought by relatives was kept separately on the north side of the grave. Relatives ate the food brought by nonrelatives, while nonrelatives ate food brought by relatives. Man who talked
765 at grave talked again at end of feast, and if the deceased belonged to the Wolf division, announced the coming of another feast twelve days after the death at the home of the deceased. At this second feast there was the same division of food between relatives and nonrelatives as at the feast at the grave. This second feast was not held among the Turtle or Turkey people unless there was some Wolf mixed in.

Every evening for three days after burial the relatives visit the grave and build a little fire which is immediately put out. Just a little fire is all that is necessary—it blazes once and then
● [775] is blown out—it sort of liberates the spirit of deceased. Usually only one person visits grave. Do not visit grave after three days.

The widow must not change her clothing until the feast at the twelfth day. She eats off same plate. The woman attendant takes care of her, she must not do anything for herself—must not touch food, touch hair with comb or anything else—wears gloves. Her attendant washes her hair and body just before the feast and dresses her in new clothes, furnished by deceased husband's relatives. She stays home for these twevle days—does not even walk out without her attendant. No other mourning except that she cannot marry for a year. Same thing for widower. Near relatives observe care for a year.

763 A person about to die knows everything going on—reviews his life—knows everything—tries to say it with last breath.

764 W. T.—The body was prepared by two men and two women,
767 who might be related or not. It was washed, painted, combed

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202. Relatives observe mourning

765 JOHN JOHNSTON—All the relatives and some times more [observe mourning], according to the rank sustained by the deceased person.

206. Belief that bodies will be restored

775 CAPTAIN PIPE said that formerly the Delaware believed that bodies would be restored.

CAPTAIN CHIPPS—Thinks that he lived on the earth in "the olden time," from the circumstance of his being born with his ears bored, he thinks also, that if his spirit should go to Heaven, after death, he may be again restored to life.

207 and 208. Disposition of property of deceased

768 In the cases where an answer appears in only one alternative it means that the property of the deceased went first to that group and the other group had second choice.

LINEAGE

209. Nations divided into tribes

619 Whereas all the others said the Delaware had three divisions, Turtle, Turkey, and Wolf, CAPTAIN CHIPPS appears to have considered the question in a little different light, for his eight tribes are, *Oo-nóm-ma-u* or Delaware, *Mùn-see*, *Mo-hi-ga-ny* or Stockbridge, *Waù-pon-no* or Mohekan, *Waùb-ping* or Opossum, *U-sópe-see* or Esopus, *Oo-nàh-ti-co* or Nanticoke, and *Scàh-ti-co*.

213. Tribes are exogamous

[582] See J. W.'s autobiography in notes under 103, *ante*, p. 104. The rules he talked about the old folks having were concerned with family and division relationships. He could not give any of the rules, but it is apparent that one of the things talked over by the old folks was the propriety of the proposed marriage as to blood lines and clan affiliations. Marriage might be either within the clan (as they call each of the three divisions) or without.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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those on the upright posts, three on the north wall and three on the south wall, the man·i't·u of these respective zones; those on the eastern and western door posts, those of the east and west. Of the man·i't·u or "spirit-forces," both specific and general, more will be said later.

But the most engrossing allegory of all stands forth in the concept of the White Path,[1] the symbol of the transit of life, which is met with in the oval, hard-trodden dancing path outlined on the floor of the Big House, from the east door passing to the right down the north side past the second fire to the west door and doubling back on the south side of the edifice around the eastern fire to its beginning. This is the path of life down which man wends his way to the western door where all ends.[2] Its correspondent exists I assume in the Milky Way, where the passage of the soul after death continues in the spirit realm.[3] As the dancers in the Big House ceremony wend their stately passage following the course of the White Path they "push something along," meaning existence, with their rhythmic tread.[4] Not only the passage of life, but the journey of the soul after death is symbolically figured in the ceremony as will be explained in note III in the appendix.

The ceremony symbolizes the transit of the year period. Its twelve nights of performance represent the figure of the twelve moons, its progress from east to west the course of the sun, its varied symbolical rites the events in the passage of life's orbit from beginning to end.

We learn that the White Path is "our Father's, the Great Spirit's road," upon it human life proceeds in its course, which grand movement is symbolized by the dancers as they tread the "White Path" of the "Big House." By another allegory we have the clearing away of impediments from its surface in the intervals between the dances by the efforts of the Attendants who use the wing feathers of "pure" birds, such as the eagle, with which the "Path" is brushed clean. Here

[1] Wee'llop·alex'xing, "Good or Beautiful White Path." Also weelau'alt motoma'k·an, "Righteous Path."

[2] The Delaware, like his Christian brother, admits that it is hard for feeble man to walk in this path without erring. The concept has deep possibilities for discussion from the point of view of ethics and life as the pagan sees them.

[3] The symbolical association between the "White Path" and the Milky Way is not definitely proved by Delaware information. By some strange circumstances it seems, the Delawares can not furnish the native name of the Milky Way. Persistent inquiry among the older men both at Dewey and at Anadarko, Oklahoma, by V. M. Petrullo have failed to procure it, likewise correspondence with Joe Washington and J. A. Parks, prominent members of the Delaware Nation. Therefore the association is my own theoretical assumption, an interpretation of our data, and upon the analogy offered by other Algonkian beliefs in which the Milky Way is generally the "Spirit or Ghost Path" over which the soul of the deceased passes to the realm above. The only Delaware equivalents for Milky Way so far obtained are pe'mi·ki·ci·k'tek "across marked" or "across smoky way," and a notion that it is compared with a cowlick of hair, paxtcanhwing, "where the hair is parted," which may be discarded as far as their bearing upon the question here as concerned. This important point calls for solution.

[4] The term ka'nteka implies this figure. (See page 12).

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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It is expected that the announcement be made before the members of the tribal council at one of its meetings prior to the time of notification. In the instance of our text Wi·tapano'xwe decided to recite the ceremony as though it were brought in and sponsored by Chief Elk-Hair, the present head chief of the Oklahoma Delawares whom Harrington referred to as an active ceremonial leader in 1910.[1]

CONCEPT OF THE SOUL.—A distinction observed between the phraseology of the unconverted and the Christian Delawares in referring to the soul, which has already been mentioned, is of some significance in this connection. The former group employs the term lənape·ə'k·an "human sign, or evidence of existence." The terminal element, -ək·an appears in combinations leχ'le·'χe·yə'k·an "breath of life, actual life" meaning "my life"[2] (le·xe·'yan, "my breathing"), wihila·'ək·an "clan-name emblem." Its obscure abstract meaning, however, seems to lie beyond the scope of any specific English equivalent. The Christian Delawares use the term tci·'tcaŋg giving the significance in Delaware of an image, an appearance visible but without substance, an incorporeal image or phantom as an image in a mirror. The same term actually designates a mirror in the language.

The second term, now of the Christian Delaware religious vernacular, has a wide distribution among eastern Algonkian languages indicating that, while the synonomy noted has taken place in Delaware since the introduction of Christianity, the element tci·'tcaŋg for soul is an archaic property of the family of tongues.[3]

We are told that the soul leaves the body twelve days after death, that the life blood ("huk·") remains as a spirit on the earth, whence arise ghosts or phantoms.

The heart is the seat of one soul, the blood the seat of another spiritual element. The heart and blood should be kept together after death (for which reason the Delawares do not believe in embalming). The blood of the dead is the element from which the dead reappear to the living on earth in the form of ghosts. It is considered as the cause of paralysis and so was curable through appeal to the dead. We might refer to the funeral rites of the tribe which carry the burial customs over twelve days after death when certain feasting and rites are performed at the home of the deceased. And again these are repeated twelve months later in a yearly ceremonial feast to the dead. At the feast the opposite clan group has an important part to play.

[1] Harrington I, pp. 14, 87.

[2] A more general term for "life," in Delaware, is pema'nsowak·an, with the sense of "being among the living."

[3] Mitschitschank, Munsee (Brinton, Lenape Dictionary, p. 83); djedja'kew, Wabanaki (St. Francis and Penobscot); atca'kew (Montagnais-Naskapi); tca'tcung (Mohegan-Pequot); (mi)chachunck, (Natick, where the analogy between soul and mirror is also found (Trumbull, Natick Dictionary, pp. 325, 290, 571); and the same in Narragansett, (Roger Williams, Key to the Indian Language, p. 113); and (mit)tachonkq in the Quiripi dialect of western Connecticut.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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774 Zeisberger over 150 years ago was attracted sufficiently by the interest attached to these terms to devote attention to them in a paragraph which coincides with and corroborates the testimony of today.

"They consider the soul to be an invisible being and a spirit. Formerly, they used the word *Wtellenapewoagan* to describe it, meaning "Substance of a Human Being." Savages use this word to the present day. Now they have accepted the word *Wtschitschank*, that is, "Spirit." They believe also in immortality of the soul, some likened themselves to corn which when thrown out and buried in the soil comes up and grows. Some believe their souls to be in the sun and only their bodies here. Others say that when they die their souls will go to [775] God and suppose that when they have been some time with God they will be at liberty to return to the world and be born again. Hence, many believe that their souls have come from God and that they have been in the world before."[1] The journey of the soul from the time of death until it reaches the abode of the Great Spirit has been revealed in a vision to Chief Elkhair and will be found in the appendix, note III.

776 THE SUPREME DEITY.—The concept of a supreme creative force is a well defined property of Delaware belief, denoted by the term ke·tan·to·wit, the close equivalent of which is "Great Power" or "Great Spirit." The same force is denoted as kice·lomu·kaong, "Creator." Herein lies the concept of the authorship of life and creation, but as to details of the character and appearance of the Supreme Power we have here no more to rely upon than we do in the case of other creeds whose notions of the ultimate divinity are equally vague. The Great Spirit, however, is "Father"[2] to the Delawares, whose supplication in all the endeavors of life are constantly directed to him, whose gratitude is constantly expressed to him in endless variety of thoughts recognizing him as the source from which come the blessings of the universe. A realization of the frailty of human power is deeply imbued in the mind of the Delawares. Without the guidance of their "Father," life to them would be hopelessly futile. But the minions of the Great Spirit, the "grandfathers," or man·i·tu of the universe created by him and the elemental forces of Nature are also remembered in the worship of the Great Spirit. As we observe the carved images of the Great Spirit adorning the center post of the Big House at a greater height than the surrounding images on the side posts, so the Great Spirit resides in his abode above the lesser Gods who inhabit the air, the earth, the water, and the underworld. In the topmost of the twelve "levels of light" (pi·tao·pan·e) he dwells. He holds a staff that reaches downward to the earth and is symbolized in

[1] Zeisberger, op. cit., p. 131.

[2] The consanguinity of man and the spirit-forces is to be discussed further on page 32. The only exception, among the eastern nations, to the habit of regarding the Great Spirit as Father, seems to be that of the Shawnee to whom the personage is noco·mgon·a "Our Grandmother."

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worth much more are their services, because exceedingly heavy is this which we are doing.[1] 539X 796

Hardly, for example, can I tell how precious it is. But, however, we have heard our deceased ancestors as they were speaking about it say, according to the custom, that the labor of the Attendant, when he makes fire, when he feeds us, when he provides plenty of fire wood, and when he sweeps the House clean;—all of this purification is the cause of bringing joy to the One who created us.[2] For now we have moved along toward where the ceremony closes. Let us consider, my kindred, if it would not bring us good health if again next year right here once more we perform the ceremony.

And besides, my kindred, there remains one more matter, something I want to say for you to bear well in mind. It is said traditionally, when any one on Good meditates in his heart, there is formed the thought. And when he thinks of good it is easy to behave well, but when he misbehaves it is the Evil that a person seriously thinks about as concerns his life. It is exceedingly hard because it is necessary that we prepare the soul-spirit in order that we shall be able to take it back home again to where it belongs, to Our Father, when its use is finished here where we live. Here in this place it is the body that shall remain here because here is where it belongs in the ground.[3]

Indeed, my kindred, that is why, as it is said, I plead with you that everyone take part and help me, or call it to my attention if sometimes I forget something. Always have I seen it this way since long ago. Yet at times, as it is said, I feel not to have grasped it sufficiently in mind. That is why, as it is said, I feel well pleased when any one calls my attention to something.

The Attendants must prepare wampum in a wooden bowl and every person shall be given three beads, and every person who wishes to, when he is now leaving to go outdoors, there where sets the hominy mortar may deposit them, whoever has been given these wampum beads. [425]

And now, my kindred, here when for the last time we are touched by these our grandfathers the turtle-rattles, that is the beginning of our concluding act. Now here at last we are ready to end this Our Father's service. And, my kindred, now from hence as we are going

[1] The master of ceremonies having now brought the worship to its close now makes his final bow with an eloquent declaration of humility, a summary of the spiritual force of what has been done and an appeal to the loyalty of his tribesmen.

[2] Another designation for the Great Spirit; as the explanation runs, "We are his children." [776]

[3] Mention has already been made, in the introduction, of Delaware eschatology, how it is believed that the heart is the seat of one soul, the blood of another remaining on earth after burial. [775]

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NOTE III

Chief Elkhair's vision of the Journey of the Soul.

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The informant in discussing the character of the soul and its future estate here gives an account of the belief of the Delawares as it was reviewed by Chief Elkhair at each performance of the Big House ceremony at some time during the performance when occasion offered itself to deviler a lecture of instruction on this interesting subject to the younger members of the company. While the recitation was fundamentally based upon the experiences indelibly impressed upon the mind of Elkhair in a vision that he at one time received, we recognize, nevertheless, the common catechistic pattern of belief which is fairly general throughout the whole of Delaware religious teaching. Therefore it is rather an example of the latter than a peculiar or individual property of Elkhair's. On account of the importance of this revelation in explaining the Delaware answer to that universally engrossing query as to what becomes of the soul, I have placed the heading here in the appendix instead of in the introduction, to give it the emphasis it seems to deserve.

Elkhair's vision dates back to an earlier period in his life, before the Peyote religion had been introduced among the Delawares. In it he beheld a bird of monstrous size resting upon a mountain. It was toward this landmark that he was led by a spirit who undertook to conduct him as far as the soul of a living being could go. It was apparently to instruct him in the nature of the soul's pilgrimage after death that the revelation was given him. He was accordingly taken only to the point in the journey beyond which the soul can not pass until it is released by death.

The path over which he traveled was a crooked, hard road, always up hill for its first stage, and led toward the mountain referred to. In the sketch made by Wi·tapano'xwe to illustrate this realm this section of the journey is marked A, and is called "Beautiful White Path," or "Righteous Path," the same as the dancing path within the Big House itself. The concept carries on the allegory of the Big House as a symbol of the life of man and its continuation in the spirit world.

Upon completion of this part of the journey the first turning point in the path was attained. This was the Cross Roads, enda'owa ge''xiŋ "where roads cross" (B in the sketch). Elkhair's spirit was told here that none but the man who had led a righteous life could proceed beyond this point and achieve the desired goal that lay still farther along. The unrighteous are turned aside here and wander off on a branch path to some unhappy fate. The cross is the symbol of the cross roads. We find it engraved upon the so-called plain drumsticks (figs. 17, 22) used in the ceremony until the ninth night. At this

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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period of the ceremony when the cross-marked drumsticks are put aside to yield place to the image-carved sticks, the ceremony takes on a more exclusive meaning to its celebrants, corresponding to the advance of the soul into a more exclusive realm in its progress toward the ultimate. 775 787

After proceeding past the cross-roads the spirit led his soul to the mountain upon which rested the bird previously mentioned (C in the sketch). This station is called teo'las endala'usi·t, or endale'lɔmukuk, "bird where he lives". This creature bears the name Ge'k'caχonu'k·es "Storm-maker". And it is he who by the motion of his [821] wings causes storms and winds to rage over the earth below.[1]

The next landmark in the course of the journey after passing by the mountain of the big bird was the abode of the Thunder, pe't'hakowe endale'lɔmukuk, "thunder where he lives" (D in the sketch). On these heights the way was obscured by smoke, clouds and lightning, from which sources the tempests descended upon the earth. It was a terrifying place.

Beyond this mountain of storms the soul of Elkhair could not pass, but he could, notwithstanding this, behold a still more distant ridge of mountains (E in the sketch) called "pe'maχtiŋ "mountain ridge". While it was forbidden for him to approach nearer he could at least hear the voices of departed souls beyond enjoying their heavenly existence. Here, he was told, the souls are resting until the end of the world when all shall be enabled to cross over the next gap to the final stage of the journey to where the Great Spirit sits. Here souls dwell without care, worry or sickness. But it is exclusive for the [794] Delawares because only those who have been adherents to the Big House can become qualified for this existence.

This, the last stage of cosmic existence is that remote height of heaven where the Great Spirit rests supreme, looking down upon his creation, with his hand resting upon the staff he holds in his hand, which is, in the Delaware mind, symbolized by the center post of their Big House. No one of course knows what the final abode of souls is to be like, since Elkhair had no revelation concerning it. This realm is called lɔnape'ehat, "Delaware where he goes".

It should be recalled that these stages of the celestial pilgrimage are the "levels of heaven" mentioned before in the explanation of the ceremony, numbering twelve in all (see page 26).

In commenting upon the assumed nature of souls, Wi·tapano'χwe added that the soul appears as an image, without flesh, and that it is thought to look the same as it did in its earthly form.

In explaining the peculiar esoterism of the Delaware creed the informant said that exclusion of aliens was not a fixed property of 775 794

[1] Identical with a belief current among the Wabanaki.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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775-794 the system, since it was understood that if a person had lived in accordance with all the Delaware doctrines, by being admitted to the teachings of the Big House, his soul would go where the Delaware soul goes. This would mean that the individual had become an adopted Delaware both in body and spirit. He cited cases of Indians of other tribes who had married into the nation and become members of the ceremonial group. Such aliens also acquire the privilege of being buried in a Delaware cemetery, their funerals being celebrated with Delaware rites, This honor was accorded to his father who was born a Cherokee. He remembers hearing the chief say at his father's funeral, "All things to which the Deleware is entitled to are bestowed upon this soul".

Finally we may again remark upon the consistency with which the whole conception links together the life of the living Delaware, the state of his soul and the classical figurism of the Big House.

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FIG. 26.—Sketch by informant illustrating concept of the journey of the soul after death. (See pages 25 and 174).

13:Wallace E-4 (no date)1950
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[P.33, B]

Some Psychological Characteristics of the Delaware Indians during the 17th and 18th Centuries

ANTHONY F. C. WALLACE

Introduction

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[788]
[775]

The Relation of Parents to Children

Data on the relationship of the mother to the infant and child are meager, but they suggest that the mother was, in addition to her role as provider and protector, the agent of considerable frustration. This frustration, however, was not so recurrently severe as it was continuous. Instead of presenting the infant with any sudden major crisis, the mother was consistently indifferent to a number of particular lesser demands.

Parents may have had some unconscious hostility to the new-born child: certain compulsive rituals had to be performed to prevent "wandering ghosts" from stealing away the soul of the infant.[1] The baby was, from birth until it was able to walk, bound to a cradle-board, from which it was normally released only for sanitary administrations. The mother nursed the child by picking it up with the board.[2] It was often left alone, on the board, swinging upright from a tree limb, while the mother worked in the corn-field or did other outdoor tasks. Many children are reported to have died while propped up in the board against a bench or wall in the houses. "The children by pushing and kicking not infrequently tumbled themselves into the fire or other danger and thus miserably perished, or were severly burned," observed

1. Harrington, 1938, p. 129.
2. Lindestrom, 1656, p. 201.
3. Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 85-86.
4. Lindestrom, 1656, p. 202.

[54(c)]

124 I am very anxious to know. I asked an old
614 Delaware this morning, and he very coolly
582 told me that these questions were too small, by which he meant, I suppose, that it was prying into family matters rather impertinently.

614 It is by means of these subdivisions with
582 the prohibition of intermarriage that des-
611 cent in the female line is secured.

Lemuel R. Ketchum [90A] says:

622 The Delawares have three Heads or great chiefs, one for each tribe. This chief is called Sa-ke-ma. It means Principal Chief. It is the name of the office, or the title of the person equivalent to President or King. They also have two subordinate chiefs. These chiefs together are called Ka-ke-um-ha-suk, or the chiefs. The term also includes the three
[623] head chiefs, and is used in contradistinction to councillors. The office has no special name. These two are inferior. If the three head chiefs decide upon a measure the two inferior must submit, but if two of the head chiefs and the two inferior chiefs should agree and the third head chief should stand out, the thing could not be done. The principal power is with the head chiefs. The three head chiefs can never go out to war, but the two inferior chiefs may. They are not, however, called war chiefs. Besides
623 these three the wise and experienced men of the nation are called councillors or Ha-ha-che-nowl-se-chick, which means simply councillors. These have a right to speak in a council of the chiefs. They can speak of their own motion without waiting to be
[562] asked by the chiefs. Women cannot speak in council.

Religious System

771 The Delawares believe in a Great Spirit,
[770] and in an Evil Spirit. They also believe in
[775] the immortality of the soul, and that they all went to heaven.

90A [For footnote, see category 116, p. 209(C)-- Analyst]

[¶56 (A)]

776 about the coming crop. When she rises with her hair combed smooth and shining, and is seen in this condition, it is a favorable omen and indicates an abundant crop. When she rises with her hair uncombed and loose, it indicates a bad crop, or a failure of the harvest.

6. Wa-ma-take-a-nese, the Boy Spirit. He is represented as a little boy, with a bow and arrow, and as a constant friend of the Indian. He is everywhere and always at hand in the most impossible places, ready to assist us in our trials and troubles. He is a servant of the Great Spirit.

776 7. Ma-mun-da-ase, the Spirit of War. He
[824] is represented as having the form of a panther, with a very long tail. He can foretell
[821] war about to arise, who will fight, and who succeed. The meteoric stones are dropped by him, and the war will arise in the direction from which the meteor comes, and go in the direction it goes. He is under the control of the Great Spirit, as are all good spirits.

776 The Great Spirit has the form of a man
773 (name elsewhere). The Evil Spirit has the form of a man with one leg, the leg of an ox. The tradition is that the Evil Spirit was created by the good and was himself originally good, but he originated a contention among the inferior spirits which resulted in a division and taking of sides. In the midst of this contention they all came into the presence of the Great Spirit, who seized the Evil One and as a mark of his disapprobation and as a punishment, he wrenched off one of his legs and placed in the room of it that of an ox, that he might ever afterwards be known and recognized at once as an evil spirit, and then sent him down to the earth with the evil spirits who followed him.

775 Heaven they consider to be immediately over their heads and a place in which they

[p 56(B)]

775 have a bodily form. It is a journey of 12 days from earth to Heaven after death. [171] They believe as do the Iroquois, that the soul does not leave the body finally at death, but that it revisits the body for a few days before it takes its final departure. For this [764] reason, as Adams says, they bury on scaffolds in the trees, and in a sitting position near the surface of the earth. Last year he made a coffin for an Indian, and his friends made him bore a hole in the head of the coffin, the object of which being to allow the spirit free egress and regress to and from the body.

Heaven is a place of rest. They follow up the path, and the first stopping place is a place where they find a supply of vermilion or red paint. They cannot pass this place without painting their faces. If they have been accustomed to paint on earth, the paint will readily adhere, unless they have been very wicked, and then they pass on without delay. But if not used to painting, or if they have been very wicked, the paint will not adhere, and thus they are detained at this place until the Evil Spirit removes them to a place of punishment.

775 577 They say there are seven points of good and evil. If the deceased has four of the points of good in his favor, or more, he is sure to pass on to heaven, but if there [are] four or more bad, he cannot go to heaven but must be placed in a place of misery and unhappiness where he is punished according to his evil deeds. If he was accustomed to paint, it will be more apt to stick, and that is all that is claimed for this meritorious act. There is a second stopping place on the way where the selfish and covetous are surrounded and burned up in the article [on which] they set their store upon earth, and thus are kept out of heaven. They 775 825 have a belief that mosquitoes sprang up out

[¶ 52(C)]

775 of the souls of those who were punished by
825 the evil spirit, the wreck, or fragments into which they were cut up were turned into mosquitoes and such evil creatures.

776 Bad spirits are believed to pass by about
787 day break and good spirits are believed to pass along about dark. For this reason boys are often sent to bed without supper, that they may commune with or be visited by
[785] good spirits, the fasting state being thought to be favorable to such communion, and for the same reason are often compelled to get up before day break that the evil spirits may not obtain or exercise any wicked influence upon them.

776 I am told that the Shawnee Female Great
821 Spirit is in reality the moon, and is worshipped as our Grand Mother or something of that sort; and Isaac Johnny Cake who mentioned this [to] me also said that the Great Spirit of the Delawares was represented and believed to be a brother of the Sun, and that the Moon was the Grand Mother of the Great Spirit; and young Toucey, the Stockbridge, says that there is
[171] some evidence of a [?] in of the sun in the worship of several of the Indian races, including his own. The Iroquois return thanks to the sun for heating the earth and to the moon for cooling it, but this does not show a sun worship or anything like it.
[115] William Adams is to correspond with me on the religious system of the Delawares, and I hope to find out something definite about it.

Gum-mween

796 This festival or annual worship of the Delawares as explained by William Adams and of which he is to write to me more fully, is quite interesting. They believe unless they
[241] observe it once a year their crops will fail, and they will lose the favor of the Great Spirit.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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a great degree to be ascribed to the pains which the Indians take to instil at an early age honest and virtuous principles upon the minds of their children, and to the method which they pursue in educating them. This method I will not call a system; for systems are unknown to these sons of nature, who, by following alone her simple dictates, have at once discovered and follow without effort that plain obvious path which the philosophers of Europe have been so long in search of.

The first step that parents take towards the education of their children, is to prepare them for future happiness, by impressing upon their tender minds, that they are indebted for their existence to a great, good and benevolent Spirit, who not only has given them life, but has ordained them for certain great purposes. That he has given them a fertile extensive country well stocked with game of every kind for their subsistence, and that by one of his inferior spirits he has also sent down to them from above corn, pumpkins, squashes, beans and other vegetables for their nourishment; all which blessings their ancestors have enjoyed for a great number of ages. That this great Spirit looks down upon the Indians, to see whether they are grateful to him and make him a due return for the many benefits he has bestowed, and therefore that it is their duty to show their thankfulness by worshipping him, and doing that which is pleasing in his sight.

This is in substance the first lesson taught, and from time to time repeated to the Indian children, which naturally leads them to reflect and gradually to understand that a being which hath done such great things for them, and all to make them happy, must be good indeed, and that it is surely their duty to do something that will please him. They are then told that their ancestors, who received all this from the hands of the great Spirit, and lived in the enjoyment of it, must have been informed of what would be most pleasing to this good being, and of

l:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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Thus their Almighty Creator is always before their eyes on all important occasions. They feel and acknowledge his supreme power. They also endeavour to propitiate him by outward worship, or *sacrifices*.

These are religious solemnities, intended to make themselves acceptable to the Great Spirit, to find favour in his sight, and obtain his forgiveness for past errors or offences. It is not, as some white persons would lead us to believe, that knowing the Great Spirit to be good, they are under no apprehensions from his wrath, and that they make sacrifices to the evil spirit, believing him alone to be capable of doing them hurt. This cannot be true of a people, who, as I have already said in another part, hold it as a fixed principle "that good and evil can-"not and must not be united," who declare and acknowledge the great and good Spirit to be "all powerful," and the evil one to be "weak and limited in power;" who rely alone on the goodness of the author of their existence, and who, before every thing, seek by all the means in their power to obtain his favour and protection. For, they are convinced, that the evil spirit has no power over them, as long as they are in favour with the good one, and to him alone, acknowledging his continued goodness to them and their forefathers, they look for protection against the *Devil*, and his inferior spirits.

It is a part of their religious belief, that there are inferior *Mannittos*, to whom the great and good Being has given the rule and command over the elements; that being so great, he, like their chiefs, must have his attendants to execute his supreme behests; these subordinate spirits (something in their nature between God and man) see and report to him what is doing upon earth; they look down particularly upon the Indians, to see whether they are in need of assistance, and are ready at their call to assist and protect them against danger.

Thus I have frequently witnessed Indians, on the approach of a storm or thunder-gust, address the Mannitto

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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of the air, to avert all danger from them; I have also seen the Chippeways, on the Lakes of Canada, pray to the Mannitto of the waters, that he might prevent the swells from rising too high, while they were passing over them. In both these instances, they expressed their acknowledgment, or shewed their willingness to be grateful, by throwing tobacco in the air, or strewing it on the waters.

There are even some animals, which though they are not considered as invested with power over them, yet are believed to be placed as guardians over their lives; and of course entitled to some notice and to some tokens of gratitude. Thus, when in the night, an owl is heard sounding its note, or calling to its mate, some person in the camp will rise, and taking some *Glicanican*, or Indian tobacco, will strew it on the fire, thinking that the ascending smoke will reach the bird, and that he will see that they are not unmindful of his services, and of his kindness to them and their ancestors. This custom originated from the following incident, which tradition has handed down to them.

It happened at one time, when they were engaged in a war with a distant and powerful nation, that a body of their warriors was in the camp, fast asleep, no kind of danger at that moment being apprehended. Suddenly, the great "Sentinel," over mankind, the *owl*, sounded the alarm; all the birds of the species were alert at their posts, all at once calling out, as if saying: "Up! up! Danger! Danger!" Obedient to their call, every man jumped up in an instant; when, to their surprise, they found that their enemy was in the very act of surrounding them, and they would all have been killed in their sleep, if the owl had not given them this timely warning.

But, amidst all these superstitious notions, the supreme Mannitto, the creator and preserver of heaven and earth, is the great object of their adoration. On him they rest their hopes, to him they address their prayers and make

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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their solemn sacrifices. These religious ceremonies are not always performed in the same manner. I had intended to have given some details upon this subject, but I find that it has been almost exhausted by other writers,* although I will not pretend to say that they are correct on every point. But I do not wish to repeat things which have already been told to the world over and over. Therefore, if on some subjects, relating to the manners and customs of the Indians, I should be thought to have passed over too quickly, and not to have sufficiently entered into particulars, let it be understood that I have done so to avoid the repetition of what others have said, although I am afraid I have been inadvertently guilty of it in more than one instance. I would not presume to communicate my little stock of knowledge, if I did not think that it will add something to what is already known.

I do not recollect that it has already been mentioned, that previous to entering upon the solemnity of their sacrifices, the Indians prepare themselves by vomiting, fasting, and drinking decoctions from certain prescribed plants. This they do to expel the evil which is within them, and that they may with a pure conscience attend to the *sacred performance*, for such they consider it. Nor is the object of those sacrifices always the same; there are sacrifices of prayer and sacrifices of thanksgiving, some for all the favours received by them and their ancestors from the great Being, others for special or particular benefits. After a successful war they never fail to offer up a sacrifice to the great Being, to return him thanks for having given them courage and strength to destroy or conquer their enemies.

* See Loskiel, part 1. ch. 3.

2: Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7

IV. DELAWARE IDEOLOGY

Religion and Magic

Of all the aspects of Delaware culture, religious ceremonies and beliefs have received the most extended treatment by anthropologists because this segment of culture has been better preserved than any other. F. G. Speck's *A Study of the Delaware Big House Ceremony* described the central religious ceremony of the Delawares, and his *Oklahoma Delaware Ceremonies, Dances, and Feasts* added to this account and described the minor ceremonies.[1] M. R. Harrington's *Religion and Ceremonies of the Lenape*, and his "Preliminary Sketch of Lenape Culture" dealt with the Big House Ceremony and a number of minor beliefs and practices.[2] It is hardly necessary, then, to present an extended treatment of Delaware religion; instead, particular attention will be paid to the early historic religious beliefs and practices.

Supernatural Beings

The Delawares believed in a single, all powerful, originally creative, supernatural power. He was called Gicelamu'kaong, which means "Great Spirit," "Great Power," or "Creator."[3] This supernatural figure was a remote one, somewhat removed from the affairs of men. He had appointed a number of agents who created the world and all upon it. He was capable of endowing any matter, either animate or inanimate, with supernatural attributes or power.[4] Lesser anthropomorphic deities, enjoying their authority through this primal power, were the Sun, the Moon, the Seven Thunders, the Four Directions, the Earth Mother, and the Mask Being, or Living Solid Face. The Sun and the Moon were addressed as Elder Brother, the former having the duty of providing light, and the latter that of protecting and guarding people at night.[5] Our Mother, the Earth, was Sun's sister, but not Moon's sister, and was charged with caring for and feeding the people.[6] The Seven Thunders, who combined features of men and birds, provided rain for crops, protected men from various water monsters, and were responsible for lightning.[7] The deities of the cardinal directions were associated with the wind and the

[1] Speck, 1931, 1937.

[2] Harrington, 1921; 1913, pp. 208-35.

[3] Penn, 1882, p. 244; Brainerd, 1884, pp. 244-45; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 128; Speck, 1931, p. 26; Harrington, 1921, pp. 18-24; Trowbridge MS. gives a literal translation, "Keshaallemoonkunk, he who created us by his thought" (Kinietz, 1946, p. 88). The Christian Delaware religious texts use Kitannowit, "great spirit," rather than this term.

[4] De Laet, 1909, pp. 49-50; Brainerd, 1884, pp. 244-45.

[5] Brainerd, 1884, p. 345; Trowbridge MS; Harrington, 1913, p. 226; Speck, 1931, pp. 29-33; M.B.

[6] Harrington, 1913, pp. 226-27; O.A., J.T., M.B.

[7] Harrington, 1913, pp. 226-27; 1921, pp. 29-30; M.B.

2: Newcomb E-4 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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776 weather.[8] The Mask Being was the only deity who was made concrete by human impersonation. Brainerd saw this deity impersonated and gave a vivid description:

776 532 He made his appearance in his pontifical garb, which was a coat of boar [bear] skins, dressed with the hair on, and hanging down to his toes; a pair of bearskin stockings; and a great wooden face painted, the one half black, and other half tawny, about the color of an Indian's skin, with an extravagant mouth, cut very much awry; the face fastened to a bearskin cap, which was drawn over his head. He advanced towards me with the instrument in his hand, which he used for music in his idolatrous worship; which was a dry tortoise-shell with some corn in it, and the neck of it drawn on to a piece of wood, which made a very convenient handle. As he came forward, he beat his tune with the rattle, and danced with all his might, but did not suffer any part of his body, not so much as his fingers, to be seen. No one would have imagined from his oppearance (sic) or actions, that he could have been a human creature, if they had not had some intimation of it otherwise. When he came near me, I could not but shrink away from him although it was then noonday, and I knew who it was: his appearance and gestures were so prodigiously frightful.[9]

The Mask Being was the guardian of animals and in recent times took part in the Big House Ceremony. It was this masked figure with which children were threatened.[10] The stone faces found in archaeological sites attributed to the Delawares bear a striking resemblance to it.[11] Speck said that they "may be thought of as prototypes of the small wooden and corn-husk masks still serving the Iroquois as 'guardians of health' and the Delawares as personal charms."[12] A multitude of lesser deities included Doll Beings, Tornado, Mother Corn, Snow Boy, Comet, animal spirits, plant spirits, and local genii.[13]

787 Approaches to the Supernatural

776 The principal means by which an individual got in contact with supernatural powers was in a dream or vision:

Such dream no doubt has great effect during the life of its subject, and in his private worship all his songs are descriptive of some of the events which he saw in his dream. He often repeats them and does not fail to attribute his success to the deity whose wonderful appearance had foretold his good fortune, or any mishap to his own bad conduct which incensed his guardian.[14]

Not only was the guardian spirit the guiding force in an individual's life, the secret of whatever success he had, and aid in time of trouble, but the public recitation of visions was the basis for the major religious

[8] Harrington, 1921, p. 25.
[9] Brainerd, 1884, pp. 184-85. Luckenbach, 1938, p. 451, also described this masked figure.
[10] Harrington, 1921, pp. 31-34; Speck, 1931, pp. 61-62; 1950, pp. 32-34; L.F., O.A.
[11] Skinner, 1920, p. 5; Harrington, 1921, p. 36.
[12] Speck, 1950, p. 45.
[13] Harrington, 1921, pp. 43-51.
[14] Trowbridge MS.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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ceremonials.[15] Subsequent to their initial vision men might have repeated contacts with their spiritual guardians. An informant's grandfather had multiple visions, and the account is reproduced here to demonstrate the type of vision and vision quest current in the nineteenth century; it probably is similar to earlier ones:

My grandfather was hunting one time as a boy. He wounded a deer, but it got away. He was sad and felt very bad. He cried and cried. He happened to be standing near a grove of young pine trees. The pines sang a beautiful song to him. He stopped crying and listened to their singing and the things they were telling him. The song was so beautiful that he no longer cared that the deer had escaped. Later he had a second vision of a large bone in the sky. In a third vision he saw a serpent with twelve eyes. This serpent could see everything. His fourth vision was of tiny babies and of unborn babies. All the babies were glad to see him. When he was mature he became a shaman and excelled at curing the diseases of childhood. (M.B.)

Young men obtained guardian spirits by sacrifice, fasting, and isolation, as has been noted. The supplicant tried to cajole and flatter some supernatural being into pitying him and hence safeguarding him. Zeisberger, who understood the young man's attitude, said:

Most extraordinary experiences have been met with by boys from twelve to fourteen years of age, when they have been alone in the forest in apprehension and in need. An old man in a gray beard may have appeared and said in soothing tone, "Do not fear, I am a rock and thou shalt call me by this name. I am the Lord of the whole earth and of every living creature therein, of the air and of the wind and weather. No one dare oppose me and I will give thee the same power. No one shall do thee harm and thou needest not to fear any man." Such and similar prophecies he makes. Such a boy ruminates upon what he has heard and is confirmed in the opinion as he grows up that a peculiar power has been imparted to him to perform extraordinary exploits, and he imagines that no one can do him injury.[16]

Guardian spirits were usually animals or birds, but could be plants, any of the deities, inanimate objects, or ghosts. Trowbridge mentioned as guardian spirits bear, wolf, dog, tree, cornstalk, "or anything else which the imagination can conceive"; Zeisberger, the moon, owls and other birds, fish, and "ridiculously insignificant creatures such as ants."[17] As Benedict has shown for the Central Algonkians, the Delawares felt that animal guardian spirits were ancestral prototypes rather than the animals themselves. Thus, guardian spirit animals were not necessarily taboo as food.[18]

The apparition that appeared in visions and in other hallucinations not only indicated what sort of supernatural being he was, but foretold the future of the one to whom he appeared — whether or not he was to

[15]Zeisberger, 1910, pp. 132-33; Trowbridge MS; Harrington, 1913, p. 227; Speck, 1931, pp. 51-54.

[16]Zeisberger, 1910, p. 127; Harrington, 1921, pp. 67-77, gave examples of a number of visions.

[17]Trowbridge MS; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 132.

[18]Benedict, 1923, p. 49.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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become a shaman, chief, warrior, a person of riches, one with many relatives, or a failure.[18] The most unfortunate persons were those who had no guardian spirit. After one was granted a guardian spirit he commonly made an amulet or fetish. Frequently this was either a representation of the human figure or a stone or clay effigy of the human head. It also might be claws or teeth of an animal or bird.[20] Lindestrom said:

> They consider this their god, so sacred that no one is allowed to touch it.... In this their god they have such a strong faith, that the night he dreams about him, he will at once the following day be able to shoot as much game and catch as much fish as ever he wants to....[21]

Although most of our information about the vision quest is relatively recent, there seems to be no reason why it should not be valid for prehistoric and early historic times.

Apart from the influence that individuals wielded over supernatural powers as a consequence of obtaining a guardian spirit, favor could be curried and influence exerted through sacrifice, primarily by burning flesh and tobacco, but also by dances and songs. Sacrifices of first fruits were commonly mentioned in seventeenth-century sources. Penn said of these:

> Their sacrifice is their first fruits. The first and fattest buck they kill goes to the fire, where he is all burnt, with a mournful ditty of him who performeth the ceremony, but with such marvellous fervency and labour of body, that he will even sweat to a foam. The other part [of their worship] is their cantico, performed by round dances, sometimes words, sometimes songs, then shouts; two being in the middle who begin, and by singing and drumming on a board, direct the chorus. Their postures in the dance are very antic and differing, but all keep measure. This is done with equal earnestness and labour, but great appearance of joy. In the fall, when the corn cometh in, they begin to feast one another.[23]

Trowbridge said:

> When the ice is about to leave the rivers they make an offering of Tobacco with a wooden bowl of parched corn, by placing it on the surface and telling their grandfather, as they call it, that they leave him a pipe to smoke and something to eat on his journey. They sometimes make this offering of tobacco to obtain a safe voyage across the ice and for the same reason they throw it into the water when danger is apprehended. When they go to hunt, at the first encampment an offering of tobacco is made by burning, to the seven masters of the game.[24]

There were also many magical methods by which supernatural powers were influenced, but they are not well recorded in the literature. There are some indications from modern ethnographic data which

[18] Luckenbach, 1938, p. 612.
[20] Zeisberger, 1910, pp. 132-33.
[21] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 207; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 141, stated the same thing.
[23] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 208; Pastorius, 1912, p. 434; Brickell, 1842, p. 49; M.B.
[23] Penn, 1882, p. 244.
[24] Trowbridge MS.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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would at death go to some good place where conditions would be better than here, where there would be a superfluity of everything and a happy life of joy and dancing. On the contrary, whoever lived an evil life would arrive at no good place but have to wander about sad and unhappy. Hence nothing is so terrible and awful to them as death, because they do not know how it will be after this life nor whither they shall go. Whenever they think of death they are filled with anxiety, but rather than consider how they ought to live they seek to rid themselves of thoughts of death. They fear the thunderbolt, because it occasionally strikes and shatters the trees, but they seek to disguise their fear. Yet they believe that the Deity is graciously and mercifully disposed towards men, because he imparts power to the plants to grow, causes the rain to fall and the sun to shine and gives game to man for his support. Indeed, as to fish and deer they imagine them given particularly to the Indians and not so much to the whites for the Indians were created to sustain themselves by the chase and the whites by the work of their hands. There are indeed some among them who pretend to be able to bring rain when there has been drought, and such a person knowing that the women, whose business it is to care for the plantations, are anxious for rain shows his cleverness in deceiving the people. Noticing from cloudy appearances early in the morning that it is likely to rain during the day, he will tell some one, that if tobacco or something else that he wishes is given him he will bring rain. The party so informed will tell the women, who in their joy contribute each a little and bring the fellow what he desires. The latter goes to some lonely place, draws a circle on the ground, makes a cross within it and puts tobacco, a pumpkin and some red coloring into it as well, seats himself, sings and shouts so that he may be heard, continuing if possible until it begins to rain. Even sensible Indians believe that he has brought the rain because under the circumstances it generally rains. In case the rain fails to come he makes promises for another day.

They believe God to be almighty and able to do as he pleases. Hence in times past they brought sacrifices and still do this

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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176 making their offerings not directly to the Deity but to things of his creation, as will later appear. No one has ever heard that they have sacrificed to the devil, whom together with all evil spirits they abhor, believing that all evil comes from them, even as all good comes from God.

177 They seem to have had no idea of the devil until in modern times preachers arose among them who proclaimed that there was such a being, having secured their knowledge from the whites. They have no very definite conception of him but consider him to be a very powerful spirit, able to work much harm and unable to do any good. Many say also that Indians would never be claimed by the devil, however wicked they might be in the world, because he existed only for the whites who wrought evil. They declare that he is not to be found among the Indians but only among the white people, for if he were among the Indians they would long since have discovered him, and their ancestors would have told them about him. They did know, however, about good and evil spirits which appears from this: when crimes had been committed, the guilty ones laid the blame on an evil spirit who had seduced them. They have also been accustomed to admonish one another in time of war not to give ear to the evil spirit but to the good spirit who counseled peace. They also knew nothing of Hell, believing only that 178 wicked men would go to no good place after this life. They have no proper term for such a place other than *Machtandonwinek* which means, with the devil, *Machtando* meaning the Evil One. They have never had regularly appointed priests, the oldest men having usually performed the sacrifices, admonished the people to good life and conduct, warned them against immorality, murder and violence, if they would be happy, attain to great age and after death get to the good place. How much this meant among blind savages who were dead in sins and had not the ability to withstand evil and vice may be readily imagined. It is possible that the admonitions of the aged availed to the extent of restraining wickedness, so that it did not break forth as it does at the present time. It is undoubtedly true that there were formerly fewer vices than now. Of some forms of indulgence they know nothing, for example of strong drink,

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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Iroquois NM9
Nanticoke NM11

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who had on the back of the turtle escaped the general destruction.

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Concerning their origin no trace of tradition is to be found among the Indians. From some old Mingoes I heard that they believed themselves to have come from under the earth, where they had lived before. A badger had worked his way to the surface, seen the beautiful land and returned at once to announce to them what he had seen. They had been so pleased with his account that they left their subterranean abode forthwith and settled in this beautiful land. From their habit of speaking in figure or parable, it may be concluded that by this account they mean to convey the idea that they originally came from the other side of the earth. Others say that they came from under the water, which may mean much the same thing.

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The tradition of the Nantikoks is that seven Indians had suddenly seen themselves seated at the sea-side. Whether they had come over the sea or been there created they did not know. Descendants of these Indians peopled the land. Others, again, claim that the first human being fell from heaven. This was a woman, cast out from the upper regions by her husband. Shortly after her fall from heaven she was delivered of twins, from whom the inhabitants of this land are descended. They believe that in the realm above them is a world of men much like this, whence the Indians originally came.

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They believe in numerous spirits or subordinate deities. Almost all animals and the elements are looked upon as spirits, one exceeding the other in dignity and power. There is scarcely an Indian who does not believe that one or more of these spirits has not been particularly given him to assist him and make him prosper. This, they claim, has been made known to them in a dream, even as their religious belief and witchcraft is alleged to have been made known to them in a dream. One has, in a dream, received a serpent or a buffalo, another the sun or the moon, another an owl or some other bird, another a fish, some even ridiculously insignificant creatures such as ants. These are considered their spirits or *Manittos*. If an Indian has no *Manitto* to be his friend he considers himself forsaken, has nothing upon which he may lean, has no hope of any assistance

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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and is small in his own eyes. On the other hand those who have been thus favored possess a high and proud spirit.

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About thirty years ago[102] preachers appeared among the Indians. They pretended to have received revelations from above, to have traveled into heaven and conversed with God. They gave different accounts of their journey, but all agreed in this: that no one could enter heaven without great danger, for the road, say they, runs close by the gates of hell. Here the devil lies in ambush and snatches at every one who is going to God. They came first to the Son of God and through him to God himself, with whom they pretend to have conversed concerning the Indians and by whom they were commanded to instruct their people. Thus the Indians were for the first time informed that there was a heaven where was the dwelling of God and a hell that of the devil. Presumably they got this knowledge from the whites. Some of the preachers confessed that they had not reached the dwelling of God but had approached near enough to hear the cocks crow and see the smoke of the chimneys in heaven. Others that they had approached the Son of God and then returned.

These teachers marked off on a piece of parchment made of deerskin two roads, both leading to heaven, one designated by God for the Indians, the other for the white people. They claim that the latter had to go a great way round about and the road for the Indians was at that time the shortest, but now, since the white people had blocked up the road for the Indians, they were obliged to make a long circuit to come to God. Further, there were paintings of heaven and hell upon the parchment as also the figure of a balance to represent the deceitful traffic carried on by the white people with the Indians. This rude parchment is, as it were, their Bible, and lies spread before them when they preach for the Indians. They then explain every mark and figure to their hearers and it is very evident that their chief aim is to influence the minds of the Indians against the white people. It is certain that their preaching has had this effect, for about this time war broke out between Indians and whites there having been no such war before.

They declared to the Indians that God had commanded their

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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796 At a third kind of feast ten or more tanned deer-skins are given to as many old men or women, who wrap themselves in them and stand before the house with their faces turned toward the east, praying God with a loud voice to reward their benefactors. They turn toward the east because they believe that God dwells beyond the rising of the sun. At the same time much wampum is given away. This is thrown on the ground and the young people scramble for it. Afterward it is ascertained who secured the most. This feast is called *'ngammuin*, the meaning of which they themselves are unable to give.

[776] A fourth kind of feast is held in honor of a certain voracious spirit, who, according to their opinions, is never satisfied. The guests are, therefore, obliged to eat all the bear's flesh and drink the melted fat. Though indigestion and vomiting may result they must continue and not leave anything.

[776] A fifth kind of festival is held in honor of fire which the Indians regard as being their grandfather and call *Machtuzin*, meaning "to perspire." A sweating-oven is built in the midst 776 of the house of sacrifice, consisting of twelve poles each of a different species of wood. These twelve poles represent twelve 343 *Manittos*, some of these being creatures, others plants. These [776] they run into the ground, tie together at the top, bending them toward each other; these are covered entirely with blankets, joined closely together, each person being very ready to lend his blanket, so that the whole appears like a baker's oven, high enough nearly to admit a man standing upright. After the meal or sacrifice, fire is made at the entrance of the oven and twelve large stones, about the size of human heads, are heated and placed in the oven. Then twelve Indians creep into it and remain there as long as they can bear the heat. While they [276] are inside twelve pipes full of tobacco are thrown, one after another, upon the hot stones which occasions a smoke almost powerful enough to suffocate those confined inside. Some one may also walk around the stones singing and offering tobacco, for tobacco is offered to fire. Usually, when the twelve men emerge from the oven, they fall down in a swoon. During this feast a whole buck-skin with the head and antlers is raised upon a pole, head and antlers resting on the pole, before which the

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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offerings are then regarded by God as rendered to him. It is clear enough that the Indians, professing to worship God and bringing sacrifices to him, serve Satan, who influences their dreams, and keeps them in slavery in this wise, for the Indians consider dreams to be of great importance and nothing less than revelations from God. It is indeed true as the Apostle says, 1 Cor. 10:20, "the things which the Gentiles sacrifice, they sacrifice to the devils and not to God." Those among the Indians who have been converted recognize this and henceforth hold the Indian sacrifices and offerings to be vain and do not care to say much about them.

To the spirits of the dead they offer both meat and drink-offerings. If it is to be a meat offering, which the doctors must decide in case of illness or accident, either a hog or a bear is killed for a feast and guests are invited. The latter assemble in the house where the sacrifice is to be offered. An old man gives part of the meal to the enraged spirits, speaks with them, and begs them to be pacified. All this is done in the dark; there must be neither fire nor light. After the old man has communed with the spirits he tells the guests that they have been appeased.

If it is to be a drink offering rum is required. Guests are invited also. They drink together and some one speaks with the spirits and pacifies them. The guests walk to the grave and pour some rum upon it. Such sacrifices are very common among them, and are arranged even upon very trivial occasions. In case of a tooth-ache or head-ache, they imagine that the spirits are displeased and must be pacified by an offering.

Every woman whose child dies in a foreign land travels, if possible, once a year to the place of its burial, taking another woman with her, and offers a drink-offering upon its grave.

The hare is regarded as a great God and they bring offerings to it. The name of one of the twins born to the woman that was thrown from heaven was *Tschimammus*, that is, hare. He made the land upon which the Indians dwell and was their ancestor. Now he is said to dwell in heaven, for many Indians who have been there have seen him and spoken to him and to them he has declared that he would come again.

4: Tantaquidgeon E-5 (1930) 1942
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DELAWARE MEDICAL BELIEFS AND PRACTICES

Theories on the Causes of Disease.

THE DELAWARE, like so many preliterate peoples, share concepts of a similar character concerning the causes of disease (Clements, 1932). Certain maladies are attributed to the presence of some evil spirit in the body, which in turn is believed to be the work of a sorcerer; others are thought due to the patients' iniquities while a few result from an encounter with an apparition. Failure to obey the laws of nature is the reason most frequently cited by Wi·tapanôxwe for the increase of disease among the Delaware. He said, in part, "In ancient times there was but little sickness among the Indians. The Delaware were greatly blessed because we always kept up our ceremonies and observed the rules of right living.[1] The Indian was healthy because he ate only clean, pure food and lived close to nature. Then came the new people with their strange ways and food, and dreadful diseases."

Paraphrasing the statements of the informant, it is implied that with the onset and steady progress of Europeanization, the Indian was obliged to relinquish many of the ways of his accustomed mode of life. He was forced to seek new territories in order to escape the alien influences that were being forced upon him. Like the wild game, the Delaware fled to more remote regions because their former environment had become so thoroughly contaminated. At this time, it is said, the dwarfs and other non-human folk had safety and seclusion in the rocky cliffs. Certain plants no longer reproduced and grew. Those Indians who clung tenaciously to the teachings of their elders were greatly blessed by the Creator who guided them in visions as of old. From the conservative viewpoint of Wi·tapanôxwe, individuals of a weaker "intellect," were unable to cope with such adverse conditions and were swept away by the devastating effects of acculturation.

[1] Reference may be made to a recent paper of A. I. Hallowell (1939) in which he has shown that "sin" is considered a potent causation of disease among the Saulteaux Indians of the Lake Winnipeg region—Editor.

753 The following examples are typical of the ideas which the present-day Oklahoma Delaware express in their rationalization of the causes of various maladies and physical deformities. Rheumatism, which the Delaware call by a term meaning "old people's disease," is attributed to unclean habits of living during youth. Scrofula is described by the Delaware phrase meaning "matter around the neck." If a person indulges in profanity, he may develop this condition.

It is said that congenital malformation rarely occurs among the Indians. Such physical abnormalities are attributed to the power of malevolent spirits which afflicted the child because of his parents' failure to fulfill tribal obligations by keeping up certain ceremonies bequeathed to them. Such a physical handicap, however, did not keep an individual from leading a useful life, for he was otherwise blessed. The informant [826] added, "Sometimes the weakest person is chosen by the Creator to be powerful in mind. He does that as a matter of pity."[2]

763 Paralysis is said to be the result of an encounter with an apparition.[3] 776 If a person sees a ghost-like form approaching, he should step aside to avoid being stricken with paralysis. According to Wi·tapanóxwe, "an apparition in passing by is felt as a slight wind. Sometimes what appears to be a cloud is seen floating along the road and if allowed to touch a person, will cause a stroke." Occasionally a fire is observed to start at the bottom of a tree, blaze up to the top, and then disappear. The informant warned against attempting to strike at such a flame inasmuch as it would result in fatal sickness to the person or to a member of his family.

Wi·tapanóxwe relates the following incident of a personal encounter with an apparition. "We were just young boys then, my brother and I, and we were riding home one afternoon just before sundown. As we rode along I noticed something in the middle of the road, and it seemed to be coming toward us. It had the appearance of a large animal but I could not see its form distinctly. Naturally, I was a little bewild-

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[2] Delaware mythology reiterates the theme of the weakling child vanquishing his powerful opponents through the weapon of shrewd wits over brute strength

[3] Zeisberger (no date, p. 131) says in regard to apparitions: "Wandering spirits and ghosts they claim sometimes throw something into a public path and whoever goes over it is bewitched and becomes lame or ill. They even pretend to know where such a thing happened, learning it from the doctors who are thought to be able to effect a cure."

ered but I did not tell my brother what I saw. It seemed to come nearer and nearer to us but as we drew close, the thing disappeared suddenly into the woods. I asked my brother if he had seen the strange object but he replied that he had not. When we reached home I told my mother what I had seen and she warned us never to follow a ghost like that as it would lead us astray and finally to a pile of bones."

It may be of interest to note here that at times several people might see the same ghost and "feel" it pass by. Such an experience is always regarded as a warning, foretelling illness, death, or some sudden event. Children are cautioned against answering the call of an unseen person as it might prove to be a "ghost-whoop." Should a child answer such a call, his jaw would become dislocated or even his entire body paralyzed. Once a hunter answered such a "ghost-whoop" and upon trying to locate it, ran into a stack of bones.[4]

The cause of insanity is attributed to the failure of a family to perform certain inherited ceremonials. Failure to continue such prescribed rites is punished by misfortune of some kind. Certain individuals are capable of exorcising people afflicted with this malady, the Indian name for which is translated as "lacking good sense." In one incident a young man believed that he saw a "mask" everywhere he went. His relatives finally resorted to a sweat doctor who entered the sweat lodge to ascertain the cause of the illness. After the ritual the doctor announced that it was due to their failure to perform regularly a ceremony which had come down in the family. In order to avert further trouble and to rid the young man of the disease, the doctor advised that the neglected feast and ceremony be performed, after which the patient became normal once more. Could anything be more in conformity with modern psycopathic practice than the preceding case! Other native terms which apply to people similarly affected are translated as "silly" or "half-witted."

I might also note that having in mind the prevalence of the theory that animals are the main causes of disease among the Cherokee (Mooney, 1892, p. 322), and Muskhogean peoples of the Southeast, I failed to find any evidence whatever in the mind of my informant of a similar belief among the Delaware.

[4] Archaeologists, take note!—Editor.

of this substance. His niece was preparing it for a small child who was dangerously ill. She dropped a small quantity in a cup of hot water and observing it settle to the bottom, knew that the small patient would not recover. The medicine was administered as a tea, but the child died in a short time.[33]

In the making of an emetic, the necessary water should be dipped from the stream *with* the current;[34] for a cathartic, *against* the current. A similar regulation applies to the gathering of bark; for use as an emetic, the bark is peeled upward; for a cathartic, downward.

Formerly there were among the Delaware, as among other tribes, certain men and women whose supernatural power enabled them to communicate with the dead, to locate lost persons and objects and to foretell coming events. This practice was known as "locating or foretelling," and one who possessed such power was known as a "man who tells of the future." The source of this extraordinary power was attributed to one's guardian spirit or in some instances to the spirits of the dead. Those who were able to communicate with the dead usually performed at night. Such a person was also thought able to cure paralysis.

Some individuals who possessed the power to stay under water for a period of several hours at one time, were frequently called upon to locate a drowned person or a submerged object. One man was known to have found the body of a drowned person after months of futile searching by others. Some years later, the son of this shaman, after becoming converted to Christianity and studying for the ministry, finally persuaded his father to abandon the native faith and join the Christian church. In doing so the old seer, forsaken by his supernatural guardian, forfeited his magical power. Later the old man returned to the Delaware religion, but the power which enabled him to be of service to his tribesmen, was gone forever.

Witapanóxwe's grandfather was one of the last of the Delaware to possess such extraordinary mental and physical powers. He was able to perform the submersion feat and several times located the bodies of persons who had drowned in the rivers of Kansas. On one occasion a

[33] In reference to remedies for fever, Zeisberger observes (*op. cit.*, p. 55) that "when a patient has been given a dose, they are generally able to tell by its workings whether he will recover or die. If he does not retain the medicine it is regarded as a sign that he will hardly recover."

[34] This practice was noted by Heckewelder, *op. cit.*, p. 224.

into lengths averaging from six to eight feet. The end of each of these poles is pushed into the ground to form a circular outline, five or six feet in diameter, with a somewhat wider space marking the entrance towards the north or south. The opposite ends are then bent over and lashed down to form a dome-shaped structure, over which skins, mats or blankets are laid. The fire, located in the lodge center, is built of twelve logs of hard wood. Neither driftwood nor wood obtained from a tree struck by lightning are suitable for this purpose. The use of the former, known as "gathered together by water," would tend to cause a flood. Fuel taken from a tree struck by lightning, is termed "thunder burned wood"; its use in the sweat lodge, thus angering the Lightning Spirit, would cause a severe storm.

The native doctor may employ any person to assist in building the fire, carrying rocks and water, or arranging mats of Indian hemp and bark for the pallet upon which the patient is laid. The latter is covered with skin robes or blankets so that only his head is exposed. After the fire has burned down sufficiently to form a bed of coals, more logs are added and the rocks, usually limestone, brought in. Twelve stones of medium size are placed in the fire. For handling them, a branch of hickory or any hard wood, about five feet long, is split at one end for use as a fork. After the rocks have become thoroughly heated, water is poured over them to produce steam. The doctor prays and sings for a period of time determined by the nature of the sickness and the strength of the patient. His song at this time is the narration of his dream-vision experience made as an appeal to the Creator and his supernatural guardian. Although the emphasis in this type of treatment is upon mental suggestion, in some instances tea made of herbs is administered by the doctor.

In addition to the lodge, poles, fire logs, and steam rocks[80] grouped in units of twelve to conform with the twelve levels of heaven, symbolical significance is also attached to fire, water, and stone. These are regarded as minor deities, often referred to in terms of human consanguinity (Speck, 1931, p. 32), possessed of great healing

[80] Brinton (1888, p. 37) in writing of the survival of curing rites among the Ontario Delaware, states: "I enquired in particular if there are any remnants of the curious adoration of the twelve sacred stones described by Zeisberger. I found that the custom of the sweat lodge still prevails. The steam is generated by pouring water on hot stones. This is done by the medicine man who is known as *Quechksupiet*. He brings in one stone after another and pours water on it until it ceases "to sing" and invariable he uses precisely twelve stones."

776 778 power. Besides its specific name, the term, "our Grandfather," is applied ceremonially to fire. Rocks are also known as "our Grandfathers." Water is regarded as a powerful spiritual force and is known as "our Mother."

757 Some cases of illness can be cured in one treatment while in others it is necessary to hold several meetings in the sweat lodge. The latter is known by a term meaning "temporary sweating." New stones are secured for each treatment. It is considered advisable to let one or more days elapse between treatments, as determined by the physical condition of the patient. The latter is occasionally massaged by the doctor, who first warms his hands upon a hot stone before rubbing the affected area. Often it is necessary also for the healer to [755] blow hot or cold air upon the patient. For the first the shaman's breath is warmed by means of a hot drink. In Delaware terminology this is known as "warm breath." In case of fever or exhaustion the "cooling breath" is used. One doctor had so much supernatural power in this respect that his breath would cause a swelling wherever it struck the body. It was therefore necessary for him to exercise great care in this type of treatment to avoid bringing undue discomfort to the patient.

795 515 Following the ritual performance in one of the Delaware peyote cults, it is customary at the present time for the participants, both men and women, to go into the sweat house (Petrullo, 1934, p. 95). This usually occurs before sunrise. The sweat house for this assemblage accommodates about twenty persons. The equipment is precisely the same as for the performance previously described, but there is no ritual connected with this performance. Men and women enter together and drink hot water to induce perspiration. In case of nausea, they chew "Osage tobacco" (wild sage) and swallow the juice. This plant, according to my informant, has a very strong taste together with astringent qualities. The sweating period is followed by a plunge.[81]

[81] This is comparable to the semi-social aspect of the rite as described by Heckewelder, *op. cit.*, pp. 225-226. "These sweat ovens are generally at some distance from an Indian village where wood and water are always at hand. The best order is preserved at those places. The women have their separate oven in a different direction from that of the men, and are subjected to the same rules. The men generally sweat themselves once and sometimes twice a week; the women have no fixed day for this exercise, nor do they use it as often as the men." He also states: ". . . A cryer goes his rounds calling *pimook*, 'go to sweat.' Everyone brings his small kettle which is filled for him with the potion which at the same time serves him as a medicine, promotes profuse perspiration, quenches his thirst."

The Gods of the Delaware

776 The Delaware believed in a supreme first power, "who had not only produced or made all things, but produces every day...Everything he makes and does is good." (Danckaerts, p. 174). This does not mean that the creator necessarily creates everything himself, but what ever being creates (as, for example, the tortoise in the creation myth) does so as his agent; Brainerd noted that although the Indians paid reverential attention to birds, beasts, fishes and reptiles, "...they do not indeed suppose a divine power essential to, or inhering in, these creatures; but that some invisible beings ...communicate to these animals a great power; ...and so make these creatures the immediate authors of good to certain persons." (Brainerd, pp. 344-45). Likewise the guardian spirits and all other beings with unusual power derive it from the Great Spirit (Penn, p. 37; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 128)

In addition to granting objects of nature special power on certain occasions, the Great Spirit is believed to have given more or less permanent control over certain aspects of nature to lesser beings. From this arises their concept of the lesser deities such as the four directions, the Sun, the Moon, Thunders, Living Solid Face or Mask Being (Harrington, 1913, pp. 226-27; Brainerd, p. 345: Heckwelder, 1881, pp. 212-213). We know from later sources that this last being is the guardian of the animals. He is the only deity whose appearance is specifically designated and represented 532 by a costume. The face is a wooden mask painted half red and half black; its body, which was supposed to have been hairy, is repre- [292] sented by a suit of bearskin (Harrington, 1921, p. 33). Apparently Brainerd saw a shaman dressed to represent this being for his description coincides in all details (Brainerd, p. 237). The only other known images of the Delaware were faces, also painted red and black, which were carved on the Big House posts and miniature stone faces which were worn around the neck. Present day Delwares think of the former as representing the spirits in charge of each of the twelve heavens, and consider them related to the Living Solid Face (Beatty, p. 22; Harrington, 1921, p. 31). The latter were ac- [777] cording to Harrington, worn as good luck or good health charms (Harrington, 1921, p. 36). An example of one found in an east coast site is shown in Skinner (1920, p. 5).

773 The Delaware also told of a super-human man who had come in 971 the remote past and taught them how to live. In Lindstrom's version, a Lenape woman became pregnant and gave birth to a son although no man had any connection with her. This boy, "...had so much to say that it was a great wonder and performed many miracles and wonders. When he now became somewhat large he departed from us and went up into the air... 'He promised to come back to us, but he never came back to us again,' they say." (Lindstrom, p. 208). In other accounts these same features are combined with a more specific refer-

ence to this person's having taught them the correct way to live and perform their sacrifices (Brainerd, p. 345; Luckenbach, p. 616; Brinton, 1888, p. 38). 773 776

Methods of Worship

The all-pervasive method of worship was sacrifice of burned flesh or tobacco. The correct method for performing these sacrifices, the dances, the order of procedure, method of constructing the house in which they were to be performed and other details were prescribed to the ancestors of the Delaware in the distant past. Most of these details escaped the notice, or at least failed to arouse the interest of our earliest observers, but Penn sketched their ceremonies in the following general terms: 782 796

> "Their Worship consists of two parts, Sacrifice and Cantico. Their Sacrifice is their first Fruits; the first and fattest Buck they kill, goeth to the fire, where he is all burnt with a Mournful Ditty of him that performeth the Ceremony... The other part is their Cantico, performed by round-Dances, sometimes words, sometimes Songs, then Shouts, two being in the middle that begin, and by Singing and Drumming on a Board direct the Chorus: Their Postures in the Dance are very Antick and differing, but all keep measure..." (p. 38-39; also see Lindstrom, p. 208).

The emphasis on traditionalism in Delaware religion makes it not unlikely that the ceremonies which were witnessed in the eighteenth century were similar to those performed before the white man arrived.13 [177]

The following description of the fall ceremony is taken primarily from an eye witness account of Abraham Luckenbach, but where details are corroborated by other writers the reference is also cited. It coincides in many details with the ceremony described in Frank Speck's A Study of the Delaware Indian Big House Ceremony, which is an annotated account of a recitation of the ceremony as remembered by a Delaware Indian living in Oklahoma. 796

The ceremony was held in the Big House, which also served as council house. "The entrance was at both gable ends and there was neither floor nor ceiling. Near both ends and in the middle, there were three fires over which hung large kettles in which corn and meat were boiled for the guests and always kept in readiness for them to eat, when finished with the dance." The smoke opening left at the ridge of the roof and the bench running around the interior wall were similar to those already described for ordinary houses (also see Beatty, p. 22). 796 344

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RELIGION AND CEREMONIES OF THE LENAPE

By M. R. Harrington

CHAPTER I

Pantheon

TO THE mind of the Lenape, all the phenomena of nature, all the affairs of mankind, in fact the entire world as we know it, is under the control of invisible beings. Some are great and powerful, others of somewhat lesser influence, and so on down to the humble spirits of plants and stones. In some, good seems to predominate, in others, evil; but most of the *manĭ'towŭk*, or spirits, seem to be, like mortals, a mixture of desirable and undesirable qualities.

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SUPREME BEING

.776 All the Lenape so far questioned, whether followers of the native or of the Christian religion, unite in saying that their people have always believed in a chief *Manĭ'to*, a leader of all the gods, in short, in a Great Spirit or Supreme Being, the other *manĭ'towŭk* for the greater part being merely agents appointed by him. His name, according to present Unami usage, is *Gicelĕmâ''kaong'*, usually translated "great spirit," but meaning literally, "creator." Directly, or through the *manĭ'towŭk* his agents, he created the earth and everything in it, and gave to the Lenape all they possessed, "the trees, the waters, the fire that springs from flint,—everything." To him the people pray in their greatest ceremonies, and give thanks for the benefits he has given them. Most of their direct worship, however, is addressed to the *manĭ'towŭk* his agents, to whom he has given charge of the elements, and with whom the people feel they have a

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closer personal relation, as their actions are seen in every sunrise and thunderstorm, and felt in every wind that blows across woodland and prairie. Moreover, as the Creator lives in the twelfth or highest heaven above the earth, it takes twelve shouts or cries to reach his ear. An account of the worship of the Creator will be given later in connection with the description of the Annual Ceremony. The Minsi had similar beliefs, but the current name for the Great Spirit in that dialect today is *Pa"tŭmawas*, interpreted "He who is petitioned," or *Kĕ"tanĭto'wĕt*, "Great Spirit."

It has been frequently stated that the concept of a supreme being or chief of the gods was not known among the American tribes in precolonial times, and that the "Great Spirit" concept, now widely distributed among the Indians, is entirely the result of missionary teaching. This seems to have been the case in some instances, but it is a mistake to assume such a broad statement as a general rule, on *a priori* grounds. To the

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Indian mind, the spirits or gods partook largely of the nature of mankind—Why could not a chief of gods be as natural a concept as a chief of men? In the case of the Shawnee, the Creator or Great Spirit is usually spoken of as a woman, "Our Grandmother Paboth'kwe"—surely not a missionary idea!

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Let us trace back the Great Spirit concept among the Lenape, and find what the early writers say about it. Perhaps the earliest is in Danker and Sluyter's Journal[2] of about 1679, in which an old Indian living near Bergen, New Jersey, is quoted as saying: "The first and great beginning of all things, was Kickeron or Kickerom, who is the origin of all, who has not only once produced or made all things, but produces every day. . . . He governs all things."

William Penn,[3] in a letter dated Philadelphia, August 16, 1683, says: "They believe a God and Immortality; for they say, There is a King that made them, who dwells in a glorious country to the Southward of them, and that the Souls

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of the Good shall go thither, where they shall live again." Further confirmation is given by Holm[4] in his book first published in 1702, where he says, "They acknowledge a Supreme Being, a Great Spirit, who made the heavens and the earth."

Zeisberger[5] makes it even stronger, for he wrote, about 1779: "They believe and have from time immemorial believed that there is an Almighty Being who has created heaven and earth and man and all things else. This they have learned from their ancestors." Heckewelder[6] (p. 205) adds more details in his book, originally published in 1818: "Their Almighty Creator is always before their eyes on all important occasions. They feel and acknowledge his supreme power. . . . It is a part of their religious belief that there are inferior *Mannittōs*, to whom the great and good Being has given command over the elements."

Finally, in the little work ostensibly dictated by the Minsi John Wampum,[7] known as Chief Waubuno, undated, but

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probably printed in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, we have "The Great Spirit, whom we call in Munsee or Delaware Kaunzhe Pah-tum-owans or Kacheh Munitto (Great Spirit or Benevolent Spirit), created the Indians."

Thus we have a practically unbroken chain of authorities, including most of the best ones since 1679, all speaking of the "Great Spirit" as a well-developed concept. But Brainerd,[8] writing in 1745, is not so positive in his statements, for he speaks of their notions being "so dark and confused, that they seemed not to know what they thought themselves." He also says: "Before the coming of the white people, some supposed there were *four* invisible powers, who presided over the four corners of the earth. Others imagined the *sun* to be the *only* deity, and that all things were made by him. Others at the same time have a confused notion of a certain *body* or *fountain* of *deity*, something like the *anima mundi*." Later (p. 349) he quotes a converted Indian conjurer, who, in describing the

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source of his former power, tells how it came from "a great man" who lived in a "world above at a vast distance from this. The great man was clothed with the day; yea, with the brightest day he ever saw . . . this whole world . . . was drawn upon him, so that *in* him, the earth, and all things on it, might be seen."

Perhaps, as Brinton[9] suggests, the original Great Spirit of the Lenape might really be called the God of Light. Brinton, however, does not think that this Spirit of Light was of necessity a *good* spirit; still, the Lenape today who follow the native religion, acknowledging his goodness in their ceremonies, think that "the Creator wants them to do right," and there is evidence[10] that the idea of goodness has been associated with that of the Great Spirit for a long time. Assuming that the Creator of the Lenape is the God of Light, what is it that leads men to worship the source of light? Is it not the self-evident benefits connected with light? It seems to the writer that

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776 goodness necessarily follows as an attribute of such a deity.

EVIL SPIRIT

The case is different with the Evil Spirit. The modern Lenape in Oklahoma make little mention of an Evil One, and James Wolf, my principal Minsi informant, did not speak of such a being at all, but there is some evidence, however, to show this belief to exist among the Lenape in more recent years.

114 177 776 Some writers do indeed make frequent mention of "the Devil" as figuring in early Lenape belief, but they translate the word "mani'to" as having that meaning, whereas it really signifies a supernatural being, good or bad. These writers evidently regarded as "the Devil" any deity not fitting into Christian doctrine.

But the real truth seems to be that, while in ancient times certain *mani'towŭk*, or spirits, were supposed to work evil, the Devil (along with whiskey and other blessings) was introduced by the whites.

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The whole matter is well summed up by Loskiel[11] where he says: "Besides the Supreme Being, they believe in good and evil spirits, considering them as subordinate deities. . . . They seem to have had no idea of the *Devil*, as the Prince of Darkness, before the Europeans came into the country." This idea is also supported by Zeisberger[12] and Brainerd,[13] although Holm[14] seems to give contrary evidence.

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MANI'TOWŬK OF THE FOUR DIRECTIONS

The Lenape now in Oklahoma believe that when the earth was created, and everything finished, the Creator gave the four quarters of the earth to four powerful beings, or *manĭ'towŭk*, whose duty it was to take care of these regions. These personages are the cause of the winds which blow from the different directions, with the exception of the tornado, which is thought to have a different origin. In the winter, it is said that the *manĭ'towŭk* of the north and the south are playing the game of bowl and

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776 821 dice, with alternating fortunes. When the north wind is successful it is cold for a long time, until the south wind wins again. These *manĭ'towŭk* are called *Moxhomsa' Wähänjio'pŭng'*, Grandfather at the East; *No''oma Cawane'yŭng'*, Grandmother at the South; *Moxhomsa' Eliosi' gak*, Grandfather at the West; and *Moxhomsa' Lowane'yŭng'*, Grandfather at the North, the expression *endalŭn towi'yŭn*, said to mean "who has charge of it" being frequently added after the name.

782 776 These are mentioned in the ritual of the Annual Ceremony, and the people often pray to them when gathering herbs or perparing medicines, at the same time offering tobacco.

171 776 821 The earliest record of this belief thus far found dates from 1616, and while it does not concern the Lenape proper, it illustrates a similar notion among a cognate people in Virginia. This is in Strachey's wŏrk,[15] in which he states, "The other four [gods] have no visible shape, but are indeed the four winds,

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which keep the four corners of the earth." Brainerd[16] mentions the same belief as being an old one among the Indians he knew, who were mainly Lenape, and as this was in 1745 we have at least a respectable antiquity established for "Our Grandparents at the Four Directions." Loskiel also mentions them.[17]

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THE SUN

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To the Sun the Creator gave the duty of providing light for the people. The Unami say that he is a very powerful *manï'to*, and call him *Gickokwi'ta*. They speak of him as always clothed in the finest of deerskin garments, with his face handsomely painted, and wearing red feathers in his hair. Every day he travels across the heavens from east to west, stopping for a little while at mid-day, then going on. At night he comes back under the earth. The Minsi, according to James Wolf, called him *Ki'zho* or *Ki'zhox*, and *Gickoniki'zho* is another Unami form of the name. When praying

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● 776 821 [782] to the Sun, the Lenape usually addressed (When praying) him as "Elder Brother."

Little is found in early writings concerning the worship of the Sun, a mere mention in Brainerd,[18] and Loskiel,[19] by whom he is called "the sun or the god of the day."

THE MOON

None of my Lenape informants had much to say of the Moon, except that it was regarded as the *manĭ'to* charged with the duty of supplying light by night, and that it was addressed, like the Sun, as Elder Brother. It is mentioned as a god, and called the "night sun" by Loskiel.[20] This is expressed by the Unami name *Piske'weniki'zho.*

THE EARTH

776 823 Some Lenape speak of the earth itself as a *manĭ'to*, and call it "Our Mother" because it carries and nurtures the people, having been assigned that duty by the Creator. Others, instead of the earth itself, mention a spirit beneath or within the earth, but apparently separate from

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it. The earth is mentioned in a list of gods by Loskiel.[21] In some localities, at least, it was addressed in the Annual Ceremony, and thanks were offered to it for the benefits it gives to man.

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THUNDER BEINGS

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Perhaps the most important of all the subordinate *manĭtowŭk*, excepting only the Sun and possibly the Keepers of the Four Directions, were the Thunder Beings, to whom the Great Spirit gave the duty of watering the earth and protecting the people against Great Horned Water-serpents and other monsters. The Unami told me that they are called *Pethakowe'yŭk*, and are addressed as Elder Brother. They are man-like beings with wings, and always carry a bow and arrows with which they can shatter trees. When the first thunder is heard in spring, the people say, "The Spring Flying Things are coming" and it makes them feel glad to think that winter is nearly over. Some burn tobacco and pray to the Thunders at this and other times,

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and for this reason they claim that the lightning never used to strike an Indian or to destroy Indian property.

The late James Wolf related an interesting Thunder myth, which will be found in the paper on Lenape Mythology to appear later, stating that the Minsi called the Thunders *Pile'swak*, or *Pile'soak*, and believed them to exist in the form of gigantic partridges, although really persons, or rather *manî'towŭk*. They used to live in Niagara gorge beneath the cataract, and could sometimes be seen coming out, in the form of a cloud, in which, as it rose, a play of lightning was visible. There were said to be three bands or parties of these mysterious beings, each band consisting of three Thunders.

Zeisberger[22] says, "Thunder is a mighty spirit dwelling in the mountains," and Heckewelder,[23] "Indians, at the approach of a storm or thunder gust, address the Mannitto of the air, to avert all danger from them." As a rule, however, the early writers do not seem to have noticed

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this belief, or have included it loosely under the worship of "gods" representing the elements. 776 821

KEEPERS OF THE HEAVENS

The Lenape now in Oklahoma believe that each of the twelve heavens, in the highest of which lives the Great Spirit, is presided over by a *manī'to* who serves as a messenger to repeat the prayers of men until they reach the ear of the Creator. They are represented by the carved faces upon the posts inside the temple, and are mentioned in the ritual of the Annual Ceremony. I can find no mention of them in early accounts of the Lenape, however, unless the twelve gods mentioned by Loskiel,[34] most of whom have already been spoken of in this chapter, may represent the same concept. The Lenape today speak of these as being related to the Living Solid Face, who will now claim our attention. 776 [772] [532]

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MĪSINGHÂLI'KŬN, OR LIVING SOLID FACE

The most remarkable deity of the Lenape is the Mask Being, called by the

FIG. 1.—Mask of the Oklahoma Lenape. (Height, 14.5 in.)

Unami *Mĭsinghâli'kŭn*, which was interpreted as "Living Mask," or "Living Solid Face." According to the Unami,

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this being was made guardian by the Creator of all the wild animals of the forest, and is sometimes seen riding about on the back of a buck, herding the deer; but he lives in a range of rocky mountains above the earth. His face is large and round, the right half being painted red, the left black, while his body is covered with long dark hair like that of a bear. Unlike most of the deities in the Lenape pantheon, he is represented by a "graven image," a huge wooden mask, painted half red and half black (fig. 1); which is left in charge of some family who

FIG. 2.—Rattle of turtle-shell used by Misi'ngw. (Length, 16.7 in.)

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will take good care of it, and burn Indian tobacco for it from time to time. With the mask is kept a coat and leggings of bear-skin to represent the being's hairy body, a peculiar rattle of turtleshell (fig. 2), a stick, and a bag made of bear-skin, all used by the man selected to impersonate Mĭsinghâli'kŭn at the various ceremonies when he is supposed to appear, and which will be described later. To the back of the mask is fastened the skin of the bear's head, which effectually conceals the head and neck of the impersonator (pl. II), while the bear's ears, projecting, add to the uncanny effect.

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If any Lenape had a child who was weak, sickly, or disobedient, he would send word to the keeper of the mask that he wanted Mĭsinghâli'kŭn to "attend his child." It is said that it did not take the impersonator long to frighten the weakness, sickness, or laziness out of the child, so that thenceforth it would be strong and well, and would obey on the instant when asked to do anything. This effect was probably strengthened by

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COSTUME WORN BY IMPERSONATOR OF MĬSINGHÂLI'KŬN

[Facing p. 34]

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the mother saying, "If you don't behave, MIsi'ng^{w} will carry you off in a bag full of snakes!" This seems to be the only trace of the doctoring function of the mask among the Unami. They also say that when the keeper burns tobacco for MIsinghâli'kŭn and asks for good luck in hunting, "it turns out that way every time;" and if anyone has lost either horses or cattle, whether by straying away or through theft, he can go to the keeper of the MIsi'ng^{w} with some tobacco and recover them. All he has to do is to explain his errand to the keeper, who in turn informs MIsinghâli'kŭn that they want him to look for these particular animals. The loser then goes home, and in a few days the missing stock return, driven back by this mysterious being. If they were tied or hobbled, it is said that the MIsi'ng^{w} appears to them and so frightens them that they break loose and come home. MIsinghâli'kŭn has a special ceremony, held in the spring, and also participates in the Annual Ceremony at the Big House. This MIsi'ng^{w} is also

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776 796 called *Weopĕ'lakis*, to distinguish it from another, kept by a different family, which was not so important, and about which little was known by my informants except that, within their memories, it had never appeared at the Annual Ceremony, but that it probably had a spring dance of its own. There is an indistinct tradition, however, that in former times several masks were seen at the Annual Ceremony, and that half a day was given up to them.

751 777 778 Miniature masks (fig. 3) were often worn on the person as health or good-luck charms, in former days usually suspended from a string about the neck, but in later times carried in the pocket. The two large Unami masks in the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, are shown in pl. II and fig. 1.

776 778 Among the Minsi there are considerable differences in belief and in practice, their masks resembling those of the Iroquois in many particulars. The late James Wolf said that "Mizinkhâli'kŭn" was supposed to live among the rocks

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on a hill, where he was first seen, and told the people how to obtain his power. The mask owners formed a society, which

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FIG. 3.—Charm representing Misinghâli'kŭn. (Height, 1.9 in.)

had a special meeting-house and ceremonies, and whose chief function it was to expell disease. This will be discussed further in another paper. Peter Jones[25]

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776 778 illustrates two Minsi masks in use in the first part of the nineteenth century, and these are here reproduced (pl. III). The first he calls a "Muncey idol," and says that it was "delivered up by Joe Nicholas on his Conversion to Christianity," and that "Me Zeengk is the name of this God"; while the second, which he names "a Muncey devil idol," "formerly belonging to the Logan family," was "delivered up on the 26th of Jan. 1842." Jones does not refer to these "idols" in the text. The second mask illustrated seems to have a turtleshell rattle tied on its back, the handle projecting downward. Another mask, found by the writer among the Lenape at Grand river, Ontario, and apparently of Minsi type, is shown in fig. 4. It was collected for Mr E. T. Tefft, of New York, but is now in the American Museum of Natural History.

172 776 778 Some of our best evidence indicating the early existence of belief in this Mask Being among the Lenape is furnished by archeology—by the finding of

[text continues on p. 41]

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MASKS OF THE MINSI (AFTER PETER JONES)

[FACING P. 38]

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FIG. 4.—Mask from the Canadian Lenape. E. T. Tefft collection, American Museum of Natural History. (Height of head, 14 in.)

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FIG. 5.—Stone head or Misi'ngw' from Ohio. (Height, 13.9 in.)

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[continued from p. 58]

a number of heads or masks of stone (pl. IV) within the boundaries of their former domain in New Jersey and the vicinity,[26] which, when the rarity of such objects in the surrounding regions is also considered, seems quite significant. Such stone heads even mark the trail of the Lenape withdrawal westward through Pennsylvania,[27] and have even been found in Ohio, where they lingered for a time (fig. 5).

The best early description is given by Brainerd,[28] who, in May 1745, while on the Susquehanna above the English settlements, saw a masked Indian who must have been an impersonator of Mĭsinghâli'kŭn. It runs:

> "But of all the sights I saw among them, or indeed anywhere else, none appeared so frightful . . . as the appearance of one who was a devout and zealous Reformer, or rather, restorer of what he supposed was the ancient religion of the Indians. He made his appearance in his *pontifical garb*, which was a coat of *bear skins*, dressed with the hair on, and hanging down to his toes; a pair of bear skin stockings; and a great *wooden* face painted, the one half black, the other half

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tawny, about the color of an Indian's skin, with an extravagant mouth, cut very much awry; the face fastened to a bear skin cap, which was drawn over his head. He advanced toward me with the instrument in his hand, which he used for music, in his idolatrous worship, which was a dry *tortoise shell* with some corn in it, and the neck of it drawn on to a piece of wood, which made a very convenient handle. As he came forward, he beat his tune with the rattle, and danced with all his might, but he did not suffer any part of his body, not so much as his fingers, to be seen."

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With the exception of one minor point, the "wry mouth," this would be a good description of the MIsi'ng^{w} outfit used until recently by the Lenape in Oklahoma (pl. II). On the following page, Brainerd mentions "images" which seem to be the MIsi'ng^{w} faces carved on the posts of the Big House.

Zeisberger[29] also refers to the masks in these words:

"The only idol which the Indians have, and which may properly be called an idol, is their *Wsinkhoalican*, that is image. It is an image cut in wood, representing a human head in miniature, which they always carry about them either on a

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[missing p.43]

STONE HEAD OR MĬSI'NGʷ, FROM STATEN ISLAND, N. Y.
(Staten Island Institute of Arts and Sciences)

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string around their neck or in a bag. They often bring offerings to it. In their houses of sacrifice they have a head of this idol as large as life put upon a pole in the middle of the room."

In his Dictionary, Zeisberger gives the word for "idol" as *mĕsink'*, so it seems probable that the *W* in "Wsinkhoalikan" is a misprint for *M*.

MOTHER CORN

One of the important *manĭ'towŭk* of the old days was the Corn Goddess, known as "Mother Corn" of whom one of the Unami legends collected by the writer relates that "It was God's will that the Corn Spirit abide in the far heavenly region in the image of an aged woman, with dominion over all vegetation." Although little remembrance of the details of her worship can now be found among the Oklahoma Lenape, she is mentioned as a Guardian Spirit; while at the Minsi ceremonies at Grand River Reserve in Ontario, she was one of the twelve benefactors of mankind to whom the thanks of the people were offered,

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776 and Minsi women mentioned "Sister Corn" in praying for good crops in the corn fields; while Zeisberger[30] says that the presiding *Mani'to* of Indian Corn or maize was spoken of as the "wife" of the Indian, and was offered bear's flesh.

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CHAPTER II

Minor Deities

DOLL BEING

THE masks described in the last chapter are merely representations of a supernatural being, and are not supposed to be the dwellings of a spirit or spirits except when worn by an impersonator, who is said to become imbued with the spirit when the mask is donned; nor are they usually supposed to possess inherent power, except as symbols of Mĭsinghâĭ'-kŭn. But the Lenape had also a class of images, usually of wood, representing the human form, which were supposed to possess life, or at least to be the residence of spirits, which, so far as can be learned, had no separate existence. They were supposed to understand what was said to them, and to have the power of pro-

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tecting the owner's health, to enjoy offerings, resent ill-treatment, and in fact seem to fall into the class of true fetishes. Usually, but not always, representing the female figure, they were kept as a rule by women, and were given yearly feasts, at which outfits of new clothes were put on them. The native name in Unami is *O"dus*; in Minsi, *Nani'tis*. The ceremonies and beliefs associated with them will be described later, in the chapter on minor ceremonies. Most of the early writers seem to have overlooked them, which is not surprising, since they were matters of personal and not of public concern, and their rites were held in private. John Brainerd, however, mentions an "idol image"[31] which seems to be of this class, and a Minsi specimen is figured by Peter Jones[32] and mentioned by him in a footnote. This was afterward procured by the writer from Jones' son, and is now in the American Museum of Natural History (pl. VIII). John Brainerd (brother of the better known David) made his note of the custom

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about the middle of the eighteenth century, while that of Jones dates from about a century later.

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TORNADO

Besides the gods hitherto named there were many other deities of lesser importance. The tornado, for instance, was one of these beings classed as *manî'towăk*. He is mentioned as a giant in size, walking on his hands when in action, his long hair entangling and sweeping away forests and villages; and sometimes as a winged being. When a "cyclone" was seen approaching, some would burn tobacco, and addressing the roaring monster as "Grandfather," would pray that he turn aside and leave the village in peace. Others, scorning such measures of conciliation, would burn old moccasins and rubbish, advising the destroyer to turn aside if he wished to escape the stinging smoke; while still others, even less conciliatory, threatened him with the edge of an axe, vowing they would "break a wing for him" if he came their way. It

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776 782 821 was commonly said in the tribe that on account of these practices the Lenape suffered little from this evil *manĭ'to*.

SNOW BOY

776 821 [782] Another minor *manĭ'to* is Snow Boy, a being who is supposed to control snow and ice, but who is different from "Our Grandfather at the North," who merely supplies the north wind. Offerings were made to Snow Boy to insure a proper amount of snow for tracking in the winter hunt. Further information concerning these last two *manĭ'towŭk* will be found in the paper on Lenape Mythology, now in preparation.

COMET

[787] There is a third *manĭ'to* called *Elau'nato*, which some Lenape say means "Comet," others "Shooting Star." When a war is impending, says the legend, this being may be seen flying through the air, carrying a bunch of human heads. After Elau'nato has passed, if one listens he will hear a distant rumbling sound, for this *manĭ'to* knows beforehand where the

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fighting will take place, and drops the heads on the spot, and the noise of their fall is a roar like thunder. 776 821

EVIL MANĬ'TOWŬK

Both the Great Horned Serpents, monsters living in the rivers and lakes, and the Giant Bear were considered evil *manĭ'towŭk*, the only good derived from them being, in the first case, charms made of the scales, bone, or horn of the monsters, supposed to bring rain; and, in the second case, a medicine made from the tooth said to have the power of healing wounds. Children were accustomed to hunt in the sand for tracks of the Little People, comparable with fairies or elves among the whites. 776

ANIMAL SPIRITS

The concepts regarding the numerous animal spirits who were believed to offer themselves as guardians for mankind, are rather hard to define. Most Indians seem to regard their mysterious animal helper not as the spirit or soul of any 774 776

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particular animal taken as an individual, but as a spirit representing the entire species as a whole and partaking of the nature of the species, at the same time having human and *manĭ'to* attributes.

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Brainerd[33] makes some interesting remarks on this subject, which are worth quoting:

> "They do not indeed suppose a divine power *essential* to, or *inhering* in, these creatures; but that some invisible beings . . . communicate to these animals a *great power;* . . . and so make these creatures the immediate authors of good to certain persons. Whence such a creature becomes *sacred* to the persons to whom he is supposed to be the immediate author of good, and through him they must worship the invisible powers, though to others he is no more than any other creature."

Certain it is, if a Lenape states that his blessing or power comes from "the otter," he does not mean some particular otter, but a spirit otter whose existence is independent of the life of any particular animal. However, such an animal was supposed, like a man, to have a spirit or soul of its own.

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PLANT SPIRITS

When gathering herbs for medicine it was customary to offer prayers to certain spirits. Some seem to have prayed at this time to the four directions, others to the presiding genius of the species of plants they sought, or to the spirit of the individual plant itself. The Minsi say that only certain plants were thus addressed. The Corn Spirit has already been mentioned.

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LOCAL GENII

Certain localities, it is said, were thought to be the dwellings of local genii, to whom offerings were occasionally made, especially such places as displayed curious or unusual natural features, while even certain stones were said to have an animate principle or indwelling spirit.

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CHAPTER IV

Visions and Guardian Spirits

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THE most vital and intimate phase of Lenape religion is the belief in dreams and visions, and in the existence of personal guardian spirits or supernatural helpers—concepts of wide distribution among the North American tribes, but rarely, perhaps, so vivid or well-developed as we find them here. The vision was the point of contact; the channel of communication, in Lenape belief, between the great and marvelous supernatural world and the sphere of everyday human life. In a vision the youth first found his guardian spirit, to whom he would always appeal, as his own special friend in the supernatural hierarchy, for aid and comfort in time of trouble, and for the revelation of coming events. He felt that this being took a close personal interest in his

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affairs, while the greater gods, including the Great Spirit himself, were so remote and so occupied with controlling more important things that they might not notice or concern themselves with the affairs of one individual man. Therefore the bulk of his prayers and offerings went to his guardian spirit. If a Lenape won great success on a war expedition or a hunting trip, he was sure the spirit had helped him; if unlucky, he believed that for some reason his guardian had become estranged, or had been overpowered by superior and malevolent forces. A man might become a sorcerer or a shaman at the behest of his guardian spirit, given in a dream or vision, or change his mode of life in other ways. Not every Lenape was blessed with such a guardian; yet many were so favored, usually in their boyhood days. To be eligible for supernatural favor, the youth had to *pi'lsu*ⁿ, or pure, which means that not only must he be chaste, but that he must have kept strictly all the taboos against eating food prepared by

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women in their periodic condition, etc. Old Lenape say that, as the children of the tribe are reared nowadays in the same way as the whites, they can no longer be *pi'lsi*[n], and the Powers will speak to them no more. This is a sad matter, for it means the loss of their principal ancient ceremonies, at which only those blessed with a vision can take active part. The old people feel it keenly that there will be no one left to conduct the rites when the last of their generation has been laid away.

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INITIATION OF BOYS

Parents were especially anxious, of course, that their sons should have supernatural aid, hence, when a boy reached the age of about twelve years, they would frequently pretend to abuse him, and would drive him, fasting, out into the forest to shift as best he might, in the hope that some *mani'to* would take pity on the suffering child and grant him some power or blessing that would be his dependence through life.

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As they sat brooding, some *manï'to* might address himself to them, and give them advice and comfort, or endow them with some kind of power. Women occasionally had visions of this kind. 787

THE GUARDIAN SPIRIT

Whatever the precise circumstances of its appearance, the guardian spirit in many instances was said to show itself first in human form, and it was only when it turned to leave that its real shape (of an animal, for instance) was noticed by the recipient of its blessing. Sometimes the interview was quite long and the directions given by the *manï'to* (for ceremonies, etc.) quite explicit; on other occasions they were very vague and cryptic. Frequently, according to the stories told, some tangible object, called by the Unami the *opi'na*, or blessing, was handed by the *manï'to* to the recipient of his favor, who usually swallowed it. Some recipients were called on, however, to make and keep some symbol of their protector, which was 776 787 [789]

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usually worn on the person in the form of a charm.

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FAVORED INDIVIDUALS.—Persons favored with a guardian spirit usually became prominent among their people and were held in high esteem. They composed rythmic chants referring to their visions for use at the Annual Ceremony (which will be discussed in the next chapter), and dance songs to accompany them. Rarely were the words of either chants or songs at all definite: as a rule they merely mentioned attributes of the singer's guardian, or incidents of their first meeting, without stating outright what the guardian spirit was, or telling a consecutive story of the vision.

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Most Lenape who have had such visions can not be induced to tell the details; but the following examples of such experiences, imperfect in many points, were finally obtained. Incomplete though they are, they will give some idea of this class of beliefs and in this way may prove of value.

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Wčmi wango"towak ķewika
All greet one another
Yoki lĕnape witci.
Now Lenape at the same time
E-ye-he-ye-ĕ!

"They told me, 'We will go to see our friends,' so I went with them. Every now and then they stopped and danced around as they had done before. After a while one of them told me to look toward the south, and there I saw a black cloud in which the lightning flashed. 'Would you like to go there?' they asked me. I answered 'No.' Then one asked if I wanted to go *that* way, pointing to the northeast, where the sky was blue and bright, to which I answered that I would rather go in that direction toward the clear sky. A little farther on they said: 'We will now leave you. Watch us as we go.' They went to the east a little way, and then I saw them trotting. They were wolves, and I had thought all the while that they were human beings."

Verses of the dance song were sung at intervals during this speech. From analogy with other visions, such as are

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recorded above, one would think that the six wolf-men must have become Flying Wolf's protectors, but instead, it was a Thunder Being that became his principal guardian, whose participation in the vision is merely inferred from the mention in the speech of the black cloud and the lightning. Evidently this Thunder Being was not offended when Flying Wolf told his guides that he would rather go toward the clear sky than toward the black cloud.

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The Minsi say that when Flying Wolf recited his vision in the Big House ceremonies, he moved everyone, some even to tears. After he had finished, they say, a thunder-shower would almost always rise. He would become strangely excited when the dark clouds began to bank up on the horizon and spread themselves over the land. Stripping himself to the breechcloth, he was ready to go out when the storm broke, for he would never stay beneath a roof at such a time. He loved to expose his body to the driving gusts of wind and rain; the appalling

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roar was music to his ears; while the lighting, to the eyes of the frightened onlookers, seemed to play about his very body. He used to say that if he stayed indoors the lightning display would be so terrible that the others in the house could not endure it. No wonder they used to say of him, "*Piles'waL pewa'latcil!*" "He is in league with the Thunders!", or better, perhaps, "The Thunders will protect him!"

Within the memory of Minsi now living in Canada there were two members of the tribe who claimed the Sun spirit, *Ki'zho* (or *Ki'zhox*) as their protector. One of these was known as "Old man" Halfmoon, the other as "Muncey John" Henry. Halfmoon, it is said, when he wished to appear as a warrior, would sometimes hold his bare hands up toward the flaming face of his guardian, then rub the palms down his cheeks. When he removed his hands, it was seen that his face, clean before, was now painted in brilliant colors! "Surely," the people cried, "this man is in league with the Sun!"

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That the idea of a tangible 'blessing' is found among the Minsi, as well as among the Unami, is shown in certain of their traditions.

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HISTORICAL REFERENCES.—*Brainerd.*—Brainerd seems to have been about the first author to recognize in any degree the importance of the dream or vision in Lenape religious belief. He says:[40]

"They give much heed to *dreams*, because they suppose that these invisible powers give them directions at such times about certain affairs, and sometimes inform them what *animal* they would choose to be worshipped in."

Other remarks by Brainerd on the same general topic were quoted in the preceding chapter.

Zeisberger.—Zeisberger[41] also devotes a paragraph to it, in which he says:

"Almost all animals and the elements are looked upon as spirits, one exceeding the other in dignity and power. There is scarcely an Indian who does not believe that one or more of these spirits has not been particularly given him to assist him and make him prosper. This, they claim, has been made known to them in a dream, even as their religious belief and witchcraft has

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been made known to them in a dream. One has, in a dream, received a serpent or a buffalo, another the sun or the moon, another an owl or some other bird, another a fish, some even ridiculously insignificant creatures such as ants. These are considered their spirits or *Manittos*. If an Indian has no Manitto to be his friend he considers himself forsaken, has nothing on which he may lean, has no hope of any assistance and is small in his own eyes. On the other hand those who have been thus favored possess a high and proud spirit."

Loskiel.—Loskiel's account[42] seems largely derived from the above. He remarks:

"The *manittos* are also considered as tutelar spirits. Every Indian has one or more, which he conceives to be peculiarly given to assist him and make him prosper. One has in a dream received the sun as his tutelar spirit, another the moon; a third, an owl; a fourth, a buffaloe; and so forth. An Indian is dispirited, and considers himself as forsaken by God, till he has received a tutelar spirit in a dream; But those who have been thus favored, are full of courage, and proud of their powerful ally."

Heckewelder.—Heckewelder[43] devotes a whole chapter to the subject, under the head of "Initiation of Boys," to which

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the reader is referred, as it is all of interest, but can not be reproduced here. I will merely quote portions of one paragraph, which will serve to show that this author found approximately similar ideas as had his predecessors, concepts which still exist among the Lenape.

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"When a boy is to be thus *initiated*, he is put under an alternate course of physic and fasting . . . so that he sees, or fancies that he sees visions, and has extraordinary dreams. Then he has interviews with the Manitto or with spirits, who inform him of what he was before he was born, and what he will be after his death. His fate in this life is laid entirely open before him, the spirit tells him what is to be his future employment, whether he will be a valiant warrior, a mighty hunter, a doctor, a conjuror or a prophet."

Later in the chapter Heckewelder mentions the fact that persons favored with such dreams considered themselves under the protection of the "celestial powers," and mentions the "strength, the power, and the courage" conveyed to them, but lays more stress on the prophetic side of these visions than on the actual

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aid rendered, according to Lenape belief, by the supernatural guardians.

Adams.—From Heckewelder's time to the present, I know of but one writer, besides myself, who describes, from his own observation, the Lenape belief in visions and guardian spirits. This is R. C. Adams,[41] himself of Delaware blood, whose notes may be found in the volume on Indians of the United States Census Report for 1890 (p. 298 et seq.). He says:

> "It is believed by the Delawares that every one has a guardian spirit which comes in the form of some bird, animal, or other thing, at times in dreams, and tells them what to do and what will happen. The guardian spirit is sent from the Great Spirit."

Having now considered the very foundation of Lenape religion, we may turn with better understanding, to their great Annual Ceremony.

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to let you kill deer." The reader will remember that Mĭsinghâ'ĭ'kŭn, in whose image the Mĭsi'ng^{w}ĭ is carved is supposed to have control over the deer, and in fact over all wild animals. 224 796 [776]

All the hunters that are in the habit of chewing tobacco are now given some for this purpose. When they file out and mount their horses, the Mĭsi'ng^{w}ĭ follows them and sees them off. [276]

After the hunters have disappeared, the people call the Mĭsi'ng^{w}ĭ back into the Big House and coax him to dance, while two men volunteer to sing for him.

PRAYER FOR THE HUNTERS

The following evening six men are appointed and given a yard of wampum to divide among them, to go out close to the forked game-pole east of the Big House, intended for the carcasses of the deer, and "pray" there twelve times. The meaning of this, of course, is that they sound the prayer word "*Ho-o-o!*" which is evidently to help the hunters. This night also a yard of wampum is unstrung

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ashes from the fire are always taken out at the west door, and the dirt is always swept in the fire. In front of the east door outside is a high pole on which venison hangs. It is a feast dance and the deacons distribute food among the people. The officers and waiters are paid in wampum for their services. 796x

"In no case is a dog allowed to enter the temple, and no one is allowed to laugh inside it, or in any way be rude. Each person is allowed to speak and tell his dream or dreams or to give advice. It is believed by the Delawares that every one has a guardian spirit which comes in the form of some bird, animal, or other thing, at times in dreams, and tells them what to do and what will happen. The guardian spirit is sent from the Great Spirit. 796x 825 [776]

"Traditions say that 10 years before white men came to this country (America) a young man told his dream in the temple. This was on the Atlantic coast. He saw coming across the great waters a large canoe with pinions (wings) and containing strange people, and that in 10 years they would in fact come. He told this dream and predicted the arrival of the white men each year until they came and were seen by his people. Many of our people still keep up this dance, but the temple is not so large as it used to be, and the attendance now is not more than 100 persons. Any Indian of any tribe can also take part in the dance, but no white man can. 173 796x 787

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do, there will be another earthquake, or something else just as bad. 539

"The earthquake stopped that time; that is why the Delawares have kept the MIsi'ng$^{w^t}$ and the Big House ever since. The Mask is left in charge of some family who will take good care of it, and burn Indian tobacco for it from time to time."

It will be seen that, according to the above tradition, the MIsi'ng$^{w^t}$ was, first of all, a personal helper, or guardian Spirit, that afterward became more or less of a tribal deity, and that his cult became engrafted on the Annual Ceremony among the Unami, the rites of which were already ancient among them. That this engrafting really took place seems possible from the fact that among the Minsi there were no masked performers at the Big House ceremonies, and that, while the central post of the temple was provided with carved faces, the masks had an entirely different function among this people. The innovation, if it took place at all, must have been before Brainerd's[82] time, however, for, as related 178 776

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in our first chapter, he found the MIsi'ng$^{w't}$ and Big House in use, as among the Unami today, as early as May, 1745, while traveling among the Delawares living at that time on Susquehanna river.

MIsi'ng$^{w't}$ DANCE

Besides the part taken by the MIsi'ng$^{w't}$ in the Annual Ceremony, he has certain rites peculiar to himself which were held every spring. As the Indians put it:

"When spring comes, the Delawares are glad, and they are thankful that their helper, the MIsi'ng$^{w't}$, is still among them. For this reason they give a feast and dance to make him happy too."

Notification.—So at the time of the full moon (about May), the keeper of the mask gives another Indian a yard of wampum to ride around to all the Delaware houses, wearing the mask and bearskin costume (pl. II) to let the people know that the time for the MIsi'ng$^{w't}$ dance (*MIsingki'uikă*) is at hand. The MIsi'ng$^{w't}$ rides horseback, and another man, also mounted, follows him to see that

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house or tent the man of the house usually gives him a piece of tobacco, which the Messingq smells and puts in his big pouch, after which he turns around and kicks back toward the giver which means 'thank you,' and departs. He never thinks of climbing a fence, but jumps over it every time that one is in his way. The Devil dance is what the white men call it, but the Delawares call it the Messingq, or 'solid face' dance. The Messingq does not represent an evil spirit, but is always considered a peacemaker. I suppose that it is from his hideous appearance that white men call him the devil."

OTHER FUNCTIONS OF MISI'NGw1

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The MIsi'ngw1 the Indians claim, "takes care of the children," as well as of the deer, for as before related if any Delaware has a child who is weak, sickly. or disobedient, he sends for the MIsi'ngw1 and asks him to "attend to" his child, On his arrival it does not take the impersonator long to frighten the weakness, sickness, or laziness out of such children, so that "afterward they are well and strong, and whenever they are told to do a thing, they lose no time in obeying." This is the only trace of the doctoring function of the mask found among the Unami.

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function of the mask found among the Unami. 000

When the keeper of the MIsi'ng$^{w^t}$ burns tobacco for him and asks for good luck in hunting, "it turns out that way every time;" and the Lenape say moreover that if anyone loses horses or cattle, either strayed away or stolen, he can go to the keeper of the MIsi'ng$^{w^t}$ with some tobacco as a gift and get them back. He explains his errand to the keeper, who in turn informs the MIsi'ng$^{w^t}$ that they want him to look for the horses or cattle. The loser then goes back home, and after a few days the missing animals return, driven back by the MIsi'ng$^{w^t}$, who if they had been tied or hobbled by the thieves, frightened them until they broke away and came home. When the Big House meeting is held in the fall, the MIsi'ng$^{w^t}$, as before related, is seen going around among the tents of the Delawares assembled, and in and out of the Big House, always coming from the woods, where the impersonator has a place to change his clothes. The Indians say: 782 776 776

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"He helps the people with their hunting, and also helps in the Big House while the ceremonies are in progress. If he finds anyone there who has not done right, he informs the three guards of the meeting, who take that person and put him out. In all these ways the Mĭsi'ng^{w} helps the Delawares."

MASKS OF THE MINSI

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The Minsi Mizi'nk (cognate with the Unami *Mĭsi'ng^{w}*) was a mask made of wood with copper or brass eyes and a crooked nose, according to my informants at Munceytown; and judging by Peter Jones' drawings (pl. III) they were provided also with hair, tufts of feathers, and jingling copper cones or deer-hoofs. The Mizink at Grand river was of Minsi type, judging by the specimen obtained by the writer (fig. 4).

Such masks were made to represent Mizinkhâli'kŭn, who was "something like a person, but different from the Indians, and was powerful. They saw him first among the rocks on a hill, and he spoke to

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them and told them what to do to get his power. When a man put on a Mizink he received the power of this person or spirit; he could even see behind him, and could cure diseases."

The Mask Society.—The men who owned these masks formed a kind of society which Nellis Timothy says originally had twelve members, but which, before it disbanded, dwindled to about five. Sometimes only two appeared in costume.

The society had a meeting-house of its own where its dances, *Mizinkĭ'ntĭka*, were held, for, unlike the Unami custom, no Mizink ever appeared in the Big House. The members appeared wearing their masks and clad in rough bearskin and deerskin costumes, while some, at least, where provided with a turtleshell rattle which they would rub on a long pole, crying "*O^{n}-o^{n}-o^{n}!*" the while.

Ceremonies.—While no consecutive account of their ceremonies is now remembered, it was said that they sometimes put down their rattles, heaped up

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CHAPTER VIII

Minor Ceremonies

The Doll Being

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THE Doll Being, called by the Unami *O"das* and by the Minsi *Nani'tis*, has been already mentioned as a minor Lenape deity, and it now remains only to relate the ceremonies and beliefs connected with it, beginning with the myth accounting for its origin.

Myth of Origin

Long ago, the Lenape say, some children, playing with sticks, decided to cut faces upon them, and were then very much surprised to notice that the little dolls which they had thus made seemed to have life. Their parents made them throw the dolls away when they discovered this, and most of the children

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soon forgot what had happened. One little girl, however, grieved for her doll; it bothered her all the time, and finally she began to dream of it every night. Then she told her parents of her trouble, and they realized that they should not have compelled her to throw the doll away. One night the doll appeared to the child and spoke to her, saying, "Find me and keep me always, and you and your family will ever enjoy good health. You must give me new clothing and hold a dance for me every spring," and then told her exactly what to do. The girl reported this to her parents, who immediately looked for the doll and found it, then dressed it, made some hominy, killed a deer, and held a dance in its honor as they were instructed, and this rite has been continued to the present day.

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Preparations for the Ceremony

When the family owning a doll of this kind is ready to conduct the Doll Dance (*O"das-kī'nīkă*), they select two men to

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attendance is large, two such fires are built. Between the changes the doll pole is stuck into the ground near the fire. When the twelfth set is finished, the speaker announces, "The Doll Dance is over," and the feast of hominy and venison is served to everyone. Then the speaker says: "If you want to dance the rest of the night, you may do so, for many of you have come a long way from home and should have a chance for more enjoyment. We will hold another Doll Dance next year." Then they put the doll away and amuse themselves with various social dances until morning.

Minsi Doll Ceremony

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Among the Minsi the beliefs concerning the Doll Being were similar, but differed in detail. As to origin, Wolf told the writer that one time a man lay ill, likely to die, and his family called in a medicine-man, or "witch-doctor." The shaman finally announced that the family must make one of these dolls and care for it, and that the sick man would then get

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well. This was done, and the doctor's prediction being realized, the Minsi have ever since made and used these dolls, called in their dialect *nani'tis*, which were transmitted from parents to children. Wolf's own mother had one, carved out of wood in the form of a person, with a woman's dress and moccasins (for as a rule they represent women); and she always cared for it religiously, in the belief that if well treated it would protect the family and give them good health, but if neglected, someone would surely die. Every year, in the fall, when the deer are in their best condition, Wolf's mother held a dance for it, called "Feeding the Nani'tis;" but she did more than feed it: she put new clothes on it, three sets, and new moccasins every year. She believed that the image sometimes went about of its own accord, although she kept it carefully in a box, for the old dresses always seemed worn at the bottom and soiled, and she found burrs clinging to them when she went to put new clothes on "Nani'tis."

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She hired a man especially to hunt a yearling doe for the ceremony, which took place in her own dwelling. The details are lost, but it is remembered that a man beat a little drum and sang while she, as owner, danced around, carrying the doll in her hands, followed by such of the other women present as wished to participate. Said Wolf, "The Nani'tis helped the Indians, that's why they fed it."

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An Old Minsi "Doll."—The writer was able to obtain but one old specimen of this type (pl. VIII), which was procured at the Grand River reserve, Ontario, for the E. T. Tefft collection, now in the American Museum of Natural History, and was described in the writer's article,[66] before cited, as follows:

"Perhaps the most interesting Delaware specimen of all is the little wooden image, about eight inches high, bought of Dr. Jones, which his father, Rev. Peter Jones, described and illustrated in his book under the name 'Nahmeetis, the Guardian of Health.' He says:

[776] "'I have in my possession two family gods. One is called *Pabookowaih*—the god that crushes

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or breaks down diseases. The other is a goddess named *Nahneetis*, the guardian of health. This goddess was delivered up to me by Eunice Hank, a Muncey Indian woman, who with her friends used to worship it in their sacred dances, making a feast to it every year, when a fat doe was sacrificed as an offering, and many presents were given by the friends assembled. She told me she was now restored to worship the Christian's God, and therefore had no further use for it.'

"There can be no doubt in this case concerning the identity of this specimen with the one illustrated in the book quoted. It will be noticed however by those who are familiar with Peter Jones' illustration that Nahneetis, like many humans, has lost her hair in her old age. An interesting feature of the specimen is the primitive skirt, which is made apparently by belting a blanket-like bit of cloth, bound at the edges, around Nahneetis' waist. A vestige of this method of making a skirt survives, I think, in the form of the beaded strip running up one of the vertical seams of the more modern Indian skirt, among both the Delawares and the Iroquois."

The writer afterward found such skirts still in use among the Lenape in Oklahoma (pl. 1, *b*).

An Early Account of Nani'tis.—Another early account of the Nani'tis among the Minsi may be found in the

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796 x by Zeisberger[17] may have been of this kind:

"A fourth kind of feast is held in honor of a certain voracious spirit, who, according to their opinions, is never satisfied. The guests are, therefore, obliged to eat all the bear's flesh and drink the melted fat. Though indigestion and vomiting may result they must continue and not leave anything."

OTTER CEREMONY

Similar to the Bear ceremony in many ways, both in traditional origin and in rites, was the observance called *A"tci-gamu'tti"*, said to mean "compulsory hog-eating," held to propitiate the Otter spirit, a cult whose paraphernalia the writer was fortunate enough to collect for the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation.

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MYTH OF ORIGIN

773 796 x Many years ago, so runs the story, a little girl about ten years of age was given a young otter for a pet, and this she kept and cared for until it was well grown. About this time she began to feel that she should keep him no longer, for she

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CHAPTER IX

SUMMARY

RELIGION

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A STUDY of the material presented shows that the Lenape believed in a Great Spirit, or Creator, whose goodness is acknowledged, who is thanked for past blessings and petitioned for their continuance, but who is not their only god. He is, however, the great chief of all, and dwells in the twelfth, or highest heaven. He created everything, either with his own hands or through agents sent by him, and all the powers of nature were assigned to their duties by his word. That these concepts are not new among the Lenape may be seen from the fact that most of the early writers who treat of this people have noticed such beliefs among them, which can be traced back as far as 1679.

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This Great Spirit gave the four quarters of the earth and the winds that come from them to four powerful beings, or *mant'-towŭk*, namely, Our Grandfather where daylight begins, Our Grandmother where it is warm, Our Grandfather where the sun goes down, and Our Grandfather where it is winter. To the Sun and the Moon, regarded as persons and addressed as Elder Brothers by the Indians, he gave the duty of providing light, and to our Elder Brothers the Thunders, man-like beings with wings, the task of watering the crops, and of protecting the people against the Great Horned Serpents and other water monsters. To the Living Solid Face, or Mask Being, was given charge of all the wild animals; to the Corn Spirit, control over all vegetation, while Our Mother, the Earth, received the task of carrying and feeding the people.

Besides these powerful personages were many lesser ones, such as the Small People, the Doll Being, the Snow Boy, and the Great Bear. Certain localities,

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•776 moreover, were the abode of supernatural beings, while animals and plants were thought to have spirits of their own. Besides these there were, of course, the countless spirits of the human dead who were still supposed to retain some influence in earthly affairs.

771 This, then, was the supernatural world which, to the mind of the Lenape, controlled all things—on which they must depend for health, for success in all their undertakings, even the daily task of deer-hunting or corn-raising. Benevolent beings must be pleased, and bad spirits combated and overcome, or at least placated.

[776] There was, however, until very lately, no conception of a "devil" in the modern sense of the word.

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787 The main channel of communication between the supernatural world and man was the dream or vision, obtained, as before described, by fasting and consequent purification in youth. Through the vision the young man obtained his guardian spirit or supernatural helper,

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Ceremony	Function	Spirit Force Addressed
1. Grease Drinking Ceremony; Bear Rite	To immunise against sickness caused by Bear	Bear
2. Grease Drinking Ceremony; Otter Rite	To immunise against sickness caused by Otter	Otter
3. Mask Dance Ceremony	To avert sickness caused by Face-Image spirit and to aid deer hunting and agriculture	Mask Spirit, Corn (mother or grandmother)
4. Opossum Dance	To satisfy the guardian spirit of opossums	Opossum
5. Doll Dance	To appease ill-will of spirit of corn and avert sickness	Human Images (dolls)
6. Buffalo Dance	To overcome buffalo	Buffalo
7. Spring Football Ceremony	To promote and protect growth of crops	Creator (father), Sun (elder brother) and Thunders (grandfathers)
8. Corn Harvest Ceremony	Thanksgiving, appeal for health and abundance	Creator (Father), Corn (mother or grandmother)
9. Social, or "Stomp" Dances	Amusement, social assembly	None specified
10. Big House Ceremony (Ga'mwiq)	To avert, (a) destruction of world; (b) national catastrophe and sickness; (c) to unify the people	Creator and entire pantheon

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ORCE ADDRESSED	ORIGIN	PROCEDURE
	From release of captive Bear (myth)	Recitation of visions, drinking grease and fea meat
	From release of captive Otter (myth)	Recitation of visions, drinking of grease and hog meat
it, Corn (mother or ther)	Obligation imposed by Spirit (myth)	Solo mask dance, eating corn foods
	Dream injunction (myth)	Imitative of opossum, and recitation of d hostess
nages (dolls)	Children's familiarity with corn mask dolls causing illness (myth)	Six men's, six women's dance songs, feast and corn foods, prayer-call facing east, t corn-bread images of human being and bear, offering
	None specified	Imitative of buffalo, circling, shoving
(father), Sun (elder and Thunders thers)	Mandatory by custom	Prayer, thanksgiving followed by dance, fol football game between men and women
(Father), Corn or grandmother)	Mythical corn famine, rite mandatory by custom	Day: Thanksgiving address by leader, d masked men, alternating with women's dan Night: Social dances, feast of corn foods, fi around drummers and singers
ified	None specified	Circling column in trot, contraclockwis motions, varied mimicry
nd entire pantheon	Ceremony revealed to tribe after mythical earthquake, tornado and volcano,—destruction of world	Recitation of visions with dancing aroun and praying, discourses and feasting fo nights; ceremonial hunt and mask danc morning; ninth night, new fire made, an call to creator, incense burned, wampum con and sacrifice, repainting images, corn-f meat feast; twelfth night "beginners" and rehearsal of vision recitation, fire allowed t ninth morning, dance around center-post prayer-call with prayer-sticks; wampum sa

[Facing p. 26(B)]

SUMMARY OF DELAW

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CEDURE	CEREMONIAL HOST	PARTICIPANTS	
king grease and feast of bear	Wolf division, head of family, self-appointed	Family of legendary hero and guests, no women	Bi
nking of grease and feast of	Oldest survivor of family concerned with legend	Family of legendary originator and guests, men and women	Sp
orn foods	Owner of mask, or person calling for rite as cure for sickness or scared after dreaming of mask	No restrictions	Az
nd recitation of dream by	Female who inherits obligation	Female dance volunteers, singers, members of hostess's father's group	W.
dance songs, feast of meat -call facing east, tossing up nan being and bear, wampum	Families owning dolls descended from original children doll-makers; leader an invited chief with male and female assistants	Families owning dolls; unrestricted guests	Az
ing, shoving	Not specified	Volunteers, no limitations	Wl
owed by dance, followed by nen and women	Chief of ceremonial group, Wolf, Tortoise, Turkey	No restrictions	An
tress by leader, dance by g with women's dance st of corn foods, final dance ingers	Chosen (hereditary?)	No restrictions	An
ot, contraclockwise; hand	Appointed leaders	No limitations; free attendance	Co
ith dancing around images s and feasting for twelve t and mask dance, fourth new fire made, and prayer- urned, wampum consecration ng images, corn-food and t "beginners" and women's ation, fire allowed to go out; around center-post images, sticks; wampum sacrifice	Individual of Wolf, Turkey or Tortoise group who assumes sponsorship, supported by his group and twelve "attendants"	Sponsor's group, and other two groups as collaborators	An

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ARY OF DELAWARE RITES AND FEASTS

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IPANTS	TIME HELD	DURATION	LOCA
dary hero and nen	Biennial	One night	Rectangular bri
dary originator n and women	Spring, biennial	One or more days	Outdoors on pre
	Annually in autumn at beginning of hunting season	One night	Not specified
olunteers, sing- of hostess's	When called annually (?)	One night	Outdoor (?) dan
g dolls; unre-	Annually in fall	One night until sunrise	Outdoors on pre
imitations	When decided and called	All day	Outdoor dance c
	Annually in spring until mid-summer end of June	Dancing several nights at end of each week, football game day following	Outdoors on pre
	Annually at corn harvest time	Day and night	Outdoors on pre
ree attendance	Conclusion of formal rites, or informally when called	All or part of night	Indoor or outdoo
and other two horators	Annually in fall (Oct.) (formerly by tradition every month)	Twelve nights, with rites on fourth and thirteenth days	In permanent cer ture (the Big E images of Creat lesser deities, as adjacent

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Location	Musical Accompaniment	Supplies and Para
Rectangular brush house	Turtle hand-rattle	Wampum string for bear's meat, and bear's head (now
Outdoors on prepared ground	Turtle hand-rattle	Otter skin pendant on back o and steel fire tools
Not specified	Deer-hide drum, snapping turtle rattle by mask dancer	Red and black wooden mas leggings, bag, staff, corn payment
Outdoor (?) dance oval	Water-drum and rattle	Wampum paid to singer
Outdoors on prepared ground	Deer-hide drum with turtle-rattles	Dressed male and female de red, wampum to pay leade beef and hog meat, hominy,
Outdoor dance circle	Deer-hide drum	Buffalo horn head band, hom
Outdoors on prepared ground	(?)	Football of deer-hair and goal
Outdoors on prepared ground	Drums and rattles	Masks, corn husk covering, c
Indoor or outdoor circle	None required	Native costume urged
In permanent ceremonial structure (the Big House), before images of Creator and twelve lesser deities, and on grounds adjacent	Hide-drum, turtle hand-rattles	Wooden mask, corn-mortar mussel-shell spoons, red strings and beads, prayer-sti sticks, turkey-wing fans, fire corn foods, cedar incense

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Supplies and Paraphernalia	Ceremonial Units
m string for bear's head, baskets of and bear's head (now hog's head)	Eat-all feast of bear's meat, vision recitation
in pendant on back of song leader, flint sel fire tools	Dream recitation, kindling new fire, feasting on hog flesh and grease
l black wooden mask, bear-skin coat, e, bag, staff, corn foods, wampum nt	Mask-clown dance, sermon, supplication, feast, social dances (mask-dancer also admitted to Big House Ceremony)
m paid to singer	Dream recitation, feast, sermon, social dances
male and female dolls, faces painted ampum to pay leader and assistants, d hog meat, hominy, cornbread	Song-dance, feast, sermon, social dances, extinguishing fire, cornbread image sacrifices
horn head band, hominy pot for feast	Imitative dancing
of deer-hair and goals	Round dances, prayer, thanksgiving; football game between sexes with wagering
corn husk covering, corn foods	Prayer, thanksgiving, masked dance, corn-food feast, social dances, Drunken dances
ostume urged	No ritual
mask, corn-mortar, bark dishes, shell spoons, red paint, wampum and beads, prayer-sticks, carved drum turkey-wing fans, fire-drill, deer meat, ods, cedar incense	Capitulates events of annual ceremonial cycle; vision recitation, sermons and prayers; corn-food and meat feasting, sacred hunt, mask-clown dancing; new fire rite; formerly sweat-bath rite; wampum sacrifice; purification,—sweeping of white-path; painting rite; cedar incense rite; paint annointment rite; no social dances; informal games during day intervals

[Facing p. 26(F)]

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THE MASK DANCE CEREMONY

Kanl'ke'ohe·n məsi'ŋgəma, "he dances his face-image (mask)." The mask concept being one of some prominence in Delaware worship, one may imagine that a reconstruction of religious performance in the tribe, at a time before the decline of native institutions, would place the human-face representation in an exalted position among the spirit forces. In both Delaware and Iroquois religious pantomime masking seems about equally proportioned, though the finer details of belief and performance in the two groups are dissimilar enough to cause hesitation in allying them in origin. Yet it is noteworthy that only the Delawares among the Algonkian peoples east of the Alleghanies and south of New England exhibit the mask development, whence it extends southward to Florida with little interruption even considering the meagreness of early information on religious features in the lives of these mysterious tribes.

I have indulged in some discussion of the Mask Spirit and its history among the Delawares in my study of the Big House Ceremony,[1] to which the reader is referred for a summary account of the circumstances by which the Delawares became involved in the carrying out of the mask propitiation rite The details of the inheritance of the mask image and the expiation ceremony within a certain family in the tribe, namely the Frenchman family, have been outlined in the report referred to.

The ceremony is accordingly one of the family "feasts" among the Delawares that attracted the attention of Zeisberger as being of such frequent occurrence in the tribe while resident in Ohio in the eighteenth century.

We discover the concept governing this ceremonial feast to be that the Mask Spirit requires to be remembered with a

[1] "Big House Ceremony," p. 43. It may be noted that recent results of work among the Delaware-Munsee of the Six Nations reserve, Ontario, also disclose significant traditions of mask usage.

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dance and feast in his honor among the people. He is believed to be present at this time with the company. The occasion satisfies the Mask Spirit, his favor is invoked in behalf of hunters, especially in the pursuit of deer, over which he exerts spiritual control. And any possible influences of evil through sickness are averted by this ceremonial compensation. The function of the Mask Spirit as the guardian of the game is again shown by the fact that the feast was held in the autumn before the hunting season opened. The same idea is evident at the time, during the Big House Ceremony, when the Mask is brought in to dance just before the hunters depart for the ceremonial hunt on the fourth morning of the performance. In paying homage to the spiritual "owner" of the game we undoubtedly have an exceedingly old and fundamental religious property of the Algonkian culture complex.

The Mask Spirit, however, has manifestly a dual function in the Delaware pantheon, presiding over both the game spirits and those of cultivated vegetation. We learn this most clearly from the invocations in the address proclaimed in connection with the Mask dance. This characteristic Delaware *mani'tu* seems to reign as a spirit of responsibility for the food supply of the tribe, thus involving obligations to him on the part of the people for plant as well as animal sources of nourishment. The Mask Spirit also possesses a personality of evil, when aggravated by neglect. He seems to represent a menace not to be ignored when aroused, the humor of which is influenced by a kind of attention which is explained in the ensuing passages as an essential to well-being. The burden of propitiatory rite-performance was inflicted upon a certain posterity, the penalty of neglect of the mask rites being sickness. This feature is about the only element of the mask beliefs which corresponds with Iroquois teaching concerning the Mask Spirits.

In the text to follow, Wi'tapano'xwe reproduces the formal speeches which evince the Delaware attitude toward the mask concept and the purpose dominating the minds of the people in maintaining this interesting festival.

7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
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stated songs for the mask dance by selected men who beat time upon the flat deer-hide drum of the same type as that used in the Big House Ceremony. (See Fig. 19, I, of the "Big House Ceremony.")

It should be noted that the Mask Spirit is important enough among the spirit-forces to be admitted to the annual ceremony of the Big House. There, we learn, on the fourth morning of the festival the mask is admitted to the scene and the same dance as that just described is gone through.

See pp. 39–44, and figs. 9, 10 of the volume referred to for particulars and illustrations of the mask spirit concept, p. 139 for description of this intercession during the Big House Ceremony when the Mask-Spirit is introduced as a performer.

MASK DANCE ADDRESSES

Announcement by the Speaker

Elaŋgu'ndieŋg	kexa'p'tun	ke'ko	nga't·a	lo'we.
Our kindred	few words	something	I want	to say.

wa'ni	ce·	ni·'ma'tɔs	ga'xta	wehoma's·u	tɔli' ga'xta
This	there	my brother	wants	to announce	that he is going

kɑnt'ke'ohe·n	mɔs·i'ŋgoma.	me'tci	paxka'ndji	ki·ca-
to make dance	his mask.	Now	all ready	pre-

na'k·ut	we·'mi·	ke'ko	nekałkɔ't·uk	e'nda	wi·'huŋge·t'
pared	all	things	used	when	he feasts[1]

wa'ni	kɔmuxo·'mɔna	mɔs·i'ŋg.	kowa'to·'ne·n		elaŋ-
that	our grandfather	mask.	You know		my

gu'ndieŋg	lɔmwe·'kami	nɔ'tci·	ki·ci·'mkɔt	elaehɔ's·i·t'	
kindred	ancient world	since	has been the rule	the manner	

awe·'n	nehel·a'la·t'	mɔs·i'ŋgɔ	e'nxɑn	aeowi·ga'xtiŋg
anyone	owning	a mask	each	every year

na'ni·	lak'hi'kwi·	taxkɔkani·'i·	lak'hi'kwi·	sa'psoha'la·
that	time	in the fall	time	made hominy for

mɔs·i'ŋg	wi·sa'pa·n	nani	kɔmuxo·'mɔna.
mask	hominy	that	our grandfather.

yu'kwe	ki·ci· wunda'su	e'nda	pale'nɑxk	la'k·i·m-	
Now	has been set	when	fifth	day of the	

[1] Referring to both the mask and its owner.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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roundness of the earth was denied until the fourth period (3). This definitely dates the emergence of the element in the period of greatest white influence. Since, in this period, the economy of the Delaware closely paralleled that of most of their white neighbors, it is not surprising that a knowledge of arithmetic in the abstract appeared that had been denied in former periods (13). The period three denials of opinions respecting the planetary system are refuted by the statements of Zeisberger and appear to be the result of confusion on the part of the authors between opinions and knowledge (1). The opinions of the Indians may have been erroneous, but they undoubtedly had them, as their names for stars and the myths concerning them show.

The division of the year into twelve months or moons to agree with the European usage appears to have been accomplished very early (7). Roger Williams reported thirteen months in 1643 but did not name them. Heckewelder gives the names of eleven months, omitting what would correspond to our November.

Religion

Religion among the Delaware appears to have been very insusceptible to change. From the records available, over three hundred years of white contact and more or less continuous missionary efforts have produced only one significant change.

The concept of a Supreme Being, superior to subordinate good and evil deities, who has moral superintendence over worshipers that pray to Him for favors and assistance, is reported from 1643 to the present day, with only occasional dissent and never denial from all sources for any one period. On the belief in a future state of punishments and rewards for which judgment is given immediately after death, there is again complete agreement.

The belief in the whereabouts of the places of habitation of the souls of good and bad, has, however, undergone modification (37). Roger Williams and Van der Donck recorded southwest and south, respectively, as the direction in which lay the land of

(Continued on p. 38)

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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Table of Elements

+ = element present
− = element denied
(+) or (−) = source ambiguous
• = informant could not or would not say
s = some, sometimes, or several
† or * = see Ethnographic Notes, pp. 79-137 for additional information

	Williams	Van der Donck	Lindeström	Zeisberger	Heckewelder	Johnston	Pipe	Chipps	J. W.	W. T.	E. R.	W. L.
Astronomy, Mathematics, etc.												
1. Any opinion respecting the planetary system				+		−	•−	−	+	+	+	+
2. Origin myth		+			+		•+	•+	+	+	+	+
3. Earth is round				−	−			−	+	•+	•+	•+
4. immovable, shakes but does not revolve				+		+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+
5. Divide year into 4 seasons	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
6. Names	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
7. Divide year in ___ moons or months †	13			12	12	12	12	12	12	12	•	12
8. Sun is deity †	+	+		+		+	+	•	+	+	+	+
9. Moon is deity †	+	+		+		+	+	•	+	+	+	+
10. Opinion respecting eclipses †				+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•	•
11. Names for any star	+	+	−	+	+	−	•	−	+	•	+	+
12. Count by tens	+			+		+			+	+	+	+
13. Arithmetic in abstract				−		−	−	−	+	+	+	+
14. Four cardinal points †	+					+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+
15. Prognostics respecting weather						+	•	+	+	+	+	+
16. Meteors are indication of evil †						+	•	•	+	+	5	+
17. are misbehaving stars moving							+	•−	−	−	−	−
18. Ceremonies on appearance of new moon						•−	−	−	−		•	+
19. Calculate time of reappearance †						+	−	+	+	+		
20. Regulate course in unknown country												
by the sun						+		+		+	+	+
by stars							+			+	+	+
Religion												
21. Concept of Supreme Being †	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
22. Subordinate deities †	+		(+)	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+
23. Evil Spirits †			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
24. Supreme Being superior to subordinate and evil spirits				+	+	+	+	•	+	•	+	+
25. Subordinate spirits dominant over evil spirits					+	+	+	•	+		+	+

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9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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preferred if readily available and in many cases they were not. The length of time the corpse was kept before burial was given as several days by the two first-period sources giving information on this point (181). In the last three periods burial was usually on the day after death, particularly in summer. Pipe said that formerly the corpse was kept three days in summer and seven in winter, because it was supposed that the tutelar deity of the deceased might restore him to life. W. L. gave the same sort of an answer in a little more modern dress. He said that a body was kept one to three days, but that if death was from a serious illness, and there was no chance of his coming back to life, he was buried the next day.

The position of the corpse in burial quite evidently was changed after European contact (183). In the first period both Van der Donck and Lindeström described burials made in a sitting position either on a stool or a block of wood. Without the last detail this might be taken to mean in a flexed position but not necessarily upright. Since both these writers may have mentioned only the unusual and ignored burials in the familiar extended position, we are not sure from the documentary evidence whether the two positions were used contemporaneously or not. It is clear, however, that after some years of white contact, migration westward, and contact with other tribes, there was a change to the use of the extended position alone.

Opinion on the requirement of grave goods is divided in every period except the third (186). All the sources in that period and one or more in each of the others stated that clothes were the only grave goods required although other things might be added. Van der Donck and Lindeström in the first period, Heckewelder in the second, and J. W. in the fourth period all maintained that more than clothes was required to be put in the grave. The details of the latter's statement in connection with the actual cases described by him seem to explain all the discrepancies. He said that good articles left by a deceased person were given to the persons who performed the death and funeral services but that old, much-used articles were put in the grave. However, old cherished articles were frequently if not usually given to mem-

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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next period, however, Johnston and Chipps said that the men and women shared the labor of moving and pitching camp. In the fourth period W. L. was again the only one to place the responsibility on the women.

The husband did not strike his wife frequently, if at all, according to all the information gathered (283). Johnston and Chipps said that he might do so if she were ill-tempered or refractory (284). The modern informants denied this as a just cause, although E. R. said that it was up to the husband to punish his wife if she broke a rule.

Food, Mode of Living, etc.

Heckewelder said that the Delaware, Mahicans, and Shawnee were all very particular in their choice of meats and that nothing short of the most pressing hunger could induce them to eat of certain animals, such as the horse, dog, wildcat, panther, fox, muskrat, or wolf, all of which he had several times seen the Chippewa eat with a good appetite (288-91).[11] J. W. said that opossum, wolf, dog, woodchuck, snake, crow, hawk, owl, eagle, and, in fact, most fowls were not eaten. W. L. also said that opossum, muskrat, and several kinds of birds were not eaten. Apparently the symbols of the three tribal divisions, turtle, turkey and wolf, were not taboo for that reason, for only the last one was included on any list. The totems of the extinct subdivisions may have been taboo. This is true of the opossum which was most frequently mentioned as not being eaten and it was the name of one of the subdivisions. However, the Delaware regard the opossum as endowed with supernatural powers and in the nature of a trickster and have many stories that evince this attitude.

There seems to have been no taboos on vegetables eaten (292-98). Corn was the principal item cultivated. It was supplemented by the usual beans and squashes, and later vegetables introduced by the whites were also cultivated. Wild or ground potatoes and other less important wild products were gathered. The

[11] Heckewelder, *History, Manners, and Customs of the Indian Nations*, p. 196.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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805 May *Mo'ksoate ki·lo*—Deer getting red
821 July *Dai-, Lai-,* or *Kiči-nipen*—Middle of summer
October *Takskiniki·lo*—Fall month when everyone gets together
November *Dailo·wen* or *Luwaniki·lo*—Changing or winter moon
December *Kičilo·wen*—Winter

8 and 9. Sun and moon as deities

776 [821] John Johnston—They suppose the Sun to be a Deity composed of heat which regulates the day and returns to the East in the night under ground. Which is the cause of vegetation or makes the grass grow. The moon they suppose to be another Deity equal in rank with the sun which regulates the night and divides the year.

776 773 Captain Pipe—The Sun they suppose to be a human being, and they call him their brother. Tradition says that in early days the Sun was in the habit of devouring twelve Indian children each day at noon, as a kind of compensation for his labours; but the inhabitants of the earth becoming incensed at his voraciousness remonstrated. He then proposed to reduce the number to six but they still refused, and at length agreed upon two, which number they suppose he now receives every day. The light of the Sun is occasioned by the brightness of a feathered headdress which he wears. They think that the Indians once possessed the same general character with the Sun, that he has retained his original powers and they have degenerated to their present degraded situation. He is supposed to go under the Island at night for rest. The moon is supposed to be the brother of the Sun, and they formerly had numerous relatives who warred against each other and were all killed, and these wars occasioned the present employment of the younger brother, the moon.

776 All four of the modern informants called the sun "brother." All called the moon "brother," also, except J. W., who said it was known as grandmother, that she takes care of the weather, but is closest to the people.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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10. Eclipses

JOHN JOHNSTON—The eclipses they suppose to be caused by one of the twelve subordinate Deities as an indication of war or some other calamity which they think will shortly come. 821

CAPTAIN PIPE—Eclipses are thus accounted for. Every man as he grows up is visited in his dreams by his tutelar deity in the form of a Bear, Wolf, Dog, Tree, Cornstalk, or any thing else which the imagination can conceive, and by the deity he is protected and governed through life. When he dies his protector assumes the mourning garb common to deities, and through his influence the eclipse of the Sun or Moon takes place in token of the excess of his grief. 787 776 765

CAPTAIN CHIPPS—In an eclipse, they suppose, the moon gets between the Sun and the Earth.

J. W. said that eclipses had meaning but would not say what. Likewise W. T.

14. Four cardinal points

Both J. W. and W. T. named the four cardinal points but thought of up and down as equivalent to them.

16. Meteors as indication of evil

JOHN JOHNSTON—Meteors: They suppose them to be ominous of something bad especially if any person takes notice of them and says see that star they think that person will not live long, but they suppose that if they fall to the ground they turn into that substance or ball generally known by the puffball which will by pressing emit a smoke, they are afraid of those balls. 821 787 824

CAPTAIN PIPE—The Meteors called shooting stars are thus described. Like the Sun and Moon the stars are brothers to the Indians, human beings, and subject to the frailties of man. When one of them begins to practice lying and fraud he is rejected by the others and obliged to fly from his companions to seek a place of refuge. 577

J. W.—Meteors are a warning, forecast war etc. The place where the comet goes is the place where the battle or other catastrophe is going to occur. F. W.'s grandmother heard a great

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

821 wind and looked up and saw a comet shaped like a head dripping
787 fire and blood out of the mouth, coming from the West and going North and East, about five years before the World War.

W. T.—Meteors foretold the direction of a big wind coming the next day—they were already on the move.

18. Ceremonies on appearance of new moon

821 CAPTAIN CHIPPS—When they see the new moon, they thank
782 the Great Spirit that they have lived to see it.

JOHN JOHNSTON—They do not at present but they say it was anciently a custom to offer some kind of a sacrifice.

821 *19. Calculation on time of reappearance of moon*

CAPTAIN PIPE—Nor can they calculate with certainty the time of its reappearance.

RELIGION

21. Concept of Supreme Being

776 JOHN JOHNSTON—They do [have concept of Supreme Being], and distinguish him by calling him the creator of us all and of all things.

CAPTAIN PIPE—They believe in one Supreme Being, who is known generally by the appellation *Keshaallemöönkungk*, "He who created us by his thought;" and sometimes *Kaatounstööwit*, The great spirit, from *Khit*, great; or *Wealseet Maunŭtoo*, He who is the good spirit, from *Woolit*, good. They suppose that this being created the world and remained sometime upon earth, having the moral superintendency of all affairs therein, and that having perfected the system which he commenced he left it.

CAPTAIN CHIPPS—They believe in one God, who is "God of the black as well as the white"—they suppose he lives in some world above this earth.

22. Subordinate deities

JOHN JOHNSTON—They believe in twelve subordinate deities placed in different grades descending from the highest to the lowest, they think the lowest is on earth among them but in-

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

visible noticing all their actions, which he communicates to the next deity and so from one to the other until it is communicated to the Supreme being. 776

CAPTAIN PIPE—With the Indian (these Indians) all animals, and even animated nature, Trees, plants, etc., are considered as beings having supernatural powers. This is proved to be a serious belief by the great distinction in the language, which included trees, plants and some vegetables in the class of animated beings, and by the superstitious notions of these men, who having been prepared by excessive fatigue, long fasting and harsh treatment [783] from parents, for some unnatural excitement of the mind, dream, or fancy that they dream of seeing their guardian god coming [781] to them in the form of a Bear, Wolf, the Sun, the Moon, a Tree, etc., and directing them about their future conduct. Such [787] dream no doubt has great effect during the life of its subject, and in his private worship all his songs are descriptive of some of the events which he saw in his dream. He often repeats them and does not fail to attribute his success to the deity whose wonderful appearance had foretold his good fortune, or any mishap [788] to his own bad conduct which incensed his guardian.

23. Evil spirits

JOHN JOHNSTON—They believe in but one evil spirit which is the devil. They suppose him to have been created holy, but he being proud spirited was not willing to acknowledge the creation of all things to the supreme being but contended that he had created the bad and the dispute arose to such a degree that the devil took a disgust and plunged himself from heaven into the earth where he remains to this day and that is the reason (they say) why guilty folk always look down. 776 773

CAPTAIN PIPE—Much of their unhappiness and misfortune is attributed to the evil spirits of which there are many. They are called *Maatseetseet Maunutoowuk*, (Those who are bad Spirits) but are not distinguished by particular appellations. 776

CAPTAIN CHIPPS—They believe that "there is a devil, or there would not be so many wicked in the world,"—where he lives they cannot determine.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

784 825 JOHN JOHNSTON—Their principal reason is that the snake is such a malicious and spiteful animal that if they should kill them the rest would know it and would bite them.

CAPTAIN CHIPPS—They sometimes avoid killing snakes, on a march, because they say, "that if they kill one, the rest will be madder."

J. W.—Snakes were not killed unless necessary—"don't kill for nothing." Besides could tell good from bad snakes.

E. R. said that there were no rules against the killing of snakes and that he feared no retribution.

BIRTH AND ITS INCIDENTS

89. Naming of child

553 [796] CAPTAIN PIPE—Children are named at one of the grand worshiping councils, and as opportunities do not occur regularly, there is no particular age at which they are formerly [*sic.* formally?] named. (Children at times do not receive their names until they are quite large, at others while they are infants.) The child when about to be named is taken to the assembly and there presented to one of the old men (who is an orator and) of the same tribe with the father, together with a fathom of wampum for his services. This old man taking the child by the hand, rises and proclaims aloud his name, requesting all who hear him to [776] recollect. He then proffers a short prayer to the Great spirit in supplication for his blessing on the child during life; after which it is returned to its parents.

[846] CAPTAIN CHIPPS—There are no christenings—or ceremonies at the birth of their children. After the birth, a year or two, 851 sometimes less, the child is taken into council, and named. The 553 father names and the preacher announces the name to the assembly in a speech of some length—in which, he congratulates the parents of the child—hopes the child may become a good boy and "prays to God" to make him a good man, a good hunter and a good warrior.

J. W.—Has never seen or heard of naming in Big House. Parents take child to grandparents, either side. They give him

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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WELDER and JOHN JOHNSTON said that the proportion was rather more than among the whites, the former attributing the cause to the introduction of liquor.

W. T. denied that there were any sterile Indian women. W. L. said that he knew of two cases.

169. Number of Children

ZEISBERGER gave the usual number of children as 4 to 6 in one place, whereas in another he said 8 to 12.

HECKEWELDER said that generally there were 4 to 5 children in a family, while some families had 6 to 9, and a few had as many as thirteen.

173 and 174. Age of marriage

VAN DER DONCK said that both men and women commonly got married only when they were fit to do so.

DEATH AND ITS INCIDENTS

The following accounts touch on so many points not treated by the others or each other that they are given here in their entirety.

CAPTAIN PIPE—As soon as life leaves the body some distant relative of the deceased takes upon himself the charge of paying the last offices. Two men and two women, not related, are employed in washing and dressing the body, (now in a white cloth; anciently in a newly dressed skin,) which is laid upon a kind of platform where it is kept one day previous to the interment. This time was formerly three days in summer and seven days in winter, because they supposed that the tutelar deity of the deceased might restore them to life; but at this day they seem to have little faith and are apparently anxious to get the corpse out of sight as soon as decency will permit. The two male attendants prepare a coffin in which they place the body, and it is borne by them to the grave, preceded by the relatives and succeeded by the more distant friends. The grave is dug about three feet deep and the coffin is covered with earth as among the whites. Before they knew the use of boards the grave was lined with bark and the body pro-

9: Kinietz E-4,5 (1938) 1946
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fortune which can be attributed to the malignant spirit of the 765
deceased.

They never burn the bodies of the deceased persons, nor do 764
they take up the bones for reinterment. They say that the Nanticokes were in the habit of placing the body of the deceased upon a scaffold, where it was suffered to remain until the flesh decayed, when the friends and relatives assembled to pay the last duties to the bones. At this time a dance, called the Spirit dance, took place, in which they had the figure of a human being drawn upon a skin which was stretched over a hoop and suspended in the air. Under this figure sat the singers who continued their songs all the night, for if one of them thro' indolence or excessive fatigue stopped his song, it was an indication of his speedy death. The day succeeding the dance the friends assembled again at the same spot and large presents were distributed by one of the near relatives of the deceased. This man held in his hand a small ball, and placing himself in the midst of a circle formed by the spectators he would pretend to make frequent attempts to throw the ball out of the ring. At length he would throw it where it was least expected, and he who was so fortunate as to catch it received a portion of the presents. This was repeated until all the goods were given out, and at each return of the ball the figure on the skin was made to bow to it. After the distribution of the goods the bones were collected, put into a kind of box and buried in the ground. If a death happened at a distance from the village, as in hunting or on a journey, the flesh was separated from the bones by cutting, the bones were burned until they became perfectly dry and then transported to the place of burial, where the same ceremonies took place.

As Mr. Heckewelder has said, many ceremonies take place at [776] the interment of a distinguished personage, which are not common on other occasions; such are distributing presents, feasting etc.; but the general customs are such as have been here related.

They sometimes put articles of furniture or clothing in the graves, as a gun for a man, a kettle for a woman; but this is not considered necessary, and arises only from the desire of the relatives to express some marked esteem for the deceased.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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roots up the grass in the position, [assigned to him] in the circumference, to the width of about 3 or 4 ells, so that the fire will not be able to run back, each one then beginning to set fire to the grass, which is mightily ignited, so that the fire travels away, in towards the center of the circle, which the Indians follow with great noise, and all the animals which are found within the circle, flee from the fire and the cries of the Indians, traveling away, whereby the circle through its decreasing is more and more contracted towards the center. When now the Indians have surrounded the center with a small circle, so that they mutually cannot do each other any harm, then they break loose with guns and bows on the animals which they then have been blessed with, that not one can escape and thus they get a great multitude of all kinds of animals which are found there.

The first hunt of the year which they thus obtain (they consecrate to Manitto). When they first have eaten their fill of it and enjoyed their feast they make a burnt offering of the remaining, which they sacrifice to Manitto, i. e., the Devil, but not one animal of it do [they] sell, believing that they through this later will get in their hunt so much the greater blessing. Then they sing and dance and when they become jolly and happy then they cry and sing thus namely: *Hägginj, hä, hä, hä; Hägginj hä; Hägginj hä, Hägginj hä, hä, hä, hä,* etc. Thus repeating and continuing so long a time, so that it reaches well over the forest.

338. Celebration on returning from hunting

W. T. said that prayers to the Great Spirit were made at this time, desiring that the favors shown the people be continued as they were appreciated.

Constitution, Personal Appearance, Dress, etc.

342. Extirpation of beard

J. W. said that formerly the beard was pulled out but that recently the occasional use of a razor was all that was necessary. W. T. and E. R. said that they never had any beards.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

774 Zeisberger over 150 years ago was attracted sufficiently by the interest attached to these terms to devote attention to them in a paragraph which coincides with and corroborates the testimony of today.

"They consider the soul to be an invisible being and a spirit. Formerly, they used the word *Wtellenapewoagan* to describe it, meaning "Substance of a Human Being." Savages use this word to the present day. Now they have accepted the word *Wtschitschank*, that is, "Spirit." They believe also in immortality of the soul, some likened themselves to corn which when thrown out and buried in the soil comes up and grows. Some believe their souls to be in the sun and only their bodies here. Others say that when they die their souls will go to [775] God and suppose that when they have been some time with God they will be at liberty to return to the world and be born again. Hence, many believe that their souls have come from God and that they have been in the world before."[1] The journey of the soul from the time of death until it reaches the abode of the Great Spirit has been revealed in a vision to Chief Elkhair and will be found in the appendix, note III.

776 THE SUPREME DEITY.—The concept of a supreme creative force is a well defined property of Delaware belief, denoted by the term ke·tan·to·wit, the close equivalent of which is "Great Power" or "Great Spirit." The same force is denoted as kice·ləmu·kaɔŋg, "Creator." Herein lies the concept of the authorship of life and creation, but as to details of the character and appearance of the Supreme Power we have here no more to rely upon than we do in the case of other creeds whose notions of the ultimate divinity are equally vague. The Great Spirit, however, is "Father"[2] to the Delawares, whose supplication in all the endeavors of life are constantly directed to him, whose gratitude is constantly expressed to him in endless variety of thoughts recognizing him as the source from which come the blessings of the universe. A realization of the frailty of human power is deeply imbued in the mind of the Delawares. Without the guidance of their "Father," life to them would be hopelessly futile. But the minions of the Great Spirit, the "grandfathers," or man·i·tu of the universe created by him and the elemental forces of Nature are also remembered in the worship of the Great Spirit. As we observe the carved images of the Great Spirit adorning the center post of the Big House at a greater height than the surrounding images on the side posts, so the Great Spirit resides in his abode above the lesser Gods who inhabit the air, the earth, the water, and the underworld. In the topmost of the twelve "levels of light" (pi·tao·pan·e) he dwells. He holds a staff that reaches downward to the earth and is symbolized in

[1] Zeisberger, op. cit., p. 131.

[2] The consanguinity of man and the spirit-forces is to be discussed further on page 32. The only exception, among the eastern nations, to the habit of regarding the Great Spirit as Father, seems to be that of the Shawnee to whom the personage is mocoɛmɔon·a "Our Grandmother."

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the center posts of the Big House, to repeat what has already been observed. Thus the middle post with the two largest images carved on its opposite sides, east and west, is the emblem of contact between the Great Spirit and man, a symbol of the maintenance of life. Extending, as it is believed, from the earth to the twelfth tier of the heavens, the right hand of the Great Spirit rests upon its top. "It holds steadfast the Delaware religion and it is the base of all other Indian religions."[1] To him in his twelfth heaven, as it were, the worshipers in the Big House "lift their prayer" in unison by raising their voices in the prayer-call, "ho" given twelve times. With the prayer sticks, twelve in number, (six plain and six decorated with burned stripes, fig. 24) thrust in the air toward the top of the center posts where the mask-images stare placidly upon them, the worshipers lift their prayer to him as evidence of their fidelity.

There is, in addition to the synonyms given as denoting the Great Spirit, another interesting appellation recorded in 1670 among the Delawares of New Jersey by the Dutch travelers Dankers and Sluyter.[2] We are informed that "the first and great beginning of all things was *Kickeron* or *kickerom*, who is the original of all, who has not only once produced or made all things but produces every day." Brinton with his usual easy conviction reveals the "significance of this word," giving it the rendering of "Life, Light, Action or Energy." He adds "It is the abstract conception back of all these." While the term may indeed have had a place among the synonyms designating the ruling deity among the Delaware of the 17th century, it would seem to have either disappeared in later times or to be a distortion of the title ke'kaya'm'he's, "governor, elder, or head-officer, president" which our informant affirms is applicable to a man, but not to a spirit.

It is important to note at this point that the term ki'tei ma'nitu, which has such a widespread use among the Algonkian in general as a designation of the Supreme Power is not employed by the pagan Delawares in referring to their deity. They do, however, comprehend the term as meaning "Real Spirit," (ki'tei-, "real") not Great Spirit, as it is translated from Ojibwa, Potawatomi and other tongues.[3] Yet

[1] The familiar concept of the sky-tree in Iroquois mythology (Hewitt, Parker) exhibits some analogies to this belief. Its frequent representation in the pictography of the Iroquois has been touched upon by Parker (A. C. Parker, The Tree Symbol in Iroquois Mythology, American Anth. Volume XIV, Number 4, 1912). Similar interpretation seems implied in the ideography of the Delaware Walam Olum (Brinton, I, pp. 170-217), and in the symbolical motives of decoration of the tribes of southeastern New England (F. G. Speck Decorative Art of the Indians of Connecticut, Memoir 75, Geological Survey of Canada, 1915); a topic of research now being pursued by Miss Gladys Tantaquidgeon.

[2] Journal of a Voyage to New York in 1679-80, by Jasper Dankers and Peter Sluyter, p. 268. Translation in Transactions of the Long Island Hist. Soc., (Brooklyn 1867). Quoted and discussed by Brinton, The Lenape and their Legends, Philadelphia 1885, p. 132-3.

[3] So far as the Delaware are concerned the suppositions entertained by some ethnologists who have expressed the belief that this form of the name for the Great Spirit is of Christian origin, are borne out.

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it is still of equal importance to note that ki'tci-mani'tu is employed among the Delaware only by the Christian converts. I have previously mentioned the habit of the unconverted group of the tribe to avoid using religious terms adopted by their Christian kinsmen.

Radin[1] has expressed an opinion quite generally entertained among American ethnologists, that amid the varied types of disposition exhibited among savage as well as civilized people, it is those individuals of a religious and aesthetic temperament that the population finds its religious leaders, and that such minds are, in different races and regions, the authors of definitely monotheistic systems of thought. This seems applicable to the Delawares, for it is the visionaries who hold the preeminence of leadership in the ceremonies and who are at the same time the leaders of thought. They constitute, indeed, an eclectic priestly group in the tribe, though in ordinary life they are but laymen.

As we have it, the worship of the Supreme Deity and the lesser deities in Delaware offers a noteworthy correspondence to holy adoration in the Roman Church—to latry and dulia. Were it not for the fact that the Delawares were never under the ministrations of Roman Catholic evangelists it might seem that the Indians attempted an interpretation of the forms of Catholicism in their own terms, compromising with Christianity by refusing conversion and baptism but assimilating part of the doctrine.

In regard to this Zeisberger writes, "They believe and have from time immemorial believed that there is an Almighty Being who has created heaven and earth and man and all things else."[2] Heckewelder offers practically the same testimony, while earlier and later authors repeat what we also find in our text, a summary of evidence sufficient to establish the fact for Delaware belief that a Supreme Creative power with indications of anthropopathetic qualities, overtops the pantheism.[3] Heckewelder says, "It is a part of their religious belief, that there are inferior Mannittos, to whom the great and good Being has given the rule and command over the elements; that being so great, he like their chiefs, must have his attendants to execute his supreme behests:[4] these subordinate spirits (something in their nature between God and man) see and report what is doing upon earth; they look down particularly upon the Indians, to see whether they are in need of assistance, and are ready at their call to assist and protect them against danger."[5]

[1] Paul Radin, *Monotheism Among Primitive Peoples*, Lond. (1924) (Arthur Davis Memorial Lecture, v. 7).

[2] Zeisberger, op. cit., p. 128.

[3] The entire range of the Delaware religious phenomena, from secondary sources, has been reviewed and discussed aegely by P. W. Schmidt, S.V.D. (Der Ursprung der Gottesidee, Münster, 1929, II Teil, 408-448). Father Schmidt favors the idea of the aboriginal grasp of the Supreme Being concept among the Delawares.

[4] The term oka'lasmo denotes the proportion of supernatural strength possessed by the man-i't-uwak, given them by the Great Spirit.

[5] Heckewelder, op. cit., p. 212.

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And also Heckewelder, "But amidst all these superstitious notions, the supreme Mannitto, the creator and preserver of heaven and earth, is the great object of their adoration. On him they rest their hopes, to him they address their prayers and make their solemn sacrifices."[1]

THE SUBORDINATE DEITIES.—The concepts denoted by the term man·i'tu seem to have been the cause of some perplexity and discussion among students of Algonkian culture.[2] The difficulty has not been so much with the general connotation of the term but as to how it may be translated. Its variants occur throughout the Algonkian family of languages and its application is likewise much the same. The man·i'tu concept is accordingly a general religious philosophical one, the understanding of which is hardly to be gained from any single source. Hence the use of the Delaware form of the term can contribute to, but not afford a final solution to the problem. And the contribution of the Delaware information is worthy of consideration, although providing no new aspects of thought beyond what has been defined in the treatment given it by other writers. In Delaware the pronunciation of the word is man·i'tu (plural man·i'towak'). As to its rendering into English I have come to the decision of using an

[1] Heckewelder, op. cit., p. 213.

[2] Among the foremost contributors to the discussion on this term has been William Jones. ("The Algonkian Manitou," Jour. Amer. Folk-Lore, vol. xviii, 1905, pp. 183-190). Jones proposed a range of limitation to its meaning. "The Algonkian conception of the manitou is bound up with the manifold ideas that flow from an unconscious relation with the outside world. It is embodied in all forms of religious belief and practice, and is intimately associated with customs and usages that bear upon life and its welfare." He concludes, "It has been observed that there is an unsystematic belief in a cosmic, mysterious property which is believed to be existing everywhere in nature; that the conception of the property can be thought of as impersonal, but that it becomes obscure when the property becomes identified with objects in nature; that it manifests itself in various forms; and that its emotional effect awakens a sense of mystery; that there is a lively appreciation of its miraculous efficacy; and that its interpretation is not according to any regular rule, but is based on one's feelings, rather than one's knowledge. Such in very brief statement is the conception of the manitou of three Algonkin peoples,—the Sauk, Fox, and Kickapoo. It seems probable that the same thing holds true of other Algonkians, like the Ojibwa, Ottawa, Menomini, and others of the central group. It would be interesting to know if the same conception in its general features extends to all other members of the family."

A. F. Chamberlain proposed the definition, "mysterious and unknown potencies and powers of life and of the universe," (Bull. 30, Bur. Amer. Eth., Vol. 1, p. 800). Its acceptance into the English dictionary under the definition as "one of the powers or spirits which dominate the forces of nature," seems to bear the mark of Chamberlain's influence.

A. B. Skinner (Jour. Amer. Folk-Lore, vol. xviii, No. cix, 1915, pp. 258-261), employing Menòmini and Ojibwa data challenges the definition offered and refers the disputed term to "a God, or Godlike power" (the Supreme Being, or creator and the nature forces), "the supernatural power imparted by one of these gods to a mortal being," and, as an adjective, to "anything mental or immortal, animate or inanimate, which is the seat of supernatural power granted by any one of those beings possessing it." Similar phraseology might be applied to the Delaware conception of man·i'tu as we encounter it in both living and literary sources.

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776 abbreviated composite term, "Spirit-force"[1] as an equivalent in the translations. Man·i'tu is applied to both supreme and the subordinate deities, the symbols of deities, the elements of nature, animals, trees, herbs, the force that dominates them and which transcends to man as a motive agent, and, we may feel assured, many other manifestations of a sort recognized in the inner linguistic and religious consciousness of the Delawares that are quite beyond their capacity to express in English. My idea of the rendering "Spirit-force" for the term is not to adopt an equivalent that is definitive but rather one that suggests the vagueness of the idea we have of it, and yet emphasizes some of the properties implied in the term. Hence I am willing to concede that it might be advisable simply to carry over the native term itself into the translations and discussion. In the choice of the two courses, however, the more economical and unilingual English designation has seemed preferable. It will be time enough later, I believe, to theorize upon the totality of the natural philosophy of the man·i'tu concept when we obtain further specific information so much needed from Algonkian groups as yet unstudied.

Returning to consideration of the Delaware term, we find in the anonymous manuscript of Moravian authorship edited by Brinton,[2] manitto, "maker, creator, God," with an emendation by Anthony, the Munsee collaborator, "properly spirit, not maker," (manitou to make.)[3] Harrington[4] ascribes the meaning of "invisible beings," to the term in its plural form (manitowuk) some great, others of lesser influence, who control the phenomena of nature, the affairs of mankind, the entire world as we know it, in some of which good predominates, in other evil.

Zeisberger has some discussion of the man·it·u as a personal guardian spirit revealed to the individual who appeals to its mercy (see p. 52) but he has little to say pertinent to the man·i'tu concept as we are considering it here.

In the present text we are taught, as the followers of the native religion in the Big House, are that the man·i'tu are in most cases "grandfathers" in others "elder brothers," and include the wild animals, trees, sun, moon, stars, thunders and other natural forces with deistic traits. The carved faces in the Big House represent them collectively, except for the larger images on the center post which represent the Supreme man·i'tu, the Creator. All are esteemed in a mental attitude of combined worship and prayer, in Delaware pa"taman.

776 608 TERMS OF CONSANGUINITY APPLIED TO SPIRITUAL FORCES.—The designation of individual deities of a native pantheon by terms of human

[1] While the verb man·i·to'w·k, "they make" occurs in the text, it is not admitted as sufficient for an equivalent in full.
[2] Brinton II, p. 74.
[3] Ibid. II, p. 73.
[4] Harrington I, p. 17.

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776 608 consanguinity is to be noted widely in native American religious systems. The Delawares share this phenomenon. The relationship classification of the various spiritual forces recognized is given in the following grouping.

muxᵒmsəna, "our grandfather."
Eagle, siˑxam, and feathers miˑkwəna
Air, geᵒexiŋ
Planets and heavenly bodies as revealed in dreams and visions, moosˑpanoˑkeˑs (lit. "sky-creators")
Thunders, peˑtˑhakˑowsˑyak
Trees, hiˑtˑkukˑ
Vegetation, peᵒmiˑalamiˑsaᵒakˑ
Carved Faces in the Big House, maeˑlˑŋgak
Turtle-rattles, cuxˑniˑkanˑak
Water, ᵒbiˑ
Fire, teˑnˑdal
Tobacco, kᵒcaᵒtajˑ
koˑxəmənˑa, "our grandmother."
Herb medicines, piˑsun
Corn, xaˑakwiˑm
nimaˑxtəənˑa, "our brother," or xaᵒsəna "our elder brother."
Turtle, taˑxkəxkˑ
Snow, kuᵒn
Bear, maˑxkᵒ
Animals (aeˑəəsak) in general considered as existing in clan relationship with humans. The latter are "kings" among animals.
Night sun, moon (male), niˑˑpaiˑ giˑeux
Day sun (male), giˑekwəniˑˑ giˑeux
Stars, lighting system, portion of the moon; alaˑŋgak
gahoˑsəna, "our mother."
Sea, bodies of water, manˑaˑpeˑk
Running Water, ᵒbiˑ peᵒmiˑˑtanˑiˑkˑ
Earth, hakˑiŋ
koˑxənˑa, "our father."
Great Spirit, keᵒtanˑtoˑwiˑtˑ

776 These deistic relatives of the Delawares all have their special functions to pursue under the surveillance of the "Great Spirit even the Creator." The missionary accounts and contemporary information from the living native worshipers coincide nicely in regard to the attributes of the graded spirit-forces. For some of them we have but a few remarks which will be found inserted as footnotes in the English translation of the text, for others, however, concerning which Witapanoˑxwe had explicit information to offer accumulating more than could well be condensed in such short space, separate treatment seems

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required. These I propose to deal with in the following section as man-i't-u deserving of particular mention, since this seems to represent their standing in the minds of devout Delawares. 776

Not only is the principle of consanquinity applied to deities and nature-forces, but to tribes and nations as well. Indeed the application of term of relationship to bodies of extra-biological classification is interesting enough to call for the inclusion of information given as a commentary on this point by Wi-tapano'xwe. With more detail to be secured it promises a fruitful problem for sociological interpretation. The informant's notes on the quasi-consanguinity of tribes are as follows. The Delawares believe that they are the oldest of the Indians. They call the following tribes "grand children," Shawnee, Potawatomi, Sauk and Fox, Ioway, Tonkawa, Sioux, Ottawa, Kickapoo, Miami, Peoria, Chippewa, Menomini, Winnebago. And these, in turn, call the Delawares, Wabanaki, Lenape, or else "Grandfathers,"—but, adds Wi-tapano'xwe, we are all "brothers," i. e. Indians. There are the Nanticoke, Mahikan, Munsee and Iroquois who are called brothers, relative age not specified, in spite of the fact that the Delawares assume to be older than they. There are other tribes which have different relationship with the Delawares, for example the Wyandots, Seneca and Cherokee are called "nephews" (either filial or sororal) and the Mexicans are called "uncles." To white people the general term, meaning "brothers" is applied, while negroes are termed "elder brothers," being considered the strongest of all races.[1] 776 776 829 605

THE CARVED IMAGES.—The concepts involved in the use of carved images in the likeness of the human face represent a phase of religious thought that has developed some exceptional prominence among the 532 778

[1] Zeisberger, (op. cit., p. 109) gives information corresponding to that of our informant, when he says that the "Shawnose" call the Delaware "grandfather." In regard to the "Mahikanders" we find a contradiction, and so are not able to compare the author's remarks with those in the text. Zeisberger also says that the Wiandots (Wyandots) and the Cherokees call the Delaware "grandfather," which differs from the information brought forward by our informant who considers them to be "nephews" of the Delaware. One infers from Zeisberger that the Delawares called the Twitchtwes (Miami), Wawiachtanos (a group of Mahikan), Kikapus, Chipuways, Ottawas, Putewostaimen (Potawatomi) "brothers," differing from our information which states that the above tribes are known as "grandchildren," except when they were termed "brothers," implying that they were Indians similar to the Delawares. Zeisberger gives no kinship term as being applied to the negroes by the Delaware. He says: "These (the negroes) are looked upon as of their own kind and allowed full liberty. Indians and negroes intermarry and their mulatto children are as much loved as children of pure Indian blood." 532 1915

Heckewelder, op. cit., notes the Shawnee (p. 86) and the Chipewa (p. 124) as being grandchildren of the Delaware, which is similar to the information given us by Wi-tapano'xwe, but in the case of the Chippewa he differs from Zeisberger. Heckewelder notes (page 122) that the Nanticoke and Mahican call the Delaware "grandfather" which differs from the information in our text where they are said to be "brothers." Again a difference is observed between Heckewelder and our informant in regard to the Wyandot and Cherokee who are, according to Heckewelder, "grandchildren" of the Delawares, yet, according to our informant are "nephews."

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being, taken from the discussions of Zelsberger and Harrington, I will let Wi·tapano'xwe place forth in his own words the pertinent remarks relative to it which he dictated to me. 1778 532

THE MASK DANCE.—The False Face, or Mask, performance seems to possess indications of being an archaic mask-ceremony admitted into the annual Big House ritual during some phase of its later development. It bears some analogies suggestive at once of the game-owner concept that is met with among the Algonkian hunter-nomads of the far north, the Montagnais-Naskapi. In particular we note that the mask and bear-hide clothing are kept away from the precincts of the Big House until the time assigned for their appearance by permission of the master-of-ceremony. The Mask dancer does not remain long in the Big House, nor is his action there in any sense an obligation. Occasionally no one volunteers for the dance and then it is omitted. The informant himself had assumed the rôle several times and he seemed to regard it as lacking in theological significance from the point of view of the Big House doctrine. He related in this connection, how the chief function of the Mask dancer was to frighten children before and after his appearance in the Big House. The songs accompanying the Mask-Spirit dance (mæ·ingkə'n·t'kə') were not completely known to him. In one of these the words refer to the Mask-Spirit riding on the back of the deer.[1] 796

The Mask-Spirit seems to hold potency of both good and evil influence. There is the narrative of a man (Ben Horse) who had come under the power of the Mask-Spirit to such a degree that he was occasionally subjected to its control and fell to performing the antics of the Mask dancer to the point of dementia. A medicine-doctor called upon to free him from this influence ordered him to make a mask and perform the dance at certain times. This eventually cured him and he became the custodian of his mask and developed into a Mask-dancer. An insight into the function of this rite is also given by the narrative of another, a woman, terrified by the Mask-Spirit requiring similar remedial treatment of the mask. And we also hear of some children once so frightened that they ran several miles from the camp and were overtaken with difficulty by their parents whom they took also to be masked pursuers in their confusion of flight.

The Mask-Spirit as a potentially malicious spirit is clearly totally different in conception from six carved faces, "our grandfathers," appearing on the posts of the Big House.

We are taught in the text that the mæ·i'ŋk'holi·'kan is like the other man·i't·u deserving of adoration for the blessing he bestows upon hunters in allowing them to kill the deer, over whom he seems to act 796 776

[1] Another reflection of the tale known as Caribou-Man among the Naskapi of the north.

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the part of custodian.[1] Harrington felt that this was the "most remarkable deity of the Lenape," who was "made guardian by the creator of all the wild animals of the forest, and was sometimes seen riding on the back of a buck, herding the deer; but he lived in a range of rocky mountains. His face is large and round, the right half being painted red, the left black, while his body is covered with long black hair like that of a bear."[2]

A certain amount of supernatural ability seems to be required of the individual who is to wear properly and display the mask. One who has this spiritual quality to a high degree finds himself able to see as well when wearing the mask, despite the smallness of the eye-openings, as though he were bare-eyed. His spiritual power, we are told, is thus tested; he partakes of the qualities of the prophet, kaci·lo'·su "great man." Other notes on the wearing of the mask are to be found in the text, page 93.

Before passing on, however, reference should be made to customs concerned with the mask recorded by the authors mentioned above. Zeisberger describes this as follows:

"The only idol which the Indians have, and which may properly be called an idol, is their Wainkhoalican, that is image. It is an image cut in wood, representing a human head, in miniature, which they always carry about them either on a string around their neck or in a bag. They often bring offerings to it. In their houses of sacrifice they have a head of this idol as large as life put upon a pole in the middle of the room.[3]

Brainerd had occasion to observe the performance of the Mask-Spirit in 1745, on the upper Susquehanna, and wrote of the appearance of the Mask Dancer with "a coat of bear skins, dressed with the hair on, and hanging down to his toes; a pair of bear skin stockings; and a great wooden mask painted, the one half black, the other half tawny, about the color of an Indian's skin, with an extravagant mouth, cut very much awry; the face fastened to a bear skin cap, which was drawn over his head. He advanced toward me with the instrument in his hand, which he used for music, in his idolatrous worship, which was a dry tortoise shell with some corn in it, and the neck of it drawn on to a piece of wood, which made a very convenient handle."[4]

There seems, however, to be something omitted in recording these facts. A much more intimate connection between the mask itself and

[1] A hunter's taboo, founded supposedly upon some ancient principle of altruism, is that the first deer or other animal killed by the hunter be not eaten. The meat is given to some older person. The slayer never gets even a bite. Some phase of this rule is to be noted for every northern Algonkian tribe, though in no case have I as yet been fortunate enough to elicit a religious reason for it among the hunters who follow the practice.

[2] Harrington, I, p. 32-33.

[3] Zeisberger, op. cit., p. 141.

[4] Brainerd, op. cit., p. 237.

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The mask rite, says Wi-tapano'xwe, is an individual or family, not a group rite. The record of the change of hands through which it passed, going into each of the three groups at different times, brings out this act.

Since it happened that the custody of the mask fell to Delaware women as well as to men, there seems to have been no restriction as to sex in the office of keeping the masks as reported for the Iroquois. The same is true of the corn-husk masks. As among the Iroquois the Delaware wooden mask was kept face down when not in use, but only, the informant added, because the cloth covering at the back would make this position more convenient. We are impressed with the ruling that the mask could not be played with nor worn for social masquerading.

To the ethnologist, however, the significance of the Mask-Spirit is deep. The whole question of the trait which it represents in the customs of the Delawares is fraught with the possibilities of an archaic northern background, into which fits a series of beliefs and practices extending across boreal North America through northeastern Asia. The game owner concept, in short, stands forth in high relief among the far northern Algonkian. Its most intense development appears among the Montagnais-Naskapi of the Labrador peninsula.[1] For the region of the Great Lakes among the Central Algonkian we have as yet no records to substantiate the existence of the Game Owner concept so far south. The Delaware case is accordingly one of noteworthy bearing. Before passing by what Delaware belief has to contribute to the Game Owner concept in general the information pertaining to the mask spirits to be given in a text reserved for the later publication should be considered.[2] Here an account is recorded in which masks made of corn-husks are worn by messengers who go about announcing the occasion of a corn ceremony. The personification of the spirit of corn seems intended in the wearing of such a mask.

THE TORTOISE AS A SYMBOL.—Outlined in particularly high relief is the tortoise. In the latter creature we have the symbol of life, of perseverence, longevity and steadfastness. As the Delaware patriarch says, "The tortoise is the earth; is life." In the procession of time and among the elemental nature forces the direction of movement is from east to west, according to Delaware belief. So moves the tortoise with measured pace across the earth and through the Big House, carrying out the mythical allegory. At the end of his journey at the "western door," meaning where the sun sets at the edge of the

[1] Extended treatment of the religious beliefs and philosophy of the northern peoples, so far as the Game Owner concept is concerned, will be available for the students of religious customs of pre-literate peoples when manuscript now in course of preparation shall have been published.

[2] To form another volume of this series.

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clusion, add something to our idea of another side of the character of this knowing and potent reptile, so important to the religious sense of the Delaware. 825 778

"The turtle is in its way an evil thing, yet not so evil as a snake which is controlled by the Evil Spirit and has also human face-paint patterns. The Turtle can hurt human-beings. Once a boy caught a water-turtle and turned him on his back. The Turtle got mad; raised himself on his legs stiffly. The Turtle raised himself, and launched himself through the air and struck the boy on his head and nearly killed him. The Turtle has a weapon in the sharp frontal plates."

FIRE SYMBOLISM.—Among the spirit-forces of Delaware cosmology "Our Grandfather Fire" (to'n-dai') is held in high esteem. The adoration of fire, however, is not sufficiently exclusive to justify the Delawares being called pyrolatrists. Fire, as a spirit-force subordinate to the Great Spirit, is an agency of purification and invigoration. In the Big House ceremony the rite of kindling new fire with the consecrated fire-drill takes place to the accompaniment of an appropriate prayer on the ninth night from the lips of the Bringer-in, or Master of Ceremonies. The new fire is thus "pure," since it is made with the implements granted by the Great Spirit. The coming of the white man within the horizon of Delaware culture introducing matches into the native economy has undoubtedly served to throw the sanctity of the fire-drill into a higher light. But it would, I believe, be quite erroneous to undervalue the attitude of reverence, both in thought and ritual, which is held toward fire in native culture throughout the east.[1] To the Delaware ceremonialists the making of new, "pure" fire symbolizes "renewing of life, fresh vigor, the breathing of pure air uncontaminated by latent forces of disease, new and pure influences for life and health." It is one of the forces to which tobacco is constantly offered, and is an auxiliary to the use of cedar as incense in the act of purification. 822 776 372 [782]

Both Zeisberger and Harrington lay stress on the deification of fire among the Delawares.[2] In the Big House the two fires maintained throughout the ceremony east and west of the center-post,

[1] Some writers who have dealt with fire-worship among the eastern Indians seem to have gone too far in defining them as outright sun- and fire-worshipers, through exaggeration of the importance of fire ceremonies described in the older accounts. That the Delawares have been more conservative in regard to admitting innovations into their ceremonies is shown by the fact that the Yuchi, in whose annual ceremony the kindling of new fire is an important act, have condescended to use flint and steel (F. G. Speck, Ethnology of the Yuchi Indians, Anth. Pubs. Univ. of Penna. Mus., vol. I No. 1 (1910), pp. 120-1). On the other hand we know of perpetual fire being maintained in village temples among some of the early peoples of the southeastern area; evidence that must be given full weight in considering the question of pyrolatry in eastern America.

[2] Zeisberger, op. cit., pp. 138-139, Harrington, (1) passim.

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776 where they burn under the gaze of the carved images of the Great
372 Spirit on the post, represent the actual presence of this mighty spirit-force.

821 STARS AS SPIRIT-FORCES.—Among the man'i't'u mentioned in the text, the stars are given a prominent place. They too are "grandfathers" who, we are told, render service in assisting the moon to illuminate the night. It will be noticed that they receive a large share of reverence in the annual ceremony through being mentioned frequently in the adorational addresses. In the quaint phraseology of Wi·tapano'xwe we learn that the Great Dipper of European star-lore is called in Delaware max^{w}, "Bear." The head of the Bear is separate from the body. The legend tells us that the body is trying to catch up with the head, in which event the world will come to an end. Wi·tapano'xwe explained further that the stars of *corona borealis* formed the Bear's head which the animal is ever trying to reach. In Wabanaki star-lore this is the bear's den of hibernation from which the hunters, those three stars forming the so-called tail of the Bear (the handle of the Great Dipper in European belief), have driven the animal. It is said, by the same people, that the Bear is slain in the fall of the year, that its blood reddens the leaves of the trees and its fat when tried-out causes the earth to be covered with a white mantle, the snow. The subsequent portions of the tale seem not to have come forth as yet in Delaware mythology, although Zeisberger relates the outline of a legend of the Bear group in which the Bear is pursued by Indians "with a little dog; the three stars in the form of a triangle represent the head of a bear, which they cut from the trunk and threw down."[1]

The Delawares believe that some of the stars are living beings. For example the seven stars, known as asi'sk^{w}taya'sak, "bunched-up," bear the identity of clean or holy men, prophets. They are known only to shamans or those who possess supernatural power. The legend says that at one time seven meteors fell from the sky partly burying themselves in the ground. Some shamans soon discovered them and they disappeared. The shamans found them again in the form of seven pine trees. They used to consult with these pine trees. Finally they became transformed into the seven stars.[2]

The informant adds: "The Delawares recognize the morning star, the evening star, and a constellation known as beast chasing the bear; At a certain season of the year you will find the leaves of the forest lying on the ground, appearing to be greasy and covered with spots of water. If at this time of year the beast has caught the bear the greasiness of the leaves is believed due to the bear-grease. Another large constellation near that of the bear represents his nest or den."

[1] Op. cit., p. 148.
[2] See Appendix, Note II.

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was noteworthy to the early missionaries among the Delawares, who spoke frequently of it.

"Most extraordinary experiences have been met with by boys from twelve to fourteen years of age, when they have been alone in the forest in apprehension and in need. An old man in a gray beard may have appeared and said in soothing tone, "Do not fear, I am a rock and thou shalt call me by this name. I am the Lord of the whole earth and of every living creature therein, of the air and of wind and weather. No one dare oppose me and I will give thee the same power. No one shall do thee harm and thou needest not to fear any man." Such and similar prophecies he makes. Such a boy ruminates upon what he has heard and is confirmed in the opinion as he grows up that a peculiar power has been imparted to him to perform extraordinary exploits, and he imagines that no one can do him injury. As he can receive no further instruction from any one, he must learn from experience how far he can go, his imagination inspiring him to make every effort."[1]

"They believe in numerous spirits or subordinate deities. Almost all animals and the elements are looked upon as spirits, one exceeding the other in dignity and power. There is scarcely an Indian who does not believe that one or more of these spirits has not been particularly given him to assist him and make him prosper. This, they claim, has been made known to them in a dream, even as their religious belief and witchcraft is alleged to have been made known to them in a dream. One has, in a dream, received a serpent or a buffalo, another the sun or the moon, another an owl or some other bird, another a fish, some even ridiculously insignificant creatures as ants. These are considered their spirits or *Manittos*. If an Indian has no *Manitto* to be his friend he considers himself forsaken, has nothing upon which he may lean, has no hope of any assistance and is small in his own eyes. On the other hand those who have been thus favored possess a high and proud spirit.[2]

Dr. Benedict has successfully classified the distribution of native theories of vision inducement and of involuntary spirit possession, as falling within areas east and west of the Rocky Mountains respectively. In the personal experiences of the Delawares the theories are combined, though the former, that of inducement, is stressed. "To be pitied by the spirits" is the proper mental attitude of vision inducement characteristic of the Delawares.

There are opportunities for psychological analysis latent in this behavior, but these I shall pass by. To give the native information in

[1] The phenomenon of belief that the individual holds himself as being invulnerable even to bullets is recorded of the early Delawares (Zeisberger, op. cit., p. 127), the same fatalism being known among the Plains Indians.

[2] Zeisberger, pp. 132-133.

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Here on each side three tents[1] are provided. In the first[2] there camps the leading Attendant, from here outwards the rest of the Attendants. When any one of these Attendants does not serve, he can hire a substitute to provide fire-wood or to sweep in the Big House, and occasionally to cook.[3]

[1] hemsi-k-a-'wan-a', "cloth houses" (plural).
[2] Meaning nearest to the door of the Big House.
[3] For the service he pays in wampum.

The Delawares were given the Mask-Image[1] so it became the rule that whoever owns that mask should take it into the Big House each year, that mask, because it is he who has complete control over all the wild animals. And it is said that our grandfather[2] is believed to walk around early each morning. Now here he goes about frightening unruly children. When the "one who is our grandfather begs," the child is taught that he shall pay a plug of tobacco so that he will not scare them.

If the person who assumes to wear the mask is able to see clearly[3] for a long distance it is said that he is a man of power. He carries a turtle-rattle[4] and a staff of twisted wood.[5] When the mask makes his utterance it resembles a horse whinnying, and when he makes signals using his turtle-rattle, then they give him tobacco. Customarily he kicks at persons. Here in a pouch he carries that tobacco. Every child customarily is taught that he gathers snakes and throws them into that pouch in order that no one may steal our grandfather's tobacco. And it is also said that our grandfather keeps guard over all so that no one may be overcome by disease. That also is the teaching in reference to the spiritual doctrine of the Mask-Image.

[1] The following passage refers to the mask image mas-l'ugholi-'k-an about which something has been said in the introduction. The composite character of the annual ceremony is shown by the admission of this rite into the ceremony complex in honor of the one who "has control over all the wild game."
[2] The spirit represented by the mask also falls into the classification of consanguinity, and is so addressed.
[3] This evidence of personal power has already been dealt with (page 41).
[4] The rattle referred to is not the small hand rattle carried by the reciter of visions but a large instrument made of a snapping-turtle shell provided with a wooden handle (16.7 in. in length) suggestive of the rattle employed in Iroquois dance accompaniments. Harrington describes and illustrates one of these Delaware instruments (I, pp. 32, 36, fig. 2). (See fig. 7, p. 38).
[5] The distribution of the walking staff as a ceremonial baton and its function in the ethnology of the eastern tribes has been generally overlooked by investigators yet we find evidence of its use over a wide area in the formalities of native behavior among both the Algonkian and Iroquois,—not to overlook the fact that the Delawares imagine the Great Spirit to possess one, the same being symbolized by the center post in the Big House. The Delaware designate the staff by ala'hoen (cp. Malecite, abato'wan).

When the worship ceremony begins everyone is instructed to wear things conforming strictly to Delaware style, such for instance as the

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other wild creature whatsoever, that is said to be pure spirit. And also those twelve face-images in the Big House, and those prayer-sticks,[1] and the maize and fruit, all things indeed used in the Gamwing, it is said, are helpers when it comes to lifting up to the twelve levels of heaven above us where he dwells, our father the Great Spirit.

And also there is a ruling of custom. The religious obligations sometimes require that the speaker, when talking, it is said, names over all these spirit-forces wherever they reside around the earth, calling upon them, as it is said: "Truly we are thankful that we have lived long enough to see the time come when these our grandfathers the trees bloom forth, and also the coming up of vegetation.

[1] The twelve peeled rods held in the hands of the worshippers when they "raise their prayer to the twelfth level of heaven" to the Great Spirit by crying "ho" six times and "ha" six times, and pointing with the sticks to the image on the center post of the Big House. They are denoted by the term mamendahl·kan'ak "the means of earnest prayer." In Harrington's study of Delaware religion no mention is made of the exact function of the prayer sticks (Harrington I, p. 103), though in the Munsee corresponding ceremony they are described (ibid. p. 131) as being used to drum with in time to the music, by those who wish to pray. There is another omission in reference to the prayer sticks (ibid. p. 103). Harrington speaks of a particular way in which the sticks "fall opposite each other" but no explanation is made. Discussion of these details will be found on page 60.

[2] Among the tree "grandfathers" thought of in particular is the maple from the sap of which native sugar is made.

Reference to the gift of the maple in yielding its sap for human use is a reminiscence of a widespread Algonkian usage. The Sugar Maple is sana'meci "rock-place tree" (the Red Maple is called sal'kames "grove tree"). This tree is the real Acer saccharum and is known to the Oklahoma Delaware only by tradition since they remember it in the north. They make a sugar now from the Red Maple, not as strong in flavor as the other, but mixed with Box Elder (awi'sal·t o'naes "yellow twig") and Black walnut tu'kwi·meci· "round-nut tree") but the latter has such a strong taste that only a little may be used. Heckewelder (op. cit., p. 194) gives an account of Delaware sugar-making during the Ohio period.

Now as well for this water and for him our grandfather fire, and again this air, again this sunlight. When everyone has been blessed with such gifts it is enough to make one realize what kind of benevolence comes from our father, because he it is who has created everything."[1]

And now furthermore one more spiritual-force is said to be a part of creation up above. The first being mentioned is called day-moon,[2] and the night traveler[3] is called night-moon. And of several kinds of stars, the first one seen is that one from the sunrise direction, called

[1] Zeisberger, before 1780 (op. cit. p. 129), had heard similar professions of gratitude; "They believe the Deity is graciously and mercifully disposed toward them, because he imparts power to the plants to grow, causes the rain to fall, and the sun to shine and gives game to man for his support."

[2] The designations "day-moon" and "night-moon" are widespread in northern Algonkian, (Munsee, Cree, Montagnais-Naskapi). Luminary would be a more exact equivalent of gi·cux

[3] For the moon to be figuratively denoted as "night-traveler" is common in Eastern Algonkian (ni·bau'a·ite "night-walker," Penobscot, with cognates in the other Wabanaki languages; nanepaushet, Massachusetts (Trumbull, Natick Dict. p. 297).

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Great Star.[1] Again seven stars, it is said, are sometimes at the noon-point[2] seen after dark. Those stars called the Bear;[3] also the head of this one is separate. Now it is said that whenever that Bear shall catch up with his head, then will be the end of the world.[4] And again another group is called Bunched-up,[5] seven is their number. And again here in the direction of sun-down, that evening-star is called kwe·tci·'pon·e·'s.[6] Thenceforth are other stars and moons. And there are also these Thunders, our grandfathers, even coming to those clouds, all called spirit-forces. And the sun, our elder brother, is considered a leading spirit-force up above, because he is a great person. By his breath he warms all the universe, and it is he also who lights up the day-time, and the night-sun. It is he who lights up the night-time. And those stars, in accordance with the strength given them, in proportion that serve and aid our father's, the Great Spirit's labors.

[1] ma·'xsalang·, "Great Star," a variant is ma·'xsalang·, "red star."

[2] Meaning at the zenith, regarded in Delaware sky-lore as the point half-way between the earth and the summit of the sky dome, as nearly as can be ascertained.

[3] The constellation Ursus Major has among the Iroquois, the Cherokee, and also the Algonkian south of the St. Lawrence, the same interpretation, as representing the celestial Bear. North of this dividing line of culture, however, the figure is changed to that of the Fisher (Mustela pennanti) or Marten. The explanatory myths are of an entirely different nature in the two areas. The tale in the northern area seems to have a circumpolar distribution in North America from the Athapaskans through the Cree to the Montagnais-Naskapi of the Labrador peninsula, while the Bear legend of explanation traces to the southward. I have given some attention to this myth in a study of Penobscot tradition. (See also S. Hagar, Jour. Amer. Folk-Lore, vol. XIII, No. 49, p. 92; D. G. Brinton, Myths of the New World, Phila., 1896). (See previous discussion of star beliefs, p. 48).

[4] This vision of a celestial catastrophe reminds us again of the Delaware belief that when the Tortoise in his westward journey reaches the edge of the earth the world will come to an end.

[5] The word in the text is asi·'s·k·e·taya·'s·ak, corresponding to Zeisberger's anschisktawewak which he calls firebrands laid together (op. cit. p. 148). His editor suggests Cassiopeia.

[6] Unfortunately the informant was unable to give a translation for this term.

And so this is what the Delawares understand; namely that some spirit-forces are able to control everything whatsoever, and some are created with less strength. Therefore when a person acquires the strength of a vision of some object or living being, he will obtain it in accordance with the strength imbued in the spiritual power which gives it to him.[1]

And now of the several kinds of spirits when they are spoken of, the tortoise is said to be a powerful being because he is able to bear up this our mother's body. That is why it is said he slowly moves, walking

[1] This difficult passage is an example of the resourcefulness of the Delaware language. Two verbs, carry the much involved dominant ideas, pa·'tang ne·'xpe·lamu·'kuk. The former contains the stem pao, universal in Algonkian, as denoting magical functioning (See Speck, Penobscot Shamanism. Mem. Anth. Assn., Vol. VI, No. 3, 1920, pp. 240-54) pa·'lax being the Delaware for "fetish or charm," a spiritual agency; the second implies the meaning to be "born with power." Lindeström (1654-6) (op. cit. 207) discusses the term which he renders päähra.

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deliberately, because he carries the whole earth. And he starts out, beginning walking from the direction of sunrise. It is said that when he arrives at the edge of the earth, it will seem like but a short time, namely, for instance we may say like one eye-wink.[1] But because of his slowness of movement afoot; that is why it seems so long before he shall have traversed this world. For, whenever they see him in the wilderness he is going toward the direction of sun-set.[2] And now it shall be, when he has completed his road, then shall come to end this earth.

[1] Meaning that to man's sense of time it seems like a long epoch, but in reality it forms but an instant when the tortoise shall have performed the journey imposed upon him by the Great Spirit. This is quite an unexpected philosophical allusion to the classical problem of relativity in time.

[2] The Delawares entertain the notion that all the tortoises seen in the woods are, unless their movements have been temporarily disturbed, headed westward in their journey across the continent imposed upon their race until the day of doom. Here is something for the naturalist to disprove!

Some persons when endowed with shaman power, it is said, can use it against anyone when they are angry. And that is the cause of some persons' disability[1] or the cause of persons going blind. And he may even decide that he can kill with it. And that is called evil conjuring.[2]

Now the non-beneficent spirit-force has shaman power wherefore a person can employ that Spiritual force for evil purpose. For, it is said by tradition, evil things belong to the Evil Spirit,[3] the cat, panther, or long-tail[4] and the snake, and also the lizard[5] and in-

[1] Literally ɔktcakaʻtan, "crooked leg," in this case meaning rheumatism or other forms of lameness.

[2] The non-benevolent practice of conjuring; witchcraft or black-magic which is as much condemned by the natives as by the mediaeval Europeans. Algonkian shamanistic accounts are fraught with both phases of the practice. So baneful is the recitation even of this information that Wi-tapano'xwe insisted it be kept out of the main body of the text.

[3] maxtaʻnetue, "Evil Spirit" has its closest analogy in Wabanaki, madaba'n-do, the term being mentioned by Father Rasles (1723) in his manuscript dictionary of Abenaki.

[4] The eastern panther (Felis cougar) only recently considered to be extinct in the Pennsylvania mountains, is known in Delaware by the peculiarity of its length of tail kwe'mi-ckwu'n-ayas "long tail." The same descriptive term is applied to the animal by the Wabanaki (pi-ta'lu, "long tail"). An interesting mention of panther hunting in Pennsylvania, but erroneously illustrated, is given by Alexander Wilson, the ornithologist in "The Foresters," published in his Portfolio 1812.

[5] This is a very old term referring to a legendary monster of lizard form, living in trees, running so swiftly as to overtake a man with ease. In early times a portion of its tail was secured by some means, it is related, and kept in possession by some malicious conjurors to work evil to mankind. A portion of the dried tail was scraped and put into the food of the intended victim causing him to die slowly by a wasting malady. The term is most interesting philologically, a variant in Brinton's Lenape Dictionary (p. 38) gegachxs (ch = x), evidently a Munsee cognate, in Nanticoke, oh'kaush-kiss, (Speck, The Nanticoke and Conoy Indians, p. 62) and occurring in Wabanaki (Penobscot) as akada'lak', denoting the salamander in lieu of the lizard which does not occur so far north. A corruption of the word in Penobscot becomes a woman's cry of surprise and fear. The word is evidently a very ancient reptilian designation. I had occasion to observe the application of this word to the

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eastern Fence Lizard (Sceloporus undulatus), at the same time recording the folk-belief from Wi-tapano'xwe that the puny creature is thought by some to be capable of entering the mouth of a person, biting his heart and causing death.

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sects, for example, the spider,[1] and also the scorpion,[2] and these birds; the screech owl and horned-owl[3] and also the chicken-killer,[4] the red-tailed hawk.[5]

[1] No specific race of arachnid is indicated by this general term, which means something repulsive.

[2] Literally "big with many legs."

[3] Onomatopoetic names. So the cry of the birds sounds to Delaware ears. Ko'cko× in some form is general in eastern Algonkian for the Great Horned Owl (Bubo virginianus).

[4] Buteo borealis.

[5] The above baneful creatures represent the agencies used by evil conjurors. The agent, animal or otherwise, used by the conjuror, is called wani pe·y·'l·ak· "the being whose power I possess and control." This is regarded by the informant as the analogue to the term baohi·'gan used commonly throughout the northern Algonkian family as the messenger or agent of the conjuror. (cf. Penobscot Shamanism, F. G. Speck, Mem. Amer. Anth. Assn. Vol. VI, No. 3, 1920) where a summary of pertinent information for the northeast is given.

Now what is called the state of being a clean, pure child is the source of a person acquiring something as his spiritual vision. Anciently there the children, little boys, it is said, were given a bow and taught how to make arrows. Before daylight they obliged him to go in swimming.[1] Now after, when he appears to be older, far off into the wilds he is driven. "Now must you hunt birds!" Food is not eaten until he kills something. And in the evening as well, the person sleeps without being fed, because, it is said, a child lying exposed in a pitiful state would cause some occasional spirit-force to have pity on him when passing by visiting all the children in the world. Because here from the sunrise direction, or from up above and sometimes from the northern direction or the south, are the directions whence they are visited by spirit-forces. On account of this it is called pitiful abuse.[2]

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Long ago it was called correction. Some persons when sick in any way, persons in perplexity and distress, would accordingly experience a dream-vision of something, or some would acquire a revelation vision.

It is that which one is blessed, whence one becomes useful[3] or becomes a healer or the reciter of a vision in the Big House.

[1] This drastic custom intended not only to harden but to purify youths. The immersion daily in pure running water is part of the ceremonial bringing-up reported in a number of eastern peoples besides the Delawares.

[2] Here we meet with an important religious phenomena,—ritual abuse to secure a more intense spiritual blessing. The concept has been discussed in the beginning of the study.

[3] Meaning that one who has obtained a spiritual blessing or inspiration is under moral obligation by Delaware ethical standards to devote his gift toward the alleviation of human misery, by healing the sick, by setting the example of purity and unselfishness to others.

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So I pray that everyone help. If accordingly everyone does all in his power, earnestly praying with all his heart, it might occasion those spirit-forces to hear our pitiful appeal, those who carry the power of blessing. And right here this evening in a little while we shall begin to feel ourselves being touched by our grandfathers[1] who move this our prayer-worship.

[1] The various man-i'tu or spirit-forces of nature, some of which have been previously mentioned by the narrator. The spirits dwelling in the turtle-shells are one of the manifestations of the Great Spirit, who function in this reference as the spirits whose duty it is to "start moving" the ceremony. The "touch" here means the "spirit of control" or the force that keeps the worship alive.

And now when worshiping, these Turkey-group people,[1] because they enter the Big House with the ceremony, that group is our old man[2] and our chief. He-Walks-Turning-Around-Slowly[3] is the one who brings in the ceremony.

When the Enterer begins the ceremony everything is prepared. Here at the middle of the right hand side, directly opposite where the stud-post stands, right here he conducts the worship—the Enterer. From this place is where they perform the vision recitations. These turtle-rattles are called our grandfathers. When they reach the place where the Master of Ceremonies sits,[4] he shakes the rattle, the leading rattle, and the follower answers him.[5]

[1] It is assumed in the text by the narrator that the Turkey, or Fowl division of the tribe is assuming the obligation to "enter the Big House bringing" meaning to sponsor the ceremony.

[2] The simile here denotes that the Turkey division has senority over the other two so far as the period of the ceremony is concerned.

[3] The performance is to be recited as though it were being conducted by the present chief of the tribe, Charles Elkhair who has held the office since 1898, whose Delaware name is Ko·kwal·apo'χwe denoting someone who is walking along slowly then turns around in the opposite direction. The same chief was the host to the ceremony described by Harrington in 1912 (Harrington I, pp. 85-7). The informant planned the text to follow Elkhair's manner of conducting it because he had participated in it frequently under him and had a clearer recollection of his addresses and details of management.

[4] This statement brings to mind the important and oft-repeated reference to the Tortoise in his transit of the world as "carrying the ceremony." The rattles, made of the animals shells, we are told, are following the same allegorical course from east to west.

[5] The dance leader uses a somewhat smaller tortoise shell than the "following," hence the designation leading rattle, as though the rattle itself were an active agency.

Then these "cranes," or drummers,[1] beat three times the drum. First the dance leader strikes the drum once, and then the follower-singer, and the leader again. And then also he will say, he who is about to recite his vision and dance, "I now must worship!" And all the old men answer. They say, "Hau! Indeed it is truly fine, my brother!"

[1] For some reason a simile has developed here by which the two men who attended to the drumming accompaniment are likened to Sandhill Cranes.

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[Stop][1] That being there in the direction of the north, there I heard him. That Person every so often started running. Indeed more and more at the thing I became oppressed about what that Person said. And he says when he started running [Stop]. 539X 796 787

[The reciter repeats the chant as before while he dances around the circuit to the next station, fig. 12, to the accompaniment of the drumming.]

Truly thankful, my kindred, I am very glad that we have lived so far in good health and that I can bestow all kinds of spiritual blessings, even including all those of our grandfathers. And before long we shall shake hands with these "cranes"[2] who are lifting up the Delaware worship. That Being was speaking, saying every time that he started running.

[Repeat the chant for the third time.][3]

More and more clearly could I see that Person. I took it to be far away toward the north where it originated and it seemed, as I saw it going by, to be reddish in appearance. And he continued speaking, that Person, saying[4]

[The drummers repeat the chant, while the Reciter dances a certain distance, then says kwi "stop," and pauses (at G on diagram (fig. 12)].

Truly it is unbecoming for me so weak, my kindred, but I shall nevertheless do as well as I can and with all my heart, pitiful me! for that is what I thought when I heard that Person saying, "My friend look at me carefully." Because he said, "I also bring blessings when I come here!" So it sounded when he started running.

[Repeat the chant for the fifth time].

Now, my kindred, I am very glad that I have reached this pure, clean White Path, and our Father's Road. And now here opposite we have come where our Grandfathers are standing.[5] And, as it is said, also we have heard how our deceased ancestors so carefully performed the rite. It is said that they called forth how many times to dance around the place where our Grandfather stands.[6] Let us, too, state

[1] This exclamation which I place within brackets wherever it occurs, is a command to the drummers to cease. Elkhair is now supposed to be standing at one of the stopping places in the dance circuit, or Great White Path, reciting his part. (fig. 12, a to g).

[2] The drummers.

[3] Here the Reciter stops almost in front of the drummers facing them and shakes hands with them. All those who are dancing behind him both men and women come up and also shake hands with the drummers, then resume their places behind the leader.

[4] The vague description of the Person (man-it'-u) seen by the visionary leaves its form and character to be imagined by the hearers. The informant for his part took it to mean to him a panther, which would, he thought, be a reasonable inference based upon the allusions by the Reciter. The latter does not like to betray in precise terms the identity of his guardian spirit.

[5] Referring to the center post with the two large carved images, before which he has now taken his stand (see diagram fig. 12, h).

[6] Meaning also the center post.

[174]

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

how many times, namely four times. And then we shall never cease talking again about that Person. If only it would be that I have good health in the future we would never stop talking about that Person, who spoke, as he said,[1]

[Repeat chant for the sixth time.][2]

Truly indeed my kindred we are enjoying very good fortune when we are given an abundance[3] of pure clean game animals as our spiritual food-offering,[4] as a result of which all shall become happy and contented in mind, when he our Father the Great Spirit has taken pity on us for our devotion.[5] But nevertheless we are pitiful, that is why here at this place we are heard sadly pleading in our Father's House.[6]

That Being continued speaking, saying;[7]

[Repeat the chant for the seventh time.][8]

Now my kindred, we have gone around him, our Grandfather's carved-face. Truly thankful, because even he has taken care of us until now and because we are in good health, including these our children. Now give reverence[9] to our Grandfather. Twice we shall lift up our appeal[10] ho+ ho+![10]

[Repeat the chant for the eighth time.][11]

And again, my brothers and sisters and also ye children, we have come dancing here to where stand those our Grandfathers, twelve in number all together our Grandfathers,[12] because from here on all the spirit-forces are alike, our grandfather Fire, and that one our mother Water, and all those who support our life with food. It is enough, my

[1] He raises his hand touching the carved face, and says ho+ ho+, and all who are with him either do the same with their hands or the prayer sticks that they carry.

[2] The inspired Reciter is now standing directly in front of the center post facing the carved image that faces toward the east.

[3] An ancient term, the modern is xahe·li "plenty."

[4] The term used here, neexpalee'tam has a meaning difficult to render, an offering made by the people all together to induce spiritual force.

[5] wi.mbenem'xa·nan, having the meaning, he has pity on us and shows his love and mercy for our act of worship.

[6] mwenda·'wan a long house used exclusively for the purpose of religious worship (cp. Penobscot kwunda'wnu).

[7] This formality is never omitted nor altered in ending the paragraphs of the address. Some speakers terminate with tem+ tem+ denoting the sound heard when the man.i't-u struck the ground on the horizon. In the case of one reciter, his guardian spirit having assumed the form of a duck, he uttered kwäk kwä, and declared that the echo reached the edge of the horizon.

[8] The Reciter is now facing the other carved image on the center post.

[9] ongo'wmastam' the term discussed before.

[10] This is the prayer-cry for which the Delawares were known two centuries ago. The speaker now touches the eastern carved face on the center post with his left hand (the rattle is in his right hand), and those standing about him, who were following him around the dancing path in his dance, raise their right hands or the prayer sticks if they have them and give the prayer-cry as he does.

[11] The Reciter now leads his followers around the center post again in a circle, stopping before the eastern carved image as he did before. Kwi "stop," he says to the dancers and drummers, and resumes his sermon.

[12] He is indicating the twelve carved images in the Big House.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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V

THE FIFTH AND SIXTH NIGHTS OF THE CEREMONY

[The performance of the usual recitations and dances of the previous nights is repeated.]

SEVENTH NIGHT OF THE CEREMONY
RETURN OF THE HUNTERS

Now, my kindred, it is the seventh evening come since we have brought in this pure prayer-worship. Now it is very pleasing that we have had good fortune, that these our young men and that he my son "Walking-four-abreast" and "With-Wings"[1] have killed game. I am indeed thankful. On account of it at least we feel pleased, and we use the animal that we offer up as a sacrifice when we are pleading with the Great Spirit.[2]

And it is truly grand that we are having good weather each and every day, on account of which we enjoy good health. When we wake up to another day, when we see him our elder brother the sun how he lights up all this earth, which causes an emotion within us, when we feel the coming warmth of his breath of life. And we are truly thankful when we acknowledge the blessing of the Night-Traveler, our elder brother the Night-Moon.[3] For we have heard the deceased, our ancient people of the past while they were explaining these many things say, according to tradition, "Night-Moon and also those stars, all of them were put in place by him who owns us.[4] That one, our father the Wind, and that one, our mother Water, flowing stream[5] and that one, our grandfather Fire, all are sitting around us; the Spirit-forces.[6] Truly, my kindred, I feel very discouraged, pitiful me. It is unbecoming for me, I feel unable, as it is said, to instruct my own kindred in blessings, so difficult is it now and so heavily are we oppressed. For instance now, when we are about to be touched by these Spirit-forces, the shell-rattles, be careful, my kindred, we must remember that we are praying for a blessing to the Great Spirit. And it is wonderful that he feels sympathy for us, he our father, also our Creator, in those wild animals which he has given us.[7]

[1] The narrator of the text is assuming that the ceremonial hunt has had a happy conclusion; that the two young men named have been blessed with game.

[2] The informant compared the offering of "wild animal" flesh in this capacity with the Hebraic offering of a pure lamb on the altar. Said he, "It shows the real feeling of the worshipper to offer this pure clean flesh."

[3] It may be recalled here that both the luminaries are moons according to Delaware conceptions.

[4] Another means of designating the Great Spirit.

[5] A metephor for our mother Water.

[6] Referring to the manitu controlling the world of nature but especially referring to the carved images on the post of the Big House who symbolize the spirit-force behind everything that possesses life.

[7] In the preceding passage we have an example of the high sounding discourse which the Delaware language is capable of expressing.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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worth much more are their services, because exceedingly heavy is this which we are doing.[1] 539X 796

Hardly, for example, can I tell how precious it is. But, however, we have heard our deceased ancestors as they were speaking about it say, according to the custom, that the labor of the Attendant, when he makes fire, when he feeds us, when he provides plenty of fire wood, and when he sweeps the House clean;—all of this purification is the cause of bringing joy to the One who created us.[2] For now we have moved along toward where the ceremony closes. Let us consider, my kindred, if it would not bring us good health if again next year right here once more we perform the ceremony.

And besides, my kindred, there remains one more matter, something I want to say for you to bear well in mind. It is said traditionally, when any one on Good meditates in his heart, there is formed the thought. And when he thinks of good it is easy to behave well, but when he misbehaves it is the Evil that a person seriously thinks about as concerns his life. It is exceedingly hard because it is necessary that we prepare the soul-spirit in order that we shall be able to take it back home again to where it belongs, to Our Father, when its use is finished here where we live. Here in this place it is the body that shall remain here because here is where it belongs in the ground.[3]

Indeed, my kindred, that is why, as it is said, I plead with you that everyone take part and help me, or call it to my attention if sometimes I forget something. Always have I seen it this way since long ago. Yet at times, as it is said, I feel not to have grasped it sufficiently in mind. That is why, as it is said, I feel well pleased when any one calls my attention to something.

The Attendants must prepare wampum in a wooden bowl and every person shall be given three beads, and every person who wishes to, when he is now leaving to go outdoors, there where sets the hominy mortar may deposit them, whoever has been given these wampum beads. [775]

And now, my kindred, here when for the last time we are touched by these our grandfathers the turtle-rattles, that is the beginning of our concluding act. Now here at last we are ready to end this Our Father's service. And, my kindred, now from hence as we are going

[1] The master of ceremonies having now brought the worship to its close now makes his final bow with an eloquent declaration of humility, a summary of the spiritual force of what has been done and an appeal to the loyalty of his tribesmen.

[2] Another designation for the Great Spirit; as the explanation runs, "We are his children." [776]

[3] Mention has already been made, in the introduction, of Delaware eschatology, how it is believed that the heart is the seat of one soul, the blood of another remaining on earth after burial. [775]

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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homa, you must take good care, for you are carrying with you the spirit of Delaware worship. From now on for one year at least, we shall enjoy benefit from all the spirit-forces given us, those on top of the earth and those up above as they were created to have mercy upon us, and besides from him Our Father, the Great Spirit, even Our Creator. This will be all for this time.

Now, my kindred, for the last time we go out to pray, everybody with all his heart. And you know that we shall go out to the east and shall carry with us the wampum that is left unused because that is our heart[1] when we appeal for a blessing to our father with whom belongs the Delaware's soul. And let us consider, every one of us earnestly, as the prayer reaches up above, and we express our faith with this wampum in our heart, because through ten and two levels of the sky we lift our prayer-appeal to where dwells him Our Father the Great Spirit, even the Creator.[2]

[1] A short discourse on wampum given in the introduction (page 64) mentions this simile.

[2] Upon this announcement the wampum beads remaining available for this purpose are tied together into one string [the informant remembered when the Big House treasury contained fifteen or twenty strings, or arm lengths, but in recent years the total length has decreased to some twelve or fifteen feet] and held resting on their hands in a line reaching from one end of the row of people to the other as far as it will go. Facing east they raise the prayer-call, six times calling ho-+ and six times hi-+. This concludes the rite.

With this prayer the last word of the Bringer-in who has at the same time been Master of Ceremonies pronounces his last word of formality, his duties are ended before the sun has reached the noon point of the thirteenth day since the worshippers have convened—the termination point established by traditional ruling. And the great ceremony is ended. The assembled families now prepare to betake themselves home. As the Big House is emptied, the ceremonial property is removed by the Attendants, the premises swept out, the doors set in place, the bar posts raised as a symbol of vacancy—a method of "locking up" habitations when the occupants are away in vogue everywhere among Algonkian people. Conveyances are loaded with camping paraphernalia and household goods and the prairie roads become dusty with the passage of the Delaware cortége on its way in various directions to distant homesteads.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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NOTE II

THE MYTH OF RED CEDAR AND THE SEVEN STARS

539x 121 [776]

Reference to the stars and to the cedar tree as spirit-forces in the course of the text seems to call for the insertion of the following narrative in the study. It was dictated by Wi·tapano·'xwe in explanation of that part of the ceremony in which cedar was given to the fires in the Big House as spiritual 'food.'

RED CEDAR A SACRED TREE

539x 824 [737 783]

Now I am explaining what is the purpose of him our Grandfather Cedar,[1] how in many different ways it is used. When a person has a swelling in his feet or his legs it is good medicine as a steam bath for one to reduce swelling. And when after a recent death anywhere that cedar is used for purifying the house.

And when the Delawares worship in the Big House cedar is always used for purifying the Big House. And that night when the time arrives for its use it is said to be a purification-agency and also all the red men who understand this Medicine-eating[2] know that the cedar is used. Although two other different kinds are used as well for purification when this Medicine-eating is going on.

[776 757]

But that cedar is the leading spirit-force that is given for strength for anyone's healing, when inhaling the smoke. Because that very thing is the purpose intended in treating and healing his grandchild when he begs it of him.

539x 773

A very long time ago in the life of the Delawares we have heard our deceased ancestors how they said, in ancient times when there were living men of great spiritual power; seven of them, it was said, all at once were not seen any more. They had gone those prophets, men departed. But young pure youths[3] blessed with a vision of something all at once while walking about along the ridge among rocky cliffs—all at once a thing upright there, seven stones almost alike. And then it was said that all at once the youth was thence spoken to by one of these stones. Then they came to be known.[4] And more and more

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[1] The specific native term for cedar is a derivative of "popping."

[2] This is the proper designation in Delaware for the Peyote ceremony; "Medicine-eating" referring to the eating of the Peyote bean (Lophophora).

[3] One need hardly be reminded that these are the young men ignorant of the ways of the world, of sin and carnality, brought up under the tutelage of solicitous parents, observant of the religious rules and guided in their conduct of life by the spirit-forces which appeared to them; the life ideals of the Delawares.

[4] Indicating that these prophets to escape the importunities of people seeking help from them had concealed their identity by transforming themselves into rock among the mountains.

11:Newcomb E-5 (1952) 1956 NM7 Delaware NM7

attitude is best summed up as one of intense emotion and reverence. It could hardly be otherwise, since any individual may come face to face with supernatural powers during the course of the ceremony. Even if he does not, he has come to the ceremony in the sincere belief that he can and will get help in solving the most serious of life's problems. This precludes a profane attitude. I can only echo Petrullo (1934: 88) who said that the atmosphere of the ceremony was "... accompanied by the deepest feeling of reverence and awe and peace that it has been my lot to have witnessed either among primitive people or Christian groups engaged in worshipping their God."

Peyote is of course the focal point of the peyote meeting, but peyote itself is not worshipped. Informants stress this again and again, probably because they have so frequently been attacked by Whites and Christian Indians on this point. Peyote is both a symbol of the supernatural forces being worshipped and a sacrament. For the Delaware peyotist it is a means of establishing contact with the supernatural world and of securing a personally satisfactory working relationship with the spirit forces. While Peyote is the most important supernatural force present, it is not the only one. The spiritual forces of Sun, Moon, Fire, and others are there. Their importance and even their existence depends upon individual interpretation (Fig. 1).

The outward emphasis of Delaware peyote meetings is upon curing. The stated purpose of the meeting I have described was to assist in the cure of the sponsor, and there was a shamanistic curing rite performed during the course of the evening. It should also be pointed out that many peyotists are eager to relate how peyote has cured them of various diseases. It would be a mistake, however, to regard Big Moon peyotism as merely a curing rite, or even to think of it as primarily so. Peyote is regarded as a spirit force through which men can approach the omnipotent supernatural power or powers. Informants sometimes equate peyote with Jesus and say that White men use the "Jesus road to God" while the "Indian takes the Peyote Road."

BIG MOON PEYOTISM—THEN AND NOW

Unfortunately Petrullo did not attend a Big Moon meeting with the Delawares near Dewey, but did participate in a Big Moon meeting of the Delawares at Anadarko. Normally there are many minor divergencies between meetings and tepee arrangements because there is no priesthood or dogmatic creed. As Petrullo (1934: 31) said, "A religion that insists that each individual can learn its doctrines only through personal experience with its gods must necessarily exist in a variable

[P.34, B]

581 Divorce and family instability were
586 common; many children were raised by mother surrogates. "Owing to instability of the family relationship, children are
581 often neglected."[9] The father was absent,
855 hunting, fishing, fighting, trading, or attending treaties during most of the year; what discipline there was fell to the hand of the mother, who was considered to
796 "own" the children.[10] During one of the
861 annual calendar of ceremonies, young children were chased by a man dressed in a bear-skin, who threatened to punish them for misdeeds (of which the parents kept him informed from year to year) by carrying them away in a bag full of snakes.[11]
[776] This "Mask Spirit" was considered to be the "Guardian of the Game" and also promoted the fertility of the corn; in other words, was the symbol of the food pro-
955 vider.[12] The boys were able to escape from the mother's supervision as soon as they were able to get about to play at hunting and fighting; but the girls were kept around
754 the house to help the mother at work.[13] When a child died, an old woman was often accused of having bewitched it.[14]

155 It would seem that the mother-figure
593 remained a symbol of possible delights which could not be secured on demand, a symbol of diffused frustration, of withheld benefits and hidden hostility, to the Delaware, and the source of his generalized, if inhibited, aggressiveness, and that the father-figure stood on the horizon, so to speak, as a powerful, friendly being, but one too remote and too aloof to be depended upon.

Emotional Attachments in Maturity

584 The ideal in marriage was for a young man to fall in love with a girl. His family would present his suit; she would accept
[585] him by accepting the presents he sent, and come to live with him; and they would live happily and faithfully ever after. The

9. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 21.
10. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 14.
11. Harrington, 1938, pp. 52-53, 113.
12. Ibid.; Harrington, 1921.
13. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 16.
14. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 128.

[P.36,A]

153 Throughout these and other instances there seems to be an association between the concepts of eating and aggression, and between the concepts of not eating (or of giving up food to another, or of relinquishing what has been eaten) and of being accepted, approved, and helped.

The Guardian Spirit

156 The Delaware could not support a sense of social disapproval or of disregard. The great importance attached by Europeans to conscience was among the Delawares replaced by an equal importance attached to "face." When self-esteem needed encouragement, the individual dreamed (or interpreted his dreams as meaning) that he was great. Zeisberger remarked, "They are proud and haughty, even a miserable Indian, capable in no respect, imagines himself to be a great lord. They hold themselves in high regard as if they were capable of great and wonderful things, in which respect they are much encouraged by dreams, held among them to be very significant and, indeed, it would appear that through dreams Satan holds the heathen bound and fettered and in close connection with himself, subjecting them in this fashion to delusion. All this the missionaries discover in those who come to church and who need be thoroughly humbled before they give up the vain imaginations concerning themselves."[31]

156 787 [157] [797]

156 One of the main functions of the guardian spirit was to buttress the Delaware's opinion of himself. "They believe," observed Zeisberger, "in numerous spirits or subordinate deities. Almost all animals and the elements are looked upon as spirits, one exceeding the other in dignity and power. There is scarcely an Indian who does not believe that one or more of these spirits has not been particularly given him to assist him and make him prosper. This, they claim, has been made known to them in a dream, even as their religious belief is alleged to have been made known to them in a dream. One has, in a dream,

● 776

156 787

31. Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 18-19.

[P. 37, A]

562 fulness, in comparison with the men, may
157 have been owing to the fact that they were much more restricted in childhood than their brothers. Nowhere in Delaware society was there the model of anyone
592 with coercive authority; neither mother nor
622 father ruled the roost at home in an
625 authoritarian sense, the sachems had no power to enforce their wishes, and there was no conception of a state with police
586 powers. Divorce was easy and frequent and could be initiated by either party simply leaving the other.[36] Supernatural
● 776 beings were not Jehovah-like Gods who regularly punished the wicked and rewarded the good; the Delaware reckoned rather with a supernatural guardian spirit who acted as a comrade and friend who would assist his mortal protege in critical passes. Shame and pride are more frequent themes than guilt and self-righteousness;
577 Speck (referring to twentieth-century Oklahoma Delawares) says, "Spiritual purity . . . is not conditioned by ethical conduct, but rather . . . through the observance of taboo regulations prescribed by ancient rulings."[37]

155 It would seem to be a fair inference that
597 the Delaware often did not develop a strong authoritarian, coercive conscience; moral values (which certainly were recognized) did not possess an awesome, mosaic character; "good" and "bad" had a light affective tone.

114 Zeisberger, who as a Moravian believed
626 in less discipline and autocracy than was fashionable in eighteenth century Europe, was still puzzled as to how a society without authority could hold together. "Judged by the mere appearance of the Indians," he wrote, "one is surprised how modest and careful they are in relation to each other and imagines that the whites, if they were as free a people and had neither government nor punishment to fear, would not
626 be as united and peaceable as the Indians appear to be."[38] This superficial smooth-

36. Heckewelder, 1819, p. 154; Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 20-21.
37. Speck, 1931, p. 51.
38. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 122.

626 ness was accomplished, not by a fear of authority, but by everyone's fear of wounding someone else's self-esteem and thereby laying himself open to aggression. In order not to antagonize another, the individual had to be very circumspect in his behavior and avoid showing his own aggressive motives. There were a variety of institutionalized techniques which functioned to forestall possible antagonism-arousing situations. "They are not quarrelsome, and are always on their guard, so as not to offend each other," said Heckewelder, and Zeisberger made similar observations.[39] [831] Swearing was unknown (although obscenity was not tabooed).[40] Persons suspected of ill-doing were not accused openly; public or private disapproval was communicated by subtle allusions or by the [609] recital of a "dream."[41] Strangers and visitors were always treated politely; and negative replies to embassies from other communities were couched in ambiguous terms so that the matter was shelved rather than 576 contended over.[42] An elaborate code of 521 etiquette governed the men's talk. "Their common conversation turns upon hunting or the news of the day. Matter that has no foundation in fact may be drawn into conversation, and even though all may be aware of this, the narration continues uninterrupted. They may laugh now and again but they will listen attentively. No one interrupts another. When one has finished another begins. They never put any one publicly to blush; they are polite to each other and enjoy being politely treated. They like to be regarded as worthy people even though they may be the opposite. They are pleased to know that 796 they are liked."[43] Religious observances ● 776 (such as the periodic obligation to give a dance for a sacred mask) were performed under an almost obsessive fear that negligence, by offending the supernatural owner, would call down an indefinite but

39. Heckewelder, 1819, pp. 145-146; Zeisberger 1778, p. 115-116.
40. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 85.
41. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 120.
42. Heckewelder, 1819, p. 150.
43. Heckewelder, 1819, pp. 103-104; Zeisberger 1778, 115-116.

[P. 38, A]

776
[796] crippling revenge.[44] Even animals, (for
[325] example, the bear) had to be conceptualized as quasi-human beings engaged in war with the Indians to legitimize their killing.[45]

Anticipation of Aggression

626 In view of these elaborate cultural devices for avoiding situations where
156 aggressions might come to the surface, either in one's own self or in others, we might expect to find considerable anxiety in everyone over the suspicion that through some slip he might have aroused the hostility of an unknown enemy, especially since in every person there seems to have been a large amount of diffused aggression which could easily be projected onto other
[754] people. The fear of witchcraft, for instance, was universal and demoralizing.[46] Lindestrom described the Delawares as "mistrustful;"[47] and both Zeisberger and
[154] Heckewelder remarked on the elaborate institutions which functioned to deflect possible aggression.[48] Parents explained their reluctance to discipline children by
[861] saying that "the children might remember it against them and avenge themselves when they have attained to maturity."[49] (Zeisberger said that he knew of some cases where children *did* threaten to punish their parents for indignities suffered in childhood.)[50]

Techniques for Expressing Aggression

154 All these mechanisms indicate that the typical Delaware individual harbored within himself exceptionally uncomfortable aggressive impulses which he was afraid to focus on anyone for fear of counter-aggression. The eruption of these aggressions periodically shattered the equable facade of social behavior. "They are able to control their desires and passions," observed Zeisberger, "but once given free

44. Speck, 1931, pp. 39-44.
45. Wallace, 1949.
46. Heckewelder, 1819, pp. 239-240.
47. Lindestrom, 1656, pp. 191-192.
48. Heckewelder, 1819, pp. 103-104; Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 115-116.
49. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 61.
50. Ibid.

[p 52(A)]

535 *Dances of the Delawares*

1. Old Religious Dance
2. Wolf Dance
3. Turtle Dance
4. Chicken Dance
5. Buffalo Dance
6. Bear Dance
7. Doll Baby Dance
8. Horse Dance
9. False Face Dance
10. Dog Dance
11. War Dance
12. Feasting Dance
13. Dance for the Dead
14. Striking the Stick Dance
15. Buzzard Dance
16. Turkey Dance
17. Duck Dance
18. [left blank]
19. Shuffle Dance

773 829 *Origin of the Three Varieties of the Human Race*

Mr. Pratt mentioned to me a Delaware explanation of the creation of the Negro, Indian and White man, to the effect that the Negro was created first, and was, as we say, a mistake or failure; it was the first attempt at man's creation. The Great Spirit next created the Indian, who was admitted to be a great improvement upon the negro; and last of all he created the white man.

The Good Spirit and the Boil

776 753 Mr. Pratt had a boil come on his arm. A Delaware told him he had a good friend, and in explanation said to him that the Evil Spirit had intended to destroy him; that he was followed in his rounds to do mischief to men by a small but good spirit, who continued in various ways to defeat the evil spirit of his purpose, when it was a case in which he wished to save the person from harm. That as the evil spirit was about to put forth his power upon him, the little spirit stepped forward and said to the evil one, "you let me deal with this person," whereupon he took or drew on his invisible bow a small and invisible arrow, and shot

[p 52(B)]

776 Mr. Pratt on the arm, and hence the boil.
753 In the meantime, the evil spirit, seeing the little spirit about to deal with him, passed on, and was thus diverted from his purpose. After doing this friendly act the little spirit at once passed on upon the track of the evil one to arrest and avert as many of his evil deeds as he could by persuasion, cunning or artifice. Thus the Indian said Mr. Pratt had a friend, and this boil was the result of his friendly interposition to save him from a greater evil.

[*Delaware Clans*]

115 Conversation with [Morgan's blank], the mother of Charles Johnny Cake.[83] She is sub. 1 Wolf Tribe. Her husband was Turtle. Her children are Wolf.

614 She confirms the division into Wolf, Turtle and Turkey Tribes, and says these are subdivided. The Wolf has the Bear, the Turtle the Big and Little Turtle, and the Turkey has the Crow. Those belonging to
[582] each subdivision to this day refuse to intermarry; but Little Turtle intermarries with Big Turtle, Bear with Wolf, Crow with Turkey. The children of ancient times and
[611] now are of the tribe of the mother in all cases. The terms Wolf, Turtle and Turkey are general ones, the word Took-seat, the name of the Wolf Tribe means "a round foot." There is another name for Wolf, Tam-me. The word for Turtle, Poke-koo-rin-go, does not mean any particular kind of Turtle, and so the name of the Turkey, Pal-la-ooh, means any kind of fowl. It appears to be a generalization for haired, non-haired and feathered animals. The subdivisions I must learn from her son.

She mentioned the We-loon-see Tribe as that of the Little Turtle, and also the Crow and the Bear, but could not remember their names. She gave We-saw-hut-ko, meaning

[54(c)]

124 I am very anxious to know. I asked an old
614 Delaware this morning, and he very coolly
582 told me that these questions were too small, by which he meant, I suppose, that it was prying into family matters rather impertinently.

614 It is by means of these subdivisions with
582 the prohibition of intermarriage that des-
611 cent in the female line is secured.

Lemuel R. Ketchum [90A] says:

622 The Delawares have three Heads or great chiefs, one for each tribe. This chief is called Sa-ke-ma. It means Principal Chief. It is the name of the office, or the title of the person equivalent to President or King. They also have two subordinate chiefs. These chiefs together are called Ka-ke-um-ha-suk, or the chiefs. The term also includes the three
[623] head chiefs, and is used in contradistinction to councillors. The office has no special name. These two are inferior. If the three head chiefs decide upon a measure the two inferior must submit, but if two of the head chiefs and the two inferior chiefs should agree and the third head chief should stand out, the thing could not be done. The principal power is with the head chiefs. The three head chiefs can never go out to war, but the two inferior chiefs may. They are not, however, called war chiefs. Besides
623 these three the wise and experienced men of the nation are called councillors or Ha-ha-che-nowl-se-chick, which means simply councillors. These have a right to speak in a council of the chiefs. They can speak of their own motion without waiting to be
[562] asked by the chiefs. Women cannot speak in council.

Religious System

771 The Delawares believe in a Great Spirit,
[770] and in an Evil Spirit. They also believe in
[775] the immortality of the soul, and that they all went to heaven.

90A [For footnote, see category 116, p. 209(C)--Analyst]

15:Morgan E-5 (1859)1359
NM? Delaware NM?

[p 55(c)]

000 tains. There are two cases of *polygamy* here.
595 Two well known Indians have two wives
183 each. The Delawares are opposed to it, and are inclined to make a fuss about it. But I suppose it is an old Indian institution and they cannot make a law against it. If it was contrary to Indian law they would not admit the children of both mothers to annuities. As it now stands, their annuity is a
657 bounty on children. I think the Delawares are tempted by their annuities.

Religious System of the Delawares[91]

● 776 William Adams, Del.

The Delawares believe in a Great and in an Evil Spirit. They also believe in a number of subordinate spirits, some of whom are waiting or ministering spirits of the Good and some of the Evil One. Among the waiting spirits of the former are the following.

776 821 1. Kaka-sha-ha-no-hase, the Spirit of the Whirlwind. He is represented as having the form of a man and is called Grand Father.

2. O-we-ya-la-so, the Spirit of the Wind. He is represented as having the form of a man, with long streaming hair, so long that it sometimes gets entangled in the trees as he rides along. He is called Grand Father.

3. Pate-hoc-hoo-weh, the Spirit of Thun-
[825] der. He is represented as having the form of a bird, an Eagle, called Grand Father.

776 823 4. Wa-o-tun-oo-wase, the Spirit of Water. She is represented as having the hands of a woman, and the body, but ending in a fish's tail. She is supposed to dwell in every drop of water as well as in every river, creek, lake and stream, and sometimes to be a punishing spirit. She it is in cases of drowning who pulls the person under the water. Hence her name means "Pulling Down far Under."

776 [824] 5. Has-gueme, the Spirit of Corn. She is represented as having the form of a woman, and is called our Mother. She can foretell

[p56 (A)]

776 about the coming crop. When she rises with her hair combed smooth and shining, and is seen in this condition, it is a favorable omen and indicates an abundant crop. When she rises with her hair uncombed and loose, it indicates a bad crop, or a failure of the harvest.

6. Wa-ma-take-a-nese, the Boy Spirit. He is represented as a little boy, with a bow and arrow, and as a constant friend of the Indian. He is everywhere and always at hand in the most impossible places, ready to assist us in our trials and troubles. He is a servant of the Great Spirit.

776 727 [824] [821] 7. Ma-mun-da-ase, the Spirit of War. He is represented as having the form of a panther, with a very long tail. He can foretell war about to arise, who will fight, and who succeed. The meteoric stones are dropped by him, and the war will arise in the direction from which the meteor comes, and go in the direction it goes. He is under the control of the Great Spirit, as are all good spirits.

776 773 The Great Spirit has the form of a man (name elsewhere). The Evil Spirit has the form of a man with one leg, the leg of an ox. The tradition is that the Evil Spirit was created by the good and was himself originally good, but he originated a contention among the inferior spirits which resulted in a division and taking of sides. In the midst of this contention they all came into the presence of the Great Spirit, who seized the Evil One and as a mark of his disapprobation and as a punishment, he wrenched off one of his legs and placed in the room of it that of an ox, that he might ever afterwards be known and recognized at once as an evil spirit, and then sent him down to the earth with the evil spirits who followed him.

775 Heaven they consider to be immediately over their heads and a place in which they

[¶ 56(c)]

775 of the souls of those who were punished by
825 the evil spirit, the wreck, or fragments into which they were cut up were turned into mosquitoes and such evil creatures.

776 Bad spirits are believed to pass by about
787 day break and good spirits are believed to pass along about dark. For this reason boys are often sent to bed without supper, that they may commune with or be visited by
[785] good spirits, the fasting state being thought to be favorable to such communion, and for the same reason are often compelled to get up before day break that the evil spirits may not obtain or exercise any wicked influence upon them.

776 I am told that the Shawnee Female Great
821 Spirit is in reality the moon, and is worshipped as our Grand Mother or something of that sort; and Isaac Johnny Cake who mentioned this [to] me also said that the Great Spirit of the Delawares was represented and believed to be a brother of the Sun, and that the Moon was the Grand Mother of the Great Spirit; and young Toucey, the Stockbridge, says that there is
[171] some evidence of a [?] in of the sun in the worship of several of the Indian races, including his own. The Iroquois return thanks to the sun for heating the earth and to the moon for cooling it, but this does not show a sun worship or anything like it.
[115] William Adams is to correspond with me on the religious system of the Delawares, and I hope to find out something definite about it.

Gum-mween

796 This festival or annual worship of the Delawares as explained by William Adams and of which he is to write to me more fully, is quite interesting. They believe unless they
[241] observe it once a year their crops will fail, and they will lose the favor of the Great Spirit.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7

796 "a whole buck-skin with the head and antlers is raised upon a pole, head and antlers resting on the pole, before which the Indians sing and pray."[62] Speck noted that the sweat lodge was erected in the Big House in the Wolf phratry ceremony and that "the sweating rite was held as a test of endurance for the men who had spiritual guidance."[63] Zeisberger also stated that there was a number of less important ceremonies arranged by individuals.[64]

A minor ceremony, continued until the twentieth century but unrecorded in the earlier literature except for a casual reference by Zeisberger, was the "Otter-Hog Dance."[65] This rite had to be given every [777] few years by a certain family or else bad luck ensued (O.A.). The leader of this dance wore an otter hide which stretched from his head down his back to the ground. Special songs were sung, and the meat of the largest procurable hog was consumed during the dance. The hog's head was carried around in a pan by the leader during the dance and at the conclusion of the ceremony was consigned to the flames (O.A.). Harrington mentioned this ceremony and gave an origin myth for it, but his informants did not remember the dance itself.[66] Speck has also described this "Grease Drinking, or Otter Ceremony."[67]

[532] Another series of minor ceremonies consisted of the Doll Dances. These dances probably originated in prehistoric times, but were not recorded in the early documents. The dolls seem to have had their origin in the visions of women and were passed down through the maternal line.[68] Doll owners had to give their dolls annual dances, usually in the spring. The doll was tied to a stick and the dancers carried it during the all-night ceremony. Both sexes participated; men danced in an inner circle, the women in an outer. They danced around a fire on either side of which two poles had been raised. The drum used in this ceremony was the "package" drum used in the Big House Ceremony (O.A., M.B., J.T., J.W.). Twelve songs were sung in the course of the ceremony, followed by a pause for a feast in which various corn dishes prepared by the owner of the doll were eaten. After this meal the songs were repeated, and just before dawn cornbread was scattered on the ground and was picked up and eaten by the dancers. Speck said that a Doll Dance "embodies the idea of appeasing the latent ill-will of the Spirit of Corn, aroused through innocent familiarity incurred in the past between the children of certain families and this sensitive Manitto."[69] Harrington described the Doll dances, but his description varies somewhat from mine.[70]

There were undoubtedly other dances and feasts, including first fruits rites,[71] given at different seasons by various family or other kin

[62] *Ibid.*, pp. 138-39; Kenny, 1913, pp. 196-97.
[63] Speck, 1937, p. 21.
[64] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 140.
[65] Zeisberger, 1871, p. 344.
[66] Harrington, 1921, pp. 176-82.
[67] Speck, 1937, pp. 44-48.
[68] The section on Mythology describes several origin tales for the Doll Dances.
[69] Speck, 1937, p. 61.
[70] Harrington, 1921, pp. 164-71.
[71] Hayes, 1954, p. 70 (first deer killed after an annual ceremony, on June 9, 1760); Loskiel, 1794, p. 40; Brickell, 1842, p. 49.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

224 1789 [887] pocket. Thus the old men support themselves when they can no longer engage in the chase. As there are several sorts of charm of this character, every one is desirous to get the best, even if he has already at the price of half the catch of a season bought one charm and if it should cost him the greater part of his property to get the new one of which he has heard. Some Indians chew a certain root when on the deer-hunt, so the deer may not notice their approach when the wind blowing over the Indian to the game would otherwise give the alarm.

Another kind of Beson, considered to be a more powerful charm, is taken inwardly and occasions violent vomiting, but this is not in common use. According to the opinion of the Indians this beson will prove mischievous and have a contrary effect unless every ceremony connected with its use is attended to with the most scrupulous exactness. If a huntsman shoots nothing for several days, he swallows a small dose, observing all the rules prescribed by magic art. Not having taken any food he then starts on the chase and does not return before evening unless he has secured some game. It is claimed that the use of this charm enables them to shoot deer in considerable numbers. I have observed, however, that Indians have repeatedly taken such doses during a period of three weeks and not been successful. In such cases ill-luck is ascribed to some other cause, frequently to the presence of a missionary. In cases where Indians, unable to secure anything in spite of the use of this beson while I was present have been successful in my absence, it has appeared that my presence has in some way interfered with their incantations.

[777]

[787] In connection with the chase they lay much stress on dreams. If the dreamer fancies he sees an Indian and hears him say, "If thou will sacrifice to me, thou shalt shoot deer at pleasure," he will immediately prepare a sacrifice and burn the whole or part of a deer in honor of the apparition.

Occasionally, when an Indian would go hunting for a season, he will by way of preparation shoot a deer or two, bring home the flesh and prepare a feast, which is at the same time a sacrifice, to which the aged are invited. The latter pray for him that he may be fortunate and then he departs to stay away some time.

The Gods of the Delaware

776 The Delaware believed in a supreme first power, "who had not only produced or made all things, but produces every day...Everything he makes and does is good." (Danckaerts, p. 174). This does not mean that the creator necessarily creates everything himself, but what ever being creates (as, for example, the tortoise in the creation myth) does so as his agent; Brainerd noted that although the Indians paid reverential attention to birds, beasts, fishes and reptiles, "...they do not indeed suppose a divine power essential to, or inhering in, these creatures; but that some invisible beings ...communicate to these animals a great power; ...and so make these creatures the immediate authors of good to certain persons." (Brainerd, pp. 344-45). Likewise the guardian spirits and all other beings with unusual power derive it from the Great Spirit (Penn, p. 37; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 128)

In addition to granting objects of nature special power on certain occasions, the Great Spirit is believed to have given more or less permanent control over certain aspects of nature to lesser beings. From this arises their concept of the lesser deities such as the four directions, the Sun, the Moon, Thunders, Living Solid Face or Mask Being (Harrington, 1913, pp. 226-27; Brainerd, p. 345: Heckwelder, 1881, pp. 212-213). We know from later sources that this last being is the guardian of the animals. He is the only deity whose appearance is specifically designated and represented by a costume. The face is a wooden mask painted half red and half black; its body, which was supposed to have been hairy, is represented by a suit of bearskin (Harrington, 1921, p. 33). Apparently Brainerd saw a shaman dressed to represent this being for his description coincides in all details (Brainerd, p. 237). The only other known images of the Delaware were faces, also painted red and black, which were carved on the Big House posts and miniature stone faces which were worn around the neck. Present day Delwares think of the former as representing the spirits in charge of each of the twelve heavens, and consider them related to the Living Solid Face (Beatty, p. 22; Harrington, 1921, p. 31). The latter were according to Harrington, worn as good luck or good health charms (Harrington, 1921, p. 36). An example of one found in an east coast site is shown in Skinner (1920, p. 5).

532 [292] [777]

773 [771] The Delaware also told of a super-human man who had come in the remote past and taught them how to live. In Lindstrom's version, a Lenape woman became pregnant and gave birth to a son although no man had any connection with her. This boy, "...had so much to say that it was a great wonder and performed many miracles and wonders. When he now became somewhat large he departed from us and went up into the air... 'He promised to come back to us, but he never came back to us again,' they say." (Lindstrom, p. 208). In other accounts these same features are combined with a more specific refer-

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

776 796 called *Weopĕ'lakis*, to distinguish it from another, kept by a different family, which was not so important, and about which little was known by my informants except that, within their memories, it had never appeared at the Annual Ceremony, but that it probably had a spring dance of its own. There is an indistinct tradition, however, that in former times several masks were seen at the Annual Ceremony, and that half a day was given up to them.

751 ●777 778 Miniature masks (fig. 3) were often worn on the person as health or good-luck charms, in former days usually suspended from a string about the neck, but in later times carried in the pocket. The two large Unami masks in the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, are shown in pl. II and fig. 1.

776 778 Among the Minsi there are considerable differences in belief and in practice, their masks resembling those of the Iroquois in many particulars. The late James Wolf said that "Mizinkhâli'kŭn" was supposed to live among the rocks

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

on a hill, where he was first seen, and told the people how to obtain his power. The mask owners formed a society, which

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FIG. 3.—Charm representing Mĭsinghâli'kŭn. (Height, 1.9 in.)

had a special meeting-house and ceremonies, and whose chief function it was to expell disease. This will be discussed further in another paper. Peter Jones[25]

7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

This motive would be insufficient, even a sacrilege. The spiritual preparation of its participants was made a matter of prime importance and the purity of those concerned in it was to be insisted upon. Joe Washington has since felt that these serious injunctions were of so drastic a character that until the present time they could not be complied with. It seems, therefore, that there is little prospect for anything more than a dictated version to be obtained, which will have to await necessary support for its accomplishment.

Upon the occasion of my expedition to the Delawares in Oklahoma some time was spent in interviews with Tom Half Moon[1] who had had experience as an attendant, or *a'ckas*, of the Big House Ceremony as performed in recent years by his group, the Turkey group. The notes offered are, therefore, advantageous in respect to the details furnished by one who had the teachings directly from those who were responsible for its proper conduct. These notes should accordingly serve as a supplement to that section of the ceremony published in the Big House Ceremony volume dealing with the duties of the attendants. They are in effect as follows:

The attendants who sweep the White Path, or the path around which the dancers proceed when performing in the Big House after each dance, do so with turkey wings, using only the left hand in holding the fans, since the left hand is the holy hand, the right the unholy. The male attendants start sweeping at opposite ends from the women. When they have swept the dancing path twelve times they have cleared away the obstacles of an unfavorable spiritual nature lying between the worshippers and the Great Spirit. As was noted in the published account, the attendants each receive a yard of wampum at the end of the ceremony. He also noted that those who attended the ceremony received two wampum beads each to be kept by them as tokens of good fortune until the next performance. These beads were, he added, held in the mouth as sacred objects when the members went outside

[1] His Delaware title-name is *Axkwe'lpaqqu'xwe*, "Overturns Mountains when Walking," a member of the Turkey group.

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

[524] used to denote a game of extremely wide distribution throughout northern North America and retaining a uniform type wherever found, is common among the Delawares. At the present time it is played for amusement by persons of both sexes and all ages during the evenings in winter time. This, too, is regarded as a pastime for those who are born in winter, one that is thought to bring on cold stormy weather the ensuing day. Herein lies its ceremonial character.

To a sharpened stick or bone is fastened a leather string some twenty inches long at the other end of which is fixed the tail of a rabbit. On the string are threaded five hollow cones, the wider ends open toward the stick. For the want of sufficient native material the Delawares make these cones by hollowing out and tapering common spools. In former times they were the phalanges of the deer. In the specimens figured one is constructed with spools, the other with sections of some animals' leg bones. The object of the play is to swing the cones in the air, catching as many as possible on the end of the pointed stick. Each player repeats the attempt to impale these cones until he misses three times. For each cone caught on the stick he receives a count of one. The players keep count of their totals by memory. The winning total is decided upon at the beginning of the game, it may be 15, 25, 50 or 100 points. Small wagers are laid upon the [525] outcome, the player to reach the total first taking the stakes. To catch the rabbit's tail counts nothing.

[171] I hardly need comment upon the wide distribution of this game from the Pacific to the Atlantic and as far south as the Plains unbrokenly across North America, even in archaeological levels of considerable historical depth as Dr. Strong's findings indicate (Strong, op. cit., p. 192).

CEREMONIAL DOLLS

778 *Oxta's*, "Doll or Plaything."—The privilege of making dolls as toys out of cornhusks is denied children. The reason [777 753] is that corn is too sacred to be trifled with. To violate this would bring on bad luck in the form of sickness. Only those in whose family inheritance the obligation to make and to perform in ceremony with such creations are permitted to

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

525 money, or as a minor stake the penalty is to cut wood for the owner of the house where it is played or for the winner, or to go on an errand, or to butcher a hog for him the next day, as the case may be.

844 777 821 This game has its limitations of performance inasmuch as it is proper only for those born in winter to engage in it and it is only played in the winter time, with the result that it brings on storms of sleet and blizzards. For these preferences to be violated would bring on bad luck.

The markings on the straws valued from 5 to 75, are indicated in the accompanying sketch.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

Now when they return from the hunt, the Hunt-Leader when now he has come near even if it is midnight, shall shoot a signal once for as many deer as were killed, shooting so many times. And now when the Cranes hear the signal-shot of the Hunter he shall immediately run into the Big House and begin to sing for these hunters. All the Attendants must be ready to feed the hunters and all the horses unsaddled and fed, for that is the rule and act governing the Attendants.[1]

First the Bringer-in prays, using tobacco.[2] He bestows a blessing when offering praise to him our Father. This is sufficient for this time.[3]

There is also, my kindred, an ancient custom that we beg the Mask-Spirit to dance for us. You Cranes, you know how and you understand those songs which are used for this occasion when singing for the Mask. Every person who wants to go in the Big House is permitted to look on while the Mask dances in the Big House.[4]

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informant, who has taken part in this hunting rite, are that the leader distribute portions of tobacco to the hunters who are under his control. At each night's camp the stopping place is selected by him, the rations of food are distributed, tobacco is offered to the fire with a prayer by the leader and other details suggesting the rules governing the war parties' conduct among Central Algonkian and in the southern Plains areas.

Wi-ta'panoxwe, it is interesting to note, recalled, during his experience with the hunting squad, how a screech-owl cried near their camp one night; which has long been a sign of good luck (see also Zeisberger, p. 139). The next day he killed a deer, being the first of the party to do so.

[1] The hunters are not obliged to be concerned with the trouble of saddling, unsaddling or feeding their horses when enlisted in the sacred task of the ceremonial hunt. The Attendants take over all such duties of service to them and their animals.

[2] He burns a little tobacco in the fire.

[3] Hereupon it being between nine and ten o'clock in the morning, the hunters leave, departing westward toward the Osage nation nowadays, the only hunting ground accessible to them.

[4] The man wearing the mask and the bear-hide clothes keeps the mask and clothes some hundred yards from the Big House at the edge of the brush in the open, hung upon a branch to keep it away from the dogs. Anyone who desires to perform this rite may put on the paraphernalia and accept the invitation as given above, and go into the Big House and dance. His dance lasts about ten minutes anywhere in the Big House that he desires. The mask when worn is held by the chin with the holder's fingers in the mouth of the mask, so that the wearer can adjust the focus of the eyes of the carving to his own focus of vision. The eye holes are small, yet the mask could be adjusted so that the performer could see as though he were looking through spectacles. To be able to do this was considered as a sign of spiritual greatness. It might be added that the face illustrated in Harrington's study (Fig. 1, p. 32) has the left eye-hole enlarged, something that had been done improperly, according to the informant. He leaves wearing the garb and returns it to the place where it is kept (fig. 9). This all takes place before noon.

[P. 35, B]

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571 women, and might safely therefore be more "friendly" with them.

Oral Fixation

153 There is some evidence to suggest a preoccupation, which had a large component of aggressiveness, with oral needs. This concern with eating (and with other oral phenomena, such as ritualistic pipe-smoking, naming, and oratory), which reached far beyond subsistence requirements, can hardly be ascribed to a realistic subsistence anxiety since the Delawares had ample supplies of animal and vegetable foods at their disposal, and adequate techniques for cultivating, gathering, preserving, and storing them. It is worth [787] mentioning that the pubescent Delaware solicited the favor of a guardian spirit by self-imposed fasting; the spirit was supposed to pity him and appear in a vision; later the spirit would be important to him in helping to secure food.[23] Oral rituals, often with a compulsive quality, were a [527] recurrent institutional theme: almost all social gatherings involved eating, smoking, and oratory, and some were frankly eating-orgies—the famous "eat-all" feasts, for example; the fondness for liquor may be regarded as an oral trait of compulsive [757] character;[24] internal medicines were usually [758] taken as liquid herbal infusions, usually in large doses;[25] the sick lived on a liquid [754] diet;[26] suicide and witchcraft were both 762] accomplished in most cases by poison taken by mouth;[27] tortured prisoners were some- [727] times ceremonially eaten, and hunger 266] cannibalism was reported;[28] war parties made a ceremonial feast the night before their departure;[29] emetics were extensively [757] used in the treatment of disease, and vomit- 777] ing was thought to relieve a sense of guilt, and also to bring luck.[30]

23. Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 132-133.
24. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 116; Heckewelder, 1819, p. 263.
25. Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 24-25; Tantaquidgeon.
26. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 24.
27. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 125; Heckewelder, 1819, p. 258.
28. Heckewelder, 1819, p. 199; Zeisberger, 1778, p 107-108.
29. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 103.
30. Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 84, 133-134.

3: Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

The only idol which the Indians have, and which may properly be called an idol, is their *Wsinkhoalican*, that is image. It is an image cut in wood, representing a human head, in miniature, which they always carry about them either on a string around their neck or in a bag. They often bring offerings to it. In their houses of sacrifice they have a head of this idol as large as life put upon a pole in the middle of the room.

Their ornaments are partly round shields and half moons of silver, partly the same forms made in wampum. These are usually worn upon the breast for adornment. They also have great belts of wampum made of the violet, not the white, wampum. Men as well as women wear silver crosses upon the breast and in the ears which custom comes from the French. The *Wsinkhoalican* they like also to hang about their children to preserve them from illness and insure them success.

They are very fond of white children. Hence Indian women run after white men and, when they have white children, make much of them, although they do not like the white people. Twins are regarded as particularly fortunate, being looked upon as favored people who have a great spirit.

Their language resembles various other languages, some more, some less. When one remembers how near or how far they have lived from one another it will appear that the differences in the languages have come about through the separation of the peoples and the little contact they have had with one another.

The Unami and the Wunalachtico both lived along the sea in Pennsylvania and in Jersey, a short distance from one another. Their languages differ very little. That of the Monsys[306] who lived on the other side of the Blue Mountains in Minnissink is very different from these, so that had they not dwelt nearer together and been in constant contact in recent times they would hardly understand each other. Yet the speech of each of these peoples is but a dialect of one and the same language. The language of the Mahikanders[307] bears much resemblance to that of the Monsys, the former having lived in New York and the Woapeno not far from them in New England. The language of the Nantikoks, formerly residing on the seacoast in Maryland, very much resembles the Delaware, differing only in pronunciation

of this substance. His niece was preparing it for a small child who was dangerously ill. She dropped a small quantity in a cup of hot water and observing it settle to the bottom, knew that the small patient would not recover. The medicine was administered as a tea, but the child died in a short time.[33]

In the making of an emetic, the necessary water should be dipped from the stream *with* the current;[34] for a cathartic, *against* the current. A similar regulation applies to the gathering of bark; for use as an emetic, the bark is peeled upward; for a cathartic, downward.

Formerly there were among the Delaware, as among other tribes, certain men and women whose supernatural power enabled them to communicate with the dead, to locate lost persons and objects and to foretell coming events. This practice was known as "locating or foretelling," and one who possessed such power was known as a "man who tells of the future." The source of this extraordinary power was attributed to one's guardian spirit or in some instances to the spirits of the dead. Those who were able to communicate with the dead usually performed at night. Such a person was also thought able to cure paralysis.

Some individuals who possessed the power to stay under water for a period of several hours at one time, were frequently called upon to locate a drowned person or a submerged object. One man was known to have found the body of a drowned person after months of futile searching by others. Some years later, the son of this shaman, after becoming converted to Christianity and studying for the ministry, finally persuaded his father to abandon the native faith and join the Christian church. In doing so the old seer, forsaken by his supernatural guardian, forfeited his magical power. Later the old man returned to the Delaware religion, but the power which enabled him to be of service to his tribesmen, was gone forever.

Witapanóxwe's grandfather was one of the last of the Delaware to possess such extraordinary mental and physical powers. He was able to perform the submersion feat and several times located the bodies of persons who had drowned in the rivers of Kansas. On one occasion a

[33] In reference to remedies for fever, Zeisberger observes (*op. cit.*, p. 55) that "when a patient has been given a dose, they are generally able to tell by its workings whether he will recover or die. If he does not retain the medicine it is regarded as a sign that he will hardly recover."

[34] This practice was noted by Heckewelder, *op. cit.*, p. 224.

into lengths averaging from six to eight feet. The end of each of these poles is pushed into the ground to form a circular outline, five or six feet in diameter, with a somewhat wider space marking the entrance towards the north or south. The opposite ends are then bent over and lashed down to form a dome-shaped structure, over which skins, mats or blankets are laid. The fire, located in the lodge center, is built of twelve logs of hard wood. Neither driftwood nor wood obtained from a tree struck by lightning are suitable for this purpose. The use of the former, known as "gathered together by water," would tend to cause a flood. Fuel taken from a tree struck by lightning, is termed "thunder burned wood"; its use in the sweat lodge, thus angering the Lightning Spirit, would cause a severe storm.

The native doctor may employ any person to assist in building the fire, carrying rocks and water, or arranging mats of Indian hemp and bark for the pallet upon which the patient is laid. The latter is covered with skin robes or blankets so that only his head is exposed. After the fire has burned down sufficiently to form a bed of coals, more logs are added and the rocks, usually limestone, brought in. Twelve stones of medium size are placed in the fire. For handling them, a branch of hickory or any hard wood, about five feet long, is split at one end for use as a fork. After the rocks have become thoroughly heated, water is poured over them to produce steam. The doctor prays and sings for a period of time determined by the nature of the sickness and the strength of the patient. His song at this time is the narration of his dream-vision experience made as an appeal to the Creator and his supernatural guardian. Although the emphasis in this type of treatment is upon mental suggestion, in some instances tea made of herbs is administered by the doctor.

In addition to the lodge, poles, fire logs, and steam rocks [89] grouped in units of twelve to conform with the twelve levels of heaven, symbolical significance is also attached to fire, water, and stone. These are regarded as minor deities, often referred to in terms of human consanguinity (Speck, 1931, p. 32), possessed of great healing

[89] Brinton (1888, p. 37) in writing of the survival of curing rites among the Ontario Delaware, states: "I enquired in particular if there are any remnants of the curious adoration of the twelve sacred stones described by Zeisberger. I found that the custom of the sweat lodge still prevails. The steam is generated by pouring water on hot stones. This is done by the medicine man who is known as *Quechksapiet*. He brings in one stone after another and pours water on it until it ceases "to sing" and invariable he uses precisely twelve stones."

776 778 power. Besides its specific name, the term, "our Grandfather," is applied ceremonially to fire. Rocks are also known as "our Grandfathers." Water is regarded as a powerful spiritual force and is known as "our Mother."

757 Some cases of illness can be cured in one treatment while in others it is necessary to hold several meetings in the sweat lodge. The latter is known by a term meaning "temporary sweating." New stones are secured for each treatment. It is considered advisable to let one or more days elapse between treatments, as determined by the physical condition of the patient. The latter is occasionally massaged by the doctor, who first warms his hands upon a hot stone before rubbing the affected area. Often it is necessary also for the healer to [755] blow hot or cold air upon the patient. For the first the shaman's breath is warmed by means of a hot drink. In Delaware terminology this is known as "warm breath." In case of fever or exhaustion the "cooling breath" is used. One doctor had so much supernatural power in this respect that his breath would cause a swelling wherever it struck the body. It was therefore necessary for him to exercise great care in this type of treatment to avoid bringing undue discomfort to the patient.

795 515 Following the ritual performance in one of the Delaware peyote cults, it is customary at the present time for the participants, both men and women, to go into the sweat house (Petrullo, 1934, p. 95). This usually occurs before sunrise. The sweat house for this assemblage accommodates about twenty persons. The equipment is precisely the same as for the performance previously described, but there is no ritual connected with this performance. Men and women enter together and drink hot water to induce perspiration. In case of nausea, they chew "Osage tobacco" (wild sage) and swallow the juice. This plant, according to my informant, has a very strong taste together with astringent qualities. The sweating period is followed by a plunge.[31]

[31] This is comparable to the semi-social aspect of the rite as described by Heckewelder, *op. cit.*, pp. 225-226. "These sweat ovens are generally at some distance from an Indian village where wood and water are always at hand. The best order is preserved at those places. The women have their separate oven in a different direction from that of the men, and are subjected to the same rules. The men generally sweat themselves once and sometimes twice a week; the women have no fixed day for this exercise, nor do they use it as often as the men." He also states: ". . . A cryer goes his rounds calling *pinook*, 'go to sweat.' Everyone brings his small kettle which is filled for him with the potion which at the same time serves him as a medicine, promotes profuse perspiration, quenches his thirst."

4: Tantaquidgeon E-5 (1930) 1942
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The Medicine Bundle

The existence of the medicine bundle complex [33] among the Delaware has apparently escaped the notice of recent investigators in the field of Delaware ethnology. Both Harrington (1921, pp. 36, 42, 49, 65-66) and Speck (1931, p. 42) mention the use of personal and tribal fetishes but omit any reference to the bundle concept, as such. This is doubtless due to the deeply religious convictions of the informants who regard such objects as too sacred to be displayed or discussed in the unclean environment in which they must perforce live. It was not until the conclusion of the work that I learned of my informant's ownership of a medicine bundle. He was reticent about speaking in detail of its contents, but inferred that it was made up of personal charms and medicines.

While the use of the medicine bundle among the Delaware is not accompanied by the highly developed ritualism observed by the Medicine Bundle societies [33] of the central Algonkian tribes and others in adjacent areas, there is a simple code, characteristic of the trend of Delaware religious thought, to which the owners of the bundles adhere.

The Delaware bundle is said to contain sacred articles which are assembled in accordance with injunctions laid down by one's spiritual guardian in a dream vision. In addition to pieces of roots for use in concocting secret formulæ, a bundle usually contains personal tokens such as a bird claw, a feather, a piece of bone or horn, an animal tooth, a magic stone, or emergency gift.[34] One man may have several or all of the articles enumerated while others possess only one. Each case is of course determined by the supernatural experience of the individual. For example, men of the warrior class carry, besides their individual charms, some particular medicine prepared for the exclusive use of warriors.[35] Hunters carry an animal lure also prepared from a formula handed down from older generations, and carefully preserved. The bundles of the herbal practitioners and sweat doctors contain portions of rare roots and plants used in their healing practices. These different

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[32] A term meaning "gathered together," used in speaking of the Medicine Bundle, refers to objects forming a collection intended for magical practices.

[33] This engrossing subject has been dealt with in detail by Skinner, 1913, p. 91; 1920, pp. 168, 266; Hoffman, 1893, p. 75; Kroeber, 1907, p. 418; Densmore, 1929, p. 93; Wissler, 1912, and 1916; Lowie, 1924 a, p. 335 ff.

[34] See medicine stone, p. 23.

[35] See warrior medicine, pp. 34-35.

778 sacred objects are wrapped in buckskin or cloth to protect them against exposure to unclean surroundings that might tend to defile such objects of sacred authorship.

778 787 The way in which such supernatural tokens are obtained by their owners is illustrated by the following. Once a man dreamed of seeing a plant, called by the Delaware, "frost" or "ice weed." He heard a voice which said to him, "I am strong and great. Stronger than any other plant because I stay green longer in the fall. Use me and I will make you strong." The man then went out and obtained a specimen of the plant for his medicine bundle. In another case a boy saw a horned toad in his vision and knew that it was to be his guiding spirit. He went out in search of a horned toad and finding one, picked it up, saying, "Give me your horn." At the command the toad gave the youth his horn which the latter kept until an old man.

778 The medicine bundle is the most highly cherished material possession of a chief, warrior or medicine man. He may possess one or more bundles which he has the privilege later of bestowing upon another. This seldom occurs until a man has reached an advanced age, the period at which he feels inclined to transfer his power and supernatural tokens to a younger man. The person chosen to be the recipient of this sacred gift must be spiritually and physically clean. He is called into conference with the older man several times before the actual transfer is made. Then it is given to him with the admonition that he must use the power wisely and keep the bundle from defilement to avoid forfeiture of the sacred gifts. At times medicine bundles are not transferred through the lack of a youth competent to deal with matters of spiritual import. In such a case the bundle is buried with the owner. Or, at the request of the owner, a bundle is given to a relative or to one of his own class, *i. e.*, a doctor or a warrior. Among the Delaware, medicine bundles are never sold.

778 787 Medicine charms are believed to be extremely potent in the hands of their owners. A man may commune with his guardian by means of these material agents and thus secure spiritual guidance and aid in regard to problems of a worldly character. Thus the medicine man seeks knowledge during his diagnosis of the often perplexing cases brought to his attention; the hunter, his mind filled with a keen desire for success in the quest of game, concentrates on the token of his supernatural helper during his appeal to the Giver of Game through prayer. Similarly, the

4: Tantaquidgeon E-5 (1930) 1942
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warrior desires information as to the location of the enemy; the chief seeks for a clearer insight into tribal affairs in general.

So powerful are these agents of the spirit forces that if one speaks to them against his enemies, he will have the power to attack the latter by means of practices of a malevolent character. Such power is considered as basically evil and to be used only as a last resort. Supernatural power, in general, is believed to be given to the Delaware to accomplish good and not for matters of minor importance.

The Medicine Stone

A concretion secreted in the alimentary organs of certain ruminants is known to have been highly prized by the peoples of Europe and the Orient [86] for its alleged magical and medicinal properties. This unusual object is also known to and valued by the natives of the New World.[87] From the present-day Delaware, we have the following information on the medicine stone, one of their most sacred and invaluable possessions. It is comparable to the bezoar stone of Oriental fame and usually has a similar function—as an antidote for poison. Although such objects are known to be present in the digestive organs of different animals, that obtained from the blacktail deer (Odocoileus hemionus) is considered as the most potent variety. The Delaware call such a stone by the term meaning "emergency gift." From its use in rubbing a wound made by a snake or mad dog, it is sometimes known as "mad stone." They are of varying shapes and sizes and serve as protective agents for their owners. One may use such a charm to make medicine for another who is seriously ill or injured. In the case of illness pronounced fatal by others, scrapings from the medicine stone are infused in hot water and administered as a tea. Complete recovery of the patient is expected as a result. Wi·tapanóxwe relates how warriors of the earlier period employed such a stone to heal fatal wounds. If it is not possible to administer it as a tea, the stone is simply rubbed over the body of the wounded person.

[86] See article *Bezoar* in New International Encyclopedia, Vol. 3. Second Edition, 1924.

[87] I am indebted to Dr. John M. Cooper, Catholic University of Washington, Washington, D. C., for access to his manuscript on *The Bezoar in Aboriginal American Culture.*

757 278 11. A syrup made by roasting onions is taken for colds. For infants and small children the syrup is sweetened and a few drops taken clear or in milk.

[752] 12. Mutton tallow is an emollient for chapped and irritated skin. It is used to make ointment.

13. Muscular cramps may be relieved by bathing the affected parts with urine.

14. A tea made from roasted, charred pig hoofs is beneficial for colds.

[752] 15. For snake bite suck the venom from the wound with a hollow piece of deer antler.

23 16. Treatment of sick horses. Years ago, after their migration westward, the Delaware used horses for travel. Often their animals would become ill during hunting activities on the Western plains. This was believed due to unsuitable drinking water or from eating poisonous weeds. Other disabilities were due to "bots"[6] or colic. For colic, strong tobacco juice, or gun-powder dissolved in hot water was administered. The most effective treatment was to throw a bucket of very hot water containing finely chopped bits of weasel hide[7] over the horse. Then the owner would force his weight up and down on the animal's abdomen or occasionally, beat it with a wet, heavy blanket for ten or fifteen minutes. The horse soon recovered and was again on his feet.

Warrior's Medicine

778 726 [787] Warriors long ago also received gifts from supernatural agencies which enabled them to excell in feats of bravery. Their power came in dream-visions in which the identity of the supernatural was made known. Sometimes a power-song was granted at the same time. Certain men were appointed as leaders of the warriors and custodians of the secret formulæ, from which a particular preparation called "warrior medi-

[6] The larvæ of certain flies. Eggs are laid on the inside of the animal's foreleg, gain entrance into the blood stream and are carried to the alimentary tract where incubation takes place.

[7] The hide of the so-called "spotted weasel" is used for this purpose. My informant had never seen this animal but it had been described to him by his mother. It may refer to the ordinary weasel at the period of seasonal pilage change from brown to white. The species known to the Delaware are the Bonaparte *(Mustela cicognani)*, and New York weasel *(M. noveboracensis)*, Anthony, 1928, p. 102.

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cine,"[8] was prepared. Such formulæ were transferred from the warriors of one generation to another, in native theory only those known to live clean, pure lives being the recipients. A warrior carried a bundle which contained medicine and personal charms. The medicine stone[9] was used only in times of crisis.

Use of Wampum in Healing

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Shell wampum is used in treating cases of paralysis or similar afflictions believed due to failure of parents to fulfill certain ceremonial obligations or to breaking certain taboos. Before receiving treatment the patient presents one yard of wampum[10] to the medicine man. Potency is added to the herbal medicines by the wampum and enables the doctor to diagnose the case in a brief time.[11]

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The Otter Medicine

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The Otter[12] was regarded as the most sacred of all water animals. It figured in a ceremony described by Harrington[13] in which the spirit of the Otter was propitiated. In order to capture the animal a special lure was made. The formula for preparing such medicine[14] was in the custody of an old man of sufficient spiritual purity to withstand its great power. Certain roots,[15] cleaned by the old man in running water to the accompaniment of a song, were used. In doing so he was obliged to walk against the current, throwing water upon his tracks to conceal them. A secluded place was sought out for this preparatory rite. The medicine was hidden away from his dwelling lest it lose potency through the proximity of a woman. The medicine was considered very effective in luring other water animals, since it was a gift from the Otter, the most powerful of such creatures.

[8] According to Zelsberger *(op. cit.,* p. 127) "The captains and others secure a *beson* (medicine) to preserve themselves from arrow and ball." Converse (1910, p. 168) notes the use of medicine made from the roots of corn, which the men drank. It afforded them such supernatural protection that "they could not be shot even though they were shot at seven times."

[9] See page 23.

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[10] Measured from the shoulder to the wrist.

[11] The function of wampum in healing and in the ceremony of the Big House is discussed by Speck, 1931, pp. 52-53.

[12] *Lutra canadensis.*

[13] 1921, p. 176.

[14] Known as "otter medicine."

[15] The same plant, "pull up" *(Sp.?)* is also used in preparation of love charms (see p. 13).

inside the oven, shook a calabash rattle and threw tobacco in the fire while asking the spirits to grant the boy good luck (Loskiel, p. 43).

To these ceremonies each person had to contribute a certain amount of wampum, a feature noted by Penn (p. 39). Of the rationale behind this custom, Frank Speck says: "...the pecuniary aspect of wampum has been exaggerated in the early writings dealing with the eastern Indians. To the Delawares wampum stood forth in the light of a covenant. It represented, and still does, a magical power capable of annulling the effects of latent poisonous influences that might pass between persons who exchange gifts or who enter into the transfer of property." (Speck, 1931, p. 63).

In addition to these more formal ceremonies, Brickell states that "...when they start on a hunting expedition, the first game that is taken they skin and dress whole, breaking not a bone, leaving on the head, ears and hoofs. This they bring to camp and cook whole, and everyone eats of it, and the rest they burn entirely up." (p. 49).

The Delaware communicated with the supernatural by means of visions. "...they give much heed to dreams, because they suppose these invisible powers give them direction at such times about certain affairs, and sometimes inform them what animal they choose to be worshipped in." (Brainerd, pp. 349-350; also see Loskiel, p. 40). In regard to the last, Lindstrom says: "They adopt their Paarka or idol when about fifteen. They may make a human figure, claw of bear or eagle, tooth or bird bill. They hang it about their neck and it is so sacred that no one may touch it." (Lindstrom, p. 207). These animals which became guardian spirits received their power from the great Spirit. Such an animal became sacred to the person to whom it was the author of good, although to others it was the same as any other animal (Zeisberger, 1910, p. 132; Brainerd, pp. 344-345).[15]

The Hereafter

From the earliest sources we find that the Delaware had a concept of an immortal soul, a hereafter which was better than life on earth and that the attainment of this place was linked with good behavior in life. The hereafter was believed to lie to the south, but its location was very vaguely conceived. Likewise although they had the idea of reward for a good life, there was no definite expression of what this good life would involve. The bad were to be punished not by any torture but by the inability to attain the place of bliss (Penn, p. 37; Brainerd, p. 346; Zeisberger, 1910, pp. 128-29; Brickell, p. 49). The greatest difference between the Delaware concept of good and that of the Christian theology of the period lay in the fact that the Delaware concept was completely concerned with man's behavior toward his fellow man. The sacrifices which were made were apparently expected to influence one's immediate fortune but to have little effect on the state of the soul after death. Thus Brainerd says that the bad folk are those who "...lie, steal, quarrel with their neighbors, are unkind to their friends and especially to aged parents, and in a word, such as are a plague to mankind." (p. 346).

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
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MĬSINGHÂLI'KŬN, OR LIVING SOLID FACE

The most remarkable deity of the Lenape is the Mask Being, called by the

FIG. 1.—Mask of the Oklahoma Lenape. (Height, 14.5 in.)

Unami *Mĭsinghâli'kŭn*, which was interpreted as "Living Mask," or "Living Solid Face." According to the Unami,

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
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this being was made guardian by the Creator of all the wild animals of the forest, and is sometimes seen riding about on the back of a buck, herding the deer; but he lives in a range of rocky mountains above the earth. His face is large and round, the right half being painted red, the left black, while his body is covered with long dark hair like that of a bear. Unlike most of the deities in the Lenape pantheon, he is represented by a "graven image," a huge wooden mask, painted half red and half black (fig. 1); which is left in charge of some family who

FIG. 2.—Rattle of turtle-shell used by Misi'ngw. (Length, 16.7 in.)

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
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will take good care of it, and burn Indian tobacco for it from time to time. With the mask is kept a coat and leggings of bear-skin to represent the being's hairy body, a peculiar rattle of turtleshell (fig. 2), a stick, and a bag made of bear-skin, all used by the man selected to impersonate Mĭsinghâli'kŭn at the various ceremonies when he is supposed to appear, and which will be described later. To the back of the mask is fastened the skin of the bear's head, which effectually conceals the head and neck of the impersonator (pl. II), while the bear's ears, projecting, add to the uncanny effect.

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If any Lenape had a child who was weak, sickly, or disobedient, he would send word to the keeper of the mask that he wanted Mĭsinghâli'kŭn to "attend his child." It is said that it did not take the impersonator long to frighten the weakness, sickness, or laziness out of the child, so that thenceforth it would be strong and well, and would obey on the instant when asked to do anything. This effect was probably strengthened by

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
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COSTUME WORN BY IMPERSONATOR OF MĬSINGHÂLI'KŬN

[Facing p. 34]

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776 796 called *Weopĕ'lakis*, to distinguish it from another, kept by a different family, which was not so important, and about which little was known by my informants except that, within their memories, it had never appeared at the Annual Ceremony, but that it probably had a spring dance of its own. There is an indistinct tradition, however, that in former times several masks were seen at the Annual Ceremony, and that half a day was given up to them.

751 777 778 Miniature masks (fig. 3) were often worn on the person as health or good-luck charms, in former days usually suspended from a string about the neck, but in later times carried in the pocket. The two large Unami masks in the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, are shown in pl. II and fig. 1.

776 778 Among the Minsi there are considerable differences in belief and in practice, their masks resembling those of the Iroquois in many particulars. The late James Wolf said that "Mizinkhâli'kŭn" was supposed to live among the rocks

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
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on a hill, where he was first seen, and told the people how to obtain his power. The mask owners formed a society, which

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FIG. 3.—Charm representing Mĭsinghâli'kŭn. (Height, 1.9 in.)

had a special meeting-house and ceremonies, and whose chief function it was to expell disease. This will be discussed further in another paper. Peter Jones[25]

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
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776 778 illustrates two Minsi masks in use in the first part of the nineteenth century, and these are here reproduced (pl. III). The first he calls a "Muncey idol," and says that it was "delivered up by Joe Nicholas on his Conversion to Christianity," and that "Me Zeengk is the name of this God"; while the second, which he names "a Muncey devil idol," "formerly belonging to the Logan family," was "delivered up on the 26th of Jan. 1842." Jones does not refer to these "idols" in the text. The second mask illustrated seems to have a turtleshell rattle tied on its back, the handle projecting downward. Another mask, found by the writer among the Lenape at Grand river, Ontario, and apparently of Minsi type, is shown in fig. 4. It was collected for Mr E. T. Tefft, of New York, but is now in the American Museum of Natural History.

172 776 778 Some of our best evidence indicating the early existence of belief in this Mask Being among the Lenape is furnished by archeology—by the finding of

[text continues on p. 41]

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MASKS OF THE MINSI (AFTER PETER JONES)

[Facing p. 38]

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
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FIG. 4.—Mask from the Canadian Lenape. E. T. Tefft collection, American Museum of Natural History. (Height of head, 14 in.)

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
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FIG. 5.—Stone head or Misi'ngw' from Ohio. (Height, 13.9 in.)

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
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[continued from p. 38]

a number of heads or masks of stone (pl. IV) within the boundaries of their former domain in New Jersey and the vicinity,[26] which, when the rarity of such objects in the surrounding regions is also considered, seems quite significant. Such stone heads even mark the trail of the Lenape withdrawal westward through Pennsylvania,[27] and have even been found in Ohio, where they lingered for a time (fig. 5).

The best early description is given by Brainerd,[28] who, in May 1745, while on the Susquehanna above the English settlements, saw a masked Indian who must have been an impersonator of Mĭsinghâli'kŭn. It runs:

"But of all the sights I saw among them, or indeed anywhere else, none appeared so frightful . . . as the appearance of one who was a devout and zealous Reformer, or rather, restorer of what he supposed was the ancient religion of the Indians. He made his appearance in his *pontifical garb*, which was a coat of *bear skins*, dressed with the hair on, and hanging down to his toes; a pair of bear skin stockings; and a great *wooden* face painted, the one half black, the other half

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
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tawny, about the color of an Indian's skin, with an extravagant mouth, cut very much awry; the face fastened to a bear skin cap, which was drawn over his head. He advanced toward me with the instrument in his hand, which he used for music, in his idolatrous worship, which was a dry *tortoise shell* with some corn in it, and the neck of it drawn on to a piece of wood, which made a very convenient handle. As he came forward, he beat his tune with the rattle, and danced with all his might, but he did not suffer any part of his body, not so much as his fingers, to be seen."

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With the exception of one minor point, the "wry mouth," this would be a good description of the MIsi'ng^{w} outfit used until recently by the Lenape in Oklahoma (pl. II). On the following page, Brainerd mentions "images" which seem to be the MIsi'ng^{w} faces carved on the posts of the Big House.

Zeisberger[20] also refers to the masks in these words:

"The only idol which the Indians have, and which may properly be called an idol, is their *Wsinkhoalican*, that is image. It is an image cut in wood, representing a human head in miniature, which they always carry about them either on a

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STONE HEAD OR MĬSI'NGʷ, FROM STATEN ISLAND, N. Y.
(Staten Island Institute of Arts and Sciences)

[facing p. 43]

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6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
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string around their neck or in a bag. They often bring offerings to it. In their houses of sacrifice they have a head of this idol as large as life put upon a pole in the middle of the room."

In his Dictionary, Zeisberger gives the word for "idol" as *mĕsink'*, so it seems probable that the *W* in "Wsinkhoalikan" is a misprint for *M*.

MOTHER CORN

One of the important *manĭ'towŭk* of the old days was the Corn Goddess, known as "Mother Corn" of whom one of the Unami legends collected by the writer relates that "It was God's will that the Corn Spirit abide in the far heavenly region in the image of an aged woman, with dominion over all vegetation." Although little remembrance of the details of her worship can now be found among the Oklahoma Lenape, she is mentioned as a Guardian Spirit; while at the Minsi ceremonies at Grand River Reserve in Ontario, she was one of the twelve benefactors of mankind to whom the thanks of the people were offered,

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CHAPTER II

Minor Deities

DOLL BEING

THE masks described in the last chapter are merely representations of a supernatural being, and are not supposed to be the dwellings of a spirit or spirits except when worn by an impersonator, who is said to become imbued with the spirit when the mask is donned; nor are they usually supposed to possess inherent power, except as symbols of Mĭsinghâli'-kŭn. But the Lenape had also a class of images, usually of wood, representing the human form, which were supposed to possess life, or at least to be the residence of spirits, which, so far as can be learned, had no separate existence. They were supposed to understand what was said to them, and to have the power of pro-

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6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
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tecting the owner's health, to enjoy offerings, resent ill-treatment, and in fact seem to fall into the class of true fetishes. Usually, but not always, representing the female figure, they were kept as a rule by women, and were given yearly feasts, at which outfits of new clothes were put on them. The native name in Unami is *O''das*; in Minsi, *Nani'tls*. The ceremonies and beliefs associated with them will be described later, in the chapter on minor ceremonies. Most of the early writers seem to have overlooked them, which is not surprising, since they were matters of personal and not of public concern, and their rites were held in private. John Brainerd, however, mentions an "idol image" [31] which seems to be of this class, and a Minsi specimen is figured by Peter Jones[32] and mentioned by him in a footnote. This was afterward procured by the writer from Jones' son, and is now in the American Museum of Natural History (pl. VIII). John Brainerd (brother of the better known David) made his note of the custom

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
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about the middle of the eighteenth century, while that of Jones dates from about a century later. 776 778

TORNADO

Besides the gods hitherto named there were many other deities of lesser importance. The tornado, for instance, was one of these beings classed as *manl'towŭk*. He is mentioned as a giant in size, walking on his hands when in action, his long hair entangling and sweeping away forests and villages; and sometimes as a winged being. When a "cyclone" was seen approaching, some would burn tobacco, and addressing the roaring monster as "Grandfather," would pray that he turn aside and leave the village in peace. Others, scorning such measures of conciliation, would burn old moccasins and rubbish, advising the destroyer to turn aside if he wished to escape the stinging smoke; while still others, even less conciliatory, threatened him with the edge of an axe, vowing they would "break a wing for him" if he came their way. It 776 782 821

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
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774 776 particular animal taken as an individual, but as a spirit representing the entire species as a whole and partaking of the nature of the species, at the same time having human and *manĭ'to* attributes.

776 778 Brainerd[33] makes some interesting remarks on this subject, which are worth quoting:

> "They do not indeed suppose a divine power *essential* to, or *inhering* in, these creatures; but that some invisible beings . . . communicate to these animals a *great power;* . . . and so make these creatures the immediate authors of good to certain persons. Whence such a creature becomes *sacred* to the persons to whom he is supposed to be the immediate author of good, and through him they must worship the invisible powers, though to others he is no more than any other creature."

[774] Certain it is, if a Lenape states that his blessing or power comes from "the otter," he does not mean some particular otter, but a spirit otter whose existence is independent of the life of any particular animal. However, such an animal was supposed, like a man, to have a spirit or soul of its own.

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
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pole (shown in frontispiece), east of the Big House, and are used in the feasts at the close of every night's meeting until the gathering disbands.

NEW FIRE

Every night the usual program is repeated until the ninth. On this night a new fire is kindled with the sacred pump-drill called *tu^{n}da'i wähe^{n}'ji manĭ'towŭk* or "Fire maker of the Manĭ'tos" (fig. 8), and the ashes of the old are carried out through the west door of the Big House, which is used only for this purpose (among the Unami), and is usually kept closed. The new fire seems to symbolize a fresh start in all the affairs of life.

USE OF CARVED DRUMSTICKS

Also on the ninth night, before the singing begins, they bring out the two ancient drumsticks (*pa kŭ^{n}di'gŭn*), carved with tiny human heads, one male and one female (fig. 11), to use in place of the cruder sticks used before, which are marked only with a rude cross (fig. 12, *a*).

[Text continues on page 103]

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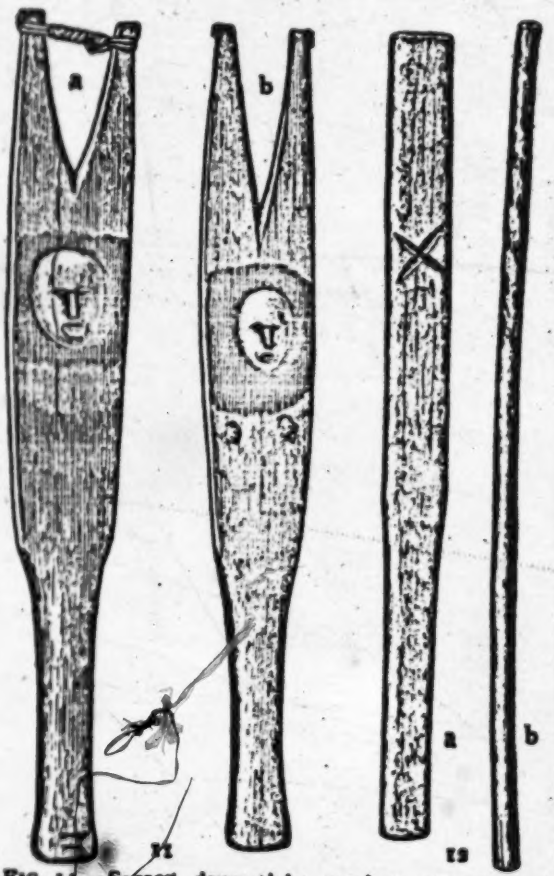

FIG. 11.—Sacred drumsticks, used at the Annual Ceremony in Oklahoma. (Length of *a*, 18.6 in.)

FIG. 12.—*a*, Plain drumstick used at the Annual Ceremony; *b*, Prayerstick. (Length of *b*, 18.9 in.)

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At this time, also, twelve prayersticks (*ma'tehi'gun*) are distributed—six plain and six striped ones (fig. 12, *b*)—by two of the male attendants, each with six, one man starting from each end of the Big House and proceeding in a trot to distribute the sticks while the drum is beaten, and the people, holding up their hands, cry the prayer word "*Ho-o-o!*"

Both drumsticks and prayersticks are used every night from this time on. If t so happens that the plain sticks do not fall opposite each other (or on opposite sides of the house), they must all be picked up again and redistributed. After this, those who have received a stick raise that instead of their hand, when they repeat the prayer word "*Ho-o-o!*" and carry it when they dance.

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TURTLE RATTLES

At this time, too, all who own turtle rattles such as are used in singing the visions (fig. 9), are requested to bring them in to the meeting, when they are placed in a row on the north side, in

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top. This feature, however, corresponds with the second form of the Annual Ceremony noted among the Lenape in Oklahoma and also recorded by Zeisberger in Pennsylvania. Near this central post the singers sat, and beat with four carved sticks upon a dry deerhide folded into a square, in lieu of a drum (fig. 14), differing from the Unami form, which is a rolled dry deerskin upon which are tied several slats of wood (fig. 8). The drumsticks are flat, resembling those of the Unami, as each bears a face carved upon one side, but differ from them in the form of the forked end, and in width. Some, it is said, represented women, the breasts being indicated as

FIG. 15.—*a*, Drumstick, Minsi type; *b*, Prayer-stick. E. T. Tefft collection, American Museum of Natural History. (Length of *a*, 19 in.)

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painting of the sticks, half black and half red, implied that men and women were together in thanksgiving, the black representing the warriors, the red the women. The fork at the striking end of the sticks was to give a sharper sound. The dyes for producing the colors were made by boiling bark, the black being soft maple (*sexi'kiminsi*), and the red, red alder bark (*xeito''pi*).

"In another part of the same ceremony wampum was used in the form of strings and bunches, both of which were represented in my collection from the Delawares. At least thirteen of the strings were used, each one made different by different combinations of the white and purple beads. These thirteen, it is said, represented respectively (1) Earth; (2) Plants; (3) Streams and Waters; (4) Corn, Beans, and Vegetables; (5) Wild Birds and Beasts; (6) Winds; (7) Sun; (8) Moon; (9) Sky; (10) Stars; (11) Thunder and Rain; (12) Spirits; and (13) Great Spirit. At the ceremony these strings were laid upon a bench before a

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speaker, who picked them up one by one as he made his address, each string reminding him of one part of his speech. He began, my informant told me, by explaining that the Great Spirit had made all things—the earth, plants, streams, and waters—everything. Having thus enumerated all the things represented by the wampum, he proceeded to speak to each of the remaining twelve directly, holding the appropriate string in his hand. Thus he gave thanks to the Earth for the benefits it gives to man, and prayed that its blessings might continue; then thanked in the same way the Plants, the Streams and Waters, the Winds; the Corn, Beans, and Vegetables—each one in turn. As he finished each string he handed it to an attendant, who laid it aside. When his long speech or prayer was finished, he announced, 'We will now enjoy ourselves,' and selected a man to distribute little bunches of wampum, three beads in each, which served as invitations to join in the dancing that followed. These bunches were delivered only to a certain number of

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those known to be 'sober and honest' among the crowd in the long-house. If any person wishing to dance failed to get invitation wampum, it was his privilege to ask for one of the bunches, which was given him if he was considered qualified. The first man receiving wampum arose first; then the others, until the dancers were all on the floor. It is said that this dance, which sometimes lasted all night, did not circle around like most of the Iroquois dances, but each performer remained in about the same spot.

"I was told that in this dance a small rattle without a handle and made of turtleshell was used, probably like the box-turtle rattle still used in the annual Planting Dance by the Seneca and Cayuga."

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WAUBUNO'S VERSION

The only extended account in print, known to the writer, of the great ceremonies of the Minsi, beside his own, quoted above, is that furnished by John Wampum, known as Chief Waubuno,[1] which reads as follows:

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"He helps the people with their hunting, and also helps in the Big House while the ceremonies are in progress. If he finds anyone there who has not done right, he informs the three guards of the meeting, who take that person and put him out. In all these ways the MIsi'ng^{w} helps the Delawares."

MASKS OF THE MINSI

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The Minsi Mizi'nk (cognate with the Unami *Mĭsi'ng^{w}*) was a mask made of wood with copper or brass eyes and a crooked nose, according to my informants at Munceytown; and judging by Peter Jones' drawings (pl. III) they were provided also with hair, tufts of feathers, and jingling copper cones or deer-hoofs. The Mizink at Grand river was of Minsi type, judging by the specimen obtained by the writer (fig. 4).

Such masks were made to represent Mizinkhâli'kŭn, who was "something like a person, but different from the Indians, and was powerful. They saw him first among the rocks on a hill, and he spoke to

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them and told them what to do to get his power. When a man put on a Mizink he received the power of this person or spirit; he could even see behind him, and could cure diseases." 532 776 778

The Mask Society.—The men who owned these masks formed a kind of society which Nellis Timothy says originally had twelve members, but which, before it disbanded, dwindled to about five. Sometimes only two appeared in costume. 794

The society had a meeting-house of its own where its dances, *Mizinkĭ'ntĭka*, were held, for, unlike the Unami custom, no Mizink ever appeared in the Big House. The members appeared wearing their masks and clad in rough bearskin and deerskin costumes, while some, at least, where provided with a turtleshell rattle which they would rub on a long pole, crying "*O^{n}-o^{n}-o^{n}!*" the while.

Ceremonies.—While no consecutive account of their ceremonies is now remembered, it was said that they sometimes put down their rattles, heaped up 794 796 751

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794 the ashes from the two fires, then threw
796 the ashes all over the house to prevent
751 the people assembled from having disease.

Should any sick person appear, he or
755 she would be especially treated with
794 ashes. Sometimes the performers would
796 pick up live coals and throw them about, frightening the people. At other times the whole company of them would go around to the different houses begging for tobacco, and would dance in any house where someone was willing to sing for them.

Nothing was said among the Minsi about the Mizink bringing back stray
532 stock or driving deer, characteristic at-
•778 tributes of the Mask Being of the Unami.
[126] The writer obtained but one mask among the Canadian Lenape, and this was from the Grand River band (fig. 4); it has been described by him[84] in the following words:

"But one mask (*mizink*) was obtained. It differed from those of the Iroquois chiefly in being cruder, and also in decoration, the lines being burnt into the wood instead of being

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painted or carved. The original use of the mask had to do, in part at least, with healing the sick, but Isaac Montour (*Kapyū'hăm*), from whom I bought it, failed to make himself clear as to the details."

It will be seen that the Minsi beliefs and practices noted above resemble those of the False Face Company of the Iroquois tribes much more than they do the customs connected with Misi'ng^{w} among the Unami.

In fact, a vague tradition exists to the effect that the False Face Company of the Cayuga once put a stop to an epidemic of cholera among the Minsi. While this was not given to account for the origin of the society among the Minsi, it at least shows that they were familiar with the Iroquois practices in this line.

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well. This was done, and the doctor's prediction being realized, the Minsi have ever since made and used these dolls, called in their dialect *nani'tis*, which were transmitted from parents to children. Wolf's own mother had one, carved out of wood in the form of a person, with a woman's dress and moccasins (for as a rule they represent women); and she always cared for it religiously, in the belief that if well treated it would protect the family and give them good health, but if neglected, someone would surely die. Every year, in the fall, when the deer are in their best condition, Wolf's mother held a dance for it, called "Feeding the Nani'tis;" but she did more than feed it: she put new clothes on it, three sets, and new moccasins every year. She believed that the image sometimes went about of its own accord, although she kept it carefully in a box, for the old dresses always seemed worn at the bottom and soiled, and she found burrs clinging to them when she went to put new clothes on "Nani'tis."

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She hired a man especially to hunt a yearling doe for the ceremony, which took place in her own dwelling. The details are lost, but it is remembered that a man beat a little drum and sang while she, as owner, danced around, carrying the doll in her hands, followed by such of the other women present as wished to participate. Said Wolf, "The Nani'tis helped the Indians, that's why they fed it."

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An Old Minsi "Doll."—The writer was able to obtain but one old specimen of this type (pl. VIII), which was procured at the Grand River reserve, Ontario, for the E. T. Tefft collection, now in the American Museum of Natural History, and was described in the writer's article,[44] before cited, as follows:

"Perhaps the most interesting Delaware specimen of all is the little wooden image, about eight inches high, bought of Dr. Jones, which his father, Rev. Peter Jones, described and illustrated in his book under the name 'Nahmeetis, the Guardian of Health.' He says:

[776] "'I have in my possession two family gods. One is called *Pabookowaih*—the god that crushes

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"NAHNEETIS THE GUARDIAN OF HEALTH"
(E. T Tefft Collection, American Museum of Natural History)

[facing p. 168]

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or breaks down diseases. The other is a goddess named *Nahneetis*, the guardian of health. This goddess was delivered up to me by Eunice Hank, a Muncey Indian woman, who with her friends used to worship it in their sacred dances, making a feast to it every year, when a fat doe was sacrificed as an offering, and many presents were given by the friends assembled. She told me she was now restored to worship the Christian's God, and therefore had no further use for it.'

"There can be no doubt in this case concerning the identity of this specimen with the one illustrated in the book quoted. It will be noticed however by those who are familiar with Peter Jones' illustration that Nahneetis, like many humans, has lost her hair in her old age. An interesting feature of the specimen is the primitive skirt, which is made apparently by belting a blanket-like bit of cloth, bound at the edges, around Nahneetis' waist. A vestige of this method of making a skirt survives, I think, in the form of the beaded strip running up one of the vertical seams of the more modern Indian skirt, among both the Delawares and the Iroquois."

The writer afterward found such skirts still in use among the Lenape in Oklahoma (pl. 1, *b*).

An Early Account of Nani'tis.—Another early account of the Nani'tis among the Minsi may be found in the

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•778 *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, among the documents relating to the Stockbridge Mission, written by the Rev. Cutting Marsh.[56] It reads as follows:

"Nov. 6th [1839]. A Munsee Indian who came to this place over a year previous from Canada called upon me with an interpreter in order to give up a family idol. This man whose name is Big-Deer is upwards of 50 years of age, and since removing to this place, thro' the influence of this family above mentioned has attended meetings constantly and gives some evidence of a change of heart.

"The history of this idol was very interesting. He said that his mother gave it to him before her death which occurred about 29 years ago, and that he had worshipped it until within a few years when he heard about Jesus Christ, but had never given it up before. 'Now he says I wish to give it up and follow the Lord Jesus Christ, and I give this idol to you and you may do what you are a mind to with it.' It was indeed not only a 'shameful thing,' but a horribly looking object about the size of a common doll; fantastically arrayed in Indian costume and nearly covered with silver broaches and trinkets; and whilst retained as an object of worship was kept wrapped up in some 20 envelopments of broad-cloth trimmed with scarlet ribbon. They called it their 'Mother,' it is more than a hundred

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years old, and its late possessor was the fourth generation which had worshipped it. The season for worshipping it was in the fall after a hunt when they made a feast to it and danced around it. 'If they did not do this every fall they said, that is, make the feast &c. it would be angry and destroy them by some dreadful sickness.' It was therefore an object of fear or dread with them, but not one of love and compassion."

BEAR CEREMONY

We will now consider two ceremonies of the Unami which are based on animal cults which show a considerable similarity not only in their traditional origin, but also in their ritual.

The more important seems to be the one called *Papasokwi''lün*, which, although no part of a bear appears in its rites as practised within recent years, was evidently a Bear ceremony in the days when these animals were abundant. It also exhibits some features suggesting the Annual Ceremony before described, but there is no Mlsi'ng$^{w't}$, and there are many other important differences.

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796 at the termination of the rite to pray, forming a line at the west door of the Big House. Why they prayed with the wampum beads in their mouth, figuratively with their "heart" in their mouths, is not explicitly known to the informant, but we are told that wampum is the "heart" of the Delaware.

796 773 Reverting to Wi·tapano'xwe's version of the origin of the Turkey group rite, Half Moon added a most interesting supplement to the tradition which I quote as follows as nearly as possible in his words. The origin tale narrates the occasion of the earthquake and bursting forth of black fluid as in a volcanic eruption, as a sign of the anger of the Great Spirit aroused by the evil doings of men, and that the ceremony of the Big House was revealed in a vision to some good men as a means of appeasing the anger of the Supreme One. Half Moon added to this that at the time of the cataclysm the women in terror trying to shelter themselves from the down-pour of destruction, took the little children under seven years old and held them in their arms. They knew that children of this age could not be guilty of wrong and so attempted to shield themselves from the Great Spirit's wrath. Finally, we are told, one of the innocents cried out in terror, "Ho, ho; Hä, hä," which became known at once as the revealed prayer-call by which the Great Spirit should be addressed. The distracted people knew that it was the mission of this child to inform them of the means by which the Great Spirit might be invoked in prayer to stay his anger. This most interesting narrative accounts for the origin of the sacred prayer-call so often employed in the procedure of the Big House as recorded in the published work, while for the student of the history of religions we in it have another instance of the ruse of the guilty hiding from wrath behind the shield of innocence.

796 778 773 From Half Moon as a source comes another most significant tradition bearing upon the history of the use of the Mask and the carved images in the Big House Ceremony. According to the Delaware conception of events in the history of their ceremony the images and the Mask Spirit episode (see page 39, "Big House Ceremony") were formally introduced into the rite

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shortly before or about at the time of the arrival of Europeans. A transcript of the informant's version is as follows:

"It was relatively late, just about the time when white people were first seen by the Delawares, that they adopted the carved images as part of the ceremonial equipment of the Big House. The images were not made on the posts of the building before. A man of spiritual power had a vision of a monster residing in the East, its body covered with hair, with a face half red and half black. To prove the reality of his vision he induced a companion to accompany him traveling to the East where they finally reached the dwelling place of the monster, proving his existence. Upon this discovery they returned to their people. Having identified the monster and desiring to acquire the power to call upon him for spiritual aid when they desired it, they induced the other Delawares to allow them to carve the likenesses of the monster upon the posts of the Big House. Furthermore they innovated the rite of the False Face or Mask image (Messingk) as personified by an actor who wore the Mask and who was garbed in the bear skin coat and leggings carrying a pouch of the same material and a large snapping turtle shell hand-rattle. Henceforth the Mask Image figured as a potent Spirit Force in the hierarchy of the Manitto assemblage in the Big House celebration. The black- and red-faced hairy monster possessed latent power to effect evil in the lives of men. Hence those to whom he reveals himself in a vision acquire the power to do harm, and since his presence is tolerated among the Big House spirits they may find a place among the worshipers. That is why it is not all for the exercise of the power of good. In the development of Delaware religion as it appears in the Big House, a fault crept in."

What the meaning of this peculiar legend may be as regards the actual history of the Big House Ceremony, one is at a loss to say as yet. It would seem that the position of the Mask Spirit as a canonized Spirit Force amid the benevolent congress of Delaware deities corresponds to that of the Devil's advocate. Before, however, we can admit the tradition as one having historical significance, a wiser analysis and wider comparison of the elements of the major ceremonies of the eastern Indians will have to be invoked. Nevertheless there seems to be a feeling current among some of the religious men with whom I talked that the Big House Ceremony has absorbed some imperfections and that this is one. Half Moon himself even went so far as to declare that the decline of the ceremony as well as of the Delaware Nation, was due to the transgression of accepting an Evil Force as part-sharer of the

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worship in the Big House. I might add, as contributing a view-point on the same perplexing question, that early in the eighteenth century the missionary Brainerd, then living with the Delawares on the upper Susquehanna in their village near Sunbury, reported a conversation with a man of the Nation in which was embodied a similar opinion as regards the False Face.

In a section of my study of the Big House Ceremony I indulged in quoting some estimates of the religious spirit among the Delawares adding some of my own impressions in the matter. An opportunity to add to these, since it comes from the writings of a contemporary witness over a century ago when the tribe was resident on the Scioto River, comes from John Brickell. He says: "I know I am influenced to good even at this day more from what I learned among them than what I learned among people of my own color. . . . They worship the Great Spirit whom they call manito, which signifies or conveys to their mind the idea of all strength or rather all sufficiency." [3] This commentary may be adjoined as a supplement to the section in the work referred to, dealing also with the native concept of the Great Spirit, as something corroborative of the early belief of this tribe in the existence of a supreme deity and is intended for the eyes of authorities such as Dr. Schmidt who have devoted so much attention to the nativity of the concept in American culture.

In the study of the Big House Ceremony some space was devoted to the construction of the belief regarding the path taken by the soul in its journey from earth to the spirit realm. The assumption was made that the Milky Way was considered to be the path in question. Yet the inability on the part of several sources to furnish the native term applied to the Milky Way and their uncertainty as to what symbol in the sky represented the path of the spirit left the matter in a state of doubt. The fact that among other Algonkian peoples the Milky Way is "Spirit or Ghost Path" has some bearing on the point that we are trying to clear up in Delaware belief. It remained for inquiry among the Delaware-Munsee of the Six

[3] "Narrative of John Brickell's Captivity among the Delaware Indians," *The American Pioneer*, I, 2d ed., Cincinnati, 1842, pp. 43, 46, 48, 56.

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THE MASK DANCE CEREMONY

Kant'ke'ohe·n məs·i'ŋgəma, "he dances his face-image (mask)." The mask concept being one of some prominence in Delaware worship, one may imagine that a reconstruction of religious performance in the tribe, at a time before the decline of native institutions, would place the human-face representation in an exalted position among the spirit forces. In both Delaware and Iroquois religious pantomime masking seems about equally proportioned, though the finer details of belief and performance in the two groups are dissimilar enough to cause hesitation in allying them in origin. Yet it is noteworthy that only the Delawares among the Algonkian peoples east of the Alleghanies and south of New England exhibit the mask development, whence it extends southward to Florida with little interruption even considering the meagreness of early information on religious features in the lives of these mysterious tribes.

I have indulged in some discussion of the Mask Spirit and its history among the Delawares in my study of the Big House Ceremony,[1] to which the reader is referred for a summary account of the circumstances by which the Delawares became involved in the carrying out of the mask propitiation rite The details of the inheritance of the mask image and the expiation ceremony within a certain family in the tribe, namely the Frenchman family, have been outlined in the report referred to.

The ceremony is accordingly one of the family "feasts" among the Delawares that attracted the attention of Zeisberger as being of such frequent occurrence in the tribe while resident in Ohio in the eighteenth century.

We discover the concept governing this ceremonial feast to be that the Mask Spirit requires to be remembered with a

[1] "Big House Ceremony," p. 43. It may be noted that recent results of work among the Delaware-Munsee of the Six Nations reserve, Ontario, also disclose significant traditions of mask usage.

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The Mask Dance is given in the fall of the year because all vegetation is matured at that time, also the hunting season opens with Indians when the leaves of the forest have begun to turn red showing the first tinges of autumn. Deer hides are then said to be thickening and the fur becoming good.

The Delaware Mask Dance is given, sometimes because someone has had a "scare," or may have been attacked by some strange malady, or a sick spell, imagining that he has seen a mask and become frightened. Sometimes mask owners fail by neglect to give the usual annual Mask Ceremony, or again in case of death they fail to transfer the ownership of the mask to some member of the family or next closest of kin, so the strange things are brought about.

The Delaware Indians use the entire mask which has a cape attached to it, the cape hanging over the coat, thus the man wearing the mask must hold his fingers in the mouth of the mask while moving about or dancing because the mask is simply resting on the head and the large wooden face is heavy and will jolt on the head; now the mask wearer must carry his cane and the snapping turtle rattle in his right hand together until he stops. A shoulder strap about two inches wide is thrown over the shoulder with a small saddle bag attached and used to put chewing tobacco in, which is given to the mask-man or wearer. In order to keep children from making so much unnecessary noise, they are told that the bag (*pənda''ɜənakan*) contains snakes.

An old and historic specimen of the wooden mask used in recent years by the Delawares of the Cherokee band, Oklahoma, having found its way, surreptitiously as the Indians claim, into the cases of the Museum of the American Indian, New York, has been described by Harrington and myself. It is 14.5 inches in length the right half being painted red, the left half black. The eye-holes were small apertures perforated in tin plates to permit vision. It is not necessary to repeat here what has already been said of the object (Speck, "Big House Ceremony," pp. 39–44, 93).[1]

[1] Sooner or later it will become the task of a student to examine the correspondences between Delaware and Iroquois mask traits among which stand forth the common peculiarities of mask construction in both series, the use of

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volved in the act of desecration as long as they existed. Thus originated the ceremony.

At the present time (1932) we are told there are three of these dolls held by Delaware families. They should be, according to the rulings, furnished with a feast and dance annually. The Delawares still do so as occasion permits, this being one of the ceremonies most recently performed in the Nation. Dr. V. M. Petrullo observed the rite in the summer of 1930. The dolls themselves are kept in the families in which they have descended with their ceremonial obligations for so long that they are held in an attitude of combined reverence and fear. That the ceremony has become a burden to the possessor of dolls is evident, but there being no means open to them to dismiss the obligation under which they have fallen without incurring still deeper animosity of Mother Corn, the rites must be maintained until some event warrants the abandoning of them. In several cases it is recalled that individuals who possessed the dolls in the past had the dolls buried with them upon request. In such cases the obligation to perform the dance ceased. In other cases the doll image and the ritual obligation was transferred to the oldest blood relation or to another relative whom the owner regarded as being most worthy of taking charge of the obligation and capable of conducting the ceremony. It is understood that the three images in the Nation at the present time may be accorded the honor of the feast ceremony all at the same time, being brought together by their owners upon the occasion called by the master of ceremonies. Some of these figures are male and some female. They are dressed in cloth as Delaware style requires with bead-work or ribbon-work and the faces painted in red which is rubbed off when the ceremony is over.

As regards the history of the Doll Ceremony we have no succinct facts to go by. Certain of the Indians themselves point out its similarity to the Bread Dance of the Shawnee.[2] What the two rites may be discovered to have in common might subsequently lead to a suggestion as to their earlier

[2] To be tested by data on Shawnee rites obtained by Dr. and Mrs. C. F. Voegelin.

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tives, and the founders of these rites, whoever they were, seem to have made suitable provision against public indifference. In the words of the informant, no one is apt to disregard the call to obey religious custom in view of the consequences. And there may have been some idea of making an offering to mother Corn as well in this rite. Its origin dates from the first conception of the corn ceremony as the text relates.[1] The individuals whose duty it is to enact this part are hence called "excrement daubers," and their identity is, as might naturally be expected, kept in the dark. The rite itself is called *we'mui·ha'ləwe's* "excrement daubing."

Of the masks used in this rite we have mention of several specimens obtained from *Ni·ka'ni·paxoxwe*, "Leading walker" (Joe Washington) of the same band in Oklahoma (Fig. 1, *A* and *B*).[2] They represent the features of masks requisitioned in the rites of the Corn Harvest Ceremony as celebrated by the Wolf division. According to the memory of Joe Washington, from whom they were obtained, the mask (*A*) with black on the forehead and chin part and the middle face-portion of red, was employed by the mask messenger and dancer of the Wolf division in his *midday* appearances. The dark upper and lower bands of color represent darkness before dawn and after sunset; the lighter center, the middle of the day. The other (*B*) with the upper face area black and the lower red was worn in the rites of the *early morning and evening*.

The corn ceremony itself seems to be known only through general description on the part of our informant who had the account of it from his mother. She had seen the rite when she was young. As will be seen its characteristics are those of the usual Delaware feasting festivals. There are the addresses by the speaker chosen for the occasion, the women having prepared beforehand the amount of hominy

[1] One of the Delaware authorities, J. A. Parks, states in recent correspondence that he thinks the "excrement dauber" rite belonged originally to the Shawnee. Joe Washington, who had witnessed the rite when a young man, attributes the custom to the Seneca "introduced a long time ago to the Delawares."

[2] Specimen *A* (model, 4½ x 5½ inches) is of oak with cap portion, over top and back, of trimmed deer skin, with shredded corn stalk "hair," *B* is similar in construction, 6 x 8 inches. Unlike Iroquois masks there are no little bags of tobacco offering attached to Delaware images.

7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

A B

FIG. 1. DELAWARE RED AND BLACK WOODEN MASKS WITH CORN-HUSK "HAIR" WORN BY OFFICER IN MASK CEREMONY (p. 80). *A*. Worn during mid-day performances (reproduction 5½ inches in length). *B*. Worn during morning and evening performances. The spacing of the red and black colors represents the proportion of light and dark, morning and evening (*B*), and in mid-day (*A*). (Sketch by M. H. Wheeler.)

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7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

524 used to denote a game of extremely wide distribution throughout northern North America and retaining a uniform type wherever found, is common among the Delawares. At the present time it is played for amusement by persons of both sexes and all ages during the evenings in winter time. This, too, is regarded as a pastime for those who are born in winter, one that is thought to bring on cold stormy weather the ensuing day. Herein lies its ceremonial character.

To a sharpened stick or bone is fastened a leather string some twenty inches long at the other end of which is fixed the tail of a rabbit. On the string are threaded five hollow cones, the wider ends open toward the stick. For the want of sufficient native material the Delawares make these cones by hollowing out and tapering common spools. In former times they were the phalanges of the deer. In the specimens figured one is constructed with spools, the other with sections of some animals' leg bones. The object of the play is to swing the cones in the air, catching as many as possible on the end of the pointed stick. Each player repeats the attempt to impale these cones until he misses three times. For each cone caught on the stick he receives a count of one. The players keep count of their totals by memory. The winning total is decided upon at the beginning of the game, it may be 15, 25, 50 or 100 points. Small wagers are laid upon the outcome, the player to reach the total first taking the stakes. To catch the rabbit's tail counts nothing.

[171] I hardly need comment upon the wide distribution of this game from the Pacific to the Atlantic and as far south as the Plains unbrokenly across North America, even in archaeological levels of considerable historical depth as Dr. Strong's findings indicate (Strong, op. cit., p. 192).

CEREMONIAL DOLLS

778 *Oxta's*, "Doll or Plaything."—The privilege of making dolls as toys out of cornhusks is denied children. The reason [777 753] is that corn is too sacred to be trifled with. To violate this would bring on bad luck in the form of sickness. Only those in whose family inheritance the obligation to make and to perform in ceremony with such creations are permitted to

7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

construct likenesses of the human figure. This belief is illustrated in the rite of the Doll Dance. When figures of cornhusk are to be made they should be made by a person born in summer, the season of growing corn, such an individual being known as *si·'kwan mi·'mąs*, "spring child." Persons, however, who are born in winter may make toys in the image of the emblem of their ceremonial group, though to do so is apt to bring on cold weather. It is believed that such action is apt to anger the spirit controlling the winter, namely, *Lowane'ke's*, "Winter Spirit." As an example of the operation of privilege and restriction in such matters we have the case of a person of the Turkey group born in winter, who could make the image of a turkey, chicken, duck or goose out of cornstalks or cornhusks decorating it in correspondence with its nature as a bird by attaching feathers to it. This may be suspended in the dwelling by means of a string so that the wind will blow the image about. Those who observe it would remark, "Oh, you are trying to break the weather." In short, those born in summer can only exert influence through the making of images upon the creatures of the summer, for winter-born persons to make them is pernicious.

778 821 [344]

DICE AND BOWL GAME

Mama'n'di·n, "Gathering Dice Together." — Another amusement which among the Delawares took on the significance of a minor ceremony, was the game in which a wooden bowl and seven dice cut out of bone, mussel shells or peach seeds to produce outlines of turtles, horses' heads, one side in natural color, the other stained black, and other forms not well remembered as to detail. For some reason the Delawares have abandoned this pastime, although it has continued strongly among tribes whose native culture has become more thoroughly disintegrated. Even the details of the counting have been forgotten. Men and women indulged in the Dice and Bowl game for the purpose of wagering, the stakes being placed at one side before the opening of the game. The players sat in a circle around the bowl which rested on a folded blanket, each taking his turn by lifting the bowl off the blanket and bringing it down violently to cause

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8:Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
NM7 Delaware NM7

CHAPTER XV.

Concerning the Paahra, Idolatry, Faith and Religion and Sacrifices to Manitto: the Devil, Also Whether the Indians Have a Knowledge of Christ.

With reference to the religion of the Indians [it is to be observed] that they adopt their *Pâdhra*[1] or idol when they are about 15 years old. Thus the one makes for himself a child of skin with head, body, arms, hands, legs and feet to believe in. The other selects a lion claw, that one, a bear claw, this one, an eagle claw, that one, a lion tooth, this one, a bear tooth, this one, a bird bill, etc. In fine, whatever limb of any animal, bird, fish or other [living thing] they desire to choose for their god or *Pâdhra*, as they call [it], which is hung on a chain of their money on their breast, they consider this their god, so sacred that no one is allowed to touch it,—the one who attempts it, he becomes his chief enemy.[2] In this their god they have such a

[1] *Pâdhra (pôra).* This is a cognate of *boahigan* (Penobscot), stem *boa (poa)*, which Prof. Speck says "denotes the concept of mystery." It is found in most dialects of the northeastern tribes, *bua-, pu-, bao-, pow-*, etc. *Boahigan*, which Speck says means "instrument of mystery," and Lindeström's *pâdhra (pôra, bôia)* possibly denote the same concept,—"object through which or by which mysterious power is obtained and practiced." Cf. Speck, *Penobscot Shamanism, Mem. of Am. Anth. Ass.*, VI, 249 ff.

Cf. Heckewelder, *Indian Nations*, 239 ff. For Dutch accounts, see De Vries, Van der Donck, etc., *N. Y. Col.*, 2, I, 138, 213, 227, etc.; II, 203; III, 956, 159, etc. Cf. also Brainerd, Journal (*Mirabilia Dei*, etc.); Hesselius, *Kort Beretteise* (1725), 2 ff.

[2] The *taboo* of charms and fetishes is common among primitive peoples. Even the natives of Cape Verde Islands will not allow their charms to be touched. They are civilized, call themselves

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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648 Neither time nor closer association with Europeans has caused this feeling to disappear among the Delawares.[1] We observe the persistence of the same spirit in the sentiments conveyed in the text, the reverence for the *mores* of the past, the attitude of adoration toward their ancestors who, although ignorant pagans, possessed a mystic wisdom and intelligence which, they are willing to concede, surpassed the endowments and knowledge of the present generation.[2]

Yet notwithstanding the attitude of the Delawares toward the whites, we must not be misled, by consideration of the antipathy and distrust expressed since colonial times, into regarding the same spirit to have characterized their religious motives. For several authorities besides the narrator of the text coincide in telling us that the ceremonies of placation performed by the tribe are maintained for the benefit of all mankind. The white man is to be blamed for the existence in the mind of the Delaware of the feeling in favor of segregation. Yet the Delaware is willing to extend over his enemies the blessings resulting from his devotions.

771 The informant's own attitude is interesting as expressed in his own words.

"The Big House is regarded by the Delawares as the supreme religion among all forms of worship on the Continent. The center post [778 532] with the carved faces of the two sides is the foundation, whose topmost

[1] J. Morse (Rep. to the Secretary of War on the Indian Tribes, New Haven, 1822, p. 110) alludes to the Delawares of 1818 as "having a peculiar aversion to white people." Heckewelder still earlier had much to say about the causes of dissension, op. cit., p. 191.

[2] Note the spirit manifested in a communication from the Delaware Council to the Historical Commission (June 1929) "We are proud to have such a wonderful opportunity, so that our children will take pride in the work of their fathers to preserve our sacred Delaware tradition." While the hold of the old doctrine may be losing its grasp upon the younger generation of Delawares, we have some evidence of a reactionary trend in sentiment towards its rationalization. Not so long ago one of the Christian Delawares, [182] moved by a zealous, evangelistic impulse, arose and advised the conservatives to abandon once and for all the Big House ceremony on the ground that it was part of an age of superstition and ignorance. The opposition accorded this appeal was surprising and unexpected. The individuals behind the move for abandonment were, as it happened, uneducated themselves. Some of the defenders of the old faith, women who possessed good education in government schools, responded by accusing the intruders of incompetency to pass judgment on the merits of the contending creeds, by reason of their own ignorance; in not being able to read the testaments of one nor grasp the meaning of the other. Religious conservatism is a marked characteristic of the nationalistic element in the Nation. It is even asserted that they regard their migration from the east to have been in part prompted by a desire to preserve their religion. Dr. Michelson, who visited the tribe in 1912, was impressed by their tenacity of creed. (Smithsonian Misc. Collec., vol. 60, No. 30, p. 35) upon which Harrington also makes comments (I, op. cit., p. 200).

In an unpublished note to the original manuscript of Rafinesque's Walamolum (1833) now in the Brinton Library of the University of Pennsylvania Museum, the author gives a handwritten fragment of Delaware history from 1600. It is a bitter native lament voiced over the decline of the tribe, pronounced by a chief and translated by a John Burns, with mention of the removal from the east to west of the Mississippi and finally to the Osage country.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

end pierces the sky extending to the throne of the Great Spirit, whose right hand is resting on top of it as a staff to hold a great power given to the red man. All other Indian worship is a branch of this belief. When the rules are faithfully carried out in accordance with the ways of the primitive Delawares, it governs even the religion of our white brothers, perpetuating happiness, health, and prosperity among all nations the world over. In regard to the center post which is said to link the Creator with his chosen people; it is considered a very important feature of the religion. There should be a special authority to explain the significance of the center post in order that its real value in the Indian world be brought out. This being done the other Indian nations would be able to understand this great worship which now only the Delawares know."

A word or two of comment on my own estimate of the character of Delaware religion may not be amiss. If the student of the religious systems of pre-literate peoples feels inclined to disparage the quality of thought and the symbolism of the rituals of other North American forms of worship, I imagine that his objections, on the basis perhaps of their fetishistic traits and their lack of spiritual refinement, would be removed in weighing the qualities of Delaware concepts and acts of reverence toward the powers beyond. Close attention during the two years of study to the intricacies of the Delaware doctrines has impressed me with the conviction that we have here a real religion in a simple form. Inculcated in its followers are virtues (we'lhik) that no one would question as being of an ennobling nature, for instance humility of spirit and conduct,[1] dependence[2] upon the benevolence of the spirit forces, gratitude[3] for the blessings they bestow, supplication[4] for the continuation of blessings, the exemplariness of "clean" sincere behavior toward man and spirit,[5] altruism,[6] consideration of the afflicted and the aged,[7] the apostrophe against violence and war,[8] the value of concentrated spiritual unity in worship, the assumed dignity and barbaric grandeur[9] of the rites, and in particular the endeavor to insure and promote human health and welfare[10] irrespective of tribe or race. All are well worthy it would seem of respectful consideration, to which should be added that the procedures of the paramount

[1] tamak·e'lendamowa'k·an, "pitifulness in attitude."
[2] linz'ndowak·an.
[3] owe'lendamowa'k·an, "thankful satisfaction of mind."
[4] mas'mendowa'k·an, "earnest pleading."
[5] pi·'tsowa'k·an.
[6] lape'mkwsi·n "act of making oneself useful."
[7] wi'mbendowa'k·an, "sympathy."
[8] wolaggosowa'k·an, "peacefulness." (aspale'tamowak·an)
[9] woli·'nak··sowa'k·an, "fine appearance."
[10] kwe'namowa'k·an, "universal blessedness."

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

771 114 ceremony are framed in richly symbolical acts, impressive to the civilized as well as the uncivilized observer, participated in equally by the congregation of worshipers, young and old, great and humble. That the Delawares produced a religion in the real, almost classical sense, will not, I believe, be strenuously denied even by the proponents of other creeds, at least those of the more liberal type of mind. It might indeed have become a great one of the mediaeval type had it been linked with the destinies of a militant aggressive race, with its native humanitarian ideals, its precepts of altruism and humility, its lyrics, its litanies and mysticism.

But after all, whatever the civilized reader, no doubt himself an adherent to some creed accused of being equally as superstitious if not as picturesque, may call these religions, there they stand as they evolved—lasting symbols of the strange systems of thought that have appeared and almost vanished in the changing pageant of human history.

772 346 778 THE DELAWARE COSMOS, THE BEAUTIFUL WHITE PATH.—It is rather difficult to grasp the Delaware scheme of things. The cosmos in terms of the Big House is a dual symbolism; one realm being that of the celestial universe embraced in terms of time and space; the other, the tangible realm of the human in the midst of the concrete. The two are fused in the symbol of the Big House. The term Big House has to the Delaware a symbolical value much deeper than its descriptive one, for we discover that the Big House stands for the universe; its floor, the earth; its four walls, the four quarters; its vault, the sky dome, atop which resides the Creator in his indefinable supremacy. To use Delaware expressions, the Big House being the universe, the center post is the staff of the Great Spirit with its foot upon the earth, its pinnacle reaching to the hand of the Supreme Deity. The floor of the Big House is the flatness of the earth[1] upon which sit the three grouped divisions of mankind, the human social groupings (Pole", Pukowa'ŋgo, Tu'k"si·t) in their appropriate places; the eastern door is the point of sunrise where day begins and at the same time the symbol of the beginning of things; the western door the point of sunset and symbol of termination; the north and south walls assume the meaning of respective horizons; the roof of the temple is the visible sky vault. The ground beneath the Big House is the realm of the underworld while above the roof lie the extended planes or levels, twelve in number, stretched upward to the abode of the "Great Spirit, even the Creator" as Delaware form puts it. Here we might speak of the carved free images, the revereneed mesi'ŋgok, the representations on the center pole being the visible symbols of the Supreme Power,

[1] Lamha'k·i·ye "earth here below," so the inhabited world is referred to. The Delawares also know this as ket·hak·i·ye, "great earth" meaning the main body of the earth.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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those on the upright posts, three on the north wall and three on the south wall, the man-i't-u of these respective zones; those on the eastern and western door posts, those of the east and west. Of the man-i't-u or "spirit-forces," both specific and general, more will be said later.

But the most engrossing allegory of all stands forth in the concept of the White Path,[1] the symbol of the transit of life, which is met with in the oval, hard-trodden dancing path outlined on the floor of the Big House, from the east door passing to the right down the north side past the second fire to the west door and doubling back on the south side of the edifice around the eastern fire to its beginning. This is the path of life down which man wends his way to the western door where all ends.[2] Its correspondent exists I assume in the Milky Way, where the passage of the soul after death continues in the spirit realm.[3] As the dancers in the Big House ceremony wend their stately passage following the course of the White Path they "push something along," meaning existence, with their rhythmic tread.[4] Not only the passage of life, but the journey of the soul after death is symbolically figured in the ceremony as will be explained in note III in the appendix.

The ceremony symbolizes the transit of the year period. Its twelve nights of performance represent the figure of the twelve moons, its progress from east to west the course of the sun, its varied symbolical rites the events in the passage of life's orbit from beginning to end.

We learn that the White Path is "our Father's, the Great Spirit's road," upon it human life proceeds in its course, which grand movement is symbolized by the dancers as they tread the "White Path" of the "Big House." By another allegory we have the clearing away of impediments from its surface in the intervals between the dances by the efforts of the Attendants who use the wing feathers of "pure" birds, such as the eagle, with which the "Path" is brushed clean. Here

[1] We'll-o-le-sying, "Good or Beautiful White Path." Also weiau'si-t motoma'k-an, "Righteous Path."

[2] The Delaware, like his Christian brother, admits that it is hard for feeble man to walk in this path without erring. The concept has deep possibilities for discussion from the point of view of ethics and life as the pagan sees them.

[3] The symbolical association between the "White Path" and the Milky Way is not definitely proved by Delaware information. By some strange circumstances it seems, the Delawares can not furnish the native name of the Milky Way. Persistent inquiry among the older men both at Dewey and at Anadarko, Oklahoma, by V. M. Petrullo have failed to procure it, likewise correspondence with Joe Washington and J. A. Parks, prominent members of the Delaware Nation. Therefore the association is my own theoretical assumption, an interpretation of our data, and upon the analogy offered by other Algonkian beliefs in which the Milky Way is generally the "Spirit or Ghost Path" over which the soul of the deceased passes to the realm above. The only Delaware equivalents for Milky Way so far obtained are pe'mi-ki-ci-k'tek "across marked" or "across smoky way," and a notion that it is compared with a cowlick of hair, paxtcanhwing, "where the hair is parted," which may be discarded as far as their bearing upon the question here as concerned. This important point calls for solution.

[4] The term ka'nuka implies this figure. (See page 12).

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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796 is the symbol of the function of these noble birds, helpers of man, who
778 with their wings sweep the obstacles of disease and witch-craft from
772 the path which the Delaware treads to his final destiny.[1]

[774 824] Among the many noteworthy poetical concepts of which Delaware imagination is capable is also the thought that the trees, themselves spirit-forces, are calling forth in prayer to the Creator when the wind blowing through their foliage causes a rustling, or sighing as we would say.[2]

As life proceeds on its course under the gaze of the Supreme Power through the entire universe, with his minions posted around about in their respective quarters, so the Delawares performing in the Big House gyrate in their symbolical course in the shadow of the carved images. The symbolism of the harmonized progression of the celestial and terrestrial plane-realms is consistently carried out in thought in every performance and ritual connected with the Big House. Then there are the minor symbols of force, "Grandfathers" likewise; the guardian of the game animals, represented by the Mask Spirit, the mosing'holi·'kan, the tobacco, the cedar, the wampum, the red paint, the feathers, the winds.

796 An essential point to the understanding of the Big House ceremony is that it is conducted under the sponsorship of one of the three subdivisions of the tribe.[3] And while the obligation as well as the honor of conducting the ceremony fall collectively upon the members, there is one among them who has personally assumed the religious duty involved in issuing the invitations, in appointing the officers for the different branches of service, and particularly in defraying the numerous expenses which arise in connection with bringing so many people together for a fortnight.[4] The responsibility of the occasion is voluntarily assumed by the giver, or as he is called in Delaware, tami·"ke't', the Bringer-in." Men imbued with a desire to acquire a spiritual blessing through their religious attitude, or to recognize some blessing enjoyed, are usually the ones who answer to the inner call of duty.[5]

[1] The significance of using feathers of the nobler birds comes out in Delaware in the carrying of fans made of eagle and hawk feathers, in the wearing of feathers in the hair, and in the use of the decorated feather wand in the recently introduced Peyote ceremony. The feathers dispel evil influences from the umbrage of their wearers, the fans sweep away malevolent agencies.

[2] This passage is contained in the text of a prayer made at the opening of spring-time dictated by Wi·tapano'xwe.

[3] The three sub-divisions of the Delawares, the so-called Tortoise, Turkey, and Wolf groups, have evoked no small amount of discussion (Morgan, Brinton, Harrington). They are, however, not yet thoroughly understood. Some facts connected with these groupings are dealt with farther along, though only so far as they require mention in connection with the Big House.

[4] The informant estimated the cost of performance to be about $150.00.

[5] Since, moreover, there is the conviction that welfare of man at large rests upon the performance of the ceremony, that a world catastrophe is warded off by it, the attitude of the host is one pervaded with generous altruism. (Compare Zeisberger, op. cit., p. 136; and Harrington, I, p. 115).

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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the center posts of the Big House, to repeat what has already been observed. Thus the middle post with the two largest images carved on its opposite sides, east and west, is the emblem of contact between the Great Spirit and man, a symbol of the maintenance of life. Extending, as it is believed, from the earth to the twelfth tier of the heavens, the right hand of the Great Spirit rests upon its top. "It holds steadfast the Delaware religion and it is the base of all other Indian religions."[1] To him in his twelfth heaven, as it were, the worshipers in the Big House "lift their prayer" in unison by raising their voices in the prayer-call, "ho" given twelve times. With the prayer sticks, twelve in number, (six plain and six decorated with burned stripes, fig. 24) thrust in the air toward the top of the center posts where the mask-images stare placidly upon them, the worshipers lift their prayer to him as evidence of their fidelity.

There is, in addition to the synonyms given as denoting the Great Spirit, another interesting appellation recorded in 1670 among the Delawares of New Jersey by the Dutch travelers Dankers and Sluyter.[2] We are informed that "the first and great beginning of all things was *Kickeron* or *kickerom*, who is the original of all, who has not only once produced or made all things but produces every day." Brinton with his usual easy conviction reveals the "significance of this word," giving it the rendering of "Life, Light, Action or Energy." He adds "It is the abstract conception back of all these." While the term may indeed have had a place among the synonyms designating the ruling deity among the Delaware of the 17th century, it would seem to have either disappeared in later times or to be a distortion of the title ke'kayo'm'he'a, "governor, elder, or head-officer, president" which our informant affirms is applicable to a man, but not to a spirit.

It is important to note at this point that the term ki'tei ma'nitu, which has such a widespread use among the Algonkian in general as a designation of the Supreme Power is not employed by the pagan Delawares in referring to their deity. They do, however, comprehend the term as meaning "Real Spirit," (ki'tei, "real") not Great Spirit, as it is translated from Ojibwa, Potawatomi and other tongues.[3] Yet

[1] The familiar concept of the sky-tree in Iroquois mythology (Hewitt, Parker) exhibits some analogies to this belief. Its frequent representation in the pictography of the Iroquois has been touched upon by Parker (A. C. Parker, The Tree Symbol in Iroquois Mythology, American Anth. Volume XIV, Number 4, 1912). Similar interpretation seems implied in the ideography of the Delaware Walam Olum (Brinton, I, pp. 170-217), and in the symbolical motives of decoration of the tribes of southeastern New England (F. G. Speck Decorative Art of the Indians of Connecticut, Memoir 75, Geological Survey of Canada, 1915); a topic of research now being pursued by Miss Gladys Tantaquidgeon.

[2] Journal of a Voyage to New York in 1679-80, by Jasper Dankers and Peter Sluyter, p. 268. Translation in Transactions of the Long Island Hist. Soc., (Brooklyn 1867). Quoted and discussed by Brinton, The Lenape and their Legends, Philadelphia 1885, p. 132-3.

[3] So far as the Delaware are concerned the suppositions entertained by some ethnologists who have expressed the belief that this form of the name for the Great Spirit is of Christian origin, are borne out.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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Fig. 1—Side posts of Ceremonial House showing carved faces. After Harrington.

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Fig. 2—Delaware Turtoise shell rattles carried by reciters and dance leaders in the ceremony. (Hist. Com. of Pa.)

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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required. These I propose to deal with in the following section as man·i't·u deserving of particular mention, since this seems to represent their standing in the minds of devout Delawares. 776

Not only is the principle of consanquinity applied to deities and nature-forces, but to tribes and nations as well. Indeed the application of term of relationship to bodies of extra-biological classification is interesting enough to call for the inclusion of information given as a commentary on this point by Wi·tapano'xwe. With more detail to be secured it promises a fruitful problem for sociological interpretation. The informant's notes on the quasi-consanguinity of tribes are as follows. The Delawares believe that they are the oldest of the Indians. They call the following tribes "grand children," Shawnee, Potawatomi, Sauk and Fox, Ioway, Tonkawa, Sioux, Ottawa, Kickapoo, Miami, Peoria, Chippewa, Menomini, Winnebago. And these, in turn, call the Delawares, Wabanaki, Lenape, or else "Grandfathers,"—but, adds Wi·tapano'xwe, we are all "brothers," i. e. Indians. There are the Nanticoke, Mahikan, Munsee and Iroquois who are called brothers, relative age not specified, in spite of the fact that the Delawares assume to be older than they. There are other tribes which have different relationship with the Delawares, for example the Wyandots, Seneca and Cherokee are called "nephews" (either filial or sororal) and the Mexicans are called "uncles." To white people the general term, meaning "brothers" is applied, while negroes are termed "elder brothers," being considered the strongest of all races.[1] 776 829 608

THE CARVED IMAGES.—The concepts involved in the use of carved images in the likeness of the human face represent a phase of religious thought that has developed some exceptional prominence among the 532 778

[1] Zeisberger, (op. cit., p. 109) gives information corresponding to that of our informant, when he says that the "Shawnose" call the Delaware "grandfather." In regard to the "Mahikanders" we find a contradiction, and so are not able to compare the author's remarks with those in the text. Zeisberger also says that the Wiandots (Wyandots) and the Cherokees call the Delaware "grandfather," which differs from the information brought forward by our informant who considers them to be "nephews" of the Delaware. One infers from Zeisberger that the Delawares called the Twitchtwes (Miami), Wawiachtanos (a group of Mahikan), Kikapus, Chipuways, Ottawas, Putewoatalmen (Potawatomi) "brothers," differing from our information which states that the above tribes are known as "grandchildren," except when they were termed "brothers," implying that they were Indians similar to the Delawares. Zeisberger gives no kinship term as being applied to the negroes by the Delaware. He says: "These (the negroes) are looked upon as of their own kind and allowed full liberty. Indians and negroes intermarry and their mulatto children are as much loved as children of pure Indian blood." 582 778

Heckewelder, op. cit., notes the Shawnee (p. 86) and the Chipewa (p. 124) as being grandchildren of the Delaware, which is similar to the information given us by Wi·tapano'xwe, but in the case of the Chippewa he differs from Zeisberger. Heckewelder notes (page 122) that the Nanticoke and Mahican call the Delaware "grandfather" which differs from the information in our text where they are said to be "brothers." Again a difference is observed between Heckewelder and our informant in regard to the Wyandot and Cherokee who are, according to Heckewelder, "grandchildren" of the Delawares, yet, according to our informant are "nephews."

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca.1925) 1931
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Fig. 5—View of the center post with carved face above. Looking toward the west door.

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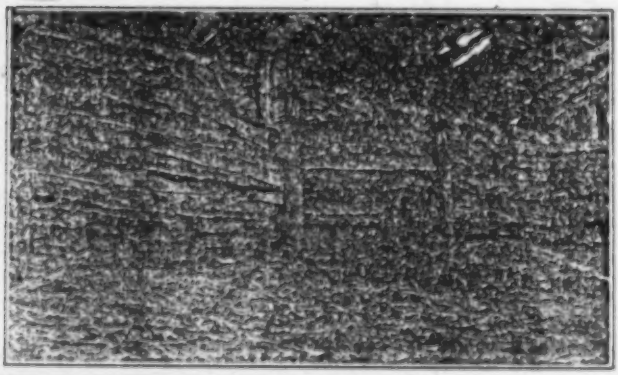

Fig. 6—View inside the Big House, showing support-posts, side logs and three of the false-face images on the side posts. The straw upon which the worshippers sit is also on the ground.

(Photos by Dr. Truman Michelson, Bur. Am. Ethnology, Wash., D. C.)

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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532 778 Delawares.[1] The term applied to them is mee-i'ng" (singular) "face." The concept defined for us in several sources of information, including the living teachers, shows that the carved representations are portrayals of the spirit-forces (man-i'-towak (plural)). They are not worshiped as objects. They stand as concrete representations of the spirit-forces as something to look at, to focus attention upon while the mind is centered upon the abstraction. The attitude is comparable to what is intended by the religious term iconolatry. The spirit forces are felt to be present where their likenesses are.

The images themselves when regarded as being separated from the domination of the function they serve are not treated with adoration. Hence when images are being made to replace old ones, in the occasional reconstruction of the Big House, the old images are laid aside, their meaning transferred to the new. Wi-tapano'xwe has himself, on one of the occasions when the Big House was rebuilt some years ago, carved one of the images on the side posts. This duty was assigned to the members of the council, each assuming the responsibility of carving one. His mental attitude is interesting in this connection. He made the post and carved the face on it, the second from the door on the west side of the Big House. He says, very naïvely, that he copied for his reproduction the one from the old post that he replaced, trying to reproduce as accurately as he could the technique and proportions of the original. He thought it best not to attempt any improvement in sculpture as he did not desire to deviate from established pattern. Some of the other artists, however, in making their reproductions attempted to do their best in sculptural representation. This shows us that the Delawares permit the play of individual motive in religious conduct, a fact which stands out in greater prominence among other Algonkian tribes where the organization of cult is not so strong. In short while there is undoubtedly much to learn from further experience with this sort of religious attitude among the Delawares it may be said that the images are strictly mediums for thought in the worship of the spirit-forces. The images are not the forces themselves. In the words of Wi-tapano'xwe, "You have the figure there in sight but the unseen spirit is back of it."

[1] Mask cults and image rituals of different degrees of importance are known only from certain parts of eastern North America; from the Middle Atlantic States southward (Iroquois, Delaware, Munsee, and Cherokee). The explorers' narratives, however, show the use of carved faces among the Algonkian peoples of Virginia and the Carolinas. The images formed posts standing at the places where ceremonies were performed (De Bry, Hariot). The use of carved masks (gourds) is indicated in the early 18th century for the Catawba by Lawson, while remains of wooden masks occur in an archaeological site in Florida (F. H. Cushing. Exploration of Ancient Key Dwellers Remains on the Gulf Coast of Florida. Proc. Amer. Phil. Soc., Phila. vol. 35, 1896, p. 388); and Harrington, (Cherokee and Earlier Remains on Upper Tennessee River, Indian Notes and Monographs, Mus. Amer. Ind., N. Y. 1922, p. 112), found a shell mask in Tennessee, in which state and Virginia almost a score are described by G. G. MacCurdy, xixth Internat. Cong. of Americanists, Wash. 1915, pp. 82-3, 64-5, 73; and W. H. Holmes 2nd Ann. Rep. Bur. Amer. Ethn. 1880-1, pp. 294-7, Pls. LXVII-IX.

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Several technical details in the make-up of the images are important. 532
One is the carved lines suggestive of wrinkles on the foreheads of the carved faces of the Big House posts. These are indeed wrinkles; the symbols of their age.

The black painting of the left side and the red painting of the right side of the images, as well as of the false face to be mentioned subsequently, and on the carved drum-sticks, has been given some discussion by Harrington[1] and was made the subject of questioning with Wi·tapano'xwe. It is evident that the dual color scheme, black and red, is based upon some very ancient and deeply symbolical native concept common throughout the east, the complete understanding of which has not been retained in Delaware tradition. We meet with the same color arrangement in designs of face painting in various connections among the Iroquois and tribes as remote from affinity with the Delawares as the Creek and Yuchi for instance.

Indications from the several sources available point to a fairly 778 ●
uniform assumption that in the case of the Delaware the images or 532
icons are venerated as the symbols of deity, serving not as an object of worship (as the accepted definition of idolatry implies) but as channels for worship. It would seem that the icons bear an analogy to those functioning in Christian worship. Likenesses of the manitus in human-face form also appear in abnormal growths upon trees, and often in natural formations in ledges of rock. The latter have given rise to varied legends of stone faces familiar in the lore of the countryside. To the Delaware it is taboo to look much at them lest they speak to one, which might be for evil. And he imagines these nature-grown effigies to have the red and black coloration characteristic of the spirit itself.

In dealing next with the masks there seems to exist an attitude somewhat different from that which we find associated with the stationary images just mentioned. The Delawares, in recent times at least, possessed a mask cult. There is, however, so far as the annual ceremony is concerned, the single spiritual force, anthropomorphic in character, whose province in native theurgy lies in the custodianship of the game animals. This being is represented by a carved mask-fetish known as ma·i'ŋk'holi·'kan, signifying "mask spirit." More will be said of this "master of the game" shortly. The personification of this creature, who is represented in the ceremonial drama by some individual who wears not only the mask but a garb simulating the traditional hairy body-covering of the being, seems to enter into the performance of the Big House as an extraneous feature. Aside from several remarks to follow concerning the masked

[1] Harrington, (pp. 83, 140-141) I, learned that the "length-wise" painting of the sticks, half black and half red, implied that men and women were joined together in Thanksgiving, the black representing the warriors, the red the women.

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being, taken from the discussions of Zeisberger and Harrington, I will let Wi·tapano'xwe place forth in his own words the pertinent remarks relative to it which he dictated to me.

THE MASK DANCE.—The False Face, or Mask, performance seems to possess indications of being an archaic mask-ceremony admitted into the annual Big House ritual during some phase of its later development. It bears some analogies suggestive at once of the game-owner concept that is met with among the Algonkian hunter-nomads of the far north, the Montagnais-Naskapi. In particular we note that the mask and bear-hide clothing are kept away from the precincts of the Big House until the time assigned for their appearance by permission of the master-of-ceremony. The Mask dancer does not remain long in the Big House, nor is his action there in any sense an obligation. Occasionally no one volunteers for the dance and then it is omitted. The informant himself had assumed the rôle several times and he seemed to regard it as lacking in theological significance from the point of view of the Big House doctrine. He related in this connection, how the chief function of the Mask dancer was to frighten children before and after his appearance in the Big House. The songs accompanying the Mask-Spirit dance (mas·ŋgka'n·t'ke') were not completely known to him. In one of these the words refer to the Mask-Spirit riding on the back of the deer.[1]

The Mask-Spirit seems to hold potency of both good and evil influence. There is the narrative of a man (Ben Horse) who had come under the power of the Mask-Spirit to such a degree that he was occasionally subjected to its control and fell to performing the antics of the Mask dancer to the point of dementia. A medicine-doctor called upon to free him from this influence ordered him to make a mask and perform the dance at certain times. This eventually cured him and he became the custodian of his mask and developed into a Mask-dancer. An insight into the function of this rite is also given by the narrative of another, a woman, terrified by the Mask-Spirit requiring similar remedial treatment of the mask. And we also hear of some children once so frightened that they ran several miles from the camp and were overtaken with difficulty by their parents whom they took also to be masked pursuers in their confusion of flight.

The Mask-Spirit as a potentially malicious spirit is clearly totally different in conception from six carved faces, "our grandfathers," appearing on the posts of the Big House.

We are taught in the text that the mas·i'ŋk'holi·'kan is like the other man·i't·u deserving of adoration for the blessing he bestows upon hunters in allowing them to kill the deer, over whom he seems to act

[1] Another reflection of the tale known as Caribou-Man among the Naskapi of the north.

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the part of custodian.[1] Harrington felt that this was the "most remarkable deity of the Lenape," who was "made guardian by the creator of all the wild animals of the forest, and was sometimes seen riding on the back of a buck, herding the deer; but he lived in a range of rocky mountains. His face is large and round, the right half being painted red, the left black, while his body is covered with long black hair like that of a bear."[2]

A certain amount of supernatural ability seems to be required of the individual who is to wear properly and display the mask. One who has this spiritual quality to a high degree finds himself able to see as well when wearing the mask, despite the smallness of the eye-openings, as though he were bare-eyed. His spiritual power, we are told, is thus tested; he partakes of the qualities of the prophet, kaci-lo'eu "great man." Other notes on the wearing of the mask are to be found in the text, page 93.

Before passing on, however, reference should be made to customs concerned with the mask recorded by the authors mentioned above. Zeisberger describes this as follows:

"The only idol which the Indians have, and which may properly be called an idol, is their Wsinkhoalican, that is image. It is an image cut in wood, representing a human head, in miniature, which they always carry about them either on a string around their neck or in a bag. They often bring offerings to it. In their houses of sacrifice they have a head of this idol as large as life put upon a pole in the middle of the room.[3]

Brainerd had occasion to observe the performance of the Mask-Spirit in 1745, on the upper Susquehanna, and wrote of the appearance of the Mask Dancer with "a coat of bear skins, dressed with the hair on, and hanging down to his toes; a pair of bear skin stockings; and a great wooden mask painted, the one half black, the other half tawny, about the color of an Indian's skin, with an extravagant mouth, cut very much awry; the face fastened to a bear skin cap, which was drawn over his head. He advanced toward me with the instrument in his hand, which he used for music, in his idolatrous worship, which was a dry tortoise shell with some corn in it, and the neck of it drawn on to a piece of wood, which made a very convenient handle."[4]

There seems, however, to be something omitted in recording these facts. A much more intimate connection between the mask itself and

[1] A hunter's taboo, founded supposedly upon some ancient principle of altruism, is that the first deer or other animal killed by the hunter be not eaten. The meat is given to some older person. The slayer never gets even a bite. Some phase of this rule is to be noted for every northern Algonkian tribe, though in no case have I as yet been fortunate enough to elicit a religious reason for it among the hunters who follow the practice.

[2] Harrington, I, p. 32-33.

[3] Zeisberger, op. cit., p. 141.

[4] Brainerd, op. cit., p. 237.

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the spiritual force represented by it is apparent. The being itself seems to be incorporated in the mask image. The latter become more truly a fetish than the carved images representing the deities in the Big House. Its presence is a source of active power, for the most part, directed toward maleficence. This I think is brought out in several records which the informant dictated to me, tracing the presence of disease and misfortune to the possession of masks representing the human face, both large and small, in families who had, through some event, come into possession of them. Possession seems not always to have been voluntary and in such cases the owners were obliged through the revelations given them in dreams to perform periodic rites, called feasts, to annul their malefic potencies. I am led to believe that this explanation is a valid phenomenon associated with mask likenesses; one omitted from the explanations given us by the authors cited.

We learn in this connection that once a year, generally in the summer, the mask image was given a dance and feast of hominy by the family in whose custody it remained. The express purpose of this rite was to provide it enjoyment and nourishment as a means of conciliation beyond what was accorded it by being brought out during the performance in the Big House. In such a family the mask must be disposed of in a ceremonial manner should it be desired to discontinue the obligatory rites, or should the family die out. Tradition requires the mask in this case to be buried, as the informant states, lest the effects of neglect of the mask be handed down to relatives. One is reminded, in learning of this reverential attitude toward the masks, of the frequency with which carved stone faces have been exhumed in the territories previously inhabited by the Delawares. The Museums of Pennsylvania, New Jersey and New York possess a number of specimens of the faces, which have been briefly discussed and illustrated by Harrington.[1]

The family in which fell the custody of the False Face was the l'ala'ciman "Frenchman," family of the Wolf group. The wife of Frenchman was the person who had hereditary ownership of the mask. Her descendants, the McCartlain family (Turkey group), were next in succession but being inclined toward Christianity the rite was neglected by them. Subsequently Julius Fouts, Pet ane'hing, "Threw Him Here," of the Tortoise group, took charge of the mask. Being afraid that it might be destroyed by worms while in his possession which might have brought sickness to his family as a consequence, Fouts turned it over to Pe'matae'kamon, "Moving-Flowers Man" (George Bullette) of the Fowl group. By the latter it was sold out of the tribe and finally found its errancy terminated in an exhibition case of the Museum of the American Indian (Heye Foundation). (Fig. 10).

[1] Op. cit., I, pp. 32-43.

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The mask rite, says Wi·tapano'xwe, is an individual or family, not a group rite. The record of the change of hands through which it passed, going into each of the three groups at different times, brings out this act.

Since it happened that the custody of the mask fell to Delaware women as well as to men, there seems to have been no restriction as to sex in the office of keeping the masks as reported for the Iroquois. The same is true of the corn-husk masks. As among the Iroquois the Delaware wooden mask was kept face down when not in use, but only, the informant added, because the cloth covering at the back would make this position more convenient. We are impressed with the ruling that the mask could not be played with nor worn for social masquerading.

To the ethnologist, however, the significance of the Mask-Spirit is deep. The whole question of the trait which it represents in the customs of the Delawares is fraught with the possibilities of an archaic northern background, into which fits a series of beliefs and practices extending across boreal North America through northeastern Asia. The game owner concept, in short, stands forth in high relief among the far northern Algonkian. Its most intense development appears among the Montagnais-Naskapi of the Labrador peninsula.[1] For the region of the Great Lakes among the Central Algonkian we have as yet no records to substantiate the existence of the Game Owner concept so far south. The Delaware case is accordingly one of noteworthy bearing. Before passing by what Delaware belief has to contribute to the Game Owner concept in general the information pertaining to the mask spirits to be given in a text reserved for the later publication should be considered.[2] Here an account is recorded in which masks made of corn-husks are worn by messengers who go about announcing the occasion of a corn ceremony. The personification of the spirit of corn seems intended in the wearing of such a mask.

THE TORTOISE AS A SYMBOL.—Outlined in particularly high relief is the tortoise. In the latter creature we have the symbol of life, of perseverence, longevity and steadfastness. As the Delaware patriarch says, "The tortoise is the earth; is life." In the procession of time and among the elemental nature forces the direction of movement is from east to west, according to Delaware belief. So moves the tortoise with measured pace across the earth and through the Big House, carrying out the mythical allegory. At the end of his journey at the "western door," meaning where the sun sets at the edge of the

[1] Extended treatment of the religious beliefs and philosophy of the northern peoples, so far as the Game Owner concept is concerned, will be available for the students of religious customs of pre-literate peoples when manuscript now in course of preparation shall have been published.

[2] To form another volume of this series.

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earth, the world will come to an end as does the ceremony after the twelfth night. Thus the tortoise "brings the ceremony." His shell in the form of the rattle[1] is carried in the hands of the participants who take the part of leaders in the recitations and dances and move in the proper westward direction in the Big House. The saying is, as the ceremony is opened, and again after the intervals of pause, "The Tortoise is bringing us the worship and we are now ready to touch it again."

The tortoise, moreover, is "he who carries our mother's body"—the latter being a metaphor for the earth. The tortoise being a "grandfather" thus becomes more ancient than the earth. The prominence of this mysterious creature in Delaware religious belief has long been noted by writers dealing with the tribe.[2]

As early as 1670 the Delawares are recorded as declaring that all things came from the tortoise, that it brought forth the world, that from its back a tree had sprung upon whose branches men had grown, that it had a power and a nature to produce all things such as earth, and the like; that it brought forth what the supreme divinity wished through it to produce.[3]

[1] As early as 1794 the turtle-shell rattles are mentioned by G. H. Loskiel, History of the Missions of the United Brethren; and Ziesberger before him, 1779 (op. cit., p. 89).

[2] The tortoise was regarded in China as a sacred animal imbued with a knowledge of the future. Concerning hunting as well as crop prospects and rainfall the tortoise shell oracle was consulted. (B. Laufer, Scientific Monthly, Vol. XXV, p. 253, (1927). Rather strangely the intervening area between these occurrences does not show forth prominence of the tortoise in religious thought.

[3] This cosmological tale, valuable for its early date and more complete form than we expect from the 17th century writers, is given by Dankers and Sluyter, dated Oct. 16, 1680. (Journal of a Voyage to New York in 1679-80, p. 203) (Translated in vol. 1) Transactions of the Long Island Historical Society, Brooklyn, also Mem. Long Island Hist. Soc., vol. I, 1875, 1867, quoted by Brinton I, p. 133, and A. B. Skinner, the Lenape Indians of Staten Island, Anth. (Papers Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist., N. Y. vol. iii, (1909), p. 53). It seems worth quoting in full:

"16 Oct., 1679. In the morning there came an Indian to our house, a man about 80 years of age, whom our people call Jasper, who lived at Ahnkinsack (Hackensack) at Akinon. We asked him where he believed he came from. He answered from his father. "And where did your father come from?" we said, "and your grandfather and great-grandfather, and so to the first of the race?" He was silent for a little while, either as if unable to climb up at once so high with his thoughts, or to express them without help, and then took a piece of coal out of the fire where he sat and began to write upon the floor. He first drew a circle, a little oval, to which he made four paws or feet, a head and a tail. 'This,' said he, 'is a tortoise lying in the water around it,' and he moved his hand round the figure, continuing, 'this was or is all water, and so at first was the world or the earth, when the tortoise gradually raised its round back up high, and the water ran off it, and then the earth became dry.' He then took a little straw and placed it on end in the middle of the figure, and proceeded, 'the earth was now dry, and there grew a tree in the middle of the earth, and the root of this tree sent forth a sprout beside it, and there grew upon it a man, who was the first male. This man was there alone, and would have remained alone but the tree bent over its top and touched the earth and there shot therein another root, from which came forth another sprout, and there grew upon it the woman, and from these two are all men produced."

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825 T13 Zeisberger mentions the world-flood myth in which it is related that some human survivors took refuge on the back of a turtle whose age was so great that his shell was mossy.[1] And the turtle represents the earth. His rounded back is to the Delawares the earth dome.

825 T78 [302] Another indication of a belief in the latent potency of the magical powers of this remarkable creature is met with in the esteem paid to the yellow color-pattern on the upper shell of the animal. Face paint patterns of a dignity appropriate to the men taking part in the Big House ceremony are copied from these markings.[2] The men wearing these patterns are adopting the symbol of the creature who "carries our mother's body."

The creature that typifies the earth-bearer, designated as taxko'xk[3] in Delaware, and whose symbol exists in the form of the shell-rattle, is the Box Turtle (Cistudo Carolina). This reptile is by the rulings of precise taxonymy not a tortoise but a connecting link between the aquatic turtles, or terrapins, and the terrestrial forms, the true tortoises. For the Box Turtles, of the genus Cistudo, deriving their name from the well known structure of the hinged plastron which permits the animal to withdraw the soft parts of its body completely within the protective cover of the shell, have partially webbed feet, which places them nearer to the Turtles than to the Tortoises. Yet to distinguish the reptile of Delaware tradition from the semi-aquatic American turtles, I have adhered to the designation of tortoise in the text and discussion.[4]

Perhaps certain remarks offered by the informant will, in con-

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[1] Zeisberger, op. cit., p. 131. See also E. deSchweinitz, Life and Times of David Zeisberger, pp. 218-19. Also Heckewelder, pp. 250, 308.

Later authors have pointed out the prominence of the tortoise as a symbol of the earth, not only in Delaware cosmology (Brinton I, p. 135) but in other Algonkian mythologies of the central and eastern areas as well.

[2] Considerable variation in the amount of yellow and in the outline of the patterns is observable in the markings of individual specimens of this genus of turtles.

[3] Of the five North American species of Cistudo, *Cistudo Carolina*, the eastern Box Turtle, the original race of Delaware tradition, and the Painted-Box Turtle (*c. ornata*), of the central region, were and are denoted as the proper forms. Possibly the Three-toed Box Turtle (*C. triunguis*) of the South Central states, may have been utilized by the tribe later in the west. The following are the names and identities of turtles mentioned by the informant:
ss-ap'i-p'konas-t' makake'xki ta'xkoxk' "spotted back prairie turtle," Box Tortoise (Cistudo (sp)).
c'iqqe'k-l ta'xkoxk' "timber turtle," (a large yellow tortoise). This can be used for the "coarse" rattle carried by the "second dancer" or follower."
pombu't-l-s, "stinking turtle" (Aromochelys odoratus, or Cinosternum Pennsylvanicum). Of no importance ceremonially.
pi'salato'lha, "wrinkled breast," Soft-shelled turtle. (Trionyx spinifer). These are eaten, but are of no ceremonial importance.
co'salato'lha "smooth breast," any water terrapin of genus Chrysemys. Snapping-turtle (Chelydra serpentina). Its shell is used only in the Mask ceremony and in Brush-arbor ceremony. The Delawares are cognizant of the Iroquois' use of the snapping turtle and of their own preference for the Box Tortoise in making rattles for dancing. The term taxko'xk denotes that the animal's shell is "fused together." An obsolete term for turtle is to'lpe.

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clusion, add something to our idea of another side of the character of this knowing and potent reptile, so important to the religious sense of the Delawares.

"The turtle is in its way an evil thing, yet not so evil as a snake which is controlled by the Evil Spirit and has also human face-paint patterns. The Turtle can hurt human-beings. Once a boy caught a water-turtle and turned him on his back. The Turtle got mad; raised himself on his legs stiffly. The Turtle raised himself, and launched himself through the air and struck the boy on his head and nearly killed him. The Turtle has a weapon in the sharp frontal plates."

FIRE SYMBOLISM.—Among the spirit-forces of Delaware cosmology "Our Grandfather Fire" (ta'n-dai') is held in high esteem. The adoration of fire, however, is not sufficiently exclusive to justify the Delawares being called pyrolatrists. Fire, as a spirit-force subordinate to the Great Spirit, is an agency of purification and invigoration. In the Big House ceremony the rite of kindling new fire with the consecrated fire-drill takes place to the accompaniment of an appropriate prayer on the ninth night from the lips of the Bringer-in, or Master of Ceremonies. The new fire is thus "pure," since it is made with the implements granted by the Great Spirit. The coming of the white man within the horizon of Delaware culture introducing matches into the native economy has undoubtedly served to throw the sanctity of the fire-drill into a higher light. But it would, I believe, be quite erroneous to undervalue the attitude of reverence, both in thought and ritual, which is held toward fire in native culture throughout the east.[1] To the Delaware ceremonialists the making of new, "pure" fire symbolizes "renewing of life, fresh vigor, the breathing of pure air uncontaminated by latent forces of disease, new and pure influences for life and health." It is one of the forces to which tobacco is constantly offered, and is an auxiliary to the use of cedar as incense in the act of purification.

Both Zeisberger and Harrington lay stress on the deification of fire among the Delawares.[2] In the Big House the two fires maintained throughout the ceremony east and west of the center-post,

[1] Some writers who have dealt with fire-worship among the eastern Indians seem to have gone too far in defining them as outright sun- and fire-worshipers, through exaggeration of the importance of fire ceremonies described in the older accounts. That the Delawares have been more conservative in regard to admitting innovations into their ceremonies is shown by the fact that the Yuchi, in whose annual ceremony the kindling of new fire is an important act, have condescended to use flint and steel (F. G. Speck, Ethnology of the Yuchi Indians, Anth. Pubs. Univ. of Penna. Mus., vol. I No. 1 (1910), pp. 120-1). On the other hand we know of perpetual fire being maintained in village temples among some of the early peoples of the southeastern area; evidence that must be given full weight in considering the question of pyrolatry in eastern America.

[2] Zeisberger, op. cit., pp. 138-139, Harrington, (I) passim.

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trinsic value, receiving the return with the native idea of spiritual and supernatural interplay. 436 439

The Dutch in buying Manhattan for 60 guilders worth of trinkets undoubtedly drove a shrewd bargain with the Delawares. But who has told us that in the eyes of these same Delawares the currency was the symbol not the value equivalent of the relinquishment of their hereditary rights to the land as well as its products? This ridiculous price was to them a symbol over which they transferred their goodwill and spiritual power over forces dormant in the land, clearing away the poison that might have been engendered by the inequality of value in the transfer. Here lay the basis of conflict unreconcilable between the two culture spheres that met, bartered, and quarreled, in the settlement of the Atlantic seaboard. The one backed by unnumbered, metal-armed, aggressive and adventurous men from a tumultous old world as against a few thousand stone-age, passive, hunter-farmers.

There are deep associative meanings here underlying Algonkian and Iroquois wampum institutions. The problems of their origin, development and inter-relation are to be considered as a research problem of the future.

CEREMONIAL EQUIPMENT.—The material equipment of the Big House ceremony is mentioned with some detail in that part of the text which deals with preparation. The objects whose use is called for in various stages of the rite have a particular sacredness in the eyes of the Delawares. Between the occasions when the ceremony is performed they are carefully kept in the charge of some responsible chiefs or members of the council. Some of the objects required in the performance have been attached to it for lengthy periods of time. It has even been thought that they might have been brought from the east during the course of migration. This attitude of reverence, however, has not prevented the escape of specimens, representing practically all of the objects whose use is prescribed in the performance, from the hands of their custodians to find their way into the collections of eastern museums, even into the possession of private collectors.[1] In some cases faithful reproductions of the cherished articles have been made by the Indians to serve the purposes of demonstration. Therefore, utilizing the materials in the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, New York City, and the American Museum of Natural History, New York City, who have generally pro- 778 796

[1] The temptation to professional curio-hunters to sweep Indian reservations clean of native manufactures results in turning topsy-turvy their cultural life. It even comes from experts whose desire for the possession of rare specimens is sometimes greater than their desire for the advancement of knowledge. The existence of such bitter and senseless rivalries among collectors is responsible for the demolition of creeds and ceremonies now too far gone to study or to understand.

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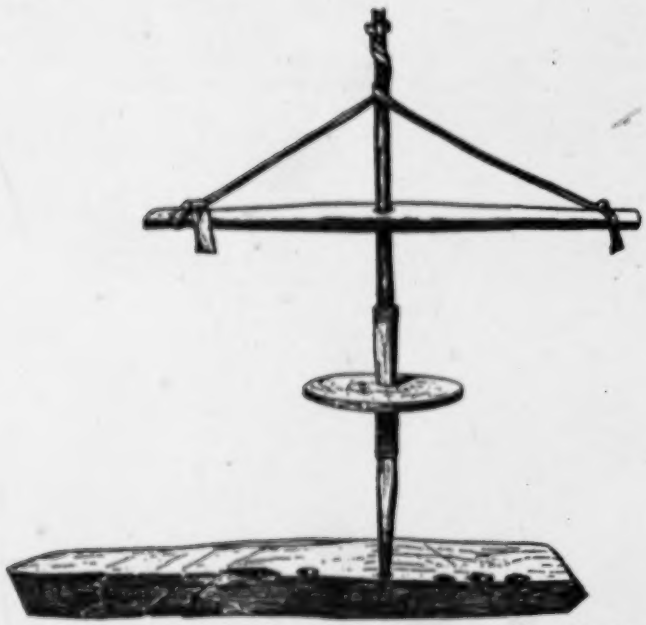

Fig. 14—Ceremonial fire drill used at the Big House Ceremony. (Length of shaft, 29.5 in.). After Harrington.

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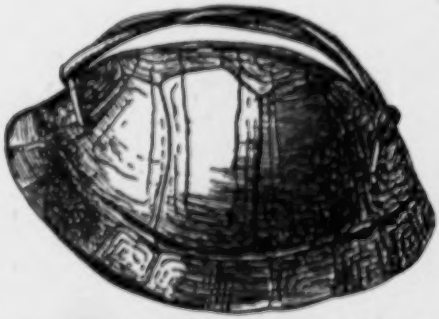

Fig. 15—Rattle of land-tortoise shell, used by celebrants of the Big House Ceremony. (Lenth 4.2 in.). After Harrington.

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vided illustration and granted access to the specimens for description, the accompanying plates and figures are made possible for our study. Other reproductions are from specimens being acquired in the Delaware collections in the State Museum at Harrisburg.[1]

The articles constituting the material equipment of the ceremony require some comment since reference is so frequently made to them in the text, although their proper description would fall under treatment in a study of Delaware material culture. Wi·tapano'xwe has, moreover, given us some additions to knowledge regarding these objects which I shall refer to briefly now, while reserving some explanatory remarks pertaining to them for the footnotes accompanying the translation.

The shell rattles (taxko'xk[e]) (figs. 2, 15) with which the men who recite their visions accompany themselves by sidewise motion of the arm are constructed of the dried shell of the box tortoise (Cistudo). A leather thong is fastened through holes in the top shell, beneath which the fingers pass so that the curve of the shell fits the palm of the hand. Both the dance leader who is reciting his vision and the man close by his side, who chants the responses to the song of the leader, carry the handrattles. The leader's rattle is, by traditional ruling, smaller than that of his associate.

The peculiar Delaware hide-drum (po$_{\chi}$on·i·'k·an), (fig. 19), which was also known to the Munsee, has called forth some attention from Harrington. This instrument of percussion is simply a dried deer-skin folded and bound with cordage that fastens two long wooden slats to opposite sides, its length is thirty-two inches. The beaters are more interesting as ceremonial objects. During the nights of the annual performance up till the ninth, the drum batons (pa$_{\chi}$kandi·'k·an) are plain bars of oak 16 inches in length with no other mark on them than a figure X carved on the upper side. The figure is said to symbolize the crossroads on the pathway of the soul (see page 174 and figs. 17, 22, 26). On the ninth night, however, the plain drum-beaters are put aside and their place is taken in the subsequent acts of the ceremony by the sacred beaters (pa$_{\chi}$kandi·'k·an la$_{\chi}$a'usi·tci·k "forked-ones").[1] This substitution is an allegory of the increasing sanctity of the rites as they progress from the beginning, until reaching the ninth night the worship has approached so near the seat of the Great Spirit in his twelfth tier of heaven that the ceremony assumes a more formal phase, and appears with its equipment in ceremonial full-dress. The sacred batons (fig. 22, a, b) bear on their upper sides carvings of the human face in high relief with the symbolical red and black paint on the right

[1] Mention should be given to the illustrations of most of these objects in Harrington's study of Lenape religion and ceremonies.

[1] These sacramental objects are kept in the custody of the chiefs of the Tu'kwu·t (Wolf) group.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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FIG. 15—Delaware bark-tail hand fan carried by man. Used now generally in Peyote Ceremony. (Hist. Coun. of Pa.)

FIG. 16—Delaware Fire-drill (Hist. Coun. of Pa.)

FIG. 17—Delaware Drum-beater marked with cross used before ninth night of Ceremony. (Hist. Coun. of Pa.)

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10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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and left halves, respectively. The one also has carved representations of the female breasts. Harrington secured information explaining that these drum-beaters symbolized the male and female worshipers, but we cannot be so certain of this in view of the possibility that they may be representations of male and female deities, the "grandfathers" and "grandmothers" of the Delawares. The sacred drumsticks are also cut to have forked ends as the illustrations show. For this morphological feature Wi·tapano'xwe knew of no positive explanation unless it represents the forks in the pathway of the soul. Harrington suggested that it was to make a louder sound. Specimens made by the informant are shown in fig. 20. Pin oak was the wood used. The faces are designed to bring out male and female lineaments.

Reverting for a moment to a consideration of the drum it is worth noting that the Delawares use neither the hollow log-drum nor the water-drum in the Big House ceremony although both are known in connection with other dance performances in the tribe.

The prayer sticks (ma·mendahi·'k·ana', plural) "means of earnest supplication" (fig. 24) are peeled wands about 18 inches long, twelve in number, six decorated with spirals encircling them burnt on their surface, six undecorated. On the ninth night likewise these wands are introduced into the prayer feature of the ceremony. The worshipers, who up until this night have simply raised their hands when giving voice to the prayer call when grouped around the center post, now raise their hands pointing toward the images of the great spirit on this post with the prayer wands. Here again we learn that the extra reach afforded by the sticks is symbolical of the greater height in the heaven-strata that has been reached in the progress of the worship.

The fire drill sang·hi·'k·an),[1] figs. 14, 16, the wooden corn mortar (kəhə'k·an) and pestle, or "long pounder" (kwən·u'sən·e'k·w), fig. 23, the paint, ola·'man)[2] the "paint dishes" (ola'manələ'k·e's), fig. 21, the feathers, (fig. 18), and other articles whose use is called for as the ceremony advances, are to be mentioned with explanatory observations in the footnotes accompanying the translation. These objects have a positive sanctified value as they function in the ceremony. The Delawares hold them in high esteem as symbols of the natural culture with which they were endowed by the Great Spirit before the coming of Europeans with their sacrilegious mechanisms, which latter are as far as possible held as taboo within the Big House itself and even on the premises. The same exclusive principle is carried out in respect to European foods. Even mussel shells are used as spoons.

A partly sanctified character is also ascribed to certain games which are permitted during the course of the ceremony. While the mem-

[1] sa'ngawe, "something that makes a ringing noise," denoting the sound of the fire-drill when in use.

[2] A generic term for "red paint" known everywhere among northern and eastern Algonkians with little variation.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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Fig. 19—Drum made of dried deerskin used at the Big House Ceremony. (Length, 38.2). After Harrington.

Fig. 20—Delaware drum beaters used on ninth night of ceremony. (Hist. Com. of Pa.)

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Fig. 21—Paint-dish of bark, used at the Big House Ceremony. (Length, 2.2 in.). After Harrington.

10: Speck E-4,5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

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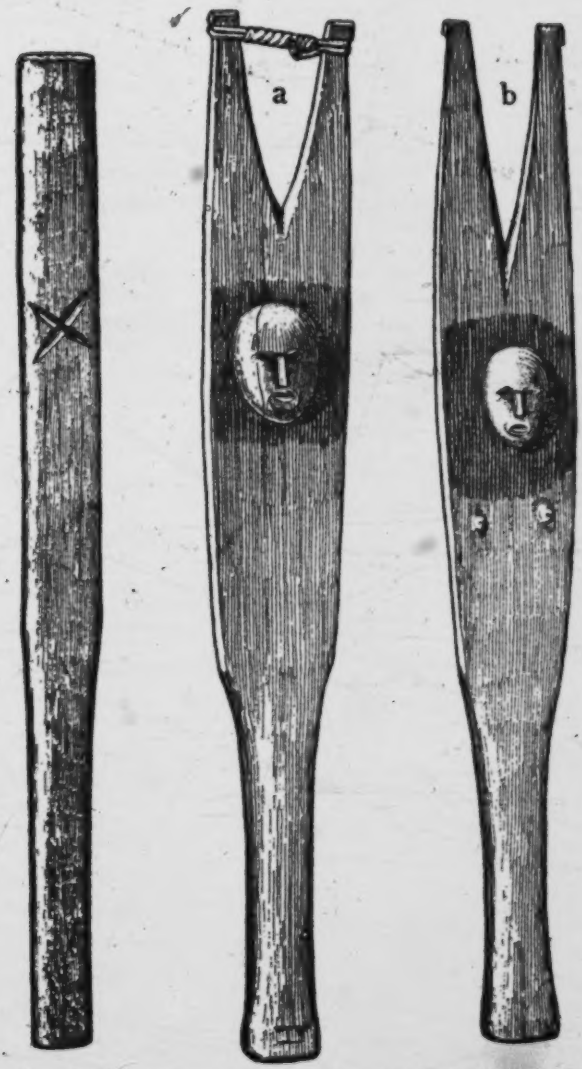

Fig. 22—Plain and Sacred (a and b) drumsticks used at the Big House ceremony in Oklahoma (Length, 18.6 in.). After Harrington.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

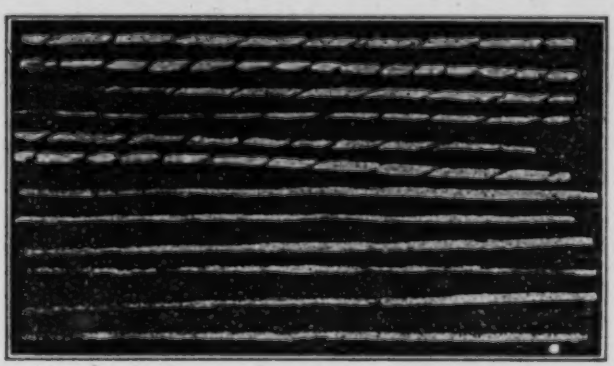

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Fig. 24—Delaware Prayer Sticks (Hist. Com. of Pa.)

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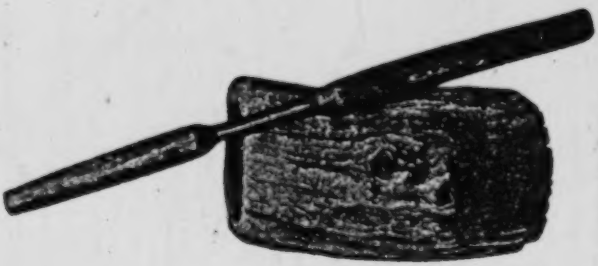

Fig. 23—Delaware Corn mortar and pestle used in Ceremony (Hist. Com. of Pa.)

[P. 80 is blank]

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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"This, behold, is my dream
and I can thus explain it and sing it in every way just as I saw it.'" 539x
And now, it was said, first of all there must be a house built. And 773
also to be planned how that house should look both as to its inside 346
dimensions and height. And also, it was said what would be the size of the door here to be at the direction of the setting sun[1] and at the direction of the sunrise. And there will be jointed sections of the logs, and three posts used at the sides. And two will be on each side of the door reaching to the height of the top of the roof. And in the middle shall be the big post. And it shall be as high as the height of the house. And all posts shall be notched on top. And these at the side where the logs join shall stand as stud-posts facing each other, there held together at the top using short cross-ties.[2] And there shall be on top a larger timber cross-piece. And the ridge rafters in two pieces in the center where they join shall be more than a person's height, there from the beginning of the roof-pitch. And shall be made of various woods. And also the rafters and flat boards shall be used with the bark on, likewise in the roofing.

[1] The Big House, as we learn here, was conceived in a dream-vision revealed to certain persons by the Great Spirit. The recitation of experiences, obtained while in a dream state or in a disturbed emotional condition, has ever continued to form the key note of the ceremony so founded. [757]

[2] The present Big House on Little Caney River, Oklahoma, is set north and south, evidently so placed by mistake, due to the position of the river.

[3] The notched binders fitted into notches of the posts to lock them.

And at both sides where sets the center post, there also shall be built [204]
the fires. Right there opposite and above them, an uncovered place shall be left in the roof. And that will be to force out the smoke. And on all the posts at about a person's height there shall be carved the [778] mask-image face,[1] and also half the face painted red and the other side blackened.

And around the sides where the people sit, there shall be put dried 531x
grass. And three men and three women chosen, one shall be of the 773
Pole[2] group, and of the Pukowa'ŋgo, and of the Tu'k"si·t. Their 796
service shall be to labor as long as the Gamwing, it was said, ten and two days' praying. All this time they furnish sufficient well-dried wood. It shall be, for those women, obligatory that they grind up corn and cook meat. And the Attendants all together feed in the house. And they pay them one shoulder-length[3] of wampum every time they furnish food. And it is the rule that the people shall use wampum when purchasing food from the Attendants. There everyone who recites visions in the House will eat there with his family three times each day.

[1] These are the sculptured personifications of the spirit-forces.

[2] For the discussion of this archaic style of enumeration in the ceremony see page 62.

[3] Measured from the shoulder point to the tip of finger of the extended arm.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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No iron or nail is used when building the House, and no wooden floor. It has a dirt floor inside the House. Deerhide is used when the drum is tied together and two drum-sticks are cut forked. And small faces are carved on one side, alike in appearance. Another different pair of sticks are made plain and these are used when the cranes[1] are singing. And a wooden bowl is made ready when they mix up the tobacco and kinnickinnick[2]. Another different wooden bowl is provided when they carry the red paint and puccoon[3] and also there they put cedar.

And ten and two sticks are made, called "means of earnest prayer." And some are marked with spots. Whoever wishes to sing in company shall also use this when helping to lift up the prayer, it is said, with concentration of spiritual force far above to the ten and two sky-levels where dwells the Creator.

And now this Big House when first built, they say of it, was the one great prayer-creed, that this carved post in the middle of the House, standing there reaches to the above through as many as ten and two strata. And the strata of sky light are as high as that post, it is said, this being the fastener. That is the Creator's staff. From that very staff, branch off all prayer-creeds of the red-people given to them, whence come all other prayer-creeds of the world.

[1] Meaning the drummers. There being two drummers, one of them sings in a tone which the other repeats immediately after him, in imitation of the manner in which wild cranes cry when flying in response to the call of their leader. The result in tone is similar to an echo. The crane is the Sand-hill crane (Grus Mexicana), daleka'ok, (plural) whence the drummers derive their sobriquet. ni'kanasos "the leader" is the singer who takes the leading part in the song; the other singer is oxtegi'xsous "after-time." See page 57.

[2] See footnote 6, page 127.

[3] See page 71.

[4] mas'mendahi'k-an. This denotes prayer-sticks used in serious address to the Great Spirit. mas'mendawa'mal "I beg the Great Spirit to do my bidding." Specimens of the plain and decorated prayer-sticks made by the informant are shown (fig. 24).

The bearers of the twelve prayer-sticks give all their spiritual-force to lift the prayer being given by the speaker or the singers to the highest, or twelfth heaven,—the instrumental symbol of raising the word.

And there was given to the Delawares something which is used when they make fire. It is called "ringing noise-instrument"[1]. Whomever they chose as fire-maker, any of the Attendants, was of moral habits or spiritually clean, for that one shall drill for fire in the House. Sometimes flint is used when they make fire in the House and pith is used when they make fire with flint.

Now therefore in the beginning the Delawares came to be blessed with religion together with the Munsee; so the prayer worship proceeds for ten and two days. Now that very log-house itself is called Big House. Right here toward the dawn-direction and sun-set direc-

[1] See page 69.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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Here on each side three tents[1] are provided. In the first[2] there camps the leading Attendant, from here outwards the rest of the Attendants. When any one of these Attendants does not serve, he can hire a substitute to provide fire-wood or to sweep in the Big House, and occasionally to cook.[3]

539X 796

[1] hemsi·k·as'wan·a', "cloth houses" (plural).
[2] Meaning nearest to the door of the Big House.
[3] For the service he pays in wampum.

The Delawares were given the Mask-Image[1] so it became the rule that whoever owns that mask should take it into the Big House each year, that mask, because it is he who has complete control over all the wild animals. And it is said that our grandfather[2] is believed to walk around early each morning. Now here he goes about frightening unruly children. When the "one who is our grandfather begs," the child is taught that he shall pay a plug of tobacco so that he will not scare them.

539X 796 778 [776]

If the person who assumes to wear the mask is able to see clearly[3] for a long distance it is said that he is a man of power. He carries a turtle-rattle[4] and a staff of twisted wood.[5] When the mask makes his utterance it resembles a horse whinnying, and when he makes signals using his turtle-rattle, then they give him tobacco. Customarily he kicks at persons. Here in a pouch he carries that tobacco. Every child customarily is taught that he gathers snakes and throws them into that pouch in order that no one may steal our grandfather's tobacco. And it is also said that our grandfather keeps guard over all so that no one may be overcome by disease. That also is the teaching in reference to the spiritual doctrine of the Mask-Image.

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[1] The following passage refers to the mask image mas·i'ŋghil·k·an about which something has been said in the introduction. The composite character of the annual ceremony is shown by the admission of this rite into the ceremony complex in honor of the one who "has control over all the wild game."
[2] The spirit represented by the mask also falls into the classification of consanguinity, and is so addressed.
[3] This evidence of personal power has already been dealt with (page 41).
[4] The rattle referred to is not the small hand rattle carried by the reciter of visions but a large instrument made of a snapping-turtle shell provided with a wooden handle (16.7 in. in length) suggestive of the rattle employed in Iroquois dance accompaniments. Harrington describes and illustrates one of these Delaware instruments (I, pp. 32, 36, fig. 2). (See fig. 7, p. 38).

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[5] The distribution of the walking staff as a ceremonial baton and its function in the ethnology of the eastern tribes has been generally overlooked by investigators yet we find evidence of its use over a wide area in the formalities of native behavior among both the Algonkian and Iroquois,—not to overlook the fact that the Delawares imagine the Great Spirit to possess one, the same being symbolized by the center post in the Big House. The Delaware designate the staff by ala'hoan (cp. Malecite, abato'wən).

[293]

When the worship ceremony begins everyone is instructed to wear things conforming strictly to Delaware style, such for instance as the

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10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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cestors how, so it is said, they sadly pleaded, when, reciting their vision experiences, telling how pitiful were the conditions then in their time said to be. Verily I myself do grieve, my kindred, when I look back there into the past. But, nevertheless indeed, try your utmost, every one have a helpful will, and it might be that our pitiful plea for mercy be heard by him the Great Spirit. We may perchance sometime gain a victory to our benefit.

Truly my kindred, as it is forcibly said, I am oppressed with a feeling of incapability while standing here to instruct anyone in the blessing, here where stands he our Grandfather.[1] And I am truly thankful to bless with gratitude all those spirit-forces, all of them sitting round about us over the entire earth. And when we consider how our deceased ancestors so thoroughly paid attention to the obligations of this prayer-worship! Indeed how great are we privileged and blessed that still we can perform the ceremony as we were accustomed to see our deceased ancestors do it! This is sufficient for this occasion. Thanks!"[2]

Now the leader goes and sits down. When he has properly seated himself and swept it clean[3] then 'these who are painted red'[4] say "Let us all smoke[5] Let us all smoke." So the tobacco has been placed in a wooden bowl and should be mixed with sumac leaves (kinnickinnick[6]), because it is the rule that sumac shall be used by the Delawares when smoking.[7] And besides the cedar[8] and paint are all kept there at one place close to the drum. And when anyone lights the pipe in the Big House, he will then use our Grandfather because that one also is called pure, clean fire.

[1] Indicating his position standing as though sermonizing from a pulpit before the images of the center post.

[2] It should be borne in mind that the speaker is to repeat his performance every night while the Big House ceremony is in session.

[3] Meaning that he has dusted away latent evil potencies with the turkey-wing fan symbols.

[4] Another ceremonial name for the assistant drummer.

[5] The verb here is said to be in the Munsee language aya'xpuⁿk', recalling the traditional Munsee origin of the ceremony. The corresponding Delaware term is hupɔ't.am "Let us smoke." The Delaware term kəl.okən.i'k.an has cognates throughout Algonkian.

[6] The Delaware smoking mixture consists largely of dried sumac (probably Rhus copallina) leaves, which are gathered before the frost strikes them in the fall and singed over an open fire, then exposed to the sun and mixed with smoking tobacco to the proportion of one-third sumac leaves and two-thirds tobacco.

[7] Smoking sumac clear or mixed with tobacco the Delawares regard as a peculiar custom of their own not shared by other peoples (see also Zeisberger, p. 116).

The Delawares were so fond of using this mixture that it is a legendary saying among them that on their hunting or scouting parties they could be identified from afar by the scent they left on the air. Having an earlier equipment with European firearms they were feared by other tribes who avoided them on this account. See also G. Catlin, Letters and Notes, Vol. II, 1841, pp. 101-2.

[8] The sacredness of red cedar (Juniperus virginiana) is a prominent feature of Delaware ceremony (see p. 171).

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

Now, the first thing that the Leading Attendant is to do is to take one shoulder-length of wampum, carefully and properly to measure those turtle-rattles so everyone will be given wampum beads in accordance with the length of the backs of his turtle-rattle.[1] And, my kindred, we have been permitted to see right here how, as it is said, the Attendants call by name those persons whom they send for.

[Repeat the procedure of first paragraph page 143, in which certain men are called by name to enter the big house and pray as was done on the fourth night.]

Ye my brothers, here now is one shoulder-length of wampum.[2] My kindred go give the prayer-call out doors. When twelve times the supplication shall have been lifted up then you shall divide the wampum equally among you. Attendants, build up a bright fire. Now everyone who owns turtle-rattles go take them and shake them, these turtle-rattles, as should be done. When everything is ready, including those forked drumsticks, do you scatter all those prayer sticks in an even number on each side[3] of the Big House. Now my kindred again

[1] This rite has the significance of a symbol—or spiritual compensation for the service of vision recitation, and the blessing it brings to the people, of those who have so performed. Harrington (I, pp. 103-4) makes mention of this rite, and speaks of the owners of the rattles, when reclaiming the rattles and the wampum placed with them, shaking the rattle several times to test its sound. He adds that if it does not sound well the owner, abashed, takes his property out of sight as soon as possible. Our informant corrected this impression by pointing out that the owners shook these rattles intentionally as though to say thanks, and that there was a spirit of drollery in the pass which caused sometimes a ripple of mirth, not as serious in mien as Harrington understood it to be.

[2] There is an interval here. The speaker has turned to those chosen to give the prayer call. He has given to the owners of the rattles, those who have reciting their visions during the ceremony, the amount of wampum measured off on their shells. They accept this by taking the rattle and shaking them a few times. Some mirth may be aroused among those present if the sound of the rattles is not clear.

[3] In the distribution of the Prayer Sticks among the spectators, the first and second attendants go from one end of the Big House to the other, going in opposite directions (east to west, and west to east). They lay the sticks in front of the people at reasonable distances apart, placing them so that the decorated sticks are opposite each other and the plain ones opposite each other. If the sticks do not come opposite each other, it must be done over again. The singers chant a certain song while this distribution is taking place. I should add that each Attendant distributes three plain and three decorated sticks. The symbolism of the six (spotted) or decorated sticks represents the cry of ho+ in the prayer call, the plain sticks the cry of hä+, although all the prayers mingle in the calls, irrespective of whether they have been bestowed with the decorated or plain sticks. The informants words were added, "There has to be a way of showing the difference between the beginning cries of ho+ and the ending cries of hä+, so it is shown on the sticks by the marks."

(Specimens of the prayer sticks made by the informant, are 14 inches in length, made of red maple and sassafras, fig. 14).

11:Newcomb E-5 (1952)1956 NM7 Delaware NM7

My purposes in this article are to describe a fairly typical peyote meeting of the Delawares which I attended in the summer of 1952, and to discuss the changes which have occurred in this cult since 1930 when Petrullo made his study of Delaware peyotism (Petrullo, 1934).

THE BIG MOON PEYOTE CEREMONY

The Big Moon ceremonies of the Delawares are normally held in canvas covered tepees, generally in the cooler months of the year, but occasionally in hot weather. The reason for their seasonal nature is said to be in the interests of comfort; a tepee with a fire burning in it on a hot Oklahoma night is almost unbearable. Big Moon ceremonies are held on Saturday nights and last until Sunday noon. The peyote meeting I am about to describe was held on the farm of a Delaware, about ten miles east of the small town of Dewey, Washington County, Oklahoma. A tepee, about twenty feet in diameter, had been erected a few steps from the back door of the farm house. A bale of hay had been scattered about near the inside walls of the tepee; tarpaulins and quilts had then been spread over the hay, upon which the participants were to sit. In the center of the tepee was an oval depression, or fireplace, excavated to a depth of about six inches (Fig. 1). Extending from the fireplace were twelve lines or rays, made by scoring the hard ground to a depth of about half an inch. Within the fireplace, also scored in the earth, was a cross and at the intersection of its arms a heart-shaped figure. The fire, which was built over this heart, was made of twelve sticks interlaced in a V-shaped pattern with the open end towards the tepee entrance.

Just east of the fire, and lying along the long axis of the cross, was a stick of soft wood. One end was kept smoldering during the ceremony and was used to light corn husk-Bull Durham cigarettes. At the east end of the fireplace was a raised circular mound of hard packed earth. On the center of this mound, symbolic of the Sun, another heart had been scratched. On the opposite, or west side of the fireplace was the altar. This was an oblong, slightly raised, earthen area, on which was placed the ritual paraphernalia. In its center on a beaded cloth was a large, green peyote, or "Father Peyote." Just behind it a feathered and beaded peyote staff had been thrust into the ground. On the altar to the south of these objects was a glass bowl of green peyote, a kettle of peyote tea, and a leather bag of dried peyote buttons. To the north of "Father Peyote" on the altar was the drum used to accompany the singers (an old fashioned cast iron kettle, partly water-filled, and covered with a tightly drawn, wet, buckskin cover), and a bunch of sage.

11:Newcomb E-5 (1952) 1956 NM7 Delaware NM7

attitude is best summed up as one of intense emotion and reverence. It could hardly be otherwise, since any individual may come face to face with supernatural powers during the course of the ceremony. Even if he does not, he has come to the ceremony in the sincere belief that he can and will get help in solving the most serious of life's problems. This precludes a profane attitude. I can only echo Petrullo (1934: 88) who said that the atmosphere of the ceremony was "... accompanied by the deepest feeling of reverence and awe and peace that it has been my lot to have witnessed either among primitive people or Christian groups engaged in worshipping their God."

Peyote is of course the focal point of the peyote meeting, but peyote itself is not worshipped. Informants stress this again and again, probably because they have so frequently been attacked by Whites and Christian Indians on this point. Peyote is both a symbol of the supernatural forces being worshipped and a sacrament. For the Delaware peyotist it is a means of establishing contact with the supernatural world and of securing a personally satisfactory working relationship with the spirit forces. While Peyote is the most important supernatural force present, it is not the only one. The spiritual forces of Sun, Moon, Fire, and others are there. Their importance and even their existence depends upon individual interpretation (Fig. 1).

The outward emphasis of Delaware peyote meetings is upon curing. The stated purpose of the meeting I have described was to assist in the cure of the sponsor, and there was a shamanistic curing rite performed during the course of the evening. It should also be pointed out that many peyotists are eager to relate how peyote has cured them of various diseases. It would be a mistake, however, to regard Big Moon peyotism as merely a curing rite, or even to think of it as primarily so. Peyote is regarded as a spirit force through which men can approach the omnipotent supernatural power or powers. Informants sometimes equate peyote with Jesus and say that White men use the "Jesus road to God" while the "Indian takes the Peyote Road."

BIG MOON PEYOTISM—THEN AND NOW

Unfortunately Petrullo did not attend a Big Moon meeting with the Delawares near Dewey, but did participate in a Big Moon meeting of the Delawares at Anadarko. Normally there are many minor divergencies between meetings and tepee arrangements because there is no priesthood or dogmatic creed. As Petrullo (1934: 31) said, "A religion that insists that each individual can learn its doctrines only through personal experience with its gods must necessarily exist in a variable

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR 13 Northern Paiute
Comanche NO6
Crow NQ10
Delaware NM7 ●
Winnebago NP12
Co
Cr
D
W
171
795
796
783
778

PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST—(*Continued*)

| Element | Occurrence | | |

14: Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute

Comanche N06
Delaware NM7

Gos: Although tipi preferable, house used at meeting attended. All good peyote members have houses facing east for that reason (Malouf).

96. Kio: In old days; not now (La Barre).

97. De 2: One Big Moon variant has entrance to west (Petrullo, 182). Sometimes door to west (Webber). See notes 74, 99.

98. De 2: Most usual Big Moon crescent altar is drawn on ground, instead of being made in a mound. Numerous other innovations in type of altar were introduced by Wilson and his followers (Petrullo, 80, 179–184). However, Anderson's Big Moon altar, consisting of crescentic mound with a line on its crest, is described and shown in picture (Petrullo, 48, 101). Win: Altar consisted of pit inside of horseshoe incised on floor. Lines extended beyond altar in the cardinal directions (Praus). Altar resembles that of the Delaware Big Moon variant shown by Petrullo, plate 3, page 79. Gos: Inasmuch as meeting held in dwelling, special altar constructed. In addition to crescent, apron of earth extended toward the east from concave side of moon which protected the wooden floor from hot embers carried in from fire outside (Malouf).

99. De 2: End toward west in one Big Moon variant (Petrullo, 182). See notes 74, 97. Win: See note 98.

100. De 2: See note 98. Win: See note 98.

101. Gos: Kerosene lamp, four sticks, and hot coals used in place of fire impossible in house (Malouf).

103. Com: Sticks form tipi (Hoebel). Cr 2: Point or "face" west (Voget). WRS: Must be neat is only rule (Shimkin).

104. Kio: In theory; not rigidly enforced. One leader insists fire be lit with one match (La Barre). Cr 1: "Matches is the quickest, or they could use 'clinkers'; that is the Indian way. But that is all past, you know" (Voget). Cr 2: Match employed (Voget).

105. Com and No C: Seven sticks on fire (Hoebel). De 1 and 2: Twelve sticks at start (Petrullo, 80, 101). Cr 2: Number varies with weather, but usually at least four (Voget). Taos: Seven sticks (Parsons).

106. WRS: Sometimes carved (Shimkin).

108. Ab S: Not obligatory, except for female. "Should wear moccasins." Several men wore blankets; "depended upon whether they owned one or not" (Voegelin). Cr 1: "They put on the best they have; they doll up, just as the whites when they go to church" (Voget). Cr 2: People wear their best clothes. Apparently no preference for old-time dress (Voget). Taos: "Peyote boys" wear American shoes and hats, contrary to the rule of going in Indian habit while at the pueblo. Peyotists refuse to cut seats from trousers (Parsons).

109. Cr 1: When dark (Voget).

110. Kio: Varies with leader (La Barre). Ab S: Leader offered prayers when putting up tipi, putting the sage (?) cross on moon, etc., but I do not think he prayed just before going in, except when he made the peyote tea just before the meeting (Voegelin).

111. De 2: Chief enters alone and is seated when others enter (Petrullo, 89; Webber). Gos: Chief enters alone and blows whistle for others to enter (Malouf). See note 265a.

112. De 2: Drum chief led worshippers into tipi (Petrullo, 96).

114. Cr 1: "Each family goes together; women could precede men" (Voget). Cr 2: Such an arrangement could be due to pure chance (Voget).

115. Kio: Women attend, but no children except when meeting given to heal child (Noon). WRS: Children allowed only if ill (Shimkin).

117. De 2: See notes 74, 97, 99. W-P: Rules for seating not fixed. When room, husband and wife sit together in inner circle; when crowded, wife and children sit back of husband.

119. Kio: Varies with leader; some on south side; some near door; some anywhere (save officials' places) (La Barre).

120. De 1 and 2: Women south of altar, men north of altar (Petrullo, 57; Webber). Cr 2: Single line used so no one sits between anyone else and the Creator's gift. Segregation would be result of chance (Voget). WRS: Theoretically proper, often disregarded (Shimkin).

122. Kio: All worshippers sit in single row save when more worshippers than can be thus accommodated (Noon).

124. Cr 1: Blankets (Voget). Cr 2: Each has his own cushion (Voget).

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796 552 destitute of terms in their own language suitable for denoting religious concepts. We find such formal terms as pa"tamweo'kan, an abstract term derived from pa"tam- signifying "to pray."[1] This I have translated in the text by variations of its free meaning, as "worship," "religion," "prayer ceremony" to suit the context. Again we find the abstract term kena"mwin employed as a synonymous title for the ceremony, for which I have been obliged to give the same rendering in English. And even another which was likewise noted by the missionaries of a century ago, ka'ntika, (kan'ka" "he is dancing),[2] a composite term with the meaning of persons dancing in a line and pushing something forward, occurs in reference to the great ceremony as well as to other performances of a like nature in Delaware sacred conduct. And again we encounter the term menda'wən, with the meaning of "House of Earnest Pleading," employed in the text to denote the ceremony. The informant thought that this term might be of Munsee derivation.

● 779 192 These terms point to a theosophical system and practice among the Delawares possessing considerable maturity of form and content. Indeed it impresses one, in meeting with the various religious terms employed in reference to the creed and practices of the tribe, that a well-rounded ecclesiastical system exists therein. There is little impoverishment of expression and much order and mature thought in the picturesque symbols developed within the complicated framework of figurative speech.

Such terms as "imploring in earnest," "sadness of mind," "blessed with fortune," "religious commandment," "customary teaching," "religious inspiration," "humility," "reverence," "ritual," appear with full voice of religious thought that we are accustomed to expect in religious forms of a relatively advanced character. They evince a

[1] Terms of similar derivation occur in Algonkian dialects south of the St. Lawrence and the Great Lakes (paba't-am, Wabanaki dialects). Northward the designation is related to forms of Cree-Montagnais aiamie'win, "prayer" comparable with Delaware aya'ndamən "to wish for, implore."

[2] A term denoting a ceremonial dance, with an interesting history. Chamberlain (Handbook Amer. Inds. Bull. 30, Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 202) reviews the term Cantico, as employed by the Dutch and English, tracing reference to it to 1664 as designating a death dance, to 1653 (Van der Donck), describing it as singing and dancing of the young, Dankers (1679) as conjuring the devil, Denton (1670) as a festival time. Nelson (Indians of New Jersey, 1894, p. 70) cites Hesselius as calling *Kinticko* a sacrifice or a festive gathering of the New Jersey Indians. The Munsee form of the verb is *ginikəən* (Brinton, Lenape Dict. p. 40) while in Zeisberger's vocabulary it appears as *genigeen, Cantico*, or dancing matches at festival time in which the spectators beat time with a stick upon the ground and sing (Daniel Denton's Description of New York formerly New Netherland, 1670, quoted by A. B. Skinner, Indians of Greater New York, 1915, p. 34) while *Kintika*, mentioned by Gov. Printz of New Sweden, as a means of serving Satan among the Delawares (erroneously rendered by Johnson, as "holy man or medicine man," Amandus Johnson, The Swedes in Delaware. N. Y. 1911, p. 379, fn.,) may be the first appearance in European sources of the word as denoting ceremonial dancing. The stem occurs in dialects as far away as the Wabanaki (Malecite, *ginig'kwak*, "dance hard").

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deep religious feeling. And such expressions as "pitifulness," "spiritual yearning," "conviction of unworthiness," "earnestness of mind" are met with to found a still deeper impression of the term-formality in what would constitute a true religious vocabulary. We should also bear in mind that these are the familiar expressions of the professors of paganism, who have carried over their spiritual terminology from the ancient paganism of their ancestors. These terms are not borrowings from the tongues of Delaware converts to Christianity; for the terms adopted by the latter have been refused admission into the Pagan religious glossary.[1]

There is, indeed, much to attest an almost classical form of diction in the sacred phraseology; clear evidence of the organized position which Delaware holds in the scheme of Algonkian thought and semantics.[2] While the earlier sources found in the writings of missionaries deal sketchily with the phenomena of Delaware religion it is evident that their authors were incapable of gaining an insight into the spirit of native Delaware worship through two obstacles of considerable importance. First, their religious conviction would be sufficient to prevent them from inquiring sympathetically into the pagan doctrines involved, while the second consideration, namely, the esoterism of the pagan worshippers themselves, would in those days have been a barrier to the admission of outsiders into the Big House. We can catch glimpses however in the descriptions of the missionary authors dealing with what were to their eyes hideous practices of superstition or devilitry, of performances which coincide with some fundamental elements of the greater ceremonies.[3]

Were it not for the study of Delaware institutions made by Harrington over a period of some years, and published in several papers and

[1] The discrimination between religious denotations used by the pagans and the Christians is illustrated in the term denoting the soul, lənapeə'k·an approximately "human substance" among the pagans, tci·'tcəng among the Christian Delawares. While the latter term has wide analogies in cognates among practically all the Algonkian-speaking tribes its use has been expunged among the pagan element of the tribe, or at any rate avoided, because of its adoption into the phraseology of the missionaries and converts.

[2] A striking example of Delaware synthetic verbal construction in dignified discourse is the following which seems worthy of consideration, ee'li· pi·'pandawənaninga ki·kayo'yəmənani'gga ə'n·da we·'l·taxkənotəmi'xti·t . . . . "for so we have heard the deceased, our ancient deceased people of the past, when they were explaining the many things . . . ." (See page 115).

[3] Zeisberger op. cit., pp. 127-140; Heckewelder, op. cit., pp. 208-214, 230-248.

The short description of the Annual Ceremony written over the signature of H. C. Adams (Notes on the Delaware Indians. Report on Indians Taxed and Not Taxed. U. S. Census, 1890, p. 299) should also be considered, as well as the volumes by Dr. Brinton, largely secondary sources, which will be referred to by Roman numerals in my study when occasion requires quotation from them.

I. D. G. Brinton. The Lenape and Their Legends, Phila. 1885.

II. D. G. Brinton and A. S. Anthony. A Lenapé-English Dictionary, Historical Society of Pa. 1888.

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worship in the Big House. I might add, as contributing a view-point on the same perplexing question, that early in the eighteenth century the missionary Brainerd, then living with the Delawares on the upper Susquehanna in their village near Sunbury, reported a conversation with a man of the Nation in which was embodied a similar opinion as regards the False Face.

In a section of my study of the Big House Ceremony I indulged in quoting some estimates of the religious spirit among the Delawares adding some of my own impressions in the matter. An opportunity to add to these, since it comes from the writings of a contemporary witness over a century ago when the tribe was resident on the Scioto River, comes from John Brickell. He says: "I know I am influenced to good even at this day more from what I learned among them than what I learned among people of my own color. . . . They worship the Great Spirit whom they call manito, which signifies or conveys to their mind the idea of all strength or rather all sufficiency." [1] This commentary may be adjoined as a supplement to the section in the work referred to, dealing also with the native concept of the Great Spirit, as something corroborative of the early belief of this tribe in the existence of a supreme deity and is intended for the eyes of authorities such as Dr. Schmidt who have devoted so much attention to the nativity of the concept in American culture.

In the study of the Big House Ceremony some space was devoted to the construction of the belief regarding the path taken by the soul in its journey from earth to the spirit realm. The assumption was made that the Milky Way was considered to be the path in question. Yet the inability on the part of several sources to furnish the native term applied to the Milky Way and their uncertainty as to what symbol in the sky represented the path of the spirit left the matter in a state of doubt. The fact that among other Algonkian peoples the Milky Way is "Spirit or Ghost Path" has some bearing on the point that we are trying to clear up in Delaware belief. It remained for inquiry among the Delaware-Munsee of the Six

[1] "Narrative of John Brickell's Captivity among the Delaware Indians," *The American Pioneer*, I, 2d ed., Cincinnati, 1842, pp. 43, 46, 48, 56.

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[796] To prepare for a Mask Ceremony the owner of the mask must arrange for the same by setting a certain day and announcing the time when such a dance is to be held. He must have the maize (*xaskwi·'m*) and flour-corn (*pu'he·'m*) [1] to make Indian bread and hominy for the feast after the dance.

A young active and experienced dancer is chosen to do the dancing with the *mas·i'ɣg* (mask) outfit. He performs his antics and dances alone. As to the wearer of the mask during the dance only those who have charge of the ceremony know his identity. [781] It is deliberately kept a secret from the younger people in order to impress them with awe for supernatural forces and to restrain them from unruliness or boisterousness.

Any clan chief or an old man accustomed to speaking may act, by invitation of the mask owner, as master of ceremony. He is generally a member of one of the two ceremonial groups other than that of the mask owner. He receives one Indian "yard" of wampum beads for his services. [765] The dance, which is usually held at night time, is begun about midnight, and as soon as the performances are over with they have the feast. First of all the master of ceremony announces the purpose of the gathering. The owner of the mask in the wind-up says, "We have now finished dancing with our grandfather, and shared with him in this hominy. So, should we have the good fortune to be living next year, we may have another dance. But now when we are through eating we may dance long as we please with all good intent and purpose providing we keep good order, which is very pleasing to the mask spirit as well as to the owner of the mask."

[535] The mask performance is followed by a night of social dancing as is usual with the Delaware feasting ceremonies. The masking clownish pantomime is brought to a conclusion about midnight by a more or less set speech by the master of ceremony and the feast of hominy.

[796] [533] The musical accompaniment consists in the singing of the

the large Snapping Turtle rattle, the rough staff, the whinnying utterances, the offering of tobacco, the association with illness and so on. For further particulars reference should be made to the Big House Ceremony study at the pages cited.

[1] A variety of white maize with a long slender cob.

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among the Delawares are provided from his memory. They may serve as a base of comparison with the type of performance recorded among other tribes of the same cultural group when time comes to consider the history of the game. We learn, for instance, that the players started with four moccasins on each side but that towards morning the women took away one moccasin, leaving them three under which to hide the cartridge or bullet. Later, in the early hours of the morning another moccasin was taken away, later another until only one remained on each side and the players were unable to continue. One of the older women, Mrs. Minnie Fouts, who had taken part in this rite, corroborated the information of Joe Washington and added some of the details put on record. As the moccasins were taken away one by one during the course of the night, it was a signal for a change in the repertoire of songs in the series. It was added in explanation of taking away the moccasins that the men were induced to cease the game by this gradual method, lest they play too long. The element of wagering on the outcome of the moccasin game was stricken out when the game came to be used in the funeral rite, though previously betting was carried on by the Delawares when the game was an independent celebration for amusement. The reason for introducing the moccasin game into the funeral program was to provide a means of keeping the party awake and in good spirits while they were sitting up with the dead person during the nights between the time of decease and burial. Levity was customary during the playing of the game, yet this did not seem to interfere with the spirit of the funeral, it being intended to lighten the grief of those who were paying their last duties to the deceased.[1]

THE RING AND PIN GAME

Koko'lac (meaning not clear).—The following game, the name of which is not as descriptive as it might be although

[1] In the account of the Moccasin Game given by R. C. Adams ("Legends of the Delaware Indians," Washington, 1905, p. 47), some of the songs accompanying the rite are transcribed. It is doubtful whether any more of these scores could be secured at the present time.

+ = element present
− = element denied
(+) or (−) = source ambiguous
• = informant could not or would not say
s = some, sometimes, or several
† or * = see Ethnographic Notes, pp. 79-137 for additional information

		Williams	Van der Donck	Lindeström	Zeisberger	Heckewelder	Johnston	Pipe	Chipps	J. W.	W. T.	E. R.	W. L.
										683	684	627	632
										685	686	634	781
												633	635
	Chiefs—Continued												
237.	War chief chosen through vision power				+	+				+	+	+	+
238.	Body of counselors †	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
239.	Name *upwaenowuk							+		(+)	+	•	+
240.	Chosen by people						+	+		+	+	+	+
241.	Consider all matters of importance to tribe		+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
242.	Counselors and chiefs only present at council meetings		s?		s	s	+	+		s	s	s	s
243.	All adults except women admitted				s				+	+	s	s	s
	Justice												
244.	Any mode of compelling payment of debt				+		−	−	−	−	−	−	−
245.	Relatives of debtor make restitution				+	+		s		+		+	+
246.	Creditor uses force							s	+	•+		+	−
247.	Redress for civil injuries (theft)	•+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	+
248.	Injured party applies to chief		+					+		+		+	−
249.	Any punishment inflicted by nation if restitution is made		−		−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
250.	Injured party has right to kill thief on second offense		−			+			+	+		+	+
251.	Murder punished	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
252.	By nation	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+
253.	Breach closed by presents		+		+	/+	+	+	+	+	+	•	+
254.	Amount of wampum as presents †					•	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
255.	Lacking presents, revenge by relatives	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	−	−	•
256.	Revenge duty of any individual		•+			−	−	−	−	•+	−	•	s
257.	Any one interfere from duty		•+				−	•	−	−	•	•	−
258.	Guilty submits	+	•−				+	+	+	+	+	+	+
259.	Feud arise from revenge		•+					−	−	−	−	•	−
260.	Revenge approved by nation	+		+	+		+			+	+	+	+
261.	Crimes. Theft	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
262.	Rape		+					+		+	+	•	
263.	Adultery	+	+		+			+	+	+	+	+	
264.	Desertion of children								+	+	(+)		
265.	Drunkenness and slander	+							+	+	(+)		

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621 a nephew, his sister's son, or sister's daughter's son. The se-
614 lection of a successor might be made by an incumbent with the approval of the people. Each of the three divisions had a chief who was chosen by a general council of chiefs and wisemen, possibly with the exclusion of the tribal chiefs and wisemen of the division involved. The installation of the tribal chief was conducted by the head chiefs of the other two divisions.

643 The various sources and informants were unanimous in saying that there was a boundary between the authority of the civil chief and that of the war chief (232). The superiority of the civil chief in peace time was also affirmed by all (233). The reversal of the relative power of each in war was likewise maintained without dissent (234). Power received through visions
[781] was a prerequisite to the office of war chief (237). Captain Pipe's account made no mention of vision power, but his statement of an election similar to that of a civil chief did not preclude this requirement. W. L. stated that a man must have received power through a vision to become eligible for election as a war chief.

623 The existence of a body of wisemen or counselors was reported in every period (238). These men were chosen by the people, according to the information from the third and fourth periods (240). The accounts of the earlier periods did not touch upon this matter. The council or body of wisemen was reported throughout all periods to consider all matters of importance to the tribe (241). The functions of the council were evidently considerable; although called only by the chief, their decision after due deliberation determined the course of action of the chief (238). Women had no voice in council and were only admitted at certain times (243).

Justice

681 According to the idealistic retrospect of W. T., originally, when the Delaware had things their own way, there was no theft, murder, rape, adultery, or any other crime or misdemeanor and hence no punishments or ways of handling such matters were
006 necessary. Since debts were not discussed in detail in the first

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visible noticing all their actions, which he communicates to the next deity and so from one to the other until it is communicated to the Supreme being. 776

CAPTAIN PIPE—With the Indian (these Indians) all animals, and even animated nature, Trees, plants, etc., are considered as beings having supernatural powers. This is proved to be a serious belief by the great distinction in the language, which included trees, plants and some vegetables in the class of animated beings, and by the superstitious notions of these men, who having been prepared by excessive fatigue, long fasting and harsh treatment [783] from parents, for some unnatural excitement of the mind, dream, or fancy that they dream of seeing their guardian god coming [781] to them in the form of a Bear, Wolf, the Sun, the Moon, a Tree, etc., and directing them about their future conduct. Such [787] dream no doubt has great effect during the life of its subject, and in his private worship all his songs are descriptive of some of the events which he saw in his dream. He often repeats them and does not fail to attribute his success to the deity whose wonderful appearance had foretold his good fortune, or any mishap [788] to his own bad conduct which incensed his guardian.

23. Evil spirits

JOHN JOHNSTON—They believe in but one evil spirit which is the devil. They suppose him to have been created holy, but he being proud spirited was not willing to acknowledge the creation of all things to the supreme being but contended that he had created the bad and the dispute arose to such a degree that the devil took a disgust and plunged himself from heaven into the earth where he remains to this day and that is the reason (they say) why guilty folk always look down. 776 773

CAPTAIN PIPE—Much of their unhappiness and misfortune is attributed to the evil spirits of which there are many. They are called *Maatseetseet Maunutoowuk*, (Those who are bad Spirits) but are not distinguished by particular appellations. 776

CAPTAIN CHIPPS—They believe that "there is a devil, or there would not be so many wicked in the world,"—where he lives they cannot determine.

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do so in pretty regular succession, the worship is annual, or perhaps more frequent. The time and place of meeting is designated by this family, the principal male of which sends a messenger to the chief or head man of each village, who in his turn disseminates the information through the families of those under him. At the time appointed the nation, as well males as females assemble at a large lodge prepared for the purpose, where the females are placed in rear of the men. Here with grave and downcast looks they sit and receive from one of the old men an address upon the importance of a due observance of the ceremonies of the worship, and of abstinence from all unlawful pleasures during the continuance of them, among which any connection with women is counted a polluting sin. After describing at length the customs of their ancestors, among which this worship is placed in the foreground, the principal man of those who prepared the place of worship, having in his hand a small turtle shell containing a few gravel stones, gives it a sudden shake, and at the signal the worshipers all rise. He then commences a history of his early dream, repeating it in short sentences, in a natural tone of voice and being followed in the repetition of each sentence by all who are in the house. At length he commences to sing his dream, being followed by the company as before, and relieved between the sentences by a chorus of singers who are seated apart from the other worshipers, and have a kind of tambourin composed of a deer skin stretched across four sticks, upon which they beat the time. The music is said to be agreeable and very soft.

After this person has finished the tale of his dream, in which is described minutely every circumstance connected with the appearance of his tutelar deity, as well as those events of his life, which being foretold, have *of course* come to pass, each person in the lodge takes him by the hand in a mystical manner and they all seat themselves. The men then smoke for a short time, preserving the utmost silence and gravity of deportment, during which occupation the speaker takes occasion to push the shell under his legs in a secret manner, to the next on his right, who declares his intention to speak by giving it a slight shake, or pushes it in the same secret way to the next. When one has

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W. T.—Originally there was no war, hence no peace rules until after whites introduced war. William Penn made a treaty with the Delaware. The delegates (chief, assistant chief, war chief, and councilors) at this and later treaties, met, and talked things over, smoked just like businessmen do today. The white delegates were given food just like Indians always feed any visitors. At the Penn treaty they ate turkey. Thanksgiving day among the whites commemorates this first turkey feast. 721 728

429. Flag of truce 728

J. W. said that a flag of truce was something blue.

GAMES

432. Football

J. W. and W. T. said football was taken over recently from Shawnee. 526

W. L. said that the football game was played with the women against the men. There were two goal posts on the east side and two on the west. Each side tried to send the ball between the posts of the other side. The men had to kick the ball but the women could throw it. Once they appointed a man to help the women. He was mobbed and that was not tried again.

436. Cards

ROGER WILLIAMS reported a game like English cards in which rushes were used instead of cards. 525

VAN DER DONCK said that they played a game with pieces of reeds, resembling our card playing.

W. L. said that seven-up was the favorite game.

441. Hopping

W. T. stated that the game was to see who could cover the most ground in three hops. 524

442. Lifting stones

W. T. said that contests of lifting stones in the old days were really trials of the vision power of the different individuals, for 781 526

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781 in those days some through their power were able to lift stones
526 weighing over a thousand pounds with one hand.

447. Moccasin game

524 JOHN JOHNSTON described the moccasin game as follows with-
525 out any mention of its connection with the wake of a deceased person:

Moccasin is commenced by placing a blanket or two upon the ground, placing four moccasins upon the blankets. A small ball is made use of. They draw cuts to know which party has the ball first. One of the party that it falls to hides it under one of those moccasins and one of the other party looks for it, if the ball is under the moccasin he first draws, he had found it, if not one of the same party hides it again and it counts one in their tally, or if he turns over last he has found it and one of his party hides it, but if it is not under the one he first draws or if he turns them up and it is not under the one that he turns up last, it is considered not found and the same party hides it. The party that has the ball to hide sings and the other party is silent. For their tally they use three balls or sticks and every time the ball is hid and not found by the other party, one of those balls or sticks is given to the party that hid it until the three come together which is game and the party that has the balls has beat. They agree how many games they will play for the property that is at stake. They frequently make large bets upon this kind of game especially when one tribe plays against another.

All the modern informants reported this game being played only the night before a funeral.

DANCES

448 and 449. Worshiping and common or corn dance

535 JOHN JOHNSTON—They had originally but two and one of them has been described in their mode of worship the other is conducted in similar manner, but they think of less consequence. At this dance the men all dance in front, the women in the rear in a single file at this dance. They have two that sing and beat

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with an ordinary kitchen broom. After midnight the ashes were removed from the fire whenever a considerable quantity had accumulated.

The road-chief prayed, peyote was passed, and the songs began again. The throb of the drum and the songs were interrupted only occasionally; someone would ask for peyote, a person would mumble, and once one of the Winnebagos (No. 16, Fig. 1) asked the road-chief for permission to attempt a cure of his wife's swollen feet. This request was granted. The Winnebago walked around the fireplace and altar in a clockwise direction and cedar needles were thrown on the fire. He "caught" the smoke in a feather and dipped it into a cup of water which he had in readiness. He then brushed the feather over the woman's legs, concentrating on her feet. He drew a faintly glowing ember from the fire, took the ash into his mouth, and spit the ash into the ash pile nearest him. He then vigorously sucked the patient's feet.

Also early in the morning the Delaware sponsor asked the road-chief if she could pray for herself and her family. He assented. Standing next to the altar, she smoked a corn husk cigarette and, with tears streaming down her cheeks, related first in English and then in Delaware the story of her illness, her unhappiness, and her desire for the good health of her family. A little later a woman (No. 10 in Fig. 1) asked if she might be allowed to sing. Permission being given, she sang the customary four songs, her husband drumming for her.

At dawn the road-chief announced that the drum was going around for the last time. Following this last round the sponsor, her husband and young daughter (who had awakened and come into the tepee) stood up. The road-chief cast cedar needles upon the fire and brushed the entire bodies of the family with his eagle feather fan in the customary way. He then prayed. After they had resumed their seats the road-chief prayed again, following which candy and crackers were passed. The meeting was closed by the assemblage reciting the Lord's Prayer. The fire-chief rose and went around the tepee in the clockwise direction shaking everyone's hand and congratulating them on a successful meeting. The person on his left followed him in a like manner, and so on until everybody had shaken hands with everyone else and the tepee was emptied. Coffee was made and the participants relaxed in the yard and talked until the noon meal, after which the group dispersed.

It is difficult, perhaps impossible, to convey the attitude of peyotists and the atmosphere of a peyote meeting by means of a description of what happens during the course of the night. Perhaps the general

11:Newcomb E-5 (1952) 1956 NM7 Delaware NM7

attitude is best summed up as one of intense emotion and reverence. It could hardly be otherwise, since any individual may come face to face with supernatural powers during the course of the ceremony. Even if he does not, he has come to the ceremony in the sincere belief that he can and will get help in solving the most serious of life's problems. This precludes a profane attitude. I can only echo Petrullo (1934: 88) who said that the atmosphere of the ceremony was "... accompanied by the deepest feeling of reverence and awe and peace that it has been my lot to have witnessed either among primitive people or Christian groups engaged in worshipping their God."

Peyote is of course the focal point of the peyote meeting, but peyote itself is not worshipped. Informants stress this again and again, probably because they have so frequently been attacked by Whites and Christian Indians on this point. Peyote is both a symbol of the supernatural forces being worshipped and a sacrament. For the Delaware peyotist it is a means of establishing contact with the supernatural world and of securing a personally satisfactory working relationship with the spirit forces. While Peyote is the most important supernatural force present, it is not the only one. The spiritual forces of Sun, Moon, Fire, and others are there. Their importance and even their existence depends upon individual interpretation (Fig. 1).

The outward emphasis of Delaware peyote meetings is upon curing. The stated purpose of the meeting I have described was to assist in the cure of the sponsor, and there was a shamanistic curing rite performed during the course of the evening. It should also be pointed out that many peyotists are eager to relate how peyote has cured them of various diseases. It would be a mistake, however, to regard Big Moon peyotism as merely a curing rite, or even to think of it as primarily so. Peyote is regarded as a spirit force through which men can approach the omnipotent supernatural power or powers. Informants sometimes equate peyote with Jesus and say that White men use the "Jesus road to God" while the "Indian takes the Peyote Road."

BIG MOON PEYOTISM—THEN AND NOW

Unfortunately Petrullo did not attend a Big Moon meeting with the Delawares near Dewey, but did participate in a Big Moon meeting of the Delawares at Anadarko. Normally there are many minor divergencies between meetings and tepee arrangements because there is no priesthood or dogmatic creed. As Petrullo (1934: 31) said, "A religion that insists that each individual can learn its doctrines only through personal experience with its gods must necessarily exist in a variable

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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797 which happened on the 24th of July 1756. He led the life of a true Christian, and was always ready and willing to relate the history of his conversion, which I heard myself from his own mouth. His age, when he died, was supposed to be about eighty years.

304 The cutting of the ears, which formerly was practised among the Indians, is now no longer so common with them. Their reasons for laying this custom aside, are that the operation is painful, not only when performed, but until the ears are perfectly healed, which takes a long time, and that they often lose that part of their ears which is separated from the solid part, by its being torn off by the the bushes, or falling off when frost-bitten. I once heard of a gay Indian setting off on a severe cold morning for a neighbouring village not more than three miles distant, whose ears had been touched by the frost, and dropped off before he arrived at the place to which he was going. He had not even felt that he had lost them, and when told of it, he was so chagrined that he was going to destroy himself. I have seen a great many Indians with torn ears; but now the custom of cutting them is nearly if not entirely disused.

CHAPTER XXVI.

DANCES, SONGS, AND SACRIFICES.

535 782 THE dances of the Indians vary according to the purposes for which they are intended. We have seen, in the second chapter of this work, that when the Dutch first landed on New York island, the inhabitants who be-

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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lieved them to be celestial beings, began a solemn dance, in order to propitiate them. It is not uncommon for men who are deprived of the light of revealed religion, to believe that the divinity will be pleased with the same things from which they themselves receive pleasure. 535 782

It is a pleasing spectacle to see the Indian dances, when intended merely for social diversion and innocent amusement. I acknowledge I would prefer being present at them for a full hour, than a few minutes only at such dances as I have witnessed in our country taverns among the white people. Their songs are by no means unharmonious. They sing in chorus; first the men and then the women. At times the women join in the general song, or repeat the strain which the men have just finished. It seems like two parties singing in questions and answers, and is upon the whole very agreeable and enlivening. After thus singing for about a quarter of an hour, they conclude each song with a loud yell, which I must confess is not in concord with the rest of the music; it is not unlike the cat-bird which closes its pretty song with mewing like a cat. I do not admire this *finale*. The singing always begins by one person only, but others soon fall in successively until the general chorus begins, the drum beating all the while to mark the time. The voices of the women are clear and full, and their intonations generally correct. 535 533 [534]

Their war dances have nothing engaging; their object, on the contrary, is to strike terror in the beholders. They are dressed and painted, or rather bedaubed with paint, in a manner suitable to the occasion. They hold the murderous weapon in their hand, and imitate in their dance all the warlike attitudes, motions and actions which are usual in an engagement with the enemy, and strive to excel each other by their terrific looks and gestures. They generally perform round a painted post set up for that purpose, in a large room or place 535 721.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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Thus their Almighty Creator is always before their eyes on all important occasions. They feel and acknowledge his supreme power. They also endeavour to propitiate him by outward worship, or *sacrifices*.

These are religious solemnities, intended to make themselves acceptable to the Great Spirit, to find favour in his sight, and obtain his forgiveness for past errors or offences. It is not, as some white persons would lead us to believe, that knowing the Great Spirit to be good, they are under no apprehensions from his wrath, and that they make sacrifices to the evil spirit, believing him alone to be capable of doing them hurt. This cannot be true of a people, who, as I have already said in another part, hold it as a fixed principle "that good and evil can-"not and must not be united," who declare and acknowledge the great and good Spirit to be "all powerful," and the evil one to be "weak and limited in power;" who rely alone on the goodness of the author of their existence, and who, before every thing, seek by all the means in their power to obtain his favour and protection. For, they are convinced, that the evil spirit has no power over them, as long as they are in favour with the good one, and to him alone, acknowledging his continued goodness to them and their forefathers, they look for protection against the *Devil*, and his inferior spirits.

It is a part of their religious belief, that there are inferior *Mannittos*, to whom the great and good Being has given the rule and command over the elements; that being so great, he, like their chiefs, must have his attendants to execute his supreme behests; these subordinate spirits (something in their nature between God and man) see and report to him what is doing upon earth; they look down particularly upon the Indians, to see whether they are in need of assistance, and are ready at their call to assist and protect them against danger.

Thus I have frequently witnessed Indians, on the approach of a storm or thunder-gust, address the Mannitto

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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of the air, to avert all danger from them; I have also seen the Chippeways, on the Lakes of Canada, pray to the Mannitto of the waters, that he might prevent the swells from rising too high, while they were passing over them. In both these instances, they expressed their acknowledgment, or shewed their willingness to be grateful, by throwing tobacco in the air, or strewing it on the waters.

There are even some animals, which though they are not considered as invested with power over them, yet are believed to be placed as guardians over their lives; and of course entitled to some notice and to some tokens of gratitude. Thus, when in the night, an owl is heard sounding its note, or calling to its mate, some person in the camp will rise, and taking some *Olicmican*, or Indian tobacco, will strew it on the fire, thinking that the ascending smoke will reach the bird, and that he will see that they are not unmindful of his services, and of his kindness to them and their ancestors. This custom originated from the following incident, which tradition has handed down to them.

It happened at one time, when they were engaged in a war with a distant and powerful nation, that a body of their warriors was in the camp, fast asleep, no kind of danger at that moment being apprehended. Suddenly, the great "Sentinel," over mankind, the *owl*, sounded the alarm; all the birds of the species were alert at their posts, all at once calling out, as if saying: "Up! up! Danger! Danger!" Obedient to their call, every man jumped up in an instant; when, to their surprise, they found that their enemy was in the very act of surrounding them, and they would all have been killed in their sleep, if the owl had not given them this timely warning.

But, amidst all these superstitious notions, the supreme Mannitto, the creator and preserver of heaven and earth, is the great object of their adoration. On him they rest their hopes, to him they address their prayers and make

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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their solemn sacrifices. These religious ceremonies are not always performed in the same manner. I had intended to have given some details upon this subject, but I find that it has been almost exhausted by other writers,* although I will not pretend to say that they are correct on every point. But I do not wish to repeat things which have already been told to the world over and over. Therefore, if on some subjects, relating to the manners and customs of the Indians, I should be thought to have passed over too quickly, and not to have sufficiently entered into particulars, let it be understood that I have done so to avoid the repetition of what others have said, although I am afraid I have been inadvertently guilty of it in more than one instance. I would not presume to communicate my little stock of knowledge, if I did not think that it will add something to what is already known.

I do not recollect that it has already been mentioned, that previous to entering upon the solemnity of their sacrifices, the Indians prepare themselves by vomiting, fasting, and drinking decoctions from certain prescribed plants. This they do to expel the evil which is within them, and that they may with a pure conscience attend to the *sacred performance*, for such they consider it. Nor is the object of those sacrifices always the same; there are sacrifices of prayer and sacrifices of thanksgiving, some for all the favours received by them and their ancestors from the great Being, others for special or particular benefits. After a successful war they never fail to offer up a sacrifice to the great Being, to return him thanks for having given them courage and strength to destroy or conquer their enemies.

* See Loskiel, part 1. ch. 3.

2;Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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bridegroom carried out negotiations with the father of the bride."[77] My informants said that either parent of the prospective bridegroom could make wedding arrangements (N.D., O.A., M.B.). The prospective bridegroom, or the go-between seems to have taken some produce of the hunt, usually a choice cut of deer or bear, to the dwelling of the prospective bride and presented it to the girl's mother. If the match was favored, the girl's mother reciprocated with a gift of beans or corn. Both go-betweens, whether relatives or friends, emphasized in their negotiations that their respective children, or clients, had themselves procured the gifts. If, after this exchange, the couple signified that the gifts were acceptable, the bargain was considered concluded, although subsequent exchanges of food and clothing were made. The period of time between the betrothal and the marriage was fairly lengthy in the seventeenth century: "If she be a young virgin, he must wait six weeks more before he can sleep with her...all this time she sits with a blanket over her head, without wishing to look at any one, or any one being permitted to look at her...."[78] Heckewelder added:

> The friendship between the two families daily increasing, they do their domestic and field work jointly, and when the young people have agreed to live together, the parents supply them with necessaries, such as a kettle, dishes or bowls, and also what is required for the kitchen, and with axes, hoes, etc. to work in the field.[79]

De Rasieres rather cryptically said that in the marriage ceremony they "...eat together with friends, and sing and dance together...."[80] An even more informal ceremony was mentioned in this and subsequent centuries, in which a man simply asked a woman if she wanted to live with him. If she assented, they lived together and were considered to be married.[81] Trowbridge described the marriage ceremony of the nineteenth century by saying:

> The female was conducted by her relatives to the lodge of her intended husband and there delivered to him. The day succeeding was taken up by the relatives of the bride in carrying to those of the groom large presents of corn, squashes, etc., together with pouches and other ornaments, the products of female labor, and they also gave her a kettle for cooking. This was the conclusion of the ceremony.[82]

Other data from this century add that the couple, dressed in their finest and most elaborate clothing, appeared before a shaman, who made an offering of tobacco to the supernatural powers and sacrificed a beaver skin. He then addressed the bridal couple telling them to be good and not to mistreat each other. This was followed by a feast and dance sponsored by the friends and relatives of the bridal pair.[83] He might

[77] Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 161-62; De Smet, 1859, p. 238; Trowbridge MS.
[78] De Rasieres, 1909, p. 107.
[79] Heckewelder, 1881, p. 161.
[80] De Rasieres, 1909, p. 107.
[81] Van der Donck, 1909, p. 302; J.T., O.A.
[82] Trowbridge MS.
[83] De Smet, 1859, p. 239; Adams, 1905, pp. 17-19; M.B.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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become a shaman, chief, warrior, a person of riches, one with many relatives, or a failure.[19] The most unfortunate persons were those who had no guardian spirit. After one was granted a guardian spirit he commonly made an amulet or fetish. Frequently this was either a representation of the human figure or a stone or clay effigy of the human head. It also might be claws or teeth of an animal or bird.[20] Lindestrom said:

> They consider this their god, so sacred that no one is allowed to touch it.... In this their god they have such a strong faith, that the night he dreams about him, he will at once the following day be able to shoot as much game and catch as much fish as ever he wants to....[21]

Although most of our information about the vision quest is relatively recent, there seems to be no reason why it should not be valid for prehistoric and early historic times.

Apart from the influence that individuals wielded over supernatural powers as a consequence of obtaining a guardian spirit, favor could be curried and influence exerted through sacrifice, primarily by burning flesh and tobacco, but also by dances and songs. Sacrifices of first fruits were commonly mentioned in seventeenth-century sources. Penn said of these:

> Their sacrifice is their first fruits. The first and fattest buck they kill goes to the fire, where he is all burnt, with a mournful ditty of him who performeth the ceremony, but with such marvellous fervency and labour of body, that he will even sweat to a foam. The other part [of their worship] is their cantico, performed by round dances, sometimes words, sometimes songs, then shouts; two being in the middle who begin, and by singing and drumming on a board, direct the chorus. Their postures in the dance are very antic and differing, but all keep measure. This is done with equal earnestness and labour, but great appearance of joy. In the fall, when the corn cometh in, they begin to feast one another.[22]

Trowbridge said:

> When the ice is about to leave the rivers they make an offering of Tobacco with a wooden bowl of parched corn, by placing it on the surface and telling their grandfather, as they call it, that they leave him a pipe to smoke and something to eat on his journey. They sometimes make this offering of tobacco to obtain a safe voyage across the ice and for the same reason they throw it into the water when danger is apprehended. When they go to hunt, at the first encampment an offering of tobacco is made by burning, to the seven masters of the game.[23]

There were also many magical methods by which supernatural powers were influenced, but they are not well recorded in the literature. There are some indications from modern ethnographic data which

[19] Luckenbach, 1938, p. 812.
[20] Zeisberger, 1910, pp. 132-33.
[21] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 207; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 141, stated the same thing.
[22] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 208; Pastorius, 1912, p. 434; Brickell, 1842, p. 49; M.B.
[23] Penn, 1882, p. 244.
[24] Trowbridge MS.

3;Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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668 794 God. Thus it appeared that through him Satan endeavored to rob the gospel of its power over the Indians.

As long as the preachers did not proclaim things evidently untrue they were held in great regard and had a considerable following withersoever they went, for they never remained long in one place, else their deception would have been revealed the sooner. They still preached in Gekelemukpechünk [305] when the Moravians came to the Muskingum. Soon thereafter they began to be too coarse, seeking to establish their teaching in opposition to the gospel. This brought about the end of their influence. One has since heard little of them and the most have died. For at the last they preached that whoever would believe in them and follow their direction would be happy in the chase and in all other undertakings, would be able to cross sea and land, would reap plenteous harvests even though little had been planted. The Indians who trusted in them soon saw that they had been deceived and that they had been brought to starvation by the treacherous preachers. Then the power of the latter was at an end.

782 796 Worship and sacrifices have obtained among them from the earliest times, being usages handed down from their ancestors. Though in the detail of ceremony there has been change, as the Indians are more divided now than at that time, worship and sacrifice have continued as practiced in the early days, for the Indians believe that they would draw all manner of disease and misfortune upon themselves if they omitted to observe the ancestral rites.

[848 878 602] In the matter of sacrifice, relationship, even though distant, is of significance, legitimate or illegitimate relationship being regarded without distinction. A sacrifice is offered by a family, with its entire relationship, once in two years. Others, even the inhabitants of other towns, are invited. Such sacrifices are commonly held in autumn, rarely in winter. As their connections are large, each Indian will have opportunity to attend more than one family sacrifice a year. The head of the family knows the time and he must provide for everything. When the head of such a family is converted, he gets into difficulty because his

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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friends will not give him peace until he has designated some one to take his place in the arrangement for sacrificial feasts.

Preparations for such a sacrificial feast extend through several days. The requisite number of deer and bears is calculated and the young people are sent into the woods to procure them together with the leader whose care it is to see that everything needful is provided. These hunters do not return until they have secured the amount of booty counted upon. On their return they fire a volley when near the town, march in in solemn procession and deposit the flesh in the house of sacrifice. Meantime the house has been cleared and prepared. The women have prepared fire-wood and brought in long dry reed grass, which has been strewn the entire length of the house, on both sides, for the guests to sit upon. Such a feast may continue for three or four nights, the separate sessions beginning in the afternoon and lasting until the next morning. Great kettles full of meat are boiled and bread is baked. These are served to the guests by four servants especially appointed for this service. The rule is that whatever is thus brought as a sacrifice must be eaten altogether and nothing left.[203] A small quantity of melted fat only is poured into the fire. The bones are burnt, so that the dogs may not get any of them. After the meal the men and women dance, every rule of decency being observed. It is not a dance for pleasure or exercise, as is the ordinary dance engaged in by the Indians. One singer only performs during the dance, walking up and down, rattling a small tortoise shell filled with pebbles. He sings of the dreams the Indians have had, naming all the animals, elements and plants they hold to be spirits. None of the spirits of things that are useful to the Indians may be omitted. By worshipping all the spirits named they consider themselves to be worshipping God, who has revealed his will to them in dreams. When the first singer has finished he is followed by another. Between dances the guests may stop to eat again. There are four or five kinds of feasts, the ceremonies of which differ much from one another. [261]

In another kind of feast the men dance clad only in their Breech-clout, their bodies being daubed all over with white clay. [302]

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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Indians sing and pray. They deny that they pay any adoration to the buck, declaring that God alone is worshipped through this medium and is so worshipped at his will. 796 [343]

At these feasts there are never less than four servants, to each of whom a fathom of wampum is given that they may care for all necessary things. During the three or four days they have enough to do by day and by night. They have leave, also, to secure the best of provisions, such as sugar, bilberries, molasses, eggs, butter and to sell these things at a profit to guests and spectators. Festivals are usually closed with a general drinking bout. There are always rum-sellers present on such occasions who make large profits. As a result of the drinking there are generally several fatalities, for, among the Indians that gather from various places, such as wish to work off an old score are ready to make use of the opportunity afforded by these occasions. [443] [273]

Besides these solemn feasts of sacrifice there are many of less importance, for individuals arrange them on their own account. They invite guests and prepare a feast of deer or bear's flesh. The guests consume the whole meal, the host and his family being mere spectators. At the great feasts all who are present partake of the food. Each individual may offer sacrifice for himself when engaged in the chase, in order that he may be successful. Having cut up a deer and divided it into many small pieces he scatters them about for the birds and crows that sit about on the trees waiting. Retiring to some distance the Indian will then amuse himself by observing in what manner they devour the prey. Another may offer to his *Manitto* for some other reason. Corn is said to be the wife of the Indian and to it they sacrifice bear's flesh. To the deer and bear they offer corn. To the fishes they bring an offering of small pieces of bread shaped in the form of fishes. If an Indian hunter hears an owl screech in the night he immediately throws some tobacco into the fire, muttering a few words at the same time. Then they promise themselves success for the next day for the owl is said to be a powerful spirit. In dreams, they claim, it has been made known to them what creatures to regard as their *manittos* and what offerings to bring to them. Such 796 1782 [825]

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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776 offerings are then regarded by God as rendered to him. It is clear enough that the Indians, professing to worship God and 782 bringing sacrifices to him, serve Satan, who influences their dreams, and keeps them in slavery in this wise, for the Indians consider dreams to be of great importance and nothing less than revelations from God. It is indeed true as the Apostle says, 1 Cor. 10:20, "the things which the Gentiles sacrifice, they sacrifice to the devils and not to God." Those among the Indians who have been converted recognize this and henceforth hold the Indian sacrifices and offerings to be vain and do not care to say much about them.

769 To the spirits of the dead they offer both meat and drink-offerings. If it is to be a meat offering, which the doctors must decide in case of illness or accident, either a hog or a bear is killed for a feast and guests are invited. The latter assemble in the house where the sacrifice is to be offered. An old man gives part of the meal to the enraged spirits, speaks with them, and begs them to be pacified. All this is done in the dark; there must be neither fire nor light. After the old man has communed with the spirits he tells the guests that they have been appeased.

If it is to be a drink offering rum is required. Guests are invited also. They drink together and some one speaks with the spirits and pacifies them. The guests walk to the grave and pour some rum upon it. Such sacrifices are very common among them, and are arranged even upon very trivial occasions. In case of a tooth-ache or head-ache, they imagine that the spirits are displeased and must be pacified by an offering.

765 Every woman whose child dies in a foreign land travels, if possible, once a year to the place of its burial, taking another woman with her, and offers a drink-offering upon its grave.

776 The hare is regarded as a great God and they bring offer-
773 ings to it. The name of one of the twins born to the woman that was thrown from heaven was *Tschimammus*, that is, hare. He made the land upon which the Indians dwell and was their ancestor. Now he is said to dwell in heaven, for many Indians who have been there have seen him and spoken to him and to them he has declared that he would come again.

759 but occasionally a man is blessed with a vision [8] in which the Creator bestows upon him this great gift, and like Wi·tapanóxwe, he becomes an herbalist. In addition to the knowledge of healing acquired through his guardian Spirit,[9] the informant has also followed carefully the teachings of his mother who was recognized by Delaware of the older generation as one adept in the art of compounding and administering herbal remedies.

791 The second class is composed of individuals whose supernatural power enables them to perform acts such as reuniting an estranged couple or dispelling a supposedly evil charm. Certain rare plants are employed by them in practices resorted to only in emergencies.

It must be emphasized here that, according to Delaware belief, the practitioners are the medium through whom the Creator sends his healing power to alleviate distress caused by the physical and mental ills which attack the frail bodies of mankind.

Absolute faith in the unfailing power and benevolence of the Creator is the force which inspires the Delaware who has been blessed with a medicine vision and he is ever appealing in prayer to that higher Spiritual Force for aid in his professional undertakings.

824 825 Believing that plants and animals in general are closely related to mankind [10] and that the Creator has endowed them individually with spiritual natures equally as sensitive as our own, the Delaware herbalist is always careful to perform the formal propitiatory rites before gathering a plant or removing part of an animal for use in making medicine.

759 824 782 278 If a practitioner is called upon to treat a person during the growing season in spring or summer, his first move, after the formal acceptance of the case and receipt of a gift of tobacco, is to go out and seek a plant of the desired species to be used in making medicine for the treatment of the particular ailment. After coming upon the first plant

[8] Zeisberger *(op. cit.* p. 25) "Fancied skill and imagined ability to heal the sick are traced to dreams which these individuals may have had in their youth. To the dreams they appeal, for in them they have much faith." See also Speck, 1931, p. 51; Harrington, 1921, p. 61; and Benedict, 1923.

[9] Harrington (1921, p. 80) quoting from the notes of R. C. Adams, "It is believed by the Delaware that every one has a guardian spirit which comes in the form of some bird, animal, or other thing, at times in dreams and tells them what to do and what will happen. The guardian spirit is sent from the Great spirit."

[10] Speck (1931, pp. 28, 29) discusses the principle of consanguinity as applied to deities and nature-forces.

4: Tantaquidgeon E-5 (1930) 1942
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of the variety required, he does not gather it [11] but performs a ritual to appease the Spirit of the plant. A small hole is dug towards the east near its base and a small quantity of native tobacco [12] placed within. The herbalist then lights his pipe and smokes, meanwhile making the following appeal to the Creator and to the Spiritual forces which govern vegetation. The songs and properties are regarded as personal property and the accompanying medicine-gathering prayer of Witapanóxwe is regarded as typical.

MEDICINE GATHERING PRAYER (free translation)

"Grandfather, I come now for medical treatment. Your grandson (name of suppliant) needs your aid. He is giving you a smoke-offering here of tobacco. He implores you that he will get well because he, your child, is pitiful. And I myself earnestly pray that you take pity on him the sick one, I wish for him to get well forever of that which is causing pain in his body. For with you alone rests the spiritual power sufficient to bless anyone with, and hear now him our Grandfather tobacco, I beg of him that he will help me when we plead with earnest heart that you will take pity on your grandchild and that you will accept this appeal. I am thankful, Grandfather, also Creator, that you grant our appeal this day for all that we ask.[13] I am thankful, Grandfather. That is enough for this time."

Upon the conclusion of this propitiatory rite the medicine person searches out another plant of the same species, which if clean and healthy-looking, is then gathered. It is now ready to be treated in accordance with the rules governing the preparation of roots and herbs in the accompanying pharmacopeia. If the root of a plant is to be used in making medicine, it is gathered at the season when the vital properties are present; similarly the stalk or leaves each are gathered at the proper seasons.

[11] Harrington (1921, p. 26) in reference to the manitowuck to whom the Indians pray, says, "These are mentioned in the ritual of the Annual Ceremony and the people often pray to them when gathering herbs or preparing medicines, at the same time offering tobacco." He also says (p. 51) that, ". . . Some seem to have prayed to the four directions, other to the presiding genius of the species of the plants they sought or to the spirit of the individual plant itself."

[12] "Real tobacco" (Nicotiana rustica), to which a Delaware term meaning, "our grandfather," is also given.

[13] The proper phrase in full is, "give us what we ask for." It is abbreviated here to suit the formula.

ence to this person's having taught them the correct way to live and perform their sacrifices (Brainerd, p. 345; Luckenbach, p. 616; Brinton, 1888, p. 38). 773 776

Methods of Worship

The all-pervasive method of worship was sacrifice of burned flesh or tobacco. The correct method for performing these sacrifices, the dances, the order of procedure, method of constructing the house in which they were to be performed and other details were prescribed to the ancestors of the Delaware in the distant past. Most of these details escaped the notice, or at least failed to arouse the interest of our earliest observers, but Penn sketched their ceremonies in the following general terms: 782 796

> "Their Worship consists of two parts, Sacrifice and Cantico. Their Sacrifice is their first Fruits; the first and fattest Buck they kill, goeth to the fire, where he is all burnt with a Mournful Ditty of him that performeth the Ceremony... The other part is their Cantico, performed by round-Dances, sometimes words, sometimes Songs, then Shouts, two being in the middle that begin, and by Singing and Drumming on a Board direct the Chorus: Their Postures in the Dance are very Antick and differing, but all keep measure..." (p. 38-39; also see Lindstrom, p. 208).

The emphasis on traditionalism in Delaware religion makes it not unlikely that the ceremonies which were witnessed in the eighteenth century were similar to those performed before the white man arrived.13 [177]

The following description of the fall ceremony is taken primarily from an eye witness account of Abraham Luckenbach, but where details are corroborated by other writers the reference is also cited. It coincides in many details with the ceremony described in Frank Speck's A Study of the Delaware Indian Big House Ceremony, which is an annotated account of a recitation of the ceremony as remembered by a Delaware Indian living in Oklahoma. 796

The ceremony was held in the Big House, which also served as council house. "The entrance was at both gable ends and there was neither floor nor ceiling. Near both ends and in the middle, there were three fires over which hung large kettles in which corn and meat were boiled for the guests and always kept in readiness for them to eat, when finished with the dance." The smoke opening left at the ridge of the roof and the bench running around the interior wall were similar to those already described for ordinary houses (also see Beatty, p. 22). 796 344

796 The greater part of the ceremony consisted of the recitation of visions by themen one at a time. They said that their protecting deities appeared to them in a dream "...in one or another form, for example, that of a large bird that then talked with them, told them their future fate for better or for worse; that they either would have great Chiefs or Warriors who would do great deeds, great witch-doctors who would deal in supernatural things, or that they would possess great riches and many relatives or the contrary. If the latter was the case, however, they did not sing their dreams but sadly related them;" The unfavorable dreams were not considered appropriate to recite at the ceremony.

In telling his dream, each man advanced "...holding the shell of a land-turtle containing a number of beans or kernels of corn... After he has rattled the turtle-shell with his hand Amid many grimaces, he stops, and speaking in a loud tone of voice he relates, by fits and starts, the contents of his dream, or the manner in which his god appeared and what he told him." (Luckenbach, pp. 611-12, also see Zeisberger, 1910, p. 137). Actually these men whom Luckenbach saw recite their dreams were probably following a well-known path, with prearranged stopping places where the various "verses" of the vision were related. The same persons recited their dreams year after year so thast they attained a formal pattern. The path followed represents allegorically the White Path or the Great Spirit's road, that is, the road of human existence and of the soul after death (Speck, 1931, p. 23).

[782] "These dances are held only at night and are often continued for weeks at a time." At the conclusion a sacrificial feast was held, for which the meat was provided by a communal hunt. Additional features of the Annual Ceremony noted by Kenny and Beatty were that the sacrifice consisted of twelve of each of several species of animals and that the offering was made by burning the fat of the animals on twelve hot stones. The men who performed the sacrifice then took a sweat bath using the same twelve stones (also see Kenney, pp. 168-69; Beatty, p. 44). "In conclusion, two beautiful tanned deer-skins are turned over to the two old men appointed beforehand, who hold them toward the sunrise, in front of the house of sacrifice and spread them out, while murmuring something. In this way, they imagine they are praying to their god. They thank him for long life and health. For this service the old men afterwards receive the skins as their property." (Luckenbach, p. 613; also see Beatty, pp. 43-44).14

796 782 The Moravian missionaries a Friedenshutten witnessed a slightly different ceremony to which only guests of the family were invited. An old man sacrificed a deer at the center fire, then built an "oven" in which he placed twelve stones representing various deities. The old man then took the boy in whose honor the ceremony was being given

inside the oven, shook a calabash rattle and threw tobacco in the fire while asking the spirits to grant the boy good luck (Loskiel, p. 43).

To these ceremonies each person had to contribute a certain amount of wampum, a feature noted by Penn (p. 39). Of the rationale behind this custom, Frank Speck says: "...the pecuniary aspect of wampum has been exaggerated in the early writings dealing with the eastern Indians. To the Delawares wampum stood forth in the light of a covenant. It represented, and still does, a magical power capable of annulling the effects of latent poisonous influences that might pass between persons who exchange gifts or who enter into the transfer of property." (Speck, 1931, p. 63).

In addition to these more formal ceremonies, Brickell states that "...when they start on a hunting expedition, the first game that is taken they skin and dress whole, breaking not a bone, leaving on the head, ears and hoofs. This they bring to camp and cook whole, and everyone eats of it, and the rest they burn entirely up." (p. 49).

The Delaware communicated with the supernatural by means of visions. "...they give much heed to dreams, because they suppose these invisible powers give them direction at such times about certain affairs, and sometimes inform them what animal they choose to be worshipped in." (Brainerd, pp. 349-350; also see Loskiel, p. 40). In regard to the last, Lindstrom says: "They adopt their Paarka or idol when about fifteen. They may make a human figure, claw of bear or eagle, tooth or bird bill. They hang it about their neck and it is so sacred that no one may touch it." (Lindstrom, p. 207). These animals which became guardian spirits received their power from the great Spirit. Such an animal became sacred to the person to whom it was the author of good, although to others it was the same as any other animal (Zeisberger, 1910, p. 132; Brainerd, pp. 344-345).[15]

The Hereafter

From the earliest sources we find that the Delaware had a concept of an immortal soul, a hereafter which was better than life on earth and that the attainment of this place was linked with good behavior in life. The hereafter was believed to lie to the south, but its location was very vaguely conceived. Likewise although they had the idea of reward for a good life, there was no definite expression of what this good life would involve. The bad were to be punished not by any torture but by the inability to attain the place of bliss (Penn, p. 37; Brainerd, p. 346; Zeisberger, 1910, pp. 128-29; Brickell, p. 49). The greatest difference between the Delawdre concept of good and that of the Christian theology of the period lay in the fact that the Delaware concept was completely concerned with man's behavior toward his fellow man. The sacrifices which were made were apparently expected to influence one's immediate fortune but to have little effect on the state of the soul after death. Thus Brainerd says that the bad folk are those who "...lie, steal, quarrel with their neighbors, are unkind to their friends and especially to aged parents, and in a word, such as are a plague to mankind." (p. 346).

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
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776 821 dice, with alternating fortunes. When the north wind is successful it is cold for a long time, until the south wind wins again. These *manĭ'towŭk* are called *Moxhomsa' Wähänjio'pŭng'*, Grandfather at the East; *No''oma Cawane'yŭng'*, Grandmother at the South; *Moxhomsa' Eliosi'gak*, Grandfather at the West; and *Moxhomsa' Lowane'yŭng'*, Grandfather at the North, the expression *endalŭn towi'yŭn*, said to mean "who has charge of it" being frequently added after the name.

782 776 These are mentioned in the ritual of the Annual Ceremony, and the people often pray to them when gathering herbs or perparing medicines, at the same time offering tobacco.

171 776 821 The earliest record of this belief thus far found dates from 1616, and while it does not concern the Lenape proper, it illustrates a similar notion among a cognate people in Virginia. This is in Strachey's work,[15] in which he states, "The other four [gods] have no visible shape, but are indeed the four winds,

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776 821 [782] to the Sun, the Lenape usually addressed him as "Elder Brother." When praying

Little is found in early writings concerning the worship of the Sun, a mere mention in Brainerd,[18] and Loskiel,[19] by whom he is called "the sun or the god of the day."

THE MOON

None of my Lenape informants had much to say of the Moon, except that it was regarded as the *manï'to* charged with the duty of supplying light by night, and that it was addressed, like the Sun, as Elder Brother. It is mentioned as a god, and called the "night sun" by Loskiel.[20] This is expressed by the Unami name *Piske'wenikï'zho.*

THE EARTH

776 823 Some Lenape speak of the earth itself as a *manï'to*, and call it "Our Mother" because it carries and nurtures the people, having been assigned that duty by the Creator. Others, instead of the earth itself, mention a spirit beneath or within the earth, but apparently separate from

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the mother saying, "If you don't behave, MIsi'ng^{w} will carry you off in a bag full of snakes!" This seems to be the only trace of the doctoring function of the mask among the Unami. They also say that when the keeper burns tobacco for MIsinghâli'kŭn and asks for good luck in hunting, "it turns out that way every time;" and if anyone has lost either horses or cattle, whether by straying away or through theft, he can go to the keeper of the MIsi'ng^{w} with some tobacco and recover them. All he has to do is to explain his errand to the keeper, who in turn informs MIsinghâli'kŭn that they want him to look for these particular animals. The loser then goes home, and in a few days the missing stock return, driven back by this mysterious being. If they were tied or hobbled, it is said that the MIsi'ng^{w} appears to them and so frightens them that they break loose and come home. MIsinghâli'kŭn has a special ceremony, held in the spring, and also participates in the Annual Ceremony at the Big House. This MIsi'ng^{w} is also

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about the middle of the eighteenth century, while that of Jones dates from about a century later. 776 778

TORNADO

Besides the gods hitherto named there were many other deities of lesser importance. The tornado, for instance, was one of these beings classed as *mant'towăk*. He is mentioned as a giant in size, walking on his hands when in action, his long hair entangling and sweeping away forests and villages; and sometimes as a winged being. When a "cyclone" was seen approaching, some would burn tobacco, and addressing the roaring monster as "Grandfather," would pray that he turn aside and leave the village in peace. Others, scorning such measures of conciliation, would burn old moccasins and rubbish, advising the destroyer to turn aside if he wished to escape the stinging smoke; while still others, even less conciliatory, threatened him with the edge of an axe, vowing they would "break a wing for him" if he came their way. It 776 782 821

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
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776 was commonly said in the tribe that on
782 account of these practices the Lenape
821 suffered little from this evil *manĭ'to*.

SNOW BOY

776 Another minor *manĭ'to* is Snow Boy, a
821 being who is supposed to control snow
and ice, but who is different from "Our
Grandfather at the North," who merely
supplies the north wind. Offerings were
[782] made to Snow Boy to insure a proper
amount of snow for tracking in the winter
hunt. Further information concerning
these last two *manĭ'towŭk* will be found
in the paper on Lenape Mythology, now
in preparation.

COMET

There is a third *manĭ'to* called *Elau'-
nato*, which some Lenape say means
"Comet," others "Shooting Star." When
[787] a war is impending, says the legend, this
being may be seen flying through the air,
carrying a bunch of human heads. After
Elau'nato has passed, if one listens he will
hear a distant rumbling sound, for this
manĭ'to knows beforehand where the

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PLANT SPIRITS

When gathering herbs for medicine it was customary to offer prayers to certain spirits. Some seem to have prayed at this time to the four directions, others to the presiding genius of the species of plants they sought, or to the spirit of the individual plant itself. The Minsi say that only certain plants were thus addressed. The Corn Spirit has already been mentioned.

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LOCAL GENII

Certain localities, it is said, were thought to be the dwellings of local genii, to whom offerings were occasionally made, especially such places as displayed curious or unusual natural features, while even certain stones were said to have an animate principle or indwelling spirit.

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When they have finished eating they
224 arrange themselves in a row, each hunter
796[x] standing on his left foot and barely
[516] touching the ground with the toes of his right, an action whose meaning I have not yet been able to determine.

Then the speaker rises and talks to them, and the Mĭsi'ng$^{w^t}$ who has been seen about the camp from time to time, is in the Big House listening to his words. "When you hunt," says the speaker, "think of nothing but luck to kill deer." As he speaks he goes to the
[276] west fire and throws into it, six times, an
[782] offering of native tobacco; then to the east fire, where he sacrifices six more pinches of the sacred herb—twelve in all. While sacrificing tobacco, he prays to the Mĭsi'ng$^{w^t}$ to drive the deer up, so that the hunters can kill them. As he drops the last tobacco into the flames, he says, "If you kill a deer right away, bring it in tonight; if not, bring in all you kill day after tomorrow."

What tobacco is left is given to the chief hunter with the words, "When you camp tonight, burn this and ask Mĭsinghâli'kŭn

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go around and give all the tribes some way to worship. They say these things were as if carried in a bundle, and when they come to the Delawares, last of all, there was a lot left in the bundle and they got it all—that is why the Delawares have so many different things to do in their meetings."

In explanation of the prayer word *Ho-o-o*, he said, "Did you ever hear that noise out in the woods, in the fall of the year? '*Ho-o-o*,' it says. What is it? It is the noise of the wind blowing in the trees. When the Delawares pray in the Big House, they raise their voices and cry '*Ho-o-o*' to God, and the Misi'ng^{w} hears it and understands, for he is of the same nature as a tree, and there are twelve Misi'ng^{w} carved in the Big House who will carry the prayers to the twelfth Heaven. The Indians call the Misi'ng^{w} 'Grandfather,' because the trees were here before the Indians. The Big House is going out of use now, because only the old people have had gifts or visions of power to sing about. The children of

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trouble to look more closely, a dried hide; the word *cantico* which resembles the modern Lenape words for "dance"—*kl'nlkă* among the Unami and *kl'ntika* among the Minsi; and finally the use of the sacred number twelve.

Zeisberger's Account.—The earliest detailed account, however, of the great Lenape ceremonies is given by Zeisberger,[46] who, writing about 1779, says:

"Worship and sacrifices have obtained among them from the earliest times, being usages handed down from their ancestors. Though in the detail of ceremony there has been change, as the Indians are more divided now than at that time, worship and sacrifice have continued as practiced in the early days, for the Indians believe that they would draw all manner of disease and misfortune upon themselves if they omitted to observe the ancestral rites.

"In the matter of sacrifice, relationship, even though distant, is of significance, legitimate or illegitimate relationship being regarded without distinction. A sacrifice is offered by a family, with its entire relationship, once in two years. Others, even the inhabitants of other towns, are invited. Such sacrifices are commonly held in autumn, rarely in winter. As their connections are large, each Indian will have opportunity to

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attend more than one family sacrifice a year. The head of the family knows the time and he must provide for everything. When the head of such a family is converted, he gets into difficulty because his friends will not give him peace until he has designated some one to take his place in the arrangement of sacrificial feasts.

"Preparations for such a sacrificial feast extend through several days. The requisite number of deer and bears is calculated and the young people are sent into the woods to procure them together with the leader whose care it is to see that everything needful is provided. These hunters do not return until they have secured the amount of booty counted upon. On their return they fire a volley when near the town, march in in solemn procession and deposit the flesh in the house of sacrifice. Meantime the house has been cleared and prepared. The women have prepared fire-wood and brought in long dry reed grass, which has been strewn the entire length of the house, on both sides, for the guests to sit upon. Such a feast may continue for three or four nights, the separate sessions beginning in the afternoon and lasting until the next morning. Great kettles full of meat are boiled and bread is baked. These are served to the guests by four servants, especially appointed for this service. The rule is that whatever is thus brought as a sacrifice must be eaten altogether and nothing left. A small quantity of melted fat only is

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poured into the fire. The bones are burnt, so that the dogs may not get any of them. After the meal the men and women dance, every rule of decency being observed. It is not a dance for pleasure or exercise, as is the ordinary dance engaged in by the Indians. One singer only performs during the dance, walking up and down, rattling a small tortoise shell filled with pebbles. He sings of the dreams the Indians have had, naming all the animals, elements and plants they hold to be spirits. None of the spirits of things that are useful to the Indians may be omitted. By worshipping all the spirits named they consider themselves to be worshipping God, who has revealed his will to them in dreams. When the first singer has finished he is followed by another. Between dances the guests may stop to eat again. There are four or five kinds of feasts, the ceremonies of which differ much from one another.

"At these feasts there are never less than four servants, to each of whom a fathom of wampum is given that they may care for all necessary things. During the three or four days they have enough to do by day and by night. They have leave, also, to secure the best of provisions, such as sugar, bilberries, molasses, eggs, butter and to sell these things at a profit to guests and spectators."

Adams' Account.—The best and, in fact, the only late account previous to his

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the camp about it, and advised them to be always honest and kind and hospitable. He held virtue as something to be followed, at the same time condemning evil, every vice that he could think of being mentioned.

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The chief then gave thanks for everything he could remember, from the heavenly bodies to the animals, trees, and herbs of the earth, not forgetting corn, beans, and squashes; and prayer for successful hunting and good health for all the people. At the summer meeting he prayed for good crops also. When he had finished, bear's fat was thrown on the two fires, and the smoke rose and filled the place with its odor.

CEREMONIAL DRINK

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At this point it was customary to pass around a vessel of drink made of crushed wild strawberries, from which each person present swallowed about a spoonful, a drink made at the Summer Ceremony of fresh fruit, but in winter necessarily of berries dried for the purpose.

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function of the mask found among the Unami. 000

When the keeper of the MIsi'ng$^{w't}$ burns tobacco for him and asks for good luck in hunting, "it turns out that way every time;" and the Lenape say moreover that if anyone loses horses or cattle, either strayed away or stolen, he can go to the keeper of the MIsi'ng$^{w't}$ with some tobacco as a gift and get them back. He explains his errand to the keeper, who in turn informs the MIsi'ng$^{w't}$ that they want him to look for the horses or cattle. The loser then goes back home, and after a few days the missing animals return, driven back by the MIsi'ng$^{w't}$, who if they had been tied or hobbled by the thieves, frightened them until they broke away and came home. When the Big House meeting is held in the fall, the MIsi'ng$^{w't}$, as before related, is seen going around among the tents of the Delawares assembled, and in and out of the Big House, always coming from the woods, where the impersonator has a place to change his clothes. The Indians say: 782● 776 776

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SACRIFICE FEASTS

For a community, a family or an individual to prepare and conduct a feast accompanied by a more or less formal address as a means of bringing relief from trouble or to secure a spiritual blessing for those concerned, is a Delaware usage that assumes the character of a ceremony. It typifies the formal Delaware ceremonial pattern that prevails in most of the performances of a more impressive character such as the Big House Ceremony, the Doll Dance, the Bear Ceremony, the Otter Ceremony, the Corn Harvest Ceremony, the Buffalo Dance and the Opossum Dance.

The procedure of the feast or sacrifice rite, as it is called in Delaware *wi·hu'ygi·n*, "making an offering [or sacrifice] to someone," is rather simple. The party acting as host, whether it be a community, a family or an individual, provides the materials for the feast from the three kingdoms of life; flesh, vegetables and fruit. It is, moreover, often held upon the first taking of the produce of the chase or the first harvesting of things grown or gathered. Its ancient character is exhibited by the fact of its wide distribution in similar form over the entire territory inhabited by Algonkian-speaking peoples.

To secure relief for a sick member of a family is a common motive for giving a feast of offering. In such a case persons of another ceremonial division of the tribe (Wolf, Tortoise and Turkey groups) are called in as guests. The guests and the hosts eat separately, the guests being served first. A little speech of the following nature is made by the host. "Not having complied with the rules of life in some way which has caused its illness, I feel that I want to give this food in behalf of this child (or other afflicted member of the family as named), and hope that its health will be restored." Implied in this rite of appeal is the feeling that the good-will generated by the feast and the motive for it will cause those

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RAIN MAKING RITUAL

789 *E'nda sokola°'nheyg*, "when rain make." In making an appeal to the grandfather Thunder to send showers and rain, [825 ancient custom has decreed that the skin of a weasel is a ● 782] suitable offering to the "grandfather" accompanying the prayer.

The rite is an individual one. Any man or woman may own a weasel skin [1] and perform it in time of drought. The ritual is recited in seclusion, not at a public gathering as it is reported by Wi·tapano'xwe among the Shawnee.[2] By the holder of the weasel skin the object is regarded as sacred, the skin being treated as though it were a live animal. It is kept wrapped up and put away carefully so that it will not be molested, that is suffer indignity, this solicitude being similar to what is accorded other objects used in ceremonials. This may mean nothing more than being tied up and kept in a trunk, a basket or hung in a shed where it is out of the way. Wi·tapano'xwe had his enveloped in a green cloth and tied with a string of leather.[3] The weasel ceremonially used, is called *sa'ŋgwe*, a term which denotes something used for a sacred purpose.[4]

782 In this rite the rain-maker proceeds to a running stream. 789 He dips the skin into the water and lifts it upward while saying this beautiful little prayer addressing the Thunder and

[1] The species of weasel mentioned is *Mustela cicognani cicognani*, or *M. noveboracensis*. A third form mentioned by the informant is called "spotted weasel" has not been identified. The skin of the latter, he added, is used in making medicine for horse colic, so there is evidently some definite creature in mind.

[171] [2] According to the informant the Shawnee make more of a ceremony of rain-making with the weasel, the skin being kept in the custody of an old man who has exclusive right to handle it and to the place where it is concealed, and a dance accompanies the prayer.

[3] Specimen in collection of Historical Commission of Pennsylvania.

[825] [4] That the weasel has had a sacred function in early as well as recent Delaware religious magic is shown by the record of the same name for the animal recorded in Delaware of over a century ago, namely *sanquen* (Brinton, "Lenape Dictionary," p. 124).

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his messenger the weasel as the sources from which relief is hoped to come. The rain spirit is believed to repose in the thunder cloud that is soon expected to appear, and which is addressed as "grandfather." Wi·tapano'xwe added that the sacred animal is offered as a token of the good faith of the people in following the traditions of their ancestors as to how to pray when a drought had come upon them. The skin is held forth in the four directions, north, east, south and west. There is also, he added, an appeal to the running stream, "our mother," to aid in bringing about a rainfall for her suffering children on earth, "that all things we depend upon for our living and existence, vegetation and animal life, may grow in abundance."

Harrington has recorded a note on the occurrence of mink and weasel skin medicine sacks among the Munsee-Delawares of Moraviantown, Ontario, but he did not secure explanations of use.[5]

RAIN MAKING PRAYER

Wa'nici·	muxo^{u}'msa.	yu'kwe	ki·'ckwi·k	ndaya'-
Thanks	grandfather.	This	day	I
ndama^{a}n	təli·a'	wi·tcəmi·'ne^{a}n	ko'xwi·sak.	kəne^{a}'man
wish	that	you help us	your grandchildren.	You see
elki·'kwi·	itəma'k·a'	we^{a}'mi·	ke'ko	da'ət'.
how	pitiful	every	thing	scarce.
gwi·'la	li·	lama'hən·a	e^{a}'li	kaha'p·ang
No place	for	drinking water source	because	drought
we^{a}'mi·	yutali·'	eləma^{a}'kami·.		
all	here about	on the earth.		
na'xpən·ama^{a}n	wa'ni·	saŋgwe'axe^{a}s.		
I hold and ask with	that	weasel hide.		
e^{a}'li·	na'ni·	li·'xan	lɔ'mwe	no'tci·
Because	that is	rule	long ago	since
wa'ni·	lən·a'p·e	təli·	wa^{a}'to^{u}n	e^{a}'li·
the	Delaware	because	he knew	because
mi·lkwus·u'	e^{a}laehɔ's·i·t	e'nda	wi·'nowe^{a}t	na^{a}'ta
he was given	how to perform	when	begging in earnest	to you
hukwe'yuŋg	e'nda	leləmu'k·ən		
above	when	where you abide		
se's·ukəla^{a}'nhe^{a}s	muxo^{u}'msa	pe^{a}t'hak'ho'we.	e^{a}'li·	ki·
rain maker	grandfather	thunder.	Because	you

[5] M. R. Harrington, "Vestiges of Material Culture Among the Canadian Delawares," *Amer. Anth.*, N.S., Vol. 10, No. 3, 1908, p. 417.

782 xo'xa mi·'lkwus·in. ɔk kəni·'hi·la•tamən we•'mi· mbi·'
789 alone is given the power. And you control all water
539 ki· ma'n'towak·an tə'li· kəna'məne•n. wu'ndjitc
your spiritual power that we look for. Therefore

təma•'keləmi·e'ŋgwe ɔk ənа'ni· saŋgwe'oxe•s na'lən·a
you have pity on us, and the weasel skin that

kwu't·i· te•kona'yes i'k·a wundji·a'yu man'towa'k·an
one wild animal there belongs his spiritual power

wehendji·'hil·a•k sukəla•'naminɡ. yu'kwe e'ndə tcɔ'p·-
where it comes from rain fall. Now when I dip

onak yu'ni· pe•mi·'tan·i·k ndəla•'p'tona'la wa'ni·
into water this in the stream I invoke by addressing that

aye's·əə təli·' wi·tci·'lae'mhone•n e'ndə i'k·a laŋgo"'si·-
animal that he might intercede for us when toward we appeal to

eŋg" hukwe'yuŋg lema'ta'p·i·yan. yuk wani'ci·
you above where you sit. Now thanks

moxo"'msa na'li·hi·'ne•n we•'mi· enxoxto"'leŋg'. wani'ci·
grandfather give us everything we ask of you. Thanks,

te'pi·laha'p·a.
this is all for now.

Free Translation.

Thanks, grandfather. This day I wish that you help us, your grandchildren. You see how pitiful it is, everything is growing scarce. There is indeed even no place to get drinking water because drought rules all about over the earth. I hold this weasel skin and plead with you. For that is the custom since long ago, as the Delaware knew, because the knowledge was given to him to know how to perform when supplicating you up there above where you abide, oh rain-maker, grandfather Thunder. For to you is given the power. And you control by your spiritual power all the water that we are craving. Therefore do you have pity on us, and also the weasel skin, the one wild animal from whose spiritual power comes the rainfall which belongs to him. Now when I dip it into the water of this stream, I call upon you by addressing this animal that he may intercede for us when we appeal to you up above where you sit. Now thanks, grandfather, do give us everything that we ask of you. Thanks, that is all for now.

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Lenape

796 feet apart. To score a goal the ball must go between these 526 poles. The opponents are allowed to throw and wrestle with each other, but must not hurt one another intentionally. The game is played for a score of twelve or twenty goals. The record of goals secured is kept by a score-keeper who is provided with a number of sharp sticks one of which he sticks into the ground as each goal is won by the sides. Wagering 525 is customary, and ribbons, beads, breastpins, bracelets or money are placed in a pile on the outcome of the contest.

Mention should be made of the ball. It is composed of a bundle of deer hair sewed in buckskin cover and is about eight inches in diameter.

When the ball season has reached its end about the close of June, the chief orders the discontinuation of the game. And after the final game he takes the ball and makes a speech saying that the season is now to be closed until the next year. At the conclusion of his speech he takes the deer-hair filling out of the ball and cuts the cover in halves. This is the sign to all that the football festival season is over.[1]

SPRING PRAYER

796 782 539

Elaŋgu'ndieŋg^{w}	wani'ci·	yu'kwe	ki·'ckwi·k	təli·'	
My kindred	I am thankful	now	this day	that	
məca^{a}'taməne^{a}n	elki·'kwi·	wəle^{a}ləm·u'k·weŋg		ə'nda	
we are thinking	how	the blessings		when	
ko'xən·a	ke^{a}tan'to'wi·t'	məca^{a}'lkweŋg	ək	kəne^{a}'məne^{a}n	
our father	Great Spirit	remembers us	and	we can see	
təli·' i·'ka	pe^{a}te^{a}'ləmuk·o^{u}'ne^{a}n	ə'nda	si·'kwunami·'eŋg^{w}		
that so to now	we live to see	when	it is spring time we see together		
wu'ndji·	wəla^{a}te^{a}'nami·'ne^{a}n	ə'nda	ne^{a}'meŋg^{a}	we^{a}'mi·	
that is why	we are thankful rejoice	when	we see	every	
ke'ko li'	sa'k·an	ək	kəmuxo^{u}'msəna^{a}'nak	hi·'t'kuk	
thing how	coming up	and	our grandfathers	trees	
sa^{a}'k·ali·'yək	yu'kwe	we^{a}'mi·	elama^{a}'kami·k'	wəli·na^{a}'-	
they send out bud	now	all	over the universe	looks	

[1] Later information states that the ball is not destroyed at the end of the game except when it was conducted upon the principle of the Shawnee ruling which prevailed in Delaware tradition through the influence of this tribe.

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

kwot' we·'mi· aki·'k'ᵛ ɔk na'xpən·e ki·lawu's·ɔna 796ˣ
fine all vegetation and also our grain 782 ●
ɔk me'həmawa'ɛ·iŋg ne·'xkɔt' pe'a'ləmi· ki·ci·'k·iŋ 539
and our fruit ["what we pick"] it shows being begins growing.

na'xpən·e k'tama'ndamɔne·n e'nda pe'tci· k'cɔt·e'kaŋg
And also we feel it when as puts forth heat,

na'ni· t'xą'sɔna ki·'cux wimbɔne'm'ko·na ɔk nahali·'
he our elder brother the sun. He sympathises with us and besides

ne·'ki·k moxo·'mɔən·a'nɑk pe·t'ha'k·owe·yɔk ɔ'nda
these our grandfathers thunders when

mi·'lkweŋgᵛ te'p·i· m'bi·'' we·'mi· da' ne'ni· tɔ'li·xtun
they give us plenty of water. All is that created

ko·'xɔna gi·'ce·ləmu'kɔŋg'. i·'l·i·haŋgᵛ we·'mi· ma'nitu
by our father the Creator even it is said every spirit

pa·'tamą kɔ'ha ta'm'se pən·da'wɔna·'nɑk moxo·'-
prays because sometimes we hear our

mɔna·'nɑk hit'kuk tɔ'li· me'mendɔwe·ne·'yɔ ɔ'n·da
grandfathers trees, that they pray earnestly when

wani·' ke·'cxiŋg i'ka pəmi·'hil·a·t' tepi·a' wundji·-
the wind there go by that is enough for [to make]

awe·'n pəna'elɔ'ndaməɔn ɔk wundji· wəla·te·'nami·n
anyone thinking and on account of it to bring happiness

ɔ'n·da neŋg ko·'xɔna mwi·'kəmɔs·uwa'k·an ełki·'kwi·
when he sees our father his works of wonder how

wəli·'ka'k·uŋg ki·'kaxtiŋge. Cela'hən·e elaŋgu'ndieŋgᵛ
well it affects us all the year. This is my kindred

lap'tu'naxgat' ale·pɔ'ndowa'k·an yu'kwe yu'ni·
the formula of prayer this here

e·lim'kɔ't·ɑk.
of this kind.

Free Translation.

My kindred, I am thankful now as we are thinking upon the blessings received when our Father, the Great Spirit, remembers us. And we can see how up until now we have lived along so that we can all together observe the coming of springtime. Wherefore we rejoice when we see how every-

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

thing is coming forth, and how our grandfather's trees are sending out their buds. And now everywhere throughout the land appears in beauty all the green growth and likewise our grains, while also the fruits that we gather show forth the beginnings of growth. And we also feel it as he is coming to send forth heat, that one our elder brother the sun. He has sympathy for us. And then, besides, those grandfathers of ours the Thunders as they give us an abundance of water. Everything is the doing of our Father the Creator. And it is even said that all the Spirit forces (manitu) pray, because sometimes we hear them, our grandfathers, the trees, as they earnestly commune in prayer when the wind passes by through them. It is enough to set anyone thinking and should be a cause for happiness when he beholds the marvelous works of our Father, and how well they work for our benefit all the year through. And that now, my kindred, is the formula of prayer for this kind of traditional rite here.

1 [erratum - Aug 7st]

[p. 78]

PRAYER TO AVERT THUNDER

The appearance of a menacing storm cloud approaching causes the resort to prayer and the performance of a simple rite to avert danger from wind and lightning. The individual takes an ax, marks it with a cross on the blade by means of mud or paint, or anything at hand that shows up, and sticks the handle in the ground or stands it upright so that the blade will then, he believes, split the body of the storm cloud and cause it to divide and pass by on each side harmlessly.[1] When the act is performed he prays and if there is time smokes a pipe of tobacco as a "sacrifice."

Thunder Prayer

Wani'ci	moxo^{u}'msa^{a}	pe't'hak'o'we	ɔk	ke^{e}'pi·
I thank you	Grandfather	Thunder	and	you also
mani'tû	kek'ca'xən·o^{u}'ke^{e}s	kəwi·'nowa'mał	təli·'	
Spirit	Wind.	I beg of you	that	
pal·i·'i·	pəmα's·ka^{a}ne^{e}'yɔ	təma'ke^{e}ləmi·'ne^{e}n	k'tami·'-	
somewhere else	you walk (go by, pass).	have pity on us	your	
mαsəm	ka't·ci·	ap'hi'k·ai·'heŋg	kəne'i·hinα	
children.	Do not	run over us (to go over one's land).	You see us	
kət·əmak'si·'hinα	moxo^{u}'msa^{a}	naxpaŋgo^{u}'mələn	wa'ni·	
we are pitiful	Grandfather.	we sacrifice	him	
nəmoxo^{u}'msəna	k'ca^{a}'ta'	ɔk	kəne^{e}'mən	yu'ni· pe^{e}
our grandfather	tobacco.	And	you see	this being
ki·ci·'xiŋ	təm·hi·'k·an	na'ni	li·'m'kət'	təli·' paxsi·-
prepared	ax	the	custom	because it will split
taho'k·wun	ma't·a	paxke^{e}'yane	ce^{e}la'han·en	
you in two	if not	you turn your course, go some other way	that is	
təli·'xto^{u}n	ki·ce^{e}ləmu'k·oŋg	wu'ndji	wata^{a}'k'^{w}	
how it was ordained by	Creator	whence	it is known	

[1] I hardly need refer to the wide diffusion of this custom in eastern North America. Without having made a definite search for it I may refer to having heard it mentioned from the Naskapi (Mistassini) of the Labrador peninsula, through the Iroquois (also F. W. Waugh) and Mohegan, southward to the Catawba. It is known also among the negro freedmen of the Cherokee Nation.

782 tami·'mɑsɔm e'laehɔ's·i·t' ɔ'nda hwi·'t·aŋg maxta'n'to
539 your children what to do when he is in fear of Evil Spirit

mu't·aehɔs·uwa'k·an. kəlɔs·tai·'ne·n tami·'mɑsɔm
destructiveness. You listen to our pleading your children

moxo·msa'tuk na'ne ci·'xkɑndj nga'ski·lə's·i·n
Grandfathers. That is all I can do

ke·'tomakawe·'ni:ya. la'p'i· ndɔ'ləwe' wani'ci·.
poor me. Again I say thanks.

Free Translation.

I thank you, Grandfather Thunder, and you also, Spirit-Force Wind. I beg of you that you pass by and go somewhere else. Have pity on us your children. Do not run over our land. You see us how pitiful we are, Grandfather. We offer to you, him our Grandfather Tobacco. And you see this ax being prepared according to the custom. It will split you in two if you do not go another way. That is how it was ordained by the Creator wherefore it is known among your children, Grandfathers. That is all I can do, poor me. Again I say, I thank you.

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9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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821 wind and looked up and saw a comet shaped like a head dripping
787 fire and blood out of the mouth, coming from the West and going North and East, about five years before the World War.

W. T.—Meteors foretold the direction of a big wind coming the next day—they were already on the move.

18. Ceremonies on appearance of new moon

821 CAPTAIN CHIPPS—When they see the new moon, they thank
782 the Great Spirit that they have lived to see it.

JOHN JOHNSTON—They do not at present but they say it was anciently a custom to offer some kind of a sacrifice.

821 *19. Calculation on time of reappearance of moon*

CAPTAIN PIPE—Nor can they calculate with certainty the time of its reappearance.

RELIGION

21. Concept of Supreme Being

776 JOHN JOHNSTON—They do [have concept of Supreme Being], and distinguish him by calling him the creator of us all and of all things.

CAPTAIN PIPE—They believe in one Supreme Being, who is known generally by the appellation *Keshaallemöönkungk*, "He who created us by his thought;" and sometimes *Kastounutööwit*, The great spirit, from *Khit*, great; or *Wealseet Maunütoo*, He who is the good spirit, from *Woolit*, good. They suppose that this being created the world and remained sometime upon earth, having the moral superintendency of all affairs therein, and that having perfected the system which he commenced he left it.

CAPTAIN CHIPPS—They believe in one God, who is "God of the black as well as the white"—they suppose he lives in some world above this earth.

22. Subordinate deities

JOHN JOHNSTON—They believe in twelve subordinate deities placed in different grades descending from the highest to the lowest, they think the lowest is on earth among them but in-

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In the morning all the people lined up east of where the corpse 764
was laid, and one of the male attendants shot a gun eastward over the heads of the assembled friends and relatives, then handed the gun to the other male attendant who also shot it in the same direction.

In the case of a deceased man, just before the burial there were two men chosen, who went off and talked about the deceased. Then they got twelve little sticks about three or four inches long which they gave to a woman, not related to the deceased or his widow. This woman conducted the widow once around the grave before the corpse was covered. She proceeded counterclockwise and on each step placed her heel just ahead of the toe of the foot on the ground. She led the widow by joining their left hands. The widow was careful to step in the footsteps of her conductor. After the circuit of the grave, the conductor walked off in the same manner, and putting each stick in her mouth for an instant handed it over her shoulder to the widow whose hand had been released. The widow threw sticks alternately over each shoulder until all twelve were gone. Then while the conductor was leading the widow farther off, the attendants commenced filling the grave. Except for the reverse of the sexes the same procedure was used for a widower.

The corpse was placed in a casket at the head of which there was a hole and also a red painted cross (like a large X). For- [767
merly the chief got down on one knee before the grave was 782]
filled and talked to the deceased, telling him to forget those who were left behind and not to bother them. Old Man Hill does it now. He had a vision giving him the power—not every one can do it. No one can do it for his own family.

Formerly a house 12′ by 6′ was built over each grave, using six logs on each side and then covering the structure with clapboards. Now only posts are erected at the head of the graves, all of which are headed to the East. The post differs for men and women. That for a woman has a crosspiece like a Christian cross; the ends of the crosspiece and the top of the upright may carry diamond-shaped figures. These figures or the plain ends are outlined with red paint and six crosses are painted in red on

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and dressed in best clothes. There was no payment to persons performing these services. The corpse was kept until noon of the day after death. During this time the relatives and others played moccasin game with four moccasins and two bullets. The grave was dug about four feet deep with the head to the East. Never put anything into the grave. After the grave was filled in the folks of the deceased who took care of the bereaved spouse led him or her once around the grave, clockwise, natural steps, not holding hands, but spouse was careful to step in the tracks of the leader. Twelve sticks were thrown away during this circuit. Spouse was then led away from the grave. He or she then visited the grave every evening about six or seven o'clock for four nights, made a little fire, just lighted it and immediately blew it out. Talked to deceased at this time. During these four days relict did not wash, comb or paint. Was attended by the kin folks of the deceased. At the end of this period he or she was washed, combed and dressed in new clothes—sometimes offered new spouse in the person of the sister or brother of the deceased to take care of him or her. Always accepted. Formerly, two years passed before relict was told to go free if not given a new spouse at the end of the four-day period. Two years was too long, so about one or two hundred years ago the time was reduced to one year. Relict did not attend games, dances, etc. for one- or two-year period. Other relatives observed same mourning as relict for four-day period.

Preacher prayed after death and also at burial—talked to deceased and told him to forget those who were left and to go home and be happy. Graves were surrounded by trees laid in a crib about three feet high and then covered with boards. Posts were erected at head of graves of both men and women. The posts might be painted or not. Diamond-shaped figures carved on posts were not Delaware but Shawnee, as were the painted figures or crosses. The post for men carried a crosspiece, whereas that for women was an upright with a pointed top. Said that the only feast offered the deceased was before burial.

E. R.—After death fix bark house outside of dwelling in which corpse was placed with head to East. In the house there were fires

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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764 on the north and south sides. Men assembled on the south side and the women on the north. They sang with drum accompaniment and played the moccasin game with two pairs of moccasins and one bullet. There was a feast before sundown. Burial was before sunup the day after death. The chief or some old man prayed and talked to deceased. All circled the grave clockwise, each throwing in a little dirt. The chief then talked to the widow and told her not to get married for a year. She must not attend dances or games for a year. The widow and immediate relatives did not wash, comb their hair or change their clothes for four days after a death. A widow visited grave irregularly and left food the same way. A crib of logs, four to six feet high, was placed around the grave and then covered over. A stick two to three inches thick was placed at the head of every grave. The point of the stick was six to seven inches long and painted red. There was a difference in the sticks for men and women but not sure just what, believed that women had a cross which was painted.

[782] [589]

179 and 180. Corpse painted by unrelated person

W. L.—Body was prepared by two men and two women appointed from nonrelatives. One man marked the face of the deceased with paint and then one of the women came along and added some marks.

181. Corpse kept—nights before burial

Captain Chipps—The funeral in warm weather is attended the day after death. In winter the body is kept three or four days.

183. Burials extended.

Both Van der Donck and Lindeström said that a corpse was buried in a sitting position and placed either on a wooden block or a stool.

189. Take up bones and reinter

765 Lindeström said that the body was buried a few days after death, then for a period of about a month the departed was mourned, at the end of which time the body was disinterred and

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224 622 roots up the grass in the position, [assigned to him] in the circumference, to the width of about 3 or 4 ells, so that the fire will not be able to run back, each one then beginning to set fire to the grass, which is mightily ignited, so that the fire travels away, in towards the center of the circle, which the Indians follow with great noise, and all the animals which are found within the circle, flee from the fire and the cries of the Indians, traveling away, whereby the circle through its decreasing is more and more contracted towards the center. When now the Indians have surrounded the center with a small circle, so that they mutually cannot do each other any harm, then they break loose with guns and bows on the animals which they then have been blessed with, that not one can escape and thus they get a great multitude of all kinds of animals which are found there.

[782 776] 796 The first hunt of the year which they thus obtain (they consecrate to Manitto). When they first have eaten their fill of it and enjoyed their feast they make a burnt offering of the remaining, which they sacrifice to Manitto, i. e., the Devil, but not one animal of it do [they] sell, believing that they through this later will get in their hunt so much the greater blessing. Then they sing and dance and when they become jolly and happy then they cry and sing thus namely: *Hägginj, hä, hä, hä; Hägginj hä; Hägginj hä, Hägginj hä, hä, hä, hä,* etc. Thus repeating and continuing so long a time, so that it reaches well over the forest.

338. Celebration on returning from hunting

[782 776] W. T. said that prayers to the Great Spirit were made at this time, desiring that the favors shown the people be continued as they were appreciated.

CONSTITUTION, PERSONAL APPEARANCE, DRESS, ETC.

342. Extirpation of beard

302 [142] J. W. said that formerly the beard was pulled out but that recently the occasional use of a razor was all that was necessary. W. T. and E. R. said that they never had any beards.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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clusion, add something to our idea of another side of the character of this knowing and potent reptile, so important to the religious sense of the Delaware.

"The turtle is in its way an evil thing, yet not so evil as a snake which is controlled by the Evil Spirit and has also human face-paint patterns. The Turtle can hurt human-beings. Once a boy caught a water-turtle and turned him on his back. The Turtle got mad; raised himself on his legs stiffly. The Turtle raised himself, and launched himself through the air and struck the boy on his head and nearly killed him. The Turtle has a weapon in the sharp frontal plates."

FIRE SYMBOLISM.—Among the spirit-forces of Delaware cosmology "Our Grandfather Fire" (to'n-dai') is held in high esteem. The adoration of fire, however, is not sufficiently exclusive to justify the Delawares being called pyrolatrists. Fire, as a spirit-force subordinate to the Great Spirit, is an agency of purification and invigoration. In the Big House ceremony the rite of kindling new fire with the consecrated fire-drill takes place to the accompaniment of an appropriate prayer on the ninth night from the lips of the Bringer-in, or Master of Ceremonies. The new fire is thus "pure," since it is made with the implements granted by the Great Spirit. The coming of the white man within the horizon of Delaware culture introducing matches into the native economy has undoubtedly served to throw the sanctity of the fire-drill into a higher light. But it would, I believe, be quite erroneous to undervalue the attitude of reverence, both in thought and ritual, which is held toward fire in native culture throughout the east.[1] To the Delaware ceremonialists the making of new, "pure" fire symbolizes "renewing of life, fresh vigor, the breathing of pure air uncontaminated by latent forces of disease, new and pure influences for life and health." It is one of the forces to which tobacco is constantly offered, and is an auxiliary to the use of cedar as incense in the act of purification.

Both Zeisberger and Harrington lay stress on the deification of fire among the Delawares.[2] In the Big House the two fires maintained throughout the ceremony east and west of the center-post,

[1] Some writers who have dealt with fire-worship among the eastern Indians seem to have gone too far in defining them as outright sun- and fire-worshipers, through exaggeration of the importance of fire ceremonies described in the older accounts. That the Delawares have been more conservative in regard to admitting innovations into their ceremonies is shown by the fact that the Yuchi, in whose annual ceremony the kindling of new fire is an important act, have condescended to use flint and steel (F. G. Speck, Ethnology of the Yuchi Indians, Anth. Pubs. Univ. of Penna. Mus., vol. I No. 1 (1910), pp. 120-1). On the other hand we know of perpetual fire being maintained in village temples among some of the early peoples of the southeastern area; evidence that must be given full weight in considering the question of pyrolatry in eastern America.

[2] Zeisberger, op. cit., pp. 138-139, Harrington, (I) passim.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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So I pray that everyone help. If accordingly everyone does all in his power, earnestly praying with all his heart, it might occasion those spirit-forces to hear our pitiful appeal, those who carry the power of blessing. And right here this evening in a little while we shall begin to feel ourselves being touched by our grandfathers[1] who move this our prayer-worship.

[1] The various man-i't-u or spirit-forces of nature, some of which have been previously mentioned by the narrator. The spirits dwelling in the turtle-shells are one of the manifestations of the Great Spirit, who function in this reference as the spirits whose duty it is to "start moving" the ceremony. The "touch" here means the "spirit of control" or the force that keeps the worship alive.

And now when worshiping, these Turkey-group people,[1] because they enter the Big House with the ceremony, that group is our old man[2] and our chief. He-Walks-Turning-Around-Slowly[3] is the one who brings in the ceremony.

When the Enterer begins the ceremony everything is prepared. Here at the middle of the right hand side, directly opposite where the stud-post stands, right here he conducts the worship—the Enterer. From this place is where they perform the vision recitations. These turtle-rattles are called our grandfathers. When they reach the place where the Master of Ceremonies sits,[4] he shakes the rattle, the leading rattle, and the follower answers him.[5]

[1] It is assumed in the text by the narrator that the Turkey, or Fowl division of the tribe is assuming the obligation to "enter the Big House bringing" meaning to sponsor the ceremony.

[2] The simile here denotes that the Turkey division has senority over the other two so far as the period of the ceremony is concerned.

[3] The performance is to be recited as though it were being conducted by the present chief of the tribe, Charles Elkhair who has held the office since 1898, whose Delaware name is Ko·kwal·apo'xwe denoting someone who is walking along slowly then turns around in the opposite direction. The same chief was the host to the ceremony described by Harrington in 1912 (Harrington I, pp. 85-7). The informant planned the text to follow Elkhair's manner of conducting it because he had participated in it frequently under him and had a clearer recollection of his addresses and details of management.

[4] This statement brings to mind the important and oft-repeated reference to the Tortoise in his transit of the world as "carrying the ceremony." The rattles, made of the animals shells, we are told, are following the same allegorical course from east to west.

[5] The dance leader uses a somewhat smaller tortoise shell than the "following," hence the designation leading rattle, as though the rattle itself were an active agency.

Then these "cranes," or drummers,[1] beat three times the drum. First the dance leader strikes the drum once, and then the follower-singer, and the leader again. And then also he will say, he who is about to recite his vision and dance, "I now must worship!" And all the old men answer. They say, "Hau! Indeed it is truly fine, my brother!"

[1] For some reason a simile has developed here by which the two men who attended to the drumming accompaniment are likened to Sandhill Cranes.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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hunt because to do so we concentrate our minds[1] in order that we may be favored with success. The Hunt-Leader and his assistant and also the cook[2] must all be selected, and also the tobacco together with the rations for the journey. You Attendants must see to it with care that plenty of rations for the journey are furnished for all the hunters; -the bread.

539X 796

ADDRESS ON THE FOURTH MORNING TO THE HUNTERS ABOUT TO LEAVE. THE MASK PERFORMANCE

Here now, my kindred, we have come to the fourth day since we began, in this place, to perform the ceremony. And each and every one of us knows the ruling of this our form of Prayer-Worship. Now we are using the tobacco our grandfather, while we are pleading earnestly with the Great Spirit. And the Mask-Spirit also, when we are giving thanks to him our grandfather Fire. This is how it is done by the Bringer-in[3], "I thank all the Spirit-Forces on top of the earth and all the Spirit-Forces up above. Wherefore we earnestly plead with grandfather when we give you to eat this red man's tobacco. Have pity on us here your grandchildren. They are begging you, Oh Mask-Spirit, that we may have success. Give us the wild animals since you control them, all the wild animals because we need that we may be blessed with this meat. And that one, our mother the corn, because of all the food given us I thank you Spirit Forces that we are given the blessing of your spirit-power. Now give us all we ask of you Great Spirit that you are and, our creator, think of your children."

539X 796 782

Brothers![4] Now the Hunt Leader, and he who is assistant, and also the cook, you must all remember the instructions and traditional rules that all persons who hunt observe as they journey. Here now being under our power, you are taking as you go the spirit-power of the Mask-Spirit, and tobacco is given the Hunt Leader and his assistant which they carry. Now when you have been gone two days it is permissible that any one who has killed something, they may use the meat.[5]

539X 796

[1] This means that the hunters who are now to go forth are to be supported and strengthened by the "power of wish," in concentration by the worshippers who stay behind in the Big House.

[2] Incidentally this is one of the occasions when the Attendants are obliged to furnish the food without the usual payment of wampum that they ordinarily receive.

[3] He prays as follows and sprinkles a little tobacco on each of the two fires of the Big House while declaiming.

[4] The Master of Ceremonies having finished his prayer now addresses the hunters who are ready to go forth. He charges them with their instructions as they stand directly in front of the drummers, facing him.

[5] This means that if no deer have been taken by the hunters by the second day they may kill and eat any animal for food since by this time they may be relieved from the monotony of the corn bread diet.

Some of the interesting observations of this event as remembered by the

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Now when they return from the hunt, the Hunt-Leader when now he has come near even if it is midnight, shall shoot a signal once for as many deer as were killed, shooting so many times. And now when the Cranes hear the signal-shot of the Hunter he shall immediately run into the Big House and begin to sing for these hunters. All the Attendants must be ready to feed the hunters and all the horses unsaddled and fed, for that is the rule and act governing the Attendants.[1]

First the Bringer-in prays, using tobacco.[2] He bestows a blessing when offering praise to him our Father. This is sufficient for this time.[3]

There is also, my kindred, an ancient custom that we beg the Mask-Spirit to dance for us. You Cranes, you know how and you understand those songs which are used for this occasion when singing for the Mask. Every person who wants to go in the Big House is permitted to look on while the Mask dances in the Big House.[4]

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informant, who has taken part in this hunting rite, are that the leader distribute portions of tobacco to the hunters who are under his control. At each night's camp the stopping place is selected by him, the rations of food are distributed, tobacco is offered to the fire with a prayer by the leader and other details suggesting the rules governing the war parties' conduct among Central Algonkian and in the southern Plains areas.

Wi-ta'panoxwe, it is interesting to note, recalled, during his experience with the hunting squad, how a screech-owl cried near their camp one night; which has long been a sign of good luck (see also Zeisberger, p. 139). The next day he killed a deer, being the first of the party to do so.

[1] The hunters are not obliged to be concerned with the trouble of saddling, unsaddling or feeding their horses when enlisted in the sacred task of the ceremonial hunt. The Attendants take over all such duties of service to them and their animals.

[2] He burns a little tobacco in the fire.

[3] Hereupon it being between nine and ten o'clock in the morning, the hunters leave, departing westward toward the Osage nation nowadays, the only hunting ground accessible to them.

[4] The man wearing the mask and the bear-hide clothes keeps the mask and clothes some hundred yards from the Big House at the edge of the brush in the open, hung upon a branch to keep it away from the dogs. Anyone who desires to perform this rite may put on the paraphernalia and accept the invitation as given above, and go into the Big House and dance. His dance lasts about ten minutes anywhere in the Big House that he desires. The mask when worn is held by the chin with the holder's fingers in the mouth of the mask, so that the wearer can adjust the focus of the eyes of the carving to his own focus of vision. The eye holes are small, yet the mask could be adjusted so that the performer could see as though he were looking through spectacles. To be able to do this was considered as a sign of spiritual greatness. It might be added that the face illustrated in Harrington's study (Fig. 1, p. 32) has the left eye-hole enlarged, something that had been done improperly, according to the informant. He leaves wearing the garb and returns it to the place where it is kept (fig. 9). This all takes place before noon.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

V

THE FIFTH AND SIXTH NIGHTS OF THE CEREMONY

[The performance of the usual recitations and dances of the previous nights is repeated.] 539x 796

SEVENTH NIGHT OF THE CEREMONY
RETURN OF THE HUNTERS

Now, my kindred, it is the seventh evening come since we have brought in this pure prayer-worship. Now it is very pleasing that we have had good fortune, that these our young men and that he my son "Walking-four-abreast" and "With-Wings"[1] have killed game. I am indeed thankful. On account of it at least we feel pleased, and we use the animal that we offer up as a sacrifice when we are pleading with the Great Spirit.[2] [782]

And it is truly grand that we are having good weather each and every day, on account of which we enjoy good health. When we wake up to another day, when we see him our elder brother the sun how he lights up all this earth, which causes an emotion within us, when we feel the coming warmth of his breath of life. And we are truly thankful when we acknowledge the blessing of the Night-Traveler, our elder brother the Night-Moon.[3] For we have heard the deceased, our ancient people of the past while they were explaining these many things say, according to tradition, "Night-Moon and also those stars, all of them were put in place by him who owns us.[4] That one, our father the Wind, and that one, our mother Water, flowing stream[5] and that one, our grandfather Fire, all are sitting around us; the Spirit-forces.[6] Truly, my kindred, I feel very discouraged, pitiful me. It is unbecoming for me, I feel unable, as it is said, to instruct my own kindred in blessings, so difficult is it now and so heavily are we oppressed. For instance now, when we are about to be touched by these Spirit-forces, the shell-rattles, be careful, my kindred, we must remember that we are praying for a blessing to the Great Spirit. And it is wonderful that he feels sympathy for us, he our father, also our Creator, in those wild animals which he has given us.[7]

[1] The narrator of the text is assuming that the ceremonial hunt has had a happy conclusion; that the two young men named have been blessed with game.

[2] The informant compared the offering of "wild animal" flesh in this capacity with the Hebraic offering of a pure lamb on the altar. Said he, "It shows the real feeling of the worshipper to offer this pure clean flesh."

[3] It may be recalled here that both the luminaries are moons according to Delaware conceptions.

[4] Another means of designating the Great Spirit.

[5] A metephor for our mother Water.

[6] Referring to the manit-u controlling the world of nature but especially referring to the carved images on the post of the Big House who symbolize the Spirit-force behind everything that possesses life. [776]

[7] In the preceding passage we have an example of the high sounding discourse which the Delaware language is capable of expressing.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

these spirit-forces are beginning to touch those who carry on this our prayer-ceremony.[1]

Now the Attendants sweep the Big House clean. Now the leading Attendants make fire and burn cedar.[2]

"I am thankful, Oh thou Great Spirit, that we have been spared to live until now to purify with cedar smoke this our House, because that has always been the rule in the ancient world since the beginning of creation. When anyone thinks of his children how fortunate it is to see them enjoying good health. And this is the cause of a feeling of happiness when we consider how greatly we are blessed by the benevolence of our father, the Great Spirit. And we can also feel the great strength of him our grandfather Fire for which we cause him pleasure when we purify and take care with it, and when we feed him this cedar. All of this together we offer in esteem to him, our grandfather, because he has compassion when he sees how pitifully we behave while we are pleading with all the spirit-forces above as they were created and with all those here on earth. Give us everything, our father, that we ask of you Great Spirit even the Creator.'"[3]

Now the leading Attendant shall carry around a wooden bowl of wampum beads. To every person he shall give equally three wampum beads.[4] But the Following Attendant, a woman Attendant, shall carry a bark bowl containing paint and bloodroot so that everyone shall be anointed with paint.[5]

[1] At the conclusion of these rites on the ninth evening the recitation of visions and the dancing around the White Path is resumed by the reciters as on the preceding nights. When the last reciter has completed his round the ceremony procedes as announced in the ensuing paragraph with the burning of cedar.

[2] At this juncture the Leader goes to the fire at the east of the center post while the cedar is burning and then to the west fire, and delivers the following prayer in a low tone.

[3] With the ending of his prayer the Leader has timed his movements so that his time was divided before each of the two fires of the Big House while the cedar incense had been burning.

[4] Those receiving the beads can keep them if desired. But it was customary for them to return the wampum to the common fund by putting them in a little bowl standing on one of the hominy mortars outside after the meeting is over for that night. It was only by redonation of this nature that the supply of wampum necessary for conducting the ceremony could be assured.

[5] Some notes on the use of blood-root (Sanguinaria canadensis) as a red stain, or an anointment administered to the faces of all the worshippers, have been included in the introduction. A point, however, arises in the matter of ceremonial usage here as recorded in Harrington's study (I, pp. 105-6). He mentions that a bowl of grease is carried around from which the attendants anoint the skin of those to be painted. It might be inferred that some religious significance is attached to the use of grease in this act. And especially so in view of the similar function of grease among the far northern Algonkian who use grease rubbed on the face as "feeding the soul-spirit." Questioning the informant on this interesting point, however, only brings out the simple statement that the grease is put on to protect the skin from the effects of the paint, or pe'kon, which tends to be irritating. The grease is also put on the carved faces in this case to make the paint, put on after, sink in better. One might imagine, nevertheless, that at some former time the putting on of the grease was more of a rite than it is now.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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VII

THIRTEENTH MORNING OF THE CEREMONY
FINAL DANCE AROUND THE CENTER POST

539X
796

'Here now the time has come for all these our sisters to join and dance, and join in a single file outdoors.[1] And all the men and children besides, everybody may wear Delaware garb and go into the Big House. Yet whatever anyone wears it is the rule to go in. But women, from right here next the door, shall begin to form in single file. When they have formed a line then the assistant Concluder[2] should shake the Leading Tortoise-Rattles. Ten and two times he shall shake them and shall say when shaking them, 'kwi·ya+!' And all of the women from the leading one through to the end of the row shall answer, all of them, and say 'hu·+[3]!'

I am thankful, my kindred, that again I address you all as brothers, men, young men, our sisters and also all those our children. It is truly fine that we have good weather this morning, that we are so well blessed by him our elder brother, the day moon, when his coming illuminates all the earth. For now it is ten and two days since we have performed here while we were pleading earnestly with our father, the Great Spirit, as we all know. It is truly fine and I am glad when we are helping each other, and when this our prayer-worship is given such great consideration, and for the marvelousness of the service of those our Attendants now soon to be finished. And there is here for [465] each one, one shoulder-length of wampum that we pay them, although

[1] After the trying out dances of the minor participants on the twelfth evening the scene has closed for the night and the master of ceremonies is giving the opening address, with instructions for the procedure of the thirteenth morning. The final dance now to be ordered takes place around the center post of the Big House beneath the images of the Great Spirit before which a serious prayer-call is given. It bears the name of Tamas'hama, "conclusion."

[2] The master of ceremonies is so designated now.

[3] As the leader cries kwi·ya+ the first woman in the line answers with hu·+ followed by the next until all have been heard from consecutively as they "count off."

As the cry hu· hu· hu· resounds in turn down the line of women, they form inside the Big House in the manner indicated by the diagram (fig. 13) and proceed around the dance ring as shown by the double black lines, dancing to the points marked, and stopping. Then so on until they circle four times around the center posts. As they circle around the 'grandfather' they raise their heads to touch the images as on the previous occasions during the night dances. This time, however, some of them are carrying the prayer sticks. Those having them touch the images with them; this being what [782] we might term a more intense form of prayer since the prayer sticks are employed. It might be noted that the six decorated prayer sticks symbolize the six ho·+ cries of the prayer-call, the six plain ones the six hă·+ cries, given each time they pray.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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home, you must take good care, for you are carrying with you the spirit of Delaware worship. From now on for one year at least, we shall enjoy benefit from all the spirit-forces given us, those on top of the earth and those up above as they were created to have mercy upon us, and besides from him Our Father, the Great Spirit, even Our Creator. This will be all for this time.

Now, my kindred, for the last time we go out to pray, everybody with all his heart. And you know that we shall go out to the east and shall carry with us the wampum that is left unused because that is our heart[1] when we appeal for a blessing to our father with whom belongs the Delaware's soul. And let us consider, every one of us earnestly, as the prayer reaches up above, and we express our faith with this wampum in our heart, because through ten and two levels of the sky we lift our prayer-appeal to where dwells him Our Father the Great Spirit, even the Creator.[2]

[1] A short discourse on wampum given in the introduction (page 64) mentions this simile.

[2] Upon this announcement the wampum beads remaining available for this purpose are tied together into one string [the informant remembered when the Big House treasury contained fifteen or twenty strings, or arm lengths, but in recent years the total length has decreased to some twelve or fifteen feet] and held resting on their hands in a line reaching from one end of the row of people to the other as far as it will go. Facing east they raise the prayer-call, six times calling ho-+ and six times hi-+. This concludes the rite.

With this prayer the last word of the Bringer-in who has at the same time been Master of Ceremonies pronounces his last word of formality, his duties are ended before the sun has reached the noon point of the thirteenth day since the worshippers have convened—the termination point established by traditional ruling. And the great ceremony is ended. The assembled families now prepare to betake themselves home. As the Big House is emptied, the ceremonial property is removed by the Attendants, the premises swept out, the doors set in place, the bar posts raised as a symbol of vacancy—a method of "locking up" habitations when the occupants are away in vogue everywhere among Algonkian people. Conveyances are loaded with camping paraphernalia and household goods and the prairie roads become dusty with the passage of the Delaware cortége on its way in various directions to distant homesteads.

11:Newcomb E-5 (1952) 1956 NM7 Delaware NM7

sage. The fireplace and the altar had been made many years previously, showing much use by being smooth and hard packed.

While the man who was to tend the fire and guard the door (fire-chief) and several helpers were arranging the tepee, several women were preparing peyote in the farmhouse kitchen. Peyote tea was made by chopping up dried peyote buttons and dropping them in boiling water. After steeping for a few minutes the tea was strained. Green peyote was prepared by peeling off the leathery skin, only the tops being left intact. A little before ten o'clock the fire-chief lit the fire in the tepee with flint and steel. As soon as he came out of the tepee the leader (or road-chief) entered, followed by the drum-chief, the fourteen other participants, and finally the fire-chief. This meeting was somewhat atypical in the small number of participants; attendance usually averaged about twenty-five. After everyone was seated the drum-chief, a Sioux from the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota, announced that several people had prayers and announcements to make. The road-chief, a Winnebago, then prayed in his own language. As translated next day, this prayer welcomed the participants and asked for divine assistance in the conduct of the meeting. This meeting had been initiated by a Delaware woman who was ill (No. 14 in Fig. 1), and she stood up and thanked everyone for coming and assisting her in regaining her health. Another Delaware (No. 3 in Fig. 1) then said a few words, principally to the effect that the "Native American Church" was not "idolatry" and that he was glad to welcome a white couple (the writer and his wife) to a meeting "to see what it really was like."

The road-chief then prayed again in Winnebago. When this prayer was concluded, he passed the peyote staff and a bunch of sage to the man on his left, who passed it on in a clockwise direction until it had

[text continues on p. 206]

(Explanation of Figure 1)

A. Altar
B. Fire. To some peyotists the heart represents the soul of the Fire Spirits.
C. Sun Mound. The heart symbolizes the soul of the Sun.
D. Ash Piles. Petrullo noted that in some versions of the rite these symbolize the lungs of Christ. I could not confirm this.
E. Water bucket and dipper.
F. Smoldering stick used to light cigarettes.
G. Tepee entrance.
H. Cross. Long axis symbolizes peyote road.
1. Road-chief, Winnebago
2. Delaware man
3. Delaware man
4. Shawnee man
5. Shawnee woman (4's wife)
6. Delaware man
7. Ego
8. Ego's wife
9. Sioux man
10. Sioux woman (9's wife)
11. Fire-chief, Delaware
12. Delaware man
13. Delaware man
14. Delaware sponsor
15. Winnebago woman (16's wife)
16. Winnebago man
17. Drum-chief, Sioux

11:Newcomb E-5 (1952) 1956 NM7 Delaware NM7

made a full circuit of the tepee. Many of the participants pressed the sage lightly to various parts of their bodies before passing it along. The road-chief then passed corn husks and Bull Durham tobacco in the same direction, everyone rolling a cigarette. These cigarettes were lit from the smoldering stick which was kept in readiness to the east of the fire. After the cigarettes had been smoked in silence, they were collected by the fire-chief. The butts were placed on the altar. Peyote was then passed in the same clockwise fashion; the road-chief directed that four buttons be taken, either two dried and two green, or four of a kind. Peyote tea was also passed, some individuals smearing their body, face, and hair with the tea, as well as drinking it.

When the peyote had completed the clockwise circuit, and as the participants were going through the ordeal of eating it, the road-chief prayed. He then began the opening song, holding a gourd rattle in his right hand and the peyote staff in his left, the drum-chief accompanying him on the drum. After four songs were sung the road-chief passed the staff and gourd rattle to the man on his left, accepted the drum from the drum-chief, and drummed for the man on his left, who sang four songs. After each set of four songs, the gourd rattle and staff were passed in a clockwise direction to the next man who sang a set of four songs, the previous singer becoming the drummer. The singing and drum accompaniment continued until midnight. Between sets of songs some individuals asked for peyote and others asked for water. The water was kept by the fire-chief's side in an ordinary bucket. Occasionally someone would leave the tepee, first getting permission from the road-chief. On re-entering, which was only permissible between sets of songs, the fire-chief cleansed and purified these people by brushing them from the head and shoulders down the arms to the fingers with an eagle feather fan. They then went around the north side of the fire to the altar, where they touched "Father Peyote," and the road-chief brushed them in a similar manner with another eagle feather fan. Then they returned to their places.

About midnight the fire-chief raked the ashes from the fire for the first time. He did this by moving the burning sticks eastward, taking a special peeled stick about six feet long and smoothing out the embers. After they were smoothed, another stick, somewhat longer than the first, was used to divide the ashes along the long axis of the cross, the ashes being formed into two neat piles on either side of the fire. After this was accomplished the fire was returned to its original position, built up, and the whole depression was swept from west to east

[p57 (B)]

796 man of the nation. Once during the six days,
[782] about an hour after night fall, they burn
[824] incense by throwing on the fire in the cen-
ter of the house cedar branches, which fills
the house with smoke and then ascends to
the Great Spirit. If no one repeats the wor-
ship, or when all are done, the people all go
[782] out in Indian file, and facing the east, in a
united voice they thank the Great Spirit for
sparing their lives through the year, and in-
voke him to spare them until the next Gum-
mween.

Comanche NO6
Delaware NM7 ●

Element	Occurrence																				
	Tm	Ar	Gu	Do	Ta	Ki	Ca	Ch	Ar	Ch	Ar	Ch	Ar	Ch	Ar	Ch	Ar	Ch	Ar	Ch	Ar
181. Water bearer spills water on ground		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
182. Bucket passed clockwise, all drink	++	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
183. Devotees rub, sprinkle ("baptize") selves with water		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
184. "Chief peyote," paraphernalia sprinkled		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
185. Water bearer takes water outside		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
186. Makes circuit of altar before removing water			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
187. Drum, staff returned to place they occupied before midnight			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
188. After paraphernalia placed, leader goes outside		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
189. Blows whistle to cardinal directions		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
190. Prays to cardinal directions		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
191. Leader incensed upon return			+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
192. Replaces whistle near moon			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
193. After midnight individual fans, rattles, etc., used			+	+	•+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
194. All urged during meeting to eat as much peyote as possible		•+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
195. Urged not to eat too much		•+	–			–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
196. Individual prayers aloud, by men		+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
197. By women		•+	–		•+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
198. Suppliant first gets tobacco from leader		+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
199. Cigarette lighted with fire stick		+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
200. 4 puffs of smoke blown toward altar at start			+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
201. Butt handed to leader			+	+	(–)	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
202. To cedarman, who blows 4 puffs toward altar			+	–	(–)	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
203. To chief drummer, who blows 4 puffs toward altar			+	–	(–)	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
204. Handed back to leader, who blows 4 puffs toward altar			+	–	(–)	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
205. Prayer by individual followed by one by leader			•+	+	(–)	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
206. No one leaves meeting while anyone is singing, praying, or eating peyote		+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
207. Morning water call (similar procedure to midnight ritual)		+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
208. Water brought in		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
209. By woman		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

(Concluded on next page)

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[796]
[787] ●

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute
Crow NQ10
Delaware NM7

NOTES TO ELEMENT LIST

C D 171 795 796 C [237]

1. Cr 2: Straight stick of any kind or collapsible cane, beaded at joints (Voget).

2. Ab S: "The staff represents a walking cane" (Voegelin). Gos: Made of mountain mahogany by leader himself (Malouf).

3. K-A: Not necessarily (McAllister). Ab S: Deer's tail dyed red (Voegelin). De 1: Staff decorated with feathers, ribbon, and otter skins (Petrullo, 49). Win: Tufts of hair around two joints about a foot from each end of cane. An oval celloluid device 5 inches long with feathers attached around its edge was suspended from the upper joint. Staff was walking stick with crook (Praus). Cr 2: Horsehair among the Crow. Sometimes hair of different animals is used. "People wish for the same type of animal as the hair. It is a sort of wishbone." Crow prefer white horsehair to black. "The old-time Indians say white is the cleanest thing on earth; that is why they use that" (Voget).

4. Ab S: Held by person giving the meeting, at opening of meeting only (Voegelin). Cr 2: Four pieces of sage used; held along with staff. Silvery wide-leafed variety of sage is employed (Voget). WRS: Four pieces of *Artemisia* are tied on (Shimkin).

5. Ab S: Bunch of sage passed around separately at beginning of meeting (Voegelin). WRS: Clockwise, "the same as the world" (Shimkin).

C [533]

9. Cr 2: Man who has his own rattle which suits the pitch of his voice holds leader's rattle in his left hand and rattles his own with his right hand. "Each man does as he wishes in worship." But note that individual rattles not employed until after midnight, apparently out of deference to position of leader. That would be impolite (Voget).

10. Kio: Decoration of gourd proper doubtful. But I have seen "Jesus talk" written on a Comanche gourd (La Barre). Ab S: Gourd itself is stained dark brown with walnut-bark (sic) dye; undecorated otherwise. But handle and projecting end are beaded, tasseled, etc. (Voegelin).

12. Gos: White horsehair at end of handle is not dyed (Malouf). W-P: Feathers also used.

D [533]

13. Cr 1: "Passed with cane" (Voget).

16. De 2: In "Wilson way" meeting members can rattle own rattles any time (Webber). Prohibition on using rattles other than ones used by road chief until midnight (Petrullo, 90, 158). WRS: After drum goes around once, individual rattles may be used (Shimkin).

18. Ab S: Eagle, chicken hawk, parrot, "any kind of bird." Leader did not have special fan that was passed around; each person, including leader, brought and used own fan all night (Voegelin). De 2: Fans and single feathers used in meeting (Webber). See note 3. Cr 2: Any feathers used. Usually eagle tail feathers come out in set of twelve; that is, twelve good feathers found naturally in tail of each bird. "The twelve-feather set represents months of the year; we do not change that" (Voget). WRS: Eagle-wing fan with feathers bound toegether is most common. Fan is of same style as other ceremonial fans (Shimkin).

20. Kio: Buckskin feather sockets not decorated or beaded, but handle is beaded (La Barre).

21. W-P: Leader's fan passed only after midnight.

22. Kio: Leader holds own fan with staff when singing; other men do likewise with their fans when singing (La Barre).

D [534]

24. De 2: Anyone having single feathers or fan can use them any time they wish (Webber).

25. Cr 1: "Used to draw smoke to inhale" (Voget).

D [782] [823]

26. De 2: Whistle not used in "Wilson way" meeting (Webber). Cr 2: Sometimes used four times in course of meeting. Midnight: strong, sharp, long blasts four times. "We make these four long calls in order that the Creator might hear us. That is the way I understand it among the Crows." Right after the water call, leader goes outside tipi, usually whistles in order toward east, south, west, and north, the four parts of the earth. Four blasts are given to each direction, and a prayer is offered. Type of prayer depends upon the leader, "but each corner has something of its own." East: prayer to rising sun, which brings daylight, and to wind, which comes from east, about which all peoples, Indian and white, know. "I do not know what other countries have, but the Montana east wind is harmless." South: prayers offered to those things of the south, for instance, warmth and food. West: setting of the sun brings darkness. Also, certain foods come from the west. "Whatever property is needed from the west [the leader asks for]." North: the same holds for the north; but north wind usually cold, so leader usually asks Creator to control it, keep it not too cold so that animals will not die (Voget).

Comanche NO6
Delaware NM7

C
D
171
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796
D
[276]
[782]

125. Ab S: Sage underneath blankets (Voegelin). WRS: Sage formerly required (Shimkin).

127. Cr 2: Instructions first as to teaching or belief, followed by prayer (Voget).

128. De 2: Leader prepares first prayer cigarette, which is passed around to all (Webber). Cr 2: Cigarette rolled before prayer (Voget). Gos: See note 265a.

130. Ab S: Leader prayed silently while smoking (Voegelin). Cr 1: Tells about purpose of meeting so they may pray (Voget).

132. Cr 1: To "peyote chief," but "just the same as moon" (Voget). Cr 2: Blown toward "chief peyote" (Voget).

133. Ab S: Prayed with bowed heads, eyes closed, men must kneel (Voegelin).

134. De 2: In original Wilson Moon, cigarette butts placed at left side of altar, in front of road chief, but in other Big Moon ceremonies left in front of smoker to be gathered by fire chief (Webber). Cr 2: Those sitting facing convex surface of moon place their cigarette butts against moon; those facing concave side place their butts at point of horns of moon; those north of line between leader and entrance place theirs on north side of altar, and vice versa (Voget). WRS: Butts placed against moon by fire chief and assistant (Shimkin).

135. Cr 1: "Some take sage from seat and rub this on hands" (Voget).

136. K-A: Sage leaves placed under blankets and each person uses his own (McAllister).

137. Cr 2: Informant did not remember any chewing, but it may have happened a long time ago (Voget).

141. K-A: Yes, but at the meetings I attended they "cut the dose," as they termed it, to two, out of consideration for my presence, for they thought I would find it difficult to eat four; and I would have at one time (McAllister). Ab S: At the meeting we attended each was told to take two buttons (Voegelin). WRS: Some take two (Shimkin).

142. K-A: Optional: some do, most do not. Kio: Mode of eating depends on each individual (La Barre). Cr 1: Some. Most simply take it and eat (Voget). WRS: As special sign of respect to Creator (Shimkin).

143. Kio: Mode of eating depends on each individual (La Barre). Cr 1 and 2: Optional (Voget).

144. Cr 1: Four eaten; then they sing. When meeting starts, outfit has to be going [around] all the time (Voget). Cr 2: First four peyote buttons eaten before singing starts (Voget).

145. Gos: See note 265a.

146. Ab S: Leader held paraphernalia in hands; drum chief likewise (Voegelin).

147. Ab S: Leader sprinkled cedar (Voegelin). Cr 2: Chief does the incensing at this point (Voget).

148. Gos: See note 265a.

149. WRS: More than once; number not fixed (Shimkin).

150. K-A: When cedar is placed on the fire, each person symbolically washes himself with it (McAllister).

151. Cr 1: "Just once; so everyone can smell the smoke" (Voget). WRS: Number not fixed (Shimkin).

152. Cr 1: In front of leader (Voget).

154. WRS: Either Shoshone or Arapaho starting song may be used (Shimkin). Gos: See note 265a.

159. Ab S: "The usual number is four, but sometimes men feel so good that they may sing as many as twelve songs" (Voegelin).

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160. De 2: Each man sings, then drums for his neighbor (Petrullo, 91). In Wilson Moon the drum chief and different fire chiefs do all the drumming (Webber). See note 83. W-P: See note 83.

161. K-A: Women attend, but I never saw them participate. I do not know if there is a rule; probably merely a feeling that they should not (McAllister). Cr 2: No rule against women singing (Voget). Gos: I inquired about this especially and they said women used to sing but do not do so any more (Malouf). W-P: Women hold staff, lead singing, drum.

163. De 2: No midnight recess (Petrullo, 42). Midnight water call and recess present in Big Moon cult (Petrullo, 158). Recess only to burn cedar incense for everyone to fan over themselves while standing. Water in meeting all night and can be used any time, but is used with restraint (Webber; Petrullo, 93). Gos: See note 265a. W-P: No fixed song for water calls, or any time.

164. Ab S: Recalls and lays them down (Voegelin). Cr 1: "Chief has to put outfit in front of himself" (Voget).

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165. De 1: Ashes formed into an eagle in one small-moon variant (Petrullo, 78). De 2: Ashes piled on each side of fire to represent the lungs of Jesus. Also formed into a heart (Petrullo, 101, 181). Win: Ashes formed into a moon twice during the ritual and, in addition, formed into a heart twice, the "Morning Star" twice (the second time with lines across two points), a cross (by filling with embers the interspaces of the cross incised on floor), and finally a sun (Praus).

169. De 2: See note 163. Cr 2: By cedarman (Voget).

170. Cr 2: Four blasts on the whistle; then two songs are sung, the first being "fixed" (Voget).

171. WRS: Sometimes twice (Shimkin).

172. De 2: Special water song used to call for fresh water in morning (Petrullo, 93).

173–174: Com and No C: Water handed into lodge by women; put in position by fire chief (Hoebel). Kio: Woman once observed blessing water at midnight (Noon).

176. W-P: Cedarman only sprinkles cedar on fire; no prayer.

177. Ab S: Swings water bucket four times over fire on which cedar has been sprinkled (Voegelin).

180. Cr 1: Drummer both smokes and prays (Voget).

182. Gos: To moisten "mother earth" (Malouf).

186. Cr 2: Makes circuit of room after removing water (Voget).

187. Ab S: Drum and staff were lying beside the leader; he picks up staff at this point and hands it to man on his left, while he goes outside with whistle (Voegelin). Win: During drinking of water at midnight, staff placed upright in hole just west of incised horseshoe, in front of leader (Praus).

188. Win: Drummer goes outside after paraphernalia placed (Praus).

193. Win: Only individual fans used after midnight (Praus). Kio: Only fans (Noon).

194. K-A: No urging; each is expected to be his own judge (McAllister). Kio: Depends on leader and age of those to whom he is talking (La Barre). Cr 1: "Chief tells them to eat all they wish, but it is up to the individual. Free will, you know. He does not coax to fill them up, or not to" (Voget). Gos: Urged to eat as much as desired (Malouf).

195. Kio: Depends on leader and age of those to whom he is talking (La Barre). Ute: In "old Sioux way" devotees urged not to eat too much; usually eat only four buttons.

196. Kio: As designated by leader (La Barre). De 2: Road man usually announces that anyone wishing to pray through a cigarette may do so after midnight, but some leaders do not approve of individual prayers (Webber).

197. Kio: As designated by leader (La Barre). Kio: Exceptional. Only when woman is close friend of family of person being treated. Spiritual value of prayers of friends is greater (Noon).

198. W-P: For special individual prayers, leader rolls the cigarettes, to which he adds ground sage leaves. See note 57 Ab S.

201. De 2: Road chief lighted and puffed cigarette before handing it to individual for his prayer; then this chief puffed it and prayed following individual (Petrullo, 93). Cr 2: It might be handed to anyone (Voget).

202. No C: Instead of to cedarman, butt handed to fire chief, who blows four puffs toward altar (Hoebel).

205. Kio: Procedure not rigid. Leader may run this differently at each meeting (La Barre). W-P: Leader occasionally but not usually prays following individual prayers.

206. Kio: May leave between a man's four songs, if gets leader's permission. Prescribed etiquette for passing before smokers and eaters (La Barre). Cr 1 and 2: Permissible to leave any time, if necessary (Voget). Gos: No one left during songs, but several went outside during prayers in early morning (Malouf).

207. De 2: Fixed water call in morning for fire chief to bring pail of fresh water, replacing that which had been in meeting all night. (Petrullo, 93, 102). All blessings by road chief in Big Moon variant (Webber; Petrullo, 102). Win: No water brought into meeting in morning (Praus). Gos: See note 265a.

209. De 2: See note 207.

210. De 2: Road chief blesses water (Webber).

212–213. De 2: No peyote breakfast (Petrullo, 94). Peyote breakfast present in all Big Moon variants (Petrullo, 157). As a rule, at "Wilson way" meeting no peyote breakfast served; instead candy, refreshments served, especially if among rich Oklahoma Indians (Webber). Win:

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Food eaten outside without special ceremony after meeting (Praus). Cr 1: "If breakfast ready, she [woman water carrier] brings it in; if not, fire chief brings it in later" (Voget).

215. No C: In absence of corn, Cracker Jack (a brand of candied popcorn) used. Boiled raisins and rice used as fruit (Hoebel). WRS: Order varied; fruit sometimes last (Shimkin). Gos: See note 265a. Taos: Rice sometimes used in place of maize (Parsons).

216. No C: See note 215 for use of rice. Gos: According to my Washo-Paiute informants, Goshute boiled rice instead of corn at times. W-P: Fruit (canned peaches, salad mixture) sometimes served before boiled rice.

217. Ab S: Fruit was home-canned blackberries (Voegelin).

219. Cr 1: "Just cooked corn; if do not have it, use canned corn" (Voget). WRS: May be canned corn (Shimkin).

220. Ab S: Red and white striped peppermint stick candy, broken into inch pieces (Voegelin). De 2: See note 212. Cr 1: "Not here, but I hear those south boys use it" (Voget). WRS: For special ceremonies—Christmas, Easter, etc. (Shimkin).

221. Cr 1 and 2: Individual selected especially for blessing food (Voget).

222. De 2: Exit from tipi at dawn to wash and greet sun, then return to tipi until dinner (Petrullo, 93).

223-225. De 2: Drum untied and paraphernalia put away after blessing and before eating dinner at noon (Petrullo, 94). Win: Paraphernalia put away after blessing of dinner at noon (Praus). Gos: See note 265a. Taos: After breakfast, singing continues until paraphernalia reach chief (Parsons).

226. No C: Water tasted on drumstick (Hoebel).

227. WRS: Recently discontinued (Shimkin).

228. Ab S: Poured on west side of moon (Voegelin). Win: Water from drum sprinkled on four interspaces of cross (incised on floor of fireplace) which had been filled with live embers by the fire chief (Praus).

234. Kio: Usually handed by fireman to woman or women helpers (La Barre).

235. De 2: Meeting continues until noon (Petrullo, 94; Webber).

236. Kio: No formal lining up to greet sun. May be individual wordless "greetings" (La Barre). De 2: Devotees file out of tipi and line up facing sun, at dawn (Petrullo, 93, 97). At exactly noon, leader gazes at sun and worships sun and blesses food (Webber).

237. Kio: May or may not return to tipi. Those with photophobic eyes seek shade either in tipi, under "shade," or under "tree" (La Barre).

238. K-A: Tipi dismantled, but altar simply left; no longer sacred, but not intentionally destroyed (McAllister). Kio: Depends on leader (La Barre). Cr 1: "Tipi might be taken down in evening, leaving altar way it is" (Voget).

240. Ab S: Bible not used, but I was told that it is used among the "Loyal" or Cherokee Shawnee of northeastern Oklahoma. Some among the Cherokee Shawnee take peyote "according to the Bible way . . . like those Ioways." The "Bible way" peyote takers are "against" old native religious ceremonies and dances, which is not the case among the Absentee (Voegelin).

250. Kio: Before the blessing of the water takes place, the food is outside the tipi back of the prayer. When it is set up for "peyote breakfast" it is between prayer and water (La Barre).

251-265. These elements are thus defined by Petrullo (1934, 154-58). Win: Jesus mentioned in all prayers (Praus). WRS: damê apê (Our [inclusive] Father). One informant used the exclusive form nî'mê apê (Shimkin.)

252. Gos: Prayers addressed to God, Jesus Christ, Mary, and Peyote (Maloof).

253. Ab S: "God sent the peyote for man to worship" (Voegelin).

254. Win: Meeting I attended was held to thank Jesus for the recovery of two women (Praus).

255. Kio: Some say so, some not (La Barre).

260. Ab S: Purification not stressed, but in line with all I heard about peyote (Voegelin).

261. W-P: Modifications were made, but there was no claim that they were based on revelations.

262. Kio: True of all American Indian religions about which I know, possibly of all approaches to all gods and spirits in all religion (maybe this is one of the definitions of religion!) (La Barre). Ab S: I should say so! "We are pitiful people" (Voegelin).

263. Kio: Like Calvin Coolidge's preacher, the Kiowa are "against sin" too; I don't know what else this element means (La Barre).

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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their solemn sacrifices. These religious ceremonies are not always performed in the same manner. I had intended to have given some details upon this subject, but I find that it has been almost exhausted by other writers,* although I will not pretend to say that they are correct on every point. But I do not wish to repeat things which have already been told to the world over and over. Therefore, if on some subjects, relating to the manners and customs of the Indians, I should be thought to have passed over too quickly, and not to have sufficiently entered into particulars, let it be understood that I have done so to avoid the repetition of what others have said, although I am afraid I have been inadvertently guilty of it in more than one instance. I would not presume to communicate my little stock of knowledge, if I did not think that it will add something to what is already known.

I do not recollect that it has already been mentioned, that previous to entering upon the solemnity of their sacrifices, the Indians prepare themselves by vomiting, fasting, and drinking decoctions from certain prescribed plants. This they do to expel the evil which is within them, and that they may with a pure conscience attend to the *sacred performance*, for such they consider it. Nor is the object of those sacrifices always the same; there are sacrifices of prayer and sacrifices of thanksgiving, some for all the favours received by them and their ancestors from the great Being, others for special or particular benefits. After a successful war they never fail to offer up a sacrifice to the great Being, to return him thanks for having given them courage and strength to destroy or conquer their enemies.

* See Loskiel, part 1. ch. 3.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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881 and guards her so that none may see her... she is also kept within the hut the whole of the menstrual period, with the blanket over her head...."[45] De Vries also noted that these girls hid behind a garment "which they throw over their body drawing it over the head so that one can barely [783] see their eyes."[47] The emphasis during menstruation was on uncleanliness and the necessity of isolation from society.[48] A girl could not touch her hair during her first isolation, food was eaten with a stick, and no meat was eaten.[49] In the last century, and perhaps earlier, a girl could not look in a mirror or talk to people (N.D.). At the end of the seclusion the girl's mother washed her hair, bathed her, and gave her new clothes. The idea was impressed upon the girl that she was now a woman and was henceforth to give up the toys and activities of childhood.[50] The same general restrictions applied to menstruating women.[51]

836 548 Little is known about premarital chastity in early historic times. Denton said, however: "Any maid before she is married doth lie with whom she please for money without any scandal, or the least aspersion to be cast upon her it being so customary, & their laws tolerating it."[52]

Marriage

582 884 After the boys had proved themselves to be adequate hunters and the girls had passed through their first seclusion, they were considered ready for marriage. This took place at about the age of seventeen or eighteen for boys and thirteen or fourteen for girls.[53] A girl showed her marriageability by wearing some sort of headpiece and by modestly covering the face with a portion of clothing when in public.[54] De Vries [301] said further that girls "deck themselves with a quantity of zeewan [wampum] upon the body, head and neck; they then go and sit in some place, in company with some squaws, showing that they are up for a bargain."[55]

584 Several different ways of arranging marriages and several types of marriage ceremony have been recorded for the Delawares. Some of this variety was probably due to diffusion from other Indian cultures or from Euro-American civilization, but it was also possible that there were variations among the diverse Delawaran peoples. Four seventeenth-century sources stated that girls were courted with wampum.[56] In later times, at least, relatives or go-betweens arranged the marriage. According to Heckewelder the prospective bridegroom's mother usually initiated the negotiations; according to Trowbridge the father of the

[45] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 77.
[47] De Vries, 1909, p. 218; also Loskiel, 1794, p. 56.
[48] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 77; N.D., O.A.
[49] Penn, 1912, p. 232.
[50] N.D. See section on Mythology in Chap. IV for an account of a girl who refused to part with her dolls.
[51] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 77.
[52] Denton, 1845, p. 8.
[53] Penn, 1912, p. 231; Holm, 1834, pp. 127-28; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 75; Loskiel, 1794, p. 63.
[54] De Vries, 1909, p. 218; Pastorius, 1912, p. 434; Penn, 1912, p. 231.
[55] De Vries, 1909, p. 218.
[56] *Ibid.*; De Rasieres, 1909, p. 106; Denton, 1845, p. 9; Van der Donck, 1656, p. 202.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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765 days after burial (J.T.). The modern funerary feast may not be entirely representative of the aboriginal custom but it probably is a fairly accurate reflection of it.[111] These annual feasts are held at the home of the mourning relative and not at the cemetery. Friends and relatives eat, pray, and talk about the departed. Some person, unrelated to the deceased, is especially invited. (Trowbridge also noted this custom.) This guest, who has to be younger than the deceased at the time of death, but of the same sex, must sample all the foods which were favorites of the deceased. The feast, it is said, benefits the dead since the food the stand-in eats satisfies the spiritual appetite of the dead. The stand-in is not paid for his services (J.T., O.A.).

765 Another adjunct to funeral customs of the modern period, and perhaps one which existed in an earlier period, consists of rites of purification. 783 Following a funeral, the immediate family burns a handful of sweet grass on the grave (O.A.). The members of the family also purify themselves by washing the arms, hands, and face with water and then symbolically rubbing the smoke from burned cedar leaves over these same parts. With cedar smoke they also purify the rooms of the dwelling where the person died. This is said to repel the soul of the departed if it should attempt to return (O.A., J.T., N.D.).

764 It seems reasonable to assume that prior to European contact the Delawares varied somewhat in their funerary rites. De Vries, for example, alluded to a form of secondary burial, but this cannot be specifically associated with the Delawares.[112] This account mentioned a funeral feast and the erection of four poles and shelves upon the grave. Lindestrom also described a grave upon which four poles were raised:[113]

> The dead man's money is placed upon him and he is set down in the pit upon the stool with a tobacco pipe, a fathom long, in his mouth, screwed together with leather, the head of green or black stone, which is lighted through by the fire in the pipe, so that we can see how the tobacco is consumed, and this pipe-head is so large that a handful of tobacco will go into it, which is to be his food on the journey. This pipe they dig down into the ground from the mouth of the man.[114]

Thomas mentioned that the bones of celebrated persons were carried considerable distances to be reinterred near their homes. Perhaps this is a reference to the well-known secondary burial of the Nanticokes.[115]

762 Suicide.—It has already been noted that suicide was a means of punishing an adulterous spouse. Heckewelder knew of four persons who committed suicide between 1771 and 1780; all were men and all ate the root of the May apple. Three were successful, and the other was given an emetic and survived. Two of the men committed suicide because of thwarted love lives; the other two were married to adulterous women.[116] Trowbridge early in the nineteenth century mentioned that suicide was

[111] Speck, 1937, p. 59, has discussed "Sacrifice Feasts" of which funeral feasts are an example and noted that their "ancient character is exhibited by the fact of [their] wide distribution in similar form over the entire territory inhabited by Algonkin-speaking peoples."

[112] De Vries, 1909, pp. 223-24.

[113] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 250.

[114] *Ibid.*, p. 249.

[115] Thomas, 1912, p. 340.

[116] Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 258-60.

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
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WOMEN'S NIGHT

The twelfth night is reserved for the women to relate their visions; but before they begin, the speaker orders the attendants to burn cedar-leaves in the two fires, and the people are supposed to inhale the smoke and purify themselves. Then two women are ordered to take, one a little bark dish (*a"sipta'gän*) of red paint (fig. 13), the other a similar

FIG. 13.—Paint-dish of bark, used at the Annual Ceremony. (Length, 2.2 in.)

vessel of grease, and the two start from the door on the north side of the Temple and go to each person present. One dips her fingers in the paint and touches the color to the person's left cheek, while her companion similarly annoints the person's head with a little of the grease. This done, two men attendants take the bark vessels and paint and grease in the

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
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none of it could be taken outside during the ceremony.

Purification.—When the two fires had been built, but before the crowd had gathered, the house was purified by the smoke of hemlock boughs thrown on the flames, and by sweeping the floor with turkey-wing fans, which cleared away both dirt and evil influences.

OPENING OF THE CEREMONY

Chief's Speech.—The next step was for the attendants to call in all the people from their camps except the women in their menses who were not allowed to enter. When all were seated, the speaker rose and addressed those assembled in terms like the following:

"We are now gathered here, our house is purified and clean, and Pa"tămawas is with us, ready to hear our worship. We must thank Him for all the things that we enjoy, for He made them every one." Then he proceeded to tell the people not to drink liquor, nor to do anything wrong in the Big House or in

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
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"They kept annual feasts:—. . . a feast of first fruits which they do not permit themselves to taste until they have made an offering of them to the manitu-oo-al, or gods; . . . There is one of the greatest sacrifice offerings of our forefathers every six months for cleansing themselves from sin; they will have twelve deers to be consumed in one day and night. At the great feast of the offerings of the first fruits of the earth, which feast the Delawares or Munceys hold annually, they brought a little of all that they raised, such as Indian corn, or hweisk-queem, potatoes, beans, pumpkins, squashes, together with the deer. The Indian women were busily engaged in cooking their provisions, previous to the commencement of their exercises. They invited all strangers into a long pagan temple prepared for such purposes, there is a door at each end—one opening to the east, and one opening to the west. On entering, they with all the Indians were seated on the ground around two fires; in the center of the temple was a large post, around which was suspended a number of deer skins, and wampum is kept buried at the foot of this post. Near the post sat two Indian singers, each with a large bundle of undressed deer skins which served as drums. There were two young men appointed to watch the doors and keep the fires burning, the doors being closed. Each of the young men brought an armful of hemlock boughs, which being thrown

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on the fires smothered them and caused a great smoke. In order that the smoke might fill every corner of the temple, each man waved his blanket over the fire; this was done with the idea of purifying the temple and driving out the evil spirits. After the smoke had subsided, the master of ceremonies, an old chief, rose and began to rattle a turtle shell he had in his hand. He delivered a speech to the people telling them the object of the meeting was to thank the great spirit for the growth and ripening of the corn. When he finished his speech he began to dance, sing and rattle the shell, the two singers joining in, beating on their skins. When he took his seat he handed the shell to the next person, who performed in the same way, thus it went from one to the other all night. The purport of their speeches was to recount the mercies of the Great Spirit to them during the past year, and telling any remarkable dreams that they had had. In the course of the night a number of them went out the west door, making a wailing noise to the moon, and came in again the east door. In the morning the meat and soup were divided amongst the people.

"These feasts often lasted twelve days and twelve nights, and the Indians call it nee-shaw-neechk-togho-quanoo-maun, or ween-da-much-teen. No drinking or improper conduct is allowed. The utmost solemnity prevails."

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7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
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This motive would be insufficient, even a sacrilege. The spiritual preparation of its participants was made a matter of prime importance and the purity of those concerned in it was to be insisted upon. Joe Washington has since felt that these serious injunctions were of so drastic a character that until the present time they could not be complied with. It seems, therefore, that there is little prospect for anything more than a dictated version to be obtained, which will have to await necessary support for its accomplishment.

Upon the occasion of my expedition to the Delawares in Oklahoma some time was spent in interviews with Tom Half Moon [1] who had had experience as an attendant, or *a'ckas*, of the Big House Ceremony as performed in recent years by his group, the Turkey group. The notes offered are, therefore, advantageous in respect to the details furnished by one who had the teachings directly from those who were responsible for its proper conduct. These notes should accordingly serve as a supplement to that section of the ceremony published in the Big House Ceremony volume dealing with the duties of the attendants. They are in effect as follows:

The attendants who sweep the White Path, or the path around which the dancers proceed when performing in the Big House after each dance, do so with turkey wings, using only the left hand in holding the fans, since the left hand is the holy hand, the right the unholy. The male attendants start sweeping at opposite ends from the women. When they have swept the dancing path twelve times they have cleared away the obstacles of an unfavorable spiritual nature lying between the worshippers and the Great Spirit. As was noted in the published account, the attendants each receive a yard of wampum at the end of the ceremony. He also noted that those who attended the ceremony received two wampum beads each to be kept by them as tokens of good fortune until the next performance. These beads were, he added, held in the mouth as sacred objects when the members went outside

[1] His Delaware title-name is *Axkwe'lpaqqo'xuv*, "Overturns Mountains when Walking," a member of the Turkey group.

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MISCELLANEOUS RITES

The Scratching Rite for Warriors

In the nature of an ordeal by which the man of strength showed his courage when preparing to go to war or to enter one of the physical contests, we learn that he scratched himself on the body. In the same operation he purified himself. Tradition is vague on the details, but in this rite we meet with one that is of apparently southern origin in view of its almost universal observance among the Indians of the southeastern or Gulf area. Our information does not permit of much discussion of the spiritual or physical qualities of this heroic practice, therefore it will have to stand simply as an occurrence to be noted in the study of distribution of the scratching rite as one of therapeusis and purification. It is called *le'həli·k'ci·'k·an*, "scratching."

The rite is mentioned by Lindeström as practiced medicinally by the Delawares in the middle of the seventeenth century for the purpose of relieving pain and fatigue after a strenuous journey, and also as a means of preventing them before one.[1] A piece of flint was the scarifying agent. *Wi·tapano'xwe* had heard that a fish bone had also been used, but there were no particulars given as to how the instrument was constructed.[2]

In 1756 John McCullough was held captive by the Delawares and adopted by them. During his captivity he observed many customs of importance. Among them he writes of being subjected to a punishment intended for mischievous boys in which the miscreant was scratched on the thighs and legs with the bill of a gar-fish wrapped in a thin rag so that the teeth projected through. Sometimes, he added, if punishment were merited a second or third time, the corrector would score the boys from the top of the shoulder down to the wrists and again from each shoulder to the hip, forming a

[1] Lindeström, *op. cit.*, 244. (Ed. A. Johnson, Philadelphia, 1925.)

[2] Bone scarifiers are known to the Cherokee and Catawba of the Carolinas.

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
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302 mixed with tallow. The reason given for this action was to
788 impress the Great Spirit with the fact that his people were up and about and observant of cleanliness and good appearance as they went about their tasks,—in short, that they were consciously alive and mindful of their obligations toward the rules of life taught by him.

788 Children were awakened about sunrise and instructed to
869 wash their faces at once so that the Great Spirit would see that they were not lazy but ready and prepared for the day's duties. Young people were, moreover, advised to lift their feet nicely when they walked, and to find constantly something to do to engage their time in occupations that would be helpful to their parents and others. These monitions were also backed by the instructions that the Great Spirit would find them meritorious in conduct and reward them with a long and happy life. The present members of the nation who were brought up in such practices lament deeply the indifference of members of the present generation in such matters, attributing the decline of their people to failure in observing the teachings which made their ancestors powerful and respected.

788 A rite recorded of the Delawares of former times was the
515 washing of youths each morning in clear running water, preferably that of streams, both in winter and summer, suggestive of a "river-cult." We hear of this habit frequently in the narratives of Delaware history when the tribe resided in the East. It seems to have been insisted upon generally for youths,[6] even enforced upon white boys who had been taken captive and adopted in the Nation, as we see in the following narrative.

727 To have spoken of personal purification by immersion in
● 783 the water of streams leads to a more formal method of washing away defilement by the same means. Referring to John McCullough, who in 1776 wrote of his experiences while living as a captive with the then hostile Delawares, we are told of his enforced "conversion" to paganism at the hands

[6] An interesting resume of Delaware practices in the training of youths and warriors is given in the account of a Delaware author who describes the daily plunge into the river by boys undergoing the course of training in pairs. Cf. R. C. Adams, "Legends of the Delaware Indians," Washington, D. C., 1905, p. 26.

7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

of his masters. Two young men take him into a canoe, 727
seizing him by the wrists, plunging him over head and ears 783
under the water and holding him down until he was almost smothered before letting him get breath. After repeating this treatment several times they took him out, dressed him in a ruffed shirt, shaved his head, provided him with a "roach," painted him, and told him he was then an Indian. Later his Indian "uncle" would waken him at daylight and make him sit down in the creek up to his chin. This was to make him hardy. He was, moreover, not allowed to go near the fire until he became dry.[7]

They followed the habit of securing a prosperous future 844
for the young hunter by placing his umbilicus in the tracks 789
of a deer, a magical observance based on a widespread native concept of spiritual sympathy. Again, the umbilicus would be placed in the water to cause the growing youth to acquire power as a swimmer.

THE CONSANGUINITY OF TRIBES

The Delawares, like other eastern peoples,[8] consider them- 619
selves to stand in certain genealogical relationships with 648
neighboring tribes, as though they all constituted a great family,—some members older, some younger, lineal and collateral, and some in between as respects age and maturity. These relationships function in ceremonial gatherings wherein other tribes are concerned, and they are accepted without dispute among themselves. In the older accounts much stress was laid upon this feature of native life, and it seemed to form an important consideration in treaty negotiations that took place among the eastern and central tribes, giving precedence in authority to certain ones over others. From various sources we learn that the Delawares held a position of seniority among them. This fact may develop into one of some value in coördinating the position of the different groups and perhaps in throwing light on the historical sequence

[7] Loudon, *op. cit.*, pp. 260–261.

[8] The Wabanaki peoples, for instance, entertain a similar concept of tribal consanquinity, in which system they consider the Ottawa to be their grandfathers and among themselves the Micmac as their younger brothers (F. G. Speck, The Eastern Algonkian Confederacy, American Anthropologist, vol. 17, no. 3, 1915, pp. 499, 505).

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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visible noticing all their actions, which he communicates to the next deity and so from one to the other until it is communicated to the Supreme being. 776

CAPTAIN PIPE—With the Indian (these Indians) all animals, and even animated nature, Trees, plants, etc., are considered as beings having supernatural powers. This is proved to be a serious belief by the great distinction in the language, which included trees, plants and some vegetables in the class of animated beings, and by the superstitious notions of these men, who having been prepared by excessive fatigue, long fasting and harsh treatment [783] from parents, for some unnatural excitement of the mind, dream, or fancy that they dream of seeing their guardian god coming [781] to them in the form of a Bear, Wolf, the Sun, the Moon, a Tree, etc., and directing them about their future conduct. Such [787] dream no doubt has great effect during the life of its subject, and in his private worship all his songs are descriptive of some of the events which he saw in his dream. He often repeats them and does not fail to attribute his success to the deity whose wonderful appearance had foretold his good fortune, or any mishap [788] to his own bad conduct which incensed his guardian.

23. Evil spirits

JOHN JOHNSTON—They believe in but one evil spirit which is the devil. They suppose him to have been created holy, but he being proud spirited was not willing to acknowledge the creation of all things to the supreme being but contended that he had created the bad and the dispute arose to such a degree that the devil took a disgust and plunged himself from heaven into the earth where he remains to this day and that is the reason (they say) why guilty folk always look down. 776 773

CAPTAIN PIPE—Much of their unhappiness and misfortune is attributed to the evil spirits of which there are many. They are called *Maatseetseet Maunutoowuk*, (Those who are bad Spirits) but are not distinguished by particular appellations. 776

CAPTAIN CHIPPS—They believe that "there is a devil, or there would not be so many wicked in the world,"—where he lives they cannot determine.

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The Delawares determine, by the position of the stars, when to gather herbs for medicine, for they believe that the position of the stars and the moon informs them when the medical properties of the herb may be found in the branches or in the roots. The time to plant crops in the spring was likewise determined by the phases of the moon and the position of the stars. At a certain time when the moon and stars are in the correct relation to each other the Delawares know that the wild animals breed and that fish go up-stream. Persons born under certain changes of the moon are said to be affected by certain periodic diseases such as epilepsy and fits. The gathering of material for the making of baskets depends upon the time of year. In order that hides be made into durable leather the animals must be killed at the right time of year. The same is true in regard to killing hogs, for unless the animals are killed in the right quarter of the moon the meat will not keep. Likewise fruit, according to the Delaware must be picked at a certain phase of the moon or else it will rot. Celestial phenomena, the manitu of the skies, rule numerous phases of Delaware life.

THE CONCEPT OF PURITY AND DEFILEMENT.—It is most interesting to note a distinct attitude of reverence toward the phenomena of nature which are uncontaminated by the mechanistic hand of man. Nature itself is denoted by a term which may be recognized universally as an accepted definition: te'kəneɔ'sːu, "wild life, creation" in the liberal sense. This refers to creatures and phenomena brought into existence and controlled by the power of the Great Spirit. From nature's category the products of human invention are excluded. Thus it is the realm of pure nature with which the Delaware fundamentalist finds himself in accord. It supplies his needs, it satisfies his emotions, engages spiritual concern, becoming literally the element in which his whole life is framed. To deviate from the processes of nature, in thought and act, is sacrilege to him, to limit himself to its sphere is a sacred obligation passed down to him from his forefathers barring him off from the hazards of change and alteration in his conduct of life, and particularly in the performance of his religious duties. The Delaware fundamentalist is truly a conservative. By the mandates of his own creed he ought to be indeed a reactionary. And similar sentiment seems forthcoming from other Algonkian doctrinaries, hence we may assume it to be an ancient property of the race. Its lament is the necessity to depart from the ancient nature-bound practices, through the measure of force exerted by changes which age and time bring about.[1]

[1] This characteristic is often likened by them to the precepts of Christ, to whose example they refer with sympathy, and with the conviction that they are by nature his followers.

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A sharp distinction is drawn between that group of animals considered pure and undefiled in the spiritual sense and the group that has become contaminated through the modification of its diet and behavior brought about by domestication, in brief, wild animals as against the domesticated. The wild creatures are defined as being pure, clean, undefiled, the term used to describe them being pi'tai·. It is these which the Delaware observant may resort to for food, and for materials required in his economic life, and with them he has spiritual associations.[1] The domestic animals belonging to the white man's realm do not fit in his scheme of things, as they have not been fashioned by the Great Spirit to suit the needs of his red people.[2] It has been difficult indeed for the Delaware doctrinists to adjust the sweeping changes brought about in the economic life of the tribe, in the process of Europeanization, to a creed which pronounces the innovations from an alien world to be defilements. The disappearance of the wild animals, the compulsion of substituting their meat, their materials with those of a pastoral-agricultural civilization have, in the belief of the people, been the cause of their social and physical decline. They consider themselves to be losing vitality in proportion to their departure from old and natural or wilderness ways.[3] Accordingly we find the statement made that the deer, the elk, the bison, the antelope, and other wild animals are not only clean and "pure," but that they are man·i't·u. This we may note, in brief, is a most positive characteristic of Delaware belief.

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This distinction is supported by evidence well expressed by Zeisberger. "They regard the Europeans as a peaceable people, created of God to live according to their own manners and customs, even as the Indians have been created to live in their fashion, especially to sustain themselves by means of the chase. They think it contrary to the will of the deity to adopt, themselves, the manner of living peculiar to Europeans, pointing to fish, animals and birds as each having their characteristic habits. Each creature, bear, deer, or other animals, continues to live in its own way, and it has never yet been observed that an animal has adopted the habits of another. The same principle, they hold, applies to Indians and Europeans."[4]

for the realm of undefiled Nature the Delaware has a definite abstract term, te'koneau's·uwak·an literally "wilderness life."

[1] Heckewelder, op. cit., p. 196. In his account we note that the Mohican and Shawnee are very particular in their choice of meat.

[2] The preordained destiny of the Delawares to live as hunters and that of the whites to farm and domesticate is brought out in matter well presented by Heckewelder (op. cit., p. 187).

[3] It may be added that a corresponding idea of clean versus unclean animals is predominant among other Algonkian groups. Correspondence to the Delaware term pilsi may be noted with the same significance in Wabanaki, pils-, Algonquin pi'nsi·.

[4] Zeisberger, op. cit., p. 121.

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Not only are wild animals pure in contrast with domestic brutes in the sense embraced by the term, but youths who have completed the puberty vigil and acquired their guardian spirit are also pi·'lsi·t, "clean, uncontaminated, spiritually purified," as opposed to those who have not. For instance one of the signs denoting the transition from pre-adolescence in boys to the "purity of manhood" is in the voice. They say that the youth is expected to remain in solitude during his vigil until his voice has changed completely, by which time he is then pi·'lsi·t. It will be noticed also that the term is applied to fire made by the pump-drill at the Big House ceremony, pi·'lsi·t' ta'·n·da', "clean fire," the unadulterated new fire made without matches or other unclean materials; the latter being cewa'·n·akwi· ta'·n·da', "white man's fire," or mat·a pi·'ltak, "not pure." The sacred character of pure fire is shown in its honorific synonym muχo'·mson·a, "our grandfather," the source of healing.

Spiritual purity, however, is not conditioned by ethical conduct, but rather (like the Hebraic takor) through the observance of taboo regulations prescribed by ancient rulings.[1] Foremost among these are the restrictions placed upon the freedom of women in their catamenial periods, and the carrying out of dietary usages based upon the classification of animals as clean and unclean. Another evidence of the individual being spiritually pure is to have been blessed with a vision bestowed by a supernatural power. Such individuals are pi·'lsi· in a high degree. They are indeed the mainstays of the Big House ceremony. They are in blessed communion with the man·i't·u, bringing into the Big House their spiritual media, the controls under which their destinies are moulded. Again to be pi·'lsi· is to have gone through all the native teachings. And to live with a guileless character, child-like, is sufficient to entitle a man or woman (irrespective of marriage or celibacy) to be referred to as pi·'lsi·t lən'·o "pure, clean, man," or pi·'lsi·t xkwe'', "pure, clean, woman," as a child is pi·'lsi·t mi·'mas. The above may serve to outline at least the Delaware concept of personal holiness and unholiness as it is expounded in the text.

BEING BLESSED WITH A VISION. THE PERFORMERS IN THE CEREMONY. The main active parts in the ceremony are performed by those who have been blessed with revelations by spiritual-forces, the man·i't·u. These are the pure men, and also in a minor rôle, the pure women. The word element aŋg'o[a] seems to be the generic designation for the condition of being blessed with a spiritual revelation through a vision. By this is meant the visitation from some man·i't·u coming at some period in the life of the individual who is spiritually deserving from the point of view of his reverence for spiritual forces for his observance of the arbitrary rulings of religious doctrine, and adherence to logically

[1] A taboo is denoted by the term kwul·a·'gan, "something forbidden."

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their faces with red, "it being the token of their joy as the other is of their grief."

The dichromatic pattern, black and red, seems to stand out with prominence in the painting of the human face and its carved representations in the whole eastern portion of North America from Maine to the Gulf of Mexico. An explanation, often sought for by direct inquiry among the Indians, and again based upon hypothesis, has never seemed forthcoming. In the preceding remarks on the use of black among the Delawares, and again through implied reasoning, I would venture to suggest, lies a plausible explanation of the pattern of red and black. The red symbolizes living beings, the black dead, both idea and symbol having a deep grounding in the religious philosophy of the eastern part of the continent.

To illustrate some of the color patterns affected by the Delawares during the Big House ceremony, the narrator of the text made the accompanying color sketches (figure). The patterning permissible in the ceremony is normally restricted to black and red put on in larger masses rather than in fine lines. The mass designs are thought to be sombre, dignified; in short, full-dress in character, and, a note of no little significance, more ancient.

The smaller, fine-line designs placed on the cheeks or in the narrow area between the outer corner of the eye and the temple are regarded as being more modern, secular in character. These are considered too profane for the purpose of worship, and to wear them during the Big House ceremony would be out of keeping with the gravity of the occasion. The fine-line designs are regarded as being suitable for dress-up events of a social nature and for social dances. They belong also to the garb of warriors, like the wearing of the roach head-ornament and the feather bonnet. A series of examples of the fine line of warriors' face patterns for cheeks and temples are shown in figures , as observed and remembered by the informant. An analogy exists between the patterns adopted by warriors and the markings on the face of the rattlesnake and even the turtles. In both cases the patterns are thought ominous, which seems to account for their exclusion from the ceremonial category of designs. Painting on the face representing markings on turtles' or rattlesnakes' faces are called aca'co which means "slitting or cutting in the skin," in Delaware.[1]

THE SWEATING RITE.—At an earlier period of Delaware history, it is said in the text, before the evacuation of the tribal haunts in Kansas (1867) the performance of a sweating ceremony seems to have been included in the annual ceremony. Harrington has notes on this procedure for which he received the name muxhatoL'xing from his

[1] In Montagnais-Naskapi, aca'jo denotes tatooing.

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informants. He choses to regard this rite as another form of the annual ceremony, and supposes this to have been a tribal variation arising through the incorporation of alien features at the instigation of Munsee or Nanticoke adopted by the Delawares.[1] Zeisberger has an account referring to a sweating ceremony of a similar nature to that described by Harrington. The designation applied to it by Zeisberger is "machtuxin",[2] which he rendered "to perspire."

Witapano'xwe secured the following description of the sweating-ceremony from aged living Indians in the Nation on the occasion of his visit home in 1929, and I give it as a supplement to what has already been published by others concerning it;

"The sweat-house performance does not belong to the regular annual ceremony of the Big House although it was formerly held in the Big House. It was a distinct ceremony lasting eight days held by the tribe when it was living in Kansas, before they moved to their present location in Oklahoma in 1867. When this ceremony was first held it was meant to determine who could withstand the greatest punishment by heat and steam. A large wigwam made of twelve poles bent together at the top and covered with hides. Opposite the door a number of pieces of wood and bark are arranged so that the wigwam will not catch fire. During the eight days of the ceremony hot rocks are placed in the wigwam and twelve men, each having had a vision so receiving supernatural power, are selected from the tribe to enter the wigwam where they sing their songs. Many of the men in the trial become weak and succumb to the heat while others withstand the punishment until the last man has finished his song. These men are always considered as being medicine men or healers. The ceremony is held just before sun set.

"The Lenape or Delawares are looked upon as the doctors and an older tribe, in fact as the "grandfathers" of all other tribes. The Indian doctors are known as *ma-ta-en-no* (mətə'inu) meaning a man who possesses supernatural healing power. Some times these men are warriors as well as healers."

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[1] Harrington I, pp. 122-6.

[2] Zeisberger, p. 138-9. This verb denoting dancing of ceremonial character appears as machtoga, probably the Munsee form (Brinton, p. 69) meaning "to perspire" being a symbolical dance held in honor of the "grandfather," fire. The number twelve appeared as an allegory in the dance. maxta'ken (machtogen, Brinton, Lenape Dict., p. 69) "to fight" is probably the Munsee related form, while Mohegan-Pequot, mata'ga "dance" evidently rounds out the evidence that it denoted among the early eastern Algonkian a superior dance performance associated with fire, struggle, and purification by sweating, and war preparation.

The term machtuxin given by Zeisberger seems to be a shortened equivalent, maχtuw'ingw, of the expression muχk'χoltuw'ingw, "staying until one is sweated red." Both terms are intelligible to the speakers of the Delaware language today. Lindeström (1654-6) describes the sweat-bath in familiar terms (A. Johnson, Geographia Americae, 1925, p. 257).

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tion it lies extended. And the doors are opposite each other. Right here in the direction of the sun-set, it is the rule that the Bringer-in come, bringing the ceremony into the House.

Everything was provided for the Delawares in the Gamwing. There was also wampum supplied by rule, it is said. Each person gives one shoulder-length for helping to prepare this food and also for when they pay the Attendants. And, so it is said, the Attendant is pleasing to him our father the Great Spirit, even the Creator.

When the workers[1] purify everything,[2] these women with the Attendants, it can not be conceived how sacredly valuable those labors are. It has been destined for the Delaware that that very wampum he uses becomes his heart. And moreover when purchasing food, or when anything of value is bought, he employs wampum. And then a quantity is gathered. Here at the left side of the House where the Bringer-in sits, at a certain height above the ground, there a white cloth is hung along the wall. There is suspended all the wampum, as much as has been gathered together each day over again.[3]

[1] The word means "to labor" in the sense of doing something for oneself. Corresponding to the term alo'ke (Penobscot, Wabanaki) meaning "work," the Delaware denotes working for someone else by naloka'tke "I am hired by someone to work.

[2] The clean, pure character of the Attendants or "workers" diffuses spiritual purity over all those attending the ceremony inside the Big House and strengthens them for the ensuing year.

[3] The supply of wampum is renewed each day by those who through spiritual impulses contribute their treasure. They are blessed in proportion. It should be noted that no one is allowed to sell anything at the festival except the Attendants. Outside on the grounds at a distance from the Big House refreshments can be sold for money. But inside the Big House wampum must be used for exchange. In the present ceremonial transactions between the Attendants and the worshippers two or three beads pass for five cents. Some thirty or more years ago, however, when wampum was more plentiful it passed at one bead for a cent.

And it was said, long ago in the beginning at the Gamwing, inside the Big House, they built a great sweat-house. They heated rock and put it inside that sweat-house. There the shamans[1] crawled in. And water was used here for pouring upon the rocks. That was called testing with heat. Everyone going in there and staying for any length of time was said to be a great man. Some person would be exhausted in a little while for which reason they took him out. Those enduring it for a considerable length of time, those are the great men.[2]

[1] There were two classes of shamans. Some had healing power and are called neupi'kees "sweating doctor." The men who recite their visions in the Big House are also -mete'i-nu in the Delaware classification, their description being kaci'las-u webendji-kan'yo "great men who perform in a single file [like the vertebral articulation of men and animals]." See page 54.

[2] Amounting to a title denoting "prophet, reciter of vision, healer, priest all in one.

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and there preparation is made for beginning the Gamwing. And besides, everyone who is to relate a vision and lead a dance, if he has prepared his rattle of turtle shell, shall see to it to bring it with him for the ceremony.

There, in the ancient times the beginning of their worship the Delawares went into camp every month. They worshipped in the Big House for a ten and two day period. But then in a few years a different rule made it every three months. And again it was changed. It was said, "We are hindered in our labor," because of our ceremony. Whereupon for the last time they changed it. It was said, "From now on every six months," the Gamwing will be." But indeed it was discovered that they had become by now too much like the white man in their life.[1] The young Delawares were ashamed, seeing what their elders did. And so by this time it is very difficult for the Delawares to assemble when ready to perform the ceremony.[2]

[1] Among the Delawares, and the affiliated Nanticoke as well, the term cowa'na, denoting "salt water" came to be used in a dignified sense referring to Europeans, since they first appeared from the sea. In the vernacular, less respectful in its sense, the white man was also known as o'ping "white face" also denoting "opossum." This is more of a sobriquet in Delaware. The allusions to Europeans in other Eastern Algonkian languages did not follow the principle of Delaware usage, for the Munsee, awe'nik the plural of "who?" (Brinton, The Lenape and their Traditions), the Mohegan-Pequot, wa'naka, derives also from awa'n, "who"; Wabanaki, awa'nutc, awe'nutc of similar derivation.

[2] It would appear that the weakening of devotion has been a characteristic modern tendency among the native pagan groups as well as among Christians.

Such was the ruling long ago how several different kinds of spiritual-forces were existent, how, it was said, all the wild animals and birds as well as the creeping wild creatures are the ones to be mentioned[1] in the Big House.

The pure[2] animals and birds only are used when they prepare meat. This is the reason why every one of them, even that Mask-Spirit, and all their kind including the Tortoise,[3] are called man-i't-u. It is because he it is who carries our mother's body.[4] And the bird is used there to be eaten. And these feathers of him are ceremonially used when they sweep clean[5] the beautiful-pure White Path, our father's, the Great Spirit's road.[6] Wherefore a person will appear fine when dress-

[1] This means ceremonially; mention by symbolical references to pay them respect and to acknowledge their rule in the departments of nature.

[2] For further details concerning the "pure, clean" creatures see the outline discussion page 50.

[3] Note the use of the same term (ta'xkoxk) for both the creature itself and the tortoise-rattle. The latter is regarded as being the actual living creature in its ceremonial guise.

[4] The Delaware metaphor referring to the earth.

[5] The term used denotes, "they purify by sweeping clean," meaning to clear away latent malific spiritual forces that might lie in the White Path. This symbolically removes possible spiritual pollution from the course of the wor-

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shippers in the Big House, to clear the way for them to proceed, during the ceremony as well as through life, without the impediments of witchcraft and sickness, to the abode of the Creator. The feathers of the "pure, clean" birds possess the power to sweep away spiritual pollution, for which reason they are used by the Delawares, as well as other tribes as ornaments, as fans, and as brushes.

[4] This is the ceremonial designation of the hard-beaten path around the two fires in the Big House which the dancers traverse. A discussion of this religious concept has been given (p. 23). The reference to cleansing this path bears upon the duty of the Attendants to sweep it clean with the feather brushes or fans.

ing-up for the ceremony, because anyone who earnestly prays in worship to even the deer[1] and the antelope[2] as well as the bison[3] or any

[1] The Virginia deer (Odocoileus virginianus) designated axtu' in Delaware; related terms occurring for the animal in the Algonkian languages everywhere south of the Great Lakes. North of the Great Lakes where the caribou occurs as a competitive game animal the usual term is applied to it, and the deer acquires the name, wawa'ckec, or a variant.

[2] Literally, "white rump," descriptive of the appearance of the romp of the American pronghorn (Antilocapra americana) when startled by danger. "Another characteristic of these interesting animals is a conspicuous rump patch composed of white hairs which are longer than those elsewhere on the animal's back. Through developments in the skin muscles the pronghorn at times of excitement has the power to erect these white hairs until they stand out stiffly over the rump, forming a great dazzling white rosette, like a giant chrysanthemum, which, when the animal is dashing away across the plains in the bright sunlight, is extraordinarily conspicuous. The writer has many times discovered bands of antelope running on the open plains where but for these heliographic patches they would have been beyond ordinary eyesight. These long rump hairs lie like other hairs on the skin and give little indication of their strikingly conspicuous appearance until the animal suddenly throws them up into action." (E. W. Nelson, U. S. Dept. of Agri. Bull. No. 1346, 1925, quoted by H. E. Anthony, Field Book of N. American Mammals, New York, 1928).

[3] The term is, si-si-'li-ye. This name has been analyzed to mean, "the animal that butts against and breaks to pieces" (Brinton, Lenape Dictionary, p. 132, the form sisilija being given). (Note, the orthography of the original manuscript is German, hence j equals y). The animal designated here was originally the Eastern Bison (Bison b. pennsylvanicus, (Shoemaker)) becoming extinct in Pennsylvania about 1800 (H. W. Shoemaker, "A Pennsylvania Bison Hunt, Middleburg, Pa., 1915). Col. Shoemaker, who described the sub-species, ascribes to it a larger frame and darker coloration than the Plains Bison, with some white about the nose and eyes, and lacking the hump! (Anthony, op. cit. p. 539). That the Eastern Bison was known to the Delawares of ancient times as far east as New Jersey, although the animal itself did not range east of the Blue Ridge, is evidenced by the occurrence of a cognate term in the Delaware vocabulary (1793) attributed to Thomas Jefferson (Archives of the American Philosophical Society), recorded while the tribe resided in New Jersey;—sisiliamuus. (See also Account of Gabriel Thomas (1698), in Narratives of Early Pennsylvania, West New Jersey and Delaware, Ed. by Albert Cook Myers, 1912) p. 323.) Brinton, (Lenape and their Legends, p. 226) attempts an etymology of the term, referring the termination *muus* to any large quadruped (*mos*, elk, cow, applied only to deer and elk by Anthony, Brinton's Munsee collaborator. (Lenape Dict. p. 86).

Although the eastern American elk, or wapiti, is not mentioned here in our text we learn of its being known to the Delawares under the designation, lon-l-'mus, "common elk." The actual moose (Alces americana) seems only to have been known to the tribe after its migration. Zeisberger (pp. 58-9) devotes several paragraphs to the bison and elk of the Delaware country in Ohio in the last half of the 18th century.

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cestors how, so it is said, they sadly pleaded, when, reciting their vision experiences, telling how pitiful were the conditions then in their time said to be. Verily I myself do grieve, my kindred, when I look back there into the past. But, nevertheless indeed, try your utmost, every one have a helpful will, and it might be that our pitiful plea for mercy be heard by him the Great Spirit. We may perchance sometime gain a victory to our benefit.

Truly my kindred, as it is forcibly said, I am oppressed with a feeling of incapability while standing here to instruct anyone in the blessing, here where stands he our Grandfather.[1] And I am truly thankful to bless with gratitude all those spirit-forces, all of them sitting round about us over the entire earth. And when we consider how our deceased ancestors so thoroughly paid attention to the obligations of this prayer-worship! Indeed how great are we privileged and blessed that still we can perform the ceremony as we were accustomed to see our deceased ancestors do it! This is sufficient for this occasion. Thanks!"[2]

Now the leader goes and sits down. When he has properly seated himself and swept it clean[3] then 'these who are painted red'[4] say "Let us all smoke[5] Let us all smoke." So the tobacco has been placed in a wooden bowl and should be mixed with sumac leaves (kinnickinnick[6]), because it is the rule that sumac shall be used by the Delawares when smoking.[7] And besides the cedar[8] and paint are all kept there at one place close to the drum. And when anyone lights the pipe in the Big House, he will then use our Grandfather because that one also is called pure, clean fire.

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[1] Indicating his position standing as though sermonizing from a pulpit before the images of the center post.

[2] It should be borne in mind that the speaker is to repeat his performance every night while the Big House ceremony is in session.

[3] Meaning that he has dusted away latent evil potencies with the turkey-wing fan symbols.

[4] Another ceremonial name for the assistant drummer.

[5] The verb here is said to be in the Munsee language aya'xpuɔk', recalling the traditional Munsee origin of the ceremony. The corresponding Delaware term is hupɔ't.am "Let us smoke." The Delaware term kəl.əkan.i'k.an has cognates throughout Algonkian.

[6] The Delaware smoking mixture consists largely of dried sumac (probably Rhus copallina) leaves, which are gathered before the frost strikes them in the fall and singed over an open fire, then exposed to the sun and mixed with smoking tobacco to the proportion of one-third sumac leaves and two-thirds tobacco.

[7] Smoking sumac clear or mixed with tobacco the Delawares regard as a peculiar custom of their own not shared by other peoples (see also Zeisberger, p. 116).

The Delawares were so fond of using this mixture that it is a legendary saying among them that on their hunting or scouting parties they could be identified from afar by the scent they left on the air. Having an earlier equipment with European firearms they were feared by other tribes who avoided them on this account. See also G. Catlin, Letters and Notes, Vol. II, 1841, pp. 101-2.

[8] The sacredness of red cedar (Juniperus virginiana) is a prominent feature of Delaware ceremony (see p. 171).

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

EIGHTH NIGHT OF THE CEREMONY

[The usual performance is repeated.]

VI

NINTH NIGHT OF THE CEREMONY

"Now Attendants, you understand by the rules of this teaching, that you keep in mind each of and all of you, that a person must act in purity.[1] All of us have heard the regulations of the past of our deceased ancestors. They said, according to tradition, that a clean pure person shall kindle fire. Because when using those fire-making spirit-forces, if the person should fail to make fire it would clearly seem a fact that he who tries to make fire is not clean. Nevertheless my brothers everything is easy when correctly done. Now you understand that you shall purify these two places where the fire always is. All the ashes shall be carried out there through the sun-set door that is so intended for it, and when we have finished the ceremony the Bringer-in goes out through it. Such is the rule for everybody in this our prayer-worship.

I am thankful, my kindred, I can address you with respect.[2] I am truly well pleased when I can extend to you[2] all every token of high respect and esteem. Now, my kindred, we have lived on to the point where we are cleaning this fire here in our ceremonial House.[3] I am indeed thankful that we have come so far in good health as this evening comes on, because this night we know how we have seen our deceased aged people perform, those who so thoroughly carried out the teachings and the strict rules of procedure.

And, my kindred, everyone who owns turtle-rattles should bring them with him when coming into the Big House. And right here where sits the Bringer-in, right opposite that place they should put them in a straight line, all those turtle-rattles. And Attendants, you know that you must prepare and make ready everything such as, for instance, those drum sticks,[4] and the cedar, and also that red paint, blood root, and the prayer sticks; everything that is used now on this night must be prepared for certain.

[1] To have been "pure and clean," the Attendants must have refrained during the ceremony period from sexual intercourse, intoxication and the like. They may not enter the Big House to prosecute their duties if they have violated these rules.

[2] ango'ma, the verb used here cannot be rendered by a single equivalent in English so I have been obliged to paraphrase it as it occurs in the text from a choice of equivalents "to show respect for some one, to honor, esteem, invoke a blessing, to greet, to shake hands with."

[3] The importance of fire as a symbol of moral purity and as an emblem of life and health in Delaware philosophy can hardly be over estimated. A short discourse on the symbolism of fire has been given in the introduction and the beliefs outlined there should be recalled with the reading of the sermon that follows.

[4] This refers to both the plain and the carved drum sticks.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

NOTE II

THE MYTH OF RED CEDAR AND THE SEVEN STARS

539X 121 [176]

Reference to the stars and to the cedar tree as spirit-forces in the course of the text seems to call for the insertion of the following narrative in the study. It was dictated by Wi·tapano'xwe in explanation of that part of the ceremony in which cedar was given to the fires in the Big House as spiritual 'food.'

RED CEDAR A SACRED TREE

539X 824 [737 783]

Now I am explaining what is the purpose of him our Grandfather Cedar,[1] how in many different ways it is used. When a person has a swelling in his feet or his legs it is good medicine as a steam bath for one to reduce swelling. And when after a recent death anywhere that cedar is used for purifying the house.

And when the Delawares worship in the Big House cedar is always used for purifying the Big House. And that night when the time arrives for its use it is said to be a purification-agency and also all the red men who understand this Medicine-eating[2] know that the cedar is used. Although two other different kinds are used as well for purification when this Medicine-eating is going on.

[176 757]

But that cedar is the leading spirit-force that is given for strength for anyone's healing, when inhaling the smoke. Because that very thing is the purpose intended in treating and healing his grandchild when he begs it of him.

539X 773

A very long time ago in the life of the Delawares we have heard our deceased ancestors how they said, in ancient times when there were living men of great spiritual power; seven of them, it was said, all at once were not seen any more. They had gone those prophets, men departed. But young pure youths[3] blessed with a vision of something all at once while walking about along the ridge among rocky cliffs—all at once a thing upright there, seven stones almost alike. And then it was said that all at once the youth was thence spoken to by one of these stones. Then they came to be known.[4] And more and more

[1] The specific native term for cedar is a derivative of "popping."

[2] This is the proper designation in Delaware for the Peyote ceremony; "Medicine-eating" referring to the eating of the Peyote bean (Lophophora).

[3] One need hardly be reminded that these are the young men ignorant of the ways of the world, of sin and carnality, brought up under the tutelage of solicitous parents, observant of the religious rules and guided in their conduct of life by the spirit-forces which appeared to them; the life ideals of the Delawares.

[4] Indicating that these prophets to escape the importunities of people seeking help from them had concealed their identity by transforming themselves into rock among the mountains.

11:Newcomb E-5 (1952) 1956 NM7 Delaware NM7

made a full circuit of the tepee. Many of the participants pressed the sage lightly to various parts of their bodies before passing it along. The road-chief then passed corn husks and Bull Durham tobacco in the same direction, everyone rolling a cigarette. These cigarettes were lit from the smoldering stick which was kept in readiness to the east of the fire. After the cigarettes had been smoked in silence, they were collected by the fire-chief. The butts were placed on the altar. Peyote was then passed in the same clockwise fashion; the road-chief directed that four buttons be taken, either two dried and two green, or four of a kind. Peyote tea was also passed, some individuals smearing their body, face, and hair with the tea, as well as drinking it.

When the peyote had completed the clockwise circuit, and as the participants were going through the ordeal of eating it, the road-chief prayed. He then began the opening song, holding a gourd rattle in his right hand and the peyote staff in his left, the drum-chief accompanying him on the drum. After four songs were sung the road-chief passed the staff and gourd rattle to the man on his left, accepted the drum from the drum-chief, and drummed for the man on his left, who sang four songs. After each set of four songs, the gourd rattle and staff were passed in a clockwise direction to the next man who sang a set of four songs, the previous singer becoming the drummer. The singing and drum accompaniment continued until midnight. Between sets of songs some individuals asked for peyote and others asked for water. The water was kept by the fire-chief's side in an ordinary bucket. Occasionally someone would leave the tepee, first getting permission from the road-chief. On re-entering, which was only permissible between sets of songs, the fire-chief cleansed and purified these people by brushing them from the head and shoulders down the arms to the fingers with an eagle feather fan. They then went around the north side of the fire to the altar, where they touched "Father Peyote," and the road-chief brushed them in a similar manner with another eagle feather fan. Then they returned to their places.

About midnight the fire-chief raked the ashes from the fire for the first time. He did this by moving the burning sticks eastward, taking a special peeled stick about six feet long and smoothing out the embers. After they were smoothed, another stick, somewhat longer than the first, was used to divide the ashes along the long axis of the cross, the ashes being formed into two neat piles on either side of the fire. After this was accomplished the fire was returned to its original position, built up, and the whole depression was swept from west to east

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute
Comanche NO6
Crow NQ10
Delaware NM7 ●
Winnebago NP12
Co
Cr
D
W
171
745
716
[783]
[778]

PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST—(*Continued*)

Element	Occurrence																				
	TEM	KIO	ARA	CHE	SHO	UTE	PAI	BAN	NAV	HOP	ZUN	ACO	ISL	TAO	DIG	YUM	MAR	LUI	DIE	LIP	ULT
91. Replenishes fire	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
92. Cleans up and arranges ashes	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
93. Conducts people in and out	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
94. All baths before attending meeting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
95. Meeting place arranged (house, hogan, tipi)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
96. In open																					
97. Entrance or opening toward east	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
98. Altar is (crescent) mound of earth	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
99. Concave side toward east	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
100. Line on top of moon	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
101. Fire east of leader's place	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
102. East of moon	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
103. Sticks placed to form right angle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
104. Old methods used to start fire																					
105. 4 sticks on fire																					
106. Special fire stick (poker)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
107. Worshippers congregate outside	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
108. Indian dress, moccasins, etc., preferred	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
109. Meeting starts in evening	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
110. Leader prays before entering meeting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
111. Order of entrance: chief first	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
112. Chief drummer second																					
113. Cedarman third																					
114. Men (before women and children)																					
115. Women and children allowed	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
116. Fire chief last	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
117. Seating: leader west of altar or shrine	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
118. Men, either side, near leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
119. Women, either side, near entrance																					
120. Separation of men and women																					

Comanche ND6
Crow NQ10
Delaware NM7
Winnebago NP2

Stewart: Washo-Northern Paiute Peyotism 105[A]

Element	Occurrence																				
	Tse	Ute	Cro	Dia	Wic	Cr 2	Cr 1	No C	Wis	Del 2	Del 1	Ab S	Kio	Com	Eto	E-A	Ute	Co Cr D W 111 105 106 [276] [783]
121. An assistant on each side of leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	−	+	
122. Women sit behind men		+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	•−	−	−	−	−	
123. All pass to south of moon		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
124. Sit on blankets, straw, etc.		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
125. *Artemisia* (sagebrush)		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	
127. Prayer or speech or both at start of meeting		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
128. Tobacco passed, all roll cigarettes		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
129. Cigarettes lit with fire stick, clockwise		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	•−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
130. Leader prays aloud during smoking		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
131. Others pray silently		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	•−	+	+	+	+	
132. Smoke blown toward moon		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
133. All motion toward moon		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
134. Cigarette butts placed against altar or shrine		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	•−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
135. *Artemisia* (sage) leaves passed clockwise		+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	
136. Leaves rubbed on hands, clothes		+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	•+	+	
137. Chewed		+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	•−	+	+	−	+	
138. Peyote incensed before passing		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−		+	−	(+)	+	+	−	+	
139. Peyote passed round circle		+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
140. Clockwise		+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
141. All take 4 "buttons" at start		+	+	+	+	−	+	+		+	+	+	•−	+	+	•+	+	
142. Each button chewed, spit into hands, rolled, offered to altar, and swallowed		+	+	+	+	+	•+	−				−	+	+	•+	•+	+	
143. Chest patted during swallowing of button		+	+	+	+	(−)	+	−						+	+	•+	+	
144. First peyote eaten before singing starts		+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
145. Paraphernalia brought out by chief		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	+	+	+	+	
146. Laid on ground between leader and altar		+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
147. Cedarman throws cedar leaves on fire		+	+	+	−	(+)	•+	+		−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	
148. Paraphernalia incensed		+	+	+	−	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	
149. 4 times		+	+	+	−		+	+		+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	
150. Worshippers incensed		+	+	+	−		•+	+		+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	

(Continued on next page)

III. DELAWARE SOCIOLOGY

As is true of all people on a comparable technological level, Delaware social organization was based upon ties of kinship. Or to put it another way, the organization by which the technology was operated and the ways in which individuals behaved toward one another were regulated and determined by ties of relationship. But "the records of departed civilizations, archeological and documentary, are relatively rich in evidences as to technology, economics, religion, and government but poor in information as to rules of descent, kinship terminology, and other aspects of social organization."[1] This general condition is true of early Delaware culture, but if reliance is placed upon Murdock's suggestions, it is possible to move from the documentarily known to the deductive probable and to reconstruct with some success the early kinship structure.

Life Cycle

Pregnancy and Birth

Marital abstinence was practiced during pregnancy.[2] Heckewelder stated that husbands were solicitous of the whims of their wives during pregnancy, citing a case in which a man traveled at least forty miles to obtain cranberries with which "to satisfy his wife's longings."[3] During pregnancy meat was not touched with the hands, but was eaten with a stick.[4] One of my informants (J.T.) said that bird and animal livers could not be eaten during pregnancy. This may well be a vestige of the early taboo on meat. According to Harrington's Munsi informants:

> The husband of an expectant mother was often accompanied on his hunting trips by the spirit of the unborn child, whose romping and playing about the bushes, invisible to mortal eye, would nevertheless frighten away the deer and send the hunter home empty-handed. To prevent this a little bow and arrow were made and attached to the prospective father's garments, in the hope that the little spirit would play with them and stay quietly with his parent. Should this precaution fail, the child was thought to be a girl, and a little corn mortar and pestle were substituted. . . .[5]

Birth, which was reported to be easy,[6] seems to have taken place away from the village, either in a menstrual hut or simply out of doors. Mary Jemison (a white captive of the eighteenth century, married at one time

[1] Murdock, 1949, p. 323.
[2] Thomas, 1912, p. 336; Penn, 1912, p. 232; Holm, 1834, p. 126.
[3] Heckewelder, 1881, p. 159.
[4] Holm, 1834, p. 126.
[5] Harrington, 1913, p. 212.
[6] Holm, 1834, p. 126.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7

For their worship which is diabolical, it is performed usually but once or twice a year, unless upon some extraordinary occasion, as upon making of war or the like; their usual time is about *Michaelmass*, when their corn is first ripe, the day being appointed by their chief Priest or pawaw, most of them go a hunting for venison: When they are all congregated, their priest tells them if he want money, their God will accept of no other offering, which the people believing, every one gives money according to their ability.[42]

This is the sort of description of a pretribal ceremony which one would expect from a seventeenth-century writer. The hunt for venison and the use of wampum were, for example, integral features of the later Big House Ceremony. Speck has suggested that the historic form of the ceremony developed from "rites managed by the ceremonial group (Turkey, Tortoise, Wolf)" which, in turn, developed from family or individual rites.[43] In historic times each phratry varied somewhat from the others in the performance of the ceremony; that of the Wolf phratry, for instance, lasted only eight days, whereas the ceremony of the Turkey phratry lasted twelve days.[44] In a sense, then, the ceremony never attained complete tribal integration. Since Speck's studies of the Big House Ceremony are relatively complete and are complemented by those of Zeisberger, Trowbridge, and Harrington, and by the eyewitness account by Luckenbach, it is not necessary here to give a detailed description of the historic ceremony; a brief synopsis taken from the accounts of these writers and from the descriptions given by my own informants should suffice.

After the Big House Ceremony became a tribal affair, it was held but once a year. It took place in a "big house," a building which also served as a council house and was similar in structure to the Iroquoian Long House. In the center of this structure was a pole, on the north and south sides of which were carved faces;[45] ten other identical faces were placed around the walls. Apparently this was the practice before 1763.[46] The participants camped near the Big House for the duration of the ceremony, the women to the north and the men to the south (M.B.). Throughout this period celibacy was practiced, participants were supposed to be in a pure and clean frame of mind, and menstruating women were not allowed inside the Big House. Offenders were removed from the building by the Mask Being or other officials.[47] One individual, known as the "bringer-in," sponsored and led the ceremony, and the phratry to which he belonged determined the exact form the ceremony was to take. One source stated that in each phratry there was a family which inherited the right to sponsor the annual ceremony;[48] possibly this was a vestige of the individual or family rites from which it evolved.

[42] Denton, 1845, p. 7.
[43] Speck, 1950, p. 27.
[44] *Ibid.*, p. 16; Harrington, 1913, p. 230.
[45] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 141.
[46] Kinietz, 1940, p. 118, dates this feature after 1824, but Bartram and Kenny apparently saw such a ceremonial structure in August, 1761 (Kenny, 1913, p. 22).
[47] Trowbridge MS; M.B.
[48] Trowbridge MS.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

224 852 turn to the east, having the whole or part of the animal on the back, always with the skin, before entering the house and give vent to a prolonged call, which is the old man's or old woman's prayer to the Deity in behalf of the boy, that he may always be a fortunate hunter. During the repast they repeat their petitions and give counsel to the boy (who, with his companions, is a mere spectator) regarding the chase and all the circumstances of his future life, exhorting him above all things to revere old age and gray hairs and to be obedient to their words, because 688 178 experience has given them wisdom. Such counsel was heeded in time past, and though the ceremonies are still kept up, the young no longer revere the aged as was the case at one time.

Formerly, the young revered the old, especially if they had gray or white heads.[253] They believed that these must be very wise and prudent, because they were of such an age and seemed to be favored of the gods. Therefore, they treated the aged well, brought them, it may be, a deer, in the hope that they might be instructed of them how to attain to equal age. They presented the old, also, with wampum or belts, with the same hope. While nothing was said, the aged understood and gave the desired instruction on another occasion.

● 784 276 No young Indian in those days would have dared to take the tobacco pouch, (made usually of the skin of the otter, beaver, raccoon, fox, pole-cat, or some other animal, stripped off whole, with a little slit at the neck), of an old person and take a pipeful of tobacco, thinking such an act a great sin and believing that it would be the cause of shortening his life. When, therefore, in those days, a young brave asked an aged man permission to fill his pipe from the latter's pouch, the old man understood that this was not the young man's intention at all, but he wished to place something in the pouch. Usually, wampum was put in and no tobacco taken out. This, also, was done with the hope that the aged man might instruct the young brave how to be wise and to attain to great age. Indeed, good counsel is given, to bring offerings regularly on behalf of themselves and their friends, to be chaste, to abstain from drinking and stealing, which were common even in those days. These customs, however, have ceased. The old have lost respect and the young

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7
Iroquois NM9

D 841 poorly built, and remains there two or three days, food being taken to her. When the time is over they bathe and wash their clothes and are allowed to return to their husbands. During the D 784 menstrual period, they are not permitted to do any cooking or domestic work. None will eat what a woman in this condition 262 prepares, for food prepared under such circumstances is said to 841 be unwholesome and to cause pain in the abdomen. The women do not go into company, but keep to their huts until their time is over. Hence, it occasionally happens that a woman engaged in baking will leave everything and go to her hut. This custom I [841] does not obtain among the Mingoes; their women continue their usual work and remain in the house.

D 584 In the wooing of a bride, custom demands that if an Indian would proceed honorably and at the same time have assurance that his wife when married will remain with him, he first sends a present of blankets, stronds, linen and whatever else the Indians commonly use for clothing and perhaps a few belts or fathoms of wampum. If he has no cloth, wampum alone will do. These things he gives to an Indian to whom he has declared his purpose and who hands them to a friend of the person fixed upon, speaks for him and presses his suit. Thereupon, the friends assemble, examine the present, propose the matter to the girl, who generally decides agreeably to the wish of her parents and relations. The suitor is then informed that his proposal has been accepted. If it is decided to decline the proposal, the present is simply returned and understood to be a friendly negative. In case the match is agreeable, the girl is led to the dwelling of the groom, without further ceremony. After the bride has joined her husband, the things constituting the present are divided among the friends and the belts of wampum cut and a piece given to each. The friends return the civility by a present of Indian corn, beans, kettles, dishes, spoons, sieves, baskets, hatchets, brought in solemn procession into the hut of the newly D. [591] married couple. Commonly, the latter lodge in a friend's house until they can erect a dwelling of their own.

This custom still obtains among the Indians. Within the last years, however, disorderly living and evil have become so common that faith is not kept and many of the usages, that were

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759

The herbalist, before using herbs previously gathered and dried, performs the same rite of smoking and prayer. If the plants are being gathered for future rather than for immediate use, an appeal is made to the Creator to bless the plants and render the remedies effective in curing the future ills of his grandchildren.

[184]

The custom of offering prayers before the gathering and preparation of medicinal plants is not observed exclusively by the medicine men but is known to every Delaware. However, it was remarked that many fail to adhere to the ancient rite.

In observing Wi·tapanóxwe I was charmed by the delicate and reverential manner in which he handled the plants secured and arranged for this study. At this time he emphasized the idea of conservation, stating that one should gather only what was needed, and that vegetation in general should not be subjected to ruthless treatment.

[577]
[823
784]

Purity means much to the conservative Delaware and so the pure plants, as taken from Mother Earth, must not be defiled. It is therefore important that in order to avoid contamination no metal should come in contact with plants that are to be used in the treatment of disease. Roots and plants are allowed to dry in the sun, its rays lending them added potency. In this connection it is considered highly beneficial for a convalescing person to lie directly in the sun, so that its strengthenings qualities may be transferred to him. After the process of curing, roots and leaves are prepared by crushing them in a non-metallic receptacle, a stone basin or a wooden mortar being used for the purpose.

[758]

[823]

The herbalist smokes and offers a prayer while the medicine is being prepared and is always careful to stir it in the same direction—from left to right. One should never blow upon the concoction to cool it; to do so would represent an affront to the spirit of the plant.

759

The most able practioner will not treat himself when ill, nor a sick member of his family, but always calls upon the service of another.[14]

If an herbalist or sweat doctor, after diagnosing a case, feels that it is beyond his power to effect a cure, he will send the patient to another more capable of treating him successfully. Sometimes a sick person

[14] Zeisberger *(op. cit.* p. 25) "If one should know enough to help himself, being able to prepare *Beson*, and became ill, he will rarely treat himself, having the superstitious belief that what is prepared by himself will be of no benefit. Using what has been prepared by another, he believes, will bring relief."

4:Tantaquidgeon E-5 (1930) 1942
NM7 Delaware NM7

The Dog as a Vicar of Children

231 751 854 Upon the birth of a Delaware child, it was given a pet [16] to serve as the guardian of its health. If there was sickness about, the Delaware believed that it would be visited upon the dog instead of its little master. The animal was thought to say, "I am only a dog, the child is more precious." A small bag containing charcoal was tied around the pet animal's neck by the child's parents. Frequently they would talk to the dog. If the animal died, it was buried and the child given another pet. However, if the child fell sick and died, a release ceremony was performed [17] by placing a string of wampum about its neck, thus freeing the animal.[18]

Notes on Pregnancy and Child-birth

843 262 784 The prospective mother is advised to eat sparingly. Sour foods should not be eaten during the final stage of pregnancy as they are believed to cause contraction of the muscles. Onions and cabbage are also excluded from the diet. Salt is forbidden both before and after pregnancy, as it is thought to stop the flow of blood. Lifting heavy objects should be avoided during pregnancy and for a period of a month after delivery. A pregnant woman should not gaze at a deformed person or make fun of him, as it might affect her child. Care is also taken to avoid being frightened by dogs and other animals.

844 The woman is usually attended by a midwife who is given gifts of calico, tobacco, etc., from the woman's husband. To women over thirty years of age, a special medicine is given to shorten the period of labor.[19] The delivery is made in a kneeling position. Immediately after, a tea made from "pleurisy root" is administered. The navel cord is cut off about one and a half inches from the body. A piece of lead about two inches in diameter is bound to the body over the navel by a cloth. This bandage is kept in place until healing is complete, to avoid protrusion of the navel.

845 In case of still-birth, special treatment is given the mother. Still-birth is believed due to the child being hurt. "The child-killing sickness of women is hard to overcome." Twins are believed to have been con-

[16] Known by a term meaning "pet given child."

[17] See also p. 67 for release of a bear.

[18] As dictated by Wi-tapanòxwe.

[19] "The women know of certain medicines," according to Zeisberger (*op. cit.*, p. 56), "which usually act quickly in case of hard labor, which sometimes occurs, though not frequently."

Death

761 Early burials which have been excavated reveal few objects buried with the body although Penn indicates that it was customary among the Lenape to place objects in the graves (p. 37). Skinner is of the opinion that this may have been a custom which was coming into more common practice during the period we are dealing with (Skinner, 1909, p. 50). Of about equal occurrence are flexed and secondary bone burials. A Delaware burial has been described by Lindstrom: "...a round pit is dug in the ground and a stool is placed in the hole upon which the dead man shall sit. Then the dead man's money is placed upon him and he is set down in the pit upon the stool with a tobacco pipe a fathom long, in his mouth...". After the hole is filled up, "...they dig down in the corners of a square four very long poles upon which they make three shelves, and decorate the poles with long strips of blue, red or green frieze,[16] hanging like fringes." The bones were later dug up and the flesh cut from them after which they were wrapped in chestnut bark and placed on the bottom shelf where the bundle was allowed to stand until it rotted. (Lindstrom, pp. 249-250).

765 Above the body there has frequently been found a layer of shells which has been interpreted as evidence of a feast of the dead (Skinner, 1909, p. 50). Other features of the death ceremonies noted by early writers are: the use of charcoal on the face as a sign of mourning (Penn, p. 37; Danckaerts, p. 159), the sending of a messenger to all friends to announce a person's decease and loud lamentations at the grave. The name of the deceased was not mentioned (Lindstrom, pp. 249-250). 784 551 Many of these features are incorporated in Heckewelder's excellent description of the funeral of a chief's wife (Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 269-276).

Disease

753 Disease was classified into natural illness and sickness caused by witchcraft and spirits of the dead. This classification is reflected in the many different types of cures which the Delaware practiced. Curing was one of the few activities placed in the hands of professional 755 people, the shamans, although purely medicinal cures were also performed by laymen. The shamans used a combination of medicines, magic, sweating, bleeding and psychotherapy to effect their cures for which they were paid. Penn says that the Delaware will give anything to be cured and this is echoed by later writers (Penn, p. 36; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 232).

757 Medicines which were taken internally were made from bark and roots mixed with water (Penn, p. 36; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 224-231); likewise, plants with medicinal properties were made into poultices for wounds, boils and snake bite (Heckewelder, 1881, p. 229; Loskiel, p. 113). The shaman might also breathe on the patient or blow his 755 remedy over the patient's body. In addition to making and giving these remedies, the shaman frequently put on a performance in which he grimaced and acted in such a way as to frighten away the evil spirit which

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
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CHAPTER XV.

CONCERNING THE PAAHRA, IDOLATRY, FAITH AND RELIGION AND SACRIFICES TO MANITTO: THE DEVIL, ALSO WHETHER THE INDIANS HAVE A KNOWLEDGE OF CHRIST.

With reference to the religion of the Indians [it is to be observed] that they adopt their *Pâdhra*[1] or idol when they are about 15 years old. Thus the one makes for himself a child of skin with head, body, arms, hands, legs and feet to believe in. The other selects a lion claw, that one, a bear claw, this one, an eagle claw, that one, a lion tooth, this one, a bear tooth, this one, a bird bill, etc. In fine, whatever limb of any animal, bird, fish or other [living thing] they desire to choose for their god or *Pâdhra*, as they call [it], which is hung on a chain of their money on their breast, they consider this their god, so sacred that no one is allowed to touch it,—the one who attempts it, he becomes his chief enemy.[2] In this their god they have such a

[1] *Pâdhra (pōra)*. This is a cognate of *boahigan* (Penobscot), stem *boa (poa)*, which Prof. Speck says "denotes the concept of mystery." It is found in most dialects of the northeastern tribes, *bua-, pu-, bao-, pow-*, etc. *Boahigan*, which Speck says means "instrument of mystery," and Lindeström's *pâdhra (pōra, bōla)* possibly denote the same concept,—"object through which or by which mysterious power is obtained and practiced." Cf. Speck, *Penobscot Shamanism*, *Mem. of Am. Anth. Ass.*, VI, 249 ff. Cf. Heckewelder, *Indian Nations*, 239 ff. For Dutch accounts, see De Vries, Van der Donck, etc., *N. Y. Col.*, 2, I, 138, 213, 227, etc.; II, 203; III, 956, 159, etc. Cf. also Brainerd, Journal (*Mirabilia Dei*, etc.); Hesselius, *Kort Berettelse* (1725), 2 ff.

[2] The taboo of charms and fetishes is common among primitive peoples. Even the natives of Cape Verde Islands will not allow their charms to be touched. They are civilized, call themselves

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
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764 this is done they dig down in the corners of a square four very long poles upon which they make three shelves, and decorate the poles with long strips of blue, red or green frieze, hanging like fringes.[5] Then those who have been the dead
765 man's relatives and best friends set themselves down for about the period of a month to lament the departure of the dead one, singing, crying, howling and lamenting, so that it is heard for a long distance. Now when this time is past they dig up the dead one and take all his money off him, which they put in a box and place on the lowest rack or shelf, then each one takes a knife and thus cuts the flesh off the bones of the dead one, wrapping the flesh in chestnut bark, which they place on the second shelf or rack, wrapping in like manner the bones into chestnut bark [and] placing them on the upper shelf or rack; but the entrails they dig down in the hole. Afterwards they still set themselves down for about the period of 14 days and further lament the departure of the dead, and when now that time is over, then their sorrow and lamentation are gone. Those who then are the
[765] relatives and best friends of the dead take the money-chest, dividing it between themselves, and therewith go their way; but the scaffolding together with the other [things] remains standing as a monument until it falls and rots away. When
151 now the savage is thus buried the savages do not
● 784 wish to hear him mentioned by name again or to speak further about him. If the Christian should

[5] *Som buldaser hängiandes. Buldas* really means sail cloth or duck, but Lindeström apparently means stripe or fringes.

8:Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
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happen to do this,[6] who does not know of their manner, then they hang their heads and sigh and puff severely, on account of it, not desiring to hear it mentioned.[7]

During these their burials there is often robbery committed by some of the Christians. Some scoundrels go to the savages and help them to mourn, pretending to be very sorrowful and sad, lamenting and weeping much worse and more miserably than the savages, saying that the [deceased] also had been their good friend, which the savages think is well, that they get company. These scoundrels watching their time, in the night when the savages sleep, steal away their money chest, so that the sorrow and lamentation for the savages become through this, deeper and greater.

[6] See above Chapt. II, note 27. Cf. also Van der Donck, etc.

[7] "Which bewailing is very solemne amongst them morning and evening, and sometimes in the Night they bewaile their lost husbands, wives, children, brethren, or sisters &c. Sometimes a quarter, halfe, yea, a whole yeare, and longer if it be for a great Prince. In this time (unlesse a dispensation be given) they count it a prophane thing either to play (as they much use to doe) or to paint themselves for beauty, but for mourning; or to be angry and fall out with any &c." Williams, *Key*, 54.

[p. 252 is blank]

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9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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cloth. Doctor gets in on north side of blanket, sits on west side of hole. Has handkerchief tying hair back. Puts water next to hole. Sprinkles water with fingers on rocks, four times with left hand while feeling patient over with right. Then takes mouthful of water which he spits on rock. Makes talk, blows on patient's sternum. Then knows disease. Slaps hands together to make more steam on patient. Then goes out after five or ten minutes, covers himself with blanket for three or four minutes with handkerchief off. Then goes back in with handkerchief on repeats previous performance and begins to sing, slaps hands while singing. Goes out again. Three times is all. Third person sits outside and after third time wraps patient up and takes him home and cleans him up. Doctor then cleans up himself and sweat house and goes to see patient or patient's relatives. Tells him disease and cure which may be sweat treatment for three, four or five days, and certain foods patient cannot eat. For instance, no meat or salt, grease for six days. A little tobacco is put in fire when building it. Just a little fire. Never use rocks again. Sweat house is only for those past five years of age. When younger, doctor places them on a warm rock outside. Tells mother what to eat if baby is nursing. Give baby herbs, maybe twice a day for couple of days. Payment is voluntary."

General Manners and Customs

The practice of eating human flesh even ceremonially has been denied by the Delaware and accounts of the Delaware throughout all the years back to Lindeström (61). This Swedish writer did not explicitly deny that the Delaware ate human flesh, but in describing the practice among the Minqua he implied that it was not true of the Delaware. The Delaware have a tale of cannibalism in the very early days which was the result of famine brought on by violation of a taboo. Aside from this case they admit no knowledge of cannibalism among them. Tribes with whom they were in contact from early historic times and before practiced cannibalism ceremonially and in times of famine. These were principally the Conestoga (the Minqua of Lindeström) and Iroquois. The latter have been credited with orig-

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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according to the length of his dream. Then they seat themselves and the room is swept by the woman at the doors the one that first spoke then shoves the shell under his legs to the next one, if he does not feel a disposition to tell his dream he shoves it to the next without shaking it, and it is shoved from one to another till it comes to one that wishes to tell his dream then he gives the shell a shake and after some minutes commences telling his dream while sitting but soon arises and the whole assembly with him he proceeds in the same manner as above mentioned. At intervals of telling dreams they appoint one or call one by name and give to him a piece of wampum then they call eleven more they go out of the meeting and make doleful noise which is similar to howling but they term it making twelve prayers or praying twelve times then they return in to the meeting and the foreman that is the one that was first called divides the wampum among the twelves that went out. Then commence telling dreams as before and going out to pray in the same manner thus they [704] continue for 12 days and twelve nights abstaining themselves from women and every thing whereby they think they could be defiled. In these meetings they always have one appointed and dressed in bear skins appearing very frightful to go round and examine and see if there is any improper conduct if so he points the stick at him or her which he has in his hand, the door-keepers immediately put the person out of the door and those who are put out are not admitted into the meeting any more. Previous to these meetings they appoint a number of young men to go and kill a certain number of deer which they think will be sufficient to last them during the meeting, these are dressed, their provisions cooked and served to them while in their worship by those that they call their butchers.

Captain Pipe—The grand national worship of the Delawares has been already alluded to, and I come now to a description of it. It is called Engŏmween. There are three or four families in the nation whose duty it is by inheritance to prepare for and invite the nation to this assembly, and to whose care is committed every arrangement respecting it. Each family takes upon itself the performance of these duties once in three years; and as they

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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accepted the turtle by the shake of accession, he remains in a state of apparent meditation for a few minutes, and then rising gives it another rattle, when, as in the preceding instance, he is joined by all the worshipers and the same ceremonies of repeating the dream, are performed.

The worship is commenced at evening and continued until daybreak, when it ceases for the day during which time the worshipers remain in the lodge in perfect silence. Thus it is repeated from night to night six times, and at the closing of the last night they adjourn for an hour or two, and then finish the worship with the relation of the dream of some extraordinary personage, whose history has been preserved in tradition. They cease at noon of the last day.

To discharge the menial services incident to the meeting of so large a body four servants are appointed, of whom two are males and two females. They sweep the council house at every interval of worship and perform any other duty required of them, for which they receive a compensation in wampum before the close of the meeting. To this stock of wampum when collected by the principal or leader of the assembly all contribute who have the means. Besides these officers, an old man of the juggling class is employed to keep order in the assembly. It is supposed he can tell by going around the lodge whether any person has been polluted since the commencement of the worship, by connection with the opposite sex. To such person he points a stick and if he be a man the male servants lead him out of the lodge, from which he is expelled during the remainder of the worship. If a woman the same service is performed by the female domestics. The old inquisitor is dressed in the skin of a bear, with a frightful mask on his face, and is said to be a terrific object, particularly to those guilty of a breach of the customs of the assembly. His attention is often roused by the complaints of some one while telling his dream, who will stop and pretending to find a difficulty in speaking will ascribe it to the improper conduct of one of the members. Upon such occasion the old man commences his examination and his scrutinizing eye points out the object (perhaps innocent as himself) who is immediately removed, and the speaker continues.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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W. T. and E. R. say that right was always used. 576

68. Story telling: in winter and at night only

W. L. said that one rule was that no one could sit up during the telling of stories as it might make them humpbacked. 538 784

78. Peculiarities in encampments

JOHN JOHNSTON—There is no [peculiarity] in their moving from place to place or in their hunting encampments, but they are very particular in the mode of erecting their war encampments. 361 726

E. R.—Camp site was fixed so that allied tribes would know who had been there, and which direction they went. The way they fixed the fire and ashes would tell who made the camp. [202]

79. Identification of makers of encampment

JOHN JOHNSTON—They can [identify them] because every tribe has a different mode of encamping and by the size of the camp or camps they can calculate very nigh the number that were in them. 361 202

CAPTAIN CHIPPS—They can tell the camps of the Cayugas and Massisagas, by their peculiar manner of encamping. Generally speaking, it is impossible for them to tell from a deserted camp, what particular tribe has occupied it.

83. Differences from other tribes in sociability, etc.

J. W.—Delaware are more friendly and sociable than other tribes even though they cannot trust others. The Delaware way of raising is to have children grow up to be friendly and pleasant so that other people will like them and they may do big things—get places on council, in Big House, and be a credit to parents. 181

W. T.—Sociability, friendliness, and hospitality are marked characteristics that distinguish Delaware from other tribes and should be rated first.

88. Spare lives of snakes

HECKEWELDER stated that Delaware spared the lives of snakes because killing one would bring other creeping things to bite them. 784 825

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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784 825 JOHN JOHNSTON—Their principal reason is that the snake is such a malicious and spiteful animal that if they should kill them the rest would know it and would bite them.

CAPTAIN CHIPPS—They sometimes avoid killing snakes, on a march, because they say, "that if they kill one, the rest will be madder."

J. W.—Snakes were not killed unless necessary—"don't kill for nothing." Besides could tell good from bad snakes.

E. R. said that there were no rules against the killing of snakes and that he feared no retribution.

BIRTH AND ITS INCIDENTS

89. Naming of child

553 [776] CAPTAIN PIPE—Children are named at one of the grand worshiping councils, and as opportunities do not occur regularly, there is no particular age at which they are formerly [*sic.* formally?] named. (Children at times do not receive their names until they are quite large, at others while they are infants.) The child when about to be named is taken to the assembly and there presented to one of the old men (who is an orator and) of the same tribe with the father, together with a fathom of wampum for his services. This old man taking the child by the hand, rises and proclaims aloud his name, requesting all who hear him to [776] recollect. He then proffers a short prayer to the Great spirit in supplication for his blessing on the child during life; after which it is returned to its parents.

[814] CAPTAIN CHIPPS—There are no christenings—or ceremonies at the birth of their children. After the birth, a year or two, 351 sometimes less, the child is taken into council, and named. The 553 father names and the preacher announces the name to the assembly in a speech of some length—in which, he congratulates the parents of the child—hopes the child may become a good boy and "prays to God" to make him a good man, a good hunter and a good warrior.

J. W.—Has never seen or heard of naming in Big House. Parents take child to grandparents, either side. They give him

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

553 being descriptive may be more appropriate for children; at others because the subject has performed some remarkable feat of bravery or is otherwise deserving of a favorite name.

[551] E. R. and W. L. said that there were no second names except English ones and nicknames.

103. Education

867 869 CAPTAIN PIPE—Each man considers it his duty to advise the children of the same tribe with himself, and to instruct them by precept the way they should go, and to this kind of advice the father, though he may be never so great a scoundrel, is very particular, always enforcing the duty of correctness in their moral conduct. There is no system of education among them.

The account of the way J. W. was raised was recorded, practically verbatim, as follows:

When I was a baby they took good care of me—raise me so I could walk. When I was little my mother had to be awfully [262] careful. There was a certain food she must not eat. Not any side meat, or inside (liver, etc.) while nursing. Ham and shoulders all right—gave her strength. Any kind of vegetables, fruits, were all right. Anything cracked like nuts must not be eaten. Hominy all right. Must be careful about going [784] places, seeing things that surprise you which might get inside and affect child through milk. No cradles—wrap up in nice little clean cloths.

262 869 When I can eat: must not eat lots of different foods; such as like egg, inside meat; only outside but just good meat—none close to joint or head. Corn, vegetables all right, fruits all right but just so much.

When I can help myself—so I can see, eat by myself, well then any food, nuts or meat must not be eaten first, but give to either father, mother or other old folks, and then eat and as much as I want. Then they tell me certain parts I must not eat from then on until I am a man. They say don't ever eat egg, no liver, don't drink soup, unless you tell me, then I tell you what to do before you take, to give you strength. I say I want soup—they say run about a quarter of a mile (after taking).

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931

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A turkey's [1] wing is used when they sweep out in the Big House. And besides, the Attendant carries a long stick as a poker and that is used when they stir up the fire, and it is the rule that they shall light a good bright fire every night as long as they perform the ceremony. And the Attendant-leader every evening walks around all over where they are camped about this Big House, holding a whip. And any person that they find that is causing unnecessary noise they correct. And the children are instructed. And he notifies them, telling them thrice "Come in! Come in! Come in!" And just recently they selected an officer from the Delaware Agency who is on guard all the time here while they are assembled, so that no one brings in liquor.[2]

[1] The specific term for the Wild Turkey (Meleagris gallipavo) is tel-'kanom, a term derived from the habit of this bird of scratching or "cleaning" the floor of the forest. In native Delaware ornithology, the order Gallinae is denoted by the generic term pole' which denotes any of the birds of the group, though writers on Delaware social organization have occasionally rendered the term by "turkey." Happily no natural history obsequies are called for in the case of this splendid bird for it still survives in its original range where the Delawares knew it.

[2] The imformant pointed to this as an indication of the lack of reverence, and indecency of behavior in the tribe under the influence of the white man's ways. Zeisberger (op. cit. p. 139) commented on the same thing as regards disorder at the feasts.

When any one of us considers the rule with all the obligations and instructions as these are properly carried out, it should be forbidden for one thing that those of our women who when they cannot cook[1] are not pure, be allowed to trouble about the cooking. And should not come in the Big House as long as they are affected with the sickness, because some pure children might be much contaminated, especially when they perform the Gamwing. And it is the rule that persons should abstain from bringing into the Big House any animals of whatever kind they may be which are domesticated.[2]

[1] Being in their catamenial periods.

[2] This has special reference to dogs, pigs, etc. Some discussion has previously been given concerning the status of the wild animals of the forest and those domesticated by man. The Attendants are expected to attack any such animals that come into the Big House and drive them away with their staffs.

And right here opposite from the door on the outside over there at a certain distance they make the fire. Two forked poles are set upright and a pole laid across, upon which they hang the big buckets in which they cook. Near here standing upright is a many-forked tree where meat is hung. And a big shelf is there at one side of the fireplace with two floors where they put the corn that is used. When hominy is made the female Attendants have for their duty, every morning and evening to grind and make corn flour and hominy. Sometimes two or four mortars are used together with those long pounders.

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[785]

"Other teachers pretended that stripes were the most effectual means to purge away sin. They advised their hearers to suffer themselves to be beaten with twelve different sticks from the soles of their feet to their necks, that their sins might pass from them through their throats. They preached a system of morals, very severe for the savages, insisting that the Indians abstain from fornication, adultery, murder, theft, and practise virtuous living as the condition to their attaining after death the place of good spirits, which they call Tschipeghacki, the 'land of spirits,' where the life is happy, and deer, bear and all manner of game are abundant and the water is like crystal. There nought was to be heard save singing, dancing and merry making. [821] . . . The passage thither is the Milky Way. . . . Whoever reaches that place will find a city of beautiful houses and clean streets. Entering a house he will see no one, but have good things to eat placed before him, a fire made and a bed prepared—all of which is done by spirits invisible to him. Others assert that such an one will see the women coming with baskets on their backs full of strawberries and billberries, large as apples, and will observe the inhabitants daily appear in fine raiment and live a life of rejoicing.—The bad Indians . . . will not reach the place, Tschipeghacki, but must remain some distance away, able to see those within dwelling happily, but not able to enter. They would receive nothing

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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tion it lies extended. And the doors are opposite each other. Right here in the direction of the sun-set, it is the rule that the Bringer-in come, bringing the ceremony into the House.

Everything was provided for the Delawares in the Gamwing. There was also wampum supplied by rule, it is said. Each person gives one shoulder-length for helping to prepare this food and also for when they pay the Attendants. And, so it is said, the Attendant is pleasing to him our father the Great Spirit, even the Creator.

When the workers[1] purify everything,[2] these women with the Attendants, it can not be conceived how sacredly valuable those labors are. It has been destined for the Delaware that that very wampum he uses becomes his heart. And moreover when purchasing food, or when anything of value is bought, he employs wampum. And then a quantity is gathered. Here at the left side of the House where the Bringer-in sits, at a certain height above the ground, there a white cloth is hung along the wall. There is suspended all the wampum, as much as has been gathered together each day over again.[3]

[1] The word means "to labor" in the sense of doing something for oneself. Corresponding to the term alo'ke (Penobscot, Wabanaki) meaning "work," the Delaware denotes working for someone else by naloka'tke "I am hired by someone to work.

[2] The clean, pure character of the Attendants or "workers" diffuses spiritual purity over all those attending the ceremony inside the Big House and strengthens them for the ensuing year.

[3] The supply of wampum is renewed each day by those who through spiritual impulses contribute their treasure. They are blessed in proportion. It should be noted that no one is allowed to sell anything at the festival except the Attendants. Outside on the grounds at a distance from the Big House refreshments can be sold for money. But inside the Big House wampum must be used for exchange. In the present ceremonial transactions between the Attendants and the worshippers two or three beads pass for five cents. Some thirty or more years ago, however, when wampum was more plentiful it passed at one bead for a cent.

And it was said, long ago in the beginning at the Gamwing, inside the Big House, they built a great sweat-house. They heated rock and put it inside that sweat-house. There the shamans[1] crawled in. And water was used here for pouring upon the rocks. That was called testing with heat. Everyone going in there and staying for any length of time was said to be a great man. Some person would be exhausted in a little while for which reason they took him out. Those enduring it for a considerable length of time, those are the great men.[2]

[1] There were two classes of shamans. Some had healing power and are called neapi'kes "sweating doctor." The men who recite their visions in the Big House are also mate'lnu in the Delaware classification, their description being kaci'les-u wehendji'kan'yo "great men who perform in a single file [like the vertebral articulation of men and animals]." See page 54.

[2] Amounting to a title denoting "prophet, reciter of vision, healer, priest all in one.

[¶ 52(C)]

775 of the souls of those who were punished by
825 the evil spirit, the wreck, or fragments into which they were cut up were turned into mosquitoes and such evil creatures.

776 Bad spirits are believed to pass by about
787 day break and good spirits are believed to pass along about dark. For this reason boys are often sent to bed without supper, that they may commune with or be visited by
[785] good spirits, the fasting state being thought to be favorable to such communion, and for the same reason are often compelled to get up before day break that the evil spirits may not obtain or exercise any wicked influence upon them.

776 I am told that the Shawnee Female Great
821 Spirit is in reality the moon, and is worshipped as our Grand Mother or something of that sort; and Isaac Johnny Cake who mentioned this [to] me also said that the Great Spirit of the Delawares was represented and believed to be a brother of the Sun, and that the Moon was the Grand Mother of the Great Spirit; and young Toucey, the Stockbridge, says that there is
[171] some evidence of a [?] in of the sun in the worship of several of the Indian races, including his own. The Iroquois return thanks to the sun for heating the earth and to the moon for cooling it, but this does not show a sun worship or anything like it.
[115] William Adams is to correspond with me on the religious system of the Delawares, and I hope to find out something definite about it.

Gum-mween

796 This festival or annual worship of the Delawares as explained by William Adams and of which he is to write to me more fully, is quite interesting. They believe unless they
[241] observe it once a year their crops will fail, and they will lose the favor of the Great Spirit.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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CHAPTER XXXIII.

INITIATION OF BOYS.

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I DO not know how to give a better name to a superstitious practice which is very common among the Indians, and, indeed, is universal among those nations that I have become acquainted with. By certain methods which I shall presently describe, they put the mind of a boy in a state of perturbation, so as to excite dreams and visions; by means of which they pretend that the boy receives instructions from certain spirits or unknown agents as to his conduct in life, that he is informed of his future destination and of the wonders he is to perform in his future career through the world.

When a boy is to be thus *initiated*, he is put under an alternate course of physic and fasting, either taking no food whatever, or swallowing the most powerful and nauseous medicines, and occasionally he is made to drink decoctions of an intoxicating nature, until his mind becomes sufficiently bewildered, so that he sees or fancies that he sees visions, and has extraordinary dreams, for which, of course, he has been prepared before hand. He will fancy himself flying through the air, walking under ground, stepping from one ridge or hill to the other across the valley beneath, fighting and conquering giants and monsters, and defeating whole hosts by his single arm. Then he has interviews with the Mannitto or with spirits, who inform him of what he was before he was born and what he will be after his death. His fate in this life is laid entirely open before him, the spirit tells him what is to be his future employment,

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whether he will be a valiant warrior, a mighty hunter, a doctor, a conjurer, or a prophet. There are even those who learn or pretend to learn in this way the time and manner of their death.

When a boy has been thus initiated, a name is given to him analogous to the visions that he has seen, and to the destiny that is supposed to be prepared for him. The boy, imagining all that happened to him while under preturbation, to have been real, sets out in the world with lofty notions of himself, and animated with courage for the most desperate undertakings.

The belief in the truth of those visions is universal among the Indians. I have spoken with several of their old men, who had been highly distinguished for their valour, and asked them whether they ascribed their achievements to natural or supernatural causes, and they uniformly answered, that as they knew beforehand what they could do, they did it of course. When I carried my questions farther, and asked them how they know what they could do? they never failed to refer to the dreams and visions which they had while under perturbation, in the manner I have above mentioned.

I always found it vain to attempt to undeceive them on this subject. They never were at a loss for examples to shew that the dreams they had had were not the work of a heated imagination, but that they came to them through the agency of a mannitto. They could always cite numerous instances of valiant men, who, in former times, in consequence of such dreams, had boldly attacked their enemy with nothing but the *Tumahican** in their hand, had not looked about to survey the number of their opponents, but had gone straight forward, striking all down before them; some, they said, in the French wars, had entered houses of the English filled with people, who, before they had time to look about, were all killed and laid in a heap. Such was the strength, the power and

* War-hatchet; from which we have made *tomahawk*.

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787 the courage conveyed to them in their supernatural dreams, and which nothing could resist.

787 881 If they stopped here in their relations, I might, perhaps, consider this practice of putting boys under perturbation, as a kind of military school or exercise, intended to create in them a more than ordinary courage, and make them undaunted warriors. It certainly has this effect on some, who fancying themselves under the immediate protection of the celestial powers, despise all dangers, and really perform acts of astonishing bravery. But it must be observed, that all that are thus initiated are not designed for a military life, and that several learn by their dreams that they are to be physicians, sorcerers, or that their lives are to be devoted to some other *civil* employment. And it is astonishing what a number of superstitious notions are infused into the minds of the unsuspecting youth, by means of those dreams, which are useless, at least, for making good warriors or hunters. There are even some who by that means are taught to believe in the transmigration of souls.

787 I once took great pains to dissuade from these notions a very sensible Indian, much esteemed by all who knew him, even among the whites. All that I could say or urge was not able to convince him that at the time of his *initiation* (as I call it) his mind was in a state of temporary derangement. He declared that he had a clear recollection of the dreams and visions that had occurred to him at the time, and was sure that they came from the agency of celestial spirits. He asserted very strange things, of his own supernatural knowledge, which he had obtained not only at the time of his initiation, but at other times, even before he was born. He said he knew he had lived through two generations; that he had died twice and was born a third time, to live out the then present race, after which he was to die and never more to come to this country again. He well remembered what the women had predicted while he was yet in his

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mother's womb; some had foretold that he would be a boy, and others a girl; he had distinctly overheard their discourses, and could repeat correctly every thing that they had said. It would be too long to relate all the wild stories of the same kind which this otherwise intelligent Indian said of himself, with a tone and manner which indicated the most intimate conviction, and left no doubt in my mind that he did not mean to deceive others, but was himself deceived. 787

I have known several other Indians who firmly believed that they knew, by means of these visions, what was to become of them when they should die, how their souls were to retire from their bodies and take their abodes into those of infants yet unborn; in short, there is nothing so wild and so extraordinary that they will not imagine and to which, when once it has taken hold of their imagination, they will not give full credit. In this they are not a little aided by certain general superstitious notions which form a part of their traditionary belief, and of which I shall take notice in the next chapter. [775]

CHAPTER XXXIV.

INDIAN MYTHOLOGY.

THE Indians consider the earth as their universal mother. They believe that they were created within its bosom, where for a long time they had their abode, before they came to live on its surface. They say that the 773

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until they were "pretty well grown,"[17] or until they were old enough to hunt.[18] Trowbridge in the nineteenth century said:

> Children are named at one of the grand worshipping councils, and as opportunities do not occur regularly, there is no particular age at which they are formally named. The child when about to be named is taken to the assembly . . . and there presented to one of the old men of the same tribe [phratry?] together with a fathom of wampum for his services.[19]

Information from the eighteenth century suggests that temporary childhood names were also given. These names were often derived from dreams:

> If it is left to the mother to give the child a name, she used little ceremony and calls it after some peculiar mark or character in it, for instance the Beautiful, the Good Child, the Great-Eye, sometimes giving it a name of unsavory meaning. If the father gives the child a name he pretends that it has been suggested to him in a dream.[20]

Van der Donck in the seventeenth century specified the mother as name-giver, but Loskiel in 1794 indicated the father in that capacity.[21] Kinietz has suggested that "part of the diversity may be accounted for by the fact that often two or more old people including the child's grandparents, dreamed a name, and on being presented with these the parents made a selection."[22] The shift away from a matrilineal, matrilocal emphasis in society may also have led to the naming of children by the father. According to informants, a friend of the parents, usually an aged person, was asked to give the child a name. This person was given a present; in the last century the present was dress goods or the like (M.B., O.A., J.T.). The name-giver did not name the child immediately, but waited until an auspicious dream had occurred.[23] Names for girls were "feminine sounding" and those for boys were "masculine sounding." "Coming into Full Bloom" was given as an example of a girl's name, and "Stands Before the Wind" was given as a boy's name (N.D.). One of Kinietz's informants said that animal names were used, and another said that children were named for the month in which they were born.[24] Masculine names could be feminized by adding an appropriate suffix.[25]

The use of an adult's name was restricted to the Big House Ceremony and analogous rites: childhood names did not have this restriction.[26] It was not uncommon for a person to select a new name upon becoming an adult. This might be because the old name no longer fitted, or the individual might merit a new name because of some worthy deed which he had performed. Denton said that "every one invents a name to himself, which he likes best. Some calling themselves *Rattlesnake, Skunk,*

[17] Holm, 1834, p. 127.
[18] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 202.
[19] Trowbridge MS.
[20] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 80
[21] Loskiel, 1794, p. 62.
[22] Kinietz, 1946, p. 45.
[23] Harrington, 1913, p. 213; Kinietz, 1946, p. 101; M.B., O.A., J.T.
[24] Kinietz, 1946, p. 101.
[25] Harrington, 1913, p. 213.
[26] Trowbridge MS; J.T., O.A.

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take baths in streams, even if the water was covered with ice.[37] Trowbridge said "they believe it of the utmost consequence to their children to subject them to hardship in their infancy and youth."[38] If children were orphaned "the maternal grandfather or mother is bound by custom to take the children under protection; but if they also be dead the children are adopted by such relatives or friends as may be inclined to take charge of them."[39] Children born out of wedlock were normally cared for by the mother, but the father might contribute to their support. No stigma attached to illegitimacy.[40]

Puberty: boys.—The vision quest of the young boy was the climax of the more formal aspects of the educational system and served to usher the boy over the threshold into adult life. When a boy was about ten years old,[41] or when his voice began to change (N.D.), he began what can best be called a series of ordeals:

> [A boy] is put under an alternate course of physic and fasting, either taking no food whatever, or swallowing the most powerful and nauseous medicines, and occasionally he is made to drink decoctions of an intoxicating nature, until his mind becomes sufficiently bewildered, so that he sees or fancies that he sees visions, and has extraordinary dreams, for which, of course, he has been prepared beforehand.[42]

Parents insulted their sons, N.D. added, telling them that they were no good and that they should go out and "die." Boys were shamed, ridiculed, insulted, and all but physically driven from the village. It was felt that a humbled, miserable boy had a better opportunity to induce the supernatural spirits to feel sorry for him, and so reveal themselves to him and provide him with a supernatural guardian. Boys inevitably went into a lonely exile filled with despair at their own inadequacy and in the desperate hope of obtaining a supernatural being's assistance in a hostile world. If the vision quest produced a guardian spirit, a boy was restored to the good graces of the community, acquired a good deal of self-confidence, and the course of his life was known. Future occupations, for instance, were decided by these visions, whether a boy was to be a warrior, shaman, or something else.[43] Not all boys, however, were successful in the vision quest. Women frequently had visions, although they were not consciously solicited.[44]

Puberty: girls.—When a girl menstruated for the first time she was secluded in a hut.[45] Zeisberger said of the Munsis:

> ...being the more strict and having more ceremonies in the observance of the custom than the Miamis. They build for such a girl, a separate hut, apart from the rest, where her mother or some old female acquaintance cares for her

[37] Penn, 1912, p. 231; Pastorius, 1912, p. 434; Trowbridge MS; J.T., N.D., O.A.
[38] Trowbridge MS.
[39] *Ibid.*
[40] *Ibid.*
[41] Harrington, 1913, p. 214.
[42] Heckewelder, 1881, p. 245.
[43] *Ibid.*, pp. 245-47. See Chap. IV for a discussion of the supernatural beings encountered in visions.
[44] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 132; N.D.
[45] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 77; Beatty, 1794, pp. 84-85; Loskiel, 1794, p. 56; N.D., O.A.

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776 weather.[8] The Mask Being was the only deity who was made concrete by human impersonation. Brainerd saw this deity impersonated and gave a vivid description:

776 532 He made his appearance in his pontifical garb, which was a coat of boar [bear] skins, dressed with the hair on, and hanging down to his toes; a pair of bearskin stockings; and a great wooden face painted, the one half black, and other half tawny, about the color of an Indian's skin, with an extravagant mouth, cut very much awry; the face fastened to a bearskin cap, which was drawn over his head. He advanced towards me with the instrument in his hand, which he used for music in his idolatrous worship; which was a dry tortoise-shell with some corn in it, and the neck of it drawn on to a piece of wood, which made a very convenient handle. As he came forward, he beat his tune with the rattle, and danced with all his might, but did not suffer any part of his body, not so much as his fingers, to be seen. No one would have imagined from his oppearance (sic) or actions, that he could have been a human creature, if they had not had some intimation of it otherwise. When he came near me, I could not but shrink away from him although it was then noonday, and I knew who it was: his appearance and gestures were so prodigiously frightful.[9]

The Mask Being was the guardian of animals and in recent times took part in the Big House Ceremony. It was this masked figure with which children were threatened.[10] The stone faces found in archaeological sites attributed to the Delawares bear a striking resemblance to it.[11] Speck said that they "may be thought of as prototypes of the small wooden and corn-husk masks still serving the Iroquois as 'guardians of health' and the Delawares as personal charms."[12] A multitude of lesser deities included Doll Beings, Tornado, Mother Corn, Snow Boy, Comet, animal spirits, plant spirits, and local genii.[13]

787 Approaches to the Supernatural

776 The principal means by which an individual got in contact with supernatural powers was in a dream or vision:

Such dream no doubt has great effect during the life of its subject, and in his private worship all his songs are descriptive of some of the events which he saw in his dream. He often repeats them and does not fail to attribute his success to the deity whose wonderful appearance had foretold his good fortune, or any mishap to his own bad conduct which incensed his guardian.[14]

Not only was the guardian spirit the guiding force in an individual's life, the secret of whatever success he had, and aid in time of trouble, but the public recitation of visions was the basis for the major religious

[8] Harrington, 1921, p. 25.
[9] Brainerd, 1884, pp. 184-85. Luckenbach, 1938, p. 451, also described this masked figure.
[10] Harrington, 1921, pp. 31-34; Speck, 1931, pp. 61-62; 1950, pp. 32-34; L.F., O.A.
[11] Skinner, 1920, p. 5; Harrington, 1921, p. 30.
[12] Speck, 1950, p. 45.
[13] Harrington, 1921, pp. 43-51.
[14] Trowbridge MS.

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ceremonials.[16] Subsequent to their initial vision men might have repeated contacts with their spiritual guardians. An informant's grandfather had multiple visions, and the account is reproduced here to demonstrate the type of vision and vision quest current in the nineteenth century; it probably is similar to earlier ones:

> My grandfather was hunting one time as a boy. He wounded a deer, but it got away. He was sad and felt very bad. He cried and cried. He happened to be standing near a grove of young pine trees. The pines sang a beautiful song to him. He stopped crying and listened to their singing and the things they were telling him. The song was so beautiful that he no longer cared that the deer had escaped. Later he had a second vision of a large bone in the sky. In a third vision he saw a serpent with twelve eyes. This serpent could see everything. His fourth vision was of tiny babies and of unborn babies. All the babies were glad to see him. When he was mature he became a shaman and excelled at curing the diseases of childhood. (M.B.)

Young men obtained guardian spirits by sacrifice, fasting, and isolation, as has been noted. The supplicant tried to cajole and flatter some supernatural being into pitying him and hence safeguarding him. Zeisberger, who understood the young man's attitude, said:

> Most extraordinary experiences have been met with by boys from twelve to fourteen years of age, when they have been alone in the forest in apprehension and in need. An old man in a gray beard may have appeared and said in soothing tone, "Do not fear, I am a rock and thou shalt call me by this name. I am the Lord of the whole earth and of every living creature therein, of the air and of the wind and weather. No one dare oppose me and I will give thee the same power. No one shall do thee harm and thou needest not to fear any man." Such and similar prophecies he makes. Such a boy ruminates upon what he has heard and is confirmed in the opinion as he grows up that a peculiar power has been imparted to him to perform extraordinary exploits, and he imagines that no one can do him injury.[16]

Guardian spirits were usually animals or birds, but could be plants, any of the deities, inanimate objects, or ghosts. Trowbridge mentioned as guardian spirits bear, wolf, dog, tree, cornstalk, "or anything else which the imagination can conceive"; Zeisberger, the moon, owls and other birds, fish, and "ridiculously insignificant creatures such as ants."[17] As Benedict has shown for the Central Algonkians, the Delawares felt that animal guardian spirits were ancestral prototypes rather than the animals themselves. Thus, guardian spirit animals were not necessarily taboo as food.[18]

The apparition that appeared in visions and in other hallucinations not only indicated what sort of supernatural being he was, but foretold the future of the one to whom he appeared — whether or not he was to

[16] Zeisberger, 1818, pp. 132-33; Trowbridge MS; Harrington, 1913, p. 227; Speck, 1931, pp. 51-54.

[17] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 127; Harrington, 1921, pp. 67-77, gave examples of a number of visions.

[17] Trowbridge MS; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 132.

[18] Benedict, 1923, p. 49.

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suggest, and may reproduce, early magical practices. The best-known remaining magical practice is a rain-making device. It is said that a scale from the mythical horned serpent when put in water would make it rain (F.W., J.T.). The scale has disappeared today, but there are a number of tales about its efficacy.[35] Speck noted a rain-making ritual in which a weasel skin was employed.[36]

It was possible to divine future events by magical methods. Whether a wounded warrior was going to die or get well, for example, was foretold by putting a piece of dried liver in a cup of water. If the resulting bloody solution circled the cup before sinking to the bottom, the wounded person would recover (J.T.). A magical procedure similar to this was used for extremely sick persons after all other curing methods had failed. Shavings from a tooth of an animal were dropped into a shell filled with water. If the shavings circled the shell before sinking, it was a good omen. This process was repeated four times; if the shavings circled the shell each time before sinking, the patient would get well. The water of the fourth trial was given to the patient to drink. Love medicines were regarded by one of our informants as being purely magical devices. In the one instance in which data were secured, some type of animal foot was used with herbs. An incantation was spoken and within three days an erring husband or wife returned to a prior love (N.D.). Zeisberger mentioned "love charms" similar to this one and also hunting charms.[37]

Soul Concept

The Delawares believed that every individual possessed two souls. The heart was the locus of one soul which after death remained near the body for eleven days. On the twelfth day it left the earth for a spirit world.[38] It is this soul which was offered food in a "Feast of the Dead" twelve days after death and again twelve months after death.[39] The symbolic number twelve is in all probability a historic diffusion; otherwise these concepts appear to be of Delaware origin.[40] The second soul, a resident of the blood, remained on the earth after death. It was this soul which was apt to become a malevolent ghost especially active at night. "They have an idea that the ghosts of their deceased friends appear to them in the night, particularly after a failure to offer the customary feast at the grave, and they immediately prepare to do what from neglect or disrespect had been left undone, when the ghost ceases the visits."[41] Harrington said that "the blood in the dead body draws up into globular form and floats about in the air as a luminous ball."[42] One informant said: "You see a dark something rolling around at night" (N.D.). This soul was also associated with paralysis, strokes, and

[35] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 83; J.T.
[36] Speck, 1950, pp. 70-72.
[37] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 83; J.T.
[38] Speck, 1931, p. 25; Harrington, 1921, p. 52; J.T., N.D.
[39] Speck, 1931, p. 25; O.A.
[40] Kinietz, 1940, p. 118.
[41] Trowbridge MS.
[42] Harrington, 1913, p. 228.

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and immorality, even gross sensuality and unnatural vice flourish among them, according to the testimony of the Indians themselves, more than was the case formerly."[86]

About 1750 prophets began to appear among the Delawares, and these individuals continued to appear sporadically until 1812.[87] The Shawnee prophet of the early nineteenth century, although of another tribe, may be regarded as representing the end of this phase of acculturation. No prophets appeared before 1750 and none after 1812, if exception is made of the initiators of peyotism in the late nineteenth century. This anti-acculturative movement and the wars of this period were closely associated: some of the messages of the prophets fostered war, and, conversely, military defeats probably furthered their appearance. During this phase of acculturation the Delawares were desperately trying to save what was left of their cultural and social integrity and to turn back the clock to a mythical age when war, personal demoralization, and cultural chaos were unknown. One way of attaining this end was to follow the dictates of the supernatural powers as revealed by prophets. This the Delawares did in nativistic movements of a type which has been described as "revivalistic nativism."[88] This form of nativism is defined as "an attempt to revive extinct or at least moribund elements of culture . . . ."[89] All of these prophets taught that by following supernatural injunctions as revealed to them, acculturation could be halted and even reversed. The most successful was known as the Delaware Prophet or the Imposter, whose career reached its zenith about 1762.[90] In a vision this man received instructions from the Great Spirit on how to restore his people to their former state. His message was made concrete by a number of symbolic devices painted on a tanned deer hide or on a wooden stick. Copies of the deer-hide map were made, some on paper, and were sold by the Delaware Prophet. Some of the purchasers, in turn, seem to have become minor prophets. Heckewelder's description of this symbolic device is the most detailed:

> The size of this map was about fifteen inches square, or, perhaps, something more. An inside square was formed by lines drawn within it, of about eight inches each way, two of those lines, however, were not closed by about half an inch at the corners. Across these inside lines, others of about an inch in length were drawn with sundry other lines and marks, all which was intended to represent a strong inaccessible barrier, to prevent those without from entering the space within, otherwise than at the place appointed for that purpose. When the map was held as he directed, the corners which were not closed lay at the left hand side, directly opposite to each other, the one being at the south-east by south, and the nearest at the north-east by north. In explaining or describing the particular points on this map, with his fingers always pointing to "the heavenly re-

[86] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 20.

[87] Zeisberger, 1871, p. 265, gives this date, but the Delaware prophet did not appear until a decade later, in 1760. (Hayes, 1954, pp. 76-77, said, however, that Papunhang, the christianized Delaware preacher, had established his religious group before 1752).

[88] Linton, 1943, pp. 230-40.

[89] *Ibid.*, p. 231.

[90] Peckham, 1947, p. 98; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 291.

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gions," or the place destined by the great Spirit for the habitation of the Indians in future life; the space left open at the south-east corner, he called the "avenue," which had been intended for the Indians to enter into this heaven, but which was now in the possession of the white people, wherefore the great Spirit had since caused another "avenue" to be made on the opposite side, at which, however, it was both difficult and dangerous for them to enter, there being many impediments in their way.... The space on the outside of this interior square was intended to represent the country given to the Indians to hunt, fish and dwell in while in this world; the east side of it was called the ocean or "great salt water Lake."[95]

The prophet discussed before his public this representation of the supernatural world and pointed out that through neglect and disobedience the Great Spirit had turned his benevolent attention to the whites. He had allowed the whites to usurp Indian land and to bar passage of the Indian to the spirit world.[96] To correct this state of affairs the prophet advocated several courses of action:

> Hear what the great Spirit has ordered me to tell you! You are to make sacrifices, in the manner that I shall direct; to put off entirely from yourselves the customs which you have adopted since the white people came among us; you are to return to that former happy state, in which we lived in peace and plenty, before these strangers came to disturb us, and above all, you must abstain from drinking their deadly *beson* [poison, alcohol], which they have forced upon us, for the sake of increasing their gains and diminishing our numbers. Then will the great Spirit give success to our arms; then he will give us strength to conquer our enemies, to drive them from hence, and recover the passage to the heavenly regions which they have taken from us.[97]

James Kenny, a Pittsburgh trader, emphasized that the prophet advocated the cessation of trade with whites, and said:

> ...its agree'd to by their Whole Nation, to follow their new Plan of Religion, & all their Boys are to be Train'd to yeuse of the Bow & Arrow for Seven Years Then to Live entirely on dry'd Meat & a Sort of Bitter Drink made of Roots & Plants & Water ye Women & Antient Men may Raise & Eat Corn at ye Expiration of ye Seven Years, to quit all Commerce with ye White People & Clothe themselves with Skins.[98]

Another prophet, a Munsi called Wangomend, appeared in 1766 and met Zeisberger in 1767. Relatively little is known about this man, although Heckewelder mentioned him:

> This man also pretended that his call as a preacher was not of his own choice, but that he had been moved to it by the great and good Spirit, in order to teach

[95] Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 291-92; Loudon published a purported reproduction of the prophet's book along with McCullough's description of the prophet and his works (Loudon, 1808, pp. 324-25, and tipped-in engraving). Hayes, 1954, pp. 76-77, saw the "old priest's" book in 1760. Zeisberger, 1910, p. 133, and Kenny, 1913, p. 171, also described the prophet's symbolic world portrait.

[96] Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 292-93.

[97] *Ibid.*, p. 293.

[98] Kenny, 1913, p. 188; also see pp. 171-72.

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his countrymen, who were on the way to perdition, how they could become reconciled to their God. He would make his followers believe that he had once been taken so near to heaven, that he could distinctly hear the crowing of the cocks, and that at another time he had been borne by unseen hands to where he had been permitted to take a peep into the heavens, of which there were three, one for the Indians, one for the negroes, and another for the white people.[98]

The last of the prophets associated with the Delawares was Tenskawatawa, a Shawnee and brother of Tecumseh. These two Shawnees had established their headquarters and lived for several years, beginning in 1798, at one of the Delaware villages on White River in present-day Indiana.[100] The prophet preached against drunkenness, racial intermarriage, "release of Indian lands to the whites by sale, and the sin of witchcraft."[101] Luckenbach in 1805 said of him:

> We heard that a Schawano Indian had arisen among the heathen as teacher, and that a large number of Delawares and Schawanos had come together in Woapicamikunk to hear what this heathen teacher had to say. As usual his teaching consists of all sorts of ancient heathenism. In addition he forbids all sins, and insists that parents should not strike their children. He also urges most strongly that the Indians should sacrifice; that they should do away with their cattle and keep horses only; that the heathen should shave their heads and live as did the Indians in olden days. He assured the Indians that God had shown him the deer were half a tree's length under the ground and that these would soon appear again on earth if the Indians did what he told them to do, and then there would be an abundance of deer once more. He also related in an address that God had shown him a crab whose claws were quite full of seaweeds; that the spirit had told him, "Look! this crab is from Boston and has brought with it something of the land there. If you Indians will do everything I tell you I will turn over the land so that the white people are covered and you alone shall possess the land."[102]

Some diffusion from Christianity had occurred, although the prophets vehemently rejected Christianity and most of Euro-American civilization. The idea of a heaven and a hell, common in the messages of the prophets, is a case in point, as is the symbolic number twelve, which has been mentioned. Other traits of this sort may have diffused about this time. It seems certain that the revivalistic nativism did much to strengthen the Big House Ceremony, and, as Kinietz has shown, many minor elements seem to have been added to it by the prophets. Shaking hands with the left hand and the addition of ten carved heads in the Big House, bringing the total to twelve, are examples which he mentioned.[103] These changes in religion do not mean that any of the native ceremonies lost their force or vitality. According to Zeisberger:

[98] Heckewelder, 1881, p. 294.
[100] Thompson, 1937, p. 45.
[101] *Ibid.*
[102] Luckenbach, 1938, p. 393; also see p. 282.
[103] Kinietz, 1940, pp. 118-19.

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Though in the detail of the ceremony there has been change, as the Indians are more divided now than at that time [i.e., prehistorically] worship and sacrifice have continued as practiced in the early days, for the Indians believe that they would draw all manner of disease and misfortune upon themselves if they omitted to observe the ancestral rites.[105]

By the time the Shawnee prophet appeared the Delawares seem to have passed somewhat beyond the nativistic phase of acculturation.

Decadent Period (1814-1867)

The military defeats of the Delawares during the Nativistic Period and the disillusionment following the unsuccessful religious revivals set the stage for a phase of acculturation which is best described as one of decadence. By the second decade of the nineteenth century the Delawares were no longer an independent tribe, but were politically and militarily dominated by, and at the mercy of, the United States. In a social sense the tendencies towards dispersal first noted in the preceding period persisted, as small groups continued to desert the main body of the tribe. In other respects cultural decay and disintegration continued, although further acculturation is best described as halting. From this time on the Delawares underwent continuous, overt pressure to become "civilized" Americans.

History

In 1814 the British and Americans concluded a treaty of peace, one article of which stipulated that the Indian allies of the British would have their rights, privileges, and property restored.[106] In compliance with this treaty, in 1816 "A Treaty of Peace and Friendship" was entered into with the Delawares, as well as with other tribes.[107] This treaty did not long prevent the alienation of Indian lands, however, for during the administration of Monroe (1817-25) "a policy was inaugurated looking to increased westward emigration of Indians from east of the Mississippi."[108] Before the War of 1812 the Delawares had bitterly opposed the cession of land, but after the war they did not have the strength to resist the demands of the United States.[109]

In the Treaty of St. Mary's of 1818 the Delawares, including remnants of the Mahicans and Nanticokes, sold their land in Indiana to the government "without reserve." The government agreed to remove them to the west side of the Mississippi and give them land there, although no location or emigration date was set.[110] In 1820 Delawares from the

[105]Zeisberger, 1910, p. 136. Mahr, 1932, has documented the community responsibility of ritual leaders, as demonstrated in the experience of a Moravian convert of 1772.

[106]Thompson, 1937, p. 81; G. Foreman, 1946, pp. 27-23.

[107]G. Foreman, 1946, p. 29.

[108]*Ibid.*, pp. 32-47.

[109]Thompson, 1937, p. 81.

[110]Brinton, 1885, pp. 124-25; Mooney, 1911, p. 337; G. Foreman, 1946, p. 37.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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*177 795 although they have many Indian friends of other tribes. Any Indian can participate in peyote meetings, and a few people can hold one, whereas the Big House Ceremony requires a large co-operative group of people. Associated with the advantages of peyotism is the fact that the Delawares are even more scattered than they were during the war and would have a difficult time getting together for a twelve-day Big House Ceremony. The disintegration of the Big House Ceremony is regretted by many Delawares, but nothing is being done, or can be done, to revive it.

It is not entirely clear when most other elements of Delaware religion disappeared or were replaced. The reason for this is that no other ceremonies were as universal or as well known as the Big House Ceremony. Nevertheless, it is possible to make estimates which probably are reliable.

*177 ●787 Vision quest.—The Delawares no longer seek visions, and apparently few people have unsolicited visions. Informants frequently claim that "no one can have visions because the earth is no longer clean" (M.B.), or that one has to be "morally clean" to obtain a vision (N.D.). Few people living in a white man's world can claim these virtues, informants add. No young people were encountered who had had visions, solicited or otherwise. Several middle-aged and old people claimed to have had visions, but their visions had not been solicited. The guardian spirit of one informant (R.W.), for instance, was the Mask Being. This deity had appeared when the man was in delirium following an automobile accident. The vision quest was probably declining in popularity before the Cherokee-Delawares reached Oklahoma and shortly thereafter disappeared entirely. Supernatural beings encountered in a peyote trance are not regarded as guardian spirits.

*177 515 Sweat bathing, Shamanism.—Sweat bathing disappeared among the Cherokee-Delawares during the early decades of this century. O.A. was given a sweat bath as a child, as a cure for some childhood illness. Shamans often presided over sweat bathing, and the last Cherokee-Delaware shaman (Chief Elkhair) died almost two decades ago. M.B. of the Anadarko Delawares claimed that sweat baths were in vogue there until "a few years ago."

*177 757 Curing.—Although shamans and sweat bathing have passed into oblivion there is still secular knowledge and perhaps use of native medicines and cures. These are useful in love, for fevers, hiccoughs, colic in children, and the like. One informant (N.D.), for example, had inherited from her mother some sort of animal foot plus rules and ritual which were used as "love medicine." N.D. used this magical device once successfully, but is reluctant to use it again. It is doubtful if she will pass these secrets along to her daughter. Peyote, government doctors, and hospitals seem to have supplemented native therapy — medicinal and supernatural — for more important illnesses.

*177 796 Doll Dance.—According to Kinietz, "The Doll Dance which was a family responsibility has not been held since 1929."[9] This agrees with my information, although the last remaining doll owner had vowed to

[9] Kinietz, 1946, p. 14.

3;Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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224 1789 [887] pocket. Thus the old men support themselves when they can no longer engage in the chase. As there are several sorts of charm of this character, every one is desirous to get the best, even if he has already at the price of half the catch of a season bought one charm and if it should cost him the greater part of his property to get the new one of which he has heard. Some Indians chew a certain root when on the deer-hunt, so the deer may not notice their approach when the wind blowing over the Indian to the game would otherwise give the alarm.

Another kind of Beson, considered to be a more powerful charm, is taken inwardly and occasions violent vomiting, but this is not in common use. According to the opinion of the Indians this beson will prove mischievous and have a contrary effect unless every ceremony connected with its use is attended to with the most scrupulous exactness. If a huntsman shoots nothing for several days, he swallows a small dose, observing all the rules prescribed by magic art. Not having taken any food he then starts on the chase and does not return before evening unless he has secured some game. It is claimed that the use of this charm enables them to shoot deer in considerable numbers. I have observed, however, that Indians have repeatedly taken such doses [777] during a period of three weeks and not been successful. In such cases ill-luck is ascribed to some other cause, frequently to the presence of a missionary. In cases where Indians, unable to secure anything in spite of the use of this beson while I was present have been successful in my absence, it has appeared that my presence has in some way interfered with their incantations. [787] In connection with the chase they lay much stress on dreams. If the dreamer fancies he sees an Indian and hears him say, "If thou will sacrifice to me, thou shalt shoot deer at pleasure," he will immediately prepare a sacrifice and burn the whole or part of a deer in honor of the apparition.

Occasionally, when an Indian would go hunting for a season, he will by way of preparation shoot a deer or two, bring home the flesh and prepare a feast, which is at the same time a sacrifice, to which the aged are invited. The latter pray for him that he may be fortunate and then he departs to stay away some time.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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nations. By such a commission an accession of honor and respect is acquired by the captain. So soon as he gives up the tomahawk, his men must cease from hostile acts and demonstrations.

The rank of captain is neither elective nor hereditary. First intimation of this honor comes usually in a dream, early in life, one or another having seen a buffalo, a bear or other ferocious animal, or he has seen in a vision an Indian who spoke with him and gave him the necessary gifts. Such a dream is pondered over and related to friends and usually interpreted as destiny for the office of Captain. The dreamer's imagination leads him to believe that nothing may injure him and that no bullet can harm him. He, therefore, endeavors to attain to the necessary qualifications for this dignity and prove his powers for he must be tested, as will appear presently. Occasionally, boys are prepared and instructed for this position. These are given little to eat, are made to fast often and long, so that their bodies become emaciated, their minds deranged and their dreams wild and extravagant. Frequent questions are put to them when in this condition as to the dreams they have had. So long as they have not dreamt or not dreamt the right thing, the process is continued until they have been reduced to skin and bones, when they usually have or pretend to have a fantastic dream, declared to be ominous. The subject being minutely considered and interpreted by their teachers, they are solemnly informed what will be their future destination. By virtue of these extraordinary revelations they become physicians, great hunters, rich men, *Mantewits*, that is, sorcerers, or captains. The impression thus made on their minds is lasting, and as they grow older they earnestly strive to fulfill their destination, believing themselves to be men of peculiar gifts, far in advance of the others. It is not enough to profess to be destined for the dignity of a captain. The claim must be made good. The candidate must be resolute, brave, fearless, even in greatest danger. If a leader, who has not the rank of captain, has the good fortune not to lose a man of his troop in six or seven engagements and to bring scalps and prisoners to the camp, he is recognized and honored as a captain forthwith. If he loses

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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Iroquois NM9
Nanticoke NM11

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who had on the back of the turtle escaped the general destruction.

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Concerning their origin no trace of tradition is to be found among the Indians. From some old Mingoes I heard that they believed themselves to have come from under the earth, where they had lived before. A badger had worked his way to the surface, seen the beautiful land and returned at once to announce to them what he had seen. They had been so pleased with his account that they left their subterranean abode forthwith and settled in this beautiful land. From their habit of speaking in figure or parable, it may be concluded that by this account they mean to convey the idea that they originally came from the other side of the earth. Others say that they came from under the water, which may mean much the same thing.

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The tradition of the Nantikoks is that seven Indians had suddenly seen themselves seated at the sea-side. Whether they had come over the sea or been there created they did not know. Descendants of these Indians peopled the land. Others, again, claim that the first human being fell from heaven. This was a woman, cast out from the upper regions by her husband. Shortly after her fall from heaven she was delivered of twins, from whom the inhabitants of this land are descended. They believe that in the realm above them is a world of men much like this, whence the Indians originally came.

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They believe in numerous spirits or subordinate deities. Almost all animals and the elements are looked upon as spirits, one exceeding the other in dignity and power. There is scarcely an Indian who does not believe that one or more of these spirits has not been particularly given him to assist him and make him prosper. This, they claim, has been made known to them in a dream, even as their religious belief and witchcraft is alleged to have been made known to them in a dream. One has, in a dream, received a serpent or a buffalo, another the sun or the moon, another an owl or some other bird, another a fish, some even ridiculously insignificant creatures such as ants. These are considered their spirits or *Manittos*. If an Indian has no *Manitto* to be his friend he considers himself forsaken, has nothing upon which he may lean, has no hope of any assistance

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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and is small in his own eyes. On the other hand those who have been thus favored possess a high and proud spirit.

About thirty years ago[202] preachers appeared among the Indians. They pretended to have received revelations from above, to have traveled into heaven and conversed with God. They gave different accounts of their journey, but all agreed in this: that no one could enter heaven without great danger, for the road, say they, runs close by the gates of hell. Here the devil lies in ambush and snatches at every one who is going to God. They came first to the Son of God and through him to God himself, with whom they pretend to have conversed concerning the Indians and by whom they were commanded to instruct their people. Thus the Indians were for the first time informed that there was a heaven where was the dwelling of God and a hell that of the devil. Presumably they got this knowledge from the whites. Some of the preachers confessed that they had not reached the dwelling of God but had approached near enough to hear the cocks crow and see the smoke of the chimneys in heaven. Others that they had approached the Son of God and then returned.

These teachers marked off on a piece of parchment made of deerskin two roads, both leading to heaven, one designated by God for the Indians, the other for the white people. They claim that the latter had to go a great way round about and the road for the Indians was at that time the shortest, but now, since the white people had blocked up the road for the Indians, they were obliged to make a long circuit to come to God. Further, there were paintings of heaven and hell upon the parchment as also the figure of a balance to represent the deceitful traffic carried on by the white people with the Indians. This rude parchment is, as it were, their Bible, and lies spread before them when they preach for the Indians. They then explain every mark and figure to their hearers and it is very evident that their chief aim is to influence the minds of the Indians against the white people. It is certain that their preaching has had this effect, for about this time war broke out between Indians and whites there having been no such war before.

They declared to the Indians that God had commanded their

ered but I did not tell my brother what I saw. It seemed to come nearer and nearer to us but as we drew close, the thing disappeared suddenly into the woods. I asked my brother if he had seen the strange object but he replied that he had not. When we reached home I told my mother what I had seen and she warned us never to follow a ghost like that as it would lead us astray and finally to a pile of bones."

It may be of interest to note here that at times several people might see the same ghost and "feel" it pass by. Such an experience is always regarded as a warning, foretelling illness, death, or some sudden event. Children are cautioned against answering the call of an unseen person as it might prove to be a "ghost-whoop." Should a child answer such a call, his jaw would become dislocated or even his entire body paralyzed. Once a hunter answered such a "ghost-whoop" and upon trying to locate it, ran into a stack of bones.[4]

The cause of insanity is attributed to the failure of a family to perform certain inherited ceremonials. Failure to continue such prescribed rites is punished by misfortune of some kind. Certain individuals are capable of exorcising people afflicted with this malady, the Indian name for which is translated as "lacking good sense." In one incident a young man believed that he saw a "mask" everywhere he went. His relatives finally resorted to a sweat doctor who entered the sweat lodge to ascertain the cause of the illness. After the ritual the doctor announced that it was due to their failure to perform regularly a ceremony which had come down in the family. In order to avert further trouble and to rid the young man of the disease, the doctor advised that the neglected feast and ceremony be performed, after which the patient became normal once more. Could anything be more in conformity with modern psycopathic practice than the preceding case! Other native terms which apply to people similarly affected are translated as "silly" or "half-witted."

I might also note that having in mind the prevalence of the theory that animals are the main causes of disease among the Cherokee (Mooney, 1892, p. 322), and Muskhogean peoples of the Southeast, I failed to find any evidence whatever in the mind of my informant of a similar belief among the Delaware.

[4] Archaeologists, take note!—Editor.

Importance of the Dream Vision in Delaware Curing

787 The dream vision[1] is of paramount importance in the life of the Delaware. This supernatural visitation is experienced during childhood, or less frequently, at the age of maturity. More commonly it occurs during the fast-vigil of a youth at puberty, alone in the forests searching for a spirit guardian (Benedict, 1923). It is usually to such individuals, considered by the Spirit-forces to be spiritually and morally pure, that this great blessing is bestowed. The gift is not restricted to the male but supernatural power granted to a girl is usually of lesser force. It is said, however, that women, through spiritual guidance, are more adept as a rule in the art of preparing and administering herb medicines than men. Occasionally a man has been blessed with a vision that gives him power to become an herb doctor. (Wi·tapanóxwe became proficient in that field as will become evident in a subsequent narrative.)

Not always is the revelation experienced in a dream. The neophyte may be walking alone in the woods, or even in a situation of apparent danger when the presence of the spiritual agent is made known to him. A voice from a rock, a bird, an animal or even the sky is recognized, as the medium through which the coveted power is conveyed to the fortunate one. Occasionally a song is granted to the novice during the visitation. This bequest is regarded as personal property to be used exclusively by the owner during participation in the ceremonies of the Big House or in practicing healing with herbs or in the sweat-lodge. [424]

To receive such a revelation from the Creator means much to a Delaware. It affords the assurance of spiritual guidance in all things, thus giving him confidence to go afield and to face whatever adversities may come into his life without fear.

To those whom the Creator has entrusted with this great gift comes the full realization of the necessity of fulfilling certain obligations. The dream-vision is not divulged until a man reaches maturity and comes to feel that he is capable of appearing before his tribesmen as one who has had sufficient experience in life to avoid incurring criticism

[1] Zeisberger "To the dreams they appeal for in them they have much faith." See also: *Ibid*, p. 25, Harrington (1921, p. 61). "The most vital and intimate phase of Lenape religion is the belief in dreams and visions, and in the existence of personal guardian spirits or supernatural helpers—concepts of wide distribution among the North American tribes, but rarely so vivid or well-developed as we find them here."

in carrying out his ceremonial duties. The process of preparation is long and arduous, a period during which the novice must observe carefully the ways of his elders. The youth is instructed to be prayerful and humble in spirit since it is believed that only through prayer and faith are great things accomplished. Humility is the keynote of Delaware behavior even among those men and women who have attained the experience of advanced age. If one has lived a clean, pure life and has been faithful to the doctrines of his tribal religion, he shall indeed be called great. Not of the pompous, boastful, type but a truly righteous man with full realization of the joys and blessings which come to those who are ever mindful of the Creator.

Some of the more spiritually inclined are known to have had more than one vision, as in the case of Wi·tapanóxwe whose first revelation came in his youth, the second later in life. If one has had several visions he usually is guided by the first but in any event he is free to choose according to his spiritual needs. After such a decision is made, however, the individual continues to adhere to the guardian selected throughout the remainder of his life.

Having lived according to the precepts of his native faith and achieved the age of mature experience, the informant was not averse to making known the spiritual power revealed to him during two dream visions. His recitation and song have been fully given in text in a preceding number of this series (Speck, 1931, pp. 128, 168). Now he is ready to take his place in the Big House Ceremonies and in the sweat lodge but prior to the recording of his vision, he still felt inexperienced and unworthy of appearing before his kinsmen in a ceremonial role.

The following is presented in the words of Wi·tapanóxwe and is self explanatory:

> It was while attending school at Chilocco, Oklahoma, I was taken sick with the black measles. The authorities were alarmed, thinking that it might be scarlet fever and more than a hundred of the pupils were removed to the local hospital and placed under quarantine. It was during that time that I had my trials and tribulations. The summer before, Mr. Wright, a noted evangelist of part Choctaw descent, had visited the school and held revivals. So many were converted that I too thought that I was fully converted and was persuaded to say that I had accepted Jesus Christ for my personal Savior. But now came the real test. I was one of thirty patients in a first floor ward and read the Scriptures constantly.

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159 The attending nurse had an aged father who often told us that he had served in the Civil War. During that time he had the measles but he did not even go to bed. He was assigned to look after the personal needs of the patients in my ward and he soon tired of his duties. He would try to force us out of bed and called us all kinds of ugly names. He was more profane than any white man I had ever seen. We were not allowed to drink cold water to cool the high fever of the dreadful disease but were compelled to drink a weak solution of cayenne-pepper tea to quench our thirst. Of course that alone was bad enough but the disagreeable old veteran made matters worse.

His actions so disgusted me that I decided since I was feeling on the mend, to get up and put on my clothes. Unbeknown to either the doctor or the nurse, I got up and attended to the patients, giving them medicine as I had done many times before. It was in the month of February, the sun came out warm, but there was still a little scattering of snow on the prairie. Having finished my tasks I went out on the south side of the building and stood in the sunshine for a few minutes. Although I was wearing an overcoat, cap, and overshoes, the exposure, which I thought was harmless, nearly caused my death, leaving me weak for many years. Fortunately I pulled through—weak but determined to live.

This is the first time I have related my experience with the so-called white man's religion. That evening before five o'clock I was taken sick and went back to bed again. The doctor and nurse did not know that I had been up but the sudden rise in my temperature alarmed them greatly. I was delirious the greater part of the time for more than seven days. So they decided to notify my parents who lived some eighty miles away. It was at this time a vision came to me and accompanied me around the world. At times it seemed as though we were not on earth. This man spoke the Delaware language and he showed me many of the Indian ceremonies, some of which I had never seen or heard before. He showed me men and women who had departed this life many years before, and told me their names.

When at times I would awake from what seemed only a short nap, I would find myself talking to my mother who was at my bedside constantly. To my sorrow I found out that many of my comrades were worse off than I. It was here that I fully realized that the teachings of my mother had been so deeply impressed on my mind. This experience turned me back to the Delaware Big House.

So it happened that years later, after worrying about my careless life at home in Muskogee, these same strange visions came and spoke to me from mid-sky and gave me a song. They seemed to be four in number and were not earthly persons, but belonged to the sky.

It was then they came to tell me what my mission on earth was to be. Since everyone has a purpose in life, mine was to heal the sick. Whenever I dreamed a secret I told my mother and she told me to keep this to myself until I became older. Now as I get older, I feel that I shall be better known in years to come. I am confident that my dream-vision power will bring me success throughout life since the Creator does not abandon his children to whom he had entrusted such gifts. By this I have learned to work out my own salvation, knowing that the Indian wholly depends upon the talent allotted to him by the Creator. These experiences fully qualify me to lead in the Big House if I choose to do so. My brothers do not know this but they suspect that I have a vision to relate. Some day they may have the pleasure of hearing it when the opportunity offers.

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Delaware Practitioners

Delaware herbalists are of two classes:[6] (1) "one who knows [medicine] well" and (2) "one who uses medicine for magic purposes."[7] It is believed that to the former is entrusted the knowledge of the healing properties of plants as well as the methods of preparing and administering them as medicine. These practitioners are usually women

[6] Heckewelder (1876, p. 228) refers to the herbalists as "physicians and surgeons" and says in part: "By these names I wish to distinguish the good and honest practitioners who are in the habit of curing and healing diseases and wounds, by the simple application of natural remedies, without any mixture of superstition in the manner of preparing them." Zeisberger (*op. cit.* p. 24) does not classify the Indian doctors but writes, "There are Indians who have considerable knowledge of the virtue of roots and herbs, learned from their fathers, and who bring about relief."

[7] *Ibid,* p. 231. Heckewelder, in discussing this type has chosen to call them "doctors or juggler," for which he gives the following reasons: "These men are physicians, like the others of whom I have spoken, and like them are acquainted with the properties and virtues of plants, barks, roots and other remedies. They differ from them only by their pretensions of a superior knowledge. As the Indians in general believe in witchcraft, and ascribe to the arts of sorcerers many of the disorders with which they are afflicted in the regular course of nature, this class of men has risen up among them who pretend to be skilled in a certain occult science, by means of which they are able not only to cure natural diseases, but to counteract or destroy the enchantments of wizards or witches, and expel evil spirits."

nature of the disease. The flesh of animals and fowl is excluded from the diet and in the case of fever, red or fox squirrel flesh is not eaten. This food taboo is known to the Delaware by a native word meaning "makes you sick." Corn hominy, however, is administered in most cases, as it is considered to be a nourishing food.

In the case of childbirth, salt is not eaten for ten days. Onions are given the mother to produce milk, but care must be taken not to use a quantity such as to cause nausea for the child and mother.

During the catamenial period a woman is not allowed to prepared food nor taken an active part in domestic affairs.[*] The separate dishes assigned to her at that time, may only be used by her husband. Food cooked by such a woman would produce tuberculosis in others in a short time. A term translated as "gives dirty food," is applied to such a practice and refers to the resultant poisonous effects. During her periodic isolation a woman herbalist must refrain from preparing remedies or participating in any of the ceremonies.

Divinatory Curing Practices

Certain acts of a divinatory nature are performed upon selection and preparation of plants, roots, and bark employed in making medicine. Only plants that are clean and well developed, with the roots free from knotty growths, are taken. When seeking bark, the medicine gatherer selects a sturdy, well-formed tree for the purpose. The bark growing on the east side of a tree is preferred for its greater strength-giving properties received from the morning sun.

In gathering medicinal supplies, the materials are inspected for a clue as to the course of the treatment. Thus, if roots appear rough and knotty, the patient will be difficult to cure; if clean and well-formed, it will be an easy task to restore his health. Another practice is to place some crushed leaves or roots in running water. If the substance sinks to the bottom of the stream, the patient for whom it is prepared, will die; if it floats, a speedy recovery is assured.

When all other remedies have failed, an emergency medicine is sometimes made from scrapings of deer antler. During its preparation a prayer is offered to the animal from which the antler was obtained. Wi-tapanóxwe related an incident in which a trial was made by means

[*] The puberty ceremony for young girls and the periodic isolation of women is described by Zeisberger, *ibid*, pp. 75-77.

of this substance. His niece was preparing it for a small child who was dangerously ill. She dropped a small quantity in a cup of hot water and observing it settle to the bottom, knew that the small patient would not recover. The medicine was administered as a tea, but the child died in a short time.[33]

In the making of an emetic, the necessary water should be dipped from the stream *with* the current;[34] for a cathartic, *against* the current. A similar regulation applies to the gathering of bark; for use as an emetic, the bark is peeled upward; for a cathartic, downward.

Formerly there were among the Delaware, as among other tribes, certain men and women whose supernatural power enabled them to communicate with the dead, to locate lost persons and objects and to foretell coming events. This practice was known as "locating or foretelling," and one who possessed such power was known as a "man who tells of the future." The source of this extraordinary power was attributed to one's guardian spirit or in some instances to the spirits of the dead. Those who were able to communicate with the dead usually performed at night. Such a person was also thought able to cure paralysis.

Some individuals who possessed the power to stay under water for a period of several hours at one time, were frequently called upon to locate a drowned person or a submerged object. One man was known to have found the body of a drowned person after months of futile searching by others. Some years later, the son of this shaman, after becoming converted to Christianity and studying for the ministry, finally persuaded his father to abandon the native faith and join the Christian church. In doing so the old seer, forsaken by his supernatural guardian, forfeited his magical power. Later the old man returned to the Delaware religion, but the power which enabled him to be of service to his tribesmen, was gone forever.

Witapanóxwe's grandfather was one of the last of the Delaware to possess such extraordinary mental and physical powers. He was able to perform the submersion feat and several times located the bodies of persons who had drowned in the rivers of Kansas. On one occasion a

[33] In reference to remedies for fever, Zeisberger observes (*op. cit.*, p. 55) that "when a patient has been given a dose, they are generally able to tell by its workings whether he will recover or die. If he does not retain the medicine it is regarded as a sign that he will hardly recover."

[34] This practice was noted by Heckewelder, *op. cit.*, p. 224.

4:Tantaquidgeon E-5 (1930) 1942
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team of horses which had broken through the ice, were rescued through this same ability, to remain beneath the surface of the water for a considerable period. Power for this ability was given him by a teal duck which appeared to him in a dream. In the informant's words:

> When a boy, my grandfather always went swimming every morning before sun-up, even when there was a thin coating of ice on the river. One time he dreamed of going down to the ice-covered stream very early to bathe as usual. When he jumped into the water the echo could be heard down the river. Then suddenly he heard a voice saying to him, "I am going to make you a strong man. You will be able to go under the water as I do." He did not see anyone around but there close by was a teal. And he could go down under the water and get fish, too.

So close was the connection of divination with the spiritual realm that the Delaware noted carefully the last words of a person near to death. At such a time the dying one is believed to be in close communication with the souls of the departed, who may impart messages of great importance through this medium to the living. One aged woman while on her death-bed spoke as follows:

> My kindred, we have been wonderfully blessed. We have enjoyed the gifts which the Creator bestowed upon us. That is because we have kept our own religion and observed the teachings of our elders in all things. If you continue to do this in the future, you will not be subjected to the evils which increase as civilization increases. Do not give up your own religion.

Another old woman foretold the coming of the railroad twelve years prior to its appearance, while a third foresaw the granting of citizenship to the Indians twenty years before its occurrence.

The Sweating Rite

The importance of the sweat lodge ritual, as carried out by the Delaware for the purpose of spiritual and physical purification, is attested both by early observers,[25] and by more recent students.[26] According to Zeisberger, in his discussion of Delaware customs, the practice was attended by rather elaborate rites and was evidently regarded as one of the major ceremonies. It was performed in honor of fire, being called *machtuzin*, a term meaning "to perspire," according to the same writer's translation. A similar rite is described by Harrington, whose informants named it *muxhat'olzing*. This is recorded as a variant of the Annual Ceremony.

[25] Zeisberger, *op. cit.*, p. 138; Heckewelder, *op. cit.*, p. 225; Loskiel, 1794, pt. 1, pp. 108-9.

[26] Harrington, 1921, 122-126; Speck, 1931, pp. 72-74.

757 cedure within the lodge for the purpose of diagnosing and treating sickness.

The term applied to the sweat house healer is one meaning a "sweat
756 doctor." He always performs within the lodge when asked to examine
757 or treat a patient. It is interesting to note that my informant, Witapanóxwe, and Charley Elkhair, the present head chief of the Oklahoma Delaware, claim the distinction of being the only men among the Oklahoma Delaware who have supernatural sanction to perform in this capacity. The former believes that he is privileged to assume the role which his people consider appropriate only for men whose mind and character have been strengthened by years of experience but that up to the present time (1930) he has not attempted it. The powerful shamans[29] of an earlier period were said to have been able to perform miraculous feats and effect marvelous cures without the aid of the sweat lodge although it was frequently employed in their practices.

787 Both of the above types of medicinemen receive their power from
756 the Creator through dream-visions, the spiritual visitation occurring
759 usually just before sunrise or sunset. The vision is accompanied by a medicine song which becomes the personal property of the healer, to be sung during performances in the sweat lodge. It is said that women rarely became sweat doctors. Witapanóxwe, since his vision and medicine song were received just before sunrise, considers that as the time of day during which he would be most successful in curing activities within the sweat lodge. Those who received their power at sunset accordingly regarded that as the most suitable time for performances.

Contrary to the herbalist's custom of not accepting gifts or payment for his services, the sweat doctor expects payment from those who approach him for consultation and treatment. In former times trader's trinkets, etc., and somewhat later, horses, blankets, and money were given by those requiring his services.

343 The construction and equipment of the sweat lodge are matters of considerable importance in this particular type of curing. It is built of twelve poles which represent the twelve levels of heaven (Speck, 1931, p. 74) and according to native belief, lead to the abode of the [772] Creator. For this purpose saplings chosen for their flexibility, are cut

[29] In Delaware the term used means "powerful man," "man who can heal," and refers to a type of shaman, called *medeu* by the Delaware of an earlier period, especially concerned with curing. Among the Chippewa (Densmore, 1929, pp. 86-97) the *mide* were the leaders of the *mide'wiwin* or Grand Medicine Society. See also Hodge, 1912, p. 523.

778 sacred objects are wrapped in buckskin or cloth to protect them against exposure to unclean surroundings that might tend to defile such objects of sacred authorship.

778 787 The way in which such supernatural tokens are obtained by their owners is illustrated by the following. Once a man dreamed of seeing a plant, called by the Delaware, "frost" or "ice weed." He heard a voice which said to him, "I am strong and great. Stronger than any other plant because I stay green longer in the fall. Use me and I will make you strong." The man then went out and obtained a specimen of the plant for his medicine bundle. In another case a boy saw a horned toad in his vision and knew that it was to be his guiding spirit. He went out in search of a horned toad and finding one, picked it up, saying, "Give me your horn." At the command the toad gave the youth his horn which the latter kept until an old man.

778 The medicine bundle is the most highly cherished material possession of a chief, warrior or medicine man. He may possess one or more bundles which he has the privilege later of bestowing upon another. This seldom occurs until a man has reached an advanced age, the period at which he feels inclined to transfer his power and supernatural tokens to a younger man. The person chosen to be the recipient of this sacred gift must be spiritually and physically clean. He is called into conference with the older man several times before the actual transfer is made. Then it is given to him with the admonition that he must use the power wisely and keep the bundle from defilement to avoid forfeiture of the sacred gifts. At times medicine bundles are not transferred through the lack of a youth competent to deal with matters of spiritual import. In such a case the bundle is buried with the owner. Or, at the request of the owner, a bundle is given to a relative or to one of his own class, *i. e.*, a doctor or a warrior. Among the Delaware, medicine bundles are never sold.

778 787 Medicine charms are believed to be extremely potent in the hands of their owners. A man may commune with his guardian by means of these material agents and thus secure spiritual guidance and aid in regard to problems of a worldly character. Thus the medicine man seeks knowledge during his diagnosis of the often perplexing cases brought to his attention; the hunter, his mind filled with a keen desire for success in the quest of game, concentrates on the token of his supernatural helper during his appeal to the Giver of Game through prayer. Similarly, the

warrior desires information as to the location of the enemy; the chief seeks for a clearer insight into tribal affairs in general.

So powerful are these agents of the spirit forces that if one speaks to them against his enemies, he will have the power to attack the latter by means of practices of a malevolent character. Such power is considered as basically evil and to be used only as a last resort. Supernatural power, in general, is believed to be given to the Delaware to accomplish good and not for matters of minor importance.

The Medicine Stone

A concretion secreted in the alimentary organs of certain ruminants is known to have been highly prized by the peoples of Europe and the Orient [86] for its alleged magical and medicinal properties. This unusual object is also known to and valued by the natives of the New World.[87] From the present-day Delaware, we have the following information on the medicine stone, one of their most sacred and invaluable possessions. It is comparable to the bezoar stone of Oriental fame and usually has a similar function—as an antidote for poison. Although such objects are known to be present in the digestive organs of different animals, that obtained from the blacktail deer (Odocoileus hemionus) is considered as the most potent variety. The Delaware call such a stone by the term meaning "emergency gift." From its use in rubbing a wound made by a snake or mad dog, it is sometimes known as "mad stone." They are of varying shapes and sizes and serve as protective agents for their owners. One may use such a charm to make medicine for another who is seriously ill or injured. In the case of illness pronounced fatal by others, scrapings from the medicine stone are infused in hot water and administered as a tea. Complete recovery of the patient is expected as a result. Witapanóxwe relates how warriors of the earlier period employed such a stone to heal fatal wounds. If it is not possible to administer it as a tea, the stone is simply rubbed over the body of the wounded person.

[86] See article *Bezoar* in New International Encyclopedia, Vol. 3. Second Edition, 1924.

[87] I am indebted to Dr. John M. Cooper, Catholic University of Washington, Washington, D. C., for access to his manuscript on *The Bezoar in Aboriginal American Culture.*

757 278 74. MOTHERWORT *(Leonurus cardiaca)*. A tea is made from the leaves which is effective for female diseases.

75. FALSE SOLOMON'S SEAL *(Smilacina stellata)*. The root is combined with others as a medicine to cleanse the system and stimulate the stomach. A remedy also for leucorrhea.

76. MAY APPLE *(Podophyllum peltatum)*, "flower hangs down." A spring tonic and a laxative are made from the root.

77. BLOODROOT *(Sanguinaria canadensis)*. For general debility, a pea-sized piece of root is taken every morning for thirty days. Combined with other roots for a stomach remedy. The plant root provides the face paint used in the Big House Ceremony of the Delaware. [302 386]

78. DANDELION *(Taraxacum officinale)*. A laxative-tonic obtained from the plant.

79. VIRGINIA SNAKEROOT *(Aristolochia serpentaria)*. Used singly or combined with wintergreen as a tonic.

80. FRINGED GENTIAN *(Gentiana crinita)*. A tea made from the root acts as a blood-purifier and stomach-strengthener.

81. BLACK SNAKEROOT *(Cimicifuge racemosa)*, elecampane and stone root are combined to make a tonic.

82. MILKWEED *(Asclepias sp.)*. A tea made from the pounded and steeped roots of the five species of milkweed is a cure for epileptic fits in those born during certain phases of the moon. Such disturbances periodically occur during a particular moon-phase period.

751 757 278 787 83. PEYOTE *(Lophophora williamsii)*, "Our Father," is known to have been used to treat periodic fits, and is regarded as a sure cure for tuberculosis.[4] Witapanóxwe carries a small, fringed leather bag, tied with deerskin thongs, containing several peyote "beans" or buttons for use in case of emergency. Certain Delaware subscribing to the "Wilson cult," wear a small beaded bag containing peyote, around their necks as a protection against illness. This talisman is even regarded as an advisory agent of approaching

[4] It is said that this highly valued and potent medicine was revealed to a woman in a dream who gave the knowledge of it to her people. It may be eaten with or without the usual ceremonial rites. For a study of the Peyote rites among the Delaware at Dewey and Anadarko, Oklahoma, see Petrullo, 1934. For more details, consult Safford, 1916, pp. 387, 424; Harrington, 1921, pp. 185-190; and the more recent study of LaBarre, 1938.

domestic and tribal crises. Wi·tapanôxwe is not convinced of the truth of this statement, but claims that he merely carries his own supply for medicinal purposes.[8]

84. CACTUS *(Opuntia vulgaris)* is called "thorny, useless." Wi·tapanóxwe remarked that the Oklahoma negroes singe off the spines and apply a sliced portion to their corns to allay pain.

MISCELLANEOUS BELIEFS

1. To draw out frost bites, walk in the snow barefooted. Rubbing snow on the ears will bring relief.
2. Frost or dew gathered in late fall and rubbed on the body will prevent skin eruptions.
3. Water that collects in hollow trees or rocks is believed to have medicinal value.
4. Mud applied to a burn will take out "the fire."
5. To cure a child from slobbering, catch a number of minnows and have the child hold them in his mouth. Repeat this several times a week until the cure is effected.
6. To cure a child of bed-wetting, feed him portions of a roasted "timber rat" * This is believed to effect a sure cure. My informant and a companion once killed and roasted such a rodent, and both agreed that the flesh was palatable and not unlike that of squirrel. They were reticent, however, as to the therapeutic effects.
7. Relief is obtained in the case of whooping cough, if the mother first suckles a puppy and then her child.
8. A spider web applied to a flesh wound will stop the flow of blood.
9. Excrement of cattle or of poultry is employed as a poultice for boils.
10. Skunk-oil is regarded as a valuable remedy for colds and croup. For children the average dose is from three to five drops. A small quantity may be used externally on the throat and chest. Oil obtained from geese is employed similarly for colds. Skunk scent or rabbit urine is put into the ear to relieve earache. Deer and otter scent are also useful for medicinal purposes.

[8] This practice corresponds to one general among Eastern Algonkian peoples—that of carrying a piece of "muskrat root" *(Acorus calamus)* about the person as a disease preventive. A piece of the root is chewed in case of sudden illness.

* Compare use of a white-footed mouse for the same purpose among the Gayhead Indians (Tantaquidgeon, 1930, p. 20).

757 278 11. A syrup made by roasting onions is taken for colds. For infants and small children the syrup is sweetened and a few drops taken clear or in milk.

[752] 12. Mutton tallow is an emollient for chapped and irritated skin. It is used to make ointment.

13. Muscular cramps may be relieved by bathing the affected parts with urine.

14. A tea made from roasted, charred pig hoofs is beneficial for colds.

[752] 15. For snake bite suck the venom from the wound with a hollow piece of deer antler.

23 16. Treatment of sick horses. Years ago, after their migration westward, the Delaware used horses for travel. Often their animals would become ill during hunting activities on the Western plains. This was believed due to unsuitable drinking water or from eating poisonous weeds. Other disabilities were due to "bots"[4] or colic. For colic, strong tobacco juice, or gun-powder dissolved in hot water was administered. The most effective treatment was to throw a bucket of very hot water containing finely chopped bits of weasel hide[5] over the horse. Then the owner would force his weight up and down on the animal's abdomen or occasionally, beat it with a wet, heavy blanket for ten or fifteen minutes. The horse soon recovered and was again on his feet.

Warrior's Medicine

778 726 [787] Warriors long ago also received gifts from supernatural agencies which enabled them to excell in feats of bravery. Their power came in dream-visions in which the identity of the supernatural was made known. Sometimes a power song was granted at the same time. Certain men were appointed as leaders of the warriors and custodians of the secret formulæ, from which a particular preparation called "warrior medi-

[4] The larvæ of certain flies. Eggs are laid on the inside of the animal's foreleg, gain entrance into the blood stream and are carried to the alimentary tract where incubation takes place.

[5] The hide of the so-called "spotted weasel" is used for this purpose. My informant had never seen this animal but it had been described to him by his mother. It may refer to the ordinary weasel at the period of seasonal pilage change from brown to white. The species known to the Delaware are the Bonaparte *(Mustela cicognani)*, and New York weasel *(M. noveboracensis)*, Anthony, 1928, p. 102.

nected within the womb. If one is hurt, the other will feel it even though they are separated by many miles. A child whose mother died during its birth, must not be allowed to cry. Someone must try to comfort it so that the spirit of the dead mother may not injure, or even kill the foster parent.

Birthmarks are an indication that both parents have experienced difficulties with other people. During his youth one man conversed with a dead person in a vision. The skeleton said to him, "You should know me by the mark on your children. You will know more when they are born." All of his children (boys) had a characteristic pecularity about the eyes, lacking control of the lids so that during the day they blinked constantly. Sometimes a birthmark in the shape of a leaf or berry appears on the child. This is attributed to a dream by the mother. The fruit means good luck and long life. A mark formed like a reptile is considered an evil omen.

While nursing the child, the mother must refrain from intercourse with any man other than her husband so that the infant may not have diarrhea.

A few notes were obtained on the treatment of the hair and teeth of children.

When a child's hair is cut, it is left in some out-of-the-way place.[20] It was believed that if the birds used it in building their nests, the child would suffer from headaches. If the remains were burnt, it would cause the hair to become brittle.[21]

During the teething period, a little bag containing finely crushed charcoal is hung about the child's neck. The latter chews upon it to ease his aching gums. A loose milk tooth is pulled out by means of a string, its removal allowing the permanent tooth to grow in straight. The extracted tooth is taken outdoors by the child and thrown in the direction of the east, with the words "My tooth I place down here. I know when you return I will feed you white beans."

A child's nails are trimmed with a knife or scissors. Care is taken not to lose any of the nail trimmings, which are carried into the woods and left upon a stump. At the same time the following words are addressed to the Owl: "Grandpa, I now give you these, your grandchild's nails, to make frames for your eyes."

[20] This and the following paragraph were recorded by Eugene Golomshtok, University of Pennsylvania, 1930.

[21] In adult life gray hair, an indication of longevity, is not pulled out. Its removal would be displeasing to the Creator as a lack of respect for the aged.

784 prepare a magical snare by which to entrap the boastful widower. He set the snare at the doorstep of the house and went in and sat down. However, a visitor was heard approaching, and my grandfather quickly removed the snare so that an innocent person would not be harmed. Afterwards the invisible snare was reset and the intended victim stepped over it. Immediately after he suffered a congestive chill and by night, he was dead. His wife's corpse was still unburied and the day after her funeral, her husband's body was laid away. My grandfather did this to show that supernatural forces did exist to punish inhuman boasting. His people regarded this as an act of conjuring rather than witchcraft.

Persons who possessed the power of bewitchment were obliged to take at least the life of one human every year. During their annual meeting, if any witches had failed to do so, they deliberated upon the choice of a victim at that time. The belief was held by the Delaware that failure to do so would result in misfortune for the witch or his family through sudden illness or accident. Before a witch died, he must transfer his medicine to another to prevent the uncontrolled evil power from reacting upon a member of his family.

DREAMS

•787 ALL DREAMS are regarded as significant by the Delaware. Some indicate good fortune and long life, while others fortell sickness and death. One type of dream of unusual significance is known by a term translated as "to dream ahead." Thus to dream of berries, fruit, or vegetation during the winter season is a sign that the dreamer will live to see the fruits of many seasons. To dream of snow at any time of the year is an indication of long life.

It is believed that the recurrence of the same dream for several nights is a sign of important news or even impending danger. In one such case, mentioned by Wi-tapanóxwe, his deceased parents appeared to him on six consecutive nights to warn him of an event which occurred a number of years later.

Long ago dreams were particularly significant to the Delaware hunter. Always in search of game animals for food, he was often led by the animal supernaturals in dreams to the secret places of the game. Upon awakening the hunter would offer a prayer and sacrifice a pinch of tobacco in his camp fire. Then he would follow the trail indicated to him in the dream.

787 [553]

It is customary for the Delaware to learn in dreams names suitable for their children. During the later stages of pregnancy, the mid-wife or an old man is asked to think of a name and that revealed in a dream is later given to the child. Such a person need not necessarily be of the child's immediate relatives. Occasionally a gift is made him for this service.

To dream of catching fish in clear water is an indication that the dreamer will soon receive a sum of money. To dream of muddy water, on the other hand, is a sign of approaching illness or domestic difficulty.

To avert unpleasant dreams, a person smokes and prays to the Creator, appealing to him for aid in propitiating the supernatural powers responsible for such dreams. Cedar is also burned in the house to cleanse it. If a child is troubled by dreams at night, cedar boughs are soaked in water which is sprinkled over his person and the bed. This is believed to keep evil spirits away.

The more conservative Delaware have always been dependent upon dreams, and the appearance of certain celestial phenomena to warn them of impending danger. The appearance of a comet, "war spirit," in the heavens, is a sign of war. The "war dragon" flies through the air at night and appears like a streak of fire. The direction towards which its course is bent, is noted as the source of trouble. My informant reminded me of the appearance of such (Halley's comet) before the outbreak of the first World War. A falling star is also significant in war time. A fugitive attempting to escape may be located by means of a falling star, which the Delaware believe points to the spot of concealment. To point to a falling star will bring bad luck to a person.

NATURAL SIGNS AND OMENS

A FEW BELIEFS of miscellaneous character are noted for other natural phenomena. The two ends of the rainbow are believed to point to water. A snowfall late in the spring, with the wind to the north, indicates that the snow spirit is returning to his abode in the north. In the fall an abundance of berries and nuts, thick foliage and heavy corn husks all point to a long and severe winter. [821]

A ringing or buzzing sound in the ear is a sign of impending death or bad news. The ear in which the sound is heard indicates the direction from which the news may be expected. [761]

787 The twitching of the left eye, in the case of my informant, is a warn-
761 ing of the death of a relative or friend. This takes place two weeks or two months prior to the individual's death.

To see the suddenly disappearing likeness of a person is also a warning of death.

If a wolf barks at a person, it is an indication that he will live long.

Once Witapanóxwe, upon returning from the home of a sick person, saw a rabbit run from the shelter of a grave towards the house he had just left. To him it was a sign of the sick person's death in the near future.

787 Babies and small children are not allowed to cry at night nor older children to play after dark, for fear that their faces will become misshapen.

A "double crown" in an individual is an indication of longevity and superior intellect. The larger such features are, the longer is the possession to live and enjoy the blessings bestowed upon him by the Creator. An individual so blessed is assured of spiritual guidance and is likely to excel in his life work.

787 If chickens continue to scratch for food during a rain, it is an indica-
821 tion that the rain will continue for some time. A cock crowing during a storm says, "Going to clear off today." Crowing before midnight by the bird indicates a change of weather. Crowing on the doorstep brings a visitor.

If smoke from a fire rises during a storm, the rain will soon cease; if it hovers near the ground, the weather will continue unsettled.

If the sun casts slanting rays through the clouds, it is "drawing water." Rain will fall the following day.

When the wind blows the leaves "inside out," it is a sign of approaching rain.

A circle around the moon foretells an approaching storm. The number of stars within the circle indicates the time it will arrive.

To hear the sound of talking or cutting wood over a great distance indicates that a storm is brewing.

To see a hog carrying sticks of wood in its mouth is a sign of approaching rain.

"Three foggy mornings bring rain."

Thunder heard late in the winter foretells an early spring.

4: Tantaquidgeon E-5 (1930) 1942
NM7 Delaware NM7

Loud reports from river ice indicate an early thaw.

A wolf "whinnying" (howling) denotes a change in the weather.

To see a cat washing its face is an indication of an unexpected visitor; sharpening its claws denotes that it will soon receive some meat.

DELAWARE FOOD RESOURCES

IN AN EARLIER section it was pointed out that according to native belief, human health is dependent upon "pure, natural" food. Products of the fields and forests thus acquired a sacred character (Speck, 1931, p. 50), and food and medicine in Delaware conception were not totally unlike. It follows from this that the ailments afflicted the Indians in modern times are considered as being due to a departure from the ancient food regimen provided by the Creator. Investigation of the food supply, and its methods of preparation, was thought worthy of being taken up as part of the present phase of inquiry. The results are embodied in the present section, partly through their bearing upon health as dependent upon food. Except for this interrelation, the subject matter might seem to be more definitely an economic one.

Maize

Among the food products used by the Delaware, Indian maize (*Zea mays*) stands out as the staple vegetable product. Maize is believed to provide nourishment for the soul as well as for the body. The reverence for the Spirit of Maize[1] and for the processes of its preparation, still survives among the Delaware.

Before presenting the data which deals with the preparation of corn foods, it seems appropriate to mention native beliefs concerning the origin of this sacred food.[2] Maize, "original corn" or "common corn," is a gift from the Creator and in former times, according to Harrington (*op. cit.*, pp. 43, 141), was considered as one of the powerful

[1] Harrington, 1921, pp. 43, 193.

[2] For further information dealing with the maize complex in eastern North America, particularly among the Iroquois, see Parker, 1910; Converse, 1910; Waugh, 1916. The writer (1930) has noted the survival of certain traits indicating the presence of a religious rite in the early period among the southern New England tribes. For the Southeastern peoples, consult Swanton, 1928 b., pp. 443-444.

(Lindstrom, p. 215). Men went by themselves or took their families to the woods for periods of several days or weeks. In addition to their dependence on a steady aim with bow and arrow, they attempted to attract the animals by the use of charms and imitations of their calls (Harrington, 1913, pp. 221-22; Loskiel, p. 77). Loskiel, in the eighteenth century, also mentions the practice of chasing wounded deer for long distances if they did not fall on the first shot, but this cannot be documented by earlier accounts (Loskiel, p. 76).

Early Swedish writers noted that turkeys and other birds, deer, beavers and other small animals were snared (the twitchup is the only type of snare specifically mentioned) and beavers were sometimes killed with a lance (Johnson, p. 281). Pigeons might be killed by cutting all sides of a tree used as a roost, then toppling it when the birds alighted (Lindstrom, pp. 216-17).

Remnants of the Delaware's hunting equipment are found abundantly in their old haunts. Stone arrow points and lance heads are particularly numerous, but antler points are found in smaller quantities (Abbott, 1875, p. 269; Skinner, 1915, p. 10; Smith, p. 139; Kalm, p. 230). Stone axes suitable for crushing bones or shells, and knives suitable for skinning and cutting up the meat are also found in abundance (Abbott, 1875, pp. 264 and 303; Skinner, 1909, pp. 18-20; Kalm, p. 230; Heye, p. 71).

Even the earliest writers were aware to some extent of the reverence in which Delaware hunters held the provider of their sustenance. Lindstrom and Penn mention that the first catch of the season was eaten at a special feast accompanied by singing and dancing. All that was not eaten was burned, and on no account was any part sold (Lindstrom, pp. 214-15; Penn, p. 38). Boys did not begin hunting until about fifteen years of age, sometimes starting as the result of success in obtaining a guardian spirit through a vision. It was believed that the youth would be able to catch all that he desired on the day after such a vision (Lindstrom, p. 208).

The women's main contribution to the food supply lay in agriculture. Without doubt the most important crop was maize, of which the Delaware had several varieties[2] (De Rasieres, p. 107; Johnson, p. 279; Kalm, p. 74; Lindstrom, p. 223). To get some impression of the amount of maize grown, we may note that Krieger, commander in an expedition against one band of New Jersey Delaware in 1663, says that he cut down 215 acres of maize and burned more than 100 pits of corn and beans (Krieger, p. 39). There are also ample references to the cultivations of beans, squash (including pumpkins) and tobacco[3] (Harrington, 1913, p. 221; Johnson, p. 279; Kalm, p. 74).

Since the Delaware had no axe adequate to cut down a tree of any considerable size, they cleared their fields by seriously bruising the bark of the trees, thereby killing them. In this operation they

the care of the younger children. Although physical punishment was seldom resorted to, exhortation and explanation were commonly used. One mythical story which was evidently used as a threat was that of the great naked bear. This was a creature, larger than most bears and naked except for a white spot. The only way to kill it was to break its back as its heart was so small that an arrow would seldom find it. The last of the species was reputed to have been killed on the east side of the Hudson River, but before that time it was said that recalcitrant children were particularly likely to be its victims (Heckewelder, 1799, pp.260-62).

A boy's life was not burdened with many chores until he was twelve or older, his time being spent in fishing and playing (Penn, p.30; Pastorius, 1698, p.434; Zeisberger, 1870, p.86; Harrington, 1913, p.213). When he reached this age, it was desirable for him to have a vision and receive a guardian spirit (Lindstrom, p.207). To promote this, the parents mistreated him, fed him sparingly and finally drove him into the woods. It was felt that this would cause a spirit to feel sorry for the boy and present itself to him.9 The nature of the vision which a youth had was sometimes taken as a sign of his future profession, and training in such a case would start immediately to prepare the boy to become a shaman or warrior as the case might be (Harrington, 1913, pp. 214-15; Zeisberger, 1910, p.101). At about fifteen the boys began hunting and at this they had to become proficient before considering marriage.

The girls stayed with their mothers and began helping to hoe the ground, plant corn and carry burdens as soon as they were able (Penn, p.30; Zeisberger, 1870, p.87). At a girl's first menstruation she went to a small hut some distance from the house where she stayed at least seven days. Here meals were brought to her by her mother or an old woman-friend, but she could not be touched. She used a sharpened stick in eating to prevent the food from touching her hands. At the end of her seclusion, the girl washed herself and all her clothing and dishes before returning home. She was then considered ready for marriage (Penn, pp.33-4; Beatty, p.43; Brickell, p.49; Harrington, 1913, p.215).

Marriage

"When the Young Women are fit for Marriage, they wear something upon their Heads for an Advertisement, but so as their Faces are hardly to be seen..."(Penn, p.31). Other descriptions tell us that this covering was made of worked mats decorated with alternate rows of white and black wampum and was worn pulled down to the middle of the forehead (Smith, p.138; Zeisberger, 1910, p.77). Girls married between the ages of thirteen and fourteen; boys, at seventeen or eighteen (Penn, p.31). According to Zeisberger, the Delaware had the tradition that individuals must always marry outside the local group, but no seventeenth century writer has commented on this point (Zeisberger, 1910, p.78).

inside the oven, shook a calabash rattle and threw tobacco in the fire while asking the spirits to grant the boy good luck (Loskiel, p. 43).

To these ceremonies each person had to contribute a certain amount of wampum, a feature noted by Penn (p. 39). Of the rationale behind this custom, Frank Speck says: "...the pecuniary aspect of wampum has been exaggerated in the early writings dealing with the eastern Indians. To the Delawares wampum stood forth in the light of a covenant. It represented, and still does, a magical power capable of annulling the effects of latent poisonous influences that might pass between persons who exchange gifts or who enter into the transfer of property." (Speck, 1931, p. 63).

In addition to these more formal ceremonies, Brickell states that "...when they start on a hunting expedition, the first game that is taken they skin and dress whole, breaking not a bone, leaving on the head, ears and hoofs. This they bring to camp and cook whole, and everyone eats of it, and the rest they burn entirely up." (p. 49).

The Delaware communicated with the supernatural by means of visions. "...they give much heed to dreams, because they suppose these invisible powers give them direction at such times about certain affairs, and sometimes inform them what animal they choose to be worshipped in." (Brainerd, pp. 349-350; also see Loskiel, p. 40). In regard to the last, Lindstrom says: "They adopt their Paarkn or idol when about fifteen. They may make a human figure, claw of bear or eagle, tooth or bird bill. They hang it about their neck and it is so sacred that no one may touch it." (Lindstrom, p. 207). These animals which became guardian spirits received their power from the great Spirit. Such an animal became sacred to the person to whom it was the author of good, although to others it was the same as any other animal (Zeisberger, 1910, p. 132; Brainerd, pp. 344-345).[15]

The Hereafter

From the earliest sources we find that the Delaware had a concept of an immortal soul, a hereafter which was better than life on earth and that the attainment of this place was linked with good behavior in life. The hereafter was believed to lie to the south, but its location was very vaguely conceived. Likewise although they had the idea of reward for a good life, there was no definite expression of what this good life would involve. The bad were to be punished not by any torture but by the inability to attain the place of bliss (Penn, p. 37; Brainerd, p. 346; Zeisberger, 1910, pp. 128-29; Brickell, p. 49). The greatest difference between the Delaware concept of good and that of the Christian theology of the period lay in the fact that the Delaware concept was completely concerned with man's behavior toward his fellow man. The sacrifices which were made were apparently expected to influence one's immediate fortune but to have little effect on the state of the soul after death. Thus Brainerd says that the bad folk are those who "...lie, steal, quarrel with their neighbors, are unkind to their friends and especially to aged parents, and in a word, such as are a plague to mankind." (p. 346).

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
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Lenape

CHAPTER II

Minor Deities

DOLL BEING

THE masks described in the last chapter are merely representations of a supernatural being, and are not supposed to be the dwellings of a spirit or spirits except when worn by an impersonator, who is said to become imbued with the spirit when the mask is donned; nor are they usually supposed to possess inherent power, except as symbols of Mĭsinghâli'-kŭn. But the Lenape had also a class of images, usually of wood, representing the human form, which were supposed to possess life, or at least to be the residence of spirits, which, so far as can be learned, had no separate existence. They were supposed to understand what was said to them, and to have the power of pro-

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was commonly said in the tribe that on account of these practices the Lenape suffered little from this evil *manĭ'to*.

SNOW BOY

Another minor *manĭ'to* is Snow Boy, a being who is supposed to control snow and ice, but who is different from "Our Grandfather at the North," who merely supplies the north wind. Offerings were made to Snow Boy to insure a proper amount of snow for tracking in the winter hunt. Further information concerning these last two *manĭ'towŭk* will be found in the paper on Lenape Mythology, now in preparation.

COMET

There is a third *manĭ'to* called *Elau'-nato*, which some Lenape say means "Comet," others "Shooting Star." When a war is impending, says the legend, this being may be seen flying through the air, carrying a bunch of human heads. After Elau'nato has passed, if one listens he will hear a distant rumbling sound, for this *manĭ'to* knows beforehand where the

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775 globular form and floats about in the air as a luminous ball, but this is not the true spirit.

The Minsi seem to have retained a more archaic belief, for they say that the Land of Spirits lies to the southwest, in a country of good hunting. Here they say, the wigwams of the spirits are always neat and clean, and happiness prevails. But between our world and the spirit country flows a river which the spirit must cross on a slender foot-log or in a canoe.

GHOSTS AND MEDIUMSHIP

775 787 Ghosts do not seem always to have left the earth at the expiration of the twelve days, or else they have the power of returning, for the Lenape claim that boys, dreaming for power, have sometimes been pitied and given some blessing by the ghosts, who remained their guardian spirits through life. Such people were considered to have the power of talking with the departed and sometimes made a practice of it, but mediumship was by

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no means confined to them. Among the Minsi formerly they were accustomed to hold meetings in the burial grounds at certain times, when some medium, it is said, would communicate with the spirits.

The late James Wolf, one of the principal Minsi informants, was said to have this power. One time a man was drowned in the Thames river near Munceytown in Ontario, and the body could not be located. Wolf, it is said, walked up and down the river-banks, with a companion, talking to the water. At last a strange sound was heard, and Wolf stopped. "That was the dead man's spirit," he said; "the body lies right over in that hole." Surely enough, when they procured a boat, they found the body in the hole, wedged beneath a sunken log.

Certain regular ceremonies were held by both the Unami and the Minsi in honor of the dead, and will be discussed in a later paper.

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souls of men. The main channel of communication between this great supernatural realm and mankind was, to the Lenape as to so many other tribes of Indians, the dream or vision, experienced either while fasting or in natural sleep. This subject will be considered in the next chapter.

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CHAPTER IV

Visions and Guardian Spirits

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THE most vital and intimate phase of Lenape religion is the belief in dreams and visions, and in the existence of personal guardian spirits or supernatural helpers—concepts of wide distribution among the North American tribes, but rarely, perhaps, so vivid or well-developed as we find them here. The vision was the point of contact, the channel of communication, in Lenape belief, between the great and marvelous supernatural world and the sphere of everyday human life. In a vision the youth first found his guardian spirit, to whom he would always appeal, as his own special friend in the supernatural hierarchy, for aid and comfort in time of trouble, and for the revelation of coming events. He felt that this being took a close personal interest in his

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affairs, while the greater gods, including the Great Spirit himself, were so remote and so occupied with controlling more important things that they might not notice or concern themselves with the affairs of one individual man. Therefore the bulk of his prayers and offerings went to his guardian spirit. If a Lenape won great success on a war expedition or a hunting trip, he was sure the spirit had helped him; if unlucky, he believed that for some reason his guardian had become estranged, or had been overpowered by superior and malevolent forces. A man might become a sorcerer or a shaman at the behest of his guardian spirit, given in a dream or vision, or change his mode of life in other ways. Not every Lenape was blessed with such a guardian; yet many were so favored, usually in their boyhood days. To be eligible for supernatural favor, the youth had to *pi'lsü*ⁿ, or pure, which means that not only must he be chaste, but that he must have kept strictly all the taboos against eating food prepared by

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women in their periodic condition, etc. Old Lenape say that, as the children of the tribe are reared nowadays in the same way as the whites, they can no longer be *pi'lsū*[n], and the Powers will speak to them no more. This is a sad matter, for it means the loss of their principal ancient ceremonies, at which only those blessed with a vision can take active part. The old people feel it keenly that there will be no one left to conduct the rites when the last of their generation has been laid away.

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INITIATION OF BOYS

Parents were especially anxious, of course, that their sons should have supernatural aid, hence, when a boy reached the age of about twelve years, they would frequently pretend to abuse him, and would drive him, fasting, out into the forest to shift as best he might, in the hope that some *manī'to* would take pity on the suffering child and grant him some power or blessing that would be his dependence through life.

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Sometimes a man who had several sons would take them out into the forest and build them a rude little tent, and here they would remain for days at a time. During the day the boys were not permitted to eat, but just before sunrise every morning each was given a medicine to make him vomit, after which a tiny piece of meat was given him, about the size of a man's little finger. Occasionally the boys became able to fast in this way for twelve days, at the end of which time, the Lenape say, some had received such power that they were able to rise into the air, or go down into the ground, or prophesy events a year or two ahead, with the magic aid of the supernatural being that had taken pity on them.

OTHER VISIONS

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It sometimes happened also that people received visions of power in natural sleep without fasting, or even when wide awake, while feeling melancholy and heartsick over the death of a loved one, or suffering other misfortune or trouble.

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As they sat brooding, some *manī'to* might address himself to them, and give them advice and comfort, or endow them with some kind of power. Women occasionally had visions of this kind. 787 •

THE GUARDIAN SPIRIT

Whatever the precise circumstances of its appearance, the guardian spirit in many instances was said to show itself first in human form, and it was only when it turned to leave that its real shape (of an animal, for instance) was noticed by the recipient of its blessing. Sometimes the interview was quite long and the directions given by the *manī'to* (for ceremonies, etc.) quite explicit; on other occasions they were very vague and cryptic. Frequently, according to the stories told, some tangible object, called by the Unami the *opi'na*, or blessing, was handed by the *manī'to* to the recipient of his favor, who usually swallowed it. Some recipients were called on, however, to make and keep some symbol of their protector, which was 776 787 [789]

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usually worn on the person in the form of a charm.

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FAVORED INDIVIDUALS.—Persons favored with a guardian spirit usually became prominent among their people and were held in high esteem. They composed rythmic chants referring to their visions for use at the Annual Ceremony (which will be discussed in the next chapter), and dance songs to accompany them. Rarely were the words of either chants or songs at all definite: as a rule they merely mentioned attributes of the singer's guardian, or incidents of their first meeting, without stating outright what the guardian spirit was, or telling a consecutive story of the vision.

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Most Lenape who have had such visions can not be induced to tell the details; but the following examples of such experiences, imperfect in many points, were finally obtained. Incomplete though they are, they will give some idea of this class of beliefs and in this way may prove of value.

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UNAMI EXAMPLES.—One old man named Pokite'hemun ("Breaker"), known to the whites in Oklahoma as George Wilson, saw in his vision what seemed to be a man who held out to him a white round object like a boy's marble, then tossed it to him. Pokite'-hemun caught it and swallowed it. Then as it turned to go, the being cried "*Kwank! kwank! kwank!* The ducks have a praying meeting in the fall of the year!" As it turned, Pokite'hemun noticed that it was really a duck instead of a man, and was colored half black and half white.[39]

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Pokite'hemun could pound on his chest at any time and apparently cough up a round marble-like object, which he would show in his hand and then appear to swallow again. This he claimed was the *opi'na* given by his guardian spirit.

He seemed to regard the words of the duck spirit as an admonition to do all he could to keep up the tribal Annual Ceremony, which was held in the fall; while the "blessing" gave him good

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fortune. The chant he composed for use at this ceremony is as follows:

Lawulĕnjei
Wŭ"jegŭk toxweyu
Kwĕ"nanowagŭ"
Waila"goma"ole
Lĕnape, eli nanŭ"
Telowa", lowa"
Nu"ni, ĕndageko
Lowaet, lowa nŭ"ni.

The interpreter's translation, which is a somewhat free one, follows:

"When he opened his hand
Something came out of the center
That's his blessing
(For?) our kinfolks, the
Lenape; because that
Is what he said, he did say
This, when
He spoke, he said this."

Then came the dance song:

He-e-e-e nehani
Latama"ne
Nehani lama"ne
Kwe"nanowagŭn, nowagŭn
Hayela"goma"
Gweheycha
Gehe!

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This, according to the interpreter, means simply, when stripped of its superfluous syllables, "We own a temple—his blessing—our kinfolks." 533 539 787

Another man saw in his boyhood vision the Mĭsinghâli'kŭn, or Living Solid Face, riding on a deer. I was unable to get the details of their meeting, or the chant, but this is the dance song:

Hehotawege'na
Hotowege'na
Xingâlo'pai awhe'wani
Mĭsinghâli'kŭn
Hâli'kŭne
A-he'-he-he'!

This, the interpreter said, means "Riding it, riding it, big buck deer, this one, Mĭsinghâli'kŭn!" Seldom do the songs or chants refer so definitely to the protector as does this.

A third Lenape, when a boy, was sent out to the corn-field to drive away the crows. As he stood by the field he saw them flying around to light on a tree near by. Suddenly someone spoke to him, and among the things said (which

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were not revealed to me) were the words "I like this Lenape food," referring to the corn. The boy thought a man was addressing him, until the person suddenly flew away in the form of a crow, crying "*Ha! Ha! Ha!*" I failed to get the Indian words for the song, and my informant did not remember the chant, but the translation of the song was given as follows:

"I like this Lenape food:"
I never knew a crow said that
Till the crow was cawing
"Ha! Ha! Ha!"

A fourth had seen some kind of an animal in his vision, but never told any of his tribesmen what it was. His song, as now remembered, was translated thus:

Come, follow me,
I am going
Out into the country.

A fifth had "Mother Corn" (the Corn Spirit) for a guardian, but only part of his song is remembered.

"All my children
Are glad when I come out!"

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Some people were helped by the spirits of the dead in the same way that others received aid from animal or other nature spirits.

"Old man" Secondine, now dead, a well known Oklahoma Lenape, was one of these. When a boy his parents drove him out in the woods, as was the custom, in the hope that he might receive a supernatural helper. After wandering about for a time, he took refuge in a large hollow tree, and made that his camping place. Before long he was visited by apparitions of persons he knew to be dead, who took pity on his starving condition, and brought him food which they had taken at night from the houses of the living, this being the way that disembodied spirits are supposed to get nourishment when visiting the scenes of their earthly life. In the meantime his parents were unable to find him, and searched for him without avail until the ghosts finally revealed to them his camping place, and then he was brought safely home. Ever afterward he claimed the

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775 787 ghosts as his guardians, and like others blessed with this kind of helpers, was said to hold some kind of communication with the departed.

787 MINSI EXAMPLES.—The late James Wolf, my principal Minsi informant, was said to possess this power, as was stated in the preceding chapter. He had, moreover, received another vision when a boy, but had made little, if any, use of it, because of his profession of Christianity. One time in his boyhood days, he told me, he thought or dreamed (he was not asleep at the time) that there was no water in the river, and that he went down into its bed and found only one little hole containing water. In this was a creature resembling a catfish, yet somewhat different, and near it was an ordinary crayfish, while on the surface of the water walked a number of little flies. The boy thinking what he had seen was real, ran home in haste to tell his father. The father walked down with him to see, but stopped on the bank where

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the edge of the water had been, while the boy ran on down to his pool. The river-bed seemed dry to him, but his father would not come, saying that the river was full of water. The boy then came out and they started for home, but before they were out of sight, the lad looked back. To his surprise, the river was full as usual. 787

The father, who was Flying Wolf, a noted Minsi warrior, had been favored himself, when a boy, with a rather unusual sort of vision, which James Wolf related to me, as nearly as possible the way the old man used to tell it at the Annual Ceremony.

"When I was a boy, I was once fast asleep on a hill near a little creek. Someone said, 'Wake up! Let us go where our friends are!' So I got up and followed him across the little creek and up a hill, where I saw six men sitting on a log. Then I went up and shook hands with them all. After they had shaken hands with me they all danced around in a ring." At this point he used to sing one verse of his dance song— [533] [539]

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Wčmi wango"towak kewiha
All greet one another
Yoki lënape witci.
Now Lenape at the same time
E-ye-he-ye-ĕl

"They told me, 'We will go to see our friends,' so I went with them. Every now and then they stopped and danced around as they had done before. After a while one of them told me to look toward the south, and there I saw a black cloud in which the lightning flashed. 'Would you like to go there?' they asked me. I answered 'No.' Then one asked if I wanted to go *that* way, pointing to the northeast, where the sky was blue and bright, to which I answered that I would rather go in that direction toward the clear sky. A little farther on they said: 'We will now leave you. Watch us as we go.' They went to the east a little way, and then I saw them trotting. They were wolves, and I had thought all the while that they were human beings."

[776] Verses of the dance song were sung at intervals during this speech. From analogy with other visions, such as are

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recorded above, one would think that the six wolf-men must have become Flying Wolf's protectors, but instead, it was a Thunder Being that became his principal guardian, whose participation in the vision is merely inferred from the mention in the speech of the black cloud and the lightning. Evidently this Thunder Being was not offended when Flying Wolf told his guides that he would rather go toward the clear sky than toward the black cloud.

The Minsi say that when Flying Wolf recited his vision in the Big House ceremonies, he moved everyone, some even to tears. After he had finished, they say, a thunder-shower would almost always rise. He would become strangely excited when the dark clouds began to bank up on the horizon and spread themselves over the land. Stripping himself to the breechcloth, he was ready to go out when the storm broke, for he would never stay beneath a roof at such a time. He loved to expose his body to the driving gusts of wind and rain; the appalling

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roar was music to his ears; while the lighting, to the eyes of the frightened onlookers, seemed to play about his very body. He used to say that if he stayed indoors the lightning display would be so terrible that the others in the house could not endure it. No wonder they used to say of him, "*Piles'waL pewa'latcil!*" "He is in league with the Thunders!", or better, perhaps, "The Thunders will protect him!"

Within the memory of Minsi now living in Canada there were two members of the tribe who claimed the Sun spirit, *Ki'zho* (or *Ki'zhox*) as their protector. One of these was known as "Old man" Halfmoon, the other as "Muncey John" Henry. Halfmoon, it is said, when he wished to appear as a warrior, would sometimes hold his bare hands up toward the flaming face of his guardian, then rub the palms down his cheeks. When he removed his hands, it was seen that his face, clean before, was now painted in brilliant colors! "Surely," the people cried, "this man is in league with the Sun!"

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That the idea of a tangible 'blessing' is found among the Minsi, as well as among the Unami, is shown in certain of their traditions.

HISTORICAL REFERENCES.—*Brainerd.*—Brainerd seems to have been about the first author to recognize in any degree the importance of the dream or vision in Lenape religious belief. He says:[40]

"They give much heed to *dreams*, because they suppose that these invisible powers give them directions at such times about certain affairs, and sometimes inform them what *animal* they would choose to be worshipped in."

Other remarks by Brainerd on the same general topic were quoted in the preceding chapter.

Zeisberger.—Zeisberger[41] also devotes a paragraph to it, in which he says:

"Almost all animals and the elements are looked upon as spirits, one exceeding the other in dignity and power. There is scarcely an Indian who does not believe that one or more of these spirits has not been particularly given him to assist him and make him prosper. This, they claim, has been made known to them in a dream, even as their religious belief and witchcraft has

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been made known to them in a dream. One has, in a dream, received a serpent or a buffalo, another the sun or the moon, another an owl or some other bird, another a fish, some even ridiculously insignificant creatures such as ants. These are considered their spirits or *Manittos*. If an Indian has no Manitto to be his friend he considers himself forsaken, has nothing on which he may lean, has no hope of any assistance and is small in his own eyes. On the other hand those who have been thus favored poesess a high and proud spirit."

Loskiel.—Loskiel's account[42] seems largely derived from the above. He remarks:

"The *manittos* are also considered as tutelar spirits. Every Indian has one or more, which he conceives to be peculiarly given to assist him and make him prosper. One has in a dream received the sun as his tutelar spirit, another the moon; a third, an owl; a fourth, a buffaloe; and so forth. An Indian is dispirited, and considers himself as forsaken by God, till he has received a tutelar spirit in a dream; But those who have been thus favored, are full of courage, and proud of their powerful ally."

Heckewelder.—Heckewelder[43] devotes a whole chapter to the subject, under the head of "Initiation of Boys," to which

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the reader is referred, as it is all of interest, but can not be reproduced here. I will merely quote portions of one paragraph, which will serve to show that this author found approximately similar ideas as had his predecessors, concepts which still exist among the Lenape.

"When a boy is to be thus *initiated*, he is put under an alternate course of physic and fasting . . . so that he sees, or fancies that he sees visions, and has extraordinary dreams. Then he has interviews with the Manitto or with spirits, who inform him of what he was before he was born, and what he will be after his death. His fate in this life is laid entirely open before him, the spirit tells him what is to be his future employment, whether he will be a valiant warrior, a mighty hunter, a doctor, a conjuror or a prophet."

Later in the chapter Heckewelder mentions the fact that persons favored with such dreams considered themselves under the protection of the "celestial powers," and mentions the "strength, the power, and the courage" conveyed to them, but lays more stress on the prophetic side of these visions than on the actual

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aid rendered, according to Lenape belief, by the supernatural guardians.

Adams.—From Heckewelder's time to the present, I know of but one writer, besides myself, who describes, from his own observation, the Lenape belief in visions and guardian spirits. This is R. C. Adams,[41] himself of Delaware blood, whose notes may be found in the volume on Indians of the United States Census Report for 1890 (p. 298 et seq.). He says:

> "It is believed by the Delawares that every one has a guardian spirit which comes in the form of some bird, animal, or other thing, at times in dreams, and tells them what to do and what will happen. The guardian spirit is sent from the Great Spirit."

Having now considered the very foundation of Lenape religion, we may turn with better understanding, to their great Annual Ceremony.

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reason that people are told to help always the cripples or the blind. Whatever you do for them will surely bring its reward. Whatever you do for anybody will bring you credit hereafter. Whenever we think the thoughts that Gicelĕmû"kaong has given us, it will do us good.

"This is all I can think of to say along this line. Now we will pass the Turtle around, and all that feel like worshiping may take it and perform their ceremonies."

Some nights the speaker says more, sometimes less, just as he feels, but he always tries to tell it as he heard it from the old people who came before him.

RECITAL OF VISIONS

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Now, as was stated, these meetings are "brought in" by individuals; that is a certain person, usually a man, undertakes to arrange for the meeting and to lead the ceremonies. This person must be one of those gifted by a vision or dream of power in their youth, and hence, according to Lenape belief, one in communication with the supernatural world.

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When the people file into the Big House, the few that still have them dressed in their best Indian costumes carefully preserved for such occasions (pl. I), the members of this leader's clan always take their seats on the north side, the other

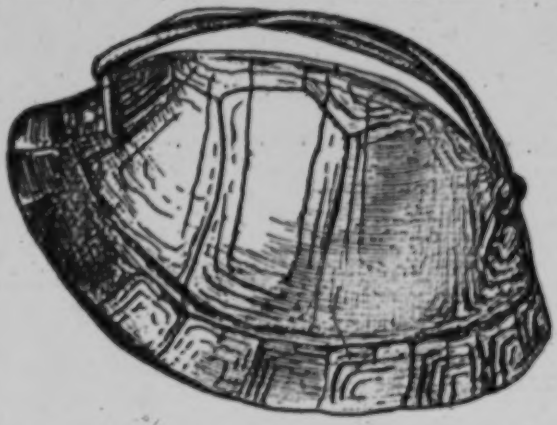

FIG. 9.—Rattle of land-tortoise shell, used by celebrants at the Annual Ceremony. (Length, 4.2 in.)

two clans in the west end and the south side. Men and women, however, do not mingle, but sit separately in the space allotted to their common clan. The diagram (pl. VII) shows the seating of the clans when the ceremony is

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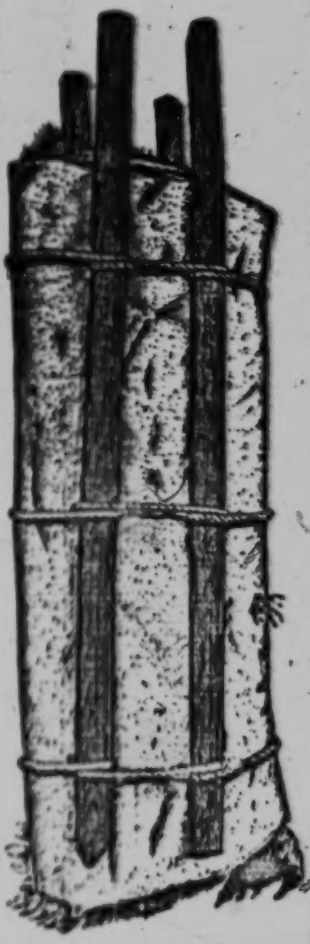

"brought in" by a member of the Wolf division.

After the chief's speech, the leader arises from his place just north of the central post, and, rapidly shaking a rattle (*taxo'xi cowĭni'-gŭn*) made of a box-tortoise shell (fig. 9), recites his vision in a high monotone, word by word. After he utters each word, he pauses an instant to give the singers sitting at the rolled dry

FIG. 10.—Drum made of dried deerskin used at the Annual Ceremony. (Length 38.2 in.)

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deerskin called *powŭni'gŭn* which serves as a drum (fig. 10), ample time to repeat the same word in the same tone, which produces an extraordinary effect. When he finishes, the drummers beat rapidly on the dry hide, repeating "*Ho-o-o!*" a number of times.

Then the celebrant repeats a verse of his song in the same way, and the drummers, having learned the words, sing them to a dance tune, beating the drum in slower time. After dancing awhile, the celebrator whoops, and they stop; then another similar verse, if not the same, is recited and then sung.

When the leader dances, he circles about the two fires contra-clockwise, and those who wish may join in the dance and follow him (pl. VI).

His dance finished, the leader passes the turtleshell to the next man who has been blessed with a vision. This one has the privilege of singing his vision if he wishes; if not, it is handed to the next "dreamer." After a celebrant has taken his seat, it is customary for those

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who desire it to smoke until the next man is ready to commence. At this time also it is considered proper for the people to enter or leave the Big House, which is not permitted while the actual ceremony is in progress. When the turtle rattle has thus made the round of the building and gets back to its starting point, the meeting is brought to a close. This is usually along toward morning, the exact time of course being dependent on the number who have sung their visions, and on the length of the intermissions.

CONCLUSION OF RITES

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Now, when the man who started the ceremonies begins to dance, that is a signal for two of the women *a'ckas*, or attendants, to go out and pound corn for hominy or meal, and two of their men colleagues cook it in the kettle hanging on the pole, so that it is ready when the turtle has made its rounds and the meeting is about to close. Then the repast

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of hominy or corn mush called *sā'pan* is

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WOMEN'S NIGHT

The twelfth night is reserved for the women to relate their visions; but before they begin, the speaker orders the attendants to burn cedar-leaves in the two fires, and the people are supposed to inhale the smoke and purify themselves. Then two women are ordered to take, one a little bark dish (*a^{n}sipta'gän*) of red paint (fig. 13), the other a similar

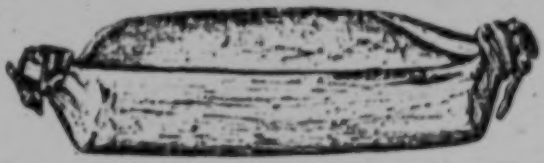

FIG. 13.—Paint-dish of bark, used at the Annual Ceremony. (Length, 2.2 in.)

vessel of grease, and the two start from the door on the north side of the Temple and go to each person present. One dips her fingers in the paint and touches the color to the person's left cheek, while her companion similarly annoints the person's head with a little of the grease. This done, two men attendants take the bark vessels and paint and grease in the

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ashes from the fire are always taken out at the west door, and the dirt is always swept in the fire. In front of the east door outside is a high pole on which venison hangs. It is a feast dance and the deacons distribute food among the people. The officers and waiters are paid in wampum for their services. 796x

"In no case is a dog allowed to enter the temple, and no one is allowed to laugh inside it, or in any way be rude. Each person is allowed to speak and tell his dream or dreams or to give advice. 796x 825

It is believed by the Delawares that every one has a guardian spirit which comes in the form of some bird, animal, or other thing, at times in dreams, and tells them what to do and what will happen. The guardian spirit is sent from the Great Spirit. [776]

"Traditions say that 10 years before white men came to this country (America) a young man told his dream in the temple. This was on the Atlantic coast. He saw coming across the great waters a large canoe with pinions (wings) and containing strange people, and that in 10 years they would in fact come. He told this dream and predicted the arrival of the white men each year until they came and were seen by his people. Many of our people still keep up this dance, but the temple is not so large as it used to be, and the attendance now is not more than 100 persons. Any Indian of any tribe can also take part in the dance, but no white man can. 173 796x 787●

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The ceremony, which was called *Muxhatol'sing*, seems, from the accounts given the writer by his informants, to have taken place in a similar building, and to have been similar in ritual to that just described, except that it was held for only eight days instead of twelve, and that, after the return of the hunters the skin of one of the deer they had brought in was stuffed with grass and stood up by the central post of the Big House, antlers and all, while about its neck hung a string of wampum—perhaps as a propitiatory offering. 796 x

Moreover on the morning of the last day of the ceremony a large sweathouse was built and stones heated; then about noon the men who had been reciting their visions went into it, each taking one of the hot stones with him. This privilege was not confined to the actual celebrants however, for every one blessed by a guardian spirit even if they had not sung their visions in the meeting, was entitled to carry in a stone and join them. 787 ● 796 x [343]

The entrance was then closed and

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● 787 796 water poured upon the stones; and while the steam rose and the sweathouse grew hotter and hotter the perspiring occupants prayed to their guardian spirits and recited their visions. These finished, with a shout of "There go our prayers to Those Above," the cover was suddenly snatched from the sweathouse so that the steam it had contained rose in a puff. If the steam cloud went straight up into the air it was thought that the prayers would be heard and answered, and that all was well, but if it broke and spread out the people felt that something had gone wrong, and that their prayers were of no avail.

184 796 In endeavoring to explain the presence of such variations of the Annual Ceremony, it should be remembered that the Lenape now in Oklahoma whom the writer has called for convenience "Unami," are not really pure descendants of this tribe, but probably have a large proportion of the blood of the Unala'tko or Unalachtigo, whose dialect, according to Heckewelder, was very similar, and a-

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346 796[1] [775] were carried out. "The Sun and everything else goes toward the west," say the Minsi, in explanation, "even the dead when they die."

PRELIMINARIES

796[x] [787] [202] The first act remembered by the informants preparatory to holding a meeting was to send to each man in the tribe who had been blessed by a "vision of power," a little stick which represented an invitation to the ceremony, the time of which the messenger gave out, before which date the people leaving their scattered homes gathered and camped about the Big House. Meanwhile hunters were sent out, appointed before, not during the meeting as among the Unami, to bring in for the Winter Ceremony, if possible, exactly twelve deer, which were cooked by four young men who served as attendants in a small separate house, built for the purpose.

372 796[x] *Fire.*—The fire was made with a fire-drill by a group of old men for use in the Big House, but, as among the Unami,

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RECITAL OF VISIONS

The first man to relate his vision (my informant did not remember whether he was the one who "brought in" the meeting or not) took up the turtle rattle from its place at the foot of the post and began to shake it rapidly, while the singers struck the drum of dry hide. He then recited the story of his vision of power, still keeping the rattle shaking, following this with his dance song, at the same time dancing and rattling the turtle-shell.

Any one who wished to dance was supposed to give wampum to the vision-teller for the privilege. Some who were well off would give him an entire string, others merely a few beads. These the vision-teller would take, when he had quite a handful, to two officers who sat in a corner of the building, whose duty it was to count the wampum, after which it was kept by the chief or leader. Sometimes if a poor person who had no wampum wished to dance, they would give him some to pay the vision-teller.

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"In the old religious ceremonies of the Delawares at Grand River a very peculiar drum was used, a dry skin folded in rectangular form and beaten with four sticks, each bearing a tiny human head carved in relief (fig. 15, *a*). I secured the set of four original sticks from Michael Anthony (*Na'nkŭma'oxa*), and employed him to make me a reproduction of the drum (fig. 14) as the original had been destroyed. This he did, and in addition made six painted sticks (fig. 15, *b*) also used in the ceremony. The description of how these articles were used, pieced together from several Indian accounts, may prove of interest here.

"It appears that the Delawares of Six Nations Reserve formerly held what was known as a 'General Thanksgiving' ceremony called in Lenape *Gitctla'kan*, twice a year, once in the spring and again in the fall. At these times it was customary to meet in the Cayuga long-house, borrowed for the occasion. At a certain point in the proceedings (I shall not attempt a consecutive description from

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7% x
[787]

hearsay testimony) a man stood up and recited, in a rythmical sing-song tone, his dream—the vision of power seen by him in his youth. Na'nkŭma'oxa remembered how one old man was accustomed to tell about a duck, half black and half white, which had appeared to him. Between the verses of the dream four musicians kneeling at the drum (*pe'awahe'gŭn*) began a plaintive song, beating time with the carved sticks (*pe'awahe'gŭnŭk*). As they sang, the reciter swayed his body to and fro, while a group of dancers gathered on the floor behind him danced with a sidewise step. Before the ceremony, poles were laid lengthwise along both sides of the council house, and against these, at intervals, three on a side, the painted sticks, called *mkädhi'gŭn*, were laid. If anyone in the crowd felt 'especially happy' he was privileged to strike with one of these sticks upon one of the poles in time to the music. The carved heads on the drumsticks meant that human beings were giving thanks; the lengthwise

[533]

[535]

532
7% x

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mants thought, as the Peyote rite, and, like it, probably from the Washita River region.

Wilson would call a dance every now and then during his lifetime, at which the people appeared in their everyday dress, without such special costumes as were seen, for instance, at such functions among the Kiowa and the Arapaho. At these meetings the participants would dance round and round for a long time, with a sidewise step, to the sound of song and water-drum, sometimes for a considerable period without stopping. Occasionally one would fall and appear to faint, and when revived would claim to have visited Heaven in spirit while his body lay as if dead. When Wilson died, the cult, so far as the Delawares were concerned, perished with him.

Such were the ceremonies surviving until recent times among the Lenape, from which have been omitted only the observances connected with the dead, shamanism, witchcraft, and war, all of which will be discussed in later papers.

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769
796x
[787]

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771 776 moreover, were the abode of supernatural beings, while animals and plants were thought to have spirits of their own. Besides these there were, of course, the countless spirits of the human dead who were still supposed to retain some influence in earthly affairs.

771 This, then, was the supernatural world which, to the mind of the Lenape, controlled all things—on which they must depend for health, for success in all their undertakings, even the daily task of deer-hunting or corn-raising. Benevolent beings must be pleased, and bad spirits combated and overcome, or at least placated.

[776] There was, however, until very lately, no conception of a "devil" in the modern sense of the word.

771 787 The main channel of communication between the supernatural world and man was the dream or vision, obtained, as before described, by fasting and consequent purification in youth. Through the vision the young man obtained his guardian spirit or supernatural helper,

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who gave him some power or blessing that was his main dependence through life, his aid in time of trouble, the secret of his success. No wonder, then, that visions and helpers form the basis of Lenape belief and worship. Among the guardian spirits figured not only such great powers as the Sun and the Thunder Beings, the personified powers of nature, but the spirits representing various species of animals and birds, such as the Wolf or the Owl, of plants, as "Mother Corn," as well as the Mask Being, and even the spirits of the dead which some Lenape claimed as helpers.

Those favored by such visions were considered the leading people of their community. They usually composed rythmic chants referring to their visions, and appropriate dance songs to go with them, to recite at the Annual Ceremony.

Belief in a soul or spirit surviving the death of the body formed an integral part of Lenape philosophy. The soul is supposed to linger for eleven days after death,

THE OPOSSUM DANCE CEREMONY

Another family feast rite was *op·i'ɣk·a"n*, "Opossum Dance," also known by a sobriquet *suk'ce'p'ti·e'zk·a"n*, literally "black rump dance." For the latter designation no definite reason is given beyond stating that the woman who "owned" the dance and who took the leading part went through bodily movements supposed to represent the motions of an opossum in the throes of death. This was an inherited dream-revelation ceremony, owned by the descendants in the female line, of a woman who had long ago experienced a dream manifestation which imposed upon her and her posterity the obligation to perform the rite as an expiation for the benevolence of the animal that had appeared to her in vision form. Its procedure follows, as we shall see, the manner of the Big House Ceremony, in conformity with the definite Delaware pattern of religious performance.

The woman in this case was also a dame of tradition. The last time the ceremony was celebrated was during the early life of Wi·tapano'xwe's mother by a certain Mi·ma'ndi·, "Little Child," who had the distinction of being the last owner of the rite. Wi·tapano'xwe's mother had seen the ceremony enough to have been able to imitate in part the songs sung by Mi·ma'ndi·.

The Opossum Dance was, as previously noted, one of spiritual significance. It was opened with an address by a chief of another group and concluded with a feast. It was not known particularly as a ceremonial group- or clan-feast, although it was the possession of women in a definite family, and so may be said to be restricted to "clan" proprietorship. The singers were invited by the owner and chosen from members of the group with which she stood in a joking relationship, the group of her father. The accompaniment was provided by the water-drum, said to have been a clay pot with a hide stretched over its mouth. The singers occupied the usual place for musicians at one side of the dance area or

8:Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
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CHAPTER XV.

Concerning the Paahra, Idolatry, Faith and Religion and Sacrifices to Manitto: the Devil, Also Whether the Indians Have a Knowledge of Christ.

With reference to the religion of the Indians [it 778
is to be observed] that they adopt their *Pâdhra*[1] or idol when they are about 15 years old. Thus the one makes for himself a child of skin with head, body, arms, hands, legs and feet to believe in. The other selects a lion claw, that one, a bear claw, this one, an eagle claw, that one, a lion tooth, this one, a bear tooth, this one, a bird bill, etc. In fine, whatever limb of any animal, bird, fish or other [living thing] they desire to choose for their god or *Pâhra*, as they call [it], which is hung on a chain of their money on their breast, they consider this their god, so sacred that no one is allowed to 783
touch it,—the one who attempts it, he becomes his 784
chief enemy.[2] In this their god they have such a 785

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[1] *Pâdhra (pôra)*. This is a cognate of *boahigan* (Penobscot), stem *boa (poa)*, which Prof. Speck says "denotes the concept of mystery." It is found in most dialects of the northeastern tribes, *bua-, pu-, bao-, pow-*, etc. *Boahigan*, which Speck says means "instrument of mystery," and Lindeström's *pâdhra (pôra, bôla)* possibly denote the same concept,—"object through which or by which mysterious power is obtained and practiced." Cf. Speck, *Penobscot Shamanism, Mem. of Am. Anth. Ass.*, VI, 249 ff.

Cf. Heckewelder, *Indian Nations*, 239 ff. For Dutch accounts, see De Vries, Van der Donck, etc., *N. Y. Col.*, 2, I, 138, 213, 227, etc.; II, 203; III, 956, 159, etc. Cf. also Brainerd, Journal (*Mirabilia Dei*, etc.); Hesselius, *Kort Beretteise* (1725), 2 ff.

[2] The *taboo* of charms and fetishes is common among primitive peoples. Even the natives of Cape Verde Islands will not allow their charms to be touched. They are civilized, call themselves

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
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strong faith, that the night he dreams about him,[3] he will at once the following day be able to shoot as much game and catch as much fish as ever he wants to,—the evil one, undoubtedly helps him to it.[4]

The first hunt which the savages arrange in the spring [they dedicate to the evil one]; if they then can shoot ever so many animals in their hunt they do not sell a single one of them, but make a burnt offering of it[5] to *Manitto* or the devil; then they will that year have good luck in hunting and shooting.

They do, however, know a little historically about Christ, which they consider a fable. When the old savages are to tell the Christians what passed in former times, they say that it has been told them from times immemorial by their fathers and forefathers, who have said that it was, once in former time, one of our savage women who became pregnant by going and drinking in a brook; and none of our Rennappi had had any connection with her, yet she became pregnant and gave birth to a son. And when that one became somewhat large, something like this,—he measures with his hand in the air, as he knows nothing of age or years. "Yes, that was a pólite[6] and clever

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Portuguese citizens and speak a Portuguese dialect. For *taboo*, see Hodge, *Handbook*, II, 667.

[3] The charm or fetish emblem.

[4] Lindeström believed in the powers of the Indian medicine man; but he attributed this power to influence of the Devil. Cf. Heckewelder, *Indian Nations*, 231 ff.

[5] The game obtained in the hunt. Cf. Hodge, *Handbook*, II, 402 ff., and the literature quoted there.

[6] *Artigh, polite.* Perhaps, however, Lindeström means handsome, fine, splendid. See *artigh invention*, Chapt. XVII, note 3.

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was left to the mother to select a name, she did so with little ceremony, but that the father pretended to receive a name in a dream. Pipe said that a child might take its name from its father, Van der Donck said from its mother, Chipps said sometimes from one of its parents but usually from one of its grandparents. Part of the diversity may be accounted for by the fact that often two or more old people including the child's grandparents, dreamed a name, and on being presented with these the parents made a selection. W. L., however, said that the power to name was derived from dreams and the names bestowed by an individual so empowered were usually related to his dream but that no dreaming was done for any particular child. None of the accounts indicate whether or not the name given an individual reflected his clan affiliation.

Whatever the origin of his name, the individual never had more than one, according to all informants and all the sources except Johnston, and apparently he had in mind the number of names an individual bore during life rather than at one time (97). In the changing of names during life the tabulation shows a clean break between the fourth and previous periods (98). The reason for this is not so clear, but it seems very reasonable to assign it to white influence and particularly the establishment of tribal rolls used in making annuity payments.

According to Williams, the Indian parents with whom he was acquainted did not use corporeal punishment for the correction of their children (105). He convinced one Narraganset father of the benefit of such correction. If corporeal punishment did not exist among the coastal Algonquain tribes before his time, the introduction of this element might be traced to him, for all of the subsequent writers with the exception of Heckewelder and all the informants affirmed the practice of it. However, the punishments listed by the other sources and informants were not very severe in most cases and indicate that, as among most tribes, the principal means of restraint with Delaware children were persuasion and example.

The education of Indian youth was frequently characterized as being entirely without system (103). It is true that formal

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of defensive armor stopped in the second period, perhaps as the result of the introduction of firearms against which it was ineffective, but the memory of it continued into the fourth period. The third-period accounts were based on the practice of that time, whereas the last period accounts reflected the custom of the earliest period. 713

A similar situation seems to exist in regard to the consultation of jugglers before the march of a war party (408). We have no information on this point from the first or second period and such consultation is denied in the third period, but Chipps reported in 1824 that fifty years and more before it had been customary for the chiefs to consult the jugglers. The three informants in the fourth period were unanimous in reporting the reliance upon jugglers for determining the omens concerning a war party. 726 787

Sieges were not a war practice of the Delaware according to the early accounts (412). The sieges reported in the fourth period were of comparatively recent occurrence. 723

Roger Williams reported that enemy heads were taken as trophies and he made no mention of scalps (415). Other New England accounts of the same period related that hands were also cut off as trophies. We have no information on this point for the Delaware of the same period. In the next period Heckewelder said the Indians took scalps as trophies but that they referred to them as heads. About the same time accounts of other tribes stated that heads were taken if possible, but if pressed by pursuit or too encumbered by heads, a warrior would reduce his load by saving only the scalps. It is doubtful if the practice of taking scalps instead of heads originated in historic times, but it is certain that it completely replaced the latter, probably in the second period. 727

Peace

The elements entering into peace negotiations suffered a fate very similar to those of war. The sources and informants uniformly stated that ambassadors were sent to negotiate a peace (416), and that peace terms were negotiated and not dictated 728

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10. Eclipses

JOHN JOHNSTON—The eclipses they suppose to be caused by one of the twelve subordinate Deities as an indication of war or some other calamity which they think will shortly come. 821

CAPTAIN PIPE—Eclipses are thus accounted for. Every man as he grows up is visited in his dreams by his tutelar deity in the form of a Bear, Wolf, Dog, Tree, Cornstalk, or any thing else which the imagination can conceive, and by the deity he is protected and governed through life. When he dies his protector assumes the mourning garb common to deities, and through his influence the eclipse of the Sun or Moon takes place in token of the excess of his grief. 787 776 765

CAPTAIN CHIPPS—In an eclipse, they suppose, the moon gets between the Sun and the Earth.

J. W. said that eclipses had meaning but would not say what. Likewise W. T.

14. Four cardinal points

Both J. W. and W. T. named the four cardinal points but thought of up and down as equivalent to them.

16. Meteors as indication of evil

JOHN JOHNSTON—Meteors: They suppose them to be ominous of something bad especially if any person takes notice of them and says see that star they think that person will not live long, but they suppose that if they fall to the ground they turn into that substance or ball generally known by the puffball which will by pressing emit a smoke, they are afraid of those balls. 821 787 824

CAPTAIN PIPE—The Meteors called shooting stars are thus described. Like the Sun and Moon the stars are brothers to the Indians, human beings, and subject to the frailties of man. When one of them begins to practice lying and fraud he is rejected by the others and obliged to fly from his companions to seek a place of refuge. 577

J. W.—Meteors are a warning, forecast war etc. The place where the comet goes is the place where the battle or other catastrophe is going to occur. F. W.'s grandmother heard a great

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821 wind and looked up and saw a comet shaped like a head dripping
787 fire and blood out of the mouth, coming from the West and going North and East, about five years before the World War.

W. T.—Meteors foretold the direction of a big wind coming the next day—they were already on the move.

18. Ceremonies on appearance of new moon

821 CAPTAIN CHIPPS—When they see the new moon, they thank
782 the Great Spirit that they have lived to see it.

JOHN JOHNSTON—They do not at present but they say it was anciently a custom to offer some kind of a sacrifice.

821 *19. Calculation on time of reappearance of moon*

CAPTAIN PIPE—Nor can they calculate with certainty the time of its reappearance.

RELIGION

21. Concept of Supreme Being

776 JOHN JOHNSTON—They do [have concept of Supreme Being], and distinguish him by calling him the creator of us all and of all things.

CAPTAIN PIPE—They believe in one Supreme Being, who is known generally by the appellation *Keshaallemōōnkungk*, "He who created us by his thought;" and sometimes *Kaatounutōōwit*, The great spirit, from *Khit*, great; or *Waalseet Maunūtoo*, He who is the good spirit, from *Woolit*, good. They suppose that this being created the world and remained sometime upon earth, having the moral superintendency of all affairs therein, and that having perfected the system which he commenced he left it.

CAPTAIN CHIPPS—They believe in one God, who is "God of the black as well as the white"—they suppose he lives in some world above this earth.

22. Subordinate deities

JOHN JOHNSTON—They believe in twelve subordinate deities placed in different grades descending from the highest to the lowest, they think the lowest is on earth among them but in-

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visible noticing all their actions, which he communicates to the next deity and so from one to the other until it is communicated to the Supreme being. 776

Captain Pipe—With the Indian (these Indians) all animals, and even animated nature, Trees, plants, etc., are considered as beings having supernatural powers. This is proved to be a serious belief by the great distinction in the language, which included trees, plants and some vegetables in the class of animated beings, and by the superstitious notions of these men, who having been prepared by excessive fatigue, long fasting and harsh treatment [783] from parents, for some unnatural excitement of the mind, dream, or fancy that they dream of seeing their guardian god coming [781] to them in the form of a Bear, Wolf, the Sun, the Moon, a Tree, etc., and directing them about their future conduct. Such [787] dream no doubt has great effect during the life of its subject, and in his private worship all his songs are descriptive of some of the events which he saw in his dream. He often repeats them and does not fail to attribute his success to the deity whose wonderful appearance had foretold his good fortune, or any mishap [788] to his own bad conduct which incensed his guardian.

23. Evil spirits

John Johnston—They believe in but one evil spirit which is the devil. They suppose him to have been created holy, but he being proud spirited was not willing to acknowledge the creation of all things to the supreme being but contended that he had created the bad and the dispute arose to such a degree that the devil took a disgust and plunged himself from heaven into the earth where he remains to this day and that is the reason (they say) why guilty folk always look down. 776 773

Captain Pipe—Much of their unhappiness and misfortune is attributed to the evil spirits of which there are many. They are called *Maatseetseet Maunutoowuk*, (Those who are bad Spirits) but are not distinguished by particular appellations. 776

Captain Chipps—They believe that "there is a devil, or there would not be so many wicked in the world,"—where he lives they cannot determine.

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CAPTAIN CHIPPS—They believe there are no greater wizards 754
or witches than knaves or drunkards.

All the modern informants confirmed the belief in witches and wizards, but J. W., his wife and son were especially vehement in their current existence.

41. National Worshiping Society (Big House)

JOHN JOHNSTON—They have a national worship which they 794
think keeps the world from coming to an end. It is attended with very great expense in procuring wampum and provisions, etc. This meeting is continued for 12 days and twelve nights successively. They have a large building prepared for that pur- [346]
pose about 25 feet in width and 50 or 60 feet in length according to the number that is expected will attend, with a door in each end, notice is given at what time their worship will commence. When they are collected and seated in a row round the outside 796
of the building the men by themselves and the women by themselves a man and woman at each door the man for a doorkeeper and the women to sweep between every exercise, the fires are made in the middle of the building which they make by rubbing two dry sticks together that it may be pure, the fire they put out every day and make new lest it should become adulterated, they make it by rubbing two dry sticks together as at the first. Thus prepared the one that made preparation for the meeting gets up with a turtle shell in his hand (containing pebbles) and he gives it a shake and the whole assembly arise with him he then begins telling a dream which he says he dreamt in his childhood [787]
and the whole congregation repeats it after him in one voice word by word till he says he heard a voice singing to him and begins to sing immediately upon which two men commence beating with flat sticks upon skins folded together then he stops singing and he with the whole assembly jump ten or twelve jumps in the form of a dance then he makes a sudden halt and goes on with his dream as before repeated by the whole in one voice until he commences singing again as before and the players commence beating and the whole jump or dance in the form above mentioned thus they continue for the space of half an hour or more

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do so in pretty regular succession, the worship is annual, or perhaps more frequent. The time and place of meeting is designated by this family, the principal male of which sends a messenger to the chief or head man of each village, who in his turn disseminates the information through the families of those under him. At the time appointed the nation, as well males as females assemble at a large lodge prepared for the purpose, where the females are placed in rear of the men. Here with grave and downcast looks they sit and receive from one of the old men an address upon the importance of a due observance of the ceremonies of the worship, and of abstinence from all unlawful pleasures during the continuance of them, among which any connection with women is counted a polluting sin. After describing at length the customs of their ancestors, among which this worship is placed in the foreground, the principal man of those who prepared the place of worship, having in his hand a small turtle shell containing a few gravel stones, gives it a sudden shake, and at the signal the worshipers all rise. He then commences a history of his early dream, repeating it in short sentences, in a natural tone of voice and being followed in the repetition of each sentence by all who are in the house. At length he commences to sing his dream, being followed by the company as before, and relieved between the sentences by a chorus of singers who are seated apart from the other worshipers, and have a kind of tambourin composed of a deer skin stretched across four sticks, upon which they beat the time. The music is said to be agreeable and very soft.

After this person has finished the tale of his dream, in which is described minutely every circumstance connected with the appearance of his tutelar deity, as well as those events of his life, which being foretold, have *of course* come to pass, each person in the lodge takes him by the hand in a mystical manner and they all seat themselves. The men then smoke for a short time, preserving the utmost silence and gravity of deportment, during which occupation the speaker takes occasion to push the shell under his legs in a secret manner, to the next on his right, who declares his intention to speak by giving it a slight shake, or pushes it in the same secret way to the next. When one has

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name by the month in which he was born. Three or four days after birth, not over five months. They set a day on which relatives and friends bring things, grub, give it to baby—glad there are new folks, kin to us, who have come to live with us. Then every birthday give big feast. 851 553 858

E. R. and W. L. said names might be given immediately after birth or not until several days had passed.

90. Particular age of naming child

LINDESTRÖM says when they become large enough to shoot a gun.

91. Descriptive names

J. W.—Names in keeping with month of birth. 553
W. L.—Animal names are used but not exclusively.

93. Names from dreams

E. R.—All names come from dreams. Child might go several days without a name. Chaff each other in the family about not being able to give a newborn child a name. Finally one of the parents or grandparents, going to bed with this on his mind so much, would awake with a dream of a name. 553 787

JOHN JOHNSTON—It is generally from dreams dreamt by the parent or some relation, relative to the agility or faculty of some animal, which they say appears to them and tells a pretty story.

97 and 98. Individual has more than one name; changed later in life

JOHN JOHNSTON—They have [more than one name] sometimes but the second one is one of their own choosing when they arise to years of discretion. 553

CAPTAIN PIPE—Although they never have more than one name at a time it is not uncommon for them when grown up, to change their name, in which case the same ceremonies at the grand council take place. This subsequent naming (it sometimes goes as far as a third) is sometime because the original appellation,

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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408. Consultation of jugglers before march

721 CAPTAIN CHIPPS—There are no jugglers now (1824) living—
787 the last that are recollected lived about 50 years ago—it was customary then for the chiefs to consult them, and be guided by their advice.

410. Women accompany war party

726 CAPTAIN PIPE—Anciently the women were never known to accompany a war party, but since booty has been an inducement they have been much in the habit of joining them.

CAPTAIN CHIPPS—The women seldom go into battle—they have however a right to fight, which entitles them to a place in the ranks—if they behave well, they are as much commended as the male warriors.

415. Scalps taken

727 ROGER WILLIAMS said that the whole head was taken as a trophy.

PEACE

728 *418. Ambassadors of peace carry white wampum*

J. W. reported that an ambassador carried "something" but not necessarily a belt of white wampum.

419. War club as emblem of desire for peace

J. W. insisted that chief left "some mark" at home of enemy chief to indicate a desire for peace but that it was not necessarily a war club.

426. Feasts

CAPTAIN PIPE in the first copy of his account said: The party inviting the assemblage of the council always furnish the necessary provisions for the visitors during their stay, but there are no feasts. In second and third copies of his account, he said there was a council after the preliminary negotiations and: At this council a grand feast was prepared and was accompanied with dancing.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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the spiritual force represented by it is apparent. The being itself seems to be incorporated in the mask image. The latter become more truly a fetish than the carved images representing the deities in the Big House. Its presence is a source of active power, for the most part, directed toward maleficence. This I think is brought out in several records which the informant dictated to me, tracing the presence of disease and misfortune to the possession of masks representing the human face, both large and small, in families who had, through some event, come into possession of them. Possession seems not always to have been voluntary and in such cases the owners were obliged through the revelations given them in dreams to perform periodic rites, called feasts, to annul their malefic potencies. I am led to believe that this explanation is a valid phenomenon associated with mask likenesses; one omitted from the explanations given us by the authors cited.

We learn in this connection that once a year, generally in the summer, the mask image was given a dance and feast of hominy by the family in whose custody it remained. The express purpose of this rite was to provide it enjoyment and nourishment as a means of conciliation beyond what was accorded it by being brought out during the performance in the Big House. In such a family the mask must be disposed of in a ceremonial manner should it be desired to discontinue the obligatory rites, or should the family die out. Tradition requires the mask in this case to be buried, as the informant states, lest the effects of neglect of the mask be handed down to relatives. One is reminded, in learning of this reverential attitude toward the masks, of the frequency with which carved stone faces have been exhumed in the territories previously inhabited by the Delawares. The Museums of Pennsylvania, New Jersey and New York possess a number of specimens of the faces, which have been briefly discussed and illustrated by Harrington.[1]

The family in which fell the custody of the False Face was the P'ala'ciman "Frenchman," family of the Wolf group. The wife of Frenchman was the person who had hereditary ownership of the mask. Her descendants, the McCartlain family (Turkey group), were next in succession but being inclined toward Christianity the rite was neglected by them. Subsequently Julius Fouts, Pet ane'hing, "Threw Him Here," of the Tortoise group, took charge of the mask. Being afraid that it might be destroyed by worms while in his possession which might have brought sickness to his family as a consequence, Fouts turned it over to Pe'matae'kamon, "Moving-Flowers Man" (George Bullette) of the Fowl group. By the latter it was sold out of the tribe and finally found its errancy terminated in an exhibition case of the Museum of the American Indian (Heye Foundation). (Fig. 10).

[1] Op. cit., I, pp. 32-43.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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Not only are wild animals pure in contrast with domestic brutes in the sense embraced by the term, but youths who have completed the puberty vigil and acquired their guardian spirit are also pi·'lai·t, "clean, uncontaminated, spiritually purified," as opposed to those who have not. For instance one of the signs denoting the transition from preadolescence in boys to the "purity of manhood" is in the voice. They say that the youth is expected to remain in solitude during his vigil until his voice has changed completely, by which time he is then pi·'lai·t. It will be noticed also that the term is applied to fire made by the pump-drill at the Big House ceremony, pi·'lai·t' te'·n·da', "clean fire," the unadulterated new fire made without matches or other unclean materials; the latter being cewa'·n·akwi· te'·n·da', "white man's fire," or mat·a pi·'lak, "not pure." The sacred character of pure fire is shown in its honorific synonym muχo'·mson·a, "our grandfather," the source of healing.

Spiritual purity, however, is not conditioned by ethical conduct, but rather (like the Hebraic takor) through the observance of taboo regulations prescribed by ancient rulings.[1] Foremost among these are the restrictions placed upon the freedom of women in their catamenial periods, and the carrying out of dietary usages based upon the classification of animals as clean and unclean. Another evidence of the individual being spiritually pure is to have been blessed with a vision bestowed by a supernatural power. Such individuals are pi·'lai· in a high degree. They are indeed the mainstays of the Big House ceremony. They are in blessed communion with the man·i't·u, bringing into the Big House their spiritual media, the controls under which their destinies are moulded. Again to be pi·'lai· is to have gone through all the native teachings. And to live with a guileless character, child-like, is sufficient to entitle a man or woman (irrespective of marriage or celibacy) to be referred to as pi·'lai·t lən'·o "pure, clean, man," or pi·'lai·t xkwe'·, "pure, clean, woman," as a child is pi·'lai·t mi·'mes. The above may serve to outline at least the Delaware concept of personal holiness and unholiness as it is expounded in the text.

BEING BLESSED WITH A VISION. THE PERFORMERS IN THE CEREMONY. The main active parts in the ceremony are performed by those who have been blessed with revelations by spiritual-forces, the man·i't·u. These are the pure men, and also in a minor rôle, the pure women. The word element aŋg'o[2] seems to be the generic designation for the condition of being blessed with a spiritual revelation through a vision. By this is meant the visitation from some man·i't·u coming at some period in the life of the individual who is spiritually deserving from the point of view of his reverence for spiritual forces for his observance of the arbitrary rulings of religious doctrine, and adherence to logically

[1] A taboo is denoted by the term kwul·a·'gan, "something forbidden."

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● 787 moral conduct. To have received such a visitation is to be blessed indeed.[1] The age at which the revelation comes to the individual can not be said to have any limits. Some acquire their personal guardian in childhood, some in their youth at the time of the fast-vigil, others in the prime of life. And it seems that, like Wi·tapano'xwe, some may have several such revelations. In such a case the informant thought it customary to recite the first one experienced and to retain it throughout his or her career. In the case of plural visions, nevertheless, the individual could choose the one for recitation that he preferred in his own judgment. The general outline of facts and fancies concerned with the fast-vigil as they are given by Harrington seems to summarize this interesting and prominent feature of American ethnology as far as Delaware information is involved.[2] Yet a few specific cases not hitherto recorded of the spiritual visitant coming to individuals in distress, without any effort put forth on their part, may be given here to lay more emphasis upon this aspect of the personal-vision doctrine than it has hitherto received.[3]

We encounter in Delaware practice a system of religious abuse to challenge the pity of some spirit-force in behalf of a child, quite simple in theory. In the hope of evoking the compassion of some man·i't·u, the dutiful, conscientious parents, assume the rôle of desiring to drive the child forth from the shelter of home to become a friendless wanderer. The expulsion from home is, however, but a disguise, one to be carried only so far as to deceive some spirit-force into taking the victim under its protection and providing him with a guiding and shielding control for the rest of life. It is deliberately intended to exploit the mercy of the spirit-forces. The child, of course, is not aware of this ruse, so its misery is genuine. But once the visitation has occurred, its joy is equally genuine for it has found a "savior," a "control," superior in power to any human agency; and, of particular significance to him, one exclusively his own, not to be outgrown, nor to become old and decrepit like his parents. The event may be compared with the conversion period in the adolescence of the Christian child. If the conversion, here taking the guise of a spiritual hallucination like that of the Maid of Orleans, is complete, no distracting trials, no timidity of purpose in life, no "forsaken" complex, will disturb the fatalism which becomes a master principle throughout life for the individual. The fervor of belief of those who have had such revelations

[1] Apart from the concept of being blessed, denoted by the stem just given, we find the terms liggwe'bel·a·n, "he acquires a vision revelation;" lacl·'mwi·n, "dream vision."

[2] Harrington, I, pp. 61-77.

[3] For ethnological discussion of the significance of variations in the method by which the guardian spirit is acquired in North America, see R. F. Benedict, The Concept of the Guardian Spirit in North America, Mem, Amer. Anth. Assn., No. 29, 1923.

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was noteworthy to the early missionaries among the Delawares, who spoke frequently of it.

"Most extraordinary experiences have been met with by boys from twelve to fourteen years of age, when they have been alone in the forest in apprehension and in need. An old man in a gray beard may have appeared and said in soothing tone, "Do not fear, I am a rock and thou shalt call me by this name. I am the Lord of the whole earth and of every living creature therein, of the air and of wind and weather. No one dare oppose me and I will give thee the same power. No one shall do thee harm and thou needest not to fear any man." Such and similar prophecies he makes. Such a boy ruminates upon what he has heard and is confirmed in the opinion as he grows up that a peculiar power has been imparted to him to perform extraordinary exploits, and he imagines that no one can do him injury. As he can receive no further instruction from any one, he must learn from experience how far he can go, his imagination inspiring him to make every effort."[1]

"They believe in numerous spirits or subordinate deities. Almost all animals and the elements are looked upon as spirits, one exceeding the other in dignity and power. There is scarcely an Indian who does not believe that one or more of these spirits has not been particularly given him to assist him and make him prosper. This, they claim, has been made known to them in a dream, even as their religious belief and witchcraft is alleged to have been made known to them in a dream. One has, in a dream, received a serpent or a buffalo, another the sun or the moon, another an owl or some other bird, another a fish, some even ridiculously insignificant creatures as ants. These are considered their spirits or *Manittos*. If an Indian has no *Manitto* to be his friend he considers himself forsaken, has nothing upon which he may lean, has no hope of any assistance and is small in his own eyes. On the other hand those who have been thus favored possess a high and proud spirit."[2]

Dr. Benedict has successfully classified the distribution of native theories of vision inducement and of involuntary spirit possession, as falling within areas east and west of the Rocky Mountains respectively. In the personal experiences of the Delawares the theories are combined, though the former, that of inducement, is stressed. "To be pitied by the spirits" is the proper mental attitude of vision inducement characteristic of the Delawares.

There are opportunities for psychological analysis latent in this behavior, but these I shall pass by. To give the native information in

[1] The phenomenon of belief that the individual holds himself as being invulnerable even to bullets is recorded of the early Delawares (Zeisberger, op. cit., p. 127), the same fatalism being known among the Plains Indians.

[2] Zeisberger, pp. 132-133.

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787 different cases as remembered by the informant seems at present more to the point than to attempt rationalistic discussion.

[792] Those who have acquired visions and who perform the act of reciting and leading dances are the spiritual leaders of the tribe. They are known, with an air of distinction, as wehendji·kane'it', a designation that I am scarcely capable of literally translating into English, but which is explained to mean, according to Wi·tapano'xwe, the act of dancing in a line close to one another in a formation like segments of a vertebra.

In the text we are given the recitation of several of those who had visions, whose sermons, as they might be called, were more distinctly remembered by the narrator from his having heard them on various occasions. Most noteworthy, however, is his own recitation, the time and circumstances of which are given in the tranalation with such notes as seemed needed. Other versions of spiritual visitations not recorded in text but of sufficient merit to be made available for students of Algonkian psycho-social phenomena have been included in a section of the appendix (note I).

787 In the act of reciting the vision within the Big House the performer
796 (e'lhik·a'a·i·t') carries the tortoise rattle, called the "leading rattle." At his side dances the "follower," whose function is to repeat the leader's phrases and answer the leader's rattle with a shaking of his own rattle, called the "follower's rattle." This individual bears the formal designation we'te'gas·i·t' "follower."

Now is manifestly the time to bring in some explanation of the manner in which the visionary proceeds to declaim his revelation and to intone the chant which he has composed relative to the appearance of the man·i't·u and the effect it produced upon his feelings when it appeared to him. This is essential to the understanding of the ceremony. Reference to the accompanying sketch of the floor plan of the Big House (fig. 12) will be necessary.

The reciter alternately recites his vision and dances. While reciting, now shaking the rattle by a horizontal motion of the forearm, he stands in one place (A) while the dancers who have taken their places in the line behind him pause likewise. At the end of the stanza he bends his head, shakes the rattle vertically and dances down the line of the beaten path, or the White Path with a shuffling step, while the drummers repeat the same stanza that he has just declaimed as accurately as they can. So by alternating pauses and advances the reciter and leader covers the circuit of the dancing path within the Big House until, having led his followers once around, he arrives at a point near where he had begun his act. Here (at G) he leaves the oval course heading toward the center post. At a point about half way to the center (H) he pauses again for one of the stanza recitations then dances to the image facing the western door, recites another

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stanza, whereupon they utter the prayer-call and raise their hands to "lift the prayer." Then he leads his dancing file around the post until he stands before the image facing the eastern door where they pray again. Experience and the use of good judgment in spacing the distance to be covered during the dancing intervals teaches the reciter to time his progress and pauses so that all will work out rightly. I have indicated on the diagram (fig. 12) the approximate stations, indicated by letters, at which the pauses would occur in a vision recitation of ordinary length.

It should be remembered that the "follower," or "after-time" man, any one of the group brothers of the reciter, is one who follows close behind the reciter throughout the round of the White Path and rattles alternately with the leader. As many men and women, as desire may join the dancing group and keep behind them.

When reaching the place where the drummers sit, it should be noted that the reciter stops and shakes hands with them, calling them by various kinship terms in a low emotional voice. Those who are in the dance line do the same. At the conclusion of this act of greeting he goes back to D, where he stopped singing, and resumes his dancing while the drummers repeat his chant. As he dances past the drummers he faces them dancing sideways instead of straight forward as ordinarily. This is a gesture of deference in recognition of the importance of the part they play.

Thus the reciter's narrative proceeds, beginning with the prelude, in which are given mention of the circumstances connected with the coming of the spiritual visitor. Some cryptic references are made to the spirit's appearance or to the guise in which it had shown itself; while in the interludes come the chant of adoration, the reciter's song recitative. He becomes a spiritual hero sounding his spiritual triumph, praising the Person, or Being, who revealed himself to him. The reciter becomes so thoroughly familiar with his personal relation through frequent rehearsal night after night, year after year, that it soon becomes a formula in his mind. Its phraseology develops into a litany, its alternating paragraphs of prose and chanting likewise become familiar to the ears and capable of repetition not only by the drummers, whose duty it is to echo his stanzas, but to the audience seated round the temple as well. In this way the performances of the leading personages of the ceremony assume the nature of common psycho-literary property. And we understand forthwith how Wi-tapano'xwe had arrived at a point where several of the recitations had become imbedded in his memory.

Whereas the major performance of the recitation of dance rites in the Big House falls to the lot of the senior reciters there is an opportunity provided, through a spirit of religious co-operation, for the younger men and women, who have had spiritual experiences of a

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787 796 minor sort, to rehearse their parts, and to give and to receive the blessings accrued through enacting their parts. The open period for minor performers is on the twelfth night at the conclusion of the series of night rituals. This phase of the ceremony is denoted by the term a'teho'mwi·n which freely rendered means "the-performance-after-letting-the-fires-go-out."

The significance of these concluding rites lies in the understanding that the religious complex of the great ceremony has passed its climax. The performances of the men blessed with the visitations of supernatural beings have been done to their satisfaction, the Great Spirit has been duly regarded and invoked for further consideration of his people. And now to mark the subsidence of religious tension under which all have been held for the past twelve nights, the master actors, visionaries and reciters, retire from their high calling, and the hegemony is given over to those whose motives are perhaps as estimable but whose performances are still unperfected—the women and the younger men. The ceremony now takes on the figurative designation a'teho'mqi·n, having reference to "performing after letting the fires go out."[1] We have observed that after the ceremony of the twelfth night the two fires in the Big House, "their grandfathers," were not replenished with fuel by the attendants and that before closing for the night the ashes were ceremonially taken out. Henceforth on the last morning the dancing and singing is of a lower order of sanctity since this "grandfather," fire, is not a witness to it. The time for the shorter recitations of the inexpert youths and the ceremonially less important women has thus arrived, in accordance with which attitude we see a change of mien and the subsidence of the spirit of reverence maintained so painstakingly heretofore. The occasion is the time for rehearsal by the youths who have, on account of their age, only a minor part to play, but who after some years of this sort of thing will make their initial essay in the regular nightly rounds of recitation. It is thus in the "dimming of the light of the sacred fires" that they appear in the modified-service, when the ceremony is no longer "going with full strength."

796 Besides those men gifted with a vision who recite and lead the dancers around the White Path, there are other personages called acka''ak, "attendants" (singular, acka''s) whose official duties are recognized as being of a high grade of sanctity in the Big House. Of these there are three males and three females, the pairs chosen from each of the three so-called totemic groups respectively (Pole'', Pukowa'ŋgo, Tu'k''si·t). Their selection rests at the option of the individual who "brings in the ceremony." During the period of the performance the Attendants are lodged in six canvas tents ranged in two rows op-

[1] a''te "to burn out," referring to fire, kwunall·i·'na a''te no·tu'n·da· "let go out the fire."

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"This, behold, is my dreams
and I can thus explain it and sing it in every way just as I saw it."[1] 539x
And now, it was said, first of all there must be a house built. And 773
also to be planned how that house should look both as to its inside 346
dimensions and height. And also, it was said what would be the size of the door here to be at the direction of the setting sun[2] and at the direction of the sunrise. And there will be jointed sections of the logs, and three posts used at the sides. And two will be on each side of the door reaching to the height of the top of the roof. And in the middle shall be the big post. And it shall be as high as the height of the house. And all posts shall be notched on top. And these at the side where the logs join shall stand as stud-posts facing each other, there held together at the top using short cross-ties.[3] And there shall be on top a larger timber cross-piece. And the ridge rafters in two pieces in the center where they join shall be more than a person's height, there from the beginning of the roof-pitch. And shall be made of various woods. And also the rafters and flat boards shall be used with the bark on, likewise in the roofing. [787]

[1] The Big House, as we learn here, was conceived in a dream-vision revealed to certain persons by the Great Spirit. The recitation of experiences, obtained while in a dream state or in a disturbed emotional condition, has ever continued to form the key note of the ceremony so founded.
[2] The present Big House on Little Caney River, Oklahoma, is set north and south, evidently so placed by mistake, due to the position of the river.
[3] The notched binders fitted into notches of the posts to lock them.

And at both sides where sets the center post, there also shall be built [784]
the fires. Right there opposite and above them, an uncovered place shall be left in the roof. And that will be to force out the smoke. And on all the posts at about a person's height there shall be carved the [778]
mask-image face,[1] and also half the face painted red and the other side blackened.

And around the sides where the people sit, there shall be put dried 539x
grass. And three men and three women chosen, one shall be of the 773
Pole" group, and of the Pukowa'ŋgo, and of the Tu'k"si·t. Their 796
service shall be to labor as long as the Gamwing, it was said, ten and two days' praying. All this time they furnish sufficient well-dried wood. It shall be, for those women, obligatory that they grind up corn and cook meat. And the Attendants all together feed in the house. And they pay them one shoulder-length[3] of wampum every time they furnish food. And it is the rule that the people shall use wampum when purchasing food from the Attendants. There everyone who recites visions in the House will eat there with his family three times each day.

[1] These are the sculptured personifications of the spirit-forces.
[2] For the discussion of this archaic style of enumeration in the ceremony see page 62.
[3] Measured from the shoulder point to the tip of finger of the extended arm.

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Great Star.[1] Again seven stars, it is said, are sometimes at the noon-point[2] seen after dark. Those stars called the Bear;[3] also the head of this one is separate. Now it is said that whenever that Bear shall catch up with his head, then will be the end of the world.[4] And again another group is called Bunched-up,[5] seven is their number. And again here in the direction of sun-down, that evening-star is called kwe'tei-'pon-e'a.[6] Thenceforth are other stars and moons. And there are also these Thunders, our grandfathers, even coming to those clouds, all called spirit-forces. And the sun, our elder brother, is considered a leading spirit-force up above, because he is a great person. By his breath he warms all the universe, and it is he also who lights up the day-time, and the night-sun. It is he who lights up the night-time. And those stars, in accordance with the strength given them, in proportion that serve and aid our father's, the Great Spirit's labors.

[1] ma'xalangw, "Great Star," a variant is ma'xkalangw, "red star."

[2] Meaning at the zenith, regarded in Delaware sky-lore as the point half-way between the earth and the summit of the sky dome, as nearly as can be ascertained.

[3] The constellation Ursus Major has among the Iroquois, the Cherokee, and also the Algonkian south of the St. Lawrence, the same interpretation, as representing the celestial Bear. North of this dividing line of culture, however, the figure is changed to that of the Fisher (Mustela pennanti) or Marten. The explanatory myths are of an entirely different nature in the two areas. The tale in the northern area seems to have a circumpolar distribution in North America from the Athapaskans through the Cree to the Montagnais-Naskapi of the Labrador peninsula, while the Bear legend of explanation traces to the southward. I have given some attention to this myth in a study of Penobscot tradition. (See also S. Hagar, Jour. Amer. Folk-Lore, vol. XIII, No. 49, p. 92; D. G. Brinton, Myths of the New World, Phila., 1868). (See previous discussion of star beliefs, p. 48).

[4] This vision of a celestial catastrophe reminds us again of the Delaware belief that when the Tortoise in his westward journey reaches the edge of the earth the world will come to an end.

[5] The word in the text is asi'-a-kwtaya'-ak, corresponding to Zeisberger's anschiktawewak which he calls firebrands laid together (op. cit. p. 148). His editor suggests Cassiopeia.

[6] Unfortunately the informant was unable to give a translation for this term.

And so this is what the Delawares understand; namely that some spirit-forces are able to control everything whatsoever, and some are created with less strength. Therefore when a person acquires the strength of a vision of some object or living being, he will obtain it in accordance with the strength imbued in the spiritual power which gives it to him.[1]

And now of the several kinds of spirits when they are spoken of, the tortoise is said to be a powerful being because he is able to bear up this our mother's body. That is why it is said he slowly moves, walking

[1] This difficult passage is an example of the resourcefulness of the Delaware language. Two verbs, carry the much involved dominant ideas, pa>'tang ne>'xpe-lsmu'kuk. The former contains the stem pao, universal in Algonkian, as denoting magical functioning (See Speck, Penobscot Shamanism. Mem. Anth. Assn., Vol. VI, No. 3, 1920, pp. 249-54) pa>'lax being the Delaware for "fetish or charm," a spiritual agency; the second implies the meaning to be "born with power." Lindeström (1654-6) (op. cit. 207) discusses the term which he renders påähra.

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eastern Fence Lizard (Sceloporus undulatus), at the same time recording the folk-belief from Wi-tapano'xwe that the puny creature is thought by some to be capable of entering the mouth of a person, biting his heart and causing death. 539X 754 776 825

sects, for example, the spider,[1] and also the scorpion,[2] and these birds; the screech owl and horned-owl[3] and also the chicken-killer,[4] the red-tailed hawk.[5]

[1] No specific race of arachnid is indicated by this general term, which means something repulsive.

[2] Literally "big with many legs."

[3] Onomatopoetic names. So the cry of the birds sounds to Delaware ears. Kō'kos in some form is general in eastern Algonkian for the Great Horned Owl (Bubo virginianus).

[4] Buteo borealis.

[5] The above baneful creatures represent the agencies used by evil conjurors. The agent, animal or otherwise, used by the conjuror, is called wani pəyə'lak "the being whose power I possess and control." This is regarded by the informant as the analogue to the term baohl-'gan used commonly throughout the northern Algonkian family as the messenger or agent of the conjuror. (cf. Penobscot Shamanism, F. G. Speck, Mem. Amer. Anth. Assn. Vol. VI, No. 3, 1920) where a summary of pertinent information for the northeast is given.

Now what is called the state of being a clean, pure child is the source of a person acquiring something as his spiritual vision. Anciently there the children, little boys, it is said, were given a bow and taught how to make arrows. Before daylight they obliged him to go in swimming.[1] Now after, when he appears to be older, far off into the wilds he is driven. "Now must you hunt birds!" Food is not eaten until he kills something. And in the evening as well, the person sleeps without being fed, because, it is said, a child lying exposed in a pitiful state would cause some occasional spirit-force to have pity on him when passing by visiting all the children in the world. Because here from the sunrise direction, or from up above and sometimes from the northern direction or the south, are the directions whence they are visited by spirit-forces. On account of this it is called pitiful abuse.[2] 539X 861 787

Long ago it was called correction. Some persons when sick in any way, persons in perplexity and distress, would accordingly experience a dream-vision of something, or some would acquire a revelation vision.

It is that which one is blessed, whence one becomes useful[3] or becomes a healer or the reciter of a vision in the Big House.

[1] This drastic custom intended not only to harden but to purify youths. The immersion daily in pure running water is part of the ceremonial bringing-up reported in a number of eastern peoples besides the Delawares.

[2] Here we meet with an important religious phenomena,—ritual abuse to secure a more intense spiritual blessing. The concept has been discussed in the beginning of the study.

[3] Meaning that one who has obtained a spiritual blessing or inspiration is under moral obligation by Delaware ethical standards to devote his gift toward the alleviation of human misery, by healing the sick, by setting the example of purity and unselfishness to others.

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These are the three ways in which a person is endowed that he becomes useful, or a magician.[1] And a person can become a warleader; that also is called greatness. 539X 787 554

[1] The term mat-o'l-ua in Delaware signifying "shaman" introduces a term recognized throughout the Algonkian range with identical force.

II

FIRST NIGHT OF THE CEREMONY

The Master of Ceremony[1] says when he goes into[2] the Big House, when rising to his feet, he speaks saying, "Truly I am thankful, my kindred. It is exceedingly good that we have lived on through to see each other, that we are in good health. I am truly thankful to bring forth[3] the blessing, my brothers and sisters and those there, our children. I bless you all with every kind of blessing. Truly it is unbecoming to me because I feel incompetent when instructing you what to do. Pitiful am I, indeed, as it is said. It rests very heavily upon my mind when I see each year how at present this our way of living has become pitiful. But nevertheless we must all try, my brothers and sisters and also even those children. Let everyone use his mind earnestly when we lift up our prayer of appeal to that one, our father, the Great Spirit and Our Creator. Indeed it is with great sadness of mind that we look back and see the past of our cultural-life as it is said to have been. Formerly, but a few years ago, it is said, here the seating space in the Big House[4] was overcrowded with our now deceased relations. Indeed it brings sadness of mind when we see here now how few of our relatives are seated around that space. It is enough to make anyone ponder over the cause of it. I myself never did think that I would live long enough, as a survivor, living as I am right here, instructing in sacred things where other sacred-teachers, our deceased ancestors,[5] so thoroughly inspired in worship, taught. 539X 796

[1] A proper name in the ceremonial sense, elha'k-e-te

[2] By this figure the formal opening of the ceremony is denoted, tami-'ka, "to go in."

[3] The Master of Ceremony is regarded as the sponsor for all the blessings that result from the performance not only to the participants themselves, and to the tribe, but to the whole of mankind.

[4] He refers to the covering of straw laid around inside the walls of the Big House where the participants are sitting. No chairs or benches are permitted here. They are not of the ancient days. [352]

[5] How little the Delawares have changed in their mental attitude since 1742 is shown by comparison of the above reverential discourse with a declaration made by the missionary David Brainerd who labored, and finally succumbed to the effort, to swerve the same tribe from loyalty toward the beliefs of their ancestors. His lament was that they were so much attached "to the traditions and fabulous notions of their fathers, which they firmly believe, and thence look upon their ancestors to have been the best of men." (Life and Journal of the Rev. David Brainerd, pp. 397-425 (Edinburgh 1826) quoted by Brinton op. cit., p. 137).

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Recitation of Vision by Ko"kwal-epo'χwe

"I must now come to the point of relating my narrative about Kaw River[1] when I was but a child. When my now deceased father told me, "Now, indeed, for your younger brother life is ended,"[2] my defunct parent was exceedingly grieved over the thing. How sorry I was about my younger brother, because I used to think that sometime later when he grew up it would happen that I could play with that one my younger brother. Truly indeed, my meditations grew very heavy upon my mind. I did not know what to do for solace. Whereupon I wandered away, towards the edge of the timber. In my wandering I did not know that it was coming on night, while more and more was my grief weighing upon my mind. Truly, in my realization of helplessness, seeking for solace, I suddenly made up my mind then and there that whatever might become of me let it come. There under a tree I slowly sank and fell.[3] In a short time I began to feel that my miseries of mind had begun to flow out. It seemed not as though I were asleep because I thought it would make no difference if I should die right there, for my younger brother was now no more. It was not long before I heard something come to the ground close at hand. I

(Grus mexicana) or the Whooping Crane (G. americana) those now almost extinct birds whose wings in colonial times darkened the skies of Pennsylvania. "Cranes came hither along the Delaware by hundreds in the Spring (1700), but at present (1748) there are very few. . . . . Certain old Swedes told me that, in their younger years, as the country was not yet much cultivated, an incredible number of cranes were here every Spring," wrote Peter Kalm (Travels in North America, 1770, Vol. I, p. 290), the Swedish naturalist who visited the Delaware valley in the middle of the 18th century (see C. C. Abbot, A Naturalist's Rambles About Home, (1894), p. 230; and E. H. Forbush, "A History of Game Birds, Wild Fowl, and Shore Birds (1912), p. 478).

The birds are also mentioned for Pennsylvania by Gabriel Thomas (1634), (Narratives of Early Pennsylvania, West New Jersey and Delaware, Ed. by Albert Cook Myers (1912), p. 48). The cranes had disappeared from Eastern Pennsylvania and New Jersey by 1809 (W. P. Turnbull, Birds of Eastern Pennsylvania and New Jersey, (1869), p. 49). What the basis of resemblance was in the minds of the ancients, to have caused this resemblance to be featured between the drummers and cranes seems to be beyond our means of learning although the Delawares trace it to the peculiar cry the drummers utter when they terminate each dance round. We shall also hear more of them as the ceremony proceeds, for they play parts of considerable responsibility, being obliged for one thing, to repeat whatever is chanted by the dance-leader when he pauses in his song, during his vision recitation, to dance while the "cranes" echo his verses. They also have certain privileges in the use of face paint.

[1] ka'si-a[a] is the proper name in Delaware for the Kansa, or Kaw, tribe of the southern Siouan group, from which Kaw river derives its name. This is the scene of the reciter's vision, who is assumed to be, as previously noted, Chief Elkhair.

[2] A reverential way of referring to the death of a kinsman. If an animal were so referred to, the term a'ggel-a[a] "he is dead" is used. Still another paraphrase for decease is a[a]mat-a'xpi-l'yɔ "he who no longer remains here."

[3] This term has a religious sense, the ordinary verb being nocee'ggi-xi-, "I lie down."

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did not know it, but I had begun to rise up half-way attempting to look toward it in the north.

Pitiful me, I saw nothing although I could well hear the person right over the ridge. As I listened he said, "Do not think that no thing cares for you, my friend!" Then and there I walked about. Indeed truly the thing overcame me with surprise, that person, when I came to the point of looking toward him. When I saw his form it seemed as though there in the direction of north, it lay extended like the appearance of red. And he said, "My friend, observe me carefully! Look at me, how I do when I walk about in this place!" Every little while he would start running. When he started running he sounded like tom+, tom+!" [Here the cranes beat the drum three times with the drum sticks, and they respond when he speaks in succession, tom+, tom+]. "Not small but great he looked, did that person.

When I thought it over, when I looked at it way over there, at the edge of the southern land[1] did it come to ground. And it sounded so, every time that creature started running, it sounded every time like o o+ o o+![2] And he said when he landed there, "And that besides is what I do here, when I pass by bestowing my spiritual blessing." For he spoke and he sounded like, that person, speaking when he alighted;[3]

'Going by fanning the air, glory of him, the worship of man, all over the earth, glory of him. Cease,[1] ya hwi·!'[2]

[1] Denoting the horizon where the earth island meets the surrounding water.
[2] At this point the "cranes" (drummers) strike the deer-hide drum rapidly.
[3] This is a set form in the ritual recitation when the reciter of visions is about to quote the man·i't·u· As he commences dancing he changes to motion of the rattle from a sideways to an up-and-down vigorous stroke, keeping it up while he is dancing and the drummers accompany him. The performer holds the rattle in his right hand before his body at waist-level, the head of the shell to the left, the tail to the right.
[1] Addressed to the drummers.
[2] Conceived by the visionary almost with the rapture of the Psalmist, the spiritual presence of the "red-appearing" man·i't·u is chanted. The sonorous swish-swish of the pebbles inside the dry tortoise shell rattle adds a peculiar dramatic quality to the recitation.

As to the text of the chant, the words are warped from their ordinary form into a lyric measure in conformity with the usual pattern of such compositions. It might be rendered in the following roughly corresponding lines of free-verse for those who will accept an approximate transfer of meter from one language to another so far from it in grammatical form.

Wind of spirit
Rushing by me,
Magic Power
Gives me vision,
Exaltation
Caused by him.
Supplication
Of the people,
Universal
Exaltation
Caused by him.
Cease!
Yahwi·!.

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[Stop][1] That being there in the direction of the north, there I heard him. That Person every so often started running. Indeed more and more at the thing I became oppressed about what that Person said. And he says when he started running [Stop]. 539X 796 787

[The reciter repeats the chant as before while he dances around the circuit to the next station, fig. 12, to the accompaniment of the drumming.]

Truly thankful, my kindred, I am very glad that we have lived so far in good health and that I can bestow all kinds of spiritual blessings, even including all those of our grandfathers. And before long we shall shake hands with these "cranes"[2] who are lifting up the Delaware worship. That Being was speaking, saying every time that he started running.

[Repeat the chant for the third time.][3]

More and more clearly could I see that Person. I took it to be far away toward the north where it originated and it seemed, as I saw it going by, to be reddish in appearance. And he continued speaking, that Person, saying[4]

[The drummers repeat the chant, while the Reciter dances a certain distance, then says kwi "stop," and pauses (at G on diagram (fig. 12)].

Truly it is unbecoming for me so weak, my kindred, but I shall nevertheless do as well as I can and with all my heart, pitiful me! for that is what I thought when I heard that Person saying, "My friend look at me carefully." Because he said, "I also bring blessings when I come here!" So it sounded when he started running.

[Repeat the chant for the fifth time].

Now, my kindred, I am very glad that I have reached this pure, clean White Path, and our Father's Road. And now here opposite we have come where our Grandfathers are standing.[5] And, as it is said, also we have heard how our deceased ancestors so carefully performed the rite. It is said that they called forth how many times to dance around the place where our Grandfather stands.[6] Let us, too, state

[1] This exclamation which I place within brackets wherever it occurs, is a command to the drummers to cease. Elkhair is now supposed to be standing at one of the stopping places in the dance circuit, or Great White Path, reciting his part. (fig. 12, a to g).

[2] The drummers.

[3] Here the Reciter stops almost in front of the drummers facing them and shakes hands with them. All those who are dancing behind him both men and women come up and also shake hands with the drummers, then resume their places behind the leader.

[4] The vague description of the Person (man-it'u) seen by the visionary leaves its form and character to be imagined by the hearers. The informant for his part took it to mean to him a panther, which would, he thought, be a reasonable inference based upon the allusions by the Reciter. The latter does not like to betray in precise terms the identity of his guardian spirit. [776]

[5] Referring to the center post with the two large carved images, before which he has now taken his stand (see diagram fig. 12, h).

[6] Meaning also the center post.

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how many times, namely four times. And then we shall never cease talking again about that Person. If only it would be that I have good health in the future we would never stop talking about that Person, who spoke, as he said,[1]

[Repeat chant for the sixth time.][2]

Truly indeed my kindred we are enjoying very good fortune when we are given an abundance[3] of pure clean game animals as our spiritual food-offering,[4] as a result of which all shall become happy and contented in mind, when he our Father the Great Spirit has taken pity on us for our devotion.[5] But nevertheless we are pitiful, that is why here at this place we are heard sadly pleading in our Father's House.[6]

That Being continued speaking, saying;[7]

[Repeat the chant for the seventh time.][8]

Now my kindred, we have gone around him, our Grandfather's carved-face. Truly thankful, because even he has taken care of us until now and because we are in good health, including these our children. Now give reverence[9] to our Grandfather. Twice we shall lift up our appeal[10] ho+ ho+![10]

[Repeat the chant for the eighth time.][11]

And again, my brothers and sisters and also ye children, we have come dancing here to where stand those our Grandfathers, twelve in number all together our Grandfathers,[12] because from here on all the spirit-forces are alike, our grandfather Fire, and that one our mother Water, and all those who support our life with food. It is enough, my

[1] He raises his hand touching the carved face, and says ho+ ho+, and all who are with him either do the same with their hands or the prayer sticks that they carry.

[2] The inspired Reciter is now standing directly in front of the center post facing the carved image that faces toward the east.

[3] An ancient term, the modern is xahe·'li· "plenty."

[4] The term used here, nexpale·'tam has a meaning difficult to render, an offering made by the people all together to induce spiritual force.

[5] wi·mbonem'k3·'nan, having the meaning, he has pity on us and shows his love and mercy for our act of worship.

[6] mwenda·'wən a long house used exclusively for the purpose of religious worship (cp. Penobscot kwunda·'wun).

[7] This formality is never omitted nor altered in ending the paragraphs of the address. Some speakers terminate with tem+ tem+ denoting the sound heard when the man·i't·u struck the ground on the horizon. In the case of one reciter, his guardian spirit having assumed the form of a duck, he uttered kwäk kwä, and declared that the echo reached the edge of the horizon.

[8] The Reciter is now facing the other carved image on the center post.

[9] ɔŋgo·'ma·tam' the term discussed before.

[10] This is the prayer-cry for which the Delawares were known two centuries ago. The speaker now touches the eastern carved face on the center post with his left hand (the rattle is in his right hand), and those standing about him, who were following him around the dancing path in his dance, raise their right hands or the prayer sticks if they have them and give the prayer-cry as he does.

[11] The Reciter now leads his followers around the center post again in a circle, stopping before the eastern carved image as he did before. Kwi "stop," he says to the dancers and drummers, and resumes his sermon.

[12] He is indicating the twelve carved images in the Big House.

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Two Attendants sweep clean the House.[1] The man goes to the far end from whence he begins to sweep, while the woman begins to sweep from the door. Turkey wings are used when sweeping. Both Attendants finish sweeping at the same time when they arrive at the door and then for a while put away the wings.

Now it is permissible for anyone to go out, and quickly to come back inside because in a little while then again[2] will begin to stir those tortoise shell rattles, our Grandfathers.[3]

When they have come to where sits the next following Reciter-leader, or to anyone else feeling able to recite a vision and lead, it is permitted by the rule that he shake the rattle and, if desired, recite and lead.[4]

Recitation of Vision by Wi·ta'panoχwe'

"You, my kindred, are all acquainted with where I spent my childhood, at Raccoon[5] Creek, where lived my defunct parents. Once upon a time, then, my deceased mother scolded me. She drove me away because I was continually looking at books. That is why she scolded me. She told me, "Go away somewhere into the wilderness, since it seems that all you do, you look at books." And she said, "For all the days to come you will be poor because the book stands in your way. Never will anything be revealed to you in a vision because you live like a white man."

Truly, my kindred, very greatly this matter impressed me concerning my deceased parents. And thereupon I began walking slowly there towards the direction where the sun sets, toward the timber. More

[1] Performing the symbolical rite of clearing away obstacles from the floor of the White Path or dancing path along which the worshippers are traveling to the abode of the Great Spirit.

[2] It is not permitted at other times during the performance to leave the Big House (see also Harrington I, p. 90).

[3] This expressive phrase represents the simile, previously mentioned, of the tortoise carrying the earth, the ceremony, and life on a west-ward course. As the tortoise rattles are passed from one Reciter to another as an invitation to perform they go the entire length of the White Path. When they have been around the building and all the Reciters have carried out their programs the session of the ceremony is over for the night. The tortoise figures as the "moving spirit" in the Big House.

[4] This is the occasion to be seized by someone who has had a spirit-revelation but who has not recited it before.

[5] The narrator of the text is here anticipating himself in the rôle he is to play at the next Annual Ceremony to be attended. He had recited and led the singers on former occasions of worship, but only in that part of the ceremony, during the twelfth night, known as Astehow'mwi·n. This stage of the ceremony, which will be described in its proper place (pages 155, 166), is the occasion provided for women reciters and men who have not arrived at spiritual maturity. Within the last year or so Wi·ta'panoxwe, as his hair has begun to show signs of gray, feels himself called upon to advance into taking an active major part in the ceremony. After much thought and mental preparation on his part we see here the results of his composition in the relation that follows.

[6] The Raccoon, na'hanom, figures in the economic life of the tribe in a way never to be forgotten, for the term kwut·i· na'hanom, "one raccoon," denotes twenty-five cents in currency in Delaware, a reminder of the time back in the east when in the fur trade a raccoon skin was worth a shilling. Other tribes in the north traded the beaver (Cree, Montagnais) and the skunk skin (Mistassini) on the same basis.

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and more heavy became my grief when I thought inwardly about myself, pondering how true indeed was that which my parent had spoken, in truth, in saying that never would anything be revealed to me in a vision. And I thought it very likely that never I would experience a blessing that the Delaware is spiritually influenced by. Indeed, my kindred, I was humble in spirit for many years.

Now, when I became a grown man, far away in the country of the Creeks[1] where I was dwelling with them, one time when I was in the dark sometime during the night, I heard some persons coming towards me in the midst of the sky. It was here in the direction of the rising sun, whence they were coming. And when it happened that they stopped, it was right here over and above where I was lying.

I well remembered how she had spoken to me, my deceased mother, and I thought, "Lo and behold,[2] it must be that those are the spirit-forces my parent had talked about." I do not know just how my mind acted. When I looked toward them I saw nothing, pitiful me, although I well heard those Persons. I thought positively there must have been four of them and I thought, indeed, they looked wonderful. It must have been that because of the thing I was very much impressed, when it happened that they were saying to me, "Don't think that never will you have the spiritual power that the Delaware is blessed with!"[3]

I am truly thankful, my kindred, I am happy that I stand in this our Father's path, the beautiful White Path of the Great Spirit.[4] I am truly humble, for me it is unbecoming in the extreme, pitiful as I am, because never did I think that sometime or another, all of a sudden, I would be performing in this our Ceremonial House, where I patiently listened to our deceased old people who capably worshipped. But, however, I will do my utmost. Take heed, you my kindred, to help me because you know now more and more we are growing weak. So perhaps if earnestly we help each other, quite unexpectedly we might gain a spiritual victory if he hears our appeal, he, the Creator.[5]

[1] The Creek Indian is known to the Delawares as Ma'cko, a proper name derived from the tribal eponym of the Muskogi, as the Creek designate themselves.

[2] The term ce·k'ta" is an exclamation denoting surprise at the occurrence of something which is nevertheless vaguely expected.

[3] Wi·ta'panoxwe, who assumes himself to be the narrator now, is imagining that he would be seated among the members of his division (Pole"). As the turtle-rattle is being passed around the Big House, after several of the older reciters had accepted it and performed their recitation and dance, it would come to his hands. Having decided to undertake the responsibility of beginning his career as a reciter, perhaps unknown to the rest of the worshippers, he would take the turtle-rattle and begin shaking it sideways while declaiming the preceding in a loud staccato voice. (A phonograph record of the narrators recitation was made and is preserved in the collection of the Historical Commission).

[4] With the first sentence of this address the narrator sees himself stepping out into the dancing path with his turtle-rattle. While he advances along the White Path he proceeds with the recitation following.

[5] The informant desired emphasis to be put on the reiteration of the humble spirit, lack of self-confidence but hopeful attitude of the Delaware mind.

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Still can I hear those Persons there as they were speaking. They said these words;[2]

'he! You are given the same blessing
hayuna hwi- hayuna hwi-[3]
You are given the same blessing
That the Delawares are blessed with,
Through their prayer,
All over the world
hayuna hwi- hayuna hwi-
weya wehe. Stop![3]

I am truly thankful as I address you, you men, you young men, you our women, and also you our children. I extend to you all every form of this blessing. Truly I am glad because so far we have enjoyed good health while we are gathered here in this House. Truly, as it is said, I feel grieved myself when I mention the teaching of my elder, and, as I well said, I remember how pitiful they seemed talking long ago, those defunct old men, when they related the manner of life back in the past, the past manners of that time. When I listened to them seriously it was that way. But now here it is worse. It looks hopeless at this time in consideration of our small number. It was even said a few years ago, my kindred, there were quite a number of persons all around yet sitting about. But nevertheless I shall try my utmost.

Truly with shame, so unbecoming is it for me. I did not even think that I would live sufficiently long, deserted through death,[4] that I should, unexpectedly be instructing here where they were instructing, so long ago, our deceased ancestors who so well performed the worship. And I am thankful, my kindred, when you help me in my effort, for that has always been the rule since the beginning of the world, that persons should help each other. For it is even said that a little child may unexpectedly call attention to something important. Therefore greatly does it help when anyone is assisted in his recitation. Truly, my kindred, there is not much of importance I have to say, but I am

[1] The reciter now intones his song, a composition descriptive of his revelation and the emotions evoked by it, dancing along the path toward his first stopping point. Following the usual custom he shakes his rattle with the up and down vigorous motion. Then as in the case of the preceding recitation by Elkhair he halts at the close of his chant after signaling the drummers to stop, and the latter repeat his chant while he dances leading those who are accompanying him.

[2] These are the syllables with no specific word-meaning but used in chanting in a poetical sense.

[3] Upon the signal kwi-, "stop," the reciter gives a violent downward shake of the turtle-rattle and the drummers stop beating. At this pause the reciter begins dancing with his followers to the next stopping place, while the drummers, as explained before, repeat his chant. (dictophone record B, Pennsylvania Historical Commission).

[4] Meaning that, being left alone upon the death of his relatives, he did not expect to survive.

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thankful to bring you a blessing from all those our grandfathers[1] round about us, both in the earth and up above where they dwell, all of them, according to Our Father the Great Spirit who has arranged it. And that is the source from which we enjoy benefit when we are blessed.

This is all that there is for me to say."[2]

[1] Meaning the carved images in the Big House and the unseen spirit-forces.

[2] The speaker gives his recitation in the same way every time during the twelve nights, even throughout the period of years during which he appears at the ceremony. As long as he lives he does not vary his recitation appreciably. For instance, when Joe Washington first gave his recitation he wept and did so each time he performed thereafter. The recitations are therefore formal.

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APPENDIX

NOTE I

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Specimens of Recitation-Songs Given in the A'teho'mwi·n Performance.

The following song recitative of one of the oldest women will serve as an example of the type of performance enacted by the women who have had spiritual experiences. The performer was Mawa't·e's, "Bundle-in-good-condition," a Munsee woman the grandmother of the informant who died about 1914 at an estimated age of 109.

Her song (dictaphone record G)[1] relates to a "mermaid" which she had encountered in a river when a child of eight or nine years of age, determined by the event of the "falling stars" referring to a rain of meteors which she remembered seeing. The informant had heard her experience narrated many times during her life and her song chanted for many years in the Annual Ceremony. Hence he knew both well. The experience as related was as follows:

She was being taken on horseback by her mother across country on a journey to purchase some whiskey as was the custom among the women at that time. Her mother was riding the horse when, coming to a river which had risen by the freshets, she fell off in mid-stream. Neither she nor the horse were seen again. The little girl, Mawa't·e's, remained on the bank alone. No one knowing what had happened for nine days the child existed without human help. Finally a passing party discovered her and restored her to relatives. Then she related the unusual experience, how shortly after the accident a spotted woodpecker came to her every day bringing sufficient bread to keep her alive. To her the bird appeared as a little man garbed in native clothes and wearing a little hat all patterned and decorated to correspond with the markings on the birds feathers. It was not until the fourth or fifth day that she discovered him to have human form; one time when on the point of leaving he turned his back. Her benefactor sustained her with magic food. The next day of her lonely sojourn by the fateful river, there appeared to her a female emerging from the water, the lower part of whose body was that of a fish. Long streaming hair some yards in length floated about her covering her upper parts. The child tried to help her from the river when she asked her but the water-woman told her that it would be in vain since that was her fate. She announced, however, to the child that she was to be her guardian henceforth, that she would have health and live to a very, very advanced age.

She concluded her mission by telling the poor child that she would

[1] In collection of the Museum of the Historical Commission of Pennsylvania.

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not behold her again until a time when she would be seen in a dream precisely one year before death would remove her from the world, by which sign she would know that she had a year to live. Mawa'to's verily grew old with full confidence in her vision and lived for almost a century to chant her song of the "mermaid" visitation every year at the woman's part of the ceremony. On her one hundred and eighth year as was thought, she declared that the "mermaid" appeared to her as preordained and announced to her family the meaning of the event. Precisely one year from that day, having settled her affairs in the meantime, she lay down peacefully and died.

We have every reason to regard this experience and narrative as being typical of the old Delaware psychic life.

Several other minor experiences, the recitation of which fell into the final stage of the annual ceremony, are given in the following abstracts.

Wi·tapano'χwe's mother, Hannah E. Big Deer (Armstrong) or Yu'ti·n (from Justina, a German name), of the Pole' group, when a small child was treated by her parents in a manner to evoke sympathy. They often called her Sa'ki·a, or "Sauk," a term of derision, because she was so dark. This was done, following custom, to cause her to have a vision. She went about grieving, finally wandering to the river bank where she stopped under a tree-root which hung over the bank. She pulled at the earth under the tree until it was about to fall over and kill her, when pe"tha'kowe, "Thunder," came and, holding the tree up led her to safety and promised to help her. She never said much about it except that the Thunder took her up into the clouds to show her his power.

William Brown (Tu'k"si·t group) also had Thunder for a helper. He never recited his vision in the main ceremony, but during the a"teho'mwi·n he told how "Those Beings," without mentioning their names, took him up above. He said that they had nice feathers in their hair which they waved to make lightning.

Wi·tapano'χwe for his part, like many of the younger men who did not consider themselves quite capable nor mature enough to lead (wendji·kane"i·) in the serious part of the ceremony, has been accustomed to take part in the dance-leading (a"teho'mwi·n) on the twelfth night. This performance was merely a dance, the song accompaniment to which is a brief composition hinting at the event connected with his vision. As noted in connection with the a"teho'mwi·n dances, the performers do not carry on the protracted sermon recitations and the procession intervals around the White Path.

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Wi·tapano'χwe's rehearsal composition is as follows:[1]

[1] Dictophone record H. State Museum collection. The kindness of Mr. Harold MacGuffin should be acknowledged here for his loan of a dictophone in the process of recording the Delaware chants.

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NOTE III

Chief Elkhair's vision of the Journey of the Soul.

775 787 The informant in discussing the character of the soul and its future estate here gives an account of the belief of the Delawares as it was reviewed by Chief Elkhair at each performance of the Big House ceremony at some time during the performance when occasion offered itself to deviler a lecture of instruction on this interesting subject to the younger members of the company. While the recitation was fundamentally based upon the experiences indelibly impressed upon the mind of Elkhair in a vision that he at one time received, we recognize, nevertheless, the common catechistic pattern of belief which is fairly general throughout the whole of Delaware religious teaching. Therefore it is rather an example of the latter than a peculiar or individual property of Elkhair's. On account of the importance of this revelation in explaining the Delaware answer to that universally engrossing query as to what becomes of the soul, I have placed the heading here in the appendix instead of in the introduction, to give it the emphasis it seems to deserve.

Elkhair's vision dates back to an earlier period in his life, before the Peyote religion had been introduced among the Delawares. In it he beheld a bird of monstrous size resting upon a mountain. It was toward this landmark that he was led by a spirit who undertook to conduct him as far as the soul of a living being could go. It was apparently to instruct him in the nature of the soul's pilgrimage after death that the revelation was given him. He was accordingly taken only to the point in the journey beyond which the soul can not pass until it is released by death.

The path over which he traveled was a crooked, hard road, always up hill for its first stage, and led toward the mountain referred to. In the sketch made by Wi·tapano'xwe to illustrate this realm this section of the journey is marked A, and is called "Beautiful White Path," or "Righteous Path," the same as the dancing path within the Big House itself. The concept carries on the allegory of the Big House as a symbol of the life of man and its continuation in the spirit world.

Upon completion of this part of the journey the first turning point in the path was attained. This was the Cross Roads, enda'cowa ge·'xiŋ "where roads cross" (B in the sketch). Elkhair's spirit was told here that none but the man who had led a righteous life could proceed beyond this point and achieve the desired goal that lay still farther along. The unrighteous are turned aside here and wander off on a branch path to some unhappy fate. The cross is the symbol of the cross roads. We find it engraved upon the so-called plain drumsticks (figs. 17, 22) used in the ceremony until the ninth night. At this

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

period of the ceremony when the cross-marked drumsticks are put aside to yield place to the image-carved sticks, the ceremony takes on a more exclusive meaning to its celebrants, corresponding to the advance of the soul into a more exclusive realm in its progress toward the ultimate. 775 787

After proceeding past the cross-roads the spirit led his soul to the mountain upon which rested the bird previously mentioned (C in the sketch). This station is called teo'las endala'uai·t, or endale'lamukuk, "bird where he lives". This creature bears the name Ge'k'exonu'k·es "Storm-maker". And it is he who by the motion of his [821] wings causes storms and winds to rage over the earth below.[1]

The next landmark in the course of the journey after passing by the mountain of the big bird was the abode of the Thunder, pe't'hakowe endale'lemukuk, "thunder where he lives" (D in the sketch). On these heights the way was obscured by smoke, clouds and lightning, from which sources the tempests descended upon the earth. It was a terrifying place.

Beyond this mountain of storms the soul of Elkhair could not pass, but he could, notwithstanding this, behold a still more distant ridge of mountains (E in the sketch) called "pe'maxtiŋ "mountain ridge". While it was forbidden for him to approach nearer he could at least hear the voices of departed souls beyond enjoying their heavenly existence. Here, he was told, the souls are resting until the end of the world when all shall be enabled to cross over the next gap to the final stage of the journey to where the Great Spirit sits. Here souls dwell without care, worry or sickness. But it is exclusive for the [794] Delawares because only those who have been adherents to the Big House can become qualified for this existence.

This, the last stage of cosmic existence is that remote height of heaven where the Great Spirit rests supreme, looking down upon his creation, with his hand resting upon the staff he holds in his hand, which is, in the Delaware mind, symbolized by the center post of their Big House. No one of course knows what the final abode of souls is to be like, since Elkhair had no revelation concerning it. This realm is called lənape'ehat, "Delaware where he goes".

It should be recalled that these stages of the celestial pilgrimage are the "levels of heaven" mentioned before in the explanation of the ceremony, numbering twelve in all (see page 26).

In commenting upon the assumed nature of souls, Wi·tapano'xwe added that the soul appears as an image, without flesh, and that it is thought to look the same as it did in its earthly form.

In explaining the peculiar esoterism of the Delaware creed the informant said that exclusion of aliens was not a fixed property of 775 794

[1] Identical with a belief current among the Wabanaki.

000

463 about 1913. The Delaware women and a few men are yet skilled workers in beads,
531 both in sewed-on designs and in bead weaving. The women are expert in the art of working out intricate designs in ribbon applique on robes, leggings, breech cloths
322 and moccasins. Some wood carving is also
285 done by the modern Delawares and a few make splint baskets.

Designs and Symbolism

531 In the study of Delaware art motifs we find that they fall into two groups. In group A are the ancient earth symbols, floral and geometric (angular) patterns; in group B, the religious symbols of the Peyote Cult. This is a religious teaching and ceremony that arose in the tribe about 50 years ago. Animal and human figures
[172] rarely occur in Delaware art. In archeological finds, representations of the human face in stone frequently occur but those are said to have been the charms owned and worn by certain individuals who had dreamed of the mask spirit and had the right to use its likeness as representative of the great spiritual force or guardian spirit.
[787] If a person saw an animal during his dream quest he would have the right to use the likeness of that particular animal on his
[614] wearing apparel. It is also permissible to have representations of clan animal totems on one's vest or tobacco pouch.

The earth symbols and the "trails" shown in plate 1 are said to be ancient, as well as figures A and B called "clasps" in plate 2. The earth symbols in plate 1 illustrate the
[821] native Delaware belief that the earth rests on the back of a tortoise and that the sun in its daily round goes under the tortoise and comes up on the opposite side the next day. Figure C, plate 1, symbolizes the power of the Creator which is felt in the four corners of the earth. These symbols
[171] occur in the ancient art designs of other Algonkian peoples in northeastern North America from Labrador to southern New England. Floral patterns for moccasin tops or vamps, breech cloths, robes and bags fall into this grouping (plates 3 and 4).

[P. 25, A]

[P. 35, A]

584 marriage would furthermore be congenial to the parents of both parties.[15] In practice
586 these marriages usually broke up quickly, both spouses quickly being unfaithful to one another.[16] Occasionally a man, his
[762] pride wounded by a wife's infidelity, directed his helpless anger inward and committed suicide by taking poison. Women too killed themselves out of jealousy.[17] The shifting romantic attachments of both sexes seem to represent an unending striving to find the all-satisfying parent: a striving continually doomed to frustration.

● 787 The guardian spirit relationship (which was sought by both men and women) seems also to be built upon the prototype of the search for the all-satisfying (but not authoritarian) parent.[18]

572 Among men there was an institution of "friendship" which focused considerable emotion upon a relationship of formally recognized mutual dependency, in war, in
[521] the chase, and in various other life-crises.[19] Men were more at ease with one another
[562] in conversation than with women and, according to Zeisberger, would automatically suspect as a lie any tale which they
[593] heard from a woman.[20] It was a common saying, "My wife is not my friend."[21] Old
888 women were accused by the men of being
439 the middlemen who carried the socially disrupting rum from white settlements to the villages.[22]

562 Implicit in all this was the assumption on the part of all Delawares—men and
571 women alike—that relationships with women, while they could be satisfying, were not likely to be; and the further assumption on the part of men that they had less to fear from other men than from

15. Heckewelder, 1819, p. 161; Zeisberger, 1778, p. 79.
16. Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 82-83.
17. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 83.
18. Lindestrom, 1656, pp. 207-209; Heckewelder, 1819, pp. 245-246; Zeisberger, 1778, p. 127.
19. Heckewelder, 1819, p. 278; Lindestrom, 1656, p. 233; Zeisberger, 1778, p. 116.
20. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 116.
21. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 99.
22. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 117.

[P. 35, B]

562
571 women, and might safely therefore be more "friendly" with them.

Oral Fixation

153 There is some evidence to suggest a preoccupation, which had a large component of aggressiveness, with oral needs. This concern with eating (and with other oral phenomena, such as ritualistic pipe-smoking, naming, and oratory), which reached far beyond subsistence requirements, can hardly be ascribed to a realistic subsistence anxiety since the Delawares had ample supplies of animal and vegetable foods at their disposal, and adequate techniques for cultivating, gathering, preserving, and storing them. It is worth
[787] mentioning that the pubescent Delaware solicited the favor of a guardian spirit by self-imposed fasting; the spirit was supposed to pity him and appear in a vision; later the spirit would be important to him in helping to secure food.[23] Oral rituals, often with a compulsive quality, were a
[527] recurrent institutional theme: almost all social gatherings involved eating, smoking, and oratory, and some were frankly eating-orgies—the famous "eat-all" feasts, for example; the fondness for liquor may be regarded as an oral trait of compulsive
[757] character;[24] internal medicines were usually
[758] taken as liquid herbal infusions, usually in large doses;[25] the sick lived on a liquid
[754] diet;[26] suicide and witchcraft were both
762] accomplished in most cases by poison taken by mouth;[27] tortured prisoners were some-
[727] times ceremonially eaten, and hunger
266] cannibalism was reported;[28] war parties made a ceremonial feast the night before their departure;[29] emetics were extensively
[757] used in the treatment of disease, and vomit-
777] ing was thought to relieve a sense of guilt, and also to bring luck.[30]

23. Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 132-133.
24. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 116; Heckewelder, 1819, p. 263.
25. Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 24-25; Tantaquidgeon.
26. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 24.
27. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 125; Heckewelder, 1819, p. 258.
28. Heckewelder, 1819, p. 199; Zeisberger, 1778, p 107-108.
29. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 103.
30. Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 84, 133-134.

[P.36,A]

153 Throughout these and other instances there seems to be an association between the concepts of eating and aggression, and between the concepts of not eating (or of giving up food to another, or of relinquishing what has been eaten) and of being accepted, approved, and helped.

The Guardian Spirit

156 The Delaware could not support a sense of social disapproval or of disregard. The great importance attached by Europeans to conscience was among the Delawares replaced by an equal importance attached to "face." When self-esteem needed en-
156 couragement, the individual dreamed (or
[787] interpreted his dreams as meaning) that he was great. Zeisberger remarked, "They
[157] are proud and haughty, even a miserable Indian, capable in no respect, imagines himself to be a great lord. They hold themselves in high regard as if they were capable of great and wonderful things, in which respect they are much encouraged by dreams, held among them to be very significant and, indeed, it would appear that through dreams Satan holds the heathen bound and fettered and in close connection with himself, subjecting them
[797] in this fashion to delusion. All this the missionaries discover in those who come to church and who need be thoroughly humbled before they give up the vain imaginations concerning themselves."[31]
156 One of the main functions of the guardian
776 spirit was to buttress the Delaware's opinion of himself. "They believe," observed Zeisberger, "in numerous spirits or subordinate deities. Almost all animals and the elements are looked upon as spirits, one exceeding the other in dignity and power. There is scarcely an Indian who
156 does not believe that one or more of these
787 spirits has not been particularly given him to assist him and make him prosper. This, they claim, has been made known to them in a dream, even as their religious belief is alleged to have been made known to them in a dream. One has, in a dream,

31. Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 18-19.

[P. 36, B]

156 received a serpent or a buffalo, another the sun or the moon, another an owl or some
787 other bird, another a fish, some even ridiculously insignificant creatures such as ants. These are considered their spirits or *Manittos*. If an Indian has no Manitto to be his friend he considers himself forsaken, has nothing upon which he may lean, has no hope of any assistance and is small in his own eyes. On the other hand those who have been thus favored possess a high
154 and proud spirit."[32] We shall have further occasion to remark how many institutions were mobilized to prevent such casual wounds to self-esteem. We shall also see how much aggression such blows to self-esteem could arouse. Heckewelder and
[762] Zeisberger both mention that suicide was a common way of expressing the enormous but disorganized hostility aroused by slights such as marital infidelity or public shaming.[33]

Absence of Authoritarianism

861 Zeisberger and Heckewelder agreed that Delaware parents avoided corporal punishment, scolding, threatening, or otherwise disciplining children. Growing boys were left pretty much to their own devices. Little homilies on moral values were addressed to them and the child's pride was appealed to in efforts to induce ap-
593 proved social behavior.[34] The father spent much of his time away from home in the employments of the chase (especially when the fur trade added to the importance of
[462] hunting); the mother was responsible for the fundamental subsistence activities. In general the male was peripheral, the female central in cultural role.[35] Delaware women
562 were described as being given to petty
[157] meanness, malicious gossip, and lying; but they were not "matriarchs" in the sense of being the recognized arbiters of the home or society. Their evidently enlarged spite-

32. Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 132-133.
33. Heckewelder, 1819, pp. 258-260; Zeisberger, 1778, p. 83.
34. Heckewelder, 1819, pp. 113-117; Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 16, 81.
35. Heckewelder, 1819, pp. 154-162; Zeisberger, 1778, p. 13-14.

[p 56(c)]

775 of the souls of those who were punished by
825 the evil spirit, the wreck, or fragments into which they were cut up were turned into mosquitoes and such evil creatures.

776 Bad spirits are believed to pass by about
787 day break and good spirits are believed to pass along about dark. For this reason boys are often sent to bed without supper, that they may commune with or be visited by
[785] good spirits, the fasting state being thought to be favorable to such communion, and for the same reason are often compelled to get up before day break that the evil spirits may not obtain or exercise any wicked influence upon them.

776 I am told that the Shawnee Female Great
821 Spirit is in reality the moon, and is worshipped as our Grand Mother or something of that sort; and Isaac Johnny Cake who mentioned this [to] me also said that the Great Spirit of the Delawares was represented and believed to be a brother of the Sun, and that the Moon was the Grand Mother of the Great Spirit; and young Toucey, the Stockbridge, says that there is some evidence of a [?] in of the sun in
[171] the worship of several of the Indian races, including his own. The Iroquois return thanks to the sun for heating the earth and to the moon for cooling it, but this does not show a sun worship or anything like it.
[115] William Adams is to correspond with me on the religious system of the Delawares, and I hope to find out something definite about it.

Gum-mween

796 This festival or annual worship of the Delawares as explained by William Adams and of which he is to write to me more fully, is quite interesting. They believe unless they
[241] observe it once a year their crops will fail, and they will lose the favor of the Great Spirit.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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The only idol which the Indians have, and which may properly be called an idol, is their *Wsinkhoalican*, that is image. It is an image cut in wood, representing a human head, in miniature, which they always carry about them either on a string around their neck or in a bag. They often bring offerings to it. In their houses of sacrifice they have a head of this idol as large as life put upon a pole in the middle of the room.

Their ornaments are partly round shields and half moons of silver, partly the same forms made in wampum. These are usually worn upon the breast for adornment. They also have great belts of wampum made of the violet, not the white, wampum. Men as well as women wear silver crosses upon the breast and in the ears which custom comes from the French. The *Wsinkhoalican* they like also to hang about their children to preserve them from illness and insure them success.

They are very fond of white children. Hence Indian women run after white men and, when they have white children, make much of them, although they do not like the white people. Twins are regarded as particularly fortunate, being looked upon as favored people who have a great spirit.

Their language resembles various other languages, some more, some less. When one remembers how near or how far they have lived from one another it will appear that the differences in the languages have come about through the separation of the peoples and the little contact they have had with one another.

The Unami and the Wunalachtico both lived along the sea in Pennsylvania and in Jersey, a short distance from one another. Their languages differ very little. That of the Monsys[306] who lived on the other side of the Blue Mountains in Minnissink is very different from these, so that had they not dwelt nearer together and been in constant contact in recent times they would hardly understand each other. Yet the speech of each of these peoples is but a dialect of one and the same language. The language of the Mahikanders[307] bears much resemblance to that of the Monsys, the former having lived in New York and the Woapeno not far from them in New England. The language of the Nantikoks, formerly residing on the seacoast in Maryland, very much resembles the Delaware, differing only in pronunciation

PRAYER TO AVERT THUNDER

The appearance of a menacing storm cloud approaching causes the resort to prayer and the performance of a simple rite to avert danger from wind and lightning. The individual takes an ax, marks it with a cross on the blade by means of mud or paint, or anything at hand that shows up, and sticks the handle in the ground or stands it upright so that the blade will then, he believes, split the body of the storm cloud and cause it to divide and pass by on each side harmlessly.[1] When the act is performed he prays and if there is time smokes a pipe of tobacco as a "sacrifice."

Thunder Prayer

Wani'ci	moxo^{u}'msa^{a}	pe't'hak'o'we	ɔk	ke^{e}'pi·
I thank you	Grandfather	Thunder	and	you also
mani'tû	kek'ca'xən·ɑ^{u}'ke^{e}s	kəwi·'nowa'mał		təli·'
Spirit	Wind.	I beg of you		that
pal·i·'i·	pəmɑ'ska^{a}ne^{e}'yɔ	təma'ke^{e}ləmi·'ne^{e}n		k'tami·'-
somewhere else	you walk (go by, pass).	have pity on us		your
mqsəm	ka't·ci·	ap'hi'k·ai·'heŋg		kəne'i·hinɑ
children.	Do not	run over us (to go over one's land).		You see us
kət·əmak'si·'hinɑ	moxo^{u}'msa^{a}	naxpaŋgo^{u}'mələn		wa'ni·
we are pitiful	Grandfather.	we sacrifice		him
nəmoxo^{u}'msəna	k'ca^{a}'ta'	ɔk	kəne^{e}'mən	yu'ni· pe^{e}
our grandfather	tobacco.	And	you see	this being
ki·ci·'xiŋ	təm·hi·'k·an	na'ni	li·'m'kət'	təli·' paxsi·-
prepared	ax	the	custom	because it will split
taho'k·wun	ma't·a	paxke^{e}'yane		ce^{e}la'han·en
you in two	if not	you turn your course, go some other way		that is
təli·'xto^{u}n	ki·ce^{e}ləmu'k·ɔŋg	wu'ndji		wata^{a}'k'^{w}
how it was ordained by	Creator	whence		it is known

[1] I hardly need refer to the wide diffusion of this custom in eastern North America. Without having made a definite search for it I may refer to having heard it mentioned from the Naskapi (Mistassini) of the Labrador peninsula, through the Iroquois (also F. W. Waugh) and Mohegan, southward to the Catawba. It is known also among the negro freedmen of the Cherokee Nation.

7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

ta'machang	awe''n	o'nda	we·'i·tci·na'k'"si·t'	tali·'	726 539
sometimes	a person	when	he looked the part	that	
kaci·lo'si·n	ok	ni·hi·l·a't·angg		elki·'kwi·	
he was powerful	and	could win [the game]		how in any way	
ni·'hiwe"t'	lowe''nhang	api·'laxta[a].			
as he wished	is called, said	used supernatural power.			

Free Translation.

Now, I am relating what was done long ago when scouting, as it was called. The leading warriors called a council. They talked about what is called exploring, or scouting. And the great men talked to the young men about the thing they possessed in their dream vision. The young warriors are trained and hence are acquainted with all this for the wilderness. The leader and the conjurors carry with them warrior's medicine. Before they start off they have a war dance, according to custom. Sometimes the young warriors scratch themselves,[4] each one on his body, in order to convince them that they have ability. Very many were the different rites the Delawares had, when they prepared for scouting or in the war dance, and also long ago when they played football. Very frequently a person would scratch himself to bleed his body. Sometimes when a person showed proof that he was powerful and could win out in any way he wished, it was said he used spiritual power.[5]

CEREMONIAL TRAINING AND PERSONAL CONDUCT

In a category somewhat by itself may be placed some rites which seem to bear upon the ceremonial appearance of the individual as he presents himself for a day's program in life. 302 788

It was customary for the Delawares to apply fresh red paint to the face each day, coloring the cheeks and forehead. A line of red paint was also marked in the part of the hair from the forehead up. The coloring matter was ordinarily

analogy, T. W. Alford, "Civilization," University of Oklahoma Press, 1936, pp. 21–2.

[4] This weakened rite seems to be the only manifestation in Delaware ethnology of the ceremonial scarification that assumed such intensive force to the southward.

[5] The young men were advised by their elders not to use supernatural power unless there were serious need for it. This seems to be a common Algonkian opinion.

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

302 mixed with tallow. The reason given for this action was to
788 impress the Great Spirit with the fact that his people were up and about and observant of cleanliness and good appearance as they went about their tasks,—in short, that they were consciously alive and mindful of their obligations toward the rules of life taught by him.

788 Children were awakened about sunrise and instructed to
869 wash their faces at once so that the Great Spirit would see that they were not lazy but ready and prepared for the day's duties. Young people were, moreover, advised to lift their feet nicely when they walked, and to find constantly something to do to engage their time in occupations that would be helpful to their parents and others. These monitions were also backed by the instructions that the Great Spirit would find them meritorious in conduct and reward them with a long and happy life. The present members of the nation who were brought up in such practices lament deeply the indifference of members of the present generation in such matters, attributing the decline of their people to failure in observing the teachings which made their ancestors powerful and respected.

788 A rite recorded of the Delawares of former times was the
515 washing of youths each morning in clear running water, preferably that of streams, both in winter and summer, suggestive of a "river-cult." We hear of this habit frequently in the narratives of Delaware history when the tribe resided in the East. It seems to have been insisted upon generally for youths,[6] even enforced upon white boys who had been taken captive and adopted in the Nation, as we see in the following narrative.

727 To have spoken of personal purification by immersion in
783 the water of streams leads to a more formal method of washing away defilement by the same means. Referring to John McCullough, who in 1776 wrote of his experiences while living as a captive with the then hostile Delawares, we are told of his enforced "conversion" to paganism at the hands

[6] An interesting resume of Delaware practices in the training of youths and warriors is given in the account of a Delaware author who describes the daily plunge into the river by boys undergoing the course of training in pairs. Cf. R. C. Adams, "Legends of the Delaware Indians," Washington, D. C., 1905, p. 26.

13:Wallace E-4 (no date)1950
NM7 Delaware NM7

[P.33, B]

Some Psychological Characteristics of the Delaware Indians during the 17th and 18th Centuries

ANTHONY F. C. WALLACE

Introduction

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The Relation of Parents to Children

Data on the relationship of the mother to the infant and child are meager, but they suggest that the mother was, in addition to her role as provider and protector, the agent of considerable frustration. This frustration, however, was not so recurrently severe as it was continuous. Instead of presenting the infant with any sudden major crisis, the mother was consistently indifferent to a number of particular lesser demands.

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Parents may have had some unconscious hostility to the new-born child: certain compulsive rituals had to be performed to prevent "wandering ghosts" from stealing away the soul of the infant.[1] The baby was, from birth until it was able to walk, bound to a cradle-board, from which it was normally released only for sanitary administrations. The mother nursed the child by picking it up with the board.[2] It was often left alone, on the board, swinging upright from a tree limb, while the mother worked in the corn-field or did other outdoor tasks. Many children are reported to have died while propped up in the board against a bench or wall in the houses. "The children by pushing and kicking not infrequently tumbled themselves into the fire or other danger and thus miserably perished, or were severly burned," observed

1. Harrington, 1938, p. 129.
2. Lindestrom, 1656, p. 201.
3. Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 85-86.
4. Lindestrom, 1656, p. 202.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

CHAPTER XXX.

PHYSICIANS AND SURGEONS.

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BY these names I mean to distinguish the good and honest practitioners who are in the habit of curing and healing diseases and wounds, by the simple application of natural remedies, without any mixture of superstition in the manner of preparing or administering them. They are very different from the doctors or jugglers, of whom I shall speak in the next chapter. In one point, only, they seem to participate in their ridiculous notions, that is, in the different manner, which I have already noticed, of drawing water up or down the current of a stream, as it is to be respectively employed as a vehicle for an emetic or a cathartic. This singular idea prevails generally among the Indians of all classes. They think that as the one remedy is to work upwards and the other downwards, care should be taken in the preparation to follow the course of nature, so that no confusion should take place in the stomach or bowels of the patient. [789]

With this only exception the Indian physicians are perhaps more free from fanciful theories than those of any other nation upon earth. Their science is entirely founded on observation, experience and the well tried efficacy of remedies. There are physicians of both sexes, who take considerable pains to acquire a correct knowledge of the properties and medical virtues of plants, roots and barks, for the benefit of their fellow men. They are very careful to have at all times a full assortment of their medicines on hand, which they gather and collect at the proper seasons, sometimes fetching them from

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

bushy tail, moving as he walked, as though it were on springs; but for these accompaniments, the man, walking on all fours, might have been taken for a bear of an extraordinary size. Underneath, where his hands were, holes had been cut, though not visible to the eye, being covered with the long hair, through which he held and managed his implements, and he saw through two holes set with glass. The whole was a great curiosity, but not to be looked at by every body.

There are jugglers of another kind, in general old men and women, who although not classed among doctors or physicians, yet get their living by pretending to supernatural knowledge. Some pretend that they can bring down rain in dry weather when wanted, others prepare ingredients, which they sell to bad hunters, that they may have good luck, and others make philters or love potions for such married persons as either do not, or think they cannot love each other.

When one of these jugglers is applied to to bring down rain in a dry season, he must in the first instance receive a fee. This fee is made up by the women, who, as cultivators of the land are supposed to be most interested, but the men will slily slip something into their hands in aid of their collection, which consists of wampum beads, tobacco, silver broaches, and a dressed deer skin to make shoes of. If the juggler does not succeed in his experiment, he never is in want of an excuse; either the winds are in opposition to one another, the dry wind or air is too powerful for the moist or south wind, or he has not been made *strong enough*, (that is sufficiently paid) to compel the north to give way to the south from whence the rain is to come, or lastly, he wants time to invoke the great Spirit to aid him on the important occasion.

In the summer of the year 1799, a most uncommon drouth happened in the Muskingum country, so that every thing growing, even the grass and the leaves of the trees, appeared perishing; an old man named *Chenos*, who

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

was born on the river Delaware, was applied to by the women to bring down rain, and was well feed for the purpose. Having failed in his first attempt, he was feed a second time, and it happened that one morning, when my business obliged me to pass by the place where he was at work, as I knew him very well, I asked him at once what he was doing? "I am hired," said he, "to do a very "hard day's work."

Q. And, pray, what work?

A. Why, to bring down rain from the sky.

Q. Who hired you to do that?

A. The women of the village; don't you see how much rain is wanted, and that the corn and every thing else is perishing?

Q. But can you make it rain?

A. I can, and you shall be convinced of it this very day.

He had, by this time, encompassed a square of about five feet each way, with stakes and barks so that it might resemble a pig pen of about three feet in height, and now, with his face uplifted and turned towards the north, he muttered something, then closely shutting up with bark the opening which had been left on the north side, he turned in the same manner, still muttering some words, towards the south, as if invoking some superior being, and having cut through the bark on the south-west corner, so as to make an opening of two feet, he said; "now "we shall have rain enough!" Hearing down the river the sound of setting poles striking against a canoe, he enquired of me what it was? I told him it was our Indians going up the river to make a bush net for fishing. "Send them home again!" said he, "tell them that this "will not be a fit day for fishing!" I told him to let them come on and speak to them himself, if he pleased. He did so, and as soon as they came near him, he told them that they must by no means think of fishing that day, for there should come a heavy rain which would wet

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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them all through. "No matter, Father!" answered they in a jocular manner, "give us only rain and we will cheerfully bear the soaking." They then passed on, and I proceeded to *Goschachking*, the village to which I was going. I mentioned the circumstance to the chief of the place, and told him that I thought it impossible that we should have rain while the sky was so clear as it then was and had been for near five weeks together, without its being previously announced by some signs or change in the atmosphere. But the chief answered: "*Chenos* "knows very well what he is about; he can at any time "predict what the weather will be; he takes his observa- "tions morning and evening from the river or something "in it." On my return from this place after three o'clock in the afternoon, the sky still continued the same until about four o'clock, when all at once the horizon became overcast, and without any thunder or wind it began to rain, and continued so for several hours together, until the ground became thoroughly soaked.

I am of opinion that this man, like others whom I have known, was a strict observer of the weather, and that his prediction that day was made in consequence of his having observed some signs in the sky or in the water, which his experience had taught him to be the forerunners of rain; yet the credulous multitude did not fail to ascribe it to his supernatural power.

The ingredients for a bad hunter, to make him have good luck, are tied up in a bit of cloth, and must be worn near his skin while he is hunting. The preparations intended to create love between man and wife, are to be slily conveyed to the frigid party by means of his victuals or drink.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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become a shaman, chief, warrior, a person of riches, one with many relatives, or a failure.[19] The most unfortunate persons were those who had no guardian spirit. After one was granted a guardian spirit he commonly made an amulet or fetish. Frequently this was either a representation of the human figure or a stone or clay effigy of the human head. It also might be claws or teeth of an animal or bird.[20] Lindestrom said:

> They consider this their god, so sacred that no one is allowed to touch it.... In this their god they have such a strong faith, that the night he dreams about him, he will at once the following day be able to shoot as much game and catch as much fish as ever he wants to....[21]

Although most of our information about the vision quest is relatively recent, there seems to be no reason why it should not be valid for prehistoric and early historic times.

Apart from the influence that individuals wielded over supernatural powers as a consequence of obtaining a guardian spirit, favor could be curried and influence exerted through sacrifice, primarily by burning flesh and tobacco, but also by dances and songs. Sacrifices of first fruits were commonly mentioned in seventeenth-century sources. Penn said of these:

> Their sacrifice is their first fruits. The first and fattest buck they kill goes to the fire, where he is all burnt, with a mournful ditty of him who performeth the ceremony, but with such marvellous fervency and labour of body, that he will even sweat to a foam. The other part [of their worship] is their cantico, performed by round dances, sometimes words, sometimes songs, then shouts; two being in the middle who begin, and by singing and drumming on a board, direct the chorus. Their postures in the dance are very antic and differing, but all keep measure. This is done with equal earnestness and labour, but great appearance of joy. In the fall, when the corn cometh in, they begin to feast one another.[22]

Trowbridge said:

> When the ice is about to leave the rivers they make an offering of Tobacco with a wooden bowl of parched corn, by placing it on the surface and telling their grandfather, as they call it, that they leave him a pipe to smoke and something to eat on his journey. They sometimes make this offering of tobacco to obtain a safe voyage across the ice and for the same reason they throw it into the water when danger is apprehended. When they go to hunt, at the first encampment an offering of tobacco is made by burning, to the seven masters of the game.[23]

There were also many magical methods by which supernatural powers were influenced, but they are not well recorded in the literature. There are some indications from modern ethnographic data which

[19] Luckenbach, 1938, p. 612.
[20] Zeisberger, 1910, pp. 132-33.
[21] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 207; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 141, stated the same thing.
[22] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 208; Pastorius, 1912, p. 434; Brickell, 1842, p. 49; M.B.
[23] Penn, 1882, p. 244.
[24] Trowbridge MS.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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suggest, and may reproduce, early magical practices. The best-known remaining magical practice is a rain-making device. It is said that a scale from the mythical horned serpent when put in water would make it rain (F.W., J.T.). The scale has disappeared today, but there are a number of tales about its efficacy.[25] Speck noted a rain-making ritual in which a weasel skin was employed.[26]

It was possible to divine future events by magical methods. Whether a wounded warrior was going to die or get well, for example, was foretold by putting a piece of dried liver in a cup of water. If the resulting bloody solution circled the cup before sinking to the bottom, the wounded person would recover (J.T.). A magical procedure similar to this was used for extremely sick persons after all other curing methods had failed. Shavings from a tooth of an animal were dropped into a shell filled with water. If the shavings circled the shell before sinking, it was a good omen. This process was repeated four times; if the shavings circled the shell each time before sinking, the patient would get well. The water of the fourth trial was given to the patient to drink. Love medicines were regarded by one of our informants as being purely magical devices. In the one instance in which data were secured, some type of animal foot was used with herbs. An incantation was spoken and within three days an erring husband or wife returned to a prior love (N.D.). Zeisberger mentioned "love charms" similar to this one and also hunting charms.[27]

Soul Concept

The Delawares believed that every individual possessed two souls. The heart was the locus of one soul which after death remained near the body for eleven days. On the twelfth day it left the earth for a spirit world.[28] It is this soul which was offered food in a "Feast of the Dead" twelve days after death and again twelve months after death.[29] The symbolic number twelve is in all probability a historic diffusion; otherwise these concepts appear to be of Delaware origin.[30] The second soul, a resident of the blood, remained on the earth after death. It was this soul which was apt to become a malevolent ghost especially active at night. "They have an idea that the ghosts of their deceased friends appear to them in the night, particularly after a failure to offer the customary feast at the grave, and they immediately prepare to do what from neglect or disrespect had been left undone, when the ghost ceases the visits."[31] Harrington said that "the blood in the dead body draws up into globular form and floats about in the air as a luminous ball."[32] One informant said: "You see a dark something rolling around at night" (N.D.). This soul was also associated with paralysis, strokes, and

[25] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 83; J.T.
[26] Speck, 1950, pp. 70-72.
[27] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 83; J.T.
[28] Speck, 1931, p. 25; Harrington, 1921, p. 52; J.T., N.D.
[29] Speck, 1931, p. 25; O.A.
[30] Kinietz, 1940, p. 118.
[31] Trowbridge MS.
[32] Harrington, 1913, p. 228.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956.
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●789 Heckewelder described an occasion during a drought in 1799 in which the women of a village paid a shaman to produce a rain. The shaman constructed an enclosure about five feet square of sticks and bark and left an opening on the north side. He then murmured an incantation while facing the north, shutting the opening of the enclosure at the conclusion of the incantation. He "turned in the same manner, still muttering some words, towards the south, as if invoking some superior being, and having cut through the bark on the southwest corner, so as to make an opening of two feet, he said: 'Now we shall have rain enough!'"[80] Zeisberger described the malevolent conjurers and stated that they had 754 learned their black arts from the Nanticokes, and Speck noted that this tradition is still current among the Delawares.[81] These shamans were able to injure and destroy either individuals or entire villages. Zeisberger said:

> [They use] a little piece of an old blanket or something else. This they rub in their hands until formed into a little ball. Naming the one who is marked for death, they throw this ball at him, saying that he shall die. They call this shooting the witchball. Any person wishing to get another whom he hates out of the way will hire a sorcerer or several of them to do it, paying them in wampum.[82]

In another place Zeisberger described an individual who had fallen into the hands of a "wizard" and become paralyzed. The shaman who was responsible had offered to cure the victim, but refrained from doing so since the patient could not afford the treatment.[83] Heckewelder said of these conjurers:

> All they can say is that the sorcerer makes use of a "deadening substance," which he discharges and conveys to the person that he means to "*strike*," through the air, by means of the wind or of his own breath, or throws at him in a manner which they can neither understand nor describe. The person thus "*stricken*," is immediately seized with an unaccountable terror, his spirits sink, his appetite fails, he is disturbed in his sleep, he pines and wastes away, or a fit of sickness seizes him, and he dies at last a miserable victim to the workings of his own imagination.[84]

This bit of belief has survived more or less in its original form, since at a "stomp dance" an informant (R.W.) blew or threw something at another man (J.W.) and stole his drum. J.W. suffered a stroke that evening from which he never fully recovered. His family attempted to recover the drum, thinking this would effect a cure, but they were never successful. An informant from the Anadarko band (M.B.) said that malevolent sorcerers had killed most of the children and that this was the reason for the decline of the Delawares. She also said that many of the Cherokee-Delawares were "witches" and for this reason the two groups did not maintain closer relations.

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[80] Heckewelder, 1881, p. 237.
[81] Speck, 1937, pp. 135-42.
[82] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 126.
[83] Zeisberger, 1885, II: 94.
[84] Heckewelder, 1881, p. 240.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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years of age and women fourteen or fifteen. There is in general no very strong tie between married people, not even between the older. A mere trifle furnishes ground for separation. Not every Indian, however, is indifferent to the light behavior of his wife. Many a one takes her unfaithfulness so to heart that in the height of his despair he swallows a poisonous root, which generally causes death in two hours, unless an antidote be administered in good time; this is often done, the Indians knowing that the properties of certain herbs counteract each other and being able to judge from the effects, what poison has been taken. Women, also, have been known to destroy themselves on account of a husband's unfaithfulness. To prevent such a calamity, they make use of a Beson, a love-charm, prepared by the old people and sold at a good price. This is constantly carried about by one or the other of the parties and is believed to keep man or woman faithful. Such a charm is even declared to have had the effect of making a woman run always and everywhere after her husband, until weary of life she has destroyed herself, or of similarly affecting a man. For this Beson, also, the Indians have their antidote. All this converted Indians have related to me.

Older men and women, particularly, have another Beson, supposed to have the magic power of bringing many presents to them. This charm they guard jealously among their most precious belongings, and is said to have the effect of bringing them food, clothing and whatever else they may need. It is prepared of roots pounded very fine, incantations being murmured meanwhile. A little of this preparation, about the size of a pea, is sold with a white and black wampum shell for a considerable price, often for a belt of wampum with several pounds in money. The love charm and others are similarly prepared. Usually, this is done by old women, who thus support themselves and promote superstition among the young.

The men have a Beson for the chase. This beson is a preparation made by old men, who are no more able to hunt, consisting of roots and herbs or made of the seeds of a certain plant. This is sold by them at a high price. They may earn much in this way, for every huntsman carries such a charm about in his

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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224 ● 1789 [887] pocket. Thus the old men support themselves when they can no longer engage in the chase. As there are several sorts of charm of this character, every one is desirous to get the best, even if he has already at the price of half the catch of a season bought one charm and if it should cost him the greater part of his property to get the new one of which he has heard. Some Indians chew a certain root when on the deer-hunt, so the deer may not notice their approach when the wind blowing over the Indian to the game would otherwise give the alarm.

Another kind of Beson, considered to be a more powerful charm, is taken inwardly and occasions violent vomiting, but this is not in common use. According to the opinion of the Indians this beson will prove mischievous and have a contrary effect unless every ceremony connected with its use is attended to with the most scrupulous exactness. If a huntsman shoots nothing for several days, he swallows a small dose, observing all the rules prescribed by magic art. Not having taken any food he then starts on the chase and does not return before evening unless he has secured some game. It is claimed that the use of this charm enables them to shoot deer in considerable numbers. I have observed, however, that Indians have repeatedly taken such doses [777] during a period of three weeks and not been successful. In such cases ill-luck is ascribed to some other cause, frequently to the presence of a missionary. In cases where Indians, unable to secure anything in spite of the use of this beson while I was present have been successful in my absence, it has appeared that my presence has in some way interfered with their incantations. [787] In connection with the chase they lay much stress on dreams. If the dreamer fancies he sees an Indian and hears him say, "If thou will sacrifice to me, thou shalt shoot deer at pleasure," he will immediately prepare a sacrifice and burn the whole or part of a deer in honor of the apparition.

Occasionally, when an Indian would go hunting for a season, he will by way of preparation shoot a deer or two, bring home the flesh and prepare a feast, which is at the same time a sacrifice, to which the aged are invited. The latter pray for him that he may be fortunate and then he departs to stay away some time.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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would at death go to some good place where conditions would be better than here, where there would be a superfluity of everything and a happy life of joy and dancing. On the contrary, whoever lived an evil life would arrive at no good place but have to wander about sad and unhappy. Hence nothing is so terrible and awful to them as death, because they do not know how it will be after this life nor whither they shall go. Whenever they think of death they are filled with anxiety, but rather than consider how they ought to live they seek to rid themselves of thoughts of death. They fear the thunderbolt, because it occasionally strikes and shatters the trees, but they seek to disguise their fear. Yet they believe that the Deity is graciously and mercifully disposed towards men, because he imparts power to the plants to grow, causes the rain to fall and the sun to shine and gives game to man for his support. Indeed, as to fish and deer they imagine them given particularly to the Indians and not so much to the whites for the Indians were created to sustain themselves by the chase and the whites by the work of their hands. There are indeed some among them who pretend to be able to bring rain when there has been drought, and such a person knowing that the women, whose business it is to care for the plantations, are anxious for rain shows his cleverness in deceiving the people. Noticing from cloudy appearances early in the morning that it is likely to rain during the day, he will tell some one, that if tobacco or something else that he wishes is given him he will bring rain. The party so informed will tell the women, who in their joy contribute each a little and bring the fellow what he desires. The latter goes to some lonely place, draws a circle on the ground, makes a cross within it and puts tobacco, a pumpkin and some red coloring into it as well, seats himself, sings and shouts so that he may be heard, continuing if possible until it begins to rain. Even sensible Indians believe that he has brought the rain because under the circumstances it generally rains. In case the rain fails to come he makes promises for another day.

They believe God to be almighty and able to do as he pleases. Hence in times past they brought sacrifices and still do this

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
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As they sat brooding, some *manĭ'to* might address himself to them, and give them advice and comfort, or endow them with some kind of power. Women occasionally had visions of this kind. 787

THE GUARDIAN SPIRIT

Whatever the precise circumstances of its appearance, the guardian spirit in many instances was said to show itself first in human form, and it was only when it turned to leave that its real shape (of an animal, for instance) was noticed by the recipient of its blessing. Sometimes the interview was quite long and the directions given by the *manĭ'to* (for ceremonies, etc.) quite explicit; on other occasions they were very vague and cryptic. Frequently, according to the stories told, some tangible object, called by the Unami the *opi'na*, or blessing, was handed by the *manĭ'to* to the recipient of his favor, who usually swallowed it. Some recipients were called on, however, to make and keep some symbol of their protector, which was 776 787 [789]

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
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776 787 [789] usually worn on the person in the form of a charm.

533 554 776 787 FAVORED INDIVIDUALS.—Persons favored with a guardian spirit usually became prominent among their people and were held in high esteem. They composed rythmic chants referring to their visions for use at the Annual Ceremony (which will be discussed in the next chapter), and dance songs to accompany them. Rarely were the words of either chants or songs at all definite: as a rule they merely mentioned attributes of the singer's guardian, or incidents of their first meeting, without stating outright what the guardian spirit was, or telling a consecutive story of the vision.

787 Most Lenape who have had such visions can not be induced to tell the details; but the following examples of such experiences, imperfect in many points, were finally obtained. Incomplete though they are, they will give some idea of this class of beliefs and in this way may prove of value.

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
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RAIN MAKING RITUAL

789 *E'nda sokola°'nheyg*, "when rain make." In making an appeal to the grandfather Thunder to send showers and rain, [325 782] ancient custom has decreed that the skin of a weasel is a suitable offering to the "grandfather" accompanying the prayer.

The rite is an individual one. Any man or woman may own a weasel skin [1] and perform it in time of drought. The ritual is recited in seclusion, not at a public gathering as it is reported by Wi'tapano'xwe among the Shawnee.[2] By the holder of the weasel skin the object is regarded as sacred, the skin being treated as though it were a live animal. It is kept wrapped up and put away carefully so that it will not be molested, that is suffer indignity, this solicitude being similar to what is accorded other objects used in ceremonials. This may mean nothing more than being tied up and kept in a trunk, a basket or hung in a shed where it is out of the way. Wi'tapano'xwe had his enveloped in a green cloth and tied with a string of leather.[3] The weasel ceremonially used, is called *sa'ygwe*, a term which denotes something used for a sacred purpose.[4]

782 In this rite the rain-maker proceeds to a running stream. 789 He dips the skin into the water and lifts it upward while saying this beautiful little prayer addressing the Thunder and

[1] The species of weasel mentioned is *Mustela cicognani cicognani*, or *M. noveboracensis*. A third form mentioned by the informant is called "spotted weasel" has not been identified. The skin of the latter, he added, is used in making medicine for horse colic, so there is evidently some definite creature in mind.

[171] [2] According to the informant the Shawnee make more of a ceremony of rain-making with the weasel, the skin being kept in the custody of an old man who has exclusive right to handle it and to the place where it is concealed, and a dance accompanies the prayer.

[3] Specimen in collection of Historical Commission of Pennsylvania.

[325] [4] That the weasel has had a sacred function in early as well as recent Delaware religious magic is shown by the record of the same name for the animal recorded in Delaware of over a century ago, namely *sanquen* (Brinton, "Lenape Dictionary," p. 124).

7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
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his messenger the weasel as the sources from which relief is hoped to come. The rain spirit is believed to repose in the thunder cloud that is soon expected to appear, and which is addressed as "grandfather." Wi·tapano'xwe added that the sacred animal is offered as a token of the good faith of the people in following the traditions of their ancestors as to how to pray when a drought had come upon them. The skin is held forth in the four directions, north, east, south and west. There is also, he added, an appeal to the running stream, "our mother," to aid in bringing about a rainfall for her suffering children on earth, "that all things we depend upon for our living and existence, vegetation and animal life, may grow in abundance."

Harrington has recorded a note on the occurrence of mink and weasel skin medicine sacks among the Munsee-Delawares of Moraviantown, Ontario, but he did not secure explanations of use.[5]

RAIN MAKING PRAYER

Wa'nici· muxo"'msa. yu'kwe ki·'ckwi·k ndaya'-
Thanks grandfather. This day I

ndama"n təli·a' wi·tcəmi·'ne"n ko'xwi·sak. kəne"'mən
wish that you help us your grandchildren. You see

elki·'kwi· itəma'k·a' we"'mi· ke'ko da'ət'. gwi·'la li·
how pitiful every thing scarce. No place for

lama'hən·a e"'li kaha'p·aŋg we"'mi· yutali·'
drinking water source because drought all here about

eləma"'kami·. na'xpon·ama"n wa'ni· saŋgwe'axe"s.
on the earth. I hold and ask with that weasel hide.

e"'li· na'ni· li·'xan lə'mwe no'tci· wa'ni· lən·a'p·e
Because that is rule long ago since the Delaware

təli· wa"'to"n e"'li· mi·lkwus·u' e"laehɔ's·i·t e'nda
because he knew because he was given how to perform when

wi·'nowe"t na"'ta hukwe'yuŋg e'nda leləmu'k·ən
begging in earnest to you above when where you abide

se's·ukəla"'nhe"s muxo"'msa pe"t'hak'ho'we. e"'li· ki·
rain maker grandfather thunder. Because you

[5] M. R. Harrington, "Vestiges of Material Culture Among the Canadian Delawares," *Amer. Anth.*, N.S., Vol. 10, No. 3, 1908, p. 417.

782 xo'xa mi·'lkwus·in. ɔk kəni·'hi·la·tamən we·'mi· mbi·'
●789 alone is given the power. And you control all water
539 ki· ma'n'towak·an tə'li· kəna'məne·n. wu'ndjitc
your spiritual power that we look for. Therefore
təma·'keləmi·e'ŋgwe ɔk ənа'ni· saŋgwe'oxe·s na'lən·a
you have pity on us, and the weasel skin that
kwu't·i· te·kona'yes i'k·a wundji·a'yu man'towa'k·an
one wild animal there belongs his spiritual power
wehendji·'hil·a·k sukəla·'namiŋg. yu'kwe e'nda tɔɔ'p·-
where it comes from rain fall. Now when I dip
onak yu'ni· pe·mi·'tan·i·k ndəla·'p'tona'la wa'ni·
into water this in the stream I invoke by addressing that
aye's·ɔs təli·' wi·tci·'lae'mhone·n e'nda i'k·a laŋgo·'si·-
animal that he might intercede for us when toward we appeal to
eŋg· hukwe'yuŋg lema'ta'p·i·yan. yuk wani'ci·
you above where you sit. Now thanks
moxo·'msa na'li·hi·'ne·n we·'mi· enxoxto·'leŋg'. wani'ci·
grandfather give us everything we ask of you. Thanks,
te'pi·laha'p·a.
this is all for now.

Free Translation.

Thanks, grandfather. This day I wish that you help us, your grandchildren. You see how pitiful it is, everything is growing scarce. There is indeed even no place to get drinking water because drought rules all about over the earth. I hold this weasel skin and plead with you. For that is the custom since long ago, as the Delaware knew, because the knowledge was given to him to know how to perform when supplicating you up there above where you abide, oh rain-maker, grandfather Thunder. For to you is given the power. And you control by your spiritual power all the water that we are craving. Therefore do you have pity on us, and also the weasel skin, the one wild animal from whose spiritual power comes the rainfall which belongs to him. Now when I dip it into the water of this stream, I call upon you by addressing this animal that he may intercede for us when we appeal to you up above where you sit. Now thanks, grandfather, do give us everything that we ask of you. Thanks, that is all for now.

7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
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of his masters. Two young men take him into a canoe, 727
seizing him by the wrists, plunging him over head and ears 783
under the water and holding him down until he was almost smothered before letting him get breath. After repeating this treatment several times they took him out, dressed him in a ruffed shirt, shaved his head, provided him with a "roach," painted him, and told him he was then an Indian. Later his Indian "uncle" would waken him at daylight and make him sit down in the creek up to his chin. This was to make him hardy. He was, moreover, not allowed to go near the fire until he became dry.[7]

They followed the habit of securing a prosperous future 844
for the young hunter by placing his umbilicus in the tracks 789
of a deer, a magical observance based on a widespread native concept of spiritual sympathy. Again, the umbilicus would be placed in the water to cause the growing youth to acquire power as a swimmer.

THE CONSANGUINITY OF TRIBES

The Delawares, like other eastern peoples,[8] consider them- 619
selves to stand in certain genealogical relationships with 648
neighboring tribes, as though they all constituted a great family,—some members older, some younger, lineal and collateral, and some in between as respects age and maturity. These relationships function in ceremonial gatherings wherein other tribes are concerned, and they are accepted without dispute among themselves. In the older accounts much stress was laid upon this feature of native life, and it seemed to form an important consideration in treaty negotiations that took place among the eastern and central tribes, giving precedence in authority to certain ones over others. From various sources we learn that the Delawares held a position of seniority among them. This fact may develop into one of some value in coördinating the position of the different groups and perhaps in throwing light on the historical sequence

[7] Loudon, *op. cit.*, pp. 260-261.

[8] The Wabanaki peoples, for instance, entertain a similar concept of tribal consanquinity, in which system they consider the Ottawa to be their grandfathers and among themselves the Micmac as their younger brothers (F. G. Speck, The Eastern Algonkian Confederacy, American Anthropologist, vol. 17, no. 3, 1915, pp. 499, 505).

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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bushy tail, moving as he walked, as though it were on springs; but for these accompaniments, the man, walking on all fours, might have been taken for a bear of an extraordinary size. Underneath, where his hands were, holes had been cut, though not visible to the eye, being covered with the long hair, through which he held and managed his implements, and he saw through two holes set with glass. The whole was a great curiosity, but not to be looked at by every body.

There are jugglers of another kind, in general old men and women, who although not classed among doctors or physicians, yet get their living by pretending to supernatural knowledge. Some pretend that they can bring down rain in dry weather when wanted, others prepare ingredients, which they sell to bad hunters, that they may have good luck, and others make philters or love potions for such married persons as either do not, or think they cannot love each other.

When one of these jugglers is applied to to bring down rain in a dry season, he must in the first instance receive a fee. This fee is made up by the women, who, as cultivators of the land are supposed to be most interested, but the men will slily slip something into their hands in aid of their collection, which consists of wampum beads, tobacco, silver broaches, and a dressed deer skin to make shoes of. If the juggler does not succeed in his experiment, he never is in want of an excuse; either the winds are in opposition to one another, the dry wind or air is too powerful for the moist or south wind, or he has not been made *strong enough*, (that is sufficiently paid) to compel the north to give way to the south from whence the rain is to come, or lastly, he wants time to invoke the great Spirit to aid him on the important occasion.

In the summer of the year 1799, a most uncommon drouth happened in the Muskingum country, so that every thing growing, even the grass and the leaves of the trees, appeared perishing; an old man named *Chenos*, who

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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groups. The Mask Being was "feasted" annually (J.T.). Speck described a number of other feasts and dances including "The Mask Dance Ceremony," an "Opossum Dance Ceremony," the "Buffalo Dance Ceremony" (apparently a recent diffusion to the Delawares), a "Corn Harvest Ceremony," and "The Spring Prayer and Football Ceremony to Advance Vegetation."[72]

Shamans

There were two kinds of shamans, one devoted to curing and the other to divination.[73] Heckewelder distinguished the Medeu, or the individual associated with curing, from the Powwow or Juggler, who was higher in rank and was skilled in divination and magic.[74] The members of the latter group, according to Harrington, were organized into societies, but Trowbridge denied this, and there is no other confirmation to be found for the existence of societies. They probably represent a diffusion from the Iroquois to the Canadian Delawares.[75] Shamans might be of either sex and were generally old. Among their activities were weather forecasting, rain making, the preparation of "medicine" for hunters who were down on their luck, and curing. They also make "philters or love potions for such married persons as either do not, or think they cannot, love each other."[76] Before they performed their services, shamans had to be paid in wampum, tobacco, dressed deerskins, or the like. They wore costumes when treating the sick, and a tortoise shell rattle, dancing, singing, and "mumbling" were always a part of their performance.[77]

Lindestrom in the seventeenth century said that the "curing" shaman "runs back and forth, cries so that he is heard a long way off, rolls himself naked into the burning fire, takes fire brands with which he builds a wall all around the sick one, the sick one enduring such with patience."[78] Denton said of shamans:

> When any person is sick, after the means used by his friend, every one pretending skill in Physick, that proving ineffectual they send for a Pawaw or Priest, who sitting down by the sick person without the least enquiring after the distemper, waits for a gift which he proportions his work accordingly to: that being received, he first begins with a low voice to call upon his God, calling sometimes upon one sometimes on another, raising his voice higher & higher, beating of his naked breasts & sides, till the sweat runneth down, & his breath is almost gone, then that little which is remaining, he evaporates upon the face of the sick person three or four times together & so takes his leave."[79]

[72] Speck, 1937, pp. 49-87.

[73] Brainerd, 1884, p. 131; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 236; Brinton, 1885, pp. 70-71.

[74] Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 228 ff.

[75] Harrington, 1913, p. 217; Trowbridge MS.

[76] Harrington, 1913, p. 232; N.D.

[77] Harrington, 1913, pp. 232-34; M.D.

[78] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 240.

[79] Denton, 1845, pp. 8-9; Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 232-33, described the performance in similar terms.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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years of age and women fourteen or fifteen. There is in general no very strong tie between married people, not even between the older. A mere trifle furnishes ground for separation. Not every Indian, however, is indifferent to the light behavior of his wife. Many a one takes her unfaithfulness so to heart that in the height of his despair he swallows a poisonous root, which generally causes death in two hours, unless an antidote be administered in good time; this is often done, the Indians knowing that the properties of certain herbs counteract each other and being able to judge from the effects, what poison has been taken. Women, also, have been known to destroy themselves on account of a husband's unfaithfulness. To prevent such a calamity, they make use of a Beson, a love-charm, prepared by the old people and sold at a good price. This is constantly carried about by one or the other of the parties and is believed to keep man or woman faithful. Such a charm is even declared to have had the effect of making a woman run always and everywhere after her husband, until weary of life she has destroyed herself, or of similarly affecting a man. For this Beson, also, the Indians have their antidote. All this converted Indians have related to me.

Older men and women, particularly, have another Beson, supposed to have the magic power of bringing many presents to them. This charm they guard jealously among their most precious belongings, and is said to have the effect of bringing them food, clothing and whatever else they may need. It is prepared of roots pounded very fine, incantations being murmured meanwhile. A little of this preparation, about the size of a pea, is sold with a white and black wampum shell for a considerable price, often for a belt of wampum with several pounds in money. The love charm and others are similarly prepared. Usually, this is done by old women, who thus support themselves and promote superstition among the young.

The men have a Beson for the chase. This beson is a preparation made by old men, who are no more able to hunt, consisting of roots and herbs or made of the seeds of a certain plant. This is sold by them at a high price. They may earn much in this way, for every huntsman carries such a charm about in his

759 but occasionally a man is blessed with a vision[8] in which the Creator bestows upon him this great gift, and like Wi·tapanóxwe, he becomes an herbalist. In addition to the knowledge of healing acquired through his guardian Spirit,[9] the informant has also followed carefully the teachings of his mother who was recognized by Delaware of the older generation as one adept in the art of compounding and administering herbal remedies.

[791] The second class is composed of individuals whose supernatural power enables them to perform acts such as reuniting an estranged couple or dispelling a supposedly evil charm. Certain rare plants are employed by them in practices resorted to only in emergencies.

It must be emphasized here that, according to Delaware belief, the practitioners are the medium through whom the Creator sends his healing power to alleviate distress caused by the physical and mental ills which attack the frail bodies of mankind.

Absolute faith in the unfailing power and benevolence of the Creator is the force which inspires the Delaware who has been blessed with a medicine vision and he is ever appealing in prayer to that higher Spiritual Force for aid in his professional undertakings.

[824 825] Believing that plants and animals in general are closely related to mankind[10] and that the Creator has endowed them individually with spiritual natures equally as sensitive as our own, the Delaware herbalist is always careful to perform the formal propitiatory rites before gathering a plant or removing part of an animal for use in making medicine.

759 824 782 278 If a practitioner is called upon to treat a person during the growing season in spring or summer, his first move, after the formal acceptance of the case and receipt of a gift of tobacco, is to go out and seek a plant of the desired species to be used in making medicine for the treatment of the particular ailment. After coming upon the first plant

[8] Zeisberger *(op. cit.* p. 25) "Fancied skill and imagined ability to heal the sick are traced to dreams which these individuals may have had in their youth. To the dreams they appeal, for in them they have much faith." See also Speck, 1931, p. 51; Harrington, 1921, p. 61; and Benedict, 1923.

[9] Harrington (1921, p. 80) quoting from the notes of R. C. Adams, "It is believed by the Delaware that every one has a guardian spirit which comes in the form of some bird, animal, or other thing, at times in dreams and tells them what to do and what will happen. The guardian spirit is sent from the Great spirit."

[10] Speck (1931, pp. 28, 29) discusses the principle of consanguinity as applied to deities and nature-forces.

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will visit several doctors in succession before finding one who has knowledge of preparing a remedy for his particular illness.[15]

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The person, either male or female, known by the term meaning "one who uses medicine for magic purposes," apparently had a larger number of patients in early times than the type of practitioner previously described. Zeisberger *(op. cit.,* p. 25), and Heckewelder *(op. cit.,* p. 231), from whom this impression is obtained, give rather detailed accounts of their seemingly weird practices. Both writers attribute the popularity of this group of healers to their feigned ability of dispelling the charms of evil sorcerers whom the Indians constantly feared. Witapanóxwe clarifies the distorted impressions implicit in these accounts by his interpretation of the procedure employed in treatment. The herbalist was called upon to aid individuals who have experienced difficulty in their marital relations or who have tried unsuccessfully to win the favor of a lover. Others came to him to be freed from malevolent influences. His power was not, however, limited to the control of human beings but extended to animals as well. Such a person was truly a "powerful man." This great power was entrusted with the admonition that it must never be used for malevolent purposes. Like the group of practitioners previously mentioned, the code of such people was based upon profound faith in the Creator, strict observance of the laws of nature and a deep regard for the traditions of their tribe.

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The plants employed by such an herbalist were of the rarest and most powerful kind. Their habitat and medicinal properties were not known to ordinary individuals. Such plants were unable to withstand the progress of civilization because, as my informant put it, "they could not live in unclean surroundings." The preparation made from these rare flora was known to the Delaware as "medicine for magic use," or "love medicine" (Zeisberger, *op. cit.,* p. 83). It was regarded as a gift, not to be used upon ordinary occasions but only in cases of emergency.

[15] Zeisberger (*ibid.,* p. 55) states that "Concerning plants and roots of medicinal value, it would be possible, if one were to devote himself to inquiry, to secure a great deal of information from the Indians for what one does not know another does, each man and woman having some knowledge in this direction, some more, some less. Hence, the custom that a patient who has consulted an Indian and secures a medicine from him without, however, being benefited, will go immediately to another; if no relief is obtained through his advice, the patient goes to a third, a fourth, until he finds one whose medicine helps."

of this substance. His niece was preparing it for a small child who was dangerously ill. She dropped a small quantity in a cup of hot water and observing it settle to the bottom, knew that the small patient would not recover. The medicine was administered as a tea, but the child died in a short time.[23]

In the making of an emetic, the necessary water should be dipped from the stream *with* the current;[24] for a cathartic, *against* the current. A similar regulation applies to the gathering of bark; for use as an emetic, the bark is peeled upward; for a cathartic, downward.

Formerly there were among the Delaware, as among other tribes, certain men and women whose supernatural power enabled them to communicate with the dead, to locate lost persons and objects and to foretell coming events. This practice was known as "locating or foretelling," and one who possessed such power was known as a "man who tells of the future." The source of this extraordinary power was attributed to one's guardian spirit or in some instances to the spirits of the dead. Those who were able to communicate with the dead usually performed at night. Such a person was also thought able to cure paralysis.

Some individuals who possessed the power to stay under water for a period of several hours at one time, were frequently called upon to locate a drowned person or a submerged object. One man was known to have found the body of a drowned person after months of futile searching by others. Some years later, the son of this shaman, after becoming converted to Christianity and studying for the ministry, finally persuaded his father to abandon the native faith and join the Christian church. In doing so the old seer, forsaken by his supernatural guardian, forfeited his magical power. Later the old man returned to the Delaware religion, but the power which enabled him to be of service to his tribesmen, was gone forever.

Witapanóxwe's grandfather was one of the last of the Delaware to possess such extraordinary mental and physical powers. He was able to perform the submersion feat and several times located the bodies of persons who had drowned in the rivers of Kansas. On one occasion a

[23] In reference to remedies for fever, Zeisberger observes (*op. cit.*, p. 55) that "when a patient has been given a dose, they are generally able to tell by its workings whether he will recover or die. If he does not retain the medicine it is regarded as a sign that he will hardly recover."

[24] This practice was noted by Heckewelder, *op. cit.*, p. 224.

team of horses which had broken through the ice, were rescued through this same ability, to remain beneath the surface of the water for a considerable period. Power for this ability was given him by a teal duck which appeared to him in a dream. In the informant's words:

> When a boy, my grandfather always went swimming every morning before sun-up, even when there was a thin coating of ice on the river. One time he dreamed of going down to the ice-covered stream very early to bathe as usual. When he jumped into the water the echo could be heard down the river. Then suddenly he heard a voice saying to him, "I am going to make you a strong man. You will be able to go under the water as I do." He did not see anyone around but there close by was a teal. And he could go down under the water and get fish, too.

So close was the connection of divination with the spiritual realm that the Delaware noted carefully the last words of a person near to death. At such a time the dying one is believed to be in close communication with the souls of the departed, who may impart messages of great importance through this medium to the living. One aged woman while on her death-bed spoke as follows:

> My kindred, we have been wonderfully blessed. We have enjoyed the gifts which the Creator bestowed upon us. That is because we have kept our own religion and observed the teachings of our elders in all things. If you continue to do this in the future, you will not be subjected to the evils which increase as civilization increases. Do not give up your own religion.

Another old woman foretold the coming of the railroad twelve years prior to its appearance, while a third foresaw the granting of citizenship to the Indians twenty years before its occurrence.

The Sweating Rite

The importance of the sweat lodge ritual, as carried out by the Delaware for the purpose of spiritual and physical purification, is attested both by early observers,[35] and by more recent students.[36] According to Zeisberger, in his discussion of Delaware customs, the practice was attended by rather elaborate rites and was evidently regarded as one of the major ceremonies. It was performed in honor of fire, being called *machtuzin*, a term meaning "to perspire," according to the same writer's translation. A similar rite is described by Harrington, whose informants named it *muxhat'olzing*. This is recorded as a variant of the Annual Ceremony.

[35] Zeisberger, *op. cit.*, p. 138; Heckewelder, *op. cit.*, p. 225; Loskiel, 1794, pt. 1, pp. 108-9.
[36] Harrington, 1921, 122-126; Speck, 1931, pp. 72-74.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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IV. ETHNOGRAPHIC NOTES

Astronomy, Mathematics, etc.

1.[1] Planetary system

According to Captain Pipe, the stars were put in the sky for the guidance of the Indians—the whites had the compass. According to John Johnston, the Indians believed that there were four fixed stars in the North, East, South, and West, which were rivets holding up the sky. The seven stars were once seven boys who became such wizards that they could not dwell upon the earth.

2. Origin myth

Captian Pipe—They claim to be descendants of the Wyandots, and relate these circumstances connected with their birth. The Wyandots sprang from a hole in the earth, which is still to be seen on Lake Huron. Not long after their discovery of the world above, which they now inhabit, a virgin of that nation became pregnant from some unnatural cause and in due time was delivered of twins, a son and daughter, who spoke a language entirely different from their parent; to wit, that of the present Delawares. That it was customary at that time to marry very near relatives; that these twins were so united and from this incestuous intercourse sprang the Lenee Lenaupaa, who, by direction of their uncles, the Wyandots, went to the borders of the Ocean and there settled themselves.

They suppose that there was formerly a body like our sun, which they call a great cornstalk with wide spreading branches, planted by "the God" in another world far above us—there, they suppose, lived a tribe of Indians, with a chief at their head—one time, one of the women who had a child was taken sick, and being asked what would cure her, she said, "If this corn stalk was pulled up, and I was laid by the hole, from hence it was taken, I should get well." The chief gave orders, and the corn

[1] Numbers refer to the numbers given to the elements in the table, *ante*, pp. 22-37.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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do so in pretty regular succession, the worship is annual, or perhaps more frequent. The time and place of meeting is designated by this family, the principal male of which sends a messenger to the chief or head man of each village, who in his turn disseminates the information through the families of those under him. At the time appointed the nation, as well males as females assemble at a large lodge prepared for the purpose, where the females are placed in rear of the men. Here with grave and downcast looks they sit and receive from one of the old men an address upon the importance of a due observance of the ceremonies of the worship, and of abstinence from all unlawful pleasures during the continuance of them, among which any connection with women is counted a polluting sin. After describing at length the customs of their ancestors, among which this worship is placed in the foreground, the principal man of those who prepared the place of worship, having in his hand a small turtle-shell containing a few gravel stones, gives it a sudden shake, and at the signal the worshipers all rise. He then commences a history of his early dream, repeating it in short sentences, in a natural tone of voice and being followed in the repetition of each sentence by all who are in the house. At length he commences to sing his dream, being followed by the company as before, and relieved between the sentences by a chorus of singers who are seated apart from the other worshipers, and have a kind of tambourin composed of a deer skin stretched across four sticks, upon which they beat the time. The music is said to be agreeable and very soft.

After this person has finished the tale of his dream, in which is described minutely every circumstance connected with the appearance of his tutelar deity, as well as those events of his life, which being foretold, have *of course* come to pass, each person in the lodge takes him by the hand in a mystical manner and they all seat themselves. The men then smoke for a short time, preserving the utmost silence and gravity of deportment, during which occupation the speaker takes occasion to push the shell under his legs in a secret manner, to the next on his right, who declares his intention to speak by giving it a slight shake, or pushes it in the same secret way to the next. When one has

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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tain and her colonies, that they began to be sensible of their desperate situation—this whole northern continent being now in the possession of one great and powerful nation, against whom it was vain to attempt resistance. Yet it was at this moment that their prophets, impelled by ambitious motives, began to endeavour by their eloquence to bring them back to independent feelings, and create among them a genuine national spirit; but it was too late. The only rational resource that remained for them to prevent their total annihilation was to adopt the religion and manners of their conquerors, and abandon savage life for the comforts of civilised society; but of this but a few of them were sensible; in vain Missionaries were sent among them, who, through the greatest hardships and dangers exerted themselves to soften their misfortunes by the consolations of the Christian faith, and to point out to them the way of salvation in this world and the next; the banner of Christ was comparatively followed but by small numbers, and these were persecuted by their friends, or, at least, those who ought to have been such, as well as by their enemies. Among the obstacles which the Missionaries encountered, the strong opposition which was made to them by the prophets of the Indian nations was by no means the least.

I have known several of these preachers and prophets during my residence in the Indian country, and have had sufficient opportunities to observe the means which they took to operate on the minds of their hearers. I shall content myself with taking notice here of a few of the most remarkable among them.

In the year 1762, there was a famous preacher of the Delaware nation, who resided at *Cayahaga*, near Lake Erie, and travelled about the country, among the Indians, endeavouring to persuade them that he had been appointed by the great Spirit to instruct them in those things that were agreeable to him, and point out to them the offences by which they had drawn his displeasure on

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themselves, and the means by which they might recover his favour for the future. He had drawn, as he pretended, by the direction of the great Spirit, a kind of map on a piece of deer skin, somewhat dressed like parchment, which he called "the great Book or Writing." This, he said, he had been ordered to shew to the Indians, that they might see the situation in which the Mannitto had originally placed them, the misery which they had brought upon themselves by neglecting their duty, and the only way that was now left them to regain what they had lost. This map he held before him while preaching, frequently pointing to particular marks and spots upon it, and giving explanations as he went along.

The size of this map was about fifteen inches square, or, perhaps, something more. An inside square was formed by lines drawn within it, of about eight inches each way, two of those lines, however, were not closed by about half an inch at the corners. Across these inside lines, others of about an inch in length were drawn with sundry other lines and marks, all which was intended to represent a strong inaccessible barrier, to prevent those without from entering the space within, otherwise than at the place appointed for that purpose. When the map was held as he directed, the corners which were not closed lay at the left hand side, directly opposite to each other, the one being at the south-east by south, and the nearest at the north-east by north. In explaining or describing the particular points on this map, with his fingers always pointing to the place he was describing, he called the space within the inside lines "the heavenly regions," or the place destined by the great Spirit for the habitation of the Indians in future life; the space left open at the south east corner, he called the "avenue," which had been intended for the Indians to enter into this heaven, but which was now in the possession of the white people; wherefore the great Spirit had since caused another "avenue" to be made on the opposite side, at

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which, however, it was both difficult and dangerous for them to enter, there being many impediments in their way, besides a large ditch leading to a gulf below, over which they had to leap; but the evil spirit kept at this very spot a continual watch for Indians, and whoever he laid hold of, never could get away from him again, but was carried to his regions, where there was nothing but extreme poverty; where the ground was parched up by the heat for want of rain, no fruit came to perfection, the game was almost starved for want of pasture, and where the evil spirit, at his pleasure, transformed men into horses and dogs, to be ridden by him and follow him in his hunts and wherever he went.

The space on the outside of this interior square, was intended to represent the country given to the Indians to hunt, fish and dwell in while in this world; the east side of it was called the ocean or "great salt water Lake." Then the preacher, drawing the attention of his hearers particularly to the south east avenue, would say to them. "Look here! See what we have lost by neglect and dis-"obedience; by being remiss in the expression of our "gratitude to the great Spirit, for what he has bestowed "upon us; by neglecting to make to him sufficient sacri-"fices; by looking upon a people of a different colour "from our own, who had come across a great lake, as if "they were a part of ourselves; by suffering them to sit "down by our side, and looking at them with indiffer-"ence, while they were not only taking our country from "us, but this, (pointing to the spot) this, our own "avenue, leading into those beautiful regions which were "destined for us. Such is the sad condition to which "we are reduced. What is now to be done, and what "remedy is to be applied? I will tell you, my friends. "Hear what the great Spirit has ordered me to tell you! "You are to make sacrifices, in the manner that I shall "direct; to put off entirely from yourselves the customs "which you have adopted since the white people came

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"among us; you are to return to that former happy "state, in which we lived in peace and plenty, before "these strangers came to disturb us, and above all, you "must abstain from drinking their deadly *beson*, which "they have forced upon us, for the sake of increasing "their gains and diminishing our numbers. Then will "the great Spirit give success to our arms; then he will "give us strength to conquer our enemies, to drive them "from hence, and recover the passage to the heavenly "regions which they have taken from us."

Such was in general the substance of his discourses. After having dilated more or less on the various topics which I have mentioned, he commonly concluded in this manner: "And now, my friends, in order that what I "have told you may remain firmly impressed on your "minds, and to refresh your memories from time to time, "I advise you to preserve, in every family, at least, "such a book or writing as this, which I will finish off "for you, provided you bring me the price, which is only "one buck-skin or two doe-skins a piece."* The price was of course bought, and the book purchased. In some of those maps, the figure of a deer or turkey, or both, was placed in the heavenly regions, and also in the dreary region of the evil spirit; the former, however, appeared fat and plump, while the latter seemed to have nothing but skin and bones.

I was also well acquainted with another noted preacher, named *Wangomend*, who was of the Monsey tribe. He began to preach in the year 1766, much in the same manner as the one I have just mentioned. When Mr. Zeisberger first came to *Goschgoschink* town, on the Allegheny river, this Indian prophet became one of his hearers, but finding that the Missionary's doctrine did not agree with his own, he became his enemy. This man also pretended that his call as a preacher was not of his own choice, but that he had been moved to it by

* Of the value of one dollar.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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the great and good Spirit, in order to teach his countrymen, who were on the way to perdition, how they could become reconciled to their God. He would make his followers believe that he had once been taken so near to heaven, that he could distinctly hear the crowing of the cocks, and that at another time he had been borne by unseen hands to where he had been permitted to take a peep into the heavens, of which there were three, one for the Indians, one for the negroes and another for the white people. That of the Indians he observed to be the happiest of the three, and that of the whites the unhappiest; for they were under chastisement for their ill treatment of the Indians and for possessing themselves of the land which God had given to them. They were also punished for making beasts of the negroes, by selling them as the Indians do their horses and dogs, and beating them unmercifully, although God had created them as well as the rest of mankind.

The novelty of these visions procured him hearers for a time; he found, however, at last, that the Indians became indifferent to his doctrines, particularly as he frequently warned them not to drink the *poison* brought to them by the white people, of which his congregations were very fond. Then he bethought himself of a more popular and interesting subject, and began to preach against witchcraft and those who dealt in the black art. Here he had all the passions and prejudices of the poor Indians on his side, and he did not fail to meet with the general approbation, when he declared to them that wizzards were getting the upper hand, and would destroy the nation, if they were not checked in their career. He travelled in 1775, to *Goschachking*, at the forks of Muskingum, to lay this business before the great council of the Delawares, and take their opinion upon it. The first report which the Missionaries on the Muskingum heard on this subject, was that the chiefs had at first united in having every conjurer and witch in

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the nation brought to an account and punished with death, that, however, on a more mature consideration, they had thought proper in the first place to ascertain the number and names not only of those who were known, but even of those who were suspected of dealing in sorcery, and Wangomend was appointed to cause the enumeration to be made. He accordingly hastily set off for his home, and on his arrival immediately entered on the duties of his mission; when behold! it was discovered that the number of offenders was much greater than had been at first imagined, and he found himself in danger of having his own name inserted in the black list. His zeal, in consequence, became considerably cooled, and by the time when he returned the chiefs were no longer disposed to meddle with this dangerous subject, justly fearing that it could not but terminate in the ruin of their nation. Wangomend, therefore, returned to his former mode of preaching, recommending to his hearers to purge themselves from sin by taking certain prescribed medicines, and making frequent sacrifices to the great Spirit.

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The last whom I shall take notice of is the Prophet-warrior *Tecumseh*, lately so celebrated among us, and who lost his life in the last war at the battle of the Thames, on the 30th of September, 1813, at the age, it is said, of 43 years. The details of his military life have been made sufficiently known through the medium of journals and newspapers, and his famous speech to the British general Proctor delivered at Amherstburg a short time before the battle which decided his fate, is in every body's hands.* But his character as a prophet and the means that he took to raise himself to power and fame are not so well nor so particularly understood, although it is, in general, admitted that he was admirably skilled in the art of governing Indians through the medium of

* See Niles's Weekly Register, vol. i. p. 141. vol. v p. 174. and vol. vi. p. 111.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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774 been left undone, when the ghost ceases the visits.

775 CAPTAIN CHIPPS—Ghosts are not known—have not been heard of.

J. W.—Ghosts are really shades or shadows of spirits, often seen before or after death, they are signs or warnings and can be seen by human eyes. There is much paralysis among the Delaware which is often caused by being struck with a shadow or crossing it or paying any attention to it if one sees it coming. Stopping [822] 753 to look at it, turning around after passing, even innocently, has evil effects. There is no cure for it. Preventive by rubbing [751] streak of ashes on left cheek under eye before going out in the evening. Often marked children as safeguard.

W. T. attributed to the soul the actions of the shadow reported by J. W.

40. Witches and wizards

754 JOHN JOHNSTON—They are very firm in the belief of witchcraft and suppose that there is many among them that can appear [753] in the shape of any animal they please and have power to cause sickness. They believe this to be a supernatural power invested in them by some one of the Deities for the purpose of good that they might have power to heal the sick etc. But that in their present degenerated state they have made a bad use of it, that instead of healing they inflict with sickness and other calamities.

754 CAPTAIN PIPE—They believe in witches and wizards and 756 attribute their powers to the use of certain medicine, said to have been procured of the Nanticokes who had it from a naked infant found by them on the Sea Shore. In 1810, the prophet when [792] preaching against the use of this medicine pointed out five or six men and women on white river as the possessors of it. These [683] persons protested their innocence and were put to the torture, where they were exhorted to save themselves by delivering the means of destruction which they possessd. Seeing no other prospect of escape from death, they professed a knowledge of the arts and promised compliance, but after release they were not able to produce the cause of the difficulty, and they were by common consent condemned to death by burning.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

it is still of equal importance to note that ki'tel-mani'tu is employed among the Delaware only by the Christian converts. I have previously mentioned the habit of the unconverted group of the tribe to avoid using religious terms adopted by their Christian kinsmen.

Radin[1] has expressed an opinion quite generally entertained among American ethnologists, that amid the varied types of disposition exhibited among savage as well as civilized people, it is those individuals of a religious and aesthetic temperament that the population finds its religious leaders, and that such minds are, in different races and regions, the authors of definitely monotheistic systems of thought. This seems applicable to the Delawares, for it is the visionaries who hold the preeminence of leadership in the ceremonies and who are at the same time the leaders of thought. They constitute, indeed, an eclectic priestly group in the tribe, though in ordinary life they are but laymen.

As we have it, the worship of the Supreme Deity and the lesser deities in Delaware offers a noteworthy correspondence to holy adoration in the Roman Church—to latry and dulia. Were it not for the fact that the Delawares were never under the ministrations of Roman Catholic evangelists it might seem that the Indians attempted an interpretation of the forms of Catholicism in their own terms, compromising with Christianity by refusing conversion and baptism but assimilating part of the doctrine.

In regard to this Zeisberger writes, "They believe and have from time immemorial believed that there is an Almighty Being who has created heaven and earth and man and all things else."[2] Heckewelder offers practically the same testimony, while earlier and later authors repeat what we also find in our text, a summary of evidence sufficient to establish the fact for Delaware belief that a Supreme Creative power with indications of anthropopathetic qualities, overtops the pantheism.[3] Heckewelder says, "It is a part of their religious belief, that there are inferior Mannittos, to whom the great and good Being has given the rule and command over the elements; that being so great, he like their chiefs, must have his attendants to execute his supreme behests:[4] these subordinate spirits (something in their nature between God and man) see and report what is doing upon earth; they look down particularly upon the Indians, to see whether they are in need of assistance, and are ready at their call to assist and protect them against danger."[5]

[1] Paul Radin, *Monotheism Among Primitive Peoples*, Lond. (1924) (Arthur Davis Memorial Lecture, v. 7).

[2] Zeisberger, op. cit., p. 128.

[3] The entire range of the Delaware religious phenomena, from secondary sources, has been reviewed and discussed amply by P. W. Schmidt, S.V.D. (Der Ursprung der Gottesidee, Münster, 1929, II Teil, 408-448). Father Schmidt favors the idea of the aboriginal grasp of the Supreme Being concept among the Delawares.

[4] The term eka'lasme denotes the proportion of supernatural strength possessed by the man-i'tuwak, given them by the Great Spirit.

[5] Heckewelder, op. cit., p. 212.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

787 different cases as remembered by the informant seems at present more to the point than to attempt rationalistic discussion.

792 Those who have acquired visions and who perform the act of reciting and leading dances are the spiritual leaders of the tribe. They are known, with an air of distinction, as wehendji·kane'it', a designation that I am scarcely capable of literally translating into English, but which is explained to mean, according to Wi·tapano'xwe, the act of dancing in a line close to one another in a formation like segments of a vertebra.

In the text we are given the recitation of several of those who had visions, whose sermons, as they might be called, were more distinctly remembered by the narrator from his having heard them on various occasions. Most noteworthy, however, is his own recitation, the time and circumstances of which are given in the translation with such notes as seemed needed. Other versions of spiritual visitations not recorded in text but of sufficient merit to be made available for students of Algonkian psycho-social phenomena have been included in a section of the appendix (note I).

787 796 In the act of reciting the vision within the Big House the performer (e'lhik·a'·i·t') carries the tortoise rattle, called the "leading rattle." At his side dances the "follower," whose function is to repeat the leader's phrases and answer the leader's rattle with a shaking of his own rattle, called the "follower's rattle." This individual bears the formal designation we·te'·gas·i·t' "follower."

Now is manifestly the time to bring in some explanation of the manner in which the visionary proceeds to declaim his revelation and to intone the chant which he has composed relative to the appearance of the man·i'·t·u and the effect it produced upon his feelings when it appeared to him. This is essential to the understanding of the ceremony. Reference to the accompanying sketch of the floor plan of the Big House (fig. 12) will be necessary.

The reciter alternately recites his vision and dances. While reciting, now shaking the rattle by a horizontal motion of the forearm, he stands in one place (A) while the dancers who have taken their places in the line behind him pause likewise. At the end of the stanza he bends his head, shakes the rattle vertically and dances down the line of the beaten path, or the White Path with a shuffling step, while the drummers repeat the same stanza that he has just declaimed as accurately as they can. So by alternating pauses and advances the reciter and leader covers the circuit of the dancing path within the Big House until, having led his followers once around, he arrives at a point near where he had begun his act. Here (at G) he leaves the oval course heading toward the center post. At a point about half way to the center (H) he pauses again for one of the stanza recitations then dances to the image facing the western door, recites another

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

original features of a distinct character, or, *b*, that it was in earlier times an uniform ritual which has broken up into variant forms with changes of time and place in the expansion of its influence. For the present time it seems hardly safe to interpret the circumstances that may have contributed to change the manner of its celebration. My impression is at present, nevertheless, that the three social subdivisions of the Nation, Turkey, Tortoise and Wolf, were in an earlier period indistinct areal groups whose fusion created the Nation. The Nanticoke, for instance, have been repeatedly referred to as being of the Wolf identity in the sense of a sub-tribe, and something similar is true of the Mahikan, giving evidence in the direction of the above supposition. As regards the local-group types of the Big House Ceremony, an opportunity to record the version and rulings of the performers as carried on by the Wolf group, would be an important addition to our knowledge of religious history among the eastern tribes. And Joe Washington's dictation of the Wolf group's regulations becomes a necessary task for the future. Through lack of support at the time to undertake this study its completion will have to remain postponed. Washington offered to dictate a full account of the Big House rite as carried on by the Wolf group, and through conference with him the following notes were secured covering some of the particulars in which it differed from the Turkey group rite. His observations bring out a point in question, namely, that the details of the Turkey and the Wolf group ceremony probably differ as much as they do when the Turkey group rite is compared with that of the Munsee recorded in Canada by Harrington.

The Wolf group ceremony lasted only eight days whereas the Turkey group rite as recorded consumed twelve. The last time that the Wolf rite was performed by the father of Joe Washington, he was told not to repeat it unless the spiritual obligation took possession of his mind with such compelling force that he could not decline his mission. He was also enjoined not to give way to the insistency of members of the Wolf group or others of the Nation that the rite be carried out merely to maintain the customs of their respective ancestors.

7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

This motive would be insufficient, even a sacrilege. The spiritual preparation of its participants was made a matter of prime importance and the purity of those concerned in it was to be insisted upon. Joe Washington has since felt that these serious injunctions were of so drastic a character that until the present time they could not be complied with. It seems, therefore, that there is little prospect for anything more than a dictated version to be obtained, which will have to await necessary support for its accomplishment.

Upon the occasion of my expedition to the Delawares in Oklahoma some time was spent in interviews with Tom Half Moon [1] who had had experience as an attendant, or *a'ckas*, of the Big House Ceremony as performed in recent years by his group, the Turkey group. The notes offered are, therefore, advantageous in respect to the details furnished by one who had the teachings directly from those who were responsible for its proper conduct. These notes should accordingly serve as a supplement to that section of the ceremony published in the Big House Ceremony volume dealing with the duties of the attendants. They are in effect as follows:

The attendants who sweep the White Path, or the path around which the dancers proceed when performing in the Big House after each dance, do so with turkey wings, using only the left hand in holding the fans, since the left hand is the holy hand, the right the unholy. The male attendants start sweeping at opposite ends from the women. When they have swept the dancing path twelve times they have cleared away the obstacles of an unfavorable spiritual nature lying between the worshippers and the Great Spirit. As was noted in the published account, the attendants each receive a yard of wampum at the end of the ceremony. He also noted that those who attended the ceremony received two wampum beads each to be kept by them as tokens of good fortune until the next performance. These beads were, he added, held in the mouth as sacred objects when the members went outside

[1] His Delaware title-name is *Azkure'lpaxpgo'zuv*, "Overturns Mountains when Walking," a member of the Turkey group.

| | | |

+ = element present
− = element denied
(+) or (−) = source ambiguous
* = informant could not or would not say
§ = some, sometimes, or several
† or * = see Ethnographic Notes, pp. 79-137 for additional information

	Williams	Van der Donck	Lindeström	Zeisberger	Heckewelder	Johnston	Pipe	Chippe	J. W.	W. T.	E. R.	W. L.
						342			756	755	793	755
						637	574	858	972	858	793	858
Medicine—Continued												
52. Perform surgical operation				(−)		−		−	−	−	−	−
53. Unite profession with priesthood	(+)		(+)			−		−	−	−	−	−
54. Always use juggling tricks †	+	§	§	§	§	−		−	§		§	§
55. Beat on own breast	+		(+)		+	+			+	+	+	+
56. Blow in hands	+		(+)		±	+			+	−	+	+
57. Make rumbling noise	+		+	+		+			+	+	+	+
58. Blow on patient	+		+	+	+	+			+	+	+	+
59. Rub the part affected						+			+	+	+	+
60. Have effect on patient's confidence						+			+	+	+	+
General Manners and Customs												
61. Eat human flesh			*(−)	−	−	−	•	−	−	−	−	−
62. Shake hands on meeting; inquire about health and express gladness to see	(±)			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
64. Great respect paid age or rank				+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
65. Visit one another for purpose of conversation	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
66. Regular parties at which they entertain				+		+	•	•	+	+	+	+
67. Practice of telling stories				+		+	+	•	+	+	+	+
68. In winter and at night only						+	•	•	+	+	+	+
69. Use words equivalent to swearing		−		−		+	−	−	−	−	−	−
70. Exhibit strong feelings of love, friendship and affection to same sex					+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
71. to opposite sex						+	−	+	+	−	+	•
72. common to try to suppress to same sex						+	−	+	+	−	−	+
73. common to try to suppress to opposite sex						+	+	+	+	−	−	•
74. Matter of pride to suppress feelings or excitement, especially fear and shame				+		+	•	+	+	(+)	+	+
75. On return home men treat wives with indifference					+	+	+	•	−	+	−	+
76. On return home men treat children with indifference					−	−	•	•	−	−	−	−
77. Powers of recollection strong			+		+	+	•	+	+	+	+	+
78. Any peculiarities in encampments (except war) or building of huts that distinguish from others				+		•+	•	•	•	+	•+	+

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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757 Since Zeisberger merely listed cupping as a therapeutic device without giving any details, it is impossible to check his statements absolutely. The other element indicating change is in the union
756 793 of the medical profession with the priesthood (53). As suggested previously, shamans may have been meant by priests. If this was so, of course, the two were united, but, if by "priests" was meant the leaders in the ceremonies of the tribe, the later sources and the informants deny such a union. Our information from the earliest accounts of the ceremonies is insufficient to judge whether there has been a change in function or a change in terms.

757 Evidence on the practice of counting the pulse was equally divided in both the third and fourth periods (50). Entire absence of information on this point prior to 1822 and the division of opinion thereafter strongly suggests that this element was borrowed from the whites sometime around the beginning of the nineteenth century but was not completely accepted.

343 Sweat baths were mentioned in every period as a cure or pre-
756 ventive of disease (46). They were also described by Lindeström,
755 but he did not attach any benefits to their use. The three older informants, J. W., W. T., and W. L., reported that there was a separate category of shamans called sweat doctors who used the sweat bath partly for its curative properties but principally as an aid to diagnosis. The fact that use of juggling tricks by medicine men was not uniformly reported by the sources may be explained by the statements of the informants who claimed that only the sweat doctors used them (54). The sweat doctors might effect their cures with sweat baths or they might merely make a diagnosis and leave the cure to some other shaman. A description of a sweat doctor's procedure was given by J. W. as follows:

755 "J. W.'s father was a sweat doctor. Had vision. Only those built houses. Built fire, put in six limestone rocks, dug little hole on north side of sweat house inside for rocks after they were hot. Pallet for patient on south side of hole, head outside (on east side) of blankets covering house. Leaves patient there ten to fifteen minutes while old man is getting ready a gallon of water with weeds of a certain kind immersed in it. Strips to breech

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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accepted the turtle by the shake of accession, he remains in a state of apparent meditation for a few minutes, and then rising gives it another rattle, when, as in the preceding instance, he is joined by all the worshipers and the same ceremonies of repeating the dream, are performed.

The worship is commenced at evening and continued until daybreak, when it ceases for the day during which time the worshipers remain in the lodge in perfect silence. Thus it is repeated from night to night six times, and at the closing of the last night they adjourn for an hour or two, and then finish the worship with the relation of the dream of some extraordinary personage, whose history has been preserved in tradition. They cease at noon of the last day.

To discharge the menial services incident to the meeting of so large a body four servants are appointed, of whom two are males and two females. They sweep the council house at every interval of worship and perform any other duty required of them, for which they receive a compensation in wampum before the close of the meeting. To this stock of wampum when collected by the principal or leader of the assembly all contribute who have the means. Besides these officers, an old man of the juggling class is employed to keep order in the assembly. It is supposed he can tell by going around the lodge whether any person has been polluted since the commencement of the worship, by connection with the opposite sex. To such person he points a stick and if he be a man the male servants lead him out of the lodge, from which he is expelled during the remainder of the worship. If a woman the same service is performed by the female domestics. The old inquisitor is dressed in the skin of a bear, with a frightful mask on his face, and is said to be a terrific object, particularly to those guilty of a breach of the customs of the assembly. His attention is often roused by the complaints of some one while telling his dream, who will stop and pretending to find a difficulty in speaking will ascribe it to the improper conduct of one of the members. Upon such occasion the old man commences his examination and his scrutinizing eye points out the object (perhaps innocent as himself) who is immediately removed, and the speaker continues.

15:Morgan E-5 (1859)1959
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Charles Journeycake (Johnny Cake) was a chief, and a prominent leader of the Delawares in Kansas, as well as being a widely known Baptist minister. His mother gave Morgan information about the Delawares.

614 "Yellow Tree," as the name of one of the
[115] Bands. She appeared to be about 70 years
555 old. She was of the Wolf tribe and her husband Turtle. She said the son did not necessarily succeed the father in the office of chief, but could not explain the succession
622 fully. A brother or a sister's son often succeeded. Captain Ketchum[84] at the time of
[614] his death was head chief, a principal chief of the Turtle Tribe of the Delawares. This title or office is hereditary as she thought in the tribe, for she said the Turtles could not have a man of the Wolf or Turkey Tribe for their chief. Ketchum's name was Ta-whe-la-na (Catch Me). He died leaving a son; but was succeeded by John Konner, the
[611] present principal or hereditary chief who was the son of the youngest sister of Cap-

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

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and is small in his own eyes. On the other hand those who have been thus favored possess a high and proud spirit.

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About thirty years ago[303] preachers appeared among the Indians. They pretended to have received revelations from above, to have traveled into heaven and conversed with God. They gave different accounts of their journey, but all agreed in this: that no one could enter heaven without great danger, for the road, say they, runs close by the gates of hell. Here the devil lies in ambush and snatches at every one who is going to God. They came first to the Son of God and through him to God himself, with whom they pretend to have conversed concerning the Indians and by whom they were commanded to instruct their people. Thus the Indians were for the first time informed that there was a heaven where was the dwelling of God and a hell that of the devil. Presumably they got this knowledge from the whites. Some of the preachers confessed that they had not reached the dwelling of God but had approached near enough to hear the cocks crow and see the smoke of the chimneys in heaven. Others that they had approached the Son of God and then returned.

These teachers marked off on a piece of parchment made of deerskin two roads, both leading to heaven, one designated by God for the Indians, the other for the white people. They claim that the latter had to go a great way round about and the road for the Indians was at that time the shortest, but now, since the white people had blocked up the road for the Indians, they were obliged to make a long circuit to come to God. Further, there were paintings of heaven and hell upon the parchment as also the figure of a balance to represent the deceitful traffic carried on by the white people with the Indians. This rude parchment is, as it were, their Bible, and lies spread before them when they preach for the Indians. They then explain every mark and figure to their hearers and it is very evident that their chief aim is to influence the minds of the Indians against the white people. It is certain that their preaching has had this effect, for about this time war broke out between Indians and whites there having been no such war before.

They declared to the Indians that God had commanded their

3;Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

668 cleansing from sin and to this end they gave them twelve dif-
●794 ferent kinds of Beson to drink, supposed by causing vomiting to free them of sinful taint. Some Indians, following these injunctions, vomited so often that their lives were endangered by it.[303] They were, further, strictly ordered to fast, and to take nothing but Beson. Few persevered in this absurd practice the required length of time.

Other teachers pretended that stripes were the most effectual means to purge away sin. They advised their hearers to suffer themselves to be beaten with twelve different sticks from the soles of their feet to their necks, that their sins might pass from them through their throats. They preached a system of morals, very severe for the savages, insisting that the Indians abstain from fornication, adultery, murder, theft and practice virtuous living as the condition to their attaining after death the place of the good spirits, which they call *Tschipeghacki*, the "land of spirits," where the life is happy and deer, bear and all manner of game are abundant and the water is like crystal. There nought was to be heard save singing, dancing and merry making. Formerly the Indians only knew of a good place promised to the virtuous, but they did not know where the place was. The preachers pretend to have found the place, which lies to the south. The passage thither is the milky way which may be seen in the heavens on a clear night. They venture also to describe the appearance of the place for there are Indians who have been dead for several days and returned to life who have been there and have told of the things seen. Whoever reaches that place will find a city of beautiful houses and clean streets. Entering a house he will see no one but have good things to eat placed before him, a fire made and a bed prepared — all of which is done by spirits invisible to him. Others assert that such an one will see the women coming with baskets on their backs full of strawberries and bilberries, large as apples, and will observe that the inhabitants daily appear in fine raiment and live a life of rejoicing.

In this they all agree that the bad Indians, who have not lived as these preachers exhorted them, will not reach the place, *Tschipeghacki*, but must remain some distance away, able to see

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

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those within dwelling happily but not able to enter. They would receive nothing but poisonous wood and poisonous roots to eat, holding them ever near the brink of a bitter death but not suffering them to die.

While these preachers admonished the Indians to lead a good and virtuous life their own walk and conduct altogether disagreed with their exhortation. They introduced polygamy, and during their sermons had several of their wives sitting 'round about them. They even pretended that it was a charitable and meritorious act in them, as men living upon terms of intimacy with God, to take these poor ignorant women and lead them in the way to God and to the enjoyment of eternal felicity.

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This part of their doctrine was greatly relished by the Indians, and it is a lamentable truth that since that period adultery, fornication and other such abominations have been more frequent among the Indians. The young began to despise the counsel of the aged and endeavored to get into favor with these preachers whose followers multiplied very fast. Some of the preachers went even so far as to make themselves equal with God. They affirmed that the weal and woe of the Indians depended upon their will and pleasure. Their deluded followers, possessing the highest veneration for them, brought them many presents. Even some of the most sensible and respected Indians assented to their doctrines, punctually following their prescriptions even at the hazard of health and life. Some of the latter we now have in the congregation, who have learned that nothing avails to deliver from the servitude of sin save the blood of Jesus Christ.

One of these preachers often proclaimed openly to the Indians that he was quite at home at the side of God, went in and out of his presence where neither sin nor Satan could do him harm; he stated, however, that he had never heard of the God on the cross preached by the Moravians, and did not believe him to be the real God for his God had no wounds and gave him whenever he appeared a little piece of bread, white as snow. On another occasion, having prepared a drink of bilberries he announced that this was the blood of the Son of

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

668 God. Thus it appeared that through him Satan endeavored to
794 rob the gospel of its power over the Indians.

As long as the preachers did not proclaim things evidently untrue they were held in great regard and had a considerable following withersoever they went, for they never remained long in one place, else their deception would have been revealed the sooner. They still preached in Gekelemukpechünk [304] when the Moravians came to the Muskingum. Soon thereafter they began to be too coarse, seeking to establish their teaching in opposition to the gospel. This brought about the end of their influence. One has since heard little of them and the most have died. For at the last they preached that whoever would believe in them and follow their direction would be happy in the chase and in all other undertakings, would be able to cross sea and land, would reap plenteous harvests even though little had been planted. The Indians who trusted in them soon saw that they had been deceived and that they had been brought to starvation by the treacherous preachers. Then the power of the latter was at an end.

782 Worship and sacrifices have obtained among them from the
796 earliest times, being usages handed down from their ancestors. Though in the detail of ceremony there has been change, as the Indians are more divided now than at that time, worship and sacrifice have continued as practiced in the early days, for the Indians believe that they would draw all manner of disease and misfortune upon themselves if they omitted to observe the ancestral rites.

[848 In the matter of sacrifice, relationship, even though distant,
602] is of significance, legitimate or illegitimate relationship being regarded without distinction. A sacrifice is offered by a family, with its entire relationship, once in two years. Others, even the inhabitants of other towns, are invited. Such sacrifices are commonly held in autumn, rarely in winter. As their connections are large, each Indian will have opportunity to attend more than one family sacrifice a year. The head of the family knows the time and he must provide for everything. When the head of such a family is converted, he gets into difficulty because his

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
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on a hill, where he was first seen, and told the people how to obtain his power. The mask owners formed a society, which

FIG. 3.—Charm representing Mĭsinghâli'kŭn. (Height, 1.9 in.)

had a special meeting-house and ceremonies, and whose chief function it was to expell disease. This will be discussed further in another paper. Peter Jones[25]

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
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One of his Indian informants defined the kind of "bad folks" who would be unhappy in the hereafter as "those who lie, steal, quarrel with their neighbors, are unkind to their friends, and especially to aged parents, and, in a word, such as are a plague to mankind." These would be excluded from the "Happy Hunting Ground," not so much as a punishment to themselves, as to keep them from rendering unhappy the spirits of the good inhabiting the "beautiful town." 775

Zeisberger.—About 1748, according to Zeisberger,[37] a number of preachers appeared among the Indians, who claimed to have traveled in Heaven and conversed with God. Some exhibited charts of deerskin upon which were drawn maps of the Land of Spirits and figures representing other subjects used in their preaching. Some of their ideas concerning the Son of God, the Devil, and Hell, are evidently derived from the whites; others seem more aboriginal in character, such as purification by emetics, twelve different kinds being used. He wrote: 775 794

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"Other teachers pretended that stripes were the most effectual means to purge away sin. They advised their hearers to suffer themselves to be beaten with twelve different sticks from the soles of their feet to their necks, that their sins might pass from them through their throats. They preached a system of morals, very severe for the savages, insisting that the Indians abstain from fornication, adultery, murder, theft, and practise virtuous living as the condition to their attaining after death the place of good spirits, which they call Tschipeghacki, the 'land of spirits,' where the life is happy, and deer, bear and all manner of game are abundant and the water is like crystal. There nought was to be heard save singing, dancing and merry making. [821] . . . The passage thither is the Milky Way. . . . Whoever reaches that place will find a city of beautiful houses and clean streets. Entering a house he will see no one, but have good things to eat placed before him, a fire made and a bed prepared—all of which is done by spirits invisible to him. Others assert that such an one will see the women coming with baskets on their backs full of strawberries and billberries, large as apples, and will observe the inhabitants daily appear in fine raiment and live a life of rejoicing.—The bad Indians . . . will not reach the place, Tschipeghacki, but must remain some distance away, able to see those within dwelling happily, but not able to enter. They would receive nothing

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
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but poisonous wood and poisonous roots to eat, holding them ever near the brink of a bitter death, but not suffering them to die."

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Zeisberger usually specifies when his information is derived from tribes other than the Lenape, from whom most of his data were procured; so it is probable that the following quotation applies to them, although in part somewhat at variance with our other knowledge. He says:[38]

"They believe in the immortality of the soul. Some liken themselves to corn which, when thrown out and buried in the soil, comes up and grows. Some believe their souls to be in the sun, and only their bodies here. Others say that when they die their souls will go to God, and suppose that when they have been some time with God they will be at liberty to return to the world and be born again. Hence many believe . . . that they may have been in the world before.

"They believe also in the transmigration of the soul. Wandering spirits and ghosts, they claim, sometimes throw something into a public path and whoever goes over it is bewitched and becomes lame or ill."

Such was the Lenape belief with regard to the powers that control the world, and such were his notions concerning the

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
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them and told them what to do to get his power. When a man put on a Mizink he received the power of this person or spirit; he could even see behind him, and could cure diseases."

The Mask Society.—The men who owned these masks formed a kind of society which Nellis Timothy says originally had twelve members, but which, before it disbanded, dwindled to about five. Sometimes only two appeared in costume.

The society had a meeting-house of its own where its dances, *Mizinkl'ntlka*, were held, for, unlike the Unami custom, no Mizink ever appeared in the Big House. The members appeared wearing their masks and clad in rough bearskin and deerskin costumes, while some, at least, where provided with a turtleshell rattle which they would rub on a long pole, crying "*O*^{n}-*o*^{n}-*o*^{n}*!*" the while.

Ceremonies.—While no consecutive account of their ceremonies is now remembered, it was said that they sometimes put down their rattles, heaped up

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
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Lenape

794 796 751 the ashes from the two fires, then threw the ashes all over the house to prevent the people assembled from having disease.

755 794 796 Should any sick person appear, he or she would be especially treated with ashes. Sometimes the performers would pick up live coals and throw them about, frightening the people. At other times the whole company of them would go around to the different houses begging for tobacco, and would dance in any house where someone was willing to sing for them.

532 778 [126] Nothing was said among the Minsi about the Mizink bringing back stray stock or driving deer, characteristic attributes of the Mask Being of the Unami. The writer obtained but one mask among the Canadian Lenape, and this was from the Grand River band (fig. 4); it has been described by him[84] in the following words:

"But one mask (*mizink*) was obtained. It differed from those of the Iroquois chiefly in being cruder, and also in decoration, the lines being burnt into the wood instead of being

26. Moral superintendence of Supreme Being over worshipers		−	(+)		+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	776
27. Pray to Him for favors or assistance	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	782
28. Deposit tobacco on stones, mountains, etc. for favors					+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	775
29. Tobacco sacrificed for success in hunting	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	713
30. Believe in a future state of punishments and rewards	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	754
31. Final judgment						+	+	+	+	+	+	+	744
32. Mental or corporeal pleasures in future state of existence		+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
33. Judgment immediately after death		+!				+	+	+	+	+	+	•	164
34. Souls of worthy go to place of happiness or abode of Supreme Being	+	+		+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	757
35. Souls of bad go to land of bad spirits or hell							+	+	+	+	+	−	756
left on earth or no good place	+	+		+		+		−	+	+	−	−	
36. Tortured or unhappy in either place		+		+		+		−	+	+	Wa		755
37. Direction of habitation of good souls	SW	S		S		Up	S	•	Up	Up	Up	Up	343
bad souls						Up	•	•	Up		Up	Up	
38. Believe in ghosts		+		+		+	+	−	+	+	+	s	
39. Have priests	+	+		−		−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
40. Witches and wizards		+		+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	
41. National worshiping society †				+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	
Medicine													
42. Diseases to which peculiarly liable †													
Bowel disorders				+	+	+			+		+	−	
Consumption					+				+	−	−	+	
Pleurisy						+			−		+		
Chills and fevers	+			+	+			+	+	+	+	+	
Dysentery				+					−	−	•	−	
Rheumatism				+	+						−		
Boils				+									
43. Remedies usually roots and herbs	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	
44. Bleeding common			+	+	+	+		+	−	−	+	+	
45. Cupping common				+									
46. Sweating common	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	
47. Medical profesion	+	−	+	+	+	−		+	+	+	+	+	
48. Receive any education					−	−		−	−	−	−	−	
49. Called by divine agency in youth													
50. Count pulse													
51. Inquire into nature of complaint													

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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775 abode of the souls of the good. In the second and third periods south is again mentioned as the direction of the land of good souls. However, in the third period the directions up and down for the location of the future abodes of the souls of good and bad persons appear. In the fourth period, the ascension of the souls of the good is unanimously asserted, while only one added that they also went west. This informant, E. R., also said that souls of the bad went down, whereas W. T., also of Anadarko, said that they stayed here on earth. W. L., of Dewey, said that souls of bad persons went to all the places on earth where they had committed their evil actions and were there punished. All this happened in the eleven days between death and the departure of the soul for the celestial abode of the Great Spirit.

775 177 The Delaware have thus approached the popular Christian notions on this point but still retain some of their earlier concepts. The exposition of the modern Delaware clears up the confusion and seeming contradictions that exist in the earlier accounts as to the final disposition of the souls of the bad. There can be little doubt that missionary teaching was responsible for the idea of a hell which cropped up in the third period as a belief of the Delaware (35).

771 177 There are two exceptions to the continuity of concepts otherwise shown by the elements under *Religion*. One is the report of priests in the first period and not thereafter (39). There was probably no change between the first and second periods but merely the discontinuance of the word priest to designate the shamans who were present in all periods. The other exception is the dissenting voice of Captain Chipps on such subjects as subordinate deities, ghosts, witches, and the national worshiping society (22, 38, 40, 41). Chipps was a Canadian Delaware or Munsee and probably the descendant of several generations of Moravian converts, for his account of the religion of the Delaware reflects much greater acceptance of Christian teachings than any of the accounts of the Oklahoma Delaware. The national 794 797 worshiping society or Big House Ceremony as it is now known, was apparently successfully suppressed by the Moravian missionaries among the Canadian Delaware.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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A cogent reason for the survival of religious beliefs of the Delaware was the vehicle by which they were transmitted from generation to generation, the national worshiping society or Big House. The reaction to the introduction of white ways expressed itself in the integration of a number of original ceremonies. Some Christian elements were unconsciously incorporated along the way, but these were principally modifications of, rather than substitutes for, native concepts. The accounts of the national worshiping society given by John Johnston and Captain Pipe are included in the section of ethnographic notes.[1] I have discussed some of the changes in the ceremony itself during historic times in another article.[2]

Medicines

The information on the ailments prevalent at the time of first contact with the whites is very limited. Williams indicates that chills and fevers and toothaches were the most common disturbances to the health of the Narragansets. He and Lindeström mention plagues and the French disease among the Indians of their time. Smallpox was a plague for which Williams gave a native name. From their lack of resistance to many diseases prevalent in Europe, it has often been postulated that the Indians had not been exposed to them before white contact. The evidence compiled in this study neither proves nor disproves this assumption, although, of course, the modern informants say that in ancient times the Indians were very healthy and had no ills until the white man introduced them. This is in accord with the principle of former good times that is universal in its application.

Changes between early and late periods show up in two elements but are open to question as to the reliability of interpretation of the early information. First, Zeisberger, alone of the authors of the sources, reported cupping in practice among the Delaware (45). This was denied by all the modern informants although cupping by sucking was known among other tribes.

[1] See *post*, pp. 93-97.

[2] Kinietz, Vernon, "European Civilization as a Determinant of Native Indian Customs," in *American Anthropologist*, N. S. XLII(1940), 116-21.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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information available. On the other hand, the expression of feelings between men and their wives and children, which is a closely related subject, definitely shows a change in the fourth period (75, 76). In the second and third periods indifference on the part of the men to their wives on returning home was reported, whereas, in the fourth period, the two younger informants disclaimed such indifference. Paternal indifference to children is denied throughout. The behavior of the older men toward their wives was in accordance with the old ways, they said, whereas that of the younger men was apparently influenced by white standards of behavior.

Captain Chipps and two of the informants, W. T. and W. L., considered the Delaware to differ from other tribes in color (80). Among the informants the matter was one of personal opinion unwarranted by the color of the individual informants. The opinion is also unwarranted from a comparison of skin, hair, and eye color with members of neighboring tribes who have approximately the same percentage of Indian blood. The greater degree of sociability, friendship, and hospitality among the Delaware and all the informants is to be attributed, in part, at least, to their religion and their feeling of superiority to other tribes (82-84). They believe their Big House or Delaware "church" to be superior to the religious beliefs of other tribes, but they are tolerant of the shortcomings of the others and attempt no missionary work. Friendship with all mankind is preached in the Big House and practiced by all believers.

The elements concerned with the physical duties of the woman in the home are of doubtful value from a psychological and terminological viewpoint (85-87). The terms "easy," "contented," and "drudgery" all carry connotations beyond their strict meanings that are so divergent in their use by different observers or informants that comparison is impossible. It is interesting to note, however, that Heckewelder and Johnston agree with the statements of the modern Delaware that the position of women was easy and contented and that they were not considered menial servants of the men. The only dissenting voice was that of Captain Chipps. Nowhere is there any evidence that the women considered themselves imposed upon by the men.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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CAPTAIN CHIPPS—They believe there are no greater wizards 754
or witches than knaves or drunkards.

All the modern informants confirmed the belief in witches and wizards, but J. W., his wife and son were especially vehement in their current existence.

41. National Worshiping Society (Big House)

JOHN JOHNSTON—They have a national worship which they 794
think keeps the world from coming to an end. It is attended with very great expense in procuring wampum and provisions, etc. This meeting is continued for 12 days and twelve nights successively. They have a large building prepared for that pur- [346]
pose about 25 feet in width and 50 or 60 feet in length according to the number that is expected will attend, with a door in each end, notice is given at what time their worship will commence. When they are collected and seated in a row round the outside 796
of the building the men by themselves and the women by themselves a man and woman at each door the man for a doorkeeper and the women to sweep between every exercise, the fires are made in the middle of the building which they make by rubbing two dry sticks together that it may be pure, the fire they put out every day and make new lest it should become adulterated, they make it by rubbing two dry sticks together as at the first. Thus prepared the one that made preparation for the meeting gets up with a turtle shell in his hand (containing pebbles) and he gives it a shake and the whole assembly arise with him he then begins telling a dream which he says he dreamt in his childhood [787]
and the whole congregation repeats it after him in one voice word by word till he says he heard a voice singing to him and begins to sing immediately upon which two men commence beat- [533
ing with flat sticks upon skins folded together then he stops sing- 535]
ing and he with the whole assembly jump ten or twelve jumps in the form of a dance then he makes a sudden halt and goes on with his dream as before repeated by the whole in one voice until he commences singing again as before and the players commence beating and the whole jump or dance in the form above mentioned thus they continue for the space of half an hour or more

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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period of the ceremony when the cross-marked drumsticks are put aside to yield place to the image-carved sticks, the ceremony takes on a more exclusive meaning to its celebrants, corresponding to the advance of the soul into a more exclusive realm in its progress toward the ultimate. 775 787

After proceeding past the cross-roads the spirit led his soul to the mountain upon which rested the bird previously mentioned (C in the sketch). This station is called teo'las endala'usi·t, or endale'lamukuk, "bird where he lives". This creature bears the name Ge'k'exonu'kes "Storm-maker". And it is he who by the motion of his wings causes storms and winds to rage over the earth below.[1] [821]

The next landmark in the course of the journey after passing by the mountain of the big bird was the abode of the Thunder, pe't'hakowe endale'lemukuk, "thunder where he lives" (D in the sketch). On these heights the way was obscured by smoke, clouds and lightning, from which sources the tempests descended upon the earth. It was a terrifying place.

Beyond this mountain of storms the soul of Elkhair could not pass, but he could, notwithstanding this, behold a still more distant ridge of mountains (E in the sketch) called "pe'maxtiŋ "mountain ridge". While it was forbidden for him to approach nearer he could at least hear the voices of departed souls beyond enjoying their heavenly existence. Here, he was told, the souls are resting until the end of the world when all shall be enabled to cross over the next gap to the final stage of the journey to where the Great Spirit sits. Here souls dwell without care, worry or sickness. But it is exclusive for the Delawares because only those who have been adherents to the Big House can become qualified for this existence. [794]

This, the last stage of cosmic existence is that remote height of heaven where the Great Spirit rests supreme, looking down upon his creation, with his hand resting upon the staff he holds in his hand, which is, in the Delaware mind, symbolized by the center post of their Big House. No one of course knows what the final abode of souls is to be like, since Elkhair had no revelation concerning it. This realm is called lənape'ehat, "Delaware where he goes".

It should be recalled that these stages of the celestial pilgrimage are the "levels of heaven" mentioned before in the explanation of the ceremony, numbering twelve in all (see page 26).

In commenting upon the assumed nature of souls, Witapano'xwe added that the soul appears as an image, without flesh, and that it is thought to look the same as it did in its earthly form.

In explaining the peculiar esoterism of the Delaware creed the informant said that exclusion of aliens was not a fixed property of 775 794

[1] Identical with a belief current among the Wabanaki.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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775 the system, since it was understood that if a person had lived in ac-
794 cordance with all the Delaware doctrines, by being admitted to the teachings of the Big House, his soul would go where the Delaware soul goes. This would mean that the individual had become an adopted Delaware both in body and spirit. He cited cases of Indians of other tribes who had married into the nation and become members of the ceremonial group. Such aliens also acquire the privilege of being buried in a Delaware cemetery, their funerals being celebrated with Delaware rites. This honor was accorded to his father who was born a Cherokee. He remembers hearing the chief say at his father's funeral, "All things to which the Deleware is entitled to are bestowed upon this soul".

Finally we may again remark upon the consistency with which the whole conception links together the life of the living Delaware, the state of his soul and the classical figurism of the Big House.

2;Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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conservative, distrustful of whites, and, in general, less acculturated than others who are young, literate, moderately educated, progressive, and well assimilated. There is an antipeyote faction, and even within the peyote faction there is a schism between the Big Moon and Little Moon adherents. These various factions promote discord, so much so that any unified tribal activity is virtually impossible. The Delawares are, then, no longer a distinct social group. Delaware society has disappeared, although allegiance to a number of the ancient culture traits lingers.

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The most notable remnant of socioreligious organization still perpetuated by both Oklahoma Delaware communities is the phratry. Adults still acknowledge membership in one or more of the phratries. Membership was originally determined by descent in the female line, but this is no longer true; a person inherits membership in both his mother's and father's phratry, so that many individuals consider themselves to be "half and half." An individual can belong to no more than two of the three phratries. Consequently, it is apparent that if this method of reckoning membership is carried on for many generations most people will belong to two of the three phratries. There is no memory of any other system of reckoning membership. Obviously, the shift in the method of determining phratry membership has been caused by the emphasis on the paternal line in American society. At least among the Cherokee-Delawares the pressure has not been strong enough to shift the system from simple matrilineal reckoning all the way to patrilineal, as in our patronymics; it has gone but an illogical part way. Phratry membership originally depended upon clan ties, but there is no knowledge of them today in either Delaware community. The conclusion is inescapable that the clan organization disappeared before the Delawares left Kansas.

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An interesting factor contributing to the eventual extinction of Delaware culture and also to social heterogeneity is found in present marriage restrictions. It is considered incestuous for a person to marry anyone to whom he is related, however remotely. This means that in both Oklahoma communities the young Delaware boys and girls cannot marry other Delawares, since everybody is considered to be related to everyone else. Some of the feelings about this point were: "The young people are disgusted, can't find anybody they're not kin to" (O.A.). "We're disappearing as fast as we can 'cause we got nobody to marry" (O.A.). "It's awful when you marry kinfolks" (M.B.). Briefly, one generation hence there will be no person who is more than half Delaware biologically, and probably none more than half sociologically. (This subject is taken up more fully under Pan-Indianism.) Within the last several decades the Delawares have taken to marrying legally and are completely assimilated in this respect.

Religious Assimilation

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Big House Ceremony.—Without a doubt the most tenacious and unchanging elements in Delaware culture, aside from language, have been

2;Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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final day of the ceremony. At the time of the wartime meetings there were no women left who had had visions. Perhaps this is why they were called upon to offer prayers instead.

There was friction in at least one of the meetings since the leader, J.W., sold the scarce, virtually sacred wampum donated by other Delawares. The people who purchased the wampum were frequently strangers or curiosity seekers; they were seldom donors. Friction also occurred when some peyotists prayed in their fashion. One individual said of this friction:

> Ben Hill asked people to get up and pray — to pray to the fire. Nobody did for awhile so I got up. I prayed like a white preacher does, but in Indian. I prayed to the fire, and asked that all the boys be returned safely. I prayed that my boy would come back safe. I went on praying and I got to crying. Then I sat down. Then E. J. got up and prayed the same way, then a man. After that T.M. got up and said he didn't believe you could pray that way in this meeting. I felt so funny, I was crushed. I didn't go back after that. (O.A.)

The form of prayer that O.A. described is common in the local version of the Big Moon peyote cult, with the exception that in the peyote ceremony the prayer is accompanied by the smoking of a Bull Durham cornhusk cigarette.

Even with what little is known about the wartime Big House ceremonies it is plain that they were more a reflection of the old rites than a faithful duplication of them. They lasted twelve days, visions were recited, some venison was eaten, but in almost every other respect they were changed. The few young people who attended did not know where to sit; even if they knew their phratry membership they probably did not know where that phratry belonged in the meeting house. The arbor was a poor substitute for the log Big House; there was room for only one fire, and the carved heads were missing. There could be no hunt for deer, because there were no deer. In one meeting O.A. persuaded a rancher to contribute a deer, but it was impossible to feed the participants for twelve days with one deer.

After 1924 the Big House Ceremony withered away. It was briefly revived because of the stimulus of the second world war, but this revival was only a dim reflection of the original ceremony. Joe Washington and Ben Hill, the spark plugs of the wartime meetings, are dead. The few remaining participants who are familiar with the ritual are old and are not imparting their knowledge to others; and many Delawares who formerly participated have focused their attentions on the peyote cult. Informants gave two reasons why they preferred peyotism to the traditional religious forms: first, peyotism is cheap, but in the Big House Ceremony the "Bringer-in" is primarily responsible for the cost which in 1930 was one hundred and fifty dollars.[8] In a peyote meeting the cost is negligible in comparison and is often shared by the participants. Second, only Delawares can participate in the Big House Ceremony, and individual Delawares often have only a few Delaware friends,

[8] Speck, 1931, p. 24.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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although they have many Indian friends of other tribes. Any Indian can participate in peyote meetings, and a few people can hold one, whereas the Big House Ceremony requires a large co-operative group of people. Associated with the advantages of peyotism is the fact that the Delawares are even more scattered than they were during the war and would have a difficult time getting together for a twelve-day Big House Ceremony. The disintegration of the Big House Ceremony is regretted by many Delawares, but nothing is being done, or can be done, to revive it.

It is not entirely clear when most other elements of Delaware religion disappeared or were replaced. The reason for this is that no other ceremonies were as universal or as well known as the Big House Ceremony. Nevertheless, it is possible to make estimates which probably are reliable.

Vision quest.—The Delawares no longer seek visions, and apparently few people have unsolicited visions. Informants frequently claim that "no one can have visions because the earth is no longer clean" (M.B.), or that one has to be "morally clean" to obtain a vision (N.D.). Few people living in a white man's world can claim these virtues, informants add. No young people were encountered who had had visions, solicited or otherwise. Several middle-aged and old people claimed to have had visions, but their visions had not been solicited. The guardian spirit of one informant (R.W.), for instance, was the Mask Being. This deity had appeared when the man was in delirium following an automobile accident. The vision quest was probably declining in popularity before the Cherokee-Delawares reached Oklahoma and shortly thereafter disappeared entirely. Supernatural beings encountered in a peyote trance are not regarded as guardian spirits.

Sweat bathing, Shamanism.—Sweat bathing disappeared among the Cherokee-Delawares during the early decades of this century. O.A. was given a sweat bath as a child, as a cure for some childhood illness. Shamans often presided over sweat bathing, and the last Cherokee-Delaware shaman (Chief Elkhair) died almost two decades ago. M.B. of the Anadarko Delawares claimed that sweat baths were in vogue there until "a few years ago."

Curing.—Although shamans and sweat bathing have passed into oblivion there is still secular knowledge and perhaps use of native medicines and cures. These are useful in love, for fevers, hiccoughs, colic in children, and the like. One informant (N.D.), for example, had inherited from her mother some sort of animal foot plus rules and ritual which were used as "love medicine." N.D. used this magical device once successfully, but is reluctant to use it again. It is doubtful if she will pass these secrets along to her daughter. Peyote, government doctors, and hospitals seem to have supplemented native therapy — medicinal and supernatural — for more important illnesses.

Doll Dance.—According to Kinietz, "The Doll Dance which was a family responsibility has not been held since 1929."[9] This agrees with my information, although the last remaining doll owner had vowed to

[9] Kinietz, 1946, p. 14.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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give a dance in the summer of 1951. The vow was probably brought on by the woman's illness but she died before the dance could take place At the present time the Cherokee-Delawares are in possession of only this one doll. All other dolls have been lost, given to missionaries, buried with their owners, or sold to museums.

Otter-Tail Dance.—This dance was unknown to the Anadarko Delawares, and it has been long defunct among the Cherokee-Delawares. O.A. saw it for the last time in 1902. According to her, the house in which the otter tail was kept burned down and the otter hide was destroyed, thus ending the dance.

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Delaware Peyotism.—Petrullo has provided a description and analysis of the history and content of peyotism among the Delawares.[10] My concern, therefore is to indicate the importance and role of peyote in the religious assimilation of the Delawares, and also to describe what changes, if any, have taken place in Delaware peyotism since the time of Petrullo's investigation in 1929-30.

Peyote *(Lophophora williamsii)* is a spineless, carrot-shaped, grayish-green cactus, which in this country grows primarily in the lower Rio Grande Valley. When eaten, either green or dried, or drunk as tea, peyote has the property of heightening or sharpening the perception of color, form, and sound, or inducing visual and/or auditory hallucinations. A knowledge of the properties of peyote and its utilization in religious ceremonies antedates recorded history in Mexico. It was not until late in the nineteenth century, however, that knowledge of peyote and a new ceremonial use of it developed and spread widely among the demoralized reservation Indians of the United States. The modern peyote ceremony is essentially "a collective all-night vigil in which, through prayer, contemplation, and eating peyote, the peyotist receives a divine revelation."[11]

Peyotism was brought to the Cherokee-Delawares about 1885 by John Wilson, a part-Delaware from Anadarko. This man became a peyotist about 1880, and in subsequent years he converted many Delawares in the Anadarko and Dewey areas.[12] His influence spread far beyond tribal borders, however, and he has been called "the most significant figure in the diffusion of the religion in Oklahoma since 1885."[13] The John Wilson version of peyotism, variously termed Big Moon or Moonhead, is today the most important form of peyotism in number of adherents among the Cherokee-Delawares. The Anadarko Delawares also seem to favor a Big Moon variant. The more conservative, Little Moon version was introduced to the Cherokee-Delawares somewhat later than the Big Moon, and it still finds some adherents.[14] As far as being a causative agent in the decline and disappearance of traditional religion is concerned, peyote has played a negligible role. Many individuals practiced and believed in both religious creeds; Chief Elkhair,

[10] Petrullo, 1934.
[11] LaBarre, *et al.*, 1951, pp. 582-83.
[12] Petrullo, 1934, p. 83.
[13] *Ibid.*, pp. 78-79.
[14] *Ibid.*, p. 32; F.W.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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for instance, the man who brought the Little Moon version to the Cherokee-Delawares, was a prominent participant in the Big House Ceremony. Peyote did not diffuse to the Delawares at the expense of traditional religious forms; instead, the gap left in Delaware existence following the decline of the traditional ceremonies was filled by peyotism. Peyotism was a creed born and tailored to fit into the ideological life of much acculturated societies. It was, as Petrullo said, "the natural but final recourse of a subjugated people who fully realize the inadequacy of their material means to restore their former world-state."[15] Peyotism was, after all, spawned in its modern form by the Kiowas and Comanches, who were facing the same sort of adjustment as were the Delawares. Small wonder, then, that it replaced the dissipated ceremonies and rites of the Delawares. Petrullo listed twenty-three elements which were common to both peyotism and the old Delaware religion. He found fifteen important elements of the traditional religion lacking in peyotism and eight important elements in peyotism lacking in the traditional forms.[16] In short, the majority of important traits of peyotism were already elements of Delaware cosmology. None of the important elements of peyotism, lacking in Delaware belief, can be said to be antagonistic to traditional Delaware customs. There has never been a rejection of the old forms of religion. "Their faith in the old doctrines and religious rites has remained unshaken, and they would revive the entire structure if they could."[17] One of Petrullo's informants, James C. Webber, put it rather succinctly when he said: "The old Delaware religion is too heavy for us who are becoming few and weak. It is too difficult; Peyote is easy in comparison. Therefore we who are weak take up this new Indian religion."[18]

It is not suggested, however, that peyotism has ever entirely replaced the defunct religion of the Delawares. The performance of the Big House Ceremony during World War II and the observance of this ceremonial and others earlier in this century suggest this point of view. When the national and world situation was felt to be desperate, the Delawares turned to the old rites; peyotism was not sufficient. Peyotism was originally and is now considered to be more efficacious at an individual level in curing both mental and physical ailments than in curing or ameliorating broad social and economic ills. In sum, because of the dissipation of the Delawares, both numerically and as a social unit, the old religious ceremonials could no longer be held; the belief in them has not died. Peyotism gradually took the place of the old ceremonials because it was understood and fitted in with the old religious concepts.

It was expected that during the twenty-two years since Petrullo's study there would be some sort of alteration in Delaware peyotism. By and large this did not occur. It is thought that fewer Delawares are participants in peyotism today, but no comparative data are available. I have a first-hand acquaintance only with the Big Moon version of

[15] Petrullo, 1934, p. 1.
[16] *Ibid.*, pp. 188-70.
[17] *Ibid.*, p. 38.
[18] *Ibid.*, p. 78.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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peyotism, and in this there are no essential differences from those that Petrullo described. The Big Moon version is the more liberal and contains more Christian elements than does the Little Moon. Thus, if diffusion of Christian traits has continued, it more likely has occurred in the Big Moon version. In the Big Moon meeting which I attended, some features were present which were lacking in Petrullo's accounts, and some features were lacking which were present in Big Moon meetings attended by him. There were, however, no essential differences in these meetings separated by more than two decades. The meeting I attended might very well have taken place in 1930 instead of 1952. Since peyotism is essentially individualistic, and since there is no institutionalized priesthood or specific creed, minor differences in form and procedure are to be expected.[19] Petrullo found substantial, but inconsequential differences in the Big Moon meetings which he attended. He gave, for instance, eight variations of the Big Moon altar;[20] the altar I saw was not identical with any of these, yet the basic features of all the altars were similar.

Linguistic Assimilation

It has been said that of all culture traits language is the most persistent; this has been true for Delaware acculturation. During the earlier periods of acculturation there was virtually no replacement of language, although a few individuals learned English as a second language. In the Decadent Period there probably was an increase in the number of Delawares familiar with English. With permanent settlement in Oklahoma and the increased enrollment of Delaware children in government schools, this situation gradually altered. At the present time no Cherokee-Delaware, whatever his age or acculturative status, habitually speaks Delaware; all speak English. It is within the last generation that this change has taken place. I queried thirty-two persons and found that the native language of only three was English, and these three were thirty-five years old or younger. The youngest native speaker of Delaware was twenty-six. The native language of every person over thirty-five in the Cherokee-Delaware group was Delaware (or Munsi). Most of these people learned English when they were sent away to school. Present proficiency in Delaware varies tremendously, but there seems to be a correlation between age and proficiency (see Fig. 4). The people who speak Delaware well are usually older, but some of the younger people, because of individual inclination or association, speak it fluently. With the exception of three young persons, all people queried at least understood Delaware. Nine said they spoke Delaware well, five said their ability to speak Delaware was average, seven said it was poor, and eight understood but did not speak Delaware. These categories are admittedly imprecise, and the Delawares placed themselves on this linguistic scale, so that one person who said he spoke Delaware well may have been actually less fluent than another who said his ability was

[19] Petrullo, 1934, p. 149.
[20] *Ibid.*, Pls. 3-6.

2;Newcomb E-4,5 (1951-1952) 1956
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> ...there has arisen a sympathetic attitude of the various tribal units towards each other, with the result that intercourse between them has become common, and each other's rites are observed and studied with the avowed purpose of comparison. This constant interchanging of ideas is giving rise to a novel feeling for Indian nationality.... The Delawares are actively participating in this, and as a result not only have they assimilated many of the ideas emanating from other tribes, but have disseminated their own widely.[26]

Cherokee-Delaware Pan-Indianism

The peyote cult has always been essentially an intertribal phenomenon and this is true of Cherokee-Delaware peyotism today. It is probably the most important influence leading to Cherokee-Delaware participation in Pan-Indian society. Meetings are always held with Indians of other tribes, and in one which I attended, for example, besides the Delaware who sponsored it, a Winnebago (Roadman), Shawnees, and a Siouan couple from the Pine Ridge Reservation were present. Cherokee-Delaware peyotists frequently attend meetings with the Osages and Shawnees and also participate in meetings with Indians of many other tribes. Cherokee-Delaware peyotists feel closer and are more friendly to non-Delaware peyotists than they are to Delawares who are not members of the cult. Most Delaware peyotists belong to the more liberal and Christianized sect which has been termed Big Moon; a few are adherents of the Little Moon sect. Members of one sect ordinarily do not attend meetings of the other. The peyotists are ardent participants in, and often highly vocal advocates of, their cult, whereas the Protestants (who seem to be slightly more numerous) can be described as minimal or nominal members of their churches. The attractiveness of peyotism was especially apparent among the young men; none were encountered who were not peyotists. This may be partly explained by a feeling that peyotism is somewhat daring, and that it serves to announce to others that here is a person proud to be an Indian. The singing of peyote songs and the manufacture of peyote regalia are also pastimes of the young men. Membership in Protestant churches is not considered daring, it does not single out a member from his fellows, and it does not provide him with a pastime.

Brant has said that the peyote cult in southwestern Oklahoma "constitutes the religious symbol of what might be called a Pan-Indian movement."[36] LaBarre has summed up the Pan-Indian aspect of peyotism, and his remarks are also applicable to the Cherokee-Delawares: "The Indians feel, perhaps rightly, that peyotism is their last strong link with the aboriginal past, which others are trying to destroy. Hence it has contributed greatly to the sense of community and morale of the Indian groups in Oklahoma."[37]

Many social activities of the Cherokee-Delawares are expressions of

[26] Petrullo, 1934, p. 38.
[36] Brant, 1950, p. 222.
[37] LaBarre, 1938, p. 166.

776 778 power. Besides its specific name, the term, "our Grandfather," is applied ceremonially to fire. Rocks are also known as "our Grandfathers." Water is regarded as a powerful spiritual force and is known as "our Mother."

757 Some cases of illness can be cured in one treatment while in others it is necessary to hold several meetings in the sweat lodge. The latter is known by a term meaning "temporary sweating." New stones are secured for each treatment. It is considered advisable to let one or more days elapse between treatments, as determined by the physical condition of the patient. The latter is occasionally massaged by the doctor, who first warms his hands upon a hot stone before rubbing the affected area. Often it is necessary also for the healer to [755] blow hot or cold air upon the patient. For the first the shaman's breath is warmed by means of a hot drink. In Delaware terminology this is known as "warm breath." In case of fever or exhaustion the "cooling breath" is used. One doctor had so much supernatural power in this respect that his breath would cause a swelling wherever it struck the body. It was therefore necessary for him to exercise great care in this type of treatment to avoid bringing undue discomfort to the patient.

795 515 Following the ritual performance in one of the Delaware peyote cults, it is customary at the present time for the participants, both men and women, to go into the sweat house (Petrullo, 1934, p. 95). This usually occurs before sunrise. The sweat house for this assemblage accommodates about twenty persons. The equipment is precisely the same as for the performance previously described, but there is no ritual connected with this performance. Men and women enter together and drink hot water to induce perspiration. In case of nausea, they chew "Osage tobacco" (wild sage) and swallow the juice. This plant, according to my informant, has a very strong taste together with astringent qualities. The sweating period is followed by a plunge.[81]

[81] This is comparable to the semi-social aspect of the rite as described by Heckewelder, *op. cit.*, pp. 225-226. "These sweat ovens are generally at some distance from an Indian village where wood and water are always at hand. The best order is preserved at those places. The women have their separate oven in a different direction from that of the men, and are subjected to the same rules. The men generally sweat themselves once and sometimes twice a week; the women have no fixed day for this exercise, nor do they use it as often as the men." He also states: ". . . A cryer goes his rounds calling *pimook*, 'go to sweat.' Everyone brings his small kettle which is filled for him with the potion which at the same time serves him as a medicine, promotes profuse perspiration, quenches his thirst."

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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535 Social dances not restricted to Delaware are held whenever a person who can afford to play host feels the urge to do so.
796 Gatherings with a religious motive may be said to have practically ceased. The Doll Dance which was a family responsibility has not been held since 1929. The Big House Ceremony has not been held since 1924, and since the ceremonial structure has been demolished, there is dim possibility that it will be revived. There are still a score or so who have participated in the Big House, but some of them will make no move toward revival. The hereditary leader of the Wolf clan in the Big House, who is probably the staunchest adherent of the ceremony, is now a leader
●[795] of a peyote group in which several tribes are represented. The most tangible evidence of a community spirit still extant among
[764] the Delaware is the use of a Delaware cemetery.

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The Peyote Cult of the Delaware Indians

by WILLIAM W. NEWCOMB, JR.

Texas Memorial Museum

Peyote (*Lophophora williamsii*) is a spineless, carrot-shaped, grayish-green cactus, which in this country grows primarily in the lower Rio Grande Valley. When eaten, either green, dried, or drunk as tea, peyote has the property of heightening or sharpening the perception of colors, forms, and sounds, or inducing visual and/or auditory hallucinations. The extent to which a person has or does not have hallucinations depends upon his physical and psychological state, the amount and type of peyote ingested, and perhaps other factors. Peyote is not a narcotic in that "It does not excite, stupefy, or produce muscular incoordination; there is no hangover; and the habitual user does not develop any increased tolerance or dependence" (La Barre, *et al.*, 1951: 582).

A knowledge of the properties of peyote and its utilization in religious ceremonies antedates recorded history in Mexico. It was not until late in the nineteenth century, however, that knowledge and a new ceremonial use of peyote developed and spread widely among the demoralized reservation Indians of the United States. The peyote cult was attractive to many of these Indians because it could easily replace outmoded or discarded religious rites, and because it was a continuing, if mild, rejection of elements of the dominant civilization. The new cult diffused to the Delaware Indians of northeastern Oklahoma about 1885, through the agency of John Wilson, a Caddo-Delaware from Anadarko in western Oklahoma (Petrullo, 1934: 83; La Barre, 1938: 109–123). This man had become a peyotist about 1880, and in subsequent years he converted many Delawares and other Indians in Oklahoma. John Wilson's version of peyotism, termed Big Moon or Moonhead, is today the most popular form of the cult among the main body of Delawares in northeastern Oklahoma. A less Christianized and less all-embracing religious cult called Little Moon was introduced somewhat later and has never attracted as many followers. I was unable to attend a Little Moon meeting; what follows pertains only to the Big Moon ceremony.

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My purposes in this article are to describe a fairly typical peyote meeting of the Delawares which I attended in the summer of 1952, and to discuss the changes which have occurred in this cult since 1930 when Petrullo made his study of Delaware peyotism (Petrullo, 1934).

THE BIG MOON PEYOTE CEREMONY

The Big Moon ceremonies of the Delawares are normally held in canvas covered tepees, generally in the cooler months of the year, but occasionally in hot weather. The reason for their seasonal nature is said to be in the interests of comfort; a tepee with a fire burning in it on a hot Oklahoma night is almost unbearable. Big Moon ceremonies are held on Saturday nights and last until Sunday noon. The peyote meeting I am about to describe was held on the farm of a Delaware, about ten miles east of the small town of Dewey, Washington County, Oklahoma. A tepee, about twenty feet in diameter, had been erected a few steps from the back door of the farm house. A bale of hay had been scattered about near the inside walls of the tepee; tarpaulins and quilts had then been spread over the hay, upon which the participants were to sit. In the center of the tepee was an oval depression, or fireplace, excavated to a depth of about six inches (Fig. 1). Extending from the fireplace were twelve lines or rays, made by scoring the hard ground to a depth of about half an inch. Within the fireplace, also scored in the earth, was a cross and at the intersection of its arms a heart-shaped figure. The fire, which was built over this heart, was made of twelve sticks interlaced in a V-shaped pattern with the open end towards the tepee entrance.

Just east of the fire, and lying along the long axis of the cross, was a stick of soft wood. One end was kept smoldering during the ceremony and was used to light corn husk-Bull Durham cigarettes. At the east end of the fireplace was a raised circular mound of hard packed earth. On the center of this mound, symbolic of the Sun, another heart had been scratched. On the opposite, or west side of the fireplace was the altar. This was an oblong, slightly raised, earthen area, on which was placed the ritual paraphernalia. In its center on a beaded cloth was a large, green peyote, or "Father Peyote." Just behind it a feathered and beaded peyote staff had been thrust into the ground. On the altar to the south of these objects was a glass bowl of green peyote, a kettle of peyote tea, and a leather bag of dried peyote buttons. To the north of "Father Peyote" on the altar was the drum used to accompany the singers (an old fashioned cast iron kettle, partly water-filled, and covered with a tightly drawn, wet, buckskin cover), and a bunch of sage.

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sage. The fireplace and the altar had been made many years previously, showing much use by being smooth and hard packed.

While the man who was to tend the fire and guard the door (fire-chief) and several helpers were arranging the tepee, several women were preparing peyote in the farmhouse kitchen. Peyote tea was made by chopping up dried peyote buttons and dropping them in boiling water. After steeping for a few minutes the tea was strained. Green peyote was prepared by peeling off the leathery skin, only the tops being left intact. A little before ten o'clock the fire-chief lit the fire in the tepee with flint and steel. As soon as he came out of the tepee the leader (or road-chief) entered, followed by the drum-chief, the fourteen other participants, and finally the fire-chief. This meeting was somewhat atypical in the small number of participants; attendance usually averaged about twenty-five. After everyone was seated the drum-chief, a Sioux from the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota, announced that several people had prayers and announcements to make. The road-chief, a Winnebago, then prayed in his own language. As translated next day, this prayer welcomed the participants and asked for divine assistance in the conduct of the meeting. This meeting had been initiated by a Delaware woman who was ill (No. 14 in Fig. 1), and she stood up and thanked everyone for coming and assisting her in regaining her health. Another Delaware (No. 3 in Fig. 1) then said a few words, principally to the effect that the "Native American Church" was not "idolatry" and that he was glad to welcome a white couple (the writer and his wife) to a meeting "to see what it really was like."

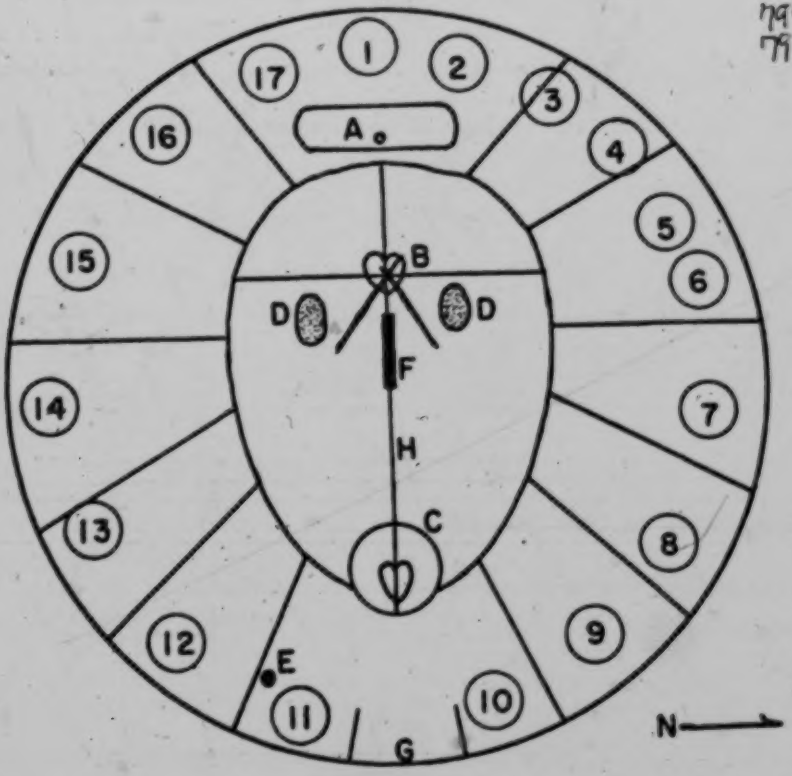
The road-chief then prayed again in Winnebago. When this prayer was concluded, he passed the peyote staff and a bunch of sage to the man on his left, who passed it on in a clockwise direction until it had

[text continues on p. 206]

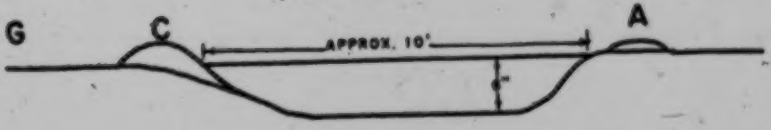
(Explanation of Figure 1)

A. Altar
B. Fire. To some peyotists the heart represents the soul of the Fire Spirits.
C. Sun Mound. The heart symbolizes the soul of the Sun.
D. Ash Piles. Petrullo noted that in some versions of the rite these symbolize the lungs of Christ. I could not confirm this.
E. Water bucket and dipper.
F. Smoldering stick used to light cigarettes.
G. Tepee entrance.
H. Cross. Long axis symbolizes peyote road.
1. Road-chief, Winnebago
2. Delaware man
3. Delaware man
4. Shawnee man
5. Shawnee woman (4's wife)
6. Delaware man
7. Ego
8. Ego's wife
9. Sioux man
10. Sioux woman (9's wife)
11. Fire-chief, Delaware
12. Delaware man
13. Delaware man
14. Delaware sponsor
15. Winnebago woman (16's wife)
16. Winnebago man
17. Drum-chief, Sioux

Figure 1



TOP VIEW



ELEVATION

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made a full circuit of the tepee. Many of the participants pressed the sage lightly to various parts of their bodies before passing it along. The road-chief then passed corn husks and Bull Durham tobacco in the same direction, everyone rolling a cigarette. These cigarettes were lit from the smoldering stick which was kept in readiness to the east of the fire. After the cigarettes had been smoked in silence, they were collected by the fire-chief. The butts were placed on the altar. Peyote was then passed in the same clockwise fashion; the road-chief directed that four buttons be taken, either two dried and two green, or four of a kind. Peyote tea was also passed, some individuals smearing their body, face, and hair with the tea, as well as drinking it.

When the peyote had completed the clockwise circuit, and as the participants were going through the ordeal of eating it, the road-chief prayed. He then began the opening song, holding a gourd rattle in his right hand and the peyote staff in his left, the drum-chief accompanying him on the drum. After four songs were sung the road-chief passed the staff and gourd rattle to the man on his left, accepted the drum from the drum-chief, and drummed for the man on his left, who sang four songs. After each set of four songs, the gourd rattle and staff were passed in a clockwise direction to the next man who sang a set of four songs, the previous singer becoming the drummer. The singing and drum accompaniment continued until midnight. Between sets of songs some individuals asked for peyote and others asked for water. The water was kept by the fire-chief's side in an ordinary bucket. Occasionally someone would leave the tepee, first getting permission from the road-chief. On re-entering, which was only permissible between sets of songs, the fire-chief cleansed and purified these people by brushing them from the head and shoulders down the arms to the fingers with an eagle feather fan. They then went around the north side of the fire to the altar, where they touched "Father Peyote," and the road-chief brushed them in a similar manner with another eagle feather fan. Then they returned to their places.

About midnight the fire-chief raked the ashes from the fire for the first time. He did this by moving the burning sticks eastward, taking a special peeled stick about six feet long and smoothing out the embers. After they were smoothed, another stick, somewhat longer than the first, was used to divide the ashes along the long axis of the cross, the ashes being formed into two neat piles on either side of the fire. After this was accomplished the fire was returned to its original position, built up, and the whole depression was swept from west to east

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with an ordinary kitchen broom. After midnight the ashes were removed from the fire whenever a considerable quantity had accumulated.

The road-chief prayed, peyote was passed, and the songs began again. The throb of the drum and the songs were interrupted only occasionally; someone would ask for peyote, a person would mumble, and once one of the Winnebagos (No. 16, Fig. 1) asked the road-chief for permission to attempt a cure of his wife's swollen feet. This request was granted. The Winnebago walked around the fireplace and altar in a clockwise direction and cedar needles were thrown on the fire. He "caught" the smoke in a feather and dipped it into a cup of water which he had in readiness. He then brushed the feather over the woman's legs, concentrating on her feet. He drew a faintly glowing ember from the fire, took the ash into his mouth, and spit the ash into the ash pile nearest him. He then vigorously sucked the patient's feet.

Also early in the morning the Delaware sponsor asked the road-chief if she could pray for herself and her family. He assented. Standing next to the altar, she smoked a corn husk cigarette and, with tears streaming down her cheeks, related first in English and then in Delaware the story of her illness, her unhappiness, and her desire for the good health of her family. A little later a woman (No. 10 in Fig. 1) asked if she might be allowed to sing. Permission being given, she sang the customary four songs, her husband drumming for her.

At dawn the road-chief announced that the drum was going around for the last time. Following this last round the sponsor, her husband and young daughter (who had awakened and come into the tepee) stood up. The road-chief cast cedar needles upon the fire and brushed the entire bodies of the family with his eagle feather fan in the customary way. He then prayed. After they had resumed their seats the road-chief prayed again, following which candy and crackers were passed. The meeting was closed by the assemblage reciting the Lord's Prayer. The fire-chief rose and went around the tepee in the clockwise direction shaking everyone's hand and congratulating them on a successful meeting. The person on his left followed him in a like manner, and so on until everybody had shaken hands with everyone else and the tepee was emptied. Coffee was made and the participants relaxed in the yard and talked until the noon meal, after which the group dispersed.

It is difficult, perhaps impossible, to convey the attitude of peyotists and the atmosphere of a peyote meeting by means of a description of what happens during the course of the night. Perhaps the general

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attitude is best summed up as one of intense emotion and reverence. It could hardly be otherwise, since any individual may come face to face with supernatural powers during the course of the ceremony. Even if he does not, he has come to the ceremony in the sincere belief that he can and will get help in solving the most serious of life's problems. This precludes a profane attitude. I can only echo Petrullo (1934: 88) who said that the atmosphere of the ceremony was ". . . accompanied by the deepest feeling of reverence and awe and peace that it has been my lot to have witnessed either among primitive people or Christian groups engaged in worshipping their God."

Peyote is of course the focal point of the peyote meeting, but peyote itself is not worshipped. Informants stress this again and again, probably because they have so frequently been attacked by Whites and Christian Indians on this point. Peyote is both a symbol of the supernatural forces being worshipped and a sacrament. For the Delaware peyotist it is a means of establishing contact with the supernatural world and of securing a personally satisfactory working relationship with the spirit forces. While Peyote is the most important supernatural force present, it is not the only one. The spiritual forces of Sun, Moon, Fire, and others are there. Their importance and even their existence depends upon individual interpretation (Fig. 1).

The outward emphasis of Delaware peyote meetings is upon curing. The stated purpose of the meeting I have described was to assist in the cure of the sponsor, and there was a shamanistic curing rite performed during the course of the evening. It should also be pointed out that many peyotists are eager to relate how peyote has cured them of various diseases. It would be a mistake, however, to regard Big Moon peyotism as merely a curing rite, or even to think of it as primarily so. Peyote is regarded as a spirit force through which men can approach the omnipotent supernatural power or powers. Informants sometimes equate peyote with Jesus and say that White men use the "Jesus road to God" while the "Indian takes the Peyote Road."

BIG MOON PEYOTISM—THEN AND NOW

Unfortunately Petrullo did not attend a Big Moon meeting with the Delawares near Dewey, but did participate in a Big Moon meeting of the Delawares at Anadarko. Normally there are many minor divergencies between meetings and tepee arrangements because there is no priesthood or dogmatic creed. As Petrullo (1934: 31) said, "A religion that insists that each individual can learn its doctrines only through personal experience with its gods must necessarily exist in a variable

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795

form." Despite the differences in locale and in the inherent variability of the cult, there is a surprising correspondence between the Big Moon meeting of 1930 in Anadarko and the one held in 1952 near Dewey. The similarity between the arrangement of the tepee I have described and the eight variants of the Big Moon altar and tepee which Petrullo diagrams is striking; the same is true of the conduct of the meetings. The principal differences between the meetings are presented in Table I (Petrullo, 1934: 87–95). The differences are minor; for the most part they are well within the range of variation of the cult, and of course in most respects the meetings are similar or identical. The principal change seems to be that women are allowed a much greater part in the

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[562]

TABLE I

Differences in Big Moon Peyotism
1930 and 1952.

1930—Anadarko	1952—Dewey
1. Quiet period in afternoon prior to ceremony.	1. Participants gather just before ceremony.
2. Road-chief seated people; women on south.	2. Sit where you like. Women seated on north and south.
3. Oil lamp near altar.	3. No light other than fire.
4. Personal paraphernalia permitted after midnight.	4. No personal paraphernalia in evidence at any time.
5. Crucifix on altar.	5. No crucifix.
6. Only road-chief smoked Indian tobacco cigarette to open meeting.	6. Everybody smokes corn husk-Bull Durham cigarette.
7. Women given only the peyote tea.	7. Women eat green or dried peyote; men drink tea.
8. "Fanning" with eagle-feather fan after sets of songs.	8. Absent.
9. Drum-chief sang after road-chiefs' opening song.	9. Drum-chief is last to sing; clockwise circuit followed without exception.
10. Women did not sing.	10. Woman sang, but permission had to be given by road-chief.
11. No midnight intermission.	11. Midnight intermission.
12. No shamanistic curing (possibly permitted).	12. Winnebago performed cure on wife.
13. At dawn road-chief sang "morning water-song"; each person drank water.	13. Negative.
14. Filed outside, washed faces, faced rising sun, returned to tepee, etc.	14. Meeting closed with Lord's Prayer.
15. No breakfast.	15. Breakfast.
16. Candy, etc., distributed at noon meal.	16. Candy passed before leaving tepee.

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meeting than they were two decades ago. In this respect peyotists seem to be merely following the general trend of White society.

Big Moon peyotism diffused to the Delawares as a substitute for an outmoded religious system, but its replacement of the traditional religion has been slow and incomplete. The peyote cult is still regarded by many Delawares as a somewhat inferior replacement for the traditional ceremonies. What is more, during World War II the Big House Ceremony, the major, annual religious rite of the Delawares, was revived and held three times, albeit in abbreviated form. The Delawares would continue the old rites today, but because of expense, cultural decay, and other factors, they have been finally abandoned. It is doubtful whether the traditional rites, even if abbreviated and vestigial, can ever again be held. Petrullo (1934: 175) underestimated their strength when he said more than two decades ago that they were "No longer able to perform the ancient ceremonies. . . ." Neither Petrullo nor I found out what proportion of the Delawares were peyotists, Christians, or adherents to the old religion, so that changes in religious affiliation are largely a matter of conjecture. It is known, however, that many of the proponents of the abandoned religion have become peyotists, but at least a few have become Christians. In short, the peyote cult has never completely replaced the traditional religion, nor has it gained universal approval. The most that can be said by way of comparison is that the Big Moon cult was a covert, lively, and popular one in the thirties; it remains so today.

Probably the greatest changes which have occurred in Delaware Big Moon peyotism within the past twenty-five years have been in the reasons why people are drawn to it. There is not space here to discuss this topic in detail, but it should be pointed out that the peyote cult originally diffused to the Delawares, and was still attractive to them in the early thirties because:

> . . it teaches acceptance of the new world, and makes possible an attitude of resignation in the face of the probable disappearance of the Indian groups as distinct peoples, culturally and racially, by insisting on the necessity of emancipation from mundane aspirations. . . . [The peyote cult] is the natural but final recourse of a subjugated people who fully realize the inadequacy of their material means to restore their former world-state (Petrullo, 1934: 1).

The appeal of modern peyotism is, at least in part, of a different nature. Briefly, the Delawares are no longer a cohesive cultural or social entity; they are geographically scattered and socially atomized. There is no tribal activity which draws them together as Delawares, and every year there are fewer distinctive customs which set them apart from

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other people. Yet the individual Delaware is not an ordinary American; he is thought of by the public as an Indian, and he thinks of himself as an Indian. One way in which he can express this Indianness and feel that he is a part of a larger group is to be a peyotist. The peyote cult gives him an opportunity to participate in ceremonies with others who occupy a similar position in American life, and it provides him with an opportunity to express his Indian cultural heritage, however slight it may be. In the meeting just described there were Winnebagos, Sioux, and Shawnees, in addition to the Delawares. This is normal for a Delaware peyote meeting; in fact, their meetings always include members of other tribes. They also frequently attend meetings with the Osage, Quapaw, and others. In short, in earlier times the Delaware Big Moon peyote cult was a religious expression of assimilation and an attempt to preserve something from the shattered cultural past. Today it functions more as a religious symbol of the Indian minority and a rallying point for what has been termed a Pan-Indian society (Newcomb, 1955).

SUMMARY

The arrangement of the tepee and the conduct of Delaware Big Moon peyote meetings has remained essentially constant since 1930. Over this span of time the Big Moon cult has not succeeded in completely replacing the traditional religion, nor has it apparently become any more popular. Probably the greatest changes have occurred in the reasons for the cults' appeal to the Delawares. The modern attractions of the peyote cult are particularly strong in its aspects as an *Indian* ceremony and as a rallying point for Pan-Indianism, rather than in the solace it offers to "a subjugated people."

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Small buttons and
531 brooches ranging from ½ to ¾ of an inch
[291] in diameter were used in decorating the capes on women's over-waists. These capes were made to fall over the shoulders covering the upper arm. The silver buttons and brooches were arranged in various patterns sometimes covering the entire cape or collar. Several very old specimens are now extant in private and museum collections.

531 The use of Peyote[1] for ceremonial and
●795 medicinal purposes was introduced among
[298 the Delawares about 1880. With the
177] growth of this religious creed a new

[P.26, A]

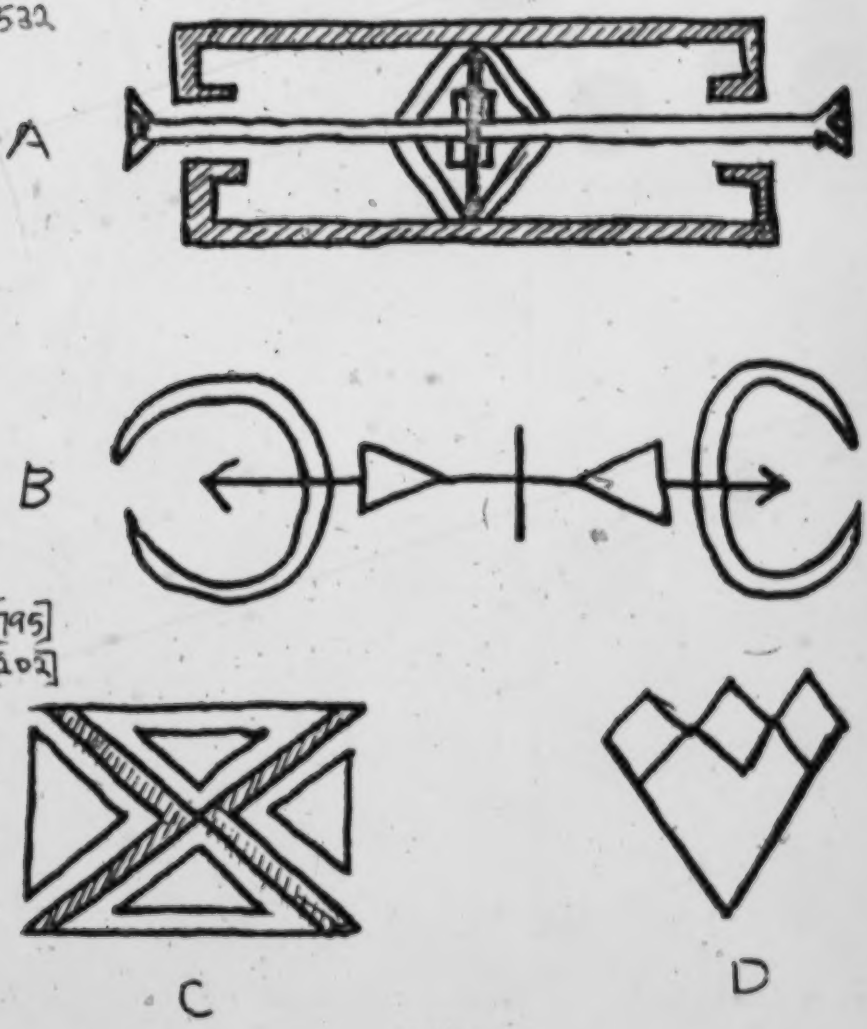
531
795

sybmolism in art motifs has developed among its followers. Ceremonial wands, prayer staffs and feather fans as well as headbands, arm bands, belts and garters bear geometric figures done in beads (woven or sewed on) symbolizing the Peyote or cactus "button," mind, sky, water, fire and sun's rays. (Typical Peyote designs in plate 1.)

[278] (1) A small species of cactus (**Lophophora Williamsii**) used for ceremonial and religious purposes by certain groups in all tribes between the Rocky Mountains and the Gulf of Mexico, from the Arkansas River southward almost to the City of Mexico. (Bureau of American Ethnology, Bull. 30, **Handbook of American Indians**, Washington, 1910.)

[P. 26, B]

532



[195]
[202]

PLATE 2

A, B—Old designs in woven beadwork representing "clasps."
C—Peyote ceremony design representing "to be in good associations."
D—Meaning "Safe now, danger is past."

[P.28]

14: Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR 13 Northern Paiute
Delaware NM7 ●
Winnebago NP12
Comanche NO6

C
D
W
171
127
128
● 795

APPENDIX II. PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST

The distribution list in this section was first devised upon the basis of experience with Ute peyotism and a study of published literature on the peyote cult generally.[*] The published accounts of the cult, however, did not contain the detailed information necessary to answer all the points raised, and so a blank copy of the list and a request to fill it out were sent to several ethnographers known to have attended peyote meetings. The response was most gratifying, time and knowledge being given freely. The locations of the tribes represented in the element list are indicated on map 2.

SYMBOLS USED IN THE ELEMENT LIST

+	Element present	( )	Exactness of data doubtful
—	Element absent	B	Recent development
Blank	Information lacking	*	Indicates that a note to the element is appended at the end of the list

SOURCES AND COLUMN ABBREVIATIONS

The sources for the data in both the list and the notes to the list, and the abbreviations at the heads of columns, are as follows:

13 T: Composite picture of cult of thirteen tribes visited by La Barre and Schultes, mostly in Oklahoma (Kickapoo, Kiowa, Quapaw, Shawnee, Wichita, Caddo, Comanche, Delaware, Osage, Oto, Pawnee, Ponca, Southern Cheyenne). Richard Evans Schultes, Peyote and Plants used in the Peyote Ceremony, HU-BML 4:127–152, 1937, with additions made on list by La Barre, 1938.

000 K-A: Kiowa-Apache. List filled in and notes supplied by J. Gilbert McAllister from information obtained during ethnographic field work performed 1933–1934 (eleven months) under the sponsorship of the University of Chicago.

Kio: Kiowa. List filled in and notes supplied by Weston La Barre. When returning the list La Barre wrote, "I believe that in peyotism tribal affiliation in this inter-tribal religion is far less important than leadership, i.e., what the particular leader's 'way' is, and from what leader he got his meeting." La Barre did field work in Oklahoma under the auspices of the Laboratory of Anthropology (1935), Yale University, and the American Museum of Natural History.

C
127
128
795
Com: Comanche in Oklahoma. List filled in and notes supplied by E. Adamson Hoebel.

Kic: Kickapoo in the vicinity of McLoud, Oklahoma. List filled in and notes supplied by John A. Noon, who attended a meeting during the summer of 1932. The Kickapoo leaders recognized that they "followed the Kiowa-Comanche 'way'."

Ab S: Absentee Shawnee of central Oklahoma. List filled in and notes supplied by Erminie W. Voegelin. Meeting attended in 1933. Voegelin reports three forms of the cult among the Absentee: (1) The Kiowa-Comanche form (the form which my list records); said to have been introduced about 1900 from the Kickapoo, who learned it from the Comanche; is the most popular form. (2) Caddo-Delaware variant of the "Wilson way," conducted by Ernest Spybuck. (3) Yuchi "way," conducted by Panther; considered by Voegelin's informants to be distinct from the Kiowa-Comanche version, yet probably only slightly variant. Membership in these forms of the cult does not interfere with participation in older Shawnee religious beliefs and ceremonies. The "Cherokee" or "Loyal" Shawnee in northeastern Oklahoma, however, take peyote "according to the Bible way . . . like those Iowaya," which is La Barre's Oto "Christianized" version, and this does teach complete withdrawal from older native ceremonies.

D
127
128
795
De 1: Kiowa-Comanche type cult among the Delaware. List filled in by James C. Webber (a Delaware informant recommended by Dr. Frank Speck) and supplemented by Petrullo's published account, also principally from Webber.

De 2: "Wilson way" among the Delaware (La Barre's Caddo-Delaware). Abstracted from Petrullo's book, with additional notes supplied by James C. Webber. The list does not adequately bring out the degree of divergence which the cult has attained, which could only be done by devising a list based on the "Wilson way." The altar is greatly changed from the Kiowa-Comanche prototype and at times becomes extremely elaborate (see Petrullo, pls. 3–6).

W
127
128
795
Win: Winnebago of Nebraska. This is apparently a variant of the "Wilson way," although Alexis A. Praus, who filled in the list and supplied the notes, did not designate it as such. Praus attended

[*] Data for the Ute and Washo–Northern Paiute lists obtained in the field, and additional data on the cults of the Tarahumara, Tepehuan, Lipan Apache, Mescalero Apache, Kiowa, Oto, Delaware, Omaha, Iowa, Arapaho, Winnebago, and Taos from published literature, are part of my Ute Peyotism which has been accepted for publication by Anthropos.

Crow NR 20
Delaware NM7 ●
Winnebago NP12

Stewart: Washo-Northern Paiute Peyotism

PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST

Element	Occurrence																			
	LTT	K-J	Kio	Cum	Kit	Sav	Dri	Dri	Wh	Nav	O-I	O-I	Was	Pio	Ow	Ft-W	Tmc			
1. Staff of authority of leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
2. "Cane" 3-5 feet long	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+			
3. Tufts of hair at top	+	•+	+	+	+	•+	•+		•–	+	+	•+	+	+	–	–	+			
4. *Artemisia* tied near top or held along with cane	+	+	+	+	–	•+	–	+	–	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+			
5. Passed around	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+			
6. Always passed between drum and altar	+	(+)	+		(–)	+						(+)	(+)	+	+	+	+			
7. Person holding staff leads singing	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
8. Rattle of leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
9. Gourd	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
10. Decorated	+	+	•+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
11. Handle beaded	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
12. Tufts of hair on top	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+			
13. Rattle passed around	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+			
14. Person singing shakes rattle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
15. Individual rattle also used	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+			
16. Only after midnight	+		+	+	–	–	+	•–	–	–	–	+	•+	+	–	+	+			
17. To accompany singer holding staff			+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	•+	+	–	+	+			
18. Fan of leader (eagle tail feathers)	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	–	+	+			
19. Each feather tied separately	+	+	+	+	(–)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
20. Binding decorated		+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
21. Passed around	+		–	+	(–)	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
22. Held with staff while singing	+		•+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
23. Individual fans also used	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
24. Only after midnight	+		+	–	(+)	–	+	•–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+			
25. All fans used to draw smoke over head, body	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+			
26. Eagle-wingbone whistle of leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	+			
27. Used at special midnight ritual	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	•+	–	+			
28. At special morning ritual	+	+	+	+	(+)	+		–	–	–	+	+	+	+	•+	–	+			
29. Placed near altar in front of leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+			
30. Only leader uses whistle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+			

For Notes to Element List see p. 114.

(Continued on next page)

C
D
W
171
795 ●
796
[534]

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute
Comanche No6
Delaware NM7 ●
C
D
171
● 795
796
534
576

PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST—(*Continued*)

Element	Occurrence																								
	Tsm.	Ara.	Cha.	Cah.	Cre.	Dak.	Ess.	Fox.	Hid.	Kio.	Kio.	Mes.	Oka.	Pai.	Pon.	Sar.	Sha.	Ute.	Wic.	Win.	Wis.	Wyo.	Yak.	Yan.	Yur.
31. Paraphernalia satchel	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
32. Cloth upon which to place paraphernalia	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
33. Drum of leader (or chief drummer)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
34. Water drum	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
35. Iron kettle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
36. Pottery jar	+																								
37. Charcoal in water	+	+	+	+	+	+	(-)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
38. Head of deerskin	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
39. Skin tied on before meeting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
40. 7 stones or sticks used in tie	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
41. 7 stones represent days																									
42. Rope forms star on bottom of drum	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
43. Star significant	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
44. Skin removed at end of meeting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
45. Only one drum used	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
46. Drumstick of leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
47. Individual drumsticks also used	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
48. Only after midnight	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
49. Drum and drumstick passed around	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
50. Separate drummer accompanies singer	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
51. Drummer usually at right of singer	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
52. Only men drum	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
53. Bag of cedar (juniper) leaves of leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
54. Cedar sprinkled on fire	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
55. Usually by cedarman	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
56. Only one bag of cedar used	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
57. Tobacco furnished by leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
58. Rolled in maize husks	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
59. In oak leaves	+			+			(+)																		
60. In paper																									

14: Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute
Comanche N06
Delaware NM7 ●

Element	Occurrence																				
	TU	PA	Ka	Co	Ha	SAV	Del	Dra	Wa	Oto	LO	CO	WRA	Gu	Ch	Ar	Tew				
61. Only leader's tobacco used	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+				
62. Tobacco lacking from ritual	•(+)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–					
63. Peyote furnished by leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•–	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+				
64. "Chief peyote," an extra large "button"	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+				
•65. Decorated with white lines	–	–	–		(–)		–	–	–	–	–	–	•–	–	–	–					
66. Placed on altar in front of leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
67. Is not eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+				
68. *Artemisia* leaves under "chief peyote"	+	+	+	+	(–)	+	+			+	+	+	+	+							
69. Form cross	+	•+	(+)	+		+	+			+	+	+	•+	+							
70. Peyote for eating passed around	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
71. Only leader's used until after midnight		•+	+		(+)	•–	+	•+	–		+	+	•–	+	•(+)	•–					
72. Leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
73. Called chief or peyote chief	+	+	•+	+	(+)	•+	•+	•+		+	+	+	•+	+	•	+					
74. Sits west of altar or shrine or fire	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+					
75. Has complete charge of meeting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+					
76. Assistants	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+				
77. 2 assistants		+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–					
78. 3 assistants	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	+				
79. 4 or more assistants		–	•–	–	–	+	+	•+	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	–					
80. Chief drummer	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
81. Sits at leader's right	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+					
82. Drums for leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+					
83. Drums for each singer in turn	–	–	–	–	–	–		•+	•–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–					
84. Cedarman or cedar chief	+	–	+	+	+	•+	+	–	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+					
85. Sits at leader's left	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	•–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+					
86. Sprinkles cedar leaves on fire	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+					
87. Offers prayers at specified times	+	–	+	–	(–)	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+					
88. Fire chief or fire tender	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+					
89. Sits at north side of entrance	+	•+	+	+	+		+	•+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+					
90. Starts fire before meeting	+	+	+	+		+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+					

(Continued on next page)

C D 171 P45 no. 796 [E72]

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute
Comanche NO6
Crow NQ20
Delaware NM7
Winnebago NP12
Co
Cr
D
W
171
.T45
T96
F783]
T78

Element	Occurrence																				
	Tew	Tsa	Hop	Zun	Cha	Isl	Pic	Ara	Kia	Zia	Jem	Sia	Aco	Laguna	Isl	Sou	Tan	Hop	Zun	Cha	Isl
91. Replenishes fire	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
92. Cleans up and arranges ashes	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
93. Conducts people in and out	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
94. All baths before attending meeting	+	+	+	–																	
95. Meeting place arranged (house, hogan, tipi)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
96. In open																					
97. Entrance or opening toward east	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
98. Altar is (crescent) mound of earth	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
99. Concave side toward east	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
100. Line on top of moon	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
101. Fire east of leader's place	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
102. East of moon	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
103. Sticks placed to form right angle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
104. Old methods used to start fire		–																			
105. 4 sticks on fire																					
106. Special fire stick (poker)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
107. Worshippers congregate outside	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
108. Indian dress, moccasins, etc., preferred	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
109. Meeting starts in evening	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
110. Leader prays before entering meeting	+	+	+	+																	
111. Order of entrance: chief first	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
112. Chief drummer second		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
113. Cedarman third		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
114. Men (before women and children)		–	+	+	+																
115. Women and children allowed	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
116. Fire chief last	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
117. Seating: leader west of altar or shrine	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
118. Men, either side, near leader	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
119. Women, either side, near entrance		–																			
120. Separation of men and women		–	–	+	(–)	–															

Comanche ND6
Crow NQ10
Delaware NM7 ●
Winnebago NP2

Stewart: Wasko–Northern Paiute Peyotism

| Element | Occurrence | | |

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute
Comanche NO6
Delaware NM7

PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST—(*Continued*)

Element	Occurrence																			
	UT	K-A	Kio	Com	Kio	Ari	Do 1	Do 2	Wic	Ko C	Cr 1	Cr 2	Wic	Do	Com	Ara	Tan			
151. 4 times	+		+	–		+				–	° –	+	+	+		+				
152. Whistle placed near altar	+		+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	° +	+	+	+	+	–	+			
153. Leader starts singing, 4 songs	+	+	+	+		+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
154. Sings fixed opening song	+	+	+			+	+	+		–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
155. Holds staff in front of him	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
156. Another beats drum	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
157. Chief drummer beats drum	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
158. Drum, rattle, etc., passed round clockwise	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
159. Each man sings 4 songs	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
160. Each man drums for 4 songs of man to his left	+		+	+		+	+	° +	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
161. Rule against women singing	+	° –	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	–	+	+	° –	+	–	° +	+	+			
162. Drumming, singing all night (except for midnight water call)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
163. Midnight water call and recess	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	° –	+	+	+	+	+	+	° +	+	+			
164. Leader recalls drum, staff, etc.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	° +	+	+	+	+	+	+			
165. Fire chief forms ashes into crescent	+	+	+	+	+		° +	° –	° +	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
166. Fire replenished	+	+	+	+	+		+		+	+	+	(+)	(+)	+	+	+	+			
167. 4 sticks added							–						–							
168. Altar and floor carefully cleaned by fire chief	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
169. Cedar sprinkled on fire	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	° +	+	+	+	° +	+	+	+	+	+			
170. Whistle blown by leader	+		+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+		+	+			
171. 4 times	+		+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+		+	+			
172. Leader sings fixed water song	+	+	+			+	+	° –			+	+	+	+		+	+			
173. Bucket of water brought in by fire chief	+	+	+	° +	+	+	+	–	+	° +	+	+	–	+		+	+			
174. By women		–	–	° +	° –	–	–	–	–	° +	–	–	–							
175. Water bearer kneels east of bucket	+		+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
176. Cedarman prays, sprinkles cedar on fire	+		+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
177. Water bearer draws incense to water	+		+	+	+	° +	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
178. Water bearer prays, blesses water	+		+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
179. While smoking cigarette	+		+	+	+	+		–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
180. Leader given butt of same cigarette, smokes, prays	+		+	+	+	+		–	–	+	° +	+	+	+	+	+	+			

14: Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR 13 Northern Paiute
Comanche NM6
Delaware NM7 ●

Element	Occurrence																				
	Ute	Kiowa	Ute	Cheyenne	Kiowa	Arapaho	Ute	Pawnee	Ute	Cheyenne	Oto	Osage	Ponca	Omaha	Winnebago	Menominee	Fox	Potawatomi	Kickapoo	Shawnee	Delaware
181. Water bearer spills water on ground	+	–	+		+	+	+	–	–			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
182. Bucket passed clockwise, all drink	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	++
183. Devotees rub, sprinkle ("baptise") selves with water	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
184. "Chief peyote," paraphernalia sprinkled	+	–		+			–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
185. Water bearer takes water outside	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
186. Makes circuit of altar before removing water	+		+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+°(+)	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
187. Drum, staff returned to place they occupied before midnight	+		+	+	+	°	–	–	°+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
188. After paraphernalia placed, leader goes outside	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	°–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
189. Blows whistle to cardinal directions	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
190. Prays to cardinal directions	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
191. Leader incensed upon return	+		+			+	+	–	–		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
192. Replaces whistle near moon	+		+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
193. After midnight individual fans, rattles, etc., used	+		+	+	°+	–	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	++
194. All urged during meeting to eat as much peyote as possible		°–	°+		+	+	+	+		°(+)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
195. Urged not to eat too much			°+	–		–	–	–		– (+)	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
196. Individual prayers aloud, by men	+	+	°+	+	+	–	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
197. By women			°+	–	°+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
198. Suppliant first gets tobacco from leader	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	++
199. Cigarette lighted with fire stick	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
200. 4 puffs of smoke blown toward altar at start	+		+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
201. Butt handed to leader			+	+	(–)	–		°+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
202. To cedarman, who blows 4 puffs toward altar			+	–	(–)	–		–	–	–	°–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
203. To chief drummer, who blows 4 puffs toward altar			+	–	(–)	–		–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
204. Handed back to leader, who blows 4 puffs toward altar			+	–	(–)	–		+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
205. Prayer by individual followed by one by leader			°+	+	(–)	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
206. No one leaves meeting while anyone is singing, praying, or eating peyote	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
207. Morning water call (similar procedure to midnight ritual)	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	°+	°–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
208. Water brought in	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
209. By woman	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	

(Concluded on next page)

C
P
171
W45
W4
[784]
[784]

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute
Crow NQ10
Delaware NM7 ●
C
D
111
● 245
796
[24]

PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST—(*Concluded*)

Element	Occurrence																								
	H-T	K-A	Kio	Com	Kio	S-P	Dri	Dri	Wis	O-N	O-I	C-O	Sta	Ho	Com	S-F	Tew								
210. Who blesses water	+	+	+	+		+	+	·–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+								
211. Woman makes circuit of altar before taking water outside	+	+	+		(+)	+		–	–		+	+	+	+	+	–	+								
212. Woman returns immediately with food and water	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	·–	·–	+	·+	+	+	+	+	–	+								
213. "Peyote breakfast"	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	·–	·–	+	·+	+	–	+	+	–	+								
214. Lined up in front of door, in order (from fire toward door)		+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+								
215. Order: water, maize, fruit, meat		+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	·+	+	+	–	+	·+	·+	+								
216. Water, rice, fruit, meat	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	·–	–	–	–	–	·+	–	–								
217. Water, maize, fruit, candy		–	–	–	–	·+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–								
218. Water, maize, meat, fruit		–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–								
219. Parched maize in sweetened water		+		+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+								
220. Candy also included in the breakfast	+	–	+	–	+	·+	–	·+	–	–	·+	+	+	–	+	–	–								
221. Food blessed	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+								
222. Wash before eating			–	–	–	–		·+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+								
223. Paraphernalia put away after blessing	+		+	+	+	+		·+	·+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+								
224. Before eating	+		+	–		+		·+	·+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+								
225. Drum untied	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	·+	·+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+								
226. Water from drum drunk	+	+	+	+	–	–	+		–	·–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+								
227. Water touched to body with stick, hands—"baptism"	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+								
228. Any remaining poured on or between crescents	+	+	+	–	+	·+			·+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+								
229. Objects used to tie on drumhead touched to body	+	+	+	+		–	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+								
230. All parts of drum passed, handled	+	+	+	+		–	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+								
231. Leader's outfit taken out by fire chief	+		+			+																			
232. Food passed clockwise	+	+	+	+	+	+			–		+	+	+	+	+	–	+								
233. Replaced on floor between fire and door			?	+		+			–		+	+	+	+	+	–	+								
233a. Order before passing reversed				+		+			–		+	+	+	+	+	–	+								
234. Taken out by fire chief	+	+	·+	+		+			–		+	+	+	+	+	–	+								
235. After food taken out, all go outside, about 9 A.M.	+	+	+	+	+	+		·–	–		+	+	+	+	+	–	+								
236. Sun greeted	+		·–	–	(–)	–		·+	–		–	–	–	–	+	–	+								
237. Return to tipi to lounge, talk, smoke	+	+	·+	–	–	(–)	+	+			–	–	–	–	+	–	+								
238. Tipi dismantled, altar destroyed following meeting		·–	·+	+	–	+					+	+	+	+	+	–	+								

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Crow NQ10
Delaware NM7 ●

Element	Occurrence																				
	UT	E-A	Eto	Com	Kio	Ats	Do 1	Do 2	Wis	Oto	Cr 1	Cr 2	Wic	Dis	Ose	W-P	Tsm				
239. Feast follows meeting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+					
240. Aligned between leader and door starting at west: Bible		−	−	−	−	•−	−	−	+	−				−		−					
241. Staff, rattle, and feathers	+	+	+	+		+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+				
242. Whistle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+				
243. "Chief-peyote"	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
244. Crescent of earth	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
245. Crescent of ash	+	+	+	+	+	−	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+					
246. Fire	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
247. Fire stick	+	+	+	+	+	+			−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+					
248. Water	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+					
249. Person blessing water	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+					
250. Peyote breakfast	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+					
251. Beliefs connected with peyotism: belief in a Great God (Great Spirit)	+		+	−	+	+	+	+	•+	+			•	+	+	+					
252. Belief in spirit forces subservient to the Great God	+		+		(−)	+	+	+	+				•+	+							
253. Peyote is a spirit force chosen to guide the Indians	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+		+		+	+	+	+						
254. Peyote's function is medicinal	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+						
255. Peyote's function is particularly ethical-religious	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+			+	(+)						
256. Peyote's doctrines can be understood only through peyote intoxication	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	+		+	+	+		+					
257. Ultimate goal of intoxication is enlightenment and physical betterment	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+					
258. Individual can be helped by concerted prayer	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−		+	+	+		+					
259. Individual must attain purity before approaching spirit forces	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+				+	+	+					
260. An important function of peyote meeting is to purify	+	+	+	+	(+)	•+	+	+	+	+				+		•					
261. Modifications permitted by new revelations	+		+				−	+					−	+		+					
262. Approach to spirit forces should be humble	+	+	•+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+			+	+		+					
263. Concept of the Peyote road as ethical-religious	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				+		+					
264. Identification of the Peyote road with the Creator's road		+	•+	−		−	+	+		+				+		+					
265. Identification of the Peyote road with Jesus' road		+	•+	+	•+	−	−	+	+	−				•							
265a. (See note)																					

C
D 171 945 ●
946 [671] [574] [276]

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute
Crow NQ10
Delaware NM7

NOTES TO ELEMENT LIST

C D 1711 795 796

1. Cr 2: Straight stick of any kind or collapsible cane, beaded at joints (Voget).

2. Ab S: "The staff represents a walking cane" (Voegelin). Gos: Made of mountain mahogany by leader himself (Malouf).

3. K-A: Not necessarily (McAllister). Ab S: Deer's tail dyed red (Voegelin). De 1: Staff decorated with feathers, ribbon, and otter skins (Petrullo, 49). Win: Tufts of hair around two joints about a foot from each end of cane. An oval celloluid device 5 inches long with feathers attached around its edge was suspended from the upper joint. Staff was walking stick with crook (Praus). Cr 2: Horsehair among the Crow. Sometimes hair of different animals is used. "People wish for the same type of animal as the hair. It is a sort of wishbone." Crow prefer white horsehair to black. "The old-time Indians say white is the cleanest thing on earth; that is why they use that" (Voget).

C [237]

4. Ab S: Held by person giving the meeting, at opening of meeting only (Voegelin). Cr 2: Four pieces of sage used; held along with staff. Silvery wide-leafed variety of sage is employed (Voget). WRS: Four pieces of *Artemisia* are tied on (Shimkin).

5. Ab S: Bunch of sage passed around separately at beginning of meeting (Voegelin). WRS: Clockwise, "the same as the world" (Shimkin).

C [533]

9. Cr 2: Man who has his own rattle which suits the pitch of his voice holds leader's rattle in his left hand and rattles his own with his right hand. "Each man does as he wishes in worship." But note that individual rattles not employed until after midnight, apparently out of deference to position of leader. That would be impolite (Voget).

10. Kio: Decoration of gourd proper doubtful. But I have seen "Jesus talk" written on a Comanche gourd (La Barre). Ab S: Gourd itself is stained dark brown with walnut-bark (sic) dye; undecorated otherwise. But handle and projecting end are beaded, tasseled, etc. (Voegelin).

12. Gos: White horsehair at end of handle is not dyed (Malouf). W-P: Feathers also used.

D [533]

13. Cr 1: "Passed with cane" (Voget).

16. De 2: In "Wilson way" meeting members can rattle own rattles any time (Webber). Prohibition on using rattles other than ones used by road chief until midnight (Petrullo, 90, 158). WRS: After drum goes around once, individual rattles may be used (Shimkin).

18. Ab S: Eagle, chicken hawk, parrot, "any kind of bird." Leader did not have special fan that was passed around; each person, including leader, brought and used own fan all night (Voegelin). De 2: Fans and single feathers used in meeting (Webber). See note 3. Cr 2: Any feathers used. Usually eagle tail feathers come out in set of twelve; that is, twelve good feathers found naturally in tail of each bird. "The twelve-feather set represents months of the year; we do not change that" (Voget). WRS: Eagle-wing fan with feathers bound together is most common. Fan is of same style as other ceremonial fans (Shimkin).

20. Kio: Buckskin feather sockets not decorated or beaded, but handle is beaded (La Barre).

21. W-P: Leader's fan passed only after midnight.

22. Kio: Leader holds own fan with staff when singing; other men do likewise with their fans when singing (La Barre).

D [534]

24. De 2: Anyone having single feathers or fan can use them any time they wish (Webber).

25. Cr 1: "Used to draw smoke to inhale" (Voget).

D [782] [823]

26. De 2: Whistle not used in "Wilson way" meeting (Webber). Cr 2: Sometimes used four times in course of meeting. Midnight: strong, sharp, long blasts four times. "We make these four long calls in order that the Creator might hear us. That is the way I understand it among the Crows." Right after the water call, leader goes outside tipi, usually whistles in order toward east, south, west, and north, the four parts of the earth. Four blasts are given to each direction, and a prayer is offered. Type of prayer depends upon the leader, "but each corner has something of its own." East: prayer to rising sun, which brings daylight, and to wind, which comes from east, about which all peoples, Indian and white, know. "I do not know what other countries have, but the Montana east wind is harmless." South: prayers offered to those things of the south, for instance, warmth and food. West: setting of the sun brings darkness. Also, certain foods come from the west. "Whatever property is needed from the west [the leader asks for]." North: the same holds for the north; but north wind usually cold, so leader usually asks Creator to control it, keep it not too cold so that animals will not die (Voget).

Crow NQ1D
Delaware NM7 ●

27. Gos: Also used before meeting, while all lined up outside (Malouf).
28. Gos: See note 265a.
30. WRS: Leader allows others to blow whistle as special privilege—to show thanks to Creator (Shimkin).
32. Ab S: Square of purple velvet (Voegelin).
33. Com and No C: Chief drummer does not necessarily provide or tune drum. Best drum available used (Hoebel). Cr 1: Leader has complete outfit, and if drummer, whom he selects, has no drum, leader lends his (Voget). Cr 2: Chief drummer uses own drum (Vóget).
35. Cr 2: Can be copper, gold, aluminum, or "anything of iron" (Voget). Gos: 1½-gallon size used, although gallon (No. 6) size desired (Malouf).
36. 13 T: Among Caddo (La Barre).
37. Cr 2: Charcoal obtained from leader's stove (Voget). Gos: Fourteen pieces; Goshute don't know what they represent (Malouf).
38. De 1: Otter skin sometimes used (Webber). Cr 1: "Buckskin of a sort," that is, any well-tanned skin (Voget). Cr 2: Usually deerskin best, but any soft skin may be used (Voget).
40. Kic: Six pebbles used (Noon). Ab S: Eight small round pebbles (Voegelin). De 1: Four small stones used (Petrullo, 50). Cr 1: Seven stone "marbles" (Voget). Cr 2: "Small ball-like rocks" (Voget).
43. Ab S: I suspect it is significant, but my informant did not comment on this (Voegelin). Cr 1: "It means the stars, I guess" (Voget). Cr 2: Symbolized stars in the sky; later the people observed that law officers carried such, and so "we use it to signify living within the law" (Voget). Gos: Represents Morning Star (Malouf).
44. Gos: See note 265a.
46. Cr 1: Chief drummer's used if he has one (Voget).
48. Ab S: Used only after drum had passed halfway around tipi, as far as door; then individual drumsticks smoked in cedar, and permission given to use them—but this long before midnight (Voegelin).
50. De 2: See note 83. Cr 1: Man asks permission of drum chief to pick out drummer (Voget).
51. K-A: Each person participating drums. Feeling strong that one should have peyote partner, and singing and drumming occur in couples. First man sings, his partner drums; then first man drums, second sings. Singing occurs in regular order. Drum skips and then goes back; then skips again, etc. (McAllister). Cr 2: If man on right (A) wishes man on left (B) to drum, B circles room clockwise and sits to right of staff held by A (Voget).
52. Ab S: "Women sometimes drum at a peyote meeting," but mainly men, I noticed (Voegelin). Cr 2: "There is no law against women [drumming], but they just don't" (Voget).
53. Kic: My information not definite on this point. My recollection is that the bag of cedar belonged to the cedarman—this may be a confused impression due to the fact that the cedarman alone threw the cedar on the fire (Noon). Cr 2: Members also have some for their own use (Voget).
55. K-A: No "cedarman"; drummer usually puts cedar on fire (McAllister). Ab S: Usually cedar sprinkled by leader (Voegelin).
56. Win: Both assistants to right and left of leader have cedar bags and sprinkle it on fire at different times. Man on left did so at midnight ceremony (Praus).
57. Ab S: This tobacco is mixed with sage (Voegelin). See note 198 W-P. WRS: Person calling meeting, or sponsor, gives tobacco to leader before meeting, unless sponsor also leader (Shimkin).
58. Gos: See note 265a.
59. Ab S: Perhaps—but I never heard of it for peyote meetings, although Shawnee use oak leaves sometimes for ordinary cigarettes (Voegelin).
60. Cr 2: Paper not "proper"; only when no husks available (Voget).
61. Cr 2: If leader has no tobacco on hand, others may offer their own (Voget).
62. 13 T: Tobacco lacking among some Oto, Pawnee, Winnebago (La Barre, 79). Ute: Tobacco not used in "old Sioux way" sects among Ute and Goshute.
63. Win: Cost of peyote defrayed by persons sponsoring meeting; I received buttons from fire chief, assistant at right of leader, and various men in the group (Praus). WRS: Sponsor gives peyote to leader. Names for peyote: (1) hus; (2) wɔgʷeβi—a Comanche word for "cactus" (Shimkin).

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64. Cr 2: Represents the original peyote which the woman found, as recounted in the legend which purports to account for the discovery and subsequent use of peyote (Voget).

65. Opler (1936, 160) states "some [Mescalero] peyote shamans trace a cross of pollen on the 'chief peyote,' some do not." Cr 2: Lines "grow" on peyote naturally; that is, peyote is not redecorated, the lines (white) being natural products (Voget).

67. Cr 2: Informant thought the chief peyote could be eaten, but did not know of any instance (Voget).

69. K-A: Called a star rather than a cross (McAllister). Cr 2: Represents four corners of earth and also sun's rays (Voget). WRS: At times four, eight, or twelve leaves used to produce different forms (Shimkin).

70. Win: See note 63.

71. K-A: Not necessarily. Depends upon supply and generosity of leader (McAllister). Ab S: People urged to eat their own peyote, if they had brought any, early in evening (Voegelin). De 2: Peyote other than leader's may be eaten before midnight if leader's supply runs out (Webber). Cr 2: One's own peyote can be used from the start (Voget). WRS: Leader's peyote required only for "first round" (Shimkin). Gos: All peyote in one bag (Malouf). W-P: No individual supplies of peyote used in meetings.

73. Kio: Called "road chief" or "road man" from the "peyote road" on symbolic altar; leader tells them the "road" to go (La Barre). Ab S: "Boss man" or "road man" (Voegelin). De 1 and 2: "Road man" (Webber, Petrullo). Cr 2: Usually just plain "chief" (Voget). WRS: tegwahin (Shimkin). Gos: See note 265a.

74. De 2: In one "Wilson way" meeting, the road man sat at east end of moon, faced west (Webber). In one Big Moon variant, road chief to east of altar (Petrullo, 182). See note 97.

79. Kio: Four assistants if peyote woman, water and food bringer, is included (La Barre). De 2: See note 83.

80. De 1 and 2: Called "drum chief" (Webber). W-P: Leader's wife often chief drummer.

81. Win: Chief drummer sits at leader's left (Praus). No C: At leader's left (Hoebel).

83. De 2: "In some Caddo Delaware 'Big Moons' " the drum chief accompanies the drum round the circle, drumming for each singer (La Barre, 69). At start the fireman drums not only for road man, but for everybody completely round the circle; they have as many as five assistant firemen and they drum in turn until end of meeting (Webber). Win: May be chosen by anyone (Praus). Cr 1: May or may not (Voget). Cr 2: Any man can drum if picked out by the singer (Voget). WRS: May drum for beginner (Shimkin). Ute: Chief drummer drums for each singer in turn once during meeting. W-P: May drum for anyone who asks him, or he may offer to drum for individuals. Singer may ask anyone to drum for him; leader often asked. Taos: Singer may ask anyone to drum for him (Parsons).

84. Ab S: At meeting I attended, a visiting Arapaho filled all the functions you note for cedarman. But he was not explicitly referred to as cedarman (Voegelin). Win: See note 56. Cr 2: Apparently selected by leader for each meeting. There might be a different one before and after midnight (Voget).

85. Win: Sits at leader's right (Praus). No C: Sits at leader's right (Hoebel). Cr 2: "Just chance" (Voget).

88. Ab S: Also second fire chief (Voegelin).

89. K-A: Yes, but theoretically fire chief *should* sit on south side (McAllister). De 2: Firemen sit on both sides of door (Webber).

90. Cr 1: "He builds the fire, it commences" (Voget).

92. Win: See note 162.

93. Cr 1: "Well, he lets them come in, he lets them go out. If sick or helpless, he has to help"; otherwise people find own seats (Voget). Cr 2: Conducts late arrivals to their seats (Voget).

94. Kio: In theory; not rigidly adhered to (La Barre). De 2: Bathing not always before, sometimes after meetings (Webber). No C: Only chief and assistants by requirement, others may (Hoebel). Cr 1: If they have to (Voget). Cr 2: The people clean up. Could be viewed as a purification (Voget). W-P: Bathing recommended; often done in hot springs.

95. Ab S: Tipi, sometimes in house (Voegelin). Cr 1: If people want to put up a meeting, they have it at their house (Voget). Cr 2: House or tipi may be used, latter more proper (Voget).

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Gos: Although tipi preferable, house used at meeting attended. All good peyote members have houses facing east for that reason (Malouf).

96. Kio: In old days; not now (La Barre).

97. De 2: One Big Moon variant has entrance to west (Petrullo, 182). Sometimes door to west (Webber). See notes 74, 99.

98. De 2: Most usual Big Moon crescent altar is drawn on ground, instead of being made in a mound. Numerous other innovations in type of altar were introduced by Wilson and his followers (Petrullo, 80, 179–184). However, Anderson's Big Moon altar, consisting of crescentic mound with a line on its crest, is described and shown in picture (Petrullo, 48, 101). Win: Altar consisted of pit inside of horseshoe incised on floor. Lines extended beyond altar in the cardinal directions (Praus). Altar resembles that of the Delaware Big Moon variant shown by Petrullo, plate 3, page 79. Gos: Inasmuch as meeting held in dwelling, special altar constructed. In addition to crescent, apron of earth extended toward the east from concave side of moon which protected the wooden floor from hot embers carried in from fire outside (Malouf).

99. De 2: End toward west in one Big Moon variant (Petrullo, 182). See notes 74, 97. Win: See note 98.

100. De 2: See note 98. Win: See note 98.

101. Gos: Kerosene lamp, four sticks, and hot coals used in place of fire impossible in house (Malouf).

103. Com: Sticks form tipi (Hoebel). Cr 2: Point or "face" west (Voget). WRS: Must be neat is only rule (Shimkin).

104. Kio: In theory; not rigidly enforced. One leader insists fire be lit with one match (La Barre). Cr 1: "Matches is the quickest, or they could use 'clinkers'; that is the Indian way. But that is all past, you know" (Voget). Cr 2: Match employed (Voget).

105. Com and No C: Seven sticks on fire (Hoebel). De 1 and 2: Twelve sticks at start (Petrullo, 50, 101). Cr 2: Number varies with weather, but usually at least four (Voget). Taos: Seven sticks (Parsons).

106. WRS: Sometimes carved (Shimkin).

108. Ab S: Not obligatory, except for female. "Should wear moccasins." Several men wore blankets; "depended upon whether they owned one or not" (Voegelin). Cr 1: "They put on the best they have; they doll up, just as the whites when they go to church" (Voget). Cr 2: People wear their best clothes. Apparently no preference for old-time dress (Voget). Taos: "Peyote boys" wear American shoes and hats, contrary to the rule of going in Indian habit while at the pueblo. Peyotists refuse to cut seats from trousers (Parsons).

109. Cr 1: When dark (Voget).

110. Kio: Varies with leader (La Barre). Ab S: Leader offered prayers when putting up tipi, putting the sage (?) cross on moon, etc., but I do not think he prayed just before going in, except when he made the peyote tea just before the meeting (Voegelin).

111. De 2: Chief enters alone and is seated when others enter (Petrullo, 89; Webber). Gos: Chief enters alone and blows whistle for others to enter (Malouf). See note 265a.

112. De 2: Drum chief led worshippers into tipi (Petrullo, 96).

114. Cr 1: "Each family goes together; women could precede men" (Voget). Cr 2: Such an arrangement could be due to pure chance (Voget).

115. Kio: Women attend, but no children except when meeting given to heal child (Noon). WRS: Children allowed only if ill (Shimkin).

117. De 2: See notes 74, 97, 99. W-P: Rules for seating not fixed. When room, husband and wife sit together in inner circle; when crowded, wife and children sit back of husband.

119. Kio: Varies with leader; some on south side; some near door; some anywhere (save officials' places) (La Barre).

120. De 1 and 2: Women south of altar, men north of altar (Petrullo, 57; Webber). Cr 2: Single line used so no one sits between anyone else and the Creator's gift. Segregation would be result of chance (Voget). WRS: Theoretically proper, often disregarded (Shimkin).

122. Kio: All worshippers sit in single row save when more worshippers than can be thus accommodated (Noon).

124. Cr 1: Blankets (Voget). Cr 2: Each has his own cushion (Voget).

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125. Ab S: Sage underneath blankets (Voegelin). WRS: Sage formerly required (Shimkin).

127. Cr 2: Instructions first as to teaching or belief, followed by prayer (Voget).

128. De 2: Leader prepares first prayer cigarette, which is passed around to all (Webber). Cr 2: Cigarette rolled before prayer (Voget). Gos: See note 265a.

130. Ab S: Leader prayed silently while smoking (Voegelin). Cr 1: Tells about purpose of meeting so they may pray (Voget).

132. Cr 1: To "peyote chief," but "just the same as moon" (Voget). Cr 2: Blown toward "chief peyote" (Voget).

133. Ab S: Prayed with bowed heads, eyes closed, men must kneel (Voegelin).

134. De 2: In original Wilson Moon, cigarette butts placed at left side of altar, in front of road chief, but in other Big Moon ceremonies left in front of smoker to be gathered by fire chief (Webber). Cr 2: Those sitting facing convex surface of moon place their cigarette butts against moon; those facing concave side place their butts at point of horns of moon; those north of line between leader and entrance place theirs on north side of altar, and vice versa (Voget). WRS: Butts placed against moon by fire chief and assistant (Shimkin).

135. Cr 1: "Some take sage from seat and rub this on hands" (Voget).

136. K-A: Sage leaves placed under blankets and each person uses his own (McAllister).

137. Cr 2: Informant did not remember any chewing, but it may have happened a long time ago (Voget).

141. K-A: Yes, but at the meetings I attended they "cut the dose," as they termed it, to two, out of consideration for my presence, for they thought I would find it difficult to eat four; and I would have at one time (McAllister). Ab S: At the meeting we attended each was told to take two buttons (Voegelin). WRS: Some take two (Shimkin).

142. K-A: Optional: some do, most do not. Kio: Mode of eating depends on each individual (La Barre). Cr 1: Some. Most simply take it and eat (Voget). WRS: As special sign of respect to Creator (Shimkin).

143. Kio: Mode of eating depends on each individual (La Barre). Cr 1 and 2: Optional (Voget).

144. Cr 1: Four eaten; then they sing. When meeting starts, outfit has to be going [around] all the time (Voget). Cr 2: First four peyote buttons eaten before singing starts (Voget).

145. Gos: See note 265a.

146. Ab S: Leader held paraphernalia in hands; drum chief likewise (Voegelin).

147. Ab S: Leader sprinkled cedar (Voegelin). Cr 2: Chief does the incensing at this point (Voget).

148. Gos: See note 265a.

149. WRS: More than once; number not fixed (Shimkin).

150. K-A: When cedar is placed on the fire, each person symbolically washes himself with it (McAllister).

151. Cr 1: "Just once; so everyone can smell the smoke" (Voget). WRS: Number not fixed (Shimkin).

152. Cr 1: In front of leader (Voget).

154. WRS: Either Shoshone or Arapaho starting song may be used (Shimkin). Gos: See note 265a.

159. Ab S: "The usual number is four, but sometimes men feel so good that they may sing as many as twelve songs" (Voegelin).

160. De 2: Each man sings, then drums for his neighbor (Petrullo, 91). In Wilson Moon the drum chief and different fire chiefs do all the drumming (Webber). See note 83. W-P: See note 83.

161. K-A: Women attend, but I never saw them participate. I do not know if there is a rule; probably merely a feeling that they should not (McAllister). Cr 2: No rule against women singing (Voget). Gos: I inquired about this especially and they said women used to sing but do not do so any more (Malouf). W-P: Women hold staff, lead singing, drum.

163. De 2: No midnight recess (Petrullo, 42). Midnight water call and recess present in Big Moon cult (Petrullo, 158). Recess only to burn cedar incense for everyone to fan over themselves while standing. Water in meeting all night and can be used any time, but is used with restraint (Webber; Petrullo, 93). Gos: See note 265a. W-P: No fixed song for water calls, or any time.

164. Ab S: Recalls and lays them down (Voegelin). Cr 1: "Chief has to put outfit in front of himself" (Voget).

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165. De 1: Ashes formed into an eagle in one small-moon variant (Petrullo, 78). De 2: Ashes piled on each side of fire to represent the lungs of Jesus. Also formed into a heart (Petrullo, 101, 181). Win: Ashes formed into a moon twice during the ritual and, in addition, formed into a heart twice, the "Morning Star" twice (the second time with lines across two points), a cross (by filling with embers the interspaces of the cross incised on floor), and finally a sun (Praus).

169. De 2: See note 163. Cr 2: By cedarman (Voget).

170. Cr 2: Four blasts on the whistle; then two songs are sung, the first being "fixed" (Voget).

171. WRS: Sometimes twice (Shimkin).

172. De 2: Special water song used to call for fresh water in morning (Petrullo, 93).

173–174: Com and No C: Water handed into lodge by women; put in position by fire chief (Hoebel). Kio: Woman once observed blessing water at midnight (Noon).

176. W-P: Cedarman only sprinkles cedar on fire; no prayer.

177. Ab S: Swings water bucket four times over fire on which cedar has been sprinkled (Voegelin).

180. Cr 1: Drummer both smokes and prays (Voget).

182. Gos: To moisten "mother earth" (Malouf).

186. Cr 2: Makes circuit of room after removing water (Voget).

187. Ab S: Drum and staff were lying beside the leader; he picks up staff at this point and hands it to man on his left, while he goes outside with whistle (Voegelin). Win: During drinking of water at midnight, staff placed upright in hole just west of incised horseshoe, in front of leader (Praus).

188. Win: Drummer goes outside after paraphernalia placed (Praus).

193. Win: Only individual fans used after midnight (Praus). Kio: Only fans (Noon).

194. K-A: No urging; each is expected to be his own judge (McAllister). Kio: Depends on leader and age of those to whom he is talking (La Barre). Cr 1: "Chief tells them to eat all they wish, but it is up to the individual. Free will, you know. He does not coax to fill them up, or not to" (Voget). Gos: Urged to eat as much as desired (Malouf).

195. Kio: Depends on leader and age of those to whom he is talking (La Barre). Ute: In "old Sioux way" devotees urged not to eat too much; usually eat only four buttons.

196. Kio: As designated by leader (La Barre). De 2: Road man usually announces that anyone wishing to pray through a cigarette may do so after midnight, but some leaders do not approve of individual prayers (Webber).

197. Kio: As designated by leader (La Barre). Kio: Exceptional. Only when woman is close friend of family of person being treated. Spiritual value of prayers of friends is greater (Noon).

198. W-P: For special individual prayers, leader rolls the cigarettes, to which he adds ground sage leaves. See note 57 Ab S.

201. De 2: Road chief lighted and puffed cigarette before handing it to individual for his prayer, then this chief puffed it and prayed following individual (Petrullo, 93). Cr 2: It might be handed to anyone (Voget).

202. No C: Instead of to cedarman, butt handed to fire chief, who blows four puffs toward altar (Hoebel).

205. Kio: Procedure not rigid. Leader may run this differently at each meeting (La Barre). W-P: Leader occasionally but not usually prays following individual prayers.

206. Kio: May leave between a man's four songs, if gets leader's permission. Prescribed etiquette for passing before smokers and eaters (La Barre). Cr 1 and 2: Permissible to leave any time, if necessary (Voget). Gos: No one left during songs, but several went outside during prayers in early morning (Malouf).

207. De 2: Fixed water call in morning for fire chief to bring pail of fresh water, replacing that which had been in meeting all night. (Petrullo, 93, 102). All blessings by road chief in Big Moon variant (Webber; Petrullo, 102). Win: No water brought into meeting in morning (Praus). Gos: See note 265a.

209. De 2: See note 207.

210. De 2: Road chief blesses water (Webber).

212–213. De 2: No peyote breakfast (Petrullo, 94). Peyote breakfast present in all Big Moon variants (Petrullo, 157). As a rule, at "Wilson way" meeting no peyote breakfast served; instead candy, refreshments served, especially if among rich Oklahoma Indians (Webber). Win:

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Food eaten outside without special ceremony after meeting (Praus). Cr 1: "If breakfast ready, she [woman water carrier] brings it in; if not, fire chief brings it in later" (Voget).

215. No C: In absence of corn, Cracker Jack (a brand of candied popcorn) used. Boiled raisins and rice used as fruit (Hoebel). WRS: Order varied; fruit sometimes last (Shimkin). Gos: See note 265a. Taos: Rice sometimes used in place of maize (Parsons).

216. No C: See note 215 for use of rice. Gos: According to my Washo-Paiute informants, Goshute boiled rice instead of corn at times. W-P: Fruit (canned peaches, salad mixture) sometimes served before boiled rice.

217. Ab S: Fruit was home-canned blackberries (Voegelin).

219. Cr 1: "Just cooked corn; if do not have it, use canned corn" (Voget). WRS: May be canned corn (Shimkin).

220. Ab S: Red and white striped peppermint stick candy, broken into inch pieces (Voegelin). De 2: See note 212. Cr 1: "Not here, but I hear those south boys use it" (Voget). WRS: For special ceremonies—Christmas, Easter, etc. (Shimkin).

221. Cr 1 and 2: Individual selected especially for blessing food (Voget).

222. De 2: Exit from tipi at dawn to wash and greet sun, then return to tipi until dinner (Petrullo, 93).

223–225. De 2: Drum untied and paraphernalia put away after blessing and before eating dinner at noon (Petrullo, 94). Win: Paraphernalia put away after blessing of dinner at noon (Praus). Gos: See note 265a. Taos: After breakfast, singing continues until paraphernalia reach chief (Parsons).

226. No C: Water tasted on drumstick (Hoebel).

227. WRS: Recently discontinued (Shimkin).

228. Ab S: Poured on west side of moon (Voegelin). Win: Water from drum sprinkled on four interspaces of cross (incised on floor of fireplace) which had been filled with live embers by the fire chief (Praus).

234. Kio: Usually handed by fireman to woman or women helpers (La Barre).

235. De 2: Meeting continues until noon (Petrullo, 94; Webber).

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236. Kio: No formal lining up to greet sun. May be individual wordless "greetings" (La Barre). De 2: Devotees file out of tipi and line up facing sun, at dawn (Petrullo, 93, 97). At exactly noon, leader gazes at sun and worships sun and blesses food (Webber).

237. Kio: May or may not return to tipi. Those with photophobic eyes seek shade either in tipi, under "shade," or under "tree" (La Barre).

238. K-A: Tipi dismantled, but altar simply left; no longer sacred, but not intentionally destroyed (McAllister). Kio: Depends on leader (La Barre). Cr 1: "Tipi might be taken down in evening, leaving altar way it is" (Voget).

240. Ab S: Bible not used, but I was told that it is used among the "Loyal" or Cherokee Shawnee of northeastern Oklahoma. Some among the Cherokee Shawnee take peyote "according to the Bible way . . . like those Ioways." The "Bible way" peyote takers are "against" old native religious ceremonies and dances, which is not the case among the Absentee (Voegelin).

250. Kio: Before the blessing of the water takes place, the food is outside the tipi back of the prayer. When it is set up for "peyote breakfast" it is between prayer and water (La Barre).

251–265. These elements are thus defined by Petrullo (1934, 154–58). Win: Jesus mentioned in all prayers (Praus). WRS: damē apē (Our [inclusive] Father). One informant used the exclusive form nī'mē apē (Shimkin.)

252. Gos: Prayers addressed to God, Jesus Christ, Mary, and Peyote (Malouf).

253. Ab S: "God sent the peyote for man to worship" (Voegelin).

254. Win: Meeting I attended was held to thank Jesus for the recovery of two women (Praus).

255. Kio: Some say so, some not (La Barre).

260. Ab S: Purification not stressed, but in line with all I heard about peyote (Voegelin).

261. W-P: Modifications were made, but there was no claim that they were based on revelations.

262. Kio: True of all American Indian religions about which I know, possibly of all approaches to all gods and spirits in all religion (maybe this is one of the definitions of religion!) (La Barre). Ab S: I should say so! "We are pitiful people" (Voegelin).

263. Kio: Like Calvin Coolidge's preacher, the Kiowa are "against sin" too; I don't know what else this element means (La Barre).

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264. Kio: Depends on the individual and his special life history (La Barre). C

265. Kio: Depends on the individual and his special life history (La Barre). Kic: The informant said the incised line on the crescent was "the line toward Christ" (Nobu). Gos: Simply called the path of life (Malouf). D 171

265a. A copy of the following program was given to the Ibapah Goshute by an Oklahoma Indian. When the copy was badly worn the Indians asked subagent A. L. Robertson to make a new one, which he did, sending me the carbon copy in January, 1940. 795 ● 796

PROGRAM: NATIVE AMERICAN CHURCH

Part 1—Enter Tepee about 7 or 8 o'clock p.m. in file viz., first, the leader, second, drummer or assistant chief, third, audience follows, all taking seats, fourth, last man to enter fire chief. 620

Part 2—First, let [place] peyote on moon, second, pass tobacco and corn husks to right to man next to door south, third, fire chief passes cigarette lighted [cigarette-lighting] stick to first man south side of door going around the fire. Man places stick in fire. The chief or leader offers prayer for purpose of meeting it of 5 finish prayer out. Everybody put down stubs around base of moon.

Part 3—Pass sacks of medicine [peyote] to first man south of door and everybody take 4 peyote each and chew and eat medicine.

Part 4—Leader, lay rattler, staff, feathers, and whistle before you, and smudge outfit with cedar leaves by putting in fire and pass over the smudge whole outfit 4 times. Motion forward and back and drummer follows same motion. Lay whistle vertical along side of moon, under chief peyote. Start singing first song follow with any other 3 songs. Pass rattler, staff to left—going around.

Part 5—Midnight. Fire chief fix fire clear up. Gather [place] cigarette stubs to each end of moon [tips of crescent].

Leader recalls outfit to him, puts cedar in fire smudge outfit, drum also and sing midnight song, smudge the water sitting before fire, and fire man behind it and pass to leader and drummer will take cigarette puff. A few times and pass to leader to finish, lay cigarette down between base of moon and whistle and spill a little water on the ground, pass to man on the south side of the door going around to the fire man and take out water, set some where outside and return into tepee. Go around the place and leader then passed the outfit back to the man where the outfit was recalled for taking out water. Leader steps outdoors to offer prayer to four corner points of wall facing, east, south, west, north, blow whistle facing east and going to south side and blow the whistle south and going to west blow whistle to west and going to the north side blow whistle to the north and then return inside and drummer will make cedar smudge to you and take your seat as before. Lay whistle back in the same place and proceed as before.

Part 5—Morning. Fix ashes along side of moon and clean up. Fire man hands you whistle and smudge feathers and whistle. Sing morning song and follow with 3 songs and lay everything to right and leader may ask anyone to offer prayer with cedar to smudge water and meantime drummer rolls smoke for woman and when through smudging water pass cigarette to fireman. He lights it and gives to woman, she offers prayer. When through she takes her seat and smokes, then gives to leader. He offers prayer, finishes, puts stub down as usual. Woman spills little water on ground, drinks and passes water to one south side of door and going around as before. Woman rises, going around and picks up bucket before stepping out. As soon as possible have breakfast delivered, water, corn, fruit, meat. Recall outfit.

Sing 3 songs. Last one quitting song. Lay outfit before you. Offer as blessing for all. Take off chief peyote. Untie drum and pass around the circle.

Fire man takes outfit outside and comes in, goes around and pass breakfast to man south side door in position. Go out as soon as through.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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774 lameness.[33] For fear of this soul nobody ever eats in the dark or allows a sick person to be in a dark room (J.T., N.D.).

775 The Delawares believed in an after life, but what this existence was like is only vaguely described in the early literature and probably was only vaguely envisaged by them. De Vries said that "when they die they sing like the ravens; but this singing is entirely different from the singing of angels."[34] One source stated that "some" believed that after a soul had been in the other world for a time it might be reborn on earth in another individual.[35] Harrington said that on the twelfth day after death the spirit made its way to the twelfth or highest home, a beautiful place, without pain or sorrow, where there were magnificent dwellings, beautiful streams, and fertile lands. This paradise was only for the good; where bad or evil spirits went is unknown.[36] This concept was in all likelihood a diffusion from Christianity.

The Big House Ceremony

114 668 796 The Big House or Annual Ceremony has been the principal ceremony and the focal point of Delaware religious observances at least since the second half of the eighteenth century. Prior to the tribal consolidation of the Delawares (in the early decades of the eighteenth century), this Ceremony could not have existed as it is now known, since in its modern form it is a tribal or national religious event. I do not agree with Kinietz that the Big House Ceremony came into existence as an adjunct of the revivalistic nativism of the Delawares after 1762.[37] It seems much more likely that it was synthesized during the early decades of the century at the time when other parts of the culture were being unified and the tribal society was emerging. As far as I have been able to determine, the import and the meaning of this ceremony have not been nativistic as would be required by Kinietz's hypothesis. Its general purpose was to give thanks for past blessings and to ensure good fortune for the coming year.[38] Morgan said: "They believe unless they observe it once a year their crops will fail, and they will loose (sic) the favor of the Great Spirit."[39] I agree with Kinietz that "European civilization in contact with that of the Delawares was unconsciously responsible for the integration of the Big House Ceremony, the dropping and addition of many features . . . ,"[40] but I set the date for this integration half a century earlier than he does. The addition of the symbolic number twelve (from the twelve Apostles of Christianity?), the sacred number of the sweat lodge, and the appearance of the Mask Being during the ceremony are but two examples of historic additions to the ceremony.[41]

796 Unfortunately, the seventeenth-century documents contain little more than hints concerning the nature of the religious rites from which the the Big House Ceremony was synthesized. Denton, however, said:

[33] Speck, 1931, p. 25; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 131; J.T.
[34] De Vries, 1909, p. 224.
[35] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 131.
[36] Harrington, 1921, pp. 52-54.
[37] Kinietz, 1940, pp. 117-21.
[38] Speck, 1931, p. 21; R.W., O.A.
[39] Morgan, 1859, MS.
[40] Kinietz, 1940, p. 121.
[41] *Ibid.*, p. 118.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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For their worship which is diabolical, it is performed usually but once or twice a year, unless upon some extraordinary occasion, as upon making of war or the like; their usual time is about *Michaelmass*, when their corn is first ripe, the day being appointed by their chief Priest or pawaw, most of them go a hunting for venison: When they are all congregated, their priest tells them if he want money, their God will accept of no other offering, which the people believing, every one gives money according to their ability.[43]

This is the sort of description of a pretribal ceremony which one would expect from a seventeenth-century writer. The hunt for venison and the use of wampum were, for example, integral features of the later Big House Ceremony. Speck has suggested that the historic form of the ceremony developed from "rites managed by the ceremonial group (Turkey, Tortoise, Wolf)" which, in turn, developed from family or individual rites.[43] In historic times each phratry varied somewhat from the others in the performance of the ceremony; that of the Wolf phratry, for instance, lasted only eight days, whereas the ceremony of the Turkey phratry lasted twelve days.[44] In a sense, then, the ceremony never attained complete tribal integration. Since Speck's studies of the Big House Ceremony are relatively complete and are complemented by those of Zeisberger, Trowbridge, and Harrington, and by the eyewitness account by Luckenbach, it is not necessary here to give a detailed description of the historic ceremony; a brief synopsis taken from the accounts of these writers and from the descriptions given by my own informants should suffice.

After the Big House Ceremony became a tribal affair, it was held but once a year. It took place in a "big house," a building which also served as a council house and was similar in structure to the Iroquoian Long House. In the center of this structure was a pole, on the north and south sides of which were carved faces;[45] ten other identical faces were placed around the walls. Apparently this was the practice before 1763.[46] The participants camped near the Big House for the duration of the ceremony, the women to the north and the men to the south (M.B.). Throughout this period celibacy was practiced, participants were supposed to be in a pure and clean frame of mind, and menstruating women were not allowed inside the Big House. Offenders were removed from the building by the Mask Being or other officials.[47] One individual, known as the "bringer-in," sponsored and led the ceremony, and the phratry to which he belonged determined the exact form the ceremony was to take. One source stated that in each phratry there was a family which inherited the right to sponsor the annual ceremony;[48] possibly this was a vestige of the individual or family rites from which it evolved.

[43] Denton, 1845, p. 7.
[43] Speck, 1950, p. 27.
[44] *Ibid.*, p. 16; Harrington, 1913, p. 230.
[45] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 141.
[46] Kinietz, 1940, p. 118, dates this feature after 1824, but Bartram and Kenny apparently saw such a ceremonial structure in August, 1761 (Kenny, 1913, p. 22).
[47] Trowbridge MS; M.B.
[48] Trowbridge MS.

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The ceremonies commenced, at least in historic times, when the caretakers lighted the fires in the Big House with a fire drill. Kinietz has suggested that this act became sacred in post-European times.[49] Sometime after dark the chief of the sponsoring phratry delivered a sermon in which the Great Spirit was thanked for success during the preceding year, and he also explained the rules of the meeting.[50] The meeting was then turned over to the "bringer-in":

> [Standing] by the great central post with its weird carved faces, [he] begins to shake a little rattle of box-turtle shell and chant, in a high monotone, the story of his vision. Meanwhile two drummers have taken their places before a peculiar drum made by rolling up a dry deer-hide and stuffing it with grass. As the chanter utters each word the drummers repeat it in the same tone, producing a very peculiar effect. Finally the recital is finished, and he starts his dance-song, which the drummers take up, beating time with flat drumsticks and dances about the fires, still shaking his rattle, followed by as many of the people as care to join.[51]

The dance was in a counterclockwise direction, and the dancer stopped at twelve spots in this circuit, each time reciting a verse of the song he had composed from his vision. The path that was followed by all those who recited their visions represented allegorically the White Path or the Great Spirit's road, the road of human existence, and the stages the soul took to the abode of the Great Spirit.[52] As was noted previously, the number twelve and perhaps the inferred idea of heaven may have represented diffusions from Christianity.

After the leader had finished his recitation, two caretakers symbolically swept the chamber with turkey feathers and built up the fire. There was then a brief recess in which people could go outside (R.W.). Following the recess, the rattle was passed from hand to hand in a counterclockwise direction until it reached another man who desired to recite his vision.[53] Toward morning, when the rattle had made a complete circuit of the Big House, twelve cries or calls were uttered. The twelfth cry was thought to be heard by the Great Spirit.[54] A feast was then held, and afterwards the throng dispersed until the following evening. (Trowbridge alone among the sources said that the worshippers remained throughout the day in the Big House, preserving silence.) On each of the succeeding nights the ritual was the same, although there may have been some variation in the persons who recited their visions, and on the fourth day deer were hunted to supply venison for a feast to be held on the seventh day.[55] At noon on the final day of the ceremony the participants filed out and formed a line facing the east. They raised their hands and twelve times called out the prayer word to the Great Spirit. The caretakers then swept the ashes from the fires out the west

[49] Kinietz, 1940, p. 121; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 30.
[50] Speck, 1931, p. 23.
[51] Harrington, 1913, pp. 228-29.
[52] Speck, 1931, p. 23.
[53] Harrington, 1921, p. 95; R. W.
[54] Harrington, 1913, p. 229.
[55] Harrington, 1921, pp. 97-100; O.A., R.W.

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door of the Big House, the leader paid them in wampum for their services, and thus the ceremony was concluded.[56]

Minor Ceremonies

There must have been a host of minor family and other kin-group religious ceremonies in early times, but unfortunately the seventeenth-century sources are for the most part silent about them. Denton, however, said:

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> At their *Canticas* or dancing matches, where all persons that come are freely entertained, it being a Festival time: Their custom is when they dance, every one but the Dancers to have a short stick in their hands & to knock the ground & sing altogether, whilst they that dance sometimes act war-like postures, & then they come in painted for War with their faces black & red, with some streaks of white under their eyes, & so jump & leap up & down without any order, uttering many expressions of their intended valour. For other dances they only shew what Antick tricks their ignorance will lead them to, swinging of their bodies & faces after a strange manner, sometimes jumping into the fire, sometimes catching up a Firebrand, & biting off a live coal, with many such tricks, that will affright....[57]

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Zeisberger described a number of minor religious ceremonies which probably are similar to those of the earlier period. Of the five ceremonials he mentioned, the first was a description of the Big House Ceremony; in the second, men danced in a breech clout and were "daubed all over with white clay."[58] In the third, tanned deerskins were given to ten or more old men and women, who wrapped themselves in these skins, stood in front of the Big House, faced east, and prayed. In this ceremony wampum was thrown on the ground, and the children scrambled for it.[59] The fourth was a feast of bear's flesh and melted fat, in which the large quantities consumed brought on vomiting and indigestion. Speck mentioned this ceremony "as a definite rite intended for the placation of the bear," and recounted the mythological tale responsible for its origin.[60] The fifth ceremony was a sweat bath held in the Big House. A sweat house, framed with twelve poles of diverse woods, was set up inside the Big House and was covered with blankets. "These twelve poles represent twelve Manittos, some of these being creatures, others plants."[61] After a meal a fire was built in the entrance of the sweat lodge, and twelve stones were heated and placed inside. Twelve pipes full of tobacco were thrown on the hot stones; twelve people then entered and remained as long as they were able. During this ceremony

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[56] Harrington, 1913, pp. 228-30; 1921, p. 85; Trowbridge MS.

[57] Denton, 1845, p. 9.

[58] Zeisberger, 1910, pp. 137-38.

[59] *Ibid.*, p. 138; Harrington, 1921, p. 109, and the Trowbridge MS. stated that this ceremony concluded the Big House Ceremony; Post and Hayes noted these details in the observance of an annual ceremony on May 24-27, 1760 (Hayes, 1954, pp. 74-76).

[60] Speck, 1937, pp. 30-43.

[61] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 138.

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"a whole buck-skin with the head and antlers is raised upon a pole, head and antlers resting on the pole, before which the Indians sing and pray."[62] Speck noted that the sweat lodge was erected in the Big House in the Wolf phratry ceremony and that "the sweating rite was held as a test of endurance for the men who had spiritual guidance."[63] Zeisberger also stated that there was a number of less important ceremonies arranged by individuals.[64]

A minor ceremony, continued until the twentieth century but unrecorded in the earlier literature except for a casual reference by Zeisberger, was the "Otter-Hog Dance."[65] This rite had to be given every few years by a certain family or else bad luck ensued (O.A.). The leader of this dance wore an otter hide which stretched from his head down his back to the ground. Special songs were sung, and the meat of the largest procurable hog was consumed during the dance. The hog's head was carried around in a pan by the leader during the dance and at the conclusion of the ceremony was consigned to the flames (O.A.). Harrington mentioned this ceremony and gave an origin myth for it, but his informants did not remember the dance itself.[66] Speck has also described this "Grease Drinking, or Otter Ceremony."[67]

Another series of minor ceremonies consisted of the Doll Dances. These dances probably originated in prehistoric times, but were not recorded in the early documents. The dolls seem to have had their origin in the visions of women and were passed down through the maternal line.[68] Doll owners had to give their dolls annual dances, usually in the spring. The doll was tied to a stick and the dancers carried it during the all-night ceremony. Both sexes participated; men danced in an inner circle, the women in an outer. They danced around a fire on either side of which two poles had been raised. The drum used in this ceremony was the "package" drum used in the Big House Ceremony (O.A., M.B., J.T., J.W.). Twelve songs were sung in the course of the ceremony, followed by a pause for a feast in which various corn dishes prepared by the owner of the doll were eaten. After this meal the songs were repeated, and just before dawn cornbread was scattered on the ground and was picked up and eaten by the dancers. Speck said that a Doll Dance "embodies the idea of appeasing the latent ill-will of the Spirit of Corn, aroused through innocent familiarity incurred in the past between the children of certain families and this sensitive Manitto."[69] Harrington described the Doll dances, but his description varies somewhat from mine.[70]

There were undoubtedly other dances and feasts, including first fruits rites,[71] given at different seasons by various family or other kin

[62] *Ibid.*, pp. 138-39; Kenny, 1913, pp. 196-97.
[63] Speck, 1937, p. 21.
[64] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 140.
[65] Zeisberger, 1871, p. 344.
[66] Harrington, 1921, pp. 176-82.
[67] Speck, 1937, pp. 44-48.
[68] The section on Mythology describes several origin tales for the Doll Dances.
[69] Speck, 1937, p. 61.
[70] Harrington, 1921, pp. 164-71.
[71] Hayes, 1954, p. 70 (first deer killed after an annual ceremony, on June 9, 1760); Loskiel, 1794, p. 40; Brickell, 1842, p. 49.

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groups. The Mask Being was "feasted" annually (J.T.). Speck described a number of other feasts and dances including "The Mask Dance Ceremony," an "Opossum Dance Ceremony," the "Buffalo Dance Ceremony" (apparently a recent diffusion to the Delawares), a "Corn Harvest Ceremony," and "The Spring Prayer and Football Ceremony to Advance Vegetation."[71]

Shamans

There were two kinds of shamans, one devoted to curing and the other to divination.[72] Heckewelder distinguished the Medeu, or the individual associated with curing, from the Powwow or Juggler, who was higher in rank and was skilled in divination and magic.[73] The members of the latter group, according to Harrington, were organized into societies, but Trowbridge denied this, and there is no other confirmation to be found for the existence of societies. They probably represent a diffusion from the Iroquois to the Canadian Delawares.[74] Shamans might be of either sex and were generally old. Among their activities were weather forecasting, rain making, the preparation of "medicine" for hunters who were down on their luck, and curing. They also make "philters or love potions for such married persons as either do not, or think they cannot, love each other."[75] Before they performed their services, shamans had to be paid in wampum, tobacco, dressed deerskins, or the like. They wore costumes when treating the sick, and a tortoise shell rattle, dancing, singing, and "mumbling" were always a part of their performance.[76]

Lindestrom in the seventeenth century said that the "curing" shaman "runs back and forth, cries so that he is heard a long way off, rolls himself naked into the burning fire, takes fire brands with which he builds a wall all around the sick one, the sick one enduring such with patience."[77] Denton said of shamans:

> When any person is sick, after the means used by his friend, every one pretending skill in Physick, that proving ineffectual they send for a Pawaw or Priest, who sitting down by the sick person without the least enquiring after the distemper, waits for a gift which he proportions his work accordingly to: that being received, he first begins with a low voice to call upon his God, calling sometimes upon one sometimes on another, raising his voice higher & higher, beating of his naked breasts & sides, till the sweat runneth down, & his breath is almost gone, then that little which is remaining, he evaporates upon the face of the sick person three or four times together & so takes his leave."[78]

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[71] Speck, 1937, pp. 49-87.

[72] Brainerd, 1884, p. 131; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 236; Brinton, 1885, pp. 70-71.

[73] Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 228 ff.

[74] Harrington, 1913, p. 217; Trowbridge MS.

[75] Harrington, 1913, p. 232; N.D.

[76] Harrington, 1913, pp. 232-34; M.B.

[77] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 248.

[78] Denton, 1845, pp. 8-9; Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 232-33, described the performance in similar terms.

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conservative, distrustful of whites, and, in general, less acculturated than others who are young, literate, moderately educated, progressive, and well assimilated. There is an antipeyote faction, and even within the peyote faction there is a schism between the Big Moon and Little Moon adherents. These various factions promote discord, so much so that any unified tribal activity is virtually impossible. The Delawares are, then, no longer a distinct social group. Delaware society has disappeared, although allegiance to a number of the ancient culture traits lingers.

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The most notable remnant of socioreligious organization still perpetuated by both Oklahoma Delaware communities is the phratry. Adults still acknowledge membership in one or more of the phratries. Membership was originally determined by descent in the female line, but this is no longer true; a person inherits membership in both his mother's and father's phratry, so that many individuals consider themselves to be "half and half." An individual can belong to no more than two of the three phratries. Consequently, it is apparent that if this method of reckoning membership is carried on for many generations most people will belong to two of the three phratries. There is no memory of any other system of reckoning membership. Obviously, the shift in the method of determining phratry membership has been caused by the emphasis on the paternal line in American society. At least among the Cherokee-Delawares the pressure has not been strong enough to shift the system from simple matrilineal reckoning all the way to patrilineal, as in our patronymics; it has gone but an illogical part way. Phratry membership originally depended upon clan ties, but there is no knowledge of them today in either Delaware community. The conclusion is inescapable that the clan organization disappeared before the Delawares left Kansas.

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An interesting factor contributing to the eventual extinction of Delaware culture and also to social heterogeneity is found in present marriage restrictions. It is considered incestuous for a person to marry anyone to whom he is related, however remotely. This means that in both Oklahoma communities the young Delaware boys and girls cannot marry other Delawares, since everybody is considered to be related to everyone else. Some of the feelings about this point were: "The young people are disgusted, can't find anybody they're not kin to" (O.A.). "We're disappearing as fast as we can 'cause we got nobody to marry" (O.A.). "It's awful when you marry kinfolks" (M.B.). Briefly, one generation hence there will be no person who is more than half Delaware biologically, and probably none more than half sociologically. (This subject is taken up more fully under Pan-Indianism.) Within the last several decades the Delawares have taken to marrying legally and are completely assimilated in this respect.

Religious Assimilation

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Big House Ceremony.—Without a doubt the most tenacious and unchanging elements in Delaware culture, aside from language, have been

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in religion. According to Speck's exhaustive monograph composed from one informant's data on the Big House Ceremony in the early 1930's, the last full or "real" ceremony was held during the fall of 1924.[5] Since the Delawares knew that this ceremony was in danger of dying out, they attempted to put young people in "important positions" and in positions of leadership (R.W.). An abbreviated Big House Ceremony was, in fact, performed during the second World War.[6]

The wartime Big House Ceremonies were held three times: in the spring of 1944, the following fall, and just before the conclusion of the European War in the spring of 1945. The traditional season for the ceremony was the fall, but two of these meetings were held in the spring. R.W. said that the first one was held in the spring because of the seriousness of the war. No explanation was given for the final spring meeting. The meetings were held in order to induce the supernatural powers to provide a quick victory for the United States and to ensure the return of the Delaware soldiers unharmed. The purpose of the meetings, then, was within the traditional pattern. Many people remain convinced of the efficacy of these meetings; after all, the War was over shortly after the last meeting, and no Delaware servicemen were killed on the fields of battle.

The wartime ceremonies were held on a farm a few miles north of Dewey. The Big House itself was built of bark and canvas and was an arbor rather than a house (O.A.). The old log "church" or "meeting house" fell into disrepair sometime after the ceremony of 1924, and no trace of it exists today. The carved heads (Mesingkwa) and other paraphernalia had been removed and sold to museums by J.F.[7] Joe Washington was the leader, at least during the last two meetings; other men who played important parts were Ben Hill, Jim Thompson, and Reuben Wilson. Joe Washington tried to arouse interest and continuance of the ceremony by explaining in the Delaware language what they were doing and why they were doing it. This attempt was rewarded with little success.

The Delawares did not camp at the Big House, as was customary, but came to the ceremonies every evening. It was said that "lots of the younger people didn't go." They failed to attend either because they thought it "silly" or because they did not understand the Delaware language very well (O.A.). Vision recital, as was customary, played the principal role in the wartime ceremonies. Reuben Wilson, Joe Washington, Ben Hill, and perhaps others recited either their own or traditional visions. The vision recital of these men was ridiculed; it was said that although they might have had visions, they did not have the "power" that the traditional visions gave. In short, "they just went through the motions." "Although they knowed the songs they didn't have the right (spiritual) power" (J.T.). Women traditionally were seldom blessed with visions, but the few who had had them were allowed to recite them on the

[5] Speck, 1931, p. 18; F. W., O.A., R.W.

[6] The Anadarko Delawares never performed the Big House Ceremony. The following account refers only to the Cherokee-Delawares.

[7] I have seen ceremonial equipment in the Philbrook Art Center in Tulsa which supposedly came from the Big House. Other material has found its way into the collections of the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania.

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final day of the ceremony. At the time of the wartime meetings there were no women left who had had visions. Perhaps this is why they were called upon to offer prayers instead.

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There was friction in at least one of the meetings since the leader, J.W., sold the scarce, virtually sacred wampum donated by other Delawares. The people who purchased the wampum were frequently strangers or curiosity seekers; they were seldom donors. Friction also occurred when some peyotists prayed in their fashion. One individual said of this friction:

> Ben Hill asked people to get up and pray — to pray to the fire. Nobody did for awhile so I got up. I prayed like a white preacher does, but in Indian. I prayed to the fire, and asked that all the boys be returned safely. I prayed that my boy would come back safe. I went on praying and I got to crying. Then I sat down. Then E. J. got up and prayed the same way, then a man. After that T.M. got up and said he didn't believe you could pray that way in this meeting. I felt so funny, I was crushed. I didn't go back after that. (O.A.)

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The form of prayer that O.A. described is common in the local version of the Big Moon peyote cult, with the exception that in the peyote ceremony the prayer is accompanied by the smoking of a Bull Durham cornhusk cigarette.

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Even with what little is known about the wartime Big House ceremonies it is plain that they were more a reflection of the old rites than a faithful duplication of them. They lasted twelve days, visions were recited, some venison was eaten, but in almost every other respect they were changed. The few young people who attended did not know where to sit; even if they knew their phratry membership they probably did not know where that phratry belonged in the meeting house. The arbor was a poor substitute for the log Big House; there was room for only one fire, and the carved heads were missing. There could be no hunt for deer, because there were no deer. In one meeting O.A. persuaded a rancher to contribute a deer, but it was impossible to feed the participants for twelve days with one deer.

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After 1924 the Big House Ceremony withered away. It was briefly revived because of the stimulus of the second world war, but this revival was only a dim reflection of the original ceremony. Joe Washington and Ben Hill, the spark plugs of the wartime meetings, are dead. The few remaining participants who are familiar with the ritual are old and are not imparting their knowledge to others; and many Delawares who formerly participated have focused their attentions on the peyote cult. Informants gave two reasons why they preferred peyotism to the traditional religious forms: first, peyotism is cheap, but in the Big House Ceremony the "Bringer-in" is primarily responsible for the cost which in 1930 was one hundred and fifty dollars.[4] In a peyote meeting the cost is negligible in comparison and is often shared by the participants. Second, only Delawares can participate in the Big House Ceremony, and individual Delawares often have only a few Delaware friends,

[4] Speck, 1931, p. 24.

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*177 795 although they have many Indian friends of other tribes. Any Indian can participate in peyote meetings, and a few people can hold one, whereas the Big House Ceremony requires a large co-operative group of people. Associated with the advantages of peyotism is the fact that the Delawares are even more scattered than they were during the war and would have a difficult time getting together for a twelve-day Big House Ceremony. The disintegration of the Big House Ceremony is regretted by many Delawares, but nothing is being done, or can be done, to revive it.

It is not entirely clear when most other elements of Delaware religion disappeared or were replaced. The reason for this is that no other ceremonies were as universal or as well known as the Big House Ceremony. Nevertheless, it is possible to make estimates which probably are reliable.

*177 787 Vision quest.—The Delawares no longer seek visions, and apparently few people have unsolicited visions. Informants frequently claim that "no one can have visions because the earth is no longer clean" (M.B.), or that one has to be "morally clean" to obtain a vision (N.D.). Few people living in a white man's world can claim these virtues, informants add. No young people were encountered who had had visions, solicited or otherwise. Several middle-aged and old people claimed to have had visions, but their visions had not been solicited. The guardian spirit of one informant (R.W.), for instance, was the Mask Being. This deity had appeared when the man was in delirium following an automobile accident. The vision quest was probably declining in popularity before the Cherokee-Delawares reached Oklahoma and shortly thereafter disappeared entirely. Supernatural beings encountered in a peyote trance are not regarded as guardian spirits.

*177 515 Sweat bathing, Shamanism.—Sweat bathing disappeared among the Cherokee-Delawares during the early decades of this century. O.A. was given a sweat bath as a child, as a cure for some childhood illness. Shamans often presided over sweat bathing, and the last Cherokee-Delaware shaman (Chief Elkhair) died almost two decades ago. M.B. of the Anadarko Delawares claimed that sweat baths were in vogue there until "a few years ago."

*177 757 Curing.—Although shamans and sweat bathing have passed into oblivion there is still secular knowledge and perhaps use of native medicines and cures. These are useful in love, for fevers, hiccoughs, colic in children, and the like. One informant (N.D.), for example, had inherited from her mother some sort of animal foot plus rules and ritual which were used as "love medicine." N.D. used this magical device once successfully, but is reluctant to use it again. It is doubtful if she will pass these secrets along to her daughter. Peyote, government doctors, and hospitals seem to have supplemented native therapy — medicinal and supernatural — for more important illnesses.

*177 796 Doll Dance.—According to Kinietz, "The Doll Dance which was a family responsibility has not been held since 1929."[9] This agrees with my information, although the last remaining doll owner had vowed to

[9] Kinietz, 1946, p. 14.

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give a dance in the summer of 1951. The vow was probably brought on by the woman's illness but she died before the dance could take place At the present time the Cherokee-Delawares are in possession of only this one doll. All other dolls have been lost, given to missionaries, buried with their owners, or sold to museums.

Otter-Tail Dance.—This dance was unknown to the Anadarko Delawares, and it has been long defunct among the Cherokee-Delawares. O.A. saw it for the last time in 1902. According to her, the house in which the otter tail was kept burned down and the otter hide was destroyed, thus ending the dance.

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Delaware Peyotism.—Petrullo has provided a description and analysis of the history and content of peyotism among the Delawares.[10] My concern, therefore is to indicate the importance and role of peyote in the religious assimilation of the Delawares, and also to describe what changes, if any, have taken place in Delaware peyotism since the time of Petrullo's investigation in 1929-30.

Peyote *(Lophophora williamsii)* is a spineless, carrot-shaped, grayish-green cactus, which in this country grows primarily in the lower Rio Grande Valley. When eaten, either green or dried, or drunk as tea, peyote has the property of heightening or sharpening the perception of color, form, and sound, or inducing visual and/or auditory hallucinations. A knowledge of the properties of peyote and its utilization in religious ceremonies antedates recorded history in Mexico. It was not until late in the nineteenth century, however, that knowledge of peyote and a new ceremonial use of it developed and spread widely among the demoralized reservation Indians of the United States. The modern peyote ceremony is essentially "a collective all-night vigil in which, through prayer, contemplation, and eating peyote, the peyotist receives a divine revelation."[11]

Peyotism was brought to the Cherokee-Delawares about 1885 by John Wilson, a part-Delaware from Anadarko. This man became a peyotist about 1880, and in subsequent years he converted many Delawares in the Anadarko and Dewey areas.[12] His influence spread far beyond tribal borders, however, and he has been called "the most significant figure in the diffusion of the religion in Oklahoma since 1885."[13] The John Wilson version of peyotism, variously termed Big Moon or Moonhead, is today the most important form of peyotism in number of adherents among the Cherokee-Delawares. The Anadarko Delawares also seem to favor a Big Moon variant. The more conservative, Little Moon version was introduced to the Cherokee-Delawares somewhat later than the Big Moon, and it still finds some adherents.[14] As far as being a causative agent in the decline and disappearance of traditional religion is concerned, peyote has played a negligible role. Many individuals practiced and believed in both religious creeds; Chief Elkhair,

[10] Petrullo, 1934.
[11] LaBarre, *et al.*, 1951, pp. 582-83.
[12] Petrullo, 1934, p. 83.
[13] *Ibid.*, pp. 78-79.
[14] *Ibid.*, p. 32; F.W.

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668 794 God. Thus it appeared that through him Satan endeavored to rob the gospel of its power over the Indians.

As long as the preachers did not proclaim things evidently untrue they were held in great regard and had a considerable following withersoever they went, for they never remained long in one place, else their deception would have been revealed the sooner. They still preached in Gekelemukpechünk [204] when the Moravians came to the Muskingum. Soon thereafter they began to be too coarse, seeking to establish their teaching in opposition to the gospel. This brought about the end of their influence. One has since heard little of them and the most have died. For at the last they preached that whoever would believe in them and follow their direction would be happy in the chase and in all other undertakings, would be able to cross sea and land, would reap plenteous harvests even though little had been planted. The Indians who trusted in them soon saw that they had been deceived and that they had been brought to starvation by the treacherous preachers. Then the power of the latter was at an end.

782 796 Worship and sacrifices have obtained among them from the earliest times, being usages handed down from their ancestors. Though in the detail of ceremony there has been change, as the Indians are more divided now than at that time, worship and sacrifice have continued as practiced in the early days, for the Indians believe that they would draw all manner of disease and misfortune upon themselves if they omitted to observe the ancestral rites.

[848 602] In the matter of sacrifice, relationship, even though distant, is of significance, legitimate or illegitimate relationship being regarded without distinction. A sacrifice is offered by a family, with its entire relationship, once in two years. Others, even the inhabitants of other towns, are invited. Such sacrifices are commonly held in autumn, rarely in winter. As their connections are large, each Indian will have opportunity to attend more than one family sacrifice a year. The head of the family knows the time and he must provide for everything. When the head of such a family is converted, he gets into difficulty because his

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friends will not give him peace until he has designated some one to take his place in the arrangement for sacrificial feasts.

Preparations for such a sacrificial feast extend through several days. The requisite number of deer and bears is calculated and the young people are sent into the woods to procure them together with the leader whose care it is to see that everything needful is provided. These hunters do not return until they have secured the amount of booty counted upon. On their return they fire a volley when near the town, march in in solemn procession and deposit the flesh in the house of sacrifice. Meantime the house has been cleared and prepared. The women have prepared fire-wood and brought in long dry reed grass, which has been strewn the entire length of the house, on both sides, for the guests to sit upon. Such a feast may continue for three or four nights, the separate sessions beginning in the afternoon and lasting until the next morning. Great kettles full of meat are boiled and bread is baked. These are served to the guests by four servants especially appointed for this service. The rule is that whatever is thus brought as a sacrifice must be eaten altogether and nothing left.[305] A small quantity of melted fat only is poured into the fire. The bones are burnt, so that the dogs may not get any of them. After the meal the men and women dance, every rule of decency being observed. It is not a dance for pleasure or exercise, as is the ordinary dance engaged in by the Indians. One singer only performs during the dance, walking up and down, rattling a small tortoise shell filled with pebbles. He sings of the dreams the Indians have had, naming all the animals, elements and plants they hold to be spirits. None of the spirits of things that are useful to the Indians may be omitted. By worshipping all the spirits named they consider themselves to be worshipping God, who has revealed his will to them in dreams. When the first singer has finished he is followed by another. Between dances the guests may stop to eat again. There are four or five kinds of feasts, the ceremonies of which differ much from one another.

In another kind of feast the men dance clad only in their Breech-clout, their bodies being daubed all over with white clay.

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796 At a third kind of feast ten or more tanned deer-skins are given to as many old men or women, who wrap themselves in them and stand before the house with their faces turned toward the east, praying God with a loud voice to reward their benefactors. They turn toward the east because they believe that God dwells beyond the rising of the sun. At the same time much wampum is given away. This is thrown on the ground and the young people scramble for it. Afterward it is ascertained who secured the most. This feast is called *'ngammuin*, the meaning of which they themselves are unable to give.

[776] A fourth kind of feast is held in honor of a certain voracious spirit, who, according to their opinions, is never satisfied. The guests are, therefore, obliged to eat all the bear's flesh and drink the melted fat. Though indigestion and vomiting may result they must continue and not leave anything.

[776] A fifth kind of festival is held in honor of fire which the Indians regard as being their grandfather and call *Machtuzin*, meaning "to perspire." A sweating-oven is built in the midst 776 of the house of sacrifice, consisting of twelve poles each of a different species of wood. These twelve poles represent twelve 343 *Manittos*, some of these being creatures, others plants. These [776] they run into the ground, tie together at the top, bending them toward each other; these are covered entirely with blankets, joined closely together, each person being very ready to lend his blanket, so that the whole appears like a baker's oven, high enough nearly to admit a man standing upright. After the meal or sacrifice, fire is made at the entrance of the oven and twelve large stones, about the size of human heads, are heated and placed in the oven. Then twelve Indians creep into it and [276] remain there as long as they can bear the heat. While they are inside twelve pipes full of tobacco are thrown, one after another, upon the hot stones which occasions a smoke almost powerful enough to suffocate those confined inside. Some one may also walk around the stones singing and offering tobacco, for tobacco is offered to fire. Usually, when the twelve men emerge from the oven, they fall down in a swoon. During this feast a whole buck-skin with the head and antlers is raised upon a pole, head and antlers resting on the pole, before which the

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Indians sing and pray. They deny that they pay any adoration to the buck, declaring that God alone is worshipped through this medium and is so worshipped at his will.

At these feasts there are never less than four servants, to each of whom a fathom of wampum is given that they may care for all necessary things. During the three or four days they have enough to do by day and by night. They have leave, also, to secure the best of provisions, such as sugar, bilberries, molasses, eggs, butter and to sell these things at a profit to guests and spectators. Festivals are usually closed with a general drinking bout. There are always rum-sellers present on such occasions who make large profits. As a result of the drinking there are generally several fatalities, for, among the Indians that gather from various places, such as wish to work off an old score are ready to make use of the opportunity afforded by these occasions.

Besides these solemn feasts of sacrifice there are many of less importance, for individuals arrange them on their own account. They invite guests and prepare a feast of deer or bear's flesh. The guests consume the whole meal, the host and his family being mere spectators. At the great feasts all who are present partake of the food. Each individual may offer sacrifice for himself when engaged in the chase, in order that he may be successful. Having cut up a deer and divided it into many small pieces he scatters them about for the birds and crows that sit about on the trees waiting. Retiring to some distance the Indian will then amuse himself by observing in what manner they devour the prey. Another may offer to his *Manitto* for some other reason. Corn is said to be the wife of the Indian and to it they sacrifice bear's flesh. To the deer and bear they offer corn. To the fishes they bring an offering of small pieces of bread shaped in the form of fishes. If an Indian hunter hears an owl screech in the night he immediately throws some tobacco into the fire, muttering a few words at the same time. Then they promise themselves success for the next day for the owl is said to be a powerful spirit. In dreams, they claim, it has been made known to them what creatures to regard as their *manittos* and what offerings to bring to them. Such

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796 offerings are then regarded by God as rendered to him. It is clear enough that the Indians, professing to worship God and bringing sacrifices to him, serve Satan, who influences their dreams, and keeps them in slavery in this wise, for the Indians consider dreams to be of great importance and nothing less than revelations from God. It is indeed true as the Apostle says, 1 Cor. 10:20, "the things which the Gentiles sacrifice, they sacrifice to the devils and not to God." Those among the Indians who have been converted recognize this and henceforth hold the Indian sacrifices and offerings to be vain and do not care to say much about them.

769 To the spirits of the dead they offer both meat and drink-offerings. If it is to be a meat offering, which the doctors must decide in case of illness or accident, either a hog or a bear is killed for a feast and guests are invited. The latter assemble in the house where the sacrifice is to be offered. An old man gives part of the meal to the enraged spirits, speaks with them, and begs them to be pacified. All this is done in the dark; there must be neither fire nor light. After the old man has communed with the spirits he tells the guests that they have been appeased.

If it is to be a drink offering rum is required. Guests are invited also. They drink together and some one speaks with the spirits and pacifies them. The guests walk to the grave and pour some rum upon it. Such sacrifices are very common among them, and are arranged even upon very trivial occasions. In case of a tooth-ache or head-ache, they imagine that the spirits are displeased and must be pacified by an offering.

765 Every woman whose child dies in a foreign land travels, if possible, once a year to the place of its burial, taking another woman with her, and offers a drink-offering upon its grave.

776 The hare is regarded as a great God and they bring offerings to it. The name of one of the twins born to the woman 773 that was thrown from heaven was *Tschimammus*, that is, hare. He made the land upon which the Indians dwell and was their ancestor. Now he is said to dwell in heaven, for many Indians who have been there have seen him and spoken to him and to them he has declared that he would come again.

team of horses which had broken through the ice, were rescued through this same ability, to remain beneath the surface of the water for a considerable period. Power for this ability was given him by a teal duck which appeared to him in a dream. In the informant's words:

> When a boy, my grandfather always went swimming every morning before sun-up, even when there was a thin coating of ice on the river. One time he dreamed of going down to the ice-covered stream very early to bathe as usual. When he jumped into the water the echo could be heard down the river. Then suddenly he heard a voice saying to him, "I am going to make you a strong man. You will be able to go under the water as I do." He did not see anyone around but there close by was a teal. And he could go down under the water and get fish, too.

So close was the connection of divination with the spiritual realm that the Delaware noted carefully the last words of a person near to death. At such a time the dying one is believed to be in close communication with the souls of the departed, who may impart messages of great importance through this medium to the living. One aged woman while on her death-bed spoke as follows:

> My kindred, we have been wonderfully blessed. We have enjoyed the gifts which the Creator bestowed upon us. That is because we have kept our own religion and observed the teachings of our elders in all things. If you continue to do this in the future, you will not be subjected to the evils which increase as civilization increases. Do not give up your own religion.

Another old woman foretold the coming of the railroad twelve years prior to its appearance, while a third foresaw the granting of citizenship to the Indians twenty years before its occurrence.

The Sweating Rite

The importance of the sweat lodge ritual, as carried out by the Delaware for the purpose of spiritual and physical purification, is attested both by early observers,[25] and by more recent students.[26] According to Zeisberger, in his discussion of Delaware customs, the practice was attended by rather elaborate rites and was evidently regarded as one of the major ceremonies. It was performed in honor of fire, being called *machtuxin*, a term meaning "to perspire," according to the same writer's translation. A similar rite is described by Harrington, whose informants named it *muxhat'olzing*. This is recorded as a variant of the Annual Ceremony.

[25] Zeisberger, *op. cit.*, p. 138; Heckewelder, *op. cit.*, p. 225; Loskiel, 1794, pt. 1, pp. 108-9.

[26] Harrington, 1921, 122-126; Speck, 1931, pp. 72-74.

In examining the various accounts of this rite, both in published and manuscript form and through correspondence and verbal statements, it is evident that what was originally a highly developed ceremony performed in honor of the Creator, to whom appeals were sent through various media (such as fire, tobacco, water, etc.), has been modified to a great degree by the introduction of alien features and the abandonment of certain elements to meet the requirements of individuals. The latter would apply both to the practitioners and to those who sought treatment for physical and mental ills.

The benefits, according to one early writer (Heckewelder, *op. cit.*, p. 225) which were derived from the sweat lodge ritual, were numerous and varied. He writes: "The sweat oven is the first thing that an Indian has recourse to when he feels indisposed: it is the place to which the wearied traveller, hunter, or warrior looks for relief from the fatigue he has endured, the cold he has caught or the restoration of his lost appetite." Reference to the works of Zeisberger[37] and Loskiel[38] indicate that it was customary for individuals to resort frequently to the public sweat lodges.

Wi·tapanóxwe states that formerly the sweating rite, as a part of the annual Big House Ceremony (Speck, 1931, p. 74), was performed to test the spiritual and physical strength of certain men, usually warriors. A lodge was built within the Big House and the men went in to pray and to recite their visions. Those who could withstand the heat for the longest period, were regarded as possessing the greatest power for war, and for curing. Information (correspondence, November, 1930) of a negative character as to the ceremonial aspects of the rite was obtained from J. A. Parks, of Copan, Oklahoma, who writes, "The sweat lodge was not a ceremony. It was a method of treating the sick with sweat baths and hot breaths of air by the Indian doctors."

This brings us to a consideration of the rite as it is performed by the Delaware sweat doctor today. In the account dictated by Wi·tapanóxwe, there is evidence of the survival of many elements, originally attached to the earlier form but subsequently incorporated into the formal pro-

[37] "It is the custom of the Indians when they are tired or caught cold to go into a sweating oven several times a week. For this purpose every town has on its outskirts a sweating oven." (*op. cit.*, p. 26.)

[38] Similarly, this writer (*op. cit.*, p. 661) states in reference to the Delaware that "In every town an oven situated at some distance from the dwelling is built either of sticks or boards covered with sods, or dug in the side of a hill, and heated with some redhot stones."

ence to this person's having taught them the correct way to live and perform their sacrifices (Brainerd, p. 345; Luckenbach, p. 616; Brinton, 1888, p. 38). 773 776

Methods of Worship

The all-pervasive method of worship was sacrifice of burned flesh or tobacco. The correct method for performing these sacrifices, the dances, the order of procedure, method of constructing the house in which they were to be performed and other details were prescribed to the ancestors of the Delaware in the distant past. Most of these details escaped the notice, or at least failed to arouse the interest of our earliest observers, but Penn sketched their ceremonies in the following general terms: 782 796

> "Their Worship consists of two parts, Sacrifice and Cantico. Their Sacrifice is their first Fruits; the first and fattest Buck they kill, goeth to the fire, where he is all burnt with a Mournful Ditty of him that performeth the Ceremony... The other part is their Cantico, performed by round-Dances, sometimes words, sometimes Songs, then Shouts, two being in the middle that begin, and by Singing and Drumming on a Board direct the Chorus: Their Postures in the Dance are very Antick and differing, but all keep measure..." (p. 38-39; also see Lindstrom, p. 208).

The emphasis on traditionalism in Delaware religion makes it not unlikely that the ceremonies which were witnessed in the eighteenth century were similar to those performed before the white man arrived.[13] [177]

The following description of the fall ceremony is taken primarily from an eye witness account of Abraham Luckenbach, but where details are corroborated by other writers the reference is also cited. It coincides in many details with the ceremony described in Frank Speck's A Study of the Delaware Indian Big House Ceremony, which is an annotated account of a recitation of the ceremony as remembered by a Delaware Indian living in Oklahoma. 796

The ceremony was held in the Big House, which also served as council house. "The entrance was at both gable ends and there was neither floor nor ceiling. Near both ends and in the middle, there were three fires over which hung large kettles in which corn and meat were boiled for the guests and always kept in readiness for them to eat, when finished with the dance." The smoke opening left at the ridge of the roof and the bench running around the interior wall were similar to those already described for ordinary houses (also see Beatty, p. 22). 796 344

796 The greater part of the ceremony consisted of the recitation of visions by themen one at a time. They said that their protecting deities appeared to them in a dream "...in one or another form, for example, that of a large bird that then talked with them, told them their future fate for better or for worse; that they either would have great Chiefs or Warriors who would do great deeds, great witch-doctors who would deal in supernatural things, or that they would possess great riches and many relatives or the contrary. If the latter was the case, however, they did not sing their dreams but sadly related them;" The unfavorable dreams were not considered appropriate to recite at the ceremony.

In telling his dream, each man advanced "...holding the shell of a land-turtle containing a number of beans or kernels of corn... After he has rattled the turtle-shell with his hand amid many grimaces, he stops, and speaking in a loud tone of voice he relates, by fits and starts, the contents of his dream, or the manner in which his god appeared and what he told him." (Luckenbach, pp. 611-12, also see Zeisberger, 1910, p. 137). Actually these men whom Luckenbach saw recite their dreams were probably following a well-known path, with prearranged stopping places where the various "verses" of the vision were related. The same persons recited their dreams year after year so thast they attained a formal pattern. The path followed represents allegorically the White Path or the Great Spirit's road, that is, the road of human existence and of the soul after death (Speck, 1931, p. 23).

[982] "These dances are held only at night and are often continued for weeks at a time." At the conclusion a sacrificial feast was held, for which the meat was provided by a communal hunt. Additional features of the Annual Ceremony noted by Kenny and Beatty were that the sacrifice consisted of twelve of each of several species of animals and that the offering was made by burning the fat of the animals on twelve hot stones. The men who performed the sacrifice then took a sweat bath using the same twelve stones (also see Kenney, pp. 168-69; Beatty, p. 44). "In conclusion, two beautiful tanned deer-skins are turned over to the two old men appointed beforehand, who hold them toward the sunrise, in front of the house of sacrifice and spread them out, while murmuring something. In this way, they imagine they are praying to their god. They thank him for long life and health. For this service the old men afterwards receive the skins as their property." (Luckenbach, p. 613; also see Beatty, pp. 43-44).14

796 782 The Moravian missionaries a Friedenshutten witnessed a slightly different ceremony to which only guests of the family were invited. An old man sacrificed a deer at the center fire, then built an "oven" in which he placed twelve stones representing various deities. The old man then took the boy in whose honor the ceremony was being given

inside the oven, shook a calabash rattle and threw tobacco in the fire while asking the spirits to grant the boy good luck (Loskiel, p. 43).

To these ceremonies each person had to contribute a certain amount of wampum, a feature noted by Penn (p. 39). Of the rationale behind this custom, Frank Speck says: "...the pecuniary aspect of wampum has been exaggerated in the early writings dealing with the eastern Indians. To the Delawares wampum stood forth in the light of a covenant. It represented, and still does, a magical power capable of annulling the effects of latent poisonous influences that might pass between persons who exchange gifts or who enter into the transfer of property." (Speck, 1931, p. 63).

In addition to these more formal ceremonies, Brickell states that "...when they start on a hunting expedition, the first game that is taken they skin and dress whole, breaking not a bone, leaving on the head, ears and hoofs. This they bring to camp and cook whole, and everyone eats of it, and the rest they burn entirely up." (p. 49).

The Delaware communicated with the supernatural by means of visions. "...they give much heed to dreams, because they suppose these invisible powers give them direction at such times about certain affairs, and sometimes inform them what animal they choose to be worshipped in." (Brainerd, pp. 349-350; also see Loskiel, p. 40). In regard to the last, Lindstrom says: "They adopt their Paarka or idol when about fifteen. They may make a human figure, claw of bear or eagle, tooth or bird bill. They hang it about their neck and it is so sacred that no one may touch it." (Lindstrom, p. 207). These animals which became guardian spirits received their power from the great Spirit. Such an animal became sacred to the person to whom it was the author of good, although to others it was the same as any other animal (Zeisberger, 1910, p. 132; Brainerd, pp. 344-345).15

The Hereafter

From the earliest sources we find that the Delaware had a concept of an immortal soul, a hereafter which was better than life on earth and that the attainment of this place was linked with good behavior in life. The hereafter was believed to lie to the south, but its location was very vaguely conceived. Likewise although they had the idea of reward for a good life, there was no definite expression of what this good life would involve. The bad were to be punished not by any torture but by the inability to attain the place of bliss (Penn, p. 37; Brainerd, p. 346; Zeisberger, 1910, pp. 128-29; Brickell, p. 49). The greatest difference between the Delaware concept of good and that of the Christian theology of the period lay in the fact that the Delaware concept was completely concerned with man's behavior toward his fellow man. The sacrifices which were made were apparently expected to influence one's immediate fortune but to have little effect on the state of the soul after death. Thus Brainerd says that the bad folk are those who "...lie, steal, quarrel with their neighbors, are unkind to their friends and especially to aged parents, and in a word, such as are a plague to mankind." (p. 346).

10. The evidence available on this subject in printed form plus what can be found in deeds has been admirably summarized by Ruttenber (p.89ff.).

11. A pre-contact "history" of the Delaware, which is supposed to have been painted originally on sticks was acquired by Rafinesque in 1820. This man was a natural scientist and antiquarian of questionable repute, but the symbols in the document which he brought to light and their translation were pronounced authentic by several modern Delaware to whom it was shown by Brinton. The document, "The Walam Olum", with a translation of the Delaware text into English is reproduced by Brinton (1885).

12. One instance of the operation of this custom took place during the Dutch-Indian wars. The Dutch put a price on the heads of the Raritans, a Delaware band, for supposed offenses against them, but the only immediate result was a revenge murder by a neighboring band for an old injury (O'Callaghan, Vol. I, 1846, p. 240).

The following discussion of capturing two Indians who had murdered a white man also indicates the existence of this custom: "...only the Difficulty was, that there were seven of these Indyans, Men of the same Stock, that if two should be seised, the other five would seek to bee Revenged; soe it was unsafe." (Documents Relating to the Colonial History of New Jersey, Vol. I, p. 73).

13. Frank Speck (1931, p. 17): "The Big House capitulates the elements of certain minor feast ceremonies held on special occasions by families. The great annual ceremony seems to stand as an entity, one that does not submit to any assumption of recent origin in its present form of organization." This he feels is verified by its part-for-part resemblance to the Munsee ceremony in Canada, which would indicate that it must have been a national ceremony before 1700 when the groups began to separate.

In my opinion, however, there is not sufficient evidence that the "Annual Ceremony" of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries existed in all its complexity in the seventeenth century although most of its parts were probably contained in various different ceremonies which were performed. One important difference between the ceremonies mentioned by Penn and Lindstrom and the "Annual Ceremony" is that in the former the sacrificial meat consisted of the first of the season's kill and in the latter it consisted of game taken on a special communal hunt.

[For information on various Delaware ceremonies, see category 116, pages 81-156, 163-169, 171-183, 185-191, and 196-200. --Analyst]

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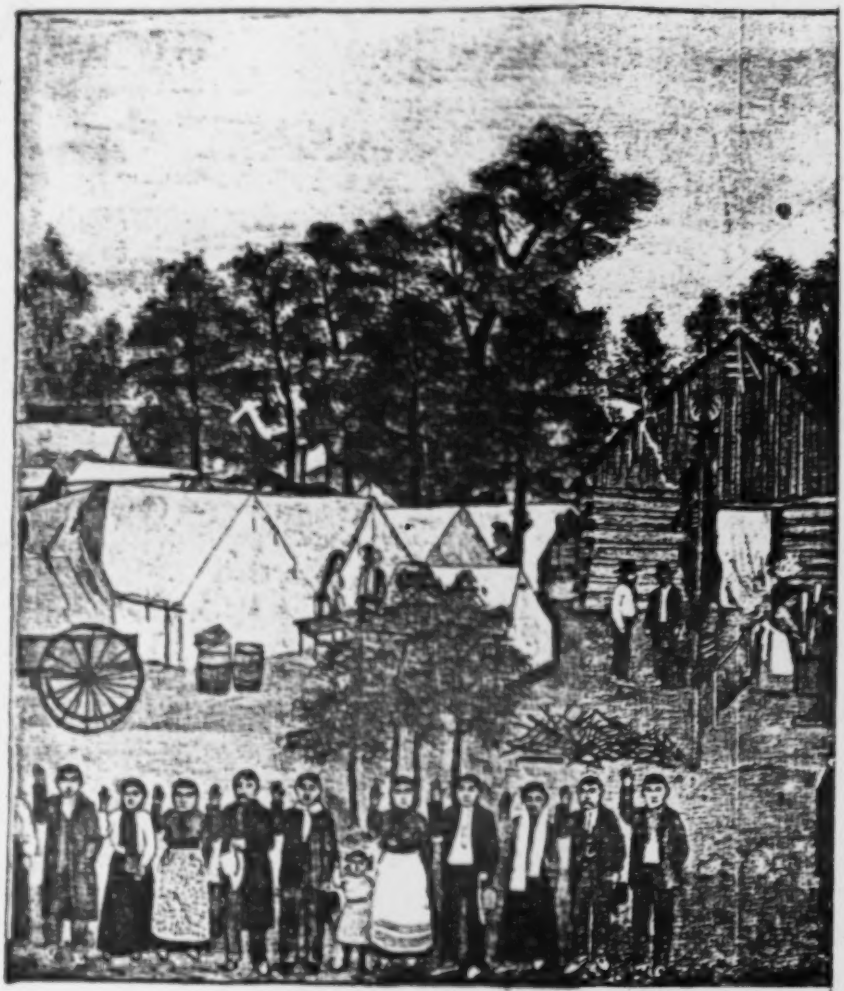

CONCLUSION OF THE LENAPE ANNUAL CERE
Native Painting by Earnest Spybuck, a

[FACING p.1(A)] [IN COLOR]

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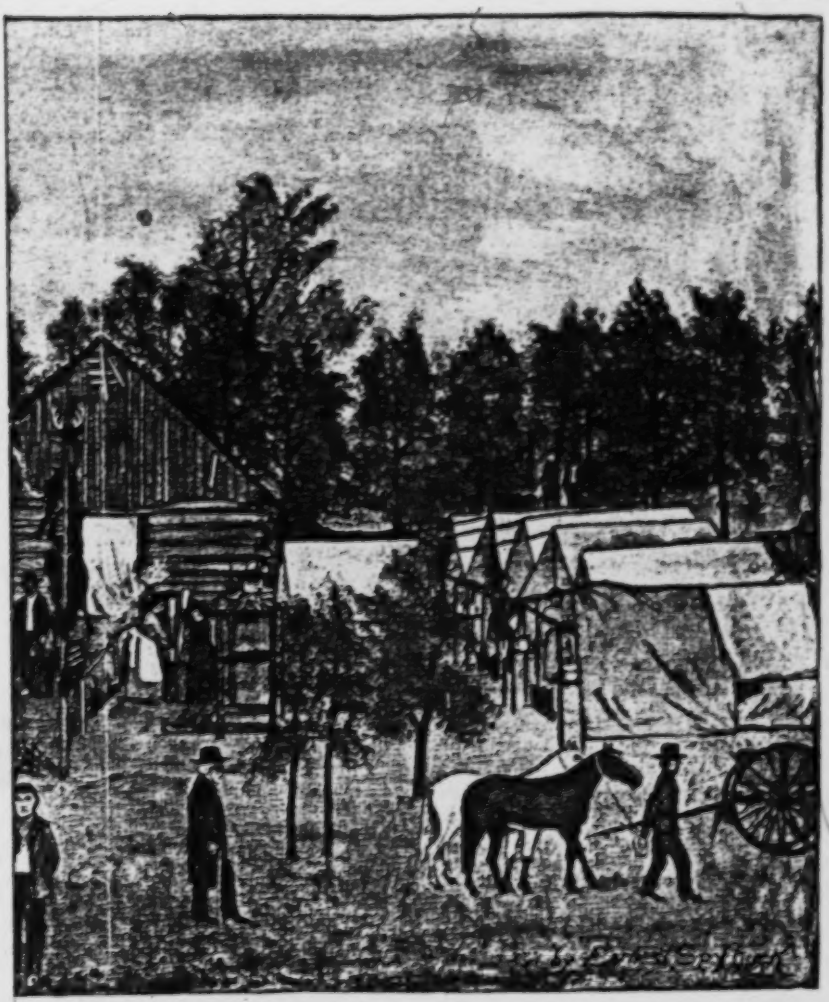

NAPE ANNUAL CEREMONY IN OKLAHOMA
ng by Earnest Spybuck, a Shawnee

[Facing p. 1(B)] [in color]

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the mother saying, "If you don't behave, MIsi'ng^{w} will carry you off in a bag full of snakes!" This seems to be the only trace of the doctoring function of the mask among the Unami. They also say that when the keeper burns tobacco for MIsinghâli'kŭn and asks for good luck in hunting, "it turns out that way every time;" and if anyone has lost either horses or cattle, whether by straying away or through theft, he can go to the keeper of the MIsi'ng^{w} with some tobacco and recover them. All he has to do is to explain his errand to the keeper, who in turn informs MIsinghâli'kŭn that they want him to look for these particular animals. The loser then goes home, and in a few days the missing stock return, driven back by this mysterious being. If they were tied or hobbled, it is said that the MIsi'ng^{w} appears to them and so frightens them that they break loose and come home. MIsinghâli'kŭn has a special ceremony, held in the spring, and also participates in the Annual Ceremony at the Big House. This MIsi'ng^{w} is also

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776 796 called *Weopē'lakis*, to distinguish it from another, kept by a different family, which was not so important, and about which little was known by my informants except that, within their memories, it had never appeared at the Annual Ceremony, but that it probably had a spring dance of its own. There is an indistinct tradition, however, that in former times several masks were seen at the Annual Ceremony, and that half a day was given up to them.

751 777 778 Miniature masks (fig. 3) were often worn on the person as health or good-luck charms, in former days usually suspended from a string about the neck, but in later times carried in the pocket. The two large Unami masks in the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, are shown in pl. II and fig. 1.

776 778 Among the Minsi there are considerable differences in belief and in practice, their masks resembling those of the Iroquois in many particulars. The late James Wolf said that "Mizinkhâli'kŭn" was supposed to live among the rocks

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[continued from p. 58]

a number of heads or masks of stone (pl. IV) within the boundaries of their former domain in New Jersey and the vicinity,[26] which, when the rarity of such objects in the surrounding regions is also considered, seems quite significant. Such stone heads even mark the trail of the Lenape withdrawal westward through Pennsylvania,[27] and have even been found in Ohio, where they lingered for a time (fig. 5).

The best early description is given by Brainerd,[28] who, in May 1745, while on the Susquehanna above the English settlements, saw a masked Indian who must have been an impersonator of Mĭsinghâli'kŭn. It runs:

"But of all the sights I saw among them, or indeed anywhere else, none appeared so frightful . . . as the appearance of one who was a devout and zealous Reformer, or rather, restorer of what he supposed was the ancient religion of the Indians. He made his appearance in his *pontifical garb*, which was a coat of *bear skins*, dressed with the hair on, and hanging down to his toes; a pair of bear skin stockings; and a great *wooden* face painted, the one half black, the other half

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tawny, about the color of an Indian's skin, with an extravagant mouth, cut very much awry; the face fastened to a bear skin cap, which was drawn over his head. He advanced toward me with the instrument in his hand, which he used for music, in his idolatrous worship, which was a dry *tortoise shell* with some corn in it, and the neck of it drawn on to a piece of wood, which made a very convenient handle. As he came forward, he beat his tune with the rattle, and danced with all his might, but he did not suffer any part of his body, not so much as his fingers, to be seen."

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With the exception of one minor point, the "wry mouth," this would be a good description of the Misi'ng^{w} outfit used until recently by the Lenape in Oklahoma (pl. 11). On the following page, Brainerd mentions "images" which seem to be the Misi'ng^{w} faces carved on the posts of the Big House.

Zeisberger[29] also refers to the masks in these words:

"The only idol which the Indians have, and which may properly be called an idol, is their *Wsinkhoalican*, that is Image. It is an image cut in wood, representing a human head in miniature, which they always carry about them either on a

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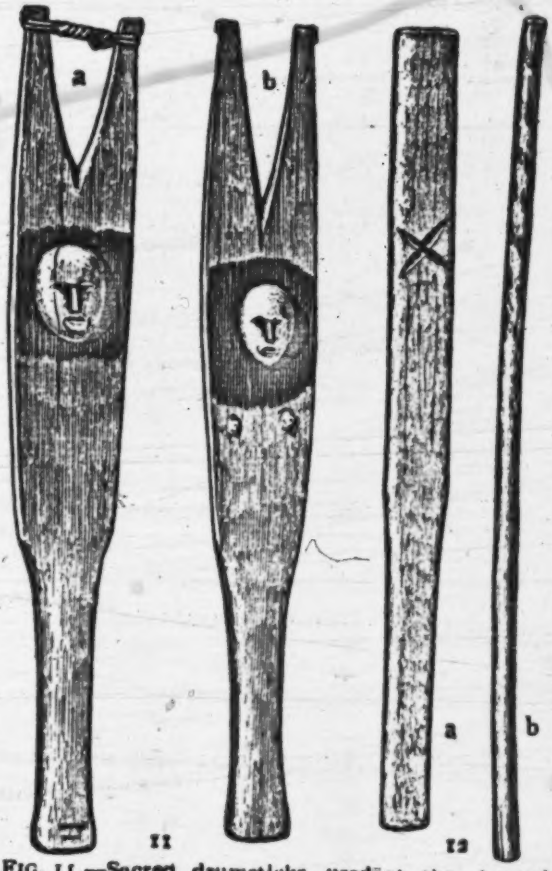

FIG. 11.—Sacred drumsticks, used at the Annual Ceremony in Oklahoma. (Length of *a*, 18.6 in.)

FIG. 12.—*a*, Plain drumstick used at the Annual Ceremony; *b*, Prayerstick. (Length of *b*, 18.9 in.)

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
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them and told them what to do to get his power. When a man put on a Mizink he received the power of this person or spirit; he could even see behind him, and could cure diseases."

The Mask Society.—The men who owned these masks formed a kind of society which Nellis Timothy says originally had twelve members, but which, before it disbanded, dwindled to about five. Sometimes only two appeared in costume.

The society had a meeting-house of its own where its dances, *Mizinkĭ'ntĭka*, were held, for, unlike the Unami custom, no Mizink ever appeared in the Big House. The members appeared wearing their masks and clad in rough bearskin and deerskin costumes, while some, at least, where provided with a turtleshell rattle which they would rub on a long pole, crying "*O^{n}-o^{n}-o^{n}!*" the while.

Ceremonies.—While no consecutive account of their ceremonies is now remembered, it was said that they sometimes put down their rattles heaped up

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
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794 the ashes from the two fires, then threw
796 the ashes all over the house to prevent
751 the people assembled from having disease.

Should any sick person appear, he or
755 she would be especially treated with
794 ashes. Sometimes the performers would
796 pick up live coals and throw them about, frightening the people. At other times the whole company of them would go around to the different houses begging for tobacco, and would dance in any house where someone was willing to sing for them.

Nothing was said among the Minsi about the Mizink bringing back stray
532 stock or driving deer, characteristic at-
778 tributes of the Mask Being of the Unami.
[126] The writer obtained but one mask among the Canadian Lenape, and this was from the Grand River band (fig. 4); it has been described by him[84] in the following words:

"But one mask (*mizink*) was obtained. It differed from those of the Iroquois chiefly in being cruder, and also in decoration, the lines being burnt into the wood instead of being

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shaking the turtle rattle (fig. 18), which resembles those used in the Big House, while the audience kept time to his song by uttering "*Hu-hu-hu-hu!*" The nature of the song the writer was unable to learn, but, like the chants of the Bear

FIG. 18.—Rattle of land-tortoise shell used in the Otter Rite. (Length, 3.9 in.)

Ceremony, it probably was concerned with the singer's "dream helper." When he had finished, another man put on the skin and took up the chant, and so on until noon the next day, when the ceremony was brought to a close and all

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Ceremony	Function	Spirit Force Addressed
1. Grease Drinking Ceremony; Bear Rite	To immunise against sickness caused by Bear	Bear
2. Grease Drinking Ceremony; Otter Rite	To immunise against sickness caused by Otter	Otter
3. Mask Dance Ceremony	To avert sickness caused by Face-Image spirit and to aid deer hunting and agriculture	Mask Spirit, Corn (mother or grandmother)
4. Opossum Dance	To satisfy the guardian spirit of opossums	Opossum
5. Doll Dance	To appease ill-will of spirit of corn and avert sickness	Human Images (dolls)
6. Buffalo Dance	To overcome buffalo	Buffalo
7. Spring Football Ceremony	To promote and protect growth of crops	Creator (father), Sun (elder brother) and Thunders (grandfathers)
8. Corn Harvest Ceremony	Thanksgiving, appeal for health and abundance	Creator (Father), Corn (mother or grandmother)
9. Social, or "Stomp" Dances	Amusement, social assembly	None specified
10. Big House Ceremony (Ga'mwiŋ)	To avert, (*a*) destruction of world; (*b*) national catastrophe and sickness; (*c*) to unify the people	Creator and entire pantheon

[facing p. 26(A)]

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ORCE ADDRESSED	ORIGIN	PROCEDURE
	From release of captive Bear (myth)	Recitation of visions, drinking grease and fea meat
	From release of captive Otter (myth)	Recitation of visions, drinking of grease and hog meat
it, Corn (mother or ther)	Obligation imposed by Spirit (myth)	Solo mask dance, eating corn foods
	Dream injunction (myth)	Imitative of opossum, and recitation of d hostess
nages (dolls)	Children's familiarity with corn mask dolls causing illness (myth)	Six men's, six women's dance songs, feast and corn foods, prayer-call facing east, t corn-bread images of human being and bear, offering
	None specified	Imitative of buffalo, circling, shoving
(father), Sun (elder and Thunders thers)	Mandatory by custom	Prayer, thanksgiving followed by dance, fol football game between men and women
(Father), Corn or grandmother)	Mythical corn famine, rite mandatory by custom	Day: Thanksgiving address by leader, d masked men, alternating with women's dan Night: Social dances, feast of corn foods, fi around drummers and singers
ified	None specified	Circling column in trot, contraclockwis motions, varied mimicry
nd entire pantheon	Ceremony revealed to tribe after mythical earthquake, tornado and volcano,—destruction of world	Recitation of visions with dancing aroun and praying, discourses and feasting fo nights; ceremonial hunt and mask danc morning; ninth night, new fire made, an call to creator, incense burned, wampum con and sacrifice, repainting images, corn-f meat feast; twelfth night "beginners" and rehearsal of vision recitation, fire allowed t ninth morning, dance around center-post prayer-call with prayer-sticks; wampum sa

[Facing p. 26 (B)]

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CEDURE	CEREMONIAL HOST	PARTICIPANTS	
iking grease and feast of bear	Wolf division, head of family, self-appointed	Family of legendary hero and guests, no women	Bi
nking of grease and feast of	Oldest survivor of family concerned with legend	Family of legendary originator and guests, men and women	Sp
corn foods	Owner of mask, or person calling for rite as cure for sickness or scared after dreaming of mask	No restrictions	Ar n
nd recitation of dream by	Female who inherits obligation	Female dance volunteers, singers, members of hostess's father's group	W.
dance songs, feast of meat -call facing east, tossing up nan being and bear, wampum	Families owning dolls descended from original children doll-makers; leader an invited chief with male and female assistants	Families owning dolls; unrestricted guests	Ar
ing, shoving	Not specified	Volunteers, no limitations	Wl
owed by dance, followed by nen and women	Chief of ceremonial group, Wolf, Tortoise, Turkey	No restrictions	An s
tress by leader, dance by g with women's dance st of corn foods, final dance ingers	Chosen (hereditary?)	No restrictions	An
ot, contraclockwise; hand	Appointed leaders	No limitations; free attendance	Co ir
ith dancing around images s and feasting for twelve t and mask dance, fourth new fire made, and prayer- urned, wampum consecration ng images, corn-food and it "beginners" and women's ation, fire allowed to go out; around center-post images, sticks; wampum sacrifice	Individual of Wolf, Turkey or Tortoise group who assumes sponsorship, supported by his group and twelve "attendants"	Sponsor's group, and other two groups as collaborators	An n n

[facing p. 26(C)]

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ARY OF DELAWARE RITES AND FEASTS

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IPANTS	TIME HELD	DURATION	LOCA
dary hero and nen	Biennial	One night	Rectangular br
dary originator n and women	Spring, biennial	One or more days	Outdoors on pr
	Annually in autumn at beginning of hunting season	One night	Not specified
olunteers, sing- of hostess's	When called annually (?)	One night	Outdoor (?) dan
g dolls; unre-	Annually in fall	One night until sunrise	Outdoors on pre
imitations	When decided and called	All day	Outdoor dance c
	Annually in spring until midsummer end of June	Dancing several nights at end of each week, football game day following	Outdoors on pre
	Annually at corn harvest time	Day and night	Outdoors on pre
ree attendance	Conclusion of formal rites, or informally when called	All or part of night	Indoor or outdo
and other two borators	Annually in fall (Oct.) (formerly by tradition every month)	Twelve nights, with rites on fourth and thirteenth days	In permanent cer ture (the Big H images of Creat lesser deities, a adjacent

[Facing p. 26(D)]

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Location	Musical Accompaniment	Supplies and Para
Rectangular brush house	Turtle hand-rattle	Wampum string for bear's meat, and bear's head (now
Outdoors on prepared ground	Turtle hand-rattle	Otter skin pendant on back o and steel fire tools
Not specified	Deer-hide drum, snapping turtle rattle by mask dancer	Red and black wooden mas leggings, bag, staff, corn payment
Outdoor (?) dance oval	Water-drum and rattle	Wampum paid to singer
Outdoors on prepared ground	Deer-hide drum with turtle-rattles	Dressed male and female do red, wampum to pay leads beef and hog meat, hominy,
Outdoor dance circle	Deer-hide drum	Buffalo horn head band, hom
Outdoors on prepared ground	(?)	Football of deer-hair and goal
Outdoors on prepared ground	Drums and rattles	Masks, corn husk covering, c
Indoor or outdoor circle	None required	Native costume urged
In permanent ceremonial structure (the Big House), before images of Creator and twelve lesser deities, and on grounds adjacent	Hide-drum, turtle hand-rattles	Wooden mask, corn-morta mussel-shell spoons, red strings and beads, prayer-sti sticks, turkey-wing fans, fire corn foods, cedar incense

[Facing p. 26(E)]

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Supplies and Paraphernalia	Ceremonial Units
m string for bear's head, baskets of and bear's head (now hog's head)	Eat-all feast of bear's meat, vision recitation
in pendant on back of song leader, flint sel fire tools	Dream recitation, kindling new fire, feasting on hog flesh and grease
l black wooden mask, bear-skin coat, s, bag, staff, corn foods, wampum nt	Mask-clown dance, sermon, supplication, feast, social dances (mask-dancer also admitted to Big House Ceremony)
m paid to singer	Dream recitation, feast, sermon, social dances
male and female dolls, faces painted ampum to pay leader and assistants, d hog meat, hominy, cornbread	Song-dance, feast, sermon, social dances, extinguishing fire, cornbread image sacrifices
horn head band, hominy pot for feast	Imitative dancing
of deer-hair and goals	Round dances, prayer, thanksgiving; football game between sexes with wagering
corn husk covering, corn foods	Prayer, thanksgiving, masked dance, corn-food feast, social dances, Drunken dances
costume urged	No ritual
mask, corn-mortar, bark dishes, shell spoons, red paint, wampum and beads, prayer-sticks, carved drum turkey-wing fans, fire-drill, deer meat, ods, cedar incense	Capitulates events of annual ceremonial cycle; vision recitation, sermons and prayers; corn-food and meat feasting, sacred hunt, mask-clown dancing; new fire rite; formerly sweat-bath rite; wampum sacrifice; purification,—sweeping of white-path; painting rite; cedar incense rite; paint annointment rite; no social dances; informal games during day intervals

[Facing p. 26(F)]

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PLATE 2

GREASE DRINKING CEREMONY, OTTER RITE.
(Painting by J. A. Parks, Delaware Indian, Wann, Okla., 1931.)

[Facing p. 44]

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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535 Social dances not restricted to Delaware are held whenever a person who can afford to play host feels the urge to do so. 796 Gatherings with a religious motive may be said to have practically ceased. The Doll Dance which was a family responsibility has not been held since 1929. The Big House Ceremony has not been held since 1924, and since the ceremonial structure has been demolished, there is dim possibility that it will be revived. There are still a score or so who have participated in the Big House, but some of them will make no move toward revival. The hereditary leader of the Wolf clan in the Big House, who is probably the staunchest adherent of the ceremony, is now a leader [795] of a peyote group in which several tribes are represented. The most tangible evidence of a community spirit still extant among [764] the Delaware is the use of a Delaware cemetery.

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9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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411 Oklahoma Delaware said that they had used the blowgun as boys and that, although the targets were usually birds or small [524] game, the blowgun was more of a toy than anything else. Since the sojourn of the ancestors of the Oklahoma Delaware in Ohio [171] and Indiana in the first decades of the nineteenth century is rather well documented and accounts of that period fail to record the possession of the blowgun then, it is more than probable that two sources of diffusion are here indicated. The Canadian Munsee or Delaware undoubtedly received the blowgun from the Southeast through the Iroquois, whereas the Oklahoma Delaware probably received it direct from the southeastern tribes with whom they have been neighbors in Oklahoma.

227 It is strange that in two years on the Delaware River Lindeström did not see spears, nets, or hooks used to take fish (313-15). All these were mentioned by Roger Williams as being used by the Narragansets and all but the spears were listed by Van der Donck in addition to weirs. These last, according to Lindeström, were the principal means used by the Delaware to take fish. Weirs were not mentioned by the second- or third-period sources and were unknown to the modern Delaware.

224 Large hunting parties were reported periodically for the Delaware in every period (316). However, there was considerable variation as to the number constituting a large party (317). E. R. said four hunters were as many as ever hunted together. This is quite diverse from the hundreds reported in the first period. The parties were formed for their mutual advantage and were under the guidance of the oldest or most expert hunter (319). Williams, Van der Donck, and Lindeström mentioned the driving of deer by large parties. Subsequent accounts did not mention game drives, and the report of smaller parties probably indicate that they were no longer made. Group hunting in the later periods was described by Johnston as a party of several families going together directed by a head man who encouraged the young men to pursue their hunting every morning and directed them where and when to move their camps. The ceremonies observed [196] in connection with group hunting were rather elaborate as described by Lindeström (see *post*, pp. 127-28). In the second and

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third periods no ceremonies were reported. In the fourth period the ceremonies were said to be prayers at the beginning and conclusion of the expedition. 224 [796]

From the sequence of questions I understand that the one relating to "peculiar laws" in hunting concerned the rights of various members of a group hunting—the division of the game, the taboos to be observed, etc. (320). Most of the sources and all of the informants stated or indicated the existence of laws or rules from this standpoint. Johnston, however, understood the question differently, for he answered, "They have not, every one kills as much as he can." While he gave no information on the subject desired, his answer does show that the Indians with whom he was acquainted were not practicing conservation of game. There seems to have been a certain etiquette observed whenever a successful hunter was approached by an unsuccessful one at the scene of the kill (322-26). The sharing of the game killed was as generally observed as if the two had been hunting together (321), but the detail of the division depended upon the individual hunter and his mood of the moment. Deer was the principal animal sought in hunting, and often the term hunting was used synonymously with deer hunting, and in speaking of the divisions of game killed, the deer is always taken as the example. The fact that deer was the staple meat and hunted most often in the autumn is also shown in the more frequent reports of hunting in the autumn than in any other season (328-31). [579]

A ceremony celebrating the killing of the first game animal by a youthful hunter is well affirmed in every period (332). The details of the ceremony, however, are not always given. Zeisberger reported that the youth presented a male animal to an old man and a female animal to an old woman (337). This was denied by all the modern informants. The third- and fourth-period reports related that the selection of the recipient of the kill was not based on the sex of the animal (336). This contradiction may represent a change in custom between the second and third periods, but the fact that there is only one authority for the earlier period casts some doubt on the uniformity of 852

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526 177 Games show no change of any significance aside from denial of ball play. Every game reported in earlier periods was remembered in the fourth period. Moccasin game undoubtedly was restricted to play in connection with funeral ceremonies in the fourth but not in earlier periods.

Dances

535 Dances, like games, show remarkably little change. The begging dance, reported in the third period, drew two definite denials in the fourth, while two informants did not even recognize the [721] dance (451). As this dance was usually held in connection with the outfitting of a war party, a fact of which none of the informants were aware (459), the two denials should more properly be classed as lack of information.

The two most important dances from the point of view of the Delaware were the *engomween* and the *linksokon* (448-49). [796] These were their only dances with a religious significance (456-57). The *engomween* or worshiping dance was a part of the Big House Ceremony. The *linksokon* was recognized by most of the informants by that name but is better known as the doll dance. The first has not been held since 1924 and the other since 1929. The only dances that have been held in recent years have been social dances which are not represented in the element list.

Music

533 [796] The elements listed under music are, of course, closely related to dances. The statement of Johnston that there was no ceremonial music except solo singing was refuted by all the informants who felt qualified to answer (475). Johnston's further statement that only nonsense or insignificant words were used in songs, even though corroborated by Chipps, is likewise denied by the same three informants and also by Heckewelder (476). In both these cases the informants are undoubtedly right. The error of Johnston is an understandable one when it is realized that songs were mostly of words carrying allusions, that many of them were archaic forms used only in songs, and that meaningless syllables were added to complete the rhythm, with the results that only an instructed person could understand them.

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J. W. *Kičinipen*—Summer 805
W. L. *Kičinipen*—Starting summer 821

July

ZEISBERGER *Yugatamoewi gischuch*—The time of raising the earth about the corn
HECKEWELDER —The summer month
JOHNSTON *Gock, kau, tau, ma, ekeshoe*—The moon when vegetation is blossoming [824]
PIPE *Yaukāūtamwaa kēēshooh*—Moon of sacrifice or prayer. Time of feast of first fruits [796]
CHIPPS *La-kòk-ma-aò-e-kà-so*
J. W. *Dainipen*—Middle summer
W. L. *Lainipen kiʔlo*—Middle of summer
W. T. *Kičiniʔpen*—Middle of summer

August

ZEISBERGER *Sakauweuhewi gischuch*—Deer month
ZEISBERGER *Winu gischuch*—The time when the corn is in the milk and ready to eat and roast [824 243]
HECKEWELDER —The month of roasting ears
JOHNSTON *Sok, ho, a, ha, ie, kie, though, i, e,*—The moon when the deer begin to turn gray [825]
PIPE *Saukiioahāā kēēshooh*—Moon in which deer get blue hair
CHIPPS *Wà-no-e-kà-so*
J. W. —Dry, hot, refreshing
W. L. *Kičiuakak kiʔlo*—Beginning fall month
W. T. *Socawigiʔlo*—Deer change color, Fall side of summer [825]

September

ZEISBERGER *Kitschitachquoak*—Autumn month
HECKEWELDER —The autumnal month

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CAPTAIN CHIPPS—They believe there are no greater wizards 754
or witches than knaves or drunkards.

All the modern informants confirmed the belief in witches and wizards, but J. W., his wife and son were especially vehement in their current existence.

41. National Worshiping Society (Big House)

JOHN JOHNSTON—They have a national worship which they 794
think keeps the world from coming to an end. It is attended with very great expense in procuring wampum and provisions, etc. This meeting is continued for 12 days and twelve nights successively. They have a large building prepared for that pur- [346]
pose about 25 feet in width and 50 or 60 feet in length according to the number that is expected will attend, with a door in each end, notice is given at what time their worship will commence. When they are collected and seated in a row round the outside 796
of the building the men by themselves and the women by themselves a man and woman at each door the man for a doorkeeper and the women to sweep between every exercise, the fires are made in the middle of the building which they make by rubbing two dry sticks together that it may be pure, the fire they put out every day and make new lest it should become adulterated, they make it by rubbing two dry sticks together as at the first. Thus prepared the one that made preparation for the meeting gets up with a turtle shell in his hand (containing pebbles) and he gives it a shake and the whole assembly arise with him he then begins telling a dream which he says he dreamt in his childhood [787]
and the whole congregation repeats it after him in one voice word by word till he says he heard a voice singing to him and begins to sing immediately upon which two men commence beating with flat sticks upon skins folded together then he stops singing and he with the whole assembly jump ten or twelve jumps [533 535]
in the form of a dance then he makes a sudden halt and goes on with his dream as before repeated by the whole in one voice until he commences singing again as before and the players commence beating and the whole jump or dance in the form above mentioned thus they continue for the space of half an hour or more

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796 according to the length of his dream. Then they seat themselves and the room is swept by the woman at the doors the one that first spoke then shoves the shell under his legs to the next one, if he does not feel a disposition to tell his dream he shoves it to the next without shaking it, and it is shoved from one to another till it comes to one that wishes to tell his dream then he gives the shell a shake and after some minutes commences telling his dream while sitting but soon arises and the whole assembly with him he proceeds in the same manner as above mentioned. At intervals of telling dreams they appoint one or call one by name and give to him a piece of wampum then they call eleven more they go out of the meeting and make doleful noise which is similar to howling but they term it making twelve prayers or praying twelve times then they return in to the meeting and the foreman that is the one that was first called divides the wampum among the twelves that went out. Then commence telling dreams as before and going out to pray in the same manner thus they [794] continue for 12 days and twelve nights abstaining themselves from women and every thing whereby they think they could be defiled. In these meetings they always have one appointed and dressed in bear skins appearing very frightful to go round and examine and see if there is any improper conduct if so he points the stick at him or her which he has in his hand, the door-keepers immediately put the person out of the door and those who are put out are not admitted into the meeting any more. Previous to these meetings they appoint a number of young men to go and kill a certain number of deer which they think will be sufficient to last them during the meeting, these are dressed, their provisions cooked and served to them while in their worship by those that they call their butchers.

Captain Pipe—The grand national worship of the Delawares has been already alluded to, and I come now to a description of it. It is called Engŏmween. There are three or four families in the nation whose duty it is by inheritance to prepare for and invite the nation to this assembly, and to whose care is committed every arrangement respecting it. Each family takes upon itself the performance of these duties once in three years; and as they

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do so in pretty regular succession, the worship is annual, or perhaps more frequent. The time and place of meeting is designated by this family, the principal male of which sends a messenger to the chief or head man of each village, who in his turn disseminates the information through the families of those under him. At the time appointed the nation, as well males as females assemble at a large lodge prepared for the purpose, where the females are placed in rear of the men. Here with grave and downcast looks they sit and receive from one of the old men an address upon the importance of a due observance of the ceremonies of the worship, and of abstinence from all unlawful pleasures during the continuance of them, among which any connection with women is counted a polluting sin. After describing at length the customs of their ancestors, among which this worship is placed in the foreground, the principal man of those who prepared the place of worship, having in his hand a small turtle shell containing a few gravel stones, gives it a sudden shake, and at the signal the worshipers all rise. He then commences a history of his early dream, repeating it in short sentences, in a natural tone of voice and being followed in the repetition of each sentence by all who are in the house. At length he commences to sing his dream, being followed by the company as before, and relieved between the sentences by a chorus of singers who are seated apart from the other worshipers, and have a kind of tambourin composed of a deer skin stretched across four sticks, upon which they beat the time. The music is said to be agreeable and very soft.

After this person has finished the tale of his dream, in which is described minutely every circumstance connected with the appearance of his tutelar deity, as well as those events of his life, which being foretold, have *of course* come to pass, each person in the lodge takes him by the hand in a mystical manner and they all seat themselves. The men then smoke for a short time, preserving the utmost silence and gravity of deportment, during which occupation the speaker takes occasion to push the shell under his legs in a secret manner, to the next on his right, who declares his intention to speak by giving it a slight shake, or pushes it in the same secret way to the next. When one has

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accepted the turtle by the shake of accession, he remains in a state of apparent meditation for a few minutes, and then rising gives it another rattle, when, as in the preceding instance, he is joined by all the worshipers and the same ceremonies of repeating the dream, are performed.

The worship is commenced at evening and continued until daybreak, when it ceases for the day during which time the worshipers remain in the lodge in perfect silence. Thus it is repeated from night to night six times, and at the closing of the last night they adjourn for an hour or two, and then finish the worship with the relation of the dream of some extraordinary personage, whose history has been preserved in tradition. They cease at noon of the last day.

To discharge the menial services incident to the meeting of so large a body four servants are appointed, of whom two are males and two females. They sweep the council house at every interval of worship and perform any other duty required of them, for which they receive a compensation in wampum before the close of the meeting. To this stock of wampum when collected by the principal or leader of the assembly all contribute who have the means. Besides these officers, an old man of the juggling class is employed to keep order in the assembly. It is supposed he can tell by going around the lodge whether any person has been polluted since the commencement of the worship, by connection with the opposite sex. To such person he points a stick and if he be a man the male servants lead him out of the lodge, from which he is expelled during the remainder of the worship. If a woman the same service is performed by the female domestics. The old inquisitor is dressed in the skin of a bear, with a frightful mask on his face, and is said to be a terrific object, particularly to those guilty of a breach of the customs of the assembly. His attention is often roused by the complaints of some one while telling his dream, who will stop and pretending to find a difficulty in speaking will ascribe it to the improper conduct of one of the members. Upon such occasion the old man commences his examination and his scrutinizing eye points out the object (perhaps innocent as himself) who is immediately removed, and the speaker continues.

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During the intervals between the songs, or at least once every night, the principal rises from his seat and calls before him six or twelve persons (male) (generally the latter number) from the worshipers. He then delivers to the male servants a quantity of wampum in strings, corresponding to the number of persons called. With these the servants precede the chosen, who go out of the lodge and with their faces turned to the east, seat themselves upon their hams and commence a kind of howl, which they repeat in the same tone twelve times. They then return to the lodge with great solemnity, and take their places as usual. —As a kind of relaxation from the severer duties of the worship, these chosen men are directed by the principal to scatter a quantity of wampum in grains, upon the ground within the lodge. This is for the benefit of the servants, who are obliged to stand upon one leg and take it up with the thumb and finger, a slow method, affording amusement to the spectators. But this only occurs at the close of the night's worship and would be considered improper at any other time. Dancing is sometimes practiced at these assemblages and besides the employment of relating their dreams they are frequently addressed by the old men in exhortations to preserve these customs in their purity, to prolong their own existence by continuing the meetings, and to adore the author, the Great spirit.

Medicine

42. Diseases

To the list on the table Roger Williams adds toothache as one of the greatest afflictions of the Indians (Narragansets); J. W., mumps; W. L., small pox. E. R. said that rheumatism was introduced only recently.

54. Juggling tricks.

The so-called juggling tricks were used only when the patient was dangerously ill, according to John Johnston. These tricks, according to J. W., W. T., and W. L., were used only by the sweat doctors in diagnosing a complaint.

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57. Rumbling noise made by jugglers

755 [756] The rumbling noise made by jugglers mentioned in the earlier accounts was replaced by singing in the accounts of J. W., W. T., and W. L., all of whom said that the sweat doctor sang or talked about his vision which gave him his power to see into the vitals of the patient and determine the nature of his illness.

General Manners and Customs

61. Eating of human flesh

266 [727] There is no statement about the eating of human flesh in Lindeström, but there is a description of torture by fire among the Minquas, and the inference is that such was not practiced among the Delaware and, also, that the eating of human flesh was not common if present at all.

62. Handshaking

576 John Johnston—[Salutation is] by shaking each other by the left hand as token of friendship considering the left hand to be the nighest to the heart. They say but little, except I am glad to see you your looks are familiar the countenance expressed gladness. (Shaking hands is an Indian, and they say an ancient custom.)

Captain Pipe—Their mode of salutation in meeting is not peculiar. They sometimes express a pleasure in seeing each other, at others the simple *Anishee*, (I am thankful,) is the only expression. They do not as with us, inquire after the health of their families, but of their business, route, etc. It is believed that shaking hand is an Indian custom, but before their knowledge of the whites they used the left hand. In the Engōmween, or worshiping assembly, where ancient customs are said to prevail altogether, they always use the left hand. [796]

Captain Chipps—The mode of salutation is by shaking hands:—inquiries after healths succeed. The shaking of hands (say they) "was in use from the time they were created."

J. W. and W. L. say that using left hand was formerly Delaware custom.

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784 825 JOHN JOHNSTON—Their principal reason is that the snake is such a malicious and spiteful animal that if they should kill them the rest would know it and would bite them.

CAPTAIN CHIPPS—They sometimes avoid killing snakes, on a march, because they say, "that if they kill one, the rest will be madder."

J. W.—Snakes were not killed unless necessary—"don't kill for nothing." Besides could tell good from bad snakes.

E. R. said that there were no rules against the killing of snakes and that he feared no retribution.

BIRTH AND ITS INCIDENTS

89. Naming of child

553 [796] CAPTAIN PIPE—Children are named at one of the grand worshiping councils, and as opportunities do not occur regularly, there is no particular age at which they are formerly [*sic.* formally?] named. (Children at times do not receive their names until they are quite large, at others while they are infants.) The child when about to be named is taken to the assembly and there presented to one of the old men (who is an orator and) of the same tribe with the father, together with a fathom of wampum for his services. This old man taking the child by the hand, rises and proclaims aloud his name, requesting all who hear him to [776] recollect. He then proffers a short prayer to the Great spirit in supplication for his blessing on the child during life; after which it is returned to its parents.

[814] CAPTAIN CHIPPS—There are no christenings—or ceremonies at the birth of their children. After the birth, a year or two, 851 sometimes less, the child is taken into council, and named. The 553 father names and the preacher announces the name to the assembly in a speech of some length—in which, he congratulates the parents of the child—hopes the child may become a good boy and "prays to God" to make him a good man, a good hunter and a good warrior.

J. W.—Has never seen or heard of naming in Big House. Parents take child to grandparents, either side. They give him

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224 622 roots up the grass in the position, [assigned to him] in the circumference, to the width of about 3 or 4 ells, so that the fire will not be able to run back, each one then beginning to set fire to the grass, which is mightily ignited, so that the fire travels away, in towards the center of the circle, which the Indians follow with great noise, and all the animals which are found within the circle, flee from the fire and the cries of the Indians, traveling away, whereby the circle through its decreasing is more and more contracted towards the center. When now the Indians have surrounded the center with a small circle, so that they mutually cannot do each other any harm, then they break loose with guns and bows on the animals which they then have been blessed with, that not one can escape and thus they get a great multitude of all kinds of animals which are found there.

[782 776 796 The first hunt of the year which they thus obtain (they consecrate to Manitto). When they first have eaten their fill of it and enjoyed their feast they make a burnt offering of the remaining, which they sacrifice to Manitto, i. e., the Devil, but not one animal of it do [they] sell, believing that they through this later will get in their hunt so much the greater blessing. Then they sing and dance and when they become jolly and happy then they cry and sing thus namely: *Hägginj, hä, hä, hä; Hägginj hä; Hägginj hä, Hägginj hä, hä, hä, hä,* etc. Thus repeating and continuing so long a time, so that it reaches well over the forest.

338. Celebration on returning from hunting

[782 776] W. T. said that prayers to the Great Spirit were made at this time, desiring that the favors shown the people be continued as they were appreciated.

CONSTITUTION, PERSONAL APPEARANCE, DRESS, ETC.

342. Extirpation of beard

302 [142] J. W. said that formerly the beard was pulled out but that recently the occasional use of a razor was all that was necessary. W. T. and E. R. said that they never had any beards.

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upon their folded skins. They are very exact and expert in these 535
dances. The first dance they call *En, gom, ween* and the other *Lin, ka, o, kon* all other dances which they have they say are borrowed from other nations and they will not own them to be theirs.

Captain Pipe—In the Engomween, or worshiping assembly, [776] ●
where ancient customs are said to prevail altogether, they always use the left hand. This dance, (for it may be so called,) and the Lĕñkaun, or common dance, are the only dances which they claim as original among them. All others are said to be borrowed.

In the first copy of Pipe's relation, "common dance" might be read "corn dance." This latter interpretation is entirely plausible in view of the fact that all the modern informants immediately recognized the name and the dance as the Doll Dance which involves corn.

450. Buffalo dance

J. W. stated that he had never seen the Buffalo dance but had heard his uncle (probably great-grandfather) tell about it. He thought it probably the property of the Turtle clan.

453. War dance

J. W. said that the Peace dance was formerly the war dance and 721
that the Delaware had not had a real War dance for some time. 535
He had seen it performed however. It was usually given along in August. J. W.'s wife's uncle had a vision that he must take part in a War dance and went among the Shawnee and danced. Took tobacco and made talk; told what happened on warpath, what he had to do even if he did not want to. Showed scalp. Danced in daytime from three o'clock to pretty near sundown. Bad dance. Real ones (warriors or brave men) painted themselves and dressed only in breechclouts and moccasins.

W. T. said the Delaware had formerly had a war dance but that he had never seen it.

E. R. said that War dance was also known as Man dance.

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Introduction and Explanation of the Ceremony

It has long been known that the Delaware Indians had a periodic ceremony of paramount importance in fulfilling their obligations toward a pantheon of spiritual forces. We learn something of such a ceremony from indications occurring in the 17th and 18th century sources, among which figure Denton (1670),[1] William Penn (1683),[2] Brainerd (1745),[3] Zeisberger (1779-80),[4] Loskiel (1794),[5] and Heckewelder (1771-86, 1818).[6] First from the casual writings of Dutch, Swedish and English authors we get glimpses of the ceremony while this famous and patriarchal nation was still residing in its haunts in eastern Pennsylvania and New Jersey. With the westward movement of the tribe, first to the valley of the Susquehanna and later to the Ohio country, the missionaries who attempted the conversion of the Delawares have added their comments upon the great recurrent festival, treating it in terms of cool description or in phrases of fervent condemnation according as their attitudes toward it were determined by their profession.

In the accounts we have, the ceremony is referred to under various titles, some in English, some in Delaware; Cantiko, (Penn, 1683), Gamwing, (Zeisberger, 1779), χingwi·ka'on, The Big House, The Annual Ceremony. And it is not a little strange that even the oldest of them are recognized by corresponding terms still current in the language of the tribe at the present time, as clearly explainable today as though we were still holding conference with native priests and patriarchs who had talked with Penn and his contemporaries. That the great rite was of local interest in the religious life of the allied peoples

[1] Denton's Description of New York, formerly New Netherlands, N. Y. 1670.

[2] William Penn. A Letter from William Penn, Proprietary and Governor of Pennsylvania in America to the Committee of the Free Society of Traders of that Province Residing in London, London 1683 in Narratives of Early Pennsylvania, of New Jersey and Delaware, Edited by Albert Cook Myers, N. Y. 1912, p. 234.

[3] David Brainerd, Memoirs of the Rev. David Brainerd, by Jonathan Edwards, New Haven, 1822.

[4] David Zeisberger. History of the Northern American Indians. Edited by A. B. Hulbert and W. N. Schwarze, Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, n.d.

[5] George Henry Loskiel, History of the Mission of the United Brethren Among the Indians of North America, London, 1794.

[6] John Heckewelder, History, Manners and Customs of the Indian Nations Who Once Inhabited Pennsylvania and the Neighboring States, Edited by W. C. Reichel. Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Phila. 1876.

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796 174 171 comprising the Delaware Nation is evident from all sources. That it ruled the spiritual destinies of the Munsee, the Nanticoke, the Mahikan, we know through collateral evidence, and analogous rites are inferred to have existed among the Mohegan on the east, the Powhatan peoples of Virginia and the Algonkian of the Carolina coast. Testimony from modern sources also points to a related performance of equal prominence in the religious behavior of the Shawnee. It would be an oversight besides, not to make reference to certain indications in the recorded discussions of Iroquois and Central Algonkian religion, of periodic ceremonies whose fundamental concepts form more or less a unit with those of the nation we are considering. Such a widely spread doctrine with associated rites of a unitary character assure us of the existence in aboriginal times of a culture-center, as regards creed, among the peoples of the Allegheny forest area, not only among the widely scattered Algonkian-speaking peoples but among others whose early history has been linked by some vague channels with them, 796 for instance the Muskogi and the Yuchi. If it is not going too far, I 174 would venture to repeat the assertion, often made by students of human culture, that the religious concepts of preliterate people express the keynote of their cultural status, that the same are to be regarded as forming their most conservative culture properties, reflecting the entire system of their culture in ramifications leading off to other topics of ethnology, the food-quest, social organization, warfare, art-symbolism, as well as rulings of simple custom and ethical character; indeed where not? This assumption, as we shall see, holds true with amazing consistency in the native civilization of the Delawares. While the pre- 114 viously recorded accounts of Delaware ceremonies, some of them explicit in detail and accuracy, have supplied occasional material for comparative and analytical studies in the ethnology of the eastern Indians, a feeling of dissatisfaction exists in regard to their content. This has been sufficient to cause hesitation on the part of ethnologists in using the records for the purpose of drawing culture conclusions since the accounts have all been fragmentary and recorded in the words of European observers instead of being based upon the expressions of the natives.[1] To have such records made in the words, and with the order and detail of thought of the people themselves is the highest ideal of the student of human institutions, an ideal now set up as the goal of endeavor in research. Accordingly when fate was moved 124 to provide me with a native Delaware informant in the person of 115 Wi'tapano'xwe, a Delaware whose early training, at the knees of his mother, was of the native, non-Christian type, I need hardly say that I laid aside every postponable obligation to devote attention to the

[1] More recently we have been bequeathed the excellent studies of eastern Indian ceremonies in native text by students who have recorded them from the dictation of the Indians, such as Hewitt, Jones, Michelson and Bloomfield.

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cover Delaware phrases. In the section giving the Delaware text have been included footnotes explaining and analyzing terms which seem to require elucidation, or which through their idiomatic meanings seem to call for special notation in the eyes of the linguistic student.

In the free translation I have attempted to preserve the order, emphasis, terms of thought and wording characteristic of native speech. It is obvious, however, that the translator can not adhere faithfully in his rendering to native traits of syntax and thought composition in all cases; the result would be in English quite unintelligible.[1] Even to attempt this as much as I have, may seem to some readers, not familiar with thought-processes in other than Indo-European tongues, to create confusion in idea, or at least to present some peculiarly twisted expressions. I may remark, however, that both points of view have been given careful and prolonged consideration before the translations have been released.

The text, as the informant dictated it, in the course of the four months during which we were engaged, seemed to unfold almost in the character of a canon. He showed a very thoughtful manner in arranging its parts and the wording, conveying the impression that certain sections or chapters had a formal sequence, that certain topics belonged inseparably with it, and that other matters which came in for discussion as we proceeded did not belong to it.

HISTORICAL OUTLINE OF THE BIG HOUSE CEREMONY.—The ceremony which is the object of our study has borne several proper names in historical literature. The formal designation seems to have been Gamwing, a designation for the ceremony used by several of the earlier writers, and still recognized by the Delawares as being a proper term. Yet no explanation of its meaning, to be relied upon, is forthcoming from any of our sources.[2] Of equal prominence is the designation Xinwika'on, "Big House," which in the tongue of the Delawares is a favorite term of reference to both the edifice, or temple, in which the ceremony is performed, and the ceremony itself. This designation predominates in our text. The Delawares are not

[1] Compare Zeisberger's remarks on the language (op. cit., p. 143). "They are able to express themselves with great clearness and precision, and so concisely that much circumlocution is required to convey the full meaning of their expressions in an European language."

That the language in the middle of the 17th century, even when only approximately recorded, is still intelligible to the Delawares, appears from the following. In David de Vries Notes (1632) (Narratives of Early Pennsylvania, West New Jersey, and Delaware, 1630-1707, Ed. by Albert Cook Myers (1912), p. 16), it is recorded on the 8th of December, that while moored in the lower Delaware River, the Indians declared they would "make a firm peace which they call *reconiyn marenti*." This is the equivalent of ma'wanlwalangu'ndi·n, "all agree to make peace."

[2] The term was no more capable of explanation in Zeisberger's day (1780), it would seem, than it is among the Delawares of today. He says, "This feast is called 'ngammuin, the meaning of which they themselves are unable to give. (op. cit., p. 138).

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796 destitute of terms in their own language suitable for denoting religious concepts. We find such formal terms as pa·'tamweo'k·an, an abstract term derived from pa·'tam- signifying "to pray."[1] This I have translated in the text by variations of its free meaning, as "worship," "religion," "prayer ceremony" to suit the context. Again we find the abstract term kena·'mwi·n employed as a synonymous title for the ceremony, for which I have been obliged to give the same rendering in English. And even another which was likewise noted by the missionaries of a century ago, ka·'ntika, (kan·t'ka·· "he is dancing),[2] a composite term with the meaning of persons dancing in a line and pushing something forward, occurs in reference to the great ceremony as well as to other performances of a like nature in Delaware sacred conduct. And again we encounter the term menda'won, with the meaning of "House of Earnest Pleading," employed in the text to denote the ceremony. The informant thought that this term might be of Munsee derivation.

779 These terms point to a theosophical system and practice among the
192 Delawares possessing considerable maturity of form and content. Indeed it impresses one, in meeting with the various religious terms employed in reference to the creed and practices of the tribe, that a well-rounded ecclesiastical system exists therein. There is little impoverishment of expression and much order and mature thought in the picturesque symbols developed within the complicated framework of figurative speech.

Such terms as "imploring in earnest," "sadness of mind," "blessed with fortune," "religious commandment," "customary teaching," "religious inspiration," "humility," "reverence," "ritual," appear with full voice of religious thought that we are accustomed to expect in religious forms of a relatively advanced character. They evince a

[1] Terms of similar derivation occur in Algonkian dialects south of the St. Lawrence and the Great Lakes (paba't·am, Wabanaki dialects). Northward the designation is related to forms of Cree-Montagnais alamie'win, "prayer" comparable with Delaware aya'ndamon "to wish for, implore."

[2] A term denoting a ceremonial dance, with an interesting history. Chamberlain (Handbook Amer. Inds. Bull. 30, Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 202) reviews the term Cantico, as employed by the Dutch and English, tracing reference to it to 1664 as designating a death dance, to 1653 (Van der Donck), describing it as singing and dancing of the young, Dankers (1679) as conjuring the devil, Denton (1670) as a festival time. Nelson (Indians of New Jersey, 1894, p. 79) cites Hesselius as calling *Kinticka* a sacrifice or a festive gathering of the New Jersey Indians. The Munsee form of the verb is *pinikson* (Brinton, Lenape Dict. p. 40) while in Zeisberger's vocabulary it appears as *penipeen, Cantico*, or dancing matches at festival time in which the spectators beat time with a stick upon the ground and sing (Daniel Denton's Description of New York formerly New Netherland, 1670, quoted by A. B. Skinner, Indians of Greater New York, 1915, p. 34) while *Kintika*, mentioned by Gov. Prints of New Sweden, as a means of serving Satan among the Delawares (erroneously rendered by Johnson, as "holy man or medicine man," Amandus Johnson, The Swedes in Delaware. N. Y. 1911, p. 379, fn.,) may be the first appearance in European sources of the word as denoting ceremonial dancing. The stem occurs in dialects as far away as the Wabanaki (Malecite, *pinte'kmak*, "dance hard").

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619 Donck locating the Naraticons as the southermost tribe in New Jersey
101 on Raccoon Creek, and adds the supposition that Naraticon, "is simply a translation of the Delaware nachenum,[1] raccoon." Evidence seems sufficiently strong to assign a location in southern New Jersey for a branch of the Delawares called Naraticons. We may, however disregard Brinton's attempt to explain the term, in favor of an attempt based upon this interesting term coming from native sources. The prominence of the name Naraticon on the map referred to and the extent of territory would seem to accord with its position as one of the three tribal constituents of the old Delaware nation. The term itself has interesting possibilties under analysis. In Delaware its correspondent nala'tkaŋg, "up stream where they live," (abbreviation of nalaha'təkaŋg, compare also nahi-'təkaŋg, "down stream where they live."

Harrington thought that the "Unala'tko" had lost their identity and merged with the Delawares in Oklahoma, since he was unable to locate survivors there under the name.[2] Heckewelder[3] refers to the Unami and Unalachtigo as the divisions of the Delawares that settled nearest to the sea. This author is responsible for recording the information that created the discussion arising since his time over "totemic affiliations" of the three geographical subdivisions of the Delawares with the Tortoise (Unami) Turkey (Unalachtigo) and Wolf (Munsee).

To the Delawares the Nanticoke are known as Wəne't'ko (plural wəne't'kowak).[4] Some families of them migrated westward with the Delawares and kept up a distinctive form of burial as well as their language until about 1875. No information through living sources or printed records discloses testimony to indicate that this tribe performed the Big House ceremony. The informant had, however, heard the older Delawares in Oklahoma discuss the question of Nanticoke participation in the Big House. It is known that the Nanticoke performed in company with them, but it was not thought that the Nanticoke themselves had ever had the full ceremony.

796 Zeisberger has treated the ceremonies of the Delawares of his day
114 in a [illegible] covering some five pages of his book.[5] It would seem, however, if his narration is an accurate one and if his descriptions of the six or seven separate ceremonies were correctly observed and so separated in the religious practices of the tribe, that composition has taken place since his time. For the independent "feasts" which he describes are recognizable parts of the Big House ceremony and ritual of subsequent times. This nevertheless is an inference which further

[1] Brinton I, op. cit. p. 42.
[2] Harrington I, pp. 13, 124-5, and II, pp. 208-9.
[3] Heckewelder op. cit. pp. 51-3 and 250.
[4] The meaning of the term in Delaware is obscure.
[5] Zeisberger, pp. 136-141.

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information may alter. We can not be certain whether his integration of the rites was an actual condition holding true for the ceremony of the period, or one resulting from his style of writing down what he remembered of native customs after some years of retirement from the Indian country. The procedures followed by the Delawares in the four or five "feasts" he describes for us are all embraced within the Big House performance as we know it later. And, rather than discredit the force of living evidence based on the rites as performed by the Nation now, I would prefer to correct the information recorded by the observant but unsympathetic missionary. For, indeed, the ceremony shows itself to have a complex capitalization, its ritual extending through every form of worship, including individual, family or "clan rites," that we have mention of in any of the Delaware accounts. The Big House capitulates the elements of certain minor feast ceremonies held on special occasions by families.[1] The great annual ceremony seems to stand as an entity, one that does not submit to any assumption of recent origin in its present form of organization. Through the close resemblance it shows, element by element, with the Munsee corresponding ceremony, the two tribes were apparently performing it as a national religious institution before 1700, when they separated in the east, one division to go westward, the other to Canada. So it also seemed to Harrington.[2]

Unfortunately Heckewelder, who knew the Delawares so intimately, declined in his book to treat the topic of ceremonies, referring the matter to the previous narratives of Loskiel, whose knowledge we know was not gained from intimate contact with the tribe.

Reverting to consideration of the fate of the Big House in the succession of moves which the Delawares made in their two-century traverse from New Jersey to Oklahoma, we can only trace definite memory of the "temple" and ceremony to the final period of the tribe's residence in Kansas from about 1867 on. While in Kansas the Big House was located some five or six miles east of Lawrence.

The informant gave the following facts concerning the reconstruction of the building and the rehabilitation of the ceremony after the tribe had settled down to residence in its present seat in northern Oklahoma.

"In the Cherokee country the Big House of Little Caney River was reorganized by men of the Yellow Tree or poplar band. Three men were pa'man·axgu'xwe, ne'ni'pai, and ehalu'xola'nd, whose names in order mean "Man Moving Around," "The One Who Stands," "Man

[1] Throughout the year there is a series of local feasts, some esoteric family ceremonies apart from the communal Big House worship. These are being studied in text and prepared for presentation in a separate memoir.

[2] I am drawing this inference of basic unity in fundamentals of the Munsee and Delaware forms of worship upon the conclusion reached by Harrington, pp. 196-197), after he had studied the Munsee rite.

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796 346 Who is Carried Around." Their descendents still carry the burden of the worship. They belonged to the "Wolf" group (Tu'k^{w}al^{i}t). For this reason the Wolf group claims the right to sponsor these exercises now, and holds the majority rule in the present Big House deliberations. And in my judgment they will always rule hereafter. The present house was built three or four hundred yards to the southwest of the present spot but on account of its inconvenience it was moved to where it now stands, and one acre was set aside by the Dawes Commission. It was remodeled by us after a deliberation in September 1913.

796 [735] "The ceremony has not been "taken in" for four years,[1] the last one being led by Frank Wilson (E'm·a^{s}). Poverty has driven them to neglect it. And also the loss of the wampum beads which one time numbered about one hundred and twenty-eight Indian yards, all of which has nearly disappeared for it has been sold to other Indian tribes, to white people or to Museums as relics."

796 171 Speculations upon the origin of the ceremony would be quite out of order from the ethno-historical point of view, but Delaware traditional history has no such hesitant attitude. As the myth develops we observe how the inception of the idea of the ceremony is laid to the revelation made in dreams to chosen leaders among the Munsee. Opinion seems quite general among the Delawares that the original conception of the ceremony is a Munsee one. This is interesting because it locates the ceremony in the northerly group of the three tribes forming the so-called Delaware Nation. It is fortunate that we have, from the pen of Harrington,[2] a treatise on the Munsee form of the Big House ceremony for the purpose of comparison and evaluation as far as the material provided in the several accounts will permit us to go. At present there seems little to point toward proof of priority for the Munsee phase of the worship, except for the quasi-historical estimate of the Delawares themselves. A feeling of respect for the Munsee is general among the Delawares. They are held in high esteem for their former bravery and, strange to say though natural enough in the regard held by Indians for such matters, for their indifference to economic and material affairs and devotion to those of a spiritual nature.[3]

648 797 ESOTERISM OF DELAWARE RELIGION.—In the missionary descriptions of 170 years ago, chiefly from the pen of John Heckewelder, we hear constantly of the inner spirit of aversion held toward the whites, and the distrust felt by the natives concerning the motives of all Euro-

[1] This was written in October 1928.

[2] Harrington I, pp. 127-161.

[3] Illustrative of this sentiment several Delaware observations may be recalled in reference to the Munsee. The latter, it would seem, are held in high esteem for their bravery and ability in spiritual matters, yet were noted for an indifference to dress and economic properties, in which respect the Delawares think they stood out in contrast with them.

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those on the upright posts, three on the north wall and three on the south wall, the man·i't·u of these respective zones; those on the eastern and western door posts, those of the east and west. Of the man·i't·u or "spirit-forces," both specific and general, more will be said later.

But the most engrossing allegory of all stands forth in the concept of the White Path,[1] the symbol of the transit of life, which is met with in the oval, hard-trodden dancing path outlined on the floor of the Big House, from the east door passing to the right down the north side past the second fire to the west door and doubling back on the south side of the edifice around the eastern fire to its beginning. This is the path of life down which man wends his way to the western door where all ends.[2] Its correspondent exists I assume in the Milky Way, where the passage of the soul after death continues in the spirit realm.[3] As the dancers in the Big House ceremony wend their stately passage following the course of the White Path they "push something along," meaning existence, with their rhythmic tread.[4] Not only the passage of life, but the journey of the soul after death is symbolically figured in the ceremony as will be explained in note III in the appendix.

The ceremony symbolizes the transit of the year period. Its twelve nights of performance represent the figure of the twelve moons, its progress from east to west the course of the sun, its varied symbolical rites the events in the passage of life's orbit from beginning to end.

We learn that the White Path is "our Father's, the Great Spirit's road," upon it human life proceeds in its course, which grand movement is symbolized by the dancers as they tread the "White Path" of the "Big House." By another allegory we have the clearing away of impediments from its surface in the intervals between the dances by the efforts of the Attendants who use the wing feathers of "pure" birds, such as the eagle, with which the "Path" is brushed clean. Here

[1] We'll-o-le-xing, "Good or Beautiful White Path." Also weiau'si·t motoma'k·an, "Righteous Path."

[2] The Delaware, like his Christian brother, admits that it is hard for feeble man to walk in this path without erring. The concept has deep possibilities for discussion from the point of view of ethics and life as the pagan sees them.

[3] The symbolical association between the "White Path" and the Milky Way is not definitely proved by Delaware information. By some strange circumstances it seems, the Delawares can not furnish the native name of the Milky Way. Persistent inquiry among the older men both at Dewey and at Anadarko, Oklahoma, by V. M. Petrullo have failed to procure it, likewise correspondence with Joe Washington and J. A. Parks, prominent members of the Delaware Nation. Therefore the association is my own theoretical assumption, an interpretation of our data, and upon the analogy offered by other Algonkian beliefs in which the Milky Way is generally the "Spirit or Ghost Path" over which the soul of the deceased passes to the realm above. The only Delaware equivalents for Milky Way so far obtained are pe'mi·ki·ci·k'tek "across marked" or "across smoky way," and a notion that it is compared with a cowlick of hair, pa·xtcanhwing, "where the hair is parted," which may be discarded as far as their bearing upon the question here as concerned. This important point calls for solution.

[4] The term ka'nteka implies this figure. (See page 12).

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796 is the symbol of the function of these noble birds, helpers of man, who
778 with their wings sweep the obstacles of disease and witch-craft from
772 the path which the Delaware treads to his final destiny.[1]

[774 824] Among the many noteworthy poetical concepts of which Delaware imagination is capable is also the thought that the trees, themselves spirit-forces, are calling forth in prayer to the Creator when the wind blowing through their foliage causes a rustling, or sighing as we would say.[2]

As life proceeds on its course under the gaze of the Supreme Power through the entire universe, with his minions posted around about in their respective quarters, so the Delawares performing in the Big House gyrate in their symbolical course in the shadow of the carved images. The symbolism of the harmonized progression of the celestial and terrestrial plane-realms is consistently carried out in thought in every performance and ritual connected with the Big House. Then there are the minor symbols of force, "Grandfathers" likewise; the guardian of the game animals, represented by the Mask Spirit, the mosing'holi·'kan, the tobacco, the cedar, the wampum, the red paint, the feathers, the winds.

796 An essential point to the understanding of the Big House ceremony is that it is conducted under the sponsorship of one of the three subdivisions of the tribe.[3] And while the obligation as well as the honor of conducting the ceremony fall collectively upon the members, there is one among them who has personally assumed the religious duty involved in issuing the invitations, in appointing the officers for the different branches of service, and particularly in defraying the numerous expenses which arise in connection with bringing so many people together for a fortnight.[4] The responsibility of the occasion is voluntarily assumed by the giver, or as he is called in Delaware, tami·'ke·t', the Bringer-in." Men imbued with a desire to acquire a spiritual blessing through their religious attitude, or to recognize some blessing enjoyed, are usually the ones who answer to the inner call of duty.[5]

[1] The significance of using feathers of the nobler birds comes out in Delaware in the carrying of fans made of eagle and hawk feathers, in the wearing of feathers in the hair, and in the use of the decorated feather wand in the recently introduced Peyote ceremony. The feathers dispel evil influences from the umbrage of their wearers, the fans sweep away malevolent agencies.

[2] This passage is contained in the text of a prayer made at the opening of spring-time dictated by Wi·tapano'xwe.

[3] The three sub-divisions of the Delawares, the so-called Tortoise, Turkey, and Wolf groups, have evoked no small amount of discussion (Morgan, Brinton, Harrington). They are, however, not yet thoroughly understood. Some facts connected with these groupings are dealt with farther along, though only so far as they require mention in connection with the Big House.

[4] The informant estimated the cost of performance to be about $150.00.

[5] Since, moreover, there is the conviction that welfare of man at large rests upon the performance of the ceremony, that a world catastrophe is warded off by it, the attitude of the host is one pervaded with generous altruism. (Compare Zeisberger, op. cit., p. 136; and Harrington, I, p. 115).

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It is expected that the announcement be made before the members of the tribal council at one of its meetings prior to the time of notification. In the instance of our text Wi·tapano'xwe decided to recite the ceremony as though it were brought in and sponsored by Chief Elk-Hair, the present head chief of the Oklahoma Delawares whom Harrington referred to as an active ceremonial leader in 1910.[1]

CONCEPT OF THE SOUL.—A distinction observed between the phraseology of the unconverted and the Christian Delawares in referring to the soul, which has already been mentioned, is of some significance in this connection. The former group employs the term lenape·ɔ'k·an "human sign, or evidence of existence." The terminal element, -ok·an appears in combinations leχ'le·'χe·'yɔ'k·an "breath of life, actual life" meaning "my life"[2] (le·'xe·'yan, "my breathing"), wihila·'ok·an "clan-name emblem." Its obscure abstract meaning, however, seems to lie beyond the scope of any specific English equivalent. The Christian Delawares use the term tci·'teaŋg giving the significance in Delaware of an image, an appearance visible but without substance, an incorporeal image or phantom as an image in a mirror. The same term actually designates a mirror in the language.

The second term, now of the Christian Delaware religious vernacular, has a wide distribution among eastern Algonkian languages indicating that, while the synonomy noted has taken place in Delaware since the introduction of Christianity, the element tci·'teaŋg for soul is an archaic property of the family of tongues.[3]

We are told that the soul leaves the body twelve days after death, that the life blood ("huk") remains as a spirit on the earth, whence arise ghosts or phantoms.

The heart is the seat of one soul, the blood the seat of another spiritual element. The heart and blood should be kept together after death (for which reason the Delawares do not believe in embalming). The blood of the dead is the element from which the dead reappear to the living on earth in the form of ghosts. It is considered as the cause of paralysis and so was curable through appeal to the dead. We might refer to the funeral rites of the tribe which carry the burial customs over twelve days after death when certain feasting and rites are performed at the home of the deceased. And again these are repeated twelve months later in a yearly ceremonial feast to the dead. At the feast the opposite clan group has an important part to play.

[1] Harrington I, pp. 14, 87.

[2] A more general term for "life," in Delaware, is pema'osowak·an, with the sense of "being among the living."

[3] Mitschitschank, Munsee (Brinton, Lenape Dictionary, p. 83): djedja'kw, Wabanaki (St. Francis and Penobscot); atca'kw (Montagnais-Naskapi); tca'tcuŋ (Mohegan-Pequot); (mi)chachunck, (Natick, where the analogy between soul and mirror is also found (Trumbull, Natick Dictionary, pp. 325, 290, 571); and the same in Narraganasett, (Roger Williams, Key to the Indian Language, p. 113); and (mit)tachonkq in the Quiripi dialect of western Connecticut.

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being, taken from the discussions of Zeisberger and Harrington, I will let Wi·tapano'xwe place forth in his own words the pertinent remarks relative to it which he dictated to me.

THE MASK DANCE.—The False Face, or Mask, performance seems to possess indications of being an archaic mask-ceremony admitted into the annual Big House ritual during some phase of its later development. It bears some analogies suggestive at once of the game-owner concept that is met with among the Algonkian hunter-nomads of the far north, the Montagnais-Naskapi. In particular we note that the mask and bear-hide clothing are kept away from the precincts of the Big House until the time assigned for their appearance by permission of the master-of-ceremony. The Mask dancer does not remain long in the Big House, nor is his action there in any sense an obligation. Occasionally no one volunteers for the dance and then it is omitted. The informant himself had assumed the rôle several times and he seemed to regard it as lacking in theological significance from the point of view of the Big House doctrine. He related in this connection, how the chief function of the Mask dancer was to frighten children before and after his appearance in the Big House. The songs accompanying the Mask-Spirit dance (mas·iŋka'n·t'ke[1]) were not completely known to him. In one of these the words refer to the Mask-Spirit riding on the back of the deer.[1]

The Mask-Spirit seems to hold potency of both good and evil influence. There is the narrative of a man (Ben Horse) who had come under the power of the Mask-Spirit to such a degree that he was occasionally subjected to its control and fell to performing the antics of the Mask dancer to the point of dementia. A medicine-doctor called upon to free him from this influence ordered him to make a mask and perform the dance at certain times. This eventually cured him and he became the custodian of his mask and developed into a Mask-dancer. An insight into the function of this rite is also given by the narrative of another, a woman, terrified by the Mask-Spirit requiring similar remedial treatment of the mask. And we also hear of some children once so frightened that they ran several miles from the camp and were overtaken with difficulty by their parents whom they took also to be masked pursuers in their confusion of flight.

The Mask-Spirit as a potentially malicious spirit is clearly totally different in conception from six carved faces, "our grandfathers," appearing on the posts of the Big House.

We are taught in the text that the mas·i'ŋk'holi·'kan is like the other man·i't·u deserving of adoration for the blessing he bestows upon hunters in allowing them to kill the deer, over whom he seems to act

[1] Another reflection of the tale known as Caribou-Man among the Naskapi of the north.

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Fig. 9—Costume worn by impersonator of Misingbali'kun. After Harrington.

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the part of custodian.[1] Harrington felt that this was the "most remarkable deity of the Lenape," who was "made guardian by the creator of all the wild animals of the forest, and was sometimes seen riding on the back of a buck, herding the deer; but he lived in a range of rocky mountains. His face is large and round, the right half being painted red, the left black, while his body is covered with long black hair like that of a bear."[2]

A certain amount of supernatural ability seems to be required of the individual who is to wear properly and display the mask. One who has this spiritual quality to a high degree finds himself able to see as well when wearing the mask, despite the smallness of the eye-openings, as though he were bare-eyed. His spiritual power, we are told, is thus tested; he partakes of the qualities of the prophet, kaci·lə'sːu "great man." Other notes on the wearing of the mask are to be found in the text, page 93.

Before passing on, however, reference should be made to customs concerned with the mask recorded by the authors mentioned above. Zeisberger describes this as follows:

"The only idol which the Indians have, and which may properly be called an idol, is their Wsinkhoalican, that is image. It is an image cut in wood, representing a human head, in miniature, which they always carry about them either on a string around their neck or in a bag. They often bring offerings to it. In their houses of sacrifice they have a head of this idol as large as life put upon a pole in the middle of the room.[3]

Brainerd had occasion to observe the performance of the Mask-Spirit in 1745, on the upper Susquehanna, and wrote of the appearance of the Mask Dancer with "a coat of bear skins, dressed with the hair on, and hanging down to his toes; a pair of bear skin stockings; and a great wooden mask painted, the one half black, the other half tawny, about the color of an Indian's skin, with an extravagant mouth, cut very much awry; the face fastened to a bear skin cap, which was drawn over his head. He advanced toward me with the instrument in his hand, which he used for music, in his idolatrous worship, which was a dry tortoise shell with some corn in it, and the neck of it drawn on to a piece of wood, which made a very convenient handle."[4]

There seems, however, to be something omitted in recording these facts. A much more intimate connection between the mask itself and

[1] A hunter's taboo, founded supposedly upon some ancient principle of altruism, is that the first deer or other animal killed by the hunter be not eaten. The meat is given to some older person. The slayer never gets even a bite. Some phase of this rule is to be noted for every northern Algonkian tribe, though in no case have I as yet been fortunate enough to elicit a religious reason for it among the hunters who follow the practice.

[2] Harrington, I, p. 32-33.

[3] Zeisberger, op. cit., p. 141.

[4] Brainerd, op. cit., p. 237.

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the spiritual force represented by it is apparent. The being itself seems to be incorporated in the mask image. The latter become more truly a fetish than the carved images representing the deities in the Big House. Its presence is a source of active power, for the most part, directed toward maleficence. This I think is brought out in several records which the informant dictated to me, tracing the presence of disease and misfortune to the possession of masks representing the human face, both large and small, in families who had, through some event, come into possession of them. Possession seems not always to have been voluntary and in such cases the owners were obliged through the revelations given them in dreams to perform periodic rites, called feasts, to annul their malefic potencies. I am led to believe that this explanation is a valid phenomenon associated with mask likenesses; one omitted from the explanations given us by the authors cited.

We learn in this connection that once a year, generally in the summer, the mask image was given a dance and feast of hominy by the family in whose custody it remained. The express purpose of this rite was to provide it enjoyment and nourishment as a means of conciliation beyond what was accorded it by being brought out during the performance in the Big House. In such a family the mask must be disposed of in a ceremonial manner should it be desired to discontinue the obligatory rites, or should the family die out. Tradition requires the mask in this case to be buried, as the informant states, lest the effects of neglect of the mask be handed down to relatives. One is reminded, in learning of this reverential attitude toward the masks, of the frequency with which carved stone faces have been exhumed in the territories previously inhabited by the Delawares. The Museums of Pennsylvania, New Jersey and New York possess a number of specimens of the faces, which have been briefly discussed and illustrated by Harrington.[1]

The family in which fell the custody of the False Face was the Pola'ciman "Frenchman," family of the Wolf group. The wife of Frenchman was the person who had hereditary ownership of the mask. Her descendants, the McCartlain family (Turkey group), were next in succession but being inclined toward Christianity the rite was neglected by them. Subsequently Julius Fouts, Pet-ane'hing, "Threw Him Here," of the Tortoise group, took charge of the mask. Being afraid that it might be destroyed by worms while in his possession which might have brought sickness to his family as a consequence, Fouts turned it over to Pe'matae'kamon, "Moving-Flowers Man" (George Bullette) of the Fowl group. By the latter it was sold out of the tribe and finally found its errancy terminated in an exhibition case of the Museum of the American Indian (Heye Foundation). (Fig. 10).

[1] Op. cit., I, pp. 32-43.

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The mask rite, says Wi·tapano'xwe, is an individual or family, not a group rite. The record of the change of hands through which it passed, going into each of the three groups at different times, brings out this act.

Since it happened that the custody of the mask fell to Delaware women as well as to men, there seems to have been no restriction as to sex in the office of keeping the masks as reported for the Iroquois. The same is true of the corn-husk masks. As among the Iroquois the Delaware wooden mask was kept face down when not in use, but only, the informant added, because the cloth covering at the back would make this position more convenient. We are impressed with the ruling that the mask could not be played with nor worn for social masquerading.

To the ethnologist, however, the significance of the Mask-Spirit is deep. The whole question of the trait which it represents in the customs of the Delawares is fraught with the possibilities of an archaic northern background, into which fits a series of beliefs and practices extending across boreal North America through northeastern Asia. The game owner concept, in short, stands forth in high relief among the far northern Algonkian. Its most intense development appears among the Montagnais-Naskapi of the Labrador peninsula.[1] For the region of the Great Lakes among the Central Algonkian we have as yet no records to substantiate the existence of the Game Owner concept so far south. The Delaware case is accordingly one of noteworthy bearing. Before passing by what Delaware belief has to contribute to the Game Owner concept in general the information pertaining to the mask spirits to be given in a text reserved for the later publication should be considered.[2] Here an account is recorded in which masks made of corn-husks are worn by messengers who go about announcing the occasion of a corn ceremony. The personification of the spirit of corn seems intended in the wearing of such a mask.

THE TORTOISE AS A SYMBOL.—Outlined in particularly high relief is the tortoise. In the latter creature we have the symbol of life, of perseverence, longevity and steadfastness. As the Delaware patriarch says, "The tortoise is the earth; is life." In the procession of time and among the elemental nature forces the direction of movement is from east to west, according to Delaware belief. So moves the tortoise with measured pace across the earth and through the Big House, carrying out the mythical allegory. At the end of his journey at the "western door," meaning where the sun sets at the edge of the

[1] Extended treatment of the religious beliefs and philosophy of the northern peoples, so far as the Game Owner concept is concerned, will be available for the students of religious customs of pre-literate peoples when manuscript now in course of preparation shall have been published.

[2] To form another volume of this series.

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Not only are wild animals pure in contrast with domestic brutes in the sense embraced by the term, but youths who have completed the puberty vigil and acquired their guardian spirit are also pi·'lsi·t, "clean, uncontaminated, spiritually purified," as opposed to those who have not. For instance one of the signs denoting the transition from preadolescence in boys to the "purity of manhood" is in the voice. They say that the youth is expected to remain in solitude during his vigil until his voice has changed completely, by which time he is then pi·'lsi·t. It will be noticed also that the term is applied to fire made by the pump-drill at the Big House ceremony, pi·'lsi·t' te'·n·da', "clean fire," the unadulterated new fire made without matches or other unclean materials; the latter being cewa'·n·akwi· te'·n·da', "white man's fire," or mat·a pi·'ltak, "not pure." The sacred character of pure fire is shown in its honorific synonym mu$_{\chi}$o'^{a}mson·a, "our grandfather," the source of healing.

Spiritual purity, however, is not conditioned by ethical conduct, but rather (like the Hebraic takor) through the observance of taboo regulations prescribed by ancient rulings.[1] Foremost among these are the restrictions placed upon the freedom of women in their catamenial periods, and the carrying out of dietary usages based upon the classification of animals as clean and unclean. Another evidence of the individual being spiritually pure is to have been blessed with a vision bestowed by a supernatural power. Such individuals are pi·'lsi· in a high degree. They are indeed the mainstays of the Big House ceremony. They are in blessed communion with the man·i't·u, bringing into the Big House their spiritual media, the controls under which their destinies are moulded. Again to be pi·'lsi· is to have gone through all the native teachings. And to live with a guileless character, child-like, is sufficient to entitle a man or woman (irrespective of marriage or celibacy) to be referred to as pi·'lsi·t lən'·o "pure, clean, man," or pi·'lsi·t xkwe'', "pure, clean, woman," as a child is pi·'lsi·t mi·'mas. The above may serve to outline at least the Delaware concept of personal holiness and unholiness as it is expounded in the text.

BEING BLESSED WITH A VISION. THE PERFORMERS IN THE CEREMONY. The main active parts in the ceremony are performed by those who have been blessed with revelations by spiritual-forces, the man·i't·u. These are the pure men, and also in a minor rôle, the pure women. The word element aŋg'o^{a} seems to be the generic designation for the condition of being blessed with a spiritual revelation through a vision. By this is meant the visitation from some man·i't·u coming at some period in the life of the individual who is spiritually deserving from the point of view of his reverence for spiritual forces for his observance of the arbitrary rulings of religious doctrine, and adherence to logically

[1] A taboo is denoted by the term kwul·a·'gan, "something forbidden."

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787 different cases as remembered by the informant seems at present more to the point than to attempt rationalistic discussion.

792 Those who have acquired visions and who perform the act of reciting and leading dances are the spiritual leaders of the tribe. They are known, with an air of distinction, as wehendji·kane'it', a designation that I am scarcely capable of literally translating into English, but which is explained to mean, according to Wi·tapano'xwe, the act of dancing in a line close to one another in a formation like segments of a vertebra.

In the text we are given the recitation of several of those who had visions, whose sermons, as they might be called, were more distinctly remembered by the narrator from his having heard them on various occasions. Most noteworthy, however, is his own recitation, the time and circumstances of which are given in the translation with such notes as seemed needed. Other versions of spiritual visitations not recorded in text but of sufficient merit to be made available for students of Algonkian psycho-social phenomena have been included in a section of the appendix (note I).

787 796 In the act of reciting the vision within the Big House the performer (e'lhik·a'si·t') carries the tortoise rattle, called the "leading rattle." At his side dances the "follower," whose function is to repeat the leader's phrases and answer the leader's rattle with a shaking of his own rattle, called the "follower's rattle." This individual bears the formal designation we'te'gasi·t' "follower."

Now is manifestly the time to bring in some explanation of the manner in which the visionary proceeds to declaim his revelation and to intone the chant which he has composed relative to the appearance of the man·i't·u and the effect it produced upon his feelings when it appeared to him. This is essential to the understanding of the ceremony. Reference to the accompanying sketch of the floor plan of the Big House (fig. 12) will be necessary.

The reciter alternately recites his vision and dances. While reciting, now shaking the rattle by a horizontal motion of the forearm, he stands in one place (A) while the dancers who have taken their places in the line behind him pause likewise. At the end of the stanza he bends his head, shakes the rattle vertically and dances down the line of the beaten path, or the White Path with a shuffling step, while the drummers repeat the same stanza that he has just declaimed as accurately as they can. So by alternating pauses and advances the reciter and leader covers the circuit of the dancing path within the Big House until, having led his followers once around, he arrives at a point near where he had begun his act. Here (at G) he leaves the oval course heading toward the center post. At a point about half way to the center (H) he pauses again for one of the stanza recitations then dances to the image facing the western door, recites another

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Leaders Course
A- B, Speaking, at B. stops and dances to C. while drummers sing
C-D. Speaking and shakes hands with drummers
D- E, Dances and drummer sing
E- F. Speaking
F- G. Dancing
H Reciting

Figure 12—Diagram of "Beautiful White Path," the circuit of performers in the Big House during dances.

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stanza, whereupon they utter the prayer-call and raise their hands to "lift the prayer." Then he leads his dancing file around the post until he stands before the image facing the eastern door where they pray again. Experience and the use of good judgment in spacing the distance to be covered during the dancing intervals teaches the reciter to time his progress and pauses so that all will work out rightly. I have indicated on the diagram (fig. 12) the approximate stations, indicated by letters, at which the pauses would occur in a vision recitation of ordinary length.

It should be remembered that the "follower," or "after-time" man, any one of the group brothers of the reciter, is one who follows close behind the reciter throughout the round of the White Path and rattles alternately with the leader. As many men and women, as desire may join the dancing group and keep behind them.

When reaching the place where the drummers sit, it should be noted that the reciter stops and shakes hands with them, calling them by various kinship terms in a low emotional voice. Those who are in the dance line do the same. At the conclusion of this act of greeting he goes back to D, where he stopped singing, and resumes his dancing while the drummers repeat his chant. As he dances past the drummers he faces them dancing sideways instead of straight forward as ordinarily. This is a gesture of deference in recognition of the importance of the part they play.

Thus the reciter's narrative proceeds, beginning with the prelude, in which are given mention of the circumstances connected with the coming of the spiritual visitor. Some cryptic references are made to the spirit's appearance or to the guise in which it had shown itself; while in the interludes come the chant of adoration, the reciter's song recitative. He becomes a spiritual hero sounding his spiritual triumph, praising the Person, or Being, who revealed himself to him. The reciter becomes so thoroughly familiar with his personal relation through frequent rehearsal night after night, year after year, that it soon becomes a formula in his mind. Its phraseology develops into a litany, its alternating paragraphs of prose and chanting likewise become familiar to the ears and capable of repetition not only by the drummers, whose duty it is to echo his stanzas, but to the audience seated round the temple as well. In this way the performances of the leading personages of the ceremony assume the nature of common psycho-literary property. And we understand forthwith how Witapano'xwe had arrived at a point where several of the recitations had become imbedded in his memory.

Whereas the major performance of the recitation of dance rites in the Big House falls to the lot of the senior reciters there is an opportunity provided, through a spirit of religious co-operation, for the younger men and women, who have had spiritual experiences of a

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787 minor sort, to rehearse their parts, and to give and to receive the
796 blessings accrued through enacting their parts. The open period for minor performers is on the twelfth night at the conclusion of the series of night rituals. This phase of the ceremony is denoted by the term a'teho'mwi·n which freely rendered means "the-performance-after-letting-the-fires-go-out."

The significance of these concluding rites lies in the understanding that the religious complex of the great ceremony has passed its climax. The performances of the men blessed with the visitations of supernatural beings have been done to their satisfaction, the Great Spirit has been duly regarded and invoked for further consideration of his people. And now to mark the subsidence of religious tension under which all have been held for the past twelve nights, the master actors, visionaries and reciters, retire from their high calling, and the hegemony is given over to those whose motives are perhaps as estimable but whose performances are still unperfected—the women and the younger men. The ceremony now takes on the figurative designation a'teho'mqi·n, having reference to "performing after letting the fires go out."[1] We have observed that after the ceremony of the twelfth night the two fires in the Big House, "their grandfathers," were not replenished with fuel by the attendants and that before closing for the night the ashes were ceremonially taken out. Henceforth on the last morning the dancing and singing is of a lower order of sanctity since this "grandfather," fire, is not a witness to it. The time for the shorter recitations of the inexpert youths and the ceremonially less important women has thus arrived, in accordance with which attitude we see a change of mien and the subsidence of the spirit of reverence maintained so painstakingly heretofore. The occasion is the time for rehearsal by the youths who have, on account of their age, only a minor part to play, but who after some years of this sort of thing will make their initial essay in the regular nightly rounds of recitation. It is thus in the "dimming of the light of the sacred fires" that they appear in the modified-service, when the ceremony is no longer "going with full strength."

796 Besides those men gifted with a vision who recite and lead the dancers around the White Path, there are other personages called acka"'sak, "attendants" (singular, acka"'s) whose official duties are recognized as being of a high grade of sanctity in the Big House. Of these there are three males and three females, the pairs chosen from each of the three so-called totemic groups respectively (Pəle", Pukowa'-ŋgo, Tu'k"'si·t). Their selection rests at the option of the individual who "brings in the ceremony." During the period of the performance the Attendants are lodged in six canvas tents ranged in two rows op-

[1] a'·te "to burn out," referring to fire, kwunall·i·'na a'·te nə·tə'·n·da· "let go out the fire."

Fig. 13—Diagram showing dancing circuit in Big House on final day of ceremony (Atehowmwin)

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796 posite each other in front of the east door of the Big House, the men in the tents of the north row and the women in those of the south. The labors of the Attendants include the duties of the janitor, the gendarmerie, and the commissariat. The men's staff of office is a hickory pole with a shaved end, about 8 ft. long, with which they can poke at boisterous children or flay intrusive dogs in the Big House. Their functioning, however, is sacramental to a degree that can hardly be understood by the European who associates such menial and servile tasks only with profane employment. The Attendants at the Big House ceremony are highly honored with their position as workers whose services, as they are observed by the Great Spirit and the lesser deities, are bringing deep blessing not only to themselves but to the whole of mankind. Their pay is ceremonially given in the form of wampum which at the conclusion of the ceremony is redeemed in currency at a value determined now by the rarity of the beads. Of their other duties the sweeping the "White Path" in the Big House after each circuit of the dance, the kindling of the sacred fire with the fire drill, keeping the worshipers from falling asleep, driving dogs away from the premises and other labors, constant but blessed, we shall learn more in the footnotes given with the text.

MATURITY REQUIRED BEFORE RECITING IN THE CEREMONY.—The big House stands out in Delaware thought as the scene of performance destined only for those of mature spiritual strength. The complete exclusion of men under the age of 35 indicates that religious sentiment will hardly permit the appearance of a tyro as a reciter of vision and dance leader on any of the formal nights of the ceremony. This age seems indeed to be the age of "reason." The try-outs of younger men are permitted on the twelfth night during which the women take over the conduct of the ceremony. On this night the younger men who have had visions but whose "nerve" is weak, or whose mastery of his recitation and song is uncertain, make their essays along the line of leading. Their attempts are frequently met with derision it would seem. The informant recalls hearing of one occasion even when a respected elderly man, old Captain Curlyhead, made his first appearance on the White Path and launched his recitation, faltered, missed on the formal words and sequence, and retired shortly amid the derision of the spectators. He never attempted the thing again although his vision was known to be a good one and his social standing was high.

Younger men are cautioned not to undertake the recitation unless they are well enough qualified to carry it out without provoking ridicule or even bringing on censure of the older veterans. For they hold the opinion that it is folly for the young to attempt understanding of the mysteries and rites before the involuntary spiritual-mental awakening arrives during middle-age. When this realization of responsi-

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bility and maturity comes to the individual he feels that he is called to take his place in the annual ceremony. A new vision of life dawns upon him. He realizes that he has been brought into the world for a purpose and permitted to live to middle-age to raise children, take care of the aged relatives, help the people to health and comfort. Then there is also the feeling that others are observing him as an example of conduct. So he assumes his responsibility and prepares to appear in the Big House ceremony.[1]

We are told that the Big House performances were originally esoteric. Whites were excluded from it during the ceremonies, though in recent years the objection to their presence has been withdrawn due to intermarriage between Delaware women and white men.

The virtue of humility, so extolled and propogated in the philosophy of the Delawares, and the Iroquois[2] as well is one to which too little emphasis has been given by students. Historians, in particular those contrasting the humility of the evangelists with the contemptuousness of the natives, have ignored the declarations of ethnologists in this respect.[3]

THE SYMBOL OF TWELVE.—Allusion has previously been made in several places in our discussion, to the sanctity of the concept of twelve, the reason for which among the Delawares seems not to be objectively expressed.[4] Twelve is nevertheless a fundamental symbolical number. Throughout the text we hear of the Great Spirit residing in the twelfth stratum of the sky; of the prayer-call addressed to him uttered twelve times in succession; of the twelve prayer sticks or wands which lift the prayer to the twelfth heaven. The Big House ceremony itself is of twelve days' duration. The belief being that each day's performance lifts the worship a stage higher in the series of twelve successive sky levels until on the final day it reaches the Great Spirit himself.

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[1] Maturity is an important consideration with the Delawares. Among many facts still to be obtained in regard to restrictions of boys under the age of puberty, for instance, it may be interesting to note that these when they become old enough to take part in the hunt, are not allowed to eat soup lest their testicles rattle so warning game animals ahead of them, or to eat the heart of the animal lest they lose courage; or the animal's head, eyes, or ears lest they be bothered with gnats.

[2] A. C. Parker, The Code of Handsome Lake, Bull. 163. New York State Museum, Albany, 1912.

[3] For example Rev. T. J. Campbell, S. J.[2] tells his readers, "The red man had never much respect for the virtue of humility, and the young missionary (referring to Marquette among the Illinois) was treated rather contemptuously by many of the degraded wretches whom he was trying to regenerate." Pioneer Priests of North Amer. N. Y. 1911, Vol. III, p. 109.

[4] The importance of seven in Delaware thought has been stressed by A. L. Kroeber (Anthropology, N. Y. p. 252, f. n. 1) without giving the source. There seems to be no evidence of this in the material at hand.

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801 [825] The Delawares also point out the occurrence of thirteen plates in the carapace and twelve in the plastron of all the members of the American tortoises and turtles, bordered by twelve marginal plates on each side. Another evidence in native thought of the tortoise as being a living symbol of the Universe.

Again we hear of a medicine compound prepared from twelve different herbal ingredients employed by the Delawares to cleanse them from sin.[1]

801 796 The prominence of the twelve concept as a unit of time in Delaware chronology of ritual is not to be overlooked, for we learn in the ruling of the funeral ceremony that the first post-mortem rites are performed twelve days after the day of demise, and that the concluding ceremony is carried out the twelfth moon after the event.

Of great interest also is the fact that the Delaware finds symbolical illustration of the concept of the twelve strata of heavens in the occurrence of twelve tail feathers in the plumage system of the birds. The allegory is carried out in the Peyote ceremony as performed by the Delawares, in the particular rite that is called the Young Men's Meeting. On this occasion, twelve sticks, six on each side, are used in building the fire near the center of the Peyote lodge, the fire being the symbol of the moon. A mound of earth, with the arrangement of the sticks referred to, forms the symbolical outline of the body and tail of the eagle. And when these twelve sticks burn down they leave twelve stumps again representing the tail feathers of the eagle. The Peyote rites of different groups vary in many particulars, a comparison of which would determine whether or not the above is exclusively a Delaware belief injected into the now widespread Peyote cult.

801 192 Before leaving the discussion of the number concept, it should be noted that the formal expression denoting twelve in the ceremonial vernacular is archaic; ata'x ok ni'ea, "ata'x, (ten) and two," instead of "te'lan, (ten) and two." Delaware tradition informs us that ata'x is an ancient term for ten prescribed by usage in the ceremony while in common speech te'lan denotes ten. In looking over earlier Delaware vocabularies we find the use of the common term indicated through the period of early contact in vocabularies recorded by Campanius (1645), Thomas (1695), Ziesberger (1750), Whipple (1855), in which the cognates are *Thaeren, Telen, Tellen, Telen.*[2] In a Delaware vocabulary taken down in New Jersey (1792) attributed to Thomas Jeffer-

[1] Zeisberger, op. cit., p. 134.

[2] Brinton I, p. 96. Comparative vocabularies from these sources are quoted. In a Swedish source, attributed to Campanius (Lutheri Catechismus öfwersatt på American-Virginiste Språtet, Stockholm, (1696), the form thaeren is given for "ten." Swedish, like Delaware, has in its recent development, under a change producing an *l* from the earlier *r* which in both instances may have had an *l* quality (Dr. A. J. Upvall). See also Amandus Johnson, Geographia Americae, op. cit., 280.

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son, the same form (*tillunun*) occurs.[1] The same term for the decimal occurs in cognate form throughout practically all the northern and eastern Algonkian tongues.[2] Is it reasonable then to consider the form ata'x as an Algonkian numeral so ancient as to antedate the dispersion of the Algonkian languages?

WAMPUM AS A SYMBOL.—In Delaware ceremonial, social and even economic procedure, wampum played an outstanding part. It is referred to in the text as "our heart." The subject, however, calls for more extended treatment than will be given it here. Wampum is designated by the term ke'k'', a vocable which is peculiar to Delaware and which does not submit to philological analysis. Despite the uniformity of beliefs and practices involving the use of wampum beads throughout the eastern and central portions of the Algonkian area of distribution, the Delawares seem to have aberrated from employing the generic term wɔbə'bi[3] that we find in the speech of the other Wabanaki populations. The economic and symbolic functions of the peculiarly portentious medium of exchange I have dealt with in separate publication, to which I shall refer, as far as it deals with the Algonkian peoples of the northeast.[4] And the pecuniary aspect of wampum has been exaggerated in early writings dealing with the eastern Indians. To the Delawares wampum stood forth in the light of a covenant. It represented, and still does, a magical power capable of annulling the affects of latent poisonous influences that might pass between persons who exchange gifts or who enter into the transfer of property. I might even use the terms spiritual antiseptic in referring to the agency of the sacred beads in transactions of a personal nature as well as in negotiations between political bodies. Going a step further we see how the Indians regarded the belts and strings of wampum which were transferred between parties entering into negotiations as the necessary pledges of sincerity of spirit and purity of purpose.[5]

In the account of the annual ceremony a glance at the procedures shows how step by step wampum is brought into use as a medium of compensation carrying a spiritual valuation. But its monetary exchange value in Delaware culture is extremely low, hence the statements of the Indians themselves concerning its non-intrinsic rating are more clearly understood. The attendants we observe, whose office is to prepare the Big House, attend to materials such as food, fire,

[1] Manuscript in Archives of the American Philosophical Society of Phila., Indian Vocabularies p. 17.

[2] The wide diffusion of the cognates of tel-en is shown in the following instances, Wabanaki, moda'la, Montagnais-Naskapi, kate'l-nu.

[3] Literally "white string," the source of English "wampum."

[4] F. G. Speck, "The Functions of Wampum among the Northeastern Algonkian." Mem. Amer. Anth. Ass., vol. vi, No. 1, (1919).

[5] F. G. Speck, "The Penn Wampum Belts" Leaflet No. 3, Mus. Amer. Ind., (Heye Foundation), New York (1925).

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436 sweeping, and general order of the premises receive their pay in
796 wampum beads; the pecuniary value of which amounts to hardly more than a few cents. The drummers, the singers, the dance leaders, the reciters of visions are in their turn rewarded with small donations of wampum at the conclusion of their performances. This is a purifying gift rather than a pecuniary payment, one entirely out of proportion to the worth of service rendered.

[53] The worshipers of the Big House also offer their donations toward the ceremony in strings of wampum, giving them to the Master-of-Ceremonies, saying; ce·la'yu'ni· ndeli·' wi·teinge'n note'ha'n "This here is how much I help from my heart!" The sacrosanctity of wampum is furthermore emphasized by the religious rule that wampum should always be given when something has been received, even when only a gift from a friend. In the esteem of the natives it becomes a most potent medicine. Failure to carry out the rules governing the bestowing of wampum would bring sickness upon the receiver of property through exchange or the receiver of a gift. This is especially
[76] true in connection with the Delaware practice of medicine, because medicine although destined to heal can double upon itself and become a poison when not sanctified by the conveyance of wampum.[1]

436 In Delaware phraseology "wampum is our heart." In exchanges of
425 vendable property, even extending to gifts between friends, there
751 lurked a potency for evil that might develop in who knows what quarter, producing malice or resentment among the parties concerned. It could even result in bodily poison to one or both. It is strictly correct to state that in the attitude of the eastern Indians toward such affairs the transfer of shell money from the hands of the receiver of a gift or a purchase to those of the giver performed the function of medicine.

436 The wampum protected them against spiritual infection and its
755 manifestation in the body in the form of sickness. Wampum was a purifier, purging the transaction from latent evil force. And should evil have leaked through the transaction the wampum would function as a purgative for its keeper. The same wampum was a spiritual emblem believed by them to have come originally from supernatural sources and embodying within it profound supernatural dynamics.

436 We can understand why a compact sealed with the transfer of
439 wampum was as sacred as one sworn to under oath by Europeans. It was such an attitude toward exchange and currency that our colonial forebears encountered when they bartered for land and peltry with the aborigines of New England and the Middle Atlantic States. The colonists handed out their exchange with the European notion of in-

[1] I am of course speaking of Delaware therapeutics exclusively, although something along the same line may be said, by those who are inclined toward a critical attitude, of civilized medical practices.

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trinsic value, receiving the return with the native idea of spiritual and supernatural interplay. 436 439

The Dutch in buying Manhattan for 60 guilders worth of trinkets undoubtedly drove a shrewd bargain with the Delawares. But who has told us that in the eyes of these same Delawares the currency was the symbol not the value equivalent of the relinquishment of their hereditary rights to the land as well as its products? This ridiculous price was to them a symbol over which they transferred their goodwill and spiritual power over forces dormant in the land, clearing away the poison that might have been engendered by the inequality of value in the transfer. Here lay the basis of conflict unreconcilable between the two culture spheres that met, bartered, and quarreled, in the settlement of the Atlantic seaboard. The one backed by unnumbered, metal-armed, aggressive and adventurous men from a tumultous old world as against a few thousand stone-age, passive, hunter-farmers.

There are deep associative meanings here underlying Algonkian and Iroquois wampum institutions. The problems of their origin, development and inter-relation are to be considered as a research problem of the future.

CEREMONIAL EQUIPMENT.—The material equipment of the Big House ceremony is mentioned with some detail in that part of the text which deals with preparation. The objects whose use is called for in various stages of the rite have a particular sacredness in the eyes of the Delawares. Between the occasions when the ceremony is performed they are carefully kept in the charge of some responsible chiefs or members of the council. Some of the objects required in the performance have been attached to it for lengthy periods of time. It has even been thought that they might have been brought from the east during the course of migration. This attitude of reverence, however, has not prevented the escape of specimens, representing practically all of the objects whose use is prescribed in the performance, from the hands of their custodians to find their way into the collections of eastern museums, even into the possession of private collectors.[1] In some cases faithful reproductions of the cherished articles have been made by the Indians to serve the purposes of demonstration. Therefore, utilizing the materials in the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, New York City, and the American Museum of Natural History, New York City, who have generally pro- 778 796

[1] The temptation to professional curio-hunters to sweep Indian reservations clean of native manufactures results in turning topsy-turvy their cultural life. It even comes from experts whose desire for the possession of rare specimens is sometimes greater than their desire for the advancement of knowledge. The existence of such bitter and senseless rivalries among collectors is responsible for the demolition of creeds and ceremonies now too far gone to study or to understand.

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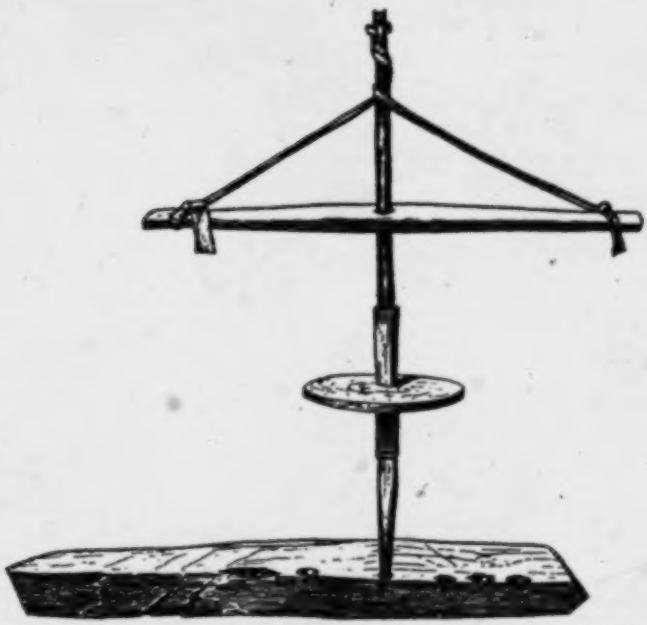

Fig. 14—Ceremonial fire drill used at the Big House Ceremony. (Length of shaft, 29.5 in.). After Harrington.

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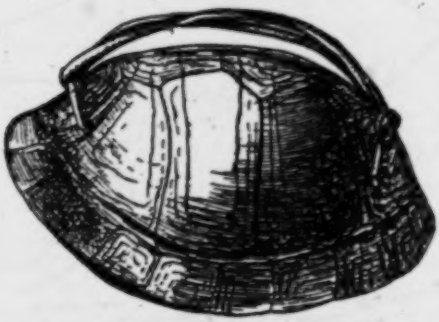

Fig. 15—Rattle of land-tortoise shell, used by celebrants of the Big House Ceremony. (Lenth 4.2 in.). After Harrington.

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vided illustration and granted access to the specimens for description, the accompanying plates and figures are made possible for our study. Other reproductions are from specimens being acquired in the Delaware collections in the State Museum at Harrisburg.[1]

The articles constituting the material equipment of the ceremony require some comment since reference is so frequently made to them in the text, although their proper description would fall under treatment in a study of Delaware material culture. Wi·tapano'xwe has, moreover, given us some additions to knowledge regarding these objects which I shall refer to briefly now, while reserving some explanatory remarks pertaining to them for the footnotes accompanying the translation.

The shell rattles (taxko'xk[e]) (figs. 2, 15) with which the men who recite their visions accompany themselves by sidewise motion of the arm are constructed of the dried shell of the box tortoise (Cistudo). A leather thong is fastened through holes in the top shell, beneath which the fingers pass so that the curve of the shell fits the palm of the hand. Both the dance leader who is reciting his vision and the man close by his side, who chants the responses to the song of the leader, carry the handrattles. The leader's rattle is, by traditional ruling, smaller than that of his associate.

The peculiar Delaware hide-drum (poχon·i·'k·an), (fig. 19), which was also known to the Munsee, has called forth some attention from Harrington. This instrument of percussion is simply a dried deer-skin folded and bound with cordage that fastens two long wooden slats to opposite sides, its length is thirty-two inches. The beaters are more interesting as ceremonial objects. During the nights of the annual performance up till the ninth, the drum batons (paχkandi·'k·an) are plain bars of oak 16 inches in length with no other mark on them than a figure X carved on the upper side. The figure is said to symbolize the crossroads on the pathway of the soul (see page 174 and figs. 17, 22, 26). On the ninth night, however, the plain drum-beaters are put aside and their place is taken in the subsequent acts of the ceremony by the sacred beaters (paχkandi·'k·an laχa'ui·tci·k "forked-ones").[1] This substitution is an allegory of the increasing sanctity of the rites as they progress from the beginning, until reaching the ninth night the worship has approached so near the seat of the Great Spirit in his twelfth tier of heaven that the ceremony assumes a more formal phase, and appears with its equipment in ceremonial full-dress. The sacred batons (fig. 22, a, b) bear on their upper sides carvings of the human face in high relief with the symbolical red and black paint on the right

[1] Mention should be given to the illustrations of most of these objects in Harrington's study of Lenape religion and ceremonies.

[1] These sacramental objects are kept in the custody of the chiefs of the Tu'kwa·i·t (Wolf) group.

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Fig. 16—Delaware hawk-tail hand fan carried by man. Used now generally in Peyote Ceremony. (Hist. Com. of Pa.)

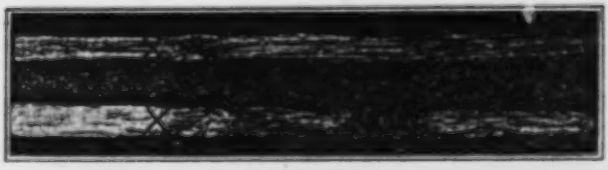

Fig. 17—Delaware Drum-beaters marked with cross used before ninth night of Ceremony. (Hist. Com. of Pa.)

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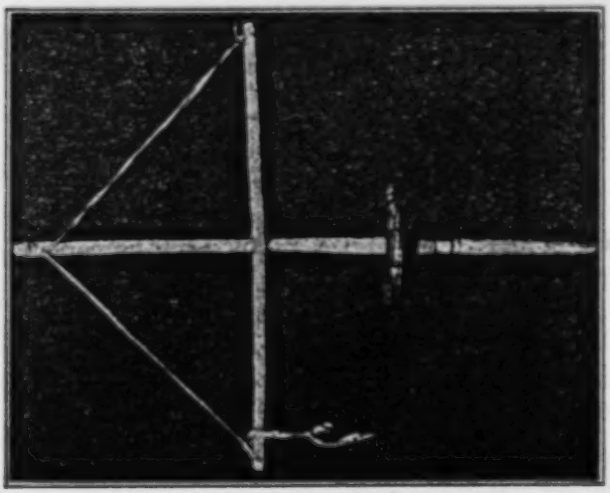

Fig. 18—Delaware Fire-drill (Hist. Comm. of Pa.)

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and left halves, respectively. The one also has carved representations of the female breasts. Harrington secured information explaining that these drum-beaters symbolized the male and female worshipers, but we cannot be so certain of this in view of the possibility that they may be representations of male and female deities, the "grandfathers" and "grandmothers" of the Delawares. The sacred drumsticks are also cut to have forked ends as the illustrations show. For this morphological feature Wi·tapano'xwe knew of no positive explanation unless it represents the forks in the pathway of the soul. Harrington suggested that it was to make a louder sound. Specimens made by the informant are shown in fig. 20. Pin oak was the wood used. The faces are designed to bring out male and female lineaments.

Reverting for a moment to a consideration of the drum it is worth noting that the Delawares use neither the hollow log-drum nor the water-drum in the Big House ceremony although both are known in connection with other dance performances in the tribe.

The prayer sticks (ma·mendahi'k·ana·, plural) "means of earnest supplication" (fig. 24) are peeled wands about 18 inches long, twelve in number, six decorated with spirals encircling them burnt on their surface, six undecorated. On the ninth night likewise these wands are introduced into the prayer feature of the ceremony. The worshipers, who up until this night have simply raised their hands when giving voice to the prayer call when grouped around the center post, now raise their hands pointing toward the images of the great spirit on this post with the prayer wands. Here again we learn that the extra reach afforded by the sticks is symbolical of the greater height in the heaven-strata that has been reached in the progress of the worship.

The fire drill sang·hi'k·an),[1] figs. 14, 16, the wooden corn mortar (koho'k·an) and pestle, or "long pounder" (kwən·u'son·e·k·), fig. 23, the paint, ola·'man)[2] the "paint dishes" (ola'manəlo'k·e·s), fig. 21, the feathers, (fig. 18), and other articles whose use is called for as the ceremony advances, are to be mentioned with explanatory observations in the footnotes accompanying the translation. These objects have a positive sanctified value as they function in the ceremony. The Delawares hold them in high esteem as symbols of the natural culture with which they were endowed by the Great Spirit before the coming of Europeans with their sacrilegious mechanisms, which latter are as far as possible held as taboo within the Big House itself and even on the premises. The same exclusive principle is carried out in respect to European foods. Even mussel shells are used as spoons.

A partly sanctified character is also ascribed to certain games which are permitted during the course of the ceremony. While the mem-

[1] sa'ngawe, "something that makes a ringing noise," denoting the sound of the fire-drill when in use.

[2] A generic term for "red paint" known everywhere among northern and eastern Algonkians with little variation.

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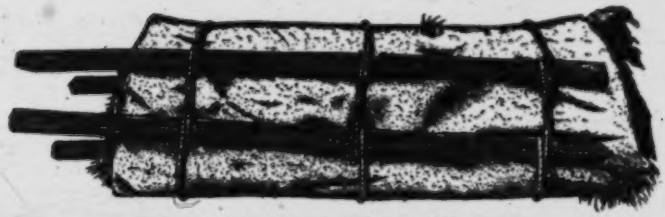

Fig. 19—Drum made of dried deerskin used at the Big House Ceremony. (Length, 38.2). After Harrington.

Fig. 20—Delaware drum beaters used on ninth night of ceremony. (Hist. Com. of Pa.)

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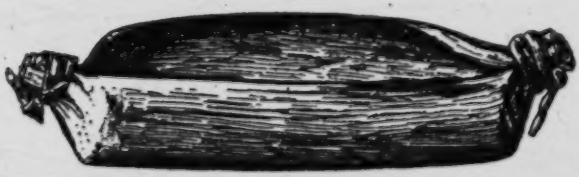

Fig. 21—Paint-dish of bark, used at the Big House Ceremony. (Length, 2.2 in.). After Harrington.

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bers of the group are convened for the Big House ceremony the day intervals between the nightly performances are passed in taking rest and in pastimes of a native character. The Delawares have various games (li·nalə'ti·n) of a non-formal nature. Among these are horse racing (h'wta'me'laxtaŋ, "trying out horses), and the dice and bowl game (ma'ma'ndi·n, "gathering [dice]") consisting of five dice, cut out of mussle shell carved into forms of button, horsehead, tortoise, tossed in a wooden bowl, the counters being kernels of corn or coffee beans. Other amusements, some obviously of European origin, are checkers, pitching quoits, cards, broad-jumping and jack-straws, it might be added that the Delawares are addicted to the well known moccasin-game but reserve it for the funeral ceremony.[1]

CEREMONIAL IMAGE AND FACE-PAINTING.—The application of pigment to the face has, in Delaware thought, the value of an anointment. The sanctity of the act of face-painting in connection with the performance is displayed in the formality of the rite on the ninth night in which the carved images in the Big House, the face images on the forked drum-sticks, and the faces of the worshipers themselves are given an application of red color. The images, however, receive an application of black and red on each half of the face, while the people receive a rubbing of red only on the cheeks and forehead. The proper native source of red for face painting, which the Delawares believe to have been created for their use by the Great Spirit, is Blood-root (Sanguinaria canadensis). Of this we hear occasionally in the text. In the accounts dealing with Indian customs in the east, Blood-root under the name pukoon is mentioned as an article of much importance. The term *pukoon* became adopted into English and the root became a color substance sought for in the commerce of the colonies. The Delawares still preserve a feeling of its importance and, although considered rare in the present habitat of the tribe in Oklahoma, it is locally present in quantities sufficient to supply an orange-red stain for them in their ceremonies. They call it pe''kon.[2]

Black painting is also important in significance. Black (sək·a'χtai, "black charcoal") is a means of summoning ghosts and so it is worn only when such associations are desired.[3]

In an account of early Pennsylvania and New Jersey, Gabriel Thomas (1698)[4] tells us that the Delawares upon decease made their faces black all over, and when their affairs went well they painted

[1] To be dealt with in a later memoir of this series.

[2] The identity of the above term with Sanguinaria was ascertained during a trip with the informant in the Pennsylvania woods where the plant was found and named.

[3] The informant remembers when a child being told by his mother to go wash the black paint from his face before night came on, after he had been playing dancing, lest it attract a ghost.

[4] Gabriel Thomas' Account, etc., in Narratives of Early Pennsylvania, West New Jersey, and Delaware, N. Y. (1912), edited by Albert Cook Myers, p. 341.

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796 302 764 822 their faces with red, "it being the token of their joy as the other is of their grief."

The dichromatic pattern, black and red, seems to stand out with prominence in the painting of the human face and its carved representations in the whole eastern portion of North America from Maine to the Gulf of Mexico. An explanation, often sought for by direct inquiry among the Indians, and again based upon hypothesis, has never seemed forthcoming. In the preceding remarks on the use of black among the Delawares, and again through implied reasoning, I would venture to suggest, lies a plausible explanation of the pattern of red [822] and black. The red symbolizes living beings, the black dead, both idea and symbol having a deep grounding in the religious philosophy of the eastern part of the continent.

To illustrate some of the color patterns affected by the Delawares during the Big House ceremony, the narrator of the text made the accompanying color sketches (figure). The patterning permissible in the ceremony is normally restricted to black and red put on in larger masses rather than in fine lines. The mass designs are thought to be sombre, dignified; in short, full-dress in character, and, a note of no little significance, more ancient.

The smaller, fine-line designs placed on the cheeks or in the narrow area between the outer corner of the eye and the temple are regarded as being more modern, secular in character. These are considered too profane for the purpose of worship, and to wear them during the Big House ceremony would be out of keeping with the gravity of the occasion. The fine-line designs are regarded as being suitable for dress-up events of a social nature and for social dances. They [292] belong also to the garb of warriors, like the wearing of the roach head-ornament and the feather bonnet. A series of examples of the fine line of warriors' face patterns for cheeks and temples are shown in figures , as observed and remembered by the informant. An analogy exists between the patterns adopted by warriors and the markings on the face of the rattlesnake and even the turtles. In both cases the patterns are thought ominous, which seems to account for their exclusion from the ceremonial category of designs. Painting on the face representing markings on turtles' or rattlesnakes' faces are called aca'co which means "slitting or cutting in the skin," in Delaware.[1]

796 783 THE SWEATING RITE.—At an earlier period of Delaware history, it is said in the text, before the evacuation of the tribal haunts in Kansas (1867) the performance of a sweating ceremony seems to have been included in the annual ceremony. Harrington has notes on this procedure for which he received the name muxhatoL'zing from his

[1] In Montagnais-Naskapi, aca'jo denotes tatooing.

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informants. He choses to regard this rite as another form of the annual ceremony, and supposes this to have been a tribal variation arising through the incorporation of alien features at the instigation of Munsee or Nanticoke adopted by the Delawares.[1] Zeisberger has an account referring to a sweating ceremony of a similar nature to that described by Harrington. The designation applied to it by Zeisberger is "machtuzin",[2] which he rendered "to perspire."

Wi·tapano'xwe secured the following description of the sweating-ceremony from aged living Indians in the Nation on the occasion of his visit home in 1929, and I give it as a supplement to what has already been published by others concerning it;

"The sweat-house performance does not belong to the regular annual ceremony of the Big House although it was formerly held in the Big House. It was a distinct ceremony lasting eight days held by the tribe when it was living in Kansas, before they moved to their present location in Oklahoma in 1867. When this ceremony was first held it was meant to determine who could withstand the greatest punishment by heat and steam. A large wigwam made of twelve poles bent together at the top and covered with hides. Opposite the door a number of pieces of wood and bark are arranged so that the wigwam will not catch fire. During the eight days of the ceremony hot rocks are placed in the wigwam and twelve men, each having had a vision so receiving supernatural power, are selected from the tribe to enter the wigwam where they sing their songs. Many of the men in the trial become weak and succumb to the heat while others withstand the punishment until the last man has finished his song. These men are always considered as being medicine men or healers. The ceremony is held just before sun set.

"The Lenape or Delawares are looked upon as the doctors and an older tribe, in fact as the "grandfathers" of all other tribes. The Indian doctors are known as *ma·ta·en·no* (mət·e'i·nu) meaning a man who possesses supernatural healing power. Some times these men are warriors as well as healers."

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[1] Harrington I, pp. 122-6.

[2] Zeisberger, p. 138-9. This verb denoting dancing of ceremonial character appears as machtoga, probably the Munsee form (Brinton, p. 69) meaning "to perspire" being a symbolical dance held in honor of the "grandfather," fire. The number twelve appeared as an allegory in the dance. maxta'ken (machtogen, Brinton, Lenape Dict., p. 69) "to fight" is probably the Munsee related form, while Mohegan-Pequot, mata'ga "dance" evidently rounds out the evidence that it denoted among the early eastern Algonkian a superior dance performance associated with fire, struggle, and purification by sweating, and war preparation.

The term machtuzin given by Zeisberger seems to be a shortened equivalent, maxtu'singw, of the expression muxk'xoltu'singw, "staying until one is sweated red." Both terms are intelligible to the speakers of the Delaware language today. Lindeström (1654-6) describes the sweat-bath in familiar terms (A. Johnson, Geographia Americae, 1925, p. 257).

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"This, behold, is my dreams
and I can thus explain it and sing it in every way just as I saw it." 539x
And now, it was said, first of all there must be a house built. And 773
also to be planned how that house should look both as to its inside 346
dimensions and height. And also, it was said what would be the size of the door here to be at the direction of the setting sun[2] and at the direction of the sunrise. And there will be jointed sections of the logs, and three posts used at the sides. And two will be on each side of the door reaching to the height of the top of the roof. And in the middle shall be the big post. And it shall be as high as the height of the house. And all posts shall be notched on top. And these at the side where the logs join shall stand as stud-posts facing each other, there held together at the top using short cross-ties.[3] And there shall be on top a larger timber cross-piece. And the ridge rafters in two pieces in the center where they join shall be more than a person's height, there from the beginning of the roof-pitch. And shall be made of various woods. And also the rafters and flat boards shall be used with the bark on, likewise in the roofing.

[1] The Big House, as we learn here, was conceived in a dream-vision revealed to certain persons by the Great Spirit. The recitation of experiences, obtained while in a dream state or in a disturbed emotional condition, has ever continued to form the key note of the ceremony so founded. [787]
[2] The present Big House on Little Caney River, Oklahoma, is set north and south, evidently so placed by mistake, due to the position of the river.
[3] The notched binders fitted into notches of the posts to lock them.

And at both sides where sets the center post, there also shall be built [354]
the fires. Right there opposite and above them, an uncovered place shall be left in the roof. And that will be to force out the smoke. And on all the posts at about a person's height there shall be carved the [778]
mask-image face,[1] and also half the face painted red and the other side blackened.

And around the sides where the people sit, there shall be put dried 539x
grass. And three men and three women chosen, one shall be of the 773
Pole" group, and of the Pukowa'ŋgo, and of the Tu'k"si·t. Their 796
service shall be to labor as long as the Gamwing, it was said, ten and two days[2] praying. All this time they furnish sufficient well-dried wood. It shall be, for those women, obligatory that they grind up corn and cook meat. And the Attendants all together feed in the house. And they pay them one shoulder-length[3] of wampum every time they furnish food. And it is the rule that the people shall use wampum when purchasing food from the Attendants. There everyone who recites visions in the House will eat there with his family three times each day.

[1] These are the sculptured personifications of the spirit-forces.
[2] For the discussion of this archaic style of enumeration in the ceremony see page 62.
[3] Measured from the shoulder point to the tip of finger of the extended arm.

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No iron or nail is used when building the House, and no wooden floor. It has a dirt floor inside the House. Deerhide is used when the drum is tied together and two drum-sticks are cut forked. And small faces are carved on one side, alike in appearance. Another different pair of sticks are made plain and these are used when the cranes[1] are singing. And a wooden bowl is made ready when they mix up the tobacco and kinnickinnick[2]. Another different wooden bowl is provided when they carry the red paint and puccoon[3] and also there they put cedar.

And ten and two sticks are made, called "means of earnest prayer." And some are marked with spots. Whoever wishes to sing in company shall also use this when helping to lift up the prayer, it is said, with concentration of spiritual force far above to the ten and two sky-levels where dwells the Creator.

And now this Big House when first built, they say of it, was the one great prayer-creed, that this carved post in the middle of the House, standing there reaches to the above through as many as ten and two strata. And the strata of sky light are as high as that post, it is said, this being the fastener. That is the Creator's staff. From that very staff, branch off all prayer-creeds of the red-people given to them, whence come all other prayer-creeds of the world.

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[1] Meaning the drummers. There being two drummers, one of them sings in a tone which the other repeats immediately after him, in imitation of the manner in which wild cranes cry when flying in response to the call of their leader. The result in tone is similar to an echo. The crane is the Sand-hill crane (Grus Mexicana), daleka'ɔk, (plural) whence the drummers derive their sobriquet. ni-'kanasos "the leader" is the singer who takes the leading part in the song; the other singer is oxtəgi-'xsos "after-time." See page 57.

[2] See footnote 6, page 127.

[3] See page 71.

[4] mas'mendahl-'k-an. This denotes prayer-sticks used in serious address to the Great Spirit. mas'mendawa'mal "I beg the Great Spirit to do my bidding." Specimens of the plain and decorated prayer-sticks made by the informant are shown (fig. 24).

The bearers of the twelve prayer-sticks give all their spiritual-force to lift the prayer being given by the speaker or the singers to the highest, or twelfth heaven,—the instrumental symbol of raising the word.

And there was given to the Delawares something which is used when they make fire. It is called "ringing noise-instrument"[1]. Whomever they chose as fire-maker, any of the Attendants, was of moral habits or spiritually clean, for that one shall drill for fire in the House. Sometimes flint is used when they make fire in the House and pith is used when they make fire with flint.

Now therefore in the beginning the Delawares came to be blessed with religion together with the Munsee; so the prayer worship proceeds for ten and two days. Now that very log-house itself is called Big House. Right here toward the dawn-direction and sun-set direc-

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[1] See page 68.

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tion it lies extended. And the doors are opposite each other. Right here in the direction of the sun-set, it is the rule that the Bringer-in come, bringing the ceremony into the House.

Everything was provided for the Delawares in the Gamwing. There was also wampum supplied by rule, it is said. Each person gives one shoulder-length for helping to prepare this food and also for when they pay the Attendants. And, so it is said, the Attendant is pleasing to him our father the Great Spirit, even the Creator.

When the workers[1] purify everything,[2] these women with the Attendants, it can not be conceived how sacredly valuable those labors are. It has been destined for the Delaware that that very wampum he uses becomes his heart. And moreover when purchasing food, or when anything of value is bought, he employs wampum. And then a quantity is gathered. Here at the left side of the House where the Bringer-in sits, at a certain height above the ground, there a white cloth is hung along the wall. There is suspended all the wampum, as much as has been gathered together each day over again.[3]

[1] The word means "to labor" in the sense of doing something for oneself. Corresponding to the term alo'ke (Penobscot, Wabanaki) meaning "work," the Delaware denotes working for someone else by nalokas'tke "I am hired by someone to work.

[2] The clean, pure character of the Attendants or "workers" diffuses spiritual purity over all those attending the ceremony inside the Big House and strengthens them for the ensuing year.

[3] The supply of wampum is renewed each day by those who through spiritual impulses contribute their treasure. They are blessed in proportion. It should be noted that no one is allowed to sell anything at the festival except the Attendants. Outside on the grounds at a distance from the Big House refreshments can be sold for money. But inside the Big House wampum must be used for exchange. In the present ceremonial transactions between the Attendants and the worshippers two or three beads pass for five cents. Some thirty or more years ago, however, when wampum was more plentiful it passed at one bead for a cent.

And it was said, long ago in the beginning at the Gamwing, inside the Big House, they built a great sweat-house. They heated rock and put it inside that sweat-house. There the shamans[1] crawled in. And water was used here for pouring upon the rocks. That was called testing with heat. Everyone going in there and staying for any length of time was said to be a great man. Some person would be exhausted in a little while for which reason they took him out. Those enduring it for a considerable length of time, those are the great men.[2]

[1] There were two classes of shamans. Some had healing power and are called nenpi·'kses "sweating doctor." The men who recite their visions in the Big House are also ·mete·'l·an in the Delaware classification, their description being kaci·'les·u wehendji·k·an·'yo "great men who perform in a single file [like the vertebral articulation of men and animals]." See page 54.

[2] Amounting to a title denoting "prophet, reciter of vision, healer, priest all in one.

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A turkey's [1] wing is used when they sweep out in the Big House. And besides, the Attendant carries a long stick as a poker and that is used when they stir up the fire, and it is the rule that they shall light a good bright fire every night as long as they perform the ceremony. And the Attendant-leader every evening walks around all over where they are camped about this Big House, holding a whip. And any person that they find that is causing unnecessary noise they correct. And the children are instructed. And he notifies them, telling them thrice "Come in! Come in! Come in!" And just recently they selected an officer from the Delaware Agency who is on guard all the time here while they are assembled, so that no one brings in liquor.[2]

[1] The specific term for the Wild Turkey (Meleagris gallipavo) is tci'kanam, a term derived from the habit of this bird of scratching or "cleaning" the floor of the forest. In native Delaware ornithology, the order Gallinae is denoted by the generic term pole' which denotes any of the birds of the group, though writers on Delaware social organization have occasionally rendered the term by "turkey." Happily no natural history obsequies are called for in the case of this splendid bird for it still survives in its original range where the Delawares knew it.

[2] The imformant pointed to this as an indication of the lack of reverence, and indecency of behavior in the tribe under the influence of the white man's ways. Zeisberger (op. cit. p. 139) commented on the same thing as regards disorder at the feasts.

When any one of us considers the rule with all the obligations and instructions as these are properly carried out, it should be forbidden for one thing that those of our women who when they cannot cook[1] are not pure, be allowed to trouble about the cooking. And should not come in the Big House as long as they are affected with the sickness, because some pure children might be much contaminated, especially when they perform the Gamwing. And it is the rule that persons should abstain from bringing into the Big House any animals of whatever kind they may be which are domesticated.[2]

[1] Being in their catamenial periods.

[2] This has special reference to dogs, pigs, etc. Some discussion has previously been given concerning the status of the wild animals of the forest and those domesticated by man. The Attendants are expected to attack any such animals that come into the Big House and drive them away with their staffs.

And right here opposite from the door on the outside over there at a certain distance they make the fire. Two forked poles are set upright and a pole laid across, upon which they hang the big buckets in which they cook. Near here standing upright is a many-forked tree where meat is hung. And a big shelf is there at one side of the fireplace with two floors where they put the corn that is used. When hominy is made the female Attendants have for their duty, every morning and evening to grind and make corn flour and hominy. Sometimes two or four mortars are used together with those long pounders.

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Here on each side three tents[1] are provided. In the first[2] there camps the leading Attendant, from here outwards the rest of the Attendants. When any one of these Attendants does not serve, he can hire a substitute to provide fire-wood or to sweep in the Big House, and occasionally to cook.[3]

[1] hemsi·k·a·'wən·a', "cloth houses" (plural).
[2] Meaning nearest to the door of the Big House.
[3] For the service he pays in wampum.

The Delawares were given the Mask-Image[1] so it became the rule that whoever owns that mask should take it into the Big House each year, that mask, because it is he who has complete control over all the wild animals. And it is said that our grandfather[2] is believed to walk around early each morning. Now here he goes about frightening unruly children. When the "one who is our grandfather begs," the child is taught that he shall pay a plug of tobacco so that he will not scare them.

If the person who assumes to wear the mask is able to see clearly[3] for a long distance it is said that he is a man of power. He carries a turtle-rattle[4] and a staff of twisted wood.[5] When the mask makes his utterance it resembles a horse whinnying, and when he makes signals using his turtle-rattle, then they give him tobacco. Customarily he kicks at persons. Here in a pouch he carries that tobacco. Every child customarily is taught that he gathers snakes and throws them into that pouch in order that no one may steal our grandfather's tobacco. And it is also said that our grandfather keeps guard over all so that no one may be overcome by disease. That also is the teaching in reference to the spiritual doctrine of the Mask-Image.

[1] The following passage refers to the mask image mas·i'ughəli·k·an about which something has been said in the introduction. The composite character of the annual ceremony is shown by the admission of this rite into the ceremony complex in honor of the one who "has control over all the wild game."
[2] The spirit represented by the mask also falls into the classification of consanguinity, and is so addressed.
[3] This evidence of personal power has already been dealt with (page 41).
[4] The rattle referred to is not the small hand rattle carried by the reciter of visions but a large instrument made of a snapping-turtle shell provided with a wooden handle (16.7 in. in length) suggestive of the rattle employed in Iroquois dance accompaniments. Harrington describes and illustrates one of these Delaware instruments (I, pp. 32, 36, fig. 2). (See fig. 7, p. 38).
[5] The distribution of the walking staff as a ceremonial baton and its function in the ethnology of the eastern tribes has been generally overlooked by investigators yet we find evidence of its use over a wide area in the formalities of native behavior among both the Algonkian and Iroquois,—not to overlook the fact that the Delawares imagine the Great Spirit to possess one, the same being symbolized by the center post in the Big House. The Delaware designate the staff by ala·'hoən (cp. Malecite, abato'wan).

When the worship ceremony begins everyone is instructed to wear things conforming strictly to Delaware style, such for instance as the

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deer-tail or horse-hair when made into a roach.[1] And everything is beaded including moccasins. And if any one wishes it he goes there to the Attendant where he may choose paint of whatever color he prefers.[2] And those desiring it wear eagle feathers.[3] All the old men customarily have the head-band when going into the Big House.[4]

And anyone may choose his style, but red paint and yellow by custom, are more frequently used. A person does not rub it on his face all over. A person usually paints his cheek or at the sides of his eyes lightly. But the relief-drummers[5] can, if desired, paint black or paint fancy. All these women if they desire may paint red when entering the Big House. And also when the ceremonial leader first enters the Big House that is the time when all those Face-images[6] are painted.

[1] The "roach" is the dyed deer hair or horsehair crest worn by young and middle aged men, worn on the top of the head. (pl. —). The hair stands upright, reaching from the crown to the nape of the neck, kept in place by an ornamentally carved bone spreader forming the base for a bone tube in which an eagle feather is fastened. This is a characteristic head ornament of the Delawares, ancient as well as modern, allusions to it being found in the early explorers accounts from the Carolinas to Maine. It seems to have accompanied the shaved painted head as an attachment to the scalp-lock of warriors. Throughout the central Algonkian area and the southern Siouan tribes it appears with great prominence in later writings, and has finally spread among the Prairie peoples possibly through diffusion through the agency of the Omaha. The Delaware term for the roach, tapasko'lu, has reference to the shaved head and stiffened hair; that for the bone spreader, cuxua'las signifies "rattling pendant." These objects and their descriptive terms represent extremely ancient properties of eastern North America, having obvious connections with archaeological objects of bone which have puzzled investigators. The distribution of the roach head-ornament offers an interesting problem. Its occurrence is noted with practically no aberrant modifications among the early populations from Maine southward to Florida, west through the Iroquois to the Central Algonkian, the southern and eastern Siouan tribes.

Among the earliest references to the Delawares wearing the roach we may cite Denton's (1670) mentioning men affecting as head-wear "a kind of a Ruff made with Deer's hair, and dyed a scarlet colour, which they esteem very rich." (See quotation of pertinent data in A. B. Skinner, "Indians of Greater New York, 1915, p. 36). Neither the article itself nor the sentiment attached to it has altered much among the Delawares since this was written two hundred and sixty years ago.

[2] There are limitations in the colors and patterns in face-paintings. The accompanying chart shows the designs and areas of the face appropriate for the decoration of individuals of various classifications (plate I).

[3] The Delaware seldom trim or cut the feathers they use when dressing for the Big House. They say the feathers are perfect as they grow on the living bird and should not be altered. Only the feathers of birds considered noble, such as the eagles and certain of the larger hawks are sanctioned.

[4] Elderly men give up wearing the roach substituting the fur headband with beaded rosette and small feathers at the side, (see fig. 25), or simply the handkerchief tied around the hair into which a feather is stuck. The elders wear their hair shoulder-length.

[5] The drummers who assist the chief drummers are permitted by rulings of the Big House tradition to wear black in painting, or to paint the face according as their fancy may prompt (see plate II).

[6] The images on the side and center posts of the Big House. The renewal of the paint, half black and half red on these images is a sacred act performed out of the reverence for the "Grandfathers" at the same time when the communicants of the ceremony apply the paint to their own faces.

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Two shell-rattles they make of a wild creature.[1] One they call the leading rattle and the other, greater in size, is called, traditionally, timber-terrapin. And those are used when they pray every night. Here just at the right hand side of the door they place these shell-rattles. When the Master of Ceremonies arrives he says, "Now then, my brothers and my sisters, now as we begin we are approached and touched by those man-i'tu who are carrying this ceremony of worship."[2] That is how they employ them there. And both the dance-leader and his follower each hold in their hands these shell-rattles when they are dance-leading. The leading shell-rattle does not have a great sound, but that of the follower has a great sound, it is said traditionally, for he does answer when they are rattling.[3]

[1] It has been mentioned how reverential it is to put to the service of man the body parts of wild creatures—the native wild fauna which are "pure" by contrast with the defiled animals of a domestic nature. The rattles used by the dance-leaders who sing the recitatives of their visions are shells of (Cistudo) the Box Turtle.

[2] This is a synonym for the usual term, pa·tamwe·'k·an.

[3] For illustrations of these large and small rattles see figs. 2, 15.

Every year the old men hold a council. The day is named, it is talked over, and they decide who shall bring in the ceremony.[1] And they name the person who shall carry the six yards of wampum. And generally they name three men and three women Attendants going to see them.[2] They select the one who is willing to act as leading Attendant for the two Turkey group representatives, and the two Turtle clan representatives and the two Wolf group representatives are chosen.[3]

These leading Attendants, one and the same, belonging in the group of the Master-of-Ceremonies, he who opens the ceremony. Now when the Attendants have accepted the call, forthwith a shoulder-length of wampum they are given as a symbol of being blessed.[4] And announcement is made of what day in the future they shall go into camp at the Big House. When they finish cleaning this House[5] they also plaster it with clay and all then about outside rake it clean. Then

[1] This is the sacred duty of assuming full responsibility for the performance, the term temi·ke being a formal one.

[2] To inform them of appointment and secure their acceptance.

[3] In these terms denoting the triple social subdivisions of the Delawares (see discussion on p. 75), we encounter metaphorical conceptions of the animals designated. Thus pele·' denotes a bird of the order Gallinae, typified in Delaware by the turkey cognate throughout northern and eastern Algonkian (bineo, Ojibwa, peleo. Montagnais-Naskapi, "partridge") Puk·owa'ngo, denoting the tortoise group (Testudinata) literally means "sticky heels," in allusion to the dragging motion of the curious, ponderous creature in lifting his hind feet from the ground. Tu'kwsi·t, literally "round foot" is figurative for the quadrupeds which seem according to my information to include any of the mammalia.

[4] The term used is a formal religious phrase naxpango'ma·n not translated by a single word, but which I have rendered "being given as a symbol of blessing."

[5] The informant was undecided whether or not to use the term menda'en for the Big House, which is considered to be an old Munsee term.

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and there preparation is made for beginning the Gamwing. And besides, everyone who is to relate a vision and lead a dance, if he has prepared his rattle of turtle shell, shall see to it to bring it with him for the ceremony.

There, in the ancient times the beginning of their worship the Delawares went into camp every month. They worshipped in the Big House for a ten and two day period. But then in a few years a different rule made it every three months. And again it was changed. It was said, "We are hindered in our labor," because of our ceremony. Whereupon for the last time they changed it. It was said, "From now on every six months," the Gamwing will be." But indeed it was discovered that they had become by now too much like the white man in their life.[1] The young Delawares were ashamed, seeing what their elders did. And so by this time it is very difficult for the Delawares to assemble when ready to perform the ceremony.[2]

[1] Among the Delawares, and the affiliated Nanticoke as well, the term cawa'na, denoting "salt water" came to be used in a dignified sense referring to Europeans, since they first appeared from the sea. In the vernacular, less respectful in its sense, the white man was also known as ɔ'ping "white face" also denoting "opossum." This is more of a sobriquet in Delaware. The allusions to Europeans in other Eastern Algonkian languages did not follow the principle of Delaware usage, for the Munsee, awe'nik the plural of "who?" (Brinton, The Lenape and their Traditions), the Mohegan-Pequot, wa'naks, derives also from awa'n, "who"; Wabanaki, awa'nutc, awe'nutc of similar derivation.

[2] It would appear that the weakening of devotion has been a characteristic modern tendency among the native pagan groups as well as among Christians.

Such was the ruling long ago how several different kinds of spiritual-forces were existent, how, it was said, all the wild animals and birds as well as the creeping wild creatures are the ones to be mentioned[1] in the Big House.

The pure[2] animals and birds only are used when they prepare meat. This is the reason why every one of them, even that Mask-Spirit, and all their kind including the Tortoise,[3] are called man-i't-u. It is because he it is who carries our mother's body.[4] And the bird is used there to be eaten. And these feathers of him are ceremonially used when they sweep clean[5] the beautiful-pure White Path, our father's, the Great Spirit's road.[6] Wherefore a person will appear fine when dress-

[1] This means ceremonially; mention by symbolical references to pay them respect and to acknowledge their rule in the departments of nature.

[2] For further details concerning the "pure, clean" creatures see the outline discussion page 50.

[3] Note the use of the same term (ta'xkoxk[e]) for both the creature itself and the tortoise-rattle. The latter is regarded as being the actual living creature in its ceremonial guise.

[4] The Delaware metaphor referring to the earth.

[5] The term used denotes, "they purify by sweeping clean," meaning to clear away latent malific spiritual forces that might lie in the White Path. This symbolically removes possible spiritual pollution from the course of the wor-

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other wild creature whatsoever, that is said to be pure spirit. And also those twelve face-images in the Big House, and those prayer-sticks,[1] and the maize and fruit, all things indeed used in the Gamwing, it is said, are helpers when it comes to lifting up to the twelve levels of heaven above us where he dwells, our father the Great Spirit.

And also there is a ruling of custom. The religious obligations sometimes require that the speaker, when talking, it is said, names over all these spirit-forces wherever they reside around the earth, calling upon them, as it is said: "Truly we are thankful that we have lived long enough to see the time come when these our grandfathers the trees bloom forth, and also the coming up of vegetation.

[1] The twelve peeled rods held in the hands of the worshippers when they "raise their prayer to the twelfth level of heaven" to the Great Spirit by crying "ho" six times and "ha" six times, and pointing with the sticks to the image on the center post of the Big House. They are denoted by the term mamendahl-'kan'ak "the means of earnest prayer." In Harrington's study of Delaware religion no mention is made of the exact function of the prayer sticks (Harrington I, p. 103), though in the Munsee corresponding ceremony they are described (ibid. p. 131) as being used to drum with in time to the music, by those who wish to pray. There is another omission in reference to the prayer sticks (ibid. p. 103). Harrington speaks of a particular way in which the sticks "fall opposite each other" but no explanation is made. Discussion of these details will be found on page 69.

[2] Among the tree "grandfathers" thought of in particular is the maple from the sap of which native sugar is made.

Reference to the gift of the maple in yielding its sap for human use is a reminiscence of a widespread Algonkian usage. The Sugar Maple is sona'meci. "rock-place tree" (the Red Maple is called sal-'kamse "grove tree"). This tree is the real Acer saccharum and is known to the Oklahoma Delaware only by tradition since they remember it in the north. They make a sugar now from the Red Maple, not as strong in flavor as the other, but mixed with Box Elder (awi-'sal-t o'nas "yellow twig") and Black walnut tu'kwi-meci. "round-nut tree") but the latter has such a strong taste that only a little may be used. Heckewelder (op. cit., p. 194) gives an account of Delaware sugar-making during the Ohio period.

Now as well for this water and for him our grandfather fire, and again this air, again this sunlight. When everyone has been blessed with such gifts it is enough to make one realize what kind of benevolence comes from our father, because he it is who has created everything."[1]

And now furthermore one more spiritual-force is said to be a part of creation up above. The first being mentioned is called day-moon,[2] and the night traveler[3] is called night-moon. And of several kinds of stars, the first one seen is that one from the sunrise direction, called

[1] Zeisberger, before 1780 (op. cit. p. 129), had heard similar professions of gratitude; "They believe the Deity is graciously and mercifully disposed toward them, because he imparts power to the plants to grow, causes the rain to fall, and the sun to shine and gives game to man for his support."

[2] The designations "day-moon" and "night-moon" are widespread in northern Algonkian, (Munsee, Cree, Montagnais-Naskapi). Luminary would be a more exact equivalent of gi-'cux

[3] For the moon to be figuratively denoted as "night-traveler" is common in Eastern Algonkian (ni-bau'a-itz "night-walker," Penobscot, with cognates in the other Wabanaki languages; nanepaushot, Massachusetts (Trumbull, Natick Dict. p. 297).

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These are the three ways in which a person is endowed that he becomes useful, or a magician.[1] And a person can become a warleader; that also is called greatness. 539X 787 554

[1] The term mat-e'-au in Delaware signifying "shaman" introduces a term recognized throughout the Algonkian range with identical force.

II

FIRST NIGHT OF THE CEREMONY

The Master of Ceremony[1] says when he goes into[2] the Big House, when rising to his feet, he speaks saying, "Truly I am thankful, my kindred. It is exceedingly good that we have lived on through to see each other, that we are in good health. I am truly thankful to bring forth[3] the blessing, my brothers and sisters and those there, our children. I bless you all with every kind of blessing. Truly it is unbecoming to me because I feel incompetent when instructing you what to do. Pitiful am I, indeed, as it is said. It rests very heavily upon my mind when I see each year how at present this our way of living has become pitiful. But nevertheless we must all try, my brothers and sisters and also even those children. Let everyone use his mind earnestly when we lift up our prayer of appeal to that one, our father, the Great Spirit and Our Creator. Indeed it is with great sadness of mind that we look back and see the past of our cultural-life as it is said to have been. Formerly, but a few years ago, it is said, here the seating space in the Big House[4] was overcrowded with our now deceased relations. Indeed it brings sadness of mind when we see here now how few of our relatives are seated around that space. It is enough to make anyone ponder over the cause of it. I myself never did think that I would live long enough, as a survivor, living as I am right here, instructing in sacred things where other sacred-teachers, our deceased ancestors,[5] so thoroughly inspired in worship, taught. 539X 796

[1] A proper name in the ceremonial sense, elha'k-e·t·

[2] By this figure the formal opening of the ceremony is denoted, tami·'ke, "to go in."

[3] The Master of Ceremony is regarded as the sponsor for all the blessings that result from the performance not only to the participants themselves, and to the tribe, but to the whole of mankind.

[4] He refers to the covering of straw laid around inside the walls of the Big House where the participants are sitting. No chairs or benches are permitted here. They are not of the ancient days.

[5] How little the Delawares have changed in their mental attitude since 1742 is shown by comparison of the above reverential discourse with a declaration made by the missionary David Brainerd who labored, and finally succumbed to the effort, to swerve the same tribe from loyalty toward the beliefs of their ancestors. His lament was that they were so much attached "to the traditions and fabulous notions of their fathers, which they firmly believe, and thence look upon their ancestors to have been the best of men." (Life and Journal of the Rev. David Brainerd, pp. 397-425 (Edinburgh 1826) quoted by Brinton op. cit., p. 137).

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So I pray that everyone help. If accordingly everyone does all in his power, earnestly praying with all his heart, it might occasion those spirit-forces to hear our pitiful appeal, those who carry the power of blessing. And right here this evening in a little while we shall begin to feel ourselves being touched by our grandfathers[2] who move this our prayer-worship.

[2] The various man-i't-u or spirit-forces of nature, some of which have been previously mentioned by the narrator. The spirits dwelling in the turtle-shells are one of the manifestations of the Great Spirit, who function in this reference as the spirits whose duty it is to "start moving" the ceremony. The "touch" here means the "spirit of control" or the force that keeps the worship alive.

And now when worshiping, these Turkey-group people,[1] because they enter the Big House with the ceremony, that group is our old man[2] and our chief. He-Walks-Turning-Around-Slowly[3] is the one who brings in the ceremony.

When the Enterer begins the ceremony everything is prepared. Here at the middle of the right hand side, directly opposite where the stud-post stands, right here he conducts the worship—the Enterer. From this place is where they perform the vision recitations. These turtle-rattles are called our grandfathers. When they reach the place where the Master of Ceremonies sits,[4] he shakes the rattle, the leading rattle, and the follower answers him.[5]

[1] It is assumed in the text by the narrator that the Turkey, or Fowl division of the tribe is assuming the obligation to "enter the Big House bringing" meaning to sponsor the ceremony.

[2] The simile here denotes that the Turkey division has seniority over the other two so far as the period of the ceremony is concerned.

[3] The performance is to be recited as though it were being conducted by the present chief of the tribe, Charles Elkhair who has held the office since 1898, whose Delaware name is Ko·kwsi·epo'χwe denoting someone who is walking along slowly then turns around in the opposite direction. The same chief was the host to the ceremony described by Harrington in 1912 (Harrington I, pp. 85-7). The informant planned the text to follow Elkhair's manner of conducting it because he had participated in it frequently under him and had a clearer recollection of his addresses and details of management.

[4] This statement brings to mind the important and oft-repeated reference to the Tortoise in his transit of the world as "carrying the ceremony." The rattles, made of the animals shells, we are told, are following the same allegorical course from east to west.

[5] The dance leader uses a somewhat smaller tortoise shell than the "following," hence the designation leading rattle, as though the rattle itself were an active agency.

Then these "cranes," or drummers,[1] beat three times the drum. First the dance leader strikes the drum once, and then the follower-singer, and the leader again. And then also he will say, he who is about to recite his vision and dance, "I now must worship!" And all the old men answer. They say, "Hau! Indeed it is truly fine, my brother!"

[1] For some reason a simile has developed here by which the two men who attended to the drumming accompaniment are likened to Sandhill Cranes,

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Recitation of Vision by Ko"kwal·epo'χwe

"I must now come to the point of relating my narrative about Kaw River[1] when I was but a child. When my now deceased father told me, "Now, indeed, for your younger brother life is ended,"[2] my deceased parent was exceedingly grieved over the thing. How sorry I was about my younger brother, because I used to think that sometime later when he grew up it would happen that I could play with that one my younger brother. Truly indeed, my meditations grew very heavy upon my mind. I did not know what to do for solace. Whereupon I wandered away, towards the edge of the timber. In my wandering I did not know that it was coming on night, while more and more was my grief weighing upon my mind. Truly, in my realization of helplessness, seeking for solace, I suddenly made up my mind then and there that whatever might become of me let it come. There under a tree I slowly sank and fell.[3] In a short time I began to feel that my miseries of mind had begun to flow out. It seemed not as though I were asleep because I thought it would make no difference if I should die right there, for my younger brother was now no more. It was not long before I heard something come to the ground close at hand. I

(Grus mexicana) or the Whooping Crane (G. americana) those now almost extinct birds whose wings in colonial times darkened the skies of Pennsylvania. "Cranes came hither along the Delaware by hundreds in the Spring (1700), but at present (1748) there are very few. . . . . Certain old Swedes told me that, in their younger years, as the country was not yet much cultivated, an incredible number of cranes were here every Spring," wrote Peter Kalm (Travels in North America, 1770, Vol. I, p. 290), the Swedish naturalist who visited the Delaware valley in the middle of the 18th century (see C. C. Abbot, A Naturalist's Rambles About Home, (1894), p. 230; and E. H. Forbush, "A History of Game Birds, Wild Fowl, and Shore Birds (1912), p. 478).

The birds are also mentioned for Pennsylvania by Gabriel Thomas (1634), (Narratives of Early Pennsylvania, West New Jersey and Delaware, Ed. by Albert Cook Myers (1912), p. 48). The cranes had disappeared from Eastern Pennsylvania and New Jersey by 1869 (W. P. Turnbull, Birds of Eastern Pennsylvania and New Jersey, (1869), p. 49). What the basis of resemblance was in the minds of the ancients, to have caused this resemblance to be featured between the drummers and cranes seems to be beyond our means of learning although the Delawares trace it to the peculiar cry the drummers utter when they terminate each dance round. We shall also hear more of them as the ceremony proceeds, for they play parts of considerable responsibility, being obliged for one thing, to repeat whatever is chanted by the dance-leader when he pauses in his song, during his vision recitation, to dance while the "cranes" echo his verses. They also have certain privileges in the use of face paint.

[1] ka'si·as is the proper name in Delaware for the Kansa, or Kaw, tribe of the southern Siouan group, from which Kaw river derives its name. This is the scene of the reciter's vision, who is assumed to be, as previously noted, Chief Elkhair.

[2] A reverential way of referring to the death of a kinsman. If an animal were so referred to, the term a'ngel·ac "he is dead" is used. Still another paraphrase for decease is a·mat·a'xpi·i'yo "he who no longer remains here."

[3] This term has a religious sense, the ordinary verb being nace·'ngi·xi·, "I lie down."

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did not know it, but I had begun to rise up half-way attempting to look toward it in the north.

Pitiful me, I saw nothing although I could well hear the person right over the ridge. As I listened he said, "Do not think that no thing cares for you, my friend!" Then and there I walked about. Indeed truly the thing overcame me with surprise, that person, when I came to the point of looking toward him. When I saw his form it seemed as though there in the direction of north, it lay extended like the appearance of red. And he said, "My friend, observe me carefully! Look at me, how I do when I walk about in this place!" Every little while he would start running. When he started running he sounded like tom+, tom+!" [Here the cranes beat the drum three times with the drum sticks, and they respond when he speaks in succession, tom+, tom+]. "Not small but great he looked, did that person.

When I thought it over, when I looked at it way over there, at the edge of the southern land[1] did it come to ground. And it sounded so, every time that creature started running, it sounded every time like o o+ o o+![2] And he said when he landed there, "And that besides is what I do here, when I pass by bestowing my spiritual blessing." For he spoke and he sounded like, that person, speaking, when he alighted;[3]

'Going by fanning the air, glory of him, the worship of man, all over the earth, glory of him. Cease,[1] ya hwi·!'[2]

[1] Denoting the horizon where the earth island meets the surrounding water.

[2] At this point the "cranes" (drummers) strike the deer-hide drum rapidly.

[3] This is a set form in the ritual recitation when the reciter of visions is about to quote the man·i't·u. As he commences dancing he changes to motion of the rattle from a sideways to an up-and-down vigorous stroke, keeping it up while he is dancing and the drummers accompany him. The performer holds the rattle in his right hand before his body at waist-level, the head of the shell to the left, the tail to the right.

[1] Addressed to the drummers.

[2] Conceived by the visionary almost with the rapture of the Psalmist, the spiritual presence of the "red-appearing" man·i't·u is chanted. The sonorous swish-swish of the pebbles inside the dry tortoise shell rattle adds a peculiar dramatic quality to the recitation.

As to the text of the chant, the words are warped from their ordinary form into a lyric measure in conformity with the usual pattern of such compositions. It might be rendered in the following roughly corresponding lines of free-verse for those who will accept an approximate transfer of meter from one language to another so far from it in grammatical form.

Wind of spirit
Rushing by me,
Magic Power
Gives me vision,
Exaltation
Caused by him.
Supplication
Of the people,
Universal
Exaltation
Caused by him.
Cease!
Yahwi·!.

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[Stop][1] That being there in the direction of the north, there I heard him. That Person every so often started running. Indeed more and more at the thing I became oppressed about what that Person said. And he says when he started running [Stop].

[The reciter repeats the chant as before while he dances around the circuit to the next station, fig. 12, to the accompaniment of the drumming.]

Truly thankful, my kindred, I am very glad that we have lived so far in good health and that I can bestow all kinds of spiritual blessings, even including all those of our grandfathers. And before long we shall shake hands with these "cranes"[2] who are lifting up the Delaware worship. That Being was speaking, saying every time that he started running.

[Repeat the chant for the third time.][3]

More and more clearly could I see that Person. I took it to be far away toward the north where it originated and it seemed, as I saw it going by, to be reddish in appearance. And he continued speaking, that Person, saying[4]

[The drummers repeat the chant, while the Reciter dances a certain distance, then says kwi "stop," and pauses (at G on diagram (fig. 12)].

Truly it is unbecoming for me so weak, my kindred, but I shall nevertheless do as well as I can and with all my heart, pitiful me! for that is what I thought when I heard that Person saying, "My friend look at me carefully." Because he said, "I also bring blessings when I come here!" So it sounded when he started running.

[Repeat the chant for the fifth time].

Now, my kindred, I am very glad that I have reached this pure, clean White Path, and our Father's Road. And now here opposite we have come where our Grandfathers are standing.[5] And, as it is said, also we have heard how our deceased ancestors so carefully performed the rite. It is said that they called forth how many times to dance around the place where our Grandfather stands.[6] Let us, too, state

[1] This exclamation which I place within brackets wherever it occurs, is a command to the drummers to cease. Elkhair is now supposed to be standing at one of the stopping places in the dance circuit, or Great White Path, reciting his part. (fig. 12, a to g).

[2] The drummers.

[3] Here the Reciter stops almost in front of the drummers facing them and shakes hands with them. All those who are dancing behind him both men and women come up and also shake hands with the drummers, then resume their places behind the leader.

[4] The vague description of the Person (man-it'-u) seen by the visionary leaves its form and character to be imagined by the hearers. The informant for his part took it to mean to him a panther, which would, he thought, be a reasonable inference based upon the allusions by the Reciter. The latter does not like to betray in precise terms the identity of his guardian spirit.

[5] Referring to the center post with the two large carved images, before which he has now taken his stand (see diagram fig. 12, h).

[6] Meaning also the center post.

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how many times, namely four times. And then we shall never cease talking again about that Person. If only it would be that I have good health in the future we would never stop talking about that Person, who spoke, as he said,[1]

[Repeat chant for the sixth time.][2]

Truly indeed my kindred we are enjoying very good fortune when we are given an abundance[3] of pure clean game animals as our spiritual food-offering,[4] as a result of which all shall become happy and contented in mind, when he our Father the Great Spirit has taken pity on us for our devotion.[5] But nevertheless we are pitiful, that is why here at this place we are heard sadly pleading in our Father's House.[6]

That Being continued speaking, saying,[7]

[Repeat the chant for the seventh time.][8]

Now my kindred, we have gone around him, our Grandfather's carved-face. Truly thankful, because even he has taken care of us until now and because we are in good health, including these our children. Now give reverence[9] to our Grandfather. Twice we shall lift up our appeal[10] ho+ ho+!

[Repeat the chant for the eighth time.][11]

And again, my brothers and sisters and also ye children, we have come dancing here to where stand those our Grandfathers, twelve in number all together our Grandfathers,[12] because from here on all the spirit-forces are alike, our grandfather Fire, and that one our mother Water, and all those who support our life with food. It is enough, my

[1] He raises his hand touching the carved face, and says ho+ ho+, and all who are with him either do the same with their hands or the prayer sticks that they carry.

[2] The inspired Reciter is now standing directly in front of the center post facing the carved image that faces toward the east.

[3] An ancient term, the modern is xahe'li "plenty."

[4] The term used here, neexpale'tam has a meaning difficult to render, an offering made by the people all together to induce spiritual force.

[5] wi.mbonem'k.'nan, having the meaning, he has pity on us and shows his love and mercy for our act of worship.

[6] mwenda'won a long house used exclusively for the purpose of religious worship (cp. Penobscot kwunda'wun).

[7] This formality is never omitted nor altered in ending the paragraphs of the address. Some speakers terminate with tom+ tom+ denoting the sound heard when the man-i't-u struck the ground on the horizon. In the case of one reciter, his guardian spirit having assumed the form of a duck, he uttered kwäk kwä, and declared that the echo reached the edge of the horizon.

[8] The Reciter is now facing the other carved image on the center post.

[9] ogo'smastam' the term discussed before.

[10] This is the prayer-cry for which the Delawares were known two centuries ago. The speaker now touches the eastern carved face on the center post with his left hand (the rattle is in his right hand), and those standing about him, who were following him around the dancing path in his dance, raise their right hands or the prayer sticks if they have them and give the prayer-cry as he does.

[11] The Reciter now leads his followers around the center post again in a circle, stopping before the eastern carved image as he did before. Kwi "stop," he says to the dancers and drummers, and resumes his sermon.

[12] He is indicating the twelve carved images in the Big House.

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kindred, to cause us happiness of mind when we are given all the things that grow and all which our Father the Great Spirit has so well provided. That is why it is possible for us to see this fulfilled. 539X 796

And it seemed to me that that Person right there at the edge of the south-land seemed to me to possess power over all things. And it sounded so when he started running. ho+ ho+![1]

[Repeat the chant for the ninth time.][2]

Truly indeed, my kindred, once more besides we dance around where he stands, he our Grandfather. And this will be the last time when we shall go around. And then also will everyone twelve times lift up the prayer-worship, up above where belong these adorations[3] of the people[4] to the twelfth level of the sky where dwells our Father, the Great Spirit. [772]

And thus speaking that Person said:

[Repeat the chant for the tenth time.][5]

Truly thankful, my kindred, now here we have come to where he our Grandfather stands.[6] Now the time has come for us to offer up our adoration, to lift up our prayer ten and two times to where dwells he who owns us,[7] the Great Spirit even our Creator.[8]

I am truly thankful that I bring the address of blessing, my brothers, my sisters, and these our children. I give thanks that I bring blessing, all and every kind of spiritual blessings. Truly I am very feeble myself, as it is said, it oppresses my heart when I see how now we are orphans.[9] Many times we have heard from our deceased an-

[1] When giving the prayer-call now, he touches the carved image as before.

[2] He leads the dancers around the post again to the other image, fulfilling his command to encircle the post twice.

[3] The term kwenamowa'kan occurs here but I have given it another meaning to accord with the context.

[4] The text here might read as well, the Delawares, for, as we have learned, the tribe addresses itself as lon-a'pe, "common people" as a proper name.

[5] He is now back again before the western-facing carved image.

[6] Meaning that the worshippers have figuratively mounted to the presence of the Great Spirit in his twelfth heaven.

[7] The conception of the Great Spirit as the owner of man, comes out similarly in Wabanaki (F. G. Speck, "Wawenock Myths" 43rd Annual Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethnology, 1928, p. 180).

[8] At this point the leader touches the carved face on the center-post and all hold up their hands. Everybody in the Big House stands up (except those too old, deformed, or nursing children), saying ho+ six times, everybody holding up the right hand, and hä+ six times. Then the drummers follow; the leading drummer hits one, second drummer one, the leading drummer the final blow on the hide-drum. This is the signal for all to sit down.

The leader now faces west, with his back to the mas'ŋgw on the center post and directly under it. He shakes hands with his "followers" first, then with all who were in the line. Then each one goes to his respective place to be seated, observing the rule of going to the north and south sides of the Big House. They must pass westward around the two fires, following the White Path over which they have danced.

When all have seated themselves in their proper places, the Attendants put extra wood on the fires to light up the Big House. The speaker again declaims to the honor of the Creator.

[9] Referring to their bereavement through the generations of deceased ancestors.

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cestors how, so it is said, they sadly pleaded, when, reciting their vision experiences, telling how pitiful were the conditions then in their time said to be. Verily I myself do grieve, my kindred, when I look back there into the past. But, nevertheless indeed, try your utmost, every one have a helpful will, and it might be that our pitiful plea for mercy be heard by him the Great Spirit. We may perchance sometime gain a victory to our benefit.

Truly my kindred, as it is forcibly said, I am oppressed with a feeling of incapability while standing here to instruct anyone in the blessing, here where stands he our Grandfather.[1] And I am truly thankful to bless with gratitude all those spirit-forces, all of them sitting round about us over the entire earth. And when we consider how our deceased ancestors so thoroughly paid attention to the obligations of this prayer-worship! Indeed how great are we privileged and blessed that still we can perform the ceremony as we were accustomed to see our deceased ancestors do it! This is sufficient for this occasion. Thanks!"[2]

Now the leader goes and sits down. When he has properly seated himself and swept it clean[3] then 'these who are painted red'[4] say "Let us all smoke[5] Let us all smoke." So the tobacco has been placed in a wooden bowl and should be mixed with sumac leaves (kinnickinnick[6]), because it is the rule that sumac shall be used by the Delawares when smoking.[7] And besides the cedar[8] and paint are all kept there at one place close to the drum. And when anyone lights the pipe in the Big House, he will then use our Grandfather because that one also is called pure, clean fire.

[1] Indicating his position standing as though sermonizing from a pulpit before the images of the center post.

[2] It should be borne in mind that the speaker is to repeat his performance every night while the Big House ceremony is in session.

[3] Meaning that he has dusted away latent evil potencies with the turkey-wing fan symbols.

[4] Another ceremonial name for the assistant drummer.

[5] The verb here is said to be in the Munsee language aya'xpuɔk', recalling the traditional Munsee origin of the ceremony. The corresponding Delaware term is hupɔ't.am "Let us smoke." The Delaware term kəl.əkən.i'k.an has cognates throughout Algonkian.

[6] The Delaware smoking mixture consists largely of dried sumac (probably Rhus copallina) leaves, which are gathered before the frost strikes them in the fall and singed over an open fire, then exposed to the sun and mixed with smoking tobacco to the proportion of one-third sumac leaves and two-thirds tobacco.

[7] Smoking sumac clear or mixed with tobacco the Delawares regard as a peculiar custom of their own not shared by other peoples (see also Zeisberger, p. 116).

The Delawares were so fond of using this mixture that it is a legendary saying among them that on their hunting or scouting parties they could be identified from afar by the scent they left on the air. Having an earlier equipment with European firearms they were feared by other tribes who avoided them on this account. See also G. Catlin, Letters and Notes, Vol. II, 1841, pp. 101-2.

[8] The sacredness of red cedar (Juniperus virginiana) is a prominent feature of Delaware ceremony (see p. 171).

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Two Attendants sweep clean the House.[1] The man goes to the far end from whence he begins to sweep, while the woman begins to sweep from the door. Turkey wings are used when sweeping. Both Attendants finish sweeping at the same time when they arrive at the door and then for a while put away the wings.

Now it is permissible for anyone to go out, and quickly to come back inside because in a little while then again[2] will begin to stir those tortoise shell rattles, our Grandfathers.[3]

When they have come to where sits the next following Reciter-leader, or to anyone else feeling able to recite a vision and lead, it is permitted by the rule that he shake the rattle and, if desired, recite and lead.[4]

Recitation of Vision by Wi·ta'panoxwe[5]

"You, my kindred, are all acquainted with where I spent my childhood, at Raccoon[6] Creek, where lived my defunct parents. Once upon a time, then, my deceased mother scolded me. She drove me away because I was continually looking at books. That is why she scolded me. She told me, "Go away somewhere into the wilderness, since it seems that all you do, you look at books." And she said, "For all the days to come you will be poor because the book stands in your way. Never will anything be revealed to you in a vision because you live like a white man."

Truly, my kindred, very greatly this matter impressed me concerning my deceased parents. And thereupon I began walking slowly there towards the direction where the sun sets, toward the timber. More

[1] Performing the symbolical rite of clearing away obstacles from the floor of the White Path or dancing path along which the worshippers are traveling to the abode of the Great Spirit.

[2] It is not permitted at other times during the performance to leave the Big House (see also Harrington I, p. 90).

[3] This expressive phrase represents the simile, previously mentioned, of the tortoise carrying the earth, the ceremony, and life on a west-ward course. As the tortoise rattles are passed from one Reciter to another as an invitation to perform they go the entire length of the White Path. When they have been around the building and all the Reciters have carried out their programs the session of the ceremony is over for the night. The tortoise figures as the "moving spirit" in the Big House.

[4] This is the occasion to be seized by someone who has had a spirit-revelation but who has not recited it before.

[5] The narrator of the text is here anticipating himself in the rôle he is to play at the next Annual Ceremony to be attended. He had recited and led the singers on former occasions of worship, but only in that part of the ceremony, during the twelfth night, known as A·tehoe'mwi·n. This stage of the ceremony, which will be described in its proper place (pages 155, 163), is the occasion provided for women reciters and men who have not arrived at spiritual maturity. Within the last year or so Wi·ta'panoxwe, as his hair has begun to show signs of gray, feels himself called upon to advance into taking an active major part in the ceremony. After much thought and mental preparation on his part we see here the results of his composition in the relation that follows.

[6] The Raccoon, na'hənəm, figures in the economic life of the tribe in a way never to be forgotten, for the term kwut·i· na'hənəm, "one raccoon," denotes twenty-five cents in currency in Delaware, a reminder of the time back in the east when in the fur trade a raccoon skin was worth a shilling. Other tribes in the north traded the beaver (Cree, Montagnais) and the skunk skin (Mistassini) on the same basis.

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and more heavy became my grief when I thought inwardly about myself, pondering how true indeed was that which my parent had spoken, in truth, in saying that never would anything be revealed to me in a vision. And I thought it very likely that never I would experience a blessing that the Delaware is spiritually influenced by. Indeed, my kindred, I was humble in spirit for many years.

Now, when I became a grown man, far away in the country of the Creeks[1] where I was dwelling with them, one time when I was in the dark sometime during the night, I heard some persons coming towards me in the midst of the sky. It was here in the direction of the rising sun, whence they were coming. And when it happened that they stopped, it was right here over and above where I was lying.

I well remembered how she had spoken to me, my deceased mother, and I thought, "Lo and behold,[2] it must be that those are the spirit-forces my parent had talked about." I do not know just how my mind acted. When I looked toward them I saw nothing, pitiful me, although I well heard those Persons. I thought positively there must have been four of them and I thought, indeed, they looked wonderful. It must have been that because of the thing I was very much impressed, when it happened that they were saying to me, "Don't think that never will you have the spiritual power that the Delaware is blessed with!"[3]

I am truly thankful, my kindred, I am happy that I stand in this our Father's path, the beautiful White Path of the Great Spirit.[4] I am truly humble, for me it is unbecoming in the extreme, pitiful as I am, because never did I think that sometime or another, all of a sudden, I would be performing in this our Ceremonial House, where I patiently listened to our deceased old people who capably worshipped. But, however, I will do my utmost. Take heed, you my kindred, to help me because you know now more and more we are growing weak. So perhaps if earnestly we help each other, quite unexpectedly we might gain a spiritual victory if he hears our appeal, he, the Creator.[5]

[1] The Creek Indian is known to the Delawares as Ma'cko, a proper name derived from the tribal eponym of the Muskogi, as the Creek designate themselves.

[2] The term ce·k'ta" is an exclamation denoting surprise at the occurrence of something which is nevertheless vaguely expected.

[3] Wi·ta'panoxwe, who assumes himself to be the narrator now, is imagining that he would be seated among the members of his division (Pale"). As the turtle-rattle is being passed around the Big House, after several of the older reciters had accepted it and performed their recitation and dance, it would come to his hands. Having decided to undertake the responsibility of beginning his career as a reciter, perhaps unknown to the rest of the worshippers, he would take the turtle-rattle and begin shaking it sideways while declaiming the preceding in a loud staccato voice. (A phonograph record of the narrators recitation was made and is preserved in the collection of the Historical Commission).

[4] With the first sentence of this address the narrator sees himself stepping out into the dancing path with his turtle-rattle. While he advances along the White Path he proceeds with the recitation following.

[5] The informant desired emphasis to be put on the reiteration of the humble spirit, lack of self-confidence but hopeful attitude of the Delaware mind.

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Still can I hear those Persons there as they were speaking. They said these words;[1]

'he! You are given the same blessing
hayuna hwi- hayuna hwi-[2]
You are given the same blessing
That the Delawares are blessed with,
Through their prayer,
All over the world
hayuna hwi- hayuna hwi-
weya wehe. Stop![3]

I am truly thankful as I address you, you men, you young men, you our women, and also you our children. I extend to you all every form of this blessing. Truly I am glad because so far we have enjoyed good health while we are gathered here in this House. Truly, as it is said, I feel grieved myself when I mention the teaching of my elder, and, as I well said, I remember how pitiful they seemed talking long ago, those defunct old men, when they related the manner of life back in the past, the past manners of that time. When I listened to them seriously it was that way. But now here it is worse. It looks hopeless at this time in consideration of our small number. It was even said a few years ago, my kindred, there were quite a number of persons all around yet sitting about. But nevertheless I shall try my utmost.

Truly with shame, so unbecoming is it for me. I did not even think that I would live sufficiently long, deserted through death,[4] that I should, unexpectedly be instructing here where they were instructing, so long ago, our deceased ancestors who so well performed the worship. And I am thankful, my kindred, when you help me in my effort, for that has always been the rule since the beginning of the world, that persons should help each other. For it is even said that a little child may unexpectedly call attention to something important. Therefore greatly does it help when anyone is assisted in his recitation. Truly, my kindred, there is not much of importance I have to say, but I am

[1] The reciter now intones his song, a composition descriptive of his revelation and the emotions evoked by it, dancing along the path toward his first stopping point. Following the usual custom he shakes his rattle with the up and down vigorous motion. Then as in the case of the preceding recitation by Elkhair he halts at the close of his chant after signaling the drummers to stop, and the latter repeat his chant while he dances leading those who are accompanying him.

[2] These are the syllables with no specific word-meaning but used in chanting in a poetical sense.

[3] Upon the signal kwi-, "stop," the reciter gives a violent downward shake of the turtle-rattle and the drummers stop beating. At this pause the reciter begins dancing with his followers to the next stopping place, while the drummers, as explained before, repeat his chant. (dictophone record B, Pennsylvania Historical Commission).

[4] Meaning that, being left alone upon the death of his relatives, he did not expect to survive.

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thankful to bring you a blessing from all those our grandfathers[1] round about us, both in the earth and up above where they dwell, all of them, according to Our Father the Great Spirit who has arranged it. And that is the source from which we enjoy benefit when we are blessed.

This is all that there is for me to say."[2]

[1] Meaning the carved images in the Big House and the unseen spirit-forces.

[2] The speaker gives his recitation in the same way every time during the twelve nights, even throughout the period of years during which he appears at the ceremony. As long as he lives he does not vary his recitation appreciably. For instance, when Joe Washington first gave his recitation he wept and did so each time he performed thereafter. The recitations are therefore formal.

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III

SECOND NIGHT OF THE CEREMONY

[The procedure of the second night's performance follows that of the first night as respects the recitations by those who desire to chant their visions and to discourse.]

Here now, when the last Reciter-Leader has finished, and when they have swept the House well, then the other male Attendants bring inside the Big House the hominy.[1] Everyone eats the hominy in company. Each and all of the women comes bringing a dish to dip it out with. The Attendant has authority to give out the amount allotted to each, so it is said. The boys carry mussel-shells[2] which are used the same as when spoons are used. Now when everyone has eaten his share of the hominy, he feels happy for it, because the Bringer-in always says that this grain-food brings a spiritual blessing of strength when we set out to appeal to our common Father in the sky above. These Attendants first set apart a portion for each individual in his dish, because that is strictly understood to be the rule since long ago in the beginning of the world.[3]

THIRD NIGHT OF THE CEREMONY

Thanks be given, my kindred that still we are blessed with good fortune. Now it is the third evening since here we have performed the ceremony in our temple-house. Now we beg, everyone of us, at his utmost that we may be favored by the pure spirit-force, by him the mask-spirit[4] because he is the one who owns and controls all the wild animals.[5] Now tomorrow morning all must be ready to accompany the

[1] sas'pąq, "boiled corn" was a cereal staple in the diet of the eastern Algonkian wherever they lived. The term is cognate with New England Algonkian nasamp which has passed into English. (For discussion of the term, its history and application see A. F. Chamberlain, Bull. 30, Bur. Amer. Ethnology, part II, p. 422).

[2] The single shell of the fresh-water mussel (Unio companatus in the east, U. gibbosus, in the west) employed as a spoon is ees-e'm'hon.

[3] The procedure of the subsequent three nights in the Big House is about the same as that recorded for the first. The same speakers recite their visions. The rites of sweeping and feasting are repeated similarly.

One might ask what the worshippers do to while away the day-time between the strenuous night performances besides procuring some much needed rest. Custom permits them to indulge in native games, mention of which will be found on page 69.

[4] Something has already been said of the mask-spirit as the guardian of game animals (p. 39). This man-it'-u is now to be made the object of worship in a pantomime of some importance.

[5] Herein lies a concept ripe for elaboration, since the doctrine of ownership of game animals is a fundamental one in the cosmology of the Algonkian hunters of the north, whose culture has been assumed to be fundamental to the family (see pp. 39-41).

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hunt because to do so we concentrate our minds[1] in order that we may be favored with success. The Hunt-Leader and his assistant and also the cook[2] must all be selected, and also the tobacco together with the rations for the journey. You Attendants must see to it with care that plenty of rations for the journey are furnished for all the hunters; -the bread.

ADDRESS ON THE FOURTH MORNING TO THE HUNTERS ABOUT TO LEAVE. THE MASK PERFORMANCE

Here now, my kindred, we have come to the fourth day since we began, in this place, to perform the ceremony. And each and every one of us knows the ruling of this our form of Prayer-Worship. Now we are using the tobacco our grandfather, while we are pleading earnestly with the Great Spirit. And the Mask-Spirit also, when we are giving thanks to him our grandfather Fire. This is how it is done by the Bringer-in[3], "I thank all the Spirit-Forces on top of the earth and all the Spirit-Forces up above. Wherefore we earnestly plead with grandfather when we give you to eat this red man's tobacco. Have pity on us here your grandchildren. They are begging you, Oh Mask-Spirit, that we may have success. Give us the wild animals since you control them, all the wild animals because we need that we may be blessed with this meat. And that one, our mother the corn, because of all the food given us I thank you Spirit Forces that we are given the blessing of your spirit-power. Now give us all we ask of you Great Spirit that you are and, our creator, think of your children."

Brothers![4] Now the Hunt Leader, and he who is assistant, and also the cook, you must all remember the instructions and traditional rules that all persons who hunt observe as they journey. Here now being under our power, you are taking as you go the spirit-power of the Mask-Spirit, and tobacco is given the Hunt Leader and his assistant which they carry. Now when you have been gone two days it is permissible that any one who has killed something, they may use the meat.[5]

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[1] This means that the hunters who are now to go forth are to be supported and strengthened by the "power of wish," in concentration by the worshippers who stay behind in the Big House.

[2] Incidentally this is one of the occasions when the Attendants are obliged to furnish the food without the usual payment of wampum that they ordinarily receive.

[3] He prays as follows and sprinkles a little tobacco on each of the two fires of the Big House while declaiming.

[4] The Master of Ceremonies having finished his prayer now addresses the hunters who are ready to go forth. He charges them with their instructions as they stand directly in front of the drummers, facing him.

[5] This means that if no deer have been taken by the hunters by the second day they may kill and eat any animal for food since by this time they may be relieved from the monotony of the corn bread diet.

Some of the interesting observations of this event as remembered by the

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Now when they return from the hunt, the Hunt-Leader when now he has come near even if it is midnight, shall shoot a signal once for as many deer as were killed, shooting so many times. And now when the Cranes hear the signal-shot of the Hunter he shall immediately run into the Big House and begin to sing for these hunters. All the Attendants must be ready to feed the hunters and all the horses unsaddled and fed, for that is the rule and act governing the Attendants.[1]

First the Bringer-in prays, using tobacco.[2] He bestows a blessing when offering praise to him our Father. This is sufficient for this time.[3]

There is also, my kindred, an ancient custom that we beg the Mask-Spirit to dance for us. You Cranes, you know how and you understand those songs which are used for this occasion when singing for the Mask. Every person who wants to go in the Big House is permitted to look on while the Mask dances in the Big House.[4]

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informant, who has taken part in this hunting rite, are that the leader distribute portions of tobacco to the hunters who are under his control. At each night's camp the stopping place is selected by him, the rations of food are distributed, tobacco is offered to the fire with a prayer by the leader and other details suggesting the rules governing the war parties' conduct among Central Algonkian and in the southern Plains areas.

Wi-ta'panoxwe, it is interesting to note, recalled, during his experience with the hunting squad, how a screech-owl cried near their camp one night; which has long been a sign of good luck (see also Zeisberger, p. 139). The next day he killed a deer, being the first of the party to do so.

[1] The hunters are not obliged to be concerned with the trouble of saddling, unsaddling or feeding their horses when enlisted in the sacred task of the ceremonial hunt. The Attendants take over all such duties of service to them and their animals.

[2] He burns a little tobacco in the fire.

[3] Hereupon it being between nine and ten o'clock in the morning, the hunters leave, departing westward toward the Osage nation nowadays, the only hunting ground accessible to them.

[4] The man wearing the mask and the bear-hide clothes keeps the mask and clothes some hundred yards from the Big House at the edge of the brush in the open, hung upon a branch to keep it away from the dogs. Anyone who desires to perform this rite may put on the paraphernalia and accept the invitation as given above, and go into the Big House and dance. His dance lasts about ten minutes anywhere in the Big House that he desires. The mask when worn is held by the chin with the holder's fingers in the mouth of the mask, so that the wearer can adjust the focus of the eyes of the carving to his own focus of vision. The eye holes are small, yet the mask could be adjusted so that the performer could see as though he were looking through spectacles. To be able to do this was considered as a sign of spiritual greatness. It might be added that the face illustrated in Harrington's study (Fig. 1, p. 32) has the left eye-hole enlarged, something that had been done improperly, according to the informant. He leaves wearing the garb and returns it to the place where it is kept (fig. 9). This all takes place before noon.

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IV

FOURTH NIGHT OF THE CEREMONY

The Attendants call the men.[1] "Red Horns must be hereabouts!" The Attendant calling out, "Red-Horns!, Red-Horns!" "Good-Horns must be hereabouts!" If he answers[2] the Attendant says, "Now he has answered." "Looks-like-a-Man must be hereabouts!" "Now he has answered." "Rises-at-Daybreak must be hereabouts!" "Leaf-Man must be hereabouts." "Now he has answered." "How-the-Weather-is must be hereabouts." "Now he has answered."[3]

The Bringer-in says, "Brothers, here is the one shoulder length of wampum. You, the first ones called, take it with you and pray outside, ten and two times. Lift the prayers on high and where he dwells our father, the Great Spirit. And while these praying ones are outside you Attendants must be ready to 'pick berries.'[4] Attendant come here, take one shoulder length of wampum right over there on this side where stands Our Grandfather.[5] There do you unstring these wampum beads. All Attendants come in, because here, soon they are going to pick berries'."

Here they begin "picking berries," the Attendants, saying this, "m-+!".[6]

The speaker says, "My kindred, now it is the fourth evening since we have been worshipping here. And should any one of the hunters whatsoever have good fortune all of a sudden, some one of the drummers be careful and watch for them at once. Because you know the rule. If you hear the signal-shot run inside the Big House at once. You must sing for them."

[1] Now at the opening of the fourth night's performance following the departure of the hunters on their ceremonial hunting excursion, and after the Mask-Spirit has performed his antics in the Big House, the rites of the night are resumed by the Master of Ceremony who orders the Attendants to call forth certain of the old men of prominence to offer prayer for the success of the hunters. There is some honor attached to this selection, the men so singled out being called in a loud voice by their native names or titles.

The informant is pretending, in the text, that some prominent men are being called. He has changed his style of narration into the form of a monologue.

[2] Whereupon the men thus summoned by the Attendant answer "Hau" or "Yo'," when they hear their names called and come into the Big House.

[3] Those whose names have been called who form a praying squad now go outside and facing eastward raise their right hands giving the prayer-call ho-+ six times and hä-+ six times.

[4] "Picking the berries" is a figure of speech referring to the action of the six Attendants, three men and three women, who crouch down and pick up the scattered wampum beads spilled as commanded on the hard ground under the center post, and cram as many as they can into their mouths. This causes some innocent mirth among the audience. They accompany the act with the sound m-+ as noted in the next few lines. Their action symbolizes the habit of "birds picking up berries," (a sympathetic rite perhaps). The informant did not consider the performance to have any deep symbolical reference, but merely a method of paying extra wampum to the Attendants for their services.

[5] Referring to the mask-images on the center-post.

[6] In Harrington's account, (I, pp. 99-100) of this rite the Attendants are put down as saying "Ho-o-o!"

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V

THE FIFTH AND SIXTH NIGHTS OF THE CEREMONY

[The performance of the usual recitations and dances of the previous nights is repeated.] 539X 796

SEVENTH NIGHT OF THE CEREMONY
RETURN OF THE HUNTERS

Now, my kindred, it is the seventh evening come since we have brought in this pure prayer-worship. Now it is very pleasing that we have had good fortune, that these our young men and that he my son "Walking-four-abreast" and "With-Wings"[1] have killed game. I am indeed thankful. On account of it at least we feel pleased, and we use the animal that we offer up as a sacrifice when we are pleading with the Great Spirit.[2] [792]

And it is truly grand that we are having good weather each and every day, on account of which we enjoy good health. When we wake up to another day, when we see him our elder brother the sun how he lights up all this earth, which causes an emotion within us, when we feel the coming warmth of his breath of life. And we are truly thankful when we acknowledge the blessing of the Night-Traveler, our elder brother the Night-Moon.[3] For we have heard the deceased, our ancient people of the past while they were explaining these many things say, according to tradition, "Night-Moon and also those stars, all of them were put in place by him who owns us.[4] That one, our father the Wind, and that one, our mother Water, flowing stream[5] and that one, our grandfather Fire, all are sitting around us; the Spirit-forces.[6] Truly, my kindred, I feel very discouraged, pitiful me. It is unbecoming for me, I feel unable, as it is said, to instruct my own kindred in blessings, so difficult is it now and so heavily are we oppressed. For instance now, when we are about to be touched by these Spirit-forces, the shell-rattles, be careful, my kindred, we must remember that we are praying for a blessing to the Great Spirit. And it is wonderful that he feels sympathy for us, he our father, also our Creator, in those wild animals which he has given us.[7]

[1] The narrator of the text is assuming that the ceremonial hunt has had a happy conclusion; that the two young men named have been blessed with game.

[2] The informant compared the offering of "wild animal" flesh in this capacity with the Hebraic offering of a pure lamb on the altar. Said he, "It shows the real feeling of the worshipper to offer this pure clean flesh."

[3] It may be recalled here that both the luminaries are moons according to Delaware conceptions.

[4] Another means of designating the Great Spirit.

[5] A metaphor for our mother Water.

[6] Referring to the manitu controlling the world of nature but especially referring to the carved images on the post of the Big House who symbolize the Spirit-force behind everything that possesses life. [776]

[7] In the preceding passage we have an example of the high sounding discourse which the Delaware language is capable of expressing.

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EIGHTH NIGHT OF THE CEREMONY

[The usual performance is repeated.]

VI

NINTH NIGHT OF THE CEREMONY

"Now Attendants, you understand by the rules of this teaching, that you keep in mind each of and all of you, that a person must act in purity.[1] All of us have heard the regulations of the past of our deceased ancestors. They said, according to tradition, that a clean pure person shall kindle fire. Because when using those fire-making spirit-forces, if the person should fail to make fire it would clearly seem a fact that he who tries to make fire is not clean. Nevertheless my brothers everything is easy when correctly done. Now you understand that you shall purify these two places where the fire always is. All the ashes shall be carried out there through the sun-set door that is so intended for it, and when we have finished the ceremony the Bringer-in goes out through it. Such is the rule for everybody in this our prayer-worship.

I am thankful, my kindred, I can address you with respect.[2] I am truly well pleased when I can extend to you[2] all every token of high respect and esteem. Now, my kindred, we have lived on to the point where we are cleaning this fire here in our ceremonial House.[3] I am indeed thankful that we have come so far in good health as this evening comes on, because this night we know how we have seen our deceased aged people perform, those who so thoroughly carried out the teachings and the strict rules of procedure.

And, my kindred, everyone who owns turtle-rattles should bring them with him when coming into the Big House. And right here where sits the Bringer-in, right opposite that place they should put them in a straight line, all those turtle-rattles. And Attendants, you know that you must prepare and make ready everything such as, for instance, those drum sticks,[4] and the cedar, and also that red paint, blood root, and the prayer sticks; everything that is used now on this night must be prepared for certain.

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[1] To have been "pure and clean," the Attendants must have refrained during the ceremony period from sexual intercourse, intoxication and the like. They may not enter the Big House to prosecute their duties if they have violated these rules.

[2] ango'ma, the verb used here cannot be rendered by a single equivalent in English so I have been obliged to paraphrase it as it occurs in the text from a choice of equivalents "to show respect for some one, to honor, esteem, invoke a blessing, to greet, to shake hands with."

[3] The importance of fire as a symbol of moral purity and as an emblem of life and health in Delaware philosophy can hardly be over estimated. A short discourse on the symbolism of fire has been given in the introduction and the beliefs outlined there should be recalled with the reading of the sermon that follows.

[4] This refers to both the plain and the carved drum sticks.

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Now, the first thing that the Leading Attendant is to do is to take one shoulder-length of wampum, carefully and properly to measure those turtle-rattles so everyone will be given wampum beads in accordance with the length of the backs of his turtle-rattle.[1] And, my kindred, we have been permitted to see right here how, as it is said, the Attendants call by name those persons whom they send for.

[Repeat the procedure of first paragraph page 143, in which certain men are called by name to enter the big house and pray as was done on the fourth night.]

Ye my brothers, here now is one shoulder-length of wampum.[2] My kindred go give the prayer-call out doors. When twelve times the supplication shall have been lifted up then you shall divide the wampum equally among you. Attendants, build up a bright fire. Now everyone who owns turtle-rattles go take them and shake them, these turtle-rattles, as should be done. When everything is ready, including those forked drumsticks, do you scatter all those prayer sticks in an even number on each side[3] of the Big House. Now my kindred again

[1] This rite has the significance of a symbol—or spiritual compensation for the service of vision recitation, and the blessing it brings to the people, of those who have so performed. Harrington (I, pp. 103-4) makes mention of this rite, and speaks of the owners of the rattles, when reclaiming the rattles and the wampum placed with them, shaking the rattle several times to test its sound. He adds that if it does not sound well the owner, abashed, takes his property out of sight as soon as possible. Our informant corrected this impression by pointing out that the owners shook these rattles intentionally as though to say thanks, and that there was a spirit of drollery in the pass which caused sometimes a ripple of mirth, not as serious in men as Harrington understood it to be.

[2] There is an interval here. The speaker has turned to those chosen to give the prayer call. He has given to the owners of the rattles, those who have reciting their visions during the ceremony, the amount of wampum measured off on their shells. They accept this by taking the rattle and shaking them a few times. Some mirth may be aroused among those present if the sound of the rattles is not clear.

[3] In the distribution of the Prayer Sticks among the spectators, the first and second attendants go from one end of the Big House to the other, going in opposite directions (east to west, and west to east). They lay the sticks in front of the people at reasonable distances apart, placing them so that the decorated sticks are opposite each other and the plain ones opposite each other. If the sticks do not come opposite each other, it must be done over again. The singers chant a certain song while this distribution is taking place. I should add that each Attendant distributes three plain and three decorated sticks. The symbolism of the six (spotted) or decorated sticks represents the cry of ho+ in the prayer call, the plain sticks the cry of hä+, although all the prayers mingle in the calls, irrespective of whether they have been bestowed with the decorated or plain sticks. The informants words were added, "There has to be a way of showing the difference between the beginning cries of ho+ and the ending cries of hä+, so it is shown on the sticks by the marks."

(Specimens of the prayer sticks made by the informant, are 14 inches in length, made of red maple and sassafras, fig. 14).

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these spirit-forces are beginning to touch those who carry on this our prayer-ceremony.[1]

Now the Attendants sweep the Big House clean. Now the leading Attendants make fire and burn cedar.[2]

"I am thankful, Oh thou Great Spirit, that we have been spared to live until now to purify with cedar smoke this our House, because that has always been the rule in the ancient world since the beginning of creation. When anyone thinks of his children how fortunate it is to see them enjoying good health. And this is the cause of a feeling of happiness when we consider how greatly we are blessed by the benevolence of our father, the Great Spirit. And we can also feel the great strength of him our grandfather Fire for which we cause him pleasure when we purify and take care with it, and when we feed him this cedar. All of this together we offer in esteem to him, our grandfather, because he has compassion when he sees how pitifully we behave while we are pleading with all the spirit-forces above as they were created and with all those here on earth. Give us everything, our father, that we ask of you Great Spirit even the Creator."[3]

Now the leading Attendant shall carry around a wooden bowl of wampum beads. To every person he shall give equally three wampum beads.[4] But the Following Attendant, a woman Attendant, shall carry a bark bowl containing paint and bloodroot so that everyone shall be anointed with paint.[5]

[1] At the conclusion of these rites on the ninth evening the recitation of visions and the dancing around the White Path is resumed by the reciters as on the preceding nights. When the last reciter has completed his round the ceremony procedes as announced in the ensuing paragraph with the burning of cedar.

[2] At this juncture the Leader goes to the fire at the east of the center post while the cedar is burning and then to the west fire, and delivers the following prayer in a low tone.

[3] With the ending of his prayer the Leader has timed his movements so that his time was divided before each of the two fires of the Big House while the cedar-incense had been burning.

[4] Those receiving the beads can keep them if desired. But it was customary for them to return the wampum to the common fund by putting them in a little bowl standing on one of the hominy mortars outside after the meeting is over for that night. It was only by redonation of this nature that the supply of wampum necessary for conducting the ceremony could be assured.

[5] Some notes on the use of blood-root (Sanguinaria canadensis) as a red stain, or an anointment administered to the faces of all the worshippers, have been included in the introduction. A point, however, arises in the matter of ceremonial usage here as recorded in Harrington's study (I, pp. 105-6). He mentions that a bowl of grease is carried around from which the attendants anoint the skin of those to be painted. It might be inferred that some religious significance is attached to the use of grease in this act. And especially so in view of the similar function of grease among the far northern Algonkian who use grease rubbed on the face as "feeding the soul-spirit." Questioning the informant on this interesting point, however, only brings out the simple statement that the grease is put on to protect the skin from the effects of the paint, or pe'kon, which tends to be irritating. The grease is also put on the carved faces in this case to make the paint, put on *after*, sink in better. One might imagine, nevertheless, that at some former time the putting on of the grease was more of a rite than it is now.

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When all is ready then shall either one of these Attendants paint every Carved Image in the Big House. For that, my kindred, since ancient days is the rule and conduct of the Delaware when they intended to place our father, the Great Spirit.

Attendants, bring into the House your cooking and your dishes. Each and everybody who brings a dish give him to eat some hominy and meat. When eating is finished, then shall everybody who desires to sleep in the House bring whatever things to use he may choose such as bed clothes.[1] Here now it is nine evenings since we have camped.[2]

[1] This is to be noted as a privilege accorded for this time to the worshippers who are attending the ceremony—a sanctification.

[2] The Delawares are widely scattered over Washington County, of the Cherokee Nation, hence in congregating for the ceremony they are obliged to domicile themselves in tents.

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VII

TENTH AND ELEVENTH NIGHTS OF THE CEREMONY

[The performance of the usual recitations and dances is repeated.]

TWELFTH NIGHT OF THE CEREMONY

THE A'TEHO'MWI·N

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I am thankful, my kindred, that we have come to the point where we are bringing to a close our worship which is so greatly esteemed.[1] I am indeed thankful that so far we have enjoyed good health from the commencement when we came here to camp, and because, my kindred, there are many more things that we want to do here tonight. I am glad, my brothers and my sisters and also those our children for so much good fortune as we have been blessed with for instance for such good weather as we have had day after day. As it was back in the beginning so, for instance, it is here. There is our grandfather Fire and these our grandfathers sitting around in our midst,[2] we should feel joy on account of them all as this evening has come.

And, my kindred, this night it is permitted that any one may take part in "the-performance-after-letting-the-fires-go-out"[3] because that has always been the rule since ancient times, since the beginning of the Gamwiŋ of the Delawares. Whence also it is known that upon the twelfth evening then and there is the time that they take part in and help; namely, these our women and any other person who feels competent among our young people whose mind is made up. Yes, anyone truly may be permitted to perform "the-performance-after-letting-the-fire-go-out." For there are those older men who have been assigned the duty to maintain this our prayer-worship. For truly indeed this performance is a heavy burden because it is a very great thing. That is why he, our elder brother the white man looks at it as such, a wonderful performance. Because they regard us and see how earnestly we act the humble part in this our House of Worship, on account of it the government has great concern. And that is why we obtain help and

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[1] This sermon represents the opening of the ceremony on the twelfth night. Since the conclusion of the last speech, on the ninth night the procedure of the intervening period (the tenth and eleventh nights) has been a repetition of the usual recitations and dancing gone through before.

[2] Referring again to the carved images on the posts of the Big House.

[3] The designation for this stage of the ceremony is a'teho'mwi·n. As the fires are now allowed to burn out, the ceremony is conceived as drawing to its close. The reciters who have played the major rôle up till this time no longer take the lead, for, as we are told, the meeting is to be turned over into the hands of the women and younger people who feel called to lead the dances, playing a minor part. Other notes on the symbolism of this ceremonial rite of conclusion have been offered in the introduction, pp. 57-8. Several specimen narratives, the minor recitations and song compositions, and experiences of men and women who gave them, as remembered by Wilapano'xwe are given in the appendix, note I.

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also are supplied with an officer to protect us. And my kindred, it is evident that we have help since this Delaware conduct in ceremony is everywhere known since ancient times from place to place as the Delewares migrated. Because truly indeed, in the ancient world since the beginning of the earth was made by the Great Spirit back in the land of the sunrise on the coast where lived our deceased ancestors. Wherefore all of this should delight us because tomorrow is a new day and before we reach noon-time[1] we must complete the service.[2]

[1] For the ceremony to extend over noontime of the next day would bring it into the thirteenth day, by which the concept of "twelve," symbolizing the progress of the ceremony through the twelve heavens to the abode of the Great Spirit, would be broken.

[2] After the delivery of this address the women and young men prepare for the aa'teho'mwi n.

The old women who have had any spiritual experiences are usually expected to take part first. They are given the preference. The turtle-rattle, to begin with, remains before the master of ceremonies. The old woman who has decided to dance takes the turtle and walks out into the path in front of the master-of-ceremonies. The man who has been decided upon to help the women and the young men is standing there also and when the woman takes the rattle he takes his place at her left and his assistant behind him also with a rattle.

They then begin dancing around the 'White Path,' she singing her chant. Any one present can now join in the dance, with the exception of children. They pass around the 'White Path' stopping at the usual intervals between the songs. (This is done to give opportunity for a short rest). Thus they move two abreast, the men dancers behind the male leader and his assistant, the women dancers behind the woman who is singing. There are speeches made by those women as in the case of the men of the preceding nights. They make the circuit around once, stopping before the master of ceremonies where they began. (For songs see Appendix note 1).

Any young women or young men who feel the impulse to try out a song they may have acquired perform in the way just described.

If any one, moreover, should desire to lead a dance but does not feel able to do it himself or herself, he may induce one of the men who have recited their visions to lead the dance in their place. This is called "hiring," dalow'kas'in nhill-' li-ka'kwun, literally "hiring some one to support one." The employer in such a case derives spiritual benefit the same as though he had led the dance himself. The payment for this service is an arm-length of wampum.

At the end of which the Attendants bring in hominy and meat which is divided among those wishing to eat. The hides of such deer as have been killed are given to the old women, generally to those who have recited their vision chants on the evening before.

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VII

THIRTEENTH MORNING OF THE CEREMONY
FINAL DANCE AROUND THE CENTER POST

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'Here now the time has come for all these our sisters to join and dance, and join in a single file outdoors.[1] And all the men and children besides, everybody may wear Delaware garb and go into the Big House. Yet whatever anyone wears it is the rule to go in. But women, from right here next the door, shall begin to form in single file. When they have formed a line then the assistant Concluder[2] should shake the Leading Tortoise-Rattles. Ten and two times he shall shake them and shall say when shaking them, 'kwi·ya·+!' And all of the women from the leading one through to the end of the row shall answer, all of them, and say 'hu·+[3]!'

I am thankful, my kindred, that again I address you all as brothers, men, young men, our sisters and also all those our children. It is truly fine that we have good weather this morning, that we are so well blessed by him our elder brother, the day moon, when his coming illuminates all the earth. For now it is ten and two days since we have performed here while we were pleading earnestly with our father, the Great Spirit, as we all know. It is truly fine and I am glad when we are helping each other, and when this our prayer-worship is given such great consideration, and for the marvelousness of the service of those our Attendants now soon to be finished. And there is here for [465] each one, one shoulder-length of wampum that we pay them, although

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[1] After the trying out dances of the minor participants on the twelfth evening the scene has closed for the night and the master of ceremonies is giving the opening address, with instructions for the procedure of the thirteenth morning. The final dance now to be ordered takes place around the center post of the Big House beneath the images of the Great Spirit before which a serious prayer-call is given. It bears the name of Tomaʻhoma, "conclusion."

[2] The master of ceremonies is so designated now.

[3] As the leader cries kwi·ya·+ the first woman in the line answers with hu·+ followed by the next until all have been heard from consecutively as they "count off."

As the cry hu· hu· hu· resounds in turn down the line of women, they form inside the Big House in the manner indicated by the diagram (fig. 13) and proceed around the dance ring as shown by the double black lines, dancing to the points marked, and stopping. Then so on until they circle four times around the center posts. As they circle around the 'grandfather' they raise their heads to touch the images as on the previous occasions during the night dances. This time, however, some of them are carrying the prayer sticks. Those having them touch the images with them; this being what [782] we might term a more intense form of prayer since the prayer sticks are employed. It might be noted that the six decorated prayer sticks symbolize the six ho·+ cries of the prayer-call, the six plain ones the six hä·+ cries, given each time they pray.

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worth much more are their services, because exceedingly heavy is this which we are doing.[1] 539X 796

Hardly, for example, can I tell how precious it is. But, however, we have heard our deceased ancestors as they were speaking about it say, according to the custom, that the labor of the Attendant, when he makes fire, when he feeds us, when he provides plenty of fire wood, and when he sweeps the House clean;—all of this purification is the cause of bringing joy to the One who created us.[2] For now we have moved along toward where the ceremony closes. Let us consider, my kindred, if it would not bring us good health if again next year right here once more we perform the ceremony.

And besides, my kindred, there remains one more matter, something I want to say for you to bear well in mind. It is said traditionally, when any one on Good meditates in his heart, there is formed the thought. And when he thinks of good it is easy to behave well, but when he misbehaves it is the Evil that a person seriously thinks about as concerns his life. It is exceedingly hard because it is necessary that we prepare the soul-spirit in order that we shall be able to take it back home again to where it belongs, to Our Father, when its use is finished here where we live. Here in this place it is the body that shall remain here because here is where it belongs in the ground.[3]

Indeed, my kindred, that is why, as it is said, I plead with you that everyone take part and help me, or call it to my attention if sometimes I forget something. Always have I seen it this way since long ago. Yet at times, as it is said, I feel not to have grasped it sufficiently in mind. That is why, as it is said, I feel well pleased when any one calls my attention to something.

The Attendants must prepare wampum in a wooden bowl and every person shall be given three beads, and every person who wishes to, when he is now leaving to go outdoors, there where sets the hominy mortar may deposit them, whoever has been given these wampum beads. [425]

And now, my kindred, here when for the last time we are touched by these our grandfathers the turtle-rattles, that is the beginning of our concluding act. Now here at last we are ready to end this Our Father's service. And, my kindred, now from hence as we are going

[1] The master of ceremonies having now brought the worship to its close now makes his final bow with an eloquent declaration of humility, a summary of the spiritual force of what has been done and an appeal to the loyalty of his tribesmen.

[2] Another designation for the Great Spirit; as the explanation runs, "We are his children." [776]

[3] Mention has already been made, in the introduction, of Delaware eschatology, how it is believed that the heart is the seat of one soul, the blood of another remaining on earth after burial. [775]

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home, you must take good care, for you are carrying with you the spirit of Delaware worship. From now on for one year at least, we shall enjoy benefit from all the spirit-forces given us, those on top of the earth and those up above as they were created to have mercy upon us, and besides from him Our Father, the Great Spirit, even Our Creator. This will be all for this time.

Now, my kindred, for the last time we go out to pray, everybody with all his heart. And you know that we shall go out to the east and shall carry with us the wampum that is left unused because that is our heart[1] when we appeal for a blessing to our father with whom belongs the Delaware's soul. And let us consider, every one of us earnestly, as the prayer reaches up above, and we express our faith with this wampum in our heart, because through ten and two levels of the sky we lift our prayer-appeal to where dwells him Our Father the Great Spirit, even the Creator.[2]

[1] A short discourse on wampum given in the introduction (page 64) mentions this simile.

[2] Upon this announcement the wampum beads remaining available for this purpose are tied together into one string (the informant remembered when the Big House treasury contained fifteen or twenty strings, or arm lengths, but in recent years the total length has decreased to some twelve or fifteen feet) and held resting on their hands in a line reaching from one end of the row of people to the other as far as it will go. Facing east they raise the prayer-call, six times calling ho-+ and six times hē-+. This concludes the rite.

With this prayer the last word of the Bringer-in who has at the same time been Master of Ceremonies pronounces his last word of formality, his duties are ended before the sun has reached the noon point of the thirteenth day since the worshippers have convened—the termination point established by traditional ruling. And the great ceremony is ended. The assembled families now prepare to betake themselves home. As the Big House is emptied, the ceremonial property is removed by the Attendants, the premises swept out, the doors set in place, the bar posts raised as a symbol of vacancy—a method of "locking up" habitations when the occupants are away in vogue everywhere among Algonkian people. Conveyances are loaded with camping paraphernalia and household goods and the prairie roads become dusty with the passage of the Delaware cortége on its way in various directions to distant homesteads.

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APPENDIX

NOTE I

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Specimens of Recitation-Songs Given in the A'teho'mwi·n Performance.

The following song recitative of one of the oldest women will serve as an example of the type of performance enacted by the women who have had spiritual experiences. The performer was Mawa't·e's, "Bundle-in-good-condition," a Munsee woman the grandmother of the informant who died about 1914 at an estimated age of 109.

Her song (dictaphone record G)[1] relates to a "mermaid" which she had encountered in a river when a child of eight or nine years of age, determined by the event of the "falling stars" referring to a rain of meteors which she remembered seeing. The informant had heard her experience narrated many times during her life and her song chanted for many years in the Annual Ceremony. Hence he knew both well. The experience as related was as follows:

She was being taken on horseback by her mother across country on a journey to purchase some whiskey as was the custom among the women at that time. Her mother was riding the horse when, coming to a river which had risen by the freshets, she fell off in mid-stream. Neither she nor the horse were seen again. The little girl, Mawa't·e's, remained on the bank alone. No one knowing what had happened for nine days the child existed without human help. Finally a passing party discovered her and restored her to relatives. Then she related the unusual experience, how shortly after the accident a spotted woodpecker came to her every day bringing sufficient bread to keep her alive. To her the bird appeared as a little man garbed in native clothes and wearing a little hat all patterned and decorated to correspond with the markings on the birds feathers. It was not until the fourth or fifth day that she discovered him to have human form; one time when on the point of leaving he turned his back. Her benefactor sustained her with magic food. The next day of her lonely sojourn by the fateful river, there appeared to her a female emerging from the water, the lower part of whose body was that of a fish. Long streaming hair some yards in length floated about her covering her upper parts. The child tried to help her from the river when she asked her but the water-woman told her that it would be in vain since that was her fate. She announced, however, to the child that she was to be her guardian henceforth, that she would have health and live to a very, very advanced age.

She concluded her mission by telling the poor child that she would

[1] In collection of the Museum of the Historical Commission of Pennsylvania.

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not behold her again until a time when she would be seen in a dream precisely one year before death would remove her from the world, by which sign she would know that she had a year to live. Mawa'te's verily grew old with full confidence in her vision and lived for almost a century to chant her song of the "mermaid" visitation every year at the woman's part of the ceremony. On her one hundred and eighth year as was thought, she declared that the "mermaid" appeared to her as preordained and announced to her family the meaning of the event. Precisely one year from that day, having settled her affairs in the meantime, she lay down peacefully and died.

We have every reason to regard this experience and narrative as being typical of the old Delaware psychic life.

Several other minor experiences, the recitation of which fell into the final stage of the annual ceremony, are given in the following abstracts.

Wi·tapano'xwe's mother, Hannah E. Big Deer (Armstrong) or Yu'ti·n (from Justina, a German name), of the Pele' group, when a small child was treated by her parents in a manner to evoke sympathy. They often called her Sa'ki·a, or "Sauk," a term of derision, because she was so dark. This was done, following custom, to cause her to have a vision. She went about grieving, finally wandering to the river bank where she stopped under a tree-root which hung over the bank. She pulled at the earth under the tree until it was about to fall over and kill her, when pe"t'ha'kowe, "Thunder," came and, holding the tree up led her to safety and promised to help her. She never said much about it except that the Thunder took her up into the clouds to show her his power.

William Brown (Tu'k"si·t group) also had Thunder for a helper. He never recited his vision in the main ceremony, but during the a"teho'mwi·n he told how "Those Beings," without mentioning their names, took him up above. He said that they had nice feathers in their hair which they waved to make lightning.

Wi·tapano'xwe for his part, like many of the younger men who did not consider themselves quite capable nor mature enough to lead (wendji·kane"i·) in the serious part of the ceremony, has been accustomed to take part in the dance-leading (a"teho'mwi·n) on the twelfth night. This performance was merely a dance, the song accompaniment to which is a brief composition hinting at the event connected with his vision. As noted in connection with the a"teho'mwi·n dances, the performers do not carry on the protracted sermon recitations and the procession intervals around the White Path.

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Wi·tapano'xwe's rehearsal composition is as follows:[1]

[1] Dictophone record H. State Museum collection. The kindness of Mr. Harold MacGuffin should be acknowledged here for his loan of a dictophone in the process of recording the Delaware chants.

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nat·a nek tele'lem·u'k·un
wani· la'n·ape e''lelemu'k·uk
awi·'tap·e naχpe'lemuk·uk
we'mi· ne'χpe'lemu'k·o wani lena'p·e
kwe'na'mowi·

Free translation.

Brought to you are those same blessings
That the Delaware is blessed with,
As to one of the tribe, the blessing is extended;
All the Delaware is blessed with
Through his religion.

He repeats this song over and over again until he has completed the circuit of the White Path, and returned with his line of dancers to the point where he arose to lead.

The informant also happened to remember the song of Joe Washington (Ni·ka''nipaχo''xwe "Leading-Man")[1]

di·hilənə'mən a'we'moχweya'ne
yu'ni· el'ma'kami·k
wa'ni· lena'p·e pa''tamweo'k·an
di·hilənə'mən a'we'moχweya'ne
ayaya''ne el'ma'kami·k
awi·ta'peok·an·o'wa

Free translation.

This is how I do,
When I travel over this earth,
The Delaware religion!
This is how I do when I travel
When traveling over the universe.
Their tribal relationship!
Kwi·'ya kwi·[2]
Hu''[3]

[1] Dictophone record H, State Museum collection.
[2] The first, or leading dancer's, ending cry.
[3] The second, or assistant dancer's ending cry.

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My purposes in this article are to describe a fairly typical peyote meeting of the Delawares which I attended in the summer of 1952, and to discuss the changes which have occurred in this cult since 1930 when Petrullo made his study of Delaware peyotism (Petrullo, 1934).

THE BIG MOON PEYOTE CEREMONY

The Big Moon ceremonies of the Delawares are normally held in canvas covered tepees, generally in the cooler months of the year, but occasionally in hot weather. The reason for their seasonal nature is said to be in the interests of comfort; a tepee with a fire burning in it on a hot Oklahoma night is almost unbearable. Big Moon ceremonies are held on Saturday nights and last until Sunday noon. The peyote meeting I am about to describe was held on the farm of a Delaware, about ten miles east of the small town of Dewey, Washington County, Oklahoma. A tepee, about twenty feet in diameter, had been erected a few steps from the back door of the farm house. A bale of hay had been scattered about near the inside walls of the tepee; tarpaulins and quilts had then been spread over the hay, upon which the participants were to sit. In the center of the tepee was an oval depression, or fireplace, excavated to a depth of about six inches (Fig. 1). Extending from the fireplace were twelve lines or rays, made by scoring the hard ground to a depth of about half an inch. Within the fireplace, also scored in the earth, was a cross and at the intersection of its arms a heart-shaped figure. The fire, which was built over this heart, was made of twelve sticks interlaced in a V-shaped pattern with the open end towards the tepee entrance.

Just east of the fire, and lying along the long axis of the cross, was a stick of soft wood. One end was kept smoldering during the ceremony and was used to light corn husk-Bull Durham cigarettes. At the east end of the fireplace was a raised circular mound of hard packed earth. On the center of this mound, symbolic of the Sun, another heart had been scratched. On the opposite, or west side of the fireplace was the altar. This was an oblong, slightly raised, earthen area, on which was placed the ritual paraphernalia. In its center on a beaded cloth was a large, green peyote, or "Father Peyote." Just behind it a feathered and beaded peyote staff had been thrust into the ground. On the altar to the south of these objects was a glass bowl of green peyote, a kettle of peyote tea, and a leather bag of dried peyote buttons. To the north of "Father Peyote" on the altar was the drum used to accompany the singers (an old fashioned cast iron kettle, partly water-filled, and covered with a tightly drawn, wet, buckskin cover), and a bunch of sage.

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276 795 796 sage. The fireplace and the altar had been made many years previously, showing much use by being smooth and hard packed.

While the man who was to tend the fire and guard the door (fire-chief) and several helpers were arranging the tepee, several women were preparing peyote in the farmhouse kitchen. Peyote tea was made by chopping up dried peyote buttons and dropping them in boiling water. After steeping for a few minutes the tea was strained. Green peyote was prepared by peeling off the leathery skin, only the tops [372] being left intact. A little before ten o'clock the fire-chief lit the fire in the tepee with flint and steel. As soon as he came out of the tepee the leader (or road-chief) entered, followed by the drum-chief, the fourteen other participants, and finally the fire-chief. This meeting was somewhat atypical in the small number of participants; attendance usually averaged about twenty-five. After everyone was seated the drum-chief, a Sioux from the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota, [782] announced that several people had prayers and announcements to make. The road-chief, a Winnebago, then prayed in his own language. As translated next day, this prayer welcomed the participants and [755] asked for divine assistance in the conduct of the meeting. This meeting had been initiated by a Delaware woman who was ill (No. 14 in Fig. 1), and she stood up and thanked everyone for coming and assisting her in regaining her health. Another Delaware (No. 3 in Fig. 1) [609] then said a few words, principally to the effect that the "Native American Church" was not "idolatry" and that he was glad to welcome a white couple (the writer and his wife) to a meeting "to see what it really was like."

The road-chief then prayed again in Winnebago. When this prayer was concluded, he passed the peyote staff and a bunch of sage to the man on his left, who passed it on in a clockwise direction until it had

[text continues on p. 206]

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(Explanation of Figure 1)

A. Altar
B. Fire. To some peyotists the heart represents the soul of the Fire Spirits.
C. Sun Mound. The heart symbolizes the soul of the Sun.
D. Ash Piles. Petrullo noted that in some versions of the rite these symbolize the lungs of Christ. I could not confirm this.
E. Water bucket and dipper.
F. Smoldering stick used to light cigarettes.
G. Tepee entrance.
H. Cross. Long axis symbolizes peyote road.
1. Road-chief, Winnebago
2. Delaware man
3. Delaware man
4. Shawnee man
5. Shawnee woman (4's wife)
6. Delaware man
7. Ego
8. Ego's wife
9. Sioux man
10. Sioux woman (9's wife)
11. Fire-chief, Delaware
12. Delaware man
13. Delaware man
14. Delaware sponsor
15. Winnebago woman (16's wife)
16. Winnebago man
17. Drum-chief, Sioux

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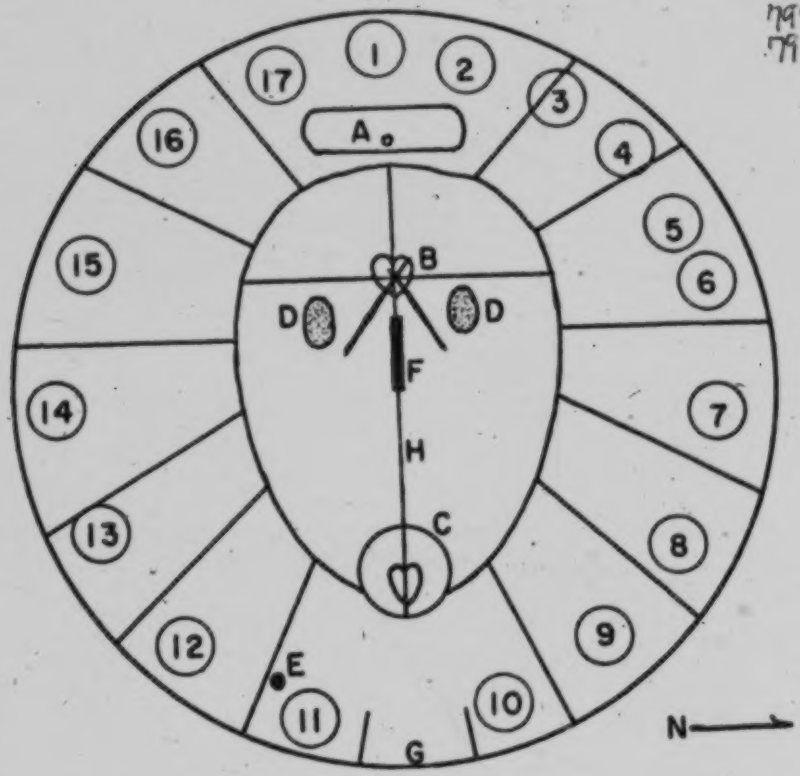
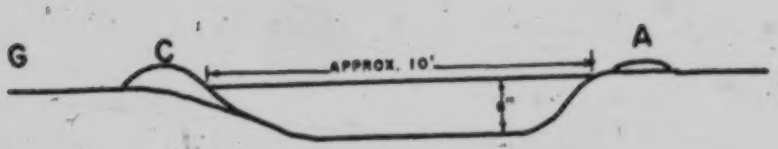
Figure 1



TOP VIEW



ELEVATION

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made a full circuit of the tepee. Many of the participants pressed the sage lightly to various parts of their bodies before passing it along. The road-chief then passed corn husks and Bull Durham tobacco in the same direction, everyone rolling a cigarette. These cigarettes were lit from the smoldering stick which was kept in readiness to the east of the fire. After the cigarettes had been smoked in silence, they were collected by the fire-chief. The butts were placed on the altar. Peyote was then passed in the same clockwise fashion; the road-chief directed that four buttons be taken, either two dried and two green, or four of a kind. Peyote tea was also passed, some individuals smearing their body, face, and hair with the tea, as well as drinking it.

When the peyote had completed the clockwise circuit, and as the participants were going through the ordeal of eating it, the road-chief prayed. He then began the opening song, holding a gourd rattle in his right hand and the peyote staff in his left, the drum-chief accompanying him on the drum. After four songs were sung the road-chief passed the staff and gourd rattle to the man on his left, accepted the drum from the drum-chief, and drummed for the man on his left, who sang four songs. After each set of four songs, the gourd rattle and staff were passed in a clockwise direction to the next man who sang a set of four songs, the previous singer becoming the drummer. The singing and drum accompaniment continued until midnight. Between sets of songs some individuals asked for peyote and others asked for water. The water was kept by the fire-chief's side in an ordinary bucket. Occasionally someone would leave the tepee, first getting permission from the road-chief. On re-entering, which was only permissible between sets of songs, the fire-chief cleansed and purified these people by brushing them from the head and shoulders down the arms to the fingers with an eagle feather fan. They then went around the north side of the fire to the altar, where they touched "Father Peyote," and the road-chief brushed them in a similar manner with another eagle feather fan. Then they returned to their places.

About midnight the fire-chief raked the ashes from the fire for the first time. He did this by moving the burning sticks eastward, taking a special peeled stick about six feet long and smoothing out the embers. After they were smoothed, another stick, somewhat longer than the first, was used to divide the ashes along the long axis of the cross, the ashes being formed into two neat piles on either side of the fire. After this was accomplished the fire was returned to its original position, built up, and the whole depression was swept from west to east

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with an ordinary kitchen broom. After midnight the ashes were removed from the fire whenever a considerable quantity had accumulated.

The road-chief prayed, peyote was passed, and the songs began again. The throb of the drum and the songs were interrupted only occasionally; someone would ask for peyote, a person would mumble, and once one of the Winnebagos (No. 16, Fig. 1) asked the road-chief for permission to attempt a cure of his wife's swollen feet. This request was granted. The Winnebago walked around the fireplace and altar in a clockwise direction and cedar needles were thrown on the fire. He "caught" the smoke in a feather and dipped it into a cup of water which he had in readiness. He then brushed the feather over the woman's legs, concentrating on her feet. He drew a faintly glowing ember from the fire, took the ash into his mouth, and spit the ash into the ash pile nearest him. He then vigorously sucked the patient's feet.

Also early in the morning the Delaware sponsor asked the road-chief if she could pray for herself and her family. He assented. Standing next to the altar, she smoked a corn husk cigarette and, with tears streaming down her cheeks, related first in English and then in Delaware the story of her illness, her unhappiness, and her desire for the good health of her family. A little later a woman (No. 10 in Fig. 1) asked if she might be allowed to sing. Permission being given, she sang the customary four songs, her husband drumming for her.

At dawn the road-chief announced that the drum was going around for the last time. Following this last round the sponsor, her husband and young daughter (who had awakened and come into the tepee) stood up. The road-chief cast cedar needles upon the fire and brushed the entire bodies of the family with his eagle feather fan in the customary way. He then prayed. After they had resumed their seats the road-chief prayed again, following which candy and crackers were passed. The meeting was closed by the assemblage reciting the Lord's Prayer. The fire-chief rose and went around the tepee in the clockwise direction shaking everyone's hand and congratulating them on a successful meeting. The person on his left followed him in a like manner, and so on until everybody had shaken hands with everyone else and the tepee was emptied. Coffee was made and the participants relaxed in the yard and talked until the noon meal, after which the group dispersed.

It is difficult, perhaps impossible, to convey the attitude of peyotists and the atmosphere of a peyote meeting by means of a description of what happens during the course of the night. Perhaps the general

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attitude is best summed up as one of intense emotion and reverence. It could hardly be otherwise, since any individual may come face to face with supernatural powers during the course of the ceremony. Even if he does not, he has come to the ceremony in the sincere belief that he can and will get help in solving the most serious of life's problems. This precludes a profane attitude. I can only echo Petrullo (1934: 88) who said that the atmosphere of the ceremony was "... accompanied by the deepest feeling of reverence and awe and peace that it has been my lot to have witnessed either among primitive people or Christian groups engaged in worshipping their God."

Peyote is of course the focal point of the peyote meeting, but peyote itself is not worshipped. Informants stress this again and again, probably because they have so frequently been attacked by Whites and Christian Indians on this point. Peyote is both a symbol of the supernatural forces being worshipped and a sacrament. For the Delaware peyotist it is a means of establishing contact with the supernatural world and of securing a personally satisfactory working relationship with the spirit forces. While Peyote is the most important supernatural force present, it is not the only one. The spiritual forces of Sun, Moon, Fire, and others are there. Their importance and even their existence depends upon individual interpretation (Fig. 1).

The outward emphasis of Delaware peyote meetings is upon curing. The stated purpose of the meeting I have described was to assist in the cure of the sponsor, and there was a shamanistic curing rite performed during the course of the evening. It should also be pointed out that many peyotists are eager to relate how peyote has cured them of various diseases. It would be a mistake, however, to regard Big Moon peyotism as merely a curing rite, or even to think of it as primarily so. Peyote is regarded as a spirit force through which men can approach the omnipotent supernatural power or powers. Informants sometimes equate peyote with Jesus and say that White men use the "Jesus road to God" while the "Indian takes the Peyote Road."

BIG MOON PEYOTISM—THEN AND NOW

Unfortunately Petrullo did not attend a Big Moon meeting with the Delawares near Dewey, but did participate in a Big Moon meeting of the Delawares at Anadarko. Normally there are many minor divergencies between meetings and tepee arrangements because there is no priesthood or dogmatic creed. As Petrullo (1934: 31) said, "A religion that insists that each individual can learn its doctrines only through personal experience with its gods must necessarily exist in a variable

[P.34, B]

581 Divorce and family instability were common; many children were raised by
586 mother surrogates. "Owing to instability of the family relationship, children are
581 often neglected."[9] The father was absent, hunting, fishing, fighting, trading, or
855 attending treaties during most of the year; what discipline there was fell to the hand of the mother, who was considered to
● 796 "own" the children.[10] During one of the
861 annual calendar of ceremonies, young children were chased by a man dressed in a bear-skin, who threatened to punish them for misdeeds (of which the parents kept him informed from year to year) by carrying them away in a bag full of snakes.[11]
[776] This "Mask Spirit" was considered to be the "Guardian of the Game" and also promoted the fertility of the corn; in other
955 words, was the symbol of the food provider.[12] The boys were able to escape from the mother's supervision as soon as they were able to get about to play at hunting and fighting; but the girls were kept around
754 the house to help the mother at work.[13] When a child died, an old woman was often accused of having bewitched it.[14]

155 It would seem that the mother-figure
593 remained a symbol of possible delights which could not be secured on demand, a symbol of diffused frustration, of withheld benefits and hidden hostility, to the Delaware, and the source of his generalized, if inhibited, aggressiveness; and that the father-figure stood on the horizon, so to speak, as a powerful, friendly being, but one too remote and too aloof to be depended upon.

EMOTIONAL ATTACHMENTS IN MATURITY

584 The ideal in marriage was for a young man to fall in love with a girl. His family would present his suit; she would accept
[585] him by accepting the presents he sent, and come to live with him; and they would live happily and faithfully ever after. The

9. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 21.
10. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 14.
11. Harrington, 1938, pp. 52-53, 113.
12. Ibid.; Harrington, 1921.
13. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 16.
14. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 129.

626 ness was accomplished, not by a fear of authority, but by everyone's fear of wounding someone else's self-esteem and thereby laying himself open to aggression. In order not to antagonize another, the individual had to be very circumspect in his behavior and avoid showing his own aggressive motives. There were a variety of institutionalized techniques which functioned to forestall possible antagonism-arousing situations. "They are not quarrelsome, and are always on their guard, so as not to offend each other," said Heckewelder, and Zeisberger made similar observations.[39] [831] Swearing was unknown (although obscenity was not tabooed).[40] Persons suspected of ill-doing were not accused openly; public or private disapproval was communicated by subtle allusions or by the [609] recital of a "dream."[41] Strangers and visitors were always treated politely; and negative replies to embassies from other communities were couched in ambiguous terms so that the matter was shelved rather than 576 contended over.[42] An elaborate code of 521 etiquette governed the men's talk. "Their common conversation turns upon hunting or the news of the day. Matter that has no foundation in fact may be drawn into conversation, and even though all may be aware of this, the narration continues uninterrupted. They may laugh now and again but they will listen attentively. No one interrupts another. When one has finished another begins. They never put any one publicly to blush; they are polite to each other and enjoy being politely treated. They like to be regarded as worthy people even though they may be the opposite. They are pleased to know that ● 1796 they are liked."[43] Religious observances 776 (such as the periodic obligation to give a dance for a sacred mask) were performed under an almost obsessive fear that negligence, by offending the supernatural owner, would call down an indefinite but

39. Heckewelder, 1819, pp. 145-146; Zeisberger 1778, p. 115-116.
40. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 85.
41. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 120.
42. Heckewelder, 1819, p. 150.
43. Heckewelder, 1819, pp. 103-104; Zeisberger 1778, 115-116.

13:Wallace E-4 (no date)1950*
NM7 Delaware NM7
[P.38,A]

crippling revenge.[44] Even animals, (for example, the bear) had to be conceptualized as quasi-human beings engaged in war with the Indians to legitimize their killing.[45]

Anticipation of Aggression

In view of these elaborate cultural devices for avoiding situations where aggressions might come to the surface, either in one's own self or in others, we might expect to find considerable anxiety in everyone over the suspicion that through some slip he might have aroused the hostility of an unknown enemy, especially since in every person there seems to have been a large amount of diffused aggression which could easily be projected onto other people. The fear of witchcraft, for instance, was universal and demoralizing.[46] Lindestrom described the Delawares as "mistrustful;"[47] and both Zeisberger and Heckewelder remarked on the elaborate institutions which functioned to deflect possible aggression.[48] Parents explained their reluctance to discipline children by saying that "the children might remember it against them and avenge themselves when they have attained to maturity."[49] (Zeisberger said that he knew of some cases where children *did* threaten to punish their parents for indignities suffered in childhood.)[50]

Techniques for Expressing Aggression

All these mechanisms indicate that the typical Delaware individual harbored within himself exceptionally uncomfortable aggressive impulses which he was afraid to focus on anyone for fear of counter-aggression. The eruption of these aggressions periodically shattered the equable facade of social behavior. "They are able to control their desires and passions," observed Zeisberger, "but once given free

44. Speck, 1931, pp. 39-44.
45. Wallace, 1949.
46. Heckewelder, 1819, pp. 239-240.
47. Lindestrom, 1656, pp. 191-192.
48. Heckewelder, 1819, pp. 103-104. Zeisberger 1778, pp. 115-116.
49. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 61.
50. Ibid.

14:Leslie A-4.8 (no date) 1951
NM7 Delaware NM7

[P. 12, B]

Sinew Stones

172 324 412 In the Milford area it is possible on occasion to recover egg-shaped (and sized) pebbles almost completely encircled by shallow pecked grooves. Ritchie in the Bell-Philhower report, p. 175, refers to them as "partly grooved thick pebble sinkers". The present writer has never found this explanation of their use to be entirely satisfactory (Plate 7, Nos. 1 and 3.)

Stone Faces

172 324 532 Under the category of rough stone it is proper to include the stone faces which now and then turn up on Minsi sites. To the writer's knowledge, at least five of these have been found in the Milford area, one splendid specimen from Minisink Island (Plate 10) being presently in the collection of Mr. Rudolph Ludwig. According to numerous authorities, these rough-tone effigies were used in the Lenni-Lenapé Big House Ceremony.

[796]

Polished Stone Artifacts

Celts

172 324 412 The inventory of Minsi polished stone artifacts is not large. Most prominent in this category is the so-called 'thick polled celt' (Plate 9, Nos. 1 and 3). It is to be observed that some of these are almost restagular in cross-section, others more nearly oval.

Small Chisels

Well made "miniature celts" in the form of small narrow chisels or of small pebbles with a celt-like edge are among the most interesting and unusual Minsi artifacts. Some (Plate 1, No. 8) are beautifully made. In my opinion, this type of implement is important in the identification of Minsi-occupied sites. Several years ago the writer published in the "Pennsylvania Archaeologist" (Vol. IX, No. 3) a brief discussion of the possible use of these small tools. In that article it was suggested

[p 55 (A)]

000 all went to heaven. They have one religious
796 festival at which the Gum-win Dance is performed. This is the great religious dance. This is held once a year every fall, after the corn harvest is gathered. The festival lasts seven days. At this festival they have a number of old dances, which are still maintained among the Delawares. This Festival is called the Gum-win, from the dance. This is held for the purpose of returning thanks to the Great Spirit. They have a feast. Men, about 12, go out beforehand to hunt, and get game for the feast, particularly the deer. There is a class of persons
624 whose business it is to appoint the time for
796 holding this council, to prepare the feast, and supervise the business of the festival. They are both men and women, but Lemuel could not give me the name by which they are distinguished.

Marriage

582 Near relatives are not allowed to marry. First and second cousins are within the forbidden degrees; but third cousins under our system are allowed to marry. The names used by the several tribes are used in common. This seems to be the preferable conclusion. A young lad at the Mission told me
[614] that those of the same subdivision of the same tribe can intermarry if not too near of kin, but the fact is that they are all of near kin.

Succession of [Head] Chiefs

614 Upon the death of a head chief of the Tur-
622 tle Tribe, the three other subdivisions meet
623 in council to agree upon a successor who must be of the same subdivision of the tribe with the deceased, and is either a brother of the deceased or a sister's son. The second chief has the first speech, and the War Chief last, and enumerates the persons who

[¶ 52(C)]

775 of the souls of those who were punished by
825 the evil spirit, the wreck, or fragments into which they were cut up were turned into mosquitoes and such evil creatures.

776 Bad spirits are believed to pass by about
787 day break and good spirits are believed to pass along about dark. For this reason boys are often sent to bed without supper, that they may commune with or be visited by
[785] good spirits, the fasting state being thought to be favorable to such communion, and for the same reason are often compelled to get up before day break that the evil spirits may not obtain or exercise any wicked influence upon them.

776 I am told that the Shawnee Female Great
821 Spirit is in reality the moon, and is worshipped as our Grand Mother or something of that sort; and Isaac Johnny Cake who mentioned this [to] me also said that the Great Spirit of the Delawares was represented and believed to be a brother of the Sun, and that the Moon was the Grand Mother of the Great Spirit; and young Toucey, the Stockbridge, says that there is
[171] some evidence of a [?] in of the sun in the worship of several of the Indian races, including his own. The Iroquois return thanks to the sun for heating the earth and to the moon for cooling it, but this does not show a sun worship or anything like it.
[115] William Adams is to correspond with me on the religious system of the Delawares, and I hope to find out something definite about it.

Gum-mween

796 This festival or annual worship of the Delawares as explained by William Adams and of which he is to write to me more fully, is quite interesting. They believe unless they
[241] observe it once a year their crops will fail, and they will lose the favor of the Great Spirit.

[p57(A)]

796 Spirit. It lasts 6 days. It may be repeated by another person or family for a second 6 days, and so on until the feelings are satisfied. It has been known to last a month. The meeting is called by one of a certain class, who I presume correspond with the Keepers of the Faith of the Iroquois. They are called A-la-pa-cte, meaning *Dreamers*. The [346] people meet in a large house erected on purpose for this worship and used for nothing else. They build two council fires in the [614] house, and the people assemble by tribes, the Turtles by themselves, the Wolves by themselves and the Turks by themselves. They use belts of wampum and have many ceremonies. It would seem that this council or religious meeting was called by some one [346] person. The door of the house of worship must open to the east.

796 533 When they are assembled two singers [?] sit down to two dried and rolled up deer skins, with sticks in their hands to beat time. The leader, who is stationed on the right hand side of the door, gets up and [534] shaking a turtle shell rattle, comes in extemporizing verses which are adapted to the set tune of his choosing, to relate his dream. As he relates his dream in music, he dances, they sing the same time and beat time, and all who enter the dance, dance [535] the religious dance which altogether is called the Gum-mween. This is repeated day by day for six days. But the leaders change. When one has told his dream, he hands his rattle to the next one, who in like singing relates his dream in words of his own making, but sung in an old well known tune of his own choosing.

796 Before the festival 12 hunters are sent [262] out for deer's meat, as no other meat is allowed. About 9 each morning this meat is served to all. At sundown each day they have an exhortation from the oldest wise

[457 (B)]

796 man of the nation. Once during the six days,
[782] about an hour after night fall, they burn
[824] incense by throwing on the fire in the center of the house cedar branches, which fills the house with smoke and then ascends to the Great Spirit. If no one repeats the worship, or when all are done, the people all go out in Indian file, and facing the east, in a
[782] united voice they thank the Great Spirit for sparing their lives through the year, and invoke him to spare them until the next Gunmween.

Crow NQ AD
Delaware NM7 ●
Winnebago NP12

Stewart: Washo-Northern Paiute Peyotism 105[D]

PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST

| Element | Occurrence | | |

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR 13 Northern Paiute
Comanche NO6
Delaware NM7 ●
C
D
171
795
● 796
534
679

PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST—(*Continued*)

Element	Occurrence																			
	Tes	Ute	Com	N-P	Ute	Cr-O	Cr-I	No	Wm	Dw 2	Dw 1	Ats	Kio	Com	Kio	E-A	Ki			
31. Paraphernalia satchel		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
32. Cloth upon which to place paraphernalia	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
33. Drum of leader (or chief drummer)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
34. Water drum	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
35. Iron kettle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
36. Pottery jar	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
37. Charcoal in water	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
38. Head of deerskin	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
39. Skin tied on before meeting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
40. 7 stones or sticks used in tie	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
41. 7 stones represent days			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
42. Rope forms star on bottom of drum	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
43. Star significant	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
44. Skin removed at end of meeting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
45. Only one drum used	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
46. Drumstick of leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
47. Individual drumsticks also used	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
48. Only after midnight	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
49. Drum and drumstick passed around	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
50. Separate drummer accompanies singer	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
51. Drummer usually at right of singer	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
52. Only men drum	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
53. Bag of cedar (juniper) leaves of leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
54. Cedar sprinkled on fire	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
55. Usually by cedarman	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
56. Only one bag of cedar used	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
57. Tobacco furnished by leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
58. Rolled in maize husks	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
59. In oak leaves	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
60. In paper	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			

14: Stewart E-5 (1936-1938, 1944 NR 13 Northern Paiute
Comanche NM6
Delaware NM7 ●

Element	Occurrence																			
	Ut	Ea	Kio	Com	Kio	Ab	Del	Del	Wic	Oto	Ot	Cr	Wic	Tin	Osa	Sia	Tew			
61. Only leader's tobacco used	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	•+	+	+	(+)	+	+			
62. Tobacco lacking from ritual	•(+)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–				
63. Peyote furnished by leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•–	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+			
64. "Chief peyote," an extra large "button"	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	++			
•65. Decorated with white lines	–	–	–		(–)		–	–	–	–	–	•–	–	–	–	–				
66. Placed on altar in front of leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	++			
67. Is not eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+				
68. *Artemisia* leaves under "chief peyote"	+	+	+	+	(–)	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	–				
69. Form cross	+	•+	(+)	+		+	+			+	+	•+	•+	+			+			
70. Peyote for eating passed around	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
71. Only leader's used until after midnight		•+	+		(+)	•–	+	•+	–		+	•–	•–	+	(+)	•–				
72. Leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
73. Called chief or peyote chief	+	+	•+	+	(+)	•+	•+	•+		+	+	•+	•+	+	•	+				
74. Sits west of altar or shrine or fire	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
75. Has complete charge of meeting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
76. Assistants	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
77. 2 assistants		+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–				
78. 3 assistants	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	+			
79. 4 or more assistants		–	•–	–	–	+	+	•+	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	+				
80. Chief drummer	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	•+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+			
81. Sits at leader's right	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
82. Drums for leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
83. Drums for each singer in turn	–	–	–	–	–	–		•+	•–	–	•+	•–	•–	•+	–	•–				
84. Cedarman or cedar chief	+	–	+	+	+	•+	+		–	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+			
85. Sits at leader's left	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	•–	+	+	•–	+	+	+	+	+			
86. Sprinkles cedar leaves on fire	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+			
87. Offers prayers at specified times	+	–	+	–	(–)	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
88. Fire chief or fire tender	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
89. Sits at north side of entrance	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
90. Starts fire before meeting	+	+	+	+		+	+	+		+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+			

(Continued on next page)

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111
NM5
NM6
[illegible] ●

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute
Comanche NO6
Crow NQ10
Delaware NM7●
Winnebago NP12
Co
Cr
D
W
171
795
●796
[783]
[778]

PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST—(*Continued*)

Element	Occurrence																				
	Tew	Ki-P	Ow	Ute	Sha	Ar-C	Ar-N	Ch-O	Mo-C	Ch-N	Ar-S	Ch-I	Ch-S	Ki-S	Co-S	Ch-C	Ar-K	Ki-A	Ar-T	Ch-T	Ut-T
91. Replenishes fire	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
92. Cleans up and arranges ashes	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
93. Conducts people in and out	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
94. All bathe before attending meeting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
95. Meeting place arranged (house, hogan, tipi)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
96. In open	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
97. Entrance or opening toward east	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
98. Altar is (crescent) mound of earth	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
99. Concave side toward east	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
100. Line on top of moon	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
101. Fire east of leader's place	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
102. East of moon	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
103. Sticks placed to form right angle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
104. Old methods used to start fire																					
105. 4 sticks on fire																					
106. Special fire stick (poker)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
107. Worshippers congregate outside	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
108. Indian dress, moccasins, etc., preferred	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
109. Meeting starts in evening	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
110. Leader prays before entering meeting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
111. Order of entrance: chief first	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
112. Chief drummer second																					
113. Cedarman third																					
114. Men (before women and children)																					
115. Women and children allowed	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
116. Fire chief last	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
117. Seating: leader west of altar or shrine	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
118. Men, either side, near leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
119. Women, either side, near entrance																					
120. Separation of men and women																					

Comanche ND6
Crow NQ10
Delaware NM7 ●
Winnebago NP12

Stewart: Washo–Northern Paiute Peyotism 109[A]

Element	Occurrence																			
	Ut	E-A	Eko	Com	Kio	Alb	Del 1	Del 2	Wio	Noc	Cri	Cr 2	Gos	Pio	Cos	Pi	Tau			
121. An assistant on each side of leader	+	−	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	+				
122. Women sit behind men		−	−	−	•	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	+				
123. All pass to south of moon	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•	+	+	+	+	+			
124. Sit on blankets, straw, etc	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•	•	+	+	+	+	+			
125. *Artemisia* (sagebrush)	+	+	+	+	+	•	+	+	+	+	+	•	+	•	−	•	+			
127. Prayer or speech or both at start of meeting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	•	+	+	+	+	+			
128. Tobacco passed, all roll cigarettes	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•	−	+	+	•	+	+	•	+	+			
129. Cigarettes lit with fire stick, clockwise	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	•	+	+	+	+	+			
130. Leader prays aloud during smoking	+	+	+	+	+	•	+	+	−	+	•	•	+	+	+	+	+			
131. Others pray silently	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	•	+	+	+	+	+			
132. Smoke blown toward moon	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	•	•	+	+	+	+	+			
133. All motion toward moon	+	+	+	+	+	•	+	+	−	+	+	•	+	+	+	+	+			
134. Cigarette butts placed against altar or shrine	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•	−	+	+	•	+	+	+	+	+			
135. *Artemisia* (sage) leaves passed clockwise	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	•	+	+	+	+	+			
136. Leaves rubbed on hands, clothes	+	•	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+			
137. Chewed	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	+	•	+	+	+	+	+			
138. Peyote incensed before passing	+	+	+	+	(+)	−				+	+	•	+	+	+	+	+			
139. Peyote passed round circle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	•	+	+	+	+	+			
140. Clockwise	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	•	+	+	+	+	+			
141. All take 4 "buttons" at start	+	•	+	+	−	•	+	+		+	+	•	+	+	•	+	+			
142. Each button chewed, spit into hands, rolled, offered to altar, and swallowed	+	•	•	+	+	−				−	•	•	+	+	+	+	+			
143. Chest patted during swallowing of button	+		•	+	(−)	−				−	•	•	+	+	+	+	+			
144. First peyote eaten before singing starts	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+		−	•	•	+	+	•	+	+			
145. Paraphernalia brought out by chief	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	•	+	+	+	+	+			
146. Laid on ground between leader and altar	+	+	+	+	+	•	+	+	+	+	+	•	+	+	+	+	+			
147. Cedarman throws cedar leaves on fire	+		+	−	(+)	•	+	+		−	+	•	+	+	•	+	+			
148. Paraphernalia incensed	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+		+	+	•	+	+	•	+	+			
149. 4 times	+	+	+	−		+	+	+		+	+	•	+	+	•	+	+			
150. Worshippers incensed	+	•	+	−		+	+	+		+	+	•	+	+	•	+	+			

(Continued on next page)

Co
Cr
D
W
171
795
796 ●
[276]
[783]

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR 13 Northern Paiute
Comanche NO6
Delaware NM7 ●
C
D
171
TAS
● TAL
[533]
11d[A]
University of California Publications in Am. Arch. and Eth.

PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST—(*Continued*)

Element	Occurrence																				
	Tesu	Ki-P	Ki	Ga	Ou	Ch-S	Ch-O	Ch-C	Ch-K	Ch-I	Ch-A	Ka	Co	Ute	Ki	Ka-A	Ut				
151. 4 times	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
152. Whistle placed near altar	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
153. Leader starts singing, 4 songs	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
154. Sings fixed opening song	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
155. Holds staff in front of him	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
156. Another beats drum	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
157. Chief drummer beats drum	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
158. Drum, rattle, etc., passed round clockwise	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
159. Each man sings 4 songs	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
160. Each man drums for 4 songs of man to his left	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
161. Rule against women singing	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
162. Drumming, singing all night (except for midnight water call)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
163. Midnight water call and recess	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
164. Leader recalls drum, staff, etc	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
165. Fire chief forms ashes into crescent	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
166. Fire replenished	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
167. 4 sticks added																					
168. Altar and floor carefully cleaned by fire chief	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
169. Cedar sprinkled on fire	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
170. Whistle blown by leader	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
171. 4 times	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
172. Leader sings fixed water song	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
173. Bucket of water brought in by fire chief	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
174. By women		−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
175. Water bearer kneels east of bucket	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
176. Cedarman prays, sprinkles cedar on fire	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
177. Water bearer draws incense to water	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
178. Water bearer prays, blesses water	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
179. While smoking cigarette	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
180. Leader given butt of same cigarette, smokes, prays	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				

Element	Occurrences																		
	13 T	K-A	Kio	Comm	Kit	Ab 8	De 1	De 2	Wis	No C	Ci 1	Ci 2	WRS	Dia	Gos	W-P	Tac		
181. Water bearer spills water on ground	+	−	+		+	+	+	−	−		+	+	+	+	+	+			
182. Bucket passed clockwise, all drink	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	++		
183. Devotees rub, sprinkle ("baptize") selves with water	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
184. "Chief peyote," paraphernalia sprinkled	+	−		+			−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+		+			
185. Water bearer takes water outside	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
186. Makes circuit of altar before removing water	+		+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+•	(+)	−	+	+	+			
187. Drum, staff returned to place they occupied before midnight	+		+	+	+	•	−	−	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
188. After paraphernalia placed, leader goes outside	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	•−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
189. Blows whistle to cardinal directions	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
190. Prays to cardinal directions	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
191. Leader incensed upon return	+		+			+	+	−	−		+	+	+	+	+	+			
192. Replaces whistle near moon	+		+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−			
193. After midnight individual fans, rattles, etc., used	+		+	+	•+	−	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
194. All urged during meeting to eat as much peyote as possible		•−	•+		+	+	+	+			•(+)	+	−	+•(+)		+	+		
195. Urged not to eat too much			•+	−		−	−	−			− (+)	+	−	•+					
196. Individual prayers aloud, by men	+	+	•+	+	+	−	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
197. By women			•+	−	•+	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	•+	−	+			
198. Suppliant first gets tobacco from leader	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+		•+	+		
199. Cigarette lighted with fire stick	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+		+			
200. 4 puffs of smoke blown toward altar at start	+		+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+		+			
201. Butt handed to leader			+	+	(−)	−		•+	−	−	+	•−	+	+	+	+			
202. To cedarman, who blows 4 puffs toward altar			+	−	(−)	−		−	−	•−	+	−	+	+		−			
203. To chief drummer, who blows 4 puffs toward altar			+	−	(−)	−		−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−			
204. Handed back to leader, who blows 4 puffs toward altar			+	−	(−)	−		+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−			
205. Prayer by individual followed by one by leader			•+	+	(−)	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	•−			
206. No one leaves meeting while anyone is singing, praying, or eating peyote	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	•+	+	+		
207. Morning water call (similar procedure to midnight ritual)	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	•+	•−	+	+	+	+	+	•+	−	+		
208. Water brought in	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+		
209. By woman	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+		

(Concluded on next page)

Comanche N06
Delaware NM7 ●

C
D
171
945
796 ●
[276]
[782]

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute
Crow NQ10
Delaware NM7
C D 191 745 ●796 [264]

PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST—(*Concluded*)

Element	Occurrence																					
	Tew	Jem	Wic	Cro	Ara	Cha	Kio	Pai	Ute	Dak	Dak	Ute	Cro	Cro	Ute	Ute	Cro	Kio	Cro	Cro	Ute	Ute
210. Who blesses water	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	• –	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
211. Woman makes circuit of altar before taking water outside	+	+	+	+		(+)	+	+	+	–	–		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
212. Woman returns immediately with food and water	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	• –	• –	+	• +	• +	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
213. "Peyote breakfast"	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	• –	• –	+	• +	• +	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
214. Lined up in front of door, in order (from fire toward door)		+	+	+		+	+	+	+	–	–	+	• +	• +	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
215. Order: water, maize, fruit, meat		–	+	+		+	+	+	+	–	–	• +	• +	• +	+	+	• +	• +	• +	+	+	+	+
216. Water, rice, fruit, meat	–	–	–	–		–	–	–	–	–	–	• –	• –	• –	–	–	• +	• –	• –	–	–	–
217. Water, maize, fruit, candy		–	–	–		–	• +	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
218. Water, maize, meat, fruit		–	–	–		+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
219. Parched maize in sweetened water		+		+		+	+	+	+	–	–	–	• +	• +	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
220. Candy also included in the breakfast	+	–	+	–		+	• +	–	+	• +	–	–	• –	• +	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
221. Food blessed	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	–	–	+	• +	• +	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
222. Wash before eating			–	–		–	–			• +												
223. Paraphernalia put away after blessing	+		+	+		+	+			• +	• +	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
224. Before eating	+		+	–			+			• +	• +	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
225. Drum untied	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	• +	• +	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
226. Water from drum drunk	+	+	+	+		–	+	–	+				• –	• –	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
227. Water touched to body with stick, hands—"baptism"	+	+	+	+		–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
228. Any remaining poured on or between crescents	+	+	+	–		+	• +					• +	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
229. Objects used to tie on drumhead touched to body	+	+	+	+			–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
230. All parts of drum passed, handled	+	+	+	+			–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
231. Leader's outfit taken out by fire chief	+		+				+															
232. Food passed clockwise	+	+	+	+		+	+					–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
233. Replaced on floor between fire and door			?	+			+					–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
233a. Order before passing reversed				+			+					–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
234. Taken out by fire chief	+	+	• +	+			+			• –		–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
235. After food taken out, all go outside, about 9 A.M.	±	+	+	+		+	+			• –		–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
236. Sun greeted	+		• –	–		(–)	–			• +			–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+
237. Return to tipi to lounge, talk, smoke	+	+	• +	–		–	(–)	+		+			–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
238. Tipi dismantled, altar destroyed following meeting		• –	• +	+		–	+						+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

Element	Occurrence																				
	13 T	K-A	Kio	Com	Kic	Ab 8	Da 1	Da 2	Wa	No C	Cr 1	Cr 2	WR 8	Dia	Gos	K-J*	Tse				
239. Feast follows meeting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		C			
240. Aligned between leader and door starting at west: Bible		−	−	−	−	•−	−	−	+	−							+	D			
241. Staff, rattle, and feathers	+	+	+	+		+	−		+	+								111			
242. Whistle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	145			
243. "Chief peyote"	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+				146 ●			
244. Crescent of earth	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	•		[671]			
245. Crescent of ash	+	+	+	+	+	−	+			+	+	+	+	+				[574]			
246. Fire	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+								[276]			
247. Fire stick	+	+	+	+	+	+			−	+											
248. Water	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+											
249. Person blessing water	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+											
250. Peyote breakfast	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+											
251. Beliefs connected with peyotism: belief in a Great God (Great Spirit)	+		+	−	+	+	+	−	•+	+			•+	+	•+						
252. Belief in spirit forces subservient to the Great God	+		+		(−)	+	+	+	+				+	+	+						
253. Peyote is a spirit force chosen to guide the Indians	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+		+			+	+	+						
254. Peyote's function is medicinal	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+		+	+	(+)						
255. Peyote's function is particularly ethical-religious	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+		+	+							
256. Peyote's doctrines can be understood only through peyote intoxication	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	+			+	+							
257. Ultimate goal of intoxication is enlightenment and physical betterment	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+						
258. Individual can be helped by concerted prayer	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+							
259. Individual must attain purity before approaching spirit forces	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+						
260. An important function of peyote meeting is to purify	+	+	+	+	(+)	•+	+	+	+	+				+							
261. Modifications permitted by new revelations	+		+				−	+						+							
262. Approach to spirit forces should be humble	+	+	•+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+							
263. Concept of the Peyote road as ethical-religious	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+							
264. Identification of the Peyote road with the Creator's road		+	•+	−		−	−	+	+	−											
265. Identification of the Peyote road with Jesus' road		+	•+	+	•+																
265a. (See note)																					

14: Stewart E-5 (1936-1938) 1944 NR 13 Northern Paiute
Crow NQ 10
Delaware NM 7

NOTES TO ELEMENT LIST

C D 171 795 796 C [237]

1. Cr 2: Straight stick of any kind or collapsible cane, beaded at joints (Voget).

2. Ab S: "The staff represents a walking cane" (Voegelin). Gos: Made of mountain mahogany by leader himself (Malouf).

3. K-A: Not necessarily (McAllister). Ab S: Deer's tail dyed red (Voegelin). De 1: Staff decorated with feathers, ribbon, and otter skins (Petrullo, 49). Win: Tufts of hair around two joints about a foot from each end of cane. An oval celluloid device 5 inches long with feathers attached around its edge was suspended from the upper joint. Staff was walking stick with crook (Praus). Cr 2: Horsehair among the Crow. Sometimes hair of different animals is used. "People wish for the same type of animal as the hair. It is a sort of wishbone." Crow prefer white horsehair to black. "The old-time Indians say white is the cleanest thing on earth; that is why they use that" (Voget).

4. Ab S: Held by person giving the meeting, at opening of meeting only (Voegelin). Cr 2: Four pieces of sage used; held along with staff. Silvery wide-leafed variety of sage is employed (Voget). WRS: Four pieces of *Artemisia* are tied on (Shimkin).

5. Ab S: Bunch of sage passed around separately at beginning of meeting (Voegelin). WRS: Clockwise, "the same as the world" (Shimkin).

C [533]

9. Cr 2: Man who has his own rattle which suits the pitch of his voice holds leader's rattle in his left hand and rattles his own with his right hand. "Each man does as he wishes in worship." But note that individual rattles not employed until after midnight, apparently out of deference to position of leader. That would be impolite (Voget).

10. Kio: Decoration of gourd proper doubtful. But I have seen "Jesus talk" written on a Comanche gourd (La Barre). Ab S: Gourd itself is stained dark brown with walnut-bark (sic) dye; undecorated otherwise. But handle and projecting end are beaded, tasseled, etc. (Voegelin).

12. Gos: White horsehair at end of handle is not dyed (Malouf). W-P: Feathers also used.

13. Cr 1: "Passed with cane" (Voget).

D [533]

16. De 2: In "Wilson way" meeting members can rattle own rattles any time (Webber). Prohibition on using rattles other than ones used by road chief until midnight (Petrullo, 90, 158). WRS: After drum goes around once, individual rattles may be used (Shimkin).

18. Ab S: Eagle, chicken hawk, parrot, "any kind of bird." Leader did not have special fan that was passed around; each person, including leader, brought and used own fan all night (Voegelin). De 2: Fans and single feathers used in meeting (Webber). See note 3. Cr 2: Any feathers used. Usually eagle tail feathers come out in set of twelve; that is, twelve good feathers found naturally in tail of each bird. "The twelve-feather set represents months of the year; we do not change that" (Voget). WRS: Eagle-wing fan with feathers bound toegether is most common. Fan is of same style as other ceremonial fans (Shimkin).

20. Kio: Buckskin feather sockets not decorated or beaded, but handle is beaded (La Barre).

21. W-P: Leader's fan passed only after midnight.

22. Kio: Leader holds own fan with staff when singing; other men do likewise with their fans when singing (La Barre).

D [534]

24. De 2: Anyone having single feathers or fan can use them any time they wish (Webber).

25. Cr 1: "Used to draw smoke to inhale" (Voget).

D [782] [823]

26. De 2: Whistle not used in "Wilson way" meeting (Webber). Cr 2: Sometimes used four times in course of meeting. Midnight: strong, sharp, long blasts four times. "We make these four long calls in order that the Creator might hear us. That is the way I understand it among the Crows." Right after the water call, leader goes outside tipi, usually whistles in order toward east, south, west, and north, the four parts of the earth. Four blasts are given to each direction, and a prayer is offered. Type of prayer depends upon the leader, "but each corner has something of its own." East: prayer to rising sun, which brings daylight, and to wind, which comes from east, about which all peoples, Indian and white, know. "I do not know what other countries have, but the Montana east wind is harmless." South: prayers offered to those things of the south, for instance, warmth and food. West: setting of the sun brings darkness. Also, certain foods come from the west. "Whatever property is needed from the west [the leader asks for]." North: the same holds for the north; but north wind usually cold, so leader usually asks Creator to control it, keep it not too cold so that animals will not die (Voget).

Crow NQ1D
Delaware NM7

27. Gos: Also used before meeting, while all lined up outside (Malouf).
28. Gos: See note 265a.
30. WRS: Leader allows others to blow whistle as special privilege—to show thanks to Creator (Shimkin).
32. Ab S: Square of purple velvet (Voegelin).
33. Com and No C: Chief drummer does not necessarily provide or tune drum. Best drum available used (Hoebel). Cr 1: Leader has complete outfit, and if drummer, whom he selects, has no drum, leader lends his (Voget). Cr 2: Chief drummer uses own drum (Voget).
35. Cr 2: Can be copper, gold, aluminum, or "anything of iron" (Voget). Gos: 1½-gallon size used, although gallon (No. 6) size desired (Malouf).
36. 13 T: Among Caddo (La Barre).
37. Cr 2: Charcoal obtained from leader's stove (Voget). Gos: Fourteen pieces; Goshute don't know what they represent (Malouf).
38. De 1: Otter skin sometimes used (Webber). Cr 1: "Buckskin of a sort," that is, any well-tanned skin (Voget). Cr 2: Usually deerskin best, but any soft skin may be used (Voget).
40. Kic: Six pebbles used (Noon). Ab S: Eight small round pebbles (Voegelin). De 1: Four small stones used (Petrullo, 50). Cr 1: Seven stone "marbles" (Voget). Cr 2: "Small ball-like rocks" (Voget).
43. Ab S: I suspect it is significant, but my informant did not comment on this (Voegelin). Cr 1: "It means the stars, I guess" (Voget). Cr 2: Symbolized stars in the sky; later the people observed that law officers carried such, and so "we use it to signify living within the law" (Voget). Gos: Represents Morning Star (Malouf).
44. Gos: See note 265a.
46. Cr 1: Chief drummer's used if he has one (Voget).
48. Ab S: Used only after drum had passed halfway around tipi, as far as door; then individual drumsticks smoked in cedar, and permission given to use them—but this long before midnight (Voegelin).
50. De 2: See note 83. Cr 1: Man asks permission of drum chief to pick out drummer (Voget).
51. K-A: Each person participating drums. Feeling strong that one should have peyote partner, and singing and drumming occur in couples. First man sings, his partner drums; then first man drums, second sings. Singing occurs in regular order. Drum skips and then goes back; then skips again, etc. (McAllister). Cr 2: If man on right (A) wishes man on left (B) to drum, B circles room clockwise and sits to right of staff held by A (Voget).
52. Ab S: "Women sometimes drum at a peyote meeting," but mainly men, I noticed (Voegelin). Cr 2: "There is no law against women [drumming], but they just don't" (Voget).
53. Kic: My information not definite on this point. My recollection is that the bag of cedar belonged to the cedarman—this may be a confused impression due to the fact that the cedarman alone threw the cedar on the fire (Noon). Cr 2: Members also have some for their own use (Voget).
55. K-A: No "cedarman"; drummer usually puts cedar on fire (McAllister). Ab S: Usually cedar sprinkled by leader (Voegelin).
56. Win: Both assistants to right and left of leader have cedar bags and sprinkle it on fire at different times. Man on left did so at midnight ceremony (Praus).
57. Ab S: This tobacco is mixed with sage (Voegelin). See note 198 W-P. WRS: Person calling meeting, or sponsor, gives tobacco to leader before meeting, unless sponsor also leader (Shimkin).
58. Gos: See note 265a.
59. Ab S: Perhaps—but I never heard of it for peyote meetings, although Shawnee use oak leaves sometimes for ordinary cigarettes (Voegelin).
60. Cr 2: Paper not "proper"; only when no husks available (Voget).
61. Cr 2: If leader has no tobacco on hand, others may offer their own (Voget).
62. 13 T: Tobacco lacking among some Oto, Pawnee, Winnebago (La Barre, 79). Ute: Tobacco not used in "old Sioux way" seets among Ute and Goshute.
63. Win: Cost of peyote defrayed by persons sponsoring meeting; I received buttons from fire chief, assistant at right of leader, and various men in the group (Praus). WRS: Sponsor gives peyote to leader. Names for peyote: (1) hus; (2) wɔ)g"eθi—a Comanche word for "cactus" (Shimkin).

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64. Cr 2: Represents the original peyote which the woman found, as recounted in the legend which purports to account for the discovery and subsequent use of peyote (Voget).

65. Opler (1936, 160) states "some [Meścalero] peyote shamans trace a cross of pollen on the 'chief peyote,' some do not." Cr 2: Lines "grow" on peyote naturally; that is, peyote is not redecorated, the lines (white) being natural products (Voget).

67. Cr 2: Informant thought the chief peyote could be eaten, but did not know of any instance (Voget).

69. K-A: Called a star rather than a cross (McAllister). Cr 2: Represents four corners of earth and also sun's rays (Voget). WRS: At times four, eight, or twelve leaves used to produce different forms (Shimkin).

70. Win: See note 63.

71. K-A: Not necessarily. Depends upon supply and generosity of leader (McAllister). Ab S: People urged to eat their own peyote, if they had brought any, early in evening (Voegelin). De 2: Peyote other than leader's may be eaten before midnight if leader's supply runs out (Webber). Cr 2: One's own peyote can be used from the start (Voget). WRS: Leader's peyote required only for "first round" (Shimkin). Gos: All peyote in one bag (Malouf). W-P: No individual supplies of peyote used in meetings.

73. Kio: Called "road chief" or "road man" from the "peyote road" on symbolic altar; leader tells them the "road" to go (La Barre). Ab S: "Boss man" or "road man" (Voegelin). De 1 and 2: "Road man" (Webber, Petrullo). Cr 2: Usually just plain "chief" (Voget). WRS: tegwahin (Shimkin). Gos: See note 265a.

74. De 2: In one "Wilson way" meeting, the road man sat at east end of moon, faced west (Webber). In one Big Moon variant, road chief to east of altar (Petrullo, 182). See note 97.

79. Kio: Four assistants if peyote woman, water and food bringer, is included (La Barre). De 2: See note 83.

80. De 1 and 2: Called "drum chief" (Webber). W-P: Leader's wife often chief drummer.

81. Win: Chief drummer sits at leader's left (Praus). No C: At leader's left (Hoebel).

83. De 2: "In some Caddo Delaware 'Big Moons' " the drum chief accompanies the drum round the circle, drumming for each singer (La Barre, 69). At start the fireman drums not only for road man, but for everybody completely round the circle; they have as many as five assistant firemen and they drum in turn until end of meeting (Webber). Win: May be chosen by anyone (Praus). Cr 1: May or may not (Voget). Cr 2: Any man can drum if picked out by the singer (Voget). WRS: May drum for beginner (Shimkin). Ute: Chief drummer drums for each singer in turn once during meeting. W-P: May drum for anyone who asks him, or he may offer to drum for individuals. Singer may ask anyone to drum for him; leader often asked. Taos: Singer may ask anyone to drum for him (Parsons).

84. Ab S: At meeting I attended, a visiting Arapaho filled all the functions you note for cedarman. But he was not explicitly referred to as cedarman (Voegelin). Win: See note 56. Cr 2: Apparently selected by leader for each meeting. There might be a different one before and after midnight (Voget).

85. Win: Sits at leader's right (Praus). No C: Sits at leader's right (Hoebel). Cr 2: "Just chance" (Voget).

88. Ab S: Also second fire chief (Voegelin).

89. K-A: Yes, but theoretically fire chief *should* sit on south side (McAllister). De 2: Firemen sit on both sides of door (Webber).

90. Cr 1: "He builds the fire, it commences" (Voget).

92. Win: See note 162.

93. Cr 1: "Well, he lets them come in, he lets them go out. If sick or helpless, he has to help"; otherwise people find own seats (Voget). Cr 2: Conducts late arrivals to their seats (Voget).

94. Kio: In theory; not rigidly adhered to (La Barre). De 2: Bathing not always before, sometimes after meetings (Webber). No C: Only chief and assistants by requirement, others may (Hoebel). Cr 1: If they have to (Voget). Cr 2: The people clean up. Could be viewed as a purification (Voget). W-P: Bathing recommended; often done in hot springs.

95. Ab S: Tipi, sometimes in house (Voegelin). Cr 1: If people want to put up a meeting, they have it at their house (Voget). Cr 2: House or tipi may be used, latter more proper (Voget).

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Gos: Although tipi preferable, house used at meeting attended. All good peyote members have houses facing east for that reason (Malouf).

96. Kio: In old days; not now (La Barre).

97. De 2: One Big Moon variant has entrance to west (Petrullo, 182). Sometimes door to west (Webber). See notes 74, 99.

98. De 2: Most usual Big Moon crescent altar is drawn on ground, instead of being made in a mound. Numerous other innovations in type of altar were introduced by Wilson and his followers (Petrullo, 80, 179–184). However, Anderson's Big Moon altar, consisting of crescentic mound with a line on its crest, is described and shown in picture (Petrullo, 48, 101). Win: Altar consisted of pit inside of horseshoe incised on floor. Lines extended beyond altar in the cardinal directions (Praus). Altar resembles that of the Delaware Big Moon variant shown by Petrullo, plate 3, page 79. Gos: Inasmuch as meeting held in dwelling, special altar constructed. In addition to crescent, apron of earth extended toward the east from concave side of moon which protected the wooden floor from hot embers carried in from fire outside (Malouf).

99. De 2: End toward west in one Big Moon variant (Petrullo, 182). See notes 74, 97. Win: See note 98.

100. De 2: See note 98. Win: See note 98.

101. Gos: Kerosene lamp, four sticks, and hot coals used in place of fire impossible in house (Malouf).

103. Com: Sticks form tipi (Hoebel). Cr 2: Point or "face" west (Voget). WRS: Must be neat is only rule (Shimkin).

104. Kio: In theory; not rigidly enforced. One leader insists fire be lit with one match (La Barre). Cr 1: "Matches is the quickest, or they could use 'clinkers'; that is the Indian way. But that is all past, you know" (Voget). Cr 2: Match employed (Voget).

105. Com and No C: Seven sticks on fire (Hoebel). De 1 and 2: Twelve sticks at start (Petrullo, 80, 101). Cr 2: Number varies with weather, but usually at least four (Voget). Taos: Seven sticks (Parsons).

106. WRS: Sometimes carved (Shimkin).

108. Ab 8: Not obligatory, except for female. "Should wear moccasins." Several men wore blankets; "depended upon whether they owned one or not" (Voegelin). Cr 1: "They put on the best they have; they doll up, just as the whites when they go to church" (Voget). Cr 2: People wear their best clothes. Apparently no preference for old-time dress (Voget). Taos: "Peyote boys" wear American shoes and hats, contrary to the rule of going in Indian habit while at the pueblo. Peyotists refuse to cut seats from trousers (Parsons).

109. Cr 1: When dark (Voget).

110. Kio: Varies with leader (La Barre). Ab 8: Leader offered prayers when putting up tipi, putting the sage (?) cross on moon, etc., but I do not think he prayed just before going in, except when he made the peyote tea just before the meeting (Voegelin).

111. De 2: Chief enters alone and is seated when others enter (Petrullo, 89; Webber). Gos: Chief enters alone and blows whistle for others to enter (Malouf). See note 265a.

112. De 2: Drum chief led worshippers into tipi (Petrullo, 96).

114. Cr 1: "Each family goes together; women could precede men" (Voget). Cr 2: Such an arrangement could be due to pure chance (Voget).

115. Kio: Women attend, but no children except when meeting given to heal child (Noon). WRS: Children allowed only if ill (Shimkin).

117. De 2: See notes 74, 97, 99. W-P: Rules for seating not fixed. When room, husband and wife sit together in inner circle; when crowded, wife and children sit back of husband.

119. Kio: Varies with leader; some on south side; some near door; some anywhere (save officials' places) (La Barre).

120. De 1 and 2: Women south of altar, men north of altar (Petrullo, 87; Webber). Cr 2: Single line used so no one sits between anyone else and the Creator's gift. Segregation would be result of chance (Voget). WRS: Theoretically proper, often disregarded (Shimkin).

122. Kio: All worshippers sit in single row save when more worshippers than can be thus accommodated (Noon).

124. Cr 1: Blankets (Voget). Cr 2: Each has his own cushion (Voget).

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125. Ab S: Sage underneath blankets (Voegelin). WRS: Sage formerly required (Shimkin).

127. Cr 2: Instructions first as to teaching or belief, followed by prayer (Voget).

128. De 2: Leader prepares first prayer cigarette, which is passed around to all (Webber). Cr 2: Cigarette rolled before prayer (Voget). Gos: See note 265a.

130. Ab S: Leader prayed silently while smoking (Voegelin). Cr 1: Tells about purpose of meeting so they may pray (Voget).

132. Cr 1: To "peyote chief," but "just the same as moon" (Voget). Cr 2: Blown toward "chief peyote" (Voget).

133. Ab S: Prayed with bowed heads, eyes closed, men must kneel (Voegelin).

134. De 2: In original Wilson Moon, cigarette butts placed at left side of altar, in front of road chief, but in other Big Moon ceremonies left in front of smoker to be gathered by fire chief (Webber). Cr 2: Those sitting facing convex surface of moon place their cigarette butts against moon; those facing concave side place their butts at point of horns of moon; those north of line between leader and entrance place theirs on north side of altar, and vice versa (Voget). WRS: Butts placed against moon by fire chief and assistant (Shimkin).

135. Cr 1: "Some take sage from seat and rub this on hands" (Voget).

136. K-A: Sage leaves placed under blankets and each person uses his own (McAllister).

137. Cr 2: Informant did not remember any chewing, but it may have happened a long time ago (Voget).

141. K-A: Yes, but at the meetings I attended they "cut the dose," as they termed it, to two, out of consideration for my presence, for they thought I would find it difficult to eat four; and I would have at one time (McAllister). Ab S: At the meeting we attended each was told to take two buttons (Voegelin). WRS: Some take two (Shimkin).

142. K-A: Optional: some do, most do not. Kio: Mode of eating depends on each individual (La Barre). Cr 1: Some. Most simply take it and eat (Voget). WRS: As special sign of respect to Creator (Shimkin).

143. Kio: Mode of eating depends on each individual (La Barre). Cr 1 and 2: Optional (Voget).

144. Cr 1: Four eaten; then they sing. When meeting starts, outfit has to be going [around] all the time (Voget). Cr 2: First four peyote buttons eaten before singing starts (Voget).

145. Gos: See note 265a.

146. Ab S: Leader held paraphernalia in hands; drum chief likewise (Voegelin).

147. Ab S: Leader sprinkled cedar (Voegelin). Cr 2: Chief does the incensing at this point (Voget).

148. Gos: See note 265a.

149. WRS: More than once; number not fixed (Shimkin).

150. K-A: When cedar is placed on the fire, each person symbolically washes himself with it (McAllister).

151. Cr 1: "Just once; so everyone can smell the smoke" (Voget). WRS: Number not fixed (Shimkin).

152. Cr 1: In front of leader (Voget).

154. WRS: Either Shoshone or Arapaho starting song may be used (Shimkin). Gos: See note 265a.

159. Ab S: "The usual number is four, but sometimes men feel so good that they may sing as many as twelve songs" (Voegelin).

160. De 2: Each man sings, then drums for his neighbor (Petrullo, 91). In Wilson Moon the drum chief and different fire chiefs do all the drumming (Webber). See note 83. W-P: See note 83.

161. K-A: Women attend, but I never saw them participate. I do not know if there is a rule; probably merely a feeling that they should not (McAllister). Cr 2: No rule against women singing (Voget). Gos: I inquired about this especially and they said women used to sing but do not do so any more (Maloúf). W-P: Women hold staff, lead singing, drum.

163. De 2: No midnight recess (Petrullo, 42). Midnight water call and recess present in Big Moon cult (Petrullo, 158). Recess only to burn cedar incense for everyone to fan over themselves while standing. Water in meeting all night and can be used any time, but is used with restraint (Webber; Petrullo, 93). Gos: See note 265a. W-P: No fixed song for water calls, or any time.

164. Ab S: Recalls and lays them down (Voegelin). Cr 1: "Chief has to put outfit in front of himself" (Voget).

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165. De 1: Ashes formed into an eagle in one small-moon variant (Petrullo, 78). De 2: Ashes piled on each side of fire to represent the lungs of Jesus. Also formed into a heart (Petrullo, 101, 181). Win: Ashes formed into a moon twice during the ritual and, in addition, formed into a heart twice, the "Morning Star" twice (the second time with lines across two points), a cross (by filling with embers the interspaces of the cross incised on floor), and finally a sun (Praus).

169. De 2: See note 163. Cr 2: By cedarman (Voget).

170. Cr 2: Four blasts on the whistle; then two songs are sung, the first being "fixed" (Voget).

171. WRS: Sometimes twice (Shimkin).

172. De 2: Special water song used to call for fresh water in morning (Petrullo, 93).

173–174: Com and No C: Water handed into lodge by women; put in position by fire chief (Hoebel). Kio: Woman once observed blessing water at midnight (Noon).

176. W-P: Cedarman only sprinkles cedar on fire; no prayer.

177. Ab S: Swings water bucket four times over fire on which cedar has been sprinkled (Voegelin).

180. Cr 1: Drummer both smokes and prays (Voget).

182. Gos: To moisten "mother earth" (Malouf).

186. Cr 2: Makes circuit of room after removing water (Voget).

187. Ab S: Drum and staff were lying beside the leader; he picks up staff at this point and hands it to man on his left, while he goes outside with whistle (Voegelin). Win: During drinking of water at midnight, staff placed upright in hole just west of incised horseshoe, in front of leader (Praus).

188. Win: Drummer goes outside after paraphernalia placed (Praus).

193. Win: Only individual fans used after midnight (Praus). Kio: Only fans (Noon).

194. K-A: No urging; each is expected to be his own judge (McAllister). Kio: Depends on leader and age of those to whom he is talking (La Barre). Cr 1: "Chief tells them to eat all they wish, but it is up to the individual. Free will, you know. He does not coax to fill them up, or not to" (Voget). Gos: Urged to eat as much as desired (Malouf).

195. Kio: Depends on leader and age of those to whom he is talking (La Barre). Ute: In "old Sioux way" devotees urged not to eat too much; usually eat only four buttons.

196. Kio: As designated by leader (La Barre). De 2: Road man usually announces that anyone wishing to pray through a cigarette may do so after midnight, but some leaders do not approve of individual prayers (Webber).

197. Kio: As designated by leader (La Barre). Kio: Exceptional. Only when woman is close friend of family of person being treated. Spiritual value of prayers of friends is greater (Noon).

198. W-P: For special individual prayers, leader rolls the cigarettes, to which he adds ground sage leaves. See note 57 Ab S.

201. De 2: Road chief lighted and puffed cigarette before handing it to individual for his prayer, then this chief puffed it and prayed following individual (Petrullo, 93). Cr 2: It might be handed to anyone (Voget).

202. No C: Instead of to cedarman, butt handed to fire chief, who blows four puffs toward altar (Hoebel).

205. Kio: Procedure not rigid. Leader may run this differently at each meeting (La Barre). W-P: Leader occasionally but not usually prays following individual prayers.

206. Kio: May leave between a man's four songs, if gets leader's permission. Prescribed etiquette for passing before smokers and eaters (La Barre). Cr 1 and 2: Permissible to leave any time, if necessary (Voget). Gos: No one left during songs, but several went outside during prayers in early morning (Malouf).

207. De 2: Fixed water call in morning for fire chief to bring pail of fresh water, replacing that which had been in meeting all night. (Petrullo, 93, 102). All blessings by road chief in Big Moon variant (Webber; Petrullo, 102). Win: No water brought into meeting in morning (Praus). Gos: See note 265a.

209. De 2: See note 207.

210. De 2: Road chief blesses water (Webber).

212–213. De 2: No peyote breakfast (Petrullo, 94). Peyote breakfast present in all Big Moon variants (Petrullo, 157). As a rule, at "Wilson way" meeting no peyote breakfast served; instead candy, refreshments served, especially if among rich Oklahoma Indians (Webber). Win:

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Food eaten outside without special ceremony after meeting (Praus). Cr 1: "If breakfast ready, she [woman water carrier] brings it in; if not, fire chief brings it in later" (Voget).

215. No C: In absence of corn, Cracker Jack (a brand of candied popcorn) used. Boiled raisins and rice used as fruit (Hoebel). WRS: Order varied; fruit sometimes last (Shimkin). Gos: See note 265a. Taos: Rice sometimes used in place of maize (Parsons).

216. No C: See note 215 for use of rice. Gos: According to my Washo-Paiute informants, Goshute boiled rice instead of corn at times. W-P: Fruit (canned peaches, salad mixture) sometimes served before boiled rice.

217. Ab S: Fruit was home-canned blackberries (Voegelin).

219. Cr 1: "Just cooked corn; if do not have it, use canned corn" (Voget). WRS: May be canned corn (Shimkin).

220. Ab S: Red and white striped peppermint stick candy, broken into inch pieces (Voegelin). De 2: See note 212. Cr 1: "Not here, but I hear those south boys use it" (Voget). WRS: For special ceremonies—Christmas, Easter, etc. (Shimkin).

221. Cr 1 and 2: Individual selected especially for blessing food (Voget).

222. De 2: Exit from tipi at dawn to wash and greet sun, then return to tipi until dinner (Petrullo, 93).

223–225. De 2: Drum untied and paraphernalia put away after blessing and before eating dinner at noon (Petrullo, 94). Win: Paraphernalia put away after blessing of dinner at noon (Praus). Gos: See note 265a. Taos: After breakfast, singing continues until paraphernalia reach chief (Parsons).

226. No C: Water tasted on drumstick (Hoebel).

227. WRS: Recently discontinued (Shimkin).

228. Ab S: Poured on west side of moon (Voegelin). Win: Water from drum sprinkled on four interspaces of cross (incised on floor of fireplace) which had been filled with live embers by the fire chief (Praus).

234. Kio: Usually handed by fireman to woman or women helpers (La Barre).

235. De 2: Meeting continues until noon (Petrullo, 94; Webber).

236. Kio: No formal lining up to greet sun. May be individual wordless "greetings" (La Barre). De 2: Devotees file out of tipi and line up facing sun, at dawn (Petrullo, 93, 97). At exactly noon, leader gazes at sun and worships sun and blesses food (Webber).

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237. Kio: May or may not return to tipi. Those with photophobic eyes seek shade either in tipi, under "shade," or under "tree" (La Barre).

238. K-A: Tipi dismantled, but altar simply left; no longer sacred, but not intentionally destroyed (McAllister). Kio: Depends on leader (La Barre). Cr 1: "Tipi might be taken down in evening, leaving altar way it is" (Voget).

240. Ab S: Bible not used, but I was told that it is used among the "Loyal" or Cherokee Shawnee of northeastern Oklahoma. Some among the Cherokee Shawnee take peyote "according to the Bible way . . . like those Ioways." The "Bible way" peyote takers are "against" old native religious ceremonies and dances, which is not the case among the Absentee (Voegelin).

250. Kio: Before the blessing of the water takes place, the food is outside the tipi back of the prayer. When it is set up for "peyote breakfast" it is between prayer and water (La Barre).

251–265. These elements are thus defined by Petrullo (1934, 154–58). Win: Jesus mentioned in all prayers (Praus). WRS: damē apē (Our [inclusive] Father). One informant used the exclusive form nī'mē apē (Shimkin.)

252. Gos: Prayers addressed to God, Jesus Christ, Mary, and Peyote (Malouf).

253. Ab S: "God sent the peyote for man to worship" (Voegelin).

254. Win: Meeting I attended was held to thank Jesus for the recovery of two women (Praus).

255. Kio: Some say so, some not (La Barre).

260. Ab S: Purification not stressed, but in line with all I heard about peyote (Voegelin).

261. W-P: Modifications were made, but there was no claim that they were based on revelations.

262. Kio: True of all American Indian religions about which I know, possibly of all approaches to all gods and spirits in all religion (maybe this is one of the definitions of religion!) (La Barre). Ab S: I should say so! "We are pitiful people" (Voegelin).

263. Kio: Like Calvin Coolidge's preacher, the Kiowa are "against sin" too; I don't know what else this element means (La Barre).

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264. Kio: Depends on the individual and his special life history (La Barre).

265. Kio: Depends on the individual and his special life history (La Barre). Kie: The informant said the incised line on the crescent was "the line toward Christ" (Noon). Gos: Simply called the path of life (Malouf).

265a. A copy of the following program was given to the Ibapah Goshute by an Oklahoma Indian. When the copy was badly worn the Indians asked subagent A. L. Robertson to make a new one, which he did, sending me the carbon copy in January, 1940.

Program: Native American Church

Part 1—Enter Tepee about 7 or 8 o'clock p.m. in file viz., first, the leader, second, drummer or assistant chief, third, audience follows, all taking seats, fourth, last man to enter fire chief.

Part 2—First, let [place] peyote on moon, second, pass tobacco and corn husks to right to man next to door south, third, fire chief passes cigarette lighted [cigarette-lighting] stick to first man south side of door going around the fire. Man places stick in fire. The chief or leader offers prayer for purpose of meeting-it of 5-finish prayer out. Everybody put down stubs around base of moon.

Part 3—Pass sacks of medicine [peyote] to first man south of door and everybody take 4 peyote each and chew and eat medicine.

Part 4—Leader, lay rattler, staff, feathers, and whistle before you, and smudge outfit with cedar leaves by putting in fire and pass over the smudge whole outfit 4 times. Motion forward and back and drummer follows same motion. Lay whistle vertical along side of moon, under chief peyote. Start singing first song follow with any other 3 songs. Pass rattler, staff to left—going around.

Part 5—Midnight. Fire chief fix fire clear up. Gather [place] cigarette stubs to each end of moon [tips of crescent].

Leader recalls outfit to him, puts cedar in fire smudge outfit, drum also and sing midnight song, smudge the water sitting before fire, and fire man behind it and pass to leader and drummer will take cigarette puff. A few times and pass to leader to finish, lay cigarette down between base of moon and whistle and spill a little water on the ground, pass to man on the south side of the door going around to the fire man and take out water, set some where outside and return into tepee. Go around the place and leader then passed the outfit back to the man where the outfit was recalled for taking out water. Leader steps outdoors to offer prayer to four corner points of wall facing, east, south, west, north, blow whistle facing east and going to south side and blow the whistle south and going to west blow whistle to west and going to the north side blow whistle to the north and then return inside and drummer will make cedar smudge to you and take your seat as before. Lay whistle back in the same place and proceed as before.

Part 5—Morning. Fix ashes along side of moon and clean up. Fire man hands you whistle and smudge feathers and whistle. Sing morning song and follow with 3 songs and lay everything to right and leader may ask anyone to offer prayer with cedar to smudge water and meantime drummer rolls smoke for woman and when through smudging water pass cigarette to fireman. He lights it and gives to woman, she offers prayer. When through she takes her seat and smokes, then gives to leader. He offers prayer, finishes, puts stub down as usual. Woman spills little water on ground, drinks and passes water to one south side of door and going around as before. Woman rises, going around and picks up bucket before stepping out. As soon as possible have breakfast delivered, water, corn, fruit, meat. Recall outfit.

Sing 3 songs. Last one quitting song. Lay outfit before you. Offer as blessing for all. Take off chief peyote. Untie drum and pass around the circle.

Fire man takes outfit outside and comes in, goes around and pass breakfast to man south side door in position. Go out as soon as through.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

needles are fastened, quickly pricks over the whole so that blood is drawn, then a coat of this powder is laid and left on to dry. Before the whites came into this country, they scarified themselves for this purpose with sharp flint stones, or pricked themselves with the sharp teeth of a fish.

In the year 1742, a veteran warrior of the Lenape nation and Monsey tribe, renowned among his own people for his bravery and prowess, and equally dreaded by their enemies, joined the Christian Indians who then resided at this place.* This man, who was then at an advanced age, had a most striking appearance, and could not be viewed without astonishment. Besides that his body was full of scars, where he had been struck and pierced by the arrows of the enemy, there was not a spot to be seen, on that part of it which was exposed to view, but what was tattooed over with some drawing relative to his achievements, so that the whole together struck the beholder with amazement and terror. On his whole face, neck, shoulders, arms, thighs and legs, as well as on his breast and back, were represented scenes of the various actions and engagements he had been in; in short, the whole of his history was there deposited, which was well known to those of his nation, and was such that all who heard it thought it could never be surpassed by man. Far from murdering those who were defenceless or unarmed, his generosity, as well as his courage and skill in the art of war, was acknowledged by all. When, after his conversion, he was questioned about his warlike feats, he frankly and modestly answered, "That being now "taken captive by *Jesus Christ*, it did not become him to "relate the deeds he had done while in the service of the "evil spirit; but that he was willing to give an account "in the manner in which he had been *conquered*." At his baptism, on the 23d of December 1742, he received the name of *Michael*, which he preserved until his death,

* Bethlehem.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

797 which happened on the 24th of July 1756. He led the life of a true Christian, and was always ready and willing to relate the history of his conversion, which I heard myself from his own mouth. His age, when he died, was supposed to be about eighty years.

304 The cutting of the ears, which formerly was practised among the Indians, is now no longer so common with them. Their reasons for laying this custom aside, are that the operation is painful, not only when performed, but until the ears are perfectly healed, which takes a long time, and that they often lose that part of their ears which is separated from the solid part, by its being torn off by the the bushes, or falling off when frost-bitten. I once heard of a gay Indian setting off on a severe cold morning for a neighbouring village not more than three miles distant, whose ears had been touched by the frost, and dropped off before he arrived at the place to which he was going. He had not even felt that he had lost them, and when told of it, he was so chagrined that he was going to destroy himself. I have seen a great many Indians with torn ears; but now the custom of cutting them is nearly if not entirely disused.

CHAPTER XXVI.

DANCES, SONGS, AND SACRIFICES.

535 782 THE dances of the Indians vary according to the purposes for which they are intended. We have seen, in the second chapter of this work, that when the Dutch first landed on New York island, the inhabitants who be-

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

tain and her colonies, that they began to be sensible of their desperate situation—this whole northern continent being now in the possession of one great and powerful nation, against whom it was vain to attempt resistance. Yet it was at this moment that their prophets, impelled by ambitious motives, began to endeavour by their eloquence to bring them back to independent feelings, and create among them a genuine national spirit; but it was too late. The only rational resource that remained for them to prevent their total annihilation was to adopt the religion and manners of their conquerors, and abandon savage life for the comforts of civilised society; but of this but a few of them were sensible; in vain Missionaries were sent among them, who, through the greatest hardships and dangers exerted themselves to soften their misfortunes by the consolations of the Christian faith, and to point out to them the way of salvation in this world and the next; the banner of Christ was comparatively followed but by small numbers, and these were persecuted by their friends, or, at least, those who ought to have been such, as well as by their enemies. Among the obstacles which the Missionaries encountered, the strong opposition which was made to them by the prophets of the Indian nations was by no means the least.

I have known several of these preachers and prophets during my residence in the Indian country, and have had sufficient opportunities to observe the means which they took to operate on the minds of their hearers. I shall content myself with taking notice here of a few of the most remarkable among them.

In the year 1762, there was a famous preacher of the Delaware nation, who resided at *Cayahaga*, near Lake Erie, and travelled about the country, among the Indians, endeavouring to persuade them that he had been appointed by the great Spirit to instruct them in those things that were agreeable to him, and point out to them the offences by which they had drawn his displeasure on

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

various branches of their own nation. The Monsys and Unamis call one another Nitgochk, "my companion [feminine] in play," for the reason that the whole nation has become the women. The several tribes, also, have special names and titles, which the speaker must know. These titles are not generally used but only in their councils when something of importance is to be communicated, which is done with great solemnity. They are able to express themselves with great clearness and precision, and so concisely that much circumlocution is required to convey the full meaning of their expressions in an European language. In spiritual things, of which they are totally ignorant, there was utter lack of expressions. But since the gospel has been preached among them, their language has gained much in this respect. If they intend to speak in an obscure manner, they can speak so cleverly and with so much circumstance that even Indians must puzzle out the true sense of their allusions. They are able to convey an account of a bad action so skillfully that it appears not to be a bad but a virtuous deed. The chiefs are not particularly well versed in this art of dissembling, and, therefore, very strict attention must be paid to every word of their discourse, especially, if an answer is required, and great caution is necessary in order that one may not be caught.

A speaker in council must be able to deliver his speech without hesitation. Often he has no time to prepare his subject, the different heads are only briefly named or left for him to collect from the conversation of the chiefs. He must, then, be able to comprise the whole in a speech, well arranged and uninterrupted, which requires a clear and open understanding, a faithful memory and experience in matters of state. Young men are being constantly trained for such duty. They are admitted as hearers to the council, to familiar intercourse with the chiefs, who instruct them faithfully, and are employed as ambassadors to give them an opportunity to exercise themselves in public speaking.

The pronunciation of their language is easy, only the Ch is a very deep gutteral. The greatest difficulty is presented by the compounding of words with verbs, substantives and adjectives, which is very difficult for a European to learn. They have few

of this substance. His niece was preparing it for a small child who was dangerously ill. She dropped a small quantity in a cup of hot water and observing it settle to the bottom, knew that the small patient would not recover. The medicine was administered as a tea, but the child died in a short time.[33]

In the making of an emetic, the necessary water should be dipped from the stream *with* the current;[34] for a cathartic, *against* the current. A similar regulation applies to the gathering of bark; for use as an emetic, the bark is peeled upward; for a cathartic, downward.

Formerly there were among the Delaware, as among other tribes, certain men and women whose supernatural power enabled them to communicate with the dead, to locate lost persons and objects and to foretell coming events. This practice was known as "locating or foretelling," and one who possessed such power was known as a "man who tells of the future." The source of this extraordinary power was attributed to one's guardian spirit or in some instances to the spirits of the dead. Those who were able to communicate with the dead usually performed at night. Such a person was also thought able to cure paralysis.

Some individuals who possessed the power to stay under water for a period of several hours at one time, were frequently called upon to locate a drowned person or a submerged object. One man was known to have found the body of a drowned person after months of futile searching by others. Some years later, the son of this shaman, after becoming converted to Christianity and studying for the ministry, finally persuaded his father to abandon the native faith and join the Christian church. In doing so the old seer, forsaken by his supernatural guardian, forfeited his magical power. Later the old man returned to the Delaware religion, but the power which enabled him to be of service to his tribesmen, was gone forever.

Witapanóxwe's grandfather was one of the last of the Delaware to possess such extraordinary mental and physical powers. He was able to perform the submersion feat and several times located the bodies of persons who had drowned in the rivers of Kansas. On one occasion a

[33] In reference to remedies for fever, Zeisberger observes (*op. cit.*, p. 55) that "when a patient has been given a dose, they are generally able to tell by its workings whether he will recover or die. If he does not retain the medicine it is regarded as a sign that he will hardly recover."

[34] This practice was noted by Heckewelder, *op. cit.*, p. 224.

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last she told her friend that she wished to confess. She said, "Now I am going to die and I want to tell you something. You must never reveal it or you will die also. I was out travelling (sic) one night and someone shot me." After her death, the other woman one day revealed the secret to some friends and soon after died.

One of the last of the Delaware witches is said to have joined the church, but continued to practice witchcraft. She believed that she could not find salvation because she had sold her soul to the Devil, but by joining the Church, thought she could secure some peace of mind. [797]

The unnatural behaviour of birds or animals, as observed in dreams or waking life, has led people to regard them as transformed witches. Once a man saw a hog which, as he looked at it, seemed to grow longer and longer. He started towards the animal, but it retreated into the bushes. Thereupon he knew that it was a transformed person. [825]

A second incident involved a young man returning home from a dance early in the morning. The path led through the woods and over a hill, at the foot of which stood a small cabin occupied by two old women. As he rode along, an owl flew quite low over his head towards the cabin where it disappeared. The young man told his people of the unusual flight of the owl and every one agreed that it was one of the old women returning home. Both had previously been suspected of witchcraft.

Another person had a similar experience with a boar. The man lived alone and one night, while lying on his bed, the door opened and in walked a large boar. The Indian, quite surprised by this, picked up a poker from the fireplace and attempted to drive out the animal. The boar ran around the table several times, without the man succeeding in striking it. Finally it escaped through the door. The man hurried outside and looked around, but the animal had disappeared entirely.

Many years ago a man about forty years old married a woman who was over seventy. My grandfather's brother lived with this couple. He was a powerful medicine man. After some years the old woman took sick and died. Her husband, a very vain, boastful individual, did not conceal his pleasure over her death. He was heard to say, "Now, I am the boss. See what I will do." My grandfather[a] soon atfer left the house. He walked away down the hill, frequently looking back at the house. After a while he returned. He had left to

[a] In the Delaware kinship terminology one's grandfather's brothers are called by the same term as the grandfather. [601]

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with the natives, primarily in matters concerned with land sales. It was shortly after his return from this trip that he wrote his "Letter to the Free Society of Traders" (contained in Penn, 1937), which is his most complete sketch of native life. It is probably based on secondhand knowledge as well as that gained directly from the natives, but the information found in it agrees well with that in Lindstrom and other shorter statements of the same period. The book which I have cited contains not only this main source of information but several letters from him which add a few details.

Other sources of seventeenth century Delaware life worthy of mention are Danckaerts, Kalm, Pastorius, and the Swedish writers whose observations have been summarized in Johnson. Danckaerts was in the New World for two years in 1678-80 and left a journal of his travels through Pennsylvania and New York which contains scattered references to Lenape culture. By far the most important observations he made were those concerning Delaware religion and beliefs on cosmology. These observations were based on single interviews with two Indians.

Kalm was sent to America by the Swedish Academy of Sciences in 1747 to discover what plants grown in the New World could be usefully grown in Sweden. He had been a pupil of Carl von Linné and had made scientific trips in Sweden, Finland and Russia prior to this trip (Kalm, 1937, introd. by Benson). His journal, which covers the years 1748-51, is of value primarily for its indications of changes which had already taken place in Lenape culture since contact and for additions to our knowledge of the material culture and foods of the Delaware of an earlier time.

Daniel Pastorius was a lawyer and a Pietist, one of the sects to which Penn had particularly directed his appeal for colonists. In 1683 Pastorius purchased 15,000 acres of land in the present area of Philadelphia as agent for a Frankfort group of Pietists. He arrived in Pennsylvania where he founded and became justice of the peace, schoolmaster and scrivener of Germantown (Myers, 1912, introd. to Pastorius, p. 355). Although he does not appear to have traveled much outside of this area, the Indians made frequent visits to Philadelphia and it appears that he had some first-hand contact with them. Much of his material on the other hand is probably second-hand.

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Eighteenth century sources are much more complete than those we have just mentioned and show greater understanding of the inner workings of Delaware culture. This is possible because the Moravian missionaries actually lived among the Indians-in the case of our two best sources, David Zeisberger and John Heckewelder for many years.

David Zeisberger was born in Moravia in 1721 of parents associated with the Church of the Bohemian Brethren. His parents fled to Saxony and then America to escape the persecution which this sect was then experiencing. Zeisberger was left in Saxony to complete his education

but joined his parents in the New World at seventeen. He learned the Mohawk language at a missionary school in Bethelehem and shortly after that began his life with the Indians which, with only short trips to the civilized world, lasted sixty-two years. It should be noted here that Heckewelder, Zeisberger and many of the other Moravian missionaries learned the languages of the Indians with whom they were working. Zeisberger, unlike his fellow missionary John Heckewelder, was not what I would call sympathetic to Indian culture, but by reason of his sincerity and devotion to his religion was very successful among the Delaware and made many staunch friends in the course of his work (Zeisberger, 1910, introd.). His understanding of Delaware religion was perhaps the greatest weakness in his whole work, but even in this aspect of life he could not help but obtain some facts about the outward forms. De Schweinitz's work makes some useful additions to Zeisberger's History of the Northern American Indians, as he has utilized in addition to that work Zeisberger's correspondence with the mission board, journals and reports of special occurrences.

John Heckewelder was born in 1743 at Bedford, England of a family associated with the Brethren. He was taken to Bethlehem, Pennsylvania at the age of eleven when his father became director of the Moravian colony there. Before he became a missionary in 1771, he had had some experience as a messenger for the society, but had supported himself as a cedar cooper. He was a missionary to the Delaware for fifteen years during the period of the Revolutionary War and the Indian War which followed it (Heckewelder, 1881, introd.). Heckewelder was very partisan to the Delaware and idealized their institutions and history. His statements of fact based on actual observation, however, agree with those of Zeisberger and other observers of the same period.

Loskiel's account of the Delaware and Iroquois is based on the journals kept by all the Moravian missionaries. Since most of these journals are unavailable it has a use in spite of being a secondary source. Its value is lessened by the fact, however, that the great bulk of the material appears to have been taken from Zeisberger's History which is available. One other source of the Moravian missionaries' accounts is that edited by Gipson. This volume contains not only the account of the Moravian mission on White River, but selections from the autobiography of Abraham Luckenbach. The latter is particularly valuable as the writer appears to have been a more objective observer and more concerned with the Indians' culture than most of the other missionaries. His account of the Delaware is limited to the years 1800-1806.

Two missionaries of the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge (a Scotch organization) have also left some written observations on Delaware life. David Brainerd became a missionary for the society in 1744, working among the heterogeneous Indians of the Forks of the Delaware River and with a congregation of Delaware at Crossweeking, New Jersey (Edwards, 1798). His work is so introspective that it

114 contains few observations on Indian culture, but there are some very
747 good comments on Delaware religion. Since both Zeisberger and Heckewelder neglected this aspect of Delaware culture, Brainerd's really keen insights on this subject are of great value.

Charles Beatty was in contact with the Delaware for only a few weeks when he visited them in Ohio to see whether they would be interested in having a mission established there. This visit to a Delaware town on the Muskingum was made in 1766 and from it we have a good description of the town and the manner in which the council operated (Beatty, 1798).

114 George Brickell and Christian Fast were captives of the Delaware who were made members of families of the tribe. Brickell's account is by far more valuable, giving insight into the division of labor and the manner of rearing children in the late eighteenth century.

Another source of early material culture are the archaeological reports such as those of Abbot, Butler, Heye, and Skinner. Skinner and Harrington have also used the results of archaeology in other of their reports.

For purposes of my reconstruction, the descriptions of Delaware culture by ethnographers were not useable because they had combined material gained from different periods of time. Brinton, the earliest anthropologist to write at length about the Delaware, had other grave faults. In the first place, his conceptions of the universality of certain traits, particularly in the field of religion, led him to ascribe these traits to the Delaware without sufficient evidence. One example of this is his treatment of the Delaware culture hero. Secondly, I have differed with him on several points where the main problem was one of evaluation of the sources. In spite of his unreliability, however, Brinton was of use because he had utilized many old writers whom subsequent students had overlooked or known only through Brinton's writings.

Skinner's work is of value as a consolidation of the most important sources available, but presents a somewhat too generalized picture because he has assumed both that seventeenth and eighteenth Delaware culture and that Delaware and neighboring cultures were essentially the same. Harrington has presented the most complete picture of Delaware culture, but has included many details gained from later writers and his own field research in Oklahoma and Ontario, which cannot be demonstrated to have been part of aboriginal Delaware culture. Speck's published work on the Delaware is almost wholly restricted to the fields of religion and ceremony. His observations on the functioning of Delaware religion, although based largely on later periods, threw much light on the earlier material to which I had restricted myself. The views on the aboriginal social structure in Anthony Wallace's short sketch of

7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

source for comparison of Delaware ceremonies in general with those of other groups of eastern North America. Casual survey of its salient points will reveal differences and similarities observed in the elements of ceremony so far recorded among Central Algonkian, Iroquois tribes and those of the southeast. It will remain for more intensive study derived from similar summaries made among these groups to determine the position of Delaware ceremonialism in relation to them.

In conjunction with the Delaware series of festivals it is evident that those of the Munsee should be jointly grouped. Harrington's notes on Munsee rites is our principal source. The fact that the Munsee bands still exist in several locations in Canada leaves an open possibility that more detailed and penetrating records of ceremonies of the family or individual order may still be secured. Yet the more thoroughly Christianized condition of the tribe in general may, when the attempt is made, convert this hope to chagrin. This has been the outcome in the case of the Delaware-Munsee of the Six Nations reserve.

Formal ceremonies have disappeared from the calendar of religious events of the Delaware-Munsee incorporated with the Six Nations of Ontario for almost a century, since the abrupt discontinuation of the rites of the Big House in this band in 1832. This resulted from a successful attack on its creed by the native missionary, G. H. M. Johnson, a Mohawk.[1] There remains little to put on record beyond what knowledge we have, opportunely rescued in 1910–14 and admirably presented by M. R. Harrington in several of his publications referred to in the course of our study. Minor religious performances may still be obtained in descriptive form from the Canadian bands of Munsee and Delawares blended together on several of the reservations, but from a casual survey of these groups, their dialects and history, I am free to

[1] An interesting summary of religious history of the band is compiled by R. R. Whale, of the Brantford, Ontario, Historical Society. Johnson with John Wampum, presumably a Delaware, took axes and destroyed the images in the Long House in the Delaware settlement. Whereupon all the Delawares there were converted.

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
NM7 Delaware NM7

strong faith, that the night he dreams about him,[3] he will at once the following day be able to shoot as much game and catch as much fish as ever he wants to,—the evil one, undoubtedly helps him to it.[4]

The first hunt which the savages arrange in the spring [they dedicate to the evil one]; if they then can shoot ever so many animals in their hunt they do not sell a single one of them, but make a burnt offering of it[5] to *Manitto* or the devil; then they will that year have good luck in hunting and shooting.

They do, however, know a little historically about Christ, which they consider a fable. When the old savages are to tell the Christians what passed in former times, they say that it has been told them from times immemorial by their fathers and forefathers, who have said that it was, once in former time, one of our savage women who became pregnant by going and drinking in a brook; and none of our Rennappi had had any connection with her, yet she became pregnant and gave birth to a son. And when that one became somewhat large, something like this,—he measures with his hand in the air, as he knows nothing of age or years. "Yes, that was a pólite[6] and clever

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Portuguese citizens and speak a Portuguese dialect. For *taboo*, see Hodge, *Handbook*, II, 667.

[3] The charm or fetish emblem.

[4] Lindeström believed in the powers of the Indian medicine man; but he attributed this power to influence of the Devil. Cf. Heckewelder, *Indian Nations*, 231 ff.

[5] The game obtained in the hunt. Cf. Hodge, *Handbook*, II, 402 ff., and the literature quoted there.

[6] *Artigh*, *polite*. Perhaps, however, Lindeström means handsome, fine, splendid. See *artigh invention*, Chapt. XVII, note 3.

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
NM7 Delaware NM7

boy," they say. "His like will never come here again. He had so much to say that it was a great wonder and [he] performed many miracles and wonders. When he now became somewhat large he departed from us and went up into the air, up there," they say, and point to heaven. "He promised to come back to us, but he never came back to us again," they say. "Sometime after him," they said, "a large-mouth with large beard,[7] like your large mouths are," they said, and likened him to our pastors. "He also had much to say for a time.[8] That one also went up there, like the other one," and the [Indians] pointed to heaven. "He promised also," they said, "to come back here to us again, but he never came." And it must surely have been one of the apostles, for the word of God is true, which can never fail us:[9] *Euntes docete omnes Gentes*, etc.[10] So far they know of Christ and his apostles and can relate it from hearsay from their fathers and forefathers.

[7] *Stoort skägg*, large beard, *i.e.*, long beard. The long, thick beard of some of the pastors made a strong impression on the Indians who had seen nothing like it before.

[8] *Han hade och mycket af munnen en tijdh.* *Lit.* he had also much of the mouth for a time.

[9] Perhaps Lindeström refers to the belief prevalent in the middle ages and later, that the apostles had visited all continents and all countries, according to the injunction quoted in Latin from the New Testament.

[10] Go and teach all people. *Cf. Mark*, XVI, 15.

[p. 210 is blank]

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

II. THE DELAWARE TRIBE

HISTORICAL SKETCH

The Delaware call themselves Lenape or Lenni Lenape. Their common name is derived from the fact that their first known residence was on the river so named by the English. Lindeström gives their location in 1656 as in the vicinity of Philadelphia on the west side of the Delaware River, and their kindred, the Munsee, were located on the east side. The territory that they occupied was probably much more extensive than Lindeström indicated, but little beyond the water courses had been explored in those days. The Delaware were still in possession of the river when William Penn entered into his first treaty with them in 1682.

The British administration after Penn's time was aligned with the Iroquois who assumed domination over the Delaware. It is practically impossible to determine the exact time or circumstances of the Iroquois "making women" of the Delaware, but about 1720 they denied the Delaware the right to make war or to dispose of land. Very soon the Delaware were being crowded out of their old locations by the Iroquois and the whites. They moved to various sites farther west in Pennsylvania, and by 1751 began to settle in eastern Ohio. Within a few years the majority of them were in Ohio and Indiana. The Moravian missionaries who followed them from the East established themselves in Ohio and worked with great success until the Revolution.

Distrusted by both the British and the colonists, the Delaware and particularly the Moravian converts, were harried from both sides. The Gnadenhütten Massacre in 1782 was the greatest blow dealt by the colonists, but while demoralizing, it was not as devastating as were the moves forced upon the Indians by the British the year before. The famine and other hardships resulting from these forced emigrations scattered and decimated the Christian Delaware and also created the opportunity for the

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

775 abode of the souls of the good. In the second and third periods south is again mentioned as the direction of the land of good souls. However, in the third period the directions up and down for the location of the future abodes of the souls of good and bad persons appear. In the fourth period, the ascension of the souls of the good is unanimously asserted, while only one added that they also went west. This informant, E. R., also said that souls of the bad went down, whereas W. T., also of Anadarko, said that they stayed here on earth. W. L., of Dewey, said that souls of bad persons went to all the places on earth where they had committed their evil actions and were there punished. All this happened in the eleven days between death and the departure of the soul for the celestial abode of the Great Spirit.

775 177 The Delaware have thus approached the popular Christian notions on this point but still retain some of their earlier concepts. The exposition of the modern Delaware clears up the confusion and seeming contradictions that exist in the earlier accounts as to the final disposition of the souls of the bad. There can be little doubt that missionary teaching was responsible for the idea of a hell which cropped up in the third period as a belief of the Delaware (35).

771 177 There are two exceptions to the continuity of concepts otherwise shown by the elements under *Religion*. One is the report of priests in the first period and not thereafter (39). There was probably no change between the first and second periods but merely the discontinuance of the word priest to designate the shamans who were present in all periods. The other exception is the dissenting voice of Captain Chipps on such subjects as subordinate deities, ghosts, witches, and the national worshiping society (22, 38, 40, 41). Chipps was a Canadian Delaware or Munsee and probably the descendant of several generations of Moravian converts, for his account of the religion of the Delaware reflects much greater acceptance of Christian teachings than any of the accounts of the Oklahoma Delaware. The national 794 worshiping society or Big House Ceremony as it is now known, 797 was apparently successfully suppressed by the Moravian missionaries among the Canadian Delaware.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

Introduction and Explanation of the Ceremony

It has long been known that the Delaware Indians had a periodic ceremony of paramount importance in fulfilling their obligations toward a pantheon of spiritual forces. We learn something of such a ceremony from indications occurring in the 17th and 18th century sources, among which figure Denton (1670),[1] William Penn (1683),[2] Brainerd (1745),[3] Zeisberger (1779-80),[4] Loskiel (1794),[5] and Heckewelder (1771-86, 1818).[6] First from the casual writings of Dutch, Swedish and English authors we get glimpses of the ceremony while this famous and patriarchal nation was still residing in its haunts in eastern Pennsylvania and New Jersey. With the westward movement of the tribe, first to the valley of the Susquehanna and later to the Ohio country, the missionaries who attempted the conversion of the Delawares have added their comments upon the great recurrent festival, treating it in terms of cool description or in phrases of fervent condemnation according as their attitudes toward it were determined by their profession.

In the accounts we have, the ceremony is referred to under various titles, some in English, some in Delaware; Cantiko, (Penn, 1683), Gamwing, (Zeisberger, 1779), xingwi·ka'on, The Big House, The Annual Ceremony. And it is not a little strange that even the oldest of them are recognized by corresponding terms still current in the language of the tribe at the present time, as clearly explainable today as though we were still holding conference with native priests and patriarchs who had talked with Penn and his contemporaries. That the great rite was of local interest in the religious life of the allied peoples

[1] Denton's Description of New York, formerly New Netherlands, N. Y. 1670.

[2] William Penn. A Letter from William Penn, Proprietary and Governor of Pennsylvania in America to the Committee of the Free Society of Traders of that Province Residing in London, London 1683 in Narratives of Early Pennsylvania, of New Jersey and Delaware, Edited by Albert Cook Myers, N. Y. 1912, p. 234.

[3] David Brainerd, Memoirs of the Rev. David Brainerd, by Jonathan Edwards, New Haven, 1822.

[4] David Zeisberger. History of the Northern American Indians. Edited by A. B. Hulbert and W. N. Schwarze, Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, n.d.

[5] George Henry Loskiel, History of the Mission of the United Brethren Among the Indians of North America, London, 1794.

[6] John Heckewelder, History, Manners and Customs of the Indian Nations Who Once Inhabited Pennsylvania and the Neighboring States, Edited by W. C. Reichel. Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Phila. 1876.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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796 346 Who is Carried Around." Their descendents still carry the burden of the worship. They belonged to the "Wolf" group (Tu'k^wa^l-t). For this reason the Wolf group claims the right to sponsor these exercises now, and holds the majority rule in the present Big House deliberations. And in my judgment they will always rule hereafter. The present house was built three or four hundred yards to the southwest of the present spot but on account of its inconvenience it was moved to where it now stands, and one acre was set aside by the Dawes Commission. It was remodeled by us after a deliberation in September 1913.

796 [735] "The ceremony has not been "taken in" for four years,[1] the last one being led by Frank Wilson (E'm-a'). Poverty has driven them to neglect it. And also the loss of the wampum beads which one time numbered about one hundred and twenty-eight Indian yards, all of which has nearly disappeared for it has been sold to other Indian tribes, to white people or to Museums as relics."

796 171 Speculations upon the origin of the ceremony would be quite out of order from the ethno-historical point of view, but Delaware traditional history has no such hesitant attitude. As the myth develops we observe how the inception of the idea of the ceremony is laid to the revelation made in dreams to chosen leaders among the Munsee. Opinion seems quite general among the Delawares that the original conception of the ceremony is a Munsee one. This is interesting because it locates the ceremony in the northerly group of the three tribes forming the so-called Delaware Nation. It is fortunate that we have, from the pen of Harrington,[2] a treatise on the Munsee form of the Big House ceremony for the purpose of comparison and evaluation as far as the material provided in the several accounts will permit us to go. At present there seems little to point toward proof of priority for the Munsee phase of the worship, except for the quasi-historical estimate of the Delawares themselves. A feeling of respect for the Munsee is general among the Delawares. They are held in high esteem for their former bravery and, strange to say though natural enough in the regard held by Indians for such matters, for their indifference to economic and material affairs and devotion to those of a spiritual nature.[3]

648 797 ESOTERISM OF DELAWARE RELIGION.—In the missionary descriptions of 170 years ago, chiefly from the pen of John Heckewelder, we hear constantly of the inner spirit of aversion held toward the whites, and the distrust felt by the natives concerning the motives of all Euro-

[1] This was written in October 1928.

[2] Harrington I, pp. 127-161.

[3] Illustrative of this sentiment several Delaware observations may be recalled in reference to the Munsee. The latter, it would seem, are held in high esteem for their bravery and ability in spiritual matters, yet were noted for an indifference to dress and economic properties, in which respect the Delawares think they stood out in contrast with them.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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peans. The Moravian missionary brothers laid some stress on this situation as it affected their own interests and those of the colonies at large. They saw ample reason for such feelings in the occasion of the atrocities committed upon the Indians by the border whites culminating in the massacre of the defenseless converts at Gnādenhütten by Pennsylvania militia (1782).

Heckewelder, knowing the Delaware through fifteen years residence in their midst (1771-1786), words the following brief expressing his own view of the matter. "Long and dismal are the complaints which the Indians make of European ingratitude and injustice. They love to repeat them, and always do it with the eloquence of nature, aided by an energetic and comprehensive language, which our polished idioms cannot imitate. Often I have listened to these descriptions of their hard sufferings, until I felt ashamed of being a white man."[1]

As for the testimony of the Delawares themselves, Heckewelder quotes the speech of a war-chief Pachgantschihilas,[2] delivered in 1781 to the Moravian converts at Gnādenhütten. After recapitulating the events which had happened before in their relationship with the whites, he concluded, saying, "I admit that there are good white men, but they bear no proportion to the bad; the bad must be the strongest for they rule. They do what they please. They enslave those who are not of their own color, although created by the same Great Spirit who created them. They would make us slaves if they could, but as they cannot do it, they kill us! There is no faith to be placed in their words. They will take him by the hand, and at the same moment destroy him. And so you (addressing himself to the Christian Indians) will also be treated by them before long. Remember! that this day I have warned you to beware of such friends as these. I know the long knives; they are not to be trusted."

Eleven months after this speech was delivered by this prophetic chief, ninety-six of the same Christian Indians, about sixty of them women and children, were murdered at the place where these very words were spoken, by the same men he has alluded to.

There seems to be little need of going further with details of this topic since it is so thoroughly covered in the manuscripts of the earlier writers who had opportunities of observing the transition period of Delaware contact with civilization. In the treatises of two missionaries alone, fifteen pages are devoted to the interracial problem.[3]

[1] Heckewelder, op. cit., p. 76.

[2] Paxkandji-hi-l-a-s, "Person Running with Body and Soul."

[3] Zeisberger, p. 121-2; Heckewelder, pp. 71-85; Loskiel, pt. III, chap. 10. See also de Schweinitz, "The Life and Times of David Zeisberger, Phila. (1870).

[P.34, A]

155 Zeisberger.[3] Infants were described by
854 Lindestrom as never crying.[4] Whether this was because they were nursed whenever restless (which is most likely), or because the crying was consistently ignored in early infancy, is not clear from the available accounts. From Zeisberger's description of the frequency of the mother's absence, it would seem that, even if the child were nursed on demand when she was available, her frequent absences must have meant to the child that she was an
862 undependable provider. Children were weaned at the age of two or three; the techniques are not described.[5] Anal and
863 urethral training do not seem to have been strenuous: boys wore no clothes at all until
[291] the age of five or six, although girls wore aprons as soon as they could walk.[6]

Zeisberger noted that children were
861 sometimes harshly treated, although such
155 behavior generally produced in them "bitterness, hatred and contempt." He went on to say, "The women are frequently guilty of thus raising their children to anger, for the women are often ill-tempered. By way of punishment, they will pour water on the children or thrust them into the water."[7] Zeisberger did not like the
[157 Indian women, whom he described also
181] as being "much given to lying and gossiping. They carry evil report from house to house. As long as they are observed they appear modest and without guile. All the wrongs of which they are guilty are done
114 in secret."[8] While one may be inclined to
● 797 discount Zeisberger's accusations on the grounds of the natural prejudice of a male missionary among somewhat more aggressive women than he was probably accustomed to at home, the general accuracy of his observations and the fact that he was really fond of his charges, with whom he spent much of his active life, suggest that he had imbibed the prevalent native male attitude toward the women of the tribe.

5. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 80.
6. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 17.
7. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 81.
8. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 124.

[P.36,A]

153 Throughout these and other instances there seems to be an association between the concepts of eating and aggression, and between the concepts of not eating (or of giving up food to another, or of relinquishing what has been eaten) and of being accepted, approved, and helped.

The Guardian Spirit

156 The Delaware could not support a sense of social disapproval or of disregard. The great importance attached by Europeans to conscience was among the Delawares replaced by an equal importance attached to "face." When self-esteem needed encouragement, the individual dreamed (or interpreted his dreams as meaning) that he was great. Zeisberger remarked, "They are proud and haughty, even a miserable Indian, capable in no respect, imagines himself to be a great lord. They hold themselves in high regard as if they were capable of great and wonderful things, in which respect they are much encouraged by dreams, held among them to be very significant and, indeed, it would appear that through dreams Satan holds the heathen bound and fettered and in close connection with himself, subjecting them in this fashion to delusion. All this the missionaries discover in those who come to church and who need be thoroughly humbled before they give up the vain imaginations concerning themselves."[31]

156 776 One of the main functions of the guardian spirit was to buttress the Delaware's opinion of himself. "They believe," observed Zeisberger, "in numerous spirits or subordinate deities. Almost all animals and the elements are looked upon as spirits, one exceeding the other in dignity and power. There is scarcely an Indian who does not believe that one or more of these spirits has not been particularly given him to assist him and make him prosper. This, they claim, has been made known to them in a dream, even as their religious belief is alleged to have been made known to them in a dream. One has, in a dream,

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31. Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 18-19.

[p 51 (c)]

614 611 so now where the father and mother were of different tribes. This is a very interesting fact, as it is the first exception, if true, in the Algonquin race which I have found. Mr. Pratt informs me that he understands the children are of the tribe of the mother, [797] and he has been their missionary for twelve years and for 22 years an Indian missionary. I shall verify this perfectly before I leave. The young man also says that the 622 office of chief was hereditary in the tribe, as he thought, and that a brother or nephew succeeded as frequently as a son, but he was not quite sure on this subject. He gave me 535 the names of 16 of the dances, all he could remember, which will be given later.

602 He said the Delawares thought a good deal more of their relationships than we did, and if there was the least particle of relationship they were glad to find it. He says that in old times near relatives could [582] not marry, but now they married as near as our cousins.

Family Names

551 We took up this inquiry. He says one tribe has no right to use the names of another tribe, as he thinks, and he also says the names can be readily distinguished from one another, but I must inquire further about this. He seemed to think the same name might be used by another tribe, in which case it would be slightly varied. The real truth about the distinctness of the Indian names constantly eludes me. [57A] I shall soon think there is nothing in it.

[57A] [For footnote see category 116, p. 209 (A) — Analyst]

15:Morgan E-5 (1859)1959
NM7 Delaware NM7

[p53(B)]

773 and lonely in her absence, started to make
821 her a visit. As he travelled southward he carried the cold with him and wherever he went it became winter, or rather winter followed his footsteps. After he had concluded his visit he returned and carried back the winter with him as he advanced to the north. From the most ancient times this visit has been annually renewed.

Indian Persistency

157 Mr. Pratt mentioned as a recent occurrence
224 among the Delawares, that while a party
521 were out on a Buffalo hunt a few years since, one of them said one day that before he returned he would take a three year old bull buffalo alive. His companions rather laughed at his suggestion as an impossibility, and thought no more about it. This is the age when they are the most ferocious and unmanageable. A few days afterwards this hunter rode up to a herd of buffalo and having singled out a two or three year old bull, he managed to detach him from the

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John Gill Pratt was a dedicated Baptist missionary, working in turn with the Shawnees, the Stockbridge, and finally the Delawares. Morgan regarded him highly.

[p 53 (c)]

157 herd and gave him a chase. He followed
224 until the buffalo was about tired out, with
521 his tongue hanging out, and hardly able to move, while his own horse was in the same condition. Leaving his horse and his gun, the hunter, fresh and strong, took the buffalo by the tail and drove him on. He then went up an ascent and down on the other side until they came into a wet place where the buffalo stuck in the mud from weakness and exhaustion. He had thus taken his buffalo, in one sense. He was powerless, and still, except as he made slight efforts to fight. After spending some little time in this situation during which the buffalo was gaining strength and he was losing his, he was so fortunate as to espy and signal one of his party, who came to his aid, and the two, with a rope tied to his horns so as to keep at a safe distance from each of them and between both, they led or drove him to camp and thus the Indian maintained or made good his boast.

Delaware Baptist Mission School[86]

872 This school, under the supervision of Rev.
797 John G. Pratt,[87] a matron, Mrs. Muse, and a teacher, Miss Morse,[88] is in a very flourishing condition and superior to any I have seen in the territory. It has accommodations for 78 Indian scholars as boarders and lodgers. The number last term was 64, the number the present term is about 50, as they have held back for the payment, and will soon come in now.

346 The buildings consist of a two and a half story farm house large on the ground, designed for the sleeping and clothing rooms of the school; another of the same size with a wing for a kitchen, designed for the residence of the superintendent and teachers, and is the eating and cooking place for all.[89] Also a large school house with folding doors

[For footnote, See category 116, p. 209 (c)--Analyst]

15:Morgan E-5 (1859)1959
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Shawnee NN17
[54(A)]

D 346 in the center so as to separate the boys and girls, although they are as yet all together. There are numerous outbuildings, as a farm is carried on in connection with the school of about two hundred acres. The buildings D 872 were erected a few years ago with school money belonging to the Delawares, and is [657] supported with funds in the hands of the government reserved for that purpose.

D [797] The children are clothed, boarded and [657] taught by the Mission, and the government allows $75 per annum per scholar. They have two terms of five months each, and the children are kept in school about seven hours per day. They study reading, writing, and spelling, geography, arithmetic, with blackboard exercises. The scholars are mostly young, those now at school ranging from 6 to 18 years. They look well and healthy and free from sore eyes, and are decently and comfortably clad. This is the true system of Indian education, beyond a doubt, and this school is by far in the best condition of any I have seen. We see here New England cleanliness, system and good management. I did not visit the Mission S 872 School of the Methodist Southern Board 797 among the Shawnees. It is a large and flourishing school, I believe, but complaints are made of the principal of unfairness, of avarice, etc. He has made himself rich and also the Mission, they having secured by treaty between about 2000 acres of land, and at the same time he was active to prevent Friend Harvey from selling his Mission farm of 200 acres, evidently desiring to break up the Friends Mission.

D 797 Mr. Pratt commenced his missionary life 22 years ago with his present wife then 20 years of age. He was accepted as a missionary to Burma, but was requested to fill temporarily an Indian Mission then vacant among the Stockbridges near Fort Leaven-

15:Morgan E-5 (1859)1959
NM7 Delaware NM7
Shawnee NN17
[p 54(B)]

D 797 worth, and went from there to the Shawnee Baptist Mission now closed, and from there to this Mission about 12 years ago. His wife is still young looking [she was forty-five at the time, ed.] and must have been beautiful as a girl. They are very worthy, refined and agreeable, and my short stay with them has been very pleasant indeed. Mr. Pratt is a well educated and superior man.

S 797 872 The Friends Shawnee Mission has done a good work among the Shawnees, but was never, I fancy, a very large school. There are but two boys there at present, but no doubt they have done as much good in proportion to the means employed as any other missionaries. The Friends are well adapted to gain the confidence of the Indian.

D 555 [*Delaware: Succession of Chiefs*]

In a brief conversation with Charles Johnny Cake, he informs me that the son never succeeds the father in the office of chief, but that the office goes either to a brother or the son of a sister. But strange to say the Turtle, the Wolf and the Turkey tribes each have several subdivisions, and while it was the ancient law that Turtle must always intermarry with Turtle, Wolf with Wolf and Turkey with Turkey, yet the subdivisions were not allowed to intermarry and in these the children were of the tribe of the mother. Mrs. Johnny Cake, the mother of Charles, would not or could not tell me the names of the subdivisions. Charles would not today under the pretence that it was important to be right and he doubted his recollection of these subdivisions, although he said there were a number of each.

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D [611]

D 124 614 582

15:Morgan E-5 (1859)1959
NM7 Delaware NM7
[p209(c)]

colonial period to designate a detached band of Iroquois who settled in Pennsylvania (James Mooney, "Mingo," in *Handbook of the American Indians*, F. W. Hodge, ed.).

86. The school was begun in 1853; the first baptism occurred four years later. The school was moved out of low bottom lands in 1848 to its 1859 location (Rev. S. F. Smith, "Brief History of Missions in Kansas and Missouri," in *Home Mission Monthly*, Aug. 1879; Clara Gowing, *op. cit.*, p. 183, n. 3).

87. John Gill Pratt was born in Hingham, Mass., in 1814. He graduated from Andover Seminary in 1836 and was licensed to preach. In 1837 he married and immediately set out for Kansas. He served at the Shawnee Baptist Mission, where he printed religious material for Indians, and helped to publish a newspaper, the *Shawanoe Sun*. He worked with the Stockbridge Indians from 1844 to 1848, when he took charge of the Delaware Baptist Mission. Mr. and Mrs. Pratt had seven children. Mr. Pratt died in 1900; Mrs. Pratt, a short time later (Gowing, *op. cit.*, pp. 183–84, n. 4).

88. Elizabeth S. Morse, born 1814, was "sent out from Boston in 1842 by the American Baptist Mission Union" to teach school among the Cherokees. She went to the Delaware Mission School about 1848, where she taught until the Delawares were removed to Indian Territory in 1867, when she went to live with friends. She died in 1899 (Gowing, *op. cit.*, p. 183, n. 2).

89. In October, 1859, Miss Clara Gowing arrived at the Delaware Mission School. She was born in Massachusetts, had been president of the W.C.T.U. in Reading, Massachusetts, had taught in colored schools in Virginia, etc. She has left us a very interesting account of her five years at the Delaware Mission, in her article, previously cited, pp. 183–93.

90. In *Systems* (p. 289) Morgan acknowledges the aid of "Lemuel R. Ketchum (Wool-le-

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Bear and that woman, Small Person, to forget their troubles.[19] Because, Grandmother, it has been many years that they have been together. Again, Grandmother, I implore you because it is right that they should love each other henceforth. If you accept my plea, in two days from this time the woman will go back."

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The second variety of magical root, termed "pull up," is employed in the following manner. The informant's maternal grandfather transferred to him the secret of such a medicine gift in order to control human beings or animals. Although the root is intended primarily for use in hunting, it could also be employed to coerce or in general, influence people favorably. I was unable to secure a specimen of this "rare" plant for scientific identification.[20] Wi·tapanóxwe describes the plant root as having "five prongs." After securing several of the plants, the roots are prepared by cleansing them thoroughly in running water, to the accompaniment of songs and prayers. Three branches of the plant root are then broken off and another, taken from the root of a plant of the same species, attached to the remaining two, to make three. In this connection it may be noted that the emphasis upon the number three in this and the previously decribed love charm represents a symbolism for which the informant could offer no explanation.

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In use, a small quantity of the prepared root is chewed three times a day. The juice resulting from the first mastication is rubbed on the hair, that from the second and third is swallowed. Such a procedure will bring about the desired result in a short time. To lure game animals some of the root is chewed while hunting. Wi·tapanóxwe related an incident of holding some of these roots in his hand while singing his medicine song, and thus luring a squirrel very close to him. The root is so powerful that if an excessive amount of juice is swallowed, the person's mind will become affected.

Food Taboos

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After he has diagnosed the case, the practitioner prescribes a curative diet[21] for the patient, the food restrictions being determined by the

[19] "Being in trouble."

[20] This is probably due to the supposed magical properties attributed to this plant, making it dangerous, according to Delaware belief, for persons other than practitioners to handle it. This applies to all other plants used for magical purposes.

[21] Barber (1856, p. 538) quotes the following from William Penn's letters: ". . . if they eat flesh it must be from the female of any creature." Also see Zeisberger, *op. cit.* p. 24.

4: Tantaquidgeon E-5 (1930) 1942
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into lengths averaging from six to eight feet. The end of each of these poles is pushed into the ground to form a circular outline, five or six feet in diameter, with a somewhat wider space marking the entrance towards the north or south. The opposite ends are then bent over and lashed down to form a dome-shaped structure, over which skins, mats or blankets are laid. The fire, located in the lodge center, is built of twelve logs of hard wood. Neither driftwood nor wood obtained from a tree struck by lightning are suitable for this purpose. The use of the former, known as "gathered together by water," would tend to cause a flood. Fuel taken from a tree struck by lightning, is termed "thunder burned wood"; its use in the sweat lodge, thus angering the Lightning Spirit, would cause a severe storm.

The native doctor may employ any person to assist in building the fire, carrying rocks and water, or arranging mats of Indian hemp and bark for the pallet upon which the patient is laid. The latter is covered with skin robes or blankets so that only his head is exposed. After the fire has burned down sufficiently to form a bed of coals, more logs are added and the rocks, usually limestone, brought in. Twelve stones of medium size are placed in the fire. For handling them, a branch of hickory or any hard wood, about five feet long, is split at one end for use as a fork. After the rocks have become thoroughly heated, water is poured over them to produce steam. The doctor prays and sings for a period of time determined by the nature of the sickness and the strength of the patient. His song at this time is the narration of his dream-vision experience made as an appeal to the Creator and his supernatural guardian. Although the emphasis in this type of treatment is upon mental suggestion, in some instances tea made of herbs is administered by the doctor.

In addition to the lodge, poles, fire logs, and steam rocks [80] grouped in units of twelve to conform with the twelve levels of heaven, symbolical significance is also attached to fire, water, and stone. These are regarded as minor deities, often referred to in terms of human consanguinity (Speck, 1931, p. 32), possessed of great healing

[80] Brinton (1888, p. 37) in writing of the survival of curing rites among the Ontario Delaware, states: "I enquired in particular if there are any remnants of the curious adoration of the twelve sacred stones described by Zeisberger. I found that the custom of the sweat lodge still prevails. The steam is generated by pouring water on hot stones. This is done by the medicine man who is known as *Quechksapiet*. He brings in one stone after another and pours water on it until it ceases "to sing" and invariable he uses precisely twelve stones."

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

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[805]

a yard apiece. At last, when the shadow of a person is nearly under him, that is, about noon, the speaker or chief arises, and says, "All of us kinfolk must now go out and end our meeting, which has been going on for twelve days and nights." Thereupon they all file out—men, women, and children—and form a row extending north and south, facing east, just east of the Big House, the hunters taking with them the skins of the deer they killed.

FINALE

Here they all pray, or rather cry the prayer word "*Ho-o-o!*" six times standing, holding up one hand, and six times kneeling, holding up the other hand. The meeting is then ended. This is shown in the frontispiece. The deerskins are given to poor old people, who need them to make moccasins.

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One informant stated that instead of crying "*Ho-o-o*" twelve times in closing the meeting, it was customary to use this word only ten times, and then cry "*Ha-a-a*" twice, completing the sacred number twelve;

7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

of ceremony; (*f*) relaxation for ensuing period of night in social dances and amusements. 796x

Wampum Compensation.—Gift of yard-length of wampum, "shoulder to finger-tip," to officers and assistants as spiritual compensation and symbol of blessing for their holy services. Wampum remains only in circulation for payment of offices in religious ceremonies for their maintenance, not as an economic medium of exchange.

Ceremonial Equipment.—Drums (dried deer hide folded and water-drum), rattles (tortoise shell containing pebbles), feathers for sweeping away spiritual obstacles, dried juniper incense, ceremonial smoking tobacco, grease for drinking, sacred cornmeal and wild meat (or accepted substitute to suit modern conditions), original Delaware dress and ornamentation of participants, red paint (*pe'kɔn*), and symbolical fires. *The Delaware pattern is inclined to the use of carved images of the human face and form, either as masks, effigy figures or face sculpturings.*

Symbol of Twelve.—In division of ceremony into periods, in repetition of movements, in ceremonial equipment, the number twelve is a base concept of procedure, deriving itself evidently from the lunar cycle. [801]

Religious Attitude.—Deep feeling of humility and unworthiness, constantly reiterated appeal to Great Spirit through the spirit-forces (mani'tu) controlling departments of the universe, for general blessings of health, protection and sustenance, with sincere expressions of gratitude for the blessings of nature hitherto enjoyed, reverence for ancestral institutions, foods and inventions and appeal to spirits of deceased to be present upon ceremonial occasions to enjoy them and grant immunity from spiritual infections of sickness and evil.

Social Aspects.—The solidification of Delaware nationality through coöperation and participation in the social events, dances and amusements, as well as in the religious unity fostered through the carrying out of rites and institutions originating among sanctified generations of the past. The unity of the ceremonial groupings (Wolf, Tortoise and Turkey) composing the Delaware tribe is strengthened by 796x 182

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

X 776 covered this, and most of the children soon forgot what had happened.
773 One little girl, however, grieved for her doll; it bothered her all the time,
539 and finally she began to dream of it every night. Then she told her parents of her trouble, and they realised that they should not have compelled her to throw the doll away. One night the doll appeared to the child and spoke to her, saying, 'Find me and keep me always, and you and your family will ever enjoy good health. You must give me new clothing and hold a dance for me every spring,'[6] and then told her exactly what to do. The girl reported this to her parents, who immediately looked for the doll and found it, then dressed it, made some hominy, killed a deer, and held a dance in its honor as they were instructed, and this rite has been continued to the present day."

X 776 The description which he gives of the dance corresponds in most of its details with what has been previously set down. He mentions, however, a few additional features of the procedure which do not appear in my own. In preparation for the ceremony we are told "a hunter is then selected who calls on several to help him get a deer which, when brought in, is hung on poles prepared for it at the dance ground where it remains over night. The next morning they cook the deer and a kettle of hominy, and are then ready for the ceremony."

Furthermore he adds a point or two in regard to the carrying of the dolls during the dance. "When the leader finishes his 'set,' he passes the doll pole to the man behind him, who repeats the process, and so on until the men dancers
● [801] have carried it six times, when it is transferred to the women, who, in their turn, dance six sets, making twelve in all, the Lenape sacred number."

[6] My information implies that it was a fall rite.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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and, of course, many accounts not used here (431). Three of the fourth-period informants, J. W., E. R. and W. L., all denied most emphatically that the Delaware ever had ball play. They knew the game and said that the Creeks and others played it but never the Delaware. W. T. of the Washita Delaware did not join in the denial. Repeated inquiries directed at J. W. and W. L. failed to shake their determination that the Delaware had never played the game. A similar reticence about this game among the Shawnee was finally broken down by Erminie W. Voegelin and found to spring from the prohibition of the game imposed by the government in 1874. Her informant stated that the Creek, Yuchi, Delaware, and Choctaw, all played the shinny game. The Shawnee played it until about 1874; after that little boys played it only, just for fun. The Shawnee played so much they neglected their crops. Then the government made them quit playing it.

Details of the various games were so seldom given that comparisons between the different periods are impossible. Usually only the presence or absence of a game can be noted. One exception is the dice game, in describing which all narrators mentioned two colors for the dice.

Reports of the number of dice used varied from five to twelve, with six being the number most frequently given. There was only one report, that of W. L., of twelve, and the suspicion arose that this might have been an extension by the informant of the sacred number twelve to the game and not the true case. Although no record of the connection between the dice game and the Big House Ceremony where the number twelve predominates is found, nor any memory of such a connection is recalled by the Oklahoma Delaware, the fact that Brinton collected in 1887 an account of this game played with twelve flat bones, and that it was said to have had, in the old days, a place in the native religious rites of the Delaware in Ontario,[1] furnishes corroboration of the authenticity of W. L.'s account.

[1] Brinton, Daniel G., "Lenâpé Conversations," in *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, 1(1888), 40.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

bility and maturity comes to the individual he feels that he is called to take his place in the annual ceremony. A new vision of life dawns upon him. He realizes that he has been brought into the world for a purpose and permitted to live to middle-age to raise children, take care of the aged relatives, help the people to health and comfort. Then there is also the feeling that others are observing him as an example of conduct. So he assumes his responsibility and prepares to appear in the Big House ceremony.[1]

We are told that the Big House performances were originally esoteric. Whites were excluded from it during the ceremonies, though in recent years the objection to their presence has been withdrawn due to intermarriage between Delaware women and white men.

The virtue of humility, so extolled and propogated in the philosophy of the Delawares, and the Iroquois[2] as well is one to which too little emphasis has been given by students. Historians, in particular those contrasting the humility of the evangelists with the contemptuousness of the natives, have ignored the declarations of ethnologists in this respect.[3]

THE SYMBOL OF TWELVE.—Allusion has previously been made in several places in our discussion, to the sanctity of the concept of twelve, the reason for which among the Delawares seems not to be objectively expressed.[4] Twelve is nevertheless a fundamental symbolical number. Throughout the text we hear of the Great Spirit residing in the twelfth stratum of the sky; of the prayer-call addressed to him uttered twelve times in succession; of the twelve prayer sticks or wands which lift the prayer to the twelfth heaven. The Big House ceremony itself is of twelve days' duration. The belief being that each day's performance lifts the worship a stage higher in the series of twelve successive sky levels until on the final day it reaches the Great Spirit himself.

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[1] Maturity is an important consideration with the Delawares. Among many facts still to be obtained in regard to restrictions of boys under the age of puberty, for instance, it may be interesting to note that these when they become old enough to take part in the hunt, are not allowed to eat soup lest their testicles rattle so warning game animals ahead of them, or to eat the heart of the animal lest they lose courage; or the animal's head, eyes, or ears lest they be bothered with gnats.

[2] A. C. Parker, The Code of Handsome Lake, Bull. 163. New York State Museum, Albany, 1912.

[3] For example Rev. T. J. Campbell, S. J.[3] tells his readers, "The red man had never much respect for the virtue of humility, and the young missionary (referring to Marquette among the Illinois) was treated rather contemptuously by many of the degraded wretches whom he was trying to regenerate." Pioneer Priests of North Amer, N. Y. 1911, Vol. III, p. 109.

[4] The importance of seven in Delaware thought has been stressed by A. L. Kroeber (Anthropology, N. Y. p. 252, j. n. 1) without giving the source. There seems to be no evidence of this in the material at hand.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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801 [825]

• The Delawares also point out the occurrence of thirteen plates in the carapace and twelve in the plastron of all the members of the American tortoises and turtles, bordered by twelve marginal plates on each side. Another evidence in native thought of the tortoise as being a living symbol of the Universe.

Again we hear of a medicine compound prepared from twelve different herbal ingredients employed by the Delawares to cleanse them from sin.[1]

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The prominence of the twelve concept as a unit of time in Delaware chronology of ritual is not to be overlooked, for we learn in the ruling of the funeral ceremony that the first post-mortem rites are performed twelve days after the day of demise, and that the concluding ceremony is carried out the twelfth moon after the event.

Of great interest also is the fact that the Delaware finds symbolical illustration of the concept of the twelve strata of heavens in the occurrence of twelve tail feathers in the plumage system of the birds. The allegory is carried out in the Peyote ceremony as performed by the Delawares, in the particular rite that is called the Young Men's Meeting. On this occasion, twelve sticks, six on each side, are used in building the fire near the center of the Peyote lodge, the fire being the symbol of the moon. A mound of earth, with the arrangement of the sticks referred to, forms the symbolical outline of the body and tail of the eagle. And when these twelve sticks burn down they leave twelve stumps again representing the tail feathers of the eagle. The Peyote rites of different groups vary in many particulars, a comparison of which would determine whether or not the above is exclusively a Delaware belief injected into the now widespread Peyote cult.

801 192

Before leaving the discussion of the number concept, it should be noted that the formal expression denoting twelve in the ceremonial vernacular is archaic; ata'x ok ni'ca, "ata'x, (ten) and two," instead of "te'l-on, (ten) and two." Delaware tradition informs us that ata'x is an ancient term for ten prescribed by usage in the ceremony while in common speech te'l-on denotes ten. In looking over earlier Delaware vocabularies we find the use of the common term indicated through the period of early contact in vocabularies recorded by Campanius (1645), Thomas (1695), Ziesberger (1750), Whipple (1855), in which the cognates are *Thaeren, Telen, Tellen, Telen.*[2] In a Delaware vocabulary taken down in New Jersey (1792) attributed to Thomas Jeffer-

[1] Zeisberger, op. cit., p. 134.

[2] Brinton I, p. 96. Comparative vocabularies from these sources are quoted. In a Swedish source, attributed to Campanius (Lutheri Catechismus öfwersatt på American-Virginiste Språtet, Stockholm, (1696), the form thaeren is given for "ten." Swedish, like Delaware, has in its recent development, under a change producing an *l* from the earlier *r* which in both instances may have had an *l* quality (Dr. A. J. Upvall). See also Amandus Johnson, Geographia Americae, op. cit., 289.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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son, the same form (*tillwun*) occurs.[1] The same term for the decimal occurs in cognate form throughout practically all the northern and eastern Algonkian tongues.[2] Is it reasonable then to consider the form ata'x as an Algonkian numeral so ancient as to antedate the dispersion of the Algonkian languages?

WAMPUM AS A SYMBOL.—In Delaware ceremonial, social and even economic procedure, wampum played an outstanding part. It is referred to in the text as "our heart." The subject, however, calls for more extended treatment than will be given it here. Wampum is designated by the term ke'k[w], a vocable which is peculiar to Delaware and which does not submit to philological analysis. Despite the uniformity of beliefs and practices involving the use of wampum beads throughout the eastern and central portions of the Algonkian area of distribution, the Delawares seem to have aberrated from employing the generic term woba'bi[3] that we find in the speech of the other Wabanaki populations. The economic and symbolic functions of the peculiarly portentious medium of exchange I have dealt with in separate publication, to which I shall refer, as far as it deals with the Algonkian peoples of the northeast.[4] And the pecuniary aspect of wampum has been exaggerated in early writings dealing with the eastern Indians. To the Delawares wampum stood forth in the light of a covenant. It represented, and still does, a magical power capable of annulling the affects of latent poisonous influences that might pass between persons who exchange gifts or who enter into the transfer of property. I might even use the terms spiritual antiseptic in referring to the agency of the sacred beads in transactions of a personal nature as well as in negotiations between political bodies. Going a step further we see how the Indians regarded the belts and strings of wampum which were transferred between parties entering into negotiations as the necessary pledges of sincerity of spirit and purity of purpose.[5]

In the account of the annual ceremony a glance at the procedures shows how step by step wampum is brought into use as a medium of compensation carrying a spiritual valuation. But its monetary exchange value in Delaware culture is extremely low, hence the statements of the Indians themselves concerning its non-intrinsic rating are more clearly understood. The attendants we observe, whose office is to prepare the Big House, attend to materials such as food, fire,

[1] Manuscript in Archives of the American Philosophical Society of Phila., Indian Vocabularies p. 17.

[2] The wide diffusion of the cognates of tel-on is shown in the following instances, Wabanaki, moda'la, Montagnais-Naskapi, kota'l-nu.

[3] Literally "white string," the source of English "wampum."

[4] F. G. Speck, "The Functions of Wampum among the Northeastern Algonkian." Mem. Amer. Anth. Ass., vol. vi, No. 1, (1919).

[5] F. G. Speck, "The Penn Wampum Belts" Leaflet No. 2, Mus. Amer. Ind., (Heye Foundation), New York (1925).

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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also are supplied with an officer to protect us. And my kindred, it is evident that we have help since this Delaware conduct in ceremony is everywhere known since ancient times from place to place as the Delewares migrated. Because truly indeed, in the ancient world since the beginning of the earth was made by the Great Spirit back in the land of the sunrise on the coast where lived our deceased ancesters. Wherefore all of this should delight us because tomorrow is a new day and before we reach noon-time[1] we must complete the service.[2]

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[1] For the ceremony to extend over noontime of the next day would bring it into the thirteenth day, by which the concept of "twelve," symbolizing the progress of the ceremony through the twelve heavens to the abode of the Great Spirit, would be broken.

[2] After the delivery of this address the women and young men prepare for the aa'teho'mwi·n.

The old women who have had any spiritual experiences are usually expected to take part first. They are given the preference. The turtle-rattle, to begin with, remains before the master of ceremonies. The old woman who has decided to dance takes the turtle and walks out into the path in front of the master-of-ceremonies. The man who has been decided upon to help the women and the young men is standing there also and when the woman takes the rattle he takes his place at her left and his assistant behind him also with a rattle.

They then begin dancing around the 'White Path,' she singing her chant. Any one present can now join in the dance, with the exception of children. They pass around the 'White Path' stopping at the usual intervals between the songs. (This is done to give opportunity for a short rest). Thus they move two abreast, the men dancers behind the male leader and his assistant, the women dancers behind the woman who is singing. There are speeches made by these women as in the case of the men of the preceding nights. They make the circuit around once, stopping before the master of ceremonies where they began. (For songs see Appendix note 1).

Any young women or young men who feel the impulse to try out a song they may have acquired perform in the way just described.

If any one, moreover, should desire to lead a dance but does not feel able to do it himself or herself, he may induce one of the men who have recited their visions to lead the dance in their place. This is called "hiring," dalow-kaa'la ndoll.' li-kaa'kwun, literally "hiring some one to support one." The employer in such a case derives spiritual benefit the same as though he had led the dance himself. The payment for this service is an arm-length of wampum.

At the end of which the Attendants bring in hominy and meat which is divided among those wishing to eat. The hides of such deer as have been killed are given to the old women, generally to those who have recited their vision chants on the evening before.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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194 monosyllables. In things relating to common life the language of the Indians is remarkably rich. They, in many cases, have several names for one and the same thing under different circumstances. They have ten different names for a bear, according to its age or sex. Similarly, they have a number of names [192] for a deer. They have one word for fishing with a rod, another for fishing with a net, another for fishing with a spear or harpoon. Such words do not in the least resemble one another. 194 The speech of the Unami has the most agreeable sound and is much easier for a European to acquire than that of the Monsys. 197 The Monsy dialect, however, is a key to many of the expressions in the Unami. The latter have a way of dropping some syllables, so that without a knowledge of the former, it would be impossible either to spell their words or guess their meaning. The Unami have adopted many words of the Monsy dialect and the Monsys of the Unami dialect. They have no "f" nor "r" in their language, hence they pronounce foreign words containing these letters differently, for example, Pilip for Philip, Petelus for Petrus, adding a syllable, and Priscilla they pronounce Plicilla. In polysyllables the accent is generally placed on the middle syllable or on the last but one. This must be very minutely attended to because the sense of many words depends upon the accent. They can count up to thousands and hundreds of thousands, though they are unable to grasp the significance of large numbers. The women generally count upon their fingers, for this is their custom and their memory is poor.

In arithmetic they have made but little progress. They count up to ten, make a mark, proceed to the next ten and so on to the end of the account. By adding the tens they come to hundreds, and so on. In counting money the penny is the smallest coin they reckon. The Monsys call the stiver, of which they learned from the Dutch in Minissink,[200] stipel. Sixpence they call Gull, corruption of the Dutch Gulden. They usually count money according to Gulls, twenty Gulls being equal to ten shillings. If they want to calculate carefully, they take Indian corn, calling every grain a penny or a gull, adding as many as are necessary to make shillings and pounds.

14:Leslie A-4.5 (no date) 1951
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[P.13, B]

Chipped Stone Artifacts

Arrowpoints

172 324 411 Most prominent in the category of Minsi chipped stone implements is the triangular arrowpoint. While several forms of triangular points occur, the vast majority of Minsi points are equilateral triangles with concave bases. A considerable number of equilateral triangular points also occur with straight bases. (Plate 11, Nos. 14 and 11, shows concave-base points; Nos. 11, 12, and 13 have straight bases.)

The materials of which Minsi chipped implements found in the Milford area are [803] made include jasper (brown, yellow, red), argillite, black, white and gray chert, and a chalcedony-like material. By far the most commonly-used of these materials were argillite and black chert.

Knives

172 324 412 Although knives of several types (ovate, large triangular, broad side-notched, etc.) have been found on sites generally conceded to be Minsi, this kind of implement is not typical of the culture.

Scrapers

Both side scrapers, consisting of retouched flakes, and end scrapers occur in the Minsi Culture, but not to the extent that they are found in the much older Laurentian horizon.

The most prominent, in fact, almost the exclusive form of end scraper is the ovate type. The keeled back form is a very poor second and while occurring, is, like the chipped knife, not typical of the culture. (Plate 11, Nos. 7, 8, 9, shows end scrapers from a large site near Milford, Pa., generally conceded to be Minsi.)

Drills

Although Ritchie's statistics (Bell-Philhower report, p. 236) would lead one to the conclusion that drills are comparatively minor artifacts in the total Minsi series,

4: Tantaquidgeon E-5 (1930) 1942
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cine," [8] was prepared. Such formulæ were transferred from the warriors of one generation to another, in native theory only those known to live clean, pure lives being the recipients. A warrior carried a bundle which contained medicine and personal charms. The medicine stone [9] was used only in times of crisis.

Use of Wampum in Healing

755

Shell wampum is used in treating cases of paralysis or similar afflictions believed due to failure of parents to fulfill certain ceremonial obligations or to breaking certain taboos. Before receiving treatment the patient presents one yard of wampum [10] to the medicine man. Potency is added to the herbal medicines by the wampum and enables the doctor to diagnose the case in a brief time.[11]

[756]

The Otter Medicine

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The Otter [12] was regarded as the most sacred of all water animals. It figured in a ceremony described by Harrington [13] in which the spirit of the Otter was propitiated. In order to capture the animal a special lure was made. The formula for preparing such medicine [14] was in the custody of an old man of sufficient spiritual purity to withstand its great power. Certain roots,[15] cleaned by the old man in running water to the accompaniment of a song, were used. In doing so he was obliged to walk against the current, throwing water upon his tracks to conceal them. A secluded place was sought out for this preparatory rite. The medicine was hidden away from his dwelling lest it lose potency through the proximity of a woman. The medicine was considered very effective in luring other water animals, since it was a gift from the Otter, the most powerful of such creatures.

[804]

[8] According to Zelsberger *(op. cit.,* p. 127) "The captains and others secure a *beson* (medicine) to preserve themselves from arrow and ball." Converse (1910, p. 168) notes the use of medicine made from the roots of corn, which the men drank. It afforded them such supernatural protection that "they could not be shot even though they were shot at seven times."

[9] See page 23.

[10] Measured from the shoulder to the wrist.

[11] The function of wampum in healing and in the ceremony of the Big House is discussed by Speck, 1931, pp. 52-53.

[12] *Lutra canadensis.*

[13] 1921, p. 176.

[14] Known as "otter medicine."

[15] The same plant, "pull up" *(Sp.?)* is also used in preparation of love charms (see p. 13).

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
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strong faith, that the night he dreams about him,[3] he will at once the following day be able to shoot as much game and catch as much fish as ever he wants to,—the evil one, undoubtedly helps him to it.[4]

The first hunt which the savages arrange in the spring [they dedicate to the evil one]; if they then can shoot ever so many animals in their hunt they do not sell a single one of them, but make a burnt offering of it[5] to *Manitto* or the devil; then they will that year have good luck in hunting and shooting.

They do, however, know a little historically about Christ, which they consider a fable. When the old savages are to tell the Christians what passed in former times, they say that it has been told them from times immemorial by their fathers and forefathers, who have said that it was, once in former time, one of our savage women who became pregnant by going and drinking in a brook; and none of our Rennappi had had any connection with her, yet she became pregnant and gave birth to a son. And when that one became somewhat large, something like this,—he measures with his hand in the air, as he knows nothing of age or years. "Yes, that was a pólite[6] and clever

Portuguese citizens and speak a Portuguese dialect. For *taboo*, see Hodge, *Handbook*, II, 667.

[3] The charm or fetish emblem.

[4] Lindeström believed in the powers of the Indian medicine man; but he attributed this power to influence of the Devil. Cf. Heckewelder, *Indian Nations*, 231 ff.

[5] The game obtained in the hunt. Cf. Hodge, *Handbook*, II, 402 ff., and the literature quoted there.

[6] *Artigh, polite.* Perhaps, however, Lindeström means handsome, fine, splendid. See *artigh invention*, Chapt. XVII, note 3.

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
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them with the merchandise of the Christians, one can make an excessively large gain and profit in trading with the savages. Now there is a value on the merchandise of the savages as follows: 1 beaver [skin] is valued according to size from 7 to 8 florins in sewan (thus the money of the savages is called, concerning the manufacture and nature of which money we shall be informed in the following chapter). But the trade with the money of the savages is mostly reckoned in Holland florins and *styvers*, 1 Holland florin being 20 *styvers*.

An otter [skin] is valued at 4 to 6 florins, according to the number of silver hairs it has. A lynx [skin is valued at] 4 florins; fisher, 24 *styvers;* raccoon, 1 florin; mink, 1 florin; wild-cat, 10 *styvers;* elk-skin, 6 to 9 florins; bear-hides, pitch black, looking like gluttons,[1] 3 to 4 florins; a wolf-skin, 2 to 3 florins; a wolf-lynx, 6 to 9 florins; a 36-checkered fox-skin, 1 florin; a lion-skin, 6 florins; deer-skin, 24 *styvers;* muskrat-skin, 1 florin, and so on. [A] quilt of Turkey feathers [is worth] 1 ell of white *sewan*, a quilt of painted feathers, 2 ells of white sewan, or 1 ell of blue *sewan*. Indeed the savages understand how to value their pelts, but the beavers and otters with silver hairs, that these should be so valuable, as compared to the others, that they have no knowledge of. Otherwise in the case of the elk-skins and other skins the savages indeed sell according to their sizes and heaviness, but they know nothing of weight.[2] This valuation is only an approxima-

[1] *Beendes uth som ierfwar*, the glutton, wolverine or carcajou.
[2] That is: they have no scales by which they can compute the exact weight of articles

8:Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
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tion, but one gives more or less for the skins, according to their size or quality. 434 435

Maize, beans and fruits are sold by means of bags, nor [do they] know of any definite measure. But birds [they sell as follows]: a turkey, for 4 *styvers;* swan, for 6 *styvers;* goose, for 4 *styvers;* a wood-grouse, for 4 *styvers;* a black-grouse, for 2 *styvers;* a duck, for 2 *styvers;* a partridge, for 2 *styvers;* a hazel-grouse, for 1 *styver;* a pigeon, for 1 *styver, etc. Sic ulterius,* about. A mat [is sold for] 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 florins; bags for 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 florins, according to their size and quality, as well as according to their beauty and skill of workmanship.

But if these, often mentioned savage merchandise, are bought with the goods of the Christians, then these* are: red and blue Holland frieze an ell in breadth, guns, powder, lead, copper and brass kettles, axes, hoes, picks, spades, shovels, glass beads (of all colors, large and small), awls, bodkins, small common scissors, knives, small mirrors, needles and such things; and from these things, one can have a very large profit, as has been said, for our goods are placed high enough [in price] to the savages. But the savages really do not understand this trade, for they hold frieze in as high esteem as the finest scarlet. 439

The savage really does not buy more than an ell's length at the time, for he does not need more in the piece, which he wraps around himself. If it is a piece of cloth to hide his nakedness with, then he takes an ell for it, [and] they really do not

* The goods of the Christians.

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
NM7 Delaware NM7

[434] know of any other measure than an ell's length at the time, for he needs no more in the piece he wraps around himself.

When the Christians measure the frieze for the savage, they measure it for the savage on the edge, the savage taking hold of a corner of the frieze and the Christians on the edge, whereupon they pull the hardest they are able, stretching thus the ell for the savage, so that he for three ells barely gets more than two; which the savage thinks should be thus, and does not understand himself cheated in this.

[435] Tobacco is worth 2 *styvers* a pound.

Velvet, silk, broadcloth, apple juice[10] and all such things which one may want, come to New Sweden with ships from Virginia, New Holland, New England, the Carribean Islands, and from many other places; which merchandise the Swedes buy through the exchange of pelts and the money of the savages. Linen is very expensive there.[11]

[804] The savages also allow themselves to be greatly cheated in the sale of powder. The savage knows of no other measure than the handful.[12] When the Christians measure the powder with the hand for the savage he draws his hand together that the savage hardly gets more than ½ handful for a whole, and thus the savage is cheated, for he has in this no better understanding.

[435] [439] Valuations of the merchandise of the Christians is as follows: an ell of frieze [is valued at] 9 florins, one handful of powder, 3 florins. According to this measurement and valuation, 1 ell of

[10] Apple Cider.
[11] As it was bought from the English and Dutch.
[12] *Inn medh giöpen.* *Göpen*, handful, gripe, gowpen.

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
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worn at the edges, that they do not, like glass, fall close together[10] on the cord, then the savages will not accept them for good; wherefore he tests them thus, that he takes the whole cord on which the money is threaded and strokes them over his nose. If nothing obstructs the nose,[11] but glides over like smooth glass, then he accepts the money as good. But if something offers obstruction, he rejects them. Now all the money is not equally large and thick, but some larger and some smaller, and is, in buying, variously collected, especially when one exchanges and trades in *styver* quantities; wherefore the one who owns them must closely see to it, that in threading them again he arranges those [together] which are able to neatly and well correlate on the cord, in case he wants to get rid of them.[12] 435

When we want to count them by *styvers* by means of the thumb, which is indeed the manner of the savages, we have for this a certain measure from the end of the thumb nail to the first joint of the thumb. Thus the money is divided and separated according to this [method], that on this length go exactly 6 stones [of] white [sewan], that is as much as one *styver* or one *öre* silver money, and 6 stones [of] red or black-blue [sewan which], are worth 2 *styvers* or 2 *öre* silver money. 436 [804]

The money hanks the Christians carry in bags.[13] When he[14], wishes to trade and has counted the

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[10] *Falla tätt tillhopa.*

[11] *Tager då inthet emoth näsan.* The meaning is: if no obstruction is felt as the money passes over the nose, etc.

[12] In case he is to be able to use them in trading.

[13] *byxeläckier*, poke, pocket, bag.

[14] Lindeström uses the singular, Han.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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Now, the first thing that the Leading Attendant is to do is to take one shoulder-length of wampum, carefully and properly to measure those turtle-rattles so everyone will be given wampum beads in accordance with the length of the backs of his turtle-rattle.[1] And, my kindred, we have been permitted to see right here how, as it is said, the Attendants call by name those persons whom they send for.

[Repeat the procedure of first paragraph page 143, in which certain men are called by name to enter the big house and pray as was done on the fourth night.]

Ye my brothers, here now is one shoulder-length of wampum.[2] My kindred go give the prayer-call out doors. When twelve times the supplication shall have been lifted up then you shall divide the wampum equally among you. Attendants, build up a bright fire. Now everyone who owns turtle-rattles go take them and shake them, these turtle-rattles, as should be done. When everything is ready, including those forked drumsticks, do you scatter all those prayer sticks in an even number on each side[3] of the Big House. Now my kindred again

[1] This rite has the significance of a symbol—or spiritual compensation for the service of vision recitation, and the blessing it brings to the people, of those who have so performed. Harrington (I, pp. 103-4) makes mention of this rite, and speaks of the owners of the rattles, when reclaiming the rattles and the wampum placed with them, shaking the rattle several times to test its sound. He adds that if it does not sound well the owner, abashed, takes his property out of sight as soon as possible. Our informant corrected this impression by pointing out that the owners shook these rattles intentionally as though to say thanks, and that there was a spirit of drollery in the pass which caused sometimes a ripple of mirth, not as serious in mien as Harrington understood it to be.

[2] There is an interval here. The speaker has turned to those chosen to give the prayer call. He has given to the owners of the rattles, those who have reciting their visions during the ceremony, the amount of wampum measured off on their shells. They accept this by taking the rattle and shaking them a few times. Some mirth may be aroused among those present if the sound of the rattles is not clear.

[3] In the distribution of the Prayer Sticks among the spectators, the first and second attendants go from one end of the Big House to the other, going in opposite directions (east to west, and west to east). They lay the sticks in front of the people at reasonable distances apart, placing them so that the decorated sticks are opposite each other and the plain ones opposite each other. If the sticks do not come opposite each other, it must be done over again. The singers chant a certain song while this distribution is taking place. I should add that each Attendant distributes three plain and three decorated sticks. The symbolism of the six (spotted) or decorated sticks represents the cry of ho+ in the prayer call, the plain sticks the cry of hä+, although all the prayers mingle in the calls, irrespective of whether they have been bestowed with the decorated or plain sticks. The informants words were added, "There has to be a way of showing the difference between the beginning cries of ho+ and the ending cries of hä+, so it is shown on the sticks by the marks."

(Specimens of the prayer sticks made by the informant, are 14 inches in length, made of red maple and sassafras, fig. 14).

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7
Shawnee NM17

they consisted of; of what nation or tribe their captain was, &c.; all which, at a single glance, is perfectly well understood by them. In the same manner they describe a chase: all Indian nations can do this, although they have not all the same marks; yet I have seen the Delawares read with ease the drawings of the Chippeways, Mingoes, Shawanos, and Wyandots, on similar subjects.

While Indians are travelling to the place of their destination, whether it be on a journey to their distant hunting grounds or on a war excursion, some of the young men are sent out to hunt by the way, who, when they have killed a deer, bear, or other animal, bring it to the path, ready to be taken away by those who are coming along, (often with horses) to the place of encampment, when they all meet at night. Having hung up the meat by the side of the path, these young men make a kind of sun-dial, in order to inform those who are coming of the time of day it was at the time of their arrival and departure. A clear place in the path is sought for, and if not readily found, one is made by the side of it, and a circle or ring being drawn on the sand or earth, a stick of about two or three feet in length is fixed in the centre, with its upper end bent towards that spot in the horizon where the sun stood at the time of their arrival or departure. If both are to be noted down, two separate sticks are set; but generally one is sufficient, namely, for the time of departure.

Hunters have particular marks, which they make on the trees, where they strike off from the path to their hunting grounds or place of encampment, which is often at the distance of many miles; yet the women, who come from their towns to fetch meat from these camps, will as readily find them as if they were conducted to the spot.

I shall conclude this chapter with an anecdote, which will at once shew how expressive and energetic is this hieroglyphic writing of the Indians. A white man in the

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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CHAPTER XLI.

COMPUTATION OF TIME—ASTRONOMICAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL KNOWLEDGE.

405 THE Indians do not reckon as we do, by days, but by nights. They say: "It is so many nights' travelling to such a place;" "I shall return home in so "many nights," &c. Sometimes pointing to the Heavens they say: "You will see me again when the sun "stands there."

Their year is, like ours, divided into four parts: spring, summer, autumn and winter. It begins with the spring, which, they say, is the youth of the year, the time when the spirits of man begin to revive, and the plants and flowers again put forth. These seasons are again subdivided into months or moons, each of which has a particular name, yet not the same among all the Indian tribes or nations; these denominations being generally suited to the climate under which they respectively live, and the advantages or benefits which they enjoy at the time. Thus the Lenape, while they inhabited the country bordering on the Atlantic, called the month which with us is March "the *shad* moon," because this fish at that time begins to pass from the sea into the fresh water rivers, where they lay their spawn; but as there is no such fish in the country into which they afterwards removed, they changed the name of that month, and called it "the "running of the *sap*" or "the *sugar*-making month," because it is at that time that the sap of the maple tree, from which sugar is made, begins to run; April, they

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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call "the *spring* month," May, the *planting* month, June, the *fawn* month, or the month in which the deer bring forth their young, or, again, the month in which the hair of the deer changes to a reddish colour. They call July the *summer* month; August, the month of *roasting ears*, that is to say, in which the ears of corn are fit to be roasted and eaten. September, they call the *autumnal* month, October, the gathering or *harvest* month; December, the *hunting* month, it being the time when the stags have all dropped their antlers or horns. January is called the *mouse* or *squirrel* month, for now those animals come out of their holes, and lastly, they call February the *frog* month, because on a warm day the frogs then begin to croak. 805

Some nations call the month of January by a name which denotes "the sun's return to them," probably because in that month the days begin to lengthen again. As I have said before, they do not all call the months by the same name; even the Monseys, a tribe of the Delawares, differ among themselves in the denominations which they give to them. [184]

The Indians say that when the leaf of the white oak, which puts forth in the spring, is of the size of the ear of a mouse, it is time to plant corn; they observe that now the whipperwill has arrived, and is continually hovering over them calling out his Indian name "*Wekolis*," in order to remind them of the planting time, as if he said to them "*Hackiheck!* go to planting corn!" [824]

They calculate their ages by some remarkable event which has taken place within their remembrance, as, for instance, an uncommonly severe winter, a very deep snow, an extraordinary freshet, a general war, the building of a new town or city by the white people, &c. Thus I have heard old Indians say more than fifty years ago, that when their brother Miquon spoke to their forefathers, they were of such an age or size, they could catch butterflies, or hit a bird with the bow and arrow. I have

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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heard others say (alluding to the hard winter of 1739—40) that they were born at that time, or that they were then so tall, could do certain particular things, or had already some grey hair on their heads. When they could not refer precisely to some of those remarkable epochs, they would say "so many winters after."

The geographical knowledge of the Indians is really astonishing. I do not mean the knowledge of maps, for they have nothing of the kind to aid them; but their practical acquaintance with the country that they inhabit. They can steer directly through the woods in cloudy weather as well as in sunshine to the place they wish to go to, at the distance of two hundred miles and more. When the white people express their astonishment or enquire how they can hit a distant point with so much ease and exactness, they smile and answer: "How can "we go wrong when we know where we are to go to?" There are many who conjecture that they regulate their course by certain signs or marks on the trees, as for instance, that those that have the thickest bark are exposed to the north, and other similar observations, but those who think so are mistaken. The fact is, that the Indians have an accurate knowledge of all the streams of consequence and the courses which they run; they can tell directly while travelling along a stream, whether large or small, into what larger stream it empties itself. They know how to take the advantage of dividing ridges, where the smaller streams have their heads or from whence they take their source, and in travelling on the mountains, they have a full view of the country round, and can perceive the point to which their march is directed.

Their knowledge of astronomy is very limited. They have names for a few of the stars and take notice of their movements. The polar star points out to them by night the course which they are to take in the morning. They distinguish the phases of the moon by particular names;

3: Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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Of writing they know nothing, except the painting of hieroglyphics, already referred to, which they know very well how to interpret. These drawings in red by the warriors may be legible for fifty years. After a hero has died, his deeds may, therefore, be kept in mind for many years by these markings. A letter, especially, if it is sealed, is considered a very important thing. If any treaties, contracts or deeds are required to be delivered to the Europeans, signed by their chiefs, captains or counsellors, they make their mark and get others to subscribe their names. The mark may be a hook, or the foot of a turkey or a turtle or represent something else. They are very generally ashamed of their Indian names and prefer the names given them by the whites. Some have learned to write the initial letters of their new names.

In reckoning time they do not count the days but the nights. An Indian says, "I have travelled so many nights." Only if the entire journey has been accomplished in one day, will he speak of a day's journey. Most of them determine a number of years by so many winters, springs, summers or autumns. They say, "In spring when we boil sugar," that is March, or "when we plant," that is May, so and so will be of such an age. Few know their age when they get to be over thirty. Some reckon from the time of a hard frost or a deep fall of snow in such a year, from an Indian war, or from the founding of Pittsburg or Philadelphia, when they were so or so old. They divide the year into winter, spring, summer, autumn, and these periods are divided according to the moons, though, it must be said, that their reckoning is not very accurate. They cannot agree just when to begin the new year. Most of them begin the year with the spring, that is with March, which they call Chwoame Gischuch, that is the Shad month, because at this season this fish goes up the rivers and creeks in great numbers. True, these fish are not found here, but the name was brought from the Susquehanna region. April they call Hackihewi Gischuch, that is Planting month, though they rarely begin to plant before May or the end of April. May has a name signifying the month in which the hoe is used for Indian corn, though this is usually not

3;Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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805 done until June. The name given to June signifies the month in which the deer become red. That of July, the time of raising the earth about the corn, and of August, Winu Gischuch, the time when the corn is in the milk and ready to eat and roast. September is called the first autumn month, October the harvest month, November the hunting month, most of the Indians going out to shoot bucks. The name December shows the time when the bucks cast their antlers. January is the month in which the ground squirrels come out of their holes, and February they call Squalle Gischuch, the month of frogs, the month when the frogs begin to croak, though this again does not usually occur until later. At the present time the most of them begin the year with the Europeans, if they have come into frequent contact with them.

554 They are well versed in their genealogies and are able to describe every branch of the family with the greatest precision.
601 They also add concerning the character of their forefathers, such an one was a wise and intelligent man, a great chief or captain or an Achewilens, that is a rich man and seems to signify as much as the word, gentleman, for the rich among them are highly respected. These make themselves prominent by giving the chiefs great quantities of wampum, when the chiefs are in need, and they are regarded as the main supports of the chiefs.

173 Concerning remoter ancestors they know nothing more than that they were great warriors and accomplished many heroic deeds, that in the war with the Six Nations, when they still lived along the sea-coast, the former were unable to do them much harm and after attacks on Delaware towns had fled in such haste that the Delawares had not been able to catch them, though they had got to the mountains as swiftly as turkeys, that, however, in spite of the ability of the Six Nations to get away the Delawares had caught and killed many of their enemies. They, also, relate concerning their ancestors that the Six Nations regarded them as mighty magicians, feared them and at last concluded a peace with them in the manner already described. Further, they relate how in times past the Delawares made attacks on towns of the Cherokees and killed many of the inhabitants; how, on occasion, they visited them at night during the dance, mingled

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
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a yard apiece. At last, when the shadow of a person is nearly under him, that is, about noon, the speaker or chief arises, and says, "All of us kinfolk must now go out and end our meeting, which has been going on for twelve days and nights." Thereupon they all file out—men, women, and children—and form a row extending north and south, facing east, just east of the Big House, the hunters taking with them the skins of the deer they killed.

FINALE

Here they all pray, or rather cry the prayer word "*Ho-o-o!*" six times standing, holding up one hand, and six times kneeling, holding up the other hand. The meeting is then ended. This is shown in the frontispiece. The deerskins are given to poor old people, who need them to make moccasins.

One informant stated that instead of crying "*Ho-o-o*" twelve times in closing the meeting, it was customary to use this word only ten times, and then cry "*Ha-a-a*" twice, completing the sacred number twelve;

[801]

8:Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
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CHAPTER X.

Concerning the Marriage of the American People and the Treatment [Used] by the Savage Females Against Birth Pangs.

These Indians are a bestial people and have their intercourse together with father, mother, brother and sister like irrational brutes, no one knowing rightly who is the father of the child;[1] but their sachem or chief he must take a wife to himself, not because he intends to conceive children with her alone, but because his government and household exists as under a family,[2] about which we shall obtain further [details] hereafter. This his wife, she must manage his entire household like a matron who always, in the absence of the sachem, must guard his property, which becomes her possession after his death.

When she has thus been wooed by him, the bride must bedeck [herself] for a year and a day,[3] although they do not know what a year means, yet

[1] Lindeström's religious zeal led him astray; besides he did not understand the family life of the Indians. Some early writers state that Indians of this district had but one wife, except the chiefs, who had many. Their ideas of morality were of course different from those of the white settlers. De Vries tells us that an Indian would lend his wife to a friend, and that jealousy did not exist among them.

[2] *Hans undherhafwande Regiment och Hwshållningh bestådr lijka som undher ecn familia.* In other words, according to Lindeström, the government is patriarchal, the chief being like the father of a household, hence it is necessary to have a mother of the household. *Cf.* in this connection a summary on "The Chief of the Indian Clan," by Rudolf Elander (Gothenburg, 1909).

[3] "A year and a day," see above, *Dedication*, note 23.

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
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585 a period of about that length is designated, dur-
292 ing which she must go the whole time in her bridal
● 30 attire, completely covered with their money, strung into the form of all kinds of figures, with which the ears, the arms and the body, down to the knees, are ornamented; with oiled hair, and face painted with all kinds of colors like a fearful scare-crow face.[4] Then she is decorated in the very best manner according to their views. Now when this said period is over then there is an end to their bridal ceremony.

814 When the savage females bear their children,
825 they tie around their waists a snake skin of the most poisonous kind of snakes, which are found in New Sweden and are called rattlesnakes, which has such an effect that they do not know of the least pain in their child birth, and are as healthy in an hour, as if they had never been through it.[5]

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[4] *Skräddbukeansichte (Skrdpukansigte)*, mask, scarecrow. 'The Indians carry small bags of paint with them, keeping the colors separate as red, blue, green, brown, white, black, yellow. They esteem brilliant colors most, which shine like pure metal.' Van der Donck, *N. Y. Col.*, 2, I, 161–2, 163–4; cf. also, *N. Y. Col.*, 2, II, 269, De Vries, *N. Y. Col.*, 2, III, 106.

[5] It is the opinion of some medical men that the reports about the easy childbirth of primitive women are more or less fictitious; but that is probably not the case. Dr. Mjöberg, a Swedish explorer, relates that he saw women who bore children on the march and continued their journey without interruption.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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773 stalk was removed and the woman laid by the hole, on her back. As soon as the corn stalk was taken from its place, there was total darkness, at which the Indians were exceedingly vexed—it was then thought best to punish the woman—they accordingly cast the woman with her child into the hole—she fell through child and all and was caught by an infinite number of "big hawks"—the hawks carried her and put her on the back of a great turtle. About this time, a loon dived into the sea, brought up a piece of earth and put it under the woman, between her and the turtle—the woman commenced a career round this particle of earth, which commenced enlarging, until it became [771] the great mass of matter which we inhabit. The earth is supposed to be of an oblong form, and is movable—it often shakes, but does not perform any revolutions. The Sun which now [821] enlightens the earth, is supposed to have been sent from the world above described. The substance of which it is composed is unknown. It performs daily revolutions.

772 *3. Earth is round*

W. T. — Earth was made round just like the sun, moon, and sky.

E. R. — The earth is flat (circle?).

W. L. — The earth is a circle and flat.

● 805 821 *6. Names of seasons*

The names of the seasons are *sikwon*, spring; *nipen*, summer; *takok*,[1] autumn; and *lowen*, winter.

7. Moons or months

The terms for the months and their significance are:

January

ZEISBERGER *Anixi gischuch*—Squirrel month, ground squirrels come out of their holes

ZEISBERGER —Mouse or Squirrel month—for they come out of holes

[1] The character o has the phonetic value of the open "o," pronounced as "aw" in "awk."

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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JOHNSTON — *Au, neque kie, shoe*—The squirrel moon
PIPE — *Arnĕĕkwsee keeshooh*—Squirrel moon—engendering time

CHIPPS — *Un-ex-i-kà-so*
J. W. — *Motwigiso*—Hungry month—eating each other
W. L. — *Mamhotin*—Big snow—hungry—eating each other
W. T. — *Skolikirso*—Frogs holler

February

ZEISBERGER — *Tsqualli gischuch*—Frog month
ZEISBERGER — *Squalle gischuch*—Frog month, when frogs begin to croak
HECKEWELDER —Frog month, because on warm days they begin to croak
JOHNSTON — *Chau, quol, le, ki, shoe*—The frozen month
PIPE — *Tsharkŏălee kĕĕshooh*—Frog moon
CHIPPS — *Squal-i-kà-so*
J. W. — *Anixwikiso*—Sugar moon
W. L. — *Skolikilo*—Frogs holler

March

ZEISBERGER — *M'choamowi gischuch*—Shad month
ZEISBERGER — *Chwoame gischuch*—Shad month, because this fish goes up rivers in great numbers [136]
HECKEWELDER —When on Atlantic coast called shad month, now sugar-making month.
JOHNSTON — *Hau, mo, n'ock, hee, tou*—The white bass moon
PIPE — *Haumoakwhĕĕta kĕĕshooh*—from a species of shell fish found at that time on the sea coast

CHIPPS — *Quaw-mo-kà-so*
J. W. — *Skoligiso*—Frogs hollering
W. L. — *Komwikirlo*—Bees come out

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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April

● 805 Zeisberger — *Quitauweuhewi gischuch*—Spring month
821 Zeisberger — *Heckishewi gischuch*—Planting month
Heckewelder — —The spring month
Johnston — *Qua, to, a, ha, e, kee, shoe*—no English for it
Pipe — *Kwäätiioahaa këëshooh*—from the shedding of the hair of the deer
Chipps — *Al-lòu-uk-ke-kair-e-kà-so*
J. W. — —Wet earth, rains
W. L. — *Kičisikonki·so*—Spring starting month

May

Zeisberger — *Tauwinipen*—Beginning summer (signifying hoe is used on Indian corn in this month)
Heckewelder — —The planting month
Johnston — *Ti, e, neep, pen, ie*—The moon between spring and summer
Pipe — *Tiieenëëpen këëshooh*—Middle moon, between spring and summer
Chipps — *Uk-ke-hàve-ekà-so*
J. W. — —All up, flowers, etc. commence bearing
W. L. — *Mo' ksoatoki·so*—Deer getting red

June

[825] Zeisberger — *Kitschinipen*—Summer (signifies the month in which the deer become red)
Heckewelder — —The fawn month or the month in which the deer bring forth their young, or the month in which the hair of the deer changes to a reddish color
Johnston — *Ke, he, che, neep, pen, ie*—The moon when vegetation is in blossom
Pipe — *Kitsheenëëpen këëshooh*—Real summer moon
Chipps — *Mo-mùs-ko-màv-e-kà-so*

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J. W. *Kičinipen*—Summer
W. L. *Kičinipen*—Starting summer

July

ZEISBERGER *Yugatamoewi gischuch*—The time of raising the earth about the corn
HECKEWELDER —The summer month
JOHNSTON *Gock, kau, tau, ma, ekeshoe*—The moon when vegetation is blossoming [824]
PIPE *Yaukāütamwaa kēēshooh*—Moon of sacrifice or prayer. Time of feast of first fruits [796]

CHIPPS *La-kòk-me-aò-e-kà-so*
J. W. *Dainipen*—Middle summer
W. L. *Lainipen kɨlo*—Middle of summer
W. T. *Kičinɨpen*—Middle of summer

August

ZEISBERGER *Sakauweuhewi gischuch*—Deer month
ZEISBERGER *Winu gischuch*—The time when the corn is in the milk and ready to eat and roast [824 243]
HECKEWELDER —The month of roasting ears
JOHNSTON *Sok, ho, a, ha, ie, kie, shough, i, e*,—The moon when the deer begin to turn gray [825]
PIPE *Saukiioahāā kēēshooh*—Moon in which deer get blue hair

CHIPPS *Wà-no-e-kà-so*
J. W. —Dry, hot, refreshing
W. L. *Kičitakɵk kɨlo*—Beginning fall month
W. T. *Socawigilo*—Deer change color, Fall side of summer [825]

September

ZEISBERGER *Kitschitachquoak*—Autumn month
HECKEWELDER —The autumnal month

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JOHNSTON	*Ke, he, che, tau, keke*—The moon previous to the falling of leaves
PIPE	*Kĭtshee Tarkŏăk kĕĕshooh*—Commencement of cold moon
CHIPPS	*Shàve-ko-us-ke-kav-e-kà-so*
J. W.	—Gathering moon (harvest)
W. L.	*Wiponikĭlo*—Deer getting gray
W. T.	*Poksĭt*—Fall—Leaves are broken

October

ZEISBERGER	*Pooxit*—Month of vermin (the harvest month)
HECKEWELDER	—The gathering or harvest month
[824] JOHNSTON	*Pooque, ieete*—The moon that the leaves fall
PIPE	*Pŏŏkseet kĕĕshooh*—Broken moon, from the shedding of the leaves
CHIPPS	*Wa-nàv-o-kà-so*
J. W.	*Dakŏkwinigilo*—Everyone gets together (Big House)
W. L.	*Takŏkinikĭso*—Fall month when everyone gets together
W. T.	*Winikĭso*—Come snow

November

ZEISBERGER	*Wini gischuch*—Snow month (the hunting month)
JOHNSTON	*We, ne, ke, shoue*—The moon when the snow commences falling
PIPE	*Wĕĕnee kĕĕshooh*—The snowy moon
CHIPPS	*Pah-po-sòp-wa-e-kà-so*
J. W.	*Dailówen*—Changing, falling moon
W. L.	*Luwanikĭlo*—Winter moon
W. T.	*Kĭčikaŏk*—Fall

December

ZEISBERGER	*M'chakhocque*—Cold month, the month when the cold makes the trees crack.

9: Kinietz E-4,5 (1938) 1946
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(Shows the time when the bucks cast their antlers) 305 121

HECKEWELDER —The hunting month, it being the time when the stags have all dropped their antlers

JOHNSTON *Hack, he, que*—The moon when the severe cold begins

PIPE *Houk hōākwaa kēēshooh*—The clouded sky moon

CHIPPS *Nà-we-où-o-wè-kà-so*

J. W. *Kičilo·wen*—Grandfather—ground covered with snow

W. L. *Anikwikiřšo*—Squirrel moon—fawn as little as squirrels

W. T. *Kičilo·wen*—Winter, sure enough

From this material the following hypothetical list of the old names has been reconstructed in more modern orthography:

January *Anixi kiřšo*—Squirrel month
February *Skolikiřšo*—Frog month
March *Kwamowi* or *hamokwita kiřšo*—Shad month
April *Kwa·to·o·ha·kiřšo*—Spring month
May *Tainipen kiřšo*—Month between spring and summer or beginning of summer
June *Kičini·pen kiřšo*—Summer
July *Yukətamowi*—Summer
August *Sakowi·kiřšo*—Deer get gray hair; also *Winukiřšo*—corn ready to roast
September *Kičitakək kiřšo*—Autumn month
October *Po·ksit kiřšo*—Harvest moon, falling leaves
November *Winikiřšo*—Snow month
December *Hakhokwa kiřšo*—Cold month

Variations from this by the modern Delaware are shown in the following list:

January *Motwigišo* or *Mamhotin*—Big snow—hungry—eating each other
April *Kičisikon kiřšo*—First spring month

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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805 May *Mo'ksoate kiɾio*—Deer getting red
821 July *Dai-, Lai-,* or *Kiči-nipen*—Middle of summer
October *Takɸkinikiɾio*—Fall month when everyone gets together
November *Dailo·wen* or *Luwanikiɾio*—Changing or winter moon
December *Kičilo·wen*—Winter

8 and 9. Sun and moon as deities

776 [821] John Johnston—They suppose the Sun to be a Deity composed of heat which regulates the day and returns to the East in the night under ground. Which is the cause of vegetation or makes the grass grow. The moon they suppose to be another Deity equal in rank with the sun which regulates the night and divides the year.

776 773 Captain Pipe—The Sun they suppose to be a human being, and they call him their brother. Tradition says that in early days the Sun was in the habit of devouring twelve Indian children each day at noon, as a kind of compensation for his labours; but the inhabitants of the earth becoming incensed at his voraciousness remonstrated. He then proposed to reduce the number to six but they still refused, and at length agreed upon two, which number they suppose he now receives every day. The light of the Sun is occasioned by the brightness of a feathered headdress which he wears. They think that the Indians once possessed the same general character with the Sun, that he has retained his original powers and they have degenerated to their present degraded situation. He is supposed to go under the Island at night for rest. The moon is supposed to be the brother of the Sun, and they formerly had numerous relatives who warred against each other and were all killed, and these wars occasioned the present employment of the younger brother, the moon.

776 All four of the modern informants called the sun "brother." All called the moon "brother," also, except J. W., who said it was known as grandmother, that she takes care of the weather, but is closest to the people.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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those on the upright posts, three on the north wall and three on the south wall, the man-i't-u of these respective zones; those on the eastern and western door posts, those of the east and west. Of the man-i't-u or "spirit-forces," both specific and general, more will be said later.

But the most engrossing allegory of all stands forth in the concept of the White Path,[1] the symbol of the transit of life, which is met with in the oval, hard-trodden dancing path outlined on the floor of the Big House, from the east door passing to the right down the north side past the second fire to the west door and doubling back on the south side of the edifice around the eastern fire to its beginning. This is the path of life down which man wends his way to the western door where all ends.[2] Its correspondent exists I assume in the Milky Way, where the passage of the soul after death continues in the spirit realm.[3] As the dancers in the Big House ceremony wend their stately passage following the course of the White Path they "push something along," meaning existence, with their rhythmic tread.[4] Not only the passage of life, but the journey of the soul after death is symbolically figured in the ceremony as will be explained in note III in the appendix.

The ceremony symbolizes the transit of the year period. Its twelve nights of performance represent the figure of the twelve moons, its progress from east to west the course of the sun, its varied symbolical rites the events in the passage of life's orbit from beginning to end.

We learn that the White Path is "our Father's, the Great Spirit's road," upon it human life proceeds in its course, which grand movement is symbolized by the dancers as they tread the "White Path" of the "Big House." By another allegory we have the clearing away of impediments from its surface in the intervals between the dances by the efforts of the Attendants who use the wing feathers of "pure" birds, such as the eagle, with which the "Path" is brushed clean. Here

[1] We-li-op-ale-xing, "Good or Beautiful White Path." Also weiau'si-t matoma'k-an, "Righteous Path."

[2] The Delaware, like his Christian brother, admits that it is hard for feeble man to walk in this path without erring. The concept has deep possibilities for discussion from the point of view of ethics and life as the pagan sees them.

[3] The symbolical association between the "White Path" and the Milky Way is not definitely proved by Delaware information. By some strange circumstances it seems, the Delawares can not furnish the native name of the Milky Way. Persistent inquiry among the older men both at Dewey and at Anadarko, Oklahoma, by V. M. Petrullo have failed to procure it, likewise correspondence with Joe Washington and J. A. Parks, prominent members of the Delaware Nation. Therefore the association is my own theoretical assumption, an interpretation of our data, and upon the analogy offered by other Algonkian beliefs in which the Milky Way is generally the "Spirit or Ghost Path" over which the soul of the deceased passes to the realm above. The only Delaware equivalents for Milky Way so far obtained are pe'mi-ki-ci'k'tek "across marked" or "across smoky way," and a notion that it is compared with a cowlick of hair, paxtcanhwing, "where the hair is parted," which may be discarded as far as their bearing upon the question here as concerned. This important point calls for solution.

[4] The term ka'ntska implies this figure. (See page 12).

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

The Delawares determine, by the position of the stars, when to gather herbs for medicine, for they believe that the position of the stars and the moon informs them when the medical properties of the herb may be found in the branches or in the roots. The time to plant crops in the spring was likewise determined by the phases of the moon and the position of the stars. At a certain time when the moon and stars are in the correct relation to each other the Delawares know that the wild animals breed and that fish go up-stream. Persons born under certain changes of the moon are said to be affected by certain periodic diseases such as epilepsy and fits. The gathering of material for the making of baskets depends upon the time of year. In order that hides be made into durable leather the animals must be killed at the right time of year. The same is true in regard to killing hogs, for unless the animals are killed in the right quarter of the moon the meat will not keep. Likewise fruit, according to the Delaware must be picked at a certain phase of the moon or else it will rot. Celestial phenomena, the manitu of the skies, rule numerous phases of Delaware life.

THE CONCEPT OF PURITY AND DEFILEMENT.—It is most interesting to note a distinct attitude of reverence toward the phenomena of nature which are uncontaminated by the mechanistic hand of man. Nature itself is denoted by a term which may be recognized universally as an accepted definition: te'koneɔ'ɔ·u, "wild life, creation" in the liberal sense. This refers to creatures and phenomena brought into existence and controlled by the power of the Great Spirit. From nature's category the products of human invention are excluded. Thus it is the realm of pure nature with which the Delaware fundamentalist finds himself in accord. It supplies his needs, it satisfies his emotions, engages spiritual concern, becoming literally the element in which his whole life is framed. To deviate from the processes of nature, in thought and act, is sacrilege to him, to limit himself to its sphere is a sacred obligation passed down to him from his forefathers barring him off from the hazards of change and alteration in his conduct of life, and particularly in the performance of his religious duties. The Delaware fundamentalist is truly a conservative. By the mandates of his own creed he ought to be indeed a reactionary. And similar sentiment seems forthcoming from other Algonkian doctrinaries, hence we may assume it to be an ancient property of the race. Its lament is the necessity to depart from the ancient nature-bound practices, through the measure of force exerted by changes which age and time bring about.[1]

[1] This characteristic is often likened by them to the precepts of Christ, to whose example they refer with sympathy, and with the conviction that they are by nature his followers.

groups although possessing its own ethnic individuality, still overlaps in certain respects. And where the practices and beliefs of many tribes reveal similarity to the folk remedies of Europeans in the New World, the problem of interpretation of properties is made extremely complicated. Realizing that many of the plants and weeds are migrants from Europe to the New World, we shall have to proceed with caution in view of the fact that the Indians had an ample native pharmacology of their own before the period of conquest, and that an experimental spirit was always and everywhere active in revealing new cures among the invading plant hosts. It will, therefore, not be an easy task to distinguish between what is Indian and what is European, until we can assign the concepts and practices to one or the other.

No one, I believe, would deny that there has been much borrowing, as it is called, on the part of the Colonial whites from the Indians as a glance at the voluminous contents of the United States Dispensary (1926) will reveal. In the north this process was initiated by the French who accompanied Cartier (1906, pp. 73, 77) and who would have perished from scurvy, had it not been for the therapeutic knowledge of those Algonquin or Montagnais who supplied them with an effective medicine concocted of white cedar bark. Subsequent to this reference in the early documents many others are encountered indicating a deep-rooted system of primitive medicine which was, as it should be, partly pharmacological and partly psychological.

The Delaware system of health protection and disease curing seems to be a blend of what students of comparative medicine have agreed in calling primitive religion and science. In Delaware the sophistry and the performances of healing are religious while the knowledge applied in these processes is scientific. And yet where the action of the herbs, if not other substances, is mechanical or chemical, there is always the dependence upon the spiritual power of the healer with the deep emotional attributes from which the Delaware mind is never free when operating in these channels of thought. There has been, however, a certain element of hard-headed and non-magical experimentation blended together in the development of the herbal cures, at least from the point of view of native method. For the observation of repeated success with some remedies and failure with others has not escaped the attention of the native doctor. Conversations with Wi·tapanóxwe and the herbalists of other tribes have made me aware frequently that selective judgment was combined with past experience in the profession. To deny this would be to discount the mental stature of these men of thought and study to a degree that would bring a smile to the person who has had intimate associations with the native doctors among any of the eastern tribes. Like students of other professions they comprehend the unlimited bounds of knowledge and are ever seeking for additions to both pharmacopeia and technical or magical theory. And the test of efficacy is present in their disciplines even though the test is

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

them all through. "No matter, Father!" answered they in a jocular manner, "give us only rain and we will cheerfully bear the soaking." They then passed on, and I proceeded to *Goschachking*, the village to which I was going. I mentioned the circumstance to the chief of the place, and told him that I thought it impossible that we should have rain while the sky was so clear as it then was and had been for near five weeks together, without its being previously announced by some signs or change in the atmosphere. But the chief answered: "*Chenos* "knows very well what he is about; he can at any time "predict what the weather will be; he takes his observa- "tions morning and evening from the river or something "in it." On my return from this place after three o'clock in the afternoon, the sky still continued the same until about four o'clock, when all at once the horizon became overcast, and without any thunder or wind it began to rain, and continued so for several hours together, until the ground became thoroughly soaked.

I am of opinion that this man, like others whom I have known, was a strict observer of the weather, and that his prediction that day was made in consequence of his having observed some signs in the sky or in the water, which his experience had taught him to be the forerunners of rain; yet the credulous multitude did not fail to ascribe it to his supernatural power.

The ingredients for a bad hunter, to make him have good luck, are tied up in a bit of cloth, and must be worn near his skin while he is hunting. The preparations intended to create love between man and wife, are to be slily conveyed to the frigid party by means of his victuals or drink.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

805 heard others say (alluding to the hard winter of 1739—40) that they were born at that time, or that they were then so tall, could do certain particular things, or had already some grey hair on their heads. When they could not refer precisely to some of those remarkable epochs, they would say "so many winters after."

823 The geographical knowledge of the Indians is really astonishing. I do not mean the knowledge of maps, for they have nothing of the kind to aid them; but their practical acquaintance with the country that they inhabit. They can steer directly through the woods in cloudy weather as well as in sunshine to the place they wish to go to, at the distance of two hundred miles and more. When the white people express their astonishment or enquire how they can hit a distant point with so much ease and exactness, they smile and answer: "How can "we go wrong when we know where we are to go to?" There are many who conjecture that they regulate their course by certain signs or marks on the trees, as for instance, that those that have the thickest bark are exposed to the north, and other similar observations, but those who think so are mistaken. The fact is, that the Indians have an accurate knowledge of all the streams of consequence and the courses which they run; they can tell directly while travelling along a stream, whether large or small, into what larger stream it empties itself. They know how to take the advantage of dividing ridges, where the smaller streams have their heads or from whence they take their source, and in travelling on the mountains, they have a full view of the country round, and can perceive the point to which their march is directed.

•821 Their knowledge of astronomy is very limited. They have names for a few of the stars and take notice of their movements. The polar star points out to them by night the course which they are to take in the morning. They distinguish the phases of the moon by particular names;

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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they say the "new moon," the "round moon," (when it is full), and when in its decline, they say it is "half round." 821

They ascribe earthquakes to the moving of the great tortoise, which bears the *Island* (Continent) on its back, They say he shakes himself or changes his position. They are at a loss how to account for a solar or lunar eclipse; some say the sun or moon is in a swoon, others that it is involved in a very thick cloud. 823 [821]

A constant application of the mind to observing the scenes and accidents which occur in the woods, together with an ardent desire to acquire an intimate knowledge of the various objects which surround them, gives them, in many respects, an advantage over the white people, which will appear from the following anecdote.

A white man had, at his camp in a dark night, shot an Indian dog, mistaking it for a wolf which had the night before entered the encampment and eaten up all the meat. The dog mortally wounded, having returned to the Indian camp at the distance of a mile, caused much grief and uneasiness to the owner, the more so as he suspected the act had been committed from malice towards the Indians. He was ordered to enquire into the matter, and the white man being brought before him, candidly confessed that he had killed the dog, believing it to be a wolf. The Indian asked him whether he could not discern the difference between the "steps" or trampling of a wolf and that of a dog, let the night be ever so dark? The white man answered in the negative, and said he believed no man alive could do that; on which the whole company burst out into laughter at the ignorance of the whites and their want of skill in so plain and common a matter, and the delinquent was freely forgiven. 825

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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The eagle has a white head and tail.[190] The wings are black and the body partly black and partly ash-colored. It builds its nest usually in the fork of some lofty and thick tree. It lays the foundation with a great quantity of branches and repairs the nest built there every spring. Usually, they hatch but one, at most two, in a year. It is unquestionably the strongest among the birds of prey. I have seen it fight with another bird of prey,[191] much larger than itself and that wished to occupy its nest. Lifting the other bird into the air, the eagle hurled it down, after having severely injured it. Every morning the eagle goes out in search of prey and brings to its young, birds, squirrels, snakes and fish. Fish now and then prove destructive to them, for in attacking large fish, the bird sometimes cannot disengage its talons soon enough, but is drawn down into the water and drowned. 136

There is another species of eagle that I have seen nowhere but in this region. The Indians call it Chauwalanne, forked eagle,[192] from the fact that its tail is forked. It often soars to such a height that the eye cannot reach it. If it approaches the dwellings of the Indians, they always look upon it as a sign of change of weather or rain. Often the change follows such approach. It feeds upon snakes and other creatures, as does the white-headed eagle, but it is as a rule, continually on the wing during its repast. It builds its nest in high trees, but in as concealed a place as can be found. [825 871]

Of other birds of prey, there are to be found here the hawk,[193] the stone-falcon,[194] that remains near the rocks, the pigeon-hawk,[195] that pursues not only the pigeon but all other birds it can conquer, though it is a small bird and not as large as the pigeon.

The wood-pecker has a light red head with a red plume and is otherwise black with white spots.[196] It finds its food in old trees, this consisting of worms that are to be found in the wood.

One variety is called the Red-headed Wood-pecker,[197] because of the red head, is a nuisance in orchards, because it attacks the apples.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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would at death go to some good place where conditions would be better than here, where there would be a superfluity of everything and a happy life of joy and dancing. On the contrary, whoever lived an evil life would arrive at no good place but have to wander about sad and unhappy. Hence nothing is so terrible and awful to them as death, because they do not know how it will be after this life nor whither they shall go. Whenever they think of death they are filled with anxiety, but rather than consider how they ought to live they seek to rid themselves of thoughts of death. They fear the thunderbolt, because it occasionally strikes and shatters the trees, but they seek to disguise their fear. Yet they believe that the Deity is graciously and mercifully disposed towards men, because he imparts power to the plants to grow, causes the rain to fall and the sun to shine and gives game to man for his support. Indeed, as to fish and deer they imagine them given particularly to the Indians and not so much to the whites for the Indians were created to sustain themselves by the chase and the whites by the work of their hands. There are indeed some among them who pretend to be able to bring rain when there has been drought, and such a person knowing that the women, whose business it is to care for the plantations, are anxious for rain shows his cleverness in deceiving the people. Noticing from cloudy appearances early in the morning that it is likely to rain during the day, he will tell some one, that if tobacco or something else that he wishes is given him he will bring rain. The party so informed will tell the women, who in their joy contribute each a little and bring the fellow what he desires. The latter goes to some lonely place, draws a circle on the ground, makes a cross within it and puts tobacco, a pumpkin and some red coloring into it as well, seats himself, sings and shouts so that he may be heard, continuing if possible until it begins to rain. Even sensible Indians believe that he has brought the rain because under the circumstances it generally rains. In case the rain fails to come he makes promises for another day.

They believe God to be almighty and able to do as he pleases. Hence in times past they brought sacrifices and still do this

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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with the dancers, and when the amusement was at its height killed many of them with short weapons they had concealed under their blankets, escaping, after the deed was done, before their treachery had been discovered.

The land was never formally divided among the nations, whatever region was settled by a nation was recognized as property of that nation, and no one disputed its title, until, in course of war, one nation overpowered another and drove it out of its territory. In such cases, however, the conquering nation did not always settle on the conquered territory; for example, the Moshkos drove the Shawanose from their land in Florida but did not themselves settle there, still living on the west side of the Ohio in the region of the Wabash. The Delawares conquered the territory in which they live, having been driven out of the region they once inhabited by the white people. The Wiondats adjudged this region as belonging to them; and the Kikapus have given them a district along the Wabash and bordering on the country they inhabit for the chase. A part of the Delaware nation has lived in the Wabash region these many years, and of those living here many go thither every year. The boundaries of Indian countries are fixed along rivers and creeks or in a straight line from one river to another or along the mountain ranges, where there are mountains.

Of the spherical form of the earth they have no conception. Some declare that the earth floats upon the sea and that an enormous tortoise bears it on its back. The sky, they say, rests upon the water probably because it appears so to do when they look out upon the sea. Others declare that there is a place where the sky strikes the earth, rises again and continues moving up and down, smiting a rock, which causes such a report that it may be heard many days' journey. Two great captains once visited that place, and one of them risked going through the opening when the sky rose. He succeeded in getting into heaven and coming back. Yet where this place is they know as little as they do the location of Tschipey Hacki, the land of the spirits. The sun, they think, sinks into the water when it sets. Thunder is a mighty spirit dwelling in the mountains and sometimes issuing from their fastnesses suffers himself to be heard. Others imag-

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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821 ine the thunder to proceed from the crowing of a monstrous turkey-cock in the heavens. For certain stars they have names. The north star is called Lowanen, that is, north, or it is called the star that does not move. The wagon which revolves around the North Star they call the Bear, whom, they say, the Indians pursued with a little dog, that is the star Wilis; the three stars in the form of a triangle, represent the head of a bear, which they cut from the trunk and threw down. Certain stars forming an ellipse they call the beaver-hide, because they describe the form of a beaver hide stretched out. The milky way is the road to Tschipey Hacki. The seven stars[804] they have named Anschisk-tauwewak, that is fire-brands gathered or laid together. The Monsys (Monseys) call these stars Menhangik, the travelling companions. Other nations have yet other names for them. In case of an eclipse of sun or moon, they say that these bodies have fallen into a swoon.

755 In time of illness, they try all manner of remedies, for they have a great fear of death. They not only consult the doctors, but take, also, the medicine that others may prescribe. The doctors must be called in, for if they were slighted, the patient might die. The doctors blow upon the patients, sprinkle a drink of roots and herbs they have taken into the mouth upon them, and murmur incantations over them. They diagnose the disease, tell whence it came and inform them whether recovery is possible or not. They give directions, also, as to what must be done and what kind of sacrifice must be brought. They prescribe some sort of Beson prepared from herbs and roots, of which they know the properties very well. It has happened that many doctors have been consulted in a single case, have perhaps given up all hope of recovery, and yet the patient became well.

757 [824] For headache they lay a piece of white walnut bark on the temples, toothache is treated by placing the same kind of bark on the cheek over the tooth that gives the trouble. The bark is very heating and burns the skin in a short time, often affording relief. The same bark is applied to any of the limbs that may be afflicted, having the effect at times of driving the pain from one part of the body to another, until there is an eruption 752 somewhere. This bark pounded fine and boiled to the con-

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It is customary for the Delaware to learn in dreams names suitable for their children. During the later stages of pregnancy, the mid-wife or an old man is asked to think of a name and that revealed in a dream is later given to the child. Such a person need not necessarily be of the child's immediate relatives. Occasionally a gift is made him for this service.

To dream of catching fish in clear water is an indication that the dreamer will soon receive a sum of money. To dream of muddy water, on the other hand, is a sign of approaching illness or domestic difficulty.

To avert unpleasant dreams, a person smokes and prays to the Creator, appealing to him for aid in propitiating the supernatural powers responsible for such dreams. Cedar is also burned in the house to cleanse it. If a child is troubled by dreams at night, cedar boughs are soaked in water which is sprinkled over his person and the bed. This is believed to keep evil spirits away.

The more conservative Delaware have always been dependent upon dreams, and the appearance of certain celestial phenomena to warn them of impending danger. The appearance of a comet, "war spirit," in the heavens, is a sign of war. The "war dragon" flies through the air at night and appears like a streak of fire. The direction towards which its course is bent, is noted as the source of trouble. My informant reminded me of the appearance of such (Halley's comet) before the outbreak of the first World War. A falling star is also significant in war time. A fugitive attempting to escape may be located by means of a falling star, which the Delaware believe points to the spot of concealment. To point to a falling star will bring bad luck to a person.

NATURAL SIGNS AND OMENS

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A FEW BELIEFS of miscellaneous character are noted for other natural phenomena. The two ends of the rainbow are believed to point to water. A snowfall late in the spring, with the wind to the north, indicates that the snow spirit is returning to his abode in the north. In the fall an abundance of berries and nuts, thick foliage and heavy corn husks all point to a long and severe winter.

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A ringing or buzzing sound in the ear is a sign of impending death or bad news. The ear in which the sound is heard indicates the direction from which the news may be expected.

787 The twitching of the left eye, in the case of my informant, is a warn-
761 ing of the death of a relative or friend. This takes place two weeks or two months prior to the individual's death.

To see the suddenly disappearing likeness of a person is also a warning of death.

If a wolf barks at a person, it is an indication that he will live long.

Once Wi·tapanóxwe, upon returning from the home of a sick person, saw a rabbit run from the shelter of a grave towards the house he had just left. To him it was a sign of the sick person's death in the near future.

787 Babies and small children are not allowed to cry at night nor older children to play after dark, for fear that their faces will become misshapen.

A "double crown" in an individual is an indication of longevity and superior intellect. The larger such features are, the longer is the possession to live and enjoy the blessings bestowed upon him by the Creator. An individual so blessed is assured of spiritual guidance and is likely to excel in his life work.

787 If chickens continue to scratch for food during a rain, it is an indica-
821 tion that the rain will continue for some time. A cock crowing during a storm says, "Going to clear off today." Crowing before midnight by the bird indicates a change of weather. Crowing on the doorstep brings a visitor.

If smoke from a fire rises during a storm, the rain will soon cease; if it hovers near the ground, the weather will continue unsettled.

If the sun casts slanting rays through the clouds, it is "drawing water." Rain will fall the following day.

When the wind blows the leaves "inside out," it is a sign of approaching rain.

A circle around the moon foretells an approaching storm. The number of stars within the circle indicates the time it will arrive.

To hear the sound of talking or cutting wood over a great distance indicates that a storm is brewing.

To see a hog carrying sticks of wood in its mouth is a sign of approaching rain.

"Three foggy mornings bring rain."

Thunder heard late in the winter foretells an early spring.

Loud reports from river ice indicate an early thaw.
A wolf "whinnying" (howling) denotes a change in the weather.
To see a cat washing its face is an indication of an unexpected visitor; sharpening its claws denotes that it will soon receive some meat.

DELAWARE FOOD RESOURCES

IN AN EARLIER section it was pointed out that according to native belief, human health is dependent upon "pure, natural" food. Products of the fields and forests thus acquired a sacred character (Speck, 1931, p. 50), and food and medicine in Delaware conception were not totally unlike. It follows from this that the ailments afflicted the Indians in modern times are considered as being due to a departure from the ancient food regimen provided by the Creator. Investigation of the food supply, and its methods of preparation, was thought worthy of being taken up as part of the present phase of inquiry. The results are embodied in the present section, partly through their bearing upon health as dependent upon food. Except for this interrelation, the subject matter might seem to be more definitely an economic one.

Maize

Among the food products used by the Delaware, Indian maize *(Zea mays)* stands out as the staple vegetable product. Maize is believed to provide nourishment for the soul as well as for the body. The reverence for the Spirit of Maize[1] and for the processes of its preparation, still survives among the Delaware.

Before presenting the data which deals with the preparation of corn foods, it seems appropriate to mention native beliefs concerning the origin of this sacred food.[2] Maize, "original corn" or "common corn," is a gift from the Creator and in former times, according to Harrington *(op. cit.,* pp. 43, 141), was considered as one of the powerful

[1] Harrington, 1921, pp. 43, 193.

[2] For further information dealing with the maize complex in eastern North America, particularly among the Iroquois, see Parker, 1910; Converse, 1910; Waugh, 1916. The writer (1930) has noted the survival of certain traits indicating the presence of a religious rite in the early period among the southern New England tribes. For the Southeastern peoples, consult Swanton, 1928 b, pp. 443-444.

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have seen *Maté·kanis* and they usually became noted for their physical strentgh. *Maté·kanis* is not seen any more because the Indians have changed their mode of living and are not clean enough to be visited by such spiritual beings. The white man's ways are so far removed from the ways of the Indian that if we adopt any of them we cannot expect to see many of the things which were commonly seen before we knew of his strange ways." [1]

The Seven Wise Men

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"Years ago there were seven wise men among the Indians. So great was their pride that they did not wish to associate with the common people. Because they were so wise and great, they had to find a way to conceal themselves from the people. After thinking over the matter very seriously they said, 'We will turn into rocks of odd shapes.' Now there happened to be a young man who was gifted [1] and he went out to walk on a hillside. As he walked along he noticed the seven peculiarly shaped rocks and as he stopped to look at them, one of them spoke to him. The young man recognized them at once as being the seven prophets and they conversed together. They told him not to tell where they were, but someone noticed his frequent visits to the spot, and soon they were again sought by curious people. Now they must leave the quiet hillside and go elsewhere. After a while there appeared in the forest seven stately cedar trees. More perfectly formed trees were never before seen and they were greatly admired. It was not long before someone discovered that they were the seven prophets and they again had to change their form and depart. The Creator thought that it was of no use to place them on earth as they were being constantly bothered by earthly things so he placed them in the heavens. There we see the seven stars [2] as they were placed there so long ago by the Creator."

[1] According to Wi·tapanóxwe every individual is "gifted" or has some supernatural power. In some it is developed early in life, while in other individuals it remains a latent undeveloped force.

[2] The Pleiades.

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
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The whole matter is well summed up by Loskiel[11] where he says: "Besides the Supreme Being, they believe in good and evil spirits, considering them as subordinate deities. . . . They seem to have had no idea of the *Devil*, as the Prince of Darkness, before the Europeans came into the country." This idea is also supported by Zeisberger[12] and Brainerd,[13] although Holm[14] seems to give contrary evidence.

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MANĬ'TOWŬK OF THE FOUR DIRECTIONS

The Lenape now in Oklahoma believe that when the earth was created, and everything finished, the Creator gave the four quarters of the earth to four powerful beings, or *manĭ'towŭk*, whose duty it was to take care of these regions. These personages are the cause of the winds which blow from the different directions, with the exception of the tornado, which is thought to have a different origin. In the winter, it is said that the *manĭ'towŭk* of the north and the south are playing the game of bowl and

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6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
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dice, with alternating fortunes. When the north wind is successful it is cold for a long time, until the south wind wins again. These *manĭ'towŭk* are called *Moxhomsa' Wähänjio'pŭng'*, Grandfather at the East; *No''oma Cawane'yŭng'*, Grandmother at the South; *Moxhomsa' Eliosi' gak*, Grandfather at the West; and *Moxhomsa' Lowane'yŭng'*, Grandfather at the North, the expression *endalŭn towi'yŭn*, said to mean "who has charge of it" being frequently added after the name.

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These are mentioned in the ritual of the Annual Ceremony, and the people often pray to them when gathering herbs or perparing medicines, at the same time offering tobacco.

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The earliest record of this belief thus far found dates from 1616, and while it does not concern the Lenape proper, it illustrates a similar notion among a cognate people in Virginia. This is in Strachey's work,[15] in which he states, "The other four [gods] have no visible shape, but are indeed the four winds,

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
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which keep the four corners of the earth." Brainerd[16] mentions the same belief as being an old one among the Indians he knew, who were mainly Lenape, and as this was in 1745 we have at least a respectable antiquity established for "Our Grandparents at the Four Directions." Loskiel also mentions them.[17]

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THE SUN

To the Sun the Creator gave the duty of providing light for the people. The Unami say that he is a very powerful *manĭ'to*, and call him *Gickokwi'ta*. They speak of him as always clothed in the finest of deerskin garments, with his face handsomely painted, and wearing red feathers in his hair. Every day he travels across the heavens from east to west, stopping for a little while at midday, then going on. At night he comes back under the earth. The Minsi, according to James Wolf, called him *Ki'zho* or *Ki'zhox*, and *Gickonĭki'zho* is another Unami form of the name. When praying

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6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
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When praying to the Sun, the Lenape usually addressed him as "Elder Brother."

Little is found in early writings concerning the worship of the Sun, a mere mention in Brainerd,[18] and Loskiel,[19] by whom he is called "the sun or the god of the day."

THE MOON

None of my Lenape informants had much to say of the Moon, except that it was regarded as the *manï'to* charged with the duty of supplying light by night, and that it was addressed, like the Sun, as Elder Brother. It is mentioned as a god, and called the "night sun" by Loskiel.[20] This is expressed by the Unami name *Piske'weniki'zho.*

THE EARTH

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Some Lenape speak of the earth itself as a *manï'to*, and call it "Our Mother" because it carries and nurtures the people, having been assigned that duty by the Creator. Others, instead of the earth itself, mention a spirit beneath or within the earth, but apparently separate from

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
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it. The earth is mentioned in a list of gods by Loskiel.[21] In some localities, at least, it was addressed in the Annual Ceremony, and thanks were offered to it for the benefits it gives to man.

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THUNDER BEINGS

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Perhaps the most important of all the subordinate *manĭ'towŭk*, excepting only the Sun and possibly the Keepers of the Four Directions, were the Thunder Beings, to whom the Great Spirit gave the duty of watering the earth and protecting the people against Great Horned Water-serpents and other monsters. The Unami told me that they are called *Pethakowe'yŭk*, and are addressed as Elder Brother. They are man-like beings with wings, and always carry a bow and arrows with which they can shatter trees. When the first thunder is heard in spring, the people say, "The Spring Flying Things are coming" and it makes them feel glad to think that winter is nearly over. Some burn tobacco and pray to the Thunders at this and other times,

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
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and for this reason they claim that the lightning never used to strike an Indian or to destroy Indian property.

The late James Wolf related an interesting Thunder myth, which will be found in the paper on Lenape Mythology to appear later, stating that the Minsi called the Thunders *Pile'swak*, or *Pile'soak*, and believed them to exist in the form of gigantic partridges, although really persons, or rather *manĭ'towĭk*. They used to live in Niagara gorge beneath the cataract, and could sometimes be seen coming out, in the form of a cloud, in which, as it rose, a play of lightning was visible. There were said to be three bands or parties of these mysterious beings, each band consisting of three Thunders.

Zeisberger[22] says, "Thunder is a mighty spirit dwelling in the mountains," and Heckewelder,[23] "Indians, at the approach of a storm or thunder gust, address the Mannitto of the air, to avert all danger from them." As a rule, however, the early writers do not seem to have noticed

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this belief, or have included it loosely under the worship of "gods" representing the elements.

KEEPERS OF THE HEAVENS

The Lenape now in Oklahoma believe that each of the twelve heavens, in the highest of which lives the Great Spirit, is presided over by a *mani'to* who serves as a messenger to repeat the prayers of men until they reach the ear of the Creator. They are represented by the carved faces upon the posts inside the temple, and are mentioned in the ritual of the Annual Ceremony. I can find no mention of them in early accounts of the Lenape, however, unless the twelve gods mentioned by Loskiel,[24] most of whom have already been spoken of in this chapter, may represent the same concept. The Lenape today speak of these as being related to the Living Solid Face, who will now claim our attention.

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about the middle of the eighteenth century, while that of Jones dates from about a century later.

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TORNADO

Besides the gods hitherto named there were many other deities of lesser importance. The tornado, for instance, was one of these beings classed as *manl'towŭk*. He is mentioned as a giant in size, walking on his hands when in action, his long hair entangling and sweeping away forests and villages; and sometimes as a winged being. When a "cyclone" was seen approaching, some would burn tobacco, and addressing the roaring monster as "Grandfather," would pray that he turn aside and leave the village in peace. Others, scorning such measures of conciliation, would burn old moccasins and rubbish, advising the destroyer to turn aside if he wished to escape the stinging smoke; while still others, even less conciliatory, threatened him with the edge of an axe, vowing they would "break a wing for him" if he came their way. It

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776 782 821 was commonly said in the tribe that on account of these practices the Lenape suffered little from this evil *manĭ'to*.

SNOW BOY

776 821 [782] Another minor *manĭ'to* is Snow Boy, a being who is supposed to control snow and ice, but who is different from "Our Grandfather at the North," who merely supplies the north wind. Offerings were made to Snow Boy to insure a proper amount of snow for tracking in the winter hunt. Further information concerning these last two *manĭ'towŭk* will be found in the paper on Lenape Mythology, now in preparation.

COMET

[787] There is a third *manĭ'to* called *Elau'-nato*, which some Lenape say means "Comet," others "Shooting Star." When a war is impending, says the legend, this being may be seen flying through the air, carrying a bunch of human heads. After Elau'nato has passed, if one listens he will hear a distant rumbling sound, for this *manĭ'to* knows beforehand where the

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fighting will take place, and drops the heads on the spot, and the noise of their fall is a roar like thunder. 776 821

EVIL MANÍ'TOWŬK

Both the Great Horned Serpents, monsters living in the rivers and lakes, and the Giant Bear were considered evil *manï'towŭk*, the only good derived from them being, in the first case, charms made of the scales, bone, or horn of the monsters, supposed to bring rain; and, in the second case, a medicine made from the tooth said to have the power of healing wounds. Children were accustomed to hunt in the sand for tracks of the Little People, comparable with fairies or elves among the whites. 776

ANIMAL SPIRITS

The concepts regarding the numerous animal spirits who were believed to offer themselves as guardians for mankind, are rather hard to define. Most Indians seem to regard their mysterious animal helper not as the spirit or soul of any 774 776

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"Other teachers pretended that stripes were the most effectual means to purge away sin. They advised their hearers to suffer themselves to be beaten with twelve different sticks from the soles of their feet to their necks, that their sins might pass from them through their throats. They preached a system of morals, very severe for the savages, insisting that the Indians abstain from fornication, adultery, murder, theft, and practise virtuous living as the condition to their attaining after death the place of good spirits, which they call Tschipeghacki, the 'land of spirits,' where the life is happy, and deer, bear and all manner of game are abundant and the water is like crystal. There nought was to be heard save singing, dancing and merry making. [821] . . . The passage thither is the Milky Way. . . . Whoever reaches that place will find a city of beautiful houses and clean streets. Entering a house he will see no one, but have good things to eat placed before him, a fire made and a bed prepared—all of which is done by spirits invisible to him. Others assert that such an one will see the women coming with baskets on their backs full of strawberries and billberries, large as apples, and will observe the inhabitants daily appear in fine raiment and live a life of rejoicing.—The bad Indians . . . will not reach the place, Tschipeghacki, but must remain some distance away, able to see those within dwelling happily, but not able to enter. They would receive nothing

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go around and give all the tribes some way to worship. They say these things were as if carried in a bundle, and when they come to the Delawares, last of all, there was a lot left in the bundle and they got it all—that is why the Delawares have so many different things to do in their meetings."

In explanation of the prayer word *Ho-o-o*, he said, "Did you ever hear that [821] noise out in the woods, in the fall of the year? '*Ho-o-o*,' it says. What is it? It is the noise of the wind blowing in the trees. When the Delawares pray in the [782] Big House, they raise their voices and cry '*Ho-o-o*' to God, and the MIsi'ng^{w} hears it and understands, for he is of the same nature as a tree, and there are twelve MIsi'ng^{w} carved in the Big House who will carry the prayers to the twelfth Heaven. The Indians call the MIsi'ng^{w} 'Grandfather,' because the trees were here before the Indians. The Big House is going out of use now, because only the old people have had gifts or visions of power to sing about. The children of

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
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796 778 773 worship in the Big House. I might add, as contributing a view-point on the same perplexing question, that early in the eighteenth century the missionary Brainerd, then living with the Delawares on the upper Susquehanna in their village near Sunbury, reported a conversation with a man of the Nation in which was embodied a similar opinion as regards the False Face.

796 781 In a section of my study of the Big House Ceremony I indulged in quoting some estimates of the religious spirit among the Delawares adding some of my own impressions in the matter. An opportunity to add to these, since it comes from the writings of a contemporary witness over a century ago when the tribe was resident on the Scioto River, comes from John Brickell. He says: "I know I am influenced to good even at this day more from what I learned among them than what I learned among people of my own color. . . . They worship the Great Spirit whom they call manito, which signifies or conveys to their mind the idea of all strength or rather all sufficiency." [1] This commentary may be adjoined as a supplement to the section in the work referred to, dealing also with the native concept of the Great Spirit, as something corroborative of the early belief of this tribe in the existence of a supreme deity and is intended for the eyes of authorities such as Dr. Schmidt who have devoted so much attention to the nativity of the concept in American culture.

796 821 715 In the study of the Big House Ceremony some space was devoted to the construction of the belief regarding the path taken by the soul in its journey from earth to the spirit realm. The assumption was made that the Milky Way was considered to be the path in question. Yet the inability on the part of several sources to furnish the native term applied to the Milky Way and their uncertainty as to what symbol in the sky represented the path of the spirit left the matter in a state of doubt. The fact that among other Algonkian peoples the Milky Way is "Spirit or Ghost Path" has some bearing on the point that we are trying to clear up in Delaware belief. It remained for inquiry among the Delaware-Munsee of the Six

[1] "Narrative of John Brickell's Captivity among the Delaware Indians," *The American Pioneer*, I, 2d ed., Cincinnati, 1842, pp. 43, 46, 48, 56.

7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
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Nations Reserve, Canada, to furnish a Delaware appellation for the Milky Way, which turned out to be *ane''i*, "path." This determination would seem to bridge the gap in the previously obtained data. As a corroboration, likewise, of the Delaware belief that the Milky Way is the path of ghosts, we discover in the confessions of belief of the Delawares while residing in the Ohio region that the Milky Way was the path over which souls traveled; after the teachings of several native prophets who in about 1762 stirred religious revivals in the tribe.[4] Whether or not this belief was derived in that time from a still older native concept is not said, yet something of this sort is implied. Thus the Delawares coincide in belief with kindred peoples in the East to establish the antiquity of the concept just dealt with.

George Anderson, *Kwu'tcpagi·'kamen*, "Rustling Leaves (when Walking)," also of the Wolf ceremonial group, offered the following details of information on the procedure of his group when celebrating in the Big House.[5] The Wolf group rite may be conducted within an eight-day period. He had heard that the sweat lodge had formerly been erected in the Big House at a point just to the left of the drummers. As noted in the volume on the Big House Ceremony, the sweating rite was held as a test of endurance for the men who had spiritual guidance. Anderson also added that he had heard of deer skins as offerings being hung up inside the Big House during the Ceremony near the east door. Several additions were made by him to the information recorded in the volume referred to among which may be noted that when the fires are removed from the Big House the ashes from both are thrown out through the west door. Furthermore, he emphasized the regulation that no women or children were allowed to be present within the Big House when the new fire was being made. He said that the rite of making new fire performed by the male attendants was one of spiritual tensity, that some-

[4] Zeisberger, pp. 133–4. Heckewelder, pp. 291–3. For a summary of data in the epoch of the Delaware prophet see James Mooney, "The Ghost-Dance Religion," Fourteenth Annual Report, Bureau American Ethnology, 1896, pp. 662–9.

[5] Funds were available for the task through a Faculty Research Grant, University of Pennsylvania, Grant no. 93.

7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
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construct likenesses of the human figure. This belief is illustrated in the rite of the Doll Dance. When figures of cornhusk are to be made they should be made by a person born in summer, the season of growing corn, such an individual being known as *si·'kwan mi·'mqs*, "spring child." Persons, however, who are born in winter may make toys in the image of the emblem of their ceremonial group, though to do so is apt to bring on cold weather. It is believed that such action is apt to anger the spirit controlling the winter, namely, *Lowane'ke·s*, "Winter Spirit." As an example of the operation of privilege and restriction in such matters we have the case of a person of the Turkey group born in winter, who could make the image of a turkey, chicken, duck or goose out of cornstalks or cornhusks decorating it in correspondence with its nature as a bird by attaching feathers to it. This may be suspended in the dwelling by means of a string so that the wind will blow the image about. Those who observe it would remark, "Oh, you are trying to break the weather." In short, those born in summer can only exert influence through the making of images upon the creatures of the summer, for winter-born persons to make them is pernicious.

DICE AND BOWL GAME

Mama'n'di·n, "Gathering Dice Together." — Another amusement which among the Delawares took on the significance of a minor ceremony, was the game in which a wooden bowl and seven dice cut out of bone, mussel shells or peach seeds to produce outlines of turtles, horses' heads, one side in natural color, the other stained black, and other forms not well remembered as to detail. For some reason the Delawares have abandoned this pastime, although it has continued strongly among tribes whose native culture has become more thoroughly disintegrated. Even the details of the counting have been forgotten. Men and women indulged in the Dice and Bowl game for the purpose of wagering, the stakes being placed at one side before the opening of the game. The players sat in a circle around the bowl which rested on a folded blanket, each taking his turn by lifting the bowl off the blanket and bringing it down violently to cause

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
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525 money, or as a minor stake the penalty is to cut wood for the owner of the house where it is played or for the winner, or to go on an errand, or to butcher a hog for him the next day, as the case may be.

[844 777 821] This game has its limitations of performance inasmuch as it is proper only for those born in winter to engage in it and it is only played in the winter time, with the result that it brings on storms of sleet and blizzards. For these preferences to be violated would bring on bad luck.

The markings on the straws valued from 5 to 75, are indicated in the accompanying sketch.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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The twelve accounts may be divided into two groups on the basis of their origin. The first eight were obtained from written sources, five published and three unpublished. The last four were obtained from field work among the modern Delaware. For convenience, the first group will hereafter be called sources and the last group informants. Considering the time of inscribing or of obtaining the information on which they are based, the eight sources are found to form three groups and to represent three periods: the first composed of the accounts of Williams, Van der Donck, and Lindeström, dated 1643, 1653, 1656, respectively; the second, of the accounts of Zeisberger, 1780, and Heckewelder, whose account, although not published until 1819, is considered contemporaneous, as he left active mission work in 1786; and the third group, of the three Cass manuscripts dated 1823 and 1824. The accounts of the modern informants constitute the fourth group and period.

In the discussion of the different elements, comparison is usually between the accounts as grouped in these four periods. As page references to citations from the accounts of the three manuscripts and the four informants are impossible, they have been omitted for the published accounts also, in the interests of uniformity. When neither the tabulation of the material from the different accounts nor the section of ethnographic notes amplifying or qualifying the tabulated element list indicates the existence of any problem on any element, that element is omitted in the discussion. Numbers in parentheses refer to the numbers given to the elements on the table.

DISCUSSION OF THE ELEMENTS

Astronomy, Mathematics, etc.

The Delaware of the present indicate a knowledge of astronomy and mathematics that was not reported in historical accounts (3, 13). Whereas lack of knowledge or understanding on the part of some of the early reporters may be responsible for some of the apparent changes, it is more reasonable to assign the cause of several of these changes to white contact. Belief in the

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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roundness of the earth was denied until the fourth period (3). This definitely dates the emergence of the element in the period of greatest white influence. Since, in this period, the economy of the Delaware closely paralleled that of most of their white neighbors, it is not surprising that a knowledge of arithmetic in the abstract appeared that had been denied in former periods (13). The period three denials of opinions respecting the planetary system are refuted by the statements of Zeisberger and appear to be the result of confusion on the part of the authors between opinions and knowledge (1). The opinions of the Indians may have been erroneous, but they undoubtedly had them, as their names for stars and the myths concerning them show.

The division of the year into twelve months or moons to agree with the European usage appears to have been accomplished very early (7). Roger Williams reported thirteen months in 1643 but did not name them. Heckewelder gives the names of eleven months, omitting what would correspond to our November.

Religion

Religion among the Delaware appears to have been very insusceptible to change. From the records available, over three hundred years of white contact and more or less continuous missionary efforts have produced only one significant change.

The concept of a Supreme Being, superior to subordinate good and evil deities, who has moral superintendence over worshipers that pray to Him for favors and assistance, is reported from 1643 to the present day, with only occasional dissent and never denial from all sources for any one period. On the belief in a future state of punishments and rewards for which judgment is given immediately after death, there is again complete agreement.

The belief in the whereabouts of the places of habitation of the souls of good and bad, has, however, undergone modification (37). Roger Williams and Van der Donck recorded southwest and south, respectively, as the direction in which lay the land of

(Continued on p. 38)

9: Kinietz E-4,5 (1938) 1946
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Table of Elements

\+ = element present
− = element denied
(+) or (−) = source ambiguous
• = informant could not or would not say
5 = some, sometimes, or several
† or ° = see Ethnographic Notes, pp. 79-137 for additional information

	Williams	Van der Donck	Lindeström	Zeisberger	Heckewelder	Johnston	Pipe	Chipps	J. W.	W. T.	E. R.	W. L.
Astronomy, Mathematics, etc.												
1. Any opinion respecting the planetary system				+		−	•−	−	+	+	+	+
2. Origin myth		+			+		•+	•+	+	+	+	+
3. Earth is round				−	−			−	+	•+	•+	•+
4. immovable, shakes but does not revolve				+		+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+
5. Divide year into 4 seasons	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
6. Names	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
7. Divide year in ___ moons or months †	13			12	12	12	12	12	12	12	•	12
8. Sun is deity †	+	+		+		+	+	•	+	+	+	+
9. Moon is deity †	+	+		+		+	+	•	+	+	+	+
10. Opinion respecting eclipses †				+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•	+
11. Names for any star	+	+		+	+	−	•	−	+	•	+	+
12. Count by tens	+			+		+			+		+	+
13. Arithmetic in abstract				−		−	−	−	+	+	+	+
14. Four cardinal points †	+					+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+
15. Prognostics respecting weather						+	•	+	+	+	+	+
16. Meteors are indication of evil †						+	•	•	+	+	s	+
17. are misbehaving stars moving							+	•	−	−	•	−
18. Ceremonies on appearance of new moon						•−	−	•−	−	−		
19. Calculate time of reappearance †						+	−	+	+	+		+
20. Regulate course in unknown country												
by the sun						+		+		+	+	+
by stars							+			+	+	
Religion												
21. Concept of Supreme Being †	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+
22. Subordinate deities †	+		(+)	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+
23. Evil Spirits †			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
24. Supreme Being superior to subordinate and evil spirits				+	+	+	+	•	+	•	+	+
25. Subordinate spirits dominant over evil spirits					+	+	+					

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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IV. ETHNOGRAPHIC NOTES

Astronomy, Mathematics, etc.

1.[1] Planetary system

According to Captain Pipe, the stars were put in the sky for the guidance of the Indians—the whites had the compass. According to John Johnston, the Indians believed that there were four fixed stars in the North, East, South, and West, which were rivets holding up the sky. The seven stars were once seven boys who became such wizards that they could not dwell upon the earth.

2. Origin myth

Captian Pipe—They claim to be descendants of the Wyandots, and relate these circumstances connected with their birth. The Wyandots sprang from a hole in the earth, which is still to be seen on Lake Huron. Not long after their discovery of the world above, which they now inhabit, a virgin of that nation became pregnant from some unnatural cause and in due time was delivered of twins, a son and daughter, who spoke a language entirely different from their parent; to wit, that of the present Delawares. That it was customary at that time to marry very near relatives; that these twins were so united and from this incestuous intercourse sprang the Lenee Lenaupaa, who, by direction of their uncles, the Wyandots, went to the borders of the Ocean and there settled themselves.

They suppose that there was formerly a body like our sun, which they call a great cornstalk with wide spreading branches, planted by "the God" in another world far above us—there, they suppose, lived a tribe of Indians, with a chief at their head—one time, one of the women who had a child was taken sick, and being asked what would cure her, she said, "If this corn stalk was pulled up, and I was laid by the hole, from hence it was taken, I should get well." The chief gave orders, and the corn

[1] Numbers refer to the numbers given to the elements in the table, *ante*, pp. 22-37.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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773 stalk was removed and the woman laid by the hole, on her back. As soon as the corn stalk was taken from its place, there was total darkness, at which the Indians were exceedingly vexed—it was then thought best to punish the woman—they accordingly cast the woman with her child into the hole—she fell through child and all and was caught by an infinite number of "big hawks"—the hawks carried her and put her on the back of a great turtle. About this time, a loon dived into the sea, brought up a piece of earth and put it under the woman, between her and the turtle—the woman commenced a career round this particle of earth, which commenced enlarging, until it became [771] the great mass of matter which we inhabit. The earth is supposed to be of an oblong form, and is movable—it often shakes, but does not perform any revolutions. The Sun which now [821] enlightens the earth, is supposed to have been sent from the world above described. The substance of which it is composed is unknown. It performs daily revolutions.

772 *3. Earth is round*

W. T. — Earth was made round just like the sun, moon, and sky.

E. R. — The earth is flat (circle?).

W. L. — The earth is a circle and flat.

805 821 *6. Names of seasons*

The names of the seasons are *sikwon*, spring; *nipen*, summer; *takɔk*,[a] autumn; and *lowen*, winter.

7. Moons or months

The terms for the months and their significance are:

January

ZEISBERGER *Anixi gischuch*—Squirrel month, ground squirrels come out of their holes

ZEISBERGER —Mouse or Squirrel month—for they come out of holes

[a] The character ɔ has the phonetic value of the open "o," pronounced as "aw" in "awk."

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JOHNSTON	*Au, neque kie, shoe*—The squirrel moon
PIPE	*Arnēēkwsee keeshooh*—Squirrel moon—engendering time
CHIPPS	*Un-ex-i-kà-so*
J. W.	*Motwigiso*—Hungry month—eating each other
W. L.	*Mamhotiŋ*—Big snow—hungry—eating each other
W. T.	*Skolikɨso*—Frogs holler

February

ZEISBERGER	*Tsqualli gischuch*—Frog month
ZEISBERGER	*Squalle gischuch*—Frog month, when frogs begin to croak
HECKEWELDER	—Frog month, because on warm days they begin to croak
JOHNSTON	*Chau, quol, le, ki, shoe*—The frozen month
PIPE	*Tsharkōālee kēēshooh*—Frog moon
CHIPPS	*Squal-i-kà-so*
J. W.	*Anixwikiso*—Sugar moon
W. L.	*Skolikiło*—Frógs holler

March

ZEISBERGER	*M'choamowi gischuch*—Shad month
ZEISBERGER	*Chwoame gischuch*—Shad month, because this fish goes up rivers in great numbers [134]
HECKEWELDER	—When on Atlantic coast called shad month, now sugar-making month.
JOHNSTON	*Hau, mo, n'ock, hee, tou*—The white bass moon
PIPE	*Haumoakwhēēta kēēshooh*—from a species of shell fish found at that time on the sea coast
CHIPPS	*Quaw-mo-kà-so*
J. W.	*Skoligiso*—Frogs hollering
W. L.	*Komwikɨło*—Bees come out

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April

805 ZEISBERGER *Quitawwouhewi gischuch*—Spring month
821 ZEISBERGER *Hackishewi gischuch*—Planting month
HECKEWELDER —The spring month
JOHNSTON *Qua, to, a, ha, e, kee, shoe*—no English for it
PIPE *Kwäätiioahaa kēēshooh*—from the shedding of the hair of the deer
CHIPPS *Al-lòu-uk-ke-kair-e-kà-so*
J. W. —Wet earth, rains
W. L. *Kičisikonki'so*—Spring starting month

May

ZEISBERGER *Tauwinipen*—Beginning summer (signifying hoe is used on Indian corn in this month)
HECKEWELDER —The planting month
JOHNSTON *Ti, e, neep, pen, ie*—The moon between spring and summer
PIPE *Tiieenēēpen kēēshooh*—Middle moon, between spring and summer
CHIPPS *Uk-ke-hàve-ekà-so*
J. W. —All up, flowers, etc. commence bearing
W. L. *Mo' ksoatoki'lo*—Deer getting red

June

[825] ZEISBERGER *Kitschinipen*—Summer (signifies the month in which the deer become red)
HECKEWELDER —The fawn month or the month in which the deer bring forth their young, or the month in which the hair of the deer changes to a reddish color
JOHNSTON *Ke, he, cho, neep, pen, ie*—The moon when vegetation is in blossom
PIPE *Kītsheenēēpen kēēshooh*—Real summer moon
CHIPPS *Mo-mùs-ko-màv-e-kà-so*

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J. W. *Kičinipen*—Summer [805]
W. L. *Kičinipen*—Starting summer [821]

July

ZEISBERGER *Yugatamoewi gischuch*—The time of raising the earth about the corn
HECKEWELDER —The summer month
JOHNSTON *Gock, kau, tau, ma, ekeshoe*—The moon when vegetation is blossoming [824]
PIPE *Yaukāūtamwaa kēēshooh*—Moon of sacrifice or prayer. Time of feast of first fruits [796]

CHIPPS *La-kòk-me-aò-e-kà-so*
J. W. *Dainipen*—Middle summer
W. L. *Lainipen kɨlo*—Middle of summer
W. T. *Kičini·pen*—Middle of summer

August

ZEISBERGER *Sakauweuhewi gischuch*—Deer month
ZEISBERGER *Winu gischuch*—The time when the corn is in the milk and ready to eat and roast [824 243]
HECKEWELDER —The month of roasting ears
JOHNSTON *Sok, ho, a, ha, ie, kie, though, i, e,*—The moon when the deer begin to turn gray [825]
PIPE *Saukiioahāā kēēshooh*—Moon in which deer get blue hair

CHIPPS *Wà-no-e-kà-so*
J. W. —Dry, hot, refreshing
W. L. *Kičitakpk kɨlo*—Beginning fall month
W. T. *Socewigilo*—Deer change color, Fall side of summer [825]

September

ZEISBERGER *Kitschitachquoak*—Autumn month
HECKEWELDER —The autumnal month

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805 C21	JOHNSTON	*Ke, he, che, tau, keke*—The moon previous to the falling of leaves
●	PIPE	*Kĭtshee Tarkŏăk kĕĕshooh*—Commencement of cold moon
	CHIPPS	*Shàve-ko-us-ke-kav-e-kà-so*
	J. W.	—Gathering moon (harvest)
	W. L.	*Wipoqikĭlo*—Deer getting gray
	W. T.	*Poksĭt*—Fall—Leaves are broken
		October
	ZEISBERGER	*Pooxit*—Month of vermin (the harvest month)
	HECKEWELDER	—The gathering or harvest month
[824]	JOHNSTON, PIPE	*Pooque, ieete*—The moon that the leaves fall *Pŏŏkseet kĕĕshooh*—Broken moon, from the shedding of the leaves
	CHIPPS	*Wa-nàv-o-kà-so*
	J. W.	*Dakŏkwinigilo*—Everyone gets together (Big House)
	W. L.	*Takŏkinikĭso*—Fall month when everyone gets together
	W. T.	*Winikĭso*—Come snow
		November
	ZEISBERGER	*Wini gischuch*—Snow month (the hunting month)
	JOHNSTON	*We, ne, ke, shoue*—The moon when the snow commences falling
	PIPE	*Wĕĕnee kĕĕshooh*—The snowy moon
	CHIPPS	*Pah-po-sòp-wa-e-kà-so*
	J. W.	*Dailówen*—Changing, falling moon
	W. L.	*Luwanikĭlo*—Winter moon
	W. T.	*Kĭčikaŏk*—Fall
		December
	ZEISBERGER	*M'chakhocque*—Cold month, the month when the cold makes the trees crack.

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	(Shows the time when the bucks cast their antlers) 805 821
HECKEWELDER	—The hunting month, it being the time when the stags have all dropped their antlers
JOHNSTON	*Hack, he, que*—The moon when the severe cold begins
PIPE	*Hauk hŏăkwas kĕĕshooh*—The clouded sky moon
CHIPPS	*Nà-we-où-o-wè-kà-so*
J. W.	*Kĭčilo·wen*—Grandfather—ground covered with snow
W. L.	*Anikwikĭlo*—Squirrel moon—fawn as little as squirrels
W. T.	*Kĭčilo·wen*—Winter, sure enough

From this material the following hypothetical list of the old names has been reconstructed in more modern orthography:

January *Anixi kĭlo*—Squirrel month
February *Skolikĭlo*—Frog month
March *Kwamowi* or *hamokwita kĭlo*—Shad month
April *Kwe·to·o·ha·kĭlo*—Spring month
May *Tainipen kĭlo*—Month between spring and summer or beginning of summer
June *Kĭčimĭpen kĭlo*—Summer
July *Yukatamowi*—Summer
August *Sakowikĭlo*—Deer get gray hair; also *Winukĭlo*—corn ready to roast
September *Kĭčitakŏk kĭlo*—Autumn month
October *Po·kĭt kĭlo*—Harvest moon, falling leaves
November *Winikĭlo*—Snow month
December *Hakhokwa kĭlo*—Cold month

Variations from this by the modern Delaware are shown in the following list:

January *Motwigilo* or *Mamhotin*—Big snow—hungry—eating each other
April *Kĭčisikon kĭlo*—First spring month

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805 May *Mo'ksoate kĭlo*—Deer getting red
821 July *Dai-, Lai-,* or *Kĭĭ-nipen*—Middle of summer
October *Takŭkinikĭlo*—Fall month when everyone gets together
November *Dailo·wen* or *Luwanikĭlo*—Changing or winter moon
December *Kĭĭlo·wen*—Winter

8 and 9. Sun and moon as deities

776 [821] John Johnston—They suppose the Sun to be a Deity composed of heat which regulates the day and returns to the East in the night under ground. Which is the cause of vegetation or makes the grass grow. The moon they suppose to be another Deity equal in rank with the sun which regulates the night and divides the year.

776 773 Captain Pipe—The Sun they suppose to be a human being, and they call him their brother. Tradition says that in early days the Sun was in the habit of devouring twelve Indian children each day at noon, as a kind of compensation for his labours; but the inhabitants of the earth becoming incensed at his voraciousness remonstrated. He then proposed to reduce the number to six but they still refused, and at length agreed upon two, which number they suppose he now receives every day. The light of the Sun is occasioned by the brightness of a feathered headdress which he wears. They think that the Indians once possessed the same general character with the Sun, that he has retained his original powers and they have degenerated to their present degraded situation. He is supposed to go under the Island at night for rest. The moon is supposed to be the brother of the Sun, and they formerly had numerous relatives who warred against each other and were all killed, and these wars occasioned the present employment of the younger brother, the moon.

776 All four of the modern informants called the sun "brother." All called the moon "brother," also, except J. W., who said it was known as grandmother, that she takes care of the weather, but is closest to the people.

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10. Eclipses

JOHN JOHNSTON—The eclipses they suppose to be caused by one of the twelve subordinate Deities as an indication of war or some other calamity which they think will shortly come.

CAPTAIN PIPE—Eclipses are thus accounted for. Every man as he grows up is visited in his dreams by his tutelar deity in the form of a Bear, Wolf, Dog, Tree, Cornstalk, or any thing else which the imagination can conceive, and by the deity he is protected and governed through life. When he dies his protector assumes the mourning garb common to deities, and through his influence the eclipse of the Sun or Moon takes place in token of the excess of his grief.

CAPTAIN CHIPPS—In an eclipse, they suppose, the moon gets between the Sun and the Earth.

J. W. said that eclipses had meaning but would not say what. Likewise W. T.

14. Four cardinal points

Both J. W. and W. T. named the four cardinal points but thought of up and down as equivalent to them.

16. Meteors as indication of evil

JOHN JOHNSTON—Meteors: They suppose them to be ominous of something bad especially if any person takes notice of them and says see that star they think that person will not live long, but they suppose that if they fall to the ground they turn into that substance or ball generally known by the puffball which will by pressing emit a smoke, they are afraid of those balls.

CAPTAIN PIPE—The Meteors called shooting stars are thus described. Like the Sun and Moon the stars are brothers to the Indians, human beings, and subject to the frailties of man. When one of them begins to practice lying and fraud he is rejected by the others and obliged to fly from his companions to seek a place of refuge.

J. W.—Meteors are a warning, forecast war etc. The place where the comet goes is the place where the battle or other catastrophe is going to occur. F. W.'s grandmother heard a great

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821 787 wind and looked up and saw a comet shaped like a head dripping fire and blood out of the mouth, coming from the West and going North and East, about five years before the World War.

W. T.—Meteors foretold the direction of a big wind coming the next day—they were already on the move.

18. Ceremonies on appearance of new moon

821 762 Captain Chipps—When they see the new moon, they thank the Great Spirit that they have lived to see it.

John Johnston—They do not at present but they say it was anciently a custom to offer some kind of a sacrifice.

821 *19. Calculation on time of reappearance of moon*

Captain Pipe—Nor can they calculate with certainty the time of its reappearance.

Religion

21. Concept of Supreme Being

776 John Johnston—They do [have concept of Supreme Being], and distinguish him by calling him the creator of us all and of all things.

Captain Pipe—They believe in one Supreme Being, who is known generally by the appellation *Keshaallemōōnkungk*, "He who created us by his thought;" and sometimes *Kaatounutōōwit*, The great spirit, from *Khit*, great; or *Waalseet Maunūtoo*, He who is the good spirit, from *Woolit*, good. They suppose that this being created the world and remained sometime upon earth, having the moral superintendency of all affairs therein, and that having perfected the system which he commenced he left it.

Captain Chipps—They believe in one God, who is "God of the black as well as the white"—they suppose he lives in some world above this earth.

22. Subordinate deities

John Johnston—They believe in twelve subordinate deities placed in different grades descending from the highest to the lowest, they think the lowest is on earth among them but in-

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where they burn under the gaze of the carved images of the Great Spirit on the post, represent the actual presence of this mighty spirit-force.

821

STARS AS SPIRIT-FORCES.—Among the man-i't-u mentioned in the text, the stars are given a prominent place. They too are "grandfathers" who, we are told, render service in assisting the moon to illuminate the night. It will be noticed that they receive a large share of reverence in the annual ceremony through being mentioned frequently in the adorational addresses. In the quaint phraseology of Wi-tapano'xwe we learn that the Great Dipper of European star-lore is called in Delaware maχk^{m}, "Bear." The head of the Bear is separate from the body. The legend tells us that the body is trying to catch up with the head, in which event the world will come to an end. Wi-tapano'xwe explained further that the stars of *corona borealis* formed the Bear's head which the animal is ever trying to reach. In Wabanaki star-lore this is the bear's den of hibernation from which the hunters, those three stars forming the so-called tail of the Bear (the handle of the Great Dipper in European belief), have driven the animal. It is said, by the same people, that the Bear is slain in the fall of the year, that its blood reddens the leaves of the trees and its fat when tried-out causes the earth to be covered with a white mantle, the snow. The subsequent portions of the tale seem not to have come forth as yet in Delaware mythology, although Zeisberger relates the outline of a legend of the Bear group in which the Bear is pursued by Indians "with a little dog; the three stars in the form of a triangle represent the head of a bear, which they cut from the trunk and threw down."[1]

The Delawares believe that some of the stars are living beings. For example the seven stars, known as asi-'sk^{m}taya'sαk, "bunched-up," bear the identity of clean or holy men, prophets. They are known only to shamans or those who possess supernatural power. The legend says that at one time seven meteors fell from the sky partly burying themselves in the ground. Some shamans soon discovered them and they disappeared. The shamans found them again in the form of seven pine trees. They used to consult with these pine trees. Finally they became transformed into the seven stars.[2]

The informant adds: "The Delawares recognize the morning star, the evening star, and a constellation known as beast chasing the bear; At a certain season of the year you will find the leaves of the forest lying on the ground, appearing to be greasy and covered with spots of water. If at this time of year the beast has caught the bear the greasiness of the leaves is believed due to the bear-grease. Another large constellation near that of the bear represents his nest or den."

[1] Op. cit., p. 148.
[2] See Appendix, Note II.

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The Delawares determine, by the position of the stars, when to gather herbs for medicine, for they believe that the position of the stars and the moon informs them when the medical properties of the herb may be found in the branches or in the roots. The time to plant crops in the spring was likewise determined by the phases of the moon and the position of the stars. At a certain time when the moon and stars are in the correct relation to each other the Delawares know that the wild animals breed and that fish go up-stream. Persons born under certain changes of the moon are said to be affected by certain periodic diseases such as epilepsy and fits. The gathering of material for the making of baskets depends upon the time of year. In order that hides be made into durable leather the animals must be killed at the right time of year. The same is true in regard to killing hogs, for unless the animals are killed in the right quarter of the moon the meat will not keep. Likewise fruit, according to the Delaware must be picked at a certain phase of the moon or else it will rot. Celestial phenomena, the manitu of the skies, rule numerous phases of Delaware life.

THE CONCEPT OF PURITY AND DEFILEMENT.—It is most interesting to note a distinct attitude of reverence toward the phenomena of nature which are uncontaminated by the mechanistic hand of man. Nature itself is denoted by a term which may be recognized universally as an accepted definition: te'kŏnee'a·u, "wild life, creation" in the liberal sense. This refers to creatures and phenomena brought into existence and controlled by the power of the Great Spirit. From nature's category the products of human invention are excluded. Thus it is the realm of pure nature with which the Delaware fundamentalist finds himself in accord. It supplies his needs, it satisfies his emotions, engages spiritual concern, becoming literally the element in which his whole life is framed. To deviate from the processes of nature, in thought and act, is sacrilege to him, to limit himself to its sphere is a sacred obligation passed down to him from his forefathers barring him off from the hazards of change and alteration in his conduct of life, and particularly in the performance of his religious duties. The Delaware fundamentalist is truly a conservative. By the mandates of his own creed he ought to be indeed a reactionary. And similar sentiment seems forthcoming from other Algonkian doctrinaries, hence we may assume it to be an ancient property of the race. Its lament is the necessity to depart from the ancient nature-bound practices, through the measure of force exerted by changes which age and time bring about.[1]

[1] This characteristic is often likened by them to the precepts of Christ, to whose example they refer with sympathy, and with the conviction that they are by nature his followers.

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other wild creature whatsoever, that is said to be pure spirit. And also those twelve face-images in the Big House, and those prayer-sticks,[1] and the maize and fruit, all things indeed used in the Gamwing, it is said, are helpers when it comes to lifting up to the twelve levels of heaven above us where he dwells, our father the Great Spirit.

And also there is a ruling of custom. The religious obligations sometimes require that the speaker, when talking, it is said, names over all these spirit-forces wherever they reside around the earth, calling upon them, as it is said: "Truly we are thankful that we have lived long enough to see the time come when these our grandfathers the trees bloom forth, and also the coming up of vegetation.

[1] The twelve peeled rods held in the hands of the worshippers when they "raise their prayer to the twelfth level of heaven" to the Great Spirit by crying "ho" six times and "ha" six times, and pointing with the sticks to the image on the center post of the Big House. They are denoted by the term mamendahi·'kan'ak "the means of earnest prayer." In Harrington's study of Delaware religion no mention is made of the exact function of the prayer sticks (Harrington I, p. 103), though in the Munsee corresponding ceremony they are described (ibid. p. 131) as being used to drum with in time to the music, by those who wish to pray. There is another omission in reference to the prayer sticks (ibid. p. 103). Harrington speaks of a particular way in which the sticks "fall opposite each other" but no explanation is made. Discussion of these details will be found on page 69.

[2] Among the tree "grandfathers" thought of in particular is the maple from the sap of which native sugar is made.

Reference to the gift of the maple in yielding its sap for human use is a reminiscence of a widespread Algonkian usage. The Sugar Maple is sana'meci "rock-place tree" (the Red Maple is called sal'kames "grove tree"). This tree is the real Acer saccharum and is known to the Oklahoma Delaware only by tradition since they remember it in the north. They make a sugar now from the Red Maple, not as strong in flavor as the other, but mixed with Box Elder (awi'sal·t o'nasa "yellow twig") and Black walnut tu'kwi·meci "round-nut tree") but the latter has such a strong taste that only a little may be used. Heckewelder (op. cit., p. 194) gives an account of Delaware sugar-making during the Ohio period.

Now as well for this water and for him our grandfather fire, and again this air, again this sunlight. When everyone has been blessed with such gifts it is enough to make one realise what kind of benevolence comes from our father, because he it is who has created everything."[1]

And now furthermore one more spiritual-force is said to be a part of creation up above. The first being mentioned is called day-moon,[2] and the night traveler[3] is called night-moon. And of several kinds of stars, the first one seen is that one from the sunrise direction, called

[1] Zeisberger, before 1780 (op. cit. p. 129), had heard similar professions of gratitude: "They believe the Deity is graciously and mercifully disposed toward them, because he imparts power to the plants to grow, causes the rain to fall, and the sun to shine and gives game to man for his support."

[2] The designations "day-moon" and "night-moon" are widespread in northern Algonkian, (Munsee, Cree, Montagnais-Naskapi). Luminary would be a more exact equivalent of gi·'cux

[3] For the moon to be figuratively denoted as "night-traveler" is common in Eastern Algonkian (al·bau'a·ite "night-walker," Penobscot, with cognates in the other Wabanaki languages; nasepaushet, Massachusetts (Trumbull, Natick Dict. p. 297).

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Great Star.[1] Again seven stars, it is said, are sometimes at the noon-point[2] seen after dark. Those stars called the Bear;[3] also the head of this one is separate. Now it is said that whenever that Bear shall catch up with his head, then will be the end of the world.[4] And again another group is called Bunched-up,[5] seven is their number. And again here in the direction of sun-down, that evening-star is called kwe'tei-'pon-e'u.[6] Thenceforth are other stars and moons. And there are also these Thunders, our grandfathers, even coming to those clouds, all called spirit-forces. And the sun, our elder brother, is considered a leading spirit-force up above, because he is a great person. By his breath he warms all the universe, and it is he also who lights up the day-time, and the night-sun. It is he who lights up the night-time. And those stars, in accordance with the strength given them, in proportion that serve and aid our father's, the Great Spirit's labors.

[1] ma'xalang^{w}, "Great Star," a variant is ma'xkalang^{w}, "red star."

[2] Meaning at the zenith, regarded in Delaware sky-lore as the point half-way between the earth and the summit of the sky dome, as nearly as can be ascertained.

[3] The constellation Ursus Major has among the Iroquois, the Cherokee, and also the Algonkian south of the St. Lawrence, the same interpretation, as representing the celestial Bear. North of this dividing line of culture, however, the figure is changed to that of the Fisher (Mustela pennanti) or Marten. The explanatory myths are of an entirely different nature in the two areas. The tale in the northern area seems to have a circumpolar distribution in North America from the Athapaskans through the Cree to the Montagnais-Naskapi of the Labrador peninsula, while the Bear legend of explanation traces to the southward. I have given some attention to this myth in a study of Penobscot tradition. (See also S. Hagar, Jour. Amer. Folk-Lore, vol. XIII, No. 49, p. 92; D. G. Brinton, Myths of the New World, Phila., 1896). (See previous discussion of star beliefs, p. 48).

[4] This vision of a celestial catastrophe reminds us again of the Delaware belief that when the Tortoise in his westward journey reaches the edge of the earth the world will come to an end.

[5] The word in the text is asi'a-k^{w}taya'a-k, corresponding to Zeisberger's anschisktawewak which he calls firebrands laid together (op. cit. p. 148). His editor suggests Cassiopeia.

[6] Unfortunately the informant was unable to give a translation for this term.

And so this is what the Delawares understand; namely that some spirit-forces are able to control everything whatsoever, and some are created with less strength. Therefore when a person acquires the strength of a vision of some object or living being, he will obtain it in accordance with the strength imbued in the spiritual power which gives it to him.[1]

And now of the several kinds of spirits when they are spoken of, the tortoise is said to be a powerful being because he is able to bear up this our mother's body. That is why it is said he slowly moves, walking

[1] This difficult passage is an example of the resourcefulness of the Delaware language. Two verbs, carry the much involved dominant ideas, pa·'tang ne·'xpeelamu'kuk. The former contains the stem pao, universal in Algonkian, as denoting magical functioning (See Speck, Penobscot Shamanism. Mem. Anth. Assn., Vol. VI, No. 3, 1920, pp. 240-54) pa·'lax being the Delaware for "fetish or charm," a spiritual agency; the second implies the meaning to be "born with power." Lindeström (1654-6) (op. cit. 207) discusses the term which he renders päähra.

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widely persons constantly went there because those prophet men were there. All of a sudden when several had gone there to the place where they were, no person was seen there. But again after a very long time some one found them. Here were these seven beautiful appearing pine trees. And some of the individuals appeared as cedars in outward appearance. This very thing there shows evidence that they are closely related, the cedar and the pine, although in a different way gifted with the power of spiritual force when created by the Creator. However, they were placed together as one since both are conjurors. 539X 773

And there is more than one way otherwise to use the cedar, for the purpose of coloring.

Again they notice that those prophet-men had become trees. Again they went away and it was a very long time afterward before they found them again. As soon as they were known here these had formed [821] in a group up above in the middle of the sky as seven stars[1] and they are called, when they are seen, as though they were great persons, for which reason from then on until now they never stay in one place during the year. That is what was said by our ancestors from whom it was rightly known that the cedar was of medicinal purpose. [151]

[1] The Pleiades.

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period of the ceremony when the cross-marked drumsticks are put aside to yield place to the image-carved sticks, the ceremony takes on a more exclusive meaning to its celebrants, corresponding to the advance of the soul into a more exclusive realm in its progress toward the ultimate. 775 787

After proceeding past the cross-roads the spirit led his soul to the mountain upon which rested the bird previously mentioned (C in the sketch). This station is called teo'las endala'usi·t, or endale'lamukuk, "bird where he lives". This creature bears the name Ge'k'exonu'kes "Storm-maker". And it is he who by the motion of his [821] wings causes storms and winds to rage over the earth below.[1]

The next landmark in the course of the journey after passing by the mountain of the big bird was the abode of the Thunder, pe't'hakowe endale'lamukuk, "thunder where he lives" (D in the sketch). On these heights the way was obscured by smoke, clouds and lightning, from which sources the tempests descended upon the earth. It was a terrifying place.

Beyond this mountain of storms the soul of Elkhair could not pass, but he could, notwithstanding this, behold a still more distant ridge of mountains (E in the sketch) called "pe'maxtiŋ "mountain ridge". While it was forbidden for him to approach nearer he could at least hear the voices of departed souls beyond enjoying their heavenly existence. Here, he was told, the souls are resting until the end of the world when all shall be enabled to cross over the next gap to the final stage of the journey to where the Great Spirit sits. Here souls dwell without care, worry or sickness. But it is exclusive for the [794] Delawares because only those who have been adherents to the Big House can become qualified for this existence.

This, the last stage of cosmic existence is that remote height of heaven where the Great Spirit rests supreme, looking down upon his creation, with his hand resting upon the staff he holds in his hand, which is, in the Delaware mind, symbolized by the center post of their Big House. No one of course knows what the final abode of souls is to be like, since Elkhair had no revelation concerning it. This realm is called lan·ape'ehat, "Delaware where he goes".

It should be recalled that these stages of the celestial pilgrimage are the "levels of heaven" mentioned before in the explanation of the ceremony, numbering twelve in all (see page 26).

In commenting upon the assumed nature of souls, Wi·tapano'xwe added that the soul appears as an image, without flesh, and that it is thought to look the same as it did in its earthly form.

In explaining the peculiar esoterism of the Delaware creed the informant said that exclusion of aliens was not a fixed property of 775 794

[1] Identical with a belief current among the Wabanaki.

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463 about 1913. The Delaware women and a few men are yet skilled workers in beads,
531 both in sewed-on designs and in bead weaving. The women are expert in the art of working out intricate designs in ribbon applique on robes, leggings, breech cloths
322 and moccasins. Some wood carving is also
285 done by the modern Delawares and a few make splint baskets.

Designs and Symbolism

531 In the study of Delaware art motifs we find that they fall into two groups. In group A are the ancient earth symbols, floral and geometric (angular) patterns; in group B, the religious symbols of the Peyote Cult. This is a religious teaching and ceremony that arose in the tribe about 50 years ago. Animal and human figures
[172] rarely occur in Delaware art. In archeological finds, representations of the human face in stone frequently occur but those are said to have been the charms owned and worn by certain individuals who had dreamed of the mask spirit and had the right to use its likeness as representative of
[787] the great spiritual force or guardian spirit. If a person saw an animal during his dream quest he would have the right to use the likeness of that particular animal on his
[614] wearing apparel. It is also permissible to have representations of clan animal totems on one's vest or tobacco pouch.

The earth symbols and the "trails" shown in plate 1 are said to be ancient, as well as figures A and B called "clasps" in plate 2. The earth symbols in plate 1 illustrate the
[821] native Delaware belief that the earth rests on the back of a tortoise and that the sun in its daily round goes under the tortoise and comes up on the opposite side the next day. Figure C, plate 1, symbolizes the power of the Creator which is felt in the four corners of the earth. These symbols
[171] occur in the ancient art designs of other Algonkian peoples in northeastern North America from Labrador to southern New England. Floral patterns for moccasin tops or vamps, breech cloths, robes and bags fall into this grouping (plates 3 and 4).

[P. 25, A]

15:Morgan E-5 (1859)1959
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[p 53 (A)]

622 [611] tain Ketchum, and of the Turtle Tribe. His name was Ta-ta-ne-sha. Here we have a practical illustration of descent in the female line, as with the Iroquois. She says each of the three tribes have one hereditary chief, called the Head Chief; that this chief never goes out to war, but stays at home while the Braves go out to fight.

648 The Delawares call the Senecas Mingwa-o, hence I think the historical word Mingoes,[88] a name for the Iroquois. The Delawares call the Iroquois and Wyandottes nephews, and thus assume the name [186] of uncles, which is a way to express their seniority as well as original superiority.

553 I inquired of her about the family names, and was again put at fault. She says the father and mother can name their children as they please; that they ask some one for a list of old names of persons dead, and choose such ones as they like. She thought the names of the three tribes were kept distinct, and then that they were used by these [614] tribes indiscriminately. She said her husband named her children, and gave them all Turtle names, which was his tribe, then followed this up by stating that she did not know as it made any difference, that all used the same names. She referred to the Seneca practice of making a feast when a [171] child was named, but said the Delawares did not do that way.

Winter

773 Mr. Pratt mentioned a Delaware tradition about the origin of cold and heat and the ● 821 change of the seasons as follows. In ancient times a married pair fell into disagreement. They lived in the far north region of cold. The wife, finding it impossible to live with her husband, or in resentment for some injury, travelled into the far south, into the region of heat. The husband became weary

15:Morgan E-5 (1859)1959
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[453(B)]

773 and lonely in her absence, started to make her a visit. As he travelled southward he 821 carried the cold with him and wherever he went it became winter, or rather winter followed his footsteps. After he had concluded his visit he returned and carried back the winter with him as he advanced to the north. From the most ancient times this visit has been annually renewed.

Indian Persistency

157 Mr. Pratt mentioned as a recent occurrence 224 among the Delawares, that while a party 521 were out on a Buffalo hunt a few years since, one of them said one day that before he returned he would take a three year old bull buffalo alive. His companions rather laughed at his suggestion as an impossibility, and thought no more about it. This is the age when they are the most ferocious and unmanageable. A few days afterwards this hunter rode up to a herd of buffalo and having singled out a two or three year old bull, he managed to detach him from the

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John Gill Pratt was a dedicated Baptist missionary, working in turn with the Shawnees, the Stockbridge, and finally the Delawares. Morgan regarded him highly.

15:Morgan E-5 (1859) 1959
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[55(c)]

000 tains. There are two cases of *polygamy* here.
595 Two well known Indians have two wives
183 each. The Delawares are opposed to it, and are inclined to make a fuss about it. But I suppose it is an old Indian institution and they cannot make a law against it. If it was contrary to Indian law they would not admit the children of both mothers to annuities. As it now stands, their annuity is a
657 bounty on children. I think the Delawares are tempted by their annuities.

Religious System of the Delawares[91]

776 William Adams, Del.

The Delawares believe in a Great and in an Evil Spirit. They also believe in a number of subordinate spirits, some of whom are waiting or ministering spirits of the Good and some of the Evil One. Among the waiting spirits of the former are the following.

776 1. Kaka-sha-ha-no-hase, the Spirit of the
821 Whirlwind. He is represented as having the form of a man and is called Grand Father.

2. O-we-ya-la-so, the Spirit of the Wind. He is represented as having the form of a man, with long streaming hair, so long that it sometimes gets entangled in the trees as he rides along. He is called Grand Father.

3. Pate-hoc-hoo-weh, the Spirit of Thun-
[825] der. He is represented as having the form of a bird, an Eagle, called Grand Father.

776 4. Wa-o-tun-oo-wase, the Spirit of Water.
823 She is represented as having the hands of a woman, and the body, but ending in a fish's tail. She is supposed to dwell in every drop of water as well as in every river, creek, lake and stream, and sometimes to be a punishing spirit. She it is in cases of drowning who pulls the person under the water. Hence her name means "Pulling Down far Under."

776 5. Has-gueme, the Spirit of Corn. She is
[824] represented as having the form of a woman, and is called our Mother. She can foretell

15:Morgan E-5 (1859)1959
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[p 56 (A)]

776 about the coming crop. When she rises with her hair combed smooth and shining, and is seen in this condition, it is a favorable omen and indicates an abundant crop. When she rises with her hair uncombed and loose, it indicates a bad crop, or a failure of the harvest.

6. Wa-ma-take-a-nese, the Boy Spirit. He is represented as a little boy, with a bow and arrow, and as a constant friend of the Indian. He is everywhere and always at hand in the most impossible places, ready to assist us in our trials and troubles. He is a servant of the Great Spirit.

776 773 [824] [821] 7. Ma-mun-da-ase, the Spirit of War. He is represented as having the form of a panther, with a very long tail. He can foretell war about to arise, who will fight, and who succeed. The meteoric stones are dropped by him, and the war will arise in the direction from which the meteor comes, and go in the direction it goes. He is under the control of the Great Spirit, as are all good spirits.

776 773 The Great Spirit has the form of a man (name elsewhere). The Evil Spirit has the form of a man with one leg, the leg of an ox. The tradition is that the Evil Spirit was created by the good and was himself originally good, but he originated a contention among the inferior spirits which resulted in a division and taking of sides. In the midst of this contention they all came into the presence of the Great Spirit, who seized the Evil One and as a mark of his disapprobation and as a punishment, he wrenched off one of his legs and placed in the room of it that of an ox, that he might ever afterwards be known and recognized at once as an evil spirit, and then sent him down to the earth with the evil spirits who followed him.

775 Heaven they consider to be immediately over their heads and a place in which they

[p 52(c)]

775 of the souls of those who were punished by
825 the evil spirit, the wreck, or fragments into which they were cut up were turned into mosquitoes and such evil creatures.

776 Bad spirits are believed to pass by about
787 day break and good spirits are believed to pass along about dark. For this reason boys are often sent to bed without supper, that they may commune with or be visited by
[785] good spirits, the fasting state being thought to be favorable to such communion, and for the same reason are often compelled to get up before day break that the evil spirits may not obtain or exercise any wicked influence upon them.

776 I am told that the Shawnee Female Great
821 Spirit is in reality the moon, and is worshipped as our Grand Mother or something of that sort; and Isaac Johnny Cake who mentioned this [to] me also said that the Great Spirit of the Delawares was represented and believed to be a brother of the Sun, and that the Moon was the Grand Mother of the Great Spirit; and young Toucey, the Stockbridge, says that there is
[171] some evidence of a [?] in of the sun in the worship of several of the Indian races, including his own. The Iroquois return thanks to the sun for heating the earth and to the moon for cooling it, but this does not show a sun worship or anything like it.
[115] William Adams is to correspond with me on the religious system of the Delawares, and I hope to find out something definite about it.

Gum-mween

796 This festival or annual worship of the Delawares as explained by William Adams and of which he is to write to me more fully, is
[241] quite interesting. They believe unless they observe it once a year their crops will fail, and they will lose the favor of the Great Spirit.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

Their belts of wampum are of different dimensions, both as to the length and breadth. White and black wampum are the kinds they use; the former denoting that which is *good*, as peace, friendship, good will &c., the latter the reverse; yet occasionally the black also is made use of on peace errands, when the white cannot be procured; but previous to its being produced for such purpose, it must be daubed all over with chalk, white clay, or any thing which changes the colour from black to white. The pipe of peace, being either made of a black or red stone, must also be whitened before it is produced and smoked out of on such occasions.

Roads from one friendly nation to another, are generally marked on the belt, by one or two rows of white wampum interwoven in the black, and running through the middle, and from end to end. It means that they are on good terms, and keep up a friendly intercourse with each other.

A black belt with the mark of a hatchet made on it with red paint, is a war belt, which when sent to a nation together with a twist or roll of tobacco, is an invitation to join in a war. If the nation so invited smoke of this tobacco and say it smokes well, they have given their consent, and are from that moment allies. If however they decline smoking, all further persuasion would be of no effect; yet it once happened, that war messengers endeavoured to persuade and compel a nation to accept the belt, by laying it on the shoulders or thigh of the chief, who, however, after shaking it off without touching it with his hands, afterwards, with a stick, threw it after them, as if he threw a snake or toad out of his way.

Although at their councils they do not seat themselves after the manner of the white people, yet the attitude they place themselves in is not chargeable to them as a want of respect. Faithful to the trust committed to them, they are careless of ceremonies, from which the

[erratum. See cat. 116, p. 348. Analyst]

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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them after their Chief Netawatwes had died. The ambassadors halted several miles below the town and sent word that they had arrived. The day after some Delaware Captains went down to welcome them and delivered a speech, in which they expressed joy on their arrival, extracted the thorns they had gotten on the journey from their feet, took the sand and gravel from between their toes, and anointed the wounds and bruises made by the briars and brushwod with oil, wiped the perspiration from their faces and the dust from their eyes, cleansed their ears, throats and hearts of all evil they had seen, heard or which had entered their hearts. A string of wampum was delivered in confirmation of this speech and then the Captains, accompanied by a large number of Indians, conducted the embassadors to the town. On entering the Cherokees saluted the inhabitants by firing their pieces, which was answered in the same manner by the Delawares. Next, the Captain of the Cherokees began a song, during which they proceeded to the Council-house, where everything had been prepared for the reception of the visitors. All having been seated, the Cherokee Captain comforted the grandfather, the Delaware nation, over the loss of the Chief. Continuing he wrapped the remains in a cloth, buried them, covered the grave with bark, wiped the tears from the eyes of the weeping nation, cleansed their ears and throats and took away all the sorrow from their hearts. He confirmed his speech by delivering a string of wampum. Then the peace-pipe was stuffed, lighted and in turn smoked by several Captains of the Delawares and Cherokees.

The peace-pipe is held in high regard among the Indians. It is brought out at certain solemn occasions, as when peace is concluded or renewed. The head is six or eight inches long and three inches high. It is made of stone or marble. A pipe made of red marble, as was the one used on the occasion described above; is particularly valued. The pipe-stem is made of wood and blackened, it is strong and durable and may be four feet long. It is wound around with fine ribbon and decorated with ornaments made of porcupine quills of various colors. It may be further ornamented with green, yellow and white feathers. If the pipe is made of red marble it is whitened with white clay

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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[822]

or chalk, for red is the color of war, even though the red marble pipe is most highly valued. For the same reason nothing red may appear on a string of wampum. A war-belt is smeared with red paint or cinnabar. If for want of a white wampum belt, one made of the violet colored shells has to be used, this is whitened with clay and then has the same signficance as a white belt. The dark wampum belts are used, whenever they wish to give some one a severe lesson or a reproof. After the ceremonies described above had been completed, and all had partaken of a feast, the exercises for that day were at an end. On the next day they approached the chief matters of interest and exchanged belts of friendship, this part of the negotiations lasting several days, as each belt was presented in connection with a formal speech.

136 A few words should be added concerning animals.

1) Swallows[210] are found, generally near some body of water. Snipe[211] are gray in color and have a bill almost as long as the body of the bird. The gull[212] is frequently seen near rivers and lakes. Two kinds of plover[213] may be seen in these parts, both found near water. The one variety is about the size of a blackbird,[214] which is sometimes found away from water, the other much smaller.

The whippoorwill[215] is a night bird, of gray color, somewhat smaller than a turtledove.[216] It has a thick head, a short bill and a wide mouth. It has received its name from its note, which may be heard all night long.

The Mosquito-hawk[217] gets its name from catching mosquitoes and flies while on the wing. It is about the size of turtledove, has a round white spot on each of its wings, which seem, when the animal flies, like holes in the wings. It will dart up and down very swiftly in its efforts to catch insects.

Of bees[218] nothing was known when we came here in '72, now they are to be found in large numbers in hollow trees in the woods.

Wasps[219] are found in large numbers.

2) Among the quadrupeds the flying squirrel[220] should be noted. This animal is about the size of a rat, has a thin mem-

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

clearly evident on the surface, namely that the two forked drum sticks, those of highly ceremonial significance used only from the ninth night of the ceremony to the end, bear carvings of human heads, a male on one, a female on the other, the latter having also the representation of female breasts below the face. This leaves no doubt of latent trend of thought in the basic symbolism of duality based upon sex in Delaware. The two drum sticks in question are definitely designated male and female. 796x 772 831

I might mention also another piece of native reasoning along the same line in explanation of the black and red half-painting which is so characteristic of Delaware sacred coloring. It has been assumed and with good reason that these colors represent the states of life and death, respectively red and black. I would not discard this theory since it is one present in the minds of some Delawares, but would rather find an explanation for the confusion in idea of the black and red symbols as an overlapping of several vaguely fused symbolisms; one designating sex, the other life and death. The whole question, as it now stands, amounts to a problem of symbol interpretation in Delaware religion in which the supposition of sexual duality must be given primary consideration. 796x 772 831 822

Reverting for a moment to Anderson's explanation of the two fire, two door, two center-post image peculiarity in the Big House arrangement, it should not be inferred that he intended to point out that these were exclusively or definitely sexual segregations or that they reflected duality in the conception of deity. He also wished especially to avoid fixing the idea that the two center-post images represented the Creator. He tried to make clear that the two branches of service represented by the men and women worshippers were made convenient and kept separate in accordance with the division into male and female functions by the dual arrangements just noted. 796x 772 831

The whole question of sex differentiation in Delaware religion and natural thought is one which may have to be worked out through evidences beneath the surface, perhaps in almost forgotten but deeply significant principles of thought,

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
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tives, and the founders of these rites, whoever they were, seem to have made suitable provision against public indifference. In the words of the informant, no one is apt to disregard the call to obey religious custom in view of the consequences. And there may have been some idea of making an offering to mother Corn as well in this rite. Its origin dates from the first conception of the corn ceremony as the text relates.[1] The individuals whose duty it is to enact this part are hence called "excrement daubers," and their identity is, as might naturally be expected, kept in the dark. The rite itself is called *we'mui·ha'lɔwe's* "excrement daubing."

Of the masks used in this rite we have mention of several specimens obtained from *Ni·ka'ni·paxoxwe*, "Leading walker" (Joe Washington) of the same band in Oklahoma (Fig. 1, *A* and *B*).[2] They represent the features of masks requisitioned in the rites of the Corn Harvest Ceremony as celebrated by the Wolf division. According to the memory of Joe Washington, from whom they were obtained, the mask (*A*) with black on the forehead and chin part and the middle face-portion of red, was employed by the mask messenger and dancer of the Wolf division in his *midday* appearances. The dark upper and lower bands of color represent darkness before dawn and after sunset; the lighter center, the middle of the day. The other (*B*) with the upper face area black and the lower red was worn in the rites of the *early morning and evening*.

The corn ceremony itself seems to be known only through general description on the part of our informant who had the account of it from his mother. She had seen the rite when she was young. As will be seen its characteristics are those of the usual Delaware feasting festivals. There are the addresses by the speaker chosen for the occasion, the women having prepared beforehand the amount of hominy

[1] One of the Delaware authorities, J. A. Parks, states in recent correspondence that he thinks the "excrement dauber" rite belonged originally to the Shawnee. Joe Washington, who had witnessed the rite when a young man, attributes the custom to the Seneca "introduced a long time ago to the Delawares."

[2] Specimen *A* (model, 4½ x 5½ inches) is of oak with cap portion, over top and back, of trimmed deer skin, with shredded corn stalk "hair." *B* is similar in construction, 6 x 8 inches. Unlike Iroquois masks there are no little bags of tobacco offering attached to Delaware images.

7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware-NM7
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A B

FIG. 1. DELAWARE RED AND BLACK WOODEN MASKS WITH CORN-HUSK "HAIR" WORN BY OFFICER IN MASK CEREMONY (p. 80). *A*. Worn during mid-day performances (reproduction 5½ inches in length). *B*. Worn during morning and evening performances. The spacing of the red and black colors represents the proportion of light and dark, morning and evening (*B*), and in mid-day (*A*). (Sketch by M. H. Wheeler.)

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9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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774 been left undone, when the ghost ceases the visits.
775 CAPTAIN CHIPPS—Ghosts are not known—have not been heard of.

J. W.—Ghosts are really shades or shadows of spirits, often seen before or after death, they are signs or warnings and can be seen by human eyes. There is much paralysis among the Delaware which is often caused by being struck with a shadow or crossing it or paying any attention to it if one sees it coming. Stopping [832] 753 to look at it, turning around after passing, even innocently, has evil effects. There is no cure for it. Preventive by rubbing [751] streak of ashes on left cheek under eye before going out in the evening. Often marked children as safeguard.

W. T. attributed to the soul the actions of the shadow reported by J. W.

40. Witches and wizards

754 JOHN JOHNSTON—They are very firm in the belief of witchcraft and suppose that there is many among them that can appear [753] in the shape of any animal they please and have power to cause sickness. They believe this to be a supernatural power invested in them by some one of the Deities for the purpose of good that they might have power to heal the sick etc. But that in their present degenerated state they have made a bad use of it, that instead of healing they inflict with sickness and other calamities.

754 CAPTAIN PIPE—They believe in witches and wizards and 756 attribute their powers to the use of certain medicine, said to have been procured of the Nanticokes who had it from a naked infant found by them on the Sea Shore. In 1810, the prophet when [792] preaching against the use of this medicine pointed out five or six men and women on white river as the possessors of it. These [683] persons protested their innocence and were put to the torture, where they were exhorted to save themselves by delivering the means of destruction which they possessd. Seeing no other prospect of escape from death, they professed a knowledge of the arts and promised compliance, but after release they were not able to produce the cause of the difficulty, and they were by common consent condemned to death by burning.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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clusion, add something to our idea of another side of the character of this knowing and potent reptile, so important to the religious sense of the Delaware.

"The turtle is in its way an evil thing, yet not so evil as a snake which is controlled by the Evil Spirit and has also human face-paint patterns. The Turtle can hurt human-beings. Once a boy caught a water-turtle and turned him on his back. The Turtle got mad; raised himself on his legs stiffly. The Turtle raised himself, and launched himself through the air and struck the boy on his head and nearly killed him. The Turtle has a weapon in the sharp frontal plates."

FIRE SYMBOLISM.—Among the spirit-forces of Delaware cosmology "Our Grandfather Fire" (te'ndai') is held in high esteem. The adoration of fire, however, is not sufficiently exclusive to justify the Delawares being called pyrolatrists. Fire, as a spirit-force subordinate to the Great Spirit, is an agency of purification and invigoration. In the Big House ceremony the rite of kindling new fire with the consecrated fire-drill takes place to the accompaniment of an appropriate prayer on the ninth night from the lips of the Bringer-in, or Master of Ceremonies. The new fire is thus "pure," since it is made with the implements granted by the Great Spirit. The coming of the white man within the horizon of Delaware culture introducing matches into the native economy has undoubtedly served to throw the sanctity of the fire-drill into a higher light. But it would, I believe, be quite erroneous to undervalue the attitude of reverence, both in thought and ritual, which is held toward fire in native culture throughout the east.[1] To the Delaware ceremonialists the making of new, "pure" fire symbolizes "renewing of life, fresh vigor, the breathing of pure air uncontaminated by latent forces of disease, new and pure influences for life and health." It is one of the forces to which tobacco is constantly offered, and is an auxiliary to the use of cedar as incense in the act of purification.

Both Zeisberger and Harrington lay stress on the deification of fire among the Delawares.[2] In the Big House the two fires maintained throughout the ceremony east and west of the center-post,

[1] Some writers who have dealt with fire-worship among the eastern Indians seem to have gone too far in defining them as outright sun- and fire-worshipers, through exaggeration of the importance of fire ceremonies described in the older accounts. That the Delawares have been more conservative in regard to admitting innovations into their ceremonies is shown by the fact that the Yuchi, in whose annual ceremony the kindling of new fire is an important act, have condescended to use flint and steel (F. G. Speck, Ethnology of the Yuchi Indians, Anth. Pubs. Univ. of Penna. Mus., vol. I No. 1 (1910), pp. 120-1). On the other hand we know of perpetual fire being maintained in village temples among some of the early peoples of the southeastern area; evidence that must be given full weight in considering the question of pyrolatry in eastern America.

[2] Zeisberger, op. cit., pp. 133-130, Harrington, (I) passim.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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where they burn under the gaze of the carved images of the Great Spirit on the post, represent the actual presence of this mighty spirit-force.

821 STARS AS SPIRIT-FORCES.—Among the man-i't-u mentioned in the text, the stars are given a prominent place. They too are "grandfathers" who, we are told, render service in assisting the moon to illuminate the night. It will be noticed that they receive a large share of reverence in the annual ceremony through being mentioned frequently in the adorational addresses. In the quaint phraseology of Wi'tapano'xwe we learn that the Great Dipper of European star-lore is called in Delaware $ma\chi k^{ee}$, "Bear." The head of the Bear is separate from the body. The legend tells us that the body is trying to catch up with the head, in which event the world will come to an end. Wi'tapano'xwe explained further that the stars of *corona borealis* formed the Bear's head which the animal is ever trying to reach. In Wabanaki star-lore this is the bear's den of hibernation from which the hunters, those three stars forming the so-called tail of the Bear (the handle of the Great Dipper in European belief), have driven the animal. It is said, by the same people, that the Bear is slain in the fall of the year, that its blood reddens the leaves of the trees and its fat when tried-out causes the earth to be covered with a white mantle, the snow. The subsequent portions of the tale seem not to have come forth as yet in Delaware mythology, although Zeisberger relates the outline of a legend of the Bear group in which the Bear is pursued by Indians "with a little dog; the three stars in the form of a triangle represent the head of a bear, which they cut from the trunk and threw down."[1]

The Delawares believe that some of the stars are living beings. For example the seven stars, known as asi'sk^{ee}taya'sak, "bunched-up," bear the identity of clean or holy men, prophets. They are known only to shamans or those who possess supernatural power. The legend says that at one time seven meteors fell from the sky partly burying themselves in the ground. Some shamans soon discovered them and they disappeared. The shamans found them again in the form of seven pine trees. They used to consult with these pine trees. Finally they became transformed into the seven stars.[2]

The informant adds: "The Delawares recognize the morning star, the evening star, and a constellation known as beast chasing the bear; At a certain season of the year you will find the leaves of the forest lying on the ground, appearing to be greasy and covered with spots of water. If at this time of year the beast has caught the bear the greasiness of the leaves is believed due to the bear-grease. Another large constellation near that of the bear represents his nest or den."

[1] Op. cit., p. 148.
[2] See Appendix, Note II.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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bers of the group are convened for the Big House ceremony the day intervals between the nightly performances are passed in taking rest and in pastimes of a native character. The Delawares have various games (li·nalo'ti·n) of a non-formal nature. Among these are horse racing (h'wta'me'laxtan, "trying out horses), and the dice and bowl game (ma'ma'ndi·n, "gathering [dice]") consisting of five dice, cut out of mussle shell carved into forms of button, horsehead, tortoise, tossed in a wooden bowl, the counters being kernels of corn or coffee beans. Other amusements, some obviously of European origin, are checkers, pitching quoits, cards, broad-jumping and jack-straws, it might be added that the Delawares are addicted to the well known moccasin-game but reserve it for the funeral ceremony.[1]

CEREMONIAL IMAGE AND FACE-PAINTING.—The application of pigment to the face has, in Delaware thought, the value of an anointment. The sanctity of the act of face-painting in connection with the performance is displayed in the formality of the rite on the ninth night in which the carved images in the Big House, the face images on the forked drum-sticks, and the faces of the worshipers themselves are given an application of red color. The images, however, receive an application of black and red on each half of the face, while the people receive a rubbing of red only on the cheeks and forehead. The proper native source of red for face painting, which the Delawares believe to have been created for their use by the Great Spirit, is Blood-root (Sanguinaria canadensis). Of this we hear occasionally in the text. In the accounts dealing with Indian customs in the east, Blood-root under the name pukoon is mentioned as an article of much importance. The term *pukoon* became adopted into English and the root became a color substance sought for in the commerce of the colonies. The Delawares still preserve a feeling of its importance and, although considered rare in the present habitat of the tribe in Oklahoma, it is locally present in quantities sufficient to supply an orange-red stain for them in their ceremonies. They call it pe''kən.[2]

Black painting is also important in significance. Black (sok·a'χtai, "black charcoal") is a means of summoning ghosts and so it is worn only when such associations are desired.[3]

In an account of early Pennsylvania and New Jersey, Gabriel Thomas (1698)[4] tells us that the Delawares upon decease made their faces black all over, and when their affairs went well they painted

[1] To be dealt with in a later memoir of this series.

[2] The identity of the above term with Sanguinaria was ascertained during a trip with the informant in the Pennsylvania woods where the plant was found and named.

[3] The informant remembers when a child being told by his mother to go wash the black paint from his face before night came on, after he had been playing dancing, lest it attract a ghost.

[4] Gabriel Thomas' Account, etc., in Narratives of Early Pennsylvania, West New Jersey, and Delaware, N. Y. (1912), edited by Albert Cook Myers, p. 341.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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their faces with red, "it being the token of their joy as the other is of their grief."

The dichromatic pattern, black and red, seems to stand out with prominence in the painting of the human face and its carved representations in the whole eastern portion of North America from Maine to the Gulf of Mexico. An explanation, often sought for by direct inquiry among the Indians, and again based upon hypothesis, has never seemed forthcoming. In the preceding remarks on the use of black among the Delawares, and again through implied reasoning, I would venture to suggest, lies a plausible explanation of the pattern of red and black. The red symbolizes living beings, the black dead, both idea and symbol having a deep grounding in the religious philosophy of the eastern part of the continent.

To illustrate some of the color patterns affected by the Delawares during the Big House ceremony, the narrator of the text made the accompanying color sketches (figure). The patterning permissible in the ceremony is normally restricted to black and red put on in larger masses rather than in fine lines. The mass designs are thought to be sombre, dignified; in short, full-dress in character, and, a note of no little significance, more ancient.

The smaller, fine-line designs placed on the cheeks or in the narrow area between the outer corner of the eye and the temple are regarded as being more modern, secular in character. These are considered too profane for the purpose of worship, and to wear them during the Big House ceremony would be out of keeping with the gravity of the occasion. The fine-line designs are regarded as being suitable for dress-up events of a social nature and for social dances. They belong also to the garb of warriors, like the wearing of the roach head-ornament and the feather bonnet. A series of examples of the fine line of warriors' face patterns for cheeks and temples are shown in figures , as observed and remembered by the informant. An analogy exists between the patterns adopted by warriors and the markings on the face of the rattlesnake and even the turtles. In both cases the patterns are thought ominous, which seems to account for their exclusion from the ceremonial category of designs. Painting on the face representing markings on turtles' or rattlesnakes' faces are called aca'co which means "slitting or cutting in the skin," in Delaware.[1]

THE SWEATING RITE.—At an earlier period of Delaware history, it is said in the text, before the evacuation of the tribal haunts in Kansas (1867) the performance of a sweating ceremony seems to have been included in the annual ceremony. Harrington has notes on this procedure for which he received the name muxhatoL'zing from his

[1] In Montagnais-Naskapi, aca'jo denotes tatooing.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

heard others say (alluding to the hard winter of 1739—40) that they were born at that time, or that they were then so tall, could do certain particular things, or had already some grey hair on their heads. When they could not refer precisely to some of those remarkable epochs, they would say "so many winters after."

The geographical knowledge of the Indians is really astonishing. I do not mean the knowledge of maps, for they have nothing of the kind to aid them; but their practical acquaintance with the country that they inhabit. They can steer directly through the woods in cloudy weather as well as in sunshine to the place they wish to go to, at the distance of two hundred miles and more. When the white people express their astonishment or enquire how they can hit a distant point with so much ease and exactness, they smile and answer: "How can "we go wrong when we know where we are to go to?" There are many who conjecture that they regulate their course by certain signs or marks on the trees, as for instance, that those that have the thickest bark are exposed to the north, and other similar observations, but those who think so are mistaken. The fact is, that the Indians have an accurate knowledge of all the streams of consequence and the courses which they run; they can tell directly while travelling along a stream, whether large or small, into what larger stream it empties itself. They know how to take the advantage of dividing ridges, where the smaller streams have their heads or from whence they take their source, and in travelling on the mountains, they have a full view of the country round, and can perceive the point to which their march is directed.

Their knowledge of astronomy is very limited. They have names for a few of the stars and take notice of their movements. The polar star points out to them by night the course which they are to take in the morning. They distinguish the phases of the moon by particular names;

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

they say the "new moon," the "round moon," (when it is full), and when in its decline, they say it is "half round." 821

They ascribe earthquakes to the moving of the great tortoise, which bears the *Island* (Continent) on its back, They say he shakes himself or changes his position. They are at a loss how to account for a solar or lunar eclipse; some say the sun or moon is in a swoon, others that it is involved in a very thick cloud. 823 [821]

A constant application of the mind to observing the scenes and accidents which occur in the woods, together with an ardent desire to acquire an intimate knowledge of the various objects which surround them, gives them, in many respects, an advantage over the white people, which will appear from the following anecdote.

A white man had, at his camp in a dark night, shot an Indian dog, mistaking it for a wolf which had the night before entered the encampment and eaten up all the meat. The dog mortally wounded, having returned to the Indian camp at the distance of a mile, caused much grief and uneasiness to the owner, the more so as he suspected the act had been committed from malice towards the Indians. He was ordered to enquire into the matter, and the white man being brought before him, candidly confessed that he had killed the dog, believing it to be a wolf. The Indian asked him whether he could not discern the difference between the "steps" or trampling of a wolf and that of a dog, let the night be ever so dark? The white man answered in the negative, and said he believed no man alive could do that; on which the whole company burst out into laughter at the ignorance of the whites and their want of skill in so plain and common a matter, and the delinquent was freely forgiven. 825

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

with the dancers, and when the amusement was at its height killed many of them with short weapons they had concealed under their blankets, escaping, after the deed was done, before their treachery had been discovered. 173

The land was never formally divided among the nations, whatever region was settled by a nation was recognized as property of that nation, and no one disputed its title, until, in course of war, one nation overpowered another and drove it out of its territory. In such cases, however, the conquering nation did not always settle on the conquered territory; for example, the Moshkos drove the Shawanose from their land in Florida but did not themselves settle there, still living on the west side of the Ohio in the region of the Wabash. The Delawares conquered the territory in which they live, having been driven out of the region they once inhabited by the white people. The Wiondats adjudged this region as belonging to them; and the Kikapus have given them a district along the Wabash and bordering on the country they inhabit for the chase. A part of the Delaware nation has lived in the Wabash region these many years, and of those living here many go thither every year. The boundaries of Indian countries are fixed along rivers and creeks or in a straight line from one river to another or along the mountain ranges, where there are mountains. 361 648

Of the spherical form of the earth they have no conception. Some declare that the earth floats upon the sea and that an enormous tortoise bears it on its back. The sky, they say, rests upon the water probably because it appears so to do when they look out upon the sea. Others declare that there is a place where the sky strikes the earth, rises again and continues moving up and down, smiting a rock, which causes such a report that it may be heard many days' journey. Two great captains once visited that place, and one of them risked going through the opening when the sky rose. He succeeded in getting into heaven and coming back. Yet where this place is they know as little as they do the location of Tschipey Hacki, the land of the spirits. The sun, they think, sinks into the water when it sets. Thunder is a mighty spirit dwelling in the mountains and sometimes issuing from their fastnesses suffers himself to be heard. Others imag- 823 821

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The herbalist, before using herbs previously gathered and dried, performs the same rite of smoking and prayer. If the plants are being gathered for future rather than for immediate use, an appeal is made to the Creator to bless the plants and render the remedies effective in curing the future ills of his grandchildren.

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The custom of offering prayers before the gathering and preparation of medicinal plants is not observed exclusively by the medicine men but is known to every Delaware. However, it was remarked that many fail to adhere to the ancient rite.

In observing Wi·tapanóxwe I was charmed by the delicate and reverential manner in which he handled the plants secured and arranged for this study. At this time he emphasized the idea of conservation, stating that one should gather only what was needed, and that vegetation in general should not be subjected to ruthless treatment.

[577]

[823
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Purity means much to the conservative Delaware and so the pure plants, as taken from Mother Earth, must not be defiled. It is therefore important that in order to avoid contamination no metal should come in contact with plants that are to be used in the treatment of disease. Roots and plants are allowed to dry in the sun, its rays lending them added potency. In this connection it is considered highly beneficial for a convalescing person to lie directly in the sun, so that its strengthenings qualities may be transferred to him. After the process of curing, roots and leaves are prepared by crushing them in a non-metallic receptacle, a stone basin or a wooden mortar being used for the purpose.

[758]

[823]

The herbalist smokes and offers a prayer while the medicine is being prepared and is always careful to stir it in the same direction—from left to right. One should never blow upon the concoction to cool it; to do so would represent an affront to the spirit of the plant.

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The most able practioner will not treat himself when ill, nor a sick member of his family, but always calls upon the service of another.[14]

If an herbalist or sweat doctor, after diagnosing a case, feels that it is beyond his power to effect a cure, he will send the patient to another more capable of treating him successfully. Sometimes a sick person

[14] Zeisberger *(op. cit.* p. 25) "If one should know enough to help himself, being able to prepare *Beson*, and became ill, he will rarely treat himself, having the superstitious belief that what is prepared by himself will be of no benefit. Using what has been prepared by another, he believes, will bring relief."

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
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Lenape

776 821 [782]

to the Sun, the Lenape usually addressed (When praying) him as "Elder Brother."

Little is found in early writings concerning the worship of the Sun, a mere mention in Brainerd,[18] and Loskiel,[19] by whom he is called "the sun or the god of the day."

THE MOON

None of my Lenape informants had much to say of the Moon, except that it was regarded as the *manĭ'to* charged with the duty of supplying light by night, and that it was addressed, like the Sun, as Elder Brother. It is mentioned as a god, and called the "night sun" by Loskiel.[20] This is expressed by the Unami name *Piske'weniki'zho.*

THE EARTH

776 823

Some Lenape speak of the earth itself as a *manĭ'to*, and call it "Our Mother" because it carries and nurtures the people, having been assigned that duty by the Creator. Others, instead of the earth itself, mention a spirit beneath or within the earth, but apparently separate from

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
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it. The earth is mentioned in a list of gods by Loskiel.[31] In some localities, at least, it was addressed in the Annual Ceremony, and thanks were offered to it for the benefits it gives to man.

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THUNDER BEINGS

Perhaps the most important of all the subordinate *manĭ'towŭk*, excepting only the Sun and possibly the Keepers of the Four Directions, were the Thunder Beings, to whom the Great Spirit gave the duty of watering the earth and protecting the people against Great Horned Water-serpents and other monsters. The Unami told me that they are called *Pethako-we'yŭk*, and are addressed as Elder Brother. They are man-like beings with wings, and always carry a bow and arrows with which they can shatter trees. When the first thunder is heard in spring, the people say, "The Spring Flying Things are coming" and it makes them feel glad to think that winter is nearly over. Some burn tobacco and pray to the Thunders at this and other times,

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6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
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Lenape

PLANT SPIRITS

When gathering herbs for medicine it was customary to offer prayers to certain spirits. Some seem to have prayed at this time to the four directions, others to the presiding genius of the species of plants they sought, or to the spirit of the individual plant itself. The Minsi say that only certain plants were thus addressed. The Corn Spirit has already been mentioned.

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LOCAL GENII

Certain localities, it is said, were thought to be the dwellings of local genii, to whom offerings were occasionally made, especially such places as displayed curious or unusual natural features, while even certain stones were said to have an animate principle or indwelling spirit.

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10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

did not know it, but I had begun to rise up half-way attempting to look toward it in the north.

Pitiful me, I saw nothing although I could well hear the person right over the ridge. As I listened he said, "Do not think that no thing cares for you, my friend!" Then and there I walked about. Indeed truly the thing overcame me with surprise, that person, when I came to the point of looking toward him. When I saw his form it seemed as though there in the direction of north, it lay extended like the appearance of red. And he said, "My friend, observe me carefully! Look at me, how I do when I walk about in this place!" Every little while he would start running. When he started running he sounded like tom+, tom+!" [Here the cranes beat the drum three times with the drum sticks, and they respond when he speaks in succession, tom+, tom+]. "Not small but great he looked, did that person.

When I thought it over, when I looked at it way over there, at the edge of the southern land[1] did it come to ground. And it sounded so, every time that creature started running, it sounded every time like o o+ o o+![2] And he said when he landed there, "And that besides is what I do here, when I pass by bestowing my spiritual blessing." For he spoke and he sounded like, that person, speaking when he alighted;[3]

'Going by fanning the air, glory of him, the worship of man, all over the earth, glory of him. Cease,[4] ya hwi·![5]

[1] Denoting the horizon where the earth island meets the surrounding water.

[2] At this point the "cranes" (drummers) strike the deer-hide drum rapidly.

[3] This is a set form in the ritual recitation when the reciter of visions is about to quote the man·i't·u. As he commences dancing he changes to motion of the rattle from a sideways to an up-and-down vigorous stroke, keeping it up while he is dancing and the drummers accompany him. The performer holds the rattle in his right hand before his body at waist-level, the head of the shell to the left, the tail to the right.

[4] Addressed to the drummers.

[5] Conceived by the visionary almost with the rapture of the Psalmist, the spiritual presence of the "red-appearing" man·i't·u is chanted. The sonorous swish-swish of the pebbles inside the dry tortoise shell rattle adds a peculiar dramatic quality to the recitation.

As to the text of the chant, the words are warped from their ordinary form into a lyric measure in conformity with the usual pattern of such compositions. It might be rendered in the following roughly corresponding lines of free-verse for those who will accept an approximate transfer of meter from one language to another so far from it in grammatical form.

Wind of spirit
Rushing by me,
Magic Power
Gives me vision,
Exaltation
Caused by him.
Supplication
Of the people,
Universal
Exaltation
Caused by him.
Cease!
Yahwi·!.

11:Newcomb E-5 (1952)1956 NM7 Delaware NM7

with an ordinary kitchen broom. After midnight the ashes were removed from the fire whenever a considerable quantity had accumulated.

The road-chief prayed, peyote was passed, and the songs began again. The throb of the drum and the songs were interrupted only occasionally; someone would ask for peyote, a person would mumble, and once one of the Winnebagos (No. 16, Fig. 1) asked the road-chief for permission to attempt a cure of his wife's swollen feet. This request was granted. The Winnebago walked around the fireplace and altar in a clockwise direction and cedar needles were thrown on the fire. He "caught" the smoke in a feather and dipped it into a cup of water which he had in readiness. He then brushed the feather over the woman's legs, concentrating on her feet. He drew a faintly glowing ember from the fire, took the ash into his mouth, and spit the ash into the ash pile nearest him. He then vigorously sucked the patient's feet.

Also early in the morning the Delaware sponsor asked the road-chief if she could pray for herself and her family. He assented. Standing next to the altar, she smoked a corn husk cigarette and, with tears streaming down her cheeks, related first in English and then in Delaware the story of her illness, her unhappiness, and her desire for the good health of her family. A little later a woman (No. 10 in Fig. 1) asked if she might be allowed to sing. Permission being given, she sang the customary four songs, her husband drumming for her.

At dawn the road-chief announced that the drum was going around for the last time. Following this last round the sponsor, her husband and young daughter (who had awakened and come into the tepee) stood up. The road-chief cast cedar needles upon the fire and brushed the entire bodies of the family with his eagle feather fan in the customary way. He then prayed. After they had resumed their seats the road-chief prayed again, following which candy and crackers were passed. The meeting was closed by the assemblage reciting the Lord's Prayer. The fire-chief rose and went around the tepee in the clockwise direction shaking everyone's hand and congratulating them on a successful meeting. The person on his left followed him in a like manner, and so on until everybody had shaken hands with everyone else and the tepee was emptied. Coffee was made and the participants relaxed in the yard and talked until the noon meal, after which the group dispersed.

It is difficult, perhaps impossible, to convey the attitude of peyotists and the atmosphere of a peyote meeting by means of a description of what happens during the course of the night. Perhaps the general

15:Morgan E-5 (1859)1959
NM? Delaware NM?
[+55(c)]

000 tains. There are two cases of *polygamy* here.
595 Two well known Indians have two wives
183 each. The Delawares are opposed to it, and are inclined to make a fuss about it. But I suppose it is an old Indian institution and they cannot make a law against it. If it was contrary to Indian law they would not admit the children of both mothers to annuities. As it now stands, their annuity is a
657 bounty on children. I think the Delawares are tempted by their annuities.

Religious System of the Delawares[91]

776 William Adams, Del.

The Delawares believe in a Great and in an Evil Spirit. They also believe in a number of subordinate spirits, some of whom are waiting or ministering spirits of the Good and some of the Evil One. Among the waiting spirits of the former are the following.

776 821 1. Kaka-sha-ha-no-hase, the Spirit of the Whirlwind. He is represented as having the form of a man and is called Grand Father.

2. O-we-ya-la-so, the Spirit of the Wind. He is represented as having the form of a man, with long streaming hair, so long that it sometimes gets entangled in the trees as he rides along. He is called Grand Father.

3. Pate-hoc-hoo-weh, the Spirit of Thun-
[825] der. He is represented as having the form of a bird, an Eagle, called Grand Father.

776 823 4. Wa-o-tun-oo-wase, the Spirit of Water. She is represented as having the hands of a woman, and the body, but ending in a fish's tail. She is supposed to dwell in every drop of water as well as in every river, creek, lake and stream, and sometimes to be a punishing spirit. She it is in cases of drowning who pulls the person under the water. Hence her name means "Pulling Down far Under."

776 [824] 5. Has-gueme, the Spirit of Corn. She is represented as having the form of a woman, and is called our Mother. She can foretell

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute
Crow NQ10
Delaware NM7

NOTES TO ELEMENT LIST

1. Cr 2: Straight stick of any kind or collapsible cane, beaded at joints (Voget).

2. Ab S: "The staff represents a walking cane" (Voegelin). Gos: Made of mountain mahogany by leader himself (Malouf).

3. K-A: Not necessarily (McAllister). Ab S: Deer's tail dyed red (Voegelin). De 1: Staff decorated with feathers, ribbon, and otter skins (Petrullo, 49). Win: Tufts of hair around two joints about a foot from each end of cane. An oval celloluid device 5 inches long with feathers attached around its edge was suspended from the upper joint. Staff was walking stick with crook (Praus). Cr 2: Horsehair among the Crow. Sometimes hair of different animals is used. "People wish for the same type of animal as the hair. It is a sort of wishbone." Crow prefer white horsehair to black. "The old-time Indians say white is the cleanest thing on earth; that is why they use that" (Voget).

4. Ab S: Held by person giving the meeting, at opening of meeting only (Voegelin). Cr 2: Four pieces of sage used; held along with staff. Silvery wide-leafed variety of sage is employed (Voget). WRS: Four pieces of *Artemisia* are tied on (Shimkin).

5. Ab S: Bunch of sage passed around separately at beginning of meeting (Voegelin). WRS: Clockwise, "the same as the world" (Shimkin).

9. Cr 2: Man who has his own rattle which suits the pitch of his voice holds leader's rattle in his left hand and rattles his own with his right hand. "Each man does as he wishes in worship." But note that individual rattles not employed until after midnight, apparently out of deference to position of leader. That would be impolite (Voget).

10. Kio: Decoration of gourd proper doubtful. But I have seen "Jesus talk" written on a Comanche gourd (La Barre). Ab S: Gourd itself is stained dark brown with walnut-bark (sic) dye; undecorated otherwise. But handle and projecting end are beaded, tasseled, etc. (Voegelin).

12. Gos: White horsehair at end of handle is not dyed (Malouf). W-P: Feathers also used.

13. Cr 1: "Passed with cane" (Voget).

16. De 2: In "Wilson way" meeting members can rattle own rattles any time (Webber). Prohibition on using rattles other than ones used by road chief until midnight (Petrullo, 90, 158). WRS: After drum goes around once, individual rattles may be used (Shimkin).

18. Ab S: Eagle, chicken hawk, parrot, "any kind of bird." Leader did not have special fan that was passed around; each person, including leader, brought and used own fan all night (Voegelin). De 2: Fans and single feathers used in meeting (Webber). See note 3. Cr 2: Any feathers used. Usually eagle tail feathers come out in set of twelve; that is, twelve good feathers found naturally in tail of each bird. "The twelve-feather set represents months of the year, we do not change that" (Voget). WRS: Eagle-wing fan with feathers bound toegether is most common. Fan is of same style as other ceremonial fans (Shimkin).

20. Kio: Buckskin feather sockets not decorated or beaded, but handle is beaded (La Barre).

21. W-P: Leader's fan passed only after midnight.

22. Kio: Leader holds own fan with staff when singing; other men do likewise with their fans when singing (La Barre).

24. De 2: Anyone having single feathers or fan can use them any time they wish (Webber).

25. Cr 1: "Used to draw smoke to inhale" (Voget).

26. De 2: Whistle not used in "Wilson way" meeting (Webber). Cr 2: Sometimes used four times in course of meeting. Midnight: strong, sharp, long blasts four times. "We make these four long calls in order that the Creator might hear us. That is the way I understand it among the Crows." Right after the water call, leader goes outside tipi, usually whistles in order toward east, south, west, and north, the four parts of the earth. Four blasts are given to each direction, and a prayer is offered. Type of prayer depends upon the leader, "but each corner has something of its own." East: prayer to rising sun, which brings daylight, and to wind, which comes from east, about which all peoples, Indian and white, know. "I do not know what other countries have, but the Montana east wind is harmless." South: prayers offered to those things of the south, for instance, warmth and food. West: setting of the sun brings darkness. Also, certain foods come from the west. "Whatever property is needed from the west [the leader asks for]." North: the same holds for the north; but north wind usually cold, so leader usually asks Creator to control it, keep it not too cold so that animals will not die (Voget).

14: Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute

Crow NQ1D
Delaware NM7 ●

27. Gos: Also used before meeting, while all lined up outside (Malouf).
28. Gos: See note 265a.
30. WRS: Leader allows others to blow whistle as special privilege—to show thanks to Creator (Shimkin). C D 171
32. Ab S: Square of purple velvet (Voegelin).
33. Com and No C: Chief drummer does not necessarily provide or tune drum. Best drum available used (Hoebel). Cr 1: Leader has complete outfit, and if drummer, whom he selects, has no drum, leader lends his (Voget). Cr 2: Chief drummer uses own drum (Voget). 795 796
35. Cr 2: Can be copper, gold, aluminum, or "anything of iron" (Voget). Gos: 1½-gallon size used, although gallon (No. 6) size desired (Malouf). C —[534]
36. 13 T: Among Caddo (La Barre).
37. Cr 2: Charcoal obtained from leader's stove (Voget). Gos: Fourteen pieces; Goshute don't know what they represent (Malouf).
38. De 1: Otter skin sometimes used (Webber). Cr 1: "Buckskin of a sort," that is, any well-tanned skin (Voget). Cr 2: Usually deerskin best, but any soft skin may be used (Voget). D [237]
40. Kic: Six pebbles used (Noon). Ab S: Eight small round pebbles (Voegelin). De 1: Four small stones used (Petrullo, 50). Cr 1: Seven stone "marbles" (Voget). Cr 2: "Small ball-like rocks" (Voget). C D [823] ●
43. Ab S: I suspect it is significant, but my informant did not comment on this (Voegelin). Cr 1: "It means the stars, I guess" (Voget). Cr 2: Symbolized stars in the sky; later the people observed that law officers carried such, and so "we use it to signify living within the law" (Voget). Gos: Represents Morning Star (Malouf). C [823]
44. Gos: See note 265a.
46. Cr 1: Chief drummer's used if he has one (Voget).
48. Ab S: Used only after drum had passed halfway around tipi, as far as door; then individual drumsticks smoked in cedar, and permission given to use them—but this long before midnight (Voegelin).
50. De 2: See note 83. Cr 1: Man asks permission of drum chief to pick out drummer (Voget).
51. K-A: Each person participating drums. Feeling strong that one should have peyote partner, and singing and drumming occur in couples. First man sings, his partner drums; then first man drums, second sings. Singing occurs in regular order. Drum skips and then goes back; then skips again, etc. (McAllister). Cr 2: If man on right (A) wishes man on left (B) to drum, B circles room clockwise and sits to right of staff held by A (Voget).
52. Ab S: "Women sometimes drum at a peyote meeting," but mainly men, I noticed (Voegelin). Cr 2: "There is no law against women [drumming], but they just don't" (Voget).
53. Kic: My information not definite on this point. My recollection is that the bag of cedar belonged to the cedarman—this may be a confused impression due to the fact that the cedarman alone threw the cedar on the fire (Noon). Cr 2: Members also have some for their own use (Voget).
55. K-A: No "cedarman"; drummer usually puts cedar on fire (McAllister). Ab S: Usually cedar sprinkled by leader (Voegelin).
56. Win: Both assistants to right and left of leader have cedar bags and sprinkle it on fire at different times. Man on left did so at midnight ceremony (Praus).
57. Ab S: This tobacco is mixed with sage (Voegelin). See note 198 W-P. WRS: Person calling meeting, or sponsor, gives tobacco to leader before meeting, unless sponsor also leader (Shimkin).
58. Gos: See note 265a.
59. Ab S: Perhaps—but I never heard of it for peyote meetings, although Shawnee use oak leaves sometimes for ordinary cigarettes (Voegelin).
60. Cr 2: Paper not "proper"; only when no husks available (Voget). C [274]
61. Cr 2: If leader has no tobacco on hand, others may offer their own (Voget).
62. 13 T: Tobacco lacking among some Oto, Pawnee, Winnebago (La Barre, 79). Ute: Tobacco not used in "old Sioux way" sects among Ute and Goshute.
63. Win: Cost of peyote defrayed by persons sponsoring meeting; I received buttons from fire chief, assistant at right of leader, and various men in the group (Praus). WRS: Sponsor gives peyote to leader. Names for peyote: (1) hus; (2) wɔgʷeβi—a Comanche word for "cactus" (Shimkin).

14: Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute
Comanche N06
Delaware NM7 ●

[A] C D 171 795 796 D [778] D [823] ●

Gos: Although tipi preferable, house used at meeting attended. All good peyote members have houses facing east for that reason (Malouf).

96. Kio: In old days; not now (La Barre).

97. De 2: One Big Moon variant has entrance to west (Petrullo, 182). Sometimes door to west (Webber). See notes 74, 99.

98. De 2: Most usual Big Moon crescent altar is drawn on ground, instead of being made in a mound. Numerous other innovations in type of altar were introduced by Wilson and his followers (Petrullo, 80, 179–184). However, Anderson's Big Moon altar, consisting of crescentic mound with a line on its crest, is described and shown in picture (Petrullo, 48, 101). Win: Altar consisted of pit inside of horseshoe incised on floor. Lines extended beyond altar in the cardinal directions (Praus). Altar resembles that of the Delaware Big Moon variant shown by Petrullo, plate 3, page 79. Gos: Inasmuch as meeting held in dwelling, special altar constructed. In addition to crescent, apron of earth extended toward the east from concave side of moon which protected the wooden floor from hot embers carried in from fire outside (Malouf).

99. De 2: End toward west in one Big Moon variant (Petrullo, 182). See notes 74, 97. Win: See note 98.

100. De 2: See note 98. Win: See note 98.

101. Gos: Kerosene lamp, four sticks, and hot coals used in place of fire impossible in house (Malouf).

103. Com: Sticks form tipi (Hoebel). Cr 2: Point or "face" west (Voget). WRS: Must be neat is only rule (Shimkin).

104. Kio: In theory; not rigidly enforced. One leader insists fire be lit with one match (La Barre). Cr 1: "Matches is the quickest, or they could use 'clinkers'; that is the Indian way. But that is all past, you know" (Voget). Cr 2: Match employed (Voget).

105. Com and No C: Seven sticks on fire (Hoebel). De 1 and 2: Twelve sticks at start (Petrullo, 50, 101). Cr 2: Number varies with weather, but usually at least four (Voget). Taos: Seven sticks (Parsons).

106. WRS: Sometimes carved (Shimkin).

108. Ab S: Not obligatory, except for female. "Should wear moccasins." Several men wore blankets; "depended upon whether they owned one or not" (Voegelin). Cr 1: "They put on the best they have; they doll up, just as the whites when they go to church" (Voget). Cr 2: People wear their best clothes. Apparently no preference for old-time dress (Voget). Taos: "Peyote boys" wear American shoes and hats, contrary to the rule of going in Indian habit while at the pueblo. Peyotists refuse to cut seats from trousers (Parsons).

109. Cr 1: When dark (Voget).

110. Kio: Varies with leader (La Barre). Ab S: Leader offered prayers when putting up tipi, putting the sage (?) cross on moon, etc., but I do not think he prayed just before going in, except when he made the peyote tea just before the meeting (Voegelin).

111. De 2: Chief enters alone and is seated when others enter (Petrullo, 89; Webber). Gos: Chief enters alone and blows whistle for others to enter (Malouf). See note 265a.

112. De 2: Drum chief led worshippers into tipi (Petrullo, 96).

114. Cr 1: "Each family goes together; women could precede men" (Voget). Cr 2: Such an arrangement could be due to pure chance (Voget).

115. Kio: Women attend, but no children except when meeting given to heal child (Noon). WRS: Children allowed only if ill (Shimkin).

117. De 2: See notes 74, 97, 99. W-P: Rules for seating not fixed. When room, husband and wife sit together in inner circle; when crowded, wife and children sit back of husband.

119. Kio: Varies with leader; some on south side; some near door; some anywhere (save officials' places) (La Barre).

120. De 1 and 2: Women south of altar, men north of altar (Petrullo, 57; Webber). Cr 2: Single line used so no one sits between anyone else and the Creator's gift. Segregation would be result of chance (Voget). WRS: Theoretically proper, often disregarded (Shimkin).

122. Kio: All worshippers sit in single row save when more worshippers than can be thus accommodated (Noon).

124. Cr 1: Blankets (Voget). Cr 2: Each has his own cushion (Voget).

l:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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call "the *spring* month," May, the *planting* month, June, the *fawn* month, or the month in which the deer bring forth their young, or, again, the month in which the hair of the deer changes to a reddish colour. They call July the *summer* month; August, the month of *roasting ears*, that is to say, in which the ears of corn are fit to be roasted and eaten. September, they call the *autumnal* month, October, the gathering or *harvest* month; December, the *hunting* month, it being the time when the stags have all dropped their antlers or horns. January is called the *mouse* or *squirrel* month, for now those animals come out of their holes, and lastly, they call February the *frog* month, because on a warm day the frogs then begin to croak. 805

Some nations call the month of January by a name which denotes "the sun's return to them," probably because in that month the days begin to lengthen again. As I have said before, they do not all call the months by the same name; even the Monseys, a tribe of the Delawares, differ among themselves in the denominations which they give to them. [184]

The Indians say that when the leaf of the white oak, which puts forth in the spring, is of the size of the ear of a mouse, it is time to plant corn; they observe that now the whipperwill has arrived, and is continually hovering over them calling out his Indian name "*Wekolis*," in order to remind them of the planting time, as if he said to them "*Huckiheck!* go to planting corn!" [824]

They calculate their ages by some remarkable event which has taken place within their remembrance, as, for instance, an uncommonly severe winter, a very deep snow, an extraordinary freshet, a general war, the building of a new town or city by the white people, &c. Thus I have heard old Indians say more than fifty years ago, that when their brother Miquon spoke to their forefathers, they were of such an age or size, they could catch butterflies, or hit a bird with the bow and arrow. I have

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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from archaeological sites attributed to the Delawares. Copper tobacco pipes were recorded early in the seventeenth century by Juet who said: "They had red Copper Tabacco pipes, and other things of Copper they did weare about their neckes."[167] Lindestrom described the pipes as painted and said that there were some "an ell in length, which are screwed together with leather, to lean on. . .and in these pipe-heads will go a handful of tobacco."[168] In another place he indicated that pipe heads were decorated with birds and animals "very beautifully painted and glazed."[169] Holm said that the pipes were "a fathom long, which they lean upon as a stick."[170] The pottery pipes found in archaeological sites were plainer, being "straight conical tubes, plain or stamped, to elbow-shaped forms decorated with incised or stamped lines."[171] De Laet said they had ". . .tubes for smoking tobacco formed. . .of flint stone ingeniously perforated."[172] Stone pipes, however, are relatively rare in archaeological sites.[173]

Agricultural implements of the women were simple; short-handled hoes were fashioned with a blade of dogwood, stone, tortoise shell, or the scapula of a deer (later bison).[174] The scapula hoe is remembered by living Delawares. The Delawares had pottery vessels, and according to archaeological information the paste varied from fine to medium coarse, grit temper was more common than shell temper, and sherds are usually gray or brown. Vessels had "conical and rounded bottoms" and were "straight walled or rounded." Shoulders were often absent, although some had pronounced shoulders when associated with a collared rim. Decoration, if present, was by roughening with a cord-wrapped paddle. Incised decorative designs were frequent.[175] Containers and other utensils were fashioned of wood, shell, bark, gourds, and tortoise shell.[176] Stone tools are common in archaeological deposits and include "plain or pitted hammerstones, anvil stones, abrading stones, sinew stones, pestles, shallow mortars, choppers (or hoes), picks, netsinkers, paint stones and amorphous pieces of mica."[177] They possessed "stone hatchets" that were hafted to a handle, and another type which was neither grooved nor hafted.[178] The women and old men manufactured the mats, ropes, tump lines, and baskets, which were made from wild hemp, nettle, silkweed, spruce roots, cornhusks, ash splints, papaw bark, elm bast, and rushes. Wooden bowls, dishes, and mortars were made of maple, buckeye, and elm wood.[179] Speck has described fully the block

[167] Juet, 1909, pp. 18-19; De Laet, 1909, p. 49.
[168] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 197.
[169] *Ibid.*, p. 221.
[170] Holm, 1834, p. 120.
[171] Smith, 1950, p. 119.
[172] De Laet, 1909, p. 57.
[173] Butler, 1947, p. 252.
[174] Johnson, 1917, p. 279; Jemison, 1918, p. 47; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 38; Mahr, 1954, pp. 385-86.
[175] Smith, 1950, pp. 117-18.
[176] Pastorius, 1912, p. 384; Lindestrom, 1925, p. 255; Johnson, 1917, p. 281; Speck, 1941, pp. 47, 76-79; Smith, 1950, p. 119.
[177] Smith, 1950, p. 119.
[178] Kalm, 1937, I: 229.
[179] Thomas, 1912, p. 341; Lindestrom, 1925, p. 221; De Laet, 1909, p. 57; Harrington, 1913, p. 224.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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[137] These grow on very stony ground near the water, where the sunshine is particularly hot. In these parts I have not come across this variety.

Besides, there are mulberries,[95] plums,[96] and wild grapes of three sorts, those growing on high ground[97] or hills being the best; those[98] found in the bottoms are very sour. Crabapples[99] grow in great plenty and the Indians, being very fond of sharp and sour fruit, eat them in abundance.

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Of nuts there are found: (1) The well known hazel nut,[100] (2) the hickory nut,[101] found in great plenty in some years and which the Indians gather in large quantities and use not only as they find them — they have a very sweet taste — but also extract from them a milky juice used in different foods and very nourishing. Sometimes they extract an oil by first roasting the nut in the shell under hot ashes and pounding them to a fine mash, which they boil in water. The oil swimming on the surface is skimmed off and preserved for cooking and other purposes. (3) The walnut of two varieties, the white walnut[102] deriving its name from the color of the wood which, strictly speaking, is gray, and the black walnut,[103] of which the wood is dark-brown, sometimes even shading into violet. The latter is very much used by cabinet makers for tables, chests and other things. The nuts, the one variety having a very hard shell, are eaten, but are very oily.

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The papa[104] tree, which I have seen nowhere else than along the Ohio, bears a very beautiful fruit, in form and size resembling a middle sized cucumber, of an agreeable smell and taste.

Wild laurel[105] is found in the bottoms in great abundance; the berries are smaller than those found elsewhere, but have about the same taste. Of these, even the whites make use. They grow on bushes, the wood of which has a strong spicy color and taste, used by the Indians for medicine and called by the English, spicewood.[106]

[278 824]

Chestnuts[107] are very plentiful in some years. The Indians gather them and prepare various dishes with them. A larger variety of chestnuts[108] is native to these parts, but these are not fit to eat.

[222 262]

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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predictions. In one important respect, according to my opinion, they make mistakes, namely, in not properly measuring doses and often needlessly torturing patients. Hence, it is that in connection with the external hurts, where over-treatment is less likely to occur, they have the better results, as is the case with rheumatism, for which they use only external applications. One Indian knows of good remedies for one disease or kind of injury, another another. Owing to the fact that they rarely reveal their knowledge to each other, much of the practical knowledge is lost.

In the matter of diseases peculiar to women, the women know a number of remedies, which usually act quickly and well, as in the case of hard labor, which sometimes occurs, though not frequently, and in other troubles. If mothers cannot suckle children for want of milk, they are able, by use of a drink, to increase the supply.[143]

In the use of poisonous roots the Indians are well versed, and there are many melancholy examples where they have by their use destroyed themselves or others. If a case of poisoning is taken in time, the effect of the poisonous root may be prevented by inducing vomiting. In case assistance is rendered too late, death follows, as a rule, in a few hours. There are poisonous roots that operate by slow degrees, in some cases illness may last a year or longer.

The so-called Poison Vine[144] grows plentifully in the bottoms. It climbs up the trees, much as a grape vine will, the main stem becoming as thick as an arm. Some are affected with swelling in the face and body if they touch it, others, even when the wind blows over it upon them. This is very painful until cured. Others do not suffer from the vine at all. This holds good of Indians as of others.

There are some poisonous trees.[144] These do not attain great height. They have a milky juice under the bark which is very poisonous.

The bark of many different kinds of trees is used by the Indians for preparing medicine. Occasionally, you will meet an Indian who has knowledge in this kind of remedies, but knows nothing of roots or herbs. With the white walnut bark,[146]

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with the white walnut bark,[145]
used externally and internally, they effect many cures. Laid upon flesh wounds this relieves pain at once, prevents swelling and accelerates healing. Applied externally in case of tooth-ache, head-ache or pain in the limbs, this brings speedy relief.

Beyond question there are many roots and herbs not found in Europe; perhaps it would be safe to say that this is true of most here found, but as I am no authority in this subject and know no names, except perhaps the Indian designations, I will add nothing further about roots and herbs. Doubtless, there are books from which one might get more information than it is in my power to give.

The following quadrupeds are to be found along the Ohio: In the first place, there are the deer,[146] whose skins are much used in barter and trade by the Indians. Their horns are not straight, but bent toward each other and have prongs. From May until September they are red, after that they lose the red hair and their hide is covered with long, gray hair, which is their winter coat. At about the beginning of the year they shed their horns; new ones grow in spring. These are at first and until they attain their full size, covered with a thin skin, which peels off when the horns harden. The tail is about a foot long and stands up straight when they run. As the under side of the tail is white it is possible to see them running at a great distance. The young are born in June or about that time, are red, spotted with white, until in the fall when they become gray. Deer have young each spring, sometimes two. As, however, they are hunted so persistently at the call of trade, their numbers diminish with each year, even though the forests are of vast extent, for the hunters are many. A large buckskin is valued at a Spanish dollar; two doeskins are regarded as equal in value to one buckskin.[147]

The bear is quite black, has short ears, a thick head and quite a sharp snout.[148] It has but a very short tail and great strong claws on his feet. It can easily climb the trees and bring down chestnuts and acorns. This is done, however, only when these are not ripe and do not, therefore, fall down. They generally break off the branches, throw them down and then climb

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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821 ine the thunder to proceed from the crowing of a monstrous turkey-cock in the heavens. For certain stars they have names. The north star is called Lowanen, that is, north, or it is called the star that does not move. The wagon which revolves around the North Star they call the Bear, whom, they say, the Indians pursued with a little dog, that is the star Wilis; the three stars in the form of a triangle, represent the head of a bear, which they cut from the trunk and threw down. Certain stars forming an ellipse they call the beaver-hide, because they describe the form of a beaver hide stretched out. The milky way is the road to Tschipey Hacki. The seven stars[324] they have named Anschisktauwewak, that is fire-brands gathered or laid together. The Monsys (Mouseys) call these stars Menhaugik, the travelling companions. Other nations have yet other names for them. In case of an eclipse of sun or moon, they say that these bodies have fallen into a swoon.

755 In time of illness, they try all manner of remedies, for they have a great fear of death. They not only consult the doctors, but take, also, the medicine that others may prescribe. The doctors must be called in, for if they were slighted, the patient might die. The doctors blow upon the patients, sprinkle a drink of roots and herbs they have taken into the mouth upon them, and murmur incantations over them. They diagnose the disease, tell whence it came and inform them whether recovery is possible or not. They give directions, also, as to what must be done and what kind of sacrifice must be brought. They prescribe some sort of Beson prepared from herbs and roots, of which they know the properties very well. It has happened that many doctors have been consulted in a single case, have perhaps given up all hope of recovery, and yet the patient became well.

757 For headache they lay a piece of white walnut bark on the temples, toothache is treated by placing the same kind of bark [824] on the cheek over the tooth that gives the trouble. The bark is very heating and burns the skin in a short time, often affording relief. The same bark is applied to any of the limbs that may be afflicted, having the effect at times of driving the pain from one part of the body to another, until there is an eruption 752 somewhere. This bark pounded fine and boiled to the con-

3: Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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sistency of a strong lye stops the flow of blood when applied to a fresh wound, even though an artery may have been ruptured, prevents swelling and heals the wound rapidly. After this solution has been used for one or two days other roots must be applied, such as the great sassaparilla and others that have healing powers.

Epilepsy is not very common among the Indians. It does not often happen that an Indian becomes mad, and madness among these people is not as violent as among the whites, probably, for the reason that they are not possessed of equal power with the whites, and even their bodies are weaker because they have not the abundance and variety of nourishing food. Blood letting is supposed to help the epileptics.

Of small-pox they knew nothing until some of them caught the contagion from the Europeans. Most of them died before the small-pox properly appeared. They are much inclined to boils and sores. Upon these they lay a warm poultice made of the flour of Indian corn; when the boils are ripe they are lanced. Broken arms and legs they are able to set very well, though limbs are not broken often, dislocated joints they are also able to correct. If an Indian has dislocated his foot or knee, when hunting alone, he creeps to the next tree and tying one end of his strap to it, fastens the other to the dislocated limb and, lying on his back, continues to pull until it is reduced. For tooth-ache the Indians use roots also, placing a little piece in the hollow tooth, which sometimes affords relief though not always. Sometimes teeth are extracted if a pair of pincers can be secured. It is not for lack of skill but for lack of proper instruments that they do not treat external injuries more successfully. Such instruments as they have are not used in the most careful manner. If one who is being operated on cries out, those present laugh. Misfortunes of almost any kind trouble them little; if house and goods have been burned, the unfortunate owners may even relate the experience in a humorous manner.

Many of them suffer from diarrhoea, particularly, in the fall of the year. The evil is aggravated because they know nothing of dieting and continue to eat whatever they wish. For

759 but occasionally a man is blessed with a vision [8] in which the Creator bestows upon him this great gift, and like Wi·tapanóxwe, he becomes an herbalist. In addition to the knowledge of healing acquired through his guardian Spirit,[9] the informant has also followed carefully the teachings of his mother who was recognized by Delaware of the older generation as one adept in the art of compounding and administering herbal remedies.

[791] The second class is composed of individuals whose supernatural power enables them to perform acts such as reuniting an estranged couple or dispelling a supposedly evil charm. Certain rare plants are employed by them in practices resorted to only in emergencies.

It must be emphasized here that, according to Delaware belief, the practitioners are the medium through whom the Creator sends his healing power to alleviate distress caused by the physical and mental ills which attack the frail bodies of mankind.

Absolute faith in the unfailing power and benevolence of the Creator is the force which inspires the Delaware who has been blessed with a medicine vision and he is ever appealing in prayer to that higher Spiritual Force for aid in his professional undertakings.

[824 825] Believing that plants and animals in general are closely related to mankind [10] and that the Creator has endowed them individually with spiritual natures equally as sensitive as our own, the Delaware herbalist is always careful to perform the formal propitiatory rites before gathering a plant or removing part of an animal for use in making medicine.

759 824 782 278 If a practitioner is called upon to treat a person during the growing season in spring or summer, his first move, after the formal acceptance of the case and receipt of a gift of tobacco, is to go out and seek a plant of the desired species to be used in making medicine for the treatment of the particular ailment. After coming upon the first plant

[8] Zeisberger *(op. cit.* p. 25) "Fancied skill and imagined ability to heal the sick are traced to dreams which these individuals may have had in their youth. To the dreams they appeal, for in them they have much faith." See also Speck, 1931, p. 51; Harrington, 1921, p. 61; and Benedict, 1923.

[9] Harrington (1921, p. 80) quoting from the notes of R. C. Adams, "It is believed by the Delaware that every one has a guardian spirit which comes in the form of some bird, animal, or other thing, at times in dreams and tells them what to do and what will happen. The guardian spirit is sent from the Great spirit."

[10] Speck (1931, pp. 28, 29) discusses the principle of consanguinity as applied to deities and nature-forces.

of the variety required, he does not gather it [11] but performs a ritual to appease the Spirit of the plant. A small hole is dug towards the east near its base and a small quantity of native tobacco [12] placed within. The herbalist then lights his pipe and smokes, meanwhile making the following appeal to the Creator and to the Spiritual forces which govern vegetation. The songs and properties are regarded as personal property and the accompanying medicine-gathering prayer of Witapanóxwe is regarded as typical.

MEDICINE GATHERING PRAYER (free translation)

"Grandfather, I come now for medical treatment. Your grandson (name of suppliant) needs your aid. He is giving you a smoke-offering here of tobacco. He implores you that he will get well because he, your child, is pitiful. And I myself earnestly pray that you take pity on him the sick one, I wish for him to get well forever of that which is causing pain in his body. For with you alone rests the spiritual power sufficient to bless anyone with, and hear now him our Grandfather tobacco, I beg of him that he will help me when we plead with earnest heart that you will take pity on your grandchild and that you will accept this appeal. I am thankful, Grandfather, also Creator, that you grant our appeal this day for all that we ask.[13] I am thankful, Grandfather. That is enough for this time."

Upon the conclusion of this propitiatory rite the medicine person searches out another plant of the same species, which if clean and healthy-looking, is then gathered. It is now ready to be treated in accordance with the rules governing the preparation of roots and herbs in the accompanying pharmacopeia. If the root of a plant is to be used in making medicine, it is gathered at the season when the vital properties are present; similarly the stalk or leaves each are gathered at the proper seasons.

[11] Harrington (1921, p. 26) in reference to the manitowuck to whom the Indians pray, says, "These are mentioned in the ritual of the Annual Ceremony and the people often pray to them when gathering herbs or preparing medicines, at the same time offering tobacco." He also says (p. 51) that, ". . . Some seem to have prayed to the four directions, other to the presiding genius of the species of the plants they sought or to the spirit of the individual plant itself."

[12] "Real tobacco" (Nicotiana rustica), to which a Delaware term meaning, "our grandfather," is also given.

[13] The proper phrase in full is, "give us what we ask for." It is abbreviated here to suit the formula.

PLANTS AND PLANT USES OF

	Botanical Name	Common Name
222	1. *Achillea millefolium*	Yarrow
262	2. *Acorus calamus*	Sweet Flag
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824	3. *Aesculus glabra*	Buckeye
	4. *Agaricus campestris*	Mushroom
	5. *Allium canadense*	Wild Onion (small)
	6. *Amaranthus retroflexus*	Pigweed
	7. *Ambrosia artemisiaefolia*	Ragweed
	8. *Anaphalis margaritacea*	Pearly-everlasting
	9. *Angelica atropurpurea*	Angelica
	10. *Apios tuberosa*	Indian Potato, Groundnut
	11. *Apocynum cannabinum*	Indian Hemp
	12. *Aralia nudicaulis*	Sarsaparilla
	13. *Arctium minus*	Burdock
	14. *Aristolochia serpentaria*	Virginia Snakeroot
	15. *Artemisia frigida*	Wild Sage
	16. *Asclepias (5 species)*	Milkweed
	17. *Asclepias tuberosa*	Butterfly Weed
	18. *Baptisia tinctoria*	False Indigo
	19. *Betula lutea*	Yellow Birch
	20. *Brassica nigra*	Black Mustard
	21. *Brauneria purpurea*	Purple Cone-flower, "Horse-hobble weed"
	22. *Carya cordiformis*	Bitternut Hickory
	23. *Carya ovata*	Shell Bark Hickory
	24. *Carya glabra*	Pignut
	25. *Castanea pumila*	Chinquapin
	26. *Cercis canadensis*	Redbud
	27. *Chimaphila umbellata*	Pipsissewa
	28. *Chrysopis mariana*	Golden Aster
	29. *Cimicifuga racemosa*	Black Snakeroot
	30. *Cirsium lanceolatum*	Bull Thistle
	31. *Cornus canadensis*	Bunchberry
	32. *Cornus florida*	Dogwood
	33. *Corylus americana*	Hazelnut
	34. *Crotolaria sagittalis*	Rattle Box
	35. *Datura stramonium*	Jimson Weed

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Native Use	Part of Plant Used	Type of Medicine
Medicine (liver and kidneys)	Entire plant	Simple
Medicine (cold, stomach-ache, suppressed menses)	Root	Compound
Medicine (poultice; utility fish poison)	Nut pulverized	Simple
Food		
Food		
Food	Use with others as greens	
Medicine (blood poisoning preventative)	Entire plant as poultice	Simple
Medicine (tonic)	Root	Compound
Medicine (stomach)	Root	Simple
Food	Root	
Mats		
Medicine (tonic)	Root	Compound
Medicine (rheumatism)	Root	Simple
Medicine (tonic)	Root	Compound
Medicine (ceremonial)	Leaves chewed	
Medicine (epilepsy)	Root	Compound
Medicine (rheumatism, healing drink following childbirth)	Root	Simple and compound
Medicine (wash for cuts, ulcers)	Root	Simple
Medicine (cathartic)	Bark	Simple
Food	Young shoots	
Medicine (venereal disease)	Root	Simple and compound
Food	Nuts	
Food	Nuts	
Food	Nuts	
Food	Nuts	
Medicine (reduce fever, stop vomiting)	Bark	Simple
Medicine (bladder, blood purifier)	Plant	Compound
Medicine (infants, frail children)	Root	Simple
Medicine (tonic)	Root	Simple and compound
Medicine (rheumatism)	Root	Simple
Medicine (body pains)	Bark	Compound
Medicine (tonic)	Root	Compound
Food	Nuts	
Medicine (venereal disease)	Root	Simple
Medicine (poultice for cuts)	Leaves, seeds	Simple

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PLANTS AND PLANT USES OF

Botanical Name	Common Name
36. *Daucus carota*	Wild Carrot
37. *Dentaria diphylla*	Toothwort
38. *Diospyros virginiana*	Persimmon
39. *Epipactis pubescens*	Rattlesnake Plantain
40. *Eryngium aquaticum*	Button Snake-root
41. *Eupatorium perfoliatum*	Boneset
42. *Fragaria virginiana*	Strawberry
43. *Fraxinus americana*	White Ash
44. *Gaultheria procumbens*	Wintergreen
45. *Gaylussacia baccata*	Huckleberry
46. *Gelsemium sempervirens*	Yellow Jasmine
47. *Gentiana crinita*	Fringed Gentian
48. *Gleditsia triacanthos*	Honey Locust
49. *Hedeoma pulegioides*	False Pennyroyal
50. *Helianthemium canadense*	"Frost" or "ice" weed
51. *Humulus lupulus*	Hops
52. *Hydranga aborescens*	Sevenbark
53. *Ilex opaca*	Holly
54. *Inula helenium*	Elecampane
55. *Iris versicolor*	Blue Flag
56. *Juglans nigra*	Black Walnut
57. *Juniperus virginiana*	Red Cedar
58. *Leonurus cardiaca*	Motherwort
59. *Lobelia cardinalis*	Cardinal Flower
60. *Lophophora williamsii*	Peyote
61. *Mentha piperita*	Peppermint
62. *Mentha canadensis*	Wildmint
63. *Mitchella repens*	Partridge Berry
64. *Monarda punctata*	Horse Mint
65. *Morus nigra*	Mulberry
66. *Myrica sp.*	Bayberry
67. *Myrica asplenifolia*	Sweet Fern
68. *Nepeta cataria*	Catnip
69. *Opuntia vulgaris*	Prickly Pear
70. *Panax quinquefolium*	Ginseng

OKLAHOMA DELAWARE—Continued

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Native Use	Part of Plant Used	Type of Medicine
Medicine (diabetes)	Blossoms	Simple
Medicine (scrofula, venereal disease)	Root	Compound
Food	Fruit	
Medicine (poultice; female disorder)	Leaves	Simple and compound
Medicine (venereal disease)	Root	Compound and simple
Medicine (chills, fever)	Root	Simple
Food	Berries	
Medicine (cathartic)	Bark	Simple
Medicine (tonic)	Plant	Compound and simple
Food	Berries	
Medicine (salve)	Root	Compound
Medicine (stomach; blood purifier)	Root	Simple
Medicine (tonic)	Bark	Compound
Medicine (pain in stomach)	Leaves	Simple
Medicine (strengthening)	Plant	Simple
Medicine (nerves)	Blossoms	Simple
Medicine (gallstones)	Root	Compound
Medicine (tonic)	Root	Compound
Medicine (rheumatism; liver; kidneys)	Root	Compound
Medicine (cathartic)	Bark	Simple
Medicine (rheumatism)	Twigs	Simple
Medicine (female disorder)	Leaves	Simple
Medicine (typhoid)	Root	Simple
Medicine (consumption; periodic fits; emergency med. charm)	"Bean" or "Button"	Simple
Medicine (tonic)	Leaves	Compound
Medicine (suppressed menses)	Plant	Simple
Medicine (fever)	Plant	Simple
Medicine (cathartic)	Bark	Simple
Medicine (female generative organs)	Root	Compound
Medicine (poison ivy)	Leaves	Simple
Medicine (tonic for children)	Leaves with peach seed	
Not used		
Medicine (effective in any severe illness. Most potent med.)	Root	Simple and compound

4:Tantaquidgeon E-5 (1930) 1942
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Botanical Name	Common Name
71. *Phytolacca americana*	Poke
72. *Pimpinella anisum*	Anise
73. *Plantago major*	Plantain
74. *Platanus occidentalis*	Plane Tree
75. *Podophyllum peltatum*	May Apple
76. *Populus sargentii*	Cottonwood
77. *Prunella vulgaris*	Heal-all
78. *Prunus americana*	Plum
79. *Prunus persica*	Peach
80. *Prunus serotina*	Wild Cherry
81. *Pyrus communis*	Pear
82. *Pyrus coronaria*	Crab Apple
83. *Pyrus malus*	Apple
84. *Quercus alba*	White Oak
85. *Quercus macrocarpa*	Bur Oak
86. *Quercus velutina*	Black Oak
87. *Quercus palustris*	Pin Oak
88. *Quercus rubra*	Red Oak
89. *Radicula nasturtium-aquaticum*	Water Cress
90. *Rhamnus caroliniana*	Buckthorn
91. *Rhus copallina*	Dwarf Sumac
92. *Rhus toxicondendron*	Poison Ivy
93. *Rhus typhina*	Staghorn Sumac
94. *Ribes rotundifolium*	Gooseberry
95. *Ribes triste*	Swamp Currant
96. *Rubus canadensis*	Thimble Berry
97. *Rubus nigrobaccus*	Blackberry
98. *Rubus villosus*	Blackberry
99. *Rubus occidentalis*	Black Raspberry
100. *Rumex acetosella*	Sheep Sorrel
101. *Rumex crispus*	Dock
102. *Rhumex obtusifolius*	Dock
103. *Salix humilis*	Prairie Willow
104. *Salix tristis*	Sage Willow, "Red Root"
105. *Sambucus canadensis*	Elder

OKLAHOMA DELAWARE—Continued

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Native Use	Part of Plant Used	Type of Medicine
Medicine (rheumatism)	Root	Simple and compound
Medicine (cathartic)	Root	Simple and compound
Medicine (poultice; also female disorder)	Leaves	Simple and compound
Medicine (colds, sore throat)	Bark	Compound
Medicine (laxative; love charm)	Root	Simple
Medicine (female disorder)	Bark	Compound and simple
Medicine (fever)	Top	
Food	Fruit	
Food	Fruit	
Medicine (tonic)	Bark, Fruit	Compound
Food	Fruit	
Food	Fruit	
Food	Fruit	
Medicine (antiseptic)	Bark	Compound
Food	Nuts	
Medicine (hoarseness)	Bark	Simple
Medicine (intestinal pains)	Bark	Simple
Medicine (hoarseness)	Bark	Compound
Root	Plant	
Medicine (cathartic)	Bark	Simple
Medicine (ceremonial tobacco mixture)	Leaves, Root	Simple
Medicine (salve)	Root	Compound
Medicine (venereal disease)	Root	Compound
Food	Berries	
Food	Berries	
Medicine (dysentery)	Vine, Berries	Compound
Berries used as food	Berries	
Food	Berries	
Food	Berries	
Food	Plant	
Food	Plant	Simple and compound
Medicine (food)	Root, Young Shoots	
Medicine (venereal disease)	Root	Compound
Medicine (womb displacement; venereal disease)	Root	Compound
Medicine (salve) (fruit edible)	Bark, Berries	Simple Simple

PLANTS AND PLANT USES OF THE

	Botanical Name	Common Name
106.	*Sanguinaria canadensis*	Bloodroot
107.	*Sassafras albidum*	Sassafras
108.	*Scutellaria galericulata*	Skull Cap
109.	*Smilacina racemosa*	False Spikenard
110.	*Smilacina stellata*	False Solomon's Seal
111.	*Solanum dulcamera*	Bittersweet
112.	*Solanum nigrum*	Common Nightshade
113.	*Solidago juncea*	Goldenrod
114.	*Symplocarpus foetidus*	Skunk Cabbage
115.	*Stachys palustris*	Hedge Nettle
116.	*Taraxacum officinale*	Dandelion
117.	*Tsuga canadensis*	Hemlock
118.	*Typha latifolia*	Cat-tail
119.	*Ulmus americana*	American Elm
120.	*Vaccinium pennsylvanicum*	Lowbush Blueberry
121.	*Vaccinium corymbosum*	Highbush Blueberry
122.	*Verbascum thapsus*	Great Mullein
123.	*Verbena hastata*	Blue Vervain
124.	*Viburnum prunifolium*	Black Haw
125.	*Vitis* (various sp.)	Wild Grape
126.	*Vitis rupestris*	Wild Grape
127.	*Vitis vulpina*	Wild Grape
128.	*Xanthoxylum americanum*	Prickly Ash
129.	*Zea Mays*	Corn
130.	*Zea Mays identata*	Dent Corn
131.	*Zea Mays indurata*	Flint Corn
132.	*Zea Mays amylacea*	Flour Corn
133.	*Zea Mays saccharata*	Sweetcorn
134.	*Zea Mays everta*	Popcorn

4: Tantaquidgeon E-5 (1930) 1942
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OKLAHOMA DELAWARE—Concluded

Native Use	Part of Plant Used	Type of Medicine
Medicine (tonic) ceremonial paint	Root	Simple and compound
Medicine (tonic)	Bark	Compound
Medicine (laxative)	Top	Simple
Medicine (tonic)	Root	Compound
Medicine (venereal disease, scrofula)	Root	Compound and simple
Medicine (fever, also in salve)	Root	Compound
Medicine (venereal disease)	Root	Compound
Medicine (diarrhea, fever)	Leaves (tea or chewed)	Simple
Medicine (whooping cough, fits, poultice)	Root, Leaves	Simple
Medicine (venereal disease)	Root	Compound
Medicine (tonic, laxative, food)	Root, Plant	Compound and simple
Medicine (herbal steam)	Twigs	Simple
Medicine (gravel in kidneys)	Root	Simple
Medicine (coughs, colds)	Bark	Simple
Food	Berries	
Food	Berries	
Medicine (rheumatism, colds)	Leaves	
Medicine (chills)	Root	Compound
Medicine (female generative organs)	Root	Compound
Food	Fruit	
Medicine (increase fertility)	Vine	Compound
Medicine (leucorrhea)	Juice from vine	Simple
Medicine (tonic, heart)	Bark	Simple and compound
Food		
Food		
Food		
Food		
Food		
Food		

4:Tantaquidgeon E-5 (1930) 1942
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PLANTS AND PLANT USES OF THE DELAWARE

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Botanical Name	Common Name
1. *Acorus calamus*	Sweet Flag
2. *Arctium minus*	Burdock
3. *Celastrus scandens*	Climbing Bittersweet
4. *Eupatorium perfoliatum*	Boneset
5. *Carya alba*	Hickory
6. *Inula helenium*	Elecampane
7. *Juniperus communis*	Juniper
8. *Nepeta cataria*	Catnip
9. *Ostrya virginiana*	Hop Hornbeam
10. *Pinus strobus*	White Pine
11. *Plantago major*	Plantain
12. *Populus tremuloides*	Aspen
13. *Prunus serotina*	Wild Cherry
14. *Quercus alba*	White Oak
15. *Quercus muhlenbergii*	Yellow Oak
16. *Rhus typhina*	Staghorn Sumac
17. *Roripa amoracia*	Horseradish
18. *Sanguinaria canadensis*	Bloodroot
19. *Tanacetum vulgare*	Tansy
20. *Verbascum thapsus*	Great Mullein
21. *Virburnum lentago*	Nanny-berry

MUNSEE, SIX NATIONS RESERVE, ONTARIO

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Native Use	Part of Plant Used	Type of Medicine
Medicine (colds)	Root scraped	
Medicine (blood purifier, poultice)	Root, Leaves	
Medicine (consumption)	Root	
Medicine (stomach)	Leaves	
Medicine (tonic, general debility, female disorder)	Bark	Compound
Medicine (colds)	Bark	Compound
Medicine (tonic, female weakness)	Bark	Compound
Medicine (infants)	Leaves	Simple
Medicine (tonic, general debility, female weakness)	Root	Compound
Medicine (kidneys, pulmonary boils)	Twigs, pitch	Simple
Medicine (bruises)	Leaves as poultice	Simple
Medicine (colds)	Bark	Compound
Medicine (tonic)	Bark	Compound
Medicine (tonic)	Bark	Compound
Medicine (to stop vomiting)	Bark, pour water in	Simple
Medicine (diarrhea)	Berries	
Medicine (neuralgia)	Leaves	
Medicine (to stop vomiting)	Root powdered	Compound and simple
Medicine (stomach)	Plant	
Medicine (pain, swelling)	Leaves as poultice	Simple
Medicine (measles)	Leaves	Simple

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

PLANT SPIRITS

When gathering herbs for medicine it was customary to offer prayers to certain spirits. Some seem to have prayed at this time to the four directions, others to the presiding genius of the species of plants they sought, or to the spirit of the individual plant itself. The Minsi say that only certain plants were thus addressed. The Corn Spirit has already been mentioned.

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LOCAL GENII

Certain localities, it is said, were thought to be the dwellings of local genii, to whom offerings were occasionally made, especially such places as displayed curious or unusual natural features, while even certain stones were said to have an animate principle or indwelling spirit.

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7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

The Mask Dance is given in the fall of the year because all vegetation is matured at that time, also the hunting season opens with Indians when the leaves of the forest have begun to turn red showing the first tinges of autumn. Deer hides are then said to be thickening and the fur becoming good.

The Delaware Mask Dance is given, sometimes because someone has had a "scare," or may have been attacked by some strange malady, or a sick spell, imagining that he has seen a mask and become frightened. Sometimes mask owners fail by neglect to give the usual annual Mask Ceremony, or again in case of death they fail to transfer the ownership of the mask to some member of the family or next closest of kin, so the strange things are brought about.

The Delaware Indians use the entire mask which has a cape attached to it, the cape hanging over the coat, thus the man wearing the mask must hold his fingers in the mouth of the mask while moving about or dancing because the mask is simply resting on the head and the large wooden face is heavy and will jolt on the head; now the mask wearer must carry his cane and the snapping turtle rattle in his right hand together until he stops. A shoulder strap about two inches wide is thrown over the shoulder with a small saddle bag attached and used to put chewing tobacco in, which is given to the mask-man or wearer. In order to keep children from making so much unnecessary noise, they are told that the bag (*pənda'ʷsənakan*) contains snakes.

An old and historic specimen of the wooden mask used in recent years by the Delawares of the Cherokee band, Oklahoma, having found its way, surreptitiously as the Indians claim, into the cases of the Museum of the American Indian, New York, has been described by Harrington and myself. It is 14.5 inches in length the right half being painted red, the left half black. The eye-holes were small apertures perforated in tin plates to permit vision. It is not necessary to repeat here what has already been said of the object (Speck, "Big House Ceremony," pp. 39–44, 93).[1]

[1] Sooner or later it will become the task of a student to examine the correspondences between Delaware and Iroquois mask traits among which stand forth the common peculiarities of mask construction in both series, the use of

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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J. W. *Kĭčinipen*—Summer
W. L. *Kĭčinipen*—Starting summer

July

ZEISBERGER *Yugatamoewi gischuch*—The time of raising the earth about the corn
HECKEWELDER —The summer month
JOHNSTON *Gock, kau, tau, ma, ekeshoe*—The moon when vegetation is blossoming
PIPE *Yaukāūtamwaa kĕĕshooh*—Moon of sacrifice or prayer. Time of feast of first fruits

CHIPPS *Lə-kòk-mə-ə̀-ə-kà-sə*
J. W. *Dainipen*—Middle summer
W. L. *Lainipen kĭ'lo*—Middle of summer
W. T. *Kĭčinĭ'pen*—Middle of summer

August

ZEISBERGER *Sakauweuhewi gischuch*—Deer month
ZEISBERGER *Winu gischuch*—The time when the corn is in the milk and ready to eat and roast
HECKEWELDER —The month of roasting ears
JOHNSTON *Sok, ho, a, ha, ie, kie, shough, i, e,*—The moon when the deer begin to turn gray
PIPE *Saukiioahāā kĕĕshooh*—Moon in which deer get blue hair

CHIPPS *Wà-nə-ə-kà-sə*
J. W. —Dry, hot, refreshing
W. L. *Kĭčitakŏk kĭ'lo*—Beginning fall month
W. T. *Socewigilo*—Deer change color, Fall side of summer

September

ZEISBERGER *Kitschitachquoak*—Autumn month
HECKEWELDER —The autumnal month

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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805 121 JOHNSTON *Ke, he, che, tau, keke*—The moon previous to the falling of leaves

PIPE *Kitshee Tarkōāk kēēshooh*—Commencement of cold moon

CHIPPS *Shàve-ko-us-ke-kev-e-kà-so*

J. W. —Gathering moon (harvest)

W. L. *Wipoṇikiŕlo*—Deer getting gray

W. T. *Poksiŕt*—Fall—Leaves are broken

October

ZEISBERGER *Pooxit*—Month of vermin (the harvest month)

HECKEWELDER —The gathering or harvest month

[124] JOHNSTON *Pooque, ieete*—The moon that the leaves fall

PIPE *Pōōkseet kēēshooh*—Broken moon, from the shedding of the leaves

CHIPPS *Wa-nàv-o-kà-so*

J. W. *Dakǿkwinigilo*—Everyone gets together (Big House)

W. L. *Takǿkinikiŕso*—Fall month when everyone gets together

W. T. *Winikiŕso*—Come snow

November

ZEISBERGER *Wini gischuch*—Snow month (the hunting month)

JOHNSTON *We, ne, ke, shoue*—The moon when the snow commences falling

PIPE *Wēānee kēēshooh*—The snowy moon

CHIPPS *Pah-po-sòp-we-e-kà-so*

J. W. *Dailówen*—Changing, falling moon

W. L. *Luwanikiŕlo*—Winter moon

W. T. *Kičikaǿk*—Fall

December

ZEISBERGER *M'chakhocque*—Cold month, the month when the cold makes the trees crack.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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10. Eclipses

JOHN JOHNSTON—The eclipses they suppose to be caused by one of the twelve subordinate Deities as an indication of war or some other calamity which they think will shortly come. 821

CAPTAIN PIPE—Eclipses are thus accounted for. Every man as he grows up is visited in his dreams by his tutelar deity in the form of a Bear, Wolf, Dog, Tree, Cornstalk, or any thing else which the imagination can conceive, and by the deity he is protected and governed through life. When he dies his protector assumes the mourning garb common to deities, and through his influence the eclipse of the Sun or Moon takes place in token of the excess of his grief. 787 776 765

CAPTAIN CHIPPS—In an eclipse, they suppose, the moon gets between the Sun and the Earth.

J. W. said that eclipses had meaning but would not say what. Likewise W. T.

14. Four cardinal points

Both J. W. and W. T. named the four cardinal points but thought of up and down as equivalent to them.

16. Meteors as indication of evil

JOHN JOHNSTON—Meteors: They suppose them to be ominous of something bad especially if any person takes notice of them and says see that star they think that person will not live long, but they suppose that if they fall to the ground they turn into that substance or ball generally known by the puffball which will by pressing emit a smoke, they are afraid of those balls. 821 787 824

CAPTAIN PIPE—The Meteors called shooting stars are thus described. Like the Sun and Moon the stars are brothers to the Indians, human beings, and subject to the frailties of man. When one of them begins to practice lying and fraud he is rejected by the others and obliged to fly from his companions to seek a place of refuge. 577

J. W.—Meteors are a warning, forecast war etc. The place where the comet goes is the place where the battle or other catastrophe is going to occur. F. W.'s grandmother heard a great

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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716 is the symbol of the function of these noble birds, helpers of man, who
718 with their wings sweep the obstacles of disease and witch-craft from
772 the path which the Delaware treads to his final destiny.[1]

[774 824] Among the many noteworthy poetical concepts of which Delaware imagination is capable is also the thought that the trees, themselves spirit-forces, are calling forth in prayer to the Creator when the wind blowing through their foliage causes a rustling, or sighing as we would say.[2]

As life proceeds on its course under the gaze of the Supreme Power through the entire universe, with his minions posted around about in their respective quarters, so the Delawares performing in the Big House gyrate in their symbolical course in the shadow of the carved images. The symbolism of the harmonized progression of the celestial and terrestrial plane-realms is consistently carried out in thought in every performance and ritual connected with the Big House. Then there are the minor symbols of force, "Grandfathers" likewise; the guardian of the game animals, represented by the Mask Spirit, the mosing'holi'kan, the tobacco, the cedar, the wampum, the red paint, the feathers, the winds.

796 An essential point to the understanding of the Big House ceremony is that it is conducted under the sponsorship of one of the three subdivisions of the tribe.[3] And while the obligation as well as the honor of conducting the ceremony fall collectively upon the members, there is one among them who has personally assumed the religious duty involved in issuing the invitations, in appointing the officers for the different branches of service, and particularly in defraying the numerous expenses which arise in connection with bringing so many people together for a fortnight.[4] The responsibility of the occasion is voluntarily assumed by the giver, or as he is called in Delaware, tami-"ke't', the Bringer-in." Men imbued with a desire to acquire a spiritual blessing through their religious attitude, or to recognize some blessing enjoyed, are usually the ones who answer to the inner call of duty.[5]

[1] The significance of using feathers of the nobler birds comes out in Delaware in the carrying of fans made of eagle and hawk feathers, in the wearing of feathers in the hair, and in the use of the decorated feather wand in the recently introduced Peyote ceremony. The feathers dispel evil influences from the umbrage of their wearers, the fans sweep away malevolent agencies.

[2] This passage is contained in the text of a prayer made at the opening of spring-time dictated by Wi-tapano'xwe.

[3] The three sub-divisions of the Delawares, the so-called Tortoise, Turkey, and Wolf groups, have evoked no small amount of discussion (Morgan, Brinton, Harrington). They are, however, not yet thoroughly understood. Some facts connected with these groupings are dealt with farther along, though only so far as they require mention in connection with the Big House.

[4] The informant estimated the cost of performance to be about $150.00.

[5] Since, moreover, there is the conviction that welfare of man at large rests upon the performance of the ceremony, that a world catastrophe is warded off by it, the attitude of the host is one pervaded with generous altruism. (Compare Edsberger, op. cit., p. 136; and Harrington, I, p. 118).

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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Two shell-rattles they make of a wild creature.[1] One they call the leading rattle and the other, greater in size, is called, traditionally, timber-terrapin. And those are used when they pray every night. Here just at the right hand side of the door they place these shell-rattles. When the Master of Ceremonies arrives he says, "Now then, my brothers and my sisters, now as we begin we are approached and touched by those man·i'tu who are carrying this ceremony of worship."[2] That is how they employ them there. And both the dance-leader and his follower each hold in their hands these shell-rattles when they are dance-leading. The leading shell-rattle does not have a great sound, but that of the follower has a great sound, it is said traditionally, for he does answer when they are rattling.[3]

[1] It has been mentioned how reverential it is to put to the service of man, the body parts of wild creatures—the native wild fauna which are "pure" by contrast with the defiled animals of a domestic nature. The rattles used by the dance-leaders who sing the recitatives of their visions are shells of (Cistudo) the Box Turtle.

[2] This is a synonym for the usual term, pe·tamwo'k·an.

[3] For illustrations of these large and small rattles see figs. 2, 15.

Every year the old men hold a council. The day is named, it is talked over, and they decide who shall bring in the ceremony.[1] And they name the person who shall carry the six yards of wampum. And generally they name three men and three women Attendants going to see them.[2] They select the one who is willing to act as leading Attendant for the two Turkey group representatives, and the two Turtle clan representatives and the two Wolf group representatives are chosen.[3]

These leading Attendants, one and the same, belonging in the group of the Master-of-Ceremonies, he who opens the ceremony. Now when the Attendants have accepted the call, forthwith a shoulder-length of wampum they are given as a symbol of being blessed.[4] And announcement is made of what day in the future they shall go into camp at the Big House. When they finish cleaning this House[5] they also plaster it with clay and all then about outside rake it clean. Then

[1] This is the sacred duty of assuming full responsibility for the performance, the term temi·ke being a formal one.

[2] To inform them of appointment and secure their acceptance.

[3] In these terms denoting the triple social subdivisions of the Delawares (see discussion on p. 75), we encounter metaphorical conceptions of the animals designated. Thus pole·' denotes a bird of the order Gallinae, typified in Delaware by the turkey cognate throughout northern and eastern Algonkian (Ojibwa, Ojibwa, pelee, Montagnais-Naskapi, "partridge") Puk·owa'ŋgo, denoting the tortoise group (Testudinata) literally means "sticky heels," in allusion to the dragging motion of the curious, ponderous creature in lifting his hind feet from the ground. Tu'kewi·t, literally "round foot" is figurative for the quadrupeds which seem according to my information to include any of the mammalia.

[4] The term used is a formal religious phrase naxpango·ma·n not translated by a single word, but which I have rendered "being given as a symbol of blessing."

[5] The informant was undecided whether or not to use the term menda'en for the Big House, which is considered to be an old Munsee term.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931

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other wild creature whatsoever, that is said to be pure spirit. And also those twelve face-images in the Big House, and those prayer-sticks,[1] and the maize and fruit, all things indeed used in the Gamwing, it is said, are helpers when it comes to lifting up to the twelve levels of heaven above us where he dwells, our father the Great Spirit.

And also there is a ruling of custom. The religious obligations sometimes require that the speaker, when talking, it is said, names over all these spirit-forces wherever they reside around the earth, calling upon them, as it is said: "Truly we are thankful that we have lived long enough to see the time come when these our grandfathers the trees bloom forth, and also the coming up of vegetation.

[1] The twelve peeled rods held in the hands of the worshippers when they "raise their prayer to the twelfth level of heaven" to the Great Spirit by crying "ho" six times and "ha" six times, and pointing with the sticks to the image on the center post of the Big House. They are denoted by the term mamendahl-'kan'ak "the means of earnest prayer." In Harrington's study of Delaware religion no mention is made of the exact function of the prayer sticks (Harrington I, p. 103), though in the Munsee corresponding ceremony they are described (ibid. p. 131) as being used to drum with in time to the music, by those who wish to pray. There is another omission in reference to the prayer sticks (ibid. p. 103). Harrington speaks of a particular way in which the sticks "fall opposite each other" but no explanation is made. Discussion of these details will be found on page 00.

[2] Among the tree "grandfathers" thought of in particular is the maple from the sap of which native sugar is made.

Reference to the gift of the maple in yielding its sap for human use is a reminiscence of a widespread Algonkian usage. The Sugar Maple is sona'meci. "rock-place tree" (the Red Maple is called sai'komes "grove tree"). This tree is the real Acer saccharum and is known to the Oklahoma Delaware only by tradition since they remember it in the north. They make a sugar now from the Red Maple, not as strong in flavor as the other, but mixed with Box Elder (awi'sai-t o'nas "yellow twig") and Black walnut tu'kwi-meci. "round-nut tree") but the latter has such a strong taste that only a little may be used. Heckewelder (op. cit., p. 194) gives an account of Delaware sugar-making during the Ohio period.

Now as well for this water and for him our grandfather fire, and again this air, again this sunlight. When everyone has been blessed with such gifts it is enough to make one realize what kind of benevolence comes from our father, because he it is who has created everything."[1]

And now furthermore one more spiritual-force is said to be a part of creation up above. The first being mentioned is called day-moon,[2] and the night traveler[3] is called night-moon. And of several kinds of stars, the first one seen is that one from the sunrise direction, called

[1] Zeisberger, before 1780 (op. cit. p. 129), had heard similar professions of gratitude; "They believe the Deity is graciously and mercifully disposed toward them, because he imparts power to the plants to grow, causes the rain to fall, and the sun to shine and gives game to man for his support."

[2] The designations "day-moon" and "night-moon" are widespread in northern Algonkian, (Munsee, Cree, Montagnais-Naskapi). Luminary would be a more exact equivalent of gi-'cux

[3] For the moon to be figuratively denoted as "night-traveler" is common in Eastern Algonkian (ni-bau'a-it "night-walker," Penobscot, with cognates in the other Wabanaki languages; nanepaushet, Massachusetts (Trumbull, Natick Dict. p. 297).

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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cestors how, so it is said, they sadly pleaded, when, reciting their vision experiences, telling how pitiful were the conditions then in their time said to be. Verily I myself do grieve, my kindred, when I look back there into the past. But, nevertheless indeed, try your utmost, every one have a helpful will, and it might be that our pitiful plea for mercy be heard by him the Great Spirit. We may perchance sometime gain a victory to our benefit.

Truly my kindred, as it is forcibly said, I am oppressed with a feeling of incapability while standing here to instruct anyone in the blessing, here where stands he our Grandfather.[1] And I am truly thankful to bless with gratitude all those spirit-forces, all of them sitting round about us over the entire earth. And when we consider how our deceased ancestors so thoroughly paid attention to the obligations of this prayer-worship! Indeed how great are we privileged and blessed that still we can perform the ceremony as we were accustomed to see our deceased ancestors do it! This is sufficient for this occasion. Thanks!"[2]

Now the leader goes and sits down. When he has properly seated himself and swept it clean[3] then 'these who are painted red'[4] say "Let us all smoke[5] Let us all smoke." So the tobacco has been placed in a wooden bowl and should be mixed with sumac leaves (kinnickinnick[6]), because it is the rule that sumac shall be used by the Delawares when smoking.[7] And besides the cedar[8] and paint are all kept there at one place close to the drum. And when anyone lights the pipe in the Big House, he will then use our Grandfather because that one also is called pure, clean fire.

[1] Indicating his position standing as though sermonizing from a pulpit before the images of the center post.

[2] It should be borne in mind that the speaker is to repeat his performance every night while the Big House ceremony is in session.

[3] Meaning that he has dusted away latent evil potencies with the turkey-wing fan symbols.

[4] Another ceremonial name for the assistant drummer.

[5] The verb here is said to be in the Munsee language aya'xpuⁿk', recalling the traditional Munsee origin of the ceremony. The corresponding Delaware term is hup.ɔ't.am "Let us smoke." The Delaware term kəl.əkən.i'k.an has cognates throughout Algonkian.

[6] The Delaware smoking mixture consists largely of dried sumac (probably Rhus copallina) leaves, which are gathered before the frost strikes them in the fall and singed over an open fire, then exposed to the sun and mixed with smoking tobacco to the proportion of one-third sumac leaves and two-thirds tobacco.

[7] Smoking sumac clear or mixed with tobacco the Delawares regard as a peculiar custom of their own not shared by other peoples (see also Zeisberger, p. 116).

The Delawares were so fond of using this mixture that it is a legendary saying among them that on their hunting or scouting parties they could be identified from afar by the scent they left on the air. Having an earlier equipment with European firearms they were feared by other tribes who avoided them on this account. See also G. Catlin, Letters and Notes, Vol. II, 1841, pp. 101-2.

[8] The sacredness of red cedar (Juniperus virginiana) is a prominent feature of Delaware ceremony (see p. 171).

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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NOTE II

THE MYTH OF RED CEDAR AND THE SEVEN STARS

539X 121 [776]

Reference to the stars and to the cedar tree as spirit-forces in the course of the text seems to call for the insertion of the following narrative in the study. It was dictated by Wi·tapano'xwe in explanation of that part of the ceremony in which cedar was given to the fires in the Big House as spiritual 'food.'

RED CEDAR A SACRED TREE

Now I am explaining what is the purpose of him our Grandfather Cedar,[1] how in many different ways it is used. When a person has a swelling in his feet or his legs it is good medicine as a steam bath for one to reduce swelling. And when after a recent death anywhere that cedar is used for purifying the house. 589X 824 ● [757 783]

And when the Delawares worship in the Big House cedar is always used for purifying the Big House. And that night when the time arrives for its use it is said to be a purification-agency and also all the red men who understand this Medicine-eating[2] know that the cedar is used. Although two other different kinds are used as well for purification when this Medicine-eating is going on.

But that cedar is the leading spirit-force that is given for strength for anyone's healing, when inhaling the smoke. Because that very thing is the purpose intended in treating and healing his grandchild when he begs it of him. [776 757]

A very long time ago in the life of the Delawares we have heard our deceased ancestors how they said, in ancient times when there were living men of great spiritual power; seven of them, it was said, all at once were not seen any more. They had gone those prophets, men departed. But young pure youths[3] blessed with a vision of something all at once while walking about along the ridge among rocky cliffs—all at once a thing upright there, seven stones almost alike. And then it was said that all at once the youth was thence spoken to by one of these stones. Then they came to be known.[4] And more and more 539X 773

[1] The specific native term for cedar is a derivative of "popping."

[2] This is the proper designation in Delaware for the Peyote ceremony; "Medicine-eating" referring to the eating of the Peyote bean (Lophophora).

[3] One need hardly be reminded that these are the young men ignorant of the ways of the world, of sin and carnality, brought up under the tutelage of solicitous parents, observant of the religious rules and guided in their conduct of life by the spirit-forces which appeared to them; the life ideals of the Delawares.

[4] Indicating that these prophets to escape the importunities of people seeking help from them had concealed their identity by transforming themselves into rock among the mountains.

12:Tantaquidgeon E-5 (no date)1950
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Delaware Indian Art Designs

GLADYS TANTAQUIDGEON

Introduction

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in Kansas, and from there they moved to Oklahoma and became incorporated with the Cherokee. Other bands found their way to Canada in the Province of Ontario, where they are now known as Delawares, Munsee and Moravians.

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The present population of the Delawares is estimated to be about 1,400. Of this number, 1,000 are in Oklahoma and the remainder in the province of Ontario, Canada.

Field of Art

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Until about 1890 the Delawares practiced many of their native arts and crafts but among the modern descendants of the tribe only a few of the older arts have survived. Pottery making, work in stone, bone, horn, antler, silver and the use of quills and hair in embroidery; twined basketry made from certain roots, and woven bags and girdles of Indian hemp (*Apocynum cannabium*) are now only vaguely remembered by some of the older members of the groups in Oklahoma and Ontario. Work in silver persisted until

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[P.24, B] About 1913.

15:Morgan E-5 (1859)1959
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[p 55(c)]

000 tains. There are two cases of *polygamy* here.
595 Two well known Indians have two wives
183 each. The Delawares are opposed to it, and are inclined to make a fuss about it. But I suppose it is an old Indian institution and they cannot make a law against it. If it was contrary to Indian law they would not admit the children of both mothers to annu-
657 ities. As it now stands, their annuity is a bounty on children. I think the Delawares are tempted by their annuities.

Religious System of the Delawares[81]

776 William Adams, Del.

The Delawares believe in a Great and in an Evil Spirit. They also believe in a number of subordinate spirits, some of whom are waiting or ministering spirits of the Good and some of the Evil One. Among the waiting spirits of the former are the following.

776 821 1. Kaka-sha-ha-no-hase, the Spirit of the Whirlwind. He is represented as having the form of a man and is called Grand Father.

2. O-we-ya-la-so, the Spirit of the Wind. He is represented as having the form of a man, with long streaming hair, so long that it sometimes gets entangled in the trees as he rides along. He is called Grand Father.

3. Pate-hoc-hoo-weh, the Spirit of Thun-
[825] der. He is represented as having the form of a bird, an Eagle, called Grand Father.

776 823 4. Wa-o-tun-oo-wase, the Spirit of Water. She is represented as having the hands of a woman, and the body, but ending in a fish's tail. She is supposed to dwell in every drop of water as well as in every river, creek, lake and stream, and sometimes to be a punishing spirit. She it is in cases of drowning who pulls the person under the water. Hence her name means "Pulling Down far Under."

776 5. Has-gueme, the Spirit of Corn. She is
[824] represented as having the form of a woman, and is called our Mother. She can foretell

[p56(A)]

776 about the coming crop. When she rises with her hair combed smooth and shining, and is seen in this condition, it is a favorable omen and indicates an abundant crop. When she rises with her hair uncombed and loose, it indicates a bad crop, or a failure of the harvest.

6. Wa-ma-take-a-nese, the Boy Spirit. He is represented as a little boy, with a bow and arrow, and as a constant friend of the Indian. He is everywhere and always at hand in the most impossible places, ready to assist us in our trials and troubles. He is a servant of the Great Spirit.

776 771 7. Ma-mun-da-ase, the Spirit of War. He
● [824] is represented as having the form of a panther, with a very long tail. He can foretell
[821] war about to arise, who will fight, and who succeed. The meteoric stones are dropped by him, and the war will arise in the direction from which the meteor comes, and go in the direction it goes. He is under the control of the Great Spirit, as are all good spirits.

776 773 The Great Spirit has the form of a man (name elsewhere). The Evil Spirit has the form of a man with one leg, the leg of an ox. The tradition is that the Evil Spirit was created by the good and was himself originally good, but he originated a contention among the inferior spirits which resulted in a division and taking of sides. In the midst of this contention they all came into the presence of the Great Spirit, who seized the Evil One and as a mark of his disapprobation and as a punishment, he wrenched off one of his legs and placed in the room of it that of an ox, that he might ever afterwards be known and recognized at once as an evil spirit, and then sent him down to the earth with the evil spirits who followed him.

775 Heaven they consider to be immediately over their heads and a place in which they

[p57 (B)]

796 man of the nation. Once during the six days,
[782 about an hour after night fall, they burn
824 incense by throwing on the fire in the center of the house cedar branches, which fills the house with smoke and then ascends to the Great Spirit. If no one repeats the worship, or when all are done, the people all go out in Indian file, and facing the east, in a
[782 united voice they thank the Great Spirit for sparing their lives through the year, and invoke him to spare them until the next Gummween.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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say they, "our forefathers did without all these things, 829
"and we have never heard, nor has any tradition in- 609
"formed us that they were at a loss for the want of them; 609
"therefore we must conclude that they also were inge- 177
"nious; and, indeed, we know that they were; for they
"made axes of stone to cut with, and bows and arrows
"to kill the game; they made knives and arrows' points
"with sharp flint stones and bones, hoes and shovels
"from the shoulder blade of the elk and buffaloe; they
"made pots of clay, garments of skin, and ornaments
"with the feathers of the turkey, goose and other birds.
"They were not in want of any thing, the game was
"plenty and tame, the dart shot from our arrows did not
"frighten them as the report of the gun now does; we
"had therefore every thing that we could reasonably re-
"quire; we lived happy!"

Finally, they think, that the white people have learned 829
much of them in the art of war; for when they first be- 609
gan to fight the Indians, they stood all together in a
cluster and suffered themselves to be shot down like tur-
kies. They also make a distinction between a *warrior* and a *murderer*, which, as they explain it, is not much to our advantage. "It is not," say they, "the number
"of scalps alone which a man brings with him that prove
"him to be a brave warrior. Cowards have been
"known to return, and bring scalps home, which they
"had taken where they knew there was no danger,
"where no attack was expected and no opposition made.
"Such was the case with those who killed the Conesto-
"goes at and near Lancaster, the Christian Indians on
"the Muskingum, the friendly Indians near Pittsburg,
"and a great number of scattered, peaceable men of our
"nation, who were all murdered by *cowards*. It was
"not thus that the *Black Snake*,* the great General

* The Indians gave this name to General Wayne, because they say that he had all the cunning of this animal, who is superior to all other snakes in the manner of procuring his food. He hides himself in [825]

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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829 "Wayne acted; he was a true warrior and a brave man;
609 "he was equal to any of the chiefs that we have, equal
"to any that we ever had."

Thus, the Indians, while they deeply resent the wrongs and injuries which they have suffered, yet pay due homage to worth, bravery and military skill, even in an enemy. Strong as their feelings are, they do not extinguish their sense of justice, and they are still generously disposed to allow that there are great and good individuals among a race of men, who, they believe, have doomed them to utter destruction.

CHAPTER XXIV.

FOOD AND COOKERY.

262 THE principal food of the Indians consists of the game which they take or kill in the woods, the fish out of the waters, and the maize, potatoes, beans, pumpkins, [241] squashes, cucumbers, melons, and occasionally cabbages and turnips, which they raise in their fields; they make [222] use also of various roots of plants, fruits, nuts and berries out of the woods, by way of relish or as a seasoning to their victuals, sometimes also from necessity.

264 They commonly make two meals every day, which, they say, is enough. If any one should feel hungry between meal-times, there is generally something in the house ready for him.

[825] the grass with his head only above it, watching all around to see where the birds are building their nests, that he may know where to find the young ones when they are hatched.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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answered I, "I would think it a bear, or some such fe- 756
"rocious animal, what is *inside* I do not know, but ra-
"ther judge it to be the *evil Spirit.*" My friend Kill-
buck smiled, and replied "O! no, no; don't believe
"that! it is a man you well know, it is our *Doctor.*" "A
"Doctor! said I, what! a human being to transform
"himself so as to be taken for a bear walking on his
"hind legs, and with horns on his head? You will not,
"surely, deceive me; if it is not a bear, it must be some
"other ferocious animal that I have never seen before."
The juggler within the dress hearing what passed be-
tween us, began to act over some of his curious pranks,
probably intending to divert me, as he saw I was looking
at him with great amazement, not unmixed with fear; but [825]
the more he went on with his performance, the more I
was at a loss to decide, whether he was a human be-
ing or a bear; for he imitated that animal in the greatest
perfection, walking upright on his hind legs as I had
often seen it do. At last I renewed my questions to the
chief, and begged him seriously to tell me what that fi-
gure was, and he assured me that although outside it had
the appearance of a bear, yet inside there was a man,
and that it was our doctor going to visit one of his pa-
tients who was bewitched. A dialogue then ensued be-
tween us, which I shall relate, as well as I can recollect
it, in its very words:

HECKEW. But why does he go dressed in that man-
ner? Won't his patient be frightened to death on seeing
him enter the house?

KILLB. No! indeed, no; it is the disorder, the evil spi-
rit, that will be frightened away; as to the sick man, he
well knows that unless the doctor has recourse to the
most powerful means, he cannot be relieved, but must
fall a sacrifice to the wicked will of some evil person.
And, pray, don't your doctors in obstinate and dubious
cases, also recur to powerful means in order to relieve
their patients?

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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"at, he went out, and that in walking about on the earth "he found a deer, which he took back with him, and "that both on account of the meat tasting so very good, "and the favourable description he had given them of the "country above and on the earth, their mother, conclu- "ded it best for them all to come out; that accordingly "they did so, and immediately set about planting corn, "&c. That, however, the *Nocharaorsul*, that is, the "*ground-hog*, would not come out, but had remained in "the ground as before."

So far Mr. Pyrlæus. From these traditions of the Iroquois, and those of the Delawares and Mohicans, it seems to follow, that they must have considered their numbers very small, when they dwelt in the earth; perhaps, no more than one family of each tribe, and that the custom of giving to their tribes the names of particular animals, must have been very ancient. The *ground-hog*, say the Mohawks, would not come out. But who was this hog? Might it not formerly have been the name of one of their tribes, who was made the subject of this fable?

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However ridiculous these stories are, the belief of the Indians in them is not to be shaken. When I was a boy between twelve and fifteen years of age, I had often heard of white people conversant with the Indians, who at that time would continually come to this place, (Bethlehem) in great numbers, even by hundreds, that the Indians did not eat rabbits because they thought them infected with the venereal disease, and that whoever ate of their flesh, was sure to take that disorder. Being then myself fond of catching those animals in traps, I asked questions on this subject of several Mohican Indians, who spoke the German language; but though they said nothing about the disease that rabbits were said to be infected with, yet they advised me by no means to eat of their flesh. They gave me no reason whatever to induce me to abstain from

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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this food; but, afterwards, in the year 1762, when I resided at Tuscorawas on the Muskingum, I was told by some of them, that there were some animals which Indians did not eat, and among them were the *rabbit* and the *ground-hog*; for, said they, they did not know but that they might be *related* to them!

I found also that the Indians, for a similar reason, paid great respect to the rattle snake, whom they called their *grandfather*, and would on no account destroy him. One day, as I was walking with an elderly Indian on the banks of the Muskingum, I saw a large rattle-snake lying across the path, which I was going to kill. The Indian immediately forbade my doing so; for, said he, the rattle snake is grandfather to the Indians, and is placed here on purpose to guard us, and to give us notice of impending danger by his rattle, which is the same as if he were to tell us "look about!" Now, added he, if we were to kill one of those, the others would soon know it, and the whole race would rise upon us and bite us. I observed to him that the white people were not afraid of this; for they killed all the rattle snakes that they met with. On this he enquired whether any white man had been bitten by those animals, and of course I answered in the affirmative. "No wonder, then;" replied he, "you have to blame yourselves for that! you did as much "as declaring war against them, and you will find them "in *your* country, where they will not fail to make fre- "quent incursions. They are a very dangerous enemy; "take care you do not irritate them in *our* country; they "and their grandchildren are on good terms, and neither "will hurt the other."

These ancient notions have, however, in a great measure died away with the last generation, and the Indians at present kill their grandfather the rattle snake without ceremony, whenever they meet with him.

That the Indians, from the earliest times, considered themselves in a manner connected with certain ani-

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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mals, is evident from various customs still preserved among them, and from the names of those animals which they have collectively, as well as individually, assumed. It might, indeed, be supposed that those animals' names which they have given to their several tribes were mere badges of distinction, or "coats of arms" as Pyrlæus calls them; but if we pay attention to the reasons which they give for those denominations, the idea of a supposed family connexion is easily discernible. The Tortoise, [619] or as it is commonly called, the *Turtle* tribe, among the Lenape, claims a superiority and ascendency over the others, because their *relation*, the great Tortoise, a fabled monster, the Atlas of their mythology, bears according to their traditions this great *island* on his back, and also because he is amphibious, and can live both on land and in the water, which neither of the heads of the other tribe can do. The merits of the *Turkey*, which gives its name to the second tribe, are that he is stationary, and always remains with or about them. As to the *Wolf*, after whom the third tribe is named, he is a rambler by nature, running from one place to another in quest of his prey; yet they consider him as their benefactor, as it was by his means that the Indians got out of the interior of the earth. It was he, they believe, who by the appointment of the Great Spirit, killed the deer whom the Monsey found who first discovered the way to the surface of the earth, and which allured them to come out of their damp and dark residence. For that reason, the wolf is to be honoured, and his name preserved for ever among them. Such are their traditions, as they were related to me by an old man of this tribe, more than fifty years ago.

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These animals' names, it is true, they all use as national badges, in order to distinguish their tribes from each other at home and abroad. In this point of view Mr. Pyrlæus was right in considering them as "coats of arms." The Turtle warrior draws either with a coal or

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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paint here and there on the trees along the war path, the whole animals carrying a gun with the muzzle projecting forward, and if he leaves a mark at the place where he has made a stroke on his enemy, it will be the picture of a tortoise. Those of the Turkey tribe paint only one foot of a turkey, and the Wolf tribe, sometimes a wolf at large with one leg and foot raised up to serve as a hand, in which the animal also carries a gun with the muzzle forward. They, however, do not generally use the word "wolf," when speaking of their tribe, but call themselves *Pauk-sit*,[2] which means *round-foot*, that animal having a round foot like a dog.

The Indians, in their hours of leisure, paint their different marks or badges on the doors of their respective houses, that those who pass by may know to which tribe the inhabitants belong. Those marks also serve them for signatures to treaties and other documents. They are as proud of their origin from the tortoise, the turkey, and the wolf, as the nobles of Europe are of their descent from the feudal barons of ancient times, and when children spring from intermarriages between different tribes, their genealogy is carefully preserved by tradition in the family, that they may know to which tribe they belong.

I have often reflected on the curious connexion which appears to subsist in the mind of an Indian between man and the brute creation, and found much matter in it for curious observation. Although they consider themselves superior to all other animals and are very proud of that superiority; although they believe that the beasts of the forest, the birds of the air, and the fishes of the waters, were created by the Almighty Being for the use of man; yet it seems as if they ascribe the difference between themselves and the brute kind, and the dominion which they have over them, more to their superior bodily strength and dexterity than to their immortal souls. All beings endowed by the Creator with the power of volition and self-motion, they view in a manner as a great society of

[2] [Erratum. See cat. 116, p 348. - Analyst]

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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which they are the head, whom they are appointed, indeed, to govern, but between whom and themselves intimate ties of connexion and relationship may exist, or at least, did exist in the beginning of time. They are, in fact, according to their opinions, only the first among equals, the legitimate hereditary sovereigns of the whole animated race, of which they are themselves a constituent part. Hence, in their languages, those inflections of their nouns which we call *genders*, are not, as with us, descriptive of the *masculine* and *feminine* species, but of the *animate* and *inanimate* kinds. Indeed, they go so far as to include trees and plants within the first of these descriptions. All animated nature, in whatever degree, is in their eyes a great whole, from which they have not yet ventured to separate themselves. They do not exclude other animals from their world of spirits, the place to which they expect to go after death.

I find it difficult to express myself clearly on this abstruse subject, which, perhaps, the Indians themselves do not very well understand, as they have no metaphysicians among them to analyse their vague notions, and perhaps confuse them still more. But I can illustrate what I have said by some characteristic anecdotes, with which I shall conclude this chapter.

I have already observed* that the Indian includes all savage beasts within the number of his *enemies*. This is by no means a metaphorical or figurative expression, but is used in a literal sense, as will appear from what I am going to relate.

A Delaware hunter once shot a huge bear and broke its back bone. The animal fell and set up a most plaintive cry, something like that of the panther when he is hungry. The hunter, instead of giving him another shot, stood up close to him, and addressed him in these words: "Hark ye! bear; you are a coward, and no warrior as "you pretend to be. Were you a warrior, you would

* See Page 84.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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"shew it by your firmness and not cry and whimper "like an old woman. You know, bear, that our tribes "are at war with each other, and that yours was the ag- "gressor.* You have found the Indians too powerful "for you, and you have gone sneaking about in the "woods, stealing their hogs; perhaps at this time you "have hog's flesh in your belly. Had you conquered "me, I would have borne it with courage and died like "a brave warrior; but you, bear, sit here and cry, "and disgrace your tribe by your cowardly conduct." I was present at the delivery of this curious invective; when the hunter had despatched the bear, I asked him how he thought that poor animal could understand what he said to it? "Oh!" said he in answer, "the bear un- "derstood me very well; did you not observe how *ashamed* "he looked while I was upbraiding him?"

Another time I witnessed a similar scene between the falls of the Ohio and the river Wabash. A young white man, named *William Wells*,† who had been when a boy taken prisoner by a tribe of the Wabash Indians, by whom he was brought up, and had imbibed all their notions, had so wounded a large bear that he could not move from the spot, and the animal cried piteously like the one I have just mentioned. The young man went up to him, and with seemingly great earnestness, addressed him in the Wabash language, now and then giving him a slight stroke on the nose with his ram-rod. I asked him, when he had done, what he had been saying to this bear? "I have," said he, "upbraided him for acting

* Probably alluding to a tradition which the Indians have of a very ferocious kind of bear, called the *naked bear*, which they say once existed, but was totally destroyed by their ancestors. The last was killed in the New York state, at a place they called *Boosink*, which means the *Basin*, or more properly the *Kettle*.

† The same whom Mr. de Volney speaks of in his excellent "View of the Soil and Climate of United States." Supplement, No. VI. page 356. Philadelphia Edition, 1804.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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"the part of a coward; I told him that he knew the for-
"tune of war, that one or the other of us must have fallen;
"that it was his fate to be conquered, and he ought to die
"like a man, like a hero, and not like an old woman;
"that if the case had been reversed, and I had fallen into
"the power of my *enemy*, I would not have disgraced my
"nation as he did, but would have died with firmness and
"courage, as becomes a true warrior."

I leave the reader to reflect upon these anecdotes, which, I think, convey more real information than any further attempts that I could make to explain the strange notions which gave them rise.

CHAPTER XXXV.

INSANITY—SUICIDE.

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INSANITY is not common among the Indians; yet I have known several who were afflicted with mental derangement. Men in this situation are always considered as objects of pity. Every one, young and old, feels compassion for their misfortune; to laugh or scoff at them would be considered as a crime, much more so to insult or molest them. The nation or colour of the unfortunate object makes no difference; the charity of the Indians extends to all, and no discrimination is made in such a lamentable case.

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About the commencement of the Indian war in 1763, a trading Jew, named Chapman, who was going up the Detroit river with a batteau load of goods which he had

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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they say the "new moon," the "round moon," (when it is full), and when in its decline, they say it is "half round." 821

They ascribe earthquakes to the moving of the great tortoise, which bears the *Island* (Continent) on its back, They say he shakes himself or changes his position. 823

They are at a loss how to account for a solar or lunar eclipse; some say the sun or moon is in a swoon, others that it is involved in a very thick cloud. [821]

A constant application of the mind to observing the scenes and accidents which occur in the woods, together with an ardent desire to acquire an intimate knowledge of the various objects which surround them, gives them, in many respects, an advantage over the white people, which will appear from the following anecdote.

A white man had, at his camp in a dark night, shot an Indian dog, mistaking it for a wolf which had the night before entered the encampment and eaten up all the meat. The dog mortally wounded, having returned to the Indian camp at the distance of a mile, caused much grief and uneasiness to the owner, the more so as he suspected the act had been committed from malice towards the Indians. He was ordered to enquire into the matter, and the white man being brought before him, candidly confessed that he had killed the dog, believing it to be a wolf. The Indian asked him whether he could not discern the difference between the "steps" or trampling of a wolf and that of a dog, let the night be ever so dark? The white man answered in the negative, and said he believed no man alive could do that; on which the whole company burst out into laughter at the ignorance of the whites and their want of skill in so plain and common a matter, and the delinquent was freely forgiven. 825

2;Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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844 to a Delaware) gave birth in a small "shed" on a riverbank, attended by two women.[7] Informants said that old experienced women who had gone through childbirth themselves assisted in delivering a woman. Immediately after birth the infant was washed by its mother.[8] Lindestrom alone among the early sources said:

[825] When the savage females bear their children, they tie around their waists a snake skin of the most poisonous kind of snakes, which are found in New Sweden and are called rattlesnakes, which has such an effect that they do not know of the least pain in their child birth, and are as healthy in an hour, as if they had never been through it.[9]

Immediately after the child was washed it was placed upon a cradleboard. Lindestrom said:

[The mother] binds it . . . with three long and broad braids, and does not place the smallest particle of clothing under or above the child. The first braid she wraps over the forehead and around the board; the second braid, right over the arms and the board; the third braid, right over the knees and the board, tying it right strongly to the board.[10]

854 The child was kept bound to the cradleboard most of the time, including nursing periods, until it could walk.[11] Moss was used as an agent to absorb the child's excreta.[12] If it was necessary to carry the child after the cradleboard had been discarded, he was borne on the mother's back wrapped in a blanket.[13]

Harrington was told that a newborn child was not felt to be securely in the world, and that to ensure life it was disguised from the supernatural beings by being attired in adult clothing. According to Harrington:

. . . deerskin strings or strips of corn-husk were tied on the wrists of children so that the ghosts would think they were tied fast to the earth; and holes were cut in their little moccasins so that they could not follow the spirit trail. If the child's mother died shortly after its birth, these precautions were redoubled.[14]

844 The umbilical cord was specially treated; it was buried in the woods if a boy's, and near the lodge if a girl's. It was considered to be closely connected with a child's disposition, and hence if buried in the woods would ensure a boy's liking for the woods and the hunt; if buried near a lodge it would ensure the girl's attachment to womanly occupations.[15]

553 Naming.— Personal names were bestowed upon children or announced to the public during religious ceremonials, particularly the Big House Ceremony.[16] The meager information derived from the seventeenth-century sources indicates that these names were not given the children

[7] Jemison, 1918, p. 45.
[8] Penn, 1912, p. 231; Penn, 1882, p. 242; Holm, 1834, p. 126; O.A., M.B.
[9] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 194.
[10] *Ibid.*, p. 201.
[11] Penn, 1912, p. 231; Pastorius, 1912, p. 434; Lindestrom, 1925, p. 201; Trowbridge MS.
[12] Loskiel, 1794, p. 61.
[13] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 201.
[14] Harrington, 1913, p. 212; J.T. mentioned defacing moccasins for this purpose.
[15] Harrington, 1913, pp. 212-13.
[16] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 80; Loskiel, 1794, p. 62; Harrington, 1913, p. 213; Kinietz, 1946, p. 44; O.A., M.B.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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136 settlements of the white people the muskrat does much damage to mill-dams by its burrowing.

There are three kinds of squirrels, the black,[168] the grey,[169] and the red. The black are most commonly found, the grey are the largest and the red the smallest in size. Their flesh is [262] tender, and eaten by the Indians in case of sickness or when they are very hungry for meat.

The ground squirrel[170] lives under the ground and is somewhat smaller than a common rat. They do great damage in the fields of the Indians, not only digging out the corn when it has been planted, but also pumpkin and melon seed. When the Indian corn is ripe, they lay in good stores of it for the winter. They stuff their cheeks full of it and then carry it to their storehouses.

The groundhog[171] also has its dwelling under ground. It is about the size of a large domestic cat, though heavier. It lives on grass and is, also, very fond of melons and pumpkins. It chews the cud.[172] Its feet are armed with claws. When [262] pursued and unable to reach its hole, the animal will climb a tree. The flesh is toothsome and eaten by the Indians.

There is, also, a very large variety of wild cat,[173] other than the kind already mentioned. This is as large as a dog. It is very savage, even attacking a deer and killing it.

The hare[174] in these parts is small and not found in large numbers, being pursued by birds and beasts of prey. Towards the north I have seen them of the same size as those in Europe. In that region some are found with a snow white fur.[175] They dwell in hollow trees.

White deer are seldom seen in these parts.[176] These have generally in summer some red and in winter some gray spots. [825] The Indians call a white deer the king of the deer and believe that the rest flock about and follow him.[177]

Wolves are very numerous, most are gray, some are almost black. As their skins serve no useful purpose and are not much valued, the Indians do not pursue them, unless they catch them [224] tearing skins or devouring meat they have carefully laid away. Sometimes the wolves break into their hunting huts and do much damage. They rarely attack men, never when there are deer

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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The eagle has a white head and tail.[190] The wings are black and the body partly black and partly ash-colored. It builds its nest usually in the fork of some lofty and thick tree. It lays the foundation with a great quantity of branches and repairs the nest built there every spring. Usually, they hatch but one, at most two, in a year. It is unquestionably the strongest among the birds of prey. I have seen it fight with another bird of prey,[191] much larger than itself and that wished to occupy its nest. Lifting the other bird into the air, the eagle hurled it down, after having severely injured it. Every morning the eagle goes out in search of prey and brings to its young, birds, squirrels, snakes and fish. Fish now and then prove destructive to them, for in attacking large fish, the bird sometimes cannot disengage its talons soon enough, but is drawn down into the water and drowned. 136

There is another species of eagle that I have seen nowhere but in this region. The Indians call it Chauwalanne, forked eagle,[192] from the fact that its tail is forked. It often soars to such a height that the eye cannot reach it. If it approaches the dwellings of the Indians, they always look upon it as a sign of change of weather or rain. Often the change follows such approach. It feeds upon snakes and other creatures, as does the white-headed eagle, but it is as a rule, continually on the wing during its repast. It builds its nest in high trees, but in as concealed a place as can be found. [825] [821]

Of other birds of prey, there are to be found here the hawk,[193] the stone-falcon,[194] that remains near the rocks, the pigeon-hawk,[195] that pursues not only the pigeon but all other birds it can conquer, though it is a small bird and not as large as the pigeon.

The wood-pecker has a light red head with a red plume and is otherwise black with white spots.[196] It finds its food in old trees, this consisting of worms that are to be found in the wood.

One variety is called the Red-headed Wood-pecker,[197] because of the red head, is a nuisance in orchards, because it attacks the apples.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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136 are as venomous as the copperheads and like them, only of middle size.

6) There is another kind[227] of blacksnake which gets to be about six feet long, but it is slender and able to move more swiftly. These climb trees and despoil nests of the young birds. The bite of the reptile causes a slight swelling, but has no other evil effects.

7) Water snakes[228] spend much of their time in the water, live on fish and are not poisonous.

8) A kind of striped, brightly marked snakes,[229] which are small and harmless.

9) There are green snakes,[230] white-bellied, not more than a foot in length and harmless.

I have myself seen a hawk descend on a blacksnake, of the kind described under number 6, and attack it, but the snake quickly coiled itself round the bird and killed it.

Concerning none of the reptiles described above, beyond the rattlesnake, is it known that they gather in great numbers at any time. None are so numerously represented as the rattlesnakes. All of them swallow their prey whole. Frogs, turtles, birds, groundhogs, squirrels, they swallow thus, but by slow degrees. They usually begin with the hind leg of an animal and gradually draw it in. All serpents cast their coat in spring. Often the whole skin of a snake, complete from the head downward, may be seen lying on the ground. This is very thin. The new skin of a black serpent is a shining jet. It is said that a rattlesnake, if irritated, and unable to avenge itself, will sink its fangs into its own body, with the result that it swells considerably and dies in a few hours. This snake is said to possess another peculiar property, as witnessed both by Indians and whites, viz., that of gazing with fixed eyes upon bird or squirrel and by a kind of fascination, stupefying them in such a manner that the poor creatures drop from the boughs and fall easy prey to their enemy.

Lizards are but rarely found here. One variety, not above [825] five or six inches in length, is said to be poisonous. Indians make much ado when they see them and try to frighten them away. They dwell in hollow trees, where they also keep their

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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Indians sing and pray. They deny that they pay any adoration to the buck, declaring that God alone is worshipped through this medium and is so worshipped at his will. 796 [343]

At these feasts there are never less than four servants, to each of whom a fathom of wampum is given that they may care for all necessary things. During the three or four days they have enough to do by day and by night. They have leave, also, to secure the best of provisions, such as sugar, bilberries, molasses, eggs, butter and to sell these things at a profit to guests and spectators. Festivals are usually closed with a general drinking bout. There are always rum-sellers present on such occasions who make large profits. As a result of the drinking there are generally several fatalities, for, among the Indians that gather from various places, such as wish to work off an old score are ready to make use of the opportunity afforded by these occasions. [443] [273]

Besides these solemn feasts of sacrifice there are many of less importance, for individuals arrange them on their own account. They invite guests and prepare a feast of deer or bear's flesh. The guests consume the whole meal, the host and his family being mere spectators. At the great feasts all who are present partake of the food. Each individual may offer sacrifice for himself when engaged in the chase, in order that he may be successful. Having cut up a deer and divided it into many small pieces he scatters them about for the hawks and crows that sit about on the trees waiting. Retiring to some distance the Indian will then amuse himself by observing in what manner they devour the prey. Another may offer to his *Manitto* for some other reason. Corn is said to be the wife of the Indian and to it they sacrifice bear's flesh. To the deer and bear they offer corn. To the fishes they bring an offering of small pieces of bread shaped in the form of fishes. If an Indian hunter hears an owl screech in the night he immediately throws some tobacco into the fire, muttering a few words at the same time. Then they promise themselves success for the next day for the owl is said to be a powerful spirit. In dreams, they claim, it has been made known to them what creatures to regard as their *manittos* and what offerings to bring to them. Such 796 782 [825]

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163. *Mephitis mephitis* Schreber. 136

164. *Erethizon dorsatum* (L.)

165. *Mustela americana* Turton, the pine marten or American sable, and the larger *Mustela pennantii* Exleben, the fisher, or fisher marten, both range into New York.

166. *Alces americanus* Clinton.

167. *Fiber zibethicus* (L).

168. A melanistic form of the next. At times in some localities it is very abundant.

169. *Sciurus carolinensis* Gmelin, the common grey squirrel.

170. *Sciurus hudsonicus loquax* Bangs.

171. *Tamias striatus lysteri* (Rich.)

172. *Marmota monax* (L.)

173. *Lynx canadensis* Kerr, the Canada lynx.

174. *Lepus floridanus mearnsi* Allen.

175. *Lepus americanus virginianus* Harlan, the varying hare.

176. Doubtless partial albinos of the common deer, *Odocoileus virginianus.*

177. An instance of the erroneous belief that an animal in any way conspicuously different from its fellows becomes a leader. On the contrary, the unfortunate variant is often mistreated by his fellows and sometimes even ostracised. "Sentiment" plays no part in the selection of leaders. It is simply a question of superior strength and endurance. 825

178. *Branta canadensis* (L.), the common wild goose, or Canada goose. Other species occur but are rare and probably never reared their young hereabouts. 136

179. *Aix sponsa* (L.) the beautiful wood duck. The young are said to be carried to the water in the bill of the parent.

180. Both *Mergus americanus* Cassin the American merganser or sheldrake, and *Lophodytes cucullatus* (L.,) the hooded merganser were formerly abundant in this region.

181. Probably the hooded merganser, which is said to be quite palatable, the flesh of the other mergansers being rank and fishy.

182. This is evidently *Grus mexicana* (Müll), the sandbill crane, a bird now very rare in Ohio.

183. *Olor columbianus* (Ord.), the whistling swan, and *Olor buccinator* (Rich.), the trumpeter swan, have been uncommon birds in this locality, the latter formerly breeding here. Both fit the description given. The former is now much less rare than the other.

184. *Meleagris galopavo silvestris* Vieill.

185. *Bonasa umbellus* (L.), the ruffed grouse or pheasant, a beautiful, harmless and valuable bird now in danger of extermination if not rigidly protected.

186. This apparently refers to *Tympanuchus americanus* (Reich.), the prairie hen, now exterminated in Ohio and not generally supposed

759 but occasionally a man is blessed with a vision [8] in which the Creator bestows upon him this great gift, and like Wi·tapanóxwe, he becomes an herbalist. In addition to the knowledge of healing acquired through his guardian Spirit,[9] the informant has also followed carefully the teachings of his mother who was recognized by Delaware of the older generation as one adept in the art of compounding and administering herbal remedies.

[791] The second class is composed of individuals whose supernatural power enables them to perform acts such as reuniting an estranged couple or dispelling a supposedly evil charm. Certain rare plants are employed by them in practices resorted to only in emergencies.

It must be emphasized here that, according to Delaware belief, the practitioners are the medium through whom the Creator sends his healing power to alleviate distress caused by the physical and mental ills which attack the frail bodies of mankind.

Absolute faith in the unfailing power and benevolence of the Creator is the force which inspires the Delaware who has been blessed with a medicine vision and he is ever appealing in prayer to that higher Spiritual Force for aid in his professional undertakings.

[824 825] Believing that plants and animals in general are closely related to mankind [10] and that the Creator has endowed them individually with spiritual natures equally as sensitive as our own, the Delaware herbalist is always careful to perform the formal propitiatory rites before gathering a plant or removing part of an animal for use in making medicine.

759 824 782 278 If a practitioner is called upon to treat a person during the growing season in spring or summer, his first move, after the formal acceptance of the case and receipt of a gift of tobacco, is to go out and seek a plant of the desired species to be used in making medicine for the treatment of the particular ailment. After coming upon the first plant

[8] Zeisberger (*op. cit.* p. 25) "Fancied skill and imagined ability to heal the sick are traced to dreams which these individuals may have had in their youth. To the dreams they appeal, for in them they have much faith." See also Speck, 1931, p. 51; Harrington, 1921, p. 61; and Benedict, 1923.

[9] Harrington (1921, p. 80) quoting from the notes of R. C. Adams, "It is believed by the Delaware that every one has a guardian spirit which comes in the form of some bird, animal, or other thing, at times in dreams and tells them what to do and what will happen. The guardian spirit is sent from the Great spirit."

[10] Speck (1931, pp. 28, 29) discusses the principle of consanguinity as applied to deities and nature-forces.

4: Tantaquidgeon E-5 (1930) 1942
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warrior desires information as to the location of the enemy; the chief seeks for a clearer insight into tribal affairs in general.

So powerful are these agents of the spirit forces that if one speaks to them against his enemies, he will have the power to attack the latter by means of practices of a malevolent character. Such power is considered as basically evil and to be used only as a last resort. Supernatural power, in general, is believed to be given to the Delaware to accomplish good and not for matters of minor importance.

The Medicine Stone

A concretion secreted in the alimentary organs of certain ruminants is known to have been highly prized by the peoples of Europe and the Orient [86] for its alleged magical and medicinal properties. This unusual object is also known to and valued by the natives of the New World.[87] From the present-day Delaware, we have the following information on the medicine stone, one of their most sacred and invaluable possessions. It is comparable to the bezoar stone of Oriental fame and usually has a similar function—as an antidote for poison. Although such objects are known to be present in the digestive organs of different animals, that obtained from the blacktail deer (Odocoileus hemionus) is considered as the most potent variety. The Delaware call such a stone by the term meaning "emergency gift." From its use in rubbing a wound made by a snake or mad dog, it is sometimes known as "mad stone." They are of varying shapes and sizes and serve as protective agents for their owners. One may use such a charm to make medicine for another who is seriously ill or injured. In the case of illness pronounced fatal by others, scrapings from the medicine stone are infused in hot water and administered as a tea. Complete recovery of the patient is expected as a result. Witapanóxwe relates how warriors of the earlier period employed such a stone to heal fatal wounds. If it is not possible to administer it as a tea, the stone is simply rubbed over the body of the wounded person.

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[86] See article *Bezoar* in New International Encyclopedia, Vol. 3. Second Edition, 1924.

[87] I am indebted to Dr. John M. Cooper, Catholic University of Washington, Washington, D. C., for access to his manuscript on *The Bezoar in Aboriginal American Culture.*

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cine,"[8] was prepared. Such formulæ were transferred from the warriors of one generation to another, in native theory only those known to live clean, pure lives being the recipients. A warrior carried a bundle which contained medicine and personal charms. The medicine stone[9] was used only in times of crisis.

Use of Wampum in Healing

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Shell wampum is used in treating cases of paralysis or similar afflictions believed due to failure of parents to fulfill certain ceremonial obligations or to breaking certain taboos. Before receiving treatment the patient presents one yard of wampum[10] to the medicine man. Potency is added to the herbal medicines by the wampum and enables the doctor to diagnose the case in a brief time.[11]

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The Otter Medicine

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The Otter[12] was regarded as the most sacred of all water animals. It figured in a ceremony described by Harrington[13] in which the spirit of the Otter was propitiated. In order to capture the animal a special lure was made. The formula for preparing such medicine[14] was in the custody of an old man of sufficient spiritual purity to withstand its great power. Certain roots,[15] cleaned by the old man in running water to the accompaniment of a song, were used. In doing so he was obliged to walk against the current, throwing water upon his tracks to conceal them. A secluded place was sought out for this preparatory rite. The medicine was hidden away from his dwelling lest it lose potency through the proximity of a woman. The medicine was considered very effective in luring other water animals, since it was a gift from the Otter, the most powerful of such creatures.

[8] According to Zelsberger *(op. cit.,* p. 127) "The captains and others secure a *beson* (medicine) to preserve themselves from arrow and ball." Converse (1910, p. 168) notes the use of medicine made from the roots of corn, which the men drank. It afforded them such supernatural protection that "they could not be shot even though they were shot at seven times."

[9] See page 23.

[10] Measured from the shoulder to the wrist.

[11] The function of wampum in healing and in the ceremony of the Big House is discussed by Speck, 1931, pp. 52-53.

[12] *Lutra canadensis.*

[13] 1921, p. 176.

[14] Known as "otter medicine."

[15] The same plant, "pull up" *(Sp.?)* is also used in preparation of love charms (see p. 13).

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last she told her friend that she wished to confess. She said, "Now I am going to die and I want to tell you something. You must never reveal it or you will die also. I was out travelling (sic) one night and someone shot me." After her death, the other woman one day revealed the secret to some friends and soon after died.

One of the last of the Delaware witches is said to have joined the church, but continued to practice witchcraft. She believed that she could not find salvation because she had sold her soul to the Devil, but by joining the Church, thought she could secure some peace of mind. [797]

The unnatural behaviour of birds or animals, as observed in dreams or waking life, has led people to regard them as transformed witches. Once a man saw a hog which, as he looked at it, seemed to grow longer and longer. He started towards the animal, but it retreated into the bushes. Thereupon he knew that it was a transformed person. [825]

A second incident involved a young man returning home from a dance early in the morning. The path led through the woods and over a hill, at the foot of which stood a small cabin occupied by two old women. As he rode along, an owl flew quite low over his head towards the cabin where it disappeared. The young man told his people of the unusual flight of the owl and every one agreed that it was one of the old women returning home. Both had previously been suspected of witchcraft.

Another person had a similar experience with a boar. The man lived alone and one night, while lying on his bed, the door opened and in walked a large boar. The Indian, quite surprised by this, picked up a poker from the fireplace and attempted to drive out the animal. The boar ran around the table several times, without the man succeeding in striking it. Finally it escaped through the door. The man hurried outside and looked around, but the animal had disappeared entirely.

Many years ago a man about forty years old married a woman who was over seventy. My grandfather's brother lived with this couple. He was a powerful medicine man. After some years the old woman took sick and died. Her husband, a very vain, boastful individual, did not conceal his pleasure over her death. He was heard to say, "Now, I am the boss. See what I will do." My grandfather[3] soon after left the house. He walked away down the hill, frequently looking back at the house. After a while he returned. He had left to

[3] In the Delaware kinship terminology one's grandfather's brothers are called by the same term as the grandfather. [601]

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196 present day. Thus, for example, the Delaware term for the cocoanut
262 is "water hickory nut."

"Indian Potato" or Ground Nut *(Apios tuberosa)*, "wild potato."
222 The tuberous roots are gathered in large quantities and stored for
252 winter use. They are not considered good after sprouting. The roots are either boiled and eaten as the cultivated potato, or dried and ground into flour used for making bread. In recent times the ground nut has not grown abundantly in the Delaware habitat, and is now considered a rare delicacy.

Sorrel *(Rumex acetosella)*, "sour." This plant, prepared much like rhubarb, is used as a filling for pies.

Onion *(Sp.?)*. Of the different varieties of wild onions, three are regarded by the Delaware as being edible. The one most commonly gathered for use is the "buttonseed." These are dried and prepared by frying, or boiling, or are added to flavor stews and soups. Wild onions are also cooked in grease to which eggs are added.

A species of mushroom *(Agaricus campestris)*, "tripe form," is fried in hot fat, or salted and boiled.

Certain plants are considered to be healthful foods, especially in spring, when people were in need of the medicinal substances present in them. The practice of seeking the first green plant shoots in early spring is not peculiar to the Delaware alone, but is characteristic of other Eastern Algonkian peoples. Such food is called "greens" or "plant tops." The young shoots are usually picked and cooked separately, or mixed with several other plants. In both cases the "greens" are parboiled in water, and then cooked with meat. Among such plants may be mentioned dandelion, milkweed, poke, lamb's quarters, mustard, dock, and watercress.

Animal Foods

825 Wild animals, as pointed out by F. G. Speck (1931, pp. 28-29), are
224 in general considered to exist in clan relationship with humans. The latter are said to be "kings among animals." Clean, pure animals of the forests are referred to in terms of human relationship and their spirits must be propitiated before they can be sought for food. If the supernaturals are appeased through sacrifices, the animals will allow themselves to be taken, but if the proper ceremonies are not carried out, they can never be approached by humans. Therefore a hunter before starting out, is obliged to pray and sacrifice tobacco, and also if he should dream of seeing game during the hunt. The Delaware "sharing-feast"

described by Zeisberger, has previously been referred to (p. 47). Special medicine lures for hunting are also prepared by the hunter.

The Delaware consider the bear and the deer to be the greatest of all animals. The bear is also called "Our Grandfather." Both animals are considered closely akin to the Indian, but the Delaware believe that the bear has the most human-like traits. The antelope, a creature of the later Delaware environment, is regarded as a sacred, pure animal. Of the water animals, the otter is regarded as supernaturally the most powerful.

During the chase, the hunter is careful not to unduly excite the game pursued, since the flesh of such an animal is apt to cause illness when eaten. The same treatment holds for the capture and killing of domestic animals and fowl. Formerly bison, bear, deer, otter, beaver, the smaller animals, and wild fowl provided meat for the Delaware diet. In the latter period squirrels, rabbits, and domestic animals replaced the increasingly rare, larger species.

After an animal was killed, all parts of it were utilized; the flesh for food; the hide for shelter, clothing, robes, and bags; the bones for implements, and the teeth for ornaments, etc. The hide was removed by the hunter forcing his fist between it and the flesh, thus working around the body until the hide was loose. The use of a sharp instrument for this purpose, would, it was claimed, cut and thus spoil the hide. All fat from the bison, bear, deer, and domestic animals was saved and stored in a rawhide container. The intestines were cleaned, filled with blood or meat, and cooked. The flesh of the larger animals was usually roasted. A fire was built in a pit and the carcass placed upon a scaffold above it. A slow fire was kept burning, over which the meat was turned until it was thoroughly cooked.

Meat was preserved in one of two ways—by smoke-drying or immersing it in grease. In drying, thin slices were suspended over a slow fire. In the latter process alternate layers of partially cooked meat and hot lard were placed in a large earthen crock until filled. Slippery elm bark, cinnamon, and allspice were added to the grease for flavor.

Stews and soups were made of fresh meat, to which hominy or corn meal dumplings were added. The flesh of small animals, from which the scent glands had been removed, were also preserved by smoke-drying. If a deer, or other animal, was killed during the mating season, the animal's testicles were immediately removed. An Indian hunter usually killed only male animals.

Fish were fried or cooked in a stew or soup. Formerly fish were preserved by drying.

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
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ashes from the fire are always taken out at the west door, and the dirt is always swept in the fire. In front of the east door outside is a high pole on which venison hangs. It is a feast dance and the deacons distribute food among the people. The officers and waiters are paid in wampum for their services.

"In no case is a dog allowed to enter the temple, and no one is allowed to laugh inside it, or in any way be rude. Each person is allowed to speak and tell his dream or dreams or to give advice. It is believed by the Delawares that every one has a guardian spirit which comes in the form of some bird, animal, or other thing, at times in dreams, and tells them what to do and what will happen. The guardian spirit is sent from the Great Spirit.

"Traditions say that 10 years before white men came to this country (America) a young man told his dream in the temple. This was on the Atlantic coast. He saw coming across the great waters a large canoe with pinions (wings) and containing strange people, and that in 10 years they would in fact come. He told this dream and predicted the arrival of the white men each year until they came and were seen by his people. Many of our people still keep up this dance, but the temple is not so large as it used to be, and the attendance now is not more than 100 persons. Any Indian of any tribe can also take part in the dance, but no white man can.

7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
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Delawares, Wi·tapano'xwe wrote out the following abstract which adds some points to what he dictated in text. 796^x

"This is an individual religious rite which is taken from raising pets such as pet bears and other animals. The last of these brush arbors was kept up by the Wolf Clan until about thirty years ago. However, this was only kept up by certain families, a chain of relationship having existed among several families. One, I remember, was a Delaware by the name of John Jim John, (*kaxpes·i·'no* 'Twin-man') and his sister, Mrs. Frenchman. While still living in Kansas this family had a pet bear. Upon freeing a pet bear, after it had grown up, it has always been the custom to put a yard of wampum around the neck of the animal and go through a ceremony. At this time the people talk to the bear and tell the animal that he is now at liberty and he should no longer obligate himself to the family. Unless this is done, some illness or evil fate might befall some member of the family. Oftentimes these facts are found out from the medicine man, who is said to be able to find out these things through the power of his supreme guardian, or through the medium of that animal, thing, or object that blessed him in a dream during childhood. Sometimes that animal, thing, or object may have spoken to him and told him 'At a certain time in your life you must feed them or give a feast in memory of your own experience, or a plague would be brought onto you or your children.'" 796^x 825 231

For the details of procedure of this long-obsolete ceremony, I am obliged to quote Harrington's (*op. cit.*, pp. 172–5) description, since Wi·tapano'xwe did not possess a sufficiently explicit version in his ceremonial repertoire. 796^x

"This ceremony required a special house, which was made new for it every two years, so the first thing a family did when the time approached, was to find a number of men, each of whom was paid a yard of wampum to cut forks and poles and erect the building. This was made by setting up a frame of poles in form of a Big House, but smaller, only seven paces wide and fifteen paces long, then covering the top with brush and piling brush at the sides. Then to the east of the house a pole was erected upon which to hang the meat for the feast, which, in old times, had to be a bear; but when the bears became scarce a black hog was substituted, and of late a hog of any color has been used. The building finished, the hog was killed, and, having been hung on a pole over night, was taken into the house the next day, quartered, singed on a fire that had been built inside, then carried out again, cut up, and cooked, all except the loose fat, which was kept for a special purpose, as will appear later. When done, the meat was kept in large baskets, with the exception of the head, which, having been cooked whole, was placed in a large bowl with two animal's ribs in its mouth.

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

THE GREASE DRINKING CEREMONY
THE OTTER RITE

×796 A family ceremony and feast intended to avert evil tendencies of the otter is recorded in outline by Harrington.[1] To the ceremony he gives the title A"tcigamuttin, "compulsory hog eating." His description, which will shortly be quoted, is the only one that we have of the rite. The independent character of the ceremony is not clearly established by any information that we possess since there are no parallel accounts, nor was Wi·tapano'xwe conversant with its details. It seems to have been homologous in theory with that of the Bear Ceremony with the substitution of the otter as the creature invoked instead of the bear. In both rites the influence of a captive animal upon the health of its keeper is the starting point. The motive of both ceremonies is to release the individual from the menace of ill health and misfortune arising out of their association. As for the details of procedure the employment of an emblem of the animal throughout the ceremony, in this case the skin of the otter, is a noteworthy feature. The invitation to members of the opposite ceremonial group; the sermon of supplication to the animal for immunity from misfortune and ill health; the recitation of visions by the old men; and the termination of the performance in a general feast in which grease drinking is prominent and in which the animal addressed is considered as an honored guest, form the elements of the ceremonial pattern.

Some question arises as to details of equipment. Harrington is not explicit as to whether the performance was in the open or under a brush arbor. The informant, Parks, affirms the latter. The only other particulars for it must be sought in Harrington's description obtained in 1907 to 1910. Wi·tapano'xwe added his idea that the ceremony was intended more for men of warlike habits imbued with the purpose of

[1] Harrington, *op. cit.*, pp. 176-2.

7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
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796x
[225]

increasing their spiritual strength in accordance with the belief that the otter was the most powerful of the water animals. It was his understanding also that the rite was included under the name of *axki·'kənumuwaŋg* "they engage in trials of spiritual experience." In view of the importance of grease drinking in the otter rite which was a prerogative of men of strength, he thought it might have been called *ənda pəmi·'numu'heng*, "when grease they drink."

Since the ceremony was undoubtedly an event in the religious calendar of the Delawares it should be capitalized for future investigation. Harrington's description follows.

"Similar to the Bear Ceremony in many ways, both in traditional origin and its rites, was the observance called *A"lcigamu'tlin*, said to mean 'compulsory hog-eating,' held to propitiate the Otter spirit, a cult whose paraphernalia the writer was fortunate enough to collect for the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation.

"Many years ago, so runs the story, a little girl about ten years of age was given a young otter for a pet, and this she kept and cared for until it was well grown. About that time she began to feel that she should keep him no longer, for she had come to realize that he was *pi'lsun*, meaning 'pure' or 'sacred,' and, like all wild things belonged to the Powers Above. The old people told her what she must do, so she took her otter down to the creek, and, first tying a little bag of tobacco on his neck, said to him: 'Now I shall set you free. I have raised you and cared for you until you are now full grown. Go then, and follow the ways of your kind.'

"The otter disappeared into the waters, and the little girl returned to her home, feeling that she had done well. But before a year had passed, a sickness came upon her, which the Indian doctors told her was caused by her pet otter, which wanted something to eat. The only way for the child to get well, they said, was for her to have a hog killed and cooked, and then invite a number of men to eat it all, in the name of the otter. This was done, and when the men finished eating the hog and the soup, they said that the girl would recover, and so she did. For this ceremony they took an otter-skin to represent the girl's pet, which was used every two years, and when the owner died was passed to the oldest survivor of the family which owned it, and kept in the belief that it would benefit the health of all of them. It was the only one of its kind in the tribe, and was called '*kuny'xde*.'

"The exact details and order of the ceremony were not remembered by our informant, but it was certain that the family in question 'fed the otter' every two years in the spring, that being the time of year when the little girl had been taken ill. Everyone was invited, men

7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
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The Mask Dance is given in the fall of the year because all vegetation is matured at that time, also the hunting season opens with Indians when the leaves of the forest have begun to turn red showing the first tinges of autumn. Deer hides are then said to be thickening and the fur becoming good.

The Delaware Mask Dance is given, sometimes because someone has had a "scare," or may have been attacked by some strange malady, or a sick spell, imagining that he has seen a mask and become frightened. Sometimes mask owners fail by neglect to give the usual annual Mask Ceremony, or again in case of death they fail to transfer the ownership of the mask to some member of the family or next closest of kin, so the strange things are brought about.

The Delaware Indians use the entire mask which has a cape attached to it, the cape hanging over the coat, thus the man wearing the mask must hold his fingers in the mouth of the mask while moving about or dancing because the mask is simply resting on the head and the large wooden face is heavy and will jolt on the head; now the mask wearer must carry his cane and the snapping turtle rattle in his right hand together until he stops. A shoulder strap about two inches wide is thrown over the shoulder with a small saddle bag attached and used to put chewing tobacco in, which is given to the mask-man or wearer. In order to keep children from making so much unnecessary noise, they are told that the bag (*pənda''sənakan*) contains snakes.

An old and historic specimen of the wooden mask used in recent years by the Delawares of the Cherokee band, Oklahoma, having found its way, surreptitiously as the Indians claim, into the ca[illegible]s of the Museum of the American Indian, New York, has b[illegible] described by Harrington and myself. It is 14.5 inches in le[illegible]th the right half being painted red, the left half black. The eye-holes were small apertures perforated in tin plates to permit vision. It is not necessary to repeat here what has already been said of the object (Speck, "Big House Ceremony," pp. 39–44, 93).[1]

[1] Sooner or later it will become the task of a student to examine the correspondences between Delaware and Iroquois mask traits among which stand forth the common peculiarities of mask construction in both series, the use of

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
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RAIN MAKING RITUAL

789 *E'nda sokola"'nheyg*, "when rain make." In making an appeal to the grandfather Thunder to send showers and rain, [825 ancient custom has decreed that the skin of a weasel is a 782] suitable offering to the "grandfather" accompanying the prayer.

The rite is an individual one. Any man or woman may own a weasel skin [1] and perform it in time of drought. The ritual is recited in seclusion, not at a public gathering as it is reported by Wi·tapano'xwe among the Shawnee.[2] By the holder of the weasel skin the object is regarded as sacred, the skin being treated as though it were a live animal. It is kept wrapped up and put away carefully so that it will not be molested, that is suffer indignity, this solicitude being similar to what is accorded other objects used in ceremonials. This may mean nothing more than being tied up and kept in a trunk, a basket or hung in a shed where it is out of the way. Wi·tapano'xwe had his enveloped in a green cloth and tied with a string of leather.[3] The weasel ceremonially used, is called *sa'ygwe*, a term which denotes something used for a sacred purpose.[4]

782 In this rite the rain-maker proceeds to a running stream. 789 He dips the skin into the water and lifts it upward while saying this beautiful little prayer addressing the Thunder and

[1] The species of weasel mentioned is *Mustela cicognani cicognani*, or *M. noveboracensis*. A third form mentioned by the informant is called "spotted weasel" has not been identified. The skin of the latter, he added, is used in making medicine for horse colic, so there is evidently some definite creature in mind.

[771] [2] According to the informant the Shawnee make more of a ceremony of rain-making with the weasel, the skin being kept in the custody of an old man who has exclusive right to handle it and to the place where it is concealed, and a dance accompanies the prayer.

[3] Specimen in collection of Historical Commission of Pennsylvania.

[825] [4] That the weasel has had a sacred function in early as well as recent Delaware religious magic is shown by the record of the same name for the animal recorded in Delaware of over a century ago, namely *sunquen* (Brinton, "Lenape Dictionary," p. 124).

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
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585 a period of about that length is designated, dur-
292 ing which she must go the whole time in her bridal
304 attire, completely covered with their money, strung into the form of all kinds of figures, with which the ears, the arms and the body, down to the knees, are ornamented; with oiled hair, and face painted with all kinds of colors like a fearful scare-crow face.[4] Then she is decorated in the very best manner according to their views. Now when this said period is over then there is an end to their bridal ceremony.

314 When the savage females bear their children,
● 325 they tie around their waists a snake skin of the most poisonous kind of snakes, which are found in New Sweden and are called rattlesnakes, which has such an effect that they do not know of the least pain in their child birth, and are as healthy in an hour, as if they had never been through it.[5]

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[4] *Skräddukeansichte (Skräpukeansigte)*, mask., scarecrow. 'The Indians carry small bags of paint with them, keeping the colors separate as red, blue, green, brown, white, black, yellow. They esteem brilliant colors most, which shine like pure metal.' Van der Donck, *N. Y. Col.*, 2, I, 161–2, 163–4; cf. also, *N. Y. Col.*, 2, II, 289, De Vries, *N. Y. Col.*, 2, III, 106.

[5] It is the opinion of some medical men that the reports about the easy childbirth of primitive women are more or less fictitious; but that is probably not the case. Dr. Mjöberg, a Swedish explorer, relates that he saw women who bore children on the march and continued their journey without interruption.

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
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752 roots, which are called snakegrass-roots. These roots grow very much intertwined, like a very fine and close comb. These they chew to pieces and place them with sober spittle[4] on the sore and the bite, which has such a power by its application, as has been stated. But 2 or 3 of the Swedes there in the country, as I know, were wounded by these snakes. They immediately swelled up terribly and were dead within an hour, for they lacked these medicines.

825 136 These snakes are spotted, yellow and black, and on the tail they have horn-joints, one joint for each year, according to his age.[5] [They] have scent of a human being far away, [and when the snake scents a person] then he puts his tail in the air to shake and agitate, so that it is heard far away from him, with a sound like children's rattles with pease in them, yet very loud, so that a person can through this guard himself against it. Concerning this I have formerly discussed it somewhat in the chapter concerning the childbirth of the savage women and [stated] that the skin of this rattlesnake is found to be very splendid for pregnant women, that when they tie this around themselves, then they are immediately relieved of their severe childbirth.[6]

57 Concerning this, as well as many other innumerable[7] [things] one may well marvel at the splendid and miraculous medicines of the savages; so that if it is not a fatal disease, they know a

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[4] *Nychter spätt.* Perhaps fresh rather than sober saliva.
[5] Cf. above, Chapt. VIII.
[6] See above, Chapts. VIII, X, note 5. Cf. Williams, *Key*, 125 ff.
[7] *Orescitterligit*, unrecitable.

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April

805 Zeisberger *Quitewewuhewi gischuch*—Spring month
821 Zeisberger *Hackishewi gischuch*—Planting month
Heckewelder —The spring month
Johnston *Qua, to, a, ha, e, kee, shoe*—no English for it
Pipe *Kwäätiioahaa kēēshooh*—from the shedding of the hair of the deer
Chipps *Al-lòu-uk-ke-kair-e-kà-so*
J. W. —Wet earth, rains
W. L. *Kičisikonki·so*—Spring starting month

May

Zeisberger *Tawwinipen*—Beginning summer (signifying hoe is used on Indian corn in this month)
Heckewelder —The planting month
Johnston *Ti, e, neep, pen, ie*—The moon between spring and summer
Pipe *Tiieenēēpen kēēshooh*—Middle moon, between spring and summer
Chipps *Uk-ke-hòve-ekà-so*
J. W. —All up, flowers, etc. commence bearing
W. L. *Mo' ksoatoki·lo*—Deer getting red

June

[825] Zeisberger *Kitschinipen*—Summer (signifies the month in which the deer become red)
Heckewelder —The fawn month or the month in which the deer bring forth their young, or the month in which the hair of the deer changes to a reddish color
Johnston *Ke, he, che, neep, pen, ie*—The moon when vegetation is in blossom
Pipe *Kitsheenēēpen kēēshooh*—Real summer moon
Chipps *Mo-mùs-ko-mòv-e-kà-so*

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J. W. *Kičinipen*—Summer 805
W. L. *Kičinipen*—Starting summer 821

July

ZEISBERGER *Yugatamoewi gischuch*—The time of raising the earth about the corn
HECKEWELDER —The summer month
JOHNSTON *Gock, kau, tau, ma, ekeshoe*—The moon when vegetation is blossoming [324]
PIPE *Yaukāūtamwaa kēēshooh*—Moon of sacrifice or prayer. Time of feast of first fruits [796]

CHIPPS *La-kòk-mo-aò-e-kà-so*
J. W. *Dainipen*—Middle summer
W. L. *Lainipen kɨlo*—Middle of summer
W. T. *Kičini·pen*—Middle of summer

August

ZEISBERGER *Sakawoewhewi gischuch*—Deer month
ZEISBERGER *Winu gischuch*—The time when the corn is in the milk and ready to eat and roast [324 243]
HECKEWELDER —The month of roasting ears
JOHNSTON *Sok, ho, a, ha, io, kio, shough, i, e,*—The moon when the deer begin to turn gray [325]
PIPE *Saukiioahāā kēēshooh*—Moon in which deer get blue hair

CHIPPS *Wà-no-e-kà-so*
J. W. —Dry, hot, refreshing
W. L. *Kičitakɔk kɨlo*—Beginning fall month
W. T. *Socewigilo*—Deer change color, Fall side of summer [325]

September

ZEISBERGER *Kitschitachquook*—Autumn month
HECKEWELDER —The autumnal month

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W. T. and E. R. say that right was always used. 576

68. Story telling: in winter and at night only

W. L. said that one rule was that no one could sit up during 538
the telling of stories as it might make them humpbacked. 784

78. Peculiarities in encampments

JOHN JOHNSTON—There is no [peculiarity] in their moving 361
from place to place or in their hunting encampments, but they 726
are very particular in the mode of erecting their war encampments.

E. R.—Camp site was fixed so that allied tribes would know
who had been there, and which direction they went. The way [202]
they fixed the fire and ashes would tell who made the camp.

79. Identification of makers of encampment

JOHN JOHNSTON—They can [identify them] because every 361
tribe has a different mode of encamping and by the size of the 202
camp or camps they can calculate very nigh the number that were in them.

CAPTAIN CHIPPS—They can tell the camps of the Cayugas and Massisagas, by their peculiar manner of encamping. Generally speaking, it is impossible for them to tell from a deserted camp, what particular tribe has occupied it.

83. Differences from other tribes in sociability, etc.

J. W.—Delaware are more friendly and sociable than other 181
tribes even though they cannot trust others. The Delaware way of raising is to have children grow up to be friendly and pleasant so that other people will like them and they may do big things—get places on council, in Big House, and be a credit to parents.

W. T.—Sociability, friendliness, and hospitality are marked characteristics that distinguish Delaware from other tribes and should be rated first.

88. Spare lives of snakes

HECKEWELDER stated that Delaware spared the lives of snakes 784
because killing one would bring other creeping things to bite them. 825

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784 825 JOHN JOHNSTON—Their principal reason is that the snake is such a malicious and spiteful animal that if they should kill them the rest would know it and would bite them.

CAPTAIN CHIPPS—They sometimes avoid killing snakes, on a march, because they say, "that if they kill one, the rest will be madder."

J. W.—Snakes were not killed unless necessary—"don't kill for nothing." Besides could tell good from bad snakes.

E. R. said that there were no rules against the killing of snakes and that he feared no retribution.

BIRTH AND ITS INCIDENTS

89. Naming of child

553 [796] CAPTAIN PIPE—Children are named at one of the grand worshiping councils, and as opportunities do not occur regularly, there is no particular age at which they are formerly [*sic.* formally?] named. (Children at times do not receive their names until they are quite large, at others while they are infants.) The child when about to be named is taken to the assembly and there presented to one of the old men (who is an orator and) of the same tribe with the father, together with a fathom of wampum for his services. This old man taking the child by the hand, rises and proclaims aloud his name, requesting all who hear him to [776] recollect. He then proffers a short prayer to the Great spirit in supplication for his blessing on the child during life; after which it is returned to its parents.

[846] CAPTAIN CHIPPS—There are no christenings—or ceremonies at the birth of their children. After the birth, a year or two, 851 sometimes less, the child is taken into council, and named. The 553 father names and the preacher announces the name to the assembly in a speech of some length—in which, he congratulates the parents of the child—hopes the child may become a good boy and "prays to God" to make him a good man, a good hunter and a good warrior.

J. W.—Has never seen or heard of naming in Big House. Parents take child to grandparents, either side. They give him

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The mask rite, says Witapano'xwe, is an individual or family, not a group rite. The record of the change of hands through which it passed, going into each of the three groups at different times, brings out this act.

Since it happened that the custody of the mask fell to Delaware women as well as to men, there seems to have been no restriction as to sex in the office of keeping the masks as reported for the Iroquois. The same is true of the corn-husk masks. As among the Iroquois the Delaware wooden mask was kept face down when not in use, but only, the informant added, because the cloth covering at the back would make this position more convenient. We are impressed with the ruling that the mask could not be played with nor worn for social masquerading.

To the ethnologist, however, the significance of the Mask-Spirit is deep. The whole question of the trait which it represents in the customs of the Delawares is fraught with the possibilities of an archaic northern background, into which fits a series of beliefs and practices extending across boreal North America through northeastern Asia. The game owner concept, in short, stands forth in high relief among the far northern Algonkian. Its most intense development appears among the Montagnais-Naskapi of the Labrador peninsula.[1] For the region of the Great Lakes among the Central Algonkian we have as yet no records to substantiate the existence of the Game Owner concept so far south. The Delaware case is accordingly one of noteworthy bearing. Before passing by what Delaware belief has to contribute to the Game Owner concept in general the information pertaining to the mask spirits to be given in a text reserved for the later publication should be considered.[2] Here an account is recorded in which masks made of corn-husks are worn by messengers who go about announcing the occasion of a corn ceremony. The personification of the spirit of corn seems intended in the wearing of such a mask.

THE TORTOISE AS A SYMBOL.—Outlined in particularly high relief is the tortoise. In the latter creature we have the symbol of life, of perseverence, longevity and steadfastness. As the Delaware patriarch says, "The tortoise is the earth; is life." In the procession of time and among the elemental nature forces the direction of movement is from east to west, according to Delaware belief. So moves the tortoise with measured pace across the earth and through the Big House, carrying out the mythical allegory. At the end of his journey at the "western door," meaning where the sun sets at the edge of the

[1] Extended treatment of the religious beliefs and philosophy of the northern peoples, so far as the Game Owner concept is concerned, will be available for the students of religious customs of pre-literate peoples when manuscript now in course of preparation shall have been published.

[2] To form another volume of this series.

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earth, the world will come to an end as does the ceremony after the twelfth night. Thus the tortoise "brings the ceremony." His shell in the form of the rattle[1] is carried in the hands of the participants who take the part of leaders in the recitations and dances and move in the proper westward direction in the Big House. The saying is, as the ceremony is opened, and again after the intervals of pause, "The Tortoise is bringing us the worship and we are now ready to touch it again."

The tortoise, moreover, is "he who carries our mother's body"—the latter being a metaphor for the earth. The tortoise being a "grandfather" thus becomes more ancient than the earth. The prominence of this mysterious creature in Delaware religious belief has long been noted by writers dealing with the tribe.[2]

As early as 1670 the Delawares are recorded as declaring that all things came from the tortoise, that it brought forth the world, that from its back a tree had sprung upon whose branches men had grown, that it had a power and a nature to produce all things such as earth, and the like; that it brought forth what the supreme divinity wished through it to produce.[3]

[1] As early as 1794 the turtle-shell rattles are mentioned by G. H. Loskiel, History of the Missions of the United Brethren; and Ziesberger before him, 1779 (op. cit., p. 89).

[2] The tortoise was regarded in China as a sacred animal imbued with a knowledge of the future. Concerning hunting as well as crop prospects and rainfall the tortoise shell oracle was consulted. (B. Laufer, Scientific Monthly, Vol. XXV, p. 253, (1927). Rather strangely the intervening area between these occurrences does not show forth prominence of the tortoise in religious thought.

[3] This cosmological tale, valuable for its early date and more complete form than we expect from the 17th century writers, is given by Dankers and Sluyter, dated Oct. 16, 1600. (Journal of a Voyage to New York in 1679-80, p. 208) (Translated in vol. 1), Transactions of the Long Island Historical Society, Brooklyn, also Mem. Long Island Hist. Soc., vol. i, 1875, 1867, quoted by Brinton I, p. 133, and A. B. Skinner, the Lenape Indians of Staten Island, Anth. (Papers Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist., N. Y. vol. iii, (1909), p. 53). It seems worth quoting in full:

"16 Oct., 1679. In the morning there came an Indian to our house, a man about 80 years of age, whom our people call Jasper, who lived at Ahakinsack (Hackensack) at Akinon. We asked him where he believed he came from. He answered from his father. "And where did your father come from?" we said, "and your grandfather and great-grandfather, and so to the first of the race?" He was silent for a little while, either as if unable to climb up at once so high with his thoughts, or to express them without help, and then took a piece of coal out of the fire where he sat and began to write upon the floor. He first drew a circle, a little oval, to which he made four paws or feet, a head and a tail. 'This,' said he, 'is a tortoise lying in the water around it,' and he moved his hand round the figure, continuing, 'this was or is all water, and so at first was the world or the earth, when the tortoise gradually raised its round back up high, and the water ran off it, and then the earth became dry.' He then took a little straw and placed it on end in the middle of the figure, and proceeded, 'the earth was now dry, and there grew a tree in the middle of the earth, and the root of this tree sent forth a sprout beside it, and there grew upon it a man, who was the first male. This man was there alone, and would have remained alone but the tree bent over its top and touched the earth and there shot therein another root, from which came forth another sprout, and there grew upon it the woman, and from these two are all men produced."

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825 Zeisberger mentions the world-flood myth in which it is related
713 that some human survivors took refuge on the back of a turtle whose age was so great that his shell was mossy.[1] And the turtle represents the earth. His rounded back is to the Delawares the earth dome.

825 Another indication of a belief in the latent potency of the magical
778 powers of this remarkable creature is met with in the esteem paid to
[302] the yellow color-pattern on the upper shell of the animal. Face paint patterns of a dignity appropriate to the men taking part in the Big House ceremony are copied from these markings.[2] The men wearing these patterns are adopting the symbol of the creature who "carries our mother's body."

The creature that typifies the earth-bearer, designated as taxko'xk[3] in Delaware, and whose symbol exists in the form of the shell-rattle, is the Box Turtle (Cistudo Carolina). This reptile is by the rulings of precise taxonymy not a tortoise but a connecting link between the aquatic turtles, or terrapins, and the terrestrial forms, the true tortoises. For the Box Turtles, of the genus Cistudo, deriving their name from the well known structure of the hinged plastron which permits the animal to withdraw the soft parts of its body completely within the protective cover of the shell, have partially webbed feet, which places them nearer to the Turtles than to the Tortoises. Yet to distinguish the reptile of Delaware tradition from the semi-aquatic American turtles, I have adhered to the designation of tortoise in the text and discussion.[3]

Perhaps certain remarks offered by the informant will, in con-

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[1] Zeisberger, op. cit., p. 131. See also E. deSchweinitz, Life and Times of David Zeisberger, pp. 218-19. Also Heckewelder, pp. 250, 308.
Later authors have pointed out the prominence of the tortoise as a symbol of the earth, not only in Delaware cosmology (Brinton I, p. 135) but in other Algonkian mythologies of the central and eastern areas as well.

[2] Considerable variation in the amount of yellow and in the outline of the patterns is observable in the markings of individual specimens of this genus of turtles.

[3] Of the five North American species of Cistudo, *Cistudo Carolina*, the eastern Box Turtle, the original race of Delaware tradition, and the Painted-Box Turtle (*c. ornata*), of the central region, were and are denoted as the proper forms. Possibly the Three-toed Box Turtle (*C. triunguis*) of the South Central states, may have been utilized by the tribe later in the west. The following are the names and identities of turtles mentioned by the informant:
sos.ap'i.p'konast' məkəkə'xki ta'xkoxk' "spotted back prairie turtle," Box Tortoise (Cistudo (sp)).
c'ingge'k.i ta'xkoxk' "timber turtle," (a large yellow tortoise). This can be used for the "coarse" rattle carried by the "second dancer" or follower."
pombu't.i.s, "stinking turtle" (Aromochelys odoratus, or Cinosternum Pennsylvanicum). Of no importance ceremonially.
pi'səlatow'lha, "wrinkled breast," Soft-shelled turtle. (Trionyx spinifer). These are eaten, but are of no ceremonial importance.
cə'xəlatow'lha "smooth breast," any water terrapin of genus Chrysemys. Snapping-turtle (Chelydra serpentina). Its shell is used only in the Mask ceremony and in Brush-arbor ceremony. The Delawares are cognizant of the Iroquois' use of the snapping turtle and of their own preference for the Box Tortoise in making rattles for dancing. The term taxko'xk denotes that the animal's shell is "fused together." An obsolete term for turtle is to'lpe.

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clusion, add something to our idea of another side of the character of this knowing and potent reptile, so important to the religious sense of the Delaware.

"The turtle is in its way an evil thing, yet not so evil as a snake which is controlled by the Evil Spirit and has also human face-paint patterns. The Turtle can hurt human-beings. Once a boy caught a water-turtle and turned him on his back. The Turtle got mad; raised himself on his legs stiffly. The Turtle raised himself, and launched himself through the air and struck the boy on his head and nearly killed him. The Turtle has a weapon in the sharp frontal plates."

FIRE SYMBOLISM.—Among the spirit-forces of Delaware cosmology "Our Grandfather Fire" (to'n·dai') is held in high esteem. The adoration of fire, however, is not sufficiently exclusive to justify the Delawares being called pyrolatrists. Fire, as a spirit-force subordinate to the Great Spirit, is an agency of purification and invigoration. In the Big House ceremony the rite of kindling new fire with the consecrated fire-drill takes place to the accompaniment of an appropriate prayer on the ninth night from the lips of the Bringer-in, or Master of Ceremonies. The new fire is thus "pure," since it is made with the implements granted by the Great Spirit. The coming of the white man within the horizon of Delaware culture introducing matches into the native economy has undoubtedly served to throw the sanctity of the fire-drill into a higher light. But it would, I believe, be quite erroneous to undervalue the attitude of reverence, both in thought and ritual, which is held toward fire in native culture throughout the east.[1] To the Delaware ceremonialists the making of new, "pure" fire symbolizes "renewing of life, fresh vigor, the breathing of pure air uncontaminated by latent forces of disease, new and pure influences for life and health." It is one of the forces to which tobacco is constantly offered, and is an auxiliary to the use of cedar as incense in the act of purification.

Both Zeisberger and Harrington lay stress on the deification of fire among the Delawares.[2] In the Big House the two fires maintained throughout the ceremony east and west of the center-post,

[1] Some writers who have dealt with fire-worship among the eastern Indians seem to have gone too far in defining them as outright sun- and fire-worshipers, through exaggeration of the importance of fire ceremonies described in the older accounts. That the Delawares have been more conservative in regard to admitting innovations into their ceremonies is shown by the fact that the Yuchi, in whose annual ceremony the kindling of new fire is an important act, have condescended to use flint and steel (F. G. Speck, Ethnology of the Yuchi Indians, Anth. Pubs. Univ. of Penna. Mus., vol. I No. 1 (1910), pp. 120-1). On the other hand we know of perpetual fire being maintained in village temples among some of the early peoples of the southeastern area; evidence that must be given full weight in considering the question of pyrolatry in eastern America.

[2] Zeisberger, op. cit., pp. 138-139, Harrington, (I) passim.

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A sharp distinction is drawn between that group of animals considered pure and undefiled in the spiritual sense and the group that has become contaminated through the modification of its diet and behavior brought about by domestication, in brief, wild animals as against the domesticated. The wild creatures are defined as being pure, clean, undefiled, the term used to describe them being pi'lsi'. It is these which the Delaware observant may resort to for food, and for materials required in his economic life, and with them he has spiritual associations.[1] The domestic animals belonging to the white man's realm do not fit in his scheme of things, as they have not been fashioned by the Great Spirit to suit the needs of his red people.[2] It has been difficult indeed for the Delaware doctrinists to adjust the sweeping changes brought about in the economic life of the tribe, in the process of Europeanization, to a creed which pronounces the innovations from an alien world to be defilements. The disappearance of the wild animals, the compulsion of substituting their meat, their materials with those of a pastoral-agricultural civilization have, in the belief of the people, been the cause of their social and physical decline. They consider themselves to be losing vitality in proportion to their departure from old and natural or wilderness ways.[3] Accordingly we find the statement made that the deer, the elk, the bison, the antelope, and other wild animals are not only clean and "pure," but that they are man-i't-u. This we may note, in brief, is a most positive characteristic of Delaware belief.

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This distinction is supported by evidence well expressed by Zeisberger. "They regard the Europeans as a peaceable people, created of God to live according to their own manners and customs, even as the Indians have been created to live in their fashion, especially to sustain themselves by means of the chase. They think it contrary to the will of the deity to adopt, themselves, the manner of living peculiar to Europeans, pointing to fish, animals and birds as each having their characteristic habits. Each creature, bear, deer, or other animals, continues to live in its own way, and it has never yet been observed that an animal has adopted the habits of another. The same principle, they hold, applies to Indians and Europeans."[4]

for the realm of undefiled Nature the Delaware has a definite abstract term, te'koneau's-uwak-an literally "wilderness life."

[1] Heckewelder, op. cit., p. 196. In his account we note that the Mohican and Shawnee are very particular in their choice of meat.

[2] The preordained destiny of the Delawares to live as hunters and that of the whites to farm and domesticate is brought out in matter well presented by Heckewelder (op. cit., p. 187).

[3] It may be added that a corresponding idea of clean versus unclean animals is predominant among other Algonkian groups. Correspondence to the Delaware term pilsi may be noted with the same significance in Wabanaki, pils-, Algonquin pi'nsi-.

[4] Zeisberger, op. cit., p. 121.

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bility and maturity comes to the individual he feels that he is called to take his place in the annual ceremony. A new vision of life dawns upon him. He realizes that he has been brought into the world for a purpose and permitted to live to middle-age to raise children, take care of the aged relatives, help the people to health and comfort. Then there is also the feeling that others are observing him as an example of conduct. So he assumes his responsibility and prepares to appear in the Big House ceremony.[1]

We are told that the Big House performances were originally esoteric. Whites were excluded from it during the ceremonies, though in recent years the objection to their presence has been withdrawn due to intermarriage between Delaware women and white men.

The virtue of humility, so extolled and propogated in the philosophy of the Delawares, and the Iroquois[2] as well is one to which too little emphasis has been given by students. Historians, in particular those contrasting the humility of the evangelists with the contemptuousness of the natives, have ignored the declarations of ethnologists in this respect.[3]

THE SYMBOL OF TWELVE.—Allusion has previously been made in several places in our discussion, to the sanctity of the concept of twelve, the reason for which among the Delawares seems not to be objectively expressed.[4] Twelve is nevertheless a fundamental symbolical number. Throughout the text we hear of the Great Spirit residing in the twelfth stratum of the sky; of the prayer-call addressed to him uttered twelve times in succession; of the twelve prayer sticks or wands which lift the prayer to the twelfth heaven. The Big House ceremony itself is of twelve days' duration. The belief being that each day's performance lifts the worship a stage higher in the series of twelve successive sky levels until on the final day it reaches the Great Spirit himself.

[1] Maturity is an important consideration with the Delawares. Among many facts still to be obtained in regard to restrictions of boys under the age of puberty, for instance, it may be interesting to note that these when they become old enough to take part in the hunt, are not allowed to eat soup lest their testicles rattle so warning game animals ahead of them, or to eat the heart of the animal lest they lose courage; or the animal's head, eyes, or ears lest they be bothered with gnats.

[2] A. C. Parker, The Code of Handsome Lake, Bull. 163. New York State Museum, Albany, 1912.

[3] For example Rev. T. J. Campbell, S. J.[2] tells his readers, "The red man had never much respect for the virtue of humility, and the young missionary (referring to Marquette among the Illinois) was treated rather contemptuously by many of the degraded wretches whom he was trying to regenerate." Pioneer Priests of North Amer. N. Y. 1911, Vol. III, p. 109.

[4] The importance of seven in Delaware thought has been stressed by A. L. Kroeber (Anthropology, N. Y. p. 252, j. n. 1) without giving the source. There seems to be no evidence of this in the material at hand.

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801 [825] • The Delawares also point out the occurrence of thirteen plates in the carapace and twelve in the plastron of all the members of the American tortoises and turtles, bordered by twelve marginal plates on each side. Another evidence in native thought of the tortoise as being a living symbol of the Universe.

Again we hear of a medicine compound prepared from twelve different herbal ingredients employed by the Delawares to cleanse them from sin.[1]

801 796 The prominence of the twelve concept as a unit of time in Delaware chronology of ritual is not to be overlooked, for we learn in the ruling of the funeral ceremony that the first post-mortem rites are performed twelve days after the day of demise, and that the concluding ceremony is carried out the twelfth moon after the event.

Of great interest also is the fact that the Delaware finds symbolical illustration of the concept of the twelve strata of heavens in the occurrence of twelve tail feathers in the plumage system of the birds. The allegory is carried out in the Peyote ceremony as performed by the Delawares, in the particular rite that is called the Young Men's Meeting. On this occasion, twelve sticks, six on each side, are used in building the fire near the center of the Peyote lodge, the fire being the symbol of the moon. A mound of earth, with the arrangement of the sticks referred to, forms the symbolical outline of the body and tail of the eagle. And when these twelve sticks burn down they leave twelve stumps again representing the tail feathers of the eagle. The Peyote rites of different groups vary in many particulars, a comparison of which would determine whether or not the above is exclusively a Delaware belief injected into the now widespread Peyote cult.

801 192 Before leaving the discussion of the number concept, it should be noted that the formal expression denoting twelve in the ceremonial vernacular is archaic; ata'x ɔk ni'ca, "ata'x, (ten) and two," instead of "te'lɔn, (ten) and two." Delaware tradition informs us that ata'x is an ancient term for ten prescribed by usage in the ceremony while in common speech te'lɔn denotes ten. In looking over earlier Delaware vocabularies we find the use of the common term indicated through the period of early contact in vocabularies recorded by Campanius (1645), Thomas (1695), Ziesberger (1750), Whipple (1855), in which the cognates are *Thaeren, Telen, Tellen, Telen.*[2] In a Delaware vocabulary taken down in New Jersey (1792) attributed to Thomas Jeffer-

[1] Zeisberger, op. cit., p. 134.

[2] Brinton I, p. 90. Comparative vocabularies from these sources are quoted. In a Swedish source, attributed to Campanius (Lutheri Catechismus öfwersatt på American-Virginiste Språtet, Stockholm, (1696), the form thaeren is given for "ten." Swedish, like Delaware, has in its recent development, under a change producing an *l* from the earlier *r* which in both instances may have had an *l* quality (Dr. A. J. Upvall). See also Amandus Johnson, Geographia Americae, op. cit., 280.

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A turkey's [1] wing is used when they sweep out in the Big House. And besides, the Attendant carries a long stick as a poker and that is used when they stir up the fire, and it is the rule that they shall light a good bright fire every night as long as they perform the ceremony. And the Attendant-leader every evening walks around all over where they are camped about this Big House, holding a whip. And any person that they find that is causing unnecessary noise they correct. And the children are instructed. And he notifies them, telling them thrice "Come in! Come in! Come in!" And just recently they selected an officer from the Delaware Agency who is on guard all the time here while they are assembled, so that no one brings in liquor.[2]

[1] The specific term for the Wild Turkey (Meleagris gallipavo) is tel-'kanam, a term derived from the habit of this bird of scratching or "cleaning" the floor of the forest. In native Delaware ornithology, the order Gallinae is denoted by the generic term pelew which denotes any of the birds of the group, though writers on Delaware social organization have occasionally rendered the term by "turkey." Happily no natural history obsequies are called for in the case of this splendid bird for it still survives in its original range where the Delawares knew it.

[2] The imformant pointed to this as an indication of the lack of reverence, and indecency of behavior in the tribe under the influence of the white man's ways. Zeisberger (op. cit. p. 139) commented on the same thing as regards disorder at the feasts.

When any one of us considers the rule with all the obligations and instructions as these are properly carried out, it should be forbidden for one thing that those of our women who when they cannot cook[1] are not pure, be allowed to trouble about the cooking. And should not come in the Big House as long as they are affected with the sickness, because some pure children might be much contaminated, especially when they perform the Gamwing. And it is the rule that persons should abstain from bringing into the Big House any animals of whatever kind they may be which are domesticated.[2]

[1] Being in their catamenial periods.

[2] This has special reference to dogs, pigs, etc. Some discussion has previously been given concerning the status of the wild animals of the forest and those domesticated by man. The Attendants are expected to attack any such animals that come into the Big House and drive them away with their staffs.

And right here opposite from the door on the outside over there at a certain distance they make the fire. Two forked poles are set upright and a pole laid across, upon which they hang the big buckets in which they cook. Near here standing upright is a many-forked tree where meat is hung. And a big shelf is there at one side of the fireplace with two floors where they put the corn that is used. When hominy is made the female Attendants have for their duty, every morning and evening to grind and make corn flour and hominy. Sometimes two or four mortars are used together with those long pounders.

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deer-tail or horse-hair when made into a roach.[1] And everything is beaded including moccasins. And if any one wishes it he goes there to the Attendant where he may choose paint of whatever color he prefers.[2] And those desiring it wear eagle feathers.[3] All the old men customarily have the head-band when going into the Big House.[4]

And anyone may choose his style, but red paint and yellow, by custom, are more frequently used. A person does not rub it on his face all over. A person usually paints his cheek or at the sides of his eyes lightly. But the relief-drummers[5] can, if desired, paint black or paint fancy. All these women if they desire may paint red when entering the Big House. And also when the ceremonial leader first enters the Big House that is the time when all those Face-images[6] are painted.

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[1] The "roach" is the dyed deer hair or horsehair crest worn by young and middle aged men, worn on the top of the head. (pl. —). The hair stands upright, reaching from the crown to the nape of the neck, kept in place by an ornamentally carved bone spreader forming the base for a bone tube in which an eagle feather is fastened. This is a characteristic head ornament of the Delawares, ancient as well as modern, allusions to it being found in the early explorers accounts from the Carolinas to Maine. It seems to have accompanied the shaved painted head as an attachment to the scalp-lock of warriors. Throughout the central Algonkian area and the southern Siouan tribes it appears with great prominence in later writings, and has finally spread among the Prairie peoples possibly through diffusion through the agency of the Omaha. The Delaware term for the roach, tapaskowlu, has reference to the shaved head and stiffened hair; that for the bone spreader, cuxa'las signifies "rattling pendant." These objects and their descriptive terms represent extremely ancient properties of eastern North America, having obvious connections with archaeological objects of bone which have puzzled investigators. The distribution of the roach head-ornament offers an interesting problem. Its occurrence is noted with practically no aberrant modifications among the early populations from Maine southward to Florida, west through the Iroquois to the Central Algonkian, the southern and eastern Siouan tribes.

Among the earliest references to the Delawares wearing the roach we may cite Denton's (1670) mentioning men affecting as head-wear "a kind of a Ruff made with Deer's hair, and dyed a scarlet colour, which they esteem very rich." (See quotation of pertinent data in A. B. Skinner, "Indians of Greater New York, 1915, p. 36). Neither the article itself nor the sentiment attached to it has altered much among the Delawares since this was written two hundred and sixty years ago.

[2] There are limitations in the colors and patterns in face-paintings. The accompanying chart shows the designs and areas of the face appropriate for the decoration of individuals of various classifications (plate I).

[3] The Delaware seldom trim or cut the feathers they use when dressing for the Big House. They say the feathers are perfect as they grow on the living bird and should not be altered. Only the feathers of birds considered noble, such as the eagles and certain of the larger hawks are sanctioned.

[4] Elderly men give up wearing the roach substituting the fur headband with beaded rosette and small feathers at the side, (see fig. 25), or simply the handkerchief tied around the hair into which a feather is stuck. The elders wear their hair shoulder-length.

[5] The drummers who assist the chief drummers are permitted by rulings of the Big House tradition to wear black in painting, or to paint the face according as their fancy may prompt (see plate II).

[6] The images on the side and center posts of the Big House. The renewal of the paint, half black and half red on these images is a sacred act performed out of the reverence for the "Grandfathers" at the same time when the communicants of the ceremony apply the paint to their own faces.

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and there preparation is made for beginning the Gamwing. And besides, everyone who is to relate a vision and lead a dance, if he has prepared his rattle of turtle shell, shall see to it to bring it with him for the ceremony.

There, in the ancient times the beginning of their worship the Delawares went into camp every month. They worshipped in the Big House for a ten and two day period. But then in a few years a different rule made it every three months. And again it was changed. It was said, "We are hindered in our labor," because of our ceremony. Whereupon for the last time they changed it. It was said, "From now on every six months," the Gamwing will be." But indeed it was discovered that they had become by now too much like the white man in their life.[1] The young Delawares were ashamed, seeing what their elders did. And so by this time it is very difficult for the Delawares to assemble when ready to perform the ceremony.[2]

[1] Among the Delawares, and the affiliated Nanticoke as well, the term cowa'na, denoting "salt water" came to be used in a dignified sense referring to Europeans, since they first appeared from the sea. In the vernacular, less respectful in its sense, the white man was also known as o'pigg "white face" also denoting "opossum." This is more of a sobriquet in Delaware. The allusions to Europeans in other Eastern Algonkian languages did not follow the principle of Delaware usage, for the Munsee, awe'nik the plural of "who?" (Brinton, The Lenape and their Traditions), the Mohegan-Pequot, wa'naks, derives also from awa'n, "who"; Wabanaki, awa'nutc, awe'nutc of similar derivation.

[2] It would appear that the weakening of devotion has been a characteristic modern tendency among the native pagan groups as well as among Christians.

Such was the ruling long ago how several different kinds of spiritual-forces were existent, how, it was said, all the wild animals and birds as well as the creeping wild creatures are the ones to be mentioned[1] in the Big House.

The pure[2] animals and birds only are used when they prepare meat. This is the reason why every one of them, even that Mask-Spirit, and all their kind including the Tortoise,[3] are called man-i't-u. It is because he it is who carries our mother's body.[4] And the bird is used there to be eaten. And these feathers of him are ceremonially used when they sweep clean[5] the beautiful-pure White Path, our father's, the Great Spirit's road.[6] Wherefore a person will appear fine when dress-

[1] This means ceremonially; mention by symbolical references to pay them respect and to acknowledge their rule in the departments of nature.

[2] For further details concerning the "pure, clean" creatures see the outline discussion page 50.

[3] Note the use of the same term (ta'xkoxk^{e}) for both the creature itself and the tortoise-rattle. The latter is regarded as being the actual living creature in its ceremonial guise.

[4] The Delaware metaphor referring to the earth.

[5] The term used denotes, "they purify by sweeping clean," meaning to clear away latent malific spiritual forces that might lie in the White Path. This symbolically removes possible spiritual pollution from the course of the wor-

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shippers in the Big House, to clear the way for them to proceed, during the ceremony as well as through life, without the impediments of witchcraft and sickness, to the abode of the Creator. The feathers of the "pure, clean" birds possess the power to sweep away spiritual pollution, for which reason they are used by the Delawares, as well as other tribes as ornaments, as fans, and as brushes.

[2] This is the ceremonial designation of the hard-beaten path around the two fires in the Big House which the dancers traverse. A discussion of this religious concept has been given (p. 23). The reference to cleansing this path bears upon the duty of the Attendants to sweep it clean with the feather brushes or fans.

ing-up for the ceremony, because anyone who earnestly prays in worship to even the deer[1] and the antelope[2] as well as the bison[3] or any

[1] The Virginia deer (Odocoileus virginianus) designated axtu' in Delaware; related terms occurring for the animal in the Algonkian languages everywhere south of the Great Lakes. North of the Great Lakes where the caribou occurs as a competitive game animal the usual term is applied to it, and the deer acquires the name, wawa'ckes, or a variant.

[2] Literally, "white rump," descriptive of the appearance of the rump of the American pronghorn (Antilocapra americana) when startled by danger. "Another characteristic of these interesting animals is a conspicuous rump patch composed of white hairs which are longer than those elsewhere on the animal's back. Through developments in the skin muscles the pronghorn at times of excitement has the power to erect these white hairs until they stand out stiffly over the rump, forming a great dazzling white rosette, like a giant chrysanthemum, which, when the animal is dashing away across the plains in the bright sunlight, is extraordinarily conspicuous. The writer has many times discovered bands of antelope running on the open plains where but for these heliographic patches they would have been beyond ordinary eyesight. These long rump hairs lie like other hairs on the skin and give little indication of their strikingly conspicuous appearance until the animal suddenly throws them up into action." (E. W. Nelson, U. S. Dept. of Agri. Bull. No. 1346, 1925, quoted by H. E. Anthony, Field Book of N. American Mammals, New York, 1928).

[3] The term is, si-si'li-ye. This name has been analyzed to mean, "the animal that butts against and breaks to pieces" (Brinton, Lenape Dictionary, p. 132, the form sisilija being given). (Note, the orthography of the original manuscript is German, hence j equals y). The animal designated here was originally the Eastern Bison (Bison b. pennsylvanicus, (Shoemaker)) becoming extinct in Pennsylvania about 1800 (H. W. Shoemaker, "A Pennsylvania Bison Hunt, Middleburg, Pa., 1915). Col. Shoemaker, who described the sub-species, ascribes to it a larger frame and darker coloration than the Plains Bison, with some white about the nose and eyes, and lacking the hump! (Anthony, op. cit. p. 539). That the Eastern Bison was known to the Delawares of ancient times as far east as New Jersey, although the animal itself did not range east of the Blue Ridge, is evidenced by the occurrence of a cognate term in the Delaware vocabulary (1793) attributed to Thomas Jefferson (Archives of the American Philosophical Society), recorded while the tribe resided in New Jersey:—sisiliamuus. (See also Account of Gabriel Thomas (1698), in Narratives of Early Pennsylvania, West New Jersey and Delaware, Ed. by Albert Cook Myers, 1912) p. 323.) Brinton, (Lenape and their Legends, p. 226) attempts an etymology of the term, referring the termination *muus* to any large quadruped (*mos*, elk, cow, applied only to deer and elk by Anthony, Brinton's Munsee collaborator. (Lenape Dict. p. 86).

Although the eastern American elk, or wapiti, is not mentioned here in our text we learn of its being known to the Delawares under the designation, lon-l'mus, "common elk." The actual moose (Alces americana) seems only to have been known to the tribe after its migration. Zeisberger (pp. 58-9) devotes several paragraphs to the bison and elk of the Delaware country in Ohio in the last half of the 18th century.

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other wild creature whatsoever, that is said to be pure spirit. And also those twelve face-images in the Big House, and those prayer-sticks,[1] and the maize and fruit, all things indeed used in the Gamwing, it is said, are helpers when it comes to lifting up to the twelve levels of heaven above us where he dwells, our father the Great Spirit.

And also there is a ruling of custom. The religious obligations sometimes require that the speaker, when talking, it is said, names over all these spirit-forces wherever they reside around the earth, calling upon them, as it is said: "Truly we are thankful that we have lived long enough to see the time come when these our grandfathers the trees bloom forth, and also the coming up of vegetation.

[1] The twelve peeled rods held in the hands of the worshippers when they "raise their prayer to the twelfth level of heaven" to the Great Spirit by crying "ho" six times and "ha" six times, and pointing with the sticks to the image on the center post of the Big House. They are denoted by the term mamendahl-'kan'ak "the means of earnest prayer." In Harrington's study of Delaware religion no mention is made of the exact function of the prayer sticks (Harrington I, p. 103), though in the Munsee corresponding ceremony they are described (ibid. p. 131) as being used to drum with in time to the music, by those who wish to pray. There is another omission in reference to the prayer sticks (ibid. p. 103). Harrington speaks of a particular way in which the sticks "fall opposite each other" but no explanation is made. Discussion of these details will be found on page 60.

[2] Among the tree "grandfathers" thought of in particular is the maple from the sap of which native sugar is made.

Reference to the gift of the maple in yielding its sap for human use is a reminiscence of a widespread Algonkian usage. The Sugar Maple is sana'meci "rock-place tree" (the Red Maple is called sal-'kames "grove tree"). This tree is the real Acer saccharum and is known to the Oklahoma Delaware only by tradition since they remember it in the north. They make a sugar now from the Red Maple, not as strong in flavor as the other, but mixed with Box Elder (awi-'sal-t o'nas "yellow twig") and Black walnut tu'kwi-meci "round-nut tree") but the latter has such a strong taste that only a little may be used. Heckewelder (op. cit., p. 194) gives an account of Delaware sugar-making during the Ohio period.

Now as well for this water and for him our grandfather fire, and again this air, again this sunlight. When everyone has been blessed with such gifts it is enough to make one realise what kind of benevolence comes from our father, because he it is who has created everything."[1]

And now furthermore one more spiritual-force is said to be a part of creation up above. The first being mentioned is called day-moon,[2] and the night traveler[3] is called night-moon. And of several kinds of stars, the first one seen is that one from the sunrise direction, called

[1] Zeisberger, before 1780 (op. cit. p. 129), had heard similar professions of gratitude; "They believe the Deity is graciously and mercifully disposed toward them, because he imparts power to the plants to grow, causes the rain to fall, and the sun to shine and gives game to man for his support."

[2] The designations "day-moon" and "night-moon" are widespread in northern Algonkian, (Munsee, Cree, Montagnais-Naskapi). Luminary would be a more exact equivalent of gi-'cux

[3] For the moon to be figuratively denoted as "night-traveler" is common in Eastern Algonkian (ni-bau'a-it "night-walker," Penobscot, with cognates in the other Wabanaki languages; nanepaushet, Massachusetts (Trumbull, Natick Dict. p. 297).

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deliberately, because he carries the whole earth. And he starts out, beginning walking from the direction of sunrise. It is said that when he arrives at the edge of the earth, it will seem like but a short time, namely, for instance we may say like one eye-wink.[1] But because of his slowness of movement afoot; that is why it seems so long before he shall have traversed this world. For, whenever they see him in the wilderness he is going toward the direction of sun-set.[2] And now it shall be, when he has completed his road, then shall come to end this earth.

[1] Meaning that to man's sense of time it seems like a long epoch, but in reality it forms but an instant when the tortoise shall have performed the journey imposed upon him by the Great Spirit. This is quite an unexpected philosophical allusion to the classical problem of relativity in time.

[2] The Delawares entertain the notion that all the tortoises seen in the woods are, unless their movements have been temporarily disturbed, headed westward in their journey across the continent imposed upon their race until the day of doom. Here is something for the naturalist to disprove!

Some persons when endowed with shaman power, it is said, can use it against anyone when they are angry. And that is the cause of some persons' disability[1] or the cause of persons going blind. And he may even decide that he can kill with it. And that is called evil conjuring.[2]

Now the non-beneficent spirit-force has shaman power wherefore a person can employ that Spiritual force for evil purpose. For, it is said by tradition, evil things belong to the Evil Spirit,[3] the cat, panther, or long-tail[4] and the snake, and also the lizard[5] and in-

[1] Literally -ktcoka'l-an, "crooked leg," in this case meaning rheumatism or other forms of lameness.

[2] The non-benevolent practice of conjuring; witchcraft or black-magic which is as much condemned by the natives as by the mediaeval Europeans. Algonkian shamanistic accounts are fraught with both phases of the practice. So baneful is the recitation even of this information that Wi-tapano'xwe insisted it be kept out of the main body of the text.

[3] maxta'ntue, "Evil Spirit" has its closest analogy in Wabanaki, madaba'n-do, the term being mentioned by Father Rasles (1723) in his manuscript dictionary of Abenaki.

[4] The eastern panther (Felis cougar) only recently considered to be extinct in the Pennsylvania mountains, is known in Delaware by the peculiarity of its length of tail kwe'mi-ckwu'n-ayas "long tail." The same descriptive term is applied to the animal by the Wabanaki (pi-ta'lu, "long tail"). An interesting mention of panther hunting in Pennsylvania, but erroneously illustrated, is given by Alexander Wilson, the ornithologist in "The Foresters," published in his Portfolio 1812.

[5] This is a very old term referring to a legendary monster of lizard form, living in trees, running so swiftly as to overtake a man with ease. In early times a portion of its tail was secured by some means, it is related, and kept in possession by some malicious conjurors to work evil to mankind. A portion of the dried tail was scraped and put into the food of the intended victim causing him to die slowly by a wasting malady. The term is most interesting philologically, a variant in Brinton's Lenape Dictionary (p. 38) gegachxs (ch = x), evidently a Munsee cognate, in Nanticoke, oh'kaush-kiss, (Speck, The Nanticoke and Conoy Indians, p. 62) and occurring in Wabanaki (Penobscot) as akada'lak', denoting the salamander in lieu of the lizard which does not occur so far north. A corruption of the word in Penobscot becomes a woman's cry of surprise and fear. The word is evidently a very ancient reptilian designation. I had occasion to observe the application of this word to the

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eastern Fence Lizard (Sceloporus undulatus), at the same time recording the folk-belief from Wi·tapano'xwe that the puny creature is thought by some to be capable of entering the mouth of a person, biting his heart and causing death.

sects, for example, the spider,[1] and also the scorpion,[2] and these birds; the screech owl and horned-owl[3] and also the chicken-killer,[4] the red-tailed hawk.[5]

[1] No specific race of arachnid is indicated by this general term, which means something repulsive.

[2] Literally "big with many legs."

[3] Onomatopoetic names. So the cry of the birds sounds to Delaware ears. Ko'ko· in some form is general in eastern Algonkian for the Great Horned Owl (Bubo virginianus).

[4] Buteo borealis.

[5] The above baneful creatures represent the agencies used by evil conjurors. The agent, animal or otherwise, used by the conjuror, is called wani pe·y·l·ak· "the being whose power I possess and control." This is regarded by the informant as the analogue to the term baohl·'gan used commonly throughout the northern Algonkian family as the messenger or agent of the conjuror. (cf. Penobscot Shamanism, F. G. Speck, Mem. Amer. Anth. Assn. Vol. VI, No. 3, 1920) where a summary of pertinent information for the northeast is given.

Now what is called the state of being a clean, pure child is the source of a person acquiring something as his spiritual vision. Anciently there the children, little boys, it is said, were given a bow and taught how to make arrows. Before daylight they obliged him to go in swimming.[1] Now after, when he appears to be older, far off into the wilds he is driven. "Now must you hunt birds!" Food is not eaten until he kills something. And in the evening as well, the person sleeps without being fed, because, it is said, a child lying exposed in a pitiful state would cause some occasional spirit-force to have pity on him when passing by visiting all the children in the world. Because here from the sunrise direction, or from up above and sometimes from the northern direction or the south, are the directions whence they are visited by spirit-forces. On account of this it is called pitiful abuse.[2]

Long ago it was called correction. Some persons when sick in any way, persons in perplexity and distress, would accordingly experience a dream-vision of something, or some would acquire a revelation vision.

It is that which one is blessed, whence one becomes useful[3] or becomes a healer or the reciter of a vision in the Big House.

[1] This drastic custom intended not only to harden but to purify youths. The immersion daily in pure running water is part of the ceremonial bringing-up reported in a number of eastern peoples besides the Delawares.

[2] Here we meet with an important religious phenomena,—ritual abuse to secure a more intense spiritual blessing. The concept has been discussed in the beginning of the study.

[3] Meaning that one who has obtained a spiritual blessing or inspiration is under moral obligation by Delaware ethical standards to devote his gift toward the alleviation of human misery, by healing the sick, by setting the example of purity and unselfishness to others.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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Now when they return from the hunt, the Hunt-Leader when now he has come near even if it is midnight, shall shoot a signal once for as many deer as were killed, shooting so many times. And now when the Cranes hear the signal-shot of the Hunter he shall immediately run into the Big House and begin to sing for these hunters. All the Attendants must be ready to feed the hunters and all the horses unsaddled and fed, for that is the rule and act governing the Attendants.[1]

First the Bringer-in prays, using tobacco.[2] He bestows a blessing when offering praise to him our Father. This is sufficient for this time.[3]

There is also, my kindred, an ancient custom that we beg the Mask-Spirit to dance for us. You Cranes, you know how and you understand those songs which are used for this occasion when singing for the Mask. Every person who wants to go in the Big House is permitted to look on while the Mask dances in the Big House.[4]

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informant, who has taken part in this hunting rite, are that the leader distribute portions of tobacco to the hunters who are under his control. At each night's camp the stopping place is selected by him, the rations of food are distributed, tobacco is offered to the fire with a prayer by the leader and other details suggesting the rules governing the war parties' conduct among Central Algonkian and in the southern Plains areas.

Wi-ta'panoxwe, it is interesting to note, recalled, during his experience with the hunting squad, how a screech-owl cried near their camp one night; which has long been a sign of good luck (see also Zeisberger, p. 139). The next day he killed a deer, being the first of the party to do so.

[1] The hunters are not obliged to be concerned with the trouble of saddling, unsaddling or feeding their horses when enlisted in the sacred task of the ceremonial hunt. The Attendants take over all such duties of service to them and their animals.

[2] He burns a little tobacco in the fire.

[3] Hereupon it being between nine and ten o'clock in the morning, the hunters leave, departing westward toward the Osage nation nowadays, the only hunting ground accessible to them.

[4] The man wearing the mask and the bear-hide clothes keeps the mask and clothes some hundred yards from the Big House at the edge of the brush in the open, hung upon a branch to keep it away from the dogs. Anyone who desires to perform this rite may put on the paraphernalia and accept the invitation as given above, and go into the Big House and dance. His dance lasts about ten minutes anywhere in the Big House that he desires. The mask when worn is held by the chin with the holder's fingers in the mouth of the mask, so that the wearer can adjust the focus of the eyes of the carving to his own focus of vision. The eye holes are small, yet the mask could be adjusted so that the performer could see as though he were looking through spectacles. To be able to do this was considered as a sign of spiritual greatness. It might be added that the face illustrated in Harrington's study (Fig. 1, p. 32) has the left eye-hole enlarged, something that had been done improperly, according to the informant. He leaves wearing the garb and returns it to the place where it is kept (fig. 9). This all takes place before noon.

[P.38,A]

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[796] crippling revenge.[44] Even animals, (for
[325] example, the bear) had to be conceptualized as quasi-human beings engaged in war with the Indians to legitimize their killing.[45]

Anticipation of Aggression

626 In view of these elaborate cultural devices for avoiding situations where
156 aggressions might come to the surface, either in one's own self or in others, we might expect to find considerable anxiety in everyone over the suspicion that through some slip he might have aroused the hostility of an unknown enemy, especially since in every person there seems to have been a large amount of diffused aggression which could easily be projected onto other
[754] people. The fear of witchcraft, for instance, was universal and demoralizing.[46] Lindestrom described the Delawares as "mistrustful;"[47] and both Zeisberger and
[154] Heckewelder remarked on the elaborate institutions which functioned to deflect possible aggression.[48] Parents explained their reluctance to discipline children by
[861] saying that "the children might remember it against them and avenge themselves when they have attained to maturity."[49] (Zeisberger said that he knew of some cases where children *did* threaten to punish their parents for indignities suffered in childhood.)[50]

Techniques for Expressing Aggression

154 All these mechanisms indicate that the typical Delaware individual harbored within himself exceptionally uncomfortable aggressive impulses which he was afraid to focus on anyone for fear of counter-aggression. The eruption of these aggressions periodically shattered the equable facade of social behavior. "They are able to control their desires and passions," observed Zeisberger, "but once given free

44 Speck, 1931, pp. 39-44.
45 Wallace, 1949.
46 Heckewelder, 1819, pp. 239-240.
47 Lindestrom, 1656, pp. 191-192.
48 Heckewelder, 1819, pp. 103-104; Zeisberger 1778, pp. 115-116.
49 Zeisberger, 1778, p. 81.
50 Ibid.

15:Morgan E-5 (1859)1959
NM7 Delaware NM7
[p 55(c)]

tains. There are two cases of *polygamy* here. Two well known Indians have two wives each. The Delawares are opposed to it, and are inclined to make a fuss about it. But I suppose it is an old Indian institution and they cannot make a law against it. If it was contrary to Indian law they would not admit the children of both mothers to annuities. As it now stands, their annuity is a bounty on children. I think the Delawares are tempted by their annuities.

Religious System of the Delawares[91]

William Adams, Del.

The Delawares believe in a Great and in an Evil Spirit. They also believe in a number of subordinate spirits, some of whom are waiting or ministering spirits of the Good and some of the Evil One. Among the waiting spirits of the former are the following.

1. Kaka-sha-ha-no-hase, the Spirit of the Whirlwind. He is represented as having the form of a man and is called Grand Father.

2. O-we-ya-la-so, the Spirit of the Wind. He is represented as having the form of a man, with long streaming hair, so long that it sometimes gets entangled in the trees as he rides along. He is called Grand Father.

3. Pate-hoc-hoo-weh, the Spirit of Thunder. He is represented as having the form of a bird, an Eagle, called Grand Father.

4. Wa-o-tun-oo-wase, the Spirit of Water. She is represented as having the hands of a woman, and the body, but ending in a fish's tail. She is supposed to dwell in every drop of water as well as in every river, creek, lake and stream, and sometimes to be a punishing spirit. She it is in cases of drowning who pulls the person under the water. Hence her name means "Pulling Down far Under."

5. Has-gueme, the Spirit of Corn. She is represented as having the form of a woman, and is called our Mother. She can foretell

[p 56(B)]

775 have a bodily form. It is a journey of 12 days from earth to Heaven after death. [171] They believe as do the Iroquois, that the soul does not leave the body finally at death, but that it revisits the body for a few days before it takes its final departure. For this [764] reason, as Adams says, they bury on scaffolds in the trees, and in a sitting position near the surface of the earth. Last year he made a coffin for an Indian, and his friends made him bore a hole in the head of the coffin, the object of which being to allow the spirit free egress and regress to and from the body.

Heaven is a place of rest. They follow up the path, and the first stopping place is a place where they find a supply of vermilion or red paint. They cannot pass this place without painting their faces. If they have been accustomed to paint on earth, the paint will readily adhere, unless they have been very wicked, and then they pass on without delay. But if not used to painting, or if they have been very wicked, the paint will not adhere, and thus they are detained at this place until the Evil Spirit removes them to a place of punishment.

775 577 They say there are seven points of good and evil. If the deceased has four of the points of good in his favor, or more, he is sure to pass on to heaven, but if there [are] four or more bad, he cannot go to heaven but must be placed in a place of misery and unhappiness where he is punished according to his evil deeds. If he was accustomed to paint, it will be more apt to stick, and that is all that is claimed for this meritorious act. There is a second stopping place on the way where the selfish and covetous are surrounded and burned up in the article [on which] they set their store upon earth, and thus are kept out of heaven. They

775 825 have a belief that mosquitoes sprang up out

[p 52(c)]

775 of the souls of those who were punished by
825 the evil spirit, the wreck, or fragments into which they were cut up were turned into mosquitoes and such evil creatures.

776 Bad spirits are believed to pass by about
787 day break and good spirits are believed to pass along about dark. For this reason boys are often sent to bed without supper, that
[785] they may commune with or be visited by good spirits, the fasting state being thought to be favorable to such communion, and for the same reason are often compelled to get up before day break that the evil spirits may not obtain or exercise any wicked influence upon them.

776 I am told that the Shawnee Female Great
821 Spirit is in reality the moon, and is worshipped as our Grand Mother or something of that sort; and Isaac Johnny Cake who mentioned this [to] me also said that the Great Spirit of the Delawares was represented and believed to be a brother of the Sun, and that the Moon was the Grand Mother of the Great Spirit; and young Toucey, the Stockbridge, says that there is
[171] some evidence of a [?] in of the sun in the worship of several of the Indian races, including his own. The Iroquois return thanks to the sun for heating the earth and to the moon for cooling it, but this does not show a sun worship or anything like it.
[115] William Adams is to correspond with me on the religious system of the Delawares, and I hope to find out something definite about it.

Gum-mueen

796 This festival or annual worship of the Delawares as explained by William Adams and of which he is to write to me more fully, is quite interesting. They believe unless they
[241] observe it once a year their crops will fail, and they will lose the favor of the Great Spirit.

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The following examples are typical of the ideas which the present-day Oklahoma Delaware express in their rationalization of the causes of various maladies and physical deformities. Rheumatism, which the Delaware call by a term meaning "old people's disease," is attributed to unclean habits of living during youth. Scrofula is described by the Delaware phrase meaning "matter around the neck." If a person indulges in profanity, he may develop this condition.

It is said that congenital malformation rarely occurs among the Indians. Such physical abnormalities are attributed to the power of malevolent spirits which afflicted the child because of his parents' failure to fulfill tribal obligations by keeping up certain ceremonies bequeathed to them. Such a physical handicap, however, did not keep an individual from leading a useful life, for he was otherwise blessed. The informant added, "Sometimes the weakest person is chosen by the Creator to be powerful in mind. He does that as a matter of pity."[1]

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Paralysis is said to be the result of an encounter with an apparition.[2] If a person sees a ghost-like form approaching, he should step aside to avoid being stricken with paralysis. According to Witapanóxwe, "an apparition in passing by is felt as a slight wind. Sometimes what appears to be a cloud is seen floating along the road and if allowed to touch a person, will cause a stroke." Occasionally a fire is observed to start at the bottom of a tree, blaze up to the top, and then disappear. The informant warned against attempting to strike at such a flame inasmuch as it would result in fatal sickness to the person or to a member of his family.

Witapanóxwe relates the following incident of a personal encounter with an apparition. "We were just young boys then, my brother and I, and we were riding home one afternoon just before sundown. As we rode along I noticed something in the middle of the road, and it seemed to be coming toward us. It had the appearance of a large animal but I could not see its form distinctly. Naturally, I was a little bewild-

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[1] Delaware mythology reiterates the theme of the weakling child vanquishing his powerful opponents through the weapon of shrewd wits over brute strength

[2] Zeisberger (no date, p. 131) says in regard to apparitions: "Wandering spirits and ghosts they claim sometimes throw something into a public path and whoever goes over it is bewitched and becomes lame or ill. They even pretend to know where such a thing happened, learning it from the doctors who are thought to be able to effect a cure."

nected within the womb. If one is hurt, the other will feel it even though they are separated by many miles. A child whose mother died during its birth, must not be allowed to cry. Someone must try to comfort it so that the spirit of the dead mother may not injure, or even kill the foster parent. 845

Birthmarks are an indication that both parents have experienced difficulties with other people. During his youth one man conversed with a dead person in a vision. The skeleton said to him, "You should know me by the mark on your children. You will know more when they are born." All of his children (boys) had a characteristic pecularity about the eyes, lacking control of the lids so that during the day they blinked constantly. Sometimes a birthmark in the shape of a leaf or berry appears on the child. This is attributed to a dream by the mother. The fruit means good luck and long life. A mark formed like a reptile is considered an evil omen. 845 826 787

While nursing the child, the mother must refrain from intercourse with any man other than her husband so that the infant may not have diarrhea. 853 837

A few notes were obtained on the treatment of the hair and teeth of children. 854

When a child's hair is cut, it is left in some out-of-the-way place.[20] It was believed that if the birds used it in building their nests, the child would suffer from headaches. If the remains were burnt, it would cause the hair to become brittle.[21]

During the teething period, a little bag containing finely crushed charcoal is hung about the child's neck. The latter chews upon it to ease his aching gums. A loose milk tooth is pulled out by means of a string, its removal allowing the permanent tooth to grow in straight. The extracted tooth is taken outdoors by the child and thrown in the direction of the east, with the words "My tooth I place down here. I know when you return I will feed you white beans."

A child's nails are trimmed with a knife or scissors. Care is taken not to lose any of the nail trimmings, which are carried into the woods and left upon a stump. At the same time the following words are addressed to the Owl: "Grandpa, I now give you these, your grandchild's nails, to make frames for your eyes."

[20] This and the following paragraph were recorded by Eugene Golomshtok, University of Pennsylvania, 1930.

[21] In adult life gray hair, an indication of longevity, is not pulled out. Its removal would be displeasing to the Creator as a lack of respect for the aged. 888 302

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

This motive would be insufficient, even a sacrilege. The spiritual preparation of its participants was made a matter of prime importance and the purity of those concerned in it was to be insisted upon. Joe Washington has since felt that these serious injunctions were of so drastic a character that until the present time they could not be complied with. It seems, therefore, that there is little prospect for anything more than a dictated version to be obtained, which will have to await necessary support for its accomplishment.

Upon the occasion of my expedition to the Delawares in Oklahoma some time was spent in interviews with Tom Half Moon [2] who had had experience as an attendant, or *a'ckas*, of the Big House Ceremony as performed in recent years by his group, the Turkey group. The notes offered are, therefore, advantageous in respect to the details furnished by one who had the teachings directly from those who were responsible for its proper conduct. These notes should accordingly serve as a supplement to that section of the ceremony published in the Big House Ceremony volume dealing with the duties of the attendants. They are in effect as follows:

The attendants who sweep the White Path, or the path around which the dancers proceed when performing in the Big House after each dance, do so with turkey wings, using only the left hand in holding the fans, since the left hand is the holy hand, the right the unholy. The male attendants start sweeping at opposite ends from the women. When they have swept the dancing path twelve times they have cleared away the obstacles of an unfavorable spiritual nature lying between the worshippers and the Great Spirit. As was noted in the published account, the attendants each receive a yard of wampum at the end of the ceremony. He also noted that those who attended the ceremony received two wampum beads each to be kept by them as tokens of good fortune until the next performance. These beads were, he added, held in the mouth as sacred objects when the members went outside

[2] His Delaware title-name is *Axkwe'lpa3gwo'xwv*, "Overturns Mountains when Walking," a member of the Turkey group.

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

764 of the person departed, if he or she made any statement as to what way he wanted the burial conducted.

[525] "All who wish to may come and sit up with the corpse. The men pall-bearers sit up and others who wish to play a hand game,[44] using usually a coffee bean or buckeye bean or a bullet for ball hiding—first under a glove or moccasin—and the other persons guess which moccasin he hides 764 the bean or bullet under. This is kept up until daybreak. At night be- 775 fore the "wake," the men pall-bearers discharge three (another says two) musket shots toward the sunset, then everyone must rise and give attention. The shots symbolise the departure of the soul of the deceased. Everyone must be awakened, especially the children, so that they may not become frightened. The widowed person or the bereaved parents stay awake all night. And just before sunrise another volley of two or three shots is fired which symbolizes lifting the soul upward. The relatives of the deceased stand in front of the shooters. With the echo of the discharge the soul departs.

764 "Now an elderly person, who has been chosen to officiate at the ceremony, must offer thanks to the Great Spirit at breakfast time and [761] perform the ceremony before the body leaves the house. During the funeral procession no one must look back,—if they do it indicates another of the immediate members of the family will follow soon. The speaker must be given one 'Indian yard of wampum beads' for his services, which do not end until after the feast on the eleventh day noon hour.

"One of the pall-bearers must go to the grave each day and build a little fire at the head of the grave for four consecutive evenings and the people must leave the house in charge of someone, for it must not be left alone for twelve days, and a light must be kept burning at the main entrance of the house for four nights after the death of a person.

768 "And note, the widowed person must also be painted when the face 764 of the 'departed' body has been painted. Four days after, 'divorcement' proceeding takes place in the form of a ceremony. That is, they must burn cedar in the house to 'fumigate' and the cedar water is used to wash the widow's or widower's head. If a woman, she is told that she is now no longer obligated to her deceased husband's family. She is furnished with new clothes throughout. With this ceremony she is 'divorced,' but the relationship terminology remains the same to the family she formerly was married into.

775 "Now the burial hole is prepared on the day following the sitting up ● 826 with the body at night—it is not considered a grave until the body is in 772 it,—and even now, in the modern times, we do not believe in taking the body to be embalmed, as we believe the life blood is the spirit that remains on earth until the deceased is admitted to the abode of the Great Spirit, which is the twelfth level of the Heaven.

[44] This is the common moccasin game of North America. For description see S. Culin, "Games of the North American Indians," 24th Annual Report, Bureau American Ethnology 1906, and page 90 of this study.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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Ojibwa NG6

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brought from Albany, was taken by some Indians of the Chippeway nation, and destined to be put to death. A Frenchman, impelled by motives of friendship and humanity, found means to steal the prisoner, and kept him so concealed for some time, that although the most diligent search was made, the place of his confinement could not be discovered. At last, however, the unfortunate man was betrayed by some false friend, and again fell into the power of the Indians, who took him across the river to be burned and tortured. Tied to the stake, and the fire burning by his side, his thirst, from the great heat, became intolerable, and he begged that some drink might be given to him. It is a custom with the Indians, previous to a prisoner being put to death, to give him what they call his last meal; a bowl of pottage or broth was therefore brought to him for that purpose. Eager to quench his thirst, he put the bowl immediately to his lips, and the liquor being very hot, he was dreadfully scalded. Being a man of a very quick temper, the moment he felt his mouth burned, he threw the bowl with its contents full in the face of the man who had handed it to him. "He is mad! He is mad!" resounded from all quarters. The bystanders considered his conduct as an act of insanity, and immediately untied the cords with which he was bound, and let him go where he pleased.

This fact was well known to all the inhabitants of Detroit, from whom I first heard it, and it was afterwards confirmed to me by Mr. Chapman himself, who was established as a merchant at that place.

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SUICIDE is not considered by the Indians either as an act of heroism or of cowardice, nor is it with them a subject of praise or blame. They view this desperate act as the consequence of mental derangement, and the person who destroys himself is to them an object of pity. Such cases do not frequently occur. Between the years 1771 and 1780, four Indians of my acquaintance took

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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Iroquois NM9

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The Lenape and their kindred tribes never have called the Iroquois "the Five or Six Nations." In conversation, they call them the Mengwe, and never make use of any other but this generic name when speaking of them. In their councils, however, they occasionally distinguished them by the name *Pulenach endchiesktajeet*.* These two words, literally translated mean "the five divisions, "sections or parts together," and does not in any manner imply the idea of *nations*. Had they meant to say "the Five Nations," they would have expressed it by the words *Pulenach ekhokewit*; those which they used, on the contrary, expressly imply *sectional divisions*, and leave no doubt about their meaning.

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The Iroquois themselves, as we have already seen, had adopted a name, *Aquanoschioni*, merely indicative of their close union. After, however, they came to be informed of the meaning of the name which the English had given them, they were willing to let it pass as correct. The Indians are very fond of high sounding names; I have known myself chiefs who delighted to be called *Kings*, after they had learned from us that the great rulers of the English and French nations were distinguished by that title.

Thus the proper name of those six united tribes is in their own language *Aquanoschioni*. By other nations they are called *Mengwe*, *Maquas*, *Mingoes* and *Iroquois*. The Lenape call them by the first, the Mohicans and Dutch by the second, the English and Americans by the third, and the French by the fourth. I employ these different names indiscriminately in the course of this work.

As detached bodies or tribes, their names with the Lenape are the following:

1. *Sankhícani*, the Mohawks, from *Sankhican*, a gunlock, this people being the first who were furnished with

* This word should be pronounced according to the powers of the German Alphabet.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

553 rally torn or patched, was called *Bad Shoes*. All those names are generally expressed in one single word, in compounding which the Indians are very ingenious. Thus, the name they had for the place where Philadelphia now [103] stands, and which they have preserved notwithstanding the great change which has taken place, is *Kúequenáku*,* which means, *The grove of the long pine trees*.

103 They have proper names, not only for all towns, villages, mountains, valleys, rivers, and streams, but for all remarkable spots, as for instance, those which are particularly infested with gnats or musquitoes, where snakes have their dens, &c. Those names always contain an allusion to such particular circumstance, so that foreigners, even though acquainted with their language, will often be at a loss to understand their discourse.

829 To strangers, white men for instance, they will give 648 names derived from some remarkable quality which they 551 have observed in them, or from some circumstance which remarkably strikes them. When they were told the meaning of the name of William Penn, they translated it into their own language by *Miquon*, which means a feather or quill. The Iroquois called him *Onas*, which in their idiom means the same thing.

The first name given by the Indians to the Europeans who landed in Virginia was *Wapsid Lenape* (white people;) when, however, afterwards they began to commit murders on the red men, whom they pierced with swords, they gave to the Virginians the name *Mechanschicau*, (long knives,) to distinguish them from others of the same colour.

In New England, they at first endeavoured to imitate the sound of the national name of the *English*, which they pronounced *Yengees*. They also called them *Chauquaquock*, (men of knives) for having imported those instruments into the country, which they gave in presents

* According to the powers of the English alphabet, it should be written Koo-ek-wen-aw-koo

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca.1800) 1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

829 to the natives.* They thought them better men than the
648 Virginians; but when they were afterwards cruelly treat-
551 ed by them, and their men shipped off to sea, the Mohi-cans of that country called them *Tschachgoos*; and when next the people of the middle colonies began to murder them, and called on the Iroquois to insult them and assist in depriving them of their lands, they then dropped that name, and called the whites by way of derision, *Schwannack*, which signifies *salt beings*, or *bitter beings*; for in their language the word *Schwan*, is in general applied to things that have a salt, sharp, bitter, or sour taste. The object of this name, as well as of that which the Mohicans gave to the eastern people, was to express contempt as well as hatred or dislike, and to hold out the white inhabitants of the country as hateful and despicable beings. I have, however, in many instances observed that the Indians are careful not to apply this opprobrious name to any white person whom they know to be amicably disposed towards them, and whom they are sure to be a good, honest, well-meaning man. I have heard them charge their children not to call a particular white man *Schwannack*. but *Friend*. This name was first introduced about the year 1730. They never apply it to the *Quakers*, whom they greatly love and respect since the first arrival of William Penn into the
[194] country. They call them *Quækels*, not having in their language the sound expressed by our letter R. They say they have always found them good, honest, affable and peaceable men, and never have had reason to complain of them.

648 These were the names which the Indians gave to the
551 whites, until the middle of the revolutionary war, when they were reduced to the following three:

1. *Mechanschican* or *Chauschican*, (long knives.) This

* Rogers's Key into the Language of the Indians of New England, ch. vi.

l:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

"some of those horrid places, surrounded with mounds
"and ditches, where the most destructive of all weapons,
"where *great guns*, are gaping at us with their wide
"mouths, as if ready to devour us; and thus we are
"prevented from speaking our minds freely, as brothers
"ought to do!"

How then, say they, can there be any sincerity in such councils? how can a treaty of this kind be binding on men thus forced to agree to what is dictated to them in a strong prison and at the cannon's mouth; where all the stipulations are on one side, where all is concession on the one part and no friendship appears on the other? From these considerations, which they urge and constantly dwell upon, the treaties which they make with the white men have lost all their force, and they think themselves no longer bound by them than they are compelled by superior power. Are they right in this or are they wrong? The impartial reader must decide.

CHAPTER XXIII.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS OF THE INDIANS ON THE WHITE PEOPLE.

THE Indians believe that the Whites were made by the same Great Spirit who created them, and that he assigned to each *different* race of men a *particular* employment in this world, but not the same to all. To the whites the great Mannitto gave it in charge to till the ground and raise by cultivation the fruits of the earth;

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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to the Indians he assigned the nobler employment of hunting, and the supreme dominion over all the rest of the animal creation.

They will not admit that the whites are superior beings. They say that the hair of their heads, their features, the various colours of their eyes, evince that they are not like themselves *Lenni Lenape* or ORIGINAL PEOPLE, a race of men that has existed unchanged from the beginning of time; but they are a *mixed* race, and therefore a *troublesome* one; wherever they may be, the Great Spirit, knowing the wickedness of their disposition, found it necessary to give them a great Book,* and taught them how to read it, that they might know and observe what he wished them to do and to abstain from. But they, the Indians, have no need of any such book to let them know the will of their Maker; they find it engraved on their own hearts; they have had sufficient discernment given to them to distinguish good from evil, and by following that guide, they are sure not to err.

It is true, they confess, that when they first saw the whites, they took them for beings of a superior kind. They did not know but that they had been sent to them from the abode of the Great Spirit for some great and important purpose. They therefore, welcomed them, hoping to be made happier by their company. It was not long, however, before they discovered their mistake, having found them an ungrateful, insatiable people, who, though the Indians had given them as much land as was necessary to raise provisions for themselves and their families, and pasture for their cattle, wanted still to have more, and at last would not be contented with less than the *whole country*. "And yet," say those injured people, "these white men would always be telling us of their "great Book which God had given to them, they would "persuade us that every man was good who believed in "what the Book said, and every man was bad who did

* The Bible.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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"not believe in it. They told us a great many things, "which they said were written in the good Book, and "wanted us to believe it all. We would probably have "done so, if we had seen them practise what they pre-"tended to believe, and act according to the *good words* "which they told us. But no! while they held their big "Book in one hand, in the other they had murderous "weapons, guns and swords, wherewith to kill us, poor "Indians! Ah! and they did so too, they killed those "who believed in their Book, as well as those who did "not. They made no distinction!"

They, nevertheless, are sensible that they have many friends among the white people, and only regret that from their being scattered and at a distance, they cannot be useful to them and to each other. Of those whom they know to be their friends, they always speak with warmth and affection. They also speak of the *Gentellemaan* (gentlemen) as a particular class among the whites which deserves to be distinguished; but they never apply that descriptive title to a person whom they know to be their enemy, or believe to be ill disposed towards them.

The Indians have a keen eye; by looking at a person, they think that they can judge of his friendly or unfriendly disposition to their race; and, indeed, it has been allowed by many whites who have lived among them, that they are, in general, pretty good physiognomists. They are very quick among themselves in giving a name to a stranger or person of note that comes to them, and that name is always significant or descriptive of something remarkable which they have observed about his person, which serves them to remember him as a friend or otherwise, as the case may be: when they believe a person to be their friend, they will do every thing in their power to oblige him, it being their principle that "good ought always to be rewarded with good." They prefer a plain man, simple in his manners and who treats them with frankness and familiarity. Such a man, they

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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say, loves them. From a proud haughty man they do not expect friendship, whatever may be his professions, they think him incapable of loving any body but himself, or perhaps, at most, his equal, and that, they think, an Indian can, in his opinion, never be.

They sometimes amuse themselves by passing in review those customs of the white people which appear to them most striking. They observe, amongst other things, that when the whites meet together, many of them, and sometimes all, speak at the same time, and they wonder how they can thus hear and understand each other. "Among us," they say, "only one person speaks at a "time, and the others listen to him until he has done, "after which, and not before, another begins to speak." They say also that the whites speak too much, and that much talk disgraces a man and is fit only for women. On this subject they shrewdly observe, that it is well for the whites that they have the art of writing, and can write down their words and speeches; for had they, like themselves, to transmit them to posterity by means of strings and belts of wampum, they would want for their own use all the wampum that could be made, and none would be left for the Indians.

They wonder that the white people are striving so much to get rich, and to heap up treasures in this world which they cannot carry with them to the next. They ascribe this to pride and to the desire of being called rich and great. They say that there is enough in this world to live upon, without laying any thing by, and as to the next world, it contains plenty of every thing, and they will find all their wants satisfied when they arrive there. They, therefore, do not lay up any stores, but merely take with them when they die as much as is necessary for their journey to the world of spirits.

They believe, or, at least, pretend to believe, that the white people have weak eyes, or are near-sighted. "For," say they, "when we Indians come among them,

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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"they crowd quite close up to us, stare at us, and almost "tread upon our heels to get nearer. We, on the contrary, though, perhaps, not less curious than they are, "to see a new people or a new object, keep at a reasonable distance, and yet see what we wish to see." They also remark, that when the white people meet together, they speak very loud, although near to each other, from whence they conclude that they must be hard of hearing. "As to us," they say, "we never speak loud "when we come together, and yet we understand each "other distinctly; we only speak in a high tone of voice "before a public audience, in council, at the head of our "warriors, or when we are met together for some important purpose."

The Indians also observe, that the white people must have a great many thieves among them, since they put locks to their doors, which shews great apprehension that their property otherwise would not be safe: "As to us," say they, "we entertain no such fears; thieves are very "rare among us, and we have no instance of any person "breaking into a house. Our Indian lock is, when we "go out, to set the corn pounder or a billet of wood "against the door, so that it may be seen that no body "is within, and there is no danger that any Indian would "presume to enter a house thus secured." Let me be permitted to illustrate this by an anecdote.

In the year 1771, while I was residing on the Big Beaver, I passed by the door of an Indian, who was a trader, and had consequently a quantity of goods in his house. He was going with his wife to Pittsburg, and they were shutting up the house, as no person remained in it during their absence. This shutting up was nothing else than putting a large hominy pounding-block with a few sticks of wood outside against the door, so as to keep it closed. As I was looking at this man with attention while he was so employed, he addressed me in these words: "See my friend, this is an

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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685 "Indian lock that I am putting to my door." I an-
swered, "Well enough; but I see you leave much pro-
829 "perty in the house, are you not afraid that those arti-
609 "cles will be stolen while you are gone?"—"Stolen! by
"whom?—"Why, by Indians, to be sure." "No, no,"
replied he, "no Indian would do such a thing, and unless
"a white man or white people should happen to come
"this way, I shall find all safe on my return."

829 The Indians say, that when the white people en-
609 camp in the woods they are sure to lose something; that
when they are gone, something or another is always
found which they have lost, such as a knife, flints, bul-
lets, and sometimes even money. They also observe that
the whites are not so attentive as they are to choosing
an open dry spot for their encampment; that they will
at once set themselves down in any dirty and wet place,
provided they are under large trees: that they never
look about to see which way the wind blows, so as to be
able to lay the wood for their fires in such a position
that the smoke may not blow on them; neither do they
look up the trees to see whether there are not dead limbs
that may fall on them while they are asleep; that any
wood will do for them to lay on their fires, whether it be
dry or wet, and half rotten, so that they are involved du-
ring the whole night in a cloud of smoke; or they take
such wood as young green oak, walnut, cherry, chesnut,
&c. which throws sparks out to a great distance, so that
their blankets and clothes get holes burned in them, and
sometimes their whole camp takes fire. They also re-
mark that the whites hang their kettles and pots over a
fire just kindled, and before the great body of smoke has
passed away.

829 They, however, acknowledge that the whites are inge-
609 nious, that they make axes, guns, knives, hoes, shovels,
177 pots and kettles, blankets, shirts, and other very conve-
nient articles, to which they have now become accustom-
ed, and which they can no longer do without. "Yet,"

l:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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say they, "our forefathers did without all these things, 829
"and we have never heard, nor has any tradition in- 609
"formed us that they were at a loss for the want of them; 609
"therefore we must conclude that they also were inge- 177
"nious; and, indeed, we know that they were; for they
"made axes of stone to cut with, and bows and arrows
"to kill the game; they made knives and arrows' points
"with sharp flint stones and bones, hoes and shovels
"from the shoulder blade of the elk and buffaloe; they
"made pots of clay, garments of skin, and ornaments
"with the feathers of the turkey, goose and other birds.
"They were not in want of any thing, the game was
"plenty and tame, the dart shot from our arrows did not
"frighten them as the report of the gun now does; we
"had therefore every thing that we could reasonably re-
"quire; we lived happy!"

Finally, they think, that the white people have learned 829
much of them in the art of war; for when they first be- 609
gan to fight the Indians, they stood all together in a
cluster and suffered themselves to be shot down like tur-
kies. They also make a distinction between a *warrior* and a *murderer*, which, as they explain it, is not much to our advantage. "It is not," say they, "the number
"of scalps alone which a man brings with him that prove
"him to be a brave warrior. Cowards have been
"known to return, and bring scalps home, which they
"had taken where they knew there was no danger,
"where no attack was expected and no opposition made.
"Such was the case with those who killed the Conesto-
"goes at and near Lancaster, the Christian Indians on
"the Muskingum, the friendly Indians near Pittsburg,
"and a great number of scattered, peaceable men of our
"nation, who were all murdered by *cowards*. It was
"not thus that the *Black Snake*,* the great General

* The Indians gave this name to General Wayne, because they say that he had all the cunning of this animal, who is superior to all other snakes in the manner of procuring his food. He hides himself in [825]

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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829 609 "Wayne acted; he was a true warrior and a brave man; "he was equal to any of the chiefs that we have, equal "to any that we ever had."

Thus, the Indians, while they deeply resent the wrongs and injuries which they have suffered, yet pay due homage to worth, bravery and military skill, even in an enemy. Strong as their feelings are, they do not extinguish their sense of justice, and they are still generously disposed to allow that there are great and good individuals among a race of men, who, they believe, have doomed them to utter destruction.

CHAPTER XXIV.

FOOD AND COOKERY.

262 THE principal food of the Indians consists of the game which they take or kill in the woods, the fish out of the waters, and the maize, potatoes, beans, pumpkins, [241] squashes, cucumbers, melons, and occasionally cabbages and turnips, which they raise in their fields; they make [227] use also of various roots of plants, fruits, nuts and berries out of the woods, by way of relish or as a seasoning to their victuals, sometimes also from necessity.

264 They commonly make two meals every day, which, they say, is enough. If any one should feel hungry between meal-times, there is generally something in the house ready for him.

[825] the grass with his head only above it, watching all around to see where the birds are building their nests, that he may know where to find the young ones when they are hatched.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

order that at home they may have nothing but good to report. As hospitality is generally practiced, strangers are everywhere well received and suffer no want, even though they may remain for days, or weeks or months. It is recognized as a duty to care for the wants of a guest as long as he may choose to remain and even to give him provisions for the journey when he does make up his mind to go.

On the occasion of making or renewing a treaty with another nation a dance very different from the ordinary dance is engaged in. The dancers join hands and leap in a circle for some time. Suddenly the leader lets the hand of one of his partners go, springs forward and turns around several times, by which he draws the whole company round so as to be enclosed by them, when they stand close together. They disengage themselves as suddenly, yet keeping hold of hands during all the different evolutions and changes in the dance; this, as they explain it, represents the chain of friendship; a song, used only at such a solemnity, is sung by all.

The War Dance is very wild and dreadful to behold. One dancer carries his hatchet, another a long knife, another a large club, a fourth a cudgel. These they brandish in the air, to signify how they intend to treat or have treated their enemies, affecting all the while an air of anger and fury. The Mingoes use the war dance even in times of peace with a view to celebrate their heroic deeds.

They regard the Europeans as a peaceable people, created of God to live according to their own manners and customs, even as the Indians have been created to live in their fashion, especially to sustain themselves by means of the chase. They think it contrary to the will of the deity to adopt, themselves, the manner of living peculiar to Europeans, pointing to fish, animals and birds as each having their characteristic habits. Each creature, bear, deer or other animal, continues to live in its own way, and it has never yet been observed that an animal had adopted the habits of another. The same principle, they hold, applies to Indians and Europeans. They recognize that the Europeans are industrious and clever, that without oppor-

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

829 tunity to trade with them their position would be without many of the advantages they now enjoy. They admit that the whites are very ingenious, because of their ability to manufacture a great variety of things, but regard their manner of living as wearisome and slavish as compared with their own. Their own skill as hunters and woodsmen, they hold, excels that of the whites. Towards these they harbor a secret enmity which they disguise in their presence, for they suspect that they will deprive them of their land and drive them within narrower confines. This suspicion is not without foundation. Among the Delawares this dislike has been moderated through long intercourse with the whites, yet they show that they have no particular love towards them, in that they will sell their lands to them and after these have become inhabited will seek to drive them off by starting war.

648 The French seem to possess a greater share of the good-will of the Indians than the English, being regarded by the Indians as being more akin to themselves, probably because they enter more easily into the Indian manner of living and appear always good-humored. Indians have more faith in the French than in other Europeans. Since the late war with England all the Americans except the English in Canada, otherwise called by the Indians Virginians, are known as Big Knives by the nations because, from the beginning, the Indians saw them and the Governor of Virginia on all occasions of negotiations with the Indians wearing long swords. Hence, they called them Choanschican and the Six Nations named them Assarigoa that is Big Knives, which name has been applied to all Virginians and has been extended from it to all Americans because the Virginians in this war negotiated most of the treaties with the Indians.[259]

361 Judged by the mere appearance of the Indians one is sur-
181 prised how modest and careful they are in relation to each other and imagines that the whites, if they were as free a people and had neither government nor punishment to fear, would not be as united and peaceable as the Indians appear to be. The towns and villages of the latter are not indeed governed by force or
361 law. Each individual is at liberty to live where he pleases,

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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736 given assistance. A poor widow, even though she have children, finds it possible to make a living if she is willing to work. They pay her above the worth of her services in food and clothing; if it is summer she may work on the plantations; in winter she may prepare wood for fire. They are willing to help the poor but always expect them to render some service in return. It has been known that good has been done to prisoners condemned to death, even to whites, though this had to be done secretly.

829 144 A few negroes are found among the Indians having been either bought from the whites or secured as prisoners. These are looked upon as of their own kind and allowed full liberty. Indians and negroes intermarry and their mulatto children are as much loved as children of pure Indian blood.

431 They are fond of giving when they can expect something in return and of doing good which they have reason to hope may be returned. They easily forget the good that has been done, but if they have been cheated they never forget it. If a white has done them ever so many favors, helped them in need, or given them presents, and omits an opportunity to do the like only once, then all he may have done is forgotten. If an Indian takes a wife and dresses her generously from head to foot in new garments she will indeed be glad and proud; but she will more readily leave him than if he had given her little or nothing, for in that case she would still be in expectation of receiving something.

One may even make enemies of Indians through presents if these make them proud and one does not continue giving. Occasionally when a respectable present has been given the donor is slandered in order that he may not expect something in return from the recipient.

152 They are able to contfol their desires and passions, but once given free rein these are the more violent. Overcome with wrath, they at once think upon murder, and may, in the heat of passion, do something for which they will later feel remorse.

521 The women are much given to lying and gossiping. They carry evil report from house to house. As long as they are observed they appear modest and without guile. All the wrongs

7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

771 The succession of creed teachings which developed in the course of Delaware recorded religious history after the exodus from the Atlantic seaboard to the Mississippi and the southern plains has followed within a fairly uniform contour. The pattern has remained intact even under the domination of a succession of native revealers and prophets whose "arrogant dogmas" thwarted the efforts of the first Moravian missionaries in the seventeenth century. It has lasted on through the turbulent period of colonial wars and the Revolution, until the adoption of the Peyote worship in the last quarter of the century just passed.

And there are those whose interests are aroused when clearer inspection of the country's aboriginal institutions becomes possible through the efforts of ethnologists exploring the still existent tribes, in recording and interpreting native custom before it is swept away by changes lately going on.

And finally, there are those who see the institutions described here with the eyes of appreciators favored by fortune with a breadth of understanding to sense a realization of sacred antiquity in the limitless vistas environing the past of America's unwritten religions. I wonder if by gaining an insight into religious customs of the tribe he will see how Delaware religion has authentic qualities in that it represents a growth-phase of nature interpretation, sympathetic and rationalized, which causes one to enter into its meanings in reference to the forest world with an awakened understanding.

829 771 Like other aboriginal groups in the east (the Algonquin, Ojibwa, Wabanaki, Montagnais-Naskapi and even the Iroquois—respectively Man-beings, Wise-men, Native-men, Native-born-men and Man-men, literally translated) the Delawares proclaim their self-conscious human status by designating themselves as *Lənaʻpeɔk*, Common, or Ordinary, Men, as distinct from other creations. It is in their consciousness of possessing human arts and industries bestowed upon them by their creator that they distinguish themselves from the animals and other living forms. But their high relief of distinction from other created beings lies in the endowment of mental attributes, the superiorities which elevate them

7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

above all non-human life forms, and in particular the endowment of their own system of worship for which they are directly responsible to the Creator himself. Herein is born their tradition of religion, the very center of their culture, denoted by an abstraction, *lənapeɔ'k·an*, literally "human (Delaware) soul, or culture," a term occasionally encountered in the reflections of the speakers quoted in the texts. Upon such criteria of judgment the Lənape rate themselves as creatures far above the emergence level. And we have before us part of the evidence in the religious forms recorded in the preceding pages. To be sure the mass content of rites and ceremonies has been declining before the inroads of European influence. A mere pitiful residue is at hand, as the orator has frequently reiterated in his sermons. The native nations of Indians on the Atlantic seaboard were by no means crude or a primitive people.

That this essay is a sequel and complement to my Big House Ceremony volume (1931) need scarcely be repeated. Where that treats the composite rites whose aims are to invoke, address and thank the Creator, this deals with procedures directed toward influencing the lesser spiritual forces, to afford them satisfaction and to secure immunity from their imaginary persecutions. All is framed in accordanee with a native concept of the workings of natural law as put in motion by the will of the Father, the Creator. The rites described are dominated by a constant idea in the minds of the people, to wit: that of being in the midst of a universe of partly-known spiritual beings potentially pernicious. Some among them are approachable by the proper forms of address on the part of man for the removal of harmful influences. When the corrective measures to alleviate the evils of spirit agencies are known they constitute the rites of relief, and here we have them collected; their philosophy of the uncertainties. A far-reaching distinction is observable between the Delaware attitude toward the Creator, who is consistently benign, and the spirits of lower rank addressed in the rites now treated whose attributes are not. These observations bring out the contrast between the ceremonies dealt with here and those

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

required. These I propose to deal with in the following section as man-i'tu deserving of particular mention, since this seems to represent their standing in the minds of devout Delawares.

Not only is the principle of consanquinity applied to deities and nature-forces, but to tribes and nations as well. Indeed the application of term of relationship to bodies of extra-biological classification is interesting enough to call for the inclusion of information given as a commentary on this point by Wi-tapano'xwe. With more detail to be secured it promises a fruitful problem for sociological interpretation. The informant's notes on the quasi-consanguinity of tribes are as follows. The Delawares believe that they are the oldest of the Indians. They call the following tribes "grand children," Shawnee, Potawatomi, Sauk and Fox, Ioway, Tonkawa, Sioux, Ottawa, Kickapoo, Miami, Peoria, Chippewa, Menomini, Winnebago. And these, in turn, call the Delawares, Wabanaki, Lenape, or else "Grandfathers,"—but, adds Wi-tapano'xwe, we are all "brothers," i. e. Indians. There are the Nanticoke, Mahikan, Munsee and Iroquois who are called brothers, relative age not specified, in spite of the fact that the Delawares assume to be older than they. There are other tribes which have different relationship with the Delawares, for example the Wyandots, Seneca and Cherokee are called "nephews" (either filial or sororal) and the Mexicans are called "uncles." To white people the general term, meaning "brothers" is applied, while negroes are termed "elder brothers," being considered the strongest of all races.[1]

THE CARVED IMAGES.—The concepts involved in the use of carved images in the likeness of the human face represent a phase of religious thought that has developed some exceptional prominence among the

[1] Zeisberger, (op. cit., p. 109) gives information corresponding to that of our informant, when he says that the "Shawnose" call the Delaware "grandfather." In regard to the "Mahikanders" we find a contradiction, and so are not able to compare the author's remarks with those in the text. Zeisberger also says that the Wiandots (Wyandots) and the Cherokees call the Delaware "grandfather," which differs from the information brought forward by our informant who considers them to be "nephews" of the Delaware. One infers from Zeisberger that the Delawares called the Twitchtwes (Miami), Wawiachtanos (a group of Mahikan), Kikapus, Chipuways, Ottawas, Putewoatalmen (Potawatomi) "brothers," differing from our information which states that the above tribes are known as "grandchildren," except when they were termed "brothers," implying that they were Indians similar to the Delawares. Zeisberger gives no kinship term as being applied to the negroes by the Delaware. He says: "These (the negroes) are looked upon as of their own kind and allowed full liberty. Indians and negroes intermarry and their mulatto children are as much loved as children of pure Indian blood."

Heckewelder, op. cit., notes the Shawnee (p. 86) and the Chipewa (p. 124) as being grandchildren of the Delaware, which is similar to the information given us by Wi-tapano'xwe, but in the case of the Chippewa he differs from Zeisberger. Heckewelder notes (page 122) that the Nanticoke and Mahican call the Delaware "grandfather" which differs from the information in our text where they are said to be "brothers." Again a difference is observed between Heckewelder and our informant in regard to the Wyandot and Cherokee who are, according to Heckewelder, "grandchildren" of the Delawares, yet, according to our informant are "nephews."

[p 52(A)]

535 *Dances of the Delawares*

1. Old Religious Dance	10. Dog Dance
2. Wolf Dance	11. War Dance
3. Turtle Dance	12. Feasting Dance
4. Chicken Dance	13. Dance for the Dead
5. Buffalo Dance	14. Striking the Stick Dance
6. Bear Dance	15. Buzzard Dance
7. Doll Baby Dance	16. Turkey Dance
8. Horse Dance	17. Duck Dance
9. False Face Dance	18. [left blank]
	19. Shuffle Dance

773 *Origin of the Three Varieties of the Human Race*

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Mr. Pratt mentioned to me a Delaware explanation of the creation of the Negro, Indian and White man, to the effect that the Negro was created first, and was, as we say, a mistake or failure; it was the first attempt at man's creation. The Great Spirit next created the Indian, who was admitted to be a great improvement upon the negro; and last of all he created the white man.

The Good Spirit and the Boil

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Mr. Pratt had a boil come on his arm. A Delaware told him he had a good friend, and in explanation said to him that the Evil Spirit had intended to destroy him; that he was followed in his rounds to do mischief to men by a small but good spirit, who continued in various ways to defeat the evil spirit of his purpose, when it was a case in which he wished to save the person from harm. That as the evil spirit was about to put forth his power upon him, the little spirit stepped forward and said to the evil one, "you let me deal with this person," whereupon he took or drew on his invisible bow a small and invisible arrow, and shot

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

of which they are guilty are done in secret. That adultery, theft, lying, cheating are terrible vices they know, having learned it from their ancestors as well as from whites. Fear of disgrace keeps them from open wrong-doing for they do not wish to have a bad name. Secretly, however, they are given to all manner of vice. Some are no longer sensitive to shame. There are traces of unnatural sins among them, hardly known to any except to those such as missionaries who have learned to understand the people well. Virtue one must not seek among the savages, but the grace of God is able to accomplish wonders among them. Not all are equally bad. Some among them are sensible people and considerate, who act reasonably and have an eye to right and justice.

I had no faith concerning sorcery attributed to them, though I have lived many years among them, thinking it all to be boasting and lying on their part. I believed the Indians were too stupid for such satanic practices, but I have been persuaded otherwise. I know for a certainty that witchcraft is common among them. Those who make great pretention to skill in the dark arts know the least about them. The adepts do not boast of their knowledge for fear of their lives. They are very careful, even under the influence of strong drink, not to draw suspicion upon themselves. There seem to be Indians who have the ability to bring about the death of any one by other than ordinary means, even in the short space of twenty-four hours. This they do without the use of poison, which, if used, might be discovered and for which an antidote might be administered. Usually two or three or more agree that a certain person shall die. While he is asleep or in the presence of others they somehow exert their evil influence upon him. The effects are various. Sometimes the victim falls to the ground immediately in convulsions, lies for a time as dead, then recovers consciousness but soon dies. Sometimes the effects are not noticeable for several days. Occasionally the unfortunate individuals are afflicted with diseases, from which there is no recovery for years. Hence, it is that when illness cannot be accounted for on natural grounds, the Indians are apt to believe themselves to have been bewitched.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7

on the skin; the operator with a small stick, rather larger than a common match, to the end of which some sharp needles are fastened, quickly pricks over the whole so that blood is drawn, then a coat of this powder is laid and left on to dry. Before the whites came into this country, they scarified themselves for this purpose with flint stones, or pricked themselves with the sharp teeth of a fish.[153]

The men tatooed their arms, legs, and faces with figures of snakes, birds, and other animals. These were marks of distinction and commemorated some worthy deed or heroic action. Occasionally the women tattooed themselves.[154]

Both sexes painted their thighs, legs, breast, and face with streaks, lines, or circles. The usual colors were red, black, blue, and yellow.[155] Painting was mostly for festive occasions or for warfare. Women were more circumspect than men in the amount of paint used, since excessive or immodest painting was regarded as indicative of a wanton woman.[156] Both men and women wore numerous ornaments. Wampum in particular was a favorite; it was used as necklaces and wristlets and was hung from the ears. Sometimes it was woven in bands and worn on the head or clothing.[157] The helixes of men's ears were often pierced for wampum, metal, and other ornaments:

> They frequently cut the helix of the ear,[158] leaving the upper and lower ends intact and then hang bits of lead to it so that it is stretched. Then this curved border of the auricle is bound with brass wire, distending it considerably, and decorated with silver ornaments.[159]

Besides wampum, necklaces of dyed deer hair, stone, native copper, and shell gorgets were worn.[160] One source depicted men wearing "the thumbs of enemies they have killed."[161] Men carried tobacco pouches, often made from the whole skin of a loon, large enough to hold a pipe, tobacco, knife, a pair of depilatory shells, and other objects.[162]

Manufactures.—The bow and arrow, the war club or tomahawk, and the spear were the principal implements of the men.[163] The type of bow used is unknown, except for one vague reference to wooden bows and arrows.[164] The triangular stone projectile points were fastened to the shaft by means of resin.[165] Projectile points were usually made of quartz, but chert, slate, shale, granite, sandstone, and argillite points have been found. Some may even have been made of fish bones.[166] Stone, pottery, and copper pipes were noted, both from early documents and

[153] Heckewelder, 1881, p. 206.
[154] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 12.
[155] De Vries, 1909, p. 217; Holm, 1834, p. 119; Van der Donck, 1909, p. 301; Denton, 1845, p. 10.
[156] Heckewelder, 1881, p. 203.
[157] Van der Donck, 1909, p. 301; Pastorius, 1912, p. 434; Lindestrom, 1925, pp. 196-97.
[158] Heckewelder, 1881, p. 207; Luckenbach, 1938, p. 107.
[159] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 12.
[160] Abbott, 1875, p. 327; Heye and Pepper, 1915, pp. 32-42; Holm, 1834, p. 119.
[161] Holm, 1834, p. 119; Van der Donck, 1909, p. 301.
[162] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 68; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 204.
[163] Brinton, 1885, p. 53.
[164] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 29.
[165] De Laet, 1909, p. 40; Holm, 1834, p. 129; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 29.
[166] Smith, 1950, p. 119; De Laet, 1909, p. 57.

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

796 times they failed trying with all their might to make fire with the fire drill one after another and had to resort to making it with flint and steel. He attributed such failure to the attendants having violated the rules of continence during the [831] Big House period. He himself felt that it was becoming more and more difficult for the Delawares to perform the ceremony on account of increasing moral laxity among the people.

Anderson corroborated the tradition of the earthquake and associated physical disturbances as accounting for the cause of the Delawares instituting the Big House Ceremony. He added that there was a tradition of falling stars occurring during the disturbance and also a tornado.[6] Anderson expressed the feeling of the Delawares that the performance of the Big House Ceremony was intended to avert physical catastrophes, saying that upon several occasions in the past the ceremony had been performed after a tornado in the country to preserve the people from another such visitation of anger on the part of the Creator.

It might be expected that the performance of the Big House Ceremony when sponsored by the Tortoise ceremonial group would differ in some of its particulars from what we have previously recorded. This investigation will undoubtedly have to be considered and it will be possible to do so should the Big House Ceremony ever be repeated by Frank Wilson who is a member of the Tortoise group.

Among the notes of information which Anderson made to extend our knowledge of details of the Big House Ceremony, [1147] he called attention to an error in the color plate illustrating the interior of the Big House while one of the dances of vision recitation was in progress, in Harrington's monograph on Delaware ceremonies (*op. cit.* Pl. 6). The color plate shows the people in the Big House seated while the dance and recitation are going on. Anderson pointed out that the audience should be shown standing during the dance-recitation.

[6] *Gau'zze*, "whirlwind, tornado." Smaller gusts of whirling wind without the character of the preceding are called *owi·alaz'o·u* in Delaware.

7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

DUALOGY OF SYMBOLISM IN THE BIG HOUSE RITE

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In my former study of the Big House Ceremony I did not become aware of the significance that seemed attached to the fact that upon the center-post of the structure there were two faces carved on opposite sides, one facing the east, the other the west, and that also there were two fires, one on the east, the other on the west side of the center-post. These are evident symbols of duality and it becomes plausible to suspect, as did Dr. P. W. Schmidt, that the symbolism of duality in these features of the Big House might refer to sun and moon worship. Dr. Schmidt, in correspondence with me, also suggests that the two fires may represent the luminaries, and the double image representations on the center post a dual personality vested in the Supreme Being idea which in turn he proposes may be a fusion of the male and female concepts as tribal progenitors (Stammeselternpaar). We lack, however, supporting native testimony for the establishment of Dr. Schmidt's elucidation of a historical background for these mysterious symbols so far as the Delawares are specifically concerned.[1]

I was unable to take up this question with Delaware informants before the publication of my earlier study but since that time I have had an opportunity to discuss the point with Anderson. While he was unable to speak in positive terms of the dual symbolism of the two fires, two center-post images, two doors of the Big House, two paints, red and black, on the carved images, he offered a rationalisation in attempting to explain the matter. This I consider extremely well worth reproducing as an example of Delaware explanatory thought on a point concerning which tradition in the tribe is not definite enough to be canonical. Our own speculation on the matter, when such fails to coincide with speculative attempts of the natives who themselves *profess* the principles of the religion in question, can hardly be considered as having equal weight with theirs.

[1] See also Dr. P. W. Schmidt, "High Gods in North America, Oxford, 1933," for a scholar's insight into the comparative history of Algonkian concepts of deity and religious systems, summarizing part of Vol. 5 of his earlier monumental contribution; Die Ursprung der Gottesidee, Münster, 1929.

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

I would accordingly present Anderson's explanation of the dual principle in Delaware ritual as being connected with the division of sex in the realm of life. Anderson pointed out that the balancing of functions between the male and female elements of human society was implied in the Delaware ritual performance. He began by referring to the requirement that there be an equal number of male and female attendants in service during the ceremony; that the duties of the females should coincide with and supplement those of the males; that one fire, theoretically, was in charge of the female attendants and represented their contribution to the worship, the other the males; that a similar division extended through the Big House, one door and the image on the center-post facing that door "belonging" to the men, the other, the opposite to women. He also pointed out in explaining the principle of dualism that when the attendants swept the dancing path encircling the two fires after each dance performance to purify it, with the turkey wing fans, a male attendant starts sweeping from the west door toward the east door and a female from the east door to the west door on the opposite side; that when the east door is reached by the male attendant sweeper and the west door by the female attendant sweeper, each places the fan-sweeper in a crevice in the logs above the door where he or she stops. Furthermore, at the conclusion of the next dance when the sweeping is repeated for the same purpose of purification, the male attendant sweeps his half of the dance path with the fan previously used by the female and leaves this in the logs above the door on her side. She does the same with the fan left over her door by the male attendant the time before. Thus the two fans are relayed by men and women attendants successively on opposite sides of the Big House after each dance. One of the fans, moreover, is associated with male attendants, the other with the female. Anderson used this illustration to bring out his idea as implied from the teaching of the old people that while there was no definite doctrine of sexual duality taught in the Big House, that the same might be implied as a hypothesis. He pointed out another fact in demonstrating this likelihood which is

7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

clearly evident on the surface, namely that the two forked drum sticks, those of highly ceremonial significance used only from the ninth night of the ceremony to the end, bear carvings of human heads, a male on one, a female on the other, the latter having also the representation of female breasts below the face. This leaves no doubt of latent trend of thought in the basic symbolism of duality based upon sex in Delaware. The two drum sticks in question are definitely designated male and female. 796x 772 831

I might mention also another piece of native reasoning along the same line in explanation of the black and red half-painting which is so characteristic of Delaware sacred coloring. It has been assumed and with good reason that these colors represent the states of life and death, respectively red and black. I would not discard this theory since it is one present in the minds of some Delawares, but would rather find an explanation for the confusion in idea of the black and red symbols as an overlapping of several vaguely fused symbolisms; one designating sex, the other life and death. The whole question, as it now stands, amounts to a problem of symbol interpretation in Delaware religion in which the supposition of sexual duality must be given primary consideration. 796x 772 831 822

Reverting for a moment to Anderson's explanation of the two fire, two door, two center-post image peculiarity in the Big House arrangement, it should not be inferred that he intended to point out that these were exclusively or definitely sexual segregations or that they reflected duality in the conception of deity. He also wished especially to avoid fixing the idea that the two center-post images represented the Creator. He tried to make clear that the two branches of service represented by the men and women worshippers were made convenient and kept separate in accordance with the division into male and female functions by the dual arrangements just noted. 796x 772 831

The whole question of sex differentiation in Delaware religion and natural thought is one which may have to be worked out through evidences beneath the surface, perhaps in almost forgotten but deeply significant principles of thought,

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

since it is only hinted at in deliberate explanation by the people of today, though preserved in the equipment and furnishings of their worship.

An arrangement of symbols and functions associated with sex in Delaware thought could be shown as follows.

MALE	FEMALE
ABSTRACT ASSOCIATIONS	
The color red	The color black
life	death (the beyond)
east	west
day	night
right-hand side	left-hand side
BIG HOUSE ASSOCIATIONS	
East half[1]	West half[1]
east door	west door
east fire	west fire
image of Great Spirit on east side of center post	image of Great Spirit on west side of center post
FUNCTIONS AND PRIVILEGES	
Balanced participation in all rites and dances	
Balanced ritual and dance leadership (approximate)	
Balanced sponsorship of ceremonies	
Balanced performance of offices as "attendants" (a'ckas)	
Balanced dance-path sweeping	
Balanced reception of "payment" (sacrifice) of wampum for ceremonial services	
Balanced control of ceremonial equipment in east and west sides of Big House	
Conducting ceremonial hunt (symbol of animal economy as male sphere)	Preparing ceremonial foods (symbol of plant economy as female sphere)
Singing and praying aloud	Silent supplication
Giving ceremonial prayer-call	Occasionally giving prayer-call
Controling harvest rite (Corn Harvest Ceremony)	
Dancing on outside of dance column in Big House (inside in Doll Dance and Buffalo Dance)	Dancing on inside of dance column in Big House (outside in Doll Dance and Buffalo Dance)
Formal recitation of visions	Recitation allowed only on last day of Big House Ceremony
Use of musical instruments (hide-drum and rattle)	
Moral "purity" during ceremonial periods	Moral and catamenial "purity" during ceremonial periods

[1] Dichotomy of sex in the seating arrangements during ceremonies in the Big House is subordinated to the classified grouping of the ceremonial divisions, Turkey, Wolf, Tortoise, and secondarily to which of the three groups is sponsoring the celebration.

626 ness was accomplished, not by a fear of authority, but by everyone's fear of wounding someone else's self-esteem and thereby laying himself open to aggression. In order not to antagonize another, the individual had to be very circumspect in his behavior and avoid showing his own aggressive motives. There were a variety of institutionalized techniques which functioned to forestall possible antagonism-arousing situations. "They are not quarrelsome, and are always on their guard, so as not to offend each other," said Heckewelder, and Zeisberger made similar observations.[39] [83] Swearing was unknown (although obscenity was not tabooed).[40] Persons suspected of ill-doing were not accused openly; public or private disapproval was communicated by subtle allusions or by the [609] recital of a "dream."[41] Strangers and visitors were always treated politely; and negative replies to embassies from other communities were couched in ambiguous terms so that the matter was shelved rather than 576 contended over.[42] An elaborate code of 521 etiquette governed the men's talk. "Their common conversation turns upon hunting or the news of the day. Matter that has no foundation in fact may be drawn into conversation, and even though all may be aware of this, the narration continues uninterrupted. They may laugh now and again but they will listen attentively. No one interrupts another. When one has finished another begins. They never put any one publicly to blush; they are polite to each other and enjoy being politely treated. They like to be regarded as worthy people even though they may be the opposite. They are pleased to know that 796 they are liked."[43] Religious observances 776 (such as the periodic obligation to give a dance for a sacred mask) were performed under an almost obsessive fear that negligence, by offending the supernatural owner, would call down an indefinite but

39. Heckewelder, 1819, pp. 145-146; Zeisberger 1778, p. 115-116.
40. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 85.
41. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 120.
42. Heckewelder, 1819, p. 150.
43. Heckewelder, 1819, pp. 103-104; Zeisberger 1778, 115-116.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

bushy tail, moving as he walked, as though it were on springs; but for these accompaniments, the man, walking on all fours, might have been taken for a bear of an extraordinary size. Underneath, where his hands were, holes had been cut, though not visible to the eye, being covered with the long hair, through which he held and managed his implements, and he saw through two holes set with glass. The whole was a great curiosity, but not to be looked at by every body.

There are jugglers of another kind, in general old men and women, who although not classed among doctors or physicians, yet get their living by pretending to supernatural knowledge. Some pretend that they can bring down rain in dry weather when wanted, others prepare ingredients, which they sell to bad hunters, that they may have good luck, and others make philters or love potions for such married persons as either do not, or think they cannot love each other.

When one of these jugglers is applied to to bring down rain in a dry season, he must in the first instance receive a fee. This fee is made up by the women, who, as cultivators of the land are supposed to be most interested, but the men will slily slip something into their hands in aid of their collection, which consists of wampum beads, tobacco, silver brooches, and a dressed deer skin to make shoes of. If the juggler does not succeed in his experiment, he never is in want of an excuse; either the winds are in opposition to one another, the dry wind or air is too powerful for the moist or south wind, or he has not been made *strong enough*, (that is sufficiently paid) to compel the north to give way to the south from whence the rain is to come, or lastly, he wants time to invoke the great Spirit to aid him on the important occasion.

In the summer of the year 1799, a most uncommon drouth happened in the Muskingum country, so that every thing growing, even the grass and the leaves of the trees, appeared perishing; an old man named *Chenos*, who

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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them all through. "No matter, Father!" answered they in a jocular manner, "give us only rain and we will cheerfully bear the soaking." They then passed on, and I proceeded to *GoschacAking*, the village to which I was going. I mentioned the circumstance to the chief of the place, and told him that I thought it impossible that we should have rain while the sky was so clear as it then was and had been for near five weeks together, without its being previously announced by some signs or change in the atmosphere. But the chief answered: "*Chenos* "knows very well what he is about; he can at any time "predict what the weather will be; he takes his observa- "tions morning and evening from the river or something "in it." On my return from this place after three o'clock in the afternoon, the sky still continued the same until about four o'clock, when all at once the horizon became overcast, and without any thunder or wind it began to rain, and continued so for several hours together, until the ground became thoroughly soaked.

I am of opinion that this man, like others whom I have known, was a strict observer of the weather, and that his prediction that day was made in consequence of his having observed some signs in the sky or in the water, which his experience had taught him to be the forerunners of rain; yet the credulous multitude did not fail to ascribe it to his supernatural power.

The ingredients for a bad hunter, to make him have good luck, are tied up in a bit of cloth, and must be worn near his skin while he is hunting. The preparations intended to create love between man and wife, are to be slily conveyed to the frigid party by means of his victuals or drink.

2;Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7

suggest, and may reproduce, early magical practices. The best-known remaining magical practice is a rain-making device. It is said that a scale from the mythical horned serpent when put in water would make it rain (F.W., J.T.). The scale has disappeared today, but there are a number of tales about its efficacy.[35] Speck noted a rain-making ritual in which a weasel skin was employed.[36]

It was possible to divine future events by magical methods. Whether a wounded warrior was going to die or get well, for example, was foretold by putting a piece of dried liver in a cup of water. If the resulting bloody solution circled the cup before sinking to the bottom, the wounded person would recover (J.T.). A magical procedure similar to this was used for extremely sick persons after all other curing methods had failed. Shavings from a tooth of an animal were dropped into a shell filled with water. If the shavings circled the shell before sinking, it was a good omen. This process was repeated four times; if the shavings circled the shell each time before sinking, the patient would get well. The water of the fourth trial was given to the patient to drink. Love medicines were regarded by one of our informants as being purely magical devices. In the one instance in which data were secured, some type of animal foot was used with herbs. An incantation was spoken and within three days an erring husband or wife returned to a prior love (N.D.). Zeisberger mentioned "love charms" similar to this one and also hunting charms.[37]

Soul Concept

The Delawares believed that every individual possessed two souls. The heart was the locus of one soul which after death remained near the body for eleven days. On the twelfth day it left the earth for a spirit world.[38] It is this soul which was offered food in a "Feast of the Dead" twelve days after death and again twelve months after death.[39] The symbolic number twelve is in all probability a historic diffusion; otherwise these concepts appear to be of Delaware origin.[40] The second soul, a resident of the blood, remained on the earth after death. It was this soul which was apt to become a malevolent ghost especially active at night. "They have an idea that the ghosts of their deceased friends appear to them in the night, particularly after a failure to offer the customary feast at the grave, and they immediately prepare to do what from neglect or disrespect had been left undone, when the ghost ceases the visits."[41] Harrington said that "the blood in the dead body draws up into globular form and floats about in the air as a luminous ball."[42] One informant said: "You see a dark something rolling around at night" (N.D.). This soul was also associated with paralysis, strokes, and

[35] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 83; J.T.
[36] Speck, 1909, pp. 70-72.
[37] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 83; J.T.
[38] Speck, 1931, p. 25; Harrington, 1921, p. 52; J.T., N.D.
[39] Speck, 1931, p. 25; O.A.
[40] Kinietz, 1940, p. 118.
[41] Trowbridge MS.
[42] Harrington, 1913, p. 238.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

years of age and women fourteen or fifteen. There is in general no very strong tie between married people, not even between the older. A mere trifle furnishes ground for separation. Not every Indian, however, is indifferent to the light behavior of his wife. Many a one takes her unfaithfulness so to heart that in the height of his despair he swallows a poisonous root, which generally causes death in two hours, unless an antidote be administered in good time; this is often done, the Indians knowing that the properties of certain herbs counteract each other and being able to judge from the effects, what poison has been taken. Women, also, have been known to destroy themselves on account of a husband's unfaithfulness. To prevent such a calamity, they make use of a Beson, a love-charm, prepared by the old people and sold at a good price. This is constantly carried about by one or the other of the parties and is believed to keep man or woman faithful. Such a charm is even declared to have had the effect of making a woman run always and everywhere after her husband, until weary of life she has destroyed herself, or of similarly affecting a man. For this Beson, also, the Indians have their antidote. All this converted Indians have related to me.

Older men and women, particularly, have another Beson, supposed to have the magic power of bringing many presents to them. This charm they guard jealously among their most precious belongings, and is said to have the effect of bringing them food, clothing and whatever else they may need. It is prepared of roots pounded very fine, incantations being murmured meanwhile. A little of this preparation, about the size of a pea, is sold with a white and black wampum shell for a considerable price, often for a belt of wampum with several pounds in money. The love charm and others are similarly prepared. Usually, this is done by old women, who thus support themselves and promote superstition among the young.

The men have a Beson for the chase. This beson is a preparation made by old men, who are no more able to hunt, consisting of roots and herbs or made of the seeds of a certain plant. This is sold by them at a high price. They may earn much in this way, for every huntsman carries such a charm about in his

LOVE CHARMS

832 Certain peoples, however, learned long ago to employ medicine of this nature for evil purposes, frequently to gain influence over women. In such instances it was called "love medicine for gaining influence," [16] or "witchcraft." [17] The following test and prayer were given by Wi-tapanóxwe as characteristic examples of the correct procedure to bring about the reconciliation of an estranged marital couple.

At the present time the "love-doctor," usually a woman, employs two varieties of roots for the magical rite. One is known by the term "flower hangs down";[18] the other merely as "pull-up." A portion of the first variety is broken into three small pieces which are laid upon the outstretched palm of the practitioner's hand. These represent the three individuals involved in the ordinary triangular affair, the petitioner in the center, the spouse or sweetheart to the right, and the third party to the left. The other palm of the practitioner is then rubbed lightly over the roots and their movements closely observed. The side towards which the middle piece is seen to move, indicates the person with whom the petitioner is in love. The test may not be made more than once a day, "one test a day," but successive attempts over three or four days are permissible. The "love-doctor," after offering some of the tobacco given by the petitioner, attempts through her supernatural power, aided by prayer, to bring about the reconciliation of husband and wife, or true lovers. She can however be employed to separate a married couple, or two lovers, a practice designed by the informant as "bad." The practice is only employed in the case of serious misunderstanding between husband and wife, one of whom strives in this way to effect a reconciliation. The other is not informed of the trial.

PRAYER USED IN PREPARING THE LOVE CHARM (free translation)

832 539 "Grandmother, I beg of you that you will help your grandchildren to reconsider each other. They are in trouble so I sacrifice to you this tobacco, our Grandfather, in order that you will help that man, Big

[16] Zeisberger (p. 126) refers to the introduction of a poison (witchcraft) called "*mattapassigan*" by the Nanticoke. See witchcraft, p. 38ff.

[17] According to Wi-tapanóxwe this term applies to the act of attempting to gain influence for legal or illegal purposes by means of the medicine which is said to have magic qualities. The shaman who practices his profession for evil is also referred to as one "who practices for evil."

[18] *Podophyllum peltatum*, May apple.

832 ● 539

Bear and that woman, Small Person, to forget their troubles.[19] Because, Grandmother, it has been many years that they have been together. Again, Grandmother, I implore you because it is right that they should love each other henceforth. If you accept my plea, in two days from this time the woman will go back."

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The second variety of magical root, termed "pull up," is employed in the following manner. The informant's maternal grandfather transferred to him the secret of such a medicine gift in order to control human beings or animals. Although the root is intended primarily for use in hunting, it could also be employed to coerce or in general, influence people favorably. I was unable to secure a specimen of this "rare" plant for scientific identification.[20] Wi·tapanóxwe describes the plant root as having "five prongs." After securing several of the plants, the roots are prepared by cleansing them thoroughly in running water, to the accompaniment of songs and prayers. Three branches of the plant root are then broken off and another, taken from the root of a plant of the same species, attached to the remaining two, to make three. In this connection it may be noted that the emphasis upon the number three in this and the previously decribed love charm represents a symbolism for which the informant could offer no explanation.

[801]

In use, a small quantity of the prepared root is chewed three times a day. The juice resulting from the first mastication is rubbed on the hair, that from the second and third is swallowed. Such a procedure will bring about the desired result in a short time. To lure game animals some of the root is chewed while hunting. Wi·tapanóxwe related an incident of holding some of these roots in his hand while singing his medicine song, and thus luring a squirrel very close to him. The root is so powerful that if an excessive amount of juice is swallowed, the person's mind will become affected.

Food Taboos

262 757

After he has diagnosed the case, the practitioner prescribes a curative diet[21] for the patient, the food restrictions being determined by the

[19] "Being in trouble."

[20] This is probably due to the supposed magical properties attributed to this plant, making it dangerous, according to Delaware belief, for persons other than practitioners to handle it. This applies to all other plants used for magical purposes.

[21] Barber (1856, p. 538) quotes the following from William Penn's letters: ". . . if they eat flesh it must be from the female of any creature." Also see Zeisberger, *op. cit.* p. 24.

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
NM7 Delaware NM7

CHAPTER X.

Concerning the Marriage of the American People and the Treatment [Used] by the Savage Females Against Birth Pangs.

These Indians are a bestial people and have their intercourse together with father, mother, brother and sister like irrational brutes, no one knowing rightly who is the father of the child;[1] but their sachem or chief he must take a wife to himself, not because he intends to conceive children with her alone, but because his government and household exists as under a family,[2] about which we shall obtain further [details] hereafter. This his wife, she must manage his entire household like a matron who always, in the absence of the sachem, must guard his property, which becomes her possession after his death.

When she has thus been wooed by him, the bride must bedeck [herself] for a year and a day,[3] although they do not know what a year means, yet

[1] Lindeström's religious zeal led him astray; besides he did not understand the family life of the Indians. Some early writers state that Indians of this district had but one wife, except the chiefs, who had many. Their ideas of morality were of course different from those of the white settlers. De Vries tells us that an Indian would lend his wife to a friend, and that jealousy did not exist among them.

[2] *Hans undherhafwande Regiment och Hwshåldningh bestådr lijka som undher een familia.* In other words, according to Lindeström, the government is patriarchal, the chief being like the father of a household, hence it is necessary to have a mother of the household. Cf. in this connection a summary on "The Chief of the Indian Clan," by Rudolf Elander (Gothenburg, 1909).

[3] "A year and a day," see above, *Dedication*, note 23.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7

585 also speak to the couple on subsequent occasions, perhaps on the birth of a child (M.B.).

591 The place of residence of a newly married couple is something of a puzzle. In the nineteenth century it was temporarily patrilocal or matrilocal (bilocal), with friends, or by themselves (neolocal).[66] This was probably not true in early historic times; the evidence favors matrilocality. All sources are agreed that the Delawares were polygynous.[67]

595 Polygyny seems to have been more frequent in the early days. "An *Indian* may have two wives or more if he please, but it is not much in use as it was since the English came amongst them they being ready in some measure to imitate the *English* in things both good & bad."[68] Van der Donck said that "ordinarily they have but one wife, sometimes two or three, but this is generally among the chiefs."[69] The sororate was sometimes practiced, and informants added that the levirate was known.[70] Trowbridge said that "many instances have been known where a man having married a widow also married her daughter, and this has sometimes been at the suggestion of the mother herself."[71]

[587]

586 Divorce.— Divorce was easy among the Delawares; either member of a marriage partnership could break the union.[72] Reasons for divorce were sterility, adultery, and any other type of incompatibility.[73] Divorce was not frequent when there were children, and in this event small children remained with the mother.[74] Heckewelder quoted a Delaware on marriage and divorce, and the account is both enlightening and entertaining:

> The Indians had not only a much easier way of getting a wife than the whites, but were also more certain of getting a good one; "For" (said he in his broken English), "White man court, — court, — may be one whole year! O may be two year before he marry! — well! — may be then got very good wife — but may be not! — may be very cross! — Well now, suppose cross! scold so soon as get awake in morning! scold all day! scold until sleep! — all one; he must keep him! White people have law forbidding throwing away wife, be he ever so cross! no! no! Squaw know too well what Indian do if he cross! — throw him away and take another! Squaw love to eat meat! no husband! no meat! Squaw do every thing to please husband! he do the same to please Squaw! live happy!"[75]

684 Marital fidelity on the part of men does not seem to have been a major
637 social goal, particularly during a woman's pregnancy, menstruation,
and lactation, when marital relations were forbidden.[76] During this
[534] period many husbands apparently had concubines. There is one report of the social sanction of a woman's divorce from an adulterous husband. In this isolated case the husband was accused before the chief; he was

[66] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 78; O.A., N.D.
[67] Holm, 1834, p. 126; Loskiel, 1794, p. 58; Trowbridge MS., O.A., M.B., N.D.
[68] Denton, 1845, p. 9.
[69] Van der Donck, 1909, p. 202.
[70] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 88; O.A., M.B.
[71] Trowbridge MS.
[72] De Vries, 1909, p. 218; Holm, 1834, p. 126; Brainerd, 1884, pp. 171-72; Trowbridge MS.
[73] Denton, 1845, p. 9; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 85; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 154; Trowbridge MS.
[74] De Rasieres, 1909, p. 108; Trowbridge MS; O.A.
[75] Heckewelder, 1881, p. 161.
[76] Penn, 1913, p. 232; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 80.

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
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Lenape

535 796 and generally in October, in the full moon, and lasts not less than 12 days for each part. The tribe is divided into three clans, and each clan has to go through the same part, so the dance is sometimes 36 days long, but sometimes the second and third clans do not dance more than 6 days each.

[534] "The Turtle clan usually lead or begin the dance. A tortoise shell, dried and beautifully polished and containing several small pebbles, is placed in the southeast corner near the door in front of the first person. If he has anything to say he takes the shell and rattles it, and an answer comes from the south side of the temple from the singers, who strike on a dried deer's hide: then the party who has the tortoise shell makes an address or talk to the people, and thanks the Great Spirit for blessings, and then proceeds to dance, going to the right and around the fire, followed by all who wish to take part, and finally coming to the center post he stops there; then all the dancers shake hands and return to their seats. Then the shell is passed to the next person, who dances or passes it on, as he chooses.

796x [834] "On the third day of the dance all men, both married and single, are required to keep out of the company of women for 3 days at least. They have a doorkeeper, a leader, and 2 or 3 parties who sweep the ground floor with turkey wings, and who also serve as deacons. The [356]

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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IV. ETHNOGRAPHIC NOTES

Astronomy, Mathematics, etc.

1.[1] Planetary system

According to Captain Pipe, the stars were put in the sky for the guidance of the Indians—the whites had the compass. According to John Johnston, the Indians believed that there were four fixed stars in the North, East, South, and West, which were rivets holding up the sky. The seven stars were once seven boys who became such wizards that they could not dwell upon the earth. 821 [791 773]

2. Origin myth

Captian Pipe—They claim to be descendants of the Wyandots, and relate these circumstances connected with their birth. The Wyandots sprang from a hole in the earth, which is still to be seen on Lake Huron. Not long after their discovery of the world above, which they now inhabit, a virgin of that nation became pregnant from some unnatural cause and in due time was delivered of twins, a son and daughter, who spoke a language entirely different from their parent; to wit, that of the present Delawares. That it was customary at that time to marry very near relatives; that these twins were so united and from this incestuous intercourse sprang the Lenee Lenaupaa, who, by direction of their uncles, the Wyandots, went to the borders of the Ocean and there settled themselves. 773 [835]

They suppose that there was formerly a body like our sun, which they call a great cornstalk with wide spreading branches, planted by "the God" in another world far above us—there, they suppose, lived a tribe of Indians, with a chief at their head—one time, one of the women who had a child was taken sick, and being asked what would cure her, she said, "If this corn stalk was pulled up, and I was laid by the hole, from hence it was taken, I should get well." The chief gave orders, and the corn

[1] Numbers refer to the numbers given to the elements in the table, *ante*, pp. 22-37.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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881 and guards her so that none may see her . . . she is also kept within the hut the whole of the menstrual period, with the blanket over her head. . . .[46]

De Vries also noted that these girls hid behind a garment "which they throw over their body drawing it over the head so that one can barely [783] see their eyes."[47] The emphasis during menstruation was on uncleanliness and the necessity of isolation from society.[48] A girl could not touch her hair during her first isolation, food was eaten with a stick, and no meat was eaten.[49] In the last century, and perhaps earlier, a girl could not look in a mirror or talk to people (N.D.). At the end of the seclusion the girl's mother washed her hair, bathed her, and gave her new clothes. The idea was impressed upon the girl that she was now a woman and was henceforth to give up the toys and activities of childhood.[50] The same general restrictions applied to menstruating women.[51]

836 Little is known about premarital chastity in early historic times. 548 Denton said, however: "Any maid before she is married doth lie with whom she please for money without any scandal, or the least aspersion to be cast upon her it being so customary, & their laws tolerating it."[52]

Marriage

582 After the boys had proved themselves to be adequate hunters and the girls had passed through their first seclusion, they were considered 884 ready for marriage. This took place at about the age of seventeen or eighteen for boys and thirteen or fourteen for girls.[53] A girl showed her marriageability by wearing some sort of headpiece and by modestly covering the face with a portion of clothing when in public.[54] De Vries [301] said further that girls "deck themselves with a quantity of zeewan [wampum] upon the body, head and neck; they then go and sit in some place, in company with some squaws, showing that they are up for a bargain."[55]

584 Several different ways of arranging marriages and several types of marriage ceremony have been recorded for the Delawares. Some of this variety was probably due to diffusion from other Indian cultures or from Euro-American civilization, but it was also possible that there were variations among the diverse Delawaran peoples. Four seventeenth-century sources stated that girls were courted with wampum.[56] In later times, at least, relatives or go-betweens arranged the marriage. According to Heckewelder the prospective bridegroom's mother usually initiated the negotiations; according to Trowbridge the father of the

[46] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 77.
[47] De Vries, 1909, p. 218; also Loskiel, 1794, p. 56.
[48] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 77; N.D., O.A.
[49] Penn, 1912, p. 232.
[50] N.D. See section on Mythology in Chap. IV for an account of a girl who refused to part with her dolls.
[51] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 77.
[52] Denton, 1845, p. 9.
[53] Penn, 1912, p. 231; Holm, 1834, pp. 127-28; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 75; Loskiel, 1794, p. 63.
[54] De Vries, 1909, p. 218; Pastorius, 1912, p. 434; Penn, 1912, p. 231.
[55] De Vries, 1909, p. 218.
[56] *Ibid.*; De Rasieres, 1909, p. 108; Denton, 1845, p. 9; Van der Donck, 1909, p. 262.

141.	Any superiority among wives				+	+	−			+	−		
142.	strongest				+								
143.	oldest									+			
144.	youngest					+							
145.	Polyandry				−	−	−	−	−	−	−		
146.	Sororate — polygynous				+	+	−	−	−	−	+		
147.	Sororate — successive			+	+	+	−		−	+	−		
148.	Sororate — obligatory				•+	−			•+	−	−		
149.	Marriage of man to woman and daughter			−	+	+		−	−	−	−		
150.	Adultery criminal in the woman	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	•		
151.	Equally so in the man		+	+	+	+	•	•	+	+	•		
152.	Punished only by separation	+	−	(−)	+	+	•	•	(+)	+	+		
153.	Divorce on grounds of infidelity	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+		
154.	Without any particular cause	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
155.	May be limited by husband		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
156.	by wife		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−		
157.	Women seldom get divorce			+	+	+	+	+	+				
158.	Children stay with mother until able to choose for themselves		+	+	+	+	•	+		+	•+		
159.	Marriage with near relatives prohibited to very remote degree of relationship					+	+						
160.	to any known degree			+	+	•	•	+	+	+	+		
161.	Cohabitation without marriage common		+		+	•	•	−	•	−	+		
162.	Do individuals live to advanced age without being married				+	+	+	+	•	−	+		
163.	Commonly				−	−	−	−	−	−	−		
164.	Common for unmarried women to have children		+		+	+	+	−	−	−	+		
165.	Injurious to their reputations		+		+	•+	+	−		−	−		
166.	Are they punished		−			−	−	+		−	−		
167.	Affect chances of marriage		−		−	−		+		+	+		
168.	Proportion of married women without children †												
169.	Average number of children in family			•	*4-5	3	•	12	12	12	4-5	8-10	
170.	Average interval between births (yrs.)					2-3	•	2	2	1	2-3	2+	
171.	Age women generally begin to bear children					16	•	16	30	21	18-20	20	
172.	Age to cease					40	•	40	50+	70	•	50	
173.	Age that men commonly get married		•	18-20		15-25	F30	20	25	25	18-21	17+ F20	
174.	Age that women commonly get married		•	14-16		•	F24	20	20	20	16-21	17+ F20	

585 567 857 58 582 836 ● 599 844 886 885

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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(116). While three of them had heard of the former use of cradleboards, one, J. W., denied ever hearing of them among the Delaware, although he was familiar with their use by other tribes.

Marriage and Its Incidents

From the majority of the accounts denying courtship between the principals of a marriage it appears that Chipps's description of a brief courtship which was also a marriage ceremony was not typical of the Delaware (134).[1] Lindeström's record of fantastic promiscuity of all the people except the chiefs need not be considered one way or the other. Such a condition would not be reasonable for any people and certainly could not have existed among the Delaware in 1654 without many more than Lindeström having been aware of it. Chipps and Lindeström are also the only dissenters to the statement that marriages were arranged by the parents (132). As already mentioned, Lindeström's statements are not trustworthy on the subject of marriage and Chipps was reporting a Canadian Munsee group that differed in many respects from the Delaware group in this country. His remarks on marriage are applicable to the Chippewa with whom the Canadian Munsee were in contact and with whom they intermarried. In the light of Pipe's remark about the ignoring of formality,[2] it is probable that Chipps's statements reflect a condition in the third period not wholly attributable to the Chippewa or confined to the Canadian Delaware.

According to the tabulation of remarks on the asking of the consent of either party, parents in the first two periods were much more considerate of the wishes of their children than parents in the last two periods (133). The explanation probably lies in the statements of Zeisberger and Pipe that refusals to comply with the wishes of parents were rare. The story told by F. R. is an example of the means used by parents and other elders to keep the young folks in line.[3]

[1] See *post*, p. 107.
[2] See *post*, p. 109.
[3] See *post*, pp. 107-8.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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121. Cradle put in hammock 854

W. L. said that a cradleboard was formerly used but that 352
his children were all raised in a cradle hammock, consisting of a cloth or piece of blanket, two ropes and two sticks. The ropes were suspended parallel, the edges of the blanket fastened to or around the ropes, and the sticks placed at the ends of the blanket to keep the ropes apart.

123. Any difference in treatment of legitimate and illegitimate children 848

W. T.—No difference because Delaware never had latter. [836]
Young folks did not play around—old folks watched them too close.

Marriage and Its Incidents

131. Courtship

Captain Chipps—Courtships are brief. If a man sees a 584
woman whom he likes, he gives her presents, and persuades her [836]
to sleep with him. Should they be mutually pleased, they afterwards live together as man and wife. The consent of parents on the subject is seldom asked—although it is considered proper [595]
to consult parents on the subject. If a marriage is consummated as above, and the parents are displeased, they use their exertions to separate the young couple—they fail, however, for the newmarried couple elope, when the alarm is sounded. There is no ceremony of marriage but the above.

E. R.—Both girls and boys were told to accept the first pro- 584
posal they received. The old people kept telling them this and 577
to show what might happen to them if they did not do this they 539
told the following story. Once there was a girl who was very pretty, one boy after another wanted to marry her but she did not care much for any of them and would not listen to her old folks. Then one day when she was out in the woods she met a very handsome young stranger. She fell for him, and when he said he wanted to take her home with him, she agreed. He took her into a nearby hollow where he had a very nice home. He told his mother he had brought home a wife and she was very

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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also speak to the couple on subsequent occasions, perhaps on the birth of a child (M.B.).

The place of residence of a newly married couple is something of a puzzle. In the nineteenth century it was temporarily patrilocal or matrilocal (bilocal), with friends, or by themselves (neolocal).[66] This was probably not true in early historic times; the evidence favors matrilocality. All sources are agreed that the Delawares were polygynous.[67] Polygyny seems to have been more frequent in the early days. "An *Indian* may have two wives or more if he please, but it is not much in use as it was since the English came amongst them they being ready in some measure to imitate the *English* in things both good & bad."[68] Van der Donck said that "ordinarily they have but one wife, sometimes two or three, but this is generally among the chiefs."[69] The sororate was sometimes practiced, and informants added that the levirate was known.[70] Trowbridge said that "many instances have been known where a man having married a widow also married her daughter, and this has sometimes been at the suggestion of the mother herself."[71]

Divorce.— Divorce was easy among the Delawares; either member of a marriage partnership could break the union.[72] Reasons for divorce were sterility, adultery, and any other type of incompatibility.[73] Divorce was not frequent when there were children, and in this event small children remained with the mother.[74] Heckewelder quoted a Delaware on marriage and divorce, and the account is both enlightening and entertaining:

> The Indians had not only a much easier way of getting a wife than the whites, but were also more certain of getting a good one; "For" (said he in his broken English), "White man court, — court, — may be one whole year! O may be two year before he marry! — well! — may be then got very good wife — but may be not! — may be very cross! — Well now, suppose cross! scold so soon as get awake in morning! scold all day! scold until sleep! — all one; he must keep him! White people have law forbidding throwing away wife, be he ever so cross! no! no! Squaw know too well what Indian do if he cross! — throw him away and take another! Squaw love to eat meat! no husband! no meat! Squaw do every thing to please husband! he do the same to please Squaw! live happy!"[75]

Marital fidelity on the part of men does not seem to have been a major social goal, particularly during a woman's pregnancy, menstruation, and lactation, when marital relations were forbidden.[76] During this period many husbands apparently had concubines. There is one report of the social sanction of a woman's divorce from an adulterous husband. In this isolated case the husband was accused before the chief; he was

[66] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 78; O.A., N.D.
[67] Holm, 1834, p. 126; Loskiel, 1794, p. 58; Trowbridge MS., O.A., M.B., N.D.
[68] Denton, 1845, p. 9.
[69] Van der Donck, 1909, p. 202.
[70] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 88; O.A., M.B.
[71] Trowbridge MS.
[72] De Vries, 1909, p. 218; Holm, 1834, p. 126; Brainerd, 1884, pp. 171-72; Trowbridge MS.
[73] Denton, 1845, p. 9; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 85; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 154; Trowbridge MS.
[74] De Rasieres, 1909, p. 108; Trowbridge MS; O.A.
[75] Heckewelder, 1881, p. 161.
[76] Penn, 1912, p. 232; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 80.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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found guilty and the wife was "permitted to draw off his right shoe and left stocking. . .she then tears off the lappet that covers his private parts, gives him a kick behind, and so drives him out of the house. . . ."[79] Husbands could punish adulterous wives by thrashing them, or could obtain a divorce by bringing them before the chief or sachem. The woman's hair was cut off, she was deprived of her property, and perhaps even of her life, if found guilty by the sachem.[80] But Denton remarked: "It is no offense for their married women to lie with another man provided she acquaint her husband, or some of her nearest Relations with it, but if not it is accounted such a fault that they sometimes punish it with death."[81] One of the culturally sanctioned mechanisms for obtaining revenge upon an adulterous spouse was suicide.[82] A man's retaliation for adultery could also be seduction of the adulterer's wife. If and when the injured husband was successful in this venture, he made the fact public so that the original adulterer would be held up for public scorn.[83]

A widow, prior to remarriage, whether his wife had died of natural or other causes, had to recompense her relatives for her loss.[84] The duration of mourning was about a year.[85] A widow during this time had to support herself; she could not be given meat since a hunter's weapons were supposed to fail if he had given meat to a widow.[86] When the year had passed, the deceased one's soul left the earth and remarriage could follow.

Death

As soon as a person died the fact of death was spread throughout the community by a crier. The crier was a woman especially appointed and paid for her services.[87] This announcement evoked loud outcrys and lamentations from the general populace. These lamentations were continued intermittently in the house where the deceased lay until burial.[88] In recent times and perhaps earlier the moccasin game was played in the dwelling where the corpse lay.[89] The body was not buried at once because it was necessary to give the supernatural forces an opportunity to restore life to the corpse.[90] The length of time the body was kept varied with the season; it was three days in summer and seven in winter.[91] During this interval the corpse was dressed in new clothes and richly adorned and painted. Before noon on the day of burial a number

[79] De Rasieres, 1909, p. 108.
[80] Ibid.; see also Pastorius, 1912, p. 434.
[81] Denton, 1845, p. 9.
[82] Penn, 1912, p. 232; Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 258-59; Lenkiel, 1794, p. 58.
[83] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 77.
[84] Penn, 1912, p. 232.
[85] Pastorius, 1912, p. 435; Holm, 1834, p. 143; Brickell, 1842, p. 49; Trowbridge MS.
[86] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 68; Lenkiel, 1794, p. 64.
[87] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 249; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 269.
[88] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 69; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 269.
[89] Harrington, 1913, p. 215; Kinietz, 1946, p. 78.
[90] Trowbridge MS; Kinietz, 1946, p. 51; J.T.
[91] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 249; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 269; Trowbridge MS; Kinietz, 1946, p. 51; M.B.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7
Iroquois NM9

D 584

good and preserved a certain decency, have fallen into disuse. At the present time, even if the Indian would take a wife in honorable fashion and proceed in accordance with the above described custom, the parties concerned will not deny his suit in view of the presents, even though the friends and the girl are not willing to accept him. The friends will urge the girl to live with the man a short time, and tell her that if she is not pleased, to leave him again. Thus it happens that women will go from one to another for the sake of the gifts. Yet there are many cases where husband and wife are faithful to one another throughout life.

Occasionally, parents who have a son will agree with parents who have a daughter that in due time their children shall marry. As, however, they can neither persuade nor compel their children against their wishes, it in the end depends upon the children whether the match shall be consummated.[20]

I 584

Among the Mingoes it is not unusual to fix upon children of four or five years of age, with a view to future marriage. In this case the mother of the girl is obliged to bring a basket of bread every week into the house of the boy and to furnish him with firewood. The parents of the boy must supply the girl with meat and clothes, till they are both of a proper age. Their marriage, however, solely depends upon their own free will, for there is never any compulsion. If either man or woman is unwilling to follow up the engagement entered into by parents, no marriage results.

D 586 837

Although there are many Indians who live peaceably with their wives, especially if they have children for whom they care (for if a man has several children he will try to get along with his wife) the younger Indians at the present time generally live together only a very short time after a marriage. Hence, fornication is very common among them, Satan's influence in this respect being very strong.

D 177

If it is asked why the Indians at the present time are more given to vice and disorderly living than formerly, when they were as ignorant heathen as they are now, two reasons may be given. First, much evil unquestionably has been taught them by white people, especially the traders, who were content to live

3;Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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593 everything to his wife and never interferes in things committed to her. She cooks victuals regularly twice a day. If she neglects to do it in proper time, or even altogether, the husband never says a word but goes to a friend, being assured that he [574] will find something to eat, for when a stranger comes into the house the first attention shown is to put food before him, if there is anything in the house. The husband never offers to put wood on the fire, except it be that he has guests or some other extraordinary call to do it, for the woman cuts the wood and brings it to the house and is, therefore, the proper person to take care of the fire.

If his wife longs for meat, and gives him a hint of it, the husband goes out early in the morning without victuals and seldom returns without some game, should he even be obliged to stay out till late in the evening. When he returns with a deer, he throws it down before the door of the hut and walks in, saying nothing. But his wife, who has heard him lay down his burden, gives him something to eat, dries his clothes and then goes out to bring in the game. She may then do what she pleases with it. He says nothing, if she even gives the greatest [224] part of it to her friends, which is a very common custom. A woman generally remembers her friends when meat has been secured, or when her husband has brought flour from the whites.

If the husband intends to take a journey or go hunting, he gives his wife notice, and then she knows that it is her business to furnish him with proper provisions. If any dissatisfaction arises between them, the husband commonly takes his gun and walks off into the woods, without telling his wife whither he is going. Sometimes he does not return for some days, when both parties have generally forgotten their quarrels and live again in peace.

586 Young people who marry rarely remain faithful to each other, but join themselves to others and again separate, continu-● 837 ing such disorderly living until they are older and more sensible. Then it not infrequently happens that they find one another again, or the husband may join himself permanently to some other woman and settle down to housekeeping. Marriages are 582 contracted early in life, when men are from eighteen to twenty years of age and women fourteen or fifteen.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

17. The Rev. David McClure states that such was the desire for dancing among the Delaware Indians that "they are building a dancing house in this small village, [the capital of the Delawares near the present site of Newcomerstown, O.] which will cost them more labour than one-half of the houses in it" — *Diary*, 77. This is one of the most valuable volumes of early travel (1770-1790) in the Middle West and will often be quoted.

18. It is interesting to compare the accounts of Zeisberger and Heckewelder, the former a jotter down of facts, the latter a formal historian. "The Indians are proud but not vain," write Heckewelder; "They consider vanity as degrading and unworthy the character of a man. This passion of the Indians which I have called *pride*, but which might perhaps, be better denominated *highmindedness*, is generally combined with a great sense of honour, and not seldom produces actions of the most heroic kind" — *History*, 159, 161. The plain, unpretentious words of Zeisberger, often derogatory of the Indians, have a ring of accuracy that is found in almost no other record.

19. The length of space to which a man can extend his arms.

20. "Courage, art and circumspection, are the essential and indispensable qualifications of an Indian warrior" — Heckewelder, *History*, 166. According to Zeisberger's notion, how appropriate the first lines of the Delaware's chant on going to war: "O poor me!" *Id.* 204.

21. Pontiac's Rebellion.

22. Ottawas.

23. Revolutionary war.

24. Heckewelder's descriptions of Indian abhorrence of marital infidelity are not borne out by Zeisberger or Loskiel. David McClure, writing at Coshocton, in 1772, records: "Several of the aged Councillors had lived with one wife from their youth; but a great part of husbands and wives at Kekalemahpehoong [Delaware capital], had separated and taken others. I was astonished at the profligate description which young Killbuck (whose father had directed him to lodge in my house, and to wait on me), gave me of himself. He slept in a loft, which was ascended by a ladder at the farther end of the house. He conducted a squaw up the ladder every night. I asked him one day, if it was his wife? He said no. I admonished him for his conduct. He said he was nineteen years old, and had had several wives, and that he wanted one more, and he should be happy. It is natural to expect that but few children can be the fruit of such unbounded licentiousness. On an average there are about two or three to a family" — *Diary*, 91.

24½. The distinction here between "Indians" and "savages" implies that the former are Christian and the latter non-christian.

25. Goschgoschünk, in Venango County, Pennsylvania, a Delaware (Monsey) town on the Allegheny River — Edmund De Schweinitz, *Life and Times of David Zeisberger*, 324, *seq.* Few volumes relating to the

nected within the womb. If one is hurt, the other will feel it even though they are separated by many miles. A child whose mother died during its birth, must not be allowed to cry. Someone must try to comfort it so that the spirit of the dead mother may not injure, or even kill the foster parent. 845

Birthmarks are an indication that both parents have experienced difficulties with other people. During his youth one man conversed with a dead person in a vision. The skeleton said to him, "You should know me by the mark on your children. You will know more when they are born." All of his children (boys) had a characteristic pecularity about the eyes, lacking control of the lids so that during the day they blinked constantly. Sometimes a birthmark in the shape of a leaf or berry appears on the child. This is attributed to a dream by the mother. The fruit means good luck and long life. A mark formed like a reptile is considered an evil omen. 845 826 [787]

While nursing the child, the mother must refrain from intercourse with any man other than her husband so that the infant may not have diarrhea. 853 837

A few notes were obtained on the treatment of the hair and teeth of children. 854

When a child's hair is cut, it is left in some out-of-the-way place.[20] It was believed that if the birds used it in building their nests, the child would suffer from headaches. If the remains were burnt, it would cause the hair to become brittle.[21]

During the teething period, a little bag containing finely crushed charcoal is hung about the child's neck. The latter chews upon it to ease his aching gums. A loose milk tooth is pulled out by means of a string, its removal allowing the permanent tooth to grow in straight. The extracted tooth is taken outdoors by the child and thrown in the direction of the east, with the words "My tooth I place down here. I know when you return I will feed you white beans."

A child's nails are trimmed with a knife or scissors. Care is taken not to lose any of the nail trimmings, which are carried into the woods and left upon a stump. At the same time the following words are addressed to the Owl: "Grandpa, I now give you these, your grandchild's nails, to make frames for your eyes."

[20] This and the following paragraph were recorded by Eugene Golomshtok, University of Pennsylvania, 1930.

[21] In adult life gray hair, an indication of longevity, is not pulled out. Its removal would be displeasing to the Creator as a lack of respect for the aged. [288 302]

141.	Any superiority among wives					+	+	−			+	−
142.	strongest					+						
143.	oldest										+	
144.	youngest						+					
145.	Polyandry					−	−	−	−	−	−	−
146.	Sororate — polygynous					+	+	+	−	−	−	+
147.	Sororate — successive			+		+	+	−		+	−	+
148.	Sororate — obligatory			−		•+	−			•+	−	−
149.	Marriage of man to woman and daughter			+		+	+	+	−	−	−	−
150.	Adultery criminal in the woman	+	+	+		+	+	••	+	+	+	•
151.	Equally so in the man		+	+		+	+	•	+	+	+	•
152.	Punished only by separation	+	−	(−)		+	+		+	(+)	+	+
153.	Divorce on grounds of infidelity	+	+	+	+	+	+	•	+	+	+	+
154.	Without any particular cause	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+
155.	May be limited by husband		+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+
156.	by wife		+	+	+		+	+	+		+	+
157.	Women seldom get divorce				+	+	+	+	+		−	−
158.	Children stay with mother until able to choose for themselves		+	+	+	+	+	•	+		+	•+
159.	Marriage with near relatives prohibited to very remote degree of relationship						+	+				
160.	to any known degree			+		+			+	+	+	+
161.	Cohabitation without marriage common		+			+	•	•	−	−	−	+
162.	Do individuals live to advanced age without being married					+	+	+	+	•	+	+
163.	Commonly					−	−	−	−	−	−	−
164.	Common for unmarried women to have children		+•			+	+	+	−	−	−	+
165.	Injurious to their reputations		+			+	•+	+	−		−	−
166.	Are they punished		−				−	−	+		−	−
167.	Affect chances of marriage		−			−	−		+		+	+
168.	Proportion of married women without children †											
169.	Average number of children in family			•	•4-5	3	•	12	12	12	4-5	8-10
170.	Average interval between births (yrs.)					2-3	•	2	2	1	2-3	2+
171.	Age women generally begin to bear children					16	•	16	30	21	18-20	20
172.	Age to cease					40	•	40	50+	70	•	50
173.	Age that men commonly get married		••	18-20		15-25	F30	20	25	25	18-21	17+ F20
174.	Age that women commonly get married		•	14-16		•	F24	20	20	20	16-21	17+ F20

585 587 837 ● 586 582 836 591 848 886 885

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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(116). While three of them had heard of the former use of cradleboards, one, J. W., denied ever hearing of them among the Delaware, although he was familiar with their use by other tribes. 854 352

Marriage and Its Incidents

From the majority of the accounts denying courtship between the principals of a marriage it appears that Chipps's description of a brief courtship which was also a marriage ceremony was not typical of the Delaware (131).[4] Lindeström's record of fantastic promiscuity of all the people except the chiefs need not be considered one way or the other. Such a condition would not be reasonable for any people and certainly could not have existed among the Delaware in 1654 without many more than Lindeström having been aware of it. Chipps and Lindeström are also the only dissenters to the statement that marriages were arranged by the parents (132). As already mentioned, Lindeström's statements are not trustworthy on the subject of marriage and Chipps was reporting a Canadian Munsee group that differed in many respects from the Delaware group in this country. His remarks on marriage are applicable to the Chippewa with whom the Canadian Munsee were in contact and with whom they intermarried. In the light of Pipe's remark about the ignoring of formality,[5] it is probable that Chipps's statements reflect a condition in the third period not wholly attributable to the Chippewa or confined to the Canadian Delaware. 584 [836 837]

According to the tabulation of remarks on the asking of the consent of either party, parents in the first two periods were much more considerate of the wishes of their children than parents in the last two periods (133). The explanation probably lies in the statements of Zeisberger and Pipe that refusals to comply with the wishes of parents were rare. The story told by F. R. is an example of the means used by parents and other elders to keep the young folks in line.[6]

[4] See *post*, p. 107.
[5] See *post*, p. 109.
[6] See *post*, pp. 107-8.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7
IROQUOIS NM9
Shawnee NN17

D 888 1778

regard them but little. They do not seem to be ashamed of their vices. For this reason, Indians themselves declare that their condition grows worse from year to year. As there is neither law nor legal penalty among them, they have nothing to fear, except that an injured one may avenge himself in the manner in which he has been injured. If one has seduced the wife of another, the offended party will seek to seduce the wife of the offender. He will keep his purpose a secret and not rest until he has obtained satisfaction, when he makes known to others what he has done, so that the original offender may hear of it.

D [684]

D 881 [841] 145

When, in a young female, the first menstrual discharge occurs, generally between the twelfth and sixteenth year, the Delawares generally separate such daughters from all companionship, the Monsies [Monseys] being more strict and having more ceremonies in the observance of the custom than the Miamis. They build for such a girl, separate hut, apart from the rest, where her mother or some old female acquaintance cares for her and guards her so that none may see her. Wherefore, she is also kept within the hut the whole of the menstrual period, with the blanket over her head. She is given little to eat, but regularly dosed with emetics. She is not allowed to do any work during the whole time, which generally lasts twelve days. At the end of the time, they bring her into her home, looking black, grimy and dishevelled, because she has been lying about in dust and ashes the whole time. Washed and dressed in new garments, she is allowed to be in the home, but required to wear a cap with a long shield, so that she can neither see any one readily, nor be seen. Such a covering she must wear for two months, at the end of which time she is informed that she may marry.

D [582] 292

I S 881 262

The Shavanose [Shawanese] and Mingoes, however, who observe much the same custom, follow a different course in this matter. The young woman in question is allowed to remain in the house. She prepares food for those in the house, of the corn and fruits she has raised. Of such food she does not, however, herself partake, but goes to her hut, apart from the others, and there prepares and eats her food.

D 841

Every month, during her menstrual period, a Delaware woman lives by herself in a separate hut, which is usually very

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7
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D
841 poorly built, and remains there two or three days, food being taken to her. When the time is over they bathe and wash their clothes and are allowed to return to their husbands. During the
D menstrual period, they are not permitted to do any cooking or
784 domestic work. None will eat what a woman in this condition
262 prepares, for food prepared under such circumstances is said to
841 be unwholesome and to cause pain in the abdomen. The women do not go into company, but keep to their huts until their time is over. Hence, it occasionally happens that a woman engaged in baking will leave everything and go to her hut. This custom
I [841] does not obtain among the Mingoes; their women continue their usual work and remain in the house.

In the wooing of a bride, custom demands that if an Indian would proceed honorably and at the same time have assurance
D 584 that his wife when married will remain with him, he first sends a present of blankets, strouds, linen and whatever else the Indians commonly use for clothing and perhaps a few belts or fathoms of wampum. If he has no cloth, wampum alone will do. These things he gives to an Indian to whom he has declared his purpose and who hands them to a friend of the person fixed upon, speaks for him and presses his suit. Thereupon, the friends assemble, examine the present, propose the matter to the girl, who generally decides agreeably to the wish of her parents and relations. The suitor is then informed that his proposal has been accepted. If it is decided to decline the proposal, the present is simply returned and understood to be a friendly negative. In case the match is agreeable, the girl is led to the dwelling of the groom, without further ceremony. After the bride has joined her husband, the things constituting the present are divided among the friends and the belts of wampum cut and a piece given to each. The friends return the civility by a present of Indian corn, beans, kettles, dishes, spoons, sieves, baskets, hatchets, brought in solemn procession into the hut of the newly
D married couple. Commonly, the latter lodge in a friend's house
[591] until they can erect a dwelling of their own.

This custom still obtains among the Indians. Within the last years, however, disorderly living and evil have become so common that faith is not kept and many of the usages, that were

nature of the disease. The flesh of animals and fowl is excluded from the diet and in the case of fever, red or fox squirrel flesh is not eaten. This food taboo is known to the Delaware by a native word meaning "makes you sick." Corn hominy, however, is administered in most cases, as it is considered to be a nourishing food.

In the case of childbirth, salt is not eaten for ten days. Onions are given the mother to produce milk, but care must be taken not to use a quantity such as to cause nausea for the child and mother.

During the catamenial period a woman is not allowed to prepared food nor taken an active part in domestic affairs.[11] The separate dishes assigned to her at that time, may only be used by her husband. Food cooked by such a woman would produce tuberculosis in others in a short time. A term translated as "gives dirty food," is applied to such a practice and refers to the resultant poisonous effects. During her periodic isolation a woman herbalist must refrain from preparing remedies or participating in any of the ceremonies.

Divinatory Curing Practices

Certain acts of a divinatory nature are performed upon selection and preparation of plants, roots, and bark employed in making medicine. Only plants that are clean and well developed, with the roots free from knotty growths, are taken. When seeking bark, the medicine gatherer selects a sturdy, well-formed tree for the purpose. The bark growing on the east side of a tree is preferred for its greater strength-giving properties received from the morning sun.

In gathering medicinal supplies, the materials are inspected for a clue as to the course of the treatment. Thus, if roots appear rough and knotty, the patient will be difficult to cure; if clean and well-formed, it will be an easy task to restore his health. Another practice is to place some crushed leaves or roots in running water. If the substance sinks to the bottom of the stream, the patient for whom it is prepared, will die; if it floats, a speedy recovery is assured.

When all other remedies have failed, an emergency medicine is sometimes made from scrapings of deer antler. During its preparation a prayer is offered to the animal from which the antler was obtained. Witapanóxwe related an incident in which a trial was made by means

[11] The puberty ceremony for young girls and the periodic isolation of women is described by Zeisberger, *ibid*, pp. 75-77.

also considered a mark of beauty (Lindstrom, pp. 193, 194, and 196; Pastorius, 1698, p. 433).

The Delaware women had the distinctive custom of wearing their hair in a large bun at the back rather than in braids. Men plucked all body hair and that of the head except for one tuft which was allowed to grow long (Smith, p. 137; Harrington, 1913, p. 220; Pastorius, 1700, p. 384; Lindstrom, pp. 195 and 200). Men were permitted to tattoo themselves as marks of distinction, the designs suggesting the deed which they commemorated. The operation was performed by breaking the skin in the desired pattern with a flint knife or sharp fish tooth. When the blood had been drawn, a powder of burned poplar bark was laid in the wound. Apparently the tattoo lasted a lifetime (Heckewelder, 1881, p. 206).

Children were allowed to go about with little or no clothing until eight or ten years of age, being protected from the sun by a liberal coating of bear grease (Johnson, p. 280; Pastorius, 1700, p. 384).

Family Organization and Customs

Starting at the beginning of life, we find that the birth process was accompanied by certain special customs. Penn says that "...when with Child, they [the women] know their Husbands no more, till delivered..." (Penn, p. 33). Harrington tells us that a prospective father who had bad luck at hunting attributed it to the spirit of his child playing about and scaring the game away. He would accordingly wear a miniature bow and arrow to keep the child's spirit amused while he hunted, or if this did not work he would try a small mortar and pestle assuming that the baby was a girl (1913, p. 212).

Birth itself occurred in the small hut which was also used during menstrual periods. The child was immediately immersed in water, then wrapped in a skin and bound to a cradle board. This was softened with a moss covering and had curved side pieces. The child stayed in the cradleboard most of the time until it could walk (Pastorius, 1698, p.434; Penn, pp.29-30; Lindstrom, p.201). Then, when it had to be carried, it was placed in a blanket and carried on the mother's back (Lindstrom, p.201).

Almost all of the writers were impressed with the quiet and respectful behavior of Delaware children. Only later writers, however, had much to say about the means used to educate them. These writers noted that children, especially the boys, seldom were punished (Brickell, p.47; Zeisberger, 1870, p.86). Brickell, who was brought up by a Delaware family, says that honesty, bravery and hospitality were cardinal virtues with them and that much of the training received was directed toward developing these virtues (pp.47-48). Also, of course, boys were taught woodcraft, fishing and hunting, and girls were taught the household duties including the care of the younger children.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

Not only are wild animals pure in contrast with domestic brutes in the sense embraced by the term, but youths who have completed the puberty vigil and acquired their guardian spirit are also pi·'lsi·t, "clean, uncontaminated, spiritually purified," as opposed to those who have not. For instance one of the signs denoting the transition from pre-adolescence in boys to the "purity of manhood" is in the voice. They say that the youth is expected to remain in solitude during his vigil until his voice has changed completely, by which time he is then pi·'lsi·t. It will be noticed also that the term is applied to fire made by the pump-drill at the Big House ceremony, pi·'lsi·t' te'·n·da', "clean fire," the unadulterated new fire made without matches or other unclean materials; the latter being cewa'·n·akwi· te'·n·da', "white man's fire," or mat·a pi·'ltak, "not pure." The sacred character of pure fire is shown in its honorific synonym muχo'·mson·a, "our grandfather," the source of healing.

Spiritual purity, however, is not conditioned by ethical conduct, but rather (like the Hebraic takor) through the observance of taboo regulations prescribed by ancient rulings.[1] Foremost among these are the restrictions placed upon the freedom of women in their catamenial periods, and the carrying out of dietary usages based upon the classification of animals as clean and unclean. Another evidence of the individual being spiritually pure is to have been blessed with a vision bestowed by a supernatural power. Such individuals are pi·'lsi· in a high degree. They are indeed the mainstays of the Big House ceremony. They are in blessed communion with the man·i't·u, bringing into the Big House their spiritual media, the controls under which their destinies are moulded. Again to be pi·'lsi· is to have gone through all the native teachings. And to live with a guileless character, child-like, is sufficient to entitle a man or woman (irrespective of marriage or celibacy) to be referred to as pi·'lsi·t lon'·o "pure, clean, man," or pi·'lsi·t xkwe'·, "pure, clean, woman," as a child is pi·'lsi·t mi·'mas. The above may serve to outline at least the Delaware concept of personal holiness and unholiness as it is expounded in the text.

BEING BLESSED WITH A VISION. THE PERFORMERS IN THE CEREMONY. The main active parts in the ceremony are performed by those who have been blessed with revelations by spiritual-forces, the man·i't·u. These are the pure men, and also in a minor rôle, the pure women. The word element ang'o· seems to be the generic designation for the condition of being blessed with a spiritual revelation through a vision. By this is meant the visitation from some man·i't·u coming at some period in the life of the individual who is spiritually deserving from the point of view of his reverence for spiritual forces for his observance of the arbitrary rulings of religious doctrine, and adherence to logically

[1] A taboo is denoted by the term kwul·a·'gan, "something forbidden."

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931

NM7 Delaware NM7

A turkey's [1] wing is used when they sweep out in the Big House. 539X
And besides, the Attendant carries a long stick as a poker and that [412
is used when they stir up the fire, and it is the rule that they shall 237]
light a good bright fire every night as long as they perform the cere- 796
mony. And the Attendant-leader every evening walks around all over
where they are camped about this Big House, holding a whip. And [625]
any person that they find that is causing unnecessary noise they correct.
And the children are instructed. And he notifies them, telling them
thrice "Come in! Come in! Come in!" And just recently they se-
lected an officer from the Delaware Agency who is on guard all the
time here while they are assembled, so that no one brings in liquor.[2]

[1] The specific term for the Wild Turkey (Meleagris gallipavo) is tel'kənəm, a term derived from the habit of this bird of scratching or "cleaning" the floor of the forest. In native Delaware ornithology, the order Gallinae is denoted by the generic term pele' which denotes any of the birds of the group, [825] though writers on Delaware social organization have occasionally rendered the term by "turkey." Happily no natural history obsequies are called for in the case of this splendid bird for it still survives in its original range where the Delawares knew it.

[2] The imformant pointed to this as an indication of the lack of reverence, and indecency of behavior in the tribe under the influence of the white man's ways. Zeisberger (op. cit. p. 139) commented on the same thing as regards disorder at the feasts.

When any one of us considers the rule with all the obligations and
instructions as these are properly carried out, it should be forbidden [841]
for one thing that those of our women who when they cannot cook[1]
are not pure, be allowed to trouble about the cooking. And should not
come in the Big House as long as they are affected with the sickness,
because some pure children might be much contaminated, especially [784
when they perform the Gamwing. And it is the rule that persons 231]
should abstain from bringing into the Big House any animals of what-
ever kind they may be which are domesticated.[2]

[1] Being in their catamenial periods.

[2] This has special reference to dogs, pigs, etc. Some discussion has previously been given concerning the status of the wild animals of the forest and those domesticated by man. The Attendants are expected to attack any such animals that come into the Big House and drive them away with their staffs.

And right here opposite from the door on the outside over there at 539X
a certain distance they make the fire. Two forked poles are set up- 796
right and a pole laid across, upon which they hang the big buckets 352
in which they cook. Near here standing upright is a many-forked tree [417]
where meat is hung. And a big shelf is there at one side of the fire-
place with two floors where they put the corn that is used. When [562]
hominy is made the female Attendants have for their duty every
morning and evening to grind and make corn flour and hominy. Some- [412]
times two or four mortars are used together with those long pounders.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

592 who generally form the same family, the youngest having the
595 husband's preference. But if they cannot agree to live together they reside in separate cabins and receive the visits of the husband when he deigns to make them.

CAPTAIN CHIPPS—Polygamy is common with the rich—but "one woman is generally a match for a man," and with the poor, there is never more than one. If a man has several wives, he treats them equally well—they compose one family.

J. W. refused to comment on polygamy, while W. T. denied that there were ever any cases.

W. L. said that a person might have two or three wives but did not do so commonly. Reported that Sam White Turkey had three. Children by each were considered members of one family.

148. Polygynous sororate obligatory

595 JOHN JOHNSTON—If the man appears to regret the loss of his
587 wife and shuns the intercourse of women for a number of months, the relatives of the deceased will present him a suit of new clothes and give him to wife a sister or some other relative of his former wife, the same mode is adopted with regard to the women.

W. T. said both sororate and levirate if the relatives of the deceased insisted, but not otherwise.

158. Following divorce children stay with mother

586 CAPTAIN CHIPPS—If they have children, the parent to whom they are most attached takes and provides for them—there is no equal division of children.

W. L.—Children might stay with mother although father often kept boys.

165. Illegitimate children injurious to reputation of mother

848 CAPTAIN PIPE—So far as regards the reputation of women who have children without being married it is affected much as that of the whites. They secure to themselves a good deal of contempt and worthless fellows for their husbands.

168. Proportion of married women without children

842 ZEISBERGER, CAPTAIN CHIPPS, J. W., and E. R. all said the proportion of women without children was unknown. HECKE-

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

WELDER and JOHN JOHNSTON said that the proportion was rather more than among the whites, the former attributing the cause to the introduction of liquor.

W. T. denied that there were any sterile Indian women. W. L. said that he knew of two cases.

169. Number of Children

ZEISBERGER gave the usual number of children as 4 to 6 in one place, whereas in another he said 8 to 12.

HECKEWELDER said that generally there were 4 to 5 children in a family, while some families had 6 to 9, and a few had as many as thirteen.

173 and 174. Age of marriage

VAN DER DONCK said that both men and women commonly got married only when they were fit to do so.

DEATH AND ITS INCIDENTS

The following accounts touch on so many points not treated by the others or each other that they are given here in their entirety.

CAPTAIN PIPE—As soon as life leaves the body some distant relative of the deceased takes upon himself the charge of paying the last offices. Two men and two women, not related, are employed in washing and dressing the body, (now in a white cloth; anciently in a newly dressed skin,) which is laid upon a kind of platform where it is kept one day previous to the interment. This time was formerly three days in summer and seven days in winter, because they supposed that the tutelar deity of the deceased might restore them to life; but at this day they seem to have little faith and are apparently anxious to get the corpse out of sight as soon as decency will permit. The two male attendants prepare a coffin in which they place the body, and it is borne by them to the grave, preceded by the relatives and succeeded by the more distant friends. The grave is dug about three feet deep and the coffin is covered with earth as among the whites. Before they knew the use of boards the grave was lined with bark and the body pro-

l:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

cat, kitten and little chicken. Parents make presents to their children, and they in return to their parents. A father will sometimes ask his wife or one of his children for the loan of his horse to go out a hunting. For a litter of kittens or brood of chickens, there are often as many different owners as there are individual animals. In purchasing a hen with her brood, one frequently has to deal for it with several children. Thus, while the principle of community of goods prevails in the state, the rights of property are acknowledged among the members of a family. This is attended with a very good effect; for by this means every living creature is properly taken care of. It also promotes liberality among the children, which becomes a habit with them by the time they are grown up.

An Indian loves to see his wife well clothed, which is a proof that he is fond of her; at least, it is so considered. While his wife is bartering the skins and peltry he has taken in his hunt, he will seat himself at some distance, to observe her choice, and how she and the traders agree together. When she finds an article which she thinks will suit or please her husband, she never fails to purchase it for him; she tells him that it is *her* choice, and he is never dissatisfied.

The more a man does for his wife, the more he is esteemed, particularly by the women, who will say: "This man surely loves his wife." Some men at their leisure hours make bowls and ladles, which, when finished, are at their wives' disposal.

If a sick or pregnant woman longs for any article of food, be it what it may, and however difficult to be procured, the husband immediately sets out to endeavour to get it. I have known a man to go forty or fifty miles for a mess of cranberries to satisfy his wife's longing. In the year 1762, I was witness to a remarkable instance of the disposition of Indians to indulge their wives. There was a famine in the land, and a sick Indian woman ex-

l:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

pressed a great desire for a mess of Indian corn. Her husband having heard that a trader at Lower Sandusky had a little, set off on horseback for that place, one hundred miles distant, and returned with as much corn as filled the crown of his hat, for which he gave his horse in exchange, and came home on foot, bringing his saddle back with him. Squirrels, ducks, and other like delicacies, when most difficult to be obtained, are what women in the first stage of their pregnancy generally long for. The husband in every such case will go out and spare no pains nor trouble until he has procured what is wanted.

In other cases, the men and their wives do not in general trouble themselves with each other's business; but the wife, knowing that the father is very fond of his children, is always prepared to tell him some diverting anecdote of one or the other of them, especially if he has been absent for some time.

It very seldom happens that a man condescends to quarrel with his wife, or abuse her, though she has given him just cause. In such a case the man, without replying, or saying a single word, will take his gun and go into the woods, and remain there a week or perhaps a fortnight, living on the meat he has killed, before he returns home again; well knowing that he cannot inflict a greater punishment on his wife for her conduct to him than by absenting himself for a while; for she is not only kept in suspense, uncertain whether he will return again, but is soon reported as a bad and quarrelsome woman; for, as on those occasions, the man does not tell his wife on what day or at what time he will be back again, which he otherwise, when they are on good terms, never neglects to do, she is at once put to shame by her neighbours, who soon suspecting something, do not fail to put such questions to her, as she either cannot, or is ashamed to answer. When he at length does return, she endeavours to let him see by her attentions, that she has

III. DELAWARE SOCIOLOGY

As is true of all people on a comparable technological level, Delaware social organization was based upon ties of kinship. Or to put it another way, the organization by which the technology was operated and the ways in which individuals behaved toward one another were regulated and determined by ties of relationship. But "the records of departed civilizations, archeological and documentary, are relatively rich in evidences as to technology, economics, religion, and government but poor in information as to rules of descent, kinship terminology, and other aspects of social organization."[1] This general condition is true of early Delaware culture, but if reliance is placed upon Murdock's suggestions, it is possible to move from the documentarily known to the deductive probable and to reconstruct with some success the early kinship structure.

Life Cycle

Pregnancy and Birth

Marital abstinence was practiced during pregnancy.[2] Heckewelder stated that husbands were solicitous of the whims of their wives during pregnancy, citing a case in which a man traveled at least forty miles to obtain cranberries with which "to satisfy his wife's longings."[3] During pregnancy meat was not touched with the hands, but was eaten with a stick.[4] One of my informants (J.T.) said that bird and animal livers could not be eaten during pregnancy. This may well be a vestige of the early taboo on meat. According to Harrington's Munsi informants:

> The husband of an expectant mother was often accompanied on his hunting trips by the spirit of the unborn child, whose romping and playing about the bushes, invisible to mortal eye, would nevertheless frighten away the deer and send the hunter home empty-handed. To prevent this a little bow and arrow were made and attached to the prospective father's garments, in the hope that the little spirit would play with them and stay quietly with his parent. Should this precaution fail, the child was thought to be a girl, and a little corn mortar and pestle were substituted. . . .[5]

Birth, which was reported to be easy,[6] seems to have taken place away from the village, either in a menstrual hut or simply out of doors. Mary Jemison (a white captive of the eighteenth century, married at one time

[1] Murdock, 1949, p. 323.
[2] Thomas, 1912, p. 335; Penn, 1912, p. 232; Holm, 1834, p. 128.
[3] Heckewelder, 1881, p. 159.
[4] Holm, 1834, p. 128.
[5] Harrington, 1913, p. 212.
[6] Holm, 1834, p. 128.

The Dog as a Vicar of Children

231 751 854 Upon the birth of a Delaware child, it was given a pet [16] to serve as the guardian of its health. If there was sickness about, the Delaware believed that it would be visited upon the dog instead of its little master. The animal was thought to say, "I am only a dog, the child is more precious." A small bag containing charcoal was tied around the pet animal's neck by the child's parents. Frequently they would talk to the dog. If the animal died, it was buried and the child given another pet. However, if the child fell sick and died, a release ceremony was performed [17] by placing a string of wampum about its neck, thus freeing the animal.[18]

Notes on Pregnancy and Child-birth

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844 The woman is usually attended by a midwife who is given gifts of calico, tobacco, etc., from the woman's husband. To women over thirty years of age, a special medicine is given to shorten the period of labor.[19] The delivery is made in a kneeling position. Immediately after, a tea made from "pleurisy root" is administered. The navel cord is cut off about one and a half inches from the body. A piece of lead about two inches in diameter is bound to the body over the navel by a cloth. This bandage is kept in place until healing is complete, to avoid protrusion of the navel.

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302 also considered a mark of beauty (Lindstrom, pp. 193, 194, and 196; Pastorius, 1698, p. 433).

The Delaware women had the distinctive custom of wearing their hair in a large bun at the back rather than in braids. Men plucked all body hair and that of the head except for one tuft which was allowed to grow long (Smith, p. 137; Harrington, 1913, p. 220; Pastorius, 1700, p. 384; Lindstrom, pp. 195 and 200). Men were
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[862] and hunting, and girls were taught the household duties including the care of the younger children.

III. DELAWARE SOCIOLOGY

As is true of all people on a comparable technological level, Delaware social organization was based upon ties of kinship. Or to put it another way, the organization by which the technology was operated and the ways in which individuals behaved toward one another were regulated and determined by ties of relationship. But "the records of departed civilizations, archeological and documentary, are relatively rich in evidences as to technology, economics, religion, and government but poor in information as to rules of descent, kinship terminology, and other aspects of social organization."[1] This general condition is true of early Delaware culture, but if reliance is placed upon Murdock's suggestions, it is possible to move from the documentarily known to the deductive probable and to reconstruct with some success the early kinship structure.

Life Cycle

Pregnancy and Birth

Marital abstinence was practiced during pregnancy.[2] Heckewelder stated that husbands were solicitous of the whims of their wives during pregnancy, citing a case in which a man traveled at least forty miles to obtain cranberries with which "to satisfy his wife's longings."[3] During pregnancy meat was not touched with the hands, but was eaten with a stick.[4] One of my informants (J.T.) said that bird and animal livers could not be eaten during pregnancy. This may well be a vestige of the early taboo on meat. According to Harrington's Munsi informants:

> The husband of an expectant mother was often accompanied on his hunting trips by the spirit of the unborn child, whose romping and playing about the bushes, invisible to mortal eye, would nevertheless frighten away the deer and send the hunter home empty-handed. To prevent this a little bow and arrow were made and attached to the prospective father's garments, in the hope that the little spirit would play with them and stay quietly with his parent. Should this precaution fail, the child was thought to be a girl, and a little corn mortar and pestle were substituted. . . .[5]

Birth, which was reported to be easy,[6] seems to have taken place away from the village, either in a menstrual hut or simply out of doors. Mary Jemison (a white captive of the eighteenth century, married at one time

[1] Murdock, 1949, p. 323.
[2] Thomas, 1912, p. 335; Penn, 1912, p. 232; Holm, 1834, p. 126.
[3] Heckewelder, 1881, p. 159.
[4] Holm, 1834, p. 126.
[5] Harrington, 1913, p. 212.
[6] Holm, 1834, p. 126.

2;Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7

to a Delaware) gave birth in a small "shed" on a riverbank, attended by two women.[7] Informants said that old experienced women who had gone through childbirth themselves assisted in delivering a woman. Immediately after birth the infant was washed by its mother.[8] Lindestrom alone among the early sources said:

> When the savage females bear their children, they tie around their waists a snake skin of the most poisonous kind of snakes, which are found in New Sweden and are called rattlesnakes, which has such an effect that they do not know of the least pain in their child birth, and are as healthy in an hour, as if they had never been through it.[9]

Immediately after the child was washed it was placed upon a cradleboard. Lindestrom said:

> [The mother] binds it . . . with three long and broad braids, and does not place the smallest particle of clothing under or above the child. The first braid she wraps over the forehead and around the board; the second braid, right over the arms and the board; the third braid, right over the knees and the board, tying it right strongly to the board.[10]

The child was kept bound to the cradleboard most of the time, including nursing periods, until it could walk.[11] Moss was used as an agent to absorb the child's excreta.[12] If it was necessary to carry the child after the cradleboard had been discarded, he was borne on the mother's back wrapped in a blanket.[13]

Harrington was told that a newborn child was not felt to be securely in the world, and that to ensure life it was disguised from the supernatural beings by being attired in adult clothing. According to Harrington:

> . . . deerskin strings or strips of corn-husk were tied on the wrists of children so that the ghosts would think they were tied fast to the earth; and holes were cut in their little moccasins so that they could not follow the spirit trail. If the child's mother died shortly after its birth, these precautions were redoubled.[14]

The umbilical cord was specially treated; it was buried in the woods if a boy's, and near the lodge if a girl's. It was considered to be closely connected with a child's disposition, and hence if buried in the woods would ensure a boy's liking for the woods and the hunt; if buried near a lodge it would ensure the girl's attachment to womanly occupations.[15]

Naming.— Personal names were bestowed upon children or announced to the public during religious ceremonials, particularly the Big House Ceremony.[16] The meager information derived from the seventeenth-century sources indicates that these names were not given the children

[7] Jemison, 1918, p. 45.
[8] Penn, 1912, p. 231; Penn, 1882, p. 342; Holm, 1834, p. 126; O.A., M.B.
[9] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 194.
[10] *Ibid.*, p. 201.
[11] Penn, 1912, p. 231; Pastorius, 1912, p. 434; Lindestrom, 1925, p. 201; Trowbridge MS.
[12] Loskiel, 1794, p. 61.
[13] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 201.
[14] Harrington, 1913, p. 212; J.T. mentioned defacing moccasins for this purpose.
[15] Harrington, 1913, pp. 212-13.
[16] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 80; Loskiel, 1794, p. 62; Harrington, 1913, p. 213; Kinietz, 1946, p. 44; O.A., M.B.

3;Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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among the Indians as long as there were no Indian wars. Through the examples of the traders, also the Indians acquired the habit of drinking to excess. Secondly, the Indians had formerly great respect for the aged and the chiefs, from whom they learned that unfaithfulness in the marriage relationship was a great crime and that whoever was guilty of such evil would live neither long nor happily. At the present time they show little reverence to the aged and each one thinks himself to be wise in his own conceits.

The Indian women are in general of a very strong bodily constitution. There are generally clever and experienced women enough who are able to give assistance and advice in time of labor; generally, women will remain in the house at this time. Some go into the woods by themselves and bring their children to the house when they have seen the light of day. Most mothers nurse their children until they are two or more years old. During this time many husbands have concubines, though not in the house.

If it is left to the mother to give the child a name, she uses little ceremony and calls it after some peculiar mark or character in it, for instance the Beautiful, the Good Child, the Great-Eye, sometimes giving it a name of unsavory meaning. If the father gives the child a name he pretends that it has been suggested to him in a dream. The name is given at a sacrifice, on which occasion the Indian brings to some aged person, who performs the offering, a string of wampum, and tells him that he wishes ~~his~~ child's name to be named thus and so. During the sacrifice some other person sings a song in Indian fashion at a public gathering and makes known the child's name. This is called praying over the child. The same ceremony is performed when an adult person receives a name, even although he may already have been named. It is not common to call an adult by his name, for they are ashamed of their own names. If the attention of any one is to be attracted it is done in some other fashion than by the use of the name. In case of children, the names are used. In assemblies and in discourses they do not use the name of any one who is present, though absent persons are referred to by their names.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7
Iroquois NM9

Disease.	Herb.	Remarks.
Hemorrhage	Powder of puff-ball (*Lycoperdon bovista*) pulverized charcoal.	
Wounds	Washed with decoction of lichen, bass-wood or slippery elm.	Great care was given to keeping up the suppurating process and keeping wounds open.
Ulcers	*Acorus calamus* and cautery.	
Salt Rheum	*Rumex crispus* or yellow dock.	
Phlegmon	Onion poltices.	
Gonorrhoea	Various species of genus Pinus.	The balsaam used in modern remedies.
Syphilis	Local applications as for ulcers.	
Paralysis	None.	
Obstetrics:	*Sanguinaria canadensis* (blood-root) used to facilitate parturition.	

31. Stings of poisonous reptiles were treated variously by the different tribes. The Senecas used a plant called *Polygala senega;* others used *Liatris spicata, Asclepias tuberosa, Prenanthus alba, Fraxinus juglandifolia,* and many applied locally *Alisma plantago.* Scientists are today studying, for perhaps the first time, the action of various forms of venom and the appropriate remedies for each. The poison of the rattler destroys the tissues and blood-cells; that of the cobra paralyzes the nervous system. See Dr. J. T. Case, *Good Health,* June, 1909.

32. Heckewelder distinguishes between "good" and "bad" medicinemen, terming the former "physicians and surgeons" and the latter "doctors or jugglers," but states of these latter, "I am sorry that truth obliges me to confess, that in their profession they rank above the honest practitioners." One whimsical conceit of the Indian doctor which well illustrates their superstition and "science" was that the water used to concoct an emetic must be dipped from a stream *against* the current, while for a cathartic it must be dipped *with* the current. Heckewelder, suffering from a painful felon, was put at ease within half an hour by an Indian woman who applied a poultice made from the root of the common blue violet. Heckewelder, *History,* 217-225.

33. It would seem here that male practitioners were called to attend labor cases. Dr. Pitcher has asserted that, to his knowledge, only

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

844

women officiated under such circumstances, Schoolcraft *History*, Pt. IV, 515. Loskiel refers to the efficiency of female doctors in child-birth. *History*, 110.

34. These primitive Turkish baths were, unquestionably, a great means of health to this race which suffered so largely from colds. Dr. McClure, who gives an interesting description of a sweating oven on the Muskingum, asserts, however, that to pulmonary disorders and small pox, the treatment was quite fatal. *Diary*, 67.

35. The Unamis, the chief tribe of the Delawares, lived on the Tuscarawas River. [131]

36. The Unalochtgos, the tribe of second importance, lived beside the Tuscarawas.

37. The Monseys lived mostly on the Big Beaver River.

38. Orange Co., N. Y.

39. It is refreshing, in the face of so many idealistic accounts of primitive Indian life to read these blunt, plain statements of facts from Zeisberger's pen. We probably know more accurately concerning the Six Nations than of any other Indians. One of the earliest reports claims that De Nonville's soldiers in 1687 destroyed a million and a quarter bushels of corn in four Seneca villages. And yet we know that the eating of children in time of utter famine was known among the Senecas — Cadwallader Colden, *History of the Five Indian Nations* (1755) II, 8. If such destitution could exist in a region exceedingly well watered and fertile, what of Indians not so fortunately placed?

40. Bracket fungus.

41. Remains of the Mound-building Indians. These were found on the site of at least one of the Moravian Mission towns, Lichtenau. De Schweinitz, *Life of Zeisberger*, 433, 436 *Note*.

42. Unquestionably a European idea; no mounds in the Middle West were high enough to serve the purpose of rolling blocks or stones. The greater part of the mounds so far opened prove to have been raised over charnel houses after the latter had been filled with bodies.

43. These facts concerning the wooden wampum and the substitute for wampum are of utmost interest.

44. Allegheny River.

45. Neville's Island? This is clearly, the Delaware tradition.

46. Tennessee River, commonly known in early days as the Cherokee River. See A. B. Hulbert's, "Washington's Tour to the Ohio," *Ohio State Arch. and Hist. Quart.* XVII, (Oct. 1908), 484.

46½. At the Treaty of Fort Stanwix?

47. Here begins Zeisberger's version of the legend of the conquest of the Iroquois over the Delawares, one of the famous Indian legends. It is possible that this Zeisberger account is the original English (German) version upon which so many versions have been based. Heckewelder (*History* 11) referring to the source of his information. 114

nature of the disease. The flesh of animals and fowl is excluded from the diet and in the case of fever, red or fox squirrel flesh is not eaten. This food taboo is known to the Delaware by a native word meaning "makes you sick." Corn hominy, however, is administered in most cases, as it is considered to be a nourishing food.

In the case of childbirth, salt is not eaten for ten days. Onions are given the mother to produce milk, but care must be taken not to use a quantity such as to cause nausea for the child and mother.

During the catamenial period a woman is not allowed to prepared food nor taken an active part in domestic affairs.[33] The separate dishes assigned to her at that time, may only be used by her husband. Food cooked by such a woman would produce tuberculosis in others in a short time. A term translated as "gives dirty food," is applied to such a practice and refers to the resultant poisonous effects. During her periodic isolation a woman herbalist must refrain from preparing remedies or participating in any of the ceremonies.

Divinatory Curing Practices

Certain acts of a divinatory nature are performed upon selection and preparation of plants, roots, and bark employed in making medicine. Only plants that are clean and well developed, with the roots free from knotty growths, are taken. When seeking bark, the medicine gatherer selects a sturdy, well-formed tree for the purpose. The bark growing on the east side of a tree is preferred for its greater strength-giving properties received from the morning sun.

In gathering medicinal supplies, the materials are inspected for a clue as to the course of the treatment. Thus, if roots appear rough and knotty, the patient will be difficult to cure; if clean and well-formed, it will be an easy task to restore his health. Another practice is to place some crushed leaves or roots in running water. If the substance sinks to the bottom of the stream, the patient for whom it is prepared, will die; if it floats, a speedy recovery is assured.

When all other remedies have failed, an emergency medicine is sometimes made from scrapings of deer antler. During its preparation a prayer is offered to the animal from which the antler was obtained. Wi·tapanóxwe related an incident in which a trial was made by means

[33] The puberty ceremony for young girls and the periodic isolation of women is described by Zeisberger, *ibid*, pp. 73-77.

4:Tantaquidgeon E-5 (1930) 1942
NM7 Delaware NM7

The Dog as a Vicar of Children

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7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

construct likenesses of the human figure. This belief is illus- 778
trated in the rite of the Doll Dance. When figures of corn-
husk are to be made they should be made by a person born
in summer, the season of growing corn, such an individual
being known as *si·'kwan mi·'mqs*, "spring child." Persons, 778
however, who are born in winter may make toys in the image 821
of the emblem of their ceremonial group, though to do so is
apt to bring on cold weather. It is believed that such action
is apt to anger the spirit controlling the winter, namely,
Lowane'ke's, "Winter Spirit." As an example of the opera-
tion of privilege and restriction in such matters we have the
case of a person of the Turkey group born in winter, who
could make the image of a turkey, chicken, duck or goose
out of cornstalks or cornhusks decorating it in correspondence
with its nature as a bird by attaching feathers to it. This
may be suspended in the dwelling by means of a string so
that the wind will blow the image about. Those who observe
it would remark, "Oh, you are trying to break the weather."
In short, those born in summer can only exert influence [844]
through the making of images upon the creatures of the
summer, for winter-born persons to make them is pernicious.

DICE AND BOWL GAME

Mama'n'di·n, "Gathering Dice Together." — Another 525
amusement which among the Delawares took on the sig-
nificance of a minor ceremony, was the game in which a
wooden bowl and seven dice cut out of bone, mussel shells
or peach seeds to produce outlines of turtles, horses' heads,
one side in natural color, the other stained black, and
other forms not well remembered as to detail. For some
reason the Delawares have abandoned this pastime, although
it has continued strongly among tribes whose native culture
has become more thoroughly disintegrated. Even the details
of the counting have been forgotten. Men and women in-
dulged in the Dice and Bowl game for the purpose of wagering,
the stakes being placed at one side before the opening of the
game. The players sat in a circle around the bowl which
rested on a folded blanket, each taking his turn by lifting the
bowl off the blanket and bringing it down violently to cause

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

525 money, or as a minor stake the penalty is to cut wood for the owner of the house where it is played or for the winner, or to go on an errand, or to butcher a hog for him the next day, as the case may be.

[8+4 777 821] This game has its limitations of performance inasmuch as it is proper only for those born in winter to engage in it and it is only played in the winter time, with the result that it brings on storms of sleet and blizzards. For these preferences to be violated would bring on bad luck.

The markings on the straws valued from 5 to 75, are indicated in the accompanying sketch.

7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

of his masters. Two young men take him into a canoe, 727
seizing him by the wrists, plunging him over head and ears 783
under the water and holding him down until he was almost smothered before letting him get breath. After repeating this treatment several times they took him out, dressed him in a ruffed shirt, shaved his head, provided him with a "roach," painted him, and told him he was then an Indian. Later his Indian "uncle" would waken him at daylight and make him sit down in the creek up to his chin. This was to make him hardy. He was, moreover, not allowed to go near the fire until he became dry.[7]

They followed the habit of securing a prosperous future 834
for the young hunter by placing his umbilicus in the tracks 789
of a deer, a magical observance based on a widespread native concept of spiritual sympathy. Again, the umbilicus would be placed in the water to cause the growing youth to acquire power as a swimmer.

THE CONSANGUINITY OF TRIBES

The Delawares, like other eastern peoples,[8] consider them- 619
selves to stand in certain genealogical relationships with 648
neighboring tribes, as though they all constituted a great family,—some members older, some younger, lineal and collateral, and some in between as respects age and maturity. These relationships function in ceremonial gatherings wherein other tribes are concerned, and they are accepted without dispute among themselves. In the older accounts much stress was laid upon this feature of native life, and it seemed to form an important consideration in treaty negotiations that took place among the eastern and central tribes, giving precedence in authority to certain ones over others. From various sources we learn that the Delawares held a position of seniority among them. This fact may develop into one of some value in coördinating the position of the different groups and perhaps in throwing light on the historical sequence

[7] Loudon, *op. cit.*, pp. 260–261.

[8] The Wabanaki peoples, for instance, entertain a similar concept of tribal consanquinity, in which system they consider the Ottawa to be their grandfathers and among themselves the Micmac as their younger brothers (F. G. Speck, The Eastern Algonkian Confederacy, American Anthropologist, vol. 17, no. 3, 1915, pp. 490, 505).

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
NM7 Delaware NM7

585 a period of about that length is designated, dur-
292 ing which she must go the whole time in her bridal
308 attire, completely covered with their money, strung into the form of all kinds of figures, with which the ears, the arms and the body, down to the knees, are ornamented; with oiled hair, and face painted with all kinds of colors like a fearful scare-crow face.[4] Then she is decorated in the very best manner according to their views. Now when this said period is over then there is an end to their bridal ceremony.

824 When the savage females bear their children,
825 they tie around their waists a snake skin of the most poisonous kind of snakes, which are found in New Sweden and are called rattlesnakes, which has such an effect that they do not know of the least pain in their child birth, and are as healthy in an hour, as if they had never been through it.[5]

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[4] *Skrâdbukansichte (Skrâpukansigte)*, mask, scarecrow. 'The Indians carry small bags of paint with them, keeping the colors separate as red, blue, green, brown, white, black, yellow. They esteem brilliant colors most, which shine like pure metal.' Van der Donck, *N. Y. Col.*, 2, I, 161–2, 163–4; cf. also, *N. Y. Col.*, 2, II, 289, De Vries, *N. Y. Col.*, 2, III, 106.

[5] It is the opinion of some medical men that the reports about the easy childbirth of primitive women are more or less fictitious; but that is probably not the case. Dr. Mjöberg, a Swedish explorer, relates that he saw women who bore children on the march and continued their journey without interruption.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

The only idol which the Indians have, and which may properly be called an idol, is their *Wsinkhoalican*, that is image. It is an image cut in wood, representing a human head, in miniature, which they always carry about them either on a string around their neck or in a bag. They often bring offerings to it. In their houses of sacrifice they have a head of this idol as large as life put upon a pole in the middle of the room.

Their ornaments are partly round shields and half moons of silver, partly the same forms made in wampum. These are usually worn upon the breast for adornment. They also have great belts of wampum made of the violet, not the white, wampum. Men as well as women wear silver crosses upon the breast and in the ears which custom comes from the French. The *Wsinkhoalican* they like also to hang about their children to preserve them from illness and insure them success.

They are very fond of white children. Hence Indian women run after white men and, when they have white children, make much of them, although they do not like the white people. Twins are regarded as particularly fortunate, being looked upon as favored people who have a great spirit.

Their language resembles various other languages, some more, some less. When one remembers how near or how far they have lived from one another it will appear that the differences in the languages have come about through the separation of the peoples and the little contact they have had with one another.

The Unami and the Wunalachtico both lived along the sea in Pennsylvania and in Jersey, a short distance from one another. Their languages differ very little. That of the Monsys[366] who lived on the other side of the Blue Mountains in Minnissink is very different from these, so that had they not dwelt nearer together and been in constant contact in recent times they would hardly understand each other. Yet the speech of each of these peoples is but a dialect of one and the same language. The language of the Mahikanders[367] bears much resemblance to that of the Monsys, the former having lived in New York and the Woapeno not far from them in New England. The language of the Nantikoks, formerly residing on the seacoast in Maryland, very much resembles the Delaware, differing only in pronunciation

The Dog as a Vicar of Children

231 751 854 Upon the birth of a Delaware child, it was given a pet [16] to serve as the guardian of its health. If there was sickness about, the Delaware believed that it would be visited upon the dog instead of its little master. The animal was thought to say, "I am only a dog, the child is more precious." A small bag containing charcoal was tied around the pet animal's neck by the child's parents. Frequently they would talk to the dog. If the animal died, it was buried and the child given another pet. However, if the child fell sick and died, a release ceremony was performed [17] by placing a string of wampum about its neck, thus freeing the animal.[18]

Notes on Pregnancy and Child-birth

843 262 784 The prospective mother is advised to eat sparingly. Sour foods should not be eaten during the final stage of pregnancy as they are believed to cause contraction of the muscles. Onions and cabbage are also excluded from the diet. Salt is forbidden both before and after pregnancy, as it is thought to stop the flow of blood. Lifting heavy objects should be avoided during pregnancy and for a period of a month after delivery. A pregnant woman should not gaze at a deformed person or make fun of him, as it might affect her child. Care is also taken to avoid being frightened by dogs and other animals.

844 The woman is usually attended by a midwife who is given gifts of calico, tobacco, etc., from the woman's husband. To women over thirty years of age, a special medicine is given to shorten the period of labor.[19] The delivery is made in a kneeling position. Immediately after, a tea made from "pleurisy root" is administered. The navel cord is cut off about one and a half inches from the body. A piece of lead about two inches in diameter is bound to the body over the navel by a cloth. This bandage is kept in place until healing is complete, to avoid protrusion of the navel.

● 845 In case of still-birth, special treatment is given the mother. Still-birth is believed due to the child being hurt. "The child-killing sickness of women is hard to overcome." Twins are believed to have been con-

[16] Known by a term meaning "pet given child."

[17] See also p. 67 for release of a bear.

[18] As dictated by Wi-tapanôxwe.

[19] "The women know of certain medicines," according to Zeisberger *(op. cit.*, p. 56), "which usually act quickly in case of hard labor, which sometimes occurs, though not frequently."

nected within the womb. If one is hurt, the other will feel it even though they are separated by many miles. A child whose mother died during its birth, must not be allowed to cry. Someone must try to comfort it so that the spirit of the dead mother may not injure, or even kill the foster parent.

Birthmarks are an indication that both parents have experienced difficulties with other people. During his youth one man conversed with a dead person in a vision. The skeleton said to him, "You should know me by the mark on your children. You will know more when they are born." All of his children (boys) had a characteristic pecularity about the eyes, lacking control of the lids so that during the day they blinked constantly. Sometimes a birthmark in the shape of a leaf or berry appears on the child. This is attributed to a dream by the mother. The fruit means good luck and long life. A mark formed like a reptile is considered an evil omen.

While nursing the child, the mother must refrain from intercourse with any man other than her husband so that the infant may not have diarrhea.

A few notes were obtained on the treatment of the hair and teeth of children.

When a child's hair is cut, it is left in some out-of-the-way place.[20] It was believed that if the birds used it in building their nests, the child would suffer from headaches. If the remains were burnt, it would cause the hair to become brittle.[21]

During the teething period, a little bag containing finely crushed charcoal is hung about the child's neck. The latter chews upon it to ease his aching gums. A loose milk tooth is pulled out by means of a string, its removal allowing the permanent tooth to grow in straight. The extracted tooth is taken outdoors by the child and thrown in the direction of the east, with the words "My tooth I place down here. I know when you return I will feed you white beans."

A child's nails are trimmed with a knife or scissors. Care is taken not to lose any of the nail trimmings, which are carried into the woods and left upon a stump. At the same time the following words are addressed to the Owl: "Grandpa, I now give you these, your grandchild's nails, to make frames for your eyes."

[20] This and the following paragraph were recorded by Eugene Golomshtok, University of Pennsylvania, 1930.

[21] In adult life gray hair, an indication of longevity, is not pulled out. Its removal would be displeasing to the Creator as a lack of respect for the aged.

+ = element present
− = element denied
(+) or (−) = source ambiguous
• = informant could not or would not say
s = some, sometimes, or several
† or * = see Ethnographic Notes, pp. 79-137 for additional information

	Williams	Van der Donck	Lindeström	Zeisberger	Heckewelder	Johnston	Pipe	Chipps	J. W.	W. T.	E. R.	W. L.
575												858
585												816
584												454
651												362
846												156
848												524
855												155
						15-					16-	20-
					20+	25		20	25	25	17+	22
113. Parents exercise any control over mature children						+	+	+	+	+	*+	*+
114. Age children are expected to maintain themselves						25	•	•	−	•	•	•
115. Child given daily bath †		+				+	+	+	+	+	+	+
116. Cradle used	+	(−)	+	+		+	+	+	−	+	+	*+
117. Consists of board	+		+	+		+	+	+		•	•	+
118. with cushion			−			+	+	+		•	•	+
119. with hoop over head			+			+	•	•		•	•	+
120. hoop decorated						+	•	•			•	+
121. Cradle put in hammock						•	+	•			+	+
122. Boys and girls treated with equal care and affection						+	+	+	+	+	s	+
123. Any difference in treatment of legitimate and illegitimate	(−)	−				−	−	−	•	*	−	−
124. Mother takes care of illegitimate	+	+				+	+	•	+	•	+	+
125. Father not compelled to contribute but may do so						+	+	•	+	•	+	+
126. Birth of twins frequent	+			−		−	+	−	+	+	−	+
127. Number of instances of triplets						0	1	1	0	0	0	0
128. Are parental feelings strong	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
129. Are filial feelings strong	−			+	+	s	+	+	+	+	+	+
130. Do they (126 and 129) continue through life				+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Marriage and its incidents												
131. Courtship				−	−	−	−	*(+)	−	−	•	−
132. Marriage arranged by parents	(+)	+	−	s	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+
133. Consent of either party asked	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	+
134. Any ceremony of marriage †		+	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+
135. Presents for bride	(+)	+		+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+
136. Presents for family of bride	(+)					+	+	•	+	−	−	−
137. Presents exchanged				+	+	•	−	•	−	−	−	−
138. Time served by boy						−	−	−	•		−	−
139. Polygamy common †‡	−	−		−								
140. Only rich or chiefs have more than one		+		+*		+	+	+			+	+

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

784 825 JOHN JOHNSTON—Their principal reason is that the snake is such a malicious and spiteful animal that if they should kill them the rest would know it and would bite them.

CAPTAIN CHIPPS—They sometimes avoid killing snakes, on a march, because they say, "that if they kill one, the rest will be madder."

J. W.—Snakes were not killed unless necessary—"don't kill for nothing." Besides could tell good from bad snakes.

E. R. said that there were no rules against the killing of snakes and that he feared no retribution.

BIRTH AND ITS INCIDENTS

89. Naming of child

553 [796] CAPTAIN PIPE—Children are named at one of the grand worshiping councils, and as opportunities do not occur regularly, there is no particular age at which they are formerly [*sic.* formally?] named. (Children at times do not receive their names until they are quite large, at others while they are infants.) The child when about to be named is taken to the assembly and there presented to one of the old men (who is an orator and) of the same tribe with the father, together with a fathom of wampum for his services. This old man taking the child by the hand, rises and proclaims aloud his name, requesting all who hear him to [776] recollect. He then proffers a short prayer to the Great spirit in supplication for his blessing on the child during life; after which it is returned to its parents.

[846] CAPTAIN CHIPPS—There are no christenings—or ceremonies at the birth of their children. After the birth, a year or two, 851 sometimes less, the child is taken into council, and named. The 553 father names and the preacher announces the name to the assembly in a speech of some length—in which, he congratulates the parents of the child—hopes the child may become a good boy and "prays to God" to make him a good man, a good hunter and a good warrior.

J. W.—Has never seen or heard of naming in Big House. Parents take child to grandparents, either side. They give him

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

converted for thirty years and had always led a regular life, and who had thirteen children. Others had from six to nine. In general, however, the Indians seldom have more than four or five children.

The Indian children, generally, continue two years at the breast, and there are instances of their sucking during four years. Mothers are very apt to indulge their last child, children in this respect enjoy the same privilege alike.

I have never heard of any nation or tribe of Indians who destroyed their children, when distorted or deformed, whether they were so born or came to be so afterwards. I have on the contrary seen very particular care taken of such children. Nor have I ever been acquainted with any Indians that made use of artificial means to compress or alter the natural shape of the heads of their children, as some travellers have, I believe, pretended.

The disorders to which the Indians are most commonly subjected are pulmonary consumptions, fluxes, fevers and severe rheumatisms, all proceeding probably from the kind of life they lead, the hardships they undergo, and the nature of the food that they take. Intermitting and bilious fevers set in among them regularly in the autumn, when their towns are situated near marshy grounds or ponds of stagnant water, and many die in consequence of them. I have observed that these fevers generally make their first appearance in the season of the wild plum, a fruit that the Indians are particularly fond of. Sometimes also after a famine or long suffering for want of food, when they generally make too free an use of green maize, squashes and other watery vegetables. They are also subject to a disease which they call the *yellow vomit*, which, at times, carries off many of them. They generally die of this disease on the second or third day after the first attack.

Their old men are very subject to rheumatisms in the back and knees; I have known them at the age of 50 or

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7

take baths in streams, even if the water was covered with ice.[37] Trowbridge said "they believe it of the utmost consequence to their children to subject them to hardship in their infancy and youth."[38] If children were orphaned "the maternal grandfather or mother is bound by custom to take the children under protection; but if they also be dead the children are adopted by such relatives or friends as may be inclined to take charge of them."[39] Children born out of wedlock were normally cared for by the mother, but the father might contribute to their support. No stigma attached to illegitimacy.[40]

Puberty: boys.— The vision quest of the young boy was the climax of the more formal aspects of the educational system and served to usher the boy over the threshold into adult life. When a boy was about ten years old,[41] or when his voice began to change (N.D.), he began what can best be called a series of ordeals:

> [A boy] is put under an alternate course of physic and fasting, either taking no food whatever, or swallowing the most powerful and nauseous medicines, and occasionally he is made to drink decoctions of an intoxicating nature, until his mind becomes sufficiently bewildered, so that he sees or fancies that he sees visions, and has extraordinary dreams, for which, of course, he has been prepared beforehand.[42]

Parents insulted their sons, N.D. added, telling them that they were no good and that they should go out and "die." Boys were shamed, ridiculed, insulted, and all but physically driven from the village. It was felt that a humbled, miserable boy had a better opportunity to induce the supernatural spirits to feel sorry for him, and so reveal themselves to him and provide him with a supernatural guardian. Boys inevitably went into a lonely exile filled with despair at their own inadequacy and in the desperate hope of obtaining a supernatural being's assistance in a hostile world. If the vision quest produced a guardian spirit, a boy was restored to the good graces of the community, acquired a good deal of self-confidence, and the course of his life was known. Future occupations, for instance, were decided by these visions, whether a boy was to be a warrior, shaman, or something else.[43] Not all boys, however, were successful in the vision quest. Women frequently had visions, although they were not consciously solicited.[44]

Puberty: girls.— When a girl menstruated for the first time she was secluded in a hut.[45] Zeisberger said of the Munsis:

> ...being the more strict and having more ceremonies in the observance of the custom than the Miamis. They build for such a girl, a separate hut, apart from the rest, where her mother or some old female acquaintance cares for her

[37] Penn, 1912, p. 231; Pastorius, 1912, p. 434; Trowbridge MS; J.T., N.D., O.A.
[38] Trowbridge MS.
[39] *Ibid.*
[40] *Ibid.*
[41] Harrington, 1913, p. 214.
[42] Heckewelder, 1881, p. 245.
[43] *Ibid.*, pp. 245-47. See Chap. IV for a discussion of the supernatural beings encountered in visions.
[44] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 132; N.D.
[45] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 77; Beatty, 1798, pp. 84-85; Loskiel, 1794, p. 56; N.D., O.A.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

668 794 God. Thus it appeared that through him Satan endeavored to rob the gospel of its power over the Indians.

As long as the preachers did not proclaim things evidently untrue they were held in great regard and had a considerable following withersoever they went, for they never remained long in one place, else their deception would have been revealed the sooner. They still preached in Gekelemukpechünk [304] when the Moravians came to the Muskingum. Soon thereafter they began to be too coarse, seeking to establish their teaching in opposition to the gospel. This brought about the end of their influence. One has since heard little of them and the most have died. For at the last they preached that whoever would believe in them and follow their direction would be happy in the chase and in all other undertakings, would be able to cross sea and land, would reap plenteous harvests even though little had been planted. The Indians who trusted in them soon saw that they had been deceived and that they had been brought to starvation by the treacherous preachers. Then the power of the latter was at an end.

782 796 Worship and sacrifices have obtained among them from the earliest times, being usages handed down from their ancestors. Though in the detail of ceremony there has been change, as the Indians are more divided now than at that time, worship and sacrifice have continued as practiced in the early days, for the Indians believe that they would draw all manner of disease and misfortune upon themselves if they omitted to observe the ancestral rites.

[848 600] In the matter of sacrifice, relationship, even though distant, is of significance, legitimate or illegitimate relationship being regarded without distinction. A sacrifice is offered by a family, with its entire relationship, once in two years. Others, even the inhabitants of other towns, are invited. Such sacrifices are commonly held in autumn, rarely in winter. As their connections are large, each Indian will have opportunity to attend more than one family sacrifice a year. The head of the family knows the time and he must provide for everything. When the head of such a family is converted, he gets into difficulty because his

+ = element present
− = element denied
(+) or (−) = source ambiguous
* = informant could not or would not say
S = some, sometimes, or several
† or * = see Ethnographic Notes, pp. 79-137 for additional information

	Williams	Van der Donck	Lindeström	Zeisberger	Heckewelder	Johnston 595	Pipe 585	Chipps 584	J. W. 851	W. T. 848	E. R. 562	W. L. 858	852	854	816	858
Birth and its incidents—Continued																
113. Parents exercise any control over mature children						+	+	+	+	+	*+	*+				
114. Age children are expected to maintain themselves					20+	15-25		20	25	25	16-17+	20-22				
115. Child given daily bath †		+				+	·	·	+	+	+	+				
116. Cradle used	+	(−)	+	+		+	+	+	−	+	+	*+				
117. Consists of board	+		+	+		+	+	+		+	·	+				
118. with cushion			−			+	+	+		·	·	+				
119. with hoop over head			+			+	+	+		·	·	+				
120. hoop decorated						+	·	·		·	·	+				
121. Cradle put in hammock						·	+	·			+	+				
122. Boys and girls treated with equal care and affection						+	+	+	+	+	s	+				
123. Any difference in treatment of legitimate and illegitimate	(−)	−				−	−	−	·	*−	−	−				
124. Mother takes care of illegitimate	+	+				+	+	+	+	·	+	+				
125. Father not compelled to contribute but may do so						+	+	·	+	·	−	+				
126. Birth of twins frequent	+			−		−	+	−	+	+	o	+				
127. Number of instances of triplets						o	1	1	o	o	o	o				
128. Are parental feelings strong	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
129. Are filial feelings strong	−			+	+	s	+	+	+	+	+	+				
130. Do they (128 and 129) continue through life				+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
Marriage and its incidents																
131. Courtship				−	−	−	−	*(+)	−	−	*−	−				
132. Marriage arranged by parents	(+)	+	−	s	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+				
133. Consent of either party asked	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−				
134. Any ceremony of marriage †		+	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+				
135. Presents for bride	(+)	+		+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
136. Presents for family of bride	(+)					+	+	+	+	+	−	−				
137. Presents exchanged				+	+	·	−	·	−	−	−	−				
138. Time served by boy									·	−						
139. Polygamy common †	−	−		−		−	−	−		−	−	−				
140. Only rich or chiefs have more than one		+		+		+	+	+			+	+				

141.	Any superiority among wives				+	+	−			+	−		
142.	strongest				+								
143.	oldest									+			
144.	youngest					+							
145.	Polyandry				−	−				−	−		
146.	Sororate — polygynous				+	+	−			−	−		
147.	Sororate — successive				+	+	−			+	+		
148.	Sororate — obligatory				*+	−				*+	−		
149.	Marriage of man to woman and daughter				+	+				−	−		
150.	Adultery criminal in the woman	+	+		+	+	+	−	−	+	•		
151.	Equally so in the man		+		+	+	•	•		+	•		
152.	Punished only by separation	+	−	(−)	+	+	•	+	(+)	+	+		
153.	Divorce on grounds of infidelity	+	+		+	+	•	+	+	+	+		
154.	Without any particular cause	+	+		+	+	+	+	−	+	+		
155.	May be limited by husband		+		+	+	+	+		+	+		
156.	by wife		+		+	+	+	+		+	−		
157.	Women seldom get divorce				+	+	+	+					
158.	Children stay with mother until able to choose for themselves		+		+	+	•	+		+	*+		
159.	Marriage with near relatives prohibited to very remote degree of relationship					+	+						
160.	to any known degree				+	+	+	+		+	+		
161.	Cohabitation without marriage common		+		+	•	•	+		−	+		
162.	Do individuals live to advanced age without being married				+	+	+	+	•	+	+		
163.	Commonly				−	−	−	−	−	−	−		
164.	Common for unmarried women to have children		+		+	+	+	−	−	−	+		
165.	Injurious to their reputations		+		+	*+	+	−		−	−		
166.	Are they punished		−			−	−	+		−	−		
167.	Affect chances of marriage		−		−	−		+		+	+		
168.	Proportion of married women without children †												
169.	Average number of children in family			•	*4-5	3	•	12	12	12	4-5	8-10	
170.	Average interval between births (yrs.)					2-3	•	2	2	1	2-3	2+	
171.	Age women generally begin to bear children					16	•	16	30	21	18-20	20	
172.	Age to cease					40	•	40	50+	70	•	50	
173.	Age that men commonly get married		•	18-20		15-25	F30	20	25	25	18-21	17+ F20	
174.	Age that women commonly get married		•	14-16		•	F24	20	20	20	16-21	17+ F20	

F25 567 837 566 582 836 588 849 886 885

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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condition of the smaller population of the last century, it is more likely that the custom simply ceased to be active.

In the same way marriage of a man to a woman and her daughter, either simultaneously or successively, was probably never very common and disappeared completely in the fourth period (149). The tabulated information shows a complete break between the sources and the informants. As the latter simply deny knowing of any such cases, now or in the past, and have no knowledge of any rule prohibiting such marriages, lack of opportunity is probably as much responsible as any change in viewpoint.

Divorce and allied considerations apparently have undergone little change in recent years from the point of view of the Delaware even with the superimposition of the legal code of the whites (153-58). W. T. in his very idealistic view of Delaware customs said children were brought up to mind their parents and that this behavior continued through life. Hence, in marriage a boy and girl had no choice but to do what parents decided. A girl then could not leave her husband because her parents had given her to the man in exchange for presents. He implied that the husband was not bound quite as much to continue a distasteful marriage, and, also, that after the death of the parents the girl could act more according to choice. E. R. and W. L. said that women seldom obtained a divorce, but according to J. W., whose son was recently divorced, the woman was chivalrously allowed to do the divorcing even if the husband was the wronged party. In his son's case the Delaware customs were observed as well as the legal steps. The wife had been running around with other men and drinking. After several of her protracted absences from home, Fred decided upon a divorce. He waited until she came home, asked her to pack up her belongings, and then took them and her to her father's home. Her father was already acquainted with the circumstances, but Fred repeated them and announced that he was through with her. Then he instituted legal action but both families already considered the divorce to be in effect.

Information on the two elements, cohabitation without marriage and children born out of wedlock (161 and 164), follows

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

588 848 the same pattern: uniformity of affirmation among the sources and denial by all the informants except W. L. The remarks of W. L. show rather conclusively that the extension of the legal code of the whites over the Indians was largely responsible for this fourth-period change. He said that these elements were common "before the law came and then the women got mean and objected when their husbands went to see other girls." The changes indicated in the reputations of unmarried mothers and their chances of marriage (165, 167) are, of course, related to each other and derive from white contact.

582 The age of marriage was formerly much older, according to both Captain Pipe and W. L., than it was at the time of their accounts (173, 174). There is little evidence for this alleged relaxation of restrictions upon the marriageable age to be found in the source material. One might expect that the introduction 885 of firearms made some difference in the age at which a youth could support himself and hence a wife, but a bow and a supply of arrows were more easily obtained than a gun. The explanation for the comments on the independence of youth probably lies in the principle of "faith in former good times" or, to put it the other way around for this case, the principle of "present degeneration of youth." This principle of human nature is of widespread application and is found not only among many other Indian tribes but also in the beliefs of other races for the past five thousand years and more.

Death and Its Incidents

764 The treatment of their dead by the Delaware appears to have undergone little change in the time for which we have records. The preparation of the corpse shows no change with the exception of the substitution of European clothes for furs (175-79). Even now, however, moccasins and other items of Indian manufacture are used to dress the corpse when obtainable. There are two dissenters on the subject of the preparation of the corpse by unrelated persons only, one early and one modern (180). Probably there was no hard and fast rule, but nonrelatives were

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

121. Cradle put in hammock 854

W. L. said that a cradleboard was formerly used but that 352
his children were all raised in a cradle hammock, consisting of a cloth or piece of blanket, two ropes and two sticks. The ropes were suspended parallel, the edges of the blanket fastened to or around the ropes, and the sticks placed at the ends of the blanket to keep the ropes apart.

123. Any difference in treatment of legitimate and illegitimate children 848 [836]

W. T.—No difference because Delaware never had latter. Young folks did not play around—old folks watched them too close.

Marriage and Its Incidents

131. Courtship

Captain Chipps—Courtships are brief. If a man sees a 584
woman whom he likes, he gives her presents, and persuades her [936]
to sleep with him. Should they be mutually pleased, they afterwards live together as man and wife. The consent of parents on the subject is seldom asked—although it is considered proper [595]
to consult parents on the subject. If a marriage is consummated as above, and the parents are displeased, they use their exertions to separate the young couple—they fail, however, for the newmarried couple elope, when the alarm is sounded. There is no ceremony of marriage but the above.

E. R.—Both girls and boys were told to accept the first pro- 584
posal they received. The old people kept telling them this and 577
to show what might happen to them if they did not do this they 539
told the following story. Once there was a girl who was very pretty, one boy after another wanted to marry her but she did not care much for any of them and would not listen to her old folks. Then one day when she was out in the woods she met a very handsome young stranger. She fell for him, and when he said he wanted to take her home with him, she agreed. He took her into a nearby hollow where he had a very nice home. He told his mother he had brought home a wife and she was very

9: Kinietz- E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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592 595 who generally form the same family, the youngest having the husband's preference. But if they cannot agree to live together they reside in separate cabins and receive the visits of the husband when he deigns to make them.

CAPTAIN CHIPPS—Polygamy is common with the rich—but "one woman is generally a match for a man," and with the poor, there is never more than one. If a man has several wives, he treats them equally well—they compose one family.

J. W. refused to comment on polygamy, while W. T. denied that there were ever any cases.

W. L. said that a person might have two or three wives but did not do so commonly. Reported that Sam White Turkey had three. Children by each were considered members of one family.

148. Polygynous sororate obligatory

595 587 JOHN JOHNSTON—If the man appears to regret the loss of his wife and shuns the intercourse of women for a number of months, the relatives of the deceased will present him a suit of new clothes and give him to wife a sister or some other relative of his former wife, the same mode is adopted with regard to the women.

W. T. said both sororate and levirate if the relatives of the deceased insisted, but not otherwise.

158. Following divorce children stay with mother

586 CAPTAIN CHIPPS—If they have children, the parent to whom they are most attached takes and provides for them—there is no equal division of children.

W. L.—Children might stay with mother although father often kept boys.

165. Illegitimate children injurious to reputation of mother

848 CAPTAIN PIPE—So far as regards the reputation of women who have children without being married it is affected much as that of the whites. They secure to themselves a good deal of contempt and worthless fellows for their husbands.

168. Proportion of married women without children

842 ZEISBERGER, CAPTAIN CHIPPS, J. W., and E. R. all said the proportion of women without children was unknown. HECKE-

	Williams	Van der Donck	Lindeström	Zeisberger	Heckewelder	Johnston	Pipe	Chipps	J. W.	W. T.	E. R.	W. L.
595												
585												
584						+	+	+	+	+	*+	*+
158						15-					16-	20-
848					20+	25		20	25	25	17+	22
848		+				+	.	.	+	+	+	+
513		(−)	+	+		+	+	+	−	+	+	*+
158			+	+		+	+	+		+	+	+
363			−			+	+	+		.	.	+
854			+			+	.	+		.	.	+
816						+	+	+		.	.	+
858						+	+	+		.	.	+
	(−)	−				−	−	−	+	−	−	−
	+	+				+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	+			−		−	+	−	+	+	−	+
						o	+	−	o	+	o	+
	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	−			+	+	s	+	+	+	+	+	+
				+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
				−	−	−	−	*(+)	−	−	*−	−
	(+)	+	−	s	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	+
	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−
		+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	(+)	+		+		+	+	+	+	+	+	−
	(+)			+	+	•	+	•	−	−	−	−
						•	−	•	•	−	−	−
	−	−		−		−	−	−		−	−	−
		+		+		+	+	+			+	+

+ = element present
− = element denied
(+) or (−) = source ambiguous
* = informant could not or would not say
s = some, sometimes, or several
† or ° = see Ethnographic Notes, pp. 79-137 for additional information

Birth and its incidents—Continued

113. Parents exercise any control over mature children
114. Age children are expected to maintain themselves
115. Child given daily bath †
116. Cradle used
117. Consists of board
118. with cushion
119. with hoop over head
120. hoop decorated
121. Cradle put in hammock
122. Boys and girls treated with equal care and affection
123. Any difference in treatment of legitimate and illegitimate
124. Mother takes care of illegitimate
125. Father not compelled to contribute but may do so
126. Birth of twins frequent
127. Number of instances of triplets
128. Are parental feelings strong
129. Are filial feelings strong
130. Do they (128 and 129) continue through life

Marriage and its incidents

131. Courtship
132. Marriage arranged by parents
133. Consent of either party asked
134. Any ceremony of marriage †
135. Presents for bride
136. Presents for family of bride
137. Presents exchanged
138. Time served by boy
139. Polygamy common †
140. Only rich or chiefs have more than one

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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784 825 JOHN JOHNSTON—Their principal reason is that the snake is such a malicious and spiteful animal that if they should kill them the rest would know it and would bite them.

CAPTAIN CHIPPS—They sometimes avoid killing snakes, on a march, because they say, "that if they kill one, the rest will be madder."

J. W.—Snakes were not killed unless necessary—"don't kill for nothing." Besides could tell good from bad snakes.

E. R. said that there were no rules against the killing of snakes and that he feared no retribution.

BIRTH AND ITS INCIDENTS

89. Naming of child

553 [796] CAPTAIN PIPE—Children are named at one of the grand worshiping councils, and as opportunities do not occur regularly, there is no particular age at which they are formerly [*sic.* formally?] named. (Children at times do not receive their names until they are quite large, at others while they are infants.) The child when about to be named is taken to the assembly and there presented to one of the old men (who is an orator and) of the same tribe with the father, together with a fathom of wampum for his services. This old man taking the child by the hand, rises and proclaims aloud his name, requesting all who hear him to [776] recollect. He then proffers a short prayer to the Great spirit in supplication for his blessing on the child during life; after which it is returned to its parents.

[846] CAPTAIN CHIPPS—There are no christenings—or ceremonies at the birth of their children. After the birth, a year or two, ●851 sometimes less, the child is taken into council, and named. The 553 father names and the preacher announces the name to the assembly in a speech of some length—in which, he congratulates the parents of the child—hopes the child may become a good boy and "prays to God" to make him a good man, a good hunter and a good warrior.

J. W.—Has never seen or heard of naming in Big House. Parents take child to grandparents, either side. They give him

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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name by the month in which he was born. Three or four days after birth, not over five months. They set a day on which relatives and friends bring things, grub, give it to baby—glad there are new folks, kin to us, who have come to live with us. Then every birthday give big feast. 851 553 [858]

E. R. and W. L. said names might be given immediately after birth or not until several days had passed.

90. Particular age of naming child

LINDESTRÖM says when they become large enough to shoot a gun.

91. Descriptive names

J. W.—Names in keeping with month of birth. 553
W. L.—Animal names are used but not exclusively.

93. Names from dreams

E. R.—All names come from dreams. Child might go several days without a name. Chaff each other in the family about not being able to give a newborn child a name. Finally one of the parents or grandparents, going to bed with this on his mind so much, would awake with a dream of a name. 553 787

JOHN JOHNSTON—It is generally from dreams dreamt by the parent or some relation, relative to the agility or faculty of some animal, which they say, appears to them and tells a pretty story.

97 and 98. Individual has more than one name; changed later in life

JOHN JOHNSTON—They have [more than one name] sometimes but the second one is one of their own choosing when they arise to years of discretion. 553

CAPTAIN PIPE—Although they never have more than one name at a time it is not uncommon for them when grown up, to change their name, in which case the same ceremonies at the grand council take place. This subsequent naming (it sometimes goes as far as a third) is sometime because the original appellation,

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7
Iroquois NM9

D 136

morning as soon as the sun begins to shine and return to the forest only at sundown. This species of snail deposits a colorless liquid of the consistency of saliva on the stems of various plants in the forest (presumably containing the eggs of the animal, which are hatched out by the sun). From this, it is supposed that the pestiferous gad-flies are hatched out.[247] Where there are large herds of cattle that destroy the weeds and root them up, not many of these insects are found.[248]

The common frogs are found in swamps near puddles and ponds. They are of a brownish color, do not croak, but have a note like a short whistle.[249] In springtime they may be heard all night. The Mingoes catch them at night by the light of a torch and eat them either fresh or dried. Green frogs are but rarely met with and only in rivers and brooks.[250] The largest American frog is the bull frog.[251] It inhabits rivers and large brooks. Their croaking resembles the bellowing of a bull, but is far more penetrating.

I [222 262]

Of rats, nothing is known in these parts, but mice[252] are very common.

Mosquitoes and sandflies are found in woods in summertime in great numbers. Both sting and a night in the forest would be intolerable without the smoke of a fire. They are particularly annoying in changeable weather. Even horses will make for the fire and stand in smoke to be free of the pests. Great and small gadflies come in July and August and trouble cattle so much that only at night the latter will graze, the gadflies disappearing until dawn of day.

Ticks are to be found in the woods. These will attack one, pierce the skin and suck the blood until they have so swelled that they drop off. Bed-bugs are to be found in the Indian huts at any time and fleas in the summer, not a few.

D 224 852

The first deer a boy shoots proves the occasion of a great solemnity. If it happens to be a buck it is given to some old man; if a doe, to some old woman. These bring in the whole animal, skinned, if it is possible to do so. If the animal is too heavy, they bring the skin and as much of the flesh as they can carry, fetching the rest later. When they reach the village, they

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

224 852 turn to the east, having the whole or part of the animal on the back, always with the skin, before entering the house and give vent to a prolonged call, which is the old man's or old woman's prayer to the Deity in behalf of the boy, that he may always be a fortunate hunter. During the repast they repeat their petitions and give counsel to the boy (who, with his companions, is a mere spectator) regarding the chase and all the circumstances of his future life, exhorting him above all things to revere old age and gray hairs and to be obedient to their words, because 688 178 experience has given them wisdom. Such counsel was heeded in time past, and though the ceremonies are still kept up, the young no longer revere the aged as was the case at one time.

Formerly, the young revered the old, especially if they had gray or white heads.[253] They believed that these must be very wise and prudent, because they were of such an age and seemed to be favored of the gods. Therefore, they treated the aged well, brought them, it may be, a deer, in the hope that they might be instructed of them how to attain to equal age. They presented the old, also, with wampum or belts, with the same hope. While nothing was said, the aged understood and gave the desired instruction on another occasion.

784 276 No young Indian in those days would have dared to take the tobacco pouch, (made usually of the skin of the otter, beaver, raccoon, fox, pole-cat, or some other animal, stripped off whole, with a little slit at the neck), of an old person and take a pipeful of tobacco, thinking such an act a great sin and believing that it would be the cause of shortening his life. When, therefore, in those days, a young brave asked an aged man permission to fill his pipe from the latter's pouch, the old man understood that this was not the young man's intention at all, but he wished to place something in the pouch. Usually, wampum was put in and no tobacco taken out. This, also, was done with the hope that the aged man might instruct the young brave how to be wise and to attain to great age. Indeed, good counsel is given, to bring offerings regularly on behalf of themselves and their friends, to be chaste, to abstain from drinking and stealing, which were common even in those days. These customs, however, have ceased. The old have lost respect and the young

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

among the Indians as long as there were no Indian wars. Through the examples of the traders, also the Indians acquired the habit of drinking to excess. Secondly, the Indians had formerly great respect for the aged and the chiefs, from whom they learned that unfaithfulness in the marriage relationship was a great crime and that whoever was guilty of such evil would live neither long nor happily. At the present time they show little reverence to the aged and each one thinks himself to be wise in his own conceits.

The Indian women are in general of a very strong bodily constitution. There are generally clever and experienced women enough who are able to give assistance and advice in time of labor; generally, women will remain in the house at this time. Some go into the woods by themselves and bring their children to the house when they have seen the light of day. Most mothers nurse their children until they are two or more years old. During this time many husbands have concubines, though not in the house.

If it is left to the mother to give the child a name, she uses little ceremony and calls it after some peculiar mark or character in it, for instance the Beautiful, the Good Child, the Great-Eye, sometimes giving it a name of unsavory meaning. If the father gives the child a name he pretends that it has been suggested to him in a dream. The name is given at a sacrifice, on which occasion the Indian brings to some aged person, who performs the offering, a string of wampum, and tells him that he wishes his child's name to be named thus and so. During the sacrifice some other person sings a song in Indian fashion at a public gathering and makes known the child's name. This is called praying over the child. The same ceremony is performed when an adult person receives a name, even although he may already have been named. It is not common to call an adult by his name, for they are ashamed of their own names. If the attention of any one is to be attracted it is done in some other fashion than by the use of the name. In case of children, the names are used. In assemblies and in discourses they do not use the name of any one who is present, though absent persons are referred to by their names.

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9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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third periods no ceremonies were reported. In the fourth period the ceremonies were said to be prayers at the beginning and conclusion of the expedition.

From the sequence of questions I understand that the one relating to "peculiar laws" in hunting concerned the rights of various members of a group hunting—the division of the game, the taboos to be observed, etc. (320). Most of the sources and all of the informants stated or indicated the existence of laws or rules from this standpoint. Johnston, however, understood the question differently, for he answered, "They have not, every one kills as much as he can." While he gave no information on the subject desired, his answer does show that the Indians with whom he was acquainted were not practicing conservation of game. There seems to have been a certain etiquette observed whenever a successful hunter was approached by an unsuccessful one at the scene of the kill (322-26). The sharing of the game killed was as generally observed as if the two had been hunting together (321), but the detail of the division depended upon the individual hunter and his mood of the moment. Deer was the principal animal sought in hunting, and often the term hunting was used synonymously with deer hunting, and in speaking of the divisions of game killed, the deer is always taken as the example. The fact that deer was the staple meat and hunted most often in the autumn is also shown in the more frequent reports of hunting in the autumn than in any other season (328-31).

A ceremony celebrating the killing of the first game animal by a youthful hunter is well affirmed in every period (332). The details of the ceremony, however, are not always given. Zeisberger reported that the youth presented a male animal to an old man and a female animal to an old woman (337). This was denied by all the modern informants. The third- and fourth-period reports related that the selection of the recipient of the kill was not based on the sex of the animal (336). This contradiction may represent a change in custom between the second and third periods, but the fact that there is only one authority for the earlier period casts some doubt on the uniformity of

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

852 the sex correlation. The animal or part of it was eaten by a friend who prayed for the continuance of good luck, according to Johnston, J. W. and W. L. (335). The dedication of the animal to deities or the spirits of deceased friends and the giving of the feast at night as mentioned by Johnston were denied by [177] two of the informants (333-34). There is a suggestion of a fourth-period change here that would be stronger if it were not for the paucity of accounts.

224 A feast, a dance, or both, were customarily given on the return of a hunting party, according to the statements or implications of the sources of the first three periods (338-39). The informants all denied that dances were held and W. T. was the [177] only one to admit the giving of feasts. This seems very definitely to reflect a change between the third and fourth periods, probably due to the decline in the economic importance of hunting.

Constitution, Personal Appearance, Dress, etc.

142 The elements under this heading are few and show little 302 change. There are, however, a couple of items that merit some discussion. First, on the matter of extirpating the beard, there is a division of opinion among the sources and among the informants (342). All the sources who mentioned the beard, except Van der Donck, said that it was pulled out. This was confirmed by J. W. in the fourth period but denied by W. T. and E. R. These maintained that the Indians never had beards until they intermarried with the whites.

The hairdress of the women offered little occasion for disagreement (349-53). All the sources and informants who gave any information on the subject agreed that women fastened their hair behind the head. Whether it was braided, clubbed, or fastened in a square bunch seems to have been a matter of individual preference, for one source mentioned all three methods [301] and four other accounts, two of the three methods. Ornamentation was also according to individual preference.

302 Men cut their hair short except for the tuft or scalp lock on the top of the head (345). The scalp lock was made into two braids according to all the sources who reported on this detail,

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

converted for thirty years and had always led a regular life, and who had thirteen children. Others had from six to nine. In general, however, the Indians seldom have more than four or five children.

The Indian children, generally, continue two years at the breast, and there are instances of their sucking during four years. Mothers are very apt to indulge their last child, children in this respect enjoy the same privilege alike.

I have never heard of any nation or tribe of Indians who destroyed their children, when distorted or deformed, whether they were so born or came to be so afterwards. I have on the contrary seen very particular care taken of such children. Nor have I ever been acquainted with any Indians that made use of artificial means to compress or alter the natural shape of the heads of their children, as some travellers have, I believe, pretended.

The disorders to which the Indians are most commonly subjected are pulmonary consumptions, fluxes, fevers and severe rheumatisms, all proceeding probably from the kind of life they lead, the hardships they undergo, and the nature of the food that they take. Intermitting and bilious fevers set in among them regularly in the autumn, when their towns are situated near marshy grounds or ponds of stagnant water, and many die in consequence of them. I have observed that these fevers generally make their first appearance in the season of the wild plum, a fruit that the Indians are particularly fond of. Sometimes also after a famine or long suffering for want of food, when they generally make too free an use of green maize, squashes and other watery vegetables. They are also subject to a disease which they call the *yellow vomit*, which, at times, carries off many of them. They generally die of this disease on the second or third day after the first attack.

Their old men are very subject to rheumatisms in the back and knees; I have known them at the age of 50 or

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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Bucks-horn, or the like."[27] In everyday life kinship terms were used rather than personal names.[28] Denton also said:

> Any Indian being dead, his name dies with him, no person daring ever after to mention his name, it being not only a breach of their Law, but an abuse to his friends & relations present, as if it were done on purpose to renew their grief: And any other person whatsoever that is named after that name doth incontinently change his name & takes a new one.[29]

Education and Training of Children

Children were nursed until they were three or four years old, but were increasingly fed meat and other specially prepared foods. Holm said they were taught to walk when they were nine months old.[30] When boys were four or five years old, they were given their first instruction in hunting, warfare, and woodcraft, as well as in other phases of a man's life.[31] Girls at the same age were initiated into the duties of housekeeping and the planting and cultivating of gardens. Old people, particularly grandparents, played an important role in instructing the children in tradition, religion, and correct behavior (O.A., N.D.). According to Trowbridge, men took upon themselves the duty of instructing the young of their phratry.[32] The earlier documents are silent on these points, but there seems to be no reason why these more modern data do not represent the customs of a former period.

In earlier times physical punishment was seldom if ever used on the children; explanation, ridicule, exhortation, and threats took its place.[33] Obedience was sometimes enforced by threats of punishment by the Mask Being. If a child was slow to rise in the morning, for instance, the recalcitrant one was told that this supernatural creature would visit him and poke him with a stick (N.D.). It was also believed that the supernatural powers punished disobedient children by causing them to become weak and sickly (N.D.). The myth of a great, naked bear was frequently used, since disobedient children were said to be its particular victims.[34] Children were described as being well behaved; a captive brought up by the Delawares said that "honesty, bravery and hospitality are cardinal virtues with them. . . .Their young, in a remarkable degree, reverence and honor the aged, especially their parents."[35] Not only were the old respected, but game and various other presents were often given to them.[36]

As children grew older, the boys in particular were more and more exposed to a toughening program. Training was one of increasing hardship, up to and including the puberty rituals. Children were forced to

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[27] Denton, 1845, p. 8.
[28] Trowbridge MS.
[29] Denton, 1845, p. 8.
[30] Holm, 1834, p. 127.
[31] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 202; Harrington, 1913, p. 213; Trowbridge MS.
[32] Trowbridge MS.
[33] Brickell, 1842, p. 47; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 81.
[34] Heckewelder, 1799, pp. 260-62.
[35] Brickell, 1842, p. 48.
[36] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 76.

nected within the womb. If one is hurt, the other will feel it even though they are separated by many miles. A child whose mother died during its birth, must not be allowed to cry. Someone must try to comfort it so that the spirit of the dead mother may not injure, or even kill the foster parent.

Birthmarks are an indication that both parents have experienced difficulties with other people. During his youth one man conversed with a dead person in a vision. The skeleton said to him, "You should know me by the mark on your children. You will know more when they are born." All of his children (boys) had a characteristic pecularity about the eyes, lacking control of the lids so that during the day they blinked constantly. Sometimes a birthmark in the shape of a leaf or berry appears on the child. This is attributed to a dream by the mother. The fruit means good luck and long life. A mark formed like a reptile is considered an evil omen.

While nursing the child, the mother must refrain from intercourse with any man other than her husband so that the infant may not have diarrhea.

A few notes were obtained on the treatment of the hair and teeth of children.

When a child's hair is cut, it is left in some out-of-the-way place.[30] It was believed that if the birds used it in building their nests, the child would suffer from headaches. If the remains were burnt, it would cause the hair to become brittle.[31]

During the teething period, a little bag containing finely crushed charcoal is hung about the child's neck. The latter chews upon it to ease his aching gums. A loose milk tooth is pulled out by means of a string, its removal allowing the permanent tooth to grow in straight. The extracted tooth is taken outdoors by the child and thrown in the direction of the east, with the words "My tooth I place down here. I know when you return I will feed you white beans."

A child's nails are trimmed with a knife or scissors. Care is taken not to lose any of the nail trimmings, which are carried into the woods and left upon a stump. At the same time the following words are addressed to the Owl: "Grandpa, I now give you these, your grandchild's nails, to make frames for your eyes."

[30] This and the following paragraph were recorded by Eugene Golomshtok, University of Pennsylvania, 1930.

[31] In adult life gray hair, an indication of longevity, is not pulled out. Its removal would be displeasing to the Creator as a lack of respect for the aged.

8:Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
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CHAPTER XII.

Concerning the Treatment and Education of the Children of the American Savages.

As soon as the children are born to the world 854
the savage female takes the child and binds it to a piece of board, which is just as long as the child, with three long and broad braids, and does not place the smallest particle of clothing under or above the child. The first braid she wraps over the forehead and around the board, the second braid, right over the arms and the board, the third braid, right over the knees and the board, tying it[1] right strongly to the board.[2]

Then [she] puts it away on the ground, bends a bow over it, the two ends of which on either side she puts down into the ground, above this the savage female places a deer skin.

When she now takes the child to suckle it, she 855
takes the child together with the board, so that it always remains lying fastened to the board; but every time she takes the child to herself, she presses the child over the forehead with her hands the hardest she is able against the board, as well as the breast and the knees. Through this the savages become as straight as a candle and flat in the neck as a board.[3] The savage female never

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[1] The child.

[2] *Knytandes det rätt hårdt till brädet.* For this custom, see Hodge, *Handbook*, I, 265, 357–8. Cf. De Vries, *N. Y. Col.*, 2, 111, 106.

[3] Cf. Hodge, *Handbook*, I, 96.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

CAPTAIN PIPE—In the days of yore children were considered as bound to obey their parents, and were not suffered to marry until the age of thirty if males or twenty-four if females; but to use their own language, they have so degenerated that in these days, when a boy begins to grow hoarse he assumes the practices of a man, declares himself independent and marries. 884

CAPTAIN CHIPPS—At the age of 12, children cease to be such. They are considered young men, but are subject to the usual family punishments for offenses, until they become of age.

E. R.—Childhood generally considered to end at 14 to 15 years of age but in backward cases was later.

W. L.—About 20 years of age depending on individual.

107. Adoption of children by near relatives

ZEISBERGER—In many cases children who have become motherless after birth have been reared by careful old women. Sometimes children are given to such women. Then they spare no pains in rearing them. Soup made of Indian corn, pounded very fine, is given by them to infants of tender age, that may have come into their possession. Ordinarily, orphans, even if they have lost but the mother, meet with hard experience and often suffer want. Children who have been given or bequeathed, on the contrary, are almost without exception well cared for. 597 [853]

JOHN JOHNSTON—They are not [adopted by near relatives], but when they adopt it is from a family that is not connected and when adopted are considered members of the family that they are adopted into. On death of parents care of child devolves upon nearest relation.

CAPTAIN PIPE—Orphans and sometimes neglected children, are often adopted by good men in the nation, and are in such case considered as the children of the adopting person subject to the same privileges which his own children enjoy. In case of the death of the parents, the maternal grandfather or mother is bound by custom to take the children under protection; but if they also be dead the children are adopted by such relatives or friends as may be inclined to take charge of them.

2;Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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844 to a Delaware) gave birth in a small "shed" on a riverbank, attended by two women.[7] Informants said that old experienced women who had gone through childbirth themselves assisted in delivering a woman. Immediately after birth the infant was washed by its mother.[8] Lindestrom alone among the early sources said:

[825] When the savage females bear their children, they tie around their waists a snake skin of the most poisonous kind of snakes, which are found in New Sweden and are called rattlesnakes, which has such an effect that they do not know of the least pain in their child birth, and are as healthy in an hour, as if they had never been through it.[9]

Immediately after the child was washed it was placed upon a cradleboard. Lindestrom said:

[The mother] binds it . . . with three long and broad braids, and does not place the smallest particle of clothing under or above the child. The first braid she wraps over the forehead and around the board; the second braid, right over the arms and the board; the third braid, right over the knees and the board, tying it right strongly to the board.[10]

● 854 The child was kept bound to the cradleboard most of the time, including nursing periods, until it could walk.[11] Moss was used as an agent to absorb the child's excreta.[12] If it was necessary to carry the child after the cradleboard had been discarded, he was borne on the mother's back wrapped in a blanket.[13]

Harrington was told that a newborn child was not felt to be securely in the world, and that to ensure life it was disguised from the supernatural beings by being attired in adult clothing. According to Harrington:

. . . deerskin strings or strips of corn-husk were tied on the wrists of children so that the ghosts would think they were tied fast to the earth; and holes were cut in their little moccasins so that they could not follow the spirit trail. If the child's mother died shortly after its birth, these precautions were redoubled.[14]

844 The umbilical cord was specially treated; it was buried in the woods if a boy's, and near the lodge if a girl's. It was considered to be closely connected with a child's disposition, and hence if buried in the woods would ensure a boy's liking for the woods and the hunt; if buried near a lodge it would ensure the girl's attachment to womanly occupations.[15]

553 Naming.— Personal names were bestowed upon children or announced to the public during religious ceremonials, particularly the Big House Ceremony.[16] The meager information derived from the seventeenth-century sources indicates that these names were not given the children

[7] Jemison, 1918, p. 45.
[8] Penn, 1912, p. 231; Penn, 1882, p. 342; Holm, 1834, p. 126; O.A., M.B.
[9] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 194.
[10] *Ibid.*, p. 201.
[11] Penn, 1912, p. 231; Pastorius, 1912, p. 434; Lindestrom, 1925, p. 201; Trowbridge MS.
[12] Loskiel, 1794, p. 61.
[13] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 201.
[14] Harrington, 1913, p. 213; J.T. mentioned defacing moccasins for this purpose.
[15] Harrington, 1913, pp. 212-13.
[16] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 80; Loskiel, 1794, p. 62; Harrington, 1913, p. 213; Kinietz, 1946, p. 44; O.A., M.B.

3: Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

The children have entirely their own will and never do anything by compulsion. Told to do something they do not care about, the children let it go by default and are not reprimanded for it. Yet many wellbred children are found among them who pay great attention and respect to parents and do things to please them. They are courteous, even to strangers. They respond to mild treatment. The contrary generally produces bitterness, hatred and contempt. The women are frequently guilty of thus raising their children to anger, for the women are often ill-tempered. By way of punishment, they will pour water on the children or thrust them into the water. The parents are careful not to beat their children, lest the children might remember it and revenge themselves on some future occasion. Instances are not wanting where children when grown have reproached their parents for corporal punishment received in youth and have threatened to return the indignity.

Rarely does an Indian have two or more wives, being fearful of strife in the house. Blood relations do not marry; in this particular, they are even more strict than the whites. They claim that division of the race into tribes came about in order to make it more readily certain that a man in taking a wife was not marrying a near relative. Concerning the tribes, however, more will be said in another connection. An instance of an Indian having married a mother and her daughter at the same time was a most extraordinary thing.

Families have from four to six children. More than this number is unusual. Birth of twins is rarely heard of. In many cases children who have become motherless after birth have been reared by careful old women. Sometimes children are given to such women. Then they have no pains in rearing them. Soup made of Indian corn, pounded very fine, is given by them to infants of tender age, that may have come into their possession. Ordinarily, orphans, even if they have lost but the mother, meet with hard experience and often suffer want. Children who have been given or bequeathed, on the contrary, are almost without exception well cared for.

In the management of household affairs the husband leaves

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7
Shawnee NN17

D 411

The Delaware Indians use no other than rifle-barrelled guns, having satisfied themselves that these are the best for shooting at long range, in which they are very skillful and shooting accurately. They have acquired considerable skill in making minor repairs when their weapons get out of order. Some have even learned to furnish them with stocks, neatly and well made. An Indian really intent on making something will not spare pains or time in accomplishing his purpose even when he has not seen the thing made and takes great pride in the work of his hands. Among nations living farther inland the rifle-barrelled guns are rare and muskets are more commonly found, often in very poor condition, except among the Shawanose [Shawanese] who know and value the rifle-barrelled gun. S [411]

D 586

It occurs to me to add that when a man and his wife have no children, they generally separate before long, each believing the other to be the guilty cause, and attributing it to the other. There are also women who never have children. Such a one goes from one man to another until some man who has children already takes her. There are men also who never have children. In both sexes, however, these cases are rare.

D 578

Cursing and swearing are never heard among the Indians; they have no words of this character in their language. If women or men would berate one another — rarely the case among men, except in case of the younger, more frequent among women — they direct words and speeches at one another which would not be considered terrible by other people but are very seriously taken by the Indians. If they would revile one another in extremest fashion, they use some obscene expressions.

D 854 [482]

Mothers carry the children on their backs under the blanket. They do this even when the children are five years old and over, for they love their children. In former days it was the custom to bind the child upon a board which was carried by means of a band fastened round the head in such a way that the child was suspended on the back in an upright position. This practice gets more and more out of fashion, for the reason that it has been the cause of miserable death of the children. It was customary that children thus fastened were placed against a bench or elsewhere,

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

854 the mother going to fetch water or on some other errand. The children by pushing and kicking not infrequently tumbled themselves into the fire or other danger and thus miserably perished, or were severely burned. For this reason the custom is in disfavor.

342 Their houses are fairly clean, some being superior in this respect and affording a comfortable night's lodging for a [574] European. In case a guest is expected, especially if it be a white [356] person, they prepare as comfortable a bed as possible. They sweep the bunk, that serves as seat and table in the daytime and as bed at night, and spread a mat with one or more deer or bear [363] skins upon it. Though usually a comfortable couch in summer time it may be made very uncomfortable by the fleas brought in by dogs. Their kettles, dishes and spoons are not kept in good order; sometimes they are only licked by the dogs in lieu of washing. Dishes and spoons they make themselves of wood, [415 322] sometimes of tree knots or growths, often very neatly. The spoons are generally large and round shaped. Occasionally, a spoon will be used by several people, turn about, at a meal. Brass kettles, to be found in most houses because very necessary for sugar boiling, are bought from the whites.

291 The Indians are lovers of finery and dress, the women more than the men; the latter take care that the women adorn themselves in proper manner. The men clothe themselves rather meanly, regarding it as a disgrace to be better appareled than their wives. The dress which particularly distinguishes the women is a petticoat or strowd, blue, red or black, made of a piece of cloth about two yards long, adorned with red, blue or yellow bands laid double and bound about the body. Many women wear a white shirt over the strowd, decorated with silver buckles, the more the better. Red or blue leggings are worn, made of fine cloth joined by a broad band of silk bordered with coral. These leggings reach only to the feet. Shoes are made very neatly. Over the first strowd they may wear another, not decorated with ribbons, which if it inconveniences them in their movements may be easily laid aside. Thus clad a woman is well dressed. In [296] place of the white shirts, blue linen or cotton may be worn. When [386] they wear a white shirt, which is preferably of fine linen, it is often decked with wampum about the neck.

The Dog as a Vicar of Children

231 751 854 Upon the birth of a Delaware child, it was given a pet [16] to serve as the guardian of its health. If there was sickness about, the Delaware believed that it would be visited upon the dog instead of its little master. The animal was thought to say, "I am only a dog, the child is more precious." A small bag containing charcoal was tied around the pet animal's neck by the child's parents. Frequently they would talk to the dog. If the animal died, it was buried and the child given another pet. However, if the child fell sick and died, a release ceremony was performed [17] by placing a string of wampum about its neck, thus freeing the animal.[18]

Notes on Pregnancy and Child-birth

843 262 784 The prospective mother is advised to eat sparingly. Sour foods should not be eaten during the final stage of pregnancy as they are believed to cause contraction of the muscles. Onions and cabbage are also excluded from the diet. Salt is forbidden both before and after pregnancy, as it is thought to stop the flow of blood. Lifting heavy objects should be avoided during pregnancy and for a period of a month after delivery. A pregnant woman should not gaze at a deformed person or make fun of him, as it might affect her child. Care is also taken to avoid being frightened by dogs and other animals.

844 The woman is usually attended by a midwife who is given gifts of calico, tobacco, etc., from the woman's husband. To women over thirty years of age, a special medicine is given to shorten the period of labor.[19] The delivery is made in a kneeling position. Immediately after, a tea made from "pleurisy root" is administered. The navel cord is cut off about one and a half inches from the body. A piece of lead about two inches in diameter is bound to the body over the navel by a cloth. This bandage is kept in place until healing is complete, to avoid protrusion of the navel.

845 In case of still-birth, special treatment is given the mother. Still-birth is believed due to the child being hurt. "The child-killing sickness of women is hard to overcome." Twins are believed to have been con-

[16] Known by a term meaning "pet given child."

[17] See also p. 67 for release of a bear.

[18] As dictated by Wi-tapanôxwe.

[19] "The women know of certain medicines," according to Zeisberger (*op. cit.*, p. 56), "which usually act quickly in case of hard labor, which sometimes occurs, though not frequently."

nected within the womb. If one is hurt, the other will feel it even though they are separated by many miles. A child whose mother died during its birth, must not be allowed to cry. Someone must try to comfort it so that the spirit of the dead mother may not injure, or even kill the foster parent.

Birthmarks are an indication that both parents have experienced difficulties with other people. During his youth one man conversed with a dead person in a vision. The skeleton said to him, "You should know me by the mark on your children. You will know more when they are born." All of his children (boys) had a characteristic pecularity about the eyes, lacking control of the lids so that during the day they blinked constantly. Sometimes a birthmark in the shape of a leaf or berry appears on the child. This is attributed to a dream by the mother. The fruit means good luck and long life. A mark formed like a reptile is considered an evil omen.

While nursing the child, the mother must refrain from intercourse with any man other than her husband so that the infant may not have diarrhea.

A few notes were obtained on the treatment of the hair and teeth of children.

When a child's hair is cut, it is left in some out-of-the-way place.[30] It was believed that if the birds used it in building their nests, the child would suffer from headaches. If the remains were burnt, it would cause the hair to become brittle.[31]

During the teething period, a little bag containing finely crushed charcoal is hung about the child's neck. The latter chews upon it to ease his aching gums. A loose milk tooth is pulled out by means of a string, its removal allowing the permanent tooth to grow in straight. The extracted tooth is taken outdoors by the child and thrown in the direction of the east, with the words "My tooth I place down here. I know when you return I will feed you white beans."

A child's nails are trimmed with a knife or scissors. Care is taken not to lose any of the nail trimmings, which are carried into the woods and left upon a stump. At the same time the following words are addressed to the Owl: "Grandpa, I now give you these, your grandchild's nails, to make frames for your eyes."

[30] This and the following paragraph were recorded by Eugene Golomshtok, University of Pennsylvania, 1930.

[31] In adult life gray hair, an indication of longevity, is not pulled out. Its removal would be displeasing to the Creator as a lack of respect for the aged.

also considered a mark of beauty (Lindstrom, pp. 193, 194, and 196; Pastorius, 1698, p. 433).

The Delaware women had the distinctive custom of wearing their hair in a large bun at the back rather than in braids. Men plucked all body hair and that of the head except for one tuft which was allowed to grow long (Smith, p. 137; Harrington, 1913, p. 220; Pastorius, 1700, p. 384; Lindstrom, pp. 195 and 200). Men were permitted to tattoo themselves as marks of distinction, the designs suggesting the deed which they commemorated. The operation was performed by breaking the skin in the desired pattern with a flint knife or sharp fish tooth. When the blood had been drawn, a powder of burned poplar bark was laid in the wound. Apparently the tattoo lasted a lifetime (Heckewelder, 1881, p. 206).

Children were allowed to go about with little or no clothing until eight or ten years of age, being protected from the sun by a liberal coating of bear grease (Johnson, p. 280; Pastorius, 1700, p. 384).

Family Organization and Customs

Starting at the beginning of life, we find that the birth process was accompanied by certain special customs. Penn says that "...when with Child, they [the women] know their Husbands no more, till delivered..." (Penn, p. 33). Harrington tells us that a prospective father who had bad luck at hunting attributed it to the spirit of his child playing about and scaring the game away. He would accordingly wear a miniature bow and arrow to keep the child's spirit amused while he hunted, or if this did not work he would try a small mortar and pestle assuming that the baby was a girl (1913, p. 212).

Birth itself occurred in the small hut which was also used during menstrual periods. The child was immediately immersed in water, then wrapped in a skin and bound to a cradle board. This was softened with a moss covering and had curved side pieces. The child stayed in the cradleboard most of the time until it could walk (Pastorius, 1698, p.434; Penn, pp.29-30; Lindstrom, p.201). Then, when it had to be carried, it was placed in a blanket and carried on the mother's back (Lindstrom, p.201).

Almost all of the writers were impressed with the quiet and respectful behavior of Delaware children. Only later writers, however, had much to say about the means used to educate them. These writers noted that children, especially the boys, seldom were punished (Brickell, p.47; Zeisberger, 1870, p.86). Brickell, who was brought up by a Delaware family, says that honesty, bravery and hospitality were cardinal virtues with them and that much of the training received was directed toward developing these virtues (pp.47-48). Also, of course, boys were taught woodcraft, fishing and hunting, and girls were taught the household duties including the care of the younger children.

8:Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
NM7 Delaware NM7

CHAPTER XII.

Concerning the Treatment and Education of the Children of the American Savages.

As soon as the children are born to the world[854] the savage female takes the child and binds it to a piece of board, which is just as long as the child, with three long and broad braids, and does not place the smallest particle of clothing under or above the child. The first braid she wraps over the forehead and around the board, the second braid, right over the arms and the board, the third braid, right over the knees and the board, tying it[1] right strongly to the board.[2]

Then [she] puts it away on the ground, bends a bow over it, the two ends of which on either side she puts down into the ground, above this the savage female places a deer skin.

When she now takes the child to suckle it, she [855] takes the child together with the board, so that it always remains lying fastened to the board; but every time she takes the child to herself, she presses the child over the forehead with her hands the hardest she is able against the board, as well as the breast and the knees. Through this the savages become as straight as a candle and flat in the neck as a board.[3] The savage female never

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[1] The child.

[2] *Knytandes det rätt hårdt till brädet.* For this custom, see Hodge, *Handbook*, I, 265, 357–8. Cf. De Vries, *N. Y. Col.*, 2, 111, 106.

[3] Cf. Hodge, *Handbook*, I, 96.

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
NM7 Delaware NM7

854 loosens it from the board, while it is young, except when she must do so for sanitary reasons. Nor do we ever hear their children cry or whine like the Christian children, but [they] are very patient. But when some illness attacks them, then they lament so miserably and quietly with a soft sound. However, they show themselves very tender towards their children, nor do they do away with their children, as unfortunately the prostitutes among the Christians too often do.[4]

857 When now the children finally get out of this their swaddle, they carry their children with them on their backs, just like the gypsies do.[5]

855 868 But as soon as the male children become so large that they can run around, they exercise them with cross bows and slings, and when they become somewhat larger with the shooting of guns; and then names are given to them, how they are to be called.[6] But when the children become somewhat older, so that they arrive at some understanding, then they select and adopt their *Pädhra* or idol, faith and religion, about which we shall see below in the chapter concerned.[7]

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[4] Williams observes in this connection: "They nurse all their children themselves; yet, if she be an high or rich woman, she maintaines a Nurse to tend the childe." *Key*, 52.

[5] Cf. Hodge, *Handbook*, I, 357.

[6] By what name they are to be called.

[7] See below, Chapt. XV.

+ = element present
− = element denied
(+) or (−) = source ambiguous
• = informant could not or would not say
§ = some, sometimes, or several
† or * = see Ethnographic Notes, pp. 79-137 for additional information

	Williams	Van der Donck	Lindeström	Zeisberger	Heckewelder	Johnston	Pipe	Chippe	J. W.	W. T.	E. R.	W. L.
575												938
585												946
564												851
588												848
848												848
525												856
856												852
852												854
854												916
916												838
Birth and its incidents—Continued												
113. Parents exercise any control over mature children						+	+	+	+	+	*+	*+
114. Age children are expected to maintain themselves					20+	15-25		20	25	25	16-17+	20-22
115. Child given daily bath †		+				+	•	•	+	+	+	+
116. Cradle used	+	(−)	+	+		+	+	+	−	+	+	*+
117. Consists of board	+		+	+		+	+	+		•	•	+
118. with cushion			−			+	+	+		•	•	+
119. with hoop over head			+			+	+	+		•	•	+
120. hoop decorated						+	•	•		•	•	+
121. Cradle put in hammock						•	+	•			+	+
122. Boys and girls treated with equal care and affection						+	+	+	+	+	§	+
123. Any difference in treatment of legitimate and illegitimate	(−)	−				−	−	−	•	•	−	−
124. Mother takes care of illegitimate	+	+				+	+	+	•	•	+	+
125. Father not compelled to contribute but may do so						+	+	•	+	•	+	+
126. Birth of twins frequent	+			−		−	+	−	+	+	−	+
127. Number of instances of triplets						0	1	1	0	0	0	0
128. Are parental feelings strong	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
129. Are filial feelings strong	−			+	+	§	+	+	+	+	+	+
130. Do they (128 and 129) continue through life				+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Marriage and its incidents												
131. Courtship				−	−	−	−	*(+)	−	−	*−	−
132. Marriage arranged by parents	(+)	+	−	§	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+
133. Consent of either party asked	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	−
134. Any ceremony of marriage †		+	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+
135. Presents for bride	(+)	+		+			+	+	+	+	+	+
136. Presents for family of bride	(+)					+	+		+	+	+	+
137. Presents exchanged				+	+	•	+	•	−	−	−	−
138. Time served by boy						•	−	•	−	−	−	−
139. Polygamy common †	−	−		−		−	−	−	•	−	−	−
140. Only rich or chiefs have more than one		+		+		+	+	+			+	+

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

861 classes and text books were not a basic part of the system, but the descriptions of the teaching of Indian children show that they were definitely educated to fill their places in the society of which they were members. At a very early age children were given as 868 toys models of implements they would use in earnest in later life. 867 These were different for each sex. For example, a boy would be given a tiny bow with straws for arrows; then, as he grew up, the size and effectiveness of the weapons would be increased until he was able to kill every sort of game as a full-fledged hunter. Girls were given dolls and very early instructed in the fundamentals of making baskets and pots. A considerable amount of the instruction given to children was by example and explanation incidental to actual practices by the parents or other elders, and by the relation of stories and myths. Therein lies the explanation of the failure of many early writers to find a "system" of education among the Indians. As a matter of fact, the reports of the age at which childhood was considered to cease show that the training of youths among the Indians was completed while they were still quite young (106).

597 Johnston and Chipps definitely stated that orphaned children were never adopted by relatives, although the care of orphans usually devolved upon the nearest relations in the absence of adoption (107-12). Zeisberger's statement that orphans were often given or bequeathed to old women may be construed the same way. Among the sources only Pipe gave relatives a prior claim on orphans. He said that maternal grandparents were bound by custom to take care of children on the death of the parents, but that, if they too were dead, other relatives or friends might take them. All of the modern informants agree that relatives of orphans could and did adopt them, although childless friends or neighbors who desired them often were given the orphans if they made their desires known. From the available information it looks as if there was a change in customs regarding the adoption of orphans within the fourth period.

● 854 The cradleboard must have been discarded by the Delaware 352 early in the fourth period, for of the modern informants not even the oldest had ever seen one in use among the Delaware

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

(116). While three of them had heard of the former use of cradleboards, one, J. W., denied ever hearing of them among the Delaware, although he was familiar with their use by other tribes.

Marriage and Its Incidents

From the majority of the accounts denying courtship between the principals of a marriage it appears that Chipps's description of a brief courtship which was also a marriage ceremony was not typical of the Delaware (131).[1] Lindeström's record of fantastic promiscuity of all the people except the chiefs need not be considered one way or the other. Such a condition would not be reasonable for any people and certainly could not have existed among the Delaware in 1654 without many more than Lindeström having been aware of it. Chipps and Lindeström are also the only dissenters to the statement that marriages were arranged by the parents (132). As already mentioned, Lindeström's statements are not trustworthy on the subject of marriage and Chipps was reporting a Canadian Munsee group that differed in many respects from the Delaware group in this country. His remarks on marriage are applicable to the Chippewa with whom the Canadian Munsee were in contact and with whom they intermarried. In the light of Pipe's remark about the ignoring of formality,[2] it is probable that Chipps's statements reflect a condition in the third period not wholly attributable to the Chippewa or confined to the Canadian Delaware.

According to the tabulation of remarks on the asking of the consent of either party, parents in the first two periods were much more considerate of the wishes of their children than parents in the last two periods (133). The explanation probably lies in the statements of Zeisberger and Pipe that refusals to comply with the wishes of parents were rare. The story told by F. R. is an example of the means used by parents and other elders to keep the young folks in line.[3]

[1] See *post*, p. 107.
[2] See *post*, p. 109.
[3] See *post*, pp. 107-8.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

597 CAPTAIN CHIPPS—Children are never adopted by their relatives—adoption is confined to those who have been taken prisoners. If both parents die the charge of the children devolves on the nearest relative. Orphans are not provided for—but seldom suffer, and it is considered "a good thing" to administer to their wants.

J. W.—Orphan taken care of by some one close to orphan or family—some one who knows about it and has watched it—is given the orphan to raise in preference to a near relative. Some one who has heard of the child's predicament is given the child if he makes his wishes known.

113. Control of parents over mature children

885 JOHN JOHNSTON—They [parents] do [have control over mature children] for they consider them better able to receive the counsels of the parents.

CAPTAIN PIPE—Parental feelings are very strong and generally continue during life, in consequence of which, aged relatives consider it their duty to advise the young and deter them from the commission of wrong. But no compulsory means are used after their arrival at years of discretion.

CAPTAIN CHIPPS—Attachment of parents to children continues through life. And parental authority is exercised at all ages.

E. R.—Children stayed under supervision of parents even after they were married and until first child was born. After that they might ask for advice but it was seldom given otherwise.

W. L.—Parents exercise control over children until they are married. (He was adopted by paternal grandparents when he was about 22 years of age.)

115. Daily bath given child

854 JOHN JOHNSTON—for one year.

[863] J. W.—for five years.

W. T.—for four years.

E. R.—twice daily for ten days, then daily for three to four months.

W. L.—for four to five years.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

121. Cradle put in hammock 854

W. L. said that a cradleboard was formerly used but that his children were all raised in a cradle hammock, consisting of a cloth or piece of blanket, two ropes and two sticks. The ropes were suspended parallel, the edges of the blanket fastened to or around the ropes, and the sticks placed at the ends of the blanket to keep the ropes apart. 352

123. Any difference in treatment of legitimate and illegitimate children 848 [836]

W. T.—No difference because Delaware never had latter. Young folks did not play around—old folks watched them too close.

Marriage and Its Incidents

131. Courtship

Captain Chipps—Courtships are brief. If a man sees a woman whom he likes, he gives her presents, and persuades her to sleep with him. Should they be mutually pleased, they afterwards live together as man and wife. The consent of parents on the subject is seldom asked—although it is considered proper to consult parents on the subject. If a marriage is consummated as above, and the parents are displeased, they use their exertions to separate the young couple—they fail, however, for the newmarried couple elope, when the alarm is sounded. There is no ceremony of marriage but the above. 584 [836] [595]

E. R.—Both girls and boys were told to accept the first proposal they received. The old people kept telling them this and to show what might happen to them if they did not do this they told the following story. Once there was a girl who was very pretty, one boy after another wanted to marry her but she did not care much for any of them and would not listen to her old folks. Then one day when she was out in the woods she met a very handsome young stranger. She fell for him, and when he said he wanted to take her home with him, she agreed. He took her into a nearby hollow where he had a very nice home. He told his mother he had brought home a wife and she was very 584 577 539

13:Wallace E-4 (no date)1950
NM7 Delaware NM7

[P.33, B]

Some Psychological Characteristics of the Delaware Indians during the 17th and 18th Centuries

ANTHONY F. C. WALLACE

Introduction

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The Relation of Parents to Children

Data on the relationship of the mother to the infant and child are meager, but they suggest that the mother was, in addition to her role as provider and protector, the agent of considerable frustration. This frustration, however, was not so recurrently severe as it was continuous. Instead of presenting the infant with any sudden major crisis, the mother was consistently indifferent to a number of particular lesser demands.

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Parents may have had some unconscious hostility to the new-born child: certain compulsive rituals had to be performed to prevent "wandering ghosts" from stealing away the soul of the infant.[1] The baby was, from birth until it was able to walk, bound to a cradle-board, from which it was normally released only for sanitary administrations. The mother nursed the child by picking it up with the board.[2] It was often left alone, on the board, swinging upright from a tree limb, while the mother worked in the corn-field or did other outdoor tasks. Many children are reported to have died while propped up in the board against a bench or wall in the houses. "The children by pushing and kicking not infrequently tumbled themselves into the fire or other danger and thus miserably perished, or were severly burned," observed

1. Harrington, 1938, p. 129.
2. Lindestrom, 1656, p. 201.
3. Zeisberger, 1779, pp. 85-86.
4. Lindestrom, 1656, p. 202.

[P.34, A]

155 Zeisberger.[3] Infants were described by
854 Lindestrom as never crying.[4] Whether this was because they were nursed whenever restless (which is most likely), or because the crying was consistently ignored in early infancy, is not clear from the available accounts. From Zeisberger's description of the frequency of the mother's absence, it would seem that, even if the child were nursed on demand when she was available, her frequent absences must have meant to the child that she was an
862 undependable provider. Children were weaned at the age of two or three; the techniques are not described.[5] Anal and
863 urethral training do not seem to have been strenuous: boys wore no clothes at all until
[291] the age of five or six, although girls wore aprons as soon as they could walk.[6]

Zeisberger noted that children were
861 sometimes harshly treated, although such
155 behavior generally produced in them "bitterness, hatred and contempt." He went on to say, "The women are frequently guilty of thus raising their children to anger, for the women are often ill-tempered. By way of punishment, they will pour water on the children or thrust them into the water."[7] Zeisberger did not like the
[157 Indian women, whom he described also
181] as being "much given to lying and gossiping. They carry evil report from house to house. As long as they are observed they appear modest and without guile. All the wrongs of which they are guilty are done
114 in secret."[8] While one may be inclined to
797 discount Zeisberger's accusations on the grounds of the natural prejudice of a male missionary among somewhat more aggressive women than he was probably accustomed to at home, the general accuracy of his observations and the fact that he was really fond of his charges, with whom he spent much of his active life, suggest that he had imbibed the prevalent native male attitude toward the women of the tribe.

5. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 80.
6. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 17.
7. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 81.
8. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 124.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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The children have entirely their own will and never do anything by compulsion. Told to do something they do not care about, the children let it go by default and are not reprimanded for it. Yet many wellbred children are found among them who pay great attention and respect to parents and do things to please them. They are courteous, even to strangers. They respond to mild treatment. The contrary generally produces bitterness, hatred and contempt. The women are frequently guilty of thus raising their children to anger, for the women are often ill-tempered. By way of punishment, they will pour water on the children or thrust them into the water. The parents are careful not to beat their children, lest the children might remember it and revenge themselves on some future occasion. Instances are not wanting where children when grown have reproached their parents for corporal punishment received in youth and have threatened to return the indignity.

Rarely does an Indian have two or more wives, being fearful of strife in the house. Blood relations do not marry; in this particular they are even more strict than the whites. They claim that division of the race into tribes came about in order to make it more readily certain that a man in taking a wife was not marrying a near relative. Concerning the tribes, however, more will be said in another connection. An instance of an Indian having married a mother and her daughter at the same time was a most extraordinary thing.

Families have from four to six children. More than this number is unusual. Birth of twins is rarely heard of. In many cases children who have become motherless after birth have been reared by careful old women. Sometimes children are given to such women. Then they spare no pains in rearing them. Soup made of Indian corn, pounded very fine, is given by them to infants of tender age, that may have come into their possession. Ordinarily, orphans, even if they have lost but the mother, meet with hard experience and often suffer want. Children who have been given or bequeathed, on the contrary, are almost without exception well cared for.

In the management of household affairs the husband leaves

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
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854 loosens it from the board, while it is young, except when she must do so for sanitary reasons. Nor do we ever hear their children cry or whine like the Christian children, but [they] are very patient. But when some illness attacks them, then they lament so miserably and quietly with a soft sound. However, they show themselves very tender towards their children, nor do they do away with their children, as unfortunately the prostitutes among the Christians too often do.[4]

857 When now the children finally get out of this their swaddle, they carry their children with them on their backs, just like the gypsies do.[5]

855 But as soon as the male children become so large
868 that they can run around, they exercise them with cross bows and slings, and when they become somewhat larger with the shooting of guns; and then names are given to them, how they are to be called.[6] But when the children become somewhat older, so that they arrive at some understanding, then they select and adopt their *Pådhra* or idol, faith and religion, about which we shall see below in the chapter concerned.[7]

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[4] Williams observes in this connection: "They nurse all their children themselves; yet, if she be an high or rich woman, she maintaines a Nurse to tend the childe." *Key*, 52.

[5] Cf. Hodge, *Handbook*, I, 357.

[6] By what name they are to be called.

[7] See below, Chapt. XV.

13:Wallace E-4 (no date)1950
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[P.33, B]

Some Psychological Characteristics of the Delaware Indians during the 17th and 18th Centuries

ANTHONY F. C. WALLACE

Introduction

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The Relation of Parents to Children

Data on the relationship of the mother to the infant and child are meager, but they suggest that the mother was, in addition to her role as provider and protector, the agent of considerable frustration. This frustration, however, was not so recurrently severe as it was continuous. Instead of presenting the infant with any sudden major crisis, the mother was consistently indifferent to a number of particular lesser demands.

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854
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Parents may have had some unconscious hostility to the new-born child: certain compulsive rituals had to be performed to prevent "wandering ghosts" from stealing away the soul of the infant.[1] The baby was, from birth until it was able to walk, bound to a cradle-board, from which it was normally released only for sanitary administrations. The mother nursed the child by picking it up with the board.[2] It was often left alone, on the board, swinging upright from a tree limb, while the mother worked in the corn-field or did other outdoor tasks. Many children are reported to have died while propped up in the board against a bench or wall in the houses. "The children by pushing and kicking not infrequently tumbled themselves into the fire or other danger and thus miserably perished, or were severly burned," observed

1. Harrington, 1938, p. 129.
2. Lindestrom, 1656, p. 201.
3. Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 85-86.
4. Lindestrom, 1656, p. 202.

[P.34, B]

581 Divorce and family instability were
586 common; many children were raised by
mother surrogates. "Owing to instability
of the family relationship, children are
581 often neglected."[9] The father was absent,
hunting, fishing, fighting, trading, or
855 attending treaties during most of the year;
what discipline there was fell to the hand
of the mother, who was considered to
796 "own" the children.[10] During one of the
861 annual calendar of ceremonies, young
children were chased by a man dressed in
a bear-skin, who threatened to punish them
for misdeeds (of which the parents kept
him informed from year to year) by carry-
ing them away in a bag full of snakes.[11]
[776] This "Mask Spirit" was considered to be
the "Guardian of the Game" and also
promoted the fertility of the corn; in other
words, was the symbol of the food pro-
955 vider.[12] The boys were able to escape from
the mother's supervision as soon as they
were able to get about to play at hunting
and fighting; but the girls were kept around
754 the house to help the mother at work.[13]
When a child died, an old woman was
often accused of having bewitched it.[14]

155 It would seem that the mother-figure
593 remained a symbol of possible delights
which could not be secured on demand, a
symbol of diffused frustration, of withheld
benefits and hidden hostility, to the
Delaware, and the source of his generalized,
if inhibited, aggressiveness; and that the
father-figure stood on the horizon, so to
speak, as a powerful, friendly being, but
one too remote and too aloof to be depended
upon.

Emotional Attachments in Maturity

584 The ideal in marriage was for a young
man to fall in love with a girl. His family
would present his suit; she would accept
[585] him by accepting the presents he sent, and
come to live with him; and they would live
happily and faithfully ever after. The

9. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 21.
10. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 14.
11. Harrington, 1938, pp. 52-53, 113.
12. Ibid.; Harrington, 1921.
13. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 16.
14. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 128.

[P. 38, B]

154 rein these are the more violent."[51] Warfare
[721] provided a socially approved way of bleeding off some of these aggressions, for the warriors; and the institution of torture
154 gave the rest of the community a similar
727 opportunity. "The Indians flock to these executions as to some great solemnity, with a view to reeking on the unfortunate captive their cruel and revengeful dis-
154 position."[52] The institution of blood-
627 revenge[53] (which sometimes led to prolonged vendetta) was also an outlet for aggression; but the fear of its exercise no doubt served also to inhibit it. In
154 hunting, males could work off aggression
224 on animals, which were conceptualized as quasi-human. It is worth noting that among women, who had a more restricted
154 childhood and who at the same time had
521 fewer socially sanctioned outlets for aggression, the overflow dribbled off in
562 unpleasant gossip and slander, which the men, who had other means of catharsis, professed to scorn.[54]

154 All observers agreed that liquor dis-
273 solved the inhibitions against aggression. "The effects which intoxication produces
578 upon the Indians are dreadful," lamented Heckewelder. "It has been the cause of an infinite number of murders among them, besides biting off noses and otherwise disfiguring each other, which are the least consequences of the quarrels which inebriation produces between them."[55] As might be expected, therefore, Indian spokesmen frequently—and in vain—implored the whites to cease bringing liquor into their settlements.

Summary

127 From an examination of the early ethnological literature concerning the Delaware Indians, we have been able to discover some of their psychological
● 855 characteristics. The Delawares would seem in general to have been a people among whom the children grew up

51. Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 124-125.
52. Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 106-107.
53. Penn, 1683.
54. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 116.
55. Heckewelder, 1819, p. 263.

[P.39, A]

855 receiving from their mothers adequate physical care, especially in early infancy, but that the child did not receive much of what we would call "affection" or "love" and from time to time was neglected and subjected to petty meanness. The father had only intermittent contact with the mother-child nexus, and to the child appeared as a distant potentially loving (and perhaps also potentially threatening), but practically [861] remote figure. Neither parent made use of systematic punishment as an educative technique. The male child grew up into an adult who saw women both as 86 romantic ideals and as untrustworthy 562 and malicious, potentially witches, while men were regarded as potential comrades, toward whom nevertheless highly polite, circumspect behavior was required in order to avoid giving offense. Women grew up to be discreet but covertly malicious wives and mothers. No individual of either sex was conceived as [571] the possessor of unquestioned authority, and social relations hence were very individualistic and fissionable. There is 155 evidence to suggest that the individual remained somewhat fixed, on an unconscious level, to infantile patterns of "oral" reaction, of a dependent, aggressively demanding nature, although these dependency patterns were masked by a superficial individualism and self-sufficiency, and by careful inhibition of any openly aggressive behavior. The conflict between the dependent and aggressive impulses, on the one hand, and the conscientious efforts to be self-sufficient and unaggressive on the other, was partially resolved by the guardian spirit complex, a technique of personality integration which allowed the adolescent to collect his dependency wishes and displace them onto the fantasy figure of an all-powerful parent. Further relief was afforded by various institutionalized ritual or semi-ritual institutions, such as warfare, feasting, and religion. Liquor, however, was a severe threat to the integrity of the society, since it allowed repressed and sublimated im-

| | | |

the care of the younger children. Although physical punishment was seldom resorted to, exhortation and explanation were commonly used. One mythical story which was evidently used as a threat was that of the great naked bear. This was a creature, larger than most bears and naked except for a white spot. The only way to kill it was to break its back as its heart was so small that an arrow would seldom find it. The last of the species was reputed to have been killed on the east side of the Hudson River, but before that time it was said that recalcitrant children were particularly likely to be its victims (Heckewelder, 1799, pp.260-62).

A boy's life was not burdened with many chores until he was twelve or older, his time being spent in fishing and playing (Penn, p.30; Pastorius, 1698, p.434; Zeisberger, 1870, p.86; Harrington, 1913, p.213). When he reached this age, it was desirable for him to have a vision and receive a guardian spirit (Lindstrom, p.207). To promote this, the parents mistreated him, fed him sparingly and finally drove him into the woods. It was felt that this would cause a spirit to feel sorry for the boy and present itself to him.9 The nature of the vision which a youth had was sometimes taken as a sign of his future profession, and training in such a case would start immediately to prepare the boy to become a shaman or warrior as the case might be (Harrington, 1913, pp. 214-15; Zeisberger, 1910, p.101). At about fifteen the boys began hunting and at this they had to become proficient before considering marriage.

The girls stayed with their mothers and began helping to hoe the ground, plant corn and carry burdens as soon as they were able (Penn, p.30; Zeisberger, 1870, p.87). At a girl's first menstruation she went to a small hut some distance from the house where she stayed at least seven days. Here meals were brought to her by her mother or an old woman-friend, but she could not be touched. She used a sharpened stick in eating to prevent the food from touching her hands. At the end of her seclusion, the girl washed herself and all her clothing and dishes before returning home. She was then considered ready for marriage (Penn, pp.33-4; Beatty, p.43; Brickell, p.49; Harrington, 1913, p.215).

Marriage

"When the Young Women are fit for Marriage, they wear something upon their Heads for an Advertisement, but so as their Faces are hardly to be seen..."(Penn, p.31). Other descriptions tell us that this covering was made of worked mats decorated with alternate rows of white and black wampum and was worn pulled down to the middle of the forehead (Smith, p.138; Zeisberger, 1910, p.77). Girls married between the ages of thirteen and fourteen; boys, at seventeen or eighteen (Penn, p.31). According to Zeisberger, the Delaware had the tradition that individuals must always marry outside the local group, but no seventeenth century writer has commented on this point (Zeisberger, 1910, p.78).

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
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§54 loosens it from the board, while it is young, except when she must do so for sanitary reasons. Nor do we ever hear their children cry or whine like the Christian children, but [they] are very patient. But when some illness attacks them, then they lament so miserably and quietly with a soft sound. However, they show themselves very tender towards their children, nor do they do away with their children, as unfortunately the prostitutes among the Christians too often do.[4]

§57 When now the children finally get out of this their swaddle, they carry their children with them on their backs, just like the gypsies do.[5]

§55 §58 But as soon as the male children become so large that they can run around, they exercise them with cross bows and slings, and when they become somewhat larger with the shooting of guns; and then names are given to them, how they are to be called.[6] But when the children become somewhat older, so that they arrive at some understanding, then they select and adopt their *Pådhra* or idol, faith and religion, about which we shall see below in the chapter concerned.[7]

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[6] By what name they are to be called.

[7] See below, Chapt. XV.

+ = element present
− = element denied
(+) or (−) = source ambiguous
• = informant could not or would not say
s = some, sometimes, or several
† or * = see Ethnographic Notes, pp. 79-137 for additional information

	Williams	Van der Donck	Lindestrom	Zeisberger	Heckewelder	Johnston	Pipe	Chipps	J. W.	W. T.	E. R.	W. L.
						520	574	562	191	538	576	269	695	755	756	342
Medicine—Continued																
52. Perform surgical operation				(−)		−		−	−	−	−	−	−			
53. Unite profession with priesthood	(+)		(+)			−		−	−	−	−	−	−			
54. Always use juggling tricks †	+	s	s	s	s	−		−	s	−	s	s	s			
55. Beat on own breast	+		(+)		+	+			+	+	+	+	+			
56. Blow in hands	+		(+)		+	+			+	−	+	+	+			
57. Make rumbling noise	+		+	+		+			+	+	+	+	+			
58. Blow on patient	+		+	+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+			
59. Rub the part affected						+			+	+	+	+	+			
60. Have effect on patient's confidence						+			+	+	+	+	+			
General Manners and Customs																
61. Eat human flesh			*(−)	−	−	−	•	−	−	−	−	−	−			
62. Shake hands on meeting; inquire about health and express gladness to see	(±)			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
64. Great respect paid age or rank				+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
65. Visit one another for purpose of conversation	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
66. Regular parties at which they entertain				+		+	•	•	+	+	+	+	+			
67. Practice of telling stories				+		+	+	•	+	+	+	+	+			
68. In winter and at night only						+	•	•	+	+	+	+	*+			
69. Use words equivalent to swearing		−		−		+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−			
70. Exhibit strong feelings of love, friendship and affection to same sex					+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+ •			
71. to opposite sex						+	−	+	+	−	+	−	+ •			
72. common to try to suppress to same sex						+	−	+	+	−	−	−	•			
73. common to try to suppress to opposite sex						+	+	+	+	−	−					
74. Matter of pride to suppress feelings or excitement, especially fear and shame				+		+	•	+	+	(+)	+	−	+			
75. On return home men treat wives with indifference					+	+	+	•	+	+	−	+	+			
76. On return home men treat children with indifference					−	−	•	•	−	−	−	−	−			
77. Powers of recollection strong			+		+	+	•	+	+	+	+	+	+			
78. Any peculiarities in encampments (except war) or building of huts that distinguish from others				+		*+	•	•	•	+	*+		+			

+ = element present
− = element denied
(+) or (−) = source ambiguous
* = informant could not or would not say
S = some, sometimes, or several
† or * = see Ethnographic Notes, pp. 79-137 for additional information

	Williams	Van der Donck	Lindeström	Zeisberger	Heckewelder	Johnston 585	Pipe 584	Chipps 158	J. W. 848	W. T. 848	E. R. 563	W. L. 858
Birth and its incidents—Continued												
113. Parents exercise any control over mature children						+	+	+	+	+	*+	*+
114. Age children are expected to maintain themselves					20+	15-25		20	25	25	16-17+	20-22
115. Child given daily bath †		+				+	•	•	+	+	+	+
116. Cradle used	+	(−)	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	*+
117. Consists of board	+		+	+		+	+	+			•	+
118. with cushion			−			+	+	+			•	+
119. with hoop over head			+			+	+	+			•	+
120. hoop decorated						+	•	•			•	+
121. Cradle put in hammock						•	+	•			+	+
122. Boys and girls treated with equal care and affection						+	+	+	+	+	S	+
123. Any difference in treatment of legitimate and illegitimate	(−)	−				−	−	−	•	*−	−	−
124. Mother takes care of illegitimate	+	+				+	+	+	+	•	+	+
125. Father not compelled to contribute but may do so						+	+	•	+	•	+	+
126. Birth of twins frequent	+			−		−	+	−	+	+	−	+
127. Number of instances of triplets						0	1	1	0	0	0	0
128. Are parental feelings strong	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
129. Are filial feelings strong	−			+	+	S	+	+	+	+	+	+
130. Do they (128 and 129) continue through life				+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Marriage and its incidents												
131. Courtship				−	−	−	−	*(+)	−	−	*−	−
132. Marriage arranged by parents	(+)	+	−	S	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+
133. Consent of either party asked	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	−
134. Any ceremony of marriage †		+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+
135. Presents for bride	(+)	+		+			+	+	+	+	+	+
136. Presents for family of bride	(+)					+	+		+	+	+	+
137. Presents exchanged				+	+	•	+	•	−	−	−	−
138. Time served by boy						•	−	•	−	−	−	−
139. Polygamy common †	−	−		−		−	−	−	•	−	−	−
140. Only rich or chiefs have more than one		+		+*		+	+	+			+	+

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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name by the month in which he was born. Three or four days after birth, not over five months. They set a day on which relatives and friends bring things, grub, give it to baby—glad there are new folks, kin to us, who have come to live with us. Then every birthday give big feast. 85/ 553 [858]

E. R. and W. L. said names might be given immediately after birth or not until several days had passed.

90. Particular age of naming child

LINDESTRÖM says when they become large enough to shoot a gun.

91. Descriptive names

J. W.—Names in keeping with month of birth. 553

W. L.—Animal names are used but not exclusively.

93. Names from dreams

E. R.—All names come from dreams. Child might go several days without a name. Chaff each other in the family about not being able to give a newborn child a name. Finally one of the parents or grandparents, going to bed with this on his mind so much, would awake with a dream of a name. 553 787

JOHN JOHNSTON—It is generally from dreams dreamt by the parent or some relation, relative to the agility or faculty of some animal, which they say appears to them and tells a pretty story.

97 and 98. Individual has more than one name; changed later in life

JOHN JOHNSTON—They have [more than one name] sometimes but the second one is one of their own choosing when they arise to years of discretion. 553

CAPTAIN PIPE—Although they never have more than one name at a time it is not uncommon for them when grown up, to change their name, in which case the same ceremonies at the grand council take place. This subsequent naming (it sometimes goes as far as a third) is sometime because the original appellation,

[P.39, A]

855 receiving from their mothers adequate physical care, especially in early infancy, but that the child did not receive much of what we would call "affection" or "love" and from time to time was neglected and subjected to petty meanness. The father had only intermittent contact with the mother-child nexus, and to the child appeared as a distant potentially loving (and perhaps also potentially threatening), but practically [861] remote figure. Neither parent made use of systematic punishment as an educative technique. The male child grew up into an adult who saw women both as 86 romantic ideals and as untrustworthy 562 and malicious, potentially witches, while men were regarded as potential comrades, toward whom nevertheless highly polite, circumspect behavior was required in order to avoid giving offense. Women grew up to be discreet but covertly malicious wives and mothers. No individual of either sex was conceived as [571] the possessor of unquestioned authority, and social relations hence were very individualistic and fissionable. There is 155 evidence to suggest that the individual remained somewhat fixed, on an unconscious level, to infantile patterns of "oral" reaction, of a dependent, aggressively demanding nature, although these dependency patterns were masked by a superficial individualism and self-sufficiency, and by careful inhibition of any openly aggressive behavior. The conflict between the dependent and aggressive impulses, on the one hand, and the conscientious efforts to be self-sufficient and unaggressive on the other, was partially resolved by the guardian spirit complex, a technique of personality integration which allowed the adolescent to collect his dependency wishes and displace them onto the fantasy figure of an all-powerful parent. Further relief was afforded by various institutionalized ritual or semi-ritual institutions, such as warfare, feasting, and religion. Liquor, however, was a severe threat to the integrity of the society, since it allowed repressed and sublimated im-

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

rally makes them wish to know what is good and what is bad. This the parent teaches him in his own way, that is to say, in the way in which he was himself taught by his own parents. It is not the lesson of an hour nor of a day, it is rather a long course more of practical than of theoretical instruction, a lesson, which is not repeated at stated seasons or times, but which is shewn, pointed out, and demonstrated to the child, not only by those under whose immediate guardianship he is, but by the whole community, who consider themselves alike interested in the direction to be given to the rising generation.

When this instruction is given in the form of precepts, it must not be supposed that it is done in an authoritative or forbidding tone, but, on the contrary, in the gentlest and most persuasive manner: nor is the parent's authority ever supported by harsh or compulsive means; no whips, no punisments, no threats are even used to enforce commands or compel obedience. The child's *pride* is the feeling to which an appeal is made, which proves successful in almost every instance. A father needs only to say in the presence of his children: "I want such a "thing done; I want one of my children to go upon such "an errand; let me see who is the *good* child that will do "it!" This word *good* operates, as it were, by magic, and the children immediately vie with each other to comply with the wishes of their parent. If a father sees an old decrepid man or woman pass by, led along by a child, he will draw the attention of his own children to the object by saying: "What a *good* child that must be, "which pays such attention to the aged! That child, "indeed, looks forward to the time when it will likewise "be old!" or he will say, "May the great Spirit, who "looks upon him, grant this *good* child a long life!"

In this manner of bringing up children, the parents, as I have already said, are seconded by the whole community. If a child is sent from his father's dwelling to

1;Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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867 carry a dish of victuals to an aged person, all in the
888 house will join in calling him a *good* child. They will ask whose child he is, and on being told, will exclaim: what! has the *Tortoise*, or the *little Bear* (as the father's name may be) got such a *good* child? If a child is seen passing through the streets leading an old decrepid person, the villagers will in his hearing, and to encourage all the other children who may be present to take example from him, call on one another to look on and see what a *good* child that must be. And so, in most in-
867 stances, this method is resorted to, for the purpose of instructing children in things that are good, proper, or honourable in themselves; while, on the other hand, when a child has committed a *bad* act, the parent will say to him: "O! how grieved I am that my child has done
[861] "this *bad* act! I hope he will never do so again." This is generally effectual, particularly if said in the presence of others. The whole of the Indian plan of education tends to elevate rather than depress the mind, and by that means to make determined hunters and fearless warriors.

868 Thus, when a lad has killed his first game, such as a deer or a bear, parents who have boys growing up will not fail to say to some person in the presence of their own children: "That boy must have listened attentively "to the aged hunters, for, though young, he has alrea-"dy given a proof that he will become a good hunter "himself." If, on the other hand, a young man should fail of giving such a proof, it will be said of him "that "he did not pay attention to the discourses of the aged."

In this indirect manner is instruction on all subjects given to the young people. They are to learn the arts of hunting, trapping, and making war, by listening to the aged when conversing together on those subjects, each, in his turn, relating how he acted, and opportunities are afforded to them for that purpose. By this mode of instructing youth, their respect for the aged is kept alive,

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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Bucks-horn, or the like."[27] In everyday life kinship terms were used rather than personal names.[28] Denton also said:

> Any Indian being dead, his name dies with him, no person daring ever after to mention his name, it being not only a breach of their Law, but an abuse to his friends & relations present, as if it were done on purpose to renew their grief: And any other person whatsoever that is named after that name doth incontinently change his name & takes a new one.[29]

Education and Training of Children

Children were nursed until they were three or four years old, but were increasingly fed meat and other specially prepared foods. Holm said they were taught to walk when they were nine months old.[30] When boys were four or five years old, they were given their first instruction in hunting, warfare, and woodcraft, as well as in other phases of a man's life.[31] Girls at the same age were initiated into the duties of housekeeping and the planting and cultivating of gardens. Old people, particularly grandparents, played an important role in instructing the children in tradition, religion, and correct behavior (O.A., N.D.). According to Trowbridge, men took upon themselves the duty of instructing the young of their phratry.[32] The earlier documents are silent on these points, but there seems to be no reason why these more modern data do not represent the customs of a former period.

In earlier times physical punishment was seldom if ever used on the children; explanation, ridicule, exhortation, and threats took its place.[33] Obedience was sometimes enforced by threats of punishment by the Mask Being. If a child was slow to rise in the morning, for instance, the recalcitrant one was told that this supernatural creature would visit him and poke him with a stick (N.D.). It was also believed that the supernatural powers punished disobedient children by causing them to become weak and sickly (N.D.). The myth of a great, naked bear was frequently used, since disobedient children were said to be its particular victims.[34] Children were described as being well behaved; a captive brought up by the Delawares said that "honesty, bravery and hospitality are cardinal virtues with them... Their young, in a remarkable degree, reverence and honor the aged, especially their parents."[35] Not only were the old respected, but game and various other presents were often given to them.[36]

As children grew older, the boys in particular were more and more exposed to a toughening program. Training was one of increasing hardship, up to and including the puberty rituals. Children were forced to

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[27] Denton, 1845, p. 8.
[28] Trowbridge MS.
[29] Denton, 1845, p. 8.
[30] Holm, 1834, p. 127.
[31] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 202; Harrington, 1913, p. 213; Trowbridge MS.
[32] Trowbridge MS.
[33] Brickell, 1842, p. 47; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 81.
[34] Heckewelder, 1799, pp. 260-62.
[35] Brickell, 1842, p. 48.
[36] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 76.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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The children have entirely their own will and never do anything by compulsion. Told to do something they do not care about, the children let it go by default and are not reprimanded for it. Yet many wellbred children are found among them who pay great attention and respect to parents and do things to please them. They are courteous, even to strangers. They respond to mild treatment. The contrary generally produces bitterness, hatred and contempt. The women are frequently guilty of thus raising their children to anger, for the women are often ill-tempered. By way of punishment, they will pour water on the children or thrust them into the water. The parents are careful not to beat their children, lest the children might remember it and revenge themselves on some future occasion. Instances are not wanting where children when grown have reproached their parents for corporal punishment received in youth and have threatened to return the indignity.

Rarely does an Indian have two or more wives, being fearful of strife in the house. Blood relations do not marry; in this particular they are even more strict than the whites. They claim that division of the race into tribes came about in order to make it more readily certain that a man in taking a wife was not marrying a near relative. Concerning the tribes, however, more will be said in another connection. An instance of an Indian having married a mother and her daughter at the same time was a most extraordinary thing.

Families have from four to six children. More than this number is unusual. Birth of twins is rarely heard of. In many cases children who have become motherless after birth have been reared by careful old women. Sometimes children are given to such women. Then they spare no pains in rearing them. Soup made of Indian corn, pounded very fine, is given by them to infants of tender age, that may have come into their possession. Ordinarily, orphans, even if they have lost but the mother, meet with hard experience and often suffer want. Children who have been given or bequeathed, on the contrary, are almost without exception well cared for.

In the management of household affairs the husband leaves

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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nations. By such a commission an accession of honor and respect is acquired by the captain. So soon as he gives up the tomahawk, his men must cease from hostile acts and demonstrations. 728

The rank of captain is neither elective nor hereditary. First intimation of this honor comes usually in a dream, early in life, one or another having seen a buffalo, a bear or other ferocious animal, or he has seen in a vision an Indian who spoke with him and gave him the necessary gifts. Such a dream is pondered over and related to friends and usually interpreted as destiny for the office of Captain. The dreamer's imagination leads him to believe that nothing may injure him and that no bullet can harm him. He, therefore, endeavors to attain to the necessary qualifications for this dignity and prove his powers for he must be tested, as will appear presently. Occasionally, boys are prepared and instructed for this position. These are given little to eat, are made to fast often and long, so that their bodies become emaciated, their minds deranged and their dreams wild and extravagant. Frequent questions are put to them when in this condition as to the dreams they have had. So long as they have not dreamt or not dreamt the right thing, the process is continued until they have been reduced to skin and bones, when they usually have or pretend to have a fantastic dream, declared to be ominous. The subject being minutely considered and interpreted by their teachers, they are solemnly informed what will be their future destination. By virtue of these extraordinary revelations they become physicians, great hunters, rich men, *Mantewits*, that is, sorcerers, or captains. The impression thus made on their minds is lasting, and as they grow older they earnestly strive to fulfill their destination, believing themselves to be men of peculiar gifts, far in advance of the others. It is not enough to profess to be destined for the dignity of a captain. The claim must be made good. The candidate must be resolute, brave, fearless, even in greatest danger. If a leader, who has not the rank of captain, has the good fortune not to lose a man of his troop in six or seven engagements and to bring scalps and prisoners to the camp, he is recognized and honored as a captain forthwith. If he loses 624 787 861 624

302 also considered a mark of beauty (Lindstrom, pp. 193, 194, and 196; Pastorius, 1698, p. 433).

The Delaware women had the distinctive custom of wearing their hair in a large bun at the back rather than in braids. Men plucked all body hair and that of the head except for one tuft which was allowed to grow long (Smith, p. 137; Harrington, 1913, p. 220; Pastorius, 1700, p. 384; Lindstrom, pp. 195 and 200). Men were 301 permitted to tattoo themselves as marks of distinction, the designs 304 suggesting the deed which they commemorated. The operation was performed by breaking the skin in the desired pattern with a flint knife or sharp fish tooth. When the blood had been drawn, a powder of burned poplar bark was laid in the wound. Apparently the tattoo lasted a lifetime (Heckewelder, 1881, p. 206).

291 Children were allowed to go about with little or no clothing until 302 eight or ten years of age, being protected from the sun by a liberal coating of bear grease (Johnson, p. 280; Pastorius, 1700, p. 384).

Family Organization and Customs

843 Starting at the beginning of life, we find that the birth process was accompanied by certain special customs. Penn says that "...when with Child, they [the women] know their Husbands no more, till delivered..." (Penn, p. 33). Harrington tells us that a prospective father who had bad luck at hunting attributed it to the spirit of his child playing about and scaring the game away. He would accordingly wear a miniature bow and arrow to keep the child's spirit amused while he hunted, or if this did not work he would try a small mortar and pestle assuming that the baby was a girl (1913, p. 212).

844 Birth itself occurred in the small hut which was also used during menstrual periods. The child was immediately immersed in water, then [841] wrapped in a skin and bound to a cradle board. This was softened with a moss covering and had curved side pieces. The child stayed in the cradleboard most of the time until it could walk (Pastorius, 1698, 854 p.434; Penn, pp.29-30; Lindstrom, p.201). Then, when it had to be 482 carried, it was placed in a blanket and carried on the mother's back (Lindstrom, p.201).

861 Almost all of the writers were impressed with the quiet and respectful behavior of Delaware children. Only later writers, however, had much to say about the means used to educate them. These writers noted that children, especially the boys, seldom were punished (Brickell, p.47; Zeisberger, 1870, p.86). Brickell, who was brought up by a Delaware family, says that honesty, bravery and hospitality were cardinal virtues with them and that much of the training received was directed toward developing these virtues [862] (pp.47-48). Also, of course, boys were taught woodcraft, fishing and hunting, and girls were taught the household duties including the care of the younger children.

the care of the younger children. Although physical punishment was seldom resorted to, exhortation and explanation were commonly used. One mythical story which was evidently used as a threat was that of the great naked bear. This was a creature, larger than most bears and naked except for a white spot. The only way to kill it was to break its back as its heart was so small that an arrow would seldom find it. The last of the species was reputed to have been killed on the east side of the Hudson River, but before that time it was said that recalcitrant children were particularly likely to be its victims (Heckewelder, 1799, pp.260-62). 861

A boy's life was not burdened with many chores until he was twelve or older, his time being spent in fishing and playing (Penn, p.30; Pastorius, 1698, p.434; Zeisberger, 1870, p.86; Harrington, 1913, p.213). When he reached this age, it was desirable for him to have a vision and receive a guardian spirit (Lindstrom, p.207). To promote this, the parents mistreated him, fed him sparingly and finally drove him into the woods. It was felt that this would cause a spirit to feel sorry for the boy and present itself to him.9 The nature of the vision which a youth had was sometimes taken as a sign of his future profession, and training in such a case would start immediately to prepare the boy to become a shaman or warrior as the case might be (Harrington, 1913, pp. 214-15; Zeisberger, 1910, p.101). At about fifteen the boys began hunting and at this they had to become proficient before considering marriage. 857 787 582

The girls stayed with their mothers and began helping to hoe the ground, plant corn and carry burdens as soon as they were able (Penn, p.30; Zeisberger, 1870, p.87). At a girl's first menstruation she went to a small hut some distance from the house where she stayed at least seven days. Here meals were brought to her by her mother or an old woman-friend, but she could not be touched. She used a sharpened stick in eating to prevent the food from touching her hands. At the end of her seclusion, the girl washed herself and all her clothing and dishes before returning home. She was then considered ready for marriage (Penn, pp.33-4; Beatty, p.43; Brickell, p.49; Harrington, 1913, p.215). 868 881 [582]

Marriage

"When the Young Women are fit for Marriage, they wear something upon their Heads for an Advertisement, but so as their Faces are hardly to be seen..."(Penn, p.31). Other descriptions tell us that this covering was made of worked mats decorated with alternate rows of white and black wampum and was worn pulled down to the middle of the forehead (Smith, p.138; Zeisberger, 1910, p.77). Girls married between the ages of thirteen and fourteen; boys, at seventeen or eighteen (Penn, p.31). According to Zeisberger, the Delaware had the tradition that individuals must always marry outside the local group, but no seventeenth century writer has commented on this point (Zeisberger, 1910, p.78). 582 [292]

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
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will take good care of it, and burn Indian tobacco for it from time to time. With the mask is kept a coat and leggings of bear-skin to represent the being's hairy body, a peculiar rattle of turtleshell (fig. 2), a stick, and a bag made of bear-skin, all used by the man selected to impersonate Mĭsinghâli'kŭn at the various ceremonies when he is supposed to appear, and which will be described later. To the back of the mask is fastened the skin of the bear's head, which effectually conceals the head and neck of the impersonator (pl. 11), while the bear's ears, projecting, add to the uncanny effect.

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If any Lenape had a child who was weak, sickly, or disobedient, he would send word to the keeper of the mask that he wanted Mĭsinghâli'kŭn to "attend his child." It is said that it did not take the impersonator long to frighten the weakness, sickness, or laziness out of the child, so that thenceforth it would be strong and well, and would obey on the instant when asked to do anything. This effect was probably strengthened by

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
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the mother saying, "If you don't behave, MIsi'ng$^{w^t}$ will carry you off in a bag full of snakes!" This seems to be the only trace of the doctoring function of the mask among the Unami. They also say that when the keeper burns tobacco for MIsinghâli'kŭn and asks for good luck in hunting, "it turns out that way every time;" and if anyone has lost either horses or cattle, whether by straying away or through theft, he can go to the keeper of the MIsi'ng$^{w^t}$ with some tobacco and recover them. All he has to do is to explain his errand to the keeper, who in turn informs MIsinghâli'kŭn that they want him to look for these particular animals. The loser then goes home, and in a few days the missing stock return, driven back by this mysterious being. If they were tied or hobbled, it is said that the MIsi'ng$^{w^t}$ appears to them and so frightens them that they break loose and come home. MIsinghâli'kŭn has a special ceremony, held in the spring, and also participates in the Annual Ceremony at the Big House. This MIsi'ng$^{w^t}$ is also

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6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
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he comes to no harm. At each house the impersonator dismounts and enters, making known his errand by signs, but saying only "*Ho^{n}-ho^{n}-ho^{n}*," and everywhere they give him tobacco, which he puts in his sack. At this time the people frighten disobedient children with the threat that, unless they behave, the Mĭsi'ng^{w} will carry them away in a sack full of snakes.

Preparations.—The dance-ground customarily used for this purpose has meanwhile been put in order, a cleared place in the woods selected for good shade and pleasant surroundings, and the logs which serve as seats arranged to form the rectangle within which the dance takes place. A great pot of hominy is also prepared; this constitutes the main dish of the feast.

The Ceremony.—When the people have gathered on the night appointed, and the impersonator has returned from the bushes where he retired to dress, wearing the mask and bearskin suit (pl. II), the speaker addresses the people and relates the origin of the dance, then addressing the Mĭsi'ng^{w}, says, "Take care of us

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
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house or tent the man of the house usually gives him a piece of tobacco, which the Messingq smells and puts in his big pouch, after which he turns around and kicks back toward the giver which means 'thank you,' and departs. He never thinks of climbing a fence, but jumps over it every time that one is in his way. The Devil dance is what the white men call it, but the Delawares call it the Messingq, or 'solid face' dance. The Messingq does not represent an evil spirit, but is always considered a peacemaker. I suppose that it is from his hideous appearance that white men call him the devil."

OTHER FUNCTIONS OF MISI'NG^{w}

The MIsi'ng^{w} the Indians claim, "takes care of the children," as well as of the deer, for as before related if any Delaware has a child who is weak, sickly. or disobedient, he sends for the MIsi'ng^{w} and asks him to "attend to" his child, On his arrival it does not take the impersonator long to frighten the weakness, sickness, or laziness out of such children, so that "afterward they are well and strong, and whenever they are told to do a thing, they lose no time in obeying." This is the only trace of the doctoring function of the mask found among the Unami.

7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

The Mask Dance is given in the fall of the year because all vegetation is matured at that time, also the hunting season opens with Indians when the leaves of the forest have begun to turn red showing the first tinges of autumn. Deer hides are then said to be thickening and the fur becoming good.

The Delaware Mask Dance is given, sometimes because someone has had a "scare," or may have been attacked by some strange malady, or a sick spell, imagining that he has seen a mask and become frightened. Sometimes mask owners fail by neglect to give the usual annual Mask Ceremony, or again in case of death they fail to transfer the ownership of the mask to some member of the family or next closest of kin, so the strange things are brought about.

The Delaware Indians use the entire mask which has a cape attached to it, the cape hanging over the coat, thus the man wearing the mask must hold his fingers in the mouth of the mask while moving about or dancing because the mask is simply resting on the head and the large wooden face is heavy and will jolt on the head; now the mask wearer must carry his cane and the snapping turtle rattle in his right hand together until he stops. A shoulder strap about two inches wide is thrown over the shoulder with a small saddle bag attached and used to put chewing tobacco in, which is given to the mask-man or wearer. In order to keep children from making so much unnecessary noise, they are told that the bag (*pɔnda''sɔnakan*) contains snakes.

An old and historic specimen of the wooden mask used in recent years by the Delawares of the Cherokee band, Oklahoma, having found its way, surreptitiously as the Indians claim, into the cases of the Museum of the American Indian, New York, has been described by Harrington and myself. It is 14.5 inches in length the right half being painted red, the left half black. The eye-holes were small apertures perforated in tin plates to permit vision. It is not necessary to repeat here what has already been said of the object (Speck, "Big House Ceremony," pp. 39–44, 93).[1]

[1] Sooner or later it will become the task of a student to examine the correspondences between Delaware and Iroquois mask traits among which stand forth the common peculiarities of mask construction in both series, the use of

7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

MISCELLANEOUS RITES

The Scratching Rite for Warriors

In the nature of an ordeal by which the man of strength showed his courage when preparing to go to war or to enter one of the physical contests, we learn that he scratched himself on the body. In the same operation he purified himself. Tradition is vague on the details, but in this rite we meet with one that is of apparently southern origin in view of its almost universal observance among the Indians of the southeastern or Gulf area. Our information does not permit of much discussion of the spiritual or physical qualities of this heroic practice, therefore it will have to stand simply as an occurrence to be noted in the study of distribution of the scratching rite as one of therapeusis and purification. It is called *le'həli·k'ci·'k·an*, "scratching."

The rite is mentioned by Lindeström as practiced medicinally by the Delawares in the middle of the seventeenth century for the purpose of relieving pain and fatigue after a strenuous journey, and also as a means of preventing them before one.[1] A piece of flint was the scarifying agent. *Wi·tapano'xwe* had heard that a fish bone had also been used, but there were no particulars given as to how the instrument was constructed.[2]

In 1756 John McCullough was held captive by the Delawares and adopted by them. During his captivity he observed many customs of importance. Among them he writes of being subjected to a punishment intended for mischievous boys in which the miscreant was scratched on the thighs and legs with the bill of a gar-fish wrapped in a thin rag so that the teeth projected through. Sometimes, he added, if punishment were merited a second or third time, the corrector would score the boys from the top of the shoulder down to the wrists and again from each shoulder to the hip, forming a

[1] Lindeström, *op. cit.*, 344. (Ed. A. Johnson, Philadelphia, 1925.)
[2] Bone scarifiers are known to the Cherokee and Catawba of the Carolinas.

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
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cross on the back. We can see in this rite a parallel to the information we already have concerning the practice of scratching the body with the teeth of some kind of fish.[1]

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THE SCRATCHING CEREMONY

yu'kwe nda'yaxkənu't·əmən e·'hele·k lɔ'mwe
Now I am relating how those performances long ago

ə'nda e·lowę'ni·k' do·"p·ali·n ni·kani·'xiŋgi·k' i·la·'ɔk'
when it was called scouting. The leading warriors

maeŋge·'yɔk' a'kənu't·as·u e·'lowenŋ pənahɔ'k·i·en
called together a council they talked about what is called exploring

ci·'takɔ do·"p·ali·n ɔk a'kəni·ma'n ski·no'wak'
or scouting and they talked to young men

kę'ci·ləs·i·'tci·k kɛ'ko e·hel·a'ci·mwi·'"ti·t'
those who "great meę" are in something who had had visions in dreams

wuska'ti·la'ɔk hi·ta'n·dəl·a·n ɔk wu'ndji· ki·ki·'naməɑ
the young warriors are trained and so are acquainted with

we·'mi· yu'ta li·' te·'kəne. wa'ni· ni·kani·'xiŋ ɔk
all this the wilderness. The leader and

məte·'inowak kələ'n·əmuk' i·laopa's·i·'kən ne·'sko
the medicine men "doctors" carry with them warrior's medicine before

a'ləm'ska'ti·t' i·la'o'keyɔk haŋg tamseha'ŋg. wu'ska'-
they go off They have a war dance said sometimes. The young

ti·la'ɔk' wəli·'hil·i·k'cə'mən awe·'n hɔ'k·ae wu'ndji
warriors scratch themselves a person's body that is why

we·'i·tci·lae'ŋge·n təli·' te'pi·lə'ɔ·i·n a'hi· xahe'len·a'u'ki·
to convince that they are able very many are

ha't·e· ehela'ehɔs·i·'t·up' wa'ni· lən·a'p·e. ə'n·da
they had the performances tho Delawares. When

we'ndja'ki·t' təli·' do·"pali·n ci·'takɔ i·la'o'k·an
they are prepared to scout or have war dance

ɔk cəmu'tc' lɔ'mwe ə'n·da pa'sa"həmaŋg
and also long time ago when they played Indian football

a'hi· təmi·'ki· awe·'n wəli·'hil·i·k'can hɔ'k·ayɔ
very ofttimes anyone scratch himself [until bleeds] on body

[1] Archibald Loudon, "A Collection of Some of the Most Interesting Narratives of the Outrages Committed by Indians in the Wars with the White People." 2 vols., Carlisle, 1808, reprinted 1888, containing Narrative of the Captivity of John McCullough, written by himself, 1776, pp. 269–70. See also for Shawnee

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9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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was left to the mother to select a name, she did so with little ceremony, but that the father pretended to receive a name in a dream. Pipe said that a child might take its name from its father, Van der Donck said from its mother, Chipps said sometimes from one of its parents but usually from one of its grandparents. Part of the diversity may be accounted for by the fact that often two or more old people including the child's grandparents, dreamed a name, and on being presented with these the parents made a selection. W. L., however, said that the power to name was derived from dreams and the names bestowed by an individual so empowered were usually related to his dream but that no dreaming was done for any particular child. None of the accounts indicate whether or not the name given an individual reflected his clan affiliation.

Whatever the origin of his name, the individual never had more than one, according to all informants and all the sources except Johnston, and apparently he had in mind the number of names an individual bore during life rather than at one time (97). In the changing of names during life the tabulation shows a clean break between the fourth and previous periods (98). The reason for this is not so clear, but it seems very reasonable to assign it to white influence and particularly the establishment of tribal rolls used in making annuity payments.

According to Williams, the Indian parents with whom he was acquainted did not use corporeal punishment for the correction of their children (105). He convinced one Narraganset father of the benefit of such correction. If corporeal punishment did not exist among the coastal Algonquain tribes before his time, the introduction of this element might be traced to him, for all of the subsequent writers with the exception of Heckewelder and all the informants affirmed the practice of it. However, the punishments listed by the other sources and informants were not very severe in most cases and indicate that, as among most tribes, the principal means of restraint with Delaware children were persuasion and example.

The education of Indian youth was frequently characterized as being entirely without system (103). It is true that formal

861 classes and text books were not a basic part of the system, but the descriptions of the teaching of Indian children show that they were definitely educated to fill their places in the society of which they were members. At a very early age children were given as
868 toys models of implements they would use in earnest in later life.
867 These were different for each sex. For example, a boy would be given a tiny bow with straws for arrows; then, as he grew up, the size and effectiveness of the weapons would be increased until he was able to kill every sort of game as a full-fledged hunter. Girls were given dolls and very early instructed in the fundamentals of making baskets and pots. A considerable amount of the instruction given to children was by example and explanation incidental to actual practices by the parents or other elders, and by the relation of stories and myths. Therein lies the explanation of the failure of many early writers to find a "system" of education among the Indians. As a matter of fact, the reports of the age at which childhood was considered to cease show that the training of youths among the Indians was completed while they were still quite young (106).

597 Johnston and Chipps definitely stated that orphaned children were never adopted by relatives, although the care of orphans usually devolved upon the nearest relations in the absence of adoption (107-12). Zeisberger's statement that orphans were often given or bequeathed to old women may be construed the same way. Among the sources only Pipe gave relatives a prior claim on orphans. He said that maternal grandparents were bound by custom to take care of children on the death of the parents, but that, if they too were dead, other relatives or friends might take them. All of the modern informants agree that relatives of orphans could and did adopt them, although childless friends or neighbors who desired them often were given the orphans if they made their desires known. From the available information it looks as if there was a change in customs regarding the adoption of orphans within the fourth period.

854 The cradleboard must have been discarded by the Delaware
352 early in the fourth period, for of the modern informants not even the oldest had ever seen one in use among the Delaware

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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That gives me strength in the legs. Don't eat with your folks, 262
wait until they get done. They leave what you should eat. 869

When my mother and father go somewhere, they take me along but I must not pry around but stay with one of my folks. 867 Then if they think I should be out they tell me "go out there and play but play good—whoever you see you must mind him —pay attention." Come back when they can you. Afternoon from three to four o'clock one must not play, run around or holler. Do not eat in the evening. Drink very little water. Go to bed at sundown. In the morning, just day, get up, wash, clean yourself up, take a refreshing. The sun come up and see you, give you strength, life. They tell me when you go out be careful. To go a little ways, you ask. Maybe want a little water, go get it—grandfather—have a thought—great thing—give you strength, give it to your folks, they thank you, drink, then you take it. Same way wood, go get it, put it over here, let your folks put it in the fire, don't put in fire until they tell you so. Don't just hit things with your ax until we tell you so. Don't kick things, there's your hand—use it—pick it up—if you can't pick up something in your way, go around. Then suppose somebody come—anybody—don't go meet him, or talk to him—stay away. But if somebody call you, have something for you to do, come and do it. Maybe he have something to tell you—don't forget it—maybe he give you good advice. Don't ever stand there and look at people too much. Look at them when they tell you something. Then when you get to be a big boy, you know and recognize things. You kill game—must not eat. I don't get to eat first game, give it to folks and let them eat it. Next game you can eat but there are certain parts like back you must not eat until you are a man. Then my father or mother send me some place to see somebody—tell him they want him to come over but I must come right back. When I get back they ask me if I tell them and what they say. I must answer if I am playing around and they call me—not just come but answer. Come with whip [36] to show me if I get beyond call. Wore long homemade shirt, [29] breechcloth, moccasins (barefoot in summer). Leggings of heavy cloth in winter. No hat. One little thin blanket in one corner or

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

867 under bed. Use hands to eat. Sticks for forks, wooden spoons, knives only to cut meat. Ax to cut bones. No canned goods —stuff put in it might harm you—only clean food eaten.

867 In Fall, November, before sunup go to creek and swim.
866 Wind cold, water warm, give you strength, get out look like something pinched you. Go to house, burn cedar, refresh you.
[863] That's your health your body, no disease. If you are not clean any little thing can catch you.

Then when you get to be a man. Don't whoop like boy. Must take care of yourself—whooping might strain something. Then they tell me I can have a woman. If I see one I want I tell the
[864] old folks. I must not prowl around. Maybe another clan, maybe same clan but not folks. The old folks have rules, they talk to girl's folks. Her folks talk to her about me. Her folks like mine, mine like hers. Give her folks something, goods, blankets, etc. Big feast, invite people. Wedding—preacher talk to me and her. Tell us we must talk over things—where one of us wants to go, what to do, etc. Then maybe it's all right. Wife in family way must not go (six months or so after marriage) to see sick people, death or butchering. Any good things all right. Anything wrong or unnatural might affect child.

105. Corporeal punishment for children

● 861 Zeisberger says in one place that children were not punished, but reproved for mischief with gentle words; in another that water was thrown in their faces as punishment.

John Johnston—(No restraint or punishment) except threatening and denying them food for a certain time.

Captain Chipps—The domestic government of children is wild. Disobedience is punished severely by flogging—other offenses are considered lighter.

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106. Age at which childhood ceases

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10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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eastern Fence Lizard (Sceloporus undulatus), at the same time recording the folk-belief from Wi·tapano'xwe that the puny creature is thought by some to be capable of entering the mouth of a person, biting his heart and causing death. 539X 754 776 825

sects, for example, the spider,[1] and also the scorpion,[2] and these birds; the screech owl and horned-owl[3] and also the chicken-killer,[4] the red-tailed hawk.[5]

[1] No specific race of arachnid is indicated by this general term, which means something repulsive.

[2] Literally "big with many legs."

[3] Onomatopoetic names. So the cry of the birds sounds to Delaware ears. Ko'kos in some form is general in eastern Algonkian for the Great Horned Owl (Bubo virginianus).

[4] Buteo borealis.

[5] The above baneful creatures represent the agencies used by evil conjurers. The agent, animal or otherwise, used by the conjuror, is called wani pəyɔ'Lak "the being whose power I possess and control." This is regarded by the informant as the analogue to the term baohl'gan used commonly throughout the northern Algonkian family as the messenger or agent of the conjuror. (cf. Penobscot Shamanism, F. G. Speck, Mem. Amer. Anth. Assn. Vol. VI, No. 3, 1920) where a summary of pertinent information for the northeast is given.

Now what is called the state of being a clean, pure child is the source of a person acquiring something as his spiritual vision. Anciently there the children, little boys, it is said, were given a bow and taught how to make arrows. Before daylight they obliged him to go in swimming.[1] Now after, when he appears to be older, far off into the wilds he is driven. "Now must you hunt birds!" Food is not eaten until he kills something. And in the evening as well, the person sleeps without being fed, because, it is said, a child lying exposed in a pitiful state would cause some occasional spirit-force to have pity on him when passing by visiting all the children in the world. Because here from the sunrise direction, or from up above and sometimes from the northern direction or the south, are the directions whence they are visited by spirit-forces. On account of this it is called pitiful abuse.[2] 539X 861 787

Long ago it was called correction. Some persons when sick in any way, persons in perplexity and distress, would accordingly experience a dream-vision of something, or some would acquire a revelation vision.

It is that which one is blessed, whence one becomes useful[3] or becomes a healer or the reciter of a vision in the Big House.

[1] This drastic custom intended not only to harden but to purify youths. The immersion daily in pure running water is part of the ceremonial bringing-up reported in a number of eastern peoples besides the Delawares.

[2] Here we meet with an important religious phenomena,—ritual abuse to secure a more intense spiritual blessing. The concept has been discussed in the beginning of the study.

[3] Meaning that one who has obtained a spiritual blessing or inspiration is under moral obligation by Delaware ethical standards to devote his gift toward the alleviation of human misery, by healing the sick, by setting the example of purity and unselfishness to others.

[P. 34, A]

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854 Lindestrom as never crying.[4] Whether this was because they were nursed whenever restless (which is most likely), or because the crying was consistently ignored in early infancy, is not clear from the available accounts. From Zeisberger's description of the frequency of the mother's absence, it would seem that, even if the child were nursed on demand when she was available, her frequent absences must have meant to the child that she was an
862 undependable provider. Children were weaned at the age of two or three; the techniques are not described.[5] Anal and
863 urethral training do not seem to have been strenuous: boys wore no clothes at all until
[341] the age of five or six, although girls wore aprons as soon as they could walk.[6]

● 861 Zeisberger noted that children were
155 sometimes harshly treated, although such behavior generally produced in them "bitterness, hatred and contempt." He went on to say, "The women are frequently guilty of thus raising their children to anger, for the women are often ill-tempered. By way of punishment, they will pour water on the children or thrust them into the water."[7] Zeisberger did not like the
[157 Indian women, whom he described also
181] as being "much given to lying and gossiping. They carry evil report from house to house. As long as they are observed they appear modest and without guile. All the wrongs of which they are guilty are done
114 in secret."[8] While one may be inclined to
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5. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 80.
6. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 17.
7. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 81.
8. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 124.

[P.34, B]

581 Divorce and family instability were
586 common, many children were raised by mother surrogates. "Owing to instability of the family relationship, children are
581 often neglected."[9] The father was absent, hunting, fishing, fighting, trading, or
855 attending treaties during most of the year; what discipline there was fell to the hand of the mother, who was considered to
796 "own" the children.[10] During one of the annual calendar of ceremonies, young
861 children were chased by a man dressed in a bear-skin, who threatened to punish them for misdeeds (of which the parents kept him informed from year to year) by carrying them away in a bag full of snakes.[11]
[776] This "Mask Spirit" was considered to be the "Guardian of the Game" and also promoted the fertility of the corn; in other words, was the symbol of the food pro-
855 vider.[12] The boys were able to escape from the mother's supervision as soon as they were able to get about to play at hunting and fighting; but the girls were kept around
754 the house to help the mother at work.[13] When a child died, an old woman was often accused of having bewitched it.[14]

155 It would seem that the mother-figure
593 remained a symbol of possible delights which could not be secured on demand, a symbol of diffused frustration, of withheld benefits and hidden hostility, to the Delaware, and the source of his generalized, if inhibited, aggressiveness; and that the father-figure stood on the horizon, so to speak, as a powerful, friendly being, but one too remote and too aloof to be depended upon.

Emotional Attachments in Maturity

584 The ideal in marriage was for a young man to fall in love with a girl. His family would present his suit; she would accept
[585] him by accepting the presents he sent, and come to live with him; and they would live happily and faithfully ever after. The

9. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 21.
10. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 14.
11. Harrington, 1938, pp. 52-53, 113.
12. Ibid.; Harrington, 1921.
13. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 16.
14. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 128.

[P. 36, B]

156 received a serpent or a buffalo, another the sun or the moon, another an owl or some
787 other bird, another a fish, some even ridiculously insignificant creatures such as ants. These are considered their spirits or *Manittos*. If an Indian has no Manitto to be his friend he considers himself forsaken, has nothing upon which he may lean, has no hope of any assistance and is small in his own eyes. On the other hand those who have been thus favored possess a high
154 and proud spirit."[32] We shall have further occasion to remark how many institutions were mobilized to prevent such casual wounds to self-esteem. We shall also see how much aggression such blows to self-esteem could arouse. Heckewelder and
[762] Zeisberger both mention that suicide was a common way of expressing the enormous but disorganized hostility aroused by slights such as marital infidelity or public shaming.[33]

Absence of Authoritarianism

•861 Zeisberger and Heckewelder agreed that Delaware parents avoided corporal punishment, scolding, threatening, or otherwise disciplining children. Growing boys were left pretty much to their own devices. Little homilies on moral values were addressed to them and the child's pride was appealed to in efforts to induce ap-
593 proved social behavior.[34] The father spent much of his time away from home in the employments of the chase (especially when the fur trade added to the importance of
[462] hunting); the mother was responsible for the fundamental subsistence activities. In general the male was peripheral, the female central in cultural role.[35] Delaware women
562 were described as being given to petty
[157] meanness, malicious gossip, and lying; but they were not "matriarchs" in the sense of being the recognized arbiters of the home or society. Their evidently enlarged spite-

32. Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 132-133.
33. Heckewelder, 1819, pp. 258-260; Zeisberger, 1778, p. 83.
34. Heckewelder, 1819, pp. 113-117; Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 16, 81.
35. Heckewelder, 1819, pp. 154-162; Zeisberger, 1778, p. 13-14.

[P. 38, A]

776
[796] crippling revenge.[44] Even animals, (for
[325] example, the bear) had to be conceptualized as quasi-human beings engaged in war with the Indians to legitimize their killing.[45]

Anticipation of Aggression

626 In view of these elaborate cultural devices for avoiding situations where
156 aggressions might come to the surface, either in one's own self or in others, we might expect to find considerable anxiety in everyone over the suspicion that through some slip he might have aroused the hostility of an unknown enemy, especially since in every person there seems to have been a large amount of diffused aggression which could easily be projected onto other
[754] people. The fear of witchcraft, for instance, was universal and demoralizing.[46] Lindestrom described the Delawares as "mistrustful,"[47] and both Zeisberger and
[154] Heckewelder remarked on the elaborate institutions which functioned to deflect possible aggression.[48] Parents explained their reluctance to discipline children by
[861] saying that "the children might remember it against them and avenge themselves when they have attained to maturity."[49] (Zeisberger said that he knew of some cases where children *did* threaten to punish their parents for indignities suffered in childhood.)[50]

Techniques for Expressing Aggression

154 All these mechanisms indicate that the typical Delaware individual harbored within himself exceptionally uncomfortable aggressive impulses which he was afraid to focus on anyone for fear of counter-aggression. The eruption of these aggressions periodically shattered the equable facade of social behavior. "They are able to control their desires and passions," observed Zeisberger, "but once given free

44 Speck, 1931, pp. 39-44.
45 Wallace, 1949.
46 Heckewelder, 1819, pp. 239-240.
47 Lindestrom, 1656, pp. 191-192.
48 Heckewelder, 1819, pp. 103-104; Zeisberger 1778, pp. 115-116.
49 Zeisberger, 1778, p. 81.
50 Ibid.

855 receiving from their mothers adequate physical care, especially in early infancy, but that the child did not receive much of what we would call "affection" or "love" and, from time to time was neglected and subjected to petty meanness. The father had only intermittent contact with the mother-child nexus, and to the child appeared as a distant potentially loving (and perhaps also potentially threatening), but practically [861] remote figure. Neither parent made use of systematic punishment as an educative technique. The male child grew up into an adult who saw women both as 86 romantic ideals and as untrustworthy 562 and malicious,, potentially witches, while men were regarded as potential comrades, toward whom nevertheless highly polite, circumspect behavior was required in order to avoid giving offense. Women grew up to be discreet but covertly malicious wives and mothers. No individual of either sex was conceived as [571] the possessor of unquestioned authority, and social relations hence were very individualistic and fissionable. There is 155 evidence to suggest that the individual remained somewhat fixed, on an unconscious level, to infantile patterns of "oral" reaction, of a dependent, aggressively demanding nature, although these dependency patterns were masked by a superficial individualism and self-sufficiency, and by careful inhibition of any openly aggressive behavior. The conflict between the dependent and aggressive impulses, on the one hand, and the conscientious efforts to be self-sufficient and unaggressive, on the other, was partially resolved by the guardian spirit complex, a technique of personality integration which allowed the adolescent to collect his dependency wishes and displace them onto the fantasy figure of an all-powerful parent. Further relief was afforded by various institutionalized ritual or semi-ritual institutions, such as warfare, feasting, and religion. Liquor, however, was a severe threat to the integrity of the society, since it allowed repressed and sublimated im-

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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Bucks-horn, or the like."[27] In everyday life kinship terms were used rather than personal names.[28] Denton also said:

> Any Indian being dead, his name dies with him, no person daring ever after to mention his name, it being not only a breach of their Law, but an abuse to his friends & relations present, as if it were done on purpose to renew their grief: . And any other person whatsoever that is named after that name doth incontinently change his name & takes a new one.[29]

Education and Training of Children

Children were nursed until they were three or four years old, but were increasingly fed meat and other specially prepared foods. Holm said they were taught to walk when they were nine months old.[30] When boys were four or five years old, they were given their first instruction in hunting, warfare, and woodcraft, as well as in other phases of a man's life.[31] Girls at the same age were initiated into the duties of housekeeping and the planting and cultivating of gardens. Old people, particularly grandparents, played an important role in instructing the children in tradition, religion, and correct behavior (O.A., N.D.). According to Trowbridge, men took upon themselves the duty of instructing the young of their phratry.[32] The earlier documents are silent on these points, but there seems to be no reason why these more modern data do not represent the customs of a former period.

In earlier times physical punishment was seldom if ever used on the children; explanation, ridicule, exhortation, and threats took its place.[33] Obedience was sometimes enforced by threats of punishment by the Mask Being. If a child was slow to rise in the morning, for instance, the recalcitrant one was told that this supernatural creature would visit him and poke him with a stick (N.D.). It was also believed that the supernatural powers punished disobedient children by causing them to become weak and sickly (N.D.). The myth of a great, naked bear was frequently used, since disobedient children were said to be its particular victims.[34] Children were described as being well behaved; a captive brought up by the Delawares said that "honesty, bravery and hospitality are cardinal virtues with them. . . . Their young, in a remarkable degree, reverence and honor the aged, especially their parents."[35] Not only were the old respected, but game and various other presents were often given to them.[36]

As children grew older, the boys in particular were more and more exposed to a toughening program. Training was one of increasing hardship, up to and including the puberty rituals. Children were forced to

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[27] Denton, 1845, p. 8.
[28] Trowbridge MS.
[29] Denton, 1845, p. 8.
[30] Holm, 1834, p. 127.
[31] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 302; Harrington, 1913, p. 213; Trowbridge MS.
[32] Trowbridge MS.
[33] Brickell, 1842, p. 47; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 81.
[34] Heckewelder, 1799, pp. 260-62.
[35] Brickell, 1842, p. 48.
[36] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 76.

[P.34,A]

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domestic and tribal crises. Witapanóxwe is not convinced of the truth of this statement, but claims that he merely carries his own supply for medicinal purposes.[8]

84. Cactus *(Opuntia vulgaris)* is called "thorny, useless." Witapanóxwe remarked that the Oklahoma negroes singe off the spines and apply a sliced portion to their corns to allay pain.

Miscellaneous Beliefs

1. To draw out frost bites, walk in the snow barefooted. Rubbing snow on the ears will bring relief.
2. Frost or dew gathered in late fall and rubbed on the body will prevent skin eruptions.
3. Water that collects in hollow trees or rocks is believed to have medicinal value.
4. Mud applied to a burn will take out "the fire."
5. To cure a child from slobbering, catch a number of minnows and have the child hold them in his mouth. Repeat this several times a week until the cure is effected.
6. To cure a child of bed-wetting, feed him portions of a roasted "timber rat" [9] This is believed to effect a sure cure. My informant and a companion once killed and roasted such a rodent, and both agreed that the flesh was palatable and not unlike that of squirrel. They were reticent, however, as to the therapeutic effects.
7. Relief is obtained in the case of whooping cough, if the mother first suckles a puppy and then her child.
8. A spider web applied to a flesh wound will stop the flow of blood.
9. Excrement of cattle or of poultry is employed as a poultice for boils.
10. Skunk-oil is regarded as a valuable remedy for colds and croup. For children the average dose is from three to five drops. A small quantity may be used externally on the throat and chest. Oil obtained from geese is employed similarly for colds. Skunk scent or rabbit urine is put into the ear to relieve earache. Deer and otter scent are also useful for medicinal purposes.

[8] This practice corresponds to one general among Eastern Algonkian peoples—that of carrying a piece of "muskrat root" *(Acorus calamus)* about the person as a disease preventive. A piece of the root is chewed in case of sudden illness.

[9] Compare use of a white-footed mouse for the same purpose among the Gayhead Indians (Tantaquidgeon, 1930, p. 20).

9t Kinietz E-4,5 (1938) 1946
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867 under bed. Use hands to eat. Sticks for forks, wooden spoons, knives only to cut meat. Ax to cut bones. No canned goods —stuff put in it might harm you—only clean food eaten.

867 In Fall, November, before sunup go to creek and swim.
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Then when you get to be a man. Don't whoop like boy. Must take care of yourself—whooping might strain something. Then they tell me I can have a woman. If I see one I want I tell the
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106. Age at which childhood ceases

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597 CAPTAIN CHIPPS—Children are never adopted by their relatives—adoption is confined to those who have been taken prisoners. If both parents die the charge of the children devolves on the nearest relative. Orphans are not provided for—but seldom suffer, and it is considered "a good thing" to administer to their wants.

J. W.—Orphan taken care of by some one close to orphan or family—some one who knows about it and has watched it—is given the orphan to raise in preference to a near relative. Some one who has heard of the child's predicament is given the child if he makes his wishes known.

113. Control of parents over mature children

885 JOHN JOHNSTON—They [parents] do [have control over mature children] for they consider them better able to receive the counsels of the parents.

CAPTAIN PIPE—Parental feelings are very strong and generally continue during life, in consequence of which, aged relatives consider it their duty to advise the young and deter them from the commission of wrong. But no compulsory means are used after their arrival at years of discretion.

CAPTAIN CHIPPS—Attachment of parents to children continues through life. And parental authority is exercised at all ages.

E. R.—Children stayed under supervision of parents even after they were married and until first child was born. After that they might ask for advice but it was seldom given otherwise.

W. L.—Parents exercise control over children until they are married. (He was adopted by paternal grandparents when he was about 22 years of age.)

115. Daily bath given child

854 JOHN JOHNSTON—for one year.

[863] J. W.—for five years.

W. T.—for four years.

E. R.—twice daily for ten days, then daily for three to four months.

W. L.—for four to five years.

[P.34, A]

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[29] Denton, 1845, p. 8.
[30] Holm, 1834, p. 127.
[31] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 202; Harrington, 1913, p. 213; Trowbridge MS.
[32] Trowbridge MS.
[33] Brickell, 1842, p. 47; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 81.
[34] Herkewelder, 1799, pp. 280-82.
[35] Brickell, 1842, p. 48.
[36] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 76.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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take baths in streams, even if the water was covered with ice.[37] Trowbridge said "they believe it of the utmost consequence to their children to subject them to hardship in their infancy and youth."[38] If children were orphaned "the maternal grandfather or mother is bound by custom to take the children under protection; but if they also be dead the children are adopted by such relatives or friends as may be inclined to take charge of them."[39] Children born out of wedlock were normally cared for by the mother, but the father might contribute to their support. No stigma attached to illegitimacy.[40]

Puberty: boys.— The vision quest of the young boy was the climax of the more formal aspects of the educational system and served to usher the boy over the threshold into adult life. When a boy was about ten years old,[41] or when his voice began to change (N.D.), he began what can best be called a series of ordeals:

> [A boy] is put under an alternate course of physic and fasting, either taking no food whatever, or swallowing the most powerful and nauseous medicines, and occasionally he is made to drink decoctions of an intoxicating nature, until his mind becomes sufficiently bewildered, so that he sees or fancies that he sees visions, and has extraordinary dreams, for which, of course, he has been prepared beforehand.[42]

Parents insulted their sons, N.D. added, telling them that they were no good and that they should go out and "die." Boys were shamed, ridiculed, insulted, and all but physically driven from the village. It was felt that a humbled, miserable boy had a better opportunity to induce the supernatural spirits to feel sorry for him, and so reveal themselves to him and provide him with a supernatural guardian. Boys inevitably went into a lonely exile filled with despair at their own inadequacy and in the desperate hope of obtaining a supernatural being's assistance in a hostile world. If the vision quest produced a guardian spirit, a boy was restored to the good graces of the community, acquired a good deal of self-confidence, and the course of his life was known. Future occupations, for instance, were decided by these visions, whether a boy was to be a warrior, shaman, or something else.[43] Not all boys, however, were successful in the vision quest. Women frequently had visions, although they were not consciously solicited.[44]

Puberty: girls.— When a girl menstruated for the first time she was secluded in a hut.[45] Zeisberger said of the Munsis:

> ...being the more strict and having more ceremonies in the observance of the custom than the Miamis. They build for such a girl, a separate hut, apart from the rest, where her mother or some old female acquaintance cares for her

[37] Penn, 1912, p. 231; Pastorius, 1912, p. 434; Trowbridge MS; J.T., N.D., O.A.
[38] Trowbridge MS.
[39] *Ibid.*
[40] *Ibid.*
[41] Harrington, 1913, p. 214.
[42] Heckewelder, 1881, p. 245.
[43] *Ibid.*, pp. 245-47. See Chap. IV for a discussion of the supernatural beings encountered in visions.
[44] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 132; N.D.
[45] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 77; Beatty, 1798, pp. 84-85; Loskiel, 1794, p. 56; N.D., O.A.

+ ≡ element present
− ≡ element denied
(+) or (−) ≡ source ambiguous
• ≡ informant could not or would not say
S ≡ some, sometimes, or several
† or * ≡ see Ethnographic Notes, pp. 79-137 for additional information

	Williams	Van der Donck	Lindeström	Zeisberger	Heckewelder	Johnston	Pipe	Chippa	J. W.	W. T.	E. R.	W. L.
Birth and its incidents—Continued												
113. Parents exercise any control over mature children						+	+	+	+	+	*+	*+
114. Age children are expected to maintain themselves					20+	15-25		20	25	25	16-17+	20-22
115. Child given daily bath †		+				+	•	•	+	+	+	+
116. Cradle used	+	(−)	+	+		+	+	+	−	+	+	*+
117. Consists of board	+		+	+		+	+	+		•	•	+
118. with cushion			−			+	+	+		•	•	+
119. with hoop over head			+			+	+	+		•	•	+
120. hoop decorated						+	•	•		•	•	+
121. Cradle put in hammock						•	+	•			+	+
122. Boys and girls treated with equal care and affection						+	+	+	+	+	S	+
123. Any difference in treatment of legitimate and illegitimate	(−)	−				−	−	−	−	*−	−	−
124. Mother takes care of illegitimate	+	+				+	+	+	+	•	+	+
125. Father not compelled to contribute but may do so						+	+	•	+	•	+	+
126. Birth of twins frequent	+			−		−	+	−	+	+	−	+
127. Number of instances of triplets						0	1	1	0	0	0	0
128. Are parental feelings strong	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
129. Are filial feelings strong	−			+	+	S	+	+	+	+	+	+
130. Do they (128 and 129) continue through life				+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Marriage and its incidents												
131. Courtship				−	−	−	−	*(+)	−	−	*−	−
132. Marriage arranged by parents	(+)	+	−	S	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+
133. Consent of either party asked	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	−
134. Any ceremony of marriage †		+	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+
135. Presents for bride	(+)	+		+			+	+	+	+	+	+
136. Presents for family of bride	(+)					+	+		+	+	+	+
137. Presents exchanged				+	+	•	+	•	−	−	−	−
138. Time served by boy						•	−	•	−	−	−	−
139. Polygamy common †	−	−		−		−	−	−	•	−	−	−
140. Only rich or chiefs have more than one		+		+		+	+	+			+	+

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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867 under bed. Use hands to eat. Sticks for forks, wooden spoons, knives only to cut meat. Ax to cut bones. No canned goods —stuff put in it might harm you—only clean food eaten.

867 In Fall, November, before sunup go to creek and swim.
866 Wind cold, water warm, give you strength, get out look like
863 something pinched you. Go to house, burn cedar, refresh you. That's your health your body, no disease. If you are not clean any little thing can catch you.

Then when you get to be a man. Don't whoop like boy. Must take care of yourself—whooping might strain something. Then they tell me I can have a woman. If I see one I want I tell the 864 old folks. I must not prowl around. Maybe another clan, maybe same clan but not folks. The old folks have rules, they talk to girl's folks. Her folks talk to her about me. Her folks like mine, mine like hers. Give her folks something, goods, blankets, etc. Big feast, invite people. Wedding—preacher talk to me and her. Tell us we must talk over things—where one of us wants to go, what to do, etc. Then maybe it's all right. Wife in family way must not go (six months or so after marriage) to see sick people, death or butchering. Any good things all right. Anything wrong or unnatural might affect child.

105. Corporeal punishment for children

861 Zeisberger says in one place that children were not punished, but reproved for mischief with gentle words; in another that water was thrown in their faces as punishment.

John Johnston—(No restraint or punishment) except threatening and denying them food for a certain time.

Captain Chipps—The domestic government of children is wild. Disobedience is punished severely by flogging—other offenses are considered lighter.

W. L.—Corporeal punishment was whipping but also throwing water in their faces. Think a lot of water and would pray to it (to wash child clean?) while throwing it in child's face.

106. Age at which childhood ceases

884 John Johnston—When they are considered capable of providing for themselves.

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the manner in which his favour could be most surely obtained, and they are directed to look up for instruction to those who know all this, to learn from them, and revere them for their wisdom and the knowledge which they possess; this creates in the children a strong sentiment of respect for their elders, and a desire to follow their advice and example. Their young ambition is then excited by telling them that they were made the superiors of all other creatures, and are to have power over them; great pains are taken to make this feeling take an early root, and it becomes in fact their ruling passion through life; for no pains are spared to instil into them that by following the advice of the most admired and extolled hunter, trapper or warrior, they will at a future day acquire a degree of fame and reputation, equal to that which he possesses; that by submitting to the counsels of the aged, the chiefs, the men superior in wisdom, they may also rise to glory, and be called *Wisemen*, an honourable title, to which no Indian is indifferent. They are finally told that if they respect the aged and infirm, and are kind and obliging to them, they will be treated in the same manner when their turn comes to feel the infirmities of old age.

When this first and most important lesson is thought to be sufficiently impressed upon children's minds, the parents next proceed to make them sensible of the distinction between good and evil; they tell them that there are good actions and bad actions, both equally open to them to do or commit; that good acts are pleasing to the good Spirit which gave them their existence, and that on the contrary, all that is bad proceeds from the bad spirit who has given them nothing, and who cannot give them any thing that is good, because he has it not, and therefore he envies them that which they have received from the good Spirit, who is far superior to the bad one.

This introductory lesson, if it may be so called, natu-

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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rally makes them wish to know what is good and what is bad. This the parent teaches him in his own way, that is to say, in the way in which he was himself taught by his own parents. It is not the lesson of an hour nor of a day, it is rather a long course more of practical than of theoretical instruction, a lesson, which is not repeated at stated seasons or times, but which is shewn, pointed out, and demonstrated to the child, not only by those under whose immediate guardianship he is, but by the whole community, who consider themselves alike interested in the direction to be given to the rising generation.

When this instruction is given in the form of precepts, it must not be supposed that it is done in an authoritative or forbidding tone, but, on the contrary, in the gentlest and most persuasive manner: nor is the parent's authority ever supported by harsh or compulsive means; no whips, no punisments, no threats are even used to enforce commands or compel obedience. The child's *pride* is the feeling to which an appeal is made, which proves successful in almost every instance. A father needs only to say in the presence of his children: "I want such a "thing done; I want one of my children to go upon such "an errand; let me see who is the *good* child that will do "it!" This word *good* operates, as it were, by magic, and the children immediately vie with each other to comply with the wishes of their parent. If a father sees an old decrepid man or woman pass by, led along by a child, he will draw the attention of his own children to the object by saying: "What a *good* child that must be, "which pays such attention to the aged! That child, "indeed, looks forward to the time when it will likewise "be old!" or he will say, "May the great Spirit, who "looks upon him, grant this *good* child a long life!"

In this manner of bringing up children, the parents, as I have already said, are seconded by the whole community. If a child is sent from his father's dwelling to

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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carry a dish of victuals to an aged person, all in the house will join in calling him a *good* child. They will ask whose child he is, and on being told, will exclaim: what! has the *Tortoise*, or the *little Bear* (as the father's name may be) got such a *good* child? If a child is seen passing through the streets leading an old decrepid person, the villagers will in his hearing, and to encourage all the other children who may be present to take example from him, call on one another to look on and see what a *good* child that must be. And so, in most instances, this method is resorted to, for the purpose of instructing children in things that are good, proper, or honourable in themselves; while, on the other hand, when a child has committed a *bad* act, the parent will say to him: "O! how grieved I am that my child has done "this *bad* act! I hope he will never do so again." This is generally effectual, particularly if said in the presence of others. The whole of the Indian plan of education tends to elevate rather than depress the mind, and by that means to make determined hunters and fearless warriors.

Thus, when a lad has killed his first game, such as a deer or a bear, parents who have boys growing up will not fail to say to some person in the presence of their own children: "That boy must have listened attentively "to the aged hunters, for, though young, he has alrea- "dy given a proof that he will become a good hunter "himself." If, on the other hand, a young man should fail of giving such a proof, it will be said of him "that "he did not pay attention to the discourses of the aged."

In this indirect manner is instruction on all subjects given to the young people. They are to learn the arts of hunting, trapping, and making war, by listening to the aged when conversing together on those subjects, each, in his turn, relating how he acted, and opportunities are afforded to them for that purpose. By this mode of instructing youth, their respect for the aged is kept alive,

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and it is increased by the reflection that the same respect will be paid to them at a future day, when young persons will be attentive to what they shall relate.

This method of conveying instruction is, I believe, common to most Indian nations; it is so, at least, amongst all those that I have become acquainted with, and lays the foundation for that voluntary submission to their chiefs, for which they are so remarkable. Thus has been maintained for ages, without convulsions and without civil discords, this traditional government, of which the world, perhaps, does not offer another example; a government in which there are no positive laws, but only long established habits and customs, no code of jurisprudence, but the experience of former times, no magistrates, but advisers, to whom the people, nevertheless, pay a willing and implicit obedience, in which age confers rank, wisdom gives power, and moral goodness secures a title to universal respect. All this seems to be effected by the simple means of an excellent mode of education, by which a strong attachment to ancient customs, respect for age, and the love of virtue are indelibly impressed upon the minds of youth, so that these impressions acquire strength as time pursues its course, and as they pass through successive generations.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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Bucks-horn, or the like."[47] In everyday life kinship terms were used rather than personal names.[48] Denton also said:

> Any Indian being dead, his name dies with him, no person daring ever after to mention his name, it being not only a breach of their Law, but an abuse to his friends & relations present, as if it were done on purpose to renew their grief: And any other person whatsoever that is named after that name doth incontinently change his name & takes a new one.[49]

Education and Training of Children

Children were nursed until they were three or four years old, but were increasingly fed meat and other specially prepared foods. Holm said they were taught to walk when they were nine months old.[50] When boys were four or five years old, they were given their first instruction in hunting, warfare, and woodcraft, as well as in other phases of a man's life.[51] Girls at the same age were initiated into the duties of housekeeping and the planting and cultivating of gardens. Old people, particularly grandparents, played an important role in instructing the children in tradition, religion, and correct behavior (O.A., N.D.). According to Trowbridge, men took upon themselves the duty of instructing the young of their phratry.[52] The earlier documents are silent on these points, but there seems to be no reason why these more modern data do not represent the customs of a former period.

In earlier times physical punishment was seldom if ever used on the children; explanation, ridicule, exhortation, and threats took its place.[53] Obedience was sometimes enforced by threats of punishment by the Mask Being. If a child was slow to rise in the morning, for instance, the recalcitrant one was told that this supernatural creature would visit him and poke him with a stick (N.D.). It was also believed that the supernatural powers punished disobedient children by causing them to become weak and sickly (N.D.). The myth of a great, naked bear was frequently used, since disobedient children were said to be its particular victims.[54] Children were described as being well behaved; a captive brought up by the Delawares said that "honesty, bravery and hospitality are cardinal virtues with them... Their young, in a remarkable degree, reverence and honor the aged, especially their parents."[55] Not only were the old respected, but game and various other presents were often given to them.[56]

As children grew older, the boys in particular were more and more exposed to a toughening program. Training was one of increasing hardship, up to and including the puberty rituals. Children were forced to

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[47] Denton, 1845, p. 8.
[48] Trowbridge MS.
[49] Denton, 1845, p. 8.
[50] Holm, 1834, p. 127.
[51] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 302; Harrington, 1913, p. 213; Trowbridge MS.
[52] Trowbridge MS.
[53] Brickell, 1842, p. 47; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 81.
[54] Heckewelder, 1799, pp. 260-62.
[55] Brickell, 1842, p. 48.
[56] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 78.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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861 classes and text books were not a basic part of the system, but the descriptions of the teaching of Indian children show that they were definitely educated to fill their places in the society of which
868 they were members. At a very early age children were given as
867 toys models of implements they would use in earnest in later life. These were different for each sex. For example, a boy would be given a tiny bow with straws for arrows; then, as he grew up, the size and effectiveness of the weapons would be increased until he was able to kill every sort of game as a full-fledged hunter. Girls were given dolls and very early instructed in the fundamentals of making baskets and pots. A considerable amount of the instruction given to children was by example and explanation incidental to actual practices by the parents or other elders, and by the relation of stories and myths. Therein lies the explanation of the failure of many early writers to find a "system" of education among the Indians. As a matter of fact, the reports of the age at which childhood was considered to cease show that the training of youths among the Indians was completed while they were still quite young (106).

597 Johnston and Chipps definitely stated that orphaned children were never adopted by relatives, although the care of orphans usually devolved upon the nearest relations in the absence of adoption (107-12). Zeisberger's statement that orphans were often given or bequeathed to old women may be construed the same way. Among the sources only Pipe gave relatives a prior claim on orphans. He said that maternal grandparents were bound by custom to take care of children on the death of the parents, but that, if they too were dead, other relatives or friends might take them. All of the modern informants agree that relatives of orphans could and did adopt them, although childless friends or neighbors who desired them often were given the orphans if they made their desires known. From the available information it looks as if there was a change in customs regarding the adoption of orphans within the fourth period.

854 The cradleboard must have been discarded by the Delaware
352 early in the fourth period, for of the modern informants not even the oldest had ever seen one in use among the Delaware

9: Kinietz E-4,5 (1938) 1946
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condition of the smaller population of the last century, it is more likely that the custom simply ceased to be active.

In the same way marriage of a man to a woman and her daughter, either simultaneously or successively, was probably never very common and disappeared completely in the fourth period (149). The tabulated information shows a complete break between the sources and the informants. As the latter simply deny knowing of any such cases, now or in the past, and have no knowledge of any rule prohibiting such marriages, lack of opportunity is probably as much responsible as any change in viewpoint.

Divorce and allied considerations apparently have undergone little change in recent years from the point of view of the Delaware even with the superimposition of the legal code of the whites (153-58). W. T. in his very idealistic view of Delaware customs said children were brought up to mind their parents and that this behavior continued through life. Hence, in marriage a boy and girl had no choice but to do what parents decided. A girl then could not leave her husband because her parents had given her to the man in exchange for presents. He implied that the husband was not bound quite as much to continue a distasteful marriage, and, also, that after the death of the parents the girl could act more according to choice. E. R. and W. L. said that women seldom obtained a divorce, but according to J. W., whose son was recently divorced, the woman was chivalrously allowed to do the divorcing even if the husband was the wronged party. In his son's case the Delaware customs were observed as well as the legal steps. The wife had been running around with other men and drinking. After several of her protracted absences from home, Fred decided upon a divorce. He waited until she came home, asked her to pack up her belongings, and then took them and her to her father's home. Her father was already acquainted with the circumstances, but Fred repeated them and announced that he was through with her. Then he instituted legal action but both families already considered the divorce to be in effect.

Information on the two elements, cohabitation without marriage and children born out of wedlock (161 and 164), follows

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553 being descriptive may be more appropriate for children; at others because the subject has performed some remarkable feat of bravery or is otherwise deserving of a favorite name.

[551] E. R. and W. L. said that there were no second names except English ones and nicknames.

103. Education

867 869 CAPTAIN PIPE—Each man considers it his duty to advise the children of the same tribe with himself, and to instruct them by precept the way they should go, and to this kind of advice the father, though he may be never so great a scoundrel, is very particular, always enforcing the duty of correctness in their moral conduct. There is no system of education among them.

The account of the way J. W. was raised was recorded, practically verbatim, as follows:

When I was a baby they took good care of me—raise me so I could walk. When I was little my mother had to be awfully [262] careful. There was a certain food she must not eat. Not any side meat, or inside (liver, etc.) while nursing. Ham and shoulders all right—gave her strength. Any kind of vegetables, fruits, were all right. Anything cracked like nuts must not be eaten. Hominy all right. Must be careful about going [784] places, seeing things that surprise you which might get inside and affect child through milk. No cradles—wrap up in nice little clean cloths.

262 869 When I can eat: must not eat lots of different foods; such as like egg, inside meat; only outside but just good meat—none close to joint or head. Corn, vegetables all right, fruits all right but just so much.

When I can help myself—so I can see, eat by myself, well then any food, nuts or meat must not be eaten first, but give to either father, mother or other old folks, and then eat and as much as I want. Then they tell me certain parts I must not eat from then on until I am a man. They say don't ever eat egg, no liver, don't drink soup, unless you tell me, then I tell you what to do before you take, to give you strength. I say I want soup—they say run about a quarter of a mile (after taking).

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That gives me strength in the legs. Don't eat with your folks, wait until they get done. They leave what you should eat. 262 869

When my mother and father go somewhere, they take me along but I must not pry around but stay with one of my folks. Then if they think I should be out they tell me "go out there and play but play good—whoever you see you must mind him —pay attention." Come back when they can you. Afternoon from three to four o'clock one must not play, run around or holler. Do not eat in the evening. Drink very little water. Go to bed at sundown. In the morning, just day, get up, wash, clean yourself up, take a refreshing. The sun come up and see you, give you strength, life. They tell me when you go out be careful. To go a little ways, you ask. Maybe want a little water, go get it—grandfather—have a thought—great thing—give you strength, give it to your folks, they thank you, drink, then you take it. Same way wood, go get it, put it over here, let your folks put it in the fire, don't put in fire until they tell you so. Don't just hit things with your ax until we tell you so. Don't kick things, there's your hand—use it—pick it up—if you can't pick up something in your way, go around. Then suppose somebody come—anybody—don't go meet him, or talk to him—stay away. But if somebody call you, have something for you to do, come and do it. Maybe he have something to tell you—don't forget it—maybe he give you good advice. Don't ever stand there and look at people too much. Look at them when they tell you something. Then when you get to be a big boy, you know and recognize things. You kill game—must not eat. I don't get to eat first game, give it to folks and let them eat it. Next game you can eat but there are certain parts like back you must not eat until you are a man. Then my father or mother send me some place to see somebody—tell him they want him to come over but I must come right back. When I get back they ask me if I tell them and what they say. I must answer if I am playing around and they call me—not just come but answer. Come with whip to show me if I get beyond call. Wore long homemade shirt, breechcloth, moccasins (barefoot in summer). Leggings of heavy cloth in winter. No hat. One little thin blanket in one corner or

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[86] [29]

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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867 under bed. Use hands to eat. Sticks for forks, wooden spoons, knives only to cut meat. Ax to cut bones. No canned goods —stuff put in it might harm you—only clean food eaten.

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867 carry a dish of victuals to an aged person, all in the
888 house will join in calling him a *good* child. They will ask whose child he is, and on being told, will exclaim: what! has the *Tortoise*, or the *little Bear* (as the father's name may be) got such a *good* child? If a child is seen passing through the streets leading an old decrepid person, the villagers will in his hearing, and to encourage all the other children who may be present to take example from him, call on one another to look on and see what a *good* child that must be. And so, in most in-
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868 Thus, when a lad has killed his first game, such as a deer or a bear, parents who have boys growing up will not fail to say to some person in the presence of their own children: "That boy must have listened attentively "to the aged hunters, for, though young, he has alrea-"dy given a proof that he will become a good hunter "himself." If, on the other hand, a young man should fail of giving such a proof, it will be said of him "that "he did not pay attention to the discourses of the aged."

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and it is increased by the reflection that the same respect will be paid to them at a future day, when young persons will be attentive to what they shall relate.

This method of conveying instruction is, I believe, common to most Indian nations; it is so, at least, amongst all those that I have become acquainted with, and lays the foundation for that voluntary submission to their chiefs, for which they are so remarkable. Thus has been maintained for ages, without convulsions and without civil discords, this traditional government, of which the world, perhaps, does not offer another example; a government in which there are no positive laws, but only long established habits and customs, no code of jurisprudence, but the experience of former times, no magistrates, but advisers, to whom the people, nevertheless, pay a willing and implicit obedience, in which age confers rank, wisdom gives power, and moral goodness secures a title to universal respect. All this seems to be effected by the simple means of an excellent mode of education, by which a strong attachment to ancient customs, respect for age, and the love of virtue are indelibly impressed upon the minds of youth, so that these impressions acquire strength as time pursues its course, and as they pass through successive generations.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7

Bucks-horn, or the like."[27] In everyday life kinship terms were used rather than personal names.[28] Denton also said:

> Any Indian being dead, his name dies with him, no person daring ever after to mention his name, it being not only a breach of their Law, but an abuse to his friends & relations present, as if it were done on purpose to renew their grief: And any other person whatsoever that is named after that name doth incontinently change his name & takes a new one.[29]

Education and Training of Children

Children were nursed until they were three or four years old, but were increasingly fed meat and other specially prepared foods. Holm said they were taught to walk when they were nine months old.[30] When boys were four or five years old, they were given their first instruction in hunting, warfare, and woodcraft, as well as in other phases of a man's life.[31] Girls at the same age were initiated into the duties of housekeeping and the planting and cultivating of gardens. Old people, particularly grandparents, played an important role in instructing the children in tradition, religion, and correct behavior (O.A., N.D.). According to Trowbridge, men took upon themselves the duty of instructing the young of their phratry.[32] The earlier documents are silent on these points, but there seems to be no reason why these more modern data do not represent the customs of a former period.

In earlier times physical punishment was seldom if ever used on the children; explanation, ridicule, exhortation, and threats took its place.[33] Obedience was sometimes enforced by threats of punishment by the Mask Being. If a child was slow to rise in the morning, for instance, the recalcitrant one was told that this supernatural creature would visit him and poke him with a stick (N.D.). It was also believed that the supernatural powers punished disobedient children by causing them to become weak and sickly (N.D.). The myth of a great, naked bear was frequently used, since disobedient children were said to be its particular victims.[34] Children were described as being well behaved; a captive brought up by the Delawares said that "honesty, bravery and hospitality are cardinal virtues with them. . . .Their young, in a remarkable degree, reverence and honor the aged, especially their parents."[35] Not only were the old respected, but game and various other presents were often given to them.[36]

As children grew older, the boys in particular were more and more exposed to a toughening program. Training was one of increasing hardship, up to and including the puberty rituals. Children were forced to

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[27] Denton, 1845, p. 8.
[28] Trowbridge MS.
[29] Denton, 1845, p. 8.
[30] Holm, 1834, p. 127.
[31] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 202; Harrington, 1913, p. 213; Trowbridge MS.
[32] Trowbridge MS.
[33] Brickell, 1842, p. 47; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 81.
[34] Herkewelder, 1799, pp. 260-62.
[35] Brickell, 1842, p. 48.
[36] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 76.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7
Iroquois NM9

amusements. They may devote days in succession to it, always gambling on the throwing. Among the Mingoes I have observed that two towns brought together goods, blankets, strowds, shirts, linen and played for them. In this case the game lasted eight days. The dice are placed in a dish, lifted up and thrown forcibly on the ground. The people of the two towns met daily during the period named and every inhabitant of each town threw the dice once. This done they parted for the day and each party separately offered a sacrifice in the evening. In connection with the sacrifice they had their special ceremonies, consisting in a man going several times 'round a fire, throwing tobacco into it and singing a song. Afterwards the whole company danced. This continued for eight days. When the winners bore away the spoil in triumph.

The boys exercise by shooting at a mark with bow and arrow. They may throw something into the air and shoot at it, the one hitting the object being regarded as a good marksman. As soon as they are able to run about they learn to use the bow and arrow. When they grow older they shoot pigeons, squirrels, birds and even raccoon with their bows and arrows.

Two comrades who have been reared together or have become attached to one another will be very close and constant companions. If one goes on a journey or to hunt the other will, if possible, accompany him. It seems almost impossible for either of them to live without the other, and for one to give up his companion, as may be necessary when one becomes a Christian, is very hard. Often such friends will make a covenant with one another to remain together and share alike possessions and knowledge.[298] If they go to war together and one perishes the other will fight desperately to avenge him, accounting his own life as nothing.

In traveling in companies they are very companionable and follow some recognized leader. The younger element, on such journeys, engages in the hunt and if deer or bear is shot, the carcass is brought to camp and laid at the fire of the one who is held to be leader. He divides the meat among all, share and share alike. No complaint is ever heard that one has received more than another. If the chiefs have a journey to make, they

also considered a mark of beauty (Lindstrom, pp. 193, 194, and 196; Pastorius, 1698, p. 433).

The Delaware women had the distinctive custom of wearing their hair in a large bun at the back rather than in braids. Men plucked all body hair and that of the head except for one tuft which was allowed to grow long (Smith, p. 137; Harrington, 1913, p. 220; Pastorius, 1700, p. 384; Lindstrom, pp. 195 and 200). Men were permitted to tattoo themselves as marks of distinction, the designs suggesting the deed which they commemorated. The operation was performed by breaking the skin in the desired pattern with a flint knife or sharp fish tooth. When the blood had been drawn, a powder of burned poplar bark was laid in the wound. Apparently the tattoo lasted a lifetime (Heckewelder, 1881, p. 206).

Children were allowed to go about with little or no clothing until eight or ten years of age, being protected from the sun by a liberal coating of bear grease (Johnson, p. 280; Pastorius, 1700, p. 384).

Family Organization and Customs

Starting at the beginning of life, we find that the birth process was accompanied by certain special customs. Penn says that "...when with Child, they [the woman] know their Husbands no more, till delivered..." (Penn, p. 33). Harrington tells us that a prospective father who had bad luck at hunting attributed it to the spirit of his child playing about and scaring the game away. He would accordingly wear a miniature bow and arrow to keep the child's spirit amused while he hunted, or if this did not work he would try a small mortar and pestle assuming that the baby was a girl (1913, p. 212).

Birth itself occurred in the small hut which was also used during menstrual periods. The child was immediately immersed in water, then wrapped in a skin and bound to a cradle board. This was softened with a moss covering and had curved side pieces. The child stayed in the cradleboard most of the time until it could walk (Pastorius, 1698, p.434; Penn, pp.29-30; Lindstrom, p.201). Then, when it had to be carried, it was placed in a blanket and carried on the mother's back (Lindstrom, p.201).

Almost all of the writers were impressed with the quiet and respectful behavior of Delaware children. Only later writers, however, had much to say about the means used to educate them. These writers noted that children, especially the boys, seldom were punished (Brickell, p.47; Zeisberger, 1870, p.86). Brickell, who was brought up by a Delaware family, says that honesty, bravery and hospitality were cardinal virtues with them and that much of the training received was directed toward developing these virtues (pp.47-48). Also, of course, boys were taught woodcraft, fishing and hunting, and girls were taught the household duties including the care of the younger children.

the care of the younger children. Although physical punishment was seldom resorted to, exhortation and explanation were commonly used. One mythical story which was evidently used as a threat was that of the great naked bear. This was a creature, larger than most bears and naked except for a white spot. The only way to kill it was to break its back as its heart was so small that an arrow would seldom find it. The last of the species was reputed to have been killed on the east side of the Hudson River, but before that time it was said that recalcitrant children were particularly likely to be its victims (HecKewelder, 1799, pp.260-62).

A boy's life was not burdened with many chores until he was twelve or older, his time being spent in fishing and playing (Penn, p.30; Pastorius, 1698, p.434; Zeisberger, 1870, p.86; Harrington, 1913, p.213). When he reached this age, it was desirable for him to have a vision and receive a guardian spirit (Lindstrom, p.207). To promote this, the parents mistreated him, fed him sparingly and finally drove him into the woods. It was felt that this would cause a spirit to feel sorry for the boy and present itself to him.9 The nature of the vision which a youth had was sometimes taken as a sign of his future profession, and training in such a case would start immediately to prepare the boy to become a shaman or warrior as the case might be (Harrington, 1913, pp. 214-15; Zeisberger, 1910, p.101). At about fifteen the boys began hunting and at this they had to become proficient before considering marriage.

The girls stayed with their mothers and began helping to hoe the ground, plant corn and carry burdens as soon as they were able (Penn, p.30; Zeisberger, 1870, p.87). At a girl's first menstruation she went to a small hut some distance from the house where she stayed at least seven days. Here meals were brought to her by her mother or an old woman-friend, but she could not be touched. She used a sharpened stick in eating to prevent the food from touching her hands. At the end of her seclusion, the girl washed herself and all her clothing and dishes before returning home. She was then considered ready for marriage (Penn, pp.33-4; Beatty, p.43; Brickell, p.49; Harrington, 1913, p.215).

Marriage

"When the Young Women are fit for Marriage, they wear something upon their Heads for an Advertisement, but so as their Faces are hardly to be seen..."(Penn, p.31). Other descriptions tell us that this covering was made of worked mats decorated with alternate rows of white and black wampum and was worn pulled down to the middle of the forehead (Smith, p.138; Zeisberger, 1910, p.77). Girls married between the ages of thirteen and fourteen; boys, at seventeen or eighteen (Penn, p.31). According to Zeisberger, the Delaware had the tradition that individuals must always marry outside the local group, but no seventeenth-century writer has commented on this point (Zeisberger, 1910, p.78).

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
NM7 Delaware NM7

855 loosens it from the board, while it is young, except
when she must do so for sanitary reasons. Nor
do we ever hear their children cry or whine like
the Christian children, but [they] are very patient.
But when some illness attacks them, then they
lament so miserably and quietly with a soft sound.
However, they show themselves very tender to-
wards their children, nor do they do away with
their children, as unfortunately the prostitutes
among the Christians too often do.[4]

857 When now the children finally get out of this
their swaddle, they carry their children with them
on their backs, just like the gypsies do.[5]

855 But as soon as the male children become so large
868 that they can run around, they exercise them with
cross bows and slings, and when they become some-
what larger with the shooting of guns; and then
names are given to them, how they are to be
called.[6] But when the children become somewhat
older, so that they arrive at some understanding,
then they select and adopt their *Pâdhra* or idol,
faith and religion, about which we shall see below
in the chapter concerned.[7]

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[4] Williams observes in this connection: "They nurse all their children themselves; yet, if she be an high or rich woman, she maintaines a Nurse to tend the childe." *Key*, 52.

[5] Cf. Hodge, *Handbook*, I, 357.

[6] By what name they are to be called.

[7] See below, Chapt. XV.

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9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

861 classes and text books were not a basic part of the system, but the descriptions of the teaching of Indian children show that they were definitely educated to fill their places in the society of which they were members. At a very early age children were given as 868 867 toys models of implements they would use in earnest in later life. These were different for each sex. For example, a boy would be given a tiny bow with straws for arrows; then, as he grew up, the size and effectiveness of the weapons would be increased until he was able to kill every sort of game as a full-fledged hunter. Girls were given dolls and very early instructed in the fundamentals of making baskets and pots. A considerable amount of the instruction given to children was by example and explanation incidental to actual practices by the parents or other elders, and by the relation of stories and myths. Therein lies the explanation of the failure of many early writers to find a "system" of education among the Indians. As a matter of fact, the reports of the age at which childhood was considered to cease show that the training of youths among the Indians was completed while they were still quite young (106).

597 Johnston and Chipps definitely stated that orphaned children were never adopted by relatives, although the care of orphans usually devolved upon the nearest relations in the absence of adoption (107-12). Zeisberger's statement that orphans were often given or bequeathed to old women may be construed the same way. Among the sources only Pipe gave relatives a prior claim on orphans. He said that maternal grandparents were bound by custom to take care of children on the death of the parents, but that, if they too were dead, other relatives or friends might take them. All of the modern informants agree that relatives of orphans could and did adopt them, although childless friends or neighbors who desired them often were given the orphans if they made their desires known. From the available information it looks as if there was a change in customs regarding the adoption of orphans within the fourth period.

854 352 The cradleboard must have been discarded by the Delaware early in the fourth period, for of the modern informants not even the oldest had ever seen one in use among the Delaware

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

bank of the river. The Cornplanter, chief of this nation, observing some uneasiness among the officers and people of the place, and fearing the murder at this time and place, might perhaps create much disturbance, waited in the morning on the Governor, whom he desired "not to be uneasy about what had happened the preceding night, for the man who had been killed was of no "consequence." This meant in other words, that he was disowned for his bad conduct by his countrymen, and that his death would not be a loss to his nation.

CHAPTER VIII.

EDUCATION.

IT may justly be a subject of wonder, how a nation without a written code of laws or system of jurisprudence, without any form or constitution of government, and without even a single elective or hereditary magistrate, can subsist together in peace and harmony, and in the exercise of the moral virtues; how a people can be well and effectually governed without any external authority; by the mere force of the ascendancy which men of superior minds have over those of a more ordinary stamp; by a tacit, yet universal submission to the aristocracy of experience, talents and virtue! Such, nevertheless, is the spectacle which an Indian nation exhibits to the eye of a stranger. I have been a witness to it for a long series of years, and after much observation and reflection to discover the cause of this phenomenon, I think I have reason to be satisfied that it is in

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

a great degree to be ascribed to the pains which the Indians take to instil at an early age honest and virtuous principles upon the minds of their children, and to the method which they pursue in educating them. This method I will not call a system; for systems are unknown to these sons of nature, who, by following alone her simple dictates, have at once discovered and follow without effort that plain obvious path which the philosophers of Europe have been so long in search of.

The first step that parents take towards the education of their children, is to prepare them for future happiness, by impressing upon their tender minds, that they are indebted for their existence to a great, good and benevolent Spirit, who not only has given them life, but has ordained them for certain great purposes. That he has given them a fertile extensive country well stocked with game of every kind for their subsistence, and that by one of his inferior spirits he has also sent down to them from above corn, pumpkins, squashes, beans and other vegetables for their nourishment; all which blessings their ancestors have enjoyed for a great number of ages. That this great Spirit looks down upon the Indians, to see whether they are grateful to him and make him a due return for the many benefits he has bestowed, and therefore that it is their duty to show their thankfulness by worshipping him, and doing that which is pleasing in his sight.

This is in substance the first lesson taught, and from time to time repeated to the Indian children, which naturally leads them to reflect and gradually to understand that a being which hath done such great things for them, and all to make them happy, must be good indeed, and that it is surely their duty to do something that will please him. They are then told that their ancestors, who received all this from the hands of the great Spirit, and lived in the enjoyment of it, must have been informed of what would be most pleasing to this good being, and of

1;Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

869 the manner in which his favour could be most surely obtained, and they are directed to look up for instruction to those who know all this, to learn from them, and revere them for their wisdom and the knowledge which they possess; this creates in the children a strong sentiment of respect for their elders, and a desire to follow their advice and example. Their young ambition is then excited by telling them that they were made the superiors of all other creatures, and are to have power over them; great pains are taken to make this feeling take an early root, and it becomes in fact their ruling passion through life; for no pains are spared to instil into them that by following the advice of the most admired and extolled hunter, trapper or warrior, they will at a future day acquire a degree of fame and reputation, equal to that which he possesses; that by submitting to the counsels of [554] the aged, the chiefs, the men superior in wisdom, they may also rise to glory, and be called *Wisemen*, an honourable title, to which no Indian is indifferent. They are finally told that if they respect the aged and infirm, and are kind and obliging to them, they will be treated in the same manner when their turn comes to feel the infirmities of old age.

867 When this first and most important lesson is thought to be sufficiently impressed upon children's minds, the parents next proceed to make them sensible of the distinction between good and evil; they tell them that there are good actions and bad actions, both equally open to them to do or commit; that good acts are pleasing to the good Spirit which gave them their existence, and that on the contrary, all that is bad proceeds from the bad spirit who has given them nothing, and who cannot give them any thing that is good, because he has it not, and therefore he envies them that which they have received from the good Spirit, who is far superior to the bad one.

This introductory lesson, if it may be so called, natu-

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7

Bucks-horn, or the like."[37] In everyday life kinship terms were used rather than personal names.[38] Denton also said:

> Any Indian being dead, his name dies with him, no person daring ever after to mention his name, it being not only a breach of their Law, but an abuse to his friends & relations present, as if it were done on purpose to renew their grief: And any other person whatsoever that is named after that name doth incontinently change his name & takes a new one.[39]

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Children were nursed until they were three or four years old, but were increasingly fed meat and other specially prepared foods. Holm said they were taught to walk when they were nine months old.[40] When boys were four or five years old, they were given their first instruction in hunting, warfare, and woodcraft, as well as in other phases of a man's life.[41] Girls at the same age were initiated into the duties of housekeeping and the planting and cultivating of gardens. Old people, particularly grandparents, played an important role in instructing the children in tradition, religion, and correct behavior (O.A., N.D.). According to Trowbridge, men took upon themselves the duty of instructing the young of their phratry.[42] The earlier documents are silent on these points, but there seems to be no reason why these more modern data do not represent the customs of a former period.

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As children grew older, the boys in particular were more and more exposed to a toughening program. Training was one of increasing hardship, up to and including the puberty rituals. Children were forced to

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[37] Denton, 1845, p. 8.
[38] Trowbridge MS.
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[40] Holm, 1834, p. 127.
[41] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 202; Harrington, 1913, p. 213; Trowbridge MS.
[42] Trowbridge MS.
[43] Brickell, 1842, p. 47; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 81.
[44] Herkewelder, 1789, pp. 260-62.
[45] Brickell, 1842, p. 48.
[46] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 76.

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

302 mixed with tallow. The reason given for this action was to
783 impress the Great Spirit with the fact that his people were up and about and observant of cleanliness and good appearance as they went about their tasks,—in short, that they were consciously alive and mindful of their obligations toward the rules of life taught by him.

782 Children were awakened about sunrise and instructed to
869 wash their faces at once so that the Great Spirit would see that they were not lazy but ready and prepared for the day's duties. Young people were, moreover, advised to lift their feet nicely when they walked, and to find constantly something to do to engage their time in occupations that would be helpful to their parents and others. These monitions were also backed by the instructions that the Great Spirit would find them meritorious in conduct and reward them with a long and happy life. The present members of the nation who were brought up in such practices lament deeply the indifference of members of the present generation in such matters, attributing the decline of their people to failure in observing the teachings which made their ancestors powerful and respected.

788 A rite recorded of the Delawares of former times was the
515 washing of youths each morning in clear running water, preferably that of streams, both in winter and summer, suggestive of a "river-cult." We hear of this habit frequently in the narratives of Delaware history when the tribe resided in the East. It seems to have been insisted upon generally for youths,[6] even enforced upon white boys who had been taken captive and adopted in the Nation, as we see in the following narrative.

727 To have spoken of personal purification by immersion in
783 the water of streams leads to a more formal method of washing away defilement by the same means. Referring to John McCullough, who in 1776 wrote of his experiences while living as a captive with the then hostile Delawares, we are told of his enforced "conversion" to paganism at the hands

[6] An interesting resume of Delaware practices in the training of youths and warriors is given in the account of a Delaware author who describes the daily plunge into the river by boys undergoing the course of training in pairs. Cf. R. C. Adams, "Legends of the Delaware Indians," Washington, D. C., 1905, p. 26.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

553 being descriptive may be more appropriate for children; at others because the subject has performed some remarkable feat of bravery or is otherwise deserving of a favorite name.

[551] E. R. and W. L. said that there were no second names except English ones and nicknames.

103. Education

867 869 CAPTAIN PIPE—Each man considers it his duty to advise the children of the same tribe with himself, and to instruct them by precept the way they should go, and to this kind of advice the father, though he may be never so great a scoundrel, is very particular, always enforcing the duty of correctness in their moral conduct. There is no system of education among them.

The account of the way J. W. was raised was recorded, practically verbatim, as follows:

When I was a baby they took good care of me—raise me so I could walk. When I was little my mother had to be awfully [262] careful. There was a certain food she must not eat. Not any side meat, or inside (liver, etc.) while nursing. Ham and shoulders all right—gave her strength. Any kind of vegetables, fruits, were all right. Anything cracked like nuts must not be eaten. Hominy all right. Must be careful about going [784] places, seeing things that surprise you which might get inside and affect child through milk. No cradles—wrap up in nice little clean cloths.

262 869 When I can eat: must not eat lots of different foods; such as like egg, inside meat; only outside but just good meat—none close to joint or head. Corn, vegetables all right, fruits all right but just so much.

When I can help myself—so I can see, eat by myself, well then any food, nuts or meat must not be eaten first, but give to either father, mother or other old folks, and then eat and as much as I want. Then they tell me certain parts I must not eat from then on until I am a man. They say don't ever eat egg, no liver, don't drink soup, unless you tell me, then I tell you what to do before you take, to give you strength. I say I want soup—they say run about a quarter of a mile (after taking).

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

That gives me strength in the legs. Don't eat with your folks, wait until they get done. They leave what you should eat. 262 869

When my mother and father go somewhere, they take me along but I must not pry around but stay with one of my folks. Then if they think I should be out they tell me "go out there and play but play good—whoever you see you must mind him —pay attention." Come back when they can you. Afternoon from three to four o'clock one must not play, run around or holler. Do not eat in the evening. Drink very little water. Go to bed at sundown. In the morning, just day, get up, wash, clean yourself up, take a refreshing. The sun come up and see you, give you strength, life. They tell me when you go out be careful. To go a little ways, you ask. Maybe want a little water, go get it—grandfather—have a thought—great thing—give you strength, give it to your folks, they thank you, drink, then you take it. Same way wood, go get it, put it over here, let your folks put it in the fire, don't put in fire until they tell you so. Don't just hit things with your ax until we tell you so. Don't kick things, there's your hand—use it—pick it up—if you can't pick up something in your way, go around. Then suppose somebody come—anybody—don't go meet him, or talk to him—stay away. But if somebody call you, have something for you to do, come and do it. Maybe he have something to tell you—don't forget it—maybe he give you good advice. Don't ever stand there and look at people too much. Look at them when they tell you something. Then when you get to be a big boy, you know and recognize things. You kill game—must not eat. I don't get to eat first game, give it to folks and let them eat it. Next game you can eat but there are certain parts like back you must not eat until you are a man. Then my father or mother send me some place to see somebody—tell him they want him to come over but I must come right back. When I get back they ask me if I tell them and what they say. I must answer if I am playing around and they call me—not just come but answer. Come with whip to show me if I get beyond call. Wore long homemade shirt, breechcloth, moccasins (barefoot in summer). Leggings of heavy cloth in winter. No hat. One little thin blanket in one corner or

867 [86] [29]

[p 53 (c)]

157 herd and gave him a chase. He followed
224 until the buffalo was about tired out, with
521 his tongue hanging out, and hardly able to move, while his own horse was in the same condition. Leaving his horse and his gun, the hunter, fresh and strong, took the buffalo by the tail and drove him on. He then went up an ascent and down on the other side until they came into a wet place where the buffalo stuck in the mud from weakness and exhaustion. He had thus taken his buffalo, in one sense. He was powerless, and still, except as he made slight efforts to fight. After spending some little time in this situation during which the buffalo was gaining strength and he was losing his, he was so fortunate as to espy and signal one of his party, who came to his aid, and the two, with a rope tied to his horns so as to keep at a safe distance from each of them and between both, they led or drove him to camp and thus the Indian maintained or made good his boast.

Delaware Baptist Mission School[86]

872 This school, under the supervision of Rev.
797 John G. Pratt,[87] a matron, Mrs. Muse, and a teacher, Miss Morse,[88] is in a very flourishing condition and superior to any I have seen in the territory. It has accommodations for 78 Indian scholars as boarders and lodgers. The number last term was 64, the number the present term is about 50, as they have held back for the payment, and will soon come in now.

346 The buildings consist of a two and a half story farm house large on the ground, designed for the sleeping and clothing rooms of the school; another of the same size with a wing for a kitchen, designed for the residence of the superintendent and teachers, and is the eating and cooking place for all.[89] Also a large school house with folding doors

[For footnote, see category 116, p. 209 (c)--Analyst]

NM7 Delaware NM7
Shawnee NN17

[54(A)]

D 346 in the center so as to separate the boys and girls, although they are as yet all together. There are numerous outbuildings, as a farm is carried on in connection with the school of about two hundred acres. The buildings D 872 were erected a few years ago with school money belonging to the Delawares, and is [657] supported with funds in the hands of the government reserved for that purpose.

D [797] The children are clothed, boarded and [657] taught by the Mission, and the government allows $75 per annum per scholar. They have two terms of five months each, and the children are kept in school about seven hours per day. They study reading, writing, and spelling, geography, arithmetic, with blackboard exercises. The scholars are mostly young, those now at school ranging from 6 to 18 years. They look well and healthy and free from sore eyes, and are decently and comfortably clad. This is the true system of Indian education, beyond a doubt, and this school is by far in the best condition of any I have seen. We see here New England cleanliness, system and good management. I did not visit the Mission S 872 School of the Methodist Southern Board 797 among the Shawnees. It is a large and flourishing school, I believe, but complaints are made of the principal of unfairness, of avarice, etc. He has made himself rich and also the Mission, they having secured by treaty between about 2000 acres of land, and at the same time he was active to prevent Friend Harvey from selling his Mission farm of 200 acres, evidently desiring to break up the Friends Mission.

D 797 Mr. Pratt commenced his missionary life 22 years ago with his present wife then 20 years of age. He was accepted as a missionary to Burma, but was requested to fill temporarily an Indian Mission then vacant among the Stockbridges near Fort Leaven-

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

CHAPTER XXXIII.

INITIATION OF BOYS.

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I DO not know how to give a better name to a superstitious practice which is very common among the Indians, and, indeed, is universal among those nations that I have become acquainted with. By certain methods which I shall presently describe, they put the mind of a boy in a state of perturbation, so as to excite dreams and visions; by means of which they pretend that the boy receives instructions from certain spirits or unknown agents as to his conduct in life, that he is informed of his future destination and of the wonders he is to perform in his future career through the world.

When a boy is to be thus *initiated*, he is put under an alternate course of physic and fasting, either taking no food whatever, or swallowing the most powerful and nauseous medicines, and occasionally he is made to drink decoctions of an intoxicating nature, until his mind becomes sufficiently bewildered, so that he sees or fancies that he sees visions, and has extraordinary dreams, for which, of course, he has been prepared before hand. He will fancy himself flying through the air, walking under ground, stepping from one ridge or hill to the other across the valley beneath, fighting and conquering giants and monsters, and defeating whole hosts by his single arm. Then he has interviews with the Mannitto or with spirits, who inform him of what he was before he was born and what he will be after his death. His fate in this life is laid entirely open before him, the spirit tells him what is to be his future employment,

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

whether he will be a valiant warrior, a mighty hunter, a doctor, a conjurer, or a prophet. There are even those who learn or pretend to learn in this way the time and manner of their death.

When a boy has been thus initiated, a name is given to him analogous to the visions that he has been, and to the destiny that is supposed to be prepared for him. The boy, imagining all that happened to him while under perturbation, to have been real, sets out in the world with lofty notions of himself, and animated with courage for the most desperate undertakings.

The belief in the truth of those visions is universal among the Indians. I have spoken with several of their old men, who had been highly distinguished for their valour, and asked them whether they ascribed their achievements to natural or supernatural causes, and they uniformly answered, that as they knew beforehand what they could do, they did it of course. When I carried my questions farther, and asked them how they knew what they could do? they never failed to refer to the dreams and visions which they had while under perturbation, in the manner I have above mentioned.

I always found it vain to attempt to undeceive them on this subject. They never were at a loss for examples to shew that the dreams they had had were not the work of a heated imagination, but that they came to them through the agency of a mannitto. They could always cite numerous instances of valiant men, who, in former times, in consequence of such dreams, had boldly attacked their enemy with nothing but the *Tumahican** in their hand, had not looked about to survey the number of their opponents, but had gone straight forward, striking all down before them; some, they said, in the French wars, had entered houses of the English filled with people, who, before they had time to look about, were all killed and laid in a heap. Such was the strength, the power and

* War-hatchet; from which we have made *tomahawk*.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

787 the courage conveyed to them in their supernatural dreams, and which nothing could resist.

787 If they stopped here in their relations, I might, perhaps, consider this practice of putting boys under per-
●881 turbation, as a kind of military school or exercise, intended to create in them a more than ordinary courage, and make them undaunted warriors. It certainly has this effect on some, who fancying themselves under the immediate protection of the celestial powers, despise all dangers, and really perform acts of astonishing bravery. But it must be observed, that all that are thus initiated are not designed for a military life, and that several learn by their dreams that they are to be physicians, sorcerers, or that their lives are to be devoted to some other *civil* employment. And it is astonishing what a number of superstitious notions are infused into the minds of the unsuspecting youth, by means of those dreams, which are useless, at least, for making good warriors or hunters. There are even some who by that means are taught to believe in the transmigration of souls.

787 I once took great pains to dissuade from these notions a very sensible Indian, much esteemed by all who knew him, even among the whites. All that I could say or urge was not able to convince him that at the time of his *initiation* (as I call it) his mind was in a state of temporary derangement. He declared that he had a clear recollection of the dreams and visions that had occurred to him at the time, and was sure that they came from the agency of celestial spirits. He asserted very strange things, of his own supernatural knowledge, which he had obtained not only at the time of his initiation, but at other times, even before he was born. He said he knew he had lived through two generations; that he had died twice and was born a third time, to live out the then present race, after which he was to die and never more to come to this country again. He well remembered what the women had predicted while he was yet in his

2;Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7

take baths in streams, even if the water was covered with ice.[37] Trowbridge said "they believe it of the utmost consequence to their children to subject them to hardship in their infancy and youth."[38] If children were orphaned "the maternal grandfather or mother is bound by custom to take the children under protection; but if they also be dead the children are adopted by such relatives or friends as may be inclined to take charge of them."[39] Children born out of wedlock were normally cared for by the mother, but the father might contribute to their support. No stigma attached to illegitimacy.[40]

Puberty: boys.— The vision quest of the young boy was the climax of the more formal aspects of the educational system and served to usher the boy over the threshold into adult life. When a boy was about ten years old,[41] or when his voice began to change (N.D.), he began what can best be called a series of ordeals:

> [A boy] is put under an alternate course of physic and fasting, either taking no food whatever, or swallowing the most powerful and nauseous medicines, and occasionally he is made to drink decoctions of an intoxicating nature, until his mind becomes sufficiently bewildered, so that he sees or fancies that he sees visions, and has extraordinary dreams, for which, of course, he has been prepared beforehand.[42]

Parents insulted their sons, N.D. added, telling them that they were no good and that they should go out and "die." Boys were shamed, ridiculed, insulted, and all but physically driven from the village. It was felt that a humbled, miserable boy had a better opportunity to induce the supernatural spirits to feel sorry for him, and so reveal themselves to him and provide him with a supernatural guardian. Boys inevitably went into a lonely exile filled with despair at their own inadequacy and in the desperate hope of obtaining a supernatural being's assistance in a hostile world. If the vision quest produced a guardian spirit, a boy was restored to the good graces of the community, acquired a good deal of self-confidence, and the course of his life was known. Future occupations, for instance, were decided by these visions, whether a boy was to be a warrior, shaman, or something else.[43] Not all boys, however, were successful in the vision quest. Women frequently had visions, although they were not consciously solicited.[44]

Puberty: girls.— When a girl menstruated for the first time she was secluded in a hut.[45] Zeisberger said of the Munsis:

> ...being the more strict and having more ceremonies in the observance of the custom than the Miamis. They build for such a girl, a separate hut, apart from the rest, where her mother or some old female acquaintance cares for her

[37] Penn, 1912, p. 231; Pastorius, 1912, p. 434; Trowbridge MS; J.T., N.D., O.A.
[38] Trowbridge MS.
[39] *Ibid.*
[40] *Ibid.*
[41] Harrington, 1913, p. 214.
[42] Heckewelder, 1881, p. 245.
[43] *Ibid.*, pp. 245-47. See Chap. IV for a discussion of the supernatural beings encountered in visions.
[44] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 132; N.D.
[45] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 77; Beatty, 1788, pp. 84-85; Loskiel, 1794, p. 58; N.D., O.A.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7

and guards her so that none may see her . . . she is also kept within the hut the whole of the menstrual period, with the blanket over her head. . . .[46]

De Vries also noted that these girls hid behind a garment "which they throw over their body drawing it over the head so that one can barely see their eyes."[47] The emphasis during menstruation was on uncleanliness and the necessity of isolation from society.[48] A girl could not touch her hair during her first isolation, food was eaten with a stick, and no meat was eaten.[49] In the last century, and perhaps earlier, a girl could not look in a mirror or talk to people (N.D.). At the end of the seclusion the girl's mother washed her hair, bathed her, and gave her new clothes. The idea was impressed upon the girl that she was now a woman and was henceforth to give up the toys and activities of childhood.[50] The same general restrictions applied to menstruating women.[51]

Little is known about premarital chastity in early historic times. Denton said, however: "Any maid before she is married doth lie with whom she please for money without any scandal, or the least aspersion to be cast upon her it being so customary, & their laws tolerating it."[52]

Marriage

After the boys had proved themselves to be adequate hunters and the girls had passed through their first seclusion, they were considered ready for marriage. This took place at about the age of seventeen or eighteen for boys and thirteen or fourteen for girls.[53] A girl showed her marriageability by wearing some sort of headpiece and by modestly covering the face with a portion of clothing when in public.[54] De Vries said further that girls "deck themselves with a quantity of zeewan [wampum] upon the body, head and neck; they then go and sit in some place, in company with some squaws, showing that they are up for a bargain."[55]

Several different ways of arranging marriages and several types of marriage ceremony have been recorded for the Delawares. Some of this variety was probably due to diffusion from other Indian cultures or from Euro-American civilization, but it was also possible that there were variations among the diverse Delawaran peoples. Four seventeenth-century sources stated that girls were courted with wampum.[56] In later times, at least, relatives or go-betweens arranged the marriage. According to Heckewelder the prospective bridegroom's mother usually initiated the negotiations; according to Trowbridge the father of the

[46] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 77.
[47] De Vries, 1909, p. 218; also Loskiel, 1794, p. 56.
[48] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 77; N.D., O.A.
[49] Penn, 1912, p. 232.
[50] N.D. See section on Mythology in Chap. IV for an account of a girl who refused to part with her dolls.
[51] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 77.
[52] Denton, 1845, p. 9.
[53] Penn, 1912, p. 231; Holm, 1834, pp. 127-28; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 75; Loskiel, 1794, p. 63.
[54] De Vries, 1909, p. 218; Pastorius, 1912, p. 434; Penn, 1912, p. 231.
[55] De Vries, 1909, p. 218.
[56] *Ibid.*; De Rasieres, 1909, p. 106; Denton, 1845, p. 9; Van der Donck, 1909, p. 302.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7
Iroquois NM9
Shawnee NN17

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regard them but little. They do not seem to be ashamed of their vices. For this reason, Indians themselves declare that their condition grows worse from year to year. As there is neither law nor legal penalty among them, they have nothing to fear, except that an injured one may avenge himself in the manner in which he has been injured. If one has seduced the wife of another, the offended party will seek to seduce the wife of the offender. He will keep his purpose a secret and not rest until he has obtained satisfaction, when he makes known to others what he has done, so that the original offender may hear of it.

D [684]

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When, in a young female, the first menstrual discharge occurs, generally between the twelfth and sixteenth year, the Delawares generally separate such daughters from all companionship, the Monsies [Monseys] being more strict and having more ceremonies in the observance of the custom than the Miamis. They build for such a girl, separate hut, apart from the rest, where her mother or some old female acquaintance cares for her and guards her so that none may see her. Wherefore, she is also kept within the hut the whole of the menstrual period, with the blanket over her head. She is given little to eat, but regularly dosed with emetics. She is not allowed to do any work during the whole time, which generally lasts twelve days. At the end of the time, they bring her into her home, looking black, grimy and dishevelled, because she has been lying about in dust and ashes the whole time. Washed and dressed in new garments, she is allowed to be in the home, but required to wear a cap with a long shield, so that she can neither see any one readily, nor be seen. Such a covering she must wear for two months, at the end of which time she is informed that she may marry.

D [582] 292]

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The Shavanose [Shawanese] and Mingoes, however, who observe much the same custom, follow a different course in this matter. The young woman in question is allowed to remain in the house. She prepares food for those in the house, of the corn and fruits she has raised. Of such food she does not, however, herself partake, but goes to her hut, apart from the others, and there prepares and eats her food.

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Every month, during her menstrual period, a Delaware woman lives by herself in a separate hut, which is usually very

the care of the younger children. Although physical punishment was seldom resorted to, exhortation and explanation were commonly used. One mythical story which was evidently used as a threat was that of the great naked bear. This was a creature, larger than most bears and naked except for a white spot. The only way to kill it was to break its back as its heart was so small that an arrow would seldom find it. The last of the species was reputed to have been killed on the east side of the Hudson River, but before that time it was said that recalcitrant children were particularly likely to be its victims (Heckewelder, 1799, pp.260-62).

A boy's life was not burdened with many chores until he was twelve or older, his time being spent in fishing and playing (Penn, p.30; Pastorius, 1698, p.434; Zeisberger, 1870, p.86; Harrington, 1913, p.213). When he reached this age, it was desirable for him to have a vision and receive a guardian spirit (Lindstrom, p.207). To promote this, the parents mistreated him, fed him sparingly and finally drove him into the woods. It was felt that this would cause a spirit to feel sorry for the boy and present itself to him.9 The nature of the vision which a youth had was sometimes taken as a sign of his future profession, and training in such a case would start immediately to prepare the boy to become a shaman or warrior as the case might be (Harrington, 1913, pp. 214-15; Zeisberger, 1910, p.101). At about fifteen the boys began hunting and at this they had to become proficient before considering marriage.

The girls stayed with their mothers and began helping to hoe the ground, plant corn and carry burdens as soon as they were able (Penn, p.30; Zeisberger, 1870, p.87). At a girl's first menstruation she went to a small hut some distance from the house where she stayed at least seven days. Here meals were brought to her by her mother or an old woman-friend, but she could not be touched. She used a sharpened stick in eating to prevent the food from touching her hands. At the end of her seclusion, the girl washed herself and all her clothing and dishes before returning home. She was then considered ready for marriage (Penn, pp.33-4; Beatty, p.43; Brickell, p.49; Harrington, 1913, p.215).

Marriage

"When the Young Women are fit for Marriage, they wear something upon their Heads for an Advertisement, but so as their Faces are hardly to be seen..."(Penn, p.31). Other descriptions tell us that this covering was made of worked mats decorated with alternate rows of white and black wampum and was worn pulled down to the middle of the forehead (Smith, p.138; Zeisberger, 1910, p.77). Girls married between the ages of thirteen and fourteen; boys, at seventeen or eighteen (Penn, p.31). According to Zeisberger, the Delaware had the tradition that individuals must always marry outside the local group, but no seventeenth century writer has commented on this point (Zeisberger, 1910, p.78).

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

women in their periodic condition, etc. Old Lenape say that, as the children of the tribe are reared nowadays in the same way as the whites, they can no longer be *pi'lsu*ⁿ, and the Powers will speak to them no more. This is a sad matter, for it means the loss of their principal ancient ceremonies, at which only those blessed with a vision can take active part. The old people feel it keenly that there will be no one left to conduct the rites when the last of their generation has been laid away.

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INITIATION OF BOYS

Parents were especially anxious, of course, that their sons should have supernatural aid, hence, when a boy reached the age of about twelve years, they would frequently pretend to abuse him, and would drive him, fasting, out into the forest to shift as best he might, in the hope that some *mani'to* would take pity on the suffering child and grant him some power or blessing that would be his dependence through life.

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Sometimes a man who had several sons would take them out into the forest and build them a rude little tent, and here they would remain for days at a time. During the day the boys were not permitted to eat, but just before sunrise every morning each was given a medicine to make him vomit, after which a tiny piece of meat was given him, about the size of a man's little finger. Occasionally the boys became able to fast in this way for twelve days, at the end of which time, the Lenape say, some had received such power that they were able to rise into the air, or go down into the ground, or prophesy events a year or two ahead, with the magic aid of the supernatural being that had taken pity on them.

OTHER VISIONS

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It sometimes happened also that people received visions of power in natural sleep without fasting, or even when wide awake, while feeling melancholy and heartsick over the death of a loved one, or suffering other misfortune or trouble.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

Not only are wild animals pure in contrast with domestic brutes in the sense embraced by the term, but youths who have completed the puberty vigil and acquired their guardian spirit are also pi·'lai·t, "clean, uncontaminated, spiritually purified," as opposed to those who have not. For instance one of the signs denoting the transition from pre-adolescence in boys to the "purity of manhood" is in the voice. They say that the youth is expected to remain in solitude during his vigil until his voice has changed completely, by which time he is then pi·'lai·t. It will be noticed also that the term is applied to fire made by the pump-drill at the Big House ceremony, pi·'lai·t' ta'n·da', "clean fire," the unadulterated new fire made without matches or other unclean materials; the latter being cowa'n·akwi· ta'n·da', "white man's fire," or mat·a pi·'ltak, "not pure." The sacred character of pure fire is shown in its honorific synonym muχo"mson·a, "our grandfather," the source of healing.

Spiritual purity, however, is not conditioned by ethical conduct, but rather (like the Hebraic takor) through the observance of taboo regulations prescribed by ancient rulings.[1] Foremost among these are the restrictions placed upon the freedom of women in their catamenial periods, and the carrying out of dietary usages based upon the classification of animals as clean and unclean. Another evidence of the individual being spiritually pure is to have been blessed with a vision bestowed by a supernatural power. Such individuals are pi·'lsi· in a high degree. They are indeed the mainstays of the Big House ceremony. They are in blessed communion with the man·i't·u, bringing into the Big House their spiritual media, the controls under which their destinies are moulded. Again to be pi·'lai· is to have gone through all the native teachings. And to live with a guileless character, child-like, is sufficient to entitle a man or woman (irrespective of marriage or celibacy) to be referred to as pi·'lai·t lən'·o "pure, clean, man," or pi·'lsi·t xkwe", "pure, clean, woman," as a child is pi·'lsi·t mi·'mas. The above may serve to outline at least the Delaware concept of personal holiness and unholiness as it is expounded in the text.

BEING BLESSED WITH A VISION. THE PERFORMERS IN THE CEREMONY. The main active parts in the ceremony are performed by those who have been blessed with revelations by spiritual-forces, the man·i't·u. These are the pure men, and also in a minor rôle, the pure women. The word element aŋg'o[2] seems to be the generic designation for the condition of being blessed with a spiritual revelation through a vision. By this is meant the visitation from some man·i't·u coming at some period in the life of the individual who is spiritually deserving from the point of view of his reverence for spiritual forces for his observance of the arbitrary rulings of religious doctrine, and adherence to logically

[1] A taboo is denoted by the term kwul·a'gan, "something forbidden."

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

very aged men and women were seen among them, some of whom thought they had lived about one hundred years. They frequently told me and others that when they were young men, their people did not marry so early as they did since, that even at twenty they were called boys and durst not wear a breech-cloth, as the men did at that time, but had only a small bit of a skin hanging before them. Neither, did they say, were they subject to so many disorders as in later times, and many of them calculated on dying of old age. But since that time a great change has taken place in the constitution of those Indians who live nearest to the whites. By the introduction of ardent spirits among them, they have been led into vices which have brought on disorders which they say were unknown before; their blood became corrupted by a shameful complaint, which the Europeans pretend to have received from the original inhabitants of America, while these say they had never known or heard of it until the Europeans came among them. Now the Indians are infected with it to a great degree; children frequently inherit it from their parents, and after lingering for a few years at last die victims to this poison.

Those Indians who have not adopted the vices of the white people live to a good age, from 70 to 90. Few arrive at the age of one hundred years. The women, in general, live longer than the men.

The Indians do not appear to be more or less exempt than the whites from the common infirmities of old age. I have known old men among them who had lost their memory, their sight, and their teeth. I have also seen them at eighty in their second childhood and not able to help themselves.

The Indian women are not in general so prolific as those of the white race. I imagine this defect is owing to the vicious and dissolute life they lead since the introduction of spirituous liquors. Among our Christian Indians, we have had a couple who had been

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7

881 and guards her so that none may see her . . . she is also kept within the hut the whole of the menstrual period, with the blanket over her head. . . .[46]

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[46] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 77.

[47] De Vries, 1909, p. 218; also Loskiel, 1794, p. 56.

[48] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 77; N.D., O.A.

[49] Penn, 1912, p. 232.

[50] N.D. See section on Mythology in Chap. IV for an account of a girl who refused to part with her dolls.

[51] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 77.

[52] Denton, 1845, p. 9.

[53] Penn, 1912, p. 231; Holm, 1834, pp. 127-28; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 75; Loskiel, 1794, p. 63.

[54] De Vries, 1909, p. 218; Pastorius, 1912, p. 434; Penn, 1912, p. 231.

[55] De Vries, 1909, p. 218.

[56] *Ibid.*; De Rasieres, 1909, p. 166; Denton, 1845, p. 9; Van der Donck, 1908, p. 362.

266.	Any of these punished	+	−		−	+		−	+	+	(−)	+	+	884
267.	Age of youth becoming a man								20	25	25	21	20-24	682
268.	Determined by own ability		+				+			−	−	−	−	885
269.	Murder of wife by husband punished						−	−	−	+	?	S	+	593
270.	Her relatives might revenge if they considered act unwarranted						+			−		+	+	462
	Family Government													
271.	Husband treats wife with tenderness and respect				+	+	+			+	+	+	+	481
272.	Provides meat	+	+			+	+			+	+	+	+	593
273.	Provides clothing					+	+			+	+	+	+	562
274.	Provides other necessities					+	+			+	+	+	+	244
275.	Wife obeys husband					+	+				+	+	+	484
276.	Makes clothing	+	+			+	+		+	+	+	+	+	681
277.	Makes and mends moccasins	+	+			+	+		+	+	+	+	+	263
278.	Raises corn and other crops	+	+		+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	
279.	Cooks	+	+		+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	
280.	Provides fuel		+		+	+	+		+	−	−	−		
281.	Manual labor falls on wife		+		+	s	−		−	−	−	−	−	
282.	Moving camp devolves upon women					+	−		−	−	−	−		
283.	Husband frequently strikes wife					−	−		−	−	−	−		
284.	If she is ill-tempered or refractory						+		+	−	−	−		
285.	Same affection and unreserved intercourse between spouses as in civilized life				+		+		+	+	+	+	+	
286.	Woman ever exercise government over children				+	+	+			+	+	+	+	
287.	Woman ever at the head of the establishment				+		+			+	+	+	+	
	Food, mode of living, etc.													
288.	Animals which are not used for food: several kinds					+	+			+	•		+	
289.	Very few	(+)		(+)					+		•	+		
290.	Opossum								+	+	+	•	+	
291.	Otter								+					
292.	Vegetable products eaten; All kinds								+		+	•	+	
293.	Number of kinds					+	+			+				
294.	Wild or ground potatoes				+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	
295.	Corn	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
296.	Beans	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	
297.	Pumpkins (squash)	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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867 under bed. Use hands to eat. Sticks for forks, wooden spoons, knives only to cut meat. Ax to cut bones. No canned goods —stuff put in it might harm you—only clean food eaten.

867 In Fall, November, before sunup go to creek and swim.
866 Wind cold, water warm, give you strength, get out look like something pinched you. Go to house, burn cedar, refresh you.
[863] That's your health your body, no disease. If you are not clean any little thing can catch you.

Then when you get to be a man. Don't whoop like boy. Must take care of yourself—whooping might strain something. Then they tell me I can have a woman. If I see one I want I tell the
[864] old folks. I must not prowl around. Maybe another clan, maybe same clan but not folks. The old folks have rules, they talk to girl's folks. Her folks talk to her about me. Her folks like mine, mine like hers. Give her folks something, goods, blankets, etc. Big feast, invite people. Wedding—preacher talk to me and her. Tell us we must talk over things—where one of us wants to go, what to do, etc. Then maybe it's all right. Wife in family way must not go (six months or so after marriage) to see sick people, death or butchering. Any good things all right. Anything wrong or unnatural might affect child.

105. Corporeal punishment for children

861 Zeisberger says in one place that children were not punished, but reproved for mischief with gentle words; in another that water was thrown in their faces as punishment.

John Johnston—(No restraint or punishment) except threatening and denying them food for a certain time.

Captain Chipps—The domestic government of children is wild. Disobedience is punished severely by flogging—other offenses are considered lighter.

W. L.—Corporeal punishment was whipping but also throwing water in their faces. Think a lot of water and would pray to it (to wash child clean?) while throwing it in child's face.

106. Age at which childhood ceases

884 John Johnston—When they are considered capable of providing for themselves.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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CAPTAIN PIPE—In the days of yore children were considered as bound to obey their parents, and were not suffered to marry until the age of thirty if males or twenty-four if females; but to use their own language, they have so degenerated that in these days, when a boy begins to grow hoarse he assumes the practices of a man, declares himself independent and marries. 884

CAPTAIN CHIPPS—At the age of 12, children cease to be such. They are considered young men, but are subject to the usual family punishments for offenses, until they become of age.

E. R.—Childhood generally considered to end at 14 to 15 years of age but in backward cases was later.

W. L.—About 20 years of age depending on individual.

107. Adoption of children by near relatives

ZEISBERGER—In many cases children who have become motherless after birth have been reared by careful old women. Sometimes children are given to such women. Then they spare no pains in rearing them. Soup made of Indian corn, pounded very fine, is given by them to infants of tender age, that may have come into their possession. Ordinarily, orphans, even if they have lost but the mother, meet with hard experience and often suffer want. Children who have been given or bequeathed, on the contrary, are almost without exception well cared for. 597 [853]

JOHN JOHNSTON—They are not [adopted by near relatives], but when they adopt it is from a family that is not connected and when adopted are considered members of the family that they are adopted into. On death of parents care of child devolves upon nearest relation.

CAPTAIN PIPE—Orphans and sometimes neglected children, are often adopted by good men in the nation, and are in such case considered as the children of the adopting person subject to the same privileges which his own children enjoy. In case of the death of the parents, the maternal grandfather or mother is bound by custom to take the children under protection; but if they also be dead the children are adopted by such relatives or friends as may be inclined to take charge of them.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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384. Guns stacked against pole

CAPTAIN CHIPPS—In marching against an enemy, they regularly encamp at Sunset—the method pursued, is, for the young men to procure two crotched poles and a cross piece, against which the guns are stacked, being first covered with *skin cases*— a fire is built on each side of this, between which and their guns, they take their rest, with their heads towards the guns, and their feet to the fire. 726

386. War chief determines question of battle

CAPTAIN CHIPPS—The chief decides in most cases, upon the expedience of giving battle—in times of difficulty however, he takes the votes of his warriors on the subject. The order of battle is decided in the same way, subject to be altered by circumstances. [725]

388. Any ceremony of victory on field

HECKEWELDER said that there was a dance of thanksgiving upon the return of a victorious war party. 727

W. T. and E. R. thought that there was a ceremony of some kind but did not know exactly what it was.

393. Ceremonies on return if defeated

E. R. said that the few survivors of a defeat in war returned home, pounded a drum and sang a death song by which the villiagers knew that they had been defeated and came and condoled with them.

395. Prisoners burned

CAPTAIN PIPE—The practice of burning prisoners is said to have been very ancient. It extended particularly to great warriors, whose capture and death was accompanied with loud shouts by the victors.

399. Age of beginning to bear arms

J. W. said boy might begin to bear arms at 14 years and even accompany war parties but could not be considered a warrior until the age of 35. [884]

141.	Any superiority among wives					+	+	−			+	−
142.	strongest					++						
143.	oldest										+	
144.	youngest						+					
145.	Polyandry					−	−	−	−	−	−	−
146.	Sororate — polygynous					++	++	−+	−	−	−	++
147.	Sororate — successive					++	++	−+	−+		+	−−
148.	Sororate — obligatory			+		*+	−−	*+	*+		−−	++
149.	Marriage of man to woman and daughter			+		++	++	+·	−+	−+	−−	+·
150.	Adultery criminal in the woman	+	+	+		++	++	−+	−+	−+	++	++
151.	Equally so in the man		+	+		++	++	++	++	++	++	++
152.	Punished only by separation	+	−	(−)		++	++	++	(+)	++	++	++
153.	Divorce on grounds of infidelity	+	+	+	+	++	++	·+	++	−	++	++
154.	Without any particular cause	+	+	+	+	++	++	++	++		++	++
155.	May be limited by husband		+	+	+	++	++	++	++		++	++
156.	by wife		+	+	+	++	++	++	++		++	++
157.	Women seldom get divorce				+	+	++	++	++		−	−
158.	Children stay with mother until able to choose for themselves		+	+	+	+	+	·	+		+	*+
159.	Marriage with near relatives prohibited to very remote degree of relationship						+	+				
160.	to any known degree			+		+	·	·	+	+	+	+
161.	Cohabitation without marriage common		+			++	·	·	−+	−·	−+	++
162.	Do individuals live to advanced age without being married					++	+−	+−	+−	−·	+−	++
163.	Commonly					−−	−−	−−	−−	−−	−−	−+
164.	Common for unmarried women to have children		+			++	++	++	−−	−−	−−	−+
165.	Injurious to their reputations		++			+	*+	++	−−		−−	−−
166.	Are they punished		+−				−−	−−	++		−−	−−
167.	Affect chances of marriage		−−			−	−−		++		+	+
168.	Proportion of married women without children †											
169.	Average number of children in family			•	*4-5	3	·	12	12	12	4-5	8-10
170.	Average interval between births (yrs.)					2-3	·	2	2	1	2-3	2+
171.	Age women generally begin to bear children					16	·	16	30	21	18-20	20
172.	Age to cease					40	·	40	50+	70	·	50
173.	Age that men commonly get married	•	•	18-20		15-25	F30	20	25	25	18-21	17+ F20
174.	Age that women commonly get married		•	14-16		·	F24	20	20	20	16-21	17+ F20

595 517 857 586 582 836 511 849 886 885

266.	Any of these punished	+	−		−	+		−	+	+	(−)	+	+		884
267.	Age of youth becoming a man								20	25	25	21	20-24		682
268.	Determined by own ability		+				+			−	−	−	−		885
269.	Murder of wife by husband punished						−	−	−	+	?	s	+		593
270.	Her relatives might revenge if they considered act unwarranted						+			−		+	+		462
Family Government															
271.	Husband treats wife with tenderness and respect				+	+	+			+	+	+	+		681
272.	Provides meat	+	+			+	+			+	+	+	+		593
273.	Provides clothing					+	+			+	+	+	+		462
274.	Provides other necessities					+	+			+	+	+	+		681
275.	Wife obeys husband					+	+				+	+	+		593
276.	Makes clothing	+	+			+	+		+	+	+	+	+		462
277.	Makes and mends moccasins	+	+			+	+		+	+	+	+	+		681
278.	Raises corn and other crops	+	+		+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+		593
279.	Cooks	+	+		+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+		462
280.	Provides fuel		+		+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+		681
281.	Manual labor falls on wife		+		+	s	+		+	+	+	+	+		593
282.	Moving camp devolves upon women					+	−		−	−	−	−	+		462
283.	Husband frequently strikes wife					−	−		−	−	−	−			681
284.	If she is ill-tempered or refractory						+		+	−	−	−			593
285.	Same affection and unreserved intercourse between spouses as in civilized life				+		+		+	+	+	+	+		462
286.	Woman ever exercise government over children				+	+	+			+	+	+	+		681
287.	Woman ever at the head of the establishment				+		+			+	+	+	+		593
Food, mode of living, etc.															
288.	Animals which are not used for food: several kinds					+	+			+	•		+		562
289.	Very few	(+)		(+)					+	+	•	+			244
290.	Opossum								+	+	+	+	+		885
291.	Otter								+						562
292.	Vegetable products eaten; All kinds								+		+	•	+		885
293.	Number of kinds					+	+			+					562
294.	Wild or ground potatoes				+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+		885
295.	Corn	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		593
296.	Beans	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+		462
297.	Pumpkins (squash)	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+		681

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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588 848 the same pattern: uniformity of affirmation among the sources and denial by all the informants except W. L. The remarks of W. L. show rather conclusively that the extension of the legal code of the whites over the Indians was largely responsible for this fourth-period change. He said that these elements were common "before the law came and then the women got mean and objected when their husbands went to see other girls." The changes indicated in the reputations of unmarried mothers and their chances of marriage (165, 167) are, of course, related to each other and derive from white contact.

582 The age of marriage was formerly much older, according to both Captain Pipe and W. L., than it was at the time of their accounts (173, 174). There is little evidence for this alleged relaxation of restrictions upon the marriageable age to be found in the source material. One might expect that the introduction [885] of firearms made some difference in the age at which a youth could support himself and hence a wife, but a bow and a supply of arrows were more easily obtained than a gun. The explanation for the comments on the independence of youth probably lies in the principle of "faith in former good times" or, to put it the other way around for this case, the principle of "present degeneration of youth." This principle of human nature is of widespread application and is found not only among many other Indian tribes but also in the beliefs of other races for the past five thousand years and more.

Death and Its Incidents

764 The treatment of their dead by the Delaware appears to have undergone little change in the time for which we have records. The preparation of the corpse shows no change with the exception of the substitution of European clothes for furs (175-79). Even now, however, moccasins and other items of Indian manufacture are used to dress the corpse when obtainable. There are two dissenters on the subject of the preparation of the corpse by unrelated persons only, one early and one modern (180). Probably there was no hard and fast rule, but nonrelatives were

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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settling such an affair was approved by the nation (260), and it did not give rise to a feud between the two families involved unless there was some violation of the established customs by the injured family as reported by Van der Donck (259).

Besides murder and theft, rape, adultery, desertion of children, drunkenness, and slander were considered crimes (262-65). Apparently the conception of what constituted punishment varied among the sources, for some did not regard the payment of wampum as such (266). This was the only retribution levied on the offender recorded by Van der Donck, Heckewelder, Chipps, and Pipe. Zeisberger agreed, except that in the case of adultery he said a man whose wife had been seduced awaited his opportunity and seduced the wife of the seducer. J. W. and W. L. said that failing presents, whipping and even death might be meted out in cases of persistent offenders. J. W. seemed to think that rape was always punished by death.

Another element that shows an increasingly rigorous enforcement of law and order with the passage of time is that involving the murder of a woman by her husband (269). In the first two periods this received no mention, but in the third there are statements by Johnston and Pipe that the husband would not be punished (270). Johnston said that the wife's relatives might take revenge if they considered the act unwarranted. According to the modern informants, such a murderer would be punished anyway, and there might be revenge in addition if her relatives thought the deed unwarranted.

References to the age at which adult status was reached were infrequently given by the earlier sources (267). Van der Donck and Johnston said that the matter was determined by the ability of the individual (268). Chipps said that a youth was considered a man at twenty years and was then his own master even though he could marry before that. None of the modern informants said that coming into adult status was determined by the ability of the individual, although W. L. implied as much by saying that the age was between twenty and twenty-four years. Two of the others placed the age at twenty-five years and the fourth at twenty-one. In a society that placed so much emphasis upon

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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885 individual prowess, it is doubtful if a definite age was observed before the introduction of the concept of a legal age by the whites.

Family Government

593 Questions dealing with the display of tenderness and affection between husband and wife were framed by Cass to be answered by observers outside the group under consideration (271, 285). The opinions of the Delaware themselves were, of course, in the affirmative for the existence and display of these emotions, but they agreed with the information of the writers of the earlier periods who were only observers.

462 In seeking information on the elements dealing with the occupations of the husband and wife, it was emphasized that we were concerned with earlier conditions as well as with present practices. Although the methods may have changed, the responsibilities of the husband have remained the same from the earliest times known. He is still the provider of meat, clothing, and other necessities whether as the direct or indirect result of hunting or other activity (272-74).

593 462 562 The wife was expected in the old days to obey her husband, make clothing and moccasins of material provided by her spouse, tend the garden or fields, cook meals, and provide fuel (275-80). These duties were reported for women throughout the first three periods. It is interesting to note that three of the modern informants, J. W., W. T., and E. R., denied the agricultural responsibilities of women. It is a tossup whether they were uninformed of conditions in the past or answered as they did because these are not the sole responsibility of the women now and they interpreted the past in terms of their present customary division of labor which is similar to that of the whites. This chivalrous attitude is maintained on the question of manual labor falling on the wife (281). On all these elements the information of W. L. reflected the earlier conditions.

[224] [484] According to Heckewelder, when hunting was of great importance, the husband could not be encumbered with any burden when moving camp but must of necessity leave all that to his wife and himself be on the lookout for game (282). In the

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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597 CAPTAIN CHIPPS—Children are never adopted by their relatives—adoption is confined to those who have been taken prisoners. If both parents die the charge of the children devolves on the nearest relative. Orphans are not provided for—but seldom suffer, and it is considered "a good thing" to administer to their wants.

J. W.—Orphan taken care of by some one close to orphan or family—some one who knows about it and has watched it—is given the orphan to raise in preference to a near relative. Some one who has heard of the child's predicament is given the child if he makes his wishes known.

113. Control of parents over mature children

885 JOHN JOHNSTON—They [parents] do [have control over mature children] for they consider them better able to receive the counsels of the parents.

CAPTAIN PIPE—Parental feelings are very strong and generally continue during life, in consequence of which, aged relatives consider it their duty to advise the young and deter them from the commission of wrong. But no compulsory means are used after their arrival at years of discretion.

CAPTAIN CHIPPS—Attachment of parents to children continues through life. And parental authority is exercised at all ages.

E. R.—Children stayed under supervision of parents even after they were married and until first child was born. After that they might ask for advice but it was seldom given otherwise.

W. L.—Parents exercise control over children until they are married. (He was adopted by paternal grandparents when he was about 22 years of age.)

115. Daily bath given child

854 JOHN JOHNSTON—for one year.

[863] J. W.—for five years.

W. T.—for four years.

E. R.—twice daily for ten days, then daily for three to four months.

W. L.—for four to five years.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925)-1931
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bility and maturity comes to the individual he feels that he is called to take his place in the annual ceremony. A new vision of life dawns upon him. He realizes that he has been brought into the world for a purpose and permitted to live to middle-age to raise children, take care of the aged relatives, help the people to health and comfort. Then there is also the feeling that others are observing him as an example of conduct. So he assumes his responsibility and prepares to appear in the Big House ceremony.[1]

We are told that the Big House performances were originally esoteric. Whites were excluded from it during the ceremonies, though in recent years the objection to their presence has been withdrawn due to intermarriage between Delaware women and white men.

The virtue of humility, so extolled and propogated in the philosophy of the Delawares, and the Iroquois[2] as well is one to which too little emphasis has been given by students. Historians, in particular those contrasting the humility of the evangelists with the contemptuousness of the natives, have ignored the declarations of ethnologists in this respect.[3]

THE SYMBOL OF TWELVE.—Allusion has previously been made in several places in our discussion, to the sanctity of the concept of twelve, the reason for which among the Delawares seems not to be objectively expressed.[4] Twelve is nevertheless a fundamental symbolical number. Throughout the text we hear of the Great Spirit residing in the twelfth stratum of the sky; of the prayer-call addressed to him uttered twelve times in succession; of the twelve prayer sticks or wands which lift the prayer to the twelfth heaven. The Big House ceremony itself is of twelve days' duration. The belief being that each day's performance lifts the worship a stage higher in the series of twelve successive sky levels until on the final day it reaches the Great Spirit himself.

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[1] Maturity is an important consideration with the Delawares. Among many facts still to be obtained in regard to restrictions of boys under the age of puberty, for instance, it may be interesting to note that these when they become old enough to take part in the hunt, are not allowed to eat soup lest their testicles rattle so warning game animals ahead of them, or to eat the heart of the animal lest they lose courage; or the animal's head, eyes, or ears lest they be bothered with gnats.

[2] A. C. Parker, The Code of Handsome Lake, Bull. 163. New York State Museum, Albany, 1912.

[3] For example Rev. T. J. Campbell, S. J.[3] tells his readers, "The red man had never much respect for the virtue of humility, and the young missionary (referring to Marquette among the Illinois) was treated rather contemptuously by many of the degraded wretches whom he was trying to regenerate." Pioneer Priests of North Amer. N. Y. 1911, Vol. III, p. 109.

[4] The importance of seven in Delaware thought has been stressed by A. L. Kroeber (Anthropology, N. Y. p. 252, j. n. 1) without giving the source. There seems to be no evidence of this in the material at hand.

141.	Any superiority among wives					+	+	−			+	−	
142.	strongest					++							
143.	oldest										+		
144.	youngest						+						
145.	Polyandry					−	−				−	−	
146.	Sororate — polygynous					−	+	−	−		−	+	
147.	Sororate — successive					+	+	−	−		+	+	
148.	Sororate — obligatory					•+	−		•+		−	−	
149.	Marriage of man to woman and daughter					+	+		−		−	•	
150.	Adultery criminal in the woman	+	+			+	+	+	−		+	•	
151.	Equally so in the man		+			+	+	•	+		+	+	
152.	Punished only by separation	+	−		(−)	+	+	•	+	(+)	+	+	
153.	Divorce on grounds of infidelity	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
154.	Without any particular cause	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	
155.	May be limited by husband		+		+	+	+	+	+		+	+	
156.	by wife		+		+	+	+	+	+		+	+	
157.	Women seldom get divorce				+	+	+	+	+		−	−	
158.	Children stay with mother until able to choose for themselves		+	+	+	+	+	•	+		+	•+	
159.	Marriage with near relatives prohibited to very remote degree of relationship						+	+					
160.	to any known degree				+		+		+	+	+	+	
161.	Cohabitation without marriage common		+			+	•	•	−	−	+	+	
162.	Do individuals live to advanced age without being married					+	+	+	−		+	−	
163.	Commonly					−	−	−	−		−	−	
164.	Common for unmarried women to have children		+			+	+	+	−		−	+	
165.	Injurious to their reputations		+			+	•+	+	−		−	−	
166.	Are they punished		−				−	−	+		−	−	
167.	Affect chances of marriage		−			−	−		+		+	+	
168.	Proportion of married women without children †												
169.	Average number of children in family				•	•4-5	3	•	12	12	12	4-5	8-10
170.	Average interval between births (yrs.)						2-3	•	2	2	1	2-3	2+
171.	Age women generally begin to bear children						16	•	16	30	21	18-20	20
172.	Age to cease						40	•	40	50+	70	•	50
173.	Age that men commonly get married		•	•	18-20		15-25	F30	20	25	25	18-21	17+ F20
174.	Age that women commonly get married			•	14-16		•	F24	20	20	20	16-21	17+ F20

583 587 857 586 582 836 511 844 886● 885

l:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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larly of the old, who delight in such work, and indeed, in any work which shews that they are able to do their parts and be useful to society. It requires great patience, being the most tedious kind of work I have ever seen them perform, yet they do it in a most ingenious manner. The feathers, generally those of the turkey and goose, are so curiously arranged and interwoven together with thread or twine, which they prepare from the rind or bark of the wild hemp and nettle, that ingenuity and skill cannot be denied them. They shew the same talent and much forethought in making their *Happis*, the bands with which they carry their bags and other burdens; they make these very strong and lasting.

The present dress of the Indians is well known to consist in blankets, plain or ruffled shirts and leggings for the men, and petticoats for the women, made of cloth, generally red, blue, or black. The wealthy adorn themselves besides with ribands or gartering of various colours, beads, and silver broaches. These ornaments are arranged by the women, who, as well as the men, know how to dress themselves in style. Those of the men principally consist in the painting of themselves, their head and face principally, shaving or good clean garments, silver arm spangles and breast plates, and a belt or two of wampum hanging to their necks. The women, at the expense of their husbands or lovers, line their petticoat and blue or scarlet cloth blanket or covering with choice ribands of various colours, or with gartering, on which they fix a number of silver broaches or small round buckles. They adorn their leggings in the same manner; their mocksens, (properly *Maxen*, or according to the English pronunciation *Moxen*), are embroidered in the neatest manner, with coloured porcupine quills, and are besides, almost entirely covered with various trinkets; they have, moreover, a number of little bells and brass thimbles fixed round their ancles, which, when they walk, make a tinkling noise, which is heard

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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years of age and women fourteen or fifteen. There is in general no very strong tie between married people, not even between the older. A mere trifle furnishes ground for separation. Not every Indian, however, is indifferent to the light behavior of his wife. Many a one takes her unfaithfulness so to heart that in the height of his despair he swallows a poisonous root, which generally causes death in two hours, unless an antidote be administered in good time; this is often done, the Indians knowing that the properties of certain herbs counteract each other and being able to judge from the effects, what poison has been taken. Women, also, have been known to destroy themselves on account of a husband's unfaithfulness. To prevent such a calamity, they make use of a Beson, a love-charm, prepared by the old people and sold at a good price. This is constantly carried about by one or the other of the parties and is believed to keep man or woman faithful. Such a charm is even declared to have had the effect of making a woman run always and everywhere after her husband, until weary of life she has destroyed herself, or of similarly affecting a man. For this Beson, also, the Indians have their antidote. All this converted Indians have related to me.

Older men and women, particularly, have another Beson, supposed to have the magic power of bringing many presents to them. This charm they guard jealously among their most precious belongings, and is said to have the effect of bringing them food, clothing and whatever else they may need. It is prepared of roots pounded very fine, incantations being murmured meanwhile. A little of this preparation, about the size of a pea, is sold with a white and black wampum shell for a considerable price, often for a belt of wampum with several pounds in money. The love charm and others are similarly prepared. Usually, this is done by old women, who thus support themselves and promote superstition among the young.

The men have a Beson for the chase. This beson is a preparation made by old men, who are no more able to hunt, consisting of roots and herbs or made of the seeds of a certain plant. This is sold by them at a high price. They may earn much in this way, for every huntsman carries such a charm about in his

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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224 1789 pocket. Thus the old men support themselves when they can no longer engage in the chase. As there are several sorts of charm of this character, every one is desirous to get the best, even if [887] he has already at the price of half the catch of a season bought one charm and if it should cost him the greater part of his property to get the new one of which he has heard. Some Indians chew a certain root when on the deer-hunt, so the deer may not notice their approach when the wind blowing over the Indian to the game would otherwise give the alarm.

Another kind of Beson, considered to be a more powerful charm, is taken inwardly and occasions violent vomiting, but this is not in common use. According to the opinion of the Indians this beson will prove mischievous and have a contrary effect unless every ceremony connected with its use is attended to with the most scrupulous exactness. If a huntsman shoots nothing for several days, he swallows a small dose, observing all the rules prescribed by magic art. Not having taken any food he then starts on the chase and does not return before evening unless he has secured some game. It is claimed that the use of this charm enables them to shoot deer in considerable numbers. I have observed, however, that Indians have repeatedly taken such doses [777] during a period of three weeks and not been successful. In such cases ill-luck is ascribed to some other cause, frequently to the presence of a missionary. In cases where Indians, unable to secure anything in spite of the use of this beson while I was present have been successful in my absence, it has appeared that my presence has in some way interfered with their incantations. [787] In connection with the chase they lay much stress on dreams. If the dreamer fancies he sees an Indian and hears him say, "If thou will sacrifice to me, thou shalt shoot deer at pleasure," he will immediately prepare a sacrifice and burn the whole or part of a deer in honor of the apparition.

Occasionally, when an Indian would go hunting for a season, he will by way of preparation shoot a deer or two, bring home the flesh and prepare a feast, which is at the same time a sacrifice, to which the aged are invited. The latter pray for him that he may be fortunate and then he departs to stay away some time.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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inside of a grave with the bark of trees and when the corpse was let down they placed some pieces of wood across, which were again covered with bark and then the earth thrown in. When they were able to split boards they placed them, not, however, joined in any way, in the grave in such a manner that the corpse might be between them. A fourth board was laid over it as a cover. Now they have learned to make proper coffins. The graves are generally dug by old women as the young people abhor this kind of work. The coffin is made by men and placed in the grave. Then the corpse is brought, dressed in new clothing and a white shirt, with the face and shirt painted red, laid upon a new mat and let down into the grave. They cover the body with the strowd and nail up the coffin. Formerly it was the custom to place the pouch, tobacco, pipe, knife, fire material, kettle and hatchet in the grave but this is no longer done. They also fill up the grave with earth, which was not done in former times. The graves are all arranged in such a manner that the head was turned to the east and the feet to the west. At the head of the corpse a tall post is erected, pointing out who is buried. If the deceased was a chief this post is neatly carved but not otherwise decorated. If it was a Captain the post is painted red and his head and glorious deeds are portrayed upon it. The burial post of a physician is hung with a small tortoise shell which he used in his juggling practice. In honor of a great warrior his warlike deeds are exhibited in red color on the burial post.

In the evening soon after sunset and in the morning before daybreak the female relations and friends assemble in the house of the deceased and mourn over the body. This is done until he is buried. All the effects of the deceased are piled up near the body. These are taken to the place of burial and the greater part is distributed among those who assisted in burying the dead. The rest is given to the friends present, each receiving a share. During the letting down of the corpse into the grave the women set up a deafening howl. Men deem it a shame to weep, yet in silence and unobserved they often cannot refrain from tears. After the ceremony is over the mother, grandmother or other near female relative of the deceased goes evening and

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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in token of remembrance; but when they give any thing to 431
a trader, they at least expect double the value in return, saying that he can afford to do it, since he had cheated them so often.

They treat each other with civility, and shew much 576
affection on meeting after an absence. When they meet in the forenoon, they will compliment one another with saying, "a good morning to you!" and in the afternoon "a good evening." In the act of shaking hands with each other, they strictly attend to the distinguishing names of relations, which they utter at the time; as for instance, "a good morning, father, grandfather, uncle, aunt, cousin," and so down to a small grandchild. [888]
They are also in the habit of saluting old people no ways related to them, by the names of grandfather and grandmother, not in a tone of condescending superiority or disguised contempt, but as a genuine mark of the respect which they feel for age. The common way of saluting where no relationship exists, is that of "friend;" when, however, the young people meet, they make use of words suitable to their years or stage in life; they will say "a good morning, comrade, favourite, beloved, &c." Even the children salute each other affectionately. "I am glad to see you," is the common way in which the Indians express themselves to one another after a short absence; but on meeting after a long absence, on the return of a messenger or a warrior from a critical or dangerous expedition, they have more to say; the former is saluted in the most cordial manner with some such expression: "I thank the Great Spirit, that he has pre-
"served our lives to this time of our happily meeting
"again. I am, indeed, very glad to see you." To which the other will reply: "you speak the truth; it is through
"the favour of the great and good Spirit that we are
"permitted to meet. I am equally glad to see you."
To the latter will be said: "I am glad that the Great
"Spirit has preserved your life and granted you a safe
"return to your family."

l:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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other that they want to destroy, but us, poor Indians, that are between them. By this means they get our lan and, when that is obtained, the scissors are closed again, and laid by for further use.

They are remarkable for the particular respect which they pay to old age. In all their meetings, whether public or private, they pay the greatest attention to the observations and advice of the aged; no one will attempt to contradict them, nor to interfere in any manner or even to speak, unless he is specially called upon. "The aged," they say, "have lived through the whole period of our "lives, and long before we were born; they have not "only all the knowledge we possess, but a great deal "more. We, therefore, must submit our limited views "to their experience."

'In travelling, one of the oldest will always take the lead, unless another is specially appointed for that purpose.' If such a one stops to hunt, or in order to stay and encamp at the place for some time, all halt together, all are pleased with the spot and declare it to be judiciously chosen.

I shall expatiate further on this interesting part of the Indian character, in the sequel of this work.

They have a strong innate sense of justice, which will lead them sometimes to acts which some men will call heroic, others romantic; and not a few, perhaps, will designate by the epithet *barbarous*; a vague indefinite word, which if it means any thing, might, perhaps, be best explained by *something not like ourselves*. However that may be, this feeling certainly exists among the Indians, and as I cannot describe it better than by its effects, I shall content myself with relating on this subject a characteristic anecdote which happened in the year 1793, at an Indian village called *La Chine*, situated nine miles above Montreal, and was told me in the same year by Mr. La Ramée, a French Canadian inhabitant of that place, whom I believe to be a person of strict veracity.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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rally makes them wish to know what is good and what is bad. This the parent teaches him in his own way, that is to say, in the way in which he was himself taught by his own parents. It is not the lesson of an hour nor of a day, it is rather a long course more of practical than of theoretical instruction, a lesson, which is not repeated at stated seasons or times, but which is shewn, pointed out, and demonstrated to the child, not only by those under whose immediate guardianship he is, but by the whole community, who consider themselves alike interested in the direction to be given to the rising generation.

When this instruction is given in the form of precepts, it must not be supposed that it is done in an authoritative or forbidding tone, but, on the contrary, in the gentlest and most persuasive manner: nor is the parent's authority ever supported by harsh or compulsive means; no whips, no punisments, no threats are even used to enforce commands or compel obedience. The child's *pride* is the feeling to which an appeal is made, which proves successful in almost every instance. A father needs only to say in the presence of his children: "I want such a "thing done; I want one of my children to go upon such "an errand; let me see who is the *good* child that will do "it!" This word *good* operates, as it were, by magic, and the children immediately vie with each other to comply with the wishes of their parent. If a father sees an old decrepid man or woman pass by, led along by a child, he will draw the attention of his own children to the object by saying: "What a *good* child that must be, "which pays such attention to the aged! That child, "indeed, looks forward to the time when it will likewise "be old!" or he will say, "May the great Spirit, who "looks upon him, grant this *good* child a long life!"

In this manner of bringing up children, the parents, as I have already said, are seconded by the whole community. If a child is sent from his father's dwelling to

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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carry a dish of victuals to an aged person, all in the house will join in calling him a *good* child. They will ask whose child he is, and on being told, will exclaim: what! has the *Tortoise*, or the *little Bear* (as the father's name may be) got such a *good* child? If a child is seen passing through the streets leading an old decrepid person, the villagers will in his hearing, and to encourage all the other children who may be present to take example from him, call on one another to look on and see what a *good* child that must be. And so, in most instances, this method is resorted to, for the purpose of instructing children in things that are good, proper, or honourable in themselves; while, on the other hand, when a child has committed a *bad* act, the parent will say to him: "O! how grieved I am that my child has done "this *bad* act! I hope he will never do so again." This is generally effectual, particularly if said in the presence of others. The whole of the Indian plan of education tends to elevate rather than depress the mind, and by that means to make determined hunters and fearless warriors.

Thus, when a lad has killed his first game, such as a deer or a bear, parents who have boys growing up will not fail to say to some person in the presence of their own children: "That boy must have listened attentively "to the aged hunters, for, though young, he has alrea- "dy given a proof that he will become a good hunter "himself." If, on the other hand, a young man should fail of giving such a proof, it will be said of him "that "he did not pay attention to the discourses of the aged."

In this indirect manner is instruction on all subjects given to the young people. They are to learn the arts of hunting, trapping, and making war, by listening to the aged when conversing together on those subjects, each, in his turn, relating how he acted, and opportunities are afforded to them for that purpose. By this mode of instructing youth, their respect for the aged is kept alive,

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584 586 ken English,) "White man court,—court,—may be one "whole year!—may be two year before he marry!—well! "—may be then got *very good* wife—but may be *not!*— "may be *very* cross!—Well now, suppose cross! scold "so soon as get awake in the morning! scold all day! "scold until sleep!—all one; he must keep *him!** White "people have law forbidding throwing away wife, be "*he* ever so cross! must keep *him* always! Well! "how does Indian do?—Indian when he see industrious "Squaw, which he like, he go to *him*, place his two fore- "fingers close aside each other, make two look like one "—look Squaw in the face—see *him* smile—which is all "one *he* say, *Yes!* so he take *him* home—no danger *he* "be cross! no! no! Squaw know too well what Indian "do if *he* cross!—throw *him* away and take another! "Squaw love to eat meat! no husband! no meat! Squaw "do every thing to please husband! he do the same to "please Squaw! live happy!"

CHAPTER XVII.

RESPECT FOR THE AGED.

888 THERE is no nation in the world who pay greater respect to old age than the American Indians. From their infancy they are taught to be kind and attentive to aged persons, and never to let them suffer for want of necessaries or comforts. The parents spare no pains to impress upon the minds of their children the conviction

* The pronouns in the Indian language have no feminine gender.

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that they would draw down upon themselves the anger of the Great Spirit, were they to neglect those whom, in his goodness, he had permitted to attain such an advanced age, whom he had protected with his almighty power through all the perils and dangers of life, while so many had perished by wars, accidents and sickness in various forms, by the incantations of the wizzard or the stroke of the murderer, and not a few by the consequences of their own imprudent conduct. 888

It is a sacred principle among the Indians, and one of those moral and religious truths which they have always before their eyes, that the Great Spirit who created them, and provided them so abundantly with the means of subsistence, made it the duty of parents to maintain and take care of their children until they should be able to provide for themselves, and that having while weak and helpless received the benefits of maintenance, education and protection, they are bound to repay them by a similar care of those who are labouring under the infirmities of old age, and are no longer able to supply their own wants. [593 183]

Thus, a strong feeling of gratitude towards their elders, inculcated and cherished from their earliest infancy, is the solid foundation on which rests that respect for old age for which Indians are so remarkable, and it is further supported by the well-founded hope of receiving the like succours and attentions in their turn, when the heavy hand of time shall have reduced them to the same helpless situation which they now commiserate in others, and seek by every means in their power to render more tolerable. Hence, they do not confine themselves to acts of absolute necessity; it is not enough for them that the old are not suffered to starve with hunger or perish with cold, but they must be made as much as possible to share in the pleasures and comforts of life. It is, indeed, a moving spectacle to see the tender and delicate attentions which, on every occasion, they lavish upon

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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aged and decrepid persons. When going out a hunting they will put them on a horse or in a canoe, and take them into the woods to their hunting ground, in order to revive their spirits by making them enjoy the sight of a sport in which they can no longer participate. They place them in particular situations, where they are sure that the game they are in pursuit of will pass by, taking proper measures at the same time to prevent its escape, so that their aged parents and friends may, at least, as our sportsmen call it, be in *at the death*. Nor is this all; the hoary veterans must also enjoy the honours of the chase; when the animal, thus surrounded, is come within reach of their guns, when every possibility of escape is precluded, by the woods all around being set on fire, they all, young and old, fire together, so that it is difficult to decide whose ball it was that brought the animal to the ground. But they never are at a loss to decide, and always give it in favour of the oldest man in the party. So, when the young people have discovered a place where the bears have their haunts, or have resorted to for the winter, they frequently take with them to the spot, such of the old men as are yet able to walk or ride, where they not only have an opportunity of witnessing the sport, but receive their full share of the meat and oil.

At home the old are as well treated and taken care of as if they were favourite children. They are cherished and even caressed; indulged in health and nursed in sickness; and all their wishes and wants are anticipated. Their company is sought by the young, to whom their conversation is considered an honour. Their advice is asked on all occasions, their words are listened to as oracles, and their occasional garrulity, nay, even the the second childhood often attendant on extreme old age, is never with Indians a subject of ridicule, or laughter. Respect, gratitude and love are too predominant in their minds to permit any degrading idea to mix itself with these truly honourable and generous feelings.

[ERRATA. See Cat. 116, p. 348. -Ed.]

l:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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On every occasion, and in every situation through life, age takes the lead among the Indians. Even little boys, when going on parties of pleasure, were it only to catch butterflies, strictly adhere to this rule, and submit to the direction of the oldest in their company, who is their chief, leader and spokesman; if they are accosted on the way by any person, and asked whither they are going, or any other question, no one will presume to answer but their *speaker*. The same rule is observed when they are grown up, and in no case whatever will one of a party, club or meeting, attempt to assume authority over the leader, or even to set him right if he should mistake the road or take a wrong course; much less will any one contradict what he says, unless his opinion should be particularly asked, in which case, and no other, he will give his advice, but with great modesty and diffidence.

And yet there have been travellers who have ventured to assert that old people among the Indians are not only neglected and suffered to perish for want, but that they are even, when no longer able to take care of themselves, *put out of the way of all trouble*. I am free to declare, that among all the Indian nations that I have become acquainted with, if any one should kill an old man or woman for no other cause than that of having become useless or burdensome to society, it would be considered as an unpardonable crime, the general indignation would be excited, and the murderer instantly put to death. I cannot conceive any act that would produce such an universal horror and detestation, such is the veneration which is every where felt for old age.

Indeed, I have had sufficient reason to be convinced that this principle, excellent as it is in itself, is even carried too far by the Indians, and that not a little inconvenience is occasioned by it. A few instances will make this better understood than any explanations that I could give.

In the year 1765, the great body of Christian Indians,

[Erratum. See vol. II, p. 348. —Am. Ed.]

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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after having remained sixteen months at and near Philadelphia, were permitted to return to their own country, peace having been concluded with the Indian nations, who still continued at war notwithstanding the pacification between the European powers. They resolved to open a path through the wilderness from the frontier settlements beyond the Blue mountains, directly to Wyoming on the Susquehannah. This path they laid off and cut as they proceeded, two, three or four miles at a time, according to the nature of the ground and the convenience of water, bringing up their baggage by making two or more trips, as they had no horses to carry it. Having arrived at the great Pine Swamp, then supposed to be about fourteen miles wide, it was found very difficult to cut a passage on account of the thickets and of the great number of fallen trees which incumbered it; they were, besides, unacquainted with that part of the country. An old Indian, however, took the lead, and undertook to be their guide. After a tedious march of near two weeks, attended with much labour, he brought them across the Swamp, to the large creek which borders upon it on the opposite side. There they found a very steep mountain, through which no passage could be found either above or below. Discouraged at the prospect before them, they now saw no alternative but to return the same way they had come, and take the route by Fort Allen to Nescopeck, and so up the Susquehannah to Wyoming, a distance of nearly one hundred miles round. In this difficulty, it fortunately struck their Missionary, Mr. Zeisberger, that a certain Indian named David, who was one of their party and had followed them all the way, was acquainted with that part of the country, and might, perhaps, be able to point out to them some better and shorter road. He soon found that he was not mistaken. David was perfectly acquainted with the country, and knew a good road, through which the party might easily pass, but not having been questioned on the subject,

8 [Erratum. See cat. 116, p. 348. Analyst]

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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had hitherto kept silence, and followed with the rest, though he knew all the while they were going wrong. A dialogue then took place between him and the Missionary. 886

ZEISB.—David! You are, I believe, acquainted with this country; perhaps you know a better road, and a shorter one than that which we are going to take.

DAVID.—Yes, I do; there is such a road, which we may easily get through, and have a much shorter distance to travel than by that which is proposed; I am sure of it.

ZEISB.—What; David! we were all going wrong, and yet you are with us?

DAVID.—Yes, 'tis so.

ZEISB.—And yet you said nothing, and followed with the rest as if all had been right!

DAVID.—Yes; the guides are somewhat older than myself; they took the lead, and never asked me whether I had any knowledge of the country. If they had enquired, I would have told them.

ZEISB.—Will you *now* tell them?

DAVID.—No, indeed; unless they ask me. It does not become an Indian to instruct his elders.

The question was then asked him at the instigation of Mr. Zeisberger, when he immediately told them that they must all return to a certain spot, six miles back, and then direct their course more to the north east, which would bring them to a gap in the mountain, where they could pass through with great ease. They did so, and he followed them, and being now desired to take the lead, he did it, and brought them to the very spot he had described, and from thence led them all the way to Wyoming. This difficult part of the road, in the swamp, has been since called *David's path*, and the state road now passes through it.

This anecdote was told me by Mr. Zeisberger himself, whom I have never known to say any thing that

[Loreata. See cat. 116, p. 348. - Analyst]

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca.1800) 1819
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that they would draw down upon themselves the anger of the Great Spirit, were they to neglect those whom, in his goodness, he had permitted to attain such an advanced age, whom he had protected with his almighty power through all the perils and dangers of life, while so many had perished by wars, accidents and sickness in various forms, by the incantations of the wizzard or the stroke of the murderer, and not a few by the consequences of their own imprudent conduct. 888

It is a sacred principle among the Indians, and one of those moral and religious truths which they have always before their eyes, that the Great Spirit who created them, and provided them so abundantly with the means of subsistence, made it the duty of parents to maintain and take care of their children until they should be able to provide for themselves, and that having while weak and helpless received the benefits of maintenance, education and protection, they are bound to repay them by a similar care of those who are labouring under the infirmities of old age, and are no longer able to supply their own wants. [593] [183]

Thus, a strong feeling of gratitude towards their elders, inculcated and cherished from their earliest infancy, is the solid foundation on which rests that respect for old age for which Indians are so remarkable, and it is further supported by the well-founded hope of receiving the like succours and attentions in their turn, when the heavy hand of time shall have reduced them to the same helpless situation which they now commiserate in others, and seek by every means in their power to render more tolerable. Hence, they do not confine themselves to acts of absolute necessity; it is not enough for them that the old are not suffered to starve with hunger or perish with cold, but they must be made as much as possible to share in the pleasures and comforts of life. It is, indeed, a moving spectacle to see the tender and delicate attentions which, on every occasion, they lavish upon

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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551 *Bucks-horn*, or the like."[27] In everyday life kinship terms were used rather than personal names.[28] Denton also said:

> Any Indian being dead, his name dies with him, no person daring ever after to mention his name, it being not only a breach of their Law, but an abuse to his friends & relations present, as if it were done on purpose to renew their grief: And any other person whatsoever that is named after that name doth incontinently change his name & takes a new one.[29]

Education and Training of Children

862 Children were nursed until they were three or four years old, but
853 were increasingly fed meat and other specially prepared foods. Holm said they were taught to walk when they were nine months old.[30] When boys were four or five years old, they were given their first instruction in hunting, warfare, and woodcraft, as well as in other phases of a man's
868 life.[31] Girls at the same age were initiated into the duties of housekeeping and the planting and cultivating of gardens. Old people, particularly grandparents, played an important role in instructing the children in
869 tradition, religion, and correct behavior (O.A., N.D.). According to Trowbridge, men took upon themselves the duty of instructing the young of their phratry.[32] The earlier documents are silent on these points, but there seems to be no reason why these more modern data do not represent the customs of a former period.

In earlier times physical punishment was seldom if ever used on the
861 children; explanation, ridicule, exhortation, and threats took its place.[33] Obedience was sometimes enforced by threats of punishment by the Mask Being. If a child was slow to rise in the morning, for instance, the recalcitrant one was told that this supernatural creature would visit him and poke him with a stick (N.D.). It was also believed that the supernatural powers punished disobedient children by causing them to become weak and sickly (N.D.). The myth of a great, naked bear was frequently used, since disobedient children were said to be its particular victims.[34] Children were described as being well behaved; a captive
867 brought up by the Delawares said that "honesty, bravery and hospitality
●838 are cardinal virtues with them. . . .Their young, in a remarkable degree, reverence and honor the aged, especially their parents."[35] Not only were the old respected, but game and various other presents were often given to them.[36]

866 As children grew older, the boys in particular were more and more exposed to a toughening program. Training was one of increasing hardship, up to and including the puberty rituals. Children were forced to

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[27] Denton, 1845, p. 8.
[28] Trowbridge MS.
[29] Denton, 1845, p. 8.
[30] Holm, 1834, p. 127.
[31] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 202; Harrington, 1913, p. 213; Trowbridge MS.
[32] Trowbridge MS.
[33] Brickell, 1842, p. 47; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 81.
[34] Heckewelder, 1799, pp. 280-82.
[35] Brickell, 1842, p. 48.
[36] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 76.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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224 852 turn to the east, having the whole or part of the animal on the back, always with the skin, before entering the house and give vent to a prolonged call, which is the old man's or old woman's prayer to the Deity in behalf of the boy, that he may always be a fortunate hunter. During the repast they repeat their petitions and give counsel to the boy (who, with his companions, is a mere spectator) regarding the chase and all the circumstances of his future life, exhorting him above all things to revere old age and gray hairs and to be obedient to their words, because experience has given them wisdom. Such counsel was heeded in time past, and though the ceremonies are still kept up, the young no longer revere the aged as was the case at one time.

● 888 178

Formerly, the young revered the old, especially if they had gray or white heads.[253] They believed that these must be very wise and prudent, because they were of such an age and seemed to be favored of the gods. Therefore, they treated the aged well, brought them, it may be, a deer, in the hope that they might be instructed of them how to attain to equal age. They presented the old, also, with wampum or belts, with the same hope. While nothing was said, the aged understood and gave the desired instruction on another occasion.

784 276 No young Indian in those days would have dared to take the tobacco pouch, (made usually of the skin of the otter, beaver, raccoon, fox, pole-cat, or some other animal, stripped off whole, with a little slit at the neck), of an old person and take a pipeful of tobacco, thinking such an act a great sin and believing that it would be the cause of shortening his life. When, therefore, in those days, a young brave asked an aged man permission to fill his pipe from the latter's pouch, the old man understood that this was not the young man's intention at all, but he wished to place something in the pouch. Usually, wampum was put in and no tobacco taken out. This, also, was done with the hope that the aged man might instruct the young brave how to be wise and to attain to great age. Indeed, good counsel is given, to bring offerings regularly on behalf of themselves and their friends, to be chaste, to abstain from drinking and stealing, which were common even in those days. These customs, however, have ceased. The old have lost respect and the young

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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regard them but little. They do not seem to be ashamed of their vices. For this reason, Indians themselves declare that their condition grows worse from year to year. As there is neither law nor legal penalty among them, they have nothing to fear, except that an injured one may avenge himself in the manner in which he has been injured. If one has seduced the wife of another, the offended party will seek to seduce the wife of the offender. He will keep his purpose a secret and not rest until he has obtained satisfaction, when he makes known to others what he has done, so that the original offender may hear of it.

D [684]

D 881 [841 145]

When, in a young female, the first menstrual discharge occurs, generally between the twelfth and sixteenth year, the Delawares generally separate such daughters from all companionship, the Monsies [Monseys] being more strict and having more ceremonies in the observance of the custom than the Miamis. They build for such a girl, separate hut, apart from the rest, where her mother or some old female acquaintance cares for her and guards her so that none may see her. Wherefore, she is also kept within the hut the whole of the menstrual period, with the blanket over her head. She is given little to eat, but regularly dosed with emetics. She is not allowed to do any work during the whole time, which generally lasts twelve days. At the end of the time, they bring her into her home, looking black, grimy and dishevelled, because she has been lying about in dust and ashes the whole time. Washed and dressed in new garments, she is allowed to be in the home, but required to wear a cap with a long shield, so that she can neither see any one readily, nor be seen. Such a covering she must wear for two months, at the end of which time she is informed that she may marry.

D [582 292]

I S 881 262

The Shavanose [Shawanese] and Mingoes, however, who observe much the same cust[illegible], follow a different course in this matter. The young woman in question is allowed to remain in the house. She prepares food for those in the house, of the corn and fruits she has raised. Of such food she does not, however, herself partake, but goes to her hut, apart from the others, and there prepares and eats her food.

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Every month, during her menstrual period, a Delaware woman lives by herself in a separate hut, which is usually very

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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often dyed red with cinnabar about the neck. Such a shirt may be worn unwashed until it is torn. More careful women, however wash their clothing. Men and women paint their faces almost daily, especially if they go out to a dance in the evening. Men, particularly, think it is proper to paint and often their whole head is colored vermillion.[235] Here and there black spots may be introduced, or they paint one-half of their head and face black, the other red. Figures are added according to taste.[236] Indian women never paint their faces with a variety of figures, but rather make a round red spot upon each cheek and redden the eyelids, the tops of their heads and, in some cases, the rims of the ears and the temples.[237] Older women adorn themselves but rarely, usually appearing in old cast-off garments. Even if the husband of such a woman provides new clothing, she will rarely put it on, especially if she has a daughter to whom she gives the new clothing in exchange for old garments.

Their towns are generally laid out near a lake, river or brook, yet sufficiently elevated to escape the danger of inundations, which are very common in spring. In building towns no regular plan is observed but every one builds according to his fancy. The houses are not built close together. Some years ago, when the Delawares planned Gochachgünk, they wished to imitate the Christian Indians and build their town in orderly fashion but they did not succeed, even though they had laid it out. When they have lived long in one place, it at last becomes troublesome to secure wood for fuel because all the wood in the neighborhood has been used. This causes them to leave the place and plan a new village for the sake of the wood and other conveniences. Although they have horses that roam about and are rarely used except when they wish to ride, it is too troublesome for them to break these to work and, furthermore, since fetching wood is the work of the women, the men do not concern themselves about it.

Of inheritances they know nothing. Every Indian knows that whatever he leaves at his death is divided among his friends. If a woman becomes a widow, no matter how long she may have lived with her husband, friends come, take everything that be-

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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orgy, put him out of the way, pretending to be very drunk and not capable of judging of the nature of his deed. Under such circumstances, according to ancient usage, the murderer must pay a hundred fathoms of wampum for the murder of a man and two hundred for that of a woman. If he is too poor to raise the amount, which is commonly the case, his friends help to raise it and turn it over to the relatives of the slain, at the same time delivering a speech. If any one has murdered his own relative, he usually escapes without difficulty, for the family can easily find reason for the deed, not wishing to lose two of their friends at once. Should a murderer not feel himself safe, he goes to another region or town where he is a stranger.

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In case of theft, which is held as a disgrace among them, nothing further is required than that the thief must restore what he has stolen, pay for it or give something in exchange. If justice cannot be satisfied in one of these ways, because the thief has nothing, loss falls on the party robbed, or the friends of the thief, if such he has, must make good the loss.

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When a whole party goes out to hunt, they govern themselves according to the wishes of the oldest or the most expert, particularly if he be a member of the council. It is not considered good form for one to leave the party before the end of the hunt. If one has wounded a deer and another followed and killed it, the skin belongs to the first and either the half or the whole of the meat to the latter. If several take aim at once and they cannot determine which of them made the best shot, the skin is given to the oldest of the party, or, if he happened to be one of those taking aim, he is said to have killed the animal. Old men, therefore, no longer able to shoot well, generally get their share of the skins, if they only aim now and then with the others though they do not hit the mark.

Such old men, accompanying a hunting party, get both meat and skins, for the good hunters will not let them return empty-handed. They have, in general, and the Unami in particular, the custom that when a huntsman has shot a deer, and another Indian joins him or only looks on at a distance, he immediately gives him the whole animal and goes in pursuit of another.

3: Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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moving from one place to another according to inclination, yet they generally dwell together for the sake of the help they can render each other in building and in fencing up the great field where all may plant and be sure that their pieces of ground will not be molested by cattle. If they have a good chief he may be very useful to the people, for under him they believe themselves to dwell in safety as it is his business to keep the peace with other nations and order among his own people in so far as this may be secured among the Indians who are a free people recognizing neither compulsion nor authority to punish. By means of discretion and diplomacy a chief may accomplish much. At times he may not tell his counsellors, much less the people, what his ultimate purposes are, for fear of not attaining them. Moving forward step by step he may gain his end. Of violence, murder (except in drunkenness), robbery, theft, one rarely hears among the Indians. They may leave all they have caught in the chase and their utensils in the forest, secured indeed against wild animals such as wolves and bear, but not hidden from the Indians. They often hang their things to trees in the woods where everyone passing by may see them and leave them there for days and weeks, yet they are never molested. Stolen goods may not be easily concealed among them, and whoever has been guilty of theft must restore or repay lest a horse or two or even his gun, which is an Indian's means of sustenance, be taken from him or his friends summoned to make good the injury, even years after the theft has been committed. The latter will rather pay than be much and often called upon to do so.

Few houses are locked when the people go out. A stick is placed against the door on the outside and the passerby sees that no one is at home and does not enter. Each one is free to do as he pleases without let or hindrance, yet he will rarely do another injury.

Their old people, even though they are only able to crawl about and are a source of trouble and have nothing to bequeath to anyone, are faithfully cared for by their friends who seem to wish that their lives should be prolonged. That they are unmerciful and insensible towards the poor and needy may not be said of them. Even strangers who have no friends are

nected within the womb. If one is hurt, the other will feel it even though they are separated by many miles. A child whose mother died during its birth, must not be allowed to cry. Someone must try to comfort it so that the spirit of the dead mother may not injure, or even kill the foster parent. 845

Birthmarks are an indication that both parents have experienced difficulties with other people. During his youth one man conversed with a dead person in a vision. The skeleton said to him, "You should know me by the mark on your children. You will know more when they are born." All of his children (boys) had a characteristic pecularity about the eyes, lacking control of the lids so that during the day they blinked constantly. Sometimes a birthmark in the shape of a leaf or berry appears on the child. This is attributed to a dream by the mother. The fruit means good luck and long life. A mark formed like a reptile is considered an evil omen. 845 826 787

While nursing the child, the mother must refrain from intercourse with any man other than her husband so that the infant may not have diarrhea. 853 837

A few notes were obtained on the treatment of the hair and teeth of children. 854

When a child's hair is cut, it is left in some out-of-the-way place.[20] It was believed that if the birds used it in building their nests, the child would suffer from headaches. If the remains were burnt, it would cause the hair to become brittle.[21]

During the teething period, a little bag containing finely crushed charcoal is hung about the child's neck. The latter chews upon it to ease his aching gums. A loose milk tooth is pulled out by means of a string, its removal allowing the permanent tooth to grow in straight. The extracted tooth is taken outdoors by the child and thrown in the direction of the east, with the words "My tooth I place down here. I know when you return I will feed you white beans."

A child's nails are trimmed with a knife or scissors. Care is taken not to lose any of the nail trimmings, which are carried into the woods and left upon a stump. At the same time the following words are addressed to the Owl: "Grandpa, I now give you these, your grandchild's nails, to make frames for your eyes."

[20] This and the following paragraph were recorded by Eugene Golomshtok, University of Pennsylvania, 1930.

[21] In adult life gray hair, an indication of longevity, is not pulled out. Its removal would be displeasing to the Creator as a lack of respect for the aged. 988 302

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

deer-tail or horse-hair when made into a roach.[1] And everything is beaded including moccasins. And if any one wishes it he goes there to the Attendant where he may choose paint of whatever color he prefers.[2] And those desiring it wear eagle feathers.[3] All the old men customarily have the head-band when going into the Big House.[4]

And anyone may choose his style, but red paint and yellow, by custom, are more frequently used. A person does not rub it on his face all over. A person usually paints his cheek or at the sides of his eyes lightly. But the relief-drummers[5] can, if desired, paint black or paint fancy. All these women if they desire may paint red when entering the Big House. And also when the ceremonial leader first enters the Big House that is the time when all those Face-images[6] are painted.

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[1] The "roach" is the dyed deer hair or horsehair crest worn by young and middle aged men, worn on the top of the head. (pl. —). The hair stands upright, reaching from the crown to the nape of the neck, kept in place by an ornamentally carved bone spreader forming the base for a bone tube in which an eagle feather is fastened. This is a characteristic head ornament of the Delawares, ancient as well as modern, allusions to it being found in the early explorers accounts from the Carolinas to Maine. It seems to have accompanied the shaved painted head as an attachment to the scalp-lock of warriors. Throughout the central Algonkian area and the southern Siouan tribes it appears with great prominence in later writings, and has finally spread among the Prairie peoples possibly through diffusion through the agency of the Omaha. The Delaware term for the roach, tapaskó·ču, has reference to the shaved head and stiffened hair; that for the bone spreader, cuxa·'las signifies "rattling pendant." These objects and their descriptive terms represent extremely ancient properties of eastern North America, having obvious connections with archaeological objects of bone which have puzzled investigators. The distribution of the roach head-ornament offers an interesting problem. Its occurrence is noted with practically no aberrant modifications among the early populations from Maine southward to Florida, west through the Iroquois to the Central Algonkian, the southern and eastern Siouan tribes.

Among the earliest references to the Delawares wearing the roach we may cite Denton's (1670) mentioning men affecting as head-wear "a kind of a Ruff made with Deer's hair, and dyed a scarlet colour, which they esteem very rich." (See quotation of pertinent data in A. B. Skinner, "Indians of Greater New York, 1915, p. 36). Neither the article itself nor the sentiment attached to it has altered much among the Delawares since this was written two hundred and sixty years ago.

[2] There are limitations in the colors and patterns in face-paintings. The accompanying chart shows the designs and areas of the face appropriate for the decoration of individuals of various classifications (plate I).

[3] The Delaware seldom trim or cut the feathers they use when dressing for the Big House. They say the feathers are perfect as they grow on the living bird and should not be altered. Only the feathers of birds considered noble, such as the eagles and certain of the larger hawks are sanctioned.

[4] Elderly men give up wearing the roach substituting the fur headband with beaded rosette and small feathers at the side, (see fig. 25), or simply the handkerchief tied around the hair into which a feather is stuck. The elders wear their hair shoulder-length.

[5] The drummers who assist the chief drummers are permitted by rulings of the Big House tradition to wear black in painting, or to paint the face according as their fancy may prompt (see plate II).

[6] The images on the side and center posts of the Big House. The renewal of the paint, half black and half red on these images is a sacred act performed out of the reverence for the "Grandfathers" at the same time when the communicants of the ceremony apply the paint to their own faces.

[P. 35, A]

584 marriage would furthermore be congenial to the parents of both parties.[15] In practice
586 these marriages usually broke up quickly, both spouses quickly being unfaithful to one another.[16] Occasionally a man, his
[762] pride wounded by a wife's infidelity, directed his helpless anger inward and committed suicide by taking poison. Women too killed themselves out of jealousy.[17] The shifting romantic attachments of both sexes seem to represent an unending striving to find the all-satisfying parent: a striving continually doomed to frustration.

787 The guardian spirit relationship (which was sought by both men and women) seems also to be built upon the prototype of the search for the all-satisfying (but not authoritarian) parent.[18]

572 Among men there was an institution of "friendship" which focused considerable emotion upon a relationship of formally recognized mutual dependency, in war, in
[521] the chase, and in various other life-crises.[19] Men were more at ease with one another
[562] in conversation than with women and, according to Zeisberger, would automati-
[593] cally suspect as a lie any tale which they heard from a woman.[20] It was a common saying, "My wife is not my friend."[21] Old
888 women were accused by the men of being
439 the middlemen who carried the socially disrupting rum from white settlements to the villages.[22]

562 Implicit in all this was the assumption
571 on the part of all Delawares—men and women alike—that relationships with women, while they could be satisfying, were not likely to be; and the further assumption on the part of men that they had less to fear from other men than from

15. Heckewelder, 1819, p. 161; Zeisberger, 1778, p. 79.
16. Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 82-83.
17. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 83.
18. Lindestrom, 1656, pp. 207-209; Heckewelder, 1819, pp. 245-246; Zeisberger, 1778, p. 127.
19. Heckewelder, 1819, p. 278; Lindestrom, 1656, p. 233; Zeisberger, 1778, p. 116.
20. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 116.
21. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 99.
22. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 117.